DISCARD

Pacific Christian College Library

In Memory Of
Mrs. Amanda Siebbens
by Mrs. F. H. Stewart, Sr.

REF 200.3 E56 1928 v.9-10

Encyclopaedia of religion
and ethics

For Reference

Not to be taken from this room

Hurst Memorial Library
Pacific Christian College
Long Beach, Calif.

This Volume is presented to

Pacific Bible Seminary

by

Mrs. F. H. Stewart, Sr.

as a memorial to her sister

Mrs. Amanda Siebbens

Library of
PACIFIC BIBLE SEMINARY
4604 EAST ANAHEIM STREET
LONG BEACH, CALIFORNIA

Encyclopædia

of

Religion and Ethics

Volumes IX and X

Encyclopædia

of

Religion and Ethics

Volumes IX and X

Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics

EDITED BY

JAMES HASTINGS

WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF

JOHN A. SELBIE, M.A., D.D.

PROFESSOR OF OLD TESTAMENT LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE IN THE UNITED FREE CHURCH COLLEGE, ABERDEEN

AND

LOUIS H. GRAY, M.A., Ph.D.

SOMETIME FELLOW IN INDO-IRANIAN LANGUAGES IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK

Hurst Memorial Library
Pacific Christian College
Long Beach, Calif.

VOLUME IX

MUNDAS—PHRYGIANS

4026

NEW YORK
CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS
1928

Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, have the sole right of publication of this ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF RELIGION AND ETHICS in the United States and Canada.

Printed in the United States of America

200.3
E56
1928
v. 9-10
4026

LISTS OF ABBREVIATIONS

I. General

A.H. = Anno Hijrae (A.D. 622).
Ak. = Akkadian.
Alex. = Alexandrian.
Amer. = American.
Apoc. = Apocalypse, Apocalyptic.
Apocr. = Apocrypha.
Aq. = Aquila.
Arab. = Arabic.
Aram. = Aramaic.
Arm. = Armenian.
Ary. = Aryan.
As. = Asiatic.
Assyr. = Assyrian.
AT = Altes Testament.
AV = Authorized Version.
AVm = Authorized Version margin.
A.Y. = Anno Yazdagird (A.D. 639).
Bab. = Babylonian.
c. = *circa*, about.
Can. = Canaanite.
cf. = compare.
ct. = contrast.
D = Deuteronomist.
E = Elohist.
edd. = editions or editors.
Egyp. = Egyptian.
Eng. = English.
Eth. = Ethiopic.
EV, EVV = English Version, Versions.
f. = and following verse or page.
ff. = and following verses or pages.
Fr. = French.
Germ. = German.
Gr. = Greek.
H = Law of Holiness.
Heb. = Hebrew.
Hel. = Hellenistic.
Hex. = Hexateuch.
Himy. = Himyaritic.
Ir. = Irish.
Iran. = Iranian.
Isr. = Israelite.
J = Jahwist.
J" = Jehovah.
Jerus. = Jerusalem.
Jos. = Josephus.
LXX = Septuagint.
Min. = Minæan.
MSS = Manuscripts.
MT = Massoretic Text.
n. = note.
NT = New Testament.
Onk. = Onkelos.
OT = Old Testament.
P = Priestly Narrative.
Pal. = Palestine, Palestinian.
Pent. = Pentateuch.
Pers. = Persian.
Phil. = Philistine.
Phœn. = Phœnician.
Pr. Bk. = Prayer Book.
R = Redactor.
Rom. = Roman.
RV = Revised Version.
RVm = Revised Version margin.
Sab. = Sabæan.
Sam. = Samaritan.
Sem. = Semitic.
Sept. = Septuagint.
Sin. = Sinaitic.
Skr. = Sanskrit.
Symm. = Symmachus.
Syr. = Syriac.
t. (following a number) = times.
Talm. = Talmud.
Targ. = Targum.
Theod. = Theodotion.
TR = Textus Receptus, Received Text.
tr. = translated or translation.
VSS = Versions.
Vulg., Vg. = Vulgate.
WH = Westcott and Hort's text.

II. Books of the Bible

Old Testament.

Gn = Genesis.
Ex = Exodus.
Lv = Leviticus.
Nu = Numbers.
Dt = Deuteronomy.
Jos = Joshua.
Jg = Judges.
Ru = Ruth.
1 S, 2 S = 1 and 2 Samuel.
1 K, 2 K = 1 and 2 Kings.
1 Ch, 2 Ch = 1 and 2 Chronicles.
Ezr = Ezra.
Neh = Nehemiah.
Est = Esther.
Job.
Ps = Psalms.
Pr = Proverbs.
Ec = Ecclesiastes.
Ca = Canticles.
Is = Isaiah.
Jer = Jeremiah.
La = Lamentations.
Ezk = Ezekiel.
Dn = Daniel.
Hos = Hosea.
Jl = Joel.
Am = Amos.
Ob = Obadiah.
Jon = Jonah.
Mic = Micah.
Nah = Nahum.
Hab = Habakkuk.
Zeph = Zephaniah.
Hag = Haggai.
Zec = Zechariah.
Mal = Malachi.

Apocrypha.

1 Es, 2 Es = 1 and 2 Esdras.
To = Tobit.
Jth = Judith.
Ad. Est = Additions to Esther.
Wis = Wisdom.
Sir = Sirach or Ecclesiasticus.
Bar = Baruch.
Three = Song of the Three Children.
Sus = Susanna.
Bel = Bel and the Dragon.
Pr. Man = Prayer of Manasses.
1 Mac, 2 Mac = 1 and 2 Maccabees.

New Testament.

Mt = Matthew.
Mk = Mark.
Lk = Luke.
Jn = John.
Ac = Acts.
Ro = Romans.
1 Co, 2 Co = 1 and 2 Corinthians.
Gal = Galatians.
Eph = Ephesians.
Ph = Philippians.
Col = Colossians.
1 Th, 2 Th = 1 and 2 Thessalonians.
1 Ti, 2 Ti = 1 and 2 Timothy.
Tit = Titus.
Philem = Philemon.
He = Hebrews.
Ja = James.
1 P, 2 P = 1 and 2 Peter.
1 Jn, 2 Jn, 3 Jn = 1, 2, and 3 John.
Jude.
Rev = Revelation.

III. For the Literature

1. The following authors' names, when unaccompanied by the title of a book, stand for the works in the list below.

Baethgen = *Beiträge zur sem. Religionsgesch.*, 1888.
Baldwin = *Dict. of Philosophy and Psychology*, 3 vols. 1901–05.
Barth = *Nominalbildung in den sem. Sprachen*, 2 vols. 1889, 1891 (²1894).
Benzinger = *Heb. Archäologie*, 1894.
Brockelmann = *Gesch. d. arab. Litteratur*, 2 vols. 1897–1902.
Bruns-Sachau = *Syr.-Röm. Rechtsbuch aus dem fünften Jahrhundert*, 1880.
Budge = *Gods of the Egyptians*, 2 vols. 1903.
Daremberg-Saglio = *Dict. des ant. grec. et rom.*, 1886–90.
De la Saussaye = *Lehrbuch der Religionsgesch.*³, 1905.
Denzinger = *Enchiridion Symbolorum*¹¹, Freiburg im Br., 1911.
Deussen = *Die Philos. d. Upanishads*, 1899 [Eng. tr., 1906].
Doughty = *Arabia Deserta*, 2 vols. 1888.
Grimm = *Deutsche Mythologie*⁴, 3 vols. 1875–78, Eng. tr. *Teutonic Mythology*, 4 vols. 1882–88.
Hamburger = *Realencyclopädie für Bibel u. Talmud*, i. 1870 (²1892), ii. 1883, suppl. 1886, 1891 f., 1897.
Holder = *Altceltischer Sprachschatz*, 1891 ff.
Holtzmann-Zöpffel = *Lexicon f. Theol. u. Kirchenwesen*², 1895.
Howitt = *Native Tribes of S.E. Australia*, 1904.
Jubainville = *Cours de Litt. celtique*, i.–xii., 1883 ff.
Lagrange = *Etudes sur les religions sémitiques*², 1904.
Lane = *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, 1863 ff.
Lang = *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*², 2 vols. 1899.
Lepsius = *Denkmäler aus Aegypten u. Aethiopien*, 1849–60.
Lichtenberger = *Encyc. des sciences religieuses*, 1876.
Lidzbarski = *Handbuch der nordsem. Epigraphik*, 1898.
McCurdy = *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, 2 vols. 1894–96.
Muir = *Orig. Sanskrit Texts*, 1858–72.
Muss-Arnolt = *A Concise Dict. of the Assyrian Language*, 1894 ff.
Nowack = *Lehrbuch d. heb. Archäologie*, 2 vols 1894.
Pauly-Wissowa = *Realencyc. der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft*, 1894 ff.
Perrot-Chipiez = *Hist. de l'art dans l'antiquité*, 1881 ff.
Preller = *Römische Mythologie*, 1858.
Réville = *Religion des peuples non-civilisés*, 1883.
Riehm = *Handwörterbuch d. bibl. Altertums*², 1893–94.
Robinson = *Biblical Researches in Palestine*², 1856.
Roscher = *Lex. d. gr. u. röm. Mythologie*, 1884 ff.
Schaff-Herzog = *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*, 1908 ff.
Schenkel = *Bibel-Lexicon*, 5 vols. 1869–75.
Schürer = *GJV*³, 3 vols. 1898–1901 [*HJP*, 5 vols. 1890 ff.].
Schwally = *Leben nach dem Tode*, 1892.
Siegfried-Stade = *Heb. Wörterbuch zum AT*, 1893.
Smend = *Lehrbuch der alttest. Religionsgesch.*², 1899.
Smith (G. A.) = *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*⁴, 1897.
Smith (W. R.) = *Religion of the Semites*², 1894.
Spencer (H.) = *Principles of Sociology*³, 1885–96.
Spencer-Gillen[a] = *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, 1899.
Spencer-Gillen[b] = *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, 1904.
Swete = *The OT in Greek*, 3 vols. 1893 ff.
Tylor (E. B.) = *Primitive Culture*³, 1891 [⁴1903].
Ueberweg = *Hist. of Philosophy*, Eng. tr., 2 vols. 1872–74.
Weber = *Jüdische Theologie auf Grund des Talmud u. verwandten Schriften*², 1897.
Wiedemann = *Die Religion der alten Aegypter*, 1890 [Eng. tr., revised, *Religion of the Anc. Egyptians*, 1897].
Wilkinson = *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, 3 vols. 1878.
Zunz = *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*², 1892.

2. Periodicals, Dictionaries, Encyclopædias, and other standard works frequently cited.

AA = Archiv für Anthropologie.
AAOJ = American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal.
ABAW = Abhandlungen d. Berliner Akad. d. Wissenschaften.
AE = Archiv für Ethnographie.
AEG = Assyr. and Eng. Glossary (Johns Hopkins University).
AGG = Abhandlungen der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
AGPh = Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie.
AHR = American Historical Review.
AHT = Ancient Hebrew Tradition (Hommel).
AJPh = American Journal of Philology.
AJPs = American Journal of Psychology.
AJRPE = American Journal of Religious Psychology and Education.
AJSL = American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature.
AJTh = American Journal of Theology.
AMG = Annales du Musée Guimet.
APES = American Palestine Exploration Society.
APF = Archiv für Papyrusforschung.
AR = Anthropological Review.
ARW = Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.
AS = Acta Sanctorum (Bollandus).
ASG = Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
ASoc = L'Année Sociologique.
ASWI = Archæological Survey of W. India.
AZ = Allgemeine Zeitung.
BAG = Beiträge zur alten Geschichte.
BASS = Beiträge zur Assyriologie u. sem. Sprachwissenschaft (edd. Delitzsch and Haupt).
BCH = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique.
BE = Bureau of Ethnology.
BG = Bombay Gazetteer.
BJ = Bellum Judaicum (Josephus).
BL = Bampton Lectures.
BLE = Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique.
BOR = Bab. and Oriental Record.
BS = Bibliotheca Sacra.
BSA = Annual of the British School at Athens.
BSAA = Bulletin de la Soc. archéologique à Alexandrie.
BSAL = Bulletin de la Soc. d'Anthropologie de Lyon.
BSAP = Bulletin de la Soc. d'Anthropologie, etc., Paris.
BSG = Bulletin de la Soc. de Géographie.
BTS = Buddhist Text Society.
BW = Biblical World.
BZ = Biblische Zeitschrift.

CAIBL = Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
CBTS = Calcutta Buddhist Text Society.
CE = Catholic Encyclopædia.
CF = Childhood of Fiction (MacCulloch).
CGS = Cults of the Greek States (Farnell).
CI = Census of India.
CIA = Corpus Inscrip. Atticarum.
CIE = Corpus Inscrip. Etruscarum.
CIG = Corpus Inscrip. Græcarum.
CIL = Corpus Inscrip. Latinarum.
CIS = Corpus Inscrip. Semiticarum.
COT = Cuneiform Inscriptions and the OT [Eng. tr. of *KAT*²; see below].
CR = Contemporary Review.
CeR = Celtic Review.
ClR = Classical Review.
CQR = Church Quarterly Review.
CSEL = Corpus Script. Eccles. Latinorum.
DAC = Dict. of the Apostolic Church.
DACL = Dict. d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie (Cabrol).
DB = Dict. of the Bible.
DCA = Dict. of Christian Antiquities (Smith-Cheetham).
DCB = Dict. of Christian Biography (Smith-Wace).
DCG = Dict. of Christ and the Gospels.
DI = Dict. of Islam (Hughes).
DNB = Dict. of National Biography.
DPhP = Dict. of Philosophy and Psychology.
DWAW = Denkschriften der Wiener Akad. der Wissenschaften.
EBi = Encyclopædia Biblica.
EBr = Encyclopædia Britannica.
EEFM = Egyp. Explor. Fund Memoirs.
EI = Encyclopaedia of Islām.
ERE = The present work.
Exp = Expositor.
ExpT = Expository Times.
FHG = Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum (coll. C. Müller, Paris, 1885).
FL = Folklore.
FLJ = Folklore Journal.
FLR = Folklore Record.
GA = Gazette Archéologique.
GB = Golden Bough (Frazer).
GGA = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
GGN = Göttingische Gelehrte Nachrichten (Nachrichten der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen).
GIAP = Grundriss d. Indo-Arischen Philologie.
GIrP = Grundriss d. Iranischen Philologie.
GJV = Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes.
GVI = Geschichte des Volkes Israel.
HAI = Handbook of American Indians.
HDB = Hastings' Dict. of the Bible.
HE = Historia Ecclesiastica.
HGHL = Historical Geography of the Holy Land (G. A. Smith).
HI = History of Israel.
HJ = Hibbert Journal.
HJP = History of the Jewish People.
HL = Hibbert Lectures.
HN = Historia Naturalis (Pliny).
HWB = Handwörterbuch.
IA = Indian Antiquary.
ICC = International Critical Commentary.
ICO = International Congress of Orientalists.
ICR = Indian Census Report.
IG = Inscrip. Græcæ (publ. under auspices of Berlin Academy, 1873 ff.).
IGA = Inscrip. Græcæ Antiquissimæ.
IGI = Imperial Gazetteer of India² (1885); new edition (1908–09).
IJE = International Journal of Ethics.
ITL = International Theological Library.
JA = Journal Asiatique.
JAFL = Journal of American Folklore.
JAI = Journal of the Anthropological Institute.
JAOS = Journal of the American Oriental Society.
JASB = Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay.
JASBe = Journ. of As. Soc. of Bengal.
JBL = Journal of Biblical Literature.
JBTS = Journal of the Buddhist Text Society.
JD = Journal des Débats.
JDTh = Jahrbücher f. deutsche Theologie.
JE = Jewish Encyclopedia.
JGOS = Journal of the German Oriental Society.
JHC = Johns Hopkins University Circulars.
JHS = Journal of Hellenic Studies.
JLZ = Jenäer Litteraturzeitung.
JPh = Journal of Philology.
JPTh = Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie.
JPTS = Journal of the Pāli Text Society.
JQR = Jewish Quarterly Review.
JRAI = Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.
JRAS = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
JRASBo = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay branch.
JRASC = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon branch.
JRASK = Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Korean branch.
JRGS = Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.
JRS = Journal of Roman Studies.
JThSt = Journal of Theological Studies.
*KAT*² = Die Keilinschriften und das AT² (Schrader), 1883.
*KAT*³ = Zimmern-Winckler's ed. of the preceding (really a totally distinct work), 1903.
KB or *KIB* = Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek (Schrader), 1889 ff.
KGF = Keilinschriften und die Geschichtsforschung, 1878.
LCBl = Literarisches Centralblatt.
LOPh = Literaturblatt für Oriental. Philologie.
LOT = Introduction to Literature of OT (Driver).
LP = Legend of Perseus (Hartland).
LSSt = Leipziger sem. Studien.
M = Mélusine.
MAIBL = Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
MBAW = Monatsbericht d. Berliner Akad. d. Wissenschaften.
MGH = Monumenta Germaniæ Historica (Pertz).
MGJV = Mittheilungen der Gesellschaft für jüdische Volkskunde.
MGWJ = Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums.
MI = Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas (Westermarck).
MNDPV = Mittheilungen u. Nachrichten des deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
MR = Methodist Review.
MVG = Mittheilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft.
MWJ = Magazin für die Wissenschaft des Judentums.
NBAC = Nuovo Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana.
NC = Nineteenth Century.
NHWB = Neuhebräisches Wörterbuch.
NINQ = North Indian Notes and Queries.
NKZ = Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift.
NQ = Notes and Queries.
NR = Native Races of the Pacific States (Bancroft).
NTZG = Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte.
OED = Oxford English Dictionary.
OLZ = Orientalische Litteraturzeitung.
OS = Onomastica Sacra.
OTJC = Old Testament in the Jewish Church (W. R. Smith).
OTP = Oriental Translation Fund Publications.
PAOS = Proceedings of American Oriental Society.

PASB = Proceedings of the Anthropological Soc. of Bombay.
PB = Polychrome Bible (English).
PBE = Publications of the Bureau of Ethnology.
PC = Primitive Culture (Tylor).
PEFM = Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Memoirs.
PEFSt = Palestine Exploration Fund Statement.
PG = Patrologia Græca (Migne).
PJB = Preussische Jahrbücher.
PL = Patrologia Latina (Migne).
PNQ = Punjab Notes and Queries.
PR = Popular Religion and Folklore of N. India (Crooke).
PRE^{3} = Prot. Realencyclopädie (Herzog-Hauck).
PRR = Presbyterian and Reformed Review.
PRS = Proceedings of the Royal Society.
PRSE = Proceedings Royal Soc. of Edinburgh.
PSBA = Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology.
PTS = Pāli Text Society.
RA = Revue Archéologique.
RAnth = Revue d'Anthropologie.
RAS = Royal Asiatic Society.
RAssyr = Revue d'Assyriologie.
RB = Revue Biblique.
RBEW = Reports of the Bureau of Ethnology (Washington).
RC = Revue Critique.
RCel = Revue Celtique.
RCh = Revue Chrétienne.
RDM = Revue des Deux Mondes.
RE = Realencyclopädie.
REG = Revue des Études Grecques.
REg = Revue Égyptologique.
REJ = Revue des Études Juives.
REth = Revue d'Ethnographie.
RGG = Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart.
RHLR = Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature religieuses.
RHR = Revue de l'Histoire des Religions.
RMM = Revue du monde musulman.
RN = Revue Numismatique.
RP = Records of the Past.
RPh = Revue Philosophique.
RQ = Römische Quartalschrift.
RS = Revue sémitique d'Épigraphie et d'Hist. ancienne.
RSA = Recueil de la Soc. archéologique.
RSI = Reports of the Smithsonian Institution.
RTAP = Recueil de Travaux rélatifs à l'Archéologie et à la Philologie.
RTP = Revue des traditions populaires.
RThPh = Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie.
RTr = Recueil de Travaux.
RVV = Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeitungen.
RWB = Realwörterbuch.
SBAW = Sitzungsberichte d. Berliner Akademie d. Wissenschaften.
SBB = Sacred Books of the Buddhists.
SBE = Sacred Books of the East.
SBOT = Sacred Books of the OT (Hebrew).
SDB = Single-vol. Dict. of the Bible (Hastings).
SK = Studien und Kritiken.
SMA = Sitzungsberichte d. Münchener Akademie.
SSGW = Sitzungsberichte d. Kgl. Sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wissenschaften.
SWAW = Sitzungsberichte d. Wiener Akademie d. Wissenschaften.
TAPA = Transactions of American Philological Association.
TASJ = Transactions of the Asiatic Soc. of Japan.
TC = Tribes and Castes.
TES = Transactions of Ethnological Society.
ThLZ = Theologische Litteraturzeitung.
ThT = Theol. Tijdschrift.
TRHS = Transactions of Royal Historical Society.
TRSE = Transactions of Royal Soc. of Edinburgh.
TS = Texts and Studies.
TSBA = Transactions of the Soc. of Biblical Archæology.
TU = Texte und Untersuchungen.
WAI = Western Asiatic Inscriptions.
WZKM = Wiener Zeitschrift f. Kunde des Morgenlandes.
ZA = Zeitschrift für Assyriologie.
ZÄ = Zeitschrift für ägyp. Sprache u. Altertumswissenschaft.
ZATW = Zeitschrift für die alttest. Wissenschaft.
ZCK = Zeitschrift für christliche Kunst.
ZCP = Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie.
ZDA = Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum.
ZDMG = Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
ZDPV = Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins.
ZE = Zeitschrift für Ethnologie.
ZKF = Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung.
ZKG = Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte.
ZKT = Zeitschrift für kathol. Theologie.
ZKWL = Zeitschrift für kirchl. Wissenschaft und kirchl. Leben.
ZM = Zeitschrift für die Mythologie.
ZNTW = Zeitschrift für die neutest. Wissenschaft.
ZPhP = Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Pädagogik.
ZTK = Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche.
ZVK = Zeitschrift für Volkskunde.
ZVRW = Zeitschrift für vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft.
ZWT = Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie.

[A small superior number designates the particular edition of the work referred to, as *KAT*^{2}, *LOT*^{6}, etc.]

ENCYCLOPÆDIA

OF

RELIGION AND ETHICS

M

MŪṆḌĀS.—The Mūṇḍās are a tribe of Northern India, numbering, at the Census of 1911, 574,434, of whom 410,440 were found in the Province of Bihār and Orissa, 67,252 in Bengal, and 91,298 in Assam, where they have emigrated in search of work on the tea-plantations. The headquarters of the tribe is Chotā Nāgpur, and the Rānchī District in particular. The word Mūṇḍā is of Skr. origin, meaning 'head-man of a village,' and it was applied to them by their Hindu neighbours, while they call themselves Horo-ko, 'men,' the same root appearing in the tribal names Kol and Orāon (*qq.v.*).

1. Physical characteristics and language.—The skin colour of the Mūṇḍās is dark brown, not uncommonly approaching black; the head inclines to be long or dolichocephalic, the nose is thick, broad, sometimes depressed at the root, the lips thick, the facial angle comparatively low, the face wide and fleshy, the features irregular, the figure squat, the limbs sturdy and well-formed, the stature short (S. C. Roy, *The Mundas and their Country*, p. 362). The tribal language, known as Muṇḍārī, is spoken by a collection of tribes, including Santāls, Mūṇḍās, and Hos, who inhabit a compact block of country on the Chotā Nāgpur plateau, and by one or two outlying tribes in the south of the Orissa States and the east of the Central Provinces. But before the advent of the Aryan-speaking tribes into Northern India there is evidence that Mūṇḍā dialects were current over the greater part of the Indo-Gangetic plain. The theory of F. Hahn, that the Mūṇḍā and Dravidian languages belong to the same family, has been controverted by G. A. Grierson:

'The two families only agree in such points as are common to most agglutinative languages, and there is no philological reason for deriving them from the same original' (*Linguistic Survey of India*, iv. [Calcutta, 1906] 3 f.).

W. Schmidt (*Die Mon-Khmer-Völker: ein Bindeglied zwischen Völkern Zentralasiens und Austronesiens*, Brunswick, 1906) has shown that the Mūṇḍā languages can no longer be referred to an assumed Dravido-Mūṇḍā family, but are a subfamily of the Austro-Asiatic group, and therefore allied to the languages spoken by the Mōns, Palaungs, and Wās of Burma, the Khāsis of Assam, the pagan tribes of the Malay Peninsula, and the Nicobarese (see art. KOL, KOLARIAN).

2. Theories of origin.—Risley (*TC* i., Introd. xli) established on the basis of anthropometry that there was no physical difference between the Kolarian (*q.v.*) and the Dravidian-speaking tribes, and he identified the Mūṇḍās with the latter; in other words, he assumed that they were immigrants from Southern India. S. C. Roy (p. 43 f.) points out that their traditions suggest that they came from the Himālayan region, and he has collected references from Vedic and later Hindu literature connecting them with the non-Aryan races known collectively as Dāsa and Dasyu—general terms for the aborigines who resisted the Aryan-speaking tribes. But these do not specially refer to the Mūṇḍās. Grierson suggested that the Dravidian ethnic type may really be that of the Mūṇḍās; that the former intermarried with Mūṇḍās, while their descendants retained their own language. Gait points out that the absence of Mūṇḍā languages anywhere in the south of India stands in the way of this hypothesis. The wide currency of Mōn-Khmēr dialects in Northern India can be explained only on the supposition of a migration of these people from Further India.

'Except where it has been influenced by immigration from the north-west or north-east in comparatively recent times, the general uniformity of physical type throughout India seems to show that the speakers both of the Mundā and of the Dravidian languages must have been settled there for countless ages, during which intermarriage and climatic influences and environment gradually destroyed the former racial distinctions and evolved an uniform type' (*Census of India*, 1911, i. 325).

3. Social structure, totemism, and occupation.—Mūṇḍās, except as regards the Bhūmij and Khangār tribes, are endogamous, and intermarriage with other neighbouring tribes is prohibited. The tribe is divided into a number of exogamous septs (*kili*), many of which are of totemistic origin. So great is the Mūṇḍā's respect for his totem that he prevents it, if he can, from being eaten by men of other castes or tribes in his presence. As examples of these totemistic sections S. C. Roy (p. 407 ff.) gives the Soē *kili*, which takes its name from the *soē* fish; the Horo (or tortoise) *kili*; the Nāg (or serpent) *kili*, and so on. By the more Hinduized Mūṇḍās their section names have been modified in order to assimilate them to the Hindu *gotra*, or sections. Thus the Sāndi (or bull) section has been transformed into the Sāṇḍilya *gotra*, which sprang

Library of
PACIFIC BIBLE SEMINARY
8235 EAST ANAHEIM STREET
LONG BEACH, CALIFORNIA

from the ancient *ṛṣi*, or saint, Sāṇḍila, and so on (p. 410 f.). In early days the functions of the *mūṇḍā*, or secular head-man, and the *pāhān*, or ecclesiastical head-man, were not differentiated. Later on, villages, generally twelve in number, were grouped together in a local body (*paṭṭī*) under a chief known as *manki*. The offices of the *mūṇḍā* and the *manki* gradually came to be hereditary, and the *mūṇḍā*, or village-chief, was assisted by a council (*pañch*), which arbitrated on the basis of local customary law in disputes between the villagers. Originally hunting and iron-working were their chief occupations, but these were gradually replaced by agriculture. Drinking was a tribal propensity, and, according to their legends, the mysterious root used in the manufacture of rice-beer was revealed to their first parents by their god Singbonga.

4. Religion.—Their legend of the creation of the world and of the origin of the human race is thus told:

'Otē Borām and Sing Bonga were self-created, and they made the earth with rocks and waters, and they clothed it with grass and trees, and then created animals, first, those that are domesticated, and, afterwards, wild beasts. When all was prepared for the abode of man, a boy and a girl were created, and Sing Bonga placed them in a cave at the bottom of a great ravine, and, finding them to be too innocent to give hope of progeny, he instructed them in the art of making *illi*, rice beer, which excites the passions, and thus the world became peopled. When the first parents had produced twelve boys and twelve girls, Sing Bonga prepared a feast of the flesh of buffaloes, bullocks, goats, sheep, pigs, fowls, and vegetables, and, making the brothers and sisters pair off, told each pair to take what they most relished and depart. The first and second pair took bullocks' and buffaloes' flesh, and they originated the Kols (Hos) and the Bhūmij (Matkum); the next took of the vegetables only, and are the progenitors of the Brāhmans and Chatris [Ksatriya]; others took goats and fish, and from them are the Sūdras. One pair took the shell-fish and became Bhuiyās [*q.v.*]; two pairs took pigs and became the Santāls. One pair got nothing, seeing which the first pairs gave them of their superfluity, and from the pair thus provided spring the Ghāsis, who toil not, but live by preying on others. The Hos have now assigned to the English the honour of descent from one of the first two pairs, the elder. The only incident in the above tradition that reminds of the more highly elaborated Santāl account is in the divine authority for the use of strong drinks' (Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 185).

Other tribal legends have been collected by S. C. Roy (App. i.).

The Mūṇḍā divinities have no image or symbol, but they may, when propitiated by sacrifice, take up their abode for a time in places specially dedicated to them, such as masses of rocks or more particularly in small patches of forest carefully preserved and left untouched as refuges for the sylvan gods when the jungle was cleared. These groves (*jāhira, sarnā*) are sacrosanct, and, if a tree be cut down, the deities show their displeasure by withholding seasonable rain (Dalton, p. 185 f.). The other centres of religious and social life are, first, an open space (*akhrā*), where public meetings are held, disputes investigated, crimes punished, and on moonlit nights and during festivals the young folk dance and sing in the presence of the elders seated round the arena on slabs of stone; secondly, the tribal cemetery (*sasān*), where the deceased members of each family are commemorated by large slabs of stone lying prostrate or propped up by smaller stones. If a Mūṇḍā dies abroad, his bones will, if possible, be conveyed to the family cemetery.

At the head of the divine pantheon stands Singbonga, usually identified with the sun, a beneficent but somewhat inactive deity, who concerns himself little with human affairs, the direction of which he entrusts to departmental deities. When his subordinates permit sickness or other calamity to attack men, he is propitiated, by way of appeal, with sacrifices of white goats or cocks. Next in order of dignity comes Burubonga, Marang Buru, or Pāt Sarnā, a mountain-god, who dwells on the highest hill or rock in the neighbourhood. He is represented by no visible object, the sacrifices being made to him on a globular mass of rock. Next come the village tutelary deities (*hātu bongāko*), who assist in agriculture and hunting, and order every human event. They are worshipped in the sacred grove at stated times by the *pāhān*, or village-priest. In the last class are the house-gods (*orā bongāko*), the spirits of the deceased ancestors of each family, who are worshipped in the house-chapel (*āding*) by the house-master. These classes of deities alone are the object of worship, and are to be carefully distinguished from the host of malevolent spirits who must be appeased or propitiated. They are believed to be the earth-bound spirits of persons who died a violent or unnatural death, and their propitiation is conducted, not by the regular village-priest, but by a class of ghost-finders (*nājo, mati, deoṅrā*) who are not infrequently drawn from tribes other than the Mūṇḍā. With these may be grouped the elemental spirits or nature-gods, such as Ikirbonga, who rules over wells and sheets of water, and Nāgā-erā or Nāgē, serpent-gods, who haunt the swampy lower levels of the terraced rice-fields, and are ordinarily benevolent, but, if offended, are aroused to mischievous activity, and require propitiation conducted by a ghost-finder or by the village *pāhān*. The special village-god is Desvālī, or Kārāsarnā, who lives with his consort Jāhir Būṛhī or Sarhūlsarnā in the sacred grove. In addition to these various gods there are benevolent guardian spirits, like Achraelbonga, who looks after married women. But he is supposed to punish them severely if, during their periodical visits to the house of their parents, they pilfer anything.

According as a man has led a good or an evil life, he will be sent back to the world by Singbonga as a man, a beast, a bird, or an insect. At the time of death the soul (*roā*) goes to Jom Rājā, the Yama of the Hindus, who lives in the south. The Mūṇḍā idea of metempsychosis is elementary, and is probably, to a large extent, borrowed from the Hindus.

5. Festivals.—The Mūṇḍā festivals are connected with the phases of the agricultural seasons. They are as follows: (1) Māgē Parab, held after the harvest in January, when the divine ancestors are invoked to bless the household; (2) Phāgū, held in the spring month Phālguna of the Hindus, corresponding to the Holī, or vernal, festival of the Hindus; (3) Sarhūl or Bā Parab, 'flower feast,' in March–April, to commemorate the flowering of the sacred *sāl* tree (*Shorea robusta*); garlands of its leaves are worn, and all the food eaten that day is served on its leaves; (4) Honba Parab, in April–May, when rice-sowing begins; (5) Bataulī, after the transplantation of the rice; (6) Karam, when a branch of the *karam* tree (*Nauclea parvifolia*) is set up, worshipped, and then flung into water, apparently as a rain-charm; (7) Kolomsingbonga, in November, held at the threshing-floor after the rice has been harvested; (8) Sohorāi, in October–November, when cattle are adored; (9) Sosobonga, held about August and apparently intended to exorcize evil spirits, the chief part being played, not by the *pāhān*, or village-priest, but by the ghost-finder, *mati* or *deoṅrā*. For details of these festivals see S. C. Roy, p. 472 ff.

6. Christianity.—The most remarkable event in the modern history of the tribe is the conversion of large numbers to Christianity. Buddhism and the earlier Brāhmanism have left little or no trace of their influence. If modern Hinduism is to play any part in the evolution of their religion, it will probably be through preachers of the Vaiṣṇava sect. L. S. S. O'Malley (*Census Report, Bengal*, 1911, i. 220 f.) thus sums up the question of Christian conversion among these people:

'One reason why the aboriginal tribes are more receptive of Christianity than other communities is that a convert to Christianity is not so completely cut off from his relations and friends. In parts of Rānchī where the Christian community is strongly represented, not only have their heathen brethren no objection to eating with the Christians, but a renegade Christian can be re-admitted to his original tribe. A further attraction is the hope of obtaining assistance from the missionaries in their difficulties and protection against the coercion of landlords. Keenly attached to their land and having few interests outside it, they believe that the missionary will stand by them in their agrarian disputes, and act as their legal adviser. It must not be imagined that Christian missionaries hold out such efforts as an inducement to the aboriginals to enrol themselves in the Christian ranks, but the knowledge that the missionaries do not regard their duties as confined to the care of souls, but also see to the welfare of their flock, has undoubtedly led to many conversions. To their credit, be it said, the missionaries have not failed in this trust, and the agrarian legislation, which is the Magna Charta of the aboriginal, is largely due to their influence.'

Christianity has also influenced the tribal customs of those who have not embraced it.

'There is, I believe, no question that a generation or two back the Mūṇḍās invariably burnt their dead; but with the spread of Christian customs and with the diminution of the fuel supply, for the last generation or so, burial has almost entirely superseded cremation, and there are very few Mūṇḍās now who can say what their ancestral custom was. The Christmas festival is now generally recognized among the heathen Mūṇḍās as the Paus Parab [the feast of the month Pūs, December–January], and I have no doubt that in another ten years it will be confidently claimed as a traditional Mūṇḍā festival.'

According to the latest figures, the Christian Mūṇḍā community numbers 80,292, of whom 66,992 live in the Rānchī District (*Census Report, Bengal*, 1911, i. 220). This large conversion is the result of the labours of various missionary bodies: the German Evangelical Lutheran Mission, started at Rānchī in 1845, which in 1869 split into two sections, one of which joined the Church of England; the Roman Catholic Mission, established at Rānchī in 1874; the Dublin University Mission, established at Hazārībāgh in 1892 and at Rānchī in 1901. A full account of the missionary and social work of these bodies is given by S. C. Roy (p. 227 ff.). A strange episode which deserves notice is the outbreak in 1895 headed by a youth named Birsā Mūṇḍā, who claimed to be an incarnation of Bhagvān, the Hindu Divine Father, and preached a doctrine compounded in the main from Christian and Hindu sources. After some resistance and bloodshed the movement was suppressed; the leader was arrested and died in prison (*ib.* p. 325 ff.).

LITERATURE.—Sarat Chandra Roy, *The Mundas and their Country*, Calcutta, 1912; H. H. Risley, *TC*, do. 1891, ii. 101 ff.; E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, do. 1872, p. 161 ff.; *IGI* xviii. 88 f., xxi. 203 f. W. CROOKE.

MURDER.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

MUSAHAR (generally derived from Hindi *mūs*, Skr. *mūṣa*, 'rat,' 'mouse,' because the tribe eat these animals; others regard it as the corruption of some non-Aryan term).—A non-Aryan, forest, hunting, and out-caste tribe of N. India, numbering, at the Census of 1911, 699,207.

In Bengal their religion 'illustrates with remarkable clearness the gradual transformation of the fetichistic animism characteristic of the more primitive Dravidian tribes into the debased Hinduism practised in the lower ranks of the caste system' (H. H. Risley, *TC*, Calcutta, 1891, ii. 116).

Of the standard gods Kālī alone is admitted to the honour of regular worship, the men of the tribe offering a castrated goat, and the women five cakes, that she may aid them in childbirth. In parts of the Gayā district, however, a more primitive cult of the goddess is practised.

'Her shrine stands at the outskirts of the village, and she is regarded as a sort of local goddess, to be appeased on occasion, like the Thakuráni Mai of the Hill Bhuiyas, by the sacrifice of a hog. It is curious to observe that the definite acceptance of Kālī as a member of the Hindu system seems rather to have detracted from the respect in which she was held before she assumed this comparatively orthodox position. Her transformation into a Hindu goddess seems to have rendered her less malignant. Her worship, though ostensibly put forward as the leading feature of the Musahar religion, seems to be looked upon more as a tribute to social respectability than as a matter vitally affecting a man's personal welfare' (*ib.*).

Next to Kālī come six personages, known as *bīr* (Skr. *vīra*, 'hero'), who are regarded as spirits of departed Musahars and are excessively malignant. Of these Rikmun is regarded as the tribal progenitor.

'On ordinary occasions the Birs are satisfied with offerings of sweetmeats prepared in ghi [clarified butter], but once in every two or three years they demand a collective sacrifice of a more costly and elaborate character. A pig is provided, and country liquor, with a mixture of rice, molasses, and milk is offered at each of a number of balls of clay which are supposed to represent the Birs. Then a number of Bhakats or devotees are chosen, one for each Bir, with the advice and assistance of a Brahman, who curiously enough is supposed to know the mind of each Bir as to the fitness of his minister. The shaft of a plough and a stout stake being fixed in the ground, crossed swords are attached to them, and the Bhakats, having worked themselves up into a sort of hypnotic condition, go through a variety of acrobatic exercises on the upturned sword-blades. If they pass through this uninjured, it is understood that the Birs accept the sacrifice. The pig is then speared to death with a sharp bamboo stake, and its blood collected in a pot and mixed with country liquor. Some of this compound is poured forth on the ground and on the balls of clay, while the rest is drunk by the Bhakats. The ceremony concludes with a feast in which the worshippers partake of the offerings' (*ib.* ii. 117; cf. the Dosādh rite, *ERE* iv. 853).

In the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh the caste follows ancestor-worship, a tribal hero named Sadalū Lāl being specially invoked with the sacrifice of a hog and the dedication of native spirits, flowers, and a piece of cloth. Various evil spirits are supposed to cause disease and death, and to them hogs and liquor are offered near one of the sacred fig-trees in which they are believed to dwell. In other places they practise the cult of tribal ancestors named Deosī and Ansārī, the latter being identified with the well-known deified bridegroom Dulhā Deo. Another deity, who seems also to be a tribal hero, is worshipped under the title of Banrāj, 'forest king.' In connexion with him, probably as his consort, a female deity known as Bansaptī (Skr. Vanaspatī, 'queen of the wood') is invoked as the forest guardian, and it is by her command that the trees bear fruit, the bulbs grow in the earth, the bees make honey, the silkworm breeds, and lizards, wolves, and jackals, useful as food to man, multiply their kind. She is also the goddess of childbirth, and grants offspring to barren women, while in her name, and by her aid, the medicine-man or sorcerer expels devils from the bodies of the possessed. In her name and to her honour the new fire is set alight in the brick-kiln. Woe to the man who takes a false oath in her name! She abides in a little clay altar or platform smeared with river water and cowdung in the corner of the hut; but she has no image or symbol. The offering to her consists of fruits, grasses, or roots; but, if the worshipper asks any special favour, he cuts the ball of his finger with some blades of the holy *kuśa* grass (*Poa cynosuroides*), and lets a few drops fall on the altar—a rite which has been supposed to be a survival of human sacrifice. She is supposed to be married periodically to the phallic god Gansām, who seems to have been adopted from the non-Aryan pantheon under the name of Ghana-śyāma, 'dark as the heavy clouds of the monsoon'—possibly one of the many cults which have been combined in the worship of Kṛṣṇa. His place is sometimes taken by Bhairoṅ, who has become a manifestation of Śiva.

LITERATURE.—The most elaborate account of Musahar beliefs is that by J. C. Nesfield, *Calcutta Review*, lxxxvi. [1888] 1–53, which seems to include material from some of the allied tribes. In addition to Risley's art. quoted above, see W. Crooke, *TC*, Calcutta, 1896, iv. 12 ff.; A. Baines, *Ethnography* (=*GIAP* ii. 5), Strassburg, 1912, p. 73 f. W. CROOKE.

MUSES.—The conception of the nature of the Muses, of their character and attributes, became

fixed at a very early period; for we find it expressed in the poems of Homer and Hesiod in substantially the form which it subsequently retained during the predominance of Hellenic culture. The Muses were the daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne (Memory), nine in number (Homer, *Od.* xxiv. 60), and named Clio, Euterpe, Thalia, Melpomene, Terpsichore, Erato, Polymnia, Urania, and Calliope (Hes. *Theog.* 50 ff.). They were pre-eminently the goddesses of song, wherewith in their home on Mt. Olympus they enchanted the divine gathering (Hes. *Theog.* 40 ff.; Hom. *Hym. Apoll.* 189); Apollo was their choir-master, accompanying their anthems with the music of his lyre (Hom. *Il.* i. 603; Pind. *Nem.* v. 22 ff.). At Delphi in the precinct of Apollo they joined the Graces in the dance led by Artemis (Hom. *Hym.* xxvii. 15), or danced by night on Mt. Helicon round the fountain of Aganippe (Hes. *Theog.* 1–10). Their divine wisdom embraced the past and the future as well as the present (*ib.* 38), and they were the source of the poet's inspiration when he essayed to celebrate the feats of men (Hom. *Il.* ii. 484). This does not mean merely that they supplied him with the form in which he clothed his thoughts as they strove for utterance, but rather that they alone were cognizant of the truth, which he repeated as their mouthpiece. Hence the Muses were the source of human wisdom when it was expressed in speech, not merely by the poet, but by the king in his capacity as dispenser of justice (Hes. *Theog.* 80 ff.). The home of the Muses was the country adjacent to Mt. Olympus, which was known as Pieria, and their cult was widely extended in the north of Greece, particularly along the coast of Macedonia and Thrace. In the neighbourhood of Mt. Athos was placed the scene of their contest with Thamyris, who arrogantly challenged them to a trial of skill, and was punished with blindness and the loss of his power of minstrelsy (Hom. *Il.* ii. 594 ff.; Eur. *Rhes.* 916 ff.; Eustath. *Il.* p. 299. 5). At a very early date the cult of the Muses passed southward to Bœotia (Strabo, p. 410), where Mt. Helicon became the centre of their worship (J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias*, London, 1898, v. 152 f.). From Bœotia it may be supposed to have spread to Delphi, and to have reached Attica by way of Eleutheræ (Paus. I. xix. 5). It was perhaps owing to Delphic influence that Apollo first became associated with the Muses, who were originally independent of him.

Although the meaning of the name (*μοῦσα*= *μοντια*) is not discoverable with certainty, the attempt to connect it with the Latin *mons*, owing to the occupation by the Muses of Mt. Olympus and Mt. Helicon (J. Wackernagel, in *Zeitschr. für vergleich. Sprachforsch.* xxxiii. [1893] 571), cannot be approved. It is much more probable that it was a cognate of *μαίνομαι*, *μάντις*, *μένος*, and *μενεαίνω* (cf. Lat. *mens*, *moneo*), and that its original meaning was 'inspirer,' or 'inspiring power' (cf. Plat. *Cratyl.* 428 C), that is to say, the psychical effect of some unseen agency insinuating itself upon us from without (K. Brugmann, in *Indogerm. Forsch.* iii. [1893] 253–259). From this fundamental signification the later senses of song and musical skill would readily emerge. The development is such as we should expect—from the vague sense of a mysterious force, indwelling or external, which characterizes certain individuals and is associated with certain forms of emotion, to the definite conception of a personal agency which imparts the power of song. We conclude, therefore, that the traces which are still to be found of a wider activity pursued by the Muses belong to an earlier stage in their history. This remark applies especially to their occasional identification with the nymphs who presided over the waters of sacred fountains (W. H. Thompson, on Plato, *Phædr.* 278 B [London, 1868]; schol. Theocr. vii. 92; Lycophr. 274)—evidence which appears to support the view that the differentiation of the two terms was effected only by gradual stages. For it must be remembered that a draught of water from a sacred spring was believed to cause inspiration (see art. POSSESSION [Greek]), and that the Muses were put on a level with the Nymphs as a source of prophetic ecstasy (cf. *μουσόληπτος*, *νυμφόληπτος*). From this point of view it is not surprising that the Muses should occasionally take the place of the Nymphs as the nurses and attendants of Dionysus (Eustath. *Od.* p. 1816. 5; Plut. *Mor.* 717 A; Diod. Sic. iv. 4; *IG* v. 46, *μουσαγέτης* [Naxos]), or that Sophocles, in describing the opposition of the Thracian Lycurgus to the gods, should speak of him as 'provoking the Muses that love the flute' (*Ant.* 965). Moreover, the Muses instructed Aristæus in the arts of healing and prophecy (Apoll. Rhod. ii. 512).

The course of development, as affected by local worship and traditions, serves to explain the various accounts given of their parentage, condition, and number. Apollo, usually their chief (*Μουσαγέτης* [Paus. I. ii. 5, etc.]), is also mentioned as their father (Eumel. frag. 17). Others made them daughters of Pierus (Cic. *de Nat. Deorum*, iii. 54; Paus. IX. xxix. 4), or even of Uranus and Ge (Cornut. 14). No doubt each of the different sanctuaries claimed to be the original home of the cult, and some such rivalry is implied in Ovid's story (*Met.* v. 294 ff.) that the daughters of Pierus —or Pierian Muses—ventured to contend with the Muses of Helicon and were turned into magpies. The Muses, as was to be expected in view of their history, are usually represented as maiden goddesses; but, since it was natural to ascribe the eminence of highly gifted poets and musicians to a special relationship with the patronesses of song, the tradition of their celibacy was not invariable. Thus Linus is called the son of Urania, Orpheus of Calliope, Hymenæus of Clio, and Thamyris of Melpomene (schol. Eur. *Rhes.* 347). The parentage of Rhesus, the son of Strymon and one of the Muses (Eur. *Rhes.* 920 ff.)—Euterpe, according to one account (schol. Eur. *Rhes.* 347)—is another testimony to the close connexion of their worship with Thrace. Nothing is more significant of the gradual growth of the cult than the variety of report concerning their proper number. The reason for the selection of the number nine, which, as we have seen, was fixed at an early date, has not been discovered; but it is worthy of mention that the same number was attributed to the Korybantes, Telchines, and Kouretes (*FHG* i. 71; Strabo, p. 473), and it has been conjectured that a company of nine was required for the performance of certain sacred dances (Gruppe, *Gr. Myth.* p. 1077, n. 1). There is evidence that three Muses were worshipped at Ascra, Delphi, and Sicyon (Paus. IX. xxix. 2; Plut. *Mor.* 744 C; *Anth. Plan.* iv. 220), and seven at Lesbos (*FHG* iv. 458). Two Muses are attested by Cornutus (*loc. cit.*), four by Aratus (J. A. Cramer, *Anecdota Græca*, Oxford, 1835–37, iv. 424), and eight by Crates of Mallus (Arnob. *adv. Nat.* iii. 37). Some of these examples may be due to late literary combinations, but enough remains to show that the number nine was not always and everywhere an essential feature in the worship of the Muses.

Besides the nine names recorded by Hesiod, to which subsequent tradition firmly clung, several others occur sporadically. Some of these, such as Theoria and Praxis (Cornut.), Nete, Mese, and Hypate (Plut. *loc. cit.*), Melete, Mneme, and Acœde (Paus. IX. xxix. 2), are obviously the inventions of a late period. Others, such as Cephiso, Apollonis (for which Achelois has been conjectured as a substitute), and Borysthenis (Eumel. frag. 17), which

appear to have belonged to water-nymphs before their functions were entirely differentiated from those of the Muses, never obtained more than a local circulation.[1] The origin of the Hesiodic list is past discovery; but some of them at least—*e.g.*, Urania as the daughter of Uranus—probably had a separate existence before they were joined together in the sisterhood which was required for the original source of the *Theogony*.

There is no evidence of an early date bearing on the diversity of functions subsequently assigned to the several Muses of Hesiod's list. The distribution with which we are familiar appears for the first time on works of art belonging to the Roman period (Bie, in Roscher, ii. 3238 ff.). It is not based on any logical system of classification; for Clio, Urania, and Euterpe, as the Muses of history, astronomy, and flute-playing, are not grouped according to the same principle of division as the six who represent the various kinds of poetry. There are also several divergent arrangements, in some of which the Muses represent branches of philosophy, as well as the arts of rhetoric and husbandry (schol. Apoll. Rhod. iii. 1; Plut. *Mor.* 744 D; *Anth. Pal.* ix. 504 f.). It is probably to be inferred that the traditional distribution rested upon a classification of poetry into three branches, epic, lyric, and dramatic, each of which comprised three species. In that case Clio and Urania represented the historical and astronomical epics respectively, and Euterpe the music of the flute as distinguished from that of the cithara and lyre, and so far as it constituted a branch of lyric poetry. But, if tragedy and comedy were placed under the protection of Melpomene and Thalia, there was nothing left but the mime to be assigned to Polymnia (Gruppe, p. 1090).

LITERATURE.—H. Deiters, *Über die Verehrung der Musen bei den Griechen*, Bonn, 1868; P. Decharme, *Les Muses*, Paris 1869; F. Roediger, 'Die Musen,' in *Neue Jahrbücher für class. Philologie*, suppl. vol. viii. [1875–76] 251 ff.; O. Bie, *Die Musen in der antiken Kunst*, Berlin, 1887, and art. 'Musen,' in Roscher, ii. 3238–3295; O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie*, Munich, 1906, p. 1075 ff.; L. R. Farnell, *CGS*, Oxford, 1896–1909, v. 434–437.

A. C. PEARSON.

MUSIC.

Primitive and Savage (J. A. MACCULLOCH), p. 5.
American (H. B. ALEXANDER), p. 10.
Babylonian and Assyrian (T. G. PINCHES), p. 13.
Buddhist (C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS), p. 14.
Celtic (J. A. MACCULLOCH), p. 15.
Chinese (J. DYER BALL), p. 16.
Christian (H. WESTERBY), p. 19.
Egyptian (J. BAIKIE), p. 33.
Greek and Roman (E. GRAF), p. 36.
Hebrew (G. WAUCHOPE STEWART), p. 39.
Indian (E. CLEMENTS), p. 43.
Japanese (H. MURAOKA), p. 48.
Jewish (F. L. COHEN), p. 51.
Muhammadan (J. D. PRINCE), p. 53.
Slavic (L. A. MAGNUS), p. 57.
Teutonic (M. E. SEATON), p. 59.

MUSIC (Primitive and Savage).—**1. Music in savage life.**—While the quality and range of savage music differ considerably in various regions, there are but few tribes which can be said to be indifferent to music. Of many of them, indeed, it may be asserted that music accompanies every action of life, and that they have a largely developed love of and capacity for it. This is true of some of those tribes which are deficient in musical instruments, like the Fuegians,[2] while even such a low race as the Bushmen were extremely musical and had many instruments (§ 5). Even the African Pygmies are 'innately musical,' possess many melodious songs as well as instruments of their own (drums, horn trumpets), and borrow stringed instruments from higher tribes when they can.[3] Generally, it may be said that work, especially work which can be performed in a rhythmic manner, is accompanied by singing.[4] Men on the march keep time to the songs sung, and before a fight, as with the Maoris, 'war songs are sung to work them up to fury for battle.'[5] All feasts partake largely of a musical character, whether at marriages or funerals or upon other occasions. At these feasts, and, indeed, at many religious ceremonies, dancing occupies a prominent place, and it is accompanied by singing, playing of instruments, rhythmic clapping of hands, and movements of the limbs and head. Often each dance, as with the Bushmen, has its own special tune.[6] Similar or various instruments are often combined to form an orchestra.

A simple instance of this is found in the case of the Samucus and Moxos, with whom a number of Pan's-pipe players combine to produce monotonous, yet harmonious, music.[1] More elaborate is the Fijian orchestra of twenty to thirty players,[2] or the orchestras which many African chiefs possess — consisting mainly of drums and trumpets, but sometimes also of the native piano, bells, rattles, zithers, etc.[3] — or the Javanese orchestra of gongs, Jews' harps, bells, and xylophones.[4] In many instances care is taken to attune the instruments, so that harmonious music will be produced; in others, again, noise seems to be mainly sought after.

Frequently European music is appreciated even by tribes which have few or no instruments of their own; the Andamans delighted in regimental band music, the Fuegians were equally appreciative, and the Maoris, with no drums of their own, took pleasure in listening to the European drum.[5] The Tongans compose music on the European model; and many tribes, even those of Torres Straits, easily pick up our tunes and whistle or hum them.[6] The same receptiveness is seen where new instruments are introduced from other tribes or races possessing them, as in the case of the Pygmies already cited, or where African tribes under Muhammadan influence have adopted a native fiddle, or the Bechuana the European mouth harmonica.[7]

A practical rather than a musical purpose is served by the drum or gong in signalling or conveying messages. For this see DRUMS AND CYMBALS, vol. v. p. 92b; *Handbook*, pp. 226, 232, 243; Wallaschek, p. 112.

2. Religion, magic, and music. — As many savage dances are of a religious or ceremonial character, it is obvious that music, even on this ground alone, must play a large part in religion. The words of the songs or hymns and the swell of the music, as well as the rhythmic motions of the dance and the fact that so many are taking part in the same action, heighten the religious feel-

[1] The names Neilo, Tritone, Asopo, etc., in Epich. frag. 41 K., are taken from a comic description of the Muses as fishwives.
[2] C. Wilkes, *Narrative of the U.S. Exploring Expedition*, Philadelphia, 1845, i. 142.
[3] H. H. Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, London, 1902, ii. 542 f.
[4] See on this point K. Büchner, *Arbeit und Rhythmus*[4], Leipzig, 1909.
[5] J. Hawkesworth, *Voyages*, London, 1773, ii. 344.
[6] G. W. Stow, *The Native Races of S. Africa*, London, 1905, p. 102.

[1] A. d'Orbigny, *L'Homme américain*, Paris, 1839, ii. 150, 231.
[2] T. Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*, i., London, 1858, p. 164.
[3] Instances in R. Wallaschek, *Primitive Music*, p. 131 ff.
[4] *Handbook to the Ethnographical Collections, British Museum*, London, 1910, p. 103.
[5] E. H. Man, *JAI* xii. [1882–83] 391 (Andaman); Wallaschek, p. 57 f. (Fuegians), 109 (Maoris).
[6] B. Thomson, *Savage Island*, London, 1902, p. 218.
[7] *Handbook*, p. 243; G. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Südafrika's*, Breslau, 1872, p. 190.

ing. Other ritual acts of a communal character—*e.g.*, processions round fields and the like—are largely musical (see PROCESSIONS AND DANCES). At the initiation of youths to manhood or to tribal mysteries music, vocal and instrumental, as well as dancing plays a large part. In religious worship music is either itself an act of worship or the accompaniment of such acts.

The Fijian priests used large mussel-trumpets in the temples.[1] Drums were sounded while human sacrifices were made in Ashanti.[2] In Polynesia the god Tane was saluted with every kind of drum; that instrument being himself or his embodiment, its sound was his voice.[3] Among the Hottentots one class of verses consisted of hymns, prayers, invocations, and songs of praise to Tsuni Goam and other gods.[4] The Malays used drums to accompany invocations to spirits. In sacrificing the Kenyahs sound drums 'to keep away from the worshippers all sounds but the words of their own prayers.'[5] Among the Musquakie Indians a man takes a drum with him when he goes to the forest to pray, and keeps time on it as he intones his prayer. With this people a whistle is used to summon ghosts, but, as these are called for purposes of sorcery, it is regarded as an accursed instrument.[6] With the Zulus songs were sung after the silent sacrifice of and feast upon a black ox to cause rain, and also at the feast of firstfruits.[7] With the Haidas reed instruments are used to imitate the voices of the spirits in the religious ceremonies.[8]

Music also plays its part in most shamanistic ceremonies—*e.g.*, in exorcism or in cases of sickness.

With the Gilyaks dancing to the music of a tambourine is part of the operation.[9] The beating of gongs and drums accompanies the long rite of exorcism with the Klemantans, the operators also whistling or breaking out into a chant.[10] During the ceremonies of healing in connexion with the Navaho sand pictures chants are sung by the priest and officiants.[11] With the Menomini Indians, when the medicine-man is curing sickness, he sings and strikes a rattle and his assistant beats a drum.[12]

See also GONGS AND BELLS, DRUMS AND CYMBALS.

3. Sacred properties of musical instruments.—Because musical instruments are used in sacred ceremonies, or for other reasons, they are sometimes regarded as themselves sacred or as possessing magical properties. Sometimes they are tabu.

Among the Uaupes, with whom large pipes or trumpets—*jurupari* pipes—are blown at the celebration of the mysteries, no woman may see them on pain of execution.[13] In New Guinea women may not look at certain flutes, else they would die.[14] The Malu music in Murray Island is so sacred that no woman or child may hear the tunes and live.[15] The Musquakie Indian hides his prayer-drum in his wigwam when it is not in use.[16] Among the Malays part of the regalia includes royal drums, pipes, and flutes supposed to have come into existence of themselves. They give miraculous powers to the king, and some of them are so sacred that none can handle or use them save one tribe of Malays, and only at 'the proper time and season.' Sounded at any other time or by any other person, they would cause instant death.[17]

Some instruments are regarded as possessing magical or divine properties.

Of this the best example is the Polynesian drum already referred to as an embodiment of the god Tane (§ 2). With the Bush Negroes of Dutch Guiana the drum is thought to have a soul; it is given drink from time to time and is supposed to lead men into the other world.[18] Among the Batuma some drums had fetish properties or were emblems of sovereign power. One drum had a smaller drum as its wife and a still smaller one as its prime minister.[1] In Uganda, when the drum Kaula had a new cow-skin put on it, the cow's blood and also that of a man decapitated were run into the drum, in order that new life and vigour would be given to the king when it was beaten. Temple drums contained fetishes.[2] Similarly among the Araucanos wizards have drums inside which are small white stones to which healing powers are attributed.[3] In many instances instruments used in ritual are regarded as sacred, like the rattle and bull-roarer of the Navaho shamans, or the drum used by the Chippewas in religious dances. In Saa and San Cristoval large houses are made for the drums, which are much valued.[4]

See also BULL-ROARER, DRUMS AND CYMBALS. For the sacred drum of the Lapps see LAPPS,[5] and of the Buddhists see CHARMS AND AMULETS (Buddhist).

Sometimes music, whether the instruments used or the songs sung, is held to have been first communicated by the gods.

In Manipur the deity long ago distributed songs among the tribes. The Marrings caught them in a wide-meshed basket, but they escaped; hence they have no songs.[6] Among Australian tribes the songs are believed to be obtained by bards from spirits of the dead in dreams or while awake.[7] The Navaho gods Hasjelti and Hostjoghon are the great song-makers of the world, and myth tells how they communicate the sacred songs and dances to men.[8] With the Zulus the *amatongo*, or spirits, cause men to compose songs when they are about to become diviners.[9] Among the Maoris, as among the folk of Europe, songs have been learned from the fairies.[10] The Maidu Indians believe that the original sacred rattle as well as the dances was given them by two old diviners long ago, who told them that the spirit of sweet music was in the rattle, and that, when it was shaken, songs would sound better, and, when prayer was made for grasshoppers, it would be answered.[11] Similarly the Menomini Indians think that the Good Mysteries gave the drums to be used in making medicine or in doing harm to enemies, and the rattle to invoke the *manidos*.[12] In the Torres Straits Islands the old culture-heroes are thought to have taught the sacred dances and cults with their sacred songs.[13] The Asaba people think that music and dancing were first learned from a hunter who heard the songs of a party of forest spirits.[14]

4. Songs.—Most savage poetry is made to be sung. As has been said of the Melanesians, they have no conception of poetry without a tune, although tunes without words exist.[15] Generally there is a great variety of songs—for dances and feasts, for funerals, for war and the chase, love-songs, songs of labour, and the like—but the class which is probably the most primitive of all is that which is extemporized upon the events of the day. These naturally differ much in character, being more elaborate or more simple, but they are mostly of the nature of a rhythmic recitative, the same line being constantly repeated by the bard and then sung by all as a kind of chorus. Sometimes songs are unaccompanied by any instrument; Hose and McDougall say of the Punans:

'The finest songs are sung without accompaniment, and are of the nature of dramatic recitals in the manner of a somewhat monotonous and melancholy recitative.'[16]

More generally, however, songs are accompanied either simply by clapping, slapping the body, stamping, beating the ground, striking sticks together, and the like, or by the use of some of the various instruments already described. Even when singing softly to himself a native will play some instrument—*e.g.*, the Ba-Mbala play the drum, native piano, or harp.[17] As already stated, many

---

1 W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, London, 1829, ii. 288.
2 *Handbook*, p. 242; Wallaschek, p. 111.
3 H. C. March, *JAI* xxii. [1892–93] 328; W. W. Gill, *Myths and Songs from the S. Pacific*, London, 1876, pp. 106, 219. The drum was surmounted by a representation of Tane's head.
4 T. Hahn, *Tsuni-Goam*, London, 1881, p. 27 ff.
5 C. Hose and W. McDougall, *Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, London, 1912, ii. 54.
6 M. A. Owen, *Folk-lore of the Musquakie Indians*, London, 1904, p. 135 f.
7 H. Callaway, *Religious System of the Amazulu*, Natal, 1870, pp. 59, 409.
8 *Handbook*, p. 261. 9 *Ib.* p. 61.
10 Hose-McDougall, ii. 131 f.
11 *8 RBEW* [1891], p. 257 ff.; cf. *ERE* i. 823a.
12 *14 RBEW* [1896], pt. i. pp. 63, 149; cf. *FL* ii. [1891] 449 f. for a similar Apache custom.
13 A. R. Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon*, London, 1853, p. 349.
14 Wallaschek, p. 93.
15 Myers, in *Essays and Studies presented to W. Ridgeway*, p. 561.
16 Owen, p. 135.
17 W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, London, 1900, pp. 25 ff., 40 f.
18 L. G. van Panhuys, *Actes du ive Congrès international de l'histoire des religions*, Leyden, 1913, p. 55.

1 Johnston, p. 630.
2 J. Roscoe, *The Baganda*, London, 1911, p. 27 f.
3 R. E. Latcham, *JRAI* xxxix. [1909] 352.
4 R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, Oxford, 1891, p. 336.
5 Cf. also D. Comparetti, *The Traditional Poetry of the Finns*, Eng. tr., London, 1898, p. 277.
6 T. C. Hodson, *The Nāga Tribes of Manipur*, London, 1911, p. 68 f.
7 N. W. Thomas, *Natives of Australia*, London, 1906, p. 128.
8 *8 RBEW*, p. 277. 9 Callaway, pp. 263, 273.
10 G. Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, London, 1855, p. 213; cf. *Journal of the Folk Song Society*, iv. [1911] 174, and *passim*, for W. Highland instances.
11 *FLR* v. [1882] 121 f.
12 *14 RBEW*, pt. i. p. 93; cf. *ERE* vi. 316a.
13 *Report Camb. Anthrop Exped. to Torres Straits*, Cambridge, 1901–12, vi. 45.
14 C. R. Day, in A. F. Mockler-Ferryman, *Up the Niger*, London, 1892, p. 274.
15 Codrington, p. 334. 16 ii. 192.
17 E. Torday and T. A. Joyce, *JRAI* xxxv. [1905] 413.

songs are sung by an individual, while the others sing a chorus—the same word, line, or distich being taken up after having been repeated many times by the singer. The song may then be closed by a long-drawn shout or cry, as with the Sakai.[1] Other methods exist.

In Savage Island there is a long solo on the drums—the same bar repeated. Then follows a gesture 'dance' to this accompaniment. Then the leader sings, while the drum rhythm does not vary, until at last it quickens at the end. All the performers now sing—the leader taking the melody, the chorus the second part.[2] With the African Pygmies some songs have a melody, a strophe, antistrophe, solo part, and chorus.[3] In the Banks' Islands, 'a song has certain regular successive parts with distinctive names, each introduced by a vocalic prelude which marks the *qau-as*, the knee, or turn, of the song.' Some are led off by a single voice, some with many; or the singers are divided: some start the song; the rest follow with an answering part.[4] Among the Ba-Mbala men and women sing alternate verses of a song.[5]

In many cases *Märchen*, or stories, contain metrical parts—a recurring formula or recitative—or songs which are sung by the teller of the tale or by the listeners—the *cante-fable*. These are found not only in European, but in Eskimo, Negro, Basuto, and other tales.[6]

While it is possible for any one to describe in a rhythmic manner events which have happened to him, as when among the Basutos the friends of a hero press him to narrate his deeds, which he does with emphasis, becoming poetical, the crowd repeating some of the lines,[7] there are often professional makers of songs or of tunes, or professional musicians. Even in Australia such bards exist, the office being sometimes hereditary.[8] In general they are much esteemed, more especially where they are the repositories of the heroic deeds or traditions of the tribe.

It is worth noticing that some songs are made up of words unintelligible even to those who sing them. This is either because they are mere musical sounds, or because songs in the language of another tribe have been adopted, or more usually because the words are so archaic that their meaning has been forgotten.[9] Emotional and religious formulæ often thus persist when the words have passed out of common use, just as stone knives continued to be used in ritual after metal had been discovered.

Brinton says that all the American Indian languages examined by him had a poetic dialect different from that of ordinary life.[10] According to Codrington, in Melanesia words not in common use are thought poetical and are used in songs. In the Banks' Islands there is a poetic dialect—of archaic or borrowed words, or of contracted or lengthened words. On one side of Mota songs are composed in something like the language of Gaua, and *vice versa*.[11] The Formosan priestesses had a jargon of their own for their chants and incantations, unintelligible to the uninitiated.[12] This is analogous to the fondness for half-understood foreign or barbarous words in magic formulæ everywhere, as is seen in the Greek magical papyri and in Gnostic documents.

5. Distribution of musical instruments.—Nearly every tribe and race has musical instruments of some sort, the exceptions being found at the lowest stage of culture.

The Fuegians have none, but keep time to a song by jumping.[1] The Veddas of Ceylon have no instruments, though some of them borrow drums from the Sinhalese. Time is kept in their dances by slapping chests, bellies, and thighs with the open hand, or by waving objects rhythmically.[2] The Andaman Islanders have merely a hollowed-out trunk used as a sounding board, which is stuck in the ground and kicked with the heel to mark time in the dances. Time is also kept by clapping, or by slapping the hollow between the outstretched thighs.[3] In Australia there was no native musical instrument except an opossum skin rolled up with earth inside or stretched between the knees and beaten. In W. Victoria the rolled-up rug contained shells to jingle. Sticks or boomerangs were also struck together or on the ground. The nose flute is known at Port Essington—perhaps a Malay borrowing. Shell-rattles and drums have been borrowed in the north from the Papuans.[4] Similarly, the Tasmanians use sticks to beat time.[5] The dwarf Abongo, W. Africa, strike two pieces of wood together while singing, and have no musical instrument.[6] Deficiency in musical faculty and lack of instruments are asserted of the Charruas and Guaranis, the latter of whom strike the earth with bamboos while singing hymns to Tamoi.[7]

Some tribes know no more than one musical instrument.

The Damaras had nothing but the bow converted into a musical instrument by tying string and handle near the centre, holding the bow against the teeth, and striking the string with a small stick. With this the gallop or trot of animals was perfectly imitated.[8] The Eskimos have no other instrument than a kind of tambourine or drum.[9] Among the Ainus the only instrument is a small bamboo Jews' harp.[10]

Some of these peoples belong to the lowest culture, yet most of them are fond of singing; some possess comparatively elaborate songs, and appreciate European music.

The Bushmen, another low people, 'had invented a greater variety of musical instruments than any other S. African people, and there was greater compass and variety in the refrains which accompanied their dances' They had the musical bow (a more elaborate form than that of the Damaras), a bow the string of which was vibrated by blowing through a quill fixed upon it (the *goerra* or *goura*), a wind-stringed instrument, used also by the Hottentots, a reed flute, drum, and bells of hide.[11]

At low levels of culture the variety of musical instruments is usually considerable, and they may be roughly classified as instruments of percussion, stringed, and wind instruments. As the instances among peoples without musical instruments would seem to show, instruments of percussion—some form of the drum, which is well-nigh universal—may have been invented first. Stringed instruments probably came next—the hunter's bow, as with the Damaras, being easily convertible into a primitive form of these. Wind instruments, at least in their more elaborate forms, were probably invented last. The reed is easily formed into a kind of pipe, and in fact is so used at low levels of culture.[12] This order is not an absolute one, and in various districts one form of instrument may have preceded others which came first in other districts.

Whistles and flutes made of human or animal bones have been found in deposits of the palæolithic and neolithic ages, the flutes being pierced with holes at regular intervals or consisting of two bones, which, when joined, would make modulated tunes. Although these discoveries seem to give priority to wind instruments, it is obvious that others—*e.g.*, drums of wood with skin covering—being of more perishable material, were less likely to be preserved.[13]

---

[1] A. Hale, *JAI* xv. [1885–86] 296 f.
[2] Thomson, p. 222.
[3] Johnston, ii. 543.
[4] Codrington, p. 335.
[5] Torday-Joyce, *loc. cit.*
[6] See *CF*, p. 480 f., for a discussion of these in relation to the origin of the ballad; in addition to refl. cited there see D. Macdonald, *Africana*, London, 1882, i. 48; E. Casalis, *Les Bassoutos*, Paris, 1859, p. 360.
[7] Casalis, p. 344.
[8] Thomas, p. 127; Wallaschek, p. 68.
[9] Hodson, p. 67 f. (Manipur); C. G. Seligmann, *Melanesians of British New Guinea*, Cambridge, 1910, p. 151 (Koita of W. New Guinea); Thomas, p. 128 (Australia); Callaway, p. 413 (Zulu); G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, London, 1910, pp. 421, 423 (New Britain, Samoa). Among the Veddas many songs begin with a variant of certain untranslatable lines (C. G. and B. Z. Seligmann, *The Veddas*, Cambridge, 1911, p. 366).
[10] *Proc. Numismatic and Antiquarian Society*, Philadelphia, 1887, p. 19; cf. also Owen, p. 48, for the 'old language' of Musquakie songs.
[11] Codrington, p. 334.
[12] G. Taylor, *FLJ* v. [1887] 150.

[1] J. Deniker, *The Races of Man*, London, 1900, p. 209; Wilkes, i. 127.
[2] Seligmann, *The Veddas*, pp. 214, 217, 220, 342.
[3] E. H. Man, *JAI* xii. 378, 389 f., 399.
[4] Thomas, p. 126; R. Etheridge, *JAI* xxiii. [1893–94] 320 ff.
[5] G. T. Lloyd, *Thirty-three Years in Tasmania and Victoria*, London, 1862, p. 50.
[6] O. Lenz, *Skizzen aus Westafrika*, Berlin, 1878, p. 111.
[7] F. de Azara, 'Reisen in der südlichen Amerika,' in *Journal für die neuesten Land- und Seereisen*, Berlin, 1808–36, vi. 111 f.; d'Orbigny, ii. 319.
[8] F. Galton, *Narrative of an Explorer in Tropical South Africa*, London, 1853, p. 117.
[9] *Handbook*, p. 253; H. Rink, *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo*, Edinburgh, 1875, p. 34; D. Cranz, *History of Greenland*, London, 1820, p. 162.
[10] *Handbook*, p. 63.
[11] Stow, pp. 102, 105 ff., 109, 135; H. Balfour, 'The Goura,' *JRAI* xxxii. [1902] 156 ff.; Fritsch, p. 126.
[12] F. H. A. von Humboldt, *Reise in die Aequatorialgegenden des neuen Continents*, Stuttgart, 1815–32, iv. 465.
[13] T. Wilson, 'Prehistoric Art,' *Report of U.S. National Museum*, Washington, 1896, p. 524 ff.; *Guide to Antiq. of Stone Age, Brit. Mus.*, London, 1902, p. 62; *ERE* vii. 780b.

Metal trumpets and bells have been found in deposits of the bronze age.[1]

(1) *Instruments of percussion.*—Among instruments of percussion the *drum*, in some shape or form, is of almost universal occurrence (see DRUMS AND CYMBALS). It is lacking among the Maoris, whose range of instruments is small, the Haidas, who beat boards with sticks, some S. American tribes, and the Thonga of S. Africa.

The *rattle* is known among the Gilyaks,[2] the Barotse, Ba-Ngala, and other African tribes,[3] Australian natives (an importation), Papuans,[4] extensively among the N. American Indian tribes, who had few instruments save this and the drum,[5] and some S. American tribes—Samucus, Uaupes, Abipones, and Lengua.[6] Held in the hand or hung about the body, rattles serve to mark the rhythm of a dance; but, as among the Virginian Indians, several rattles of different tones are used together with effect.[7]

Bells, from those of hide made in spherical shape and filled with pebbles, as used by the Bushmen, to the beautifully-toned metal bells of other peoples, which are sometimes sounded in concert, are known among aboriginal tribes in India, widely in Africa, among the Maoris, several American Indian tribes, and the Mongols and Indo-Chinese races.[8] Gongs (often made of hollowed wood and elaborately carved) are known in most parts of Melanesia and Polynesia, in some parts of Africa, in Malaysia, among the Lushai of India, the Nahuatl of Mexico, and widely among the Mongols.[9]

The so-called native *piano* is found very widely among African tribes. It usually consists of a piece of hollowed wood to which are fixed a number of strips of metal, slightly curved at the free ends. These are twanged with the fingers of one or both hands. Sometimes a resonator is attached—a gourd or even a human skull (Ba-bangi of the Congo).[10] With these may be compared an instrument from the New Hebrides, consisting of a block of wood with four projecting tongues which are vibrated by the fingers and give out different notes.[11]

Another instrument found widely in Africa is the *xylophone* (*timbala*, *marimba*). In this strips of wood or metal of varying lengths are attached to a wooden frame with some form of resonator, or to a gourd (sometimes each strip to a separate gourd). They are beaten with sticks, and a considerable compass is sometimes attained.[12] A similar instrument is known among the N. American Indians, and in Borneo and Java.[13] Its simplest form occurs among the Punans; they lay strips of hard-wood across the shins of the operator, who beats them with two sticks.[1]

Midway between instruments of percussion and wind instruments is the *Jews' harp*, of which one form is the musical bow already mentioned. Its widest distribution is among the Papuo-Melanesians, but it occurs among the Ainus (their only instrument) and the Gilyaks, in Java, Borneo, the Philippines, and among the Araucanos.[2]

(2) *Stringed instruments.*—Of stringed instruments the most common is some form of *harp* or *lyre*, of which a simple kind is the musical bow already described. Harps are found among the Punans and Kayans of Borneo, made of thick bamboo, from the surface of which six longitudinal strips are separated and raised at their ends by little bridges.[3] Bamboo harps are used by the savage races of the Malay Peninsula, perhaps of Malay derivation.[4] Harps and lyres are also found among many African (Bantu and some Negro) tribes and among the Malagasy,[5] the last resembling the bamboo harp of the Punans. Some African harps seem to be derived from ancient Egyptian types. Rude stringed instruments are found in the Solomon Islands and New Britain.[6]

Violin-like instruments are found among the Gilyaks (of one string played with a bow),[7] the Kamchadals,[8] the Lushai (resembling the bamboo harp),[9] the Semang,[10] in the Nicobar Islands,[11] in Java, Borneo, the Philippines, and Sumatra,[12] and sporadically in Africa, especially where Muhammadan influence has penetrated.[13] The Apache Indians have also a species of violin;[14] a one-stringed violin is used by the Chaco Indians (Lengua) of Paraguay;[15] and a stringed instrument is in use among the tribes of the Sepotuba river, S. America.[16] A species of *guitar* is widely used in Africa, and occurs also among the Kamchadals and Ostiaks, in Tibet, among aboriginal tribes of India, the Kayans and other tribes of Borneo, the Sakai, and some tribes of the Amazon; and a primitive *banjo* is used in New Britain.[17]

A primitive Æolian harp is found in Guiana.[18] Reference may here also be made to what is really a wind instrument—the *turndun*, or bull-roarer (*q.v.*).

(3) *Wind instruments.*—Wind instruments are of great variety, and some of them have been developed from utilizing the reed as a kind of pipe or flute. In some cases shells form trumpets, and, as has been seen, the whistle was used in pre-historic times. A compound string and wind instrument—the *goura* of the Bushmen—is noted above.

Pipes and *flutes* of various kinds (already known in pre-historic times) are found among the aboriginal tribes of India (Karens, Santāls, Gonds,

[1] *Guide to Antiq. of Bronze Age, Brit. Mus.*, London, 1904, pp. 28, 30, 106; R. Munro, *Prehistoric Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1899, p. 201 f.

[2] *Handbook*, p. 61.

[3] *Ib.* p. 210; J. H. Weeks, *JRAI* xl. [1910] 402; Wallaschek, p. 104.

[4] Seligmann, *Melanesians*, p. 151; A. C. Haddon, *JAI* xix. [1889–90] 374 f.; Codrington, p. 339 (castanets of seeds and shells attached to ankles).

[5] *Handbook*, pp. 261, 274; *14 RBEW*, pt. i. p. 77 *f.*; *NR* i. 201; *FL* ii. 450; *FLR* v. 122; Owen, p. 133 f.; D. G. Brinton, *Ancient Nahuatl Poetry*, Philadelphia, 1887, p. 21.

[6] Wallaschek, p. 103; d'Orbigny, ii. 149; W. B. Grubb, *An Unknown People in an Unknown Land*, London, 1911, p. 74 f.

[7] J. Smith, in J. Pinkerton, *General Collection of Voyages*, London, 1808–14, xiii. 38.

[8] See GONGS AND BELLS; Stow, p. 109 (Bushmen); Wallaschek, p. 106.

[9] See GONGS AND BELLS; Seligmann, *Melanesians*, p. 151 (Koita); *Handbook*, pp. 136 (Melanesia), 232 (Ba-Ngala, etc.); J. Shakespear, *Lushei Kuki Clans*, London, 1912, p. 28; Brinton, p. 21 (Nahuatl); Wallaschek, p. 104 f.

[10] L. Decle, *Three Years in Savage Africa*, London, 1898, p. 98; Macdonald, i. 272; Johnston, p. 664; *Handbook*, *s.v.* 'Piano,' in Index (illustrations on pp. 223, 232).

[11] *Handbook*, p. 136.

[12] Macdonald, i. 27 (E. Africa); *Handbook*, pp. 205, 210, 226, 232, 243; Johnston, p. 666; H. A. Junod, *The Life of a S. African Tribe*, Neuchâtel, 1912–13, ii. 253; Wallaschek, p. 116 f.

[13] Wallaschek, p. 117; H. L. Roth, *JAI* xxii. 63 (Borneo); *Handbook*, p. 103 (Java).

[1] Hose-McDougall, ii. 192.

[2] A. C. Haddon, *JAI* xix. 376; J. H. Holmes, *JRAI* xxxviii. [1908] 284 f. (Elema); Codrington, p. 339 (Solomon Islands); Williams, i. 163; other Melanesian regions cited in Wallaschek, p. 120; *Handbook*, pp. 61, 63 (Ainus, Gilyaks); Hose-McDougall, ii. 166 (Kayans); *JAI* xxii. 62, 251; other refs. in Wallaschek, p. 120; Hale, *JAI* xv. 298 (Sakai).

[3] Hose-McDougall, ii. 167, 192; *JAI* xxii. 63.

[4] W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, London, 1906, ii. 117.

[5] H. H. Johnston, *JAI* xiii. [1883–84] 468, *Uganda Protectorate*, ii. 630, 664, 753, 778; Torday-Joyce, *JRAI* xxxv. 413 (Ba-Mbala); *Handbook*, pp. 205, 226, 243, 247.

[6] *Handbook*, p. 136. [7] *Ib.* p. 61.

[8] G. Kennan, *Tent Life in Siberia*, London, 1870, p. 110.

[9] Shakespear, p. 28.

[10] N. Annandale and H. C. Robinson, *Fasciculi Malayenses*, London, 1903–06 (*Anthropology*, pt. i. p. 19).

[11] *Handbook*, p. 77.

[12] *Ib.* p. 103; Wallaschek, p. 128.

[13] *Handbook*, p. 243. [14] *FL* ii. 450.

[15] Grubb, p. 75.

[16] T. Roosevelt, *Through the Brazilian Wilderness*, London, 1914, p. 136.

[17] Kennan, p. 111; Wallaschek, p. 121 ff.; *Handbook*, p. 72 (Tibet); Hose-McDougall, i. 121 (Kayans); Hale, *JAI* xv. 298 (Sakai); H. W. Bates, *The Naturalist on the Amazons*, London, 1863, ii. 203.

[18] E. F. im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, London, 1883, p. 310.

Khonds), the Kayans of Borneo, the wilder and more civilized tribes of Indonesia, the Nicobar Islanders, most African tribes, widely in Polynesia and Melanesia, and among many N. and S. American tribes. Common to the Tipperahs, the Lushai, and the Kayans, and other eastern tribes, is a gourd in which some narrow bamboo pipes are inserted, each with its free end open and a lateral hole or stop cut in it. The player blows into the neck of the gourd, and the air enters the base of each pipe through an oblong aperture filled by a vibrating reed, the pipe emitting a note only when its hole is stopped.[1] A pipe inserted in a huge gourd and giving out a hollow, moaning boom is known among the Parecis Indians of Brazil.[2] Nose-flutes occur among the Kayans, the Sakai, and other wild tribes of Borneo, generally throughout Indonesia (except with the civilized Malays), Polynesia, and Melanesia, among the Botocudos, and with the Bechuana in Africa.[3]

The use of the nose-flute in the East has been explained as the result of the caste-system in India, whence its use may have spread, which forbade a Brāhman to touch with his lips a flute which a low-caste man might have made and used. Among the Botocudos its use is explained by the large lip-ornament worn.

A double flute occurs in Savage Island (played with the nose) and elsewhere in Melanesia, in Guiana, and among the Iroquois.[4] The *syrinx*, or Pan's-pipes, is known in Sumatra, among the Baganda, in Samoa, generally throughout Melanesia, and among many S. American tribes, and it was also used by the ancient Peruvians.[5] *Horns* are known in Sumatra, among several African tribes, and in Paraguay.[6] *Trumpets* or large tubes are found among the Khonds, Malays, Malagasy, many African tribes, Samoans, Tahitians, Maoris, in New Guinea, Torres Straits, and New Britain, with the Uaupes, Abipones, Botocudos, and other S. American tribes.[7] Those of the Malagasy, Polynesians, and Melanesians are made of shells; those of the Uaupes are long tubes of bark.

Whistles are known in most parts of the world. The Maoris make them of the bones of slain enemies. The Ba-Mbala use them in war and hunting, this use being common elsewhere, though they are also used as musical instruments.

Æolian flutes—bamboo rods pierced and placed in trees—are found in Aurora, Melanesia.[8]

(4) Thus, while instruments of percussion have an almost universal range, stringed instruments are comparatively rare in N. and S. America, Melanesia, and Polynesia, and wind instruments are universal in N. and S. America, though commoner in the latter than in the former.

6. Characteristics of savage music.—A scientific examination of savage music is a thing of recent growth. By the aid of the phonograph it is now possible to obtain permanent records of tunes, so that they may be carefully examined and analyzed. Musical instruments can also be studied from an individual as well as from a comparative point of view. The results of these investigations will throw light upon the origin of music and the history of its growth. Savage melodies are never long; they consist of a few notes, and a phrase tends to be endlessly repeated. A primitive people like the Veddas have two-note songs with a descent from the higher to the lower tone. Other songs have a third note of a higher pitch, and others, again, have a fourth note, usually a tone below the tonic.[1] Generally, however, savage music is more complex than this. Even pre-historic flutes have a wider range, one of these showing the first four notes of the diatonic scale.[2] Savages also sometimes use smaller intervals than those to which we are accustomed—*e.g.*, quarter-tones. The degree of development varies. Thus the Tongans had a native scale limited to *a*, *c*, *d*, *e* flat, and *f*, without any indication of a chord. Yet they have now adopted our notation and compose music on the European model.[3] The Thonga, again, have music based on a seven-interval scale, recognizing major and minor keys, and following a certain system of harmony.[4] In many cases the melody is of the simplest possible kind, as is obvious where only two notes are employed, and is nothing but a species of rhythm—the only kind of music which many savages recognize. In many instances savage notation is incorrectly observed because it has been recorded in our own heptatonic scale, whereas other and simpler scales are sometimes all that are known. The nature of the scale will always be largely affected by the character of the instruments used and the range of notes possessed by these. Both major and minor keys are used by savages, some preferring the one to the other, probably, however, without any clear connexion between these and a joyful or melancholy mood respectively.[5] While harmony is a much later development than melody, and does not exist at all with many savage peoples, some degree of knowledge of it is found even at low levels—*e.g.*, among the Hottentots, Bechuana, Solomon Islanders, Fijians, etc.—while the orchestral use of instruments shows that it is in part at least understood and appreciated.

7. The origin of music.—Much discussion has taken place regarding the origin of music. H. Spencer was of opinion that emotional speech with its different cadences was the foundation of musical development; the chant is a copy of the voice raised in moments of emotion, and both show the same characteristics distinguishing them from ordinary speech—loudness, different timbre, rapid variation, increased intervals.[6] This theory, however, has been strongly opposed on various grounds, and it does not correspond to the facts as revealed by the most primitive music known to us. Darwin's conclusion was that musical notes and rhythm were first acquired by the male or female progenitors of mankind for the sake of charming the opposite sex. Thus musical notes became firmly associated with some of the strongest passions that an animal is capable of feeling. This also has been strongly criticized, and it is not by any means proved that, *e.g.*, the female bird is charmed by the song of the male, while there is no evidence that at low levels of humanity music is one of the factors in love-making, as one would expect it to be if this theory were true. Much more probable are those theories which connect the origin of music with man's innate love of rhythm, rhythmic action and rhythmic speech. The most primitive forms of song or chant are rhythmic with the minimum of melody. Now, savages are fond of repeating a phrase in a rhythmic manner, and it is

[1] T. H. Lewin, *Wild Races of S.E. India*, London, 1870, p. 217; Shakespear, p. 28 (here one of the pipes serves as a mouth-piece); Hose-McDougall, i. 121, ii. 166 f.; *JAI* xxii. 63.
[2] Roosevelt, p. 193.
[3] Hose-McDougall, i. 121; Skeat-Blagden, ii. 117, 136; *Handbook*, p. 153 (Polynesia), 136 (Melanesia); Williams, i. 163; *Handbook*, p. 226 (Bechuana); A. H. Keane, *JAI* xiii. 206 (Botocudos).
[4] G. Turner, *Samoa*, London, 1884, p. 305; Codrington, p. 337; Wallaschek, p. 96.
[5] Wallaschek, p. 97; Johnston, ii. 665; Turner, pp. 125 (here the pipes are left long, the ends being enclosed in a bag which is beaten with a stick), 312; Codrington, p. 337; *Handbook*, p. 136; Williams, i. 163; *L'Anthropologie*, x. [1899] 492 (Solomon Islands); d'Orbigny, ii. 150 (Samucus), 231 (Moxos).
[6] Wallaschek, pp. 100, 102 (W. Africa, Sumatra); *Handbook*, p. 210; Johnston, ii. 664, 778, 877.
[7] Skeat, p. 40; *Handbook*, p. 247; Johnston, pp. 542, 664, 877; Junod, ii. 251; Wallaschek, p. 102 (Guinea, of brass); Wallace, p. 349 (Uaupes); M. Dobrizhoffer, *Account of the Abipones*, Eng. tr., London, 1822, ch. 41, *passim*; *Handbook*, p. 255 f.; *ZE* xix. [1887] 19.
[8] Codrington, p. 340.

[1] C. S. Myers, in Seligmann, *The Veddas*, ch. xiii. p. 341 ff.
[2] Wallaschek, p. 151.
[3] Thomson, p. 225.
[4] Junod, ii. 267 ff.
[5] Wallaschek, p. 145 ff.
[6] H. Spencer, 'On the Origin and Function of Music,' *Fraser's Magazine*, lvi. [1857] 396.

almost inevitable that, as a result of such repetition, the voice will utter the words or sounds in varying tones, generally two, a higher and a lower. This would be still more accentuated where, as is generally the case, the rhythmic utterance is the accompaniment of the rhythmic dance; the voice keeping time to the movements of the body would almost necessarily utter different tones. The different tones emitted by primitive musical instruments—*e.g.*, by beating on various things serving as drums—would be apt to be imitated by the human voice. Similarly, where the taut string of a bow was twanged to produce a musical note, it was soon found that by shortening the string another note could be produced. Great advances were possible as soon as man came to appreciate the difference between mere noise and tone.

C. S. Myers concludes his analysis of the simple songs of the Veddas, Malu, and Kenyans by showing that the beginnings of music depend on eight factors: (1) discrimination between noises and tones; (2) awareness of difference in loudness, pitch, duration, character, and quality; (3) awareness of absolute pitch; (4) appreciation and use of (small) approximately equal tone-distances; (5) appreciation and use of (larger) consonant intervals and the development of smaller intervals in relation thereto; (6) melodic phrasing; (7) rhythmic phrasing; and (8) musical meaning.[1] But probably the real factors were much less numerous than these.

LITERATURE.—H. Balfour, *The Natural History of the Musical Bow*, Oxford, 1899, 'The Goura, a Stringed-wind Instrument of the Bushmen and Hottentots,' in *JRAI* xxxii. [1902] 156 ff., and 'The Friction-Drum,' *ib.* xxxvii. [1907] 67 ff.; F. Boas, 'Chinook Songs,' in *JAFL* i. [1888] 220; M. E. and A. W. Brown, *Musical Instruments and their Homes*, New York, 1888; J. O. Dorsey, 'Ponka and Omaha Songs,' in *JAFL* ii. [1889] 271; E. Grosse, *Die Anfänge der Kunst*, Freiburg, 1894; E. Gurney, *The Power of Sound*, London, 1880; A. W. Howitt, 'Notes on Songs and Song-makers of some Australian Tribes,' in *JAI* xvi. [1887] 327; C. S. Myers, 'The Beginnings of Music,' in *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway*, Cambridge, 1913, p. 560 ff., 'Ethnological Study of Music,' in *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor*, Oxford, 1907, p. 235 ff., 'Music,' in C. G. and B. Z. Seligmann, *The Veddas*, Cambridge, 1911; M. V. Portman, 'Andamanese Music,' in *JRAS*, new ser., xx. [1888] 181; J. F. Rowbotham, *A History of Music*, London, 1885–87; G. W. Torrance, 'Music of the Australian Aborigines,' in *JAI* xvi. [1887] 335; E. B. Tylor, 'The Bow as Origin of Stringed Instruments,' in *Nature*, xlv. [1891] 184, *Anthropology*, London, 1904; R. Wallaschek, *Primitive Music*, do. 1893.

J. A. MACCULLOCH.

MUSIC (American).—Musical expression has been very generally developed into a conscious art by the American Indians. It is not an art characterized by either complexity or science, but it does show æsthetic sensibility and expressive power, while the universality of its appeal is evidenced in the use made of the aboriginal melodies by musicians of the cultivated world.

1. Instruments.—Of the three types of musical instrument, percussion, wind, and stringed, the last were rarely natively known to the aboriginal American. Brinton mentions four cases of stringed instruments of primitive type in the hands of American aborigines ('Native American Stringed Musical Instruments,' *American Antiquarian*, Jan. 1897); M. H. Saville adduces good evidence for the use of such an instrument in pre-Columbian Mexico (*American Anthropologist*, x. [1897] 272 f., 'A Primitive Mayan Musical Instrument,' *ib.* xi. [1898] 280 ff., 'The Musical Bow in Ancient Mexico'); and R. Lehmann-Nitsche (*Anthropos*, iii. [1908] 916 ff.) describes a curious musical bow, having certain affinities in its mode of playing with the flute, in use among the Tehuelche and Araucanian Indians; but it is uncertain whether knowledge of such instruments dates from pre-Columbian times. C. Lumholtz (*Unknown Mexico*, New York, 1902, i. 474–476) describes a musical bow, formed of a monochord and gourds in use among the Tepehuanes of N.W. Mexico, which he regards as an aboriginal instrument. A similar bow is used by the Apache Indians of the United States (G. A. Dorsey, *Indians of the Southwest*, Chicago, 1903, p. 190).

[1] *Essays and Studies presented to W. Ridgeway*, p. 576.

The most important of the native American instruments is the drum. This varies in type from the Eskimo tambourine-like hoop with taut skin, through single- and double-headed instruments, great and small, culminating in the huge snake-skin drum whose booming from the temple of the Aztec war-god brought dread to the heart of the Spaniard. The *teponaztli* of the Aztecs is the most interesting of the native drums; it consisted of a hollowed block provided with a sounding-board in which were cut two tongues of differing thickness whose vibrations produced tones commonly in the interval of a third, although drums have been found containing the interval of a fourth, of a fifth, of a sixth, and of an octave. The drum is very generally regarded with a kind of veneration—naturally perhaps in view of its intimate association with the emotional and religious life of the Indian. Among the Ojibwa (Chippewa) there is a 'religion of the drum.' According to their tradition, it was derived from the Sioux at the time when they made peace with the latter tribe. It is a religion inculcating peace and social responsibility, its important ritual being the 'drum-presentation' ceremony (see *Bull.* 53 *BE*, p. 142 ff.).

Next in importance to the drum, among native instruments, is the Indian flageolet or flute. This instrument seems to have evolved from the bone whistle with a single vent or stop. In its developed form it is provided with a mouth-piece and has from three to six finger-holes. The double flute is also found with as many as four finger-holes to each reed. In Peru a species of syrinx with from five to eight reeds was in use, and the Pan's-pipes is also to be found among the Mexican Indians of to-day, although in the latter case perhaps of European origin. Neither flute nor pipes were constructed to scale, unless fortuitously. The materials of which these instruments are made are bone, wood, pottery, and even stone. Whistles of like materials and in a great variety of forms are abundant and ingenious, pottery examples being frequently modelled after the bird or animal whose call is imitated by the instrument. There is a keen sense of propriety in the use of these instruments, governed doubtless by religious sanction.

E.g., in the *Hako* ceremony, the priest remarks of the song telling of the flocking of the birds: 'We do not use the drum as we sing it, but we blow the whistle. The whistle is made from the wing bone of an eagle. In this song we are singing of the eagle and the other birds, so we use the whistle' (*22 RBEW* ii. 185).

Again, Garcilasso remarks of the Peruvians that the flute was not used in warlike music, but only in festivals and triumphs. For war were reserved the drum and the native trumpet, which might be of wood, pottery, or, as with the Mexicans, conch shells.

Other instruments native to the American include the ubiquitous and multiform rattle, essential alike to dance and 'medicine'; bells, of pottery, copper, bronze, or gold (in forms obviously evolved from the gourd rattle), found in the more civilized communities; and noise-producers, such as the Hopi *truhkunpi*, a notched stick with bone rubber, and the widely used bull-roarer (*q.v.*); while the curious whistling bottles of Peru, double or with double vents, which when filled with water and swayed to and fro give forth musical notes, deserve mention as musical curios rather than as proper instruments.

2. Records and transmission.—J. F. Rowbotham (*History of Music*, 3 vols., London, 1885–87, iii. 198) maintains that the N. American Indians sometimes recorded their melodies by means of notched sticks, rise and fall of tone being indicated by the position of the notches. The Chippewa, with their elaborate development of pictographic signs, preserve their songs by these mnemonic aids written upon birch-

bark rolls. *Quipus* were used by the Peruvians for a similar purpose (cf. Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries*, Eng. tr., London, 1869–71, bk. iii. ch. xxvii.), and in both Peru and Mexico there appear to have been bards whose business it was to transmit the national song. The germ of this institution appears in many a tribe where rites and mysteries are transmitted in traditional songs. Since the study of Indian music has become serious, many records have been taken, either by transcription into the European notation or by the use of the phonograph.

3. Song.—Indian music is primarily vocal. To be sure, melodies are played upon the native flute, and Garcilasso is authority for the statement that the Peruvians knew a kind of ensemble performance of flutes or pipes; but, even where so used, the flute seems to be regarded as merely a substitute for the voice.

'They played upon these flutes,' says Garcilasso (bk. ii. ch. xxvi.), 'airs of which the words were rimed, composed in a spirit of gallantry upon the rebuffs or favours received from their mistresses.'

In N. America this instrument is commonly called the 'lover's flute,' since its music is regarded as a substitute for vocal song from the bashful lover (cf. Burton, *American Primitive Music*, pp. 83–86).

While their music is thus vocally conceived, the Indians generally appear to have no clear conceptions of the difference between the verbal and tonal materials of their songs.

To the Ojibwa, says Burton (*loc. cit.*), 'whatever departs from plain prose is *nogamon*, song, which means that his poetry is not only inseparable, but indistinguishable from music.'

Burton found difficulty more than once in convincing an Indian who sang new words to an old melody that new music was not being offered. But the words themselves need not be significant apart from the air. Frequently they are meaningless, sometimes because the original meaning is forgotten, sometimes because archaic or foreign, sometimes because originated as mnemonic syllables or ejaculatory refrains, or as pure nonsense. It is the common thing for an Indian song to require a story to explain its meaning. In short, the verbal elements of Indian music form a kind of notation, dimly analogous to our *do re mi* method of denominating the scale.

Frances Densmore, writing of the Mídé society songs, says:

'The songs of the Mídé represent the musical expression of religious ideas. The melody and the idea are the essential parts of a Mídé song, the words being forced into conformation with the melody. To accomplish this it is customary to add meaningless syllables either between the parts of a word or between the words; accents are misplaced, and a word is sometimes accented differently in various parts of a song; the vowels are also given different sounds, or changed entirely. . . . The writer has even been informed that it is permissible for different members of the Mídéwiwin holding high degrees to use slightly different words for the songs, but the idea of the song must always remain the same. The words serve as a key to the idea without fully expressing it. Sometimes only one or two words occur in a song. Their literal translation is meaningless, but to an instructed member of the Mídéwiwin they bear an occult significance. Many of the words used in the Mídé songs are unknown in the conversational Chippewa of the present time' (*Bull.* 45 *BE*, p. 14 f.).

Le Jeune's *Relation* of 1634 contains an interesting account of Montagnais music (*Jesuit Relations*, ed. R. G. Thwaites, Cleveland, Ohio, 1896–1901, vi. 182 ff.), indicating the same general character:

'They use few words in singing, varying the tones and not the words. . . . All their religion consists mainly in singing. . . . Not one of them understands what he is singing, except in the tunes which they sing for recreation,' etc.

Interesting too, though chiefly as a token of the fundamental identity of N. and S. American conceptions, is Garcilasso's naive comment on Inca music:

'Each song has its particular air, and they could not sing two to the same tune; for the lover who would serenade his mistress indicated the state of his passion upon his flageolet by the diversity of the sound, sad or gay, making known to his beloved the joy or sorrow of his heart. But were he to give two different songs to the same air, each would be confused, and the gallant defeated in his effort to make his feeling known (*Royal Commentaries*, bk. ii. ch. xxvi.).

4. Mode of composition.—Aristotle's remark that poetry first takes form in hymns to the gods and personal lampoons seems to have a fair illustration in native American song. Various writers have noted the Eskimos' love for contests in satirical song, with which they while away their long winter evenings; while satire and lampoon are not uncommon in Indian song. These songs naturally vary indefinitely with occasion and mood. On the other hand, religious song (and, as Le Jeune says, Indian religion is mainly song) is strongly conservative, even while it marks almost every phase of native life.

Advocates of the 'communal origin' of poetry find good materials in the recreative type of song, but the evidence in the case of the more serious compositions points in another direction. Songs which have to do with tribal traditions, with rites and ceremonies, with love and death, and even cradle-songs, while they tend to assume a traditional form and come to be sung in chorus, in many if not all cases owe their composition to the stress of an inspirational moment on the heart of the individual composer (cf., *e.g.*, the accounts of the origins of the *Hako* and Mídé songs in *22 RBEW* ii. and in *Bull.* 45 *BE*). Song, with the Indians, is, in fact, much more than verbal music; it is a part of life itself, and is efficacious in altering life's destinies. They use their songs, says Le Jeune (*loc. cit.*), for a thousand purposes; they sing in sickness and in health, at the feast, and in peril and suffering:

'During the time of our famine I heard nothing throughout these cabins, especially at night, except songs, cries, beating of drums and other noises; when I asked what this meant, my people told me that they did it in order to have a good chase, and to find something to eat.'

Burton tells of an old pagan whom he could not persuade to sing hunting-songs out of season. The priest who gave Alice Fletcher the *Hako*—which is a ceremonial prayer for life—told her that it must not be sung in winter, but only in spring, summer, or autumn, when life was stirring; similarly, the several songs must be sung at suitable times:

'Sometimes the songs of the nest and the wren are sung early in the day, as these songs were made in the morning. The song of the owl must be sung toward night' (*22 RBEW* ii. 168).

The song is, in short, a kind of spell, helping to tide over the exigencies of life and invented to meet them.

The Navaho myth of the man who discovered the use of corn as food begins: 'A man sat thinking, "Let me see; my songs are too short; I want more songs; where shall I go to find them?"' Hasjelti, the white-maize spirit, appeared to him, and led him to a country where he learned the use of corn and the appropriate songs, which he brought back to his own people (*8 RBEW* [1891], p. 278).

An interesting feature of Indian song is the sense of personal proprietorship which attaches to compositions. Burton states it thus:

'A has no right to sing B's songs; B did not compose them, but they came down to him through his family, or from some chief who taught him, and B alone should say whether they might be given to another' (p. 118 f.).

So in Le Jeune's *Relation* of 1636:

'Each has his own song, that another dare not sing lest he give offense. For this very reason they sometimes strike up a tune that belongs to their enemies, in order to aggravate them' (*Jesuit Relations*, ix. 111).

The personal song is evidently a portion of the 'medicine' which every Indian owns, and it is potent in the same way. A special type of song comprises the spontaneous melodies coming in dream and dance, to which the Indian attaches especial significance as revelations of superhuman power, many of them being associated with some animal, revealed as the tutelary of him to whom the song is given. Perhaps the most picturesque and affecting aspect of Indian life is the death-

song with which every Indian seeks to face his end, sometimes composed upon the spot, sometimes prepared in advance; if possible, every Indian dies singing; and the breath of life goes forth to the spirit-world as a breath of song.

5. Structural traits.—The study of the structure of Indian music, in spite of the serious attention devoted to it, is hardly more than begun. From investigations already made it is evident that there are many types of Indian music, perhaps as many as there are linguistic stocks, each with its structural peculiarities. On certain points, however, there is an approach to agreement, and these we may broadly summarize.

(*a*) From the Arctic southward, American music is primarily (though not exclusively) drum-song. The voice and the drum are the Indian's instruments, and his music is a kind of concord of the two; the drum is the instrument of his rhythmic, the voice of his melodic, expression. But his drum-rhythms are not primarily guides to the rhythms of the voice; rather they are the rhythms of movement, of the dance, to which the rhythms of vocal utterance may, or may not, conform. White observers have been astonished at the apparent duality of the Indian's time-sense—his drum being beaten to one time, his song sung to another time, and this even when the drum is obviously used as accompaniment. In sixty-three out of ninety-one Midé songs recorded with the drum accompaniment, Frances Densmore found the metric units of voice and drum to differ from each other. In one instance the metric units of voice and drum were so nearly alike that the same metronome indication was used for each; at the beginning the drum-beat was slightly behind the voice, but it gained until with the voice, and then gradually passed it. Normally, when drum and voice have the same metric unit, they are slightly in sequence in beat (*Bull.* 45 *BE*, p. 5 f.).

'I have heard Indian music wherein the conflict between voice and drum was much more marked than is the case between 3-4 and 4-4' (Burton, p. 46).

The voice is sometimes made to mark its own time by rhythmic pulsations (cf. *22 RBEW* ii. 282); while, again, both voice and drum employ rhythmic accents, or beats, to mark the metric units. The vocal rhythm frequently changes even in the course of a brief song, but the recurrence of rhythmic figures, or motives, serves to give outline and unity to otherwise formless compositions.

(*b*) The question of the range of tone-material and of the existence of scales in Indian music is still moot. Early observers, struck by the strangeness of the intervals which they seemed to detect in Indian singing and by the constancy with which these intervals were repeated, jumped to the conclusion that the American Indian possessed an ear of unusual delicacy of discrimination, and scales of a refinement which the white man's could not duplicate. More careful studies have led to the reverse view, that Indian music is built upon scales in the making, or even that it is essentially adiatonic. The latter is the view of Hopi music adopted by Gilman. He characterizes Pueblo song as a kind of rote-song having no fixed intervals:

'The singer's musical consciousness seems restricted to a few intervals of simplest vibration ratio approximately rendered, and to melodic sequences formed by their various analysis and synthesis and rendered with a certain loose fidelity. If a scale were in his mind, even dimly, it should make itself known in a more uniform interval production and in a more impartial use of the tones continually at hand in the fancy. The hearer seems witness to a wholly strange method of musical thought and delivery. The total complex of tone, timbre, and articulation—doubtless at times movements, and other noises also—moves on apparently without guidance by any vanguard of fancied tones at fixed intervals' ('Hopi Songs,' in *Journal of Am. Eth. and Arch.* v. [1908] 5).

Other authorities do not go to this radical extreme, but credit the Indian with an adumbrate consciousness of a scale or scales, which his lack of musical standards prevents him from clearly finding, or, if found, from holding. Burton says:

'The Ojibways recognize all the intervals of our major diatonic scales, but the fourth and the seventh rarely occur in the same song' (p. 41),

and he indicates a pentatonic major and minor and a hexatonic major and minor scale as in use among them. Frances Densmore's study of the music of the same people is in substantial agreement with this. A similar view—interesting, as coming from S. America—is taken by F. J. de Augusta with respect to Araucanian song (*Anthropos*, vi. [1911] 685 f.). Alice Fletcher says of the Omaha music:

'The octave is seemingly the one fixed interval. The songs are not built on any defined scale.' Nevertheless, the Omaha have 'a standard of musical tones,' as witnessed by their drum-tuning and by their recognition of 'good singers' (*27 RBEW*, p. 374).

Another interesting observation is that the Omaha object to the rendering of their songs on the piano as unsupported arias; when rendered with harmonic chords, 'That sounds natural,' was their comment. Burton found the Ojibwa lively in their appreciation of harmonizations of their melodies. This aptitude of the native ear for the appreciation of harmony seems to lend some colour to the supposition that they do actually (even if imperfectly) think their music in harmonic intervals.

(*c*) A third structural feature deserving note is the predominance of downward progressions in their melodies; like the ancient Greek, the Indian thinks his music mainly in the descending order. Melodic form is fluid and undeveloped, but repetition, balance, and antithesis give form to their better pieces. Further, uncertainty of form is partially offset by definite conventions of execution, amounting to artistry. The accomplished singer affects a vibrato, or wavering of the voice, a drawling tone, a portamento or slurring, an ornamentation of grace-notes. In many of the Omaha societies a fine was imposed if a member made mistakes in singing (A. C. Fletcher, *27 RBEW*, p. 373). Finally, the inner harmony of a general tonality is set by the mood of the composition, or perhaps keyed by the incessant drum, whose drone serves as a tonal background for the melodic broidery.

6. Adaptations.—No account of Indian music would be complete without mention of the use of themes caught or imitated from Indian melodies as the foundations of artistic compositions. These vary from simple harmonizations of Indian songs (many of which have been published by the Wa-Wan Press, Newton Center, Mass.) to elaborate symphonic compositions. The most notable works of this nature yet achieved are doubtless Dvořák's 'New World Symphony,' MacDowell's 'Indian Suite,' and Coleridge-Taylor's 'Hiawatha' music.

LITERATURE.—F. R. Burton, *American Primitive Music*, New York, 1909, is a careful and readable introduction to the subject; it contains harmonizations of twenty-eight Ojibwa songs. N. Curtis, *The Indian's Book*, New York, 1907, contains melodies from some eighteen tribes. Thorough studies are F. Densmore, 'Chippewa Music,' forming *Bulletins* 45 and 53 *BE* (1910, 1913), and B. I. Gilmore, 'Zuñi Melodies' and 'Hopi Songs,' in *Journ. of Amer. Ethnology and Archæology*, i. [1891], v. [1908]. Alice C. Fletcher, 'A Study of Omaha Indian Music,' in *Papers of the Peabody Museum*, vol. i. no. 5 [1893], *Indian Story and Song*, Boston, 1900, 'The Hako,' *22 RBEW* ii. [1904], 'The Omaha Tribe,' *27 RBEW* [1911], and 'The Study of Indian Music,' reprinted from *Proc. of Nat. Acad. of Sciences*, i. [1915] 231 ff., contain indispensable material. Special mention may also be made of: J. Reade, 'Some Wabanaki Songs,' 'Aboriginal American Poetry,' *Trans. Royal Soc. of Canada*, v. ii. [1888]; W. Matthews and J. C. Fillmore, 'Navaho Music,' *Mem. of the Amer. Folklore Society*, 1897, pp. 255–290; F. Boas, 'The Central Eskimo,' *6 RBEW* [1888], p. 409 ff.; W. J. Hoffman, 'The Midé'wiwin,' *7 RBEW* [1891], p. 149 ff.; J. Mooney, 'The Ghost-Dance Religion,' *14 RBEW* i. [1896] 653 ff.; S. Culin, 'Games of the North American Indians,' *24 RBEW* [1907]; F. Russell, 'The Pima Indians,' *26 RBEW* [1908], p. 3 ff.; F. G. Speck, 'Ceremonial Songs of the Creek and Yuchi Indians,' *Anthropological Publications of the Museum of the Univ. of Pennsylvania*, vol. i. no. 2 [1909]; A. T. Cringan, 'Description of Iroquois Music,' *Archæological Report of Ontario* for 1898. T. Baker, *Über die Musik der*

nordamerik anischen Wilden, Leipzig, 1882, is one of the earliest scientific studies in this field. The *Report of the U.S. National Museum for 1896*, Washington, 1898, contains an account of native American musical instruments (pp. 561–664). Periodical articles of importance include: A. Génin, 'Notes sur les danses, la musique et les chants des Mexicains anciens et modernes,' *REth* iv. [1923] 301 ff.; F. Boas, 'Chinook Songs,' *JAFL* i. [1888] 220 ff., 'Songs and Dances of the Kwakiutl,' *ib.* p. 49 ff.; Washington Matthews, 'Songs of Sequence of the Navajos,' *ib.* vii. [1894] 185 ff.; Alice C. Fletcher, 'Indian Songs and Music,' *ib.* xi. [1898] 85 ff.; E. Sapir, 'Song Recitative in Paiute Mythology,' *ib.* xxiii. [1910] 455 ff.; W. Thalbitzer, 'Eskimo-Musik- und Dichtkunstin Grönland,' *Anthropos*, vi. [1911] 485 ff.; F. J. de Augusta, 'Zehn Araukanerlieder,' *ib.* 684 ff.; R. Lehmann-Nitsche, 'Patagonische Gesänge und Musikbogen,' *ib.* iii. [1908] 916 ff., containing a discussion of the origin of stringed instruments in use by American Indians; E. Fischer, 'Patagonische Musik,' *ib.* p. 941 ff.

H. B. ALEXANDER.

MUSIC (Babylonian and Assyrian).—As the inscriptions seem to furnish no easily recognizable indications of a musical notation, very little can be gathered concerning the music of these nationalities (see, however, below, § 6). The representations of musical instruments in their bas-reliefs, however, make it clear that they not only loved music, but had also made some progress in the art—progress fostered originally, in all probability, in their temple-ritual.

1. **Its antiquity in Babylonia.**—As their signlist implies that the Sumerians (the non-Semitic inhabitants of Babylonia) had musical instruments before they settled in that tract, they must have had music in practically pre-historic times. It is true that G. A. Barton, in his *Origin and Development of Babylonian Writing* (=*BASS* ix. [1913] pt. i.), gives (p. 186) only three forms, of which the third (*balag*) seems to be merely a variant of the second (*tigi*); but this number could probably be increased. The three characters in his list express various ideas derived from music, such as 'to be joyful,' 'to strike,' etc.

2. **Musical instruments.**—These were sufficiently numerous, judging from what we find in their sculptures, and may be classified as follows.

i. INSTRUMENTS OF PERCUSSION.—(*a*) *Drum* (Sumerian *âla*, Semitic *âlu*, according to Langdon, though *lê'u* would seem also to have been used).—The earlier forms were very large—indeed, one relief (about 2500 B.C.) shows an instrument nearly as high as the man who, with his left hand, seems to be striking it (B. Meissner, *Grundzüge der altbabylonischen Plastik*, Leipzig, 1914, p. 14). It looks like an enormous tambourine resting edgewise on the ground, and was probably moved from place to place by rolling. For the later (Assyrian) portable forms see G. Rawlinson, *The Five Great Monarchies*, London, 1862–67, ii. 160.

(*b*) *Tambourine* (Sum. *liliz*, Sem. *lilisu*, according to Langdon; *tabbalu* [F. Thureau-Dangin, *Huitième Campagne de Sargon*, Paris, 1912, p. 26 f., l. 151]).—The forms shown naturally do not differ much from the modern instruments, but the rim was in some cases not provided with rings or disks (see Rawlinson, ii. 158; E. de Sarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, Paris, 1884–1912, pl. 39, no. 5).

(*c*) *Cymbals.*—Late forms are given in Rawlinson, ii. 158 f. Those with rounded backs have a loop, those with conical backs a fixed rod, by which to hold them.

ii. STRINGED INSTRUMENTS.—(*a*) *Harp.*—The earliest example (*c.* 2500 B.C.) is probably that in de Sarzec, pl. 23, which shows considerable development, and has 11 or 12 strings. An Assyrian harp with 16 strings is shown in Rawlinson, ii. 153, where there is also an Elamite harp of 19 or 20 strings. According to Langdon, this was the Sum. *balag*, Sem. *balaggu* or *balangu*. Thureau-Dangin renders the group *giš zag-sal* by 'harp.' In *WAI* ii. 44, 55, *giš zag-sal-sisa* is rendered by *išar[tu]*, 'the straight'—a word translating *sisa*, and therefore qualifying *giš zag-sal*.

(*b*) *Dulcimer.*—A primitive form of this (? before 2500 B.C.) is shown in a relief, originally inlaid, found at Bismaya (E. J. Banks, *Bismya*, New York, 1912, p. 268). It had 5 or 7 strings and was played with a plectrum. For the Assyrian form see Rawlinson, ii. 161; A. H. Layard, *Monuments of Nineveh*, London, 1849, i., plates 12, 22 (held with a downward slope), and 73. In the first case the musicians welcome Aššur-naṣir-pal on his return from a bull-hunt, while the last celebrates the capture of the Babylonian city Dilmu (Dailem) by Sennacherib.

(*c*) *Lyre and cithara.*—Though these must have been among the earlier stringed instruments, the extant pictures are mainly of a late date (see Rawlinson, ii. 154–155, 158). Being rather rectangular in form, they did not, apparently, give a wide range of notes. The number of strings of a lyre varied from 4 to 10 (see Rawlinson, ii. 154, also 153, where a 4-stringed lyre similar to a 'trigon' is shown). A band of foreign musicians (captives) is shown in Rawlinson, ii. 164=Brit. Mus., Assyrian Saloon, no. 14. Notwithstanding their likeness to the Israelitish captives in Sennacherib's Lachish reliefs, it is doubtful whether they were of that nationality, since those sent by Hezekiah were not captives. That the yoke or cross-piece of their instruments terminates in swans' (?) heads, however, would probably present no difficulty.

(*d*) *Guitar.*—This rather resembles the Egyptian *nefer*, or banjo, which may have been borrowed from Babylonia (F. W. Galpin, in Stainer, *Music of the Bible*, p. 45). This was known in Babylonia at a very early date (*ib.* pl. i. B). The form is similar to that used later in Assyria (Rawlinson, ii. 156).

iii. WIND INSTRUMENTS.—(*a*) *Pipe, whistle, or flute.*—This probably became a favourite instrument after the arrival of the Sumerians in Babylonia, where reeds are plentiful. The common Sumerian word for the pipe or flute is *gi-gid*, 'long reed,' or *gi-sir*, 'reed of music,' in Semitic *mêlilu*, from *êlêlu*, 'to make a joyful sound.' According to the *Descent of Ištar into Hades*, rev., lines 49 and 56, this was the instrument of Tammuz, who possessed one made of the sacred lapis lazuli. When Tammuz joyfully played thereon, the mourners, male and female, played with him, and then the dead might arise and enjoy the incense. The flutes depicted on the Assyrian monuments are played in pairs (Rawlinson, ii. 157). The Elamite double flute was similar to the Assyrian (Layard, ii., plates 48, 49).

(*b*) *Trumpet.*—Pictures of this instrument are rare, the most noteworthy example being that in the hands of a director of works in Sennacherib's time (Layard, ii. 15=Brit. Mus., Nineveh Gallery, 51, 52). It was probably not a speaking-trumpet, but an instrument conveying orders by its note.

(*c*) *Horn.*—Though the inscriptions do not seem to refer to this as a musical instrument, it is probable that they used it as such. The Sumerian for 'horn' is *si*, Sem. *qarnu*, Heb. *qeren*.

(*d*) *Other wind instruments.*—According to Langdon, the Sum. *tigi*, Sem. *tigû*, was an ordinary reed-flute, and something similar is to be understood by the *gi-erra=qan bikiti*, or 'reed of wailing.' The *gi-di*, Sem. *takaltu*, and the Sem. *pagû*, he suggests, may be bagpipes.

3. **Singers.**—Of these there were many classes, but we have still much to learn about them. Some were probably for secular performances only.

(*a*) *Nâru* (fem. *nârtu*).—These are expressed by the character *lul*, preceded by the determinative for 'man' or 'woman.' *Lul* was possibly the picture of a harp or lyre, to which they seem to have sung. According to Sennacherib, a choir of these, male and female, was sent to Nineveh by

Hezekiah, and accompanied his tribute (see above, § 2, ii. (*c*)). The native Babylonian (or Assyrian) *nâru*, however, seems to have been a kind of precentor, who sang or intoned portions of their ritual. One of these, named Qisîa, chanted the songs used at the funeral of one of the Assyrian kings, and was aided by a choir of young women (*mârâti*, 'daughters'; R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, Cambridge, 1911, no. 473).

(*b*) *Kalû*.—This word is derived from the Sum. *gala* (dialectic *mulu*), and seems to mean, properly, 'male servant,' 'deacon.' He was the specialist in temple-music through the study which he had devoted to it:

'O temple, thy deacon (*mulu-zu*) is not present—who decideth thy future?

The deacon (knowing) thy chant is not present, thy future to the harp he singeth (not)' (Langdon, *Babylonian Liturgies*, p. viii).

Words given as synonyms of *kalû* in *WAI*, pl. 21, line 38 ff., are the Sum. *ir*, or 'mourner,' the *sur*(*a*), a special singer, the *sura-gala*, or chief of the same class, the *lagar* (dial. *labar*), 'deacon,' the *nunuz* (?)-*pa*, 'declarer of oracles,' and others.

The lists connect with the *kalû* the *lallaru* and the *munambû*, the former rendering the Sum. *ilu-ali*, 'he who chants mournfully' (Langdon), and the latter *ilu-di*, perhaps 'the soft singer.' These are given in *Cuneiform Inscr.*, pt. xix. pl. 41, and follow the *gala-maḫa*, Sem. *kalamaḫḫu*, 'the high' or 'chief *kalû*' (K. 4328, l. 17). The Sum. *ilu* forms part of two words for *zammeru*, the usual word for 'singer,' in *WAI* ii. pl. 20: *ilu-dudu* and *ela-*(*i*)*lu* (lines 7 and 9). The fem. was *zammertu*, translating the Sum. *sal-ulili* and *sal-ula-*(?)*la*. These words possibly contain the root of the name of the 6th month of the Babylonian year, Ululu or Elul, the month of the mourning for Tammuz, snatched away to dwell in the under world. The goddess Ištar, spouse of Tammuz, seems to have had a special *kalû*, or class of *kalê*, devoted to her, possibly under the leadership of a *gala-maḫa* (see above).

4. The divine patrons of music.—Besides Ištar, the chief patron of Babylonian music was the god Êa, who figures in the lists as the great creator of all things, apparently before the appearance of Merodach as the father of the gods. Written with the sign for 'singer' (*nâru*), he bore the name *Dunga*, and, with that for 'harp' (*balag*), he was called *Lumḫa*.

5. Musicians.—Besides being a singer, the *nâru* was probably a player of the lyre or cithara. A somewhat uncertain name is *lu balag-ga*, Sem. *mušêlû*, possibly a harpist. From what has been said above, it will be gathered that musicians, as well as singers, must have held official posts. The Assyrian bands were various; the simplest consisted of two harpists, but one of four players shows a tambourinist, a lyre-player, a player on a small cithara of varied compass, and a cymbalist (Rawlinson, ii. 158). These were apparently foreigners. The largest band depicted is that in which the Elamites come out to welcome their new king, Umman-igaš, whom an Assyrian eunuch is installing. There are eleven instrumentalists, with harps, double pipes, a small drum, and a kind of dulcimer. Three of the leading performers (men) have one foot raised, as though half dancing as they advance. These are followed by women and children, clapping their hands, and possibly singing (*ib.* ii. 166 = Brit. Mus., Nineveh Gallery, 49). The band which played to summon the people to worship the great golden image set up by Nebuchadrezzar in the plain of Dura (Dn $3^{5.7}$, etc.) consisted of a number of instruments of which the cornet or horn (*qarnâ* = *qarnu*, § 2, iii. (*c*) above), the flute, the harp, the sackbut, the psaltery, and the dulcimer are specially mentioned. Notwithstanding its suitability in such a case as this, the drum does not appear, but the piercing sound of the cornet would naturally form a good substitute.

6. Possible indications of a notation.—These are to be found in certain tablets from Babylon, of late date, now in the Royal Museum, Berlin, and edited by George Reisner (*Sum.-bab. Hymnen*), who has tabulated them in two classes (Introd. p. xvi), namely, vocalic characters, both singly and in groups, and words or ideographs expressing words. The former consist of the vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, and *u*, which are placed at the beginning, in the middle (before the cæsura), and at the end of the lines to which they refer. Were they placed over the words, and not in the margins and blank spaces, it might be contended that they stood for four notes of a scale. It seems more likely, however, that they indicate the tones attached to the lines, in chanting which, in that case, considerable latitude was allowed. As a mere conjecture, it might be suggested that *a* stood for an even tone, *e* (= *qabû*, 'to speak') for modulated chanting, *i* ('sublime,' 'exalted') for a high tone, and *u* (= Addu, Hadad) for one which was deep, thunderlike. The difficulty, however, is that this takes no account of the words, among which are *annû*, *ilî*, or *lî* [?], 'loud,' *nu-idim*, 'not weak,' 'not silent' (= *lâ ulâlu*, *lâ sukkutu*). In one place *e* is placed over *a a*, and in another *i* over *i* (? part-singing). All this would seem to imply considerable elaboration, whatever interpretation be placed on these mysterious characters. In some passages the character *meṣi*, Sem. *manzû*, followed by *lu*, *la*, and *gub*, 'passing,' 'hovering,' and 'standing'—so, apparently, the general meanings—appears. This would indicate some such rendering as 'sound,' 'music,' for *meṣi* = *manzû*.

7. References to music in the historical inscriptions.—The word used in these seems to have been *nigûtu*, *ningûtu*, 'joy,' 'merrymaking,' or the like. Sargon of Assyria (722–705 B.C.) constantly uses it to indicate the rejoicings at his military successes, in which, however, musicians took part. In other passages the word may be translated in the same general way, but that in which Aššur-banî-pal is directed by Ištar of Arbela to eat food, drink wine, make music (*ningûtu*), and glorify her divinity (G. Smith, *Hist. of Assurbanipal*, London, 1871, p. 125, 65–66) is possibly correctly rendered—as is also the passage in his great cylinder where the kings of Arabia are described as having been compelled to wear badges and work at the rebuilding of Bît-ridûti, and are said, whilst engaged thereon, to have passed their time in 'singing (and) music' (*ina êlili ningûti*), in order that the Assyrian king should 'build (that palace) from its foundation to its coping with rejoicings and festivities' (*ina ḫidâti û rišâti*).

LITERATURE.—The Introduction to G. Reisner, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen*, Leipzig, 1896; J. Stainer, *Music of the Bible*, ed. F. W. Galpin, London, 1914; S. Langdon, *Babylonian Liturgies*, Paris, 1913.

T. G. PINCHES.

MUSIC (Buddhist).—The history of ancient Indian music, including that of the centuries when Indian culture was predominantly Buddhist, has not yet been compiled, and probably, from lack of materials, never will be. The classical literature of Buddhism does not contribute much to such materials, but some features of interesting suggestiveness may be pointed out. On the psychological side, a very keen emotional susceptibility to the charm of music, either sung or played, is alluded to as an ordinary phenomenon. In one of the lute (*vîṇâ*) parables in the *Piṭakas* certain persons are supposed to hear its sound for the first time, the instrument being concealed. They ask what it is, 'the sound of which is so fascinating, so charming, so intoxicating, so entrancing, so ravishing, so

captivating' (*Saṁyutta-Nikāya*, iv. 196 f.), and their hearers, in replying, agree with their opinion. Some of these adjectives are applied to music yielded by 'the five kinds of instruments, when well played upon,' for the skilled musician (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, Oxford, 1899–1910, ii. 214), and a similar æsthetic effect is said to have been derived from a golden and a silver network of bells, hung round the mythical palace of the 'great king of glory,' and shaken by the wind (*ib.*). A similar charm, in the later commentaries of Buddhaghoṣa, is ascribed to the song of the *karavīka* bird. The possession of a musical speaking voice, holding men spell-bound, was held of sufficient importance to record supreme distinction in this gift in the order's list of such brethren as were foremost in certain attainments. The champion in question was the Thera 'Dwarf' Bhaddiya (*Aṅguttara-Nikāya*, i. 25; *Psalms of the Brethren*, London, 1913, ccxxv.; the commentarial tradition held that he was born under a former Buddha as a 'variegated cuckoo,' *kokila*). Yet another bird was brought in to compare with the sweetness of Sāriputta's voice — the *sālikā* (*Psalms of the Brethren*, 1232 f.). But the Buddha's voice was compared to the celestially sweet vocal organ, with its eight characteristics, of the Apollo of the Brahma-heavens — Brahmā Sanaṁ-Kumāra, the Eternal Youth (*Dialogues*, ii. 245, iii. 173; *Kathā-vatthu*, xii. 3).

A second point of interest, already alluded to, is the names and varieties of instruments mentioned in this literature. They are sometimes called collectively *turiyā* (see *Dialogues*, ii. 18, n. 1); sometimes *pañchaṅgikā* (*turiyā*), 'fivefold' (*Saṁ-yutta-Nikayā*, i. 131; *Psalms of the Sisters*, London, 1910, pp. 83, 183). These the commentaries enumerate as *ātata, vitata, ātata-vitata, ghana, susira*, the first three of which are varieties of tom-tom, and the other two respectively yet another instrument of percussion (a species of cymbal) and a wind instrument (a species of reed or pipe). It is curious that the seductive *vīṇā* is not included in this list. The word *turiyā* (Skr. *turya, turīyaka*) came, centuries later, to bear the meaning of 'fourth' (*cha-tur-*) part or state, but its original meaning, in these earlier books, in connexion with music, is very obscure.

Other instruments with which we meet are drums—the *dundubhi* ('Striking salvation's drum, Ambrosia's alarm' [*Majjhima-Nikāya*, i. 170 f., quoted in *Psalms of the Sisters*, p. 129]) and the *bheri, muṭiṅga, saṅkha, paṇava*, and *dendima* (*Dialogues*, i. 89), the third and fourth of these five being the chank (shell) and a kind of horn. Concerning the chank, which is also a species of horn, another parable is told (*Dialogues*, ii. 361). Here again the fivefold adjectival formula is used to describe the charm of its sounds.

More material of this kind might be extracted by a thorough sifting of the early, the middle, and the later or mediæval strata of the Buddhist literature. Here let it suffice to name one more feature that is suggestive, namely, the reference to all congress work concerned with canonical (but unwritten) texts, or records, as 'singing-together' or 'singing-through'—*saṅ-gīti* (*Vinaya Texts*, iii. [=*SBE* xx. (1885)] 372 f.). A similar idiom is used for the procedure observed by contemporary Brāhmans when meeting to go over their *mantras* (*Majjhima-Nikāya*, ii. 170). It is fairly evident that, in the absence of written documents, the time-honoured Indian custom of intoning or chanting the memorialized runes was adopted by the Indian Buddhists. Cf. art. HYMNS (Buddhist).

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

MUSIC (Celtic).—1. Musical instruments.— Little is known of the music of the ancient Celts, as the classical references to it are few and casual, and native evidence is lacking save in the case of the Irish texts, which cannot be taken as decisive for the earlier period. Some classical authors refer to the trumpet (*carnon, carnux*).[1] It was used to summon assemblies and also in battle, especially in the charge and as loud and clamorous accompaniment of the war-cries for which the Celts were famous.[2] The pipe of the trumpet was made of lead, and the bell was in the form of an animal, according to contemporary accounts. Archæological research has discovered several trumpets of the bronze or early iron age. These are made of cast bronze, or of tubes of sheet-metal riveted together. Some are of very fine workmanship, and one of the early iron age (late Celtic period) found in Ireland has its disk extremity ornamented in hammered work. These trumpets are of two varieties—with the mouth-piece at one end or at the side. Straight cylinders have also been found, evidently parts of some larger instrument.[3] The Celtic trumpet is figured also on Roman monuments.[4] Horns are referred to by classical writers as used both in war and by swineherds to call together the swine.[5] These as well as pipes and reeds of different kinds are also mentioned in Irish texts, and bone flutes have been discovered in Thor's Cave, Staffordshire.[6]

[6] 'The Courtship of Ferb' speaks of seven *cornaire* (horn players) with *corna* of gold and silver. These, however, may have been the trumpets already referred to. Instruments of ox-horn were also in use.

An Irish poem of the 11th cent. on the fair of Carman mentions pipes, and these are probably a form of the bagpipe, as the plural name *pipai* is still used in Ireland, as in the Highlands of Scotland, for this instrument. The Irish form differs in some particulars from the Scots; its scale is more complete and full, while the reeds are softer. While the bagpipe has become the characteristic Highland instrument, it has ousted the harp at one time so popular.

The harp or lyre (*chrotta*, Ir. *cruith, crot* [=Welsh *crwth*, a fiddle]) was used by the bards of Gaul as an accompaniment to their chants, and is figured on Gaulish coins.[7] It was common also to Irish, Welsh, and Highland music, and is frequently referred to in the Irish texts. In early times its power over the mind of men was the subject of a myth which recurs constantly in Irish story. The reference is first to the harp of the god Dagda, one of the Tuatha Dé Danann (see CELTS, § V.).

With it he played 'the three musical feats which give distinction to a harper, viz., the Suantraighe, the Gentraighe, and the Goltraighe. He played them the Goltraighe until their women and youths cried tears. He played them the Gentraighe until their women and youths burst into laughter. He played them the Suantraighe until the entire host fell asleep.' Before this the harp is said to have come itself from the wall to its owner, killing nine persons on its way.[8]

The number of strings on the harp varied. The so-called Brian Boru's harp in Trinity College, Dublin, must have had thirty strings. Others had eight. But in some early texts reference is made to three-stringed harps, and in a story of Fionn in the *Agallamh na Senorach* to each string is attributed one of the powers of Dagda's harp.[9] In a story

[1] Polybius, ii. 29; Diod. Sic. v. 30; Eustathius, *ad Iliad.* xiv. 219; Lucan, i. 431 f.

[2] Cæsar, *de Bell. Gall.* viii. 20; Diod. Sic. *loc. cit.*; Polyb. *loc. cit.*

[3] R. Munro, *Pre-historic Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1899, p. 201 f.; J. Romilly Allen, *Celtic Art in Pagan and Christian Times*, London, 1904, p. 118; *Guide to the Antiquities of the Bronze Age, British Museum*, do. 1904, pp. 28, 30; E. O'Curry, *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, do. 1873, iii. 341 ff.

[4] S. Reinach, *RA* xiii. [1889] 320; G. Dottin, *Manuel pour servir à l'étude de l'antiquité celtique*, Paris, 1906, p. 217.

[5] Polyb. ii. 29, xii. 4.

[6] O'Curry, pp. 306, 313, 325 f.; Romilly Allen, p. 118.

[7] Diod. Sic. v. 31. 2; Amm. Marc. xv. 9. 8; C. Jullian, *Recherches sur la religion gauloise*, Bordeaux, 1903, p. 58.

[8] 'Battle of Magh Tuireadh,' *Harleian MSS*, cited in O'Curry, iii. 214.

[9] O'Curry, iii. 223.

in the *Book of Leinster* (Dublin, 1880) this three-stringed harp is called a *timpan*, and elsewhere the *timpan* is differentiated from the *cruit*, or harp; it appears to have been played with a bow or wand with hair. It may, therefore, have been a species of violin or fiddle, and separate references to a stringed instrument of the violin type exist.[1]

The origin of the harp is the subject of an Irish myth. A woman walking on the sea-shore saw the skeleton of a whale. The wind striking on the sinews made a pleasing sound, and, listening to its murmur, she fell asleep. In this position her husband found her, and, perceiving that the sound had caused her to sleep, he made a framework of wood, put strings from the whale's sinews on it, and so made the first harp.[2]

Bells of the bronze age have been found in Ireland. They are spherical or pear-shaped, and contain loose clappers of metal or stone, producing a feeble sound. These may have been the kind of bells which were hung on valuable cows and on horses.[3] Gongs are also mentioned—*e.g.*, the plate of silver over Conchobar's bed struck by him with a wand when he desired silence.[4]

An instrument to which most soothing powers are ascribed is mentioned in many texts—the musical branch, or *craebh ciúil*, carried by poets and kings. This O'Curry conjectures to have been a branch or pole on which a cluster of bells was suspended.[5] When shaken, it caused all to be silent; in other words, it was a signal for silence. But in some cases mythical qualities are ascribed to the branch. Cormac Mac Art's branch of golden apples produced the sweetest music and dispelled sorrow.

'Sweeter than the world's music was the music which the apples produced; and all the wounded and sick men of the earth would go to sleep and repose with the music, and no sorrow or depression could rest upon the person who heard it.'[6]

In tales about the Irish Elysium reference is often made to trees growing there which produce marvellous music, causing oblivion to those who hear it. These trees are different from the instrument called *crann ciúil*, or 'musical tree,' which O'Curry describes as a generic name for any kind of musical instrument—harp, *timpan*, or tube.[7]

Special names were given to the players upon these various instruments, the name being taken from that of the instrument itself—e.g., *pipaire*, 'piper'; *cruitire*, 'harpist.'

2. Songs and chants.—The bards of the ancient Celts, frequently referred to by classical writers and corresponding to those of the Irish and Welsh Celts,[8] composed poems of various kinds—epic, satiric, panegyric. Some of these were improvised and were sung to the accompaniment of the lyre. Glimpses of these bards, attached to the train of chiefs or great men, and singing their praises or those of their guests on festive occasions, are found in classical sources.[9] They sang also of the heroic deeds of the past and of great warriors.[10] They were doubtless also the composers of the battle-hymns which warriors sang before or after battle while they beat their arms in rhythmic cadence or danced. These may have been invocations of the gods, or traditional warrior-songs, or even spells to ensure divine help.[11] Individual warriors sometimes improvised their own songs. Chants were also sung by the priestesses of the Isle of Sena in order to raise storms.[12] Traces of archaic hymns, doubtless of the order of spells, are found in Irish texts, and Irish druids used incantations for their magical actions. Of the words of the hymns or chants of the continental Celts no trace now remains. See BARDS, CHARMS AND AMULETS (Celtic), HYMNS (Celtic), MAGIC (Celtic).

3. The love of the Celtic peoples for music is reflected in well-nigh every old legend and tale, and is a well-known characteristic, while the peculiarly intense emotional effects produced on the people by their own songs or instrumental music are very striking, and are felt by those who have even the slightest strain of Celtic ancestry. Nowhere is this love of music better seen than in the tales of the Celtic Elysium—a land where music, sweet, delightful, and soothing, is constantly resounding. Not only do the birds on the trees sing most ravishingly, but there are trees themselves which produce music, like the silver tree with musical branches in the story of Cúchulainn's sickness.[1] 'There is nothing rough or harsh, but sweet music striking on the ear,' says the mysterious visitant in the story of Bran. Even its stones are musical. There is a stone 'from which arise a hundred strains'; it is not sad music, but it 'swells with choruses of hundreds.'[2] 'Harpers shall delight you with their sweet music,' says the maiden who would lure Oisin to the Land of Youth.[3] Mider describes Elysium to Etain as 'the wonderland where reigns sweet-blended song.'[4] Its inhabitants 'hear the noble music of the *sid*,' says Loegaire MacCrimthainn after his sojourn there.[5] The same idea recurs in later Celtic fairy-lore. The belated traveller passing by fairy-mound or fairy-haunted spot, hears the most ravishing music. All this is the expression of a racial love of music, passionate and satisfying.

The love of the pagan Celts for music remained when they became Christian. This is borne witness to by the hymns composed by early Celtic saints[6] and by ecclesiastical music, and also by the secular music—vocal and instrumental, as well as dance music—so prominent in the social life of all Celtic regions. Of late years in Wales, the W. Highlands, and Ireland there has been a great revival and development of the native music. This is a popular movement and already has been productive of interesting results.

LITERATURE.—This is mentioned throughout the article.

J. A. MACCULLOCH.

MUSIC (Chinese).—It is questionable whether any nation has had a higher idea of the importance and power of music than the Chinese. Its mysterious influence has been a theme of their writers through all the ages, for the art of producing harmonious sounds which move the human heart has been known in China since the remotest antiquity. Its discovery is attributed to the Emperor Fu Hsi (2852 B.C.), the invention of the lute being ascribed to him. Doubtless, however, the Chinese not only brought their own music with them into China, but found the aborigines possessed of a system, and possibly the two were amalgamated.

At first emperors had their different systems until Huang Ti, the Yellow Emperor (2697 B.C.), introduced order; a note was fixed for the base note, sounds had names given to them, etc., and music was considered to be the key to good government. Succeeding emperors followed his system. Hymns were composed by these rulers, and the Great Shun (2255 B.C.) composed a piece

1 O'Curry, iii. 361, 363, 365; cf. 328 f.
2 *Transactions of the Ossianic Society*, Dublin, 1854–61, v. 96 f.
3 *Guide*, p. 28; O'Curry, iii. 323.
4 'Courtship of Emer,' O'Curry, iii. 315.
5 iii. 314 f.
6 W. O. E. Windisch and W. Stokes, *Irische Texte*, Leipzig, 1880–1909, iii. 211 f.; O'Curry, iii. 317.
7 J. A. MacCulloch, *Religion of the Ancient Celts*, Edinburgh, 1911, p. 380; O'Curry, iii. 323.
8 Cf. C. Jullian, 'De la littérature poétique des Gaulois,' *RA* xl. [1902] 304 f.
9 Appian, *Hist. Rom.* iv. 12; Athenæus, iv. 37, vi. 49.
10 Lucan, i. 447 f.; Diod. Sic. v. 31. 2; Amm. Marc. xv. 9. 8.
11 Appian, *Celtica*, 8; Livy, x. 26, xxi. 28, xxiii. 24, xxxviii. 17; Polyb. iii. 44; Diod. Sic. v. 29. 4.
12 Pomp. Mela, iii. 6.

1 *Irische Texte*, i. 205 f.
2 K. Meyer and A. Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, London, 1895, i. 1 ff.
3 *Transactions Ossianic Society*, iv. 234 f.
4 *Ir. Texte*, i. 113 f.
5 S. H. O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, London, 1892, ii. 290 f.
6 See HYMNS (Irish Christian).

entitled 'Ta Shao,' which is generally believed to have exercised such a wonderful effect on Confucius, 1600 years after, as to make him lose the taste of his food for three months. It was 'perfect in melody and sentiment,' while the martial music, 'The Great War-Music' of King Wu (*i.e.* 'The Warrior,' 1122 B.C.), though perfect, did not meet with the Sage's approval.[1] The Master again was delighted on visiting the City of Wu (*i.e.* 'The Martial City') to find that, notwithstanding its position, favourable for military operations, the people had been converted from a delight in military pursuits to a love of stringed instruments and singing.[2]

Some of the reforms which Confucius instituted were in connexion with music.[3] He declared that it is not the sounds produced by instruments alone that constitute music.[4] As to the playing, he said that the parts should sound together at the commencement. Then 'as it proceeds they should be in harmony, severally distinct and flowing without break, and thus on to the conclusion.'[5] The Master himself both sang and played.

Mencius endorses the dictum of the ancients that music, if rightly employed, is conducive to good government.[6]

'In music of the grandest style there is the same harmony that prevails between heaven and earth.'[7] 'Music is an echo of the harmony between heaven and earth,' and 'has its origin from heaven.'[8] 'The fervency of benevolence, the exactness of righteousness, the clearness of knowledge, and the firmness of maintenance, must all have their depth manifested in music.'[9]

In the Book of Poetry it is said: 'The dancers move with their flutes to the notes of the organ and drum.'[10] This refers to the sacrifice to the ancestors some centuries before the Christian era. The dancing, of which there were six kinds, was not what in the West is understood by that term, but grave evolutions and posturing intended to show veneration and respect.

The performance of this ritual music at the Chinese imperial court and at religious ceremonies such as those already mentioned, and those of worship to heaven and earth, to the sun and moon, and to Confucius, have been kept up until recently during all the centuries that have elapsed since the early Chinese historic periods. These ceremonies are much alike. Music of a solemn character accompanies the worship, the offerings made, and the hymns sung.

Confucius spoke of 'music that has no sound.'[11] This is not the Chinese equivalent of 'songs without words,' but it is deep and silent virtue. Thus it will be seen that music with these Chinese sages connoted more than the simple word 'music' in English.

The superior man, so the Master said, must take music and apply it: 'to act and to give and receive pleasure from what you do is music.'[12] No wonder that some of this music is said to have 'embraced every admirable quality.'[13] 'The sages found pleasure' in it 'and (saw that) it could be used to make the hearts of the people good.'[14] The airs of the *Shang* were conducive to 'decision in the conduct of affairs,' *i.e.* 'bravery'; the airs of the *Khî* produced 'a spirit of righteousness' in giving 'place to others' even at a loss.[15] 'Where there is music there is joy.'[16]

But this ancient music has perished, leaving abstruse, obscure theories ill understood. The execrated Tsin Shi Hwang Ti (200 B.C.), the builder of the Great Wall and the destroyer of the literati, was also the tyrant at whose mandate music books and instruments perished, leaving scarcely a remembrance behind them. As with the classics, however, ancient literature and instruments again saw the light of day, being rescued from hiding-places. Notwithstanding this, though attempts have also been made to revive the glories of ancient music's 'golden tongue,' the music of the Chinese sages remains practically unknown, though some pieces are supposed to represent it.

Times have also radically changed even with such a conservative people as the Chinese, and the professional musician is not now highly respected. Music, which Confucius considered as completing a man's education,[1] is entirely neglected as a part of a scholar's course, and is not studied seriously. Some of the educated are able to play the flute, the *ch'in*, and a few other instruments, while the common people delight in the banging of the sonorous booming gong, the rattling drum, the shrieking clarionet, and the screeching violin. Music always accompanies marriage, funeral, and religious processions.

The music of China has not been appreciated by the foreigner, who has considered it monotonous, noisy, and disagreeable. It has been much misrepresented and misunderstood, but there are indications that 'her strange, weird, almost ghostly music is winning its way to an appreciation it is worthy of.'[2] There are many excellent Chinese melodies. The instructions as to playing the scholar's lute far surpass in delicacy and refinement anything in the West.

The emperor Hwang Ti is said to have been the inventor of the *lüs*, a series of twelve bamboo tubes, each tube representing a semitone, so that the twelve tubes render the twelve chromatic semitones of the octave. The emperor sent to Bactria for the bamboos, as there, in 'the Valley of Bamboos,' they grow of a regular thickness. The hollow piece between two joints, or *septa*, was taken, and the note which one of the tubes produced was selected as the base or tonic. Similar tubes of different lengths were used for the other notes of their chromatic scale, nearly identical with ours. Several accounts more or less fantastic are given as to why this division into twelve semitones was employed, such as the singing of birds, rolling waves, and voices of men and women of a wild tribe, etc. These tubes have each a name, and they are supposed to be connected with the dualistic system of Chinese philosophy, half of them being classified under the *yang*, or male principle, and the rest under the *yin*, or female. The different Chinese months and hours were also assigned to these tubes. There is an absence of tempering in Chinese music, so that to our Western ears some of the Chinese intervals sound too sharp or too flat.

'Their scale being theoretically correct is too perfect for practice.'[3]

It is this as well as the general absence of piano effects and gradations of sound, there being no crescendos, legatos, etc., that makes Chinese music often so discordant to the foreigner, and the high pitch increases its unpleasing nature.

Though theoretically there is this chromatic scale approximating to that in the West, a pentatonic scale is in use. The five planets were looked on as the bases of the five notes. At one time (1100 B.C.), however, a heptatonic scale was developed by the addition of two more notes to the five. It then consisted of five full tones with two

1 See J. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, Hongkong, 1861–72, i. 3, 28.
2 *Ib.* p. 183. 3 *Ib.* p. 85. 4 *Ib.* p. 185.
5 *Ib.* p. 27. 6 *Ib.* ii. 26 ff.
7 See J. Legge, 'The Lîkî,' *SBE* xxviii. (Oxford, 1885) 99.
8 *Ib.* p. 100. 9 Legge, *Chinese Classics*, ii. 189 f., note.
10 *Ib.* iv. 397; see also pp. 373, 587, 631.
11 Legge, 'The Lîkî,' p. 279. 12 *Ib.* p. 276.
13 *Ib.* p. 106. 14 *Ib.* p. 107.
15 *Ib.* p. 130. 16 *Ib.* p. 112.

1 Legge, i. 75.
2 S. Pollard, 'Infanticide in China,' in *Christian World*, 28th Aug. 1913.
3 W. E. Soothill, 'Chinese Music,' etc., in *Chinese Recorder*, xxi. 222.

semitones, but even then the Chinese gamut was not identical with ours.

This lasted till the time of Kublai Khān (A.D. 1280), when the Mongols who then conquered China brought a new scale and notation, which, with a slight modification, lasted the century of Mongol rule. The native Ming dynasty (1368–1644) excluded the half-tones. The late Manchu dynasty (1644–1912) again made some slight alterations. Now, though theoretically there is a chromatic scale approximating to that in the West, the Chinese are content with a pentatonic scale, having dropped the two half-tones to which most of them have never taken kindly. At the same time, they are further content with fourteen sounds, their music being generally confined within these narrow limits.

As to the notation, there is no stave, the characters representing the notes being written in vertical columns in the same way as in books. To distinguish between a grave and an acute note, a little addition is sometimes made to the character standing for the higher note. In fact, Chinese solmization is imperfect. The musical notation is of such a character that to know exactly how a piece should be played a Chinese musician first requires to hear it played. For some instruments the notation is of a most complex character, containing the fullest directions as to the mode of playing, but generally the Chinese characters simply show that a certain sound is to be produced, in which of the two octaves often being unindicated. Further, it is simply a note, no indication of its length being given, though signs or dots to the right are occasionally inserted in manuscripts to indicate a longer holding of that note. Nor are rests ordinarily shown, nor time, etc., except that a space between two notes may mean either a rest or the end of a verse. Emphasis may be shown by a note being written larger.

Time and measures are thus not always indicated. Four time is the only time known scientifically, but others are heard in practice. The drum or castanets are the instruments which give the time in a band, and on no account is the one or other left out in an orchestra. The pentatonic scale is closely adhered to, whence no sharps, flats, or naturals are found.

'The Chinese scale may be said to be neither major nor minor, but to participate of the two. Chinese melodies are not majestic, martial, sprightly, entrancing, as our music in the major mode; and they lack the softness, the tenderness, the plaintive sadness of our minor airs.'[1]

But this is true of Chinese music played by the Chinese on their own instruments. When transferred to our notation and played on our instruments, the melodies may be described as major.

Chinese vocal music is most disagreeable to European ears, as the Chinese do not sing in a natural voice.

'The sounds seem to proceed from the nose; the tongue, the teeth, and the lips have very little to do except for the enunciation of some labial words.'[2]

The *voix de tête* is generally used. The singing is in unison, no parts being known, though there is an ancient book containing the rudiments of harmony. The guitar is usually the accompanying instrument. A kind of recitative is used in the theatre. Chords, counterpoint, etc., are unknown. On some instruments two strings are played simultaneously. In chanting in Buddhist temples each priest sings in the key best suited for him. Indian music was introduced by the Buddhists.

As Chinese music may be divided into ritual (or sacred) and popular, so the instruments may be similarly divided—the former of a complicated structure, and the latter of a common form. The spiritual principle of music being derived from heaven, the materials of which the instruments are made are earth-derived, and, as there were eight symbols (of Fu Hsi) which express all changes in the universe, the materials from which musical instruments are made are likewise eight. These are stone, metal, silk, bamboo, wood, skin, gourd, and earth, and are supposed to correspond with certain points of the compass and seasons of the year.

Stone chimes were held in high esteem, and there was also the 'single sonorous stone.'[1] The stone chimes are used only in court and religious ceremonies. There are two stone flutes. A conch shell is used by soldiers, watchmen, etc.

Under metal are classed bells, gongs, bell-chimes and gong-chimes, cymbals, and trumpets; and the *la-pa* is a trumpet with sliding tube.

Under silk are the *ch'in* (lute with seven strings) and the *sê* (which has now 25 strings). The latter is supposed to have a compass of five octaves. The four strings of the *p'i-p'a*, or balloon guitar, represent the four seasons. It often accompanies the flute, and is the instrument used by the blind singing-girls, who ply through the streets at night with their duennas, ready for hire. Others also use it. The *san-hsien*, or three-stringed guitar, is a favourite instrument of ballad singers. The *yuehch'in*, or moon-guitar of four strings, is also used to accompany ballads and songs. There are one or two varieties of violins—one with four strings and one (the rebeck) with two. In both of these instruments the bow strings pass between the violin strings, so that the player has not only to play the correct note, but must take care that he does not produce a wrong one by the bow string grating against wrong strings. The foreign harpsichord, as it is called, is something like a zither, but has sixteen sets of fine wires with two bridges.

Under bamboo are included a Pandean pipe, used only in ritual music, and several kinds of flutes, the clarionet, etc.

Wood is employed in castanets, the wooden fish used by priests, and one or two curiously-shaped instruments.

Different kinds of drums account for the use of skin.

The *shêng* has the wind-chest sometimes made of gourd. The tubes which rise from the chest are reeded as in a harmonium, and are said to have given the idea for the construction of that instrument. It is used in the worship of Confucius, and is the most perfect of all Chinese musical instruments. In fact, it is nearly perfect—sweet in tone and delicate in construction.

'The principles embodied in it are substantially the same as those of our grand organs. . . . Kratzenstein, an organ-builder of St. Petersburg, having become the possessor of a *shêng*, conceived the idea of applying the principle to organ-stops.'[2]

An ocarina was made of baked clay or porcelain. Some of these instruments are most ancient in their origin.

The Chinese, as a rule, do not appreciate Western music, though, when taught, they play the harmonium well, and the Christians enjoy singing in church and school. The Chinese voice can be made to do almost anything if taken early enough and properly trained. The present writer has heard foreign music most beautifully rendered by German-trained Chinese.

LITERATURE.—J. A. van Aalst, *Chinese Music*, China I.M. Customs, 11 Special Series, no. 6, Shanghai, 1884; E. Faber, 'Chinese Theory of Music,' in *China Review*, i. [Hongkong, 1873–74] 324 ff., 384 ff., ii. [1874–75] 47 ff.; see also *China Review*, ii. 257, v. [1876–77] 142, xiii. [1884–85] 402, xv. [1886–87] 54; Mrs. Timothy Richard, 'Chinese Music,' in *Chinese Recorder*, xxi. [Shanghai, 1890] 305 ff., 339 ff.; W. E. Soothill, *ib.* p. 221 ff.;

[1] J. A. van Aalst, *Chinese Music*, p. 22; cf. Mrs. T. Richard, 'Chinese Music,' in *Chinese Recorder*, xxi. 339 f.
[2] van Aalst, p. 24.

[1] van Aalst, p. 48.
[2] F. Warrington Eastlake, 'The Chinese Reed Organ,' in *China Review*, xi. [1882] 36, quoted by van Aalst, p. 80 f.

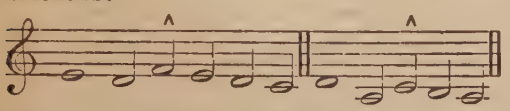
J. Edkins, *ib.* xv. [1885] 61 ff.; W. N. Bitton, *ib.* xl. [1899] 95 ff.; *Notes and Queries on China and Japan*, Hongkong, Feb. 1870, p. 2 ff.; *Chinese Repository*, iv. [Canton, 1834–35] 4, 143, vi. [1836–37] 154, viii. [1839–40] 38 ff., xx. [1851] 34; S. W. Williams, *Middle Kingdom*, revised ed., London, 1883, i. 424, 672, ii. 93 ff.; G. T. Lay, *The Chinese as they are*, do. 1841, p. 75 ff.; J. Dyer Ball, *Things Chinese*[4], do. 1902, art. 'Music.'

J. DYER BALL.

MUSIC (Christian).—I. *INTRODUCTORY.*—**1. Origin.**—All authorities are agreed that the music of the early Church was of Hebraic origin. It is known that the apostles, as Hebrews, engaged in prayer and praise in the Temple, and they would undoubtedly utilize the same chants used there by the people in response to the Levitical choir.

The first record of Christian worship is that memorable hymn sung at the institution of the Lord's Supper: 'And when they had sung a hymn, they went out unto the mount of Olives' (Mk 14[26]).

It was the custom at the Passover Feast to sing certain of the 'Hallel of Egypt' Psalms (Ps 113–118). The most prominent of these, Ps 114, 'In exitu Israel,' has been associated 'throughout the ages' with the chant known as 'Tonus Peregrinus,' which, leaving out intonation notes, may be shown as follows:



In the Anglican Church this melody is likewise associated with the Communion service—where it is intoned to the 'Nunc Dimittis' at the close. The origin of this chant does not seem to have been traced, nor do we know the melodies to which the hymns of the NT were set, *i.e.* the Magnificat (the 'Hymn Evangelical' of Isaac Williams), the song of Zacharias after the birth of St. John the Baptist, the Angels' song at the birth of our Saviour—later expanded into the 'Gloria in excelsis,' and the 'Nunc Dimittis'—associated as they are with Christian worship from the earliest times.

Music must have played an important part in early Christian worship, if we judge by St. Paul's references to it in his Epistles—written not very long after the Ascension of Christ—since he repeatedly admonishes the adherents to sing and make melody in 'psalms and hymns and spiritual songs,' while he seeks to regulate the order of worship in his Epistle to the Corinthians (1 Co 14[26]), where he says: 'When ye come together, each one hath a psalm.'

The liturgy of the Christian Church was largely founded on the Jewish model, the oldest form being the vigil celebration, which later was divided into Evening, Night, and Morning forms of service.

The mode of Jewish worship, viz. the precentor singing the psalm as a solo, with the congregation joining in the refrain, or *cantus responsorius*, was copied by the early Christians, and was later highly elaborated as regards the solo portions.

Regarding the melodies used originally for the chanting of the Psalm little is known. In an illuminating article in *Musical Times*, January 1914, A. M. Friedländer (a Jew) says:

'We do not know the musical interpretation of the musical signs used in the Book of Psalms.' What is known is that 'for the cantillation of the Holy Law and Prophets' the latter differs widely from that used for the Pentateuch. The author proves that there is a strong similarity between (1) the Jewish system of accents fixing the modulations of the voice employed in the cantillations and the early European system of musical notation known as 'neums'; and also between (2) the cantillations used for the chanting of the Prophets 'and the oldest known music of the Catholic and Protestant Churches'—a particular instance being given in the melody known as the 'Ambrosian Te Deum,' the origin of which has hitherto been shrouded in mystery.

Hebrew origin has also been claimed for the melodies which have come down to us as the 'Gregorian *or* Psalm tones,' which were collected and codified by St. Ambrose in the 4th cent., and again to some extent during the time of St. Gregory the Great († 604) in his *Antiphonarium*, a copy of which he had nailed to the altar of St. Peter's in Rome as a standard of reference. It was this system or collection of Church song that was introduced by St. Augustine into Britain in A.D. 597, when he founded the Augustine school of music at Canterbury. There is, however, no definite proof of Hebrew origin, though circumstances certainly favour the idea that it is highly probable.

The Jews themselves at the present time chant the Psalms, but, as mentioned above, cannot identify the ancient musical signs particularly associated with them. No doubt the early Christians may possibly have set the ancient melodies differently. These melodies would be brought by Christian converts to Rome, and during the era of persecution they would be sung in the catacombs. During that time of struggle we may expect the evolution only of the fittest.[1]

2. Early musical material available.—As regards the form of the music in use in the early Christian era, it is sufficient to say that the song melodies or cantillations were entirely dependent on, and subordinate to, the varying accent and metre of the text; and, as Hebrew poetry is mostly constructed on a responsive basis or in parallelisms, it is inferred that the Psalms were chanted antiphonally or as a solo with a limited congregational refrain. This responsive method passed on to the Church of Milan in the 4th cent. and to Rome shortly afterwards. As in the Temple service, the female voice was excluded.

Incidentally, the titles to some of the Psalms (Ps 22, etc.) indicate that they were sung to secular melodies. This example of appropriating the best secular melodies is one that has been followed throughout the ages.

Any knowledge of harmony at this time seems to be entirely wanting, while instrumental music with the Hebrews seems to have been confined to *selah* interludes, or flourishes on trumpets, hand clappings, and sweeping chords on instruments of the harp type.

Such, then, together with the NT hymns and, in addition, the melodies composed by the early Christians themselves, seems to have been the musical material available at this time. Thus the musical foundation of the early Church seems to have been decidedly Hebraic—although at the time Greek philosophy and Greek art were dominant, Greek influence being shown by the fact that the earliest liturgies are written in Greek. Probably Greek melodies were also borrowed from the Greek metrical songs and adapted to the unmetrical Church Psalms, antiphons, prayers, responses, etc.; the early Fathers, however, shunned the Greek instrumental accompaniment as being previously associated with pagan rites (see below, § XV.).

We have spoken of the introduction to the Church of Milan of responsive or antiphonal methods of chanting from the East in the 4th century. At an earlier period (early 2nd cent.) Pliny (*Ep.* xcvi. 'de Christianis,' 7) had mentioned that the Christians sang 'by turn among themselves,' while St. Ignatius, bishop of Antioch in the 2nd cent., is also credited with its introduction both by Amalarius (*de Ecclesiasticis Officiis*, iv. 7) and by Socrates (vi. 8), who says:

'Ignatius . . . saw a vision of angels hymning in alternate chants the Holy Trinity.'

[1] See, further, J. Stainer, *The Music of the Bible*, new ed., London, 1914, pt. iv. 'Vocal Music of the Hebrews.'

Philo describes the singing of the Jewish monastic sect of the Essenes (Therapeutæ).

'They used two choirs, 'one of men, the other of women. . . . They then sing hymns to the praise of God, composed in different kinds of metre and verse, now with one mouth, now with antiphonal hymns and harmonies' (*de Vita Contemplativa*, p. 484 *f.* [Mangey]).

This method of singing alternately at the interval of an octave in pitch differed from the Greek idea of antiphony, since in their case the method was simultaneous (and not alternate) and was termed 'magadizing.' Since in the early Church the sexes were divided, the antiphonal response of women's (or boys') and men's voices at the octave was quite a natural one. This method has recently been revived in High Anglican services.

'Such a method is quite destructive of the genuine effect of antiphonal chanting, which ought to be equally balanced on each side of the choir' (Bumpus, *Dict. of Eccles. Terms*, p. 23).

It must be remembered that circumstances compelled the singing to be in unison and unaccompanied—certainly a crude and primitive method executed under trying conditions, though the situation would be lightened by the emulation which the division of the sexes would create. This method developed later on, as the congregations were better organized and the antiphonal singing was led with a double choir. Anglican choirs to-day sing antiphonally in the Psalms, but not the congregation. This could be easily remedied.

3. Orders of service.—By the middle of the 4th cent. the growth of the power of priests had led to the concentration of the devotional offices in their own hands and to the formation of definite orders of service or liturgies, and in this matter the Churches of the East in Syria and Egypt led the way. In the Eastern liturgies of St. Mark and St. James we find that the people are allotted such responses as 'Amen,' 'Kyrie Eleison,' 'And to thy spirit,' the 'Thrice Holy,' and others. Prayers, readings, and chanted sentences were delivered by the priests or deacons and a choir of singers, the responses being rendered by the people, as above. The Council of Laodicea (341–381) allowed only appointed singers 'to sing from the book'; this probably was intended to refer to the priest's part or to sentences allotted to him. The constituted liturgy of the ordinary service was termed the 'Office.'

4. Other musical features.—Besides the Psalms and hymns other musical features arose. The 'Psalm tones' were sung, not in our scales, but in the primitive 'modes' of the time. Many of these did not end on the 'final' of the mode, since the idea of tonality or key was undeveloped, and, to obviate the inconclusive effect, 'antiphons,' consisting of a verse from a Psalm and terminating on the final, were sung both before and after the Psalm. These antiphons varied with the season; sometimes they were sung to the word 'Alleluia' (as originally found in the Psalms themselves), and these 'Alleluia' chants taking a florid turn were named 'tropes.' The antiphon was known in the East in the 4th cent., and in the 5th cent. it was also inserted in the Communion service or Mass.

The liturgy of the Mass was a matter of slow growth. On the 'perpetual miracle' of transubstantiation the Roman Church built up an elaborate service, High Mass being musical throughout. The ordinary Mass includes introits, collects, epistles and lessons, graduals, tracts, gospels, offertories, communions and post-communions. In the High, or sung, Mass there follow in order the introit (verse of a Psalm), 'Kyrie,' 'Gloria in Excelsis,' the gradual (consisting of a Psalm verse sung to ancient plain-song on the steps of the ambon) or an 'Alleluia' verse or a tract (a Psalm verse also set to ancient Church song, sung slowly), and on certain festivals an animated antiphonal hymn termed a 'sequence' (see A. Riley, 'Concerning Hymn Tunes and Sequences' [*Church Music Soc. Papers*, 4 and 5], ch. viii.). The Confession of Faith, or 'Credo,' is sung next by the choir, and is followed by the often elaborate offertory (during the offering), the 'Sanctus,' 'Benedictus,' and 'Agnus Dei' (after the consecration), all sung by the choir.

II. *THE AGE OF UNISONAL SONG.*—**1. Plain-song.**—St. Ambrose, as has already been mentioned, is credited with the codification of the plain chant melodies and their classification into four 'authentic modes,' or scales, as most easily represented by the white notes only of the piano thus:

Dorian	D to D, or *r* to *r*.
Phrygian	E to E, or *m* to *m*.
Lydian	F to F, or *f* to *f*.
Mixo-Lydian	G to G, or *s* to *s*.

Later St. Gregory († A.D. 604), it is related, supplemented the labours of St. Ambrose, though history is not very definite on this point;[1] but he is credited with the extension, or the recognition of the extension, of the existing modes upwards thus:

Hypo-Dorian . . .	A to A, or *l* to *l*.
Hypo-Phrygian . . .	B to B, or *t* to *t*.
Hypo-Lydian . . .	C to C, or *d* to *d*.
Hypo-mixo-Lydian . .	D to D, or *r* to *r*.

These were known as the four 'plagal modes.'

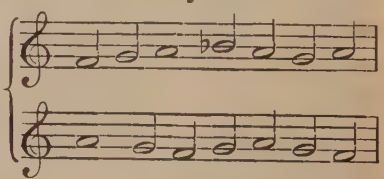
Antiphonal song is said to have been introduced into the Church of Rome by Pope Celestine I. (422–432). It was further encouraged by Leo the Great (440–461), who established a singing-school of plain chant in Rome.

Gevaert (*La Mélopée antique*) ascribes the 'compilation and composition of the liturgic songs' to the Greek popes at the end of the 7th and the beginning of the 8th centuries.

'The Antiphonarium Missarum received its definitive form between 682 and 715; the Antiphonarium Officii was already fixed under Pope Agathon (678–681).' Gevaert says also that 'the oldest chants are the simplest. . . The florid chants were of later introduction, and were probably the contribution of the Greek and Syrian Churches' (Dickinson, p. 110 *f.*).

No definite system of notation arose before the 7th cent., and the monks had to refresh their memories of the traditional melodies by means of a series of scratches and dots termed 'neums.' Singers then, as later, took liberties with the melodies, so that musical knowledge of this period is somewhat vague; but, as every monastery became a singing-school, the knowledge of the Church song was spread abroad. The Milan and Gallican Churches had adopted other forms of the chant, but the Roman version with the aid of Charlemagne (768–814) prevailed. In 790 two monks, taking with them the *Gregorian Antiphonary*, reached the monastery of St. Gall in Switzerland, with which certain monks of Irish nationality were prominently connected. St. Gall henceforth became an important centre or music-school, and that *Antiphonary*, as the oldest MS extant, still exists. A facsimile was published by L. Lambillotte at Brussels in 1867.

The 'Gregorian *or* Psalm tones' consist of eight tones with various introductory notes or intona-



tions and endings, which, together with the irregular 'Tonus Peregrinus' and 'Tonus Regius, make up some 46 chants in all.

[1] See Dickinson, *Music of the Western Church*, p. 107.

Various versions of the 'Psalm tones' existed in the Mechlin Office Books, the English Sarum Psalter, and the Roman and French Psalters; and, the chant having degenerated throughout the ages, a reform and restoration movement was carried on through the monks of Solesmes (who published their *Paléographie musicale* in 1889) and the Cecilian Society. Pope Pius X. also decreed the restoration of the plain chant in an authorized form in 1903 and again in 1912. The 'Psalm tones' are to be sung in unison as intended. They were originally unaccompanied from necessity; there can, however, be no objection to judicious organ accompaniment, if congregational singing is intended, so long as it is in keeping with the mode and the spirit of the Psalm.

Plain-song, or chants, broadly speaking, may be classified into (1) simple syllabic melodies, and (2) florid, or melismatic, song.

It has also been classified into periods thus: (i.) the first six centuries A.D.; (ii.) the next seven or eight centuries. Its decline dates from the introduction of the *organum* in the 9th cent. and the development of polyphony, and continued till (iii.) the debased period, from the 16th cent. to 1880; (iv.) its revival by the monks of Solesmes and the pope's decrees of 1903 and 1912, the latter of which points out 'that the entire congregation should take part in executing those portions of the text which are assigned to the choir.'

Since the Roman Church has never really encouraged congregational music, this is certainly a step in the right direction, and the result will be watched with interest. The step from concertized Masses sung only by the choir to the Office and Mass sung only in plain-song is, however, an extreme one. The strength of plain-song is its startling contrast to modern music as heard everywhere around us. Its primitive or undeveloped sense of key, its vague rhythm essentially fitted for prose only (well-defined rhythm is absolutely necessary for unanimous and hearty congregational singing), its limited compass, and its unharmonized or unaccompanied presentation are all useful as a means of contrast. But, when used to the entire, or almost entire, exclusion of ordinary fully-developed music, it becomes dreary in the extreme —its primitiveness becomes only too apparent.

Plain-song in its best form is eminently fitted to the traditional congregational responses, and in the 'Psalm tones' for the chanting of the prose Psalms; there are also some fine ancient hymn melodies which have survived the test of time and are found in many Hymnals. It should, however, be remembered that plain-song is essentially men's song (*i.e.* of monastic origin), and fitted principally for male voices; and to have the proper effect it must be rendered in unison by voices in which the male element preponderates.

LITERATURE.—D. A. de Sola, *The Ancient Melodies of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews*, London, 1857; C. Engel, *The Music of the most Ancient Nations*, do. 1864; A. M. Friedländer, 'Notes on Facts and Theories,' etc., in *Musical Times*, Jan. 1914; K. Weinmann, *Hist. of Church Music*, New York, 1910 (with bibliography); F. A. Gevaert, *La Mélopée antique dans le chant de l'église latine*, Ghent, 1895; J. B. Rebours, *Traité de psaltique*, Paris, 1907; G. Grove, *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. J. A. Fuller-Maitland, London, 1904–10, *s.vv.* 'Ambrosian Chant,' 'Gregorian Modes,' 'Modes,' 'Plain Song,' etc.; *A Grammar of Plain Song* (the Benedictines of Stanbrook), do. 1905; F. Burgess, *The Teaching and Accompaniment of Plain Song*, do. 1914, 'A Revised Gregorian Tonale,' *Musical Times*, Aug. 1915; J. Stainer and H. B. Briggs, *Manual of Plain Song*, do. 1902; M. Springer, *Art of Accompanying Plain Chant*, New York, 1908; H. Grace, 'Plain-Song, Pros and Cons,' *Church Music Society Paper*, London, 1915; R. W. Terry, *Catholic Church Music*, do. 1907; F. C. C. Egerton, *Handbook of Church Music; A Practical Guide to Plain Song of the Roman Mass*, do. 1909 (with bibliography).

2. The carol.—As one of the earliest forms of Church music, the carol merits separate attention. It was a festal hymn designed for special occasions and usually written in metrical form. Hymns were in use before Christ (see the Delphic Hymn to Apollo [280 B.C.] with melody in *Musical Times*, June 1894; also Duncan, *Story of the Carol*, p. 9 f.). Augustine gives an interesting definition of a hymn. The 'Gloria in excelsis,' or 'Angels' hymn,' has been termed the first carol of the Church.

Clement, in the 1st cent., exhorted his brethren to keep in 'the first place the day of Christ's birth' (Duncan, p. 10), and Telesphorus, bishop of Rome, instituted in A.D. 129 the custom of singing Christmas carols, ordaining then the singing of the 'Angels' hymn' (*ib.* p. 11). Prudentius (b. 348) is known as the first writer of carols, and St. Jerome testifies in the 5th cent. that carols were in use. Early examples are the well-known 'Corde natus' of Prudentius and the 5th cent. 'A solis ortus cardine' (*ib.* p. 17). Julian (*Dict. of Hymnology*[2], p. 207) states that many of the early Church lyrics in various forms partook of the character of the carol. Charlemagne encouraged the use of carols and hymns, and condemned the vulgar type of songs which had crept into the Churches.

In the canons of Ælfric made in 957 priests are admonished to keep the song-books for the various services at hand.

Minstrelsy at this time was very popular, and with the preaching of the Crusades in 1095 arose the Order of Troubadours and the Crusaders' hymns. The rise of the miracle-play and pageant brought the carol 'Orientis partibus,' the melody of which is preserved in our Hymnals, and from the 12th cent. onwards the carol is preserved to us in frequent quaint examples, some of which are very popular in their refreshing and unstilted melody. They take various forms, and composers like the English Marbeck and Byrd wrote them, while Bach harmonized specimens.

In Duncan's *Story of the Carol* an example of an early carol of the 11th cent., 'Congaudeat turba fidelium,' taken from the Swedish collection *Piæ Cantiones* (1582), is to be found.

LITERATURE.—E. Duncan, *The Story of the Carol*, London, 1911 (with bibliography); J. Julian, *Sacred Carols, Ancient and Modern*, do. 1909; Grove, *s.v.* 'Carol,' etc.; J. A. Fuller-Maitland, *English Carols of the 15th Century*, London, n.d.; J. P. Migne, *Dictionnaire de Noels*, Paris, 1867; H. J. L. J. Massé and C. K. Scott, *A Book of Old Carols*, London, 1907; *Cowley Carol Book*, do. 1902. See also bibliography in Duncan.

III. *THE RISE OF POLYPHONY.*—So far Church song had been confined to melody. The first step away from this took the shape of *organum*, or the organizing of a rigidly concurrent accompaniment of fifths or fourths on the organ, which was introduced into the Church about the 7th century. To modern ears this effect, taken by itself, would be extremely crude, but, sustaining a large body of men's voices singing in unison, would probably be quite tolerable.

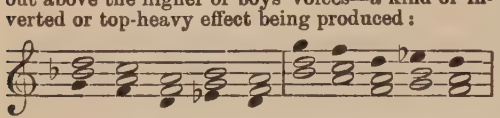
This organ effect was tried also by the choristers, and probably with more euphonious results. Later the experiment of voices singing a drone or stationary bass, combined with previous efforts, gave the necessary beginning in polyphony, or the art of harmoniously weaving the various voices together. Guido of Arezzo, in the 11th cent., wrote an account of the methods of *organum*, or diaphony, and examples are given in the *Musica* of Johannes Cotto (*c.* 1100).

The introduction of other intervals besides those of the 5th and 4th, and more definite indications of time and rhythm come next in order, first in two and then in three parts, until we come to the composition of the early sacred motet, in which (as in all early monk-made music) the melody is put into the tenor part.

The canon, or imitation by one voice of another voice part, and vocal interchange of the parts occur

in 13th cent. music. This device became more and more artistically worked—indeed, too much so for the unsympathetic ears of one John of Salisbury (1120–80), who complains that the congregation is depraved by listening to these 'enervating performances' in 'the re-doubling of notes, repetition of phrases, and clashing of voices' (*Polycraticus*, i. 6). These devices of descant became more and more florid, so much so that Pope John XXII., in 1322, forbade all descant except the simple addition of octaves, fourths, and fifths, unless for special occasions. Musical composition at this time—*i.e.* from the 11th to the 15th cent.—was one long experiment. The conditions were anything but simple. The notation was the indefinite square note system used for plain-song; bar-lines were wanting. Many different clefs were used, and composition was attacked mostly from the mathematical aspect, and became a tangled and abstruse contrapuntal puzzle. The scale itself was not understood, and ideas of interchange of key were strictly limited by the hexachord (or six note) arrangement.

As already mentioned, the theme, often that of a secular song, was put in the tenor, and various parts were added in an artificial style. This tenor melody arrangement was termed *faux-bourdon*, 'false bass,' since the effect of its being sung by high men's voices was to make the lower voice stand out above the higher or boys' voices—a kind of inverted or top-heavy effect being produced:



as written the effect.
(melody in black notes).

Of great historical interest is the famous rota 'Sumer is icumen in,' a four-part canon with a *pes*, or foundation, of two parts making six part harmony, written about 1226, in the handwriting of John of Fornsete at Reading Abbey. Between this and the compositions of John of Dunstable († 1453) there is little worthy of note. Dunstable was well known on the Continent through his motets, and he seems to have been the first to attempt to practise independent part-writing with success.

1. **A capella masses and motets.**—English Church composers were now pre-eminent from about 1530 to 1561, after which Palestrina and the Italians came to the front. In the interval after Dunstable's death the Flemings were pre-eminent through the Netherlanders Jean Okeghem († 1513) and Josquin des Prés (1445–1521). Josquin des Prés was at this time the 'idol of Europe,' his compositions being sung everywhere. They are now being revived (see John Hullah, *Hist. of Modern Music*[8], p. 49 f.). In the meantime a setting of the Passion music by Richard Davy, famous as the earliest known (*c.* 1490–1504), is to be noted.

The three great English cathedral composers before the Reformation were Christopher Tye (1510–72), Robert Whyte († 1574), and Thomas Tallis († 1585). At this time the Mass music in England had grown to be very elaborate. The 'Gregorian tones' were in common use before and after the Reformation, but the Reformers rightly aimed at making the words clear, and later John Marbeck († 1585) was given the task of making plain settings of the Church service. English pre-Reformation Church composers played an important part, but unfortunately most of their MS works are still locked up in college and university libraries (see H. Davey, *Hist. of English Music*, London, 1895).

The Church works of this period, we must remember, are purely *a capella*, or unaccompanied. This *a capella* style reached its climax in Palestrina (1526–94), who clothed the learning of the Netherlands school with spirituality and dignity. Palestrina's works are written in both (*a*) simple chordal style, and (*b*) the complicated polyphonic style of the period, which in its substance is based on imitative work and lacks the defined periods of the simple secular style. His work was founded upon the Gregorian chant, and the Marcellus Mass is still a model of the more elaborate *a capella* style. Palestrina overshadowed somewhat the fine works of his contemporaries, Willaert, the two Gabrielis (Andrea and Giovanni), Vittoria, the two Anerios (Felice and Giovanni - Francesco), Tallis, C. Goudimel († 1572), and others. For Palestrina see W. S. Rockstro, *Hist. of Music*, ch. vii.; Hullah, p. 87 f.; and G. Baini, *Memoirs of Palestrina*, Rome, 1828, Germ. tr., Leipzig, 1834; see also Grove, *s.v.*

Adrian Willaert, though a Fleming, was chapel-master from 1527 to 1563 at St. Mark's, Venice. Prompted by the existence of its two opposite music galleries, he wrote compositions for double choir, thus presenting effects of contrast and climax.

Out of emulation G. Gabrieli (1557–1612) wrote a twelve-part Psalm, as C. von Winterfeld says, for 'three choruses, one of deep voices, one of higher, and the third consisting of the four usual parts.'

'Like a tender fervent prayer begins the song in the deeper chorus, "God be merciful. . . ." Then the middle choir continues with similar expression, "And cause his face to shine upon us." The higher chorus strikes in with the words, "That thy way may be known upon earth." In full voice the strain now resounds from all three choirs, "Thy saving health among all nations"' (Winterfeld, *Johannes Gabrieli und sein Zeitalter*, Berlin, 1834, *ap.* Dickinson, p. 170).

The strong point of the best of this mediæval unaccompanied Mass and motet music is its detached, exalted, and mystical air, as exemplified in Palestrina. Its weak point is the lack of the emotional interpretative element; this was left to the ceremony and ritual of the Church to suggest and foster. Nevertheless, it was this that led to its decay and disuse and the substitution of the newer style described below, § XII.

After Palestrina the motet was cultivated by all grades of composers. The pre-Reformation motets of the English composers C. Tye, J. Taverner, J. Shepherd, R. Fairfax, W. Byrd, and O. Gibbons in pride of place stand next to those of Palestrina. In Italy itself the fine motets of T. L. Vittoria (1560–1608) were followed by the more modern works of A. Scarlatti, L. Leo, F. Durante, and G. B. Pergolesi, in the latter half of the 17th cent., and these are still worthy of study. The sceptre then passed to Germany, where the great Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750) reigned supreme, whose magnificent motets for double chorus, such as 'Be not afraid,' and 'Blessing, Glory and Wisdom,' astonish and gratify the artist. Handel's motets are also very fine and well worth reviving.

The motets of Haydn and Mozart are really cantatas. In England the motet was continued under the name of the 'full anthem.' S. Wesley's motets are fine examples of the earlier style. In later times we have also worthy examples by Brahms, Hauptmann, Rheinberger, and Cornelius. Mendelssohn's 'Hear my Prayer' is really an anthem.

2. **Passion music.**—(*a*) We have already mentioned the earliest example of Passion music—an English work by Davy. From the 4th cent. onwards, the history of the Passion has been set forth in Holy Week in musical form.

At first, after the Greek manner, the events of the sacred Passion were disposed in dialogue form and chanted and interspersed with choruses, arranged like those of Æschylus and Sophocles. An ancient plain chant named 'Cantus Passionis' has come down to us, but its origin and date are

unknown. The subsequent manner was to divide the words spoken by (1) the narrator, (2) our Lord, and (3) the apostles, or chorus, among three priests or deacons, and each one had his own chant. This manner seems to have prevailed generally till about 1550 or 1570. The interesting Passion music of Richard Davy, who was organist of Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1490, is according to St. Matthew, and for four voices; it is not written in a plain-song, but in free early 16th cent. style. It was discovered in a MS choir-book at Eton College containing originally 66 motets and 28 magnificats. Davy composed also a 'Stabat Mater,' motets, etc. This is a specimen of the pre-Reformation treasures still in existence, but as yet mostly neither transcribed nor reproduced in any form (Davey, p. 90).

A Passion according to St. John comes next (*c.* 1560–70), and after that an early Protestant work is found in Keuchenthal's Book (see Winterfeld, *Der evangelische Kirchengesang*, Leipzig, 1843–47), published in 1573, in which there are short choruses for the people or crowd, and soliloquies in recitative form. Vittoria in 1585 wrote a similar work in artistic style which, rendered by the pontifical choir in Rome, has since remained a classic (Grove, *s.v.* 'Passion Music'; Naumann, *Hist. of Music*, pp. 431, 478).

(*b*) These works prepared the way for the Passion oratorios of H. Schütz (1585–1672) and J. Sebastiani (1672), who introduced in them Protestant chorale melodies, of R. Keiser (1673–1739), who introduced the sentimental element, and for the climax, the magnificent Passion oratorios of Bach. Graun's 'Der Tod Jesu,' produced in 1755, Haydn's 'Seven Last Words' (1785), Beethoven's 'Mount of Olives' (1803), Spohr's 'Calvary' (1833), and many English works down to the sincere and popular Stainer's 'Crucifixion' (1887), may be mentioned.

LITERATURE.—C. E. H. de Coussemaker, *Drames liturgiques du moyen âge*, Rennes, 1860; see also literature below, § XI., and Dickinson, p. 275 ff.

3. The effect of the Reformation.—We now come to the movement which exerted marked influence on the course of Church music. We have to remember that so far the music of the Church had been practically confined to the priests and the choir. The music-schools were in the hands of the priests, and no effort seems to have been made to train the lay element or congregation, so that their part was limited practically to an occasionally ejaculated 'Kyrie' or 'Amen'; the rest involved listening to complicated compositions in the polyphonic style set to Latin words, and to the Psalms and the Office, also in Latin, as set to the ancient plain-song of the Church. The congregation was thus practically ignored. Hence the natural demand of the Reformers for simplicity and for a share in the worship (see Naumann, p. 429).

IV. *ENGLISH CATHEDRAL MUSIC.*—The music of the Reformed Church resolved itself into (*a*) that performed by the choir, in England known as cathedral music, and (*b*) congregational responses, chorales, metrical Psalms, and hymns.

Here it should be noted that the Reformation took a comparatively mild course in England. Henry VIII. threw off the pope's authority in 1534. The dissolution of the monasteries began in 1536, some 600 monasteries and convents being destroyed. Previous to this every monastery and abbey had acted as a school of music or song-school for the training of the singing priests and boys. The choirs at this time of cathedrals, abbeys, universities, the Chapel Royal, and private chapels of large estates had been well supplied with Mass and motet music by Tallis, Tye, R. Whyte, Fairfax, Taverner, Shepherd, and others. In 1536 Church music and organ playing were reckoned among the eighty-four 'faults and abuses of religion,' and, despite the later publication of the Six Articles in which they were defended, enormous damage was done, innumerable MSS by pre-Reformation composers being destroyed. Choirs were dispersed and organs broken up.

It is interesting to relate that Messrs. Novello are now, in their 'Cathedral Series,' publishing some of the best of the English pre-Reformation compositions which have survived, and so far had lain in oblivion. The boy king Edward VI. was won over to the cause of the Reformation, and reforms in doctrine and ritual were brought forward. The Book of Common Prayer took the place of the Missal and Breviary. The Mass was abolished and the Communion Service as set forth in the first Prayer Book of Edward VI. in 1549 took its place.

1. The Anglican service.—The order of the ordinary services was founded to some extent on the ancient Latin Office named the Hours, certain items being omitted. It contains the responses for the people, the canticles, the daily portion of the Psalms, and room for a hymn or anthem, and also the Litany, as compiled from the old litanies of the English Church and set as before to the old plain-song. The Communion Service was framed on the ancient use of the church of Sarum (Salisbury).

The order is one which gives considerable latitude, since responses, creed, Psalms, and canticles may be said or sung. In a full choral or cathedral service these are all sung, the canticles ('Te Deum,' etc.) being taken to anthem-like settings; other grades of service depend on taste and the capacity of the choir, the canticles being chanted and the anthem perhaps omitted. The acknowledged guide to the full choral service is now the *Cathedral Prayer Book* (Novello and Co.).

The first musical reform of the services of the Church was accomplished by John Marbeck. In 1550 Marbeck made a plain one-part or unison setting (founded to some extent on Sarum use) of the various responses and liturgical portion of the services, as well as of the canticles which were set to Gregorian chants; the Psalter was not given. The Communion Service commenced with a verse from the Psalms as an introit, and the Commandments, 'Gloria in Excelsis,' 'Credo,' 'Sursum Corda,' 'Sanctus,' 'Benedictus,' 'Pater Noster,' and 'Agnus Dei' followed. At the revision of the Prayer Book in 1552 the introit, 'Benedictus,' and 'Agnus Dei' were excluded and the 'Gloria' put at the end. Marbeck's settings have certainly an Elizabethan ring about them, but they are devotional even if lacking in characterization.

LITERATURE.—S. Royle Shore, 'The Choral Eucharist since the Reformation,' *The Cathedral Quarterly*, April 1913; D. Slater, 'Additional Notes on Communion Services between the Elizabethan and early Victorian Epochs,' *ib.*, July 1913.

2. Choral settings of the Anglican Service.—(*a*) The first book of full choral settings of the Service was published by John Day in 1560. It contained settings of the 'Te Deum'—with the Ambrosian melodies in the tenor part—and a fine Communion Service by T. Causton († 1569), also settings of the Litany, the Lord's Prayer to a chant, and various anthems by Tallis and others. Tallis and Tye both embraced the Reformation. Tye, in obedience to the universal demand which set in for the metrical versions of everything, made a setting in 1553 of such a version of the Acts of the Apostles. Of this he completed fourteen chapters in all. These were set in a kind of metrical anthem form, displaying the usual fugal and canonic entries, but in simple and clear style. Some portions were afterwards arranged as Psalm tunes, such as the one

known as Southwark. Tye's Service in G minor has recently been re-published.

Previous to the Reformation **Tallis** († 1585), who wrote mostly in the Dorian mode, had composed his important five- and six-part motets and a Mass in F. His motet, or 'Song of Forty Parts,' written for eight choirs of five voices each, still remains a wonder of counterpoint. His anthems in Day's Service-Book and others, his nine tunes in Parker's *Metrical Psalter* of 1560, and his harmonization of the Church responses and Litany with melody in the tenor keep his name ever before us. It is well known that congregations sing, not the tenor plain-song in his festal responses, but naturally the upper soprano or added part. The original arrangement is suitable only for men communities (see also Barrett, *English Church Composers*, p. 23).

Richard Farrant († 1581) is known for his solid and solemn Services and anthems. His association with 'Lord, for thy tender mercies' sake' is doubted. **N. Patrick, N. Strogers, R. Whyte,** and **W. Mundy** († *c.* 1591) are likewise well-known names of the pre-Reformation period.

(*b*) *Elizabethan and Stuart periods.*—**W. Byrd** († 1623), though a Romanist at heart and a composer of important compositions for the Roman Church, wrote anthems and Services for the Reformed Church. His anthem 'Bow thine Ear' and the canon 'Non nobis domine' preserve his renown. Other works of this period were **T. Morley's** († *c.* 1604) fine Burial Service and **T. Tomkins'** († 1656) Service in C. The Services and anthems of **Orlando Gibbons** (1583–1625), the leading composer of this polyphonic period (and known as 'the English Palestrina'), are masterpieces of their kind. His 'Hosanna to the Son of David' is still a favourite, and an advance on the heavy style of Tallis and Byrd (see also Barrett, p. 58).

The Stuarts did little for English music, and cathedral choirs were much reduced at this time. **Adrian Batten** († 1673), who was about the first composer to use bar-lines, is noted for his devotional full choral Communion Service.

The historic Barnard's *Collection of Church Music*, quite a repository of this period, was published in 1561 in the usual parts. These parts were dissipated through the Civil Wars and were not got together again till 1863.

The Puritan interregnum now intervened, and Parliament decreed that organs should be taken down and choral music books destroyed, as already mentioned.

After the Restoration E. Lowe's *Short Directions for the Performance of the Cathedral Service*, published in 1661, and J. Clifford's *Collection of Services and Anthems* (*393*) *and Chants* were certainly needed (see Rockstro's interesting account of the English school of the Restoration [ch. xv. p. 162]). The chants at this period for the Psalms and canticles were the ancient Gregorian tones.

One sign of the changed times is seen in the action of Charles II., who, 'tyred with ye grave and solemn way' of Tallis, Byrd, and Gibbons, 'ordered ye composers of his Chappell to add Symphonys etc. with Instruments to their Anthems . . . to be done when he came to ye Chappell . . . after ye French fantastical light way' (T. Tudway's [† 1730] collection quoted from Bumpus, *Hist. of Eng. Cathedral Music*, p. 123).

In order to meet the king's tastes **Pelham Humphreys** (1647–74) was sent to France to acquire the prevailing Italian style. Humphreys introduced the declamatory recitative style and more dramatic feeling into his anthems, and they are still used. For Humphreys see Hullah, p. 120 f.

The early anthem was practically a motet—*i.e.* written in full chorus and more or less involved contrapuntal style—and the modern anthem may be said to date from about the time of Humphreys and Purcell, with the introduction of more dramatic feeling or necessary characterization of the emotions, solo (or 'verse') passages, and accompaniments in the Italian style.

The anthems and Services of **J. Blow** (1648–1708) are characterized by vigour, pathos, and freshness, and give evidence of a new element of imagination. These, with the melodious anthems by **Michael Wise** († 1687) and the pathetic and expressive works of **R. Langdon** († 1803), pave the way for **Henry Purcell** (1658–95), the premier genius of English cathedral music. By this time the cathedral establishments had been fully restored after the Commonwealth. Purcell's Church works comprise 3 Services, 32 anthems, and 20 interesting anthems with orchestral accompaniment. The last, written for the Chapel Royal, are mostly verse anthems, *i.e.* intended for solo voices with short refrains for chorus and with introductions and interludes for the stringed instruments. They are characterized by brevity of movement and frequent changes of tempo—strong contrasts intended to claim the royal interest (see G. P. E. Arkwright, 'Purcell's Church Music,' *Musical Antiquary*, Jan. and July 1910). Refined melody and harmony combined with great ingenuity are Purcell's characteristics. His remarkable 'Te Deum' and 'Jubilate' for four voices, strings, trumpets, and organ, and the anthems 'Out of the Deep' and 'O give Thanks,' sung at the Purcell Commemoration Festival in 1895, may be mentioned as examples. For Purcell's harmonies see Barrett, p. 97.

Anthems by **W. Child** († 1697) and **B. Rogers** († 1698)—known for his Service in D—and also the works of **Henry Aldrich** († 1710) and the original **R. Creighton** († 1736) close this period.

(*c*) *1700–50.*—In this period we have **J. Clarke** († 1707) with his sympathetic 'I will love thee,' **W. Croft's** (1678–1727) 'majestic and melodious' *Thirty Select Anthems*, Service in A, and Burial Service, the 'Chanting Services' of **J. Hawkins** († 1729) and **T. Kempton** († 1762) (*i.e.* the Psalms set to a single chant—interspersed with florid verses set anthemwise), **J. Weldon's** († 1736) deeply religious and modern *Six Select Anthems*, **J. Bishop's** († 1737) Service in D, the simple melodious Services of **C. King** († 1748), the Evening Services of **T. Kelway** († 1749), and **J. Travers'** († 1758) Service in F. The melodious anthems of **Maurice Greene** († 1755) show Italian and German influence. Greene was organist of St. Paul's Cathedral from 1718 and the friend of Handel, who took great delight in playing the cathedral organ.

As regards the parish churches, the music appears not to have been of a high order. The manners of the time have been described in Addison's *Tatler*. The services were interrupted with noisy and tricky solos on the trumpet and stops of the mixture type (mounted cornet).

(*d*) *Later Georgian period.*—In 1760 appeared **W. Boyce's** unique collection of cathedral music, of which modern editions, discarding the old clefs, appeared at a later time. Boyce (1710–79) himself, with his massive, dignified, and finely-written anthems, which are considered cathedral classics, and his contemporaries, **J. Kent** († 1776), **W. Hayes** († 1777) and his son **Philip** († 1797), and **J. Nares** († 1783), who wrote in the popular style, open this period.

B. Cooke († 1793), the writer of glees, chants, and Psalm tunes, is known for his solid Service in G; chants by the clever organist, **T. S. Dupuis** († 1796), **Jonathan Battishill's** († 1801) beautiful seven-part anthem 'Call to remembrance,' **S. Arnold's** († 1802) *Collection of Cathedral Music* (1790), **W. Jackson** († 1803) of Exeter's simple and practical congregational 'Te Deum' in F (a composition which should be sung fluently in chant style and which would be improved by a modern

accompaniment), J. Alcock's († 1806) 'Miserere,' and T. Ebdon's († 1811) 'Service in C' complete the period.

At this time the music in our cathedrals had once more sunk to a low ebb. Fortunately, owing to the 19th cent. High Church or Tractarian movement and the efforts of S. S. Wesley, the necessary administrative and musical reforms were introduced.

(*e*) *19th century.*—During this time also support for Church composers was lacking somewhat, and cheap adaptations of foreign oratorios undermined our unique school of English cathedral music. Nevertheless J. Clarke Whitfield († 1836), with his simple melodious anthems, Samuel Wesley (1766–1837), son of Charles Wesley the brother of the great John Wesley, a musical genius and great organist, and known for his scholarly motets, and T. Attwood (1767–1838), a pupil of Mozart, in his Service in F and fine modern anthems, kept in touch with the best traditions. Attwood was organist of St. Paul's Cathedral in 1833, when Mendelssohn played the organ there on a certain memorable occasion. J. Pring († 1842), who wrote anthems in Boyce's style, and W. Crotch († 1847), known for his pleasing anthems and Service in F, also belong to this period.

The devotional and elevated Services and anthems of T. A. Walmisley († 1856), the noble Services and 'Wilderness' anthem of S. S. Wesley († 1876), a fine organist; the Service in F of Henry Smart († 1879), the leading English organ composer, the devotional and melodious anthems of John Goss († 1880), as well as the solid eight-part Service in C and fine anthem 'It came even to pass' of F. A. G. Ouseley († 1889), have kept up the noble traditions of the past.

It is difficult to write of later English composers, but the names of C. V. Stanford, J. Stainer, A. S. Sullivan, J. Barnby, G. J. Elvey, and E. J. Hopkins bring memories of finely-written works, which above all are endowed with melody and modern style. It only remains for our Church composers to fling off the influence of Mendelssohn and Spohr, to keep in touch with past traditions while using virility of style and all modern resources to maintain English cathedral music as the noblest school of Church music since the days of Palestrina.

LITERATURE.—Reference may be made to the following selected works: J. S. Bumpus, *Hist. of English Cathedral Music*, 2 vols., London, 1908; Myles B. Foster, *Anthems and Anthem Composers*, do. 1901; W. A. Barrett, *English Church Composers*, do. 1882; *English Music* ('Our Cathedral Composers'), do. 1906; *Church Music Society Occasional Papers*, do. 1910–15; A. M. Richardson, *Church Music*, do. 1904; J. Baden Powell, *Choralia*, do. 1903; G. P. E. Arkwright, 'Purcell's Church Music,' *Musical Antiquary*, Jan. and July 1910; J. F. Runciman, *Old Scores and New Readings*, do. 1899, ch. i. 'Our last great Musician.' Different points of view will be found in the two following works: T. F. Forth, *Sanctity of Church Music*, London, 1914; R. B. Daniel, *Chapters on Church Music*, do. 1894. See, further, *Cathedral Prayer Book*, do. 1891; J. Jebb, *Choral Service*, do. 1843, *The Choral Responses and Litanies*, 2 vols., do. 1847–57 (contains the various ancient usages).

3. The Anglican chant.—It has been said that 'the principle of using harmonized chants for the Psalms and canticles is neither specially English, nor is it the product of the Reformation or the English type of Service' (Royle Shore, 'The Early Harmonized Chants of the Church of England,' *Mus. Times*, Sept. Oct. Nov. 1912, p. 585 f.). In England harmonized chants were probably in use a century before the Reformation. Abroad they were in use at the beginning of the 16th cent. and probably before that. The early harmonized chants consisted of the 'Psalm tones' with melody in the tenor, and, like all early music, were barless. They still survive under the name of *faux-bourdons*, and are in regular use as such to the Psalms or Magnificat with alternate verses rendered in unison. As the tenor plain-song melody has mostly disappeared, however, the connexion hardly exists now. As with the old Psalm tune, the *faux-bourdon*, or tenor melody, does not favour mixed congregational singing, and the Anglican chant with melody in the soprano is the natural outcome. In the old plain chant Psalters every word was noted—*i.e.* had a note to itself. This was succeeded by the long note for reciting purposes and the bar-lines to ensure correct endings. These bar-lines have unfortunately proved to be a snare, because the latter measured portion should always be recited as freely and at the same speed as the first portion of the chant. The weak point of the Anglican chant in long settings is the over-repetition of the same harmonies. Hence unison verses are desirable with changed harmonies. More varied forms, as with plain chant, are also to be wished for. The earliest double chant dates back to one of Byrd's *Collection* —1641. In this class it is desirable that the second half of the chant should be responsive or sequential in form.

LITERATURE.—*The Barless Psalter*, London, 1913; P. A. Wales, *Rhythmic Psalter*, Oxford, 1910; A. M. Richardson, *The Psalms: their Structure and Musical Rendering*, London, 1904; *The Responsive Psalter*, do. 1913; *Faux-bourdon Magnificats and Harmonized Plain Chant Settings by Tallis, Byrd, Gibbons, etc., for the Canticles and Psalms*, do. 1915; H. Grace, 'Old English Service Music,' in *Mus. Times*, July 1915. It must be noted that these ancient harmonized chant settings of the Psalms were much longer compositions than the ordinary Anglican chant, as they were liable to alteration, repetition, or general free treatment. They were also more richly harmonized. Refer also to J. Heywood, *Art of Chanting*, London, 1893; J. S. Curwen, *Studies in Worship Music*, i. 117; Grove, *s.v.* 'Chant'; R. Bridges, art. 'English Chanting,' in *Musical Antiquary*, April 1911.

V. *IRISH CHURCH MUSIC.*—Early Irish Church music is surrounded with something of mystery. An Irishman, St. Gall, founded the musically famous monastery called after him, and it was an Irish monk who introduced the Roman chant to Cologne about 1025.

'Irish Psalmody and Hymnody were distinctly Celtic in the first half of the 7th century'—which is assumed to be about the time that plain-song reached Ireland—'and were mainly adaptations of the old Irish pre-Christian melodies. . . . The Irish were the earliest to adopt neums as a musical notation of plain chant,' and 'they modified and introduced Irish melodies into the Gregorian chant' (Flood, *Hist. of Irish Music*, p. 8).

Early in the 9th cent. organs were introduced. Giraldus Cambrensis († 1220) wrote:

'Only in musical instruments I find commendable the diligence of that nation; in these it is incomparably superior to every other nation we have seen' (*Topographia Hibernica*, iii. 10).

Among the ancient Church MSS the Kilcormick Missal of 1458 deserves mention. The ancient cathedral of Christ Church, Dublin, kept the light burning with its choral Services, except from 1559 to 1595. Versions of the metrical Psalms were first printed in 1637, but no music for them appeared for over a hundred years. The Commonwealth made its anti-musical effect felt there also.

The subsequent Church musical history of Ireland does not seem to be marked in any way. Although Ireland possesses a store of unique and beautiful folk-melodies, and though Irish hymn-writers are well known, it does not appear to have any essentially distinct hymnody or school of composers of sacred music.

LITERATURE.—W. H. G. Flood, *Hist. of Irish Music*, Dublin, 1905; J. S. Bumpus, 'Irish Church Composers' (*Musical Association Papers*, vol. xxvi., London, 1900); M. Conran, *National Music of Ireland*, do. 1846–50.

VI. *WELSH CHURCH MUSIC.*—The early musical history of Wales is also somewhat clouded. A 6th cent. saying of the bard Taliesin, 'No musician is skilful unless he extols the Lord,' implies ancient interest in sacred music. Beyond this and the well-known 12th cent. passage from Giraldus Cambrensis (*Descriptio Cambriæ*, iii. 3), to the effect that the Welsh sang not in unison but in parts, there is little definite information about Welsh

music before the beginning of the 19th century. A Welsh tune is mentioned in Ravenscroft's *Psalter*, and it is said that the hymns of Rees Prichard (1579–1644) were sung throughout Wales in his days. Edmund Prys (1541–1624) was the author of a Welsh metrical version of the Psalms.

In modern days, however, Welsh hymns are well worthy of study. It is calculated that there are some 4000 of them. They are mostly emotional in type, but grave and solemn themes are to be found, both traditional and modern. A number appear in the English *Hymnal*.

LITERATURE.—Reference should be made to the *Hymnals* of the various Welsh denominations and to Grove, and especially to A. Riley, 'Concerning Hymn Tunes and Sequences' (*Church Music Soc. Papers*, 4 and 5), London, 1915, ch. vii.; E. Walker, *Hist. of Music in England*, Oxford, 1907, p. 325 f.; H. F. Chorley, *The National Music of the World*[3], London, 1911.

VII. *AMERICAN CHURCH MUSIC.*—The music of America began in a religious atmosphere. The Pilgrim Fathers sang the old Psalm tunes of their fathers, and the *Bay Psalm-Book*, published 1640 at Cambridge, Mass., exerted a wide influence, over 70 editions being published. The musical settings were limited, and Ravenscroft was drawn upon. The first organ was imported, after much opposition, in 1713, and choirs and singing-schools were formed not long afterwards. W. Billings' *New England Psalm Singer* appeared in 1770 and Isaac Watts' *Hymns* began to make headway, while modern music might be said to have made its advent with the Handel and Haydn Society, founded in Boston in 1815. The Church tunes of Lowell Mason († 1872), a leader of American music, exercised strong influence.

Of modern American composers of sacred music H. W. Parker, J. C. D. Parker, and Dudley Buck must be mentioned as having done good work.

The weakness of the American non-liturgic Churches is the want of a definitely authorized order of services. The great freedom of choice opens the way equally to the American gospel hymn (mostly fit only for shouting at a street corner) and some tawdry operatic-like chorus from a modern Mass.

'Happy are the people who, like the Germans or the Scots, have inherited in the past generations such noble things as the chorales with their splendid tunes, or the metrical Psalms with their fine melodies from different quarters' (Fuller-Maitland, *Church Music Society Paper*, London, 1910, p. 18).

Musically speaking, there are great opportunities for American Churches if wisely guided.

LITERATURE.—L. C. Elson, *The National Music of America*, Boston, 1900; F. L. Ritter, *Music in America*, London, 1884; N. D. Gould, *Hist. of Church Music in America*, Boston, 1853; J. S. Curwen, *Studies in Worship Music*, i. 57; P. Lutkin, *Music in the Church*, Milwaukee, 1910.

VIII. *METRICAL PSALMODY.*—**1. The Lutheran chorale.**—It was the belief of the Middle Ages, following the dictum of St. Paul, that women should keep silent in the churches, and until the Reformation all singing of Psalms and hymns was restricted to the male choir and the clergy and conducted in Latin. The 16th cent. brought the invention of printing and the Reformation, and it might be said that, in one sense, the Reformation was a movement for the rights of the people—in this case, the right of the people to participate fully in divine worship. Up to the 10th cent. German congregational song had consisted of one phrase, 'Kyrie Eleison,' usually an ejaculation only, but sometimes set to a plain-song melody as a kind of refrain and termed a *Leisen*.

Among the numerous German popular songs were many of a religious nature, some of them written by well-known poets. In the 14th cent. many of these were adapted to secular tunes.

The *Hymn Book of the Bohemian Brethren*, an order virtually founded by Hus, the Bohemian martyr, led the way in 1505. These hymns were founded upon (1) the Psalms, (2) the old Latin hymns, and (3) the old vernacular religious songs and the tunes from older melodies both secular and religious.

Luther, in his *Formulæ Missæ* of 1523, removed from the Mass everything savouring of the act of sacrifice and intercession through the saints. Three years later he added to it congregational chorales, while the Creed, 'Agnus Dei,' and 'Sanctus' were, he ordered, to be sung in metrical form in German. A little before, in 1524, he had been moved 'after the example of the Prophets and ancient Fathers of the Church to make German Psalms for the People' (*Letter to George Spalatin*), and in that year his *Christliche Lieder, Lobgesange und Psalmen* appeared. It included eight metrical hymns and a selection of metrical Psalms with five tunes—German psalmody was always of a mixed nature.

Other collections followed with the tunes derived as before from (1) Latin hymns, (2) popular religious songs, (3) secular songs, (4) melodies of the knightly Minnesinger and Meistersinger gilds, and (5) foreign tunes. These tunes showed great variety of metre; the arbitrary equalizing and drawling out the rhythm was a later innovation. Some of the tunes were adaptations by Luther, but Crüger (1644) was the principal later contributor, while Bach harmonized a large number in different styles for different purposes (see C. Sanford Terry, *Bach's Chorales*, London, 1915).

In accordance with the monastic custom, the melodies when harmonized were put in the tenor part, the upper parts, or descant, being sung by boys. Played on the organ, these upper parts proved an obstacle to the congregation, and the organ in the Lutheran Church was allowed to be used only alternately or to preludize. In motet settings for the choir alone the organ could, of course, be used.

The Lutheran Church continued the unison singing of Psalms and chorales without organ accompaniment till about 1650, when it was found possible to use an independent chordal accompaniment, and so the bogey of descant was put down.

For the same reason—the distraction of descant upper parts—the Genevan Church banned the use of the organ altogether for the next two centuries, and the Scottish Church, as founded on the Genevan order, followed suit. This is the result of the monastic arrangement of the melody for men (tenor part) instead of the natural highest voices, those of women and children. This tenor arrangement continued for a long period—in Scotland down to about 50 years ago, the precentor usually being a tenor.

LITERATURE.—G. R. Woodward, 'German Hymnody' (*Musical Association Paper*), London, 1905–06; *Songs of Syon*, do. 1904; Grove, *s.vv.* 'Chorale,' 'Luther'; G. W. Stewart, *Music in the Church*, ch. v.; J. Zahn, *Melodies of the German Church Song*, 6 vols. (8806 chorales), Gütersloh, 1889; Dickinson, p. 223 f.; E. Naumann, *Hist. of Music*, Eng. tr.[2], ch. xiii.; Curwen, ii. 121–151.

2. Genevan psalmody.—Eighteen years after Luther's first collection there appeared in 1542 the 30 metrical Psalm versions of Clément Marot, a French poet. Sung to secular melodies, they became extraordinarily popular at the frivolous court of Francis I.

John Calvin, the French Protestant convert, had arrived in Strassburg as a refugee, and, following Luther's example, brought out in 1539 a collection of 18 Psalms with tunes mostly of German origin. This Strassburg collection became later the foundation in both music and words of the first Bourgeois, or French, *Huguenot Psalter of Geneva of 1542*, the music of which was edited by Louis Bourgeois, a Parisian music-master settled in Geneva. Meanwhile in 1539 (the same year as the Strassburg

collection) one **Symon Cock** published *Two Hundred and Fifty-nine Hymns or Sacred Songs*, arranged in groups under the heading of the music of the tune appropriate to the particular metre, the melodies being of mixed origin, as before. Next year the same publisher brought out the remarkable *Souter Liedekens Collection, 1540*, containing the whole of the 150 Psalms in a metrical version in the Flemish language, each Psalm being preceded by its appropriate tune, the tunes, as before, of mixed origin; but a 'large proportion of the music is adapted to that of the popular songs of the day—the titles of the same being given' (see *Mus. Times*, April 1913, p. 240). It must be remembered, however, that at this period little distinction can be made between secular and religious style in song. This work contained also versions of the canticles and sacred songs of the Bible, together with the Lord's Prayer, Apostles' Creed, etc. In 1556 Clemens von Papa harmonized a selection of the melodies.

Bourgeois had charge of the French Geneva Psalter from 1542 to 1557, and this collection was much drawn upon later for English, Genevan, and Scottish Psalters. The 1562 edition contained 125 tunes, including those to the 'spiritual songs' (canticles, etc., in metrical form).

During Queen Mary's reign English and Scottish Protestant refugees gathered together in Frankfort and Geneva, and in 1556 we find the first *English Genevan Psalter* issued for them with the approval of Calvin. It contained 51 Psalms in the Sternhold and Hopkins version, each one set to a double common-metre tune, and was published by Crespin. As the French metres were different, these tunes must have been adapted or composed specially. It is noteworthy that 42 of these tunes were transferred to the Scottish Psalter of 1564, and 32 of them appear in the complete work of 1635.

LITERATURE.—O. Douen, *Clément Marot et le psautier huguenot*, 2 vols., Paris, 1878–79; Grove, *s.v.* 'Bourgeois,' etc.

3. English psalmody.—Meanwhile versifiers of the Psalms had been busy in England and Miles Coverdale's *Thirteen Goostly Psalmes* appeared in 1539 with settings to Gregorian tones and tunes of German origin. This work was prohibited.

About 1546 Wedderburn's Scottish version appeared, but without music.

Authorized by Edward VI., Thomas Sternhold's first version of 19 Psalms appeared in 1547, and the whole of the Psalter by one Robert Crowley in 1549. The latter contained a plain chant for the chanting of the metrical version, an intermediate device frequently copied in later works, especially in the Walloon and Scottish Churches. The year 1553 saw Francis Seagar's 19 Psalms set to music in four parts in motet style.

With the accession of Queen Elizabeth in 1558 the *Genevan Psalter* of the English and Scottish refugees became popular in England. The Psalter itself was completed by 1562, but it did not contain more than 65 tunes, cross-references being made where necessary. The following year, 1563, saw the first harmonization of the tunes in four parts with additions and settings of specimen verses only, Day being the publisher. Up to this time the melodies only had appeared. The Reformed Church of Calvin did not allow singing in parts till the 19th cent., but for private use Bourgeois had issued in 1547 a complete Psalter harmonized in four parts, the melody as usual in the tenor part. Le Jeune's more elaborate motet settings appeared in 1580; his simple settings did not appear till after his death in 1601–02.

In the English Reformed Church there were two musical currents running side by side. The more artistic side, with its unique traditions of cathedral music, was maintained in the cathedrals and larger churches, where choirs and organs were available. In the ordinary parish churches metrical Psalms only were sung. 'Lining out' by the 'clerk,' or precentor, was the order, singing in unison without organ accompaniment the rule. Zeal for the Reformation did not favour artistic musical development for the time being, though later on music advanced till the Puritan Commonwealth came into power.

Metrical Psalm-singing became the visible sign of the Reformation. By the year 1600 '6000 people, old and young of both sexes,' could be seen at St. Paul's Cross after the service, singing together (Strype's *Annals* [see Curwen, i. 1]).

There was but one obstacle to general and hearty congregational singing in the churches, and that was the melody in the tenor part. The reform of this was furthered principally by the German Osiander and Lobwasser Psalters of 1586 and 1594 respectively. S. Marschall, who edited the latter (Basel, 1606), refers to the tenor melody arrangement as being unsuitable.

'For it brings those unlearned in music (the larger part of the congregation) often into a state of uncertainty so that they often know not what is being sung, because the melody is crowded among the other voice parts, some of which are being sung above, some below' (see Stainer, 'On Musical Introductions in certain Metrical Psalters,' *Musical Association Lecture*, London, 1900, p. 25).

At this time, as in the later Scottish Psalter of 1635, no bar-lines existed, and, though the lines contain notes of various lengths and are in varied rhythm, yet the notation is frequently erratic with regard to both the uncongregational syncopations (borrowed from cathedral choir music) and balance of sentences. It was probably this kind of thing that prompted the exposition of the rudiments of music which began to appear in all psalmody collections.

Notable English Psalters and psalmody collections were as follows:

1579—William Damon's *Collection*, in four parts to specimen verses and in plain style: settings in motet style were issued in 1591.
1592—T. Este's *Psalter*, with 57 tunes; better harmonizations.
1599—R. Alison's *Psalter*; melody given to treble part; 10 tunes for use in common.
1604—W. Barley's *Psalter* (a later ed. of Este); settings by Morley and Bennett.
1621—T. Ravenscroft's *Psalter*; leading work; 100 settings; tunes classified.
1623—G. Wither's *Hymns and Songs of the Church*; consists of paraphrases of Bible canticles; contains 16 tunes by Gibbons in two parts.
1636 and 1648—G. Sandys' *Psalter*, to a new version with 24 two-part tunes by Lawes; later in three parts.
In 1649 the Commonwealth came into power and a high standard of music was not encouraged. The metrical Psalms were sung in unison without organ, and by the time of the Restoration in 1660 the tunes in use had dwindled down to half a dozen.
1671—J. Playford's *Psalter*; 47 tunes. Playford began the 'barbarous method' in England of ignoring the original marked and varied rhythm, so essential for good singing and congregational interest, and reduced all notes to the same length.
1677—Three-part edition of Playford containing the whole of the 'Church tunes,' with melody in the treble.
1698—Tate and Brady version, with supplement of tunes mostly from Playford; editions down to about 1860.
From this time (1698) on miscellaneous collections of psalmody by illiterate editors swarmed under such titles as *Harps of Sion, Melodies of the Heart*, etc.
1718—J. Chetham's *Collection*, widely circulated.
1843—J. P. Hullah's *Psalter*; old style with syncopated effects.
1847—W. H. Havergal's *Old Church Psalmody*.
1852—H. E. Dibdin's *Standard Psalm Book*.
Metrical psalmody flourished in English parish churches till about 1860. Since then it has practically been confined to Presbyterian churches.

4. Psalmody ornamentation.—One past feature should be noted, viz. the craze which set in about 1650 or earlier for ornamenting the notes of the tune. The 1659 Gobert edition of the *Godeau Metrical Psalter* issued by the French Catholics (but later suppressed) gives directions for ornamenting by means of slurs, shakes, and turns. This absurd

idea was no doubt prompted by the Italian solo graces of the period and also possibly by florid figures of plain-song. This corruption lasted for some time; Chetham's Psalter of 1718 gives instances of the 'old way' of singing, as it was termed, and there are reminiscences in Jackson's 'Te Deum' in F. Interesting to relate, this method still prevails in the remote Highlands of Scotland, where, however, the ornamentation has rendered the ancient melodies of Scottish psalmody practically unrecognizable (for examples see Lachlan Macbean, *Songs and Hymns of the Gael*, Stirling, 1900), and they have become, to all intents and purposes, different tunes. See also Stewart, p. 152 f.

5. **Scottish psalmody.**—Scottish psalmody, like English psalmody, is essentially founded on that of Geneva. The Scottish Protestant refugees, together with John Knox and other Scottish leaders of the Reformation, assembled together for worship in Frankfort and Geneva, and, as mentioned, their manual was the English Genevan Psalter, from which many tunes were transferred to the first Scottish Psalter of 1564.

In Scotland from the 13th cent. onwards music had been taught to the boys at the old Church (Grammar) or 'Sang Schules,' and this was continued after the Reformation till about 1700. With the advent of the Reformation chanting was no doubt discontinued and organs were removed (see Livingstone's reprint of the 1635 Psalter, Glasgow, 1864, dissertation i. pp. 2, 15). Thomas Mace, in his remarkable and quaint *Musick's Monument* of 1676, directs attention to the 'sang schules' of Scotland as being worthy of imitation in England (see W. Milne Gibson, *The Old Scottish Precentor*, p. 6, 'Sang Schules').

In 1566 a MS harmonized version of the 1564 Psalter was made or 'noted' by Thomas Wood, vicar of Sanctandrous. The harmonizations were done by the Scottish organists and priests, David Peebles, J. Angus, Andrew Blackhall, John Futhie, and Andrew Kemp (for an account of this remarkable first harmonized Scottish Psalter see J. W. McMeeken, *Scottish Metrical Psalms*, p. 107 f.).

From 1700 psalmody was at a low level, but a revival took place in Aberdeen about 1750, which the evangelist Wesley's visit in 1761 further stimulated, and the good example thereupon spread throughout Scotland (see Stewart, p. 151 f., and Gibson, pp. 25 f., 35).

Notable Scottish Psalters are the following:

1564—*Scottish Psalter*, founded on the Genevan collection of 1556 issued for the English and Scottish refugees; contained 105 proper tunes, melodies only.

1566—Harmonized version, ed. T. Wood.

1596—Andrew Hart's ed. of *Scottish Psalter*, containing metrical doxologies.

1615—Ed. of *Scottish Psalter*, containing also 12 common tunes as a separate class.

1625 and 1629—E. Raban's *Aberdeen Psalter*, harmonized in four parts and with tunes in reports (see Gibson, p. 19).

1631—In 1631 King Charles tried to foist on the people the high-flown version (really by Earl of Stirling) which his father James I. was reported to have made. This, along with Laud's Liturgy, was rejected, and the episode was ended by the romantic revolt of Jenny Geddes in St. Giles' Cathedral in 1638.

1635—This important and unusually complete Psalter contained, besides the proper tunes, 31 common tunes and 8 in reports, *i.e.* constructed in imitative form; also the usual metrical spiritual songs, metrical Lord's Prayer, Creed, etc. The tunes were of Genevan, English, and Scottish origin with their original and varied rhythm and metre. The weak points were the harmonies—which are poorly done—and, for the rest, those of the period, viz. the general unsuitableness of most double common-metre tunes, the syncopated effects, and the indefinite tonality and rhythm common to this early polyphonic period.

Reference should be made to the fine Livingstone reprint of this Psalter.

1650—The new Scottish authorized version of the Psalms (as at present in use) appeared, but unfortunately no tunes were provided, and Scotland before long became dependent on imported English collections, though a number of the fine Scottish tunes were kept alive.

Various Scottish collections of tunes now appeared, such as those of T. Bruce (1726), T. Moore (1750), R. Bremner (1756), J. Thomson (1778), R. Gilmour (1793), and H. Boyd (1793). The Steven Collection of 1800 brought in the florid emotional tune; and the collections of J. Robertson from 1814 on ('Seraph' selection, 1827), W. Mitchison (1830), J. Turnbull (1840), A. Hume (1844), Bonaccord (1845), G. Cameron (1855) (continued by J. S. Marr) also included these tunes together with those in previous use.

Official Church collections began to appear from 1845, eschewing tunes with repeats, but also (under English editorship) omitting many of the fine national tunes, and the introduction of the cut-leaf system, while favouring precentors of very limited capabilities, has also restricted the choice generally to a few favourites, which are unduly repeated in various settings, with the inevitable clashing of associations.

Fortunately, the traditions of the grand old psalmody still prevail in Scotland and in parts of Ireland and Wales, to the great gain of the congregational singing. While all Churches admit the Psalms as the foundation of the musical service, the chanting of some of them at least is necessary if the congregation is to obtain the bird's-eye view or insight into the meaning of the whole. If chanting, however, is admittedly difficult for the choir, it is much more so for the congregation, who almost invariably do not possess pointed Psalters; hence the chanting of the Psalms can rarely become universally congregational in aspect. Therefore it is best to use also the metrical version, presuming that all worship should be congregational—except the anthem, which, as the 'sermon of the choir,' is an instrument for good. The authorized Scottish version is by far the nearest to the Bible version, though revision is certainly required in some respects; the provision of additional (and alternative) metres would also be a gain. Concerning the congregational element see H. C. Shuttleworth, *The Place of Music in Public Worship*, London, 1893; also Stewart, ch. x.

LITERATURE.—Curwen, i. 'The Old Parochial Psalmody'; Daniel, *Chapters on Church Music*, Appendices A and B; H. A. Glass, *Story of the Metrical Psalters*, do. 1888; Grove, *s.v.* 'Psalter,' etc.; H. Davey, *Hist. of English Music*, London, 1895; F. L. Ritter, *Music in England*, do. 1884; *Oxford Hist. of Music*, Oxford, 1901–05, iii.; reprints of the Este and of the Ravenscroft *Collections*; J. W. McMeeken, *Hist. of Scottish Metrical Psalms*, Glasgow, 1872; G. W. Stewart, *Music in the Church*; J. Love, *Scottish Church Music*, Edinburgh, 1891; W. M. Gibson, *The Old Scottish Precentor*, Aberdeen, 1907; C. G. McCrie, *Public Worship of Presbyterian Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1892, p. 337.

IX. *MODERN HYMNODY.*—The first stage in this period is occupied by the hymns of Isaac Watts, based mostly, like those of Luther, on the Psalms. It was, however, the Wesleyan revival that again brought about real congregational worship. Just as the singing of the Lutheran chorales and the metrical Psalms of the Genevan English and Scottish Reformers carried through and firmly established the Reformation, so the Wesleyan hymn was a great means of reviving the whole Church in Britain. Previous to the last revival ordinary English Church psalmody had once more subsided into a moribund condition. Only in the English cathedrals was a higher order of musical service kept up, and that with fluctuations. To both sides the Wesleyan revival was, through its music and its hymns, an element of good; the new energy of its rhythm and its fervour carried all before it. Needless to say, however, like all novelties and new movements, it was carried to excess in the florid repeating tunes of last century. This element has now died out, and in its place we have the tunes of Dykes, Barnby, Smart, Sullivan, Monk, Hopkins, and others. These tunes preserve the variety of rhythm and the energy which the Wesleyan movement revived, but with the addition of the element of sentimentality—an element not necessarily weak or bad, but which has been overdone, probably as the result of the Mendelssohnian

wave, the effect of which is not yet spent. The best collections are *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, *English Hymnal*, and *Scottish Hymnary*.

LITERATURE.—J. Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnology*[2], London, 1907; W. G. Horder, *The Hymn Lover*, do. 1889; J. Brownlie, *Hymns and Hymn Writers*, do. 1899; J. Heywood, *Church Hymnody*, do. 1881; R. E. Welsh and F. G. Edwards, *Romance of Psalter and Hymnal*, do. 1889; A. Riley, 'Concerning Hymn Tunes and Sequences' (*Church Music Society Papers*, 4 and 5), do. 1915; W. S. Pratt, *Musical Ministries*, New York, 1901; J. T. Lightwood, *Hymn Tunes and their Story*, London, 1914; W. Cowan and J. Love, *Music of Scottish Hymnary*, do. 1901; historical ed. of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (literary introd.).

X. *THE CHURCH CANTATA.*—By the word 'cantata' was originally meant anything that was sung, as the word 'sonata' meant a piece that was sounded or played. The modern cantata differs from the oratorio only in its exclusion of the dramatic and epic elements—*e.g.*, the soloists do not represent certain personages—and it is usually not laid out on so large a scale. The Church cantata is practically analogous to the modern anthem, but it is usually on a more extended scale and generally given orchestral accompaniments. Handel's 12 fine Chandos anthems, written (1718–20) while he was acting as chapel-master and organist at the princely estate of Cannons near Edgware, are really Church cantatas. The 6th Chandos anthem, *e.g.*, contains four solos and four choruses, the opening one of which is built up on the English Psalm tune, 'St. Anne.' Handel manages to incorporate something of the unique style of English cathedral music as instanced in the works of his great predecessor, Purcell.

The daily musical service at Cannons was 'performed by a choir of voices and instruments superior in numbers and excellence to that of any sovereign prince in Europe' (*Handel* [Great Musician Series], p. 63 *f.*).

The Church cantata as defined seems to have first developed in Germany, flourishing especially in the time preceding Bach. Cantatas were written for the great festivals of the Church in accordance with the Christian year and for festal occasions. D. Buxtehude, G. P. Telemann, and Bach's uncles, Michael and Johann Christoph, wrote specimens before Bach himself wrote his 295 Church cantatas, of which 198 have survived. The German chorale is particularly identified with these cantatas, and they usually comprise a chorus, founded on a chorale which is repeated by itself, with recitatives, arias, and duets. They were usually written for four voices and full orchestra, and comprised from four to seven movements, the text being verses from the Bible and chorales.

In the Advent cantata 'Sleepers, wake' (written 1742), the opening chorus is built up on the fine stately chorale 'Wake, awake' (employed also by Mendelssohn in 'St. Paul'): the second verse is sung as a separate movement (later with elaborate accompaniment), and the third verse in four parts concludes the cantata; two recitatives and two duets complete the whole. The orchestra parts are for strings, two oboes, and organ.

These beautiful works are only recently becoming known in this country. No doubt they will yet earn full recognition in Britain and America.

English composers have also made a special feature of the Church cantata. The following are the most representative cantatas for the special festivals of the Christian year.

ADVENT—'Sleepers, wake,' and 'God's Time' (Bach); 'The Two Advents' (Garrett); 'Voces clamantium' (termed a motet) (Parry); 'Advent Hymn' (Schumann).
CHRISTMAS—'The Holy Child' (Adams); 'The Story of Bethlehem' (West); 'Christmas Eve' (Gade); one of the six portions of Bach's 'Christmas Oratorio.'
CHRIST'S CRUCIFIXION—'The Last Night in Bethany' (Lee Williams); 'Watch ye' (Bach); 'Olivet to Calvary' (Maunder); 'Stabat Mater' (Dvorák and Stanford).
EASTER—'Christ lay' (Bach); 'The Transfiguration' (Cowen).
WHITSUNTIDE—'God so loved' (Bach); 'Veni Creator' (Mackenzie); 'Light of Life' (Elgar); 'The Story of Bethany' (Edwards).
CHRIST'S ASCENSION—'Ascensiontide' (Coward); 'God goeth up' (Bach); 'The Ascension' (Steane).
HARVEST—'Lauda Sion' (Mendelssohn); 'Jubilee Cantata' (Weber); Harvest cantatas by Garrett, Lee Williams, West, and Maunder.
GENERAL—13th, 42nd, and 95th Psalms (Mendelssohn); 13th Psalm (Liszt); 'God, thou art great' (Spohr); 'Rebekah' and 'The Lord is King' (Barnby); 'Daughter of Jairus,' 'St. Mary Magdalene,' etc. (Stainer).

LITERATURE.—Grove, *s.v.* 'Kirchen Cantaten'; G. W. Stewart, *Music in the Church*, 'Bach's Cantatas'; E. O. Prout, *Some Notes on Bach's Church Cantatas*, London, 1907.

XI. *ORATORIO.*—It will be easily understood that Passion music is bound up with the early oratorio. The early miracle-plays and renderings of Passion music inevitably suggested the oratorio. *Commedia Spirituale* were performed in Italy in 1243 and 1298, and *Geistliche Schauspiele* became common in Germany about 1322.

The term 'oratorio' originated in Rome, where St. Philippo Neri († 1595) gave 'Azioni Sacri' in the oratory adjoining the church. The sermon occupied the first portion; the second consisted of a dramatized story from Scripture written in verse and set to simple music as chorus and solo by the chapel-master Animuccia. It will be remembered that Vittoria, the composer of more advanced Passion music, was a contemporary, and also lived in Rome. In 1600 the sacred drama, 'L'Anima ed il Corpo,' was produced by Emilio del Cavaliere in Rome. Other similar works followed, and these, together with the still interesting oratorios of G. Carissimi (1604–74) (with their advanced type of recitative and chorus) and the works of Alessandro Scarlatti (1693 and 1705) (who employed the old Church style), all prepared the way for the masterly works of Handel.

Handel in his youth wrote an oratorio in the dramatic 'Passion' style while at Hamburg in 1704, and in the Italian manner at Rome in 1708, but not till 1720—when he composed his first English oratorio 'Esther'—does he reach a position of supremacy. His immortal 'Messiah' was written in 1742, and performed in Dublin; the others which still claim the affections of the public are 'Judas Maccabæus,' 'Samson,' 'Israel in Egypt,' 'Solomon,' and 'Jephthah,' his last work, written when blindness was approaching. His mighty choruses, built like a cathedral combining science, symmetry, and artistic truth, and the telling and direct solos, which in their characterization go straight to the heart, will always appeal to lovers of good music. Inspired by Handel's success, Haydn wrote his 'Creation,' though in a very different style—in fact, in the language of the orchestra rather than the voice—and it was produced in 1798. Since then a succession of fine works in different styles has been presented in Spohr's 'Last Judgment,' Mendelssohn's 'St. Paul' and 'Elijah,' Brahms' 'German Requiem,' Sullivan's 'Prodigal Son,' Mackenzie's 'Rose of Sharon,' and Elgar's 'Vision of Gerontius.'

LITERATURE.—For the study of the subject generally refer to A. W. Paterson, *Story of Oratorio*, London, 1902; Grove, *s.vv.* 'Oratorio,' 'Passion Music,' etc.; G. P. Upton, *The Standard Oratorios*, Chicago, 1886; A. Mees, *Choirs and Choral Music*, London, 1901; F. L. Ritter, *Music in America*, do. 1884; Introduction to Bach's *Matthew Passion*, ed. Novello; E. O. Prout, *Some Notes on Bach's Church Cantatas; Handel* (Great Musician Series), do. 1890; A. Schweizer, *J. S. Bach*, Leipzig, 1908, tr. E. Newman, London, 1911; A. W. Pollard, *English Miracle Plays*, Oxford, 1890; Stewart, *Music in the Church*, *s.v.*

XII. *THE MODERN CONCERTIZED MASS.*—The modern Mass is entirely different in style from the early polyphonic and unaccompanied Masses which culminated in those of Palestrina. It was, in fact, founded on Italian opera, which originated in the Florentine G. Caccini's efforts (1558–1640) to emulate the Athenian drama. A declamatory recitative, followed by the accompanied recitative, evolving later into the grand aria with all the Italian's passion for melody and display, together with the addition of simple chorus-work, provided the

material. The composers of this period wrote for both Church and opera, and the spirit of the theatre invaded the Church. The demand for melody got the better of ecclesiastical tradition. Women were admitted into the Church choirs, and the prima donna was given an opportunity to display the new florid vocalism.

But 'the first step in the decay of true Catholic sacred music was the introduction into it of orchestral instruments.' Through them it assumed 'a sensuous character.' 'The virtuosity of the instruments at length called forth in the singers a similar virtuosity, and ere long the secular operatic taste penetrated into the Church. Certain portions of the sacred text, like the *Christe eleison*, were marked out as standing texts for operatic airs, and singers trained in the manner of the Italian opera were brought into the Church to deliver them' (Richard Wagner, *Gesammelte Schriften*, Leipzig, 1871–83, ii. 335; cf. Weinmann, *Hist. of Church Music*).

It was natural, to some extent, that the music of the Mass should follow the style of the cantata, oratorio, and opera with their fully developed florid arias, duets, etc., complete orchestra, and declamatory chorus. Hence we find that the Masses of Haydn, Mozart (with the possible exception of the 8th and 9th), Cherubini, Beethoven, Bach (a Protestant), Verdi, and Gounod are lacking in true ecclesiastical style, and are unsuited for liturgical purposes. They are, in fact, purely in concert style. The A♭ Mass of Schubert, however, and those of Rheinberger, Kiel, Havert, and Grell are more in accordance with ecclesiastical requirements and traditions as being free at least from theatricality. The first step towards better things was the foundation of the St. Cecilia Society in 1863, having for its aim the cultivation of plain chant, congregational singing, and polyphonic vocal music (see, however, R. W. Terry, 'Sidelights on German Art: the great Church Music Imposition,' *Musical Times*, Aug. 1915, and the Paris Schola Cantorium). Later followed the pope's rescript in 1903 and 1912 in favour of plain chant (see above), which, if not followed to extremes, should do much to restore the standard desired.

LITERATURE.—Weinmann, *Hist. of Church Music*; Dickinson, *Music of the Western Church*; Grove, *s.v.* 'Mass,' etc.; Curwen, *Studies in Worship Music*, ii. 71.

XIII. *CONGREGATIONAL SERVICES.* — **1. The people's part.**—The concert element unfortunately enters largely into many of the choral settings used in the Anglican and other Episcopal Churches. The ambitious Church composer cannot or does not always repress the temptation to make a telling effect at the expense of the sanctity of the musical worship which he leads, and the same is not unknown in nonconformist and American churches, especially where the admiring congregation have delegated their own part to a professional quartette of soloists. The people, or congregation, have, or should have, a well-defined part, and that not a small one, in the conduct of divine worship.

A German lady who had lived in England is quoted by Curwen as saying, 'In our Lutheran service, the clergyman does every thing. We, the laity, remain passive; we have nothing to do but sing 2 or 3 verses, and this is done in such a dragging, lifeless and unvaried fashion that it must prove a torment to any musical ear' (Curwen, ii. 145).

The music of the Lutheran and Calvinistic Churches in Germany and throughout Europe is still unfortunately in a primitive condition. The chorales are sung sitting, and so slowly that breath must be taken every two or three notes without regard to phrasing or verbal or musical structure. The motet of the choir affords relief to what is, musically speaking, a very unsatisfactory service. In the city churches of Denmark, and throughout Scotland, Wales, and Ireland (with the exception of some churches in the Highlands or remote districts), the introduction of hymns of varied and often quick rhythm has given the services an element of brightness. In Denmark and Scotland congregational responses have also been introduced.

2. Types of service. — A comparison of the musical services (ancient and modern) is most instructive. First we have the original primitive type in which the minister does everything; then Psalms or hymns are introduced for the people; next comes the discovery that the people have the right also to take part in the prayers, amens, and responses, not only in the ordinary services but also in the Communion and supplicatory services like the Anglican Litany. Meanwhile, a choir is introduced to lead the praise; the introduction of an anthem or motet proves, or may prove, of real devotional value; but here the choir may overstep its proper function, provide a musical display, and take over the portions which should belong to the congregation.

Take the choral Anglican service: the anthem like settings of the 'Te Deum,' 'Benedictus,' and other canticles in which the congregation cannot join are distinctly out of place (except as an anthem), since they are the property of the congregation. In the Communion Service, again, the singing of the Creed usually makes it a choir Creed, not a Creed of the Church, or the people; in the same manner the elaborate settings of the 'Agnus Dei' and 'Gloria in excelsis' defeat their object. It is perfectly appropriate to reserve the 'Sanctus' and 'Benedictus' for the choir and priest—though the beautiful Anglican Communion Service, like the Litany, is admittedly already much too long. What has often been called the 'tyranny of the choir' is due to this tendency to appropriate and concertize certain portions of the service. One might say that it is due to (1) the demands of the Prayer Book, (2) musical ambition, and (3) acquiescence of musically uneducated clergy. The inevitable tendency of such things is towards a purely concertized service, as in the Roman concertized Mass, until some pope can arise and direct the attention of the clergy and Church musicians to the first principles of Christian worship.

LITERATURE.—Stewart, ch. x. 'The Congregation'; F. G. Edwards, *Common Praise*, London, 1887.

XIV. *MUSIC OF THE EASTERN CHURCH.*—The Eastern Church has been described as the Mother Christian Church. The patriarch of Constantinople at the close of the 6th cent. claimed superiority over the Christian Church. In 606, however, the supremacy was given to the bishop of Rome, and the Eastern Church ultimately separated and went on its own way. The present powerful Greek Church comprises (1) the Orthodox Church of Greece and the Greek colonies of Asia Minor and the Churches of Serbia and Bulgaria, (2) the Russian Church, and (3) the Churches of Syria, Egypt, Armenia, and Kurdistan.

1. The Greek Church.—The liturgical music characteristic of the Eastern Church is somewhat primitive, sung only by priests and a male voice choir unaccompanied. The congregation have no part, and stand throughout. The liturgical melodies and choral sentences, as in the examples given in S. G. Hatherly's *Byzantine Music*, are primitive in both structure and tonality; they consist of short sections frequently repeated, and the tonality is vague, resembling the Gregorian modes and represented entirely by the white keys of the piano; one specimen given according to the use of the Greek Church at Constantinople shows, however, Turkish or Eastern influence in its chromatic intervals (see also 'Bryennius' and 'Church Modes,' in Riemann's *Dictionary of Music*). Like plain-song the music is unbarred and unrhythmical.

The earliest tunes employed in the Greek Church were not written; all singing except that by trained choirs was forbidden, and the tunes were handed down traditionally. St. John of Damascus arranged the hymns in use for ritual purposes and

wrote on musical theory, based on the eight Byzantine modes. After the 9th cent. few hymns were written, though fresh settings were made occasionally as the service became fixed. Among the composers of these John Cucuzeles is the best known for his settings of the Psalms and hymns (*c.* A.D. 1100). He also added to the signs for musical notation.

Oriental influence came through the Arabo-Persian school in the 14th century. The Greek theorists consider their system similar to the Oriental.

In the usual Greek service the choir sing antiphonally, the resting section furnishing a drone or stationary bass. The vocal production is apt to be nasal. Reformers have made attacks on the notation, which is one great difficulty, different systems of neums having been used. Part-singing was sanctioned for the Greek Church at Athens in 1875—to be used on special occasions only—and a new system of versification was introduced about that time. The Psalms are sung to what are believed to be Hebrew melodies.

2. The Russian Church. — As indicated, the Russian Church is a branch of the original Greek Church. Till about the year 1700 Russian Church music was traditional in origin. Neums were in use for notation as copied from the Greek service-books. According to A. Soubies (*Histoire de la musique en Russie*, Paris, 1898), the Czar Alexia brought musicians to Kieff, who executed before him choral pieces in eight, twelve, and twenty parts.

In the 18th cent. a five-line plain-song notation was adopted, and part-singing became popular; the theme, however, was placed in the bass. The Psalter was paraphrased by Titow, and metrical versions were sung.

About 1750–75 reforms were introduced in the court choir, and new music in the Italian style was introduced under Bortnyansky († 1825). Not long after the decease of the latter the national movement under Balakireff exercised great influence, and new music preserving the tonality and genre of the old melodies was composed. Much of this is simple and massive in style, and depends upon nuance and expressive effects. The text is usually taken from the Psalms. More elaborate polyphonic settings are adopted for the Creation Hymn, the Evening Service, and other parts of the liturgy (see W. H. Frere, 'Notes on Russian Church Music,' *Cathedral Quarterly*, Christmas, 1914).

In recent years non-liturgical pieces have been used in the Russian Church set in thoroughly modern style, but unaccompanied in the *a capella* mode. In a programme of Russian Church music performed in New York in Dec. 1914 occur the following:

Four-, five-, and ten-part 'Cherubim Songs' by Bortnyansky, Rimsky-Korsakoff, and Rachmaninoff; eight-part 'Easter Verses' by Smolensky; eight-part 'Nunc Dimittis' by Gretchaninoff; six-, seven-, and eight-part motets by Nikolsky, Tchesnokoff, Arkhangelsky, and others (*Organist and Choirmaster*, Jan. 1915, p. 384).

One feature of Russian choirs is their cavernous bass voices, singing an octave below the ordinary bass, and creating a kind of organ *bourdon* pedal effect.

LITERATURE.—H. J. W. Tillyard, 'Greek Church Music,' in *Musical Antiquary*, March 1911; Curwen, ii. 44; S. G. Hatherly, *Byzantine Music*, London, 1892; Rebours, *Traité de psaltique*; J. M. Neale, *Hymns of the Eastern Church*[4], London, 1882; A. P. Stanley, *Lectures on the Hist. of the Eastern Church*, do. 1861; A. Pougin, *A Short Hist. of Russian Music*, tr. L. Howard, do. 1915. A cantakion of the Faithful Departed was sung to a Kieff melody at the Gregorian Festival in St. Paul's Cathedral in June 1915 (music published by Novello).

XV. *INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC IN CHURCH.*—It is well known that instrumental music played an important part in both Greek and Hebrew temple rites.

1. Primitive instruments. — In Greek ritual trumpets and clarions were prominent. In the Hebrew Temple at the beginning of the Christian era the harp, lute, flute, trumpet, and drum were used as accompaniment to the Psalms and canonical hymns; yet, owing to the necessity of avoiding comparison with pagan rites, instrumental music was forbidden in the early Christian Church. Justin Martyr (103–167; *Quæst. a Gent. Christian. propositarum*) argues against it (C. Sayle, *In Praise of Music*, London, 1897, p. 52). On the other hand, Clemens Alexandrinus, also in the 2nd cent., quoting the Psalmist in favour of instrumental music, says:

'If you are able to accompany your voices with the lyre or cithara, you will incur no censure' (*Pæd.* ii. 4).

St. Jerome (345–420) says:

'That which David made for the worship of God, inventing musical instruments.'

St. Augustine (354–430) likewise encourages 'the singing of Psalms to the lyre or psaltery' (J. A. Latrobe, *The Music of the Church*, London, 1831, p. 42). This regulation, or partial allowance, of instrumental music in the service of the Church seems not to have affected the Eastern branch, since in the Greek Church instrumental accompaniment has never been allowed, probably from its proximity to the pagan East.

Where instrumental help was allowed, it is easy to understand that the lyre, cithara, etc., would soon give way to the organ; the advantage of having the accompaniment under the control of one person would be apparent, and from the 5th cent. onwards the organ became supreme. Ancient MSS of the 8th, 9th, and later centuries show the use of the harp, the square stringed psaltery, the rotta or crwth (of the viol species), and trumpet, which the minstrel galleries seen in ancient churches both on the Continent and in England confirm.[1] In the minstrel gallery of Exeter Cathedral are representations of a cithern, bagpipe, harp, violin, tambourine, etc. In recent times a bagpipe lament has been played in York Minster. A MS of Charlemagne's time depicts King David 'singing Psalms, assisted by four musical instruments, the pneumatic organ, a sort of violin, a trumpet and a set of bells' (E. J. Hopkins and E. F. Rimbault, *The Organ*[3], London, 1877, p. 32).

Aelred, or Ethelred, the abbot (1109–66) of Rivaulx Abbey (Yorkshire), in his *Speculum Charitatis*, speaks of the 'common people' admiring 'the sound of organs, the sound of cymballs and musicall instruments, the harmony of the pipes and cornets' (Prynne's tr.; see Davey, p. 19).

Again, in the poem by Houlate, written in 1450, occurs this passage:

'*Clarions* loud knellis
Portatives [organs] and *bellis*.'

John Case, writing in the *Praise of Musicke* in 1586, says:

'In our English Church the Psalmes may be song, and Song most cunningly and with diverse artificial instruments of musick' (Sayle, p. 83).

Later Fynes Morrison, in his *Itinerary* written at the end of the 16th cent., speaking of the Lutheran Church, says:

'Before Divine service they had music in the gallery of the Church, of wind instruments, namely organs, cornetts, sagbuttes, and the like' (quoted by H. Antcliffe, 'The Orchestra in Church,' *Organist and Choirmaster*, Jan. 1915, p. 386; see also K. Schlesinger, 'The Utrecht Psalter and its Bearings on the History of Musical Instruments,' *Mus. Antiquary*, Oct. 1910).

About A.D. 1600 instrumental accompaniment for oratorio was introduced. G. Gabrieli (1557–1612) had used four sackbuts (trombones) as an accompaniment to his 'Surrexit Christus'; but probably they were used only to double the vocal parts.

In the first 'sacred drama,' 'L'Anima ed il Corpo,' produced by Emilio del Cavaliere in Rome in 1600,

[1] See Naumann, fig. 195, and p. 484.

an orchestra of remarkable composition, consisting of a double lyre, a harpsichord, a large or double guitar, and two flutes, was used.

T. Corygate (1577–1617), describing a visit to Venice which must have occurred not long after the above event in Rome, says:

'At that time I heard much good musicke in St. Markes Church.' 'Sometimes sixteene . . . instrumentall musitians . . . played together upon their instruments, ten sagbutts, foure cornets and two violdegambas of an extraordinary greatness,' also treble viols and theorboes together with 'seven pair of organs . . . standing al in a rowe together' (*Corygate's Crudities*, in Sayle, p. 112).

In England also about this time (1604) Henry Peacham says:

'Wherein doth our practice of singing in our churches differ from the practice of David? . . . Doe wee not make one signe in praising and thanking God in voyces and instruments of all sorts?' (Sayle, p. 139).

Following the Reformation came a period when instrumental music in church was tabued. The loss of boys' choirs necessitated separate instrumental help later after the Restoration. In 1661, at a festival at St. George's Church, Windsor, two double sackbuts and two double courtals were placed in the choir to help the weaker parts, while in 1664 at Westminster Abbey and again in 1673 in the Chapel Royal cornets were used for the treble parts, 'there being not one lad for all that time capable of singing his part readily' (M. Locke, *Present Practice of Music Vindicated*, London, 1673, quoted in Bumpus, *Eng. Cathedral Music*, pp. 122, 126).

It will be remembered that after the Restoration King Charles II. in 1660 sent Pelham Humphreys to France to learn the Italian style. Evelyn, writing in his diary on 21st Dec. 1662, remarks:

'One of his majesty's chaplains preached, after which, instead of ye antient, grave and solemn wind musiq accompanying ye organ, was introduced a concert of 24 violins between every pause, after ye French fantastical light way, better suiting a tavern, or a playhouse, than a church. This was ye first time of change, and now we no more hear the cornet[1] wch gave life to ye organ; that instrument is quite left off, in which the English were so skilfull' (Bumpus, *Eng. Cathedral Music*, p. 124).

2. The orchestra.—The modern orchestra may be said to date from about 1676, when the Italians Stradella (in his oratorio 'John the Baptist') and Alessandro Scarlatti were writing for the usual foundation of strings with various wood and brass wind instruments added for variety and colouring effects. Before that the older lutes, viols, flutes, cornets, etc., were used in the manner of vocal parts.

At this time Italian music was pre-eminent. Our English Purcell took the Italian school as his model, and his 'Te Deum' and 'Jubilate,' written in 1694 with accompaniment for strings, trumpet, and organ, was a remarkable achievement.

We now come to the time of Bach († 1750) and Handel († 1759). Handel's oratorios were given in the concert room; Bach's Church cantatas were rendered in church and had an accompaniment of strings, oboes and bassoons, and high-pitched trumpets in addition to the organ. After the death of Handel the spirit of the orchestra invaded all branches of music. Haydn and Mozart were chapel-masters with modern orchestras at their command, and they composed Masses in concert style for church use, with accompaniment for full orchestra; their example has since been followed and only in recent years has declined. In England the Handel Commemoration held in Westminster Abbey in 1784, in which an orchestra of 250 instrumentalists took part, was a striking event. An orchestra in church on the occasion of festivals or oratorio presentations is now a common occurrence in this country. In St. Paul's Cathedral, for instance, fine renderings are given with orchestra of the principal oratorios.

It only remains to mention the English village orchestra which, as late as the middle of last century, was to be heard in most village churches. It consisted generally of a violin, bass, a flute or clarionet, and a bassoon. Their performances were perhaps not artistic, but their banishment by means of the harmonium was nevertheless a loss to the musical life of the countryside.

3. The organ.—The earliest mention of the organ as understood in the modern sense is with regard to the Roman *hydraulus*, or hydraulic organ, invented some three centuries before Christ. It is supposed, from references in the Talmud, to have been used in the Temple worship. Later it seems to have been heard in the Roman theatres. It was famed for its loud note (single notes only) and light touch (see J. W. Warman, 'The Hydraulic Organ of the Ancients,' *Musical Association Lecture*, Jan. 1904, also *English Music*, London, 1906).

Organs seem to have been in common use in the Spanish churches in A.D. 450, according to Julianus, a Spanish bishop (Hopkins and Rimbault, *The Organ*[3], London, 1877), while Pope Vitalian introduced the organ to Rome in the 7th cent. in order to assist the congregational singing. There were organs in Aix-la-Chapelle in 811. A hundred years before this the Anglo-Saxons were using organs in England, and they were introduced into Ireland in the 9th century. In the 10th cent. there appears to have been a remarkably large organ in Winchester Cathedral, blown by twenty-six bellows and containing four hundred pipes. In Scotland Fordun describes the use of the organ at the re-interment of the English Queen Margaret at Dunfermline in 1250.

So far the organ was a most cumbersome instrument, and in place of keys had rods or levers. In the 11th cent. clumsy short wooden keys were invented. These were beaten by the fist in much the same way as the keys for the church tower carillon, or peal of bells. As to organ-builders, the earliest known was a priest Van Os, who built the organ for St. Nicholas church, Utrecht, in 1120. Organ pedal keyboards in rudimentary form appeared in the 15th cent. as well as distinctive names for the stops, but the compass was still very limited.

Modern organ-playing is said to have begun in Italy with Francesco Landino († 1390), organist of St. Lorenzo in Florence. The church organ had hitherto been used to lead out the plain-song—in unison only. There were, however, smaller organs used which could be moved about. The positive, often circular in shape, had one or two rows of pipes. The portative, so small that it could be placed on the knees, was blown with one hand and played with the other, and it was on this smaller organ that organ-playing, as an art, originated. There was also, later on, the small reed organ called the *regals* in use; it was portable like the others (Hopkins and Rimbault, p. 39).

In the next century we find that organists of repute begin to appear.

The great popularity of the Lutheran chorale in Germany led to its being treated in artistic form for the organ and played as a prelude, or *Choralvorspiele*. Originally the organ was played only between the verses as mentioned, but in 1650 Samuel Scheidt († 1654), in his *Tablatur Book*, begins to treat the organ as an accompaniment also for the singing. In the Roman Church organ interludes helped to spread out the Magnificat to the necessary length when sung in procession. The greatest of Dutch organists, Jan Swelinck († 1621), at Antwerp, and Geronimo Frescobaldi († 1640),

[1] The ancient *cornet* was of wood (leather-covered) and resembled a flute with a trumpet mouth-piece. The *shawm* was a primitive clarionet and the *sackbut* an early form of trombone. All these were made in sets, small and large (see Stainer, *Music of the Bible*, also *English Music*, pp. 349 and 458 f.).

who had 30,000 listeners when he first played in St. Peter's, Rome, in 1614, were noted for their extemporizations of such interludes.

In the English Church the choir dominated the situation, and the organ had no pedals. No distinguished executants arose until the Reformation. With the advent of Queen Elizabeth in 1558 the influence of the Geneva Protestants, who did not believe in instrumental worship, began to be felt. Their demand was for simplicity in worship. As a result the Puritan party in England decreed in 1571:

'We allow not the tossing of the Psalms from one side to the other, *with intermingling* of organs.'

Matters came to a climax, during the Civil War in 1644, when the destruction of church organs was ordered by Parliament (see Hopkins and Rimbault, p. 91 ff.).

After the Restoration in 1660 organs were re-erected in great haste in the cathedrals and churches, and organ-builders were imported, including 'Father' Smith, who built the organ in St. Paul's Cathedral. Purcell, the great English predecessor of Handel, wrote a 'Voluntary for ye Duble Organ.' By 'double' is meant a 16-foot pedal organ. A custom arose at this time in England of playing a middle voluntary after the Psalm, generally on the mounted cornet (a mixture stop) or trumpet; it usually served only as a means of vulgar display. In addition to the middle voluntary, other features of the times were the interludes at the end of each line of the metrical Psalms, with a flourish or shake at the end, the sitting down for the metrical Psalms (except at the 'Gloria'), and the later introduction of barrel organs. The interludes and sitting down still persist in the Lutheran Church abroad.

The musical inefficiencies of the country and smaller town churches at this time are quaintly described by Mace (*Musick's Monument*). He says:

'I shall not need to blazon it abroad in Print how miserably the Prophet David's Psalms are (as I may say) tortured or tormented.' He advocates that 'it is better never to sing at all than to sing out of tune,' and thence goes on to say that organists are 'a constant charge, a terrible business,' and that a 'Parish clark' could be easily taught 'how to pulse or strike most of our common Psalm Tunes' (*ap.* Williams, *Story of Organ Music*, p. 216).

With the 19th cent. English organists began to come to the front, represented by such men as Russell, Adams, S. S. Wesley, Smart, and others, and at the present time English organists and organs easily occupy the front rank.

In Scotland the organ was practically unused in church from the Reformation up to 1864, when it was re-introduced (McCrie, p. 337; Stewart, p. 157).

LITERATURE.—C. F. A. Williams, *Story of the Organ*, London, 1903, *Story of Organ Music*, do. 1905; H. C. Lahee, *The Organ and its Masters*, do. 1909; H. Statham, *The Organ and its Position in Musical Art*, do. 1909; J. I. Wedgwood, *Dictionary of Organ Stops*, do. 1905; H. W. Richards, *The Organ Accompaniment of the Church Services* (Anglican), do. 1911.

In conclusion it may be said that music is the most powerful ally that the Church has at its disposal. It can touch the emotions and the heart where all other means fail. If the organist is in earnest (and the minister is sympathetic), he becomes the active colleague of his minister in his great calling. The best results, however, can follow only if both keep an open mind and 'live to learn.' The study of the past is the best corrective for the present.

LITERATURE.—E. Dickinson, *Music of the Western Church*, London, 1902; G. W. Stewart, *Music in the Church*, do. 1914; J. S. Curwen, *Studies in Worship Music*, do., i. 1880, ii. 1885; F. G. Edwards, *Common Praise*, do. 1887; T. F. Forth, *Sanctity of Church Music*, do. 1914; W. S. Pratt, *Hist. of Music*, do. 1911; E. Naumann, *Hist. of Music*, Eng. tr.[2], do. 1900; W. S. Rockstro, *Hist. of Music*, do. 1886; John Hullah, *Hist. of Modern Music*[3], do. 1897; J. E. Matthew, *Handbook of Musical History* (with Bibliographies), do. 1898, *The Literature of Music*, do. 1896; J. S. Bumpus, *Dictionary of Ecclesiastical Terms*, do. 1910; *Prayer Book Dictionary*, do. 1912; C. F. A. Williams, *Story of Notation*, do. 1903.

HERBERT WESTERBY.

MUSIC (Egyptian).—1. Sources.—It is unfortunately impossible to derive much information with regard to ancient Egyptian music from the writings of the classical authors. They confine themselves to general observations, none of which carry us very far, and some of which are demonstrably inaccurate. Diodorus (i. 81), indeed, is responsible for an observation on the subject which led, for a time, to the mistaken idea that the Egyptians were an unmusical race. 'It was not customary,' he says, 'for the Egyptians to practise music, because they considered it effeminate and undesirable.' On what grounds his statement is based it would be difficult to say, and he himself admits that the Greek poets and musicians visited Egypt in order to improve their art. Plato (*Legg.* ii. 656 f.), on the other hand, ascribes a very high antiquity and a very noble character to the sacred music of the Egyptians, whose rules concerning it were, according to him, most rigid, only certain kinds being allowed by Government. This is confirmed by Strabo (xvii. 1), who says that 'the children of the Egyptians were taught letters, the songs appointed by law, and a certain kind of music, established by government, to the exclusion of every other'; and, further, that vocal and instrumental music was usually admitted in the worship of the gods, especially at the commencement of the services, except in the temple of Osiris, where neither singers nor players on the flute or the lyre were allowed to perform. It is questionable how much of this confident assertion is the result of actual knowledge; the statement as to the limiting of the kinds of music certainly does not agree with what is known from more reliable sources. Herodotus (ii. 79) speaks of his surprise at finding that the song called *Maneros* by the Egyptians, a dirge said to have been named after the son of the first king of Egypt, was similar to the Cyprian dirge *Linos* or *Ailinos*. This, however, is practically all that can be gathered from such sources.

2. System of music.—The paucity of information is still more deplorable when we come to the question of the system of music used by the Egyptians. No specimens of their musical notation have been preserved to us, for reasons which are manifest. Almost the whole of our knowledge of the life of ancient Egypt is derived from sculptures, wall-paintings, and reliefs; and, while musical scenes and instruments are there depicted with considerable frequency, it is obvious that nothing more is to be expected from such sources. A musical score would scarcely lend itself to representation in granite or limestone. The increasing care with which MSS on papyrus are now being collected and examined may in time provide us with the necessary information; but up to the present it is lacking.

Something may be inferred from the construction and range of the musical instruments represented on the monuments and wall-pictures, but the limits of such inference are narrow. It is, for example, probably a fair inference from the material mentioned above that the music of the Egyptians was not only in unison, but that they were accustomed to harmony, and that they had even attained to considerable skill in the building up of harmonic effects. The opposite view has been frequently expressed, but the testimony of the monuments seems conclusive on the point. One representation, for example, shows a harp of ten strings, and a lute on which at least three times as many intervals must have been producible in

union with a lyre of only five strings. Others show pipes playing together of such various lengths that they must have been designed to play in harmony and not in unison. In fact, there are repeated representations of what might be called an orchestra, and it seems out of the question to suppose that these aggregates of instruments were designed only to multiply the melody.

Instances of the various combinations of instruments found in these orchestras are given by Wilkinson (*The Ancient Egyptians*, ed. 1871, i. 86–89). The fact that the harp is the instrument most frequently depicted, and that it evidently formed the basis of Egyptian instrumental music, suggests the further inference that the Egyptian harmony was purely diatonic, and that every piece must have been played, from beginning to end, in the same key; for, before pedals were invented, the harp could play only a straight up and down diatonic scale. Little more than this can even be inferred, much less asserted. Students of this aspect of the subject must be referred to the various musical works mentioned in the Literature at the end of the article, where they will find all that can be made of it.

3. Importance of music in ancient Egypt.—There is, however, abundant evidence of the important place which music held in Egyptian life. Its origin was ascribed to divinity—sometimes to the goddess Isis, but more particularly to the god Thoth, or Tehuti. Among the sacred books attributed to him are two *Books of the Singer*. From a very early date it appears to have been the custom that a regular part of the royal establishment should consist of a band of instrumentalists and singers. Thus under the Old Empire we have mention of a certain Ra'henem, 'the superintendent of the singing,' who was also, with a somewhat curious jumbling of duties, superintendent of the royal harim (Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 250). Another reference gives us the names of three 'superintendents of the royal singing,' two of whom seem to have been singers themselves, for they observe that 'they daily rejoice the heart of the king with beautiful songs, and fulfil every wish of the king by their beautiful singing' (*ib.* p. 250). Some of these choirmasters appear to have been of high rank—they are called 'royal relatives'—and to have held priestly as well as musical office, being priests of the king and of his ancestors. Under the New Empire there are also references to men who were singers to Pharaoh, and particularly to one man, Neferronpet, who was 'superintendent of the singers to Pharaoh' and also 'superintendent of the singers of all the gods' (*ib.* p. 251). This points to a regular organization of the sacred music of the whole Empire; and the probability is that there was a stereotyped form of religious music, preserved and maintained by the priests, in which, however, part was sometimes taken, especially in the time of the New Empire, by lay performers—more particularly by women. Under the XVIIIth dynasty many women of high rank were appointed to offices connected with the worship of the temple of Amen, some of them bearing the title *qemāt en Amen*, 'singer of Amen' (Budge, *History of Egypt*, 1902, iv. 179 f.). In fact, Erman states that 'we scarcely meet with one lady under the New Empire, whether she were married or unmarried, the wife of an ecclesiastic or layman, whether she belonged to the family of a high priest or to that of an artisan, who was not thus connected with a temple' (p. 295). The chief duty of these women was to play the sistrum before the god. In some of the wall-pictures of the time of the New Empire, particularly in those of the tomb of Ramessu III. (dynasty XX.), priests are represented as performers upon the harp. Altogether, therefore, it may be concluded that music, at least in its higher branches, was held in very high estimation by the ancient Egyptians, and occupied no small place in their life. The more secular branch of the musical profession in Egypt seems to have held a very different position, and to have performed music of a very different type, which was mixed with other elements of a sufficiently frivolous kind—a fact which may account for the misleading statement of Diodorus already quoted. The representations which have been preserved show that secular music was used mainly in connexion with festivals and entertainments not always of the most decorous type, according to our ideas, and was frequently accompanied by the performances of professional dancers and jugglers. It is perhaps permissible to infer that the average of musical taste in Egypt was not very different from what it is in our own land.

Variations in the current musical taste may be traced from the pictures of social life. Under the Old Empire instrumental music seems to have been performed solely by men, and to have served mainly as an accompaniment to the voice. In the time of the New Empire women-players on the lyre, the lute, and the double pipe are met with.

The singers seem at all periods to have marked the rhythm by clapping the hands—in fact, this simple method of marking time is so inseparable in the Egyptian mind from the idea of music that the word 'to sing' is written in all periods by the hieroglyphic sign of a hand. Blind performers were not unknown—a representation from Tell el-Amarna shows a blind harpist accompanying several blind choristers who mark the rhythm with the clapping of hands.

4. Musical instruments.—When we come to the question of the musical instruments employed by the Egyptians, there is no lack of reliable material, the mural decorations of the various tombs abounding in representations of the different instruments. Of these the *harp* seems always to have been the chief and the favourite. It is found in various forms and various degrees of elaboration, ranging from small instruments with six or seven strings, which could be easily carried, and were frequently played by performers seated or kneeling on the ground—the instrument being either rested on its own base or supported on a light stand—up to very large and elaborate ones, whose base was enlarged to form a resonance-chamber, and which sometimes carried as many as twenty strings; these were played by performers standing, and seem to have been more or less reserved for music of a more elevated, possibly altogether of a religious, type, as the performers upon them appear to have been priests. A very small harp with four strings, and played by a performer who rests it on her shoulder (Wilkinson, i. 121), is considered by Naumann to be the first authentic form of the Egyptian harp. Erman, however, refers it (p. 252) to the time of the New Empire, and his opinion is to be preferred. The greatest elaboration of the harp is reached in the time of dynasties XIX. and XX. The representations of priests playing the harp in the tomb of Ramessu III. show instruments which are not only distinguished by the number of their strings, but are also very elaborately decorated, the framework being carved and inlaid with gold, ivory, tortoise-shell, and mother-of-pearl, and ornamented with various figures. The chief distinction between the Egyptian and the modern harp is that in the former the front support or pole is lacking, and there are no pedals, so that change of key can have been accomplished only by retuning the instrument by means of the pegs. The strings of the harp, as also those of the lyre, appear to have been of catgut; in one

specimen of the latter they have been found still in position, and so well preserved as to sound when struck. Several smaller instruments of harp type but of unusual shapes were also in use, and are figured by Wilkinson (i. 119).

Of smaller instruments, the *lute* or *guitar* is the one most frequently met with; its symbol , *nefer*, is one of the commonest hieroglyphic signs. Its Egyptian name was derived from the Semitic *nbl*. It appears to have been played chiefly by women, and was sometimes slung by a band round the neck. The body was of wood, sometimes covered with leather. Originally it was an exceedingly primitive instrument, with only one string, but later it became possessed of three, which were played by means of a plectrum. The strings were fastened at the lower end to a triangular piece of wood or ivory, and at the upper extremity of the handle they passed over a small crossbar and were secured either by pegs or by being passed through an aperture in the handle, round which they were then bound. The lute does not appear to have had any bridge.

The *lyre* was probably not a native Egyptian instrument, but a foreign importation. It does not make its appearance before the time of the XVIIIth dynasty except on one occasion. On the wall of the tomb of the prince Khnemu-hetep at Beni Hasan (dynasty XII.) it is represented in the hands of one of a company of Āamu or Bedawîn who are being introduced to the prince. In this case it is being played by a man; but as an Egyptian instrument it seems to have been more frequently played by women. It is found of various shapes and sizes, ranging from small instruments with five strings, which were carried under the arm and played either with or without a plectrum, up to large ones of eighteen strings, reaching a height of about six feet, and standing on an ornamental base. Specimens of the Egyptian lyre in the Berlin and Leyden museums show one of its arms shorter than the other, in order possibly to provide an easy method of tuning, by sliding the strings along the bar on which they were tightened.

Of *wind instruments* almost none but wooden specimens have been preserved. Pictures in the monuments, however, show troops accompanied by trumpeters who use a very simple straight trumpet of about 18 inches in length, and made apparently of brass or some similar metal (*e.g.*, the representation of the battle of Ramessu II. against the Kheta). Various kinds of flute are represented. In the time of the Old Empire there were two sorts in use, one of extraordinary length—4 or 5 feet—which was held by the player obliquely behind him, and a short one, varying in the specimens preserved from 7 to 15 inches in length. Later, in the time of the New Empire, these seem to have been almost superseded by the double pipe, an instrument with the mouth-pieces brought together and the tubes separating in V-shape and terminating in bell-shaped mouths. This form of pipe is frequently figured, being played mostly by female performers, and often as an accompaniment to dancers.

The flutes preserved are of wood, ivory, horn, or bone, but others were made of reeds; and, in 1889, W. M. Flinders Petrie found at Illahun, in the tomb of a lady named Maket, two musical reeds incased for protection in a larger reed. The scale indicated by their holes is the major scale (*Ten Years' Digging in Egypt*, London, 1893, p. 124).

Garstang's excavations at Beni Hasan in 1902–04 provided good specimens of several of the instruments described above. A harp of five strings presented no differences of any importance as compared with already-existing specimens in Paris, Turin, and the British Museum. A drum, 65 centimetres in length and 29 in breadth, was carved from a single cylinder of wood. Its ends were of parchment, connected together by a network of leather thongs. These thongs were tightened by being twisted with a short stick, so as to enable the pitch of the instrument to be maintained. Two flutes were of considerable interest, and were the subject of an article by Southgate in the *Musical News* of Aug. 1903. They are respectively 90 and 95 centimetres in length, made of the water-reed (*Arundo donax*). Each has four notches, the tubes are open throughout, and a slight thinning at the mouth-end suggests that a mouth-piece of some sort may have been attached. There are three finger-holes 5 millimetres in width, the distances of these from the mouth-end being 62·5, 68·6, and 81 centimetres in the shorter flute, whose natural note is *f*. The natural note of the longer tube is *e* natural. The notes produced by the finger-holes are in the one case *e*, *f*, *g*, *b* flat; and in the other *f*, *f* sharp, *a* sharp, and *c*. An Arab flute-player at Beni Hasan had no difficulty in playing these ancient instruments, which very much resembled his own flute in principle, though the latter was made out of an old gun-barrel. The date of the tomb in which these objects were found is unfortunately somewhat uncertain, but they may be ascribed to the period of the Middle Kingdom.

Among *instruments of percussion* there were several forms of drum, cymbals, castanets, the tambourine, and the sistrum. The commonest form of *drum* is a long narrow cylinder of wood or copper covered with parchment at both ends, the parchment being strained by bracing cords. It occurs chiefly in military scenes. During the march it was slung in a vertical position over the drummer's shoulder, and he played it by beating it with his hand. Another type of drum was more like the side drum of present times in shape, with this difference, that its sides were convex, giving it the shape of a small cask. This type was beaten with two drumsticks. A form of drum frequently represented corresponds to the *ḍarabúka* used at the present time by peasant women and the Nile boatmen. It is of funnel shape, and was apparently made of pottery, with parchment strained over the wide mouth. The Egyptian *cymbals* were smaller than those now in use, ranging from 5½ to 7 inches in diameter. In other respects they were similar to them, and were made either of brass or of an alloy of silver and brass. *Castanets* were in the form of slightly curved sticks of wood or ivory, about a foot long, and often terminating in a human head. The *tambourine* or *timbrel* appears to have been a favourite instrument in religious ceremonies as well as in secular music. It was played by either men or women, but oftener by the latter. Three types are represented—one circular, one square or oblong, and a third of two squares, separated by a bar. There is no direct evidence of the existence of the metal rings or disks found in the frame of the modern instrument; but, from the way in which the performer is seen to wave it over his head, it may be concluded that these existed. There remains the *sistrum*, which was the sacred musical instrument *par excellence*, if indeed it may be called a musical instrument. It consisted of a handle, generally carved in the shape of a head of the goddess Hathor, from the upper end of which rose an arch of bronze ribbon, somewhat in the shape of an elongated horseshoe. Through holes in the sides of this arch there were loosely inserted three or four metal bars, bent at each end to keep them from slipping out. When the sistrum was waved, these bars, striking on the bronze arch, emitted a tinkling sound. The sistrum was used in the most solemn religious services, and was frequently carried by women of the most exalted

rank. Several sistra have been preserved, varying from 8 to 18 inches in length. Models of sistra in enamelled ware were often deposited in tombs, being first broken in sign of mourning.

LITERATURE.—Herodotus, bk. ii.; Diodorus, bk. i.; Strabo, bk. xvii.; Plato, *Legg.* bk. ii.; J. G. Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, ed. London, 1871, i. 82–140, see also larger ed. 1836, i.; C. R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopen*, Berlin, 1849–59; A. Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, Eng. tr., London, 1894, pp. 249–255, 295; M. Brodrick and A. A. Morton, *Concise Dict. of Egyp. Archæology*, do. 1902, pp. 62, 105–107, 166; C. Engel, *Music of the most Ancient Nations*, do. 1864; W. Chappell, *Hist. of Music*, do. 1874, i.; J. F. Rowbotham, *Hist. of Music*, do. 1885–87, i.; E. Naumann, *Hist. of Music*, Eng. tr., do. 1882–86, i. 34–53; J. Garstang, *Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt*, do. 1907; Southgate, in *Musical News*, Aug. 1903.

JAMES BAIKIE.

MUSIC (Greek and Roman).—Any tradition as to the first stages of development of Greek music is veiled in mythical obscurity. It is natural that with a lively and artistic people, such as the Greeks were, the culture of music should have been very wide-spread. There was a great abundance of popular melodies, which brightened up the every-day life of the people (see Bücher, *Arbeit und Rhythmus*[3]); their social life was enlivened by love-songs and drinking-songs, and they glorified the gods at their festivals, as well as the victors in the national games, with choral songs accompanied by dances. Pindar, from whose pen there are still in existence forty-four odes of the last-mentioned kind, was a composer as well as a poet. The oldest piece of Greek music which has come down to us—leaving out of account as unquestionably spurious the composition of three verses of the Homeric Hymn to Demeter—is the beginning of a melody to Pindar's first Pythian Ode. The Jesuit Athanasius Kircher published it in his *Musurgia universalis* (Rome, 1650). It is true that the manuscript to which he appeals has not been found, and therefore the genuineness of the melody has been doubted in various quarters. Von Jan (*Musici scriptores Græci*; see also *Supplement*, 'Melodiarum reliquiæ') has not admitted it to his list at all. The most reliable information on all questions relating to the history of Greek music is to be found in Hugo Riemann's *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, I. i. (the Pindar melody is given on p. 131).

The epoch-making researches of Rudolph Westphal (*Die Musik des griech. Altertums* and *Griech. Harmonik und Melopoeie*[2]) require critical testing, because Westphal, with more imagination than discretion, has advanced a great many uncertain hypotheses. F. A. Gevaert's *Hist. et théorie de la musique de l'antiquité* must also be used with caution, as he depends too much upon Westphal's hypotheses. The same applies to Gleditsch, who treats the music of the Greeks as an appendix to metrics in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch der klass. Altertumswissenschaft*[3], vol. ii.

Out of the choral lyric sprang the drama, which in the classical period was chiefly musical drama. The comparative criticism which Aristophanes in his *Frogs* devotes to the art of Æschylus and Euripides is aimed at their music quite as much as the contents of their dramas. There is also extant a short fragment of a melody from the *Orestes* of Euripides (see von Jan's *Supplement*, p. 4 f.).

Alongside of the drama, from about B.C. 400 the dithyrambus assumed an important part in the perfecting of musical expression; and the primitive *νόμος* became from that time the field in which ever-increasing virtuosity could display its skill. In correspondence with the freer formation of the lyrical rhythms, from this time onwards the voice-part paid more attention to the distribution of the accents, which in the Greek language have a musical meaning of their own (cf. Crusius, 'Die delphischen Hymnen' in *Philologus*, liii., Suppl.). Besides songs accompanied by stringed instruments (*κιθαρῳδική*) and those accompanied by wind-instruments (*αὐλῳδική*), there was also pure instrumental music (*κιθαριστική* and *αὐλητική*). Guhrauer has shown (*Altgriech. Programm-musik*) that the instrumental music of the ancients was essentially 'programme' (*i.e.* illustrative or descriptive) music, especially in the case of the Pythian *νόμος*, which represented Apollo's fight with the dragon.

The great importance which the Greeks attached to music is also shown in the fact that music culture and instruction were subjects of minute State control. Even Plato, who in his Πολιτεία expresses himself a pronounced opponent to art, gives in that work most detailed attention to the regulating of music. On the high estimate of the ancients of the ethical value of music, and the controversy of the schools of philosophy about it, see Abert, *Die Lehre vom Ethos in der griechischen Musik*. Sparta especially, acting under government orders, took an interest in music, and we find Terpander of Lesbos, the oldest musician of importance, active there in the 6th or 7th cent. B.C. His name is closely connected with the history of citharodic music.

Songs in ancient times, whether sung by individuals or by a choir, were in unison throughout, with the exception that boys' and men's voices were an octave apart from each other. Moreover, the independent tones of the accompanying instruments, which may have been inserted between, must not be understood as a second part in the sense attached to that expression by an ear accustomed to harmony. Westphal's contentions about polyphony rest partly on arbitrary conclusions and partly on a misunderstanding of the word *πολυφωνία*, which does not have the same meaning as our modern 'polyphony' (see Graf, *de Græcorum veterum re musica*; for information about stringed instruments see von Jan, *Die griech. Saiteninstrumente*, and art. 'Saiteninstrumente,' in Baumeister's *Denkmäler des klass. Altertums*, iii.).

The bow was entirely unknown to the ancients; the strings were either plucked with the fingers, as we play our harps, or beaten with a small plectrum (*πλῆκτρον*), like our zither or the cymbal of the gypsies. The stringed instruments may be divided into two chief classes: the older simple *λύρα* (called in Homer the *κίθαρις* or *φόρμιγξ*), and the *κιθάρα*, which is distinguished from the *λύρα* by its large square sounding-board. The original number of strings was seven. How they were tuned, if in the Dorian octave (see below) with the omission of the third highest degree, just as, we are informed, Terpander used it, or otherwise, we cannot now determine. Each string gave only one sound; the Greeks knew nothing about shortening the strings by means of bridges. The flageolet seems to have been the only known means of getting from the string a note different from the fundamental one. Besides the seven-stringed lyre, there were also in common use a number of different harp-like instruments with a far greater number of strings.

The class of wind-instruments is represented by the *αὐλός*, which in size and pitch resembled our clarionet rather than the flute, as it had a double set of reeds, and was blown from the end (see von Jan, art. 'Flöten,' in Baumeister).

It is peculiar to the Greeks that almost invariably two *αὐλοί* were used at the same time by one player—a fact which Gevaert tries in vain to gloss over. The oldest representative of *αὐλός*-playing is Olympus, who, like Terpander, was from Asia-Minor, and belonged probably to about the same

time. The oldest so-called enharmonic scale is ascribed to him, and is, according to Riemann's convincing hypothesis (p. 43 f.), the five-note scale without semitones, which makes its appearance as the earliest stage among other peoples as well—*d e g a h d'*. From *d* to *d'* is the Phrygian octave, and Olympus came from Phrygia. After they had become acquainted with the full seven-note octave, people felt in these old melodies the intentional omission of the third note in each tetrachord, *f* and *c*. When the series of tones was transferred to the Dorian octave *e–e'*, and by this transposition the third tone was omitted, they had reached the second stage of development of the enharmonic *e f a h c' e'*, where twice an interval of a semitone and one of two whole tones succeed one another. Riemann demonstrates the same arrangement in Japanese music. Finally, by means of inserting the quarter-tone (δίεσις) between *e* and *f* as well as between *h* and *c'*, they again made up the tetrachord to four notes. This is the latest form of enharmonic, and the only one recognized by later theorists.

Among other instruments, apart from cymbals, kettle-drums, and castanets, which serve the purposes of rhythm only, not of harmony, we must mention the organ because of the great importance which it has assumed in Christian times. It appears for the first time in Alexandrian and Roman times as *hydraulis*, 'water-organ'—so called because the air-supply was obtained by means of water-pressure—but it had only a limited and wholly secular use. The Alexandrian and Roman epochs (cf. Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte Roms*[7]) show, indeed, a wide-spread musical activity, but it was not sufficiently creative; it lived entirely in the traditions of the classical Greeks. In fact, an attempt was made in Hadrian's time, as by Julian afterwards, to approach still nearer to these by means of a reform to the archaic (cf. Möhler, *Gesch. der alten und mittelalterl. Musik*, p. 34 f.). The early Christian music, therefore, which grew out of the musical life of the Romans, seemed to be a direct continuation of the ancient Greek. Attempts to show the close connexion between the two have been made, especially by Gevaert (*La Mélopée antique dans le chant de l'église latine*), and Möhler ('Die griech., griech.-röm., und altchrist.-lat. Musik,' in *RQ* ix. Suppl.). Abert (*Die Musikanschauung des Mittelalters und ihre Grundlagen*) acknowledges a direct connexion for the East only, while the Christian music of the West is a thing really new and only artificially adapted to the ancient theory by the scholars of the Middle Ages.

Along with the development of practical music theoretical investigation of music was also proceeding. The first important stride was made by Pythagoras, when he showed how the numerical proportions of the consonances correspond to the varying lengths of a string. The later Pythagoreans were aware that the notes are due to aerial vibrations, which have similar underlying relations to one another. The only consonances recognized by the ancients were the octave, the fifth, and the fourth; it was much later that they became conscious of the third as a harmonious chord (cf. Graf, *Die Theorie der Akustik im griech. Altertum*). The proportion of the third 4:5 seems to have been hit upon more by accident as one of the results of many calculating experiments; it was as unknown to Pythagoras as the small whole-tone 9:10. He got by the addition of two large whole-tones the very large third 64:81, and, as the difference between this and the fourth, the very artificial semitone 243:256. An excellent example of these Pythagorean studies is the *Sectio Canonis* of the great mathematician Euclid (von Jan, *Musici scriptores Græci*, p. 148 f.; on pp. 115–147 is collected all that is known about the Pythagoreans).

An attitude of opposition to the Pythagoreans was assumed to some extent by the school of Aristotle. What we find scattered through the different writings of Aristotle about music, von Jan has carefully gathered together at the beginning of his collection. Bk. xix. and part of bk. xi. of the Aristotelian *Problemata* treat of weighty musical questions. These are reproduced and annotated in von Jan, p. 39 f. But his treatment is superseded by the edition of Gevaert and Vollgraff (*Les Problèmes musicaux d'Aristote*), which handles the subject from new and fruitful points of view. The most important pupil of Aristotle, with regard to music, and at the same time the greatest musical theorist of antiquity, was Aristoxenus, whose *Elements of Harmony* should be studied in Macran's Ἀριστοξένου ἁρμονικὰ στοιχεῖα (Oxford, 1902) instead of in the somewhat profuse treatment of Westphal (Leipzig, 1883–93). Aristoxenus managed to find the proper medium between the empiricism of the practical musicians, which was based on no principle, and the too abstract theory of the Pythagoreans. A very important source of information is found, again, in the three books *de Musica* of Aristides Quintilianus (ed. Albert Jahn, Berlin, 1882), who lived in the 1st or 2nd cent. A.D. We get the greatest amount of historical information in the book preserved under Plutarch's name, Περὶ μουσικῆς (ed. Weil and Reinach, with Fr. tr. and notes). A little later lived Ptolemæus, the great geographer and astronomer, whose *Harmonics*, along with the commentary of Porphyrius, represents the last great system of ancient musical theory. Both of these works were largely supplemented by Bryennius the Byzantine, who belonged to the 14th century. The newest (!) edition of all these three books is that of John Wallis, in his *Opera mathematica*, iii., in the year 1699.

Among other Greek writers special mention is due to Alypius in the 4th cent. A.D., as the man who has handed down to us most fully the Greek system of notation, by writing out and describing altogether fifteen transposition-scales in the three kinds of tones, so that—with the omission of the last six series—he has really given and described thirty-nine scales through two octaves and in two kinds of musical characters (von Jan gives the tables on p. 367 f.).

The Greeks had a double musical notation. The newer employs the well-known letters of the Ionic alphabet, and that in descending order; the older consists of heterogeneous signs, and up to the present time neither its origin nor the system of its composition has been explained. Only the practical meaning of the signs has been made quite clear. In the older system the raising of a note a quarter-tone or a semitone was signified by a different position of the same sign. The newer notes used to be called singing-notes and the older ones instrument-notes, but the Delphian discoveries have shown us that their use was not originally distinguished in that way. Among the Latin writers Boethius, who was a contemporary of the great Theodoric, is worthy of mention on account of the authoritative position which his work, *de Musica*, held all through the Middle Ages. We now find the most lucid collection of sources in Riemann, pp. 10–26.

With regard to the extant specimens of music, the three Hymns of Dionysius and Mesomedes were the first to be made known; they belonged to Hadrian's time, and were communicated by the father of Galileo in 1581. In 1650 there followed Kircher's Pindar melody. All the other pieces we

owe to the last decade of the 19th century. There is the fragment from Euripides' *Orestes*, preserved on papyrus; and there are also the two Hymns to Apollo, apparently from the 2nd cent. B.C., which the excavations of the French at Delphi have brought to light; and, lastly, the only completely preserved piece, the Epitaph of Seikilos. All these are admirably brought together in von Jan's *Supplement*; the Seikilos song is given in facsimile in Möhler, *Geschichte*, p. 19.

The basis of the ancient Greek tone-system was the tetrachord, *i.e.* a succession of a semitone and two whole tones—*e f g a*; and there may have been an ancient sort of singing theme, which moved only within the compass of these notes—the tonic *a* and the dominant *e* (cf. the frequent recitative conclusion *a e* in modern music). The addition of a second similarly constructed tetrachord above it—*h c′ d′ e′*—gives rise to the Dorian octave *e–e′*. It corresponds to our A minor, for *a* is the tonic, and the Dorian octave therefore contains the notes for melodies which reach as far as a fifth above the tonic and a fourth below it. The key-note *a* is called *μέση* (the names of the notes are feminine, *χορδή* being understood); the lowest is the *ὑπάτη* (the idea of high and low is here apparently reversed; probably the designation is due to the position of the strings on certain old instruments); the highest, *e′*, in contrast to this, is called *νήτη* (= *νεάτη*, lit. 'the lowest'). The stringed instrument was held on the left side, so that the lowest string was farthest away from the body. As the tonic was the one which sounded most frequently and loudest, it was struck with the thumb; and then the index-finger came on the next lowest. This finger is called *ὁ λιχανός* (from *λείχω*, 'lick,' lit. 'licking finger'); and hence the note *g* itself is called *ἡ λιχανός*. The names of the remaining notes are simply derived from their position, the Dorian octave being named in this way:

e	*f*	*g*	*a*	*h*	*c*	*d*	*e′*
ὑπάτη	*παρυπάτη*	*λιχανός*	*μέση*	*παραμέση*	*τρίτη*	*παρανήτη*	*νήτη*
				or			
				παράμεσος			

The upper tetrachord can also be added in such a way that the *μέση* is its starting note. Then it is called, not *h c′ d′ e′*, but *a b c′ d′*. The two tetrachords are drawn so nearly together by this process that the two form only seven tones. From *συνάπτω*, 'join together,' the notes of this upper tetrachord are called the *συνημμένοι*, and in contrast to this the notes of the tetrachord first described are the *διεζευγμένοι*. The *παραμέση* drops out, *b* is called *τρίτη*, and so on. Thus, for example, the *νήτη* of the combined tetrachord is the same note as the *παρανήτη* of the other, namely *d*. By introducing the note *b*, they now made use of this tetrachord as a means of modulating from A minor to D minor. The Dorian octave was extended in both directions, a combined tetrachord *h–e*, the *ὕπατοι*, being added below (*e–a* are called, in contrast to this, the *μέσοι*); and similarly a combined *e′–a′*, the *ὑπερβολαῖοι*, was added above. Now we have two complete octaves, with the exception of the note *a*; this is added and is therefore called the *προσλαμβανόμενος*. In this way the complete system of fifteen notes is formed—or eighteen rather, as the three notes of the combined tetrachord are usually added. In reality it consists of sixteen notes, two of which (*c′* and *d′*) have double signs; *a* is now really *μέση*, for it stands at the interval of an octave from the *προσλαμβανόμενος* as well as from the *νήτη ὑπερβολαίων*.

The Dorian octave *e–e′* is one of the seven possible sections from the infinitely continuous diatonic scale without chromatic signs. In our music there are only two of them in use, namely, the (descending) minor scale *a′–a* and the major scale *c–c′*. In Greek music we find all the seven used. They are called the seven *ἁρμονίαι*, from *ἁρμόζω*, 'fit together,' because the combination of semitones and tones in each scale was in a different order. Coming downwards from *e* to *e′* of the Dorian scale, *d–d′* is called the Phrygian octave, *c–c′* the Lydian, *h* Mixolydian, *a* Hypodorian or Æolian, *g* Hypophrygian or Ionic (Iastic), and *f* Hypolydian. Thanks to Boethius, these names came to be used in the Church music of the Middle Ages, but, through a confusion, possibly due to the transference of the names to the transposition scales (see below), the Church notes are placed differently and in an inverted order:

	Ancient.	Middle Ages.
Dorian	*e′*	*d*
Phrygian	*d′*	*e*
Lydian	*c′*	*f*
Mixolydian	*h*	*g*
Hypodorian	*a*	*a*
Hypophrygian	*g*	*h*
Hypolydian	*f*	*c′*

(cf. Möhler, *Gesch.* p. 79 f.).

The position of the tonic in the Greek octaves is still an unsolved problem. If, as in the Dorian, it is to be looked for at the fourth stage from below, then, for example, the Phrygian would be a G major with a large seventh, the Lydian an F major with an exceedingly large fourth. Perhaps several octaves have the same tonic (as Dorian and Æolian, which at that time stood in the relation of authentic and plagal to each other), and differ only in the compass of the notes used in the melody. Probably the scales were originally accidental, *i.e.* they contained the tones of certain melodies which were well known in particular localities (hence the names), and not until some time later, when they were united in a system, were they conceived as essential, *i.e.* always depending on a fixed tonic.

Up to this point the basis of our examination has been the diatonic scale without chromatic signs. Now each of the seven octaves can be transposed to our scale of equal temperament of twelve semitones; thus arise the *τρόποι*, or transposition-scales, which are called likewise by the names Dorian, Phrygian, etc. If, in the octave *e–e′*, we raise *f* and *c* to *f♯* and *c♯*, we get a Phrygian octave, and if we also raise *g* and *d*, the Lydian is formed. To correspond to this Riemann composes the Lydian *τρόπος* like the scale with four sharps, and transcribes in C♯ minor the pieces handed down in this kind of scale. In all other writers we find them transcribed in D minor. For Bellermann and Fortlage, who started the investigation of Greek musical notation in 1847, regarded the Hypolydian octave (*f–f′* without signs) as the fundamental scale, and so related the transposition-scales to this octave that, for example, the Dorian *τρόπος* was fixed as B minor with five flats, for in this way *f–f′* gives a Dorian octave. Riemann (pp. 186, 193 f.) rejects this raising as groundless and misleading. The setting up of these scales presupposes a knowledge of tempered pitch. (Properly speaking, there could be only twelve, but they went far beyond the octave, and so Alypius counts fifteen specially-named *τρόποι*.) As a matter of fact, practical musicians made use of tempered pitch even in classical times, and Aristoxenus made it the basis of his theory, in opposition to the Pythagoreans, who contended from the speculative standpoint for the pure pitch.

With the seven *ἁρμονίαι* and the twelve *τρόποι* or *τόνοι* in diatonic succession the wealth of the Greek tone-system is not exhausted. The two inner notes of the tetrachord could always be lowered according to the character of the piece of music, and were therefore called the variables, in oppo-

sition to the two outside notes, which always formed a fourth. If the third note was lowered a semitone, there arose the series of ½ tone ½ tone 1½ tone—*e f f♯ a*. This is the chromatic genus, in contrast to the diatonic. The third genus of tone was the enharmonic already mentioned, where two quarter-tones are followed by an interval of a third, *e e f a*—*f* now occupying the third place in the tetrachord. Besides these three genera, there were numerous intermediate gradations used by the virtuosi; and the fragments of music which have been preserved also show mixtures of chromatic and diatonic elements, about which the writers on theory give no information. We can see from the scales of Aristides (p. 21) that the scale-system was not so systematically complete in Plato's time as it appears later (cf. Laloy, in *RPh* xxiv. 31 f.).

LITERATURE.—H. Abert, *Die Lehre vom Ethos in der griech. Musik*, Leipzig, 1899, *Die Musikanschauung des Mittelalters und ihre Grundlagen*, Halle, 1905; Aristides Quintilianus, *de Musica*, ed. A. Jahn, Berlin, 1882; Aristoxenus, Ἁρμονικὰ Στοιχεῖα, ed. R. Westphal, Leipzig, 1883-93, ed. H. S. Macran, Oxford, 1902; A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klass. Altertums*, Munich and Leipzig, 1885–88; F. Bellermann, *Die Tonleitern und Musiknoten der Griechen*, Berlin, 1847; K. Bücher, *Arbeit und Rhythmus*[3], Leipzig, 1902; O. Crusius, 'Die delphischen Hymnen,' *Philologus*, liii. [1894] Suppl.; L. Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte Roms*[7], Leipzig, 1901; F. A. Gevaert, *Hist. et théorie de la musique de l'antiquité*, 2 vols., Ghent, 1875–81, *La Mélopée antique dans le chant de l'église latine*, do. 1895; Gevaert and J. C. Vollgraff, *Les Problèmes musicaux d'Aristote*, Paris, 1899–1903; H. Gleditsch, 'Metrik der Griechen und Römer,' in I. Müller's *Handbuch der klass. Altertumswiss.* ii.[3] [1901]; E. Graf, *de Græcorum veterum re musica*, Marburg, 1889, *Die Theorie der Akustik im griech. Altertum*, Gumbinnen, 1894, and in *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klass. Altertumswiss.* civ. [1900], cxviii. [1903]; H. Guhrauer, *Altgriech. Programm-musik*, Wittenberg, 1904; C. von Jan, *Die griech. Saiteninstrumente*, Saargemünd, 1882; L. Laloy, 'Anciennes Gammes enharmoniques,' *RPh* xxiv. [1900]; A. Möhler, *Gesch. der alten und mittelalterl. Musik*, Leipzig, 1900, 'Die griech., griech.-röm., und altchrist.-lat. Musik,' in *RQ* ix. [1898] Suppl.; *Musici scriptores Græci*, ed. C. von Jan, Leipzig, 1895, and *Supplement*, 'Melodiarum reliquiæ,' do. 1899; Plutarch, Περὶ μουσικῆς, ed. H. Weil and T. Reinach, Paris, 1900; Ptolemæus, *Harmonics*, Porphyrius, and Bryennius, ed. J. Wallis, *Opera mathematica*, Oxford, 1699, iii.; H. Riemann, *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, I. i., Leipzig, 1904; R. Westphal, *Die Musik des griech. Altertums*, do. 1883, *Griech. Harmonik und Melopoeie*[3], do. 1886 (=A. Rossbach and Westphal, *Theorie der musischen Künste der Hellenen*, ii.).

E. GRAF.

MUSIC (Hebrew).—**1. Origin.**—Hebrew tradition ascribes the origin of music to Jubal, one of the three sons of Lamech. 'He was the father of all such as handle the harp and organ' (RV 'pipe,' Gn 4[21]). He had an elder brother Jabal, who is likewise described as 'the father of such as dwell in tents, and of such as have cattle' (v.[20]). The close relation thus assigned to the fathers of the pastoral and the musical arts—they are represented as being born of the same mother, while Tubal-cain, the first smith, was the son of the other wife of Lamech—witnesses to the belief that the origin of music is to be found among a people of pastoral habits. The shepherd playing on his pipe to call the sheep (Jg 5[16] RV), or to beguile the tediousness of his watch, appeared to the Hebrew mind the earliest type of musician. Similarly the Greeks ascribed to Pan the invention of the syrinx. It may be that the inclusion in Cain's family-tree of the originator of the art of music indicates a tendency on the part of the compiler to view with disfavour the arts which had banished the severe simplicity of primitive times. But, if so, this is a view which, so far as music is concerned, finds no further expression in the Bible, where music is consistently regarded with favour as the natural utterance of the joy which fills the heart, and the fitting channel whereby the voice of man may convey to God his gratitude and devotion.

2. Music in rejoicing.—In the Bible the employment of music in connexion with religion is a later development. The first uses to which it was put were secular, and in the social life of the people it played an important part. It was used on occasions of rejoicing. Victory in battle is celebrated in song (Ex 15[1ff.], Jg 5[1ff.]). The women welcome the conqueror with music and dancing. So Miriam and the women celebrate the discomfiture of Pharaoh's host (Ex 15[20f.]), and Jephthah's daughter brings her fate upon herself, in consequence of her father's rash vow (Jg 11[34ff.]). After his victory Jehoshaphat goes up to the Temple 'with psalteries and harps and trumpets' (2 Ch 20[28]). At feasts and convivial meetings there were song and instrumental music (Is 5[12], Am 6[5], Sir 32[5. 9]), and, among the features which go to make up the happy life which Job grudges to the wicked, music is not forgotten (Job 21[12]). The merry-making at the vintage festival took the form of dance and song (Jg 9[27] 21[21], Is 16[10]). One of the outstanding features in the marriage celebrations was the festal procession with music and dancing to the house of the bridegroom (1 Mac 9[37. 39]). It was such a familiar sight that the very children in the markets used to imitate it in their sport (Mt 11[17]). To Jeremiah the ceasing from the streets of the voice of the bridegroom and of the bride is typical of the desolation which is to overtake the land (Jer 7[34] 16[9] 25[10]). The long-lost son is welcomed home with music and dancing (Lk 15[25]). It appears likewise to have been the custom on occasion to speed the parting guest with music (Gn 31[27]). At any public ceremony, such as the coronation of the king, music played an important part (1 K 1[40], 2 K 11[14]). In all ranks of society it was esteemed. The king had his singers and instrumental performers (2 S 19[35], Ec 2[8]); the young men at the gates entertained themselves with music (La 5[14]); the shepherd lad had his lyre (1 S 16[18]); the harlot used song and playing to augment her blandishments (Is 23[16]); in the Exile the Jews used to take their lyres with them, as had doubtless been their wont at home, when they gathered together for social intercourse, though they had no heart to sing (Ps 137[1ff.]).

3. Music in mourning. — But music was not employed only on joyful occasions. It had its place also in the ceremonial of mourning. The dirge was a recognized form of Hebrew poetry. It was sung in connexion with the obsequies. Jeremiah composed one for Josiah, which was sung by the singing men and the singing women (2 Ch 35[25]), and David's lament over Saul and Jonathan has been preserved (2 S 1[18-27]). It became the custom to employ professional mourners to bewail the dead. The lamentation began in the home (Mt 9[23]), and was continued as the funeral procession marched with mournful music to the grave. Flutes are the only instruments of which we read in connexion with funerals (Mt 9[23]). The use of music at funerals became so firmly established that, according to Maimonides, the poorest husband was expected to provide at least two flute-players and one mourning woman for the funeral of his wife (Comm. in *Mishnajoth*, ch. 4).

4. Hebrew susceptibility to music.—Evidence of the susceptibility of the Hebrew temperament to music is supplied by the cases of Saul and Elisha. When Saul is troubled by an evil spirit, his melancholy is dispelled by the playing of David (1 S 16[16-23]). When as a young man he meets the company of prophets working themselves up into an ecstasy by the music which accompanies them, Saul too is carried away and prophesies (1 S 10[5f.]). The same thing happened on a later occasion when he attempted to take David prisoner as he was dwelling in Naioth with Samuel and the prophets. The various messengers whom he sent were all overcome by the spirit and prophesied; and, when Saul himself came to

achieve the capture, he too was carried away (1 S 19^{20-24}). There is no express mention of music in the latter passage; but doubtless this was the method by which the prophets produced that state of ecstasy suggested by the description of them as 'prophesying.' So, when Elisha desired to prophesy, he called for a minstrel, and by the aid of the music the hand of the Lord came upon him (2 K 3^{15}).

5. **Music in religious worship.**—It was natural that an art which played such an important part in the social life of the people should have its place in religious worship. Of the history of its introduction in this connexion we have, however, no record. If we accept the account of Chronicles, then it is to David that is to be assigned the credit of making provision for the musical service of the Temple. But it is characteristic of the Chronicler to antedate the religious practices of his own day. So, however valuable his account as furnishing a picture of the Temple service in post-Exilic times, it is quite unreliable as evidence regarding the conditions in the first Temple. There is no mention of sacred singers or musicians in the Pentateuch, and it is hardly credible, if the musical service of the first Temple was in the highly organized state described in Chronicles, that no regulations regarding it should be laid down there. But, while we cannot accept the account in Chronicles of the elaborate arrangements made by David, that does not mean that the whole musical service was a post-Exilic development. There must have been a considerable musical staff in the first Temple, for we read of a body of singers, called the children of Asaph, in the list of those who returned from the Exile (Ezr 2^{41}, Neh 7^{44}). These would be descendants of those who had held office before the fall of Jerusalem, for it is impossible that the organization of a staff of Temple musicians was the work of the Exile. From Am 5^{23} and Is $30^{29.\ 32}$ we know that the use of music in connexion with religious worship was an established practice. Indeed, it is probable that the association extends much further back than the time of David. Among the ancient Hebrews there was not the sharp distinction between the sacred and the secular that obtains with us. Many of the social festivities with which music was associated had a certain religious significance. The great historical feasts which assumed such importance in the Jewish religion were originally rustic festivals to celebrate the more important agricultural events of the year. It is natural that the music which played such an important part in these social celebrations should have a place in the religious festivals which took their place. The dance and song which were features of these rustic festivals were retained in the religious procession, such as is described in connexion with the bringing up of the ark to Zion in 2 S 6. Thus, gradually and naturally, music was associated with religious celebrations. As these celebrations became more elaborate, the provision for the employment of music in connexion with them would become more complex. Whether David had any part in the organization of the musical arrangement in divine worship we cannot tell. In the book of Samuel he is described as a skilful player upon the lyre (1 S 16^{18}), and in Am 6^{5} there is a reference to his invention of musical instruments (Nowack would read 'all kinds of songs' instead of 'instruments of song'). But there is nothing in the earlier historical books, with the exception of the two psalms attributed to him in the appendix to 2 Sam., to identify him with the David who figures in Chronicles as the founder of the Temple psalmody. The instruments of song which he invented, alluded to in Am 6^{5}, are such as are in use at banquets rather than those intended for worship. And there is a striking contrast between the scenes at the bringing up of the ark described in 2 Sam., where David danced and leapt before the ark, and the stately ceremonial on the same occasion described in Chronicles. It may very well be that David, an expert musician, interested himself in the wider use of music in religious services. But, if he did, we have no data upon which to come to a decision as to the extent and character of his work.

For the same reason we are unable to form any clear idea of what was the nature of the musical service in the first Temple. We may confidently assume that the musical staff would be on a very much more modest scale than Chronicles alleges. It has been thought by some that the people took a more active part in the musical service than in later times (Cheyne, *Origin of Psalter*, p. 194). But how far this participation extended, and what precisely was the nature of the musical side of the service, we have no means of determining. With regard to post-Exilic times our information is somewhat fuller. There was a large staff of Temple musicians. They were grouped together in gilds called by the name of the head of the family from whom they were descended—*e.g.*, Asaph, Heman, Korah. The headings of many of the Psalms indicate that they are taken from the collection which bore the name of one of these gilds. Previous to the time of Ezra and Nehemiah the musicians were distinguished from the Levites (Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 271; art. 'Priests and Levites,' in *HDB* iv. 92^{b}), but from this time onwards they were included among them. Their particular function was to accompany the daily burnt-offering and other parts of the service with song and instrumental music. To what extent the people joined in the musical service is uncertain. Probably their participation, in later times at any rate, was restricted to occasional responses such as 'Amen,' 'Hallelujah' (1 Ch 16^{36}, Ps 106^{48}), 'For His mercy endureth for ever' (Ps 136; cf. Jer 33^{11}). The instruments generally used at the Temple service were the two stringed ones, the *kinnôr* and the *nebel*, of which a considerable number were employed in the Temple orchestra, and the cymbals, of which there was only one pair played by the conductor to mark the time. These instruments appear to have been supplemented on occasion by flutes (Is 30^{29}, Ps 5, superscription 'Upon Nehiloth,' which is taken by some to indicate accompaniment by flutes [see Delitzsch, *ad loc.*]). There likewise fall to be included in the list of instruments used in worship the trumpets, which were played, not by the Levites, but by the priests. They were used at the daily offering and other parts of the service, and were likewise sounded from the roof of the Temple to announce the dawn of the Sabbath (Josephus, *BJ* IV. ix. 12). According to the account given in 1 Ch $15^{16ff.}$, the singers played their own accompaniment, whereas in Ps 68^{25} the singers are distinguished from the instrumentalists, and march first in the procession. Perhaps the latter arrangement was a later development (Ewald, *Die Dichter des alten Bundes*, Ia. 212). From the descriptions given of the dedication of the Temple (2 Ch 7^{6}), and of the consecration of it after its cleansing by Hezekiah (2 Ch 29^{26-30}), it appears that the singing and the instrumental performance by the Levites and the blowing of the trumpets by the priests all took place simultaneously. But in the second Temple the blowing of the trumpets, at any rate, did not accompany but succeeded the performance by the choir and musicians. There have even been some who maintain that the instruments did not accompany the voices at all, but played interludes at pauses in the singing by

the choir, and that the word 'Selah,' which occurs occasionally in the Psalms, indicates that the instrumental interlude should here begin (so Diestel, in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexikon*, iv. 260 f.). To take the word 'Selah' as a sign for some kind of instrumental interlude is perhaps the most satisfactory interpretation. But it does not follow that the instruments were entirely silent during the singing of the choir. They may have been supplying an accompaniment, and at the sign 'Selah' may have been meant to play alone, perhaps louder than previously. It is not likely that the instruments were restricted to these interludes in the singing. The Hebrews had little knowledge of music save as an accompaniment to the voice. Musical instruments were to them pre-eminently 'instruments of song' (1 Ch 16^{42}, 2 Ch 7^{6} 34^{12}, Am 6^{5}, Neh 12^{27}).

It is a point of dispute whether there were any women among the Temple musical staff. One or two passages seem to favour the positive. Ezr 2^{65} and Neh 7^{67} speak of singing women among the returned exiles. According to 1 Ch $25^{5f.}$, Heman had three daughters who with their brothers were instructed for song in the house of the Lord. And in Ps 68^{25} the damsels with timbrels are described as taking their place among the singers and players. But it is not said in Ezr 2^{65} and Neh 7^{67} that the female singers there mentioned belonged to the Temple musicians, who have already been mentioned earlier in these chapters. And the verse in Ps 68 describes, not a Temple service, but a religious procession. This leaves only the reference to the daughters of Heman. In view of the general tendency of the post-Exilic cultus to exclude women from office, we should require fuller evidence to convince us of the fact that they had any recognized place on the musical staff of the second Temple.

6. Character of Hebrew music.—We have no data upon which to base any conclusions as to the essential character of the music of the Hebrews. We do not know, *e.g.*, what was the nature of the scale or scales which it employed, or what the structure of its melodies. The Hebrews do not appear to have had any system of musical notation.

It has been suggested that we may find such notation in the Hebrew accents; but there is no evidence that these had any musical significance, or served any other than a rhetorical purpose (cf. Forkel, *Gesch. der Musik*, i. 152 ff.). Some of the superscriptions of the Psalms appear to contain musical directions, and, were we certain of their significance, we might get more insight into the character of Hebrew music. For instance, some have thought to find in the direction 'Upon Sheminith' (Pss 6. 12, 1 Ch 15^{21}), which they translate 'in the octave,' proof that the Hebrews had, like ourselves, a scale of seven steps. That translation might be accepted, were we satisfied on other grounds of the employment of such a scale among the Hebrews. But, apart from independent proof, it is quite unjustifiable to assign this interpretation to the phrase, and base upon it a conclusion as to the nature of the Hebrew scale. The words might mean various other things—*e.g.*, the kind of instrument to be employed, one with eight strings, or the musical mode to be chosen, the eighth. Probably there were various modes in use among the Hebrews, as with the Greeks. Some of the other superscriptions have been taken as indicating that a certain mode is to be employed—*e.g.*, Pss 8. 81. 84, 'Upon Gittith,' which may be a mode called after Gath (Ewald, *op. cit.* p. 223), Ps 9, 'Upon Muth-labben,' Ps 56, 'Upon Jonath-elem-rechokim,' Ps 57, etc., 'Al-taschith,' in which cases we seem to have the opening words of songs which indicate either the melody or the mode to be employed. But the whole question of the superscriptions of the Psalms is very obscure, and there is so little unanimity among scholars as to their significance that we can draw no conclusions from them as to the character of Hebrew music. From what we know of the music of kindred peoples we shall probably not be far wrong in concluding that Hebrew song was more or less a kind of musical declamation to a chant consisting of a few notes within moderate compass, the accompanying instruments being employed mainly in marking the rhythm. There is no evidence that the Hebrews had any knowledge of harmony. Their musical performances, both vocal and instrumental, would be all in unison. Some would cite 2 Ch 5^{13}, 'the trumpeters and singers were as one, to make one sound to be heard,' as direct evidence to this effect. One might as well assign a technical musical significance to Chaucer's description of the singing of the birds, 'al of oon accorde.' The phrases in Chronicles are designed to indicate the unanimity of the performance. To regard them as proof of unison performance in the technical sense is to attribute to the writer an acquaintance with harmony, while at the same time we quote his words to prove that Hebrew music had no harmony. Probably the Temple music was, at first, at any rate, of a very noisy character. The root idea of the Hebrew verb 'to praise,' from which the word for 'psalm' is derived, is 'to make a noise,' and Cheyne finds a hint of 'the humble origin of the Hebrew *t'hillah*' ('psalm') in the shouting of the Arabs as they enter the sanctuary (*op. cit.* pp. 194, 460). To make a loud noise to Jahweh appears to have been the prominent feature in the Hebrew conception of praise. In La 2^{7} the noise made by the Chaldæan soldiery in the Temple is compared to the sound of the worshippers at some festival.

7. Musical instruments.—The Hebrews had a variety of musical instruments. Almost no information is given in the Bible as to their construction or use, nor have any contemporary representations of them been preserved. But there are many such representations of the instruments in use among the neighbouring Oriental peoples to be found among the Egyptian, Assyrian, and Babylonian monuments, and we may safely assume that the instruments of the Hebrews were not essentially different. The instruments mentioned in the Bible fall into three groups: (i.) instruments of percussion, (ii.) wind instruments, and (iii.) stringed instruments.

i. INSTRUMENTS OF PERCUSSION.—These mark the rhythm, and would probably be first in the order of development, the rhythmical element in music being the feature which makes the strongest appeal to the primitive mind. The following are the instruments of percussion mentioned in the OT.

(*a*) The *tōph* (תֹּף, 'tabret' or 'timbrel,' LXX *τύμπανον*), a kind of hand-drum formed of a frame of wood with a piece of skin stretched over it. The usual shape is circular, but occasionally on the monuments we meet with a square shape also. It was struck with the back of the hand or with the fingers, and was usually played by women. It was employed on occasions of rejoicing, and served to mark the rhythm for song or dance, or for the other instruments. It does not appear to have been used in the Temple worship, but in religious processions it had its place (2 S 6^{5}, Ps 68^{25} 149^{3}).

(*b*) The *měṣiltaîm* (מְצִלְתַּיִם) or *ṣelṣělîm* (צֶלְצְלִים), a term which occurs only in 2 S 6^{5}, Ps 150^{5}, 'cymbals,' LXX *κύμβαλα*. These were made of brass (1 Ch 15^{19}) and were similar in shape to those in use among ourselves. They were reserved chiefly for religious purposes, and were used in the Temple worship by

the conductor to give the beat to the performers (1 Ch 15^{19} 16^{5}). In Ps 150^{5} some have thought to find in the twofold designation of the cymbals (*ṣilṣĕlē-shāmaʿ*, *ṣilṣĕlē-thĕrûʿah*, 'loud cymbals,' 'high sounding cymbals,' AV) a distinction between two different kinds of instrument, regarding the former as castanets and the latter as ordinary cymbals. But it is questionable whether the distinction is more than a rhetorical device, and, even if this be not the case, whether *ṣilṣĕlē-shāmaʿ* is a fitting designation of castanets.

(*c*) The *mĕnaʿanʿim* (מְנַעֲנְעִים), which are mentioned in 2 S 6^{5}, rendered 'cornets' in AV, 'castanets' in RV, and in RV marg. properly *sistra*. The *sistrum* was a kind of rattle, consisting of a handle supporting an oval metal frame, through which ran a number of cross bars with projecting ends, upon which rings of metal were placed. When the instrument was shaken, these rings jangled. The *sistrum* was derived from Egypt, where it was used in the worship of Isis.

(*d*) The *shālishîm* (שָׁלִישִׁים). We meet with this term only in 1 S 18^{6}. What instrument is meant is uncertain. AV and RV render merely 'instruments of music,' AV marg. 'three-stringed instruments,' RV marg. 'triangles or three-stringed instruments,' LXX *κύμβαλα*. The etymology suggests an instrument in triangular form, but whether a small triangular harp similar to the Greek *τρίγωνον* or a triangle such as we still have in our orchestras is uncertain. There is no representation of the triangle as an instrument of percussion in the ancient Oriental monuments.

ii. WIND INSTRUMENTS.—(*a*) The *ḥālîl* (חָלִיל) or 'flute.' We meet with several varieties of flute on the ancient monuments, single flutes, double flutes, flutes with mouth-pieces, cross-flutes, flutes varying in length and in the number of the finger-holes. We have no means of deciding which of these were in use among the Hebrews. The flute was employed by them on various occasions: at feasts (Is 5^{12}), at marriages (1 Mac 3^{45}), on occasions of mourning (Jer 48^{36}, Mt 9^{23}; Josephus, *BJ* III. ix. 5), in religious processions (1 K 1^{40}, Is 30^{29}). There is difference of opinion as to whether flutes were employed in the Temple service in OT times. If *nĕḥîlōth* in the superscription of Ps 5 be, as maintained by some recent commentators, another term for flutes, this would be strong evidence as to their use. But the interpretation of the term is very obscure. By the time of the Talmud, at any rate, they had a recognized place in the daily service. On twelve days in the year a flute was played before the altar to accompany the singing of the Hallel.

(*b*) The *ʿugāb* (עוּגָב). Some think that this term denotes 'wind instruments' in general. Where it is taken as signifying one instrument in particular, opinion is divided between the 'bagpipe' and the 'syrinx.' We meet with these two instruments in the list given in Dn 3^{5}, the *ṣumphōniāh* (סוּמְפֹנְיָה, AV 'dulcimer') being generally taken to be the bagpipe, and the *mashrōkîthā* (מַשְׁרֹקִיתָא, AV 'flute') the syrinx or Pan-pipe. Neither of these instruments is mentioned in connexion with religious worship.

(*c*) The *shōphār* (שׁוֹפָר) or *keren* (קֶרֶן), 'horn,' was made of a ram's horn, and hence was crooked in shape, though in later times it appears to have been straightened. Its loud tone made it useful for giving signals. Thus it was used in war to summon the army (Jg 3^{27}), to give the signal of attack (Job $39^{24\text{f.}}$) or of withdrawal (2 S 2^{28}), to announce important events—*e.g.*, the ascension of the king (1 K 1^{39}), the approach of danger (Am 3^{6}), the beginning of the year of Jubilee (Lv 25^{9}), the New Year festival on the first day of the seventh month (Lv 23^{24}). The blowing of the *shōphār* on New Year's Day still remains an outstanding feature of the celebration in the Jewish Synagogue.

(*d*) The *ḥăṣōṣĕrah* (חֲצֹצְרָה), 'trumpet,' is described by Josephus (*Ant.* III. xii. 6). It was made of metal, was not quite a cubit long, somewhat thicker than a flute, widening at the mouth to receive the breath, and bell-shaped at the lower end like the war trumpet. Like the *shōphār*, it was occasionally used to give the alarm (2 K 11^{14}). It is seldom mentioned in the earlier history, but in later times it was appropriated to ecclesiastical use, and the blowing of it became the exclusive privilege of the priests. Trumpets were usually played by themselves, though occasionally we find them combined with other instruments (2 Ch $5^{12\text{f.}}$). Blasts of the trumpets were intercalated at various points in the daily service.

iii. STRINGED INSTRUMENTS.—Throughout the OT, with the exception of the book of Daniel, only two stringed instruments are mentioned, the *kinnōr* (כִּנּוֹר) and the *nebel* (נֵבֶל). In ancient times stringed instruments were played either with the hand or with a plectrum, the use of the bow being as yet unknown. We read of the *kinnōr* being played with the hand (1 S 16^{23} 18^{10} 19^{9}), and there is no express mention of the plectrum in the OT. But we are hardly justified in concluding that it was not in use among the Hebrews. The frame of the instruments was made of wood, and the string of gut, sometimes of twisted thread. The stringed instruments were those most generally in use among the Hebrews. Their music was of a bright character, and we find them present on occasions of festivity, at feasts (Is 5^{12}), at domestic celebrations (Gn 31^{27}), at festal processions (1 S 10^{5}, 2 S 6^{5}), and the like. On occasions of mourning the sound of their music is silent (Is 14^{11}, La 5^{14}, Job 30^{31}). In their grief the exiles in Babylon hang their lyres on the willow trees (Ps 137^{2}). Stringed instruments were used chiefly to accompany singing (1 K 10^{12}). Hence they played a most important part in the music of the Temple, constituting, in fact, the main body of the orchestra (1 Ch 16^{5}, Ps 33^{2} 57^{8} 150^{4} etc.). Of the two instruments the *kinnōr* appears to have been the more popular. It was in the hands of all classes. The shepherd lad played upon it (1 S $16^{16\text{ff.}}$), the harlot sang her songs to it (Is 23^{16}), it was used on occasions of merry-making (Job 21^{12}), mingling with joyful song and sound of the tabret (Gn 31^{27}). Scriptural allusions to the *nebel* mostly refer to its use in religious worship. But we do occasionally meet with it in scenes of revelry (Is 5^{12}, Am 6^{5}). Whether the prophetic denunciations of such convivialities are to be taken as implying a reproof for the profanation of the sacred instrument (Weiss, *Die musikalischen Instrumente in den heiligen Schriften des AT*, p. 22; E. C. A. Riehm, *Handwörterbuch des biblischen Altertums*², Bielefeld, 1893–94, 1030*ab*) is open to doubt.

We are not in a position to decide with certainty as to the shape and character of the *kinnōr* and the *nebel*. *Kinnōr* (AV and RV 'harp') is usually rendered by the LXX *κιθάρα* or *κινύρα*, on five occasions by *ψαλτήριον*, and once by *ὄργανον*. *Nebel* (AV and RV usually 'psaltery,' occasionally 'viol,' Is 5^{12} RV 'lute') appears as *νάβλα* in certain books and as *ψαλτήριον* (once *ψαλυός*) in others. If the evidence of the LXX is of any weight, then we must regard the *kinnōr* as a kind of lyre. According to Josephus (*Ant.* VII. xii. 3), the *κινύρα* is a ten-stringed instrument with twelve notes, played with the fingers. It is expressly stated in the book of Samuel that David played the *kinnōr* with the hand. It is perhaps pressing the language unduly to insist that he did not use a plectrum (see editor's note, Wellhausen, in *PB*, 'Psalms,' p. 223). Whether Josephus is right or not in his contention as to the use of the fingers for the *kinnōr*, his statement regarding the number of

strings of the *nebel* is not in accordance with Ps 33^2 92^3 144^9, where we read of a ten-stringed *nebel*. The Greek and Latin Fathers find the distinction between *kinnōr* and *nebel* in the position of the resonance-box, in the former beneath and in the latter above the strings. This description of the *kinnōr* would apply to instruments of the lute family as well as of the lyre, the resonance-box in both types of instrument being beneath the strings. But against the identification of the *kinnōr* with the lute may be urged the fact that there is no evidence on the monuments of the use of the latter instrument among Semitic peoples, and the unlikelihood of Greek writers who were familiar with the *κιθάρα*, or lyre, using the term to designate an instrument of an entirely different character. If we regard the *kinnōr* as an instrument of the lyre type, it is probable that the *nebel* was a kind of harp. We read of its being played as one marched along. It must then have been much smaller than the harp represented on the Egyptian monuments, which one played kneeling or standing. There is an Assyrian harp seen on the bas-reliefs which we may well conceive to have been somewhat similar to the Hebrew *nebel*. It is triangular in shape; above there is a curved frame which acts as the resonance-box, and below there is a horizontal bar or bridge, between which and the upper frame the strings are stretched. It is played with both hands without a plectrum. As we have said, we have no certain evidence upon which to base in attempting the identification of the two stringed instruments familiar to the Hebrews; but, if we are to decide upon any at all, we incline to instruments of the lyre and the harp type.

In addition to the stringed instruments to which we have referred, there is another mentioned in Dn $3^{5.7}$, the *ṣabbekhā* (כַּבִּת), LXX *σαμβύκη*, AV and RV 'sackbut'). The sackbut was a kind of trombone, but the *ṣabbekhā*, if we are to identify it with the Greek *σαμβύκη*, was a stringed instrument introduced into Greece from the East. It appears to have been a small harp, not unlike the *τρίγωνον* in shape and tone, and among the Greeks it was generally played by Oriental women.

LITERATURE.—A full list of the older literature will be found in J. N. Forkel, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik*, Leipzig, 1788–1801, i. 173 ff. In addition to the articles on the subject in the histories of music, the text-books on Hebrew archæology, and the Bible dictionaries, the following may be mentioned: J. L. Saalschütz, *Geschichte und Würdigung der Musik bei den alten Hebräern*, Berlin, 1829; G. H. A. von Ewald, *Die Dichter des alten Bundes*, Göttingen, 1835 ff., Ia. 209 ff.; F. Delitzsch, *Physiologie und Musik*, Leipzig, 1868, *Bibl. Comm. über den Psalmen*[4], do. 1883, p. 25 ff., Eng. tr., London, 1887–89, i. 39 ff.: H. Graetz, 'Die Tempel-psalmen,' *Monatsschr.*, 1878, pp. 217–222, 'Die musikalischen Instrumente im jerusalemischen Tempel und der musikalische Chor der Leviten,' *ib.*, 1881, pp. 241–259; E. Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 270 ff.; J. Weiss, *Die musikalischen Instrumente in den heiligen Schriften des Alten Testaments*, Graz, 1895; J. Wellhausen, Appendix on 'Music of the Ancient Hebrews,' in *PB*, 'Psalms,' London, 1898; J. Köberle, *Die Tempelsänger im Alten Testament*, Erlangen, 1899; A. Büchler, 'Zur Geschichte der Tempelmusik und der Tempelpsalmen,' *ZATW* xix. [1899] 96–133, 329–344, xx. [1900] 97–135; T. K. Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter* (*BL*, 1889), London, 1891; W. R. Smith, *OTJC*, do. 1892; J. Stainer, *Music of the Bible*, do. 1914.

G. WAUCHOPE STEWART.

MUSIC (Indian).—1. Introduction.—A great deal more is generally known of Hindu religion than of Hindu music. An account of the connexion between the two would be incomplete without an attempt to convey to the reader some idea of what Hindu music is.

The first thing one has to grasp is the immense antiquity of the art of music. The systems now flourishing in India and China have been transmitted without material change for so many centuries that we can point to no date as marking an advance or dividing one art period from another. Of ancient Greek musical art the notation has been preserved, and we are able to piece together the actual scales upon which the music was founded. Beyond this, there are the writings of theorists, which do not always agree with one another, and a few relics in the shape of hymns with their notation. We can gather from the evidence available that the Greek and Hindu systems were elaborated on slightly divergent lines from a common source, and for that source we must look back far beyond the time when either Greek or Indian civilization came into existence.

A close parallel may be drawn between the theories of Aristoxenus (350–320 B.C.) and of Bharata, the earliest Hindu writer on music. Although the latter's treatise, the *Nāṭya Śāstra*, was written in the 5th cent. A.D., the system which it describes probably dates back many centuries before that time. Neither Aristoxenus nor the originator of Indian theory, whoever he may have been, could have had any accurate knowledge of partial tones. In attempting to formulate a classification of intervals they both took as their unit the smallest perceptible difference of pitch; to Aristoxenus this was known as the smallest enharmonic diesis, and to the theorist of India as the interval of one *śruti*. It is obvious that one cannot accept theories founded upon such a basis as literally accurate. The *śruti*, or diesis, cannot be regarded as a unit for the measurement of intervals. It is, however, a good working terminology to designate the just semitone as the interval of two *śrutis*, the minor tone as three *śrutis*, and the major tone as four *śrutis*. In drawing a marked distinction between the major tone and the minor tone the Indian theorist showed greater perspicacity than either Aristoxenus or Pythagoras. The Indian theorist had this advantage, however, that he confined his attention to the plain diatonic genus, instead of ranging over all possible 'colourings' of chromatic and enharmonic. Had the ancient theorists of Greece or India known of partial tones, they would have explained their intervals by working down from the greater to the less; as it is, we cannot be surprised at their attempting to synthesize them from the diesis or *śruti*.

2. Modes.—The world's earliest music was modal.

To obtain a rough idea as to what is meant by mode let us take a simple melody such as 'God save the King,' beginning on the note C with a pedal bass on the C an octave below, and play the air successively as modified by a key signature of one sharp, without sharps or flats, with one flat, two flats, three flats, four flats, and five flats. The result would be more in keeping with the mode in each case if suitable changes were made in the melody. It will be seen from this that every complete parent scale gives seven modes differing widely from one another in 'ethos.' If, instead of tempering the three chief major triads C E G, G B D, F A C, upon which the C major scale is based, we tune them in natural or just tuning, that is to say, without beats, we shall find that out of the five tones of the scale three are major and two minor. It will be found also that our parent scale can be made to assume four forms by varying the sequence of major and minor tones; the chief basis of the scale, the concord C E, will remain in every case; the three chords above-named will be present in some and absent in other forms of the scale.

With his usual thoroughness in point of classification, the Indian theorist noted these possibilities and grouped his parent scales under the category of *grāmas*. Let the figures 2, 3, and 4 denote the intervals of 2, 3, and 4 *śrutis*; the just major scale of Europe may then be represented thus:

C4 D3 E2 F4 G3 A4 B2 C.

Indian modes in which the sequence of intervals was in the same order as in the just major scale, that is, 4 3 2 4 3 4 2, or 3 2 4 3 4 2 4, or 2 4 3 4 2 4 3, etc., were said to be in the *madhyama grāma*. The other important *grāma* was the *ṣadja grāma* in which the order was 4 3 2 4 4 3 2, 3 2 4 4 3 2 4, etc. The corresponding C major scale would be

C4 D3 E2 F4 G4 A3 B2 C. Here A is in tune not with F and C but with D.[1] The Indians did not regard the scales 3 4 2 4 3 4 2 and 3 4 2 3 4 4 2 as separate *grāmas*, as they could be formed chromatically from the *ṣadja* and *madhyama grāmas* (a chromatic change is effected by substituting 4 2 for 2 4). The Hindus use a tonic sol-fa system in which *sā, ri, ga, ma, pa, dha, ni, sā* take the place of *do, re, mi, fa, sol, la, si, do*, with this difference, that the same terminology is used whatever the mode may be.

Thus the bass note of the drone is always *sā*, and the second note of the mode is always sung as *ri*, whether it is a semitone, minor tone, or major tone above *sā*. To revert to our illustration of the formation of the modes by alteration of the key-signature, C would always be *sā*, and D, whether flat or natural, would still be *ri*. With a little careful study the table on p. 45 will give an idea of the scales of some of the representative modes of Indian music.

3. Main features of Indian music.—The musical instruments of ancient times, some of which have survived to the present day in India, were of poor tonal quality compared with those of modern Europe. The voice is usually accompanied by drums tuned to *sā*, and by the *tamburā*, a stringed instrument without frets, of rich and slightly nasal tone, which furnishes a drone consisting of *sā* and *pa*, or, occasionally, *sā* and *ma* if the mode requires it. The partial tones of this instrument are so powerful that it is a simple matter to sing the major third from the bass (known as *ga tīvra*) in correct intonation. The four-*śruti ri* is also taken with the greatest of ease.

(*a*) *Rāgas and rāgiṇīs.* — The Indian modes, owing to that genius for elaboration which the Hindu has shown in other arts, have been split up into a large number of melody-types known as *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs*. A *rāga* must begin with a certain note and end with a certain note, the melody must centre round a certain fixed note or pair of notes, certain well-defined melodic progressions must be prominently used, and the notes of the scale must be sounded in ascent and in descent according to fixed rules. The result is that composing a melody in a given *rāga* is like building a toy house out of bricks of a given pattern; improvisation is made easy. Each *rāga* has a specified time of the day at which it may be performed. Singers of the old-fashioned type are very strict on this point, and many are the traditions and superstitions which have gathered round the names of some of the *rāgas*. Thus the *rāga dīpaka* (Skr. 'light' or 'illuminating') is not sung nowadays in Hindustan, as it is believed to entail terrible consequences to the singer. Hindu music, whether secular or religious, may be sung equally well by a Muhammadan or a Brāhman singer. If there is any difference of style perceptible, it may be said that the Muhammadan prefers music of a lighter as also of a more impassioned type, while the mood of the Hindu singer is more contemplative. The general feeling at a Hindu *jalsā*, or concert, favours music of a devotional or serious character.

(*b*) *Chants.*—The *sāman* chants of the Sāmaveda are the oldest extant music of the Hindus. The Hindu poet has always had at his disposal certain fixed chants or melodies which serve as moulds in which to fashion his song. Every metre has its own peculiar chant. Chants of this kind for religious hymns were known as *sāmans* and are mentioned in the Rigveda. We may, therefore, conclude that the chants of the Sāmaveda are older than the Vedas themselves. We think that it can be demonstrated, however, that it is wrong to go further and regard the chant as the precursor of all music. The Sāmaveda gives directions as to rhythm corresponding closely with the practice of plain-song in Europe, coupled with signs to represent the *anudātta* ('not raised') and *svarita* ('sounded'). More complete instructions are to be found in the *Brāhmaṇas* and in modern commentaries. It is quite clear that the chant made use of a complete tetrachord to represent the four chief positions of the voice known as *udātta* ('raised'), *anudātta* ('not raised'), *svarita* ('sounded'), and *prachchhāya* ('deep shadow,' precise meaning unknown, probably the same in pitch as the drum which invariably accompanies the chant). The intervals between the notes of this tetrachord and of other notes which may be added to it above and below are not now, and probably never were, rendered in the same manner throughout India. In this we can trace the workings of the 'Bharata mata' and 'Hanumant mata,' two rival schools of Indian music the origin of which is lost in antiquity. There is reason to believe that the musical systems of the 'Bharata mata' and 'Hanumant mata' were built up originally from pentatonic music.

[1] A fifth to be in tune must contain 13 *śrutis*, and a fourth 9, a major third 7, and a minor third 6.

4. Music and religion.—Hindu music is not merely the handmaid of religion, but an integral part thereof; it has grown up with the religion and has been subjected to the same influences. Thus the division into *rāgas* has its counterpart in the institution of castes, and *yoga* has affected music and religion alike. The Theosophical Society's treatise on *Thought-forms* (London, 1905) shows that there are people who entertain the belief that music has its mystical side, and that the impression which it conveys to the clairvoyant can best be described in terms of geometrical forms and ever-changing colour. For many centuries the belief has been held in India that each *rāga* has its appropriate picture. In old houses in Bengal a series of paintings of *rāgas* and *rāgiṇīs* may frequently be seen adorning the walls, while numerous examples may be found in public and private collections outside India (cf. V. Smith, *Hist. of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, Oxford, 1912).

Originally there were six *rāgas*, and each *rāga* had six *rāgiṇīs*. Of the six *rāgas* five are said to have come from Śiva's mouth, and one from Pārvatī's. The names of the six *rāgas* are variously given; so far as can be ascertained, the Bengalis give the list as *bhairava* ('terrible'), *śrī* ('fortune,' 'beauty'), *megha* ('cloud'), *pañchama* ('fifth'), *vasanta* ('spring'), and *nāṭanārāyaṇa* ('dance of Viṣṇu'), while the musicians of Central India prefer *kauśika* ('Kuśika's *rāga*'), *hindola* ('swing'), and *dīpaka* ('light,' 'lamp') to the last three. It is worthy of note that of the nine *rāgas* named five are transilient and only four have complete scales of seven notes. The pictures of three of these *rāgas*—*śrī, naṭanārāyaṇa*, and *bhairava*—are respectively the deities Lakṣmī, Viṣṇu, and Śiva. Lakṣmī is painted of a bright golden complexion, seated on a lotus, holding a lotus in one hand and a *chakra* (discus) in the other; Viṣṇu is repre-

Kinnara, from wall-painting.

SCALES IN INDIAN AND ENGLISH TONIC SOL-FA WITH *SRUTI* INTERVALS SHOWN BY DOTS.

Name of *rāga.*	0	100	200	300	400	500	600	700	800	900	1000	1100	1200	Name of *grāma* to which scale belongs.
Bilāval	sā (*d*)	. . .	ri (*r*)	. . .	ga (*m*)	ma (*f*)	. . .	pa (*s*)	. . .	dha (*l*)	. . .	ni (*t*)	sā (*d*)	*Madhyama*
Kāfi	sā (*r*)	. . .	ri (*m*)	ga (*f*)	. . .	ma (*s*)	. . .	pa (*l*)	. . .	dha (*t*)	ni (*d*)	. . .	sā (*r*)	*Ṣaḍja*
Bhairavi	sā (*m*)	ri (*f*)	. . .	. . .	ga (*s*)	ma (*l*)	. . .	pa (*t*)	dha (*d*)	. . .	ni (*r*)	. . .	sā (*m*)	*Madhyama*
Yaman	sā (*f*)	. . .	ri (*s*)	. . .	ga (*l*)	ma (*t*)	. . .	pa (*d*)	. . .	dha (*r*)	ni (*m*)	. . .	sā (*f*)	*Madhyama*
Khamāj	sā (*s*)	. . .	ri (*l*)	. . .	ga (*t*)	ma (*d*)	. . .	pa (*r*)	. . .	dha (*m*)	ni (*f*)	. . .	sā (*s*)	*Ṣaḍja*
Jivanpuri	sā (*l*)	. . .	ri (*t*)	. . .	ga (*d*)	ma (*r*)	. . .	pa (*m*)	. . .	dha (*f*)	ni (*s*)	. . .	sā (*l*)	In other *grāmas*; *pa* and *ma* being taken as consonant with *sā*, the ordinary *grāmas* are excluded.
Kānaḍa	sā (*l*)	. . .	ri (*t*)	ga (*d*)	. . .	ma (*r*)	. . .	pa (*m*)	. . .	dha (*f*)	ni (*s*)	. . .	sā (*l*)	

NOTE.—The vertical columns marked 100, 200, etc., show the relative position of the twelve semitones of equal temperament.

sented as of dark complexion, dressed in yellow, holding in one hand a club, in another the conch-shell, in the third the *chakra*, and in the fourth the lotus; Śiva is represented as dancing while the universe is being destroyed, beating time on his *ḍiṇḍima* (a small drum shaped like an hour-glass), and apprising humanity by a blast on his horn that destruction is not annihilation, but merely a prelude to a new birth. Other connexions between representations of Hindu gods and the art of music may here be conveniently noted. Śiva is often pictured holding a *tamburā*, the instrument the drone of which is identified with the mystic syllable *oṁ* (*q.v.*), which is also believed to be inherent in Viṣṇu's conch-shell and in his rapidly spinning *chakra*. Sarasvatī is generally represented with the

Kinnara, from wall-painting.

vīṇā, and Kṛṣṇa carries the *murali*, or Indian flute. The accompanying illustrations taken from wall-paintings in the Buddhist caves at Ajanta (200 B.C. to A.D. 600) show the conch and the *murali*.

5. **Musical knowledge.**—Until recent times the knowledge of music was strictly confined to hereditary musicians. In order that the *rāgas* should be kept pure, singers were taught to reverence them and to contemplate with closed eyes the picture of the *rāga* before attempting to sing it; and special short compositions were learnt by heart in which the distinguishing features of the *rāgas* were made

Wall-painting, Cave II.

Wall-painting in verandah, Cave XVII.

plain. Any one desirous at the present day of ascertaining the correct features of any *rāga* would turn to the *dhrupada*,[1] the subject of which is invariably taken from the philosophy or the epics.

Latterly a change has come over the scene. As British sway has been extended, Court singers have been compelled to seek a livelihood in the native States which remain, or to lose touch with their old traditions. The general awakening of India has led to a desire on the part of the public for tuition in singing and playing. Musical education has been thrown open to the public and secularized, but the secrets of the 'Bharata mata' tuning have been withheld. Many Indian scholars have sought to grasp the problem of Indian musical theory, but with the means at their disposal it was impossible that they should succeed. In the British India of to-day many musical academies flourish, whose professors are entirely ignorant of the theory which they try to teach, and which grind out pupils who spread all over the land the vogue of the European harmonium, sometimes tuned in equal temperament, but often with no more tuning than is given by the graduated length of the vibrators as they come untouched from the hands of the manufacturers. On the Bombay side the popularity of the *saṅgīt* drama has further debased the music of this ancient land.

6. **Musical performances.** — Among religious and musical performances of a popular character at the present time may be mentioned the *kīrtan*, the *kathā*, the *bhajan*, and the chanting of the *Purāṇas*. The *kīrtan* in Bengal is generally confined to Kṛṣṇa and his amours, the performance being a combination of singing and chanting, generally accompanied by a drum. On the Bombay side no distinction is generally observed between the *kīrtan* and the *kathā*. The *kathekarī* marks the time with two pieces of bamboo held between his fingers and clicked together; he marches up and down as he sings; he has a prompter to help him, and is accompanied by a drum mounted on a stand and of late years by the harmonium. His subjects are taken from the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The performance is held in the courtyard of a temple and is attended by people of both sexes, to whom the *kathekarī* explains his meaning between the verses of his song. The *bhajan* differs more in method than in form from the *kīrtan* or *kathā*. It may

[1] For derivation and meaning see Fox Strangways, *The Music of Hindostan*, p. 286.

deal with any devotional subject, and is generally sung by several persons in unison, and the audience are encouraged to join in. There is no explanation between the verses. All these forms of religious song are generally simple, *i.e.* of the hymn type. Occasionally a *kīrtan* singer will indulge in free fantasia (*karaṇa*) in the middle of the hymn. When the *Purāṇas* are recited, the reciter sits on a plank with the *tulsi*-pedestal in front of him, upon which he places his sacred books. The performance begins with an invocation and a short period of contemplation; the *paurāṇik* then gives out his subject, and both recitation and explanation are thenceforth chanted. In some parts, such as Bengal, the *paurāṇik* has a drum behind him and blows occasionally upon a conch-shell.

Performances which take one back to pre-Aryan times are not unknown. The *gambhirā* of Bengal is a dance and song in which topical subjects are dealt with, and which appears to be connected with the worship of evil spirits. Among the lower classes there is an annual ceremony at which, after a period of silence and contemplation, one of the assembly becomes inspired. He is called the *gājan sannyās*, and upon him devolves the duty of singing the *gājan* song, which is similar to the *gambhirā*.

Bengal differs from the rest of India in stereotyping certain tunes according to the manner of Europe. The usual Indian custom is to keep the *rāga*, or melody-type, permanent, but to allow the feeling or caprice of the moment full play in the matter of the actual details of the melody. One Bengali tune is known as 'Bāul'; it is sung by a special class of ascetics, and its burden is the transitory nature of human life. The tune, 'Rāmprasādī,' another favourite in praise of Durgā Devī, was composed in the 18th cent. by a devotee of the goddess named Rāmprasād.

To turn from the religious to the ethical aspect of the subject, it is to be observed that ballad singers and bards whose verses touch upon epic or historical and genealogical topics or draw lessons of a moral character from the facts of everyday life are known throughout the length and breadth of India. It will be sufficient to describe a recent performance of Marāthī ballads, or *pawadas*. The performers consisted of a drummer, a player on the *ekatārī* (an instrument with one string which emits a drone), a cymbal player, a *jilkarī* (whose duty it is to fill the pauses with a prolonged 'ee' sound oscillating in quarter-tones above and below the note of the drone), and the chief performer, who sang the ballads, which were set to perfectly simple music. One of the ballads recounted the exploits of a famous robber who began his career of crime exasperated at the tyranny and dishonesty of the village *savchar* ('money-lender'). It suggests that extortion has been encouraged by a strong government which enforces the decrees of the civil courts, and that the Mārwāṛīs have become so filled with pride that they may be described as having grown three tufts of hair (*shendī*) on the crown of the head in place of one. Another ballad recalled to mind the fables of La Fontaine, and pointed the moral that a friend in need is a friend indeed.

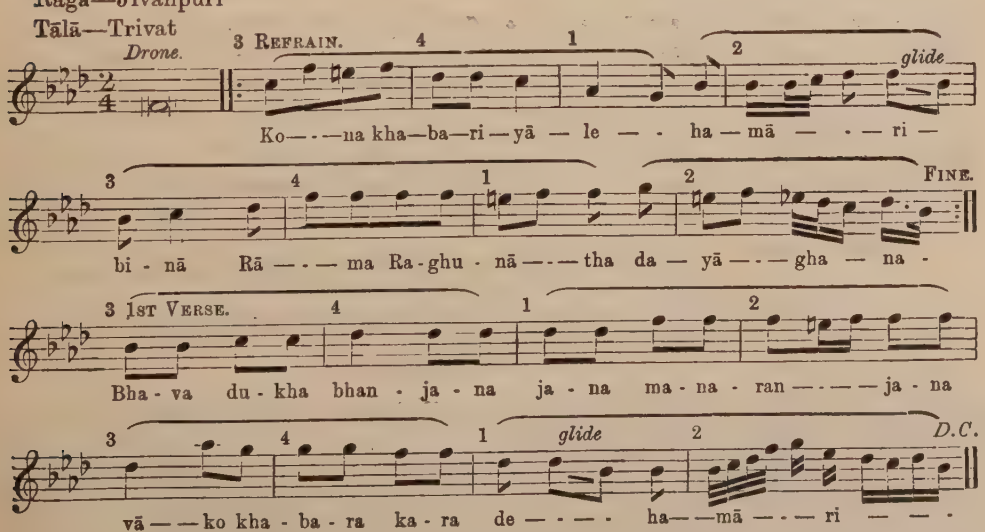
That view of life which distinguishes between what is sacred and what is secular was altogether foreign to the India of yesterday. Religious observances accompanied the smallest details of daily life, and music and religion went hand in hand. Nowadays many parts of India are coming under the sway of commercialism, and as a sign of the change which has supervened we may instance the fact that the *sūtradhāra's* invocation to the deity at the commencement of a drama is frequently omitted. The *sūtradhāra*, or professional dramatic singer, is indeed not often to be seen. Singing parts are given to ill-trained boys, and, to fortify or even drown their voices when it is necessary to disguise a defective knowledge of the scale, one or two harmoniums and a set of drums which are vigorously banged are placed in front of the stage.

Explanation of bhajans.—*Intonation.*—The correct intonation will be obtained on a keyed instrument by tuning the keys of C major and D flat major as just major keys.

Time.—The figures 1, 2, 3, 4 show the four parts of the measure. The chief beat is at 1, the medium at 2 and 4, and the weak (or silent beat) at 3. There is no secondary beat at the middle of the bar as in 2/4 time.

Rāga.—Both *bhajans* are in a corrupt form of *rāga*.

BHAJAN I.

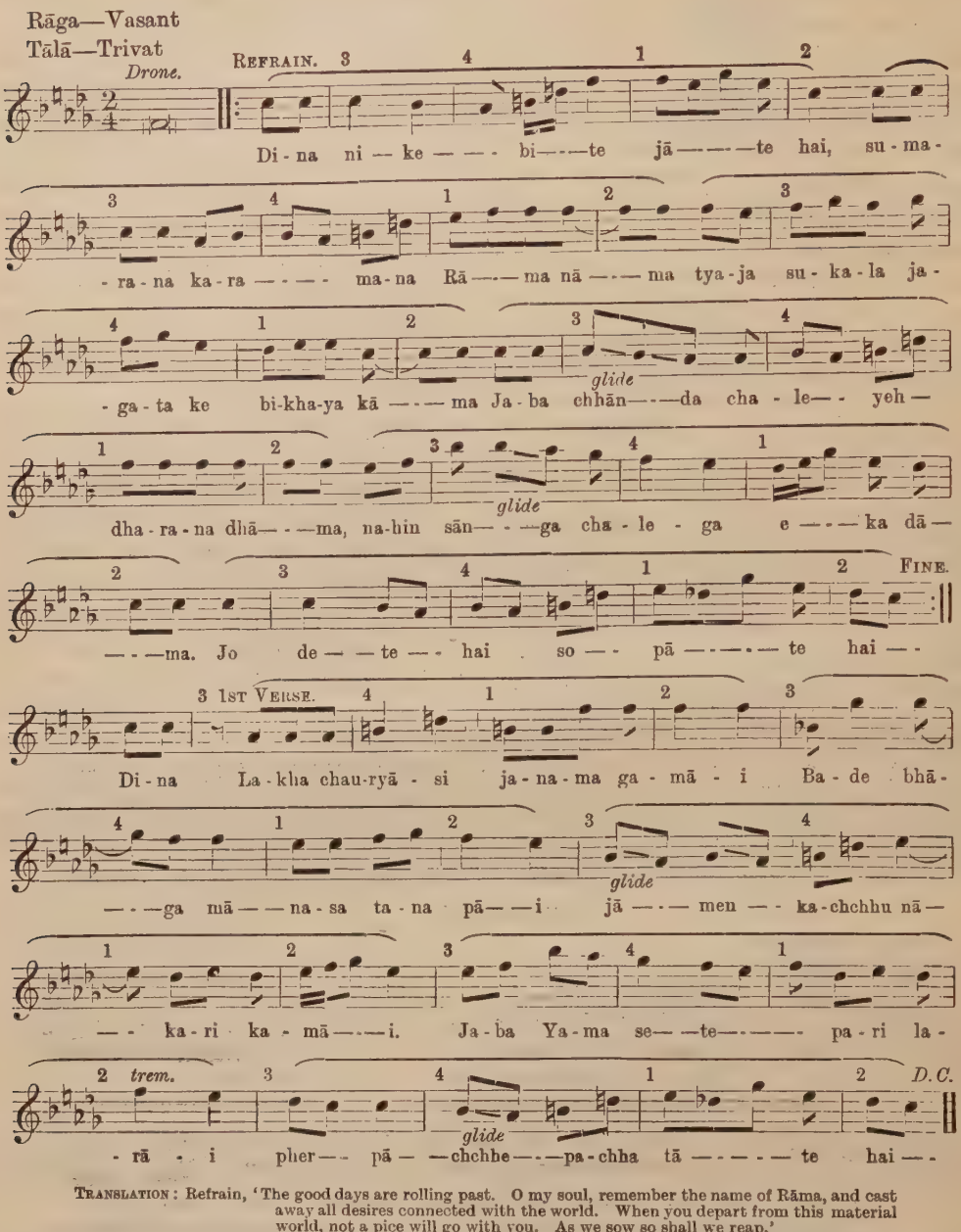


Translation: Refrain, 'Who but Rāma Raghunāth the merciful will take care of me?'

1st verse, 'The dispeller of Life's ills, enchanter of the mind, of Him give me tidings.'

(The three remaining verses are omitted.)

BHAJAN II.



Translation: Refrain, 'The good days are rolling past. O my soul, remember the name of Rāma, and cast away all desires connected with the world. When you depart from this material world, not a pice will go with you. As we sow so shall we reap.'

1st verse, 'You have been through a lac and eighty-four lives, by good luck you have a man's body, in which you have done no good works. When the fight with Yama begins, then shall you feel repentance.'

(Remaining three verses omitted.)

Literature.—**W. Jones**, 'On the Musical Modes of the Hindus,' *Asiatick Researches*, iii. [1786] (reprinted in Jones's *Works*, London, 1807, iv. 166 ff.); **A. H. Fox Strangways**, *The Music of Hindostan*, Oxford, 1914; **A. K. Coomaraswamy**, *Essays in National Idealism*, Colombo, 1909; **S. M. Tagore**, *Six Principal Rāgas*, Calcutta, 1877, *Eight Principal Rasas of the Hindus*, do. 1880, *The Seven Principal Musical Notes of the Hindus, with their presiding Deities*, do. 1892, and *Universal History of Music*, do. 1896; **Erwin Felber**, *Die indische Musik der vedischen und der classischen Zeit*, Vienna, 1912; **Maud Mann**, 'Some Indian Conceptions of Music,' *Proceedings of the Musical Association*, 1911–12; **C. R. Day**, *The Music and Musical Instruments of Southern India and the Deccan*, London, 1891; **Bhavanrav A. Pingle**, *Indian Music*, Bycalla, 1898; **E. Clements**, *Introd. to the Study of Indian Music*, London, 1913.

E. Clements.

MUSIC (Japanese).—**1. Origin and history.**—Native Japanese music finds its origin in prehistoric, mythological times. According to tradition, the offended sun-goddess hid herself in a cave so that the world became dark; then myriads of the gods, seeking to propitiate her, enacted amusing scenes before the cave, and the goddess Uzume danced and sang. Dressed in strange fashion, and playing

on the cords of six bows, she danced to the time of her singing, so that all the gods burst into laughter and the floor of heaven shook. Thereupon the sun-goddess in wonder opened the door of her cave, and the world again grew light.

Approaching the period of actual history, the first emperor, Jimmu, is said to have sung songs of his own composition for the consolation and cheer of his soldiers upon the field of battle, words and music alike being original.

In primitive times also there was a dance called *utagaki*, in which hundreds of men and women moved in ranks in time to music. Unlike many Western dances, the movement was slow and solemn, the dancers executing the figures singly, not in couples. A vestige of this dance may be found in the still extant *bon-odori* as performed in country districts.

In the reign of Kimmei (A.D. 560) and of Suiko (A.D. 612) Chinese music, *kuregaku*, was brought to Japan through Korea; and from that time both music and dancing increased in popularity. About A.D. 700 the court established an imperial bureau of music with an official and many subordinates, those connected with it numbering perhaps over four hundred.

The old indigenous music, called *ōuta*, continued to be used at all grave and serious meetings of the court; and the old songs, *kumemai* and *azuma mai*, were sung at the *Dai josai*, or great harvest festival, held upon an imperial accession to the throne, whilst Chinese and Korean music was associated with Buddhist ceremonies and services, and with the more private gatherings of the court circle.

In the reign of Shomu (about A.D. 724) Indian abbots came to Japan and introduced the music of India to such effect that the old native forms gradually gave place to the more delicate foreign styles; and the *saibara* songs, once popular only among the common people, became favourites in court circles as well.

From the reign of Enyu (A.D. 970) and Kwazan (A.D. 985) famous Japanese and Chinese poems became current as songs sung in irregular time; and from the reign of Goshirakawa (A.D. 1156) *imayō*, of more modern style, in $\frac{4}{4}$ time, became popular.

The music introduced from China and Korea, slightly modified to suit Japanese taste, was long used in the court and on occasions of ceremony, suffering at times the vicissitudes of fashion; and the musical profession came to be regarded as hereditary with the descendants of those Koreans who first brought it into the country. Even to the present era of Taisho more than ten musicians of the court are their descendants, and the late Empress Dowager was especially fond of this music, frequently summoning before her those skilled in its production.

2. Musical instruments. — The playing of the *biwa*, a four-stringed instrument resembling the violin, by blind men became a custom as far back as A.D. 984; and their singing of *heike*, war-stories of the Heike family, began in the reign of Gotoba (A.D. 1184) and continued to be popular even until the latter part of the Meiji era.

During the Middle Ages popular entertainments among the peasant class included the playing of the flute and the drum, together with dancing, rope-walking, sword-swallowing, and fire-spitting. From these crude amusements may have originated the *dengaku* and the *sarugaku*, which a little later developed into the original forms of the *nōgaku* and the *yōkyoku*, which are still popular. In the performance of this music, drums, both large and small, long hand-drums beaten with the fingers, and the flute are used as an accompaniment to song, the whole slightly resembling Western opera.

The *kyogen*, developed from the more comic *sarugaku*, is associated with the more serious *nōgaku*. Both were popular in *samurai* families. At the beginning of the Meiji era, through the abolition of the Bushi class, these forms suffered decline; but by the middle of that era, through the patronage of the court, they recovered their standing, and are now much favoured both by the nobility and by the common people.

In modern times the music of the common people has been largely confined to the *samisen*, a three-stringed instrument developed in modification of a two-stringed instrument introduced from Loochoo Islands. Its resonance-box is made of cat-skin, and its strings can be pitched as in the violin, while a plectrum is used instead of a bow. It is easily played, and its timbre and tone are very clear and penetrating. It is the king of musical instruments in Japan. The *samisen* is not used in connexion with the *nōgaku*, but is the chief instrument in the rendering of *jōruri*, *nagauta*, *tokiwazu*, etc. A small *samisen*, called *kokyu*, was played with a bow; but its use is gradually being forgotten in spite of the fact that its tones were very sweet.

The *chikushigoto*, which is also called *koto* for short, is a sort of harp with thirteen silk strings over a large resonance-box. It is a development of the *koto* used in the classical music. Since about A.D. 1650, when a blind man named Yatsuhashi composed dozens of new *koto* songs, this *chikushigoto* has been regarded as more refined and elegant than the *samisen*, and in consequence has been much used by the upper classes. Now, however, it holds a place of importance in the music of all classes.

3. Characteristics of Japanese music.—Japanese music may be roughly divided into two classes: classical and modern; the former is used in ceremonies of the court and the latter in more popular ways. Each consists of five tones; but, as there are some differences between ascending and descending intervals, flats and sharps occasionally occur, so that the actual number of tones is increased to six or seven.

The classic scale had its origin in China, and was introduced into Japan through Korea. It has two scales, called *ryo* and *ritsu*. The derivation of the *ryo* scale is not unlike that of the Pythagorean scale, and is as follows:

A sound produced by a long string of the length '*l*' is regarded as the fundamental tone, and a sound produced by $\frac{2}{3}$ *l* as the fifth, and that of $\frac{2}{3}$ *l* as the second. Thus, by starting from the fundamental tone the following scale will be obtained by raising it to the fifth and lowering the latter to its fourth and so on alternately.

$$l,\ \tfrac{8}{9},\ \tfrac{64}{81},\ \tfrac{3}{4},\ \tfrac{27}{32},\ 2.$$

Besides these five sounds, if we add $\frac{2}{3}\flat$, $2\flat$, which are occasionally used, we have seven sounds as follows:

$$\begin{matrix} l, & \tfrac{8}{9}, & \tfrac{64}{81}, & \tfrac{128}{243}, & \tfrac{3}{4}, & \tfrac{27}{32}, & \tfrac{256}{243}, & 2 \\ c, & d, & e, & g\flat, & g, & a, & b\flat, & \dot{c}. \end{matrix}$$

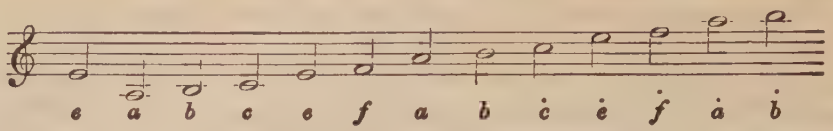
c, *d*, *e* . . . being given, we can make a comparison with the natural scale; but a difference of about one comma, as in the case of the Pythagorean scale, is found when we compare the vibrating number with the exact natural scale.

In a similar manner the *ritsu* scale is found to be

$$\begin{matrix} l, & \tfrac{8}{9}, & \tfrac{32}{27}, & \tfrac{4}{3}, & \tfrac{3}{2}, & \tfrac{16}{9}, & \tfrac{16}{9}, & 2 \\ c, & d, & d\sharp, & f, & g, & a, & a\sharp, & \dot{c}. \end{matrix}$$

These two scales have been used unchanged in Korea since very ancient times, but in Japan they are employed only on solemn occasions like ceremonies and religious services at Shinto festivals, and rarely in ordinary amusement.

The derivation of the scale of modern music is not clear. The following tuning of a *koto*, a thirteen-



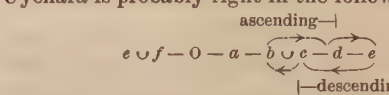
stringed instrument, may be taken as an illustration.

The order of tuning is as follows:

Taking *e* as the fundamental tone and then descending to its fifth, *a* is fixed; from *a* the following *e* is fixed, and from *e* descending to its fourth *b* is fixed. These three tones can be exactly fixed, but the half-tone from *b* to *c* must be judged by ear only, and therefore it is hard to tell whether it is $\frac{1}{15}$ or $\frac{2}{21}$.

Westerners seeing this scale have often passed the hasty judgment that all modern Japanese music is based upon a minor scale (A minor in the diagram); but, when examined closely, the tonic is found to be never *a*, but in some tunes the melody ends in *e* and in others in *b*.

The music ending in *b* is an abnormal style. As among the ancient Greeks, it ends on the dominant instead of the tonic; but in homophonous music, as the tonic does not govern the harmony, this does not produce any peculiar impression. There is difference of opinion concerning its scale, but Uyehara is probably right in the following:

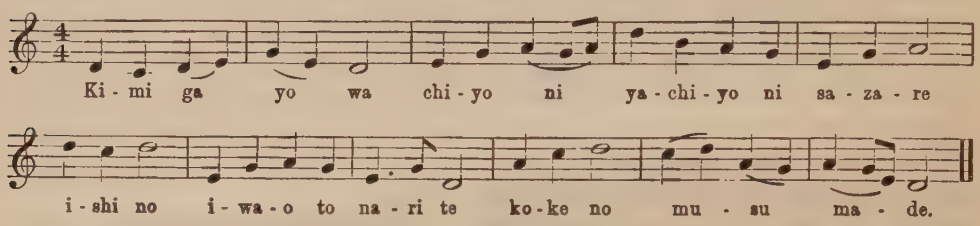


(∪ indicates a half-tone, — a whole tone, O the absence of tone).

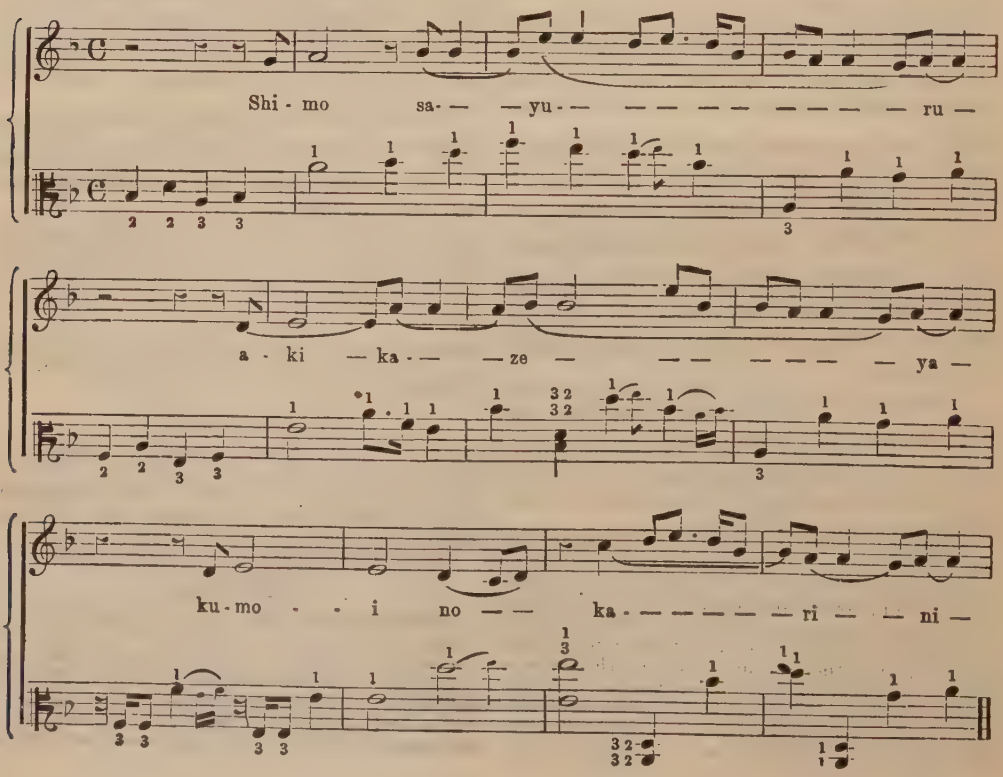
The peculiarity of modern music is its recurring use of half-tones and of frequent modulations. Because of the modulations, the scale seems to consist of seven tones, but in reality there are only five, and the descending and ascending tones are the same as in the minor scale of Western music.

Ancient Japanese music was of course homophonous; but the music received from Korea and China, called *gagagu*, 'classical,' formed a harmonic orchestra, the instruments being the flute, the flute with reeds, fifteen pipes with reeds, the drum, the

An example of *ritsu* scale songs.



An example of modern scale songs.



long drum beaten on both sides, a metal instrument like a triangle, a four-stringed instrument like a violin, and an instrument with thirteen silk strings like a harp. It is interesting to note that they were able to tune those fifteen reeds to a uniform temperament.

Of course, this harmonic music was very primitive and simple. Japanese popular music is mostly homophonous, even when many different musical instruments are used together. Because of the absence of fixed keys, like those of the piano, there is no necessity for (musical) temperament. Even the *shakuhachi*, which has fixed holes, can be controlled by the fingers and lips, and pure tuning attained as with stringed instruments. In general, the Japanese seem to dislike tempered tuning.

Yet Western music has not been entirely rejected. Since the accession of the late emperor (1868) Western music has been adopted in the army and navy; and since 1882 the Department of Education and the Imperial Bureau of Music in the Household Department have included it. Thus it is coming to have an increasingly dominant influence. In view of the vulgar and immoral character of much Japanese popular music, since the beginning of the Meiji era music in the *ryo* and *ritsu* scales has been adopted in common education; and now the natural scale is coming to be used, so that it is possible that harmonic music will dominate in Japan; but, on the other hand, one cannot believe that the time will come when the people will abandon their old, popular music. As the music from China and India was received and gained a place by the more purely native type, so doubtless will the Western be received.

LITERATURE.—Shuji Izawa, *Report of Studies in Japanese Music*, Tokyo, 1883; Kiyonori Konakamura, *Hist. of Japanese Music and Dances*, do. 1887; Rokushiro Uyehara, *Japanese Music and Scales*, do. 1885; Hanichi Muraoka, *Sound and Theory of Music*, Osaka, 1916; Kiyosuke Kanetsune, *Hist. of Japanese Music*, Tokyo, 1914; Tokyo Music School, *Chronological Table of Modern Japanese Music*, do. 1914.

HANICHI MURAOKA.

MUSIC (Jewish).—Art is the means by which man seeks to interpret the aspirations of the mind to the senses. The Jews appear in history already barred off by their rigid iconoclasm from the expression of feeling through the pictile and plastic arts, nor had they settled habitation or surplus resources long enough to find such expression through the allied art of architecture. There remained only for this people the sister arts of poetry and music, in each of which they have contributed much to the treasure-store of civilization. But, little as Hebrew poetry has diverged from the original field of its art—the expression of religious emotion—even less has Jewish music, the forms and style of which had crystallized before the Jews came under the influence of modern musical development. This development reaches back only a few centuries; and the Jews have touched it only since their release from the Ghettos.

For the Biblical period see MUSIC (Hebrew). It is probable that Jewish music at first displayed little original characteristic, being merely a provincial variety of the general art which spread, as the survivals show, from the Hellenic region to Dravidian India. It is evident from such allusions as those of Ps 137 that the Jewish musicians had a reputation beyond their own borders. The traditions of the First Temple were revived in the Second, if on a more modest scale. It is from the Hasmonean and Herodian epochs that we derive the Talmudic traditions of Temple music. The *shōphār*, the rude bugle of ram's horn, sounded in conjunction with the straight silver trumpets as a signal for the Temple routine as well as in the intervals (*selah*) of the Psalm with the daily sacrifice, is obviously the same instrument as is still sounded by the Jews on the Day of Memorial each September. Under the cymbal-beat (which took the place of the later cheironomy and the modern baton) of Ben Arsa, the last conductor, a small orchestra, resembling modern combinations more than anything else in antiquity, accompanied the Levitical singers, in the unison, with an occasional much-repeated melodic figure on the larger harps. The only thing approaching instrumental solo music, besides the blasts of the trumpets and horns, was a wailing flute melody, played twelve days a year before the altar. The last leader and trainer of the Temple choir was Hogras, whose described technical procedure confirms what analogy indicates, that the singing was nasal, shrill, and full alternately of intricate graces and of sudden pressures on emphatic notes, to an extent which would deprive it of melodious significance for a Western ear.

Yet this was the primal source of the music of the Diaspora, for, as R. Joshua ben Hananiah, himself a Levite and a chorister, afterwards told, the choristers went in a body on certain occasions from the altar to a synagogue within the Temple precincts, and sang in both services. The Synagogue took over from the Temple the silence of the women worshippers, the unison of boys and men in the singing, and its character as a cantillation rather than a melody—features still differentiating the worship-music of the Jew from that of his Western Christian neighbour. The dispersal of the Temple musicians made little difference, since it had been deliberately arranged that the voices could give adequate rendition without instruments. Though in the earlier centuries of the Diaspora many endeavours were made to check the Jewish tendency to songful utterance, no attention was paid to this ascetic principle where worship was in question. In those earlier centuries a desire is already evident to enhance the importance of song in worship. The officiant was required to have a clear enunciation and a pleasant voice, and the voluntary assistance of good vocalists in leading the chanting is repeatedly recorded with high approval. In prayer proper, 'Amen' and similar responses were all that the congregants added, and this was in a loud exclamation, without regard to tune or time. But the praises were, on the contrary, deliberately sung, at first in a responsive antiphony, to a chant possessing easily-remembered melodic features, and afterwards more and more in general unison; and the same rendition was followed as other passages beyond the Psalms and the earliest hymns were added to the ritual.

The intonations of the officiant known as the *ḳoreh* ('reader'), *sheliaḥ ṣibbur* ('emissary of the congregation'), and later as the *ḥazzan* ('overseer,' originally rather a warden or beadle), were not tuneful in the modern sense. Among the Jews the desire to read the Scripture publicly in the manner described in Neh 8^8 had early resulted in all the proceedings in synagogue and school alike being carried on in a form of musical declamation. Early Jewish music, like much of their ritual music still, was cantillation, vocal movements depending not upon the rhythm and sequence of the sounds chanted, but upon the rhythm and sequence of the syllables to which they are chanted. In consequence, characteristically Jewish music, however melodious it may appear when sung with a text, loses its melodic meaning when played on an instrument.

The first portion of this antique cantillation to take definite shape was the intonation traditionally utilized for the reading of the Scriptural lessons. This was due to the early acceptance of the dia-

critical signs attached to the Biblical text as the Massoretic accentuation. A master of the 3rd cent. deprecates the ingratitude towards the Giver of their voice of such as 'read [the Scripture] without tunefulness and repeat [the Mishna] without chanting' (Talm. Bab. *Mᵉgillāh*, 32*a*; *Pesikta Rabbathi*, ed. M. Friedmann, Vienna, 1880, p. 127*a*; *Yalḳut, Proverbs*, 932 [ed. Zolkiew, 1858]). Even the Mishna itself had diacritical points added for the chant later on; and a MS so pointed was available in the 15th century. The Talmud and the Codes are still studied in the academies of Jewry with a sing-song intonation, which is found considerably to assist in the prosodic comprehension of the unpointed text. Some such prosody or accent (both, of course, meaning 'singing to speech') was found necessary by all the ancients before the introduction of punctuation; and, precisely as with the plain-song of the Church, private *memoriæ technicæ* developed in the synagogue into a set system of accentuation and of musical interpretation of the accents.

The musical interpretation of the three 'poetical' books (Job, Psalms, Proverbs) has been lost since the 14th cent., the congregational recital of the Psalms having eventually turned the frequent repetition of an identical verse-accentuation into a fixed melody steadily recurring. But the 'prose' Scriptures (the remaining books) were recited by an individual; and here the accents are still followed in each case. From a very early period a musical principle has flourished in Jewish music, no doubt derived from the Babylonian art, as it still survives in the *rāga* of India. This is the specific association of some model melodic phrase, some particular mode or scale-form especially, with each mental attitude or an occasion associated with such sympathy. Not only is this principle in action in the interpretation of the Biblical accents, the same signs being sung on a similar melodic outline though in a different key or mode according to the occasion, but it also determines the 'prayer-motives' (as the writer terms the outlines of melody developed in chanting the devotions), which differ in tonality rather than in tune. All this is so reminiscent of the musical theory and practice of E. Asia, in Greek mode, Perso-Arab scale, and Indian *rāga*, that the writer would trace it back to the Temple, and see in the 'headings' of the Psalms, not bold shots of the Massoretes at a meaning, but geographical names (as in the Greek system, instruments tuned on which were actually in use in the Temple) of the respective scales in which the chief musician was to lead the rise and fall of intonation. This rise and fall was still found designated by the teacher's finger (the Greek χειρονομία) when Petaḥiah of Regensburg visited Baghdād synagogues in the 12th cent., and it has been quite recently noticed among Yemen Jews.

The Hebrew accents, like the *neums* of the Church plain-song, appear to have been originally rough diagrams of this movement of the teacher's finger. A trope (brief melodic phrase) is chanted on the tone-syllable marked by the accent, and the general reciting-note carries on to the next accentuated syllable. Here and there tropes are strongly reminiscent of similar phrases used in church or mosque, but in all the traditional uses this feature is prominent, that the outline of the trope varies not, whether according to the book being read or the service at which it is read, while the tonality, the mode or scale-form employed, does so vary.

The same modal feeling appears in the *ḥazzanuth*, or intonation of the prayers by the officiant. Here not only the well-known modes of the Church plain-song usually called Gregorian are utilized, but also others surviving only in the Byzantine and Armenian Churches, as well as the Hungarian-Wallachian gypsy melody and the Perso-Arab system. Another very characteristic difference is the style of florid melodious improvization which embroiders the outline traditional motive with elaborated vocal agility. The outline motives themselves, like the cantillation of Scripture, may have taken shape about the commencement of the mediæval period. But the intricate vocalization, which well-nigh fatally overlaid Jewish music later on, developed in recent centuries among the Jews of N. Europe, isolated in their Ghettos from the artistic awakening of the Western world. Only the last generation has seen the great work of reformation executed by the scholarly men, learned in modern music as in traditional Hebrew lore, who made the introduction of choral numbers into the Jewish services possible. And the tasteless, excessively florid style is not yet extinct; it flourishes among the Jews of E. Europe even when they migrate to Britain or America; and it is this vocal gymnastic which finds a large sale as 'Hebrew' gramophone records, and so is presented to the general world as the typical Jewish music.

The manner in which the traditional 'motive' (usually the concluding phrase of a prayer leading into a benediction with congregational response) is amplified into *ḥazzanuth* depends on the custom of the locality and the powers of the officiant, who accommodates the traditional strain to the structure of each sentence by embroidering it with melismatic ornament as the text suggests an emphasis warranting departure from the continuous reciting-note. No two transcriptions of this most characteristic Jewish music will therefore coincide in anything beyond tonality and broad outline of melody, becoming at last identical only in the fixed closing phrase of the passage. In the cantillation of Scripture, on the contrary, the earliest transcription printed (in J. Reuchlin, *De Accentibus*, Hagenau, 1518, bk. iii. *ad fin.*), when divested of quaint harmonization and reversal avowedly added by the transcriber, is found identical with the latest now in use in the synagogues.

At the same time, it is evident that the contemporaneous musical fashion of the outer world has been constantly finding its echo within Jewry. The adoption of the neo-Hebraic poetry in hymns for Jewish worship from the earliest mediæval days provided material for the imitation by Jews, or often direct utilization, of the folk-song of their European neighbours. From the 9th cent. these borrowed airs began to find their way into the synagogue, where they are still preserved, often with a Jewish flavour added in transmission. Such transmission has been, until quite recently, entirely oral. First came the chants for versicles, often strikingly similar to Gregorian intonations; then more definitely tuneful short melodies, quite a number of which were adopted by the Jews in Spain before 1492 and are still deservedly treasured among their descendants. Tunes of the Minnesinger period came into Jewish music with the increasing neo-Hebraic hymns of the later Middle Ages. In the 11th cent. in Spain, and in the 15th in Germany, allusion is made to the wideness of the practice of singing Jewish hymns, in synagogue and at home, to the tunes of secular folk-songs, even as was similarly done for the music of the Mass. Among the Spanish Jews the Hebrew text chosen often reproduced the opening words of the secular song to the same tune, as when the air of 'Señora' was sung to the hymn commencing 'Shem Nora' ('Name Sublime'). This resembles the change of the German drinking song, 'Innsbruck! I must leave thee,' into the hymn, 'World! I soon must leave thee.' Indeed, the very first

secular song of the many which Luther adopted for the tune of a chorale had already been so utilized by the German Jews for their still most popular hymn. A considerable number of the tunes occasionally used for domestic hymns have the name of the original song recorded. Those used in synagogue are of greater antiquity or, if of recent composition, usually by Jews trained in modern music.

From the 16th cent. on, and to a certain extent still, until the Jewish immigrants into emancipated lands become acclimatized, the stream westward of escape from the obscurantist conditions of E. Europe has coloured Jewish music with tints which differentiate it greatly from that of the modern world at large. Aspirants for positions as *ḥazzan*, or precentor, travelled about from congregation to congregation, bringing new melodies, synagogal or domestic, and fortifying and unifying the older traditional material. They even resuscitated ancient Temple features, the accompaniment of the tenor by lads' voices in unison, while a bass hummed a figured re-inforcement below, the tenor adding runs and turns and grace-notes lavishly, supporting his jaw with his hand behind his ear like a London costermonger, or getting striking effects by inserting his thumb in his mouth, as did Hogras in the Temple (Talm. Bab. *Yômā*, 38*b*) or the singers on the Nineveh slab depicting the capture of Susa.

The first musician, in the modern sense, who worked in Jewish music was Salomo de' Rossi, one of a school of Jewish masters who succeeded each other at the court of Mantua from 1542 to 1628. Leo of Modena induced other Italian Rabbis to join in a pastoral advocating the introduction of mensurate and polyphonic music into the synagogues. But little progress was made elsewhere until the Jewish Renaissance burst in Germany in the early 19th century. The progress since made has been rapid, and the Jew now officially utilizes all the wealth of scientific vocal music that his neighbour uses. But not instrumental: the organ has been made the test between 'orthodox' and 'reform'; and the instrument which was once objected to in the early Church as a form of 'Judaizing' is now considered by traditionalist Jews to introduce a 'Christianizing' tone into their own worship. Not even in Scotland has the 'kist o' whustles' been so wrangled about. Not that instrumental music is itself objected to; at Jewish weddings it has for ages been deemed indispensable, and ingenious stratagems are recorded in the Middle Ages to secure it in face of prejudice and persecution. The objection is to the use of any instrument needing tuning on the Sabbath, and to the introduction into Jewish worship of tones specially associated with the ritual of another creed.

Around the marriage ceremonies and the family table gathers the vast repertory of tuneful hymns and tender intonations which outside the synagogue ritual constitute Jewish music.

Transcriptions of the cantillation by the grammarians have been many, from Reuchlin onwards. Writers of instrumental music have transcribed many a tender Jewish air, strains having been even selected as subjects for orchestral writing. The greatest popularity to music presumably Jewish, though actually only to a small extent so, was given by Byron's *Hebrew Melodies* (1815), written for application to such airs in imitation of Moore's immensely successful *Irish Melodies*. In every country of Europe and in America collections of Jewish music, traditional and original, have appeared from the pens of precentors and choirmasters. The greatest of these precentors was S. Sulzer (Vienna, 1804–90), and of these choirmasters L. Lewandowski (Berlin, 1823–94). De Sola, Hast, and Mombach, of London, Naumbourg of Paris, Consolo of Florence, also deserve mention; and especially A. Baer of Gothenburg, whose presentation of traditional Jewish intonations (Frankfort, 1878 and 1883) is monumental. Specimens are more easily available in E. Pauer's *Traditional Hebrew Melodies* (London, 1896).

LITERATURE.—W. Wickes, *A Treatise on the Accentuation of the Poetical Books of the OT*, Oxford, 1881, *A Treatise on the Accentuation of the . . . Prose Books of the OT*, do. 1887; S. Naumbourg, *Recueil de chants religieux des Israélites*, Paris, 1874; A. Baer, *Der praktische Vorbeter*[2], Frankfort, 1883; D. A. de Sola, *Ancient Melodies of the Liturgy of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews*, London, 1857; A. Marksohn and W. Wolf, *Auswahl alter hebräischer Synagogal-melodien*, Leipzig, 1875; J. Singer, *Die Tonarten des traditionellen Synagogengesanges*, Vienna, 1886; A. Ackermann, *Der synagogale Gesang* (from Winter and Wünsche's *Jüdische Litteratur*, iii.), Trèves, 1894; F. L. Cohen, in *Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition Papers*, London, 1887, pp. 80–135, *Proc. Musical Association*, xix. [1893], and artt. 'Cantillation,' 'Music,' in *JE*.

F. L. COHEN.

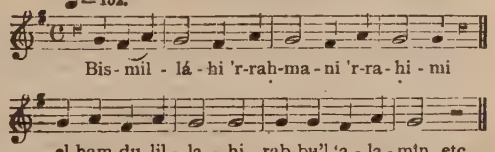
MUSIC (Muhammadan).—1. The chant.—In considering the subject of Muhammadan music, the attention of the student must primarily be drawn to the Arabic chant-song. The Arabs, as far back as their system of singing is known, always delighted in rhythm rather than in melody, following no fanciful system of tone-beats, but the natural quantity of their own syllables, from which they built their metre.

This phenomenon becomes apparent at once, if, quite apart from music proper, the metre of such characteristic Arabic poetry as the following stanzas be examined:

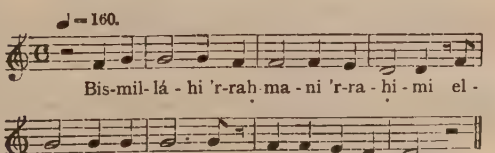
> *'La 'ámruka ldísa fduqa 'ldrḍi bdqi*
> *wama lilmár 'i ḥáttun gdiru qútin*
> *wala mímma faḍdhu 'lláhu wdqi*
> *wathdubun fduqahu 'áqdu 'lniṭáqi.'*[1]

Here the art of the poet has grouped together words which are naturally so accented as to carry a distinct, although to our ear slightly irregular, metre. It was most easy and natural to intone such poems as these, and it was from inherent accentuation of this character that the chant-songs of the Arabs, scant indeed in melody, but strong in rhythm, originated. Melody in Muhammadan chanting is purely secondary to the rhythm of the language, and was really used only to avoid a too constant monotony. This will be at once apparent to any one who listens to a Muslim chanting his Qur'ān. Thus, the first accented stanza of the *Fatḥa* (the first *sūrah* of the Qur'ān)[2] should be

I.[3]



II.



[1] Extract from poems of Shaikh Nāṣif al-Yazigi.

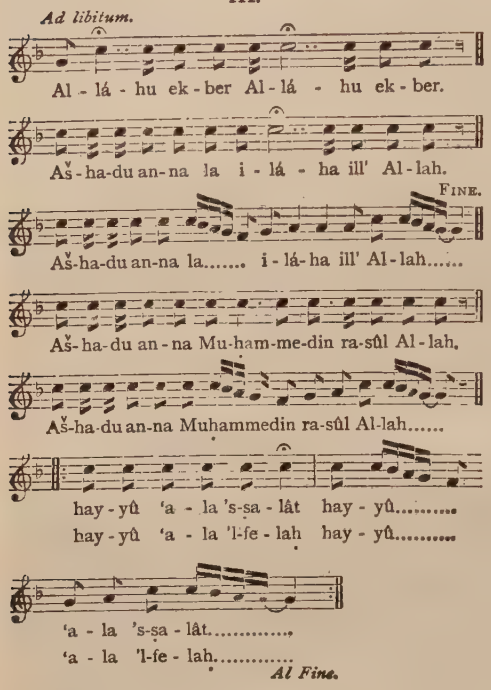
[2] 'In the name of God the Merciful and Gracious; thanks to God the Lord of worlds,' etc.

[3] None of the following musical examples has been published before. These specimens with many others were collected by the writer from native singers and represent current musical style.

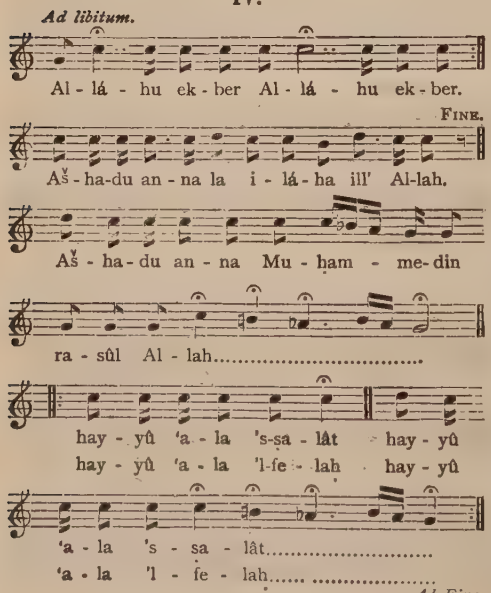
compared with the Yemeni cantillations (pls. I. and II.) in which, it will be observed, the voice-stress corresponds precisely with that of the spoken words as given above, while the melody—what there is of it—is strictly adapted to the natural accentuation.

The Arab, unlike the Turk and Persian, has no deep-rooted antipathy to monotony, which, coupled with the powerful metre of the Arabic language, tends to fascinate and almost to hypnotize rather than to weary the listener. The following *adhān* ('call to prayer') of the *muaddhins* of Yemen (pl. III.) will serve to illustrate how little the pure

III.



IV.



Arab cares for melodious variation. It will be noticed that the only departure from the monotony of the dominant tone is a roulade of five notes, from which the singer immediately hastens to return to the monotonous cantillation on the dominant. There are many airs to the *adhān*, differing according to locality, but they are all essentially identical in principle. The Baghdādi *adhān* (pl. IV.), given here, is perhaps a little less monotonous than the Yemeni call to prayer, and yet the same roulade, with only a slight variation, is heard in both these chants, and, in fact, is the prevailing form of variation in almost every *adhān* among the Muslim peoples, changes being made chiefly in the tempo of the roulade and occasionally in a chromatic. It should be noticed that the roulade always occurs on the stress syllable of the most important word. It is probable that this style of chant is much more ancient than Islām, and dates from the earlier polytheistic religious chant-songs of the Arabs.

2. The song proper. — Strictly speaking, the above specimens do not constitute Arab music in the true sense of the word. When Muhammad appeared in a vision to Dinawārī[1] and stated that music was an acceptable art, provided that the reading of the Qur'ān attended its performance, the intention was probably not to refer to mere cantillations like the above, but to genuine songs or musical declamations of poems. It is clear that implicit approval of beautiful singing is found in the Qur'ān, xxxi. 18: 'Verily, the least pleasing of voices is the voice of asses!' Furthermore, there are many allusions to real song-music in the interesting treatise of al-Ghazālī (D. B. Macdonald, *JRAS*, 1901, p. 200 ff.).[2] This Arabic author alludes to the importance of correct rhythm, referring with approval to the practice of beating time on the hand-drum. He also essays to derive music from the noises produced by animals, stating that the human throat is similar to the animal throat. It is quite evident that the better class of Arabic authors understood very well the effect of music on the human brain. Thus, Abu Sulaimān[3] most astutely said that singing does not put into the heart what is not already in it, but merely stimulates to action what is already in the soul. Al-Ghazālī divides Arabian songs into seven categories, viz. (1) pilgrims' songs (religious); (2) war-songs, stimulating the faithful to holy warfare; (3) verses sung at the moment of attack, forbidden, however, to be sung in warfare with Muslims; (4) lamentations; (5) songs of joy; (6) love-songs; (7) songs expressive of religious ecstasy. With the characteristic Semitic tendency to classify, al-Ghazālī goes on to enumerate what is unlawful in connexion with musical performance, viz. pipes, stringed instruments, and the *kuba*[4]-drum. On the other hand, the tambourine, with or without bells, he regarded as perfectly permissible as an instrument of accompaniment. Blasphemous and obscene poetry was, of course, barred, and equally objectionable were verses describing the charms of any particular woman. Only descriptions of the most general nature were allowed, so that the listeners might apply such rhapsodies to their

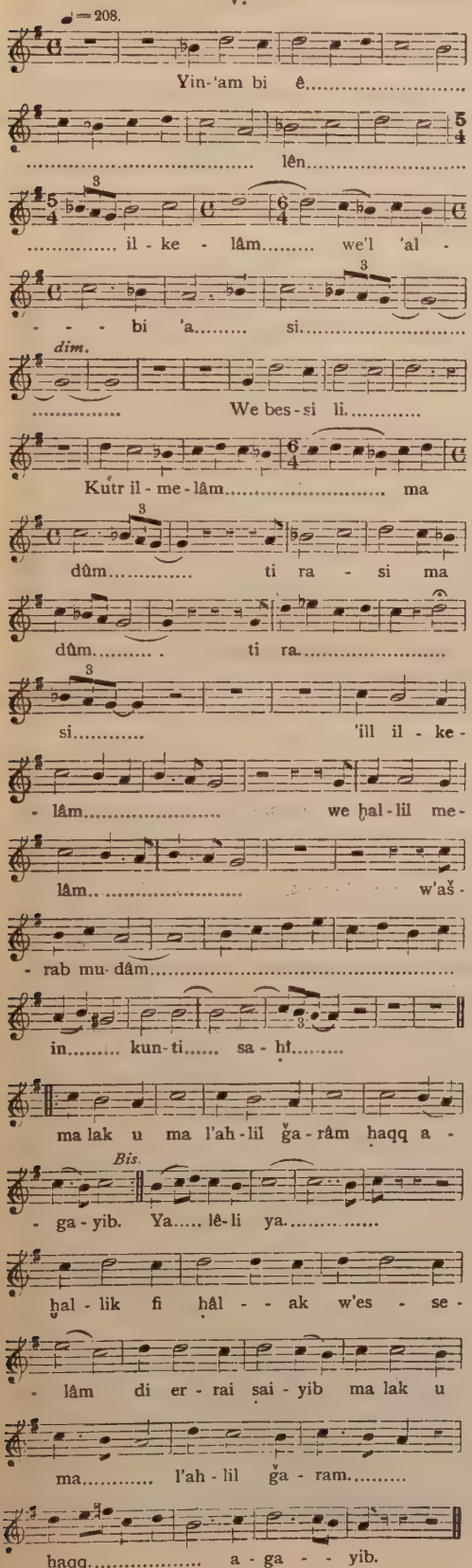
[1] Dinawārī († 896) was the author of the *Long Narratives*, ed. V. Girgas, Leyden, 1888.

[2] Muhammad ibn Muhammad Abu Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (1058-1111) was a distinguished Arabic philosopher and theologian. He was professor in the college of Nizām al-Mulk at Baghdād in 1091 and the author of about sixty-nine works (C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, i., Weimar, 1898, pp. 421-426, and D. B. Macdonald, 'The Life of al-Ghazzālī,' in *JAOS* xx. [1899] 71-132).

[3] Alluded to by al-Ghazālī; probably Abu Sulaimān al-Darāni of Syria, who developed the doctrine of gnosis (*ma'arifat*).

[4] *Kuba* means 'cup,' 'bowl,' from the stem *kûb*. This must refer to some round pottery drum like the Egyptian *ḍarabûka*, distinct from the tambourine.

V.



wives or permitted slave-girls, and not adulterously. The rule is also laid down that a faithful Muslim must not listen to any music at all, if he finds that it stirs up in him thoughts contrary to the moral precepts of the Qur'ān. Unless the Muslim truly loves God, he must never listen to music, as this would in such a case be an additional danger to his soul. It is proper to add that all Arabic authorities were not of the opinion of al-Ghazālī as to the lawfulness of music. Thus, Mālik ibn Anas al-Ḥimyāri al-Madāni[1] distinctly states that no music of any sort is permitted to the faithful; but al-Ghazālī (*op. cit.* pp. 244–250) replies at length to such puritanical strictures, and goes so far as to lay down rules for ecstasy caused by the hypnotic influence of the Arabic rhythm. Thus, he warns the ecstatics never to weep, tear their garments, or dance, unless they are irresistibly compelled so to do. A listener to music must never strain for ecstasy, but, so far as possible, exert self-control. Here it should be noted that the conventional prolonged exclamation *a-a-ah*, so often interspersed by appreciative or polite listeners between the stanzas of Arabic love-songs, is an unquestionable survival of the earlier habit of falling into ecstasy on hearing a ravishing verse.

The Egyptian-Arabic love-song here given (pl. V.) is an excellent illustration of the more extended melodious development of the song proper among the Arabic-speaking nations, as compared with the religious chant. The metre of these songs is sustained with extreme regularity throughout, supported by the hand-drum, or *ḍarabûka*, keeping up the incessant tempo , against which the metre of the song often runs in syncopation. This tempo is without doubt the parent of that of the modern Spanish Bolero dance.[2] Inasmuch as all the verbs are in the masculine form in such productions as that given in pl. V., there can be little doubt that the tradition is correct which states that this sort of song was originally addressed to boys who were kept for the purpose of sodomy. Such music was therefore particularly offensive to sincere Muslims, and would certainly come under the category stigmatized by al-Ghazālī, although there is nothing obscene in the words themselves. A deeply religious Yemeni, on hearing one of these love-songs, remarked to the writer of this article that the truly faithful could have nothing in common with music of this character, but should confine themselves to the traditional religious chants alone.[3]

It may be interesting at this point to give also a specimen of a Turkish love-song of the ordinary Perso-Turkish type (pl. VI.) as a contrast to the above distinctively metrical Arab production. The Turks, like the Persians, have permitted a more extended melody to develop, and do not as a rule accompany their songs with a drum, but with the flute-pipe or with strings. They very frequently, however, sing without any accompaniment at all, as their songs, which are more of the recitative type, do not require the support of a steady tempo.

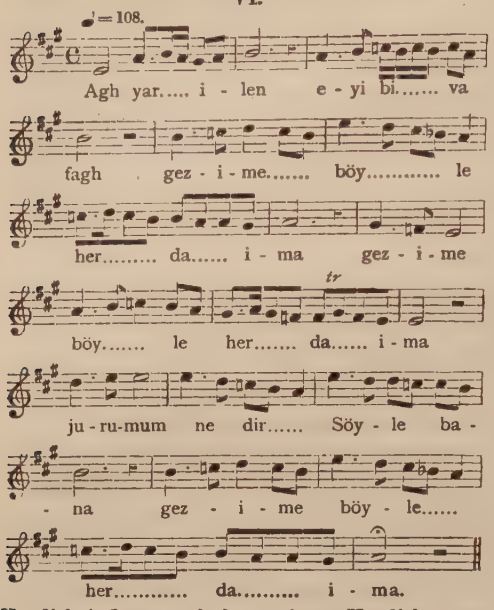
Turkish songs from the interior, such as the Diarbekr productions, are more metrical in character and also more melodious from the European point of view—a fact which is no doubt due to the

[1] The founder of the Malikite school of canon law (718–795), a conservative and dignified legal authority (I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, Halle, 1889–90, ii. 213 ff.).

[2] The Bolero melody is in triple time and generally syncopated to the same metre as the above style of song.

[3] Showing that the ancient rigidity of rule still persists among the stricter faithful.

VI.



Kurdish influence of the region. Kurdish songs show generally a well-marked melody, although of limited range, almost Arabian in its regular rhythm, which is, however, more apt to be in three beats, instead of the Arabian four or five time. Many of the higher class Persian melodies are beautiful, judged even according to European standards, as they often combine a tender melodious strain, almost always sad, with a well-marked metre.

3. Musical instruments.—The instruments used in Muhammadan music differ, of course, according to nationality. Among the Arabs proper, the most common instrument of percussion is the *ṭabla*, or tambourine drum. The Egyptians have used from time immemorial the *ḍarabûka*,[1] or large pottery hand-drum, which, as indicated above, marks the chief rhythm of the song. They also use a smaller drum, which is trilled constantly with little sticks for the purpose of producing an unvarying support to the *ḍarabûka* tempo-drum. In Tunis the *ṭapdeba* is almost identical with the *ḍarabûka*, and they likewise have the tambourine, as well as *šeqâšeq*, or cymbals. The most purely Arabian wind instrument is the seven-holed simple flageolet-flute, which is a great favourite, in spite of the earlier denunciation of 'pipes.' Of the flute there are many varieties, such as the N. African *magrûme*, or double-pipe, the Tunisian *gasba*, or flageolet, etc. The most primitive Arabic stringed instruments are the two-stringed violin and the *'ûd*, or lute, whence the European lute (=*al-'ûd*) and its descendant the mandoline are derived. It is strange that stringed instruments as well as wind instruments should have been forbidden by the earlier religious opinion (see above), but this was probably because of the association of these instruments with irreligious subjects. At the present day the Muslim peoples use very generally the guitar and mandoline, and frequently the ordinary European violin. They also delight in a native zither (*qanûn*). It must be remembered that all these instruments were primarily employed to accompany song, and rarely, if ever, to play independent melodies. An apparent exception to this rule is the funeral dirge-air often played on flutes without song, especially on the N. African coast. The exception is only apparent, however, because the instruments play what was originally a conventional death-wail sung by the mourners. The omission of the song may be due to European influence.

[1] Evidently identical with the *kuba* (see above, p. 54b, note 4).

4. Notation.—The Muslims use the European system of notation, especially in the larger centres, but there still exists in many corners the old traditional Persian tonic sol-fa system, according to which the tones were indicated by well-established signs, each representing a note of the scale and each bearing both Persian and Arabic names, as follows:

	do	re	mi	fa	sol	la	si
Persian:	*yek*	*dûk*	*sîk*	*chahár'k*	*panj'k*	*šeš'k*	*háftak*
Arabic:	*ḳûl*	*máid*	*sîk*	*mazmûm*	*raml*	*ḥasîn*	*saḥsîn*

In the Persian terms the numeral element *yek*, *dûk*, *sîk*, 'first, second, third (tone),' etc., plays the chief part, while the Arabic terminology employs only the Persian *sik*, 'third tone,' making use of arbitrarily applied native descriptives for the others.[1] The higher fa-sol register is called *'alîn*, 'high'; the middle register, fa-sol-la-si-do-re-mi, is known as *wasṭi*, 'middle,' while the term for the lower, do-re-mi, is *sa'ala(i)* (cf. Ali al-Ghaouthi, *Treatise on Music* [Arabic], Tunis, 1904).[2]

5. Characteristics of singing. — The Arabic method of singing, like that of all the western Orientals, is to use head-tones as much as possible. Chest-tones, such as are cultivated in European music, are very objectionable, even to the better educated Arabic-speaking people, who, like their nearer Oriental neighbours, the Turks and Persians, have also the greatest detestation of harmony in any form. Deliberate flatting or sharping often takes place, especially when a pathetic effect is sought. This has given rise to the statement that quarter-tones are of common occurrence in Arabic songs. While this is literally true, it is a variable quantity in their music, as the same singer will often sing a stanza with, *e.g.*, a flatted roulade and then repeat the same roulade in the ordinary manner. In spite of these un-European characteristics, a well-balanced Arab chorus — for they sing in chorus whenever possible—chanting in unison and accompanied by strings, wood-wind, and percussion, has a powerful effect even on a European listener, provided that he is sufficiently unprejudiced to lay aside for the moment his harmonic training, and allow himself to be swayed by the quavering yet never-varying movement of the shrill, but rarely untrue, voices and instruments, sustained by the ceaseless thrum of the hand-drums.

LITERATURE.—Ahmed Effendi Amin, *Comparison between Arabic and European Musical Notation*, Bulaq, 1902; *JA*, 8th ser., no. 5, xviii. [1891] 279–355; *Traité des rapports musicaux*, tr. from Safi al-Dîn Abd al-Mumin Baghdadi's letter to Sharaf al-Dîn (cf. also *JA*, 8th ser., no. 5, xviii. 279–355); A. Christianowitsch, *Esquisse historique de la musique arabe aux temps anciens*, Cologne, 1863; M. Collangettes, 'Étude sur la musique arabe' (*JA*, 10th ser., no. 5, iv. [1905] 365, 422, and viii. [1906] 149–190); S. Daniel, *La Musique arabe, ses rapports avec la musique grecque et le chant grégorien*, Algiers, 1863 and 1879; Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghazâlî, *Iḥyâ 'Ulûm ad-Dîn*, tr. D. B. Macdonald, 'Emotional Religion in Islâm as affected by Music and Singing,' in *JRAS*, 1901, pp. 195–252, 705–748, and 1902, pp. 1–28; Ibn Khaldûn, *Extrait sur la*

[1] The *-k* in Persian *dûk*, *sîk*, etc., is probably not the diminutive *-k*, seen, *e.g.*, in *mardak*, 'little man,' but rather a shorter form of Persian *gah*, 'time.' An aged Turkish teacher of music named the sol-fa notes to the writer as follows: *ek-gyah*, *dû-gyah*, *sî-gyah*, etc., which can only mean 'one time, two times, three times,' etc., conventionally applied to the tone-names and their signs (*gyah* is the Turkish palatalized pronunciation of Persian *gah*). The Arabic names for the notes may be rendered as follows: *ḳûl* really='the train of a garment' and here 'lower part'; *máid* possibly='mover,' from *mâd*, 'agitate,' 'move'; *mazmûm*, from *zamma* or *ḍamma*, probably means 'tied,' 'joined'; *raml*='a quick going' (it can hardly be *raml*, 'sand'); *ḥasîn* is the Persian form of the Arabic stem *ḥasana* and='beautiful'; *saḥsîn* is a variant of *ḥasîn* with preformative *sa-*, dubious in meaning in this case.

[2] *Sa'ala(i)* means 'clear the throat,' 'cough,' and was hence applied to the bass register.

musique, ed. M. de Hammer, *Fundgraben des Orients*, v. 6 [1818], 301–307; Ibrahîm Bey Mustapha, 'La Valeur des intervalles dans la musique arabe,' *Bull. Institut égyptien*, II. viii. [1888] 247–259; R. G. Kiesewetter, *Die Musik der Araber*, Leipzig, 1842; A. Laffage, *La Musique arabe, ses instruments et ses chants*, Tunis, 1905; J. P. N. Land, 'Recherches sur l'histoire de la gamme arabe,' *VI Congress of Orientalists*, [1885], pt. 2, pp. 155–163; E. W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, London, 1846, ch. xviii.; Rahabab, *Collection of Various Melodies* (Arabic), Cairo, 1842; Mikhail Meshaqab of Damascus, *Arabic Music*, tr. Eli Smith, *JAOS* i. [1849] 171–217; P. Tripodo, *Lo Stato degli Studii sulla musica degli Arabi*, Rome, 1904.

J. DYNELEY PRINCE.

MUSIC (Slavic).—The Slavs have always been renowned for their music. As early as A.D. 591 the Byzantine historians record that among the Avar captives there were three Baltic Slavs, who were untrained to arms and were employed as professional players on the *gusli* (see below, p. 58[b]). In the 10th cent. a band of Slav instrumentalists performed at the Byzantine court. The Arabian historians of the same epoch speak of a Slav seven-stringed instrument (probably the *gusli*); and mediæval Russian Chronicles abound in references to the musical tastes of the princes, differentiating between the ecclesiastical and the popular style.

A fresco of the year 1073 at Kiev represents Russian musicians, dressed much like Western troubadours, and playing flutes, long horns, cymbals, a guitar-shaped instrument (possibly the parent-form of the theorbo), and a seven-stringed harp or psalter. The musical profession ranked so high that in the mediæval ballads such a hero as Dobrynya Nikítič was not disgraced by assuming the disguise of a *skomorókh*,[1] or wandering minstrel.

Slav countries are surprisingly rich in popular song. Apart from the traditional festival hymns and melodies (some of these very ancient, and pagan in origin) current history has been related in the *Bylíny*, and the verse orally conserved. This democratic historiography survived down to the Napoleonic era.

Such popular song and melody were secular, often semi-pagan, and, as such, fervently persecuted by Church and State. Progressively with the decay of the South Russian civilization and Kievite State (13th to 14th cent.), the Eastern Church became more ascetic; and, under the Tatar ascendancy and after, the minstrels who had been honoured by the princes of Kiev ultimately became strolling vagabonds.

The northern plains, however, were too vast for persecution to be able to extirpate popular customs. In the 'fifties and sixties' of the 19th cent. the ancient folk-songs were diligently and exhaustively compiled.

The Church had her own school of music, derived from Byzantine models. In the late 15th cent., after the Tatars had been subdued, the Moscovite princes cultivated foreign arts; thus, in 1490, Iván III. summoned an organist to Moscow; Iván IV. greatly favoured German musicians; and his son Theodore was presented by the king of England with an organ, a clavichord, and skilled players.

The end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th cent. brought Russia under Polish influence, and new Western instruments were introduced (such as the pandora, the theorbo, and the violin), as well as the Western pentalineal system of notation. In the 15th cent. chamber-music was performed at the Polish and Moscovite courts; and Sigismund I. of Poland imported Italian music.

1. **The characteristics of primitive music.**—Thy genuine popular music of the Slavs is probable an independent outgrowth of Aryan folk-song, akin to Indian and Greek melody, but not identical nor borrowed.

[1] Probably derived from σκώμμαρχος.

Melodic development apparently falls roughly into three periods. The octave is divided diatonically into the intervals of our modern scale—not according to the Pythagorean fifths or like the Oriental scale, which has seventeen intervals (made up by differentiating between the sharp of one note and the flat of the succeeding note).

All primitive music was designed as an indispensable accompaniment to ritual or epic verse; thus, such music is a *récitatif* that follows the metre and the words, rising and falling with the natural variations of the speaking voice, the tempo and rhythm being determined by the phrases out of which the verse is built up.

Our modern diatonic scale admits of majors and minors, and also of accidentals within the strict limits of the twelve admissible semitones, whereas ancient scales have no majors or minors. The ancient Greeks could modulate from one of their eight scales into any other; the primitive Russian Slav scale in each stage of development was invariable, exactly as no modern musician could introduce a third- or quarter-tone.

Music without words—music as an art *per se*—evolved only very late, after the Middle Ages; verse or poetry as an art *per se* very much earlier. Furthermore, in primitive melody the spoken phrase which governs the rhythm can move only within a limited compass, very much less than that of the voice—*e.g.*, within a fourth or a fifth. The whole melody is very short and repeated without variation; it is unharmonized, and based on unharmonical intervals.

(*a*) *First period.*—The first period in folk-song, and the most barbarous, is based on the interval of the fourth upwards and fifth downwards, and comprises only whole tones. To this class Highland and Chinese music are said to belong. This has been called the period of the trichord, *i.e.*, only three notes were available in each limit of the fourth or the fifth—*e.g.*, C D F.

(*b*) *Second period.* — The second stage added some new notes to the octave, and is styled the period of the tetrachord—*e.g.*, C D F G—or the fifth. Ancient Greek, primitive Slav, and mediæval Western European music are said to belong to it. The octave is divided C—F, F—C′, C′—F′. The music may now rise a fifth, as well as sink a fifth. The melody still has to follow the words in rising or falling phrases within these limits. As yet the leading note has not come into vogue; and the characteristic scale of this epoch impresses the modern ear as an irregular minor scale. The music still being a *récitatif*, the rhythm and tempo have to be strictly adjusted to the metre of the words. At this point, therefore, a brief account of the metre must be interpolated.

On the one hand, the ancient Greek hexameter was a strictly regular quantitative four-beat, or, again, the iambus and the trochee three-beats, the metrical stress determining the rhythm and the tempo. The length of the vowel formed the basis for the measurement of the beats. But even in ancient Greek and Latin the influence of the tonic accent was beginning to make itself felt, and to induce irregularities, such as lengthening *in arsi*, the shortening of unaccented long terminations. Quantity disappeared very early, however, in the development of the Slav languages; Serbian alone has retained a fixed distinction of long and short syllables, the length of which is unaffected by the stress. Modern metre in all the Slav languages, including Serbian, is stressed, or accentual. On the other hand, all modern poetry is strictly accentual.

The early Slav metre was in a transitional stage. Although quantity had disappeared, metre was still regulated by the long groupings of three or more syllables that had constituted the ancient quantitative foot; and the metrical—and therefore rhythmical—unit became a group of syllables with a dominating accent. Furthermore, when in the course of the 14th cent. the vowels ъ, ь had become mute, whilst the old traditional songs and melodies were maintained, great irregularities of tempo were the natural result; it was as though we attempted to read as a melodic and metrical scheme the verses of Chaucer, and systematically disregarded the final *e*'s, which in modern English have lost all phonetic value.

The scansion of early Slav folk-songs is closely akin to that of Vedic hymns; it can be analyzed into lines of twelve, sixteen, or twenty syllables; but, in Slav, quantity has vanished, the accent generally falls on the third syllable in each group of four, and the lines almost invariably terminate with a dactylic word. When the vowels ъ, ь became mute, false accents had to be introduced so as to coerce the poem into conformity with the tune. It was a favourite device to introduce assonant terminations as well as alliterative words or repetitions as part of the style; highly inflected languages lend themselves very readily to this device. Gradually these assonant terminations became a regular system of rhyme, while alliteration and repetition were left as a mere embellishment. Thus the same influences as in Western Europe operated to convert syllabic alliterative metre into fixed accentual metre with short metrical feet. When this process was complete, words and melody, metre and tempo, could be combined without mutual violence. To sum up: a primitive pre-Slav Aryan metre ⏑–⏑/⏑⏑–⏑//–⏑⏑ became the accentual ˉˆ/ˆˉˆ/ /ˆˉ, and, through irregularities and deviations from the strict scheme and the partitioning of the four-beat, finally evolved into the modern ˘/ˊ/ˊ/ˆˉ, or trochaically (ˉ)ˆ/ˆ/ˆ, or anapæstically ˘˘/ˊ/ˊ/ˊ/ˆˉ.

When, in the poem, these syllabic feet irregularly comprised more than four syllables, the bar corresponding to such a foot had to be lengthened, and thus the tempo varied.

(*c*) *Third period.*—From this consideration of metre we may proceed to what is regarded as the third stage of Slav music. This synchronizes with the development in Western Europe of the modern scale, thirds being introduced as a basic division of the octave, in addition to the fourths and fifths of the previous epochs; and thus part-singing and harmonization at last were rendered possible. The leading note had already made a first appearance in the south, in Little Russia (which up to 1654 belonged to Poland), together with chromatic augmentations and diminutions of the fourth and fifth —a change possibly due to Oriental influence or Polish permeation. Thus the styles of N. and S. Russia became differentiated, the south advancing long before the north.

(*d*) *Artistic growth.*—From this point forward Russian folk-melody had thirds, chromatics, the leading note, and consequently regular majors and minors with tonics and dominants. The artistic development proceeded apace. Music and poetry soon started on their separate paths as different and independent arts. We shall now briefly trace this artistic growth of Russian music.

Ivan IV. had a vocal unconducted choir at his court. This practice was continued by his successors. The most notable choirmaster was D. M. Bortnyanski (1751–1825), who was musically trained in Italy and reformed the Imperial Court choir. Francesco Araja (1700–67) was the creator of the first opera in Russia, in Italian and with an Italian troupe. A. N. Verstovski (1799–1863) introduced Russian opera in Russian; but it was M. I. Glinka (1804–57) who, with his *Life for the Tsar* (1830), created Russian opera in the national style and with Slav rhythm and harmony. Since then César Cui, Borodin, Musorgski, Rimski-Korsakov, etc., have acquainted the world with the great musical genius of Russia, with its strongly marked features and characteristic harmonies. It is noteworthy that Debussy and many of the modern French school derived some of their inspiration from the great Russian masters. And, withal, this great Russian school drew upon the native melodies for its thematic material. These are to our Western ear untuneful, for they are based on a cruder scale. They are unjoyous, like the steppes. Modern Russian opera often gives the impression of a richly orchestrated folk-song, with a strange and compelling beauty all its own; for, after the first Byronesque effusions of the 'twenties' of the 19th cent., Russia in all of the arts turned to her national resources and built out of them a literature, an art, and a music second to those of no other people.

(*e*) *Church music.*—The music of the Church in Russia has had a history apart. After the conversion of Vladímir I. in 980 Greek schools of singing were founded at Kíev. The Chronicles make a clear distinction between popular and Church music, stating of one prince that he loved the *gusli* and his wine, of another that he loved Psalm-singing. This ecclesiastical music was Ambrosian, and based on four of the ancient Greek scales, viz., the Phrygian, Dorian, Hypophrygian, and Hypolydian (see MUSIC [Greek]). Russian Church melody could modulate within the limits of these scales. Gregorian music was not allowed to penetrate into the realm of the orthodox Church.

Unlike the popular music, which was oral and traditional, Church music was written: the notes, indicated by signs, or 'semiographs,' were superscribed above the words. The choir-leader conducted by cheironomy—a sort of deaf and dumb musical alphabet. This arbitrary and awkward method lasted down to the end of the 16th cent., and was for long championed by the conservative against the new Western pentalineal notation, which supplanted it by the end of the 17th century. For a time both systems were used concurrently. Tempo indications were abbreviations of Slav words.

All singing was at first in unison, as the harmonics of this music were, like those of the popular songs, based on fourths and fifths, and not on thirds.

2. The musical instruments.—In the mediæval Chronicles the names of the instruments are often loosely used, and it is difficult to define exactly what instrument is intended.

(*a*) *Stringed.*—The most ancient of the stringed and plucked instruments is the *gusli* (with the conventional epithets 'made of the plane tree' and 'sonorous'). It was a zither-like box, with seven or eight strings, plucked by the right hand, and damped by the left. A later development of the *gusli* was the psalter, with eleven strings and a rounded body, with one end narrower than the other. The player pressed the narrower end to his chest, and plucked the strings with his right hand. Later still we find the cymbals, a rectangular trapezoidal case on which metal strings were strung, to be struck with a hammer. It might have fifteen or more cords; it was introduced only in the 17th century.

Other stringed instruments were the *domra*, *balalaika*, bandura (or *kobza*), theorbo, and guitar, all of which had long necks, upon which the strings were strung, admitting of fingering, and carried over a sounding-box; they were plucked with the fingers or a plectrum. The *domra* was common in Great Russia, the others in Little Russia; they were largely of Polish origin.

The *domra* had three strings tuned in fourths, and an oval body; the *balalaika* had a triangular body, with three strings tuned A E A′, and a bent head. These instruments mark a great advance, for the cords were stopped with the left hand, so as to form the notes and intervals. The *domra* and *balalaika* were shrill and inharmonious. The pandora, or bandura, resembled a lute, and might have any number of strings—six at the least. The theorbo was a highly complicated bass lute, derived from Italy through Poland, with three separate sets of cords allowing of the playing of several parts at the same time.

Stringed instruments played with the bow came into use only in the 16th century. The earliest form is the three-stringed lyre, neckless, its body somewhat like that of a viol-da-gamba; the strings were sounded by a wheel, turned by a handle at one end. Another bowed stringed instrument, probably of Tatar origin, was the *gudok*; it had two strings, a pear-shaped body, and an Asiatic crescent-shaped bow. The Russians added a third string. The instrument was held downwards like

a 'cello. Two strings were tuned in unison, acting as pedal-points, and never fingered; the third was tuned a fifth higher and fingered. Very much later violins, violas, and 'cellos were introduced from abroad.

(*b*) *Wind.*—Trumpets are mentioned as early as the 11th century. Wood-wind instruments also occur early. The most ancient seems to be the *dudki*, or pipe, with the mouthpiece at the end. Double-pipes (*svirèly*) are still used in White Russia; these are two pipes lashed together, one being shorter than the other; a development from this was the *tsèvnitsa*, the Greek σῦριγξ, seven pipes in one frame.

Reed instruments are also found quite early, and were specially used in funeral rites; they had seven intervals. A double instrument of this type was called the *surna*, a kind of hautboy.

(*c*) *Percussion.*—Drums came into orchestral use in the reign of Ivan IV.; the earliest form perhaps is the *nakry* (two clay pots with leather stretched over the top). Similar instruments were the *ložki*, or wooden spoons, or xylophone, first used in the 18th cent.; *tarelki*, or timpani, are recorded as far back as the 11th cent., as well as the *bubny*, or tambourines.

From the middle of the 17th cent. Russian orchestration was enriched through communications with Italy, directly and indirectly, through Poland and Germany. This cultured elaboration of the rich primitive music of the Slavs has put Russian music in the first rank.

LITERATURE.—A. Soubies, *Histoire de la musique en Russie*, Paris, 1898; M. M. Ivánov, *Istoriya muzykalnago razvitiya Rossii*, Petrograd, 1910; A. Maslov, *Opyt rukovodstva k izuèeniyu russkoy nar. muzyki*, Moscow, 1911 (contains good bibliography); A. Pougin, *Essai historique sur la musique en Russie*, Paris, 1904; P. Sokalski, *Russkaya nar. muzyka*, Kharkov, 1888.

LEONARD A. MAGNUS.

MUSIC (Teutonic).—Teutonic mythology differs from classical in not ascribing a divine origin to music as distinct from poetry. Yet musical powers were often an attribute of gods and supernatural beings, as of Oðin, Bragi, and frequently the water-divinities, and in individual human beings song-craft was looked upon as a divine gift, or, indeed, as directly due to divine inspiration and intervention.

According to the earliest records, music, especially song, played a large part in awakening and in expressing religious and national feeling, as well as martial ardour and festive mirth. Tacitus says that the ancient songs of the Germans, 'which are their sole forms of chronology and history,' sing the praises of their divine progenitors (*Germ.* 2); this is borne out in historic times by the evidence of Jordanes for the Ostrogoths (*de Getarum Orig.* 4), and by the celebration in song of heroes of later days, such as Arminius (Tac. *Ann.* ii. 88), Alboin of Lombardy (Paulus Diaconus, *de Gest. Langobardorum*, i. 27), and Charlemagne. Song and the clashing of arms were the accepted means of inspiring to the fight, and of disheartening the foe, and the variety of sound ranged from 'a loud yell' (Ammianus Marcellinus, XXVIII. v. 6) to dissonant clamour, from a rhythmic battle-cry (*Olafs Saga hins Helga*, 92; *Fornmanna Sögur*, iv.) to heroic chants (Tac. *Hist.* ii. 22; Amm. Marc. XXXI. vii. 11). Triumphal songs after the battle are known in at least one instance to have been accompanied by dancing (Gregory, *Dial.* iii. 28). Although there is little evidence for the practice of merely festive music in the primitive Teutonic period, it is noteworthy that many of the later words for music are intimately connected with, if not actually derived from, roots denoting joy or bliss—*e.g.*, *glēō*, *drēām* (Grimm, *Teut. Mythology*, tr. J. S. Stallybrass, London, 1882–88, p. 901).

During the period of settlement of the Teutonic peoples after the great migrations all these uses of music became increasingly important, especially on the national and religious side, as might be expected in a race in which religious feeling was so closely identified with its strong national consciousness. In connexion with religion music assumed a twofold significance.

(1) It was an integral part of such ritual as was practised—*e.g.*, singing and dancing were used by the Langobards in their worship (Gregory, *loc. cit.*). At Upsala the sacrifices were accompanied by 'unseemly' songs (Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburg.* iv. 27 [*MGH*, 'Script.' vii.]), and it would appear from the degenerate behaviour of 'the mimes on the stage, and the unmanly clatter of the bells,' which aroused the disgust of Starkaðr (Saxo Grammaticus, *Danish History*, tr. O. Elton, London, 1894, vi. 185), that this side of the ceremony was much developed. At funerals dirges were sung, telling the prowess of the dead; the account of the funeral lament for Attila (Jordanes, 49) can be paralleled by the fragmentary indication of the dirge (*geomorgyd*) sung for Bēōwulf (l. 3151). At weddings songs were sung, but not necessarily of a religious character (*Saga Herrauðs ok Bosa*, 12; *Fornaldar Sögur*, iii.).

(2) The second great religious use of music was in the magic art, in which the chanting of spells must always have been a chief element; and in the north, where this art was so much developed, we have ample evidence of the importance of vocal music as an adjunct of sorcery. The two main forms of incantation were the *galdr* and the *seiðr*, the beneficent and maleficent charms. The *galdr* must from its very name have been sung; the *seiðr* we know to have been performed with elaborate musical ceremonial. Thus in *Orvarodds Saga* (ch. 2) the *seiðrkona*, or sorceress, appears accompanied by a choir of fifteen boys and fifteen girls, skilled in singing. So, too, in *Eiriks Saga Rauða* (ch. 4) the prophetess requires one of the women present to sing a certain spell; a Christian woman unwillingly complies, and sings so sweetly that the witch announces that many unwonted spirits have been lured thither. Elsewhere we again find the sweetness of the song apparently increasing its potency, as in the *seiðr* that lured the boy Kári to his death (*Laxdœla Saga*, 37). Music produced by an abnormal instrument can have a supernatural effect, as in the ballad of the minstrel whose harp, strung with three locks of a drowned girl's hair, sings of itself, and accuses the murderer. An inspired musician can, like Orpheus, charm animals by his song, as does Horant the Dane (*Kudrun*, 388).

Heroic traditions, from being celebrated in communal song (Jordanes, 4), passed into the keeping of the *scōp*, whose chief function was to commemorate national prowess, or, like the Northern *scalds* later on, to celebrate the deeds of hero patrons. The Old English poems *Wīdsīð* and *Dēor* afford glimpses of the wide-spread fame and the varying fortunes of these minstrels; their repute was great, and the divine inspiration and supernatural powers ascribed to them appear in such tales as that of Horant, already cited, or of Sigurðr, who, at a wedding-feast, by his harp-playing caused not only the guests but even the very tables and dishes to dance (*Saga Herrauðs ok Bosa*, 12; *Fornaldar Sögur*, iii.). The *scōp* and the *scald*, who were often men of good birth, catered for the courts, and provided the chief entertainment at feasts by chanting heroic lays, either traditional or improvised. Their skill redounded to the credit of the court, and keen interest was taken in their rivalry and their singing-contests. Popular tastes, on the other hand, were provided for by the wandering minstrel or glee-man, and how familiar and acceptable a figure he was is proved by the legend

of Alfred penetrating, thus disguised, into the Danish camp. The susceptibility of the Teutonic races to music is proved by the honours heaped upon the singer, and also by the wide diffusion of the lyric gift. Nothing is more striking in the Icelandic sagas than the facility with which men and women of almost all classes 'sing a stave,' *i.e.* improvise to suit all occasions. The Goths seem to have quickly fallen under the influence of Roman music, as in the case of the ex-emperor Attalus (cf. H. Bradley, *The Goths* ['Story of the Nations'], London, 1887, pp. 95, 101). Throughout the heroic poems and tales we can trace the enjoyment of courtly music, and the story of Cædmon illustrates the shame felt by the ungifted man at the exposure of his deficiency.

We have hardly any knowledge of the nature of pre-Christian Teutonic music, but the strong rhythm of the alliterative poetry presupposes a marked musical rhythm. It is practically certain that harmony was unknown in instrumental and in vocal music. Such technical knowledge as we possess can be deduced only from the instruments known to have been used, *i.e.* horns and harps. The first instrument of the primitive Teuton was probably the horn, originally the natural horn of an animal, later a reproduction in bronze. Then the shape was altered, as can be seen from the bronze horn found in Denmark, which is twisted somewhat into the shape of a G, and apparently is the prototype of the modern Scandinavian *lurs*. Expert judgment believes this horn to have been in the key of E♭, of which it produced the first eight harmonics. By far the more important and more characteristic instrument is the harp, for which the Teutons have a separate native name, and which, although here experts differ, the northern nations probably evolved for themselves independently of existing forms in the south; it is a moot point how much they owed to their Celtic neighbours, past masters of the harp. That bow-instruments were originally unknown to the Teutons is borne out by the fact that the word *hearpan* is used to translate *citharisare*, and therefore distinctly implies plucking or twanging the strings. Early contact with the Romans introduced them to such instruments as bells and bagpipes, and later to all the varieties of the *psalterium*.

After the advent of Christianity the history of Teutonic music is for centuries identical with that of Church music; the Church absorbed almost all musical interest, and certainly controlled all technical and artistic progress. Secular music was steadily discouraged; throughout the Merovingian laws the seductions of heathen songs are denounced, while in England the famous letter of Alcuin (*MGH*, 'Script.' xv. 'Epist. Carol.,' ii. 124) and the pleasing anecdote of Aldhelm (William of Malmesbury, *de Gest. pontif. Anglorum*, v. 190) illustrate the Church's severe attitude towards secular music, but also its readiness to use Christian music as a means of attraction.

The Roman Church had a struggle to enforce its liturgical music upon the Teutonic churches, which seemed to realize the danger to their individuality in the adoption of the standard Church music, *i.e.* the Gregorian plain-song or unaccompanied unison chant. Once converted to the Roman usage, however, the Teutonic monks were active in spreading it, as did St. Boniface among the Germans; and the monastery of St. Gall can claim to have perfected in the 9th cent. the new liturgical chant known as the 'sequence.' Moreover, it is to Teutonic monks, such as Alcuin, Notker, and Odo, that we owe the chief literary evidence on the ecclesiastical modes.

In the development of the second great school of music, the polyphonic, Teutonic clerics again furnish some of the most valuable evidence on theory. The *de Harmonica Institutione* of the Flemish monk Hucbald describes the first attempts at the forms of harmony later known as 'organum' and 'descant'; at the end of the following century comes the more advanced work of Otger of St. Pons, probable author of the treatise *Musica Enchiriadis*. After the death (*c.* 1050) of Guido of Arezzo, the chief exponent of the new system, the Teutonic monks—*e.g.*, Berno of Reichenau, William of Hirschau, and Aribo Scholasticus—seem to have shared in the temporary reaction against polyphony. But Teutonic musicians soon recovered their progressive spirit, as is shown by the work of Franco of Cologne, and in the development of that contrapuntal art which has aptly been likened to a Gothic cathedral they led the way, through the English supremacy of the 12th to the 14th centuries, up to the 'Golden Age' of the Netherlands in the 15th century.

In the English period the chief names in theory are those of Walter Odington in the late 13th cent., and Simon Tunstede, who at the end of the 14th cent. describes the method of introducing *faux-bourdon* into the old descant. England has the distinction of preserving five early specimens of counterpoint, one of which, the famous rota or six-part canon, 'Sumer is icumen in,' dating from *c.* 1240, precedes any similar composition extant by more than a century; it is a secular song, but was probably composed by a cleric. By the end of the 15th cent. many English composers were at work, but produced less original music, because of their dependence on the Netherlands school; again, in the 16th cent., the influence of Palestrina was predominant.

The Netherlands school begins with Guillaume Dufay, and rises to its height in the 15th cent. with Johannes Okeghem, master of the canon, and his pupil, Josquin des Prés. The pupil soon outstripped the master, infusing into the latter's dry and intellectual style—in which it is perhaps not fanciful to see the influence of the northern land and of the Teutonic character—greater artistic and devotional feeling. An interesting point in the Flemish school is the novelty of basing its mass-themes on popular melodies. The influence of the school is shown by the fact that Dufay's contemporary, Willaert, founded the Venetian school, while Palestrina himself, the culmination of mediæval counterpoint before it yields to homophony, was taught by the Flemish master, Goudimel.

With the Reformation a great change came over music in the Teutonic countries. The main cause was the secularization of the art by freeing it from an enforced dependence on the Church and her requirements, while in Church music itself a change equally great appears, due first to its loss of symbolic significance, and secondly to the introduction of congregational singing in the vernacular. In England the 16th cent. saw a great secularization and diffusion of music, but the composers of Church music, such as Tallis, Byrd, and Orlando Gibbons, were still at the head of their profession, and the emancipation of English music was not completed until the Commonwealth.

The development of Church music in Germany during the Reformation is foremost in interest and importance. Throughout the Middle Ages there was a strong current of religious musical feeling, rising to flood-height, first, from the 13th to the 14th centuries, when the Minnesinger wrote religious as well as courtly lyrics, and then in the 15th and 16th centuries, when the Meistersinger accomplished their important work of popularizing sacred music; both schools based their music on the ecclesiastical modes, the Meistersinger, however, with little inspiration. The practice of fitting

popular melodies to sacred words had prevailed before the Reformation; but the contrapuntal treatment tended to obscure the melody, and Luther's work lay in the restoration of rhythm to Church hymns—a step important in ensuring their popularization. It is doubtful now whether Luther undertook much composition himself, yet the name 'Luther's hymns' is hardly a misnomer, so great was his encouragement to hymnodists to adapt tunes already familiar in Church or folk-song, and to develop the wonderful chorales now familiar to every Protestant country. Later, at the end of the 16th cent., these simple tunes were again obscured by contrapuntal treatment for choir-singing; but the influence of monody restored the simplicity of effect suited to express the exalted national and religious aspirations of the Reformed Church. Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries hymnody flourished under the Silesian and Pietistic schools. The same period saw in England also a popularization of hymnody—to which the Reformation had given little impetus—under the influence first of Watts and the Independents, then of Wesley and the Methodists.

The remarkable production in Germany during the 18th cent. of Church music of the highest order is a subject beyond the scope of this article (see MUSIC [Christian]); but it may be suggested that it was the result of individual genius, as of Bach, working on traditional forms and originating new ones, with an entire emancipation from ecclesiastical rigidity, yet with a restraint which kept the work, unlike much similar Italian production, within the bounds of religious propriety. This is illustrated by the growth of the new oratorio; starting, as in Italy, from the miracle-play, it was given a new direction in Germany by combination with the lately emancipated Passion music, and drew fresh strength from that peculiarly Teutonic form, the chorale. Thus in the later development of religious music in Teutonic countries we see that its greatness was largely due to its closeness to national tradition; and Germany perhaps owed her musical supremacy in part to the fact that, even after the secularization of the art, her greatest musicians were content to submit to the disciplinary forms of Church music.

LITERATURE. — P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye, *The Religion of the Teutons*, tr. B. J. Vos, Boston and London, 1902, p. 385 ff.; R. von Liliencron, 'Musik,' in H. Paul's *Grundriss der german. Philologie*[2], III. xiii. 2, Strassburg, 1900, p. 555 ff.; Martin Gerbert, *Scriptores Ecclesiastici de Musica*, San Blas, 1784; C. E. H. de Coussemaker, *Scriptores de musica medii ævi*, 4 vols., Paris, 1864–76, *Hist. de l'harmonie au moyen âge*, do. 1852; G. Grove, *Dict. of Music and Musicians*, ed. J. A. Fuller-Maitland, London, 5 vols., 1904–10; *Oxford Hist. of Music*, ed. W. A. Hadow, Oxford, 1901–05; C. Engel, *Musical Instruments*, London, 1875, ch. vii. f.; R. C. Hope, *Mediæval Music*, do. 1894; J. K. Paine, *Hist. of Music*, Boston, 1907; E. Dickinson, *Music in the Hist. of the Western Church*, London, 1902. M. E. SEATON.

MUSKHOGEANS.—The Muskhogeans constitute a sedentary and agricultural American Indian linguistic stock whose territory covered the major portion of the present States of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, and the western part of Tennessee, the principal tribes being the Choctaw and Seminole (*qq.v.*), Creek, and Chickasaw, besides the minor tribes of the Alibamu, Apalachee, Bayogoula, Chakchiuma, Chatot, Chula, Hitchiti, Huma, Ibitoupa, Kasihta, Koasati, Mobile, Mugulasha Naniba, Ofogoula, Tangipahoa, Taposa, Tawasa, Tohome, and Yamasee. The tribal organization and system of government were closely analogous to those of the Iroquois (*q.v.*). The number of gentes varied from 28 among the Creek to 12 among the Chickasaw, 10 among the Seminole, and 8 among the Choctaw. The phratry system is recorded among Choctaw and Chickasaw, the latter having 2 phratries of 4 and 8 gentes respectively: Panther-Wild Cat, Bird, Fish, Deer; Spanish (Ishpani)-Raccoon, Spanish, Royal (Mingo), Skunk, Squirrel, Alligator, Wolf, Blackbird. Intermarriage between members of the same gens was forbidden; descent was in the female line. As regards the designations of the gentes, we are expressly informed by Adair (*Hist. of the Amer. Indians*, p. 16) that the Muskhogeans 'bear no religious respect to the animals from which they derive the names of their tribes, but will kill any of the species, when opportunity serves.' Since, however, he repeatedly notes the decay of old custom and belief among the Muskhogeans, we cannot assume that the usual tabus regarding the totem did not originally prevail among them. As among the Iroquois, the civil chiefs were distinct from the war-chiefs; and, among the Chickasaw, the chieftainship was hereditary in the Mingo gens, and the chief religious official in the Wild Cat (Adair, p. 31). So far did the Muskhogeans carry the distinction between civil and military affairs that, notably among the Creek, there were 'white towns,' devoted to civil government and peace ceremonies, and 'red towns' for ceremonies of war.

The towns, which, when in strategic positions, were strongly walled, contained a public square, each of whose enclosing buildings comprised three rooms. The structure on the east side was for the chief administrative councillors, that on the south for the war-chiefs, that on the west for the principal religious paraphernalia,[1] and that on the north for the inferior chiefs. The square itself was the scene of public business and great religious ceremonies, such as the *busk* (for which see *ERE* iii. 507[a] and *HAI* i. 176–178); and there such aliens as possessed no clan rights might sojourn as public guests. The house of the religious leader formed an asylum, and certain towns, notably the Creek Kusa, were veritable 'cities of refuge,' such a city being 'a place of safety for those who kill undesignedly' (Adair, pp. 112, 159).

Shamans underwent an initiation of sweating and taking emetics;[2] before and during the *busk* and other festivals, as well as in time of war, abstention from various foods and from sexual intercourse was required; menstruous women were obliged to retire to small huts constructed specially for them; and a widow was compelled to remain single for four years (three, among the Chickasaw), unless she could induce the eldest brother of her deceased husband to have relations with her. Among food-tabus particular interest attaches to that by which the Alibamu, after a white man had eaten, threw away all the food that he had left and washed everything that he had used.

The religious centre to which reference has already been made contained various figures, those among the Bayogoula, *e.g.*, being the bear, wolf, opossum, and birds (cf. also Adair, pp. 30–32), while the Mobile possessed clay images of men, women, and animals. Among the Muskhogeans, moreover, fire was sacred, and the flame kindled at the *busk* might not be extinguished until the following *busk*, when it must be put out as being no longer ritually clean.

Information regarding the Muskhogean morality is scarcely sufficient to afford a basis for judgment.

[1] Among these special mention should be made of five copper and two brass plates preserved at Tukabatchi and still in existence, though, according to tradition, they had formerly been more numerous. From the account given by William Bolsover (in Adair, p. 178 f.) it would appear that at least some of them are of European origin, two even bearing the stamp Æ (see, further, *HAI* ii. 194).

[2] Initiation may also be implied in the Alibamu usage of causing the children of both sexes to pass in procession at one of their festivals, and to be so severely flogged as to draw blood, after which they were required to listen to an address by one of their elders.

Among some tribes marriage is said to have been only for a year, though it was normally renewed if children were born, one of the signs of such renewal being the annual hoeing of the wife's maize-field by her husband's relatives.

'It was formerly reckoned adultery, if a man took a pitcher of water off a married woman's head, and drank of it. But their law said, if he was a few steps apart, and she at his request set it down, and retired a little way off, he might then drink without exposing her to any danger' (Adair, p. 143).

For the first crime of adultery the man was flogged and had his ears cropped, and the woman's hair was shorn; for the second offence the noses and upper lips were cut off; for the third death was the penalty. The Cherokee had, in virtue of their extreme matriarchal system, no punishment for the adulteress, although in very flagrant cases they, like the Choctaw, submitted the woman to the fate recorded in Jg 19^{25}. After a man's wife had proved false to him, he was forbidden to sustain further marital relations with her.

The burial customs of the Muskhogeans varied in different tribes. The Chickasaw and Creek interred the dead beneath his house. Among the Choctaw the corpse was placed upon a scaffold near the house, where it remained three moons. At the beginning of the fourth, it was dismembered, and the bones, after being denuded of flesh, were put in a chest and laid in the 'bone-house'—a covered scaffold with open ends. Each clan had its own bone-house, and it was held to be unlawful to mingle bones of strangers with those of kinsmen. Over one of these mortuaries Adair (p. 183) saw 'the carved image of a dove, with its wings stretched out, and its head inclining down.'[1] It was also customary, when passing the spot where a distinguished warrior had been killed, to cast a stone there.

Like so many other American Indian peoples, the Muskhogeans burned alive captives of war, so that the Yuchi even called the Creek Kópa ('man-burners' [A. S. Gatschet, quoted in *HAI* i. 365]), and they also practised ceremonial cannibalism, especially eating the heart of their enemy.

According to the general Muskhogean tradition, their original home was west of the Mississippi, roughly localized around the Upper Red River, Arkansas; but the Kasihta believed themselves to be descended from the sun (*HAI* i. 661). Linguistically it is interesting to note that the Hitchiti and Creek had an archaic dialect known as 'woman's talk' (*ib.* i. 551; cf. also i. 759).

LITERATURE.—Summarized accounts are given in such works as T. Waitz and G. Gerland, *Anthropol. der Naturvölker* iii., Leipzig, 1862; H. R. Schoolcraft, *Hist. and statist. Information . . . of the Ind. Tribes of the U.S.*, Philadelphia, 1851–57; T. L. McKenney and J. Hall, *Hist. of the Ind. Tribes of N. America*, do. 1854; and especially the artt. on the various Muskhogean tribes and towns in *HAI*. For the older sources see P. Margry, *Découvertes et établissements des Français dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amér. septent.*, Paris, 1875–86; B. F. French, *Hist. Collections of Louisiana*, New York, 1846 ff.; J. G. Shea, *Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi*, Albany, N.Y., 1861; E. G. Bourne, *Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto*, New York, 1904; Gentleman of Elvas and L. H. de Biedma, in *Hakluyt Soc. Publications*, ix., London, 1851; A. G. Barcia Caballido y Zuñiga, *Ensayo cronológico para la hist. general de la Florida*, Madrid, 1723. The fullest account is given by J. Adair, *Hist. of the American Indians*, London, 1775; see also L. N. Baudry des Lozières, *Voyage à la Louisiane*, Paris, 1802; A. S. Le Page du Pratz, *Hist. de la Louisiane*, do. 1758; D. Coxe, *Descrip. of the Eng. Province of Carolana*, London, 1741; W. Bartram, *Travels through N. and S. Carolina*, etc., Philadelphia, 1791; T. S. Woodward, *Reminiscences of the Creek, or Muscogee Indians*, Montgomery, Ala., 1859; A. S. Gatschet, *Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, Philadelphia and St. Louis, 1884–88 (vol. ii. = *Trans. of Acad. Sci. St. Louis*, vol. v. pts. 1–2). For the language see J. C. Pilling, *Bibliog. of the Muskhogean Languages* (= *9 Bull. BE*), Washington, 1889.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

[1] If this is correct—and there seems to be no reason to doubt it—we have here an American instance of the belief in the dove as a death-bird, for which see O. Schrader, *Sprachvergleichung und Urgesch.*[3], Jena, 1907, ii. 141 f.; A. C. Kruijt, *ERE* vii. 243[a]; N. W. Thomas, *ib.* i. 525[a].

MUSPILLI.—*Muspilli*, a Teutonic word that has given rise to much debate, occurs in an O.H.G. poem of the 9th cent. relating to the end of the world, and in the O.Sax. *Heliand*. In the former we read that at the last day it is impossible for one relative to help another before the *muspille*; in the latter (v. 4358), that *mudspilli* comes like a thief in the dark night, and that at the end of the world its power passes over mankind (v. 2591). In both sources the word means the 'day of the sons'—the end of the world. It appears also in the Norse myth of Ragnarök, and would seem to have been brought to Iceland from Germany. In the Eddic songs the sons of Muspell are mentioned as adversaries of the gods (*Voluspá*, 51; *Lokasenna*, 42), and Snorri, on the basis of this text, tells of a realm of fire called Muspellsheimr, and governed by Surtr, the king of fire (*Gylfaginning*, K. 4 ff.). The northern sources, however, make no reference to Muspell as the father of these sons or the lord of that world.

Scholars are far from unanimous as regards the origin and literal meaning of *muspilli*. Some (*e.g.*, Grimm, Müllenhoff, Kögel, Martin, Kauffmann, von Grienberger, Braune) regard the word as having originated in Teutonic heathenism, while others (*e.g.*, Bugge, Golther, Detter, Dorff, Hagen, Mogk, Olrik, Grau, Sperber) take it to be a Teutonic Christian term which first appeared in Germany under the influence of Western Christian literature, and passed thence to the north. Similarly, there is great difference of opinion as to the interpretation of the word. Those who take the former view connect the second element with O.H.G. *spilden*, O.N. *spilla*, 'destroy,' 'annihilate,' and the first with *mū-*, 'earth' (Kögel), or with *mud-*, 'sward,' 'turf' (Martin), or *mūza-*, 'heap of earth' (von Grienberger), so explaining the word as meaning 'earth-destroyer,' and as a poetic expression for fire. Most of those who argue for the Christian origin of the term trace in its first component the M.H.G. *Mund*, 'mouth,' in its second the O.H.G. *spel*, 'utterance,' 'word,' and explain it variously as 'oral announcement,' 'prophesying' (Detter), 'oral decision,' 'judgment,' 'Last Judgment' (Dorff), or as *oris-eloquium*, 'oracle' (Hagen). Sperber would trace the word to a conjectural A.S. compound, *mudes-bill*, 'mouth-sword,' and sees in this a poetic figure for 'sentence at the Last Judgment.' Finally, Bugge connects the first element with Lat. *mundus*, 'world,' and interprets the whole as 'discourse regarding the world's end,' 'what is announced about the end of the world.' What we actually know of the word *muspilli* is that it is found only in connexion with ideas relating to the end of the world, and that it occurs only in poetic works either based upon or influenced by Western Christian literature.

LITERATURE.—A synopsis of the literature is given in W. Braune, *Althochdeutsches Lesebuch*[5], Halle, 1902, p. 190 f.; cf. also J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*[4], Berlin, 1876, ii. 674 ff. (Eng. tr., *Teutonic Mythology*, London, 1882–88, pp. 11, 558, 601, 807 f.); K. Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, v., Berlin, 1883, p. 66 ff.; R. Kögel, in Paul's *Grundriss der germ. Philol.*, ii., Strassburg, 1909, p. 111; E. Martin, in *ZDA* xxxviii. [1894] 186 ff.; J. R. von Grienberger, in *Indogermanische Forschungen*, xvi. [1904] 40 ff.; F. Kauffmann, in *Zeitschr. für deutsche Philologie*, xxxiii. [1901] 5 ff.; W. Golther, *Handbuch der germ. Mythologie*, Leipzig, 1895, p. 539 ff.; F. Detter, in *Beiträge zur Gesch. der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, xxi. [1896] 107 ff.; S. Dorff, in *Archiv für das Studium der neuern Sprachen und Litteraturen*, cx. [1893] 1 ff.; S. N. Hagen, *Moderne Philologie*, Chicago, 1904, p. 397 ff.; H. Sperber, *Sprokvetenskaplig Sallskapets i Uppsala Förhandlingar*, Upsala, 1909; S. Bugge, *Studien über die Entstehung der nord. Götter- und Heldensage*, Munich, 1889, p. 447 ff.; G. Grau, *Quellen und Verwandtschaften der ält. germ. Darstellungen des jüngsten Gerichts*, Halle, 1908; A. Olrik, *Aarbog for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, Copenhagen, 1902, p. 224 ff.; W. Braune, in *Beiträge zur Gesch. der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, xl. [1915] 425 ff.

E. MOGK.

MUTILATIONS. — In the religions of an-

tiquity and the practices of modern savagery there is complete evidence of mutilation of the human body as a definite part of the ritual, the ceremony, or the action in which it takes place, and the only question which needs close attention is the relationship between religious rite and savage practice.

Examples of both rite and practice must be the starting-point, and it will be found that there is no clear line of separation by peoples, race, or in stages of civilization between religious rite and savage practice. Thus in Hebrew history the mutilation of Abraham is the beginning of a religious rite which has continued through all subsequent periods (Gn 17); the blood-letting of the fourscore men who came from Shechem, Shiloh, and Samaria was an offering to propitiate Jahweh (Jer 41^5); the marking by a burnt or incised sign was an indication of adherence to a centre of worship (Dt 32^5, Rev $7^{2f.}$ 13^1). These are all religious rites; and side by side with them are practices which may properly be termed savage. The story of Nahash the Ammonite offering to make a covenant with the men of Jabesh 'that I may thrust out all your right eyes' (1 S 11); the pursuit of Adoni-bezek the Canaanite, and after his capture the cutting off of his thumbs and great toes (Jg $1^{6f.}$); the punishment by the loss of a hand (Dt $25^{11f.}$); and the remarkable demand of Saul carried out by David for trophies of the Philistines (1 S 18^{25}) are all practices of ordinary life unconnected with ritual or religions. Herbert Spencer, who has examined these rites and practices so carefully,[1] would reduce both classes to a common denominator by the theory that the practices were for the purposes of securing and indicating the marks of subjugation of the conquered to his conqueror, the slave to his master, and that they were repeated as religious rites for the same reason—the subjugation of the worshipper to the god.

The difficulty of accepting this conclusion from evidence is that both rite and practice run in parallels, not in layers, or, if there is any evidence in the priority of record, it is, as in the case of the Hebrews, in favour of the religious rite having preceded the practice. Spencer's examples from savage life deal with rulers deified after death, survivals as sacred custom, practices which have a sacramental nature, and ceremonies performed by priests (p. 59); and it is difficult to establish from these the priority of practice over the ritual of religion. In the religions of Greece and Rome the relative positions of the two are equally indeterminate. If the reign of Constantine V. in the 8th cent. 'was a long butchery of whatever was most noble, or holy, or innocent, in his empire,' and included the offering of a trophy of noses from his mutilated enemies,[2] it may be that such barbarism is an inheritance from one of the destroyers of Rome; but in the ancient religions there are mutilation rites which, though perhaps adopted from aboriginal religions, were definitely incorporated in Greek and Roman religions. At the annual festival of the Phrygian goddess, Agdestis, young men made themselves eunuchs, and L. R. Farnell thinks that the rites of this cult may belong to the various stocks of Asia Minor who had been nursed in the older religion.[3] There is no trace of such an origin in the Roman stories of Attis by Catullus[4] and by Arnobius,[5] and it is difficult to believe that the charge brought against the Romans by Arnobius was not a generally accepted part of their religious cult. A long note by J. G. Frazer on the small mound of earth surmounted by a finger made of stone which Pausanias[1] describes as existing on the road from Megalopolis to Messene, and identifies with the story of Orestes biting off the finger of one of his hands, establishes the fact of mutilation of the fingers by various peoples, and concludes that 'a practice so wide spread' may well have 'left its trace in the legend about Orestes.'[2] One further point is to be made from the fact that religious mutilations are personal and voluntary in contradistinction to savage practice, where mutilations are imposed by compulsion upon conquered enemies or enslaved peoples or persons. This contrast is illustrated by two independent pieces of evidence. Arnobius[3] relates that the daughter of a Gallus cut off her breasts out of devotion to Aphrodite the mother. A curious passage in the *Old Irish Treatise on the Law of Adamnan*[4] says that before Adamnan's time 'it was the head of a woman or her two breasts which were taken as trophies.' The trophy and the sacrifice in those two cases do not seem to belong to the same plane of thought, and yet they belong to the same range of civilization.

Spencer[5] finally produces a most fascinating argument in proof of his proposition that mutilations develop from savage practice into religious ritual, namely, that it would follow that 'some connexion must exist between the extent to which they are carried and the social type, and he then groups the facts presented by fifty-two peoples.

'Of peoples who form simple societies' they practise mutilation either not at all or in slight forms. 'Of societies practising mutilations that are moderate, the simple bear a decreased ratio to the compound,' while among 'societies distinguished by severer mutilations' these relations are reversed.

The argument would be unanswerable if the examples were complete, but it leaves untouched the complex problem preserved by the religions and practices of antiquity. Only if the gods of men are in all cases a development of the oppressions and tyrannies of one class over another, one dominant personality over the group, can Spencer's simple theory be accepted. As it is, it appears that there are two streams along which mutilations have travelled, no doubt reacting upon each other, but independent in origin. This conclusion is quite in keeping with the accumulating evidence that early religions owed much of their ritual to the practical necessities of life, in which they largely took the place of both political and police control in the societies to which they belonged.

A list of the several kinds of mutilations adopted is not a cheerful contribution to the subject, but it is nevertheless well to have them in this form for purposes of reference. It can easily be compiled from Herbert Spencer's researches already so extensively used in this article. It includes tails of hair, scalps, eyes, fingers, hands, thumbs, great toes, noses, ears, lips, jaws, teeth, hair, castration, circumcision, blood, cuts, and lacerations.

See also AUSTERITIES, § 8.

LITERATURE.—This has been cited throughout the article.

LAURENCE GOMME.

MYCENÆANS.—See ÆGEAN RELIGION.

MYRMIDONS.—The name of the Myrmidons is familiar as belonging to the Thessalian followers of Achilles at the siege of Troy (Hom. *Il.* ii. 684). Æschylus wrote a tragedy entitled *Myrmidons*, which seems to have contained the death of Patroclus as its principal incident (A. Nauck, *Tragicorum Græcorum Fragmenta*[2], Leipzig, 1889, p. 42), and the title, if not the plot, was appropriated by Accius. According to one account, they com-

[1] *Ceremonial Institutions* (*Principles of Sociology*, pt. iv.), London, 1879, pp. 52–80.
[2] E. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. J. B. Bury, London, 1901–06, v. 186.
[3] *CGS* iii. 306.
[4] 'Devolvit illa acuta sibi pondera silice' (*Carm.* lviii. 5).
[5] *adv. Gentes*, v. 6 f.

[1] VIII. xxxiv.
[2] Frazer, *Pausanias*, London, 1898, iv. 357.
[3] *adv. Gentes*, v. 7.
[4] Ed. and tr. Kuno Meyer, Oxford, 1905, p. 3.
[5] P. 79.

prised all who had abandoned Ægina in company with Peleus when he emigrated to Phthia from his original home (Strabo, p. 433). It was generally believed in antiquity that their name was derived from *myrmex* (μύρμηξ), 'an ant.' Their origin was accounted for in various ways. It was said that Myrmidon, the eponymous ancestor of the clan, whose name appears more than once in the heroic genealogies (Hellanicus, frag. 17; Apoll. Rhod. i. 55), was begotten by Zeus, after he had assumed the form of an ant in his intercourse with Eurymedusa, the daughter of Cleitor (Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* ii. 39, p. 34 P.). That is, of course, a story of a very common type, but there is another more generally attested. Hesiod (frag. 76) related that Æacus, the son of Zeus and Ægina, whose name was given to the island previously known as Œnone, when he was grown to man's estate, chafed at the loneliness of his home; and that Zeus accordingly transformed all the ants in the island into men and women. In consequence of their origin, they came to be known as Myrmidons (Hygin. *Fab.* 52; Lucian, *Icarom.* 19; Nonn. *Dionys.* xiii. 206 ff.). It is natural to infer from Hesiod's language that Ægina was removed by Zeus to the shores of an island which was previously uninhabited. But in other authorities (Strabo, p. 375; Ov. *Met.* vii. 520–660; Hygin. *loc. cit.*) the legend of the transformation, which is described by Ovid with a wealth of rhetorical detail, appears in a different setting. The cause of the desolation of Ægina is ascribed to the jealous malignity of Hera, who wreaked her vengeance upon the island called after her rival by destroying its inhabitants with a pestilence. Then Zeus answered the prayer of Æacus, who begged for a new population, by bringing the Myrmidons into existence. According to others, the transformation took place in Thessaly and at the bidding of Peleus (Lycophr. 176). Strabo has preserved a euhemeristic variant (p. 375), according to which the Myrmidons were so called from their ant-like method of life; for they were said to have excavated the ground in order to cover the rocks with soil fitted for agriculture, and to have dwelt in their underground workings to avoid the need of bricks.

If we allow that the derivation of the name is well founded, the legendary evidence justifies the conclusion that the ant was a sacred animal in Thessaly, or in Ægina, or in both. But the ultimate explanation of its sanctity is still to seek. The adoration of an animal from which descent is claimed, as in this case through Myrmidon, was formerly held to be 'an example of straightforward totemism' (A. Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, London, 1899, ii. 197), and an exact parallel was discovered in the Incra stock or clan of ants among the Ashantees of W. Africa (*ib.* i. 69). Similar instances of the connexion of an animal with a god, or of an animal identified with the founder of a clan, were claimed as establishing that totemism was once prevalent in Greece (*ib.* i. 267; W. Robertson Smith, in *EBr*[9] xxi. 135). But most of them are capable of other and simpler explanations, such as the desire to propitiate and so to avert an agricultural pest in the case of the mouse-Apollo (W. Warde Fowler, in *ClR* vi. [1892] 413) and the fox-Dionysus (W. Ridgeway, *ib.* x. [1896] 21); and, since the existence of totemism is unproved for any Aryan race (J. G. Frazer, *GB*[3], pt. v., *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, London, 1912, ii. 4, *Totemism and Exogamy*, do. 1910, iv. 12), it is now admitted, even by those who formerly advocated this solution, that it is uncertain whether a survival of totemism is to be recognized in Greek post-Homeric legends of animal descent (A. Lang, in *EBr*[11] xxvii. 90). Other inferences which have been drawn from the legend of the Myrmidons are equally insecure. Thus, whereas one investigator regards it as the expression of a belief that the ruling family was of separate origin from the masses (O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie*, Munich, 1906, p. 441), another holds that it was invented to prove the autochthonous origin of the Æacids (K. Tümpel, in Roscher, ii. 3313). It has also been suggested that the story of the Myrmidons retains a trace of the Oriental belief in ants as protectors of hidden springs of water, on the ground that the legend of Æacus is to be interpreted in the light of the magical incantations used by rain-makers (Gruppe, p. 801; Tümpel, in Roscher, ii. 3314), and it is possible that the story of the ant-origin was a piece of popular etymology invented to account for the currency of the name (Lang, *Myth*, ii. 196). In that case, while we should have to look elsewhere for an explanation of the word, the folk-story would still continue to challenge investigation.

It should be added that the derivation of the name Myrmidon is not universally accepted.

LITERATURE.—The chief authorities have been mentioned throughout. The fullest collection of the facts is in K. Tümpel, art. 'Myrmidon,' in Roscher, ii. 3312–3314.

A. C. PEARSON.

MYSORE STATE.—1. Description.—Mysore is one of the principal native States in India, about the size of Scotland. It is situated in the south, on an elevated plateau, rising from about 2000 ft. above sea level along the northern and southern frontiers to about 3000 in the central parts, broken up longitudinally by lofty ridges of rocky hills. The surface is studded with many steep and isolated peaks, called *droogs* (Skr. *durga*), often crowned with the remains of old fortifications. The form of the country is that of a triangle, with apex to the south, where the mountain-ranges of the Western and Eastern Ghats, which form its sides, converge in the towering mass of the Nīlgiris. Its chief river is the sacred Kāvēri (the Χάβηρος of Ptolemy, VII. i. 13), whose upper basin occupies all the south. Running from west to east and receiving many tributaries, it encloses in its course the island of Seringapatam (Śrīrangapaṭna), and passes out of the State to the low country in the Niagara-like Kāvēri Falls at the island of Śivasamudram, the site of the first electric power installation in India. The north is drained by the Tungabhadra, which flows across the north-west into the river Krishna, beyond the limits of the State, receiving on its way its chief tributary in Mysore, the Haggari or Vedāvati. In the east is a system of three rivers rising near Nandidroog — the Pennēr, the Pālār, and the Ponniār, which find their way to the Bay of Bengal. In the extreme north-west the Sharāvati hurls itself down the Ghats towards the Arabian Sea in the Gersoppa Falls, with a leap of 832 feet.

The western portion of the State, called the Malnād or Malenād, the hill country, is a highland region of noble mountains and mighty forests, filled with the most diversified and picturesque scenery. The remaining and much the larger portion is known as the Maidān or Bayal-shīme, the plain or champaign country. In its northern parts are open valleys of black soil, growing cotton or millets; in the south and west are extensive tracts irrigated by channels drawn from rivers, covered with plantations of sugar-cane and fields of rice, with gardens of coco-nut and areca palms. The high-lying lands of red soil in the east are cultivated with *rāgi* and other grain crops dependent on the rains, while in the central parts are stony and wide-spreading pasture grounds, covered with coarse grass and dotted with groves of trees.

A distinguishing feature of the country is the series or chains of reservoirs, called tanks (Kan.

kere), formed by embanking at every favourable point the streams which gather from the hill-sides or higher slopes, in such a way that the outflow from one at a higher level supplies the next lower, and so on all down the course of the stream at a few miles apart. They vary in size from small ponds to extensive lakes, miles in circumference; and their number is not less than 30,000. Bountiful rain causes them to show up as smiling mirrors all over the landscape when viewed from a height. But in failure of the rains they often dry up, while in great floods many suffer damage from the bursting of the embankments, or *bunds*. Equally notable are the irrigation channels drawn from rivers, especially in the south. Immense dams, called *anicuts* (Kan. *aṇekaṭṭe*), built across the river, retain the upper waters at a high level and permit only the overflow to pass down stream. The channels, or *kālves*, taken off from these dams are led over the country on either bank, winding round all the contour of the ground as far as the waters will flow. The total length of the channels amounts to over 1200 miles. They, as well as the tanks, are mostly works constructed by the old rulers, but have been improved by modern engineering science.

The importance of provisions for storing the water will be recognized when it is stated that the annual average rainfall ranges from over 360 ins. on the crest of the Western Ghats to as little as 19 ins. in the north centre. But these are extremes experienced only in limited areas. The excessive rains of the Malnād rapidly diminish eastwards, and from 20 to 37 ins. may be taken as the annual average for the greater part of the State. The heaviest rain falls in the evergreen belt of forest, the next in the belt of deciduous forest, and the least rainy parts are those in the dry belt.

The area of the State is 29,475 sq. miles, which includes that of the civil and military station of Bangalore, 13½ sq. miles, an 'assigned tract,' under British administration. The population, by the census of 1911, numbered 5,806,193, of whom 2,934,621 were males and 2,871,572 females. The mean density of population was 197 per sq. mile, but the south and east are more thickly populated than the west and north. The two principal places in the State are Bangalore, the administrative capital and seat of the British cantonment (population 189,485), and Mysore, the dynastic capital and residence of the Mahārāja (population 71,306). To these may be added the Kolar gold fields (population 48,635).

2. History.—In its history, which has now been brought pretty fully to light by a study of the vast array of its inscriptions,[1] the State has passed through many vicissitudes. The earliest period to which this can be traced with certainty is the time of the Maurya emperor Aśoka (3rd cent. B.C.). His edicts have been discovered incised on rocky hills in three places in the north—evidence that it was included in his empire. Many Buddhist coins of the first centuries have also been found to the west of Chitaldroog. The south there is reason to identify with the Mahisamandala to which Buddhist missionaries were sent in his time, as well as to the neighbouring Vanavāsa or Banavāsi country on the north-west. But even previous to this his grandfather Chandragupta (the Sandrakottos of the Greek historians), contemporary with Alexander the Great, had, according to Jain traditions, abdicated the throne and accompanied the great Jain teacher, Bhadrabāhu the Śrutakevali, on the migration which he led from the north of India to the south in order to escape the twelve years' famine which he had predicted. On arriving at Śravana Belgola in Mysore, Bhadrabāhu felt that his end was near. He therefore sent the Jain *saṅgha* who had accompanied him on to Punnāṭa in the south-west of Mysore, under Viśākha. He himself remained at Śravana Belgola and died there on the Kalbappu hill, now called Chandragiri, attended in his last moments by a single disciple, none other than Chandragupta, who also died there later as an ascetic.

To the Mauryas succeeded the Āndhras or Śātavāhanas in the north. The latter name took the form Sālivāhana, after whom an era, long known as the Śaka-kāla, but eventually and still as the Śālivāhana-śaka, dating from A.D. 78, was established. The north of Mysore has even in modern times been designated the Śālivāhana country. The kings of the dynasty generally bore the name Sātakarṇi. On their disappearance in the 2nd cent., the greater part of Mysore was taken possession of by the Gangas, a royal line of Jains from the north of India. They may be connected with the Gangaridæ, described by Roman authors as among the principal subjects of Chandragupta in the Ganges valley. The Gangas ruled over Mysore for 800 years, and from them it acquired the name of Gangavādi, the subjects of which are still represented by the Gangaḍikāras, the principal agricultural class of the State, their name being a contraction of Gangavāḍikāra. The Ganga capital was at first Kuvalāla, or Kovalāla (Kolar), but in the 3rd cent. was removed to Talakād on the Kāvēri, in the south-east of Mysore. In the north-west arose the Kadambas, a Brāhman family, who were kings over the Banavāsi country till the 6th century. In the north-east the Pallavas of Kānchi, of Parthian origin, were the overlords, the actual rulers being the Mahāvalis, or Bāṇas. After the Pallavas were overthrown, they continued to be represented in Mysore by the Noṇambas or Nolambas, whose territory was known as Noṇambavāḍi or Nolambavāḍi. Their subjects survive in the existing Noṇabas.

The Chalukyas (whose name suggests a connexion with Seleukeia), claiming to come from Ayodhya, appeared in the Deccan in the 4th century. At the end of the 6th cent. they subdued the Kadambas, and, having established themselves at Vātāpi (Bādāmi in the Bijapur District), entered upon prolonged struggles with the Pallavas. The Satyāśraya, or Western, Chālukyas long dominated the north of Mysore, where Belgāmi was their seat of government. But from the latter half of the 8th cent. there was a check to their power for 200 years from the Rāshṭrakūṭas, or Raṭṭas (progenitors of the Mahrattas of the Bombay country), whom they had on their advent overcome. The Rāshṭrakūṭas seized the Ganga kingdom of Mysore, and appointed their own viceroys to govern it. But before long they reinstated the king, in conjunction with the Pallavas. The Western Chālukyas again secured the ascendancy in 973, and held it for 200 years more. They were then ousted by their general, who was a Jain and of the Kalachurya family.

But the Cholas from the Tamil country in the south had, in their career of conquest, overturned the Ganga power in 1004 and held possession of the south and east of the State till 1116. The Hoysalas, a Jain family from the hill country in the west, then expelled them and became rulers of the whole of Mysore and beyond, up to the Krishna river, till overwhelmed by the Muslim invasions from the north in the 14th century. They had previously acquired possession of the Chola country to the south, but were exposed to

[1] Published, with text and trr., in *Epigraphia Carnatica*, 12 vols., Bangalore, 1886–1905, of which L. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions* (London, 1909), is a compendium.

attacks on the north-west from their rivals, the Seūnas, or Yādavas, of Devagiri.

The Hindu empire of Vijayanagar was now established, and continued till 1664, although the capital was destroyed a century before. It was the overlord of all the southern kingdoms, including Mysore. But, after its power was broken in 1565, the Sulṭāns of Bijapur, with the aid of Mahratta forces, held the north and east, while in the south rose to independence the Mysore royal house of Wodeyars. Except during the Muhammadan usurpation of Haidar 'Alī and Tīpu Sulṭān (1761–99), from which they were released by the British, they have held the sovereignty till now. But, owing to the deposition of the Rāja for misrule, the country was under British administration for 50 years till 1881.

3. Name.—The name of the State, properly Maisūru, is that of the capital, and may be explained as meaning 'buffalo-town.' The Sanskrit *mahisha*, 'buffalo,' becomes *maisa* in Kannada, and *ūru* is the Kannada for 'town' or 'country.' It derives its origin from the legend of the destruction of Mahishāsura, a minotaur or buffalo-headed monster, by Chāmundi or Mahishāsura-mardini, the form under which the consort of Śiva is worshipped as the tutelary goddess of the ruling family. The name may be traced in the Mahishamaṇḍala, or Buffalo country, of Aśoka's time (3rd cent. B.C.). A possible ground for the appellation may be found in the fact that buffalo-worship was, and remains, a special cult of the Todas of the Nīlgiris, the southern part of Mysore. The language of this interesting primeval tribe is that of Mysore in the old form. The earliest mention of them so far discovered is in a Mysore inscription of 1117, but they must have been settled there for ages before. They have orders of priests consecrated to the service of the buffalo; their temples are dairies where buffalo-milk is the holiest offering, and where the bell worn by the buffalo-cow is the most sacred symbol. Their affinity to hill tribes in Mysore is attested by the fact that their *pālāl*, or priests, who are chosen only from the Paiki, or highest clan, describe themselves as *Der Mokh*, i.e. *Devara makkalu*, or 'God's children,' which is also the case with the *mande* and *grāma patels* in Manjarabad. Then there are the well-known Hale Paiki in the Nagar Malnād. The *mand* of the Todas corresponds to the *mandu* of Coorg and the *mande* of Manjarabad. The buffalo is a sacrificial animal among the lower orders throughout the south of India, and is periodically slaughtered with special rites in the groves or before the shrines of the *grāma-devatā*, or village-goddesses.

4. Animism.—The worship of these deities gives expression to pre-animistic and hylozoist or animistic beliefs that probably had their origin in remote ages, long before any organized systems of religion. But they retain their hold on the multitude of the submerged, who are too low in the scale of humanity to count upon interest on the part of the great gods. Thus serpents and trees, or other objects, which are closer at hand and invested with mystery, are propitiated, with a view to good gifts and the warding off of portentous evils. The serpent venerated is the *nāga*, or deadly cobra, and its worshippers, called Nāgas, were a widely spread race in pre-historic times. Many minor royal families in the west claim to be of Nāga descent. Effigies of the cobra are set up to this day at the entrance of most villages or towns for the adoration of the public, and ceremonial offerings are made to the living cobra. Few natives will consent to kill one, and the body of one that has been killed is solemnly cremated. A cobra often takes up its abode in a deserted ant-hill, which becomes its shrine. To embrace this was a recognized mode of taking sanctuary.

The sculptured images of serpents mentioned above generally consist of three slabs erected in a row, facing the rising sun, on a raised platform. The first bears the figure of a male cobra, with one or more heads of an odd number up to seven; the middle one shows the form of a woman from the waist upwards, crowned with a tiara, in the upper half, ending in a serpent in the lower half, sometimes holding a young serpent under each arm; the third slab has two serpents intertwined in congress, as in the Æsculapian rod or the *caduceus* of Mercury, with sometimes a *liṅga* engraved between them. The stones are worshipped by circumambulation, chiefly by women, with a view to obtaining offspring.

The *grāma-devatā*, or village-goddess, is familiarly spoken of as Amma, the mother, or in the honorific plural Ammanavaru, which is the Amnor of the Todas. Māramma or Māriamma is perhaps the commonest, and most villages have a Mārigudi; but she sometimes bears various local names combined with *amma*. Though euphemistically styled 'mother,' she is more feared lest her wrath should be aroused than loved as a tender protector. In some respects she seems to correspond to Durga, or Kālī, also called Chāmundi, and is explained as one of the furies attendant on that goddess. She reminds one of the demon of love, anger, evil, and death, called Māra, who opposed Buddha and the spread of his religion.

The class of deities known as *bhūta*, demon spirits, or the occult powers of nature, are worshipped under the form of a few naturally rounded stones placed together either under a tree or in a small shrine, and smeared with oil and turmeric. Charms to avert the evil eye, engraved on stones, called *yantra kallu*, are often erected at the entrance of villages. Similar ones on medals or metal plates are hung round the necks or waists of children.

5. Jainism.—The adoption of primitive animistic beliefs into Jainism is regarded as one evidence of its antiquity. The view now held is that it did not originate with Mahāvīra or Vardhamāna, but some centuries earlier, the 8th B.C., with Pārśva or Pārśvanātha, the Tīrthankara who preceded him. For the Nirgranthas mentioned in the early records of Buddhism were followers of Pārśva. But Mahāvīra was a reformer, who promoted Jainism and introduced new features into it. He lived a little before Buddha, but they were for some time contemporary. Mahāvīra had three personal disciples who succeeded him as teachers and were styled Kevalis. The next succession of Jain teachers after them were the five Śrutakevalis. Of these the last was Bhadrabāhu. He it was under whose influence Chandragupta became an ascetic and journeyed in his company to the south, where both died at Śravana Belgola in Mysore, in the circumstances related above. The story is met with in ancient records, and is repeated down to modern times. It is also supported by local memorials of antiquity at Śravana Belgola and Seringapatam, in which the summit of the hill on which they died at the former place is described as consecrated by the footprints of the inseparable pair (*yugma*) Bhadrabāhu and Chandragupta.

Jainism no doubt already existed at that time in Mysore and other parts of S. India. Though its antiquity and its priority to Buddhism are now generally known, and it was freely distributed in upper India, it is singular that the first discovery by Europeans of the Jains as a sect should have been made in Mysore, and that not till so late as the beginning of the 19th century. The discovery was due to Colonel Colin Mackenzie, who at that period made the survey of Mysore. It is thus only in recent years that the Jains have received special attention and the distinction between them and Buddhists, of whom they had been considered an offshoot, has been established. Their creed is called

the Jina-śāsana, a leading doctrine of which is the *syādvāda*. The Bhavyas is another name for the Jains in inscriptions.

There are two divisions of the Jains—the Digambara (sky-clad or nude) and the Śvetāmbara (white-clad). Those in Mysore belong to the former, and there is reason to believe that the separation took place when Bhadrabāhu forsook the north for the south. They are composed of *yatis*, or clerics, and *śrāvakas*, or laity. Only the former now discard clothing and that only at meals; at other times they are covered with a yellow robe, becoming Pītāmbara. The Jain images of the Tīrthankaras, many of colossal size, are always nude. The priests claim to be of the Śrī-Mūla-saṅgha, which was formed by Arhadbali, it is said, into four, namely, the Sena, Nandi, Deva, and Simha *saṅghas*. The *saṅghas* are composed of *gaṇas*, and the *gaṇas* of *gachchas*. The seat of the chief *guru*, or high priest, in Mysore is at Śravana Belgola, and he claims jurisdiction also over the Jains in Delhi, and certain places in North and South Kanara. From the beginning of the 12th cent. the Śravana Belgola *gurus* have the distinctive title of Chārukīrti Panditāchārya. They are of the Kondakundānvaya, Nandi-saṅgha, Deśi-gaṇa, and Pustaka-gachcha. They had a subordinate establishment at Maleyūr, in the south of Mysore, which is now closed. Its *gurus* apparently had the name Bhaṭṭākalanka Deva. The other existing seat of a Jain *guru* is at Humcha, in the Nagar country to the west, dating from the 8th cent., but it is in a very reduced condition. The *gurus* bore the name Devendrakīrti Bhaṭṭāraka.

Jainism enjoyed royal patronage down to the 12th century. It was greatly promoted by Samantabhadra in the 2nd cent., and was the State creed in the time of the Gangas, of some of the Rāshṭrakūṭas and Kalachuryas, and the early Hoysaḷas, also of the minor States of Punnāṭa, of the Śāntaras, the early Changālvas, and the Kongālvas. But the extinction of the Rāshṭrakūṭas in 982, the Chola conquests in 1004, the conversion of the Hoysala king in 1098, and the assassination of the Kalachurya king in 1167 were severe blows to its influence. It had been opposed on its religious side by the Brāhman reformers Kumārilabhaṭṭa and Śankarāchārya in the 8th century. Sectarian bitterness then became pronounced, and at about the same period the Jain leader Akalanka is said to have overcome the Buddhists in disputation before the royal court at Kānchi, in consequence of which the latter were banished to Ceylon. On the other hand, in 1368, in the reign of Bukka-Rāya of Vijayanagar, when the Jains or Bhavyas complained of being persecuted by the Bhaktas, or Vaiṣṇavas, the king summoned the leaders of both parties before him, and, after full inquiry, took the hand of the Jains (as the record graphically puts it) and, holding it in the hand of the Vaiṣṇavas, decreed that no differences could be recognized between them, and that each might freely carry on their respective religious ceremonies without interference. Even before this broader views had been spreading among the Jains, for we find Jina described in 1151 as the Universal Spirit who is Śiva, Dhātri (Brahmā), Sugata (Buddha), and Viṣṇu, while for a generation following there were chief-Jains who supported all four creeds.

The Jains were the earliest cultivators of Kannaḍa, the language of Mysore, and created in it an extensive literature of great excellence and variety. Their numbers in Mysore were returned as 17,630 in the census of 1911, an increase of 28 per cent in the last decade. But they are not a proselytizing sect, and this accession is due to the Śādas, a class of Vokkaligas, or cultivators, in the central parts, having entered themselves as Jains. Such they no doubt were originally, but at the present time only one section worship Jina, the other two sections being worshippers respectively of Viṣṇu and Śiva. All eat together and intermarry, the wife adopting the practice of her husband. A few Jains also have migrated from the Rājputāna States. These are Śvetāmbaras, and are money-lenders or merchants. Most of the Jains are traders and landlords, some are workers in brass and copper, but few are farmers. There has been some movement among the Jains of recent years in organizing their members and opening communications with those in other parts, for which there are now so many facilities.

6. **Buddhism.**—Buddhism was, of course, the official creed in such part of the north of Mysore as was included in the Maurya empire in the time of Aśoka, the 3rd cent. B.C., towards the close of his life, though he is considered by some to have been a Jain in his earlier days, and was probably brought up as one. Be that as it may, Buddhism was carried in his reign by missionaries to Mahishamandala, the south of Mysore, and Vanavāsa (Banavāsi) in the north-west. These countries, which were beyond but bordering on the Maurya empire, were thus newly brought into connexion with the religion at that time. There is no evidence that it made much progress, but Rhys Davids has found mention in early Pāli writings of Buddhist scholarship in Karnāṭaka. Certain references also occur in inscriptions. One informs us that a Buddhist affixed a challenge to the main door of the palace at Talakād, the Ganga capital, in A.D. 247, claiming that no disputants would be able to stand up against him. But a Brāhman took up the challenge, and, when the Buddhist denied the existence of the soul, refuted and overcame him, making him crouch down like a vanquished elephant. The Bāṇa king in 338 is said to have been like Bodhisattva in compassion for all living things. A grant to a Buddhist by the Ganga king Mādhava (357–370) has been obtained, the site of which was apparently near the old religious centre Āvani, in Kolar District, and the donation was made for the benefit of a *vihāra*.

As Pāthak has pointed out, 'the Buddhist writer Tāranātha, the Jaina writer Brahmanemidatta, and the Brahmanical writer Mādhavāchārya are all agreed in dating the final decline of Buddhism from the time when the illustrious authors Kumārilabhaṭṭa, Akalanka-deva, and Śankarāchārya appeared in Southern India,' *i.e.* the 8th century (*JRASBo* xviii. [1894] 238).

The victory of Akalanka the Jain over the Buddhists and their consequent banishment to Ceylon have been already mentioned. Still, even so late as 1055, a Buddhist *vihāra* was erected in Belgāmi in the north-west, and a Buddhist *sāvāsi*, or nun, was living there in 1098, while a great Buddhist town named Kalavati is mentioned even in 1533.

It is of interest to note that an effort has been quite recently made to revive Buddhism in Mysore by missionaries connected with the Buddhists of Burma and Ceylon. Two branches of the S. India Sakya Buddhist Society have begun work, one in the civil and military station of Bangalore in 1906, and one at the Kolar gold fields in 1909. There were at the time of the 1911 census 622 Buddhists, though only 10 were returned in 1901. The increase is due to converts. The religion seems to appeal especially to the Tamil-speaking artisans and middle classes in the localities named. There are no Jains at the gold fields.

7. **Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism.** — Brāhmanical Hinduism is principally associated with the worship of Śiva and Viṣṇu. No definite beginning can be assigned for these systems. They have existed from the earliest historical times. Both gods were generally recognized, while minor deities found a place as varied manifestations, female counterparts, or attendants of one or the other.

They were sometimes combined under their names Hari and Hara. Hindus in 1911 numbered 5,340,908, or 92 per cent of the population.

The common symbol under which Śiva is worshipped is the *liṅga*, or phallus, a solid, round, stumpy pillar, fixed in the centre of a flat circular slab representing the *yoni*, but there is practically no consciousness of their significance, and the worship is free from anything indecorous. Facing the *liṅga* is the recumbent bull Nandi, the vehicle of Śiva. But the god is also sculptured in anthropomorphic forms, bearing certain emblems or posing in particular attitudes. The spread of Śaivism in the south seems largely due to a teacher named Lakulīśa (also written Nakulīśa), who can be traced to the 1st cent., and was believed to be an incarnation of Śiva. He was born in Kārohana (Kārvān in the Baroda State), and is mentioned in the *Vāyu* and *Liṅga Purāṇas*. His system was that of *yoga*, or asceticism, which was followed by the Pāśupatas, so called from Paśupati, a name of Śiva. It was known as the Lākula-siddhānta, Lākulāmnāya, and Lākulāgama. His being sculptured as Śiva with a club, which is the meaning of his name, suggests comparison with Hercules and his club. He had four disciples—Kuśika, Gārgya, Kaurusha, and Maitreya—who gave rise to four branches of the sect. The Lākula system was established at Mewar in Rajputana and other places in the north. In the south the Pallava kings of Kānchi had the bull, or Nandi, as their crest, and the *khaṭvāṅga*, or Śiva's club, on their banner. The Mahāvali, or Bāṇa, kings in the east of Mysore claimed to have made Parameśvara (or Śiva)—worshipped by all the three worlds, the lord of gods and demons—their door-keeper, which probably means that they had erected a notable temple of Śiva at the entrance of their capital. A Bāṇa queen built the Śiva temple at Nandi, at the foot of Nandidroog, before 806, and the Kālāmukhas, adherents of the Pāśupata system, were at that period established on the hill and parts around.

In the 8th cent. arose the great Śaiva reformer Sankarāchārya, who recognized the Pāśupatas. He was the founder of the Smārta sect, and established his principal *maṭh*, or monastery, in the west of Mysore, at Śringeri, the head of which is styled the *jagad-guru*, or priest of the world, and is widely acknowledged as a pope in the south.

On the north-east of Mysore we have a record of the Nonambas or Nolambas, who were descendants of the Pallavas, dated in 943, which brings to notice a *muninātha* named Chilluka, in whom Lakulīśa is said to have been born again, fearing lest his name and works should be forgotten. This points to a fresh revival of the system after some decline. In 1020 a Lakulīśa appears at Melpāḍi in N. Arcot. He may be the same as the one to whom a grant was made in 1035 at Belgāmi, in N.W. Mysore, by the Chālukya king Jayasimha, for the Pancha-Linga temple, which is described as the Kālāmukhi-Brahmāchāri-sthāna. The Kālāmukhas (or black friars) were exponents of the Lakulīśa system, and they are explained to be a branch of the Śaktiparshe, of the Mūvarakoneya-santati of the Parvatāvali. At the end of the 11th and during the 12th cent. there was a wider adoption of the Lakulīśa system, under the Hoysala kings. The principal centres were Dorasamudra (Halebid), Arsikere and its neighbourhood, but especially Belgāmi. Here an eminent line of learned *gurus* who were Kālāmukhas is mentioned in connexion with the Koḍiya-maṭha attached to the Dakśina-Kedāreśvara temple. In 1162 it was visited by Bijjala, the Kalachurya king, who was a Jain. So impressed was he by the erudition of the high priest and the unstinted charities dispensed by the institution—food and medicine being given freely to all comers—that he added to its endowments. And, among other extensive praises, it is said to be a place where commentaries were made on the Lākula-siddhānta, the Patañjali, and other Yoga systems. Towards the close of the 13th cent. we are informed, in a record in Tiptur taluq, of apparently a new Lākula-samaya, which perhaps refers to some fresh features introduced into the system. At the same date grants were made to the Pancha-Linga to the west of Chitaldroog. Below the Ankli-maṭha at this spot is a series of subterranean caves with special arrangements for *yogāsana*.

Though in this form more a philosophic than a popular creed, it doubtless had its influence on the people in general. But in the middle of the 12th cent. took place the revival which resulted in the establishment of the Lingāyat, Jangama, or Vīra-Śaiva religion. This was a revolt against Brāhmanism, and it still persists as the popular faith of the Kannada-speaking people. Basava, the prime minister at Kalyāna of the Kalachurya king Bijjala, whose sister the king had married, was the moving spirit of this reformation. He was an Ārādhya Brāhman of Bāgevāḍi in Bijapur District. He had refused to be invested as usual with the sacred thread, which involved adoration of the sun, and had then retired to Sangameśvara, where he was initiated in the tenets of the Vīra-Śaiva creed. This, according to one account, was originally founded by five sages—Ghaṇṭakarṇa, Gajakarṇa, Renuka, Dāruka, and Viśvakarṇa—who, in the present Kali age, acquired the names Ēkorāma, Paṇḍitārya, Revanasiddha, Marulasiddha, and Viśvārya. Their seats are at Kedarnāth (in the Himālayas), Śrīśaila (Karnūl District), Bālehalli (in W. Mysore), Ujjini (on the Mysore-Bellary frontier), and Kāśi (Benares). Channa-Basava, the son of one of Basava's sisters, is considered a joint promoter with his uncle of the Lingāyat faith. Ēkorāma is no doubt identical with Ēkāntada-Rāmayya, who, in a record of the end of the 12th cent., is related to have signally defeated the Jains. He was a Śaiva Brāhman of Ālande in Gulbarga District, and settled at Ablūr in Dharwar District, where, by means of a miracle, he gained his victory, certified by the king Bijjala, who was himself a Jain. The epithet before his name signifies that he had only 'one aim,' the worship of Śiva. Finding Basava freely spending the public funds for his religion and putting his own adherents into all offices, the king interfered, and incontinently ordered two pious Lingāyats to be blinded. This cost him his life, for he was poisoned or assassinated. His son resolved to avenge his death, and Basava fled to Ulavi on the west coast. It was besieged, and, when the place was reduced to extremity, Basava in despair threw himself into a well and was drowned. But, according to the Lingāyats, he disappeared into the Liṅga at Sangameśvara.

The new faith, however, rapidly spread, and within 60 years after Basava's death, or by 1228, it was embraced from Ulavi, near Goa, to Sholapur, and from Bālehalli (in Kadūr District) to Śivaganga (Bangalore District), superseding that of the Jains, many of whose images and temples were adapted for Śiva-worship. Virtually all the States in Mysore professed it, especially those in the north and west.

The *sthāvara*, or fixed *liṅga*, as an object of worship in a temple, was by it brought more home in the *jaṅgama*, or movable *liṅga*, attached to the person. This is a small acorn-like black stone, enshrined in a silver reliquary suspended from the neck or bound on the arm. It is worn throughout life and buried with the body at death. The *karma-mārga*, or way of rites and ceremonies, especially animal sacrifices, which promised salva-

tion in three births, gave place to the *jñāna-mārga*, or way of wisdom, by concentration on the *liṅga* in one's own hand, which promised salvation in one birth. The sect was originally recruited from all castes, and observances of caste, pilgrimage, fasts, and penance were rejected. Basava taught that all holiness consisted in regard for three things, *guru*, *liṅgam*, and *jaṅgam*—the guide, the image, and the fellow religionist. But caste distinctions are maintained in regard to social matters, such as intermarriage. Initiation is by a priest of their own sect.

Since the decline of the Jains, the Lingāyats have to some extent preserved and cultivated the Kannada language. Their sacred books — the *Basava-Purāṇa* and *Channa-Basava-Purāṇa* — dated 1369 and 1585, are written in it. The number of Lingāyats in Mysore was returned as 729,431 in the 1911 census, but they also exist in larger numbers in the south Bombay Districts (1,339,248) and in the adjoining Districts of Madras (134,592) and Haidarābād (over 750,000), as well as some in other parts. They have numerous *maṭhs* all over the country, but the chief one seems to be the Murigi *maṭh* to the west of Chitaldroog.

For the worship of Viṣnu the earliest incident met with is his appearance before Bali in his incarnation as a Brāhman dwarf. Begging for only three paces of ground, on this being granted, he assumed his own proportions and in three strides compassed heaven, earth, and the lower regions. In the time of Bāṇa, Bali's son, Kṛṣṇa is said to have invaded his territory and overcome Śiva, who fought for Bāṇa. The thousand arms of the latter were cut off, except two, with which he was compelled to do homage. Perhaps, in other words, all Bāṇa's battalions were destroyed except two, which surrendered. These stories, whatever basis they may have, clearly point to a supersession of the Śiva-cult by that of Viṣnu, and refer to an early period. The Ganga king Vishnugopa, of about the 4th cent., was devoted to Nārāyaṇa (Viṣnu). From this god the Chalukyas obtained their crest of the boar, another of his incarnations. But the tendency was to harmonize the two. Thus, the Vijayanagar kings had the boar crest, though they signed themselves after Virūpāksha, a name of Śiva. The Mysore kings claim descent from Kṛṣna, and, along with devotion to Śrī-Ranganātha, worship Chāmuṇḍi.

An undoubted historical event is the arrival of the Vaiṣnava reformer Rāmānujāchārya, also called Emberumānar, at Tonnūr in Mysore, whither he had fled for refuge from persecution by the Chola king, who was a Śaiva. About 1098 he converted the Hoysala king Biṭṭi-Deva, who was a Jain, and who now took the name Viṣnuvardhana. Rāmānuja also established the sect of Śrīvaiṣnava Brāhmans, but records show the existence of Śrīvaiṣnavas more than a hundred years before. He set up the Yatirāja *maṭh* at Melkoṭe and received large grants of land from his royal convert on both banks of the Kāvēri. Under the Hoysalas temples were erected for both Viṣnu and Śiva. And in subsequent periods they were jointly recognized in the combined form of Harihara, composed of Hari (Viṣnu) and Hara (Śiva). The fine temple of Hariheśvara at Harihara on the Tungabhadra was erected by a Hoysala general in 1224. But a record of 1130 says, with reference to their special symbols:

'Whether holding the *śankha* (conch) or the *kapāla* (skull), why make a difference? Whether the *chakra* (discus) is in the hand or the *triśūla* (trident), why distinguish between the weapons? In token of which they assume one form with separate hearts—the joyful Hari and Hara.'

One of a century later says:

'The celebrated Śiva acquired the form of Viṣnu, and Viṣnu acquired the great and famous form of Śiva, in order that the saying of the Veda (that they were one) might be fully established.'

In the 14th cent. Keśava or Viṣnu is identified as follows:

'He whom the Śaivas worship as Śiva, the Vedāntins as Brahmā, the Bauddhas as Buddha, the Naiyāyikas as Karta, the Jainas as Arha, the Mīmāmsakas as Karma.'

8. Brāhmanism.—Brāhmans are said to have been introduced into Mysore from the north of India in the 3rd cent. by the Kadamba king Mukanna in the west, and the Pallava king Mukunti in the east. There are now three principal sects—the Smārtas, 63 per cent, founder Śankara in the 8th cent.; the Śrīvaiṣnavas, 10 per cent, founder Rāmānuja in the 12th cent., forming two branches, Vadagalai, or northerners, and Tengalai, or southerners; and the Mādhvas, 23 per cent, founder Madhvāchārya in the 13th cent.; there are also a few Bhāgavatas, 4 per cent, whose origin seems to be very ancient. A non-Brāhman sect of Vaiṣnavas are the Sātānis, followers of Chaitanya, who worship Kṛṣna and are priests to the Holeya and other lower orders.

9. Muhammadanism.—The Muhammadan religion came in with the Muslim conquests of the 14th cent., and the domination of Bijapur and the Mughals in the north and east after the overthrow of Vijayanagar. During the usurpation of Mysore by Haidar 'Alī and Tīpu Sulṭān at the end of the 18th cent. vast numbers of captives taken in war were transported wholesale, with their wives and families, from their native countries to other parts of the kingdom and forcibly converted to Islām, the boys being trained for military service in Chela battalions. The number of Muhammadans in the 1911 census was 314,494, or 5 per cent of the population. Nearly all are Sunnis, settled in the country for some generations. Mappilas, or Moplahs, are immigrants from the Malabar coast, and Labbai from the Coromandel coast.

10. Christianity.—Christians in the 1911 census were returned as 59,844, an increase of 19½ per cent on the previous decade. They include 42,543 Roman Catholics, 6656 Anglicans, and 9050 other Protestants. The great majority of the Indians and Anglo-Indians belong to the first, and of Europeans to the second. Some stray Dominicans apparently visited the country in the 14th cent., followed by Franciscans in the 16th. But it was in the middle of the 17th that Jesuits began regular work. That order was suppressed by the pope in 1773, and, soon after, Tīpu Sulṭān razed all the churches except two to the ground. J. A. Dubois became head of the Mission at the beginning of the 19th cent., and spent many years in Mysore. There is now a bishop in Bangalore, and stations are established in many of the principal parts. There are several Protestant missions at work, the oldest being the London Mission, which began in 1820, and the Wesleyan in 1835. Some years before this a Wesleyan missionary from Jaffna, named Elijah Hoole, seems to have visited Mysore, where he had an interview with Dubois, who is said to have expressed the opinion that the conversion of the heathen was a hopeless task. Both missions have a number of stations and institutions, the former in the east and the latter in the south and west, each with head-quarters in Bangalore. The London Mission were pioneers in female education, in 1840. The Wesleyans started the teaching of English to the natives; also a printing press for vernacular works. More recently they have established hospitals. The American Methodist Episcopalians began work in 1880, and minister chiefly to the Anglo-Indians in Bangalore, but also have an Industrial School for Indians at Kolar. The Church of England Zenana Mission have hospitals for women in Bangalore and Channapatna, and visit Musalmān families in

their homes there and at Mysore. A United Theological College was opened in Bangalore in 1914, to which the various missions in South India send selected students to be trained as preachers to their countrymen. The ideal of a Nationalist Indian Protestant Church seems to be in the minds of a few Indian Christians, but its realization has yet to come.

The Brāhma Samāj is represented by 65 members of the Sādhāran section in Bangalore. Theosophy has also been brought to notice in the same place. The Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. have made very substantial progress there, and the Salvation Army has taken over the silk farm started by Tata under Japanese management. A Social Service League has recently been established in Mysore.

11. **Conclusion.**—With so much religious activity in the past, and so many different agencies in operation at the present, Mysore has proved itself a favourable meeting-place for many creeds. And in view of the long predominance of Jainism, immediately followed by the establishment of the still popular Vīra-Śaiva or Lingāyat faith, it might perhaps on good grounds be described as a home of dissent. On the other hand, on the side of orthodoxy, two chief Hindu reformers made it their abode. The State, as it now exists, has not been blind to the drawbacks of a purely secular education, while still desiring to maintain the neutrality in religious matters which has been the policy of the British Government. Private agencies have, of course, as far as they were able, supplied a counterpoise. But the State was in favour of more public recognition of religion in the educational system. Arrangements were accordingly made in 1908 for the introduction of moral and religious teaching in the colleges and schools. Suitable books for the purpose were published by Government and by private agency, and it was hoped that an abiding impression for good would be made on the boys and girls receiving the instruction. After a time it was found advisable in colleges to adopt weekly lectures by professors and pandits in place of daily half-hour religious and moral lessons. In the higher schools teaching was based on the *Sanātana Dharma* text-books and prescribed books on morals. In the lower classes instruction was imparted by the narration of simple stories containing moral precepts, with the help of wall-pictures. In the village elementary schools a short prayer in Kannada was recited both at the beginning and at the close of the day's work, followed by verses relating to daily conduct from the *Dharmabodhini* and other books. The latest official statement on the subject was to the following effect: after five years' experience it is still difficult to say what real advance has been made, and whether any of the desired results have been achieved. In the higher institutions, where the subject is in the hands of capable teachers, the lessons are instructive. But in the lower schools the want of trained teachers to handle the subjects and the paucity of suitable text-books have made the teaching to lack in interest and to become more or less stereotyped. It is a question whether in the long run it is not wiser to leave this branch of education to the parents and communities concerned. But, after discussing the matter, the Representative Assembly of 1915 has voted for the continuance of religious instruction.

LITERATURE.—L. Rice, *Mysore*, revised ed., 2 vols., London, 1897; J. A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*[3], tr. A. K. Beauchamp, Oxford, 1906; F. Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, London, 1807, reprinted Madras, 1870.

LEWIS RICE.

MYSTERIES.

American.—See SECRET SOCIETIES (American).
Babylonian (S. LANGDON), p. 70.
Christian (H. A. A. KENNEDY), p. 72.
Egyptian (A. MORET), p. 74.
Eleusinian.—See 'Greek, Phrygian, etc.'
Greek, Phrygian, etc. (P. GARDNER), p. 77.
Mithraic.—See MITHRAISM.
Phrygian.—See 'Greek, Phrygian, etc.'
Roman (P. GARDNER), p. 82.

MYSTERIES (Babylonian).—Since the belief in life after death held no important place in Babylonian religion, and their conception of existence in the nether world was gloomy and foreboding, they necessarily evolved no mystic rituals and doctrines to provide the soul with immunity when it descended to Arallū. The precautionary measures for those who died consisted in providing them with bread and water for their journey, continuing the celebration of the breaking of bread and pouring out water for their souls at sacred family feasts or in the official cult. But these simple measures to secure the soul repose in the lower world were known to all and concealed from none. If the Babylonians possessed any cult-mysteries, we must look for them in connexion with the celebrations of the death and resurrection of the nature-god Tammuz. There is no doubt that the liturgies sung at the midsummer wailings for the young god of vegetation who had died and was sought for by his weeping mother and consort were accompanied by a mystic pantomime. It is very probable that the celebrants made an image of the young god, and clothed him in some sacred garb, adorned his bark with flowers and grain, and cast him upon the waters of the canals and rivers. His descent beneath the waves symbolized his transportation to Arallū by demons. In the celebration of this festival the celebrants probably chose one of the priestesses to play the part of the weeping mother Innini (Ishtar), who sighs for the departed lover and finally herself descends to Arallū to seek for Tammuz. She rouses him from his sleep and returns to earth bearing him in her bosom. The liturgies of this festival consist largely in dialogues and monologues uttered by Tammuz and Innini, and it is difficult to understand how the celebration could have been performed unless a priest acted those parts in which Tammuz appears as a young god shepherding his sheep, becoming the bridegroom of Innini, and reposing in Arallū, where he utters dialogues with the descended goddess. It is possible that, as in certain Greek mysteries, only women were admitted to some parts of this pantomime. The doctrine inculcated by this ceremony explained the mystery of the death and revival of vegetation. Undoubtedly the priests taught the people that the mystery consisted in the death of a god, in the consequent disappearance of the mother-goddess, in his resurrection, and in the return of the mother-goddess; finally, the reviving life of the earth depends upon the marriage of these deities. During the Sumerian cults of emperor-worship which thrived from the age of Dungi, second king of the dynasty of Ur, to the end of the Sumerian dynasties of Isin and Larsa the king himself was regarded as Tammuz. This identification was based upon an ancient belief that some mysterious connexion existed between the king and nature. Not only do the

liturgies of the cults of these deified emperors speak of the kings as controlling the beneficent life of the earth and bestowing rains, sunshine, and harvests, but, after the belief in the deity of kings was abandoned, the Semites continued to attribute this mystic power to their kings. In the earlier period we possess Sumerian hymns which celebrate the marriage of the divine king with the mother-goddess; the ceremony of the marriage of a nature-god with one of the married types of the mother-goddess at the spring equinox characterizes Sumero-Babylonian religion. This mystic rite, in fact, seems to have been severed from the Tammuz-Innini cult and attributed to married types of the nature-gods, as Ninib and Gula, Nebo and Tashmet, Marduk and Zerbanit, and performed at the New Year festival in the spring. Although the doctrines concerning life and death in nature were not concealed from the people, it is probable that the actual ceremonies were regarded as mysterious and sacred acts. Tammuz is the only important god who is never represented in art, and we have also no representations of the marriage ceremonies. It is practically certain that only priests and priestesses were allowed to perform in these celebrations, but no references to initiation have been found.[1]

In the later periods of pessimism and philosophic speculation this cult was brought into connexion with the life beyond the grave in so far as their conceptions of that life permitted human worship to send aid to departed souls. We possess a Semitic composition known as the 'Descent of Ishtar,' which probably represents mystic speculation on this point and a ceremony to comfort the dead.[2] According to the last line, 'May the dead arise and smell the incense,' the priests chanted this hymn to comfort those who had gone to Arallū. Here we have a long description of how Ishtar descended by the seven gates of hell to the lower world. No reason for this perilous journey is given, but from the liturgies of the Tammuz-Ishtar cult we know that the descent was made to rescue the young god. Her disappearance from earth is marked by the cessation of plant and animal activity. She is imprisoned by Erishkigal, queen of the lower world, and afflicted with bodily disease. The gods interfere and send a messenger (*Aṣû-šunamir*, 'His going forth is glorious') to Erishkigal to secure the release of the goddess of all life. By his pleasing appearance he overcomes the wrath of the under-world deity and causes her to swear in the name of the great gods (to release Ishtar).[3] The hymn here introduces a ruse by which Ea the water-god prevented his messenger Aṣû-šu-namir from attaining immortality. This is an old *motif* in the Sumero-Babylonian theory of the fall of man to show how man (on this theory) lost eternal life by the jealousy of the water-god, patron of all knowledge. The *motif* is worked into this mystic hymn to emphasize the condition of the dead, who cannot hope to attain the water of eternal life. Having thus sworn under the persuasive influence of the comely messenger, Erishkigal orders the spirits of the lower world to wash Ishtar with the 'waters of life,' by which she is healed; she is then conducted by the seven gates to earth. The water-god also commissions his messenger to try another method to bring back Ishtar in case the queen of Arallū refuses to give her up.[1] The hymn implies here that Tammuz is also in the lower world. The last lines (46–58) run as follows:

'If she grant thee not her deliverance as to her repeat thy effort.
Tammuz, the husband of her maidenhood,
Wash with clean water, anoint with good oil.
Clothe him in a radiant garment and let him play [2] the flute of lapis-lazuli.
May the whores [3] reel their bodies.'
[Then] Belili [4] had completed her precious things,
She whose lap was full of jewels;
She heard the wailing of her brother; Belili smote her precious things,
And her chamber was filled with jewels.
'Oh mine only brother not shalt thou bring me to shame.
On the day when Tammuz plays for me the flute of lapis-lazuli, and when on that (day) [5] with him they play to me on a flute of porphyry,
Yea with him the men wailers and the women wailers play to me,
May the dead arise and smell the incense.'

We have here a cryptic hymn whose composition is illogical in places, many ideals being abruptly introduced, and the whole composition bears the impress of a mystic cult. The real object of this hymn, which was probably accompanied by a pantomime, was to comfort the souls of the dead and assist them to arise for the *parentalia*. The flute-playing of Tammuz, who knows the sorrowful abode in Arallū, has a powerful effect upon those who sleep in that shadowy and silent land. Like Orpheus, whose music on the lyre appeased the deity of Hades and secured the release of Eurydice, so the music of Tammuz secures the release of his consort Ishtar. At the same time on earth the sacred women celebrate the myth of Tammuz and Ishtar, while the divine sister Belili wails for his return to earth. It is improbable that this composition belongs to the ordinary Tammuz liturgies sung at the midsummer wailings, for these were invariably said in Sumerian and were composed in liturgical style.

The adaptation of this cult to mystic purposes was probably more widely spread in the late period of Babylonian and Assyrian history than has commonly been supposed. This seems to be the only trace of a mystic cult in Babylonia.

On the other hand, their world views were wholly under the influence of the doctrine concerning mystic wisdom revealed only to the initiated by divination. All events in the world are regarded, not as results of natural causes or of the exercise of the free will of man, but as the 'decision' (*pirištu*) of the gods. This word is often replaced by the word *niširtu*, 'treasure,' 'secret knowledge,' and both have been rendered by 'mystery' in Assyriological works. These mysteries (this secret knowledge concerning the future) were revealed by the gods to the priests of divination (*barû*, 'diviner,' *barûtu*, 'divination'), who were initiated into the study of divination. The principal subjects of this extensive discipline consisted in interpreting the divine secrets by hepatoscopy, astrology, lecanomancy [6] (especially the method of pouring oil upon water in a bowl), teratoscopy, and oneiromancy. According to Berossus,

[1] The liturgies of the Tammuz-cult were sung in Sumerian by the Semites, who borrowed the entire ceremony. These liturgies were provided with an interlinear Semitic version; therefore the words of the ceremonies were certainly public property.

[2] The text will be found in IV Rawlinson [2] (Pinches), London, 1891, plate 31. The colophon does not say that it is a copy from a Babylonian source, but part of a Sumerian original has been found. An Assyrian duplicate of Obv. 33–45 has been recovered by L. W. King (*Cuneiform Texts*, xxxiv. 18, Ki. 1904–10–9, 159+K. 7600, London, 1914). We have here in all probability a mystic composition from the late Sumerian period.

[3] The objects of the oath are not given. Here Rev. 18–29 follows a passage showing how Ea deceived his messenger Aṣû-šu-namir by telling him to ask for the mystic water-vessel in order to drink the water of life and attain immortality. He asks for this and instead he is told that he has asked for what no *man* should ask for. Wherefore she curses him with disgrace and poverty. This is a repetition of the ruse which Ea invented for Adapa, whom he advised to refuse the water of life. Both Aṣû-šu-namir and Adapa are mortal protégés of Ea, who fears that in their missions before the gods they will obtain the gift of immortality and hence he will lose them in his worship.

[1] So the present writer understands a disputed line Rev. 46

[2] Read *lim-tal-lal*?

[3] Prostitutes in the temple-services of Ishtar who took part in Tammuz celebrations.

[4] Sister of Tammuz.

[5] *ḪAR=šuatu*.

[6] Only these three are referred to in the official directions for the initiation into the mysteries of divination (H. Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln für den Wahrsager*, Leipzig, 1901, no. 24).

the seventh pre-diluvian king was Εὐεδώραχος,[1] in whose reign arose a fish-man from the Erythræan Sea and revealed the mysteries to this king. At any rate such must have been the nature of the revelation to this king, for in historical times the gild of diviners recognized Enmeduranki, a mythological (?) king of Sippar, as the founder of this art. Only descendants of this king were admitted to this gild and taught the principles of divination, and this secret knowledge was transmitted from father to son. Physical and mental soundness was required of all applicants for initiation. The technical books for each department of divination are extensive and are written in a peculiar mixture of Semitic and Sumerian which must have obscured their meaning. These books were probably the sacred possession of the gild of diviners. Kings not infrequently publish in their historical inscriptions a full copy of the report of the diviners on certain royal undertakings.[2] We possess a very large number of letters and reports[3] from astrologers to the kings of Assyria concerning the events about to occur, as they were revealed by the conjunctions and positions of the planets, constellations, and atmospheric conditions. These reports are really extracts from the mystic book of astrology which gave instruction on every possible astral condition. It seems, therefore, that the diviners had no hesitation about publishing the results of their prognostications, even when in certain cases (as in dreams) similar data might be used by laymen and the proper results inferred from published reports. The oracles of Arbela, upon which the kings of Assyria particularly depended, were all published and became common property.[4] Nevertheless the *barû* priests certainly guarded the books of divination as mystic treasures. At the end of tablets of this class we find the literary note, 'The secrets of divination; the instructed shall teach the learner and the uninstructed shall not read.'[5] Tablets containing the mysteries of divination were called the 'sacred possession' of the gods.[6]

The Babylonians believed that Ea the water-god in several successive revelations had communicated to the pre-diluvian kings all knowledge useful to man, and 'since that time nothing material has been added by way of improvement to his instructions.'[7] The various reports (by Berossus) of their beliefs concerning the revelation of the sciences and arts and of the origin of the world and of man are confused. In some sources the being which arose from the sea was Ea (Oannes) in the reign of the fourth king. The revelations to later kings were made by mythical fish-deities sent by Ea and similar in form to him. The Greek sources of Berossus generally recognize four revelations under the first, third, sixth, and seventh kings (Alorus, Amillarus, Daos, and Euedoreschus). Berossus also reports that 'Ea (Oannes) wrote concerning generation and civil polity,' and that Cronus (*sic*!) appeared to the tenth and last pre-diluvian king, who is the hero of the Flood. Cronus commanded him 'to engrave in writing the beginning, the middle, and the end of all things, and to place it in Sippar.' After the Flood Xisuthros the king was transported to the land of the blest to dwell with the gods, and he instructed those who survived the Flood in a ship to return to Sippar, excavate these writings, and make them known to all men.[1] From this we infer that the Babylonians did not regard the sciences or the knowledge of the beginning of things as mysteries. The hero of the Flood has the title *ḫasisatar* (Xisuthros), 'the extremely wise,' and Adapa, a mythical hero and creation of Ea, has the same title, but they are not connected with mysteries in any of our known sources, although Adapa became symbolical with 'sage.' According to the Semitic Babylonian version of the fall of man, Anu the heaven-god cursed mankind with disease because Ea had revealed to him 'the things of heaven and earth and given him a wily heart.' This most probably refers to knowledge of good and evil and not to the mysteries of divination. A historical inscription of Aššurbanipal describing the education of that king has the following much disputed passage:

'The . . . of the sage Adapa I learned. The hidden secrets of all writing, the tablets of heaven and earth,[2] I read, and *disciplined myself*. In the assembly of scholars I busied myself with the decrees (of the gods). The mysteries[3] of heaven with the wise *masters of oil-divination* (!) I . . . The dreadful *secrets* which are not to be revealed I read.'[4]

From this passage we may infer that this king was admitted to the gild of the *barû* priests.

LITERATURE.—A. Jeremias, *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur*, Leipzig, 1913, pp. 10–20. For the cult of Tammuz, S. Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, Oxford, 1914; H. Zimmern, 'Der babylonische Gott Tamûz,' *ABAW* xxvii. [1909]. For mysteries of divination see Literature under DIVINATION (Assyro-Babylonian), to which add E. G. Klauber, *Politisch-Religiöse Texte*, Leipzig, 1913. See also a suggestive art. by A. Boissier, in *Archives suisses d'anthropologie générale*, Geneva, 1914, nos. 1 and 2.

S. LANGDON.

MYSTERIES (Christian).—1. The problem.—

In Hellenic and Hellenistic usage the terms τὸ μυστήριον and (far more frequently) τὰ μυστήρια describe a secret cult, initiation into which presupposed a course of special preparation. It was sacrilege for an initiate to divulge anything that he had seen, heard, or experienced in the solemn esoteric ritual (see MYSTERIES [Greek, Phrygian, etc.]). The same terms occur in the NT, more especially in the Pauline Epistles, and the question has arisen whether, in those early Christian documents, Christianity is ever regarded as a mystery-religion. We know that the first Christian missions to the pagan world were carried on in an environment in which mystery-cults were influential. It can scarcely be doubted that many of St. Paul's converts would be drawn from the religious associations which those cults had brought into being.

[1] Variants, Εὐεδώρεσχος, Ἀεδώρεσχος, Edoranchus.

[2] For such reports of liver omens published in the historical inscriptions of Nabuna'id see S. Langdon, *Neubabylonische Königsinschriften*, Leipzig, 1912, pp. 266–270 and 286–289. The same king publishes a dream and its interpretation (*ib.* p. 279), and a dream of Aššurbanipal with its interpretation occurs in the historical inscriptions of that king.

[3] R. Campbell Thompson, *Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers*, London, 1900. A number of letters to Assyrian kings contain such reports (R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, 14 vols., Chicago, 1892–1915).

[4] The mysteries of Arbela stand apart from those of the *barû* priests, and appear to be unique in Babylonian and Assyrian history. The prophets and prophetesses of this oracular spot do not appear to have employed any of the ordinary means of discovering the will of the gods but to have replied from inspiration solely. Besides Arbela Aššur also was recognized as an oracular spot (see Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, Oxford, 1914, pp. 128–141).

[5] So the colophon K. 7628 in the British Museum. K. 9736 has *la mûdu-u la immar*, 'the uninstructed shall not read.' Agumkakrime, a Cassite king, adds the same colophon to a historical inscription which was obviously intended for public information (V Rawlinson, 33). The scribe was probably a Cassite who did not understand the colophon and added it as evidence of pedantic learning.

[6] *Ikkibu* of Nebo, god of writing and learning (Zimmern, *Ritualtafeln*, pp. 156, 2; 118, 40); *ikkibu* (*nig-gig*) of Nebo and Lugal (*i.e.* Marduk) (K. 7628); *ikkibu* of Nabu, Lugal, Shamash, and Adad (V Rawlinson 33, VIII. 30–32). *Ikkibu* is a loan-word from Sumerian *niggig* > *iggig* and generally means, 'abomination,' an act which one is forbidden to do, and hence by metonymy came to mean, 'object which one is forbidden to touch.'

[7] Berossus, in Syncellus, *Chronicon* (I. P. Cory, *Ancient Fragments*[2], London, 1832, p. 23).

[1] Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, p. 29.

[2] This probably refers to the books of astrology and perhaps also to those of hepatascopy.

[3] For *AD-ŠAD* read *AD-ḪAL* = *pirištu*.

[4] C. F. Lehmann, *Šamaššumukîn*, Leipzig, 1892, pl. xxxiv. 13–16.

Did the early Christian missionaries assimilate their gospel to the esoteric doctrine and ritual which made so powerful an appeal to Græco-Roman society?

2. Use of μυστήριον in NT.—An examination of the significance of the term *μυστήριον* in the NT must start from the usage of the LXX. There are about a dozen examples of *μυστήριον* in the LXX, and, except for two passages in the characteristically Hellenistic *Wisdom of Solomon* (14[15, 23]), in which its technical significance is obvious, it seems usually to mean 'secrets' or 'secret plans' either of God or of men. The single instance found in the Gospels (Mt 13[11] = Mk 4[11] = Lk 8[10]) follows the LXX, as denoting the secret plans of God concerning His Kingdom which are being revealed in the words and deeds of Jesus. This meaning fits a considerable number of the Pauline examples, *e.g.*, Ro 11[25], 1 Co 15[51], etc., in which *μυστήριον* stands for a 'secret purpose' of God, revealed to the Apostle, shedding light on problems which would otherwise remain wholly perplexing. For St. Paul the Christian prophet is the man who knows all *μυστήρια* (1 Co 13[2]; cf. 1 Co 4[1]), *i.e.* the secret mind of God. For his thought, however, one secret Divine purpose overshadows all others, the admission of the Gentiles to a full share of Christ's salvation on equal terms with the Jews. This he designates *μυστήριον* in various important passages, all belonging to the Imprisonment Epistles (*e.g.*, Eph 3[1ff.] 6[19], Col 1[25ff.] 4[3]). It is noteworthy that in several crucial instances (*e.g.*, Ro 11[25], 1 Co 2[7] 15[51], Eph 1[9], Col 1[26], 2 Th 2[7]) the term has a distinctly eschatological outlook. But enough has been said to indicate that St. Paul's use of *μυστήριον* has no suggestion of an esoteric cult or ritual. As a matter of fact, it is generally associated with verbs of revelation (*ἀποκαλύπτειν, γνωρίζειν, φανεροῦν*).

One example stands by itself, and deserves attention because of its relation to later Patristic usage. In Eph 5[32], when dealing with the bond between husband and wife, St. Paul adduces Gn 2[24] as enforcing their unity, and adds: 'This *μυστήριον* is far-reaching: I interpret it of Christ and the Church.' As the result of an exhaustive examination of the use of *μυστήριον* by Justin Martyr, H. von Soden has shown that he constantly uses it as equivalent to *παραβολή, σύμβολον*, and *τύπος*. Here, therefore, the OT passage is regarded as pointing forward to the relation between Christ and the Church. This explanation covers the four occurrences of *μυστήριον* in the Apocalypse. Von Soden further points out that Justin is the first Christian writer who employs *μυστήριον* to describe the Christian faith, which he compares with the pagan *μυστήρια*. Even more significant for the drift of Christian thought is the fact that Tertullian regularly translates *μυστήριον* by the Latin *sacramentum*. We must, nevertheless, guard against forming hasty conclusions from these data. For, as von Soden observes, 'sacramental conceptions and theories do not link on to the terms *sacramentum* and *μυστήριον*, but to ritual acts which had no such designations originally, and even later did not in the first instance receive them on account of their form' (*ZNTW* xii. 224). Indeed, this terminology was a very gradual adaptation to an already established practice.

3. Relation of St. Paul to mystery-religion.—In one of the passages cited above (1 Co 2[7]) St. Paul makes a distinction between the usual theme of his preaching, 'Jesus Christ and him as crucified,' and a 'wisdom' (*σοφία*), a 'Divine wisdom *ἐν μυστηρίῳ*, which has been hidden,' a more advanced stage of Christian instruction intended only for the 'mature' (*τοῖς τελείοις*). His language in this context might certainly suggest that he has availed himself of mystery-terminology in writing to people who must have been already acquainted with it. Would this imply that he was in sympathy with mystery-conceptions? Some scholars have laid emphasis on the occurrence in the Epistles of terms and ideas which they regard as definite evidence of a direct kinship between St. Paul and the mystery-religion. Let us briefly examine some typical examples.

(*a*) *Terms.*—St. Paul's favourite antithesis between *πνευματικός* and *ψυχικός* has been explained from Hellenistic religious usage. There can, indeed, be little doubt that within the sphere of mystery-cults *πνεῦμα* and *νοῦς* have become religious terms. But it is also plain that the contrast between *πνεῦμα* and *ψυχή*, so fundamental for St. Paul, is exceedingly rare in Hellenistic religion, since *ψυχή* is apt to retain its significance as the higher element in human nature in opposition to *σῶμα*. The present writer has attempted to prove that St. Paul's religious use of *πνεῦμα, ψυχή*, and their derivatives has its genuine roots in the soil of the OT (*St. Paul and the Mystery-Religions*, pp. 155–158). To take another instance: in the mystery-documents *γνῶσις* seems usually to mean that immediate apprehension of God which results in salvation or, more strictly, deification (*e.g.*, *Poimandres*, ed. Reitzenstein, p. 336, line 24 f.). It is a practical experience rather than an intellectual process. Without question St. Paul regards *γνῶσις* as a supernatural gift (*e.g.*, 1 Co 12[8] 13[2], etc.). In one of his profoundest utterances (Ph 3[8-10]) it describes the most intimate fellowship conceivable between the soul and Christ. But here also account must be taken of the prophetic conception of the 'knowledge of God,' which is a revelation to the inner being. We may therefore speak of a striking affinity between the OT idea and that of Hellenistic religion, while admitting that, in the employment of the term and the conception which it embodied, St. Paul presupposed his readers' acquaintance with these through the medium of the mystery-religions. A somewhat similar conclusion may be reached as regards his use of *μεταμορφοῦσθαι* and cognate expressions (*e.g.*, 2 Co 3[18], Ro 8[29], Ph 3[21]). There are probably points of contact here between St. Paul's thought and the mystery-idea of transformation by the vision of God. But in the latter the chief emphasis falls on a quasi-magical transmutation of essence. The nature of the Apostle's conception of the *πνεῦμα*, which is the instrument in the process, sets in the forefront its moral significance.

(*b*) *Conceptions.*—Perhaps even greater stress is laid upon alleged parallel conceptions in St. Paul and the mystery-cults. Thus, *e.g.*, the death and restoration to life of such mythological personages as Adonis, Attis, and Osiris, which, in the mystic drama, so affected the initiates as to produce a certain consciousness of entrance through passionate sympathy upon a life which the grave could not quench, are compared with St. Paul's teaching of redemption through the crucified and risen Jesus. But evidently this affinity did not appeal to the Greeks themselves, for the Apostle mentions that to them the preaching of the Cross was folly (*μωρία*). As a matter of fact, no real comparison is legitimate. The Greek legends of these so-called redeemer-gods have no hint of the forgiveness of sins. This forms the core of St. Paul's gospel. In the one case an imposing ritual excites the emotions. In the other, men, as constrained by the love of Christ, surrender their lives to His obedience. They assent to that estimate of things which is involved in the Cross. That implies a new moral attitude to the world and to God. A similar distinction may be traced between the idea

of salvation (*σωτηρία*) in the mystery-religions and that proclaimed by St. Paul. In the former salvation has mainly in view the pressure of Fate, Necessity, and those ills which belong to the limitations of earthly existence. It is invariably conceived as a *character indelebilis*. For St. Paul its atmosphere is the love of God revealed in Jesus Christ. From the very nature of the case it is charged with moral implications. It is mediated to the believer by the Spirit, and the Spirit is the Divine response to faith.

It is natural that St. Paul's conceptions of Baptism and the Lord's Supper should be investigated with a view to the discovery of affinities with mystery-ritual. It is highly probable that baptismal rites and sacramental meals, in so far as we can interpret the meagre and obscure data, were conceived in Hellenistic religion as working *ex opere operato*. No such idea is discernible in the utterances of St. Paul. In the case of both sacraments faith is for him the indispensable postulate of all that possesses spiritual value. Bartlet's definition of a sacrament (*ERE* ii. 377) is essentially true to the Apostle's standpoint: 'a symbol conditioning a present deeper and decisive experience of the Divine grace, already embraced by faith. But all is psychologically conditioned, being thereby raised above the level of the magical or *quasi*-physical conception of sacramental grace.'

The attempt of R. Perdelwitz (*Die Mysterienreligion und das Problem des I. Petrusbriefes*, Giessen, 1911) to find echoes of mystery-religion in 1 Peter is ingenious but quite unconvincing.

LITERATURE.—On *μυστήριον* in NT: H. von Soden, *ZNTW* xii. [1911] 188–227; J. Armitage Robinson, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians*, London, 1903, pp. 234–240. In favour of an intimate relation between St. Paul and the mystery-cults: W. Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, Göttingen, 1913, pp. 125–186; A. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*[2], Leipzig, 1910; R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, do. 1904, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, do. 1910. Against the foregoing view: C. Clemen, *Der Einfluss der Mysterienreligionen auf das älteste Christentum*, Giessen, 1913; E. von Dobschütz, *Studien und Kritiken*, lxxviii. [1905] i. 1 ff.; P. Gardner, *The Religious Experience of St. Paul*, London, 1911; H. A. A. Kennedy, *St. Paul and the Mystery-Religions*, do. 1913; A. Schweitzer, *Die Geschichte der paulinischen Forschung*, Tübingen, 1911, pp. 141–184.

H. A. A. KENNEDY.

MYSTERIES (Egyptian).—1. Introductory.—Herodotus and Plutarch tell of the existence of 'mysteries' in Egypt, and explain them thus:

'At Sais is the burial-place of one whom I scruple to name [Osiris]. . . . On the lake [of the temple], the Egyptians represent by night the sufferings undergone by Him (*τὰ δεικηλα τῶν παθέων αὐτοῦ*), and this representation they call Mysteries (*τὰ καλέουσι μυστήρια*). All the proceedings in these Mysteries are well known to me; but my lips shall piously refrain from mentioning them' (Herod. ii. 170 f.).

'Isis would not that her own woes and grievous journeyings, that the deeds of his wisdom and heroism should fall into oblivion and silence. She therefore instituted holy, sacred Mysteries (*τελεταί*) which would afford an image, a representation in mimic scenes of the sufferings he endured (*εἰκόνας καὶ ὑπονοίας καὶ μίμημα τῶν τότε παθημάτων*) that they might serve as a pious teaching and a consolatory hope to the men and women who passed through the same hardships' (Plut. *de Is. et Osir.* xxvii.).

From such statements we may infer the following definition: the Egyptian mysteries are rites in which recitation and mimic action are associated, *i.e.* dramatic performances of mystical character. Such dramas enact the Osirian legend; they teach a lesson and hold out consolation to the men who view them; the latter, being bound to observe secrecy upon those mysteries, are 'initiates.' It has been alleged that Herodotus and Plutarch, influenced by the Orphic and Eleusinian rites, transposed them to Egypt, and applied the name of 'mysteries' to ceremonies having no kind of analogy with the rites of initiation (C. Sourdille, *Hérodote et la religion de l'Egypte*, Paris, 1910, p. 284), but the author of such an assertion makes light of the Egyptian sources themselves, which, on the contrary, confirm the statements of the Greek writers on every point.

2. The Osirian mystery.—The most explicit Egyptian text is a *stela*, dated from Senusret III. (XIIth dyn., *c.* 1875 B.C.): a high official, Igernefert, tells how he conducted a ceremony called 'the ceremony of the golden chamber for the mystery (*śéšta*) of the lord of Abydos (Osiris)'; it has been published by H. Schaefer, *Die Mysterien des Osiris in Abydos*, Leipzig, 1904.

Let us briefly recall the Osirian legend.

The Good Being (Unnefer) reigned over Egypt, and, with the help of his sister and spouse, Isis, he taught his subjects agriculture and all the arts and crafts; he also conquered the rest of the world in order to civilize it. His brother Seth (Typhon), however, murdered him, and launched the coffin containing the body into the Nile. It drifted away to Byblos, and was discovered there by Isis, who took it back to Buto in Egypt. Seth again found the corpse, and cut it into pieces, which he cast into the Nile. Isis resumed her mournful quest, searched for and found the fragments, and wherever she found a piece she raised a tomb over it. Then Horus, the son of Osiris, Thōth, and Anubis, his friends, came to Isis' help in order to 'avenge' Osiris; they justified him before the court of the gods, and restored his mummified body to life and immortality. Thus could Osiris hand over his realm to his son, Horus, who became the patron and ancestor of the Pharaohs (cf. A. Moret, *Kings and Gods of Egypt*, Eng. tr., London, 1912, p. 77 ff.).

Such was the subject of the mystery (*śešta*) of Osiris. Igernefert, to whom Senusret III. has committed the preparations for the performance, attends first to the properties and requisites for scenery. He procures a barge which is to stand for the solar *bari*, a statue of Osiris adorned with lapis-lazuli, electrum, and precious stones, and also movable shrines in which to place the statue. In his capacity of 'head of the mystery,' Igernefert conducts the process of fabrication, and appoints sets of 'hourly priests' to execute the rites. When the action begins, he plays the part of Horus (*samer-f*, 'the beloved son'); after him, the principal parts are those of Anubis and Thōth, played by other high officials. The drama has several acts.

(1) It opens with a procession (*perjt*) of Anubis (*Upuaut*), who comes to protect (*nednw*) his father Osiris, and, with the help of Horus, defeats the adversaries of the barge (*nešmet*), and overthrows the foes of Osiris. Those adversaries are figured by supernumeraries who come to blows with the subjects of Osiris, and the fights are sometimes pictured (A. Moret, *Mystères égyptiens*, Paris, 1913, p. 15); Herodotus alludes to them (ii. 61, 132). We may suppose that now Osiris was shown sailing out in his barge, in order to conquer and civilize the world, after his triumph over his adversaries.

(2) The death of the god is treated next. No less reticent than Herodotus (ii. 170) and Diodorus (i. 21), Igernefert only points to this second act with a periphrasis: 'I conducted the great outing and I followed the god upon his steps.' Now, the expression 'great outing' (*perjt āat*) means the 'great mourning.'

Was, then, the murder of Osiris represented? We do not know. The texts in the Pyramids (Vth–VIth dyn., *c.* 2600 B.C.) describe the quest and discovery of the sacred corpse:

'They found Osiris such as his brother Seth did fell him (*nedi*) on earth, at *Nedit*' (N, 1263), and further: 'Isis embraced his body after she found him, stretched upon his side, on the shore of Nedit' (N, 868 f.).

Other texts recall the woeful lament that rose up then to the throne of Rā:

'O Rā, hast thou not heard the voice that hath risen on an evening upon the shore of Nedit, the moaning cry of all the gods and goddesses' (W. Golenischeff, *Die Metternichstele*, Leipzig, 1877, l. 46 f.).

It may be that the procession of the *perjt āat* would carry out realistically the search for and finding of Osiris's body while reciting the lamentations. At any rate the body of the god, richly adorned, was carried in a barge to his tomb at

Peker (the archaic cemetery of Abydos, where E. Amélineau claimed to have found the 'tomb of Osiris' within the enclosure of the tomb of King Chent [*Le Tombeau d'Osiris*, Paris, 1899]). The calendar of festivals at Medinet-Habu places the *perjt āat* on 22nd Thōth (H. C. Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, Leipzig, 1883–91, p. 224); other texts assign to it different dates, and Plutarch places the funeral festivities of Osiris in the month of Athyr (Schaefer, p. 25, n. 4).

(3) After the burial we witness the resurrection and triumph of the god. Igernefert says:

'I have avenged Unnefer (Osiris) on this day of the great fight, I have smitten all his foes upon the river of Nedit' (l. 21).

Amid the cheers of his people the god sailed back in his barge to his city of Abydos; he re-entered his palace as a king (ll. 21–24), and received there his 'purification,' *i.e.* the rites which would ensure his life and triumph, at least until the next panegyrics. Here again the same circumspection as above is observed; the process of Osiris's resurrection, though it must necessarily be understood, is no more clearly alluded to than his death. Igernefert reveals only the outward pomp of Osiris's pageant; the fight against the adversaries of the god corresponds to the spectacle witnessed by Herodotus at Papremis (ii. 63): around the image of the god and on its way to the temple a battle is fought, but the god enters his temple despite his opponents.

This is the most complete account that we possess of an Osirian 'mystery,' but other documents preserve descriptions of festivals which include certain episodes of a mystery. Thus the feast celebrated on 1st Pakhon, when the king is seen cutting a sheaf with his sickle and sacrificing a white bull, seems to actualize the death of Osiris, god of vegetation (Moret, *Mystères*, p. 7 f.). Another ceremony, the erection of the *ded*, the Osirian pillar, symbolizes the resurrection of the god and is associated with fighting and shouting (*ib.* pp. 12–15); the *Sed* festivities bring before our eyes the coronation and victory of resuscitated Osiris (*ib.* p. 16). Still more valuable are the rituals in the temples which describe the secret ceremonies of the passion and resurrection of Osiris. They were celebrated in small temples or in chapels erected for the special use of the god, such chapels being found in all large Egyptian temples. Of these ceremonies some would take place daily, others only at certain festivals; doubtless their rites formed the secret part of the 'mystery,' the part which Igernefert piously refrains from explaining and in which the death and resurrection of Osiris are acted.

We must remember that Igernefert, in order to celebrate the Osirian mystery, had appointed sets of 'hourly priests' (*wnw-tw*), and 'he had taught them the rites of every day,' in his capacity of 'head of the mystery.' Now, the Ptolemaic temples have preserved in their Osirian chapels texts and pictures illustrating the rites which the hourly priests recited and acted during each of the twelve hours (*wnw-t*) of night and of day. It is a sacred drama played by priests who assume the different parts of the Osirian family; we see Shū and Geb, the father and grandfather of Osiris; Horus, his son; Anubis and Thōth, his brothers or relatives; the four children of Horus; the goddesses Isis and Nephthys, wife and sister of Osiris; and, lastly, reciting and officiating priests. The scenery given by the reliefs consists of an image of Osiris swathed in the funeral shroud, a bed upon which the divine mummy is stretched, and several requisites, such as crowns, sceptres, weapons, libation vases, paint and incense boxes. The drama opens at six p.m. and closes twenty-four hours later; it falls into twelve hours of night (from six p.m. to six a.m.) and twelve hours of day (from six a.m. to six p.m.). Its subject is the passion and resurrection of Osiris. From the first to the last hour the rites lead, step by step, towards the triumph of the god; yet this gradual advance is hardly felt because each hour is scenically treated as forming a complete little drama in itself, in which the god passes from death on to resurrection. At the beginning of each hour Osiris is led back to his initial state of distress, from which he is wrenched irresistibly by the power of rites and formulæ, only to be brought back anew at the close of the hour (texts of Philæ, Edfu, Denderah, published by H. Junker, 'Die Stundenwachen in den Osirismysterien,' *SWAW*, phil-hist. Klasse, liv. [1910]; the author makes a mistake in beginning with the hours of day, as the rites, as in any other festival, begin at six p.m.; the right order is twelve night hours followed by twelve day hours; for the bas-reliefs showing the scenery cf. A. Mariette, *Dendérah*, Paris, 1880, iv.; E. A. W. Budge, *Osiris*, London, 1911, ii. 21 ff.; Moret, *Mystères*, pp. 20–36).

If we group together the actions and recitations during the course of these twenty-four hours, the scheme runs as follows:

(1) Isis and Nephthys have searched and found the body of Osiris upon the river of Nedit; *vocero* and prolonged lament (cf. the papyrus of Berlin published by J. de Horrack, *Les Lamentations d'Isis et Nephthys*, Paris, 1866; Moret, *Kings and Gods*, p. 81 f.).

(2) On hearing the cries, the gods come in haste; Horus, Anubis, and Thōth carry magical implements and vases filled with fresh water; Osiris is cleansed of all stains by four libations and fumigations.

(3) Divine magic effects a series of miracles: (*a*) the dismembered body of Osiris is restored; (*b*) by unctions with oil and paint and by the agency of the adze of Anubis mouth, eyes, and ears in the Osirian body are 'opened'; (*c*) the members are put into motion, and each organ recalled to life (those rites are more elaborately developed in a special ritual called 'Opening of the mouth' (*wap-re*; cf. E. Schiaparelli, *Il Libro dei funerali*, Turin, 1879)); (*d*) other methods are used to revive Osiris's body: it is buried in the earth that it may germinate and give forth sprouts, as tokens of the rebirth of the god; these proceedings of resurrection by plant-growth are fully developed in rites celebrated in the Choiak festivals (text of Denderah; V. Loret, *RT* iii. [1882], iv. [1883], v. [1884]; Moret, *Kings and Gods*, p. 85; on sprouting Osiris cf. Moret, p. 94 and pl. xi); (*e*) Osiris is also revived by simulating an animal rebirth; the priest who plays Anubis lies in a recumbent position—which is that of the fœtus in the mother's womb—under the skin of some sacrificed animal. He symbolizes Osiris being conceived anew, being reborn in the hide, and issuing, as if from the matrix, after assimilating to himself the life of his sacrificed adversary, Seth (fourth hour of day; Moret, *Mystères*, pp. 31–34).

(4) About mid-day, as the result of all these various rites, Osiris is alive. He is fed with offerings, adorned, and crowned; he also recovers the privilege of 'creative voice' (*maā ḫrw*) or 'just of voice' (Maspero), by which he is able to baffle all dangers, and to create instantly whatever in any emergency necessity demands.

Such, in brief, were the proceedings when the 'great mystery' (*šešta wr*) or other great rites (*laḫw wrw*) were celebrated. We may conclude that the 'purification' (*ābū*) of Osiris mentioned by Igernefert (l. 21) as complementary to the mysteries celebrated at Abydos was also in itself a sacred drama; it actualized the resurrection of Osiris and his rebirth to a life eternal, by a process which remained a secret to the majority of men.

3. Application to men.—We have fairly precise information, therefore, regarding the rites, secret or otherwise, which were celebrated in those sacred dramas for the benefit of Osiris. Yet such ceremonies can deserve the name of mysteries only when, spreading beyond the precincts of the temple, they extend their efficacy from the god down to a certain class of men whom we call 'initiates.' Did the mysteries of Osiris possess an operative power for the man 'well informed' of them? The author of *De Iside et Osiride* answers categorically:

'Isis instituted those mysteries that they might serve as a lesson of piety and consolation for the men and women who should suffer the same trials' (xxvii.).

The trial through which men shall pass like Osiris is death; the solace held forth to them is the promise of a renewed life, of the same rebirth as was effected for Osiris. Such beliefs do not originate from the later epoch in Egyptian history; already in the IVth dyn. (*c.* 3000 B.C.) we find as an essential principle that any man receiving the funeral cult should be assimilated to Osiris. The funeral rites are connected with imitative magic; the dead man becomes identified with Osiris murdered and dismembered by Seth, then restored, vivified, and avenged by Isis and Horus; if those rites once proved efficacious for Osiris, they shall still prove so when repeated for any man. Therefore the mystery of the *perjt âat* must be renewed for the benefit of every dead man. On the day of the funeral a little sacred drama is performed in the chapel of the tomb; the defunct is said to be Osiris, his wife Isis, his sister Nephthys; his son and his friends assume the parts of Horus, Anubis, and Thôth, or, should the family decline to actually play the parts, professional priests take their place. In the course of this sacred drama the same rites occur—opening of the mouth, vegetal and animal rebirth—which are depicted upon the walls of the tombs, especially the tombs of the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties (cf. Schiaparelli, where abundant material drawn from the tombs of Seti I. [XIXth dyn.], of Reḫmarā [XVIIIth dyn.], etc., is brought together; cf. G. Maspero, *Études de mythologie*, Paris, 1893–1911, i.; Moret, *Mystères*, p. 36 ff.). Among those rites some—*e.g.*, the opening of the mouth—were known without restriction, and formulæ and mimic are displayed upon the walls of the tombs; but certain others were kept secret, for they are only alluded to, or represented by enigmatic figures with hardly a legend to explain them. This 'mysterious' part of the rites is probably what the texts call the 'sacred rites celebrated in conformity with that secret book (*śeśta*) of the officiating priest' (Moret, *Mystères*, p. 18), or the 'rites of Abydos of which the defunct must be "informed"' (*reḫ ḫert Ibdw*, C. R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Berlin, 1849, ii. 127), which answers to the expression used by Iamblichus (vi. 5. 7) to designate the mysteries: *τὰ ἀπόρρητα, τὰ κρύπτα ἐν Ἀβύδῳ*. We may suppose that a formal initiation was necessary to be 'well informed' of these rites and admitted to their benefits. The most important of them is, according to documents, the one here called the mystery of animal rebirth. To effect the rebirth of Osiris, Anubis 'passed' under a hide, which thus became the cradle (*meshent*) of the god recalled to life (*Book of the Dead*, xvii. 18). This rite, applied to men, is often depicted in the Theban tombs: an officiating priest, called the *tikenw*, is drawn along on a sleigh, crouching in the same recumbent position as the fœtus in the womb (Moret, *Mystères*, p. 82 f.; principal source, tomb of Montwherj-ḫepśef and Reḫmarā); in the same position again 'he lays himself down under the hide of a cow, in the land of transformation,' or 'the earth that renewth life' (Reḫmarā); when he issues from the skin, he is supposed to be born to a new life. Such an allegory is certainly analogous in its meaning to the *dîkṣâ* in Vedic ritual. Here the sacrificer passes under the hide of an antelope and, like a fœtus, evolves from that matrix to a new life (S. Lévi, *La Doctrine du sacrifice dans les Brâhmanas*, Paris, 1898; cf. Moret, *Mystères*, p. 84 f.). This rite admits of two explanations: on the one hand, the hide is that of Osiris's enemies; Seth, or an animal standing for Seth, has been sacrificed in order that his blood may rejuvenate the defunct; on the other hand, the very mimicking of birth, the imitation of the reclining attitude of a fœtus in the womb, possesses a magic virtue which operates in favour of the defunct. Thus Anubis did for Osiris; thus would the *tikenw* or the *śem* (officiating priest) do for the benefit of the initiated defunct in the course of the funeral. Though the latter are especially described in the Theban tombs of the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties, they had been in use ever since the Ancient Empire; the texts in the Pyramids (Vth and VIth dynasties) allude to them, and the rites of rebirth are figured in an allegorical yet clear manner on the famous *stela* C 15 in the Louvre (Moret, *Mystères*, pl. i. pp. 66–71); they belong therefore to the ancient treasure of the Osirian cult. Since the New Empire the Egyptian deceased in state of grace often receives the epithet 'he who reneweth life (after death),' *whem ânḫ* (*mḥet met*) (K. Sethe, *Urkunden*, Leipzig, 1906–09, iv. 196).

Any one who is buried according to the rites and 'consecrated in a perfect manner' (*iaḫw âqer*) must therefore be considered as an initiate to the Osirian mysteries. But was that initiation conferred only upon the deceased, and at the time of the funeral? On this important point the texts give hardly any information. We possess no text describing the initiation of a living man and corresponding to the precious text of Apuleius for the mysteries of Isis (cf. Moret, *Kings and Gods*, p. 177 ff.), yet the formulæ engraved on the funeral *stelæ* furnish us with some statements, and, if we examine the latter in the light of the mysteries of Isis, so strongly influenced by the old Egyptian mysteries, they become much clearer. The man who in his lifetime sought to be initiated to the Isiac mysteries derived from his initiation a double benefit: (1) a long and happy life on earth; and (2) a rebirth, after death, to a blissful life near Isis, so that the Isiac feels like the Eleusinian initiate: 'death is no more an evil, but a boon' (*ib.* p. 194 f.). This state of grace conferred by initiation answers exactly to what the Egyptians called 'state of an *ỉmaḫw* (*amakhu*), a word which is generally translated 'liegeman,' 'attached to such or such a god,' or 'devotee.' A funeral formula often found since the Ancient Empire tells us that 'the *ỉmaḫw* comes forth after a very happy and prolonged old age among the liegemen of Osiris' and finds a 'good sepulture near the great god.' The state of *ỉmaḫw* was a consequence of the funeral rites, but we often see it also conferred by special favour in one's lifetime (cf. Moret, 'La Condition des féaux,' *RTr* xix. [1897] 114). A man might be *ỉmaḫw* towards the father or head of the family, towards the king, or towards a god; if the meaning of this word is, as the present writer believes, 'initiate,' it comes to mean that the initiation was conferred by the father upon his children (as in Eleusis, where the mysteries were originally a family cult), by the king upon his liegemen (a text from the XIIth dyn. [Cairo, 20538, ii. 1. 14] says: 'The enemy of the king has no tomb, but he whom the king loves enjoys rest as an *ỉmaḫw*'), or by a god upon his devotees. This would explain the epithet *neb ỉmaḫw* ('possessor of the state of *ỉmaḫw*') which is applied to all the dead, and also to living men who are in a state of grace—'initiated.' In Eleusis too all men, and even women and sometimes slaves, might be admitted to initiation; the number of Isiac initiates was very great.

4. The rites of initiation.—In the mysteries of Isis the neophyte, after a baptism that cleanses his body and soul, undergoes in the night a secret course of probation; he 'draws nigh to the confines of death,' then treads 'the threshold of Proserpine, approaches the gods above and the gods below, and, at break of day, he reappears crowned with palm leaves, his head in a halo of rays, like unto the sun' (Apuleius, *Met.* xi.; Moret, *Kings and*

Gods, pp. 179, 192). For the Eleusinian also 'to die' (τελευτᾶν) was the same as 'to be initiated' (τελεῖσθαι) (P. Foucart, *Les Mystères d'Eleusis*, Paris, 1914, p. 56). The course of 'trials' was connected with processions, dramatic scenes, and revelations disclosed by the hierophant. Is it overbold to find in this scheme the outlines of the old Egyptian initiation? The Isiac baptism corresponds to the purifications with water and incense; the simulated death and 'imperilling of life' to the ritual death and rebirth 'under the hide' in the Osirian worship; the descent into hell to the journeyings of the barge into the west (Amenti); the glorious reappearance to the final transformation of the Osirian dead into the sun Rā, or into a 'follower' of the god Rā, who is borne through the firmament in the solar barge. Egyptian 'initiation' is described in no text as yet known, but the successive episodes mentioned above are all quoted here and there in funeral formulæ. Under the Ancient Empire the dead hope to 'wander on the lovely paths of the west where the *ỉmaḫw* are wandering'; the *stelæ* from the XIIth and XVIIIth dynasties (Louvre C 3, C 55) describe the admission of the 'consecrated' (*ỉaḫū*) into the solar barge, his sojourn among the gods, and his bliss in paradise; the *Book of the Dead* and the *Book of Hades* reveal the ways to Hades and the passwords which open the gates. A *stela* from the XIIth dyn. (Munich, n. 40), the interpretation of which given by E. Lefébure (*PSBA* xvi. [1894] 31) may be accepted, states that certain privileged men could 'pass under the hide,' *i.e.* simulate in their lifetime a mimic rebirth (cf. Moret, *Mystères*, p. 88 ff.). Besides these ritual trials, the postulant would attend processions (the funeral *stelæ* speak of 'beautiful festivals of the gods which the defunct yearns to witness'; cf. Schaefer, *Mysterien*, p. 22); he would also be taught a lesson and learn a script:

'I am a *ỉaḫw*, perfect and well equipped, whose mouth is learned' (Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. 122); 'I know all the secret magic of the court' (*ib.* p. 143).

The king in Egypt was indeed the great magician, the head of the mysteries (Moret, *In the Time of the Pharaohs*, Eng. tr., London, 1911, p. 302), and he was obliged to be, in his lifetime, initiated to the mysteries. We know that in the course of the *Sed* festivals, celebrated by every king, the rites of ritual death and rebirth were executed for his own personal benefit (Moret, *Mystères*, pp. 73–84). Even the foreign kings received initiation: when Cambyses entered Egypt, he asked to be initiated to the great mystery of Neit at Sais (Naophore statue in the Vatican; cf. K. Piehl, *Inscriptions*, Paris, 1897, i. pl. 32 f.). Now, the king in Egypt is the type of the superman, made divine by the rites, whom men resemble after death, and whom all living try to imitate. The initiate (*ỉmaḫw*), or 'devotee of the king,' would probably receive initiation in his lifetime, by a special favour of the Pharaoh.

5. Conclusion.—In brief, the Egyptian mysteries, like the Eleusinian and Isiac mysteries, claim to prepare for a 'good death' and to reveal the way to re-enter upon a 'new, blissful life.' Every notion that we have of them is connected with the cult of Osiris, who is, in the Egyptian pantheon, pre-eminently the 'dead and resuscitated' god. But we must not forget that every god in Egypt had his own mysteries, though we do not know them, possibly because the essential theme of these various secret rites was the Osirian practice, which summed up all the Egyptian knowledge on the problem of death and resurrection.

LITERATURE.—This is sufficiently quoted throughout; on the *tikenw* see G. Maspero, 'Le Tombeau de Montouherkhepeshef,' *Mémoires de la mission française au Caire*, v. 3 [1893] 435–468; N. de G. Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, London, 1913, plates ii.–xvi.

A. MORET.

MYSTERIES (Greek, Phrygian, etc.).—In the present article we shall give a brief account of the mysteries which were practised in Greece and the Greek lands, both in the earlier times of Greek dominance and in the Hellenistic age. First we shall set forth the facts, so far as they can be recovered and established, in regard to the actual religious practices which come under this head; afterwards we shall consider what is the general character of the mysteries, their tendencies, and their influence on thought and life. The more systematic and intellectual teachings of pagan writers influenced by the mysteries on such subjects as cosmology and astronomy come under other headings; see COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Greek), SUN, MOON, AND STARS (Greek). Our exposition is confined to the main outlines and what is tolerably clear. The subject lends itself to almost limitless speculations, in which, as a matter of fact, those who have written on the mysteries have usually indulged. It is very tempting to proceed from the known to the unknown, and to use the key of the mysteries to explain a vast deal of ancient thought and belief. However legitimate such speculations may be, they would be out of place here.

We refrain from speculation with the more satisfaction because the only basis on which it can be built—the statements of ancient writers—is of a most flimsy description. All our knowledge has to be gained from fragmentary statements by writers of late period and little critical power. They usually have some point to prove, and do not hesitate to colour their statements accordingly. As it was of the very essence of the mysteries that they were rites done in secret, the nature of which it was strictly forbidden to the initiates to reveal, it is clear that a number of baseless and worthless accounts of them would be in circulation. And even the archæological material which in some departments of Greek life and history furnishes a clear and objective test of statements made by the writers almost fails us in this field. Inscriptions mention at most the public and outward rites of the mysteries, not those which were professedly secret. And such monuments as Greek vases, though they sometimes give us useful hints as to ceremonies of initiation and the like, do not reveal any secrets. The Christian Fathers, who tell us more about the mysteries than pagan writers, are perverted by strong prejudices, and lay bare only the more repulsive aspects of the rites which they mention.

1. Religious practices.—(*a*) *Eleusinian mysteries.*—By far the best known, and the most characteristic, of the really Greek mysteries were the rites celebrated at Eleusis in honour of Demeter and her daughter Persephone. We also know more about them, as their seat was within a few miles of Athens, and the Athenians took the most prominent part in their celebration. The view maintained by P. Foucart,[1] that they were imported from Egypt, has met with little acceptance. They have a long history. Their origin goes back before the arrival in Greece of the conquering tribes from the north who were called Hellenes. There can be little doubt that originally the people of Eleusis, whose land is specially adapted to the growing of corn, celebrated on the spot some of those rites supposed to increase the fertility of the soil of which we find traces in many parts of the world, and which were especially at home among the primitive populations of Asia Minor. How far such simple agrarian rites could be regarded as mysteries—*i.e.*, how far their details were regarded as the property of particular families or clans, and kept from the view of their neighbours—we have

[1] *Les Mystères d'Eleusis*, Paris, 1914.

little means of judging. But it was natural that, when Greece was overrun by more warlike and less civilized tribes from the north, the local clans should tend more and more to keep to themselves the sacred proceedings on which, as they supposed, the fertility of their land depended.

Then by degrees the old vegetation ritual of Eleusis was dragged into the current of the anthropomorphic religion of Greece. Whatever may be the meaning of the first syllable of the name Demeter, which does not seem to be a mere variant of γῆ ('earth'), the latter part of the word, μήτηρ ('mother'), is pure Greek, and marks the incorporation of the worship in that of the Attic deities. At the same time the deeds and ritual, the original object of which had been merely the furthering of the fertility of the soil, became charged with a higher meaning, and became an acted parable of the relation of the spirit of man to the divine basis of the world, and assured to the μύσται the protection of Persephone in the world beyond the grave. In the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* poetry takes over the main events of the mythology of Eleusis, and works them into a pleasing and artistic form. In Greek sculpture and vase-paintings the forms of Demeter and Persephone, with their favourite Triptolemus, appear continually in the most charming art-representations, and the ritual of Eleusis, while retaining some of its strange archaic guise, was moulded into an Athenian holiday. Later still the philosophers and the reflective poets of Athens found in the Eleusinian rites a body into which they could introduce such ideas as divine retribution and the immortality of the soul.

In the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, probably dating from the 7th cent. B.C., there is narrated the story of the carrying away of Persephone, while she gathered flowers in a meadow, by Hades, ruler of the world below; and it is told how Demeter refused to be consoled for her loss, and, to punish gods and men, refused her aid in the production of corn from the soil. Earth became unfruitful, and the human race would have perished but for the interference of Zeus, who arranged that Persephone should be restored for a time to her mother, and should every year pass eight months of the twelve on the green earth. The parable of the growth of corn is transparent. In this hymn we see a purely agricultural festival shot through with poetry and human interest by the literary genius of the Greeks. But the element of mystery is almost eliminated. The hymn does not really reflect the local worship of Eleusis, which at the beginning was probably very crude, but which underwent great modifications under the influence of Athenian religion. It was probably in the 6th cent. that Dionysiac and Orphic elements made their way into the cultus and again modified it. Iacchus, who was a form of Dionysus, became thenceforth a chief person in it, though exactly how he was related to the original two goddesses is not altogether clear. But the general result of his interposition is manifest. The mysteries of Eleusis ceased to be a mere agricultural rite, and became more closely concerned with the life beyond the grave, in which the initiated had great advantages over those who failed to partake of the rite.

Certain inscriptions[1] which survive help us to reconstruct in a great measure the external semblance of the rites. Unfortunately the most important of these dates from the age of Hadrian. But, since that age was conservative and antiquarian, just before the transformation which ancient religion underwent in the time of the Antonines and the Severi, we may regard it as enabling us to recover at least a picture of the external ordering of the Eleusinian festival in the great time of Athens.

On the 13th day of the month Boedromion, the young men (ἔφηβοι) of Athens were mustered and went in procession to Eleusis, to bring thence in sacred procession what are called τὰ ἱερά, sacred objects required for the solemn procession from Athens to Eleusis which took place a few days later. On the 15th of the month those who wished to become initiates of the goddesses assembled, in order to be ranged under the guidance of experts called the μυσταγωγοί, and to receive instruction as regards their behaviour at the festival. Those only were admitted who were free from crime or ignominy; and purity of heart and life was enjoined on the votaries. Absolute secrecy as to all that they might hear or see was imposed on them.

Next took place the ceremonial purifications. These were of two kinds—on the 16th of the month was proclaimed the ceremonial bathing in the sea (ἅλαδε μύσται), which was a form of purification. Later took place the sacrifice of purification, in which each of the μύσται brought to the goddesses their favourite offering, a young pig.

On the 19th took place the solemn procession of the μύσται and the officials from Athens to Eleusis. The cavalcade started with the dawn; but it moved slowly. It convoyed the sacred statue of Iacchus; and at many points on the road, according to cherished traditions, halts were made and sacred dances performed. The μύσται, as they moved, sang hymns in honour of Iacchus. They reached the sacred precinct at Eleusis by sun-down, and there had to find shelter and rest in preparation for the doings of the next day. Of course, the sacrifices and the processions could be seen by all. It was only when Eleusis was reached that the veil fell, and thenceforth for four days the secret rites, the nature of which we can very imperfectly recover, took place.

The sacred site at Eleusis has been thoroughly excavated by the Greek Archæological Society, and is familiar to visitors to Athens. Its centre was the great hall of initiation, in which beyond doubt all the rites took place; the mere plan of this hall gives us some evidence, though mostly negative, as to the character of the rites. At the beginning of the 5th cent. a smaller hall was destroyed by the Persians; and after their retreat it was rebuilt on a more magnificent scale. It was almost square in form, 170 ft. in length and in breadth, with two entrances on each of three sides. Round the walls inside ran series of stone seats eight ranks high, capable of seating about 3000 people. The roof, or possibly an upper storey, was supported by rows of columns, 42 in number. There is no appearance of a raised stage, or of underground passages, or any possibility of those stage-effects, mysterious appearances and disappearances, visions of Hades and of future rewards and punishments which the earlier modern writers on the Greek mysteries commonly assumed to have existed. All that took place must have taken place out in the midst, with the view of the μύσται greatly impeded by the columns.[1]

At the season of celebration there was no moon in the evening. The μύσται fasted by day, and in the evening penetrated into the hall through the surrounding gloom. Their religious feelings had been greatly stirred, and they were prepared to receive strong religious impressions. But how those impressions were made we can only conjecture. Sacred movements were performed, while the voice of the hierophant gave utterance to brief statements of an enigmatic kind to which the μύσται had to attach such meaning as they could. It is almost certain that Mystery-plays were acted, the subjects of them taken from the myth of the carrying away of Persephone, and probably from some of the more obscure tales in regard to the birth of Iacchus, his death, and his revival.

Besides the attendance at sacred dramas the μύσται went through other rites. They solemnly partook of a draught called κυκεών, made of meal and water; they also handled certain sacred objects, transferring them from basket to box, or from box to basket, according to a fixed ritual; and at the end of the festival they emptied of water some vessels called πλημοχόαι, calling on the sky to give rain, and the earth to yield her increase. The last action was probably very early in origin, being obviously a relic of sympathetic magic, according to

[1] W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Græcarum*[3], Leipzig, 1898–1901

[1] For an account of the sacred place and a plan of the 'hall of initiation' see P. Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History*, London, 1892, ch. xiii. A full and judicious account of the cultus and festival will be found in *CGS* iii. ch. ii.

which the pouring of water, when accompanied by the proper spell, has a tendency to produce rain.

The return to Athens, like the setting out, was public. The people of the city came out to meet the returning procession, and with dance and song, and with contests in wit and scurrility, the μύσται returned to their homes.

Readers may naturally think that a ritual so simple and so wanting in depth of teaching could not have justified the tone in which some of the great Greek writers have spoken of the mysteries of Eleusis. The poet Sophocles and the painter Polygnotus confine happiness in the next world to those who had been initiated in the mysteries of Eleusis, that is, probably, so far as their fellow-citizens were concerned. The Christian Fathers evidently look on the mysteries as in a measure rivals of the Christian hope. And that there was an ethical element in them we may judge from the speech of Andocides to his judges: 'You are initiated, that you may punish impiety, and save those who defend themselves from injustice.' Cicero, in his *de Legibus*,[1] expresses the view that Athens had produced nothing better than the mysteries of Eleusis, not only in regard to the ordering and civilizing of life, but in regard to the furnishing of a good hope in death. But it is of the very nature of the mysteries, as we shall presently see, to produce effects out of proportion to their obvious outward show.

(*b*) *Andanian and other mysteries.*—The Eleusinian mysteries were the most notable of those of distinctly Greek type. But in the pages of Pausanias and of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum* we come on the tracks of many others. In fact, it is not possible to draw a rigid line between the public cults of Greek cities and the mysteries, since with many of the former there were connected rites which had to be performed in secret.

E.g., at the Arrhephoric festival at Athens, the two Arrhephoric girls, who had an abode on the Acropolis, 'place on their heads objects which the priestess of Athena gives them to carry, the nature of which is known neither to the giver nor to the bearer. The maidens go down by a secret underground passage leading through a precinct near the temple of Aphrodite in the Gardens. Below they leave their burdens; and take up in exchange something covered up.'[2]

In the same way, though the Attic Thesmophoria were among the most noteworthy public festivals, there were as part of the festival certain rites which could be performed only by burgher ladies, who had to prepare themselves by sexual chastity, and were not allowed to reveal them.

At Andania in Messenia there were celebrated mysteries in honour of a group of deities, Demeter, Hermes, the Great Gods, Apollo Karneios, and Hagna. Hagna ('the pure one') is doubtless Persephone. Who the 'Great Gods' were may be doubted; it is conjectured with probability that they were the Kabeiroi (*q.v.*). In that case, the mysteries of Andania must have been a combination; yet Pausanias tells us that they were very ancient, having been celebrated by the Messenians before the coming of the Laconian conquerors. Of the public or visible phenomena of these rites we have a very full account in an inscription[3] which has come down to our time. Its date is 91 B.C., late in the Hellenistic age; but, as all the rites which it prescribes are taken from sacred books, they are probably of considerable antiquity.

The mystery (τελετή) is to be celebrated by male and female votaries chosen from among the citizens. There are very stringent regulations as to the dress to be worn, which must be simple and not adorned with gold. A procession is to be arranged, headed by a benefactor named Mnasistratus, the priest and priestesses of the deities, the president of the festival, with other officials, and sacred virgins conducting the cars in which are arks containing the objects of the mysteries. The victims for sacrifice follow. Tents are to be set up for the visitors, but they are to be of the simplest kind. Next follow regulations as to finance, and as to the sacrifices to be offered, which are on a large scale, including, as one item, a hundred lambs. After the sacrifices what remains is to be consumed at a sacred banquet partaken of by the μύσται of both sexes, with the priest and priestesses, the musicians, and the assistants. Finally, the male votaries are to draw up and submit to the magistrates a report of the proceedings and the names of the transgressors whom it has been necessary to punish.

This long and minute inscription enables us easily to follow the visible course of the mysteries; but it omits precisely the things which would most interest us—the course of the secret rites and the doctrines which they taught or embodied.

At Andania, as we have seen, the Kabeiroi had a share in the local mysteries. But the most important seat of the cultus of these deities was the island of Samothrace, where in full summer their rites were celebrated. Lemnos was also a seat of their worship; and in recent years a Kabeirion has been excavated at Thebes, where have been found Greek vases painted with scenes connected with the cult, the interpretation of which presents great difficulties. It is very difficult, from the scraps of information which have come down to us, to reconstitute the character of the Kabeiric mysteries. A few points are regarded as made out. In the first place, the rites seem to be in origin pre-Greek, whether Phœnician or Pelasgic, but they were afterwards Hellenized. The deities themselves were known as Axiokersos and Axiokersa, a pair, with a child Axieros, and a fourth being, called Cadmilos. If we subtract the affix Ἄξιος, which is doubtless the Greek word meaning 'venerable,' we have Kersos, Kersa, and Eros. But Eros here is not, as has often been supposed, the Greek deity of love; the word may be merely the Greek ἱερός, 'sacred.' By the Islanders two male figures of the group were identified with the Dioscouroi, Castor and Pollux; and the mysteries certainly had a nautical character, the gods to whom they belonged guaranteeing to sailors a safe passage through the sea. At Thebes, on the other hand, the Kabeiric mysteries seem to have taught some lore as to the origin of man and the productive powers of nature. But it is of little use to try to recover both the dream and the interpretation. The matter is fully discussed by L. Bloch, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, *s.v.* 'Megaloi Theoi.'

(*c*) *Dionysiac mysteries.* — Besides the Greek mysteries which belonged to definite places and to particular deities, there were others which were practised by societies which sprang up in various places, and admitted of something like a religious propaganda. These appear to have originated, or, at all events, to have spread, in the 6th cent.—a time of great mental progress and unrest. An important part in their spread is attributed to Pythagoras, a native of Samos, but a great traveller, whose influence spread as far as Italy, and to Onomacritus, an enigmatic personage who dwelt at Athens in the time of Pisistratus, and has been regarded as the author of poems which passed under the names of Orpheus and Musæus. The deity with whom these mysteries were specially concerned was Dionysus, although Æschylus in his *Bassarids* boldly says that Orpheus was not a worshipper of Dionysus but of Helios or Apollo.

None of the Greek deities was so important in the festivals of Athens as Dionysus. And no deity takes so many aspects in Greek religion. His original seat was in Thrace; and he seems to have been the vegetation-spirit of some of the tribes of the north, who worshipped him with rude orgies in the mountains Rhodope and Pangæum. In a sort of reaction against progressing civilization these rites spread over Greece, and found a second home in Bœotia. From the *Bacchæ* of Euripides we may gather their general character, which is marked by wild ecstasy, by wandering in the

[1] ii. 14.
[2] Pausanias, i. xxvii. 3.
[3] H. Sauppe, *Die Mysterieninschrift von Andania*, Göttingen, 1860; cf. C. T. Newton, *Essays on Art and Archæology*, London, 1880, pp. 177–184.

mountains, by the tearing and devouring of sacred animals, and by sexual irregularities. They were largely confined to women, and were secret. But so far we may regard them as a mere survival of barbaric cultus It is when they are associated with the name of Orpheus that they take another and a more important aspect.

(*d*) *Orphic mysteries.*—Orpheus was regarded as a native of Thrace; and it seems strange that so gentle and attractive a figure should be associated with so wild a country. But two things may be noted: (1) that on the southern shore of Thrace there lived from very early times a population gentler and more Hellenized, whom the Greeks called Pæonians; and (2) that Orpheus did not harmonize with the Thracian religion, and was finally done to death by raging Thracian women. It would seem that Orpheus, whether an actual person or the mere personification of a tendency, represents a Greek revised version of the worship of Dionysus, in which the savage elements were, at least in the better times of Greece, eliminated, and religious and philosophic elements implanted in it. Some modern writers, misled by the analogy of Gnostic and heretic sects in the early Christian Church, have regarded the Orphics as an organized sect with leaders and special rites and doctrines. But this is a delusion. The best account of the Orphic teachers occurs in Plato:[1]

'There are quacks and soothsayers, who flock to the rich man's doors, and try to persuade him that they have a power at command, which they procure from heaven, and which enables them, by sacrifices and incantations performed amid feasting and indulgence, to make amends for any crime committed by the individual himself or by his ancestors . . . and they produce a host of books, written by Musæus and Orpheus, which form their ritual. . . . Their Mysteries deliver us from the torments of the other world, while the neglect of them is punished by an awful doom.'

The special form of Dionysiac worship to which these people were attached is connected with the name Zagreus, which was applied to the chthonic Dionysus. The legends which told the story of the birth, death, and resurrection of Zagreus are of a particularly revolting kind, and Clement of Alexandria, who dwells on them, wins an easy victory over heathenism. Zagreus was the child of an amour of Zeus and Persephone. While still an infant he was entrapped by the Titans, who attracted him with toys and then tore him to pieces and devoured him. Only the heart survived, which was rescued by Athene and carried to Zeus, who slew the murderers with his thunderbolts, and produced from the heart another Zagreus. It is not hard to understand how this unsavoury story may have been moralized, as other unpleasant stories in the sacred books of many nations have been. A myth is often interpreted in the light, not of history, but of inner experience. In all of us, the Orphic teachers maintained, there is a divine element not wholly overwhelmed by the wickedness of which the Titans are the emblem. By innate impurity men are condemned to a cycle of births and deaths, the κύκλος τῆς γενέσεως, from which they can escape and be made fit for communion with the gods only by purification and initiation in the mysteries.

A special feature of Orphism was the careful instructions which it gave as to the route to Hades. Certain inscribed gold tablets found near Sybaris in Italy, and dating from about 200 B.C.,[2] were placed in tombs, and furnish to the dead a guide to the happy part of the world of shades, telling him with what words he must address the guardians of the spring of memory and other servants of Persephone.

The death and revival of the deity of the mysteries is a feature of the cultus not only of Zagreus, but of Isis and of Cybele. Osiris was slain by Typhon, and Isis searched long before she discovered his body. The death or self-mutilation of Attis, the young favourite of Cybele, and his rebirth were recorded in a drama yearly enacted in the spring.[1] A pine-tree was selected as a symbol of Attis, and the identification was completed by fastening to the tree an image of the deity. The tree was cut down and carried into the sanctuary of Cybele, whereon great wailing ensued, and the μύσται gashed themselves with knives to signify their participation in the suffering of their patron. On the next day Attis was restored to life. In this case we see clearly that the original meaning of the rite was sympathy with the death of vegetation in the winter and its revival in the spring. But from that rite of purely naturalist religion to the death to sin and revival to a better life the spirit of man passed by a gradual enlightenment; the events in the world of nature became a reflexion of the life within.

Our knowledge of Orphism has been considerably increased in recent years through the discovery at Athens of a precinct of Dionysus which was the seat of the worship of a θίασος called the Iobacchi, and in it a long inscription which reveals to us the constitution of the θίασος and the character of its cult.[2] A great part of the inscription deals with the necessary, if not inspiring, subject of finance. But we have also record of a curious sacrifice performed in the month Elaphebolion. Persons selected by lot from among the Iobacchi personated various deities and heroes, Dionysus, Kore, Palæmon, Aphrodite, and Proteurythmus, and received portions of the flesh of the sacrifice. It is conjectured that under the name Proteurythmus we must suppose Orpheus to be intended; it was quite a custom of the mysteries to celebrate gods and founders under names peculiar to the special cult. But in this inscription again it is the visible acts of cultus that are mentioned, not the meaning attached to those acts.

Maass, in his *Orpheus*, maintains that the Orphic societies were not always attached to the worship of Dionysus; sometimes other deities, such as Kore or Hekate, took his place. Any chthonic cult might have an Orphic aspect. And the Orphic writings were accessible to persons outside the θίασοι. The Orphic hymns which have come down to us are of late origin, but it may be that in character they reproduce early ones. These hymns, with their fantastic cosmogonies, cannot be treated here.

Approaching the time of the Christian era, we find Orpheus in literature and art taking the place of a shepherd of souls, who had himself descended into the realm of Hades in his search for his wife Eurydice and so was able to guide others through its perils. Thus we are not surprised to find that he often appears in the paintings of the Christian catacombs as a symbol of Christ.

(*e*) *Spread in the age of Hellenism.*—The age which immediately followed the great conquests of Alexander and the establishment of the Greek kingdoms of Asia seems to have witnessed the low-water mark of religion in Greece and Asia. The breaking up of nationalities in the Persian empire necessarily involved the abasement of the national religions; and the victorious Greeks and Macedonians had little to put in their place. In the new-founded and enlarged cities which arose everywhere in S. Asia from the Ægean Sea to the Ganges, the conquerors introduced the cult of their own gods; temples of Zeus, Apollo, and Artemis sprang up, and festivals on the model of those in Hellas were instituted. But these cults had little vitality; they were encouraged by the rulers for

[1] *Rep.* p. 364, tr. of J. Ll. Davies and D. J. Vaughan[2], Cambridge, 1858.
[2] *JHS* iii. [1882] 111–118.

[1] Firmicus Maternus, *de Errore profan. rel.* 27.
[2] See E. W. T. Maass, *Orpheus*, Munich, 1895, pp. 18–32.

merely political reasons, and they took no hold on the people. The only forms of worship which had any force were the cultus of the Τύχη, or Fortune, of cities and the deification of the reigning monarchs, which were not religion at all in the sense of an approach to the unseen spiritual powers, but only a glorification of outward success and prosperity.

Hence we need not be surprised to find that before long, especially in the 2nd cent. B.C., the stronger religions of W. Asia revolted against the Hellenic influence. In India the Greek deities were driven out by Buddhism and Hinduism. The religion of the Magi in Persia and Media revived, and was adopted by the conquering Parthians. In Egypt Isis, with her new consort Sarapis, recovered lost ground. In Judæa took place the notable revolt under the Maccabees, which placed the religion of Jahweh in an unassailable position. It was natural that at the same time the mystery-religions should have issued from obscurity and gained converts in crowds; for religion is like a plant which, when it dies down, sends out from the roots fresh shoots. And, as these religions embodied a profound tendency of the age to transfer the stress of religion from the State-cults to private beliefs, they gained from that general instability of States which made place for the rise of Rome.

In the Hellenistic age there took place in the great cities of Hellenic origin the same process which is notable in our own days. The population flocked into them, and became more and more cosmopolitan. Phœnicians and Jews, Ionians and Italians, followed trade wherever it led. At the same time the trade in slaves settled in the country districts swarms of captives, Phrygians and Thracians, Syrians and Greeks. All these incomers brought with them their deities and the traditional rites with which they were worshipped. From Phœnicia came the cult of Baal and Astarte; from Phrygia came the worship of the great goddess Cybele, with whom were associated the effeminate Attis and the more majestic figure of Sabazius, who combined the functions of the Greek Zeus with those of Dionysus. The cult of Sarapis and Isis, which had its origin in Egypt, spread in the course of the last three centuries B.C. into all the great commercial towns. And somewhat later, at the beginning of our era, the religion of Mithra, which was a curious outgrowth of the old religion of Persia, spread westward from Cilicia, and became a formidable rival to Christianity, having a great hold of the Roman legions. The Jews also made many proselytes; and their worship, which was regarded by the historians of the time as in the same class with the other cults which have been mentioned, attracted especially the women of the wealthier classes.

It would be a long and difficult task, and, in fact, impossible, to disentangle the complex threads of the religions of the age; we do not know enough of the peculiarities of each. There was a constant influence of one on another. For example, the repulsive rite called *taurobolium* (*q.v.*), which consisted in bathing votaries in the blood of a newly slain bull, seems to belong primarily to the worship of Cybele and Sabazius, but it became a feature of the cult of Mithra. Apuleius, in his curious work, *The Golden Ass*, is evidently anxious to show that the rites of Isis are of a higher and better kind than those of Cybele, Hecate, and other deities; but he altogether fails to impress on the reader wherein this superiority consists, or wherein his hero Lucius becomes the better when he forsakes other deities to become a votary of Isis. The Mithraic religion has been studied with the most minute care and good judgment by F. Cumont,[1] who has set forth views in regard to it which have been generally accepted by scholars; but, in the absence of any extant literature to enlighten us, we have only the vaguest notion of the real attractions of the cult. See art. MITHRAISM.

2. General character and tendencies.—All these religions, by the very necessity of circumstance, were not local or civic, but appealed to men as individuals and in groups. All of them were proselytizing, and offered to mankind, in competition with one another, a better way of life. All that we can attempt is to sketch the general tendencies which were common to them all, so that they made a definite class.

From the point of view of this article, their most important characteristic was that they were *mysteries*. One and all belonged to those only who were initiated, and had secret practices and doctrines which it was not lawful to reveal. The secrecy of the cults carried with it the necessary consequence that their principles were handed down, from generation to generation, by a set of priests or hierophants, who usually claimed extensive powers, and offered themselves as the only legitimate way by which the deities could be approached. They held the keys of the gate, and by their aid only could the would-be votaries attain to a divine communion. We find in later classical writers—Apuleius, Lucian, Juvenal—very unattractive pictures of these hierophants, who were frequently eunuchs, and made a shameless trade with sacred things.

But what constituted the attraction of these societies? Why were the priests able to attract the men and women who were dissatisfied with their lives and anxious for a better hope? What could they offer to the votaries? The best answer may be given in a single word. The great need and longing of the time was for salvation, σωτηρία. Men and women were eager for such a communion with the divine, such a realization of the interest of God in their affairs, as might serve to support them in the trials of life, and guarantee to them a friendly reception in the world beyond the grave. To attain peace of mind, a position of confident hope amid the blows of circumstance, they would make trial of any secret cult which came their way, perhaps of one after another, until they found one to satisfy their needs.

The communion with some saving deity, then, was the end of all practice of the mysteries. And those of the Græco-Roman world had in common certain features, as to which the best modern writers have come to a general agreement. These features, briefly, are the following.

The entry into any of the societies, or θίασοι, was through certain rites of purification. We have already seen that this was the case at Eleusis, and it seems to have been so in other instances. Sometimes the purification was accomplished by baptism in water; sometimes there was a more repulsive baptism of blood. The blood-purification of which we hear most was the *taurobolium*. A more ordinary purification in Greece was that by the blood of a sacrificed pig. We must not suppose that, in origin, these ceremonies arose out of a sense of guilt or unfitness for converse with the gods. At first the uncleanness from which they liberated men was only formal, and the rite partook of the nature of magic. But by degrees more lofty conceptions made their way into men's minds; and it is to be supposed that many a votary of Cybele or Mithra may have looked back on the blood-bath as marking his entry into a better state of existence.

[1] *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, 2 vols., Brussels, 1896–99.

It was of the essence of the mysteries to establish a way of communion between the votary and the saving deity who was the protector of the society. Sometimes this was accomplished by a sacred meal, such as many societies in Greece celebrated on fixed days at the tombs of founders of families and clans. At Eleusis the drinking of the draught called κυκεών was one of the most solemn acts of the festival. If we trace these meals of communion backwards, we must suppose them to have originated in that ceremonial eating of the sacred animal or plant which belongs to the rudest tribes. But we must beware of the aberrations of a certain school of anthropologists who tend to overleap all the long series of changes which took place before these savage beliefs became humanized. These writers assume that the notion of a ceremonial eating of a divine victim persisted, not only into the more civilized pagan mysteries, but even into early Christianity. They take ancient religion at its lowest, not at its higher levels. Magic and materialism no doubt persisted, but all the nobler spirits warred against them.

When a way was once opened between the votary and that aspect of the divine nature with which he could hold intercourse, there followed an ἐποπτεία, or enlightenment, which led in some cases to visions such as Apuleius records as seen by his Lucius, to whom Isis appears as he sleeps in a vision of the night and says:

'Above all, remember and retain in your heart that the remaining space of your life on earth is dedicated to me, to whom you owe all your being.'

This would lead, not to a denial of other deities, but to a special self-consecration to the service of one.

All the mysteries professed to guarantee not only happiness in the present life, but a favourable reception in the world of the dead. They extended men's views to take in the future life as well as the present one. In the passage just cited Isis says to Lucius:

'In my keeping you will live happy and honoured; and when, having fulfilled the allotted space of life, you shall go to the shades below, there also in that underworld I shine through the darkness . . . and you shall often adore me as your protectress.'

The same language, under similar circumstances, would have been uttered by Cybele or Mithra. Each deity of the mysteries attached to himself a body of votaries who were willing to trust him, and whose safety he guaranteed amid the sorrows of life and on the dangerous journey to the world of the dead.

3. Influence on early Christianity.—The question how far early Christianity was affected by the mystic sects of the Græco-Roman world is one which has been much discussed in recent years, and opinions on the subject differ widely. We must distinguish between direct influence, any borrowing by the first preachers of Christianity from the pagan mysteries, and indirect influence, exerted rather by the atmosphere which the mysteries diffused than by direct pressure. The former can have been but slight, since everywhere Christianity and the pagan mysteries were bitterly opposed one to the other. But the latter, or perhaps tendencies arising from that spiritual condition of the world which favoured the spread of the mysteries, must have been considerable. It is clear that these cults smoothed the way for the spread of Christianity.

In the teaching of Jesus Christ, as reported in the Synoptic Gospels, we find little that is akin to the mystery-cults. The preaching is public; there were no ceremonies of purification and communion; comparatively little is said as to the future life. But, when we turn to the Pauline Epistles and the Fourth Gospel, the case is already different. Returning to our statement that the essential features of the mysteries were rites of initiation, rites of communion, and a great concern as to the future life, we find that by the end of the 1st cent. all these features were becoming prominent in Christianity. St. Paul placed baptism and the Christian sacrament on a high and spiritual level. And the relation of the believer to the exalted Christ is obviously in a measure parallel to the relation between the pagan votary and his saving deity, though, of course, in an infinitely nobler sphere. The doctrine of heaven and hell, on the other hand, of future reward and punishment, has no great place in the Pauline scheme; St. Paul seems to have expected the total annihilation of the wicked rather than their relegation to a place of punishment. As long as the Christians were in constant expectation of the Second Coming of their Master, belief in individual destiny to happiness or misery in a spiritual world could not take deep root, although R. H. Charles maintains[1] that such beliefs did at the beginning of our era find a place in the thoughts of orthodox Jews. But the concrete views of heaven, hell, and purgatory which became usual among Christians after the Apostolic Age were taken direct from the teaching of the pagan mysteries, as has been proved by Dieterich in his *Nekyia*, where he analyzes the *Apocalypse of Peter*, and shows its pagan roots. At the same time, other elements prominent in the mysteries made their way into Christianity—the great stress laid on the sacraments, and the intercessory powers of the priesthood.

The intellectual elements in Orphism and kindred doctrines, views as to the origin of the world, the nature of the deity, and the like, did not enter much into orthodox Christianity, but were taken over by some of the Gnostic sects, who prided themselves on their γνῶσις, or saving knowledge of secret truth. Cf., further, MYSTERIES (Christian).

LITERATURE.—The literature of the subject is enormous in extent, and nothing like a full bibliography can here be given. Very little of it is in English. The great work of C. A. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, Königsberg, 1829, is still indispensable. A very readable account of the mystery-religions is given in A. Maury, *Religions de la Grèce antique*, Paris, 1857–59, but it is somewhat out of date. Of recent short works, G. Anrich, *Das antike Mysterienwesen*, Göttingen, 1894, is about the best, moderate and trustworthy. A. Dieterich, *Nekyia*, Leipzig, 1893, G. Wobbermin, *Relig.-geschichtl. Studien zur Frage der Beeinflussung des Urchristenthums durch das antike Mysterienwesen*, Berlin, 1896, and R. Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, Leipzig, 1910, all contain useful matter, but the last is very speculative and extreme. As to the amount of influence exercised by the mysteries on early Christianity there is at present a wide variety of opinions. In K. Lake, *The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, London, 1911, and P. Gardner, *The Religious Experience of St. Paul*, do. 1911, more influence is attributed, at all events on the classes who accepted Christianity, than is allowed by conservative writers, or, in the opposite camp, by A. Schweitzer, *Paul and his Interpreters*, Eng. tr., London, 1912. A very learned and moderate estimate is set forth by H. A. A. Kennedy, *St. Paul and the Mystery-Religions*, do. 1913.

P. GARDNER.

MYSTERIES (Roman).—There is very little to be said on the subject of Roman mysteries. In the Roman religion proper there were ceremonies of a secret character, as in almost all religions, but these had nothing in common with mysteries as defined in art. MYSTERIES (Greek); they were mere survivals of the rites of primitive Latium which had to be kept up because on their continuance prosperity, public and private, was supposed to depend. Their meaning was often obscure or forgotten.

As early as the 3rd cent. B.C. Italy was invaded by Greek and Oriental mystic societies, the character and history of which have been sketched above (see MYSTERIES [Greek], p. 77).

In 204 B.C., at the end of the war with Hannibal,

[1] *Religious Development between the Old and the New Testaments*, London, 1914, ch. iv.

a sacred stone which represented the Phrygian Mother-goddess was brought from Pessinus to Rome, and her worship thus gained a footing in the city. Private societies, even among the higher classes, were formed to carry on her cult. Not long afterwards, in 186 B.C., nocturnal festivals attended by many irregularities, held in honour of Dionysus, spread rapidly over Italy. The Roman Senate regarded the matter in the severest light, and many men and women who were denounced as having taken part in such rites were put to death; but the movement was too wide-spread to be trampled out. The natural attitude of a patriotic Roman towards such religious developments is exactly expressed by T. Mommsen:

'Of course all rational men were agreed in the condemnation of these spurious forms of religion, as absurd as they were injurious to the Commonwealth.'[1]

It is characteristic of Mommsen that he would not recognize that the mixed people of Lower Italy might have religious needs which the stiff old religion of Rome could not satisfy. The age of Augustus saw some revival of the old Roman religion, which, however, could not be galvanized into real life. In the age of the Antonines, and still more in that of the Severan emperors, Rome and Italy were inundated by a great variety of Oriental religious cults—private cults which had no connexion with the State, but were kept up by *thiasi*, small coteries of votaries. The ladies of the Severan dynasty, Domna, Mæsa, Mamæa, and Soæmias, were natives of Emisa in Syria, and closely attached to the worship of the Baal there venerated—a cultus which Elagabalus, the son of Soæmias, introduced as the imperial religion. These ladies had talent and character; and the Semitic rites which they favoured became fashionable. But, apart from that, their age was an age of syncretism in religion and the *superstitio* which goes with it. Many high-born women became Jewish proselytes. In the later age of Aurelian and Diocletian the religion of Mithra, which had, for reasons which it is hard to discern, become the ruling cult of the Roman army, was spread to all the confines of the empire, especially Gaul and Germany. Mithraism and the worship of the Phrygian Great Mother, which was somehow blended with it, were essentially mystery-religions. The seats of Mithraic worship were caves and underground shrines; and the rites were secret, so secret that we know very little about them, though many Mithraic shrines have been discovered, and sculptured remains abound. To show the prevalence of the ideas of the mysteries in this age, we need only appeal to two writers: Plutarch[1] says that it is from the mysteries that we gain our best knowledge of the dæmonic element in life; and Clement of Alexandria, though he makes a bitter attack on the pagan mysteries as rivals of Christianity, yet chooses to express his own faith in phrases borrowed from them:

'O truly holy Mysteries, O light undefiled. I am led by the torch-bearer to be initiated into heaven and God. Through initiation I become holy; the Lord is my hierophant, and as photogogos seals the votary for himself.'[2]

This brief statement is sufficient to show that in the Roman empire the prevalence of the mystery-religions is not a Roman development, but represents the suffocation of the Roman spirit. As J. Strzygowski expresses it,[3] the West expires in the embrace of the East. It is a process parallel to, and contemporary with, the conversion of the Roman empire to the Christian faith. In the 'Greek' section (p. 82) Apuleius is quoted; and what is there said as to the influence and character of the pagan mysteries and their relation to Christianity in the eastern part of the Roman empire, applies also in the western part, though the difference always subsists that in Greek-speaking countries more was made of the intellectual aspects of the mysteries, in Latin-speaking countries of their rites and practices.

LITERATURE.—Four good books serve to guide the student through the confused medley of religions in the Roman empire: W. W. Fowler, *Rel. Experience of the Roman People*, London, 1911; T. R. Glover, *The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire*, do. 1909; S. Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*[2], do. 1905; J. Réville, *La Religion à Rome sous les Sévères*, Paris, 1886.

P. GARDNER.

MYSTERY-PLAYS.—See MIRACLE-PLAYS, MYSTERIES, MORALITIES.

MYSTICISM.

Introductory (R. M. JONES), p. 83.
Primitive (E. LEHMANN), p. 85.
Buddhist (L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN and E. J. THOMAS), p. 85.
Chinese (W. G. WALSHE), p. 87.
Christian—
New Testament (R. M. JONES), p. 89.
Roman Catholic (J. CHAPMAN), p. 90.
Protestant (R. M. JONES), p. 101.
Christian—
Russian (K. GRASS), p. 103.
Greek.—See MYSTERIES (Greek, Phrygian, etc.), NEO-PLATONISM, PINDAR, PLATO.
Hebrew and Jewish (J. ABELSON), p. 108.
Hindu (H. MACNICOL), p. 113.
Muslim.—See ṢŪFĪS.
Persian.—See ṢŪFĪS.
Roman.—See MYSTERIES (Roman).

MYSTICISM (Introductory).—'Mysticism,' in common speech-usage, is a word of very uncertain connotation. It has in recent times been used as an equivalent for two characteristically different German words: *Mystizismus*, which stands for the cult of the supernatural, for theosophical pursuits, for a spiritualistic exploitation of psychical research; and *Mystik*, which stands for immediate experience of a divine-human intercourse and relationship. The word 'mysticism' has, furthermore, been commonly used to cover both (1) the first-hand experience of direct intercourse with God and (2) the theologico-metaphysical doctrine of the soul's possible union with Absolute Reality, *i.e.* with God. It would be conducive to clarity to restrict the word 'mysticism' to the latter significance, namely, as an equivalent for the German word *Mystik*, and as designating the historic *doctrine* of the relationship and potential union of the human soul with Ultimate Reality, and to use the term 'mystical experience' for direct intercourse with God.

First hand, or mystical, experience is primarily a psychological question; the doctrine of mysticism is essentially a metaphysical problem. Mystical experience is as old as humanity, is not confined to any one racial stock, is undoubtedly one of the original grounds of personal religion, and does not stand or fall with the truth or falsity of the metaphysically formulated doctrine of mysticism. Mystical experience is marked by the emergence of a type of consciousness which is not sharply

[1] *Hist. of Rome*, Eng. tr., London, 1888, bk. iii. ch. xiii.

[1] *de Defectu oraculorum*, xiv. 417 C.
[2] *Protrept.* 120, 1.
[3] *Kleinasien*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 234.

focalized, or clearly differentiated into a subject-object state. The 'subject' and 'object' are fused into an undivided *one*. Whatever is seen, heard, or felt in these moments is flooded with an inrush from the abysses of the inner life. Deep-lying powers, not ordinarily put into play, seem suddenly liberated. The usual insulations, which sunder our inner life into something like compartments, seem shot through. The whole being—in an integral and undivided experience—*finds* itself. Not only so, but transcendent energies from beyond the margin appear to 'invade' the individual self, a larger, environing consciousness, an enfolding presence, makes itself felt. These undifferentiated experiences—J. A. Stewart, in his *Myths of Plato* (London, 1905), calls them 'transcendental consciousness'—occur in a great variety of fields, in numerous ways, and with all degrees of depth and inclusiveness. Lofty appreciation of beauty or sublimity, absorbed enjoyment of music, serene companionship with nature, sudden insight into the meaning of a truth, the awakening of love, moral exaltation of life in the pursuit of duty, illustrate some types of experience which immensely transcend 'knowledge'—experiences in which 'subject' and 'object' are fused into an undifferentiated *one*, and in which self is identified with object.

Religious mystical experience is an intense, and strikingly dynamic, variety of this fused, undifferentiated consciousness. The individual soul feels invaded, vitalized with new energy, merged with an enfolding presence, liberated and exalted with a sense of having found what it has always sought, and flooded with joy. In many instances, especially with persons of peculiar psychical disposition, the mystical experience is attended with unusual phenomena, such as automatic voices or visions, profound body changes, swoons, or ecstasies. These physical phenomena are, however, only the more intense and excessive resonances and reverberations which in milder degrees accompany all psychical processes. They mark no rank of sainthood, and indicate no miracle-working power. The mystical experience, especially in the loftiest spiritual geniuses of the race, may very well be the emergence of a new type-level of life, a higher manner of correspondence with ultimate sources of reality, an *élan vital* of the soul, a surge of the entire self towards ineffable fullness of life. It may be, in the higher sphere of the inner life, an instance of what biologists call a tropism, *i.e.* an inherent tendency of a living thing to turn towards the sources of its nutriment. We are here primarily concerned, however, with the fact of such an experience and with its functional value. The mystical experience itself, as an inner life-event, is unmistakably one of the great tap-roots of personal religion, bringing, as it does, to the recipient undemonstrable, but at the same time irrefragable, certainty of higher personal life in contact with the personal self, and revealing a superaddition of life-functions and new depth-levels of truth. It is not necessary to conclude that 'oracular communication,' or mysterious information, or ideas with novelty of content come into the world through the secret door of mystical openings. 'Ideas' and 'communications' and 'information' prove always, when they are examined, to have a historical background. They show the marks of group-experience, and they do not drop ready-made into the world from some other region. The mystical experience has undoubtedly a noetic value. But it consists in leaps of insight through heightened life, in an intensifying of vision through the fusing of all the deep-lying powers of intellect, emotions, and will, and in a corresponding surge of conviction through the dynamic integration of personality, rather than in the 'gift' of new concrete knowledge-facts.

'Mysticism,' on the other hand, in its narrow and exact historical significance, is a doctrine of union with the Absolute. It implies a certain metaphysical conception of God and of the soul, and it implies, further, a 'mystic way' of attaining union with the Absolute. The fundamental metaphysics in which the doctrine of Christian mysticism is grounded is Greek rationalistic metaphysics, formulated by Socrates and his great successors, Plato, Aristotle, and Plotinus. God, according to this Greek interpretation—and for the present purpose the variations of it may be ignored—is Absolute Reality, Pure Being, Perfect Form, with no admixture of 'matter,' *i.e.* with no potentiality or possibility of change. God is That-which-absolutely-is, one, permanent, immutable, and free of everything that implies process or 'becoming.' He cannot, therefore, be found in finite things, or in transitory happenings, or in passing states of mind. He is utterly beyond the *here* and the *now*. He is for ever above all that can be seen or felt or known or named. There is, however, something in the human soul which is unsundered from the Absolute, something which essentially is that Reality. There are many names for this 'unsundered something' in the soul—'pure reason,' 'active reason,' 'creative reason,' 'recollective faculty,' 'apex of mind,' 'abyss of mind,' 'ground of consciousness,' 'synteresis,' 'divine spark,' 'word of God,' 'inward light,' 'uncreated centre.' However it may be named, it is conceived as an original ground or junction of soul with God, an unlost and inalienable soul-centre, the source and basis of all real knowledge of absolute truth, of the idea of the Good, and of all ideas of universal significance. The soul can know super-empirical reality only because, when it sinks to its deepest centre, it is one with that reality; it is identical with what it knows.

This intellectual formulation—and it is the metaphysics underlying historical mysticism—necessarily involves a *via negativa*. The Absolute Reality, the God with whom the soul seeks to be united, is above and beyond all that is concrete and finite. To ascribe any finite qualities or characteristics to Him is to limit Him. We can preserve the infinite oneness and wholeness of His being only by eliminating all that is finite in our account of Him. He is not 'this'; He is not 'this'; He is not 'this.' The soul that would reach the goal of bliss in union with Him must therefore rise above (or sink below) states and processes, above emotions and thoughts, above aspirations and deeds, and find, in wordless communion, in a consciousness transcending images, ideas, or states of any kind, a junction of soul-centre with Absolute Reality—'a flight of the alone to the Alone.'

The 'mystic way,' 'this flight of the alone to the Alone,' is described as steep and hard, lonely and arduous, a way of 'ladders' and 'steps' and 'ascents.' The historic 'grades' which divide 'the way' into well-marked levels, or heights of ascent, are the 'purgative,' the 'illuminative,' and the 'unitive' stages. The attempts to formulate mysticism into a fixed doctrine or systematic description of the spiritual life are necessarily only partially successful, and the carefully labelled stages of the 'mystic way' only loosely sum up and recapitulate the unfolding processes of the soul on its way to God. Like the metaphysics with which mysticism is allied, these formulations are partly true and partly false.

LITERATURE.—See list of authorities at end of art. MYSTICISM (Christian, Protestant).

RUFUS M. JONES.

MYSTICISM (Primitive).—Religious mysticism in the higher sense of the word, as an intuitive and ecstatic union with the deity obtained by means of contemplation and other mental exercises, is very rarely found among primitive races. They lack, as a rule, that idea of God as a spiritual and universal being which is the theoretical presupposition of this elevating of the mind; and their lower stage of reflexion does not allow them to pass through the series of abstractions and psychological analyses ordinarily involved in the practices of the mystics.

Nevertheless, as the idea of gods or ghosts as spiritual powers which take possession of man is current among the primitive peoples, and in so far as the sorcerer's art actually aims at inducing a possessed state of that sort, we very often meet with a 'mystical union' in the lower sense of the word, and, in fact, must regard it as typical of primitive religion.

1. **Mana, etc.**—This is seen most clearly in the earlier stages of primitive religion—nowadays termed 'pre-animistic'—where there is as yet no mention of gods or personal spirits, but holiness is conceived simply as a number of unpersonal or undifferentiated powers reigning over mankind and nature, but abiding in some elected persons (chiefs or sorcerers) whose nature fits them to be the instruments of these powers—the *mana* of the Melanesians, the *orenda* of the Iroquois, powers which, on the one hand, make the chiefs and their property tabu, and, on the other hand, enable them, without any consecration or other special ceremony, to exercise strong influences not only on the members of the tribe but even on nature, procuring rain and fertility, or, on the contrary, provoking thunder, hurricanes, etc.

In so far as *mana* is identical with the tabued man's nature itself (his special soul), we can hardly speak of a possessed state or of mysticism at all. But in some cases the *mana* is considered not merely as a faculty in the individual, but as a power *in se* of a certain superhuman character which partially takes up its abode in favoured persons. As to the Great Spirit of the Algonquins, we do not know whether it signifies only the powerful human soul or an independent being. At any rate, when the inward power in chiefs or sorcerers is conceived as a partaking of a superhuman power working through their actions, the phenomenon must be designated as a case of mysticism. And what is especially to be noted is that the type of holiness realized by these persons is essentially the same as is shown in all mystics of the world, viz. a holy man is endowed with certain gifts (a higher nature) that make him godlike—according to the ideas of the godhead—or at least enable him to exert influences which surpass the ordinary human faculties.

2. **Shamanism.**—Most forms of shamanism come within the sphere of mysticism. The ceremonies of the Yakuts in Siberia, as described by W. Radloff (*Aus Sibirien*[2], Leipzig, 1893, ii. 1 ff.), exhibit the manifold endeavours of the shaman to communicate with the deity and to penetrate into the heavens, in whose highest region Ulgön Bai ('the heavenly god') resides. The trances of the shaman, produced by means of ecstatic dancing, reduce him to a state of unconsciousness in which his soul has left the body to unite with the god or at least to dwell in his immediate presence. The most characteristic moment is the 'shamanizing' itself. The medium or instrument of this process is the shaman's drum, which he, as a result of the magical faculties acquired by his trances, fills with demoniac forces; the ghosts of the lower world now reside in the drum, by aid of which the shaman is able to provide himself and the people present with new vital force, to heal disease, promote fertility, etc. The mystical element in this process is the presence of the divine essence in the shaman and his distribution of it to others.

These shamanistic phenomena are found in Arctic Asia and America, and seem to be confined to this ethnologic and climatic zone; but, as shamanism, at least in its Siberian shape, is largely influenced by the great Indo-Iranian religions of Asia, especially in regard to mythological figures and cosmology, we cannot regard it as a genuine type of primitive mysticism.

3. **Fetishism.**—A truer illustration is afforded by African fetish-priests (*gangas*, etc.). According to the record of A. Bastian (*Deutsche Expedition an die Loango-Küste*, Jena, 1874–75, i. 55 f.), the natives of the Loango Coast, in cases of grave sickness, send for two priests, who, by means of dances round the fire, jumping, and whirling, fall into a trance and enter into a state of possession during which the voices of the demons inspiring them are heard through these skilful ventriloquists.

4. **Medicine-men.**—The medicine-men of the Indian tribes in many cases also assume the powers of demons by dressing in fantastic garb—hides, skulls, masks—and imitating the actions of the impersonated demon or animal, its movements, its howling, etc. In this way the medicine-man directly represents the spirit whose help is wanted. He even tries by means of trances, intoxications, or sweat-baths to induce a state of unconsciousness in order to lay himself open to the approach of the spirit.

Higher ideas of the godhead, such as have arisen among several Indian tribes, endow this relation to the spirit with a noble character. C. A. Eastman, a born Indian, bears witness to spiritual experiences of a wider range in describing a young man's religious initiation, broadly interpreted indeed, in modern Christian language:

> 'That solitary communion with the Unseen which was the highest expression of our religious life is partly described in the word *hambeday*, literally "mysterious feeling," which has been variously translated "fasting" and "dreaming." It may better be interpreted as "consciousness of the divine."
>
> The first *hambeday*, or religious retreat, marked an epoch in the life of the youth, which may be compared to that of confirmation or conversion in Christian experience. Having first prepared himself by means of the purifying vapor-bath, and cast off as far as possible all human or fleshly influences, the young man sought out the noblest height, the most commanding summit in all the surrounding region. Knowing that God sets no value upon material things, he took with him no offerings or sacrifices other than symbolic objects, such as paints and tobacco. Wishing to appear before Him in all humility, he wore no clothing, save his moccasins and breech-clout. At the solemn hour of sunrise or sunset he took up his position, overlooking the glories of earth and facing the "Great Mystery," and there he remained, naked, erect, silent, and motionless, exposed to the elements and forces of His arming, for a night and a day to two days and nights, but rarely longer. Sometimes he would chant a hymn without words, or offer the ceremonial "filled pipe." In this holy trance or ecstasy the Indian mystic found his highest happiness and the motive power of his existence.
>
> When he returned to the camp, he must remain at a distance until he had again entered the vapor-bath and prepared himself for intercourse with his fellows. Of the vision or sign vouchsafed to him he did not speak, unless it had included some commission which must be publicly fulfilled. Sometimes an old man, standing upon the brink of eternity, might reveal to a chosen few the oracle of his long-past youth' (*The Soul of the Indian*, Boston and London, 1911, pp. 6–8).

LITERATURE.—The facts of primitive mysticism must be sought for in the special ethnological works. For American shamanism, *e.g.*, see W. J. Hoffman, 'The Midē'wiwin of the Ojibwa,' in *7 RBEW* [1891], p. 156, and the works mentioned above. General aspects are treated in E. Lehmann, *Mysticism in Heathendom and Christendom*, Eng. tr., London, 1910, ch. i. f.

E. LEHMANN.

MYSTICISM (Buddhist).—There is no mysticism in Buddhism, if the word 'mysticism' is understood quite strictly: immediate, non-discursive, intuitive, relation with the Absolute, whether personal (Christian, Muhammadan, Bhāgavata

mysticism) or impersonal (Neo-Platonism, Vedānta proper). The relations of the mystic with the Absolute, in contradistinction with the mediate relations of the devotee through faith, prayer, and liturgy, are merely quiescent or passive; they aim at absorption, at the merging of individual thought and being in the Absolute; and the process is carried on under the impulsion, the guidance, the grace, the essential attractive power of the Absolute.

There is no Absolute according to all the 'orthodox' forms of Buddhist thought—whether Little or Great Vehicle—and, therefore, there is no Buddhist mysticism.

But the word 'mysticism' may be, and as a matter of fact often is, employed with less accuracy, and it frequently covers the whole field of extra-rational intuitions and practices by which some supra- or extra-rational aim is obtained, as well as the fantastic cosmological theories of the stages by which the soul ascends to the Absolute.[1] Methods of concentration of thought, trances, ecstasies, are, in fact, usually found along with a thoroughgoing mysticism, the auxiliary and preparatory part of the ἕνωσις, or attainment of knowledge; and, where such practices are found, there is 'mysticism,' even where the essential characteristic of mysticism, immediate, intuitive relation with the Absolute, is wanting.

(1) It should be observed that, if Buddhism ignores every positive and real Absolute, it has an absolute aim, viz. the destruction of the 'contingent,' of the 'caused existence' (*saṁskṛta*); the obtaining of the 'uncaused' (*asaṁskṛta*). Merging into nothingness is, in Buddhism, the counterpart of the 'merging into the One' of the Vedānta or Neo-Platonism. Buddhism agrees with monism so far as the relative or contingent is concerned. The difference is evident enough: no immanence, no attractive power, can be asserted of the 'not to be reborn'; and, when the texts say that 'there is an Unborn (*ajāta*), an Uncaused, an Immutable,' they mean only that there is a way leading to the death without rebirth. But the fact is important that *nirvāṇa* is described in 'mystic' phrases—borrowed from Brāhmanism.

(2) To realize its aim, the 'most orthodox' Buddhism relies on rationalistic devices. It cannot be too much emphasized that Buddhism pretends to be rationalistic and 'scientific,' though it need hardly be said that the reason and science of India in the 6th cent. B.C. are not in every way our reason, our science.

Many of the current Indian theories of cosmology and science, especially medical science, are treated as accepted facts in all the Indian philosophies. But on the basis of their own standard of scientific knowledge—transmigration, *e.g.*, is a scientific fact—the Indian philosophies developed consistent and logical systems, using legitimate methods of evidence and proof, and (excepting the purely orthodox ritualism) rejecting sacrifice as a means.

Primitive Buddhism, like the orthodox systems, was entirely rationalistic, differing only in method, in that it refused to give any answer to certain ontological questions which it considered useless, and in more rigid accuracy, at least sometimes, putting blame and ridicule on the people who endeavour to be reborn in Brahmā's heaven. Nobody has ever seen Brahmā, not even the *ṛṣis* of old. Buddha condemns the principle of authority, and explains in so many words that the Truths are of no avail, when they are accepted on his authority, when they have not been ascertained and realized by personal effort. Buddha knows only observable facts: 'given the colour and the visual organ, there is visual knowledge, . . . there is desire, there is act, there is rebirth,'[1] and he will be satisfied when he has found the therapeutic of desire—as a good physician who does not care for metaphysics: physics are a large enough field, when the patient is suffering.

But, in the Indian systems, beside the rationalistic method was the method of trance, devices intended to produce ecstasy in which the Truth is realized. In Buddhism the goal is not reached by this means. The practice of trance, however, may form a part of the training in winning the detachment necessary for realizing the Truths, and thus it may have its place in the therapeutic of desire. Trances are therapeutically indifferent: when undertaken with desire, in order to obtain advantages in this life or reward in another birth, they are bad—from the point of view of the aim to be obtained, i.e. *nirvāṇa*. When undertaken in order to strengthen the power of thought, the power of will, or to confirm the knowledge obtained by discursive means, trance is good; and some Buddhists willingly admit that it cannot be dispensed with. There have been monks addicted to *dhyāna*, who were opposed to the partisans of the rationalistic study of *dharma*, as we know by a single reference.

The knowledge which liberates from rebirth is not a gnosis; it is the deliberate and true appreciation of the natural impermanency of things, of the natural painfulness of life. It is a 'correct act of attention' (*yoniśo manasikāra*). Such knowledge cuts the roots of desire and, therefore, of life.

Trances do not confer on the ecstatic an increase of knowledge, a more accurate or a more extended intelligence of the nature of suffering.[2] They confer a firmer knowledge, which enables the ecstatic to look always at things as they are, without being ever deceived by their apparent stability or pleasantness. After again and again practising the *aśubhabhāvanā*, the beauty and the flesh of a woman are no longer seen, but only the skeleton and the following putrefaction. When a man has practised the concentrations of 'the realm of non-matter' (*ārupyasamāpatti*), he forgets how to see colours, how to hear sounds, how to smell odours, and becomes inaccessible to the desires which are born from the senses: through such concentrations he may obtain the privilege of remaining for centuries in the highest heavens; but a Buddhist looks at them as useful steps towards *arhat*-ship. Moreover, concentration, whatever its object, gives to the mental organism a special vigour: to look at something blue till one sees the 'blue' with the closed eyes does not, by itself, eradicate desire; but it is an excellent device, because it makes the beginner fit for better and more specific exercises—the contemplation of the Truths. But trances, as they are of no avail when they are not guided and dominated by the 'correct act of attention,' are by no means indispensable. To obtain deliverance, it was enough for Gautamī the Meagre to understand that 'death is the end of life,' and to realize, merely by the sight of the dying out of the lamps of the convent, the universal rule of decay.

(3) It may be observed that the position of penance (*tapas*) and devotion (*bhakti*) is parallel to the position of concentration or ecstasy; like the latter, both penance and devotion are secondary.

A certain amount of asceticism (*brahmacharya*), in the sense of abstinence from physical pleasures,

[1] Such a theory of stages is not in itself more mystical than any other cosmological theory, but it may have a basis in mysticism in so far as it originates in an attempt to represent locally the different degrees of concentration in trance.

[1] *Saṁyutta, passim.*

[2] See, however, C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Psychology*, London, 1914, p. 125 f. (on the *prajñā* and the 'supernormal' consciousness). There is in the attainment of the four Truths a mystical element. They must not merely be known (*vijñāta*) but realized (*sākṣātkṛta*).

is indeed necessary, and there cannot be hope of eradicating desire if a man lives in the very fire of passion, *i.e.* in secular life, or transgresses the moral rules (*śīla*); but *śīla* and penitential observances (*vrata*) are by themselves not merely of no avail, but form one of the bonds (*saṁyojana*) broken by the converted. Nevertheless, Buddha does not reject penance, and some of his disciples are indeed very good ascetics, living in cemeteries, eating just enough not to starve, and keeping similar rules (*dhuta*-precepts), which, according to tradition, Buddha permitted, but refused to make compulsory.

On the other hand, devotion to the Master is utterly meaningless and deceitful to one who does not know the Truth: 'Anyone who sits near me, and even touches my garment, if he does not see the Law, is indeed very far from me'; but, when the theoretical and rigid Udāyin rebukes the simple-souled Ānanda: 'Why do you care for the cosmical power of the Master?,'[1] Buddha rebukes Udāyin: 'If Ānanda were to be reborn, he would obtain, owing to his confidence in my power, seven heavenly births, seven births as a king; but he will be in this life liberated from existence.'

The consistent adherence of historical Buddhism to its rationalistic tenets, coupled with its comprehensiveness—Buddhism makes allowance for the mysticism, asceticism, and devotion which are permanent features of Indian life and thought—explains the longevity of the True Law. From the earliest times to the rising of Amitābhism and Tantric Mahāyāna there has been no transformation of the essence of the True Law, the whole of which is summarized in the four Truths; but there has been a large development of all the subsidiary elements.

LITERATURE.—C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Psychology*, London, 1914, p. 112 ff.; and the art. TRANCE (Buddhist).

L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN and E. J. THOMAS.

MYSTICISM (Chinese).—The theories of Lao-tse (Laocius) bear many resemblances to the Brāhmanical philosophy, and present many parallels to the teaching of the Greek mystics. His theme is *Tao*, a term already familiar to Chinese thought long before his time (6th cent. B.C.), but which he informed with a new and transcendental meaning, so profound as to render any comprehensive definition of it impossible. *Tao* is the Ultimate Reality, anterior to and higher than heaven, existing before time began, and precedent to the manifested God. It is the principle or law of nature, eternal, unchanging, and all-pervading, and as such must have existed prior to any personification, which can only be regarded as a development and corporate expression of that principle. It is the First Cause of all existence, manifesting itself in the creator and the visible universe. The idea of the creator, as expressed by theists, is, almost inevitably, influenced by anthropomorphic conceptions, but Lao-tse attempted to go a stage backward, and to picture a condition of things when the only existence was that of *Tao*, the principle or law which is the root of all phenomena, and by which all nature is ordered and controlled. No name or title was adequate to describe this principle, and Lao-tse was forced to content himself with the ambiguous term *Tao*, *i.e.* 'the way,' or the principle in operation, as reflected in the course of nature, a term which later exponents of the Taoistic school applied in a somewhat different manner. This principle is devoid of personality, and is without any of the attributes which are associated with humanity, including that of consciousness; in other words, its action is represented as necessary and automatic. It can be defined only in negative terms, such as 'colourless,' 'soundless,' 'immaterial,' for the reason that it is invisible, inaudible, intangible. Lao-tse was most anxious, it would seem, to avoid the possibility of his *Tao* being regarded as, in any sense, comparable with the various deities which were supposed to preside over the several departments of nature and those which were associated with the names of deceased individuals, producing that very element of division and decentralization which was the antithesis of his idea of centricity and unity. His conception of creation was that out of *Tao*, the eternal ultimate principle, came the One, *i.e.* the Great Monad, or material cause of the universe; the One produced the two primary essences, the *yang* and the *yin* (=positive and negative), representing and embracing all the great antinomies, male and female, light and shade, etc., and these gave birth to the three powers of nature—heaven, earth, and man—whose co-operation resulted in the production of all creatures. *Tao* is not only the ultimate source of all existence, but it pervades, influences, and harmonizes all the phenomena of nature, and its quiet but all-effective operation is the exemplar upon which all human activities should be modelled, in contradistinction to the bustling officiousness and blustering self-assertiveness which were characteristic of his times, and which had wrought such havoc in national and social conditions. This is the groundwork of Lao-tse's philosophy, and supplies the motive of his theory of inaction, or non-interference, which occupies so prominent a place in the *Tao-Teh King*, and which is intended to inculcate the importance of attaining that complete vacuity and extinction of desire which alone can induce to the possession of *Tao*, and the entire surrender of man's being to its all-potent influences, with the result that the advanced scholar becomes exempt from the trammels of matter and the limitations of space and time. The line of argument thus faintly sketched was the natural reaction of Lao-tse's despondency at the political chaos of the period of the Chow dynasty in which he lived; the internecine struggles of the petty States which composed the empire; the race for advancement which characterized the official classes; and the abandonment to pleasure and licentiousness which was almost universal in the case of those who had the opportunity of indulging themselves.

There is little or no theological element in Lao-tse's philosophy, and the place which he gives to heaven is subordinate and secondary, contrary to the earlier usage which represented *Tao* as an attribute of heaven. The conception of God was of little consequence, since he did not anticipate the possibility of approach to or affinity with Him, but, since his aim is to glorify *Tao* as the supreme principle, and model, he naturally decided on giving it the paramount position. His disciple, Chuang-tse (Sancius), however, approximates more closely to the orthodox opinion, regarding *T'ien*, or God, as the great First Cause, and *Tao* as the virtue or manifestation of the divine First Principle, which he, in one passage, describes as the 'happiness of God.' It would seem that *Tao*, with Sancius, was equivalent to the *Teh* of Lao-tse, *i.e.* the virtue, or transmitted energy of heaven, whilst *Tao* is its inherent principle. The verdict of posterity was in favour of Chuang-tse's interpretation, and later Taoism was developed on the theological side, until its final concretion in a Taoist pantheon.

Tao is the natural heritage of man, but, in the majority of cases, that inheritance has been set aside by other interests. The quest of *Tao* may, and must, be undertaken, if men are to regain that tranquillity, that complete contentment,

[1] *Aṅguttara*, i. 227; the voice of a Tathāgata goes through the complete universe of 1,000,000,000 worlds.

which can never be acquired by the worldly-minded. The steps in the process are similar to those which are the commonplaces of mystics generally. (1) The first stage is purgation. As Lao-tse says, 'Only one who is eternally free from earthly passions can apprehend the spiritual essence of *Tao*.' Chuang-tse says of the sages, or perfect men, 'They wear the forms of men, but are without human passions.' The process is a long and painful one, and Lieh-tse (Licius) is represented as telling an ambitious disciple of his own experiences as a novice, when for the space of three years his Master did not deign to bestow a glance on him, and nine years passed before he attained that inner unity which was his aim. 'I have not yet succeeded in cleansing my heart of impurities and discarding wisdom,' is the confession of a professed teacher, who failed to achieve such harmony with *Tao* as would have enabled him to overcome the opposition of material laws. (2) The second stage is illumination, when virtue requires no longer a conscious effort, but becomes an unconscious habit. Lao-tse constantly deprecated the interested 'virtue' of his own times, when the would-be 'virtuous' were characterized by acute self-consciousness and were actuated by mercenary motives. (3) Many instances are given of the third stage, when an inner unity is attained, notably by Lieh-tse (3rd cent. B.C.)—*e.g.*, that of Shang Ch'iu K'ai, who thus explained his extraordinary independence of natural laws: 'My mind was simply One, and material objects thus offered no resistance. That is all'; and Tse Hsia, who said: 'The man who achieves harmony with *Tao* enters into close unison with external objects, and none of them has the power to harm or hinder him.' This is the goal of Taoist ambition, viz. to attain to such an unconscious harmony with nature as to become the unresisting vehicle of *Tao*, and partake of its properties which render the Taoist immune from the limitations which are imposed upon the uninitiated by the laws of matter, space, and time. This third stage included also that independence of external aids which is expressed by Lao-tse in the words, 'Without going out of doors, one may know the whole world,' etc.

The later history of Taoism goes to show that, in grasping the husk, *i.e.* the phenomenal powers which initiates were reported to exercise, the kernel was sacrificed, *i.e.* that unity of thought and intention, that conformity to nature, that contempt of the merely formal and external, which was the alleged secret of these attainments; and Taoism degenerated into a system of charlatanry, including the search for the 'pill of immortality,' the 'philosophers' stone,' and the traffic in amulets, charms, incantations, and exorcisms which are the chief stock-in-trade of its modern representatives. Not only so, but the pure abstractions of Lao-tse gave place to a ritual system, more mechanical and gross than the polytheism and idolatry against which the original Taoism was a protest; and a Taoist 'pope' now presides over the hierarchy, whose chief revenues are derived from the sale of meaningless autographs, of supposed virtue in the dispersion of demons, etc., and the Master of Heaven himself is open to engagements at the houses of officials and land-owners for the purpose of exorcizing evil spirits and other ghostly influences.

Tao is not only the source from which all things proceed, but also the goal towards which all things tend. The means by which that end is attained are simple, and generally available, demanding not exceptional gifts or acquirements, but only the precondition of absolute self-abnegation. To abandon the vaunted 'wisdom' of the schools, to avoid preconceptions, to lay aside self-consciousness, to throw open every avenue of thought and feeling to the entrance of *Tao*, are the necessary steps to that final consummation, viz. return to *Tao*. Ambition, luxury, wealth, pleasure, must have no place in the life-programme of the Taoist. He must not 'strive' even for the promotion of virtue, nor 'lift up his voice in the streets' even in the propagation of his own tenets. Hence arises the doctrine of quietism, which is practically equivalent to non-interference. Lao-tse's treatment of this theme is highly paradoxical. He speaks of *Tao* as eternally inactive, yet all-effective, and exhorts his disciples to practise inaction, or, as it is expressed by his great exponent, Chuang-tse, 'Resolve your mental energy into abstraction, your physical energy into inaction.' Another phrase of Chuang-tse may, however, be quoted to show that this dictum is not to be too literally interpreted: 'While there should be no action, there should be also no inaction.' From this we may gather that by action is meant impertinent, ignorant, and aggressive interference, such as that which was producing disaster in the China of his day, and that inaction does not imply total cessation of activity, for, if the Taoist utterly refrains from taking a part in the battle of life, he ceases to be a vehicle or instrument of *Tao*; and, as a matter of fact, all the early philosophers were quite ready to impart the details of their system to ardent disciples. Their enunciation of these principles was, indeed, charged against them as a contradiction of their own theory of non-resistance, as it might justly have been represented had their utterances been taken literally. What they aimed at was the elimination of every purely human element which might obstruct the free operation of *Tao*, the impersonal force that makes not only for efficiency but also for righteousness; and they urged that, if every man, in whatever state he found himself, would thus submit to the overruling influence of *Tao*, the State would be tranquilly ordered, and all the forces of nature would be at his disposal. Some interesting illustrations of this unconscious (*i.e.* non-self-conscious, or subconscious) working are given in the writings of Chuang-tse and Lieh-tse.

In the sphere of morality the same principle holds good. The 'virtues,' so blatantly advertised and applauded, are by Lao-tse regarded as mere shadows of departed realities and desperate apologies for their absence. 'Cast off your Holiness, rid yourself of Sagacity . . . discard Benevolence, and abolish Righteousness' are samples of his vigorous protests against the 'vain oblations' which were laid on the altar of conventional morality, in an age when these things were valued for their rarity, and when spurious imitations were almost universal. Virtue which is artificially developed is valueless when compared with that which is the unconscious expression of the *Tao* within. It is only when the root (*Tao*) is present that the flowers (true virtue) will bloom naturally and spontaneously.

The fact that the possession of *Tao* is, potentially, available to all induces a breadth of sympathy between man and man; hence Lao-tse says: 'He who has no faith in others shall find no faith in them'; 'Among men reject none'; 'To the good I would be good, to the not-good I would also be good, in order to make them good'; 'Even if a man be bad, how can it be right to cast him off?'

To religion, in the ordinary sense, there is no reference, no idea of personal relation to God, who is only once referred to by Lao-tse, and then in an ambiguous phrase, no suggestion of duties, liturgical or eucharistic, as owing to Him. The whole duty of man is fulfilled when he submits his will and surrenders his being to the influence of *Tao*, so as to become the unconscious or subconscious agent of that great overruling principle and power. Such a theory, however, did not long survive, and

before the beginning of the Christian era Taoism had already degenerated into a system of magic. Later developments witnessed the worship of Lao-tse, with sacrificial accompaniments; and succeeding generations betrayed an ever-descending scale of deterioration and degeneration. At the end of the 5th cent. temples and monasteries were established, in imitation of Buddhist institutions, and the approximation of the two systems continued until it became a matter of difficulty to distinguish between them, and Buddhist and Taoist 'priests' are employed at the same time for the conduct of funeral ceremonies, etc.

The foregoing outline of Chinese mysticism, as represented by its most characteristic exponents, will suggest many points of contact with Western systems, notably that of Plotinus, with which it is in agreement on (*a*) the subject of the ultimate unity, which is inaccessible to knowledge and can be apprehended only by an intuitive instinct, illuminated by occasional lapses into a state of ecstasy, such as are illustrated in various passages in the writings of Lieh-tse and Chuang-tse; and (*b*) the view that the Ultimate Source of all existence cannot be identified with the whole or any part of the material universe, being itself above existence, and, from a material point of view, non-existent. The idea of the immanence of the deity in creation, which was upheld by the Confucian school, is condemned by the Taoists.

The doctrine of relativity, suggested by Lao-tse, is developed with great freedom and boldness by Chuang-tse, who argues from this standpoint the utter illusiveness of sense-knowledge. The so-called 'contraries' are all, in a sense, identical, because of the 'all-embracing unity' which is behind them. The inference from this doctrine is that 'virtue implies vice,' and that they are inseparable, so that to aim at being 'virtuous,' in the conventional phrase, is less admirable than to remain quiet and unaffected by external things.

The four characteristics of mysticism which are outlined in W. R. Inge's *Christian Mysticism* (London, 1899) are faithfully portrayed in the system with which we are here dealing, viz. (1) esoteric knowledge, based upon the deposit entrusted by Lao-tse to the Warden of the Western Pass, and the mystic principles which can be learned only in silence and subordination at the feet of an expert; (2) quietism, which underlies the whole teaching of the *Tao-Teh King*, and is the logical application of nature's principles to human conduct; (3) introspection, which alone can produce that mental vacuity which induces to the full possession of *Tao*, and which excludes the intrusion of the material objects of sense and desire—a persuasion which contributed, in the later developments of Taoism, to a great increase of asceticism and renunciation; (4) contempt and neglect of material things, which is reflected in the paradoxes of all the great Taoist teachers, in their disdain of pomp and riches, their condemnation of governmental methods and of education, and their depreciation even of the conventional 'virtues.'

LITERATURE.—T. Watters, 'Lao-tzu, A Study in Chinese Philosophy,' in *The Chinese Recorder*, Foochow, 1868, republished, London, 1870; J. Chalmers, *Laou-tsze*, Hongkong, 1868; R. K. Douglas, *Confucianism and Taoism*, London 1889; J. Legge, *SBE* xxxix. [1891], xl. [1891]; P. Carus, *Canon of Reason and Virtue* (*Lao-Tze's Tao teh king*), Chicago, 1903; Spurgeon Medhurst, *The Tao Teh Ching*, do. 1903; E. H. Parker, *China and Religion*, London, 1905; H. A. Giles, *The Sayings of Lao-tzu*, do. 1911, *Taoist Teachings*, do. 1912; *Musings of a Chinese Mystic*, with introd. by Giles, do. 1911.

W. GILBERT WALSHE.

MYSTICISM (Christian, NT).—The mystical aspect in the NT is the best available illustration of the position taken above (MYSTICISM [Introductory]). The NT contains a very slender showing of mysticism in the technical sense. Hellenic influence, so far as it is in evidence here at all, is of a Stoic tendency rather than a Platonic. The finite human spirit is conceived, especially in the Pauline writings of the NT, as environed by the divine Spirit and as capable of being flooded and filled to all fullness with God. No sacred 'mystic way' is indicated, but all souls lie open-windowed to God and may have a revelation of Him, 'the eyes of the heart being enlightened.'

Christ's own personal experience, as it comes to light in the Gospels, is the supreme model of true mystical experience. All His words and acts are penetrated with an infinite depth of experience and are fused with a warmth and intimacy of direct fellowship with God. He reveals an interior *sense of life* which explores and possesses new depths of reality and which releases for Himself and others new energies by which to live. The active forces of His will appear always to spring from a life-conjunction with the Beyond. His ethical ideals—in the Sermon on the Mount, *e.g.*—are inherently bound up with His prayer-experience. The kingdom that is to come is the growing sway of the will of the Father to whom He prays, and it is possible only through expanding correspondence with a world of higher forces and of perfect conditions. The 'altered fashion of countenance,' the transfigured form and face, which marked His prayer-experience before the journey to Jerusalem, is such an experience as might well attach to a supreme crisis of personal decision. Prayer of illumination, altered face, changed form, glorified figure, the radiation of light, have marked many mystics, and these features seem to have characterized the Master as He adjusted His soul to the unseen realm, as He formed His momentous decision to be faithful unto death in His manifestation of love. The agony of sweat as He rose, in the shadow of the Cross, to the experience of communion and fellowship of suffering with His Father, and was enabled to cry 'Abba,' is psychologically true to nature and bears the genuine mark of mystical experience.

The most important fact of this personal life, which ever since has poured streams of power into the life of the world, is its complete adjustment to a realm of unseen reality, and its consciousness of correspondence with a personal heart and will, constituting the essence of that unseen realm. Through all the story and behind all the teaching is the inner fact of personal experience of God. In great moments of intercourse there is a flooding consciousness of sonship rising even to the audition, 'This is my beloved son,' and in times of strain and tragedy the onward course is possible because the Abba-experience is absolutely real. A synoptic writer has reported a saying, which may indeed be coloured by later theology, but which declares a central truth: 'No man knoweth the Father save the Son' (Mt 11^{27}). Only a son knows a father; the way of inner love-experience is the only way to the secret. This primary feature of mystical experience seems to be the very warp and woof of Christ's inner life.

Our accounts, even in the Synoptics, indicate that it was the consciousness of a divine Presence that built the apostolic Church. Such sayings as 'Lo, I am with you alway,' 'Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst,' are saturated with group-experience, and the early account in Acts of meetings 'in the upper room,' and of 'the *Agape*,' shows the richness and inner power of an invisible fellowship. Even when we allow for a legendary strand in the early narratives, we still find ourselves confronted in Acts with unmistakable evidences of the extraordinary revelation of spiritual forces in the early

Christian groups and a striking dominance of these forces over the intellects and wills of the primitive believers.

There are many diverse strands in the Christianity of St. Paul and many historical influences converge in him, but no strand is more clearly in evidence than the mystical, and no influence is more certain than that which led him to expect a direct personal experience of the divine Presence. There are numerous autobiographical passages in the Epistles, which describe this 'experience of divine Presence' (*e.g.*, Gal $1^{15.\ 16}$ 2^{20} 4^{6}, 2 Co 3^{18} 4^{6} 12^{1-4}, Ro $8^{2.\ 16}$, Eph 3^{14-21}), but the consciousness of the interrelation of the human spirit and the divine Spirit is not incidental; it is interwoven in the entire fabric of his Epistles. There are indications of Stoic influence in his conception of God as Spirit, and there are evidences of familiarity with the experiences and terms of the Oriental mystery-religions which were already invading the empire in St. Paul's time, but the most important source of his faith in an immediate, divine, environing Presence, in whom men can live and move and be, was his own first-hand experience of what occurred to him personally, and what occurred in the groups of believers in the cities of his missionary activity. For him, 'to live is Christ' (Ph 1^{21}), which means that to live a life of real spiritual significance is to partake of the divine nature, appropriate it in the formation of a 'new man,' and re-live, both in joy and in suffering, a kind of life which, like Christ's, reveals God. The central 'mystery' of Christianity, the secret of its power and promise, is the experience of Christ in the inner life, supplying within a conquering, resurrection life, overcoming sin, and creating a spirit of love (Col 1^{27}). The ethics of St. Paul is inherently bound up with his faith in, and mystical experience of, an inflooding divine Spirit—whether called 'God in you,' or 'Christ,' or 'the Spirit of Christ,' or 'the Spirit.' Something from a 'world above,' 'a spiritual realm,' comes into man and inaugurates in him a new life, an immortal nature, a new kind of man-nature, 'created after God in righteousness and holiness of truth' (Eph 4^{24}).

The influence of the Johannine writings on mysticism has been far greater than that of the writings of any other NT author, and yet the term 'mystic' does not as properly belong to St. John as to St. Paul. St. John is primarily a theologian, occupied and absorbed with interpreting the eternal significance of the Incarnation. There is far more evidence in his writings than in those of St. Paul of Platonic influence, though it is probably a Platonism that has filtered in through Philo and other Jewish interpreters. There are for this author two worlds—the world that is 'above,' the world that is 'true' or real, and the world that is of darkness and shadow and evil. Christ is eternally 'of God.' In Him is life of the real and eternal order. He is truth, as it is in its pure effulgence. His incarnation exhibits in 'this world' of shadow the intrinsic nature of the world 'above' —the world of spirit and light and life and truth —the God-nature, which nothing 'from below' could ever truly reveal or even adumbrate. It is, thus, wholly through Christ's mediation that men like us—empirical, natural beings—can partake of life. All that we can have we 'receive.' Spiritual life, the life of God, is not in us or of us. It is 'from above' and is appropriated by 'faith,' by 'knowing Him,' and by a sacramental eating of His flesh as the soul's bread and by drinking His blood as the soul's life-substance. Everywhere in these writings we are impressed with the interior depth of the author. We feel sure that, either inwardly or outwardly, he has 'lain on Christ's bosom,' and that his personal testimony, 'Of His fullness have we received,' is profoundly true. But these writings predominantly turn our gaze, not to the immense resources of the soul's inner experience, not to the native testimony of the heart's kinship with God, but to the historical Person who was the Logos of God, in whom the glory of God is revealed, and from whom we may receive eternal life. We do not find primarily in St. John an interpretation of experience, but rather a theological interpretation of Christ as 'the way,' theological indeed, but so extraordinarily wonderful that it has ever since ministered to and fed the deepest life of man.

LITERATURE.—See list of authorities at end of art. MYSTICISM (Christian, Protestant). RUFUS M. JONES.

MYSTICISM (Christian, Roman Catholic).—The word 'mysticism' is modern. The older expression is 'mystical theology,' which originally meant the direct, secret, and incommunicable knowledge of God received in contemplation, as opposed to 'natural theology,' the knowledge of God obtained through creatures, and 'dogmatic theology,' the knowledge of God by revelation. In comparatively recent times, however, 'mystical theology' has also been taken to mean a science dealing with the phenomena connected with this mystical knowledge of God (such as visions and locutions), with the dispositions for it, and its various external effects (ligature, quietude, ecstasy, levitation, etc.). This use of the expression is improper, just as if 'dogmatic theology' were used as the name for the method of learning dogma and for the consideration of the effects of dogma on the mind and conduct. In the earlier and strict sense mystical theology is an experience, not a science, for it cannot be expressed in words.

1. Mystical theology in the early Church.—The belief in mystical theology and its connected phenomena was taken over by Christianity from Judaism. But the prophets of Israel and their schools, the pure mystic desire and praise in some of the Psalms, the hidden wisdom of Job and the Sapiential books, were things of the past in the 1st century. Judaism tended to regard God as so transcendent and ineffable that He could deal with creatures only by angelic mediation; the creation and the theophanies were thus explained. It was the fashion to see or write of apocalypses, symbolic visions, angel-ministers. Philo finds his Neo-Platonist conceptions of contemplation symbolized in the OT, but he is not following a Jewish tradition. In the NT mysticism is not directly described or taught; it is far less on the surface than in the OT; yet it seems to be hinted at (*e.g.*, 1 Co 2^{8-16} 6^{17}) and even pre-supposed. And, further, the attendant phenomena are frequently mentioned: visions, dreams, trances, angels and devils, revelations, extraordinary gifts of the Holy Ghost, of which the chief is prophecy.

We know very little about the early years of Christianity. False apocalypses and Sibylline books testify (if testimony be needed) to the continuance of a belief in vision and prophecy. The *Pastor* of Hermas bears so striking a likeness to the symbolical visions of mediæval mystics that it is hard to regard it as fiction. If the writer was older than his brother Pius (pope *c.* 140–155), his earliest experiences may well have fallen *c.* 98–99, before the death of St. Clement. For the 2nd and 3rd centuries it will be sufficient to instance the visions of St. Perpetua († 203), those mentioned by St. Cyprian († 258) (see Harnack, 'Cyprian als Enthusiast,' *ZNTW* iii. [1902] 177). The prophecies of Montanus (began 155 ?), Priscilla, and Maximilla († 179) were rejected by the Church, not because locutions and raptures were suspect, but because these prophets claimed to add something to the

faith once delivered. The idea of teaching by women was ridiculed by their opponents, and it was pointed out that the phenomena were those of 'possession.' It is interesting to notice that these prophets prepared themselves for ecstasy by emptying their mind of all thought (ἐκούσιος ἀμαθία), and this state was succeeded by an uncontrollable frenzy (ἀκούσιος μανία ψύχης) (Apollinarius, *ap.* Eus. *HE* v. xvii. 2). Tertullian tells us (*de Exhort. Castitatis*, x., one MS) that placing the head downwards was a preparation for hearing voices. An adversary of the Montanists, Miltiades, wrote a book, *How a prophet ought not to speak while in ecstasy*. Tertullian's defence, *de Ecstasi*, in seven books, is lost. The theory originated by Ritschl, and at one time popular, that Montanism was a recrudescence of primitive 'enthusiasmus,' has no support in extant sources. See art. MONTANISM.

Clement of Alexandria († *c.* 215) is the first Christian writer on mystical theology. Against the gnostic lecturers, who pretended to teach a secret doctrine handed down to them by disciples of the apostles, the recipient of which was raised to a higher level than the ordinary Christian, and became a 'knower' or 'gnostic,' Clement delineates the true 'gnostic' or ascetic, whose elevation above others is not acquired by human learning but by mortification and contempt of the world, and implies a life of self-conquest and of contemplation of God. From Philo Clement has borrowed the idea that God is to be sought, as Moses sought Him, in the darkness (*Strom.* ii. 2 and v. 12)—a saying which paves the way for the Areopagite and St. John of the Cross. God is to be reached by faith and by abstraction:

'Going forth by analysis to the First Intelligence,' taking away depth, breadth, length and position, leaving a monad, then abstracting what is material, 'if we cast ourselves into the vastness of Christ, thence if we proceed forward by holiness into His immensity, we may in some fashion enter into the knowledge of the Almighty, recognising not what He is, but what He is not' (*ib.* v. 11).

This is the familiar *via negationis* of reasoning; but Clement means more than the attainment of an abstract ideal. The search, he goes on, is unseen and invisible; the grace of knowing (γνῶσις) is from God through His Son. For God has no shape or place or motion or state or seat or right or left; the First Cause is not in space, but above space and time and speech and thought. The first stage of the quest (which corresponds to the three days of Abraham's journey) is the perception of beauties; the second is the desire of the good soul; in the third the mind sees spiritual things, 'the eyes of the understanding being opened by the Teacher who rose again the third day.' But this is not to see God as He is, which cannot be in this life (*Strom.* v. 11–13). In vii. 3 the contemplation of the gnostic is again spoken of (see also vii. 13), and vii. 7 deals with his continual prayer. This high contemplation is a special gift:

'Whether it is the Father Himself who draws to Himself every man who lives purely, and has gone forward to the intuition (ἔννοια) of the blessed and incorruptible Nature, or whether our own free will, having arrived at the knowledge of the good, leaps and jumps over the boundaries (as the gymnasts say), at any rate it is not without a special grace that the soul wings its way and is raised above what is above it, putting aside all that has weight' (v. 13).

In contemplation (θεωρία) the divine image is sealed upon the soul, which was made in God's image, by the Son, who is the perfect Image,

'so that the gnostic becomes a third image (εἰκών), as far as may be, being made like unto the Second Cause, unto that which is truly Life, by which we live the true life' (vii. 3).

Origen († 251) frequently refers to contemplation, and many times distinguishes the two lives, the active and the contemplative, which he was possibly the first to compare with Martha and Mary as their types (frag. 80 *in Joann.*, ed. E. Preuschen, Berlin, 1903, p. 547). He often speaks of rising above sense and figures and shadows to one mystical and unspeakable vision (*e.g.*, *in Joann.* xiii. 24, *Celsum*, iii. 56). He lived with his disciples a life of asceticism, resembling that of the monks later on (cf. F. W. B. Bornemann, *In investiganda monachatus origine quibus de causis ratio habenda sit Origenis*, Göttingen, 1884), and he claims that, by abstinence and discipline, communion with God and prophecy and other 'spiritual gifts' can be attained. In an interesting passage he quotes the pagan Celsus's taunt, that no Christians would understand his mysticism, when he announced to them: 'If you close up the senses and look up with the mind, and if you turn from the flesh, and awaken the eye of the soul, thus, and thus only, shall you see God.' Origen replies that this is just what the true Christian does. When the eyes of Adam and Eve were opened (Gn 3^7), their inner eye was closed, but Christ came that those who see not may see, and that those who see may be made blind; and, in fact, by this shutting of the eyes of sense and opening of the better eye, God and His Son, who is Word and Wisdom, are contemplated (*c. Cels.* vii. 39).

A new period opens with the development of monachism in the 4th century. Thousands fled from the world, not merely to avoid temptation, but in order to attain perfect purity of mind and body and, in particular, purity of prayer, the prayer without images, which is so often mentioned in the Lives and apophthegmata of the Fathers. Retirement was necessary for contemplation (Basil, *Reg. fus. Tr.* 5 f.), and contemplation was the one thing necessary for the monk (Cassian, *Coll.* i. 8, x. 7; Basil [?], *Const. mon.* 1). The founder and model of Egyptian monachism, St. Antony, sometimes remained all night in ecstasy ('in excessu mentis') and complained when sunrise interrupted his prayer (Cassian, *Coll.* ix. 31):

'And he also delivered this celestial and more than human judgment as to the end of prayer: "That prayer is not perfect in which the monk understands himself or his own prayer"' (*ib.*).

This famous sentence applies in some measure to all mystical prayer, even its inchoate degrees. St. Athanasius tells us practically nothing of St. Antony's contemplation, but dwells upon the attacks made on the saint by devils (these remind us of many later instances, including the Curé d'Ars), and diabolical appearances in every form. Antony's power over demons is paralleled by many subsequent saints—*e.g.*, St. Benedict and St. Ignatius.

The Conferences of Abbot Isaac on prayer, reported by Cassian († *c.* 435), have had enormous influence. He teaches that monastic life tends to uninterrupted prayer and purity of thought (*Coll.* ix. 2). Prayer is multiform, and its kind depends on the degree of purity attained, as well as upon accident and industry, so that it is not uniform (ix. 8). Out of any form of prayer most fervent and fiery prayers may surge up, so that the soul, after the manner of an incomprehensible and devouring flame, flies forth beyond all things, and pours out unspeakable prayers, which the Holy Ghost supplies, so that not only the mouth cannot speak them all, but the mind cannot recall them afterwards (ix. 15). This fiery prayer, known to few, and ineffable, transcends all human sense, and is described by no sound of voice or movement of tongue; but the mind is illumined by a celestial light (ix. 25). Tears are a grace, but not when they are forced (ix. 28–30). The means of attaining to continual prayer, so far as this is possible, is by short but fervent prayer. The most useful ejaculation is 'Deus, in adjutorium meum intende; Domine, ad adjuvandum me festina' (x. 9 f.). It is wrong to have any imaginary form of God before

the eyes; this was the error of the Anthropomorphites (x. 5). Our Lord has taught us by His example to retire from the noise and confusion of the world, in order that, while we dwell in the body, we may in some part prepare ourselves to receive a certain similitude of that future blessedness which is promised to the saints (x. 6), to be united to the Father and the Son, as they are united to one another (x. 7).

The first anchorite to dwell at Scete, the famous St. Macarius of Egypt († 389), is the reputed author of some epistles and homilies of extraordinary beauty. *Hom.* viii. (*PG* xxxiv. 527 ff.) is a record of personal experience, and demands quotation:

'A certain one enters to bend the knee, and his heart is filled with the divine working, and his soul exults with the Lord as with a bridegroom, according to the word of Esaias the prophet, saying: "As the bridegroom rejoiceth over the bride, so shall the Lord rejoice over thee"; and it comes to pass that, having been without leisure all the day, in this one hour he gives himself to prayer, and his inner man is rapt away into prayer, to the immeasurable depth of the other world, in much sweetness, so that his mind is afar, being aloft and carried thither away, so that at that time oblivion comes into the considerations of the understanding, because they have been filled up and taken captive unto divine and heavenly things, to the infinite and incomprehensible, to things wonderful and that may not be expressed by human mouth; so that in that hour he prays, and says: "Would that my soul had gone forth together with the prayer!"'

Macarius describes how 'grace' comes, sometimes as burning fire, sometimes more slowly; this lamp is always alight, but, when it shines brighter, it is because it is set aflame by the inebriation of the love of God. He relates spiritual experiences—a cross of light within the soul; the being caught in ecstasy, and finding himself before the altar in the church and being given three loaves to eat; a garment of light bestowed on him; a light in the heart, opening out the way to a deeper and secret light, so that the whole man was bathed in the sweetness of contemplation,

'so that no longer could he contain himself, but became as a fool and a barbarian to this world through the exceeding love and sweetness by reason of the hidden mystery, so that the man at that time was made free and attained to the perfect measures, and was clean and free from sin; but after this, grace withdrew, and the veil of the contrary power came across; but yet it partially shines, and he stands one step below perfection.'

For there are twelve steps: 'He who is rich in grace stands ever night and day on the summit, and is free and pure, for he is on high and captive'; but, if he never descended one step, 'he could not receive the ministry of the word, nor take care for himself or for the morrow, but could only sit in one corner uplifted and inebriated.' It is therefore impossible to remain long in the highest degree. In *Hom.* i. Macarius describes the life of the soul in God. As Origen had given 'Christ and the soul' as one of the interpretations of the Spouse and the Bride in the Canticle of Canticles, so Macarius habitually speaks, just like a mediæval mystic, of the heavenly Bridegroom.

'Such a soul, putting away the shame of her face, and no longer mastered by the disgrace of her thoughts nor caused to commit adultery by the evil one, has communion with the heavenly Spouse, as being herself simple (*μονότροπος*); for, wounded with His love, she languishes and faints (if I may dare to speak thus) for the beauteous spiritual and mystical commerce in the incorrupt union of communion in holiness. Blessed indeed and happy is such a soul, which, conquered by spiritual love, has been worthily affianced to God the Word' (*Ep.* ii. [*PG* xxxiv. 416]).

Palladius tells us that this great ascetic was said to live in a continual ecstasy (*ἀδιαλείπτως ἐξίστασθαι*), and to have more commerce with God than with earthly things (*Hist. Laus.* xvii.). This is his advice on prayer:

'It is not needful to speak much, but to stretch forth the hands, and say: "Lord, as Thou willest, and as Thou knowest, have mercy." And if warfare should come: "O Lord, help." And He knoweth what is expedient, and hath mercy upon us.'

On Macarius's views see J. Stoffels, *Die mystische Theologie Makarius*, Bonn, 1908, and in *Theol. Quartalschrift*, xcii. [1910] 88, 243; and C. Gore, in *JThSt* viii. [1906] 85. According to J. Stiglmair (*Sachliches und sprachliches bei Makarius von Ægypten*, Feldkirch, 1912), the works attributed to Macarius are a conglomerate, in which it is impossible to distinguish what is authentic from the additions by an editor (Constantinopolitan?) of the 5th or 6th century.

St. Nilus, in the 4th cent., gave clear instructions on pure prayer, without images (*de Oratione*, 56 f., 85, 117, 119 [*PG* lxxix.]).

Diadochus, bishop of Photice in Epirus, wrote *Capita centum de perfectione spirituali*, at a date which is unknown; the work was known to Maximus Confessor and to Photius (Latin version in *PG* lxv.; Greek version in a rare volume *Philocalia*, Venice, 1782, and in a recent edition by J. E. Weis-Liebersdorf, Leipzig, 1912). The love by which a soul adheres to God and loses all love of itself is called by Diadochus *ἐν αἰσθήσει καρδίας* (14, 16), and it cannot be exercised save when the conscience is pure (23). The soul's natural perception, or 'accurate taste of the things which it judges' (30), has been split in two by original sin (25, 29). But, besides the ordinary use of our reason, there exists another use, without this division:

'That which comes to the soul from the Holy Ghost is simple, and no man can know it, save those who willingly release themselves from the pleasures of this life on account of the hope of what is to come, and dry up the corporal appetite by temperance' (25).

The joy with which the soul then rejoices, and which it can even communicate to the body, is an unerring admonition of eternal life (25). This joy and consolation are carefully to be discerned from false or diabolical consolations (30 f.). So there are two kinds of charity, a lower and a spiritual; and two kinds of humility (cf. *The Cloud of Unknowing*, below), of which the higher is the result of contemplation (95). Diadochus is aware of the special difficulties of beginners (93), of the special graces which they receive (88), and of the aridities and seeming dereliction which ensue (69). A man should speak only when he has a moderate illumination; for, when he has none, he is ignorant, 'and when he has much, it allows him not to speak. For then the soul, inebriated with the love of God, wishes to enjoy with silent voice the contemplation of the glory of the Lord' (8). Diadochus speaks from personal experience (cf. 91). He wrote for monks (52 f., 68). He teaches that the gift of 'theology' (cf. 68, 72) or contemplation is above all other gifts of God for inflaming the soul with love (67).

The Greek Fathers speak from tradition, and in rhetorical language, of leaving all creatures in order to arrive at the knowledge of God which is given to the pure in heart. A well-known passage of St. Gregory of Nyssa is unusually explicit and practical. He develops the *locus communis* which Clement had long before borrowed from Philo, that God is to be seen only in the darkness, as by Moses; so that, in order to rise to this knowledge, a man must put away all that enters through sense, that he may climb the steep mount of 'theology' (*de Vita Moysis, mystica interpretatio* [*PG* xliv. 372–377]).

Among the Latins St. Ambrose was apparently a mystic (cf. *Epp.* i. 29, *in Ps 118*, serm. xi.). St. Augustine's *Confessions* are too much read to need more than mention. It is not rare for him to refer to mystical sight ('Lo, now we have rejoiced in some inward sweetness; lo, in the summit of the mind ['acie mentis'] we have been able to see something that is unchangeable, in a momentary flash,' on Ps 41, no. 10), and he constantly shows the effects, in the burning and ever-present longing for the heavenly country, which he manifests more

than any writer; and the desire is joy: 'for he who desires, though his tongue is silent, yet sings in his heart' (on Ps 86). St. Augustine's description of the active and contemplative lives, typified by Peter and John (*in Joann.* tract. cxxiv. 5), and his long discussion and classification of visions—corporal, spiritual (*i.e.* imaginary), and intellectual (*de Genesi ad litt.* bk. xii.)—are classical.

St. Benedict († *c.* 543), whose Rule for religious life was to be almost universal in the West until the 13th cent., says but little about contemplative prayer (*Prol. in Regulam*, fin., 52, etc.). He insists upon the conditions for it—separation from the world, obedience, silence, and, above all, humility, which will lead the monk to perfect charity (*Reg.* 7). He continues the tradition that prayer should be brief and 'pure' (29). He would have sent an inquirer in the first place to Cassian and the *Sayings of the Fathers* (cf. 42, 73).

The two writers within the Patristic period whose influence was greatest upon the Middle Ages are incontestably pseudo-Dionysius and St. Gregory the Great, the former at the end of the 5th cent., the latter at the end of the 6th. Dionysius is first quoted by Monophysites; but he became an authority in East and West, and was long regarded as the chief of the Apostolic Fathers. His works form a system, of which the tiny treatise *Of Mystical Theology* (*PL* cxxii. 1171) is the climax. He carries on the tradition of the Greek Fathers, and probably knew the passage of St. Gregory of Nyssa referred to above; but he is influenced mainly by the Neo-Platonist, Proclus, from whom he has been shown by J. Stiglmair to borrow largely (*Das Aufkommen der pseudo-Dionysischen Schriften, und ihr Eindringen in die christliche Litteratur bis zum Laterankonzil 649*, Feldkirch, 1895; also *Byzantinisches Zeitschrift*, vii. [1898] 91, viii. [1899] 263; *Katholik*, xc. ii. [1910] 55). He asserts the transcendence of God with extreme expressions, exaggerated from the Platonic *ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐσίας*: God is *ὑπερούσιος, ὑπεράγαθος* (*Myst. Theol.* 1), *ὁ πάντων ἐπέκεινα, ὑπὲρ θεαρχίαν καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀγαθαρχίαν* (*Ep.* 2). This is the *via eminentiæ ad Deum*, and is beyond the assertive theology (*καταφατικὴ θεολογία* [*Myst. Theol.* 3]) which describes the Trinity. But a yet higher way is the *via negationis*, by which not only all that is sensible (*ib.* 4), but all intellectual notions (*ib.* 5), are denied of God. Elsewhere (*de Div. Nom.* vii. 3) he enumerates in order the ways in which our intellect forms the idea of God: first, from the order of the universe, which came forth from Him, and contains likenesses of which He is the exemplar, then by abstraction and eminence (*ἐν τῇ πάντων ἀφαιρέσει καὶ ὑπεροχῇ, i.e.* we abstract all the perfections of nature, and attribute them to God in a higher sense, because He is their Cause):

'Wherefore God is in all things, and apart from all things: and God is known by knowledge, and by ignorance, and there is intuition and consideration and science of Him, and touch and perception and opinion and imagination and name, and all the rest, of Him; and He is neither conceived, nor spoken, nor named; and He is none of the things that are, nor is He known in any of them. And He is all in all things, and nothing in none; and He is known to all through all things, and through none of them to none.'

And yet all this is but reasoning up to a paradoxical but necessary ideal—it is philosophy, not mysticism—and Dionysius goes on:

'And there is, *besides*, that most divine knowledge of God, which takes place through ignorance, in the union which is *above intelligence*, when the intellect, quitting all things that are, and then leaving itself also, is united to the super-lucent rays, being illuminated thence and therein by the unsearchable depth of wisdom.'

Thus the philosophical process of abstraction and negation which justifies the mystic in transcending reason is emphatically distinguished from the mystical operation of rising above the world and self to God. The former results in an abstract idea; the latter carries the soul away above all intelligence into union. Clement of Alexandria had somewhat slurred over this difference, numerous later writers, mediæval as well as modern, have neglected it, and the dogmatic theologians eventually denied it. But the very existence of the mystic faculty depends upon this fundamental distinction.

The mystical ascent is described by pseudo-Dionysius in a celebrated paradox, as the entry into the night which is brighter than light:

'The super-unknown, the super-luminous and loftiest height, wherein the simple and absolute and unchangeable mysteries are cloaked in the super-lucent darkness of hidden mystic silence, which super-shines most super-brightly in the blackest night, and, in the altogether intangible and unseen, super-fills the eyeless understandings with super-beautiful brightnesses' (*Myst. Theol.* 1).

This literal translation reproduces the neologisms of the original. The next sentence is the only one which gives practical advice, and it was cited throughout the Middle Ages as the *locus classicus* for the method of contemplation:

'And thou, dear Timothy, in thy intent practice of the mystical contemplations, *leave behind both thy senses and thy intellectual operations, and all things known by sense and intellect*, and all things which are not and which are, and set thyself, as far as may be, to unite thyself in unknowing with Him who is above all being and knowledge, for by being purely free and absolute, out of self and of all things (*τῇ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ πάντων ἐκστάσει*), thou shalt be led up *to the ray of the divine darkness*, stripped of all, and loosed from all.'

Every mystic has recognized his own experience in this striking passage: the strange intuition, which is only impeded, not assisted, by the senses and the reason, which is utter darkness to the mind, yet floods it with incomprehensible knowledge. There is nothing new in the doctrine; just below we encounter the familiar reference to Moses in the darkness of Sinai; and the notion of God's transcendence and immanence, extravagantly worded by Dionysius, can be found rhetorically polished in St. Basil's *Hom.* x., *de Fide*, and frequently elsewhere. But the 'ray of darkness' is a fine expression, and so vivid a summary was of real service to clench tradition. Dionysius, however, was obliged further to elucidate his own paradox, and to explain (*Ep.* 1) that 'ignorance' and 'darkness' are not to be understood 'privatively' (*κατὰ στέρησιν*) but 'by excess' (*ὑπεροχικῶς*), as darkness by excess of light (*Ep.* 5):

'Do thou super-truly deny that the Light that is, is not known to those who possess it. Ignorance about God is truly knowledge [read: *ὄντως γνῶσις ἡ κατὰ Θεὸν ἀγνωσία*] . . . and if any one, seeing God, understands what he has seen, he has not seen God, but something of those things of His which exist and are known' (*Ep.* 1)—another famous assertion, which has been precious to after ages.

There are only a few lines of Dionysius which speak of mystical theology and its method (viz. *de Div. Nom.* vii. 3, *Myst. Theol.* 1, and *Epp.* 1 and 5). As to the preparation for it, especially the moral purification on which other writers insist, he has not a word, nor as to its degrees, variations, or difficulties. The writer himself is far more a speculative theologian and philosopher than a mystic.

St. Gregory the Great († 604) offers a sharp contrast. In place of a short, scholastic statement, he sets before us many beautiful and diffuse descriptions of his personal experience. These are to be found chiefly in the *Morals on Job* and the *Commentary on Ezekiel*; those on *Kings* and *Canticles* are less to be trusted, as they were made up from stenographic notes of lectures and were disowned by St. Gregory. As a theologian, the great pope sums up the doctrine of the Latin Fathers, especially St. Augustine. Naturally he teaches that there are two lives, the active and the contemplative, symbolized as usual by Martha and Mary, Rachel and Leah (*Mor.* vi. 61, *in Ezech.* ii. ii. 9 f.). The contemplative life is the higher; it may be dangerous for some (*Mor.* vi. 57), yet it

is possible even for those in the world and the marriage state (*in Ezech.* II. v. 19 f.). The active life may assist the contemplative, provided that tranquillity of mind is not too much impeded. Christ has given us an example of the union of the two lives (*Mor.* xxviii. 33, vi. 56), which is especially necessary for those who undertake the pastoral office (*Reg. past.* ii. 7, etc.). The conditions for the contemplative life embrace not only tranquillity and retirement, but severe self-discipline (*Mor.* vi. 59 f.) and great love (*ib.* vi. 58, etc.) of God and of the neighbour. The immediate preparation is given from tradition as well as experience:

'The soul must first have learnt to shut out from its eyes all the phantasmata of earthly and heavenly images, and to spurn and tread under foot whatever presents itself to the thought from sight, hearing, smell, bodily touch, or taste, so that it may seek itself interiorly as it is without these sensations' (*in Ezech.* II. v. 9). After this 'the first step is that the soul should collect itself together ("ut se ad se colligat"), the second, that it should look upon its own recollection ("ut videat qualis sit collecta"), the third, that it should rise above itself, and yield itself up by effort to the contemplation of the invisible Creator' (*ib.*). The effort is 'a great striving of the mind, when it raises itself up to heavenly things, when it fixes its attention on the spiritual, when it tries to pass over all that is bodily seen, when it narrows itself that it may be enlarged. And sometimes, indeed, it prevails, and soars above the opposing darkness of its blindness, so that it attains to somewhat of the unencompassed Light ("incircumscriptum lumen") by stealth and scantily; but for all that, to itself straightway beaten back it returns, and out of that Light into which panting it had passed, into the darkness of its blindness sighing it returns,' and 'by the very tasting, it faints away' (*ib.* II. ii. 12).

This 'periodicity' of contemplative prayer is constantly dwelt upon by St. Gregory: the soul is 'beaten back' and sinks down by the weight of her corruption (*Mor.* v. 27 f., viii. 50, x. 13, xxiv. 12, etc.), and the brief space of the highest experience is but the 'silence in heaven for half an hour' of Rev 8[1]. All this describes the mystical prayer which was later to be labelled 'active contemplation,' and is sought by the soul. But St. Gregory does not omit the 'passive' states, when the soul is caught away ('rapta') into God and inflamed, so that, although yet in the flesh, all carnal thought is subdued, though God is not seen 'as He is' (*Mor.* iv. 45). Often the mind of the just is so suspended in contemplating things on high that outwardly their face seems to have been struck with stupefaction ('obstupuisse' [*Mor.* xii. 35]); the mind is often caught in ecstasy ('rapta,' 'in excessu suspenditur' [*ib.* xxiv. 12]). The subsequent effect of the divine vision upon the soul is noticed, not merely detachment and contempt of the world (*Ep.* i. 5, *Mor.* vii. 7), but the experience of being above it and that it is a passing show (*Dial.* præf. and ii. 32: 'Animae videnti Deum angusta est omnis creatura'). Self-knowledge and humility are the fruits of contemplation (*Mor.* xxxv. 3, *in Ezech.* I. viii. 11, 17, etc.).

Though in contemplation the mind is expanded (*Mor.* v. 50, *Dial.* ii. 32) and the soul is filled with peace (*Mor.* v. 9) and with marvellous sweetness, and is afire with love (*ib.* v. 58, etc.), yet it is impossible in this life to see God as He is—that is reserved for heaven.

'The soul beholds something beneath His brightness by which refreshed it may progress . . . it does not yet behold that which God is, but that which is under Him' (*in Ezech.* II. ii. 14). He is seen 'per aenigmatis speculum,' not 'per speciem,' 'for the darkness of our corruption hides from us the incorruptible Light; and how far off it is, is shown, for that we can see it in some measure, and yet the Light cannot be seen as it is. If the mind could not see it at all, it would not even see that it is afar off; and if it perceived it perfectly, it would not see it as though through darkness. Therefore, because it is not altogether seen, nor again altogether unseen, it is rightly said that it is "seen from afar"' (*ib.* xxi. 101).

Many quotations from the *Moralia* and a few from the *Hom. in Ezechielem* are collected by Blosius in his *Psychagogia*, bk. iv. It is noticeable that in those great works St. Gregory never speaks of any accidental psycho-physical effects of contemplation, although his *Dialogues*, intended for popular reading, are full of miracles, prophecies, and visions.

2. The Middle Ages and Scholasticism.—We have seen that in the Patristic period mystical theology was fully recognized, and that the method of approaching it by abstraction was traditional. For the succeeding period there are materials to be found in the Lives of the saints, which are extremely numerous throughout the Middle Ages, and are usually the work of contemporaries. Special mention has to be made of St. John Climacus († 605–606); also of St. Maximus Confessor of Constantinople († 662), an ascetic writer as well as an acute theologian, who wrote some comments on pseudo-Dionysius. It was doubtless through his influence at Rome that the Areopagite was quoted by the Lateran Council of 649. The abbot Thalassius, a correspondent of St. Maximus, has left some notes on mysticism. These three Greek writers agree in insisting that all images and imagination are to be put away in prayer (Climacus, *Ladder of Perf.*, degree xxviii. 45; Maximus, *Cent.* v. 69; Thalassius, *Cent.* ii. 26). Among the Latins may be noted Rabanus Maurus († 856), especially in his *de Puritate Cordis*, John Scotus Erigena (9th cent.), who translated pseudo-Dionysius into Latin, St. Peter Damian († 1072), and Hugh of St. Victor († 1141).

St. Bernard of Clairvaux († 1153) had a great influence on the history of mysticism. A well-read and acute theologian as well as a man of genius, his mystical experiences are important records. Note his description of the 'third chamber of the Spouse,' the perfect peace of the soul (*Serm. in Cant.* xxiii. 15), and that of the visitations and absences of the Spouse:

'I confess that the Word has come to me (I speak as a fool), and that many a time. And though He has often entered into me, I have not perceived when He came in. I have felt Him to be there, I remember His presence, sometimes I have had prescience of His advent, but His entrance I could never feel, nor even His departure' (*ib.* lxxiv. 5; cf. xxxii. 2).

Here is a remarkable comment on 'murenulas aureas et vermiculatas argento' (*ib.* xli. 3):

'This means, I think, nothing else than to *weave certain spiritual likenesses, and in these to bring the meanings of Divine Wisdom into the sight of the mind which is contemplating*, in order that it may perceive, at least by a mirror and in a riddle, what it cannot as yet look upon face to face. What I speak of are things divine, and wholly unknown but to those who have experienced them, how, that is, in this mortal body, while yet the state of faith endures and the substance of the clear Light is not yet made manifest, the contemplation of pure truth can yet anticipate its action in us, at least in part; so that some, even among us, to whom this has been granted from above, can employ the Apostle's words "Now I know in part," and again "We know in part, and we prophesy in part." For when something from God has momentarily and, as it were, with the swiftness of a flash of light, shed its ray upon the mind in ecstasy of spirit, immediately, *whether for the tempering of this too great radiance, or for the sake of imparting it to others, there present themselves certain imaginary likenesses of lower things, suited to the meanings which have been infused from above*, by means of which that most pure and brilliant ray is in a manner shaded, and both becomes more bearable to the soul itself, and more capable of being communicated to whomsoever the latter wishes.'

This is perhaps the earliest account of the distinction between *pure contemplation*, in which reason as well as imagination remains in darkness, and nothing is understood by it, and *revelation*, in which the pure intellectual conceptions are made comprehensible by means of the imagery or words which the mind habitually employs. St. Bernard suggests that this translation into 'phantasmata' is the work of the angels.

A contemporary of St. Bernard, Richard of St. Victor († 1173), makes the same distinction between contemplation 'not by a mirror and in a riddle, but in simple truth, without any veil or shadow of figures,' on the one hand, when the mind goes forth out of itself, and, on the other hand, the action by which the mind draws in this

truth to itself, by much discussion and reasoning, and makes it comprehensible to itself, by drawing it down into the ordinary intelligence, by bringing reason to bear upon it, and adapting images to it (*Benjamin major*, iv. 11). Among other mystical writers of the period, Guigo the Carthusian and especially Gulielmus of St. Thierry, near Rheims, deserve notice.

The 13th cent. saw a great wave of mysticism which passed over Europe, together with the rise of the mendicant orders; it was followed immediately by the maturity of Scholasticism, the converse, though not the contradictory, of mystical theology. Many of the great theologians were also mystics, yet the great commentaries on the *Sentences* and the *Summæ* of theology did not include mystical theology in their field. In the discussions of 'the two lives,' which invariably form part of the course, contemplation is understood as the conclusion of rational discourse, not as intuitive experience. The Franciscan, St. Bonaventura († 1274), has been entitled 'the prince of mystical theologians' in a large sense, on account of his pious meditations on the Passion and his ascetical writings. He makes a few rare references to mysticism (*e.g.*, *de Triplici Via*, iii. 7). The following declaration is of first-rate importance:

'I admit, however, that the mind's eye can be fixed on God in such wise that it looks at naught else; yet it will not perceive nor see the glory of the Light itself, but will rather be raised up into the darkness; and to this knowledge it will be elevated by the removal of all things, as Dionysius says, and he calls this knowledge "learned ignorance." For this knowledge it is, in which the affection is set on fire, as is well known to those who are accustomed to ecstasy ("ad anagogicos excessus"). *In my opinion, this manner of knowledge is to be sought by every just man in this life.* If God shall perform aught beyond this, it is a special privilege, not the common law' (*Comm. in Sent.* II. dist. 23, art. 2, qu. 3, concl.).

Thus mystical experience is declared to belong to the *lex communis*, and not to be an exception, a privilege, a miracle. Another passage explicitly refuses to formulate any theory as to mystical knowledge:

'If you ask how this [repose to the reason, when the whole affection goes forth to God, as Dionysius describes] takes place, inquire of grace, not of learning, of desire, not of intelligence, of the groaning of prayer, not of the study of understanding' (*Itinerarium, ad fin.*).

In the famous opuscule *de Adhærendo Deo*, ascribed to the Dominican Albertus Magnus († 1280), the traditional method of prayer is lucidly set forth: internal recollection, the mind stripped naked of all phantasms and images, simplified and tranquillized in God (ch. 5; cf. his *Paradisus animæ*, 33).

St. Thomas Aquinas († 1274), though an ecstatic, has left us no disquisition on mystical theology, and there are only a very few casual references to the subject in the whole of his voluminous works. It is just possible, however, to discover his view, which depends on his Aristotelian theory of cognition. This theory teaches that, just as our senses perceive objects by means of an impression on the sense-organ (*e.g.*, the image on the retina, communicated to the brain), which impression is not itself perceived but is the 'medium by which' we perceive the objects, so our intellect knows by means of impressions (*species impressæ*) which are the 'medium by which' it knows ideas (*ideæ, verba mentis, species expressæ*).

i. In man's present state the only *species impressæ* that he receives are conveyed to the mind through the senses ('nihil in intellectu quod non prius in sensu'); they are but attributes of material objects 'abstracted' (*i.e.* considered apart) from the objects. Hence, by means of these impressions, the mind (*a*) directly knows abstract qualities (*quidditates*) which exist individually in material objects, but it knows them, not as existing individually, but as potentially universal. Further, (*b*) our intellect knows the individual things themselves indirectly by their qualities, and (*c*) it can arrive at some kind of knowledge of non-material things by reasoning from its abstract ideas (*Summa Theol.* I. lxxxv. 1). Thus it cannot know God directly, but can argue to His existence and His nature from creatures by abstraction and negation. But intellectual ideas thus formed in the mind are not really understood by the mind unless it represents them by the imagination; it 'turns to images' ('convertit se ad phantasmata') so that it may *behold the universal in the particular*, wherein alone it has real existence (*ib.* lxxxiv. 7).

St. Thomas points out that 'each man can experience this in himself, that when he tries to understand something, he forms for himself some *phantasmata* (imaginations) after the manner of examples, in which he can inspect, as it were, what he wishes to understand; and hence it is that likewise when we wish to make someone understand something, we set examples before him, out of which he can form *phantasmata* for himself in order to understand.'

We can represent to ourselves spiritual truths and spiritual substances (God and angels and souls) only by images, which we know to be inadequate, but yet *in which* we behold something more than the phantasma:

'Intellectualis cognitio non sistit in phantasmatibus, sed in eis contemplatur puritatem intelligibilis veritatis' (*Summa*, II. ii. qu. clxxx. art. 5 ad 2, according to the best text).

ii. But a disembodied soul or an angel is an intelligence independent of a bodily organ; hence it understands spiritual things as they are, without 'turning to phantasmata.' As it cannot get impressions by the bodily senses, since it has none, its impressions (*species impressæ*) must be 'infused' in some way, natural to it, but unknown to us; these *species* will not be abstractions from matter, but purely non-material; they will not be multiple and complex representations (as ours are) of objects which are unities, but one and total. Such pure intellects, instead of knowing the universal in the particular, know the particular in the universal in one glance; they do not argue from fact to fact, from premiss to conclusion, but in one act know the conclusion and the premisses in it. Thus the angelic cognition resembles the intuitive perceptions of sense rather than the analytic and synthetic process of reason. Its knowledge is direct, immediate, intuitive, in comparison with the abstracting and reasoning of a mind which is in partial dependence on the brain; but still it is mediate, indirect, in so far as an 'impression' is needed as the 'medium by which' it knows. It is possible in this angelic manner to know God intuitively instead of by reasoning, but impossible to know Him 'as He is'; for an impression in a finite mind must be finite, and cannot adequately represent the infinite; and, however much the *species* representing God be increased in clarity and splendour, they must infinitely fall short of His ineffable glory.

iii. But angels and men have as their reward the 'beatific vision' of God 'as He is,' in which God is seen by means of Himself, He Himself being united immediately to the human intellect as *species impressa*, so that He is both the thing seen and the 'means by which' it is seen—this divine impression is called the *lumen gloriæ*. Thus the blessed participate in their measure in the act in which God knows Himself without medium, and are united to Him as Act (God is *actus purus*) in so far as may be, without losing their own individuality, which retains all its former powers and activities; they are transformed into God without ceasing to be themselves. They see God wholly, yet in varying degrees; as He is, but not completely, 'totum non totaliter, clare non comprehensive.'

As this is the end for which man is made, and his reward, it is not given to man in his state of probation.

St. Thomas has, however, incautiously followed St. Augustine, *de Gen. ad litt.* xii., in admitting that the beatific vision was granted to Moses and St. Paul, when rapt out of their corporal senses; he did not notice that St. Augustine distinguishes the beatific vision from intellectual visions only in degree, not in kind, so that he is not to be followed here. Dominican theologians have rigidly followed St. Thomas; some Benedictines have added St. Benedict to Moses and St. Paul; some Carmelites have added Elias the prophet; the Jesuit theologians have wisely agreed with Albertus, Alexander of Hales, and Bonaventura in denying that the *lumen gloriæ* has ever been given in this life except to Christ, though some of them have suggested that such a rapture may have been granted to the Blessed Virgin.

It follows from St. Thomas's epistemology that man's intellect in this life is not radically incapable of receiving pure intellectual *species* such as it will con-naturally receive after death. If it should receive any, however, it will not understand them in the ordinary way, except 'convertendo se ad phantasmata'—by forming examples of them in the imagination, and translating them thus into images and human words. Hence St. Thomas's theory of prophecy and visions (*Summa*, II. ii. qu. clxxi.; *Quæst. de Veritate*, xii.): God can communicate truth to man in three ways: (*a*) by 'corporal vision' of something real, together with an intellectual 'light' to judge of it; (*b*) by an 'imaginary vision,' which is the proper medium of prophecy (in this vision images are either produced or re-arranged in the imagination), together with intellectual light to judge its meaning—these are usually to the eye ('visions' proper) or to the ear ('locutions'); they are difficult to distinguish from the images which a lively imagination forms for itself, they may be imitated by the devil, or they may be falsified by admixture from the man's own activity; (*c*) by an 'intellectual vision' of pure truth without any phantasmata: this is the angelic kind of knowledge by pure infused species, the same as that given after death, and it is not in itself liable to error (so St. Thomas, with all theologians, after St. Augustine). In order, however, that the prophet may understand and communicate the truth which he has received, he must needs 'turn to phantasmata':

'Ita clare veritatis cognitio infunditur ut . . . ex veritate iam perspecta, ipse sibi imagines formare possit, quibus utatur propter naturam nostri intellectus' (*de Ver.* xii. 12 corp.); 'secundum intelligentis arbitrium in imaginativa congrue formantur imagines' (*ib.* ad 2).

These images and words can express pure truth only in an inadequate and symbolic way; they are therefore a grievous source of error, except in so far as 'intellectual light' guides the prophet to translate suitably. If the images are infused together with the truths themselves, then an imaginary vision accompanies the intellectual vision, and we are face to face with the phenomena so vividly described by St. Bernard. Intellectual vision is higher than prophecy (*ib.* xii. 7 and *Summa*, II. ii. qu. clxxiv. 3); in it the absolute simplicity of the divine light is, as it were, 'contracted and specificated' by conjunction with the angelic light, which is less simple and universal, and more adapted to our nature. To fall back into imaginations is a weakness, due to defect of intellectual light.

St. Thomas teaches, with all earlier and later theologians, that Adam in the state of innocence could see God after this angelic fashion by pure species, as the angels do by nature (*de Ver.* xviii. 1 ad 12), 'per intelligibiles effectus' (*Summa*, I. xciv. 1), though his mind worked as ours does by 'turning to phantasmata'; only his imagination was the servant of his intellect, whereas ours is frequently its master. He could therefore 'consider' intellectual truths and God Himself by using his imagination to subserve his intellect, without fear of its leading him into error.

In all this St. Thomas is elaborating an older theory, which we have seen described by St. Bernard and Richard of St. Victor as regards the contemplative state. We should anticipate that St. Thomas also must regard mystical theology as the angelic consciousness communicated to man, and we might confidently argue to this from the fact that 'intellectual visions' are not peculiar to prophecy, but are understood by all mediæval writers to be common in the saints. But, as a fact, St. Thomas incidentally confirms our anticipations by a clear statement.

He asserts that Adam's knowledge was 'contemplation,' and that 'in contemplation God is seen by a medium which is the *lumen sapientiæ*, which elevates the mind to perceive the divine, but not so that the divine essence is immediately seen; *and thus by grace He is seen by him who contemplates after the state of sin, though more perfectly in the state of innocence*' (*de Ver.* xviii. 1 ad 4).

Therefore contemplation restores to man by grace some measure of that angelic knowledge which Adam had of God before the Fall. Adam's infused knowledge was 'from the irradiation of the Divine wisdom' (*ib.* xviii. 2), and we receive the same by the 'gifts of the Holy Ghost' (these are infused at baptism) of wisdom and of understanding, which cause in us 'a certain affinity to the divine' (*in 3 Sent.* dist. 36, qu. 2, art. 1, sol. 1), and this 'leads us to a kind of deiform and in some wise explicit contemplation of the articles which faith holds in human fashion as it were under a veil' (*ib.*).

'Hence faith, which causes us to hold the spiritual veiled, as it were, "by a mirror and in a riddle," perfects the mind in a human way, and therefore it is a virtue. But if the mind is so far uplifted by supernatural light, that it is introduced to behold the spiritual things themselves, this is above human measure; and this is done by the gift of understanding' (*ib.* art. 2, sol. 1).

St. Thomas seems to have been conscious of possessing something of this gift which is above faith, when in his dying act of faith in the Real Presence he declared:

'If there be in this world any knowledge of this sacrament that is stronger than faith, I wish now to use it, to affirm that I truly believe,' etc.

In his *Comm. on 1 Tim. vi.* he says that it is impossible to 'comprehend' God; but to touch Him (*attingere*), though impossible by nature, is to be our aim, in this life by grace, in the next by glory. This experience of God is a 'nobler faith,' though the virtue has a stricter right to the name (*de Ver.* xii. 12, corp.).

But St. Thomas nowhere treats the question which he thus incidentally answers. We can simply conclude that he is in harmony with tradition, but that he does not regard mystical experience as real knowledge until it is translated into phantasmata, nor as a part of dogmatic science. We are not to be surprised that in his disquisitions on the active and contemplative lives (*in 3 Sent.* dist. 35, qu. 1, and *Summa*, II. ii. qu. clxxx.) he describes contemplation 'humano modo,' as the brief rest of the mind upon the great verities at which it has arrived by argument and investigation, avoiding any mention of mystical prayer. He means by the contemplative life the life of study and passion for truth, as opposed to the life which uses the body to do external works. In the Order of Preachers, to which he belonged, he thinks the perfect admixture of the two is to be found in the combination of study with preaching. He did not simply distinguish the two lives as that of prayer and that of works of charity. The theory just exposed as latent in St. Thomas has not been discovered by most of his followers and commentators, but it is discernible in his predecessors. What is more, it justifies and explains the practical advice which we have traced from early times up to St. Thomas's own master, Albertus, that in prayer images and phantasmata should be put aside, and then the intellect can receive pure spiritual species, though secretly and obscurely, while its ordinary use remains in abey

ance. This lofty angelic knowledge is utter ignorance (until it is perhaps symbolically and tentatively translated) to the intellect itself, but it inflames the will with intense love and desire. The soul loves and desires without understanding; it longs for and partially enjoys it knows not what. This is the 'ray of darkness' of Dionysius, the wisdom which is ignorance, the 'cloud of unknowing,' the obscure night of the spirit, the anagogical way to the unseen and incommunicable.

Are we to brush aside this theory as founded upon an obsolete epistemology? Let us note, at any rate, (1) that our employment of phantasmata in order to understand is simply a fact of experience; (2) that the distinction between the lower and the higher powers of the soul, though neglected or denied by many moderns, is more vividly experienced even in quite inchoate mystical states than it ever is by our ordinary consciousness, and ought to be accepted as one of the facts to be explained rather than as a theory to account for the phenomena; (3) that the possibility of cognition by purely intellectual species, while it may seem a somewhat wild hypothesis of Scholasticism and, from the philosophic point of view, nothing more, is in reality less a tradition from Patristic days or a deduction from a ready-made theory of cognition than an explanation of real mystical experience. It seems extremely probable that the origin of the theory was not so much the attribution of a supposed angelical faculty to contemplatives as the ascription of mystical intelligence to the angelic nature.

It would seem that theologians, themselves mystics, evolved the idea of spiritual intelligence from their own experience, and attributed it in a yet higher and purer form to the spiritual substances with which they seemed to be in communion as well as to read of in Holy Scripture. We may safely take the large lines of the Scholastic theory as a working hypothesis: that the human mind in its natural and ordinary operation is cognizant of spiritual things only indirectly, by abstraction from sensible images, and then by the way of 'eminence' and of negation, whereas mystical knowledge is a different operation of the same faculty, whereby it knows spiritual things directly by means of purely non-material impressions received from them in some unknown manner.

3. Post-Scholastic mystics. — This hypothesis will suggest an explanation of the phenomenon of visions so common at all periods, but particularly remarkable in the case of the 'revelations' published by many female saints of the Middle Ages. Many of these were mystics of a high order, but mystics whose impressions are easily and regularly translated into imagery. The revelations of St. Catherine of Siena († 1380) become profound instructions on the spiritual life; those of St. Catherine of Genoa († 1510) contain dogmatic theology of extraordinary beauty and value. St. Gertrude impresses us with the vastness of her theological horizon, in spite of the pictorial nature of her conceptions, like those of the two Mechtildes (St. Mechtilde of Hackeborn [† 1298]; Mechtilde of Magdeburg, whose visions were written in old German [† 1280 or 1285]), but these are narrower and more 'devotional.' St. Bridget of Sweden († 1373) heads the long list of ecstatics who receive 'revelations' about the details of our Lord's Passion (the most read of these is perhaps Catherine Emmerich [† 1824]); the accounts given by these various seers are impossible to reconcile with each other. St. Hildegarde († 1179) and St. Elizabeth of Schönau († *c.* 1165) were prophetesses, who attributed to a divine source much curious information which they published. The writings of Angela of Foligno († 1309), Juliana of Norwich (living 1412), and many others are interesting and edifying documents. It would seem that the value of all these revelations varies according to the intellectual power of the recipient of the mystical light, and her power of 'translating' what she has experienced, as well as according to the amount of light received. Delusions are always exceedingly common in such cases, even in real mystics of holy life, and may occur in the case of saints who have insisted that all their words came from God (see Poulain, *Grâces d'oraison*, ch. xxi.). When the Church 'approves' the published revelations of a holy person, this only means that they contain nothing contrary to the Faith, and may be read without harm. It is not necessary to regard revelations as mere imagination (though, of course, they often are no more than this), with no spiritual light behind them, simply because they are mistaken or even absurd; they are sometimes mingled imagination and badly-interpreted light.

The English group of mediæval mystics has been neglected until recently: Margerie Kempe (*c.* 1290?); then the hermit Richard Rolle of Hampole († 1349), whose writings, both in English and in Latin (the latter translated by Richard Misyn), have a peculiar charm. The form of his mystical experiences is less picture than music and song. Walter Hilton († 1396), a Carthusian, was much influenced by Rolle; his best known work is *The Scale of Perfection*; his other works have never been published. At the end of the 14th cent. an unknown mystic published some wonderful tracts, of which the chief is *The Cloud of Unknowing*, a marvellously clear and practical little treatise, an admirable guide for contemplative prayer. It seems to sum up the doctrines of St. John of the Cross two hundred years beforehand.

In Germany Master Eckhart of Cologne († 1327), a Dominican, was suspected of Quietism, and, though he submitted to censure with all humility, some propositions attributed to him were proscribed by John XXII. in 1329. False mysticism, such as that of the Beghards (condemned at Vienne, 1312), was rejected by his followers, the great Dominicans Henry Suso († 1366), a mystic of poetical temperament and extraordinary austerity, and J. Tauler († 1361), the great preacher, whose instructions are still of great practical value. The *Theologia Germanica* appeared about 1350; the *Neun Felsen* of Rulman Merswin of Strassburg was long ascribed to Suso (see also F. Pfeiffer, *Deutsche Mystiker des XIVten Jahrh.*, Leipzig, 1846); the Flemish Ruysbroeck († 1381) was a follower of Tauler; his writings rank high as personal documents, and are on fire with love, though somewhat lacking in logical sequence. They were much used by the Franciscan Henry Herp or Harphius († 1478) in his *Theologia Mystica*. From the congregations founded by Ruysbroeck at Grönendaal came the famous Thomas à Kempis.

The chancellor of Paris University, Jean Gerson († 1429), in his *Mystica Theologia*, places the mystic faculty in the 'synderesis' (or habit of first principles of action), which he calls the 'apex mentis.' There are passages on mysticism among the curious and somewhat paradoxical treatises of the pious Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa († 1464). The Benedictine Blosius (Louis de Blois, † 1565) wrote admirable ascetical works for cloistered religious. He continues the tradition that the practice of continual aspirations is the best means of attaining pure prayer and 'union with God without any medium.' His *Instructio Spiritualis*, composed for his own use, is one of the best books of direction for contemplatives.

4. The Discalced Carmelites.—The great saints of the 16th cent. were largely engaged in reforming the Church; but in the tranquillity of Spain arose

the two greatest of writers on mysticism, the Carmelites St. Theresa of Jesus († 1582) and St. John of the Cross († 1591). The incomparable charm of St. Theresa's personality and her robust common sense have given immense popularity to her writings, which are the most complete and vivid descriptions ever penned of the successive phenomena of the inner experiences of a saint. Their value as testimony can hardly be exaggerated. They contain much excellent counsel and many new and necessary distinctions. St. Theresa, however, differs greatly from other mystics in her estimates of the various facts, and she is the starting-point of a new tradition. In her earliest work she distinguishes the degrees of prayer according to their psychological effects: the first is meditation, in which all the powers of the soul act naturally and freely; they work hard with small result (*Life*, chs. 11–13); the second includes 'recollection' and the 'prayer of quiet,' wherein the will is united to God, while the imagination and intellect remain free to help or hinder this delightful union (14–15); in the third degree these powers are also drawn into union, without either being lost or yet able to tell how they work; this causes an inebriation, a glorious folly, and leaves behind it greater effects than quietude (16–17); the fourth state is a complete union of all the powers, so that it is impossible to speak or read; this lasts a bare half-hour, but may lessen and return so as to occupy hours; but the utmost point of transformation in God lasts only an instant. When the effects extend even to the body, insensibility, ecstasy, rapture, or flight of the spirit is produced, and even levitation (18–20). She speaks further of locutions (25), of intellectual and imaginary visions (27–29), of appearances of Satan (31), hell (32), and saints (33); she tells of the great value of seeing the humanity of Christ (37), of the gift of miracles (39). She concludes with more purely mystical visions of 'the truth itself,' and how all things are in God (40). The concluding chapters of the *Life* are later than the rest; but her last work, *The Spiritual Castle*, is more important still, having been composed after she had long been in the highest states which she had not yet attained when she wrote her *Life*. In this final work she places 'recollection' and 'quiet' in the fourth 'mansion' of the soul, 'union' in the fifth, complete union and ecstasies in the sixth, together with the vision of the humanity of Christ, the wounds of love, the pains of longing, etc. The seventh mansion is spiritual marriage, an anticipated heaven, in which the soul begins to understand the graces which it has received, and is continually conscious of the presence of the three Persons of the Blessed Trinity.

Now, though St. Theresa intends those degrees to represent stages of perfection, yet the main distinction between the four original degrees is psychological, not really according to the quantity of mystical light, but to the perceived effect of that light on the soul and body. Those degrees are roughly equivalent to the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth mansions. When the saint herself reached the seventh mansion, she discovered to her surprise that the psychological effects, which had reached their culmination in ecstasy, ceased or diminished (she had occasional raptures later on), and that she could experience even higher communications than before without any suspension of the bodily faculties; nay more, that the peace of 'quiet' or 'union' was no longer needed, for she could be conscious of the mystical Light, and of the Trinity, while giving her mind fully to necessary occupations. This should not have astonished her directors, for the beatific vision itself will not impede the intellectual, sensible, or corporal powers of man in heaven, and St. Thomas teaches that intellectual visions do not of themselves impede the use of the senses (*de Ver.* xii. 9 ad 4; *Summa*, II. ii. qu. clxxiii. art. 3), although 'the more the mind is abstracted from the body, the more it receives the influence of spiritual substances' (*in 4 Sent.* dist. 50, qu. i. art. 1), according to the traditional doctrine; so that naturally St. Theresa herself found in the seventh state that her mystical consciousness, though permanent, was more vivid in the time of prayer, when distracting occupations were set aside.

Thus the smooth ascent of the original four degrees is roughly broken in *The Spiritual Castle* by the addition of the seventh, which reverses the process. St. Theresa's classification has been followed by most subsequent writers, and of late years it has been adopted by Poulain. His view is that mystical states are accompanied by a 'ligature' or tying up of the powers, which in the lower degrees (recollection, quiet) has only a partial and slight effect upon the intellect and imagination, but in 'full union' prevents all the powers from working in their natural way, and, finally, in ecstasy affects even the body. This ligature, after having produced its full effect in such ecstasies, disappears in the seventh mansion, or 'transforming union,' which is characterized by the appearance of a kind of double consciousness. This sudden reversal of the sequence seems to set us in front of an insoluble problem. Poulain is dissatisfied with the idea that his ligature is the natural result of attention to spiritual things, and that even ecstasy is but the natural effect of extraordinary mental concentration. He inclines to see in the ligature a sealing up by God of the doors of consciousness, in order that the soul may not be distracted from the heavenly vision. But then, why does it cease in the highest degree?

The simplest reply is to deny that St. Theresa's important and excellent analysis necessarily corresponds to an ascending scale of mystical elevation or of moral sanctity. It does not seem to be paralleled in the experience of most of the great mystics, and it is well known that the details of St. Theresa's 'mansions' are almost wholly from her own history, and cannot be verified in other saints. It is easy enough to obtain testimonies from persons who frequently experience the lower degrees of prayer that the phenomena of 'ligature' correspond exactly to the familiar experience that, while one is listening to the conversation of one person, one can hear, without understanding, what another person says. In such prayer the intellect, being engaged upon pure intellectual knowledge in an inchoate manner, feels blank and inactive; the will is drawn to God, without sensible fervour; the imagination may run wild, because the will prefers to leave it alone rather than detach itself from the act of loving, in order to control its vagaries. But in those persons to whom 'translation' into sensible impressions is easy, or when the communications are somewhat obscured by images and less 'pure' (as St. John of the Cross has it), the imagination also is occupied with holy things, and the lower appetite is filled with peace and joy; thus we have the prayer of quiet or of union. As to the effect on the body, St. John of the Cross teaches that ecstasy and sudden rapture are due to bodily weakness: as the man grows more spiritual by the effect of the intellectual light, his soul and body are spiritualized, so as to become a fitter vehicle to endure the higher kinds of union without any 'ligature' or bodily ecstasy. Psychologically it is probable that Ribot is right in holding that 'attention' is not the intensification of one faculty, but the detaching of the others; absence of mind is a mark of concen-

tration; and intense involuntary concentration on the most absorbing and delightful vision is commonly held by theologians to be a sufficient explanation of most ecstasies, which are commoner in women than in men, and are more frequent in persons of feeble intellect like St. Joseph of Cupertino than in the strong-minded like St. Francis de Sales or St. Vincent de Paul. All this tends to show that it is safest to regard St. Theresa's original four degrees as psychological varieties which are not always successive stages nor always signs of definite degrees of perfection.

Some of the many confusions and apparent contradictions in St. Theresa's writings may be explained by her having subordinated her own views to the dicta of some of her confessors. For example, she herself suffered grievously for about eighteen years from inability to meditate; yet in her latest work (*The Interior Castle, or the Mansions*, 6th mansion, ch. vii.) she declares that it is a delusion when people think that they cannot meditate, however sublime their prayer may be, and in her *Way of Perfection* she describes meditation as quite easy; yet in the same chapter of the 6th 'mansion,' her experience and common sense induce her to correct this astonishing doctrine, and she adds:

'Souls led in supernatural ways, and raised to perfect contemplation, are right in declaring that they cannot practise *this kind of* meditation; as I said, I do not know why, but as a rule they are unable to do so. Yet they would be wrong in saying that they cannot dwell on these mysteries, nor frequently think about them, especially when these events are being celebrated by the Catholic Church.'

This is, of course, quite accurate, if we understand that, *in the time of prayer*, contemplatives are utterly unable to think about mysteries without detaching themselves at least partially from the prayer, whereas *out of prayer* they can think about the mysteries of religion even more easily and more fruitfully than can the ordinary Christian. But St. Theresa does not make this distinction. She is even less convincing when she thinks that contemplatives cannot meditate 'because they see the mysteries of Jesus Christ with a simple gaze.' She herself had so many intellectual and imaginary visions of definite facts or mysteries that she does not appear to realize that others receive only a pure intellectual light, without differentiation or definition. No one would gather from her writings that the mystic in general aims simply at union with God, above all sense and imagination and feeling. She belongs really to the same category as the great St. Gertrude or St. Bridget, not to that of St. Gregory, St. Bernard, and St. John of the Cross. Her matter-of-fact Spanish character desired definite knowledge, and she astounds us by the statement:

'When imaginary visions are divine, they seem in a manner more profitable for us than others, as being more suited to our nature—with the exception of the visions sent by our Lord in the seventh mansion, which far surpass all others' (6th mansion, ch. ix.).

St. John of the Cross, a disciple of St. Theresa, refers his readers to her admirable descriptions of mystical phenomena, but he will give none himself; and he refuses to estimate prayer according to its effects upon soul and body, bringing peace, joy, terror, and longing to the one, and sharp pain, dislocation of the bones, raising from the ground, insensibility, or apparent death to the other. He tests all such manifestations, on the contrary, by their influence on union with God; none of these psychical and psycho-physical phenomena is a proximate means of union, and the same is true of every sort of vision, locution, etc. None of these things is to be desired or prayed for; and, if they occur, they must not be attended to. It is not necessary even to decide whether visions and locutions are from God, from the imagination, or from the devil; they are merely to be set aside and never thought of; by this means they can do no harm if they are not from God, while, if they are divine, they will produce their due effect without our attending to them. All our effort is to be to attain union with God, *i.e.* with His will. The 'purer' the rays of infused contemplation, the less they are perceptible, and the less their effect on the imagination and the sensible affections. No one is to desire the joy of the 'prayer of quiet' or the inebriation of the next degree, but merely the dry and pure contemplation, which produces joy and inebriation only in the highest part of the soul. Aridity is not to be feared, for it is the thirst of the soul for God. St. John is drawn to treat of the ascetical side of the contemplative's life in a manner which is disconcertingly austere in *The Ascent of Mount Carmel*, an unfinished work. But it should be recollected that the utter renunciation and self-abandonment which he preaches would be as imprudent to attempt as they would be impossible to practise for an ordinary Christian, whereas for the mystic this entire stripping of all is accomplished readily and with interior relish.

But who is to be started on this ascent? The ancients had usually left undetermined to whom was applicable the advice to leave all forms and shadows and to grope for God in darkness and renunciation; but they had recommended universally the practice of aspirations, which would lead men insensibly to the heights of prayer. But in the 16th cent. formal 'meditation,' by the use of the imagination, together with elaborate thinking out of a subject, was becoming common. When is it right to renounce meditation of this kind, and to follow the ancient and contradictory rule of ceasing imagination and thought, in order to unite the will alone to God? St. John of the Cross gives a plain and categorical reply, which has been persistently neglected ever since his day. His first statement of the rule is in *The Ascent*, ii. 13; he repeats it more clearly in *The Obscure Night*, i. 9, and sums it shortly, with further remarks, in *The Living Flame*, iii. 34 f. Many people in the world, he says, and most (though not quite all) who enter a contemplative order develop an inability to meditate when they pray, accompanied by anxious aridity, in which they constantly think of God, yet can get no consolation either from God or from creatures; this is the 'night of the senses,' caused by the commencement of infused contemplation, which is as yet imperceptible because weak and unaccustomed, but is sufficient to wean the soul from the pleasure that it once took in meditation and sensible devotion, and to cause a desire of solitude and repose, together with the loss of the power of fixing the imagination. In this state the soul is to abandon itself to God, and be content in prayer with a loving attention to Him, without attempting to comprehend its own state or to possess any particular knowledge; and it will find itself marvellously sustained by the interior nourishment which all-unconsciously it absorbs in this fervent but arid prayer. (Indeed, the one sure proof that the soul is doing right is to be found in its swift progress in virtue.) If the soul attempts to act with the imagination, it spoils God's work; and St. John of the Cross indulges in violent objurgations of the directors of souls who insist upon imaginative and discursive meditation, because the mind seems to be doing nothing, wasting its time, and mooning away in laziness; such false guides are painting their wretched daubs where God is limning with His own delicate touch (*Living Flame, loc. cit.*). After the 'night of the senses' follows the 'night of the spirit,' with its terrific interior (and usually also exterior) trials

(*Obscure Night*, iii.), in which God humbles, detaches, and purifies the higher part of the soul for that more perfect union of which St. John speaks in *The Spiritual Canticle* and *The Living Flame of Love*. It is to be noted that the method of prayer inculcated for the 'night of the senses' is exactly the traditional one; the 'night of the spirit' is also traditional—the great desolation, trial, purification, taught by almost all mystics.

Something of the tradition of St. John of the Cross was preserved in subsequent writers of the Carmelite Order, among whom may be particularly mentioned Joseph a Jesu Maria († 1626), whose most useful Spanish treatise (1658–59, Ital. version 1654–69) gives in its first part an excellent theory, with practical advice, of contemplation, and Thomas of Jesus († 1627), a great mystic, who closely agrees with the doctrine of Aquinas as above described, adding much which is less to the point from St. Bonaventura, and (especially) Hugh and Richard of St. Victor. Mystical contemplation is knowledge like that of the angels, and is above faith, though below the beatific vision. He distinguishes the lower degrees, which are habitually exercised by the gifts of the Holy Ghost of wisdom and understanding, from the higher, which are never habits, but infused acts, in which experimental knowledge of God is attained by a kind of touch (cf. *Living Flame*, ii.) and embrace (*Via brevis et plana*, 14; *de Contemplatione Divina*, i. 5, v. 2, 14, vi. 1; *de Oratione Divina sive a Deo infusa*, iv. 2, etc.). A later Carmelite, Philippus a SS. Trinitate († 1671), is at times an astonishingly foolish writer. Having declared that we must rise to God from the contemplation of creatures, he wastes a large part of his work upon a summary description of all created things and their uses, with such comments as the following (in the chapter on precious stones): 'lapis iaspis confortat stomachum.' He suggests that mystical contemplation is not by infused intellectual *species*, but by a partial and blurred communication of the *lumen gloriæ*—an opinion which appears to contradict all Christian mystics, in particular, St. Gregory, St. Thomas, and St. John of the Cross. The Dominican Vallagornera († 1665), though he follows Philippus, is a far better authority. He has filled his book with quotations from St. Thomas, but has no philosophical explanation of mystical philosophy to offer.

5. The reversal of tradition.—St. Francis of Sales († 1622), who shows himself in his *Traité de l'amour de Dieu* as a theologian of wide and profound thought, has given in that work fine descriptions of contemplative prayer, which his subject causes him to treat from an affective point of view. Some of his spiritual letters, and those of St. Jeanne Françoise de Chantal, contain instructions on the traditional method which are of inestimable value.

But at this very time the dogmatic theologians were rising up against mystical theology. The great Dominicans, following the example of St. Thomas in his *Summa*, ignored it; the great Jesuits denied its very existence. For example, Théophile Raynaud († 1663) explains why the 'prayer of silence' and 'spiritual sleep' must be impossible (*Heteroclita Spiritualia*, ii. 5). Supernatural contemplation, he insists, is the same as 'vulgar mental prayer,' only in a more perfect degree; it culminates in a 'simple intuition of God,' which is a judgment of the reason, completing and crowning a complex theological discursus. Suarez († 1617), the most voluminous of Jesuit theologians, works out precisely the same view at length (*de Virtute Religionis*, tract. IV. ii. 9–20). He admits that God can infuse pure intellectual knowledge (*ib.* 14–15), and did so in Adam's case, and also in that of the Blessed Virgin Mary, St. John Baptist, and probably many others; but this is a process altogether above nature; it cannot be begun by man; it is very rarely granted, by some singular privilege, or for the sake of some great public utility, 'for God disposes all things sweetly, and does not perform these miracles without a great cause.' Therefore this miraculous kind of contemplation 'is not counted among the kinds of mental prayer'; it is not to be prayed for, or desired, or in any way procured.

This entire reversal of tradition was little noticed at the time, and many books on mysticism continued to be published by Jesuits as well as others. But the holy Cistercian Cardinal Bona († 1674), in his learned and pious *Via compendii ad Deum*, states boldly that the pure prayer which he inculcates, exercised without phantasmata, by the help of aspirations, '*is universally denied by the scholastics*, but is admitted by holy and mystical writers.' St. Theresa's famous Jesuit confessor, Balthasar Alvarez († 1580), succeeded in justifying before his superiors his own mystical method of prayer; but it was declared unsuitable to other Jesuits, who made meditation obligatory in their society soon after the death of their great founder. Mercurian, who was general of the society from 1573 to 1580, forbade the use of the works of Tauler, Ruysbroeck, Suso, Harphius, St. Gertrude, and St. Mechtilde. Yet some of the chief mystical authors of the 17th cent. are Jesuits, such as Alvarez de Paz († 1620), Sandæus († 1656), and Godinez († 1644); and the older tradition was carried on by various Jesuit ascetical writers, of whom Surin († 1665) is the most celebrated. Other books may be cited: that of the Franciscan Cardinal de Lauria († 1693), who followed mediæval authorities and also the experiences of his friend Joseph of Cupertino, a saint whose life is as touching and poetical as it is extraordinary; and the Benedictine Augustine Baker († 1641), whose many treatises were fused into the celebrated *Sancta Sophia* by Serenus Cressy.

The dangerous absurdities of the Quietists, led by Molinos († 1696) and Mme. Guyon († 1717), did more even than the theologians to bring contemplative prayer into disrepute. The great Bossuet († 1704), indeed, taught the traditional method with his accustomed lucidity, in some opuscules and in some of his letters. Yet the doctrine which prevailed in practice, even in the religious orders, was that discursive meditation, with much movement of the imagination, was suitable to all (except a very few extraordinary and favoured souls), and even to enclosed nuns. It was said to be not only possible, but easy, for every one; and for three hundred years pious souls have been in the habit of supposing their failure in meditation to be a sad and rare phenomenon, due to their own wickedness and laziness, and a peculiarity too disedifying to be owned except in confession. It has been as though St. John of the Cross had never penned his denunciations of directors, who bind souls to seek 'particular knowledge,' to 'apply the senses,' work the imagination, and deduce conclusions by the reason. 'Contemplatives,' 'mystics,' have become a byword, as if they were imaginative, idle, weak-minded, sickly persons—the very antithesis of the real article. But then the popular idea of mystical graces among the educated, the learned, and the students of that *ars artium, regimen animarum*, has been that they consist mainly in revelations and imaginary visions, in ecstasies and raptures (regarded as miracles intended by God to reveal the sanctity of the recipient), stigmata and levitations, and that the safest and most authorized among them are visions of our Lord's Passion, or consolations from His humanity, such as the sight of His sacred heart, or the reception of Him in the arms in the form of an infant, and so forth. Contemplation has been

thought to be mainly the sensible tasting of mysteries, especially of the Passion. Art began no longer to represent the saints as kneeling calmly in adoration, but as waving their arms and stretching their necks and rolling their eyes, in ecstasies of sensuous longing, while they tear aside their clothes to relieve their burning bosoms; the Roman and Bolognese schools of painting and the Berninesque school of sculpture join with baroque architecture in emphasizing the 17th and 18th cent. conceptions of devotion.

This is the popular side, though the true teaching was never lost, and St. John of the Cross was honoured, if not read. The 18th cent. writers were chiefly compilers—*e.g.*, Reguera († 1747), who followed Godinez, and the Benedictine Schram († 1797), who followed Reguera. The tendency of the period is to enumerate all the extraordinary manifestations that can be found, and to classify them in a theoretical scale which bears no relation to facts. Some short but valuable practical instructions occur in the *Homo Apostolicus* and the *Praxis confessarii* of St. Alfonso di Liguori († 1787). The *Manuel des âmes intérieures* of Grou (a Jesuit until the suppression [† 1803]) is one of the best guides for contemplative souls. The best known author of the 18th cent. is Scaramelli († 1752). His *Direttorio mistico* is a valuable summary. He closely follows the views of Suarez. Like the rest of this school, he explains away the traditional advice to reject imaginations in prayer, as referring to the formation of an abstract ideal of God by the reason, by the *via eminentiæ* and *via negationis*—the very confusion which pseudo-Dionysius has so carefully avoided. Hence Scaramelli can agree with Suarez that supernatural contemplation is but the crown of a process of reasoning; the contemplation of God *in caligine* is the contemplation of an intellectual abstraction: hence its vagueness, hence it cannot be described! But one wonders how it can cause burning and ecstatic love, and this is left unexplained. This abstraction is all that is perceived in almost all the degees of mysticism. The intuition of God by 'infused species' is given to a few, but probably only in the highest degree, that of 'spiritual marriage,' and this grace is not to be wished or asked of God. The only mystical state which may be desired (and only if God has already raised the soul to the mystical state) is the contemplation of the abstract idea of God!

The 19th cent. was singularly barren. The most remarkable publication was *Die christliche Mystik* (Regensburg, 1836–42) by J. J. von Görres; it is mainly a dissertation on the external phenomena of mysticism (such as stigmata, prolonged fasts, bilocation, etc.), a repellent treatise, founded to some extent on doubtful sources. Yet it is not to be denied that this psycho-physical side demands scientific investigation. It seems certain that St. John of the Cross is justified in his view that the body is somehow 'spiritualized' by contemplation. Such facts as the power of saints over the animal world and the power of reading thoughts, *e.g.*, are proved beyond cavil; whether to some extent some of these phenomena are the results of mystical graces, or wholly independent of them, is a question to be examined. Levitation seems to occur apart from ecstasy in states of prayer which are not very advanced. J. Ribet's *La Mystique divine* (Paris, 1879–83) is a creditable work for its day.

6. Recent Roman Catholic writers.—Saudreau and Poulain have abandoned the false road taken by their predecessors, though they have chosen different paths. The many volumes of the former are valuable and helpful. While it is easy to criticize many details in his work, the whole of it is in general devoted to the restoration of the older tradition and to the justification of the prayer of aspirations and of loving attention to God. Poulain has accumulated a great store of information, admirably arranged, and he gives excellent counsels. His classification has been criticized above; it must be added that for traditional contemplative prayer he has substituted a new 'prayer of simplicity,' which differs from it very little, but is said to be wholly non-mystical, and is placed before, instead of after, the 'night of the senses.' Lehodey follows Poulain. Zahn has stereotyped the popular 18th cent. view, described above, to a degree which no serious author of that date had ventured. He takes the view of Suarez and Scaramelli as to contemplation and infused prayer, but goes further in that he even throws doubt upon the existence of 'intellectual visions' (*Einführung in die christl. Mystik*, p. 509 f.). Lamballe regards contemplation as merely the exercise of faith, with the help of the 'gifts of the Holy Ghost,' which (against the theologians) he seems to regard as extraordinary graces; he teaches the traditional method. Putting Zahn aside, it may be said that all recent Roman Catholic writers are agreed that it is permissible and proper to desire mystical prayer, though not its extraordinary by-products and psycho-physical effects.

LITERATURE.—Useful bibliographies will be found in Poulain and in Maréchal (below). The following is a brief list of select Roman Catholic works: P. Lejeune, *Manuel de théologie mystique*, Paris, 1897, *Introduction à la vie mystique*, do. 1899, Eng. tr., *An Introduction to the Mystical Life*, London, 1915, *L'Oraison rendue facile*, Paris, 1904; see also his art. 'Contemplation,' in A. Vacant and E. Mangenot, *Dict. de Théologie*, do. 1906–09; Anon. (Abbess of Solesmes), *La Vie spirituelle et l'oraison*, do. 1899, Eng. tr., *The Spiritual Life and Prayer*, London, 1900; H. Joly, *Psychologie des saints*, Paris, 1897, Eng. tr., London, 1898; A. Saudreau, *Les Degrés de la vie spirituelle*, 2 vols., Paris and Angers, 1896, ²1897, Eng. tr., London, 1907, *La Vie d'union à Dieu* (chiefly citations of earlier writers), Paris, 1900, *L'État mystique*, do. 1903, *Les Faits extraordinaires de la vie spirituelle*, Paris and Angers, 1908; C. Sauvé, 'Etats mystiques,' app. to *L'Homme intime*, Paris, 1901; J. Pacheu, *Introduction à la psychologie des mystiques*, do. 1901, *Psychologie des mystiques chrétiens*: 'Le Poème de la conscience,' do. 1909, *L'Expérience mystique et l'activité subconsciente*, do. 1911, 'Les Mystiques interprétés par les mystiques,' in *Revue de Phil.* xiii. [1913] 616; A. Poulain, *Des Grâces d'oraison*, Paris, 1901, ⁷1909, Eng. tr., *The Graces of Interior Prayer*, London, 1912, *La Mystique de St. Jean de la Croix*, Paris, 1893; see also *Revue des sciences eccl.* x. [1904] 67, 299, and *Revue de clergé français*, liv. [1908] 694; A. Bossuet, *Le Quiétisme, lettres inédites du frère de Bossuet*, Paris, 1902; A. Devine, *A Manual of Mystical Theology* (mainly taken from an abridgment of Scaramelli), London, 1903; H. Brémond, *La Provence mystique au XVIIme siècle*, Paris, 1908; A. Leclère, *Le Mysticisme catholique et l'âme de Dante*, do. 1906; F. von Hügel, *The Mystical Element of Religion, as studied in St. Catherine of Genoa and her Friends*, London, 1908; V. Lehodey, *Les Voies de l'oraison mentale*, Paris, 1908; J. Zahn *Einführung in die christliche Mystik*, Paderborn, 1908; A. B. Sharpe, *Mysticism; its true Nature and Value*, London, 1910; J. Maréchal, 'La Mystique chrétienne,' in *Revue de Phil.* xii. [1912] 416; E. Lamballe, *La Contemplation*, Paris, 1912, Eng. tr., *Mystical Contemplation*, London, 1914; H. Pope, *On Prayer and the Contemplative Life, from St. Thomas Aquinas* (tr. from the *Summa Theol.* only), do. 1914; B. Weld-Blundell, *Contemplative Prayer, Ven. Aug. Baker's Teaching thereon*, do. 1914.

J. CHAPMAN.

MYSTICISM (Christian, Protestant). — Protestant mysticism was born out of the mysticism of the Roman Catholic Church and has been profoundly influenced by it throughout its entire course of development; but other influences besides the old mysticism came into operation in the formation of Protestant mysticism, and the new forces helped to give a new direction to it. The most important new influence was the NT, now freshly alive in the 16th cent. in the tongue of the common people, and felt to be the master model of all religious experience and of all true piety. The great classics of mediæval mysticism, especially the anonymous *Theologia Germanica* and the *Imitation of Christ*, still spoke to the hearts of all serious seekers for inward religion. All early Protestant mystics either read these

Library of PACIFIC BIBLE SEMINARY 4836 EAST ANAHEIM ST.

books or got from others the substance of the message which they contained. At the same time the re-discovery of the gospel, with its concrete revelation of God and man and life, brought a new spiritualizing power to bear on the minds of men, and, as a consequence, the new mysticism was far less negative in its way of approach to God, more practical and social in its outlook, and more eager to minister to the entire life of man.

Luther himself was an intense admirer of the *Theologia Germanica* and of John Tauler's sermons, and there is a mystical depth always in evidence in Luther's accounts of his own religious experiences and in his spiritual insight into the meaning of faith as the way of personal salvation. The mystical element is, however, much more marked and emphatic in the contemporary so-called 'spiritual' reformers towards whom Luther early took up an antagonistic attitude—a group best represented by Thomas Münzer, Hans Denck, Johann Bünderlin, Christian Entfelder, Sebastian Franck, and Caspar Schwenckfeld. All these men were mystical in the primary sense. They found a religion which had its main roots in personal inward experience. They all exalted the inward, living, invisible word of God above the outward, written word, the Scriptures, and they insisted that salvation is the formation of a divine life in man himself—a life which re-creates human nature and produces in its direct operations a nature saturated with love both in its upward relation with God and in its outward relations with men.

The Anabaptists, of whom Balthazar Hübmaier (b. 1480) may be taken as a typical representative, often began their religious activity as a result of direct experiences, and they strongly emphasized the importance of a religion of life, but in most respects they were non-mystical. They treated the gospel as a new law to be literally followed and obeyed. They held that the true Church is a visible church of adult believers, formed on the apostolic model. They sometimes exalted visions and indulged in prophecy, but in these matters they believed that they were merely following, as in all matters of their faith, the Scriptural models. The Familists, or Family of Love, founded by Henry Nicholas of Münster (b. 1501), were a strongly mystical people. The founder was a sensitive recipient of 'openings' and what he believed to be 'communications,' and he believed himself chosen to be a 'revealer of the divine Word.' The type of religion which the Familists promulgated, and which became wide-spread in England during the first half of the 17th cent., was marked by an intense purpose to rise above everything outward and to exhibit in worship and in daily practical life the actual spirit and love of Christ. They highly valued silence as a way of worship, and they endeavoured to live so obedient to the 'Light' and 'Seed' of Christ within them that they should become perfect and complete, what they called 'godded men.'

The greatest of all early Protestant mystics was Jacob Boehme (born a few miles from Görlitz in Silesia, 1575, died 1624). Though an uneducated man, a shoemaker by trade, Boehme read much, and gathered into his meditative and original mind many strands of previous thought-systems. Apart from the Bible, he was influenced most by the writings of Caspar Schwenckfeld (1489–1561) and those of Valentine Weigel (1533–88). Through Weigel, and Weigel's master, Paracelsus (1493–1541), he absorbed the alchemistical aspirations of the time, and inherited the baffling terminology of alchemy, astrology, and theosophy. This inheritance largely determined the fundamental form of Boehme's universe and also his conception of man as an epitome of the universe, *i.e.* a microcosm. The living and permanent core of Boehme's message, however, sprang out of his own deep experience and his own vivid apprehension of the meaning of Christianity as a way of life. In the year 1600, as in 'a flash of lightning,' he felt that 'the gate of his soul was opened' and that he saw and knew what no books could teach. Under much persecution and struggle and with frequent successive 'openings,' he slowly matured his message and gave it in a long series of books, hard to comprehend but, nevertheless, containing much real insight.

The main ideas are these. Behind the visible, material, temporal universe there is an invisible, immaterial, eternal universe, which is the *mother* of the one that we see. This unoriginated matrix, ground, or abyss eternally evolves, or differentiates, into divine Personality within, and differentiates outwardly into visible and invisible worlds of matter and life and consciousness, through which the principles of darkness and light are revealed in temporal forms. Both root principles—a no and a yes—are present in every person, and the destiny of every soul is settled by its choice of principle. The light, or love principle—the heart of God—has been perfectly revealed in the incarnation of Christ. To be 'saved' is to be united with His life, to live in His love, to die to the isolated self, and to rise by a new birth into His Spirit and power and become a branch of Christ's life-tree. Salvation is not the result of opinions, of belief in creeds, or of the performance of outward sacraments or of membership in an outward Church, but rather it is the result of an inward union of heart with the revealed life of God, of an Abba-crying spirit in the soul; in short, salvation is the life of God brought to a personal conscious expression in the life of a man, so that 'the Lily-Twig' blossoms in a new individual form. See, further, art. BOEHME.

Boehme's entire writings were translated into English by John Sparrow and John Ellistone during the years 1647–61. They became a powerful influence in England, and contributed largely towards the formation of the inner life of the religious societies of the Commonwealth. A minor mystical group, owing its organizing life directly to Boehme's influence, was 'the sect of the Behmenists,' the leaders of which were John Pordage (b. 1607), Jane Leade (b. 1623), and Francis Lee (b. 1661). This movement, which culminated in the formation of 'the Philadelphian Society' (1697–1703), was visionary, confused, and devoid of the spiritually robust characteristics of the great Teutonic mystic himself.

George Fox (1624–91), the founder of the Quakers, plainly showed the influence of Boehme, gave the mystical movement a strong social direction, and is one of the most impressive and typical of Protestant mystics. Like Boehme, he went through a long period of baffling search, ending in a great mystical experience, which opened the gate of his soul and gave him remarkable religious insight and power. The main religious ideas which formed his message—delivered with marked success in England and America—were the following. There is a 'Light' or 'Seed' of God in the soul of every man. The soul obedient to the divine endowment increases its measure of light, triumphs over the innate tendencies to sin, and becomes a spiritual instrument or organ of the present, living, inward Christ, who is the only Head of the true Church. The best preparation for worship, as also for public service of any kind, is inward hush or silence, the suppression of self and selfishness, the inward reception of grace, and an attitude of waiting for a clear intimation of the Spirit's guidance.

From the opening of the 18th cent. Protestant mysticism in Europe, especially in England and

Holland, was strongly influenced by Quietism as expressed in the works of Molinos, Mme. Guyon, and Fénelon. This Quietistic influence is most noticeable in the ministers and leaders of the Society of Friends (the Quakers) of that century, who greatly admired the writings of this group of mystics. For fully a century the social aspirations of Friends became subordinated to the intense desire for quiet inward communion (see, further, FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF).

In William Law (1686–1761) Protestant mysticism in the 18th cent. attained its most perfect expression. He shows throughout his life the influence of the English Platonists, Whichcote, Smith, More, and Cudworth, but he early formed his mind directly upon the great models of mystical piety. In his first creative period, in which he produced *Christian Perfection* (1726) and *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life* (1729), he strongly follows the lines of classical, mediæval mysticism, with much emphasis on self-denial and negation. These two books represent the culmination in England of the type of Christianity embodied in the sermons of John Tauler, the *Theologia Germanica*, and the *Imitation of Christ*, though with less of a metaphysical cast and with more practical adjustment to life.

In the second period, which dates from 1733, Law was not so influential upon English thought, but he became far deeper in life and insight and more conscious of direct inward relation with a universe of invisible reality. In the group of writings of this period, of which *The Spirit of Prayer* (1749), *The Spirit of Love* (1752), and *The Way to Divine Knowledge* (1752) are representative, we have the noblest English interpretation of Jacob Boehme's mystical message.

From the beginning of the English Reformation to the present time British poets have shown deep sympathy with and clear appreciation of mysticism. John Donne, George Herbert, Thomas Traherne, and Henry Vaughan in the 17th cent. were strongly influenced by Platonism and by classical mysticism, and they all gave expression in their poetry to the intimate inner relation of the soul with God. In the 19th cent. Wordsworth, Coleridge, Tennyson, and Browning, foremost among English poets, were mystical both in their own personal experiences and in their interpretations of the soul's deepest life. William Blake (1757–1827), deeply versed in the writings of Boehme and possessed of a peculiarly marked psychical disposition, was the most distinctly mystical poet of the 19th cent. in England, as Ralph Waldo Emerson was in America.

The closing years of the 19th and the opening years of the 20th centuries have been marked by a wide-spread popular revival of mysticism among Protestant denominations, which has found expression in an extensive body of religious literature. The present return to mysticism is, however, in marked contrast to the great flowering periods of mysticism. In all those characteristically different movements the leaders and exponents were themselves luminous mystics who interpreted their own experiences, while to-day, on the other hand, very few first-hand prophets of mystical religion have appeared and the present movement has been in the main confined to the historical and psychological interpretation of mysticism as revealed in the autobiographies and expositions of dead prophets, though this may be, and probably is, the necessary preliminary stage to a far profounder *return* to a religion of the inner way.

LITERATURE.—William Ralph Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, London, 1899; William James, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, London and New York, 1902; James B. Pratt, *Psychology of Religious Belief*, New York, 1907; Friedrich von Hügel, *The Mystical Element of Religion*, London, 1908, *Eternal Life*, Edinburgh, 1912; Evelyn Underhill, *Mysticism*, London, 1911, *The Mystic Way*, do. 1913, *Practical Mysticism*, do. 1914; W. K. Fleming, *Mysticism in Christianity*, do. 1913; W. H. Dyson, *Studies in Christian Mysticism*, do. 1913; E. Lehmann, *Mysticism in Heathendom and Christendom*, Eng. tr. do. 1910; H. Delacroix, *Études d'histoire et de psychologie du mysticisme*, Paris, 1908; Joseph Zahn, *Einführung in die christliche Mystik*, Paderborn, 1908; W. E. Hocking, *The Meaning of God in Human Experience*, London, New Haven, 1912; Rufus M. Jones, *Studies in Mystical Religion*, London, 1908, *Spiritual Reformers in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, do. 1914; Percy Gardner, *The Religious Experience of St. Paul*, do. 1911; C. F. E. Spurgeon, *Mysticism in English Literature*, Cambridge, 1913; Jacob Behmen (Boehme), *Works*, Eng. tr., 4 vols., London, 1764–81; William Law, *Works*, 9 vols., do. 1762.

RUFUS M. JONES.

MYSTICISM (Christian, Russian).—The idea that the mysticism of the Byzantine Church found its direct continuation in Russian mysticism is at variance with historic fact. At first sight this seems strange; for the Russian cast of mind, with its predominantly emotional bent, could not but provide a most excellent soil for mysticism. Moreover, the religious spirit of the Russian people is certainly in great measure of a mystical character, while the mystagogical worship of God in the dimly-lit Russian churches is adapted to foster mystical feelings. Nevertheless, mysticism, in the sense of a mystical theory, does not exist in the Russian Church. The worship of God is there a sacred ritual, and the mystagogical theory underlying it is no longer understood. The devotional literature of the Russians is not really mystical, but ascetic; the theological literature, again, is stringently orthodox, *i.e.* it sets forth the sacred doctrines of the divine Trinity and of Christ's divine humanity; and the ecclesiastical censorship takes care that views of an alien kind shall not intrude. Mysticism, on the other hand, is in its inmost nature indifferent to matters of ritual and logical distinctions regarding God. Its aim is rather to apprehend God in feeling as the all-embracing Unity. It thus very naturally seems heretical, and in reality it has an undesigned tendency to heresy; in point of fact, certain heretical sects, as the Khlysti and the Skoptsi, are stigmatized in Russia as mystical, but, while they are genetically connected with sectarian movements in the ancient Byzantine Church, they, like these, are not mystical in the proper sense, but ecstatic. Their aim is not to become one with God in emotion, but, by the use of all kinds of nerve-stimulating devices, to bring down the spirit of God upon themselves, and so become organs of the spirit's influence upon the world. In all religious emotion, however, there is a strong impulse to gain a clear comprehension of itself in an adequate theory; but, as neither the Russian Church itself nor its sects could provide the people with a theory that would correspond to their highly developed religious emotion, and as, further, the people, being at a relatively low stage of intellectual development, were unable to construct such a theory for themselves, it is quite intelligible that, when they came to adopt the culture of Western Europe, they would take over its mysticism as well. In Russian literature the Masonic Order and the British and Foreign Bible Society are usually referred to as the channels by which the mystical pietism of Western Europe found its way into Russia. In reality, however, the process cannot be rightly attributed to these bodies; all that we can say of them in this respect is that they were used in part by W. European mystics, or by Russians who through W. European influence had become mystics, as media for the introduction of mystico-pietistic views into Russia. In the present article, accordingly, our object will be to narrate the history of mysticism in Russia by treating

in chronological order its outstanding representatives.

1. **Grigóri Sávvitch Skovorodá.**—The series[1] opens with the Little-Russian philosopher Grigóri Sávvitch Skovorodá (1722–94). He was a man of broad sympathies, and in his lifetime made a powerful impression upon the narrow circle of his countrymen in which he moved, while, after his death, his numerous though not voluminous writings—principally in dialogue form—continued to exercise a growing influence upon Russians who laid stress upon the subjective side of religion. His writings, notwithstanding all their learned phraseology, are composed in popular style, and his rather frequent use of ecclesiastical Slavic modes of expression does not detract in Russia from their popular character. Their profound religious contents are expressed in a highly original form. Skovorodá was a thorough mystic, as appears even from the visions ascribed to him in the biography written by his friend M. Kovalinski (1796; Charkov ed. [see Lit.], containing many of his writings, i. 1–40). In the vision connected with his conversion he attained to oneness with God, feeling that he was no longer an organism with bodily parts, but an undivided being burning with the fire of God's love and circling around in space (p. 28). The leading principle of his writings is that the one true way to the knowledge of God is the knowledge of self, which is found in the ancient heathen world no less than in Christianity (ii. 94, 105), and, just as he thus makes no real distinction between the heathen and the Christian knowledge of God, so—in conformity with the general trend of mysticism—his conception of God shows a pantheistic tendency (*e.g.*, ii. 123, where he identifies God with nature). For him, as for all mystics, the letter of Scripture is a matter of indifference, since he searches the word for its inner sense; and he is similarly unconcerned about the ceremonies of the Church (i. 34, quotation from MS in Ern's work, p. 245; ii. 57). This explains why he was always falling into disputes with the clergy, and why he lost his position as a teacher in the clerical schools of Perejaslávl and Charkov.

If what has been said regarding Skovorodá might suggest that he was a mystic dependent upon himself alone, there are other elements of his thought which point distinctly to the influence of other minds. Such elements are his conception of the ideal spiritual world as the basis of the material world, and of the ideal spiritual man as the prototype and final cause of man in his earthly state (*e.g.*, ii. 256, 258, 51–54, 17). As regards the former, Skovorodá himself refers to Plato (p. 256), while the latter is in the first instance a synthesis of the Platonic idea of man with man as depicted in certain OT passages and as used to typify Christ in the exegesis of the early Church; as a matter of fact, Skovorodá was well versed both in the classics and in the Church Fathers (i. 14). His conception of the ideal man, however, as not only the prototype, but also the moral pattern, of man as he now is—whose task it is to transform himself into the ideal—points to the influence of W. European mysticism and theosophy as operative from the time of Jacob Boehme, though we have no direct evidence of the connexion. Still, we know that, while Skovorodá spoke and wrote Latin with ease (cf. his Latin letters, i. 41–109), he was equally a master of German. He had travelled widely over Western Europe, and had visited many of its savants; in particular, he had formed (1773) a close friendship at Lausanne with one Daniel Meinhard, with whom he felt himself so much at one that subsequently he sometimes signed his letters and writings with his friend's name (i. 29 f.). Such were in all likelihood the channels by which he came into touch with the ideas of W. European mysticism.

2. **Johann Georg Schwarz.**—While Skovorodá was in some sense an isolated figure, it was Johann Georg Schwarz (1751–84), a native of Transylvania, who, though not himself the author of any religious work, inaugurated a vast influx of mystical-pietistic literature from Western Europe into Russia. In that capacity he was of more importance to Russia than in his brief period of personal activity in Moscow, profound as were the effects of his work there; moreover, this activity was rather on the lines of the Enlightenment and only incidentally religious. The spread of W. European mysticism in Russia is usually ascribed by native writers to the Order of the Rosy Cross, and, when the process is associated with an individual, the name of **Nikolaí Ivánovitch Nóvikov** stands first, that of Schwarz occupying only the second place. It was not till 1781–82 that Schwarz, then travelling in Germany, became acquainted with the Order of the Rosy Cross in Berlin, and was made a member of it by F. C. Wöllner, a minister of State, who was head of the order in that city. But, in point of fact, Schwarz was even then a mystic—an adherent of Jacob Boehme and of St. Martin (who himself had at one time been in personal intercourse with Russians, as, *e.g.*, Prince Alexe Golízün)—and as such had exercised no small influence in Russia before his journey to Germany.[1] As regards his work from 1782 onwards, again, he explicitly denies that the order was in any way responsible:

> 'It is true that I am a freemason; and so are some of my friends . . . but the Society (of Learned Friends) is not a masonic one. . . . How can any one in the 18th century come to believe that freemasonry is a religious communion and can be taught from a chair?' ('A Note of F. G. Schwarz,' printed in *Yearbooks of Russian Literature and Antiquity*, v. ii. 110).

It is also true that Nóvikov, who certainly exercised a greater influence upon the rise of the Enlightenment in Russia than did Schwarz, had, even before he came to know the latter (1779), already published translations of Pascal's *Pensées* and several of Jung Stilling's shorter compositions in *The Dawn*, the journal edited by him in Petrograd in 1777–79. But these few writings of mystical tendency were as nothing compared with the mass of W. European works of other kinds which the journal published in translation. Nóvikov's later journals, which he issued under various titles in Moscow until 1785, make it quite clear that he did not become a mystic even after he had made the acquaintance of Schwarz. He was undoubtedly a religious man, but his predominant interest lay in the union of science and faith—a tendency which is quite foreign to mysticism, and, as a matter of fact, his journals contain a large number of articles directly opposed to mysticism in their general purport. While he certainly did his utmost to support Schwarz's efforts to disseminate mystical literature in Russia, yet, when he was subsequently (after Schwarz's early death) summoned to answer for his conduct in a court of law, he made an explanation which there is no reason to discredit:

> 'At first we printed books of various kinds; but afterwards, as we came to see that the religious books were in greater demand, we printed them in greater numbers' (from the records of his trial, in 'Fresh Information regarding N. I. Nóvikov and the members of the Typographical Company,' communicated by D. J. Ilovaiski, *Yearbooks of Russian Lit. and Ant.* v. ii. 16).

[1] The well-known German mystic Quirinus Kuhlmann, who arrived in Moscow on 28th April 1669, and was there burned as a heretic on 1st Oct. of the same year, does not really belong to the series, and needs but a passing reference. He had no command of the Russian language, and his influence in Russia was confined to the German residents of Moscow. It was for his aspersions upon the Lutheran clergy that he was arrested and condemned.

[1] Schwarz had gone to Russia in 1776, and became a professor in the University of Moscow in 1779.

Schwarz had learned Russian, and in his very effective educational work in Moscow, where he soon exhausted his strength, was sincerely concerned with the religious development of his pupils, though he treated their creed with all respect; for mysticism, making little of confessional differences, is always tolerant. While his work at the University and at the Gymnasium (which he recognized by introducing a new educational scheme) was restricted to giving instruction in the German language and literature, he gave on his own initiative and in his own house a course of lectures on the history of philosophy (1782), in which, from the religious as well as the philosophical point of view, he dealt critically with Spinoza, Rousseau, and the Encyclopædists (then greatly in vogue among the Russian youth); he also delivered a lecture on the three species of knowledge — the zetetic, the pleasure-giving, and the useful, interpreting the last as religious knowledge, and extolling the Bible as its most trustworthy source. He exerted an even more direct influence upon the younger generation through the seminary for the training of teachers and professors which he instituted in 1779, and through the school of philology and translation which he opened in 1782 with sixteen students. Under his direction these students translated numerous works by W. European mystics and pietists, as well as writings of the Greek Fathers, and in this work he gradually secured the help of his personal friends, whom in 1782 he united in an association known as the 'Society of Learned Friends.' The foundation of the Moscow Order of Rosienicians was purely incidental; the order had a membership of only nineteen (of whom Nóvikov was one). In 1782 and the year following the association executed Russian translations of works by Tauler, Arndt, Bunyan, and St. Martin, and of hundreds of other writings by anonymous or less known German and English religious authors of mystical or pietistic leanings. In the work of publication Schwarz was assisted by Nóvikov, who placed at his disposal the University Press leased by him from 1789. Religious books printed there were still subject to the clerical censorship, but this obstacle was removed when, in consequence of a new enactment, the Society of Learned Friends was enabled to open a number of independent printing establishments. In 1784 the society gave place to the 'Typographical Company.' The works thus published were sold not only in Moscow, but also in Smolensk, Kiev, Tula, and other towns. In the same year Schwarz died, in a village near Moscow, of an illness due to overwork. While Schwarz's religious activities had led to troubles with the government—troubles which, among other things, caused him to resign his chair —the bitter animosity of the empress Catherine II. against the Freemasons broke fiercely over Nóvikov in her last reactionary period. As early as 1787 such books as had been issued without the sanction of the clerical censorship and were still lying in the booksellers' shops had been confiscated, and in 1792, at the commencement of his trial, 18,000 of the 23,000 copies still held in stock were burned, and the rest made over to the academy. For his share in the publication and distribution of the books Nóvikov was sentenced to rigorous confinement in the fortress of Schlüsselburg, from which he was liberated, in shattered health, at the accession of Paul I. (1796). But the numerous copies already in the hands of the public were beyond the reach of the persecution.

3. Alexander Feódorovitch Lábsin.—The second great influx of W. European mystical literature into Russia was pre-eminently due to the energies of Alexander Feódorovitch Lábsin, a man of unassuming and deeply religious character. He had no desire to court public attention, preferring to do his work in the background; thus, *e.g.*, his signature on the title-page of his translations was simply 'U. M.', *i.e.* Utcheník Múdrosti, 'pupil of wisdom.' This explains why the publication of such literature was ascribed by its enemies to the Russian branch of the British Bible Society—an idea that still persists among Russian writers. But Lábsin, who was a follower of Schwarz and a member of the Society of Learned Friends, and who had already, under Schwarz's directions, been engaged in the translation of mystical works, had resumed his labours as soon as the greater freedom granted by the government of Alexander I. opened a way for the publication of such writings, *i.e.* even before the formation of the Bible Society in Russia (1812). Lábsin's activities in this direction fall into two periods, the first extending from 1803 to 1806, the second from 1813 to 1822. The latter, however, owed its inception not so much to the Bible Society (which, in Russia as elsewhere, maintains its principle of issuing the text of Scripture without annotations of any kind) as to the religious awakening which, arising out of the wars of freedom, spread to Russia too. In his first period Lábsin translated and published many of the writings of Jung Stilling and Eckartshausen, his favourite authors.[1] In 1806 he issued his journal, the *Messenger of Zion* (*Siónski Véstnik*), in which he called for a more inward and spiritual grasp of religion. Nearly all its articles were from his own pen, the rest being furnished by like-minded friends; he also reprinted in it a number of Skovorodá's works. Though the journal had a very small circulation—93 subscribers, including 33 clergymen—it met with opposition on the part of the Church, and, when the authorities demanded that not only the journal but all further translations should be brought under the clerical censorship, Lábsin simply stopped the paper and for the time abandoned his translation work. In a few years, however, he resumed the latter in consequence of the growing support extended to him by Alexander I. and many officials of State, who, after the wars of freedom, had themselves come under the influence of the religious awakening. In this period Lábsin issued new editions of the works of Jung Stilling and Eckartshausen already published by him, and he translated a number of other writings—*e.g.*, the former's *Siegesgeschichte der christlichen Religion in einer gemeinnützigen Erklärung der Offenbarung Johannis*, and the thirty numbers of his popular periodical, *Der graue Mann*. To these he added renderings of Jacob Boehme's *Der Weg zu Christo*, the more important works of Francis of Sales, Ambrosius Lombaise, Dousetan, and Adam Sigismund Fleischer, and anonymous writings of a similar character. Here he also secured the help of friends: F. Lubjanóvski translated Jung Stilling's *Heimweh*; W. M. Popóv, an adherent of Madame de Tatárinova (see below), translated Lindl's *Sermons* and Gossner's *Geist des Lebens und der Lehre Jesu Christi in Betrachtungen und Bemerkungen über das ganze Neue Testament*, i. 'Matthäus und Markus'; Sophie Meshtchérskaja, sister of the chief procurator to the Holy Synod, executed Russian versions of English tractates exhibiting the same trend of thought. The translations of works by Tauler, Arndt, and St. Simon which had been published under Schwarz's direction were once more given to the public, while fresh work was done in translating À Kempis's *Imitatio Christi*, selected writings of Madame Guyon, and Dutoit's *Philosophie chrétienne*. In 1816 the

[1] Another book greatly prized by Lábsin was the compilation of mystical thoughts from the Byzantine Church entitled Φιλοκαλία, which he read in the Ecclesiastical Slavic edition. The first Russian tr. of this by Feophar († 1894) appeared at a much later date.

emperor bestowed an order upon Lábsin 'for the publication of religious books in the native language,' and rewarded the editor of Madame Guyon's works with a large gift of money. In 1817, at the instance of the emperor, Lábsin resumed the issue of his *Messenger of Zion*, which now attained a vast circulation throughout Russia, although, as it could not permanently evade the spiritual censorship, it was discontinued in the following year. Translations of mystico-pietistic works, however, were now subject to the secular censorship only, not to the clerical—a privilege which Lábsin and his collaborators owed to Prince Alexander Golízün, minister of public instruction and a devoted adherent of mysticism. Golízün, in fact, had these writings sent in vast quantities—to a maximum of 2000 copies for each eparchy—to the schools under his department, using the Commission for Clerical Schools as the distributing agency; and he also sent them to the bishops and provincial governors. The writings by which the orthodox clerical party sought to counteract this literature he did not allow to pass the censorship, and he even reprimanded the censor for having sanctioned Stanewitch's *Discourse at the Grave of a Child upon the Immortality of the Soul* (Petrograd, 1818), which was directed mainly against Jung Stilling's *Siegesgeschichte*. At first, however, Lábsin was countenanced by some of the higher clergy with whom he had been associated in the Bible Society—notably by the metropolitans Michaíl, Seraphím, and Philarét, of whom the first two had in their youth belonged to Schwarz's circle, while the third subsequently (1834) published a new translation of the *Imitatio Christi*, which had all along formed his favourite reading, and which he called the 'book of sweetness.' Few original works of a mystical character in the Russian language, apart from the articles in the *Messenger of Zion*, appeared at this time; such, however, were the *Fruit of the Lover of Truth*, and *Features of the Spiritual Church*, by Lopuchín, a privy councillor, and Krülov's *Reflection upon the True Religion*, all of which were published without clerical censorship, and distributed by Golízün.

The second influx of mystico-pietistic literature, however, was soon brought to a standstill by the reactionary policy adopted by Alexander I. in the closing years of his reign, just as the first had been stopped thirty years previously by the empress Catherine. In 1822 Lábsin was sent to Sengilé in the government of Simbírsk in consequence of an outspoken declaration over the emperor. The real champion of the reaction, the thoroughly unscrupulous Count A. A. Araktchejev, by whom the emperor latterly suffered himself to be ruled in all things, made use of the clerical party, which had been roused to action by Stanewitch's book, as a means of overthrowing Prince Golízün. The movement found a pretext especially in the work of Gossner already mentioned, which Araktchejev stigmatized as at once impious and revolutionary, and more generally in the mystico-pietistic literature disseminated by Golízün. As the latter was also president of the Bible Society, he was deprived of his office as minister of public instruction (1824), and the society itself was prevented from carrying on its work—on the ground that it was responsible for the circulation of the literature in question, whereas, in fact, Golízün had worked here quite independently of the society; and, moreover, if he and his mystically disposed group, which was held together chiefly by the conception of the 'inward Church,' belonged to the society, its membership included likewise many high officials of State not greatly concerned with religious matters, and even the chief representatives of the Orthodox, as well as of the Roman Catholic and Protestant clergy. Golízün's successor in office, Admiral A. S. Shishkov, ordered many of the mystical books found in the schools and booksellers' shops to be confiscated, and sent to the clerical academy of Petrograd in order to be examined by a commission appointed for the purpose. This commission, however, did not begin its work till 1830, and finished it only in 1843. In 1846 the Holy Synod gave orders that all surviving copies found in the dioceses should be sent to it. To what extent, if at all, this injunction was obeyed is not yet clearly known, but it is certain that many volumes remained in the hands of the public, and are to this day greatly prized, more especially among sectarians.

4. Madame de Krydener, Lindl, Gossner; Madame de Tatárinova, Kotélnikov, Dubovízki.—While Lábsin had exercised an extraordinary influence upon those around him by personal contact, he had not stood forth publicly as the herald of the new faith, seeking rather to disseminate it by the written word only. Even in Russia, however, the religious awakening of Western Europe did not fail to find impassioned preachers and strenuous organizers of devotional meetings. Although Madame de Krydener (1764–1824) exercised her pietistic ministrations mainly in foreign countries, and, as far as the Russian Empire is concerned, laboured only in her native province of Livonia and for a very short time in Petrograd, she nevertheless played a great part in the movement by which the awakening was carried from the west to the east of Europe, winning for it the favour of Alexander I., in whose personal circle she lived during 1815 in Heilbronn, Heidelberg, and Paris, and upon whose entourage—notably Prince Golízün (see above)—her influence was likewise very great. From 1819, again, the Roman Catholic preachers Lindl and Gossner (1820–24) laboured successively in Petrograd as apostles of Pietism. The former obtained the use of the Maltese church near the Pagenkorps, while to the latter the emperor assigned a large hall, in which he addressed audiences of about 2000 persons.

While the ministrations of these three leading representatives of mysticism were attended by Russians who were familiar with German and French, it is obvious that no far-reaching or permanent result could be secured except by persons who were able to address Russians in the Russian language. This advantage was possessed by another Livonian lady of rank, Catherine von Buxhövden, who married the Russian lieutenant-colonel Tatárinov, and in fact almost became a Russian herself, even leaving Lutheranism for the Greek Orthodox Church. Having been deeply stirred by the W. European revival, she founded in 1815 her 'Brotherhood in Christ' in Petrograd. In that association she endeavoured to furnish the new spiritual religion with distinctively Russian forms, borrowing these from the ascetic and ecstatic Skoptsi ('self-mutilators'), though rejecting their fundamental demand of sexual mutilation. Her devotional gatherings in the residence assigned to her in the Michael Palace—and from 1822 in other places—were conducted on the lines of the Skoptsi meetings, and were devoted partly to delirious dancing in fantastic dress, and partly to prophetic discourse. In the latter she had the services of prophets whom she had won from the Skoptsi community in Petrograd, but she also took part in it herself, using it as a means of propagating the deepened spirituality of Pietism, while at the same time she took upon herself the benevolent work of the Pietists among the sick and the poor. But, as she gradually cast off the people of humbler rank who had rallied to her from among the Skoptsi, she came at length to form a sort of religious focus for the bureaucratic, military, and hereditary aristo-

cracy of Petrograd. Among those who took part in her devotional gatherings were Prince Golízün, W. M. Popóv, the director of his department, General I. A. Golovin, Prince I. Engalytchev, and Princes N. and S. Kropótkin. She was befriended by the emperor Alexander I., and, together with her chief prophets from the Skoptsi sect, was repeatedly called to his presence for the purpose of conversing on religious themes; he also granted her a large pension, and even in his reactionary period his protecting hand shielded her and her circle from the attacks of Araktchejev and Shishkov. It was not till a much later time, in the reign of Nicholas I., that she and her chief adherents suffered arrest, she herself being confined in a remote monastery (1837–47). Her followers, however, still continued to hold religious meetings in Petrograd, though now in secret, and she even found ways of advising them from her distant abode (in Moscow from 1847); nor was her circle dissolved until her death.

While it was only at the outset that Madame Tatárinova sought to extend her influence to the common people, the Esa-úl (Cossack officer) Ievlámpi Kotélnikov, who founded another sectarian community of similar nature, confined his labours entirely to that class. Having been deeply moved, in the early twenties of last century, by his reading of the Russian NT published by the Bible Society, and of mystical books, especially Lopuchín's *Features of the Inward Church*, he proposed to institute a truly spiritual Church in contrast to the external Orthodox Church, which he stigmatized as the 'Babylon' and the 'harlot' spoken of in Revelation. He devoted his mind largely to the study of that book, which he interpreted in a very fantastic way, following here the characteristic ideas of the Khlysti. He claimed to be the forerunner, John, and asserted that Christ had been spiritually born in the emperor Alexander I. The latter was at the same time the second of the apocalyptic angels, the Bible Society being the first. He won numerous adherents in his native stanitsa of Vérchnekurmojárskaya, in the neighbouring Cossack stanitsas on the Don, and in the town of Novotcherkásk. In his devotional meetings it was the practice to read the Russian Bible and mystical works of the kind circulated by Lábsin, but these gatherings were otherwise of an ecstatic type like the religious services of the Khlysti (see MEN OF GOD); Kotélnikov's adherents, in fact, called themselves Duchonostsi, 'Vehicles of the Spirit.' He expounded his ideas in a number of writings, and it was the fact of his having sent copies of these to the higher clergy that led to his arrest in 1824. In 1826 he was sent to confinement in the Solovézki monastery on the White Sea, where he died in 1852. Nothing is known of the further history of his community.

That it was possible, however, to propagate the more inward type of religion in the forms of the Orthodox Church is shown by the labours of Alexander Petróvitch Dubovízki († 1852). Dubovízki, a landowner, had been spiritually awakened by an employé of Madame de Krydener who had entered his service after taking part in her devotional meetings in Switzerland and Livonia (1816–20). In 1822 Dubovízki began to hold similar meetings in the settlements of Lepégi and Górlovo in the government of Ryasán, where he had an estate, and at these gatherings he not only expounded the Scripture to the peasantry, but distributed copies among them. To those who took part he gave the name of 'true inward worshippers.' In Górlovo he erected a chapel which was open to all, though in it he used to urge the peasants to be diligent in attending the Orthodox Church for the worship of God and the observance of the Lord's Supper. In 1823 he removed to Petrograd, where in his own house he assembled his servants for devotional services of a similar character. Here he made the acquaintance of Madame Tatárinova, but took an attitude of decisive opposition to her schismatic ecstasy. Then, as a result of the reaction, he was sent to a monastery in 1824. Here, however, he threw himself so zealously into the religious life of the monks that he was liberated in 1826 on the recommendation of the monastic authorities and of Philaret, as also on the ground that his orthodoxy was recognized by the metropolitan Seraphím, who had been mainly instrumental in procuring his condemnation for preaching without authority. In 1829, after brief periods of residence in Petrograd, Lepégi, Górlovo, and other places, Dubovízki settled in Moscow, where he arranged his large domestic establishment, consisting of sixty-eight persons, wholly on monastic lines. He wore iron chains upon his body, and the entire household lived on lenten fare. Here, too, he instituted a school for the education not only of his own children, but of those of the congenially minded archimandrite Platón, as well as peasant children from his estates. The foreign teachers, both male and female, whom he engaged for this work were one after another converted by him to Orthodoxy. As it was one of his leading convictions that in the Church of Christ, besides the public services, there might be, and had in fact once been, more private gatherings for mutual edification, he used to assemble his household in a special oratory for devotional exercises. It was on account of these domestic services that he was again arrested in 1833; he was confined in various monasteries, and, stricken in years as in health, died in 1842.

5. Vladímir Sergéjewitch Solovjóv.—Since the period of the Napoleonic wars, Russia, like W. Europe generally, has had no further revivals of religion; nor can we speak of another large influx of W. European mystical literature into Russia. The explanation lies not only in the growing religious indifference of the educated classes in Russia during the latter half of the 19th cent., but also in the increasing disinclination of these classes to depend wholly upon W. Europe for the satisfaction of their spiritual needs—in a word, the endeavour to realize a distinctively Russian type of culture. Within recent times, no doubt, a sense of religious need has been awakened among Russians of every class by the popular philosophy of Tolstoi. While Tolstoi, however, as regards his own personal experience, interprets the religious relation in the sense of a mystical pantheism, and while his writings are pervaded by a general strain of mysticism, yet in these writings the strictly religious interest rather gives way to the interest of an ascetic morality and of social problems. Although the asceticism preached by Tolstoi associates him more closely than he supposed with the Orthodox Church, to which, in his criticism of its doctrines, he stood sharply opposed, the longing of the Russian people for a theory of life corresponding to its mystical religion of emotion has found its fulfilment in the views of Vladímir Sergéjewitch Solovjóv (1853–1900), a thinker who stood forth as a genuine Russian and a loyal son of his Church.[1] On a superficial view, indeed, Solovjóv might be regarded as one of the long succession of philosophical theologians and theological philosophers who in Russia have sought to provide a theoretical justification for the teaching of the Church; thus he finds a rationale not only for the doctrines of the Trinity and the Two Natures, but also for the Seven Sacraments and the conveyance of the

[1] Cf. his *La Russie et l'église universelle*, Paris, 1889, ²1906.

priestly character by the laying on of hands. On a closer view, however, his mysticism, like mysticism generally, shows a certain unconformity with the doctrines of the Church. Though he frequently seems to speak in terms of theism, his idea of God is essentially pantheistic; he teaches the eternity of the world, speaks of an ante-temporal fall, and sometimes denies the personal immortality of the individual. Such departures from the teaching of the Church, however, do not seem to have impaired the influence of his writings[1]—an influence which has been constantly on the increase since his death; in certain circles, indeed, they may even have added to it. The joint-editor of his works, E. L. Radlov, who writes the biographical sketch, has justly said (*Collected Works*[2], vol. x. p. xxxv) that his mysticism is always the central and fundamental element of his teaching. Here he not only shows the influence of such Western mystics as Scotus Erigena, Jacob Boehme, and Swedenborg, but has also drawn upon Neo-Platonic mysticism, which is much more closely allied to his Church. Thus the union with God which is attained by attenuating self-consciousness to a mere sense of existence he describes precisely as do the Neo-Platonists (see below). Still, this dependence does not preclude his having experienced and reflected upon the mystical form of religion in a way peculiarly his own. His mysticism is indeed of so decided a kind that he assigns the most important place in his theory of knowledge to mystical faith. His leading ideas are as follows:

The reality of the external world cannot be apprehended by reason, but is to be grasped by faith alone, faith finding the ground of phenomena in the same reality as is directly experienced by the believer in his appropriation of faith ('Criticism of Abstract Principles,' *Works*, ii. 326, 330 f.). The object of this faith is therefore the absolute existence of objective reality. The interaction between the ideal essence of the ego and the ideal existences of all other objects is called 'presentation,' and this produces in our reason those durable, definite, self-consistent, and self-identical images of objects by means of which we combine and organize the whole indefinite mass of single impressions (p. 336). We perceive these images, in the first instance, immediately, and prior to all our sense-perceptions, to which we then transfer them (p. 338). Our knowledge of nature, if it is to be genuine and objective, must be brought into relation with this mystical knowledge (pp. 346, 349 ff.).

In conformity with his theory of knowledge Solovjóv deals specially with the knowledge of God. Human personality, he says, is in a sense itself divine, or, more precisely, it participates in deity. It has the negatively unconditioned quality of aspiring after perfection, and this aspiration carries with it the claim of being realizable ('Lectures on the Divine Humanity,' *Works*, iii. 19); in other words, man will not consent to be a mere phenomenon, and this very refusal indicates that he is something different, something more (p. 21). But the ultimate truth lies in the fact that he is also *positively* unconditioned, *i.e.* he has the power of appropriating to himself the fullness of being. Faith in himself is at the same time faith in God. Deity belongs to God in His eternal reality; man aspires to and yearns for it, and finally reaches it (p. 25). The reality of God, however, cannot be logically demonstrated, but can be apprehended only by faith, exactly as the reality of the world and each separate object (p. 32 f.). When we abstract from all definite manifestations of our outward and inward life—not merely from our sense impressions, but also from our feelings, thoughts, and wishes; when we concentrate all our capacities in the one focus of our immediate spiritual existence; when we let ourselves sink into the silent and motionless calm from which the turbid stream of our present being wells forth without disturbing its purity and its peace—then in the source of our own spiritual life we are inwardly in touch with the source of universal life, and we know God as the principle or substance of the All (p. 87). We cannot doubt the reality of that which operates palpably within us, and the operation of which is given in our very perception ('Justification of the Good,' *Works*, viii. 191, 193 f.). Feeling its reality in ourselves, we realize that we are already united with that supreme reality, and we posit the (inward, subjective) beginning of the coming union of the world with God (p. 196). This may be expressed in the form of a behest: 'Have God within yourself; do not sever yourself from the All, but associate yourself with the all' (p. 202 f.).

If Solovjóv, in these developments of his thought, reminds us of the fundamental principle of Skovorodá (with whom he was connected on his mother's side), viz. that the true path to the knowledge of God is self-knowledge (cf. § 1), he resembles him also in the fact that between man as he now is and God he places the ideal man, though with a peculiar and much broader basis of argument. The material side of nature, existing as a part, strives to be transformed into the All, into God ('Criticism of Abstract Principles,' *Works*, ii. 318). Nature is the second Absolute, which attains its ideal reality in man (p. 319), and, as nature strives to rise to the human stage, there are at bottom only two realities, viz. the absolutely existent, God, and that which is absolutely becoming, man (p. 323). Man is the connecting link between the deity and the world of nature; by 'man,' however, is meant here not man as known to us, but ideal and perfect humanity—the Sophia, which was eternally consummated in the plenary divine entity, *i.e.* Christ ('Lectures on the Divine Humanity,' *Works*, iii. 121). This humanity, accordingly, is co-eternal with God Himself (p. 122). Man in his present state presupposes the eternal humanity, or ideal man (pp. 123, 126). The organism of this universal humanity consists of the body of God and the eternal soul of the world (p. 127). The earthly individual man, just as he did not exist before his birth, passes away at death (p. 128). The evil in man in his phenomenal state lies in the fact that he usually feels himself isolated, and only in rare moments of clarity realizes his unity with all other things, with God (p. 130 f.). This evil impulse towards isolation he shares with all empirically existing things (p. 132). In reality, however, ideal humanity, or the world-soul which unites in itself all individual souls, had already, in the cycle prior to the present, broken away from its unity with the All and tried to find itself in its separation; for otherwise evil could not have appeared in phenomenal man and the phenomenal world (pp. 140–142). In that empirical world everything has fallen asunder into parts and particles seeking to assert themselves in opposition to one another. God, however, desires to bring the world-soul back to Himself by a gradual process. To begin with, the world-soul in phenomenal man, as prepared for it by the long process of religious history, comes to know itself again in its unity with the divine Logos, *i.e.* the pure form of the universal unity; moreover, it recognizes itself also in all nature, of which phenomenal man feels himself to be the concentration (p. 150 f.). Such is the philosophical rationale of the union of deity with a human soul in the person of Jesus Christ (p. 162), and this union becomes a continuous process by the gradual voluntary transformation of phenomenal man to the divine. Thus from the God-man there comes at last the man-God (*i.e.* man as having assimilated Deity), or universal humanity, the universal Church or spiritual humanity (p. 180 f.).

LITERATURE.—*The Works of Grigóri Sávvitch Skovorodá*, coll. and ed. D. J. Bagalé, Jubilee ed. (*Collection of the Charkov Historico-philological Society*, vii.), Charkov, 1894; Vladimir Ern, *Grigóri Sávvitch Skovorodá, Life and Teaching* (Russ.), Moscow, 1912; N. S. Tichonravov, *Niederschrift J. G. Schwarz's über das Verhalten J. J. Melissinos zu ihm* (Germ. tr. from Schwarz's autograph), in *Yearbooks of Russian Literature and Antiquity*, v. [1863] ii. 'Materials,' pp. 96–110; M. N. Longinov, *Nóvikov and the Moscow Martinists* (Russ.), Moscow, 1867; A. N. Pypin, *The Russian Bible Society*, 1812–26, *The Messenger of Europe*, 3rd yearly issue, 1868, iv. 639–712, v. 231–297, vi. 222–285, 708–768; J. Tchistóvitch, 'Hist. of the Translation of the Bible into Russian,' in *Christian Reading* (Russ.), pt. i., Petrograd, 1872, pp. 385–470, 648–709; K. Grass, *Die russischen Sekten*, Leipzig, 1909, ii. 222–269, Excursus II., 'Über die Beziehungen der Obristin Tatarinova zum Skopzentum und ihre Brüderschaft in Christo'; A. N. Pypin, 'The Biblical Sect of the Twenties,' *Messenger of Europe*, vi. [1871] ii. 248–282; N. Dubróvin, *Our Mystical Sectarians*, artt. iv., v., and vi., 'Alexander Petróvitch Dubovízki,' in *Russian Antiquity*, 26th year [1895], lxxxiv. 59–93, 27th year [1896], lxxxv. 5–51, 225–263; Vladimir Sergéjewitch Solovjóv, *Collected Works*[2], ed. S. M. Solovjóv and E. L. Radlov, 10 vols., with biographical sketch by the latter, Petrograd, 1911–14, *Ausgewählte Werke*, tr. H. Köhler, 3 vols., i., Jena, 1914.

K. GRASS.

MYSTICISM (Hebrew and Jewish). — Ever since the Pauline antithesis of law and faith stamped Judaism as a religion of unrelieved legalism, the possession of anything approaching the nature of a mystical element has been steadily and strenuously denied to the religion of the Jew. Formalism—which, truly enough, pervades and colours Judaism through and through—is taken to be the irreconcilable enemy of mysticism, whose fundamental axiom is the freedom of the human spirit to seek out, in all ways possible to it, the means of union with ultimate reality—God. But this attitude towards the question only shows how, like many other psychological concepts, mysticism, no matter of what brand, scarcely admits of rigid definition. Its phenomena are so complex, its elements so intermingled with other elements in the mental and spiritual make-up of men, that it is impossible to lay down any law as to where it may or may not be found to exist. Thus, if one wonders how mysticism can be a feature of Judaism, one can equally wonder how a Christian theologian

[1] These have already appeared in two collected editions, of one of which there has been a second issue.

like St. Augustine could be called a mystic. Was he not a rigid upholder of an iron system of dogma and authority in the early Church? And yet his *onfessions* are thoroughgoing mysticism, showing him to have gained the core of his religion from certain 'first-hand' experiences which, to him, implied direct intercourse between the soul and God. A similar argument can be applied to Aristotle. Cold, analytic philosopher as he was, positing an utterly transcendent God who 'thinks his own thoughts' and who dwells in the peace of his own completeness, Aristotle's 'active reason' possesses a decidedly mystical turn, and must have exerted no small influence on many a type of mysticism in the succeeding centuries. One is drawn to the irresistible conclusion that religion, in order that it should not be barren and lifeless, must give prominence to something more than historicity and tradition. It must lay stress on the element of personal inward experience, on the great fact of the soul 'athirst for God, yea, even for the living God.' Judaism amply fulfils these conditions.

The beginnings of Judaism lie, of course, in the OT. In fact, everything in Judaism seeks to find its confirmation in some expression, whether clear or veiled, in the OT. Hence the OT is pivotal for any consideration of Jewish mysticism in all its phases and developments. The mysticism of the OT clusters mostly round the visionary experiences of the prophets. Isaiah's vision of a God whose 'train filled the Temple' points to the all-inclusiveness of Deity. Ezekiel's fits of ecstasy are characteristic of the mood of many a mystic in all ages. The prophet's higher insight into the will of God and his satisfaction at the attainment of this insight are an example of the 'illumination' which is always one of the steps on the mystic's ladder. Some of the other books of the OT show forth other constituents of the mystical consciousness. Thus, the Psalmists often brood on the divinity manifested in the beauteous world of nature. 'Who layeth the beams of his upper chambers in the waters; who maketh the clouds his chariot; who walketh upon the wings of the wind. Who maketh winds his messengers; his ministers flaming fire' ($104^{3ff.}$). The universe is one uninterrupted revelation of the divine. Ps 139^{1-18} portrays the mystic sense of the boundless, and the human aspiration to reach it as the goal of the truest safety from the ills and anxieties of the normal finite experience. Other passages paint the 'nearness' of God and the joys of intimate converse with Him. The treatment of prayer and the specimens given of individual prayers are fine examples of what one might call 'erotic mysticism.' The soul passionately yearns for God, and God reciprocates the yearning in terms of the love between man and woman. 'Whom have I in heaven but thee? and there is none upon earth that I desire beside thee' (Ps 73^{25}). Here is the insatiable craving of the mystic, the infinity of love's desire. 'Yea, I have loved thee with an everlasting love; therefore with loving-kindness have I drawn thee' (Jer 31^{3}). It is doubtful whether the intensity of intimacy connoted by the Hebrew *ahăbhāh* ('love') and *ḥesedh* ('loving-kindness') is ever done justice to in a translation. Finally, there is the angelic lore of the OT. The sight of an angel or the hearing of its voice brought about a feeling of being environed with God. It had the effect which every mystical experience in all ages had, viz. it flooded the seer with a new power.

Upon these mystical strains pervading the OT was built the variegated edifice of the two separate schools of mystical thought which followed on the close of the OT canon, viz. (*a*) the Palestinian, or Rabbinic, or Talmudic Midrashic, and (*b*) the Jewish-Hellenistic, which had its chief centre in Alexandria—then the intellectual capital of the world.

Let us consider (*b*) first. The theology of Judaism was studied side by side with the works of Plato and Aristotle, and thus was produced that curious blend of Jewish and Greek thought the most famous monuments of which are the writings of Philo, the apocryphal Wisdom of Solomon, and fragments (preserved only by Eusebius, in *HE* vii. 32. 17 and *Præp. Evang.* viii. 10, xiii. 12) of an Alexandrian peripatetic philosopher Aristobulus, who, according to Schürer (*GJV*[3] iii. 391 f.), was a contemporary of Ptolemy Philometer in the middle of the 2nd cent. B.C. Aristobulus develops a mystic cosmogony in which the Pythagorean theories of the influence of numbers play a part. His conception of divine creative activity is drawn from the Stoic idea of πνεῦμα, God's power penetrating and permeating all things. He has references to the νοῦς ('reason') of Plato. The main trend of his thought, however, is Aristotelian; but—and here he is the precursor of the Philonic method—in spite of his devotion to Greek thought, he is an upholder of the Jewish doctrine of God in so far as he believes that the Deity is at once transcendent and immanent. God is greater than the universe, outside it, and separated from it. But God works in the universe by means of His 'wisdom,' which is an emanation from Him but yet has no separate existence apart from Him. God is 'in heaven,' *i.e.* in distant isolation, but yet 'the earth is his footstool,' *i.e.* the world is permeated with the divine traces. The apocryphal Wisdom of Solomon is characterized by a similar fusion of Greek and Jewish mystic notions of the divine relations to the cosmos. The Stoic conception of an immanent πνεῦμα comes out in vii. 25:

> 'For she is a breath of the power of God,
> And a clear effluence of the glory of the Almighty.'

The same thought is continued in 26 f. In viii. 19 f. we have a hint of the Platonic theory of pre-existence:

> 'For I was a witty child
> And had a good spirit,
> Yea, rather, being good, I came into a body undefiled.'

In xviii. 14–16 wisdom becomes a personality and seems to have affinities with the 'Word' in the Prologue of the Fourth Gospel. But—and here the essentially Jewish side of the case comes out—wisdom, although a potency *outside* God, is yet at the same time wholly *in* God. The author, as a Jew, and therefore deeply concerned with safeguarding what he and his predecessors understood by the unity of God, is obviously at pains to make this vital point clear. Philo elaborates all these concepts with the hand of the master—and adds many new ones too. He makes a sharp distinction between God in Himself and God revealed. The reconciliation between these two views is never effected, and this defect is one of the flaws in his mystic philosophy. On the first view, God is pure being, unknowable, outside the material universe. On the second view, God is immanent in man and the universe, and is all-penetrating, all-filling. Philo's Jewish sympathies are apparent in his treatment of this branch of his subject. The Jewish idea of God as creator and sustainer of the universe held a foremost place in his mind, and many an interpretation given by Palestinian Rabbis of the first centuries of Christianity and incorporated in the Talmud and Midrashim (particularly in the early sections of *Bᵉrēshîth Rabbā*) is a reflexion of Philo. It is in the presentation of his Logos idea that Philo is most important for an understanding of Jewish mysticism. Whatever extraneous teachings may have gone to the making of the Logos, there can be no doubt that it was much influenced by the OT notions of angels. There is a wide gap between God the infinite, the

all-holy, and man the finite and imperfect. How is the chasm to be bridged? The OT writers and, after them, the Rabbis of the Talmud and Midrashim overcame the difficulty by the introduction of the angel. Pure God did not really come into contact with impure man, but His angels did. And who were the angels? They were emanations of the divine, offshoots of deity, part and parcel of God's own being. Reading his OT in some such light as this, Philo laid it down that the universe was filled with divine potencies (*δυνάμεις*). These potencies, while they are in one sense attributes and self-revelations of God, are in another sense personal beings of a spiritual kind, 'incorporeal souls,' who 'report the injunctions of the father to his children and the necessities of the children to the father' (*de Somniis*, i. 22). There are various gradations of these potencies, but at the head of them and constituting the principle of unity among them all is the Logos. Heaven and earth subsisted in the Logos before their material creation—an idea voiced by the Rabbinical literature in many curiously naive ways (see *Bᵉrēshîth Rabbā*, i.–iv.). It is from the Logos that there emanate the potencies which are the real creators of matter. Hence God is the ultimate creator of all, but never through direct contact. He works through the Logos, who again works through these potencies (called Logoi). Platonic and Stoic elements are apparent throughout, but so also is Rabbinic angelology. Thus in *Bᵉrēshîth Rabbā*, viii. 3 f., the grammatical plural in the words, 'And God said, Let us make man,' is explained by the statement that, when God was about to create the first man, He took counsel with the ministering angels. Hence the blame for the evil in man is partially removed from the Deity and placed upon the shoulders of the angels. The Rabbinic interpretation of the Hebrew word *Āmôn* in Pr 8^{20} gives to the Tôrāh very much the same rôle as Philo attributes to the Logos. It is God's workman or servant in the work and administration of the universe. The human soul is an emanation from the Logos, and makes man akin to the 'incorporeal souls'—the angels, *i.e.*, not those who have descended upon earth to become bound up in mortal bodies, but those who, 'having received greater and more divine intellects,' shun earth altogether in order to be 'lieutenants of the Ruler of the universe as though they were the eyes and ears of the great being beholding and listening to everybody' (*de Somn.* i. 22). Christian mysticism is a greater debtor to Philo than is Jewish mysticism, which betrays Philonic influences only in spasmodic passages in the cosmological sections in the Talmud and Midrashim as well as in the philosophic systems of two great mystic theologians of the Middle Ages, viz. Solomon Ibn Gabirol (*c.* 1021–1058) and Abraham Ibn Ezra (1092–1167) (*qq.v.*).

We shall now consider (*a*) the Talmudic and Midrashic mysticism. Teachings essentially Jewish in their origin are found in combination with doctrines belonging to Mithraism, Gnosticism, and Neo-Platonism. Essentially Jewish is the *shᵉkhînāh* mysticism. The *shᵉkhînāh* is the universally diffused Divine Presence which forms the idealized environment of the Jewish nation in all the lands of the latter's dispersion. But in order that the individual Jew should, in himself, realize the *shᵉkhînāh* he must be 'healthy, wealthy, and wise,' *i.e.* he must lead a life of religious and moral purity, he must be self-reliant and self-conquered, he must be intellectually great in the knowledge of the highest lore—the Tôrāh. Sin and *shᵉkhînāh* are mutually antithetic. 'God is the dwelling-place of the universe; but the universe is not the dwelling-place of God' is a prominent Rabbinic dictum. Essentially Jewish is the doctrine of the two opposed divine attributes—the *middath had-dîn* and the *middath hā-raḥămîm*—which operate upon man for good or for evil in ways very much resembling the powers of the angels; and Jewish too is the enumeration of the ten agencies through which God created the world, viz. wisdom, insight, cognition, strength, power, inexorableness, justice, right, love, and mercy (*T. B. Ḥăgîgāh*, 12*a*; cf. *Mishnāh Ābhôth*, v. 1, where it is said that the universe was created by 'Ten Words'; cf. also *Bᵉrēshîth Rabbā*, iv. 6, based on Ps 33^{6}). Rabbinic angelology is by no means of pure breed, but owes much to Zoroastrian and Mithraic influences. Man's prayer, his recovery from sickness, his safety from danger, his fortunes after death are all under angelic domination—there being two main divisions of angels which are named respectively *famîlîā shel ma'ălāh* and *famîlîā shel maṭṭā*, *i.e.* the heavenly host above and the heavenly host below, both of which figure largely in the Jewish Prayer Book. The counterpart to the personified Logos of Philo is found, in Rabbinic mysticism, in the angel Meṭaṭron, who is often styled 'Prince of the Presence' (*Sar-happānîm*) as well as 'Prince of the world' (*Sar-hā-ôlām*), and who, like Enoch in the Apocrypha (see *Jub.* iv. 23; *2 En.* liii. 2), is often described as the heavenly scribe. He plays a principal part in the cosmic processes, being a personified emanation of the Deity, an ever-present guide and instructor of mankind, taking up the divine work at points where its omnipotence cannot, if one may so speak, reach. In *Bᵉrēshîth Rabbā*, v. 4, it is stated that 'the voice of God became Meṭaṭron over the waters.' One great formative influence acting on Rabbinic mysticism came from the direction of the Gnosticism current in the first centuries of the common era. Gnosticism owed much to the Apocrypha and the Jewish Apocalypses; hence—strangely enough—the influences of the latter literatures were brought to bear upon Rabbinism through an alien medium. The prohibition against discussing the first sections of Genesis and Ezekiel (known as *Maʿăśēh Bᵉrēshîth* and *Maʿăśēh Merkābhāh* respectively) is an echo of the secrecy which hedged round the doctrines of the Gnostics. Thus in the Mishnāh (*Ḥăgîgāh*, ii. 1) it is said:

> 'It is forbidden to explain the first chapters of Genesis to more than one person at a time. It is forbidden to explain the first chapter of Ezekiel even to *one* person unless he be a sage and of an original turn of mind.'

To belong to the inner circle of discipleship among the Gnostics presupposed an exceptional amount of self-discipline. 'A certain youth,' says *T. B. Ḥăgîgāh*, 13*a*, 'was once explaining the Ḥashmal [Ezk 1^{27}, translated 'amber' in the AV] when fire came forth and consumed him.' When the question is asked, Why was this? the answer is, '*Lāv māti zimnēh*,' *i.e.* his time had not yet come. His youthful age had not given him the opportunities for the mature self-culture necessary to the mystic apprehension. It was a dangerous knowledge for the uninitiated. An extraordinarily weird anecdote in *Bᵉrēshîth Rabbā*, ii. 4, attributes mortal injury to Ben Zoma (Rabbi of the 2nd cent. A.D.), who was once 'contemplating the creation.' The words of Pr 25^{2}, 'it is the glory of God to conceal a thing,' were quoted in support of their opposition to these Gnostic attempts at unravelling the secrets of the divine relation to the cosmos. But, paradoxically enough, the great ally of Gnosticism—magic—received countenance from many a Rabbinic mystic of the most orthodox type. Thus a passage in *T. B. Sanhedrîn*, 67*b*, says that R. Ḥanina and R. Hoshaiah (Palestinian teachers of the 3rd cent. A.D.) used to engage themselves with the laws of creation every eve of Sabbath and used to create a calf of three years old and eat it. The magic potency resident in the permutations and combinations of the letters of

the Hebrew alphabet—and more especially the letters comprising the Tetragrammaton—is a more prominent theme of this branch of Rabbinic mysticism. *T. B. Berākhôth*, 55*a*, says that 'Bezalel knew how to combine the letters by which heaven and earth were created.' *T. B. Qiddūshîn*, 71*a*, speaks of a Divine Name composed of twelve letters, the secrets of which were at one time revealed to every one, but, after a time, only to the 'most meek among the priests.' The reference is obviously to a manipulation of the letters of the Tetragrammaton. *T. B. Makkôth*, 11*a*, relates the legend of King David, who, on making excavations for the Temple and finding that the waters of the ocean were moving upward and threatening to destroy the world, asked for permission to stop its rising by inscribing the name of God on a potsherd and throwing it into the sea. According to *T. B. Yômā*, 73*b*, the information given by the Urim and Thummim was through the medium of the Hebrew letters either thrusting themselves bodily forward (*bôltin*) or combining themselves in different ways (*miṣtarfin*).

All the above-mentioned elements of Rabbinic mysticism are the prelude to the great mystical books which comprise the mediæval Ḳabbālā, whose most famous manual is the *Zôhār*—although there is one book whose importance for Jewish mysticism is only second to that of the *Zôhār*, but which in all probability dates from the time of the Mishnāh (according to Reitzenstein, it is a product of the 2nd cent. B.C.). This is the *Sēfer Yᵉṣîrā*. Both the mediæval Ḳabbālā and the *Sēfer Yᵉṣîrā* elaborate some or all of the following elements of Rabbinic mysticism: (*a*) the *shᵉkhînāh*, (*b*) the Holy Spirit (*rūaḥ hak-kôdhesh*), (*c*) angelology, Meṭaṭron, Mēmrā ('word,' 'logos'), (*d*) mysticism of the Genesis cosmogony and of the chariot of Ezekiel, (*e*) the magic powers of the Hebrew alphabet, (*f*) emanation from the Deity, (*g*) the conception of *ṣimṣūm*, or divine self-limitation, (*h*) the conception of erotic relations between the Deity and the cosmos, (*i*) the re-incarnation of the soul, the ecstasy of the soul's union with God, (*j*) the Tôrāh as the material embodiment of the divine and as the only 'mystic way' towards the realization of the divine. The *Sēfer Yᵉṣîrā* is grounded upon (*e*). It gives us a mystical philosophy drawn from the sounds, shapes, relative positions, and numerical values of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet. Hebrew phraseology expressing essentially Jewish thought is put into a framework unmistakably Gnostic. The world was brought into being by means of 'thirty-two wonderful paths of wisdom.' These are (*a*) the ten cardinal numbers from 1 to 10, (*b*) the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet (divided into the three 'mother' letters, viz. *āleph, mēm, shîn*; seven double letters, viz. *bēth, gîmel, dāleth, ḳaph, pēh, rēsh, tāv*, and twelve 'simple' letters). Concerning these twenty-two letters, the book says:

> 'God engraved them, hewed them, weighed them, interchanged them one with another, combined them, and formed by them the soul of everything which has been created and of everything which will be created.'

Herein is contained the book's philosophy of the cosmos, which is explained in something like the following way: in the beginning God created the three primordial substances, air, fire, and water (the initial letters of each are the three 'mother' letters mentioned above). Just as there could be no form in any script which did not contain these three 'mothers' (all the other letters being in the naive imagination of certain early Ḳabbālists 'born' from them), so there could be no form in the world of sensible objects without these three primordial elements. But in reality these three are emanations from three still more previous elements, viz. heaven, wind, and earth; and the natural opposition (represented by an opposition of sex) of these two sets of three keeps the equilibrium of the universe. The seven 'double' letters (*i.e.* according as they have *dāghesh* or not) are emblematic of the seven world-forces, each of which has its opposite to combat—thus (1) wisdom, whose opposite is folly; (2) riches, whose opposite is poverty; (3) seed, whose opposite is sterility; (4) life, whose opposite is death; (5) dominion, whose opposite is servitude; (6) peace, whose opposite is war; (7) beauty, whose opposite is ugliness. The world of nature as well as the world of morality is kept in order by the right interplay of these forces. The twelve 'simple' letters represent twelve attributes of the First Cause—the idea being based upon twelve different terms or phrases by which the OT designates the nature and activity of the Godhead. S. D. Luzzatto in his *Wikkūaḥ 'al ha-Ḳabbālāh* (Göritz, 1852), following the opinions of Judah Halevi in the *Kūṣāri*, iv. 25, has given a fine elucidation of the philosophy of the *Sēfer Yᵉṣîrā*. Form (typified by the three 'mother' letters), matter (typified by the seven 'double' letters), and number (typified by the cardinal numbers, one to ten) are, in prototype, aspects or emanations of the divine. Hence we are led on to the consideration of (*f*), viz. the treatment of emanation in Jewish mysticism. Professed by the early Gnostics, the theory of emanation reached its highest development in Plotinus, from whom it passed, through the medium of Avicenna, to the philosophers and Ḳabbālists of the Middle Ages. Solomon Ibn Gabirol (*q.v.*) based his philosophy upon the belief in emanation. God is the essence of all existence, the life of the world, and in Him substance and form find their complete unity. But how is God, then, differentiated from the world? By the fact that substance and form are the products, not of God, who is, in Himself, incomprehensible, but of the will of God, which is the first emanation from the divine and which is a sort of intermediate link between the great Unknowable and the cosmos. This will is immanent everywhere and is compelled by its very nature to be eternally creative. From it emanated matter, form, spirit, and soul, all of which are eternally creative by reason of the powers emanating from them. Gabirol's influence told deeply upon the numerous Ḳabbālists in France, Spain, Germany, and Italy during the succeeding centuries. A mystic work termed *Bāhîr* ('Brightness'), composed by a French Ḳabbālist of the 13th cent., develops a doctrine of emanation which differs considerably from that of Gabirol. While the latter maintained that the world existed in God potentially from all eternity (God having called the actual world into being by a *creatio ex nihilo*), the *Bāhîr* holds the eternity of the actual world. What, then, was creation? It was an emanation of the 'hidden light' from God. This the *Bāhîr* calls the 'first *sᵉfîrāh*,' which gave birth to the second *sᵉfîrāh*, viz. 'wisdom,' from which emanated the third *sᵉfîrāh*, viz. 'intelligence.' These three form the primary principles of the universe, and from them emanated, in succession, seven lower *sᵉfîrôth*, which gave form to all material things. There is a transition from the infinite to the finite, and conversely, the finite reacts upwards upon the infinite. But the philosophy of the book is markedly inconsistent. Greater consistency combined with a deeper philosophic insight is to be found in the work of Azriel, a Spanish Jew (1160–1238), who is, however, overshadowed by Isaac ben Sheshet of Gerona, the author of the mystic work *Sha'ar hash-shāmayîm* ('Gate of Heaven'), and Naḥmanides (1194–1270) (*q.v.*). According to the latter, ten powers emanated in succession from the

Deity in the creation of the cosmos. These he calls 'ten *sᵉfîrôth*.' The first emanation was 'wisdom,' which is likewise termed *rēshîth* (*i.e.* 'beginning') or *nᵉḳuddāh* (*i.e.* 'point'). It is from 'wisdom' that all the other nine *sᵉfîrôth* emanated, in just the same way as a point is really the beginning of a line, *i.e.* it becomes a line when prolonged in both directions. Naḥmanides is extremely vague in his characterization of the relations between the several emanations. But he differs from most of his predecessors in so far as he gives a high place to the spiritual side of man, viz. prayer, communion with God, the soul. In this respect he may be regarded, in conjunction with Abraham Abulafia, as the forerunner of the *Zôhār*—the chief of all the Jewish mystical text-books of the Middle Ages. Abulafia emphasized the necessity of the ascetic life and of contemplation. To him the various combinations of the letters composing the Tetragrammaton and the names of angels meant the revelation of secrets otherwise unknowable and leading to an ecstatic state of union with the divine and a deeper knowledge of the depths of the Tôrāh. In the *Zôhār* the latter branches of Jewish mysticism are elaborated with an exceptional wealth of detail. While purporting to be but a commentary on the Pentateuch, it is in reality quite an independent compendium of Ḳabbālistic theosophy. Criticism has long ago demonstrated the untenability of the view which ascribes its authorship to a Rabbi of the 2nd cent. A.D., viz. Simeon ben Yoḥai. It is a syncretism of Jewish and foreign elements. The former consist of doctrines taken from the Talmudic and Midrashic literature. The latter are 'naturalized' products of Neo-Platonism, Gnosticism, and (according to a newer theory) Ṣūfi mysticism. The *Zôhār* is also indebted to Solomon Ibn Gabirol and Abraham Abulafia. According to the *Zôhār*, the soul of the Tôrāh is its mystical sense; and man, having the privilege to behold everywhere the divine image—the world being an embodiment of God—can make his way to union with the divine reason by an understanding of, and a life led in accordance with, the mystic sense of the Tôrāh. The universe is a series of emanations, and man may, through the instrument of the Tôrāh, recognize the divine hand everywhere and ascend to the 'Cause of Causes.' God is styled *Ên Sôf* ('No End'), a being utterly void of attributes, who can only be postulated negatively. The world can come into contact with the *Ên Sôf* only by means of intermediaries. These intermediaries are the 'ten *sᵉfîrôth*,' or ten emanations. The first *sᵉfîrāh* was latent in the *Ên Sôf* as a dynamic force and is called *kether* ('crown') or *nᵉḳuddāh pᵉshūṭāh* ('a simple point'). The first manifestation of the divine is a point, *i.e.* a unity, unanalyzable, and yet possessing the All. It is the Hegelian idea of 'das reine Sein.' The starting-point of everything is the thought as it existed in God. It is in this 'thought' that everything was originally embraced. The first of the *sᵉfîrôth*—the 'crown'—is the primordial divine thought or will which, emanating from the *Ên Sôf*, contained within itself the plan of the universe in its infinity of time and space, in its endless variety of form, colour, and movement. 'Wisdom' and 'intelligence' are the second and third of the *sᵉfîrôth*, and are parallel emanations from the 'crown.' There is a sexual relationship between them. Wisdom is the 'father,' *i.e.* the masculine active principle, which engenders all things and imposes on them form and measure. Intelligence is the 'mother,' the passive receptive principle. Out of their union comes a 'son,' who is 'reason,' and reflects the characteristics of both parents. The *Zôhār* elaborates this sexual idea, applying it to the relations between the deity and the *shᵉḵhînāh* as well as to the elucidation of Biblical references to persons and events. The remaining seven *sᵉfîrôth* are mercy, justice, beauty, victory, glory, foundation, and royalty (or kingdom). The last *sᵉfîrāh* is the sum of the permanent and immanent activity of all the other *sᵉfîrôth*. A pervading element of the *Zôhār* is the emphasis laid on the deep spirituality of prayer and upon its effects in bringing about many a change in the material world. In fine, every good act done by man, every good thought of his, leaves its impress upon the 'upper' as well as upon the 'lower' world. These two worlds are really but one, and are equally an emanation of divine spirit. There is a *shᵉḵhîntā 'ilāā* ('upper Divine Presence') as well as a *shᵉḵhîntā tatāā* ('lower Divine Presence'), and every time man utters a prayer or performs an act of benevolence, a union between the two 'worlds' is effected. The idea is expressed uniquely by a constantly-recurring phrase about the patriarchs of the Jewish race as being 'the upper chariot' (*rᵉtîkhā 'ilāā*) on which the deity ascends to heaven and descends to earth. The *Zôhār* influenced the view of many a mediæval Christian scholar who claimed to find support for certain dogmas of Christianity in the abstruse and occasionally ambiguous Zôhāric terminology. In the Jewish domain its influence on mediæval Hebrew poetry and liturgy is inestimable. Although many of its devotees were in later ages led away into moral and religious extravagances, which were anything but creditable to religion and morals, it nevertheless conferred upon Judaism a service of imperishable worth. It rescued it from the dead hand of formalism by revealing the eternal spiritual treasures concealed beneath the words of the Law and the Prophets and the Hagiographa. The whole subsequent course of Jewish mysticism—a powerful revival of which took place among the Jews of Poland in the 18th cent.—consists mainly of developments and elaborations of Zôhāric doctrines.

A word is due to the Hebrew poets and theologians of the Middle Ages who, quite independently of the recognized text-books of Jewish mysticism, were temperamentally steeped in the feeling of the unity which lies at the root of all things, and who taught that there is a Soul in the universe to whom man ever longs to give his worship and adoration. The secular poems and, more particularly, the liturgical compositions of Ibn Gabirol are instinct with mystical sentiment. The *Kether Malkhūth* ('Royal Crown') is one of the most beautiful descriptions ever penned of the truth of the Divine indwelling. The universe is composed of spheres one within the other; and the author's wealth of Biblical knowledge combined with his education in the philosophy of Plotinus is expended in showing how the glory of God is the secret of the universe, how all the elements of earth and 'every common sight' arouse the human heart to the feeling of the one central all-sustaining life. (M. Sachs, *Die religiöse Poesie der Juden in Spanien*, Berlin, 1845, has given a fine poetic rendering into German. Extracts have also been translated into English verse by Mrs. Henry Lucas in *JQR* viii. [1896] 239.)

The theological treatise of the Spanish-Jewish sage Baḥya Ibn Paḳuda (first half of the 11th cent.), written in Arabic and known in its Hebrew translation as *Ḥôbhôth hal-Lᵉbhābhôth* ('The Duties of the Heart'), expresses the rapture of ultimate communion with the Divine, the joys of beholding the beauty of a higher world accessible only to the choice spirits of mankind, in language of rare passion and intensity. The true Jewish life is, to Baḥya, a continual advance, a ceaseless aspiration; and the goal is reached only when the intellect has come to 'know' God and the heart to 'love' Him. Hence Baḥya's mysticism has a twofold

foundation. God must be 'experienced' both intellectually and emotionally. But God in His essence is really unknowable. He is 'more hidden than anything which is hidden, further away than anything which is far.' Hence how can He be known? Only, answers Baḥya, by man's reflexion upon His greatness and goodness as manifested in the wondrously accurate workings of the natural world. To this end man must go through all the stages of a life of purgation and purification. Guided in this aim by the laws of the Tôrâh and the prescriptions of the Rabbis, he will finally reach that pinnacle of faith and love when he will be able to say, as did one of the saints, 'Oh! my God, Thou hast caused me to suffer hunger, Thou hast left me naked, Thou hast set me down in the darkness of the night, . . . even though Thou burn me with fire I shall but continue to love Thee and rejoice in Thee.' But Baḥya, while favouring a certain measure of asceticism, felt, like the best mystics of all nations, the beauteous necessity of man co-operating with his fellow in all true works of goodness and use. Man realizes the Divine Presence all the more when many share the vision.

The Spanish-Jewish poet and theologian Judah Halevi (*c.* 1085–1143) rises to rare heights of mystic perception in his religious poetry as well as in certain portions of his philosophical treatise *Kûṣâri*. (A new and complete edition of the poetry under the title of *Dîwân des Abû-l-Hasân Jehuda Ha-Levi* was brought out by H. Brody, Berlin, 1911, for the Mekizé Nir-Damin Society.) Spiritual love has never been more rapturously sung in the Hebrew language. The wooing of God by the soul, God as the friend to whom the soul turns when the hour is darkest, the sense of both body's and soul's complete subjection to God—all these and many kindred outpourings of the mystic are prominent throughout. But the poet had another ideal besides God. This was the rehabilitation of Zion. Isaiah's striking pictures of Jerusalem as the bride of God, as well as the Rabbinic-mystic interpretations of 'dove,' 'my beloved,' 'love,' and similar words and phrases in the Song of Songs are the foundations on which the poet builds up the edifice of his mystic vision concerning the new Jerusalem and an Israel restored thereto. In the *Kûṣâri* the idea is philosophically applied to the *shᵉkhînâh*. In ii. 14–18 it is said that only Palestine could be the land of prophecy, the land where the first germs of religion grew, because only there could the *shᵉkhînâh* exist—the *shᵉkhînâh* which ever waits and yearns to become joined with the men who have rendered themselves morally and physically fit to receive the gift.

The poet and theologian Moses Ḥayyim Luzzatto (born at Padua 1707; died 1747) claimed to have received divine revelations from a heavenly genius (*maggîd*), and his numerous mystical works, written in Hebrew and Aramaic—in some of which he imitated the language of the *Zôhâr*—fell under the ban of the religious leaders of his day. His ethical treatise *Mᵉsillath Yᵉshârîm* ('Path of the Upright') is based on a saying of a famous miracle-working Rabbi of the 2nd cent. A.D., Phinehas ben Jair. It details the steps by which man renders himself worthy to receive the Holy Spirit. To follow out the full spiritual content of the Law is, to Luzzatto, the goal of him who is at once gifted with *ḥôkhmâh* ('wisdom') and *yirâh* ('fear of God'). The road lies through 'carefulness,' 'diligence,' 'cleanliness,' 'abstemiousness,' 'purity,' 'piety,' 'humility,' 'fear of sin,' 'holiness.' The result is the incoming of the Holy Spirit. After such an exercise man becomes a true 'disciple of the wise,' a 'sanctuary,' an 'altar.' The *shᵉkhînâh* 'rests upon such a one just as it rested upon the real Temple in Jerusalem.'

The mystical spirit is alive in many a Jewish poet and theologian to-day; but the mystical life is absent. Modern conditions are unfavourable to the cultivation of the quietude and introspection which are, and always were, an indispensable ingredient of mysticism.

See, further, art. ḲABBĀLĀ.

LITERATURE.—i. *GENERAL.*—S. Bernfeld, *Da'ath Elôhîm* (Heb.), Warsaw, 1897; P. Bloch, 'Die jüdische Mystik und Kabbala,' in Winter and Wünsche, *Jüdische Literatur*, iii., Berlin, 1896; A. Epstein, 'Lekorot haḳ-Ḳabbâlâh ha-Ashkenazit,' in *Ha-Ḥoker* (Heb.), ii. [1891] 1–11, 33–48; A. Franck, *La Kabbale*, Paris, 1843, ²1889, Germ. tr. by A. Jellinek, Leipzig, 1844; C. D. Ginsburg, *The Kabbalah*, London, 1865; Hamburger, *s.vv.* 'Geheimlehre,' 'Kabbala,' 'Mystik'; M. Flügel, *Philosophie, Kabbala und Vedanta*, Baltimore, 1902; C. Kiesewetter, 'Der Occultismus der Hebräer,' in *Der Occultismus des Alterthums*, Leipzig, n.d. [1896]; F. J. Molitor, *Philosophie der Geschichte oder über die Tradition*, 4 vols., Frankfort and Münster, 1827–53; I. Myer, *Qabbalah*, Philadelphia, 1888; S. Rubin, *Heidentum und Kabbala*, (Heb.), Vienna, 1888, *Kabbala und Agada*, do. 1895; A. Stöckl, *Gesch. der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, Mainz, 1861–65, ii. 232–251; W. G. Tennemann, *Gesch. der Philosophie*, Leipzig, 1798–1819, ix. 167–185; *JE*, art. 'Cabala.'

ii. *SHEKHÎNÂH, MEMRÂ, HOLY SPIRIT.*—*HDB* iv. 487 ff.; J. Buxtorf, *Lexicon Heb. and Chald.*², Glasgow, 1824; J. Levy, *Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, Leipzig, 1876–89; A. Kohut, *Aruk*, Vienna, 1878–92; M. Jastrow, *Dict. of the Targumim*, etc., London and New York, 1886–1903; *PRE*³, *s.v.* 'Schechina'; Hamburger, ii. 566, 1080 ff.; S. D. Luzzatto, *Ôheb Gêr* (Heb.), Vienna, 1830; C. C. W. F. Bähr, *Symbolik des mosaischen Cultus*², Heidelberg, 1837–39, i. 471 ff.; A. F. Gfrörer, *Gesch. des Urchristenthums*, Petrograd, 1838, i. 272–352; S. Maybaum, *Anthropomorphien*, Breslau, 1870; F. Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*², Leipzig, 1897; C. Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*², Cambridge, 1897, p. 43; G. Dalman, *Die Worte Jesu*, i., Leipzig, 1898, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1902; W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter*, Berlin, 1903; A. B. Davidson, *Old Testament Prophecy*, Edinburgh, 1903; P. Volz, *Der Geist Gottes*, Tübingen, 1910; J. Abelson, *The Immanence of God in Rabbinical Literature*, London, 1912.

iii. *JEWISH HELLENISTIC LITERATURE.*—E. Schürer, *GJV*³ ii. 556–584; J. Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*, Berlin, 1894, p. 182 ff.; M. Joël, *Das Judenthum in der vorchristlichen Welt*, Breslau, 1897; C. Siegfried, in *ZWT* xviii. [1875] 465 ff.; M. Friedländer, *Zur Entstehungsgesch. des Christenthums*, Vienna, 1894; H. Willrich, *Juden und Griechen vor der makkabäischen Erhebung*, Göttingen, 1895; C. Siegfried, *Philo von Alexandria*, Jena, 1872; Z. Frankel, *Ueber den Einfluss der palästinensischen Exegese auf die alexandrinische Hermeneutik*, Leipzig, 1851, pp. 190–192; B. Ritter, *Philo und die Halacha*, do. 1879; N. I. Weinstein, *Zur Genesis der Agada*, Göttingen, 1901; J. Freudenthal, *Hellenistische Studien*, Berlin, 1879; C. G. Montefiore, *The Wisdom of Solomon*, London, 1891; G. Friedländer, *Hellenism and Christianity*, do. 1912.

iv. *SEFER YEṢÎRÂ, ZÔHAR, AND ḲABBÂLISTIC DEVELOPMENT GENERALLY.*—W. Postell, *Abrahami Patriarchæ Liber Jezirah*, Paris, 1552; A. Pistor, 'Liber Jezirah,' in *Ars Cabalistica*, Basel, 1557; J. F. von Meyer, *Das Buch Jezirah*, Leipzig, 1830; I. Kalisch, *A Sketch of the Talmud*, New York, 1877; W. W. Westcott, *Sepher Yezirah*, London, 1893; S. Karppe, *Étude sur les origines et la nature du Zohar*, Paris, 1901; H. Grätz, *Gnosticismus und Judenthum*, Breslau, 1846; J. Rosenthal, in *Keneset Yisrael*, ii. [1887] 29–68; W. Bacher, *Die Anfänge der hebräischen Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1895; A. Epstein, 'Studien zum Yezirah-Buch,' in *Monatsschrift* xxxviii. [1892], 'Recherches sur le Sefer Yesira,' in *REJ* xxviii. [1887], xxix. [1888]; I. Stern, in *Ben Hananya*, i.–vi.; D. Joël, *Midrash Ha-Zohar*, Leipzig, 1849; A. Jellinek, *Moses ben Schem-Tob de Leon und sein Verhältnis zum Sohar*, do. 1851; H. Beer, 'Historische Daten in dem Zohar,' in *Monatsschrift*, v. [1861] 158; M. Duschak, 'Platonische Mythe in dem Zohar,' in *Orient*, x. [1849] 181; S. J. L. Rapoport, in *Kerem Ḥemed*, i. [1833] 154; W. Bacher, 'L'Exegèse biblique dans le Zohar,' in *REJ* xxii. [1885] 33 ff., also 'Judæo-Christian Polemics in the Zohar,' in *JQR* iii. [1891] 781; A. Jellinek, *Beiträge zur Gesch. der Kabbala*, Leipzig, 1851–52, *Philosophie und Kabbala*, do. 1854; M. Ehrenpreis, *Die Entwicklung der Emanationslehre in der Kabbala des XIII Jahrhunderts*, Frankfort, 1895; E. Lévi, *Le Livre des splendeurs*, Paris, 1894; N. Krochmal, *Môreh Nᵉbhûkhîm haz-Zᵉmân*, Lemberg, 1851; S. D. Luzzatto, *Wikkûaḥ 'al Ḥôkhmath, Haḳ-Ḳabbâlâh*, Göritz, 1852; J. Misses, *Zofnat Pa'aneah*, 2 vols., Cracow, 1862–63; M. I. Tedeschi, *La Cabbala*, Trieste, 1900; J. Abelson, *Jewish Mysticism*, London, 1913; Jean de Pauly, *Sepher-Ha-Zohar*, Fr. tr., published posthumously by Emile Lafuma, Paris, 1909; A. E. Waite, *The Secret Doctrine in Israel*, London, 1913.

J. ABELSON.

MYSTICISM (Hindu).—Mysticism has been defined by Edward Caird as 'religion in its most concentrated and exclusive form,' as 'that attitude of mind in which all other relations are swallowed

up in the relation of the soul to God' (*The Evolution of Theology in the Greek Philosophers*, Glasgow, 1904, ii. 210). This is, perhaps, in view of the variety of forms that mysticism has assumed in different ages and among different peoples, as near as one can approach to a definition of the content of the term. It is a temper, a spirit, rather than a clearly definable attitude to the universe, but it is a temper and spirit that under various aspects appears among all races and in all periods whenever religion and the relation of the soul to the unseen powerfully occupy the attention of men. There are no peoples who have been more powerfully and continuously affected by the thought of a spiritual world than have been the peoples of India, and it is accordingly to be expected that among them the mystical temper of mind should be found. Again and again in long tracts of sterile formalism or from the midst of the grossest superstition groups of earnest seekers discover themselves whose insight and desire pierce to the heart of things. They are not Hindus, but super-Hindus; they are of the true mystic brotherhood. But, while the sense of the reality of the spiritual creates this temper among Hindus no less than among earnest souls elsewhere, we find that Hindu thought possesses two characteristics which are closely related to each other and indeed complementary, and which at the same time belong to the very nature of mysticism. Those are its doctrine of *māyā* and its monism. That occupation with the spiritual world which is of the essence of mysticism inevitably involves a view that at the least lightly esteems the world of sense. It is true that in much Hindu thought this has been carried further, and a doctrine has been formulated that denies any positive reality to the world at all. This may be a step beyond the requirements of the mystic attitude, but in its contempt of the finite Hindu thought is in fullest accord with the mystic spirit in almost all its manifestations. So also in its determined quest for an ultimate unity Hinduism discovers itself as at one with mysticism, since, as William James affirms, 'mystical states of mind in every degree are shown by history, usually tho not always, to make for the monistic view' (*Pragmatism*, London, 1907, p. 151). The 'four marks,' indeed, which James has propounded as distinctive of the mystic state and which are certainly applicable to many phases of mysticism, viz. ineffability, noetic quality, transiency, and passivity, are to be found upon much of Hinduism, and demonstrate its kinship with that type of reflexion. The ineffability which is here placed first among the marks of mysticism is no doubt a characteristic of any deeply felt and vivid experience of the divine nearness, and it is to be found alike in the theistic religion, which is overwhelmed with a sense of the love of God, and in the pantheist, which cannot use the discourse of reason or of speech since it has reached the bourne where difference is lost. Both these types of mystical experience are found striving to express themselves in Hinduism. The religion of the *Upaniṣads* in its possession of 'noetic quality' also betrays undoubted kinship with mysticism, while passivity, or 'the mystic vice of quietism,' is an obvious characteristic of a great part of the Hindu religious attitude and life.

In Hinduism, indeed, in nearly all its manifestations, in its most philosophical flights as well as when it approaches pure shamanism and magic, there are to be found indications of the mystical temper of mind. One reason for this appears to lie, as far as we can pierce the secret of the soul of a race, in the intense preoccupation of the Indian people from the earliest or at least from the immediately post-Vedic times with the desire to escape from self-hood (*ahaṁkāra*) as the one way to ultimate peace. The passion of this pursuit was, perhaps, intensified by the accompanying belief, wherever it may have been obtained, in the power of *karma* and in the long travail of transmigration. The only deliverance from the endless revolution of the wheel of *saṁsāra* was realized to lie in an escape to a region which, because there is no consciousness there, must necessarily be a barren and an empty land. Thus the quest of Hinduism is impelled onward by two allied impulses which at the same time strengthen and contradict each other. It is an escape and an attainment, but in the escape from the bondage of the self the union with the ultimate One is emptied of all sense of realization and, in the words of Bāhva to Vāṣkali, 'That *Ātman* is silence' (Śaṅkara on *Brahmasūtra*, III. ii. 17). It is this contradiction that gives to so much of Indian thought that 'troubled intensity' which Caird (ii. 233) finds also in the writings of Plotinus, justifying the claim for it, as for them, that it is among the highest expressions of the mystic spirit.

1. **Vedic period.**—In the Vedic period the indications of the mystic attitude are as yet few. The religion of the hymns is for the most part objective in its character, and in the hymns to Varuna, where it is most deeply felt and most spiritual, it seems to display more affinity with the unmystical attitude to God of the Hebrew prophets than with the pantheism to which ultimately it was transformed. There are some signs, however, in hymns that are supposed to belong to the close of this period that pantheistic and mystical speculation was already beginning to cast upon the Indian spirit the spell that ever since has held it fast. In the great Hymn of Creation (X. cxxix.) two agents are seen at work calling forth being from non-being, and with their discovery Indian thought seems to be setting its face towards at least the possibility of that union or identification of the spirit of man and the spirit of the universe which is the goal of mystic aspiration. These two agents are *tapas* and *kāma*. To these early thinkers the distinction of the material and the spiritual was not yet clearly formulated, but this *tapas*, or heat, which in another hymn (X. cxc.) is said to produce the order of the world (*ṛta*), has in it as truly the seed of mystic speculation as had the fiery breath from which Heraclitus and the Stoics saw all things evolve. With this word and the ideas that it suggests is connected the long history of Indian asceticism as proceeding from belief in the power over things of the ardour of a mind restrained and concentrated. The thought of the creative power of *kāma*, or desire, has proved no less influential in the development of Indian religious ideas. If we may take this, 'the primal seed and germ of mind (*manas*)' (X. cxxix. 4), as representing the idea of an *élan vital* in the universe, the source and spring of the continual flux of things, then we can see why the aspiration to escape to the region of peace, to the final unity, has impelled so much of the mystic thought of India towards the overcoming of desire. Round *tapas*, on the one hand, with its suggestion of a way to obtain power over the outer world have gathered often methods of magic rather than of pure mysticism, while, on the other, the more spiritual path to a more ethical goal, which we find in Buddhism, and in such teaching as that of the *Bhagavad-Gītā* (*q.v.*), appears to have its starting-point in the clue to the change and movement of the universe that these ancient thinkers sought in *kāma*.

These hints, whether of a primal undifferenced unity, which seems indeed to be nonentity but

which grows by its own mysterious operation into manifoldness, or of some inchoate Logos or mind stuff presiding over the development, are full of mystic affinities. Of a different kind is the mysticism of the famous *Puruṣa sūkta* (X. xc.). In this hymn we are told that from the body of a primeval giant, Puruṣa ('man'), the world is fashioned. The primitive mythological conception that is here made use of is enwrapped in mystic and pantheistic thought, for the Puruṣa is 'this whole (universe) whatever has been and whatever shall be,' and the act of creation is the offering of him as a sacrifice by the gods. Further, it is one of the axioms of mysticism that there is a correspondence between the microcosm and the macrocosm, the seen and the unseen worlds. It appears to be some such thought that is behind the crude symbolism of this hymn. 'The created universe,' says Swedenborg, 'is man in an image.' 'From that universal sacrifice,' says the *Puruṣa sūkta*, 'sprang' the universe. 'The Brāhmaṇa was his mouth. . . . The moon was produced from his soul; the sun from his eye' (X. xc. 12 f.). 'Albion or man,' according to William Blake (*Jerusalem*), once contained 'all the starry heavens.' Thus one mystic voice calls to another across millenniums.

2. The Upaniṣads.—When we pass to the *Upaniṣads*, we are definitely in the midst of Indian mystical speculation. From this period onwards the thought of India seldom lacks the marks of this type of reflexion. There are two dangers that beset it on the right hand and on the left, tempting it aside from the middle path of mysticism proper, *i.e.* of the religious goal of oneness with God, reached by the way of immediacy. These dangers —of what is merely metaphysics on the one hand, and of what is no better than magic on the other— are about the path of the Hindu thinker and the Hindu seeker from this time onward throughout the whole course of their religious history. The former danger is most apparent in the *Upaniṣads* and the systems that are built mainly upon them; the latter in the popular worships. Yet it is possible to find what is of the very stuff of mysticism in its various forms alongside of both of those counterfeits.

The *Upaniṣads*, according to Royce, 'contain already essentially the whole story of the mystic faith' (*The World and the Individual*, p. 156). In the first place, they seek undeviatingly the changeless One, the reality of all that is; and, in the second place, they find him, as has so often been the experience of mystic thinkers, in a region beyond the reach of finding, a place of contradictions and negations.

'All this is Brahman (neuter) . . . He (? it) is myself within the heart, . . . smaller than a mustard seed, smaller than a canary seed, or the kernel of a canary seed. He also is myself within the heart, greater than the earth, greater than the sky, greater than the heaven, greater than all these worlds' (*Chhāndogya Up.* iii. 14). 'Thou art woman, thou art man; thou art youth, thou art maiden; thou art an old man tottering along on thy staff; thou art born with thy face turned everywhere. Thou art the dark-blue bee, thou art the green parrot with red eyes, thou art the thunder-cloud, the seasons, the seas. Thou art without beginning; thou art infinite, thou from whom all worlds are born' (*Śvet. Up.* iv. iii. 4). And yet at the same time 'He, the Self, is to be described by No, no.' 'He is incomprehensible, for he cannot be comprehended' (*Bṛhad. Up.* III. ix. 26, IV. iv. 22).

This *ātman*, in a word, in the later phrase which we have already quoted, 'is silence.'

These passages, which could, of course, be multiplied, could at the same time be closely paralleled from the mystic literature of all periods, Christian and non-Christian. The ineffable One to whom or which they journey is often for them all 'the divine dark,' 'the still wilderness where no one is at home.'

'The *Nescio, nescio* of Bernard is identical in meaning with the *Neti, neti, it is not so, it is not so*, of the sage Yājñavalkya. In the very contrast of the finite with the ineffable this mysticism lives, whether it be Hindu or Christian mysticism' (Royce, p. 172).

The ultimate One in the *Upaniṣads*, as in the Neo-Platonists and in so many mystics, is at once everything and nothing—everything because it includes all the universe in itself, and nothing because as such it transcends all speech and thought. This contradiction is deeply wrought into mystical reflexion, so that it seems ever reaching after large utterance, but reaching vainly. It is present on many pages of the *Upaniṣads*. They seem to hover on the brink of revelations which they just fail to attain. They would pass beyond the 'dyke,' the boundary.

'That Self is a dyke, a boundary . . . when that bank has been crossed, night becomes day indeed, for the world of Brahman is lighted up once for all' (*Chhāndog. Up.* viii. 4).

But the question arises whether this monism is not so thoroughgoing that, while it may supply what we may call mystic speculation, it does not leave room for religion. This is a charge that especially lies against Śaṅkara's interpretation of the *Upaniṣads*, which is usually called the Vedānta, though there are other and less completely monistic interpretations than his. An evidence of the mystical character of the *Upaniṣad* religion is to be found in its tendency towards certain classic heresies and vices to which the mystic has always been liable. One of these is the arrogant and complete identification of the soul and God, with the consequent disappearance of anything that can be properly called religion.

Uddālaka Āruṇi says to his son, 'That which is that subtle essence, in it all that exists has its self. It is the True. It is the Self, and thou, O Śvetaketu, art it' (*Chhāndog. Up.* vi. 11. 3). Would he cast his son into the abyss of unconsciousness? It is because Śaṅkarāchārya's doctrine led to this goal that the theist and mystic, Maharsi Devendranath Tagore, rejected its interpretation. 'What we want,' he says, 'is to worship God. If the worshipper and the object of worship become one, then how can there be any worship?' (*Autobiography of Devendranath Tagore*, p. 72).

This *advaita* doctrine may agree with some passages of the *Upaniṣads*, but other passages indicate that to many of those seers this was not apparent as the conclusion of their reflexion. The peril of this view is recognized more than once. They were not, indeed, as mystics seldom are, governed in their thinking by the rules of logic. At first in the case of one inquirer in the *Chhāndogya Upaniṣad* it was satisfying to his heart to know that the goal was like a dreamless sleep, but on further consideration the prospect seemed less pleasing, and he returned to his teacher saying that such a one 'is gone to utter annihilation.' 'I see,' he said, 'no good in this' (VIII. x. 4). So Maitreyī protests against such a 'bewildering' prospect (*Bṛhad. Up.* II. iv. 13).

In the case of many mystics there is this vacillation between a goal of complete peace and silence and one in which communion and the intercourse of love and trust are possible. On the one hand, the mystic cries with the Ṣūfī saint, 'Lo, I am debarred by plurality from the vision of unity'; on the other, he says with Yājñavalkya, 'How, O beloved, should he know the knower?' There is a continual struggle between the desire for a complete absorption which cannot be conscious at all and the need to realize what is attained. The intellectual character of so much of *Upaniṣad* teaching obscures the sense of the latter need. That it was not absent is indicated by the use, *e.g.*, by Yājñavalkya himself in one passage of the favourite mystic symbol of a spiritual marriage to represent the final union with the Absolute.

'As a man, when embraced by a beloved wife, knows nothing that is without, nothing that is within, thus this person, when embraced by the intelligent (*prājña*) Self, knows nothing that is without, nothing that is within' (*Bṛhad. Up.* IV. iii. 21).

This is not a condition of unconsciousness. It is what the mystics call 'the orison of union,' what

Ruysbroeck describes as 'the dim silence where all lovers lose themselves' (*L'Ornement des noces spirituelles*, new ed., Brussels, 1900).

Mysticism is in most danger when it is most intellectual. It is true of much in the *Upaniṣads* that it is seeking to discover the relations of man with the universe rather than his relation with God. It is often concerned with the relation of the knower and the known rather than with that of the worshipper and God. It gives a metaphysic rather than an ethic or a religion. In the broad lines of its aspiration, however—its craving for an ultimate unity, a craving often filled with deep emotion, its discontent with the finite, its conviction that what is deepest within is nearest akin to what is highest above—its value as mysticism is unchallenged. The more theistic *Upaniṣads*, such as the *Kaṭha*, are those in which the mystic emotion is most present.

'That Self cannot be gained by the Veda, nor by the understanding, nor by much learning. He whom the Self chooses, by him the Self can be gained' (*Kaṭha Up.* I. ii. 23). 'The Self-existent pierced the opening (of the senses) so that they turn forward: therefore man looks forward, not backward into himself. Some wise man, however, with his eyes closed and wishing for immortality, saw the Self behind' (II. iv. 1).

This combination of introversion and desire is the mystic's path to God. There is a passage in Plotinus, curiously parallel to this one, where he compares men under the influence of the discursive reason to 'a number of faces which are turned outwards, though inwardly they are attached to one head.'

'But if one of us, like one of these faces, could turn round either by his own effort or by the aid of Athene, he would behold at once God, himself and the whole' (quoted in Caird, ii. 296).

3. The bhakti school.—It must never be forgotten that the differentia of all Indian thought lies in the fact that the doctrine of *karma* and *saṁsāra* is for it an axiom. The goal of all mysticism is the same, namely the 'unitive life,' but its conception of that goal and of the path to it is largely influenced by its thought of that from which it seeks escape, whether sin or *saṁsāra*. The law of *karma* and rebirth is so largely a physical law that the moral elements in the way of deliverance are not so prominent as in Western mysticism. With the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, however, the moral element is strongly emphasized, and along with this goes in this Scripture an acknowledgment of the value of *bhakti* ('loving faith') in bringing about the desired union, which marks it as belonging less to the philosophical than to the emotional mysticism of the Hindus. The soul, being 'a portion' of the Lord (xv. 7)—what other mystics might call an 'uncreated spark' of the divine—returns to its home in God.

The seeker, becoming 'free from the thought of an I,' 'recognizes by devotion (*bhakti*) in verity who and what I am,' says Kṛṣṇa; 'then becoming me in verity, he speedily enters into me' (xviii. 55). 'Surrendering all the laws come for refuge to me alone. I will deliver thee from all sins; grieve not' (xviii. 66). 'In (Kṛṣṇa) seek refuge with thy whole soul; by his grace thou shalt win supreme peace, the everlasting realm' (xviii. 62).

These words give the keynote of the emotional mysticism which centres chiefly in the names of Kṛṣṇa and Rāma, and which is described by the general name of *bhakti* (see BHAKTI-MĀRGA). While the mysticism of the *Upaniṣads* was sometimes too cold, that which we find here is sometimes warm with a too earthly passion. The method of all mysticism is love, and in the whole *bhakti* movement this is the accepted means by which the worshipper and the object of his worship are brought together.

'*Bhakti* leans to love very perceptibly, even to erotic passion, but it expresses affection of a pure sort as well as that of a sensual nature; which latter aspect, however, is to be found and cannot be ignored. In fact the danger of *bhakti*, become too ardent and lapsing into mystic eroticism, is apparent in the mediæval expression of this emotion. It is not intellectual, yet the play of meaning between faith and love (perhaps trust) is generally present' (Hopkins, *JRAS*, July 1911, p. 733). The object of this worship is Bhagavat, the Blessed One, 'who makes blessed his *bhaktas*, those who have made him theirs and are devoted to him' (*ib.* p. 738).

The history of this school has been dealt with in detail in the art. BHAKTI-MĀRGA. It will be enough to indicate here some of the more distinctively mystical elements in its religious practice and belief. The strength of the emotion is seen resulting in something like hysteria in Chaitanya (1486–1534) and his followers, and in sensuality in the Vallabhas. In the *Chaitanya-charit-amṛt*, which is said to be a contemporary Bengali biography of the saint, we read of tears of rapture, swoons of love. Chaitanya on one occasion is said to have 'manifested a marvellous power; everyone who danced around him saw that the master was gazing only at him.' The climax of this *bhakti* is the *madhura rasa* in which 'the votary serves Kṛṣna as a lover offering his or her own person' (*Chaitanya-charit-amṛt*, p. 244). The peril of such unbridled emotionalism is seen in those practices of the Mahārājas of the Vallabha sect which were exposed in the Bombay courts in 1863. This *mādhurya* is expressed by Mīrābāī, who was queen of Udaipur in the 15th cent., in these words which are attributed to her: 'There is but one male in existence, namely my beloved Kanai Lāl (Kṛṣṇa), and all besides are females.'

Other and higher aspects of mystic aspiration are to be found in Rāmānanda and Tulsī Dās in the north, in Tukārām and the Marāṭha saints in the west, and especially in Mānikka-vāśagar and the Śaiva saints of the south. The note of all those saints is the desire to draw near to God, to find Him in a personal, inward experience. 'The worship of the impersonal,' says Tulsī Dās (*Rāmāyaṇa*, tr. Growse, Allahābād, 1883, vii. 106), laid no hold of my heart.' The comparison of the seeker to a child who has lost his mother occurs frequently; or, again, God is the element in which the soul lives.

'Devotion to Rāma,' says a sage in Tulsī Dās's *Rāmāyaṇa* (*loc. cit.*), 'is like the element of water and my soul—which is, as it were, a fish—how can it exist without it?'

So Tukārām in one of his *Abhaṅgas*:

'As the bride looks back to her mother's house
And goes, but with dragging feet;
Even so it is with my soul, O Lord,
That Thou and I may meet.

As a child cries out and is sore distressed,
When its mother it cannot see,
As a fish that is taken from out the wave,
So 'tis, says Tuka, with me.'

The desire for nearness to God is the characteristic of all this movement of devotion:

'But now where'er I sit,
Or stand or walk, Thou art forever near'
(Śivavākyam, in L. D. Barnett, *Heart of India*, London, 1908, p. 92).

Kabīr († 1518) and the group—Nānak and the Sikh *gurus*, Dādū, etc.—that are associated with his modes of thought differ from those named above in the fact that Muhammadan teaching has had an influence upon them by the side of Hinduism. Whether Kabīr was by birth a Muhammadan or a Hindu, he not only was associated with Rāmānanda but also probably came under Ṣūfī influences. He says, like the rest, 'Thou art the ocean; I am the fish of the water.' He tells the Yogī, 'Your Lord is near, yet you are climbing the palm-tree to seek him.' 'When I lie down I lie prostrate at his feet.'

It is the faith of these saints that the God who is very far off and 'whose name is unutterable' has drawn near to men, whether by an *avatāra* (see INCARNATION [Indian]) or by means of a *guru*, or even by the medium of the divine name. 'Without the *guru*,' says Nānak, 'none has found God.' Behind all the thought of the *bhakti* school there is the idea of God as a being lifted above the world

with which His relation has somehow to be mediated, and at the same time the conviction that it owes all its reality to Him. The antinomy is one that is familiar to all students of mystic thought. The idea of emanations is a favourite method by which mystic thinkers have sought to safeguard the Absolute in His relations with the universe. Closely parallel to the fivefold hierarchy of existence of Plotinus is the doctrine of *vyūhas*, or lower manifestations of the *para* form, or transcendent essence, of the Godhead. These are partly mythological, partly metaphysical, and are to be found in the *Mahābhārata* (*Śānti Parvan*, cccxli. 70–73) as well as in the system of Rāmānuja († 1137), the philosophical theologian of the *bhakti* school. Vāsudeva, Saṁkarṣaṇa, Pradyumna, Aniruddha, and Brahmā form a series of intermediaries between the Supreme Reality and the created world. So also Śrī, or Lakṣmī, the wife of Viṣṇu, typifies, according to Rāmānuja, the activity of the Supreme Spirit in the region of the finite.

The sacramental meal has its place in some of these cults, just as it has in Christian mysticism. It is specially important in the practices of the Kabīr Panth, where the *Jot Prasād*, a ceremony of initiation and communion, has for its aim the bringing of the worshipper into fellowship with God. Betel-leaves upon which has been written the secret name of God are eaten. The food presented to the initiates, which is chiefly coco-nut and the consecrated betel-leaf, 'is regarded as Kabīr's special gift and it is said that all who receive it worthily will obtain eternal life' (G. H. Westcott, *Kabīr and the Kabīr Panth*, Cawnpore, 1907, p. 132).

4. False mysticism. — Alongside of the true mysticism which has been an element in Hindu thought throughout its whole history there has been a false mysticism closely allied to magic, and to it some reference must be made. The difference between mysticism and magic, according to E. Underhill, is that 'magic wants to get, mysticism wants to give' (*Mysticism*[4], London, 1912, p. 84). The ascetic who by *tapas* or by *yoga* practices obtained powers that made the gods fear him, or whose personality was enlarged and the power of his will made dominant over nature, was not often seeking spiritual or unselfish ends, though some sought to climb by this ladder to spiritual union. The methods of *yoga* were partly physical —breathing exercises and postures—and partly intellectual. It is not easy to define the limits that in these practices separate the legitimate use of means towards a spiritual goal from magic arts. The *yoga* ritual certainly often agrees with the definition of a magical rite as 'a tremendous forcing house of the latent faculties of man's spiritual nature' (A. E. Waite, *The Occult Sciences*, London, 1891, p. 14). The self-hypnotism produced by constant repetition of the name of the god and by the use of *mantras*, or spells, belongs rather to the region of magic or 'Mysticismus' than to that of genuine mysticism. Some of the modern interpreters of Hinduism seek to explain the 'feeling of peace and calm' produced by repetition of a *mantra* on the ground that it 'sets up certain vibrations' (*Text Book of Hindu Religion and Ethics*, Benares, n.d., p. 167).

Another group of those dangerous or degraded mysticisms have kinship with the sympathetic magic of primitive peoples and are based on the notion of the analogy of the physical and the spiritual.

'Armed with this torch,' the occultists 'explore the darkest, most terrible mysteries of life' (Underhill, p. 192).

This is indeed, rightly used, a valuable means to the discovery of truth, and has been made use of by most of the great mystics, but we have already seen its dangers in the 'spiritual nuptials' of Kṛṣna and his worshipper. In the erotic and bacchanalian symbolism of the Śāktas the dangers of this method are exhibited at their very worst. This sect has its roots in the very ancient worship of the female principle in the universe, with its 'sex emblems and fertility goddesses.' The Śakti worship of the Tantras, with its appeal to fears and passions that are deep in the human soul, with its suggestion that in the forces of lust and death may be found the key to the 'inmost, ancient mysteries,' has had a wide-spread influence, especially in Bengal.

'Hear me, friends,' says Chandidās (14th cent.), a follower of the Sahajiyā cult, which owed its origin to the Vāmāchāri Buddhists, 'how salvation may be obtained through love for a woman' (D. C. Sen, *Bengali Language and Literature*, Calcutta, 1911, p. 44). 'Tantrism,' says L. de la Vallée Poussin, 'rests on the principle that "of all illusions"—and everything is illusion —"the illusion called woman is the most sublime," the most necessary to salvation.' 'No infamy, not excluding incest, is omitted from the worship of woman (*strīpūjā*) the supreme divinity' (*Bouddhisme : Opinions sur l'histoire de la dogmatique*, Paris, 1909, pp. 403, 405). 'He who worships the great Ādyā Kālī with the five *makāras* and repeats her four hundred names becomes suffused with the presence of the *devī* and for him there remains nothing in the three worlds that is beyond his power' (*Mahānirvāṇa Tantra*, viii.). The five *makāras* are *madya*, wine, *maṁsa*, flesh, *matsya*, fish, *mudra*, mystic gesticulations, and *maithuna*, sexual indulgence.

'The drunken consciousness,' says William James, 'is one bit of the mystic consciousness.' If that be so, Śāktism may claim a place in mysticism.

5. Modern mysticism.—That mysticism has not yet died out of India is evident when we hear the old cry for the One echoing through the writings of Swamī Vivekānanda:

'Where is there any more misery for him who sees this Oneness in the Universe? . . . this Oneness of life, Oneness of everything' ('God in Everything,' in *Speeches and Writings*, Madras, n.d., p. 421 f.).

A truer mysticism expresses itself in the *Autobiography* of Maharṣi Devendranath Tagore, a book that is classed by Miss Underhill with the *Testament* of Ignatius Loyola and the *Journal* of George Fox. And we find the same passion for oneness with God expressing itself again and again in the finest and most truly Indian hymns of the young Christian Church, those, *e.g.*, of N. V. Tilak, the Marāṭhi poet. Thus:

'As the moon and its rays are one,
So may I be one with Thee!
This is my cry to Thee, my Lord,
This is this beggar's plea.'

LITERATURE.—The mystical element in the *Upaniṣads* is expounded in J. Royce, *The World and the Individual*, 1st ser., New York, 1900, lect. iv. The mystical element in the *Bhakti* religion is frequently referred to in N. Macnicol, *Indian Theism from the Vedic to the Muhammadan Period* ('The Religious Quest of India' series), London, 1915, where a bibliography will be found. *One Hundred Poems of Kabīr*, tr. Rabindranath Tagore, do. 1915, and the *Autobiography of Devendranath Tagore*, do. 1914, give examples of Indian mysticism at two widely separated periods, while the prefaces to both those books by Evelyn Underhill provide interesting comparisons with the teaching of Western mystics. See also the artt. on the various saints referred to above, as well as BHAKTI-MĀRGA, INCARNATION (Indian), etc.

N. MACNICOL.

MYTHOLOGY.—By 'mythology' is properly meant the scientific and historical study of myths; but the word is often used in a looser sense to mean the body of myths belonging to any people or group of peoples. It is by no means easy to define a myth; but all myths seem to have certain characteristics in common. In the first place, they are traditional; this may mean that they go back to a 'mythopœic age,' which represents a certain stage in the development of human thought. But some myths, such as those of the Holy Grail or of the Charlemagne cycle, or many legends of the saints, have arisen in historic times. A traditional story must, however, have had an origin, often perhaps in some individual imagination. In such a case it seems necessary that the story must so far express or coincide with the contemporary spirit as to be taken over by it and become common property

A myth is usually, directly or indirectly, in narrative form; its difference from ordinary tales seems to lie partly in the fact that it is believed to be substantially true, at least by those among whom it is first repeated; it thus differs from a parable or allegory, as well as from a fiction or romance. Moreover, most myths, if not all, are ætiological; that is to say, they grew up or were invented to explain certain phenomena, beliefs, or customs. Thus the relation of mythology to religion and theology becomes clear, if we accept the definition quoted by W. Warde Fowler:

'Religion is the effective desire to be in right relation to the Power manifesting itself in the universe' (*Religious Experience of the Roman People*, London, 1911, p. 8).

For mythology, by its explanations and illustrations of the nature and character of the gods or other powers, would help man to keep his relations with them on a right basis. The relations of mythology and ritual, or the various forms of religious worship, are also very close, since ritual supplies the means whereby the desire contained in the above definition of religion can be made effective; and these means evidently depend on the nature of the powers to be worshipped or propitiated.

In relation to magic, mythology serves a similar function, except that in this case the powers to be dealt with are of a lower and often of a malevolent order. Between mythology and folklore it is not easy to draw a definite line. Much folklore is mythology in the making; much may be a survival of broken-down myth. In primitive ages mythology and history are often inextricably mingled, and many of the early speculations of natural science have been embodied in mythical form.

1. Classification of myths.—One of the chief problems that are met in the study of comparative mythology is the question how far similarity in myths must be held to imply a common origin, and how far such similarity may be due to psychological laws, to the tendency of the human mind under similar conditions and in a similar stage of development to produce similar myths. In some cases, in European peoples, *e.g.*, influence and reaction seem to offer the most probable explanation. But, when we find similar tales told to explain similar phenomena or customs in places so far removed from one another as Greece and Australia, direct influence from one on another seems precluded. Here the analogy of art forms, and especially of decorative forms, is instructive, when we find identical patterns, arising independently from similar technical conditions, in early Europe and in America. It seems that in the case of myths also similar tales in remote regions may be of entirely independent origin. On the other hand, we often find, side by side or even confused together in the mythology of the same people, myths belonging to strata remote from one another in the course of development. Such myths may either be survivals from a primitive age or be borrowed from a people in a more primitive or a more advanced stage. Any classification of myths is, for these and other reasons, full of difficulties, and admits of a great deal of cross-division; it must in many cases involve a choice between various theories as to the origin of the myths. There are, however, many myths which fall indisputably into one of the classes given below; they are classified according to the phenomena, institutions, or beliefs with which they are associated.

(1) *Periodic natural changes and seasons.*—Many myths are connected with the regular alternation of day and night and of winter and summer. The sun and the moon are usually regarded as persons. In addition to tales connected with the daily course of the sun and his nightly voyage of return from west to east, we also find many others concerning his annual variations, and especially the winter and summer solstices. Rites on these occasions, often of a magical character with fires and dances, exist throughout the world, and various stories are told to explain them. The god is often represented as absent or distant for half the year; but it is not easy to distinguish between such tales and those connected with the 'year spirit,' or the growth and fall of vegetation. The moon and its phases are commonly believed to have an intimate connexion with the birth and growth of both animals and plants. Sun and moon are consorts in many mythologies, the sun being usually male and the moon female; but this relation is sometimes inverted. The stars also have a place in many mythologies, especially in those of peoples who, like the Chaldæans in Babylonia, gave much study to astrology. The myths connected with the 'year spirit' have attracted much attention from modern mythologists, and appear to be of almost universal diffusion; they also have an intimate connexion with human activities, whether of a practical kind, as in sowing, harvest, etc., or in special rites or customs intended to stimulate or maintain the activity of nature. These rites and the stories connected with them mostly represent the death or departure and the renewal, resurrection, or return of some person or persons on whose life and vigour the growth and fertility of crops, trees, and other vegetation are believed to be dependent. The tales of Adonis and of Persephone suffice to show the kind of myth which accompanies such rites. Sometimes the tale is not of death, but of departure and return, as in the celebration of the absence and return of Apollo at Delphi.

(2) *Other natural objects.*—It seems to be an almost universal tendency for primitive man to impute a personal existence to natural objects, especially conspicuous objects. In its most primitive form, the fetish or animistic stage, this may not lead to the production of myth; but the polydæmonic and polytheistic stages that follow lend themselves to extensive mythological development. Trees, *e.g.*, and bushes are in many parts of the world believed to be inhabited by beings who may either be identified with them or regarded as having a separate existence but taking refuge in them. The dryads and other tree-myths of Greece are a familiar example. Rivers are frequently thought of as persons, and receive divine honours, and many tales are told of them. We also find what seem at first more like abstract impersonations, such as heaven and earth, the sea, etc. But some of these appear to be quite primitive, though they do not often develop into myth, apart from their association with definite gods.

(3) *Extraordinary or irregular natural phenomena.*—It is easy to understand how these, even more than the regular vicissitudes of nature, gave rise to stories explaining their origin or cause. Strange rocks or fissures were attributed to supernatural agency, just as they are still attributed in many countries to saints or to the devil, in both cases probably substitutes for the gods of an earlier mythology. Eruptions and earthquakes are attributed to the struggles of subterranean monsters, storms and tempests to special gods. The winds, whether beneficent or maleficent, are in many places regarded as persons, often rushing on wild horses; in some cases, as W. Mannhardt points out,[1] the devastation wrought by them is attributed to creatures who are not to be regarded as personifications of winds or storms, but rather as wild beings of rocks and woods. The tale of the universal flood and its survivors is known not only in Mesopotamia, but also in widely remote regions

[1] *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte*, p. 96.

Eclipses of the sun and moon are often regarded as due to a monster or dragon who tries to swallow them, and has to be driven away by human agency. Such swallowers, often of their own offspring, occur in many mythologies, perhaps not always due to a similar origin.

(4) *The origin of the universe.*—Speculation as to the origin of the visible world occurs in many primitive mythologies; it varies between the two extreme notions of a creator existing independently of the world and fashioning all things by his will and some form of evolution. Many systems combine both theories in varying proportions. There often exists in the religion of primitive peoples a vague belief in a supreme god or all-father, which can hardly be derived from a more advanced monotheistic system. But the creation of things is not as a rule attributed to him; it is usually assigned to some being or set of beings of an intermediate character. The notion of a primeval chaos out of which the cosmos is gradually evolved is not uncommon. Sometimes the earth is fished up out of the water by some creative agent; sometimes, as in early Greek mythology, water is the origin of all, or else the marriage of earth and heaven.

(5) *The origin of the gods.*—In many mythologies, both of a primitive and of a highly developed character, the gods, even if immortal, are not thought of as having always existed, and stories are told as to their origin, birth, and family relations, and their substitution for an earlier dynasty of gods. Often these earlier gods have little mythological personality, and are little more than abstractions, made up to explain the existence of their successors. Sometimes we find a belief that the present dynasty of gods, as it has begun, is also to pass away or be superseded; a familiar example is seen in the Scandinavian legend of the twilight of the gods. We also find tales of gods coming from elsewhere, as in the Greek stories of the wanderings of Apollo or of Dionysus. In some cases these may actually record the route by which the worship of the god was spread; but there is here a danger of confusion with similar tales due merely to the annual vicissitudes of nature mentioned under (1).

(6) *The origin of animals and of mankind.*—These two are often intimately connected, and the possibility of the one being produced by or transformed into the other is a common belief. It is especially found in connexion with the system of totemism (*q.v.*), in which particular animals or even plants are regarded as the ancestors or kindred of certain families or groups. A creator god is sometimes vaguely believed in; but the creation of living things, as well as of the universe, is very commonly assigned to some intermediate creator, sometimes in animal form; a well-known example is the mantis grasshopper, which is regarded as the creator in S. Africa. The tale of men being moulded of clay and then given life, known to us in Greece in the myths of Pandora and of Prometheus, is also found elsewhere. Another story of wide prevalence is that men were made from stones or rocks, as in the tale of Deucalion and Pyrrha, or that they sprang from the ground as the result of the sowing of some strange seed, such as dragon's teeth.

(7) *Transformations.*—A belief in the possibility of transformation of men into animal and other forms is almost universal, and is implied in innumerable stories. For classical examples, we need only remember the title of Ovid's *Metamorphoses.* The power is commonly attributed to witches and wizards of all sorts, and also especially to sea-creatures and other elemental spirits, as in the case of Proteus and Thetis, and numerous examples from northern folklore and fairy-tales. A curious and sinister form of the belief is seen in lycanthropy (*q.v.*) and the tales in which men are supposed to change into a wolf, a leopard, or other beast of prey. The transformation of men or of beings in human form into trees or bushes is the basis of many tales; their transformation into stones is also common, and is often represented either as a punishment for some offence or as due to magic. See art. METAMORPHOSIS.

(8) *Heroes, families, and nations.*—It is a usual thing for any family or tribe to trace its descent from a common ancestor, and traditions of relationship are often embodied in elaborate genealogies. Such tribal heroes are often regarded as capable of performing many things beyond the powers of modern men, and numerous and varied tales are told of their exploits in destroying giants or monsters, of their beneficial inventions, and of the social institutions which they founded. Tales of a heroic age may sometimes have no such racial relation; but it seems usually to be the case that the heroes of them are, if not regarded as ancestors, at least of a tribal or national character. Even the heroic saints who replace them in more recent tales are as a rule specially associated with some particular place or nation.

(9) *Social institutions and inventions.*—All the arts of war and peace, the chief advances in civilization and social organization, and the material means by which they are attained are very commonly attributed to gods or to tribal heroes. The gift of fire, or the stealing of fire from heaven, attributed in Greece to Prometheus, is a subject for stories in almost every region of the earth; tales are also told of the invention of metal-working and other crafts. Customs and institutions, alike of primitive and advanced races, are frequently said to have been ordained by the gods or established by a legendary hero, and various tales are told both of their foundation and of the penalties that follow breaches in their observance.

(10) *Existence after death and places of the dead.*—The belief in continued existence after death is almost universal, though this existence is often of a shadowy and unsubstantial kind. On the other hand, the dead are often thought of as having considerable power either for good or for evil, and are accordingly objects of worship. There are often found side by side the two inconsistent notions that the dead may be found or invoked near their tombs, where they are sometimes seen in the form of a serpent or other animal as well as in a human apparition, and that they go away to some distant and mysterious place of the dead. This is usually towards the sunset or the west, and is either on an island or separated from the land of the living by an ocean or a river, which has to be crossed by boat. Charon, the ferryman of the dead, is familiar from Greek myth, and has his counterpart in many other regions. Sometimes the land of the dead is a dark and dismal region below the earth, approached by caves or chasms; many tales are told of men who have visited it and returned. Tales of the transmigration of the souls of the dead into men or animals are not uncommon. Tribal or national heroes are often believed to return and help their descendants or successors in times of great stress. The belief that the happiness or misery of existence after death depends upon conduct or ceremonial observance in life is very wide-spread; and many tales record instances to prove it.

(11) *Dæmons and monsters.*—The imagination of man often peoples wild or desolate places with terrible or horrible creatures; it has been said that the savage is never less alone than when he is alone; and even among civilized people we often find an unreasoning fear of the dark or of the

waste. This often finds expression in tales of beings that inhabit these regions, whether of human or monstrous form. Rivers also and pools are inhabited, sometimes by nixies or water-nymphs, sometimes by horrible monsters like the Scottish kelpie or the Australian *bunyip*. Floods and other disasters, such as the devastating of the land, are often attributed to these monsters, and their destruction or taming affords an opportunity for the prowess or power of heroes and saints, as in the case of Bellerophon and the Chimæra, St. George and the Dragon, or St. Martha and the Tarasque. The centaurs and satyrs, too, are examples of wild creatures of the wood and mountain. The struggle between gods or heroes and such monsters often comes to symbolize any struggle between good and evil, or between higher and lower ideals.

(12) *Historical events.*—It is usually difficult and often impossible to draw any clear line between history and myth. Many mythical traditions, such as that of the siege of Troy, are now generally considered to have a historical basis; on the other hand, many historical personages, such as Alexander in the East or Charlemagne in the West, have become the centres of cycles of myths. The notion of what is historical evidence, and also of what events are probable or possible, varies greatly from age to age and from place to place. And, while it does not follow that, because we find certain improbable or impossible elements in any story, the whole story is entirely mythical, we are often confronted in such cases with the difficulty that what seem to us the probable and improbable elements often rest on precisely the same authority. It is impossible to lay down any rules for discriminating between historical and mythical tales; nothing is much help except a wide experience of such tales, coming from various regions and various strata of development. It is, *e.g.*, often difficult, if not impossible, to tell whether some mythical heroes are early gods whose divinity has become humanized or actual men who have come to acquire divine or semi-divine honour. The question is of great importance in view of the Euhemeristic theory, mentioned below, which would give history a leading place as a source of myth.

The above classification cannot, of course, be regarded as exhaustive; but it includes most of the commoner classes of myths.

2. Origin of myths.—Numerous theories exist as to the origin of myths, and most of them are to a greater or less extent tenable; here the main difficulty and confusion arise from the indiscriminate way in which one theory or another has been applied as a kind of universal key to solve all mythological problems. Most myths, and still more most gods and other mythical personages, are of a highly complex character, and are compounded of elements varying in origin as well as in stage of mythical development. Myths may therefore be classified, not only according to the phenomena, actions, or beliefs with which they are associated, but also according to the origin of the ideas which they express.

(1) *Meteorological.*—The tendency, in a primitive age, to assign a personal existence to the sun, the moon, and other heavenly bodies has already been noticed. The stories that are told about them are for the most part such as might be told about any other god or hero, and give little scope to the elaborate allegorical or figurative interpretations that were applied too literally by Max Müller and other advocates of the 'solar myth.' Few mythologists, *e.g.*, would now derive the tale of Heracles and his death by the shirt poisoned with Nessus' blood from the sun setting amid red clouds. To take another example, while there may be some elements derived from a wind-god in the mythology of the Greek god Hermes, the attempt made by W. Roscher[1] to derive all his functions from this conception is an example of misapplied ingenuity.

(2) *Physical.*—This class corresponds to the myths connected with various natural phenomena, and need not here be further commented on.

(3) *Ritual.* — Many myths originate in the explanation of ritual practices. The value of a ritual custom in preserving the tradition of some event is fully recognized; and a similar origin comes, partly by analogy, to be assigned to many practices which had their origin in magic rites or other different sources. For instance, it was the custom for the Greek women of Thebes and other towns to conduct nightly dances on the mountains in honour of Dionysus at certain seasons; and hence arose the story that the god himself had once led his Mænads over Cithæron. Again, the common custom of celebrating annually in spring the departure or death and resurrection or return of a person representing the spirit of the year or of vegetation led to the growth of such beautiful myths as that of the loss and return of Persephone. It is difficult to set a limit to this influence of ritual on myth; for even in cases where the myth has a different origin the manner in which it is celebrated or commemorated often comes to react upon the tale itself.

(4) *Historical or Euhemeristic.*—The most extreme application of this theory was made by the philosopher Euhemerus, towards the end of the 4th cent. B.C. He maintained that all myth was of historical origin, and that the gods were men who had performed great exploits or conferred benefits upon their fellows. In proof, he quoted the grave of Zeus shown in Crete. The theory was recently rehabilitated by Herbert Spencer's attempt to derive religion from ancestor-worship; but it would not now be accepted by mythologists except within certain limits. We have already noticed that tales of historical events of persons often show mythical accretions or transformations. But the great mass of mythology cannot be explained as transmuted history. See art. EUHEMERISM.

(5) *Artistic.*—When artistic representations of mythical subjects exist, they often have considerable influence on the form of myths. The mixed Oriental monsters which we know as sphinx and siren, *e.g.*, were borrowed by Greek art merely as decorative types. There is no reason to suppose that even in the time of Homer these monsters were thought of under what later became their recognized forms. The representation of mythical scenes was often transferred from one tale to another, and so the artistic tradition came to influence the mythical one.

(6) *Ethical.*—Some mythical stories seem either in origin or in form to be mainly ethical in character, to be, in short, tales with a moral. A familiar example is offered by Æsop's *Fables*; but it is uncertain how far these are of a traditional character. The same doubt occurs in other cases, such as the myth of the choice of Heracles. Though such myths usually have an artificial appearance, some of them may be of a primitive origin, especially those which tell of retribution following the breach of some divinely sanctioned law or custom, or of a prohibition to see or touch some sacred object.

(7) *Mystical or allegorical.*—Mystical interpretations of myth have been prevalent at various times —*e.g.*, among the Neo-Platonic school in Greece. But such interpretations are mostly fanciful, and have very little connexion with the origin of the myths. It has been thought that such allegorical

[1] *Hermes der Windgott*, Leipzig, 1878, also *Lexikon*, art. 'Hermes.'

interpretations were taught in the Greek mysteries; but this is not now believed to have been the case, apart from the simplest and most obvious symbolism. Myths of an entirely allegorical character, such as that of Cupid and Psyche, are mostly of late origin.

It is clear that myths vary considerably according to the form in which they are repeated or preserved and the character or status of those who repeat them. The science of mythology is concerned mainly, if not exclusively, with myths of a genuinely popular character and of spontaneous growth, but these are often modified or transformed according to the media in which they are preserved. Thus official mythology, whether preserved in temple records and sacred books or in other works of a systematizing character, will tend to produce a deceptive uniformity, by suppressing differences and variations which are often interesting and by passing over apparently irrelevant or unseemly details, which would often have given a clue to the origin or meaning of the myth. The same is true to an even greater degree of the myths preserved to us in poetical form. The more serious poets often give them an ethical character, and use them to embody deep religious truths or subtle studies of character; others use them freely as themes for imaginative embroidery, so that it is difficult to distinguish the myth itself from mere fiction. Plato's rejection of the unworthy stories of the gods from his ideal State shows what treatment of mythology we must expect from philosophers; we have already noticed the fanciful methods of interpretation of the Neo-Platonists, and the later artificial allegories. On the other hand, some quite early speculations of philosophers, both in the moral and in the physical world, may have come to be preserved in mythical disguise.

The study of mythology is for all these reasons obscure and difficult, but, when rightly and cautiously pursued, it abounds with evidence as to the primitive aspirations and beliefs of mankind, and as to the various stages of moral and intellectual development.

LITERATURE.—The literature of the subject is very extensive and miscellaneous; the following are a few of the works that deal with mythology in its wider aspects: J. G. Frazer, *GB*[3], London, 1911 ff. (very full bibliography in vol. xii., 1915); A. Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, do. 1887, art. 'Mythology' in *EBr*[11]; W. Roscher, *Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, Leipzig, 1884 ff.; E. B. Tylor, *PC*, London, 1873; F. Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language*[6], do. 1871, *Selected Essays*, do. 1881; L. R. Farnell, *CGS*, Oxford, 1896–1909; L. Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*[4], ed. C. Robert, Berlin, 1894, *Römische Mythologie*[3], ed. H. Jordan, do. 1881–83; O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religion*, Munich, 1906; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Cultus der Römer*[2], do. 1912; J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*[2], Cambridge, 1908; W. Mannhardt, *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte*, Berlin, 1877, *Mythologische Forschungen*, Strassburg, 1884; J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*[4], Berlin, 1875–78; tr. J. S. Stallybrass, London, 1882–88; E. S. Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, do. 1894–96; E. Rohde, *Psyche*[3], Tübingen and Leipzig, 1903; A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of S.E. Australia*, London, 1904; H. H. Bancroft, *NR*, do. 1875–76.

E. A. GARDNER.

N

NABATÆANS. — The Nabatæans were an Arab race which, from about the 6th cent. B.C., occupied the south and east of Palestine, the old Edomite country, with Petra as a capital and centre of their caravan trade. Though Arab by race, they used a dialect of Aramaic for writing and commerce. Before the Hellenistic period almost nothing is known of them. Probably they are the same as the Nabajāti mentioned by Ašurbanipal (7th cent. B.C., *KB* ii. 216 ff.); Josephus, followed by Jerome, identified them with the OT Nebaioth (Jos. *Ant.* I. xii. 4; Jerome, *Quæst. in Gen.* 25[13] [*PL* xxiii. 977]); etymologically the connexion is uncertain, though Lagarde maintains it (*Bildung der Nomina*, Göttingen, 1889, p. 52 n.).

The Nabatæans first appear in 312 B.C., when Antigonus sent two expeditions against them, according to Diodorus (xix. 94), who gives an account of their habits and trade. At times they made themselves troublesome on the shores of the Gulf of 'Aḳāba by preying upon merchant ships (Agatharchides, in *Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 178). Their first known ruler, Aretas I. (in Nabatæan Ḥārethath), is named (169 B.C.) in 2 Mac 5[8]; we also learn that they were on friendly terms with the Maccabees (1 Mac 5[25] 9[35]). The decay of the Greek kingdoms of Syria and Egypt gave them an opportunity of expansion which was vigorously used by Erotimus (? a Græcized form of Aretas II.), the real founder of their power (Justin. XXXIX. v. 5 f.). The Nabatæan kingdom, called Nebāṭu in the native inscriptions, extended from Petra northwards east of the Jordan, over Ḥaurān (after 88 B.C.), at times even as far as Damascus (in 85 B.C., and again *c.* A.D. 34–62), and southwards into N. Arabia, as far as the north-east shore of the Red Sea. In 85 B.C. Aretas III. ruled in Damascus and struck coins there, 'of king Aretas Philhellene'; not long after the Nabatæans began to come into collision with the Romans under Pompey and Scaurus (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. i. 4–ii. 3, v. 1, *BJ* I. viii. 1). They managed to retain a tolerable measure of independence as 'allies' or vassals through the varying fortunes of the Roman campaigns, and reached a high state of prosperity during the long reign of Aretas IV. (9 B.C.–A.D. 40). By this time their warlike and nomadic habits had been exchanged for settled life and the steady pursuit of profitable trade; their well-equipped caravans looked like armies on the march; and the enterprise of their merchants has left traces as far as Rome and Puteoli, and near Denderah in Upper Egypt (see Strabo, XVI. iv. 21, 23, 26; *CIS* ii. 157–159; *PSBA* xxvi. [1904] 72). Then in A.D. 106 the short-sighted cupidity of Trajan reduced Petra, and the Nabatæan kingdom was absorbed into the Provincia Arabia (Dio Cass. lxviii. 14). The following is a list of the Nabatæan kings:[1] Aretas I., 169 B.C. (2 Mac 5[8]); Aretas II., *c.* 110–96 B.C. (?=Erotimus); Obedas I., *c.* 90 B.C. (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. xiii. 5, *BJ* I. iv. 4); Rabilus I., *c.* 86 B.C. (*CIS* ii. 349=*NSI*, p. 250 n.; Jos. *Ant.* XIII. xv. 1, *BJ* I. iv. 7); Aretas III. Philhellene, *c.* 85–60 B.C. (*CIS* ii. 349=*NSI*, p. 250 n.); Malichus I., *c.* 50–30 B.C. (*CIS* ii. 158, 174=*NSI* 100, 102; Jos. *Ant.* XIV. xiv. 1 f., 6, XV. vi. 2, *BJ* I. xiv. 1, xv. 1, xviii. 4, xxii. 3); Obedas II., *c.* 30–9 B.C. (*CIS* ii. 354=*NSI* 95); Aretas IV. Philopatris, 9 B.C.–A.D. 40 (*CIS* ii. 160, 197–217, 354; *NSI* 78–91, 95, 96, 102; 2 Co 11[32]); Malichus II., *c.* A.D. 40–71 (*CIS* ii. 195, 218, and 182=*NSI* 92, 99; Jos. *BJ* III. iv. 2); Rabilus II. Soter, A.D. 70–? 106 (*CIS* ii. 183, 161=*NSI* 97; *ib.* 101, p. 255 n.); ? Malichus

[1] *NSI*=G. A. Cooke, *North-Semitic Inscriptions*, Oxford, 1903; *RÉS*=*Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique*, Paris, 1900 ff. The numbers after *CIS* ii., *NSI*, *RÉS*, refer to inscriptions unless otherwise stated.

III., A.D. 106 (*CIS* ii. 218 = *NSI* 92).[1] Strabo tells us that the kingship and chief offices were hereditary and descended to the eldest son (XVI. iv. 25); associated with the king was a high official called 'brother' in Nabatæan and *ἐπίτροπος* in Greek (*NSI*, p. 246 n.). The inscriptions clearly point to a tribal form of government (*φυλαί*, often in Greek inscriptions from Ḥaurān); a tribal district had at its head a shaikh, called *ἐθνάρχης* (2 Co 11^{32}; also in Greek inscriptions from Ḥaurān), or *στρατηγός* when he held military authority (*NSI*, p. 247 f.; Waddington, *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, no. 2196; cf. Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. v. 1); possibly 'the chief of the camp' (*NSI* 96) was the heir to this post. Another title for the governor was 'eparch' (*ib.* 87, 93; cf. 107; like *στρατηγός*, the Greek word is Aramaized). An interesting feature of Nabatæan social life is the independent position held by women; they could possess and bequeath property; sometimes descent is reckoned through the female line; the queens are often represented on coins (*ib.* pp. 221, 246, 256).

Most of the inscriptions have been found in the three chief Nabatæan settlements, Petra, Ḥegrā (in N. Arabia, *c.* 340 miles south of Petra), and Ḥaurān. A great number of Nabatæan graffiti, belonging to the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D., are inscribed on the rocks in certain wadis of the Sinaitic Peninsula (*CIS* ii. 490–3323; see *NSI*, p. 258). The splendid rock-tombs at Ḥegrā display the finest inscriptions (*CIS* ii. 197–307), and testify to the importance which the Nabatæans attached to the family burying-place. Petra is famous chiefly for its ruins, dating from the pre-Hellenistic period down to the first half of the 3rd cent. A.D.; three or four valuable inscriptions have been found there, in addition to numerous graffiti (*CIS* ii. 349–489). At Petra, on a height (en-Negr) overlooking the main group of tombs, exists the most complete specimen of an ancient Semitic sanctuary that is known, a rock-hewn place of sacrifice open to the sky.

The chief god of the Nabatæans was Dūshara, whose worship was centred at Petra (cf. Epiphanius, *Hær.* li. 22), and from Petra spread with the advance of the people. By Greek and Latin writers he was identified with Dionysos-Bacchus; there are coins of Bostra in Ḥaurān of the 3rd cent. A.D. which show a wine-press and the legend Ἀκτια Δουσάρια; but the god of a race which was once nomadic and dwelling in the desert cannot originally have had a Bacchic character; most likely he was a solar deity. Now and then he is styled 'lord of the temple' (*CIS* ii. 235; *RÉS* 1088), 'who is at Bostra' (*NSI* 92, 101), once 'who separates the night from the day' (*RÉS* 1102). Dūshara is merely a title = 'owner of Shara,' probably a place; his name is unknown, unless it was A'ara; the two are sometimes combined (*ib.* 1096, Δουσαρει Ἀαρρα, and 676), but separated in *NSI* 101. A'ara may lie behind the Orotal = Dionysos of Herod. iii. 8; and possibly A'ara may be a form of the ancient Arab deity Rūḍa (M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, Giessen, 1900–12, iii. 90–93). Sometimes with Dūshara we find 'and his *mōthab*' (*CIS* ii. 198, 250 = *NSI* 80, 94), which may mean 'and his spouse' (see *RÉS* 1099). The chief goddess of the Nabatæans was Allāt, 'the mother of the gods' (*CIS* ii. 185, 198 = *NSI* 80). Other deities named on the tombs are Manūthu (*CIS* ii. 197, 198 = *NSI* 79 f.), a goddess, perhaps 'Fate'; and the gods Qaishah, Hubalu (*ib.*), She'a-alqūm = 'the protector of the people,' the god of the caravan (*NSI*, p. 255 n.). The expression 'the divine 'Obedath' (*CIS* ii. 354 = *NSI* 95) may imply nothing more than *divus*, and not the deification of the king after death.

The Nabatæan dialect, in which a good many Arabic forms and idioms occur, belongs to the group of Western Aramaic, and is closely related to the Aramaic of Ezra (? 4th cent.) and of Daniel (2nd cent.). In many respects it is older than Palmyrene, and agrees with the Aramaic of Ezra, while Palmyrene comes nearer to that of Daniel (see S. A. Cook, *JQR* xvi. [1903–04] 274 ff.). Even after the break up of the Nabatæan nationality in A.D. 106 the language and script continued in use here and there; *e.g.*, a sepulchral inscription from Ḥegrā is dated A.D. 267 (Jaussen-Savignac, *RB* v. [1908] 241 ff.), and an inscription has been found at en-Nemāra in Ḥaurān dated A.D. 328 (Dussaud-Macler, p. 314 ff.), which, though written in Nabatæan characters, is composed in classical Arabic, and shows that the latter had by this time almost supplanted the Nabatæan dialect (Lidzbarski, *Eph.* ii. 34 ff.).

LITERATURE.—For the dialect, and references to the Nabatæans in Arabic writers, see T. Nöldeke, *ZDMG* XXV. [1871] 122 ff. For Ḥegrā and its tombs, C. M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, 2 vols., Cambridge, 1888; J. Euting, *Nabatäische Inschriften*, Berlin, 1885, who also collected the *Sinaïtische Inschriften*, do. 1891. For Petra see the magnificent work of R. E. Brünnow and A. von Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia*, Strassburg, 1904; G. H. Dalman, *Petra und seine Felsheiligtümer*, Leipzig, 1908; and A. Musil, *Arabia Petræa*, Vienna, 1907–08.

G. A. COOKE.

NĀGĀS.—As connoting a religious body, the word *nāgā* is said to be a corruption of the Skr. *nagnakaḥ*, Hindi *naṅgā* or *nāṁgā*, 'naked,' and to mean a naked religious mendicant. There is no sect called 'Nāgā,' but the Vaiṣṇava Vairāgīs, Śaiva Sannyāsīs, and Sikhs have each a sub-sect known by this name.

These men, in their excess of zeal, leave off all covering, and in former times went about entirely naked. At the present day they wear the minimum of clothing that the laws regarding decency allow. Most of them, with the exception of the Sikh Nāgās and the Jaipur Nāgās, to be presently described, are the offscourings of Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva mendicant communities, of which they are worthless and profligate members.

In former times they were distinguished as travelling about in armed companies that developed into bands of desperadoes. There are numerous stories current in India regarding sanguinary battles between Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva Nāgās, in which there is reason to believe that they were assisted, and perhaps instigated, by the other members of their respective communities. The most famous, which is still remembered, occurred at the religious festival at Hardwār in 1760, when the Śaiva Nāgās expelled the Vaiṣṇava Nāgās from the sacred spot. It is said that no fewer than 18,000 of the latter were left dead upon the field.[1] During the Marāṭhā wars the Śaiva Nāgās, often called 'Gosains,' made themselves notorious in Central India. They attacked Colonel Goddart in his famous march from Bengal to Bombay in 1778, and, under a condottiere named Anūpgir Himmat Bahādur, they played a prominent part in the fighting in Bundelkhand.[2]

For the Sikh Nāgās our only authority is Wilson. Neither Trumpp nor Ibbetson mentions them, nor does their name appear in the Census reports.

According to Wilson, they 'are said to differ from those of the Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva sects in abstaining from the use of arms, and following a retired and religious life. Except in going without clothes, they are not distinguishable from the Nirmalas' (*Religious Sects*, p. 275).

[1] *CIS* ii. 181 f.; Schürer, *GJV*[3] i. 728 ff.; R. Dussaud and F. Macler, *Mission*, etc., Paris, 1903, p. 69 ff.; A. Jaussen and R. Savignac, in *RB* viii. [1911] 273 ff.

[1] F. V. Raper, in *Asiatic Researches*, Calcutta, 1788–1836, xi. 455; cf. K. Raghunāthjī, in *IA* ix. [1880] 278.

[2] See *IGI* vi. 349, ix. 71, x. 177, xiii. 15, xiv. 19, 318, xix. 401, xxii. 279.

Under the British Government the marauding bands of Nāgās have disappeared, and the only organized body of these men is found in the State of Jaipur. Here[1] there is a corps of irregular infantry composed of 5000 Nāgās. They are Vaiṣṇavas, and form a military order within the Dādūpanthī sect.

'They are reputed to be faithful and daring, and, as such, are more feared than the other troops of the State. They will not undergo any discipline, wear no uniform, and are armed with sword, spear, matchlock, and shield. During the general mutiny of 1857, these were the only body of men really true to the chief, and, but for them, the so-called regular army would have rebelled.'[2]

According to Sherring (iii. 60), they are separated into three sub-castes: (1) Dādūpanthī, (2) Rāmnāthī, and (3) Viṣṇuswāmī. The first consists of the followers of Dādū, and the second of those of Rāmnāth; Sherring gives no information regarding the third. All these Jaipur Nāgās are vowed to celibacy, and their numbers are replenished by children placed by parents under their charge as disciples. For further particulars regarding them see art. DĀDŪ, vol. iv. p. 386.

LITERATURE.—H. H. Wilson, *Religious Sects of the Hindus*, London, 1861, i. 187 (Vaiṣṇava), 238 (Śaiva), 275 (Sikh) (a summary of Wilson's notices will be found in E. Balfour, *Cyclopædia of India*[3], London, 1885, ii., *s.v.* 'Naga'); M. A. Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Calcutta, 1872–81, iii. 13, 60. See also the various references given in the footnotes.

G. A. GRIERSON.

NĀGAS.—1. Habitat and distribution.—The Nāga tribes occupy the mountain ranges which form the eastern boundary of Assam. In accordance with the results of the linguistic survey, they are classified geographically and philologically into four sub-groups: (1) the Nāga-Bodo; (2) the Western Nāga; (3) the Central Nāga; and (4) the Nāga-Kuki. The Nāga-Bodo group occupies the Kachar Hills and the hills north-west of Manipur. The Nāga-Kuki group falls almost entirely within the area of the Manipur State. The Western and Central tribes are under direct British administration. The area of the Nāga Hills has undoubtedly been a meeting-point for many lines of movement, and the relationships of the several tribes have yet to be decided. Kuki influence is evident in the south, and it is quite certain that contact with Bodo-speaking peoples has modified the speech and probably the rest of the social life of the Kabui and Kachchha Nāgas in important respects. All belong to the Tibeto-Burman group of languages.

To the Nāga-Bodo group belong the Kachchha and Kabui Nāgas. The Western Nāga group includes the Angamis, the Kezhamas, the Rengmas, and Semas. In the Central group are the Aos and Lhotas, while to the Nāga-Kuki group are assigned the Sopvoma or Mao Nāgas, the Tangkhuls, and minor groups in Manipur. There are Nāga tribes, north, north-east, and east of the Nāga Hills in areas which are not within the scope of British influence and authority. It would be easy to push the classification of these people into much minuter detail, as villages tend to differ from their neighbours by reason of the separatism which marks them so notably.

2. Organization and structure.—The family, or extended household, and the clan—a group of families descended, according to common belief, from a common ancestor—are well defined units in Nāga communities, and are patrilineal and exogamic. A Nāga village consists of a number of clans, each of which as a rule inhabits a definite area. As a social whole a Nāga village was seldom capable of rigorous common action, mainly by reason of the clan feuds whose bitterness and intensity have often been noticed. Nevertheless it acts on occasions as a whole. Still less social coherence in political action was possessed by the tribe as a whole, in spite of its common language and customs.

The principle of exogamy is here sometimes explained and justified by the belief that it was laid down by revelation of supernatural authority—a late belief—or by the belief, probably more archaic, that infraction of this rule would surely cause wide-spread social misfortune. Further and fuller knowledge of the social structure of Nāga communities is likely to disclose interesting limitations on the law of exogamy and to reveal the existence at no distant date of that particular mode of definite exogamy called 'cousin-marriage' as well as of cyclic exogamy.

Exogamy is tempered to a greater or less extent by the habit of local endogamy. This 'habit' may be a survival of a state of affairs in which there was a definite law of endogamy, sanctioned by beliefs similar to those which give force to the law of exogamy. In one interesting group (Tangkhul Nāgas, 'cloth-weaving Nāgas') economic motives have occasioned local endogamy. But for various reasons local endogamy has been modified, at least in individual cases, as by marriages of ambition—of alliance at a price—with the daughters of a strong and powerful village whose protection might, it was hoped, be thus secured. It has been modified also in those cases where one village establishes a hegemony over its neighbours.

In practice the mother's kin are often completely neglected, and people marry into their mother's clan, but the practice of unlimited patrilineal exogamy is in many cases definitely unknown and marriages with the mother's clan are forbidden, at least for two generations. Whether this rests on any, and, if so, on what belief, is not yet clear. Mere practical convenience, ignorance of language and customs, and apprehension of close contact with strange customs will account for the habit of local endogamy, even apart from religious or economic sanctions.

Divorce is common and results from infidelity or incompatibility of temper. If the wife is unfaithful, the husband recovers the marriage-price; if the husband is in fault, the parents of the girl get some money and a pig; in cases of mutual incompatibility the marriage-price is refunded. Polygamy exists when the man's resources permit it. The marital relations are in such cases, in theory at least, regulated by custom. Polyandry, if it exists at all, is only a polite term for prostitution and would probably be described as such by the local expert. Not so long ago in many Nāga villages the standard of female chastity was as high after marriage as before marriage it was low.

The social fabric thus viewed is simple. The other main lines of social organization rest on sex and on age distinctions. The laws of marriage, the laws affecting sexual relations in general, are, it would seem, fairly simple. Sexual relations with women are permitted even when marital relations are forbidden. Marriage, therefore, is here recognized as a social institution for the procreation of members of the social group. Since they believe that members of the social group are recurring units (see below, p. 124[b]), clearly the function of marriage is the production of such recurring units. The idea that Nāgas practised infanticide rests on the custom of killing the children of slaves or children of incestuous connexions. The lines of social classification, based on age, physical and social maturity, are fairly clearly marked—by differences in coiffure, dress, and ornaments as well as by various tabus (*gennas*; see below). The bachelors' house, which in some cases has a counterpart in a spinsters' hall, is a wide-spread institution, though in modern times it is disappearing.

Nāga villages are of the permanent type and

[1] See *IGI* xiii. 397, and *Rājputānā Gazetteer*, 1879, ii. 151.
[2] *Rājputānā Gazetteer*, *loc. cit.*

occupy well-defined areas. The people subsist by rice-cultivation, wet and dry. The terraced fields, constructed in some cases by organized labour, are admirably irrigated, often by elaborately planned channels. The dry cultivation varies in extent. Pressure of population has often led to the formation of new villages. Certain features of the agricultural ritual show that in earlier days Nāgas were nomad cultivators periodically seeking fresh sites. Fishing, hunting, trade, cloth-weaving, basket-weaving, metal work, and pottery are minor, subsidiary industries, 'protected' by interesting tabus (see below). Nāga village government is often described as democratic. It is certainly difficult in many cases to discover one authority, but in the village and clan *gennaburas*, who are distinguished from their fellows by interesting privileges and disabilities and are surrounded by important tabus, resides a very considerable measure of authority, which varies according to their individual capacity and ability, and rests upon their position as representing the social unit in its religious activities.

3. Religious beliefs. — The activities of the creator deity seem to have ceased with the acts of creation. In some cases he is identified with the earthquake deity, in consonance with the theory that earthquakes caused the earth to emerge from a waste of waters. The earthquake deity, again, seems to be one with a deity whose function it is to exclude the unworthy from heaven and its bliss. Wide-spread, however, is the belief that the creator's sons (the number varies) are now charged with the duty of watching over mankind and of punishing those who are guilty of what in Nāga opinion is wrongdoing. Quite independent of these divine beings are the powers, nameless and formless, who inhabit hill and forest, river and pool—powers who by nature are ill-disposed to man. They are periodically placated. If an epidemic breaks out, in addition to the village *genna* there are rites to discover and placate the author of the plague. The majority of these beings are not of human origin, except in the sense that all such beliefs are of social human origin, while a few are human beings who have achieved a measure of divinity. These were, in a few notable cases, men who in life were reputed to have possessed great, unusual powers which their death and in one or two instances the manner of their death only intensified and enhanced.

The belief is found that the world was once a waste of waters from which by means of an earthquake (the area is liable to seismic disturbance) the hills were made to emerge. Elsewhere the story of a flood appears: two members of the tribe alone survived, from whom are sprung the present race. Others declare themselves sons of the soil who have issued from a cavern in the ground. Others, again, preserve recollections of migrations due to religious and political schisms.

The belief in the importance of omens and dreams is general. Witchcraft exists, and there are men who are reputed to be able to change themselves at will into tigers. Nāgas were notorious head-hunters. The practice was in part religious, resting on the belief that the success of agricultural operations would be secured by sprinkling the blood of an alien over the fields; in part social, since the man who had taken a head had attained to social maturity. Often, again, heads were taken merely as a proof of success. Further, since those whose heads are cut off, and who are in other ways mutilated, are segregated in the after world and are incapable of rebirth, a permanent diminution of the social stock of an enemy village was thereby effected.

The beliefs as to twins are varied and curiously assorted. In some cases they are regarded as lucky, as indicating agricultural prosperity; in other cases the parents are looked on as sub-human, as animals, and to be shunned. There is also some evidence that in one or two villages the practice prevailed of putting to death all children who were born in a particular way. The belief also exists that between the father and the unborn child there is a bond such that the acts of the father may affect the unborn child injuriously. He is therefore, as elsewhere, required to abstain from all acts held to be injurious to the child. In the rule requiring unmarried girls to abstain from the flesh of male animals may be detected a survival of the belief that impregnation can be effected by means of food. Married women are constrained to abstain from certain articles of food while pregnant, lest the qualities of the food that they eat should be transmitted to their children.

Oaths are in general held to be of value by Nāgas. In many cases the sanction works almost automatically. By extending the effect of the imprecation beyond the individual to a household, clan, or village additional solemnity is obtained. The formularies are often picturesque in their details, but, as contact with civilization increases, it is to be feared that the simple faith which held to the truth in real fear of the consequences of perjury is sadly diminished. Covenants sanctioned by a conditional curse, with the blood of a slaughtered victim as its vehicle, are often established between Nāga villages, and for a good while observed by the contracting parties.

The belief that individuals are reborn is held by many, if not by all, of the Nāga tribes. Some think that man has seven existences on this earth and that he then is lost or absorbed. Some recollect and relate their genealogies with considerable care. The necessity for identifying a new-born child, and for ascertaining which of its ancestors has been reborn, occasions the rites of omen-taking associated with birth and name-giving rites. The custom of erecting stone monuments is in part influenced by the desire to perpetuate the stock, since it is believed that, as long as the stone stands, so long and thereby will the family endure. Viewed in another aspect, this practice gratifies the vanity of the living, and may be viewed as propitiating and securing the aid of the dead. Whether to these beliefs or to beliefs and practices of a far different origin is to be assigned the erection of the elaborate stone circles—some of which still exist in excellent preservation, as notably that at Kuilong—is a question of some difficulty, and the materials for answering it are not yet available.

In societies arranged as are Nāga groups, in definite strata according to age and social maturity, rites generally exist to effect and facilitate the passage from one age and maturity stage to another. Birth, marriage, and initiation rites exist, but are not very definitely nowadays oriented by the idea of the typical *rite de passage*. Birth rites are marked mainly by a desire to facilitate the birth, and rest on a crude appreciation of hygiene. There are simple rites—family rites—for ear-piercing and first hair-cutting. The initiation rites, such as they are, which are practised when a lad enters the bachelors' house for the first time and thus begins his education are extremely simple.

The marriage rites are far from elaborate. The girls in many cases have a considerable voice in the disposal of their persons; the bride-price varies greatly and is influenced by social standing, etc., though in many villages it is definitely fixed by custom. Marriage by servitude is rare. The betrothal forms a distinct stage. A mock fight—whether a survival of capture, which is generally regarded as improbable, or a *rite de passage*—effect

ing the severance of the bride from the group of the unmarried is a very general feature. It is said that, if the bride's party wins, she will rule the roost, and will live long. It is a period of some danger to the young couple. In some cases they must not cohabit within the house for some days. In other cases the bride stays with her people, is visited there by her husband at night and by stealth till she is admittedly *enceinte*, when she moves to his house with rites and sacrifices. In other cases representatives, generally children, of the bride and bridegroom's party sleep in the bride's new home for the first night. That marriage is an institution ordained for the procreation of children to the maintenance of the social fabric would be recognized by Nāga communities, yet the absence of definite fertility rites as part of the marriage ceremony is noteworthy. It may rest, perhaps, on imperfect observation.

The cycle of life ends with death—the portal to another world. To usher the deceased into that other world, to secure the living from the force which compassed the death, to separate the dead from the living, are the purposes of funeral rites here as elsewhere. These are modified in every detail of mode, place, and time of sepulture, and duration and social extent of *genna*, by considerations of the social importance and status of the deceased and of the manner of his death. Since it is held that those who die in certain ways—those who are killed by wild animals, die of snake-bite, or are drowned, and women who die in child-birth—are entirely dead, socially and spiritually as well as physically, it is necessary in mortuary ritual to deal in one way with those who are deemed capable of rebirth, and in a very different way with those whose manner of death argues them to be incapable of rebirth perhaps as victims or objects of divine displeasure by reason of some sin of which they have been guilty as individuals or vicariously as members of the community to which the actual offender belonged.

It is significant that the Nāgas bury those who are to, or may, be reborn in the direction whence they deem their ancestors to have come. The reason is clear: those who are buried there are their ancestors and, since their ancestors are by this belief a constantly recurring element in the social fabric from which the authority of custom derives no inconsiderable part of its validity, this spot, their burial-ground which they revere, is indeed in their view the origin of the village.

Sin, sickness, and death are closely connected. The sin which occasions sickness and death may be that of some member of the community other than the unfortunate individual on whom the punishment has fallen; yet to rites of expiation necessary in this view of the causation of sickness they add practical — often sound — treatment, based on a knowledge of the properties of jungle herbs, and on the employment of some simple surgical devices, above all of massage, in a crude and violent form.

4. Gennas.—The word *genna* means 'forbidden.' In practice it extends beyond the tabu and includes a series of ritual acts or states which involve the participation of entire social groups. It requires the exclusion of all persons who are not members of the social group affected. All members of the social group affected separate themselves from other social groups, and separate themselves as far as possible from their normal mode of life while the *genna* state lasts. It is thus a means of restoring and of publicly asserting and indicating the unity of the group. There are *gennas* affecting villages, clans, households, age groups, and sex groups. The necessity for asserting and restoring the unity of the group may be periodically recurrent or may be specially produced by some sudden emergency. There are thus periodic as well as special *gennas*, occasioned, *e.g.*, by earthquakes. It is almost possible to estimate the social importance of any event by ascertaining the duration of the *genna* required to restore the current of social life to its normal flow and the social groups which it affects. In the limited sense of tabu, in the sense of a prohibition of the use of things, it rests upon the recognition of the fact that things possess qualities and upon the attribution of permanently or temporarily dangerous qualities, socially dangerous qualities, to things whose use to members of other social groups or to members of the particular group in other times and in other circumstances is innocuous or even beneficial.

LITERATURE.—A. W. Davis, in *Assam Census Report*, 1891, i. 237-251; W. McCulloch, *Munnipore and the Hill Tribes*, Calcutta, 1859; *Assam Census Report*, 1911; T. C. Hodson, *The Nāga Tribes of Manipur*, London, 1911; G. A. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, Calcutta, 1903-09, iv.

T. C. HODSON.

NĀGĀRJUNA.—See DOCETISM (Buddhist).

NAGUALISM.—See ANIMALS, vol. i. p. 496[b].

NAḤMANIDES. — Naḥmanides (Moses ben Naḥman, RaMBaN, also called Bonastruc de Portas) was born about 1195 at Gerona in Catalonia in Spain. He was a member of one of the best Jewish families in Gerona, and his early education was in the hands of famous teachers. At a very early age he began to show his wonderful mastery of the Talmudic literature. When he was fifteen years old he wrote a compendium on parts of the Rabbinic law, and shortly afterwards he composed a work, *Milḥāmôth Ádhônai*, in defence of R. Isaac Alfasi. Naḥmanides was soon known as a great Talmudical authority. He wrote commentaries to various tractates of the Talmud, and glosses (*novellæ*) on the whole of the Talmud. He also wrote important Hālākhic works. Of his private life little is known except that he was a Rabbi and teacher in Gerona and Barcelona. As he studied medicine, he may have also practised as a physician.

Naḥmanides was not only a great Hālākhist; he also wrote homiletico-exegetical and devotional works. He was first and foremost an intense Jew, devoted to Judaism with every fibre of his heart. He was well versed in philosophy, but philosophy was to him a secondary consideration; his first and main consideration was Judaism. But he was no fanatic. He was orthodox without being intolerant. This is seen in his attitude to Maimonides. Although by nature the antithesis of Maimonides, he held the latter in the highest esteem. In the great Maimonides controversy, which raged with such force many years after Maimonides' death, Naḥmanides tried to keep the balance between the two opposing parties, although his natural sympathies must have been with the anti-Maimonists. His attempts at reconciliation failed; but never did a harsh word against Maimonides escape his mouth or his pen. His failure to end this controversy Naḥmanides must have regarded as a tragedy in his life. This happened about 1232.

The second tragedy in Naḥmanides' life was his disputation with Pablo Christiani, which took place in 1263 at Barcelona in the presence of King James of Aragon and his court and many ecclesiastical dignitaries. The disputation was forced upon Naḥmanides, and lasted four days (July 21–24). As doubts were raised by the Dominicans as to the result of the disputation, Naḥmanides published the controversy. The publication of this work was construed by the Dominicans as a blasphemy against Christianity, and Naḥmanides was sentenced to exile. Expelled from Aragonia,

he stayed for a short time in S. France, and in 1267 he migrated to Palestine.

Early in life Naḥmanides began to turn his attention to the study of the Bible. He was known as a great Biblical scholar, and he was frequently consulted by Christian scholars on Biblical questions. But it was in Palestine that he wrote the greatest part of his commentary on the Pentateuch and that he completed it. To Naḥmanides the Tôrāh was the most perfect teaching that could be given to man. Everything good was contained in it. There was nothing that required justification or help from philosophy. Everything in it was perfect. All that was wanted was that it should be understood. For Naḥmanides there was no need to reconcile reason with religion (as Maimonides and other mediæval Jewish philosophers tried to do). His aim was to reconcile man with religion (Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, p. 137)—we say 'man' and not 'Jew,' because, according to Naḥmanides, Christians and Muhammadans were also heirs of the Tôrāh. The Bible, Naḥmanides says, speaks to the whole of mankind.

Naḥmanides was very broad-minded and very tender-hearted. He was emphatic in the prohibition of cruelty to animals. He believed in bodily resurrection and in transmigration of souls. It was clear that to a nature like that of Naḥmanides mysticism should appeal, and we find in his writings elements of *ḳabbālā*. Nothing human was to him contemptible. The human being a part of the divine, its actions were willed by God and were thus holy. This view is most prominent in his book on marriage (*Iggereth ḥaq-Qôdhesh*). His book on mourning (*Tôrath hā-Ādhām*) is also very interesting. Naḥmanides was human. Indifference to pleasure and pain (for which certain philosophers strove) he declared to be ungodly. Man should rejoice on the day of joy and weep on the day of mourning. He had a great mind and a large heart. Man was his concern. It was largely to his desire to make the people happy, to provide them with material for edification and 'sweet words' on Sabbaths and festivals, that we owe his commentary on the Pentateuch—his greatest work.

In his commentary on the Pentateuch we have the whole Naḥmanides before us—the great scholar, the profound believer, the man of tender feeling, and the Jew with his unbounded love for Judaism. His commentary shows a deep knowledge of the Bible and of the whole Rabbinic literature. The commentary is built on sound exegesis. But we can see on every page the Talmudist and often also the ḳabbālist. He constantly tries to show the greatness, depth, and wisdom of Judaism. His antagonism to Ibn Ezra can be explained only by the fact that Ibn Ezra appeared to him as too dry a philologist. Naḥmanides wanted to penetrate into the heart of the Tôrāh. Exegesis alone was not sufficient for him. Hālākhic exposition and homiletic interpretation were indispensable for a true understanding of the Tôrāh. But throughout his commentary we can discern a sound judgment for exegesis. He was the first Jewish commentator to give at the beginning of each of the five books of the Pentateuch a short summary of the contents of the book. In his commentary on the book of Job also, which is purely exegetical and surpasses his commentary on the Pentateuch, he gives a short summary of each of the speeches of Job and his friends.

In Palestine, where he spent the last years of his life, Naḥmanides built synagogues, organized communities, and gave lectures and sermons for the edification of the people. His letter from Jerusalem to his son and some notes on the state of things in Palestine (published in the *editio princeps* of his commentary on the Pentateuch) show how great was his love for the Holy Land. He died about 1270, and was buried at Haifa.

LITERATURE.—See, for a detailed bibliography, *JE* ix. 91 f. See especially J. Perles, art. 'Naḥmanides,' in *MGWJ* vii. [1858]; S. Schechter, 'Nachmanides,' in his *Studies in Judaism*, London, 1896; S. Krauss, art. 'Naḥmanides and Maimonides,' in *Hagoren* (Hebrew periodical), v. [1905].

SAMUEL DAICHES.

NAIADS.—See NATURE (Greek).

NAILS.—See HAIR AND NAILS.

NĀLANDĀ.—Nālandā, in Magadha, was celebrated for many centuries as the seat of the most renowned Buddhist monastic university in India—'the mine of learning, honoured Nālandā' (*der Fundgrube des Wissens Śrī Nālandā*), as Tāranatha, the historian of Buddhism, calls it (*Gesch. des Buddhismus*, p. 152).

The variant name, Nālendra, occurs in Tibetan books (*JASB*, pt. i. vol. li. [1882] p. 115). Local Brāhmans affirm that the original name was Kundilpur. Buchanan-Hamilton heard the name Pampāpuri applied to the place, apparently by a Jain. All the ancient names, including Nālandā, are now forgotten. The site, which has been identified with certainty, is usually described under the name of Bargāon ('village of the *bar*, or banyan tree'). Bargāon, a village of 600 inhabitants, now a station on the Bihār light railway, is in the Bihār subdivision, Patna District, 'Bihār and Orissa' Province, and is not many miles distant from Rājagriha, the early capital of Magadha or S. Bihār, and other famous places in the Holy Land of Buddhism, lat. 25° 8′ N., long. 85° 26′ E. A small village, Begampur, adjoins Bargāon on the north. The principal mass of ruins lies to the south of Bargāon.

The Jains of Bihār town affirm that Rājā Śrenika (Bimbisāra), who lived about 500 B.C., and, according to them, was a Jain, resided at Nālandā, where a Jain temple of comparatively modern date exists. The ancient remains seem to be wholly Buddhist. The Buddhist sanctity of the place goes back to the very beginnings of Buddhism. The site of the first monastery is said to have been a grove presented to Buddha, while his favourite disciples, Sāriputra and Maudgalyāyana (or Mudgalaputra), were born and died at neighbouring villages. Their names are often connected directly with Nālandā, the Nāla of Fa-hien. Tāranātha observes that Aśoka may be regarded as the founder of the Nālandā monastery because he made costly offerings at the shrine of Sāriputra and erected a *stūpa* in his honour. Several Aśoka *stūpas* stood at or near Nālandā. According to the Chinese pilgrims, Hiuen Tsiang and I-tsing (I-ching), who both resided at Nālandā for a considerable time, the earliest monastery was founded by Rājā Śakrāditya not long after the Buddha's death. His name is not otherwise known, and his date cannot be fixed. His modest foundation, a temple 50 ft. square, was so added to by many successive kings, of whom Hiuen Tsiang names five, that it grew into a gigantic establishment, comprising a multitude of temples, monasteries, with their lecture-rooms and other appurtenances, *stūpas*, and all kinds of sacred edifices. A large number of noble tanks secured an ample supply of water. In the 7th cent. of the Christian era the Nālandā establishment undoubtedly was the most important and splendid of its kind in India, or, in fact, in the world. It was the principal centre of Buddhist learning, and was crowded with students from every quarter. It was truly a great university. The professors gave instruction in the Vedas and other Hindu books, as well as in the Buddhist scriptures, and every form of art was cultivated with success.

The most detailed description of the complex of buildings is that recorded by I-tsing, but his language is not easy to understand fully, and the drawing which he prepared to illustrate his text unluckily has been lost. The main block of buildings was an oblong rectangle containing eight distinct halls or temples, three storeys in height, each of about 10 feet. The structures were built essentially of brick, stone being used only for minor and ornamental features. The eaves of the block projected, making a covered way or verandah running all round. All the larger spaces were paved with bricks, small spaces outside, roof terraces, and the floors of rooms being covered with an almost indestructible concrete cement, highly polished. I-tsing describes the way in which it was made. The roofs seem to have been often flat, and adapted for walking. The whole group was surrounded by an enclosing wall, as at Kasiā.

Hundreds of sacred spots, appropriately marked by monuments of various kinds, surrounded the central block of buildings. Many are catalogued by Hiuen Tsiang, from which the following may be selected for mention. To the east, a great *vihāra*, or temple, 200 ft. high, where Buddha had resided; further north the *vihāra* of Rājā Bālāditya, 300 ft. high, magnificently decorated, and enshrining a notable statue; to the east of that *vihāra* a standing statue of Buddha in copper, 80 ft. high, erected by Pūrnavarman, Rājā of Magadha, and a descendant of Aśoka, about A.D. 600; and, further north, a lofty brick statue of Tāra Bodhisattva, which was the object of costly worship. The Rājā Bālāditya mentioned probably was Narasiṁhagupta Bālāditya, who reigned about A.D. 500. The copper statue of Buddha 80 ft. high was a work unequalled in the world. King Harṣa, or Śīlāditya, the friend of Hiuen Tsiang, was building a temple covered with brass (or bronze) plates, which was still unfinished when the pilgrim left India.

The biographer of Hiuen Tsiang observes that 'the monasteries of India are counted by myriads, but this is the most remarkable for grandeur and height' (Beal, *Life of Hiuen-Tsiang*, p. 112). He notices the rich ornament of the towers, the fairy-like turrets, the red pillars, and numberless other beauties, not forgetting the 'deep translucent ponds,' adorned with blue lotuses. Hiuen Tsiang and I-tsing use similar language, permitting no doubt that every resource of art was lavished on the buildings. It is clear that a great school of local artists must have existed in order to carry out those works, and that the artistic influence of Nālandā must have been felt in China and over the whole Buddhist world. We are told of one eminent Chinese artist, Sing-yun or Prajñādeva, who painted a picture of Maitreya Buddha and the *bodhi*-tree during his stay at Nālandā. When returning to China, he took with him his painting, which was probably on silk.

The site of Nālandā has never been properly surveyed, examined, or excavated. The rough and inaccurate surveys which have been published were made long ago. Buchanan-Hamilton's notes appeared in 1838, those of A. Cunningham in 1871, and those of A. M. Broadley in 1872. There is nothing of later date. Since Broadley's crude efforts, much of the ruins must have been destroyed. The site has been a quarry for bricks during many centuries, and the opening of the light railway must have largely increased the demand. When the Archæological Department comes to examine the site, possibly not much will be left to explore. Cunningham and Broadley found the great rectangular central mass of buildings easily traceable in a line of mounds running north and south, about 1600 ft. long by 400 broad. Numerous *stūpas* and other remains were visible in the immediate neighbourhood; what may be left now is not known. It is understood that the area has been protected from further spoliation since 1910. Many fine examples of sculpture probably still exist, and a considerable number of specimens were removed to the Indian Museum, Calcutta, in 1891. Buchanan-Hamilton published outline drawings of six good examples. Two sculptures are figured and described in *Ann. Rep. Arch. Surv. of India*, 1903–04, pp. 213–236. The Nālandā sculptures deserve special illustration and study, which they have not yet received.

A detailed history of Nālandā would be a history of Mahāyānist Buddhism, from the time of Nāgārjuna in the 2nd cent. A.D. (?), or possibly even from an earlier date, until the Muhammadan conquest of Bihār in A.D. 1197—a period well over a millennium. All the most noted doctors of the Mahāyāna seem to have studied at Nālandā. Tibetan Buddhism is an offshoot of the teaching of Nālandā and its rival, the Vikramaśīla monastery, which was probably situated at Patharghāṭā in Bhāgalpur. When Hiuen Tsiang was at Nālandā (A.D. 637 and 642–3) studying the *Yoga śāstra*, the head of the establishment was the venerable Śīlabhadra, then of great age, who received his visitor with the utmost courtesy and generosity. I-tsing, who spent ten years at Nālandā (675–685), warmly admired the regulations of the monastery and the strict discipline enforced on more than 3000 resident monks. Out of the crowds of foreign students who arrived, not more than 20 or 30 per cent were sufficiently advanced to proceed with the courses of study. Some sort of matriculation test seems to have been compulsory in order to weed out the weaklings.

After the 7th cent., when the guidance of the Chinese pilgrims is lost, the notices of Nālandā are few and scanty, but there is no reason to doubt that the establishment continued to flourish as the headquarters of Tantric Buddhism throughout the long domination of the Pāla kings, and that it was destroyed, like the other Buddhist institutions of Bihār, by Muhammad the son of Bakhtyār in A.D. 1197. The monks who escaped slaughter fled to Tibet, Nepāl, or S. India, the buildings were reduced to ruinous heaps, and the rich libraries were consumed with fire.

LITERATURE.—i. *CHINESE PILGRIMS.*—Hiuen Tsiang, in S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, 2 vols., Boston, 1885, or reprint, London, 1906, and *Life of Hiuen-Tsiang*, do. 1888, new ed., 1911; T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, 2 vols., do. 1904, 1905; I-tsing (I-ching), in J. Takakusu, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion*, Oxford, 1896, and, with other pilgrims, in E. Chavannes, *Voyages des pèlerins bouddhistes; mémoire . . . sur les religieux éminents*, Paris, 1894, esp. sect. 41.

ii. *GENERAL.*—Tāranātha, *Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien*, tr. A. Schiefner, Petrograd, 1869; W. Wassilieff, *Le Bouddhisme*, tr. G. A. La Comme, Paris, 1865, Germ. version, Petrograd, 1860; J. Fergusson, *Hist. of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 2 vols., London, 1910.

iii. *ARCHÆOLOGICAL EXPLORATION.*—M. Martin (Buchanan-Hamilton), *Eastern India*, i., London, 1838; A. Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Rep.*, i., Simla, 1871; A. M. Broadley, *Ruins of the Nálandá Monasteries at Burgáon*, Calcutta, 1872, and in *JASB*, pt. i. vol. xli. [1872]; T. Bloch, 'The Modern Name of Nālandā,' *JRAS*, 1909, pp. 440–443.

VINCENT A. SMITH.

NAMA.—The Nama are a branch of the tribe commonly called 'Hottentots' (*q.v.*), or, by themselves, 'Khoikhoin.' They now live chiefly in the south-west territory, north of the Orange River, though a small number (62, according to the census of 1904) are found within the limits of the Cape Colony. The names of Great and Little Namaqualand indicate their habitat through a considerable period, though they removed further and further to the north in the course of the 19th cent., while the Cape Records show that, in 1665, they were living as far south as Olifant's River, near the

present town of Clanwilliam. Brincker, writing in 1899 (*Mitt. des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen*, II. iii. 128), estimated the number of 'Hottentots' in German S.W. Africa at 20,000. He appears to include the whole of these under the designation of 'Nama,' though, strictly speaking, it will not cover them all. He speaks, *e.g.*, of 'aus der Capcolonie eingekommene Namas,' but Jonker Afrikaner's people, whom he reckons among these, were a sub-branch of a distinct tribe, the Khauas ('Cauquas'). The Nama 'have always been, and still are, by far the most powerful tribe among all the Khoikhoin' (T. Hahn, *Tsuni-Goam*, London, 1881, p. 102). Reports of them reached Van Riebeek during the first years of the Dutch settlement at the Cape, and he sent more than one expedition to their country, chiefly attracted by rumours of copper-mines there. The first Europeans to come in contact with them were Cruythof and Van Meerhof, who, in 1661, visited the kraal of the chief 'Akembie' and entered into friendly relations with him. They described the Nama as larger in form than other Hottentots (Alexander, in 1836, says that 'their general height was five feet six or five feet seven' [*Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa*, i. 96]) and better dressed. They were acquainted with the art of smelting copper and iron, and wore many ornaments of those metals. Their style of living, dress, and weapons seem to have been much the same as when visited by Alexander, except that the latter traveller found them using 'some old muskets and long guns obtained from the colony, for four, six, or eight oxen each piece' (p. 96). In 1681 a party of Nama came to Cape Town, bringing presents of cattle and copper ore; and a return visit was paid by Governor Van der Stel in 1685, when he succeeded in reaching the famous Copper Mountain—now the Ookiep mines. It is uncertain whether these were first worked by the Nama, the Bushmen, or some unknown immigrants in early times; but that they were worked before the advent of Europeans, and that 'not without a certain skill and good instruments,' admits of no doubt (Brincker, p. 128). The Bushmen are still employed by the Ovambo to dig up copper ore.

The various 'Hottentot' tribes appear to have been more or less at feud with each other when the Dutch first settled at the Cape, though it may be doubted whether their feuds were invariably of a serious character. The accounts scarcely seem compatible with their having lived, like the Somali of the present day, in a chronic state of raiding or being raided. The Nama sometimes attacked the tribes in the neighbourhood of the Cape Peninsula, but, in general, kept on good terms with the colonists. In 1761 Governor Tulbagh sent out an expedition under Hendrik Hop, which not only crossed the Nama country but penetrated beyond the Orange River (then for the first time seen by Europeans) about as far as 27° S. The journal of the expedition is, says Theal (*Hist. and Ethnog. of Africa*, iii. 391), an interesting document, drawn up by men 'who were diligent observers, and one of them had the advantage of being acquainted with the Hottentot language.'

At this time the 'Little Namaquas' were found to be very much impoverished, and the 'Great Namaquas' had retreated northwards, considerably reduced in numbers owing to an epidemic of smallpox. About the same time they seem to have come into collision with the Herero or Damara, who had reached this point in their migration from the north-east, and by 1791 we hear that the latter had been conquered and robbed of their cattle by the Nama. The feud thus begun went on more or less continuously till quite recent times. This state of things reached its height during the third quarter of the 19th cent., when Nama chiefs armed with guns became dangerous freebooters, terrorizing the country with their lawless bands of horsemen.

The tribes anciently settled in Great Namaqualand who may be counted as real Nama are:

The ǂ Ao|nin or Go|men, called by the Boers 'Topnaars,' from their being farthest north of all the tribes—*i.e.* at the 'top' of the country; the | kha-ragai-khoin or 'Fransmannen,' also known as 'Simon Copper's people'; the ‖ haboben or 'Veldschoendragers'; the !gami ǂ nu'n or 'Bondelzwarts'; the ‖ khan |gôan or 'Zwartbooís'; others, such as the so-called 'Red Nation' (*Rooi Natie*) or ‖Khauben, the Kha-ro!-ôan of Keetmanshoop, and the ‖ ogain or 'Grootdooden,' came in at various times from the south, as did the clan of the Afrikaners already referred to, who figure so largely in Moffat's narrative.

The present-day Nama have largely adopted European clothing and ways of living, and it is estimated that about two-thirds of them are converts to Christianity. They are passionately fond of hunting (which, and cattle-lifting, they formerly considered the only occupations worthy of a man); and they make excellent herdsmen and waggon-drivers, but they show little disposition towards hard and continuous work, for which, indeed, their physique is not fitted. They are quick-tempered, passionate, and, in moments of excitement, ferocious, but in general good-natured and kindly, easily influenced for good or for evil, and capable of great devotion when once their affections are gained.

Their religion is apt to be emotional, not to say fanatical, and to take forms more easily appreciated in the 16th cent. than at the present day.

'Hendrik Witbooi and his people might have been seen engaged in religious services of the most enthusiastic description, with hymn-singing, prayer and fervent oratory, and immediately afterwards mounting and riding off to attack the Herero, rob them and kill as many as possible;—being indeed, as they imagined, the executioners of God's judgments on those people, whose possessions were therefore assigned to them by the Divine decree' (Brincker, p. 127).

But there is no ground for questioning their sincerity, or the fact that in many cases a high level of character was reached. Moffat's account of Christian (formerly Jager) Afrikaner (*Missionary Labours*, pp. 109, 111–113) will be remembered by most readers, and—to name no more—Alexander (i. 217) speaks almost as highly of Hortman (Houtman ?), a chief of the Bondelzwarts.

Intellectually, many of them have shown marked ability. Christian Afrikaner seems, from the account already mentioned, to have been a thoughtful man, with a thorough grasp of such affairs as came within his scope; and, more recently, Abraham Platje made his influence felt outside his own community. Of Aramap, a member of the Afrikaner clan who was a noted warrior in his day and defeated the Herero in 1835, Alexander says that he was a modest and unassuming little man who, on closer acquaintance, was found to possess 'a daring mind, good judgment and very active habits' (ii. 151). His description of Hendrik Buys, chief of the Veldschoendragers, is also full of interest.

Unless we are to accept the view that the only qualities desirable in a subject population are those of a strong and serviceable machine, the Nama are a people with valuable possibilities, and their extinction would be a matter for regret.

This extinction, though referred to by many writers as a certainty, is not likely to be more than partial. The mixed race known in Cape Colony as Griquas, in German S.W. Africa as 'Bastards' (their settlements are in and about Rehoboth and Grootfontein), have plenty of vitality, good looks, and intelligence, and (Brincker, p. 130) supply the best skilled workmen to be found in Cape Colony. The German authorities have of recent years recognized their importance as a factor in the community. The original settlers in Namaqualand migrated from the Cape about 1868 and therefore derived their origin from other tribes

than the Nama; but they have, no doubt, intermarried to a large extent with the latter.

The N. African origin of the 'Hottentots' was suspected long ago by Moffat (p. 5), and suggested independently, from the linguistic point of view, by W. H. I. Bleek (*De Nominum Generibus Linguarum Africæ Australibus*, Bonn, 1851, pp. 45–60), J. C. Adamson (*JAOS* iv. [1854] 2, 448), and J. R. Logan ('Ethnology of the Indo-Pacific Islands,' in *Journal of the Indian Archipelago*, vii.–ix. [1853–55], esp. viii. 229 ff.). The Hamitic affinities of the Nama speech maintained long ago by R. Lepsius (*Nubische Grammatik*, Berlin, 1880, Introd. p. xvi) have now been fully demonstrated by C. Meinhof.[1] Its deviations from the Hamitic type are to be explained by its having assimilated Bushman words and forms; and, in any case, it is the branch most remote from the parent stock. Though much Hottentot tradition has been irrecoverably lost and much is recorded in a form calculated to obscure its real meaning, we can still trace remarkable points of contact with the Galla, Masai, and other Hamitic and half-Hamitic tribes of Eastern Equatorial Africa. Like the Galla, they consider the hare unlucky (the hunter whose path it crosses will take nothing) and abstain from eating its flesh (Brincker, p. 179; Alexander, ii. 250). In the Galla saga of the origin of death, however, the creature cursed is not the hare, but a bird, a species of hornbill; on the other hand, the aversion to the hare is shared by the Abyssinians, and may therefore have some connexion with the old Semitic prohibition. A number of tales are almost identical in the folklore of the Hottentots and Bantu, except that the exploits attributed by the latter to the hare are performed, according to the former, by the jackal, which is also connected by the Galla with the same or nearly the same incidents. We may instance the well-known story where the hare kills the lion by inducing him to swallow a hot stone (Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, xlvi.; Bleek, p. 5; for Bantu, MS material); or the 'Uncle Remus' episode where Brer Rabbit makes a riding-horse of Brer Fox, which is told by the Nama (Schultze, xxxiv.) of the jackal and the hyena.

Some unexpected light seems to be thrown on the extraordinary myth of Tsui ǁGoab and his wounded knee by the Masai and Nandi traditions recorded by Hollis. The Nandi (A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*, Oxford, 1909, p. 98) say that the first Dorobo produced from his leg a boy and a girl, who were the progenitors of the human race. (The Dorobo, as by some S. African tribes the Bushmen, seem to be postulated as outside mankind.) Among the Masai the myth has been partly forgotten and has assumed the form of a fairy-tale, 'The Old Man and his Knee' (Hollis, *The Masai*, Oxford, 1905, p. 147 ff.). There is therefore some ground for supposing, with Meinhof (*Die Dichtung der Afrikaner*, Berlin, 1911, p. 34), that the old interpretation 'Wounded Knee' is really the correct one. Hahn also mentions, on the authority of Wuras, that the Good being (Tsui ǁGoab) is supposed by the !kora to live in the Red Sky and the Evil Being (ǁ gaunab) in the Black Sky. Hollis tells us that, in the Masai belief, 'there are two gods, a black one and a red one,' the former, however, being good and the latter malevolent (*The Masai*, p. 264). This may be something more than an accidental coincidence, but it is to be feared that it is too late in the day to obtain a clear statement of the !kora tradition. Another point is touched on by Hahn (pp. 62, 105): 'The !kora say that the snake and the first man originally lived together.' The Masai elders relate that 'when God came to prepare the world he found three things in the land, a Dorobo, an elephant, and a serpent' (Hollis, *The Masai*, p. 266).

Very little is known as to the tribal organization of the Hottentots during the time when it still existed unimpaired. It is generally stated that their chieftainships were hereditary, unlike those of the Galla, who elect their chiefs for a term of years. As, however, the hereditary principle is recognized by some Hamitic peoples, there is perhaps no need to suppose that it was imposed by the Dutch administration on the mistaken assumption that it already existed. It is possible, however, that we have a hint of parallelism with Galla institutions in the statements that the 'Cochoquas' (whose territory extended north-west of Cape Town, as far as Olifant's River) were 'in two divisions under the Chiefs Oedasoa and Gonnema' (Theal, ii. 126), and that the same was the case with the 'Chainouquas,' the next tribe to the east, of whom Theal says:

> 'There was still in name a chief of the Chainouquas, but in fact that tribe was now divided into two clans under the captains Klaas and Koopman' (ii. 210).

Apart from the wrong use of the word 'clan' in this passage, it may be permissible to doubt whether the bisection of the tribe was merely accidental, as here supposed. The Galla regularly have two chiefs (not appointed simultaneously, so that one is always junior to the other), each presiding over one section of the tribe. Alexander, in answer to a question as to the succession among the Nama, was told that 'the eldest son of the last chief is selected' (ii. 171); but, though he was a careful observer, some other information elicited on the same occasion (whether through an interpreter or from Dutch-speaking natives remains uncertain) suggests that he should be read with caution. He says, *e.g.*, that 'nothing is known of lucky or unlucky days, omens,' etc. (i. 172), and elsewhere that some of the Nama 'even have no names' (i. 165). The best recent account of this people is Schultze's *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, which contains, *inter alia*, a collection of sixty-eight folk-tales and fables, taken down at first hand.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works specified under Literature in art. HOTTENTOTS may be mentioned: L. Schultze, *Aus Namaland und Kalahari*, Jena, 1907; G. McCall Theal, *Hist. and Ethnography of Africa south of the Zambesi*, 3 vols., London, 1907–10 (vols. ii. and iii. correspond to vols. i. and ii. of the *Hist. of S. Africa* in the earlier ed.); *Nieuwste und beknopte Beschrijving van de kaap der Goede-hoop, nevens een Dagverhaal van eene Rys naar het Binnenste van Afrika door het Land der kleine und groote Namaquas*, Amsterdam, 1778 (a Fr. ed. was published simultaneously), containing the journal of Hendrik Hop; J. E. Alexander, *An Expedition of Discovery into the Interior of Africa, through the hitherto undescribed Countries of the Great Namaquas, Boschmans, and Hill Damaras*, 2 vols., London, 1838; P. H. Brincker, 'Die Eingeborenen Deutsch-Südwest-Afrikas,' in *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen*, Berlin, 1899, II. iii. 125–139; C. Meinhof, *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, Berlin, 1909 (= *Lehrbücher des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen*, xxiii.), and *Die Sprachen der Hamiten* (with appendix by F. von Luschan, 'Hamitische Typen,' illustrated with photographs), Hamburg, 1912; R. Moffat, *Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa*, London, 1842; J. Irle, *Die Herero*, Gütersloh, 1906, containing much valuable firsthand information as to the Nama and Herero wars between 1860 and the German annexation.

A. WERNER.

[1] *Lehrbuch der Nama-Sprache*, Preface, p. 6 f., *Die Sprachen der Hamiten*, *passim*.

NAMES.

Primitive (G. FOUCART), p. 130.
Arabic (D. S. MARGOLIOUTH), p. 136.
Babylonian (A. T. CLAY), p. 140.
Buddhist.—See 'Indo-European.'
Celtic.—See 'Indo-European.'
Chinese (J. DYER BALL), p. 143.
Christian (J. MOFFATT), p. 145.
Egyptian (G. FOUCART), p. 151.
Greek.—See 'Indo-European.'
Hebrew (G. B. GRAY), p. 155.
Hindu.—See 'Indo-European.'
Indo-European (L. H. GRAY), p. 162.
Iranian.—See 'Indo-European.'
Japanese (T. HARADA), p. 167.
Jewish (I. ABRAHAMS), p. 169.
Lapp (C. J. BILLSON), p. 170.
Muslim.—See 'Arabic.'
Roman.—See 'Indo-European.'
Slavic.—See 'Indo-European.'
Sumerian (S. H. LANGDON), p. 171.
Syriac (E. W. BROOKS), p. 175.
Teutonic.—See 'Indo-European.'

NAMES (Primitive).—I. *DATA.*—In lists to which new references are being added daily we find abundant information concerning the names of non-civilized races in almost all parts of the world, but the connexions between these facts are not noticed during a first reading. The synthetic attempts at explanation by the totem (J. G. Frazer), by animism (E. B. Tylor), and by tabu (S. Reinach) cover only some of the phenomena or submit to a one-sided theory facts which cannot in their entire range logically be adjusted to it. The best method seems to be to try to classify the principal groups of facts relating to the name without first connecting them with each other, and retain only the facts which constantly recur among the majority of present-day non-civilized races, and consequently among races and tribes which never could have had historical connexions with each other.

1. Name-giving.—A general characteristic is the importance attached to the giving of the name among the uncivilized. The personality—and the rights and obligations connected with it—could not exist without this preliminary condition. The giving of the name, either at birth or in certain fixed circumstances (in the case of successive names), is generally a solemn social ceremony, with a fixed ritual of a public character. The choice of the name may be reserved to certain persons other than the parents—*e.g.*, the chief (cf. J. Henry, *L'Ame d'un peuple africain, les Bambara*, Münster, 1910, p. 170), who sometimes explains in public the reasons of his choice, and then communicates it to the mother. The name is conferred either by a representative of the social group or—most frequently—by the father or mother, showing the double bond uniting the child to the social group and to one or both of the parents (see MOTHER-RIGHT).

Name-giving does not necessarily take place at birth. It may be deferred until suitable circumstances arise in the phenomena of the exterior world (astrology, seasons, signs of nature, etc.) or simply until the lapse of an astronomical period of time (*e.g.*, the 20th day among the Oraibis, with exposure to the rays of the sun; cf. H. R. Voth, 'Oraibi Natal Customs,' *Field Columbian Museum*, anthrop. ser., v. vi. no. 2, Chicago, 1905, p. 47). In the instances quoted in § 3 much longer intervals of delay will be found. In such cases provisional designations are invented for practical purposes, such as recognition and address. This is the first sign that the essential purpose of the name is not identification or recognition.

2. Classes and varieties.—It is impossible to mention here all the kinds of titles suggested to the mind to designate human beings, but, if we attempt to classify the thousands of individual cases according to the circumstances in which the names are assigned, we find that the classes of names may be suggested by: (1) sex, (2) order of birth, (3) the repetition of the names of near relatives or of paternal or maternal ancestors, (4) order of age, (5) name of the clan, group, tribe, or nation, (6) a characteristic circumstance (change of office, condition, etc., initiation, etc.). The name may be derived from (1) a physical feature, (2) an onomastic list of animals, plants, inanimate things, and phenomena of nature, (3) names of gods, spirits, fetishes, the dead, etc., (4) a motto or an allusion to a historical or mythical fact, or a euonymous sentence, (5) a statement derived from a historical fact or from the life of an individual, (6) a connexion between the individual and his human or supernatural protectors. But such lists are never complete, and are of no real use. Enumerations like those given by A. van Gennep (*Les Rites de passage*, Paris, 1909, p. 88) are neither complete nor comprehensive; there is no logical connexion between the twelve or fifteen kinds of names which they place in groups. They will be found in the present article arranged and explained in a different way.

The attention of ethnologists should be drawn to the innumerable 'designations' employed by primitive races either among themselves or before strangers in order to hide their real names. These are not names; they have none of the characteristics of names. Their apparent multitude has misled many investigators; their elimination, on the other hand, leads to the surprising discovery that the number of *real* names is very small and shows that the choice of these names by primitive peoples all over the world has always been guided by the same four or five ideas.

3. Change of name.—(*a*) *Ordinary men.*—The name is independent of the physical existence of the person. In other words, not only is it not necessarily given at birth, but it may be changed once or oftener in the course of life, either in circumstances determined beforehand or as a result of certain unforeseen circumstances.

A great many races may be cited among whom a provisional name, purely for practical purposes, is given to the new-born infant, and its real name (that of an ancestor, or the so-called totemic or theophoric name) is conferred, with a prescribed ceremony, when the child reaches a certain age marked by some visible sign (first tooth, end of suckling, puberty, etc.).

Thus, in Australia and among the Malays, children are named at first according to their order of birth. Tylor (*PC*[3] i. 253 ff.) gives similar facts for America, among the Dakotas and the Sioux. In Africa—*e.g.*, among the Basonga (C. van Overbergh, 'The Basonge,' *Monogr. ethnogr.* iii. [1908] 277)—the provisional name is a diminutive of that of a man or woman of the village, who will be a provisional protector of the child. Among the Manjas (H. Gaud, 'Les Mandjas,' *Monogr. ethnogr.* viii. [1911] 327) the real name is not given until about the age of seven years. Name-giving is delayed among some races until adult age—*e.g.*, among the natives of British Columbia (C. Hill-Tout, *JAI* xxxvii. [1907] 308–310). Young Australians do not give up their provisional names until the age of puberty (cf., *e.g.*, *GB*[3], pt. ii., *Taboo*, London, 1911, p. 320).

In reference to successive name-changing, traditionally fixed cases must be carefully distinguished from exceptional circumstances. For the fixed cases the most constant phenomenon is the obligatory change of name at the time of general 'initiation' of the young men (this must not be confounded with 'secret societies').

The Waiyau (D. Livingstone, *Last Journals in Central Africa*, London, 1874, i. 81) and the Sherbro (T. J. Alldridge, *The Sherbro and its Hinterland*, London, 1901, p. 173) are two good examples from African peoples. The same change is practised in Polynesia (W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, London, 1830, i. 322–324, was the first to notice this custom, numerous examples of which have been collected since by anthropological literature).

Among other occasions on which the savage changes his name, the following are the most important. (i.) Parents change their names at the birth of their first child (see, *e.g.*, T. Engels, 'Les Wangata,' *Revue Congolaise*, ii. [1911] 29, and cf. *GB*³, pt. ii., *Taboo*, pp. 331, 339, on the name of parents called 'Father of N' and 'Mother of N'). (ii.) Parents take a new name at the death of a child. This has two variants: (α) a person gives up his name and takes that of the deceased (Musquakies [cf. M. A. Owen, *Folk-lore of the Musquakie Indians of N. America*, London, 1904, p. 83]); and (β) all the chief members of the family change their names, either for a fixed time or altogether (savages of California, Columbia, Borneo, Tasmania, etc., cited by A. Bros, *La Religion des peuples non civilisés*, Paris, 1907, p. 197 ff.). These two processes, suggested by opposite reasons (see § 8 and II. below), really have a common source. Frazer's remarks on the duration of these changes of name (*GB*³, pt. ii., *Taboo*, p. 372) will be examined below (§ 10 (*d*)). (iii.) A person changes his name after any striking event in his life, sometimes by successive replacements, sometimes by accumulation. The most complicated systems (apparently arising from ethnic fusions) are observed on the west coast of Africa—Dahomey, the Ivory Coast, Nigeria, Benin (cf., *e.g.*, A. Le Hérissé, *L'Ancien royaume du Dahomey*, Paris, 1911, p. 235 ff.). (iv.) Lastly, the most curious case of periodical adaptation of the name to regular exterior circumstances is that of the Kwakiutl Indians of British Columbia, where the nobles had a winter and a summer name (cf. *GB*³, pt. ii., *Taboo*, p. 386). Here we see that feature so characteristic of pre-Columban American religions—the predominance of astrological and seasonal elements in the garb of religion and ethics.

From the long list of unforeseen events entailing a change of name the following are typical examples. The new name to be taken may be revealed by a dream or an oracle (*e.g.*, in Dahomey). More frequently the name is changed after a dangerous illness; the new name is revealed by the medicine-man or the sorcerer (see, *e.g.*, R. Schmitz, *Baholoholo*, Brussels, 1911, p. 327). The accession of a king may oblige all those bearing the same name to take a new name at once under pain of death (cf., *e.g.*, A. Réville, *Les Religions des peuples non-civilisés*, Paris, 1883, i. 41; *GB*³, pt. ii., *Taboo*, ch. vi. § 4). The cases of this kind are connected with prohibitions, which will be discussed below (§ 10). Lastly, the new names conferred by the favour of the chief on his brothers, officials, and servants (Le Hérissé, p. 235) should rather be connected with the theory of accumulated names (see below, § 4).

(*b*) *Chiefs and priests.*—The names of the intermediaries between the community and the supernatural powers are subject to special rules. The name of an individual before the new condition is, as a rule, replaced by a new name, the choice and the conferring of which are the object of a ritual and processes of transmission fixed with the greatest care. This class of persons includes medicine-men, sorcerers, and members of already organized priesthoods, as well as chiefs, princes, and kings, the theory of the proceeding being the same for them all (cf. below) and differing only by the different degrees of evolution of the primitive idea. The giving of the new name might take place (1) at the professional initiation of the sorcerer or medicine-man, (2) at his entrance into the priestly body, (3) at the conclusion of the initiation or training in the college of priests, or (4) on the occasion of his first entrance into office. (For the most typical examples of these facts see works cited above.) For sovereigns or chiefs of groups the protocol of the kings of Dahomey on their accession (Le Hérissé, pp. 13–16), with its barbarian complication, is a good example, half-way between the primitive method of the Bushongo (E. Torday and T. A. Joyce, *Les Bushongo*, Brussels, 1910, p. 108) and the learned and civilized elaboration of the coronation-names of the kings of Siam. The three great classes of names of royal accession seem to be: (1) the groups of theophoric or theogenic names showing the connexion between these sovereigns and the powers which rule the world or are the national protectors of the ethnic group; (2) the names expressing the rights of the new chief to govern a certain district or group of men; (3) the motto-names recalling directly or by allusion (by diction, sentiment, etc.) a great event of a mythological or historical kind.

The most typical African series has been collected in Dahomey by Le Hérissé (p. 13)—*e.g.*, for Dako-Donou and for Ouè Gb'adja (= 'the fish-king of the ocean escaped from the net'), in which the theory of the divine origin of the monarchy is combined with the allusion to events of a historical kind in a manner which perhaps explains the origin and formation of the powers of royalty for a large part of the African continent (cf. KING [Egyptian]).

The successive and accumulated names (cf. § 4 below) of the kings of the Bavili are examined in R. E. Dennett, *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*, London, 1906, p. 100 (in spite of its obscurities and lacunæ, very excusable in such a new and complicated subject, Dennett's treatment of this subject is to be highly recommended). In the opinion of the present writer, these names are the most primitive examples accessible with any certainty of the way in which the name of the chief was conceived as having to express a necessary connexion with the supernatural beings or forces whose intermediary he was. E. A. W. Budge (*Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, London, 1911, p. 242) has made a thorough comparative study of these African 'strong names' and those of the Pharaohs (cf. NAMES [Egyptian]).

4. Superimposed or accumulated names.—Along with names which are successively changed we find, though in a fragmentary state in different parts of the world, the practice of accumulating names. Accumulated names may be grouped in two categories. (1) Those of the first class, purely 'optical' in form, do not imply any essential change in the individual; they simply state his relation to his own people, or group, or to the world of spirits. Such, *e.g.*, are the three names of the Ba'ngongo—the first is the individual name, the second, preceded by the sign *bôn*, is that of the mother, and the third, preceded by the prefix *a*, is that of the father (cf. Torday and Joyce, p. 108). (2) The second class comprises the names which, by being added to the first name, one after another, connect it with accumulated forces or protections, and each time add to the personality of the bearer.

Surnames, 'good' names, euonymous names, form a transition-group between these two groups. They must be carefully distinguished from simple indicating surnames, describing the individual, or referring to a memorable event which has happened to him (cf. § 3).

One of the best examples of the process of accumulating names, which has been very little investigated, is that of Dahomey (Le Hérissé, p. 235, unfortunately not clearly described), where the child, besides his apparent names (rank and place of birth, physical peculiarity, etc.) and his real secret name (derived from the protecting fetish of one of his parents), afterwards receives a name derived from that of the divine author of the life of the family-group (*e.g.*, the names derived from Sō, the thunder-god, or Haun, the sky-god—Sosau, Sosa, etc., Haūnjō, etc.), and then a name of a protecting spirit, revealed at a certain stage of adolescence by an oracle.

Although the theory cannot yet be demonstrated with the necessary number of proofs, the present writer suggests that the series of names given to one person, far from being a later complication, is a survival of a state which preceded changes of name and probably even the single fixed name.

5. Names of the dead.—Newly-born children receive the names of deceased members of their family, according to fixed rules, arranged beforehand in a definite order, or determined at the moment of birth by traditional processes (dreams,

divination, mantic ceremonies, canonical revelations, etc.).

Examples occur among all the races of the world. Of all the facts connected with names this is the one whose universality is the most remarkable.

Among the Wa'ngata of the African Congo the oldest child takes the name of one of the father's ancestors; for the others the father chooses the names of other ancestors, and sometimes allows these to be taken in the maternal line (Engels, p. 29). The first-born among the Waregas takes the name of the paternal grandfather, the second that of the father's eldest brother, the third that of the maternal grandfather, etc. (E. Delhaise, 'Les Warega,' *Monogr. ethnogr.* v. [1909] 153). The Baholoholos give the child the name of a paternal ancestor or of a dead relative revealed by the sorcerer (Schmitz, 'Les Baholoholo,' *ib.* ix. [1912] 327). Among the Balubas the name given is that of a dead relative of the paternal branch (in which case it is given by the child's father), or, in certain cases determined by divination, of a relative of the maternal branch (in which case it is conferred by the mother) (Colle, 'Les Baluba,' *ib.* x. [1914] 251). Among the Tahwi of Guinea the child receives the name of a dead ancestor after a divinatory test (cf. below (2)); and the proceeding seems general there (M. H. Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, London, 1897). The mere enumeration of the known facts for the continent of Africa would exceed the limits of the present article, and those given here are only from the most recently published. For Asia and Australasia a series sufficient for demonstration was given by Tylor (*PC*[3] ii. 3 ff.) with the necessary references, to which are to be added the innumerable facts gathered together since in the immense bibliography of ethnological periodicals. The examples taken from the Khonds and from New Zealand are typical for Asia and Australasia. The same abundance of definite facts exists throughout the whole of the New World, among the Algonquins, the Tacullis, the Nutkas, the Eskimos, the Kaloshes, the natives of Vancouver, and the Yumanas of California. It will be noticed that the giving of the name of the dead ancestor does not usually take place at birth (see above, § 1). Observations made by the first explorers of the New World show that the giving of the name of ancestors was practised by a multitude of races which are now Christianized or have disappeared (cf., *e.g.*, the naive account of B. de Sahagun, *Hist. générale des choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne*, tr. D. Jourdanet and R. Simeon, Paris, 1880, p. 456, of the name given to the new-born child among the Aztecs, of one of his grandfathers, 'that he might share the fortune and the lot of this relative by carrying them on'; see also H. de Linschot, *Le grand Routier de mer*, Amsterdam, 1638). Lastly, the fact that a similar practice has been found among the latest non-civilized branches (Lapps) of the continent of N. Europe (G. F. Klemm, *Kulturgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1843–52, iii. 77) completes the convincing proof of the universality of the custom.

The giving of the name of dead relatives is either (1) subject to an order fixed by the law or custom of the social group, or (2) regulated by processes of divination. The first of these modes marks a considerable progress in evolution, and forms one of the rings of transition between the non-civilized stage and the semi-civilized. It cannot, therefore, be regarded as belonging to primitive peoples, and the cases enumerated above (§ 2) give a sufficient idea of it. On the contrary, the idea of having recourse to exterior aid, revealed by divination, in order to find out the name of the dead to be given to the new-born child, belongs rather to the group of concepts which may, relatively, be called primitive.

It is not surprising to find here an infinite variety of divinatory methods. Although the psychological mainspring is a single one, its external manifestation has assumed a thousand different aspects. The principal classes are: (*a*) indication by a dream; *e.g.*, the dead of the Waregas indicate in a dream to the mother the name of the child about to be born, and among the Balubas their desire is shown by dreams of a mysterious kind, which are explained by the priest; the same methods recur in Brazil and over the whole of S. America; (*b*) the dream with direct meaning may be replaced by the vision of an abnormal or inexplicable phenomenon or by violent pains during accouchement (Baholoholos and Balubas), of which the priest gives the explanation, as in the case of the dream; (*c*) still more frequently the child itself reveals its name by (apparently, at least) indicating its desire when it is shown a number of objects that had belonged to various deceased ancestors (Guinea), either by looking as if it recognized them or by stretching its hand towards them (Belgian Congo); or it interrupts a list of names of ancestors recited to it by crying or sneezing (New Zealand, Tatar Cheremiss); (*d*) divination by the automatic combination of external material elements constitutes a kind of mystical writing; combinations of leaves, small sticks, strings, or movements in a liquid indicate the name of a dead relative to be given to the child, and are regarded as signs of the wish of invisible beings (the method of the Khonds—grains of rice thrown into a cup of water—is a good example); (*e*) physical resemblance—blemishes, signs, or special marks on the body—between the new-born child and the dead person whose name he must take (Indian Nutkas, Indian Kaloshes, inhabitants of Vancouver in America; Wa-Nyikas, Guinea, Yorubas in Africa; the examples in Australasia have not yet been classified). This short list is all that can be given here.

6. Totemic name.—Besides a person's names, surnames, new names, successive or accumulated, modifying, strengthening, or adding to his personality, there are the names which have been classed by anthropological literature under the vague and incomplete term 'totemic' (see TOTEMISM).

The totemic name of a person may be traditionally constant. This tendency to fixity is a step towards the family name and the generic name of the social and religious group. It is often in such a case an embryo of the theophoric or theogenic names of advanced societies. We may therefore doubt *a priori* whether this fixity is a primitive characteristic. The totemic name revealed accidentally by an unforeseen event, by divination, or by a direct dream is, on the contrary, in the comparative frequency of its manifestation among present savage races, a probable survival of the primitive process of the individual choice of the totem. This is suggested, however, with the reservation of a more complete examination, which it is not possible in the present state of anthropological research to conduct with the necessary strictness. This presumption is strengthened by the observation of many cases in which the giving of the totemic name is the result of the direct use of divination, not accidentally, but regularly, either at birth or at a change in the personality of the individual. In such cases the divinatory proceedings are similar to those employed for the names of the dead given to newly-born children (see above, § 5), the most frequent being the chanted enumeration of lists of names of 'totems' or 'spirits,' stopping at the one which coincides with the delivery of the mother or a cry of the child. The variants cited by Frazer (*Totemism and Exogamy*, London, 1910, i. 51 ff., for the Samoans, Quiches, Hervey Islanders, etc.) give illustrative examples. The names of the mysterious forces, beings, or 'spirits,' and of the animals, plants, or substances which they inhabit, of the colours which invariably attract them, and of phenomena by which they show themselves, form a significant list of what the primitive man wishes to get from the totemic name. The use of the constant traditional totemic name, afterwards common to a group, will be examined below (§ 11).

7. Pronunciation of the name.—The pronunciation of the name has effects regarded as irresistible—and by 'pronunciation' is meant, at least primitively, the 'declamation,' with chanted intonations, rhythm, and melopœia. The force of this pronunciation is the same for men, animate beings, visible or invisible, spirits, genii, demons, gods, spirits animating things apparently inanimate, etc.—for the weakest as well as for the strongest. Spirit-raising, exorcism, possession, sorcery, and oaths, in all their infinite variety, are based on this imperious handling of names. The chief operations of primitive magic-religion and black magic rest above all on the knowledge and pronunciation of the names which they claim to attract, subject, or obtain in an amicable or hostile manner. Commands of man to the beings or forces of this world cannot be imagined without the pronunciation of their names. Properly addressed, these beings cannot escape from the order given them. If spirits and the dead are subdued by the calling of their names, why be surprised at the idea that one may cause a man's death by taking away his name, or by incorporating it by sorcery with a substance that is to be destroyed? And why be astonished, on the other hand, that the

man can protect himself by entrusting his name to a material object with which he incorporates it, and then hiding in a place known to nobody? (For the innumerable circumstantial proofs of this general theory see the books mentioned above, §§ 1–6.) The affinity between the pronunciation of the name and the personality is as certain as a chemical reaction, with the same fatally necessary effects, even although it is without the wish or contrary to the wish of the person who pronounces it. The attracting takes place of itself, with all its inevitable consequences.

Hence the belief that the name attracts the fate of the person bearing it; *e.g.*, the Wa'ngata (Engels, p. 80) believe that, if all the children of one family die at an early age, the cause is the danger which their name contains, and they call the next child 'He who is deprived of a Name,' in order to shield him from the unknown risk. Hence, in the majority of cases, the changes of name after an illness (see § 5), and also the idea of the Bechuanas, Navaho Indians, and New Mexicans that the mere pronunciation of certain names of spirits or gods can cause real floods or storms, either at any time or at certain periods (*e.g.*, in winter). The theory of unlucky names or names of evil augury of advanced religions is a normal evolution of these facts, which recur universally among non-civilized races.

The power of the name is naturally in proportion to that of the person whom it calls up, man, spirit, or god, and specialized in the attributes of that being. A practical consequence of this principle, important for the problem of totemism (*q.v.*), is that the carefully recited pronunciation of the totemic name of a dead person can recall that person to life (cf. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, i. 43); and the fact that the dead gives over to death his personal name, but keeps his totemic name, is also important.

8. Names prescribed by circumstances.—One of the first consequences of the power of names is seen in the rule that certain names must be given to certain persons in certain fixed circumstances, which place them in fatal affinity with the power of certain forces or spirits (who possess or are prepared to protect these names). Physical marks, peculiarities of place or time of birth, natural phenomena, terrestrial or astronomical, the thousand alleged revelations of invisible wills, establish infinite varieties peculiar to each of the groups of non-civilized races, and cannot be further detailed here.

One case (not yet investigated) may help to the understanding of the general theory of such cases. It is that of the names of twins, whose appearance (in Africa chiefly) has always created characteristic religious manifestations. With most of the Bantu peoples twins must always receive the same names—*e.g.*, Aburi and Nobese for boys, and Abuda and Tindabe for girls, among the Mangbattus (cf. *Monogr. ethnogr.* iv. [1909], where the author has unfortunately omitted to say what were the functions of the spirits to whom these names belong). The example of the Balubas (cf. Colle, p. 252) throws fresh light on the matter; twins there invariably receive the names of two former kings, Kyungu and Kahya, probably twins, who went mad. The divine character of mad kings and priests in the majority of non-civilized religions is well known, and this case of 'totemism' peculiar to twins should be carefully compared with the facts collected by E. S. Hartland in his *Primitive Paternity*, London, 1910.

9. Secret names.—A second inevitable consequence of a similar intrinsic power of the name is the development of the idea of withdrawing the name from the eventually dangerous use that might be made of it, by keeping secret the real names of persons.

(*a*) *Men.*—For men we have the series of secret names, universal among primitive races, the characteristic cases of which are found in the Indies, in the Far East, among the shamanist peoples of the north in Asia; in Senegal, Dahomey, the Congo, S. Africa, and Abyssinia in Africa; among the Araucanians, the Indians of Chile, the Colombians, the Navahos, the Indians of Texas and of other parts of the United States in the two Americas; and among all the races of Australasia (for an early list of these facts see Bros, p. 197, and especially *GB*³, where will be found the chief bibliography on the subject down to about 1895).

This explains the custom of having for the individual an ordinary name, for daily use, and a real name, which he alone knows (or which even has sometimes been given to him at his birth by his parents unknown to him). Sometimes this name is given during the first years of life; sometimes it is revealed secretly to the individual, on a fixed occasion, by his parents, the fetish-man, or the priest, or by a priestly college (*e.g.*, on the occasion of entrance upon the duties of diviner, sorcerer, priest, chief, king, etc.). The most frequent case is that of the secret name whispered by the mother in her child's ear on the day of his birth (cf. *PC*² ii. 431 for the Mandingoes). He who possesses this secret name will never reveal it to anybody, and in all circumstances his ordinary name will be used, or the various accumulated names cited above (cf. *GB*³, etc.).

(*b*) *Spirits, gods, and the dead.*—Like men, spirits, genii (and later gods), and the dead have also secret names, for the same purpose of protection, or for keeping their powers intact. The secret name gathers strength from a prohibition (see below, § 10 (*a*)) of pronunciation, of pictographic representation, and later of representation in writing. The names of the protective spirits called totems share in these protections and prohibitions (cf., *e.g.*, Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, i. 16). The secret of the real name of the gods leads us to the dividing-line between non-civilized and civilized. The knowledge of these secret names plays a considerable part in the magic-religion of advanced races (and in all their black magic); and the mystery of these secret names of the classical gods has been very often so carefully preserved by the depositories of this treasure that even to-day we do not know the real personal names of most of the great figures of past religions; it is only the apparent names that we know.

10. Forbidden names.—By a natural transition another consequence, even more varied in its manifestations, is to surround names with a host of protections or prohibitions, which ethnography has somewhat arbitrarily called 'tabus.' The cases of name-tabus can be counted by thousands. They may, however, be classified for practical purposes as follows. (*a*) The personal name of the individual must not be pronounced, in some cases even by himself. This prohibition is parallel to the custom of the secret name. It has the same variants and modes of time, place, and circumstance. This point was noticed during the first synthetic researches by Tylor (*Early Hist. of Mankind*², London, 1870, p. 142), and anthropological literature (especially *GB*³) has since accumulated so much information on it that simple geographical indications will be sufficient here, referring for enumerations to the two works cited.

Prohibition naturally increases in strictness according to the importance of the individual. It attains its maximum when the latter, on account of his virtues, has received a name which connects him with the world of supernatural forces (cf. below (*b*)). A corollary, which is not found among all primitive races, forbids the pronouncing of the names of near relatives (Nyasaland, Kafirs, E. Africa, Dayaks, natives of Celebes, Omaha and Dakota Indians, etc.).

(*b*) The same prohibition extends, in a more rigid form, to the world of gods, genii, spirits, and powers personified by animism. The names of these invisible beings must not be pronounced; they must not even be written when symbolical pictography and writing have acquired, among the semi-civilized, the magical value of the voice (China, Korea, Cambodia, etc.). The prohibition may be absolute (Mongols, Bechuanas), at certain periods of the year (Central America), on certain

unlucky days (*passim*), or on certain occasions revealed by divination (*passim*).

(*c*) The same list of prohibitions applies to the names of personages who are no longer simply men, but who by consecration have been made intermediaries between men and the invisible beings, or have even been made members of this group of 'invisibles' (fetish-men, diviners, sorcerers, priests, chiefs, and kings). The secret name which they receive at initiation, entry into the priesthood, or coronation cannot be known (Siam, Dahomey); or, if it is known, it cannot be evoked or pronounced (Far East, Laos, E. Siberia, Ainus). Men who had a similar name must change it (cf. above). The prohibition against bearing a name similar to that of the chief goes even so far as to deprive of this name the dead who shared it during their lifetime (Polynesia, New Zealand, Zululand). Here and there 'primitive terror' has marred the ordinary language, by changing or disfiguring by homonymy or alliteration all the words in it which might evoke the name affected by tabu (Zululand, Tahiti, etc.). This fact is of interest in the morphology of primitive languages.

(*d*) Belonging to the world of the 'invisibles,' and *a priori* eventually dangerous, the names of the dead are the object of the same tabus. Here the prohibition shows interesting differences, resulting from the variable idea held concerning the nature of the spirits of the dead or the time during which they are supposed to be dangerous. The prohibition may refer to the name of the dead itself. In this case it is of perpetual duration among some peoples. More frequently it is limited either to the duration of the funeral ceremonies, to that of the mourning, or to the supposed duration of the bodily remains (the last two cases in primitive times are one and the same).

The examples collected by anthropological literature prove the universality of this class of tabus (Asia: Samoyeds, Cheremiss, Ainus; Africa: Kafirs, Zulus, W. Africa, and the majority of Bantu races; Australasia: the whole of Australia, Tasmania, Celebes, Borneo; America: Brazil, Peru, Paraguay, Mexico, the Indians of Texas, and of other parts of N. America).

The opposite custom, that of leaving the dead man's name with him, but changing those of all the survivors, was noted in connexion with the living (cf. above, § 3 (*a*)), but, in reality, it does not spring from the same initial motive as the preceding tabus. It is another means of warding off the same danger, by bewildering the dead or by withdrawing the living out of his power, by his ignorance of their new names. For the same reason, the name of the dead man was given at his death to a living being—in order to prevent him from doing harm and from wandering invisibly to inflict injury. Thus among the Tacullis, at a death, the priest 'seizes' the name of the dead from his mouth, and places it materially on the forehead of one of those present. It becomes incorporated in him, and it will pass, by the sexual act, into the embryo of the first child born to this man; the child will bear the name of the dead. At the funeral ceremony in Australia a young warrior takes the name of the dead man, pretends to go to the other world, and returns; he is henceforth regarded as belonging to the family of the dead man, for he has really become the dead man, who has now ceased to be dangerous. Among the Cheremiss, at the funeral feast, a man, made up and dressed like the deceased, takes his name, says that he is happy in the other world and has no desire to return from it, and disappears. This is a perfected variant of the same initial idea. In the case of very young children, however, who would not know any evil, we find the opposite practice. Their names are repeatedly called up, in order that they may become reincarnated in the only way which is possible to them, by animating the embryo in the womb of a pregnant woman (preferably the mother of the dead child). To facilitate the process the bodies of young children (Belgian Congo, ancient Egypt, Central America) are buried either in the houses or at the side of paths frequently trodden by the women of the town or village.

(*e*) With men, priests, kings, spirits, and gods, the rest of animate nature participates theoretically in this class of prohibitions. The logical consequences have been almost everywhere deduced by non-civilized peoples—hence prohibitions bearing the names of certain animals, plants, fragments of nature apparently inanimate but regarded as animated by a particular spirit, such as mountain-peaks, rocks, lakes, marshes, rivers, etc.; hence also prohibitions regarding the names of certain sacred objects or even phenomena.

The sum-total of the name-tabus cited above amounts to several thousands, which are distinguished, in the principal subdivisions, by time, place, and circumstance, and characteristics at one time temporary, at another permanent. There can be no possibility, therefore, of finding them all at once in each of the non-civilized races. Nor can we expect each of these races to have traced to the end the pseudo-logic of the deductions drawn from the first rules of the subject. But we have the essential proof of the presumed primitive character of such tabus in the double fact (1) that the general features, explicable by the same initial data, recur in a whole group of peoples who could not have had any historical connexion with each other, and (2) that the majority of the lists of prohibitions, fragmentary or not, always recur identically with regard to a certain kind whenever inquiry is methodically made. There is therefore the greatest probability that we have here to do with authentic survivals of the ideas of primitive people.

11. **Collective names.**—Like the individual, the group also has its names. The most important is the name of the ancestor (see ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD), spirit, or tutelary spirits with whom the group has formed an alliance. From the smaller to the larger group, from the family to the tribe, to the people, to the confederation of tribes, to the semi-civilized nation, a series of names, sometimes superimposed, is the possession and exclusive property of the group. We find, again, for these collective names most of the variants cited above in the case of the individual, including the so-called 'totemic' name. These characteristics of collective names have the same consequences for them as for the individual names; hence totemic collective names, or others of a secret character, or specially reserved names (cf. below, § II.); hence also all the prohibitions or so-called tabus which concern them.

II. *DISCUSSION.*—The above facts show that a general explanation of all the phenomena could not be found in either the totemic or the animist theory. They reckon with only some of the facts. The explanation of 'prohibitions' by tabu is a pure tautology which explains nothing. In fact, the beliefs and usages relating to the name proceed from a far more general concept, to understand which we must completely remove 'civilized' people from our argument.

The nature of the name, as primitive man fancies it, its power, its dangers, its good or bad qualities, are connected with the idea of the articulated voice and its effects. The enunciation of the primitive name must be conceived not as a series of syllables articulated with more or less tonic accent, but as a chanted declamation, in which rhythm, note, and tone constitute the essential elements. Such an enunciation, therefore, is connected with the powers and nature of the *carmen* and with the general theory of voice-magic. Here we enter the sphere, known partly by anthropological literature, of the sympathetic and mimetic forces and of the irresistible power of the human voice, either unorganized or organized under forms which the term 'music' more or less completely includes (cf. J. Combarieu, *La Musique et la magie*, Paris, 1909, p. 125 ff.). But statements like these may be extended from the human voice—which is only a small section of the whole—to every 'voice' in the world, and, in the last analysis, to everything that is 'sound.' This statement can be easily verified, so that proof is unnecessary here. Now, if sound itself possesses such powers and effects, it is because it is one of the aspects of the very essence of life, perceptible by the senses. Sound is an emanation

of life, and the sound emitted by a being or an animate object is a function of that life.

If we accept these initial data, the chanted (or later declaimed) name is not merely an artificial imitation of what forms the very substance of the person; it is not even a simple 'double'; *it is this very substance.* The name of a person is his very soul—let us say his 'name-soul'—*i.e.* his reason for living, his life as far as it has any personality. But the ego and the life (not only the terrestrial life in the body of flesh, but life in itself) are not distinguished by primitive peoples. They associate both in one and the same substance. They naturally imagine them under an exclusively material form. They then notice the manifestations capable of being perceived by the senses. They notice that sound is perceived not only by the ears but sometimes also by touch (in the form of shock), and even by the eyes (luminous vibrations accompanying sound, vapours produced in the air by the emission of a sound or of the human voice). Sound, and consequently the song and the voice, appear to them finally as a characteristic aspect of that energy whose vibrations constitute life; and the various sounds peculiar to beings or animated objects are the essential manifestations of the ego peculiar to each of them. In reproducing them by his own effort the human being conquers the possessor of this ego by taking the secret of his life from him. That life may continue more or less to animate from a distance the being from whom it is drawn, but it is in the power of a new master. Thus the name of the dead man given to the newly-born child is justified. What survives of the man is not his apparition, shadow, or any other of these more or less fluid multiple survivals, which move in the various abodes of the dead; it is above all his 'name-person,' his 'name-soul.' The desire of the dead to become reincarnated (and as often as possible in their descendants) is shown by those dreams in which they speak to the expectant mother, and the pains which the diviner interprets; or, if they have already returned in the body of the newly-born child, they pronounce their name, they reveal their personality by the movements or cries of the child, who recognizes the objects presented to him or salutes the pronunciation of his name in the list enumerated by the priest. Thus by the same process one of the greatest problems of primitive thought is solved—to know the origin and the fate of the living being. Alongside of the body of flesh, the begetting, and the conception, the essential germ of life, independent of the sexual act of man, and the only depository of the real personality, becomes detached from an immense number of 'name-souls,' dwelling either in the same regions as living beings or on their immediate borders, and animating sometimes 'spirits,' sometimes animate things, and sometimes human beings by periodical returns to the body of man. In this way is explained the custom of making the tombs of children on footpaths trodden by a mother who, having lost a young child, calls it by its name, in order that it may come and reincarnate itself in the new germ within her. And all this reincarnation of the dead in new beings of the same family frees the survivors from two serious cares—preoccupation with the suffering and privations endured by the disincarnated 'name-souls,' and apprehension of the dangers which the miserable condition of these dead brings upon the living.

These dangers justify all the strange prohibitions or tabus which have been found to surround the names of the dead. Spells were cast by the simple pronunciation of the name; the dead would come to roam about their former dwelling-places; they would try to get possession of their goods again; they would have revenge for their privations and sufferings; they would seize the bodies of the survivors by 'possession.' The suppression of their name among the living is one of the chief precautions to prevent them from coming back to the place where they lived. The changes of name among the survivors puzzle them and break the bond between them and the survivors (not to mention all the accessory precautions taken to prevent the return of the spirit of the dead [see art. DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD]). Sometimes a veritable plunder takes place; the 'name-soul' of the dead is taken from him at his death by a living person who plays the part of the dead man, and, having thus deprived him of all his power, prevents him for ever from acting, or substitutes his own will for the dead man's.

These prohibitions, disguises, or changes of the names of the dead or of their surroundings are, as we have seen (§ 10 (*d*)), most frequently limited to the material duration of the bodily remains. A magical bond unites the different parts, the whole of which form the being (see BODY). The body of flesh, or its debris, remains the necessary material support which enables the name-soul to continue in material proximity to the living. This support destroyed, is the name-soul condemned to dissolution? No non-civilized people has formally asserted this; nor has any one formally expressed its indefinite existence. Whether it is that our information is as yet incomplete, or that primitive thought has not the power to push to their conclusions the logical deductions from such problems, the ideas of non-civilized races on this point end in uncertainty. Some seem to have believed in the possibility of an indefinite prolongation, on condition of being maintained by reincarnations at intervals not too far apart. Hence the possibility of dead persons becoming reincarnated after several generations or after the complete disappearance of their mortal remains, on condition that their 'names' are evoked by certain persons provided with a special power (kings or priests); hence also the entirely logical consequence that certain 'name-souls' are more powerful and resist destruction longer than others, according to the quality or the rank of the persons who bear them, or, still more frequently, according to the 'totemic' power of the 'spirit' to which the name gives the individual access. Here we see the first manifestation of the future theory of theophoric or theogenic names.

The facility of managing the 'name-soul' by the irresistible force of pronunciation has already (see I. 7 above) justified all the precautions taken by the living to prevent any one from using their names; it also justifies all the strange prohibitions of which the chief have been cited above. It explains the possibility of depriving of life the person whose name is evoked by artifice. With it is connected the tabu which not only protects the individual's name but also prevents him from pronouncing that of his near relatives or connexions, by reason of the increase of mysterious power given him by the bond of kinship. It gives the key to all the customs connected with secret names. It justifies the apparent absurdity of those kings who punish with death subjects who bear the same name as they. The capital penalty for making use of a chief's name in an oath is due to the same fears. Lastly, the dangers of the thoughtless or malevolent use of the names of invisible beings or supernatural forces rationally lead to the tabus regarding the names of gods, genii, spirits, totems, etc. These prohibitions have been taught and commanded to men by the leaders of the invisible world, in order to guard their independence; or they have been asserted by the chiefs of a human community in order to keep intact the depository of the secret powers by which man can command the masters of the universe; or, lastly, they have been issued in order to prevent vengeance, anger, or the misfortunes which would be let loose by the pronunciation of these dreaded names.

The material being is in constant change, normal or abnormal, regular or irregular. To changes of stature, appearance, physical aptitudes, family or social conditions, correspond new affinities with new categories of vital substances. Consequently a new name must be adopted, containing in its essential texture the harmony necessary between

the body and the vital principle which makes it a person. The innumerable varieties of name-changes are explained in the last analysis by this necessity of readjustment: name-changes in the different classes of age, at circumcision, at puberty, at initiation, at the first motherhood or fatherhood, or at old age, etc. The needs of a name-soul better suited to a new state, stronger and wiser, entail many consequences. The danger of possessing a name subject by affinity or weakness to the attacks of spirits has its remedy in a change of name after an illness. In the same way the need of new special forces for the functions of diviner, sorcerer, priest, chief, or king, presupposes the presence, within their bodily structure, of new name-souls, which introduce into it the powers or aptitudes formerly lacking. These new names, as we have seen (§ 4), come as entirely new entities, are superimposed on the old, or are substituted for them, and their virtue transforms the being inhabited by the new souls. The names of consecration, coronation, installation, priesthood (or their equivalents in the social organization of primitive man) transform the whole substance of those on whom they are conferred. The choice of appropriate names unites them with the groups of beings possessing invisible and mysterious powers. A new being is created, sharing both in the management of his own forces and in that of the human group which he represents. A natural evolution leads these sacred intermediaries to take the name even of one of the all-powerful masters, and then to identify themselves completely with him. A projection of the name-soul of the spirit is thus extended to the human body which it penetrates and transforms. It inhabits the body of the chief or of the priest. It *mixes* the divine substance with that of the human being. The king-god or the priest-god is created.

But at the limits of primitive thought the primitive peoples show us in germ a new evolution of this datum. For the confusion of names from simply taking the divine name is gradually substituted a compiled name of king or priest which will express no longer an identification of crude sympathetic magic, but a mixture (or rather a capacity for mixing) with one of the forces, manifestations, aspects, *άφετaί*, of the divine or supernatural being. Here we get a glimpse of the beginnings of more developed and infinitely more refined concepts. These lead civilized societies to the use of the theogenic name, the theophoric name, the euonymous name; then, later still, to the name of the protecting patron and to the mere pious intention, taking the place of the magical mixing, just as the prayer of the priest takes the place of the summons in the fetish-man's incantation.

But a more important fact dominates the subject and in a way constitutes the *summum* of the name-soul. If the millions of visible or invisible beings have all a vital principle of the same texture, the degrees of resistance to the overthrow of these principles vary infinitely for each of them. Nevertheless, none of them has theoretical immortality, nor has any one of them been imagined to be the first origin of life. Unable to conceive eternity metaphysically, the thought of primitive man solves the problem of the origins of creative life in its own way. It imagines for each of the different groups of beings an entity, a special name-soul, composed of all the 'name-forces' which it has detached from itself, of all the name-souls which it has put into the different persons or the different beings connected with it throughout the course of time. This entity is the supreme principle whose individual existences are only signs. Hence it is that the name of the clan, the tribe, or the nation, the totemic name, the mysterious name, is so jealously guarded by the human group; it maintains the bond between the source of life and individual transient existences; it establishes the necessary mixture, the safeguard of the individual life, between the collective soul common to all and the special soul of each. The totem, the depository of the indefinite life of each by the indefinite life of all, gives, with the knowledge of its name and affiliation with its inmost substance, the knowledge of charms, powers, and secrets which are like the 'treasure of war' of the race, and the sum-total of which has made the quasi-omnipotent force of which it is the résumé. If, as everything goes to show, the first cause of the phenomena comprised under the name of 'totemism' is in the inquiry into the vital principle of the human group, an immense number of totemic facts, such as tabus of all kinds, food and other prohibitions, and totemic initiation-rites, are explained and logically connected. Those relating to totemic names are naturally in the first rank.

With the so-called totemic phenomena we reach the limit of non-civilized thought. It would be beyond the scope of this article to examine the conclusions which the magic-religion of more advanced societies draws from these elements. But it is necessary in conclusion to point out at least two of the most important immediate consequences: (1) in the supreme domain of the divine the power of the name leads to a profound modification in the concept of creation, or rather of demiurgy; established first on the organization of inert matter by the effort or the physical action of the demiurge, or on its material fecundation by the supreme being, or later on direct childbirth, drawn from the very substance of the organizing god, the idea of the beginnings of the living and organized world results in teaching that matter has been organized and vivified by the god pronouncing the irresistible words and denominating beings or things in the measure in which he thus gives them existence; (2) in the wide domain of magic an equivalent power is accorded to the 'figurations' of names, no longer chanted or pronounced by the voice, but reproduced by pictography and later by writing. Written magic transports into the representation of names all the forces, practices, and prohibitions connected with the pronounced names. The repertoire of 'written names' has the same sanctity and power in itself as its proper reading. It keeps them enclosed in itself, as if it were a living substance which all these fixed names animate by signs—the non-civilized man even going the length of eating and drinking it diluted in a liquid, or trying to make all the virtues of a magical or a sacred book pass into the body. The history of advanced religions shows us all that man can draw from this new subject, the destiny of 'names.'

LITERATURE.—There is no monograph on names. The authorities cited in the course of the art. contain the chief references to works on the subject.

GEORGE FOUCART.

NAMES (Arabic).—1. Kinds of names.—The name (*'alam*, from *'alima*, 'to know,' like *nomen* from *noscere*) can be of four kinds, according to most authorities, though some increase the species to seven. There is the name proper, *ism*; the paternal or maternal name, *kunyah*; the relative name, *nisbah*; and the sobriquet or title, *laqab*. Some add the *takhalluṣ*, assumed name; the *'uhdah*, functional name (this appears to be an Indian usage); and the *manṣab*, name of rank. The use of the first four goes back to remote antiquity. The word *ism* is Old Semitic, and indeed is probably the source of the word 'Semitic,' since the theory is plausible that the hero Shem is an inference from the phrase *anshē shēm*, 'men of

note.' The suggestion of Robertson Smith (*Kinship and Marriage*[2], p. 248) that its source is to be found in the verb *wasama*, 'to brand,' is erroneous, since that verb appears to be purely Arabic, and to be traceable by a tortuous course to the Greek σαμφόρας, 'a horse branded with the letter S.' The verb from which *kunyah* is derived is found in the OT in the sense of 'giving a name of honour.' Another derivative is used in the Mishnāh for 'euphemism,' and the general sense of the verb in Arabic is 'to name indirectly.' The practice by which parents are called after their children is not wholly unknown outside Arabia—*e.g.*, in the *Iliad* Odysseus calls himself (in Arabic *iktanā* or *kannā nafsahu*) Τηλεμάχοιο φίλον πατέρα—but in Arabia it became regular, and names of this kind ('Father of Zaid,' 'Mother of 'Amr') were given to infants. The existence of a son bearing the name which follows the words 'father *or* mother of' cannot be inferred, as indeed the Abu Zaid of the *Maqāmahs* of Ḥarīrī states that he has no son named Zaid. As a mode of address it is thought to be respectful, and it enhanced a man's dignity if the sovereign thus addressed him. Historians (*e.g.*, Ṭabarī, ed. Leyden, 1879–1901, iii. 2208) sometimes give the date of the first occasion when this occurred in the case of an eminent man.

(*a*) *Kunyah.*—The *kunyah* as an indirect mode of address served somewhat the same purpose as is served by the surname and title in the European languages, where the forename is not ordinarily employed outside the family. Hence strangers, when talking to children, call them respectfully by the *kunyah* (Yākūt, *Dict. of Learned Men*, v. 442). Certain *kunyahs* go regularly with other names, owing to the first owner of the name having had the same *kunyah*; thus an Abraham (Ibrāhīm) is ordinarily Abū Isḥāq (Isaac), a Zakariyya Abū Yaḥyā (John), an 'Omar Abū Ḥafṣ, and an 'Alī Abu'l-Ḥasan. Hence the *kunyah* could often be inferred from the name, and, according to the tradition, Muhammad explained the statement in the Qur'ān that the Virgin Mary was addressed as 'Sister of Aaron' on an analogous principle.

In the common language many animals had *kunyahs*—*e.g.*, 'Father of Job' for the camel, 'Father of Ravening' for the lion; these names are employed in the dialogue of fables. In the 19th *Maqāmah* of Ḥarīrī a number of similar appellations are collected, which, according to him, are the *kunyahs* employed by parasites and the euphemisms of Ṣūfīs; the former are chiefly designations of meats and the like—'Father of Thaqīf (strong?)' for vinegar, 'Father of Jamīl (handsome)' for vegetables, 'Father of Jāmī (collector)' for the table or tray; the latter seem to be names for abstract ideas—*e.g.*, 'Father of Yaḥyā' (John, meaning in Arabic 'he shall live') for death, 'Father of 'Amrah' for hunger. Parallels to these can be found in other languages—*e.g.*, Davy Jones for drowning, etc. A dictionary of these *kunyahs* was composed by al-Mubārak b. al-Athīr († A.D. 1209), called *Kitāb al-Muraṣṣa'*, ed. C. F. Seybold, Weimar, 1896.

(*b*) *Nisbah.*—The *nisbah* is an adjective which locates the person to whom it is given, whether as the member of a tribe, as the resident of some place, as following some particular trade, or in any other way. This adjective has all the multifarious senses of the preposition 'of.' In the OT it is found with the tribal and local senses—*e.g.*, Y^{e}hūdhī, Tishbī, and perhaps others, as in 'Ibhrī ('Hebrew'). Names of trades are sometimes formed in this way—*e.g.*, *kutbī* ('bookseller'), but more usually on another principle; they are, however, treated as equal to *nisbahs*. A. von Kremer (*Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen*, Vienna, 1877, ii. 185) makes the observation that the employment of trade-names as *nisbahs* dates from 'Abbāsid times; but this is unlikely. This form of appellation is not infrequently taken from a political or religious party—*e.g.*, Sunnī, Shī'ī, meaning 'follower of the *sunnah*,' 'member of the *shī'ah* or party of 'Alī.' One important use of the *nisbah* is to indicate the patron of a manumitted slave; Zaidī might thus be the designation of one manumitted by a man named Zaid, as well as of a sectarian who held that a certain Zaid had a right to the sovereignty. This usage meets us most frequently in the case of persons manumitted by the sovereign. There are cases in which the *nisbah* is based on some more casual connexion, such as the name Badrī applied to Muslims who fought at Badr, or Alfī used of slaves purchased for a thousand (*alf*) coins. Naturally the same man may have numerous *nisbahs*. The most elaborate dictionary of these names is that by Sam'ānī († A.D. 1166), published by the Gibb Trust, London, 1912.

(*c*) *Laqab.*—The word *laqab* is probably identical in origin with the phrase *niqqbhū bh^{e}-shēmôth* which occurs in the OT, where the former word appears to mean 'were designated,' but its exact sense is unknown. It can best be defined negatively as a name other than that which the holder received at birth, yet not substituted for it. When it is contemptuous, it may be called *nabaz*. In the 2nd cent. of Islām, as will be seen, something resembling systematic titles came into use; but the *laqab* in the sense of 'sobriquet' is found at all periods. Often it is taken from a personal defect; at times it commemorates some deed. The saying with reference to the two Khalīfahs, 'Omar II. and Yazid III., 'the Slashed-face and the Diminisher were the best of the Marwanides,' illustrates both origins (*Fakhrī*, tr. E. Amar, Paris, 1910, p. 208). Poets often received such *laqab* in consequence of a line that had attracted attention; so the chief of the Arabic poets al-Mutanabbī, 'the Prophet-aster,' is so called after a line in which he compares himself to a prophet; al-Ba'ith was named after a verse which began *ta'abatha* (Jāḥiẓ, *Bayān*, Cairo, 1312, ii. 51); one Abdallāh b. Muṣ'ab is known as 'the Dog's Visitor' (A'id al-Kalb) after a line in which he claimed to visit his friends' sick dogs (Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, Cairo, 1308, i. 322), etc. This practice was so common that there were special treatises written about it—*e.g.*, by Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb (Yāqūt, vi. 475). Cases occur in which the *laqab* is taken from a favourite expression of the person on whom it is bestowed; this appears to be the origin of the *laqab* Ḥaiṣ Baiṣ, by which the poet Sa'd al-Saifī is ordinarily known (Ibn Khallikān, tr. W. M. de Slane, Paris, 1842–71, i. 561; the words mean about the same as the Hebrew *tôhū-bôhū*). The origin of these appellations was often forgotten, and they gave rise to mythical narratives; an example will be found in the case of the poet Muraqqish (*Aghānī*, v. 193).

The normal appellations of an Arab then bore some resemblance to Italian nomenclature, where the *ism*, *nisbah*, and *laqab* are regularly represented—*e.g.*, in 'Marcus Tullius Cicero.' On the other hand, the Italian method ignores the *kunyah*, which often serves instead of the *ism*, which at times is forgotten (see a case in Yāqūt, ii. 48), and may never have been conferred; thus in the case of some men of eminence—*e.g.*, the first Khalīfah and his father (Abū Bakr b. Abī Quḥāfah)—there is no certain tradition of an *ism*. The employment of the *laqab* was in part due to the popularity of certain names, which rendered the *ism* insufficiently distinctive. When honorific titles came into use, they had a natural tendency to displace the original name; hence, *e.g.*, the title Saladin (Salāḥ al-dīn) displaced the original name Yūsuf b. Ayyūb. The

modern European combination of forename and family-name is even now found only in those circles in the Arabic-speaking world which have been deeply influenced by Western practice. In these the name of the father of the first person who adopts the method becomes the family-name. The employment of a father's name as a surname is common, the word *ibn* ('son of') being in recent times ordinarily omitted; the Palmyrene inscriptions, however, show that this practice is not in itself modern, and Mubarrad (*Kāmil*, ii. 130) quotes some early Arabic examples. The employment of the mother's name in lieu of the father's is not quite rare. Sometimes the reason lay in the history of the family; thus the first Mahdī was called Ibn al-Ḥanafiyyah ('Son of the Ḥanīfite Woman') to distinguish him from the sons of 'Alī by the Prophet's daughter Fāṭimah. Occasionally the mother was supposed to be the more distinguished; thus one 'Alī b. Mubārak was known as Ibn al-Zāhidah ('Son of the Female Ascetic') because of his mother's renown as a saint (Yāqūt, v. 300). The poet Ibn Mayyādah claimed that his mother was of noble family, whence he took her name (*Aghānī*, ii. 88). At times such surnames were given contemptuously (Yāqūt, v. 113, whose evidence on the matter may be accepted, though in this particular case he misunderstands his authority). According to the *Fakhrī* (tr. Amar, p. 180), when the father was unknown, the child might be called after the mother (as in a case in Yāqūt, vi. 475) or else Ibn Abīhi, 'Son of his Father,' and examples of this phrase occur. The use of a daughter's name for a *kunyah* is about equally common; it may be due to the absence of a son or to personal choice; the names Abū Maryam, Abū Ruḥm, and Abū Ḥurairah are familiar; the last of these is often erroneously explained otherwise. The practice was not generally approved.

Within the family, or at any rate where informal language was used, the names were, as in the case of other languages, liable to the alterations which are expressed by the Greek word *ὑποκορισμός*; and for these the grammarians have drawn up rules. Normally the diminutive of a name, however, counts as a separate name; but at times it is used either affectionately or contemptuously as its substitute.

2. Classification of forms.—The classification of the forms of names given by the grammarian Zamakhsharī (*Mufaṣṣal*, ed. J. P. Broch, Christiania, 1879, § 4) is probably exhaustive. They are: (1) single words, (2) compound, (3) transferred, (4) invented. The compound may be made up either of a sentence—*e.g.*, Ta'abbaṭa sharran ('He put Mischief under his Arm')—or of two elements made into one word (the examples given are foreign names to which popular etymologies are assigned, or Arabic words to which Persian terminations have been appended), or of a word followed by another in the genitive case—*e.g.*, Abdu-'llāhi ('Slave of Allah'). The transferred may be taken (*a*) from an object—*e.g.*, 'Bull,' 'Lion'; (*b*) from an abstract noun—*e.g.*, 'Excellence,' 'Despair'; (*c*) from an adjective—*e.g.*, 'Perfect' (Kāmil), 'Handsome' (Qāsim); (*d*) from a verb either in the perfect—*e.g.*, Shammara ('He girded his Loins')—or in the future—*e.g.*, Taghlibu ('She shall Conquer'); (*e*) from an interjection; (*f*) from a sentence, as above. The invented is either (*a*) a normal formation, though not in ordinary use as a common noun—*e.g.*, Ḥamdān from *ḥamida*, 'to praise'; or (*b*) an abnormal formation—*e.g.*, Mauhab from *wahaba*, 'to give,' which has for its substantive *mauhib* in accordance with a general rule.

All these modes of forming names can be shown to go back to remote antiquity; for, though comparatively few names of pre-Islāmic Arabs are known, certain Biblical appellations of persons clearly bear the same relation to Arabic names as Hebrew forms generally bear to those of classical Arabic, *i.e.*, are, unless appearances are entirely deceptive, derived from the latter, occasionally altered in accordance with sound-laws. Thus the Biblical Eli, Simeon, Gideon, Oreb, Zeb, are found in Arabic as 'Alī, Sam'ān, Gud'ān, Ghurāb, Dhi'b, etc. At times the root is lost in Hebrew, but the name survives—*e.g.*, Zipporah, which may be interpreted Ḍaffārah ('a woman who plaits her hair')—or the sense is lost in Hebrew, but preserved in Arabic—*e.g.*, Reuben for Ri'bāl, 'Lion,' and perhaps Jacob, *i.e.*, Ya'qūb, 'Partridge.' The use of the third person singular of the future as a proper name is common at this early period as afterwards—*e.g.*, Jephthah, in Arabic Yaftaḥ, 'He shall conquer,' identical in sense with the proper name Al-fatḥ, 'Conquest,' and Joseph, identical in sense with the Arabic Yazīd, 'He shall increase.' In the Arabic form the subject is ordinarily the holder, not, as in Hebrew, the deity.

3. Source of names.—(*a*) The sources from which proper names are drawn are practically unlimited; and their choice presents very different degrees of ingenuity. The simplest possible name for a child is clearly 'Child,' in Arabic al-Walīd, or 'Posterity,' in Arabic Khalaf; Ukhayy, 'Little Brother,' is equally simple, Ubayy, 'Little Father,' Umaimah, 'Little Mother,' not very different. Other names merely indicate parental delight or affection—Maḥbūb, 'Beloved,' Ḥubba, 'Dilectissima,' Wahb or Mauhab, 'Gift.' Others involve a good wish—Sa'd, 'Good Luck,' Sa'īd, 'Lucky'; similar to this are the names Ya'īsh, 'May he live,' 'Ā'ishah, 'Destined to live,' though, as names of this sort had a tendency to provoke the envy of the demons, unlucky names were sometimes substituted—*e.g.*, Yamūt, 'He shall die,' Qabīḥah, 'Ugly.' The last are uncommon, and such adjectives as signify good qualities or conditions are far more frequently used as proper names—Kāmil, 'Perfect,' Shujā', 'Hero,' Salīm, 'Safe,' Muqātil, 'Fighting man,' Mujāhid, 'Warrior,' Mālik, 'Possessor,' Manṣūr, 'Divinely aided,' etc. The abstract nouns of these or similar roots likewise serve as proper names—al-'Alā, 'Sublimity,' al-Faḍl, 'Excellence,' Zaid, 'Increase,' Riḍā, 'Favour.'

(*b*) Names of *beasts, birds, and plants*, and of other objects and animals, have been employed for this purpose from the earliest times. Thus among familiar Arabic names are Nimr, 'Panther,' diminutive Numair, Asad, 'Lion,' Thaur, 'Bull,' Dhi'b, 'Wolf,' of which the diminutive is Dhu'aib, Nusair, diminutive of Nasr, 'Vulture,' Ḥayyah, 'Eve,' *i.e.* 'Snake,' Qunfudh, 'Porcupine,' Hurairah, 'Kitten,' Kalb, 'Dog,' of which the plural Kilāb, 'Dogs,' is also in use as a proper name. The notion has at times been held that these are totem-names, and, when they belong to tribes, this theory may conceivably have some truth in it; in the greater number of cases the notion is fantastic. Other natural objects which furnish names to human beings are stars—*e.g.*, Thurayyā, 'the Pleiades,' Badr, 'the Moon,' Hilāl, 'the New Moon'; mountains—*e.g.*, 'Arafah, Raiḥān, 'Fragrant Herb,' Shaibah, 'White Hair'; whereas artificial objects are represented by such names as Shabakah, 'Net,' Qaṭirān, 'Pitch,' etc.

(*c*) Names that are more decidedly *religious* in character are those in which the holder is brought into connexion with a deity, either as a slave (masc. 'Abd, fem. Amat), or as 'the man of' (Imru'u), or as 'the gift of' ('Aṭā or Wahb), or 'the blessing of' (Barakat). A list of these theo-

phoric names for Arabic pagan antiquity was made out by J. Wellhausen (*Reste arabischen Heidentums*[2], Berlin, 1897). Names in which the god is associated with a verbal predicate (*e.g.*, Yasma'il, Ishmael) are common in S. Arabia, but rare in Central Arabia, though perhaps not quite unknown.

(*d*) The tendency to employ *foreign names* seems to be traceable to antiquity in Arabia, and the ease with which words are naturalized in Arabic made them lose their foreign aspect in many cases. Thus Zainab probably stands for Zenobia, and Alexandros, in the form al-Iskandar, was thought to have the Arabic article for its prefix. Where names are borrowed from the closely allied Hebrew, Syriac, and Abyssinian languages, they are often indistinguishable from native formations. Hence the Arabic forms of 'Adam' and 'Eve,' Ādamu and Ḥawwā'u, are easily interpreted as *fuscus* and *nigra* (*Letters of Abu'l-'Ala*, ed. D. S. Margoliouth, Oxford, 1898, p. 125).

(*e*) Further, it may be noted that in early Arabic the same names have a tendency to be used for both sexes, and masculine names are often found with feminine terminations. This phenomenon is often easily explicable. If an abstract noun is feminine in form—e.g., *maslamah*, 'safety'—when used as the proper name of a man, it is naturally not altered. The most common feminine termination is often used for intensification—e.g., *ḥārithah*, feminine of *ḥārith*, 'ploughman,' probably meaning 'ploughman habitually'; in this case too it would not be altered when used as the proper name of a man; *e.g.*, one Ḥammād is commonly called al-Rāwiyah, 'the Professional Narrator.' But other cases are more difficult to explain—*e.g.*, the employment of Jamīlah ('Pulchra') as the name of a male slave (Yāqūt, v. 306), Umayyah ('Ancillula'), the ancestor after whom the Umayyads are called.

(*f*) The grammarians use the names Zaid and 'Amr as conventional words for the illustration of grammatical rules, and the latter, written with a final *w* to distinguish it from 'Omar, is one of the commonest names which meet us in early records. Its import is not quite certain, and many other names are formed from the same consonants; most probably it means 'life.' The name Muḥammad, the sense of which appears to be 'Laudatissimus,' was certainly in common use before the birth of its greatest bearer; but it was not particularly popular, so far as we can understand.

4. Principles of naming.—For the names of orthodox Muslims the basic traditions are collected by Bukhārī (Cairo, 1312, iv. 49–51), Muslim (do. 1290, ii. 167–170), Tirmidhī (do. 1292, ii. 136, 137), and Ibn Mājah (do. 1313, ii. 211, 212), who in the main are in agreement. The names which God loves best are 'Abd-Allāh and 'Abd al-Raḥmān. That of which He most disapproves is Mālik al-amlāk, *i.e.* 'King of kings.' The Prophet objected to the names Rāfi', 'Exalting,' Barakah, 'Blessing,' Yasār, 'Wealth,' Rabāḥ, 'Profit,' and Aflaḥ, 'Most Successful'; according to some, they were objectionable only when given to slaves, and the objection was apparently withdrawn. Names which meant ugly things should, according to the Prophet, be changed; thus for 'Aṣiyah, 'Rebel,' he substituted Jamīlah, 'Beautiful.' But a name which implied the possession of a virtue should also be altered; hence for Barrah, 'Beneficent,' he substituted Juwairiyah, 'Handmaiden.' The names of prophets may be taken (Muḥammad called his son after Abraham); there is therefore no objection to the use of the name Muḥammad and its synonyms; but the name of the son born to the Prophet before conversion, Qāsim, should apparently not be taken, or at any rate it should not be used for a *kunyah*. Further, the name should be given on the seventh day.

The practice corresponds fairly well with the theory. The most popular of all names are certainly those of the Prophet. 'If you have a hundred sons, call them all Muḥammad,' is a saying of the pious (Jāḥiẓ, *Ḥayawān*, Cairo, 1906, iii. 8). But those specially recommended in the tradition also enjoy great popularity, and the names of prophets mentioned in the Qur'ān are frequently employed, the most favoured being that of Abraham (Ibrāhīm). Further, the names of the early heroes of Islām are in common use, though the practice of the sects is naturally influenced by their political theories; the Shī'ah avoid the names of the first three Khalīfahs, whereas in Umayyad times the names of 'Alī and his sons were avoided; if a man named his son Ḥasan, it was because parents were in the habit of cursing their children, and were unwilling to curse a name which they revered (Yāqūt, v. 311). As with other nations, children are called after friends or others whom the parents wish to revere; so 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Omar (prince and theologian) called his son after one Waqīd, though that name ('Burning') is ill-omened, and, owing to the popularity of a governor of Khorāsān named Silm, more than 20,000 infants born in the province were called by that name (Ṭabarī, ii. 489).

Of the rules given above the only one that is frequently violated is that which forbids the *kunyah* Abū'l-Qāsim. Goldziher has devoted a monograph to this matter (*ZDMG* li. 156–166). Either the tradition was emended by the omission of the prohibitive particle, or it was thought to apply only to the time of the Prophet, or the combination Abu'l-Qāsim Muḥammad was forbidden, but the *ism* or the *kunyah* might each be used separately. The last is said to have been the view of the first person named Muḥammad after the Prophet, one Muḥammad b. Ḥāṭib (*Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif*, Leyden, 1867, p. 9). The names 'Abd-Allāh and 'Abd al-Raḥmān, which are especially recommended in the tradition, are made to include names compounded of the word *'Abd* and any of the ninety-nine names of the deity. These serve as substitutes for the old polytheistic names.

Certain other principles may be faintly traced in the ordinary nomenclature. Members of a family have a tendency to be called by names derived from the same root; so Ḥasan, Ḥusain, Muḥassan; Khālid, Khallād, Makhlad, Mukhallad; and derivatives from the root *salima*, 'to be safe,' which have at all times been popular. In early times we find such derivatives used as alternative names for the same person, the same individual being optionally called Sallām and Sulaimān, or 'Abd-Allāh and Ma'bad (*Letters of Abu'l-Ala*, p. 85); and indeed the Prophet calls himself both Aḥmad and Muḥammad, while in what is ostensibly contemporary verse he is also called Maḥmūd.

5. Women's names.—The choice of names in the case of women is, it would seem, more limited, and here Fāṭimah, the Prophet's daughter who survived him, has as many namesakes as her father. His other daughters and his wives have also many namesakes. Survivals from old times are Khālidah, the Biblical Khuldah (2 K 22[14]), Numa, the Biblical Naomi, and perhaps Laila, the Hebrew Lilith. In the family of 'Omar we find a daughter given the same name as a son, only with a feminine termination (Ḥafṣah and Ḥafṣ). It is not always possible to tell from the form of the name whether it is masculine or feminine; thus Ḥabīb, which is masculine in form, is also used for females, and, as has been seen, the converse case is frequent. The number of female names recorded in our authorities is meagre when compared with that of the male names; thus in

the lexicon of traditionalists by Ibn Ḥajar about a hundred pages out of twelve volumes are given to the women. The names of women, in Muslim opinion, are not to be mentioned, if they can be avoided. The poet Mutanabbī, in composing a dirge over a princess, gives her name as Fa'lah, *i.e.* the grammatical model according to which her name was formed.

Certain names were used properly for slaves; this was the case with the name Jamīlah (quoted above) and its synonyms; the woman to whom the Prophet gave it complained of this, according to Baihakī (*Maḥāsin*, ed. F. Schwally, Giessen, 1902, p. 38). Names taken from gems appear to have been employed in this way; the poet Yāqūt, 'Ruby,' when he adopted a professional career, changed his name to 'Abd al-Raḥmān (Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane, iv. 5).

6. Meanings of names.—There is a natural tendency to attach importance to the meanings of names, and to suppose that they have some effect on the fortunes of their bearers. There is a story that the general who won the victory for the 'Abbāsids was commanded to change his name by his master, on the ground that, unless it were changed, the enterprise would not succeed (Ibn Khallikān, ii. 100). Ṭabarī, in a character sketch (ii. 1886), relates how a master would call one of his slaves or freedmen by a lucky name such as Fatḥ, 'Victory,' or Maimun, 'Lucky.' In an early work, the *Muwaṭṭa* of Malik († A.H. 179), the Prophet is represented as maintaining this theory. When there was a camel to be milked, he asked the name of each man who offered his services; the first was declined because his name was Murrah ('Bitter'); the second because his was Ḥarb ('War'); finally, one whose name was Ya'ish ('He shall live') was accepted. Similarly 'Omar, finding that a man was called Jamrah b. Shihāb ('Coal Son of Flame') and that his tribal and local names were all connected with fire, foretold that his house and family would be burned; and this actually occurred (*Muwaṭṭa*, Cairo, 1280, iv. 205).

7. Name-giving and name-changing.—The name is probably given by consent of the parents, and there appears to be no rule on this subject; Ṭabarī (ii. 1466) records a case in which the father, being absent at the time of the birth, hit on a different name from that given by the mother, who called the child after her own father; the father, though Khalīfah, acquiesced in the name given by the mother. Names can be changed either by those who hold them or by some person whose authority they recognize: numerous cases are recorded in which the Prophet changed the names of his followers, and occasionally we read of the sovereign doing this at a later period; 'Omar, it is said, thought of compelling all Muslims to take the names of prophets. Slaves are apt to change their names on manumission, even when the original name was Arabic. Foreign names were changed into Arabic names in the time of the Umayyads, when the non-Arab Muslims were thought to be an inferior caste; but, when the Persian and Turkish dynasties commenced, this practice became less common. Converts to Islām, however, even in these days usually change their names, ordinarily selecting one which belongs to an Islāmic saint.

8. Honorific names.—The honorific title is found at the commencement of Islām, beginning with the case of the Prophet himself, who was not to be addressed in the style of an ordinary man (Qur'ān, xxiv. 63). On certain of his followers he conferred honorary titles, calling Abū Bakr al-Ṣiddīq ('the Saint' or 'the Faithful Friend'), 'Omar al-Fārūq ('the Deliverer'), etc. Similar titles were bestowed on other eminent Muslims of the first generation—*e.g.*, al-Waṣī on 'Alī, meaning 'the Trustee' or 'the Legatee,' al-Ṭayyār, 'the Winged' on his brother Ja'far, who was transformed into a bird of paradise; and even heroes of the OT are honoured with such titles, Moses being usually called al-Kalīm, Abraham al-Khalīl. Somewhat greater regularity is found after the rise of the 'Abbāsids, who took titles under which they reigned, al-Manṣūr, 'the Divinely-aided,' al-Hādī, 'the Guide,' al-Rashid, 'the Rightly-guided,' etc. This practice was followed by other dynasties which claimed the Khalīfate, in Egypt, Spain, and S. Arabia. In the 4th cent. of Islām the Khalīfahs began to bestow on semi-independent princes titles of which the second element is al-Daulah, 'the Empire'; the first occurrence of this appears to be in the case of al-Ḥasan b. 'Abdallāh b. Ḥamdān, governor of Mausil, called Nāṣir al-Daulah (Ibn al-Athīr, anno 317). The most famous holders of such names belonged to the Hamdanid, Ghaznawid, and Buwaihid families —*e.g.*, Saif al-Daulah, 'Sword of the Empire,' Yamīn al-Daulah, 'Right Hand of the Empire,' Bahā al-Daulah, 'Glory of the Empire.' Titles compounded with the word al-Dīn, 'the Religion,' begin to appear in the 4th cent., the first instance being apparently one where the word is an addition to al-Daulah, the title Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Daulah being bestowed in 388 on one Badr b. Ḥusnawaihi; they are still rare in the 5th cent. and apparently bestowed only on persons of the highest eminence in the State—*e.g.*, Niẓām al-Dīn on Yamīn al-Daulah, the conqueror of India in 404, Dhakhīrat al-Dīn ('Store-house of the Religion') on the heir-apparent in 440. In the 6th cent. such titles become exceedingly common, being bestowed not only upon governors of provinces like Salāḥ al-Dīn ('the Prosperity of the Religion,' Saladin), but upon persons of literary or theological eminence—*e.g.*, Shihāb al-Dīn ('Flame of the Religion') on the polygraph Yāqūt, Amīn al-Dīn on the caligrapher of that name. After this time they were regularly bestowed on those who distinguished themselves in these lines, whence in the lists of theologians and judges which the Egyptian chronicles of the Mamluk period contain such titles figure repeatedly. Titles compounded with other words are less common, but sometimes found; so al-Mulk, 'the Kingdom,' *e.g.*, in Fakhr al-Mulk, Niẓām al-Mulk, 4th and 5th centuries.

These titles were properly conferred by the Sulṭān, but their source is at times obscure; they were never hereditary. In Persia similar titles are still conferred; in Turkey their place has been taken by certain orders which bear a closer resemblance to patents of nobility.

LITERATURE.—A treatise on *Names, Kunyahs, Titles, and Nicknames* was composed by Jāḥiẓ of Baṣrah († 255 A.H.; quoted in his *Bayān*, Cairo, 1313, i. 63), doubtless containing much curious information. A treatise on names called *Al-Sami fi'l-asāmi* by Maidānī († 518), author of the classical collection of proverbs, was highly praised (see Yāqūt, *Dictionary of Learned Men*, ed. D. S. Margoliouth, London, 1913, ii. 108). Special treatises on the *laqabs* of the tribes were composed by Muhammad b. Ḥabīb († 245) (*ib.* vi. 476). Of works in the hands of Arabic scholars that which bears most nearly on the subject is the *Ishtiqāq* of Ibn Duraid († A.H. 321), ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1854, which gives the etymology of the names of the tribes and their most important representatives. Of European works there may be mentioned the art. of I. Goldziher, in *ZDMG* li. [1897] 156 ff.; W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*[2], London, 1903; Garcin de Tassy, *Mémoire sur les noms propres et les titres musulmans*[2], Paris, 1878; A. C. Barbier de Meynard, 'Surnoms et sobriquets dans la littérature arabe,' *JA* x. ix. [1907] 175–244, 365–428, x. [1907] 55–118, 193–273.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

NAMES (Babylonian).—1. Sources.—Hundreds of thousands of temple administrative documents and private contracts which are filled with personal

names, and also with names of countries, cities, rivers, canals, temples, streets, etc., have been found in the ruin-hills of Babylonia and Assyria. Besides this source of material for the Babylonian onomatologist there have been found a large number of tablets which belonged to the school libraries of ancient Babylonia, and also to the library of Ashurbanipal found at Nineveh, which contain lists of names of all kinds of stones, trees, animals, gods, stars, countries, persons, etc. New editions of texts will rapidly enlarge this material. When all the inscriptions of the various periods have been published, it will be possible to know the genealogy of families, *e.g.*, of Abraham's day better than that of many of the Christian centuries.

2. Forms.—The characteristic Babylonian personal name contains a sentence, which may be a statement of a fact in experience, a religious belief, a prayer, or a prophecy. As a rule, names are theophoric, although not a few substitutes are found, as, *e.g.*, epithets, titles, temple-names, etc. It would seem that up to a comparatively late date new names were occasionally coined as an expression of sentiment, but the occurrence of the same names for many centuries and other reasons suggest the idea that in the late millenniums the introduction of new names was rare.

3. Writing of names.—In all periods considerable attention was paid by the schools of scribes among the Babylonians to the study of personal names. The scribes wrote the names ideographically and phonetically, not as they were pronounced, but according to the elements of which they were composed. That is, it was the rule in all periods of Babylonian history for the scribes to know the meaning of the names, as is shown by the manner in which they wrote them. The name ^{d}Na-bi-um-ku-du-ur-ri-u-ṣu-ur, *e.g.*, could be written phonetically with eleven characters, or ^{d}Nabûm-kudurri-uṣur, ideographically with four, but it was pronounced something like Nebuchadrezzar, as has been preserved by the Hebrews. This enables scholars at the present time to analyze and understand the meaning of Babylonian names in a way that is not possible with those of any other ancient people. Five name-books of five different periods have been published (see Literature below). These, besides the texts that have been published since the appearance of the name-books in the respective periods, furnish a nomenclature so extensive that it has no equal in ancient literature.

4. Composite names with deity as element.—The names of the patron deity or deities of a city conspicuously entered into the composition of the names of the people who resided in it. With the exception of tablets from one or two great cosmopolitan centres, like Babylon, it is generally possible to determine their provenance from a study of the personal names contained in them. Half a dozen tablets, *e.g.*, from Nippur of the Persian period contain more names compounded with the names of the gods Ellil and Enmashtu than thousands of tablets from other sites.

In the early Ḫammurabi period two-element names predominate; but, while this is also true in later periods, the number of those containing three elements is greater than in the early period. The different formations in all periods are numerous.

(*a*) *Two-element names.*—Two-element theophoric names consist of a substantive *plus* deity, as Amêl-Marduk ('Evil-Merodach'), and the name of a deity followed by a verbal form, or *vice versa*. When the deity is the first element, the verbal form can be the participle, as in Mušêzib-Bêl, 'One saving is Bêl'; preterite, as in Ibni-Marduk, 'Marduk has created'; imperative, as in Šilim-Bêl, 'Be merciful, O Bêl'; precative, as in Liplaḫ-Adad, 'May he reverence Adad'; and present, as in Iltamar-Adad, 'He will worship Adad.' Besides forms in the third person, there exist such forms as Taqîš-Gula, 'Gula, thou hast presented,' Lultamar-Sin, 'May I worship Sin,' Atanaḫ-ilu, 'I sigh, O God,' etc. These name-formations occur also in reversed order, *i.e.* with the deity as the first element.

(*b*) *Three-element names.* — In three-element names many formations are possible, with the deity in the first, second, or third position. The most common are deity *plus* verb *plus* substantive, like Aššur-bâni-apal, 'Ashur is creating a son,' and deity *plus* substantive *plus* verbal form, the latter being either the imperative, like Nabûm-kudurri-uṣur (Nebuchadrezzar), 'O Nebo, protect the boundary,' or the preterite, like Aššur-aḫu-iddin (Esarhaddon), 'Ashur has given a brother.'

The third element may be a suffix, as in Ilu-iṣṣur-šu, 'God has protected him,' Sin-išma-anni, 'Sin has heard me,' etc. Again, two verbal forms may follow the deity, forming a relative sentence, as Nabû-tabni-uṣur, 'O Nebo, protect what thou hast created,' Sin-tultabši-lîšir, 'Sin, direct what thou has brought into existence.' A suffix may be attached to the divine element, as Ilu-šu-ibni, 'His god has created,' or a particle may precede the verb, like Ilu-ul-amši, 'God, I did not forget.'

When the deity is the second element, the first may be a substantive, as in Nûr-Bêl-lûmur, 'May I see the light of Bêl,' Šepi-Bêl-aṣbat, 'I seized the foot of Bêl,' etc., or a preposition, as in Ana-Aššur-taklak, 'Upon Ashur I trust,' Itti-Ea-lubluṭ, 'With Ea may I live,' or the relative, as in Ša-Bêl-lîššî, 'Whom may Bêl support.'

Other three-element formations with the verb in the first position are Uṣur-amat-Ea, 'Protect the word of Ea,' Lûmur-dumqi-Bêl, 'May I see the favour of Bêl,' Linûḫ-libbi-ilâni, 'May the heart of the gods be appeased,' etc. The second element may be a verbal suffix, as in Taqîš-šu-Gula, 'Gula, thou hast presented him,' Šušra-anni-Marduk, 'Guide me, O Marduk,' Lîšir-ani-Šamaš, 'May Shamash direct me.' Also the second element may be a preposition, as in Atkal-ana-Marduk, 'I relied upon Marduk,' Upâq-ana-Marduk, 'I wait upon Marduk,' etc.

(*c*) *Names of four or more elements.*—Four-element names occur in a great variety of formations: Bêl-taddannu-bulliṭ-su, 'Bêl grant him to live whom thou hast given,' Sin-âlik-idi-ia, 'Sin goes by my side,' Lûṣṣu-ana-nûr-Marduk, 'May I go forth in the light of Marduk,' Nabû-alsi-ka-abluṭ, 'Nebo, I cried unto, I live,' Sin-mâr-šarri-uṣur, 'O Sin, protect the son of the king,' etc. Names of even five and more elements occur, like Aššur-etil-ilâni-mukîn-apli, 'Ashur, the lord of heaven is establishing a son,' Aššur-etil-šamê-u-irṣiti-bulliṭ-su, 'O Ashur, the lord of heaven and earth, give him life,' etc.

(*d*) *Feminine names.*—Feminine names are not as numerous as the masculine, though a large number have been found. As a rule the deity in feminine names is feminine, and the verbal form is also feminine. Only occasionally are feminine deities found in masculine names, and even then the predicate is masculine. The formations are similar to masculine names. A few may be given: ^{f}Tabni-Ištar, 'Ishtar has given,' ^{f}Gula-qâ'šat, 'Gula is presenting,' ^{f}Ina-Ekur-bâ'lat, 'In Ekur she rules,' Ina-Urukki-dininni, 'In Erech judge me,' etc.

(*e*) *Names with element substituting deity.*—As in W. Semitic names, the elements *abu*, 'father,' *ummu*, 'mother,' and *aḫu* 'brother,' are frequently found as substitutes for the name of a deity, or for the term *ilu*, 'god.' In fact, there were many such epithets or equivalents used in all periods. Even temple-names are used in this manner. In some instances it is clear that they refer to the deity—*e.g.* Tukulti-apal-Ešara, 'My help is the son of Eshara' (*i.e.* the god Enmashtu), Nabû-ina-Esagila-lûmur, 'May I see Nebo in Esagila,' Ina-Esagila-zêr-iddin, '[The deity, *i.e.* Marduk] in Esagila gave seed,' Ezida-iqîša, 'Ezida has presented,' etc. Not a few names have as an element the name of a city. Many of these are feminine: ^{f}Ina-Akkadi-rabat, 'In Akkad she is great [namely, the goddess],' ^{f}Ina Uruk-dininni, 'In Erech judge me,' ^{f}Pa-an-Uruk-lûmur, 'May I see the face of Erech [*i.e.* the goddess of Erech],' ^{f}Ina-Nîsin-râmat, 'In Nîsin she loves.'

5. Single-element names.—The number of personal names composed of a single element is also large. These may be grouped as follows:

(*a*) *Trade names*: Âtû, 'Overseer,' Bâ'iru, 'Hunter,' Bânû, 'Builder,' Išparu, 'Weaver,' Nappaḫu, 'Smith,' Paḫâru, 'Potter,' Šangû, 'Priest,' Malâḫu, 'Sailor,' etc.

(*b*) *Gentilic names*: Akkadâ, 'The Akkadian,' Aššurâ, 'One from Ashur,' Borsippâ, 'One from Borsippa.'

(*c*) *Month names*: Ululâ, 'Belonging to Elul,' Addarâ, Duzâ, etc.

(*d*) *Plant names*: Allanu, 'Oak,' Karânatu, 'Vine,' Nanaḫu, 'Plant,' Subultu, 'Ear of corn,' etc.

(*e*) *Animal names*: Nimrum, 'Panther,' Mûrânu, 'Little Lion,' Sellibu, 'Fox,' Kalûmu, 'Sheep,' Nubtâ, 'Bee,' Ṣabitu, 'Gazelle,' etc.

(*f*) *Other objects*: ^{f}Inatum, 'Precious Stone,' Kuppu, 'Spring,' ^{f}Inṣabtum, 'Ear-ring,' etc.

6. Hypocoristic names.—Hypocoristic, or abbreviated, names abound in all periods. Names which were composed of from two to six elements were generally abbreviated in everyday life. *E.g.*, the name, Sin-aḫê-eriba (Sennacherib), 'Sin hath increased the brothers,' might be found abbreviated as Sinai, Aḫêa, or Eribâ. Generally a hypocoristic ending was added to the element used like the ending *my* in 'Sammy' (Samuel). In Babylonia most of these endings had apparently a similar

meaning, while others may have had the force of a diminutive. The endings used were *a, ia, aja, ea, u, anu, uni, atu, utu, aitu, iâtu, iautu, ânitu*, etc.

Examples of these are: Ap-la-a, Iz-kur-ri-ia, Nabâ-aja, Si-in-ni-i, Aḫ-e-a, Nabû-u-a, Bal-ṭa-a-nu, A-ḫu-ni, Id-di-na-tum, Ib-nu-tum, Bu-un-na-ai-tum, ʿA-ḫa-ti-ia-tum, A-bi-ia-u-ti, ʿKu-du-ra-ni-tum.

In many instances only the abbreviated name was employed, as if the individual had no other, or fuller, name; in others the full name as well as the abbreviated form is found in the literature. This ending is used also in connexion with one-element names, as Zumbâ, 'Flee,' Suluppâ, 'Date,' Puḫḫurâ, etc. There is also a *fu"ulu* formation represented by many names — *e.g.*, Buzzuru, Dullubu, etc.—which may be included in this class.

7. Names showing attributes of deities.—From the names there is obtained not a little data for the description of the divine nature as regards infinity, immutability, immensity, etc., as well as the attributes by which the activity of the deities is shown, as in creation, protection, justice, power, goodness, etc. For some of the ideas expressed practically every synonym in the language is employed.

Examples are: Bâši-ilu, 'God exists,' Manum-balum-ilišu, 'Who can without his god [exist]?,' Manum-kima-ili-ia, 'Who is like unto my god?,' Bêl-dannu, 'Bêl is mighty,' Sin-kalâma-îdi, 'Sin knew the people,' Šamaš-iršu, 'Shamash is wise,' Sin-karâbi-išme, 'Sin has heard the prayer,' Sin-mudammiq, 'Sin is favourable,' Nabû-sâlim, 'Nebo is gracious,' Taràm-Adad, 'Adad, thou art merciful,' Ilu-ippašram, 'God is appeased,' Sin-nûr-ilâni, 'Sin is the light of the gods,' Ilu-bâni, 'God is creating,' Ašur-bâni-apal, 'Ashur creates a son,' Sin-šum-imbi, 'Sin has pronounced a name,' Šamaš-šum-ukîn, 'Shamash has established a name [child],' Sin-aḫ-ušabši, 'Sin has brought a brother into existence,' Nabû-nâdin-napištim, 'Nebo is giving light,' Sin-mâlik, 'Sin rules,' Marduk-bêl-usati, 'Marduk is the lord of help,' Nabû-âlik-idi-ia, 'Nabu goes by my side,' Šamaš-rê'u-a, 'Shamash is my shepherd,' Ellil-ḫâṭin, 'Ellil is protecting,' Ašur-nâṣir-apal, 'Ashur is protecting a son,' Nusku-kâṣir, 'Nusku is keeping,' Bêl-mušallim, 'Bêl is preserving,' Bêl-êṭir, 'Bêl is saving,' Bêl-šum-ukîn, 'Bêl has established a name.'

In other theophoric names the individual expresses some personal relation to the deity, or the deity is petitioned.

Sin-ludlul, 'May I serve Sin,' Pan-Šamaš-lûmur, 'May I behold the face of Shamash,' Ana-Bêl-upâqu, 'Upon Bêl I wait,' Lûmur-dumqi-Bêl, 'May I see the mercy of Bêl,' Ana-Sin-êmid, 'In Sin I rely,' Puṭur-Sin, 'Release, O Sin,' Šamaš-libluṭ, 'Shamash, may he live,' Sin-zêr-lîšir, 'O Sin, direct the seed.'

Most of the gods are given credit for having created children, or having brought them into existence. All seem to have had the ability to protect, to direct, to preserve life, to grant prosperity, etc.; in short, it is impossible to differentiate and develop from the names the religious beliefs of the people with reference to this or that deity. This is, doubtless, due to the fact that the bulk of the literature from which the names are taken belongs to a comparatively late period, covering little more than the last twenty centuries of Babylonian history. And, when it is considered that the names of many of the deities arose through the use of epithets, or from the form in which they appeared in different centres, having been first written by a non-Semitic people, and that many of them go back to an original solar or lunar deity, concerning which at present little is known, we realize how futile it is to attempt, except in a general way, to give the attributes which are peculiar to the different deities. Moreover, these attributes are practically the same as those applied to other solar deities of the W. Semites. Notwithstanding this fact, the study of the Babylonian names is very important for the light which they throw on many obscure Hebrew names.

8. Foreign names.—Masses of foreign names are found in all periods, the study of which is so important for the correct understanding of the movements of people, due to persecution or captivity, or to the fact that at the time the ruling dynasty was foreign. The tablets of the Ḫammurabi era contain many W. Semitic names of the Arabic, Aramaic, and Hebraic types. In the Cassite period (2nd millennium B.C.) Hittite-Mitannian as well as Cassite names abound, and those of other peoples are also represented. Comparatively few W. Semitic names, however, are found in this period. In the Assyrian period many of the latter are again in evidence; but especially in the Neo-Babylonian and Persian periods many of the names familiar in the OT occur. Their presence in these periods is, of course, due to the Assyrian and Babylonian captivities. In the Persian period also the nomenclature contains many Iranian names, and even a number of Egyptian; in the Greek period some Grecian names occur.

The study of these foreign names in the cuneiform literature is important also for the light which they throw upon the names themselves, owing to the fact that the exact pronunciation is often in question, since, as in the Semitic script, only the consonants are written. With the help of the writings of these foreign names in the cuneiform literature, where the vowels are always given, they can be vocalized, and often better understood.

9. The divine name.—The forms in which the name Jahweh appears are of special interest. Unfortunately the divine name has thus far been found only in personal names compounded with other elements. In the Assyrian inscriptions it is written Ja-u, as in Ja-u-ḫa-zi (Jehoahaz, Ἰωαχαζ), etc. The vowel *o* as well as *u* is represented by *u* in Assyrian; Ja-u here represents יְהוֹ. In such instances the Hebrew letter ה quiesces with the vowel; in other cases it is represented by *ḫ*, especially in the late Babylonian inscriptions—*e.g.*, Ja-ḫu-u-na-ta-nu (Jonathan), Ja-a-ḫu-la-ki-im, and Ja-a-ḫu-lu-nu. The Massoretic vocalization, therefore, of Hebrew names containing Jahweh as the first element can be said to be corroborated by the way in which the cuneiform and Greek have reproduced them.

The divine name as the second element appears in Assyrian texts in Ḫa-za-qi-J-a-u, Ḫa-za-ki-Ja-a-u, Ḫa-zi-qi-a-u (Hezekiah), Iz-ri-Ja-u, Az-ri-Ja-a-u, Az-ri-a-u (Azariah), Na-ad-bi-Ja-au, Na-tan-Ja-u (Nethaniah), etc. In Neo-Babylonian tablets the name appears written Ja-a-ma, which was pronounced Jâwa. Nearly a score and a half of Hebrew names containing this element have been found that have their exact equivalent or parallel in the OT. To quote a few: A-bi-Ja-a-ma (Abaiah), Aḫi-Ja-a-ma (Ahijah), Az-zi-Ja-a-ma (Assiah), Ba-li-Ja-a-ma (Bealiah), Ba-na-Ja-a-ma (Benaiah), etc.

It is very probable that Jâwa represents the exact pronunciation of the divine name. This follows when it is considered that Hebrew names compounded with Ja-a-ma occur more frequently in the Nippur tablets of the Persian period than Babylonian names compounded with their prominent deities. It is reasonable to infer that Jâma is an adopted writing for the name of the god of the Hebrews, and represents the full pronunciation of the name. The form preserved in Greek by Theodoret, namely, Ἰαβε, and that in Arabic in a letter to de Sacy, namely, Jahwa or Jahwe, confirm this. This coincides with the pronunciation which for years has been adopted for the divine name, namely, Jahweh.

The Jews in Egypt, as is well known, wrote the divine name יהו. This was surely pronounced exactly as the Jews pronounced it in Palestine. To say, therefore, that they vocalized these letters יְהוֹ (Jahû) seems unreasonable. The characters must have been vocalized יַהְוָ (Ja'wa), *i.e.* with a slight overhanging or final vowel, which may even

have been dropped. The same is true when the divine name appears as the final element in Hebrew names. It is improbable that יהו was pronounced Jāhû, as the Massoretes have pointed it; more probably it was Ja'wa, or apocopated as Ja'w.

Hebrew names compounded with אל are found in Babylonian tablets written with the plural sign after the character for 'god.' The Babylonian scribes apparently recognized the difference between the pronunciation of the Hebrew אל and their *ilu*, and, knowing, doubtless, that the Hebrew word for 'god' in general use, namely, אלהים, was a plural, in order to distinguish it from their own word for 'god,' wrote it ideographically in these names—ILU-MES, i.e. *ilu* with the plural sign.

LITERATURE.—E. Huber, *Die Personennamen in den Keilschrifturkunden aus der Zeit der Könige von Ur und Nisin*, Leipzig, 1907; H. Ranke, *Early Babylonian Personal Names*, Philadelphia, 1905; A. T. Clay, *Personal Names from Cuneiform Inscriptions of the Cassite Period*, do. 1912; K. L. Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names*, Leipzig, 1914, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch*, Helsingfors, 1905; see also Ranke, *Keilschriftliches Material zur altägyptischen Vokalisation*, Berlin, 1910.

A. T. CLAY.

NAMES (Chinese). — Names occupy a very prominent position in Chinese national and social life.

1. Names in ancient times.—The Chinese believe that there is an order in the sequence of essentials, and that the men of old, who in the first place apprehended 'the great unseen principle of Good dominating and permeating the universe,'[1] assigned names among these essentials. 'Wherever there is form, there is also its name.'[2] It was necessary to adopt nomenclature corresponding to capabilities 'in order to serve the ruler, nourish the ruled, administer things generally and elevate self.'[3]

The ancient Chinese laid great stress on the proper application of names. 'If names be not correct, language is not in accordance with the truth of things,' and this would lead to affairs not succeeding. 'The name without the reality is folly.'[4] A bad name (or reputation) 'gets the credit of every vice,' and is a danger.[5]

2. Family-names.—Family-names are of great importance, and persons bearing the same family-name are considered both in law and by custom to be related, intermarriage as a rule being forbidden, though there may be no kinship at the present day between the parties. The same family-name offers a ready passport to intimacy. They are known collectively as 'The Hundred Family Names.'[6] These comparatively few family-names (there are more than 200 in common use and over 2000 altogether) have sufficed from a period anterior to the Christian era for the hundreds of millions of this ancient people, forming thus a marked contrast to the limitless number of our modern surnames in the West.

One Chinese author (the compiler of *The Book of the Hundred Family Names*) has traced some of them back to their origin 3000 years ago, but the best account says that family-names came into existence only about 2000 years ago. The name Sing, applied to them now, in those early days really meant the place of birth.[7] Under these circumstances it is not surprising that more than half of the family-names of the present day are derived from place-names. About a quarter are ancestral in origin, such as an ancient title or a sobriquet. The rest are from many sources, as with European surnames. Those derived from animals are considered objectionable. Family-names cannot be changed; only Buddhist priests and nuns drop their family ties and names. A woman on marriage takes her husband's family-name, but adds her own to his in her signature, and is described by the two in legal documents.

3. Individual names. — i. BOYS' AND MEN'S NAMES.—(*a*) *The 'milk-name.'*—In the matter of individual or personal names there is a marked contrast, for a large variety of them are in use, the memorable events in life being marked by a new name.

The child is given a 'milk-name' when a month old by his father or grandfather, a feast being held at the time. This name is used by parents, relatives, masters, or privileged persons, and it is a great liberty and intolerable familiarity for others to use it. Among the poorer classes, however, this simple name may be the only one. At times this name indicates the numerical position of the individual bearing it in the family, as Sextus, etc., or sometimes, with an aged father, the father's age at the time of the child's birth, as 'Seventy-two,' or it may denote the age of the grandmother or possibly great-grandmother, as 'Eighty-four.' Among 'milk-names' are to be found such as 'Peace,' 'Brightness,' 'Enter Wealth,' and 'Spring Forest.' Should parents fear the loss of a child by death, a depreciatory name will be given, such as 'Dust-pan,' 'That Dog,' 'The Stupid,' 'Flea.' This is done with the belief that the evil spirits who might have taken the child will be thus deceived into thinking it of no account.

(*b*) *The 'book-name.'*—On going to school the boy receives from the father or the teacher a more elaborate and carefully selected 'book-name.' This is the name used in arranging marriages and in official registration. Examples are 'Worthy Prince,' 'Spring Dragon,' 'Literary Rank,' 'Celestial Emolument.' The 'book-name' is often preferred, and in that case the 'milk-name' is not used, though the contrary also happens. The greatest care is taken to record the names and genealogies of those entering on a literary career (which forms the high road to government employment), to prevent inconvenience in future.

(*c*) *Distinguishing appellations.*—Every gentleman of any scholarship or position has in addition one or more 'distinguishing appellations' used in social circles and by intimates—*e.g.*, 'Scholarship Complete.'

(*d*) *Noms de plume.*—A nom-de-plume is also common and often very fantastic—*e.g.*, 'The Weak Man of the River.'

(*e*) *The marriage-name.*—The marriage-name is taken at marriage or on coming of age at 16. It is given by the father, if alive; if he is dead, by an uncle or elder brother.

(*f*) *The official appellation.*—This is assumed on entering office or a public examination, and is used on visiting cards and by relatives. That of the viceroy Li Hung-Chang might be rendered in English as 'Literary Polish.' This name can be changed before obtaining rank, but not afterwards, unless a superior has the same.

(*g*) *The t'ong name.*—The *t'ong*, or 'ancestral,' name is largely employed in business matters, shares or partnerships being often held under it. It may embrace a whole family of brothers, or each may have a different one. It always ends with the word *t'ong*.

(*h*) *Nicknames.* — Nicknames are also largely used, based on some personal defect or characteristic.

(*i*) *Posthumous names.*—A posthumous name is awarded the deceased.

[1] L. Giles, *Musings of a Chinese Mystic*, London, 1906.
[2] See H. A. Giles, *Chuang Tzu*, London, 1889, p. 162 ff.
[3] *Ib.* p. 163; see also J. Legge, 'The Texts of Taoism,' *SBE* xxxix. [1891], pt. i. p. 337.
[4] J. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, Hongkong, 1861, i. 56, note.
[5] *Ib.* p. 128.
[6] The word 'hundred' is here used in the sense of a large number, as, *more Sinico*, in the phrases 'The Hundred Officials,' 'The Hundred Traders.'
[7] See *China Review*, xiii. [1884–85] 124.

(*j*) *Emperors' names.*—The emperors in China have not ascended their thrones under a personal name, but an auspicious combination of two characters forms the 'empire designation' or 'year title' of the reign. If anything inauspicious or unusual happened, these were changed (until recent times) for others. 'Compliant Rule,' 'Reason's Brilliance,' 'The Decree of Heaven' are examples of emperors' 'year names.'

ii. GIRLS' AND WOMEN'S NAMES.—Girls and women do not have such a variety of names as boys and men. They have a 'milk-name' and may have another one or two. Sometimes the 'milk-name' is changed on marriage if it clashes with one in the family which the girl is entering. As a general rule, girls have not received schooling or a literary education,[1] though there have been notable exceptions; nor has it been customary for a woman to hold office of any kind. Consequently 'book-names' and 'official names' have been practically unknown. Flowers predominate in the names of girls, and beautiful objects in nature are often selected for them. The desire of the parents for male offspring also appears in their names. Examples are 'Narcissus,' 'Jadestone,' 'Proud Phœnix,' 'Love of the Moon,' 'Virtuous and Rare,' 'Fear,' 'Slave-girl,' 'Lead on a Younger Brother.'

4. Partial unity in the names in a family.—It often happens that all the sons in a family will have in one of their respective names the same character as a part of their designations. Thus three brothers known to the writer bore the names Cheeoo Chee-yŏng, Cheeoo Chee-Tsoong, and Cheeoo Chee-yung. This seems somewhat akin to the Jewish example of Ahijah and Ahimelech, but among the Chinese the father would not, like Ahitub, have the same portion of his name the same as his sons. With the Chinese there is a regular system employed for this. It often consists in the characters being taken from a book which lends itself well to the purpose, and, as each generation succeeds another, the next character is selected and appears as a component part in each of the names of the brothers of that generation.

5. Absence of religious names.—It is curious, considering the religious character of the Chinese, that the names of their deities are not employed in their personal names, as in India. The title 'Supreme Ruler' is doubtless considered too exalted to be dragged down to such common use, though occasionally 'heaven' ('heavenly' or 'celestial') does occur in some combination serving as a name—*e.g.*, 'Heaven's Increase,' 'Heavenly Intelligence,' 'Heavenly Illumination.' Possibly the same feeling in a lesser degree militates against the employment of the names of the demi-gods and canonized heroes, but it must be remembered that it is not a Chinese custom to name children after others; in fact, the contrary is the case.

Some religious influence is noticeable, as, *e.g.*, in the name 'Happy Birth,' derived from Buddhism. Taoism is responsible for another, if not more, viz. 'The Second God of Literature.'

6. The meanings of names.—Unlike European names, the significance of which is hidden from the mass of those who use them, and which require the labours of antiquarians and philologists to elucidate their origin and meaning, the Chinese names, whether they are those of individuals, places, cities, or villages, carry patent on their surface their import, and thus often show the reason for their selection.

7. Names of relationship.—The Chinese language is very rich in its nomenclature of relatives, and notes the differences between elder and younger paternal and maternal uncles and aunts, elder and younger brothers and sisters, and cousins, giving distinctive names to them which show the exact relationships.

8. Shop-names.—It is the general custom to employ a combination of two or three Chinese characters for the name of a business, a firm, or a shop, the owners' or partners' names not appearing, except in the partnership book, and then very probably under the *t'ong* name. Auspicious designations are selected for this purpose, such as 'Expansive Profit,' 'The Three Unions,' etc.

9. Names of vessels.—Auspicious characters are also selected for the names of vessels. The large sea-going junks of former days, which went to the Straits and Eastern Archipelago and voyaged up and down the China Sea, bore names often composed of three characters in which the word 'gold' generally appeared.

10. Names of the gods.—The being who appears to be a conception of God in ancient China, and who was worshipped by the emperor, is known by the name of the Supreme Ruler. The Buddhas of Buddhism bear the names or titles known in India, translated or transliterated into Chinese. The gods and demi-gods of the Taoists, when not borrowed from Buddhism, are mostly deified human beings, and are generally known by some name or title which shows forth their power or the work which they perform in the hierarchy of celestial beings.

11. Village-names.—The family-names are often used, showing, in many cases, that the village has been founded by one of that family. There are not a few cases in which all the inhabitants belong to the same family or clan, while in other cases not one of the name remains. Two family-names are sometimes joined together in the village-name. As far as the writer's experience goes, these village-names in the south of China are permanent, but in the north they appear liable to change.[1] A temple will give a village a name, singly or in combination with a family-name or some incident connected with, or characteristic of, the village itself, its surroundings, or its inhabitants, any peculiarities being seized upon for the purpose, as 'Red Temple Village.' The writer in a journey passed two villages, the one 'Mud Village' (possibly deriving its name from the fact that sun-dried mud was largely used for building) and the other 'Brick Village' (where probably proper bricks were used).

12. City-names.—There are three classes of cities in China, and the names given to them show of what district (or county), prefecture, or province the city is the capital. Besides these politico-geographical names the city may also have another name in common use, and very likely others as well, derived from some legend or historical event in its past; *e.g.*, 'The Expansive Western Provincial City' is also known as 'The City of Cassia Groves.'

13. Names of flowers.—In names of flowers the Chinese appear to have been influenced in much the same way as the West, except that names derived from foreign languages are not so common.[2] The influence of religious ideas appears to a small extent. One species of chrysanthemum is named 'Buddha's Seat'; a species of the citron is called 'Buddha's Hand'; the narcissus is 'The Water Genie'; the word 'heaven' ('heavenly' or 'celestial') occurs in several.

14. Names of periods of time.—Each year during a period of sixty years has a name. Two sets of

[1] This is now being altered in China.

[1] See A. H. Smith, *Village Life in China*, Edinburgh and London, 1899, ch. iii.

[2] For the names given to the divisions and families of the vegetable kingdom see J. Dyer Ball, *Things Chinese*[4], p. 118.

characters, one ten in number and the other twelve, each contribute one character in certain rotations to form these names. There is, unfortunately, no serial naming or numbering of these sexagenary cycles as they revolve through the ages. These combinations also serve as names of seconds, minutes, hours, days, and months, signs of the zodiac, points of the compass, etc. The four cardinal points of the compass—in fact, the eight principal points—have common names having the same meaning as in the West. Names are also given to terms of fifteen days each throughout the course of the year, appropriate to the season, such as 'Little Heat,' 'Rain Water,' etc.

15. Names of stars.—There were two principal periods of star-naming among the Chinese—that of primitive China (2300 B.C.) and that of the Chow dynasty (1120 B.C.–A.D. 220). The first naming was agricultural and domestic in character and then feudal.[1] The grouping of the constellations and the names of them and of the stars differ from those in use in the West. One of the best known to the common people is that of the 'Northern Measure *or* Peck,' the residence of the fates, which is Charles's Wain. The Milky Way is the 'Silver Stream' of heaven.

16. Technical and scientific terminology.—The terminology of technical and scientific subjects has been largely added to by the study of European science, art, and education. Many of these names have been adopted from Japan, the precursor of China in recent times in modern knowledge. The Chinese characters are largely used in Japan, so that the Chinese have found the new names which they require in many cases ready for their use. This enriching of the language began, however, before this by the instruction of the people in China itself in modern knowledge, and is still going on. Where new names to represent hitherto unknown (to the Chinese) matters, things, or processes were required, a translation was made, the new name being descriptive of the object to be named, or the sounds of the name in the European languages were transferred to the Chinese language.

The first Nestorian missionaries in China wisely adopted many Buddhist terms or names, and their Roman Catholic and Protestant successors followed their lead. The names thus taken over into Christianity have proved of much use in the religious instruction of the Chinese.[2]

17. A good name.—The term 'a good name' is largely used in China and connotes the same idea as in Europe. The Chinese would agree with Iago in its being 'the immediate jewel of their souls.' As an instance of its use the following saying may be quoted, 'He who does good hands down a fair name for a hundred generations.'[3]

LITERATURE.—On Chinese surnames, H. A. Giles, *Historic China, and other Sketches*, London, 1882, p. 353 ff. On Chinese names, *The Chinese Repository*, Canton, 1831–50, i. 494, iv. 153, 474, ix. 390, xii. 506; S. Wells Williams, *The Middle Kingdom*, new ed., New York, 1883, *passim*; J. Dyer Ball, *Things Chinese*[4], London, 1903, *passim*, *The Chinese at Home*[2], do. 1912, p. 75 f. For names among the ancient Chinese, J. Legge, *The Li Ki* (*SBE* xxvii. [1885], xxviii. [1885]), *passim*; A. Forke, *Lun Heng*, London, 1907–12, pt. i. pp. 518, 458.

J. DYER BALL.

NAMES (Christian).—Names applied to Christians by themselves or by others (nicknames) have been already noticed (cf. vol. iii. pp. 573–576). The present article is intended to sketch any special features in the personal names assumed by Christian individuals during the history of the Church. Such features are on the whole curious rather than numerous or even significant.

1. Christian indifference to names.—At the outset Christians saw no reason to differ from the other members of their world in nomenclature any more than in dress or in language.

'Christians are not differentiated from the rest of mankind either in locality or in language or in customs. . . . They dwell in cities of Greeks and of non-Greeks as their respective lot is cast, following the native customs in dress and food and the rest of life' (*Ep. ad Diognetum*, 5).

And what was true of the 2nd cent. has been true, in the main, of the succeeding centuries. Christians have generally taken current names. In no age of the Church could the mere name be taken invariably as a clue to the religion of its bearer. During the epoch of persecution this was intelligible, for any association of a personal name with the new faith would have instantly exposed the bearer of it to arrest. Christians were content as a rule with the generic name of 'Christian.' That was the badge of their fellowship and the red ensign of their confession before tribunals. But, even when the 4th cent. saw the end of persecution by the Roman empire, Christians continued usually to call themselves, as their pagan fellow-citizens did,[1] after colours (Albanus, Ater, Candidus, Rufus, etc.), jewels (Margarita, Smaragdus, etc.), numbers (Tertius, Quartus, Septimus, etc.), rivers (*e.g.*, Euphrates, Nilus, Orontius, Rodane), and months (Aprilis, Dius, Januarius, Junia, Octobris, etc.), from agriculture (*e.g.*, Fructuosus, Silvia, Tilia, Vindemialis), or from geography (Afra, Anatolius, Libya, Thalassius, Tiburtius, etc.), from a wish for good luck (*e.g.*, Eutyches, Faustus, Felix, Secundus), and so forth. Names like Stercorius and Stercoria and the numerous animal-names (*e.g.*, Aper, Asinia, Columbanus, Leopardus, Lupus, Turtura, Ulfilas = Wulfila) are attributed by Martigny to the strong sense of humility which pervaded some early Christians; but the literal significance of such names was not felt in every case, and not all of them (*e.g.*, Aquila, Leo, and Ursula) connote humility.[2] Some names were naturally more attractive to Christians than others, but there was no serious idea of calling any of them common or unclean, and very little conscious emphasis on their etymology.

Perhaps the most striking proof of the indifference felt by Christians to names is the freedom with which they continued not only to bear but to confer names associated with the very mythology and idolatry against which they were arrayed. Sometimes these names are current modifications of an idol's or a pagan deity's name (like Heracleides, Jovianus, Phœbe, Olympius, or Posidonius), but in some cases the actual name is borne. Origen's life furnishes a significant proof that in the last quarter of the 2nd cent. there were Christian parents who evidently entertained no scruple about giving their children names which recalled pagan deities. Leonides called his boy Origen ('born of Horus'), and Leonides was far from being a worldly Christian. Ares, Bacchus, Ceres, Hermes, Mercuria, and Nereus appear among the names of Eastern martyrs, Eros is an episcopal name, St. Ambrose of Milan had a brother called Satyrus, three bishops in Chrysostom's age were named Ammon (*i.e.* after Jupiter Ammon, not after the OT Ammon), a Roman martyr is called Lucina, and an Alexandrian martyr bore the name of Aphrodisius. The instances of this practice are so numerous and cover so many centuries—they occur down to the 6th cent.—that we are justified in regarding it for the

[1] See art. in *China Review*, xvi. [1887–88] 257 ff.
[2] See J. Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*, London, 1880, ch. xxii.
[3] J. H. Stewart Lockhart, *A Manual of Chinese Quotations*, Hongkong, 1893, p. 397.

[1] Thus in the 4th cent. we find a certain Christopher (Χριστοφόρος), who had a Christian son, and yet the boy is called Paphnutius (*Heidelberger Papyrus-Sammlung*, i. [1905] 6). Probably the father was a Christian, but he did not choose a distinctively Christian name for his child, although the name may have been given in honour of the great Egyptian ascetic.
[2] Hrabanus, the great monastic scholar of the 9th cent., was called after the raven (*hraban*).

most part as normal. The paradox is apparent to modern students, but it does not seem to have been visible to contemporaries as a rule. Thus, Apollonius, who was martyred in the reign of Commodus, is invited by the prefect to 'sacrifice to Apollo, and to the other gods, and to the Emperor's image,' the probability being, as F. C. Conybeare (*Monuments of Early Christianity*[2], London, 1896, p. 38) points out, that the scene was actually *ἐν τῷ* Ἀπολλωνίῳ, since Apollo is the first and only god mentioned by name. Here, then, we have a Christian martyred for declining to sacrifice in honour of the very god whose name underlay his own! But the incongruity was not felt, or, if it was felt, it was not remedied. When we discover that late in the 3rd cent. a Christian presbyter is called Apollon (Ἀπόλλων [*New Classical Fragments, and other Greek and Latin Papyri*, ed. B. F. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, London, 1897, no. 73]), and another Psenosiris, we do not require to set this down as a peculiarity of Egyptian Christianity; it was not confined to Egypt, and it survived as it had preceded that particular period.

2. Rise of a distinctive nomenclature. — But there are occasional indications of a break away from this habit of bearing names associated with mythological culture and the pagan cultus, and these indications are all the more interesting because they mark the first of the two paths along which the early Christians struck out a more distinctive nomenclature of their own, viz. (*a*) by adopting OT names, and (*b*) by appropriating the names of apostolic saints.

(*a*) From the scanty amount of extant evidence it would appear that some of the early Christians did feel uneasy under semi-idolatrous[1] names, and that they occasionally sought refuge from their embarrassment by exchanging them for OT designations. An early instance of this practice is mentioned by Eusebius (*de Mart. Palæst.* xi. 8), in his account of the five Egyptian Christians who were arrested at Cæsarea in A.D. 310 and eventually put to death.

When the judge asked their spokesman what his name was, 'he heard the name of a prophet instead of his proper name. And so with them all. They had altered their names, to replace the names given to them by their parents, for the purpose of avoiding idolatrous associations. You would hear them calling themselves Elijah, Jeremiah, Isaiah, Samuel, or Daniel.'

In this way, Eusebius adds approvingly, they showed that they were true Jews of the kind praised by St. Paul (Ro 2[29]), God's genuine Israel; their names as well as their deeds proved it. But it is plain, even from the tone of Eusebius, that this was not a line followed by the majority of Christians. The 6th cent. Procopius of Gaza, it is true, commenting on Is 44[1-5] (*PG* lxxxvii. 2401), reports that during the fierce persecutions many Christians of pagan birth took Jewish names from the OT, like Jacob, Israel, Jeremiah, Isaiah, and Daniel, and with these sacred badges gladly went to martyrdom (*μεθ' ὧν ὀνομάτων ἐπὶ τὰ μαρτύρια προθύμως ἑαυτοὺς ἐπεδίδοσαν*). Yet these are local and sporadic expressions of pious austerity. The records of the martyrdoms amply corroborate the impression that even the majority of the martyrs, who were the fighting line of the Church, died as they had lived under names which were often redolent of pagan associations.[2]

Furthermore, the adoption of OT names as more congenial to out-and-out Christians went forward more rapidly in some circles of the East than in the West. Possibly it is due to accident that most of the extant data point to Egypt, but the general difference of nomenclature between the Eastern (especially the Palestinian) and the Western Churches may be seen, *e.g.*, in the early lists of bishops. The Jerusalem lists record a large proportion of OT or Jewish names:[1] Tobias, Benjamin, Moses, Ephraim, Joseph, Levi, Elias, Hermon, Isaac, and Amos are more characteristic than Seneca or Narcissus. The Roman lists, on the other hand, do not contain any OT names. Even the names of the bishops of Antioch and Alexandria show no distinct Biblicizing tendency; the mere fact that the Antioch list contains names like Heron, Eros, Serapion, and Asclepiades proves that the archaic tendency of the Jerusalem nomenclature was not distinctively Eastern, although it may be felt to some extent in the adjoining Church of Syria. Recourse to OT names may be said, therefore, to have been Eastern rather than Western, and it was not by any means predominant even in the Eastern Church.

(*b*) The choice of apostolic saints' names began earlier, and began not as a protest but spontaneously. Hero-worship rather than a reaction against paganism was its spring. By the beginning of the 3rd cent., in some circles (Egyptian?) at any rate, Christians were fond of making their children namesakes of Paul or Peter. This is plain from the remarks of Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, as quoted by Eusebius (*HE* vii. 25. 14).

He is attempting to prove that the John of Rev 22[8] need not be the apostle John, and he observes that in his opinion many during the apostolic age took the same name as the apostle John out of admiration for him, 'just as Paul and Peter are frequently given as names to the children of believers' (*ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Παῦλος πολὺς καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ Πέτρος ἐν τοῖς τῶν πιστῶν παισὶν ὀνομάζεται*).

But this inference is purely conjectural; there is no support for the opinion that people at that early period called themselves after John or any other apostle. The name was not uncommon, and its multiplication was not due to hero-worship. On the other hand, the fact from which Dionysius draws this inference is indisputable; his incidental allusion to contemporary usage proves that the prestige of the apostles had already begun to induce some Christian parents to call their boys after Paul and Peter. Paul is more common than Peter, and the names of other apostles occur only seldom. But it always remains doubtful whether the occurrence of a name like Paul means that it had been chosen out of special regard for the apostle.

It is more difficult to determine how soon and how far Christians assumed the names of men and women who had lived outside or after the apostolic circle. We can readily understand that the hero-worship of a pious contemporary which led to the adoption of his name would be natural, whether the new name replaced the old or was merely added to it. But the evidence, such as it is, needs to be sifted.

E.g., Jerome explains Cyprian's middle name (Thascius Cæcilius Cyprianus) by suggesting that it was adopted from the presbyter who had been the means of his conversion (*de Vir. Illustr.* 67: 'Cyprianus . . . suadente presbytero Cæcilio, a quo et cognomentum sortitus est, Christianus factus'). Inherently there is nothing improbable in this. It was legal, at any rate. The likelihood is, however, that it is one of Jerome's biographical errors,[2] for the presbyter's name, according to

[1] Athanasius (*c.* A.D. 332) notices that one of his five Meletian antagonists at court was called Gelœus (*i.e.* γελοῖος, 'ridiculous') Hierakanmon; 'qui nominis sui pudens Eulogium se appellandum curavit' (*Fest. Epp.* iv. 5).

[2] Sometimes a martyr would refuse to give his or her name (*e.g.*, Sanctus at Lyons [Eus. *HE* v. 1. 20], who would only repeat, 'I am a Christian'), either from an ecstatic indifference to the secular personality or to avoid identification (as in the case of Sabina [*Acta Pionii*, ix.], who, on the suggestion of Pionius, called herself Theodota, 'ne in manus dominae impiae posset incidere').

[1] Abraham came into vogue throughout the Eastern Church by the 4th century. Abel seems Christian in the 5th cent. letter preserved in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, x. [1914] 300; he was a valet. But many of these OT names were due to Jewish influence; converts from Judaism already bore them.

[2] Another mistake of the same kind occurs in 5, where he derives 'Saul' (Ac 13[9]) from the proconsul Sergius Paulus ('ab eo, quod eum Christi fidei subegerat, sortitus est nomen'). But 'Paul' was an alternative birth-name for Saul, not a Christian name.

Pontius (*Vita Cypriani*, 4), was Cæcilianus, not Cæcilius. Still, Jerome would not have made this suggestion, if the practice had not been credible in his own day.

We may assume, therefore, that by the 4th cent. Christians sometimes adopted the name of a spiritual hero who had helped them. A century earlier we have the partial parallel of Eusebius in Cæsarea calling himself "Eusebius Pamphili' out of admiration for Pamphilus his friend.[1] But all doubt is removed by the contemporary evidence of Chrysostom (*in Gen.* hom. xxi. [*PG* liii. 179]). In commenting on Gn 4[26], he contrasts the haphazard way[2] in which parents name their children nowadays (καθάπερ οἱ νῦν ἁπλῶς καὶ ὡς ἔτυχε τὰς προσηγορίας ποιοῦνται) with the pious care of the ancients, who made the child's name an incentive to moral excellence.

Nowadays they say, 'let the child be called by the name of his grandfather or great-grandfather; not so the men of old, who took the greatest pains to give their children such names as not only incited the bearers to moral excellence but proved instructive (διδασκαλία φιλοσοφίας ἀπάσης) in all ways to everyone else and to all succeeding generations.'

He exhorts Christian parents to name their children not after honoured and distinguished ancestors, but after saintly Christians conspicuous for goodness (τῶν ἁγίων ἀνδρῶν τῶν ἀρετῇ διαλαμψάντων), although neither parents nor children must rely on the mere name; the name without the corresponding character is of no avail (οὐδὲ γὰρ ὄνινησί τι προσηγορία ἀρετῆς ἔρημος οὖσα). The saintly men whose names are recommended may have included OT no less than NT figures; they certainly did not exclude pious contemporaries, for some of the Antiochene Christians called their boys after Meletius the bishop (Chrysostom, in *PG* l. 515), feeling that even to have his honoured and holy name within their homes was a blessing and a source of strength.[3]

Here the 4th cent. is echoed in the 17th. This word of Chrysostom is precisely the argument and appeal of an English Puritan like William Jenkyn.

He bade his congregation remember how good it was 'to impose such names as expresse our baptismal promise. A good name is as a thread tyed about the finger, to make us mindful of the errand we came into the world to do for our Master' (*Exposition of Jude*, London, 1652, p. 7).

Only, as we shall see, the Puritan's models were strictly Scriptural; he would have indignantly repelled the desire to call Christian children after any saint later than the NT at any rate, and he would have denounced the superstitious belief, which Theodoret of Cyrrhus in Chrysostom's age expressly mentions, that such saintly names put their bearers under the ægis of patron-saints:

In a eulogy of the martyrs Theodoret declares that 'philosophers and orators are consigned to oblivion, and most people nowadays are ignorant of the names of kings and generals; but all know the names of the martyrs better than those of their dear ones (τὰς τῶν μαρτύρων προσηγορίας μᾶλλον ἴασιν ἅπαντες ἢ τὰ τῶν φιλτάτων ὀνόματα). In fact they are keen to confer martyrs' names on their children, thus securing protection and guardian care for them' (*de Græcarum Affectionum Curationibus*, sermo viii.).

[1] As Petrus, in the 11th cent., called himself Damiani, out of gratitude to his brother, Damianus.

[2] The Italian Dominican, Campanella (1568–1639), makes the same criticism upon his contemporaries. In his *City of the Sun* (tr. in H. Morley's *Ideal Commonwealths*, London, 1889, p. 235) he notes that the inhabitants take a better way: 'names are given to them by Metaphysicians, and that not by chance but designedly,' etc.

[3] In the 5th cent. Aricmesius changed his name to Zeno, when he married the emperor's daughter, and reigned as Zeno (Evagrius, *HE* ii. 15); but this alteration of name was not religious. On the other hand, the Decian martyr Achatius (T. Ruinart, *Acta Primorum Martyrum*, Ratisbon, 1859, p. 202) tells the judge: 'si proprium nomen meum exploras vocor Agathos-angelus' (*var. lectt.* Agazangelus, Agathangelus). Witiza (Euticius), the second founder of monasticism in the West during the 8th cent., took the spiritual name of Benedict, by which he is known to fame. Two centuries earlier Gregory of Tours had changed his name, at his consecration, from Georgius to Gregorius, after his maternal grandfather, the holy bishop of Langres. There are numerous instances of this practice throughout the Middle Ages.

The cult of the saints developed this practice, however, in the Middle Ages. The popularity of certain names is explained in many cases by the local traditions of particular saints. It was an analogous but less supernatural feeling that led Alcuin, *e.g.*, in the beginning of the 9th cent., to call his distinguished pupil Hrabanus by the name of Maurus, as if he were a second Maurus (*i.e.* equipped with the excellences of St. Benedict's famous disciple).

The use of definitely Christian names was helped by the rise of infant baptism. But it was not confined to the naming of children. Catechumens might change their names at baptism, or assume a 'spiritual' name,[1] and this was in vogue by the beginning of the 4th cent., if not earlier. Ignatius is the earliest Christian who is known to have assumed a second, 'spiritual' name; he took, at baptism, the title of Theophorus (*θεοφόρος*, 'bearing God,' or *θεόφορος*, 'borne by God') for religious reasons. Perhaps this explains why Theodorus (Eus. *HE* vi. 30) took the name of Gregory; Gregorius was not a specifically Christian name, but it was capable of a Christian suggestiveness (*γρηγόριος*, 'watchful'). The Samaritan (?) martyr, Peter Balsamus (Ruinart, p. 525 f.), told the magistrate that his paternal name was Balsamus, 'spirituali vero nomine, quod in baptismo accepi, Petrus dicor.' That was in A.D. 311, and it tallies with the data already tabulated (see, further, Ducange, *Glossarium*, Niort, 1883–87, *s.v.* 'Binomius').

(i.) Though Chrestus was used, one name in the NT was naturally left alone, the name of Jesus. St. Paul's friend 'Jesus, surnamed Justus' (Col 4[11]) had received the name as a Jew (=Joshua); but reverence prevented Christians from assuming it. For opposite reasons, Sapphira does not seem to have been appropriated by women—although it emerges in 17th cent. England (Bardsley, *Curiosities of Puritan Nomenclature*, p. 73), and a Presbyterian lady of 81 bearing this stained name appears on a burial register as late as 1704. As Judas was shared by several apostolic figures, the ill-fame of Judas Iscariot did not discredit it among Christians.

(ii.) Sometimes a name was added posthumously. John, the eloquent bishop of Constantinople, received the admiring title of Chrysostom (*χρυσόστομος*) after his death; and Henry Suso, the 14th cent. mystic, was similarly dubbed Amandus. But Suso had privately chosen this name; he did not allow it to be known during his lifetime, although he had changed his name from that of his irreligious father for the maiden-name of his pious mother, which he Latinized from Suess to Suso.

3. Formation of new names.—The creation of names went on; *e.g.*, from (*a*) festivals of the Church, like Epiphanius (?) or Epiphania, Paschalis, Pascasus,[2] and Sabbatius, and from (*b*) qualities of mind or of the moral life. The latter class are naturally numerous, but they are not always distinctively Christian. Names like Æternalis, Athanasius and Athanasia, Anastasius and Anastasia, Eucharistus, Evangelius, Martyrius, Patrophilius, Praulius,[3] Pistus, Prosdoke (martyred, A.D. 306), Refrigerius and Refrigeria, Sanctus, and Sozomen tell their own tale. But other names of this class are not exclusively Christian. Thus Hieronymus was pre-Christian, while even Irene (*εἰρήνη*) was a pagan name, and continued to be used by pagans after Christians had adopted it (cf. *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, i. [1898] 114–116).[4] We are on safer ground with names derived from divine names; Adeodatus and Adeo-

[1] This survives in the new name assumed by the pope on taking office. Adrian VI., the reforming pope, stood out against this, when he was elected in 1522. 'Contrary to the custom observed for five hundred years, he adhered to his baptismal name. He was determined, even as Pope, to be the same man as before' (L. Pastor, *Hist. of the Popes*, Eng. tr., London, 1891–1912, ix. 48).

[2] Just as in England children born at Easter were sometimes called Pash.

[3] Theodoret (*HE* v. 38) notes, in connexion with Bishop Praulius of Jerusalem in the 5th cent., how admirably his disposition and bearing suited his name (*πραΰλιος*, 'meek-spirited').

[4] Irenæus also is a pagan formation (cf., *e.g.*, *Fayum Towns and their Papyri*, ed. Grenfell and others, London, 1900, p. 43).

data, Christopher,[1] and Cyriacus are rooted in the Christian soil. Yet caution is needed even here. No doubt names like Dorothea, Theodoretus, Theodosia and Theodosius, Theodoulos, Theognostos, Theoktista and Theoktistus, Theopemptus, and Theophylact were favourites[2] in the Church; but it must be remembered that similar names, like Dorotheus, Theocritus, Theodektes, Theodorus, Theodotus, Theognis, Theophanes, and Theophilus, were current in non-Christian circles before they were taken over by the Church, and that, while a name like Theopistus (a Roman martyr) seems a Christian formation, this was not the case with Theoteknus[3] and need not be the case with some other names of the same class. Occasionally a name would be coined, in the OT fashion. Thus, in the (early) 5th cent. panegyric on St. Phocas (cf. *Analecta Bollandiana*, xxx. [1911] 252 f.), his Christian parents give him the name of Phocas (Φωκᾶς), because he is a 'light' to their home: ἐφάνη ἡμῖν φῶς ἀληθινόν, ὁ πρωτότοκος ἡμῶν υἱός.[4] Such a source for names is natural and spontaneous, apart from any question of Scriptural precedent.

But, apart from the question of origin, the early Christians adopted or adapted a number of names as particularly appropriate to their faith—*e.g.*, names derived from ἀγάπη (Agape, Agapetus, Agapius) and *amo* (especially among the later Gauls), from ἐλπίς (Elpis, Elpidius, Elpisura) and *spes* (Spes, Spesina), and from joy (Exillaratus, Hilara, Hilaris, Hilarius). Whether the metal is Christian or not, the Christian stamp is obviously on names like Eleutherus, Macarius,[5] Vigilantius, Vitalis,[6] Vitalissimus, Viventius, Vivianus, Zoe, and Zotikos.

4. Some typical groups of early Christian names.—The data outlined in the previous paragraphs may be tested and illustrated by reference to one or two lists of bishops and martyrs in the early Church. Their contents are often significant.

(1) At the N. African synod of 256 the names of the 87 bishops who attended are mainly Latin, but only two are Scriptural (Peter and Paul); the rest are ordinary pagan titles.

(2) Seventy years later, at the Council of Nicæa, five-sixths of the names (there are 237 in all) are such as we meet in contemporary non-Christian life; of the remainder, we have 18 pious names like Eusebius (5), Hosius, Theodorus, Theodotus, and Theophilus, and the 19 Scriptural names include Moses, Paul (6), Peter (4), Mark (3), John, James, and Stephen, with one Polycarp.

(3) For Egypt in particular there is ample evidence in the writings of Athanasius, which tallies with these data. To take only a single item, almost at random: in A.D. 347 he (*Fest. Epp.* xix. 10) notes the appointment of new bishops called Psenosiris, Arion, Triadelphus ('instead of Serapammon'), Theodorus ('instead of Anubion'), and Orion ('instead of Potammon); two OT names occur among the episcopal lists (Isaac and Jacob); at Arsenoitis Andreas succeeds Silvanus; and at Clysma Tithonas is grouped with Paulus. The small size of this group makes the variety of the names (mythological, local, and Scriptural) particularly significant.

(4) A century later, we discover that the (early) 5th cent. martyrology of the Roman Church which A. Urbain has edited (*TU*, new ser., vi. [1901], pt. iii.) contains about 800 names. The large majority are ordinary Greek and Roman names, even including Achilles, Hermes (2), Neptunalis, Orion, Romulus, and Toga. Moses is the only OT name, unless Abacuc (Abacum) is included. There are a few formations like Audax, Calumniosus, Christes, Dynamius, Eunuchius, and Polemius. Paul (5), Peter (5), John (2), Philip, Marcus (2), and Timotheus (2) represent the Scriptural element—which once more is scanty. The most popular male name on the whole is Felix (18). The women's names include Agnes (2), Beatrix, Candida, Julia (6), Maria, Martha, Præpedigna, Sophia (2), Sotere (3), Victoria (4), and Zoe.

(5) Later still, among the saints of Thrace and Moesia (not later than the 7th cent.; cf. H. Delehaye, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, xxxi. [1912] 163 f.), we come upon a deacon called Ammon, while the virgins who are his fellow-martyrs at Heraclea are Laurentia, Celsina, Theoclia, Theoktiste, Dorothea, Eutuchiane, Thecla, Aristainete, Philadelphe, Mary, Beronike, Euthumia, Lamprotate, Euphemia, Theodora, Theodote, Teteia, Aquilina, Theodoule, Haplodora, Lampadia, Procopia, Paula, Junilla, Ampliane, Persisa, Polynike, Maura, Gregoria, Kyria, Bassa, Callinike, Barbara, Kyriake, Agathonike, Justa, Irene, Matrona, Timothea, Tatiane, and Anna. The 38 martyrs at Philippopolis are called Orion, Anatolinus, Molias, Eudaimon, Silvanus, Sabinus, Eustathius, Straton, Bosbas, Timotheus, Palmatus, Mestus, Nikon, Diphilus, Dometius, Maximus, Neophytus, Biktor, Rhenus, Saturninus, Epaphroditus, Kerkas, Gaius, Zotikos, Kronion, Anthus, Oros, Zoëlus, Tyrannus, Agathos, Pansthenes, Achilleus, Pantherius, Chrysanthos, Athenodorus, Pantoleon, Theosebes, and Genethlios. The Scriptural (apostolic) element is noticeably small in these names of Christians outside the inner circle of the empire; there is a distinct proportion of 'spiritual' names, or at any rate of names with a pious application. On the other hand, mythological names like Ammon and Orion are still used freely.[1]

5. Oblation of names.—Before passing on, we may notice the employment of names in the liturgy of the early Church. Lists of names were read aloud for a definite purpose; this broadened as the doctrine and cultus of the Church developed, but originally it was quite simple. The names of those who gave donations in money or otherwise (communion elements, endowing or building a church) were recited in public worship, that the faithful might requite them by praying for them. This practice occasionally led to fulsome praise, when the amount of each person's subscription was read out after his or her name, as Jerome pungently objects (*in Jer.* ii. [111⁶], *in Ezek.* vi. [185-9]), yet in itself the custom was naive and pious. The names were written on two-leaved tablets or diptychs (δίπτυχα). But these diptychs or registers soon embraced other names. They were used to bid the Church commemorate not only these benefactors after death but all the faithful dead, especially the martyrs and confessors. This became a regular part of the eucharistic worship, the names being at first recited usually by a deacon, after which (*oblatio*) the prayers (*post nomina*) were offered by a priest. The later liturgical variations are numerous and complicated (cf. *DCA* i. 560–563, ii. 1197, 1375–1377), but it seems plain that from the 3rd cent. onwards the names were recited in the eucharistic liturgy at the altar, and they came to include

[1] Phileas, bishop of Thmuis, speaks at the beginning of the 4th cent. about some martyrs at Alexandria as being χριστοφόροι (Eus. *HE* viii. 10. 3). But Rufinus shrinks from the term, and translates it by the colourless *beati*, just as he renders Eusebius's description of Phileas (φιλοθέου) by *beati* in viii. 10. 11. The 10th cent. pope Christopher had to be deposed!

[2] Gregory of Nyssa's wife was called Theosebeia, and she lived up to her name.

[3] The name belongs to a bitter persecutor of the Church, A.D. 303 (Ruinart, p. 374). As Eusebius remarks (*HE* ix. 2. 2), his conduct belied his name.

[4] The Armenian version omits this derivation of the name. Similar formations are Lucellus and Photinus.

[5] Eusebius (*HE* vi. 41. 17) mentions a Libyan martyr who was truly named 'Makar.' Similarly Theodoret (*HE* i. 3).

[6] Vitalis in England seems (Bardsley, p. 132 f.) to have been originally a pre-Reformation name given to children christened before birth, 'in cases where it was feared, from the condition of the mother, they might not be delivered alive.' Like the cognate Creature, it was common to men and women, owing to the circumstances in which it had been conferred.

[1] It was against this tendency that the 19th canon of the Arabian pseudo-Nicene canons was directed ('Fideles nomina gentilium filiis suis non imponant; sed potius omnis natio Christianorum suis nominibus utatur, ut gentiles suis utuntur, imponantque nomina Christianorum secundum scripturam in baptismo'). But this attempt to discourage native names as secular never succeeded; it was revived later, however, in the Puritan movement.

not only local but catholic saints. A similar extension took place in the diptychs of the living, which soon embraced not only donors but teachers, spiritual and imperial authorities, holders of clerical office and civil magistrates, and eventually the entire body of the faithful belonging to any church. In the Roman liturgy of the Mass[1] the *commendatio pro vivis* precedes, the *commendatio pro defunctis* follows, the consecration. What underlies this offering of names is the sense of unity, the living and the departed alike being recognized as members of the one Church. But the practice naturally gave an opportunity for recognizing the orthodoxy or heterodoxy of the living or even of the dead. It was a convenient means of enforcing Church discipline. To have one's name on such a register was to be accredited a full and true member of the Church; to be omitted was a stigma and punishment, and attempts might even be made after a man's death (cf. the case of Chrysostom) to remove his name from the list as a posthumous censure on his life or opinions.

The practice thus passed into the rubric of prayers and masses for the dead, but it was steadily enforced on the special grounds of gratitude and unity, particularly the former. This is explicitly decreed in the 19th canon of the Portuguese Council at Merida, A.D. 666 ('Eorum nomina a quibus eas ecclesias constat esse constructas, vel qui aliquid his sanctis ecclesiis videntur aut visi sunt contulisse, si viventes in corpore sunt, ante altare recitentur tempore missae, quod si ab hac decesserunt aut discesserint luce, nomina eorum cum defunctis fidelibus recitentur suo in ordine'). The former recitation of names survives in the Bidding prayers of the English Universities, which gratefully commemorate the benefactions of the past, naming the donors singly, but praying only for the living (ecclesiastical, temporal, and academic authorities).[2]

6. Mediæval practice.—On the whole, the same general features reappear in the Christian nomenclature of the Northern nations under the Church, from the 6th cent. onwards. The significance of names leads to the practice of onomantia; local and national names are usually retained; terms connected with pagan worship are either dropped or more frequently carried over with slight changes in the wording;[3] and the new Christian names already consecrated by the Greek and Roman Churches make their way along the channels of the saints' calendars and traditions. Saints' names were generally the favourites. It is not unlikely that a certain impetus to the use of Biblical names was given throughout the West, from the 7th cent. onwards, by the Spanish bishop of Seville, Isidore, whose learned *Etymologiæ* (bk. vii. chs. 6–10) brought out the religious significance of the Biblical names. A cult of such names began to spread. The old principle, 'bonum nomen, bonum omen,' regained its vitality in this department of nomenclature; but it was unable to overcome entirely the prejudice against OT names which were already borne by the Jews, and the anti-Semitic tendency hampered the free use of such names down to the 10th century. Not until the Reformation were such names adopted eagerly, and then it was by the Biblicizing Protestants on the Continent. How soon this practice began, and how characteristic it was of the new movement, may be seen from the Council of Bordeaux in 1539 (ix.), which decreed:

'Nomina sanctorum patrum veteris Testamenti affectare haereticorum est.'[4]

Montaigne's contemporary witness is also significant:

'Dira pas la posterité que nostre reformation d'auiourd'huy ait esté delicate et exacte, de n'auoir pas seulement combatu les erreurs et les vices et rempli le monde de deuotion, d'humilité, d'obeïssance, de paix et de toute espece de vertu, mais d'auoir passé iusque à combatre ces anciens noms de nos baptesmes, Charles, Loys, François, pour peupler le monde de Malthusalem, Ezechiel, Malachie, beaucoup mieux sentans de la foy?' (*Essais*, bk. i. ch. 46 [ed. Bordeaux, 1906, p. 356]).

Evidently this cult of Scriptural, and especially of OT, names was an innovation in the France of the 16th century. Up till then the Northern nations had for the most part shown a natural and healthy preference for names of native growth. This applies in the main to Teutons, Celts, and Saxons alike, as well as to the Slavs. Like the Goths, the Teutons still bore their ancestral names, such as Alfred, Arnold, Baldwin, Charles, Frederick, Gertrude, Henry, Hugo, Mildred, Sigismund, Theodoric, and Ulrica; saints' names from the Church's calendar came in, but they did not submerge their predecessors.

In Britain, where different racial strata affected the nomenclature, an examination of the names used by Christians yields an almost identical result. Thus in the list printed by E. Hübner (*Inscriptiones Britanniæ Christianæ*, Berlin and London, 1876, p. 94 f.), which comes down to the 11th cent., the majority of male and female names are drawn from the Celtic and Anglo-Saxon vernacular; there is a sprinkling of Latin names, and only one or two from Scripture—*e.g.*, Jacobus (8th cent., Cardiganshire), Samson (9th cent., Glamorganshire), and Gideon (? Dorsetshire). Among the English nuns who assisted Boniface to spread monasticism through Germany in the 8th cent. we find native names like Walpurga and Lioba alongside of Thecla; it is exceptional to come upon even a saint who bears any name except a native one, in Gaul or in the Northern islands, and it is significant that in Britain no Saxon bishop is known to have taken a Biblical name. The change did not come, according to Camden, until after the Norman Conquest.

Then 'our nation (who before would not admit strange and unknown Names, but avoyded them therefore as unlucky) by little and little began to use Hebrew and sacred names, as Matthew, David, Samson, Luke, Simon, etc., which were never received in Germany until after the death of Frederick the second, about some 300 years since' (*Remains concerning Britain*, p. 53).

The use of Biblical names in pre-Reformation England has been traced to various sources, in particular to the popular dramatic mysteries and the Crusades (which popularized Ellis = Elias, and John especially). But it was the Norman influence that enabled Scriptural and saints' names, among others, to compete with the Old English ones successfully.

7. Puritan nomenclature.—The sudden enthusiasm for Bible-names in the 16th and 17th centuries throughout Puritan England replaced a sort of clerical system by an irregular freedom of choice on the part of parents.

'Previous to the Reformation,' as Bardsley writes (p. 43), 'the priest, with the assent of the gossip, gave the babe the name of the saint who was to be its patron, or on whose day the birth or baptism occurred'—'saint' including the great host of men and women notable in the Church's tradition and history.

The Puritans eschewed these as savouring of papacy and paganism, preferred godly names from Scripture, and took the choice into their own hands. Macaulay (*Hist. of England*, vol. i. ch. i. [ed. London, 1871, i. 40]) insists that their special preference for OT names was due to militant sympathies, and that the extreme Puritans were actuated in this, as in other matters, by their revolutionary, theocratic principles.

'They baptized their children by the names, not of Christian saints, but of Hebrew patriarchs and warriors.'

To some extent, this is true; it explains, *e.g.*, how even Puritan girls could be disfigured by the name of Jael. But the reason was larger than mere militant piety. The Puritans were also driven by anti-ecclesiastical antipathies; in their passion for

[1] Cf. L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, Eng. tr.[4], London, 1912, p. 179 f., and, for the earlier Gallican Mass, p. 208 f.

[2] Cf. T. Seccombe and H. S. Scott, *In Praise of Oxford*, London, 1910–11, ii. 773–775.

[3] *E.g.*, the analytic formation of personal names which meets us in the OT involves, in pre-Celtic Ireland as in the Semitic East, the occasional incorporation of a god's name, and this practice 'was continued in Christian times with the aid of the words *mael*, "bald, tonsured," and *gille*, "boy, servant-boy"' (J. Rhys, *Lectures on Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by Celtic Heathendom*[2], London, 1892, p. 215). A good example is Gilchrist, from *Gillecrist* ('Servant of Christ'). For name-giving in connexion with ethnic baptism see *ERE* ii. 369.

[4] The habit persisted into the 17th century. In the list (1698) of 254 French Protestants recently sent to the galleys (E. Arber, *The Torments of Protestant Slaves*, London, 1907, pp. 271–280) we find Abraham (4), Aaron, Benjamin, Daniel (12), David (10), Elie (4), Israel, Isaac (5), Jacob, Joseph (3), Moïse (3), Samson, and Solomon, *i.e.* a fifth of the whole number. Three-fifths are Scriptural (NT) or 'saints'' names.

sacred names they found that some of the NT names were, as they thought, compromised by associations with Church festivals and the calendar of the saints, and the result was that they felt shut up to OT names or to NT names which were innocuous and minor. In both ranges of choice they took names often irrespective of their original associations[1] or uncouth in the last degree. Girls were baptized as Aholiab and Drusilla, *e.g.*, or as Kerenhappuch (as late as the 18th and even the 19th cent.). The essential thing was that a name should be Biblical; as a rule, the Puritan extremists cared for little else. They swung to the opposite extreme from Royalists, who did not hesitate to use names like Cassandra, Diana, Lais, and Venus for their daughters. Biblicism and an equally artificial neo-paganism were at the corruption of nomenclature.

The practice extended to the habit of making names out of abstract virtues, as in the early Church. Puritan boys were baptized Perseverance, Humiliation, and Repentance—to quote only three cases. Even more whimsical was the construction of a name out of a phrase or sentence.

'Sometimes a whole godly sentence was adopted as a name. Here are the names of a jury said to be enclosed in the court of Sussex about that time.

Accepted, Trevor of Norsham.
Faint not, Hewit of Heathfield.
Make Peace, Heaton of Hare.
Redeemed, Compton of Battle.
God Reward, Smart of Fivehurst.
Standfast on High, Stringer of Crowhurst.
Earth, Adams of Warbleton.
Called, Lane of the same.
Kill Sin, Pimple of Witham.
Graceful, Harding of Lewes.
Return, Spelman of Watling.
Be Faithful, Joiner of Britling.
Fly Debate, Roberts of the same.
Fight the good Fight of Faith, White of Emer.
More Fruit, Fowler of East Hadley.
Hope For, Bending of the same.
Weep not, Billing of the same.
Meek, Brewer of Okeham.'[2]

In justice to these ultra-Puritans, however, we ought to remember that, whether they were conscious of it or not, they had a precedent for such compounds. The early Church had led the way, in making names not only out of abstract terms, as we have seen, but out of devout phrases. This uncouth formation of personal names was much older than the Puritans. In the martyr-list of the Carthaginian Church (6th cent.) Jan. 8th is the anniversary of the *depositio Quodvuldeus Episcopi*, and Jan. 5th celebrates the *depositio* of two bishops, one of them called Deogratias. The latter was the local bishop who was elected in A.D. 454, but we know of at least one earlier presbyter, bearing the name of Quodvultdeus, who consulted Augustine.[3] Besides, the practice goes back to Hebrew custom, and it was the well-known OT instances that formed a conscious precedent for the English Puritans. Both in the construction of these phrase-names and in the predilection for OT names they were actuated by the feeling that the Bible (especially the OT) was a world, or rather the world, of God, which contained rules and standards for the outward as well as the inward direction of life. Where the Puritans differed from previous circles of Christianity, as regards nomenclature, at any rate, was in the extent to which they carried their imitation of the OT, rather than in the fact of that imitation. They felt that they did not need to look further than the Bible for 'a commodity of good names.'

These rough formations and the craze for Biblical names are ridiculed mercilessly by contemporary dramatists and satirists, but in vain. Such extremists were impervious to humour. Fortunately, they were only a minority, even among earnest religious people, and the æsthetic sense of the majority prevented Scriptural names from swamping all others. Shakespeare makes Juliet declare:

> 'What's in a name? that which we call a rose
> By any other name would smell as sweet . . .
> Romeo, doff thy name.'

But, as H. E. Maxwell observes, Shakespeare knew better than his heroine.

'Romeo and she would never have become, among Western nations at least, the type of all that is passionate and tender, had their sponsors named them Abraham and Sarah.'

He quotes two extreme cases of the contemporary fanatical habit.

One is of the sponsors 'who were answerable for the following entry in the baptismal register of Waldron:—

"Flie-fornication, the bace sonne of Catren Andrewes, bapt. ye 17th Desemb., 1609." . . . A more charitable spirit moved the sponsors of another unwelcome little stranger, who is recorded in the Register of Kingsdown, in Kent, in 1581, as "Inocent Day, the base borne sone of one Day"' (*Meridiana*, pp. 267, 275).

But what artistic instinct did for some, good sense and native tradition did for others, and the eccentricities of the Puritans failed to raise rugged Semitic formations or moralistic names 'that would have made Quintilian stare and gasp' into a characteristic feature of English nomenclature.

8. Variations and peculiarities of later practice.—A sudden reaction set in soon on the Continent. The French Revolution produced an antipathy to the use of ecclesiastical and Biblical names; in fact, the legislature forbade any being conferred except those in general use 'dans les différents calendriers, ou ceux des personnages connus de l'histoire ancienne' (*La Grande Encyclopédie*, Paris, n.d., xxvii. 571). Anti-clericalism threatened to narrow the range of Christian nomenclature (the *prénom*), but this cloud passed, although it left, under the Code Napoléon, certain restrictions behind it.

In England, meanwhile, the dominance of the Bible continued to affect Christian names in some circles of the people, long after the Puritans had ceased to be a political power. The evidence for this lingering influence is scattered but ample. Let it suffice to quote a contributor to *NQ* IV. ii. [1868] 342, who notes the following strange names in a parish register of Donnybrook near Dublin:

'*Ezble*, the daughter of James and—Gudle,
Kesia, daughter to Thomas and Martha Wilkinson,
Wealthy, son to Symon and Eleanor Whathing,
Richards, son to Edward and *Baptize* Anderson,
Mahitable, daughter to Richard and Elizabeth Burnett,
Utilia, daughter to Richard and Elizabeth Deacon,
Annistas, daughter to John and Sarah ffoley,
Ismey, daughter to William and Elizabeth Mattashaw,
Abernathy, daughter to James and Elizabeth Bromlow,
Syabella, daughter to John and Margaret Wallis,
Regina, daughter to *Magnus* and Elizabeth Syck,
Eumie, daughter to John and Ann Dauncy,
Bathia, daughter to James and Elizabeth Bromlow,
Ananias, daughter to Peter and Sarah Portovine,
Levina, daughter to John and Margaret Griffith,
Ammoross Burges,
Teasia, daughter to William and Elizabeth Young,
Burlanah Bumbarry,
Amia, daughter to James Cosgrave,
Neptune, son of Harris and Mary Blood of Ringsend,
Deliverance Branan.'

These are all from the first half of the 18th century. But such eccentric names are no longer what they once were. What makes them remarkable is their singularity among the mass of normal names. The temper of mind which underlies them survives still, it is true, in some quarters, as occasional entries in baptismal and burial records prove.

E.g. the parish register of St. Faith's, Norwich, chronicled, as late as 1874: 'Dodo Eliza Delilah, daughter of Arphad Ambrose Alexander Habbakuk William Shelah and Virtue Leah Woodcock' (*NQ* VII. xii. [1891] 464 f.).

[1] Bardsley (p. 73) is astonished at Antipas, who was 'a murderer and an adulterer,' but he has forgotten 'Antipas, my faithful martyr' (Rev 2^13^). It was this Antipas, and not the Herod of that ilk (Mt 14^1^, Lk 97 13^22^, Ac 14^1^), of whom Puritan parents thought when they baptized their babies by such a name.

[2] Hume, *Hist. of England*, London, 1789, ch. lxi.

[3] The epitaph of an archdeacon Deusdedit in the 5th cent. is quoted by G. B. de Rossi, in *Roma Sotteranea*, Rome, 1864–77, iii. 239, 242. The first Saxon archbishop was also called Deusdedit.

Against such names there is no law—except the unwritten law of good taste, and certain forms of piety count themselves free from that law. In fact, it is doubtful if any English law controls the giving of names. T. A. Ingram (*EBr*[11] xix. 159) refers to a 13th cent. injunction of Archbishop Peckham:

'Ministers shall take care not to permit wanton names to be given to children baptized, and if otherwise it be done, the same shall be changed by the bishop at confirmation.'

Legal authorities seem divided on the question whether such a change of name is permissible, but an English Church clergyman, though required to baptize a child by any name selected by the parent or godparent, may 'object to any name on religious or moral grounds, although the rubrics do not expressly say so.' This right of objection, however, would hardly be valid in the case of Scriptural names. So far as the clergy can exercise any real influence in the matter, it is probably by prohibiting silly or freakish names and by encouraging the choice of sensible Christian names—*i.e.* taking 'Christian' in its legal rather than in its strict sense.

From a Scottish statistical paper for 1860, printed in W. Anderson's *Genealogy and Surnames* (Edinburgh, 1865, p. 149), the registrar's figures show that, out of 3690 entries of male Christian names, the most popular were John (563) and James (508), that Thomas (139) and Andrew (102) outstrip Peter (64), and that, while Daniel occurs 17 times, there is not a single Paul in the list. But even the 'apostolic' names which do occur were not always chosen for religious reasons; patriotic and national interests were more commonly in evidence, when children were thus named.

9. **Modern practice.** — Modern practice has settled down into a rational liberty in the matter of Christian names, and this has been due to a growing recognition of the truth that it is possible to be religious without being Biblical. Many people do not profess any religious interest at all, but even those who have their children baptized are rarely guilty of giving them 'pious' names. The danger of sanctimoniousness has proved so real[1] that the majority have long ago dropped belief in any specific virtue attaching to a Scriptural or even to a moral name. Family associations, some fashion of the day, or pure caprice are uppermost. Good taste and common sense control the average religious person in selecting names for his children, and, just as a sense of humour and of the fitness of things would probably prevent a rational non-Christian from labelling his offspring Jupiter or Semiramis, Napoleon or Messalina, so a member of the Church would hardly seek to prove his own piety or to ensure that of his children by dubbing them Methuselah or Rizpah, Jabez or Tryphosa, as if these names possessed any intrinsic virtue which might be transmitted to their modern bearers. He is more likely to be guilty of cruelty to children, in peace as well as during a war, by fastening upon them 'Christian' names derived from some contemporary figure or event, which he desires in his folly to commemorate.

LITERATURE.—For the early Church the materials are collected by J. A. Martigny, *Dict. des antiquités chrétiennes*, Paris, 1865, pp. 445–453, and, after him, by J. Bass Mullinger, in *DCA*, London, 1880, ii. 1367 ff.; but, in view of subsequent discoveries and researches, especially among the papyri, Martigny's lists (*e.g.*, of distinctively Christian names) need revision. Add: A. Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*[2], Leipzig, 1906, Eng. tr., *Expansion of Christianity*, London, 1907, bk. iii. ch. 3, excursus 2.

For the later periods, particularly in England, see W. Camden, *Remains concerning Britain*, ed. London, 1870, pp. 52–109; and C. W. Bardsley, *Curiosities of Puritan Nomenclature*, do. 1880.

For the general subject, from the etymological or historical point of view, cf. the data and discussions in C. M. Yonge, *Hist. of Christian Names*, London, 1863, esp. i. 229 *f.*; F. W. Farrar, *Chapters on Language*, ed. do. 1878, p. 237 *f.*; P. Dudgeon, *Short Introd. to the Origin of Surnames*, Edinburgh, 1890; Herbert E. Maxwell's essay in *Meridiana*, Edinburgh, 1892, pp. 267–300; and J. P. Struthers, *What is Thy Name?*, Greenock, 1915.

JAMES MOFFATT.

NAMES (Egyptian).—1. General introduction.—Egyptian civilization presents an exceptionally rich and interesting field for the study of names. On the one hand, in the remnants of its ancient beliefs that have survived throughout so many centuries Egypt still preserves several characteristics of primitive religion (cf. NAMES [Primitive]), practically unaltered, whose origin and exact meaning can be verified from the context; on the other hand, during the course of its long history it shows the successive evolutions which primitive notions contained in germ and which non-civilized races either kept as they were or confused and complicated, being unable to arrange them in a system; here they develop into the most refined conceptions of the contemporary theologies of Mediterranean civilization. Egypt therefore supplies us with the necessary connexion between primitive ideas on the name and the advanced theories of civilized religions.

2. Primitive elements. — To understand these elements it will suffice to refer to what is said about the irresistible power of the pronunciation of names among non-civilized races in NAMES (Primitive). Declamation or melopœia — the chanted voice of the oldest languages—is regarded as reproducing the harmonious sound, *i.e.* the material vibration, which is one of the signs of vital substance. This chanted voice (*khrou*; cf. G. Maspero, *Bibl. égyptol.* i. [1893] 101) engenders magical forces (*hikau*). All the texts, ritual, and magic of Egypt rest essentially on the fact that the name, thus understood, constitutes a material soul, and is the most secret part of the whole living being, since it is his very reason for living. The name is therefore the ego. It exists by itself. It is the most subtle of the various souls of the individual (see BODY [Egyptian]). It is the last term in the series of active principles which, gradually increasing in airiness and 'evocability,' result from the combination of body and bone with the blood, the double, the ghost, the shade, etc., to form the life *par excellence* (*ōnkhu*).

The Egyptian name is so definitely a soul—a living being existing by itself — that the most important and oldest liturgical texts make it the essential element in their magical operations (see below, § 5). There is therefore neither person nor living thing that does not possess a name, known or hidden. No being would be complete, or, rather, existent, if he had not his name, and a man's life can be taken from him by taking away his name by magic. Cursing or execration by the name of an individual lets loose upon him to injure him all the forces which the formula has 'bound to' the name.

This material soul (cf. Pyramid Texts, Ritual of Pepy II., line 669 = *RTr* xii. [1892] 146) of the oldest lists is a thing which can be carried off, devoured, or struck. But it can also be seized in order to be incorporated in objects or figures which are vivified not for hostile but for beneficial purposes. The name of a dead man, declaimed and materially captured by the priest, is placed on his image or statue, and he lives again in it. This was the primitive meaning of the expression 'to commemorate the name of N.' The lifeless figures of a bas-relief or tomb-fresco, painted wooden dolls, become so many living servants of the dead man when the image has been provided with a name by

[1] Cf. Dickens' satire in *Martin Chuzzlewit* (ch. ii.: 'Mr. Pecksniff was a moral man: a grave man, a man of noble sentiments and speech: and he had had her christened Mercy. Mercy! oh, what a charming name for such a pure-souled being as the youngest Miss Pecksniff! Her sister's name was Charity'; ch. ix., where he is drunk: '"Mercy and Charity," said Mr. Pecksniff, "Charity and Mercy. Not unholy names, I hope?"').

the officiant at the magical funeral ceremony. Painted objects or representations of fictitious offerings become a real sacrifice. No text could be more explicit on this point than the passage which mentions 'those things which chanted declamation makes real.'

These substitutions or magical exchanges of a name, which thus passes materially from one being to another, or from a person to his image, go still further. In order that the dead may not perish, they are transformed into other beings, and even into imperishable objects, by their names being conferred on those beings or objects. By mingling the substances the magical operation mingles the destinies. The chapters on 'Transformations' describe those strange means of escaping annihilation. The names recited on talismans or amulets enclose in these objects the vital principle of an individual. This is probably the explanation of the difficult formulæ of the famous Pyramid Texts, where the phrase *am ranuf ni* ('in his name of') assimilates the dead king with groups of divinities or even objects of worship or sacred substances, and even confuses the 'royal name,' *i.e.* the soul of the king, with heavenly localities believed to be possessed of a personality of their own by their name.

Magic capable of producing such wonderful effects in names flinches before nothing. The popular tales and the sacred literature of the hymns and invocations record the prodigious effects of the declamation of names as quite natural. Since the whole world is made up of living names which animate every substance and every body, we need not be astonished that, by chanting these names, the priest-magician can command everything. If he 'knows the names' (*rokhu ranu*), he can with his voice cleave mountains, rend the sky, make the stars move more slowly or more quickly.

No Egyptian being, natural or supernatural, can avoid the calling of his name. The iconography and the texts leave no doubt about this fact. They show how the name can be materially seized, snatched from one person, and incorporated in another. In Egypt magic (mimetic or sympathetic) is based almost entirely on the use of this possibility, which is increased tenfold in power and varieties of use by the invention of written magic (see below, § 5). The priest-magician devotes all his learning and power to 'knowing' (*rokhu*) the exact texture of the name, its qualities, quantities, musical tonality, and scanned declamation. The magical chant (*khrou*) which exactly reproduces all those elements gives to him who possesses it the complete ownership of the name-souls thus evoked. To the irresistible call which attracts their vital substance all beings, visible and invisible, must answer. Spirits, genii, the dead, the most powerful gods, cannot avoid it. And, after the lapse of centuries, when individual magic, alongside of the official religion-magic, developed its dangerous occult power, the processes were not different. It is by the summoning of secret names that the sorcerer of the Latin-Egyptian *tabellæ devotionis*, in order to accomplish his evil works, subdues the spirits of the dead, the genii of the under world, and sometimes even the august deities of the classical pantheon. It was therefore dangerous to make use of a name, and consequently the Egyptians were prohibited from using the name of the gods or that of the Pharaoh outside of the liturgy and foreknown cases; hence, *e.g.*, the punishments befalling those who in ordinary life make use of the oath or the curse on the royal name.

3. Secret names.—The person who is adjured or evoked, not being able to avoid the declamation of his name, has naturally devised a means of resisting incantations and exorcisms. He keeps his name secret. From the most humble spirit to the most powerful of the gods, each has a 'secret name,' which no one is supposed to know. He defends it jealously as his very life. For, as the texts say, 'this is his name by which he breathes.'

Of the many examples in Egyptian literature none is clearer in this respect than the famous legend of the god Rā. He was stung by a scorpion, and nothing could cure him until, overcome by the pain, he told Isis his secret name, which she used to compose an invincible exorcism and drive out the poison (for the different versions of this classical episode see Maspero, *Histoire*, i. 167 ff.; and Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, i. 224 ff.).

But man also employs all his patience and ingenuity to find out the secret names in order to get possession of them. The priestly bodies of each of the provinces of feudal Egypt were engaged in committing to writing collections of formulæ containing the knowledge of mysterious names. The medicine-men of the modern Congo do the same. Of those collections, which were at first passed on orally, an important part of what is known to us concerns everything connected with the fate of the dead. They are proved by philology (and often with the help of the natural sciences) to go back to the pre-historic period.

The lists called *Books of the Dead* and Pyramid Texts are based almost entirely on the knowledge of secret names. By them are annulled dangers from serpents, crocodiles, hippopotami, and monkeys armed with knives that lie in wait for the dead on the roads of the other world; the lions which guard the gates of Alcis are reduced to powerlessness; hostile spirits are dispersed; the protections and obstacles of the mysterious kingdoms have no longer any power when the hidden name of their spirit is pronounced. The fourteen secret names of the fairy barque and its principal parts place it at the disposal of the dead. The mysterious names of the thread which captures the souls of the dead, pronounced by the shade on its journey, enable him to escape it. By the same means he crosses the lakes of fire; he also knows the mysterious names of the magical weapons placed at his service to drive back or strike the hostile deities. Having at last arrived at the land of the dead, he causes the gates to open by his knowledge of the 'names' of the leaves and locks of the doors; he can find a place for himself there and obtains command over the inhabitants and the chief of the spirits by telling them that he 'knows their names' and by pronouncing imperiously the names of the guardians of the Seven Regions or those of the Twenty-one mysterious Pylones. It is not so much on account of his virtues and religious merits as by the knowledge of their secret names that he obtains from the forty-two judges of the dead the right to live in peace in the kingdom of Osiris. In the stellar or heavenly voyages which the theologies of the Pyramid Texts prescribe for the human soul, it is again by the pronunciation of the secret names that the dead sail across the spaces, conciliate the aerial groups of *hunmamit*, compel the gods of lights or of dark spaces to give them help or allow them to pass, to let them sail with them, or to share their powers or their food with them.

These powerful collections, elaborated for the use of dead chiefs, then gradually for the use of all the initiated, were secret. Writing, by fixing them, has preserved them for science, so that we may say that on many points of the religion-magic of Egypt we know from the papyri secrets which the people of Egyptian civilization, with the exception of priests and compilers of books, did not know.

The priestly body naturally had similar collections of mysterious names for the living Egyptians. Only some of them have come down to us (especially from the medical papyri) for cases of illness, possession, bad dreams, etc., and for avoiding ghosts, noxious animals, and the other dangers of everyday life. Unfortunately we do not know the formularies for the great operations of national worship. Perhaps they have never even been written out on account of the gravity and the all-powerfulness of the use of such names. They may have been bequeathed orally from priest to priest at the time of initiation. We shall never know any but the apparent names of the greatest gods of Egypt. The real names of Amon, 'whose name is secret,' Atumu, 'the mysterious,' Min, and

many others are unknown. The only thing that we know of the most powerful of all, the sun Rā, is that he had a secret, all-powerful name, and that Isis alone knew it one day (cf. p. 152[b]). We should remember that those formidable real names borne in classical antiquity by Zeus, Athene, Dionysos, etc., have never been found out—names which from century to century were known only by the priests in their service and the initiates of the great mysteries. We do not yet know the real name of Rome.

Private and personal magic made the same efforts as the national priesthood to know the names necessary for the good or evil operations which it had in hand. Like the magic of the temples, it utilized all methods to penetrate the secrets of the names. It arranged them in the same way in lists and tables. A 'curse table,' a charm, or an amulet of the magic of Græco-Roman Egypt differed in no way in composition and appearance from the means invented by the regular priesthood (cf. Budge, *Egyptian Magic*, pp. 177–179, and the important considerations on the Egyptian origin of the rites of Gnostic magic).

The irresistible power of the name and the knowledge of the name being united, man was theoretically all-powerful. How, then, were so many failures in practice to be explained? The answer is easy. Non-civilized races have often answered it in their way. To evoke a name is the most difficult thing imaginable. A name is too living and subtle a thing for a few pronounced syllables of it to be magically its exact counterpart. Even an extraordinarily detailed collection of hundreds of precautions was not sufficient to give faithfully the cadence, tonality, rhythm, and accent of each of the chanted syllables which constituted a name. A single mistake destroyed the whole evocation, as a single fault in syntonization destroys all means of communication between two stations of telephony or of wireless telegraphy. A thousand unsuccessful attempts were explained just as easily, so that one single apparent success might be remembered as a decisive proof.

4. Primitive elements which have disappeared or are absent.—All the preceding facts refer to primitive Egypt. But at the most ancient period accessible to research several of the characteristics pointed out with regard to primitive peoples are no longer found; name-tabus do not occur, except under the reverential form prohibiting the thoughtless use of divine names (see below, § 7); the prohibition of ordinary names does not appear; and that of the names of the dead and of kings is replaced by the exact opposite. In fact, nobody any longer makes a lavish use of invocations or formulæ in the name of the dead; and, far from prohibiting names similar to those of gods or kings, the great majority of the Egyptians give their children names like those of the reigning Pharaoh, or expressing devotion or consecration to this sovereign master. The children called 'Pepy is living' in the VIth dynasty, the Amenhoteps and the Thotmeses of the XVIIIth, those called 'Great is the heart of Psammetichus' under the Saites, and so on throughout each reign, are innumerable. The hundreds of names derived from those of gods (their apparent names, of course) also show all the imaginable ways of uniting man to his gods by a series of names of relation, protection, love, or devotion.

The longest list is that of the ordinary theophoric names ending in *mas* (*e.g.*, Thotmas='Thōth has fashioned him'), *hotep* (*e.g.*, Amonhotep='He is united to Amon'), *miri* (*e.g.*, Phtahmiri='He is the beloved of Phtah'), *sotpu* (*e.g.*, Rinisotpu='He is the chosen *or* the elect of Rā'), etc. Apocopated theophoric names form the next important group, constructed on a plan similar to the Semitic formation (*e.g.*, Abdu, 'He is his Servant,' *i.e.* the servant of God). The rest of the list is made up of groups of designations referring to physical peculiarities, of epithets of praise or of good luck, etc. (cf., for details, Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 158 ff.). Surnames, euonymous names (*ran nofir*), the great name (*ran aō*), etc., are simply determinative of everyday life or the commemoration of a notable fact, without any special religious importance.

Two other characteristics deserve mention: (1) there are only very faint traces of the belief in the re-incarnation of the dead in newly-born children, showing that this belief possibly existed at a time untouched by research, in the most remote archaic period; and (2) two passages in the so-called 'popular' literature seem to allude to the possibility that the newly-born infant received a secret name from its mother at birth; but nothing definite is known on the point.

With regard to 'totemic' names, if Egypt ever passed through this phase, there is no trace of it left in the periods known to us. At the time of the most ancient monuments, in order to confer on her living subjects and on her dead most of the protections which the totem and its name give to primitive races, Egypt had an amazingly perfect system of affiliation to the cult of a certain protector-god, by initiation into the mysteries of the god. The title *amkhu* assumed by the initiates is followed by the name of the god, to whom the man henceforth owes special allegiance, and from whom he will receive protection in this life and in the life to come. The abandonment of the childish secret and of the materially magical association between the man and the depositary of life is replaced by initiation of a properly religious character, and the divine name, being united, but not confused, with that of the man, marks reciprocal obligations and duties, to which time by degrees gives a moral character.

5. Written names.—Among non-civilized races the vital principle of the name may be materially seized and incorporated in another person or thing (cf. NAMES [Primitive]). The latter is consequently transformed into a living person possessing the personality of the one whose name has been pronounced. This theory gave rise to fetishes and idols. It led semi-civilized Egypt to try to reproduce persons and objects, and thus she made her first attempts at painting and modelling. She advanced no farther in this respect than a score of other races in modern Africa. But, when by pictography she attained a kind of magical semi-writing, the consequences were incalculable. On receiving a name, the written forms lived the same magic life as living beings. Having arisen from ideograms, then from phonetic signs, of a value independent of the characters or forms which were drawn, they retained the faculty of keeping alive the sounds which they wished to express. It was possible from that time to *write* a name, and, by pronouncing the name on the writing, to enclose it for ever alive with all its magical powers in the signs traced by the hand of man. Written magic was created. Henceforward all that the voice had been able only to evoke, writing could *fix*. Names and their powers were contained on a stone, on a board, or on a papyrus-leaf. The tables and 'conjuring books' of priestly magic appeared. The thousand applications of the names of gods, spirits, forces, substances, the dead, belong to the subject of magic (*q.v.*), and need not be enumerated here. But we must notice the chief consequences in order to understand the history of names in Egyptian civilization.

(1) If an object or substance (*e.g.*, a papyrus-roll) contains written names, each of the signs of the name has the same marvellous power as the soul of the person possessing the name. The essential condition is that during the writing out the names are pronounced aloud. Hence the ability to transfer the soul by contact or mingling to whatever the priest or sorcerer wishes. A formula applied

to the forehead, or, better still, boiled and diluted in a beverage, introduces into the body the 'name-souls' of the gods or spirits whose names it contains. All countries have employed this method in their magic, but it was Egypt that first practised it.

(2) Every 'resemblance' of a person may become his exact equivalent by having his name inscribed on it (the name, of course, being pronounced during the operation)—*e.g.*, the statues, figures, and figurines of temples and tombs, and the figures of the servants of the dead in the frescoes and bas-reliefs; for the applications made by sorcery and magic see artt. MAGIC.

The operation of 'making the name live' often ran the risk of exposing the name, thus written, to the exorcism of an enemy. The prohibitive formulæ were some protection against the danger. The hiding-place of the statues in the *serdab* of the Memphite tombs was another protection. Several isolated cases show greater ingenuity. Maspero (*Guide Musée Caire*, p. 225) cites a *ushabti* (or funerary statue), on which the engraved name of the dead man has been covered with a layer of enamel. The same precaution has perhaps been taken in the case of some of the wooden statues covered with thin painted stucco preserved in our Egyptian museums.

(3) Other more curious examples show that the name, in its written form, could as a real material soul be incorporated with any object whatever, that it was instantaneously transformed into a person, or that it changed into a kind of talismanic shelter which would hide and guard the life of the individual for ever. The most convincing examples are given in the *Books of the Dead*. Both in funerary and in ordinary life they try to enclose the name-soul in scarabæi (cf. Maspero, *Guide*, p. 538) or in amulets and talismans (cf. Budge, *Egyp. Magic*, p. 160, and *Gods of the Egyptians*, i. 301), of which the museums show ingenious varieties.

The most characteristic of these methods is undoubtedly the small stone cut into the shape of the hieroglyphic sign meaning 'name' ( ), or *rān*, with the name of the possessor engraved on it (cf. Maspero, *Guide*, p. 525). It is interesting to compare with these customs the passage in Revelation (2[17]) where it is said concerning the Church of Pergamos that the neophyte received 'a white stone, and upon the stone a new name written, which no one knoweth but he that receiveth it.'

It is therefore the very souls of the persons whose names are written on them that those *rān*-figures contain. This explains (*a*) the sacred value of the royal statues in Amarna, representing the Pharaoh and his relatives holding tightly in their hands large talismans of this shape, on which are inscribed the names of the king and the god Atonu; there could be no surer means of securing for ever the union of the two substances, the divine and the royal; (*b*) the numerous scenes in which the king offers, as a valuable *ex voto*, a tablet on which his name is inscribed; he is consecrating his soul to his god; (*c*) the abundance of those *rāns* among the royal names in the sacrifice scenes and on the pieces of sacred furniture. Through time the barbarity of the primitive idea was softened, and what was originally a work of divine sorcery was transformed into a proof of piety. We now understand the religious meaning of the Egyptian statues in which the worshippers unite their eternal destiny with that of their god by kneeling and holding, not a representation of the god, but a tablet on which is engraved the *rān*, the divine name-soul, of their master.

We now seem to be far removed from those first ages of Egyptian magic, when a person hid his name in an object, as the hero Bitiu hid his soul in the blossom of a tree; and far from the strange magic of the Pyramid Texts, in which the name-soul of the king animates his crowns, weapons, throne, and the parts of his dress, where it is mingled with the name-souls of the gods. Thus the kings of Egypt, like those of Dahomey, passed their divine soul into their staff or their sceptre of power. Nevertheless the mystic scene of the *ashdu* tree shows us that at the height of the classical period the king was led on the coronation day in front of the god-tree at Heliopolis—the tree in which one of the souls of Atumu dwelt—and that there his name was engraved on the fruits of the tree. The name-soul thus penetrated into the eternal substance of the god and there mingled its destiny for ever. Over a score of bas-reliefs prove the survival of such ceremonies as late as the XXth dynasty. But, as a matter of fact, during the historic period these rites were simply traditional ceremonies to which only a symbolical value was attached; and we may be sure that, in the coronation ceremony, as in the family-worship of the dead, 'to make the name live' had acquired the high meaning of commemoration which it has in our own day.

6. **Names and creation.**—As we said above, from the neolithic age to the classical period Egypt passed through the successive conceptions to be seen arising and evolving in the various religions of non-civilized races. Like the most 'primitive' of those, ancient Egypt was acquainted with the vague 'sky-god,' indistinguishable from the substance of the sky, the general author of life and death. The great Horus of the earliest legends, the god Anhuri, the thunder-god Minu, giver of the rain which engenders life, the mysterious Atumu hidden in the primordial water, and ten others of the same kind were distributed among the local religions of pre-historic Egypt. In order to organize and vivify inert matter, and to 'create,' man had believed that he obtained the fertilizing substance from himself, from his sweat or his tears (Horus), his saliva (Knumu and Hikit), or his semen (Atumu) when he was imagined as of the male sex. A second, more advanced, theory believed in birth by the supreme god. There were sky-goddesses (the pre-historic Nuit, Hathor, Mihit, Neith, and the pre-historic Isis) who were at first believed to be capable of conceiving by their own energy, then (in a more learned theory) fecundated by an exterior divine principle (hence, *e.g.*, the common idea of cow-goddesses suckling human beings, then fecundated in their turn by the son-god to whom they have given birth; cf. the final theory of the sky-goddess represented as a cow, suckling the sun in the form of a calf, which, having become a bull, is the 'husband of his mother' and fecundates her with a constantly renewed life). Such theories gradually gave place, partly at least, to clearer theories, in which man, understanding the rôle of the sun better, assigned the first place to that luminary, who, however, still used material effort, or at least action, in order to create. This stage, which non-civilized races never surpassed, the Egyptians exceeded by a long way through their knowledge of names, and their ability to deduce from them. Finding in the omnipotence of the chanted voice, and consequently in the power of the name, the solutions of the problems of primitive races, the Egyptians decided that, if names are the vital substances of all beings, it was by names that creation was effected. The latent life was organized by the god, who, by pronouncing the names of all personalities and entities, created them. The vibrations of energy, co-ordinated in sonorous waves, formed chanted words, attracted matter, and animated it with as many different forms as there were names. It was at Hermopolis that theology arrived at this clever idea, and Thōth (later Hermes Trismegistus) was 'the god who created by the voice.' This fact is important for the origin of systems infinitely more philosophical which came to light later—*e.g.*, Pythagoras's system of numbers.

7. **The name of the Eternal.**—If the name is the divinely originated particle which animates every living thing, Egyptian theology, proceeding from

one difficulty to another, had to face the problem of the origin of the creator-god himself. Like Genesis and the ancient demiurgies, it could not believe that the god pre-existed before matter, and tried to imagine how he freed himself from it in order afterwards to organize it. The most important of the Egyptian texts on this point is ch. xxviii. of the *Book of the Dead*, where the supreme god, in order to show himself and to obtain possession of his own person, utters his name himself, and at the same moment exists apart from matter (cf. Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, i. 307, and Erman, *Egyp. Religion*, p. 156).

Having arrived at this point, the theory of names entered a new phase, less limited by verbal magic, in which the crudeness of the primitive data was transformed until it reached a high stage of refinement. The divine name tended to become a power rather than a material soul, and, as Egyptian theology realized better the many aspects of the god and his energies, it saw that this power, single in its essence, was multiple in its manifestations. It explained the matter by teaching that the god had as many name-souls as he had attributes or functions (*ἀρεταί*). Hence legends like that of the sun creating his names in order to organize his powers as master of the universe; hence the series of names possessed by the chiefs of the divine world; and hence the necessity that man should know those names of his gods and the value of enumerations and lists. The range of such a principle was considerable. Round primitive divine names (we are speaking only of their unhidden names) new secondary names described their divine activities. They created gods 'one in several persons,' and the theological task was refined and perfected from century to century. In spite of the difficulty of such researches, Egyptology can now find out the oldest names of the great gods of prehistoric Egypt; it has recovered for each of the independent nations the old primordial gods, the general author of life and master of invisible things, the sky-gods represented as a hawk (Horus, Montu), an eagle (Minu, Anhuri), a ram (Knumu, Amonu), or, if they are goddesses, as a vulture (Mauit), a cow (Nuit, Hathor, Mihit), etc. Their names expressed a pure and simple quality: 'The Mysterious,' 'The Hidden,' 'The Very Strong,' 'He who is on High,' etc. But, in proportion as divine intervention ceased to be confined to vague initial functions, and as its beneficent and active rôle multiplied in definite activities, so the name-souls multiplied also, and created the series of 'secondary persons' of the god. The separate functions were at first probably quite humble. Khonsu, called Nofirhotpu, was a healer and exorcizer, while Khonsu, named Pairisakhru, replied by oracles, and Khonsu, 'the brilliant dweller in Thebes,' magically protected the products of the earth. Time modified what was originally too material in this division of the powers of Khonsu. The powers of the gods contained in their divine names became especially aids and divine virtues. In the case of the great gods their number was augmented by all that was expected from them on the earth. The list of these names gradually included all the ideas of the Egyptian on the *θεῖον*. At the same time, if each of the names continued to make a new soul for the god, these souls gradually became merely manifestations, for the sake of the material world, of a single soul, whose names are pious epithets. As the same task was carried on for each of the great local gods, no means of fusion was more efficacious in multiplying hypostases. It is no exaggeration to say that the evolution of the rôle of the name has played a part of the greatest importance in the history of Egyptian syncretism.

8. Names of children of the gods.—In the case of human beings a parallel evolution appears. Royal, feudal, and priestly names had at first been simple magical statements of the bond uniting the god to the person who bears a theophoric or theogenic name. They had protected with their mysterious power those on whom they had been conferred. Later they had established the delegation of power possessed by the representative of the gods on the earth. The modern Negus of Abyssinia, who at his coronation took the name of 'He who watches on the Frontiers,' simply did what the Pharaohs of ancient Egypt did (cf. KING [Egyptian]). But a day came when the coronation names of these kings lost their power of materially mingling with the magical souls of the gods to indicate the moral rôle, of justice and beneficence, which the kings expected to inherit from them on the earth (cf. *ib.*). The names of the feudal nobility and those of the servants of the gods underwent similar changes as each had his task pointed out in this world by the divine organizers of the *κόσμος* (see DUALISM [Egyptian]).

There is no doubt that a similar course was taken by the ideas connected with the names of ordinary mortals. Theophoric names (apocopated or not) and names taken from those of the king had the same crude magical beginnings; they gradually became a sign of piety and devotion towards the sovereign or divine patron. With those who took the names of the deceased ancestors of the family the idea might have been to revivify those names; but it was no longer in the sense attributed to it by primitive peoples; it was for the same purpose which we have to-day when we call our children after those whom we have loved and who are no more.

When formal magic thus gave up its rights in the power of names and its irresistible effects, the Egyptian metaphysics of the last twelve centuries took up the study of the matter. The virtues of the names passed from the Hermopolitan demiurgy into the refined systems of Hermesianism and Trismegistus, whence they spread to the ancient classical world of the Mediterranean. But in the low levels of human thought popular magic clung firmly to the original ideas. It persisted in seeking evocation by the names of the forces which it wished to subject, and did not fear to subjugate even the gods of good to the service of the absurd or of the individual passions. Extended gradually towards the gods of evil, it spread its 'Egyptian sorceries' in the empire, and, surviving after the old religions from which it arose, continued to our day its puerile or hateful pursuits. It shows by its recent successes in handling the names in the lists of demonology that, if there are still any 'primitive people' in this world, they are not necessarily to be looked for among uncivilized races.

LITERATURE.—J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, Chicago, 1905–07, iv. 753, 906, 925 f.; E. A. W. Budge, *Egyptian Magic*[2], London, 1901, pp. 156–173, *Gods of the Egyptians*, do. 1904, i. 301–315, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, London and New York, 1911; A. Erman, *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, Eng. tr., London, 1907, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, Eng. tr., do. 1894, p. 156 ff.; G. Foucart, 'La Religion et l'art dans l'Egypte ancienne,' *Revue des idées*, 15th Nov. 1908, pp. 1–37, *Hist. des religions et méthode comparative*, Paris, 1913, ch. v.; E. Lefébure, 'Le Chapitre "Que mon nom fleurisse,"' *Mélusine*, viii. [1908] 217, 235; G. Maspero, *Etudes de mythologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes*, Paris, 1893–1911, i. (= *Bibl. égyptol.* i.) 101, 375, and ii. (= *ib.* ii.), 297, 310, *Hist. ancienne des peuples de l'Orient classique*, do. 1895–99, i. 162, 263, *Guide du visiteur au Musée du Caire*, Cairo, 1915, pp. 524, 528, 550; E. Naville, *The old Egyptian Faith*, Eng. tr., London, 1909, ch. iv.

GEORGE FOUCART.

NAMES (Hebrew).—**I. *INTRODUCTION.***—A few well-attested names have survived from the earliest centuries of the Hebrew nation, a far larger number from various periods of the monarchy (*c.* 1050–586 B.C.) and again from certain periods

between the Exile and the Fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70. Even before the last date, and still more subsequently, the growing practice of naming children after relatives, especially the grandfather[1]—a practice which was little if at all in vogue among the Hebrews before the 5th cent. B.C.[2]—and also the practice of reviving distinguished names of the past,[3] and the incursion of foreign names (*e.g.*, Persian, Greek, Roman), were leading to a great falling off in the creation of Hebrew names, at all events of such names as were really fresh and not mere abbreviations or modifications of existing names. The present survey, therefore, takes nothing more than incidental notice of Jewish names after A.D. 70.[4]

Names are principally (1) names of places, and (2) names of persons; (3) a third class, tribal or clan names, consists of names in large part closely related to one or other of the first two classes. The names of a large number of places occupied in historical times by the Hebrews are known; but it is certain that many of them were in existence before the Hebrews settled in Canaan, and it is probable that with few exceptions the place-names of Canaan mentioned in the Bible were given by Semites indeed, but not by that particular branch of Semites known to us as Hebrews. The discussion of these names falls outside the present article,[5] which will be concerned only with personal names.

The sources of our knowledge of Hebrew names are mainly three: (1) the OT; (2) the Aramaic papyri[6] discovered at Elephantine (and Assuan), which contain the names of several hundred Jews living at Elephantine in the 5th cent. B.C.; (3) Babylonian business documents,[7] especially those found at Nippur and dating from the reigns of Artaxerxes I. and Darius II. (464–404 B.C.). Except in special instances, names from these sources will be cited without reference; but, unless the context already makes the provenance of a name clear, the Elephantine names will be distinguished by the addition of (Egyp.), the Babylonian by the addition of (Bab.). The Biblical names can easily be traced in Hebrew dictionaries or Biblical concordances,[8] the Egyptian and Babylonian in the indexes to the works of Sayce and Cowley, of Sachau, and of Hilprecht and Clay cited in the footnotes. In addition to the OT, such literary sources as the extra-canonical literature of the Jews contain some names not otherwise known; and to the discovery of ostraka at Samaria we are indebted for knowledge of an important group of Hebrew names assigned by the discoverers to the 9th cent. B.C.; unfortunately no facsimiles of the ostraka have yet been published nor have the inscriptions been systematically edited, and we remain dependent on merely provisional information.[1] A certain number both of names known from literary sources and of others not so known have been found on seals, coins, etc.[2]

The material furnished by all these sources is considerable; but there are difficulties in the use of it, and consequent uncertainties in conclusions derived from it, which should at the outset be briefly indicated. (1) Proper names are peculiarly liable to corruption in the process of transcription; and a comparison of the forms in the Hebrew text and the Greek version of the OT shows how frequently as a matter of fact Hebrew names preserved in literary sources have been misread.[3] Names derived directly from the cuneiform tablets, the Samaritan ostraka, or the Egyptian papyri are, of course, exempt from this particular danger, though occasional examples of obvious mistakes of the scribe or engraver[4] are found. But even with these names we have to allow for uncertainties of decipherment; these may arise from injury to the material on which the names are written or inscribed, or from the ambiguity of certain signs—*e.g.*, in the Egyptian papyri the letters *d* and *r* are quite indistinguishable. (2) The chronology of names is frequently uncertain. There are in this connexion two distinct questions: (*a*) When was a given name first formed?; (*b*) To what date is a particular use of the name to be assigned? In general with regard to (*a*) we can rarely assert more than that a given name had been first formed *as early as* such and such a date—the date, namely, of the first person to bear the name. Question (*b*) turns on the character or trustworthiness of documents; *e.g.*, granted that the papyri are genuine, it is certain that the name Penuliah (פנוליה), though unknown to the OT, had been created as early as the 5th cent. B.C., for it occurs several times in the Elephantine papyri. So also, granted the correctness of the text, the name Gabael (To 1^1) was created as early as the date of the book of Tobit—say the 3rd cent. B.C.; but, in view of the general character of that book, the genealogy in which this name occurs cannot be described as good evidence that Gabael was as ancient as the 9th cent. B.C., to which the story refers it. So also many names referred in Chronicles to periods centuries earlier than that work, or in P to the Mosaic age, cannot safely be accepted as possessing the antiquity attributed to them: some of them may be very ancient, some almost certainly are not; but all that can safely be affirmed is that they are at least as ancient as the book of Chronicles in the one case, and as the source P in the other.[5] (3) Even when a name can be read with certainty, and its age determined, its meaning may be obscure or am-

[1] G. B. Gray, *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names* (cited hereafter as *HPN*), p. 2 ff.

[2] *Ib.*; also, in further detail and with some correction, G. B. Gray, 'Children named after Ancestors in the Aramaic Papyri from Elephantine and Assuan,' in *Studien zur semitischen Philologie . . . Julius Wellhausen . . . gewidmet*, Giessen, 1914, p. 163 ff.

[3] *HPN*, p. 7, with the references in n. 1.

[4] For these names see L. Zunz, *Namen der Juden* (1837), reprinted in *Gesammelte Schriften*, Berlin, 1875, ii. 1–82; H. P. Chajes, *Beiträge zur nordsem. Onomatologie*, Vienna, 1900.

[5] The present writer has discussed them elsewhere; see *EBi*, 3307–3320, where (3308) evidence is given for the statement above that many place-names were certainly pre-Hebraic.

[6] A. H. Sayce and A. E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri discovered at Assuan*, London, 1906 (with index of the proper names); E. Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus Elephantine*, Leipzig, 1911 (also with index of proper names).

[7] H. V. Hilprecht and A. T. Clay, 'Business Documents of Murashû Sons of Nippur,' in Series A: *Cuneiform Texts of the Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, vols. ix., x., Philadelphia, 1898–1904; and A. T. Clay, *University of Pennsylvania, The Museum Publications of the Babylonian Section*, vol. ii. no. 1, do. 1912. A few Jewish names of the reigns of Cyrus and Darius are given in K. L. Tallqvist, *Neubabylonisches Namenbuch*, Helsingfors, 1905; cf. S. Daiches, *The Jews in Babylonia in the Time of Ezra and Nehemiah according to Babylonian Inscriptions*, London, 1910.

[8] To facilitate reference Biblical names will generally be cited by the forms given in the EV; to which recognized dots under letters and the sign ' for *y* will sometimes be added.

[1] See D. G. Lyon's art. in the *Harvard Theological Review* for January 1911, based on information supplied by the excavator, G. A. Reisner; *The Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, April 1911, pp. 79–83 (S. R. Driver); *Revue Biblique*, April, 1911, pp. 290–293 (F. M. Abel); G. B. Gray, *ExpT* xxvii. [1915] 57–62.

[2] M. A. Levy, *Siegel und Gemmen*, Leipzig, 1869, c. iii. 'Siegel mit althebräischen Inschriften'; F. W. Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, London, 1903; cf. G. A. Cooke, *Text-book of North Semitic Inscriptions*, Oxford, 1903; M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitische Epigraphik*, Berlin, 1898, and *Ephemeris*, i.–iii. [Giessen, 1900–12]; Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, *Répertoire d'Épigraphie sémitique*, i. and ii., Paris, 1900–15.

[3] See, *e.g.*, the notes to the lists of names in *HPN*, pp. 277–310, or cf. the equivalents in Hatch and Redpath's *Concordance to the LXX* (Supplement i.). The extent of corruption was, however, exaggerated by T. K. Cheyne (*EBi*, *passim*, *Critica Biblica*, etc.); see G. B. Gray, 'The . . . Textual Tradition of Hebrew Proper Names,' in *JQR* xiii. [1900–01] 375–391.

[4] Cf. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsem. Epigraphik*, p 128 f.

[5] See *HPN*, ch. iii.

biguous. As a matter of fact, the meanings of many Hebrew names remain quite uncertain, and some apparently obvious and straightforward names are ambiguous; *e.g.*, does Azaniah mean 'God hears,' or, as Nöldeke thinks, 'God weighs'? Either meaning is possible enough; the root אזן, 'to hear,' is familiar, though the verbal form in use is Hiphil, not Kal; the verb אזן, 'to weigh,' is not actually found in Hebrew literature, but its existence is perhaps attested by מאזנים, 'scales.' Even when the etymology of a name is clear and unambiguous and the meaning in part clear, the complete meaning may remain ambiguous. Azariah means 'Jahweh has helped'; but whom? and how? Such uncertainties can only be limited in proportion as it is possible to group and classify names. Before leaving this question of ambiguity, it should be remembered that the same name probably acquired different ranges of meaning at different periods and in different circles; and that the continued existence of some names was probably promoted by the ease with which the sense in which they might be understood could be modified. The various stories of the naming of children show how easily the real etymology, even if fairly obvious, could be set aside in favour of a false one. Samuel really meant 'name of God':[1] but it might be given by some one who wished to record that the child had been 'asked of God' (1 S 1[20]). Jesus or Joshua certainly had originally no reference to deliverance *from sin* (Mt 1[21]), though it is not inconceivable that in certain circles even before the Christian era the name was sometimes chosen because this meaning had been imported into it.

Owing to the various uncertainties and ambiguities arising from the causes just indicated, it is obviously unwise to base any far-reaching conclusions on a single name, especially if that name is but once attested. Guided by this consideration, we may proceed first to a general survey of the meanings of Hebrew names, reserving for the close of our discussion some reference to their chronological distribution, and some account of one or two special problems.

II. *Classification.*—Hebrew names may be classified in respect of their formation,[2] as (i.) simple, *i.e.* consisting of a single element—*e.g.*, 'Iḳḳesh, 'crooked'; or (ii.) compound, *i.e.* consisting of more than one element—*e.g.*, Nathanael, 'God has given.' Compound names are most commonly, like the example just cited, sentences; simple names are commonly epithets; but some compounds are epithets—*e.g.*, Obadiah, 'servant of Jah(weh),' and others in which the two elements are nouns in the genitive relation, and a large number of simple names are sentences or are derived from sentences; such, *e.g.*, are those which consist of the 3rd pers. sing. of a verb; *e.g.*, Nathan, '(he) has given.' The example just cited is really an abbreviation of such statements as 'God (or Jahweh) has given,' which fuller statements also occur as proper names (Nathanael, Elnathan, J[eh]onathan). Occasionally at least the same individual was known by both the longer and the shorter form; thus Ahaz, king of Judah, is named by the fuller form Jehoahaz in an inscription of Tiglath-pileser. So also in the Elephantine papyri מחסיה and מחסה interchange, מבמתיה once appears as מבמה (see the notes in Sayce-Cowley on A. 9, D. 36), and מעוני בר נתן of Sachau 4[2] is probably identical with מעוניה בר נתן of Sayce-Cowley H. 16, J. 17. But, generally speaking, such longer and shorter forms are distinct names applicable to different people. Another considerable class of names (caritatives)[1] consists of abbreviations or modifications of what were originally sentence-names in which one element is not simply omitted but is replaced by an ending, some modification especially in the vocalization often taking place in the other element also; in this way it is probable, *e.g.*, that many names in א— are to be explained; thus Shimea (שמעא) is probably an abbreviation of Shemaiah (שמעיה), Abda (עבדא) of Obadiah or Abdeel, or the like. In so far as such abbreviated or modified forms retained their meaning, it was the meaning of the sentences of which they were abbreviations that they would naturally express and suggest, though many such forms may of course have been peculiarly liable to be used also with fresh meanings alien from their actual etymology. Further probable examples of modifications of what were originally sentences are to be found, *e.g.*, in names of the form *kaṭṭûl*: thus Zaccur, Ḥasshub, Jaddua', Malluch, Naḥum, 'Azzur, 'Aḳḳub, Sadduc (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. i. 1), Shallum, Shammua'; the frequently recurring גדול[2] and נתן[2] of the Elephantine papyri may some or all be modifications of Zachariah, Ḥashabiah, Jeda'iah, Malchiah, Nehemiah, 'Azariah, 'Aḳabiah (cf. Aqbi-ia-a-ma [Bab.] and Phœn. Bel'aḳab), Zedeḳiah, Shelemiah, Shema'iah, Gedaliah, Nethaniah respectively, and should in that case be interpreted accordingly, '(Jahweh) has remembered,' 'regarded,' 'known,' etc.[3] Differently vocalized, some of these names might be passive participles or adjectives;[4] in that case they would be epithets, and Zacur (not Zaccur) would mean 'remembered,' 'Azur (not 'Azzur) would mean 'helped'; Gadol (not Gaddul), though it would still be ambiguous (see below), might mean 'great.' But for the existence of names of the form *kaṭṭûl* we do not rest only on the vocalization of MT; for (1) many Greek forms contain the reduplicated middle consonant: so Ζακχουρ, Ἀκκουβ, Σαλλουμ, Σαμμουε in the LXX, and Σαδδουκος and Ιαδδους in Josephus; (2) the passive participles from the roots appearing in Shallum and Naḥum would be not Shalum and Naḥum but Meshullam, which frequently appears

[1] Against some recent attempts to explain the name otherwise, see S. R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*[2], Oxford, 1913, pp. 16–19.

[2] Into details as to the various grammatical forms of the compound names it is impossible to enter here; see *HPN* under 'Grammatical Structure of Compound Names,' in the Index; and *EBi*, *s.v.* 'Names' (§§ 20–23, 75–79).

[1] E. Renan, 'Des Noms théophores apocopées,' in *REJ* v. 161 ff.; Nöldeke, art. 'Names,' in *EBi*, §§ 49–57; Lidzbarski, 'Semitische Kosenamen,' in *Eph.* ii. 1–23.

[2] To be vocalized, perhaps, Gaddûl, Nattûn, rather than Gadôl (Sayce-Cowley), Nathun, though in the latter, as in other similar names, the Babylonian forms commonly show only the single middle radical; *e.g.*, Na-tu-nu, A-ku-bu, Za-bu-du; an instance of the reduplication in Bab. is Sa-at-tu-ru; cf. the Biblical סתור pointed סָתוּר in MT, but probably enough originally pronounced sattûr.

[3] Cf. Lidzbarski, *op. cit.* p. 21, from whom most of the examples given above have been cited. It is worth observing that most of these names first appear relatively late; an isolated early example would be the name of David's contemporary, if this were pronounced not צָדוֹק (MT; EV 'Zadok') but, as in some MSS of the LXX, Σαδδουκ (cf. P. de Lagarde, *Bildung der Nomina*, Göttingen, 1889, p. 227 ff.) like the Σαδδουκος of a later age cited above. The name צרק of the Elephantine papyri in view of the consistent absence of the ו is probably neither Zadok (Sayce-Cowley) nor Zadduk, but צָדָק, resembling in form נָתָן, Nathan, cited above. Similarly the Gileadite usurper (*c.* 746 B.C.) may have been named שלם (2 K 15[10]), *i.e.* Shillem, rather than שלום (2 K 15[13-15]); LXX has consistently in 2 K 15[10-15] Σαλλημ, not as, *e.g.*, in 1 Ch 2[40] of another person, Σαλλούμ. So also שלם, Σελλημ of Jer 22[11] may have been שַׁלֵּם rather than שלום as in 1 Ch 3[15]. Apart from צדוק and שלום the earliest attested examples of names of the form *kaṭṭûl* are עזור (Jer 28[1]) and נחום (Nah 1[1]). Most of these names are confined to, but some of them are frequent in, Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah; וכור and שמוע also appear in P; עזור, וכור, שלום, and שמוע also occur, some of them frequently, in the Elephantine papyri, and עקוב and שמוע in the Babylonian tablets.

[4] Cf. Nöldeke, 'Names,' in *EBi*, § 56.

as a proper name, and Menuḥam.[1] It may well be that some names like Ḥanun which are pointed in the MT as passive participles were actually examples of the form *kaṭṭûl*, though Ḥanun in particular has the single *n* in Babylonian documents (Hilprecht-Clay, ix. 27. 59). But these ambiguities, like many others connected with names, it is rarely possible to eliminate with certainty in the case of particular examples; in general we may conclude that some examples of both forms—*kaṭṭûl* and *kāṭûl*—were in use. It is impossible to enter here into other certain or possible types of caritatives such as the form *kaṭṭai*, possibly a further modification of an original *kaṭalyah*, so that, *e.g.*, Zaccai (זכי) as well as Zaccur would be derived from Zechariah.

Sentence-names are almost all of religious significance; so also are some of the names that are epithets, especially such of these names as are compounds; but epithets consisting of a single element are in many cases not of religious meaning. We may first survey those names which are simpler in form and secular or less markedly religious in meaning, passing then to those in which a religious meaning is at all events more obvious.

i. Simple names or epithets.—Jacob may or may not mean 'one that takes hold of another by the heel,' and the circumstances of the child's birth may or may not have been as described in Gn 25[26]; but the story is good evidence that the circumstances of birth might suggest a child's name. So, again, though it is wholly improbable that Esau means 'red,' and not certain that it means 'hairy,' Gn 25[25] indicates that the physical appearance of the new-born child might suggest its name. Some of the Hebrew names have more or less clearly meanings that suggest such origins.

1. **Circumstances of birth.**—(*a*) Yathom, Yathomah, and, less clearly, Yathma[2]—names which occur in the Elephantine papyri—mean 'orphan' or 'fatherless,' and they were probably given to posthumous children. Nöldeke would interpret Jotham and 'Aḳḳub (OT; Egyp.; Bab.) in the same way; but both these names are ambiguous and may be quite differently explained (see above for 'Aḳḳub, and ii. (4) below for Jotham). The mother of 'Azubah, 'forsaken,' may have died in childbirth.

(*b*) One or other of two children born at a birth might be called Thomas (תאום), 'twin'; and a small group of names is perhaps to be explained of the relationship established by the birth: Ahab means 'father's brother'; Ahiam should perhaps be vocalized 'Aḥi'em, 'mother's brother'; Ahumai, if not rather a caritative, may mean 'brother of my mother.' 'The idea is that the new-born child will at some future time stand by his mother, as if he were her brother' (Nöldeke, *EBi* iii. 3296).

(*c*) Becher (בכר), if vocalized Bechor, would mean 'first-born'; but both this name and Bichri may rather be derived from בֶּכֶר, a young camel (cf. 2 (*e*)). And, though Haḳḳatan may mean 'the youngest,' it is doubtful whether the proper name is to be so explained (see 2 (*b*) below).

(*d*) Among the clearest examples of this whole class are names that refer to the time of birth. Ḥaggai (OT; Egyp.; Bab.), a very popular name in and after the 6th cent., means 'festal,' *i.e.* born at the feast; and the earlier attested woman's name Ḥaggith has the same meaning. Shabbethai (OT; Egyp.; Bab.) means 'Sabbatical,' *i.e.* born on the Sabbath; cf. שבתית (Sachau, Tafel 62, no. 1, col. ii. 4), Σαββαιος (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. iii. iv.), and Barsabbas (Ac 1[23] 15[22]). Ḥodesh, if rightly read in 1 Ch 8[9], may, like the more obvious Phœn. בנחדש, mean 'one born at the new moon'; and possibly פסח (MT, RV, Paseaḥ) may mean 'one born at Passover' (but see also under 2 (*d*)).

(*e*) Place of birth or race suggested a few names: Jehudi, 'Jew'; Judith, 'Jewess'; Cushi, 'Ethiopian'; Beeri, 'belonging to (born at) Beer'; Baalmeoni (Samaritan ostraka), 'belonging to (born at) Baalmeon.' Most, however, of the numerous names ending in י—, *i*, are not *gentilicia*, but caritatives.

2. **Physical characteristics.**—(*a*) Sex perhaps suggested the name Geber, 'man,' or 'male' (cf Job 3[3] RV).

(*b*) Size apparently is referred to in Haḳḳatan, 'the small one' (rather than 'the youngest'; see 1 (*c*)). Gadol (Egyp.), even if rightly punctuated so, is rather a sentence with suppression of the divine subject than an epithet, 'the large one.'

(*c*) There is more and better evidence that colour suggested names (cf. Gn 25[25]), though not all of the following are equally certain: Laban, Lebanah, Libni, Labani (Bab.) may all mean 'white'; Haruz, 'yellow'; Zohar, 'reddish white'; Sheḥarḥor, a name probably occurring on a Hebrew seal (*JA*, 1883, p. 156), 'black' (cf. Ca 1[6]).

(*d*) Defects gave rise to another group of names, though again some of the following might be questioned: baldness suggested Ḳareaḥ (to be vocalized Ḳērēaḥ) and, perhaps, Ḳoraḥ; dumbness, Ḥeresh; crookedness, Iḳḳesh; scabbiness, Gareb; leprosy, Zeru'ah. Gideon, Gideoni, like the Arabic *jud'an*, may mean 'maimed'; Paseaḥ, if vocalized Pisseaḥ, would mean 'halting' (but see also under 1 (*d*)); 'Aṭer (OT; Egyp.), if vocalized 'Iṭṭēr, would mean 'left-handed'; but it is not improbably an abbreviation. Ḥarim, Ḥarum, Ḥarumaph, may mean 'with slit nose.'

(*e*) Some of the rather numerous class of names derived from animals, plants, and various objects may have been given because the animal or object in question conspicuously suggested a physical characteristic detected in the infant or which it was desired the child should possess when grown up. But in any particular instance the original cause of such names is generally ambiguous; they may have reference not to physical characteristics, but to some accidental connexion of the object in question with the birth; according to Wetzstein, a Bedawī girl was called 'snow-flake' because it was snowy at the time of her birth (cited in *EBi* iii. 3300), and possibly the Hebrew Barak, 'lightning,' should be similarly explained; in such cases the name should really be classed under (1). Names derived from animals, again, have often been explained by social and religious developments (see below). But, with this warning as to the uncertain cause of these names, we can as conveniently here as anywhere give illustrations of the general class of names derived from animals, etc.

(*α*) *Animals.*—The majority of the proper names derived from animals and mentioned in the OT occur as names either of places or clans or of foreign individuals. As against some 80 such names of places, clans, or foreign individuals, there are at most some 20 of Hebrew individuals (all pre-Exilic); these include Deborah, 'bee'; Aiah, 'vulture'; Zimri, probably derived from *zemer*, 'a mountain sheep'; Jonah, 'dove'; Zibiah, 'gazelle'; Ḥuldah, 'weasel'; 'Achbor, 'mouse'; Shaphan, 'rock-badger.' For other examples, many of which are uncertain, see *HPN*, p. 97 ff.

(*β*) *Plants.*—Names of individuals derived from plants are very few: Susanna, 'lily,' and Tamar,

[1] It is interesting, if not also significant, to note the form *kaṭṭûl* in modern names; in Algiers Abdallah becomes 'Abbûd, in Syria 'Abd-el-Ḳâdir becomes Ḳaddûra (cf. in Algiers Kaddûr). See A. Socin's art. 'Die arabischen Eigennamen' in *ZDMG* liii. [1899] 482–485, who compares with these Arabic formations the Hebrew חנון, ראומה.

[2] Cf. *PSBA*, 1903, p. 259, where it is suggested that Yathom was originally read in 1 Ch 11[46].

'date-palm,' are among the clearest; Hadassah, 'myrtle'; Rimmon, the father (? individual or clan) of Baanah and Rechab, means 'pomegranate'; Zethan is derived from *zayith*, 'olive.' Ḫi-il-lu-mu-tu (Bab.) may be identical with חלמות (Job 6⁶), 'purslain' (?).

(γ) *Various objects.*—Baḳbuḳ means 'pitcher'; Ḥotham, 'seal' or 'signet-ring'; Rizpah, 'pavement'; 'Achsah, 'anklet'; Shoham, 'onyx' (or some other precious stone); Ḳeziah, 'cassia'; Ḳeren-happuch, 'box of antimony.' Rebecca (MT Ribḳah) may, like the Arabic *ribḳ*, mean 'a cord for tying lambs or kids.'

3. Mental and moral qualities.—Some names probably imply such qualities, and those not always of a desirable kind; *e.g.*, Nabal means 'fool.' More intelligible are names denoting pleasantness, such as Na'omi, Na'amah, Na'aman, unless, indeed, some or all of these are rather connected with Adonis-worship.

ii. COMPOUND NAMES: NAMES WITH A RELIGIOUS MEANING, OR DERIVATIVES FROM SUCH NAMES.—Names of this class are more numerous than are those of class i., and they are far more frequently used; whereas most of the names cited under i. are known to have been borne by one, or perhaps two, individuals, many of the names of this class are known to have been borne by several persons, and some of them by more than a dozen different individuals.

It will be best to take primary account of the unabbreviated compound names—names, that is to say, in which both the subject and predicate of the sentence are expressed, or, in the case of compound epithets, in which both construct and genitive are expressed. The abbreviated names may sometimes be cited to enforce points that are established by the unabbreviated forms.

The subjects most frequently occurring in these sentence-names are (1) the proper name of the national God of the Hebrews, Jahweh, in one of several abbreviated forms;[1] (2) El, 'god'; (3) Ba'al, 'owner'; (4) Adoni, 'lord'; (5) Melech, 'king'; (6) Ab(i), 'father'; (7) Aḥ(i), 'brother'; (8) Am(mi), 'kinsman'; (9) S(h)em(u), 'name.' Some rarer elements in compound names, such as *ohel*, 'tent,' may be disregarded here; the others just cited refer to some divinity; whether they all refer to the same divinity is discussed below.

Of these subjects or divine elements in names, the most frequent is Jah(weh); the OT contains upwards of 150 different names into which the element Jah(weh) enters, and mentions over 500[2] persons whose names contain that element. The Samaritan ostraka, the Elephantine papyri, the Nippur tablets, and other sources add to this number both of names and of persons; *e.g.*, out of some 400 Jews named in the papyri between 150 and 170 bear a name containing Jah(weh). Next to Jahweh, El is the most frequent divine element, the known personal names containing it and mentioned in the OT numbering about 113 (including some tribal names); next in frequency come compounds with Ab and Aḥ, each of these, however, entering into fewer than 25 names. Compounds with 'Am, Ba'al, Melech, Adon, number less than a dozen each, and Shaddai, Zur, and Shem form each of them a part of two or three names only.

[1] In the OT יהו and יו (EV Jeho, Jo) at the beginning of names, and יהו and יה (EV '-iah') and occasionally יו at the end; in the Samaritan ostraka יו at both the beginning and the end of names; in the Elephantine papyri יהו and once or twice יהה at the beginning, and יה at the end of names; on the Babylonian tablets from Nippur *Ia-a-ḫu* at the beginning and *ia-a-ma* (pronounced *iawa*) at the end.

[2] This includes a number of persons mentioned in Chronicles who may be fictitious; but the actual persons in question must number between 300 and 400 at least.

A few fresh names[1] belonging to some of these classes, but not recorded in the OT, can be gleaned from other sources; but the additions thus made to our knowledge are far less numerous than in the case of compounds with Jah(weh).

We turn next to the kind of predicates attached to these subjects.

(1) An interesting, and in some respects ambiguous, group consists of names which contain two of the divine terms, one being subject, the other predicate, though another view is sometimes taken of the relation of the two terms in some of these names. This group includes Eliab, Abiel; Eli'am, 'Ammiel; Hiel (=Ahiel), Abijah, Joah; Abijah, Joab; Elijah, Jo'el (probably); Zuriel, Elizur, Zurishaddai; Bealiah (MT, Ba'alyah); Adonijah; Malchiah (=Malchiyah); Elimelech, Malchiel; Abimelech; Ahimelech. Somewhat similar are the names in which the personal pronoun forms one of the elements: these are Elihu, 'he is (my) god'; Abihu, 'he is (my) father'; Jehu, 'He is Jahweh.' Alongside of Abihu (אביהו) as the name of a man we find in the Elephantine papyri אביתי used exclusively as a woman's name; since this ought strictly to mean 'She is (my) father,' but cannot well actually do so, we should perhaps see in it merely a feminine form of a name whose original significance had been lost.

(2) As many of the epithet-names noted under i. have reference to the circumstances of the birth of the child, so also have a number of the sentence-names: they assert something of God in reference to the birth. Since, however, the Hebrew sentence-names are incomplete, leaving the object of the transitive verbs that enter into them unexpressed, it is not, indeed, always possible to be certain that a particular name originally referred to the birth of the child; and, again, this very incompleteness of expression readily allowed any name, once it was current, to be used afresh with a different and wider meaning than it originally possessed. But with these possibilities in view we may now group together some names that most probably referred primarily to the birth, taking next names that predicate other activities of the deity, then those that attribute certain qualities to the deity, and then a small group in which the deity is the object of the sentence.

The object unexpressed but understood of the verbs meaning 'to give' used in proper names was primarily the new-born child. The chief verbs in question are *nathan*, *zabad*, and probably *nadab*; the names are Jonathan, Nethaniah, Elnathan, Nathanael, Nethan(e)el, Nethanmelech; Elzabad, Jehozabad, Zebadiah; Jonadab, Nedabiah, Abinadab, Aḥinadab. The same idea is expressed in some compound epithet-names which describe the child as the gift of God: so Mattaniah, Mat(tat)hias, Mattithiah, Zabdiel. From these names we find a number of others derived by abbreviation, with or without other modification: so Nathan, and perhaps נתן (Egyp.), Mattan, Matthat, Mattenai, Nadab, Zabad, Zabdi, Zabbud, Zabbai.

The gift of the child was often regarded as the answer to a petition that God had heard. Hence probably the names that predicate of God answering (*'anah*), hearing (*shama'*), listening (*azan* ?) are closely related to those just discussed: such names are Ishmaiah, ישמע (Egyp.), Shemaiah, Hoshama (=Jehoshama), Elishama, Anaiah, Azaniah. A frequent derivative is Shammua (OT; Egyp.; Bab. ?). If Ananiah should be pointed Ananijah, 'Jahweh has answered me' (Nöldeke), we have a more directly expressed confession of the mother.

Birth was also regarded as due to an act of remembrance on the part of God (Gn 30²²); hence

[1] 'Abiba'al, Ba'alzamar, Khanan'am (Sam. ostraka); אבעשר (Egyp.).

perhaps we should class here compounds with *zakar*, 'remember,' and *ḥashab*, 'to take account of.' These compounds include the very popular name Zachariah (OT; Egyp.) with its almost equally frequent derivative Zaccur, and Ḥashabiah; perhaps also Ḥashabniah (for Ḥashabaniyah, 'Jahweh has taken account of me').

The preceding names would be suitable for any child. On the other hand, Pethaḥiah, 'Jahweh has opened (the womb)' (cf. Gn 30^{22}), would point to a first-born, while Eliasaph, 'God has added to, or increased (the family),' would point to a younger member of the family; on the other hand, Josiphiah, 'May Jahweh increase,' would be applicable at the birth of a first-born (Gn 30^{24}) or another equally. Of similar meaning may be Benaiah, Benael (Bab.), 'Jahweh (or God) hath built up' (cf. Gn 30^{3}).

(3) It must suffice to refer briefly to some of the names that predicate other activities of God than those connected with birth; as some of the names just mentioned may have taken on a wider reference, so some of these, such as Nehemiah, 'Jahweh has comforted,' Rephaiah, Raphael, 'Jahweh (God) has healed,' might, if we were more fully informed, be seen to have had originally a reference to birth.

(*a*) The most general verbs of activity are predicated of God, viz. *'asah*, 'to work,' 'make,' *bara*, 'to create,' in Eleasah, Asahel, Asaiah, Jaasiel, Beraiah (only in 1 Ch 8^{21}). (*b*) God interposes or exercises authority. He judges (Jehoshaphat, Shephatiah, Elishaphat, Yedoniah [Egyp.]), contends (Jehoiarib, and probably Israel, Seraiah), is king (Malchiah). (*c*) God helps (Azariah, Eleazar, Azareel), sustains (Semachiah, Ismachiah), carries (Amasiah; cf. Is $46^{3f.}$), holds fast (Jehoahaz, Ahaziah), conceals (Elizaphan, Zephaniah), and strengthens (so, perhaps, Ezekiel, Hezekiah). (*d*) He delivers (Pelatiah, Elpalet, Eliphelet, Paltiel, Hoshaiah; cf. Isaiah, Joshua, Jesus), redeems (Pedahel, Pedaiah, Pedahzur, Iphdeiah), guards (Shemariah). He is with men (Immanuel; Egyp. עמ׳ה to help them, or on their side (Bab. Jaḥulakim, Jaḥulunu). Much the same idea is expressed by saying that Jahweh is the place of shelter or refuge (Mahseiah [Egyp.]), Me'oziyyah (Egyp., and, if we re-point Ma'aziah, Me'oziyyah also in OT), מבמחיה (Egyp.). (*e*) God brings back (Eliashib, Yoyashib [Sam. ostraka]), or is besought to return (cf. [?] Nu 10^{36}; Shubael, Shebuel), dwells (among His people, Shecaniah), blesses (Berechiah, Jeberechiah, Barachel), is gracious to (Ḥananeel, Elḥanan, Ḥananiah, Jehoḥanan, Ba'alḥanan), knows (Eliada, Beeliada, Jehoiada, Jedaiah), and enlightens (Pekaḥiah) (them).

(4) Qualities of God are literally or metaphorically, directly or indirectly, predicated in the following: He is strong (Amaziah), great (Gedaliah, Igdaliah, and perhaps Athaliah), good (Tobiah, Abitub, Ahitub), perfect (Jotham), high (Jehoram), incomparable (Micaiah, Michael), just (Jehozadak, Zedekiah), kind (Ḥasadiah); he is light (Neriah, Abner), and fire (Urijah). In the ancient names compounded with Ab, Aḥ, and 'Am, it is asserted, if the obvious is the right interpretation, that the divine subject is the dawn (Aḥishahar), dew (Abiṭal; cf. יהומל, Egyp.), pleasantness (Abino'am, Aḥino'am), death (Aḥimoth).

(5) In a small number of names the deity is not the subject, but the object of the sentence, the subject being (even if not expressed) a human being or human beings. With these names may be classed certain compound epithets which imply that God is the object of man's worship or the like. Such names are Shealti-el, 'I have asked God'; Elihoenai, 'Unto Jahweh are my eyes' (cf. Ps 123^{2}); Hodaviah (OT and Egyp.), perhaps to be pointed Hodûiah, in which case it would mean 'Praise ye Jahweh' and resemble somewhat the curious name of the Elephantine papyri Penuliah, 'Turn ye to Jah(weh).' Another example, concealed by the Massoretic punctuation, is perhaps Ḥachaliah, which, if pointed חַכִּילְיָה, would mean 'Wait for Jahweh.' Of the epithets it may suffice to recall the frequent Obadiah, and the less common Abdeel, 'Servant of Jahweh (God).'

III. *CHRONOLOGY.*—In the preceding general survey only occasional reference has been made to the chronology of the names; here a little more may be said on the subject, though it is impossible to discuss it with any fullness. In the thousand years or more covered by this survey it would only be natural to expect that certain changes took place; and we can infer the nature of some of them with a tolerable degree of probability. Certain classes of names represented in the earliest periods disappear or nearly disappear later; others increase in popularity. If we accept the evidence of P on this point, compounds with Shaddai, the name of God which was, on the theory of P, characteristic of the patriarchal age, and Zur (Sur=Rock, obviously used as a name or epithet of God) were in use in the Mosaic age, but none is recorded later. We move on to surer ground when we say that compounds with Ab, Aḥ, and 'Am, which were rather frequent in the earlier periods, almost disappear after the 7th cent. B.C., two or three of each class alone surviving, and few if any fresh names of the class being created. The Biblical evidence on this point is discussed at length in *HPN*, p. 22 ff., and the conclusions there drawn are not appreciably affected by the fresh evidence that has since come to light. Thus, it is entirely in accordance with what the Biblical evidence leads us to expect that a fair sprinkling of these names is found in the Samaritan ostraka of the 9th cent. B.C. The only name of any one of these three classes that occurs with any frequency as that of a Jew in the Egyptian and Babylonian documents of the 5th cent. is Ahio or Aḥijah (Egyp. אחיו, Bab. Aḥi-ia-a-ma). The rest are mostly the names of a single person; they are Abihu (and Abihi commented on above), Aḥutab (=Ahitub), Aḥiab (=Ahab), and a name unknown to the OT, אבעשר; the last is possibly a late formation, but probably not. Compounds with Ba'al, not infrequent in the Davidic age and, a century later, on the Samaritan ostraka, disappear altogether subsequently, except perhaps for one occurrence in the Babylonian tablets in the 5th cent. (Ba-li-ia-a-ma), where, however, the first syllable is marked in Clay's Index with a query. The compounds with *melech* are with one exception confined to the pre-Exilic period, though none of them even then occurred with any frequency; the exception is Malchiah, which was popular after the Exile both in Palestine and in Egypt. Infrequent in early times, compounds with *adon* and *shem* do not appear at all later.

The only two classes of compounds that are at all frequent later—and both these kinds are very frequent — are compounds with Jah(weh) and with El. Both classes were ancient, though in the earliest period, if we may safely draw conclusions from the book of Judges, they formed at first a very small proportion of the names in use; by the age of David, however, they together formed about a fifth, in the Samaritan ostraka about a quarter, and at the end of the 7th cent. B.C. more than two-thirds, of the names in use. If this very high proportion is somewhat lessened again later, it is not because older and discarded classes again became popular, but because caritatives (abbreviations) formed from names of this class gained in popularity; names like Menahem, Meshullam, Zaccur, Shillem, or Shallum occur with great frequency in the Elephantine papyri; but, though the deity is not expressly named in them, they differ totally from most of the names of one element in earlier times.

In the relative popularity of compounds with El and compounds with Jahweh there is some fluctuation; after an earlier period in which the more ancient compounds with El must presumably have preponderated over compounds with Jah(weh), the latter already in the Davidic period are more fre-

quent, and become increasingly so: among Jeremiah's contemporaries compounds with Jah(weh) occur six times as often as those with El. After that we can trace a difference of development among different groups of Jews: with the Jews of Elephantine compounds with Jah(weh) are still very frequent, and apparently a few fresh names of the type were created by them; but compounds with El have virtually disappeared, for the little special group of compounds with Bethel (see below) are different in character. On the other hand, at the same period in Nippur we find unmistakable Jewish names containing El as well as Jah, and probably compounds with El were there and then relatively to the compounds with Jah(weh) more numerous than in Palestine before the Exile. But in the post-Exilic Palestinian names we also note a renewal in the popularity of compounds with El; compounds with Jah still very largely outnumber them, but the disproportion is perceptibly less than before the Exile.

Names derived from animals, never frequent as personal names, are as such not found after the Exile; and more generally we may observe that the proportion of epithet-names is much smaller in the latest than in the earliest periods.

IV. *Conclusion.*—To what extent do these changes cast light on developments in Jewish religion? Does the practical elimination of all classes of compounds except those containing El and Jah point to the abandonment of other worships? To what extent do the names of any period reflect 'Israel's polytheism'? It will be possible to offer only a few brief remarks on these questions.

In the animal-names some, and pre-eminently W. R. Smith,[1] have found traces of totemism. That about a hundred places, clans, or persons, some belonging to, others not belonging to, Israel, named in the OT have names more or less clearly identical with or derivative from names of animals is altogether insufficient by itself to prove the existence of totemism. On the other hand, if other evidence tends to show that totemism may lie behind Hebrew social organization and religion, this would also satisfactorily explain certain features of the group of animal-names in the OT—and in particular the relatively small number of those that attach to individuals. Of this small number, four occur in the 7th cent., and may be connected with the existence, perhaps the recrudescence, of certain animal superstitions of which there is evidence.

We have references enough in the OT to the lapses of the Israelites into idolatry, to their forsaking of Jahweh for Ba'al, Moloch (=Melech), Astarte, and others; and we might expect to find in the names of the OT also abundant evidence of this. As a matter of fact, there are a few names compounded with Ba'al and Melech; on the other hand, there is none compounded with Astarte, though these are frequent enough in Phœnician. Unfortunately for the elucidation of the present question, Ba'al and Melech are not primarily proper names of a single deity, but terms applicable to many deities; the Hebrews could, *e.g.*, address or describe Jahweh not only as 'my El' (*e.g.*, Ex 15^2), *i.e.* 'my God,' but also as 'my Ba'al' (Hos 2^{16}). Further, as the name Elijah asserts that Jahweh is God, so Bealyah asserts that Jahweh is Ba'al, Malchiah that Jahweh is Melech ('king'). Just, then, as at all periods, down to the very latest, the Hebrews used Jah(weh) and El indifferently in proper names as referring to the same God, viz. Jahweh, so it is at least possible that Ba'al and Melech, when used by the Hebrews in proper names, refer to Jahweh. And similarly the compounds with Ab, Aḥ, 'Am, Adon may be explained.

[1] 'Animal and Plant Names,' in *JPh* ix. [1880] 75–108.

The opposite view to that just suggested has been recently stated afresh by H. P. Smith (see literature below). He finds that perhaps as many as 150 divinities other than Jahweh occur in the Hebrew names as preserved in the Hebrew text; and he argues that these are 'only a small proportion of the theophorous names which once existed in the Hebrew writings,' but have been mutilated by the removal of the strange god's name or by the substitution for it of El or Jah(weh). Among these strange gods Smith includes Ba'al, Melech, and also Ab, Aḥ, and 'Am. Now it is curious that all these terms are ambiguous (as we have seen); and that of the worship of Ab, Aḥ, and 'Am among the Hebrews we never hear, whereas the name of Astarte, of whose worship we do hear and whose name is unambiguously a proper name, enters into no Hebrew personal name. The last fact is indeed to Smith only fresh proof of the rigour with which 'names which gave offence have been removed from the texts.' But Astarte is allowed to remain in place-names! And there is another consideration which should restrain us from overestimating the extent of the revision to which names in the OT text have been subjected, and the difference between the general character of the names of the OT and the names actually current in the several periods. And that is this: the names on ostraka, papyri, and cuneiform tablets present the same general character; *e.g.*, among the 30 or 40 names of the Samaritan ostraka (9th cent. B.C.) there is about the same proportion of compounds with Jah, El, Ab, Aḥ, 'Am, Ba'al, Melech as in the names of the Davidic age recorded in the OT; but (as in the OT) there is no name compounded with Astarte.

One further point in Smith's discussion should be noted. He discounts the significance of such names as Bealyah, Abijah, which, if treated as sentence-names, assert that Jahweh was Ba'al ('owner') or Ab ('father'), by arguing that they were not sentence-names at all, but primarily names of compound divinities—fusions of the two distinct deities Ba'al and Jahweh in the first instance, Ab and Jahweh in the second—and that these names of deities were then used as names of men. Now it may be admitted (1) that there actually were compound divinities such as Ashtar-Chemosh of the Moabite inscription; and (2) that occasionally, probably as the result of abbreviation, men bore the names of gods.[1] But it would remain curious, if Smith's conclusions were correct, (1) that of so many of his inferential deities their worshippers were uncertain which way to take their names: there is no evidence that Ashtar-Chemosh could also be called Chemosh-Ashtar, but Abiel apparently could be called indifferently Eliab; Abijah, Joab; and so forth; (2) that such a large proportion of Hebrews whose names were identical with names of gods had names of *compound* gods.

It is probable then that Smith altogether exaggerates the frequency—whether in the original text of the OT or in the actual life of the Hebrews—of Hebrew names formed from names of deities other than Jahweh. But his material contains certain possibilities and may be consulted with advantage. We conclude with mentioning a few names at various periods which more or less probably contain the name of a strange god. Gad is the name both of a Syrian deity and of a Hebrew tribe; as a divine name the term probably enters into 'Azgad (Ezr., Neh.); but as early as J (Gn 30^{11}) *gad* was also a noun meaning, as in

[1] Cf. H. Meyersham, *Deorum nomina hominibus imposita*, Kiel, 1891, on Greek and Roman examples, with Addenda by G. Hoffmann, giving Babylonian, Egyptian, Syrian, Canaanitish, and Arabic examples (not all certain).

Aramaic and Arabic, 'fortune,' and in this sense probably it entered into the names Gaddiyah (Egyp.), Gaddiel, 'Jahweh (God) is my fortune.' Edom in Obed-edom may be a divine name, as are the elements that follow עבר commonly though not invariably in other names. After the Exile a certain number of these names appear, in part perhaps as the result of intermarriage; this, combined with the growing custom of naming after the grandfather, might easily lead to the occurrence of some heathen names in Jewish families. Of such post-Exilic names we may note in addition to 'Azgad already mentioned Ḥenadad, probably containing the name Hadad; Machnadebai, probably a corruption of מכרנבו, 'possession of Nebo'; Barkos, of which the latter half is identical with the final element in the Nabatæan name קסנתן, 'Kaus has given'; Barnabas, which means 'son of Nebo.'[1] All these names are Biblical. The Elephantine papyri and the Nippur tablets contain large numbers of names compounded with names of deities other than Jahweh; but many of these certainly, and most, though not all of them, probably, were not names of Jews. On the other hand, the Elephantine papyri contain a little group of unquestionably Jewish names in which the familiar place-name Bethel seems to have acquired a divine character: Bethelnathan, 'Bethel has given'; Bethel'akab, 'Bethel has rewarded'; Bethel-shezeb (?), 'Bethel has delivered.' In the light of these we easily detect a similar name in Zec 7[2] —Bethelsharezer.

LITERATURE.—The study of Hebrew names can be carried on satisfactorily only by comparison with other Semitic names. The literature under NAMES (Sumerian) and (Syriac) must be consulted. Here some of the principal special literature on Hebrew names is given. For the interpretation or discussion of the names separately see especially Brown-Driver-Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon*, Oxford, 1891–1906; Gesenius-Buhl, *Heb. und aram. Wörterbuch*[15], Leipzig, 1910; *EBi* iii. 3271 ff.; *HDB* iii. 481 ff. For ancient interpretations see P. de Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra*[2], Göttingen, 1887. For systematic treatment or discussions of the subject generally or special parts of it see E. Nestlé, *Die israel. Eigennamen nach ihrer religionsgeschichtlichen Bedeutung*, Leipzig, 1875; F. Baethgen, *Beiträge zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, Berlin, 1888; G. B. Gray, *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names*, London, 1896; M. Grunwald, *Die Eigennamen des AT in ihrer Bedeutung für die Kenntnis des heb. Volksglaubens*, Breslau, 1895; G. Kerber, *Die religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung der heb. Eigennamen des AT*, Freiburg, 1897; F. Hommel, *Die altisr. Ueberlieferung*, Munich, 1897 (criticized in *Exp.*, 5th ser., vol. vi. [1897], pp. 173–190); F. C. Ulmer, *Die semitischen Eigennamen im AT*, pt. i., Leipzig, 1901; T. Nöldeke, 'Names,' in *EBi* iii. [1902] col. 3272 (full and important); H. P. Smith, 'Theophorous Proper Names in the Old Testament,' in *Old Testament and Semitic Studies in Memory of William Rainey Harper*, London, 1908, i. 35–64; G. B. Gray, 'A Group of Hebrew Names of the Ninth Century B.C.,' in *ExpT* xxvii. [1915–16] 57–62.

G. BUCHANAN GRAY.

NAMES (Indo-European). — Although much attention has been devoted to the grammatical structure and connotation of the names of persons and places in all the Indo-European languages, their religious value has remained almost unconsidered. No treatise exists on the subject, and of some dialects, notably Icelandic and Old Irish, a *corpus nominum propriorum* is still to be made. The present article must, therefore, be regarded merely as a general outline of some of the leading phenomena connected with proper names in Indo-European; it cannot claim to be exhaustive. If the greater part of it is given to Indo-Iranian names, this is only because the other dialects, later in date, present few features not found in Sanskrit and the older languages of Iran. Restriction to the religious evidence to be gleaned from names leads, moreover, to the exclusion of any consideration of patronymics, occupational names, and personal names derived from place-names.

1. Grammatical structure.—While some of the personal names in Indo-European are simple, the majority are compound. These fall, for the present purpose, into 'descriptive' (corresponding to the Skr. technical term *karmadhāraya*, 'office-bearing'), 'dependent' (Skr. *tatpuruṣa*, 'his-man'), 'possessive' (Skr. *bahuvrīhi*, 'having-much-rice'), and 'appositional' (not recognized by the Skr. grammarians, but a class whose importance has been much underrated). Besides these there is the very important class of hypocoristics ('pet names'). These are commonly either diminutives or abbreviations (or both together); and, when the abbreviation consists in dropping one of the components of the compound name, the resultant form may appear to be a simple name, so that in some cases it is difficult, if not impossible, to say whether a certain name is simple or hypocoristic. Here the meaning usually serves as the criterion.

The word cognate with Eng. 'name' occurs in nearly all the Indo-European languages—Skr., Av. *nāman*, Armen. *anun* (from **anomn*), Alb. *emen* (from **enmen*), Gr. ὄνομα, Lat. *nomen*, Ir. *ainm*, Goth. *namō*, O. Church Slav. *ime*, Old Pruss. *emmens*. On the other hand, in view of the very primitive character of Lithuanian civilization, it should be noted that that language employs for 'name' *vařdas* (cognate with Eng. 'word').

The etymology of 'name' is quite uncertain. It has been connected with the group of Gr. ὀνομαι, 'upbraid, insult, blame,' Lat. *nota*, 'mark,' etc. (cf., *e.g.*, A. Fick, *Vergl. Wörterbuch der indogerm. Sprachen*[4], Göttingen, 1890–1909, i. 99, 505; F. Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. iv); but this etymology is very unsatisfactory, both phonologically and semantically (cf. É. Boisacq, *Dict. étymol. de la langue grecque*, Brussels, 1907 ff., p. 704 f.).

2. Importance of the name.—One is, in primitive belief, not really a human being until one is named. The name is, as the Mīmāṁsā (*q.v.*) expresses it, the essence, as contrasted with the accident, or *guṇa* (O. Böhtlingk and R. Roth, *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, Petrograd, 1855–75, iv. 113), and in later Persian *nām* occasionally means 'person' (Justi, p. vi). This, however, properly belongs to the theory of nominalism.

3. Ceremonial of name-giving. — The early Hindu rite is described as follows by Gobhila (II. viii. 9–14, 17):

'Then he who is to do this [the name-giving] takes his seat, facing east, to the west of the fire [and] on *darbha* grass whose ends point north. Then the mother, having covered the child with a clean garment, gives it from the south to the officiant with its face upward and its head to the north. Going round behind [the officiant's] back, she seats herself to the north on *darbha* whose ends point north. Then he [the officiant] sacrifices to Prajāpati, the lunar day, the lunar mansion, and its divinity. . . . He mutters this *mantra*: "Who art thou? Who [of many] art thou? Enter into the month of the lord of the day"; and at the end he gives the name . . . and tells it to the mother first.'

There was, however, according to Śāṅkhāyana (I. xxiv. 1–6), a preliminary rite, the *jātakarman*.

'Breathing thrice upon the new-born child, he [the father] breathes after: "Breathe in with the Rg, breathe with the Yajur, breathe out with the Sāman." Having mingled butter and honey, curds and water, or having rubbed together rice and barley, he should make [the child] taste gold thrice, saying, "To thee I offer honey for the rite, wealth produced by Savitṛ the bounteous. Long-lived, protected by the divinities, live thou a hundred autumns in this world." So saying, he gives his name. . . . That the father and the mother know; on the 10th day [is given] an appellation (*vyāvahārika*) pleasing to the Brāhmans.'

If Śāṅkhāyana states that a child should have two names, Hiraṇyakeśin (II. i. 4. 11–15) declares that he must have three, one being secret and one astrological (cf. below, §§ 10, 18).

'Father and mother should name him first. Two names one should give him. . . . The second should be the name of a lunar mansion; one of the two should be secret; with the other they should address him; the soma-sacrificer should give him a third.' Gobhila says (II. x. 24 f.) that the second name may also refer to a divinity or a *gotra* (*q.v.*).

Instead of the secret name Āśvalāyana (I. xv. 8) speaks of an 'appellative' (*abhivādanīya*) to be given by the father and to be used by the pupil (cf. Manu, ii. 122), while other early Hindu texts

[1] See G. B. Gray, 'Nebo as an Element in Hebrew Proper Names,' in *ExpT* x. [1899] 232–234.

say that the teacher is to bestow this name. It is clear from these irreconcilable accounts that the ancient Indian system of name-giving was not rigidly fixed. The name should, naturally, be of good omen, but the minute refinements as to length, etc., laid down by the Hindu treatises were not observed in actual practice (Hilka, *Altind. Personennamen*, pp. 14–18).

4. When the name is given.—According to Manu (ii. 30), the child should be named on the 10th or 12th day, on an auspicious lunar day or *muhūrta* (hour of 48 minutes), or under a lucky lunar mansion (*nakṣatra*). Gobhila (II. viii. 8), however, sets this ceremony for the 10th or 100th day after birth, or after the lapse of a year. According to Pāraskara (I. xvii. 1), Āpastamba (VI. xv. 8), and Baudhāyana (I. xi. 1), the name is given on the 10th (or 12th) day, when the mother is able to leave her bed. This was the general rule for the Brāhman caste. According to later texts (collected by Hilka, p. 11 f.), Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras were to receive their names on the 16th, 20th (or 19th), and 22nd (or 32nd) day respectively.

In Iran Farīdūn does not name his sons until they have reached an age at which their characters have become manifest (*Šāh-nāmah*, tr. A. G. and E. Warner, London, 1905 ff., i. 177, 187 f.). In Greece also the name was given on the 7th or 10th day after birth (Harpocration, p. 92), usually by the father, who might change it later (Demosthenes, *c. Bœot.* 1002, 1006, *c. Macart.* 1075); and the Roman *prænomen* was bestowed on a boy on the 9th day, and on a girl on the 10th (H. Blümner, *Röm. Privatalertümer*[2], Munich, 1911, p. 304).

5. Deity and name.—If it is important to call a man by his right name, it is still more requisite to do so with a divinity. Thus, in the Avesta the *yasna* to Sraoša, Ātar, Tištrya, Mithra, Vanant, and other *yazatas* must be *aoxtō-nāman*, 'with name expressed' (*Yt.* viii. 11, x. 30, xx. 1; *Ys.* iii. 20 f., xxii. 27; *Vīsp.* ix. 5, etc.; cf. also *Yt.* xiii. 79).

6. Religious cult and piety.—Personal names referring to religious cult and personal piety are, as we should expect, very common. Here belong such names as Skr. Agnīdhra ('Kindling the [sacred] Fire'), Aghamarṣaṇa ('Sin-effacing'), Aśvamedhadatta ('Given by the Aśvamedha' [*q.v.*]), Idhmavāha ('Fuel-bringing'), Karmaśreṣṭha ('Best in *karma*' [*q.v.*]), Taponitya ('Constant in Asceticism'), Pavitrapāṇi ('Pure-handed'), Uttānabarhis ('With [sacred] Grass spread'), Yajñasvāmin ('Sacrifice-master'), Yūpaketu ('With the [sacrificial] Post for a Banner'), Yogeśvara ('Yoga-lord'), Dṛḍhavrata ('Firm-vowed'), Sutasoma ('With pressed *soma*'), Satyahavis ('With true Oblation'); Iran. Anūšarvan (and variants; Av. *Anaošaurvan, 'Immortal-souled'), Αρταφέρνης (O. P. *Artafarnah, 'Having righteous Glory' [or 'Righteousness [is] Glory'?]), Artaxšathra (Artaxerxes, 'Having righteous governance'), Αρτάμνης ('Righteous-minded'), Daēvōṭbiš ('Demon-hating'), Dārayavahu ('Darius, upholding the Good'), Dēnmarṭ ('Man of Religion'), Farnbag ('God-light'); Gr. Διεύχης ('Zeus-praying'); Gall. Litugenos ('Feastson'), O. Ir. Aidan (*Aid(u)agnos, 'Fire-lamb').

Religious phrases are rare as personal names. We find them, however, in the Avesta (*Yt.* xiii. 120): Ašem-yaḥmāi-ušta, Ašem-yenghē-raočao, and Ašem-yenghē-vereza (cf. *Ys.* xlii. 1; *Yt.* xiii. 5; *Visp.* xi. 28).

7. Power of the name.—This concept is not particularly to the fore in Indo-European, unless the theophoric name (see § 8) be regarded as coming under it, as it undoubtedly does in a sense. According to the Avesta (*Yt.* i. 1–19; cf. xv. 43–52), the revelation of the greatest of the names of Ahura Mazda is besought by Zarathushtra that he may conquer—and not be conquered by—'all demons and men, all wizards and witches.' In late Hinduism we find the belief, among Kṛṣṇaites, Rāmaites, and Śaivites, that 'the mere repetition of their god's name is a means of salvation,' so that 'sinner or heretic, if one die at last with Krishna's name upon the lips he will be saved' (E. W. Hopkins, *Religions of India*, Boston, 1895, p. 508). With the same motive names of Rāma, etc., are often written on the margin of page after page in Sanskrit MSS, and they regularly begin with some such phrase as 'homage to Hayagrīva' (an epithet of Viṣṇu) or 'to Gaṇeśa' (the remover of obstacles). The present writer is not certain, however, that this is purely Indo-European.

Only rarely does 'name' itself form a component of personal appellatives. Yet we may cite Iran. Nāmfarrux ('Name-lucky'), Vahūnām (and variants, 'Good-name'; cf. also Justi, p. 504), Old Osset. Νάμγηνος ('Famous'); Gr. Ὀνομακλῆς ('Name-famed'), Ἀγαθώνυμος, Εὐώνυμος ('Good-named'), Ἱερώνυμος ('Sacred-named'), Μεγαλώνυμος ('Great-named').

8. Theophoric names.—From the point of view of religion, theophoric names are by far the most important. To bear the name of a deity is to sustain a special and very real connexion with that deity, and to be peculiarly under his protection. It is the same concept which leads to the naming of children after famous men. The name being part of the hero, its application to a child is felt to give him an actual share in the valour or other admirable attribute of the original bearer. In modern times one may try to live up to the model set him in the person after whom he is thus named; primitively, *mana* would be given him by bestowing on him the name of a distinguished man.

The number of theophoric names is so great that only a few characteristic specimens can be cited, sufficient to show the main principles involved.

To this class belong Skr. Devarāja ('the God [is] King'), Devānika ('God-faced'), Devadatta ('God-given'), Devadāsa ('Servant of the God'), Devaprasāda ('Delight of the God'), Devadhara ('Upholding the God'), Devahu ('Sacrificing to the God'), Agnidatta ('Given by Agni'), Indrapālita ('Protected by Indra'), Indrapāla ('Indra [is] Protection'),[1] Brahmabali ('Oblation to Brahmā'), Mitradatta ('Given by Mitra'), Kuberavallabha ('Dear to Kubera'), Mukundarāma ('Joy of Rāma'), Rāmaja ('Born of Rāma'), Viṣṇuśakti ('Might of Viṣṇu'), Viṣṇuputra ('Son of Viṣṇu'), Harisiṁha ('Lion of Hari'); Iran. Hōrmizāfrīd ('Benediction of Ahura Mazda'), Ormizduxt ('Daughter of Ahura Mazda'), Yazdānduxt ('Daughter of God'), Αρταπάτης ('Protected by Righteousness'; cf. Av. *aδapāta*), Ātaredāta ('Given by the [sacred] Fire'), Ātarećithra ('Seed of the [sacred] Fire'), Μεγάβαζος (Av. *Baghabāzu, 'the God [is] the Arm'), Bagabuxša and Yazdānbuxt ('God-released'), Bagadāta, Yazdāndādh, Xudāidādh ('God-given'), Yazdkart ('God-made'), Čahārbuxt ('Four have released'; cf. Justi, p. 151; similarly Šēbuxt, 'Three have released,' Pančbuxt, 'Five have released'), Māhdāt ('Moon-given'), Μαιφάτης ('Moon-protected'), Mihrdān ('Knowing Mithra'; cf. *ERE* viii. 752[b]), Spentōdāta ('Given by the Holy One'), Ξπιθραδάτης ('Heaven-given'), Srōšpāt ('Protected by Sraoša'); Old Osset. Ἰεζδραδος ('Gift of the God'); Gr. Ἀπολλογενής ('Apollo-born'), Ἀρηίφιλος ('Dear to Ares'), Ἀρτεμίδωρος ('Gift of Artemis'), Μηνόδωρος ('Moon-gift'); Gall. Camulogenus ('Son of Camulos' [a war-god]), Divicus ('Divine'), Esugenus ('Son of Esus').

Often personal names are simply the appellatives of the gods, as Skr. Māhendra, Kubera, Prajāpati, Kṛṣṇa, Skanda, Chandra, Soma, Buddha, Tathāgata, Dīpaṁkara; Iran. Hōrmizd, Xūršīd ('Sun'), Bahrām ('Verethraghna'), Bahman ('Vohu Manah'); Serb. Božo ('God'). Many of these are shown by parallel forms to be possibly hypocoristic abbreviations; but in other cases it is very possible that they are full names, the name of the god being given, without addition, to the child.

Occasionally it is expressly stated that a deity

[1] Owing to the ambiguity of Skr. compounds a name of this type might also be construed as a *bahuvrīhi*, 'possessing the protection of Indra.' Absolute decision seems impossible, but it may be well thus to direct attention to the possibility that some Indo-European names are appositional rather than possessive or descriptive (cf. also § 1).

has named a place, natural object, animal, etc. Thus Ahura Mazda gave names to the good waters when he created them (*Ys.* xxxviii. 4), but men named mountains 'from visiting and observing them' (*Yt.* xix. 6).

9. Names from natural objects.—Among all the Indo-European peoples children are very frequently named after some animal, flower, or other object of nature. Names of animals whose qualities appeal to men are especially given to the male sex, such as 'Lion,' 'Tiger,' 'Wolf'; names of flowers and gems are naturally more appropriate to the gentler sex, as 'Pearl,' 'Ruby,' 'Rose,' 'Lily.' The underlying motive of these names is not absolutely certain, but it seems probable, on the whole, that the principle of sympathetic magic was originally involved. A boy named 'Wolf' would, like the animal whose name he bore, be a valiant marauder and a terror to his enemies; 'Pearl' should be as fair and softly rounded as the precious object which her name connotes.

(*a*) *Animal names.*—These are the most common. Omitting those which denote merely possession of horses, kine, etc., we may mention such names as Skr. Ajarāja ('Goat-king'), Ūrnanābha ('Spider'), Ṛśyaśṛṅga ('Antelope-horn'), Enajaṅgha ('Antelope-leg), Gajasiṁha ('Elephant-lion' [*i.e.* 'Mighty lion']), Baka ('Crane'), Vṛkājina ('Wolf-skin'), Vṛkodara ('Wolf-belly'), Vṛṣan ('Bull'), Vyāghradatta ('Tiger-given'), Śakuna ('Bird'), Śārdūlakarna ('Tiger-ear'), Śunaḥpuchchha, Śunolāṅgūla, Śunaḥśepa ('Dog-tail'), Mūṣikā ('Mousie'), Śakuntalā ('Birdie'); Iran. *Ὀρσάνης* ('Turtle-dove'; cf. New Pers. *varš*), Sag ('Dog'), Šāhēn ('Falcon'), Varāza ('Boar,' the sacred animal of Verethraghna), Gurgēn (and variants; Av. **vehrkaēna*, 'Wolfish'); Gr. *Λεοντόφρων* ('Lion-minded'), *Λυκηγενής* ('Wolf-family'); Gall. Alauda ('Lark'), Lovernios ('Fox's son'), Matugenos ('Bear's son'); O. High Ger. Heidulf, Wolfheidis ('Wolf-form'), Hludulf ('Famous Wolf'), Wolfgang ('Wolf's Course'), Frîulf ('Dear Wolf'), Wacarolf ('Watchful Wolf'), Wolfarn, Arnulf ('Wolf-eagle, Eagle-wolf'), Mârulf, Wolfmâr ('Famed Wolf, Wolf-famed'); Serb. Vukdrag ('Wolf-dear'), Dobrovuk ('Good Wolf').

(*b*) *Plant names.*—These occur not infrequently, as Skr. Aśoka (*q.v.*), Utpalarāja ('Lotus-king'), Chandanapāla ('Protector of the Sandal-wood' [or 'Sandal-wood [is] Protector'?]), Padmagupta ('Lotus-protected'), Padmasundara ('Lotus-lovely'), Mallibhūṣaṇa ('Jasmine-adornment'); Iran. Barmak ('Water-cress'); Pol. Wirboslaw ('Willow-fame'). It is only rarely, however, that any religious concept can be clearly seen in them, although we may mention Iran. *Ἀσπάνδανος* ('Rue,' used to protect against the evil eye [A. V. W. Jackson, *From Constantinople to the Home of Omar Khayyam*, New York, 1911, p. 119]).

(*c*) *Mineral names.*—These are very rare, instances being Skr. Kanakaprabha ('Gold-radiance'), Manidatta ('Pearl-given'), Mānikyamukuṭa ('Ruby-diademed'), Rukmakaśa ('Gold-hair'), Hiraṇyadatta ('Gold-given').

How far such names were totemistic in origin is hard to say. As individual appellatives they scarcely had a totemistic basis, unless we assume an 'individual totem,' as when, *e.g.*, Ikṣvāku means 'Gourd,' or in such cases as when Saṁvaraṇa's father was Ṛkṣa ('Bear'). Even in such instances, however, the general impression gained from a survey of Indo-European personal names is strongly against a totemistic explanation. With regard to tribal names (for which cf. below, § 19) the problem is somewhat more obscure. It has been suggested (H. Oldenberg, *Rel. des Veda*, Berlin, 1894, p. 85 f.; A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, Strassburg, 1897, p. 153) that the Matsyas ('Fish'), Ajas ('Goats'), and Śighrus ('Horse-radishes') mentioned in the Rigveda (VII. xviii. 6, 19) are totem-names (but see A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, London, 1912, i. 12, ii. 111, 378), and the same may possibly be true of the Pārāvatas ('Turtle-doves'),[1] as well as of such Vedic priestly families as the Gautamas ('Oxen'), Vatsas ('Calves'), Śunakas ('Doggies'), Kauśikas ('Owls'), and Māṇḍukyas ('Frog-sons'), and the Avesta Saēnas ('Eagles'). On the other hand, we must not forget that such names may be hypocoristic—Vatsa, *e.g.*, for *Vatsavant ('Possessing calves')—while the name Matsya may, like the Iranian Massagetæ mentioned below (§ 19), imply that the tribe were fish-eaters, not that they possessed a fish-totem. Doubts are cast on the totemic explanation by Hopkins (*PAOS*, 1894, p. cliv), and in the present stage of our knowledge he would appear to be right.

10. Astrological names.—We have already seen (§ 3) that Hiraṇyakeśin urges that one of a child's names be taken from the lunar mansion (*nakṣatra*) under which he is born. In India, accordingly, a full scheme has been formulated for astrological names. The importance of such an appellative is obvious—just as a theophoric name brings its bearer into close connexion with a deity, so the astrological name gives one the protection of the 'house' of his nativity. One may be named not only from the month of birth, but also from the deity (masculine or feminine, according to the sex of the child) presiding over the month (for a list cf. Hilka, p. 31 f.); and in more modern times a name may likewise be given according to the zodiacal sign of nativity.

11. Opprobrious names.—The use of such names, almost invariably connected with belief in the evil eye, is too obvious to require discussion. It may, however, be suggested that one Iranian name for which no satisfactory explanation has yet been advanced may possibly belong to this category—the rather frequent name Pešōtanu, which literally means 'Possessing a condemned Body' ('Damned' in the theological sense). If it does, it finds a close parallel in the Romance name Perdita (at all events Justi's explanation of Pešōtanu, p. 251, is incorrect).

It is readily intelligible that evil things have evil names. A disease is 'ill-named' (*durnāman* [Rigveda, X. clxii. 10]), as are other evil things (Atharvaveda, II. xxv. 2, IV. xvii. 5, VIII. vi. 1, XVI. vi. 7, XIX. xxxvi. 4, 6), and it is well known that the Avesta has a whole vocabulary of derogatory words for evil creatures, parallel to the terms applied to the good creation (L. J. Frachtenberg, in *Spiegel Memorial Vol.*, Bombay, 1908, pp. 269–289).

12. Tabu of names.—With a certain analogy to the secret name (§ 3), names are often regarded as tabu, lest some possible ill-wisher may through them gain control over their owners. This is particularly frequent in the case of husband and wife.

> 'A Hindoo wife is never, under any circumstances, to mention the name of her husband. "He," "the master," "Swamy," etc., are titles she uses when speaking of, or to, her husband. In no way can one of the sex annoy another more intensely and bitterly than by charging her with having mentioned her husband's name. It is a crime not easily forgiven' (F. de W. Ward, *India and the Hindoos*, New York, 1850, p. 189).

This usage still survives in such phrases as 'my man,' 'my woman,' current in humbler circles. It seems probable, moreover, that this principle of tabu underlies the reluctance which is felt regarding the use of one's personal name, except by close friends. We brand familiar use of our given names by casual acquaintances as 'impertinence'; primitive man would see an actual menace in such employment of the only part of our names that has any individual value.

[1] This suggestion has not previously been advanced, so far as the present writer knows. For a summary of previous explanations of the name ('mountaineers,' or 'people from afar') see Macdonell-Keith, i. 518 f.

Sometimes, as in Scandinavia, the name of the dead is avoided, an epithet being preferred if the deceased bore one during his lifetime (V. Guðmundsson and K. Kâlund, in *Grundr. der germ. Philologie*, iii.[2] [1900] 415).

13. Epithets.—The name originally given to a person is very frequently augmented by an epithet derived from some good or bad quality, personal peculiarity, or the like; and sometimes such an epithet completely usurps the personal name. To cite only a single example, the epic Indian Arjuna has the following epithets in the *Mahābhārata* (S. Sörensen, *Index to the Names in the Mahabharata*, London, 1904 ff., pp. 86–89):

Aindri, Śakraja, Śakranandana, Śakrasūnu, Śakrasuta, Sakrātmaja, Devendratanaya, Indrasuta, Indrātmaja, Mahendrasūnu, Mahendrātmaja, Pākaśāni, Tridaśavarātmaja, Vāsavaja, Vāsavanandana, Vāsavasyātmaja, Vāsavi (all 'son of Indra'), Bhārata ('son of Bharata'), Bhīmānuja, Bhīmasenānuja ('younger brother of Bhīma[sena]'), Bībhatsu ('loathing'), Bṛhannala ('great reed'), Śākhāmṛgadhvaja, Kapidhvaja, Kapiketana, Kapivaradhvaja, Vānaradhvaja, Vānaraketana, Vānaraketu, Vānaravaryaketana (all 'monkey-bannered'), Śvetāśva, Śvetahaya, Śvetavāha, Śvetavāhana (all 'white-horsed'), Dhanaṁjaya ('booty-conqueror'), Gāṇḍivabhṛt ('bearing the *gāṇḍiva*'), Gāṇḍivadhanvan ('with the *gāṇḍiva* for a bow'), Gāṇḍivadhārin ('holding the *gāṇḍiva*'), Gāṇḍivin ('possessing the *gāṇḍiva*'), Guḍākeśa ('club-haired'), Indrarūpa ('having the form of Indra'), Indrāvaraja ('Indra's junior'), Jaya ('victory'), Jiṣṇu ('victorious'), Kapipravara ('having the excellent monkey'), Kaunteya and Kuntiputra ('son of Kuntī'), Kaurava (śreṣṭha) ('[best of the] Kuru race'), Kiritabhṛt ('diadem-bearing'), Kiritamālin ('diadem-garlanded'), Kirītavat, Kirītin ('diademed'), Kṛṣṇasārathi ('with Kṛṣṇa for a charioteer'), Nara ('hero'), Pārtha ('son of Pṛthu'), Paurava ('descendant of Puru'), Phālguna (the lunar mansion of his nativity), Prabhañjanasutānuja ('younger brother of the son of the wind'), Savyasācin ('ambidextrous'), Surasūnu ('son of a god'), Tāpatya ('descendant of Tapatī'), Vijaya ('victory').

Such usage is especially frequent with names of deities. Indra is 'many-named' (Rigveda, VIII. lxxxiii. 17; Atharvaveda, VI. xcix. 1); twenty names of Ahura Mazda are enumerated in *Yt.* i. 7 f.; Dionysos, Demeter, etc., are πολυώνυμοι (Soph. *Ant.* 1115; Hom. *Hymn. in Dem.* 18). Here, however, we must reckon with the possibility that some of these epithets were originally names of distinct deities who were later amalgamated with the greater gods (cf. H. Usener, *Götternamen*, Bonn, 1896, *passim*; C. F. H. Bruchmann, *Epitheta deorum quae apud poetas graecos leguntur*, Leipzig, 1893).

14. Multiple names.—We have already noted (§ 4) that a name once given might later be changed. This was no less true in India than in Greece, for the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* states that a name might be adopted in later life either to secure success or for the sake of distinction (III. vi. 2. 24, V. iii. 3. 14, IX. iv. 3. 13, II. iv. 4. 4, VI. i. 3. 9). Occasionally, particularly in India, synonymy is found—*i.e.* the same individual may vary his own name by substituting a synonym for one of its components. Thus we may have either Dhanurgraha ('Bow-grasping') or Dhanurdhara ('Bow-holding'), Śīlāditya or Dharmāditya, Śreṣṭhasena or Pravarasena, Pratāpaśīla or Śīlāditya; while the philosopher named (or, rather, nicknamed) Kaṇāda ('Atom-eater') is also known as Kaṇabhakṣa and Kaṇabhuj.

15. Sect- and caste-names.—It is very natural for adherents of sects to prefer certain personal names, especially those connected with the founders or heroes of the sect followed by the father of the child who is to be named. Thus in India Vaiṣṇavites very frequently have as a component of their appellations the name of Viṣṇu or one of his epithets (*e.g.*, Keśava, Nārāyaṇa, Mādhava, Hari) or of his *avatāras* (Varāha, 'Boar,' Vāmana, 'Dwarf')—especially Rāma (and its synonyms, as Raghunātha) and Kṛṣṇa (with its synonyms, Gopāla, Govinda, Rādhāvallabha)—or of his *śakti*, or female energy (Lakṣmī, Śrī), or of his attributes (Kamala ['Lotus'], Chakra ['Disk']). In like manner Śaivites affect the various names of Śiva (Śiva, Dhruva, Nandin, Rudra, Śaṁkara, Śarva, Harṣa, etc.) or of his *śakti* (Durgā, Gaurī, Himā, etc.). Minor Indian cults are also represented. Serpent-worship is implied by a number of words for 'snake' (Nāga, Ajagara, Ahi, Bhujaṁga, Sarpa; as a matter of fact, these names are usually borne by Buddhists), the cult of the 'mothers' (see *ERE* v. 6 f.) by Matṛ ('Mother'), of worship of the sun, moon, and planets by words for 'sun' (Āditya, Divākara, Prabhākara, Bhānu, Bhāskara, Ravi, Savitṛ, Sūrya, etc.), 'moon' (Indu, Chandra, Mṛgāṅka, Soma, etc.), and planet-names (Aṅgāra, Graha, Budha, etc.) respectively (for examples see Hilka, pp. 84 f., 89–103). So Buddhists and Jains often choose names connected with the founders of their religions (Buddha, Arhant, Jina, Tathāgata, Pārśva, Sugata, etc.), or even sacred abstracts (Jñāna, 'Knowledge,' Dharma, 'Law,' Bodhi, 'Enlightenment,' Saṅgha, 'Assembly,' etc.; cf. Hilka, pp. 104–107).

Caste-names are also regular in India. According to Pāraskara (I. xvii. 4) and Baudhāyana (I. xi. 9), a Brāhman's name should contain the component *-śarman*, a Kṣatriya's *-varman*, a Vaiśya's *-gupta*, and a Śūdra's *-(bhṛtya)dāsa*. As a matter of fact, the final elements of Brāhmans' names are often *-śarman*, *-deva*; Kṣatriyas' *-varman*, *-rāja*, *-trāta*; Vaiśyas' *-gupta*, *-bhūti*, *-datta*.

In later Hindu usage special titles are also given to scholars, authors, etc. In this category we must reckon such components as *-svāmin* ('lord'—especially common about the 7th cent. A.D.), *-soma*, *-ācārya* ('teacher'), *-ānanda* ('bliss'), *-kavīndra* ('mighty poet'), *-tarkālaṁkāra* ('adornment of logic'), *-tīrtha* ('ford'), *-paṇḍita* ('scholar'), *-bhaṭṭa* ('master'), *-muni* ('sage'), and *-sāgara* ('ocean'). No strict rule can, however, be formulated by which a man's sect can be determined exclusively from his name.

In Iran a partial approach to a class-name seems to be found in *Vend.* xviii. 45–52. This declares that at the eschatological restoration of all things a man is to arise from the seed which one has involuntarily lost during his life, and that such a man must be named 'Ātaredāta ["Fire-given"], or Āterečithra ["Fire-seed"], or Āteredahya ["Fire-land"], or some other name connected with Ātar.'

Here, in a sense, belong names denoting belief in beings banned by orthodoxy, such as Pers. Parīčihrah ('Fairy-face'), Parīduxt ('Fairy's Daughter'), a phenomenon which is also found in place-names (see below, § 20).

Even philosophical concepts occasionally appear in personal names, as in Skr. Ātmasukha ('*ātman*-bliss'), Ānandajñāna ('Bliss-knowledge'), Mokṣaśarman ('Happy through *mokṣa*'), Vedanidhi ('Repository of Veda').

16. Names from ancestors.—In view of the widespread belief in transmigration, it is not strange that the concept that a forefather may be reincarnated in his descendant should find one of its manifestations in the naming of a child after one of his ancestors, especially his grandfather. This was a common practice in Greece (Demosth. *c. Macart.* 1075), and in India Patañjali and the *Saṁskārararatnamālā* (quoted by Hilka, p. 9) state that a child should be named after his grandfather, great-grandfather, or great-great-grandfather. In the lists of Indian kings we find a number of instances where a grandson is thus named: Chandrarāja I. and II. of Ajmīr, Someśvara II., III., IV. of Kalvāṇa (Someśvara II. was named after his father), Viṣṇuvardhana III., IV., V., and Vijayāditya I., II., III., IV., V. of the Eastern Chālukyas, Kārtavīrya II., III., IV. and Lakṣmīdeva I., II. of Saundatti, Rudrasena I., II., III. of the Vākāṭaka dynasty (C. M. Duff, *Chronol. of India*, Westminster, 1899, pp. 277, 279, 301, 307 f.). We likewise find this in Iran, though much less frequently—a fact which may be significant since transmigra-

tion is not an Iranian tenet. We may, however, note Cyrus I. and II., Cambyses I. and II., Xerxes I. and II. In the Scandinavian lands the custom was widely spread, after the 8th cent., of not naming a child after a living person, but after ancestors or recently deceased kinsmen; if a father died before his son was born, the latter unconditionally received the name of the former (Guðmundsson and Kålund, *loc. cit.*).

17. Royal names.—Just as the *Brāhmaṇas* say that the private citizen may change his name to increase his fortune (above, § 14), so kings frequently bear—especially in their official capacity—a name which is entirely different from their personal appellative. Thus the famous Indian king Chandragupta is equally well known as Vikrama or Vikramāditya, Aśoka as Piyadassi, Jayadeva II. as Parachakrakāma, Śīlāditya VII. as Dhruvabhaṭṭa, etc. In Iran the original name of Darius II. was Ochus, of Darius III. Codomanus, of Artaxerxes II. Arsaces, and of Artaxerxes IV. Bessos.

The meaning of this is clear, just as it is in the case of the private individual who assumes a new name. The name being a real part of a man, he changes himself if he changes his name. When one passes through a state of grave crisis, as when he becomes king, he is changed just as he is, *e.g.*, at initiation (*q.v.*), of which, indeed, the ceremony of *abhiṣeka* (*q.v.*) may be considered a form. The man himself thus being changed with this *rite de passage*, he may very properly assume a new name.

In similar fashion a new name might be taken on entering the religious life; Mānī, *e.g.*, assumed this appellative when he began the foundation of Manichæism (*q.v.*), although his original name was Kubrika (or some variant; cf. Justi, p. 190).

18. Secret names.—Since, as we have seen, knowledge of one's name gives actual power over its owner, just as the possession of the clippings of one's hair, nails, etc., renders it possible for one's enemies to work him harm, the value of a secret name is obvious. We have noted above (§ 3) that Hiraṇyakeśin expressly says that one of the names of an Indian should be secret (*guhya*). The secret name is mentioned in the Rigveda (X. lv. 2, lxxi. 1); such a name is given the child at birth (*Śat. Brāh.* VI. i. 3. 9, *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, VI. iv. 25); Arjuna is a secret name of Indra (*Śat. Brāh.* II. i. 2. 11, V. iv. 3. 7; cf. Macdonell and Keith, i. 443); and the gods had secret names (Rigveda, v. v. 10, IX. xcv. 2, xcvi. 16, X. xlv. 2). Hiraṇyakeśin seems to leave it doubtful which of the two names should be the secret one, but Āpastamba (VI. xv. 3) makes this the *nakṣatra* name (see, further, A. Hillebrandt, *Ritualliteratur* [=*GIAP* iii. 2], Strassburg, 1897, p. 170 f.).

We also find secret names in Iran; Kavādh, *e.g.*, was originally the secret name of Kavādh II., whose mother called him Šērōē in public.

19. Tribal names.—The names of tribes present peculiar difficulties. Like many of the older personal names, they often defy analysis, and—as in the case of place-names—they seem frequently to be non-Indo-European in origin. When they can be satisfactorily interpreted, they seldom present any features of religious interest. Some which may possibly suggest totemism have been noted above (§ 9), and to these Skr. Mahāvṛṣa ('Great Bull') and Viṣānin ('Horned' [?]; cf. Macdonell and Keith, ii. 313) may perhaps be added. Religious cult is distinctly implied in the Italic tribal names Marsi ('Martians'), Hirpini ('Wolf-men,' the wolf being sacred to Mars), and Picentes ('Wood-pecker-men,' this bird also being sacred to Mars). The danger of falsely attributing religious connotation to tribal names is exemplified by the Iranian Μασσάγεται (Av. *Mas(s)ya-ka; cf. Skr. *matsya*, 'fish'), who were called 'Fishies' not because they had a fish-totem, but because they lived on fish (Herod. i. 201; cf. J. Marquart, *Untersuchungen zur Gesch. von Eran*, Göttingen and Leipzig, 1896–1905, ii. 77 f.). Sometimes tribal names are contemptuous epithets bestowed by unfriendly neighbours, as Iran. Δέρβικες (**drgvika*, 'Beggars' [Marquart, ii. 139, note 1]), and Scyth. Ἀριμασποί ('One-eyes' [Marquart, ii. 90–92]); but occasionally the names have a value as implying a former grade of civilization—*e.g.*, Iran. Asagarta ('Sagartia,' 'Dwelling in stone Caves' [C. Bartholomae, *Zum altiran. Wörterbuch*, Strassburg, 1906, p. 119 f.]).

20. Place-names.—The names of places suffer from the same obscurity—and for the same reason—as tribal names. In Greece and Armenia many date from pre-Indo-European times (A. Fick, *Vorgriech. Ortsnamen*, Göttingen, 1905; H. Hübschmann, *Indogerm. Forschungen*, xvi. 283, 366–368). Yet place-names possess a historic value which can hardly be over-estimated, especially as showing the ethnological strata which have existed in a country, and as revealing the sites of ancient sacred places. The same is true, in minor degree, of street-names, etc., in our older cities, since they still indicate, in many instances, the sites of vanished city-gates, monasteries, and the like.

This aspect may be studied with special clearness in the place-names of Scotland. Two distinct Celtic peoples are evidently responsible for such names as Aber-deen and Inver-ness; Pit-lochry is shown by its *p* to be neither Brythonic nor Goidelic; Ler-wick is Norse; Beauly is French.

This subject is discussed at length in the introduction to J. B. Johnston's *Place-names of Scotland*[2], Edinburgh, 1903, and has also been discussed by J. Jacobsen of Copenhagen in a course of lectures at King's College, Aberdeen, in June 1914. On the basis of place-names in Britain Jacobsen has shown that the infiltrations in Shetland, the Orkneys, the Hebrides, Caithness, Sutherland, and W. Scotland were from S.W. Norway, whereas they were Danish in N. and E. England, and in Normandy, the two streams meeting in Cumberland. Thus *-way* (Stornoway) and *-ster* (Lybster) point to Norwegian colonization, *-by* (Grimsby), *-thorp* (Ullesthorp), *-toft* (Lowestoft), *-thwait(e)* (Braithwaite) indicate Danish settlement, while *-ham* (Shoreham), *-stead* (Grimstead), *-ford* (Oxford) are Anglo-Saxon. Roman settlements are shown by the numerous English place-names in *-chester*, and former Celtic occupation where no Celts have been dominant for centuries is evident from such names as London and Carlisle.

Numerous examples of Indian place-names of religious significance are given in the present work (*e.g.*, GARHMUKTESAR, HARDWĀR, JAGANNĀTH). For Iranian names of this type we may cite Ādharbaijān (Pahlavi Āṭurpātakān, 'Fire-protected'), Bagavan ('God-district'); Old Osset. Σουγδαῖα (Sudak in the Crimea; 'Holy City');[1] Armenian Aṭ'oR Anahtay ('Mountain of Anāhita' [Hübschmann, pp. 286, 398]), Astvaçašēn ('God-built'), Dicmairi ('God-grove'); Italic Mantua ('City of [the Etruscan death-god] Mantus'); Gall. Camulodunum (Lexden Heath, 'Fort of Camulus' [a war-god]), Deobriga (Miranda de Ebro in Asturia; 'God-hill'), Divoduron (Metz; 'God-fort'), Lugudunon (Lyons; 'Fort of Lug' [the god of war]); Irish Caherepheepa ('Stone Fort of the [Fairy] Pipe'), Carrigcleena ('Rock of [the Fairy Queen] Cliodna'), Cushinsheeaun ('Little Foot of the Fairy Fort'), Knockshigowna ('Hill of Una's Fairy Palace'), Tobernashee ('Fairy Well'). Sometimes even rivers have divine names—*e.g.*, Gall. Deva (Dee, 'Divine'), Taranis ('Thunder-god').

LITERATURE.—A. Fick, *Griech. Personennamen*, Göttingen, 1874 (the most general survey of the subject; the 2nd ed., do. 1894, omits the introduction and is, therefore, of less value for the present purpose); O. Schrader, *Reallex. der indogerm. Altertumskunde*, Strassburg, 1901, pp. 573–578; A. Hilka, *Altind. Personennamen*, Breslau, 1910 (with good bibliography); F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg, 1895; H. Hübschmann, 'Altarmen. Personennamen,' in *Festgruss an R. von Roth*,

[1] Possibly identical in meaning with O. Pers. Suguda ('Sogdiana').

Stuttgart, 1893, pp. 99–106; W. Tomaschek, 'Die alten Thraker, II.,' *SWAW* cxxxi. [1894], Abhand. 1; W. Schulze, *Zur Gesch. latein. Eigennamen*, Berlin, 1904; A. Holder, *Altkelt. Sprachschatz*, Leipzig, 1896 ff.; G. Storm, 'Sjælevandring og Opkaldelssystem,' *Arkiv f. nord. Filologi*, ix. [1893] 199–222; E. Förstemann, *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*[2], 3, Bonn, 1900 ff.; C. G. Andresen, *Altdeut. Personennamen*[2], Mainz, 1876; A. Socin, *Mittelhochdeutsches Namenbuch*, Basel, 1903; E. Lewy, *Altpreuss. Personennamen*, Breslau, 1904; A. Leskien, 'Litauische Personennamen,' *Indogerm. Forschungen*, xxvi. [1909] 325–352; F. Miklosich, 'Bildung der slav. Personennamen,' *DWAW* x. [1865] 215–330; G. Krek, *Einleit. in die slav. Literaturgesch.*[2], Graz, 1887, pp. 485–506. For place-names, H. Hübschmann, 'Altarmen. Ortsnamen,' *Indogerm. Forschungen*, xvi. [1904] 197–490; P. W. Joyce, *Origin and Hist. of Irish Names of Places*, Dublin, 1869–1913 (the list might be much extended, but these works, with the book of Johnston's mentioned in the text, will give an excellent idea of the method to be pursued in the study of place-names). The investigation of names seems to have been of scant interest to earlier ages; practically the only treatises known are in Irish: for personal (nick-)names see the *Cóir Anmann* ('Fitness of Names'), ed. and tr. W. Stokes, *Irische Texte*, iii., Leipzig, 1891–97, pp. 285–444; and for place-names the *Dindsenchas*, ed. and tr. (prose portions) Stokes, *RCel* xv. [1894] 272–336, 418–484, xvi. [1895] 31–83, 135–167, 269–312, and (verse portions) E. Gwynn, *Todd Lect. Series* (Royal Irish Acad.), vii. ff. [Dublin, 1900 ff.].

LOUIS H. GRAY.

NAMES (Japanese).—**1. Family-names.**—In ancient times there were two kinds of family-names recognized in Japan: *kabane*, or *sei*, and *uji*, or *shi*. Both were granted by the sovereign to only a limited number; and the mass of the people had no patronymic.

(*a*) *Kabane.*—*Kabane* are said to have existed since the 'divine age.' In the reign of Emperor Temmu (673–686) eight distinct *kabane* were recognized. They were as follows: Ason, Inagi, Imiki, Mabito, Michinoshi, Muraji, Omi, and Sukune. Later the number of *kabane* was increased to twenty-three. Such family-names designated the profession or rank of those bearing them, and may be considered of the nature of class or caste distinctions.

(*b*) *Uji.*—*Uji* were for the most part granted by the sovereign to certain members of one or another of the *kabane* families in recognition of some special merit or to designate some special profession. Among the most ancient of these are: Mononobe, Ōdomo, Imbé, Nakatomi, and Soga; but the most famous in all the history of Japan are Minamoto, Taira, Fujiwara, and Tachibana. The last four are at once thought of as in particular 'the *uji*.' So prominent were they that they have by some been erroneously considered *kabane*. Sugawara, Kiyohara, Kamo, Urabe, and Abe are also among the more prominent *uji* names.

2. Local names.—As the descendants of these *uji* families increased, certain branches took a local or territorial name in addition to the *uji* name. Thus the number of apparently distinct families increased. In A.D. 815 a 'Record of *Kabane* and *Uji*' was published. This contained 1182 *uji* names, many of the local or territorial names having taken the place of the true family-name, or *uji*. Most of these branch families, bearing distinct names, were in reality members of some one of the large *uji*.

Until the beginning of the Meiji era the bearers of *kabane* or *uji* names were of high rank; and the common people, except for some special and extraordinary service, were allowed merely personal names. At the beginning of the Meiji era the government ordered all to take family-names; and, upon registration, the free changing of personal names was no longer allowed. At that time many millions of new families adopted names for the first time; but these were mostly of the local type, such as had in the earlier period been taken in addition to *kabane* or *uji* names. A large number adopted some popular name; and it was not unusual for whole villages to take the same name, often the name of the locality or of the village itself; and thus the use of the same family-name did not of necessity signify any near relationship. The number of distinct family-names now recorded in the Tokyo Directory is 4146; and the Postal Cheque List of the whole country gives 4942. Probably the number of family-names in present use in Japan is no less than 10,000.

In writing Japanese family-names Chinese characters are used. The larger number of names consist of two characters which may be pronounced arbitrarily according to the taste of the family in one of two ways: the Japanese or the Chinese. Some names are of only one character, and rarely three or more are used. Of the Chinese characters used, certain ones are very common; and the majority have some connexion with nature or natural objects: Yama, 'Mountain'; Kawa, 'River'; Ta, or Da, 'Rice-field'; Mura, 'Village'; No, 'Field'; Hara, 'Plain'; Ike, 'Pond'; Hayashi, 'Forest'; Oka, 'Hill'; Shima, 'Island'; Mori, 'Grove'; Tani, 'Valley'; Ama, or Amé, 'The Heaven'; Hoshi, 'Star'; Hi, 'Sun'; Tsuki, 'Moon,' etc. These are all individually written in one Chinese character, though most are dissyllabic in pronunciation. Second to characters of this class are those signifying plant life: Ki, 'Tree'; Matsu, 'Pine'; Sugi, 'Cedar'; Ume, 'Plum'; Sakura, 'Cherry'; Fuji, 'Wisteria,' etc.

To these nominal forms all kinds of descriptive characters were added such as: great, small, middle, upper, lower, broad, high, black, white, red, blue, east, west, north, south, and many more.

3. Korean names.—Among the older family-names a considerable number came from Korea when the more or less extensive immigration from that country took place. In the 'Record of *Kabane* and *Uji*' a number of such names are given. For the most part, however, the Koreans, when naturalized, were given Japanese names or else their Korean names soon became so modified as to lose any distinctively Korean peculiarities which they had.

4. Personal names.—Personal names in ancient times, especially of men of rank, were of great length, as is seen in the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi*. The following may serve as fair examples: Amenigishi-kuninigishi-amatsuhidaka-hikohononiniginomikoto, and Ameshirushikuni-oshihiraki toyosnkurahikono-sumeramikoto.

5. Royal names.—As time went on, such royal family-names had a tendency to shorten. The real name of royalty was Imina, meaning 'the name to be avoided,' for it was usually avoided in conversation or writing. Imina ending with *hito* was adopted as distinctive of royalty, being limited to emperors and princes of the blood. The character read *hito* means 'benevolence,' and was first adopted by the Emperor Seiwa (859–876) in the name Tadahito. The name of Emperor Daigo (898–930) was Atsuhito; and since his time the special ending has been used with every imperial name. The name of Meiji Tenno, the late emperor, was Mutsuhito.

6. Nanori.—*Nanori* of two Chinese characters were from the Middle Ages adopted by members of the official and *samurai* class. It was also the *imina* for them. Within the same family many would adopt one of these two characters as a *tōriji*, or character-in-common; *e.g.*, among the descendants of Minamoto Yoriyoshi, either *yori* or *yoshi* was used in common for several generations: Yoriyoshi, Yoshiiye, Yoshitsuna, Yoshimitsu, Tameyoshi, Yoshichika, Yoshikuni, Yoshitomo, Yoritomo. In the Tokugawa family Iye was the *tōriji*: Iyeyasu, Iyemitsu, Iyetsuna, Iyenobu, Iyetsugu. It is to be noticed that the name employed in addition to the family-name was placed after the family-name.

7. Tōrina.—*Tōrina*, or *zokumyo*, popular or secular names, were used in everyday intercourse. With the passing of the old distinctions between the upper and the lower classes, all are now free to use these or other *nanori* together with their family-names.

In selecting the personal names for their children, certain families have the custom of using a single character as a common element for all, as in the case of *nanori*; but there is no general habit in the matter. The naming of a child after an ancestor or relative is rare. The adoption of the same name in succession by the head of the family is practised to a certain extent, especially in the case of trade or professional names.

8. Names for male children.—In the personal names of male children certain distinctive terminations are popular: *ro, suke, kichi, zo, bei, emon, hiko, maro*, etc. Of these some are remnants of old official titles, now unused, while others simply signify a son or male child. *Ro*, 'male child,' together with a number designating the order of his birth, is a very common personal name: Taro, or Ichiro, 'The First Male'; Jiro, 'The Second Male'; Saburo, 'The Third Male,' etc. To these combinations certain Chinese characters of noble meaning are often prefixed: Tokutaro, 'Virtue First Male'; Tokujiro, 'Virtue Second Male'; Tokusaburo, 'Virtue Third Male,' etc. Some of the most common of these prefixed characters are read: *masa*, 'good'; *zen*, 'just'; *michi*, 'righteous way'; *yu*, 'courage'; *shin*, 'faithful,' etc. Names of plants and animals are also of frequent use; and regard to what would produce harmonious combination with the family-name is not neglected.

9. Names for female children.—In the personal names of female children in ancient times the termination *mikoto* or *hime* was distinctive. During the Middle Ages, in families of rank, the name often terminated in *ko*. The names have all been gradually shortened and simplified; and at present the greater number contain only two syllables. In the case of such short names, however, a certain lack is felt, a certain undefined brusqueness, which is obviated by the supplementary prefix *O*. Of late the termination *ko* is increasingly taking the place of the prefix *O*, both forms serving alike to give a pleasing fullness to the name. Female names are often those of plants, trees, or animals: Matsu (Omatsu or Matsuko), 'Pine'; Take (Otake or Takeko), 'Bamboo'; Ume (Oume or Umeko), 'Plum'; Tsuru (Otsuru or Tsuruko), 'Stork'; Kamé (Okame or Kameko), 'Tortoise,' etc. These are popular from their omen, which promises long life. Classical names or those selected for their honourable meaning are not uncommon: Michi, 'Righteous Way'; Yoshi, 'Justice'; Toku, 'Virtue'; Ai, 'Charity,' etc.

In ancient times it appears to have been the custom that the mother should name the children; but after the Middle Ages, without any definite point of change, the right of naming devolved upon the father. In *samurai* families, as late as the opening of the present era, infant names were given; and then, at the age of fifteen, these temporary names were usually changed for permanent personal names.

10. Foreign names.—As relations with Western nations became more intimate, and especially as the influence of Christianity deepened, Western and Christian names were adopted to a slight extent. These names were for the most part so expressed in Chinese characters as to appear perfectly natural to the Japanese eye and ear. The following may be taken as examples: Jo for Joseph, Paul, Ben, Samuru for Samuel, Joji for George, and Yugo for Hugo.

11. Azana.—*Azana*, or alternate names, were occasionally taken by officers and scholars, after a Chinese custom, in addition to *nanori* and regular family-names; but of these little practical use was made.

12. Noms de plume.—*Go*, literary *noms de plume*, were not uncommon with scholars, writers, and artists; and in many cases these names became more popularly known than the real and legal cognomens. Of these the best known examples are: Nakaye Toju (Yoyemon), Kumazawa Banzan (Sukeyemon), Rai Sanyo (Kiutaro), Yoshida Shoin (Torajiro), Yokoi Shonan (Heishiro), Nakamura Keiu (Masanao). These *go*, generally taken from the name of some locality, mountain, or river, were ordinarily written in two Chinese characters, seldom in three or more. Occasionally scholars of the Japanese Classics adopted *go* expressed in Japanese characters; but these were not at all popular.

Thus it will be seen that a man of rank or scholarship might possess at the same time a large number of family and personal names: *kabane, uji*, a local family name, a *nanori* or *imina*, a *tōrina*, an *azana*, a *go*, and, after death, a *hōmyo*, or religious name.

13. Expressions of respect. — Following the name, not preceding it, certain expressions of respect are used. The most common in conversation, whether after the family or the personal name, regardless of sex or rank, is San. Sama may be used instead to express special distinction, as by a maid to her mistress. In writing, San is never used except in most familiar communications. Sama or Dono takes its place among all classes. Kun is a common form in addressing men, and may be thought of as taking the place of the English Mr.

14. Professional names.—Among actors certain family and personal names are taken by generations of pupils. Ichikawa Danjuro is the professional name now held in the ninth generation; Ichikawa Yaozo in the eighth generation; and Nakamura Kanzaburo in the thirteenth. The same custom may be found among musicians and artists. In certain crafts specific characters are often used in common by successive generations, being recognized as distinctive. The names of Buddhist priests, usually of two characters, are ordinarily taken from the Buddhist scriptures and are pronounced in special Chinese fashion.

15. Posthumous names.—*Okurina*, or posthumous names, have been common with royalty and among the nobility. In the reign of Kotoku (645-654) the posthumous name Jimmu was given to the first sovereign, and since that time the custom has continued until the present time, when the late emperor is known by the posthumous name of Meiji Tenno. These names have for the most part been characteristic of the individual or his reign or some locality associated with him.

16. Religious names.—After the introduction of Buddhism the custom of giving *kaimyo*, or *hōmyo*, 'religious names,' to the dead became common. These were inscribed on the ancestral tablets and on the grave-stones, so that rarely were actual personal names to be found in such connexions. In recent years this custom has somewhat weakened; and more and more the ordinary personal and family name, acquired and used as in the West, is becoming the only name that marks the grave of the dead.

LITERATURE.—*Shinsen Shoshi Roku* (the revised 'Record of *Kabane* and *Uji*'), ed. Prince Manta and others, revised Minamoto-Inahiko, Yedo (Tōkyō), 1469; H. Kurita, *Studies in Shoshi Roku*, 2 vols., Tōkyō, 1897; L. Hearn, *Shadowings*, London, 1900; B. H. Chamberlain, *The Language, Mythology, and Geographical Nomenclature of Japan, viewed in the Light of Aino Studies*, Tōkyō, 1887.

T. HARADA.

NAMES (Jewish).—The post-Biblical period shows much the same general phenomena as are discernible in the Biblical age (see NAMES [Hebrew]; *HDB* iii. 478 ff.; and G. B. Gray, *Hebrew Proper Names*, London, 1896). The most significant modification concerns the marking of family sequence by the application to descendants of names borne by ancestors. In Palestine the naming of children after their grandfathers can be traced only to the Greek period, about the 3rd cent. B.C. But the Elephantine papyri carry the custom back some two centuries for the Egyptian Jews (Gray, in *Studien zur semitischen Philologie*, Giessen, 1914, p. 161 ff.). In the Rabbinic period the custom was well established, and it was recognized that a change had occurred from the older Israelite practice of naming a child after some circumstance at his birth. The change was justified by Rabbis of the 2nd cent. A.D. on two grounds: (1) the need of aiding the preservation of family genealogies, and (2) the loss of the guidance of the Holy Spirit in selecting the incident which was to be enshrined in the child's name (Midr. *Gen. Rabbāh*, xxxvii.). It has never become customary for Jewish children to bear their parents' names; there are exceptions, but in most cases the child seems to have been posthumous. More usual is the choice of the grandfather's name, though the tendency has been, since the 13th cent., not to name a child after a living relative (L. Löw, *Die Lebensalter in der jüdischen Literatur*, Szegedin, 1875, p. 95).

A full study of the history of Jewish personal names throughout the ages was published by L. Zunz in 1836 (reprinted in Zunz's *Gesammelte Schriften*, Berlin, 1876, ii. 1–82). At that time the Prussian Government, following a Bohemian precedent of 1787, was proposing to introduce legislation restricting the Jews to Biblical personal names (cf. J. Jacobs, in *JE* ix. 156 f.). Zunz had no difficulty in demonstrating that Jews had freely used non-Biblical names, adopting in succession Babylonian, Persian, Aramaic, Greek, Latin, Arabic, and later European designations. Many Hebrew names were translated into the vernaculars of Europe and Asia. Zunz's work contains long lists of the Jewish names of various periods; and there are some similar lists in Jacobs' article. In these lists Biblical names by no means predominate. The variety of Jewish names revealed in the English records of the 12th and 13th centuries is very remarkable.

With regard to surnames, there are indications that descriptive epithets were becoming common in the Rabbinic period, and that these were developed chiefly in lands where Arabic influence prevailed. Family-names were turned into surnames; so were place-names. The many wanderings of the Jews in the Middle Ages and more recent times induced the custom of naming a new settler after the town or country from which he had migrated. Then, again, such terms as Cohen and Levi, originally descriptive of descent, became surnames. Such names as Maimuni (or Maimonides), *i.e.* 'son of Maimon,' in the 12th cent., and Mendelssohn, 'son of Mendel,' in the 18th, are illustrations of the practice of converting the father's personal name into a surname. Animal-names are probably more common among Jews than among the general population. In the mediæval period occupations suggested many names, and in the centuries approaching the modern age names were derived, especially in Germany, from the business signs (such as the red shield which gave the Rothschilds their name). The intercourse between Jews and their fellow-citizens after the emancipation period rendered it necessary for the former to bear distinctive civic names. This had been the case long before in Spain, and was growing common throughout Europe when, in 1787, the custom became regular in Central and Northern Europe. In the year named the Jews of the Austrian empire were ordered by law to adopt surnames; if any refused, the registration commissioners were empowered to enforce names of their own selection (cf. Jacobs, *loc. cit.*).

The naming of the child has at various times been a ceremony of considerable moment. The period covered by Scripture is fully dealt with in the Bible Dictionaries and in art. NAMES (Hebrew). From the 12th cent., according to Löw (p. 97), not earlier, Jewish boys were named on their eighth day, during the circumcision rite. The formulæ vary; the now common form may be found in the *Authorised Daily Prayer Book* (ed. S. Singer, London, 1914, p. 305; cf. Löw, p. 101). A formula for the naming of girls is given in some rites (see *Book of Prayer . . . according to the Custom of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews*, ed. M. Gaster, London, 1901, i. 180); it is becoming customary to name girls at the first visit paid by the mother to the Synagogue after the birth of the child (Singer, p. 312). The names thus given are mostly in Hebrew, though sometimes the vernacular names are merely transliterated into Hebrew letters—a custom which goes back to Talmudic times. Such names as Alexander and Julian were thus treated in the Rabbinic age. Often the Hebrew and common names corresponded either exactly or in meaning, but in modern times there is frequently no exact correspondence between the Hebrew and ordinary names; thus the chief Rabbi Hermann Adler had the Hebrew name Naphtali. There is, however, some remote connexion in meaning between the two names. It is still customary to find a Hebrew name beginning with the same letter as the vernacular name. Most Jews still bear two names (though the two are often identical), the one Hebrew (termed 'sacred name' and used in Hebrew documents, in the Synagogue, in epitaphs, and so forth), the other vernacular (termed 'common name,' used for ordinary purposes). The Hebrew names thus conferred are borne throughout life, except that, under Kabbalistic influence, some rites direct the change of name in case of illness, in a prayer for the patient's recovery (for a formula see Gaster, p. 195). This custom is now more honoured in the breach than in the observance, though it has some Talmudic authority, for in *T. B. Rōsh Hashānāh*, 16*b*, mention is made of the efficacy of a change of name. Names are still changed on conversion; thus a Jewish convert to Christianity is given a new name, such as Paul, while a convert to Judaism receives a patriarchal name (Abraham, Sarah, or the like). On the other hand, it was held by the Rabbis a meritorious trait in the sons of Jacob that in their Egyptian environment 'they did not change their names' (*Lev. Rabbāh*, xxxii. 5). A pleasant custom with regard to Hebrew names is the selection of a Scriptural text, beginning and ending with the same letters as the Hebrew name; the text is then a kind of motto for the bearer of the name. A long list of such texts may be found in S. Baer, *Abodat Yisrael*, Rödelheim, 1868, p. 106. Some have sought the source of this custom in the Talmudic references to an older school usage. 'Repeat to me thy verse,' says a visitor to the school (cf. the incidents recorded in *Ḥăgīgāh*, 15*a*). But the verse in these passages was some recently-learned text, and apparently had no connexion with the pupil's name.

LITERATURE.—To the works referred to in the course of the art. add: J. Jacobs, *Jews of Angevin England*, London, 1893, esp. pp. 345–369; H. Gross, *Gallia judaica*, Paris, 1897; and, for the ancient period, S. Daiches, Publication no. 2 of Jews' College, London, 1910.

I. ABRAHAMS.

NAMES (Lapp).—**1. Saivo and saivo names.**—Among the primitive beliefs of the Lapps was the worship of dead relatives. They thought that the souls of dead kinsmen helped their descendants and were reborn in them. But they regarded the name as a kind of soul, and therefore the transmission of names was of great importance. In order that a man might possess the character of a dead kinsman he must have his name, and dead men would help only those of the living who bore their names.

The burying-places of the Lapps on sacred mountains were called *saivos*, or *saivo* homes. Immediately after death souls passed into that *saivo* a tenant of which had been their familiar spirit while they lived. There, close under the ground, dwelt all souls of the dead, both men and beasts, passing a life like their earthly life, except that they were more prosperous and more powerful. They protected and helped those who survived them. The *saivo* men and women were the familiar spirits of those who bore their names, and the *saivo* beasts were also helpful spirits, especially to the shaman, whose retinue of familiars comprised not only his *saivo* men but also his *saivo* animals, viz. *saivo* birds, *saivo* fish or serpents, and *saivo* reindeer. Every adult Laplander had one or more of these familiar spirits represented by *saivo* names. The more *saivo* spirits a Laplander possessed, the higher was his reputation. *Saivo* spirits were obtained by skill in magic, by inheritance, or by gift or purchase. Parents while still living often divided their familiar spirits among their children; if they did not, their heirs took them. Marriages were esteemed in proportion to the number of familiar spirits, represented by *saivo* names, that were brought into the marriage bond.

2. Transmission of saivo names.—When a woman was pregnant, she was informed in a dream by a dead man what name the child should be given and also what dead man should rise to life again in the child. If she did not learn this in a dream, the father or other relatives had to find out by divination or by consulting the shaman. Missionaries living among the Norwegian Lapps (1716–34) stated that in their time babies were christened with common Norwegian names, but, as soon as the christening party returned from church, a *laugo*, or washing, of their own religion was held. This *laugo* was called *same-namma-kastates*, 'Lapp-name baptism.' The child was thereby consecrated to Sarakka, the birth-wife, and received a Lappish name which had been borne generally by some ancestor and communicated to the relatives in the manner mentioned above. This name was always used, the Christian name being ignored and forgotten.

'When afterwards the child falls ill, or cries more than it should, it is imputed to no other cause than because a just and genuine name was not given it. . . . A new washing was undertaken, when a new name was acquired, taken from one of his ancestors; and this is the reason why you meet with Laplanders frequently that have two or three names' (Leem, *De Lapponibus Finmarchiæ*, p. 496, Eng. tr. in J. Pinkerton's *Voyages*, London, 1808–14, i. 483).

This new name was called *adda-namma*. Scheffer (*Lapponia*, p. 301) reports similar changes of name among the Swedish Lapps, and Högström (*Beskrifning*, p. 138), who also wrote of the Swedish Lapps, says that, when a child was ill or troublesome, or sometimes for other reasons—*e.g.*, to avert a suspected misfortune—the Lapps changed its name, washing away the old name with water coloured red by a decoction of alder-bark. Leem also mentions the use of alder-bark juice for this purpose (p. 496). C. Ganander (*Mythologia Fennica*, Åbo, 1789, p. 61) quotes the MS of Lenart Sidenius, a Danish missionary working in Norway about 1716, who speaks of the magic baptism of the Lapps, by which they acquire a magic name and with it a *namma-guelle*, or 'name-fish,' one of their underground deities, which becomes their familiar spirit. 'They feign,' says Leem (p. 417; Eng. tr., p. 460), 'that very few can have this, unless on the second baptism.' The name-fish seems identical with the *saivo* fish which helped the shaman to hurt his enemies and carried him on his journey to the realm of the dead. The statement of Sidenius may perhaps mean that, when a man was re-baptized as a shaman in the name of a dead kinsman who had possessed a *saivo* fish, such fish thereupon became the name-fish and familiar spirit of the new shaman.

The baptismal rites of *same-namma* and *adda-namma* were never administered by the Christian godmother, but by another woman, generally the mother. She used warm water into which, Jessen says (*De Finnorum*, p. 36), two twigs of birch were thrown, one in its natural shape, the other twisted into the form of a ring. The *laugo-edne*, or washing wife, then addressed the baby, saying, 'Be thou as fruitful and strong as the birch-tree from which these twigs were taken.' Leem and Högström, however, state that alder-bark was decocted in the water. After throwing into the water some brass or silver object called *namma-skiello*, she then baptized the child, saying, 'I baptize thee with a new name, N.N. Thou shalt thrive better with this water than with that in which the priest dipped thee. By this washing I call thee up, O dead man, N.N. Thou shalt now rise up again, be healthy and receive a new body. And thou, child, shalt have the same fortune as the dead man N.N. had in his lifetime.' After the child has been baptized, she adds, 'Now thou art baptized with the *same-namma* (or *adda-namma*) *baptism*, with the dead man's name: see how well thou wilt thrive therewith!' The *skiello* was then taken from the water and tied to the child. It was highly prized as an amulet, and boys, when they grew up, tied it to their magic drums. Before the rite of *same-namma* baptism offerings were made to Sarakka, and both the water and the child were consecrated to her; but in the *adda-namma* baptism offerings were made to the dead man who was then reborn. When any one was to enter the ranks of the *noaides*, or shamans, he was baptized, and, whenever any one received a *saivo* spirit, he was baptized in the name of the dead man who was reborn in him. Even old men over seventy were sometimes rechristened when ill. One old Lapp mentioned by Jessen (p. 40) had an *adda-namma* and thirteen *saivo* names, three of which he had received from his mother in her lifetime, and the rest he had inherited from various relatives. A Lapp youth had no *adda-namma*, properly so called, because he had never been ill, but he had two *saivo* names, one of which he had received as a present from his father, and the other he had obtained for himself by the practice of magic.

These ceremonies are a curious blend of Christian, Scandinavian, and Finno-Ugrian influences. It seems probable that the water-baptism itself is of Christian origin; but the Lappish custom as a whole is evidently of a more ancient descent, and may have been, as V. M. Mikhailovskii asserts, 'one of the most sacred rites' of the pagan Lapps (*JAI* xxiv. [1894] 148). Fjellner, the well-informed Lapp who supplied O. Donner with much of the material for his *Lieder der Lappen* (Helsingfors, 1876), told G. von Düben, the Swedish writer, that Lappish baptism was very old and mentioned in their most ancient songs. We may gather from the evidence of Högström, Leem, and Jessen that during the first half of the 18th cent., when the influence of Christian missionaries was making most progress, twigs of birch were placed in the baptismal water, but that, where pagan influences remained strong, alder-bark was used by both Norwegian and Swedish Lapps. It might perhaps be inferred that in the pre-Christian rite the patient was daubed with alder-bark juice, a substitute for, or equivalent to, blood, which had deep religious significance for the Lapps, and was used by them to a large extent in the very curious survivals of old ritual which followed the killing of bears.[1] Otherwise the name-giving customs are

[1] See P. Fjellström, *Om Lapparnes Björnfänge*, Stockholm, 1755. It may be noticed that with the Chukchis, before name-giving ceremonies similar to those of the Lapps, the faces of mother, child, and relatives were smeared with blood (W. Bogoras, 'The Chukchee,' in *Mem. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.: The Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, vol. vii. pt. ii [1907] p. 511.

of a general character, and occur with variations all over the north. The belief that ancestors come to life again in descendants named after them, which seems the root-idea of these Lappish customs, is of course not peculiar to the Lapps, who indeed borrowed much of their religion, like their language, from neighbours of alien blood. Such beliefs and customs are prevalent not only in Siberia but also among N. American Indians, and among the Eskimos, both American and Asiatic.[1]

LITERATURE.—For Swedish Lapps: J. Scheffer, *Lapponia*, Frankfort, 1673, Eng. tr., Oxford, 1674; P. Högström, *Beskrifning öfver de till Sweriges krona lydande Lappmarker*, Stockholm, n.d. (1746–47). For Norwegian Lapps: E. J. Jessen, *De Finnorum Lapponumque Norwegicorum Religione*, Copenhagen, 1767; K. Leem, *De Lapponibus Finmarchiæ eorumque lingua, vita et religione*, do. 1767.

CHARLES J. BILLSON.

NAMES (Sumerian).—The oldest inscriptions of the Sumerians are contracts and business records, and these invariably contain names of persons in private life. These sources probably begin before 4000 B.C., so that we possess sources for the study of the personal names of this the oldest civilized people from the beginning of history until they were finally absorbed into the Semitic Babylonian race about 2000 B.C. The most remarkable fact about the personal names of this agglutinating language is that even the rude archaic inscriptions of almost pre-historic times contain no names reflecting the lower stages of culture. They have already freed themselves from names referring to bodily deformities, so frequent in the later Babylonian names.[2] Animal names have also disappeared, except in the names of the gods, most of whom preserved animal attributes, and were frequently referred to by animal titles. In two classes of personal names the words for 'dog' (*ur*) and 'maturing young animal' (*amar*) constantly recur, but they are no longer used in their original senses. A very large group of names begin with *ur*, followed by the name of a deity, or some sacred place or object, as *Ur-Bau*, literally 'Dog of the goddess Bau'; *Ur-Ninā*, 'Dog of the goddess Ninā'; *Ur-gigir-gid-da*, 'Dog of the long wagon,' etc. In all these cases *ur* really means 'menial,' 'servant,' one who is attached to the worship of these deities, sacred relics, or objects employed in the cults. We cannot even say that we have here a remnant of pre-historic animal names. The Semitic names, which are often mere translations of Sumerian forms, never have the word for 'dog' in this class of names, but only *warad*, 'servant'; *Warad-Bau*, *Warad-Ninā*, would be their rendering, not *Kalab*.[3] *Bau*, etc. As to *amar*, which for the sake of brevity we shall translate by 'calf,' the meaning is not so clear. It forms a small group of names in the sources of all periods and was rendered into Semitic by *bûru*, 'maturing young of animals.' Thus we have *Amar-Enzu*, 'Calf of Enzu (the moon-god),' Semitic *Būr-Sin*; *Amar-é-bil*, 'Calf of the new temple,' etc. The Sumerians, and after them the Semites,[4] probably employed this word in the sense of 'sturdy offspring,' certainly not in the original animal sense. The element *subar*[5] originally means 'pig,' Semitic *šaḫû*, and, like *ur* and *amar*, forms a small group of names of the type *Subar-Bau*, *Subar-Utu*, literally, 'Pig of the goddess Bau,' 'Pig of the sun-god,' etc., but the Sumerians clearly attached no such meaning to these names, but understood 'Servant of Bau,' 'Servant of Utu,' etc., for the syllabars render *subar* by *ardu*, 'servant,' and in ancient texts *subar* and *nitaḫ* (the ordinary word for *wardu*, 'servant') occur side by side as class names.[1] One of the most common personal names in Sumerian is *Subar*, which probably stands for the divine name *Ninsubar*, 'Lord of pigs.' With these groups of names thus disposed of, there remains not the slightest trace of connecting human beings with animals in assigning names.[2] In those names which contain literal animal references we have to do with epithets of the gods which form part of the personal names; *e.g.*, the names *Dun-tur*, 'Little zebu,' *Maš-tūr*, 'Little kid,' *Maš-gula*, 'Great kid,' *Maš-du*, 'Kid,' *Subar-tur*, 'The little pig,' *Enzu*,[3] 'The she-goat,' are apocopated forms in which the full name is reduced to the divine animal epithet.

Sumerian has no so-called pet names, or hypocoristica, and the language has in fact no proper diminutive endings. A considerable number of names end with the suffix *mu*, 'my,' as *Šeš-a-mu*, 'The brother[4] is my father,' ^{d}*Dungi-zi-mu*, 'Dungi is my breath of life,' *Dim-zi-mu*, 'The creating one is my breath of life,' ^{d}*Enlil-bad-mu*, 'Enlil is my wall (of defence),' and hypocoristica like *Zi-mu*, 'My breath of life.' The suffix *mu* is not to be regarded as having the force of endearment, but it forms a grammatical part of the original name and can be omitted in apocopated forms. Thus we have ^{d}*Enlil-bad-mu* and ^{d}*Enlil-bad*.

It appears that the complicated and theological names given to Sumerians great and humble were not assigned to their owners at birth, but at a later period, perhaps not until the age of their majority. This statement is deduced from two facts: (*a*) in the temple records infants, boys and girls, and orphans do not have names, but are entered in the lists simply as 'an infant,' 'a boy,' 'a girl,' etc.; (*b*) the names never refer to circumstances of birth.

Sumerian names are almost invariably of a theological character, and may be divided into two great groups: (i.) names which represent a complete grammatical sentence; and (ii.) names composed of construct and genitive. In the early period names of the former group preponderate, but the tendency to use names of the second group grew, and in the periods of the Ur and Isin dynasties the second group represents nearly half of the personal names. A name of the chief group originally consisted of a complete sentence, and generally has no reference to the life of the individual, but is taken from some well-known religious, historical, or magic text. A very large number are taken from hymns of the Tammuz and Innini cult. Thus we have *Nin-šeš-ra-ki-ag*, 'The queen loves the brother'—an idea frequently expressed in the liturgies of the wailing of the mother-goddess for her brother Tammuz; *Šeš-azag-gi-šú-mu-gin*, 'Unto the holy brother she has gone'—an apocopated form, in which the subject (*Ama*, the mother, or *Nin*, the queen, etc.) is omitted at the beginning of the name. A large number of names are really citations from liturgical texts; *e.g.*, we find the following name in its various distorted forms, *Me-šīg-gan-e*, *Me-šīg-nu-di*, *Bara-šīg-nu-di*, which are

[1] See, *e.g.*, J. G. Frazer, *GB*[3], pt. ii., *Taboo*, London, 1911, pp. 366, 370, 371, *Totemism and Exogamy*, do. 1910, ii. 344–346, iii. 297; K. Rasmussen, *People of the Polar North*, do. 1908, p. 116; M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, Oxford, 1914, pp. 182, 135, 136, 144.

[2] See on these Semitic names H. Holma, *Die assyrisch-babylonischen Personennamen*, Helsingfors, 1914.

[3] Semitic word for 'dog.'

[4] Semitic Babylonian names beginning with *Bûr* are not genuine Semitic names and gradually disappeared.

[5] Falsely read *šah* in all previous lists of Sumerian names.

[1] Allotte de la Fuÿe, *Documents présargoniques*, Paris, 1908–1913, no. 119 VI.

[2] A small group of names begin with *dun*, which denotes a bovine animal, but this word also means 'strong,' 'heroic,' 'sturdy,' and has probably no reference to an animal in these names. It occurs in names of the type *Dun-*^{d}*Enlillikenag*, 'The sturdy Enlil loves,' *Dun-šag-kuš*, 'The pensive sturdy one,' *Dun-šeš*, 'The sturdy brother' (referring to Tammuz).

[3] Thureau-Dangin, *Recueil de tablettes chaldéennes*, Paris, 1903, no. 11 V.

[4] 'Brother' is an epithet of the god Tammuz and always refers to him in Sumerian names.

really taken from a line of a liturgy, *Lugal-mu me bara sīg-gan nu-di*,[1] 'My king whose decrees in the sanctuary cease not.' The name *Lugal-me-gal-gal* and its apocopated form, *Lugal-me*, rest upon a line like *Lugal-me-gal-gal sag-an-šú mi-ni-ib-il*, 'The king[2] exalted the great decrees unto heaven.'[3] Names taken from historical inscriptions are numerous; *e.g.*, we have in various distorted forms the name *Nig-ud-ul-sīg-è*,[4] *Nig-ul-sīg-è*,[5] probably taken from the end of a building inscription which, after describing the construction of a temple, says, *nig-ud-ul-dū-a sīg-è*, 'that which unto future days has been raised gloriously.'[6] The name *Sig-bi-gi*, 'Its brick he restored,'[7] is for *Sig-bi-ki-bi-mu-gi*, 'Its brick to its place he restored'—a phrase which is found in many building inscriptions. Names taken from incantation-texts are easily detected; *Nin-šu-el*,[8] 'The queen-clean hands,' probably stands for *Nin-šu-el-gi-gi*, 'Into the clean hands of the queen restore him,' or some other phrase of magical texts like *Nin-šu-el-a-ni-ta mu-un-ku-e*, 'The queen with pure hands has eaten.' Names of purely ethical import are rare. The only one known to the present writer, *Nam-ku-li-ni-dug*, 'Friendship is good,'[9] is probably extracted from some religious text.

We have, therefore, the remarkable example of a people who were known to each other by abstract religious phrases, usually shortened to convenient length, and often in such a way as to show that they had quite forgotten or at any rate neglected the original phrase; *e.g.*, note the apocopation *Me-sīg-gan-e* above, in which the negative *nu* and the helping verb *di* are omitted, thus completely destroying the sense. Often names are so reduced as to mean the opposite of the sense intended. Thus *Lugal-nig-á-zi-nu-ag*, 'The king does no cruel thing,'[10] becomes *Lugal-nig-á-zi-ag*, 'The king does that which is cruel.'[11] In reducing this class of names the phrase may be apocopated at the beginning, in the middle, or at the end. Already in the early period this process has so distorted the names that many are a complete mystery, and in the later periods the names are almost wholly apocopations.[12] In the early period at least half of the names are unintelligible. As an example of the ruthless manner in which names were shortened compare *Nin-šu-gal-lam*, 'The queen of Shugallam,' which is itself apocopated for 'The queen loves the chapel Shugallam,' or some similar phrase. This name appears as *Nin-šu-lam* and *Nin-gal-lam*. *Nin-gu-bi* stands for *Nin-šag-gu-bi-mu-gi*, 'The queen's heart returns to its level,' *i.e.* she ceases to be angry, a poetical phrase taken from the return of the raging river to its banks. In the late period we have *Azag-ga-ni*, which would be unintelligible if we did not possess the early form *Ka-azag-ga-ni-mu-ba*, 'He has opened his pure mouth.'

Rarely do names have any relation to occupation. A priest who managed the religious rites connected with a canal has the name *Lugal-idig-na*, 'The king of the Tigris,' a short form containing simply the title of the river-god. It is perhaps no accident that the name of a part of Eridu, a city on the Persian Gulf, occurs in the name of a fisherman, *Amar-šubaru-(ki)*, 'The sturdy one of the city Shubaru.'[1]

1. Names which represent a complete grammatical sentence.—Names of this great group may be analyzed into the following classes, which do not pretend to be exhaustive, since so many apocopated forms are obscure.[2]

(1) Names referring to the cult of Mother Earth and her brother Tammuz:

Dingir-sib, 'The divine shepherd'; *Dingir-šeš-mu*, 'My divine brother'; *Ama-ra-[ki-ag]*, 'He [loves] the mother'; *Dam-zid-mu*, 'My faithful husband'; *Dim-tūr*, 'The little wailer';[3] *Ki-šú-a-be-ti-li*, *Nin-ki-šú-a*, 'The queen in a dark place dwells'; *Edin-ba-a-gub-nad*, 'In his plain . . . he sleeps'; *Dumu-mu-an-ni-dug*, 'My son maketh glad Anu'; *Dumu-nir-gál*, 'The glorious son'; *Dun-šeš*, 'The sturdy brother'; *Nin-erib-ba-ni-gim-sal-zid*, 'The queen as her sister-in-law is a faithful woman';[4] *Nin-edin-ni*, 'The queen unto the plains (has gone forth)';[5] *Nin-mu-da-kuš*, 'My queen for (the brother) sighs'; *Nin-šeš-da-kuš*, 'The queen for the brother sighs';[6] *Nin-šeš-ra-ki-ag*, 'The queen loves the brother'; *Nin-zid-dam-ki-ag*, 'The queen loves the faithful husband'; *Nin-ni-kuš*, 'The queen laments'; *Šeš-da-gal-sá*, 'The brother of the merciful mother . . .'; *Šeš-an-edin-na*, 'The brother from the plains (has been taken)';[7] *Šeš-kùr-ra*, 'The brother in the earth (sleeps)'; *Šeš-ki-na*, *Šeš-ki*, 'The brother in the earth sleeps'; *Šeš-ki-erim-ma*, 'The brother in the evil earth (sleeps)'; *Šeš-lù-dug*, 'The brother, the good man';[8] *Šeš-ama-ra-ki-ag*, *Ama-ra, Šeš-ki-ag*, 'The brother loves the mother'; *Šeš-kal-la*, 'The precious brother.'

(2) Names referring to the goddess of begetting and the weeping mother:

Ama-en-tud, 'The mother an high priest has begotten'; *Ama-numun-zid*, 'The mother legitimate seed (has given)'; *Nu-mu-na-sum-ma*, 'Seed she gave'; *Nin-ù-numun-e-ki-ag*, 'The queen loves the seed'; *Ama-šdg-ga*, 'The gracious mother'; *Ama-da-nu-di*, 'With the mother none rival'; *Nin-da-nu-me-a*, 'With the queen none compare'; *Ni-a-a-ama-da-ri*, 'Ninâ is an everlasting mother'; *Nin-nam-tag-nu-tuk*, 'The queen has no sin'; *dBau-ama-mu*, 'Bau is my mother'; *dBau-ama-da-ri*, 'Bau is an everlasting mother'; *dBau-gim-a-ba-šag*, 'Who is gracious like Bau?'; *dBau-zi-mu*, 'Bau is my soul of life'; *dBau-ni-kuš*, 'Bau laments'; *Nin-uru-da-kuš*, 'The queen laments for her city'; *Dim-dNinâ-mu-tud*, 'The creating Ninâ has begotten'; *dNin-dun-ama-mu*, *Dun-nin-ama-mu*, 'The queen of life is my mother';[9] *Nin-iškim-ti*, 'The queen a helper is'; *Nin-mu-ma-da-aya*, 'My queen loves the land'; *dNinmar-ama-dím*, 'Ninmar is a creating mother.'

(3) Names referring to the word of the gods:

Enim-ma-ni-zid 'His word is trustworthy';[10] *Enim-dŠuruppak-zi-da*, 'The word of the god of Shuruppak is trustworthy'; *Enim-dEnlilla-an-tub*, 'The word of Enlil shakes the heavens';[11] *Enim-enim-dúg-ga-ni an-tub*, 'The words which he spoke shake the heavens';[11] *Enin-ud-zig*, 'The word is an onrushing storm';[12] *Enim-bi-dug*, 'His word is good.'[13]

(4) Names taken from historical inscriptions:

Apsu-sīg-è, 'The *apsu* has been made glorious'; *Alam-kùr-ta*, 'A statue from the mountain (he caused to be made)';[14] *Ama-tá-bil*, 'The mother the new canal . . .';[15] *Bara-ir-nun*, 'The chapel with . . . oil he . . .'; *Ur-ir-nun*, 'The roof with . . . oil he . . .'; *Lugal-ir-nun*, 'The king with . . . oil has

---

[1] See Radau, *Sumerian Hymns and Prayers to Nin-ib*, Philadelphia, 1911, no. 1, rev. III. 17.

[2] 'King' in Sumerian names refers to some deity. Reference to the temporal king is doubtful in the few names which can be deduced for that purpose.

[3] Cf. Gudea, Cylinder AI 2.

[4] Nikolski, *Documents de la plus ancienne époque chaldéenne*, Petrograd, 1908, no. 18 IV.

[5] Usually transcribed *Nig-du-pa-è*.

[6] Cf. Kurigalzu's inscription in *Cuneiform Texts of the British Museum*, vol. ix. pl. 3.

[7] Allotte de la Fuÿe, 59 II.

[8] *Ib.* 126 III.

[9] *Ib.* 230, 12.

[10] *Ib.* 120 VI.

[11] Nikolski, 3, rev. III.

[12] The names of the later period, such as were known up to the date of publication, have been collected by Engelbert Huber in his *Die Personennamen in den Keilschrifturkunden aus der Zeit der Könige von Ur and Isin* (Leipzig, 1907). This list contains about 3500 names, and at least 2000 more, chiefly from Drehem and Umma, have since been published. Unfortunately the author did not realize the apocopated nature of the names of that period, and his interpretations are almost wholly erroneous. Nevertheless this book represents the first great effort to systematize Sumerian names, and is most useful.

[1] Wrongly transcribed *Amar-ḫa-a-ki*, by Genouillac and Hussey.

[2] The examples given under each number are only a selection from several hundreds which are known in the more important classes.

[3] Allotte de la Fuÿe, 57, rev. 13.

[4] This name refers to the relation of Innini and Geštinanna, sister of Tammuz; see Nikolski, 19 IV.

[5] Cf. Langdon, *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, Paris, 1909, p. 328, 22.

[6] Genouillac, *Tablettes sumériennes archaïques*, Paris, 1909, no. 10, obv. VI.

[7] Cf. Langdon, 336, 20.

[8] Apoc. *Šešdugga*.

[9] Cf. Nikolski, 6 IX. and 6 VII.

[10] Allotte de la Fuÿe, 87 II.

[11] This name occurs frequently as a line in liturgies (see Langdon, 38, 11, etc.).

[12] This is one of the favourite descriptions of the Word in the liturgies.

[13] It is possible that the first two and last of these examples do not refer to the theological doctrine of the Word, which the liturgies describe as a messenger of wrath.

[14] Thureau-Dangin, 4.

[15] Allotte de la Fuÿe, 133 V

been . . .'; *Lugal-geŝten Lugal-kùr-geŝten*, 'The king with wine of the mountain . . .';[1] *Nig-du-sig-è, Nig-ud-ul-sig-è*, 'That which unto future days has been done fittingly'; *É-ki-bi-ba-gub*, 'The temple in its place has been fixed'; *dNin-pa-ki-bi*, 'Ninpa unto his place (has been restored)'; *Nin-suḫ-il-il*,[2] 'The queen on her foundation has been raised'; *Nin-ur-ni*, 'The queen upon her pedestal (has been placed)'; *Sìb-kagina, Lugal-kagina, Uru-kagina*, 'The shepherd (or king) in the city has instituted justice'; *Sig-bi-gi*, 'Its brick (to its place) he restored'; *Šag-uru-ni-šú*, 'Unto the heart of his city he . . .'; *Kur-gir-ni-šú, Gir-ni-ba-KU*, 'The foreign land unto his foot he reduced'; *Kur-šu-ni-šú*, 'The foreign land to his hand he reduced'; *Sá-ukkin*, 'The judgment of the assembly'; *Kingal-sá*, 'The chief of the assembly has decided.'

(5) Names taken from incantation-texts:

Nig-erim-bar-ra-[an-teg], 'May the evil not approach';[3] *Lugal-nin-ḫul*, 'May the king evil (put away)'; *Á-da-šu-el, Nin-šu-el* (see above); *En-šu-laḫ-laḫ*, 'The lord with clean hands (broke the spell).'

(6) Names referring to legends:

Sa-dingir-ra-ne, 'The net of the gods . . .'; *Lugal-sa-šuš-gal*, 'The king with a great net . . .';[4] *Tir-azag-gi-si*, 'The clean forest . . .';[5] *En-abzu-a-gub-*[6]*nad*, 'The lord in the ocean . . . sleeps'; *Lugal-tir-a-gub-nad*, 'The lord in the forest . . . sleeps'; *En-kùr-ra-a-gub-nad*, 'The lord in the mountain . . . sleeps'; *En-du-azag-a-gub-nad, En-azag-a-gub-nad, En-azag*, 'The lord in the holy chamber . . . sleeps'; *Bara-uru-a-gub-*[nad], '. . . in the chapel of the city . . . sleeps'; *dEn-ki-sil-dagal*, 'Enki in the wide street (of the lower world walks)'; *Lugal-eridu-šú*, 'The king unto Eridu . . .'; *Lugal-ud-da-tud*, 'The king in the month . . . begat';[7] *Lugal-šu-maḫ*, 'The king with a mighty arm . . .'; *Lugal-mà-ab-è*, 'My king arose from the ocean'; *Nam-nin-an-na-gam-gam*, 'The queenship of heaven she has subdued'; *Nam-nin-e-an-ki-gam-gam*, 'The queenship of heaven and earth she has subdued'; *Nin-si-gar-ab-ba*, 'The queen the bolt of the sea . . .'; *dDungi-ú-nam-til*, 'The divine Dungi the plant of life (has eaten).'[8]

(7) Names referring to sacred places, cities, temples, shrines, and cult objects:

Azag-gi-pad-da, 'The holy reed hut'; *Amar-Kiš-(ki)*, 'The sturdy one of Kish';[9] *Amar-Šubaru-(ki)*, 'The sturdy one of Shubaru';[9] *Šubaru-ki-dug*, 'Shubaru is a good place'; *Bara-ud sud-šú*, 'In the chapel unto distant days . . .'; *Bara-nam-tar-ra*, 'In the chapel fate has been decreed (?)'; *Bara-*[*me*]*-sig-*[*ga*]*-nu-di*, '. . . whose decrees in the chapel are not restrained';[10] *Bara-zi-kùr-ra*, 'The faithful chapel in the world . . .';[11] *Nin-bara-da-ri*, 'The queen in the everlasting chapel . . .'; *Nin-é-balag-ni-dug*, 'The queen whose temple lyre is sweet'; *Gal-balag*, 'The great lyre,' apoc.; *E-giš-gig-bi-dug*, 'The temple whose shadow is good,' apoc. *E-giš-bi-dug*; *E-ud-gim-è*, 'The temple like the sun has risen';[12] *E-ur-bi-âg*, 'The temple whose foundation is good,' apoc. *E-ur*; *E-ul-li*, 'The temple unto distant days . . .';[13] *Gigir-ta-pad-da-an*, apoc. *Gigir-ta*, 'By the wagon . . .'; *Gìr-nun-ki-dug*, 'The Girnun is a good place'; *Gir-nun-zi-šag-gál*, 'The Girnun the breath of life'; *Lugal-apin-ni*, 'The king the water wheel . . .'; *Gan-gigir-sag*, 'Abundance of the chief wagon'; *Nin-mu-nanga-ra-nad*, 'My queen sleeps in the enclosure'; *Nangara-šdg*, 'In the propitious enclosure'; *Nin-šu-gal-lam*, 'The queen in Shugallam . . .'; *Ninâ-ki-dug*, 'Ninâ the good place.'

(8) Names referring to personal interests of the individual, his birth, age, etc.:[14]

A-bad-mu, 'The father[15] is my defence';[16] *Enlil-bad-mu*, 'Enlil is my defence'; *Nin-bad-ni-dug*, 'The queen has made good the defence'; *Nin-ama-mu*, 'The queen is my mother'; *dInnini-ama-mu*, 'Innini is my mother'; *dBabbar-ama-mu*, 'The sun-god is my mother' (sic!); *A-dingir-mu*, 'The father is my god'; *Lugal-ab-ba-mu*, 'The king is my father,' apoc. *Lugal-a-mu*; *Nir-an-da-gál*, 'He has been brought into being by the mighty Anu'; *Lugal-an-da-*[*gál*], 'He has been brought into being by the king Anu'; *Zi-mu-an-da-gál*, 'My soul has been brought into being by Anu'; *Amar-dEzinu-ud-sud-šú*,[1] 'The sturdy one of the grain goddess unto far-away days (may live)'; *Dim-dInnini-da-gal-sá*, 'The creation of the merciful Innini fares well'; *E-an-ni-mud*, 'Begotten in the house of heaven'; *Nigin-mud*, 'Begotten in the secret chamber'; *Lugal-nig-gà-ni*, 'The king loves his property';[2] *dInnini-ur-dim*, 'Innini has created a servant'; *Ur-mu*[3] *ab-tuk*, 'My servant I[4] have obtained,' var. *Ur-mà-tuk-a*; *dNingirsu-ur-mu*, 'I Ningirsu (have obtained) my servant'; *Šeš-ur-mu*, 'I the brother (have obtained) my servant'; *Nin-ur-mu*, 'I the queen (have obtained) my servant'; *A-ur-mu*, 'I the father (have obtained) my servant'; *Nin-igi-mal-ur-bi*, 'Ninigimal (has obtained) her servant'; *Ningirsu-lù-mu*, 'I Ningirsu (have obtained) my man'; *Nin-lù-mu*, 'I the queen (have obtained) my man'; *dBabbar-lù-mu*, 'I the sun-god (have obtained) my man.'

(9) Names referring to the temporal kings:

dBabbar-igi-gub-Lugal-anda, 'Shamash is the defender of Lugalanda';[5] *dNinâ-ama-Lugal-anda*, 'Ninâ is the mother of Lugalanda'; *Urukagina-dEnlil(li)-zu*,[6] 'Urukagina knoweth Enlil'; *Urukagina-dNinâ-zu*,[6] 'Urukagina knoweth Ninâ'; *Gudea-a-ab-ba-uru*, 'Gudea is father of the city'; *dDungi-a-a-mu*, 'The divine Dungi is my father'[7] [8]; *dDungi-ud-sud-šú*, 'The divine Dungi (life) unto distant days (may give)' [8]; *dBur-Sin-an-ni-ki-ag*, 'The divine Bur-Sin loves Anu'; *dGudea-*[?], apoc.

(10) Names asserting attributes of the gods, adoration of their power, etc.:[8]

A-ba-mu-na-du, 'Who can walk with him?' apoc. *A-ba-mu-na*;[9] *A-šdg*, 'The kind father'; *An-al-šdg*, 'Anu is kind';[10] *An-lù-šdg*, 'Anu is he who shows kindness';[11] *Enlil-lù-šdg*, 'Enlil is he who shows kindness'; *dMesandu-lù-šdg*, 'Mesandu is he who shows kindness'; *dNinâ-lù-šdg*, 'Ninâ is she who shows kindness'; *dBabbar-dIngig-(ḫu)*, 'The sun-god is the Zû-bird'; *dŠuruppak-im-gig-(ḫu)*, 'The god of Shuruppak is the Zû-bird'; *Dumu-nir-gál*, 'The son[12] is counsellor'; *Dun-ig-gal*, 'The hero is a great gate'; *En-ig-gal*, 'The lord is a great gate'; *Lugal-á-sum-ma*, 'The king is endowed with strength'; *Lugal-aga-zid*, 'The king a sure tiara (has put on)';[13] *dNingirsu-men-zid*, 'Ningirsu a sure crown (has put on)'; *dInnini-men-zid-dim*,[14] 'Innini a sure crown has put on'; *Šeš-me-na-tùm*, 'The brother[15] is made fit for a crown'; *Sil-tùr*, 'The little lamb'; *Lugal-ug-banda*, 'The king a panther,' apoc.; *Utu-uš-zid*, 'The sun-god is a faithful adviser.'

2. Names composed of construct and genitive.—The large group of names composed of a construct and genitive arose from the desire, common to all peoples, of appealing more strongly to the personality of the individual. They belong logically to the names under class (8) above, for this more human sentiment found expression even among the forms designed to be wholly abstract and theologi-

[1] This name is usually written *Amar-ezen* and is confined to the early period, where it is very common.

[2] *Nig-gà=makkuru*, 'property,' refers to the owner of the name. In the early period we have also *Nin-nig-gà-ni* (Allotte de la Fuÿe, 230 VII.), and in the late period *Nin-nig-ga-ma*, which is difficult; *ma* probably represents a verb dropped at the end. More common in the late period is the form *Nig-ga-dInnini*, 'The property of Innini (am I).' This form is rendered into Semitic by *Makkur-dInnini, Nêmeli-dInnini*.

[3] Names containing *ur-mu* are still obscure to the present writer, as also those with *lù-mu*; *lù* can also mean 'slave.' The renderings are tentative. These names disappear before the Ur dynasty and obviously point to some peculiarity of ancient life.

[4] Refers to some deity.

[5] Nikolski, 9 III.

[6] The texts have *su*.

[7] From Dungi, second king of the Ur dynasty, onward to the end of all the Sumerian city dynasties the kings were regarded as gods, and hence their names enter into personal names with the same force as that of a real deity. A selection of such names is placed here only for convenience. Each name belongs to the class indicated in the brackets. [Also Gudea, the patesi of Lagash in the middle period, appears in proper names as a god, but his own inscriptions neither recognize him as a deity nor do they mention his cult.]

[8] This class is designed to cover a large miscellaneous group of names which cannot be reduced to more special analysis. Naturally many names assigned to the first nine classes could be grouped here.

[9] Names of this type passed into Semitic in such forms as *Mannu-maḫir-šu*, 'Who is his rival?', *Mannu-kima-Šamaš*, 'Who is like Shamash?', and were popular to the end of Babylonian history. Both Babylonian and Hebrew names of this type appear to depend on the Sumerian prototype.

[10] Rendered into Semitic by *Anu-mudammiḳ*, 'Anu shows kindness,' *Anu-damiḳ*, 'Anu is kind.'

[11] This seems to be the most probable interpretation of *lù-šdg*, on analogy of *Nin-lù-ti-ti*, 'The queen is she that giveth life.'

[12] Tammuz.

[13] This may have a lunar reference.

[14] *Sanâku=dim*.

[15] Tammuz. Or perhaps read *Šeš-me-*[*an*]*-na-tùm*, 'The brother bears the decrees of Anu.' So the present writer would explain also *En-an-na-tùm, Nin-an-na-tùm, Lugal-an-na-tùm*, and *An-na-tùm*, all with apocopated *me*.

[1] The meaning of the last four names is uncertain, and they may not belong under this heading. They are here referred to dedications or sacrifices.

[2] Read *Nin-rim-il-il*, by Genouillac and Hussey.

[3] Nikolski, 15 III.; Genouillac, 10, rev. II.

[4] Nikolski, 160 I.

[5] Allotte de la Fuÿe, 126 III., 135 VI.

[6] The reading of *A-DU* in these names is uncertain.

[7] Nikolski, 19 II.

[8] This seems to be the correct interpretation with Huber, 118, but the name is rare and the legend of the plant of life is late, if it occurs at all in Sumerian.

[9] Belongs also to the second group of names (ii.).

[10] Allotte de la Fuÿe, 132 VII.; cf. Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften*, Leipzig, 1907, p. 8 n.

[11] Allotte de la Fuÿe, 230, 9. *Bara*, 'chapel,' does not occur in names after the Ur dynasty, with the exception of the obscure hypocoristicon *Bara-zi-ga*.

[12] *Ib.* 135 I.

[13] Nikolski, 19 IV.

[14] See also above class (2).

[15] Refers to Enlil.

[16] Literally 'wall.'

cal. In analyzing this group of names, we aim at distinguishing them on the basis of the philological meaning of the first element which characterizes the individual's relation to the gods, sacred places, and cult objects. It was natural that the profound sense of humility and sorrow which characterized the Sumerians' religion from the beginning, and gradually deepened in their religious life, found expression in their onomatology. And, as the austere view of life grew upon them, forcing every note of joy and exuberance from their liturgies, so also the tendency to employ names expressing dependence upon the gods increased. Since this aspect of religion was common to both Sumerian and Semite (although in a lesser degree to the latter), we cannot say that Semitic names of this type are mere translations from the Sumerian. Early Semitic names in the Sargonic era[1] have no forms like *Amel-Ishtar*, 'Man of Ishtar,' *Warad-Ishtar*, 'Servant of Ishtar,' *Amat-Ishtar*, 'Handmaid of Ishtar.' Not until the Ur and Isin periods do we meet with Semitic names of this kind and Semitic names of group i. also. These are translations of Sumerian types, and it is probable that all Semitic Babylonian names which reproduce pure Sumerian types are due to borrowing. Genuine Semitic Babylonian names express family relationship or peculiar bodily defects or traits, and, where they do express attributes of deity, they lack that theological and liturgical nature which characterizes the Sumerian names. The Semitic names of the construct and genitive type, which begin to abound in the documents of Ur and Isin, are in all probability mostly formations borrowed from one of the classes of group ii. which here follow:

(1) *Amar-^{d}Sin*, 'The sturdy one of Sin,' Semitic *Bur-^{d}Sin*; *Amarši^{h}*, 'The sturdy one of the shepherd';[2] *Amar-^{d}PA*, 'The sturdy one of the god *PA*'; *Amar-sun*, 'The sturdy one of [Nin]-sun';[3] *Amar-tar-an*, 'The sturdy one of the Taran';[4] *Amar-Mama*, 'The sturdy one of the goddess Mama'; (2) *Bâ-ša-*[5] *^{d}Sin*, 'The mercy of Sin,' Semitic *Gimil-Sin*; *Bâ-ša-Ma-ma*, 'The mercy of Mama'; *Baša-*[6]*û-a*, 'The mercy of the caretaker'; *Bâ-ša-^{d}Enlil*, 'The mercy of Enlil'; *Baša-*[7] *šub*, 'The mercy of the pure one'; *Baša-*[8]*aš-dar*, 'The mercy of Ishtar'; (3) *Gimama*, 'Handmaid of the mother goddess,' Semitic, *Amat-ummi*; *Gim-^{d}Bau*, 'Handmaid of Bau'; *Gim-Šul-sig-è*, 'Handmaid of the god Shulsige,' apoc. *Gim-šul*; *Gim-E-anna*, 'Handmaid of the temple Eanna'; *Gim-kun-sag*, 'Handmaid of the chief reservoir'; *Gim-ib*, 'Handmaid of the Ib';[9] *Gim-id-edin-na*, 'Handmaid of the river of the plain'; *Gim-šugallam*, 'Handmaid of the Shugallam'[1]; (4) *Lû-^{d}Bau*, 'Man of Bau,' Semitic *Amel-^{d}Bau*; *Lû-^{d}Ab-ir-nun*, 'Man of Abirnun';[2] *Lû-dù-tâg-azag*, 'Man of the holy Abtag';[1] *Lû-^{d}Babbar*, 'Man of the sun-god'; *Lû-^{d}Ninâ*, 'Man of the goddess Ninâ'; *Lû-Šubaru*, 'Man of Shubaru';[1] *Lû-Ninâ-(ki)*, 'Man of Ninâ';[1] *Lû-má-gur-ra*, 'Man of the crescent-shaped boat';[1] *Lû-giš-gar-ra*, 'Man of the carriage.'[3]

These are the only names of this kind known in the pre-Sargonic period. The expression 'man of' is clearly of later origin than the other classes, and becomes more frequent in the Sargonic and post-Sargonic texts. In the late period names with *Lû* become prolific and vie in popularity with those beginning with *Ur*.

(5) *Ur-*[4] *^{d}Bau*, 'Servant of Bau,' Semitic *Warad-Bau*; *Ur-d)Dumu-zi*, 'Servant of Tammuz'; *Ur-^{d}Ningirsu*, 'Servant of Ningirsu'; *Ur-^{d}Ninsun*, 'Servant of Ninsun'; *Ur-gigir-sag*, 'Servant of the chief wagon';[5] *Ur-šugallam*, 'Servant of the Shugallam';[6] *Ur-ti-ra-aš*, 'Servant of the Tirash';[6] *Ur-nigin*, 'Servant of the secret chamber';[6] *Ur-ig-gal*, 'Servant of the great gate'; *Ur-engur*, 'Servant of the sea';[5] *Ur-kun*, 'Servant of the reservoir.'[7]

In the texts from the Sargonic period onward it is not always easy to decide whether a name is to be read in Sumerian or translated into Semitic. As in all departments of literature the Semites often represented their own words by the equivalent Sumerian ideogram, so also, in writing their own names, especially those borrowed from the Sumerian nomenclature, they frequently turn part of it, or all of it, into Sumerian—a practice continued to the end of Assyrian and Babylonian history. When the Semites first came into contact with the Sumerians (which took place as early as the era of Ur-Ninâ, *c.* 3500 B.C.), they, of course, employed their own Semitic methods in assigning names. Most of the deities employed in these names are Sumerian, but the grammatical constructions are Semitic; *e.g.*, the name *Ik-ru-ub-E-a*, 'The god Ea has shown favour,' found on the stele of Maništusu, has the verb before the subject—which is impossible in Sumerian. These early Semites spell out their names phonetically, as *Šar-ru-ki-in*, 'The king is faithful,' *Šar-ga-li-šar-ri*, 'The king of all is my king,' names of the first and fifth kings of the first Semitic dynasty. But they soon learned to turn these names into Sumerian, and in the same period we have *Šar-ru-GI-i-li*, 'Sharrukîn is my god,' in which *ki-in* is represented by the Sumerian *gi*, which means *kînu*, 'faithful.' Naturally this name was pronounced throughout in Semitic. But, when the entire name was turned into Sumerian, the problem arises as to whether the Semites really pronounced it in Sumerian as it was written or translated it into Semitic. Occasionally the scribe adds a Semitic phonetic complement to the Sumerian sign to indicate that the sign is to be rendered into Semitic. The best Assyriologists agree in translating all names clearly Semitic by nature, whether written wholly or partially in Sumerian, into Semitic. This statement applies to the Sumerian period and in centres where the population was mixed. In a name clearly Sumerian in form, like *Šu-ma-ma*, 'The mercy of Mama,' it is highly improbable that the reading was *Gimil-Mama* even when given to a Semite. Towards the end of Sumerian influence and from the period of complete Semitic supremacy all names, whether Semitic or Sumerian in form, were rendered into Semitic. But difficulties on this point during the transition period of the Ur

[1] No adequate collection of names, either Sumerian or Semitic, has yet been made from the Sumerian and Semitic texts of the Sargonic and post-Sargonic periods. The names in the stele of Maništusu have been arranged by Scheil, *Délégation en Perse*, Paris, 1900, ii. 41–52, and partly studied by Hoschander, *ZA* xx. 246–302. A collection of names from the Sargonic period is given by Dhorme in *BASS* vi. 63 ff., but the author did not understand the apocopated nature of the names written in Sumerian, and translated most of them into misleading Semitic forms. Names of that period written in Sumerian were probably pronounced as such even when they are names of Semites. In this period there are names *Lû-^{d}Ninâ*, 'Man of Ninâ,' but not *A-we-il-^{d}Ninâ*; *Ur-^{d}Enki*, but not *Warad-^{d}Enki*.

[2] Allotte de la Fuÿe, 59 III. [3] *Ib.* 92 II.

[4] A sacred place (?); cf. *Ur-tar*, *Ur-tar-mâ-a*; Nikolski, 19 IV. The above form occurs in Allotte de la Fuÿe, 96, rev. III. Note the *Amar-ma-a-an* (Huber, 86).

[5] Transcription uncertain. The first element of this group is one sign, originally = *KA*+*ŠU*+*ŠA*, and later seems to be reduced to *ŠU* simply. But the old form persists even in the late period; cf. *KA*+*ŠA-^{d}Nintud* (*CT* 4, 18A 17) with *ŠU-^{d}Ninsun* (*CT* 8, 20, 24). The original *KA*+*ŠU* was confused with another sign *KA*+*KAR*; cf. *KA*+*KAR*+*ŠA-^{d}Utu* (*CT* 8, 47A 24); *KA*+*KAR*+*ŠA-^{d}Sin* (*CT* 10, 46, 21256, R. 5), and finally we have *KA*+*KAR* in the texts of Ur and Isin. All these corrupt forms we shall designate by *ŠU* (A), *KA*+*KAR*+*ŠA* (B), *KA*+*KAR* (C). The Semitic rendering was most probably *gimillu*. The Semitic names of the Sargonic period have *ŠU* invariably, as well as the Sumerian names of that period.

[6] Written C.

[7] Written B in Legrain, *Le Temps des rois d'Ur*, Paris, 1912, no. 314, 6.

[8] Written B in Huber, 153, and Legrain, 342, 6, but A in most cases (Huber, 154), and in Semitic names of the Hammurabi period *ŠU* is almost the only form employed.

[9] A sacred place.

[1] A sacred place. [2] Allotte de la Fuÿe, 157 I.

[3] A cult object.

[4] Sumerian avoids the ordinary word for 'slave,' *nitaḫ*, in the formation of its proper names, probably because of the association suggested by this word. In the sum-total of Sumerian names this formation with *Ur* far surpasses in popularity all other classes. The element was popular in names of the early period and continued so to the end.

[5] A cult object. [6] A sacred place.

[7] In the Nippur Collection of the University Museum of Philadelphia the writer copied a fragment of a large tablet containing a list of at least 300 names beginning with *Ur*.

and Isin dynasties will never be settled. Here we have Semites bearing pure Sumerian names and written in Sumerian. In all such cases it is safer to render the name as it is written.

LITERATURE.—i. *EARLY PERIOD.*—M. Allotte de la Fuÿe, *Documents présargoniques*, Paris, 1908–13 (three fascicules, not yet complete; only texts); H. de Genouillac, *Tablettes sumériennes archaïques*, do. 1909 (texts and lists of names); M. I. Hussey, *Sumerian Tablets in the Harvard Semitic Museum*, Harvard Semitic Series, vol. iii., Leipzig, 1912 (texts and list of names); M. Nikolski, *Documents de la plus ancienne époque chaldéenne de la collection Likhatcheff*, Petrograd, 1908 (texts and list of names); F. Thureau-Dangin, *Recueil de tablettes chaldéennes*, Paris, 1903 (texts 1–76 are pre-Sargonic, and many of the names are included in the list of Genouillac).

ii. *SARGONIC AND POST-SARGONIC PERIOD UNTIL THE UR DYNASTY.*—List of names both Sumerian and Semitic by P. Dhorme, *BASS* vi. pt. 3, pp. 63–88 (includes only names of the Sargonic period taken from texts 77–179 in Thureau-Dangin's volume [see above]). Names on the stele of Maništusu are listed in V. Scheil's ed. of this text, *Délégation en Perse*, ii., Paris, 1900; F. Thureau-Dangin, *Inventaire des tablettes de Tello*, do. 1910 (texts and summaries in translation). For the middle period the only texts are in Thureau-Dangin, 180–260. A few texts of historical and religious character from the period of Gutium are listed in S. Langdon, *Historical and Religious Texts*, Munich, 1914, p. 3.

iii. *PERIOD OF UR AND ISIN.*—List of names and a study of Sumerian nomenclature by E. Huber, *Die Personennamen in den Keilschriftturkunden*, Leipzig, 1907; Thureau-Dangin, 261–429 (texts); H. Radau, *Early Babylonian History*, London, 1900 (texts and partial list of names); G. A. Reisner, *Tempelurkunden aus Telloh*, Berlin, 1901 (texts and list of names); G. A. Barton, *Haverford Library Collection of Cuneiform Tablets*, Philadelphia, 1905–14 (texts and list of names [in pt. iii.]); *Cuneiform Texts in the British Museum*, vols. i. [1896], iii. [1898], v. [1898], vii. [1899], ix. [1900], x. [1900], xxxii. [1912]; H. de Genouillac, *Inventaire des tablettes de Tello*, Paris, 1911 (texts and summaries in translation); L. Delaporte, *Inventaires des tablettes de Tello*, do. 1912 (texts and summaries in translation); R. J. Lau, *Old Babylonian Temple Records*, New York, 1906; H. de Genouillac, *Tablettes de Dréhem*, Paris, 1911 (texts and list of names), *La Trouvaille de Dréhem*, do. 1911; S. Langdon, *Tablets from the Archives of Drehem*, do. 1911 (names included in Genouillac, *Trouvaille*); W. M. Nesbit, *Sumerian Records from Drehem*, New York, 1914; A. Poebel, *Babylonian Legal and Business Documents*, Philadelphia, 1909 (texts and list); L. Legrain, *Le Temps des rois d'Ur*, Paris, 1912 (texts and list of names); G. A. Barton, 'Religious Conceptions underlying Sumerian Names,' *JAOS*, 1914, pp. 315–320).

iv. On the reading of Semitic names with Sumerian elements, A. Poebel, *Die sumerischen Personennamen zur Zeit der Dynastie von Larsam und der ersten Dynastie von Babylon*, Breslau, 1910.

S. LANGDON.

NAMES (Syriac).[1]—As the language which we now know as Syriac is only the Christian literary form of Aramaic, and does not in its essential characteristics differ from the language spoken in Palestine in the time of Christ, any investigation of the system of personal nomenclature in Syriac naturally begins with the NT. The Semitic names borne by the Jews of the 1st cent. A.D. were as a rule either old Hebrew names or Aramaized forms of such, and the names of purely Aramaic origin existing in the NT are few in number. We have, however, clear instances in the two female names Mārthā ('Mistress') and Tabithā ('Gazelle'), and another is almost certainly to be recognized in Silas (Shilā = 'Asked'), which, though exactly equivalent to the Hebrew Saul (Shāûl), can hardly be a mere Aramaization of it.[2] Aramaic also are the three quasi-patronymics Barabbas (Bar Abbā = 'Son of Father'), Barsabas, and Barnabas (see *HDB* and *DCG*, *s.vv.*), and the name Cephas (Khiphā = 'Stone') bestowed by Christ upon Simon. The last three, however, were not names in the ordinary sense of the word, but appellatives given late in life, and would therefore naturally be in the popular language. For the earliest Syriac Christian names we must look to Edessa, the home of the Syrian Church and the birthplace of the literary language; but the first which meet us—those of the legendary bishops Addai and Aggi—are of uncertain derivation, and those of their more historical successors, P L W Ṭ (the vocalization is uncertain) and Kunā, are not much clearer.[1] Another name borne by an early Syrian Christian is that of the celebrated Gnostic writer of the 3rd cent., Bar Daiṣān (= 'son of the Daiṣān,' the river on which Edessa stood); but, as he was the son of heathen parents, this cannot properly be described as a Christian name. Of the names borne by Syriac-speaking Christians, especially those who lived within the empire, a large proportion are of Greek, Latin, or Biblical origin; and, since the true Syriac names are of similar character to Hebrew names, it is not necessary here to discuss the system of nomenclature in detail. The majority of them, as in Hebrew, have a definite religious origin; and, as in Hebrew, the religious names are divided into two main classes: (1) those which have some relation to the person bearing the name or his parents, and express gratitude for his birth or dependence upon God, and (2) those which merely express a general religious sentiment. The former class are by no means peculiar to the Semitic languages, but are to be found also in Greek (Theodore, Theodotus, Diodorus, Athenodorus, and many others), and in such late Latin names as Deusdedit and Adeodatus; but for the latter, unless the name Deogratias is assigned to this class, it would be hard to find parallels among Aryan peoples except the strange names adopted by the English Puritans of the 17th cent., though names of virtues such as Irene, Sophia, Grace, Mercy, etc., have some resemblance to them. The exact meaning being often obscure, however, it is not always easy to assign a name definitely to one class or the other.

(1) Of those which belong to what may be called the personal class the most obvious are Yaballāhā = 'God gave' (cf. Elnathan, Deusdedit), Yabyeshu'[2] = 'Jesus gave,' Māryab[3] = 'The Lord gave,' and Māran'ameh[4] = 'Our Lord is with him.' The names Dādyeshu' and Yeshu'dād = 'Jesus is friend' (cf. Jedidiah) seem to be a commendation of the child to the divine protection, and the names Shubḥālmāran[5] = 'Glory to our Lord,' and Shubḥālyeshu'[6] = 'Glory to Jesus' (cf. Deogratias) probably express special rather than general thanksgiving. The name Aphnimāran[7] = 'Our Lord has restored me' (cf. Restitutus) is apparently intended to describe the spiritual state of the person bearing the name; and on this analogy 'ᵉnānyeshu'[8] should probably be rendered 'Jesus has answered me,' but in this case the object of the verb seems to be the parent, not the child; though, even if we render it 'Jesus is a cloud,' it would seem, like Yeshu'dād, to be a commendation of the child to the protection of Christ, and should therefore be included in this class. The name of the bishop of Edessa at Nicæa appears as ܐܬܝܠܗ and ܐܬܝܠܐ, and may be transcribed as Ithallāha ('God is') and placed in the general class, or as Aithillāhā ('God brought') and placed in the personal class. To the personal class also belong Bᵉrikhā[9] = 'Blessed' (cf. Benedictus, Eulogius, Macarius); Hibā = 'Given' (cf. Donatus); Shilā = 'Asked' (cf. Rogatus), to which reference has been made above; Zᵉbina[10]

[1] In this art. Ass. = J. S. Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, 3 vols., Rome, 1719–28; Wright = W. Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac MSS in the British Museum*, 3 pts., London, 1870–72. For well-known names references are omitted.

[2] Tabithā is also equivalent to Zibiah (2 K 12[1]).

[1] To the names of the legendary bishops Bar Shᵉlāmā and Bar Samyā and others in the *Doctrine of Addai*, ed. G. Phillips, London, 1876, reference is made later.

[2] In Nestorian Syr., Yeshu' is vocalized Isho'. In this art. it is always written Yeshu'.

[3] *Doct. Add.*, p. 1; Ass. i. 192, 193.

[4] Ass. iii. 1. 159, 480, 482.

[5] *Ib.* iii. 1. 139, 225, 479, 2. 546.

[6] *Ib.* iii. 1. 488, 490, 2. 16.

[7] *Ib.* iii. 1. 187, 217.

[8] *Ib.* i. 14, iii. 1. 139, 144.

[9] *Ib.* i. 359. This name might be placed in another category; see below.

[10] Ass. i. 15, ii. 30. Cf. Ζεβῖνος, Ζεβινᾶς (Eus. *HE* vi. 13, *Mart. Pal.* ix. 5). See also Ezr 10[43], where the name is Aram., not Heb.

='Bought'; and the odd name Barlāhā[1]='Son of God,' to which such names as Theogenes and Diogenes are not really parallels. Names beginning with 'ebed or 'Abd[2] ('slave'), which are very common in Arabic, and of which we have instances in the OT in Obadiah, Obededom, and Abednego, seem in pre-Christian times to have been in use among the Syrians, for in the *Doctrine of Addai* and the *Ancient Syriac Documents* edited by W. Cureton (London, 1864) several names of this kind occur—*e.g.*, 'ebed Nābu[3]='Slave of Nebo,' 'ebed Shemsh[4]='Slave of the Sun,' 'ebed Shaddai[5]='Slave of Shaddai,' and 'ebesh'lāmā, *i.e.* 'ebed Sh'lāmā[6]='Slave of peace' (where the authenticity of the names, or at least the evidence for the existence of names of this type, does not depend on the historical character of the persons mentioned); a martyr named 'ebed Haiklā[7] ('Slave of the temple') suffered in Sapor's persecution; in a 6th cent. MS we have a name 'ebed El[8] ('Slave of El'); in the same century we find an author named 'ebed M'shiḥ[9] ('Slave of Christ'), and a 'ebed Yeshu'[10] ('Slave of Jesus') was nearly contemporary with the Arab invasion. Up to this period Christian names of this kind were apparently very rare, but, perhaps through Arab influence, the name 'ebed Yeshu' is from this time forward of not uncommon occurrence. With the exceptions, however, of this name and 'ebed M'shiḥ it would be hard to find a name of this type, for 'ebed Allāhā[11] ('Slave of God') is a mere translation of the Arab. 'Abd Allah.

(2) Of the second class of religious names the clearest instances are Kāmyeshu'='Jesus has risen (from the dead),' Yeshu' d'nah[12]='Jesus has risen (as a star),' Rāmyeshu'[13]='Jesus is exalted' (cf. Jehoram), Yeshu'bakhar[14]='Jesus is the first-born,' Yeshu' z'khā[15]='Jesus has conquered,' Māranz'khā[16]='Our Lord has conquered,' S'libāz'khā[17]='The Cross has conquered,' Th'risyeshu'[18]='Jesus is upright,' and Yeshu'sabran[19]='Jesus is our hope.' From the last it is clear that Sabaryeshu' means 'Jesus is hope,' not 'Hope of' (or 'in') 'Jesus'; and on the analogy of these words we must infer that Ḥ'nānyeshu' (cf. Hananiah, Hannibal) means 'Jesus is grace,' not 'Grace of Jesus,' and should therefore be placed in this category. On the same analogy also it appears that B'rikhyeshu'[20] should be rendered 'Jesus is blessed,' not 'Blessed of Jesus'; and the existence of a name B'rikhṣebyāneh[21] ('Blessed is his will') places this beyond doubt. The last, however, is perhaps an expression of resignation referring to some event in the life of the parents, and in that case should be assigned to the first class of names. The name Abḥai[22] ('The father is living'), if the father is God, belongs to the general class, but, if it refers to some event in the life of the natural father, to the personal class.

Besides these two main categories we find also a class of semi-religious names which express moral or spiritual qualities or conditions—*e.g.*, Ḥanānā[1]='Gracious' (cf. Hanan, Hanno, Charlton), Zakhai[2]='Innocent' (cf. Heb. Zaccai=Ζακχαῖος, and Innocentius), Naṣiḥā[3]='Illustrious' (cf. Cleon, Eucles), and Ḥabib='Loved' (cf. Agapetus),[4] and names derived from the day on which the child was born, such day always having some religious significance (cf. Noel, Paschalis)—*e.g.*, Barḥadbeshabbā[5]='Son of Sunday,' Bar 'Arubthā'[6]='Son of Friday,' Yaldā[7] and Bar Yaldā[8]='Nativity' and 'Son of the Nativity,' and Denḥā='Epiphany.' Bar Ṣaumā='Son of the fast' also perhaps denotes birth during Lent. Denḥā is indeed too common to allow us to think that all bearers of the name were born on the Epiphany; but neither were all Noels born on Christmas Day, and a name, when once established, is perpetuated by tradition. Finally, we may add names of humility such as Ze'urā[9]='Small,' and Makhikhā[10]='Lowly.' In strange contrast to these are Mārā[11]='Lord,' Māri='My lord,' Mārthā='Mistress' (see above), Māruthā='Lordship,' Shalitā[12]='Ruler,' Rabbulā, a corruption of Rabbunā='Teacher,' and Kāyumā='President.' Such names can hardly be said to have any religious significance; and, if there is any such significance in the numerous names which express relationship, it is lost to us. These names are Abbā='Father,' Abbi[13]='My father,' Aḥa[14]='Brother,' Ḥāthi[15]='My sister,' Dādā='Uncle,' and the two strange names Aḥādabu[16]='His father's brother,' and Aḥudemmeh='His mother's brother.' Of the last two the former can be paralleled by the Heb. Ahab and the latter by the Babylonian Ahiummissu; and it has been suggested that they point to an ancient practice of incest, or that they express a wish that the child may grow up the brother, *i.e.* the helper, of his father or his mother;[17] but neither explanation is quite satisfactory. Curious also are the names which express age. In the case of Bābusā[18] we might suppose that the bearer had no younger brothers or sisters and the name 'Baby' stuck to him through life, and we can also imagine that two brothers might be known as Kashish[19] ('Old') and Talyā[20] ('Young'); but why any child should have been named Sābā ('Old man') is a more difficult matter. The word was used, however, like the Greek γέρων, for a hermit, and, as we also find a name Ḥ'bishā[21] ('Recluse'), it may be a name of dignity of the same kind as those mentioned above. The names Sāhdā ('Martyr'), Bar Sāhde ('Son of martyrs'), and Sāhdunā[22] ('Little martyr') were probably originally given to children born during a time of persecution, possibly to posthumous sons of martyrs, and Bar Shebyā[23] ('Son of a captive') and Bar Samyā[24] ('Son of a blind man') must have referred to the child's parentage. Shemshi[25] ('My sun') sounds like a term of endearment, but may be a relic of sun-worship (cf. Samson). Of names derived from animals (cf. Leo, Ursula), of which several are found in Heb. (see *HDB*, *s.v.* 'Names, Proper'), the

[1] Ass. i. 83, 401, 413, 436.
[2] 'ebed in W. Syr., 'Abd in Nestorian. The form 'ebed is used in this article.
[3] *Doct. Add.*, p. 34. [4] *Ib.* p. 17.
[5] Cureton, p. 23; but see J. Marquart, *Osteurop. und ostasiat. Streifzüge*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 296.
[6] *Doct. Add.*, p. 35 (Cureton, 'Bar Sh'lāmā').
[7] Ass. i. 185. [8] Wright, p. 1043. [9] Ass. iii. 1. 198.
[10] *Ib.* iii. 1. 141. [11] Wright, p. 713.
[12] Ass. ii. 342, iii. 1. 193. [13] *Ib.* ii. 412.
[14] Barhebræus, *Chronicon Ecclesiasticum*, ed. J. B. Abbeloos and T. J. Lamy, Louvain, 1872–77, i. 313.
[15] Ass. ii. 216, 415, 476, 478, iii. 1. 441.
[16] *Ib.* iii. 1. 481, 488, 2. 350.
[17] *Ib.* ii. 388, iii. 1. 111, 178. S'libā is probably only a shortening of this. The name might also be rendered 'The Crucified has conquered.'
[18] *Ib.* iii. 1. 142. [19] *Ib.* iii. 1. 141.
[20] *Ib.* iii. 1. 275. [21] *Ib.* ii. 431, iii. 1. 157.
[22] *Ib.* ii. 505, iii. 1. 696.

[1] *Ib.* iii. 1. 81. [2] *Ib.* iii. 1. 231. [3] *Ib.* iii. 1. 199, 2. 440.
[4] The name B'rikhā, given above under the first class, perhaps really belongs to this category.
[5] Wright, p. 1068. The shortened form Habbeshab is also found (*ib.* p. 707).
[6] J. P. N. Land, *Anecdota Syriaca*, Leyden, 1862–75, ii. 282.
[7] Wright, p. 1069.
[8] S. E. and J. S. Assemani, *Bibl. Apost. Vat. Codd. MSS Catalogus*, Rome, 1756–59, ii. 369.
[9] Ass. i. 117, 425, ii. 58, 226.
[10] *Ib.* ii. 250, 388, iii. 2. 102; Wright, p. 16.
[11] Mārun and Māryun are perhaps diminutives of this. It is unlikely that Mārun has anything to do with the Gr. Maron.
[12] Ass. iii. 1. 176, 294; Wright, p. 1068.
[13] Ass. ii. 227. [14] *Ib.* iii. 1. 479, 497, 2. 146.
[15] *Ib.* i. 190. [16] *Ib.* i. 533, ii. 387, 396.
[17] F. C. Ulmer, *Die semit. Eigennamen im AT*, Leipzig, 1901, p. 14; H. Ranke, *Die Personennamen der Hammurabidynastie*, Munich, 1902, p. 37; *EBi*, *s.v.* 'Names.'
[18] Ass. iii. 1. 142. [19] Wright, p. 1098.
[20] *Ib.* p. 648, 1136. [21] Ass. iii. 1. 469, 495.
[22] *Ib.* ii. 403, 410, 416, 417, iii. 1. 82, 106, 119, 142, 229.
[23] *Ib.* i. 188. [24] *Doct. Add.*, p. 35. [25] Ass. i. 240.

present writer knows, besides Tabithā mentioned above, only two doubtful examples in Syriac. Of these one is that of the early Edessene martyr Gurya ('Lion's whelp'): but this word is stated in the lexicon of Bar 'Ali to have been used by a curious transition of meaning for one who has subdued his passions,[1] and it is possible that this is the meaning of the name. The other is the name Nunā, which may, like the Heb. Nun, be rendered 'Fish'; but there was a Greek word *νόννος*, perhaps of Egyptian origin, which, at first a title of honour, afterwards denoted 'ascetic' (whence our word 'nun'), and a not uncommon name Nonnus, and Nunā may be only a Syriacized form of this name. Of names denoting products of the earth it would also be hard to find an example in Syriac, for Pher'ā[2] merely means 'sprout' and might be a metaphorical term for 'child.'

LITERATURE.—The authorities are cited in the footnotes.

E. W. BROOKS.

NAME OF GOD (Jewish). — **1. The Tetragrammaton.** — The substitution in pronunciation of *Ādōnāi* ('Lord') for the Tetragrammaton (the *shem ha-mephorash* of the Mishn. *Yômā*, vi. 2) of which indications are to be found in the later Biblical books, and which is clearly recorded in the Mishnāh (*Sôṭah*, vii. 6), became the general usage of the Synagogue, even when reading from the Scroll of the Pentateuch. The Tetragrammaton had been retained, while the Temple stood, in the regular priestly benediction (Nu $6^{22ff.}$), with special ceremoniousness on the Day of Atonement (Mishn. *Yômā*, vi. 2). The true pronunciation of the Tetragrammaton was not freely transmitted, but was esoteric, and communicated by the teacher only to qualified disciples (*T. B. Qiddūshin*, 71*a*; cf. the interesting sections on this whole subject in Maimonides, *Guide of the Perplexed*, ed. M. Friedländer, London, 1881–85, pt. i. ch. lxi. ff.). The Mishnāh so severely prohibits the utterance of the Tetragrammaton that the pronouncer of it was threatened with exclusion from a portion in the world to come (Mishn. *Sanhedrin*, xi. 1). Other paraphrastic substitutes for the name of God became common—e.g., *Mâqōm*, lit. 'place,' from God's omnipresence, a phrase that is cited by Philo (*de Somniis*, i. 11), or 'Our father in heaven' (cf. *Annotated Edition of the Authorised Daily Prayer Book*, London, 1914, p. xxiii), and frequently in Rabbinic texts 'the Merciful' (as in the famous phrase 'the Merciful desires the heart' [*T. B. Sanh.* 106*b*]), 'the Holy One, blessed be he.' In the Kabbalistic literature there are many combinations of letters which are treated as substitutes for the name of God (*JE* ix. 164).

2. The Name in magic. — The reverence in which the Divine Name was held did not remain without consequence to dabblers in magic. Among many primitive peoples names were freely used for magical purposes. Naturally the Divine Name would be particularly potent, and we often find references to the use of the Hebrew Name in the Talmud (*T. B. Sanh.* 65*b*), but more particularly in mediæval legends of marvel and mystery (see CHARMS AND AMULETS [Jewish]; and *JE* ix. 164). Maimonides, referring to this subject (ch. lxxii.), denounces the folly of those who believed that by means of any arbitrary combination of letters they could construct a name which would operate miraculously. Yet, despite this, there were throughout the Middle Ages, and even more recently, those who claimed to be 'master of the Name' (*ba'al Shem*), and possessed of miraculous powers.

3. The Name as motive.—The close association between the Name of God and the being of God led to certain developments. God Himself is, in Rabbinic and later Jewish literature, often referred to as 'The Name' (*T. B. Sanh.* 56*a*). Possibly this explains a frequent Rabbinic idiom. To do an act for the 'sake of the Name' was to be moved by desire to serve without any ulterior thought of self-profit. A similar metaphor was used in which the reference to God was omitted. To do a thing for its own sake was expressed by the term to do it 'for its name.' This is shown in such passages as the following:

'Let a man ever engage in the study of the Tôrāh and in good deeds, even though not for its name [for its own sake], for through acts performed from a purpose not for its name [*i.e.* for selfish motives], he will reach the stage of doing good for its name [*i.e.* for its own sake]' (*T. B. Pᵉsāḥim*, 50*b*).

Then, again, a convert to Judaism would be baptized 'in the name of *gêruth*' (*i.e.* of becoming a *gêr*, or convert), a slave would be manumitted 'in the name of freedom.' But most important of all was the phrase 'the name of heaven,' *i.e.* of God, for this belongs to the remarkable conception now to be described.

4. Sanctification of the Name.—(*a*) The idea of the imitation of God was based on the text Lv 19^2: 'Ye shall be holy: for I the Lord your God am holy.' Abba Saul (1st cent. A.D.) comments on this injunction in these terms: 'Seek to be like God. As he is gracious and merciful, so be thou (*Mekhilta* on Ex 15^2, ed. M. Friedmann, Vienna, 1870, p. 7). Man's self-sanctification was a sanctification of God (*Sifra* on Lv 19^2, ed. I. H. Weiss, Vienna, 1862, p. 86*c*). The same idea is expressed in other Rabbinic utterances (cf. W. Bacher, *Agada der Tannaiten*, Strassburg, 1890, ii. 367; F. Perles, *Bousset's Religion des Judentums*, Berlin, 1903, p. 68; I. Abrahams, in *Jewish Addresses*, London, 1904, ch. iv.). Later in the mediæval period, to the idea of the imitation was attached also the sense of initiation; hence the sanctified man in the mediæval phraseology came to signify 'mystic' (cf. I. Abrahams, *Trans. of the Jewish Historical Society*, v. [1902–05] 190).

(*b*) Sanctification and profanation of the Name were applied also to the effect of the individual's conduct on the world's opinion. Israel is to God like the court to a king (*Sifra*, *loc. cit.*); it is the duty of Israel to make God's name honoured, to prevent it from being disgraced. Israel sanctified the Name when his conduct reflected credit on God.

Thus it is told of Simeon b. Sheṭaḥ that he bought a mule from an Arab, and returned to the vendor a jewel which he found suspended round the animal's neck. Whereupon the Arab exclaimed: 'Blessed be the Lord, the God of Simeon son of Sheṭaḥ.'

Of another anecdote Phinehas b. Jair is the hero. Two strangers stayed with him and left in his charge two sacks of grain. He sowed the corn, and reaped a prosperous harvest for six seasons. One day, when the seventh goodly harvest was ripening, he accidentally met the strangers again. 'Come and see your sacks,' he said. They hesitated, for they felt certain that their corn was mouldy. But Phinehas took them to the field, and said, 'Here are your sacks.' 'If man is thus true, what must God's truth be?' comment the Rabbis (*Lev. Rabbāh*, iii.).

Such acts sanctified God's name, as Ezekiel (20^{41}) had said: 'I will be sanctified in you in the sight of the nations.' Any act, again, by which God's name was degraded in the eyes of the world was the most heinous sin; it was unforgivable except by the offender's death (*T. B. Yômā*, 86*a*). 'Hypocrites must be exposed, because they profane the Name' (*ib.*, and *Tos. Yômā*, ii. 12). There are numerous passages in which the ugliness of moral corruption in men of reputed piety is commented on. Men whose conduct belies their profession profane the Name; similarly with a gluttonous student of the Tôrāh (*Pᵉsāḥim*, 49*a*). The Rabbis strongly maintained the inwardness of morality.

'Inside must be clean as the outside' (*T. B. Yômā*, 72*b*). 'Whenever the Rabbis have forbidden anything for the sake of

[1] R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1868–1901, *s.v.*

[2] Ass. ii. 240.

appearance, that same thing is forbidden in the innermost recesses of one's own privacy' (*T. B. Beza*, 9*a*).

Yet they realized that there were two elements in virtue, the one personal, the other communal. The offender not only sinned against his own conscience; he profaned the Name in that the outer consequences of his act affected the public conscience (cf. I. Abrahams, 'The Sanctification of the Name,' *American Hebrew*, vol. xci. [New York, 1912] no. 25).

(*c*) The sanctification of the Name implied, from another side, the acme of heroism. Israel being God's witness, God, as it were, ceased to be God unless Israel witnessed to Him (*Pᵉsîqtā de R. Kahana*, ed. S. Buber, Lyck, 1868, fol. 102*b*), though another passage (*Sifra*, *loc. cit.*) adds that, while it is Israel's paramount duty to sanctify God, God is sanctified even though Israel fail. But Israel's testimony to God must not stop even on the brink of the tomb (Maimonides, *Code*, i. 5). Sanctification of the Name becomes a synonym for martyrdom (Perles, *loc. cit.*, points out the analogy with the Greek *μάρτυς*). The Synagogue liturgy enshrines this idea:

'Our Father, our King! do it [*i.e.* have compassion] for the sake of them that went through fire and water for the sanctification of thy name' (*Authorised Daily Prayer Book*, p. 57).

On the model of the joyous acceptance of a martyr's death by R. Aqiba (*c.* A.D. 135) pathetic prayers were composed for recitation by those who were called upon to die for Judaism. One such prayer terminates thus:

'Blessed art Thou O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hast sanctified us by Thy commandments and commanded us to love the glorious and awful Name, that was, is, and shall be eternally, with all our heart and all our soul, and to sanctify Thy Name before the world' (Nordlingen, *Yosif Omeṣ*, Frankfort, 1723, p. 59).

For Biblical usage see art. GOD (Biblical and Christian), vol. vi. p. 253 f. See also GOD (Jewish), vol. vi. p. 296.

LITERATURE.—M. Lazarus, *Ethics of Judaism*, Eng. tr., Philadelphia, 1901, vol. ii. § 184 f.; L. Löw, *Gesammelte Schriften*, Szegedin, 1889, i. 223; B. Jacob, *Im Namen Gottes*, Berlin, 1903.

I. ABRAHAMS.

NAMELESS GODS.—1. Name and epithet.—A study of the names of divinities suggests that they were first called by epithets or adjectival words describing them or their functions before they were called by personal names. These epithets frequently became the personal names of the gods, as philology shows. For, as Jevons points out,

'A personal name is an epithet the meaning of which comes in course of time to be forgotten.'[1]

It is probably innate among the folk to describe a man by some function or peculiarity or by his occupation rather than by his personal name. If this is the case even where personal names exist, much more would it be true of a time when personal names, whether of men or of gods, had not yet been evolved. At one time both men and gods were, strictly speaking, nameless. Again, where a god's epithet has now practically become a personal name, he is often called by other epithets, while the personal name tends to become sacred; it is used only on particular occasions, and is tabu at all other times and often to whole classes of people—*e.g.*, the women and children of a tribe. Many savage divine names are still little more than epithets, and this is especially noticeable in the case of the high gods. The god Daramulun of S. Australian tribes has a name which means 'leg on one side,' or, as explained by others, 'a sacred staff.'[2] The god is 'the lame one' or 'the possessor of the sacred staff.' Baiame, another Australian high god, appears to mean 'the maker,' from *baia*, 'to make', or possibly 'big man.'[1] Another epithet of these gods is Mungan-ngaur, 'our father.'[2] Daramulun has become a personal name, as it is too sacred to be uttered except at the mysteries. Hence other epithets are used for him—Papang, 'father,' Biamban, 'master.' The Eskimo Torngarsuk means 'great spirit' (*suk*, 'great,' *torngak*, 'spirit').[3] Other names of such gods mean 'father,' 'grandfather,' and the like—the Zulu Unkulunkulu, 'old, old one,' or 'great great grandfather'; the Pawnee Ti-ra-wa, 'the spirit father'; the Huichol Tatevali, 'our grandfather'; the Bahnar Bŏk Glaih, 'the grandfather who thunders'; the Guiana Wacinaci, 'our father,' or Ifilici Wacinaci, 'our great father'; the Blackfoot Nā-pi, 'old man'; the Dravidian river-goddess Būrhī Thakurānī, 'the old lady.'[4] Other epithet-names are as simple as these—*e.g.*, those which refer to the position of gods, viz. the Carib Tamosi Kabotano, 'the ancient one in the sky'; the Déné Yuttaere, 'that which is on high'; the New Britain Nara i tara dat, 'he *or* some one who made us'; the Japanese *kami* (the term for 'god' or for 'gods' generally), literally 'above'; the Chinese Shang-ti, 'sovereign above' (another example of an epithet becoming a name which is not to be lightly used).[5] Other epithet-names concern the god as creator—the Arawak Wa murreta kwonci, 'our maker'; Zuñi names meaning 'creator and master,' 'maker,' 'finisher'; the Buru Opo-geba-snulat, 'the lord moulder *or* creator of man.'[6] Others are equally descriptive, like Oro, 'torment,' the Egba god of vengeance; the Dinka Dengdit, 'the great rain,' also known as Nyalich, literally 'in the above'; the Hottentot Tsuni-goab, 'wounded knee'; the gods of the Japanese *Kojiki*, Izanagi, 'the male who invites,' and Izanami, 'the female who invites,' or the three chief gods, 'the deity master of the august centre heaven,' 'the high august producing wondrous deity,' and 'the divine producing wondrous deity,' or the goddess of Yomi (Hades) 'the ugly female of Hades'; or Fiji gods who meet the soul as it passes into the other world and whose epithet-names describe their functions—'ghost-scatterer,' 'reed-spear,' 'the dismisser,' etc.[7]

Usener, studying mainly Greek and Roman religion and mythology, has drawn attention to what he calls *Sondergötter* and *Augenblicksgötter*. These are gods of one function only, and often merely of a momentary function. They had no personal names, but epithets or adjectival names, expressing that function. They were the basis of the later personal gods with personal names, in which the reference to the original function of the god had become obscure. The greater gods whose names now suggested no definite meaning were apt to absorb local divinities with epithet-names—names whose meaning was clear and pointed to their functions. These epithet-names now became titles by which a god was invoked.[8] Examples of such *Sondergötter* were the twelve divinities invoked at the sacrifice to Tellus and Ceres—each of them associated with some single action from the first

[1] A. Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*[2], London, 1906, ii. 9; K. L. Parker, *More Australian Legendary Tales*, do. 1898, Glossary, *s.v.* 'Byamee.'

[2] *JAI* xvi. [1887] 54.

[3] D. Crantz, *History of Greenland*, London, 1820, i. 207.

[4] H. Callaway, *Religious System of the Amazulu*, Natal, 1870, *passim*; G. B. Grinnell, *Pawnee Hero Stories*, London, 1893, p. 352; *ERE* vi. 828ᵇ (Huichols), vii. 230 (Bahnar); E. F. im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, London, 1883, p. 365 f.; A. Lang, *The Making of Religion*, do. 1898, p. 259; M. Martin, *Eastern India*, do. 1838, iii. 361.

[5] Im Thurn, p. 365 f.; *ERE* iv. 639ᵇ, vi. 294ᵃ, vi. 272ᵇ.

[6] Im Thurn, p. 365 f.; Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, ii. 85; *ERE* vii. 248ᵇ (Buru).

[7] *JAI* xix. [1890] 160 (Egba); *ERE* iv. 707ᵃ (Dinka); A. Lang, *Custom and Myth*, London, 1885, p. 204; *Kojiki*, tr. B. H. Chamberlain[2], Tokyo, 1906; B. Thomson, *The Fijians*, London, 1908, p. 117 ff.

[8] H. Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 75, and *passim*.

breaking of the ground to the storing of the harvest—Vervactor, Redarator, Imporcitor, Insitor, Obarator, Occator, Sarritor, Subrincinator, Messor, Convector, Conditor, Promitor. Like these were the deities associated with the chief events of man's life from his conception to his death—Levana, Edula, Potina, Statilinus, etc. Similar Greek *Sondergötter* are Kourotrophos, Pandrosos, Erechtheus, Brizo, Iatros, Hygieia, Muiagros, and a host of others. Of all these it may be said that their names are on the border-land between personal names and mere adjectival epithets—the name fairly clearly expressing the function. This is seen too where such an epithet-name has been taken up by an outstanding god, while yet a class of gods described only by such an epithet was also the subject of a cult. Ἀλεξίκακος and ἀποτρόπαιος were applied to Zeus, Apollo, Heracles, but there were also *θεοὶ ἀλεξίκακοι*, *θεοὶ ἀποτρόπαιοι*. Sometimes a god more or less clearly defined was known merely as Μέγιστος, 'the greatest' (as at Boulis), or as *θεὸς ὕλβιος*, *θεὸς ἀγαθός*, *θεὸς ὅσιος*, or as παρθένος, or simply as 'the god,' 'the goddess.'

This resembles what appears to have been an early Semitic method of naming gods by a title—*e.g.*, Ba'al, 'owner' or 'lord,' *i.e.* the lord of a sanctuary or of the land in which a community is settled. Hence there were innumerable Ba'als distinguished from each other by a local appellative—*e.g.*, Ba'al Sidon. Ba'al, however, never became a proper name, except in Babylon as the name of the chief god Marduk. Strictly speaking, the *b'ālīm* were nameless gods or spirits, though to a *ba'al* might later be given a more personal name. Yet even the name of the *ba'al* of Tyre, Melkart, means no more than 'king of the city.' In Egypt, where the importance of the name was so great, some gods, those of the various nomes, were nameless. Alike in character and in functions they were distinguished from each other by the name of the community where each was worshipped, like the local Ba'als—*e.g.*, 'he of Edfu,' 'she of Nekheb.' There were also many functional deities, Egyptian *Sondergötter* or *Augenblicksgötter*.[1]

In some instances gods are actually nameless either because of the mystery which surrounds them or because they are called by some oblique epithet, or it may be because their names have been forgotten. It must be remembered that often, when a god has received a personal name, that name becomes too sacred to be used. It remains hidden and secret, unlike other titles by which the god is called. Instances might be cited from the lowest savagery up to the Hebrews, with whom the name Jahweh was forgotten for this reason (see GOD [Jewish]). Generally a god has some less sacred name, but it is obvious that in such a case he might become nameless or be mentioned only by a circumlocution or epithet. Among the Fuegians their god was known only as 'big man in the woods.'[2] With the Eskimos the wife or mother of Torngarsuk is a nameless being dwelling under the sea.[3] To the native tribes of California their 'high god' was merely 'the one above,' or 'the old man above.'[4] Similarly the Zulus know dimly of 'a king which is above' or 'the lord on high'—not heard of first from white men.[5] The jungle tribes of Chotā Nāgpur worship indeterminate beings in sacred groves, 'not yet clothed with individual attributes,' 'of whose form and functions no one can give an intelligible account.'[6] Herodotus says of the Pelasgians that they sacrificed to gods who had set in order all things, but they gave no title or name to any of them. He also adds that the oracle at Dodona advised them to call their gods by the names of barbarian (Egyptian) gods of whom they had heard.[1] Similarly Strabo, citing Posidonius, says that the Kallaikoi were 'godless' (*ἄθεοι*), and that the Celtiberians sacrificed by night at the time of full moon to a nameless god (*ἀνωνύμῳ τινὶ θεῷ*).[2]

Of these tribes as well as of the tribes of Thrace described by Theophrastus and others as *ἄθεοι*, Usener points out that they had gods without *personal* names, but called by adjectives. Hence by those accustomed to clearly defined gods they were regarded as godless.[3]

The same phenomenon is perhaps to be seen in China, where the numerous *shen*, tutelary or departmental gods, have little individuality or mythology, and are defined only by their functions.[4] In this they resemble the groups of nameless *kami* in Japan, or the gods mentioned in the older writings as worshipped at the greater temples yet not mentioned by any personal name.[5] Some of the highest Etruscan divinities, the *dei involuti*, were nameless—perhaps an instance of a sacred name being forgotten.[6]

Here we may note the teaching of St. Clement of Alexandria about God. In his desire to eliminate all taint of anthropomorphism from God, he maintained that we could understand Him not so much by what He is as by what He is not. And, as a logical consequence of this negative conception of God, he added: 'Nor can we say that God has shape or name.' Such terms as 'the One,' 'Father,' 'God,' etc., are not strictly appropriate.

'Such high names we employ because of our incapacity to find the true name, so that the mind may have something to rest on and steady it. None of these names taken separately expresses God.'[7]

This abstract negative method of regarding the being of God is seen also in Philo and the Neo-Platonists. Philo taught that God was without qualities and incomprehensible in His essence. He cannot be described, and even the patriarchs did not know His name. He was the Nameless Existing. So to Plotinus God as the One could be described only negatively. The doctrine of the Divine Namelessness characterized all the Alexandrian schools of thought,[8] and was really to some extent characteristic of Hebrew and Jewish thought (cf. Job 26[14] and GOD [Jewish]). God has a name which 'has not been sent into this world.'[9] It is also found more or less in all mystic thought[10]—*e.g.*, the teaching of the Upaniṣads that God is known only to those who profess not to know Him; of Lao-tse that 'the Tao which can be expressed is not the eternal Tao'; of the Egyptian hymn to Amen-Ra, 'whose name is hidden from all his creatures'; of St. Augustine that God 'sciendo ignoratur et nesciendo cognoscitur';[11] and of Hooker that 'our safest eloquence concerning Him is our silence.'[12] From a different point of view agnosticism insists on the unknowableness, and therefore the namelessness, of God.

The tabu on divine names applies equally to the secret or sacred names of men. These are not to be used lightly or even uttered by others—*e.g.*, that of a husband by a wife, of a mother-in-law by a son-in-law, etc.—so that a person is called by a circumlocution or the like, or the names are in some cases known only to a very few persons. An example of this is found among the Arunta and

1 G. F. Moore, *Hist. of Religions*, Edinburgh, 1914, i. 146.
2 R. Fitzroy, *Narrative of Voyages of the 'Adventure' and the 'Beagle,'* London, 1839, ii. 180.
3 Crantz, i. 207. 4 *NR* iii. 158. 5 Callaway, p. 19 f.
6 H. H. Risley, *The People of India*, Calcutta, 1908, p. 215 f.

1 ii. 52. 2 III. iv. 16.
3 Usener, p. 277 f.; cf. *ERE* ii. 35[b].
4 J. J. M. de Groot, *Religion in China*, New York, 1912, pp. 14, 176; Moore, i. 22.
5 Moore, i. 101 f.; *ERE* vi. 294.
6 *ERE* v. 534[b]. 7 *Strom.* v. 81 f.
8 J. Drummond, *Philo Judæus*, London, 1888, ii. 20 f.
9 *Ascen. Is.* i. 7.
10 Cf. G. d'Alviella, *The Origin and Growth of the Conception of God* (*HL*), London, 1892, p. 223 ff., with references.
11 *De Ord.* II. xvi. 44, xviii. 47.
12 *Ecclesiastical Polity*, I. ii. 2.

kindred tribes of Australia, where the *churinga* name, *i.e.* the name borne in the Alcheringa (*q.v.*) by tribal ancestors and now applied to descendants, is known only to the older men of the totem group. The women, till they become very old, do not even know of the existence of such names.[1] In other Australian tribes a man gives up his name for ever at the time of initiation to manhood, and thus has no name, but is called brother, nephew, etc.[2] In other cases a child is sometimes nameless for some years in infancy, because, as with the pagan tribes of Borneo, to give it a name while it is still feeble might direct the attention of malicious spirits to it. Hence a boy is called *Ukat*, a girl *Owing* (=Thingumybob).[3]

See also J. G. Frazer, *GB*[3], pt. ii., *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, London, 1911, p. 318 ff.; A. E. Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, do. 1902, p. 434; artt. NAMES.

2. Unknown gods.—In some polytheistic systems caution suggested that, as there were many gods, it was possible that there were some not known by name or function to men, besides the number who were known. Hence it was safe to recognize, to pray, or offer sacrifice to gods who were unknown as well as to those who were known. In the Babylonian penitential psalms, while unknown sins are often confessed, many unknown gods are addressed lest any, being forgotten, should still visit the penitent with his anger. It is probable that such a cautious point of view explains the altar seen by St. Paul in Athens with its inscription *ἀγνώστῳ θεῷ*. That such altars were well known there is proved by several literary references. Pausanias twice refers to these, once to 'altars of gods called unknown and heroes' seen by him in Athens, and once to 'an altar of unknown gods' at Olympia.[4] Philostratus and Tertullian both refer to altars of unknown gods in Athens.[5] In the *Philopatris* ascribed to Lucian, but perhaps by another author, 'the unknown god of Athens' is mentioned. Elsewhere, however, there is a clear reference in Lucian to the purpose of such a cult of unknown deities. First several gods are invited by name to an assembly, and then the unknown gods whose altars men propitiate with sweet odours.[6] The same cautious attitude is seen in a passage of Diogenes Laertius, who tells how at the time of plague in Athens Epimenides let loose sheep from the Areopagus, and advised that wherever one lay down sacrifice to the appropriate god should be made. Hence now there are nameless altars (*βωμοὺς ἀνωνύμους*) throughout the *δήμοι* of Attica.[7] Like the Babylonians, the Romans at sacrifices called upon all the gods after invoking the special deities in question, and on occasions when there was doubt regarding the divinity who had caused an earthquake or other prodigy sacrifice was offered to one under the formula 'whether a god or a goddess.'[8] Occasional examples of this uncertainty regarding names are found on inscriptions, and with the Romans as with the Greeks there were altars to unknown gods.[9] The same caution is found wherever there is a cult of ghosts. As time goes on, the names of the dead are forgotten, but they are still capable of doing harm if neglected. Hence all the dead are invited to a sacrifice in one general formula, as with the Zulus or the Hindus.[10] Similarly many of the invocations of the Veddas to the *yaku* ('ghosts') address these without name—'my departed one,' 'multitude of relatives,' or simply 'you.'[1]

For other instances see *ERE* vi. 276[b] (Egypt), 294[b] (Japan), and cf. J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, London, 1898, ii. 33 f. Cf. the 'unknown father' of the Gnostic Saturninus.

3. Groups of nameless spirits.—Where crowds of spirits, ghosts, genii, or simply beings are supposed to exist, these are too numerous to have each a personal name. But, as they have a generic likeness, so they have a generic name. They are anonymous beings with a collective name, and their functions are often but vaguely defined. Examples are found in the *wunda* ('ghosts'), *mrarts*, or *iruntarinia* of Australian tribes; the *inue* ('invisible rulers') or *torngak* ('spirits') of the Eskimos; the *vui* ('spirits') and *tamate* ('ghosts') of the Melanesians; the crowd of nameless *yaku* of the Veddas; the *amadhlozi* ('spirits') of the Zulus; the 'above persons,' 'ground persons,' and 'under-water persons' of the Blackfoot Indians; the *atua* ('spirits') of the Maoris; the *bhūtā* of Indian folk-belief; the *nats* of Burma; the *jok* (spirits of long-dead ancestors) of the Dinkas; the *aphangak* ('ghosts') and *kilyikhama* (other spirits) of the Lengua; the *kenaima* of the tribes of Guiana; the *toh* of the pagan tribes of Borneo. Among higher races there are such collective groups as the *shen* (gods, spirits, and ghosts) and the *kwei* (demons) of the Chinese; the *daēvas* of Zoroastrianism; the anonymous groups of spirits possessing only a generic name in ancient Egypt; the sprites or bogeys of Greece with a generic rather than a personal name; or such a group as 'the Seven' demons of the Babylonians. Any individual spirit in these groups would simply be called by the generic name. But some of these may come to be more clearly defined, or may be summed up in one particular being. These would then stand out above the others, and a definite, personal name would be given them, or a more definite being with a personal name might be included in the collective group. Qat, the hero-god of the Melanesians, is an outstanding *vui*. Among the 'above persons' of the Blackfeet are Thunder and Wind. The Dravidian tribes with, *e.g.*, their hosts of nameless tree-spirits know also of special forest-gods, Barām or Sarnā Būrhī, evolved from these. Among the *bhūtā* there are individualized examples with personal names. In Burma some *nats* have attained to the dignity of a personal name—*nats* of prominent trees or of the whole forest. In China the *shen* include Heaven, Sun, Moon, Thunder, Earth, etc., which stand out more prominently than the great mass of the *shen*. Among the Veddas the *yaku* of rocks and hill-tops tend to become named, taking the name of the hill which they inhabit. The *yaku* of important men are occasionally remembered by name long after their death.

4. Name and personality.—That the name has come to be regarded as part if not the whole of the personality in universal folk-belief is undoubted. To know the proper name of a man, spirit, or god inevitably gave one enormous power over these. This, however, implies a certain amount of theorizing about the name, and it is probable that even personal names existed before they were regarded in this light. Usener, followed by Höffding,[2] has maintained that the transition from momentary and special gods to gods who can properly be called personal is signalized by the acquiring of proper names. If this means that a god or a man has no clearly marked and definite personality until he acquires a personal name as distinct from an ad-

[1] Spencer-Gillen[b], p. 581.
[2] E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, Melbourne, 1886–87, i. 46.
[3] C. Hose and W. McDougall, *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, London, 1912, i. 79, ii. 24.
[4] Paus. I. i. 4, v. xiv. 8.
[5] Philostr. *Vita Apollon.* VI. iii. 5; Tertullian, *ad Nationes*, ii. 9.
[6] *Phil.* 9, *Zeus Trag.* 6. [7] Diog. Laert. I. x. 110.
[8] Servius on Virg. *Georg.* i. 21; Aul. Gell. ii. 28.
[9] *CIL* i. 630; *Ins. Urb. Rom.* 141; Minuc. Felix, *Octav.* vi. 2.
[10] Callaway, p. 176; J. Muir, *Orig. Sanskrit Texts*, London, 1858–72, v. 310.

[1] C. G. and B. Z. Seligmann, *The Veddas*, Cambridge, 1911 pp. 161, 275, 278.
[2] H. Höffding, *The Philosophy of Religion*, p. 139 ff.

jectival name, it is certainly not true. There was a period when men as well as spirits or gods had no personal names, and perhaps only very vague adjectival names. Yet men had a real sense of their own and of each other's personality, and this must have been true also of their thought about spirits or gods or worshipful beings. No doubt the personal name crystallizes the functions, characteristics, and actions of a man, but the man is there even before he is named, and others have a clear idea of him as an acting and living personality. Even Höffding admits that 'the word serves to help and support, to retain and to develop the results won within the realm of ideas, but it cannot be their exclusive cause.'[1] And, in fact, if the name was first a descriptive epithet, referring to some function or action or to the position of a spirit or god or of a man, it is obvious that some definite idea of these beings as personalities already existed. Personality is doubtless a more or less fluid conception to the savage, as is seen by his belief in the possibility of metamorphosis, yet that belief exists where the personal name exists and where it is the subject of the most stringent tabus. The groups of spirits already referred to, with no individual names but only a generic title, have functions and characteristics which are clearly enough defined, and they are conceived as personalities. Where one of them has become pre-eminent and has received a distinctive name, that name in the first place would be descriptive of some characteristic in which he was supposed to differ from the others. But the characteristic no less than the name which defined it is that which marks this spirit off from all the others. That the conception of *mana*, *orenda*, *wakanda*, and the like—impersonal power called by a descriptive name—is primitive and preceded the belief in beings to whom personality was ascribed is unlikely. These are rather 'generalizations from many separate experiences.'[2] What man first believed in was a being or beings to whom personality, however man first conceived it, was given. That personality was not necessarily in human form. It was described by an epithet, which later became a personal name. Even thunder might be conceived as a being, a personality, before the idea of an anthropomorphic Thunderer arose. The nameless gods of the Pelasgians had some personality, for they were regarded as setting all things in order and distributing all things—actions of a clearly personal kind.

LITERATURE.—H. Höffding, *The Philosophy of Religion*, tr. B. E. Meyer, London, 1906; F. B. Jevons, *An Introduction to the Study of Comparative Religion*, New York, 1908, ch. iv., *Comparative Religion*, Cambridge, 1913, ch. viii.; H. Usener, *Götternamen*, Bonn, 1896.

J. A. MACCULLOCH.

NĀNAK.—Nānak, the founder of the Sikh sect, is variously known as Guru Nānak, Bābā Nānak, and Nānak Shāh, the word *guru* meaning 'spiritual preceptor,' *bābā* signifying 'father' or 'one worthy of reverence,' and *shāh* denoting 'king' or 'chief,' the first, moreover, being in origin Sanskrit and the last two Hindi and Persian respectively, while all three are commonly used to designate ascetics. Guru Nānak, as we prefer to call him, was the first of the ten *gurus* of the Sikh community. Wherever representations of him are found, he is invariably shown as an old man with flowing white beard, such an appearance being more in accordance with his character for great wisdom than a more youthful picture would have been.

1. Sources.—In writing an ordinary history the historian sets about collecting materials with which to form a connected narrative, and, generally speaking, it is not impossible, or even difficult, to ascertain and state matters of fact with tolerable accuracy. In the case of Nānak, however, or any other of the Indian leaders of thought whose life belongs to the dim past, it is a very different thing. A number of *janamsākhīs*, or biographies, of the *guru* are available. These are for the most part MSS in the Panjābi language and in Gurmukhi characters, which are peculiar to Panjābi. The present writer has before him a copy which, according to a statement on the final page, was written in the city of Amritsar half a century ago. The name of the scribe and the amount charged for making the copy are also stated, and the volume closes with the pious wish that those who read and hear the sayings of Nānak may have the gift of discipleship. At the beginning of the MS there is a singular Introduction—a description of a visit paid by Rājā Janak, father of Sītā of ancient Hindu story, to the infernal regions under the escort of Rāja Dhārmi, who corresponds to Pluto of the ancient Greeks. A graphic account is given of the wretched condition of the sinners in hell, and of the marvellous change produced in that condition by a portion of St. Rājā Janak's merit being put to their account; they are set free not for one age only but for the succeeding age as well, until the Kal Yug, the iron age, the age of vice, which is the present. The same Rājā Janak came into the world in this age in the person of Guru Nānak, that men, entering his order, might be saved from the consequences of their actions. Rājā Janak is thus introduced to the world again, and the author of this *janamsākhī* has thought it his duty, in order to glorify Guru Nānak, to embellish his narrative with such astounding and childish fables as would make history impossible. This is disconcerting, but we are not confined to that particular narrative; earlier *janamsākhīs* are available. E. Trumpp, who, at the instance of the Government of India, wrote a translation of the *Granth Sāhib*, as the Sikhs call their book, made also a translation of a *janamsākhī* which he judged to date from the end of the 16th or the beginning of the 17th century. It is written in the characters in which the oldest copy of the *Granth Sāhib* is written, and is signed by the fifth *guru*, Guru Arjun, himself. In comparison with other and more modern copies it is free from the miraculous element, and may, therefore, be considered more reliable than the rest.

M. A. Macauliffe (*The Sikh Religion*, Oxford, 1909, Introd. p. lxxxvi) tells us that he used a MS which bore the date A.D. 1588, just fifty years after Nānak's death. Which of these two *janamsākhīs* is the older cannot, probably, be ascertained, but they are both highly flavoured with fable, and one or two sentences in which Macauliffe appraises them throw the necessary light on their intrinsic worth.

'We must premise that several of the details of this and of all the current Janamsakhis appear to us to be simply settings for the verses and sayings of Guru Nanak. His followers and admirers found dainty word-pictures in his compositions. They considered under what circumstances they could have been produced, and thus devised the framework of a biography in which to exhibit them to the populace' (p. lxxxvii).

Trumpp also indicates the direction in which historical research is likely to be profitable. He found, on comparing the old copy with current MSS, that everything that appeared to throw a dubious or unfavourable light on Nānak had been left out, whereas other things, which spoke of his deification, had been interpolated. Closer research soon convinced him that the usual Sikh tradition concerning Nānak could by no means be trusted; he had reason enough to assume that the formation of myths about their first *guru* had already progressed very far, notwithstanding that his life fell altogether within the period of historical light, as

[1] P. 147; cf. F. B. Jevons, *An Introd. to the Study of Comparative Religion*, p. 131 f.

[2] J. Estlin Carpenter, *Comparative Religion*, London, 1913, p. 82.

among the rubbish of miraculous and often absurd stories he could detect very few historical facts that deserved credit. The man as he had him before him in his own words and sayings, as contained in the *Granth*, would by no means agree with what the miraculous stories had made of him.

From this it is seen that the able translator of the *Granth Sāhib* had found the real man behind the fictitious veil of fable. With respect to the tales, he has only one opinion, and that is that they are rubbish, but there is more in the *janam-sākhīs* than tales which serve only to supply a background for Nānak's sayings and to please the multitude—there are the verses themselves, regarding some of which Trumpp says:

'The meetings and verbal contests with other Faqīrs and Shekhs, which are described at full length, are in themselves very probable, but in other respects of no importance, except that they give some hints to the mental development of Nānak' (*Ādi Granth*, Prefatory Remarks, p. v).

Let us emphasize the exception.

For the study of the mental power and mental growth of the Guru we have also the *Granth Sāhib*. *Granth* is simply the Sanskrit word for 'book,' and *Sāhib* is an Arabic word for 'lord,' and this title of the two combined is indicative of personality and greatness, wisdom and power; the Sikhs look on this book as their lord, whom they must obey. It is a collection in Panjābi, Hindi, and even Persian, of moral poems and apothegms composed and uttered by Guru Nānak and other religious and philosophical teachers. It was compiled in A.D. 1604. From its contents can be deduced a fair conception of the development of religious ideas from the 12th to the 16th cent., for the various compositions in the book are those of *bhagats* ('saints') scattered over that period, including, of course, Guru Nānak. It shows to what extent Nānak was indebted to his predecessors in the Indian field of thought within those limits of time, and how much their influence tended to bring about the remarkable reformation that took place. The Reformation had begun before his day. Nānak was fourteen years older than Luther and died eight years before him, and, when that great reformer took his stand for truth at the Diet of Worms, Nānak was in his humble way seeking to guide the Indian people to the recognition of a personal God. The Indian reformation was salvation from atheism, and we may see in Nānak the highest and best that it reached.

2. Life.—Bābā Nānak was born in the month of Vaisākh (April–May), A.D. 1469, in the village of Talwandī, now, owing to his fame, known as Nankāna, about 30 miles south-west of Lahore. He was born on a moonlight night when a watch of the night remained. Celestial, 'unbeaten' music was heard, which doubtless means that auspicious omens in sounds and sights greeted the arrival of the infant. He was named Nānak Nirākārī or Niraṅkārī, *i.e.* 'Nānak, servant of the formless one.'

His father, Kālū, Khatri by caste and Vedi by clan, was a small farmer, who had also the duties of land-steward to perform to the owner of the village, at that time Rāe Bulār, a Musalmān Rajpūt of the Bhatti tribe of Rajpūts. It seems that Kālū was a petty merchant as well as farmer and land-steward. Nānak's early days were, therefore, spent in the freedom of farm and village life, and in close proximity to the boundless desert, which must have had endless charms and possibilities for him. As a boy he seems to have exhibited remarkable talents. There was a manifest difference between him and other lads, for, while they were intent on the games that boys usually delight in, he was immersed in meditation on spiritual things. He was of a dreamy disposition, so that, to his discredit, it is recorded that he lost everything that he took out of the house. This caused his father great annoyance, which led him to upbraid the priest who had on the occasion of the bestowal of a name on the child declared that the fame of his son would be like a canopy over him. 'A fine canopy!' said Kālū.

At five he was able intelligently to talk about the Vedas and other Hindu *Śāstras*. His father took him to school and, the auspices being declared good by the priest, he gave the customary presents to the schoolmaster, and Nānak was admitted. Children have been known to read for their amusement at three, and, when the case of a boy of eight is cited as being able to recite a thousand lines of Virgil, we need not wonder that Nānak at seven astonished his master when the following incident occurred.

'Sir,' said Nānak to his teacher, 'what have you learned that you may teach me?' 'I have learned all the branches of knowledge,' replied the teacher; 'I have read the Śāstras and the Vedas,—I know arithmetic and book-keeping—I know everything.' 'All that kind of learning is utterly useless,' said Nānak. 'Listen, Sir:

Burn worldly love, rub the ashes and make ink of it; make of faith the best kind of paper;
Make the heart the pen, the intellect the writer; ask the Guru and write the judgment;
Write the Name and the praise thereof, write that which has no end or limit.

Sir, if you are able to teach me this manner of knowledge, then teach me.'

At the age of nine he learned Persian, and after a time he left school. Then he consorted with *sādhūs* and *faqīrs*, Hindu and Muhammadan mendicant ascetics who frequented the desert. Being in their company was much more to his mind than herding cows or doing any other sort of farm labour; indeed, he got into trouble over the herding of his father's buffaloes, for he fell asleep at the border of a wheat-field, which the herd entered and nearly ruined. Other instances of a like nature are recorded of him, and at twelve he was no better, as the following shows:

Broken-hearted, Kālū said to him, 'Nānak, you have been born in my house, and now that I am old my name is being ruined. I am hopeless and utterly undone. First your sister Nānakī was born and then you came, such as you are. I had hoped that my name would live after me, but you have disgraced it during my lifetime.' Nānak was silent, then Kālū said again, 'I am worn out and dying, and you say never a word.'

When he was seventeen years old, the crisis came. His father sent him to do a little trade, strictly enjoining him to spend the twenty rupees with which he entrusted him to advantage. Saying, 'Father, forgive me this once, and you will see what good purchases I shall make,' Nānak set out. But, meeting a company of devotees, he spent all the money on them, and, when he returned empty-handed, the exasperated Kālū 'struck him a blow on the left cheek with the right hand and a blow on the right cheek with the left so violently that Nānak's cheeks were instantly discoloured.'

It became evident to his relatives that he would not settle down to any regular work in Talwandī; therefore the plan was conceived of sending him to Sultānpur, in the district of Jalandhar, where his sister, Nānakī, the wife of Jairām, lived. By this time, however, he himself was married and had two sons, Srī Chand and Lakhmī Dās. Leaving his wife and children, he travelled to Sultānpur, where, by the recommendation of his brother-in-law, who was employed in the commissariat of Nawāb Daulat Khān, he obtained employment in Government service as storekeeper. His wife, Sulakhnī, daughter of Mūlā, a Khatri of the same profession as Kālū, and residing in Batāla, a town of the present District of Gurdāspur, had been most unwilling that he should leave her, as is told pathetically in the *janamsākhī*:

The people of the house said that it would be good for him to go; perhaps his mind would become settled there. But his wife began to weep and said, 'Thou hast not shown thy love very much in the past, and now that thou art leaving me perhaps thou wilt not come back to me.' 'Silly one,' said Nānak, 'what were we doing here, and what shall we do there? I am of no use to thee.' She rose and pleaded with him, 'When thou didst sit in the house I thought myself queen of the whole world, and now I shall not care to live.' Then the Guru was touched and said, 'Do not grieve, every day thou shalt be queen.' She said, 'My husband, I shall not remain behind, take me with thee.' But the Bābā said, 'It is of the Lord that I go. If I make a livelihood there, I will send for thee. Obey my order.' Then she was silent.

At Sultānpur he devoted himself to his duties, and did so well that his faithfulness was everywhere recognized. Of his earnings he employed a part in supporting himself, and the rest he gave away in God's name. Mardānā, a village-musician of the Dūm class, professional players, came from Talwandī to see him and stayed with him. The duties of the day done, Nānak would make verses and sing them while Mardānā played the accompaniment. In the very early morning he bathed in the Bein river. This over, he began the labours of the day, and we can very well believe the truth of the statement that, when, in weighing out provisions, he came to the number 13, which in Panjābi is *terā*, he would pause and mutter, 'Terā,' which has the meaning also of 'Thine,' *i.e.* 'I am thine.' This is quite in accord with the Hindu mind and the ascetic manner.

He seems to have had a peculiar experience in Sultānpur. One day, while bathing, he remained longer in the water than was usual, and whether he had fallen into a state of semi-consciousness while he was carried down by the stream, or whether he had emerged and become absorbed in meditation, is not known, but it is believed that he saw a vision in which he was commanded to 'remain in the name, give alms, perform ablutions, worship, and remember' the Lord.

From this time we find him accompanying *faqīrs*, except for an interval between two occasions when his enemies accused him of squandering the money of the Government. On both occasions the balance of his accounts proved his thorough honesty, but this annoying experience of suffering at the instance of detractors determined him to have done with the world altogether. Henceforth we know him only as the itinerant bard preacher accompanied by his musician Mardānā, who plays the *rabāb*, or *rebek*, an instrument of the nature of the violin.

The itinerancy of the Guru is divided into four parts. He travelled east, south, north, and west, and at last, returning to the bosom of his family in Kartārpur, in the Jalandhar Duāb, he passed away in Oct. 1538.

It is not necessary to relate the incidents that Guru Nānak's ardent followers have collated in order to give the world a concrete narrative of his life subsequent to his retiral from the office of storekeeper, for their zeal has so far exceeded their common sense that the relation of the incidents alleged to have happened would detract from Nānak's reputation for wisdom rather than add to it. We prefer, therefore, to let these incidents alone, with the remark that the framing of the narrative (barring the miraculous element) and the course of the various discourses and discussions on religion are quite what one would expect among Hindu *sādhūs* or Muhammadan *faqīrs*.

3. Doctrines.—Reviewing Guru Nānak's distinctive position, we notice that his life as a preacher of righteousness began with the trumpet blast, 'There is no Hindu and no Musalmān.' He went on to show that they were both false, and thus incurred the odium of both. He fearlessly attacked idolatry, and, if he did not rise to a high degree of spiritual enlightenment, we can only say that Christian truth had not been conveyed to him. He expressed himself in these selections from the *Granth*:

'The True One is, O Nanak, and the True One will be.
True is the Lord, of a True Name, His love is infinitely inexpressible.
O Father, how shall I write of it?'

Nānak had a sense of sin which was wanting in the early teachers, and increased with the years.

'May on me, the sinner and vicious man, favour be bestowed.
O Lord, be merciful to me that Nanak may cross.
. . . . . .
I am not chaste, nor truthful, nor learned; foolish and ignorant am I.
Nanak says, "I have done mean actions."
Save the sinner! This is the prayer of Nanak, O my soul!
. . . . . .
Covetousness is a dog, falsehood is a sweeper, living by cheating is carrion,
To defame another is to touch filth, tale-bearing is fire, wrath is an evil spirit.
. . . . . .
I am a sinner, Thou alone art pure.
As full as the ocean is of water so many are my vices.
Bestow mercy, have compassion, cause the sinking stones to cross.
. . . . . .
The True, the Inapprehensible, the Infinite, Himself does all.
I am a sinner; Thou art the Pardoner.'

The consequence of sin is not transmigration, but punishment in hell; the wicked at last 'sit outside weeping,' 'are marched off and struck in the face,' 'the sinner is beaten,' 'is marched with black face to Hell,' 'is banished from the presence of the Supreme Lord.'

The doctrine of the sinfulness of man and the danger into which sin has brought him coincides very much with what we regard as truth; and not only so, but in Nānak's portion of the *Granth*, as well as in the portion written by his Sikhs ('disciples') and successors, strong emphasis is also laid on the doctrine of the necessity for a mediator:

'The Dhaul [white ox on which, according to the Hindus, the world rests] is
Dharm [duty or religion], the Son of Daya [mercy].
Thy Name is the Supreme Spirit; by taking Thy name a man is saved from going to Hell.
Brother, the dangerous ocean of existence terrifies me; if the True Guru be found, He who is friendly to man, He conveys him across by virtue of the Name of the Lord.
O Nanak, that ocean is crossed by means of the True Name, the King above kings.
The palace of my Lord is beautiful, adorned with gems.
His palace of pearls, diamonds and gold, is enchanting.
Without a ladder how shall I ascend to His castle?
The Guru is the ladder.
In the future world no question will be asked of him whose companion the Guru, the Creator, is.
Without a boat there is no road on the sea.
The Guru is the boat.
Ik Aunkar. The True Name is the Creator, the Spirit without fear, without enmity, a Timeless Being, the Gracious Enlightener of Darkness.'

(The Sikhs themselves derive the word *guru* from the Sanskrit root *gri*, 'to utter,' and they also give it a traditional signification, 'the darkness-enlightener'; we therefore translate the last expression in the opening invocation in the *Granth* as above.)

'If I abide within the Name, the Name comes and dwells in my heart. Without the Guru there is darkness; without the Word there is no understanding. Death comes not where the Infinite Word of the Guru is.'

Union with God is clothed in the language of human love:

'I have fallen asleep, my Beloved is awake. She who by the True Guru is united to the Lord abides in devotion; Love, O Nanak, is her companion.'

Finally, what is the attitude of the saint towards the world?

'In the house from which thou must at death depart kill thyself;
He that dies by the Word [of the Guru] is dead; he will not die again.'

It is true that Guru Nānak in a few solitary passages calls the world a play of the Creator:

'The play lasts to-day and to-morrow';

but he declares also that there is a higher arena beyond this passing show of earthly life:

'Whom thou unitest with Thyself he remains united; having gone he treads the true arena.'

If he says, as he does, that God is all in all ('Thou alone; Thou alone'), he also says, 'In the

true Lord are all virtues; in us are all vices.' If he says that 'duality sinks the boat's load,' he but seems to safeguard the truth of God's sovereignty, and, lest man should presume to ascribe evil to the nature of God, he insists on a virtuous life:

'Abandon vices and practise virtues, and thus acquire the truth—lest ye repent';

and he pathetically expresses his humility and longing when he says:

'O, my Lord, who knows Thy qualities? My vices cannot be numbered.'

Guru Nānak was a seeker after God, and, as we regard his thoughts concerning God and man and the true *guru* who mediates between them, and also his thoughts on deliverance from sin and misery and the attainment of happiness by union with God, we have no hesitation in declaring the conviction that, although he used the terms of the philosophy of his day to declare the oneness and greatness of God, yet the idea of God as a cold apathetic abstraction never satisfied him. Although it is now the fashion among the Sikhs to regard all their *gurus* as the 'true *guru*' (*sat gur*), yet, when pressed, they tell us that the true *guru* is God, and the true *guru* of the *Granth Sāhib* is not Nānak, but is the Supreme, the *gur-dev*, the incarnation of God, the sinless one, and it cannot fail to strike the least observant reader of the *Granth* that the only religion that can satisfy the aspirations of the Sikhs, and disclose the identity of the *sat gur*, and that claims to do so, is the Christian. Whether Nānak was acquainted with Christian truth is a debated question, but, whether he was or not, we must allow that, being in some degree conversant with the Muhammadan faith, he may have known something of the revelation of God in His Word, the true teacher, God-incarnate, the Lord Jesus Christ.

LITERATURE.—E. Trumpp, *The Ādi Granth*, 1877, published by the Government of India; M. A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Oxford, 1909.

J. W. YOUNGSON.

NĀRĀYAṆA.—1. Origin and meaning of the name.—Nārāyaṇa is an ancient and dignified epithet which has been applied to various Hindu gods. It is not the name of any distinct Hindu divinity. The word is believed to be a patronymic, derived from *nara*, 'man,' so that it means 'son of man,' but it is not known of whom it was originally used.

One of the hymns of the *Rigveda*,[1] the subject of which is the origin of the universe, attributes the creation to the sacrifice of Puruṣa by the gods. Puruṣa is conceived as a gigantic being in human form, a primeval man. This poem, which is called the *Puruṣa-sūkta*, has exercised a great influence on Hindu thought. It was incorporated in each of the other three Vedas; and the word *puruṣa* and a number of the phrases of the hymn have formed part of the theological language of Hinduism ever since. It has been conjectured that the name Nārāyaṇa was coined as an epithet for Puruṣa; and the derivation of the word fits well into the guess. In three passages in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[2] Puruṣa is definitely named Puruṣa Nārāyaṇa, and there is a clear reference in each case to the *Puruṣa-sūkta*. In the *Kātyāyana Śrautasūtra*[3] Nārāyaṇa occurs as a patronymic of Puruṣa; and Kātyāyana's *Sarvānukramaṇī* gives Nārāyaṇa as the name of the author of the *Puruṣa-sūkta*. The *Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad* contains a lyrical passage[4] which is reminiscent of the *Puruṣa-sūkta*, and uses Nārāyaṇa as an epithet of Puruṣa. It is noteworthy that all these works belong to the *Yajurveda*. Further, throughout Hindu history the word 'Nārāyaṇa' seems to carry with it some association, strong or weak, with the origin of the world, and frequently also with the hymn which celebrates Puruṣa. Thus far all the evidence would lead us to conclude that Nārāyaṇa was coined to be an epithet of the gigantic being who is sacrificed in the *Puruṣa-sūkta*, and that, when it is used as a honorific title for some other god, the purpose is to identify him with Puruṣa.

But, when we turn to the earliest occurrence of the word in the literature, we meet a serious difficulty. The word first occurs in a litany of praise to eleven gods in the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā*[1] of the *Black Yajurveda*. In one stanza of this litany Puruṣa is used as a title of Śiva, and in another Nārāyaṇa is used as a title of Viṣṇu. The *Black Yajurveda* is a much earlier work than the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (the book in which Nārāyaṇa occurs for the first time as an epithet of Puruṣa), and the facts just mentioned make it rather difficult to believe that, when it was compiled, Nārāyaṇa was regarded as in any way attached to Puruṣa.

It would seem to be more consistent with all the evidence to suppose that Nārāyaṇa was an independent conception, the origin of which has been lost, and that it was applied now to one now to another divine being even in very early times. The truth is, evidence does not exist to enable us to decide the question of origin. Yet at an early date it unquestionably became associated with Puruṣa.

At a much later date a new derivation was suggested for Nārāyaṇa. In Hindu, as in Greek, thought one of the earliest theories was that the world had arisen from water. In the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*[2] of the *Black Yajurveda* we read:

'This universe was formerly water, fluid. On it Prajāpati, becoming wind, moved';

and the idea is repeated in innumerable passages in the later literature. Then, somewhere about the beginning of the Christian era, some one suggested that it was Nārāyaṇa who at the creation moved on the waters, and suggested also that the word was derived from *nārāḥ* ('the waters are called *nārāḥ*, for they are sprung from *Nara*') and *ayana* ('moving').[3] Henceforward most Hindu writers prefer this secondary derivation of the word.

To sum up: at all periods the name Nārāyaṇa suggests a personal spirit connected with creation. It is frequently used so as to recall the *Puruṣa-sūkta*; and in some cases it definitely stands for Puruṣa. The direct origin of the word, viz. *nara*, 'man,' is given less often than the fanciful etymology from *nārāḥ* + *ayana*, 'waters' + 'moving.'

2. History of the use of the term.—The earliest and most frequent use of the word is as an epithet of Viṣṇu; but it is also applied to other divinities.

(1) *As a title of Viṣṇu.*—(*a*) The very earliest occurrence of the word, as we have already seen, is in the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā*.[4] It occurs in a litany in praise of eleven divinities, a litany for which the *Gāyatrī*, the most famous of Hindu prayers, has served as the model. Each stanza, devoted to a single god, copies the rhythm of the *Gāyatrī*, and repeats its leading words, while the name of the god and two of his epithets help to fill up the intervening spaces in the lines. We here reproduce the stanzas in which Śiva and Viṣṇu are praised. The italicized words are from the *Gāyatrī*:

'*Tat* Puruṣāya vidmahe; Mahādevāya *dhīmahi*:
Tan *no* Rudraḥ *prachodayāt*.

Tat Keśavāya vidmahe; Nārāyaṇāya *dhīmahi*:
Tan *no* Viṣṇuḥ prachodayāt.'

'We know about Puruṣa; let us think about Mahādeva:
May Rudra stimulate this in us.

We know about Keśava; let us think about Nārāyaṇa:
May Viṣṇu stimulate this in us.'

[1] x. 90.
[2] xii. iii. 4. 1, xiii. vi. 1. 1, 2. 12.
[3] xxiv. vii. 36.
[4] See § 2 (2) (*b*) below.

[1] ii. ix. 1. See § 2 (1) (*a*).
[2] vii. i. 5. 1; Muir, i. 52.
[3] See, *e.g.*, Manu, i. 8–10; Muir, i. 35.
[4] ii. ix. 1.

It seems clear that this litany was a good deal used in the schools of the *Black Yajurveda*; for we find an echo of it in a later work belonging to that Veda. See below (*c*).

The title Nārāyaṇa, then, in this its very first occurrence, and at this very early date, is given to Viṣṇu.

(*b*) The title is also given to Viṣṇu several times in the earliest part of the *Rāmāyaṇa*;[1] but, as this poem has been seriously interpolated, it is difficult to make certain that the lines are original. If they are, they show that about 500 B.C. the Vaiṣṇavite sect was already accustomed to use Nārāyaṇa as an equivalent of Viṣṇu.

(*c*) Nārāyaṇa does not appear in the early prose *Upaniṣads* at all; but it crops up in two passages in one of the second group, the verse *Upaniṣads*. In one of these it is an epithet of Viṣṇu. In the first chapter[2] of the *Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad*, which is ritualistic in character, the following modification of the verse quoted above from the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* occurs (words from the *Gāyatrī* are again italicized):

'Nārāyaṇa vidmahe; Vāsudevāya *dhīmahi*:
Tan *no* Viṣṇuḥ *prachodayāt*,'

'We know about Nārāyaṇa; let us think about Vāsudeva:
May Viṣṇu stimulate this in us.'

One of our best scholars[3] gives the 3rd cent. B.C. as the lowest possible chronological limit for this *Upaniṣad*. The couplet is noticeable also as being the earliest passage in which Vāsudeva is used as an epithet of Viṣṇu.

(*d*) Scholars believe that those parts of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in which Rāma is represented as an incarnation of half the essence of Viṣṇu were composed and added to the original epic about the 2nd cent. B.C. It is noticeable that, in strict agreement with the passage just quoted from the *Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad*, Viṣṇu receives in these additions[4] both Nārāyaṇa and Vāsudeva as titles.

(*e*) In the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, in which for the first time the claim is made that Viṣṇu is not one of the crowd of Hindu divinities but the mighty All-soul, the Brahman of the *Upaniṣads*, the word Nārāyaṇa does not appear at all. From this time forward, however, all Vaiṣṇavite literature claims that Viṣṇu alone is the Supreme, and uses Nārāyaṇa as one of his most honoured epithets. In this sense it occurs very frequently in the *Mahābhārata*. One section of the epic[5] is devoted to an exposition of the theology of the chief Vaiṣṇavite sect of the time, the Bhāgavatas. In it Viṣṇu is called Nārāyaṇa and Puruṣa, and the section is called the *Nārāyaṇīya*. So Nārāyaṇa and Puruṣa are used as titles of Viṣṇu in a late passage interpolated into the sixth book of the *Rāmāyaṇa*,[6] which may belong to the same time.

Thereafter these names are used as titles of Viṣṇu in countless passages in every type of Vaiṣṇava literature.

(*f*) The late sectarian *Upaniṣads* attached to the *Atharvaveda*[7] are in two groups: those which represent Viṣṇu as the All-god and those which give Śiva that place. In the former group the *Mahā Upaniṣad* is perhaps the most important. Here Viṣṇu as the All-god is called Nārāyaṇa and Puruṣa. The same is true of the Vaiṣṇavite *Purāṇas* and the *Pāñcharātra Saṁhitās*.

In the chief Vaiṣṇavite sect of S. India, the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas, the sectarian *mantra* runs, *Oṁ namaḥ Nārāyaṇāya*, 'Oṁ! reverence to Nārāyaṇa.' Rāmānuja, who belonged to this sect, in his famous commentary on the *Vedāntasūtras* called the *Śrī-bhāṣya*, constantly uses Nārāyaṇa as an equivalent of Viṣṇu, and appeals frequently to the *Mahā Upaniṣad* and the *Subāla Upaniṣad* as *śruti* (*i.e.* revelation) in support of his claim that Viṣṇu is Brahman.[1]

(2) *Other uses.*—Although the Vaiṣṇavite sect had in this way appropriated the old title Nārāyaṇa for their own divinity, and were prepared to hold it against all comers, other Hindus refused to acknowledge that it was a necessary appanage of Viṣṇu.

(*a*) It is used as a title of Brahmā, the old god of creation, at the beginning of the *Law-book of Manu*[2] and elsewhere.

(*b*) In the earliest *Upaniṣads*, which are in prose, the main stream of the teaching tends to represent Brahman, the Supreme, as impersonal; and it is only in occasional phrases that ideas which are consistent only with a personal theology occur; but in the later *Upaniṣads*, which are in verse, there is a considerable tendency to interpret Brahman as personal. In the majority of these theistic passages no divine name except Brahman is used; but in the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*[3] the sectarian god Rudra is introduced to make the personal character of the Supreme more vivid. Then, in one of the latest of these verse treatises, the *Mahānārāyaṇa Upaniṣad*, the name and the concept of Puruṣa are used for the same purpose. The passage shows many traces of the *Puruṣa-sūkta*. The word 'Puruṣa' is used once, but Nārāyaṇa is used eight times, clearly as an equivalent for Puruṣa. This striking lyrical passage[4] has given its name to the whole work, the *Great Nārāyaṇa Upaniṣad*.

(*c*) As we have seen above (§ 2 (1) (*c*)), Nārāyaṇa occurs in another passage of this work as an epithet of Viṣṇu. As the *Upaniṣad* is a composite work, the two sections are probably of distinct origin, so that the variant use of the word need cause no difficulty.

(*d*) Śaṅkarāchārya, the great exponent of the monistic form of the Vedānta, uses Nārāyaṇa as an equivalent for Brahman, the Supreme God of the philosophy. Faced with Vaiṣṇavites who claimed that Viṣṇu was Brahman, and Śaivites who claimed that Śiva was Brahman, he declared that neither claim was acceptable, since Brahman was no sectarian god, but the impersonal Supreme behind all phenomena and all gods. He uses Nārāyaṇa as an epithet of Brahman,[5] and will not allow that it belongs to Viṣṇu.

3. Among the Jains Nārāyaṇa is the eighth of the nine black Vāsudevas, a group of mythical Tīrthaṅkaras said to have lived in the Duḥshamasushamā period.[6] In the *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka*, a Mahāyāna Buddhist work, the body of a *bodhisattva* is compared with Nārāyaṇa's body.[7] Both are clearly reflexions from later Vaiṣṇavism.

4. In modern India Nārāyaṇa is universally regarded as a name of Viṣṇu.

LITERATURE.—This is cited throughout the article. See also O. Böhtlingk and R. Roth, *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, Petrograd, 1855–75; and M. Bloomfield, *Vedic Concordance*, Harvard, 1906.

J. N. FARQUHAR.

NARBADĀ.—The Narbadā, or Nerbudda (Skr. *Narmadā*, 'making happy'), one of the great rivers of India, is traditionally regarded as the boundary between Hindustān proper and the Deccan—the Namnadios of the Periplus (J. W. McCrindle, *Commerce and Navigation of the Erythræan Sea*, Calcutta, 1879, p. 116). It rises at Amarkaṇṭak (*q.v.*), and, after a westerly course of about 800 miles, falls into the Arabian Sea. It is specially associated with the cult of Śiva, his

1 II. vi. 1, IV. lxvii. 3. 2 Verse 31.
3 A. B. Keith, in *JRAS*, 1908, p. 171.
4 *Rāmāyaṇa* I. xiv. 4, xli. 2.
5 In the *Mokshadharma Parvan*. 6 Canto 119.
7 See P. Deussen, *Sechzig Upanishad's des Veda*, Leipzig, 1897.

1 *SBE* xlviii. [1904] 229, 522, 537, etc.
2 i. 8–10; Muir, i. 35. 3 iii. 4, iv. 12. 4 xi. 1–12.
5 In his *Bhāṣya* to the *Vedāntasūtras*, *SBE* xxxiv. [1890], xxxviii. [1896].
6 Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, London, 1915, p. 274.
7 *SBE* xxi. [1884] 397.

symbol (*bāna, vāna liṅga*), made of white quartz, being found in its bed. The river is also known as Rewajī, 'the flowing lord,' and bathing in its waters is a potent mode of removing tabu or sin pollution. The river priests rank its sanctity above that of all other rivers. Freedom from sin, they say, is gained by bathing for three years in the Sarasvatī (*q.v.*), for seven days in the Jumnā (*q.v.*), one day is sufficient for the Ganges (*q.v.*), while the mere sight of the Narbadā cleanses the sinner. The local prophecy declared that the holiness of the Ganges would cease in A.D. 1895, while that of the Narbadā would continue through all the ages of the world; the first part of this prediction, in the opinion of the Ganges priests, has certainly not been fulfilled. It is the desire of many an orthodox Hindu that he may die on the Narbadā's banks, and the ashes of the dead are brought from long distances and consigned to its waters. Even the Ganges herself, it is said, comes once a year in the form of a black cow and bathes here. On this day, which is observed as a festival, the merit of bathing is double that of both the rivers combined. The most noted places of pilgrimage are Amarkaṇṭak, Omkār Māndhātā, and Chāndod, which, if the Ganges gave way to the Narbadā, would become the southern Benares. Few Hindus would dare to swear falsely, standing in the river with a red flower garland round the neck, and holding in the right hand some of the holy water. Like all sacred rivers, the Narbadā resents being confined by a bridge, and more than once her floods have caused loss of life, which is said to have calmed her wrath.

LITERATURE.—*BG* ii. [1877] 347 ff., vi. [1880] 6, 159 f., vii. [1883] 553, 559 f.; *Central Provinces Gazetteer*, 1870, p. 346 ff.; *IGI* xviii. [1908] 375 ff.

W. CROOKE.

NĀSIK.—The town Nāsik (said to be derived from Skr. *nava-śikhā*, 'nine peaks,' as it is supposed to be built on nine hills), headquarters of the District of that name in the Bombay Presidency, is a famous place of pilgrimage, on the banks of the river Godāvarī (*q.v.*), about 30 miles from its source; lat. 19° 48′ N.; long. 73° 47′ E. It is the Nasika of Ptolemy (J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, Calcutta, 1885, p. 156). It has been identified with the place visited by the Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, and capital of King Pulakeśin II.

'Within and without the capital are five *stûpas* to mark the spots where the four past Buddhas walked and sat. . . . There are, besides these, other *stûpas* made of brick or stone, so many that it would be difficult to name them all. Not far to the south of the city is a *saṅghârâma* [monastery] in which is a stone image of Kwan-tsz'-tsai Bôdhisattva. Its spiritual powers extend (*far and wide*), so that many of those who have secretly prayed to it have obtained their wishes' (S. Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, London, 1884, ii. 257; *BG* i. pt. ii. [1896] 354 f.; cf. V. A. Smith, *Early Hist. of India*[3], Oxford, 1914, p. 426).

The position of the group of Buddhist caves in the vicinity, known as Pāṇḍu Lenā, also points to the sanctity of the place in Buddhist times. They are situated in an isolated hill about 5 miles S.S.W. from the town. The caves are seventeen in number, and form a small but very interesting group. The great Chaitya cave is not so remarkable as others of the same series.

'But there are two Vihāras, which are very far in advance of any yet met with, and display in their façades a richness of decoration quite unlike the modest exteriors of those excavated before the Christian era. Notwithstanding this they all, except Nos. ii. and xvii., belong to the Hinayāna or first great division of Buddhist caves, being devoid of images, or any representations of Buddha as an object of worship, or in fact of any of those characteristics which marked the introduction of the Mahāyāna theosophy' (Fergusson and Burgess, *Cave Temples of India*, p. 266).

The Chaitya cave contains an inscription of Kṛṣṇarājā, second king of the Andhra dynasty, which arose after the death of Aśoka (*c.* 220 B.C.; Smith, p. 206). The series extends from this period down to about A.D. 600. The place appears in Hindu tradition in connexion with the story of Rāma, who is said to have spent part of his exile at Pañchavatī, a suburb north of the Godāvarī river, and many places in the neighbourhood are associated with his adventures. About the 11th or 12th cent. A.D. Jainism seems to have prevailed here, and devotees of that faith excavated the Chāmbhār caves and made additions to the Pāṇḍu Lenā group. But, though it is a place of great sanctity, the Benares of W. India, as it has been called, the existing Hindu temples, most of which were built in the period of Marāthā rule, are not of much importance or dignity. That of Someśvara, a form of Śiva, attracts numerous pilgrims, and one group of buildings is the work of the famous princess of Indor, Ahalyā Bāī (A.D. 1750–1818), one of the great temple-builders of modern times. Other noteworthy shrines are those of Rāma, known as Gorā, 'white,' to distinguish it from the Kālā, or 'black' Rāma of Pañchavatī; a large temple dedicated to Bālājī, or the infant Kṛṣṇa; that of Śiva as Tilbhāndeśvar, so called because the *liṅga* is believed to grow yearly to the length of a grain of sesamum (*til*); that of Viṭhoḅā, associated with Rādhā and Rukminī; that of Śiva Kapāleśvara, the 'skull-wearer'; and that of Kālā Rām or Śrī Rāmjī, one of the finest modern temples in W. India. *Śākta*-worship is represented by the shrine of Bhadra Kālī. In the bed of the Godāvarī are numerous sacred bathing-places (*tīrtha*) and holy pools (*kuṇḍa*). The holiest of all is known as Rāmakuṇḍa, 'the pool of Rāma,' which is renowned for its purifying properties. As, for the people of N. India, a father's funeral rites are best performed at Gayā (*q.v.*), so those of a mother are never so perfect as when solemnized at Rāma's pool in the Godāvarī. Crowds of pilgrims are constantly arriving at the place from all parts of W. India, Berār, the Nizām's Dominions, the Central Provinces, and at the greater feasts from even more distant places. Their names are carefully recorded by the local priests, known as *kṣetra upādhyāya*, 'teachers of the holy land.' The circuit of the temples and holy places occupies three days. It also attracts crowds of religious devotees, who in former times caused much trouble to the authorities by their turbulence. There is little evidence of Islām, except a Jāmi Masjid, or cathedral mosque, partly built from the ruins of Hindu temples.

LITERATURE.—For the Buddhist caves see J. Fergusson and J. Burgess, *The Cave Temples of India*, London, 1880, p. 263 ff. The place is described in *BG* xvi. [1883] 541 ff.; *IGI* xviii. [1908] 410 ff.

W. CROOKE.

NĀṢIR IBN KHUSRAU.—Abū Mu'īn al-dīn Nāṣir ibn Khusrau (in Persian, Nāṣir-i Khusrau) was born in A.D. 1004 at Qubādiyān, a town lying north-east of Balkh in the district of the upper Oxus. The first forty years of his life are practically a blank as regards biographical information, but it is clear that they were not wasted. Not only did he master the literary, scientific, and philosophical learning of the age in all its various branches, devoting particular attention to the study of religions, but he also thought deeply on the great questions which his ardent search after truth impelled him to attempt to solve. For a long time he could find no sure ground for belief, and he seems to have consoled himself by indulging in the pleasures of wine. When he was forty-two, he had a dream in consequence of which he determined to make the pilgrimage to Mecca. Having resigned his post—a secretaryship under the Seljūq government—he set out for Mecca, where he accomplished the immediate object of his journey, and then travelled by land to Egypt, arriving in Cairo in August, A.D. 1047. Here he

remained for two or three years. His homeward journey was made in a leisurely fashion, and he finally reached Merv in October, A.D. 1052. In his *Safarnāmah* (ed., with Fr. tr., C. Schefer, Paris, 1881) he has given us an entertaining and instructive account of his travels, which is of high value as a contemporary description of W. Asia and Egypt and is especially rich in topographical and historical material (cf. G. Le Strange, *Nāṣir-i Khusrau, Diary of a Journey through Syria and Palestine*, London, 1888). This work makes no reference to the fact that during those seven years the writer had passed through the spiritual crisis of his life; that, notwithstanding the five pilgrimages which he performed in the course of that time, he had ceased to be an orthodox Muslim even in the most conventional sense; and that the promise, 'He who seeks shall find,' of the mysterious vision which sent him forth on his wanderings had at last been fulfilled. Of his conversion we unfortunately have no details, but the main facts are clear. His visit to Cairo brought him into contact with the esoteric doctrines of the Ismā'īlīs or Bāṭinīs, a Shī'ite sect, of which the official head was the reigning Fāṭimid sovereign, al-Mustanṣir (A.D. 1035–1094). The *Safarnāmah* draws a glowing picture of the wealth, prosperity, and excellent administration of Cairo under this enlightened ruler. While residing in the Egyptian capital, Nāṣir-i Khusrau, who seems to have felt no difficulty in admitting the claim of the Fāṭimids that they were the legitimate descendants of 'Alī and his wife Fāṭimah, the daughter of the Prophet, became an Ismā'īlī initiate, and he returned home as an accredited missionary of the sect, with the title of *ḥujjat*, which, though he commonly uses it as a pen-name in his poems, 'denotes a real and definite rank, comparable to that of bishop, in the Ismā'īlī hierarchy' (E. G. Browne, 'Nāṣir-i Khusrau, Poet, Traveller, and Propagandist,' in *JRAS*, 1905, p. 333). On account of the persecution to which he was subjected by the Sunnīs of Balkh and Nīshāpūr, he retired to Yumgān, a town in Badakhshān, where he founded the sect of the Nāṣirīya, and died, at the age of eighty-four, in A.D. 1088.

Besides the *Safarnāmah*, which is in prose, the following poetical works of Nāṣir-i Khusrau have come down to us: (1) the *Dīwān*, a collection of odes (lithographed at Tabrīz in A.D. 1864); (2) the *Raushanā'ī-nāmah*, or 'Book of Light,' a philosophical and ethical poem (ed. H. Ethé with Germ. verse tr. in *ZDMG* xxxiii. [1879] 645–665, and xxxiv. [1880] 428–464 and 617–642); (3) the *Sa'ādat-nāmah*, or 'Book of Felicity,' ethical and didactic (ed. E. Fagnan with Fr. tr. in *ZDMG* xxxiv. 643–674); (4) the *Zād al-Musāfirīn*, or 'Provision for Pilgrims,' preserved in a unique MS in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, which deals with the author's philosophical and religious theories (concerning the spurious autobiography, which is nothing but a conglomeration of fantastic legends, see E. G. Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, ii. 218 f.).

It is not necessary to discuss the view formerly held by some scholars that Nāṣir-i Khusrau the traveller and Nāṣir-i Khusrau the poet-philosopher are two different individuals, since their identity is proved by parallel passages which occur in the *Safarnāmah* and the *Dīwān* (cf. Browne, *Lit. Hist.* ii. 225 f.; and Ethé, in *ZDMG* xxxiii. 647 f.). While the poems of Nāṣir-i Khusrau contain a considerable amount of specifically Ismā'īlī doctrine, there is also much that was originally derived from other sources—*e.g.*, Neo-Platonism, the encyclopædia of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā, and the philosophical writings of Avicenna and Fārābī. In the *Raushanā'ī-nāmah* (verse 163 f.) he expounds a system of cosmology, which may be summarized as follows:

God is beyond thought, unknowable in His essence, infinite, immaterial, and visible only to the spiritual eye. It is wrong to say that God created the heavens and the earth; plurality cannot spring directly from the One. From Him proceeds Universal Reason; thence is born Universal Soul. The marriage of these two brings into existence the Nine Spheres, which in their turn produce the Four Elements; the Spheres and the Elements are the fathers and mothers of the world of natural things—mineral, vegetable, and animal. Each of the Spheres has an intelligence and a soul, and their eternal revolution is the cause of all good and evil fortune. Man is composed of soul and body, substance and accident; he has five outward and five inward senses. Essentially he is a spirit, and it behoves him, realizing his true nature, to return to God. The language used by Nāṣir-i Khusrau in this part of the poem shows familiarity with Ṣūfiistic ideas.

'Thou art a ray, as it were, of His Light;
Cast off thy self-existence and become He!
'Tis the veil (of self) that separates thee, if thou seekest the cause;
Remove the veil and thou art He' (verse 263 ff.).

In order to attain to union with God, the soul must first acquire wisdom and virtue, which are the fruits of asceticism, and its future lot depends on the measure of perfection achieved. Paradise and hell are really states of the soul, according as it is 'ripe' or 'raw.' Self-knowledge, above all, is indispensable.

'Know thyself, for if thou knowest thyself,
Thou wilt know, of thyself, both good and evil.
Become acquainted with thine own being,
Then thou wilt be exalted over the crowd.
When thou knowest thyself, thou hast known all;
That knowledge frees thee from every ill.
Thou knowest not thy true dignity: therefore thou art like this;
Thou wilt see God if thou seest thyself.
The Nine Spheres and the Seven Planets are thy slaves,
Yet thou art indentured to thy body—oh, what a shame!
Be a man! Bid farewell to sleep and food,
Travel, like a pilgrim, into thyself' (verse 339 ff.).

Among the more typically Ismā'īlī doctrines which occur in the *Dīwān* and are enumerated by Browne (*Lit. Hist.* ii. 231 f.) we may notice the poet's insistence on the necessity of allegorical interpretation (*ta'wīl*) as a means of rightly understanding the Qur'ān, and his belief that the privilege of revealing this interpretation is vested in its divinely-appointed guardians, the *imāms* of the Prophet's house; his assertion that whoever seeks to understand the principles of religion is called a heretic (*mulḥid*); and his allusions to the mystical number seven and to the doctrine of the *asās* (cf. *ib.* i. 408 f.).

Literature.—In addition to the references given in the art., see H. Ethé, 'Nāṣir ibn Khusrau's Leben, Denken, und Dichten' in *Actes du VIe Congrès internat. des Orientalistes*, Leyden, 1883, ii. 171 f., and in *GIrP* ii. [1896–1904] 278 f.; E. G. Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, London, 1902–06, ii. 218 f. A number of odes in Nāṣir's *Dīwān* have been translated into German by H. Ethé in *GGN*, 1882, p. 124 f. and *ZDMG* xxxvi. [1882] 478 f.

REYNOLD A. NICHOLSON.

NATS.—See BURMA.

NATCHEZ.—This is the name of a tribe of American Indians formerly residing on and near St. Catherine's Creek close to the city of Natchez, Miss., U.S.A., which perpetuates their name. The meaning of the word is entirely unknown.

1. **History.**—Although there is some reason to suspect a connexion between this tribe and the Quigaltam or Quigaltanqui of the de Soto chroniclers, it first appears in the certain light of history in 1682, when La Salle descended the Mississippi River to its mouth. Iberville, during his first expedition to Louisiana in 1699, did not go up the Mississippi as far as the Natchez, though he heard a great deal about them from an interpreter and has left us a list of their villages. A few months later the missionary priests de Montigny and Davion stopped at the Natchez towns in descending to the new French post at Biloxi, and Iberville himself reached them a year later. De Montigny established himself as missionary here at that time, but in less than three months left to return to France. Another missionary, St. Cosme, descended from the Illinois country to take his place, and he continued to labour among the Natchez until late in the year 1706, when he was killed by a war party of Chitimacha Indians when on his way to Mobile. From 1700 onwards the Natchez received constant visits from parties of French explorers and *voyageurs* ascending and descending the river, and in 1713 a trading house was established among them. A Natchez uprising in 1715 forced the abandonment of this temporarily, but, after peace had been made, a palisaded fort was built near by on the bluffs overlooking the Mississippi and it was named Fort Rosalie after the Duchess of Pontchartrain. Storehouses were erected, settlers poured in, and Natchez soon became one of the most flourishing posts in Louisiana. Between 1722 and 1724 there were petty wars with the Indians which were soon settled, and the prosperity of the Natchez settlement continued unabated until the autumn of 1729, when the famous Natchez outbreak occurred. This had very likely been brewing for some time, and English traders operating through the Chickasaw are freely blamed for it, but it appears to have been

precipitated by the high-handed, overbearing conduct of the French governor of the post, F. Chopart. The uprising took place on 28th Nov. 1729, the post was completely destroyed, and about 250 Frenchmen killed. The next year the Natchez were attacked by the French and Choctaw, who recovered most of the captives, but did very little damage besides. Early in 1731 Governor Perrier of Louisiana attacked the Natchez again in a new fort which they had built on Black River to the west of the Mississippi, and induced about 400 to surrender, whom he sold as slaves in Santo Domingo. A bloody guerrilla war followed, in which one notable success was won by St. Denis, commander of the post of Natchitoches, though it was otherwise rather disastrous for the French. In a few years, however, the Natchez retired to the Chickasaw and Cherokee, and still later those among the Chickasaw went over to the Creeks, where they constituted a separate town for many years. The bands among both Creeks and Cherokee retained their identity and their language until after the southern Indians had been removed to the west of the Mississippi. Even there a nucleus remained for a long time, but to-day the Natchez among the Creeks have been absorbed entirely by the larger tribe. Practically the same fate has befallen those who had cast in their fortunes with the Cherokee, but fortunately three or four still have sufficient command of their language for purposes of record.

2. **Mode of life.**—In physical type the Natchez differed little apparently from the other southern Indians, though in their personal habits and general bearing they were—if we may trust early writers—at a decided advantage.

The only article of male attire never dispensed with was the breech-clout, made of a dressed deer-skin passed between the legs and tucked under a belt at either end. In colder weather or on dress occasions they added a shirt made of two dressed deer-skins, moccasins, and leggings, the last extending from the thighs, where they were fastened to the belt with thongs, to the moccasins, under the upper edges of which they were inserted. They were held in below the knee by means of garters of bison hair usually ornamented with beads or porcupine quills. Over all in the most severe weather was thrown a bison skin, dressed with the hair on and the hair side turned inwards. The summer dress of the women was a skirt which extended from the waist to the knees. This was originally of deer-hide, of a native fabric woven from the inner bark of the mulberry, or of feathers woven into a netting of bass-bark, an old fish net, or some similar article. In colder weather a kind of mantle of the same material was added, which passed over the left shoulder and under the right arm. Boys wore no clothing at all until they were twelve or thirteen. Girls went naked until eight or ten, when they assumed a garment made of a fringe of mulberry threads fastened to a cord about the waist and extending to the ankles. After contact with the Whites they first made their garments in the old way but out of European goods, and later adopted European clothing without essential modification. The hair of the head was cut or burned off above all the way round the crown, only a single tress being left, which hung over the left ear, and a few hairs for the attachment of feathers. The women allowed their hair to grow long and gathered it up in a netting of mulberry threads into a kind of queue behind with tassels at the end. Both sexes pulled out the hair on all other parts of their bodies. Both also wore necklaces of beads and pearls. The men wore feathers on their heads, deer-bone bracelets round their wrists, and iron, brass, or copper wire in their ears, besides using fans of turkey feathers on dress occasions. Spike-shaped ornaments of shell were worn in their ears by the women, and the men suspended shell plates about their necks. Red paint, made by burning ochre, was liberally employed by both sexes, and also blue, black, and white paints. These paintings were probably in part ceremonial and social as well as ornamental. The women blackened their teeth with tobacco and wood ashes. Men and women had their faces tatued, and the women of the upper classes were also tatued upon the body, but body tatuing was indulged in most extensively by the warriors, the designs in their case representing noted feats accomplished by them. They were in both black and red. The foreheads of infants were artificially compressed in the cradle.

The houses were either square or round, made of a framework of hickory poles, interlaced with canes which formed a backing for mud walls. Over the latter were hung cane mats, then rows of grass in bundles overlapping, and over all other mats. Around the walls inside were platform beds raised on stakes and covered with cane mats and bison skins. They also had very low chairs or seats cut out of one piece of wood. Mats and baskets of all shapes and sizes, including large carrying baskets, sifters, winnowers, etc., for reducing corn to meal, were made out of cane, or rather out of its outer skin. Some were double-woven, and they had very good red, yellow, and black dyes with which excellent designs were worked, though few specimens have survived to the present time. Earthen vessels of as diverse kinds were also made, probably by the coil method, but they were not so successful in this art as in basketry. The weaving of mulberry-bark thread has been alluded to and also feather work and work with bison hair. Certain nettles, opossum hair, and other substitutes were resorted to. Skins were fastened in frames, the hair was removed, and then they were softened and whitened by rubbing with a flint and with deer brains. Permanence was given to the acquired softness by smoking them over fires of bison dung, rotted wood, and ears of corn. Many of these skins were beautifully painted in a variety of colours, and they were also ornamented with porcupine quills. Some of their knives were probably of flint, but the commonest kind was made by splitting a very hard cane into four pieces. Axes were of deep grey stones of fine grain. With these, in conjunction with fire, they felled trees, and shaped them into canoes, mortars for pounding corn, and other necessaries. Rafts made of canes served as temporary ferries.

3. **Hunting and agriculture.** — The principal animals hunted were the bear, deer, and bison. The first-mentioned was generally sought out in a hollow tree, driven from it by means of fire, and then shot. Although his flesh was eaten to some extent, he was particularly sought on account of his fat, which was melted and poured into skin bags made out of the skins of deer taken off whole. Deer were usually stalked by single hunters, who provided themselves with stuffed deer heads, and are said to have imitated the actions of this animal very cleverly. Sometimes a hundred Indians would go together and secure the deer alive by means of a surround. In historic times bison were not found very near the Natchez country, but the Natchez periodically visited regions where they were plentiful. Usually they attacked them by stealth and in small parties. Turkeys were hunted with dogs. Fish were shot with arrows, lanced, or caught with hook and line. Certain kinds were caught in bass nets as they ascended the Mississippi. Part of the meat which they secured was kept for a certain time by smoking on a scaffold over the fire. The dog was the only domestic animal, and they were exceedingly fond of it, but it was of little practical use.

Meat was of far less economic importance to the Natchez than corn; of this they seem to have had several varieties, most conspicuous being the 'little corn,' a kind of popcorn, and the flour corn. Their sole agricultural implement was a bent hickory stick, or the shoulder-blade of a bison set in a wooden handle. With these primitive mattocks they cleared and weeded their fields, after which

they made holes with their hands or with sticks and deposited the seeds in them. The work was done in common, the field of each man being taken in order. A number of dishes were made out of corn, one half drink and half food like the *sofki* of the Creek Indians, another of dry powdered corn which could be carried long distances without spoiling and in compact form. It was therefore usually taken by war parties and on distant hunts. The fruit or seeds of a certain kind of cane, bearing at irregular intervals, and that of two kinds of grains, one growing wild, the other being slightly cultivated, were also used. Marsh potatoes were used in seasons of want. Beans and pumpkins were among their cultivated plants. The principal native fruit was the persimmon, out of which a kind of bread, often spoken of by early travellers, was made. Peaches, figs, and water-melons were early introduced by the Whites. Walnuts and chestnuts were eaten to some extent, and probably, like other tribes of the southern United States, the Natchez expressed oil from hickory nuts and acorns, although notices of such usage seem to be wanting from the pages of our authorities. Salt was obtained from the salt licks in N. Louisiana. Tobacco was cultivated and was of great ceremonial importance. When they smoked, they usually mixed it with dried sumac leaves in about equal proportions.

4. Social customs.—It may be inferred from the information furnished by du Pratz that, when a woman was confined, she was forced to leave the house and give birth to her child in a small hut apart from other houses. The child was not put on its feet until it was more than a year old, and it was usually allowed to suckle as long as it chose. Training after the first few years of life was largely in the hands of certain old men, who were probably the oldest male members of the mother's clan or family. The work of the men was war, the ball-game, hunting, the performance of ceremonials, the cutting of firewood, fishing, cultivating the communal cornfields, at least part of the dressing of skins, felling trees, making bows and arrows, mattocks, and paddles, building houses, and taking care of the tribal lore and legends. The women carried in the wood which had been cut, brought in the game and cooked it, had entire charge of the house, made pots, baskets, garments of skin, mulberry-bark, and feathers, spun the bison and opossum hair, and made mats and numerous other things. Chastity before marriage was not valued, and, indeed, the reverse is said to have been inculcated, but after marriage strict fidelity was demanded of the wife. We do not hear of severe punishment being inflicted on adulterers such as was usual among the Creeks; divorce is said to have been extremely rare.

When a man died, his relatives came to mourn over him for an entire day. Then they arrayed him in his finest garments, painted his face, and ornamented him with feathers. Afterwards they laid him in a grave in the earth, placing by his side his arms, a kettle, and some provisions. For a month his relatives went to the grave morning and evening and wailed there, each mentioning the relationship which existed between himself and the dead man. The nearest relatives continued this for three or four months, and during the same period they had their hair cut or singed off, abstained from painting the body, and absented themselves from all festivities. The funeral rites observed on the death of a member of the ruling Sun caste were very elaborate and imposing (see below, § 7).

5. Games.—In ancient times the most popular game among them was one called by early travellers the 'chunky' game.

Two or more players participated. Each was provided with a pole 15 or 16 ft. long and shaped like a letter F. One of them then took a stone cylinder or roller about 3 ins. in diameter by an inch in thickness, which he rolled along on the ground, and at the same time he and the other players threw their sticks in the same direction, the object being to see whose stick lay nearest when the roller, or 'chunky' stone, came to rest. The 'chunky' game was the great gambling game, and while it was in progress quantities of property changed hands.

On festive, or rather ceremonial, occasions they played a game similar to lacrosse, but it was nearer the form of that game in vogue among the southern Indians generally, viz. the game in which two ball sticks were used. The women played a game with three pieces of cane which were treated like dice, the canes being allowed to fall on the ground and an account kept of those which fell convex side up. The children amused themselves by knocking to and fro a ball made of Spanish moss.

6. War.—War was an institution and was waged largely for social advancement. War parties varied in number from two or three to several hundreds, and participation in war expeditions was entirely voluntary. A war leader invited volunteers by setting up two red poles ornamented with red feathers and reddened arrows and tomahawks. When a sufficient number of warriors had presented themselves, a drink was brewed from the Ilex cassine, the 'black drink' of the traders, imbibed in quantities, and again ejected, though du Pratz says that this was preceded by a symbolic feast in which dog meat occupied a conspicuous place. After a speech by an old man and certain other ceremonies, the party marched off into the woods in single file. Some young men acted as scouts, but sentinels were not ordinarily set at night. A shaman accompanied each party, or at least each party of any consequence, and a war bundle was taken along and hung in their midst every night from a red pole pointing towards the land of the enemy. They attacked by stealth, killing the adult men and carrying off the women and children. Adult males were also captured, if possible, and reserved for torture by fire in a square frame made of poles, but not at a stake. If a Natchez woman who had lost her husband took a fancy to one of these devoted captives, however, she could claim him in the place of her former spouse. After striking a blow the Natchez warriors scattered about the place small tablets of wood marked with designs indicating their tribe, their war leader, and some other facts. The scalps of those who had been killed were carried home and preserved along with the scalps torn from those taken alive and devoted to death. Each war party was accompanied by a *berdache*, a man who dressed and acted like a woman. This individual cooked their meals for them, and performed other such duties about the camp. Sometimes, when war threatened with a very powerful tribe, the entire nation constructed, or resorted to, a stockade made of trunks of trees standing upright, interwoven with cross-pieces or reinforced by other posts between the first uprights, and having towers at intervals, besides two to protect the gateway made by the overlapping of the sides of the fort.

Peace-making was a formal ceremony, in which a pipe-stem ornamented with white feathers and provided at one end with a stone pipe played an important part. This stem was called a 'calumet' by the French, who were familiar with its use. The war calumet, hung up by a war leader when preparing for an expedition, was provided with red feathers from the flamingo. Treaties of peace sometimes resulted in alliances between small tribes much reduced in war and some large tribe whose effective force was thereby considerably increased.

7. The Sun family system.—When first clearly revealed to us the Natchez tribe consisted of nine

towns, two of which had been adopted in the manner just indicated. The remarkable thing about their social organization was the power exercised by a certain family called Suns. This family does not seem to have been large, one early writer stating that there were eleven, another that there were seventeen Suns, but perhaps they referred only to adult males. This family might be called a caste, except that, unlike castes as we know them elsewhere, marriage between the Suns and the common people, instead of being prohibited, was obligatory. The family was perpetuated in the female line, the children of female Suns always being Suns. The royal blood had sufficient power in the male line, however, to preserve a distinction between the children and grandchildren of Suns and the common people, two different grades of nobility having been created for these children and grandchildren. The exogamous nature of this Sun clan suggests that it was really a clan similar to those found among so many primitive peoples, but the French writers upon whom we are dependent mention no other clans as existing in their time, although the late descendants of the Natchez had them. Another reason for exogamy may be found in the fact that the wives and husbands of Suns, when these died, were strangled to accompany them into the future state of existence, while a Sun could on no account be put to death. From among these Suns the Great Sun, or head civil chief, and the Great War Leader were drawn. These men were treated with great respect even by other members of the Sun family, and by the common people they were approached with the most abject servility. They had a right to the property and labour of their subjects, could have as many wives as they chose, and add to or reduce the number at will. Their authority even seems to have extended to the power of life and death over their subjects, but it probably made a great difference who the individual happened to be. This paternalistic system seems to have been reflected also in the various households of the Natchez tribe, in which the oldest uncle had very great authority. Nevertheless the head chief was assisted by a council of old men who had considerable influence, and in the course of Natchez history we find the authority of certain village chiefs endangering that of the real national head. There were evidently many official positions of lesser consequence which we may surmise to have been filled by the other members of the Sun family, and by the two grades of nobles already mentioned. It is important to observe, however, that the last two grades were attainable not merely by birth but by individual prowess or virtue, thus furnishing the necessary medium for the utilization of such talent as strayed into plebeian frames. Such promotion was also bestowed upon parents who strangled a child to accompany one of the Suns to the world of spirits, and upon all those who assisted in strangling the adult victims sacrificed at that time.

The mortuary rites of a Sun, especially of one of the chiefs of the nation, were elaborate, impressive, and gruesome.

Thus on the death of the Tatued-serpent, the Great War Chief of the Natchez, in the year 1725, those in the house uttered loud cries, which were immediately taken up and re-echoed throughout the village, while guns were discharged to inform all the other villages in succession of the sad event. At a signal from the Great Sun water was dashed upon the fire in the house, and an officer, going outside, uttered a howl, which was repeated everywhere as a sign that all the fires were to be extinguished in the same manner. This was done, however, because the Great Sun had decided to die also, and he was persuaded by the Frenchmen present to abandon this resolution. Meanwhile the body of the deceased had been dressed in his finest clothing, and surrounded by his various war honours. Food was offered him at intervals. The wives of the deceased and all the others who were to accompany him into the spirit-world rehearsed their parts twice a day until the date fixed for the funeral. When that day arrived, the body of the Tatued-serpent was carried outside on a litter, borne round the house several times and then carried in spirals towards the temple. When this was reached, the victims, who had followed, placed themselves on mats and were immediately strangled to death with cords passed about their necks, the ends being held by one person at each side. The body of the Tatued-serpent was buried inside the temple, his nearest relatives with him or just outside, and those belonging to different villages in the temples there.

8. **Religious ideas and practices.**—The common religious ideas were like those current among American peoples, and indeed among primitive peoples, generally, such as have been denominated under the general term 'animism' but might perhaps equally well have been called 'anthropomorphism.' Nevertheless, among the Natchez, a peculiar cult had evolved in harmony with the unique social organization of the tribe. Naturally a great deal of this has been lost and much distorted by the chroniclers upon whom we have to depend, but the main outlines are plainly discernible. Above all other deities was one who was particularly present through the sun. According to du Pratz, the native name of this being was Coyocop-chill (*Koyokop shihl*), 'the great spirit,' and under him were a multitude of lesser spirits known as Coyocop-téchou (*koyokop teshu*), 'servant spirits.' The name 'great spirit' at once suggests a possibility of European influence in this conception, but, whether the name was truly aboriginal or not, the conception squares so perfectly with the Natchez social organization that there is little doubt that it is in the main genuine. The founder of the Sun family, according to native myth, had himself come from the sun with his wife, and had, like culture-heroes everywhere, brought civil order out of chaos and established the rites and usages of the Natchez nation as they were to be ever after. He also established the temple, and laid down regulations for its maintenance. From him were descended the family of the Suns, and hence it was that they enjoyed the privileges of the demi-gods which in theory they indeed were. This information is given us by du Pratz, but a letter of the missionary St. Cosme makes a most important addition to it. He writes:

'The chiefs were regarded as spirits descended from a kind of idol which they have in their temple and for which they have a great respect. It is a stone statue inclosed in a wooden box. They say that this is not properly the great spirit, but one of his relatives whom he formerly sent into this place to be the master of the earth; but this chief became so terrible that he made men die merely by his look; that in order to prevent it he had a cabin made for himself into which he entered and had himself changed into a stone statue for fear that his flesh would be corrupted in the earth.'

The temple was an oblong or square building in the head village of the Natchez, separated from the cabin of the Great Sun by an open plaza. The dimensions are given by Charlevoix as 40 by 20 ft., and by du Pratz as 30 ft. each way. The doorway faced east and upon the plaza, and on the roof were three wooden birds looking in the same direction. The southern third of the building was cut off from the rest by an inside partition and evidently contained the most sacred objects connected with Natchez worship. In the middle of the larger room burned a perpetual fire, which the guardians of the temple kept alive, on pain of death, by pushing three hickory logs progressively inwards as they were consumed. The fire smouldered rather than burned. Directly behind this fire was a raised platform about 4 ft. high, upon which the baskets carrying the bones of some of the Suns were laid. Elsewhere were other baskets used for the same purpose, and in addition there are said to have been baskets containing certain 'idols' or fetishes. A few carvings are noted by some travellers, among them one of a rattle-snake. In the inner sanctuary du Pratz could make out only two carved planks, but there

is every reason to believe that it was here that the stone statue was preserved into which the Natchez culture-hero had had himself transformed. Thus it was only natural that the temple should be treated with much the same obeisances and cries as were bestowed upon the Suns. This was done by each person who passed it. The firstfruits of the year were brought to it, and likewise the seed before it was planted. Presents made to the nation were offered here, displayed by the guardians of the temple to the spirits, and then carried to the Great Chief and by him distributed to the nation.

Besides the offerings to the temple, sacrifices of small bits of food were made to the four cardinal points by every Natchez before he would eat. On certain days they painted their faces black and fasted, and fasting was one of the ways by which a man became a shaman, and brought on rain, or accomplished other supernatural feats.

9. A theocratic State.—The Natchez State was thus to all intents and purposes a theocracy. The sun or a being associated with the sun was the supreme deity. From it had come the culture-hero who had established the Natchez organization. Of immortal nature, this culture-hero had not actually died, but had transformed himself into a stone statue, and was still present with his people in that form in the innermost recess of the temple. Near him, symbolic of his solar character, burned a perpetual fire, the fire below representing that which burned eternally above. And, finally, the Natchez State was still in the hands of and under the direction of the descendants of this founder, and they, being of divine origin, received homage almost like that of the deity himself.

10. Shamanism.—Control over the weather was supposed to be in the possession of certain old men who attempted to affect it by sympathetic magic. Those who claimed to be able to drive away the clouds were distinct from those who professed that they could cause rain, and both again were in most cases distinct from the real doctors, or medicine-men. The latter sometimes prescribed medicines, many of which were also known to the laity, but more often they grappled with the disease by means of fasting, dancing and singing about the sick man, smoking constantly, and making various contortions of the body. The missionary Le Petit says:

'They have a little basket in which they keep what they call their spirits; this is to say, small roots of different kinds, heads of owls, small parcels of hair of fallow deer, some teeth of animals, some small stones or pebbles, and other similar trifles.'

Like shamans among all the other southern tribes, they sometimes made cuts over the affected parts with a flint and pretended to suck out the disease, which then presented itself to the beholders as a piece of wood, a straw, a piece of leather, and the like.

11. Mythology.—Little of the ancient mythology of the Natchez is preserved, but we are told that they had a flood myth according to which all mankind were once destroyed by water except a very few who saved themselves by fleeing to the top of a mountain. All their fire had been extinguished, therefore the cardinal bird went to heaven and brought some new fire from there.

12. Eschatology.—Those Natchez who had lived well and in accordance with the tribal regulations looked forward to life after death in a beautiful country well stocked with game, while those who had not done so were supposed to be proportionally miserable. According to one writer, they believed in metempsychosis, but perhaps his statement was a result of the misunderstanding of some totemic idea.

LITERATURE.—L. N. Baudry de Lozières, *Voyage à la Louisiane et sur le continent de l'Amérique septentrionale fait dans les années 1794 à 1798*, Paris, 1802; N. Bossu, *Travels through that Part of N. America formerly called Louisiana*, Eng. tr., 2 vols., London, 1771; P. F. X. de Charlevoix, *Hist and General Descrip. of New France*, tr. J. G. Shea, 6 vols., New York, 1866–72; G. M. Butel-Dumont de Montigny, *Mémoires historiques sur la Louisiane*, 2 vols., Paris, 1753; B. F. French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, New York, 1846, 1850, 1851, 1853, 1869, 1875; Amédée Gosselin, 'Les Sauvages du Mississippi (1698–1708) d'après le correspondance des missionnaires des Missions Étrangères de Québec,' in *Compte rendu du Congrès International des Américanistes*, 15th session, Quebec, 1907, i. 31–51; B. de la Harpe, *Journal historique de l'établissement des Français à la Louisiane*, New Orleans, 1831; A. S. Le Page du Pratz, *Hist. de la Louisiane*, 3 vols., Paris, 1758; *Mémoire sur la Louisiane*, Luxembourg, 1752 (anonymous); P. Margry, *Découvertes et établissements des Français dans l'ouest et dans le sud de l'Amérique septentrionale (1614–1754)*, 6 vols., Paris, 1877–86; J. G. Shea, *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, New York, 1852, *Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi*, Albany, 1861; J. R. Swanton, *Bull 43*, *BE*, Washington, 1911; R. G. Thwaites, *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, 73 vols., Cleveland, 1897–1901.

JOHN R. SWANTON.

NATIONALITY.—Nationality is that quality or complex of qualities in a group of persons which combines them in a nation. The persons thus combined may have the quality in different degrees. This is shown by the ease with which some, as compared with others, are detached from the national group by the operation of other motives, such as self-interest, common human friendliness, and countervailing attachments of various sorts. This tenacity of the quality as motive may also be distinguished from its liveliness as idea and its fervour as sentiment, and these two, moreover, from one another. Ideality and emotionality mark, and indeed constitute, the self-conscious stage of the development of nationality. The quality of tenacity is grounded rather in the strong personal instincts of attachment and affinity out of which all consciousness of unity between persons grows. Nationality is a fact long before there is any talk of national ideals or national sentiment. But, with the development of the society and the persons concerned in it, this consciousness of unity in the group emerges, as part of growing self-consciousness in the individuals. There dawns the conception of a national self, whose interests more or less are identified with those of the individual self, and more or less ought to be set above them. This national self thus appears from the first as a double object of affection—loved as we love ourselves naturally, and to be loved even more fervently as a matter of duty morally. Thus national sentiment grips human nature by both hands. By the left hand it allies itself to self-interest, personal pride, and all the egoistic train, rejoicing the poor man by the common wealth, exalting the mean man by contemplation of the national glory. By the right hand it swings to higher levels the individual will—to the levels of disinterested affection, self-devotion, cheerful acceptance of social duty as the chief aim of individual life. The sense of nationality differs from person to person, not only in the degree of its tenacity, its ideality, and its emotional fervour, but even more, and more importantly, in respect of the relative strength of the selfish and the moral impulses in it.

These distinctions do not, however, exhaust its variety; nor do they sufficiently explain the host of occasions when it is with fair reason either praised or blamed. Every complex sentiment—or, to speak more precisely, every psychosis involving ideas, instincts, and sentiments—has as many variants as there are possible combinations of its factors in all their varieties and degrees. Variety especially attends the out-put of ideas and their preservation in the development of the psychosis. As the experiences of different national groups, and of different persons in each group, differ, so the type of nationality in the group, and the particular manifestation of it in the person, will differ correspondingly.

Varieties of history and circumstance supply one main clue to the varieties of nationality which characterize different nations. That the national type itself, whether based on racial or historical considerations, affects the variety of this element in it would also seem to admit of no doubt. Nationality can hardly feel quite the same in the lively atmosphere of an imaginative race as in quarters where wits move more slowly and ideas are more rare. Yet there is some risk of error in exaggerating these distinctions. The common characteristics of human nature, as shown by our mutual intelligibility, are great enough to overshadow the effect of these minor varieties in the composition of a property so universal as this.

One distinction stands out, however, as important for discussion here. This is the distinction already made between the moralizing and non-moralizing elements in the psychosis, and so between good, bad, and indifferent kinds of national sentiment. With the development of this distinction history and circumstance have much to do—so much, indeed, that it would almost be true to say that the character of the national sentiment can be inferred from consideration of the national circumstances, past and present. This is only an example of the general psychological truth that average human nature on the whole responds to the claims made upon it, adopts, or at least favours, the ideals set before it, and falls in with the sentiments prevailing in its company. Hence, when the nation is poor, oppressed, or in danger, the call upon the citizens for help, thrilling as it then is with evident reality, evokes a passion of self-sacrifice and devotion: we have nationality at its most picturesque and characteristic—almost at its best—concentrated upon the common resolve that the nation shall live. The elements here are all noble: the individual self of each citizen is strongly asserted, in disregard of the interest of self, for the preservation of the prime social good conceived as national existence. To the consideration of this end as a prime good we shall return presently. Assuming its goodness, we have in the total situation the supremely moral attitude of personal self-devotion for a good social end. Compare the case of a nation prosperous beyond all real need of more wealth, honour, or security. Nationality here has a part to play much less exacting, indeed, however it be played, but much more likely to be played ill. In the absence of any real claim on the citizens for the preservation of the State, national instinct may be dormant for the time. On the other hand, it may easily enough be roused, and, in the absence of high guiding ideals, it may naturally ally itself with its primitive associates, the military anti-foreign instincts. Sacrifices and efforts will then be demanded for the remedying of fancied ills, the strengthening of imaginary weak points, or the further increase of national honour, security, and wealth with their inevitable accompaniment, taken in this sense—the subjugation or humiliation of others. Instead of a defensive we have in the latter case an aggressive nationality; and simultaneously the spirit of self-devotion in the citizens is apt to be largely—not wholly—replaced by the desire of personal gain from the effect of the national operations. Thus the motives lose their purity of personal virtue at the same time that the national end becomes injurious internationally. History rings with the tale of nations to whom the beginning of the end came thus. The prosperous nation is not, however, bereft of good outlets for the national spirit of her citizens. No nation that the world has ever seen has been so prosperous as to need no labour of love within her boundaries for the improvement of the condition of her people. Prosperity has always been accompanied with abundance of individual poverty; ignorance, ill-health, and vice are always with us; the sum of knowledge is never complete; the national possibilities in art and literature are always unsatisfied; the ideals of the perfect life remain ever unfulfilled. Public spirit is the prime incentive to the fulfilment of these ends. The national sense under good guidance flows easily into such channels. A little reflexion shows that attention to all matters of internal development in a nation's life is of a piece with the patriot's stern defence of her in arms; it is another kind of national self-preservation, the maintenance of the body politic in health, by action of the strong parts upon the weak so that these also may live and serve. This is at once the development of civic virtue in each and the establishment of profound organic unity in the whole.

The spectacle, however, of the prosperous nation spending all its national spirit on the development of its citizens, noble as it is, does not satisfy fully. There is an analogy between the personality of persons and the nationality of nations. A person living alone might live rightly for self, but a very imperfectly developed personality would be the result—a moral and intellectual being starved for lack of its proper sphere of action. Human persons, as we know them, could not have come into existence without human society. So also nations could not have come into existence without contact with each other; the passion of mutual adherence in the members of a nation, *e.g.*, is the counterpart of a capacity for rivalry with, or even passionate hostility to, an opposing group. The nations by their commerce in peace and war have brought each other into active existence. They stand side by side as units distinct, possible foes, possible friends, much as the primitive men do; and, just as the elements of interpersonal virtue are in the latter situation, so are the elements of international virtue in the former. The personality of the man is shown in his dealings with other persons, as courteous or morose, frank or suspicious, just or unjust, false or true. The character of the man is determined in the estimation of his neighbours by these signs. There is much that is analogous to this in the relation of nations. And what analogy suggests direct thinking confirms; for it is certainly the fact (1) that a nation becomes what it is, and thus defines the character of its nationality, partly by action and reaction between it and others, and (2) that it is an object of national desire, in the mind of the patriot who is the organ of such desire, to bear a good character among the nations of the world for justice, faith, and even courtesy.

If so much be admitted, the shallow pretence, sometimes advanced in thoughtless sceptical mood, that nations have no morals, no conscience, falls to the ground. That there is such a thing as national honour will not be denied, nor will any reader of these pages be likely to argue that military honour[1] is the only meaning of the word. National honour is the preservation of national character in the eyes of the nations, and this end can be achieved only by a national existence in accordance with the character to be ascribed. So far, therefore, as the desired character goes, nations have morals and certainly have consciences. How far it goes is, however, another question. The development certainly is not complete throughout the international community.

None the less the ideal of national virtue internationally manifested, as something more than a mere character for courage and treaty-faith, has always had a strong hold on patriotic minds; and sometimes it has played a prominent part in the

[1] This idea corresponds to the dueller's obsolete notion of personal honour, which, however, long co-existed with the true idea of honourable character that finally absorbed it.

history of the nations. In the development of this ideal consists the second part of the higher patriotism—that part, indeed, which more particularly marks it as patriotism rather than as pure humanitarianism. Under this lead the public spirit of the good citizen—his nationality—makes efforts and sacrifices for a double end: (1) to promote the welfare and virtue of his State by reform of institutions and development of persons within its borders, and (2) to promote the development of the higher nationality by using his influence to make his State internationally beneficent as occasion occurs.

The latter, it should be noted, is an object for the achievement of which a vigilant intelligence is as necessary as a vigorous good-will. Otherwise evil is apt to be done under the pretext of good—a thing which other nations call hypocrisy; it is not the same as individual hypocrisy, since the men who achieve the evil are not generally the same as those who proclaim the good as the national aim. At this stage of prosperous national existence, indeed, when international beneficence emerges more distinctly as an end, a mingling of humility with sharp self-criticism is needed to keep patriotic virtue pure. In dealings with other nations, the haughtiness of professed virtue without sympathy is, of course, the most hateful of national vices. And this leads reflexion to the core of the matter of international morality. Good-fellowship between nations, as between persons, depends only in part on the *intention* to act beneficently. Sympathy and respect for others are of its prime essence. The strong nation intending beneficence, as well as good faith and honour, fails to achieve and perhaps finally ceases to desire that end, if it be deficient in national fellow-feeling.

There is no room for doubt that distinction of nationality is a present political fact of weighty significance to be reckoned with in problems of human intercourse. It is a first duty of the political philosopher, and of the politician as such, to understand this strong motive force in nations. Nor is it less the business of the moralist and teacher to understand its action in the development of personal character, the uses, and more especially the abuses, to which it can be put, according to the ideals under which it is stimulated. A prior question, however, may be raised, as to the ultimate reasonableness of the national sense and its morality in relation to the ideal of universal human brotherhood. Admitting that national sense is a reality to be reckoned with in politics and utilized in ethics, it may still be urged that it ought to be transcended as civilization progresses, and that the higher forces of reason and humanity ought to be enlisted against its further development.

The consideration of this point requires a careful analysis of the ideal which the national sense subserves. What is it in the commonwealth of the world that the nationality of nations makes for? This, whatever it may be, is the ultimate ideal of nationality, though between the national ideas of different nations distinctions appear, according to the development of the ideal in them and according to the idiosyncrasies of race and circumstance which colour its application. These idiosyncrasies pertain in truth to the national type, and so are to be viewed as associated with rather than as qualifying the national ideal.

Human society originates in a multiplicity of communities. Each community is a group of persons united by ties of blood, traditions of common interest, habits of common action, a common language, and, most of all, mutual intelligibility. The members of such a group instinctively hang together, connected by a many-stranded bond of affections and affinities. The alien appears to them as alien because his interests and habits seem to be different, so that, even apart from difference of language, they feel incapable of imagining what he thinks or would be at. Hence we have the primitive suspicion and the civilized distaste for the typical alien as unintelligible. The persons most free from this bias are those of penetrating sympathetic insight; and, when this fraternizing tendency marks the racial type, aliens are easily absorbed into the group. Errant members, on the other hand, lend themselves to absorption elsewhere in so far as they are apt to make themselves intelligible in the universal human sense. For common human nature is in fact much the largest part of the human nature of the average member of every group.

With the inevitable conflicts that arise between the groups, these higher errant tendencies, as well as others less respectable, provoke a reaction. Desertion to other groups becomes a crime, and the idea of loyalty to the home group as a necessary virtue transforms the group of kindred into a tribe or infant nation. We need not dwell on the use of the chief or king and of the tribal deities in this development. In actual history it is associated for the most part with international struggles in some form. The sense of nationality thus developed is, therefore, at least in its primitive form, a compound of social and anti-social elements. That this primitive character is apt to survive in more settled circumstances when no longer called for we know from our every-day experience of the anti-French, anti-German, anti-Russian, and other destructive elements which intertwine themselves from time to time with British loyalty. That is what may be expected from the origin of the virtue. It has grown, as a matter of fact, from acts of hostility as well as from instincts of faithful affection; and it is only by the further development of its social side together with general humanitarian instinct that it can be purified and preserved. On its positive social side, however, it acts on the primitive as on every society to weld a group of kindred into a band of comrades, resolute to preserve their unity by loyalty to the band. This is political union and the beginning of conscious nationality.

As human life develops, the common consciousness of each nation grows in interest and complexity. Every event in national history, every achievement in national literature, every reform in the national institutions, the customs, traditions, ways of thought, manners, even mannerisms—all contribute to the sense of national unity. The citizen from his youth up learns to love all the dear familiar things that mark the common life, learns also to be proud of and rejoice in them as in some peculiar sense his own. Nor is it by the merit of his country only that he is possessed. The history, the literature, the glory of his nation, the suffering also, even the shame and the crime, affect him as of his inmost life. This is so less or more, no doubt, but his nationality has reached its developed consciousness in so far as it is so. Such a citizen has passed the instinctive stage in which men of common blood, habits, and interests hang together; he has passed also the merely political stage in which they band themselves together of deliberate intent and under pledge of mutual faith. He has reached a further stage, the national stage proper, in which he is conscious of the national type as his, to be guarded, cherished, and developed by him at all costs and as a precious privilege. This stage is marked by concentration of attention on the end which has been subserved indirectly in the earlier stages, *i.e.* on the development and

preservation of human types. These are types of persons and types of societies.

The loyal citizen of the developed kind, possessed by a full sense of nationality, conceives the national type as a kind of person and also as a kind of society of such persons. Many of the real persons and much of the real society he may perceive to be at present quite different. His ideal is likely, indeed, to surpass the reality, as otherwise there would be nothing to do or desire, no progress possible, development at an end, no action called for except that of defence in case of need. No nation has ever yet reached such a stage, although some have stagnated—and most of these have decayed — because they acted as if they had reached it. To our loyal citizen, however, we may ascribe more sense of fact. It will be natural, therefore, that he shall find much fault with persons and institutions as they are. This is inevitable if he is earnest about realizing the national type as the best, and is, at the same time, no blind idealist to substitute imagining of what ought to be for faithful perceiving of what is. The blind idealist is a danger to the national development second only to the contented realist who desires no improvement.

It may be instructive briefly to compare the nationalist and imperialist ideals, treating both as ideals with a view to the end which they imply. Merely nationalistic imperialism, the motives of which are territorial aggrandizement, political supremacy, and monopoly of the world's industrial resources, does not enter into this comparison. The latter is but an extreme development of the crude mediæval nationalism centred in the constant endeavour to get the better of others in the division of material advantage. From time to time the world suffers an outburst of this crude spirit in some strong nation not come sufficiently to consciousness of the higher nationality. To other nations it is a menace: they are thrown back on their instincts of material defence, internal progress everywhere being retarded for the time. The imperialist ideal is not, however, this tearing national selfishness, though it may be invoked to make the latter seem more humane.

A great nation, like Britain, France, or Germany, conscious of its own national type as good, may well give rise within its borders to the idea of benefiting the world by imposing that type on all whom it can reach. In a sense and up to a certain point, great nations do this in respect of alien immigrants who become naturalized within them, though, if these be numerous, homogeneous, and of marked racial type, it may become an anxious question whether the cherished national type may not itself be modified by them. The United States offer on the whole the most striking example of successful absorption of strangers on a large scale.

It is another matter when an attempt is made to impose the national ideal on other peoples from without. The Roman empire, with its genuine extension of Roman citizenship to the provincials, is an example of success in this attempt. Yet in the end it was a double failure. The Roman type was in the long run blurred, though an ample heritage, no doubt, of ideas and institutions remained. The native development of the nations that became provinces was arrested and their self-reliance for the time being destroyed. So they too went down before the fresh barbarian, and their type also suffered eclipse. Thus the world lost what it might have had—a Latin Italy and a Celtic Gaul.

Let us view the matter, however, from the modern standpoint. The attempt could not, of course, be made with respect to another nation existing as such, except in the absence of any regard to the other nation's national sentiment as a political and moral force. It would not be possible for any of the great nations to absorb a small European nation on any credible pretext except that of national self-interest. The world as it is now, therefore, can only for the most part supply material so diverse racially from that of the great nations that subjugation in some form—not absorption by real development—is the only possible result. A few apparent exceptions, mostly rather far-fetched, suggest themselves, the most striking being that of the S. American Republics, all or any of which might conceivably be merged in the United States. But it is obvious that this result, whether achieved by consent or by force, could be maintained only by self-government on the plan of the United States; and under self-government the S. American would not become N. American at all: the difference of type would remain, whatever might be said in favour of such a powerful political alliance otherwise. The case of the British and the Boers is a real case, and of great real interest, though the scale is small. Will the Boers take on the British type and identify themselves in course of time with the British nation? Or will they, on the contrary, absorb the British colonial who really does settle, and develop an Africander national ideal under the British flag? The nearness of race and fundamental identity of religion facilitate equally both results. The causes of divergence are historical, and self-government neutralizes their effect.

It should be noted that identity of flag by no means argues unity of nation. The most serviceable idea of an empire would seem to be that of a group of self-governing States under one central government for a small number of purposes, primarily that of defence and treaty-making. The degree of self-government may be greater or less, and, even without political independence, nationality in the higher sense remains unshaken so long as the members of the group feel that they are a separate nation and work to maintain and develop their own national type. The dual State of Austria-Hungary furnishes a striking historical instance. The four nations of Great Britain and Ireland also defy all attempts to ignore their individuality; each in its own way asserts its own distinctive traits, of language, history, literature, and personality; each claims more or less successfully some separateness of treatment relative to difference of ideals and needs; each demands its own birthright of being and becoming what it is and believes it is meant to be. But the greatest and most noted example is the British empire as a whole, constituted as a union of self-governing States scattered round the world.

The case of the Jews is unique and should be mentioned apart. It is that of a nation strong, capable, strictly cohesive, with no political aspirations, relying exclusively on the bonds of race, history, literature, and religious customs.

LITERATURE.—The theory of the subject is treated briefly in J. S. Mill, *Considerations on Representative Government*, London, 1861, ch. xvi.; H. S. Maine, *Lectures on the Early Hist. of Institutions*, do. 1875, ch. iii.; E. Renan, 'What is a Nation?', in *The Poetry of the Celtic Races and other Studies*, Eng. tr., do. 1896; W. Bagehot, *Physics and Politics*[8], do. 1887, chs. ii. and iii. For concrete illustration reference may be made to G. Mazzini, *Life and Writings*, new ed., London, 1890–91, esp. i. (see 'Unity of Italy,' pp. 267–309), iii. (see pp. 1–40), v. (see 'Royalty and Republicanism in Italy,' and 'The Holy Alliances of the Peoples'), also *Essays*, Camelot Series, London, n.d. (essays i. and ii. deserve notice). Still more immersed in the concrete is the interest which attaches to T. Davis, *Essays*, Dundalk, 1914, and to Mrs. J. R. Green, *Irish Nationality* (Home University Library), London, 1911. More recent books are R. B. H. Haldane, *Higher Nationality*, London, 1913; E. Zepallos, *La Nationalité*, do. 1914; A. J. Toynbee, *Nationality and the War*, London and Toronto, 1915, *The New Europe*, do. 1915.

SOPHIE BRYANT.

NATURALISM.—**1. Definition.**—The words 'nature' and 'natural' are used in a bewildering variety of senses. Nearly every school of ethics might claim that in some sense it expounded and exalted the maxim, 'Live according to nature.' In particular, this maxim is a convenient enough summary of the ethical theories advanced by Sophists, Stoics, Butler, and Spencer respectively—to mention no others. But in each of those cases the same maxim is very differently understood. So with the adjective 'natural.' To know what it means in the phrase 'a natural law' is no help towards understanding its significance in either 'the natural son' or 'the natural consequence.' 'Be natural' is excellent advice, but by 'the natural man' we may mean with St. Paul the unregenerate. Similarly, 'naturalism' may be used in different senses. The particular meaning varies with what we oppose it to. Another complication is that the 'naturalist' is not necessarily an adherent of naturalism. The former term has now acquired a very specific meaning; it connotes one who pursues a certain branch of study, not one who holds a theory which can be called 'naturalism.' For one who holds by naturalism there is no one-word term in the English language. The word 'naturalism' was fairly often used in the 17th cent. as descriptive of a certain type of theory, but fell into disuse, and within the last quarter of a century has been revived (cf. Ward, *Naturalism and Agnosticism*, p. 20). We need not mention all the vagaries in its usage. In its revived and modern acceptation it means a certain type of *Weltanschauung* which has had its upholders ever since the first rise of philosophy. It includes all types of theory which rule or try to rule out of consideration whatever is called 'supernatural' or 'spiritual' or transcendent of experience. It attempts to transcend materialism (*q.v.*). It is not easily distinguished from positivism (*q.v.*).

2. Historical survey.—To write the history of naturalism in any detail would be to transcribe many pages from the history of philosophy. Here we shall merely indicate its broad features. Naturalism has always appeared at times when the scientific spirit has awakened. It has always been the outcome of enthusiasm for science. It has always been due to an exaggerated appreciation of science and scientific method, which has been oblivious of the limitations of science and uncritical of its presuppositions.

In ancient Greece the scientific spirit arose in opposition to the popular, naive, mythological, or theological explanations of phenomena. It aimed at giving a reasonable view of the world of nature by discovering and setting forth certain simple and intelligible principles or laws from which the whole complex of phenomena might be deduced. Various philosophers—*e.g.*, the Sophists, Leucippus, Democritus, Epicurus—developed a naturalism which was either atheistic and materialistic or ignored all supernatural and spiritual elements. Nature in their view was self-contained and self-explanatory. Postulating only atoms in motion, the philosopher could explain all phenomena. The soul of man was only rarefied matter.

In mediæval times the reign of ecclesiastical authority was so absolute, and interest in natural phenomena so small—the scientific spirit, so far as it was awake, limiting itself almost exclusively to the defining and marshalling in logical order of dogmas—that it can scarcely be said that naturalism found any articulate expression.

Only with the revolt against authority and with the development of re-awakened interest in nature which led to the birth of modern science do we find once more a bold and thoroughgoing naturalism. In the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries naturalism on the whole was frankly materialistic and in many cases atheistic, though in some instances enthusiasm for nature led to a poetical and emotional pantheism. The naturalistic position of this period may not unfitly be summarized in the words of the famous sentence with which Hume closes his *Enquiry concerning Human Understanding*:

'If we take in our hand any volume; of divinity or school metaphysics, for instance; let us ask, Does it contain any abstract reasoning concerning quantity or number? No. Does it contain any experimental reasoning concerning matter of fact and existence? No. Commit it then to the flames: For it can contain nothing but sophistry and illusion.'

The Darwinian theory of evolution gave naturalism a powerful fresh impetus. In conjunction with the nebular hypothesis it seemed to explain fully man and the world in which he finds himself. All phenomena connected with them could be brought under the categories of natural science, tabulated and classified. Yet modern naturalism is in a sense not so intolerant of the 'supernatural' as the older was. The older was dogmatic in its denial of the spiritual and dogmatic in its affirmation of matter as the absolute reality. The modern is in alliance with agnosticism, and studiously calls attention to the fact that it neither affirms nor denies anything 'supernatural'; it is simply not concerned with it. Whether this is a consistent and reasonable attitude is, of course, a debatable point. Again, modern naturalism appears anxious to avoid the charge of materialism, which it professes to transcend. Matter and spirit, it points out, are only abstract conceptions, not substantial realities. We know, and are concerned with, only material phenomena and psychical phenomena.

'The fundamental doctrines of materialism, like those of spiritualism and most other "isms," lie outside the limits of philosophical enquiry. . . . In itself it is of little moment whether we express the phænomena of matter in terms of spirit, or the phænomena of spirit in terms of matter: matter may be regarded as a form of thought, thought may be regarded as a property of matter—each statement has a certain relative truth' (T. H. Huxley, *Collected Essays*, London, 1893–94, i. 162, 164).

The attempt is thus made to make naturalism a neutral monism neither materialistic nor spiritualistic. Whether it is really neutral we must consider below.

3. The doctrines of naturalism.—Naturalism is older than science, as we understand science, but it is not older than the scientific spirit. Throughout its long history its essential character has not varied. Only the rise of modern science made it surer of itself—more complete and imposing as a system. Its aim has always been the laudable one of explaining all phenomena in the simplest, most intelligible fashion, of reducing the complex to simple terms, and of exhibiting all things rising in accordance with some universal principle or law to whatever degree of complexity they may manifest. It sets out to explain everything on the lowest terms, with the fewest possible postulates of agencies required for their production. Its rule is 'Principia non sunt multiplicanda.' This, we may say, is the first characteristic of naturalism—its 'reduction' of the complex to the simple, its 'explanation' of the higher in terms of the lower. It has made an ambitious attempt to carry this out completely, and is persuaded that it has succeeded. Psychological phenomena may be explained in terms of physiology, physiological in terms of chemistry, chemical in terms of physics, the physical all in terms of matter and motion. That is the ultimate basis to which all things may be reduced; all phenomena, no matter what their complexity, are simply phenomena exhibited by matter in motion.

Next, naturalism holds that the complex arises from the simple by a process of evolution. At no stage has any outside, transcendent agency or power been involved. In the whirling atoms of

the primal fire-mist lay all the promise and potency of the development that was to come, alike the light of setting suns and the thoughts that should find it glorious. The whole development and differentiation of the simple into the complex came 'of itself.' Any stage of world-development arises exclusively from, and is conditioned by nothing except, the stage that immediately precedes it. Any phenomenon is fully explained when what preceded it has been discovered. This scientific 'cause' is the only kind of cause with which naturalism will have anything to do. Everything comes necessarily out of what goes before it. Because of what precedes, it is what it is, and could not be anything else. There are no final causes. It is our sole concern to discover the causes of things, not their *reasons*. Thus naturalism takes a strictly mechanical view of the world of nature. But what of consciousness and self-consciousness? What of will, choice, and moral judgment? In the whole range of phenomena these occupy but a small part, but it is the most important part of all. In these questions we have the real storm-centre of the naturalistic position, and the point that calls for closest attention. Naturalism is usually willing to admit that it cannot bridge the gulf between the physical and the psychical, that in spite of its best efforts at explanation something of a riddle remains. But its faith in the primacy of the physical remains unshaken; it is inclined to hint that, if only our knowledge were more perfect than it is, we should see that no gulf existed, that the continuity of all phenomena whatsoever was unbroken. In the present imperfect state of our science, naturalism lays great weight on the theory of *psycho-physical parallelism*. Every psychosis has its neurosis. Every psychical phenomenon has its counterpart in some corporeal process. To maintain its view that every physical change is sufficiently accounted for by the physical state that preceded, naturalism concludes that the psychical is but an epiphenomenon with no real determining influence upon the physical. As the shadow reproduces the changes of the real object, so is the psychic process a shadow of the physical. The more psychology is 'associationist' and 'sensationist,' the better can the strict correspondence of psychical and physical, and the dependence of the former on the latter, be exhibited. To identify the two classes of phenomena is not possible; hence naturalism must conclude that it is simplest to assume some unknown unity connecting the two. Both are aspects of one and the same fact. But vital and psychical are secondary. They are determined by cosmical mechanism; it is not affected by them.

'The spiritual becomes the "epiphenomenal," a merely incidental phosphorescence, so to say, that regularly accompanies physical processes of a certain type and complexity' (J. Ward, art. 'Naturalism,' *EBr*[9] xxxv. 88).

It follows that there is no such thing as the autonomy of spirit, no freedom of the will, no spontaneity to be attributed to reason. Reason in some obscure way is the product of Nature. Nature has somehow come to self-consciousness in man. In the mind of man Nature has polished for herself a mirror in which her phenomena are reflected, and she is busy improving her mirror so that a clearer reflexion is gradually being attained (cf. Ward, *Naturalism and Agnosticism*, i. 22). The adherent of naturalism, indeed, cannot deny some activity to reason, but its activity is narrowly circumscribed. Its great function is to receive sense-impressions; thereafter it may be as active as it can, in associating and comparing them, though even in associating them it is bound by laws which can be perceived to have the same rigour and constancy as any natural law.

According to naturalism, 'man is essentially a sensitive subject, though able to reason about his sensations—that is, to associate, compound, and compare them. He is supposed to be built up of sense-perceptions associated with feelings of pleasure and pain. Recipient of external impressions which persist in idea and are accompanied by pleasure or pain on his part, and thus followed by other ideas and impressions, man's mental constitution is explained without attributing to reason any spontaneous or productive function' (Sorley, *Ethics of Naturalism*, p. 16*f.*).

Hence naturalism adopts with enthusiasm the positivist view. All our knowledge is of phenomena; we have no concern with anything but phenomena, and they are to be investigated according to the methods which science has perfected. Apart from the natural sciences we have no knowledge in the real sense. If they were only so advanced as to be able to give us a perfect view of all the phenomena of nature and all their interrelations at any moment, in their light we could forecast accurately the whole future world-development. To a being provided with a perfect science the hairs of all heads would be numbered, and not a sparrow could fall to the ground without his knowledge (see E. du Bois-Reymond, *Ueber die Grenzen des Naturerkennens*, Leipzig, 1884, p. 6, quoted with similar statements in Ward, *Naturalism and Agnosticism*, i. 41). Metaphysical inquiries as to entities such as 'matter,' 'spirit,' and 'God' are all needless and profitless. All that is usually known as philosophy is to be discarded.

'Philosophy itself, in all its highest speculations, is but a more or less ingenious playing upon words. From Thales to Hegel, verbal distinctions have always formed the ground of Philosophy, and must ever do so as long as we attempt to penetrate the essence of things' (G. H. Lewes, *Hist. of Philosophy*[3], London, 1867, ii. 547).

The true philosophy has at last been discovered. It is science.

'A new era has dawned. For the first time in history an Explanation of the world, society, and man, is presented which is thoroughly homogeneous, and at the same time thoroughly in accordance with accurate knowledge: having the reach of an all-embracing System, it condenses human knowledge into a Doctrine, and co-ordinates all the methods by which that knowledge has been reached, and will in future be extended. . . . Its basis is Science. . . . Its superstructure is the hierarchy of the sciences—*i.e.* that distribution and co-ordination of general truths which transforms the scattered and independent sciences into an organic whole wherein each part depends on all that precede, and determines all that succeed' (*ib.* ii. 590).

4. Criticism.—The primary *motif* of naturalism is altogether praiseworthy. It vindicates the rights of reason to inquire into phenomena and search for an explanation of them. It reprobates a lazy 'supernaturalism' which lays fetters on the spirit of inquiry, and declines the drudgery of trying to understand the world in which man finds himself by saying, 'All things are as they are by the will of God, whose ways are past finding out.' Yet in its fully developed form naturalism results in the denial to reason of its rights, and imprisons man in a dreary enough fatalism. It is all the more difficult to criticize naturalism because many of its exponents, and these the most popular, do not adhere consistently to a scientific precision of language in setting forth their views. They often seem to bring back with one hand what they have put away with the other. In speaking of 'nature,' *e.g.*, they sometimes represent it quite anthropomorphically (cf. Otto, *Naturalism and Religion*, p. 24 ff.). It is to be wished that they who would reduce all things to mechanics would adopt uniformly a machine-like precision of expression, avoiding poetical imagery which, if interpreted literally, would confute naturalism, and, whichever way taken, is apt to be misleading.

We cannot here criticize naturalism in the fullness of detail required to confute it. We must refer the reader to such books as Ward's *Naturalism and Agnosticism*, Otto's *Naturalism and Religion*, and the numerous answers to Haeckel's works. We must be satisfied with indicating the main points in which naturalism is vulnerable.

First let us ask, Is naturalism really the neutral monism that it professes to be? Does it in any real sense transcend materialism? In the essay 'On the Physical Basis of Life,' from which we quoted above, Huxley says (*Collected Essays*, i. 159, 164):

'Any one who is acquainted with the history of science will admit that its progress has, in all ages, meant, and now more than ever means, the extension of the province of what we call matter and causation, and the concomitant banishment from all regions of human thought of what we call spirit and spontaneity. . . . As surely as every future grows out of past and present, so will the physiology of the future gradually extend the realm of matter and law until it is co-extensive with knowledge, with feeling, and with action. . . . There can be little doubt, that the further science advances, the more extensively and consistently will all the phænomena of Nature be represented by materialistic formulæ and symbols.'

It is not obvious in what way a materialist would desire to modify this statement. He might conceivably say that that was exactly what he meant by materialism. The fact seems to be that, while the name 'materialism' is repudiated, and some theories of the older materialists are discarded, just as some old hypotheses of natural science have been discarded, naturalism as a *Weltanschauung* is in no essential way distinguishable from materialism.

The most important points, however, to which attention must be directed are: (1) the view which naturalism takes of consciousness and will; (2) its denial of, or refusal to consider, teleology; (3) the rejection of metaphysics.

(1) As we have seen, naturalism regards consciousness as epiphenomenal and the freedom of the will as a delusion. All our knowledge is of phenomena, and over the course of phenomena the spirit can exercise no control. It is not difficult to see that, if we carry this out strictly, we land in absurdity. If the theory is to be consistent or mean anything, it must hold that all the sequence of physical processes can be explained from itself. Everything is the necessary, inevitable result of the physical phenomena that preceded. Shakespeare's dramas, theories of naturalism, and their refutation are all simply the necessary outcome of the world-process, and as phenomena can be explained, with all the explanation about which we need to inquire, without assigning any real effective rôle to consciousness (cf. Otto, p. 346 f.).

'We know only phenomena'; but what is meant by a phenomenon? It is a question of the utmost importance, and it is safe to say that naturalism pays little, if any, heed to it. It takes for granted the uncritical 'realism' of 'the plain man,' according to which in sense-perception (which is the foundation of all knowledge of nature) we have mirrored in the mind an image exactly corresponding to a real object external to us. Naturalism takes an external world for granted, and the phenomena in which it is most interested are the objects and the happenings in this external world, of which knowledge is gained in sense-perception. It forgets the simple truth that, strictly speaking, we can know nothing but facts of consciousness; that an external world is an inference, the truth of which cannot be 'scientifically' proved; that sense-perception is not a simple ultimate thing, and that what we perceive is certainly not what science shows to be the physical phenomenon which results in perception, but an interpretation of, or an inference from, it. We perceive, *e.g.*, a tree, but the physical phenomena which precede are (*a*) ether waves striking the retina, (*b*) nerve-vibrations. It turns out, then, that what we are really in immediate relationship with is not 'phenomena,' but what naturalism regards as secondary and almost negligible, 'epiphenomena.' After all, consciousness must be allowed a very real importance, for the only world of nature that we can examine is the world as it exists in consciousness. That is the only world that we know, and the statement that all things would be what they are, were there no consciousness, is manifest nonsense.

Once again, let us consider science. Its greatest glory admittedly lies in its marvellous generalizations, its far-reaching inductions. If science is to confine itself strictly to the study of phenomena, what justification can be found for any of its laws and inductions? What right has it to make a statement about 'all bodies' until it has examined all? None, save what can be provided by 'epiphenomenal' reason.

Nor must it be forgotten that science deals in abstractions and ideals. Each particular science deals only with one aspect of phenomena; no one science nor all the sciences together can exhaust all the concrete fullness of any object that they investigate. Even the sciences that are almost purely descriptive describe an ideal which includes all that the members of the class have in common, but leaves out points in which particular individuals of the class may differ. It describes, *e.g.*, the lion, but to the description no particular lion may in all respects conform, so that all that may be said of it is included in the description. The lion described by zoology is, in fact, an abstraction, an ideal. But abstractions and ideals belong to the 'epiphenomenal.' Hence from many points of view we perceive the vast and primary importance of the despised 'spiritual.'

With regard now to the autonomy of spirit, it may suffice to say, we have seen that facts of consciousness are the fundamental realities with which we have to deal, and every one will admit that it is a fact of his consciousness that at his will he can produce changes on phenomena—that he has a real power of self-determination, and that only so can moral distinctions have any meaning.

(2) Naturalism denies or at least ignores teleology. It limits itself to the search for causes; it takes no account of reasons. If it did not insinuate that there are no reasons and that to ask what is the purpose, the meaning, of phenomena is foolish and altogether unnecessary, we should have no quarrel with it on that account. But its view is that a phenomenon is completely explained when we have analyzed it into its component parts, reduced it to its simplest terms, and shown how it came to be what it is. Now, when we have analyzed a thing into its components and shown how they came together, we have not really 'explained' it at all. We have explained its make; we have not explained itself. We have described it—nothing more. Except in pure mathematics a whole is greater than the sum of its parts, and the wholeness of the whole is not explained by enumerating its parts. It is evident that there are many phenomena which are in any sense 'explained' only from a teleological point of view, and that in their case the question, What is it for? or, Why is it as it is? is of more interest and value for its explanation than the query, How was it produced? or, How did it come to be what we find it? The only satisfying explanation of a piece of machinery is an account of what it is for—what it is meant to do. In comparison with that, the question, What is it made of? or, How was it made? is of secondary importance. So with human actions generally. We may surely ask, Why did he do it? as legitimately as, How did he do it? That within a certain range final causes are operative is fact of consciousness. Naturalism has no right to forbid the inquiry as to whether they are operative everywhere, and must form an important part of the explanation of the world-process. We are not concerned here to show that nature exhibits purposiveness. Our business is only to vindicate the

legitimacy and importance of such an inquiry. Naturalism may confine itself to a mere description of the course of nature if it chooses. We insist that it shall be left open to others, if they choose, to try to satisfy the human craving for no mere description, but explanation. And for explanation the teleological point of view is indispensable.

(3) As to the rejection of metaphysics and the proposed shelving of philosophy in favour of science, we must refer the reader to the art. POSITIVISM. Suffice it here to say that science suggests questions of perennial interest and great importance which it itself has no means of answering, and that the idea that science is the true philosophy is entirely unscientific, inasmuch as, while there are many particular sciences, there is no such thing as a science which might co-ordinate them so as to produce that superstructure described by Lewes (see above).

LITERATURE. — J. Ward, *Naturalism and Agnosticism*, London, 1899; R. Otto, *Naturalism and Religion*, Eng. tr., do. 1907; W. R. Sorley, *On the Ethics of Naturalism*, Edinburgh, 1885; A. J. Balfour, *The Foundations of Belief*[8], London, 1901, *Theism and Humanism*, do. 1915; R. Eucken, *Life's Basis and Life's Ideal*[2], Eng. tr., do. 1912; H. Bergson, *Creative Evolution*, Eng. tr., do. 1911. W. D. NIVEN.

NATURAL LAW.[1]**—1. Different kinds of scientific laws, and their nature.** — The term 'law' is used in the natural sciences to denote propositions of very various degrees of generality and abstractness. The simplest, or crudest, type of law is the statement of approximate uniformities of co-existence or of sequence observed to obtain between phenomena of much the same degree of concreteness and of conceptual elaboration as those which form the objects of unscientific knowledge. Laws of this type which refer to uniformities of co-existence are but expressions of the elements common to a class of phenomena which are at the same time more or less similar and more or less various. 'A law is nothing more than a docket into which we collect phenomena which have something in common' (A. Hill, *Introd. to Science*, London, 1900, p. 15); it states that the character which such phenomena have in common belongs to them all. Such laws express the results of comparison and elementary classification. Those of the same type which refer to uniformities of sequence are also formulæ in which multitudinous phenomena are stripped of their variety, and are reduced to unity, or more or less to identity; but they originate from generalizations of facts among which succession and connexion in time are an important consideration. Observation establishes, for instance, that this and that metal plate, when beaten with this or that rod, grows warm; and, when these particular facts are generalized into 'Concussion produces heat,' we have a simple, approximate or inexact, empirical law, which is but a general concept embracing similarly recurring processes, comparable with the class-concept, such as that of 'mammal.' 'Laws of Nature are nothing but generic concepts for the changes of Nature' (H. von Helmholtz, *Physiol. Optik*, Leipzig, 1866–67, p. 454).

The establishment of such laws as these, however, which are all of the form 'So far as we have observed, A is related to B,' marks but the earliest stage of a science. As science develops, the directly observed phenomenon, or the 'brute fact,' is itself resolved into co-existences and successions; and so the relations expressed by the 'brute law' are transformed into more complex relations between simpler phenomena. If laws of the first type are rough inductions, purely empirical and contingent, they are often afterwards shown to be deducible, as particular cases, from more general or higher laws. As science proceeds towards its goal, the 'Nature' with which it deals becomes more and more abstract, because it is further conceptually elaborated; and the results of this procedure are visible in the higher laws with which science, at its middle stage, is mostly concerned. Thus Boyle's or Mariotte's law, that the volume of a gas at constant temperature varies inversely as the pressure upon it, introduces the notions of pressure, temperature, and mass, which are not matters of direct sense-experience in any empirical observation of the behaviour of gases. These are rather symbols, and the application of them to concrete phenomena presupposes the adoption of scientific theories. Moreover, it cannot be said of symbols that they are 'true' or 'false'; they can only be more or less suitable or convenient for a given purpose. Symbolism, in fact, as well as induction, enters into the higher laws of science. Thus Newton's law of gravitation not only presupposes more elaborate classification and generalization than does any law of the simpler kind described above; it differs further in being more conceptual, in introducing the idea of mutual acceleration, which is of the nature of a symbol, and in inventively associating this idea with the concrete phenomena; instead of being a mere induction from Kepler's laws, it is rather a symbolization of them, involving the confident adoption of the laws and hypotheses of dynamics.

H. Poincaré (*La Valeur de la science*[2], Paris, 1909, p. 238 ff.) maintains that empirical laws can often be resolved into two components: (1) a definition or convention, neither true nor false, but convenient, which can never be verified or refuted by experience, and (2) an empirical law rendering the prediction of brute facts possible. The latter component is always capable of revision in the light of further discoveries, and the former is erected into a 'principle,' which is of merely economic value. The symbolic, or descriptive and conceptual, element thus introduced into the higher laws of science is generally too simple for the complete representation of actuality; hence it is frequently found that there are circumstances in which laws do not hold. Symbols used by science are, indeed, sometimes avowedly fictitious, and laws are in some cases rendered applicable to phenomena only when quite unverifiable assumptions are adopted. Laws of a very high degree of generality, such as the principle of the parallelogram of forces, are sometimes asserted by high authorities not to be geometrically derivable, but to be based on an appeal to experience; but, of course, verifiability in experience can never be more than approximate. To pass from such inevitable approximateness to absolute exactness involves the invocation of a principle—the simplicity of Nature—which, again, cannot be derived experimentally, but must be assumed for convenience' sake.

The approximateness of every experimental law has, indeed, been pressed by some physicists, especially of the French school, into a proof of their provisional, arbitrary, and conventional nature. So far as experimental observation, with its limitations of accuracy, goes, we rather establish an indefinite number of quantitative laws, all slightly different; and it is urged that the selection of one among these—the simplest—is a mere artifice. But too much can easily be made of this approximateness of observation. Certainly it affords no proof of the inexactness, but only room for theoretic doubt, at best, of the exactness, of quantitative laws; and, on the other hand, if Nature herself were always 'tending towards accuracy' rather

[1] See also the short introduction under the title LAW (Natural), with the special application to psychology, sociology, economics, and history.

than exactly determined, it is a question whether some deviations from the mean of precise measurements would not, on such a supposition, be wider than they actually are, so that Nature's lack of success in her attempts at exactitude would reveal itself.

It has been pointed out that the higher, *i.e.* the more general and abstract, and quantitative laws of science presuppose theories, and that the introduction of symbolic elements is essential for the application of mathematics to physics. It may be further remarked that laws and general theories are alike presupposed in all quantitative measurement—or at least whenever measurement of time (the conceptual absolute time of physics) is concerned.

2. **The derivation of physical laws; the validity of the belief in universal law.**—With respect to the way in which we come to know laws, it will be obvious that they are not among the data of science or on the same level as observed facts. This is not so plain in the case of the cruder, the purely empirical and approximate, laws, as in that of the higher, the quantitative, and more abstract. But in neither case is the law perceived like a phenomenon; what are observed are not laws but 'cases.' Laws do not state facts; they state relations, or at least standards or types to which facts have been found to approximate. On the other hand, scientific or physical laws, in that they always refer to the actual or sensible world, are not *a priori* or self-evident, like the laws of thought. Pure thought is characterized by logical necessity, and deals with universals; facts are particular and contingent. Yet in the ideal of science, as conceived, *e.g.*, by Kant, we have the fusion of the actual and the necessary, the particular and the universal. If Kant's own theory of knowledge be rejected, this ideal is not attained; we have, in actual science, no fusion of the empirical and the rational, but only juxtaposition. If there be science of the ideal type, as Kant too hastily assumed there is, then it is true that there must be epistemologically necessary presuppositions of such science; in other words, if phenomena are wholly calculable, the processes of Nature and the course of thought must alike be conditioned by necessary connexion. Only the determined is completely knowable. Innumerable instances of particular and approximate uniformities naturally engender, or psychologically cause, the belief in a universal reign of law extending to the unknown as well as to the observed; but the psychological cause of a belief is one thing, its epistemological validity quite another. Law, in this wider sense, possesses, as we have seen, no demonstrability, no assured epistemological validity. Such a reign of law cannot be proved empirically, because experience can never furnish universal knowledge; nor deductively, because there is no self-evident or *a priori* general truth from which it can be deduced. It is therefore a postulate—a necessary presupposition, indeed—of ideal science; but in actual knowledge of Nature its validity is entirely dependent on, and co-extensive with, the observed applicability of law to the behaviour of phenomena. Similarly, every particular law, being neither a perceived entity nor a proposition deducible *a priori*, possesses necessarily no further validity than it has been actually observed to possess. In any more extended sense it is but a postulate. Indeed, every physical law of the higher type—such as Newton's law of gravitation—including conceptual symbolism as well as reference to concrete phenomena, originates as a hypothesis. Few laws of Nature would be discovered by Bacon's method of disinterestedly collecting all the facts and then eliciting their significant relations; and none at all would be discovered if experience were wholly passive, or knowledge wholly the result of mechanical association. The fruitful symbol and the useful hypothesis are not found ready to hand, or given with the phenomena observed, but are invented—Newton's 'Hypotheses non fingo' notwithstanding—and such invention, like all work of creative genius, is intuitive rather than ratiocinative. The progress of science from empirical facts to laws, principles, and theories is by a struggle for existence between hypotheses, and survival of the fittest of them. Many perish for the one which survives, even though scientific hypotheses are perhaps never random guesses, and generally are shrewd conjectures based on clues, and, as such, are likely to emanate only from minds scientifically informed and trained. The law, then, is the successful hypothesis—the hypothesis, which, together with its deduced consequences, fits the facts or is 'verified.'

Laws, like the conception of universal law, will thus originate in the active selective mind of man. And so it is sometimes represented that laws of Nature are created, not discovered, and that there is more truth in saying that man gives laws to Nature than in saying that Nature prescribes laws to man (see K. Pearson, *The Grammar of Science*[2], London, 1911, i. 86 f.). This would seem to be an exaggeration, for 'creation' implies too much. The particular form in which a law is expressed is certainly a human creation, and the creation or discovery—whichever it be—of a law is due to the inventive and selective activity of the human mind. But it is also true that, unless Nature were characterized by such and such constant relations, and her phenomena were connected in a certain way entirely independently of whether humanity is cognizant of her regularity or not, it would not be possible to fashion laws having scientific value. We cannot dictate any laws to Nature, with impunity, unless they already be her laws, *i.e.* unless Nature be *gesetzmässig*. Hence the laws of Nature are not adequately described as creations, though their verbal expression and their symbolical associativeness are such.

> If the mind be the lawgiver, 'it gives nature no other laws than such as nature would follow under the conditions it fixes, and does actually follow, so far as these conditions are realised, or are established for the sake of experiment' (A. Riehl, *Introd. to the Theory of Science and Metaphysics*, Eng. tr., London, 1894, p. 236).

It would seem better, then, to speak of physical laws as 'discovered' rather than as 'created.'

Laws are nowadays regarded by men of science as formulæ merely expressing observed results, as characterized neither by universality (applicability to the unobserved) nor by necessity; they are often said to be descriptions, not prescriptions or enactments; they are not entities 'binding Nature fast in fate,' but provisional generalizations which may be modified or superseded (in many cases, at least) in the light of further knowledge. Of 'laws that never shall be broken' actual science knows nothing; a broken law would be but a false or incomplete description. Thus, J. Dewar, in an address to the British Association, 1902, said:

> 'It is only the poverty of language and the necessity for compendious expression that oblige the man of science to resort to metaphor and to speak of the laws of Nature. In reality he does not pretend to formulate any laws for Nature, since to do so would be to assume a knowledge of the inscrutable cause from which alone such laws could emanate.'

At the same time, few men of science would regard the significance of a physical law as exhausted in its capacity briefly to summarize past observations. Laws certainly imply also the belief that their application extends to unobserved cases—*e.g.*, the future. They thus express probabilities, and have been compared to guide-posts, which tell us what to expect as a result of certain experiences

Laws state the relations of things, and these relations are generally believed to be constant. The validity of such belief cannot be demonstrated. It would require an *a priori* premiss, and none such is forthcoming. If the principle of uniformity or the principle of induction could be demonstrated, such a premiss would lie to hand; in the absence of demonstration for these principles, universal law remains a postulate to be applied tentatively and to be trusted with safety no further than it has been found to be verified, and every particular law expresses a probability. Some maintain that the greater the number of cases in which the principle of uniformity has been observed to hold, the greater is the probability that it is universally true, and that the probability (in the subjective sense) amounts now to practical certainty; others affirm that, unless uniformity be first presupposed, there is no basis for a theory of probability.

In any case, such necessity as would characterize scientific law in the event of the principle of uniformity being valid would remain contingent. For before law can be universal, or the world completely calculable from its past states, it must be presupposed that the world is a closed system, with no interference from without. Such a negative cannot be proved. Hence the necessity of law would remain hypothetical. A law can never tell us positively what was or will be; it can only tell us what will be, provided certain conditions are fulfilled, while we have no reason to assert that they will be fulfilled.

3. Reign of law in the actual world.—The assumption of universal law, on the strength of such uniformity as we can observe, is the more plausible so long as we agree to regard the actual, concrete, sensible world as identical with the highly abstract and conceptual world to which advanced science refers. This plausibility diminishes, however, when necessary distinctions begin to be drawn between the two worlds just mentioned. If mathematical or quantitative laws seem to 'apply' absolutely to the world of science, this may be due partly to the fact that the world of science has first been clipped to suit the laws. And this would seem to be the case. In the first place, the phenomena with which science deals are not the concrete objects of sense-experience as such, but conceptual constructions; the sun, *e.g.*, is replaced by a perfect sphere or by a point.

'The law always contains less than the fact itself, because it does not reproduce the fact as a whole but only that aspect of it which is important for us, the rest being either intentionally or from necessity omitted' (E. Mach, *Popular Scientific Lectures*, Chicago, 1898, p. 193).

So, if actuality 'obeys' law, it is yet more than the law, and the law does not exhaust the truth about it. There is more in the world of experience than can be contained in concepts and laws, historical or irrational elements in knowledge and in being which cannot be expressed in symbolic science; the world is not rationalizable without remainder: 'reality is richer than thought,' as Lotze often remarks. Science is not an adaptation of thought to things, exclusively; it is at least as much an adaptation of things to a particular kind of thought. Science makes suitable assumptions at the beginning of its process of thought; it impoverishes reality in order to get under way at all; it can proceed only by means of highly artificial manipulation of the residue of experience which it retains. Laws are after all our account of Nature's doings or habits, not hers; and in interpreting her exclusively in the light of them we may very easily perpetrate 'the psychologist's fallacy.' If the world, as science has constructed it—and the world of science is undoubtedly a construction—were a realm of law, a closed system, or a 'block universe,' the important question remains, What is the relation of this geometrical world, wherein all change is change only of configuration and motion, to the actual world of experience? That the scientific schematism applies to it is at least partially true, for experience has hitherto found it to be so. That the actual world is such a schematism, such a mechanism, and no more, is not thereby proved. The whole structure of science, and the means by which it has put together its law-governed, largely conceptual, and symbolic world, show that there is at least room for escape from any such view. And this brings us to the question of the metaphysical and theological interpretation of the fact that Nature seems to be more or less a realm of law.

4. Metaphysical and theological interpretation of the reign of law.—Various views on this question can here be but briefly indicated, without discussion.

Finality cannot be philosophically reached until the problem of our knowledge of the external world is solved. Much depends on whether the realistic or the idealistic theory of perception of physical reality is valid. The issue is also dependent on whether a pluralistic or a theistic view of the world can be established.

Thus, if the primary properties of matter be alone 'real,' and if they are perceived 'diaphanously,' if, further, mind, including logically ordered thought, can be regarded as caused or determined by matter in motion, then it would seem to follow that the world is a mechanism behaving according to necessary relations between its elements, a realm of rigid law, of complete calculability. If, on the other hand, there is no ultimate duality between the subject and object of experience, either apart from the other being a mere abstraction, and if real activity belongs to the subject, then it is easy to construct a spiritualistic world in which conformity of things to law implies the 'greeting of spirit by spirit,' in which possibly there is a God who 'geometrizes,' and which, if there be not such an Intelligence behind it, is intelligent itself. From this point of view, spiritualistic pluralism and theistic monism remain as alternatives. According to the former of these theories, the conformity of Nature to law would be the expression of habit, of behaviour consolidated into routine, on the part of the monads or spiritual units of which the world is composed, and would constitute Nature as *naturata*, in contrast with the new beginnings, or incalculable activities not as yet crystallized into consilient habits—*Natura naturans*. Theism is consistent with such pluralism, save that the plurality would be regarded as not absolute, but as embraced by one supreme Being giving a unity to the whole which the partly clashing interests of the many would not completely achieve. In this case Nature's uniformity would ultimately be the expression of what Leibniz called *coustume de Dieu*, a system of law capable of being altered by Him, a system by Him and for Him. The necessity in law would be rational necessity, not an exhibition of blind fate; laws of Nature would be, as Newton and Berkeley held, thoughts of God. As teleology denotes expression of purpose, a world characterized by such complete determination as is contemplated in ideal science (science as conceived by Kant) would be perfectly consistent with teleology, and a system of law merely a means to the attainment of a divine end.

5. The functions of 'laws' in science.—A few words remain to be said with regard to the purposes which the discovery and use of laws are said to fulfil in the natural sciences.

The conception of natural law is, of course, teleological, and is derived from that of juridical

law. As only that which conforms to law, or is characterized by uniformity and determination, can be completely known in the scientific sense, and predicted or calculated, law is a condition of the existence of science. Laws are sought, then, with a view to making Nature scientifically intelligible, and therefore are instruments for the satisfaction of human interests, and especially of the need to act. Intelligibility, from the point of view of science—though not necessarily from that of philosophy, which takes a wider outlook—involves calculability; and this in turn involves the elimination of quality, and its replacement by the quantitative. The world has to be mutilated and simplified, as we have seen, before science can deal quantitatively with it, and the formulation of laws is a means to this end.

Physicists of the positivist and nominalist schools are inclined to see the sole function of law in economical or brief summarizing of past experience:

'To save the labour of instruction and of acquisition, concise, abridged description is sought. This is really all that natural laws are' (Mach, p. 193).

According to this view, laws are conceptual descriptions of how things change, resumés of the routine of perceptions; and the necessity which we associate with the conception of law is said to lie in the world of conceptions (*e.g.*, in the theory of mechanics), and to be illogically transferred to the world of perception. The theory of knowledge of which this view (maintained, *e.g.*, by Pearson in *The Grammar of Science*) is the outcome, is based upon a confounding of the two distinct senses borne by the term 'sensation,' viz. (1) the object apprehended by sense, and (2) the process or act of conscious apprehension; and it seems to many to be committed to idealism of the solipsistic type, through failing to recognize the important distinction between individual or private experience and the universal experience due to intersubjective intercourse.

On the other hand, it is maintained in some quarters that laws are explanations of the world rather than merely symbolical descriptions of experience.

'Physico-mechanical laws are, as it were, the telescope of our spiritual eye, which can penetrate into the deepest night of time, past and to come' (von Helmholtz, *Pop. Lectures on Scientific Subjects*, Eng. tr., London, 1893, i. 168).

Laws analyze phenomena into their real elements, are universals (if hypothetical), and claim universal validity. As a quality is an irrational surd, and as change is deemed inexplicable save as change of motion, laws aim at the establishment of purely quantitative relations; and the causal law, as used in science, approximates inevitably towards a statement of identity, expressed in equations. This view seems to mistake the abstraction for the noumenal reality, and, in aiming at a realistic account of what goes on behind phenomenal appearance, to overreach itself and to leave us with a purely kinematic, and therefore a purely conceptual, world. Perhaps the failure of both these extreme types of doctrine as to the nature of law and of science in general indicates that 'law' is not an ultimate category, that the cosmos is not capable of being adequately or comprehensively described or explained in terms of law, and that law itself has a teleological implication as well as a teleological origin.

LITERATURE.—Besides the works referred to in the art. the following may be consulted: E. Meyerson, *Identité et réalité*[2], Paris, 1912; A. Rey, *La Théorie de la physique*, do. 1907; P. Duhem, *La Théorie physique: son objet et sa structure*, do. 1906; J. Ward, *Naturalism and Agnosticism*[2], London, 1903.

F. R. TENNANT.

NATURAL RELIGION.—See ENLIGHTENMENT, DEISM, CAMBRIDGE PLATONISTS.

NATURAL SELECTION.—See EVOLUTION (Biological).

NATURE.

Primitive (J. A. MACCULLOCH), p. 201.
American (J. N. B. HEWITT), p. 207.
Babylonian.—See 'Semitic.'
Buddhist (L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN), p. 209.
Celtic.—See CELTS.
Chinese.—See COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Chinese).
Christian (T. REES), p. 210.
Egyptian (J. BAIKIE), p. 217.
Greek (L. R. FARNELL), p. 221.
Hebrew and Jewish.—See 'Semitic.'
Hindu (A. S. GEDEN), p. 227.
Japanese (M. REVON), p. 233.
Lettish, Lithuanian, and Old Prussian (E. WELSFORD), p. 240.
Muhammadan (D. S. MARGOLIOUTH), p. 242.
Persian (E. LEHMANN), p. 244.
Roman (W. S. FOX), p. 244.
Semitic (A. S. CARRIER), p. 249.
Slavic (E. WELSFORD), p. 252.
Teutonic (E. WELSFORD), p. 253.

NATURE (Primitive and Savage).—Whatever opinions may be held regarding the relation of animals to external nature, there can be no doubt that it has been an object of interest to man since his earliest existence as man. This is seen in the existence of so many myths regarding the phenomena of nature. These are found not only among savages, but in the lore of more civilized men, as well as in the mythologies of the higher religions. Everywhere man sought to know the origin of things, and suggested explanations for all the things which he observed, from the daily course of the sun in the heavens to the markings or colours of beast or bird. Sometimes he personalized the parts or phenomena of nature, *i.e.* regarded them as living beings.[1] He also constantly tended to bring his divine or worshipful beings into relation with nature, whether as makers or creators of things, as the producers of, *e.g.*, rain or thunder, or as the ultimate destroyers of the world. The whole phenomenon of nature-worship in all its aspects shows again that man felt a strong bond uniting him to nature, which he sought either to strengthen or to loosen, according as he considered nature or the powers behind it friendly or hostile to him. The conditions of modern life are so different from those of the savage or of early man that we can with difficulty imagine what nature meant to them. Yet it must be obvious that men living in the closest touch with nature, immediately exposed to its hazards or rigours, directly benefiting by its agencies, and depending upon it without any intermediate agent for shelter and food, must have been quickened by it and stirred by thoughts concerning it, such as are foreign to more sophisticated life. To some extent this is also true of the peasant, with whom much of the earlier attitude persists and much of the older lore remains in spite of other influences at work upon him. The mythologies and the poetry of poly-

[1] This is different from personification (*q.v.*), the idea of a personal being more or less separate from that which he personifies.

Library
PACIFIC BIBLE
2035 EAST ANAHEIM
LONG BEACH, CALIFORNIA

theistic races of a higher type are rich in evidence of the love, respect, or fear of man for nature. Poetry everywhere has found in nature some of the most valuable sources of its inspiration and subjects of its interpretation. It teems with descriptions of nature, or with analogies drawn from its workings or its scenes. Sometimes, with more mystical writers, it regards nature as a symbol of spiritual verities, 'a living garment of God.' So, too, philosophy and science have sought to pierce its secrets, or philosophy, joining hands with religion, has sometimes regarded it as divine or a mode of the divine existence. Theistic thought has always shown the keenest interest in nature, as even a superficial acquaintance with the OT or with modern Christian thought would show. Nature's attraction for men is, in fact, perennial, whether as a thing of beauty, a restful consoler of heart and mind, a suggestive symbol, or a baffling mystery. They will go to it directly or they will study it under the guidance of an Emerson or a Wordsworth—the greatest of all those who have entered reverently into its inmost sanctuary.

1. Theories of nature-worship.—The subject of this article is in the main that of nature and its phenomena as objects of worship to savage and to more civilized men. There is no doubt that nature-worship is a thing of very ancient date, and that it has entered largely into most forms of religion and continued to affect those which sought to shake themselves free of its influence. Some, indeed, have held that nature-worship, in some shape or form, was the earliest aspect of religion. But, quite apart from what may be said on the side of animism as one of the origins of religion—though this is now more and more set aside—it is hardly likely that the particular forms of nature-worship claimed as the beginnings of religion or the reasons alleged for regarding them as worshipful by such writers as Max Müller or von Hartmann are true to fact. It is impossible for any one to tell what was man's religion in the very beginning, but man may have had religious aspirations or may have worshipped gods before he turned to nature as the source of worshipful objects or as affording satisfaction to his deeper longings. The high gods of even the lowest savages do not appear to be dependent on nature or to have been evolved from a personification of any part of nature or from nature-spirits. They appear to be 'older than any beast-god or god of the natural elements.'[1] Puluga, the Andaman high god, invisible, immortal, and the cause of all things, lives in the sky, and thunder is his voice, yet there is nothing to show that he is a personification of one or the other.[2] This is also true of the Australian high gods, who also are sky-dwellers. Indeed, such races as these can hardly be said to worship nature at all.[3] Certainly they do not worship the sky, and, though they have sun- and moon-myths in plenty, and though sun and moon are personified, they are not worshipped. The Fuegians know of a being described as 'a great black man . . . wandering about the woods and mountains,' who is aware of man's conduct and punishes certain wrong actions, but he does not appear to be a nature-spirit.[4] Even the evil spirits of the woods and of the sea and their progeny known to the Andamanese seem to be dwellers in those regions, not personifications of them.[5] They are not propitiated, and are self-created and immortal, and independent of Puluga. Among the Veddas, another low race, there is nothing but a cult of ancestral ghosts, or *yaku*, sometimes vaguely attached to forest-glades, rocks, and hill-tops, but not derived from these. Sun, moon, and heavenly bodies are not worshipped, though the former are personalized.[1] Indeed, it is but rarely that among the lowest savages a direct worship of nature can be found, the reverence for the creative being or the cult of ghosts existing instead. There are exceptions, as with the Bushmen, who, besides knowing and praying to Cagn, the creator, addressed also the sun, moon, and stars,[2] and the Hottentots, who, besides a cult of divine beings, known as Tsui Goab and Heitsi Eibib, and of ancestors, have ceremonies at new and full moon and at the rising of the Pleiades, and offer 'religious honours and invocations' to the moon.[3] Again, the cult of ghosts and ancestors may exist apart from nature-worship, and owes nothing to it, though it may influence it in various ways (§ 2); and, though tribal or tutelary gods may sometimes be nature-powers, this is by no means always the case. Nature-worship is, in fact, but one of several forms of religion, and it is not necessarily the earliest or antecedent form.

2. Origin of nature-worship.—In considering the origin of nature-worship, it may be well to dismiss from our minds theories of animism or of *mana*. The objects or powers of nature—rivers, mountains, thunder, wind—as first viewed by man were or possessed, in his view, exactly what he himself was or possessed, whether that was *mana*, soul, or neither. They were simply regarded as alive in the sense in which he regarded himself as being. This must be the answer to the question, How did man regard nature and natural objects and forces around him? He knew himself alive, a being or person, one who moved and acted, who did things, and he probably saw in the things around him, especially in those which moved or did things, or in those which in any way suggested life, a reflexion of his own personality, greater or less. The things around him had varying capabilities, varying spheres of action, where action was concerned. Some were in motion—the river, the clouds, the sun and moon, the trees swayed by the wind. Some were vast entities—a huge tree, a broad river, a high mountain. Some were of strange, abnormal aspect—certain trees or rocks may have an unusual form, and it is certain that such things have a great attraction for the savage mind.[4] Some acted or did things—the clouds poured down rain, the trees shed their leaves, or brought forth these and fruits, the earth produced vegetation, the thunder rolled and crashed, the lightning darted and shone, the sun gave light and heat, the mountain seemed to cast down stones and rocks in the avalanche. Some seemed beneficial to man, for it was inevitable that man should regard what he obtained from nature in the light of gifts or benefits to himself—earth was the producer, the trees bore him fruit, the sun and the fire gave warmth, thunder and rain broke up drought, sun, rain, and earth caused growth, sun and wind dried up floods, sun and moon gave light, the sea, lake, and river were sources of food, the tree and the cave offered shelter. Others, again, seemed hostile to man; at least they often caused great injury to him—the avalanche, the falling tree, the

[1] A. Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*[2], London, 1906, ii. 210.
[2] E. H. Man, *JAI* xii. [1883] 158; cf. art. ANDAMANS, § 3, for Puluga as fundamentally a storm-god.
[3] See GOD (Primitive and Savage).
[4] R. Fitzroy, *Narrative of the Voyages of the Adventure and Beagle*, London, 1839, ii. 180.
[5] Man, p. 159.

[1] C. G. and B. Z. Seligmann, *The Veddas*, Cambridge, 1911, pp. 140, 144.
[2] J. M. Orpen, *Cape Monthly Magazine*, July 1874, cited in Lang, ii. 36; W. H. I. Bleek, *A Brief Account of Bushman Folk-lore*, London, 1875, *passim*.
[3] T. Hahn, *Tsuni-Goam*, London, 1881, pp. 62, 81, etc.; P. Kolben, *Present State of the Cape of Good Hope*, Eng. tr., do. 1731, i. 96.
[4] See MONSTERS; and cf. H. Spencer's remarks on 'teratism, in *Principles of Sociology*, London, 1876, i. 313.

volcano or earthquake, the scorching sun, the river drowning him, the lightning striking him, the storm destroying him. Others seemed to be watching him—trees must often have suggested this, or a jutting mass of rock, or the surrounding hills.[1] Some made strange noises as if of vague speech—the trees creaked and groaned, the wind sighed or roared in the forest or the mountain-gorge, the river and the waves made various audible sounds. These were more or less the things which man himself did; in these nature was like him. He moved, acted, spoke, and cried; he was sometimes kindly disposed; he could kill and destroy; some men had a strange aspect; some of them towered above their fellows. All this gave a more or less clear idea of the aliveness of nature or of many of its parts, not necessarily to all men directly, but to the more thoughtful of them, and it issued in a crude personalization. Man could regard nature only as in relation with himself, and those parts of it in which he was more immediately interested, or with which he was more directly in contact, would first be assumed to be alive. To the forest-dweller the trees by which he was surrounded would be all-important, or the river which swept through the forest. To the dweller in more open country other objects would be more immediately important—sun and moon, wind, lightning and thunder. Mountains or the sea would appeal more directly to those who dwelt among or near them. The priority of the greater or the lesser powers of nature in appealing to man would entirely depend upon his environment, so that it is impossible to say which of these came first in importance. This is not sufficiently taken into account by those who theorize upon this subject.[2]

The idea that man, animals, the objects or forces of nature, were alive, could do things, acted in this way or that, suggested that all had power or, perhaps, were powers.[3] There might be, however, two kinds of power—that which is seen in ordinary actions and that seen in unusual or extraordinary actions beyond man's ordinary power or the common processes of nature. Both, but the latter especially—the supernatural, so to speak—might be conceived in time as potential in all things. It was not always being put forth, but it might flash out at any moment. This in turn gave rise to the conception of a universal impersonal power or storehouse of power pervading all nature, and of which all things, all persons, have less or more. It is the source of that power as existing in persons and things. To it, however, in turn certain anthropomorphic attributes may be ascribed, approximating to the personal. It is on the border-land between the impersonal and the personal. But we must not forget that these conceptions are things of long growth and have a long history behind. Though they are found among various savage peoples as a kind of metaphysical notions, they obviously involve long ages of reflexion. They could not have been evolved before men had had a long experience of innumerable concrete instances, and they cannot be adduced as explaining the origins of nature-worship, although they may have modified its history.

These conceptions are seen in various degrees in the *mana* of the Melanesians and Polynesians—an impersonal force manifesting itself in ghosts, spirits, some men, and certain things;[4] the Annamese *tinh*—the force existing in all persons and things, without which they could not exist, of which some have more, some less, and which is nevertheless independent of them;[1] the Tlingit *yĕk*—the store of supernatural (not ordinary) power as it manifests itself in objects of nature or men, such manifestation being conceived personally as that of a spirit;[2] the Iroquois *orenda*—power existing potentially and universally in men, animals, things;[3] the Omaha *wakanda*—invisible and continuous life permeating all things, causing motion and giving permanency of form, *e.g.*, to mountains, rivers, animals, men, impersonal yet having in its entirety attributes of an almost personal kind;[4] the Algonquin *manitu* — an omnipresent property manifesting itself variously and awaking everywhere a sense of mystery;[5] the *mulungu* of the Yaos—a sort of supernormal power, a universal agency in all things, the agent in mysterious actions or beings, impersonal, yet sometimes regarded as a person or even as the equivalent of God.[6] For a full discussion of these see R. R. Marett, *The Threshold of Religion*, London, 1909; E. S. Hartland, *Ritual and Belief*, p. 36 ff.; F. Bouvier, *Animisme, préanimisme, religion*, Paris, 1911; and, more briefly, J. E. Carpenter, *Comparative Religion*, London, n.d. [1913], p. 80 ff. See also artt. MANA, MANITU, ORENDA.

Though these conceptions are not 'primitive,' it is obvious that they point to an earlier stage when all objects in nature which came into man's purview were endowed, as he or the animals were, with life or the potencies of life and action. Another series of beliefs, the result of a long process of evolution, and probably proceeding in some cases alongside the growth of the *wakanda* group of conceptions, is that summed up comprehensively as animism. Man discovered that one main source of his 'aliveness,' his power of acting, was the fact that, besides a body which was alive, he possessed a spirit or soul which was now regarded as the animating cause of his being. Hence it was easy for him to suppose that animals and natural objects of all kinds were also animated by soul or spirit.[7]

This was already noticed by an observer of savages in the 17th century. Le Jeune says: 'Les sauvages se persuadent que non seulement les hommes et les autres animaux, mais aussi que toutes les autres choses sont animées' (*Relations de la Nouvelle France*, Paris, 1636, p. 109). Similarly E. im Thurn says that, according to the Indians of Guiana, men, animals, plants, rocks, stones, waterfalls, streams, etc., are all alike animated by a spirit (*Among the Indians of Guiana*, London, 1883, p. 350).

Some of the beliefs of the *mana* type are more or less parallel to animism, and now and then they seem almost to pass over to it. The Tlingit *yĕk* manifests itself in a multiplicity of objects at once as supernatural energy and as spirit, so that there are innumerable *yĕk*. The Battak think of *tondi* as a reservoir of life-power which pours down into men, animals, and plants in various degrees, as well as into inanimate objects. It gives to the body energy for thought, will, feeling; it can leave the body in dreams, and finally departs at death. It is thus not a little like the spirit or soul, yet it is differentiated from the shadow, double, or self, the *begu*. *Tondi* here resembles the Annamese *tinh*, while *begu* is equivalent to the Annamese *khi*, a kind of soul present in all things and persons, and a second condition of existence. Thus some conceptions of the *mana* class tend to be the equivalent of the second soul as believed in by many savages.

Now, it is one aspect of the animistic belief as far as men's souls are concerned that they can leave their bodies temporarily, as in sleep, and finally at death. This temporary exit of the soul must also have been believed of the souls of natural objects, while, where any natural object ceased to exist—*e.g.*, when a tree died or a well was dried up—its soul might become altogether detached. Hence the spirit animating the sun, mountain, river, or tree might be regarded apart from these—a sun-spirit, mountain-spirit, tree-spirit. Again, men's souls became ghosts, and ghosts were apt to become

[1] Cf. *ERE* viii. 863a.
[2] See F. Max Müller, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion* (*HL*), London, 1878; E. von Hartmann, *System der Philosophie in Grundriss*, Sachsa, 1907–09, vii. 'Religionsphilosophie'; A. Réville, *Hist. des religions: Les Religions des peuples non-civilisés*, Paris, 1883, ii. 225 ff.; cf. E. S. Hartland, *Ritual and Belief*, London, 1914, p. 28 f.
[3] Cf. *ERE* ii. 365b.
[4] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, Oxford, 1891, p. 118 ff.
[1] P. Giran, *Magie et religion annamites*, Paris, 1912, p. 21 f.
[2] J. R. Swanton, *26 RBEW* [1908], p. 452 ff.
[3] J. N. B. Hewitt, *American Anthropologist*, new ser., iv. [1902] 38.
[4] A. C. Fletcher and F. La Flesche, *27 RBEW* [1911], pp. 134 597 ff.
[5] W. Jones, *JAFL* xviii. [1905] 183 ff.
[6] A. Hetherwick, *JAI* xxxii. [1902] 94.
[7] See ANIMISM; *PC*4 i. 425 ff.

demons and wandering malignant spirits. And, if spirits of natural objects were capable of finally leaving them, this might be the source of the belief in spirits haunting departments of nature, each group more or less attached to these—wandering spirits of the forests, of the streams, of the mountain-gorge—and generally evilly-disposed to men, in this resembling most wandering ghosts. Such spirits are often ghosts of the dead, or are connected with them, but not invariably so The spirit of a man killed or drowned at a certain place might be supposed to haunt it, and would tend to be regarded as a local spirit. The forest- and water-spirits of the Finns are spirits of the dead, and the *idgins* of the Buriats—lords of localities and of the phenomena of nature—are deified human spirits.[1] These must be regarded, however, as occasional, not as general, instances.

But, before the phenomena or objects of nature were regarded either as possessing *mana* or as animated by souls, it is certain that they were worshipped. We have already seen how many human traits were ascribed to them by man, although they were obviously a different kind of beings from himself and his fellows, and this as well as the relation in which they stood to man—benefiting him or doing him harm—led man to try to come into personal relation with them and prepared the way for their worship. If man believed that a tree could give him food or a river could drown him, and that these were living beings whose actions expressed their attitude to him, it was easy for him to show his gratitude to the one or to deprecate the violence of the other by acts or words which were acts or words of worship, however crude and elementary. But, further, many of the phenomena or objects of nature were clearly greater, stronger, and stranger than man. They were also more crafty and possessed of mysterious force, which, generally quiescent, might dart forth at any moment to spread havoc. A tree suddenly crashed down, lightning flashed forth, the tornado whirled in its devastating course, the river rushed along in flood. All these incidents, which meant so much more to one dwelling in the midst of nature than to more sophisticated and protected men, must have had the effect of making man believe that nature was full of strange powers, which, while some of them seemed kindly disposed, might be erratic in their action or even consistently hostile. Now, man, surrounded by human beings, some of whom are friendly, others doubtful in their attitude, others hostile, will cultivate friendship with the first, and, if he is not strong enough to overcome the two last, will deprecate their anger or violence by a submissive attitude or by gifts, unless he tries to get the better of them by stealth. His friendly or deprecatory actions are not worship, though they might become so if the men in question were regarded as divine. This forms an analogy to man in his relation to the powers of nature. His actions with regard to these are friendly, deprecatory, or propitiatory, and, since they are actions towards beings like yet different from himself and more and more regarded as 'supernatural,' they tend to become acts of worship. And perhaps, where man tries to force the hand of such stronger powers by acts of a stealthy, cunning nature, we have the beginnings of magic. It should also be remembered that, if man had already conceived beings of the nature of the high gods of the lowest savages, and had bowed before them in crude religious respect, awe, or worship, this would be easily transferred to the personalized powers and objects of nature. Here, then, we have the beginnings of the worship of nature. But with the growth, on the one hand, of the idea that these living beings in nature had *mana*, or supernatural powers, or, on the other hand, of the idea that they were animated by spirits, a great impulse was inevitably given to the development of nature-worship. For now the force possessed by these beings was raised to a more mysterious and awe some height, and, again, the way was open for a crowd of detached spirits to throng every part of nature or for greater divinities to emerge from nature, to take at once ever more anthropomorphic and more divine forms, while never losing touch with it. Moreover, quite apart from the satisfying of man's temporal needs, he quite probably wished to get into relation with these nature-beings because they seemed to offer satisfaction to his dim religious or moral sense or his vague intellectual needs. Man associated himself with these beings for these ends instinctively rather than by way of reasoned and conscious motives.[1] And doubtless in the end this was the most important reason of all.

3. Varieties of nature-gods and -spirits.—The influence of animism or of *mana* conceptions as well as the growth of the idea of natural objects or powers as personalities has largely obliterated the more primitive view of these as being simply alive; but traces of it are still to be noted, especially in mythology, which is so often conservative of older strata of belief and thought. This is seen especially in myths about the sun and moon. These are often regarded as husband and wife (Ainus), with the stars as their children (Dravidians, Andamanese); they are said to have descended to earth to rescue a persecuted step-daughter (Buriats); or the sun rises from his mother, the earth, in the morning and returns to her at night as her husband (Indonesians). Other examples may be seen in the artt. EARTH, EARTH-GODS; MOUNTAINS, MOUNTAIN-GODS.[2] The cult of actual nature-powers or objects considered as personal beings is found sporadically not only in the lower culture, but also amidst the more developed religious ideas of higher races.

Examples of this are found in the Vedic hymns, where also a much higher view prevails. Rivers are addressed as 'mothers' and 'protectors,' and prayers are offered to the mountains, to the sun, to winds, and to the earth. Traces of such 'animatism' occur in Greek religion—the worship of rivers or of the sun as such. In Egypt Seb, the embodiment of the earth, bears evidence of having once been the earth *sans phrase*, while even the monotheistic worship of Aten was a worship of the energies of the sun, and the myth and cult of Rā show how the sun had once been personalized. A cult of the sun can also be seen behind the cult of sun-gods with the ancient Arabs, in modern Hindu rites, and among many Dravidian tribes; and, indeed, this is true wherever the sun is personified as a god (see artt. BENGAL, BERĀR, BERBERS, BRĀHMANISM, DRAVIDIANS, HURON, LAPPS). The moon was worshipped as such by Dravidians and Hottentots, personified by the Lapps, and regarded as an old man or a hunter by the Central Americans and the Eskimos. Earth as a fruitful mother is worshipped by many races, and the cult is often paid directly to the earth even when a personified earth-goddess is known. Rivers are often worshipped as such—*e.g.*, by the Celts (*q.v.*), who regarded them as divine or as fertile mothers, while in Egypt the Nile was worshipped as a man. More usually, however, the cult developed into one paid to gods or spirits of rivers. Again, though mountain-gods or -spirits are often worshipped, mountains themselves are still regarded as divine and worshipful, as myth and cult show (see MOUNTAINS, MOUNTAIN-GODS, § 1). Especially among the American Indian tribes, where the winds are presided over by gods, they themselves or the quarters whence they blow are venerated as rain-bringers or controllers of the harvest (see *ERE* i. 253, 381b), just as behind the personified winds of the Greeks (Boreas, Æolus, etc.) and the Vedic Vāyu and the Marūts (the storm-winds or gods of these) lurk the winds themselves. Fire as a leaping, devouring thing, but also as giving heat, would easily be conceived as living and itself divinized. In many passages where the Vedic Agni is referred to it is difficult to say whether the actual fire or its personification as a god is intended. Like the earth, the sea has a double aspect. There are sea-gods, but the sea itself is a great being, feared by men yet also beneficent and worshipped, while even the personified sea-god is sometimes spoken of as the sea itself, as when the Celtic sea-god Manannan is identified with a great wave (*Bodleian Dinnsenchas*, § 46; cf. *RCel* xii. [1891] 105). Apart altogether from the belief that

[1] See *ERE* vi. 24a, iii. 7b.

[1] Cf. A. Menzies, *Hist. of Religion*[4], London, 1911, p. 47 f.

[2] Cf. also the chapter on 'Nature Myths,' in Lang, i. 122 ff.

stars are the eyes of the dead (Hottentots), their souls (Eskimos, Persians, Vedic Indians), or human beings transformed, myth and belief show that they are often regarded as living beings with human characteristics (cf. Lang, *Custom and Myth*, London, 1884, p. 121 ff.). Trees, again, as most generally beneficent, their fruit a staple of life, themselves things which showed growth, dying down in winter and reviving in spring, would easily be regarded as alive and worshipped as such. The influence of animism, however, has generally obscured this, and we hear mainly of tree-spirits or deities of grove or forest. Magical rites connected with trees perhaps continue the older train of thought.

Where sun, moon, mountain, tree, etc., are thus personalized, regarded as living and acting, they can hardly be conceived as other than anthropomorphic personalities, because man knows no other personality than his own. They may, however, be conceived as animals, since these may be regarded by man as a kind of persons. Thunder was conceived by the American Indian tribes as a bird—the thunder-bird, with a human face and a nose like an eagle's bill, according to the Dakotas.[1] Rivers, perhaps because of their sinuous gliding motion, are sometimes conceived as snakes. But, when they are thus personalized, there arises the possibility of an inevitable if gradual separation of the sun, moon, or mountain person from the actual sun, moon, or mountain. He becomes a sun-, moon-, or mountain-god — a separate personification of these natural objects. This might happen quite apart from animism. The Marūts, Helios, or the earth-mother might be winds, the sun, or the earth regarded as persons, or personifications of the winds, the sun, and the earth, with these as their vehicles or symbols, their spheres of action. This process of separating a nature divinity from the object with which he was once identified or which was he, was one which might occur independently of animism, but which would be aided and hastened by it. We now consider animism in its relation to nature-worship.

When man came to realize that he had a soul or spirit, it was natural to attribute the possession of such a spirit to the objects around him, regarded already as living beings, and some of them already for him objects of worship. Now, when any object is thought to have a superabundance of *mana*—which is often itself regarded as 'supernatural'—or where it is possessed of a spirit, there is an added inducement to worship it, mainly because the range of its activities is increased. Hence both these conceptions, but especially the latter, have greatly developed certain forms of worship and have also given rise to other forms of worship or belief—ghost-worship and the worship of spirits or powers connected with nature, or the belief in these. As far as animism is concerned, it begins with attributing to all objects in nature—sun, moon, stars, rivers, lakes, the sea, trees, stones, clouds, winds—a soul or spirit, the animating power of these objects which have already been personalized.[2] This is a practically universal doctrine,[3] and it has influenced all later forms of religion. But, as it was thought that souls could leave human bodies temporarily or permanently, it is obvious that this would also apply to all natural objects animated by souls. Souls could exist apart from bodies, either after death, as wandering spirits or ghosts, or in the other world, or, as was often thought, they had a separate existence before being incarnated in human bodies. What applied to human souls would also apply to souls animating objects of nature. They might come to be regarded as having a separate life of their own, though still more or less connected with these objects. At the same time, the more purely animistic theory might still continue. What is certain is that in many quarters there is a belief in nature-spirits, spirits haunting trees, forests, mountains, rivers, etc., using these as a dwelling-place, but not animating them in the sense in which a soul animates a body. We can hardly doubt that the one belief is dependent on the other, and, in fact, it is often difficult to see where the dividing-line between the two lies, though many spirit groups associated with some part of nature tend to become independent of it. It is nevertheless the case that animism let loose the crowd of spirits with which man's world is haunted, whether these were ghosts of men or spirits of nature. The spirit, or *numen*, animating a tree, a river or any part of it, a mountain or its gorges and rocks, would tend to become a spirit more or less separable from the river, tree, etc. Since there are many trees, and since various parts of a river or mountain are apt to be personalized, the result would be a number of spirits connected with these objects or dwelling in them, but liable to appear apart from them and often to assume a distinct form. Examples of such spirits are the *nats*, which, according to the Burmese, dwell in trees, the *toh*, which the pagan tribes of Borneo believe to infest rivers, forests, mountains, the sea, the similar nature-haunting supernatural beings of the Haidas, the *vuis* of the Melanesians,[1] the immense variety of river, or wood, or mountain spirits, demons, or genii thought to exist at all levels of civilization. Some of these are envisaged in grotesque or horrible forms; some in graceful guise, like the nymphs or naiads of Greece. But they are generally malevolent, and man seeks to propitiate them by prayer, offerings, and other rites. In some cases such spirits may be derived from human ghosts or these may mingle with actual nature-spirits, but more often the latter are quite independent of any ghostly ancestry.

Sometimes these groups of vague spirits are assumed to have a chief or chiefs, on the analogy of human society, and these may in time become personal divinities of some department of nature; or the host of spirits may be concentrated in individual gods of the forest, the rivers, or the mountains, with definite personal names; or the vague *numen*, or spirit, of a great forest, river, or mountain may develop into a great god, whose province is the rule over all forests, rivers, and mountains—departmental gods and sometimes creators of the objects which they rule (*e.g.*, the Vedic Indra, associated with thunder and storms, or Vayu with winds, the Polynesian Tane Mahuta, maker and lord of trees and forests, and a host of others); or, again, where there was but one object of the kind in nature—sky, sun, moon, earth, or sea—the *numen* of these would become a personified god, ruling them and more or less associated with them. This separation of a god from the personalized object has already been regarded as a possibility apart from animism. In any case such gods tend to become more and more separate from the objects which were their source, more and more anthropomorphic, yet lofty divine beings, ruling the sun, moon, sky, earth, or sea; hence the number of such gods separate from, yet connected in some way with, these natural objects, which are found in all polytheistic religions. Such are earth-divinities like the Greek Demeter, the great goddess of the Semitic and Mediterranean races, the Teutonic Hertha, Tārī Pennu of the Khonds; the sky-gods like Zeus among the Greeks, the Babylonian Anu,

[1] H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, Philadelphia, 1853–57, iii. 486; F. S. Dellenbaugh, *North Americans of Yesterday*, New York, 1901, p. 393.

[2] Proof of this need not be given. Reference may be made to *PC*[4]; Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*[2]; and the artt. ANIMISM, AINUS, ANNAM, DÉNÉS, LAOS, etc.

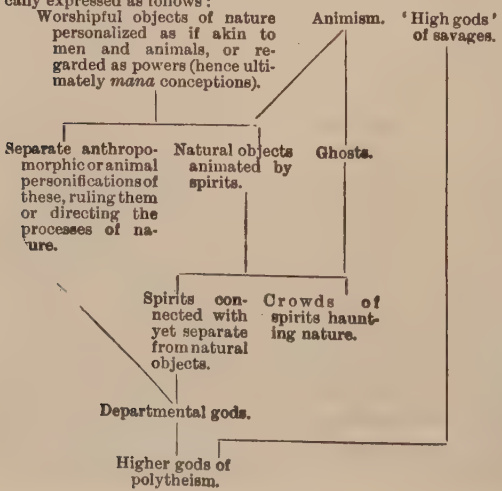
[3] An exception is found in Melanesia, according to Codrington, p. 123.

[1] *ERE* iii. 23[a], vi. 473[a]; C. Hose and W. McDougall, *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, London, 1912, ii. 23; Codrington, p. 121.

the Zulu Lord of Heaven, Ukko of the Finns, Tien in China, the sky-god of the Hopi, whose symbol is the sun; sun-gods like Rā in Egypt, Surya of the Vedic Indians, the Canaanite Shamash; moon-gods like the Vedic Soma, or that of the Central Americans, regarded as father of gods and men. Such gods as these tend to become the principal deities of any polytheistic system, and one of them often becomes the supreme head of the pantheon—Zeus, Indra, Rā, Anu, Hirume (the sun-goddess of Shinto). Here, *mutatis mutandis*, they are akin to the 'high gods' of savages, independent alike of nature-worship, though controlling nature, and of animism. Much of the lore and mythology about these gods, some of the ritual of their cults, the powers which they still retain over the objects or forces of nature, show their earlier ancestry and connexion with nature, though in this there are varying degrees of such connexion. The native gods of Shinto—the sun-goddess, rain-, storm-, thunder-gods, sea-, river-, earth-, mountain-gods, and the like—are still closely dependent on nature. So, too, are the Vedic gods, though these, besides occurring in anthropomorphic forms, are often moral governors, and also some of the Egyptian gods. Greek divinities who were earlier nature-gods threw off much of their old dress, and in certain aspects some quite freed themselves from it,[1] yet traces of their origin could still here and there be seen. All such gods tend to retain those parts of nature from which they originated as their symbols or attributes—sun, storm, thunder, growth. Some of them, as they rise in dignity, tend to take over functions or govern departments which, strictly speaking, belonged to gods who lagged behind. Thunder, from being regarded as itself a divinity, is often regarded as merely the voice of a god; or it may be regarded as the god of agriculture, perhaps because rain accompanies it and makes the ground fertile. Zeus, besides his original function, assumed many others, or, rather, a number of gods associated with these were assimilated by him, so that he was at once a sky-god, god of rain, of thunder, of agriculture, of mountains, besides coming to be the representative for the Greeks of the highest conception of deity. So, if Apollo was once a sun-god, his functions later became far removed from causing sunshine, until he retains as few traces of the sun as Artemis does of the moon. Some gods, indeed, retain only the slenderest link with the department of nature from which they originated.[2]

[1] Cf. *ERE* vi. 395[a].

[2] The relations of man's worshipful beings might be graphically expressed as follows:



In polytheistic systems there will be many more gods than those who are connected even remotely with nature—gods of war, of crafts, city or community gods, abstract gods, and so forth. Yet even then and also where great nature-gods predominate there will also be many lesser nature-spirits, either those of this or that part of nature—governing it, dwelling in it—or else hosts of indeterminate spirits haunting woods, rivers, or mountains. The Chinese worship not only Shang-ti, the anthropomorphic heaven-god, but spirits controlling departments of nature—mountains, the sea, rivers, fire, rain, etc. The same phenomenon is seen in Celtic religion (see CELTS), and indeed in all the greater polytheisms. Much more is it the case in barbaric or savage instances. The pagan tribes of Borneo reverence the vague hosts of *toh* as well as the higher gods, some of these being nature-deities—gods of fire, of harvest, of thunder, of lakes and rivers—and others not derived from nature. This is only one example out of several which might be adduced. The importance of nature-worship as a large though by no means the only factor in the evolution of religion is seen in its various manifestations over the whole field of religious evolution, but not least in this that even in the highest forms of polytheism many of the gods still bear traces of their nature origin, and even the greatest gods are still brought into relation with nature, as in Babylonian theogony, where Anu is placed in heaven, Bel on earth, and Ea in the great deep. The logical outcome of nature-polytheism is pantheism (*q.v.*), as in India, though many polytheistic religions escaped this. Yet even theistic religions cannot escape the necessity of bringing God into relation with nature. Aspects and phenomena of nature are His instruments, evidences of His presence, or His symbols, as in the OT—much of this being based on the earlier Semitic nature-worship; or all nature is regarded as the creation of God, the field of His working, upheld and sustained by Him; or, again, theists, without reverting to pantheism, may use pantheistic language and speak of nature as 'the garment thou seest Him by.' Pantheism can never be a final resting-place for the human soul, and it has grave moral defects, but, in the words of a wise thinker,

'The system is an emphatic admission, or rather proclamation, that there is a secret in the Universe that belongeth unto God, unfathomed and fathomless by men.'[1]

No religion save deism has ever banished God from the universe which He created. Hence both savage high gods and some of the gods of polytheistic religions may have their abodes in some part of nature without necessarily being derived from it. This should always be kept in mind in examining the gods of any religion. A god dwelling in the sky, like the Andaman Puluga or the Australian Baiame, is not always a sky-god in origin, and a god whose symbol is the sun may not always have been a sun-god, nor is a god who controls rain, like Dengdit of the Dinkas, or one who sends storms always a personification of rain or storm. Where such parts or phenomena are not personalized, the question still remains, Who causes them? The answer will inevitably be that it is the god who looms largest on man's horizon or has most potential power. Such a question may even be asked where these personalizations exist, for savage and primitive thought is inconsequent and admits of many contradictions. Creation-myths show that man has always been interested in the origin of the world around him, and the fact that its parts were believed to be alive did not hinder him from speculating as to how they came into existence. Creation is often

[1] J. Duncan, *Colloquia Peripatetica*[3], Edinburgh, 1871, p. 23.

regarded as the work of savage man's high gods (see GOD [Primitive and Savage]), beings like himself, only bigger, more powerful, more crafty, who 'made things,' as he himself did; or the work is sometimes assigned to any prominent object in nature regarded as a living being—*e.g.*, the sun or moon; again, even while the personalization of things in nature is most active, they are sometimes connected with what seems to be their source, and derived from some being dwelling in that source. The sea or a divine old woman living in the sea (Eskimos) sends storms; rain comes from the sky or from a god or beings dwelling there (Dengdit in Dinka belief, Mura-Mura in Dieri belief); thunder, the avalanche, or the flood might be regarded as caused by some being or beings behind nature, acting freakishly, as man himself often did. Such a method of thought is seen clearly at work where the spirits or forces supposed to animate things or phenomena are coming to be separable from them, or where the separation is complete and they are personifications of these. Then they have complete control of them—the spirit or god of storms sends storms, that of the river drowns men, that of agriculture causes growth. These are so many manifestations of the power and presence of such gods and spirits. Similarly the diffused supernatural power believed in by the Tlingits (*yēk*) manifests itself locally as spirit in natural objects, animals, etc.

'The sky spirit is the ocean of supernatural energy as it manifests itself in the sky, the sea spirit as it manifests itself in the sea, the bear spirit as it manifests itself in the bear, the rock spirit as it manifests itself in the rock.'[1]

Nature, in fact, is very apt to suggest to man either its own activity or the presence of a god or spirit, just as caves, trees, springs, or mountains were regarded as manifestations of deity—the *bᵉ'ālîm*—by the Canaanites, or as the rainbow is thought to be the bow and thunder the voice of Mulungu of the Yaos, or a violent wind or whirlwind is so often supposed to be the vehicle of malevolent deities or demons or supernatural beings of some kind. Nature is so personal to man that he easily fills it with personal presences—embodiments of its parts—of woods, streams, or hills.

'He who wanders in the woods perceives how natural it was to pagan imagination to find gods in every deep grove and by each fountain head. Nature seems to him not to be silent but to be eager and striving to break out into music. Each tree, flower, and stone, he invests with life and character; and it is impossible that the wind—which breathes so expressive a sound among the leaves—should mean nothing.'[2]

How much more is this true of those things which suggested vast, superhuman, mysterious power—thunder, lightning, tempest, the waterfall, the roaring flood. These were easily personalized, or regarded as evidences of divine working.[3]

4. Man and the processes of nature.—As man was so dependent on nature for food as well as for other things, it was inevitable that he should come to think that he could aid its processes, so that these should work smoothly and produce a superabundance of results, or assist the gods or spirits of nature in their working. The sun might be strengthened for its work, the rain made to fall, storms driven away, the fertility of the earth augmented, the life of plants or trees stimulated, or the powers or gods behind these aided. The rites by which these ends were supposed to be attained are of a vast variety, and in the main belong to the province of magic (*q.v.*), though they have also a constant religious reference, and such religious rites as sacrifice and prayer enter largely into these magical actions. But what man did first as a means of assisting processes which lay outside his power came in time to be regarded as necessary to them. The powers of nature, its gods or spirits, came to be regarded as dependent upon the magical rites which men performed. This subject has already been considered in the art. MAGIC, but it shows how closely man considers himself to be related to the nature which everywhere surrounds him and to the powers which animate or control it.

See also the artt. ANIMALS; EARTH, EARTH-GODS; MOUNTAINS, MOUNTAIN-GODS; SUN; WATER, WATER-GODS.

[1] Swanton, p. 451.
[2] *Journals of R. W. Emerson*, London, 1909, i. 146.
[3] Cf. the Indo-Chinese lightning-god, *ERE* vii. 230ᵃ.

LITERATURE.—See the sections on nature-worship in most manuals or works on the history of religion, also works on native tribes and races; D. G. Brinton, *The Religions of Primitive Peoples*, New York, 1897; J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*³, London, 1911–15; L. Frobenius, *Die Weltanschauung der Naturvölker*, Weimar, 1898; E. S. Hartland, *Ritual and Belief*, London, 1914; A. Lang, *The Making of Religion*, do. 1898, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*², do. 1906; A. Lefèvre, *La Religion*, Paris, 1891; A. Le Roy, *La Religion des primitifs*, do. 1909; O. Pfleiderer, *Die Religion, ihr Wesen und ihre Geschichte*, Leipzig, 1869, *Religionsphilosophie auf geschichtliche Grundlage*, Berlin, 1878; E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*⁴, London, 1903.

J. A. MACCULLOCH.

NATURE (American).—At the time of the discovery of the American continent there existed on it a system of thought which was old when Sumerian civilization in the valley of the Euphrates was at its zenith, between the tenth and the fifth millenniums before our time. In this system all objects of sense and feeling of the present are derived or evolved as expressions from primal myth-born beings of three, rarely five, great cosmic periods; beside and beyond these uncreated beings nothing else existed. These beings of the primal time were conceived of as man, or mankind; for the native name for 'man,' or 'human being,' was and is the generic appellation by which they are known in myth and epos; and they were, of course, real and constant in substance, while their form and their manner of existence were fictitious. They were real and constant because they were and are the bodies, the elements, and the processes of the world of sense and feeling; and so in myth and later in the epos they do or effect things which are impossible to man; and their form and mode of existence were fictitious because they were wrought and ascribed in terms of human physical and psychic expression and existence. In attempting to give an English name or appellation to these primal beings the American descendants of the myth-makers call them 'the first people,' 'the ancestral people,' 'the ancient people,' 'the man-beings,' and 'the ancients' or 'the old people' who lived in the youth of the world. They were later called the gods, because as universal forces or powers of the world they controlled the operations of what we are pleased to call 'nature.' In this manner it was conceived that these man-beings or gods controlled or shaped the welfare of men.

In the American system of thought every element, every manifestation, every phenomenon, every body of being, and every process of cosmic or psychic power was conceived of as one of the primal man-beings; even the faculties of mind and body were by some regarded as once some of the first people. It is clear that the American himself is absolutely excluded from the company of the primal 'first people.'

The pitiless, though constant, need of adaptation to the forces, bodies, and elements of the environment and the varying struggle to satisfy the prompting of the faculties of the bodily and the psychic self to meet this need are the starting-point of myths of genesis—myths of origin—or the poetic narratives of birth, death, and re-birth of all things. The man of the earlier time perceived around and within himself powers, potencies, and bodies which experience taught him were in a state of constant activity which in measurable degree

affected his welfare and that of his fellows. In attempting to understand or explain the reason or the source of such activity, whether constant or variable, and his relation to it, he correlated this expression of strange and irresistible forces with his own conscious life, with the impressive subconscious energies of his own being, and with the superconscious promptings of his mind.

Lack of knowledge of the things of the distant past prompted the early ancestors of the American to project their own life into that unknown past; and ignorance of the things of the future induced them to project this present life into the dimly inferred next life. So it comes that the unknown future and the equally unknown past are but more or less idealized reflexes of the present experiences of man; neither is, in any mysterious sense, a revelation of other beings or other worlds. The study of the conceptions of the man of lowly culture and attainment indicates that he employed almost exclusively one means of defining the unknown. He interpreted and defined the unknown in terms of the known. And here the known quantity was the man himself. To the early American the origin of the bodies and the elements and processes of the earth and sky and the causes of their activities, as matters of environmental experience, were unknown. But it is found that all the biotic and psychic properties, faculties, and attributes, real or fancied, believed to be manifest in man were imputed to the objects and bodies of the environment, and their operations were then defined in terms of human activity, and hence all such objects and processes became duly endowed with life and mind and with all that these imply. And so, primarily, there were in American thinking at least three classes of persons or man-beings: (1) a part of the first people, few in number, whose minds and character remained unchanged and who lived in harmony with their environment—those first people who escaped the toil and strife of the 'war in heaven' and its fateful consequences, and who now dwell serenely in homes above the sky; (2) all those things or man-beings in the present world, exclusive of the American himself, who owe their existence to the metamorphosis of the great majority of the first people; and (3) the deities, gods, or man-beings who came into their present form in the second cosmic period as a final result of the collisions and struggle which closed the first period, *i.e.* all those who were changed in the second period. Some of the second class, after due metamorphosis, at the close of the second period, rejoined the first people who had not been changed in the struggles which brought about the close of the first period; and these have largely become the gods of the American, for they are uncreated and so divine. The American himself belongs to the third period and is a creature of one or more of these deities.

In attempts to explain the origin of myth and religion among men of low culture students of the developments of opinions have devised and used the term 'animism,' defined as 'the belief in spiritual beings,' 'the deep-lying doctrine of spiritual beings,' and 'the groundwork of the philosophy of religion, from that of savages up to that of civilized men,' for the mental process which imputes the form, attributes, and qualities of man to the objects, elements, forces, and processes of the environing world. But it must be noted that it is not animal life in its broad sense, but only human life, mind, passions, and form that are imputed in this process. This is a distinction which it is important to keep in view. And along with the imputation of these things goes that of the arts, the culture, and the institutions of the people. Thus it is found that the social organization of the first people—the deities—is merely a reflex of that of the people themselves. Each of the deities was believed to have greater power in his or her own *natural* sphere than man, although the American who was ritually cleansed and secure might be able to do more effectively than one of the deities the things that fell within his competency.

By assuming the reality of these fictitious first people the American explained to his own satisfaction the origin and development of the forces of life and nature and the reasons for them. It thus becomes evident that an idol, as popularly conceived by careless observers, had no place in the American system of thought. The symbols or figures in wood or stone, in painting or sculpture, of any one of the deities or first people were never the object of any kind of worship. The rite was performed in honour of the deity so represented.

American myths inform us that in that great primal cosmic period the man-beings became restive through constant attrition and the frequent collision of diverse and sometimes quite contrary activities, natures, and mental attitudes; for offence had been given, with intention or without, and injury suffered, and, because each individual character had become ripened, manifest, and fixed, conflict of desires and purposes and bitter strife supervened, and the struggle did not cease until nearly all the first people had become changed, by a complete metamorphosis, into the various elements, bodies, and kinds of living creatures, with the exception of man, that have existed or now exist on earth, in the sky, or in the waters; they became the fauna and the flora and the striking topographical features of the birth-land of these myths. The earth, the sky, the sun, moon, and all the bright stars represent some of the first people of the first cosmic period. The spirits, minds, or lives of these first people were unaffected as to duration by the forced metamorphosis. Hence myth has its river-gods, rock-gods, mountain-gods, plant-gods, vegetable-gods, anthropic animal-gods, bird-gods, and fish-gods, who lived before the metamorphosis in the assumed first great cosmic period of peace and harmony and unmanifested character.

The first people and their metamorphosed selves, the gods, American myths inform us, perform their most characteristic duties and functions by means of a distinctive impersonal magic power which the Iroquois of the Mohawk dialect call *orenda* (*q.v.*), a word which with slight dialectic variations exists in all Iroquoian tongues.

With the gradual increase in complexity and compass of social and other institutions among American peoples and therefore with the unification of rule among them, there also came to pass like changes in the organizations of the first people, who ruled over those elements, bodies, or processes which they embodied; *e.g.*, among the Iroquoian peoples the Earth-Mother is the chief matron in the great lodge of the gods; the ancient corn-woman, one of the changed first people, is the goddess Corn-Mother; and so with the goddess Bean-Mother, the goddess Squash-Mother, and all the myriad other first people. For their bounties to man, woman, and child these goddesses receive due homage and worship, as do all the metamorphosed first people, whose activities in the present world bring welfare and contentment to the American peoples. In the activities of these gods—conceived, however, in terms of human character and achievement—moral considerations were not involved; but, at a later time, when some of them became part and parcel of the social fabric, their deeds, thoughts, desires, and counsel acquired a potent moral value and implication.

If, then, it be true that the deities of a people are psychologically faithful reflexes of the distinctive features of the social organization of which they are regarded as members, it follows that, where comparatively complex social and religious organizations are found, it is futile to expect to deal with them as if they were the products of a 'primitive' mind, for evidently they have not the aspect of primitiveness. Certain predilections and predispositions as to the reasoning power and logical rigour of the American mind must be held in abeyance in any serious study of the ideas and conceptions evolved from it. If the premisses of American thinking be granted, the conclusions drawn from them are found to be consistent with them.

Among some American tribes man, the creature, ranked very low in power and knowledge, because every object and phenomenon except man was divine, while in other and more highly organized tribes man shared *orenda* with the gods or first people. One of the most striking traits of all the American deities is their self-existence. To this extent, then, they are peculiar and above human estate, experience, and knowledge. And, though both gods and men are derived, in mythic narrative, from an original first mother or parent, yet it is easy to see that the first people are self-existent, while man—the first human being—remains the creature of a god.

It is to be noted that in this American system of thought there is no concept or implication of a primal chaos preceding the events which resulted in the present constitution of things. In the myths from certain areas of America the metamorphosis of the first people—in mythologic phrase, the gods or deities—was achieved coincidently with the first hint of the coming of the American folk to each place of those areas; but in other areas the American is created or formed by one or more of the gods of the third cosmic period. With the establishment of the present order begins the story of the existent bodies and processes of earth and sky, described in terms of human form and mind, and of their inter-relations with the American race of people. By means of two well-marked yet inter-related classes of myths—the narrative poems of creation or metamorphosis and the narrative poems of the great recurrent processes and of the bodies and beings of 'nature'—the American philosophers have related what they thought of the universe of their experience. The invisible forces of which the objects of sense are the evident expression were conceived as emanating from living beings endowed with human life, mind, will, and purpose. But it has been seen that these personified forces were in fact poetic fictions of the mind, created in the image of man; but, as they actually represented universal principles of unmatched power, they came to be regarded as superior to man in resource and immunity from destruction. The story of the activities of these personages became myth—a more or less sacred narrative—legend, or saga. And thus the cosmic bodies and processes as expressed in the environment became duly dramatized in the rites and ceremonies of long and intricate rituals.

This universal principle of physical and psychic change or metamorphosis in American myth and poetry explains why so-called animals occupy so important a place in the religious thought and culture of the peoples. It is a dogma developed from these myths that some of the first people are represented in the various species of animals, birds, reptiles, plants, trees, vegetables, and striking topographical features, as their 'elders' or 'ancients.' These 'elders' or 'ancients,' then, were and are in mythic phrase merely transformed man-beings or first people of the first great cosmic period. Such an ancestor or elder on the tongue of an American of the elder culture is a deity. The myths thus explain the phenomena in religious expression. Hence there are found in abundance so-called animal-gods—beast-gods, bird-gods, fish-gods, reptile-gods, plant-gods, tree-gods, and vegetable-gods and goddesses. And the fact must not be disregarded that these ancestral deities were not the ordinary animal, beast, bird, fish, plant, or insect, but rather an ideally humanized creature of inchoate mind. Hence in Sumeria, Babylonia, and Egypt, and also in the descriptive visions of the Hebrew prophets and the mythic and religious art and culture of other early and lowly peoples, human-bodied personages with animal heads, or animal-bodied figures with human heads and aspect—of heroic proportions and unmatched power, some with floral symbols and other masks indicative of the kind of divine expression intended—are abundantly in evidence.

It must be noted, however, that the best-known gods of these early Oriental peoples are those representing the recurrent processes or phenomena of nature, and that of the gods or deities answering exactly to the first people of the American system of thought concerning the cosmos there have been found none but vestigial remains or traces. The mythic narratives of the primal first people in these places were lost or, by being misunderstood, entirely neglected. Were those myths available, it would be possible to explain to-day why plants, vegetables, insects, birds, beasts, reptiles, and fish have such prominence in the religious culture and thought of these lands.

LITERATURE.—J. N. B. Hewitt, 'Orenda and a Definition of Religion,' in *American Anthropologist*, new ser., iv. [1902] 33–46, and Introduction to art. 'Iroquoian Cosmology,' in *21 RBEW* (1903), pp. 133–136; J. W. Powell, Introduction to F. H. Cushing's *Zuñi Folk-tales*, New York, 1901; F. Boas, art. 'Religion,' in *HAI* ii. [1910]. Cf. also art. ORENDA.

J. N. B. HEWITT.

NATURE (Buddhist).—It has been recognized and often emphasized that Buddha is not an atheist; that he admits the existence of those supernatural beings who, although there are many kinds among them,[1] can in a general way be styled gods, *deva*. But the importance of these beings in the daily life and even in the spiritual life has been minimized by several writers, denied by some, and fully recognized only by very few scholars.[2]

The origin and the reason of this mistaken view on the 'godlike' side of Buddhism lie in the fact that gods seem to be of no use in the Path. It is a very plausible opinion that the candidate to *arhat*-ship has nothing to do with deities; very few texts dealing with the Path even refer to them; possibly not a single one points to the usefulness of god-worship. Nevertheless, it is evident that the Buddhist ought to entertain social relations with all beings, 'expanding' sentiments of compassion and benevolence in the ten cardinal directions. It is well known that gods—and especially the chief of the gods, Śakra—furnished the future Buddha with opportunities of self-denial. To deny the relations of the Buddhist saint with gods and his obligations towards them would be to deny his relations with his fellow-men, and to forget the altruistic features of the Good Law. Altruism, of course, is not insisted upon in the Little Vehicle, but it is always *sous entendu*. That altruism is the principle on which depend the relations of the true Buddhist

[1] On the meaning of *deva*, 'god,' *devaputra*, 'god-son' 'angel,' *devatā*, 'deity,' see T. W. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, London, 1910, ii. 115.

[2] See E. J. Thomas, *Buddhist Scriptures* ('Wisdom of the East' series), London, 1913, p. 99; A. Foucher, *Étude sur l'iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde*, Paris, 1899–1905, ii. 105.

with 'gods' is certain. Just as gifts, not to the *pretas* (dead), but to human beings in order to help the *preta*, are in the oldest and most orthodox Buddhism the substitute for offerings to the dead, so gods are not entitled to worship (*pūjā*) or to sacrifice (*homa*),[1] but they must take their part in the general benevolence of the saint. The saint must honour the deities 'who haunt the spot where he has taken his abode.'

'Revered, they will revere him; honoured, they will honour him again; they are gracious to him as a mother to her own, her only son; and the man who has the grace of gods, good fortune he beholds.'

And the best way of honouring the deities is 'to give them the merit of his gifts to the brethren, good men of good control.'[2]

Among all beings, Buddha has been the most honoured and beloved by the 'gods.' The joy of the 'angels' at the birth of Buddha is described in a well-known hymn of the *Suttanipāta*, which has been unduly compared with the gospel narrative of the Nativity. These deities are not 'angels,' but, from the moral point of view, poor creatures, unable to enter the way of salvation, very good nevertheless—at least many of them—and of a very gentle nature. They were happy at the birth of Śākyamuni and miserable at his death.

'For twelve leagues, Ānanda, around the Fig-tree grove of the Mallas, the Upavattana of Kusinārā, there is not a spot in size even as the pricking of the point of the tip of a hair which is not pervaded by powerful spirits. And the spirits are murmuring . . . the death of a Tathāgata will take place. . . . They dishevel their hair and weep, stretch forth their arms and weep, fall prostrate on the ground, and roll to and fro in anguish at the thought: "Too soon will the Exalted One die."'[3]

From the physical point of view, *devatās* are by no means contemptible. Some possess 'great might and power.'

'A Devatā by intense meditation on the idea of the minutest portion of earth and on the idea of the widest expanse of water, can make this earth move and tremble and be shaken violently.'[4]

And, if Buddha, and all the saints like Buddha endowed with the power of benevolence,[5] command the love and obedience of all the deities, that is not the case with ordinary people; since the oldest days of India—in fact, since palæolithic times—deities have assumed two aspects: they are frightful (*rudra*) and propitious (*śiva*); they are fanciful, covetous, capricious; human beings have to 'tame' them, if they want to live happily. Hence the efforts of Buddha to 'convert' the deities, to teach them the elementary rules of morality, 'not to kill,' etc. We are told that he succeeded; he can at least boast of having converted and turned the chief of the spirits, 'Holder of the Thunderbolt' (Vajrapāni guhyesvara), into the protector of the faithful;[6] the once formidable goddess of small-pox, Harītī, the child-devourer, into protector of mothers and of children;[7] nevertheless, much remains to be done—as the race of malignant spirits is increased every day by the rebirth of malignant men—and accordingly Buddhists have been provided with protections, 'cuirasses' (*kavacha*), *paritrā* (*pirit*), or *rakṣās*, of every kind. We must not suppose that the Buddhist monks were, in old days, ignorant of the first principles of the faith, namely, that gods have nothing to do with salvation, that a good Buddhist has nothing to fear from the demons, but sin and distraction (*pramāda*) are the real Fiend; but it may be safely surmised, from the texts themselves, that the ancient Buddhists were concerned with the *rākṣasas* and the *yakṣas* just as Burmese monks are nowadays concerned with *nats*, and just as Tibetan monks are concerned with *yi-dams*.

The stories of the conversion of Vajrapāni and of Harītī are among the good stories of Buddhist folklore; and the history of this conversion, *i.e.* the processes by which nature-gods of the most malignant forms have been developed into faithful and benevolent deities, is not to be forgotten by the student of the history of religion. Buddhism has deified its saints and 'sanctified' the Hindu gods—a movement in two parallel directions, the second of which has proved not the less important for the prosperity and the longevity of the Good Law; both may possibly have modified to some extent the primitive position of the Saṅgha. Rhys Davids remarks ('Buddhist Suttas,' *SBE* xi. [1900] 20) that the Mahaparinibbāna passage commented upon above (p. 210, n. 2) 'gives Buddhaghosa [the orthodox commentator of the Pāli canon] a good deal of difficulty, as it apparently inculcates offerings to the gods, which is contrary not only to both the letter and spirit of Buddhism, but also to the practice of Buddhists.' *Bhakti*-offerings, *pūjā*-offerings—that is to say, devotional and liturgic offerings—are indeed contrary to the letter and to the spirit of the oldest Buddhism, but it is an old Indian *dictum* that 'Each god is entitled to obtain his own offering' (*yādṛśo yakṣas tādṛśo baliḥ*); and it may be confidently asserted that Buddhism has never—in practice—denied the right *bali* to the right *yakṣa*. These are mere trifles, small concessions to the needs of practical life, which cannot endanger the normal and energetic endeavour of the saint walking in the Path.

[1] On the contrary, Mahāyāna Buddhism is devotional, and Tantrik Buddhism is liturgic. The *homa*-literature is pre-eminent in Tantrism.

[2] *Dighanikāya*, ii. 88 f.; Rhys Davids, ii. 93 f.

[3] Rhys Davids, ii. 151 f. [4] *Ib.* 115.

[5] On the power of benevolence see, *e.g.*, *Mahāvagga*, vi. 36. 4; *Chullavagga*, v. 6. 1.

[6] See E. Senart, 'Vajrapāṇi dans les sculptures du Gandhāra,' in *Actes du 14e congrès international des orientalistes*, Paris, 1906–08, I. i. 121; C. M. Pleyte, 'Vajrapāṇi als Dharmapāla,' in *Bijdragen . . . van Nederlandsch Indië*, VI. x. [1902] 195; Foucher, ii. 105; L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme*, Paris, 1909, pp. 372–375.

[7] See Foucher, *Buddhist Studies*, tr. F. W. and L. Thomas, Paris, 1916.

LITERATURE.—On the old Hindu pantheon in Buddhism much information can be found in the *Mahāsamayasutta* and in the *Āṭānāṭiyasutta* (*Dighanikāya*, xx. and xxxii.).

L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

NATURE (Christian).—**1. Antecedent factors.**—Christianity entered into a heritage of ideas about the world consisting of a background of Semitic mythology, the revelation of the OT with Jewish developments of it, certain elements from Persian thought, and ultimately the whole framework of Greek philosophy.

In its developed form the OT doctrine affirms that Jahweh, now the one, universal God, created all things out of original chaos, gives a mythical (Babylonian) account of the method and process of creation (Gn 1–2), and establishes God's providential rule over all things upon His creatorship (Is 40). The world therefore is a manifestation of God's power, glory, and goodness (Pss 19, 29, 104, etc.). All the processes of nature are His direct acts, the thunder is His voice (Ps 29), the light His garment, the winds His messengers, the lightning His ministers (Ps 104^{2-4}). But Jahweh was no nature-god. He was in no way involved in nature, no system of natural laws or cosmic principles limited or qualified His action, nor was His being dependent on the world. The OT does not argue from the world to God in the manner of the cosmological and teleological arguments, but it descends from the idea of God into the world, and in its manifold beauty, power, and goodness it apprehends the free and sovereign activity of God (P. Thomson, 'God in Nature and in History,' *Exp* II. i. [1881] 161–179, 241–252).

In post-canonical Jewish literature the ideas of God's freedom, sovereignty, and transcendence were still more enhanced; and the idea of the world as an independent reality over against God is more emphasized. To secure God's holiness and

freedom, He is withdrawn from all direct contact with the world, and His action is mediated by angels and spirits, personifications of the forces of nature and of divine attributes.

God created at first, besides heaven, earth, and sea, 'all the spirits which serve before him, the angels of the presence, and the angels of sanctification, and the angels [of the spirit of the fire, and the angels] of the spirit of the winds, and the angels of the spirit of the clouds, and of darkness, and of snow and of hail and of hoar frost, and the angels of the voices and of the thunder and of the lightning, and the angels of the spirits of cold and of heat, and of winter and of spring and of autumn and of summer, and of all the spirits of his creatures which are in the heavens and on the earth' (*Jub.* ii. 2, Charles's tr.; cf. *Enoch* lx. 11 ff.).

Apart from the personifications, the conception is not unlike that of deism. God as First Cause created all things, but at the same time He created spirits and angels, to which as second causes He deputed the control of all the processes of nature. It is an amalgam of animism and deism.

In Alexandria Jewish thought was formulated under Greek influence, and the action of God upon the world is expressed in more abstract terms. The heathen practice of regarding objects of nature as 'gods that rule the world' is repudiated, and an 'argument from design' is urged as a reason why men should recognize God 'by giving heed to his works' (Wis 13^{1-9}). Nature is simply and directly obedient to God's will. The marvels of OT history were God's acts of new creation for the sake of His people (Wis 19^{6}; cf. 16^{17-24}). Here Wisdom personified is the mediator of God's activity in creation and providence (Pr $8^{27ff.}$, Wis $7^{22ff.}$ etc.).

In the more developed system of Philo God's Logos and His powers are at once the media of His action and the principles of being and order in the world. His fidelity to OT ideas guards Philo from merging God and His powers in nature as mere immanent principles. He follows the Mosaic teaching that God created the world, though whether out of nothing or out of pre-existing matter is not clear. He carries the doctrine of divine transcendence and of the metaphysical antithesis between God and the world to the extremest limit, though he does not accept moral dualism. The world in itself is not evil, but the most perfect work of God. Philo gives profuse descriptions and discussions of the world as it exists. He follows in the main the teaching of the Greek science of his time, but expresses it in allegories of OT language. He conceives nature in general as a system of uniformities as complete and regular as that of modern science.

'Equality, the mother of justice . . . has ordered all things well, things in heaven and things on earth, by immovable laws and ordinances' (*de Justitia*, 14).

Yet some relics of primitive animism survive, as in the idea that the planets were living beings which moved themselves in their uniform order (see James Drummond, *Philo Judæus*, London, 1888, i. 267–313).

2. Primitive Christian teaching.—(*a*) *Common elements.*—In the NT, as in the OT, there appears a sense of the order and beauty of the world, as the product of God's wisdom, power, and goodness. They were not scientific or philosophical principles of uniformity or necessity or of the reign of law, but a *sensus communis* of the customary and normal processes of nature. Extraordinary events which we call 'miracles' were therefore regarded as signs and wonders, but not as violations of a natural order or law. They presented no intellectual problem, for they were manifestations of the power of God working freely according to His inscrutable will. They were neither contrary to nature nor above nature, but a part of the totality of divine operation which constituted, sustained, and governed the whole world. This pure and arbitrary theism had, however, been modified by influences of Persian dualism and Greek polydæmonism allied with survivals of Semitic animism.

Angels might intervene and direct the course of nature for man's benefit (Mt 28^{2}, Jn 5^{4} RVm; cf. Rev 14^{18} 16^{4}), but they too were agents of God's will and ministers of His power. Demons and evil spirits could also work injury to man, and certain classes of diseases were traced to their agency. The devil and his angels were a semi-independent kingdom over against God, but they too were subject to the power of God.

(*b*) *Jesus Christ* adopted these ideas and terms of His time. But whatever of dualism or pluralism was involved in them He eliminated by bringing all the processes of nature into the most direct and intimate relation with the idea of the Fatherhood of God. This governed His fundamental attitude towards nature. God's love and care for man determined all His activity in the world, and nothing happened except by the Father's will. 'All things are possible with God' (Mk 10^{27}), and not even a sparrow falls to the ground without the Father's will (Mt 10^{29}). God gives 'good things' to them that ask Him (Mt 7^{11}), and those who seek first His Kingdom and His righteousness will find nature and providence gracious (Mt 6^{33}). The processes of nature were neither eudæmonistic nor retributive in detail. Pain and sorrow were terrible realities which the best could least avoid. On the other hand, a misfortune like blindness need not be the result of sin (Jn $9^{2f.}$), and calamities did not prove that the victims were greater sinners than others (Lk 13^{4}). The lilies grew beautiful, although they neither toiled nor spun. God 'maketh his sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust' (Mt 5^{45}). The order of nature is the process of divine love and mercy. Christ's view of the world is teleological and optimistic. God directs all nature to fulfil His fatherly purpose, and nothing exists or happens which cannot be subordinated to that purpose.

The sayings of Jesus are unique in their time for their appreciation of nature's glory. His interest extended to birds and flowers, and His parables reveal that intimate communion with Nature which enabled Him to see in her face the symbols and the effulgence of divine truth. He loved all Nature. There might be evil spirits, alien enemies in Nature's realm, and in men sin and evil were manifest, but Jesus taught no doctrine of permanent and radical evil in the nature of things. He was no ascetic who held things to be evil in themselves. He condemned the pursuit of mammon and riches only because men made *things* their supreme good and put them in the place of God. But He appreciated *things* in their right place and use (Mt 11^{19} 15^{11}, Lk 7^{34}). And, even so far as the world had been subordinated to evil influences by men's sins, God's action in it would eliminate the evil and bring into existence a regenerate world (Mt 19^{28}, Lk 20^{34-36}). This is no scientific or philosophic theory of the universe. It was not then, nor is it yet, demonstrably true. But it is the attitude of Christian faith towards the universe, because it is the Father's work.

(*c*) *Apostolic theories.* — Christ's ruling ideas appear in the writings of the apostles, but, as they addressed heathen as well as Jewish readers, they had occasion to develop in a more speculative way the conception of the relation of God to the world. Paul in several places expresses the principles that were subsequently developed into the cosmological and teleological proofs of the being of God. At Lystra he declared that the living God 'made the heaven and the earth and the sea, and all that in them is,' and that 'he left not himself without witness, in that he did good, and gave you from

heaven rains and fruitful seasons, filling your hearts with food and gladness' (Ac 14[15-17]). He used similar arguments on Mars' Hill (Ac 17[24-26]) and in the Epistle to the Romans (1[20]). The point of the argument in each case is, not the being of God, which is assumed, but His nature and operation. Creation, providence, and nature are manifestations and proofs of the unity, spirituality, power, and goodness of God. Conversely, the Apostle's conception of God becomes his interpretation of nature. Paul is acutely conscious of the presence of evil and sin in the world (Eph 2[2]). Sin has made its seat in the flesh, whose very nature has been therefore corrupted (Ro 7[18]). Yet Paul's view of the universe as a whole is optimistic. 'To them that love God all things work together for good' (Ro 8[28]; cf. vv.[20. 21]). The world as God's creation is essentially good. Man's sin has subjected it to vanity, but it has not turned nature from God's purpose of goodness, and His salvation will deliver it from corruption 'into the liberty of the glory of the children of God.'

Paul retains the OT idea of God's direct creatorship (2 Co 4[6], 1 Co 12[18] 15[38]), but in his later writing as well as in Hebrews and the Fourth Gospel traces are found of the Philonic doctrine of the Logos as the mediator of creation and the principle of nature. The term is used only in the Fourth Gospel, where the Logos is identified with Christ, and represented as issuing from God to be the maker of all things and the principle of life and light immanent in the world (Jn 1[1-4. 10]). Similarly, according to Paul and Hebrews, Christ emanates from God (Ph 2[6], He 1[3]) and 'all things have been created through him, and unto him . . . and in him all things consist' (Col 1[16. 17]). God 'appointed him heir of all things, through whom also he made the worlds' (He 1[2]). This conception of the Logos, as it is the interpretation of nature, differs in some important respects from that of Philo. The Logos is more closely identified with God, and therefore expresses better God's creative activity and immanence in the world. Its identification with Christ gives it the moral significance of His person, and the world process derived from Him is likewise moral (W. Beyschlag, *NT Theology*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1895, ii. 98). The dualism which Philo had inherited from Plato is thus almost, if not entirely, eliminated. Perhaps something of it survives in Paul's doctrine of the flesh, in the belief in evil spirits, and particularly in the Johannine idea of the world as evil. This world is primarily the world of men in their opposition to God (Jn 1[10] 17[16], 1 Jn 3[1. 13]), but sin has vitiated the whole fabric of society, and even the objects of creation which form its environment (1 Jn 2[15-17]). Yet God so loved the world that He gave His only-begotten Son to save it (Jn 3[16]), and in the final consummation of salvation He will make a new heaven and a new earth (Rev 21). Man may be sanctified in flesh and spirit (1 Th 4[4] 5[23], Ro 6[19]). All rule and authority and power and dominion, all evil spirits, will be brought into final subjection to Jesus Christ (1 Co 15[24-27], Eph 1[21f.]).

Judaism had over-emphasized the transcendence of God and His arbitrary rule over the world. Greek thought tended to merge God in the world, which then became a necessary manifestation of divine reason. Christ and the apostles qualified Jewish transcendence by the revelation of God in Christ and of His immanence in nature and man. Yet it was not the essential and necessary immanence of Greek thought, but the personal and moral immanence of love and grace. Christ interpreted nature through His own filial consciousness of the Father; and the apostles through Christ's moral and redemptive personality. Nature, therefore, could not be a system of mechanical uniformity and necessity, but it was a moral order in which God's unchanging purpose of grace is realized in His free activity through Christ. In such a system the antithesis of natural and supernatural could not arise, for with God all things are possible and natural, and without Him nothing is possible.

3. Hellenistic-Christian theories.—(*a*) *Assimilation.*—When the Christian Church entered the heathen world, it came face to face with a long tradition of Greek cosmology and science. Plato had established a dualistic separation between the sensual and the supersensual, between the world and God. Aristotle had defined their relation theistically—God was the First Cause of the world—and he had greatly enlarged the scientific knowledge of the world. The Stoics had conceived the universe as a system of law and necessity, wherein the world-process was ordered and governed by the divine Logos, and, inconsistently, they interpreted the process teleologically as realizing the ends of divine reason. Eclecticism had gathered all these ideas together into a more or less coherent system. On the basis of Platonic dualism Aristotle's scientific theism and Stoic monism had so far coalesced that God as transcendent cause was conceived as creator of the world and as the author and sustainer of its order and law.

Both the natural tendency to assimilate prevalent ideas and the necessity to commend itself to contemporary intelligence compelled Christianity to assume a scientific and philosophic form, which it did by adopting the current ideas of Greek science without change, and by adapting to its use such philosophic principles as would best harmonize with its own principles.

(*b*) *The Gnostics.*—The Gnostics were the first Christian theologians who developed a theory of the universe on the basis of religion. On two points their theories diverged so widely from the Christian position as to involve a direct contradiction of it. They conceived the relation of God to the spiritual universe pantheistically rather than theistically, as a process of emanation rather than as an act of creation. On the other hand, they conceived the material universe in a thoroughly dualistic fashion. The formless matter out of which the world was made, by one of the lower æons or spirits, was evil and antagonistic to God, so that the cosmic process was a strife between good and evil, and nature was so predominantly evil that it was destined to perish in the process of the redemption and restoration of the world of spirits. A still more extreme dualism, moral and metaphysical, was embodied in Manichæism (*q.v.*; see also Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, iii. 316–336). Such dualism was not only inconsistent with the Divine Fatherhood, but incompatible with the more general principles of monotheism, and the Christian Church opposed Manichæism and repudiated Gnosticism.

(*c*) *The Greek Apologists and Fathers.*—The Greek Apologists and Fathers developed a new theory of the world, which, while it did not quite eliminate dualism, strove to comprehend under the category of the Logos the complete rule of God over the whole world-process.

'God, the Maker of this universe, has made all things by the Logos which is from him' (Athenag. *Leg.* iv.).

'The immediate Creator, and, as it were, very Maker of the world was the Logos, the Son of God, while the Father of the Logos, by commanding His own Son—the Logos—to create the world, is primarily its Creator' (Origen, *c. Celsum*, vi. 60).

'For God is good, or rather is essentially the source of goodness: nor could one that is good be niggardly of anything: whence, grudging existence to none, He has made all things out of nothing by His own Logos, Jesus Christ our Lord' (Athan. *de Incarn.* iii. 3).

As to the method of creation, the account given in Genesis was generally accepted, but with vary-

ing interpretations. Clement and Origen defended the Mosaic cosmogony, but, by allegorical interpretation, they read into it much of their Neo-Platonic philosophy.

'God of his goodness and love created the world of Ideas, the invisible heaven and earth, and in accordance with this divine model, the Word gave shape and substance to the material universe' (C. Bigg, *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria*, p. 107; cf. p. 240).

Creation was an eternal process issuing from the unchangeable essence of God, and therefore of the nature of a physical and necessary emanation, as distinguished from the Christian idea of a free creative act, which was the general view of the Greek Fathers in the 4th and 5th centuries (Origen, *de Prin.* I. ii. 10, III. iv. 3; Harnack, iii. 249; cf. Windelband, *Hist. of Philosophy*, p. 250 f.).

From the Apologists to Athanasius, there was also considerable development of ideas on the two points of the *immediacy* and *completeness* of God's creative act. The mediating Logos, according to the Apologists, was an independent being of temporal origin; according to the Alexandrians, He was co-eternal with God, but ἕτερος θεός; according to Athanasius, He was co-eternal and consubstantial with God, so that God in Him stood in direct relation to the world. According to the Apologists, the world was created out of pre-existing matter (Justin, *Apol.* i. 10); according to the Alexandrians, God created out of nothing the matter with which He made the world (Clem. *Strom.* v. xiv. 89; Origen, *de Prin.* II. i. 4 f.); and Athanasius argues that Almighty God could only create out of nothing (*de Incarn.* ii. 4 f.).

God of His goodness created the world for the sake of rational beings. From Plato downwards the world was conceived teleologically as the scene and process whereby God realized His purpose of goodness towards man. For man as a rational being was essentially superior to all creatures, and the whole of nature is arranged to supply his needs and to afford opportunity for the development of his rational capacity (Origen, *c. Celsum*, iv. 75–99). It might therefore be expected that the world in all its parts and operations would manifest the wisdom and goodness of God. And the Greeks, both pagan and Christian, were duly impressed with the unity, harmony, order, and beauty of the universe. Although the Greek theologians had but little scientific interest in nature, they make frequent references to its order and bounty as evidences of the being and nature of God (*e.g.*, Origen, *c. Celsum*, i. 23).

Yet the harmony was manifestly marred by evil.

'The sure and universal conviction was that the present condition and course of the world is not of God, but is of the devil' (Harnack, i. 182).

All Christian doctrine involves the idea of a fall, whereby the processes of nature as well as the lives of men were turned aside from their original and proper course. Platonic and Gnostic theories which traced evil to matter, and which would therefore make evil inherent in nature, were indeed strenuously repudiated. The fall was moral, not natural, and due to the voluntary acts of rational creatures, among whom Origen reckoned the sun, moon, and stars, as well as men, angels, and evil spirits (*de Prin.* II. ix. 6). But he regards even the diversity and plurality in the universe as a departure from the unity, from God—a metaphysical fall which seems to establish evil in the nature of things. And the practical dualism of asceticism and monasticism found much support in Origen's philosophy. But his belief in monotheism, in the almighty power and goodness of God, and in free will led Origen, like the other Greek Fathers, to deny vigorously that evil inhered in nature. He also rejected the idea of a mechanical uniformity, either in the recurring cycles of the universe or in the order of nature, because it would exclude the free will from whose acts sin and evil had to be derived. Nor was evil permitted to mar ultimately the perfection of God's plan, for He so orders the whole that it fulfils one ideal of perfect harmony (*ib.* II. i. 3). He has so ordained the cycles of the æons and the processes of nature that they serve to discipline rational beings, and to lead them back to the original unity. Thus will all evil and disorder disappear 'when all things shall be re-established in a state of unity and when God shall be all in all' (*ib.* III. vi. 6). Apocalyptic hopes proved the way of escape from dualism and despair for the early Church. Because of sin the present world was evil and under the dominion of demons, but it was a temporary phase to pass away speedily, and a restored and renovated world after God's perfect plan would soon be ushered in with the new age. Though the world was bad, nature was good and able to cast off its evil condition.

4. The Latin Fathers. — The Latin Fathers adopt in the main the theory of the universe developed in Greek theology, though with some characteristic differences.

'The one God, by His commanding word, His arranging wisdom, His mighty power, brought forth from nothing this entire mass of our world, with all its array of elements, bodies, spirits, for the glory of His majesty' (Tert. *Apol.* 17; cf. 11, 21).

The Genesis story is accepted literally as the way in which God perfected all His works in due order (Tert. *adv. Herm.* 29).

(*a*) *Tertullian.*—Tertullian states with new emphasis and clearness that God made the world out of nothing and it will therefore return to nothing. This is the theme of several of his treatises against the Gnostics (e.g., *adv. Herm.*, *adv. Valent.*). One characteristic difference between Greek and Latin thought was that the former was never quite free from a pantheistic tendency to derive the world to some extent by way of emanation from God's essence, but in Latin thought God's creative activity is free and even arbitrary, for it is not conditioned by His essence. Conversely, the world thus made out of nothing by God's free act assumes a more independent existence over against God. Although Tertullian and Minucius Felix wrote against Stoicism and rejected its pantheism, their view of nature as a totality of substances, laws, principles, and order, once created complete in itself, was largely Stoic. To the Stoic conception of a self-subsistent world they added the Hebrew-Christian conception of God as its original Creator. They came nearer to the deistic view than the Greeks. Nature was a most holy and 'reverend' work of God, 'an object of reverence' (Tert. *adv. Marcion.* iii. 11, *de Anima*, 27). As it enshrines the wisdom and truth of God, man may learn from it the general principles of religion and morality apart from revelation (*de Res. Carn.* 12). There is a common law of God 'prevailing all over the world, engraven on the natural tables' (*de Corona*, 5 f.). Tertullian appeals to the Roman emperors for the fundamental human right to worship as a privilege of nature (*ad Scapulam*, 2). The knowledge of God is manifest, not only from the works of His hands, but from 'the noble testimony of the human soul by nature Christian' (*Apol.* 17; cf. *de Test. Animæ*, 1). Christian experience is the special realm of the supernatural revelation and operation of the Spirit of God, but all nature's processes also correspond with the mind of God. There are two divine operations, natural and supernatural, but one truth. Tertullian shows a deep interest in the detailed processes of nature, which he conceived in the manner of Heraclitus as continual change ending in a final conflagration. He realized the difficulty which

evil and sin presented to his view of nature as a perfect work of God. Some evils and calamities he explains as means to the fulfilment of God's purpose, but radical evil and sin he traces to the free action of men and evil spirits. Nature is originally and essentially good, but the devil is the corrupter of nature (*de Cult. Fem.* i. 8). Yet he cannot corrupt the substance created by God. Paul's censure of the flesh applies not to its substance but to its action (*de Res. Carn.* 10). Christ abolishes not *carnem peccati* but *peccatum carnis*, not the substance of flesh but its *culpa* (*de Carn. Christi*, 16). And in the human soul the rational element belongs to its nature, but the irrational elements and the sinful tendencies emanate from the devil and enter the soul by acts of sin (*de Anima*, 16). Yet sin entered into human nature, and so into the world, at so early a stage that in a secondary sense it has become part of nature.

'The corruption of our nature is another nature, having a god and father of its own, the author of corruption' (*de Anima*, 41; cf. 16, 27, 39).

Even death is not a condition of nature, but the result of sin—the product of a fault and defect which is not itself natural; but it is easy to apply the term 'natural' to faults and defects that are inseparable from us since our birth, or even earlier (Traducianism). Thus, while Tertullian vigorously contends against the metaphysical dualism of the Gnostics, and in the main adopts the optimistic theory of nature which he had derived from the Greeks, his deep sense of sin and evil led him to lay the foundations of that Western doctrine of radical evil which was more fully developed by Augustine. Tertullian's writings also abound in ascetic teachings which easily led to the pessimism and contempt of nature that became rife in later ages. The large place and powerful influence which he ascribes to the devil in human conduct and destiny were inconsistent with an optimistic conception of nature in the widest sense. He never really faced the problem of evil on the large scale. He could retain his conception of nature as a perfect work of God only by assuming a realm of evil outside nature balanced by a realm of grace above nature, neither of which he attempted to fit into a theory of reality as a whole.

(*b*) *Augustine.*—The doctrine of radical evil was further developed by Ambrose of Milan (see Harnack, v. 49), and was finally stated as part of a system of the universe by his disciple, Augustine. With Augustine Patristic thought for the first time attains to a thoroughly subjective point of view. God and the soul are the two poles on which his whole system revolves. His interest in external nature and his theories of it are therefore secondary to and dependent upon his view of the relation between God and the soul. His philosophy is fundamentally spiritualistic. He even approaches panegoism. Will is the sole efficient cause. The will of God is the original and supreme cause of all things. Created spirits, angels and men, both good and bad, are also efficient causes in a secondary sense, but they have no power except what God has bestowed upon them. Material or natural causes are not efficient causes at all, 'because they can only do what the wills of spirits do by them.' Nature as a system of law and order is 'an order of causes in which the highest efficiency is attributed to the will of God' (*de Civ. Dei*, v. 9). God, being supremely good, can will only that which is good, and therefore all nature or substance is essentially good. By His good will He has given existence, form, quality, life, reason, beauty, position, relation, and all other attributes to everything in its due order, not only to heaven and earth, men and angels, but to the smallest and most contemptible animal, to the feather of a bird, the flower of a plant, the leaf of a tree—all have their harmony and mutual place as parts of the great whole. It is not a necessary uniformity in nature, but the harmony of God's will. Even miracles are miracles only in a relative sense, for all events, whether normal or abnormal, issue directly from the will of God. Even the evil which other wills do, God so overrules that it does not mar, but rather completes, the harmony of His good purpose (*ib.* v. 11, vii. 30, x. 12, xi. 22, *de Moribus Manich.* 7, *c. Faustum*, xxi. 5).

Yet Augustine was intensely conscious of the reality of evil both in himself and in the world around him. In their normal state both the individual soul and human society were given over to evil as kingdoms of the devil. But this too was not of nature, but of will. God was the author of all natures and substances, and He could make nothing evil (*de Moribus Manich.* 2).

'The origin of sin is in the will; therefore in the will also is the origin of evil, both in the sense of acting against a just precept and in the sense of suffering under a just sentence' (*c. Faustum*, xxii. 22; cf. *de Civ. Dei*, xii. 1).

Physical evil is the result of moral evil. Pelagius argued therefore that nature, in spite of sin, is essentially good, because sin is only a momentary act of will that cannot pervert or corrupt the nature or produce an evil nature (Harnack, v. 194). But Augustine held that nature and will are so intimately bound up together that the will perverted by sin perverts and vitiates the nature itself, so that it becomes impotent to resist sin ('natura vitiata, massa perditionis, non posse non peccare'). But there was in Augustine's doctrine a deeper element of dualism, a relic of Manichæan or Platonic influence, for the nature that was vitiated by sin held the capacity of corruption because it was created out of nothing, and evil is the privation of being; Augustine seems to regard the privation of existence in created things as in some sense a positive evil (*de Moribus Manich.* vii. 10, *c. Epistolam Manichæi*, xxxvi. 41). On the other hand, nature thus vitiated by sin can be restored to goodness, not by the creative or providential act of God, but by a supernatural act of grace through Jesus Christ and the Church, which is therefore a new and higher order of existence over against the old order of the sinful world. External nature is involved in the calamity of sin as the instrument of its punishment. God has not withdrawn all His creative goodness, for He has filled this misery of the human race with the rich and countless blessings of nature, and of the arts and sciences of civilized life (*de Civ. Dei*, xxii. 22, 23, 24). Yet the whole framework of nature has been irretrievably disordered by sin:

'From this hell upon earth there is no escape, save through the grace of the Saviour' (*ib.* xxii. 22), and 'all to which the New Testament invites belongs to that future inheritance which awaits us in the world to come' (*ib.* xxi. 15).

Nature as it is, therefore, stands in a double antithesis: (1) to original nature as God created it, and (2) to the realm of grace into which the elect are delivered from the corruption and misery of the present world. Augustine's doctrine of the two realms, of nature and grace, or of the natural and supernatural, has held sway over Christian thought down to the present time.

5. **Mediæval supernaturalism.**—The living interest of mediæval thought was almost entirely metaphysical.

(*a*) *John Scotus Erigena*, the most powerful and original mind in the early Middle Ages, in his chief work, *de Divisione Naturæ*, defines nature as the *processus* of the divine being in four successive stages: (1) nature uncreated and creating, or God in Himself; (2) nature created and creating, or God as prolated cause of all things; (3) nature

created but not creating, the world as the continuous evolution process of the one divine substance; (4) nature neither creating nor created, God all in all at the end of the process.

'Of fatal necessity God eventually withdraws again into Himself; this is the final cosmic absorption in the bosom of the Great All' (M. de Wulf, *Hist. of Mediæval Philosophy*, pp. 167–170).

Erigena's identification of all reality with God was not generally accepted by the Church, but the predominance of the metaphysical standpoint is equally manifest in the chief problem that engaged the thought of the later Scholastics.

(*b*) *The controversy about universals.*—The problem was mainly epistemological. Realists and conceptualists were manifestly concerned about abstract ideas, and nominalism, in spite of its more empirical trend, confined its outlook to the abstract problem of knowledge, and developed no interest in things.

(*c*) *The mediæval metaphysics of nature*, apart from Erigena's pantheism, was in all essentials Augustine's. God created all things by an act of will after the exemplar that He had in His mind (Aquinas, *Summa Theol.* I. xix. 4). He created all nature's good, and evil is neither a being nor a good, but the absence of being (*ib.* xlviii.). The causality of God extends to all beings, not only to species, but to individuals. All things are directed by God to one end. The order of the universe is also a good which God has created (*ib.* xxii. 1, 2). And this order involves a gradation of being which admits the possibility of evil, but all actual evil issues from evil wills (*ib.* xlix.). All the Scholastics regarded the world chiefly as an effect of which God is the cause. Anselm, indeed, not content to base the proof of God's existence on creation, devised the ontological argument, but his successors rejected it, and fell back on proofs of the cosmological type. These have been criticized as implying a deistic separation between God and the world which limits His being and negates His immanence, but it is equally true that they tend to empty the world of its reality, for its substance or nature which was good was only the activity of God, while the evil in it was the negation of divine activity.

(*d*) *Practical dualism.*—While the metaphysical theory of evil represented it as negation, for the practical thought of the time it was the most terrible and dominant reality. The dualistic trend in earlier thought ran riot in the Middle Ages under the two forms of asceticism and diabolism. (i.) From the 2nd cent. downwards ascetic ideas asserted themselves in the Church. In the 3rd cent. men began to flee from this evil world to find peace and salvation in the desert. During the 4th cent. monasticism established itself as a permanent institution in the East. Its rise in the West was later—the Benedictine order in the 6th cent., the Clunian reform in the 11th, the Mendicant orders in the 13th—but it dominated the life and thought of the Western Church in the Middle Ages. Its chief, though not its only, underlying principles were that the world of sense was evil and therefore to be avoided, and that the normal processes of nature were, if not essentially evil,[1] at least occasions of evil.

'To many, indeed, virginity was neither more nor less than the very essence of Christian morality' (Harnack, *Monasticism*, Eng. tr., London, 1901, pp. 65, 67).

(ii.) Above all, the present world was under the dominion of the devil and his host of evil demons. Primitive animism, belched forth from the abysses of Western paganism, allied itself with Manichæan, monastic, and chiliastic elements in the mind of the Church, and all but submerged Christian monotheism and every idea of a world created, ordered, and ruled by divine wisdom and goodness. Evil spirits swarmed upon the earth, ubiquitous and nearly all-powerful. Nature and man were their playthings. Magic, sorcery, witchcraft, possession, *incubi*, *succubæ*, alchemy, heresy, even science and philosophy, were forms of their activity. God, Christ, the Virgin, angels, saints, and sacraments afforded but uncertain protection against their devices to destroy men's souls. For the popular mind, a metaphysical supernaturalism was a poor protection against a nature diabolism.

(*e*) *Symbolism.*—The remedy was sought neither in science nor in theology, but in a symbolic interpretation of nature. If actual nature had been reduced to vanity by evil spirits, it still retained the form and image of the true and good, and so could be the efficacious instrument of divine grace. The idea that things had a double meaning, one obvious and the other hidden, had prevailed in many forms, in animism, poetry, Christ's parables, Plato's idealism, Alexandrian allegorism. The Patristic age developed the doctrine that the water of baptism, and the bread and wine in the Supper, had a mysterious and miraculous significance and efficacy for salvation. But there was no logical reason for limiting symbolical significance to a few natural elements. Sacraments were multiplied, and Hugo of St. Victor (1096–1141), in his *de Sacramentis Christianæ Fidei*, propounded the theory that the whole visible creation was a symbol of the invisible world and a revelation of divine truth (H. O. Taylor, *The Mediæval Mind*[2], vol. ii. ch. xxix.). But the symbolical interpretation of nature did not really reconcile it to God nor present a Christian theory of it. It was but a magic bridge cast by illusion over the chasm of dualism, and it availed only so long as the illusion lasted. When men at last brushed away the cobwebs of animism, diabolism, and symbolism, and gazed upon Nature herself, they entered into a universe very different from the supernaturalism and symbolism of the Church.

6. Physical science in the Middle Ages.—The mediæval Church preserved the tradition of science, and in its later period one here and there who manifested a new interest in nature may be reckoned as a forerunner of the modern science of nature. The end of the Patristic age, from Ambrose and Augustine to Gregory, descended to the lowest level of ignorance and indifference about nature. A semi-mythical book called the *Physiologus* supplied the place of natural history (Taylor, i. 76). Boethius (470–525), by his translation of Porphyry's *Isagoge* and Aristotle's *de Categoriis* and *de Interpretatione*, revived some study of logic. Martianus Capella (5th cent.), in his *Satyricon*, or *de Nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiæ*, gave a compendium of the seven liberal arts, grammar, rhetoric, dialectic (=*trivium*), arithmetic, astronomy, geometry, and music (=*quadrivium*), which became the standard text-book. Similar compendia were *de Artibus ac Disciplinis Liberalium Litterarum* of Cassiodorus (*c.* 470–570), *Originum seu Etymologiarum Libri XX* of Isidore of Seville (*c.* 560–636), *de Natura Rerum* of the Venerable Bede (*c.* 674–734), and *de Universo* of Rabanus Maurus (*c.* 776–856). Physics or natural science was included in all the traditional divisions of philosophy, but it only amounted to a collection of traditional lore.

From the 10th to the 12th cent. a new quickening influence emerged in the Arabian philosophy derived from Aristotle by Avicenna (980–1037) and Averroës (1126–98). Gerbert of Aurillac (*c.* 950–1003) handled the traditional material with a new sense of the importance of mathematics and natural science. The school of Chartres was a centre of great intellectual activity. Bernard (1090–1153) wrote on

[1] St. Francis of Assisi was a notable exception, whose love of nature was equal to his asceticism, but he stood alone, except for some intimations of a revived appreciation of nature found in poetry.

Porphyry, and, under Platonic influence, conceived nature as a living organism. His brother, Theoderic (*c.* 1100–55), compiled numerous books of natural knowledge. Gilbert de la Porrée (1076–1154) wrote *de Sex Principiis*—an attempt to complete Aristotle's treatment of the categories. William of Conches (1080–1154), in his *Magna de Naturis Philosophia* and *de Philosophia Mundi*, propounded an atomic theory of the universe, and displayed the interest in the medical and physiological studies of Galen and Hippocrates which marked the school of Chartres. John of Salisbury (? 1115–80) and Alan de Lille (? 1128–1202) closed the period of mere compilers and disseminators of ancient knowledge.

The greater writings of Aristotle were rediscovered about the middle of the 12th century. The stages of their appropriation by the Christian Church are represented by the writings of Alexander of Hales († 1245), Albertus Magnus (*c.* 1200–80), and Thomas Aquinas. Aristotle's spirit of observation and research into nature affected Albert more than the others, but his scientific achievements were negligible. Vincent of Beauvais (*c.* 1190–1264), in his *Speculum Majus*, another encyclopædia, reveals a genuine interest in nature (Taylor, ii. 247 f.). But all these men, whatever they observed and admired of nature, looked out upon it from the prison-house of Scholastic metaphysics. Roger Bacon (? 1210–? 1294) was of a different type—the herald of a new day. He revolted against the *a priori* methods of Scholasticism, and laid down the experimental method of modern science as the only adequate way of investigating nature—'Oportet ergo omnia certificari per viam experientiæ' (*ib.* ii. 536).

One important result of the new recognition of nature as a witness of truth, and of science and philosophy as media of knowledge, was a new emphasis upon the distinction between natural and supernatural knowledge, and the acceptance of the doctrine of twofold truth, one *secundum rationem* and the other *secundum fidem*. Albert and Thomas recognized the distinction between natural and revealed religion and tried to reconcile them. Duns Scotus allowed to philosophy and theology, the natural and the supernatural, each its separate realm. But very soon the divergence grew still wider.

7. Humanism and science.—In the 15th cent. the study of the classics led men back to a new appreciation of nature and a free investigation of it, which in the 16th cent. produced the beginnings of modern science.

(*a*) *The philosophy of the Renaissance* was not so much a new theory of nature as a new attitude towards it. But the scientific discoveries of Copernicus and others in the 16th cent., of Galileo, Kepler, and Newton, transformed the conception of nature, and came into conflict with much that had been embodied in Roman Catholic dogma. Since the Church would not reconstruct its dogmas, a deep cleavage was made between theology and science, and once more nature was abandoned, if not to the devil, to what was confessedly an un-Christian interpretation. From the standpoint of Roman Catholic dogma the modern conception of nature is essentially un-Christian and in most respects even anti-Christian.

(*b*) *Protestantism* as represented in theology was only partially and gradually liberated from mediæval metaphysics, but the new spirit of free inquiry into nature's secrets found more complete expression in philosophy, science, and literature. Hence arose the so-called 'conflict between religion and science,' which was really a conflict between the old and new systems of philosophy and science.

(*c*) *Rationalism.*—Preoccupation with external nature exclusively in the 17th and 18th centuries produced materialism, sensationalism, and rationalism—systems which denied altogether any spiritual meaning to nature.

(*d*) *Pantheism* at the other extreme, by identifying God as *natura naturans* with the world as *natura naturata*, also made all reality an impersonal, non-moral system of necessity.

(*e*) *Deism.*—The deists, both heterodox and orthodox, accepted the current scientific view of nature as a uniform system of properties and laws which worked automatically, but in virtue of God's creative act, and they found in it therefore evidences of certain universal truths of religion—God, virtue, future rewards and punishments. The orthodox school affirmed in addition certain special revelations and acts of God by which He remedied the defects that had entered into nature's mechanism along with sin. These the rationalists denied. But both schools assumed a twofold dualism of God and the world, of the supernatural and natural, and both placed God normally outside the universe. Nature and the Christian revelation were two distinct operations of God, and the tendency was to regard nature independently of God as self-sufficient and self-explanatory.

(*f*) *Naturalism.*—In the 19th cent. naturalism (and positivism), allied with agnosticism, became the legitimate successor of deism. Physical science in itself need not be religious or irreligious, but, if it is put forward as a philosophy, as a complete and adequate account of the world as a whole, it involves the denial of any moral or spiritual significance in the world. Writers like Huxley and Spencer limited all knowledge 'in the proper sense of knowing' to phenomena; and religion, the spiritual, the supernatural, were relegated to the region of the 'unknown and unknowable'; but the knowledge of nature therefore could have no religious significance. A similar but less drastic dualism between scientific knowledge of nature and religious knowledge as it is given in Christian experience appears in the school of Ritschl and in writers like Mansel and Newman.

8. Idealism and theism.—But modern thought has not been content to rest in a view of nature which leaves the new knowledge unrelated to religion, or which makes nature a complete antithesis both to God and to the spiritual being of man. A long succession of philosophers—Descartes and Leibniz, Kant, Berkeley and Butler, Hegel, Lotze, the Cairds, Rudolf Eucken, James Ward, and many more—have striven to interpret nature in correlation with the conception of God as living and personal, free and immanent in the world, by His power, wisdom, and goodness continually forming and guiding it to fulfil His perfect purpose of holiness and love. This theistic philosophy has not solved all its problems. The relation of the infinite to the finite, of the eternal to time and to the process of evolution, of the One to the many, the existence of evil, both moral and physical, are yet no more than formulated questions without answers. Theism is more a faith than a science, and it is not altogether a Christian faith. Modern thought cannot accept the Patristic and Scholastic method of imposing a Christian interpretation upon nature by authority. The Christian view has found more confident expression in some modern poets, such as Wordsworth and Browning, than in philosophy. The speculative methods of theistic philosophy move but slowly and uncertainly towards Christ's idea of the world as the Father's home and workshop. All that can be said is that theism represents nature in a way more congenial to Christian experience and thought than any other system, and that its line of progress, if it can make any progress, is set in the direction of the Christ-

ian ideal of a world in which 'all things work together for good to them that love God.'

LITERATURE.—W. Windelband, *A Hist. of Philosophy*, tr. J. H. Tufts, New York, 1893; R. Eckardt, *Der christliche Schöpfungsglaube*, Göttingen, 1912; C. Bigg, *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria* [*BL*], new ed., Oxford, 1913; H. O. Taylor, *The Mediæval Mind*[2], 2 vols., London, 1914; M. de Wulf, *Hist. of Medieval Philosophy*, tr. P. Coffey, do. 1909; A. Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr., do. 1894–99; A. Caldecott, *The Philosophy of Religion in England and America*, do. 1901; H. M. Gwatkin, *The Knowledge of God*, Edinburgh, 1906; J. Martineau, *A Study of Religion*, Oxford, 1888; J. Watson, *The Philosophical Basis of Religion*, Glasgow, 1907; W. Wallace, *Lectures and Essays on Natural Theology and Ethics*, Oxford, 1898; J. Ward, *Naturalism and Agnosticism*, London, 1899, and *The Realm of Ends*, Cambridge, 1911; J. S. Mackenzie, *Lectures on Humanism*, London, 1907; A. J. Balfour, *The Foundations of Belief*, do. 1895; G. H. Howison, *The Limits of Evolution*, New York, 1901; A. Seth, *Man's Place in the Cosmos*, Edinburgh, 1897; R. Eucken, *The Life of the Spirit*, tr. F. L. Pogson, London, 1909, and *The Truth of Religion*, tr. W. T. Jones, do. 1911; R. Otto, *Naturalistische und religiöse Weltansicht*, Tübingen, 1904; C. C. J. Webb, *Studies in the Hist. of Natural Theology*, Oxford, 1915.

T. REES.

NATURE (Egyptian).—Various attempts have been made in the direction of classifying and arranging the enormous multitude of Egyptian gods. There is one grouping, however, which, while it cuts across many of the other arrangements that have been suggested—human gods, animal gods, composite gods, and so forth—seems to mark a fairly broad and manifest division of Egyptian religious thought. On the one hand, we have abstract gods, called into being by the Egyptian religious consciousness as the expression of certain qualities which they found more or less present in their own natures, and assumed therefore to be necessarily inherent in their divinities. On the other hand, we have nature-gods, created by the people as the expression of certain aspects of the world and the visible universe around them. It may be a question which of these two classes of divinities came first into being; but on the whole, looking to the character of the Egyptian as a religious thinker, it seems probable that the rise of the abstract gods was a later development, and that the earliest developments of Egyptian religion were in the direction of forming gods out of the aspects and powers of nature as seen around the earliest inhabitants of the Nile Valley.

'As among all other early peoples, it was in his natural surroundings that the Egyptian first saw his gods. The trees and springs, the stones and hill-tops, the birds and beasts, were creatures like himself, or possessed of strange and uncanny powers of which he was not master. Nature thus makes the earliest impression upon the religious faculty, the visible world is first explained in terms of religious forces, and the earliest gods are the controlling forces of the material world. A social or political realm, or a domain of the spirit where the gods shall be supreme, is not yet perceived. Such divinities as these were local, each known only to the dwellers in a given locality' (Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, p. 4 f.).

Later, as it would appear, the more abstract aspects of divinity came into view; abstractions such as Maat, the goddess of truth, make their appearance, and even the old nature-gods change their character to some extent, and are more philosophically conceived; but Egyptian religion never made any very great advances in the direction of philosophic abstraction, and the nature-gods occupy, from first to last, by far the most important position (cf. PERSONIFICATION [Egyptian]).

They fall into two great groups: (1) sky-gods and (2) earth-gods. It would perhaps be simpler to call the sky-gods by the title of sun-gods, for they are all more or less connected with the cycle of solar deities, while the main earth-gods belong to a perfectly distinct cycle. The two great currents of religious thought in Egypt are those which deal with the Rā, or solar, cycle of divinities, and those which deal with the Osiris, or earthly, cycle. The two are found, as was to be expected, already existing side by side at the earliest period of which we have any record; the rivalry between the two schools of thought and worship continues throughout the course of Egyptian history, and the developments of doctrine which derive from these two different lines of thought give rise to a good deal of that extraordinary confusion and inconsistency which are the first things that strike the student of Egyptian religion. The Egyptian never finally discarded either the one group or the other in his mind, and he kept side by side all the developments that arose out of the two theories of God without worrying over the fact that they were often absolutely inconsistent with each other. So we have, *e.g.*, heavens that belong to the solar cycle co-existing in the religious literature with heavens that belong just as manifestly to the Osiris cycle, and are totally inconsistent with the others. The story of Egyptian religion is practically the story of the parallel development and rivalry of two groups of nature-gods—a heavenly, or solar, and an earthly, or Osirian. The intervals when other gods seem to oust both groups are not really exceptions to this statement. Thus, to take the most notable instance, the rise of the Theban god Amen to supremacy in the land, coinciding with the rise of Thebes as the capital city, is accomplished only by the stock-in-trade of the solar cycle of gods being credited to the Theban deity, who thus loses or sinks his own original character in order to become adequate to his new glory; Amen becomes Amen-Rā.

1. Sky-gods.—It is not difficult to see why the cosmic gods were headed and ruled in the Egyptian theory by the sun-god.

'The all-enveloping glory and power of the Egyptian sun is the most insistent fact in the Nile valley' (Breasted, p. 9).

Among the many natural agencies that were of importance to him, the Egyptian saw none that could be compared with this, and probably the very earliest form that religious thought took was the establishment of some kind of conception of a sun-god. There are in Egyptian religious literature traces of a still earlier form of sun-worship than that which we find in existence in the earliest historical period—a form in which the god was a Horus, or a group of Horuses, out of the innumerable company of deities of the same name which existed in Egypt. The many forms in which the sun-god was represented are doubtless survivals of the multitude of local cults of the everywhere present deity. Roughly, however, the prevalent idea represented the sun-god under three aspects. He is Khepera, the god of coming into being or becoming, in the morning when he rises, his emblem being in this case the winged beetle. He is Rā when he sails across the heaven in his boat during the middle of the day, and is represented as either a hawk-headed or a ram-headed human being, with a solar disk upon his head. He is Tum or Atum, 'an aged man tottering down the west,' when he appears as the setting sun.

Rā, to take the most generally used of his titles, is at the head of the Egyptian pantheon, and has in his company a cycle of other divinities representing other aspects and forces of nature. The theories of how he came into being are various. At Memphis it was held that Ptah, the artificer-god, shaped an egg out of which came the sun-god. Elsewhere a lotus-flower appeared out of the primeval watery element, and held Rā concealed among its leaves; or, as at Heliopolis, the god had appeared originally as a phœnix upon the ancient pyramidal stone in the temple. Having come into existence in one or other of these ways, Rā (or Nebertcher, as he is called in the texts referring to this particular period of his being) then by his own masculine power produced a pair of gods—Shu, the space- or air-god, and Tefnut, his wife.

'I, even I, spat in the form of Shu, and I emitted Tefnut. I became from God one, Gods three, that is to say from myself two Gods came into being on this earth' (Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, i. 317).

Of Shu and Tefnut are born Seb or Geb, the earth-god, and Nut, the sky-goddess; and of them are born Osiris and Set, Isis and Nephthys. Osiris and the chief figures in the Osirian cycle here appear in the Rā group of gods, but in an entirely subordinate position, and with no very marked reason for their presence, as they have no particular function to perform. This would seem to point to the fact that, when the gods were thus grouped—which cannot have been at the very earliest period—the Osiris group was already in existence and had to be incorporated somehow or other, though in a form quite inconsistent with the importance attributed to Osiris and his retinue in his own legend.

Rā's function as sun-god is at first a purely material one. He is the source of life and increase, the driver away of storm, the expeller of rain, and the breaker up of cloud. He has enemies who fight against him, and in one legend he loses one of his eyes—an attempt, no doubt, to account for eclipses; another version of the losing of the eye seems to be associated with the waxing and waning of the moon, whose close connexion with the sun would speedily be detected. In this case the lost eye is restored by Thōth, the moon-god. Beginning with these purely natural functions, Rā at a very early period developed into a more ethical governor of the world, and we learn how men rebelled against his rule, and were destroyed in vengeance by the fierce goddess Hathor (Sekhmet), who may in this case, as also in some other instances, represent the destroying heat of the sun. Finally, Rā became the great beneficent ruler of the world, the giver of every good and perfect gift.

Of his cycle, Shu, the air-god, is practically confined to a single action. He is the separator, and it is his function to separate Nut, the sky-goddess, from the embrace of Seb, the earth-god, and to keep her continually arched over the world, while Tefnut, his wife, is a mere feminine adjunct to him. Nut was not worshipped, and had no local establishment, and Seb, at least in the developed form of the Rā legends, was purely passive, though there are signs in remnants of earlier legends of his greater activity as divider of the earth. The appearance of Set as well as Osiris in the cycle of the solar god suggests that he may have represented some natural phenomenon, like the rest of his group—probably the darkness. In this case the enmity between Set and Horus, which finds full development in the great Osiris legend, would be the transference to a later tradition of a much older enmity between the solar Horus, who stands for the sun-god of the earliest Egyptian belief, and the darkness. In one of the Pyramid Texts Seb, the earth-god, assigns their respective domains to Horus and Set in a fashion that suggests the entire equality of the two divinities of light and darkness in this early stage of Egyptian religious thought. While Rā is to be viewed as the typical and representative sun-god of Egypt, it must be remembered that he is only one of a great number of forms of the same divinity. Many of the nome-gods of the land were, as was natural, sun-gods also, and were identified, when occasion arose, with the great central deity.

The cosmogony attached to this solar cycle of gods was as manifold and as inconsistent as the company of gods with which it had to deal. In one version the sky appears as a great cow, whose feet rest upon the earth and form the four pillars of the universe, while the barque of the sun-god passes along its belly. In another the sky is represented by the form of a woman, the sky-goddess Nut, who bends over the earth, touching it at the four cardinal points with her feet and the tips of her fingers, while the sun-god's barque sails over her back. But in the most generally received idea the heavens are represented as a great iron canopy stretched over the earth, and supported upon four pillars. From this canopy the stars hang like lamps; and round the margin of the earth below runs the great river, the celestial Nile, along whose surface the sun-god sails in his barque all day, appearing in the morning from behind the eastern mountains, and disappearing behind the western mountains in the evening. This, of course, raised the question of how the god got back from west to east in time for his morning re-appearance; and the result was the invention of the journey of Rā through the realms of the dark under world—a doctrine which received extraordinary and fantastic development during the period of the XIXth dynasty. In his journey across the heavens the sun-god met with many enemies, particularly the great serpent Apap; and the crew of his boat had to fight for him against the monsters which would have devoured him. Here, no doubt, we have survivals of some primitive theory of eclipses.

Along with the sun-god there goes a company of other gods and goddesses. Among these the first place must be given to the moon-god Thōth or Tahuti, though later he became more a god of learning, and was, indeed, the head of the Hermopolitan ogdoad, which consisted of abstract deities. The reason for this transference of Thōth from his original position as a nature-god to the position of a god of learning and letters is fairly obvious. Owing to its rapid motion among the stars, the moon has always been the most convenient regulator of all periods of time greater than the day, and from its motions reckonings have been made and dates fixed in all ages and among all nations. Therefore it was perfectly natural to attribute to the moon-god the invention of letters and figures, and the control and regulation of all forms of learning. Later, and especially in connexion with the rise of Thebes, another form of the moon-god came into prominence, though without affecting the prestige of Thōth, who by this time had fully taken his place as the god of learning. This was Khonsu, who formed the third member of the Theban triad, which consisted of Amen the father-god, Mut the mother-goddess, and Khonsu the son. In this development the moon-god is represented as of purely human form, while Thōth is always figured with a human body and the head of an ibis. A late romance tells us that the temple at Thebes possessed two images of Khonsu, of which the one was named 'Khonsu-of-Good-Counsel-in-Thebes,' and the other 'Khonsu-the-Expeller-of-Demons,' and that the latter image, which appears to have occupied a secondary rank, possessed magical powers.

The sky-goddess Nut, so long as she remains a sky-goddess, is merely a pictorial adjunct to the solar god, and appears to have received very little veneration in historical times. In another of her manifestations, however, she becomes the favourite goddess of the Egyptian pantheon, under the form of the goddess Hathor. This title, 'House of Horus,' distinctly indicates her nature as a sky-goddess, and her association with the oldest form of solar worship; but, for what reason is unknown, she became at an early date not only the chief of all the goddesses, but the special object of women's adoration, and the goddess of pleasure and of love, the Egyptian Aphrodite. While this is so, another and a more terrible aspect of her character is

revealed by the ancient legend which recounts the rebellion of mankind against Rā and pictures Hathor as the eager executrix of the sun-god's vengeance upon humanity. In this aspect she is identified with the lioness-headed goddess Sekhmet, and may perhaps be held, as Renouf suggests (*Origin and Growth of Religion*, p. 179), to represent the destroying heat of the sun. Another sky-goddess of great antiquity, and, at the beginning and near the end of Egyptian history, of great importance, is Neit of Sais, 'the mother who brought forth the sun.' As this epithet suggests, she is originally a creative goddess, and is sometimes represented as having woven the universe as a weaver weaves cloth—an early version of the 'roaring loom of Time.' To this cycle of the solar gods there belongs its own theory of heaven and of the destiny of the dead in the hereafter. It would be more correct to say theories; for there are two versions more or less inconsistent with one another, as is not uncommon in Egyptian religion. In the one the blessed dead are received into heaven, there to shine as the stars in the firmament; in the other they are privileged to enter the boat of the sun-god, and to voyage with him through the realms of day and night.

2. Earth-gods.—Over against the sky-gods and goddesses of the solar cycle, and, no doubt, in the earliest stages of Egyptian religious thought, more or less hostile to them, were set the earth-gods, of whom the foremost and most important by far are those of the Osiris cycle. The beginnings of the Osiris story lie very far back in Egyptian history; and the Osiris who is met with in the earliest stages of the Egyptian religion is a very different being from the beneficent king of Plutarch's legend, slain by his brother, and afterwards appointed king and judge in the realms of the dead.[1] The original Osiris of Egyptian religion is purely and simply a nature-god—and a nature-god who is not necessarily of a beneficent type at all. The earliest notion of the relation of Osiris to human beings discernible in the Pyramid Texts is that he is a power hostile to them, against whose malevolence protection has to be sought in magic utterances.

The reason for this apparently strange beginning of the gracious god of the resurrection is to be found in the original rôle played by Osiris as a nature-god. He appears, in the earliest thought, to have represented the Nile. Now it is easy to see the stages by which, as the Nile was gradually pressed into the service of the Egyptian residents, the Nile-god became a beneficent deity—in fact almost the most precious and beneficent of all deities, so that he grew to be a noteworthy rival of Rā himself in the esteem of men. But in the beginning of things, when the Nile was yet unbridled, and the idea of utilizing its overflow had not yet dawned upon the inhabitants of the valley, that very peculiarity of the annual inundation which made the river an inestimable boon in later years must have made it a terror. Lives would be threatened, homes destroyed, and labour lost. Until the movements of the river were understood, and to some extent regulated and taken advantage of, the Nile-god must have been regarded as a destroying deity. Particularly before the Egyptians had learned to bury their dead safely beyond reach of the waters of the inundation, the Nile and its deity must have been a terror to them. This is probably the reason why in the Pyramid Texts we find traces of an Osiris who is hostile to men, and against whom the dead need to be protected by words of power.

[1] Plutarch's legend, none the less, seems to represent with considerable accuracy the later developments of the Osiris myth.

The identification of Osiris with the Nile is rendered absolutely certain by a number of passages in the Pyramid Texts—*e.g.*, in the passage of the finding of the dead god by his son Horus we are told:

'Horus comes, he recognizes his father in thee, youthful in thy name of *Fresh Water*.'

And again, in a passage where the inundation is directly ascribed to him:

'The lakes fill, the canals are inundated by the purification that came forth from Osiris';

while later King Ramses IV. addresses Osiris thus:

'Thou art indeed the Nile, great with fields at the beginning of the seasons; gods and men live by the moisture that is in thee.'

The identification of Osiris with water is carried still further by making him identical, not only with the Nile, but with the ocean also:

'Thou art great, thou art green, in thy name of *Great Green*; lo! thou art round as the Great Circle; lo! thou art turned about, thou art round as the circle that encircles the *Hanebu* (the Ægeans).'

From the identification of Osiris with the life-giving river it is only a step to the identification of him with the life-giving function generally. Here, therefore, he enters into relationship with the soil over which the water of the inundation flows. Life is produced by the combination of the water and the soil, and so, by a natural process, Osiris at a very early stage has become a god of the fruitful soil, and is even identified with the earth itself. In a very remarkable passage quoted by A. Erman (*ZÄ* xxxviii. [1900] 30–33) Osiris is addressed as follows:

'When canals are dug, . . . houses and temples are built, when monuments are transported, and fields are cultivated, when tomb-chapels and tombs are excavated, they rest on thee, it is thou who makest them. They are on thy back, though they are more than can be put into writing. [Thy] back hath not an empty place, for they all lie on thy back; but [thou sayest] not: "I am weighed down." Thou art the father and mother of men, they live in thy breath, they eat of the flesh of thy body. The *Primeval* is thy name.'

The last sentences show the process by which Osiris is being gradually transformed. He is now an earth-god; the atmosphere is his also; further, he is beginning to become a god of sustenance—'they eat of the flesh of thy body.' The process takes another step, in which Osiris is identified, not only with the soil, but also with the grain and the fruitful plants produced by the soil, and becomes a god of corn and wine. He had already reached this stage by the date of the Pyramid Texts. He is addressed in these as 'Thou lord of green fields,' and as 'Lord of overflowing wine.' At a later stage, in the Coffin Texts, which occupy a position in time between the Pyramid Texts and the *Book of the Dead* properly so called, we find passages in which the deceased expresses himself thus:

'I am Osiris, . . . the gods live as I, I live as the gods, I live as grain, I grow as grain, . . . I am barley.'

The idea is further illustrated by the frequent representations which show grain sprouting out of the prostrate body of Osiris or a tree growing out of his tomb or coffin, and by the fact that an effigy of Osiris moulded out of bruised corn and earth was sometimes buried along with the dead, or in the cornfield to ensure a good crop.

The whole process of the transformation of Osiris is thus perfectly manifest. The original god of the Nile—a being hostile to humanity in some aspects of his working—becomes, as the nation learns to avail itself of the inundation, a beneficent deity who blesses the soil, then the soil itself, then the fruits that grow out of the soil.

'The god was doubtless in Egyptian thought the imperishable principle of life wherever found, and this conception not infrequently appears in representations of him, showing him even in death as still possessed of generative power. The ever-waning and reviving life of the earth, sometimes associated with the life-giving waters, sometimes with the fertile soil, or again discerned in vegetation itself—that was Osiris' (Breasted, p. 28).

When we have got to this stage, we are obviously

not far from the possibility which is realized when Osiris is transformed from a mere beneficent harvest-god, dying and reviving with his crops, to the moral and spiritual being who is regarded as the representative of good, placed over against the representative of evil in his brother Set. Set, who in the solar cycle appears to stand for darkness, in the Osiris cycle seems to stand for the desert soil as opposed to the fertile land of Egypt. He is the Red Fiend from the colour of his sands as against the black soil of the alluvial plain—ever encroaching on the domain of his brother, and ever hostile to his interests. The death and rising again of Osiris are in the beginning the mere recognition of the facts of nature, seen year by year in the changing seasons; gradually they are moralized, and become the type of immortality and resurrection, and also of the final victory of good over evil. St. Paul's argument in 1 Co 15 develops in a Christian fashion the same idea which the Egyptian thinkers of at least 3000 years before had already wrought out in their own way, when they made this Nile-earth-harvest-god into the type of the resurrection and the earnest of everlasting life.

Isis, the wife of Osiris, is regarded as her husband's helper in the securing of fruitfulness. The inundation coincided with the rising of Sothis, the star of Isis, and therefore the fruitfulness consequent upon it was attributed to her as well as to her husband.

'The beloved daughter, Sothis, makes thy fruits in this her name of "Year"' (Pyramid Text, quoted in Breasted, p. 22).

Isis, however, is regarded by Maspero as originally an independent nature-goddess, the earth-goddess of Buto, who was only introduced at a later period into the Osiris cycle. It is more difficult to see the place of Horus in the harvest story, until he has to be brought in as the avenger of his father. In the solar cycle Horus, as himself the original sun-god and the personification of light, has a natural place as against Set, the darkness, and wages unceasing warfare with him. There is no obvious reason for his appearing in the Osiris cycle, when the struggle is one between fruitfulness and barrenness, till he is brought in to round out the story as the avenger of his father; and no doubt much of the detail of the warfare of Horus with Set really belongs to the original solar form of the strife, and has been adapted to the case of Horus the avenger. Nebhat, or Nephthys, the wife of Set, is merely a concession to the Egyptian love of symmetry in families, though Renouf (p. 112) regards her as the sunset, wedded to Set, the darkness. This, of course, would give her a place in the solar cycle, but none in the true Osiris group.

3. Other deities.—In addition to the two great groups of nature-gods, the solar and the Osirian, the Egyptians recognized a great number of local deities, who may be regarded as merely variants of the chief gods already mentioned, while, further, they recognized a number of quite subordinate divinities of nature, spirits of the wood and stream and hill, sacred trees, sacred serpents, and so forth. But besides all these there were certain other divinities, not always clearly distinguished from some of those mentioned above, and yet with a sufficiently independent existence to warrant separate notice of them. Chief among these is the Nile-god Hāpi, to be distinguished from the other Hāpi, son of Horus, who was one of the four divinities to whom the charge of the internal organs of the dead was committed, and whose heads appear as the so-called canopic jars. Hāpi, strictly speaking, ought only to be a variant of Osiris; but the development and moralizing of the Osiris legend led to the detachment of Osiris from his original functions as a Nile-god, and Hāpi took his place in that aspect, with some claim to be regarded as an independent divinity. Hāpi was one of the most widely recognized and worshipped of Egyptian gods, which is not to be wondered at when the importance of the river to the land is considered. He was, of course, particularly the object of worship in respect of the annual inundation, and it was believed that, if his worship were neglected, the inundation would not be favourable. He had temples at Memphis, Heliopolis, and elsewhere; but his place was all over the land of Egypt, and there are few localities where the familiar figure of the Nile-god is not to be seen among the temple sculptures. He is generally represented as a fat and flabby man with female breasts, typifying fertility, and is bedecked with water-plants and flowers. Sometimes he is separated into two gods, the god of the Upper and the god of the Lower Nile, wearing in the former case the lotus, and in the latter the papyrus; and a very frequent representation of him shows a Nile-god for each of the forty-two nomes of Egypt—a procession of deities advancing in single file to present gifts to the king. Associated with Hāpi are various minor gods—Hor, Zefa, and Resef, representing food and abundance; Neper and Nepera, the god and goddess of grain; and the snake-headed Rennut, goddess of the harvest.

The local god of the Fayyum province also deserves separate mention. This was Sebek, the crocodile-god. The reason for the adoption of such a god in the lake district, where no doubt the animal abounded in early days, is sufficiently obvious. In addition to his local sanctity, he was worshipped at Ombos, where he was identified with Set; but he was also regarded in other localities as a variant of Rā and as an associate of Osiris. Sebek is represented either as a crocodile or as a human being with a crocodile's head.

Min, the highway god of Koptos, is also to be regarded in some of his aspects as a nature-god. He was the nome-god of Panopolis; but, in addition, he was more or less universally worshipped throughout Egypt as the type of the generative power of nature. He is represented as an ithyphallic figure waving a scourge in his right hand above his head. The harvest festival was dedicated to him in acknowledgment of the abundance produced by the earth, and several of the gods were identified with him when they were referred to as begetters of their divine sons.

The extraordinary development of the worship of the solar god in the reign of Amenhotep IV. (Akhenaten) can scarcely be regarded as within the range of this subject. In so far as the Aten, the life-giving principle of the solar disk, is regarded as a mere aspect of the material vivifying function of the sun, the new god which Akhenaten attempted to introduce may be regarded as a nature-god; but Atenism represents an attempt to reach something much more spiritual than anything which can be associated with the old nature-worship of the Egyptians. It is solar worship in a sense, but solar worship reduced to its most spiritual elements.

LITERATURE.—A. Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, Eng. tr., London, 1897; 'Religion of Egypt,' in *HDB* v. 176 ff.; A. H. Sayce, *The Religion of Ancient Egypt*[2], Edinburgh, 1913; A. Erman, *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, Eng. tr., London, 1907; G. Steindorff, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, New York, 1905; P. Le P. Renouf, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by the Religion of Ancient Egypt*[5] (*HL*, 1879), London, 1907; J. H. Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, do. 1912; E. Naville, *The Old Egyptian Faith*, Eng. tr., do. 1909; G. Maspero, *Hist. ancienne des peuples de l'Orient*, i., 'Les Origines, Egypte, Chaldée,' Paris, 1895; G. A. Reisner, *The Egyptian Conception of Immortality*, London, 1912; W. M. F. Petrie, *Religion of Ancient Egypt*, do. 1906; W. Max Müller, 'Egypt,' in *EBi*; E. A. W. Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, London, 1904.

JAMES BAIKIE.

NATURE (Greek).—When Aristophanes declares in a striking passage in the *Peace*[1] that a main difference between the religion of the Hellenes and that of the barbarians was that the latter sacrificed to the sun and moon, the former to personal deities like Hermes, he was partly right, but did not tell the whole truth. The leading deities of the Hellenic stocks were concrete personal beings, vividly conceived and strikingly anthropomorphic; they were individuals of a certain moral, social, and spiritual character. None of them are merely thinly-disguised personifications of natural phenomena and forces, and many of them reveal no sign of having originated in nature-worship. Zeus himself appears to have been for the earliest Hellenes, and probably for other Aryan races, a personal sky-god who directed celestial phenomena; the earliest conception may have been of the sky as animate or as the abode of a vague spirit, and we have one or two examples in actual Hellenic cult or cult-legend of the identification of Zeus with some phenomenon of the sky, as in the Mantinean inscription recording the cult of Zeus Κεραυνός and in the Arcadian legend of Zeus Καππώτας mentioned below. It may be also that we can discern a primitive direct nature-worship dimly revealed by the cult of Demeter Χλόη (Demeter Vegetation), and that there was once at Marathon a cult of the spring verdure, Χλόη, regarded as divine before the idea of the personal goddess had wholly penetrated and absorbed it.[2] But it is difficult to pronounce at what time the animistic and pre-anthropomorphic religious sense prevailed unblent with the anthropomorphic idea. Certainly, when the early Greek was worshipping Artemis or Apollo, he was not consciously worshipping the moon or the sun. Even a deity so markedly departmental as Poseidon was never identified in substance with the inland waters or the sea which were his province, nor was the element ever called by his name. Nor can we say that the people who worshipped Hephaistos were fire-worshippers, although some dim trace of a primitive conception of fire as something animate and divine survives in one or two phrases attaching to his name—as, when the fire crackled, it was said 'Hephaistos laughs'[3]—but, as far as we can trace it, the name Hephaistos in its original application never denoted the fire itself, but always the personal god. There is, then, much truth and reality in the pronouncement of Aristophanes; the term 'nature-god' applies to very few of the leading figures of Hellenic polytheism. Nevertheless, in the rich and many-sided popular religion of Greece we find direct worship often paid to certain of the forces and phenomena of the natural world.

Before we collect the evidence and consider its importance for the religious history and culture of the race, we should distinguish three stages in the religious perception of nature: (*a*) the worshipper may regard an object or a phenomenon of the material world as mysteriously divine and animate and pay direct worship to it as a conscious power that can benefit him or injure him; (*b*) he may regard the object or phenomenon as the abode, lurking-place, or manifestation of an immanent spirit, vaguely conceived but invested with some personality; (*c*) he may clothe this vague spirit with ever sharper traits of personality and individuality until it becomes a concrete god, who produces the object and controls the element or phenomenon; the god thus evolved may be confined to this function and is then a true nature-god, or he may enlarge his sphere and grow in freedom and become a moral, political, and spiritual power, no longer enmeshed in the material world at all. The study of Greek religion presents us with all these phenomena and these religious stages.

The first we may designate—for want of a better name—as animatism;[1] the second as animism, implying a vaguely personal *δαίμων*, or *numen*; the third as theism, implying the worship and imagination of a clearly defined *θεός*.

1. **Animatism.**—Nature-magic, which existed in Greece as elsewhere by the side of nature-religion, belongs to the two earlier of these three stages; the Greek rarely, if ever, practised magic upon his *θεός*. Nor was his imagination, with its strong bias for concrete and anthropomorphic creation, usually content with the inchoate perception of the mere 'animatism.' Yet traces of what may be called the most primitive religious feeling in regard to nature survived in Greece. According to Pausanias, in Arcadia near Trapezous, 'sacrifices are offered to lightning and thunder and storms.'[2] We may, of course, suspect the presence of personal deities here; but the words of Pausanias, who is generally careful in such matters, ought to be regarded as valid evidence of a naive animatism. The feeling in the Arcadian worshipper may have been the same as Hesiod's when he advises the traveller not to 'pass through the fair-flowing water of streams, ere thou utterest a prayer gazing into the fair torrent, having washed thy hands in the white and lovely water.'[3] It may be that no god or spirit to whom the prayer was directed is imagined here, but only the divine and animate water. Even Homer's rivers of the Trojan plain, Simoeis and Skamandros, are occasionally imagined as nothing more than the element itself, but conscious and passionate.[4] On the same level was the earliest Hellenic impression of the holiness of the household hearth in itself, before they endeavoured to realize the personal goddess Hestia.[5] At this early stage nature-magic, as distinct from religion, is likely to be practised. At Methana, near Troizen, the severed limbs of a cock were carried round the vineyards to preserve them from the baneful influence of the wind that was called Lips; the practice, which is purely magical and apotropæic, implying no personal god nor even a spirit, was still in vogue in the time of Pausanias.[6] He tells us also that he saw them there averting hail with sacrifices and incantations, the one a religious, the other a magical device. The same union of magic with simple worship of the elements is suggested by the words of Clement of Alexandria concerning the Magi, or wise men, of Kleonai in Sikyon, who 'when the clouds are about to throw down hail avert the threat of their anger by incantations and sacrifices.'[7] The gilds of 'Wind-soothers' or 'Wind-lullers,' called Εὐδάνεμοι in Attica and Ἀνεμοκοῖται at Corinth, may have worked directly on these elements[8] by means of simple incantation-magic or may have employed some method of religious service. Concerning these few examples of the simplest and crudest religious feeling in regard to natural phenomena it is hard to speak with certainty, for the evidence supplied us may be defective, and we cannot interrogate it.

2. **Animism.**—In regard to the religious facts that belong to the second of the types distinguished above, our indications are fuller and clearer. In the earliest period of Hellenic history to which our record reaches back or to which our theory can penetrate, we find an animistic perception that imagines the more salient parts of nature as containing a *δαίμων*, or *numen*, that is personal

1 409 ff. 2 See *CGS* iii. 33 f., 312, ref. 9.
3 Aristot., p. 369a.

1 See R. R. Marett, *The Threshold of Religion*[2], London, 1914, pp. 15–21.
2 VIII. xxix. 1. 3 *Works and Days*, 737 ff.
4 See below. 5 See *CGS* v. 345–365.
6 II. xxxiv. 2. 7 *Strom.*, p. 755 (Potter).
8 Arrian, *Anab.* III. xvi. 8; Hesych. *s.vv.* Εὐδάνεμος, Ἀνεμοκοῖται.

enough to be able to receive sacrifice on the altar, to hearken to prayer, to punish offences, but not yet sufficiently defined to be invested with concrete and complex personality and anthropomorphic character; and a small part of the Greek religion remains at this inchoate daimonistic stage, halfway to the higher stage of theism, down to the close of paganism.

We discern this in the worship of certain meteoric and celestial phenomena. At Titane in Sikyon there was an altar erected to the winds,[1] on which the priest sacrificed on one night every year: 'and he does other secret rites into four sacrificial pits, and, as they say, he sings over them certain incantations of Medea, assuaging the fierceness of the winds.' Apart from the element of magic, these rites of altar and sacrifice imply the worship of personal spirits—winds pure and simple would not need an altar—and these spirits belong to the dark world of ghosts. This association of furious winds with ghosts is a wide-spread animistic belief. It is illustrated by the double character attaching to the 'Tritopatores' at Athens, ancestral spirits as their name and certain inscriptions reveal them, yet explained as wind-powers by Hesychius.[2]

Sacrifice in itself need not imply the idea of personal spirits; but certain peculiar fashions of sacrifice to the winds, such as the wineless offering and the cake in the stormy month of December at Athens,[3] the Attic sacrifice of black lambs to the whirlwind,[4] the Laconian sacrifice of horses on the mountain-top of Taygetos,[5] the strange and almost unique sacrifice of asses at Tarentum,[6] must have assisted the clearer emergence of this idea in the view taken of the elements thus worshipped.

Finally, when a personal and proper name became attached to some particular wind, such as Ζέφυρος, the west-wind, Βορέας, the north-wind—the names to which dramatic and personal myths could be and were attached—we have the necessary condition for the evolution of the δαίμων into an individual god. Such certainly Boreas became, for instance at Athens, where the love-story of his capture of Oreithyia was associated with the banks of the Ilissos and an altar erected there,[7] and still more manifestly at Thourioi in Magna Græcia—owing doubtless to its close association with Athens—where a yearly sacrifice was prescribed for him, a house and an allotment of land consecrated to him, and he was designated by the strange cult-title of 'Citizen.'[8] It is interesting to see the δαίμων of a primitive animistic cult developing into a political deity. A stimulus to this cultivation of the worship of Boreas at Athens was the aid that he was supposed to have rendered in the sea-fight at Artemision; but the earlier Attic art, dealing with the love of Boreas for Oreithyia and her capture, shows that the imagination of the people had already anthropomorphized the wind-god before the Persian wars.

As regards other meteorological worships, the cult of Zeus Κεραυνός at Mantinea[9] marks a higher stage than the simple Arcadian sacrifice to the thunder and lightning mentioned above. The cult-title, Zeus Thunder, identifies the god with the phenomenon; the spirit or essence of the god is in the thunder; we may call this animistic religion, that has not yet risen to the view of a free divine personality that controls the elements. Similarly, a fallen meteoric stone was worshipped in Arcadia under the name of 'Zeus the fallen'—Ζεὺς Καπῶτας—the stone being the god or infused with the essence of the god.[1]

3. Theism.—But these primitive forms of meteorologic religion were only sporadic in Greece; the aboriginal Hellene had certainly arrived at the theistic stage and had already evolved his personal Zeus who attracted to himself the religious feelings aroused by thunder, rain, and hail.

(*a*) *Sun-worship.* — Of more importance is the question concerning sun-worship in Hellas. Plato[2] tells us that both Hellenes and barbarians were accustomed to greet the rising and the setting of the sun and moon with prostrations and kissing of the hand, and his statement is corroborated by Lucian[3] and Plutarch.[4] And Plato's *Apology*[5] attests the fact, which throws a striking light on the culture of the Athenian of the 4th cent., that to the average man of that period these great luminaries were still regarded as divine and animate, and that the new doctrine of physical science which treated them as mere material bodies was repulsive. But the reverential feeling attested by this evidence should not be interpreted as showing that all the Hellenes of every period had a vivid belief in a personal anthropomorphic sun-god or moon-goddess. We may interpret it as inspired by the animistic feeling that the salient phenomena of nature are infused with a spirit, or δαίμων; or by the cruder impression that these great luminaries are animate and sentient bodies. The same may be said of another ritual that was probably aboriginal for all the Hellenes—the invocation of the sun in the formula of the oath, in which he is most frequently joined with Mother Earth. The fashion of swearing by Helios and by Ge is attested by Homer, by much literature of a later period, and by many inscriptions—the manumission of slaves, *e.g.*, was performed under the witness of the sun. But a power invoked in an oath-formula is by no means always a personal god; the oath belongs to animism at least as much as to theism, and is often taken over objects that perhaps are vaguely conceived as animate, like a sword or an iron ring, or as merely possessing some mysterious potency. There is, in fact, no reason to suppose that for the aboriginal Hellene the sun was ever a personal high god, such as was Apollo, Zeus, or Poseidon; and the deities and heroes, Apollo, Herakles, and others, who used to be regarded as only thin disguises of the sun, have resigned these pretensions in the light of modern criticism. With one great exception, which will be considered below, the record of the cult of Helios in Greek lands is scanty and unimpressive.[6] We rarely hear of temples, still more rarely of statues, more frequently only of altars. His power was recognized in part of the vegetation-ritual, his oblations being wineless after the ancient fashion; one of his favourite offerings was honey.[7] The average Greek would speak of him as θεός; and, helped probably by Homer, whose religious and mythopœic trend is always towards anthropomorphism, would be inclined to regard him as a personal god who ruled the sun; but he entered little into the popular mythology, and in the main played no part in the progress of the people towards the higher civilized and political life. The altar raised at Troizen to Ἥλιος Ἐλευθέριος, 'the sun of freedom,' after the defeat of the Persians need not have expressed more than the religious sense of joy in a freed heaven and a freed earth.[8] The important exception referred to above is the island of Rhodes. From the earliest times till the introduction of Christianity Helios was the

1 Paus. II. xii. 1.
2 Hesych. *s.v.*; cf. Photius, *s.v.*, and *CIA* ii. 1062.
3 *CIA* iii. 77.
4 Aristoph. *Ran.* 847.
5 Festus, p. 181.
6 *Et. Mag.*, *s.v.* Ἀνεμωτας.
7 Herod. vii. 189; Plato, *Phædr.* 229 C.
8 Æl. *Var. Hist.* xii. 61.
9 *BCH*, 1878, p. 515.

1 Paus. III. xxii. 1.
2 *Laws*, 887 E.
3 *de Saltat.* 17.
4 P. 1123 A.
5 P. 26 D–E.
6 See *CGS* v. 449–453.
7 Athen., p. 693 E–F; schol. Soph. *Œd. Col.* 100.
8 Paus. II. xxxi. 5.

great god of the island,[1] the fosterer and sustainer of the physical, cultured, and political life of the people and the State. The greatest and most illuminating monuments of his cult are the ode that is Pindar's masterpiece, the 7th *Olympian*, and the type on the early 4th century coinage of Rhodes; the artist is the equal of the poet in revealing the glow and intensity of feeling evoked by their ancestral god. No doubt the Rhodians' conception of him was entirely anthropomorphic; their offering of a four-horsed chariot which they flung into the sea suggests the radiant charioteer, such as the later Greek art depicted him.[2] It is only here in Greek lands that a purely elemental god is seen dominating the imagination of the people; and, as the comic poets came to remark, the smallest part of their life was penetrated by Helios. The explanation of this unique fact is to be sought in the strong persistence in the isle of Rhodes of an earlier 'Minoan-Cretan' culture and religion. We know that Rhodes was linked by many ties to pre-Hellenic Crete; the Heliadai, the sons of Helios, the earliest mythic settlers in Rhodes, are with the Telchines the representatives of the splendour of Minoan art-culture that was beginning to fade when the earliest Hellenes arrived. We have some evidence of the prominence of the sun-divinity in Minoan Crete; he entered into the legendary genealogies of Pasiphae and Idomeneus; Gortyna even in late times claimed to be the pasture-ground of the herds of Helios, and we may believe that the Homeric myth in the *Odyssey* of the island that nourished the sacred cattle of the sun-god reflects a fact of pre-historic, anthropomorphic ritual;[3] the curious Cretan phrase Διούνιος Ταῦρος,[4] explained by the story that the sun-god led a Cretan colony in the form of a bull, probably preserves an Eteo-Cretan title of his, and suggests his association with the Minoan reverence of the bull and with the legend of the Minotaur. Finally, among the remains of the Minoan-Mycenæan art evidence has been noted pointing, though somewhat vaguely, to sun-worship or adoration of the lights of heaven.[5]

Therefore, if in other regions of the Greek world that had been once dominated by the Minoan-Mycenæan culture we discern traces of a once powerful Helios-cult, we may explain it as an abiding tradition from the early period; *e.g.*, in the city and territory of Corinth the legends and local genealogies seem to point to an ancient prominence of the sun-god; he contended with Poseidon for the land,[6] and he was the ancestor of personages aboriginally Corinthian, such as Aietes, Medea, Kirke; he even enters into the early Sikyonic genealogies. But Sikyon and Corinth belong to the old Mycenæan kingdom.

Again, on the slopes of Taygetos, on the promontory of Taletos, we have record of an ancient Helios ritual, and a Homeric hymn consecrates this mountain to Helios;[7] but the name 'Taletos' and certain cult facts of the neighbourhood point back to Crete. In Elis also pre-historic Cretan influences were strong and abiding, and here we find Helios associated in cult with the Cretan god Kronos[8] and with the moon-goddess Selene,[9] whose Endymion may be a disguised form and a pre-Hellenic name of the sun-god.

But it is only in Rhodes that Helios enjoyed such a position as Shamash, the Babylonian sun-god, enjoyed in Babylonia; and this is the unique example in Greek religion of an elemental cult evolving a high god of the moral and political order. In the later period of Græco-Roman paganism there came a religious wave from the East, giving a powerful lift to sun-worship in the Roman empire; and this may account for a few of the cults in the late records of Greece, such as that of Helios Σωτήρ, 'the saviour,' at Megalopolis.[1]

(*b*) *Moon-worship.*—Selene, the moon-goddess, was of no importance for the higher religious life of historic Greece, though, according to Plato, all the Greeks recognized the moon as divine. The ritual at Athens, where 'wineless' or 'sober' offerings, νηφάλια, were prescribed to Selene, must be regarded as ancient;[2] so also in all probability was her cult in Arcadia, where she was associated with Pan.[3] But, generally, the record of her cult is far scantier than that of Helios, and the few inscriptions and coins that attest it are of a late period. The pre-Hellenic era of the Cretan-Mycenæan culture may have given more prominence to moon-worship; for there is some Hellenic testimony to this in the cult of the Cretan Pasiphaessa, who was worshipped with Helios in S. Laconia,[4] a region full of Cretan influences; her name, 'the all-shining one,' her legendary association with King Minos, and her cult connexion with the sun-god seem to point clearly to a Cretan lunar goddess. On the other hand, we cannot regard the early adoption of Artemis by the Hellenes as any evidence of their devotion to moon-worship. For there is no proof or indication that aboriginally Artemis was at all closely associated with the moon.

(*c*) *Worship of dawn, night, etc.*—There are other figures, such as Eos, the dawn-goddess, Hemera, 'day,' Nyx, 'night,' Ouranos, 'sky,' whose names concern this sphere of nature. In Greek mythology and genealogy and to some extent in Greek art these personifications of light and darkness and the sky play a lively and prominent part; but the test of religious significance is cult; and of the actual worship of any of these evidence is almost lacking. Hemera shared a shrine with Helios at Kos, perhaps in Hellenistic times.[5] The dawn-goddess, Eos, whose personality was lovingly treated by Greek poetry and art, had, according to Ovid, 'the fewest temples in the world';[6] he might have correctly said that in the Græco-Roman world she had none. Only at Athens is there some evidence of her worship, for she is mentioned among the deities to whom 'wineless' offerings were made.[7] We have a doubtful reference in Pausanias to 'an oracle-shrine called after Nyx' on the Akropolis of Megara;[8] but the name may only have indicated that the oracles were given in the night-time, perhaps by the earth-mother. Finally, the heaven-god, Ouranos, familiar to the readers of Hesiod, Pindar, and Æschylus, whose counterpart, Varuna, was a high god for the Vedic Indians, had no shrine or cult in Hellenic lands, if we can trust the complete silence of literary record and inscriptions. As evidence of any ritual associated with him we have only a doubtful passage in Proclus's commentary,[9] in which he seems to say that the ancient laws of Athens used to prescribe to those about to marry that they should celebrate in a preliminary ceremony the bridal of Heaven and Earth. It may be that this late writer has thus interpreted the ancient ritual of the ἱερὸς γάμος of Zeus and Hera. At any rate, we may safely say

1 For references see *CGS* v. 451, ref. 38.
2 Festus, *s.v.* 'October equus.'
3 Sacred herds of Helios were also kept at Apollonia on the Ionic gulf (Herod. ix. 93).
4 I. Bekker, *Anecdota Græca*, Berlin, 1814–21, i. 344.
5 See A. J. Evans, 'Mycenæan Tree and Pillar Cult,' in *JHS* xxi. (1901) 108, 150, 172 f.
6 Paus. II. i. 6.
7 Paus. III. xx. 4; *Hymn. ad Apoll.* 411.
8 *Et. Mag.*, p. 426. 16.
9 Paus. VI. xxiv. 6.

1 Paus. VIII. xxxi. 7.
2 Schol. Soph. *Œd. Col.* 100.
3 See *CGS* v. 464 ff., refl. 152–160.
4 Paus. III. xxvi. 1.
5 *Archäol. Anzeiger*, 1905, p. 12
6 *Metam.* xiii. 589.
7 Schol. Soph. *Œd. Col.* 100.
8 I. xl. 6.
9 *in Tim.* v. 293.

that at no known period in the history of Greek religion was Ouranos of any consideration in the popular worship. And, when Æschylus speaks of him as 'one who in old time was mighty, full of unconquerable boldness,'[1] he was probably misled by Hesiod's artificial stratification of periods, the periods of Ouranos, of Kronos, of Zeus.

(*d*) *Star-worship.*—Another noticeable feature of Greek religion, as compared, for instance, with the Babylonian, is the almost complete absence of star-worship. The only exception hitherto noted is the sacrifice to the dog-star in Keos, described by Apollonius Rhodius and the scholiast on his verses.[2] It was evidently apotropæic, intended to avert the great heat of summer, and we may understand the curious statement of the scholiast, that the men of Keos sacrificed to Seirios with arms in their hands, as meaning that, while they approached him with a religious ritual, they adopted at the same time the opposite attitude of threatening him with weapons, as savages frequently threaten evil spirits or dangerous phenomena of nature. But even in Keos the cult of Seirios appears to have been too weak to stand by itself; it was linked with that of the personal god, Ζεὺς Ἰκμαῖος, the god of dew.[3]

It may well have been this indifference to star-worship that saved Greece, until the last days of its decline, from the superstition of astrology, which has been so many times fatal to the intellect of Europe.

(*e*) *Earth-worship.*—So far we may be struck with the paucity and the barrenness of pure nature-worship in the Greek communities. But our impression is modified when we study the cults of Ge, the earth-mother, and of the rivers.

The worship of the earth, imagined as a female power, is attested of nearly all the Aryan and of many non-Aryan communities.[4] We should expect, then, that the Hellenes would bring it with them as a tradition, and there is also reason for thinking that they would have found it within the Minoan-Mycenæan culture in the lands that they occupied. No part of the natural world is more likely to arouse animistic religious feeling; but it needs a comprehensive imagination to conceive of the whole earth as a single religious entity, a divine animate power. That this conception was in the average mind of Hellas in all periods of its history, and that it stimulated wide-spread worship, is proved by archæological evidence and by the literature from Homer to Plutarch, the latter writer being still able to say in the last period of paganism: 'The name of Ge is dear and precious to every Hellene, and it is our tradition to honour her like any other god.'[5] In the Homeric poems, besides the frequent use of the word for the common earth, the actual soil that we walk upon, we find numerous examples of the name of Ge for a divine personality. She is three times invoked in the formula of the oath,[6] and a black lamb is sacrificed to her in the ritual of the truce arranged between the Achæans and the Trojans.[7] Nevertheless, as we have seen, sacrifice and the oath-invocation do not always prove that the conception of the divine power is clear and anthropomorphic. And the personality of Gaia, as presented to us in the Homeric poems, remains vague and amorphous, animistic rather than theistic. She is not a figure in his mythology; she plays no part in his action or in the moral life of man. In the first part of the Hesiodic *Theogony* she is assigned a dramatic and prominent rôle in the cosmogonic account; and all the poet's myths of creation are to this extent anthropomorphic, that the creative processes are described in terms of human love, as is usual in the similar myths of savages. Later poetry, and especially the Attic drama, often exalts the divinity of earth in glowing passages, but with an imagination that is more animistic than vividly personal. Nor does the literature as a whole convince us that the human impersonation of Gaia with which perfected Greek art presents us, as a beautiful woman with mature and tender form, ever possessed the popular mind and faith.

Cult is the surest evidence of the people's belief, if the cult-records are explicit. We have record of the public worship of Ge at the following places—Dodona, Delphi, Thebes, Athens, Phlye, and Marathon in Attica, Sparta, Tegea, Olympia, Aigai, and Patrai in Achaia, in the islands of Mykonos, Thera, Kos, Crete, at Byzantium, Kyzikos, Erythrai, Pergamon, Smyrna, Magnesia, Amasia in Pontos, and in the Tauric Chersonese.[1] But we have only scanty and vague evidence as to the question how far the religion in any one of these places was animistic only, how far theistic and anthropomorphic. No doubt, altars and temples are adjuncts of anthropomorphic religion and promote the belief in concrete individual deities; and we hear of altars on the slope of the Akropolis at Athens, at Phlye, Tegea, and Olympia, consecrated to Ge; very rarely do we hear of cult-statues, as at Aigai in Achaia; the image of the earth-goddess on the Athenian Akropolis, praying with uplifted hands to Zeus to send rain, was not primarily a monument of worship, though it could react on the religious imagination. It is likely that the ritual of Ge as a rule demanded only a *temenos*, a holy ground enclosed, without shrine or statue or even altar. The title 'Ge in the fields,' which she enjoyed at Marathon, where a pregnant cow was offered to her, suggests the vague earth-spirit rather than the humanized goddess; and other cult-titles, such as Εὐρύστερνος, 'the broad-bosomed,' at Delphi and near Aigai, Μάκαιρα Τελεσφόρος, 'the blessed harvest-ripener,' at Thebes, Πανδώρα and Ἀνησιδώρα, 'the giver of all gifts,' at Athens and Pergamon, Κουροτρόφος, 'the nourisher of children,' doubtfully attested at Athens, are on the border-line of the animistic and the anthropomorphic imagination.

Again, we find two examples in her service of the quaint and crude ritual of throwing the offerings consecrate to her into a mere cleft of the earth; such worship is consonant with animistic feeling and it marks her off from the civilized θεοί who gather or sit round the formal altar-table spread with offerings, and to whom a comfortable couch might be dedicated with soft carpet for their real, though invisible, feet. The broad earth needed no κλίνη, no τράπεζα. Finally, in that interesting distich of an old liturgy in vogue at Dodona—'Zeus was, Zeus is, Zeus will be, oh great Zeus! Earth sends up fruits, wherefore call on Mother Earth'—while Zeus seems presented as the everlasting God, concrete and individual, it may be that Ge was vaguely imagined as an animate potency immanent in or identified with her element.[2]

An ancient function in Greece of the earth-spirit was prophecy and the deliverance of oracles. This was connected with the superstition that dreams foretell the future, and that the dream enters through the ear of the sleeper from the nether realm. Hence arose in pre-historic times the habit of 'incubation,' or sleeping on the bare earth in order to obtain a mantic dream. We are not,

[1] *Agam.* 188–190.
[2] ii. 500–527.
[3] *CGS* i. 148, ref. 35.
[4] See art. EARTH, EARTH-GODS.
[5] P. 935 B.
[6] *Il.* iii. 276 ff., xix. 258 ff., *Od.* v. 184.
[7] *Il.* iii. 103 *f.*

[1] See *CGS* iii. 308 ('Geographical Register of Cults of Ge').
[2] Paus. x. xii. 10.

therefore, surprised to find that the snake, the most usual 'familiar' and incarnation of the earth-spirit, was the prophetic animal *par excellence* for the Hellenes ('prophecy was the peculiar property of snakes,' says Ælian[1]); and that Ge was worshipped and consulted as a giver of oracles at Aigai, possibly at Olympia and Marathon, and certainly at Delphi in the pre-Apolline days. Here, according to Euripides, the earth-goddess sent up oracles through dreams, in order to thwart Apollo's divination, until Apollo appealed to Zeus to prohibit her.[2] Another mantic process, but also 'chthonian,' was practised in the worship of Gaia at Aigai; her priestess drank a draught of bull's blood, to fill herself with the spirit of prophecy, before she descended into a cave, which was the primitive shrine of the earth-spirit.[3] As the bull is an animal closely associated with the latter, we may regard this drinking as a form of sacramental communion. Neither the function of prophecy nor sacramental communion necessarily indicates a clear anthropomorphic conception of divinity. But probably from her oracular power Ge acquired—at Delphi and Athens and perhaps at Olympia—the title of Ge Themis, 'Earth Oracle'; and there are strong reasons for believing that this double title engendered an independent goddess Themis, who, detached from Ge, became associated with Zeus and a figure of anthropomorphic religion and mythology, embodying the ethical idea of righteousness, and playing a part in the higher spiritual religion. At this point, then, an animistic nature-worship shows itself capable of a transcendental development; only, it is significant to note, in this development the name Ge drops out.

There is one more important aspect of Gaia—her association with the spirits of the dead, who find their home in the bosom of the earth-mother. She claimed a share in the libations to the dead;[4] and she was not forgotten in the Attic service of the Anthesteria and the Genesia, two All-Souls' festivals of spring and autumn.[5] We may think that these funeral offerings to her were dictated or accompanied by a vague idea that the fortune of the souls depended on her favour. Yet we have no evidence that any vivid personal hopes of happy individual life after death were confirmed by the worship of Gaia. But from Gaia, the mother of the spiritual goddess Themis, arose also the two brightest and most human deities of Hellenic polytheism, Demeter and Kore; and it was to these, or to Dionysos, that any living Hellenic faith in posthumous happiness attached.

We may draw the conclusion that it was the unavoidable association of the name Ge with the solid earth around us and beneath us that prevented the Greek imagination from exalting the earth-spirit up to the higher plane of religion. It was only by shedding her elemental name and disguising herself as Pandora, Aglauros, Themis, Demeter, and Kore that she could attract to herself bright anthropomorphic myths or count in the world of ethical and spiritual ideals.

(*f*) *River-worship.*—There remains to be considered that nature-worship which appears to have attracted most powerfully the Hellenes of the country-side and even those of the cities — the worship of rivers and of the nymphs of the fountain, grove, and meadow. In the earliest days of the Hellenic race the rushing water was regarded as an animate power; and probably long before Homer the animistic sense had been at work upon this mysterious element and had conceived of the rolling river as the abode of an immanent personal spirit, a δαίμων, or *numen*, which came more and more to be clothed with a concrete and definite form, human or animal or half-human half-animal; and at the end of this process a definite and individual θεός might emerge. The Homeric poems give us some evidence of the various stages of this religious evolution. In the conflict of Achilles with Skamandros and Simoeis, at times the river is nothing but the divine animate element, overpowering the hero with the material force of its waves. But more often the poetic presentation is more personal; there is a δαίμων, a vague personality, in the water, that can feel anger and pity and fear; then, in a dramatic moment of stress, this being can emerge from the water and even ascend to the council-chamber of Zeus, in the form of a man,[1] a product of the anthropomorphic fancy so regnant in the Greek mind. It is with this imagination that Odysseus prays to the unknown river-god under the title of 'king,' and speaks of the divinity's knees that he clasps as a suppliant.[2]

The ritual also, as recorded by Homer, shows us something of the same shifting imagination. Skamandros has a priest, but priesthood does not always demand a personal θεός for its service; the Trojans were in the habit of throwing live horses into the waters;[3] and this simple form of sacrifice, which we may call elemental and which survived in the later period of Greece, belongs to animistic rather than to theistic cult. So also the dedication of Achilles' hair to the river Spercheios was the pledge of a simple communion with the river or the river-spirit; it does not necessarily imply an anthropomorphic god. But, when we hear of altars erected on the river-bank for the sacrifice, we may say that such ritual attests the belief in a personal θεός who is sufficiently independent of his element to be able at will to quit it and to come and partake of the victim on land. Both forms of sacrifice, the animistic and the theistic, were, according to Homer, in vogue on the banks of the Thessalian river,[4] and both were generally maintained in historical times — *e.g.*, at Mykonos,[5] where an inscription prescribes that of the eleven victims, a ram and ten lambs, consecrated to Acheloos, three should be offered on the altar and the rest thrown into the river. Acheloos was 'the river' *par excellence* for all the Hellenic communities, not only because it was the largest of all Greek rivers, but probably also because the ancestors of the leading divisions of the people had at one time dwelt near or within its area. We are told by Ephoros that its worship was universal and that it was even prescribed by the Dodonæan oracle;[6] and we have definite proof of it in Attica, Megara, and elsewhere.[7] We may therefore regard Acheloos as more than an elemental δαίμων, as a fully formed individual god, whose power extended beyond his element, and who might be worshipped far away from the neighbourhood of any water. And thus he might become associated with the Olympians, as he was, *e.g.*, with Demeter.[8]

But doubtless the heart of the individual Greek turned with more yearning and love to the local river that watered the glen or the meadows in which his city arose; and the records[9] are ample enough to compel us to believe that every locality possessed this worship. That it was real and earnest and dearer to the souls of the people than any other mere nature-worship may also be believed; for the fertilizing water was closely asso-

1 *Nat. An.* xi. 16.
2 *Iph. Taur.* 1259 ff.
3 Paus. VII. xxv. 13; Pliny, *HN* xxviii. 147.
4 Æsch. *Pers.* 219.
5 *CGS* iii. 23 f.

1 *Il.* xxi. 212 f., xx. 7 f.
2 *Od.* v. 444–450.
3 *Il.* xxi. 132.
4 *Il.* xxiii. 144 ff.
5 W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Græcarum*, Leipzig, 1883, no. 373. 35.
6 Macrob. *Sat.* v. xviii. 6.
7 Plato, *Phædr.* 230 B; *Eph. Arch.*, 1905, p. 113.
8 *Oxyrhynch. Papyr.* ii. 221, col. 9; Paus. I. xli. 2.
9 See *CGS* v. 453–457.

ciated with the life of children, as the river was κουροτρόφος, 'a nurturer of the young.' The charming communion ritual of the dedication of the hair at puberty, attested by Homer, survived till a late period in Arcadia and probably in many other places.[1] The pure and holy water of the river or fount was used for the service of the high gods, as at Olympia, and for purification ceremonies—especially at marriage.[2] We have no hint of anything like infant-baptism in rivers; but an interesting ritual indirectly connected, we may believe, with the birth of infants is attested of New Ilion by one classical text: the maidens of the historic city of Troy were obliged on the eve of their marriage to wade into the river Skamandros, and by a solemn formula to offer their virginity to the river-god.[3] The maiden at the most critical time of her life enters thus into corporeal communion with the tutelary spirit of the land; and it is reasonable to think that the ritual was inspired by the belief that the future child born of the real marriage would be instinct with that spirit. The desire to establish some ideal connexion between the new-born infant and the river, if not expressed elsewhere by this peculiar ritual, is attested by such names as Kephissodotos at Athens;[4] and the many myths concerning princesses and heroines conceiving by river-gods might have arisen from just such a ἱερὸς γάμος as that which was in vogue in the Troad.

The family-ties, then, between the home and the river-god were intimately felt in Greece. And the Hellene was capable of believing that such an elemental deity could be deeply concerned with the welfare of the whole State. When the Spartan king, Kleomenes, tried to cross the river Erasinos to attack the Argives, Erasinos strove to prevent him, and the king expressed his admiration of the god for doing his best to save his citizens.[5] When certain men were condemned as traitors at Amphipolis in 356 B.C., a part of their confiscated property was paid over to the river Strymon, whom they were held to have betrayed.

We recognize by the evidence of such facts that the cult of rivers was one of the vital forces in the domestic and even the national religion of Greece. But it is not easy to say at once and precisely how the average Hellene imagined these divinities; we have seen what is the evidence offered by the ritual; but ritualistic forms by no means bind the imagination of the worshipper. Many may have remained at the stage of inchoate religious feeling and have been conscious merely of the flowing water as animate and divine, or have believed vaguely in the presence there of an immanent spirit, or δαίμων, who could be angry or propitious. But there was a strong trend in the Greek religious imagination towards definite concrete forms so as to invest the once vague *numen* with the definite personality of the hero or the individual θεός, while Greek art and Greek mythology both express and strengthen this tendency. Therefore it is likely that the average Greek, believing in the divinity of rivers, believed in real and robust river-gods inhabiting them, as appears in the story about Skamandros quoted above, and in the popular myths concerning the combat of Herakles and Acheloos, and Alpheios's amorous attempt on Artemis.[6] If we may trust Achilles Tatius, even the later Hellenes maintained at Olympia the simple form of sacrifice to Alpheios which may be called non-anthropomorphic, throwing their offerings directly into the water; but they attached to it a legend of a human lover-god.[7]

[1] Artemid. ii. 38. [2] Schol. Pind. *Ol.* xi. 58.
[3] Æschin. *Ep.* 10.
[4] Cf. Ἀσωπόδωρος, Ἀχελῳόδωρος, Ἰσμηνόδωρος, Ἰστρόδοτος, Ποταμοδώριος, Στρυμόδωρος.
[5] Herod. vi. 76. [6] Paus. VI. xxii. 9. [7] i. 18.

The form, however, in which the river-god was imagined was not wholly and always anthropomorphic; according to Ælian,[1] many of the Greek communities personified their local river under the form of a bull, suggested no doubt by the roaring of the floods, others under the form of man; but the art evidence shows that here as elsewhere the anthropomorphic fancy prevailed at last over the theriomorphic; the later coin-types present the river-god usually in beautiful human form, only with bulls' horns above the forehead.

(*g*) *Nymph-worship.*—The worship of nymphs possessed an equal hold on the faith and affections of the early Greek and of the Greek peasant of all ages. These are the feminine personifications of certain elemental life, the life in the fountain and stream, in the grove and the meadow. But, unlike the river-divinities, they appear to have been anthropomorphically imagined from the very beginning; for their name, which is our primary evidence concerning them, means simply 'brides' or 'young women,' and their forms in art and legend are purely human. Perhaps even more than the river-deities, the nymphs were intimately connected with the religion of the family and home. A striking passage in the *Odyssey*[2] shows how they were associated with the deep sentiment of yearning for one's native land; and throughout the ages of paganism they were beloved and revered as κουροτρόφοι,[3] the kindly nurturers of children, the most tender title in the religious language of Greece. Though they belonged to the wild landscape of the country-side, their cult was taken over by the city-State; each division of the Doric tribes appears to have had its special worship of them;[4] the magistrates at Kos supervise their sacrifice;[5] and on the slopes of the Athenian Akropolis, where we have evidence of a temple consecrated to 'nymphs of the State'—Νύμφαι Δημόσιοι, Νύμφη Πάνδημος[6]—they came near to the rank of higher divinities. Though personal and human, these 'brides' of nature are usually nameless, and, in the centuries when the Olympian religion flourished, they tend to attach themselves as adjuncts to the higher divinities, such as Hermes, Apollo, Artemis, and Dionysos. And, when the higher gods were fading in the latter days of paganism, we have reason for believing that the simple faith of the peasant turned more clingingly to those tutelary half-divinities that fostered the life of his home and his soil; and their cult may have been the less easy to eradicate in proportion as they were more dimly conceived. In a degraded form, because of the ban of Christianity, the faith in them survives even to this day in Greece and Macedonia.[7]

Even in the records and products of the civilized European imagination these half-divine personalities of river, grove, and fountain are not to be ignored; for they have been a heritage of our poetic tradition, and even our great Puritan Milton could not shake off their spell. But for the just appreciation of the popular Greek mind their importance is primary; they illustrate as vividly as any part of the polytheism the plastic personifying faculty which peopled the world of nature with bright personalities, ideal but akin to our humanity; and thus Greek religion as well as Greek poetry was in its attitude towards nature anthropomorphic rather than animistic or pantheistic; thus also, by evolving these forms of beauty and grace, the

[1] *Var. Hist.* ii. 33. [2] xiii. 356 ff.
[3] Hes. *Theog.* 346 f.; Artemid. ii. 38.
[4] See inscription of Thera, *CIG* (*Ins. mar. Æg.*), 378.
[5] W. R. Paton and E. L. Hicks, *The Inscriptions of Cos*, Oxford, 1891, no. 44.
[6] *CIA* i. 503, iii. 369.
[7] See G. F. Abbott, *Macedonian Folklore*, Cambridge, 1903, p. 242; J. C. Lawson, *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion*, do. 1910, p. 130.

popular mind was somewhat freed from the burden of terror and malignity with which nature-religion has so often oppressed other peoples.

The figures of the Horai, 'the seasons,' especially in Attica, where they acquired definite names and definite life-history, are salient examples of the same working of the Greek mind. Originally vague daimonistic spirits of vegetation, they become anthropomorphic and clearly outlined personalities, no longer immanent in the soil and changing with the changes of the year, but free and transcendental, functional divinities rather than nature-spirits (cf. art. HORÆ). Doubtless in many localities there were many half-formed 'vegetation-daimons'; but, if the Greek mind chose to work upon them, it always strove to transform them into 'heroes' or 'gods,' *i.e.* into definite transcendental individuals. We receive the same impression when we consider the Greek religious feelings aroused by the sea. This great element may once have been conceived as animate and divine, and the name *Ἀμφιτρίτη*, if we connect it with a root meaning 'water,' may have expressed this feeling in a semi-personal form. But no trace of this has been left in any record of actual worship—there is no cult of 'Thalassa.' Before Poseidon became the supreme maritime god, the sea was peopled with various personal *δαίμονες*, who at first may have been vaguely conceived and nameless, and to this stage the *ἅλιος γέρων*, the old man of the sea—who enjoyed a public cult at Byzantium—may have belonged. But this vagueness did not long endure; and the plastic creativeness of the Greek mind peopled the sea with definite individuals—heroes, heroines, gods, and goddesses—such as Nereus, Glaukos, Ino, Thetis, and the Nereids, humanized ideal forms, sharply distinct from the element which they inhabit, and some of them possessing a real life-history or a personal mythic tradition. Amphitrite becomes the queen-wife of Poseidon, as real a personality as Hera. And Poseidon seems to have been a *θεός* from the beginning of his career; at least we cannot show that he was ever evolved from an elemental *numen*. When we examine the cults and characters of the higher divinities, we find the same effects of the religious temperament of the people. There is much nature-religion in all; nearly all the *θεοί* are linked with vegetation and the elements; yet none are pure nature-deities, and their life-history is not the mere reflexion of nature's life. Even Kore, who is the young earth-maiden, gained her higher significance as goddess of the world of souls; even the intruder Dionysos, starting from the sphere of the wildest nature-worship and crude animistic feeling, becomes a spiritualized and transcendental god.

On the other hand, the pure nature-deities, such as Ge and Helios, could never rise to the highest rank in the Hellenic polytheism; for they were hampered by their materialistic names.

Therefore in the broadest sense the dictum of Aristophanes quoted above is true. The religion of civilized Greece was concerned not with direct worship of sun, moon, sea, and earth, but with transcendental beings of moral and spiritual life; and therefore it belongs on the whole to the higher religions of the world. Finally, even in the primitive Greek's imagination, which peopled earth, air, and sea with ideal personalities, we discern the same selective instinct for *τὸ καλόν*, the same aversion to the monstrous, as inspired and governed the higher minds of the race.

LITERATURE.—L. Preller and C. Robert, *Griechische Mythologie*[4], Berlin, 1887–94, pp. 429–470, 544–560, 632–638; L. R. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, Oxford, 1896–1909, iii. 1–28, v. 415–431; Roscher, *s.vv.* 'Flussgötter,' 'Gaia,' 'Helios,' 'Localpersonificationen,' 'Mondgöttin,' 'Nymphen'; Daremberg-Saglio, *s.vv.* 'Luna,' 'Nymphes,' 'Sol'; P. Gardner, 'Greek River-worship,' in *Transactions of Royal Society of Literature*, 1878; Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* 'Flussgötter.'

L. R. FARNELL.

NATURE (Hindu).—The attempt to describe or define in general terms the Hindu conception of nature as a whole, and of its relation to mankind, meets with very considerable difficulty, and finds itself confronted with statements and beliefs which apparently are inconsistent with one another or with any definite and settled cosmological ideas. The reason may be regarded as twofold: the ambiguity of the term 'nature' itself, the range of meaning in which it is employed being of wide extent; and the elusive and varying character of Hindu thought, which claims for itself the utmost liberty of speculation and fancy, and is not troubled by scrupulous demands for self-consistency or uniformity. Here, however, as elsewhere, Indian thought is in general essentially animistic, and neither appreciates nor exhibits the least tendency to adopt a materialistic point of view. It is true that the ruling philosophic conception denies the real existence of a world of nature. All this is only *māyā*, 'illusion'; and any inquiry, therefore, into its character is as irrational as it is of necessity unproductive. Theoretical speculation, however, has little influence on the practical life. The Hindu thinker finds himself under the necessity of working out his relation to the world around him on the basis of faith in its practical reality and effectiveness, however much he may profess in the abstract to discredit its existence.

If 'nature,' therefore, is to be defined in the strict and limited sense in which the word is often employed — *natura naturata* contrasted with *natura naturans*, to adopt the terms which James Ward has made familiar—it is probably true that the conception involved has never presented itself to the Indian mind, or, if suggested, has failed to win acceptance within more than a very limited and entirely unrepresentative circle. The natural world may be in itself dull and inert; but it is not condemned so to remain in perpetuity. It is always capable of being raised, as it were, in the plane of being and vitalized; nor is any absolute barrier erected which cannot be overstepped between animate and inanimate nature, a world of life and a world of material things, in the former of which change and in the latter changelessness is the recognized order. In most instances, at least, it would be correct to assert that the distinction assumed would convey no meaning to Indian thought, or, if comprehended, would be at once rejected as opposed both to reason and to experience.

Probably the nearest approach that Indian thought has allowed itself to make to the conception of *natura naturata*—inanimate nature as a whole, without initiative or self-control, admitting to its sum-total neither addition nor diminution—is in the *pradhāna* or *prakṛti* of the Sāṅkhyan philosophy. A similar thought recurs not infrequently in later writers and in the doctrines of later teachers. It cannot be said, however, to have gained the Indian ear or to any extent to have captured the Indian heart. There is, moreover, an important and far-reaching difference. *Prakṛti*, although incapable of self-movement or of inception until awakened by the presence of *puruṣa* and, as it were, set upon its way, is itself nevertheless the source of all progress and development, and includes among its evolutes such idealistic elements as *buddhi*, 'knowledge,' and *ahaṅkāra*, 'self-consciousness,' no less than the material world with all that belongs to it. *Puruṣa* is eternally the same, without change or evolution. The Indian concept, therefore, is of far wider content than the Western or European 'nature'; and it is perhaps unfortunate that the latter word should have been so fre-

quently adopted to render an original philosophic term that hardly admits of adequate translation into a foreign tongue.[1]

Hindu thought, moreover, hardly advanced to the conception of nature as a whole, a totality inseparably bonded together and unified under the control of a common law to which in every part and portion it was submissive. Set over against himself, to the Indian observer or thinker the universe was and remained individualistic, a group or rather groups of individuals, often loosely and obscurely defined, but with distinct individualities, wills, functions, and tendencies. In all this the conditions of human life and society were reflected upon the assumed life of the other world, and seen more or less distorted as in a mirror. The several members of the groups, deities of the forests, the streams, the sky, etc., bore a family resemblance, as it were, to one another; but also the groups themselves were not strongly or clearly differentiated *inter se*, and individuals on the border-line might be assigned without much difficulty to another company, and were not careful to avoid trespassing upon the sphere or functions of divinities in the main distinct and charged with a special office and work. The tendency was uniformly in the direction of assimilation, not only the individual members of the groups drawing closer together in attributes and character, in all but name, but the several groups losing their hold upon the distinctive characteristics which betrayed their origin, and becoming mere embodiments of a few leading or commanding attributes which were appropriate to all. This feature is not, of course, peculiar to early Hindu thought or conception, but to a greater or less extent characterizes all 'nature' religions, whose deities are only in rare instances clearly differentiated, more often under different names are possessed of identical attributes and discharge the same offices.

These vaguely conceived forces or powers of nature were, in the first instance at least, not defined as persons, or clothed with personal form and attribute. This stage or attitude of belief is represented widely among the less advanced animistic tribes of India at the present time, and to a large extent forms the background of the religious faith and practice of the countryside.[2] The ghostly object of the villager's dread is localized in this or that patch of jungle, in a rock, a tree, or a rushing stream, but is hardly individualized, or in any way distinguished from many others of his kind, who do similar deeds of mischief and ill-will and are equally to be feared. In the earliest literature of the Vedic hymns, however, the personality of the chief gods and goddesses is distinctly conceived and asserted. The poets' thought and conception have advanced far beyond the stage at which the suppliant addresses himself to a vague impersonal force; and of the leading divinities at least it may be said that they possess a character of their own, and are apprehended in and by themselves. This would tend to show that the Aryan peoples of that age were by no means at a primitive or very early stage in the evolution of religious ideas, but had made considerable progress in the orderly development of constructive thought. The conception of personality, if it forces itself upon primitive man as a given fact of experience, is only with difficulty defined, or made to apply to the unknown external powers upon which his own well-being so largely depends. These he endows with various qualities and functions, derived from his own self-consciousness and experience, as of cunning, strength, will, but he makes no effort to combine them into the whole of an individual person, a substratum whose attributes these are.

Accordingly, it would be correct to define the Hindu conception of nature as consisting, at least fundamentally, of an aggregate of forces, not clearly interrelated or acting in unison, but for the most part independent, and not set in motion by any common motive or principle. It is partially misleading, therefore, to employ the term 'force' of the Indian conception. For the so-called force is not determined by any rule or law, save that of its own volition. It is active, and works according to its own will and caprice. The animating power of the spring or the grove is really animated, and is, so far as it is self-governing and irresponsible, urged to action by no necessity or the control of a higher power or will, but is arbitrary and apt to perform the most unexpected feats of mischief-making and malice. This is the lowest and most primitive stage of naturalism, represented widely in India at the present day. A hierarchy of nature-gods and goddesses, with a graduation of authority and power, reveals itself only in the further course of evolution. Nor in this is man doing other than ascribing to the external forces of nature the faculties of self-determination and free movement which he finds within himself. The powers of the world without reflect the power within, but are conceived as endowed with a greater capacity for hurt or harm or for doing good, inasmuch as the radius of their action is indefinitely wider and the destruction that they work more ruinous and complete. Nature is essentially relative to man. For the very reason, however, that these powers are self-determining and irresponsible, they may be moved by prayer or placated by offering. The grovelling attitude of fear, the muttered petition for mercy, the rags tied to the sacred tree, the oblation poured upon the ground, and the slaughtered bird or beast are so many recognitions of the dominion which the forces of nature exercise over the worshipper, and the perpetual interference which they inject into the otherwise equable course of his life. He is always in presence of natural powers of indefinite range and capability, and the mere instinct of self-preservation prompts him to seek to propitiate them and to ward off the incalculable consequences of their spite or caprice.

A determining element in the character of all nature-divinities is the climate and natural features of the district in which they are found. Environment plays as large a part in the formation and development of early religious conceptions as in the physical growth and evolution of the human body. The deities with which the imagination of the worshipper fills the universe around him are of necessity deities of the things which he sees, and the phenomenal forces which he experiences. In the tropics a god of fire will predominate, and the supreme punishment will be torture by heat. In

[1] Illustrations are readily to hand from Indian literature. Thus *Bhagavad-Gītā*, xiii. 19, 'Know that both *prakṛti* and *puruṣa* are without beginning, and that products and qualities (*guṇa*) originate from *prakṛti*.' *Prakṛti* is said to be the ground of the activity of cause and effect, *puruṣa* of the capacity of experiencing pleasure and pain (*SBE* viii.[2] [1898] 104 f.; cf. the comments of Rāmānuja on Ved. i. i. 1 and i. iv. 8, *SBE* xlviii. [1904] 139 f., 365); *ib.* iii. 27, 'Actions in every instance are done by the qualities of *prakṛti*'; 33, 'Even the wise man acts in harmony with his own nature (*prakṛti*). All beings follow nature' (*SBE* xlviii. 55 f.); ix. 10, 'By me, the overseer, *prakṛti* brings forth the animate and inanimate world, from this cause the universe revolves' (*SBE* xlviii. 82); cf. *ib.* xiv. 5, v. 14, etc.

[2] Cf. the words of H. H. Risley, than whom no closer or more exact student of primitive Indian life can be quoted. 'More especially in Chota Nagpur . . . my endeavours to find out what the jungle people really do believe have led me to the negative conclusion that in most cases the indefinite something which they fear and attempt to propitiate is not a person at all in any sense of the word. . . . I should say that the idea that lies at the root of their religion is that of power, or rather of many powers. What the Animist worships and seeks by all means to influence and conciliate is the shifting and shadowy company of unknown powers or influences making for evil rather than for good' (*Census of India, 1901*, 'Report,' vol. i. pt. i., Calcutta, 1903, p. 352).

the arctic regions the chief and most terrible of the gods will rule the cold blast, and 'hell' will be a realm of pitiless frost. Thus divinities of the mountains will everywhere have similar characteristics, and will be awe-inspiring and difficult of access; deities of the storms will be variable and fickle, swift to strike, and readily appeased. The former may be expected to be constant, unchangeable, and in a mountainous region will dominate the entire pantheon. The ferocity or comparative mildness of the latter will vary with the climatic conditions of the country; their disposition will always be more or less uncertain, and their action erratic. In Egypt, where the conditions are stable, and the character and succession of the weather and the seasons may be relied upon with all confidence, nature-deities are equable and mild, ruling in general in their several provinces with consideration and equity. In the cold and storm-driven north the corresponding divinities are harsh, reckless, and cruel, and may be expected relentlessly to punish every offence against their majesty and laws. An animistic cult, endowing with some at least of the attributes and functions of life the powers and phenomena of nature that encompass its votaries, of necessity reflects the quality and characteristics of their environment, and in many respects may be looked upon as an unwritten record of their experiences and history.

In this way the nature-gods of India are brought into relation with their surroundings, and betray their origin. Where development has taken place, the change has usually, not always, been so simple and gradual that the original character of the deity in question can be discerned without much difficulty. In particular the gods of the Vedic hymns are for the most part at only a short remove from the natural phenomena which they represent. Behind the loosely wrought and transparent veil of the personality the concrete fact or phenomenon, upon which the idealization has been based, was readily apparent; and the poets or worshippers never lost their hold, as it were, of the material world, the elements of which their own imagination had converted into gods with a claim upon their reverence and fear. Those forces of nature which were most apt to surprise, hurt, inflict injury, or cause loss, whether to themselves or to their possessions, would most command their respect and exact from them offerings of propitiation. Deities, on the other hand, even though they represented constant facts of experience, as, *e.g.*, the Indian warmth and sunshine, if the outcome of their activity were usually the happiness and well-being of man, did not need to be urged to beneficence by gifts; and consequently their worship always tended to be neglected and their claims deferred in favour of the more imperious need of the worshipper to secure himself by submission and offering against the ill-will of those who might be prone to do harm. It is probable that considerations of this nature explain the comparatively subordinate position which the direct worship of the sun occupies in India. No natural phenomenon is more continually present and all-pervading than the sunlight and heat; reverence for the sun is and always has been a permanent element of Hindu worship, and of the daily ritual and prayer of the Brāhman worshipper. The beneficent action of the sun, however, might be taken for granted. The more urgent need of the worshipper was to erect altars and present sacrifices to avert the wrongs and calamities which he might otherwise suffer at the hands of more capricious deities, whose action might easily be diverted to do him harm.

To enumerate and describe even a tithe of the nature-gods and goddesses who from the Himālayas to Cape Comorin do at the present time exact or have in the past exacted a measure of adoration and fear from a greater or less proportion of the inhabitants of the peninsula is manifestly impossible within the limits of an article. Their number is legion. It would not be incorrect to assert that of the great multitude of deities who compose the vast Hindu pantheon the character and attributes of at least nine-tenths would justify a claim to the name and rank of 'nature' divinities; the remainder, with hardly an exception, would find a place in shrines or temples for ancestor-worship, or betray their origin in deification of notable men and women of the present or past ages. Deities that are the personifications of abstract qualities or sensations are rare; nor do they seem ever to have commanded any considerable measure of practical worship, important though their rôle may have been in theory and in the constructive mythology of the priests.

There is a further reason also in the character of the nature-gods themselves which seems to render a detailed description of each and every one unnecessary, even if it were possible. They all or most of them exhibit a strong family likeness. A description true to the qualities and attributes of one would serve for many others. Practically the same divinity also re-appears under different names in different parts of the country. When facilities of communication increase, these various deities are brought into contact with one another, and are readily identified. Thus the number of distinct and individual entities among the gods is not so great as might at first sight appear. Moreover, the character and functions of a nature-deity are rarely sharply defined. They tend at the edges to indistinctness and lack of firm outline. The more readily, therefore, they pass into one another, interchange offices and attributes, and end by becoming indistinguishable or distinguishable only by a name which has ceased to connote any marked individuality. It is usual to classify nature-gods as gods of the mountains, forests, streams, etc.; within these classes a similarity of function and characteristic is universally found to exist, which has its explanation in the natural phenomena which the deities represent. Finally, all nature-gods are strongly anthropomorphic. The worshippers, by whose imaginative power they are conceived, endow them with qualities and capacities like their own. In bodily appearance, in motives and passions, in prejudices and desires, they are like men. Inasmuch, however, as they have at their disposal forces incomparably greater than human—forces, moreover, whose purpose and direction appear to be incalculable—they are credited with efficient powers on a greatly enhanced scale. The worshipper reflects his own capacities for willing, feeling, acting upon the creations of his fancy, but in so doing magnifies them, and finds himself in presence of a god.

In the hymns of the Rigveda, the earliest literature of the Hindus, a simple nature-worship is presented, the naive wonder and reverence of man in presence of the mighty forces of the universe by which he is encompassed. The Vedic deities are described in anthropomorphic terms, but their relation to the natural phenomena which they represent is usually of a simple and straightforward character. In the hands of the poets they have undergone little transformation or idealization, and are still manifestly the forces of nature more or less distinctly personified and endowed with human characteristics. Perhaps in no other early religion is the 'natural' element so clearly revealed, or the material origin so little obscured by passing into the divine. Thus also the qualities and attributes of the various gods, being constructed, as it were, after one pattern, that of man, present little

variety, and the same epithets may be and frequently are applied to each and all. As is natural, it is the element of strength, the force which they exercise and by which their influence is felt, upon which most stress is laid. Whatever else they may be to the mind of their worshippers, they are severally all-powerful, able to accomplish their aims and to do whatsoever they will. Moreover, with few exceptions they are conceived as gracious and kindly, prepared to listen to the petitions of those who approach them in sincerity with prayer and sacrifice; and they wage continual war with the powers of ill, the demons who work disaster, suffering, and wrong. In all this may be easily discerned the self-consciousness of the early Hindu worshipper, facing with courage the problems of the world around him, projecting his own thoughts and experiences into what seemed its infinitely manifold activities, and endeavouring to construe its movements in terms of his own self-knowledge and will. Few of the great gods of the Veda survived to later times.

Nature-deities form part of what appear to have been early or primitive groupings of divine powers in triads, or sets of three. These, again, were, in most instances at least, based upon and developed out of pairs of divinities, in whom was expressed the ancient cosmological conception of the creation of the universe by means of generation, the union of the male and female principles in the natural world. The oldest of these dyads, or pairs, was **Dyaus-Pṛthivī**, heaven and earth, Dyaus representing the wide-spreading vault of heaven, which surrounds and encompasses the earth (*pṛthivī*). Dyaus is invoked as father of gods and men, who alone apparently in the conception of the poets is without beginning and possesses the attribute of immortality. The other gods, however great and powerful they may be, are in themselves but mortal, and gain immortality only as they quaff the life-giving *soma* (see below) in the halls of the gods. Other ancient divinities linked together in nature and worship are **Mitra-Varuṇa**, the sun in the heavens, in his royal prerogatives of justice and power; **Indra-Varuṇa**, the open heaven and the cloud-storms that come forth from its womb; and others of less importance. The earliest triad that is clearly distinguished appears as **Agni, Vāyu, and Sūrya**, or fire, wind, and the sun; but it is possible that this is a development out of a more primitive grouping in which Varuṇa, the heavens, and Mitra, a more ancient name or form of the solar divinity, had a part.

In the nature-worship of the Veda the sun appears in many forms and under many names. His most ancient title is Mitra, joint-guardian with Varuṇa of the wide universe, with a name and cult that lie far back in Indo-Iranian times. **Varuṇa** is thus in origin and relation closely connected with the sun. He has come to represent the wide-spreading vault of heaven, and as 'all-seeing' embodies the ancient Indian conception of justice and right. Varuṇa is perhaps the most completely personalized of the early Vedic gods. In the later Indian mythology, under circumstances that are obscure, he seems to have lost his original character, and became reduced to comparative insignificance as a god of the sea,[1] his office and functions being transferred to Prajāpati, the sovereign 'lord of creatures,' an abstract conception of a more reflective and theistic type of thought.

[1] In a late hymn of the Rigveda the rule of Varuṇa is already associated with the triple waters that feed the ocean:

'The waters of the sky, the waters of the rivers, the waters of the wells: the bright and cleansing waters, whose goal is the sea—may these divine waters protect me.

In the midst of them goes Varuṇa the king, marking the truth and falsehood of men; they so pure and bright, dropping honey—may these divine waters protect me' (VII. xlix.).

In all the hymns addressed to Varuṇa there are an acknowledgment of wrong-doing, and prayer for forgiveness; the following is part of one of the most remarkable from the first book of the Rigveda:

'However we break thy laws from day to day, men as we are, O god, Varuṇa,
Do not deliver us unto death, nor to the blow of the furious; nor to the anger of the spiteful!
To propitiate thee, O Varuṇa, we bind thy mind with songs, as the charioteer a weary steed.
Away from me they flee dispirited, intent only on gaining wealth; as birds to their nest.
When shall we bring hither the man who is victory to the warriors, when shall we bring Varuṇa, the wide-seeing, to be propitiated?

. . . . . .

He who knows the place of the birds that fly through the sky, who on the waters knows the ships.

. . . . . .

He who knows the track of the wind, of the wide, the bright, and mighty; and knows those who reside on high,—
He, the upholder of order, Varuṇa sits down among his people; he, the wise, sits there to govern.
Thence perceiving all wondrous things, he sees what has been and will be done.
May he, the wise son of time, make our paths straight all our days; may he prolong our lives!

. . . . . .

O hear this my calling, Varuṇa, be gracious now; longing for help, I have called upon thee.
Thou, O wise god, art lord of all, of heaven and earth: listen and answer on thy way.'[1]

The most clearly conceived and defined of the solar deities is **Sūrya**, the bright orb of the sun, who in the mythology is the son of Dyaus. He surveys the universe in the consciousness of power, and puts to flight the evil spirits of darkness and disease. The worship of the bright sun has been in India the most persistent and universal of early cults; and under the name of **Savitṛ**, the divine vivifier, who brings life again to the world and to men after the sleep of the night, he is invoked in the daily morning prayer of every Brāhman.[2] **Viṣṇu**, the all-pervader, is a solar deity who in the development of Indian religious thought became one of the most important and influential of India's gods. He traverses the three worlds in three strides, and is described as 'wide-stepping,' 'wide-going'[3]—epithets that probably refer to the rapid course of the sun in the heavens through the three stages of rising, culmination, and setting. **Pūṣan** also, the friend and guide of travellers and especially of the departed souls who are beset by many perils on their dark journey to the lower world, seems to have been originally a form of the light-giving god. In the later literature the number of the sun-gods is multiplied to twelve, representing the twelve months of the year. These are the **Ādityas**, sons of Aditi, the boundless expanse or void. In the Rigveda the name occurs once in the late tenth book, and their number is given as seven or eight, Varuṇa being sometimes reckoned with them. Aditī, in the dual, is the dual divinity of heaven and earth; and the name Āditya is also employed generally of Viṣṇu or any solar divinity.

Two deities, moreover, prominent in the Rigveda, were directly associated with the heavens. The twin **Aśvins** represented probably the morning and evening stars, which were originally conceived as distinct and independent. Their functions, however, and course in the sky were so evidently similar that they were regarded as twins. The name signifies 'belonging to horses'; accordingly, the Aśvins are the two charioteers who harness the car of the dawn, and conduct it each successive day above the horizon. They are also the divine physicians, who by their skill avert sickness and

[1] I. xxv.; Max Müller, *Hist. of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*[2], London, 1860, p. 535 ff.; Peterson, *Hymns from the Rigveda*[3], pp. 2 ff., 295 ff.

[2] The sacred *Gāyatrī* or *Sāvitrī* (Rigveda, III. lxii. 10; cf. Manu, ii. 78–82, 148): *tat Savitur vareṇyam bhargo devasya dhīmahi, dhiyo yo naḥ prachodayāt*, 'On the most excellent glory of that divine vivifier let us meditate, and may he inspire our thoughts.'

[3] *Urukrama, urugāya.*

disease from men. Undoubtedly the most beautiful personification of the Veda is **Uṣas**, the goddess of the dawn, who in her car opens the gates of the sky, and drives away the malignant spirits that love the night. She is described as bright and ever young, the daughter of heaven and sister of the Ādityas. In the dual, *uṣasau*, the name is given to the morning and evening twilights.

Several of the Vedic deities have a double or even threefold form and nature, as gods of the heavens, the earth, and the waters. The chief of these is **Indra**, sometimes described as an atmospheric divinity. He is the storm-god, son of Dyaus, the most popular deity of Vedic times, to judge from the number of hymns dedicated to him. He rides upon his golden car, and bestows rich and bountiful gifts upon his worshippers; but he is also greatly to be feared, for the same rain that enriches and fertilizes the soil may become a flood, sweeping away the crops and destroying life. In his character as warrior-king he is thus perhaps more distinctly personalized than the majority of the Vedic gods. He is said greatly to delight in the offerings of those who pay him homage, and to indulge to excess in draughts of the intoxicating *soma*, whereby he is strengthened for the warfare with the powers of evil in which he is perpetually engaged. Prominent as is the position of Indra in the Veda, from the later mythology his figure and name almost entirely disappear.

From many texts that might be cited the following express briefly the thoughts of the poet towards the god:

'He who, immediately on his birth, the first, the wise, surpassed the gods in force; at whose might the two worlds shook, through the greatness of his strength, he, O men, is Indra.
He who fixed the quivering earth; who gave stability to the agitated mountains; who measured the vast atmosphere; who propped up the sky, he, O men, is Indra.
. . . . . .
He who has been a counterpart of the Universe; who casts down the unshaken, he, O men, is Indra.
. . . . . .
The sky and the earth bow down to him; at his might the mountains are afraid.'[1]

'O Indra, listen to our prayer; come, yoke thy steeds, and drive them towards us; all mortals call upon thee in every place, but hear our prayer, O life-giver.
Thy greatness, Indra, reached our cry, and thou protectest the song of the singer, O mighty one: when thou dost take the thunderbolt in thy hand, great and fierce god, none can resist thee.
. . . . . .
On the days when evil men do penance for their sin, on these days be gracious to us, O Indra; the sins which Varuṇa, the wise god, sees in us—from their guilt may Indra deliver us.
Let us call on this mighty Indra, that he may give us great wealth and substance: who is the hearer of prayer—and do you gods protect us always with your blessing.'[2]

Closely related to Indra are the **Maruts**, the storm-deities, sons of Rudra, himself a god of the destroying tempest, and the only one of the great Vedic deities whose temper and character are distinctly maleficent. **Rudra** is also the lord of the healing art, the 'greatest of physicians,' perhaps so regarded from the action of the storm-wind in clearing the valleys and swamps of fogs and noxious vapours. The constant association of the Maruts with Indra in the hymns seems to be decisive against the explanation of their original nature as spirits of plant-life and vegetation.[3] The really maleficent forces of the Veda are the demons, of whom **Vṛtra**, the defeated opponent of Indra, is the chief. The other demoniacal powers for the most part make their appearance in classes, as *rākṣasas*, *piśāchas*, etc. Vṛtra certainly, as a personification of the evil serpent, belongs to the sphere of nature-worship. The great majority, if not all, of the rest probably share the same character.

Vāyu or **Vāta** was the wind, another impersonation of the mighty tempest. He is associated with the earth (*pṛthivī*), of whom he is sometimes regarded as the husband.

Among the most ancient deities of the Veda was **Soma**, who also appears under a terrestrial as well as a celestial form. His cult may be traced back to the Indo-Iranian period, when the sacred *haoma* had a part in the Avestan rites of worship. The basis of the personification is to be found in the strange intoxicating properties of the plant, which were ascribed to divine afflatus. What specific plant, however, was originally intended is uncertain. The so-called 'moon-plant' (*Asclepias acida*), which the Indians themselves usually identify with the *soma*, possesses a bitter acrid juice, which would seem unlikely, unless tastes have greatly changed, to have been lauded as a divine drink. Others have supposed that the *soma* really denoted the grape, the knowledge of which had been communicated to the Indians in their early home. P. Regnaud, on the other hand, has argued that the name originally indicated the aromatic oil that was employed to feed the sacred fire;[1] but his arguments have failed to carry conviction to scholars. There is less ideal personification in the poets' conception of Soma than is the case with the other chief divinities of the Veda. In celebrating his virtues and influence they seem never to have lost sight of the fact that the deity whom they praised did actually represent a tangible and concrete plant. Moreover, the *soma*, though the choice libation to the gods upon earth, possessed also a mystical life in the third heaven. There, like the nectar of the Greeks, it was the drink of the gods, through partaking of which they became immortal; and men also will win immortality when they quaff the *soma* in the regions of the blest. In some sort, therefore, the *soma* was conceived as having a celestial as well as an earthly existence. It grew also in heaven, whence it had been brought down, a gift from the gods to men. In the later literature Soma changed his character, as did some other divinities, and the name was transferred to or identified with the moon, probably through some obscure idea of the influence of the moon upon vegetation and the growth and ripening of the sap. Of this identification there are hints and pre-intimations in the Rigveda itself.[2] It is unlikely, however, that the conception of Soma as the moon was other than a late development of religious thought.

In the tenth *mandala* of the Rigveda the praises of the *soma* and its irresistible power are chanted in an unmistakable drinking-song. Indra is the speaker:

'This, this is my thought, that I will get me cow and horse: have I not drunk the Soma?
Like rushing winds the draughts I have drunk carry me along: have I not drunk the Soma?
The draughts carry me along as swift horses the chariot: have I not drunk the Soma?
Prayer is drawing nigh me, like a lowing cow approaching her dear child: have I not drunk the Soma?
I, as a carpenter with a plank, turn the prayer round in my heart: have I not drunk the Soma?
The two worlds reach not the half of me: have I not drunk the Soma?
Over heaven in my might, over this mighty earth I stretch: have I not drunk the Soma?
Ha! I will put earth down this way or that way: have I not drunk the Soma?
. . . . . .

[1] Rigveda, II. xii. 1; J. Muir, *Orig. Sanskrit Texts*[3], London, 1890, iv. 87.
[2] Rigveda, VIII. xxviii., tr. Peterson[3], i. 280 f.
[3] As by L. von Schröder, *Mysterium und Mimus im Rigveda*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 124.

[1] *Actes du premier Congrès international de l'histoire des religions, 1900*, Paris, 1904, II. i. 49 ff.
[2] Rigveda, VI. xliv. 21, VIII. lxxi. 8, X. lxxv. 2 ff., cxxiii. 8. The passages are all probably late. In X. lxxv. 5 the moon is the cup from which the gods drink the *soma*, and a similar representation is found in the *Upaniṣads*.

I am great of the great; I have risen to the navel of the world: have I not drunk the Soma?
I have taken, and go away satisfied, to carry the offering to the gods: have I not drunk the Soma?'[1]

Agni, the god of fire, takes his place among nature-gods equally with the gods of the winds and the waters; and the universal prevalence of fire-worship among primitive peoples is due to the large part which that element plays in their daily life. In the Veda Agni is the son of heaven and earth, the guardian and friend of mankind; and, like Soma, bears the character of a terrestrial as well as a celestial divinity. He is indeed credited with a threefold origin and life, as the sacred fire upon the hearth, the lightning in the sky, and in the atmospheric waters. As in the descriptions of the *soma*, the physical qualities and appearance of the fire also seem rarely if ever to be lost sight of by the Vedic poets. He strikes in the lightning, and with his fierce heat consumes those who oppose him and refuse to render him his due. He also waits upon men at the household hearth, bears their sacrifices and gifts to heaven, and with his kindly warmth promotes the growth of their crops. Agni is the eldest of the gods, high priest and seer both in heaven and upon earth, messenger and intermediary between man and god, uniting in himself the functions of all inferior and human priests, and presenting their gifts and service with acceptance in heaven. Thus Agni especially, in his offices and worship, forms the bond between the daily concrete life and labour of man and the unseen world of the gods.

'O holy and divine Agni, with thy pleasant tongue of flame bring the gods here and worship them.
We have fed thee with butter, O glorious one, that gazest up into heaven: bring the gods to our feast.
Thou dost call them to our feast; we have kindled thee and thou dost shine: dost shine mightily, O wise Agni, at our sacrifice.
Agni, come with all the gods and partake of our sacrifice: we have chosen thee for our priest.
See thy worshipper pours out the soma for thee, Agni, give him strength: with the gods sit down on the rushes.
Thou are kindled, O Agni, conqueror of thousands, and kindled dost further our sacrifice: a messenger to the gods, worthy to be praised.
Put Agni upon the altar, he to whom all creatures are known, who it is that carries our oblation: a god and priest ever young.'[2]

Of nature-deities that in origin were more exclusively terrestrial the chief was Pṛthivī, the earth, the primeval mother of all creatures, and the consort of Dyaus, the sky. All natural objects, however, were deified, or conceived as animated by spirits consciously working out their own purposes, gratifying themselves in the execution of their own will, but amenable to prayer and the offerings and desires of their worshippers. All running water was regarded as especially sacred. The semi-mythical river Sarasvatī was personified as the wife of Brahmā, mother of rivers, goddess of eloquence and learning, who bestows inspiration on the seers, offspring and riches upon mankind. It is doubtful whether the Vedic Sarasvatī is to be identified with the river which later bore the name, and now as an insignificant stream flows south-westwards between the Jumnā and the Sutlej to lose itself in the Indian Desert. There is evidence, however, that the modern river was formerly of much greater size and importance.[3] The heir to the especial sacredness of the Sarasvatī was Mā Gaṅgā, or Mother Ganges, a river which evidently occupied an entirely subordinate position in Vedic times, being mentioned once only in the Rigveda.[4] In the later mythology the Ganges was the eldest daughter of Himavat (the mountain-range of the Himālayas) and Menā, the latter one of the *apsarasas*;[1] and descended from heaven from the feet of Viṣṇu, falling directly upon Śiva's head. Thus the sacred river has a celestial habitation and home, and is believed also to flow in a subterranean course. To bathe in its waters purifies from all sin. Death on its banks is a sure passport to heaven. And water from the Ganges is carried to the most distant parts of India for the benefit of those who cannot themselves visit the holy river. While the Ganges, however, is the most sacred river, and the chief places of pilgrimage and worship lie on its banks, other rivers approach it in sanctity. Of these the principal are the Indus, the Narbadā, and the Godāvarī (*qq.v.*). According to a widely accepted tradition, the Ganges is destined at a future date to lose its pre-eminence, the place of honour being taken by the Narbadā. Every temple has its sacred tank, the water of which is more or less efficacious for spiritual as well as physical purification. The *manikarnikā* well at Benares is perhaps the most frequented and revered of countless sacred wells and pools throughout India, each with its legend or legends, which attract the Hindu worshipper, especially at the great periodical festivals.

The worship of animals and plants is universal. In part this cult is a survival of totemism, as in many parts of India among the aboriginal and backward tribes it is associated at the present day with totemistic practices. The members of the serpent and monkey tribes are almost universally held in regard; to the more common and dangerous snakes, especially the cobra, *pūjā* (worship) is habitually rendered. The bull is sacred and inviolable throughout the length and breadth of India. The animal 'vehicles' of the great gods become themselves the objects of a special cult and fear. Thus the sacred goose of Brahmā, the *garuḍa*, the mythical eagle or vulture of Viṣṇu, the *nandin*, or bull, of Śiva, the tiger of his wife Durgā, the rat of Ganeśa, the parrot of Kāmadeva the god of love, share the reverence due to the gods with whom they are associated. Dangerous beasts are propitiated in order to secure their worshippers from harm; in the case of others their usefulness in the service of man has led to a measure of honour being paid to them, which in most instances, however, falls short of a real deification. More or less unconsciously behind all lies the motive power of the belief in transmigration, which presents to the mind of the worshipper the possibility that the living form may enshrine the spirit of a deceased father or other ancestor, who has chosen this as his temporary home. Nature- and ancestor-worship are so intimately conjoined that it is often impossible with certainty to assign to one or the other the priority.

The worship of the *soma* has been obsolete from Vedic times, but the cult of trees and other plants is very widely practised throughout India. The belief in transmigration has undoubtedly exercised an influence here also, inasmuch as the possibilities of rebirth extend to the vegetable and material worlds. The most sacred plant of modern India is the *tulasī*, or *tulsī*, the holy basil (*Ocymum sanctum*), a small shrub, a specimen of which may be found growing in the courtyard of most Hindu houses. It is believed to be animated by Lakṣmī the wife of Viṣṇu, or by Sītā, and the entire worship of many high-caste Indian women consists in daily circumambulation of the sacred plant, with offerings of rice and flowers. The sacred lotus, if not actually worshipped, is the symbol of unstained purity; and the *kuśa* grass, from its association with the sacrifice, is pre-eminently holy. Of trees the *pīpal* (*Ficus religiosa*) is peculiarly sacred, being the abode of Brahmā, or

[1] x. cxix.; Peterson[3], pp. 45 f., 319 f.
[2] Rigveda, v. xxvi.; Peterson[3], pp. 17, 304.
[3] The question is fully discussed in Macdonell and Keith, *s.v.*, ii. 434 ff.
[4] In the late tenth book (lxxv. 5).

[1] See below, p. 233, and art. GANGĀ, GANGES.

of the triad of Hindu gods, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva. It is worshipped by pouring water at the roots, daubing the trunk with red ochre, or fastening rags or threads to the branches, and by circumambulation. Other trees of great sanctity are the *banyan* (*Ficus Indica*), which is especially sacred to Viṣṇu, and as the Bo-tree, under which Gautama Buddha gained perfect wisdom, is equally revered by Buddhists. The *mango*, the *bel*, or wood-apple, and the *nīm* tree, the leaves of which are prophylactic against disease and snake-bite, with many others, are holy, and receive worship generally or at stated times.

Moreover, practically all the prominent and striking features of the countryside have come to be regarded as sacred, and in a measure deified. In particular, prominent rocks or hills and stones remarkable for shape or situation become the objects of a ritual worship that in its general character is similar throughout the country. The *śālagrāma* stone, a variety of black ammonite, is sacred to Viṣṇu, and the markings on the stone bear a mystical significance in relation to his worship. Vaiṣṇavites keep a specimen of the *śālagrāma* in their houses, where it is reverently bathed, and drink-offerings with incense and flowers are presented. The massive mountain-ranges of N. and Central India, and to a less degree the hills and plateaux of the south, were all personified, and admitted to the rank and station of the great gods. The impressiveness and inaccessible character of the vast Himālaya range, the 'abode of snow,' naturally claimed for it the chief place. Himālaya in the mythology was the father of Gaṅgā, the river Ganges, and of Parvatī, the wife of Śiva; and in the distant ice-bound recesses of his mountain-home some of the most holy pilgrim resorts are to be found. Other mountain peaks, however, in other parts of the country are hardly less sacred. The nymphs of the springs and groves, the mythical deities of the air, the *apsarasas*, *gandharvas*, *kinnaras*, and others, belong ultimately to the same class of nature-gods; and the personified powers of evil and disease, lurking in secret places, *rākṣasas*, *piśāchas*, *kimīdin*, etc., are innumerable.

Reference should be made also to the strange cult of the implements of trade or occupation—a practice which is observed more or less throughout India, but is most prevalent where commerce has been most highly developed and organized. Its origin is probably to be traced to the influence of the trade gilds, and the desire to provide for a distinct centre of gild interest and worship.

'The tools which a man uses in his trade, the fire that warms him, the books out of which the school-boy learns his lessons, the pots with which the wife cooks the dinner, all have a part in this strange and elaborate deification, and become the objects of a worship that is by no means confined to the lowest and most ignorant strata of the population.'[1]

In Bengal this worship takes place especially at the Śrī Pañchamī festival in the spring, when even the clerks in the Government offices will gather together their pens and paper and books, and with the help of Sanskrit recitations by the Brāhman priest go through a formal ceremonial of worship, which concludes with presents to the officiating priest and general feasting.[2]

LITERATURE. — *SBE* xxxii. [1891], 'Vedic Hymns,' pt. i. 'Hymns to the Maruts, Rudra, Vâyu, and Vâta,' tr. F. Max Müller, xlvi. [1897], 'Vedic Hymns,' pt. ii. 'Hymns to Agni,' tr. H. Oldenberg; P. Peterson, *Hymns from the Rigveda* (ed. with Sāyaṇa's commentary, notes, and a translation)[3], Bombay, 1905, *Second Selection of Hymns from the Rigveda*, do. 1899; A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, 2 vols., London, 1912; M. Monier-Williams, *Brāhmanism and Hindūism*[4], do. 1891, and *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, new ed., Oxford, 1899; W. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, new ed., 2 vols., London, 1896 (with bibliography); A. S. Geden, *Studies in the Religions of the East*, do. 1913, pp. 206–223, 403–407; J. C. Oman, *Cults, Customs, and Superstitions of India*, do. 1908; W. J. Wilkins *Hindu Mythology*[2], do. 1900; E. O. Martin, *The Gods of India*, do. 1914. See also artt. ANIMISM, GOD (Hindu), HYMNS (Vedic).

A. S. GEDEN.

NATURE (Japanese).—I. *APPRECIATION OF NATURE.*—No race, ancient or modern, seems to have had a keener appreciation of nature than the Japanese, or to have been more inspired by it in the formation of its religious ideal. The Japanese were inclined towards this state of mind by the very character of their country—a land full of contrasts, at once tragic and smiling, terrifying and gentle, stern and mild; refusing man much and giving him more; shaken by volcanoes; devastated by floods, swept by tempests, and at the same time rich in hidden resources and dazzling splendours, fertile in crops and beauties. Such a land was bound to make the deepest impression on an intelligent, artistic people inclined by their innate goodness of heart to look on the benefits of nature rather than on its scourges, and to see in the beauty of their country a constant reason for gratefulness to the gods.

This feeling of admiration and love for nature is seen throughout the whole literature of the country.

In mythology, when the wife of the hero Yamato-dake throws herself into the waves to pacify the sea-gods, one of her last thoughts before disappearing is the recollection of a landscape; and Yamato-dake himself dies singing the praises of his beautiful country and expressing fraternal sentiments towards a tree which is near him, before being changed into a bird (see HEROES AND HERO-GODS [Japanese], vol. vi. p. 664).

These significant details show how close the communion was between the Japanese and the nature in the midst of which they lived. In the most ancient poetical collection, the *Manyōshu* ('Collection of a Myriad Leaves'), we find numerous lyrical poems devoted to the celebration of all the splendours of the Japanese landscapes, from the lofty summit of Fujiyama to the smallest herb of the plain (see M. Revon, *Anthologie de la littérature japonaise*, Paris, 1910, p. 90 ff.). Even in these poetical pieces, most of which were composed in the 8th cent., the Japanese show that particular sentiment which they express in the phrase *mono no aware*, and which consists in understanding the 'melancholy of things,' *i.e.* in sympathizing with all creatures, having a fellow-feeling with the sorrows of nature as well as with human sufferings. The next poetical collection, the *Kokinshu* ('Poems Ancient and Modern,' 10th cent.), has the same sentimental lyricism with less fullness and more delicacy. In cleverly constructed verses the poets vie with each other in lamenting the ephemeral duration of the cherry-blossom in spring or the sadness of the autumn evenings. The preface to this work, written by a great poet, Tsurayuki, explains how men became poets by listening to the voice of the nightingale singing among the flowers or to the cry of the frog which dwells in the water, by admiring the flower or envying the flight of the birds, by gazing at the hazes or the tear-drops of dew; he says that the collection is to include all the feelings experienced by a person of the court, from the time when the plum-tree blossom was placed in his hair to the time when he listened to the cuckoo, when he gathered the maple-branches reddened by the autumn, when at last he went to admire the snow; and he concludes by celebrating the immortality of Poetry, eternal as the evergreen pine-tree (see Revon, pp. 139, 141, 150 f.).

There is the same appreciation of nature in the prose works. The famous novel, *Genji Monogatari*, which appeared in the brilliant court of the year 1000, the masterpiece of a lady of honour, Murasaki no Shikibu, was composed on the terrace of a

[1] A. S. Geden, *Studies in the Religions of the East*, p. 406 f.
[2] *Census of India, 1901*, vol. i. pt. i. p. 357 f.

temple facing a lake, by moonlight, and from these circumstances it seems to have acquired a poetical illumination through and through; the most beautiful passages are perhaps those, often in verse, in which the writer introduces into the expression of human sentiments images drawn from nature (see, *e.g.*, *ib.* pp. 184 f., 190). In the delightful book of impressions of another court lady of the same period, the *Makura no Sōshi* ('Pillow Notes') of Sei Shōnagon, we also find mingled with lively remarks and anecdotes on the artificial life of the court the most acute observation of nature and its changing aspects: the work opens with impressions of nature, in which the writer says that what charms her in spring is the dawn, when all becomes gradually lit up on the mountains; in summer the dark night, when the fire-flies cross each other's paths, and so on (*ib.* p. 200). Another well-known book of impressions is the *Hōjōki* ('Book of a Hut ten feet square'), by the hermit Kamo Chōmei (13th cent.); with this religious person the love of nature once more predominates: he also dreams of nothing better in his solitude than to have as his friends music and poetry, the harp and flutes, the moon and the flowers; the whole hope of his life, he says, rests in the beauties of the seasons; and he blames himself for being too fond of the mountains and forgetting Buddha in his contemplation of the moon when it appears on the horizon (see *ib.* pp. 259–262, 263–265, 259, note 2). This eternal theme of the four seasons reappears in a third book of impressions, the *Tsure-zure-gusa* ('Varieties of Moments of Ennui'), by the bonze Kenkō (14th cent.), who, comparing his love of nature with that of the preceding authors, connects it with all the festivals of the year (see *ib.* pp. 285–288). Thus in writings in which the inmost heart is laid bare we always find among the Japanese the same profound love of nature.

The same remark may be made concerning other kinds of literature at later periods—*e.g.*, in the *nō*, or lyrical dramas, of the 15th cent. (see, *e.g.*, *ib.* p. 305 f.), or in the light poetry (*haikai*) of the 17th and 18th centuries, in which we see a poet, a lover of flowers, surprised because a brutal sword-bearer dares to look upon these exquisite marvels; another, indignant because they are looked upon by aristocrats whose grand dresses cover the ridiculous skeletons of degenerates; and another expressing the horror of the flowers themselves when they see approaching them people who have just shown their lack of taste by being present at an artificial theatrical performance; while, on the other hand, those poets themselves, in their enthusiasm for nature, do not hesitate to go and ask water from their neighbour so that they may not disturb a convolvulus that has entwined itself round the bucket of their well, or to set fire to their thatched roof if it prevents them from seeing a moonlight effect (*ib.* pp. 383 ff., 391, note 3, 394, n. 3, 395, ns. 2, 4, 397, n. 2; and cf. pp. 388, 389, n. 1, 392, n. 5, 393, n. 1, etc.).

To complete our survey of this Japanese conception which sees in nature the supreme beauty and finds in its contemplation the most perfect human joy, we may refer to a native thinker who has analyzed it very carefully, viz. Kaibara Ekiken, the great philosopher of the 17th cent., whose writings have remained popular to the present day. In his *Rakkun* ('Philosophy of Pleasure') he expresses himself on the subject with great beauty and sympathy (see *ib.* p. 320).

Like their ancestors, the Japanese of to-day are dominated by the thought of the seasons—so much so that, in conversation, they do not begin by asking about one's health, but by mentioning the state of the weather; and similarly in letter-writing they always start with a phrase indicating, in poetical terms, the point of evolution of the year with regard to the change of temperature and the blossoming of the flowers. Like the artistic people of the ancient days who had special pavilions built where they might gaze on the moonlight, which was regarded as the most exquisite spectacle that could be presented to a guest at a friendly evening party, to-day all the people of Tōkyō go and admire it for whole nights, on certain dates fixed by tradition, singing and improvising verses full of tenderness, and they desert the capital to go to various well-known places to see in turn the bloom of plum-trees, cherry-trees, peonies, azaleas, wisteria, irises, then convolvuli, lotuses, and chrysanthemums, and, last of all, the maple-leaves turning red, awaiting the arrival of the snow, the light winter-flower. In a garden famous for its plum-trees, on the banks of the river Sumida, the present writer one day saw an old statesman, Admiral Enomoto, one of the founders of modern Japan, rising from his seat in order to show his respect by hanging on a branch in blossom a little poem which he had just composed in praise of the admired tree. The Japanese, even of the poorest class, often undertake journeys to visit the most distant landscapes of the empire; for they are convinced that the most beautiful scenes are those which the gods themselves have prepared for the eyes of man. This state of mind at the present time explains and confirms what we have noticed in the past. Throughout the whole course of their history, from primitive times to our own days, the Japanese appear as essentially charmed with nature, wonderfully gifted to understand it as artists, and predestined to love and adore it.

II. *NATURE-GODS.*—The national religion of Japan is not, as was for a long time believed, a cult of ancestors, accompanied secondarily by a vague nature-worship; it is essentially a cult of nature, complete and precise, to which a much less important cult of ancestors only gradually came to be added (see ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD [Japanese], vol. i. p. 456). As a matter of fact, the nature-gods constitute almost the whole pantheon of the ancient Shintō; they swarm in all the departments of the physical universe, sometimes attached to an object, sometimes to a phenomenon, and sometimes to a group of phenomena or objects—to a complex region of which they become the soul and form the unity.

1. Gods of the sky.—The first thing that the ancient Japanese noticed when they raised their heads was what they called the 'Plain of the High Heavens' (*Takama no hara*). But for them this material heaven was only the dwelling-place of the gods; it was not itself a god. The idea of a personal Heaven did not enter their minds until under the influence of the Chinese. Meanwhile they regarded the sky simply as the abode of the supreme gods.

(*a*) *The sun-goddess.*—The gods of light are the first important gods revealed by the native mythology, and the most brilliant of them, the sun, shines throughout the whole sacred history in the vault of the Japanese pantheon. In art. COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY (Japanese), vol. iv. p. 164, will be found an account of the circumstances of the birth of this solar goddess, Amaterasu-oho-mi-kami, the 'great and august goddess who shines in the heavens,' at the same time as the moon-god and the storm-god, and of the way in which these three deities were made the rulers of the Plain of the High Heavens, the Kingdom of Night, and the Domain of the Ocean respectively. But Amaterasu is manifestly the highest of these deities. She receives the most glorious investiture, and holds the highest rank in the sacred legend. In fact,

she is hardly raised to the royalty of the heavens when she takes the most noble and outstanding part in the myths; and the long account of her quarrels with the storm-god only serves to show up the beauties of a truly divine character.

When that impetuous god, deserting his kingdom, darts into the sky to overthrow that of his sister, she endeavours to appease him with the most indulgent calmness; and the eclipse of the goddess at last takes place only when, disregarding her patient gentleness, he perpetrates the worst crimes: she hides in the cave from which the other celestial gods had so much difficulty in enticing her to come forth (*Kojiki*, tr. B. H. Chamberlain[2], Tōkyō, 1906, pp. 63–65).

After this episode the wicked brother is driven from the sky, and the goddess, henceforward calm, can at last reign in peace in the Plain of the High Heavens. She soon reappears, and at the most important points of the national legend; for it is she who in her turn gives the investiture to the ancestors of the emperors. This mission accomplished, she intervenes only at rare intervals to indicate especially the cult which she desires and which the emperors hasten to render to her as the most powerful of the deities. But this anthropomorphic rôle does not change the essentially naturistic character of Amaterasu. This character appears clearly in the myths referring to her birth, her strife with the storm which darkened the sky, and her retreat which plunged the world into darkness, and also in the old myth explaining the alternation of the two celestial luminaries (see COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY [Japanese], vol. iv. p. 165[a]). Thus Amaterasu was originally conceived as the sun itself, soul and body, a living spirit united to its brilliant covering. But gradually the advances of reason led the Japanese to see in this planet with such a regular course a simple object of physical nature; by degrees the personal element became detached and transformed into an anthropomorphic deity, and, although the divine rôle of Amaterasu, presiding over the government of the heavens like the living emperor over that of the islands, might well be reconciled with the idea of an indivisible solar deity, this function of general direction, which was soon applied to terrestrial politics and to the superintendence of imperial advances, must have tended to develop the human character of the goddess. Even to-day the Japanese always worship the sun as a living deity, to whom they render a direct positive cult, from the artisan, who, from the depths of his dark shop, turns towards the brightness of the dawn, claps his hands, and piously recites his prayer to the goddess, to the pilgrim who on the summit of Fuji-yama prostrates himself dazzled before the first golden rays of the sun and worships it leaning his forehead on the rocks.

(*b*) *The moon-god.*—After this triumphant goddess of day, Tsuki-yomi-no-mikoto, 'the august moon of the darkness,' seems pale; and, in fact, this god occupies only a very inferior place in the Japanese pantheon. His birth is hardly described when he disappears from the legend. According to the first texts (*Kojiki*, 50; *Nihongi*, tr. W. G. Aston, London, 1896, i. 19), he was to be the companion of the sun and to share her rule; but he has no further part in the account and his existence is hardly mentioned again. It is certain, therefore, that in the 8th cent., when the mythology was collected in those ancient books, Tsuki-yomi was a god who had long been neglected; but it is also very probable that at an earlier time he had held a different rank. The myth explaining the alternation of the two luminaries, as it appears in the *Nihongi* (i. 32), is sufficient to prove his former importance, and the texts which declare his mission, alongside of that of Amaterasu, remain like the ancient foundations of an abandoned and destroyed building, which prove its historic existence. In the case of the moon also the advances of reason must gradually have attenuated the primitive worship; they damped it much more quickly than that of the sun, because it had not the same conquering brilliance. In the Japanese moon-worship, therefore, as we observe it at the present day, the æsthetic sentiment is more predominant than the religious. But the moon none the less receives, with the homage due to its beauty, the offerings reserved for the divine powers; the people who go to witness its superb rising at certain times and certain favourite places proceed from admiration to prayer; the enchantment of the eyes is completed by the adoration of the heart. Comparing these present-day sentiments with the primitive myths which ascribe to the moon the same birth as the sun, the same parallel government, and the same importance in a famous story, we are justified in classing it unhesitatingly in the category of the oldest nature-deities.

(*c*) *The star-gods.*—After the glorious blazing sun, and the bright but pale moon, the distant twinkling of the stars appears still more humble and obscure. While the sun-goddess is the queen of religion, and the moon-god is the king of poetry, the stars hardly appear at all either in the sacred texts or in the literary collections; and clearly the silence of the poets shows the state of mind of religious men. Although we can find no trace of a formal star-worship in the old documents, there are clear signs of a vague deification, undoubtedly long before the time when the legend was written. Various myths referring to secondary gods, 'the brilliant male,' 'the weaver-god,' 'the heavenly weaving-girl' (see *Nihongi*, i. 69 f.; *Kojiki*, 117), show that in the 8th cent. the Japanese still had star-gods, perhaps the last remnants of a deeper and broader worship, at all events sure proofs of an old original naturism, very attenuated but still alive.

2. Gods of the air.—(*a*) *The storm-god.*—Beneath those divine planets which move in the firmament the primitive Japanese perceived other animate powers which sport in the air; and among those great meteorological phenomena we find in the first rank Take-haya-susa-no-wo-no-mikoto, 'the august impetuous male, swift and brave.' The terrible male personifies the storm, the ocean rising to threaten the sky, *i.e.* the most violent of the physical forces which terrified the ancient inhabitants of the archipelago. He has hardly issued from the nose of Izanagi when he is in a fury. His father commissions him to rule the Plain of the Seas in peace; but, instead of obeying him, like the regular planets who were to preside over the harmonious alternation of day and night, he neglects his duty, and darts into nature to scatter trouble and death broadcast. He weeps, cries, and groans continually; he leaves his sea-dwelling, makes the green mountains wither, dries up the rivers, shakes the whole country, and, when Izanagi takes him to task for his behaviour, he replies that his only desire is to descend to the Kingdom of Night. Izanagi drives him from his presence; immediately he departs, ascends to the sky, attacks the sun, and commits all possible crimes; and, when he is again driven off and returns to the earth, it is, according to one version, to kill the beneficent goddess who gave nourishment to human beings (*Kojiki*, 70). These fits of anger are appeased, however, and soon the impetuous male, without changing his character, passes to other exploits. He puts to death the monstrous serpent which was about to devour a young princess (see HUMAN SACRIFICE [Japanese and Korean], vol. vi. p. 855); he afterwards appears as the god of the lower regions (*Kojiki*, 86 ff.); and lastly we read that one of his descendants received

the sovereignty of Idzumo from him (*ib.* 78 ff., 88). Thus the nature-god becomes a romantic hero, and even, in the end, a seemingly historical personage. This is the anthropomorphic evolution which we already noticed in the legend of Amaterasu, and which is often seen in the myths. But, through all these inconsistencies, the general idea remains: Susa-no-wo is the same wicked devastating god that he was originally, and, as in his first aspect he made men die in crowds (*Nihongi*, i. 20), so in his last incarnations he is sometimes a god of plague (see HOSPITALITY [Japanese], vol. vi. p. 814), sometimes a fierce guardian of the kingdom of the dead, always an enemy of light and peace, a god of darkness and confusion.

(*b*) *The wind-gods.*—In contrast with the storm-god stands Shina-tsu-hiko, 'the prince with the long breath,' *i.e.* the normal wind, with long slow breaths, whose beneficent gentleness is naturally opposed to the wicked furies of Susa-no-wo. The *Nihongi* (i. 22) relates the birth of this young god.

> The creator-couple had just engendered the islands, when Izanagi noticed that all over the archipelago there was nothing but 'perfumed morning mists'; he therefore dispersed them with his breath, which immediately became a new deity: 'and that is the god of the wind.'

This origin of the wind, which came from the living breath of a god, is obviously quite logical; and the reason of its creation is admirably understood in a country of mountains, where morning mists are common. Another document emphasizes and completes this Japanese conception. In the ritual for the service of the gods of Tatsuta (see tr. by E. Satow in *TASJ* VII. iv. [1889] 442 f.) the same god reappears, transformed into a couple of distinct personages, 'the prince with the long breath' and 'the princess with the long breath.' This couple of wind-gods also form a pair of mysterious pillars on which the firmament is supported, and thus maintain the order of the world—a useful mission, which does not hinder them on occasion from disturbing it by ravaging the country. In fact, if light breezes purify the air by sweeping away the mists, autumn squalls ruin agricultural hopes; and, according to the ritual, this was exactly the origin of the worship which these gods were destined to receive, and which aimed at softening their hearts (see DIVINATION [Japanese], vol. iv. p. 806[a]). The wind-gods thus appear in Shintō as pure nature-deities, elementary forces which chased the mists and contributed to the harmony of the world as long as men did not irritate them by neglect.

(*c*) *The rain-gods.*—In an archipelago whose climate was governed by the monsoons the functions of the winds explain the importance accorded them by the native mythology. On the other hand, other meteorological phenomena are rather neglected. There is nothing definite about clouds in the texts. As regards rain, which was so abundant in Japan, they are not quite so barren, and we find, issuing from the blood of the god of fire, a 'great god of dark valleys,' Kura-oho-kami, who doubles himself and becomes in turn the 'great producer of the rain in the valleys' and the 'great producer of rain on the heights.' This god of rain probably also plays the part of god of snow; for, in spite of its comparative frequency in the western region occupied by the primitive Japanese, the snow does not seem to have been deified by them in any special way. The rainbow appears only as the probable origin of the famous 'bridge of heaven' which in legend floats between heaven and earth (*Kojiki*, 19, 155, etc.).

(*d*) *The thunder-god.* — The thunder alone of secondary phenomena holds a certain rank among the gods. Thunder-storms are frequent and severe in some of the Japanese mountains, especially in the old provinces where the mythology was formed. In this mythology, therefore, the thunder-god, Ikadzuchi-no-kami, is born from the body of the fire-god at the same time as the god of the mountains and the god of the rain on the hills (*Nihongi*, i. 29). He soon appears multiplied, in one of the more sombre myths: it is eight thunder-gods that pursue Izanagi in the lower regions (*Kojiki*, 35 f.). He again intervenes at different times in the ancient annals. It is probably he who, as in a lightning-flash, sends through the roof of a good man the sword destined for the first of the emperors (*Nihongi*, i. 115); in the form of a serpent, he frightens the terrible emperor Yuriaku himself (*ib.* i. 347); and, under the empress Suiko, he tries to strike with lightning the shipbuilders who have cut down a tree sacred to him (*ib.* ii. 147). In a more or less vague way, throughout the whole primitive period, people are conscious of his dreadful presence, and it is only by degrees that they become accustomed to his dangerous caprices. He is feared even to-day; the common people are afraid of thunder, and even the educated show some uneasiness when its voice rumbles like a mysterious warning from heaven.

(*e*) *The fire-god.* — The transition from the thunder-god to the fire-god is natural, since, in Japanese mythology, the thunder is born of the fire. In ancient Shintō, Kagu-tsuchi, 'the venerable who shines,' appears as the last-born of the creator-couple; and in this birth, in a human manner, of the most terrible of physical forces the mother is severely burned. At this moment new deities are born, which the *Kojiki* account makes rise from the very manifestations of her fever: metals, clay, water, gourd, river-plant, all the magical apparatus which Shintoism employs to subdue fire (see MAGIC [Japanese], vol. viii. p. 298[a]). After Izanami's death Izanagi in his furious grief kills Kagu-tsuchi. Then from his scattered members arise new deities, while his blood, also deified, spurts up to the stars, or flows over the earth, where it infuses the fire-principle into plants and trees, stones and rocks (see COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY [Japanese], vol. iv. p. 165[b]). The matricide disappears, and is not mentioned again in the sacred literature. But he leaves traces of his brief existence, viz. the terrible seeds which he has sown, the latent principles of the greatest plague that the inhabitants of the frail native houses could dread. In such a country fire was an enemy. Its former benefits, its daily uses, were forgotten; only its terrifying frolics were seen. If the fire-god was worshipped, it was not because he was admired or loved, as among other races, but because he was feared. The people tried to exorcize him (ritual xii.; cf. art. MAGIC [Japanese], vol. viii. p. 298). He is regarded in the same way to-day, especially as a force of nature against which one must make sure of safeguarding one's house by amulets, etc.; he is not so much a god of fire, in the broad sense of the word, as a god of conflagration.

3. Gods of the earth.—(*a*) *Sea-gods.*—This land being an archipelago, the sea which envelops it is the first thing that attracts attention, and it is very probable that it held this dominant place in the imagination of the primitive Japanese. Of the three famous gods whom Izanagi appoints to govern the universe, one is to rule the ocean, the vast 'blue plain' (*ao-una-bara*), while no one is yet selected to rule the islands; and, although Susa-no-wo, disdaining this sovereignty, immediately becomes the raging ocean which rises against the sky, and finishes in a storm, the sea none the less keeps its familiar gods, born before him (*Kojiki*, 28), its calm and faithful masters. There is first of all Oho-wata-tsu-mi, 'the great god of the ocean,' the supreme sea-god, with his wonderful

palace hidden in the depths, once visited by a mortal, who experienced there the love of a goddess (legend of Ho-deri and Ho-wori, in *Kojiki*, 145–158). Then, in accordance with the habit of doubling common in Japanese mythology, there are the 'masters of the sea' (*wata-tsu-mi*), secondary gods who, like their chief, have a general function. Lastly, there are the more special gods of the 'bottom of the sea,' of the 'middle of the sea,' and of the 'surface of the sea,' the gods of the 'gates of the waters,' *i.e.* of the river-mouths, with their children, the gods of foam, of froth, etc.—not to mention the local deities who here and there haunt a certain bay on the shores of the archipelago (see *Kojiki*, 28, 46; *Nihongi*, i. 220, etc.). The whole sea therefore lives, animated, spiritualized, deified, and becomes transformed into a crowd of gods.

(*b*) *Land-gods.*—It is from the vast sea that, according to a very oceanic conception, the lance of Izanagi, from the height of the celestial bridge, draws the first island of the archipelago (*Kojiki*, 19); then, when Izanagi and Izanami come down to this corner of the earth to live there and celebrate their union, they gradually engender the whole 'country of the eight islands,' from the humble island of Awaji to the great central one, which appears last of all, according to the law of evolution (*ib.* 22 f.). These islands, begotten by a human couple, imagined as having bodies and faces, seem so alive that it is believed that they had been born quite small, and had grown like persons. Nevertheless they are not raised to the rank of gods; they are not worshipped individually in the temples. On the other hand, we find the Japanese earth deified under more general forms: one deity is called 'the august spirit of the great country,' another 'the god of the great earth,' and another 'the august ancestor of the earth'; and real worship is offered to them.

(*c*) *Mountain-gods.*—All these land-gods are very vague, and too abstract to make a clear impression on the mind; the religious imagination requires individual concrete visions. This explains why the mountain-gods appear in the first rank of the gods of the earth. Nothing could be more natural in a country dominated by its orographic system, a country whose general appearance recalls that of Switzerland, whose whole beauty depends on the continual play of mountains and valleys, dark gorges descending from the heights and graceful hillocks undulating towards the plains, stern summits and smiling landscapes. All these raised portions of the earth were reflected in the depths of the primitive soul, which made them objects of general deification. First of all there is Oho-yama-tsu-mi, 'the great lord of the mountains,' the supreme god, round whom are grouped accessory 'lords of the mountain'; although these are secondary gods, they are very broad personifications, who are worshipped like him in numerous temples, and are always adored with fear by the woodman when he fells a tree in their forests. Those are the primitive gods, whom the creator-couple engendered when they wished to fix the great lines of the country. But there are also more special gods, corresponding to the various parts of the mountain, who were born from the members of the fire-god when he was massacred by his father.

According to the most fluent version (*Kojiki*, 36), the head of Kagu-tsuchi became 'the lord of steepnesses,' his breast 'the lord of the descent,' his belly 'the lord of the innermost mountain,' his genital organs 'the lord of the black mountain,' his left arm 'the lord of the dense forests,' his right arm 'the lord of the first slopes,' his left leg 'the lord of the high meadows,' and his right leg 'the lord of the mountain-gates.'

In this myth the divine world was, as it were, moulded as faithfully as possible on existing natural objects. But, by super-addition, the ancient Japanese conceived a marriage between 'the great lord of the mountains' and the goddess of the lower regions, 'the princess of the fields where grows the thatch for the roofs' (Kaya-nu-hime). This union of extremes gives the whole series of intermediary accidents, and there appear as children of the two deities the 'god of the passes,' the 'gods of the boundaries of the passes,' the 'gods of the dark gates,' and the 'princes of the valleys' (*Kojiki*, 29). The 'august slopes of the hills' are also deified, and the 'mountains of metal,' until at last, from a less general point of view, all mountains are deified in which a local deity can be imagined (*Kojiki*, 216, 63, 140).

(*d*) *River-gods.*—The importance of mountains in ancient Shintō forms a striking contrast to the scant attention paid to rivers. The reason is that the hydrographic system of the country is as modest as its orographic system is preponderating. Streams which are rather torrents, and rivers which on account of the shortness of their course cannot develop and are more like streams did not make on the mind the impression of grandeur which mountains and volcanoes did. We need not be surprised, therefore, to find that, if river-gods are mentioned in the texts (*Nihongi*, i. 281, ii. 174), they are not named; they get none of the personal titles which the myths ascribe to the other nature-gods; they are not classed in a logical hierarchy, like the sea-gods or the mountain-gods, who reproduced so minutely all the details of the structure of the country; and, lastly, if we come across water-gods provided with individual names, they are not real river-gods, but the 'gates of the waters,' the river-mouths, which border on the sea, and in some measure share in its majesty. As regards rivers proper, after the summary notice of their birth by the creator-couple (*Nihongi*, i. 18), they do not become peopled with anthropomorphic beings, princes and lords of their waves; they are ruled only by impersonal anonymous spirits, vague deities who sometimes have no visible form, and sometimes assume the appearance of an animal—a serpent (*Nihongi*, i. 299), as was natural in the savage regions of the primitive country. But they are not organized physical powers, and we do not find in connexion with them any of the famous myths that indicate the approach of great deities.

(*e*) *Gods of travel.*—The last group of earth-gods is that of the *michi no kami*, 'gods of routes' or of travel. There are three of them, well-known, popular, and familiar, viz. Ya-chimata-hiko, 'the prince of the cross-roads,' Ya-chimata-hime, 'the princess of the cross-roads,' and Funado, whose name means 'Halt there,' and who personifies the strong mountain-staff which saved Izanagi when pursued by the infernal deities (cf. DIVINATION [Japanese], vol. iv. p. 802[b]). Faithful to this legend, they will always remain friendly, helpful gods, protectors of the living against evil spirits (ritual xiii.; art. MAGIC [Japanese], vol. viii. p. 298[b]); and, just as they were piously worshipped in the ancient sanctuaries, so to-day the believer has recourse to them before setting out on a journey.

4. Underground god.—There is still another nature-god, a fierce god hidden in the entrails of the earth—the god of the earthquake (*Nihongi*, ii. 124). He receives very sincere worship through terror, because his dreadful convulsions, which are worse than flood, plague, or fire, are the only scourge against which man cannot fight. The ancient annals continually mention those frequent earthquakes, which sometimes made a very deep impression on the imagination (*e.g.*, for the surprise caused by an earthquake in the 7th cent. see COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY [Japanese], vol. iv. p. 164[b]). We can understand, therefore, why

the earthquake-god had temples in the seven provinces; why after such a great cataclysm the emperor ordered solemn sacrifices on all sides; and why among all the beliefs arising from this terror the most popular is that which beseeches Take-mika-dzuchi, the powerful and awful god, to keep the monster under his magic sword as under the crushing of a rock.

5. **Plant-gods.**—The richness of Japanese vegetation accounts for the worship of plants. In addition to the general causes which have everywhere made tree-worship one of the most ancient human beliefs, we have in Japan the existence of a flora which forced itself on the mind by its grandeur, while at the same time it supplied almost all the materials of the indigenous civilization. From the mighty mountain, with its black forests, to the fertile plain, where all varieties, wild and cultivated, swarmed, the ancient Japanese saw exuberant vegetation on every side; and, when they instinctively sought an idea for naming their archipelago, they immediately chose its two verdant aspects, wild lands and rice-fields, and summed them up in the typical name 'the luxuriant country of the plain of reeds and fresh young ears of corn.' It is not surprising, therefore, to find among the first deities engendered by the creator-couple, on the one hand, 'the princess of the fields where grows the thatch for the roofs' (already mentioned, above, p. 237[b]), who is the goddess of all herbaceous plants, and, on the other, 'the father of the trees,' Kuku-no-chi, the patriarch of the forests. The latter multiplies into several beings similar to himself. He changes, too, and alongside of this fundamental god, who personifies especially the tree-trunks, there appear the god of the forked branches and the protector-god of the leaves, while such a variety as the oak becomes the object of a special cult, at least in certain parts of the country. A curious legend relates how Susa-no-wo, by pulling out the hairs of his body and scattering them, produced the trees useful for all kinds of buildings and the different kinds of fruits (see HEROES AND HERO-GODS [Japanese], vol. vi. p. 662[b]). If we add to this the famous story which tells of the birth, from Uke-mochi's dead body, of millet, rice, corn, and the different kinds of beans (*Kojiki*, 70; and cf. the version of the *Nihongi*, in art. COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY [Japanese], vol. iv. p. 165[a]), we have all the useful elements of primitive agriculture. The legends also show the real motives of Shintō phytolatry. The vegetable world, which was at first animated because the plant is a living being, which germinates, grows, and dies under the eyes of man, because the wood contains the spark of fire, because the wind and the echo give a mysterious voice to the forests, was worshipped above all because it represented the essential food of the people, being therefore the necessary basis of all social order, as well as the material of the houses, from the thatch of the cottages to the precious wood of the temples. The same reasons must have tended to develop the belief in the spirit of plants, not only in the spirit of trees (*ko-tama*) in general, but much more in the special spirits which performed useful functions, like the rice-spirit or the spirit of the wood for building. And in their turn these animistic conceptions, strengthened by a careful observation of the virtue of simples, introduced into magic its vegetable elements—wild garlic, the shining peach, or the plant of long life (*Nihongi*, i. 30, 127, ii. 186)—while the ancient and sacred cleyera, 'of awful spirit' (*ib.* i. 225), spread throughout Shintō its long evergreen branches eternally laden with offerings.

6. **Animal-gods.**—The deification of animals is still more natural in primitive Japan. The forest, the tall grasses, are full of those mysterious creatures which add to the already marvellous life of the plant voluntary movement, with its miracles of gracefulness and suppleness, and, above all, the power and agility so much envied by savage man. In his eyes those fascinating existences are of the same essence as his own, with a degree more of energy; therefore he readily regards them as 'superior' beings—in Japan, the *kamis*. In Shintō mythology animals have the attributes of man—*e.g.*, the gift of speech (*Kojiki*, 81, 86, 149, 170, etc.); but they also possess rarer qualities—*e.g.*, the toad knows things which even the gods do not know (*ib.* 103). It is not surprising, then, that the most famous heroes of the legends often appear as inferior to the animals which they meet (*ib.* 164, 269, etc.). At least, there is a close familiarity, a community of interests, based on the identity of nature, between man and the animals as well as between the animals and the gods; these three groups make one, and the animals, not being enclosed within the hard barriers erected since then by man's arrogance, enter into legend, where they wander at liberty, take part in all the heroic adventures, and play their wicked or helpful part with the same right as the other sacred personages.

(*a*) *Reptiles.*—First comes the serpent, whose worship, so wide-spread in Shintoism, is explained both by the alarming appearance of that creeping, glazed, often dangerous animal and by its abundance in the thickets of the primitive country. In Japanese mythology it is surrounded with a timorous respect. Whether it appears as the spirit of a river (see HUMAN SACRIFICE [Japanese], vol. vi. p. 855 f.) or of a mountain (*Nihongi*, i. 208 f.), or whether it becomes a virgin-devouring monster (see HUMAN SACRIFICE, p. 855), the incarnation of an amorous god (*Nihongi*, i. 158), or the omen of threatening treason (see DIVINATION [Japanese], vol. iv. p. 806[a]), it is always in a formidable and at least alarming shape. On the other hand, in the cult a serpent-bite is regarded as a divine punishment, which entails expiatory penance ('Ritual of the Great Purification,' in Revon, p. 29), and the serpent ordeal confirms this religious character (see DIVINATION [Japanese], vol. iv. p. 805[b]).

(*b*) *Birds.*—Birds share in a way the superior nature of the sky; man envies their wings and is surprised at their mysterious language; he admires those creatures so swift of flight, at one moment mounting to the abode of the gods and the next settling down beside other creatures and chirping as if telling them strange secrets. Thus in the myths their essential function is that of divine messengers, and nearly always, when a person sees them appearing, he guesses that they are bringing news or a command from heaven.

When the first couple are in perplexity about the consummation of their marriage, the example of a wagtail instructs them (*Nihongi*, i. 17); when the celestial deities require to send an ambassador to earth, they choose the pheasant (*Kojiki*, 114–116); when the march of the first conqueror has to be led, a crow becomes his guide, goes in advance, and negotiates with the rebels (*ib.* 169–170); and, when the same Jimmu is kept back by superior powers, a golden kite, shining like lightning, alights on his bow, misleads his opponents, and gives the emperor the victory (*Nihongi*, i. 126 f.).

Birds thus fly from page to page through the whole legend, until the god of scarecrows (*Kojiki*, 103) puts the winged group to flight.

(*c*) *Quadrupeds.*—Though often more formidable, quadrupeds are, on the other hand, less mysterious. Yet a number of animals appear as gods and divine agents, at any rate as beings gifted with faculties which assure them a high place in the myths. Not to mention the bear or the wild boar, which terrify the primitive warriors (*ib.* 164, 398, etc.), the wolf is still a god, and even a 'great god' (*oho-kami*), in the historical period (*Nihongi*, ii. 36).

The monkey is also deified and receives sacrifices (*Kojiki*, 138, and cf. HUMAN SACRIFICE [Japanese], vol. vi. p. 856[a]). Other animals are considered more or less sacred, without being regarded as gods—*e.g.*, the deer, which appears as gifted with superior qualities (see DIVINATION [Japanese], vol. iv. p. 806[b]), and whose shoulder-blade is the most ancient instrument in Shintō divination (*ib.* p. 802).

(*d*) *Fishes.*—Fishes are rather neglected in the mythology, but even to them is accorded the gift of speech (*e.g.*, the story of the trepang in COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY [Japanese], vol. iv. p. 166[a]); and, if they are not gods, they at least play the part of servants of the gods (*Kojiki*, 139, 287, etc.). Even the molluscs intervene in an active and divine way: there are two shell-fish, 'the princess Kisagai' and 'the princess Umugi,' who by magical processes bring the god Oho-kuni-nushi back to life (*Kojiki*, 83).

(*e*) *Insects.*—Even down to the insects, all have their part in the mythology (*ib.* 63, 86 f., 396 f., etc.); one story tells of a caterpillar which was worshipped like a real deity (*Nihongi*, ii. 188).

In a word, whether these animals are the object of great adoration or only of slight respect, it is always because of the same old naturism, the profound instinct which gives a spirit to each one, humanizes and deifies animals as well as plants, and with the same breath raises the humble lives of the organic universe and the phenomena of the material world to the higher regions.

7. Phallic gods.—There is a form of worship intermediary between the adoration of the animal world and that of the human world, to which we must refer, viz. phallus-worship. This aspect of Shintō is in harmony with all primitive religions, in which man thinks it right and noble to admire the phenomenon of reproduction, to deify it, and to worship it in the sincerity of his heart. Therefore, from the very beginning of the national cosmogony the idea of reproduction is shown in the names of the gods. The celestial trinity of the great beginning includes two generating deities: Taka-mi-musubi, 'the high august producer,' and Kami-musubi, 'the divine producer'; among the 'seven divine generations' which come afterwards, we may mention, among other obscure couples, Tsunu-guhi and Iku-guhi, the god of germs and the goddess of life; and the last of these couples, in which appear the first ancestors of the human race, consists of two beings with the significant names Izanagi and Izanami, 'the male who invites' and 'the female who invites.' These two deities are commanded by the other gods to engender the archipelago, with the *nu-boko*, 'jewel-spear'; the spear is lowered from the height of the sky-bridge, stirred in the salt water of the sea until it is coagulated, then raised, and at that moment the drops which fall from its point thicken, and become the first island of Japan (see COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY [Japanese], vol. iv. pp. 162–164). The young deities soon descend into this island, where they discover love; and the sacred account relates their marriage with the chaste want of shame which is that of nature (*Kojiki*, 20 f.). Then several pages are taken up with the long enumeration of the islands and the gods to which they give birth; and, when at last Izanami disappears, after having given birth to fire, when Izanagi in despair goes to look for her in the subterranean region, his first cry is to beseech her to come and continue their great work of procreation (*ib.* 22 f., 38). A little later, in the legend of the eclipse, the blacksmith god, Ama-tsu-mara, who is the Cyclops of Japanese mythology, and whose name has a phallic meaning, is ordered to manufacture a *hi-boko*, 'sun-spear,' which suggests the same kind of ideas as that of Izanagi (*ib.* 55; *Nihongi*, i. 47). Other gods whose names contain the same element support this interpretation. We must, in the last place, mention the monkey-god Saruta, whom the shameless goddess Uzume approached in an indecent manner (*Nihongi*, i. 77), and whose phallic character was admitted in ancient Japan. Further, a material proof comes to the support of those inductions drawn from mythology, viz. the *raitsui*, the 'thunder-clubs' of the excavations, which seem to have been phallic images rather than objects of combat. Ancient Shintō therefore possesses a phallic cult which forms an integral part of its essential naturism; and, as it considers paternity the highest mission of the gods, it worships in all simplicity the instrument of this supreme function. This worship is difficult to trace in primitive times, but becomes much clearer afterwards. The phallus became a definite god, Konsei Myôjin, who had his temples, images, ex-votos, and phallophories; at the same time this religious current became complicated with a less respectable movement, which finally led the imperial government in 1872 to order the destruction of these emblems throughout the whole empire. Nevertheless, the investigator who deviates a little from the main roads can still find here and there, in some sacred wood, invaded by bamboos, a small ancient temple, the witness of the old beliefs; and in this virgin nature, before the ex-voto offered by some rustic worshipper, he understands how deep and pure was this particular belief of ancient Shintō.

III. *NATURE-SPIRITS.*—The nature-spirits were closely related to the real gods of nature. As a matter of fact, the physical world and the spiritual world are not in juxtaposition in the primitive imagination; they are intermingled and often confused. The nature-gods were sometimes spirits closely united to some object or phenomenon, like the soul of a man to his body; but in many cases there were also broader, freer spirits who presided over a whole department of the universe; and, if we have classed these among the nature-gods in order to define their functions more clearly by placing them in their material compartments, it is none the less true that these gods of transition lead us to the very boundary of animism. To go beyond this boundary only one more step is necessary, and immediately a new family of spirits appears before us, viz. those that are detached from things and independent even of regions, but yet have a definite function, an express mission, in the physical world. Such spirits are known by the common characteristic that it is impossible to fit them into any of the divisions of nature, although the things in charge of which they are placed class them as nature-spirits.

As a typical example of this class it will be sufficient to choose the goddess of food, who is not only a goddess of cereals, but also provides fish and game, who is not only a goddess of food but also sees to the clothing and housing of men, who therefore surpasses the flora and the fauna, and hovers over the whole of nature, but whose definite duty nevertheless keeps her among the spirits of material phenomena. This goddess, whose ordinary name is Toyo-uke-bime, 'the princess of abundant food,' has various other names, which one would at first be tempted to mistake for new deities, but which are undoubtedly only hypostases (see *Nihongi*, i. 21 f., 32, 122). On the contrary, there are different gods connected with the same kind of idea—*e.g.*, the gods of the harvest, Oho-toshi no Kami, 'the god of the great harvest,' and Mi-toshi no Kami, 'the god of the august harvest' (cf. MAGIC [Japanese], vol. viii. p. 296[b]). But it is especially Toyo-uke-bime who personifies the

fundamental nourishment by rice and other cultivated plants. The most interesting of the myths concerning her is the one describing her death, which also gives us the legendary origin of agriculture and the silk industry (*Kojiki*, 70). We can understand her importance in Shintō above all by the worship which she received. This went back to the most ancient times (*Nihongi*, i. 86), having no equal except that of the sun itself, and we may say that after the sun the goddess of food is the greatest figure in Shintō. Even to-day in the temples of Ise, *i.e.* in the very heart of the ancient Japanese religion, people worship the sun-goddess and the goddess of food. In one of the two great temples, the Geku, it is the goddess of food who receives all the honours; the other deities who are worshipped there, viz. the grandson of the sun-goddess, the first ancestor of the emperors, and the two divine companions who were with him when he came down from the sky, receive only an accessory worship. In the other temple, the Naiku, the sun-goddess is paramount; and after her the god with the strong arm who made her come out of her cavern and the venerable mother of the father of the emperors are merely secondary deities. Lastly, surrounding these principal sanctuaries, the temples of the wind-gods, of the god of the soil, and of the god of purification appear simply as inferior buildings. It is therefore certain that in the mind of the worshippers as in the legendary stories the deities of light and food have remained what they were originally—the greatest gods of the Japanese—because this race loved its old traditions and never forgot either the glorious planets that had saved it from the ancient nocturnal terrors or the nourishing earth on whose bosom it had rested in the ancient days.

It is clear, therefore, that the real national religion of the Japanese is essentially a nature-religion, since it is nature-gods that compose its pantheon, people its mythology, and hold the first rank in its worship. What led the most learned Japanologists to believe for such a long time that Shintō was above all an ancestor-cult was a kind of artificial integration that took place later, when, in imitation of the imperial family, the legendary descendant of the sun-goddess, the great families endeavoured to appropriate those famous nature-gods as ancestors. For an explanation of this evolution see art. ANCESTOR-WORSHIP AND CULT OF THE DEAD (Japanese), vol. i. p. 455 ff.

LITERATURE.—This has been cited in the article.

M. REVON.

NATURE (Lettish, Lithuanian, and Old Prussian).—Nature-worship played an important part in the religious life of the Baltic peoples, the Old Prussians, Letts, and Lithuanians. Peter von Dusburg († *c.* 1326) makes the following statement:

'Errando omnem creaturam pro deo coluerunt, scilicet solem, lunam et stellas, tonitrua, volatilia, quadrupedia etiam . . . lucos, campos et aquas sacras' (*Chronicon terræ Prussicæ*, ann. 7. 1326, in *Scrip. Rer. Pruss.* i. 53).

This passage, fortunately, is supplemented and confirmed by authorities of the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries, who, owing to the late introduction of Christianity, can furnish us with very valuable information.

1. **Heavenly bodies.** — The Lithuanians worshipped sun, moon, and stars. 'Solem et Lunam deos omnium primos crediderunt' (Erasmus Stella, *de Boruss. Ant.*, ii., in *Scrip. Rer. Pruss.* iv. [Leipzig, 1870] 294). The Nadravians worshipped a star deity in both male and female form.

'They more commonly called this godhead Sweigsdunka, a star-goddess, whom they consider the bride of the sky and through whose power the morning and evening stars are guided. Szweigsdukks is a god of fixed stars' (Praetorius, *Deliciæ Prussicæ*, p. 26).

The folk-poems of the Letts and Lithuanians abound in myths of the sky and the heavenly bodies. They probably contain very ancient matter; pagan deities such as Zemyna, Layme, and Perkun are frequently mentioned, and there is only the very thinnest veneer of Christianity. The mysterious personage called God, who was at war with the sun for three days and nights, can hardly be the Christian deity. Mannhardt would identify him with an ancient sky-god, possibly Occopirmus.

'God Himself goes to the first door;
Through the second; Dear Maria
Through the third the sun doth journey
With her two proud, golden horses'
(cf. Mannhardt, 'Die lett. Sonnenmythen,' p. 91).

Dear Maria must also represent a pagan goddess. Her woollen veil is stained with the blood of the oak-tree that was shattered by Perkun. She figures in several Lettish songs:

'Behind the mountains smoke is rising.
Who is it hath kindled fire?
Dear Maria heats the bathroom
Where bathe little orphan maidens.'

Dear Maria seems to correspond to the Lithuanian goddess mentioned by Lasicius:

'Perkuna tete is the mother of thunder and lightning; who receives into a bath the weary and dusty sun and sends her out again next day washed and shining' (*de Diis Sam.* p. 300; 'Perkuna tete' should be translated 'the aunt of Perkun').

Mannhardt believes that Perkuna tete represents the planet Venus, who, in the folk-songs, is sometimes spoken of as a single being and sometimes appears in dual form, as morning and evening stars. There is also a change of sex. In the Lithuanian songs Auszrine and Wakarine are the handmaids of the sun; in Lettish sources, on the other hand, the morning and evening stars seem to be the beings called the 'sons of god.' There are two passages which point to the identification of Dear Maria (= Perkuna tete) with the planet Venus. In a Lithuanian poem the sun remarks:

'The morning star has kindled my fire,
The evening star has spread my bed.'

In a Lettish poem occur these words:

'By the valley spring the sons of god heat the bath chamber.'

But why should the planet Venus be called the aunt of the thunder-god?

The 'sons of god' play an important part in the Lettish songs. They are the workmen of Perkun, they woo the daughter of the sun, they serve as horses for the moon.

'Folks say
The moon has no steeds of his own.
The morning star and the evening star
They are the steeds of the moon.'

Mannhardt compares them with the Greek Dioskouroi and the Aśvins of Indian mythology (p. 305 ff.). See, further, SUN (Lithu-Slavic).

2. **Thunder.**—The cult of Perkun was of the utmost importance. 'The Nadravians call Perkun Diewaitis (god) *κατ' ἐξοχήν*' (Praetorius, p. 21). Though disputed by some scholars, the word 'Perkunas' is in all probability derived from the common European word for 'oak,' A.S. *firgen*, 'forest'; O.H.G. *virgun*, 'wood'; Scand. Fjörgyn (the name of Thor's mother); Lat. *quercus*, 'oak.' Perkun, however, is not a tree-spirit, but the god of thunder and lightning:

'Epulati diis suis falsis praecipue deo lingua eorum appellato Perkuno, id est tonitru' (Michov, *de Sarm. Europ.* ii. *ap.* Grynæus, *Novus orbis regionum . . . incognitarum*, p. 519). 'Percunos deus tonitru illis est quem coelo tonante agricola capite detecto et succidiam humeris per fundum portans . . . alloquitur' (Lasicius, p. 300). 'During the night there came a terrible storm with thunder and lightning and all the people thought that their god Perkuno spoke with the Kiruait' (Grunau, *Preuss. Chronik*, tract. iii. ch. i.).

On the banner of king Widowuto, Perkun was represented as a middle-aged, black-bearded man, with a countenance like fire and crowned with flames (*ib.* ii. ch. v.). The Provincial Statutes of Riga (A.D. 1428) witness to thunder-worship among the Letts: 'A tonitruo quod deum suum appellant.' Perkun is frequently mentioned by name in Lettish folk-

songs. He occupied one of the three divisions of the famous oak-tree sanctuary at Romove, which is described in detail by Grunau (tract. ii. ch. v.). Before him burned the sacred fire, tended by a priest who would lose his life if it were suffered to go out. The statement that the god was supposed to hold communication with the chief priest in this sanctuary, by means of thunder, is confirmed by Bretkius (cf. Praetorius, p. 39). Grunau is not a trustworthy authority, but in this case his description can be paralleled from so many different sources that there is no need to doubt its essential accuracy.

3. Groves and trees.—Sacred groves and trees figure very prominently in Lithuanian religion. We hear of various wood- and tree-gods. 'Modeina et Regaina silvestres sunt dii' (Lasicius, p. 301). Praetorius mentions Gyrstis, a wood-god, Birzulis, a god of birches, and others. Sometimes the tree itself is the object of worship. The Jesuit Rostowski (cf. Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 87) obtained information that for 'fruitfulness and domestic welfare a hen is offered by men to an oak, and by women to a linden-tree as gods.' A tree whose trunk was split and then joined together again was called *romove* and deemed particularly holy. A tree of this kind was still standing at Nibudzen in A.D. 1664, and Lithuanians from far and near came to visit it (cf. Praetorius, p. 16). More often, however, the tree or grove was reverenced as the dwelling-place of the deity. When Jerome of Prague cut down woods 'sacred to devils,' the women complained 'that the house of their god had been taken away' (Æneas Sylvius, *Hist. de Europa*, 26, in *Script Rer. Pruss.* iv. 239). According to Erasmus Stella (*loc. cit.*), the Old Prussians 'said that the gods inhabited the finest trees such as oaks.' To the oak-tree a special sanctity adhered. Its connexion with Perkun has already been mentioned. In the folk-songs he frequently cleaves the oak in anger, and sheds its blood. An aged Nadravian described to Praetorius how the holy fire was obtained from oak-wood, adding that there were still many people who thought it very lucky to come across such an oak (p. 20). He also mentions (p. 16) a holy oak at Ragnit which would bring bad luck to any one who injured it.

4. Springs.—The sacred spring is frequently associated with the sacred tree. This was probably so in the case of the Romove sanctuary (cf. Praetorius, p. 19).

'An oak-tree behind the mountain,
Behind the oak-tree a lake.
The son of god hangs his girdle there'
(Lettish folk-song).

'Under the maple-tree is the spring
Where the sons of god resort'
(Lithuanian folk-song).

Peter von Dusburg (*loc. cit.*) mentions 'aquas sacras' among the many objects of Old Prussian cult.

'Orthus lacus est piscosus quem colunt; quemadmodum et Ezernim lacuum deum' (Lasicius, p. 301).

In spring-time water was worshipped by the sacrifice of a fish (Praetorius, p. 34). We hear of various water-beings and gods:

'Audros deo, maris caeterarumque aquarum cura incumbit (Lasicius, p. 300). 'Szullinnus who governs the wells' (Praetorius, p. 33). 'One god Upinnis has the rivers in his power' (M. Stryikowski, *Pol. Chron.* 1582, quoted by W. Mannhardt, in *Mag. der lett. literar. Gesellsch.* XIV. i.).

In Church documents of A.D. 1530 Antrimpus is identified with Neptune.

'The priests (Waideler) of the water-god were called Naruttes; they dived into the water and conversed with the water-nixes' (Praetorius, p. 34). 'Water was honoured as a male and fire as a female deity. The former was prayed to by the name of Bangputtis, the latter by the name of Ponyke (*i.e.* Lady)' (*ib.* p. 33).

Elsewhere Praetorius describes Bangputtis as a storm-god; but the two conceptions are not necessarily inconsistent.

5. Weather.—Perkun was not the only weather-god of the Baltic peoples. Drebkullis was invoked in time of earthquake. Blizgulis was a snow-god, Lituvaris a rain-god, Wejopatis lord of the wind. Praetorius was acquainted with a Prussian fisherman who had a wooden image of Wejopatis fixed on the mast of his ship. In stormy weather he was wont 'to lift up both his hands towards it' (cf. p. 27). The wind, like the water, had its priests or sorcerers.

Of these 'some were also able to charm the fire and knew how to address the Fire-Angel by name . . . and command him to do no harm' (*ib.* p. 44).

6. Fire.—There are a number of references to the Lithuanian fire-cult.

'Colebant autem ab origine Lithuani numina ignem . . . qui per sacerdotem lingua eorum Zincs nuncupatum, subjectis lignis adolebatur . . . praecipuum numen Samagitticum erat ignis, quem sacrosanctum et perpetuum putebant' (Michov, *loc. cit.*).

Jerome of Prague preached to people who worshipped a sacred, perpetual fire in a temple. The priests practised clairvoyance by means of it, and were consulted as to the destiny of sick persons (cf. Æneas Sylvius, *loc. cit.*). Both Lasicius and Praetorius mention Tartois Kibirksztu, 'a charmer of sparks, a god who withstands fire' (Praetorius, p. 32). Jagaubis is a fire-god (cf. Usener, p. 92). Praetorius states that fire was a female deity invoked as Szwenta Ponyke (*i.e.* 'holy lady'). In his day the Nadravian women addressed her as they raked together the fire in the evening. 'Thou Holy Lady, I will cover thee up well, that thou mayst not rage over me.' Lasicius (p. 304) mentions Polengabia, 'a goddess . . . who is believed to rule over the bright hearth.' Some editions of the *Kalevala* contain a prayer to Panu, the Finnish fire-god. The word 'Panu' is said to be a Lithuanian loan-word and is possibly related to the Gothic *fōn*, 'fire.' In the poem Panu is addressed as son of the sun, and begged to take fire up to heaven, to carry it, as a child to its mother, into the castle of the beloved aged lady (*i.e.* the sun), and to place it there to light up the day. The duties to be performed by Panu recall the services rendered to the sun by Dear Maria (= Perkuna tete). Is it possible that this goddess is identical with the fire-deity, the 'holy lady' mentioned by Praetorius? If so, the title Perkuna tete is intelligible, for, as we have seen, the sacred fire is an important part of the cult of the thunder-god. In Serbian folk-songs St. Elias the thunderer is often associated with the Virgin Mary, who is also known as 'Maria, veiled in fire' (cf. F. S. Krauss, *Volksglaube und rel. Brauch der Südslaven*, Münster, 1890, p. 2 f.).

Some passages from the magic songs of the W. Finns are particularly interesting in this connexion.

'Ukko of the air [*i.e.* the Finnish thunder-god] struck āre . . . and gave it to a girl to rock, to be swung by a maiden of the air' (J. Abercromby, *The Pre- and Proto-historic Finns*, London, 1898, ii. 375). 'Kasi, the beautiful young girl, the fire-maiden of the sky, 'tis she that rocked the fire, swung to and fro the flame' (*ib.* p. 377). 'The origin of fire is known, the genesis of fire (*panu*) is guessed: dear fire was created by God. . . . The Virgin Mary, mother dear, the holy little serving-maid, 'tis she that rocked the fire, that nursed the flame' (*ib.* p. 378).

7. Stones.—Stone-worship is occasionally mentioned.

'Saxa pro diis culta' (S. Rostowski, quoted by A. Brückner, 'Beiträge zur litauischen Mythologie,' *Arch. für slav. Phil.* ix. [1886] 35; cf. Usener, p. 85). 'A few years ago, a somewhat high stone not far from Gumbinen or Bisserkeim in a pinewood, was considered holy, and on it the neighbouring people offered money, clothes, wool' (Praetorius, p. 21 f.).

8. Mountains.—Kaukarius was a mountain-god (cf. Usener, p. 93).

9. Animals. — Consecrated house-snakes were important Lithuanian deities corresponding to the Latin *penates*. 'Serpentes in singulis domibus

velut deos penates nutriebant' (Michov, p. 518). See, further, ARYAN RELIGION, vol. ii. p. 24b, and SERPENT-WORSHIP (Lithu-Slavic). Einhorn, who was pastor at Mitau in the 17th cent., states that the Letts sacrificed a goat at cross-ways to propitiate the wolves, and to induce them to spare the flocks. Almost every kind of animal had its presiding deity. Austheia is goddess of bees, Ratainicza god of horses, Kiaulai-Krukis god of swine, Baubis god of cows and oxen, etc.

10. **Agriculture.**—The gods connected with agriculture form a large and important group.

'The Nadravians, Zalovians, etc., believe that there is something divine about the earth, and call it Zempattys as male and Zemynele as female godhead. To this earth-deity—commonly called Zemynele—they ascribe all that which, according to the historians, was done by Pergubrius, Padrympus, Gurcho, Auszwaitis and Pilwittus' (Praetorius, p. 66).

Pergubrius was a god of field-work (*ib.* p. 25). Certain Church documents (A.D. 1530) identify Pilwittus with Ceres. Padrympus (=Potrimpo) was represented, according to Grunau (tract. ii. ch. v.), as a young man of joyful countenance, crowned with ears of corn. Gurcho was a god of food and drink honoured with offerings of milk and honey, etc. (Grunau, tract. i. ch. xcvi.; cf. Usener, p. 94). He is mentioned in a document of A.D. 1249.

'Ydolo quem semet in anno collectis frugibus consuerunt confingere et pro deo colere, cui nomen Curche imposuerunt.' 'The Nadravians honour Gurcho or Padrymbo under the name of Gabjauga' (Praetorius, p. 22).

Other gods of the same kind are Laukpatis, god of ploughing and sowing, Prokorimos, god of honey, etc. Waizganthos was a god of fruitfulness. At his festival in the beginning of November he was worshipped by virgins, who offered up prayers for the increase of the flax crop (cf. Lasicius, p. 306). From the passages quoted it appears that there was a tendency to confuse the various agricultural deities; possibly they were merely local forms of the earth-godhead; 'permultos Zemopacios, id est, terrestres, ii venerantur' (*ib.* p. 300). The name of this deity is connected with *zemé*, the Lithuanian word for 'earth.' It appears in various forms. 'Propter rem pecuariam Semepates colitur' (*Church Catechism*, 1547). Lasicius describes a festival of Zemiennik which took place three days before that of Waizganthos. Praetorius names the earth-god Zameluks, Zemelukszis, Zempattys. There was also an earth-goddess: 'Zemynele was held to be the sister of Zemepattys' (Praetorius, p. 31). They received worship in common.

On the shortest day a festival was held in honour of Zempattys, 'the god of farms and farmhouses' (*ib.* p. 66), in the course of which 'each takes his bread, presses it to the ground and speaks: "O Zemypatie, thou givest us such good bread, we thank thee for it. Help us to cultivate our fields with thy blessing, and through the co-operation of Zemynele to receive more of thy good gifts."'

It is probable that the earth was originally thought of as female. 'Gabjauga' is a feminine word, although this deity was addressed at his festival as 'Lord God.' In the earliest reference to Gurcho his name appears in the feminine form 'Curche.' For this change of sex we have a parallel in the N. European deities, Nerthus, Njörðr, Frey, Freyja. The subject is fully treated by H. M. Chadwick in *The Origin of the English Nation* (Cambridge, 1907), ch. x. 'The Cult of Nerthus.' Semmesmaat, the Lettish goddess, corresponding to Zemynele, is mentioned only in folk-songs. In lamentations for the dead she is referred to as the keeper of the grave (cf. Usener, p. 108). The form Semmesmâte is interesting (cf. Uggunsmâte, the fire-goddess). We have an exact parallel in Anglo-Saxon Eorðan moðr = mother of earth.

11. **Conclusion.**—The religion of the Letts was of the same character as that of the Lithuanians, and the two peoples had a certain number of deities in common. The chief difference between them is that for Lithuanian gods we find corresponding Lettish goddesses—*e.g.*, Lith. Laukpatis = Lett. Laukamaat, Lith. Wejopatis = Lett. Wejamaat, wind-mother. The most notable peculiarity of the religion of all the Baltic peoples was the large number of departmental deities worshipped by them. We hear of a god of grass-growing, of a god to be invoked for moss-gathering, and many others of the same kind.

LITERATURE.—Peter von Dusburg, in *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum*, i. [Leipzig, 1861]; Simon Grunau, *Preussische Chronik*, pt. i. [1517–21], do. 1876; Erasmus Stella, *de Borussiæ Ant.* ii.; Mathiæ Michov, *de Sarm. Europ. Lit.* ii. (S. Grynæus, *Novus orbis regionum ac insularum veteribus incognitarum*, Basel, 1537, p. 518 ff.); J. Lasicius, *de Diis Samagitarum cæterorumque Sarmatarum et falsorum Christianarum* (*Respub. sive Stat. Regni, Polon. Lit. Russ. Livon.*, Leyden, 1627, ch. viii.); Æneas Sylvius (Pope Pius II.), *Hist. de Europa*, Basel, 1551, ch. xxvi.; M. Praetorius, *Deliciæ Prussicæ*, ed. W. Pierson, Berlin, 1871; W. Mannhardt, 'Die lettischen Sonnenmythen,' in *ZE* vii. [1875] 73–104, 209–244, 280–330; H. Usener, *Götternamen*, Bonn, 1896 (which gives further literature). ENID WELSFORD.

NATURE (Muhammadan).—1. **Terms and definitions.**—Nature is designated in Arabic by the word *ṭabī'ah*, literally 'stamping,' *i.e.* the impression of form on matter, which, according to Aristotle (*Met.* 1015a 5), is only one among the senses of the Greek *φύσις*, yet clearly belongs to his philosophy. In the early translations of his works the Syriac *kiyān* was adopted for *physis*; the substitution of *ṭabī'ah* is not easily explained. The verb is used in the Qur'ān in the phrase 'God has stamped upon their hearts,' which appears to mean 'has sealed up,' and therefore belongs to a different range of ideas. A somewhat similar use of the word *ṭeba* is found in the Midrāsh (*Numbers Rabbāh*, § 14, p. 124*b*, ed. Wilna, 5645), where it stands for 'element' in the four elements, to which indeed the name *physis* may be applied, according to Aristotle (*Met.* 1014b 33); and an even more similar employment of the verb in *B. Sanh.* 37*a*, where God is said to have 'stamped' (*ṭāba'*) every human being with the seal of Adam, yet no two are quite alike; *i.e.*, the (Platonic) idea 'man' is impressed on an infinite number of portions of matter. The Arabic word (for which other forms from the same root are employed) may well be the Hebrew verbal noun, which, however, is not quoted in this sense; and, though the date of the Hebrew texts quoted is uncertain, it is likely that they are pre-Islāmic. In what is probably the earliest account that we possess in Arabic of Aristotle's works, that in the history of Ya'qūbī (260 A.H.), the word already appears as an equivalent for *physis* (ed. M. T. Houtsma, Leyden, 1883, i. 148); and its introduction is likely to be as early as the 2nd cent. of Islām, since in the poems of Abū Tammām ([† 228 A.H.] Beyrut, 1889, p. 168) we find that there are already conventional equivalents for Aristotelian technicalities. Probably, then, it was coined by some Jewish Aristotelian employed as an interpreter of Greek philosophy.

The definitions of nature given by Arabic philosophers are all traceable, though not always directly, to Aristotle. Al-Fārābī (*Philosophische Abhandlungen*, ed. F. Dieterici, Leyden, 1890, p. 60) defines *ṭabī'ah* as 'the source of motion and rest when neither external nor voluntary.' This, of course, refers to the theory of the 'natural motion' of the four elements. Another Aristotelian theory appears in the definition of Jurjānī (*Definitiones*, ed. G. Flügel, Leipzig, 1845, p. 145): 'the force permeating bodies whereby the body reaches its perfection.' In the astrological philosophy of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā (Bombay, 1305, ii. 88) it is defined as 'the force of the universal astral soul, which permeates all bodies that are below the sphere of the Moon from the globe of the

Aether down to the centre of the Earth,' or 'the operation of the Great Man,' *i.e.* the world. More ordinarily the meaning of nature is inferred from the subjects discussed in the *Physics*, enumerated by Avicenna (*Kitāb al-Najāt*, Cairo, 1331, p. 78) as 'existing bodies in so far as they are subject to rest, motion, and change.' This is copied by al-Ghazālī (*Maqāṣid al-Falāsifah*, Cairo, 1331, p. 78). At times the word *ṭabī'ah* is used like 'nature' in the modern languages for the sum total of phenomena (*e.g.*, in *Ḥikmat al-'Ain*, Kazan, 1904, i. 83).

2. Nature and deity.—In spite of the close attention given by the Islāmic philosophers to the problem of determinism, it does not appear that many thought of nature as a power independent of the Deity; their reasoning deals rather with 'natures,' *i.e.* the properties of kinds, or causes which produce effects either in the things themselves (as the dryness and heat of fire) or in other things (as combustion in what comes near fire; see 'Alā al-dīn Tusi, *Kitāb al-Dhakhirah*, Hyderābād, n.d., p. 220). Those who maintained the uniformity of nature in the sense that these properties were invariable and immutable denied the miracles; it was possible to reply that these properties were customary, but could not be known to be invariable, and therefore the miracles were credible. Hence the name for such events is *khawāriq*, 'violations,' not of natural order but of custom (*'ādah*), as though uniformity went no farther. So al-Ghazālī (*Al-Maḍnūn bihi*, Cairo, n.d., p. 18) declares that violation of custom is not incredible, his illustration being the speed with which fire melts minerals as opposed to the length of time taken by sunshine to produce the same effect. The work of a prophet may compare in efficacy with the former, at any rate where the miracle can be described as an accelerated natural process. This illustration very clearly ignores what are called 'laws of nature,' for which, indeed, the language has no proper equivalent, and of which it is likely that the Muslim consciousness is very slight. Thus, numerous travellers tell us that there is a wide-spread belief in the possibility of four years' gestation, and quite serious writers make men live for periods of two or three hundred years.

The classical discussion of this subject is in the *Tahāfut al-Falāsifah* of al-Ghazālī, whom Averroes attempted to answer (Cairo, 1302, i. 98–102, ii. 68–73). Ghazālī admits the possibility that a book might turn into a man, or that vessels of common material in a house might turn into gold. He can scarcely avoid the assumption, however (which he endeavours to refute), of a constant relation between causes and effects, and Averroes, as usual, seems no match for him in reasoning power.

Probably nature has theological importance in the theory of *karāmāt*, or 'spontaneous miracles'—violations of order which are not the acts of prophets, but occur for the glorification of saints. The Mu'tazilites, indeed, attempted to get rid of these and make all recorded cases miracles performed by prophets, while the orthodox view, that they are seen only by saints like those for whose benefit they are wrought and that the latter ought to disown them (*Baḥr al-kalām*, Cairo, 1329, p. 61), evinces some desire to restrict or get rid of them. It is clear that in the stories told of clouds shading the Prophet and the like the fundamental idea is that of animism, *i.e.* that nature behaved to the Prophet as though it possessed intelligence, and the difference of these supposed occurrences from miracles lies in their spontaneity. On the other hand, the lives of the saints show no lack of miracles that were not spontaneous, but exhibitions of these persons' extraordinary powers. The spontaneous occurrences are at times not in order to do honour to any one, but for the contrary purpose. When a paralytic girl was given some bread baked with a fire of Ibn 'Arabī's *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, she recovered (*Al-'Ilm al-Shāmikh*, Cairo, 1328, p. 381).

3. Nature and man.—As applied to man the word 'nature' and its equivalent may either signify involuntary activities (Jurjānī, ed. Flügel, p. 145) or any proclivities (Harīrī, *Maqāmāt*, ed. A. I. Silvestre de Sacy, Paris, 1822, p. 319); it may stand for 'all the qualities bad and good compounded in a man from which he can scarcely depart' (Ibn al-Athīr, *Nihāyah*, Cairo, 1311, iii. 31). Its use in the latter sense is illustrated by the tradition, 'a believer may be stamped with any quality except treason and mendacity' (*ib.*).

'Natural theology,' in the sense of arguing from nature to the existence of a Creator, is said (probably with justice) to be recommended in the Qur'ān, and Islāmic writers of different ages have endeavoured to carry out this injunction. The most famous essay in this line is the *Risālah* of Ibn Ṭufail (b. 494 A.H.), which has frequently been edited and translated. The same Qur'ānic passages are alleged in justification of scientific treatises of various sorts—*e.g.*, the 'Wonders of Creation' of Qazwīnī (764 A.H.). Writers of our time similarly claim physical science as an essentially Islāmic study, and even extend the name 'Muslims' to all who are engaged in its pursuit.

4. Appreciation of nature. — Admiration of natural beauty is not unrepresented in Islāmic works, but is probably less common than in the literature of Europe or India. A combination of the expression of this sentiment with the physico-theological argument is to be found in the treatise of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā, published and translated by F. Dieterici with the title, *Der Streit zwischen Thier und Mensch* (Berlin, 1858). The sentiment is also expressed in the poetical and semi-poetical literature; the descriptions of the camel, the horse, the wild ass, etc., with which the early poetry abounds come under this category.

5. Nature-worship.—Worship of nature, in the sense of the ascription to natural objects of divine attributes, is so absolutely in contradiction to the spirit of Islām that it has properly no place therein. The only form which it can with any propriety take is pantheism, by so straining the doctrine of the divine unity as to make all nature God. And this form it took with the Ṣūfī thinkers, of whom none expresses the idea more boldly than Ibn 'Arabī (586 A.H.):

> 'The perfectly wise is he who sees in every object of worship a revelation of the Truth, wherein he can be worshipped; and for this reason they call all such objects *God*, together with their proper name, whether stone, tree, animal, man, star or angel; such latter name being that of the personality therein. Divinity is a *rank*, supposed by the worshipper to be the rank of his particular object of worship, whereas in reality it is the mode whereby the Truth is revealed to the vision of the particular worshipper, who reverences this object of worship in this particular revelation' (*Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam*, Cairo, 1309, p. 390).

Hence even the fetish-worshipper worships God. This extraordinary doctrine found comparatively few adherents, and could not be professed with safety; nor can Islām be charged with encouraging fetish-worship except in the kissing of the Black Stone, the retention of which is said to have given offence to some of the early champions of the system. The charge of moon-worship that has been brought against Muhammad appears to be groundless. Planet-worship is found in certain magical incantations, but these are not properly Islāmic. Cases of veneration paid to trees occur in various Islāmic communities (see I. Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, Halle, 1889–90, ii. 349–352), yet it is doubtful whether this can with justice be called

worship; it would seem that the tree in many cases is brought into connexion with some saint, real or imaginary, who is the ostensible and probably the real object of veneration. Of the worship of springs or rivers it is hard to find any trace; Ibn Iyās, however, records in the year 866 A.H. (Cairo, 1311, ii. 74) that, after various services of intercession to Allāh had failed to produce a rise in the Nile, recourse was had to the expedient of making all existing members of the 'Abbāsid family sip some water and then discharge it into a vessel which was emptied into the basin of the Nilometer, and this process had the desired effect.

LITERATURE.—See the sources cited throughout the article.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

NATURE (Persian).—The Avesta has no word directly corresponding to our 'nature,' but the idea of cosmos is expressed by the term *aŋhū*, 'the two worlds' (dual. of *aŋhū*), viz. 'the corporeal and the spiritual existence' (*Yasna*, xxviii. 2), the real and the ideal world. This universe, as created by Ahura Mazda, forms a system founded on the principle of purity, or righteousness (*asha*, personified in the archangel Asha Vahishta), which is identical with Mazda's will and in fact rules in the world as a moral and physical law of nature. Mazda himself cannot operate except according to Asha; on the other hand, he cannot realize his will immediately on account of the system of Amesha Spentas, a theological parallel to the political system of satraps. The Amesha Spentas work as practical functionaries executing the divine designs in the world. The terrestrial sphere is divided into several territories every one of which is presided over by an Amesha Spenta, this genius being in some way identical with the province of nature governed by him and designated with his name. Using a technical term, the Avesta, however, calls the Amesha Spenta 'inspector' (*rātu*) of his domain, which he governs, not on his own behalf, but exclusively in the name of Mazda. Thus Vohu Mano is the *rātu* of the cattle, Asha Vahishta of the fire, Ārmaiti of the earth, Kshathra Vairiya of metals, Haurvatat of the water, and Ameretāt of plants. Together the Amesha Spentas preside over the whole of nature, and take care that it 'may not decay or perish'; their task is the 'advancement of living beings' (*fradāt gaēthām*, a characteristic term in Avesta, indicating its high appreciation of nature and practical life).

So far the Zoroastrian theology as known from the *Gāthās*; but besides this system we find in the younger Avesta, especially in the *Yashts*, a great number of nature-gods, some of them still reigning as old Aryan divinities from pre-Zoroastrian times, others as popular deities of a later period. Mithra as a sun-god (*Yt.* x.) is also mentioned in the Vedic hymns; the water-god, Apām Napat (*Yt.* xix.), is likewise well known from Indian religion; but most of the nature-gods are introduced into the Persian pantheon later. The goddess of water and fertility, Ardvī Surā Anāhita (*Ys.* lxv.; *Yt.* v.), seems to be identical with the Semitic (originally Hittite?) Astarte; the star-god, Tishtriya (Sirius), to whom *Yasht* viii. is dedicated, is perhaps a divinity of Babylonian origin. The quite naturalistic hymn to the moon (*Yt.* vii.) seems to be very late. All these gods act in the drama of nature broadly described in the *Yashts* in a mythological manner which is quite different from the abstract theology of the *Gāthās*.

Peculiar to Iranian worship is the cult of the elements without any personification—earth, water, fire, etc.—as powers of purity and instruments for the purification of the world. The holy fire (Ātar) is the most important of them, working—or fighting—against demons and impurity not only as altar-fire but also as hearth-fire and an element of nature. Ātar's battle with the demons, especially the dragon Dahaka, is described in *Yasht* xix. The practical task and the moral duty of man are to assist and advance the pure elements of nature in the great conflict between good and evil spirits in the world. The eschatological ideal of Zoroastrian religion is the restoration of pure nature, when Ahura Mazda has conquered Ahriman in the last battle. On the whole, the Avesta religion may be designated a practical nature-worship, realized not only in the form of cult and theology, but also by means of culture and moral activity.

LITERATURE.—See the general works on Avesta religion by J. Darmesteter, *Études sur l'Avesta*, Paris, 1883, *Essais orientaux*, do. 1883, 'The Zend Avesta,' in *SBE* iv.[2] [1895], xxiii. [1883]; F. Justi, 'Die älteste iran. Religion und ihr Stifter Zarathustra,' in *PJB* lxxxviii. [1897]; A. V. W. Jackson, 'Die iran. Religion,' in *GIrP* ii. [1904] 612 ff.; E. Lehmann, *Zarathushtra*, 2 vols., Copenhagen, 1899–1902; J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, London, 1913. Darmesteter, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, Paris, 1877, treats the problem in a rather speculative way; his introductions to the single *Yashts* in *Le Zend-Avesta* (Paris, 1893), iii., and esp. to his tr. of the *Vendīdād* (*SBE* iv.[2]), are more cautious and instructive.

E. LEHMANN.

NATURE (Roman).—**1. Introduction.**—Before we can undertake the discussion of nature in the intellectual and religious experience of the Romans, we must get a clear idea of where the Romans drew the line dividing nature from that which was not nature. It would be more accurate to say the line between *natura* and *non-natura*, for, although we have borrowed 'nature' from *natura*, the two words do not carry exactly the same meanings. Fundamentally *natura* signified 'birth' (as in Terence, *Ad.*, 126, 902), *i.e.* the process by which living objects come into being. Since after a fashion things without life come into being, they can metaphorically be said to be born. That these processes are only individuals in their own special series, and that each series is itself one of a countless number, are matters of elementary observation. Realization of these facts on the part of the Romans so extended the meaning of *natura* that it came at length to stand for the grand aggregate of the processes of becoming. But this aggregate was interpreted in two ways.

(*a*) By the philosopher it was understood as the entire universe, itself an immeasurably large process which initiated and directed the individual processes composing it. So Marcus Aurelius exclaims: 'O Nature, from thee are all things, in thee are all things, to thee all things return.'[1] Such a conception as that involved here tends to obliterate the line between nature and man, and ultimately results in a pessimistic philosophy. To Lucretius man is only a particle in a universe of particles whose entire tendency is downward towards dissolution. Man is as helpless as a clod against the inevitable decree that

> 'No single thing abides; but all things flow.
> Fragment to fragment clings—the things thus grow
> Until we know and name them. By degrees
> They melt, and are no more the things we know.'[2]

But, as the Lucretian philosophy was Roman only by naturalization, so to speak, it is not our chief concern here.

(*b*) To the average Roman, on the other hand, the grand aggregate, *natura*, was not so much a single objective reality as a term. As such, it conveniently summed up those innumerable processes of life, motion, and change which the senses of man could perceive. But it was not the one efficient cause of all these processes; rather, each process or group of cognate processes had its own specific cause, and all of these many causes were alike marked by a certain regularity and by an

[1] *Comm.* iv. 23.

[2] W. H. Mallock, *Lucretius on Life and Death*, London, 1900, p. 15.

essential independence of human initiative.[1] Of the three marks of the natural just noted the last stood out most prominently in the consciousness. The mere mention of *natura* implied a contradictory *homo*. Of course, the Roman would admit that man is one of nature's works, yet he habitually thought of him as an apparently free agent outside of and in more or less opposition to nature.

2. Sources of information. — As regards the sources of our information as to the attitude of the Roman masses towards nature, there is a real difficulty in the fact that they almost wholly consist of the works of the *litterati*, whose peculiar training and manner of life dissociated them in a large part from the daily experiences of the populace. Few of the vast number of extant sepulchral inscriptions are of service in this field, except perhaps negatively. Yet we are not absolutely in the dark. By taking account of casual remarks of authors and by making simple inferences from well-attested manners and customs, we can at least approximate to the popular point of view. Moreover, the success of such nature-literature as that of Tibullus, Vergil, and Horace is plain testimony that these authors did not have to create *ab ovo*, but had ready to hand a generally sympathetic public. Their writings are, therefore, at once reflexions and enlargements of the views of the masses.

3. Roman regard for phenomena apart from their religious significance.—(*a*) *The land.*—As the early Italian depended almost wholly on the land for his subsistence, one must expect to find here his most intimate touch with nature. The field cleared from the forest, tilled, sown, and reaped with his own hands, was the most precious thing that he possessed. What beauty it had for him at first was the beauty of utility and of ownership, but it was at once the source of his patriotism and of his ultimate love of landscape for its own sake.[2]

But the bond between man and nature could not endure unless it gave man a present profit and promises for its continuance. Here it was that the native Roman philosophy, elaborated in the fields, opposed the Grecian philosophy of Lucretius. As Vergil propounds it, it is a philosophy of hope. Juppiter himself ordained that tillage should be hard, so that the skill of man might be whetted.[3] The course of nature might be downward, but man is free to contend against it. Mildew, thistles, cranes, weevil, and drought might come, yet to patient toil *iustissima tellus* was generous of her bounty. The man with the mattock was the mainstay of the Republic.[4] This was the moral of the *Georgics*.

Horace's view of nature is substantially that of Vergil. For him, too, there is no pride comparable to the pride of the freehold. Ofellus, though 'rusticus abnormis sapiens crassaque Minerva,'[5] was nevertheless the most contented and most desirable type of Roman citizen. Here Horace strikes the rather cold note of policy. Vergil, on the contrary, seems always to cry as with the accents of a Hebrew prophet: 'Return to the plough and to the reaping-hook, "for blessed is he who hath known the rural deities."'[6]

Tibullus, unlike the two former poets, was a son of the city, and, like so many of his kind, had grown tired of city life. On his estate near Præneste he learned to feel nature's healing power and to see her as the real builder of the Roman strength. In his opinion, no people could exist aloof from her and truly live. The worst that he could say of Hades was 'there are no fields of harvest below, no cultivated vineyards.'[1]

The same Roman view may be observed also in prose-writers like Cato, Varro, and Cicero. In the *de Senectute* the descriptions of the charms of both wild and rustic nature often border closely on the poetical.

Thus far we have noted the utilitarian bond between the Italian and nature, and we have treated it at some length because an understanding of it is essential to an appreciation of the poets' occasional rhapsodies on this theme. Now and again they seem to strike that full note of modern romanticism, the poetic fallacy. But a deeper reading discloses the fact that they have not advanced beyond the juvenile stage of thought expressed in the opening lines of Bryant's *Thanatopsis*:

> 'To him who in the love of Nature holds
> Communion with her visible forms, she speaks
> A various language.'

The language which she speaks to them is departmental, and not universal. The trees speak, the fields speak, the water-courses speak, but they speak singly and in their own several tongues. Lucretius comes the nearest to hearing the choral voice of nature, but he hears it as the disciple of a Grecian doctrine, and not as a Roman. But no Roman poet, nor, indeed, any ancient, ever quite attained that point of view of nature and that power of seeing a world in detail which we observe in Shelley's dirge beginning 'Rough wind that moanest loud,' and in Tennyson's 'Flower in the crannied wall.'

Closely allied with 'tilth and vineyard' in the Roman economy were flowers, trees, and domestic animals. From the earliest times flowers were sought and grown for their beauty and fragrance and for the making of garlands to be used in decoration and in religious rites. Poets often alluded to the favourite varieties, but gave none of them a place in romance until the time of the *Elocutio Novella*. The true use of a flower was as a symbol of the fertility and beauty of nature. Of course, the fruit-bearing trees meant much to the Roman in both literature and life. But he admired other sorts of trees as well—the elm for its service to the vine, the pine for its timber, the oak, ilex, beech, poplar, and others for their shade. The Roman poets give us many touching pictures of the domestic animals, especially those that share the labours of life with man. Horace, in his lines 'Sol ubi montium mutaret umbras, et iuga demeret bobus fatigatis,'[2] exhibits for the ox the sympathy of a Troyon or Horatio Walker.

(*b*) *The sky.*—The sky, the celestial bodies, and all the phenomena of weather had much significance for the Italian peasant and shepherd. These were the mysterious powers which with varying directness controlled in large part the conditions of his crops and pastures. The sun, moon, and stars were considered only in their physical aspects. Most of the literary epithets of the sun refer to its light or its heat. The group relating to light is much the larger, no doubt for the reason that at its source it appears to be constant. The sun's perceptible heat, on the other hand, is variable, and there seems to be some ground for believing that the Romans did not regard the sun as the only source of atmospheric heat. In their ignorance of the causes of air-currents they held the winds to be independent phenomena, if not independent agents; hence their frequent personaliza-

[1] In the light of this belief are to be interpreted the famous words of Vergil: 'Happy is he who has been able to trace out the causes of things' (*Georg.* ii. 490).

[2] 'The old connection between the love of the land and the love of *our* land . . . was to Vergil an absolutely real fact' (Countess Evelyn Martinengo-Cesaresco, *The Outdoor Life in Greek and Roman Poets*, p. 140).

[3] See *Georg.* i. 121–123

[4] *Ib.* i. 118 ff., ii. 458–474.

[5] *Sat.* II. ii. 2 f.

[6] *Georg.* iii. 493.

[1] I. xi. 35.

[2] *Odes*, III. vi. 41–43.

tion. Moreover, as the temperatures of the year shifted with the march of the constellations, the easy, though fallacious, deduction was made that the latter were the cause of the former. This explains the significance of the days when the dog-star is in the ascendant. The greater prominence of the stars over the moon in Latin poetry lies perhaps in their importance as the common calendar of the seasons. The phases of the moon mark but brief periods and have therefore much less bearing on agricultural pursuits.

Of the seasons spring and winter receive the most frequent mention. In fact, one might say that to the Italian they are the only seasons, summer and autumn being only continuations of spring. Over spring alone was any deep emotion shown.[1] Winter was the period of sterility and idleness, and was tolerated only as a necessary evil.

Clouds were always looked upon as potential evils, for, although they brought the helpful rain, they could also bring flood or even hail.

(*c*) *Springs and streams.*—Springs and small streams were very close to the life of the common people. The few large rivers, like the Po and the Tiber, were viewed with awe rather than with affection. Being turbid, they were useless for drinking, and they ran at too low a level to be of service in irrigation. Horace's love for the Fountain of Bandusia[2] is representative of that of the populace of Italy for the myriad other springs of the land.[3]

R. A. Lanciani has said that the Romans were not attracted by lakes.[4] The statement is altogether too sweeping. That they received less attention than rivers is evident, but this may be explained by their inferiority as a means of sustaining the life of man. At all events, a sure proof that the Romans were at least not insensible to their charms is seen in the fact that their shores were often chosen as the sites of Roman villas.[5]

(*d*) *The sea.*—In order to understand the attitude of the Roman towards the sea all that we need to know is that he was incurably a landsman. What little of his living came from the sea was practically negligible. The sailor and the merchant-captain he regarded as grasping and unduly adventurous. The sea was not meant for man. Even in a calm it was treacherous. So capricious was it that the Roman endowed it with human moods and passions. It was the world's greatest symbol of destruction.[6]

(*e*) *Mountains.*—To the Roman the most striking feature of the higher mountains was their barrenness; they were useless for shepherd and farmer alike. They approximated the intolerable conditions of winter. They were the home of the wolf and the bear. If they had any appeal at all, it was 'as a graceful definition of the horizon, or framing of the landscape,'[7] or through long association. In the *de Amicitia* Laelius concedes that on this condition one can actually come to love even mountains and forests.[8] In Lucretius, on the contrary, we observe such a rich variety of allusions to the mountains that we cannot but think that for him they came very near to possessing what we sentimental moderns call moods.

(*f*) *Wild animals.*—To the fiercer animals of the wilds the Roman gave short shrift as the enemies of man. The noble beauty of the lion and the rugged majesty of the wolf were lost in bitter antagonism. In one of his letters Cicero tells a friend that the spectators at the opening of Pompey's theatre seemed to entertain a feeling of kinship for the elephants mutilated and killed before their eyes.[1] This was, indeed, very unusual, but may be attributed to a general knowledge that the elephant was often a useful servant of man. Many a Roman would shed copious tears over the death of a pet who could look with no other emotion than that of joy on the butchery of scores of wild beasts. The pet was his own; the personal element was paramount.

(*g*) *Under world.*—For the Roman's regard for subterranean phenomena see 5 (*d*) below.

4. Deities and cults.—The chief sources of our knowledge of the Roman deities and cults are the so-called Calendar of Numa, writers like Varro and Verrius Flaccus, myths, scattered notices in the literary authors, the anti-pagan diatribes of the Church Fathers, archæology, and anthropology. To appraise these sources severally is impossible at present. Suffice it to say in reference to myths that, influenced as they are by Greek models, they must be treated with special caution, although Otto and Pais have demonstrated that they contain a much larger element purely Roman in origin than was formerly allowed.

The distinctively Roman religion belonged, at the earliest period to which we can trace it, to the pre-animistic stage of thought. Natural objects and phenomena, and objects of a natural origin reshaped by man for his uses, were worshipped in themselves. Their powers were gauged and classified as these objects served as helps or hindrances to human well-being. Although the powers were in the main constant and regular, there was a certain mysterious margin in which they were inconstant and irregular. At first they can have been no more than mere infections, so to speak, benign or malignant in their effects, but in time the infections were condensed into special forces regarded as resident in the objects but in a certain sense independent of them and of one another. These forces were the *numina*. The Roman was now in the animistic stage of religious thought.

The step from *numen* to deity was not immediate. At best the *numen* was still little more than a 'magic potence' and lacked much of being a real *numen*, an expression of will (cf. *-nuere*, 'to express will'; *adnuere*, 'to signify assent'). It was in the above-mentioned margin of difference between the regular and irregular manifestations of 'magic potence' that the possibilities for the transition were found. The variations could be accounted for only on the hypothesis that they were due to the activities of powers analogous in their freedom of initiative to human wills. Many of the *numina* were therefore conceived as wills, but the majority remained simply 'functional spirits with will-power.'[2] To the Roman, however, they were all gods.

It is probable that to the masses the gods were long without names, so vaguely were they conceived. Yet the growth of local cults and the invention of cult-epithets by the priests soon gave them names as well as a 'local habitation.' But the Roman could never wholly emerge from his primitive indefiniteness in this respect, for he was always more or less fearful that in calling upon a god he might speak the wrong name and thus fail in his petition.[3] Many of the names were origin-

[1] Hor. *Odes*, I. iv. 1. [2] *Ib.* III. xiii.
[3] Longinus (*de Subl.* XXXV.) argued against the narrow Roman view.
[4] *Wanderings in the Roman Campagna*, London, 1909, p. 45.
[5] Cf. Pliny, *Letters*, ix. 7. For the sentiments of Vergil see *Georg.* ii. 159; for those of Catullus see *Carm.* xxxi.
[6] Cf. Allen, *The Treatment of Nature in the Poetry of the Roman Republic*, p. 203.
[7] L. Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire*, i. 391.
[8] XIX. 68.

[1] *Fam.* VII. i. 3.
[2] Cf. W. Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, pp. 118–120.
[3] Witness the uncertainty of the invocations sive deo sive deae' (Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, pp. 144, 146) and

ally adjectival, but in time they became genuine proper nouns, and as such tended to transfer to the gods whom they designated at least an adumbration of personality.

5. Individual gods.—In the following discussion of the individual gods we shall exclude those of other than Italic provenance and also those of this provenance that are representative of man singly or collectively, living or dead, and of his activities and creations. The order of treatment to be observed will be based as far as possible on the sequence of the Roman's interests in natural phenomena.

(*a*) *Gods of the sky, atmosphere, and time.*—Juppiter (Iovis, Diovis, Dius, Diespiter) was the chief god of all the Italic stocks. He was the sky-god, or, better, the sky itself together with its phenomena, especially that of light. This would explain the absence of cults of the sun, moon, and stars among the early Italians. His importance to the farmer is obvious when one considers that the conditions of the various crops depend directly upon weather and light. The god Liber was an independent development from Juppiter Liber, and had to do with the fertilization of the seed of plants and animals.

Juppiter showed his power in the thunder, lightning, and rain, and, in fact, was thought to descend in person in the lightning-bolt; hence his epithets Fulgur and Fulmen. The cult of Juppiter Feretrius was apparently a lightning-cult in origin, whatever it was later. The silex known as Juppiter Lapis is generally explained as a celt, *i.e.* a thunderbolt, but there now seems to be good reason for believing that it was a flint knife symbolizing the act of killing. The name of Juppiter was applied to it in order to give it moral authority.[1] As the rain-god, Juppiter was known as Pluvius, Pluvialis, and Elicius, and, as god of the night-heavens, as Summanus. He is one of the few nature-gods of the Romans who took on moral attributes. As the *numen* who has a universal survey over boundaries between properties, he acquired the title of Terminus—a title which was later detached and given an individual identity. As Dius Fidius, he was the ever-present witness of men's observance of their pledges. To the Roman mind he seemed to sum up the positive powers of all the other *numina*.

Janus, as Consevius, the power which brings the young to the light of day, may be considered as a nature-god. Closely allied with him is the feminine divinity, Mater Matuta, who

> 'Tempore . . . certo roseam . . . per oras
> aetheris Auroram deferet, et lumina pandit.'[2]

She was a divinity of birth as well as of light.

The gods of the seasons were relatively inconspicuous. For the name of Angerona the ancients had many bizarre explanations. Mommsen is probably right in inferring from the occurrence of her festival on December 21 that she represented the turning of the year. She was thus a duplicate of Anna Perenna. The god Vertumnus is known only vaguely. From his function of presiding progressively over blossoms and maturing fruit we conclude that he was a god of the changing year.

(*b*) *Gods of human life, earth, agriculture, and herding.*—The Genius of man and the Juno of woman may be classed as nature-gods because they represent functional powers non-human in origin. Genius is the procreative function of the individual man in its aspect as a *numen*, and Juno is that of the individual woman. From individuals the names were extended to the two sexes so as to include their collective lives and interests. But, owing to the great diversity of men's activities as compared with the few of women, Genius never stood out as a single independent figure like Juno. Juno presided over the successive stages of growth of the child from conception to birth. Her union with Juppiter was comparatively late.

Ceres belongs to the oldest stratum of Italic gods. She was the protectress of the crops from seeding till harvest. At her spring festival, the Cerialia, she was invoked to grant healthy growth. Her relation to the production of the chief staple foods of the populace clearly accounts for the fact that her cult was peculiarly plebeian.

Tellus, or Tellus Mater, was also of the oldest stratum of divinities. She was really Mother Earth, but in the narrow sphere of agriculture she was the seed-field which received and fostered the seed cast upon her bosom. The increasing prominence of the cults of Demeter and her circle thrust Tellus more and more into the background until finally she vanished as a name. But under the name of Terra Mater she reappeared later, and it is probable that the Dea Dia of the Arval ritual is no other than Tellus herself. In certain rites she was the representative of the under world.[1]

Saturnus (earlier, Sæturnus, from *serere*, 'to sow') occupied so important a place among the oldest Italic divinities that Italy was sometimes called Saturnia. His primitive function was apparently to preside over the sowing of the grain, but gradually he acquired oversight over other agricultural operations. The central purpose of his festival, the Saturnalia, was to secure proper germination of the seed sown at the winter sowing. By a sort of contamination he acquired his chthonic characteristics from his consort Ops. Only in the legends which identify him with Kronos and make him the ruler of the Golden Age is he endowed with moral characteristics.

Another ancient god of agriculture was Consus. His name, connected with *condere*, 'to store,' plainly shows that he had to do with the garnering of the fruits of the field. The underground location of his altar at Rome symbolized the practice of storing corn in pits. Intimately connected with Consus was Ops, who, as Consiva, was the embodiment of an abundant harvest rather than a divinity of the earth. As Opifera, she guarded the granaries against fire.

Scholars are divided as to the primitive nature of Mars (Mavors, Marspiter, Maspiter, Etr. Maris), a god common to all the Italic peoples. Some hold that he was always and only a god of war; others that he was originally a god of vegetation and of the border-lands between the fields and the wild. Certainly his association with the wolf, the woodpecker, and the ox points to this double relation. Quirinus was at first a local epithet of Mars peculiar to the Quirinal Hill.

With the possible exception of Juppiter, no god is so representative of Roman nature-worship as Faunus (cf. *fauere*, 'to regard with favour'). His attributes and the position of his priesthood are marks of his being a conception of the earliest period. He is the kindly spirit of the woods and fields who brings fertility to the crops and herds, and to the latter protection from the wolves. In the hamlets he was the *deus agrestis* par excellence. As a wood-god he exhibited a twofold nature. He was the speaker of the mysterious voices of the forest. Late legends said that he cast his oracular utterances into verse and thus became the inventor of poetry. He was also, in the popular conception, a mischievous sprite who brought the nightmare

'Proserpina, seive Salviam deicere oportet' (Fox, 'John Hopkins *Tabellæ Defixionum*,' *AJPh* xxxiii. i. [1912] Suppl., p. 16).

[1] H. J. Rose, *Journ. of Rom. Stud.*, iii. ii. [1913] 237.

[2] Lucretius, *de Rer. Nat.* v. 655 f.

[1] Cf. *CIL* vi. 15493; cf. *ib.* xii. 1932; A. Dieterich, *Mutter Erde*[2], Leipzig, 1913, *passim*.

(*incubus*), and who, as Inuus, copulated with the beasts in the field. Fauna, as his wife or daughter or sister, shared his power of bestowing fertility.

Silvanus, as the adjectival form of his name indicates, was a scion of an older god, probably either Faunus Silvicola[1] or Mars.[2] At all events he embodied characteristics of both of these gods. He was chiefly a god of the woods, propitious to the hunter and shepherd and to the farmstead reclaimed from the forest. By an extension of his functions he became patron of the house, of gardens, and of parks. His cult was wholly private and consisted of a very simple open-air ritual.

Diana was a goddess common to central Italy, but especially prominent in Latium and its vicinity. Her cult on the Aventine was simply a transference of that of Aricia. From her association here with the spring-nymph Egeria, who aided women in child-birth, and with Virbius, a male divinity of apparently like function, and from the connexion of women with her cult on the Aventine we judge that she too was primitively a goddess of child-birth. This function was later obscured through her identification with the Greek Artemis, when she became the 'huntress-goddess chaste and fair.'

By nativity Venus was purely Italian. Her name seems first to have signified charm in general, then the charm and bloom of nature, and finally the goddess presiding in this sphere. She fostered the growth of the vine and of plants in market-gardens. Her native career was cut short by her contact and subsequent identification with Aphrodite, the goddess of love.

Fortuna, or better, Fors Fortuna, was a nature-goddess so far as she represented a force beyond the control of man. Perhaps the earliest conception of her is as the incalculable element which adjusts the conditions of the harvest. Her union with Mater Matuta and her cult at Præneste reveal her as a *numen* which determined the destiny of women in child-birth. In her highest development she appeared as the incorporate will of the gods, and therefore as an ethical force.

With the spring festival of the Parilia (from Palilia, by dissimilation) was connected a divinity called Pales (designated variously as male or female), who granted fecundity to the herds.

The worship of the trees belongs more properly to the study of pre-animism or fetishism than to that of nature-gods. There were, however, two trees in Rome to which the Romans accorded honours that were almost divine: these were the oak of Juppiter Feretrius on the Capitoline and the Ficus Ruminalis on the slopes of the Palatine.

The plebeian host of the *Sondergötter* is too large for us to discuss at length (see ARYAN RELIGION, vol. ii. p. 31 f.). Those that spiritualize human acts, like Messor, Convector, Saritor, and so forth, can be dismissed *en bloc*. But there is still a large group which spiritualize purely natural processes. A few of these will serve as illustrations. Seia, Segesta, Nodutus, Volutina, Patelana, Lactans, and Matura were *numina* watching over the successive stages of the field-crops from sowing to maturity. Bubona, Epona, and Pomona fostered the growth of cattle, horses, and trees respectively. Each stage of development of the child was also placed under the guardianship of a special spirit. In short, no natural process of import for man's continued well-being was left without its cherishing divinity.

(*c*) *Gods of the water.*—The *numina* of springs received much more attention than those of rivers. The former were generally thought of as kindly young goddesses possessed of the gifts of alleviating pain, healing, prophecy, song, and magic. The most prominent in Rome was Juturna (earlier Diuturna), a divinity of healing. Next to her in popularity stood the Camenæ (cf. *carmen*, *casmen*, 'song'), who granted easy child-birth and were called the Roman Muses. Their leader, Carmentis, was known as a prophetic spirit who sang to the new-born child its destiny. Affiliated with them was the nymph Egeria. The prophetic Feronia was probably a *numen* of springs. The large number of extant dedications to Fons refer to him as the divinity of local springs rather than of all.

The *numina* of rivers were conceived as benevolent old men; hence the epithets Padus Pater and Pater Tiberinus. The Umbrian Clitumnus and the Campanian Volturnus were of considerable importance in Italian religious thought.

Neptunus is to be counted among the oldest gods of Rome. His proverbial association with the sea is not original, but is due to his identification with Poseidon. He is to be interpreted as the *numen* of the element of moisture. His logical development was curtailed in Rome by the apparent remoteness of urban life from agricultural interests, but among the rustics of Italy and the provinces his divinity was long the object of worship. The nymph Salacia, who seems to have represented the ebullient nature of springs, was frequently his cult companion.

(*d*) *Gods of the under world and of fire.*—Independent Roman attributions of divinity to the under world and its phenomena lack sharpness of definition. And this was quite natural, for the Roman's first care was for the living and to ensure himself a posterity; moreover, he was disinclined to speculate on so uncertain a matter as the lot of man after death.

Apparently the chief divinity of the under world was Vediovis (Vedius, Veiovis), who seems to have been not so much the physical as the logical opposite of Juppiter.

The fire-god Volcanus was far from being as conspicuous as we should have expected him to be in the lands of Vesuvius. The explanation is doubtless to be found in the fact that for many centuries prior to A.D. 79 the volcano had been quiescent. The later significance of Volcanus came with his assumption of the personality and functions of Hephaistos. Originally he was of the circle of old Roman gods, being the god of destructive rather than useful fire.

(*e*) *Gods of disease.*—The disease that most constantly menaced the Romans was, of course, the malaria, and several phases of its attacks were so uniform in character as to impress the Romans that they were the work of divine powers. Thus they erected a shrine to Febris on the Palatine. Among extant provincial inscriptions there are dedications to the Dea Tertiana (*CIL* vii. 999) and the Dea Quartana (*ib.* xii. 3129).

6. Divination and portents.—See art. DIVINATION (Roman).

[1] Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, p. 213.
[2] See Fowler, *Rel. Experience*, p. 132.

LITERATURE.—i. *ON THE ROMAN VIEW OF NATURE.*—Kath arine Allen, *The Treatment of Nature in the Poetry of the Roman Republic*, Wisconsin, 1899; A. Biese, *Die Entwickelung des Naturgefühls bei den Griechen und Römern*, Leipzig, 1882–84; Evelyn Martinengo-Cesaresco, *The Outdoor Life in Greek and Roman Poets*, London, 1911; L. Friedländer, *Über die Entstehung und Entwickelung des Gefühls für das Romantische in der Natur*, Leipzig, 1873, and *Sittengesch. Roms*[8], do. 1910, Eng. tr. of 7th ed., *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire*, London, 1908–09; A. Geikie, *The Love of Nature among the Romans*, do. 1912; F. Lübker, *Die Naturanschauungen der Alten*, Flensburg Prog., 1867; H. Motz, *Über die Empfindung der Naturschönheit bei den Alten*, Leipzig, 1865; F. T. Palgrave, *Landscape in Poetry from Homer to Tennyson*, London, 1897; E. Secretan, *Du Sentiment de la nature dans l'antiquité romaine*, Lausanne, 1865; E. Voss, *Die Natur in der Dichtung des Horaz*, Düsseldorf, 1889; K. Woermann, *Über den landschaftlichen Natursinn der Griechen und Römer*, Munich, 1871.

ii. *ON ROMAN RELIGION.*—E. Aust, *Die Religion der Römer*, Münster, 1899; C. Bailey, *The Religion of Ancient Rome*, London, 1907; A. Baudrillart, *La Religion romaine*, Paris, 1886; T. Birt, *Zur Kulturgesch. Roms*, Leipzig, 1911; G.

Boissier, *La Religion romaine*[6], 2 vols., Paris, 1906; J. B. Carter, *The Religion of Numa, and other Essays on the Religion of Ancient Rome*, London, 1906, *The Religious Life of Ancient Rome*, Boston and New York, 1911, and 'Die Etrusker und die römische Religion,' *Röm. Mitth.* xxv. i. [1910] 74–88; A. de Marchi, *Il Culto Privato di Roma Antica*, 2 vols., Milan, 1896–1903; L. Deubner, 'Zur Entwickelungsgeschichte der altrömischen Religion,' *Neue Jahrb. für das klass. Alt.* xiv. [1911] 321–335; W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, London, 1899, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, do. 1911, and *Roman Ideas of Deity*, do. 1914; G. Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, Berlin, 1874; J. Marquardt and T. Mommsen, *Handbuch der römischen Alterthümer*, iii., 'Röm. Staatsrecht,' Leipzig, 1887 f.; W. F. Otto, 'Römische Sagen,' *Wiener Stud.* xxxiv. [1912] 318–331, xxxv. [1913] 62–74, and 'Religio und Superstitio,' *ARW* xiv. 3–4, 406–422; L. Preller and H. Jordan, *Römische Mythologie*[3], Berlin, 1883; G. Vaccai, *Le Feste di Roma*, Turin, 1902; A. von Domaszewski, *Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion*, Leipzig, 1909; S. Wide, art. 'Roman Religion,' in A. Gercke and E. Norden, *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft*, do. 1910; G. Wissowa, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion- und Stadtgeschichte*, Munich, 1904, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], do. 1912.

iii. *DICTIONARIES AND ENCYCLOPÆDIAS.*—Daremberg-Saglio; *ERE*, artt. DIVINATION (Roman) and FETISHISM; Pauly-Wissowa; Roscher.

W. SHERWOOD FOX.

NATURE (Semitic).—All primitive races doubtless started with much the same spiritual capital. Environment modified and enlarged it as man developed. Natural forces and phenomena presented the same mysteries to all alike, and the imagination evolved strange, fantastic, mighty forms to account for them. In Babylonia and Asia Minor Semitic, Aryan, and other race-stocks met and mingled. They whispered their fears and their speculations to one another and left a heritage of myth and story out of which later generations framed religions, heresies, and philosophies. The Semite looked at things objectively. And yet he often spiritualized where the Greek materialized. Trees and rocks were to both connected with the unseen world, but, while the Greek might see a nymph or a maiden changing into a tree to escape the pursuit of the god, the Semite regarded the oak or the rock as the abode of deity, and the votary sleeping in its shadow would hear the divine voice through his dreams speaking from the object which was his dwelling.

The strange, mysterious power, working out through nature was, to the Semite, God in action—far different from the Greek, to whom the gods were apart from the world, laughing at mortals, fighting with or against them, toying with the thunderbolt, or leaping into life from the waves. Arabia, probably the Semite's home, with a landscape rugged and inhospitable, seemed little fitted to stimulate the imagination, but scanty springs and palm-trees, seen afar across the steppe, promising food and water, and the sterner phenomena of nature as well, aroused the elemental religious ideas—fear and hope and nascent faith.

The heavenly bodies must have profoundly affected primitive man, and the Semitic nomad would see in the moon a beneficent agency. Each new moon spoke of bright nights to come, so welcome to the shepherd and the desert wanderer. The moon-god, called Sin in Babylonia, became the father of the circling host of heaven. His influence was one of kindness, yet Ps 121[6], 'The moon shall not smite thee by night,' reminds us that his beams were baleful as well. In Babylonia, Uru (Ur) and Ḫarrān were seats of his worship, while Sinai and perhaps Jericho in the west were among his shrines. Though his worship had been long extinct in Israel, the feast of trumpets, new moons, Sabbaths, and the lunar dating of the great feasts carry the memory of his cult down even to NT times.

Sun-worship may not have been so ancient; it is more easily associated with the agricultural stage of society, but it acquired a wide currency. Many aspects of the solar deity were undoubtedly derived from the pre-Semitic inhabitants of Babylonia, but each division of the Semitic world developed its own conception of him according to its varying climatic and cultural environment.

It was Babylonia that developed the most varied forms of religion. The Semite coming from Arabia forced his way across the Euphrates, and, sword in hand, penetrated to the centres of the ancient Sumerian civilization. He must have stood amazed and awed at the temples and the religious system which had grown up through unknown ages, but, in various ways, this civilization possessed an attraction for him, which compelled him to search to their depths its innermost mysteries. We cannot determine when the conquerors from Arabia began their entry, but traces of undoubted Semitic worship existed early as far south as the shores of the Persian Gulf. In 2500 B.C. the Semites were in the ascendant, and under Ḫammurabi the conquest was nearly complete both in civil and in religious affairs, yet we must believe that the great triad of deities, Anu, En-lil, and Ea, was not originally Semitic in its origin, but an inheritance from the former lords of the land. The Semitic features of these deities were probably a later development. The nature element which pervades the triad comes out more strikingly in the second series of gods, where distinctively solar and lunar elements are personified.

In several of the old Babylonian centres of worship we find two gods standing in the relation of father and son. M. Jastrow (*Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria*, New York, 1911) considers that the older deity was in some cases displaced by a later, and, while not removed from the pantheon, was regarded as the son of his successful rival. En-lil at Nippur was called the father of Ninib, who was the older deity, and Nabū (Nebo) of Borsippa was called the son of Marduk. The oldest gods, like Ea and Anu, remained as somewhat shadowy abstractions in the religion. As the Semitic power advanced, we hear the names of these old gods principally in spells and incantations. The younger Semitic deities were the ones invoked in the midst of the activities of life, and they were more definitely involved in the fortunes of the cities and the States. They were also directly associated with the active powers of nature—the sun, the moon, the vegetative processes and growing life. Here, as elsewhere, it is a little difficult to draw the line, and yet it seems quite clear that the powerful and violent elements of nature were deified by the Semite more definitely than by the Sumerian.

Tammūz was a deity of vegetation; although at times he is identified with the sun, the vegetation idea was probably the original one. He seems to be a connecting link between the mythologies of Babylonia and the rest of the Semitic world, and his relationship with Ishtar is a feature which shows the underlying thoughts and conceptions of the Semitic race.

The Babylonian priests reduced religion to a system and worked out a consistent and elaborate pantheon. Magic and divination were large elements in their scheme, and in the temple libraries was a vast mass of religious literature to be used for incantations, and for charms to avert evil. Above all, and in spite of this, there are surviving traces of the power of nature ideas; for the peculiarity of the Babylonian religion, by which it may be differentiated from that of other Semitic branches, was the idea of unfolding life in the vegetable, animal, and human world (see, further, Johannes Hehn, *Die biblische und die babylonische Gottesidee*, Leipzig, 1913, p. 72). Each of the great gods has associated with him a consort, who is, however, but a feeble reflexion of his own person-

ality and also of the social usages of the people, but along with the greater gods, in both the first and second triad, we find Ishtar, who is co-equal with them, sometimes represented as a consort, and sometimes as absolutely independent. In Assyria this deity is associated with the national god, Ashshur. As is well known, she is a prominent figure in the religion of the entire Semitic world outside of Babylonia, and with many of the same characteristics. We are justified in saying that the nature element in the Babylonian religion is associated pre-eminently with Ishtar. She is the mother-goddess, and her prominence throughout the entire Semitic world is an inheritance from a matriarchal state of society.

Among all the gods of the lands of the Tigris and Euphrates the most distinctly Semitic deity apart from Ishtar was Ashshur, who was the supreme god of the Assyrians, standing in a peculiar and unique relation to that people. He was on the nature side a solar deity, his symbol being the solar disk, and he possessed little or nothing of the material element that was so easily associated with other gods. No image of him seems to have been made. While the whole Babylonian pantheon was often associated with him in the royal inscriptions, he stood at the head, and every other god was a member of his court, whose presence and lower position but contributed to the glory of the supreme god. Ishtar is the outstanding exception, who, sometimes as the wife, and sometimes as an independent queen, appears by the side of Ashshur, the two united in the leadership of the people of Assyria, ensuring their victory and enhancing their glory. The nature element of Ashshur, however, is insignificant, because in him the Assyrians approached very close to monotheism. They fell short because he was so often the embodiment of the warlike spirit and of the overweening national pride.

When we leave the rich civilization of Mesopotamia, we find ourselves in more primitive and far cruder surroundings. The pantheons are smaller and simpler. Certain names are used for the deities which seem to be titles rather than proper names. There is in most systems a god who is called Ba'al, 'lord,' or Melech, 'king.' He often possesses a solar character, and the forces of growing life and fertility are closely associated with him. As stated above, the worship of the moon-god had its seat at several points in the west. Here, as in the lands farther east, the worship of Ishtar was a leading cult. In Phœnicia and in Syria, in Palestine, and even in Cyprus, we find this deity under the name of Astarte, of which the Biblical Ashtoreth is simply a form marked as abhorrent by the use of the vowels of *bōsheth*, 'shame.' In Arabia the equivalent of this name is 'Athtar, a male deity—a curious transformation of character, due probably to changing social conditions. From the OT we learn something of the domination of the Astarte worship. To the prophets it was abominable and to be rooted out. To the people it had a strong attraction, and with each succeeding generation one finds recurrent appearances of the cult and attempts at reform. Nevertheless, certain phases of her worship at first possessed remarkable features. It was inevitable that such a worship should have originated and persisted among the early peoples, and the fact that moon-worship was in some way connected with this deity is significant. Though this relation is obscure, it evidently existed: witness the place-name, Ashtaroth Karnaim. The perversions of the worship may have been inevitable, but they were recognized by the people themselves in their better moments as perversions. It is easy to identify this goddess with Mother Earth. The ceaseless circuit of the seasons—life emerging as it does from the soil, bursting into bloom, drooping and perishing in the cold of winter, or parched by the drought of summer—must have impressed the primitive mind more powerfully than anything else, and we find these phenomena reflected in myths and epics, which come down to us from the earliest ages.

The descent of Ishtar into the lower world, 'the land whence none return,' in search of Tammūz, one of the most ancient of these epic fragments, is a striking illustration. As the goddess moves downward from one stage to another, change and decay take place in the upper world, vegetation languishes and dies, and all the gracious activities of life cease. With Ishtar's return—for she is a goddess—there is a revival of life and the emergence of the world from its death-like sleep. So varied and powerful were the aspects and representations of Ishtar that her cult permeated the religious thought of Syria and Asia Minor. In the Græco-Roman mythologies one goddess was not sufficient to represent all that Ishtar embodied. Demeter, the goddess of the grain fields, Aphrodite, the goddess of love, and Artemis, wearing so often the horned moon as an emblem and appearing in such remarkable form as the patron of Ephesus, are all reflexions of the Semitic Ishtar, and each one shows the intimate connexion with nature which her personality represented. This is one of the many features in which the Western world became a debtor to the Semite. The persistence of the idea of a mother-goddess is evident down to modern times.

Closely associated with Ishtar was Tammūz, who also represented the powers of nature, but whose personality is subsidiary to that of Ishtar. His cult, however, extended widely. We find it in S. Babylonia earlier than the Gilgamesh epic, and in Syria the myth of Ishtar and Tammūz has left indelible marks. The stream which to-day 'runs purple to the sea' was originally, according to the old myth, stained by the blood of the slain god, for whom, in times of religious decadence, women were seen weeping even in Jerusalem and in the Temple precincts (Ezk 8^{14}). The name Adonis, 'lord,' through which the memory of his worship descends to us, is but the title of the god.

High-place worship belongs to the latest as well as to the oldest strata of the religion. Scattered over Syria and throughout Palestine are standing-stones and pillars. Some of these may be the survivals of stone circles, which probably were the work of an older and vanished race; but, if so, the seal of sacredness which they left has been respected by the Semite. But, in addition, jutting fragments of rock were often invested with sacredness, or a worshipper set up a pillar, anointed it with oil, and paid there his vows. The most sacred spot to-day in Mecca is the Ka'bah, a survival of heathenism, which Muhammad was unable or reluctant to supersede. The traveller in Palestine sees on many a hill-top the white dome of a *weli*, which under the name of a saint preserves the memory of an ancient god, or *jinn*. Image-worship probably finds its origin here, for the stone was conceived to be the habitation of deity; but, inert as the stone is, and materialistic as the form may be, some of the grandest conceptions of deity come to us from this source. 'Great mountain' the Assyrian sometimes called his god. 'My Rock and my salvation' (Ps 62^{2}) the Hebrew Psalmist sang, and 'as the mountains are round about Jerusalem, so Jahweh is round about his people' (Ps 125^{2}) became a watch-word of faith. Indeed, in Syria and the Sinaitic peninsula the mountain itself was one of the most revered objects. Volcanic peaks seemed aflame with God; the loftiness of the mountain carried one's thoughts inevitably to the skies. The sacred

ness of Mt. Sinai, Mt. Hor, and Mt. Hermon is attested by traditions and by shrines which surround their bases. Their tops could seldom be reached, but the worshipper could always offer his prayers and his sacrifices with the assurance that they ascended to the deity who dwelt within the mountain. On the top of Mt. Hermon were an altar and a temple. The peaks around Mt. Hermon are crowned with altars and temples, which were continued down even to the Greek period. Mt. Hor had its peculiar sacredness, attested by the tomb of Aaron on its summit, which is revered by the Arabs and guarded with the most superstitious care.

The cult of the sun-god was probably a feature of settled agricultural life. Several of the older gods have titular names which imply sun-worship. Perhaps these, however, were later additions to the original function of the god in question. But Ba'al Melkart of the Phœnicians was a sun-god. The Ba'als of Canaan were probably the same.

Moon-worship among the Hebrews seems to have died out before the entry into Canaan, although the prominence of lunar feasts is evidence that this deity occupied a high place at an earlier stage in the nation's history. The crude forms were eliminated and the survivals were re-consecrated and purified.

The three great agricultural feasts testify to the early dominance of vegetation-deities. The green tree, denounced by the prophets because associated so often with heathen worship, was a reminiscence of the desert, when the tree, a rare feature of the landscape, showed where the god chose to dwell. The streams and fountains so abundant in Palestine were revered there, much as they were upon the steppe, where they were often the gathering-places of the nomads for the decision of quarrels (cf. the name En Mishpat, 'fountain of judgment'), and where the truce of God stilled tribal antipathies.

We can see how strong the influence of climate was upon religion and religious expression. The theology became richer as it approached the lands of settled habitation, where there were not only pastures, but gardens and forests. That which was occasional and remarkable in desert life became common and abundant.

A peculiar manifestation of nature-religion, common to many primitive peoples, was totemism (*q.v.*). The prevalence of this among the Semites has been disputed, but there are many evidences that totem tribes existed and that totem customs were observed. The number of animal-names found both among individuals and among clans testifies to the fact, and, while we must beware of assuming that every animal-name given to men was in some way an expression of totemism, yet there is a sufficient number of cases where we can be sure that a totem existed, and that the animal and the man were brothers in blood. The dog tribes and the leopard tribes considered their eponym as their kinsman, in some mysterious way connected with the clan or tribal deity. Sometimes this god was supposed to assume the form of a dog, panther, or other animal. The totem was seldom eaten—never as a common article of food, but only in rare cases as a sacrament, whereby the life of the clan was strengthened and renewed by partaking of this life of the beast from which it was named, and undoubtedly the god was a sharer in the feast, if he were not also conceived of as being consumed with the flesh of the victim. Vague and obscure as our knowledge of totemism is in its details and in its philosophy, through it we obtain a vision of the conception of life among the primitive Semites. The world around was palpitating with the life of deity, and in tree and fountain, in the inert stone even, and in the animals familiar to their eyes God was seen. The conception was crude and materialistic, but it contained the germ and inner principle of that which was capable of unfolding into the highest spiritual expression.

When we consider the Hebrew people and their forms of religious life, we must look at them from two points of view: (1) the prophetic, which gives us an interpreted history together with profound ideals; (2) the historic, through which we are able to trace unfolding conceptions of God and the world. OT literature is full of beautiful and expressive poetical figures; underlying many of these are nature-myths, from which the base and crude elements have fallen away under the teachings of priests and prophets (cf. Ps 19 with its description of the sun). Many religious rites and customs retain traces of an older day. The combination of pastoral and agricultural feasts at Passover preserves the memory of the transition from nomadic to settled life. In the ritual are crystallized remainders of nature-worship. The calf-worship which was prevalent at times in the Northern Kingdom is evidence of the persistence of nature ideas. The fact that it was not always denounced shows what a hold it had upon the religion, but its final disappearance and the abhorrence which was felt for it as time went on show how drastic was the reformation and how completely it overmastered national life. We now know that the obscure allusions to Rahab in the poetry are the reminiscences of an ancient creation-myth, in which strange nature ideas are interwoven. This may have come down from the Sumerian religion through a Babylonian medium, but its presence in the OT shows how far the religion had travelled from the polytheistic forms and ideas once so prevalent. Psalms like the 29th, describing the sweeping of a storm across the land from Hermon to the wilderness, certain of the Psalms of the Ascents, where the mountains and the hills add glory to the description, the figures in the older poetry—all attest the power which nature had upon the Hebrew mind. Nature is not deified in the OT, but its power upon the imagination and its value in carrying most forcibly religious ideas are manifest on nearly every page. The description of God Himself in many of the poetic passages shows the dominance of early conceptions and early forms of speech. 'When he rode upon a cherub and did fly, when he flew upon the wings of the wind' (Ps 18^{10}), when He manifested Himself in the lightning and the thunder, we are inevitably reminded of the materialistic representations of God by nations of different culture, and of different religious ideas among the Semites themselves.

To recapitulate: in the highly developed religion of the Babylonian the naturalistic element receded into the background, and, while interesting survivals are found in invocations, incantations, and epics, the old theology was conventionalized with the developing priesthood and ritual.

The Semite, who had reached an agricultural stage and had become interested in the phenomena of seed-time and harvest, worshipped the forces of nature, and these were gradually personalized. The sun-god was the lord, the Ba'al. It was he who bestowed the gifts of fruits and grain, and filled barns with abundant harvests. His worship was wide-spread over Syria and Palestine. The notions of leadership and fatherhood were associated with him, as the names 'king' and 'lord' testify, as well as the terms 'father,' 'brother,' 'kinsman.' We see here the growth towards the larger and more abstract notions of the theologies of Babylonia and Assyria, but it was nature and nature's luxuriant productiveness that seized upon

the imagination and the religious sense of the people.

As for the nomad, the mysterious power that dwelt behind the things that he saw was revered and feared. Nature in its unexpected manifestations awakened in him the vague notion of a deity. Yet, when we have reached this stage, we know that behind it lay an uncharted period when ideas were forming and personification had hardly reached the point of expression. Everything that we find in the Semitic religion points to animism as the basis and origin. Just where animism begins we perhaps may never know, but that it existed in primitive man and in the primitive Semite we may be sure. The strange things that happened without the intervention of man, the capricious actions of nature and of nature-forces, compelled the individual to believe that there was some mysterious agency with an intelligence or power superior to man's that wrought the changes and either blessed or cursed the helpless votary. Naive expressions in the earlier portions of the OT itself show how prevalent such notions were and how difficult to eradicate.

The appreciation of natural beauty and the thirst for it were latent in the mind of the primitive Semite, and he possessed a remarkable ability to absorb and assimilate. At the outset the palm-tree, which satisfied so many of his needs, as a product of the great and abounding life of nature, might easily symbolize a god. The spring that flowed from some cavern or from beneath a rock in the midst of the desert, turning the sands into grass with reeds and rushes, was fed, not by human hands, nor by the clouds above, but by Deity Himself. Man might imitate the god and irrigate desert spots, but the human work was a feeble copy of the divine, and the fountain had a reverence all its own. But, when the Semite, wandering from his native deserts, came to lands where water-courses were numerous, vegetation varied, and trees, with many waving branches and fluttering leaves, abundant, he seemed to be in the very ante-chamber of Paradise. Like his own deserts when touched by fertilizing streams, his soul responded and its desert blossomed, whether in the arts of civilization or in the varied forms of religion. Taking colour from his surroundings, as he so often did, he was, nevertheless, not merely a reflector of that with which he came in contact, but a creator as well. Whatever he touched he enriched, and he left to posterity such new glories that the world outside has become his debtor for ever.

LITERATURE.—G. A. Barton, *A Sketch of Semitic Origins*, New York and London, 1902; W. W. Baudissin, *Adonis und Esmun*, Leipzig, 1911; C. Frank, *Studien zur babylonischen Religion*, i., Strassburg, 1911; J. G. Frazer, *GB*[3], London, 1911–15; J. Hehn, *Die biblische und die babylonische Gottesidee*, Leipzig, 1913; Morris Jastrow, *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria*, New York and London, 1911; L. W. King, *Babylonian Religion and Mythology*, London, 1903; F. X. Kugler, *Entwicklung der babylonischen Planetkunde*, Münster, 1907; S. Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, Oxford, 1914; D. G. Lyon and G. Ford, *Studies in the Hist. of Religions presented to Crawford Howell Toy*, New York, 1912; G. F. Moore, *Hist. of Religions*, do. 1913; J. P. Peters, *Religion of the Hebrews*, Boston and London, 1914; C. H. Toy, *Introd. to the Hist. of Religions*, New York, 1913.

A. S. CARRIER.

NATURE (Slavic).—Our knowledge of Slavic religion is very limited, but we have a number of vague allusions to nature-worship. 'They reverence rivers and nymphs and other "daemons"' (Procopius, *de Bell. Goth.* iii. 14). Bohemian sermons in the 12th cent. abound in exhortations against nominal Christians of whom 'some worship the sun, some the moon and stars, some rivers and fires, some mountains and trees.' Similar references are found in Helmold (*Chron. Slav.* i. 52, 83 [*MGH* xxi.]), Cosmas of Prague (*Font. Rer. Bohem.* 52, 83 [*ib.* ix.]), and elsewhere.

1. **Heavenly bodies.**—For sun-worship there is little evidence. A god Dazbogu, mentioned in various texts, is usually identified with the sun-god, because his name glosses Helios in a Slavic translation of a Greek fragment of George Hamartolos (cf. Leger, *La Mythologie slave*, pp. 118–121). The marriage of sun or moon with the morning-star is a common theme of the folk-songs of the southern Slavs. At weddings it was customary among the people to nickname bride and bridegroom as morning-star, sun, or moon. Krauss, however, does not see in these customs any evidence for former sun- or moon-worship (*Volksglaube und rel. Brauch der Südslaven*, p. 1 ff.).

2. **Mountains.**—Thietmar (*Chron.* viii. 59) mentions a mountain in Silesia which was worshipped on account of its great size.

3. **Groves and trees.**—There are numerous references to holy groves, forests, and trees. In 1008 Wigbert destroyed Zutibur (Sventibor, 'holy forest'), a grove which was worshipped in all respects as a god. The oak was particularly holy. Constantine Porphyrogenetus (912–959) gives an account of a Russian voyage on the Dnieper:

> 'When they arrived . . . they made sacrifices . . . because they found there a very large oak, and they offered up living birds' (*de Administ. Imper.* ix.).

The oak-tree was associated with the sacred spring and perpetual fire.

> Herbord tells us that near Stettin there was 'a large and leafy oak, with a most excellent fountain beneath it, which the simple people thought the habitation of some god' (*Vita Otton.* [*MGH* xii. 794]).

4. **Thunder, etc.**—In texts of the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries a god Svaroziczu is mentioned. 'They invoke fire, calling it Svaroziczu' (Leger, however, believes that this deity is a god, not of fire, but of war [p. 235 f.]). According to A. Guagnini, the monastery of Perunu was built on the site of an idol of Perunu, which had been worshipped by the people of Novgorod.

> 'It represented a man holding . . . a stone, in form like a thunderbolt. In honour of the idol burned by day and night a fire of oak-wood' (*Sarm. Europ. Descrip.*, Spiræ, 1581, p. 83).

It is hard to know how Guagnini could have obtained this information. 'An oak of Perun' is mentioned in a Galician charter, A.D. 1302. The god Perun is mentioned by Nestor in his account of the treaties made between Greeks and Russians (*Chron.* 21, 31, etc.). He is, in all probability, referred to by Procopius:

> 'They considered one god, the creator of the lightning, to be the only lord of all things' (iii. 14).

The word 'Perun' is identical with the Czech word for 'thunderbolt'; it does not occur in Serbian or Bulgarian texts. Perun survives in folklore. In a Galician tale Pieron appears to a nobleman to the accompaniment of thunder and lightning (cf. Leger, p. 67 ff.). He is mentioned in the Slovak ballads collected by J. Kollar:

> 'The god Perom behind the clouds . . .
> . . . suddenly launched the thunderbolt'
> (quoted by Leger, p. 60).

When the treaty with the Greeks was concluded (A.D. 945), Igor went up to the hill where there was an idol of Perun, but the Christians took their oath in the chapel of St. Elias. Among all Slavic people Elias appears as the saint of thunder and lightning, the master of wind and rain.

5. **Agriculture, etc.**—In the government of Kursku and of Voroneczu it is customary at the end of the harvest to leave a handful of twisted corn in the fields. This is known as 'twisting the beard of Elias,' sometimes as 'twisting the beard of Perun or Volos.' Volos, god of flocks, is mentioned, together with Perun, by Nestor in his account of the treaty of A.D. 971. In Russian folklore his place has been taken by St. Blaise, patron saint of herds. It has been maintained,

indeed, that the so-called god is derived from the Christian saint (cf. Leger, pp. 111–117; and G. Krek, in *Arch. für slav. Phil.* i. [1876] 134 ff.).

LITERATURE. — F. S. Krauss, *Volksglaube und religiöse Brauch der Südslaven*, Münster, 1890; L. Leger, *La Mythologie slave*, Paris, 1901; further literature is given in Leger, ch. i. 'Les Sources de la mythologie slave,' and Introd. pp. i–xix.

ENID WELSFORD.

NATURE (Teutonic).—From Cæsar we have the following statement:

'The Germans . . . acknowledge no gods but those which are objects of sight and by whose power they are apparently benefited, the sun, moon, fire. Of others they know nothing, even by report' (*de Bell. Gall.* vi. 21).

This is so difficult to reconcile with the testimony of Tacitus and others that it has been thought (perhaps too hastily) that Cæsar entirely misunderstood the nature of Teutonic religion. Natural phenomena undoubtedly played some part in Teutonic cult.

'The inhabitants of Thule [*i.e.* Scandinavia] worship many gods and "daemons," in heaven and air, earth and sea, and other "daemons" who are said to be in the waters of wells and rivers' (Procopius, *de Bell. Goth.* ii. 15).

From Canute's Anglo-Saxon Laws we learn that 'heathenship is to honour heathen gods, and sun or moon, fire or floods, wells or stones or trees of any kind' (cf. B. Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, London, 1840, p. 162).

1. **Heavenly bodies.**—In Germany prohibitions of observance connected with the sun or moon are found in early Christian sermons or penitentiaries. The Decrees of Burchard of Worms († 1024) mention pagan traditions, 'id est ut elementa coleres, id est lunam aut solem aut stellarum cursum' (*PL* cxl. 835). In the Merseburg charm Sunna is mentioned along with Wodan and Frûa. Bede (*de Temporum Ratione*, 15) mentions two Anglo-Saxon goddesses, Hreda and Eostur, after whom the months of March and April were named. We know nothing further of these deities. The word Eostur is connected with Lat. Aurora, Gr. Ἠώς, Skr. Uṣās, Lith. Auszra, all of which denote personification of the dawn. Lith. Auszrine, morning-star, is derived from Auszra. Sun and moon, day and night, are personified in the O. Norse poems of the older Edda. Snorri counts Sol as one of the Asynjur (*i.e.* goddesses). See art. SUN (Teutonic).

2. **Fire.**—Our only evidence for actual fire-worship (besides the disputed passage from Cæsar) comes from the passage from Canute's Anglo-Saxon Laws which has already been given. Fire undoubtedly was of some importance in religious ritual. In Scandinavia there are some instances of a claim to property being established by carrying fire round it (cf. *Landnámabók*, v. 3; *Erbyggja Saga*, 1–7) or shooting the fire-arrow towards it (*Landn.* iii. 8). In the temple of the Icelander Thorgrim there 'was always to be fire, which should never go out; they called that consecrated fire' (*Islendinga Sögur*, i.). In *Gylfaginning* and the Edda poems a being called Surtr is spoken of as the watchman of Muspellheim, the world of fire. He has a flaming sword and will burn up everything at the end of the world. It has been suggested that Surtr is a volcano-god of Icelandic origin (cf. B. S. Phillpotts, in *Arkiv for nord. Filol.* xvii. [1905] 14 ff.).

3. **Thunder.**—Our knowledge of the cult and attributes of the Teutonic thunder-god is derived almost exclusively from Scandinavian sources. In England traces of his cult are probably preserved in place-names such as Thundersley, Thundersfield. 'Latona Jovis mater' is translated 'Thunres moðr' in Anglo-Saxon (Grimm, *Teut. Mythology*, p. 189). In Germany there are a number of place-names compounded with 'Donner' (*ib.* p. 170). Thuner appears with Wodan and Saxnot in the O. Saxon renunciation formula. Latin 'Jovis dies' is translated by O.E. Thunoresdaeg, O.H. Germ. Donarestag, O.N. Thórsdagr. The name of the Scandinavian god Thor is identical with the word for thunder employed by all Teutonic peoples, but in Iceland the word went out of use, and, consequently, in O. Norse and Icelandic literature Thor's connexion with the elements is almost forgotten—except perhaps in Snorri's account of the duel with Hrungnir:

'Afterwards he saw flashes of lightning and heard great thunder-claps; and then he saw Thor in his divine wrath' (*Skáldskaparmál*, p. 104).

In Denmark and Sweden, on the other hand, Thor was always remembered as a nature-god.

'Thor who is thunder and lightning presides in the air; he rules over winds and rain, fair weather, and fruitful seasons' (Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburg.* iv. 26).

He survives in Swedish folklore as the opponent of trolls and giants, waging war on them by means of thunder and lightning (cf. Craigie, *Scand. Folk-lore*, p. 17). In Gothland thunder is known as Thorsaka ('the driving of Thor'). Thor is represented as the son of Oðin. His mother is called sometimes Jorð (Earth) and sometimes Fjörgynn, which is probably a derivative from Idj *perkuus, 'an oak.' It is probable that the thunder-god of the Teutons, like that of other European peoples, was originally associated with the oak. St. Boniface cut down a large tree at Geismar in Hesse which the pagans called 'robur Jovis.'

4. **Trees, groves, etc.**—We have numerous references to Teutonic 'groves grim with ancient rites, and oaks resembling a barbaric divinity' (Claudian, *de Laudib. Stilich.* i. 229–231). In most cases the grove was simply a sanctuary revered as the haunt of a deity, but sometimes it was in itself the object of devotion. The Icelander Thorir 'worshipped the grove.' Often the sacred spring is associated with the sacred tree.

Near the Swedish temple at Upsala there was 'a huge tree with wide-spreading branches, always green winter and summer . . . there was also a fountain, where the pagans were wont to make sacrifices and to throw in a living man' (Adam of Bremen, iv. 26, schol. 134).

This type of tree-sanctuary seems to have given rise to the conception of the universal, three-rooted tree, the Yggdrasil's ash, of Northern mythology. Under the root which belongs to the Æsir (*i.e.* the gods) is Urðarbrunnr. Every day the Norns sprinkle Yggdrasil's ash with water from this spring, so that the tree never withers or decays, but 'stands ever-green over the spring of fate' (*Völuspá*, 19). The link between the tree-sanctuary and the idea of the world-tree is perhaps to be found in the *Vördtröd*, the 'guardian-tree' which stands beside the homestead in many parts of Sweden, and was possibly regarded, at one time, as the abode of the guardian-spirit of the family. A marvellous tree called Læraðr stands beside Valhöll and may represent the guardian-tree of the divine community (cf. *Gylf.* p. 49; also Chadwick, in *JAI* xxx. 30).

5. **Water.**—Water-worship was very common among the Teutons. Procopius (ii. 25) states that the Franks who invaded Italy A.D. 539 threw the Gothic women and children into the Po as a sacrifice. The Anglo-Saxon penitentiary of Egbert imposes penance on those 'who bring alms to a fountain' (ii. 22, *ap.* Thorpe, p. 371). The canons of Edgar (16, *ap.* Thorpe, p. 396) also forbid well-worship. In *Landnámabók*, v. 5, we are told that Thorstein Redneb 'worshipped the waterfall.' Water was considered the abode of monstrous beings. Mimir inhabited the spring beneath one of the roots of Yggdrasil's ash. In Germany his memory survives in place-names (cf. Mogk, *Germanische Mythologie*, p. 305). In songs of Smaaland we hear of Mimessjö, and Mimesa, which flows from it, where a water-spirit has his

habitation. In *Völuspá* the waves are called 'sons of Mimir.' The waves are also called 'daughters of Ægir' (Mogk, p. 303). The latter appears to be a good-natured being associated with the sea. His name may be connected with Goth. *ahwa*, 'water.' His wife Ran, 'the unmannerly,' represents the sterner aspects of the ocean.

'Then the Æsir became aware that Ran possessed a net in which she caught all those men who came into the sea' (*Skáldsk.* p. 109). 'Then came a wave . . . and flung four men overboard . . . "Now is it likely," said Friðjof, "that some of our men will visit Ran . . . I think it right that every man should carry some gold with him . . . we will cut the red ring . . .

Before Ægir slays us
Gold shall be seen on the guests
In the middle of the hall of Ran
If we need night-quarters there"' (*Friðjof Saga*, vi.).

6. Mountains.—In the 6th cent. Agathias (*Hist.* i. 7) mentions 'hills' among various other objects of Alemannic worship. Thorolf Mostrarskegg, one of the first Icelandic settlers, had so great a reverence for the hill which he called Helgafell that 'he enjoined that no man should look upon it unwashed . . . and nothing was to be destroyed there' (*Landn.* ii. 12).

7. Earth.—For the Teutonic worship of the earth-deity our chief information comes from Tacitus (*Germ.* 40). From him we learn that certain maritime tribes had a common worship of Nerthus, 'id est, terra mater.' In Scandinavian mythology the name of the god Njörðr is identical with that of Nerthus, but there has been a change of sex and function. Njörðr rules over winds and calms the sea and fire (*Gylf.* p. 31 f.). The cult of Nerthus seems to have been inherited by Frey, the son of Njörðr, who was closely connected with Upsala, the famous Swedish sanctuary. We also hear of a goddess Freyja, who seems to be a female counterpart of Frey, who is represented as her brother, and of a corresponding Danish deity, Gefion, who created the island of Sjaelland by her four-ox plough. In an Anglo-Saxon charm for fruitfulness invocation is made to 'Erce, erce, erce eorðan moðr.' For the phrase 'eorðan moðr' we have an exact parallel in Lettish 'Semmesmâte,' mother of earth (cf. Chadwick, *Orig. of Eng. Nation*, ch. x.). The Anglo-Saxon legend of Scyld Scefing is probably to be derived from agricultural ceremonies (*ib.* p. 274 ff.). The well-known Scandinavian story of the death of Balder probably originated from certain rites of the type made so familiar to us by J. G. Frazer in *The Golden Bough*.

The preamble to the Icelandic code of laws (A.D. 927) provided that seafarers were to take down the figure-heads from their ships before arriving in sight of Iceland, and not sail up to the land 'with gaping heads and yawning snouts lest the *land-vættir* should take fright thereat.' The belief in *land-vættir*, the spirits of the soil, seems to have been a development peculiar to Icelandic religion, and to have been a very real factor in the life of the people. The Icelander Egil Skallagrimsson believed that Norway also had its *land-vættir*, and by means of threats he tried to turn them against his enemy King Eric Blood-axe.

'He turned the horse's head so that it pointed towards the land. "I turn this curse on the *land-vættir* who dwell in this country, so that they shall all go astray, and no one of them shall find his home"' (*Egilskallagrimm Saga*, 60).

8. Animals.—According to Gregory of Tours (*Hist. Franc.* ii. 10), the Franks worshipped birds and beasts. In the Life of St. Barbatus († 683) there are references to the snake-worship of the Lombards. There are several allusions to animal-worship in the sagas.

'Freyfaxi [a horse] . . . was owned by a man named Brandr, who is said to have worshipped it' (Grimm, p. 656). 'Ogvald was a king and a mighty warrior, who made great sacrifices to a certain cow, and had her with him wherever he went' (*Saga of Olaf Tryggvason*, 71).

9. Winds and other natural phenomena.—'Whence comes wind?' asks Gangleri (*Gylf.* p. 26). Hár replies,

'He is called Corpse-swallower
Who sits at the end of Heaven
A "jotun" in eagle's form,
From his wings
Wind is said to come
Over all mankind.'

The storm-winds howling through the forest were often thought to be the souls of the dead riding out on the Wild Hunt. In parts of Scandinavia and Germany this host is attributed to the god Wodan-Oðin (cf. Mogk, p. 337 ff.). It is chiefly due to this fact that Oðin is so often described as a wind-god. We hear, however, of other leaders of the 'raging army,' Holda, Perchta, Dietrich von Bern, etc. Oðin's connexion with the Wild Hunt is probably quite secondary, and due to the fact that he was already worshipped as god of the dead.

Other mythological beings such as the god Heimdallr and his opponent Loki are sometimes (but with insufficient evidence) regarded as personifications of natural phenomena. In Scandinavian literature the earthquake is explained as the quivering of Loki when the poison drops fall on him (cf. *Gylf.* p. 80). The Jötnar (=A.S. *eotenas*) may be, in origin at least, nature-'daemons.' This is suggested by the occurrence in Scandinavian mythology of the great wolf Fenris, and Miðgarðsormr, the world-snake, and the *hrimþursar*, the frost-giants who had such good reason to fear Thor's hammer. The name of the Jötun Thrymr (who was killed by Thor for stealing his hammer) is connected with *þruma*, the O. Norse word for 'thunder-clap.' In this case we seem to have rival personifications of the same element.

LITERATURE.—Cæsar, *de Bell. Gall.* vi. 21; Tacitus, *Germania*; Procopius, *de Bell. Goth.* ii. 15; Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Francorum* (*MGH*, 'Script. Meroving.' i. [1834]); Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiæ pontificum* (*MGH*, 'Script.' vii. 267 ff.); Saxo Grammaticus, *Hist. Danica*, i.–ix., tr. O. Elton and F. Y. Powell, London, 1894; the poems of the older Edda, especially *Völuspá*, *Vafþrúðnismál*, *Grimnismál*, ed. K. Hildebrand and H. Gering, Paderborn, 1912; Snorri Sturlason, *Gylfaginning*, *Skáldskaparmál* (*Die prosäische Edda*, ed. E. Wilken[2], Paderborn, 1912); *Landnámabók* ('The Book of the Settlement of Iceland'), tr. T. Ellwood, Kendal, 1898; *Eyrbyggja Saga*; *Flateyjarbók*; J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, tr. J. S. Stallybrass, Oxford, 1882–88; E. Mogk, *Germanische Mythologie*[2] (Paul's *Grundriss der germ. Phil.* III. x.), Strassburg, 1907; A. Olrik, *Nordisches Geistesleben*, Heidelberg, 1908; W. A. Craigie, *Scandinavian Folk-lore*, London, 1896; H. M. Chadwick, *Origin of the English Nation*, Cambridge, 1907, ch. x. f., and 'The Oak and the Thunder-god,' in *JAI* xxx. [1900] 22 ff. For further literature see Mogk, and P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye, *The Religion of the Teutons*, tr. B. J. Vos, Boston, 1902, pp. 418–463.

ENID WELSFORD.

NATURISM.—See ANIMISM.

NAVAHO. — **1. Introduction.** — The Navaho belong linguistically to the Athapascan stock, one of the largest and most widely distributed of the linguistic families of N. America. The great interior of the northern portion of the continent is occupied by this stock, where they are to be found in the valleys of the Mackenzie and Yukon Rivers and in the interior of British Columbia. This northern division has been discussed under the name Déné (*q.v.*). A second division occupies the coast and western portions of southern Oregon and northern California. These in part have been treated under the name Hupa (*q.v.*), one of the best known Athapascan tribes of this region.

In the south, besides the Navaho, there are several tribes, generally called Apache (*q.v.*), which are closely connected with the Navaho in language and, in large measure, in religion also. These Apache tribes are: the Mescalero, who live in the more elevated region between the Rio Grande and Rio Pecos in eastern New Mexico; the

Jicarilla, consisting of two bands formerly living on either side of the Rio Grande in northern New Mexico; and, in western New Mexico and eastern Arizona south of the high plateau, several Apache tribes, similar in culture, which will be referred to in this article as the Western Apache. The Navaho themselves live in a vast high plateau between the Little Colorado and San Juan Rivers in northern Arizona and north-western New Mexico. There are 30,000 or more of these pastoral semi-agricultural people in this district, who have for the most part been little influenced by the religion of the Europeans.

Between these Athapascan-speaking peoples of the south, the Navaho and Apache, and their linguistic relatives of the north, represented by the Déné and the Hupa, there seems to be no more connexion in religious observance and mythology than exists between other linguistically unrelated N. American tribes. In a general way the Navaho religion is similar to that practised by their neighbours occupying the Pueblo villages of the Rio Grande valley and the Hopi *mesas*. It is true, however, that the Navaho and Apache have a well-developed cycle of myths and a belief in a number of gods with personal names not shared, as far as is known, by any other people.

a. Mythology.—The creation-myth recognizes a series of worlds imposed one above the other. A pre-existing race was driven from the lower world by floods. According to the Navaho version, they escaped to this world by means of hollow reeds which grew miraculously until they reached the sky of the lower world, the surface of this one. With these animal-like men came the gods who have human form. As a result of sexual misbehaviour there were born a number of man-eating monsters, who preyed upon the people until only one woman was left, Estsanatlehi. Lying exposed, she conceived by the rays of the rising sun, and gave birth to a daughter. This daughter, after failing to secure conception in this manner, succeeded when she lay under a waterfall. Her child, sired by the water, was a boy, the culture hero Naiyenesgani. In some versions Naiyenesgani is the son, not the grandson, of the sun and Estsanatlehi, and has a 'brother,' according to the native terms, his mother's sister's son, born of water. The boys (or the boy, according to the version), coming to manhood in a few days' time, go on a long and difficult journey to the home of the sun in the east. They are given directions for this journey by Spider Woman, whom they encounter on the way. Arrived at the house of the sun, they are subjected to certain tests and are then given a sweat-bath, during which they are moulded into finished human shape so that in form they are indistinguishable from the sun himself. Being supplied by the sun with weapons with which to slay the monsters, they return to earth on a streak of lightning and set about their mission. One by one the monsters are overcome, a trophy being taken in each case. Incidentally there occurs a discussion of the old problem of the presence of good and evil in the world, since certain semi-evils—old age, poverty, and cold—were allowed a continued existence on certain conditions. After the task of ridding the world of evil had been completed, the culture-hero went to live at the mouth of the San Juan river and Estsanatlehi to the western ocean, where she receives the sun as he sets.

Men themselves were created in various ways. According to the Navaho, the gods placed ears of corn of various colours between blankets, which, animated by the wind, became boys and girls. These, considered relatives, married other semi-divine couples. People were also produced by Estsanatlehi by rubbing cuticle from her side. The origins of agriculture, of the clan organizations, and of the various ceremonies are explained by separate myths, which frequently relate the experiences of certain individual men.

Agriculture was introduced by a young man so devoted to, and uniformly unfortunate in, gambling that his relatives were on the point of killing him. With the help of the gods he floated down a large river in a hollow log, escaping many dangers by the way. His pet turkey had followed, and, hearing a desire for something to plant, spread its wings and shook out seed-corn of the various colours. This corn, together with tobacco and melons, was planted on a flat by the river, where it matured with miraculous rapidity. The young man found and married the daughter of Deer Raiser, who gave his daughter as her marriage-portion the game animals which until this time had been kept in enclosures. Most of the ceremonies are believed to have been obtained from the anthropomorphic gods, who live in the cliff-ruins and the mountains. Some man in dire need is taken to the homes of the gods and taught the songs, prayers, and dances of the ceremony. Being relieved himself, he is bidden to return to his fellow-men and teach them what he has learned.

3. Religious ceremonies.—The Apache, and in all probability the Navaho, hold adolescent ceremonies for maturing girls. The girl during the time is called Estsanatlehi. While she dances, songs are sung for her during four nights. The ceremony is concluded on the morning of the fourth night with a race by the girl and the painting of the girl and the spectators with white earth. The songs sung are those of Naiyenesgani, which he obtained of the sun when he was given the sweat-bath. During the nightly ceremonies for the girl masked men representing the anthropomorphic gods come in procession and dance. A special series of songs connected with their cult is sung for them.

There are healing ceremonies of various sorts which, among the Navaho, take place in a specially built house. Masked men representing the various gods participate in the ceremony. The songs of the two kinds mentioned above are sung and many prayers are recited. The final night, usually the tenth of the ceremony, is given over to a public spectacle during which much amusement is furnished by clowns.

One of the striking features of Navaho ceremonies is the use of dry paintings. Under the direction of the priest in charge, large and elaborate pictures are made on the floor of the lodges by sprinkling down dry pigments. These pictures usually represent scenes taken from the myths, which also furnish the themes of the songs. The use of pollen is also noteworthy. It is sprinkled as the accompaniment of prayer, and is used to mark out trails and indicate boundaries.

The religion of the Navaho and Apache, like that of the Hopi, is largely conditioned by æsthetic motives. The arrangement of the parts of the songs and of their sequence in groups is according to a numerical rhythm. The songs and prayers are filled with imagery and refer constantly to the four world-quarters with which are associated colours, certain semi-precious stones, and definitely named gods.

The major ceremonies of the Navaho and Apache are held under the direction of individual priests who by long study have acquired the ritual, which may include a hundred or more songs, many prayers, numerous and elaborate dry paintings, and various detailed items of knowledge. This information is most frequently, but not necessarily, obtained from an older relative. Many individuals have charms or fetishes which ward off evil or give good luck in hunting and the raising of their flocks and herds. The ceremonies connected with agriculture are but little known.

4. Objects of worship.—The religion of the south-west is of great interest, rivalling in its complexity that of the Plains and north-west coast of N. America. From the myths, songs, prayers, and other sources of information it appears that natural objects are of supreme importance in Navaho and Apache religion. The sun, the moon, dawn, sunbeams, rainbows, lightning, the four world-quarters, wind, and the all-pervading darkness are all mentioned and invoked as powerful agents concerned in human affairs. Besides these are the gods of human form, the *gan* of the Apache, the *yei* of the Navaho, immortals who live in hollow mountains or in the cliff-ruins. They join with men in their ceremonies, particularly those of healing, which they have themselves provided as a cure for human ills. These anthropomorphic gods are by some believed to be the ghosts of ancestors, although the Indians themselves look upon them as a separate race who preceded men upon the earth. Various animals are also objects of worship. The bear is generally associated with healing and the panther with hunting. Of the tabus that which prevents the eating of fish is the most important.

LITERATURE.—Washington Matthews, 'The Night Chant, a Navaho Ceremony,' *Memoirs of the Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist.* vi. [1902], 'Navaho Legends,' *Memoirs of the Amer. Folk-Lore Soc.* v. [1897]; J. G. Bourke, 'The Medicine-men of the Apache,' *9 RBEW* (1892); The Franciscan Fathers, *An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language*, Saint Michaels, Arizona, 1910; P. E. Goddard, 'Jicarilla Texts,' *Anthropological Papers of the Amer. Mus. of Nat. Hist.* viii. [1911]; F. Russell, 'Myths of the Jicarilla Apache,' *JAFL* xi. [1898] 253–276.

P. E. GODDARD.

NĀYARS.—1. Introduction.—The habitat of the Nāyars ('Narræ' of Pliny) is the extreme south-western littoral of the Indian peninsula between Cape Comorin and Point Dely, 16 miles north of Cannanore, a strip of beautiful thickly-wooded country from 20 to 60 miles in width, flat only near the sea—where is a chain of lagoons—and in the rice-fields. This portion of the Madras Presidency is known as Malabar, divided politically between the Malabar District of British India and the native States Cochin and Travancore—in all about 11,000 square miles.[1] The incidence of population is, in parts, higher than it is in Belgium. In its peoples, history, customs, land-tenures, and ordinary ways of life Malabar is unlike the rest of India. The architectural style of the mosques and temples is curiously like that of Nepāl; the forms of jewellery resemble those of Sind. The very origin of Malabar is the subject of myth. Parasurāma, wishing to create a new land for the re-establishment of *dharma*, is said to have raised it from the sea from where he stood, at Cape Comorin, to as far as he could fling his axe. The land which emerged from the sea was the ancient Kērala, its old and well-loved name. Protected by its physical barriers, the high western Ghāts, Malabar has survived apart from the turmoil which has changed the face of India, the home of rigid conservatism in customs, beliefs, and practices. It is a miniature world. Highest of the Hindus are the Nambūtiri Brāhmans, purest of the Vedic stock and faith, sacerdotal, aristocratic, rich; lowest are jungle folk having a nasal index of nearly 100°, guided by the crudest animistic ideas.[2] Below the Nambūtiris are the Nāyars, and in a descending scale is a variety of peoples in different conditions of culture.

The orthodox view of the Nambūtiri Brāhman is thus stated in an official document of Travancore:

> 'His person is holy; his directions are commands; his movements are a procession; his meal is nectar; he is the holiest of human beings; he is the representative of God on earth.'

2. Inheritance, marriage laws, etc.—Descent among the Nambūtiris is patrilineal. Eldest sons alone marry; their sons inherit the family property. Younger sons are authorized to mate morganatically with Nāyar women. In the cases of the royal houses of Travancore and Cochin and families of lesser chiefs and people of importance, the fathers are always Nambūtiris. The Nāyars are divided into clans which are mostly but not entirely exogamous. By a rule, infringement of which is never condoned, a Nāyar woman is allowed to associate intimately with a man of her own clan or of a superior clan, or with a Nambūtiri, but never with one of an inferior clan or caste. The former practice is known as *anulōman*, 'following the hair.' Its converse, *prātilōman*, 'going against the hair' (or 'grain'), brings complete social degradation. The restrictions placed upon Nāyar men are well expressed in the *Lusiad*:

> 'The haughty nobles and the vulgar race
> Never must join the conjugal embrace'
> (tr. W. J. Mickle[3], London, 1798, bk. vii. p. 156).

Mother-right obtains. A man's sister's sons, not his own sons, are the heirs. As a rule, the woman remains in her own *tarawād* ('household'), where she is visited by her husband. She may visit him, or he may visit her for a period, but she never joins her husband's *tarawād*; she brings up her children, who are members of her *tarawād*, in her household. The eldest male—the *karanavan*, as he is called—conducts the entire management of the *tarawād* property. Nāyar girls without exception observe certain formalities before entering upon the marriage state. Chief of these is the *tāli-kettu-kalayānam* ('marriage-token-tying-ceremony'), obligatory before attainment of puberty. A boy whose horoscope is in agreement with the girl's is usually the bridegroom for the occasion—which, however, confers upon him no prescriptive right to her person.

> 'A cloth is severed into two parts and each part is given to the mana vâlen (bridegroom) and the girl separately,' symbolic of divorce (*Report of the Malabar Marriage Commission*, Madras, 1891, p. 15).

Subsequently, under formal family consent she forms an alliance which constitutes marriage. While the Nambūtiris' marital arrangements are governed exclusively by considerations of property, those of the Nāyars are not. Position, pride of family, and the like naturally exert influence, but the Nāyar marriage involves no transference of family property. It is never mercenary.

The Nāyars were the military element. Thus in the *Lusiad* we read:

> 'By the proud Nāyres the noble rank is claimed;
> The toils of culture and of art they scorn,
> The warrior's plumes their haughty brows adorn;
> The shining faulchion brandished in the right,
> Their left arm wields the target in the fight,
> Of danger scornful, ever armed they stand
> Around the King, a stern barbarian band'
> (bk. vii. p. 156).

Now, while the Nāyar no longer knocks the hilt of his sword against his shield as he walks along his shaded lanes to warn low-caste people to wait at a distance until he passes by, lest their proximity should pollute him, he is almost as careful to prevent pollution from whatever source, for personal purity, cleanliness, is an essential of his religion. Pollution is conveyed by a person of inferior caste approaching a Nāyar within a prescribed number of paces as well as by the slightest contact, and the Nāyar is especially careful to permit no violation of this social rule when, having bathed and donned clean clothes, he returns home after his devotions in the temple. Bathing before eating is imperative.

3. Religion.—The Nāyars are Hindus; their religion is therefore Hinduism. But, as a Travancore Hindu observes,

> 'Hinduism is a very comprehensive term, and has many shades and degrees of varying hues in it, ranging from Brāhmanism, the highest and purest and most philosophical form of Theism, and the fetish worship of the aboriginal castes. . . . It has in its course of evolution from nature-worship to its present form passed through various phases, has come in contact with all the other religions of the world and has imbibed something from all. It is, in fact, "all tolerant, all compliant, all comprehensive, all absorbing." Hence it has been found difficult to exactly define what Hinduism means' (V. Nagam Aiya, *Travancore State Manual*, ii. 39, 42).

Undoubtedly the belief in the transmigration of souls as caused by the law of *karma* is its most distinguishing feature.

> '"As we sow, so shall we reap." So long as this doctrine is the basis of a Hindu's belief, it is a safe guide inciting him to do good and deterring him from evil. Every moment of his daily existence the pious Hindu is reminded of the law of Karma, that "every deed in his life . . . leads to its legitimate results in one's future life, whether it be in another world or in another existence in this world." Self-righteousness lies at the root of Hindu religious belief, and no man is counted righteous except through his works, acts and thoughts' (*ib.* p. 103).

Self-realization, self-mastery, control of the mind are the ideal.

> 'As all action, right or wrong, proceeds from desire, and as desire springs from the mind, the mastery of one's mind and habit to which uncontrolled mental activity makes a man a slave, constitutes true worship; and all rights and ceremonials

[1] Hills and forests where no Nāyars live excluded.
[2] On the fringe of Hinduism, but not, strictly speaking, Hindus by caste.

are either preparations for or applications of that mastery' (N. Subramanya Aiyar, *Census of India, 1911*, vol. xxiii. pt. i. p. 199).

The use and purpose of sacred images are well described by the same writer:

'Although in the anxiety to exonerate themselves from the charge of venerating what is in substance a piece of stone or metal, apologists have not been wanting to explain away these *Vigrahas* as mere symbolic representations to catch the popular mind or, at most, mechanical aids to concentration, the fact remains that according to Hindu Scriptural texts and to the belief of the great mass of worshippers, the image is a living Divine presence. The basic theory of image-worship as far as one is able to make out from enquiry and research, is that, in the image, a particular power among the various Powers or Gods provided in the scheme of cosmic order . . . is embodied, and placed . . . within reach of those who may not have the power to dive into the occult but none the less real world' (*ib.* p. 201).

Throughout S. India to the east of the Western Ghats, Hinduism in its varied aspects is conspicuously sectarian, followers of even the same sect often exhibiting active and bitter hatred of each other in their quarrels concerning unimportant details of ceremonial. Worship by a votary of Śiva in a Viṣṇu temple would be unthinkable. But in 'the Land of charity,' a name by which Malabar is known, it is quite otherwise. Sectarianism is unknown. Viṣṇu and Śiva are little more than mere names. Whether Bhagavati is male or female no one knows or cares. An *avatār* of Viṣṇu may be found in the list of evil spirits acting under control by a magician. This local non-sectarian character of Hinduism is, probably, largely due to the influence of the great philosophical religious teacher, Śankarāchārya, expounder of the Vedānta, who is held in special veneration by the Nambūtiris and by the Nāyars. Himself a Nambūtiri Brāhman, he was born, as most scholars now agree, in N. Travancore in A.D. 788.

'He preached the universal doctrine that all created things, animal, vegetable and mineral, are manifestations of a supreme, eternal, unchanging and impersonal Spirit, Brâhman, through Mâyâ and openly proclaimed the absence of difference between Vishnu and Siva, laying down sectarian neutrality as an inviolable law for Kêrala' (N. S. Aiyar, *Census of India, 1901*, xxvi. [Trivandrum, 1903], pt. i. p. 101).

Another name for Malabar was 'Karmabhūmi,' the significance of which is given as follows:

'The spiritual salvation of the inhabitants of this land depends on good actions, as contrasted with the East Coast . . . where a man obtains salvation by mere birth irrespective of his actions, as the land itself is consecrated ground' (V. N. Aiya, i. 1).

But, while the lofty ideas of the Vedānta philosophy inspire, more or less, the Nambūtiri in almost every moment of his life, they do not in the same degree of completeness represent the religious ideas of the Nāyar, who is far more deeply imbued by the lower, the magico-religious, cult. In the case of the Nāyar the serpent is an object of regular worship.

'A serpent Kavu (shrine) or an abode of snakes is an indispensable adjunct to every Nāyar house' (*ib.* ii. 59).

A Nāyar house, even of the very poorest class, is always detached, in its own well-shaded garden. Around the shrine the trees and shrubs are untouched by the axe. Images are placed, and, in addition to periodical ceremonies, offerings are made 'there in propitiation of the serpent gods' (*ib.* ii. 61).

The myths and legends relating to serpents are innumerable. In addition to the serpent, Ādiśēsha, who supports the earth and is the bed of Mahā Viṣṇu, the cow, giver of all things, the bull, a vehicle of Śiva, and the Brāhmany kite, a vehicle of Viṣṇu, are held sacred. Sacred trees are: *asvatta* (*Ficus religiosa*), circumambulated by women desiring children, and by men to avert the evil influence of Saturn under which every man suffers during some period of his life; its twigs are indispensable in all sacrificial offerings to the gods; *bilva* (*Ægle marmelos*), sacred to Śiva; *tulasī* (*Ocymum sanctum*), to Viṣṇu. 'The worship of animals and plants is not outside the cult of the most Sâstraic Hindu' (N. S. Ayar, p. 99). There is 'no clear line . . . between the Animists and the Hindus' (V. N. Aiya, ii. 39), and it is to the many minor deities, serpent and other, and the more notorious spirits of mischief and evil that the Nāyar offers most of his devotion. This may be called the land of magic; for magic in all its bearings—witchcraft, divination, oracular demonstrations, and so on—is an actuality of life. Every Nāyar wears on his person from childhood at least one amulet and more often several amulets, each one consisting of a magic formula or a figure enclosed in a golden case. Expression of religious feeling is seen in ceremonies, notably those concerned with birth and death, and during religious festivals. After the seventh month of pregnancy the Nāyar woman bathes and worships in the temple every morning, and before her morning meal she eats a small quantity of butter over which holy *mantras* ('charms') have been muttered by priests. Personal ceremonies, ante-natal, during childhood—such as naming a child, boring its ears, and so on—and throughout life, are numerous. When death is at hand, before the breath leaves the body each member of the household, one by one, pours into the mouth of the dying man a few drops of water from a little cup formed of leaves of the *tulasī*, holding in the hand a piece of gold over which the water runs. A light is kept burning day and night, and near it a large measure of unhusked rice and a small quantity of husked rice, while one member of the *tarawād* holds the head of the dead in his lap, the body lying on plantain leaves, as relatives enter to bid farewell. As conducive to the happiness of the dead, cremation takes place without delay. The body is washed, anointed, and covered with new cloths, and, as it is being carried to the pyre—always to the south—the senior male present tears from one of the cloths upon the body a piece, which he fastens round his waist; and he holds in his hand, or sticks in his waist, a piece of iron. He is the chief mourner. The corpse is laid head to the south, and on the fuel, which, all or in part, must be wood of the mango tree, is placed a little camphor, sandal-wood, and *ghī* (clarified butter). No elder member of the *tarawād* of either sex may be present. The deceased's younger brother or nephew lights the pyre at the head. The son may, at the same time, apply fire at the feet of the corpse. While it is being consumed, every member of the *tarawād* bathes in the small pond which is in the garden of every Nāyar's house. The chief mourner carries a pot of water, pierced so that the water spills as he walks thrice round the pyre ere the corpse is consumed, and dashes the pot to the ground. A small image of the deceased is then made of raw rice, and rice and gingelly seeds are offered to it. Balls of food are offered daily during the following seven days, and at the end of this period all members of the *tarawād* bathe together, the chief mourner having in his possession the strip of cloth and the piece of iron. During these seven days the deceased is represented by a piece of palm-leaf, knotted and placed upright in the ground. The essence of the food goes direct to the spirit of the deceased and appeases him. The piece of cloth and the piece of iron are tied to a pillar of the house nearest the palm-leaf. The food is scattered to crows or thrown into water. Death-pollution continues until the fourteenth day, when the calcined remains are carried in a pot to a river and thrown into it. Then follows more ceremonial bathing, and on the fifteenth day the purificatory ceremony takes place, releasing the members of the *tarawād* from the ban of the death-pollution. Subsequently there are other ceremonies and the chief mourner remains un

shaven either for forty-one days or for a year.[1] The people who practise these rites are good Hindus, and, according to the tenets of their religion, the spirit, which is emancipated from the body at death, at once inhabits another body, for suffering or enjoyment measured by the deserts of the bodily existence which has just ceased. This is the higher religion. Nevertheless they admit that the spirit is connected with the shadow, not with the breath, and feel in their hearts that it still lingers in the house and absorbs the essence of the food offered to it, and that it must be propitiated or it will cause harm to the living. This is the lower religion. The religion of the Nāyar is a mixture of both.

Sacrificial offerings consist usually of cereals, milk products, or flowers, but there are occasions when cocks are decapitated, and, rarer still, when black goats are smothered. Nāyar pilgrims, while on the way to one of the more important shrines during the annual festival, indulge in every kind of disorderly and even obscene conduct, which not only is permissible, but is, for this occasion only, the right conduct; while on the return journey they are in possession of that calmness which follows communication with unutterable mysteries.

Fulfilment of vows involving pilgrimage to places perhaps far beyond Malabar is common. Vows may be made for receipt of any favour from the hand of God, and, when the desire is obtained, the devotee awaits, perhaps for years, the divine injunction to proceed. He then undertakes his pilgrimage in the garb as well as in the spirit of humility. Votive offerings are usually such as may be seen at any Roman Catholic shrine.

LITERATURE.—*Madras Government Museum Bulletin*, vol. iii. no. 1 [1900], 'Nambutiri Brahmans,' etc. (F. Fawcett); *ib.* vol. iii. no. 3 [1901], 'Nāyars of Malabar' (F. Fawcett); S. Mateer, *Native Life in Travancore*, London, 1883; E. Balfour, *Cyclopædia of India*[3], do. 1885; Ptolemy, *Geography*, xiii.; *IA* xiii. [1884], xiv. [1885]; E. Caldwell, *Hist. of Tinnevelly*, Madras, 1881; B. Picart, *Religious Ceremonies*, London, 1731–37; V. Nagam Aiya, *Travancore State Manual*, Trivandrum, 1906; M. Monier-Williams, *Indian Wisdom*, London, 1875; *SBE* xxv. [1886]; Krjshnaswamy Aiyar and Pandit Sitanath Tattvabhushan, *Śrī Śankarāchārya*, Madras, 1903; *IGI*, 1908; *Hakluyt Society Publications*, no. 32 (L. Varthema, *Travels in . . . India*, etc., 1863); *ib.*, no. 35 (D. Barbosa, *Coasts of E. Africa and Malabar*, 1865); *ib.*, nos. 70, 71 (J. H. van Linschoten, *Voyage to E. Indies*, 1884); *ib.*, no. 42 (G. Correa, *The Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama*, 1869); *ib.*, nos. 76, 77, and 80 (F. Pyrard, *Voyage to E. Indies*, etc., 1887–90); *ib.*, nos. 84 and 85 (Pietro Della Valle, *Travels in India*, 1891); *ib.*, no. 98 (Cosmas, *Christian Topography*, 1898); *ib.*, no. 99 (Vasco da Gama, *Journal of First Voyage*, 1898); F. Buchanan, *Journey through Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, London, 1807; Marco Polo[3], ed. H. Yule and H. Cordier, do. 1903; Pliny, *HN*; N. Subramanya Aiyar, *Census of India, 1901*, vol. xxvi. [Trivandrum, 1903]; *ib.*, *1911*, vol. xxiii. [do. 1912]; *Gazetteer of Malabar*, Madras, 1908.

F. FAWCETT.

NAZARÆANS.—See MANDÆANS.

NAZIRITES.—

There are certain assured facts in regard to the Nazirites, but there is much that has been thought to relate to them which is uncertain as applied to them exclusively, and in regard to which a careful balance of judgment must be exercised. They appear on the stage of Jewish history at widely different periods, from the period of the Judges down to early Christian times—roughly a thousand years. They show themselves for a time quite clearly, and then for a long period we hear nothing of them; afterwards they re-appear as if their life and organization had been continuous, active, and universally acknowledged. There are some well-known sources of information, such as in Judges, Numbers 6, the Mishnah, and sporadically elsewhere, and a few famous treatises, as Spencer, *de Legibus Hebræorum*, but the data are few and the information somewhat intricate owing to the meteoric appearances of the Nazirites, and the partially similar relationship in which their forms of religious devotion stand to others.

1. Various types.—We shall see, as we proceed, that there existed two, if not three, types of Nazirite, viz. the life-long Nazirite, the 'Nazirite of days,' and the Samson Nazirite; and it is a matter of considerable dispute whether the types were co-existent or convergent. The dates of their appearances have also to be approximately fixed, and the relationship between the earlier and later Nazirites determined. It is generally acknowledged that the Nazirites were much more numerous than the scattered information concerning them would lead us to suppose, and there is a fairly general agreement as to the prevalence in most periods of their history of the principal restrictions imposed upon the Nazirites, viz. abstinence from wine, etc., letting the hair grow uncut, and the avoidance of pollution by contact with the dead. Indeed, it is mainly through these various regulations that we are enabled to piece together the history of the institution.

2. Life and purpose.—Making use of the facts which are admitted by scholars as practically assured, we may sketch the life and purpose of the Nazirites with some probability. It was a 'dedicated' or 'consecrated' life. It was marked by both negative and positive qualities. It was a life essentially lived under a solemn vow. Ordinarily, to show their adhesion to the deity, men made material offerings; in the case of the Nazirite, he offered himself. It recognized a divine 'call' from Jahweh in days when the primitive simplicity of devotion to Jahweh was being undermined and supplanted by various forms of self-indulgence. It aimed at setting up an ideal of consecrated life, not necessarily ascetic. It thus had definite purposes with practical issues in relation to God and man. Jewish writers have taken different views as to what those purposes were. Some, *e.g.*, contend that the Nazirite vow was intended to signify the working out of the divine nature in man made in the image of God, and, as the growth of the hair was supposed to indicate the growth of the intellectual life, the wise man would not allow this part of his nature to be in any way diminished; for the same reason he would abstain from wine, lest the intellectual faculty should be blurred; and his care to avoid contact with the dead would indicate his witness to the eternity of God and his own nature.

Others see in it 'the principle of stoicism, and imagine that it was intended to cultivate, and bear witness for, the sovereignty of the will over the lower tendencies of human nature' (Smith's *DB*, London, 1893, ii. 474). It was for purposes of self-mastery: the Nazirite wore his hair long as a crown, 'quod ipse rex sit cupiditatibus imperans praeter morem reliquorum hominum, qui cupiditatum sunt servi' (J. G. Carpzov, *Apparatus Historico-Criticus*, Leipzig, 1748, p. 152; so similarly Aben Ezra (Drusius, on Nu 6[7]).

Philo, who calls it ἡ εὐχὴ μεγάλη, regards it in the light of complete self-oblation to Jahweh (*de Animal. sacrificio idoneis* [Mangey, ii. 249]).

'According to him the Nazarite did not sacrifice merely his possessions but his person,' and 'as no spiritual state or act can be signified by any single symbol, he was to identify himself with each one of the three victims which he had to offer as often as he broke his vow by accidental pollution, or when the period of his vow came to an end. He was to realise in himself the ideas of the whole burnt-offering, the sin-offering, and the peace-offering' (Smith's *DB*, *loc. cit.*).

Although these views of Naziriteship were later developments of a more philosophical age, they enable us to see some of the purposes of its life and service, which were doubtless of a manifold

[1] Nāyars shave the whole body excepting the crown of the head

character. The Nazirites have been described as 'men of real moral worth, good gifts of God to His sinful but beloved people' (*HDB* iii. 500[a]). Though not debarred from innocent social life, their consecration would afford them special opportunities for prayer and study. In a certain sense, the Nazirite's life partook of the nature of the priestly as well as of the prophetic office; it was a protest against the self-indulgent habits of the surrounding nations; and something of the warrior and the judge was also inherent in the service which the Nazirite rendered for God and His people, as in the case of Samson in his exploits against the Philistines.

3. Principal features.—We can now pass to consider the principal features of Naziriteship, and the periods during which the Nazirites make their appearances, and draw what inferences we can from them.

We go to the stories of Samson (*c.* 10th cent.) in Judges for the earliest accounts, and to Josephus in the 1st cent. A.D. for the latest, covering a period roughly of a thousand years, during which it seems (as might be expected) that the institution underwent considerable changes. The law in Nu 6 (P), which is obviously directed to the regulation of a known usage, and the post-Exilic references, such as that in 1 Maccabees, would naturally fall between these periods.

Taking the law in Numbers as a basis round which we can collect evidence of the institution, we can classify our subject under the following heads, and estimate its significance by the regulations in regard to it.

(1) *The vow.*—In Nu 6 it is clear that Naziriteship consisted partly in the assumption of a vow. Vows, of course, were common in all periods of Jewish history, and would take the form of a solemn promise in order to secure the divine aid, or of the expression of an act of piety, or of an act of self-discipline by means of certain abstinences. Contrasting these regulations with those of an earlier period, we should bear in mind that in cases like those of Samson or Samuel and the Nazirites referred to in Am $2^{11f.}$ we have no evidence to assure us that the vow was actually taken, though Hannah herself makes a vow before the birth of Samuel, and this would seem to involve the offspring; so, similarly, a prophet (like Jeremiah) might be sanctified from the womb (cf. Jer 1^5 with Jg 13^5).

(2) *The duration of the Naziriteship.*—When we compare the data at our disposal, two clear facts emerge, viz. (*a*) the existence of the Nazirite for life, and, whether synchronously or otherwise, (*b*) that of the Nazirite for a limited period. It seems probable, on the whole, as we balance the evidence, that in the days before the Exile the Naziriteship was of a permanent, life-long character. Samson was a Nazirite for life (Jg $13^{5.\ 7}$), and Samuel (though the case is not precisely parallel) remained unshorn all his days. In this connexion the passage in Amos ($2^{11f.}$) is important and would appear to support this view, for the Nazirites are placed presumably on the same footing as the prophets who assume their office as the result not of a vow but of a divine call, and the character of the office is, therefore, of permanent obligation.

When we pass to post-Exilic days, the inference is that Naziriteship was of a temporary character. The evidence for this must be sought in Maccabees, in Josephus, and in the Mishnah (*Nazir*). We read in 1 Mac 3^{49} of certain Nazirites who had 'accomplished their days' (ἐπλήρωσαν τὰς ἡμέρας), which clearly indicates a terminable period. Josephus (cf. *Ant.* IV. iv. 4, XIX. vi. 1) speaks of an order of Agrippa requiring that *many* of the Nazirites were to have their heads shorn—passages which indicate the numerical extent of the institution as well as the temporary character of the vow, and the fact that it was a customary practice of benevolence to defray the expenses of the offerings of persons who were under the obligation of the vow of Naziriteship. And with this we should compare the case alluded to in Ac $21^{23ff.}$, when St. Paul was at charges for the four men who had a vow upon them; the character of the latter vow was analogous to that of the Nazirites, and may have been 'allowed to Jews of the Dispersion as a substitute for the strictly legal vow' (*HDB* iii. 500[b]). From the treatise *Nazir* in the Mishnah, it is probable that temporary Naziriteship was common in later Jewish history.

In the later Jewish period and in Christian times we cannot be certain of any life-long Naziriteship. The case of St. John Baptist is not strictly to the point, as it lacks the principal characteristic mark of Naziriteship, viz. the growth of the hair. Eusebius (*HE* II. xxiii. 4–6) mentions Hegesippus's description of James the Lord's brother. Both these cases resembled the Nazirites, but represent merely a part of their ascetic life; they were probably both permanent ascetics; the early Nazirites were not, however, ascetics, as can be inferred from the case of Samson. It is doubtful, as Gray points out (*JThSt* i. [1900] 204, 202 f.), whether the regulations in later Judaism (as in *Nazir*) were called forth by the actualities of life or are to be attributed to the speculative legalism of the Rabbis. He inclines to the view that in early Jewish history Naziriteship was of a permanent character; after the Exile and down to the Fall of Jerusalem temporary Nazirites were numerous; the cases of the permanent Nazirite at this period were rare, if they existed at all.

(3) *The treatment of the hair.*—Robertson Smith (*Religion of the Semites*[2], p. 324) points out that the hair 'is regarded by primitive peoples as a living and important part of the body, and as such is the object of many taboos and superstitions'; he also shows that the principles underlying the offering of hair and the offering of blood are of a similar character; sometimes the hair is cut off in mourning, sometimes it is offered at the funeral pyre, sometimes it is made as an initiatory offering on the attainment of manhood or womanhood, when the offerer is admitted into full religious and social status, and sometimes on the occasion of pilgrimages for safe preservation, or in the assumption of a vow to secure the divine aid in times of sickness or other misfortune. As in the case of the offering of blood, so here a bond of union is established between the offerer and his god, or between the living and the dead.

The growth of the hair seems to be the most essential characteristic of the Nazirite vow, common to both forms of Naziriteship, but obviously there is a difference between the two: in the case of the temporary Nazirite, the hair becomes, at the close of the period of the vow, an offering; in the case of the life-long Nazirite, this would, of course, not apply. The important thing to bear in mind is that the hair, whether it is cut off or remains unpolled, is part of the personality of the individual. If this is so, then it follows that the hair, representing a man's personality, is (like the blood) a suitable sacrifice to the deity, and, as it represents the man's power and strength, it must be preserved inviolable and 'consecrated.'

(4) *Avoidance of pollution by contact with a dead body.*—The regulation in Nu 6 is, of course, applicable only to the temporary Nazirite, for in his case the period of the vow could be recommenced. It would be inapplicable to the permanent Nazirite. Samson's life, *e.g.*, was inconsistent with this regulation. The Rabbis saw this difficulty, and solved

it by practically placing Samson in a class by himself: a Nazirite of the Samson type must never cut his hair, and, if he contracts defilement by contact with a corpse, he does not bring the usual offering in such cases (אינו מביא קרבן טומאה). Samuel, too, it should be observed, must have suffered pollution when he hewed Agag in pieces (1 S 15^{33}).

(5) *Abstinence from all products of the vine and from all intoxicants.*—There may have been a prejudice in favour of this from the nomadic tendencies of ancient Israel. There is no evidence to show that it was a permanent element in Naziriteship. The case of Samson shows that no such abstinence was practised by him, and in the case of Samuel it is clear that he was present on several festal and convivial occasions, when the fruit of the vine would ordinarily have been used. The general conclusions on the subject of Naziriteship are helpfully summarized by Gray (*JThSt* i. 210 f.) and are mainly as follows.

The practice of leaving the hair unshorn is based on primitive belief and practice. The devotees of Jahweh in the 10th cent. left their hair unshorn in token of their devotion. In the 8th cent. the Nazirites were a familiar class of sacred persons in some respects resembling the prophets. Later, the Nazirites took a vow upon themselves for a short period, and at the end made an offering of their hair and presented certain animal sacrifices as well. These changes may be accounted for by the fact that vows were commonly taken in early times, and certain abstinences were observed at the same time. In some cases the hair was suffered to grow uncut, and at the close of the period of the vow it was offered sacrificially. On account of this treatment of the hair the term 'Nazirite,' originally used of permanent religious devotees, was extended to persons under a vow. But at what period it is impossible to determine. It may have been when the secondary sense of the term 'Nazirite' (a person with unshorn hair) exceeded in prominence the primary sense (a devotee); and this had certainly taken place by the 6th cent. B.C., as is shown by the metaphorical use of the root in Lv $25^{5.\ 11}$.

4. Nazarene and Nazoræan.—Elucidation of this subject, requiring minute technical consideration, should be sought in two recent contributions of modern scholars, E. A. Abbott, *Miscellanea Evangelica* (I.), Cambridge, 1913, and F. C. Burkitt, 'Syriac Forms of New Testament Names' in *Proc. Brit. Acad.*, 1911–12, p. 392 ff. The latter seeks to show that the Gr. ζ is rarely the equivalent of the Sem. צ, and therefore *Ναζωραῖος* cannot mean a native of נצרת, but must be connected with נזיר and the Nazirite vow. He also suggests, rather as a counsel of despair, owing to the 'ordinary view of Nazareth' being 'unproved and unsatisfactory,' that Nazareth has arisen by a literary error, and that the real name of our Lord's home was *Χοραζεὶν*, not *Ναζαρέθ*. There is much more to be said in favour of his views as to the historical position of *Χοραζεὶν* and *Ναζαρέθ* than for those referring to the relation of the Greek and Semitic letters, as it would appear that there are too many exceptions to the rule which he notices in respect of ζ and צ for it to be safe to base any definite conclusion upon it.

In Abbott's minute discussion of many technical difficulties in the words 'Nazarene' and 'Nazoræan,' the opening paragraph will be sufficient to show his line of argument:

'In this Chapter it will be argued that (i.) "*Nazarene*," meaning a man of Nazareth, and (ii.) "*Nazoraean*," meaning the *Nêtzer* or Rod of Jesse mentioned by Isaiah, were probably interchanged by a play on the two words; so that the populace, acclaiming Jesus as the Lifegiver and Healer, altered "Jesus the Nazarene," into "Jesus the Nazoraean." To state the theory more exactly, we should say that they called Him Jesus the Nêtzer, or the Na(t)zoraean, partly because there was a pre-existing belief that the Messiah would be the Nêtzer, and partly because they vaguely felt what Matthew ventured definitely to express, that His residence from childhood onward in Nazareth had been ordained to fulfil the prophecy "He shall be called *Nazoraean* (i.e. *Nêtzer*)."'

LITERATURE.—J. von Grill, in *JPTh* vi. [1880] 645 ff.; G. B. Gray, *ICC*, 'Numbers,' Edinburgh, 1903, and specially in *JThSt* i. [1900] 201 ff. (best account in English); S. R. Driver, *Camb. Bible*, 'Joel and Amos,' Cambridge, 1897; G. F. Moore, *ICC*, 'Judges,' Edinburgh, 1895; G. A. Cooke, *Camb. Bible*, 'Judges,' Cambridge, 1913; E. A. Edghill, 'Amos,' in *Westminster Com.*, London, 1914; G. W. Wade, *OT History*, do. 1901; W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*^{2}, do. 1894; *GB*^{3}, pt. ii., *Taboo*, do. 1911, pp. 252–287; Tractate *Nazir* in Mishnah: Philo, *de Victimis*, xii.; J. Spencer, *de Legibus Hebræorum*, Cambridge, 1685, bk. iii. ch. vi. sect. i. and ii. pp. 583–594; *HDB*, *s.v.* 'Nazirite' (full lit.); *EBi*, *s.v.* 'Nazirite.'

S. M. COOKE.

NECESSITARIANISM.—See LIBERTARIANISM AND NECESSITARIANISM.

NECESSITY.—See FATE, LIBERTARIANISM AND NECESSITARIANISM.

NECROMANCY.—See DIVINATION, MAGIC.

NEEDS.—The conception of needs is a recent one in theology and is not yet clearly defined. It arose in apologetical literature in the endeavour to justify religious beliefs and practices by their supposed satisfaction of needs. As no attempt has so far been made to elucidate the idea or to investigate what are rightly included in human needs, much superficial writing has confused the issues. Whatever the degree of validity of this form of argument, the nature of the needs ought to be established before individual beliefs are referred to them.

'Needs' is essentially a metaphysical conception, but, as such, it must have some relation to psychological facts. Psychology talks of 'conative tendencies' (G. F. Stout, *Manual of Psychology*^{3}, London, 1913, p. 121), which form the active factor in consciousness, in its endeavour to realize certain aims in relation to the objective world. Needs lie behind these conative tendencies, of which they are the source and in which they first become evident. All activity involves a relation of subject and object, and the nature of the activity will depend on that of the subject, and specifically on its needs. Subjective needs give rise to activity exerted upon the objective world. Metaphysically, it might also be urged that needs are what they are because of the ultimate nature of the objective side of reality, since only thus would there be a real unity of the subjective and objective aspects of existence.

Some of the errors in the use of the argument have arisen from a failure to distinguish between needs and desires. The former must be conceived as wants, without the satisfaction of which the subject of them is imperfect. A perfect being has no needs; human needs in their totality imply an ideal of human perfection. The presence of error and sin in human experience shows that some conative tendencies turn towards ends other than those involved in perfection. Desires, as distinct from impulses, are conative tendencies defined by the presence of an idea of the aim. Needs express themselves in desires, but not all desires are the expression of needs, for a person may desire what is in opposition to his needs. The distinction is most clear in reference to the physical: men may desire kinds and quantities of food, drink, rest, exercise, opposed to what is physically requisite. As with the physical, so with the spiritual. Some of the general characteristics differentiating needs from mere desires may be stated briefly. Desire is always conscious and may be good or bad, *i.e.* it may be for something not related to true well-

being, and may even be detrimental to it. The distinction of good and bad is not applicable to needs; and individuals or even a whole race may have needs of which they have no conscious knowledge. 'In even savage bosoms, there are longings, yearnings, strivings, for the good they comprehend not' (Longfellow, *Hiawatha*, Introd.). A desire may be modified or deliberately and entirely suppressed without satisfaction; it may be in the highest degree capricious and is often transient. Needs continue until completely satisfied or until the extinction of the subject of them; they can be modified only by partial satisfaction. Desires are based upon some actual previous experience, while needs exist prior to any specific experience. Mere desires, therefore, generally have an individual and temporary character, while needs express themselves rather as generic appetites or as definite tendencies to function, having an essential relation to the permanent nature of the subject experiencing them, so that their satisfaction is fundamental to the attainment of the ideal. A desire is often for what one thinks one needs; for consciousness of the nature of needs may come only with the success or failure of the activity that is rooted in them.

The absence of any consensus of opinion as to the nature of needs is chiefly due to the neglect of their study and to the necessity of distinguishing them from their form of expression, which depends not only on the stage to which thought and language have evolved, but also on the adequacy and accuracy of the analysis implied in their expression. Different races and individuals at the same time, and the same race and individuals at different times, have held diverse and even contradictory beliefs, and these appear to involve diverse and contradictory needs. The solution of the difficulty of apparent contradiction must be sought in the indication of faulty analysis and expression. Allowance must also be made for human development, for with the satisfaction of some needs others become clearer, and through the total or partial satisfaction of the latter further advance is made. Historical and comparative studies should seek for evidence of greater comprehensiveness and consistency in conative tendencies, beliefs, and practices. Consciousness of needs and what is offered to satisfy them should, in the language of Bergson (*L'Évolution créatrice*[3], Paris, 1907, p. 399), be 'in process of being adapted to each other and making towards final rest in a common form.'

Needs may be classified either as physical and spiritual or as physical, æsthetical, intellectual, moral, and religious; human perfection demands the satisfaction of all. The present discussion is limited to moral and religious needs. The reality and universality of the latter are now rarely denied, even though some may say with Spencer:

'Religious creeds, which in one way or other occupy the sphere [life and mind] that rational interpretation seeks to occupy and fails, and fails the more the more it seeks, I have come to regard with a sympathy based on community of need' (*Autobiography*, London, 1904, ii. 471).

'Men will not rest in peace until they have a Faith; they cannot consent to forego a religious sense of duty and reverence' (F. Harrison, *Philosophy of Common Sense*, London, 1907, p. 427).

Religious needs may be studied directly, by introspection and psychological analysis, or indirectly, in the historical and comparative study of religious beliefs and practices—*i.e.* by a consideration of the methods which men have taken to satisfy needs, and the degree in which such satisfaction has been real and enduring. Though religious rites and doctrines are of the most diverse character and in the course of history have undergone innumerable changes, it does not follow that the underlying needs are different. Evidence shows that the consciousness of religious needs and the capacity for satisfying them are subject to development. Though some needs are revealed by the persistent elements in religious experience, the factors which differentiate religions are also of fundamental importance, for in them lie the results of evolution and the grounds of superiority. The attitudes of primitive races and times must be considered from the point of view of more advanced peoples; and the moral and religious needs of the latter must themselves be estimated with reference to those individuals who have been more or less generally recognized as the highest religious characters of the community or of humanity as a whole. For needs of a higher kind have been brought to light and partly or entirely satisfied by religious saints and moral teachers. Capricious and temporary desires have no real and abiding effect on the evolution of religion. Most sociological studies of religion (see, *e.g.*, E. Durkheim, *Les Formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse*, Paris, 1912) are vitiated by the assumption that it is to be best understood by the consideration of the common denominator of religions. Yet, where the influence of ideals is so great as in morality and religion, neglect of the higher forms seriously limits the trustworthiness and diminishes the value of conclusions respecting the lower and more primitive forms. The highest needs are present from the beginning; one might say of them what J. F. Ferrier says of principles:

'They have influence and indeed operate largely and powerfully long before they come to the surface of human thought and are articulately expounded' (*Institute of Metaphysic*, Edinburgh, 1854, p. 13).

But if, on the one hand, changes in the consciousness of needs lead to modifications of religious doctrines and practices, on the other hand, changes in the latter may bring about clearer consciousness of the former. The process of religious and moral evolution is made possible by man being at once an individual mind and a member of a social group. The influence of the social environment tends to make the individual conscious of his needs; but the effect of society does not always make for progress, since doctrines accepted by men through social pressure may lead them to fancy that they have real needs corresponding to these doctrines, which, if false, will thus hinder the religious life of the individual. What appear to be religious needs may only be temporarily acquired tendencies due to beliefs adopted as a result of traditional and ecclesiastical forces, as, *e.g.*, the supposition of needs to which many have been led by unethical ideas of salvation. Up to a certain point, however, history and religious organizations aid the individual in understanding and appeasing his needs; and, if doctrines can be shown on independent grounds to be true, their acceptance will lead to development.

When we come to the actual nature of religious needs, the naturalistic theories that reduce religion and morality to mere means must be declared inadequate. H. R. Marshall (*Instinct and Reason*, New York, 1898, p. 247 ff.) regards religion as simply serving a valuable function in the biological evolution of the human race, leading to the suppression 'of the force of individualistic elemental impulse' in favour of something higher. B. Kidd (*Social Evolution*, London, 1894, p. 97 ff.) similarly thinks of it as having its essential value in restraining the individual for the biological future of society. E. Metchnikoff (*The Nature of Man*, Eng. tr., London, 1903, p. 151) interprets the desire for immortality merely as the physical impulse to go on living. In contrast with all such theories, one of the most important and constant factors in human history has been the answer which religion has given to men's undeniable metaphysical needs. Religion has also answered

needs other than those of the inquiring intellect, for religious experience is not simply a promise of satisfaction, but is itself a real satisfaction in which the soul finds actual and present peace and rest.

'If religion is a practical need, the response to it can only be a practical action. No theory would suffice. Religion is nothing if it is not the vital act by which the whole spirit seeks to save itself by attaching itself to its principle' (L. A. Sabatier, *Outlines of a Philosophy of Religion*, Eng. tr., London, 1897, p. 28).

Beliefs can, therefore, be fully understood only in relation to this wider complex attitude of the spirit. The social character of moral and religious needs is fundamental, the individual finding complete satisfaction only in an active life in a 'Kingdom of God.'

A short consideration of some prominent religious and ethical beliefs, in the light of the preceding principles, will indicate some human needs and the methods of investigation. The beliefs in God, immortality, and a way of salvation are the most important and best repay study. The most advanced conceptions must be the starting-point. All attempts to conceive of God as supra-personal end in representing Him as less than personal:

'The religious consciousness demands a personal God: no profound and enduring relation to the non-personal is practicable' (G. Wobbermin, quoted by G. Galloway, in *RThPh* iii. [1907–08] 199). 'If man is to be successful in the struggle, he must be persuaded that he is not alone, or in the language of religion, that God is with him, and that therefore nothing can be ultimately against him' (A. Seth Pringle-Pattison, *The Philosophical Radicals and other Essays*, Edinburgh and London, 1907, p. 270). R. Seeberg (*Fundamental Truths of the Christian Religion*, Eng. tr., London, 1908, lects. i., ii., xvi.) maintains that man needs a 'near firm Object' on whom to depend and a 'Goal far-off' at which to aim; and R. Wimmer (*My Struggle for Light*, London, 1903, p. 5 f.) thus expresses some of the needs which belief in God as personal satisfies: 'I must trust'; 'I must give thanks'; 'I must worship'; 'I must love . . . fully and entirely surrendering my whole heart.'

It is a sure ground for the authority of the moral conscience; it points to a source of consolation in trouble, of help towards righteousness and of hope for the future, and leads to communion in a fellowship which, unlike human relationships, gives perfect peace. The history of religion manifests a more or less consistent development of the consciousness of needs resulting finally in the belief in God as personal.

'I surveyed the history of men, and I found that all nations have felt the necessity of bringing their finite being into fellowship with the Infinite, and I found that this necessity is the basis of all phenomena of religion' (Wimmer, p. 6).

Prayer is essentially the outcome of practical need, and its evolution from a predominantly non-spiritual to an ethical and spiritual character indicates the course of development of the consciousness of needs and of the idea of God sought to satisfy them. L. R. Farnell (*Evolution of Religion*, London, 1905, p. 183) has not been able to find 'any example of a savage prayer for moral or spiritual blessings.' A higher stage is reached by the Psalmist: 'My soul thirsteth for God, the living God'; and in its latest form prayer is for conformity to the will of God. Deification in ancient times; mariolatry and saint-worship in the Middle Ages; the virtual deification of 'humanity' as a 'being immense and eternal' by the positivists; the religious attitude of Spencer towards 'the Unknowable'; the proposal of Haeckel to base a religion on the theory of neutral monism regarding the cosmic ether as a divinity; the attempt to supply an ideal for human effort and an object of worship in the conception of the Superman—are all evidence of man's need 'to enter into some vital relationship with an Other.' The question, therefore, concerns not the reality of the need, but its actual and full nature, and the character of the 'Other' and of the relationship to the 'Other' which will be a complete and rational satisfaction. A merely immanent principle never has done justice to the requirement of mankind: God must be conceived as a real objective Being. The feeling of dependence (F. Schleiermacher, *Discourses on Religion*, Eng. tr., London, 1893) implies simply the need of a superior Power. The application of the term 'Father' to this Power suggests that man has felt the need of other qualities in God. The historical and comparative study of religion gives us as the common denominator the idea of a Power (or powers) at least partially friendly; but only the notion of God as personal is adequate to the needs of which mankind has now become conscious.

The desire for immortality is not universal, and the contradictory beliefs concerning the destiny of the human spirit necessitate a careful analysis to see whether any common need may possibly underlie beliefs and hopes so different as those of immortality and extinction. An appreciation of the good in life, together with a consciousness of the inadequacy of the present, the insufficiency of the actual, leads to a demand for and expectation of greater and complete good in the future. The majority of mankind have appeared indifferent to the question of immortality; their lives have been neither predominantly good nor bad. Underlying all desire for extinction is a dissatisfaction with life as experienced; the evil in these lives impresses more than the good or the prospect of good. It should be noticed that the desire for immortality could arise only with a more or less definite conception of time. In the earliest ages of mankind men were occupied solely with the present and the very proximate future; desires and beliefs concerning the future in general appeared much later. But even the earliest men needed 'everything' to be 'good.' The common need seems therefore to be for a state completely good—desire for continuance depends on the quality of life. In Buddhism the same need is implied, though it has acquired a definitely negative form of expression. Both the conceptions, immortality and extinction, are in actual life defective in relation to the need: the former tends to the neglect of the values of the present, the latter to the neglect of those of the future. There may be no precise and exact way of stating what will satisfy a specific need, and choice must be made between several more or less imperfect statements.

Sacrificial rites and doctrines of redemption and atonement have been persistent and almost universal elements in religion.

'There is an immense *à priori* argument for the truth of some atonement, past, present, or future—some way of realising and feeling that we are at one with God—from the need, all but universally felt, in human nature, of some way of approaching God' (J. M. Wilson, *The Gospel of the Atonement*, London, 1899, p. 26).

Salvation and atonement are thus related to the consciousness of sin, which is felt to be more than a falling short of an ideal of one's individual perfection, in that, through his place in the universe, by sin man violates the purpose of God. The solidarity of man with God and the rest of reality is an indispensable condition of the need of redemption. Salvation is in part dependent on the realization of goods (physical and spiritual) through a man's own effort, and from this point of view 'my essential personal need is simply for a chance to find out my rational purpose and to do my unique duty' (J. Royce, *HJ* v. [1906–07] 744). But the need of harmony is felt most keenly in the desire for forgiveness and reconciliation, as between man and man, and men and God. The conviction of forgiveness is a real want of the penitent mind, and without its satisfaction further effort is hindered. If sin is not merely a failure to realize the ideal of personal welfare, but also a

breaking away from the cosmic purpose, it is an alienation from God, and repentance and forgiveness are necessary before the relationship of love between man and God can be felt by man again. To satisfy the need of salvation in its fullness the belief must indicate a justifiable basis for the realization of individual perfection and also an assurance of divine pardon of sin.

The attempt to justify religious beliefs by the claim that they satisfy human needs has generally been associated with a sceptical attitude concerning the capacity of thought to establish religious conceptions. In modern times Kant is the source of both tendencies. In the *Critique of the Pure Reason* he limits thought to the phenomenal, and in the *Critique of the Practical Reason* he urges the acceptance of the beliefs in God, freedom, and immortality on the ground of practical needs. Lotze, who under the influence of the Hegelianism of Weisse certainly meant to acknowledge the importance of thought in matters of religion, ultimately adopts the same attitude, basing belief upon a resolution of character in the direction of personal needs. Ritschl, who was much nearer Kant than Lotze in his view of thought, founded his apologetics entirely upon the practical valuation of Jesus in relation to the needs of the individual. Sabatier, also starting out from a Kantian view of knowledge, interprets religious beliefs and conceptions as ever-changing symbols which are justified solely by the satisfaction that they give. But, like Kant and Lotze, he gives evidence of some slight recognition that man needs a unity and harmony of his intellect and his religious and moral feelings, and, also like them, suggests that 'the synthesis will be found in a teleological consideration of the universe' (p. 82; cf. Kant, *Critique of Judgement*, tr. J. H. Bernard[2], London, 1914, and Lotze, *Microcosmus*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1894, and *Outlines of a Philosophy of Religion*, Eng. tr.[3], London, 1903). H. Höffding's critical monism varies little from the Kantian scepticism.

'If religious ideas are to have any significance at all, it can only be in serving as symbolical expressions for the feelings, the aspirations, and wishes of men in their struggle for existence' (*The Philosophy of Religion*, Eng. tr.[3], London, 1903, p. 6). The 'core' of religion consists in the 'conviction that no value perishes out of the world.' 'The nature of a being determines its needs, and its needs determine what shall have value for it.' The belief in the axiom of the conservation of value is not justified by experience, for 'there are no definite empirical values in the conservation of which we may believe' (p. 257); the axiom is thus assumed purely on 'a practical personal need' (p. 248).

W. James (*The Will to Believe*, London, 1897, *Pragmatism*, do. 1907, and *Varieties of Religious Experience*, do. 1902) and the pragmatists, also sceptical as to the capacity of the intellect, adopted the satisfaction of needs as a general principle of justification. The need of an eternal moral order is one of the deepest needs of our breast, and the notion of God guarantees an ideal order that shall be permanently preserved, and consequently our belief in God is justified. Roman Catholic modernists like G. Tyrrell represent religious doctrines as symbolical 'truths of faith' satisfying personal needs (*Through Scylla and Charybdis*, London, 1907, ch. vi.).

The manner in which the argument is used by popular writers may be seen in J. N. Figgis's *The Gospel and Human Needs* (London, 1909); he urges the acceptance of certain doctrines on the ground that man has need of what they imply, and this even in cases of doctrine concerning which it is not clear what needs they do imply. To assume, *e.g.*, that man 'needs mystery' and to base on that an argument for belief in certain doctrines is to adopt a form of apologetics as dangerous as it is simple, and, moreover, tends to obscurantism. Religious beliefs give satisfaction just in so far as they show life to have a meaning and make it more intelligible than it is without them. The attempt to disregard thought or underestimate reason in the establishment of religious conceptions is frustrated by the fact that beliefs bring satisfaction only when they are accepted as true, so that their truth cannot itself rest on their religious or moral satisfaction. It is methodologically incorrect to treat the moral and religious aspects of experience as quite separate from the rest, as in the Kantian dualism, from which these systems mostly spring. Doctrines are the work of thought, and their validity can be judged only by consideration of all the data implicated. Among these data human needs are of fundamental importance and must not be omitted; but it is before all else necessary that the nature of human needs shall be rightly understood, and that they shall not be confused with mere desires. Expectations and desires in mundane affairs are continually being disappointed by the actual course of events, and similarly mere desires in religion may not be fulfilled. But, when the nature of human needs is known with accuracy, and they are not confused with transitory wishes and merely acquired tendencies, they will be an essential factor in the justification of religious beliefs. For, unless we are to assume a radical contradiction at the heart of things, the ultimate nature of man which determines his needs must be in harmony with and form a unity with the rest of reality, which is to satisfy those needs. If the world is rational, intellectual and religious needs must be fundamentally at one.

'It seems to be easier to believe that the interpreters of human experience have lost their way than to maintain that experience itself is rent in twain, and that the fundamental conditions of human welfare are inconsistent' (H. Jones, *HJ* i. [1902–03] 252).

LITERATURE.—This has been given throughout the article.

ALBAN G. WIDGERY.

NEED-FIRE.—It is not surprising that fire, the mysterious element which was one of the greatest benefactions to the human race and which was so dangerous under certain circumstances, should have created in the mind of man a feeling of reverence and awe and should find a prominent place in his conception of the supernatural. There has been some discussion as to whether any section of mankind has been ignorant of the means of producing fire, and it has been claimed that this was a condition of the Andaman Islanders. A. E. Crawley, in art. FIRE, has set out the main facts showing the universal practices in fire-production and fire-use at the different stages of human culture, and has pointed out that, as a consequence of these practices, fire is used with more or less sacred rites by every race whose life-history has been investigated by anthropologists. There is, however, this to add to Crawley's conclusions: fire-worship has been overcharged with survivals of rite and ceremony to such an extent that it has been found impossible for most inquirers to arrive at a scientific conclusion as to its origin and development, and this confusion is reflected in all its parts.

Need-fire is only a secondary element in fire-worship, and it seems to be possible to arrive at its origin without touching the confusion incidental to the wider question. It was a reversion to primitive methods of lighting a fire, if and when a fire which was to be kept ever burning was allowed to become extinct. Now there exists throughout Europe a series of fire customs, which have been exhaustively collected and examined by J. G. Frazer (*GB*[3], Index vol., *s.v.* 'Fire'). These fire customs have a remarkable number of common features, which, equating with certain Hindu and Persian fire customs, make it fairly certain that they belong to the Aryan-speaking peoples in a

special sense. The meaning and significance of the Aryan fire customs both in origin and in survival can be ascertained only through their sociological aspect, and for this purpose it is necessary to work through the tribal organization of the Aryan peoples. This is, of course, not the place for the entire subject, but a portion of the evidence may be used for the investigation of need-fire.

The tribe, not the family, was the primary unit of the Aryan peoples, and its religious aspect was represented by the ever-burning fire. L. R. Farnell rightly considers the sanctity of the fire maintained by the tribal king as 'the source from which the public Hestia-cult of the historic period immediately descends' (*CGS* v. 351). But, except in Greece and Rome, the tribal-fire cult has in Europe given way to the house-fire cult. It followed the break-up of the tribe and led directly to the formation of the family; and this means that the break-up of the tribe was into family units.

It was at the stage when the break-up of the tribe took place that the secondary cult of need-fire became fully developed. It exists throughout Europe, and, when it is remembered that Celtic, Teutonic, Scandinavian, and even Slavic tribalism broke itself in the struggle against the Roman empire and its highly developed institutions, it seems very probable that the origin of such a custom as need-fire is sufficiently indicated. The explanation is that the destruction of the tribe meant the destruction of the tribal religion, but, just because religious ritual lasts longer in survival than social structure, we have survivals of the tribal-fire cult where no other survivals of the tribe exist.

Strange to say, the most perfect example in illustration of this point occurs in Scotland, and not in the Scandinavian north. This can be shown by two selected examples for purposes of analysis and comparison. The Scandinavian custom is as follows:

In ancient times on the 31st of Dec., a festival called *Eldbjargarmessa*, or 'feast of fire salvage,' was observed in the north, and the name is still given to 7th Jan. in Icelandic almanacs. 'The name signifies that on this day the Yule fires, which had been kept alive from Christmas day, were put out. On that day the festivities came to an end and the Christmas guests took their departure. From Tellemarken in Norway a tradition is preserved illustrative of the customs which were observed on this particular day, in the olden time. The mistress of the house entered the room, where round the fire burning on the hearth the household were seated, and took her stand before the fire, and from a bowl of beer which she carried in her hand she drank the fire's toast with this formula—

"So high my fire
But neither higher nor yet hotter."

Then the company seated on the floor drank the fire's toast in the following manner: the beer bowl was placed between their legs on the floor, and each one had to take it up with his teeth and empty it and then throw it over his head so that it came down behind him. If the bowl came down bottom upmost, the thrower's was a forfeited life and he must die within the ensuing year' (E. Magnússon, 'On an early runic Calendar found in Lapland, 1866,' in *Camb. Antiq. Soc.'s Communications*, iv. [1878] 42).

This custom gives us (*a*) the continuity of the fire during a specially religious period, (*b*) the extinction of the fire at the end of the period, (*c*) the anniversary character of the fire, (*d*) the offering to the fire by the mistress of the household, and (*e*) the divination derived from the hearth rite. All these elements are primitive in character, but do not extend beyond the stage of pure survival.

The Scottish example is the well-known Burghead custom of 'burning the clavie.'[1]

The fire is made by the sons of the original inhabitants, and every stranger is rigidly excluded from the ceremony.[2] This is a clear recognition of the blood-bond, because the early ties of relationship still hold their place against the later ties of locality. Secondly, the clavie must be lighted by a burning peat, the custom being that no form of modern lighting is allowed to approach the precincts.[1] The next point is that the smoking embers of the clavie were scattered among the assembled villagers, by whom they were eagerly caught at, and with them the fire on the cottage hearth was at once kindled.[2] The date fixed upon for the ceremony, viz. New Year's Eve (old style), is the next important element to note, it being obvious that a fire kindled on the last day of the old year, and allowed to burn into the first morning of the new year, has carried on its flame from one year to another, though actually only through one year's end into another year—a fiction which may very well stand for an original perpetual burning. And, finally, there are details of ritual in this custom. The object of the ceremony is the perambulation, with the sacred fire, of the bounds of the village and of the fishing-boats. At certain street corners a halt was made, and a brand whipped out of the clavie and hurled among the crowd. He who seized the brand was the favourite of fortune during the months of the coming new year. Afterwards the fire was carried to a small artificial promontory, where a circular heap of stones, called the 'durie,' was built up for the purpose, and the still burning clavie was placed in the hollow centre, from which it was distributed to the villagers.[3] The whole community joined in the ceremony as an act necessary to its welfare and prosperity during the year. If the bearer stumbled, it was looked upon as a dire calamity foretelling disaster to the place and certain death to the bearer in the course of the next year;[4] 'the first "lift" is an honour,' and was usually conferred upon some member of the community who had recently been married. As soon as one bearer gave signs of exhaustion, another took his place, and, should any of them meet with an accident during the journey, 'the misfortune excites no pity even among his near relatives.'[5] In the construction of the fire-pile every action is regulated by 'unwritten but unvarying laws,' one of which is that every article is borrowed, nothing bought; and, finally, there is the remarkable fact that, although the long nail which fastens the staves of the clavie is iron, and is made specially for the purpose by the village smith, the hammer used for the purpose must be a round stone.[6]

Analysis of this ceremony reveals the following details: (*a*) the fire is made by a group of men connected by a common descent, *i.e.* a kindred; (*b*) the original inhabitants of a village form the unit from which common descent is traced; (*c*) the flame for the fire is obtained in a sacred manner; (*d*) continuous life of the fire is symbolized; (*e*) the house-fire is derived from the village-fire; (*f*) the possession of an ember is the means to good fortune; (*g*) the bounds of the village have the fire carried round them; (*h*) the welfare and prosperity of the community are dependent upon the performance of the ceremony; (*i*) the bearers of the fire are honoured; (*j*) stone-age implements are used.

The element of the need-fire is to be found in item (*c*) of this analysis, and by symbolism it takes the place of the older condition of ever-burning, item (*d*). This is the most perfect example of the fire ritual of Europe in survival, and, when we compare other examples with it, the several stages of decadence are revealed, beginning with the need-fire prepared by friction and ending in the bonfire constructed by modern methods, but still retaining here and there relics of ancient ritual (*Report of British Association*, Liverpool Meeting, 1896, p. 650). Altogether it seems that need-fire may be defined as the perpetuation by primitive methods of a rite which became important when the ever-burning fire of the tribe ceased to exist as the tribe ceased to exist, and which thus carries through survivals the sacred formalism of an earlier ritual.

LITERATURE.—This is quoted throughout the article.

LAURENCE GOMME.

NEGATION. — Negation is a relative term which gets a definite meaning only when one can name or define of what, in a given case, something is the negation. In other words, there can be negation purely in general or negation which has no definite corresponding object of which it is the negation. Any particular case of negation has its own determinate corresponding object.

[1] The clavie is made of the lower half of an empty tar barrel nailed to a stout pole, and supported by staves taken from a herring cask. The remaining staves are used as fuel for the clavie.

[2] *FLJ* vii. [1889] 12.

[1] *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* x. [1861] 649.

[2] *FLJ* vii. 12.

[3] *Ib.*

[4] *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* x. 649.

[5] *FLJ* vii. 12 f.

[6] *Ib.* p. 13.

1. Illustrations of various kinds of negation.—(1) In the opening words of Hamlet's soliloquy, 'To be or not to be; that is the question,' 'not to be' involves a negation of 'to be'; both the expressions 'to be' and 'not to be' refer to possible modes of action. 'To be,' as Hamlet explains, includes in its meaning 'to bear the ills we have'; it names a mode of action which any man who chooses to continue his life decides to adopt; 'not to be' involves a course of action—namely, committing suicide—which is treated by Hamlet as the negation of continuing to live. The commandment, 'Thou shalt not steal,' commands a course of action which is the negation of that involved in stealing. Both in Hamlet's soliloquy and in the Ten Commandments, with their familiar 'Thou shalt not,' the negation of a possible course of action is considered or is commanded.

(2) Just as courses or plans of action may be the objects of negations, the negations being themselves possible courses of action which stand in the negative relation to their objects, *i.e.* to the courses of action of which they are the negation, so propositions, judgments, or assertions may be the objects of negations, the meaning of the negation in each case being relative to its object. 'Charity seeketh not her own' is the negation of the proposition or judgment that would be expressed by omitting the word 'not' from the sentence. 'Ten is not a prime number' is a proposition which is the negation of the proposition 'Ten is a prime number.' When the object of the negation is a proposition, the proposition and its corresponding negation stand in the logical relation of contradiction.

(3) Negations may also have as their objects kinds or classes of beings, real or ideal. In the classes 'believer' and 'not-believer,' and in the kinds of beings distinguished as 'rational' and 'not-rational,' the second term in each expression is a negative term whose object of negation is the first term.

(4) Lastly, the object of a negation may be a highly general type, grade, or state of being, to which definable characters belong or are attributed. Negations of this kind may, of course, be regarded as belonging to the previous class. But the importance of the problems or ideas involved in them may make it worth while to regard at least some of them as forming, for certain purposes, a type by themselves.

T. Harper, in *The Metaphysics of the School* (i. 322 f.), maintains that 'evil is not a pure negation.' He expounds this thesis by saying that 'evil is a *privation*,' and by explaining what he means by privation. 'Privation,' in so far like 'negation,' is a relative term (see below, p. 267). But the use of the word 'negation' by Harper, and by many other theologians and metaphysicians in cases of analogous complexity, is distinct from the usage which the negation of propositions or classes brings to our minds, so that it will be convenient to speak of such negations as forming a type by themselves.

In a well-known passage of *The Imitation of Christ* of Thomas à Kempis the adoring subject begins by praying that he may adore God, and love God, 'above' all created objects. He then enumerates, in an eloquent series, glories and powers, both of this world and of the next, accompanying each mention of some wonder, or sweetness, or beauty of the created world by the prefixed phrase 'above all.' The passage culminates in the words, 'Above all that Thou art not, O my God.'

In this case God is explicitly regarded as in some sense the negation of the whole created world, and especially of all that is most wonderful and beautiful, and even good, in the noblest sense, about that world. Thus, to regard God as the negation of the finite world is a familiar and famous teaching of both practical and theoretical mystics.

A closely similar 'negative theology' is suggested by the legendary Hindu seer, Yājñavalkya, in his address to his wife, Maitreyī, when he says of the *ātman*, or self, the absolute: 'The only word concerning the self is "Neti, Neti," "It is not so, it is not so"' (*SBE* xv. [1900] 185). Yājñavalkya here asserts that his absolute can be defined only by means of negations. The negations, in this case, as in the case of *The Imitation of Christ*, make the absolute itself a negation of 'all that Thou art not,' *i.e.* of everything finite and relative. There is, of course, a decided distinction between the actual doctrine for which Yājñavalkya and à Kempis are contending; but they are both emphasizing an aspect of their doctrine which constitutes a sort of 'negative theology.' When the absolute is thus defined as a negation, the object of the negation being the finite world or the empirical facts and significance of the finite world, the negation differs, historically at least, and in some important respects both logically and metaphysically, from the ordinary negation of the logical text-books, whose object is a class or a kind of being.

2. The negative relation as a purely logical relation; the meaning of 'not.'—Despite the variety of the foregoing instances, it is plain that, in every negation, a characteristic relation is concerned, viz. that which is naturally expressed in our ordinary language by the particles 'not' and 'no.' If a course of action is proposed or commanded, a dissenting voluntary agent may respond, 'I will not,' or simply 'No.' To respond in this way is to propose, threaten, or promise an alternative course of action which is the negation of the original proposal, and which may be said to stand in the not-relation to it. In the case of a defined class or other universal, such as the class man or the relation brother, the class not-man and the relation not-brother stand in a relation to the class man and the relation brother which furnishes a new instance of the meaning of the word 'not' and of the general meaning of the negative relation.

The not-relation is one of the simplest and most fundamental relations known to the human mind. For the study of logic no more important and fruitful relation is known. And none has a wider range of exemplifications in the whole realm of the experience of any rational being. Anybody who can act voluntarily is able to do so by virtue of the fact that he can also refuse to act in a case where his will is concerned; *i.e.*, a conscious voluntary action is possible only to a being who understands the meaning of 'not,' when some mode of action is its object. The importance of this understanding of the meaning of 'not' for the development of the will is exemplified in the life of childhood.

In one of the psychological efforts to observe and record the vocabulary of a young child who had recently begun to speak fluently it was noted that the two words which he most frequently used in the course of a day's speech were, first, the name that he happened to employ in speaking of himself and, secondly, some word of the nature of 'no' or 'not,' used to express, not necessarily disobedient refusal, but objection, or unwillingness, or a preference and desire standing in some sort of negative contrast to the modes of action which the questions or the proposals of his elders or his playmates suggested. The vocabularies of individual children vary, of course, very widely, both in the words used and in the frequency with which they are used; but we cannot doubt how significant an advance is involved for the whole voluntary life of the child in his power to understand and use the expressions for 'no' and 'not.'

The nature of the not-relation may be most readily approached by considering the relation between a proposition and its contradictory. These are so related that, if either of them is true, the other is false, while, if either is false, the other is true; they are also so related that both of them are not true at the same time and in the same sense, while, with suitable definition of time and of sense, one of them must be true. The not-relation between two propositions is thus strictly mutual or symmetrical; *i.e.*, if the proposition P is the

negation of the proposition Q, the proposition Q is the negation of the proposition P, and conversely. Further, the relation is what may be called, in a terminology favoured by a French logician, M. Couturat, 'bi-univocal'; *i.e.*, a given proposition P cannot possess two negations, so that, if the proposition Q contradicts the proposition P, and the proposition X also contradicts the proposition P, Q and X are strictly and formally equivalent propositions. In the same way, a given proposition P is the negation of what is, essentially, one and the same proposition. Thus a proposition has only one negation, and is essentially the negation of only one proposition. Obviously connected with this fact is the familiar principle that the negation of the negation of a proposition is equivalent to the proposition itself; or, as is often said, a double negation is equivalent to a simple affirmation.

Closely bound up with the foregoing is a fact which has caused, in its relation to more complex problems, a good deal of difficulty, both for philosophers and for common sense—that, from the purely logical point of view, there is no distinct class of propositions that are essentially affirmative, and thereby opposed to or to be distinguished from a class of propositions that are essentially negative. There are excellent reasons for distinguishing between affirmative and negative propositions so soon as we lay stress upon well-known empirical complexities and philosophically important unions of ideas, which interest us when we are uniting the study of different propositions in some connected discourse. But, apart from such complications and from the purely logical point of view, every proposition is the negation of its own negation. So far as the judgments of human subjects are concerned, whoever affirms any proposition to be true thereby contradicts the opinion of whatever opponent may deny the original assertion. It is vain, therefore, to say, 'For my part, I prefer to avoid negations and to confine myself to such positive affirmations as I can make'; it is vain to attempt to confine oneself to 'merely affirmative' thinking; for to affirm is to deny the contradictory of whatever one affirms. It would be equally vain for one, in a sceptical mood, to declare that his favourite attitude is that of negation or of denial; for whoever denies any proposition affirms its contradictory, so that every denial is, in its logical meaning, an affirmation. In brief, it is essential to the whole business of thinking that propositions and the judgments which affirm or deny them go in pairs of contradictories — every proposition having its unique contradictory, of which, in turn, it is the unique contradictory. Hence, when Mephistopheles declares that he is 'der Geist, der stets verneint,' he asserts, from a logical point of view, precisely what is true of anybody who makes any assertions whatever.

In view of this indubitable logical fact, many very natural and important philosophical questions arise as to why affirmation and denial, as they occur in our actual thinking and discourse, appear to involve such strongly contrasted attitudes of mind, and why we regard those whose most noticeable or most usual attitude is that of affirmation as different in such important and practically potent ways from those whose habits and preferences emphasize or prefer negation. This is a problem which it is perfectly fair to consider on its merits. Despite the fact that every judgment is both positive and negative, we all actually do observe what makes us clearly distinguish, in some sense, affirming and denying as standing for decidedly different frames and attitudes of mind or states of knowledge. The attitude of Mephistopheles, that of denial, we all regard as different from the attitude which many of us prefer, that of affirmation.

This problem becomes still more important when we consider the philosophical types of negation exemplified in *The Imitation of Christ* and the assertions of Yājñavalkya. The worshipper in *The Imitation of Christ* adores a God whose divinity is defined in terms of a divine negation of the created world; the seer of the Hindu *Upaniṣad* tells of a self whose being consists in its negation of our finite distinctions. Such attitudes involve mainly negative types of thinking. Most of us, for comparatively good reasons, prefer a more positive or affirmative attitude in our assertions about both ethical and metaphysical matters. But, if every affirmation is *ipso facto*, from the logical point of view, a negation, since judgments, as well as propositions, essentially go in pairs of contradictories, how comes it that we so naturally and sharply oppose affirmative and negative thinking, regard Mephistopheles as engaged in some conceivable, although also diabolical, task, and find the Hindu mystic, as we often say, 'too negative'? For a suggestion as to the solution of this problem see below, p. 269 f.

We may sum up by saying that the relation to its object for which the term 'negation' stands is, from a purely logical point of view, and apart from various empirical and philosophically important complications, one which is 'bi-univocal,' or, as it is also called, a 'one-one relation,' and perfectly symmetrical. In the case of propositions the logical truth is that every proposition has its contradictory, while of two contradictories one must be true, the other false; and the contradictory of the contradictory of a given proposition P is precisely equivalent to the proposition P itself. For similar purely logical reasons negation, as applied to acts and modes of action, gives precisely analogous results: to every mode of action is opposed its contradictory mode of action. Of two contradictory modes of action, one who has the power to choose may put into execution the one mode; but he must choose one of the two, and he cannot choose both. One who has the opportunity and the power of choice may either steal or not steal. But one of the two he must choose. He cannot voluntarily refrain from both. Only the loss of his opportunity or of his power of voluntary choice can relieve him from being voluntarily in the position of one who steals or one who does not steal.

In the case of acts and modes of action the same complications arise as in the case of propositions and judgments. From the logical point of view, there are no modes of action which are essentially positive, and none which are essentially negative. If a man says, in answer to the request to work in the vineyard, 'I go not,' his act is, logically speaking, both affirmative and negative. He negates the request 'Go work'; he takes the contradictory, but for that very reason also distinctly affirmative, attitude of positively refusing to work. No one capable of voluntary choice and possessed of the opportunity for action can undertake to do anything without thereby refusing or negating the plan of not undertaking to do that same thing. For the same reason, no voluntary agent can refuse an act without positively expressing the will not to do that act.

Yet, for all of us, positive and negative commands seem, under ordinary circumstances, to involve a distinctly different attitude of will and of mind. The contrast between the negative mode of commands illustrated by the Ten Commandments and the positive attitudes of the will expressed in the Sayings which tradition attributes to Christ has

furnished a very frequent and important topic for both ethical and theological comment. 'Tell the children, in a persuasive way, what to do; but do not insist upon telling them what not to do, unless you are obliged to do so' is, at the present time, familiar pedagogical advice. It is fair to ask why the purely logical point of view, which inevitably regards negation as a symmetrical relation, seems to stand in such momentous contrast to what both common sense and experience, ethical as well as religious, so persistently exemplify.

In the case of logical classes the not-relation takes a form which we cannot here study in detail. In briefest summary, we may say that, when two terms are related as X and Not-X, the meaning of the terms is such that everything in the so-called universe of discourse to which one is confining his consideration is either X or Not-X, while nothing is both X and Not-X; the relation of negation here preserves, from the point of view of pure logic, its character as a symmetrical and 'bi-univocal' relation. Any term X which has a determinate range of application has one, and one only, corresponding negative term, or negation of X. In turn, the negative of the negative of X is the term X itself. From this point of view, pure logic, so far as we yet see, has no reason to recognize the existence of any terms except those which are essentially and equally both positive and negative terms. If a term X has a determinate meaning, then, *ipso facto*, the term Not-X has a determinate meaning. The negative of the negative of X is once more X itself. Each of these terms is the negative of the other. Each is also a positive term in so far as it is the negation of its own negation. Yet common sense and ordinary experience sharply distinguish purely negative terms, or terms that are defined by negation, from terms that are positive. The reason for this difference between the logical point of view and that of common sense needs a little further explanation. We may close this elementary logical survey of the nature of the not-relation by mentioning the fact that, despite the baffling complications and abstractions with which this elementary study is beset, the not-relation remains one of the most momentous of all relations for the organization not only of all the exact sciences, but of all the systematic study of human experience and of all our knowledge concerning the order of the world and our own conduct (see, further, art. ORDER). If negation, considered in these formal aspects, seems barren and abstract we may assert—dogmatically enough at this stage of our inquiry—what more careful research would make clear in great detail: 'Without negation no order.' But order is not only 'heaven's first law'; it is that upon which science and righteousness, insight and ethics, equally depend.

3. Unsymmetrical relations associated with the not-relation: privation, affirmation, positive attitudes of will, and modes of knowledge.—In experience, in forming our plans of conduct and defining the topic of our discourse, the not-relation comes to appear, and in certain respects actually to be, unsymmetrical, so that there arises a significant distinction between positive, or constructive, and more purely negative modes of expression, of the description of objects, or of the formation of our plans of action. This is due to the fact that we very seldom consider the not-relation merely by itself. Both in experience and in action, both in our thoughts about things and in our observations of the real world, we find reasons for associating the not-relation with other relations, such, *e.g.*, as are suggested by the manifold contrasts and differences which appear in our experience, and which interest both our thought and our will. When the not-relation is associated with other relations, so that we are dealing with an object P which is in certain respects to be treated as the negation of Q, while, at the same time P and Q have certain interesting differences to which we also attend, or are conceived by us under the limitations which are imposed upon us by the facts of life or by the interests of our minds, we are often able to say that only in a certain respect is P the negation of Q, or that P and Q are each the negation of the other with respect to, or within, a certain field, under the limitations of a certain discourse, or from a certain point of view. At the same time P and Q may also be in other relations—which are not wholly symmetrical. It is under such conditions that we are led to make use of expressions such as that 'P is not the mere negation, but the privation, or the absence of Q,' or that the meaning of P implies that P expresses a certain need or want directed towards the object Q, which is then, precisely as the object of this need or want, in an unsymmetrical relation to P.

Further, it is very often the case that, in considering P and Q, we are actually limiting ourselves, our discourse, our plans of action, or our definitions to considerations and distinctions that arise within some limited field, or from the point of view of some special interest of our life, thoughts, or modes of classifying objects. We may be conscious of this limitation, or it may be merely tacit or ill-defined, or even unconscious. Within the limited field in which we are considering the distinction between P and Q, the relation between them may be or may appear to be the not-relation. Any one of very numerous considerations associated with this limitation of our point of view, our field of discourse, or our plans of action may involve relations between P and Q which are unsymmetrical, so that, as in the case of the instances of privation mentioned above, the relation between P and Q may be regarded as not symmetrical, and sometimes as associated with relations that involve objects distinct from both P and Q, with which P and Q stand in still further interesting relations. In such cases the not-relation, symmetrical and dyadic as it is, may be or may appear to be not the only relation with which we are actually concerned. Therefore, side by side with the not-relation, we may be obliged to note the existence of certain other relations in which P and Q also stand, relations triadic, tetradic, and, in fact, polyadic, with various degrees of complexity. Thus, by association with other relations, what is, from a certain point of view or in certain respects, to be regarded as the not-relation between P and Q comes to appear in other respects no longer symmetrical, and frequently no longer dyadic.

So complex are the situations and relations which under such circumstances may arise that we do well here to help ourselves by means of examples, beginning with comparatively simple instances, in order to show that most of the philosophical and empirical problems about the nature and function of negation are principally due to the fact that the conditions for negation seldom arise either in life or in science without being associated with the conditions which involve other relations than the not-relation. To unravel the tangle which this union of negation with other relations frequently involves is one of the most delicate and difficult problems of logical analysis. We can here give only the most elementary and general indications of the way in which this unravelling is to be attempted.

In Lewis Carroll's *Hunting of the Snark* the Barrister dreams that the Snark is 'defending the pig on the charge of deserting his sty.' In one of his pleas the Snark says: 'The charge of

Insolvency fails, it is clear, if you grant the plea, "Never indebted." The point of view from which 'insolvency' can very naturally be regarded as the negation of solvency involves what constitutes—to borrow the well-known phrase used by de Morgan—a 'limited universe of discourse.' In this universe of discourse the distinction between solvency and insolvency arises; the classes 'solvent' and 'insolvent' appear as classes standing each in the not-relation to the other, and one who belongs to this universe is either solvent or insolvent, while he cannot be both. The relation between solvent and insolvent is, so far, a symmetrical one; each of the terms is the negative of the other; there is no reason to call either the essentially positive term, while the other is to be viewed as essentially negative.

The plea of the Snark is founded upon bringing to our consciousness, in a somewhat confused way, the fact that the universe of discourse whose beings are classified as solvent and insolvent is a universe of discourse of beings who are, or at some time have been, debtors, when these beings are considered with reference to the question whether they are, were, or will be able or unable to pay their debts when these debts are, were, or will be due. One who has never belonged to this universe of discourse, simply because he has never contracted a debt, certainly does not belong, so the Snark asserts, to the class of insolvent debtors, whatever else may be said about him, or whatever else is the class in which he ought to be placed. Of this limitation, whereby the universe of discourse of solvent and insolvent beings is characterized, we may be unconscious, and therefore each of the classes 'solvent' and 'insolvent' appears to us as the negation of the other. That is why the relation is, in so far, treated as merely a not-relation.

If we become, as the Snark apparently wishes his listeners in the 'Shadowy Court' of the Barrister's dream to become, aware of what this limitation is, the classes 'solvent' and 'insolvent' appear in a somewhat different light. For, as even the Barrister becomes at least dimly aware, if the classes 'solvent' and 'insolvent' are classes of debtors, considered with reference to their power to pay their debts at maturity, they differ in a respect which involves other relations than the not-relation. A solvent differs from an insolvent debtor in that he possesses a power to pay at maturity. This power, if he is an honest man, he intends and probably expects to possess in due time. If he discovers that he no longer possesses it, he fails from inability to accomplish what he presumably wants to accomplish. His need is to be, if possible, solvent. An insolvent debtor is thus deprived of something that he needs or wants. His insolvency is therefore an instance of what has been called 'privation.' On the contrary, the solvent debtor has what, as an honest man, he intends or desires to have—the power to pay his debts. The relation between the solvent and the insolvent debtor is now no longer symmetrical. It is the relation between one who has and one who has not the object of a need or a desire.

For closely associated reasons, insolvency may conceivably be the object of what the Snark calls a 'charge.' The insolvent debtor may be haled into court, declared a bankrupt, or imprisoned as if for crime. From such perils and obligations the solvent debtor may be free. Here, again, the contrast between needs and privileges or possessions, between legal, social, or other empirical restrictions and freedom from such limitations, becomes important. The not-relation, in a universe of discourse thus limited, is no longer symmetrical. We need some other term than those of mere negation to express the relation involved. The insolvent and the solvent debtor classes are no longer each the mere negation of the other. Solvency appears as something positive, while insolvency involves want of something desirable, privation of something whose possession would constitute success.

Trivial as it is, this instance illustrates a type of relation which has its importance throughout the whole range of conduct, opinion, classification, conception, and so throughout the whole range of science, art, and human interests. Side by side with pure negation there now appears the distinction between two objects, each of which is in certain respects the negation of the other, while, at the same time, the negation arises within some limited universe of discourse. Secondly, there appears the frequent, though the not universally present, fact that such limitations of the universe of discourse are or may be associated with empirical, conventional, legal, or ethical contrasts which lead us to regard one of the two negatively related objects as the positive, the required, the superior member of the two negations. In such cases, where, within a limited universe of discourse, the relation of negation is associated with a definable or empirically obvious distinction in value, dignity, or desirableness between the two objects, we speak of one of the two negatively related objects as involving, or as constituted by, the privation of the other; one of the two appears as the positive term, the other as what the elementary text-books of logic sometimes call 'the privative term' of the negation. Sometimes this privative term is called the 'merely negative term'—an expression more familiar than enlightening, which has helped to confuse both the popular and the technical discussions of negation.

In the case of the debtor relation we obviously have, in the universe of discourse which the Snark defines in the Barrister's dream, a limited universe. This is not the only reason why the condition of insolvency seems to involve privation. It is because the debtor wants to pay his share, or because the law may put him in peril if he does not do so, that the universe of discourse of the solvent and insolvent debtors comes to be not merely a world which is classified, but a world in which solvency, as something positive, is contrasted with insolvency, as something which involves privation. Cases where other relations than those which necessarily involve contrast and classification interesting to the will, or having different value according as X or Not-X is the term emphasized, lead to unsymmetrical relations between terms, each of which is the negation of the other, are easily to be found in the exact sciences.

The whole numbers are classified into those which are prime and those which are not prime. In the universe of discourse of number, to say that ten is not a prime number is to assert the contradictory of the proposition that ten is a prime number. The limitation of the universe of discourse makes it possible to regard the prime numbers and the numbers which are not prime as in some respects unsymmetrically related. For the numbers which are not prime have factors, such that, in each case, the factors of a prime number are distinct both from the number and from unity. But the prime numbers have no such factors. Here, in so far as we are considering the purely logical character of the classification, the two classes 'prime numbers' and 'numbers not prime' are, within the universe of the numbers, negatively and symmetrically related. But the possession of factors is associated with so many other characters used in the theory of numbers, while the prime numbers (each of which initiates a new series of numbers, namely, its multiples, which from that prime number outward extend without end in order, and in their due places, throughout the series of whole numbers) have so many of their properties due to this fact, that, from what one may call a purely ordinal point of view, the distinction between the prime numbers and those which are not prime is in many respects unsymmetrical. Nobody would speak of the character of being a prime number as a privation of the character of having factors. Yet the two classes, prime and not-prime, are not merely negations of each other, within their own universe of discourse. The limitation of the universe is associated with many ordinal characters, which the prime numbers possess, and which the numbers that have factors do not possess. From the point of view of these ordinal characters, the distinction in question thus becomes unsymmetrical.

Other interesting instances of unsymmetrical relations associated with and modifying the relation of negation are furnished by the distinction between 'continuous' and 'discontinuous' lines, aggregates of points, sets or series of numbers, 'rational' and 'irrational' numbers, 'chemical elements' and 'material substances' which are not chemical elements. In all these cases, within some limited universe of discourse, a classification involving a negation appears. At the same time some more or less important unsymmetrical relations are so bound up with the not-relation that we are certainly not dealing with mere negation.

The foregoing illustrations and considerations show how, in general, affirmation and positive and constructive attitudes of will and modes of knowledge are defined. In life we always deal with limited universes of discourse. Within these limited universes distinctions arise like those between solvency and insolvency, success and failure, acceptance and refusal, winning and losing. In all such cases the contrasts become unsymmetrical, and may be associated with extremely complicated situations, such as involve triadic or polyadic relations. Under these conditions, for reasons which may be mainly practical, and which may also be of great theoretical importance in more or less exact sciences, and may be bound up with the most various enterprises and incidents of life, conduct,

and knowledge, we accept as an 'affirmative' attitude or assertion, or as a 'positive' deed or state of mind, one of two contrasted objects each of which is the negation of the other. Our reasons are of various sorts, some of which have had to serve in the foregoing as illustrations. In consequence, 'pure negation' can play no part in our concrete thinking and life, simply because it involves a merely symmetrical and logical relation between objects each of which is the negation of the other, and therefore is in a wholly symmetrical relation with the other, while there is no reason to declare one of the two negations to be the 'positive' and 'affirmative' member of the pair. It is in association with the other relations which life and experience most significantly present that negation becomes of concrete importance. When a man refuses to steal, society and the moral law are interested, not merely in the purely logical distinction between stealing and not-stealing, but also in what else the man does who does not steal.

4. The function of negation in thought and life.—In view of the distinctions which have now been illustrated, the main purpose of this article can best be accomplished by indicating the practical function which negation has in the business and conduct of life and in the work of science and philosophy.

This function is frequently defined by pointing out that what are generally called positive attitudes of mind, affirmative assertions, positive commands and exhortations, constructive thinking, and equally constructive conduct and decision are inseparable from negative attitudes, expressions, and opinions, and are implied in the latter, so that 'pure negation' is indeed impossible, while a positive attitude of mind is, in general, more fruitful and more advanced in its attainment of reasonableness than a prevailingly negative attitude.

What this article has attempted to add to the familiar philosophical lore which is thus summarized is (1) a somewhat clearer view of the general logical nature of the process of negation, and (2) an enumeration of some of the ways in which we have good reason for contrasting a prevailingly affirmative or positive way of thinking and conduct with a prevailingly negative way, and for preferring affirmation to negation in certain regions and from certain points of view, as well as for certain specific purposes.

Usually, in giving the traditional preference to affirmation over negation, those who discuss the subject have failed to recognize that, in their purely logical character, both affirmation and negation, both positive and negative modes of definition, conception, and counsel, illustrate the same fundamental logical function. This, as a purely logical function, involves what is illustrated by the not-relation in general, by pairs of terms each of which is the negation of the other, and by pairs of contradictories, whether of propositions or modes of conduct. Since the not-relation, as purely logical, is symmetrical, it seems to involve, in its essential nature, no particular reason why one of two contradictory propositions should possess a form which is superior in its fruitfulness to the other, or why, of two terms each of which is the negation of the other, one should help us to conceptions essentially more fruitful than those which the other involves.

We have now seen that the reason why the logically symmetrical not-relation becomes unsymmetrical, and furnishes a pair of terms or propositions of which one is more fruitful, more instructive, or in general more valuable than the other, lies in the fact that, in a limited universe of discourse, one of two terms each of which is the negation of the other may have a value superior to that possessed by the other, and may, in any case, call to our attention matters which have an interest not possessed by the matters brought to our attention by the negation in question. We have also seen how both the experience which lies at the basis of our classification, or which warrants our proposition, and the interest which guides our will may lead us to emphasize these distinctions between the values of two terms, modes of action, or propositions which stand to each other in the not-relation. The result of our study is therefore that, when we are considering the general value which negation is to possess for us, either in the guidance of our conduct or in the clarifying and organizing of our information, we should explicitly take account (1) of the limitations of our universe of discourse, (2) of the values and interests which guide us when we consider or set in order our knowledge of this universe or direct our conduct in dealing with it, and (3) of the sort of experience which guides us as we take account of the various not-relations in question. Once more we may be aided in this summary by a reference to some of the illustrations which we have already used.

Some one advises us to prefer a positive or affirmative mode of guiding our conduct to a prevailingly negative mode, to consider what to do rather than what not to do, to give to the children positive rather than negative counsel, not to take Mephistopheles for our model, to prefer constructive to prevailingly destructive modes of behaviour. What does such counsel practically mean? Whoever says, 'Do this,' logically speaking, counsels us not to refuse to do this, not to do the contradictory act. Thus, then, all counsel, in order to be positive, is also, in a strictly logical sense, negative; and, as we have seen, there is no such thing as purely negative counsel, as always denying, as the supposed purely Mephistophelian attitude. Nobody is purely constructive. Whoever builds the edifice destroys the original structure which existed before in the material out of which he constructs the edifice. Civilization implies a destruction of vast numbers of natural objects and processes. Whoever rears and trains the mature man destroys many of the natural tendencies and habits which, apart from training, nature would produce in the untrained child. Why, then, does one conceive of construction as something not negative? Why does one regard the affirmative attitude as something absolutely distinct from the negative attitude? Why does one prefer the positive in life, thought, and training?

The answer is, as we have seen, that we live in a limited universe of discourse, and that we wish to do so. The very conception of an absolutely unlimited universe of discourse would involve manifold logical contradictions, which are now well-known to logicians. Moreover, all that is valuable to us takes place in, and is subject to the limitation of, the universe of discourse of our present human life. Not only is this the case, but all the preciousness of life depends upon it. As experience shows us some of the limitations of this universe of discourse, it also reveals some of its values. Our ethical conceptions and distinctions give to many of these values a more rational character, but all the more reveal to us the importance of the asymmetries which our conduct both finds and prefers. We desire to live in houses. The desire has its well-known empirical foundation, and also its rational ethical justification. Constructing houses is an activity which stands in contrast with the activity of destroying them, and which has a corresponding value. In a duly limited universe of discourse we can at pleasure so define the activities of building houses and of destroying them that the two modes of action stand in a symmetrical not-relation to each other. But in this limited universe

of discourse the distinction in value between the two processes remains both empirically manifest and rationally justifiable. Of the resulting mutually negative modes of action one is called the 'positive' mode, the other involves that destructive treatment of houses which leaves people homeless, and which robs the world of its value. Therefore the counsel, 'Build rather than destroy,' has a perfectly definite warrant, which at once depends upon the logical symmetry of the not-relation in its own limited universe of discourse and makes clear why the one mode of action appears as a privation, a wiping out of values, while the other appears as both empirically and rationally preferable.

If Mephistopheles always denies, his denials, which are practical as well as theoretical, are modes of action which have their place and value in a definitely limited universe of discourse, both social and ethical. In their simplest forms and instances they appear as a 'snubbing' of the proposals which others made, a sarcastic and cynical showing of contempt for human hopes and aspirations; they leave hearts desolate, ruin lives, and add to the sum of human horror. Under these circumstances, we can understand how every mode of action does indeed involve a destruction of something as well as a construction of something else, and how the not-relations involved are perfectly symmetrical, while we equally well understand why we prefer that hearts should not be made desolate, that lives should not be ruined, that the noblest in man should not be destroyed. The world in which we condemn Mephistopheles for his negation is indeed a limited universe of discourse, but the relation between heaven and hell in that world is not merely a symmetrical not-relation, but an asymmetrical relation—a relation of lower and higher, of the noblest to the basest, of the heights of justice and holiness to the depths of diabolism. It is important to see that the logical symmetry of the not-relation is needed as the basis of such unsymmetrical relations between good and evil, heaven and hell, salvation and perdition. Without negation none of these contrasts could be defined, none of these distinctions between the lower and the higher could come to clear consciousness at all; hence negation is an absolutely essential function of our thought and will. Without negation there would be no clearness with regard to values, no knowledge of heaven or hell, of good or evil; hence Mephistopheles is indeed the inseparable companion of the one who is to learn what these distinctions are, and is even thereby to come into contact with what constitutes their value.

We turn for a moment to the case of the types of pedagogical advice which we have already mentioned. It is true that, if we give positive counsels to the children, we, logically speaking, inevitably give them advice which is also negative. For we cannot tell them what to do without counselling them not to do the contradictories of what we counsel. And, as the children are also more or less crudely logical, while some of them are more or less quaintly or crudely Mephistophelian, they will frequently find their own way of planning and performing the contradictory of what we counsel. But it is one thing to give them encouraging advice which awakens them by winning suggestions; it is another to play in our own way the part of Mephistopheles, by first finding out what their desires are and then explicitly snubbing them, and thus condemning them to the depths of discouragement, or inflaming their already existing disposition to rebel against our counsel. The Ten Commandments appear to make their appeal to an already more or less evil-minded, rebellious, or wayward people, whom the thunders of the law are to terrify into submission. The use of the word 'not' gives to the Commandments this outward seeming, not because the relation of negation is logically unsymmetrical, and not because we can ever command without also forbidding the contradictory of our command, but because the limitations of the universe of discourse about Mt. Sinai, as well as the unsymmetrical distinctions between the thunders on the top of the mountain and the way downward to the plain where the people listen to the thunders, strongly suggest the overcoming by terror of an already-existing stubborn will.

On the other hand, the Sayings and the Sermon on the Mount give their counsels in a universe of discourse where the unsymmetrical relations between the Father and His children, between the Shepherd and the lost sheep, already inspire confidence, a tendency to harmony with one's counsellor, and a disposition to regard him as one who speaks with a peculiar and winning 'authority.' In such a world the not-relation is as definitely present as in any other logically definite world of counsel. On occasion the Sayings, the Parables, and the Sermon on the Mount make explicit both the not-relation and the limitations of the universe of discourse. But, on the whole, while the not-relation is logically just as prominent in the universe of discourse of the Parables and of the Sayings as it is in any other sharply defined universe of discourse, the particle 'not' does not play so large a part as in the Commandments, or as would be the case in negative appeals to the unwise or to the erring. The logic of the situation is identical. What one emphasizes in the mode of expression used is distinct; privation is in the background. What ought to be is made attractive; what ought not to be is more frequently left to be discovered by the enlightened doer of the will, who is expected 'to know of the doctrine' all the better, the more he has been won over 'to do the will.'

The practical moral of all such instances is that, both in our definition of the not-relations which interest us and in our whole use of negations, we should carefully consider the universe of discourse which we propose to employ as the field within which to make our logical distinctions, and also the asymmetrical distinctions of value which arise within that universe. The problem of the relation between these limitations and values and our use of negation is partly a psychological one, and partly one of limiting one's field of operations, for the sake of accomplishing to the full one's enterprise.

'In limitation alone can mastery be displayed.' Thus the problem of negation is one of limiting the field of attention and following the guide of the asymmetrical relations which appear within that field.

The case mentioned above, of the so-called 'negative theology' of the mystics, of *The Imitation of Christ*, and of the Hindu seer, still calls for a word. A 'purely negative' metaphysical doctrine is logically quite as impossible as any other 'purely negative' doctrine. For a metaphysical doctrine must consist of propositions; and a system of propositions essentially consists of a series of pairs of mutually contradictory propositions. If we call either of these propositions 'positive,' its contradictory 'negative' is its inseparable companion; if we call either 'negative,' its own contradiction, which then appears as an 'affirmative' proposition, is equally inseparable from it. But the Hindu seer, or the author of *The Imitation of Christ*, or any other teacher who uses expressions which illustrate a 'negative theology,' is actually thinking or speaking in a more or less deliberately

limited universe of discourse. This universe of discourse is supposed to contain every thing possible, because it contains two beings, God and the world, the absolute and the finite. But an absolutely complete universe of discourse is logically impossible; and the mystic's universe of discourse is, in general, a very limited one—consisting of the objects of our more ordinary experience and the apparent object of the mystic experience itself. These two objects stand in a relation which is certainly not merely the not-relation, although Yājñavalkya and à Kempis are unnecessarily fond of speaking as if this were so. The relation is unsymmetrical in this sense that, for the mystic, one of these objects, viz. God, the absolute, or the 'self,' is ineffably precious, and is defined in terms of the decidedly unsymmetrical relation 'above' or 'beyond,' and the other is defined as 'beneath' or sometimes as 'without.' The relation between this precious or perfect absolute object of the so-called 'negative theology' and the objects of ordinary experience is sometimes defined in terms of a contrast between 'created being' and 'uncreated being.' Now, whatever the relation of creation is, it is obviously viewed by those in question as unsymmetrical. The world 'emanates from,' or 'descends from,' or is 'produced by' its conceived Creator. The mystic God is therefore not merely and negatively uncreated, but He is that from which created being emanates or through whose will it is produced. The Hindu seers, pantheistic as they were, had still their own doctrine of 'emanation' and their various unsymmetrical relations.

It follows that the so-called 'negative theology' never tells us anything in terms of 'pure negation.' On the contrary, it very volubly characterizes a set of unsymmetrical distinctions of value, of preciousness, of grades of being, and of processes of emanation, which include numerous not-relations, but which depend for all their interest upon the fact that the mystic presents to us something of which he can say that it is best known 'when most I feel there is a lower and a higher.'

Perhaps this final illustration, when added to the foregoing, may serve to indicate the function of negation. In brief, the function of negation is, by means of the indispensable and fundamental not-relation, to lay a basis for an understanding of the complexities and asymmetries of the world of experience which may serve to clarify our ideas and systematize our conduct.

LITERATURE.—Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* and Hegel's *Logic* both contain very extended discussions of various aspects of negation. To Kant belongs the doubtful credit of having deliberately attempted, in his discussion of the Table of Categories, to treat negation as involving an essentially triadic rather than a dyadic relation. This doctrine has, since Kant, been justly neglected. Hegel's logical discussions of the topic are manifold, and have been historically very influential. See also the Logics of R. H. Lotze ([2]Leipzig, 1880–84), C. von Sigwart ([3]Tübingen, 1904), F. H. Bradley (London, 1883), B. Bosanquet ([2]Oxford, 1911), and W. Wundt ([2]Stuttgart, 1893–95), as well as A. N. Whitehead and B. A. W. Russell's treatment of various aspects of the not-relation in their *Principia Mathematica*, Cambridge, 1910–13, and elsewhere. See also T. Harper, *The Metaphysics of the School*, London, 1879–84. The term 'negative theology' is used by Dionysius Areopag., *de Myst. Theol.* 1 ff., *de Div. Nom.* i. 4. See also Scotus Erigena, *de Div. Nat.* ii. 30.

JOSIAH ROYCE.

NEGRILLOS AND NEGRITOS.—The existence of living Pygmy peoples in Africa (Negrillos) and in Indonesia and Melanesia (Negritos), and the discovery of their skeletal remains in Europe, have given rise to much theorizing as to the position of such dwarf peoples in the genealogical tree of the human race. According to J. Kollmann (*Korrespondenzblatt der deutsch. anthrop. Gesellschaft*, xxxvi. [1905] 9, and *Globus*, lxxxvii. [1905] 140), the oldest forms of man were of small stature; from them the modern races gradually developed, each tall race being preceded by a correlated small one. W. H. Flower says:

'We may, therefore, regard them [Pygmies] as little-modified descendants of an extremely ancient race, the ancestors of all the Negro tribes [African and Indo-Pacific]' (*JAI* ix. [1880] 132).

W. Schmidt (*Die Stellung der Pygmäenvölker*, Stuttgart, 1910, p. 298) describes them as humanity in its childhood. Other authorities regard the Pygmy tribes as degenerate forms; G. Schwalbe (*Studien zur Vorgesch. des Menschen*, Stuttgart, 1906) states that they are due to selection under poor and isolated conditions; indeed, their position is still an open question (cf. art. DWARFS AND PYGMIES).

As regards the ethnology of the Pygmies, we find them to be uniformly at a very backward stage of culture. They are collectors and hunters, whose weapon is the bow and arrow; some Negritos, however, have learned from neighbouring peoples to till the soil. They are typically monogamous.

1. **Negrillos of Central Africa.**—In the work named above Schmidt summarizes our knowledge of the Pygmy peoples. He there quotes A. Le Roy (*Les Pygmées*, Tours, 1905, p. 176 f.), who emphasizes the great difference between the religious ideas of the Negrillos and those of the Negroes among whom they live. The Negrillos have hardly any cult of the dead, and no fetish huts or images dedicated to them, no amulets, no professional sorcerers or priests. They have certain charms for ensuring success in hunting, but it has not yet been ascertained whence these derive their power. A marked contrast to the polytheism and nature- and ancestor-cults of the Negroes is afforded by the notions of certain Pygmies as to the supreme being. The chief of the Boni Pygmies of E. Africa gave Le Roy the following account of Waka, their god:

'He is lord of all. He gave the Boni these lands, forests, rivers, and all by which they live. He cannot be seen, but he sees men very well. Sometimes he descends into the Boni camp and kills one of them. Then they bury that one deep in the earth and move away from there; for it is dangerous to remain under the eyes of Waka. He is strict and must have his share of everything. Therefore when they kill a buffalo the best piece is taken and laid on the fire; part is burnt on the fire, the rest the man and his children eat. If any one finds honey, he does not take any till he has thrown a little into the forest and up to the sky. If he wants to drink palm-wine, he first pours a little on the ground. The following words are said: "Waka, thou hast given me this buffalo, this honey, this wine. See there thy share. Give me henceforward strength and life, and let nothing evil befall my children"' (quoted by Schmidt, p. 232).

It should be noted, however, that the Hamitic Galla of E. Africa have a supreme being, Wâq, who is conceived as the omniscient and all-powerful creator of everything earthly and represents the principle of good; he possesses all the sublime qualities of godhead and is prayed to for preservation of life and property and for all worldly prosperity (P. Paulitschke, *Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Anthropologie der Somâl, Galla und Harari*, Leipzig, 1886, ii. 19). Le Roy also gives an account obtained from a member of the Ajongo tribe of Gabun, which has mixed with the Negroes but retains distinct and 'higher' religious ideas. The supreme being is called Nzambi—a name which also occurs among some W. Bantu, though with vaguer significance. He lives up above, and speaks through thunder to tell men that rain will fall. He is lord over all and has made and disposed all things, and before him we are very small. He causes life and death; after death the shade sinks into the earth and then gradually mounts up to him, and receives reward or is cast into the fire according to his merits (quoted by Schmidt, p. 232 f.). The Nkula Pygmies offer the firstfruits of the nkula-nut to their god with a short ceremony. The Bekü mixed Pygmies honour a supreme being, Nzame, maker of the sky, the stars, light, and the

eyes, the pupils of which reflect his image and are the seat of life. Beasts and men arose from his union with a lesser maternal deity. The Bekü also have a spirit-cult 'which is evidence of Negro influence.' J. M. M. van der Burgt states (*Un grand Peuple de l'Afrique équatoriale*, Bois-le-Duc, 1904, pp. 46, 74, 82, 119–121, 137, quoted in Schmidt, p. 234) that the Wa-Twa of Urundi have a supreme spirit Indagarra, who created a man and woman, and judges people after death according to their deserts. Below him is Ryangombe, a spirit who is associated with the ancestral pair, of whom, however, there seems to be little or no cult. The Wa-Twa wear few amulets themselves, though they are said to make all those of the Wa-Rundi.

P. H. G. Powell-Cotton ('Notes on a Journey through the Great Ituri Forest,' *Journ. Afr. Soc.*, 1907, pp. 5, 6) found among the Pygmies of Mawambe the belief that thunderstorms were controlled by a higher power, and an offering of food to the supreme spirit at a ceremonial feast to give them luck on moving to a new hunting-ground. H. H. Johnston writes:

'Even these dwarf hunting nomads [in the Congo basin], leading a life equivalent to one of the earliest stages of human culture, believe—so far as their impressions have been recorded—in some vague superhuman power of the sky (*Nzambi*, if they speak in Bantu dialects), and think that chiefs or village elders live again after death in the form of bush-pigs or snakes' (*George Grenfell and the Congo*, London, 1908, ii. 632).

Among some, at any rate, this power seems to be regarded as bad, for it occasionally slays men with its fire (Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, London, 1902, ii. 539).

2. Negritos of the east.—(*a*) *Andamanese.*—The Andamanese, according to A. R. Brown (*The Andaman Islands*, Cambridge, 1916, ch. iii.), believe in two different kinds of supernatural being: (1) the spirits inhabiting the forest and sea respectively, which are the ghosts of dead men and women; and (2) other beings connected with the sun and moon, lightning and thunder, and the monsoons (Biliku and Tarai); these are all associated with the phenomena of nature. The only being outside these categories about whom Brown could discover anything was Nila, who lives in hollow Pterocarpus trees and comes out to slay human beings who approach his trees. The most important beliefs are those relating to the weather and seasons, which are under the control of Biliku (Puluga) and Tarai (Deria). The connexion between Biliku and the north-east monsoon is fundamental; throughout the Great Andaman wind, rain, and storm are associated with Biliku, or with Biliku and Tarai, who is identified with the south-west monsoon. As to other points accounts differ in various parts: in the north Tarai is often said to be Biliku's husband; elsewhere they are said to be two friends (male) who have quarrelled, or again Biliku is a pair whose children are the winds. In all the groups bad weather is regarded as the result of Biliku's anger; lightning is a fire-brand flung by her (him). There is complete unanimity also as to the three things which are punished in this way: (1) the melting or burning of bees-wax; (2) cutting or interfering with a certain number of plants, especially at a certain period of the year; and (3) killing a cicada or making a noise during the time cicadæ are singing at morning or evening. The idea that Biliku dislikes the smell of burning wax may be due, Brown suggests, to the fact that honey is collected and wax melted every year just before the rains begin, and so the breaking of the monsoon has come to be regarded as resulting from the offence caused to Biliku in this way. Similarly, the season for digging up yams is in October, and November is the month for the worst storms and cyclones.

There are numerous legends about the 'ancestors' who first inhabited the Andamanese world, in which Biliku figures.

In one Luratut (the kingfisher) stole fire from Biliku, who lived on a separate island from the ancestors; Biliku woke up and flung a fire-brand at him, after which in wrath Biliku went to live in the sky. Another tale from the south tells how Puluga was sent away out of the world by the ancestors whose huts and property he used to destroy. In another version it was a *ba* shell that Biliku flung at the thief, which is used by women for slicing yams and seeds. One informant said that Biliku (who had a husband Porokul) made the earth, sky, and sea, discovered the use of all the edible roots known to the Andamanese, and is very angry if these are gathered in the rainy season. The points to note in these tales are that Biliku lived on earth but apart from the ancestors, that fire was stolen from her, and that she flung a fire-brand or shell-slicer. The belief in Biliku as the first being is sporadic and undeveloped, and, in Brown's opinion, an accretion (*FL* xx. [1909] 257–271).

It has been stated that the Andamanese tend to personify natural phenomena, and, just as the sun and moon are regarded as two persons, the sun being the wife of the moon, so the two monsoons were personified as Biliku and Tarai and made wife and husband. In the five northern linguistic groups of Great Andaman Biliku is female; so also is her counterpart Öluga in Little Andaman; in two other groups she is male, and in the remaining three predominantly so. Two facts indicate that Biliku was originally feminine: (1) that at the two extremities of the islands Biliku and Öluga are female, while three of the five central groups seem to reveal an intermediate stage; (2) that she hurls fire-brands or shell-slicers instead of shooting arrows, as a man would do. There seem to be no legends about Tarai; in the south he is generally ignored, even storms from the south-west being attributed to Puluga.

The account of Andamanese beliefs by E. H. Man (*On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands*, London, 1883, pp. 84 ff., 88 ff.), differing from Brown's more in interpretation than in actual data, forms the basis of Schmidt's version, in which Puluga is made to figure as a high god, creator and supreme judge, 'who has forbidden deceit, theft, raids, murder, adultery, and the burning of wax (for magical purposes)' (p. 195). The prohibition on yams and other edible fruits during the first half of the rainy season is interpreted by Schmidt as a sort of offering of firstfruits; according to Brown, they are not available for food until the end of the rainy season. When Man denies to the Andamanese any form of cult or religious rites (p. 88), and M. V. Portman confirms this as regards prayer and sacrifice, adding that no love is felt for Puluga (*A Hist. of our Relations with the Andamanese*, Calcutta, 1899, i. 44), then Schmidt questions whether our knowledge of the Andamanese justifies such categorical negatives (pp. 197–200), and adopts the rôle of counsel for the defence of Puluga as high god, revered and beloved by man, preferring to ascribe certain anthropomorphic tendencies in the deity to a later mythological stratum (p. 203). He is convinced that a moon-mythology similar to the Austronesian must formerly have dominated the Andamans; according to this, the waxing moon is male, the waning moon male or female. Thus the male waxing moon which appears first in the south-west is Tarai, the male, and so the sex of Biliku when regarded as female is satisfactorily accounted for. To sustain his theory Schmidt is obliged to assume that S. Andaman, where Man's observations were made, is in a more primitive condition than the north, for which assumption he offers no adequate proof. The conflicting views of Brown and Schmidt found expression in a short controversy in *Man* (x. [1910] 2, 33, 66, 82).

Ceremonial observances of the Andamanese are social rather than religious in character (cf. chs. ii. and v. of Brown's *Andaman Islands*). Certain periods in the life of the individual are regarded as

critical, and at such times food-tabus are strictly observed. Thus on attaining puberty both boys and girls have to abstain from honey, turtle, dugong, etc., and a number of vegetable foods for two or three years, on the expiration of which the turtle-eating ceremony takes place, when a new name is conferred. After some months the pig-eating ceremony follows, and then by degrees the youth or girl reverts to normal diet. During pregnancy and for one month after the child is born a mother observes certain food-tabus, in which her husband shares.

Disease and death are attributed to the ghosts of jungle and sea. The body is decorated, flexed, and enveloped in the sleeping mat, and a shell-knife is placed in the hand. It is either buried in the ground or exposed on a platform, with the face to the east; platform disposal is regarded as more honourable. A fire is lighted and a vessel of water is placed beside the grave; sometimes the dead man's bow and an arrow or two or a harpoon and line are left on it. After the funeral the camp is abandoned, and a period of mourning ensues, at the end of which the bones are exhumed, broken up, and strung together into ornaments to be worn by the near relatives. The bodies of enemies are burned, so that blood and fat ascend in smoke and the ghost does not trouble the slayers. After killing turtle, pig, etc., certain precautions are taken to avoid trouble with the animal's ghost.

The Andamanese think that a man can die and come to life again. It is the man's double, reflexion, or shadow that leaves his body at death, and may visit people in dreams while he is alive.

'In every tribe there are alternative and inconsistent beliefs as to the place where spirits go, which by different accounts is in the sky, beneath the earth, out to the east where the sun and moon take their rise, or in the jungle and sea of their own country' (Brown, p. 170).

These ghosts haunting jungle and sea can be kept at a distance by wearing strings of human bones or certain leaves, by fire, bees-wax, an arrow, or red paint; but whistling attracts them. Medicine-men (or, less often, medicine-women) acquire their power by contact with the ghosts; a man can come into contact with them by dying and then coming back to life, or by meeting them in the jungle, or in a less degree power may be obtained through dreams. Medicine-men are able to cause or cure disease, and to control the weather by simple rites directed either against Biliku or Tarai or against the ghosts of the sea. Among all supernatural forces it is Biliku, controller of the weather, who is of paramount importance, for on fine weather depend the hunting, fishing, and dancing which make up the work and pleasure of the Andaman Islander's life.

(*b*) *Semang of the Malay Peninsula.*—A full account of the religious beliefs of the Semang, based largely on the observations of Vaughan-Stevens, is given by W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden (*Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, London, 1906, ii. ch. vi.).

'The Semang religion,' they observe, 'in spite of its recognition of a "Thunder-god" (Kari) and certain minor "deities," has very little indeed in the way of ceremonial, and appears to consist mainly of mythology and legends. It shows remarkably few traces of demon-worship, very little fear of ghosts of the deceased, and still less of any sort of animistic beliefs' (ii. 174 f.).

Kari is of supernatural size, but is now invisible. He created everything except the earth and mankind, but when Plē had made men Kari gave them souls. He is omnipotent and knows whenever men do wrong; certain acts anger him, but sometimes he pleads with Plē on man's behalf. Kari is the giver of life, the causer of death, and the supreme judge of souls. He requires a blood-sacrifice; during a thunderstorm a few drops of blood are drawn from the shin, mixed with a little water in a bamboo receptacle, and thrown up to the sky, accompanied among the E. Semang by a form of invocation. As a rule, however, invocations, which are requests for material advantage, have not advanced to the stage of a fixed form, but are simply a wish expressed in conversational phrase addressed to the great spirits or deities. Plē also receives blood-sacrifices. R. Martin (*Die Inlandstämme der malayischen Halbinsel*, Jena, 1905, p. 956) regards this proceeding during a storm as simply a weather-charm and in no sense an act of worship or cult. Besides Plē and his sister Simei there are other deities subordinate to Kari who act as his messengers.

The E. Semang believe that each man has a soul shaped like himself, blood-red, and the size of a grain of maize. New souls sit in a tree behind Kari's seat till he sends them forth; they are conveyed by a bird which is killed and eaten by the expectant mother. Each species of animal has a corresponding soul-plant; 'fish-souls come from grasses, bird-souls from their eating certain fruits' (Skeat-Blagden, ii. 215 f.). When Kari desires to punish a person, he sends a disease borne by the wind-demon, who deposits it upon the culprit's forehead. The god Plē pacifies Kari and permits the Semang to avert the punishments by giving them a talisman: a woman is protected by the special designs engraved on the combs worn in her hair; according to Vaughan-Stevens, the patterns used by her sex to avert the special ills affecting them were the invention of Simei, the sister (or daughter?) of Plē (*Veröffentl. aus dem. königl. Mus. für Völkerkunde*, iii. [Berlin, 1894] 110). Definite patterns ward off specific diseases; as many as eight different combs may be worn at once. These combs are buried with a woman to afford protection to her soul. Men avert diseases by means of patterns invented by Plē on quivers, blow-pipes, and bamboo staves. Similar combs are worn by the Pangan Sakai of Perak, and most of the mixed tribes. Martin says (p. 703) that he found them mainly confined to the Sakai, being much rarer among the woolly-haired Semang; he notes various amulets in use among the Semang (p. 954; cf. Skeat-Blagden, i. 396 ff., 149).

When a man dies, his burial bamboo is inserted in his girdle. On this tube, which is larger for men than for women, patterns are incised by the tribal chief. If a man has been very wicked, his chief will refuse to cut the patterns on it, and the soul will have to appear before Kari without it and will certainly be condemned.

'The soul was believed to cross over into Paradise by means of a tree-bridge, from which the souls of the wicked fell into a boiling lake beneath, through fright of a monstrous figure that mounted guard over the bridge' (Skeat-Blagden, ii. 217).

After swimming about there desperately for three years, they may be rescued by the chief of the heaven of fruit-trees, who lets down his great toe, to which they cling and are drawn out. The old and wise (chiefs and medicine-men) are buried in trees, so that their souls may be able to fly over the head of the monster at the bridge. The Kedah Semang believe that the heavens consist of three stages: the highest, filled with fruit-trees yielding luxuriantly all the year, is inhabited by the greater persons of mythology; the second also contains wild fruit-trees; the third has nothing but low brooding clouds which bring sickness to mankind (*ib.* i. 460, ii. 207 f., 217).

The medicine-man is usually the most important member of the tribe; chiefs nearly always seem to be medicine-men of more or less repute. They obey prohibitions on the flesh of goats, buffalo, and fowls which are not incumbent on other tribesmen. They are able to enter the fruit paradise in a trance, to turn themselves into tigers, to slay men at a distance, and to supply infallible love-charms

(*ib.* ii. 225–227). There are a good many myths and beliefs about animals—elephants and tigers in particular are occupied by the souls of dead chiefs; and there are vague ideas of a big conflagration replacing the wide-spread flood-myth (*ib.* ii. 221 ff., 219). Martin regards animal tales as of Malay origin (p. 950).

As regards the supreme position of Kari, Martin considers (p. 986 f.) that Vaughan-Stevens' data upon which mainly Skeat and Blagden base their statement require confirmation before a primitive theistic system can be ascribed to the inland tribes. 'From the primitive spirits . . . a single almighty, wrathful and rewarding god has developed under foreign influence,' undergoing a new connexion with a much more primitive animism and demonism, though of these only traces appear among the Semang. There are thus two views: (1) a wholesale substitution of religious beliefs for which there is no evidence as yet available; and (2) that of Schmidt (pp. 219–229), who states that the Semang afford a striking contradiction to most modern evolutionary theories as applied to religion. For of the three main groups of backward peoples, we find among the Pygmy Semang, who are culturally at the lowest stage, 'recognition and reverence of a Supreme Being with practically no manism and animism . . . but retrogression of reverence for the Supreme Being and growth of manism and animism the more cultural development advances among the Senoi and Jakun' (Schmidt, p. 228). As to the foreign influence assumed by Martin, it should be noted that the Semang live farthest from and the Jakun nearest to the zone from which such influence could emanate. See, further, art. MALAY PENINSULA.

(*c*) *Philippine Islanders.*—Not much is known about the religion of these tribes, and some accounts are contradictory. The best is that of W. Allan Reed ('Negritos of Zambales,' *Phil. Is. Ethnol. Survey Publications*, vol. ii. pt. i. [Manila, 1904]), who says:

> 'The basis of all the superstitious beliefs of the Negritos . . . is the constant presence of the spirits of the dead near where they lived when alive' (p. 65).

All places are inhabited by them, and all adversity—sickness, ill-luck in hunting, failure of crops—is attributed to them; as long as things go well, they are not much considered. In one place there is a huge black boulder which is believed to be the home of one powerful spirit; it seems that the spirits of all who die enter this one spirit, or *anito*, dwelling in the rock. No Negrito passes without leaving a banana or some article of food there. Disease is usually regarded as a punishment, the more serious maladies being sent by the supreme *anito*. Lesser diseases are inflicted by minor spirits, but these have to invoke the aid of the supreme spirit when a more severe punishment is to be meted out. A sickly child's name may be changed so as to avoid the attentions of some spirit. A medicine-man or medicine-woman (*mañga-anito*) can exorcize a spirit causing trouble. Charms are also used to remedy diseases. A certain yellow parasitic plant imparts great powers, and can attract a woman.

After a hunt the game is divided. The chief man present takes a small part of the entrails or heart, cuts it into little pieces, and scatters them, chanting a few words of thanks to the spirits; this is never omitted. F. Blumentritt (*Globus*, xlv. [1884] 75), referring to the Negritos of N. Luzon, states on the evidence of Father Villaverde that a single piece is thrown into the air with an invocation to one spirit only (cited by Schmidt, p. 230).

According to A. de Quatrefages (*The Pygmies*, Eng. tr., London, 1895, p. 159 f.), all Negritos believe that the spirit survives the body and has the same requirements as in life; a dead man's bow and arrows are therefore hung above his grave and gifts of tobacco and betel are placed on it. A. Schadenberg (*ZE* xii. [1880] 144) states that there is a kind of moon cult (cf. also D. G. Brinton, in *The American Anthropologist*, 1898, pp. 293–307). Dances are held at the full moon, though it may be that they are held then merely for the convenience of light (cf. F. H. Sawyer, *The Inhabitants of the Philippines*, London, 1900, p. 204). Their mimetic dances are described by Reed (pp. 52–54), but he does not say whether there is any underlying religious significance. Combs analogous to those of the Semang, but apparently non-magical in character, are worn by both sexes (Reed, p. 38, pl. xxxvi.).

The only true Pygmy peoples as yet discovered in New Guinea are the Tapiro and Pesechem, who are too slightly known for anything to be said about their religion. The peoples of mixed Pygmy descent are dealt with in art. NEW GUINEA.

Though there exists among certain Pygmy peoples, both African and Indonesian, a more or less definite belief in a supreme spirit, any suggestion that this is a general characteristic of Negrillos and Negritos is to be regarded as highly speculative and premature in view of the fragmentary evidence as yet available.

LITERATURE.—This is sufficiently indicated in the course of the article.

A. C. HADDON.

NEGROES AND W. AFRICA.—1. Introduction; fetishism.—The pure pagan Negro is represented by numberless tribes inhabiting the coast-line from Cape Verd to Calabar, and extending here and there even to the borders of the Sahara. Within this vast area, much of which is still only partially explored, are to be found several dominant Negro races, many large tribes, more or less independent, with numerous branch tribes, and smaller tribes having distinct characteristics. On the outskirts of this Negroland, where the Muhammadan wave has swept forward from the north and north-east, and where the Negro is gradually merging into the Negroid, the religious beliefs of the people are losing much of their originality and becoming impregnated with Muslim ideas, though, on the other hand, the Muhammadans of this border-land show themselves willing to accept freely many so-called superstitious pagan beliefs. South of Calabar, and inland to the eastward, *i.e.* in the Cameroons, Gabun country, and Loango, the people belong to the great Bantu family.

With the scant knowledge that we possess, it is difficult to reduce the religion of the aboriginal Negroes to any really systematic form; for there is little intercourse between one great tribe and another, little exchange of religious ideas, and no one supreme religious head to whom all the Negro peoples look for guidance. Again, the Negroes have no written language; except by word of mouth, they have no means of communicating with each other; and therefore there are no sacred books or other writings handing down the history or tenets of their religion from one generation to another. What has been discovered about their religion has come to light principally during the last two centuries; before that little was known of the country for more than a few miles from the coast-line. The slaves conveyed to the W. Indies and America came from all parts of the interior; but, since they shared a common misfortune, it may be assumed that the men of one tribe would be prone to assimilate the beliefs of their fellow-slaves of other tribes, so that the religion of the old W. Indian and American slaves cannot be held to represent that of any individual Negro tribe. There is always the possibility, also, that the

natives' beliefs have been warped and confused by the statements of the Christian preacher.

Theories as to the process by which the W. African natives have arrived at their present state of religion are of two kinds: (1) that, in the beginning, Jahweh revealed Himself to all men on earth, and that He alone was worshipped; that subsequently this monotheism gave place to polytheism, out of which in the course of time grew idolatry, superstition, demonism, etc. (this theory is upheld by some Christian missionaries who have lived long among the people, and who have been careful students of their religious ideas); and (2) that the Negroes (and the Bantu) are gradually working upwards to monotheism. But we might equally well theorize that the natives began with monotheism, fell away, and are now drifting back to monotheism. It matters little how the people reached their present stage of religion; it is with the actual state of religion as now found to exist among the various tribes that we have to deal.

Modern students of the Negro religion who have conducted their researches on the spot are few in number, and the two to whom the world is indebted for a great part of its knowledge unfortunately died before the completion of their work. A. B. Ellis left behind him a storehouse of valuable information, to which Mary H. Kingsley added in no small degree, the former dealing more especially with the true Negroes of the Gold Coast and of the Slave Coast, and the latter with those of the Oil Rivers and with the Bantu further south. Of these Bantu in the neighbourhood of the Gabun R. H. Nassau has written fully, as has R. E. Dennett of the Fjort (or Bavili) Bantu. But, in the districts beyond those named above, there remains a virgin field, where the student of W. African religion may find a sufficiency of work. Now and again notes are made by careful observers travelling through, or residing in, those districts, and such scraps of information increase our knowledge; but the gaps are still wide.

M. H. Kingsley[1] divides W. Africa into four main 'schools' of religion, which may be said to extend geographically along the coast: (1) from Sierra Leone to the Niger mouths, (2) thence eastwards to the Cameroons, (3) the Mpongwe country, about the Gabun River, (4) the Loango country (north of the Congo), peopled by the Fjort (Fjāt, Fiote, or Bavili). In each division, she considers, the religious aim, or guiding motive, is distinct and clear; and, though the various peoples of the tribes thus grouped have not all arrived at the same stage, yet the fundamental aim of each 'school' appears to exist in every case. Thus, the one aim of the religious practices of the Negroes westward of the lower Niger basin is to preserve human life; of the Oil River natives to enable the soul to pass successfully through death; of the Mpongwe Bantu to attain material prosperity; while the religion of the Fjort Bantu (Nkicism) is concerned chiefly with the cult of the mystery of the power of earth (*nkici*=mysterious power; *nkici-ci*=mysterious power of the earth; *nkici-kici*=mysterious power in personal protective charms, etc.). Such religious ends are not easy for the Christian mind to grasp, and to understand them at all it is necessary to realize that a Negro thinks in quite a different manner from a European.

With the exception, perhaps, of some of the Bantu, the peoples of W. Africa do not appear to speculate on such far-off things as the creation of the world, but almost every Negro tribe possesses some legend connected with the origin of man. Sometimes the legend is unmistakably of Phœnician introduction (for the Phœnicians are known to have penetrated as far as the Gold Coast); at other times it shows signs of having come from the Christian missionaries on the coast or from the Muhammadans of the interior; while, again, there are legends so local and narrow in their notions as to be clearly marked as of tribal evolution.

[1] *W. African Studies*, p. 116.

The Yorubas maintain that, before the earth was peopled by men, there was always Olorun, the great god of the firmament, and that by him another god, Obatala, was created and placed in charge of all things connected with the firmament and the earth. For Obatala was created also a goddess-wife named Odudua, who bore a boy and a girl named Aganju and Yemaja. The brother and sister married, and had a son (Orungan), whose evil doings brought about the violent death of his mother, at which event there sprang from her body fifteen gods and goddesses. On the spot where Yemaja died, runs the legend, the town of Ifé was built, and was for many centuries considered a sacred city. In this manner the Yorubas account for the creation of their gods, by whom alone, they believe, the world was at one time inhabited. As to the period of man's creation Yoruba opinions differ, some holding that the first couple were made out of mud by Obatala, others that they came from Yemaja's body with the gods, and that they were named Obalofun ('Lord of Speech') and Iya ('Mother')—names which strike one as having been inspired by Christian missionaries.

Among many tribes there seems to be a more or less general belief that, for a long time before the creation of man, there was a god epoch, followed by a giant epoch; and that the advent of man caused the giants, if not also the gods, to become invisible, but to remain on the earth to harass man.

In some parts of W. Africa the Negroes have a legend that, in the long-ago, a ladder was placed between the earth and the abode of the gods in the skies, and that, when a person was old and infirm, he was called by the gods to ascend the ladder; one day a cripple boy began to ascend the ladder, and was pursued by his mother, whereupon the gods, infuriated at women and children attempting to intrude, flung down the ladder for ever.

But legends of this kind are regarded as mere fairy-tales by the mass of the people, and their religion does not in any way hinge on them.

There are also myths about the sun, the moon, the stars, and the rainbow. These are found principally in Dahomey and the adjoining countries, and, judging from their similarity to myths existing in other parts of the world, are probably not of Negro origin.

Lissa, the spirit of the sun, is worshipped by the Dahomans, as is Gleti, the spirit of the moon, who is the wife of Lissa. The stars are held to be the children of Lissa and Gleti; and eclipses are accounted for as domestic wrangles between the spirit of the sun and that of the moon. Anyi-Ewo, the spirit of the rainbow, is worshipped by the Ewe tribes, who have the myth that the rainbow is a huge serpent which, when thirsty, comes forth from the sea, stands on its tail at one side of the earth, and bends its head over to drink at the other side.

Those students who maintain that the Negro tribes are working up, or working back, to monotheism have noticed that, in many instances, peoples that have undoubtedly sprung from a common stock have not advanced towards monotheism equally rapidly, although they may show little difference in other respects, *i.e.* in the European idea of civilization. This is, perhaps, attributable to environment—to the nature of the country in which the respective tribes dwell. In an open country, where means of communication are easy, the people are enabled to discuss matters and exchange ideas more freely, whereas, in heavy forest-land, where little intercourse exists between one village and another, things remain at a standstill. The result of this condition of affairs is shown principally in the number of the gods worshipped. The peoples held to be most advanced in the religious scale have cast aside many of their old gods, retaining only a few; and these are common to the whole tribe, so that the inhabitants of one village worship the same gods, under the same names and with the same rites, as the inhabitants of another village of the tribe. On the other hand, peoples held to be low in the religious scale have gods without number, but for the most part purely local—very often known to and worshipped by one person only. In short, it is con-

sidered by these students that religious advance among the Negroes carries with it a reduction in the number of gods worshipped, which may imply that, as the Negro's mind develops, he realizes that, since the greater gods control the lesser ones, it is a waste of time to endeavour to propitiate the latter. All this may be true of the Negroes, but, as will be seen below, it does not appear to hold good with the semi-Bantu and Bantu tribes who dwell immediately east and south of the true Negroes.

The word generally used by Europeans to describe the religion of W. Africa is 'fetishism' (*q.v.*), from the Portuguese *feitiço*, 'a charm,' or 'magic.' Synonymous with 'fetish' (implying charm) are the words *gri-gri*, used by the natives about Sierra Leone and Liberia, *ju-ju*, used by Europeans in the neighbourhood of the Oil Rivers and the Niger Districts (said to be derived from French *jou-jou*), *nkici-kici* of the Fjort, and so on. Now, this word 'fetishism' is unknown to the natives themselves, and its use in its original sense conveys a totally erroneous impression of the nature of the W. African's religion, implying, as it does, a system of idolatry or worship of tangible images, combined with a great amount of magic. As we shall see, the religion of the Negro and Bantu is something quite different, and the error arose from the superficial observations of early travellers, who noticed only what may be called the lower form of the religion of the people. The word has been so long in use, however, that it is unlikely to be abolished, though its original meaning may, in the course of time, be forgotten. Pure fetishism does exist to a certain extent in many parts, but it does not often hold the ruling place in the religion of the people. Among most of the tribes there is a higher and a lower form of religion, both thoroughly believed in and practised, as often as not, by the same people at the same time. With the Fjort, *e.g.*, there is the worship, or reverence, of the goddess Nzambi, with all the strange mystery appertaining to the earth-spirit, which is in a sense a perfectly good religion; but there is also fetishism of the lowest form—superstitious dread of evil spirits, a belief in charms, witchcraft, and every abomination of what may be termed the 'black art.'

To fathom the depths of W. African religious thought we must start with a knowledge of certain matters on which the Negro bases his beliefs. (1) His religion has no connexion whatever with morality; no Negro imagines that he is 'living in a state of sin'; nor, as far as morality is concerned, does he see any harm in murder, theft, or any other crime. If, therefore, he commits an offence for which he is punished by a European court of law, by his king, by a secret society, or by the community, he considers, not that he has sinned, but that, by some omission or some act of stupidity (apart from the commission of the actual crime), he has unwittingly brought down on himself the wrath of some god or evil spirit. (2) All Negroes, however low they stand in the religious scale, have a firm belief in the existence of an indwelling spirit in almost everything animate and inanimate (except such things as are made by human hands). Holding these convictions, and believing that nearly every non-human indwelling spirit is capable of utilizing at will the material wherein it dwells as a powerful agent for influencing or controlling the actions of man and of all living things, the Negro argues that everything that occurs—every accident, every natural phenomenon, in fact every event—is caused by the workings of an indwelling spirit, by some human spirit which has temporarily lost its abiding-place, or by some other spirit of the spirit-world. It was originally believed that the indwelling spirits of all things in nature were hostile to man; it was their aim to thwart man in every possible way, and even to destroy life.

With a knowledge of the above beliefs, it is not difficult to trace the evolution of Negro worship. Every object in nature was believed to possess an invisible spirit, ever on the look-out to work destruction on man. The spirit of the sea caused shipwrecks; that of the river upset canoes; trees and rocks, impelled by their spirits, fell and crushed those passing by. In order to ward off the anger of these spirits, the Negro sought to appease them by offering them something which he imagined would be acceptable to them and at the same time be a deprivation to himself. The nature of the sacrifice or offering would depend on the importance of the god or spirit, *i.e.* on the degree of misfortune which the god or spirit would be able to produce. It might take the form of merely a little food, or might require to be something greater—a blood-offering of a goat or even of a human being; for it is thought that the spiritual essence or indwelling spirit of anything offered to a god is enjoyed by, or enters the service of, that god. By constant propitiation of a particular god or god-spirit it was imagined that, in the course of time, the worshipper became not only immune from harm, but also more or less under the protection of the god. Consequently, it became every man's object to devote his attention to one particular god, and he usually selected for his special worship the god whose actions he most dreaded. It is easy to understand from this that several individuals of the same family, following similar vocations, feared the malignancy of the same god, so that the god was worshipped by the family and became a family-god. For similar reasons, a whole tribe or a whole nation would worship the same gods. They shared a common fear of a common enemy, and, on the principle of co-operation, agreed to appease him by combined worship and sacrifice, or by the same means to obtain his goodwill. In order further to save trouble in guarding the abiding-places of the gods or spirits and looking after the sacrifices made to them, certain individuals were appointed by the tribes and maintained at the expense of the people. This was, at any rate in the Gold Coast and Slave Coast regions, the foundation of the priesthood, which henceforward increased, and in many districts became paramount. It was imagined that the priests, by close association with the surroundings of the god for whom they cared, became his confidential agents, and so mediators between man and the god.

2. Gods and idols.—The use of English equivalents for W. African conceptions is unsatisfactory, since it is almost impossible thus to define clearly the native's ideas. Still, when writing of many tribes, speaking many different languages, it is impossible to employ Negro or Bantu words always. It is, therefore, necessary to explain at the outset what is implied by certain words which have been adopted in the following pages as the nearest equivalents to W. African notions. The words most likely to be misunderstood are 'god,' 'spirit,' 'soul,' and 'ghost'; for very frequently they appear to overlap one another. Negroes and Bantu of W. Africa believe that their gods are material and tangible beings, generally of human form, residing in the skies, in the world, or under the world, and invisible to man, but making themselves visible on occasion to their special priests. These gods possess invisible indwelling spirits, which have permanent or temporary abodes, and which have the power of passing themselves into any article they choose—even, for a period and for some particular purpose, into the body of a priest. The word 'spirit' is used to denote (1) the indwelling spirit of a god;

(2) the indwelling spirit conceived to have its residence in all things animate and inanimate; and (3) that spirit, good or evil, which belongs to the great world of invisible spirits, and which will ever remain in it. 'Soul' is the indwelling spirit of a human being, as long as he is alive, or, where re-incarnation is believed in, until re-birth takes place. 'Ghost' (as distinct from 'spirit' and 'soul') is the filmy individuality supposed by some people to leave the man's body at death, and occasionally to make itself visible in a shadowy form.

With regard to the gods of the people, it is maintained by some observers—chiefly by Christian missionaries—that all W. African tribes, whether god-worshippers or not, believe in the existence of a supreme being, manlike in form, and dwelling in the skies, but no longer taking any interest in the affairs of man, and therefore not worshipped. Such are Nyankupon of the Tshis, Nyonmo of the Gas, Mawu of the Ewes, Olorun of the Yorubas, Abassi of the Efiks, Osowo of the Indems, Anyambi of the Mpongwe, etc. In preaching of the Christian God the missionaries use the name of the supreme god of the people, and, consequently, it is probable that the Negro's ideas of his chief god are not the same to-day as they were before the advent of the missionaries. But even now the natives regard him not as an omnipotent creator, but as merely one of many gods, having no influence or control over the other gods, and neither feared nor loved. To this there is, perhaps, one exception, viz. Nzambi-Mpungu, whom some of the Fjort people believe to have been the creator of the world, though they no longer worship him.

Ellis and others have collected much information concerning the gods worshipped by some of the peoples dwelling between Sierra Leone and the Niger mouths, and the information is of great value, more particularly as showing the condition of the Negro mind. The gods that have been best studied are those of the Negroes of the Gold Coast and of the Slave Coast, and a knowledge of their characteristics and functions will assist in understanding the extent to which a W. African's life is bound up in his religion. It must be recognized, however, that, although a Negro may be able to describe exactly what he thinks each particular god is like, he does not pretend to have ever seen the god, and he does not for a moment imagine that the image or representation of the god is the actual god. But he does believe that the gods are material beings, each possessing an indwelling spirit; that they reveal themselves in a material form to their priests, into whom on occasions they pass their spirits; but that to ordinary people they are spirits, and, like other spirits, invisible. These gods or their spirits have their abodes (permanent or temporary) in objects of nature, in images, in the elements, in the surf, the tornado, the lightning, the pestilence, fire, etc.

Taking the Gold Coast and Slave Coast tribes from west to east, we find that the further east one travels, the fewer are the gods of the people. The Tshi-speaking and the Ga-speaking tribes of the Gold Coast have innumerable gods, while the Yorubas of the Slave Coast have few. All these gods may be classified according to grade or importance; thus, among the Gold Coast peoples there are: (1) national gods universally worshipped; (2) local deities universally worshipped under the same names; (3) local deities; (4) town, village, and family deities; and (5) private gods. East of the Gold Coast tribes dwell the Ewe-speaking peoples of the Slave Coast, whose gods can be reduced to three classes, while eastward again we find among the Yorubas only two distinct classes of deities. It would be quite possible to classify the deities according to their origin; for some evidently belong to the old mythology, while others—the greater number—are of more modern creation. East of the Yoruba country, and inland along the banks of the Niger, the gods worshipped appear to be again numerous; then in the Oil Rivers, although certain gods are acknowledged, little attention is paid to their worship, for reasons which appear below. Further down the coast, where the true Bantu succeeds the Negro, no active gods are even acknowledged by the Mpongwe and other tribes of the Gabun region. But among the Fjort, to the north of the Congo, there is the great goddess Nzambi.

The following is a description of the more important gods recognized or worshipped by the better-known tribes.

i. GOLD COAST TRIBES.—(*a*) *National gods universally acknowledged or worshipped.*—Bobowissi is supposed to dwell at Winnebah Hill, and was originally the principal god of the tribes along the coast between Appollonia and Barracu (near Accra), as well as of the Wassaw, Arbra, and Assin tribes inland. He appointed all local deities and had control over the elements — thunder, lightning, storms, etc.; he has a day of annual sacrifice (Kohbor) at the end of August. Formerly it was usual to sacrifice human beings to him. He is represented in human form, though twice the size of man, and black. In his right hand he carries a sword, and his left hand is held behind his back. His wife is Abu-mehsu (spirit of the river of the same name), who is worshipped as a goddess by some of the coast tribes.

Tando is the principal god of the Ashantis and other northern tribes of the Tshi group, and is represented as similar in appearance to Bobowissi. Driver ants are sacred to him, and his wife is Katarwiri (spirit of that river). She is represented as of human shape, black, and of enormous size, and crocodiles are her special care. As the southern tribes were for several centuries at war with the Ashantis and northern tribes, Bobowissi was held to be hostile to Tando, and tribes throwing off their allegiance from Ashanti exchanged the worship of Tando for that of Bobowissi.

Nyankupon, or Nana-Nyankupon (*i.e.* 'Lord of the Sky'), is acknowledged by some of the southern tribes to have supplanted Bobowissi as chief god. His origin appears doubtful, and by some he is supposed to have been introduced by Christian missionaries. He has no priesthood, and little account is taken of him. The Negroes seem to have gradually come to the conclusion that Nyankupon dwelt at too great a distance from the earth to take any interest in its inhabitants, except occasionally to show his displeasure by means of some great calamity. They feared his wrath, but were unable to propitiate him except through his deputy Bobowissi; and they still regard Bobowissi as obtaining his power solely from Nyankupon. Nyankupon is represented as a man-like god, possessing the faculties and passions of man, and essentially a material being.

(*b*) *Local deities universally worshipped under the same names.*—Sasabonsum is a monster of human form, of red colour, and with long hair. His abode is either below or above the ground wherever the earth is red, *i.e.* stained with the blood of his victims. He is also said to dwell in bombax (silk-cotton) trees. He is a most malignant and death-dealing god, and cannot be appeased. When dwelling in a tree, he crushes his victims by causing it to fall; when living underground, he produces earthquakes; and in all cases he devours those on whom his wrath descends.

Srahmantin is a hideous female monster, dwelling only in certain bombax trees. She terrifies those who pass by her abode, seizes them, and keeps

them for several months, in order to train them to become priests or priestesses in her service. Sasabonsums and Srahmantins are said to exist in all districts, from the coast inland to the north of Ashanti.

(*c*) *Local deities.*—These are innumerable and are found everywhere; their abodes are in the sea, rivers, lakes, wells, trees, rocks, hills, or hollows, and each has his or her district name, and is served by priests and priestesses. To give a complete list of them is, of course, impossible. The following may be taken as typical.

Fohsu resides in a headland near Cape Coast, and is a friendly goddess, of white colour, who assists her worshippers in collecting salt. Adzianim dwells in a rock not far from Fohsu's abode. He is a friendly little god, about the size of a bird, and black. His vocation is to help his worshippers to find good water, by means of birds (wagtails, etc.), which are sacred to him. These are the two principal local deities in the neighbourhood of Cape Coast. Tahbi is god of the sea near Cape Coast, and resides in the rock under Cape Coast Castle. He is black and monstrous, and of human shape, but his left hand takes the form of a shark's fin. He destroys life by drowning. Tabhi-yiri, Tahbi's wife, dwells in a rock about half a mile from Tahbi. She is white and like a mermaid, and has the same destructive powers as her husband. Cudjo, god of a reef near Cape Coast, is small and black. He formerly destroyed life, but now preserves it. Ahtoh-enteffi, god of the surf near Cape Coast, is a hostile monster, resembling a Negro, but white. Abroh-ku, also a surf-god, but friendly, is of human shape, very small and round and of a grey colour. Tohar-tsireur resides in a rock close to Cape Coast. She is black and like an ordinary woman, and protects women. Men are not allowed near her abode.

Similar deities have their abodes all along the Gold Coast. There are also local gods of war who accompany the men in the fight, as well as goddesses (wives of the gods of war) who remain behind to protect the women. Inland, every river and every hill has its god or goddess, worshipped by those Negroes who fear destruction at the hands of the deity.

(*d*) *Town, village, and family deities.*—These are believed to have been appointed by the local deities to watch over the interests of the town, market, club, village, or family. The generic name for this class of deity is *bohsum*, and the *bohsum* dwells in any article (a piece of wood, stone, pot, etc.) into which the priest of a local deity has passed it by means of a lengthy process. The article within which the *bohsum* has its abode is placed in a central situation; trees are planted round it, or a hut is erected over it, and the spot is resorted to for worship when any benefit is required by its worshippers. Offerings are made to the *bohsum* in various forms, and the enclosure set apart for it is often found to be piled up with articles of food, skulls of animals, bottles, and similar things.

A *sassur* is a guardian-spirit appointed by a family *bohsum* to watch over and protect the young girls of the family until they arrive at the age of puberty, and is supposed to follow them wherever they go.

(*e*) *Private gods.*—In the case of most of the tribal, local, and other deities intercourse between the Negro and the god takes place only through the medium of a priest. In the case of the private god matters are different; the god is the man's own property, his individual guardian, his aid and support, his agent for the downfall of his enemies, and he requires no priest to communicate with it. The generic term for the private god is *suhman*, and the *suhman* is appointed by, or rather derived from, a *sasabonsum*. The Negro who wishes to possess a *suhman* proceeds to a spot which he knows to be the abode of a *sasabonsum*, and takes from it a portion of the latter's abode—a piece of the bombax tree, a portion of the rock, or a handful of the red earth wherein dwells the *sasabonsum*. He then, by a process of incantation, persuades the *sasabonsum* to pass a spirit into the article, after which he conveys it home, sets it in a corner of his house, and makes offerings to the spirit. From that time the Negro and his *suhman* are on the most friendly terms, and, by making some small article and dedicating it to the *suhman*, the Negro can infuse into it the *suhman's* spirit. Such articles are what we would call 'charms,' and the bits of stick, feathers, etc., which are seen hanging in front of a Gold Coast Negro's hut are supposed to possess the *suhman's* spirit or essence, and so to ward off danger from the hut. But it is noteworthy that to these 'charms' the Negro makes offerings of food, so that he seems to regard them as deities, or spirits, emanating from his *suhman* in the same way as the *suhman* comes from the *sasabonsum*, and the *sasabonsum* from Bobowissi (or Tando).

ii. EWE-SPEAKING PEOPLES OF THE SLAVE COAST.—(*a*) *National gods universally acknowledged or worshipped.*—Mawu, god of the sky, firmament, etc., is the most important, but has no influence over other gods. Like Nyankupon of the Gold Coast tribes and the sky-god of other Negro peoples, Mawu is regarded as being too far off to trouble about the affairs of men, and is, therefore, more or less neglected in the matter of worship. Material sacrifices are not offered to him, but the spirits of fowls and of other birds sacrificed to the minor gods are supposed to ascend to him.

Khebioso, god of lightning, is bird-like in form, and dwells in the thunder-clouds, the flapping of his wings causing the noise of the thunder. He is much feared, and has numerous priests and priestesses. Worshippers of Khebioso wear an iron ring on the arm, and keep Saturday sacred to him.

Legba (Elegba, or Lekpa), a phallic deity, is much worshipped. He is represented by a nude human figure of hideous description, and sacrifices of he-goats, cocks, and dogs are offered to him. The turkey-buzzard is sacred to Legba.

Dso, god of fire, dwells in the flames, and manifests his displeasure by burning property. Worshippers of Dso wear necklaces or armlets of twisted fibre, smeared with red earth, and adorned with beads and pebbles. Anyi-Ewo, the rainbow-god, has been mentioned above (p. 275[b]). Huntin, the bombax-tree god, and Loko, the odum-tree god, have similar characteristics. They dwell in certain bombax and odum trees respectively, and destroy any human beings who offend them. Owls are supposed to be their agents. Aizan is a friendly god, and the protector of markets, public places, gates, etc., while Ho-ho is the protector of twins. Sapatan, the god of smallpox, is much dreaded.

(*b*) *Tribal gods.*—Danh-gbi, whose indwelling spirit resides in the python, is worshipped in Dahomey, Agweh, Great and Little Popo, and Porto Novo. He is the god of wisdom and of all happiness, and white ants are sacred to him. Hu (or Wu), the god of the sea, is worshipped by the people of Whydah, Dahomey, and elsewhere. Lissa, whose spirit dwells in the sun, and Gleti (Dsinu, or Sunh), with her spirit in the moon, have been already referred to (above, § 1). Nati and Avrikiti are sea-gods, worshipped on the coast about Whydah, especially by fishermen, who maintain that these gods provide them with fish. Avrikiti is represented by a clay figure of a man seated. Nesu is the protector of the royal family of Dahomey;

and Bo, the god of war in Eastern Ewe and Dahomey, is in the latter kingdom worshipped more than any other god. The crocodile (or, to be more accurate, some foreign spirit which has taken up its abode in it) is worshipped by the people of Bageida, Porto Seguro, Savi, Porto Novo, and Badagry. Offerings are made to it chiefly by those people who are likely to be troubled by this animal during their daily business. The leopard is held sacred in Dahomey, and, like the crocodile, is believed to be the abode of the malignant spirit of a deceased man.

In addition to the above, every tribe and community has its own particular tutelary deity.

(*c*) *Local deities.*—These are minor gods and goddesses whose indwelling spirits are connected with various objects in nature, such as rivers, lakes, rocks, hills, trees, etc., and whose worship is purely local. Moreover, a local deity is held to be inferior in every way to the general and the tribal deities; he is seldom represented by an image, and only in exceptional cases has he any priesthood. The only local gods worthy of notice are: Dohen, protector of Europeans, and guardian of European commerce, worshipped at Whydah; Ajaruma, also a protector of Europeans; No-we, the god of the lagoon Denham Waters, particularly hostile to criminals; and Togbo, the god of a creek near Porto Novo, whose abode was resorted to for trial by ordeal of water, the accused being thrown into the creek.

Four other local gods require mention as differing in origin from all the other gods of the people, in that they are said to be deified men. Two of them—Adanzan, a king of Dahomey, and Ajahuto, a king of Porto Novo—are worshipped probably from fear, because the enormities which they perpetrated during their reigns were considered superhuman. The other two—Kpati and Kpasi—are regarded in the light of patron saints, and, according to tradition, are two natives who were instrumental in bringing the first ship into Whydah, and thus establishing trade with Europeans.

Although the Ewe-speaking people do not now possess town, village, family, or private deities, and although they do not worship charms, they wear amulets of various descriptions, in order to show which particular gods they worship. The amulet may be a necklace of beads of a certain colour, an iron ring worn round the arm, or anything of a similar kind; but, whatever it may be, it is the badge of a certain god, and is worn by all his worshippers, under the impression that the god will recognize his own people and look after their welfare. These amulets are obtainable only from the priests of each god, who charge what they like for them; but, though treated with a certain amount of reverence by the wearer, they are considered merely as badges, and not as possessing any essence of the god. Charms of many other kinds are found erected in the market-place, in front of a house, or elsewhere, for the purpose of frightening away disease or other threatened misfortunes. They are also provided by the priests, who, moreover, sell magic powders and medicines, declared to be capable of producing certain results (see § 5 below).

iii. YORUBA-SPEAKING PEOPLES OF THE SLAVE COAST.—(*a*) *National gods universally acknowledged or worshipped.* — Olorun corresponds to Nyankupon of the Tshis, Nyonmo of the Gas, and Mawu of the Ewes. He is essentially the god of the firmament, but he is thought to be too far off to take any notice of anything on the earth, and therefore has no priests, and is not worshipped. His name is occasionally used in such general expressions as 'May Olorun bless you!' but in all probability this mode of invocation has come from intercourse with Christian missionaries, who use the word 'Olorun' as a translation of 'God.' The Yorubas, however, do not regard Olorun as in any sense an omnipotent being; his sole concern is with the far-off solid vault enclosing the world, and he does not interfere with the actions of other gods. Various epithets are applied to Olorun, all meaning 'wonderful,' 'venerable,' etc.

Obatala, the chief Yoruba god now worshipped, is said to have been made by Olorun, and placed in charge of the sky and the earth, when the latter retired. All articles connected with his worship are white, and his priests and followers wear white garments. The god is represented as clothed in white, and usually mounted on a horse, with a spear in his hand. Odudua, the chief Yoruba goddess, is the wife of Obatala, and is represented as a jet-black woman, seated, and nursing a child. She is the goddess of love, and her principal temple is at Ado, about 15 miles from Badagry.

Aganju, son of the last two, married his sister Yemaja, and is said to have been worshipped at one time. This Yemaja is the goddess of running water, and is represented as yellow in colour, wearing blue beads and white garments. According to popular belief (see above, § 1), at her death some fifteen of the Yoruba gods and goddesses sprang from her body. Of these two are still worshipped as principal deities—Shango and Ogun. Shango, god of thunder and lightning, as well as of hunting and pillage, has his dwelling in a brazen palace in the clouds, whence his messengers are dispatched to work destruction on the earth, by hurling fiery stones. He is more feared by the Yorubas than any other god, and he is served by many priests, belonging to a well-organized priesthood under a chief priest. His followers wear, as a badge, a wallet, representing the bag which the god is supposed to carry when pillaging. Three sisters of Shango became his wives, viz. Oya, Oshun, and Oba, and are worshipped as minor goddesses, their spirits dwelling in the rivers Niger, Oshun, and Oba. Ogun is the god of war and of iron, as well as of hunting. Everything connected with iron is sacred to him—even the ground in which it is found—and he is worshipped more especially by blacksmiths. Human victims used to be sacrificed to him before the commencement of war.

Two other chief gods of the Yorubas are Ifa and Elegba, neither of whom came from Yemaja's body. Ifa is known as the god of palm-nuts, or oracular god (sixteen palm-nuts being used by the priests when consulting him). No Yoruba undertakes anything without first consulting the priests of Ifa, who, it is believed, is able to tell man the best means of pleasing all the other gods. Moreover, Ifa is the god of fecundity, and receives offerings from women desiring children. Elegba is the same phallic deity as is worshipped by the Ewes.

(*b*) *Minor deities.*—Of these the following came from the body of Yemaja: Olokun, Olosa, Shankpanna, Dada, Oya, Oshun, Oba, Aje Shaluga, Orisha-Oko, Oke, Oshosi, Orun, and Oshu.

Olokun is the sea-god, and is worshipped by the Yorubas dwelling near the sea. Of human form, with black skin and long hair, he dwells in a palace under the sea, and has the usual following of mermen and mermaids. Elusu, one of Olokun's wives, whose spirit resides in Lagos harbour bar, was at one time worshipped as an independent goddess, but is now considered merely a part of Olokun. Olosa, on the other hand, who is the principal wife of the sea-god, is still worshipped as the independent goddess of the Lagos lagoon, and has several temples on its shores. She is the provider of fish, and crocodiles, her messengers, are sacred to her. Shankpanna is the smallpox god,

and is represented as an old man with a withered leg. Flies and mosquitoes are his messengers, and the badge of his followers is a stick with red and white marks. Dada (Eda, or Ida), the god of new-born children and vegetables, is represented by a calabash studded with cowries and containing a lump of indigo. Oya, the principal wife of Shango, and goddess of the Niger, is sometimes represented by an image with nine heads (mouths of the Niger). Afefe, the wind, is her messenger. Oshun and Oba have been already mentioned as being wives of Shango and goddesses of the rivers bearing their respective names. Aje Shaluga is the god of wealth, and his badge is a large cowry-shell. Orisha-Oko, the god of the farm and of crops in general, is worshipped far and wide, and has many priests and priestesses. He corresponds to the yam-god of other tribes, but, besides looking after the fruits of the earth, he is also concerned with human fertility. Bees are his messengers, and his emblem is an iron rod. Oke is the god of mountains, and is worshipped by people dwelling in hilly or rocky country. Oshosi is the god of hunters, and helps them to kill game, while Orun (the sun) and Oshu (the moon) are nowadays worshipped by only very few of the people, and no sacrifices are offered to them.

Other minor deities worshipped by the Yorubas are: Shigidi, Olarosa, Osanhin, Aroni, Aja, Oye, Ibeji, Oshumare, and Olori-merin.

Shigidi, the god of nightmare, is a malevolent god, whose evil actions can be invoked by one man against another during sleep. He is represented by a short, stout cone of clay, embellished with cowries. Olarosa is the house-god, and is represented by an image, in the form of a man with a stick, set up at the door of the house. Osanhin, the god of medicine, is much worshipped; his emblem is a bird upon an iron bar. Aroni, god of medicine as well as of the forests, is represented as a one-legged man, with the head and tail of a dog; and Aja, goddess of the forests, is said to resemble a woman in miniature, being only 18 inches in height. Oye is the god of the Harmattan wind, and gigantic in stature. Ibeji, the protector of twins, corresponds to Ho-ho of the Ewes; and Oshumare, the rainbow-god, is identical with Anyi-Ewo, worshipped by those people. Olori-merin was a four-headed god, with the legs and feet of a goat, who protected towns; but his worship appears to have now ceased.

iv. NEGROES OF THE LOWER NIGER.—About the gods of the tribes dwelling on the banks of the Niger and in the districts of the Oil Rivers little reliable information is forthcoming. Gunu, the chief god of the tribes in the neighbourhood of the confluence of the Niger and Benué, is believed to be a deified ancestor of the Igaras, and is of a beneficent disposition. Provider of children and crops and controller of the elements, he dwells in certain groves and has an actual festival (Jan.–Feb.), when offerings of food are made, principally by childless women praying for offspring, and cultivators anxious about their crops. Sebo is a tribal god of the Igbiras; Okenga is a tribal god of the Igbiras and Igaras; Ebo and Ode are local gods of the Igaras; Ikenga, Offo, Isu-Chuku, Isi are tribal gods of the Ibos; Eki, Aroh, Onisseh, Anni-Asaba, local gods of Asaba (Ibo); Orinse, Anni-Onitcha, Okikeba, Ojedi, Utoh, Azeh, local gods of Onitcha (Ibo); Anni-Mogoro, Adjeh, local gods of Oko (Ibo); Igi-Oji, local god of Odekwe (Ibo); Fejokoo, local god of Abo (Ibo), is represented in clay at the celebration of the yam-festival, and regarded as the supplier of yams; Ogbooka, local god of Abo (Ibo), is represented in wood and carried in this form at the yearly festival, being the Abo god of mirth.

Incomplete as the above list is, it shows that among the Ibo people on the banks of the Lower Niger the gods are innumerable, and doubtless, were the list complete, it would be found that the religion of this great tribe is in much the same stage of development as that of the peoples of the Gold Coast.

v. NATIVES OF THE CROSS RIVER.—These tribes, according to C. Partridge, have many gods besides the greater one or overlord whom the Efik people call Abassi, and the Indem people Osowo, and in addition to the lesser god Nfam, who is worshipped by most of the tribes. There are deities common to a tribe, town, village, club, or belonging to a private household. Among the local gods and goddesses may be mentioned: Akwoainsi and Ekissi (a deified ancestor), worshipped at Ingkimm (Atam); Majo (a deified ancestor), represented by a wooden post carved in human form, and worshipped by the people of Akerita and Abia. At Obubura (Eshupum) the most important local god is Binokkpabi, whose wife is Awtoba; their son, Agadiden, and daughter, Ebu, are also worshipped. Other gods of Obubura are Ibrambri, Emanna, Binokkpabi (in female form), Obumuku, and Nchuku, while each household in the town possesses gods of its own. At Oburukpon (Eshupum) the people worship the yam-god Osibi Keiwurra, who is concerned with marriages, and Ibillekpari, protector of women. At Awakande the yam-god is called Abanna, his wife Ekpaga, and his daughter Oka. The most important tribal god of the Aruns is Okeiworo, who is represented by a clay figure of a man, having goat's horns stuck on his head, cowries for eyes, and a white cloth round his loins. 'His right arm is covered with sheep's wool, and in each hand he grasps a wooden weapon.'

vi. FJORT (OR BAVILI) BANTU.—Mpungu, or Nzambi-Mpungu, *i.e.* 'Father,' or 'Father of the Fearful First-born,' is regarded by the Fjort as the overlord, and there is a legend (possibly introduced by missionaries 400 years ago) which says that he created the universe, as well as Princess Nzambi, whom he then married, with a view to populating the world. After that he handed over the control of everything to Nzambi, and retired to his far-off palace. He has no priests and no worshippers.

Nzambi is the great goddess whose cult is the foundation of the higher form of Fjort religion. At the present day she is represented by an immense wooden image of a woman, though it is generally thought that prior to some 250 years ago she had no such image. Her name means Mother Earth (lit. 'Terrible Earth First Created'), and she is considered to have been the mother of man and of the lower animals. She is served by priests, who are held to be able to obtain from her such benefits as the people desire, for Nzambi is well-disposed towards mankind and all animals. Her place of abode is in the sky, but her spirit is everywhere in the earth, in mountains, rocks, etc. Failing to distinguish between Nzambi and Nzambi-Mpungu, the early Christian missionaries assumed that Nzambi was the creator, and therefore adopted her name as a translation of the word 'God.' And, later on, Jesuit missionaries, in the endeavour to assimilate Christianity with the religion of the people, led the natives to believe that their goddess Nzambi was identical with the Virgin Mary—the result being to produce complete confusion in the Fjort mind.

The effect of the belief in an all-powerful goddess has been to raise the position of women among the Fjort to a much higher level than elsewhere in W. Africa.

Certain things, such as sacred groves, trees,

plants, rivers, and even animals, are believed to be filled with the sacred spirit of earth, *i.e.* the *nkici-ci* is held to be inherent in them by nature. Such things are holy, and possess mysterious powers, received originally from Nzambi. But, so far as the actual worship of the goddess is concerned, everything is left to the priest (the *nganga-nzambi*, or *nganga nkici-ci*), who dwells in a hut on the edge of a small plot of sacred ground, which is kept scrupulously clean. To these places the people repair when they have any simple benefit to ask of the goddess, such as rain, children, good crops, etc. The priest is paid handsomely for his advice or divination, and the matter is left in his hands. At certain times the chiefs assemble their people to clean up these sacred plots of ground, when sacrifices of white fowls are offered, and much dancing takes place. This may, perhaps, be considered an act of worship. Otherwise there is no popular worship of Nzambi. It seems almost established that the cult of Nzambi was imported several centuries ago from outside. For, according to local history, or tradition, when Fumu Kongo, king of Congo, occupied the province of Loango, he sent priests of Nzambi with the princes who took over the country. Wherever these princes stayed, there a priest remained, and established a plot of ground sacred to the spirit of earth (*nkici-ci*).

Besides the above-mentioned naturally sacred things, there are other objects which the priests, by the performance of certain ceremonies, can make sacred. These, then, are bound up with the higher form of Fjort religion; *e.g.*, each village and each family has its holy ground, on or near which there is a hut containing the family gods, or images, as well as a tree with holes made in it. 'Medicines' are placed in the holes, which are then closed with pieces of looking-glass. These family or household gods are said to be connected with the spirits of the winds, and Dennett[1] mentions the following different kinds:

(1) Mpumbu (supposed to be brought by the east wind); two little wooden figures of a man and a woman, about 18 ins. high, which are made sacred by the priest, with particular ceremonies. A man of the family has first to be sanctified, *i.e.* the mysterious spirit (*nkici-ci*) is passed into his head, and henceforward he becomes the spokesman of the figures, which, after having been filled with 'medicines,' are handed over to his care. His method of invoking their aid, to kill or protect, is to throw palm-kernels or dust at them. (2) Mabili (also brought by the east wind) is a kind of boundary gateway, consisting of two upright poles and a cross-pole or string, decked with grass and feathers. (3) Tshimbuka (brought by the west wind) is a round basket made of certain leaves, and holding the family remedies. It is invoked by rattling a gourd containing a few hard seeds at it. Two guardians, a man and a woman, properly spiritualized (as in the case of the guardian of the Mpumbu), look after it and speak for it. (4) Nzaci (brought by the west wind) is also a basket, somewhat similar to the last-named, though the ceremonies of spiritualizing its guardians are different. (5) Ngofo (brought by the south-west wind) is another kind of basket, flat and open. In this case the guardians go through a marriage ceremony, and each wears an iron bracelet. (6) Lembe (brought by the south-west wind) also takes the form of a basket containing medicines, the guardians being bound by the most sacred marriage ties, and wearing bracelets.

It seems hardly accurate to apply the term 'god' to such things as these, yet there is no very great difference between them and the family and private gods of the Gold Coast tribes—the *bohsum* and the *suhman*. The *bohsum* is held to have been appointed by some higher god, and to have received, through a priest, the spirit of that god; the *suhman* is also inspired, but without the assistance of a priest. Similarly, it might be maintained that the east wind appointed the *mpumbu*; but apparently the Fjort priest does not pass the mysterious spirit (*nkici-ci*) into the figures, baskets, and bracelets, but rather into their guardians. In the articles themselves he places 'medicines,' *i.e.* the spirits of herbs (*nkici*, not *nkici-ci*).

[1] *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*, p. 87 ff.

All the above belong to the higher form of Fjort religion in that they are, in one way or another, connected with the spirit of the earth, emanating from the goddess Nzambi. The lower form of religion, which deals with the 'black art,' may be said to be the religion of the common people. It has no connexion with the *nkici-ci*, the sacred spirit, and is worked by a distinct class of fetishmen, who are believed to have the power of passing into images and other articles every description of evil spirit. This is true fetishism; it is discussed below, § 4.

3. Human souls and futurity.—Connected with the conception of the indwelling spirit previously referred to is the Negro's belief concerning what may be termed his 'soul' or 'souls,' *i.e.* the spirit or spirits which he believes to dwell in him. Probably the whole theory of the indwelling spirit had its origin in the man's belief in his own indwelling spirit. Be that as it may, it is maintained by many W. Africans that a human being possesses four souls—the surviving, or immortal, soul, the bush-soul, the shadow-soul, and the dream-soul. The immortal soul is held to be the most important, and the others are dependent on or subservient to it. The Tshis and some others believe that this soul has a definite earth-dwelling period allotted to it; and that, if the body of an individual passes away before that period has elapsed, the soul remains in the world to complete its earthly existence as a homeless wanderer. Being without an abode, this wander-soul endeavours to find a resting-place in the body of some human being—a new-born child, if possible. The bush-soul dwells in the body of a wild animal in some part of the bush; the man himself possibly does not know the animal or the part of the country; the animal and the human owner of the bush-soul die simultaneously. The shadow-soul exists in the man's shadow, and the Negro is careful to keep in the shade at noon-tide, so as not to lose his shadow-soul. When the sun sets, the shadow-soul takes its rest, and at sunrise awakes in great strength and length; but it can be destroyed by an enemy thrusting a weapon through it; and the death of the shadow-soul brings death to its human possessor. Of the dream-soul there is much to be said. When the Negro is awake, his dream-soul is practically dormant; but, as soon as the man goes to sleep, it endeavours to escape from its human prison and enjoy itself with other dream-souls. A dream, therefore, results from the escape of the dream-soul, which, wandering forth, encounters the dream-souls of other men and the souls or indwelling spirits of inanimate things. When the man awakes, the dream-soul returns, the mouth being the means of egress and ingress. But, should the chain of the dream be broken by the sleeper being suddenly awakened, there is the danger of the dream-soul being shut out. Such a catastrophe produces immediate illness, the other three souls being affected at once; and, unless the dream-soul can be conjured back into the body forthwith, the case must prove fatal. The dream-soul can be brought back only by a fetishman, or witch-doctor, who is possessed of the power of catching it and returning it to its proper place, by way of the patient's mouth. With regard to the wander-soul, *i.e.* the immortal soul with a period of mundane existence remaining after the death of the body to which it belonged, its first object is to find a body from which the dream-soul is temporarily absent, and to take its place. This introduction of a strange soul, of course, deranges the body, and the witch-doctor, having been summoned and having discovered the presence of the wander-soul in the body, proceeds to draw it out, and insert the dream-soul in its stead. But the witch-doctor does not

allow the wander-soul to go free, for, as a rule, a subscription is got up, and the witch-doctor takes the spirit home, with a promise to educate it, so that it may be able to find its way straight to soul-land, though, as often as not, he lets it slip into the body of a new-born child, who soon dies of convulsions.

The belief in the four souls is not universal throughout Negroland. The Tshis hold that in every man there dwells a *kra*, or guardian-spirit, which leaves the man at his death and becomes a *sisa*, but can, within a given time, revert to the position of a *kra* by being re-born in a new body. Should such re-birth not take place, the *sisa* must quit the world for *sisa*-land (somewhere beyond the river Volta). But even thence it is able to return to the world as an evil spirit, and enter a body from which the *kra* is for the time absent. Thus the *kra* of the Tshis is somewhat similar to the immortal soul of some of the other tribes, and it performs also the functions of the dream-soul; but the shadow-soul and the bush-soul are not acknowledged.

The Gas divide the *kra* (or *kla*) into two distinct souls, or guardian-spirits, the one male and the other female, the former being well-disposed, and the latter evilly-disposed. The man acts according to their advice; in other words, they represent his conscience.

The Ewes hold views similar to those of the Tshis, but they have no equivalent for *sisa*-land, the wander-soul continuing as such, or being re-born either in a human body or in the body of some animal. In the latter case it shows its disposition towards mankind by its choice of an animal; if malignant, it enters the body of a beast of prey; if well-disposed, the body of a harmless animal.

The Yorubas have three souls, dwelling respectively in the stomach, the head, and the great toe. Of these the stomach-soul is of greatest importance, and shares all the food that the man eats; the head-soul guides the man in all his actions, and has special offerings (usually the blood of fowls) made to it; the toe-soul receives attention only when the man is about to undertake a long journey.

But, whatever the number of souls that the Negro or Bantu believes to dwell in his body, the general idea is always the same, viz. that, as long as life remains, the body, like everything else, contains an indwelling spirit or several indwelling spirits; that, if the belief is in more than one such indwelling spirit, then one—the immortal soul—has higher functions than the others and has a future existence. Concerning the nature of this future existence beliefs differ, but the *kra* of the Tshi, the *kla* of the Ga, the *luwo* of the Ewe, the *iwin* of the Yoruba, the *inina* of the Mpongwe, the *ilina* of the Benga, the *nsisim* of the Fang, the *nkulu* of the Fjort, and the immortal soul of other tribes, by whatever name it is known, continue to exist in one form or another after the death of the body with which they had previously been connected.

No Tshi doubts the fact that the material corpse remains in the grave where it has been placed, but he holds that at death the indwelling spirit, and at the same time the man's individuality, in a shadowy form, quit the body. Thus from the latter there emanate the man's immortal soul (*kra*) and his ghost (*srahman*)—a shadowy representation of the living man. The ghost goes to the 'land of ghosts' (*srahmanadzi*), but not necessarily at once. If the deceased completed his proper term of life, the ghost proceeds to the other world forthwith; but, if the man was killed, or died before his time, the ghost remains on the earth to haunt people, until taken in hand by the priests and forced to depart. Ghost-land is believed to be beneath the earth, but is similar in every respect to the world, and the ghost retains the same status as the man held when alive. For the latter reason funeral customs are of supreme importance; the ghost of a chief must have its retinue of ghost-slaves, or their equivalent in ghost-wealth, and the ghosts of the man's clothes, property, food, etc., must accompany the ghost-chief; otherwise he will not be received with due respect by his fellow-ghosts.

The Ewes believe also in ghost-land, and in the flitting of the indwelling spirit at death, but the actions of their *luwo* are not quite the same as those of the *kra* of the Tshis. It becomes a *noli* (corresponding to *sisa*), but there is no *noli*-land for its eventual disposal; it may be re-born as a *luwo* in a new-born infant or transmigrate into the body of an animal; failing either of these, it becomes a wandering *noli*, with powers of doing good or evil.

The Yorubas have made further developments in the conception of what takes place at death. They have the ghost and the ghost-land like the Tshis and the Ewes, but they believe that, unless the funeral-rites are properly performed, the ghost cannot go to ghost-land, and, therefore, wanders as a ghost on the earth, until hunted down by evil spirits and dispatched to an uncomfortable place set apart for stray ghosts, from which there is no return. They also say that it is possible for a ghost to return from ghost-land and commence life apart in a new-born infant. This is not a little confusing, for apparently here the ghost is regarded as the man's soul.

But none of these tribes dwelling westward of the Niger believe that metempsychosis always takes place. They occasionally observe in a child a marked resemblance to some deceased relative, whose individuality, ghost, or spirit they imagine must have been re-born in the infant. It is probably due, therefore, to the fact that metempsychosis is not universally believed in that the aim of this 'school,' as was pointed out above, is to preserve human life. With this object all sacrifices are made to the gods and spirits. Death must be averted at all costs, for the after-life is an unknown quantity.

In the region lying between the Niger and the Cameroons the belief in re-incarnation is practically universal, though, where the true Negro merges into the Bantu (*e.g.*, Cross River), the people have various opinions as to what happens to the soul or human indwelling spirit at death. According to Partridge, the majority of the Cross River natives have no definite ideas on the subject; there are some (possibly from intercourse with Christian missionaries) who believe that the spirit goes up to live with the 'big god' in the sky; others that it passes into the sacred tree which every village possesses, and which the people call their 'life'; others that it is re-born in an infant or in a wild animal; and others that it wanders about, as a species of evil apparition, to haunt the world. Yet these Cross River people do think that they can, to a certain extent, control the destiny of the soul, and help it to attain one or other of the above resting-places. In the Oil Rivers, however, where it is held that re-incarnation is the natural and only fate of the human soul, the Negro's one concern is to guide and control the actions of the soul from the moment when it leaves the body until its re-birth in an infant, in order that it may be re-born into the same status as it previously had. A soul of a dead chief, *e.g.*, must be re-born in an infant who will some day become a chief. This guidance and control of the soul is undertaken by the fetishmen—not only the head

of the house, who is *ipso facto* the family fetishman, but also by the fraternity of fetishmen, corresponding to the priesthood in other parts. As soon as the breath leaves the body, the fetishmen take the soul in hand, and the elaborate funeral-rites connected with the burial of a chief, with the gifts, sacrifices, etc., are for the purpose of proclaiming the rank of the dead man when the soul reaches soul-land. Human sacrifices are much more important here than among the Tshis and other western tribes. There wealth in any form can take the place of slaves, for, as long as the ghost-chief arrives in ghost-land with sufficient wealth, his position is established. The soul, however, with re-birth in prospect, must be accompanied by a retinue befitting its rank, to keep up its dignity until the time arrives for re-incarnation. The length of time that this takes varies, for it depends on the birth of a suitable infant. But during this interval the fetishmen believe that they are able to hold intercourse with the soul, and to guide it in the way that it should go.

Although the Oil River natives concern themselves so much with the destiny of the soul after death, they are not callous of life. On the contrary, they desire long life for themselves and their friends, because, unless the soul lives its allotted time in the body, it cannot have acquired all the knowledge necessary for its re-incarnation. Hence witches, who, by means of evil spirits, cause premature death, are here, as elsewhere in W. Africa, regarded with intense hatred, and ruthlessly destroyed, it being one of the duties of the fetishman to hunt them down, and counteract their evil deeds. The Mpongwe native believes that at death his indwelling spirit, or immortal soul (*inina*), leaves the body and passes into the spirit-world, which he vaguely imagines to be everywhere around him, including the air that he breathes. The spirit (in an invisible form, of course) then continues its existence as a spirit in a spirit-world, much resembling the world in which the man had lived, the spirits of his wives and other property being with him, and his hunger being satisfied with the spiritual essence of earthly food. The majority of these spirits have no fixed place of abode, but wander about; some take up their residence temporarily in natural objects—mountains, rocks, trees, etc.—while others enter the bodies of wild beasts. Not one would willingly become a wanderer were it left to itself, but, at the death of the body which it tenanted, would settle down in the village and house where the body had spent its life. This, however, would be inconvenient to the family of the deceased, as no son wishes to be perpetually interfered with by the spirit of his father, and consequently every endeavour is made, by firing guns and beating drums, to frighten away the spirit whenever it becomes disembodied.

Since, in the opinion of a Mpongwe native, a disembodied human soul possesses in its new existence the good and bad qualities of the dead man in whom it dwelt during life, it is capable of good or bad actions towards mankind. But by the medium of the fetishmen man is able to avert evil, and, indeed, to induce good, at the hands of the spirits (see below, § 4). One point, however, must be borne in mind, viz. that any influence which a man may obtain over a spirit can be but temporary, for the spirit never ceases to exist, and can never be destroyed.

Lastly, the Fjort people do not differ very widely from the Mpongwe people in their ideas concerning the human soul. At death the *nkulu* of a good man may remain about the house of the deceased for twenty days, after which it passes into the spirit-world, which is everywhere, though most of the spirits dwell in the woods and forests. The *chimbindi*, as it is now called, is hostile to mankind in general, and is, in fact, an evil spirit of the worst description. The soul of the Fjort, however, does not always join the spirit-world quietly and at once; *e.g.*, in the case of a corpse whose eyes are not closed special precautions have to be taken as to the disposal of the body, or the family of the deceased will die. Moreover, if the *chimbindi* of such an individual is seen by a member of the family, that member may die; if the *chimbindi* beats him, he will certainly die. Again, sometimes the soul refuses to become a *chimbindi*, and then it is necessary for a priest or fetishman to pass it into the head of some member of the deceased's family. The spirit of the dead man (*nkulu yianzi*) is then able to hold intercourse with his family.

What happens to the souls of bad people (*e.g.*, witches) seems to be doubtful. It is possible, however, to imagine that, since the bodies of witches are hurled from the summits of the highest precipices, to be broken to pieces on the rocks below or thrown into rivers to be washed away to the sea, the people believe that, in thus dealing with them, they destroy their souls also. Otherwise there would be no object in these drastic methods, and, it must be remembered, the Negro thinks deeply, and does nothing without a purpose. Still, there is a belief that the *nkulu* of a dead witch may be passed into the head of a living witch, and thus continue its existence, while some say that the *chimbindi* of a witch remains for ever to haunt the place where the witch died.

4. Priests, fetishmen, and witchcraft. — The origin of the priesthood in the greater part of W. Africa was undoubtedly the inability or unwillingness of the people to manage their own religious affairs, and in all probability the first priests were men—either more intellectual or more cunning than their fellows—who gained a local reputation as soothsayers, and on whose prognostications the community placed great reliance. When they had once acquired a hold over the people, it was a simple matter to increase their power by the invention of mysterious rites and ceremonies, and, aware that they were not immune from the effects of old age or from death, they trained a younger generation in their art. Thus a special class grew up, whose members, in the course of time, may perhaps have imagined that their practices were real, that they themselves possessed attributes not given to ordinary human beings, and that they were able, by incantations and similar methods, to avert or bring down the wrath of the god who was their special care. Believing this, the Negro consults the priest on all occasions, paying him what he asks. Should he wish to compass the death of an enemy, he goes to his priest, who, inspired by his god, prepares a 'medicine' to bring about the desired end, or instructs the applicant how by some other means the enemy can be secretly destroyed. Should he wish for a charm or amulet as a preventive of misfortune, his priest will sell him one. Moreover, it is the priest who conducts the proceedings when trial by ordeal is resorted to, in order to discover the perpetrator of a crime. The power of the priests is without limit, though the natives maintain that it is the god that strikes or assists, and that the priest is merely the agent or mouthpiece of the god.

Among the Gold Coast tribes the priesthood, although certainly a fraternity, has no real organization. Each deity worshipped by the people has its priests or priestesses, but all are equal, work together for the common cause, and owe no allegiance to any one. The people themselves, however,

recognize a difference in the individual abilities of their priests, and credit some with possessing superior powers. Among the Ewes of the Slave Coast the priesthood had developed into an organization, the priests of each of the more important gods forming themselves into a separate brotherhood, or sect, with proper rules and a distinct ritual, the king of a country usually being their head. Priestesses also are more numerous here than on the Gold Coast. The Yoruba priesthood is more highly organized still, and is in intimate connexion with the Ogboni secret society (see below, § 7). In most cases the chief of a kingdom or State is chief of the society, and as such is, *ex officio*, head of the priesthood, which is divided into three orders, each being subdivided into classes. In the first order there are three classes: (1) the priests of Ifa (the god of divination), who are superior to all other priests, and have two high priests at their head; (2) those of Osanhin and Aroni (gods of medicine), who practise medicine; and (3) those of Obatala and Odudua. In the second order there are two classes: (1) priests of Shango; and (2) priests of all other gods, except Orisha-Oko. The third order is also divided into two classes: (1) priests of Orisha-Oko (god of agriculture); and (2) priests of such gods as are supposed to be deified men. In addition to these orders and classes, there are also grades among the priests of a class; *e.g.*, the priests of Shango are presided over by a chief priest (the *magba*) and twelve senior priests, each with a title and a place in order of precedence. Priests of the respective orders are distinguishable one from the other, and some of the classes have distinctive marks or badges. Thus, the priests of the first order all wear white; those of the second order wear red and white, and shave the crown of the head; and those of the third have a small white paint-mark on the forehead. Again, the priests of Ifa wear armlets of palm-fibre and carry a cow-tail whisk; those of Obatala wear necklaces of white beads; and those of Shango necklaces of black, red, and white beads; those of Ogun have an iron bracelet on the left arm, and those of Oshun brass armlets and anklets.

As a rule, a Yoruba priest's sons follow in their father's footsteps, though the priesthood is also recruited from outside. There are regular institutions where boys and girls are trained for the offices of priest and priestess, the novitiate occupying two or three years, during which many strange and mysterious ceremonies take place.

It will be observed, therefore, that a true priest is one who concerns himself with the worship of one particular god. This does not, however, preclude him from believing in the existence of other gods; he does believe in their existence and in the sincerity of the priests who serve them, but his attentions are all devoted to the service of his own god, from whom he is convinced, or pretends, that he can obtain for the followers of the god whatever they require. But, besides the ceremonial worship which he performs for his god, the priest has other functions: he is a diviner, a maker and seller of 'medicines' and charms, and, at times, even a judge and executioner. In fact, he is not only a true priest, but also a fetishman (sometimes termed 'witch-doctor,' or 'medicine-man').

Eastwards of the Niger, in the Oil Rivers, and thence southwards, in the Mpongwe country, true priests are rare, for the worship of gods is hardly recognized; but fetishmen are numerous. The difference between a true priest and a fetishman is that the former devotes himself to some particular god, maintaining certain forms and ceremonies of worship, whereas the latter deals with all gods and all spirits of every degree, dispensing charms and 'medicines,' conducting trials, etc. The true priest is a fetishman, but the fetishman is not a true priest.

In the Oil Rivers, as has been pointed out, the one great guiding motive of the religion of the people is to deal with the human soul after death. This is the principal concern of the fetishmen (*jujumen*), of whom there is a large fraternity, *i.e.* men who have no other profession, and who, doubtless, came into existence much in the same way as the priests. But here the head of each house considers himself the fetishman of the house, although at times he may deem it necessary to call in some outside fetishman more skilled than himself in the ways of the spirit-world—and the spirit-world rules the unfortunate Negro with a rod of iron. Besides the guidance of the recently-disembodied human soul, fetishmen have many other duties to perform—all the duties (unconnected with worship) mentioned above as being performed by the priesthood elsewhere.

Among the Mpongwe-speaking tribes the fetishman wields far more power than even in the Oil Rivers; for the Mpongwe native, although he cares nothing for gods, is overwhelmed with the vast concourse of the spirits of the spirit-world, who are ever striving to thwart him. He desires prosperity in this world, and this prosperity he can obtain only by gaining a mastery over the evil spirits which stand in his way. He himself, as an ordinary man, is unable to battle with such spirits, but from the fetishmen he can buy 'medicines' and charms wherewith to overcome all difficulties; for the fetishmen possess the power of controlling all spirits, by means of one great and strong spirit with whom they are on intimate terms.

South of these godless and priestless regions we find among the Fjort people both priests and fetishmen; for here, perhaps more than anywhere else in W. Africa, there is a well-defined dividing line between the higher and the lower forms of religion. In the former, as has been said, there is the cult of Nzambi and the mysteries connected with the *nkici-ci*, concerned with which are the king, chief, or head of the family, and the true priest (*nganga-nzambi*, or *nganga-nkici-ci*). But this priesthood differs from that of the Slave Coast and Gold Coast in that it is not a fraternity, for each priest is independent and works for himself on lines of his own, though always through that power which is considered to fill the earth and everything yielded by the earth, and which comes from Nzambi, *i.e.* Mother Earth. To the lower form of religion belong the fetishmen who work by 'black art,' such as the *nganga-nkauci* and the *nganga-nkici-mbowu* ('keeper of a nail-fetish'). The descriptions given below of spirits and charms will make clear the methods of these fetishmen. Besides the true priests and fetishmen, there is a third class of *nganga*, the *nganga-bilongo*, who is regarded by the people almost as a fetishman, but who, in reality, is merely a medical practitioner, with a knowledge of herbs. This knowledge he keeps in his family, but his methods of using it are quite rational.

Priests and fetishmen are frequently described by Europeans as 'witch-doctors' or 'medicine-men'—terms which leave the impression that these individuals practise witchcraft, or, to use an old term, are 'in league with the devil.' In a sense this is true; at any rate, the fetishmen profess to be able to hold communion with all kinds of evil spirits, and to be able to dispense 'medicines' in order to bring about any desired results. On the other hand, no small part of the duties of the priests or fetishmen is the detection of witches, the frustration of their evil designs on human beings, and their condemnation to death. The fetishman

is therefore not a friend of witches. As a matter of fact, there appears to be very little difference between the methods ascribed to the witch and those of the fetishman; but the native has an abhorrence of a witch, because he believes that she possesses powers not possessed by priests and fetishmen, that she strikes secretly (by poison, etc.), and that she has at her beck and call a host of evil spirits about which the fetishman knows nothing. Of this witch-power the priests and fetishmen are undoubtedly jealous; the witch is infringing their rights, so, for the most part, they uphold the native in his hatred of witches, and do all in their power to get rid of them. Since to be suspected of being a witch means immediate trial by ordeal and certain death, or even death without trial, no one proclaims that she practises witchcraft; and in all probability the idea of the existence of witches is kept alive solely by the fetishmen, in order to explain away their own failures. Witches, they say, can produce sickness and death, can kill swiftly or slowly, by passing evil spirits into the human body, and are ever endeavouring to undo all the good done by the priests and fetishmen. Among the many cruel acts with which they are credited may be mentioned the charge that they catch wandering dream-souls in traps and on baited fish-hooks, and prevent them from returning to the bodies from which they have absented themselves, until purchased by a fetishman. At the same time, although the priests hate witches as rivals and as enemies to what they consider an elevating religion, and although fetishmen hate them for somewhat similar reasons, and because a witch-belief has a bad effect on the community, the fact remains that in some parts this hatred is not instilled into the people by the priests or fetishmen, yet it is as intense as elsewhere. Moreover, the belief in witches is strengthened by the strange fact that not infrequently a woman accused of witchcraft confesses that she is a witch. Wizards are not unknown in W. Africa, but they are far less numerous than witches; in fact they are rare.

Whether the methods of the priest and fetishman be called witchcraft, fetishism, or anything else is a matter of small importance. The distinction between their methods and those of the wizard or witch is said to be that the latter secretly causes sickness or death (usually by poison), and denies that he or she does so, whereas the priest or fetishman practises openly, is acknowledged by the people as following a legitimate calling, and maintains that all his actions are for the welfare of the people. It is a distinction without a difference; for the priest or fetishman can be procured to assist in the making-away with an enemy, using for the purpose the identical means said to be employed by witches—such as 'medicines' and the calling-in of evil spirits.

5. **Spirits and charms.**—The whole difficulty of the Negro's life arises from his firm belief in the existence all around him of countless evil spirits. The air, the earth, the under-earth, are all filled with spirits of the spirit-world. The mere matter of his gods and their worship does not cause him much uneasiness; he supports a priest to look after them, he propitiates them with the necessary offerings, and he feels convinced that he has done his duty. He has no love for any of his gods, but he fears their ability to do him harm. He has the utmost faith in his priest, and he knows that he himself cannot wrestle with a god—a superhuman being. With the host of minor spirits, *i.e.* supernatural beings, however, things are different; for, by cunning and other methods, they can be successfully kept under, prevented from working destruction, and even made benevolent. It is no longer a matter of propitiation, but one of hard fighting—pitting one spirit against another, and leaving them to fight it out. The arrangements for these trials of strength entail a vast amount of trouble.

Superhuman god-spirits, including the indwelling spirits of natural objects and the indwelling spirits, or embodied 'souls,' of human beings, have already been discussed. What remains to be dealt with is that great army of spirits of the spirit-world, pervading the universe, hemming in the Negro and Bantu on all sides, and influencing every action of man.

In the Bantu (Gabun and Loango) mind spirits are graded according to rank, and it seems to be the general idea that the spirits of gods that are worshipped are superior to all others (of course, among god-worshipping people), and that human embodied souls are superior to the spirits of things non-human. But these two main classes are subdivided into several grades, and the lower spirits are also subdivided into grades. Miss Kingsley maintains[1] that there are two classes higher than human souls, several classes equal to human souls, and at least eleven classes lower than the latter; and she further maintains that spirits which are human disembodied souls remain in that class for all time, never passing into a higher or a lower class. She, therefore, denies the deification of human beings in W. Africa. The most reliable authority on the subject, so far as the Mpongwe-speaking tribes of the Gabun are concerned, Nassau,[2] names six classes which affect human affairs:

(1) *Inina* is the human embodied soul, which, on becoming disembodied and passing into the world of spirits, continues to take an interest in human affairs, more especially in the affairs of the family with which it was connected when embodied. (2) *Ibambo* is the name applied to a class of spirits with the power of appearing in ghost-like form and frightening human beings. *Abambo* (plur.) have no fixed abodes, can appear anywhere and at any time, and are thought to be the spirits of dead ancestors. They are much dreaded and are worshipped; whether they are universally malevolent is not certain, but, when a man is 'possessed of a devil,' it is generally an *ibambo* that has entered into him and has to be cast out. (3) *Ombwiri*, *nkinda*, and *olaga* are the disembodied souls of men, which have taken up a temporary residence in natural objects, such as rocks, trees, etc. They are reverenced and offerings are made to them by passers-by, who fear to incur their displeasure. The *ombwiri* is the soul of a chief, the *nkinda* that of an ordinary native of the country, and the *olaga* that of a stranger. In many respects they resemble the local deities and the private gods of the Gold Coast tribes, but they have no priesthood and communicate with man direct. They also have the power of causing sickness by entering into human beings. (4) The *mondi* is an evil spirit greatly feared, which brings disease and all kinds of trouble to humanity by taking possession of the body, from which it has to be expelled by exorcizing some stronger spirit to fight it. (5) *Yaka* is a family fetish supposed to contain the spirits of ancestors; and for its edification portions of the bones, eyes, skull, etc., of generations of deceased members of the family are carefully preserved. The greatest reverence is paid to the *yaka*, offerings of food and drink are made to it, and it is consulted on all occasions; for the people believe that the spirits of their ancestors continue to take the deepest interest in the affairs of the family. (6) The last kind is the spirit that enters into a wild animal for the purpose of doing some evil act. This may be any ordinary spirit of the spirit-world, or it may even be the indwelling spirit of a living human being temporarily absent from the body. But such possession of a wild beast is not permanent, *i.e.*, it is not the same thing as transmigration of souls.

All these Mpongwe spirits are in one way or another derived from or connected with the human soul, and they are for the most part distinctly malevolent. They are not unlike some of the spirits believed in by the Gold Coast and Slave Coast tribes. It will be remembered that the *kra* (of the Gold Coast tribes), when disembodied, becomes a *sisa*, that it can be re-born as a *kra* in a human body, but its proper destination is *sisa*-land. Occasionally the *sisa* leaves *sisa*-land and returns to dwell in the world as an evil spirit, sometimes passing itself into the body of a wild beast. The *luwo* of the Ewe people (Slave Coast) becomes a

[1] *West African Studies*, p. 170.
[2] *Fetichism in W. Africa*, p. 64 ff.

noli, and, failing re-birth in a human body or in that of a wild animal, it remains on the earth as a good or an evil spirit. Among the Yorubas there is the belief in evil spirits known as *abiku*, dwelling everywhere in uninhabited tracts of country, and apparently similar in origin to the *sisa*. The *abiku*, it is thought, suffers from hunger, thirst, and other privations, and his particular object is to enter the body of a child, and share the child's food, comforts, etc. Since, however, the *abikus* are more numerous than children, they form a compact among themselves that any *abiku* fortunate enough to take up its residence in the body of a child shall support, with food, etc., a certain number of its fellow evil spirits. The consequence is that the child possessed of an *abiku*, having to share its food with many other *abikus*, soon sickens and frequently dies. There are, of course, methods of ridding the child of the evil spirits—*e.g.*, enticing the *abiku* and its fellows to quit the child to partake of savoury food placed somewhere close by, and then, while the spirits are eating, tying rings and bells round the child's ankles, in order to scare the evil beings away altogether; or rubbing pepper into small cuts made on the child's body, which is supposed to be an effective method. The heavy infant mortality in this part of W. Africa is ascribed to the evil operations of *abikus*, with whom witches are held to be in league.

Not unlike the *ombwiri* of the Mpongwe people are certain tree-spirits believed in by the Yorubas, such as the spirit that dwells in the *ashorin* tree, that which dwells in the *apa* tree, and that of the silk-cotton tree. Before cutting down any of these trees, the woodman makes offerings to their spirits. But these are not regarded as the spirits of local deities, though very possibly they were at one time; and they differ from the *ombwiri*, which is a human disembodied soul. It is said that witches assemble at night round these trees, whose spirits they invoke to assist them in their malpractices.

The dislike which a native has to discussing with Europeans matters which he feels will be ridiculed is accountable for the lack of detailed information concerning the spirit-beliefs of the people; yet enough information is at hand to enable us to form some idea of the W. African's conception of the inmates of the spirit-world. It is certain that both Negroes and Bantu think that there are spirits without number everywhere; that, as a spirit's existence never ends, the spirit-world grows more congested every day and every hour; that the majority of the spirits of the more active kind are disembodied souls of men; and that they are nearly always maliciously inclined towards mankind. Questioned as to what he thinks a spirit is like, the native will reply that, though it is usually invisible, it is similar in form to a human being, or to something with whose form he is familiar. He believes that the spirit is material; his mind is not capable of conceiving anything else; and, if he has not himself seen a spirit, he knows many people who have. Moreover, there are few natives who have not experienced, on a dark night in the bush, the clammy touch of some spirit, and fled from it for dear life.

As to what may be termed the lower order of spirits, some are good and some evil, and an idea of their number can be formed by recalling what has been said of the indwelling spirit theory. Everything not made by human hands has an indwelling spirit—the lower animals, the earth, the grass, flowers, herbs, etc. Knowing this, one can understand the notions of 'medicines' entertained by the people. The spirits of certain things, when properly dealt with by trained fetishmen, can be made subservient to the will of the fetishmen, and their powers thus utilized for certain purposes. The fetishmen are well aware of the medicinal properties of various herbs, but whether they believe in the spirit theory is probably open to doubt. Still, by upholding the belief, they are able, while effecting a cure for some simple illness by the administration of a simple drug, to increase their reputation as fetishmen; for the administration of the drug is always accompanied by mysterious ceremonies and incantations; and the invocation of the spirits of the various ingredients of the drug is kept well to the front.

In this manner arises the charm, or fetish, certainly of the Bantu, if not also of the Negro. In one respect at least there is no difference between the amulets, or charms, of the Negroes and those of the Bantu, viz. their use, which is to protect the wearer or possessor from evil spirits, and to guide and assist him in all undertakings. The Gold Coast Negro creates a certain class of charm for himself through the medium of his *suhman* (see above, § 2. i. (*e*)), but besides these there are the numerous charms made and sold by the priests of all the god-worshipping Negro tribes, and such charms are always consecrated to a god, the priest maintaining that the ingredients in the charms are derived from a god and are consecrated to the god. The priest, therefore, keeps up the fiction of the religious nature of these charms, because he thereby strengthens the people's faith in their gods, and at the same time adds to his own importance as sole intermediary between man and the god whom he serves.

A brief description of some of the charms and 'medicines' sold by the priests of the Gold Coast and Slave Coast may be of interest, as showing the faith of the Negroes. The following may be taken as typical of those found to exist among all the god-worshipping tribes dwelling westward of the Niger.

As a protection from wild beasts, an amulet made of teeth and claws of animals is used; to ward off sickness, a human tooth and a Popo bead strung together and worn round the neck, or a lump of clay adorned with cowries and pieces of broken pottery. To protect a family from various injuries, a scarecrow resembling a man is planted in front of the house. To prevent bullets and other missiles from taking effect, the tail of a horse, cow, or goat is waved in front of the body during battle. To protect a house from fire, a charm is made of hare's fur. Anklets, bracelets, and necklaces of sacred beads are worn by women prior to childbirth in order to keep away evil spirits; and for a similar purpose such things are fastened to the child as soon as it comes into the world. Amulets containing various preparations are worn to keep away particular ailments, such as headache; and similar things are hung up in the fields to protect the crops. Strings of leaves or of feathers are suspended over a doorway or across a path to stay the inroads of evil spirits. Then there are the 'medicines' prepared by the priests and sold to the people for special purposes, viz. magic powders and unguents which, when used as directed, will produce certain results. The amulets and charms are used as preventives, but these 'medicines' are used otherwise; and, in many cases, those using them, as well as the priest who supplied them, would, if detected, be dealt with as witches. There are powders which, if blown against a door or window, will cause it to open forthwith; others scattered on an enemy's footprints will drive him mad, or blown after an enemy will cause his death; while there are unguents which will produce love or will even cause a man to lend money to another. In fact, the priests are prepared to sell 'medicines' to meet all the requirements of their customers, who, firmly believing in the efficacy of the 'medicines,' are ever in dread of their being used against them. Consequently, the priest does a double trade; for, if a man thinks that his enemy has purchased a 'medicine' to be used against him, he will obtain from his own priest a counteracting powder.

In reality there is very little difference between the charms and 'medicines' of the priest and those of the fetishman; the former are connected with a god or gods, while the latter are spirit-born. In the creation of both, secrecy, mystery, incantations, and weird ceremonies are ever present. Yet charms are certainly not regarded by the Negroes of the Slave Coast, etc., as of such vital importance to their welfare as they are by the Bantu of the Gabun and Loango districts. These Bantu stake everything on the possession of charms, and

to the Mpongwe-speaking people they are the essence of religion. Possibly this is the earliest form of, and the nearest approach to, true fetishism in W. Africa. It is, therefore, of considerable interest. The Mpongwe native has only one idea in life: he desires to secure material prosperity for himself and his family, *i.e.* to live in comfortable circumstances to a good old age; for, although he may have some hazy idea of a future life, the general belief is that beyond the grave there is only the world of spirits and constant wrangling. Now, these spirits of the dead swarm round the living, and are always trying to annoy them; but by taking due precautions (getting possession of the proper charms) the Mpongwe imagines that he is able to frustrate the evil designs of the spirits. Each man, therefore, works for himself, and shapes his own destiny by means of charms (or fetishes, for the term is here permissible). But man himself cannot create his own charms, and thus the fraternity of trained fetishmen holds the people in an iron grasp, dispensing charms at varying prices.

Before the Mpongwe is old enough to be the owner of charms and to understand their value, his parents or the fetishmen perform certain ceremonies for him, as a protection against evil spirits. On reaching years of discretion, he begins to battle with the spirits, and procures from the fetishmen the necessary weapons of defence and offence, in the shape of charms and 'medicines.' The amulets or charms used by the people of the Mpongwe country, and supplied by the fetishmen, take almost any form, but usually consist of some small article capable of holding the ingredients necessary for the special purpose for which the charm is required. It may be a shell, a horn, or, in fact, anything, but the preparation placed in it by the fetishman varies. His assortment of materials is extensive, and includes such things as the ashes of herbs, plants, and bones, portions selected from human bodies or from the bodies of wild beasts, etc., which, with incantations and mystic rites, he prepares and mixes in strictest privacy. In making his compounds, he works on methodical lines, each ingredient being supposed to have its proper use; and, although the effect may be imaginary, the fetishman is careful to have what he considers the right materials in his concoctions.

E.g., a man has a grudge against another; he goes to the fetishman to procure a charm which will bring misfortune to his enemy; in the compound the fetishman will place (if he can obtain them) nail-parings, hair-clippings, or a drop of blood, of the person against whom the spell is to work. But the shell, or horn, with the mixture which it contains, has no efficacy of itself; a spirit—good or evil, strong or otherwise—must be passed into it; and, in selecting the ingredients for his mixture, the fetishman includes spices and other things likely to attract the particular class of spirit which he desires to take up its abode in the charm. For all this working by means of charms is nothing more than warfare among the spirits, and the man whose charm contains the more powerful spirit wins the day.

Besides innumerable charms to secure prosperity in this world, the well-to-do Mpongwe native has other means for bringing good or causing evil. These include certain cabalistic expressions, supposed to influence the spirits, and used by individuals, as well as incantations by the fetishmen in the nature of curses or blessings.

In the lower form of Fjort religion charms are everything, if we include in the term not only the personal protective charm (*nkici-kici*), but also the nail-fetish (*nkici-mbowu*). These things have no connexion whatever with objects having sacred powers inherent in them by nature (*nkici-ci*), nor is the nature of the charm quite the same as that of the Mpongwe charm.

The nail-fetish is an extraordinary institution, which without doubt is the curse of the country. It consists of a wooden image, in the form of a man, made under the following circumstances. The party, headed by a special fetishman, proceeds to the grove where the tree for the image is to be cut down. The spirit of a man has to be passed into the tree, in order that human passions may dwell in the image, and for this purpose the man must die—though not necessarily at once. When the grove is entered, should a man's name be called, even accidentally, that man will die and his spirit will enter the tree. But, as a rule, the man whose spirit is to preside over the image is specially selected for his great courage or some other manly attribute, and his name is solemnly called in the grove. The fetishman then fells the tree, and the sap that flows from it is thought to be its blood; with this is mingled the blood of a fowl sacrificed for the purpose. The man whose spirit is to enter the image dies within ten days—by what means is not known, though the natives deny that he is killed by any human agency. The image is carved, and stuffed by the fetishman with the proper 'medicines,' long and mysterious ceremonies being performed; it is then set up among the other images in the fetishman's hut. The nail-fetish is now ready for use, the people supposing that the *nkulu*, or spirit, within it is able to kill whom it pleases. The process of invoking its aid is simple: if a man thinks that another has done him an injury, or is likely to harm him, he goes to the fetishman of a nail-fetish, tells him his trouble, pays him handsomely, and persuades him to drive a nail, knife, or spear-point into the image. This having been done with proper ceremonies, his enemy will surely die. If this were all superstition or imagination, there could be no great harm in nail-fetishes, but the fact is clearly established that the man to compass whose death the nail has been driven does actually die—at the hands of the *nkulu* within the image, the natives say. It is not unnatural to suppose that the fetishman, who has been paid for the murder, sees to it. But there are ways of avoiding this death. If a man has reason to suppose that his enemy has had a nail hammered for his death, he seeks out a priest or diviner, whom he pays to tell him the name of the particular nail-fetish which has had the nail driven into it. He then proceeds to the fetishman and, having discovered his own nail, pays to have it extracted. Endeavours have been made by European officials to suppress these images; several have been seized, and are now to be seen in museums in England; but doubtless new ones are created to take their places.

The *nkici-kici*, or personal protective charms, are also imbued with power by ceremonies performed by the fetishmen, but the respective sources from which the fetishmen derive the power by which the *nkici-kici* and the nail-fetishes are made efficacious are totally different. There are differences also in the ceremonies performed when passing the power into the objects, in the manner of invoking or consulting them, and in the purposes for which they are used. Of these *nkici-kici* of the Fjort the following are examples:

Bracelets of iron and of plaited palm-leaves and cloth, to protect from various misfortunes; a bracelet made of *baobab* fibre, to preserve health; a piece of the skin of a sloth, attached to a string, and worn round the head, to keep away pain and other ills; a charm made of elephant's skin, to give a man virility; a piece of skin of the sloth (different from the above), worn by a woman to protect her unborn child; a gazelle's horn filled with 'medicines,' worn by a woman to guard her in childbirth; and various similar things. There are also iron and copper marriage-bracelets, worn by both men and women as protective charms.

All such *nkici-kici* are obtained from different *zinganga* (plur. of *nganga*), or fetishmen, and, of course, are supposed to contain a *nkici*, or spirit, like the charms of other tribes.

6. Tabu, totemism, ancestor-worship, cannibalism, and sacrifices.—Among all W. African

tribes there appears to exist, in one form or another, prohibition or abstention from eating some particular articles of food. In the majority of cases the nature of the abstention is a family affair; and its origin is supposed to be connected with the family name—a species of totemism. On the Gold Coast and in many other parts there are families bearing the names of animals and plants. How they came by such names is not known; some have traditions that their ancestors sprang from the animal or plant; some believe that at one time an animal befriended a member of the family and was thenceforward revered, if not worshipped; and others maintain that the name was given to an ancestor because he was thought to resemble the animal in appearance or in habits—that it was, in fact, originally a 'nickname.' Whatever may have been the origin of the name, at the present time the members of a family abstain from eating the flesh of the animal whose name they bear. Thus a member of the Buffalo family does not eat the flesh of the buffalo, nor a member of the Corn-stalk family the corn-stalk, and so on. This form of prohibition or abstinence may be called ancestral prohibition, and it is found almost everywhere in W. Africa, among both Negroes and Bantu, even when the family bears no animal name. In addition to this, there are tabus laid on individuals by the priests and fetishmen, for some particular reason—*e.g.*, for the protection of the individual.

The Fjort word used to express anything forbidden is *kazila*, or *xina*; and Dennett[1] names nine classes of things that are *xina*. Eagles, owls, crows, bats, snakes, etc., are universally prohibited as food, probably because they are considered, from their nature and habits, unclean, or possessed of some evil spirit, and no person, except witches, would think of eating them. Then each tribe and family has its distinct *xina*, and each member of a family his own special *xina*, to knowingly eat which results in the direst consequences—trouble, sickness, and even death—produced, the people believe, by unseen and malignant spirits. To certain tribes (about the Congo, Loango, etc.) the leopard is *xina*; and each province has also its separate forbidden animal. Moreover, a member of the family has to respect what he knows to have been the *xina* of his father, as well as those of his mother, his grandfathers, and his grandmothers. It will thus be observed that every native, in all probability, is forbidden to eat the flesh of several different animals; if he is a chief, or other high official, his list of prohibited animals will be still longer. To mention all the animals that are *xina* would be impossible, for to one person or another nearly every known beast and bird is *xina*. Then there are special tabus—*e.g.*, certain priests may not eat food cooked by unmarried women; members of a royal household may not even touch a pig; doctors may prohibit a patient from eating certain foods. Finally, all animals parts of which (skins, horns, claws, shells, etc.) are found to be stored up by the fetishmen in the sacred groves are *xina*.

The *orunda* of the Mpongwe is not so widely applied as the *kazila* (or *xina*) of the Fjort, though the idea is similar. As a rule *orunda* is laid on a child when quite young by the parents and fetishmen. Lengthy ceremonies are performed, and the child is prohibited for the remainder of his life from eating some particular animal, or some particular part of an animal. The *orunda* may take other forms; thus an individual may be forbidden to eat in the presence of a woman, to drink except at certain times of the day, etc. How the *orunda* is selected in each case, or for what reason, does not appear to be known. But the object of the ceremony is a dedication of the article selected to the indwelling or guardian spirit of the child, in order to obtain the spirit's goodwill and assistance through life. Consequently, should a man at any time break his *orunda*, his insulted spirit will turn against him, and call in evil spirits to cause trouble. The underlying idea in *orunda*, *xina*, *ibet* (of the Efiks, Old Calabar), and the abstinence of other W. African tribes is always the same; but the peculiarity about it is that, though it is voluntarily assumed, and though the priests and fetishmen do not interfere to see that it is carried out, no native would dare to face the consequences of breaking his prohibition—so great is his dread of the unseen spirits which rule the universe.

From the ancestral prohibition of families with animal names, it seems probable that animal-worship was at one time more prevalent in W. Africa than it is now. At the present time the actual worship of animals is by no means common, though several animals (snakes, monitor lizards, etc.) are protected by the priests. Still, as has already been mentioned, certain of the Ewe-speaking people worship the crocodile, and the Dahomans worship the leopard, but apparently only because of the belief that the homeless *kra* of some human being takes possession of the animal for evil purposes. In some parts of Dahomey the python is worshipped as a chief god, and any disrespect shown to one of these snakes is severely punished. Beyond this animal-worship in W. Africa does not go, and, as a matter of fact, it is no more the animal that is worshipped than the wooden image representative of a god; what is worshipped is the spirit residing in the animal, whether that spirit is regarded as a *kra*, a bush-soul, or some malevolent spirit which the native dreads. It may be that, in some cases, the animal is emblematic of an ancestor, and is thus regarded as in a measure sacred. This opens up the whole question of ancestor-worship, if true ancestor-worship may be said to exist in W. Africa. A respect for ancestors is found among all the tribes, and ancestor-esteem is part and parcel of the religion of the Negroes and Bantu, but that a W. African habitually regards any one of his ancestors as a god is not true. Nor, as a rule, does he, in the true sense, make sacrifices to an ancestor; what he offers to the spirit of the departed is merely a gift, the spiritual essence of which, he thinks, will be acceptable. His conception of the spirit-world leads him to believe that its inmates require spiritual food and drink, and before eating and drinking, therefore, he lays aside a portion for the spirit of his dead father or other relative. This gift of food is not made from fear, nor for the purpose of warding off threatened wrath; for the spirits of ancestors are deemed to be guardians of the living members of the family, and not hostile to them. The gift is evidently made out of pure kindness of heart, in return for the protection which the ancestral spirits are thought to afford their living offspring.

On occasions, more especially in times of national calamity, a king and his people will invoke the aid of the spirits of departed kings, and in Ashanti, Dahomey, and elsewhere there are annual festivals for honouring deceased rulers. The skeletons of the kings are carefully preserved, and offerings of food are made to each one. Moreover, until recently, sacrifices of human beings were made to the spirits of the dead chiefs out of gratitude for past protection. In Benin and the various kingdoms of the Oil Rivers the chiefs celebrate what is termed 'making father' on the anniversary of the late chief's death. Formerly this ceremony was accompanied by human sacrifices, but now it is more a public festival attended with

[1] P. 50 f.

dancing and rioting, the religious part being performed by the chief at his father's grave, where offerings of food are made. So also among the lower classes of all these Negro tribes the greatest respect is shown for dead relatives. The skulls of the family ancestors are kept in earthen pots, in rows on a shelf, or in some small temple built for the purpose, food is placed before them, and they are consulted whenever assistance is required. This, however, can hardly be called true ancestor-worship, if by worship is implied adoration of a god through a priest. Yet some of these tribes do occasionally worship gods whom they believe to be deified ancestors—*e.g.*, Adanlosan, Ajahuto, Kpati, and Kpasi, worshipped by the eastern Ewes, and Gunu, the chief god of the Nupés, Igaras, and other tribes in the neighbourhood of the Niger-Benué confluence. Again, the Mpongwe are without doubt ancestor-worshippers, proof of which is to be found in the *yaka* bundle previously referred to. Lastly, connected with ancestor-worship—carried perhaps to extremes—is the custom of certain tribes of the Upper Cross River, where, it is said, in order to assimilate the good qualities of their ancestors, the people eat their relatives as soon as they die. In contradistinction to this relative-eating is the case of the Fang and other remote tribes of the interior, whose members eat all corpses except those of their own family. But these are not wasted, for they are sold to another family or exchanged for other corpses. This form of cannibalism, however, is not common in W. Africa, and there is no proof that cannibalism of any kind prevails to a great extent among Negroes or Bantus of the coast regions. There are known cannibal tribes even on the coast, but their cannibalism is not of the lower order; human flesh is eaten not because it is enjoyed, or to stay the pangs of hunger, but rather from a religious motive. They believe that in warfare their gods are ever present, aiding them in the fight, and they are led by their priests to believe that the gods demand that a proportion of the captives of war shall be slaughtered and eaten by the conquerors, so that the fighting qualities of the victims may pass into the system of the victors, and thus strengthen them for future battles. But, besides eating the flesh of captives of war, no great human sacrifice offered for the purpose of appeasing the gods and averting sickness or misfortune is considered complete unless either the priests or the people eat the bodies of the victims. Such practices, however, are fast disappearing, and have, of course, been stamped out wherever European administration has been established.

With regard to sacrifices and offerings, it is necessary to recall two points: (1) there are two distinct purposes for which sacrifices and offerings are made, or, rather, two distinct classes of recipients, viz. the gods of the people, and the spirits of the departed; and (2) the Negro's conception of a sacrifice or offering, for whatever purpose it is made, is that its spirit or spiritual essence passes into the use of the spirit to whom it is offered—whether it be the spirit of a god or the spirit of a dead person. Human sacrifices are made to a god, because it is thought that he requires numerous attendants to do his bidding, and the ghosts or spirits of slaughtered slaves are supposed to pass immediately into his service. To obtain the goodwill of a god, therefore, especially in times of great trouble, it is necessary to offer up human beings. On occasions of victory a wholesale slaughter of prisoners of war is carried out for the reason that all warfare is held to be as much the affair of the gods as of men, that the gods fight on the side of their devotees, and consequently the gods of the victors are particularly pleased at receiving into their service the spirits of worshippers of the vanquished gods.

The sacrifice of human beings at funerals has already been discussed. It may be remarked, however, that such sacrifice is not made to a god, but to the spirit or ghost of the dead man. The motive of the sacrifice is the same, viz. that the spirits of the victims shall pass into the service of the spirit of the departed; for the ghost of a dead chief must be accompanied to ghost-land by a retinue of ghost-wives and ghost-slaves befitting his rank. All other sacrifices and offerings are made with similar intentions—to appease or please a god or to furnish the supposed requirements of the dead. A blood-offering of any kind is deemed of greater value than anything else, and, where before the advent of European administration a human being would have been offered to a god, now a goat, sheep, or fowl is sacrificed. Of minor offerings food and drink are the most usual, but almost anything may be offered; for, even if the offering be of no value to the god or spirit, it is thought that the mere act of offering will induce goodwill and aid.

7. Secret societies, oaths, trial by ordeal.—Since the ordinary Negro or Bantu is not morally restrained from wrong-doing, and sees no harm in cheating his neighbour or causing him even greater annoyance, fear of punishment alone keeps him within bounds. In those parts of W. Africa now administered by European governments law and order are, of course, maintained by regular courts of law, but, prior to the establishment of this European control, and in such parts as are still outside European influence, the welfare of the community was, and is, watched over by village or tribal councils. But these councils of themselves, although they may find a person guilty of an offence, do not possess the power of enforcing punishment or even of seeing that a wrong is made right. They have, however, at their back what may be termed a 'court of final appeal,' viz. the secret society, whose operations, under the cloak of religion, terrorize the people. The original purpose for which the majority of secret societies were formed was to prevent the chiefs from unduly oppressing their people; but no sooner were these socialistic ideas discovered than the chiefs themselves joined the societies, and used them for their own purposes. Thus, to-day, the head of a secret society will generally be found to be the king of the country or the chief of the tribe; but this is not always the case, for there are still some powerful societies which virtually rule the country, and to whose decrees the king himself is forced to submit. The best example of this is the Ogboni society of the Yorubas, with which is connected the whole priesthood, and which is therefore doubly powerful. The organization of the society is complete, each town and village having its 'lodge,' with a code of signs, passwords, etc., while the members are solemnly sworn to assist each other and to do the bidding of the society. The supreme head of the Ogboni is the Alafin of Yoruba, but in the various minor States the chief priest is the local head of the society. The heads assemble in council when any important matter (religious, judicial, or civil) has to be discussed, and they have powers of life and death (*i.e.*, of course, beyond the limits of British jurisdiction). No matter of public interest appears to be too trivial to occupy their attention, and they are at once judges and executioners. The society is under the protection of the goddess Odudua, but, beyond what has been said, little is known about it; its organization and methods are secret, and the penalty for betraying its secrets is death.

Secret societies are found in all parts of W. Africa, and the work that they do is, up to a certain point, beneficial to the communities. They uphold the moral and social laws and preserve the ancient religious customs and institutions. On the other hand, as was perhaps only natural, they have overstepped the bounds of justice, and in many instances have become nothing more than an organized band of murderers or executioners, with the result that, wherever they have come into contact with European administration, they have had to be rigorously suppressed. Of such societies the better known are the Porroh of the Mendis (Sierra Leone), the Bondo of the Sherbro country, the Igwomori of Benin, the Otrada of the Sobos, the Ekemeku of the Asabas, the Aro ('Long Juju') of the Oil Rivers, the Egbo of the Efiks (Old Calabar, etc.), and the Ukuku and Yasi of the Bantu tribes to the south-east, though the last two have now been completely broken up. Their organization is always much the same: new members are initiated, with peculiar ceremonies and mystic rites, on reaching man's estate; and they bind themselves by the most sacred oaths, and on pain of death, not to reveal the secrets of the society, as well as to carry out the orders of the spirit which is considered to preside over its affairs. The mouthpiece of the spirit is, of course, one of the head officials of the society, selected by his fellows to act as chief priest; and consequently this official is in reality the judge of the people. His word (purporting to be the word of the spirit) is law, and the members of the society are bound to do his bidding—even to killing offenders, should this be ordered. As a rule, however, killing is seldom necessary; for so great is the dread of the guardian-spirit of the society that any idea of resisting its authority usually dies out the moment it becomes known that a meeting of members has been called to discuss a case.

From all accounts, the Porroh was the most bloodthirsty of these societies, and its members (known as 'human leopards' and 'human crocodiles'), dressed in the skins of wild beasts, lay in wait for unsuspecting travellers, tearing them to pieces and carrying them off to be eaten by the priests of the society. Its power has been crushed by the Sierra Leone authorities. The Egbo of the Efiks is the most prominent secret society of W. Africa now in existence; and, though it has been robbed of its higher functions by the British administrators who now rule the country, it still carries considerable weight with the people. Beyond the limits of British influence, its power is as strong as ever. Its secret has been well kept, for little is known of the rites and ceremonies connected with Egbo, or of its organization, except that it has numerous branches, subdivided into various grades. The *jujumen* (trained fetishmen) are generally the heads of the branches, and through them the Egbo spirit makes known its decisions. It rules by fear, and its members maintain their reputation by periodically assembling and passing in procession to their council-house. Disguised in hideous wooden masks and strange dresses, they lead the people to believe that they are evil spirits, and so great is the terror inspired by their appearance that the sound of the Egbo horn or bell is the signal for a general stampede; for any one found abroad by the Egbo is severely beaten, if not torn to pieces.

Secret societies are not restricted to the male population; there are women's societies also, and their secrets are guarded from men. Originally they were intended for the protection of young women from the tyranny of their husbands, but nowadays it is impossible to say what purpose such great secret societies as the Njembe of the Mpongwe women serve. What goes on at their meetings in the bush is not known, and their power to do harm to the outside world appears to take the form of curses and poisoned food.

It is absolutely impossible to probe the secrets of any of these societies. Many attempts have been made by Europeans to acquire information from friendly natives, and bribery has been resorted to. But no man or woman, even after conversion to Christianity, can be induced to break his or her oath. It is not perhaps strange that a people, brought up in the belief that their gods, evil spirits, secret societies, kings, priests, and fetishmen each and all are ready to deal death on the slightest pretext, should hesitate before revealing a secret which they have been sworn to keep. Dread of the consequences is sufficient to make the oath absolutely binding.

The actual form in which the secret society oath is taken has never been divulged, and it is probably different in every tribe; but the nature of the oaths taken, on other solemn occasions, by the members of the various tribes may be considered as typical. This oath of allegiance or friendship is not merely the swearing of a simple oath, but rather an impressive religious ceremony performed in the presence of numerous witnesses.

The Gold Coast tribes are sworn by a god in the following way. Some article (a portion of earth, leaves, berries, sea-water, etc.) taken from the spot where the spirit of the god is said to reside is mixed up and eaten or drunk by the person or persons to be sworn, while the priest administering the oath calls on the god to punish any violation of the oath. Europeans sometimes term this 'eating fetish,' 'chopping ju-ju,' or 'swapping ju-ju.' Another method of taking an oath is by a *bohsum*, or even by a *suhman*, charm, over which water is poured and then drunk. Blood mixed with chips of wood from a chief's stool of office is sometimes eaten. But the actual eating or drinking of a certain article is not always necessary, and among some of the tribes the person taking the oath lays a portion of his hair or nail-parings at the shrine of his god, the priest at the same time invoking the god to vent his wrath on the man if he should ever break his oath.

In some districts the oath of friendship takes the form of the interested parties washing one another's feet. Among the tribes inland from Opobo (Oil Rivers) a goat is brought into the circle, its head is struck off at one blow, and the blood is smeared with the fingers over the foreheads and breasts of all present, after which pieces of raw flesh are crammed by one party into the mouths of the other. The blood-brotherhood ceremony of the Upper Cross River, known as 'chopping *imbiam*,' is somewhat lengthy. The fingers of the right hands of the two parties are interlocked, after which each man's wrist is lanced until the blood flows freely; a grain of Indian corn, one of Guinea corn, and a piece of kola-nut are then rubbed in the blood, and eaten by each man off the other's wrist. They now consider themselves brothers, and repeat an oath to the effect that, if either attempts to harm the other in any way, may he himself be killed in that same way. The brothers embrace and seat themselves back to back, when they are separated by dropping some earth between them. Lastly, they drink palm-wine out of the same vessel.

Every native uses some short form of oath or imprecation to impress on his fellows that he is speaking the truth. The methods of swearing witnesses in courts of law differ in different parts of W. Africa. The general nature of the oath is much the same, the native calling on a god or a spirit to make his food disagree with him or to cause him to die some manner of violent death, if he fails to speak the truth. But the most ancient, and perhaps the most reliable, way of testing a man's veracity is by ordeal.

Trial by ordeal has from time immemorial been resorted to by the natives of W. Africa, and is still employed where the people are left to their own devices. The original idea was a simple one; *e.g.*, A accuses B of stealing his goods; B denies the charge; the matter is brought before the council or the chief; a decoction, supposed to be poisonous, is prepared in a bowl, and is offered to B to drink; if he refuses to drink, or if he drinks and becomes ill, his guilt is proved; but if he drinks and suffers no ill effects, he is deemed innocent. This method of trial had the advantage of doing away with the

tedious evidence of many witnesses; and, relying on the Negro's superstitious dread of the consequences, it was doubtless a deterrent of crime as well as of litigation in general. Had trial by ordeal gone no farther, no great outcry could have been raised against it; but those in power—the chiefs, priests, fetishmen, etc.—found the poison-bowl an easy instrument for getting rid of their enemies and for extorting large sums of money. The priest or fetishman who administers the test mixes the contents of the bowl, and, for a price, will regulate the amount of odum, sass-wood, casca, Calabar bean, or other poison, which he employs. The guilt or innocence of the party, therefore, rests with the priest or fetishman.

In private life ordeals are often employed to detect crime, though in most cases a confession of guilt is made as soon as the ordeal begins. Few natives are willing to submit to the test, unless their consciences are quite clear—not that they fear the actual bodily pain resulting from the hot iron, the boiling oil, or the needle, feather, or thorn thrust through the tongue, but because they are convinced that, by voluntarily undergoing the ordeal when guilty, they are defying the gods and spirits, and are sure to suffer the consequences.

8. Birth, marriage, and death.—In most parts of W. Africa births are made the occasion for a good deal of religious ceremony. On the Gold Coast, Slave Coast, and elsewhere where gods are worshipped, as soon as a woman discovers that she is about to become a mother, she takes special precautions, offers sacrifices to the family-god, and is bound with charms of beads by a priestess in order that all may go well with her. Among the Mpongwe Bantu, on such occasions, almost as much interest is attached to the husband as to the prospective mother, and he, as well as his wife, has to observe certain rules; he may not follow certain avocations, and must abstain from eating certain food. No sooner is the infant born than it is loaded with charms as a protection against evil spirits, and among such priest-ridden people as the Ewes and Yorubas it is at once taken charge of by a priestess. About a week later the birth ceremonies begin, and among the various tribes the differences in these are clearly marked, resulting from the degree of religion at which the tribe has arrived. The Tshis (somewhat low down in the religious scale) do not call in the aid of priests or priestesses, the father performing the necessary ceremonies. The child, as a matter of custom, is given as a first name that of the day of the week on which it was born, and on the eighth day after birth the father, attended by his male friends, proceeds to the house where the birth has taken place, where, seated outside, he receives the infant in his arms. He then returns thanks to his particular god, after which he gives the child its second name, which may be that of an ancestor or a friend; and he completes the ceremony by spitting some rum into the infant's face. Then follows the thanksgiving service; rum is poured freely on the ground for the benefit of the ancestral spirits, sacrifices are offered to the family-god, and feasting and dancing are carried on into the night.

The Ewes have almost identical customs, though the mother and infant are placed under the protection of a priestess for forty days after the birth, and the naming ceremony is different. Here the priest takes the place of the father in the naming of the child, which is accompanied by a good deal of religious ceremony, including the bathing of the child's forehead with water of purification. Since the Ewes have no names for the days of the week, the name given at birth is either that of a god or that of an ancestor. The eastern Ewes, dwelling in proximity with the Yorubas, have acquired the belief in metempsychosis, and, when a child is born, it is the duty of the priest to discover what ancestor it represents, and its first name becomes that of the ancestor. Later in life the man takes a 'strong name,' and drops his birth name.

The power of the priesthood being greater among the Yorubas than among the Ewes, the religious ceremonies at birth are correspondingly more important in Yoruba-land than in the countries to the west. The belief in metempsychosis is universal, and the diviner or priest proclaims what ancestor has received re-birth in the new infant, who has to be trained to grow up like the ancestor. At the naming ceremony a hen is sacrificed to Ifa and a cock to the *olori* (indwelling spirit of the head), after which there follows the purification by water. The priest throws consecrated water on to the thatch of the house, and the mother and infant walk three times through the drips. Water is placed on the child's forehead, while his name is repeated three times; and the priest then holds him so that his feet touch the ground. Finally, there is the purification by fire. The fire burning in the house is put out and cleared away, the house is swept and cleaned, and a fresh fire is lighted, a sacrifice of fowls to Ifa concluding the whole ceremony.

Such ceremonies as the above prevail where the people have gods and a priesthood, but elsewhere, where the belief in evil spirits is strong, all energies are devoted to the preservation of the mother and infant from their malicious designs, and guns are repeatedly fired to frighten them away.

In former times, if a Tshi woman died in childbirth, her infant was buried with her; and it was the custom of the Ahanta people (Gold Coast) to destroy the tenth child borne by a woman. Everywhere in W. Africa, even nowadays, the birth of twins is regarded as a remarkable event—by some tribes as a sign of bad luck, by others as the reverse. It is probable that originally twins were considered unnatural, and the woman who bore them was regarded as possessed of an evil spirit; hence it was customary, as it still is in the Niger Delta, to proclaim her an outcast and to destroy her offspring. By some tribes, however, only one of the twins was destroyed. In the countries westward of the Niger, as well as in Gabun, Loango, etc., the advent of twins is hailed with joy, and religious ceremonies for their protection take place. Special names are given to them; thus, the Ewes call the first-born of twin brothers Atsu, the second Tse, while the first male child born after twins has to receive the name Dosu. Some of the Yoruba tribes reverence twins, who are deemed to bring the best of luck to the household and tribe, and the death of one of them is considered a grave misfortune. Should such an event happen, a wooden figure is carved to take the place of the dead infant, and laid by the side of the living one, the image then becoming a family-fetish. A mother who loses both of her twin infants has two images made to represent them, and these she worships continuously. Through life twin brothers do everything alike—eat similar food, wear similar dress, marry on the same day, etc. To do otherwise would break the spell, and result in the death of one of them.

Like twins, albino babies are destroyed as monstrosities by some tribes, by others welcomed as bringers of good luck. Then, again, there is the custom, still prevalent in remote districts, of making away with children who cut the upper teeth first.

Polygamy is universal among both Negroes and Bantu, the number of wives that a man possesses depending on his wealth, *i.e.* his ability to pay the necessary dowry. Except among the Fjort, marriage in W. Africa is a purely social institution, and not connected in any way with religion, though

the Yoruba priests, in the endeavour to strengthen their position, sometimes persuade the newly married couple to make sacrifices together to a god. Doubtless, in the course of time, religious ceremonies will be introduced, but at present there exist only certain social customs. Children may be betrothed, when quite young, or even before birth. When a girl who has not been betrothed arrives at a marriageable age, she is dressed, painted, decked with ornaments, and paraded through the streets by her companions, until a suitor comes forward. The suitor then has to come to terms with the girl's family, for in all cases he has to pay a sum for his bride. After this has been settled, a day is fixed for the marriage-feast, when the bridegroom takes charge of the bride, and dancing and wild orgies are indulged in.

The Fjort people hold marriage in much higher esteem than do the other natives of W. Africa—a fact doubtless due to the cult of the goddess Nzambi, and the superior status held by women. Betrothal and payment to the bride's father are much the same here as in other parts, but a curious custom takes place when a girl becomes marriageable. She is locked up in what is called the 'paint-house,' where she is painted red, and carefully attended to until those in charge of her think she is fit to marry. If she has been betrothed, she is washed, and the marriage-ceremony then takes place; but, if no husband is waiting for her, she is dressed up and paraded round the town in search of a suitor. The actual marriage-ceremony is more or less of a religious nature, and is accompanied by rites, such as those of *boomba*, *lembe*, *funzi*, *ngofo* (the family-fetishes brought by the winds [above, § 2. vi.]). In each case a metal bracelet is given by the bridegroom to the bride, who swears to be faithful to her husband, never to leave him, and to be buried with him when he dies.

Burial customs in W. Africa are very similar among all the tribes; the only real difference results from the conception of the particular tribe as to what happens to the soul after death. In all cases death is the occasion for wailing and lamentations, more especially by the women of the household; and the Gold Coast, Slave Coast, and neighbouring people dress the corpse in the dead man's best clothes, and deck it with jewellery and ornaments. The relatives and friends then visit the corpse, offer it presents, fire guns, and call on the dead man to return to life. The mourners abstain from food until after the burial, though intoxicating liquor is freely partaken of. The burial of property with the corpse, the slaughter of slaves, and other matters connected with funeral ceremonies have been mentioned above, and it will be remembered that such things are prevalent among those people who believe in the requirements of the ghosts dwelling in ghost-land, or in the requirements of the spirit awaiting re-birth. In other parts, particularly among the Bantu, where it is thought that at death a man's spirit quits the body, joins the world of spirits, and continues to have an influence over the living, the ceremonies that take place have for their principal object the ingratiation of the spirit of the deceased. It is necessary to keep the spirit in good humour, so that it may work for the welfare of the family.

The mode of actual burial and the place selected for interment vary considerably. Coffins are nearly always used, and the body is usually wrapped in cloths or grass mats. Some tribes (*e.g.*, the Limbas of Sierra Leone) bury their dead upright, others place the corpse in a sitting position, while the majority place it on its side, with the face towards the east. Again, the place of interment may be under the floor of the deceased's house, the grave being so arranged that the head of the corpse will lie just outside the outer wall of the house; or the body may be buried in the compound, or even outside the village, in which case a small hut is built over the grave. Some tribes—*e.g.*, the Mpongwe—prefer the spirits of the dead to dwell at a distance from human habitations, and therefore bury their dead in the forest.

With a belief in witchcraft so strong as it is among the people of W. Africa, it is only natural that death should be regarded as due to the machinations of witches or evil spirits. By many death is held to be unnatural, and, when it overtakes a member of a family, his relatives summon the fetishman, who is called upon to state the cause of death and seek out the witch who brought it about. The witch proclaimed, she is required to undergo the poison ordeal in front of the corpse. If the fetishman considers that death resulted from the actions of evil spirits, the friends of the dead man have to take special precautions to prevent the same evil spirits from working destruction on the other members of the family.

LITERATURE.—R. E. Dennett, *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*, London, 1906, *Nigerian Studies*, do. 1910, *Notes on the Folklore of the Fjort*, do. 1898, *Seven Years among the Fjort*, do. 1887; A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of W. Africa*, do. 1890, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of W. Africa*, do. 1887, *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of W. Africa*, do. 1894; A. F. Mockler-Ferryman, *Up the Niger*, do. 1892; M. H. Kingsley, *Travels in W. Africa*, do. 1897, *W. African Studies*, do. 1899; A. G. Leonard, *The Lower Niger and its Tribes*, do. 1906; R. H. Nassau, *Fetichism in W. Africa*, do. 1904; C. Partridge, *Cross River Natives*, do. 1905.

A. F. MOCKLER-FERRYMAN.

NEGROES (United States). — **1. Origin, numbers, and distribution.**—Records are found of Negroes occasionally with the Spanish colonists in Florida and other southern sections of the country, and Negroes take pride in the presence of some of their race with Cortez de Narvaez, de Soto, and other explorers. The Spanish Government expressly permitted the settlers who owned slaves to bring them with them to America, and they were among the first in Florida (St. Augustine), Alabama, and New Mexico. Negro pride in adventure is illustrated just now in the case of Matthew A. Henson, who had accompanied Peary on several explorations and was with him on his successful dash for the North Pole. He is a greatly popular hero among his own race. He has had successful lecture tours and has written an autobiography, and half a page in the *Negro Year Book* for 1914–15 is devoted to him. The history of Africans in America has its beginning, properly, in the introduction of slaves into the English colonies in 1619, when, in the quaint record of Master John Rolfe, 'About the last of August came in a Dutch man-of-Warre that sold us twenty negars.' From that time for more than 150 years Negroes were imported from Africa, chiefly by British exploiters, who early secured a monopoly of this traffic. There is no way of knowing the total number brought into the United States, but it cannot have been less than 2,000,000. They were taken mainly from the west coast of Africa, although many were procured from the interior by methods well known (see SLAVERY). Many different tribes were represented among the captives, and they have preserved many physical marks of their different origins. Few of the Negrito Bushmen were included, but one occasionally observes their characteristics even yet. The splendidly-built Bantu is also sometimes seen in almost native purity. But chiefly the Hamitic Negroes constitute the main body of the African stock in America.

By the time of their emancipation (1861) the numbers had come to about 4,500,000, of whom nearly 500,000 were free—census 1860: total,

4,441,830; free, 487,970. At present there are 10,000,000—census 1910: 9,827,763—which is 10·7 per cent of the total (continental) population of the country. The percentage is gradually and rather rapidly decreasing owing to the great immigration, which is practically all white. In 1860 the percentage was 14·1. With only two exceptions the percentage has shown decrease at every census since the first, 1790, when it was 19·3.

From the start it was evident that slavery could be made profitable only in the cotton- and tobacco-growing States, and so it was in the south that the numbers of Negroes multiplied; they were never relatively numerous in the north. The warmer south was far better adapted to their habits of life, brought over from Africa, and to their inherited constitution. Contrary to what might have been expected, they have remained in the south during the period of their freedom. In seventeen southern States, including Delaware, District of Columbia, and W. Virginia, not distinctively southern, there are 8,749,970; while in all the rest of the country there are only a few thousand above 1,000,000, and of these fewer than half (450,000) were born in the south, whereas a few more than 40,000 now in the south were born in other parts of the country. In two of the southern States they constitute a majority of the total population—56·2 per cent in Mississippi, 55·2 in S. Carolina. In the whole south they are 29·8 per cent of the total. Only in the populous States of New York, Pennsylvania, and Illinois has the north as many as 100,000 in any one State. In the country as a whole 27·4 per cent live in the cities, while in the south the percentage is 21·2. Of the large cities Washington, the capital, has the largest proportion of Negroes —94,446 in a total of 331,069. In the western part of the country there are very few, less than one per cent in Seattle, and only about one-third per cent in San Francisco.

2. Social condition.—We have seen that from the beginning Negroes came to the country as slaves. In Virginia they were not legally and technically so designated until 1661. All the earlier States provided for slavery. There was division on the subject after the rise of the anti-slavery agitation which culminated in the Civil War. In some of the States they were theoretically allowed to hold property, while in others they could neither hold property nor borrow money. The conditions varied in degree with different economic conditions and varying sentiment. In general, the type of slavery was that of the household chattel slave. On the great plantations they were grouped in 'settlements,' controlled by 'overseers,' and dealt with largely on the group plan. The nature of the care and kindly attention received by them from the owners and their representatives was determined by the principles of humanity and the material interests at stake. It was generally recognized to be commercially advantageous to give the slaves a large degree of physical care, and as a rule their humanity was so far recognized as to lead to providing many humane and helpful conditions. On the whole, it should be set down as established that physically, as well as spiritually, the Negro in the United States was far more advantageously situated than in Africa in his native condition. Slavery is always in some of its features, and in its basal idea, inhuman; and it is beyond question that there was much relative neglect and not a little gross brutality in the treatment of the Negroes. It has been estimated (*Negro Year Book*, p. 111) that 6200 free Negroes in the country owned Negro slaves to the number of 18,000, but the estimate may not be well founded.

It was evident from the beginning that the American conscience did not wholly approve of the practice of slavery. Active agitation against it began early. In legislation Rhode Island led the way as early as 1652 with a law prohibiting the holding in slavery for more than ten years of any person, white or black, after he was twenty-four years old. Legislation mostly took the form at first of prohibiting the importation of slaves into the States or of limiting it by an import duty. By 1776 the sentiment had sufficiently grown for the Continental Congress to resolve that 'no slave be imported into any of the thirteen colonies.' The Constitution of the United States left within the authority of the several States the control of slavery and of the importation from one State to another; and the Government accepted from several of the States territory ceded on condition 'that no regulations made or to be made by Congress shall tend to emancipate slaves.' Conflict of views and interests involved in the rights and policies with reference to slavery, beginning even before the founding of the Union, grew in severity and acuteness. Numerous measures of compromise and temporizing could only delay the culmination in the Civil War (1861–65), in the midst of which by proclamation of President Lincoln all slaves were emancipated (1st Jan. 1863). In 1865 the abolition of slavery was confirmed by an amendment of the Constitution, and under the regime of 'Reconstruction' all the State constitutions were made to conform to this principle, which was also made binding in the 'territories' by proclamation of the governors.

Later amendments to the national Constitution sought to remove all disabilities of the freed men and to guarantee to them full and equal rights of citizenship. This course, prompted by lofty sentimental idealism, nevertheless proved to have outrun sound statesmanship and practical possibility. The effort to confer immediate and full citizenship, with suffrage and possible official position included, upon 1,000,000 men just out of slavery was a political and social blunder, working grievous wrongs to whites and blacks alike, and the more so that the federal government had no plan or power at the time to provide for the education of the freed men in the meaning and responsibilities of that citizenship. Within a quarter of a century this came to be very widely recognized, so that the southern States that had by various illegal devices prevented, hindered, and nullified the franchise of Negroes now began to accomplish the result by constitutional amendment, and were supported by the federal courts in this course. This was possible in popular sentiment, because in the better understanding of the different sections of the country it was getting to be generally agreed that the problems of race adjustment could best be worked out in the regions where they existed and not by doctrinaire measures depending for adoption and execution upon men with little personal knowledge of the actual difficulties. Legally the course was made possible by avoiding in form all distinctions based on colour or race, the chief device being the 'grandfather clause.' Standards of literacy were adopted, with the proviso that the prohibition would not apply to those whose grandfathers had exercised that right, or had served in the armies of defence of their State. Thus nearly all whites were exempt from the operation of the limiting laws. So the matter was in process of solution, while the gradual and rapid extension of education among the Negroes brought them into the rights of full citizenship with hope for its worthy exercise. Now, however (1916), the final court of appeal has voided these laws and the situation is somewhat chaotic. It seems to be generally agreed that some legal means will be found for continuing

the method of solution indicated. Two Negroes have sat in the U.S. Senate, both for Mississippi, and twenty have been representatives in Congress for a total of thirty-five terms. They were from eight southern States. Several hold consular, subordinate diplomatic, and administrative office under appointment. In all branches of government service there were, in 1914, 22,440, including some 6500 in the army and navy (*Negro Year Book*, p. 153 f.).

It was inevitable that caste custom and race prejudice should make and maintain sharp barriers against 'social equality' for the Negroes. This has failed in no community where the Negroes were present in large numbers. While many Negroes have cherished hopes of such 'equality,' the majority have either never taken much thought about it or have recognized the impossibility of it, and not a few of them have urged its undesirability. Once a much-discussed question, it is relatively ignored to-day. Beginning about 1880, laws have been enacted in many States compelling the separation of the races in public conveyances, especially railway-trains, hotels, theatres, and other public buildings, and in schools. In Florida it is even illegal for a white to teach in a Negro school, and *vice versa*. Latterly a movement is spreading to segregate the two races in their residences. This has long been done by community agreement and by regulation of real estate companies in property deeds; and, as a rule, normal tendencies and race affinities procured general grouping according to colour, but not infrequently the purchase of property in white districts by Negroes was embarrassing, and encroachments of one race on the other frequently made readjustments necessary. Now the matter has become the subject of city legislation, the very simple, if unscientific, basis usually being the prohibition of a member of one race from acquiring property, by purchase or rental, within a city block wherein more than half the property is already occupied by the other race. In certain northern States there are towns in which public sentiment, with mob enforcement, does not permit a Negro to live at all.

Miscegenation is prohibited by law in twenty-nine of the States, and social custom renders intermarriage between the races rare even where there is no legal barrier. In some States the penalty is to 'void' the marriage, in others to punish the violators but not to 'void' the marriage, while in several the marriage is 'voided' and a penalty imposed—imprisonment, or fine, or both. In some States the official issuing the licence is also punished, and in some the minister or magistrate celebrating the marriage. Lustful and illicit miscegenation is, however, lamentably prevalent. There is no national definition of a Negro, and the local and State definitions are not uniform. In some provisions any Negro blood constitutes one a Negro, in others one-sixteenth, one-eighth, and one-fourth are the degrees specified. The estimate that one-fifth of all the Negroes have more or less of Negro blood cannot be far wrong, and it has the support of the 1910 census, which showed 20·9 per cent. This is an apparent increase in twenty years from 15·2; but in 1890 the enumerators were instructed to include as mulattoes only those having one-fourth or more of Negro blood, whereas in 1910 all were reported as mulattoes who had any trace of Negro blood, and, on the other hand, were 'not evidently full-blood Negroes.' Enumerators were usually ignorant of ethnological distinctions and judged merely by superficial appearance or report. Thus the apparently rapid rise in the last decade is not trustworthy. Except for the decade 1860 to 1870, when there is a drop from 13·2 per cent to 12 per cent, the percentage has risen slowly. In comparison with the total number of Negroes the proportion of mulattoes is lowest in the S. Atlantic States (10·4); in New England it is 28·6, and reaches its highest in the Pacific States (37·3). Miscegenation is nearly exclusively of white men with Negro women, and this must be one of the influences that account for the distressing number of attempted assaults of Negro men on white women.

Negroes have not often sought social relations with the white people on the basis of equality, although very many of them have entertained the hope that this might ultimately come to them. Aggressive efforts in this direction have, in the rare instances, been inspired by the vicious or misguided sentimental influence of white people. In the main there is a growing sense of race pride and an increasing determination to develop within racial lines. Not a few of their own leaders are directing the thought and ambition of the Negroes along this line. A growing respect for the Negro and appreciation of his potentialities and achievements on the part of the white race help forward this propaganda, and its progress is its guaranty of success. It is many years since there was any serious discussion of the proposition, once much agitated, of deportation or emigration of the Negroes. It may be taken as definitely settled that the present race of Africans in America will work out their destiny in that land, and with progressively satisfactory adjustment of the difficulties growing out of the occupation of the same territory by two races held apart by social and racial antipathies.

3. **Education and culture.**—Prior to emancipation no systematic provision for the general enlightenment of the Negro was made, and no public policy adopted. Various enterprises and movements for educating Negroes were undertaken by missionary and philanthropic organizations, and in some northern States the public schools were accessible to the few Negroes resident there. So far as progress was made, it was mainly by the efforts of the slave-owners, members of whose families in many cases taught the rudiments of learning to the slaves, especially to those to whom were assigned the household duties and personal service. Special provision was frequently made for the instruction of the slaves during the seasons when there was little work to be done. Those who were taught by white people were able to extend that knowledge in part to others. At emancipation not fewer than five per cent of the Negroes were able to read, and about 10,000 were in public schools; there were four schools for higher education and normal training; 150 Negro teachers; $50,000 invested in property for education; an annual expenditure the first year for education of $200,000, of which the *Negro Year Book* (p. 2) claims that $10,000 was given by the Negroes.

The history of education of Negroes since 1863 reveals progressive concern on the part of all parties. Large activities are included on the part of missionary and benevolent organizations through which many millions have been expended and some great 'Funds' made permanently available, as the Peabody Fund, Slater Fund, Jaynes Fund, and part of the Rockefeller Fund dispensed by the General Education Board (New York). Negroes have contributed in a way that often manifests heroism, insight, and wide vision, and their gifts include some very considerable endowments. The extensive destruction of material resources by the Civil War and the demoralization of all social organizations, and the conflict of interests and opinion during the period of 'Reconstruction' (to 1876), left educational facilities for all, in the south, prostrate and

to be built up anew and on lines radically different from those that had existed before the War, and under circumstances of extreme difficulty. Personal property was nearly all destroyed and realty was in dilapidation, while business was either destroyed or utterly demoralized. Of the 4,000,000 Negroes only a negligible number had either property or business, and they had lost the right of immediate dependence upon white people for support and direction. They had neither the resources nor the training for independent development. It was fifteen years before systems of free public schools were generally established with any measure of completeness. While in some of the States the effort was made to keep separate the income from school taxation from the two races and to expend on each the funds so procured, in most States there was no such legal discrimination, and schools were established for all. In practical administration it was inevitable that the Negro should receive far fewer of the all too inadequate facilities so meagrely provided. The equipment of his schools and the length of his school term were both far below those of the whites, and the disparity has not yet been overcome, but by degrees it is being removed, notwithstanding the fact that far the larger part of the revenue for the schools comes from the white people. This public school system provided in the various States has been the greatest of all factors in the education of the Negro. Fifty years after emancipation (1913) Negro illiteracy had fallen to 30 per cent; there were 1,800,000 pupils in free schools; 3500 Negroes were engaged in teaching; there were 500 colleges and schools for normal training; there had been in all 3856 college graduates, of whom more than 1600 belong to the first decade of this century; $200,000,000 are now invested in Negro education; the annual expenditure for this purpose amounts to about $13,500,000, of which the Negroes themselves are estimated to contribute $1,500,000 (*Negro Year Book*, p. 4). The best thought of the nation is now given to the task of removing illiteracy and providing adequate training to all. In this work account is taken of race and colour only as these affect the character and efficiency of methods to be employed in reaching the goal of well-trained citizenship. The Freedman's Bureau, which so signally promoted the facilities for Negro education, soon ceased to be needed. In the large sums expended and in the extensive work accomplished by this organization, and by the philanthropic societies of the white friends of the Negro, many mistaken aims and methods were employed in an experimental period. Not yet has universal agreement been reached, but more and more expert opinion suggests, and practical experience approves, vocational training for the majority of Negroes, involving a large element of industrial and domestic instruction and training. The demonstration of the value of this method has been signally wrought out at the government school for Indians and Negroes, Hampton (Va.) Institute, and the Tuskegee (Ala.) Normal and Industrial Institute. The former of these is generously supported by the National Government and the State of Virginia, while the latter has attracted the widest interest and support on account of the striking personality and sound wisdom of its President, Booker T. Washington († 1916), so that it now has property and endowment of some $3,000,000 and an annual income of $300,000, ministering to a student body of about 2000. Generally in schools for Negroes the inspirational element now plays a large part, cultivating ideals for the person and the home, racial and national consciousness, and respect. The purely academic training that once played so large a part in the tentative efforts to educate Negroes is increasingly held to be secondary, while there is no loss of the aim after a sound culture. Professional training has its place. There are reported 3 schools of law, 4 of medicine, 5 of pharmacy, 17 agricultural and mechanical schools under government control and support, and 350 private (largely Church) schools with normal and industrial features; but most of these are small and poorly supported, often representing more of ambition and pride than of solid realization. The efforts of Negroes to build up institutions of learning have often been pathetic in their pretentiousness and pitiable in their poverty, but always inspiring in their heroism and idealism. A 'university' is sometimes hardly a good high school, and a 'college' not infrequently begins with the primary classes and does not reach beyond the grammar-school grades.

In spite of all limitations the present is full of encouragement. The points now emphasized in the policy with reference to public schools are: (1) to have the teaching vitally connected with the activities of the people; (2) to improve facilities; (3) to provide more helpful and efficient supervision; (4) to make the school largely assist in the general welfare of the community. With reference to secondary and high schools the policy includes also: (5) by concentration to limit the number of schools undertaking the highest grades of work and to extend the quantity and quality of such work; (6) to increase the financial resources, which is being done by State appropriations, by special endowments for specific schools, and by the use of the income from the various Funds referred to above; (7) stricter and more helpful supervision. Five agencies co-operate in this supervision—the Federal Government, State governments, religious societies, managers of educational funds, and voluntary associations of Negro educators.

In the fine arts the Negroes have made no great advance, nor as yet demonstrated any striking capacity. In music they have a native capacity for a peculiar type of melody, and they are almost universally lovers of music, especially of simple stringed instruments and of wind instruments. They have become famous for singing what are called 'plantation melodies.' A few have won distinction with popular songs, and many are proficient in the execution of music. They have done some creditable work in art and sculpture. They are producing many books and publish many newspapers, generally not of a high order. In literature they have thus far shown best in didactic work and essays dealing with social, political, and religious subjects. Some of the best works dealing with Negro questions have been written by them. Their most extensive efforts in publication work are in Sunday school and other religious literature.

4. Economic condition.—The 1910 census showed 71 per cent of Negroes over ten years of age engaged in useful occupations, including 3,178,554 males and 2,013,981 females—a larger percentage of the whole than is found in any other class of the population; 2,893,674 were employed in agricultural pursuits, 1,099,715 in domestic and personal service, 704,174 in manufacturing and mechanical labour, 425,043 in trade and transportation, 69,929 in professional service. The large falling off in the decade of the number in domestic service (224,445) is a significant feature in the economic and social life, inasmuch as in the south this service has been rendered almost entirely by Negroes. Increased efficiency of the men as bread-winners, increase of domesticity and home-life among the Negroes, acquisition of homes by them, and the instruction in home arts given in the schools are reducing the numbers of those who go out in service. To how great an extent the native African idea of the function of the female has been imported into America and

has persisted is indicated by the 1,051,137 females reported as in agricultural pursuits and the 68,440 in manufacturing and mechanical labour. Labour unions have been slow to recognize the Negro, and in northern States particularly, where the union has had its most extensive power, they have greatly hindered the development of the Negro in the trades of skilled labour. In the south, where immigrants are few and unionism less developed, far more friendliness and encouragement have been found. Some of the trades—*e.g.*, brick-laying—have been almost wholly in their hands; and others—*e.g.*, carpentry—have been largely open to them. In 1910, however, the National Council of the American Federation of Labor unanimously invited Negroes and all other races to enter the Federation. Nine of the sixty most important unions still bar Negroes from membership. In 1863 9000 Negroes owned their homes, 15,000 worked farms as owners or as managers, and 2000 businesses were conducted by them. In 1913 they owned 550,000 homes, worked 937,000 farms, conducted 43,000 business houses, and owned property estimated as high as $700,000,000. From 1900 to 1910 the value of farms, live-stock, tools, etc., increased from less than $200,000,000 to nearly $500,000,000. There were 57 Negro banks with more than $1,500,000 of capital and with an annual business amounting to about $20,000,000—in spite of the fact that banking among Negroes has been marked by not a few disasters, due sometimes to dishonesty, more frequently to incompetency, and sometimes to the unfriendly action of other bankers and business men. The kinds of business most popular, in order of numbers of businesses, are restaurants and other forms of catering, groceries, vending, building and contracting, and butchers' and coal-dealers' businesses. The great majority of Negro labourers are unskilled and of a low average efficiency. Still they constitute, because of their numbers and docility, a very important factor in the economic life of the country.

For the most part the homes of the Negroes are of a very low quality, with few comforts and poor facilities for hygienic and moral conditions. In the country districts they live largely in small board or log houses that are usually untidy and unsanitary, except that they are very open. In cities thousands of them live in rooms over stables, in cheap houses built along alleys, and in tenement houses, where crowding and filth are very common. The results of these conditions are seen in diminished efficiency in labour, in extensive disease and a high death-rate, and in gross immorality. The average death-rate among Negroes is about 50 per cent higher than among whites. One authority (W. F. Willcox, *EBr*[11] xix. 348) places the Negro death-rate at twice that of whites. The diseases most disastrous among them are consumption, pneumonia, nervous diseases, heart diseases, diseases of the bowels, and urinary troubles. Aggressive and intelligently directed campaigns of improvement in these conditions are now being made, but the situation will require much time and energy to recover from the long neglect.

5. **Religion and morality.**—If by religion one means the form of worship, organization, and dogmatic statement, and by morals the rules and range of conduct included under the religious direction of the life, then there is no necessary connexion between the two. In principle, however, religion always includes ethics. It stimulates and educates the conscience, but it does not directly inform the ethical judgment. Religion itself is subject to, and demands, education, interpretation, extension. The earlier movements of religion have reference only to the soul's relation to the spiritual environment (God), and include the personal relations of man to man in the social group only as the group is conceived to be related to the spiritual environment as a whole. It is a later development that recognizes that the worship of God consists in doing His will in a personal society. Later still men come to recognize that their relation to God places them in ethical relation to all personal beings. Many, failing to recognize these principles, have severely criticized the Negro's religion as being non-moral, and think of it with contempt. As a rule the Negro has not yet gone very far in discovering that the religious emotion is to find expression in the rational direction of the life in human relationships, so as to realize the will of God in a righteous and loving personal order. Hence his morality represents a crude and undeveloped stage of religious ethics. The civil and criminal laws of the United States are designed for the stage of civilization reached by the white race, or for the restraint of the Negro race within limits approved by the white race from their own, and not from the Negroes', standpoint. For most Negroes, therefore, very many of these laws have no ethical significance and seem to them, when they know them at all, to be conventions of the dominant race to interfere with the Negroes' normal activities. And the administration of these laws, almost wholly by the white race, manifests a rigidity and a severity, often an injustice, by no means calculated to inspire respect and ready obedience in the weaker people. Laws are sometimes called for in a community only by reason of the prevalence of the Negro, and are enforced only with reference to him. Then there are white men who exploit the weakness and animalism of the Negro for the sake of base gain and thus augment some of his easiest vices, bringing him under the condemnation of the law. The social sin of white men with black women, the lewd influences of much theatrical and other advertising, the corrupting suggestiveness of many of the amusements provided for them all serve to arouse the viler passions of the Negroes, who, wanting the restraints of enlightened judgment and established self-control, are led on to criminal practices. The multiplication of laws in a society of growing complexity adds to the violations, among whites as well as blacks. All these things must be taken into account in judging the records of crime and vice in a people as yet at a backward stage of the road from savagery to Christian civilization. Of prisoners to each 100,000 of population in 1904 there were among whites 77, among Negroes 278. In the north the figures were 83 and 743, in the south 40 and 221. All the figures show decrease as compared with 1890. Negroes had a lower rate than any immigrants except Poles. In major offences the Negroes were surpassed by all foreigners except Irish and Germans. It is gratifying to note that lynchings, of whites and Negroes, declined from 1908 (7 white and 93 black) to 1913 (1 white and 51 black), the lowest number since records have been kept (twenty-nine years). Petty crimes of Negroes against members of their own race, unless they disturb the community, do not usually result in arrests, and even gross evils often escape official notice. This is especially true of social sins.

Evils most prevalent among the race and most harmful are indolence, theft, drunkenness, gambling, and sexual sins. Much is to be said in mitigation of the Negro's guilt in these vices, but the fact remains that they are widely prevalent. Theft is violation of ownership, but in a tribal régime and under the conditions in Africa, where there is relatively little of exclusive ownership, the rights of property cannot be distinctly in consciousness; and a keen consciousness of individual personality is a condition of high regard for personal property and personal rights of all sorts. This

consciousness is not yet highly developed in the Negro. After his emancipation there were those who definitely taught the Negro that the wealth in the south was his creation, and that he had an essential right to as much of it as he could safely appropriate. The large measure of inequality which the Negro suffers in the social and economic life gives him some ground for reasoning that he may seek by all means to equalize the 'goods' of life. And poverty gives a strong impulse to theft.

Drunkenness is augmented by the greed of whites who exploit the weakness of the Negro for base profit. Negroes are not often allowed to own drink saloons, and in 1910 only 652 were in their hands. The necessity for protection from drunkenness among Negroes has been a strong factor in the prohibition of the sale of intoxicants in the south, now practically universal in rural sections and rapidly becoming so in the cities, State prohibition having been adopted by ten of the States. The bad conditions of living must also be chargeable with much of the vice found among Negroes.

Influences of the primitive animism of Africa are abundant in the superstitions and religious notions of the American Negro. The *voodoo*, usually called *hoodoo* in the United States, in its grosser forms has nearly disappeared, but there are milder forms of fear of subtle influences by spiritual powers, and of persons supposed to be *en rapport* with those powers, to be found on all hands. A modified form of witchcraft is met with, and a mild type of the medicine-man with his occult powers, presumably connected with some herb or concoction, has great influence with many. Ghosts are very real to most Negroes. Charms are trusted or feared, and dreams are often significant of divine communications or of messages from departed friends or enemies. The 'evil eye' can sometimes arouse the utmost terror. Unusual natural phenomena arouse an awesome sense of the supernatural and sometimes create great consternation. The behaviour of animals suggests to the Negroes superior and subtle intelligence, and awakens a feeling of uncanniness that almost approaches a belief in spirit-possession. Certain aspects of death are especially terrible, and the Negro is usually very fearful of cemeteries at night. Idolatry is practically unknown. Forms of spiritism prevalent among white people in America and Europe are little known by the Negroes. Their superstitions have affected the folklore of the whites, many of whom share some aspects of them.

Prior to emancipation the religious life of the Negro was cared for largely in the patriarchal way, the masters taking such interest in it and making such provision for it as their own religious sense prompted. Along with this were the white ministers, who often took the deepest interest in the religious welfare of the slaves; local religious workers; missionary organizations with such efforts as the conditions permitted; and especially preachers and pious women among the Negroes themselves, usually illiterate but often with imposing personality and genuine goodness, giving them unlimited power for comfort and instruction in righteousness. For the most part their church-membership was in the same organizations with the white Christians, a special part of the buildings for worship, usually galleries, being set apart for their use; but in the cities some very large and powerful Negro churches were built up, over which in some cases white pastors presided with love and ability.

It is at once an evidence of the essentially religious disposition of the Negro and a testimony to the religious interest of the whites that in 1863 there were more than 500,000 communicant church members, and that with 550 separate local church organizations they owned property to the extent of $1,000,000. Far the larger part of the Christians among them have been identified with the Baptist and Methodist denominations. These were the most numerous in the south, and were the most aggressive bodies, giving much energy to missionary evangelism, and demanding less of education and culture in their converts, and especially in candidates for the ministry. Since the Civil War Congregationalists and the other leading denominations from the north have laboured extensively among them, but have not much modified the popular hold of the Baptists and Methodists. Roman Catholicism would be expected to have found in the emotionalism and superstition of the Negro, his love of display and ceremony, and his rich imagination, to which symbolism so readily appeals, a most fruitful field; but only in the States, Maryland and Louisiana chiefly, where Roman Catholics were numerous and powerful have any considerable numbers of Negroes been identified with that Church, and then by no means in proportion to the opportunities. Notwithstanding exhortations of bishops and resolutions of councils, Roman Catholics have not until quite recently seemed greatly concerned to win the Negroes. Several societies are now interested, and 'a special "Catholic Board of Mission Work among Colored People"' since 1907 has sought to cultivate interest and provide funds for this purpose. A Roman Catholic authority (*CE* xii. 629) claims 200,000 to 225,000 Catholic Negroes, but the claim is not supported by the government census. The latest available religious statistics of the census are for 1906, when there were reported 5375 churches, and 477,720 communicants affiliated with white denominations. This inclusion with white organization refers to their general connexion, and not to local organization, in which they are nearly all in separate congregations. The great bulk of these (308,551) are in the Methodist Episcopal Church. All are Protestants except 36 congregations of Roman Catholics with 38,235 communicants. Of independent Negro denominations, all Protestant, the census enumerates 17 with 32,985 congregations, 3,779,681 communicants; 2,261,607 were Baptists, organized in the 'National Convention,' and 1,400,000 belong to one or another of several Methodist bodies. The rest are distributed among Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and others. In 1913 it was computed that the Negroes had altogether 40,000 congregations with 4,300,000 communicants, 41,000 Sunday schools with 2,200,000 pupils, and church property valued at $70,000,000. They have 27 schools teaching theology, extensive publishing plants for Sunday school and other religious literature, a large number of Young Men's Christian Associations and a growing number of Young Women's Christian Associations, and almost innumerable semi-religious social and benevolent organizations and brotherhoods and sisterhoods, for which they have a great fondness. The larger denominations among them have organized foreign mission work, conducting missions in Africa. In proportion to their numbers, and taking account only of outward attachment to organized Christianity, the Negroes constitute decidedly the most religious element in the population of the United States.

The worship of the Negro is characterized by a high degree of emotionalism, which diminishes with education and the restraints of culture. Music plays a large part in the worship, where the singing is remarkable for its persuasive melody and subtle, almost hypnotic, influence over the congregations. Their bodies move with the rhythm, and it is easy for a skilful leader to sway them in mass. The preaching is dramatic, imaginative,

and powerful in emotional appeal. They have developed some of the greatest pulpit orators in American history, and the more enlightened of these have frequently been heard with enthusiasm and appreciation at white conferences and conventions, where they are often present to make appeals for sympathy and funds for worthy enterprises. There is growing co-operation between the missionary and benevolent organizations of the two races for the religious and moral elevation of the Negroes, and solid advances are being made in the sobriety, dignity, and intelligence of their worship. Several of their leaders are already men of splendid education, a high degree of culture, and sound moral life and influence.

6. Summary and appraisement. — (1) In the United States there is found the only large group of Negroes yet rescued from heathenism and set forward on the road to civilization, now living under conditions that contain the promise of continued and accelerating advance. G. Warneck (*Outline of a Hist. of Prot. Missions*, Eng. tr.[3], Edinburgh and London, 1906, p. 194) calls attention to the fact that in the American Negroes there is much the largest group anywhere in modern times rescued from heathenism and brought into the Christian Church. The experience of success and failure here affords important material for the study of the methods of missionary work elsewhere, especially of work in Africa, where there is so much of basal similarity in the subjects to be won and developed. All who would work at the problem of the Negro in Africa should take account of the history of the Negro in America.

(2) There are many sympathetic friends of the Negro who share the thought that his capacity for development has not yet been fully determined. It is not true that the enlightened leadership among Negroes has been almost wholly by men with admixture of white blood (*EBr*[11], *loc. cit.*), but too many of the leaders have been men of mixed race for us to be able yet to affirm that the Negro has shown capacity for sufficient education, initiative, and resource to be capable of a native and independent realization of the ideals of Christian culture.

(3) There yet remain in the United States many problems of social, economic, and religious organization and adjustment, but the Negro is definitely established as an element in the life of the country, and his destiny lies along the lines of separate race development, with the cultivation of a worthy race consciousness, respect, and ideal. On purely theoretical grounds many argue that amalgamation must be the final solution of race problems, especially in a purely democratic social organism to which all caste distinctions are essentially repugnant (cf. Mecklin, *Democracy and Race Friction*); but history, the present tendencies in the United States, in S. America, and in S. Africa, and the deeper instincts of race division all oppose the amalgamation theory.

(4) Mutual understanding and sympathy between whites and blacks in the United States are making rapid progress. There is no intelligent sympathy with a brutal book that had a wide circulation by means of glaring advertisement and agency promotion and for a while exerted a pernicious influence, contending that the Negro is not a member of the human family at all but a soulless brute, nor with other unfriendly but less despicable works. It is coming to be recognized and appreciated that the two races are to live together and that neither can without the other gain the goal of civilization and national ideals.

LITERATURE.—There are numerous works dealing with various phases of this subject and the number is growing. Besides in works of general reference the facts are to be sought mainly in the volumes of the United States Census Reports, in the 17 vols. of the Atlanta University Publications, and in the *Negro Year Book*, Tuskegee, 1914–15; facts and discussions will be found well covered by the following selected list: H. K. Carroll, *Religious Statistics of the United States*, New York, 1915; H. P. Douglass, *Christian Reconstruction in the South*, Boston, 1909; W. E. B. Du Bois, *Study of the Negro Problems* (=*Atlanta Univ. Pub.* 3 [1898]), *The Negro Church* (=*ib.* 8 [1903]), *Social and Physical Conditions of Negroes in Cities* (=*ib.* 2 [1897]), and *The Souls of Black Folk*, Chicago, 1903; D. Fraser, *The Future of Africa*, London, 1911; M. Helm, *The Upward Path*, New York, 1909; F. L. Hoffman, *Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro*, New York, 1906; G. B. Jackson and D. W. Davis, *The Industrial History of the Negro Race in the U.S.*[2], Richmond, 1911; H. H. Johnston, *The Negro in the New World*, New York, 1907; J. M. Mecklin, *Democracy and Race Friction*, New York, 1914; G. S. Merriam, *The Negro and the Nation*, do. 1906; E. G. Murphy, *Problems of the Present South*, do. 1904; F. P. Noble, *The Redemption of Africa*, do. 1899; H. W. Odum, *Social and Mental Traits of the Negro*, do. 1910; R. Patterson, *The Negro and his Needs*, do. 1911; W. H. Thomas, *The American Negro*, do. 1901; B. T. Washington, *Story of the Negro*, do. 1909, *The Future of the American Negro*, Boston, 1899, *The Negro in Business*, do. 1907, *Up from Slavery*, New York, 1900, *Working with the Hands*, do. 1904; W. D. Weatherford, *Negro Life in the South*, do. 1910, *Present Forces in Negro Progress*, do. 1912; G. W. Williams, *Hist. of the Negro Race*, do. 1883.

W. O. CARVER.

NEMESIS.—See FATE (Greek and Roman).

NEO-CYNICISM.—We know that the Cynicism of Antisthenes and his immediate followers was gradually absorbed in Stoicism (see CYNICS, STOICS), and that, after Chrysippus († 206 B.C.), unimportant, sporadic manifestations aside, it disappeared from history till the 1st cent. A.D. Meanwhile profound changes had overtaken the Mediterranean peoples, who, as a result, evinced a new attitude towards fundamental questions of religion and conduct. In particular, traditional restraints of civic or racial institutions, beliefs, and customs were weakening, thanks to the association of men 'out of every nation under heaven' (cf. Ac 2) in populous cosmopolitan centres like Rome, Alexandria, Corinth, and even Jerusalem. Bereft of ancient supports by denationalization, many approached the problems of conduct and destiny as individuals, no longer as citizens. Thus, the conception of life as a warfare—possibly the germ of the 'Church militant'—began to assert itself.

'The bond that formerly kept devotion centered upon the city or the tribe, upon the *gens* or the family, was broken. In place of the ancient social groups communities of initiates came into existence' (F. Cumont, *Les Religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*[2], Paris, 1909, p. 42, Eng. tr., Chicago, 1911, p. 27).

Piety, a personal aspiration, replaced loyalty, a socio-political virtue. Hellenic intellectualism, brave and curious towards theory, waned as practical issues gained urgency. Morals ousted metaphysics; belief, often in the form of superstition, eclipsed logic. The masses desired assurance of immortality; the *élite* sought an 'inner' life wherein they could escape this present evil world. In both cases the state of the 'soul' became the question of the day. Accordingly, from Seneca (*c.* 4 B.C.–A.D. 65), Musonius Rufus (fl. A.D. 53–81), and Dio of Pruso (*c.* A.D. 40–117), when Stoics aspired more and more to be 'physicians of the soul,' the Cynic element in their teaching re-asserted itself. The Neo-Cynics, at once products and evidences of this condition, embodied a special phase of general tendencies which were sweeping over the Roman world as a whole. Thus they form an aspect of a social and spiritual movement rather than a philosophical school of the Hellenic type.

1. **History.** — When Stoicism reached Rome (Crates, 159 B.C.; Diogenes of Seleucis, 155 B.C.; Panætius, client of Scipio Africanus, *c.* 142 B.C.), it was a complete system theoretically, and therefore ready to accommodate itself to Roman needs. The version taught by Panætius emphasized *officia*, or the duties of station to be rendered as proper service by every good citizen (cf. Cicero, *de Off.* iii.).

The harshness of the original was thus softened by adjustment to the calls of active citizenship, and the Cynic element of rigoristic individualism fell into the background. Nevertheless the moral 'inwardness' of the system, Cynic in origin, remained, as Marcus Aurelius saw long after (viii. 49, 56, ix. 133):

'Remember that your Inner Self is inexpugnable, when once it rallies to itself and consistently declines to act against its will, even though the defiance may be irrational. How much more then, when its judgment is rational and made with circumspection? Therefore the mind free from passions is a citadel: man has no stronger fortress to which he can fly for refuge and remain impregnable. . . . To my moral will my neighbour's will is as completely unrelated as his breath is or his flesh. Be we ever so much made for one another, our Inner Selves have each their own sovereign rights: otherwise my neighbour's evil might become my evil, which is not God's good pleasure, lest another have power to undo me.'

'You are part of a social whole, a factor necessary to complete the sum: therefore your every action should help to complete the social life. Any action of yours that does not tend, directly or remotely, to this social end, dislocates life and infringes its unity. It is an act of sedition, and like some separatist doing what he can to break away from civic accord' (G. H. Rendall, *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus to Himself*, London, 1898, pp. 120, 123, 133).

The history of Roman Stoicism is a record of the conflict between these two authoritative calls. In the time of Caligula, and again after A.D. 96, the former prevailed with the Neo-Cynics, whose gospel had been foreshadowed, in turn, by Q. Sextius, the teacher of Seneca, in the last years of the Principate of Augustus. This development was gradual. Even during republican times Q. Ælius Tubero (*c.* 118 B.C.), Q. Mucius Scævola (*c.* 95 B.C.), P. Rutilius Rufus (*c.* 92 B.C.), and especially M. Porcus Cato (95–48 B.C.), followed the Cynic ideal in public as well as in personal affairs. In the next generation Horace (fl. 41–8 B.C.) adverts not merely to the civic dutifulness of the Stoics (*Ep.* I. i. 16 f.), but also to their Cynic 'inwardness' (*Carm.* III. iii. 1 f.). This rigorism steeled the saints and martyrs of the 'opposition' under the Cæsars (cf. H. Schiller, *Gesch. des röm. Kaiserreichs unter der Regierung des Nero*, Berlin, 1872, p. 666 f.; G. Boissier, *L'Opposition sous les Césars*[5], Paris, 1905); its drift towards abandonment of a theory that placed nature above man, and towards exclusive emphasis upon consistency of conduct, is made plain by Persius (*Sat.* iii. 66 f.). Extant literary references suffice to show the extraordinary persistence of the 'Cynic sect'—from Caligula (A.D. 41) till Justinian (A.D. 530). The main body of information is furnished by Seneca (fl. 55), Epictetus (fl. 120), Lucian (fl. 180), and Eusebius (fl. 330). Further references, among others less important, are found in Plutarch (fl. 100), Dio Chrysostom (fl. 110), Justin Martyr (fl. 150), Tatian (fl. 166), Aulus Gellius, Athenagoras and Galen (fl. 175), Dio Cassius (fl. 220), Tertullian and Philostratus (fl. 230), Julian 'the Apostate' and Ammianus Marcellinus (fl. 361), John Chrysostom (fl. 400), Augustine (fl. 420), Damascius (fl. 520), Simplicius (fl. 533), and Suidas. But, to all intents and purposes, the movement attained its crests immediately after the death of Nero and, again, under the Antonines. Thereafter, it appears to have been absorbed gradually into Christian monachism (cf. E. Hatch, *The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church* (*HL*, 1888), London, 1890, lect. v. f.; St. Paulinus of Nola, *Ep.* xxv.). The first onset is represented by Demetrius, associate of Seneca (fl. 71). Between him and the Antonine group we have Epictetus, who, although a Stoic in theory, was deeply affected by Cynicism in practice; and Dio Chrysostom, who seems to have adopted Cynic ways in life, although he was an eclectic in philosophy; while, in the reign of Hadrian, Œnomaus of Gadara flourished. But, thanks to Lucian, the representatives of the sect whom we know best are its saint, Demonax (fl. 145–160), and its part-prophet, part-charlatan, Peregrinus Proteus (self-immolated, 165), both in the Antonine period. In addition, it is evident from the frequent references in contemporary literature that numerous Cynic missionaries traversed the empire, preaching to the masses, and standing much in the same relation to them as did the Stoic 'private chaplains' or 'house philosophers' to the educated minority. The very names of the great majority of these peripatetic exhorters have been lost—possibly two score, capable of historical proof, have been transmitted to us. It is evident, however, that, like votaries of similar movements always (cf., *e.g.*, W. Benett, *Religion and Free Will*, Oxford, 1913, p. 204 f.), they ran the entire gamut of human nature, from authentic culture and sincere devotion to insolent sham or arrant rascality.

2. Teaching.—The Cynic disciples of Socrates were overshadowed by the original constructive philosophy of Plato and Aristotle. Hence their pragmatic sterility was at odds with an age interested vitally in positive thought. In short, the intellectual genius of the time surmounted their sectarianism. Similarly, civil autonomy in Greece did not pass away till the school had been active for two generations, and, even then, fresh memories of a glorious past, rooted in pride of citizenship, gave the lie to anti-social *παρρησία*. Moreover, the claims of citizenship acquired a new lease of life at Rome. So the gospel of revolt, unsupported by actual aspiration, faded away. Nevertheless, the ideal of the 'wise man'—one sufficient to himself, and this defensibly — had been set forth, and was destined to resurrection in due time. Immense social displacements occurred during the four centuries between the battle of Chæronea and the invasion of Britain by Claudius. Nowhere were they more conspicuous than in philosophy and civic patriotism. The one had sunk to the level of antiquarian exegesis or, worse, of profitable trade; the other had ceased to furnish an absorbing career, so that men grew importunate for a 'way of life.' Thus the ideal of the 'wise man' regained vitality, because it rebuked the conventional trifling of the schools, and promised norms for personal conduct. Philosophically, *conatus in suo esse perseverandi* appearing the sole recourse, *in magnis voluisse sat est* came to be the core of teaching. Briefly, philosophy ceased to be systematic or scientific, and assumed a purely disciplinary aspect. Man must turn to correction of the soul, in order that he may secure release from the ills of nature and society. Hence a class of professional (and therefore narrow) moralists appeared, preaching counsel and reproof. They descried a divine element in the human spirit, whereby the 'wise man' becomes the 'messenger of God' upon earth. As exemplars, they even professed to fulfil a mediatorial office. For, the conditions of the moral life being entirely internal, the end is quite *ἴδιον*—to become one's true self, it is necessary to discover this self in self. Accordingly, an incommunicable indifference to all that is distinctively human in common life constitutes ethical perfection or, at least, attainment. The exercise of reason is futile—*facere docet philosophia non dicere*. The great wisdom is to develop self to the point where nothing remains to be willed. Renunciation affords the means. A man must therefore examine himself, experience remorse, and exhibit penitence, to the end that he may achieve the perfect peace of independent isolation. As a rule, then, the necessary activities of the average citizen must be eschewed, and this is as true of national religion and current esteems in good conduct as of the most disreputable vices or meaningless foibles.

The condition of a society where spiritual apathy and gross materialism were prevalent gave point and power to exaggerated preaching of obvious moral truths, with its trick of painting two pictures, one all black, the other all white, and setting them in melodramatic contrast.

'Their criticism of the society to which they belong and of all its institutions and modes of action and thought, attracts attention by the very violence and extravagance of the form in which they present it. And the neglected truth or half-truth, which they thrust into exclusive prominence, gradually begins by their means to gain a hold of the minds of others, forces them to reconsider their cherished prejudices, and so leads to a real advance' (E. Caird, *The Evolution of Theology in the Greek Philosophers*, Glasgow, 1904, ii. 56 f.).

Here the Neo-Cynics were strong, like their predecessors; they did not spend their 'genius in trying to regenerate a form of social and political life which mankind had outgrown' (*ib.* p. 68). Nevertheless, even at its best, in Epictetus, the doctrine corroded all particular ties, and deserved to be called a parasite upon the society which it repudiated. In fundamental principle it was intensely anti-social. Hence what has been said of the early Cynics holds of the latest representatives of the sect:

'They appealed largely to the poor, and most men were probably revolted by their roughness and their neglect of the ordinary decorums and courtesies of life, rather than attracted by the nobility and manliness inherent in their teaching' (W. W. Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, Oxford, 1913, p. 30; cf. ch. viii.).

Finally, it may be said that the alleged influence of the Neo-Cynics upon the development of Christian doctrine is not proven, although the presence of some of the forces destined to produce Christian rigorism is apparent enough.

LITERATURE.—The best account of the general situation is S. Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*[2], London, 1905, bk. iii. ch. ii. The fullest bibliography is in E. V. Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*, Cambridge, 1911, p. 437 f., and in F. Ueberweg and M. Heinze, *Grundriss der Gesch. der Phil.*[10], i., Berlin, 1909, §§ 65, 70. See also H. Ritter, *The Hist. of Ancient Philosophy*, Eng. tr., London, 1838–46, iv. 160 f.; E. Zeller, *A Hist. of Eclecticism in Greek Philosophy*, do. 1883, p. 288 f. (= *Phil. der Griechen*, Tübingen, 1844–52, iii. 1); A. Döring, *Gesch. der griech. Philosophie*, Leipzig, 1903, ii. 476 f.; L. Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire*, Eng. tr., London, 1908–13, vol. iii. ch. iii. (= *Darstellungen aus der Sittengesch. Roms*[8], Leipzig, 1910, vol. iii. ch. iii.); M. Wundt, *Gesch. der griech. Ethik*, Leipzig, 1911, ii.; C. Martha, *Les Moralistes sous l'Empire romain*, Paris, 1864; T. Keim, *Rom und die Christentum*, Berlin, 1881; H. Schiller, *Gesch. der röm. Kaiserzeit*, Gotha, 1883, i. 451 f.; J. Réville, *La Religion à Rome sous les Sévères*, Paris, 1886; G. Boissier, *La Religion romaine d'Auguste aux Antonins*[3], do. 1892, ii. 1–147, 382 f.; A. Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr., London, 1894–99, i. 119 f.; F. Gregorovius, *The Emperor Hadrian*, Eng. tr., do. 1898, p. 287 f.; R. Hirzel, in V. Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit*, Leipzig, 1904, pt. i. vol. iii. p. 1295 f.; H. Gomperz, *Die Lebensauffassung der griech. Philosophen und das Ideal der inneren Freiheit*, Jena and Leipzig, 1904, pp. 112 f., 284; B. W. Henderson, *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Nero*[2], London, 1905, ch. ix.; J. P. Mahaffy, *The Silver Age of the Greek World*, Chicago, 1906; P. Wendland, *Die hellenistisch-röm. Kultur in ihren Beziehungen zu Judentum und Christentum*, Tübingen, 1907; T. R. Glover, *The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire*[3], London, 1909; O. Seeck, *Gesch. des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, Berlin, 1909, iii. 156 f.; E. Bevan, *Stoics and Sceptics*, Oxford, 1913, p. 61 f.; W. Ribbeck, *L. A. Seneca, der Philosoph, und sein Verhältniss zu Epikur, Plato, und das Christentum*, Hanover, 1887; S. Rubin, *Die Ethik Senecas in ihrem Verhältniss zur älteren und mittleren Stoa*, Munich, 1901; A. Bonhöffer, *Epictet und die Stoa*, Stuttgart, 1890, *Die Ethik des Stoikers Epictet*, do. 1894, *Epictet und das Neue Testament*, Giessen, 1911; J. Bernays, *Lucian und die Kyniker*, Berlin, 1879; M. Croiset, *Essai sur la vie et les œuvres de Lucien*, Paris, 1882, ch. iii. f.; E. Caspari, *De Cynicis qui fuerunt ætate imperatorum Romanorum*, Chemnitz, 1896; W. D. Sheldon, *A Second-Century Satirist*, Philadelphia, 1901; R. Helm, in *Neue Jahrb. für das klass. Altertum*, ix. [1902] 188 f., 263 f., 351 f.; H. W. and F. G. Fowler, *The Works of Lucian of Samosata*, 4 vols., Oxford, 1905 (text ed. J. Sommerbrodt, 3 vols., Berlin, 1886–99, and N. Nilén, Leipzig, 1906 f.); R. Reitzenstein, *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen*, Leipzig, 1906, p. 67 f.; J. Lindsay, *Studies in European Philosophy*, Edinburgh, 1909, ch. iv.; F. W. Bussell, *Marcus Aurelius and the Later Stoics*, do. 1910; G. H. Rendall, *The Emperor Julian*, London, 1879, pp. 156 f., 230 (good bibliography); G. Boissier, *La Fin du paganisme*, Paris, 1891, i. 101 f., 191; A. Gardner, *Julian, Philosopher and Emperor*, London, 1895, p. 280 f.; G. Negri, *Julian the Apostate*, Eng. tr., do. 1905, i. 252 f.

R. M. WENLEY.

NEO-HEGELIANISM.—Neo-Hegelianism is a title which has been given to that current of thought inspired by Hegel and the idealists of Germany which began to make itself felt in British and American philosophy in the third quarter of the 19th century.

1. **Chief thinkers.**—Before attempting to elucidate the sources and general significance of the movement, we may refer briefly to some of the individual thinkers more immediately connected with it. As regards its origination three names have a claim to be regarded as outstanding: James Hutcheson Stirling (1820–1909); Thomas Hill Green (1836–82), Fellow of Balliol College and Whyte's Professor of Moral Philosophy, Oxford; and Edward Caird (1835–1908), Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow, and Master of Balliol College, Oxford. Stirling's work, *The Secret of Hegel*, published in 1865, may be said to have revealed for the first time to the English public the significance and import of Hegel's idealistic philosophy. Green in 1874 published *Introductions* to Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature*, in the course of which he subjected the whole English tradition in philosophy to criticism; and he left at his death an almost completed work entitled *Prolegomena to Ethics*, in which is contained a groundwork of idealistic metaphysics, the positive basis for his earlier criticism. Caird published two successive critical studies of Kant in 1878 and 1889, in which he derived from Kant's 'Ideas of Reason' the outline of a metaphysic which is essentially Hegelian and which furnished a basis for contributions to other departments of thought, especially the philosophy of religion and the history of Greek philosophy. Other men of importance at the beginning of the movement were John Caird (1820–98), brother of the above, who belongs to the first generation of the school and whose *Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion* was published in 1880 and his *Fundamental Ideas of Christianity* posthumously in 1899; then a little later Richard Lewis Nettleship (1846–92), Tutor of Balliol College, Oxford, a pupil of Green, whose small output of published work bore no relation to the magnitude of his influence; and William Wallace (1844–97), a scholar of great attainments and an unusually luminous and imaginative philosophical writer, who succeeded Green at Oxford and published expositions of Hegel's thought and translations from his works. Among living writers and teachers the number of those whose bent of thought follows the tendency in greater or less degree is very large. Perhaps the most representative of them are F. H. Bradley, Bernard Bosanquet, and, in America, W. T. Harris.

These are a few of the exponents. But, to be just to the compass of the movement, it is necessary to remember two further sets of names: on the one hand, leaders of thought belonging to the period before it took its rise, who played a part in the eventual turning of English-speaking philosophers in the direction of Continental idealism, such men, *e.g.*, as Jowett and Ferrier and William Hamilton, Coleridge, Emerson, and Carlyle; on the other hand, among contemporary teachers and writers, besides the large number who acknowledge their affinity with the Neo-Hegelian tendency, we must remember the very many more who make their departure from the school the beginning of their own teaching, and are so far within its sphere of influence that they are under constant necessity of criticizing its ideas. If we take the positive and the negative influence of the movement together into account, we shall probably find that no other way of thinking sends its roots so deep or extends its ramifications so far in the philosophy of the English-speaking world at the present time.

2. Rise of Neo-Hegelianism.—No mere chronicle of adherents with an enumeration of their works and a statement of their external philosophical affinities ever explains a philosophical movement. We must see it in its inception. In order to see Neo-Hegelianism in its inception we have to consider (*a*) the general state of culture in England from the beginning of the century till the time when it appeared, roughly, during the sixties and early seventies, for the movement was the outcome of that culture; (*b*) the Continental development in philosophy, for the movement springing from this English source found stimulus and guidance in German idealism. It was, in fact, an effort of the English philosophical mind to use the results of that idealism upon problems which English thought, art, and life had created during the first decades of the century.

(*a*) *English culture before its inception.*—English culture in the time of Green, Caird, Stirling, and the others referred to was fitted to lead any reflective mind in the direction which these minds took. A little earlier—in the period of the rise of our English romantic poetry and of romantic literature in Europe generally—a great development had been undergone by English and Continental culture alike. We of the present time are still too near to that great age to know all that it meant in European life and thought. It was a seed-time which must be judged by its harvest, and its harvest has probably not yet come. Yet the romantic movement as a whole was not without certain distinguishable features of great importance for the later English culture out of which Neo-Hegelianism arose, features which we are indebted to one distinguished scholar and student of the century—A. C. Bradley—for enabling us, for the first time, to discern distinctly.

The first of these is the obvious relation of the leading minds of the time to orthodoxy. If we take the romantic movement as a whole, the Continental and the English sides of it together, it is almost a commonplace to say that most of its great representatives were in disagreement with the accepted religious ideas of their age. Many of them may have tried to soften the opposition. They may have held in one way or another that their teaching and the orthodox believer's faith were rooted in the same facts and sprang ultimately from a common conviction. Some of them may even have felt sympathy with the details of the concrete scheme of the universe which figured before the ordinary believer's imagination. But no amount of such sympathy, where it existed, could obliterate the gulf between the two; and it is certain that in many cases it did not exist. These great men are separated by all degrees of alienation from the theological ideas around them. They stand in no such relation to the religion of their time as Dante, *e.g.*, stood to mediæval Christianity or Milton to Puritanism.

The fact is important in connexion with the influence of the movement upon educated minds during the period when Neo-Hegelianism appeared. It means that for them there had ceased to be any vital relationship between the bearers of the highest contemporary culture and the official religion of the time. Not that there was open schism between them, so much as simple indifference. Individual great writers might accept the ordinary religious formulæ, but the acceptance was external. They might even be interested, but their interest in these things was not central and convincing. It was not supreme. It did not, *e.g.*, furnish them with a theme for a long poem.[1] There grew up in the cultured mind a vague sense of a hiatus between what theology dealt in and what really mattered most to man. The fact might not be preached or proclaimed, but it was none the less a fact that, once Goethe and Shelley and Heine had spoken, orthodoxy began to suffer from the irrelevance of its ideas.

But, if the pioneers of 19th cent. culture were not orthodox, the next striking feature of their work is that it was not secular.

'Take a list of nineteenth century creators,' says Bradley,[1] 'and strike out the names of purely scientific men; which we must do, because science, as science, is not concerned with an interpretation of the whole. Consider, then, philosophy and the serious literature and art of the nineteenth century, and ask, is it on the whole irreligious or even non-religious? No one would answer "Yes." On the contrary it may be asserted with truth that no secular products of the higher kind since the Renaissance have been so religious as those of the nineteenth century. I am not thinking solely of men like Coleridge or Tennyson, unorthodox but obviously "Christians"; nor solely of Mendelssohn's oratorios, or Holman Hunt's pictures; but equally of writers like Schopenhauer or Shelley, George Eliot or Carlyle, or painters like Watts or Millet. By almost all the greater men, life is portrayed not only with a seriousness or even a passion which reminds us of religion, but in some kind of scheme which embraces the whole of things and indicates man's place in it. That surely means in some sense religion. This can be realised by thinking on the other hand of Shakespeare. He had so marvellous a mind that he could give to a secular theme the import of a divine tragedy. But compare his work with that of the nineteenth century poets and we see that the former is secular as the latter is not. He refuses to portray his subject in the light of its relation to the whole of things; and so, placed side by side with Milton, he is secular. But the typical nineteenth century poet is like neither. He is like Shakespeare in taking usually a theme which is not religious; but like Milton inasmuch as his atmosphere vibrates with pulsations from worlds beyond the sun.'

Now, to see the kind of mental atmosphere in which Neo-Hegelianism sprang up, we only need to place alongside these two features of the whole romantic movement—its doctrinal heterodoxy and its religious spirit—a further feature especially characteristic of the English part of it. This is the lack in the great English writers of a theoretical grasp of what the poetry and romance and even the great moral teaching of their time were revealing. Giants in art, and even in art and moral criticism, they could exhibit an astonishing amount of childishness in intellectual outlook. There were some exceptions. Carlyle, *e.g.*, had been through the wilderness, and out of his narrow Scottish Calvinism had wrought a philosophy somewhat commensurate with the universe with which he had to deal, before he began to deal with it. But, steeped as he was in Continental studies, he is an exception which rather proves the rule. How different, *e.g.*, was Ruskin. The spectacle of Ruskin's going forth with the ardour of a knight-errant to re-mould the deepest formative ideas of his generation, with no better metaphysical equipment than that of a crude evangelical Protestantism, strikingly illustrates the gulf that was possible, in the mind of a man of genius, between the vision of the world actually breaking in upon him and his theoretical notions about how the world was built. What was true of him was true in other walks of English culture, and was felt, if not understood, by critics of a slightly later time. Matthew Arnold was aware of it. And Bradley, corroborating Arnold's view that the opening of the century was intellectually limited although poetically great, points out the superiority of the imaginative and the comparative inferiority of the theoretic literature of the romantic period. Its poetry ranks higher among poetry, he says, than does its history, philosophy, theology, politics, or economics among the work of other epochs in the same fields. The theoretical crudities which startle us in the prose writings, the letters, and the recorded conversation of the poets themselves in Wordsworth's England are probably a further evidence of the same thing.

[1] See in this connexion Bradley's essay on 'The Long Poem in the Age of Wordsworth,' in his *Oxford Lectures on Poetry*, London, 1909.

[1] In an unprinted lecture.

Library of
PACIFIC BIBLE SEMINARY
1606 EAST ANAHEIM STREET
LONG BEACH, CALIFORNIA

'Assuredly,' says Bradley,[1] speaking of this prose, 'we read with admiration, and the signs of native genius we meet with in abundance—in greater abundance, I think, than in the poetry and criticism of Germany, if Goethe is excepted. But the freedom of spirit, the knowledge, the superiority to prejudice and caprice and fanaticism, the openness to ideas, the atmosphere that is all about us when we read Lessing, Goethe, Schiller, Heine, we do not find. Can we imagine any one of those four either inspired or imprisoned as Shelley was by the doctrines of Godwin? Could any of them have seen in the French Revolution no more than Scott appears to have detected? How cramped are the attitudes, sympathetic or antipathetic, of nearly all our poets towards the Christian religion! Could anything be more *borné* than Coleridge's professed reason for not translating *Faust*?[2] Is it possible that a German poet with the genius of Byron or Wordsworth could have inhabited a mental world so small and so tainted with vulgarity as is opened to us by the brilliant letters of the former, or could have sunk, like the latter, to suggesting that the cholera was a divine condemnation of Catholic Emancipation and the Reform Bill?'

There may have been reasons for this theoretic backwardness in English romantic culture, reasons connected with the previous history of English philosophy and science. But, however it may be accounted for, a certain incapacity for speculation, a certain preponderance of the intuitive over the theoretical mind, appears to have been there.

If we hold these results firmly together, we can easily conceive the mental atmosphere around any English youth of generous character and speculative mind, at a centre of English culture like Oxford, about the beginning of the third quarter of the century. The new spirit in literature and science had had its full effect upon religious life at Oxford by 1850. The University had got beyond the long controversy over the teaching of the Church in which it had been entangled. The old Oriel College school of 'Noetics,' with its noisy heterodoxy, and the 'Tractarian' reaction against it had alike exhausted themselves. The youth of the fifties and sixties were left free enough of sectarian controversy to breathe the ampler air into which the culture of the romantic period had really brought them. In view of the character of that new culture, the indifference to religious formulæ and yet the deep religious impulse which were all through it, it was not surprising that the need should be felt by serious minds for some scheme of metaphysical belief which should be at once religiously satisfying and scientifically defensible. There was as little hope of meeting such a need by an appeal to the current philosophy of the time as by an appeal to the orthodox theology. Hamilton and Mill were as un-religious as Newman was unscientific. It was whilst in this situation, whilst feeling the mystery of the romantic spirit on the one side and the incapacity of the English philosophical tradition on the other, that some young British thinkers stumbled on the interpretation which the romantic spirit had already given of itself on the Continent, applied it to their own problems, and gave it an English form. This was the rise of Neo-Hegelianism.

(*b*) *The Continental development.*—The salient matter, then, is the philosophy of the romantic movement. What interpretation had it given of itself? And with what general modifications did its interpretation reappear in the work of these English and Scottish thinkers?

In the first place, where lay the difficulty which made the romantic movement a problem to itself? It lay, more than in anything else, in a feature inseparable from its whole course—the tremendous invasion of the realm of the sacred by what had been called secular things. We have seen how the 19th cent. poets could elevate secular themes and make them pulse with religious significance. This meant a serious challenge to a long-established dualism, the dualism within which the whole preceding age of the so-called 'enlightenment' had lived and moved. It meant, not exactly that religious ideas were being questioned—they had been so already—but rather that, damaged by scepticism as they were, they were now being passed over; their place was being usurped. That part of the mind which had been reserved for current religion was being addressed by thoughts from elsewhere. The result, with the best minds, was a solicitude lest the rising tide of interest in mere history, or natural beauty, or secular human affairs should interfere with the respect due to the very highest objects of human aspiration and hope. These extraneous things were caught up, it is true, by a poetry which could disclose real spiritual value in them. But that is not a fact calculated to allay such misgivings in any circumstances. 'Secular' things with an unsuspected spiritual value in them are all the abler to displace religious tradition. But this unexpected spirituality, if it intensifies anxiety, also defines the issue. It points people beyond the dualism—accustoms them to the thought, What if it did not exist? It forces forward the question whether the barrier here felt to be breaking is really a religious necessity. The situation is that the secular movement—on the surface a mere supplanting of religion by temporal things and a paganizing of Christianity—appears to have definitely come. But the question whether it may not be regarded as exactly the reverse of what it seems, whether it may not be a true permeation of what was secular by the religious principle, is not thereby settled. And this is the question which now comes uppermost. Things once frankly 'secular' have been discovered to have a profound human value. As a result the familiar landmarks have become confused. The one sphere appears scattered all through the other. The difficulty is simply to believe that things which have sufficient value in them are sacred for that reason, and to see convincingly what is sacred about them.

But there was help available in such a difficulty. This dualistic partition which broke at the push of 19th cent. civilization was a thing which philosophy on the Continent had faced. Speculation in Germany at the opening of the century built upon the foundations laid by Kant. Now, the dualism upon which Kant bent his critical strength was not exactly of this shape, but it was the same in principle. Kant was not confronted by the spectacle of an art which was religious in its inmost nature passing over to the world of experience and finding this more important than the religious world itself. He was confronted with a habit of thought for which the world of sense-experience was coming to be the only one that counted, so far as knowledge went. He felt with many minds of the 18th cent. the growing irrelevance of theology and all its lore of another world to anything that science and observation could tell us about this one. And he succeeded in reducing the issue between the two to clear terms, with the result that, if he did not leave a solution, he left the suggestion of one. His idealistic successors, advancing upon their master's position, seemed to arrive from it at exactly the relation between secular and sacred which the romantic spirit had been forcing into view.

Where could the distinction really lie—so ran the difficulty—between that higher world which calls forth religious veneration and gives morality a meaning and, on the other hand, the common world of sense-experience and positive knowledge? Or are they just the same? The whole question, to Kant's mind, has been prejudiced by an error which he would uproot. The one world is not a simple extension of the other. The world in which religion is interested is not one about which we have special *a priori* knowledge, and which we

[1] *Oxford Lectures on Poetry*, p. 180.
[2] *Table Talk*, 16th Feb. 1833.

know to lie simply beyond the confines of this one. The higher world, according to Kant, is not an object of knowledge at all. It is a world of whose reality we are convinced by our actually entering into it. And we enter into it in the act of being practical or moral. We do not prove the reality of God, freedom, and immortality by argument. Religious convictions do not rest on argument. The true proof of them is, rather, that in the moment of duty, in the consciousness of something absolutely worthy which I ought to do and be, I *enact* my freedom, my immortality, and my place in a Kingdom of God. This freedom which the moral consciousness confers, science cannot comprehend. But science cannot cavil at it; because it is the utterance of a world about which science, confined as it is to the world of experience, can neither assert nor deny anything.

Here we have the possibility of a clue to that confusion which was the perplexity of romantic culture and even its reproach — that taking of mere things of sense and investing them with a sanctity which did not seem to belong to them, thus leaving nothing holy. Kant's reading of the distinction between the secular and the sacred world suggests that in the last resort it is one between knowledge and practice. And, if it is so, then these two, it would seem, are sufficiently capable of being intermixed without ceasing to be different. Knowing and doing are functions never far from each other—combined, indeed, in all intelligent practice and in all courageous theory. Yet knowing what the world is remains a different thing from changing it into something else.

Personally, Kant would have repudiated the idea of taking anything out of his theory to justify a view so directly opposed to all his own sympathies as the view that the higher world permeated all the ordinary world of nature and experience. But he held that the moral imperative carried the higher world with it. And his great follower Fichte simply asks where, in all the wide range of human function, this moral imperative is *not* operative. In effect he answers, 'Nowhere.' Kant himself, he held, had taught him this. It had been the core of Kant's argument against Hume that no part of the world of nature and experience was merely passively received; all was actively constructed. Had the knowledge process been a mere matter of an external nature imprinting itself on a non-resisting mind, leaving the mind to read off the impression, it simply could not have existed. There would then have been no world to know, or only a world bereft of all form or order, a world in which there was neither space, time, unity, substance, nor causal connexion. All these constitutive features of the world had been shown by Kant to be the active syntheses of the knowing mind, whereby it works up the given sense-data into that objectivity with which man's senses deal. But this synthesis to Fichte is a deed of the spirit, entirely parallel to a moral deed. In fact, it is a moral deed. It is an expression of the free self-assertion of the rational mind. It is a further carrying out of that essentially moral activity which receives its first and most concentrated expression when a man is able intelligently to say 'I.' The synthesizing function whereby man wins his world is nothing else than a particular form of his consciousness of the moral imperative and of his springing up in obedience thereto. Now, since every part of the world of man's experience is a field for this spiritual construction, since it only arises, in the last resort, as such construction proceeds, every region of the world provides an opportunity for man to enter that higher realm of which religion speaks. To him who has eyes to see, the sacred is everywhere.

This reading of the situation is just what the romantic spirit had been waiting to hear. It had been deeply conscious of it. Engaged upon secular themes, it had yet felt itself constantly beating against ultimate things. Abandoning itself to the natural world, throwing its soul open to all that had been neglected in it, to 'the great, the obvious, the habitual, the common earth, the universal sky, the waters rolling evermore,'[1] it found such natural facts laden everywhere with spiritual treasure. And in neglected regions of secular human life, amid the drab and the dull, the sin and the wrong of the world, it found the same spirituality. This new art felt that, whether 'secular' or not, it was engaged on another mission than providing cultivated idleness with amusement. It was revealing the ultimate and the divine. But, if Fichte's theory is true, the ultimate *is* everywhere. Wherever a man opens his eyes upon the world, he interprets what is before him, he actively construes it into what shape it has. That, to Fichte, is a doing of his duty; and it carries with it all that Kant thought duty implied. It is therefore but a matter of a man's realizing what he is doing and doing it fully; and the divine is there—nigh him, in his mouth and in his heart. This mere having of a world before our intelligent eyes is to Fichte the very process of believing in God.

'You do not believe in God because you believe in the world; rather you see a world at all, solely on this account, that you *have* to believe in God.'[2]

3. General significance of the English movement.—The philosophy of Fichte contained the suggestion in the light of which both his own immediate successors and some English thinkers of a later date essayed a systematic interpretation of life. Its central doctrine is that of a free, creative, synthetic activity on the part of the soul of man, whereby to a limited degree he participates in or re-enacts that ultimate creative synthesis through which the universe as a whole is sustained. Fichte himself had expanded this view into what he thought a complete and satisfactory philosophy, embracing the entire round of man's experiences, sensuous, intellectual, moral, religious, æsthetic, political, etc. But two successors, Schelling and Hegel, sought in turn to expand it further, and render it more systematic and complete. And the Neo-Hegelian thinkers, seeing in the whole development what appeared to be a way of meeting the difficulties of English culture, also worked it over again in a manner which was perhaps all the more English for their having the example of Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel before them.

We cannot attempt in this article to treat all these thinkers individually and show how each modified the system which he found. But it is possible to characterize the group without damaging the individuality of its members by our generalization. We can say that to all of them idealism meant at least what we have just taken to be the essence of its original meaning, viz. the discovery of a principle of distinction between natural and spiritual which could fill the place of the arbitrary traditional distinction, which the experience of romanticism had broken down. Moreover, to the English thinkers as to their forerunners the spirituality was such that the whole universe could be spiritually discerned. And we can almost characterize the whole English way of working out a spiritual view of the universe by referring to the traditional empiricism of the English mind.

A certain esoteric character is inseparable from idealism in Germany. By the time it had received

[1] T. H. Green, 'Popular Philosophy in its Relation to Life,' *Works*, iii. 120.

[2] J. G. Fichte, *Sämmtl. Werke*, Berlin, 1845–46, v. 212.

Hegel's treatment, the idealistic position had acquired, not by accident or design, but simply by the nature of the case, a certain impenetrability. In principle Fichte had got the romantic spirit out of its characteristic perplexity. He found the whole world of experience potentially the conscious product of free spiritual activity, and so potentially sacred. Such a discovery changes the character of the philosopher's task inherently. If knowledge is thus a deed, and not a mere static object of further knowledge, then to do this deed is the ultimate task of philosophy, all mere theorizing about how it is done being external and beside the point. It was but in the nature of the case, then, that Hegel, instead of telling us how he is going to explain the world, should proceed to explain it; instead of speaking about the point of view which he is going to adopt, should proceed to take it up, assuming that that is the only definition possible of an ultimate point of view. .But it was inevitable that such literal idealism, such endeavour to enact before us, and along with us, the very synthesis which the world of knowledge is, should make his theory in a sense impenetrable, a thing not spoken about but simply begun, a system without approaches, a sort of enchanted ground into which the reader must simply insert himself and in which it may be long enough before he find his bearings.

The English thinkers have endeavoured to avoid all such suggestion of the esoteric as is contained in the classical form of the idealistic system. They have had to force their way into this system, by direct attack or through Kant. But none of them has been content simply to be in it, or simply to 'initiate' others. They may not all have been equally successfully exoteric. And in some of those who stood nearest to Hegel there is even a trace of complacency with this state of affairs. Harris has still an 'atmosphere' which the reader has somehow to learn to breathe. Stirling has a 'secret' whereby he will initiate us into all the hidden chambers of Hegel's thought. But of none of the English idealists can it be said that he valued the Hegelian system solely as a system. Its results must be translated into terms of concrete human values. Sometimes one set of values is dominant, sometimes another. The pioneers, *e.g.*, are distinctly religious. Green centres his theory in an 'eternal consciousness.' Caird speaks constantly of a unity beyond all differences, to which the thinking consideration of the world always leads us back; and he names it God. Stirling's writing almost riots in the very picture-language of the ordinary religious consciousness, proclaiming the content of that consciousness as the very truth which Hegel came to teach. In the thinkers a very little later in date there is an appreciable change of emphasis. A sense of the importance of the ultimate or religious outcome of the system of course remains. But in many of them—in Nettleship, particularly, but also in Wallace, Bosanquet, and Bradley—there is a perceptible easing off from the religious note. Nettleship appears to have left Green to deal with the religious implications of philosophy, while he used it for its educational value. All that is recorded of him by contemporaries and by his biographer indicates a man whose way of studying the idealistic point of view was to throw its light on other things, and study them. And his mantle has descended on others. Bosanquet's *History of Æsthetic* and those literary studies of A. C. Bradley from which we have already quoted are conspicuous examples of the effort to study things other than idealistic philosophy without leaving out of account what idealism has suggested to be the ultimate nature of the universe. The work of William Wallace is practically all of this character. His writings are memorable for the brilliant sidelights thrown on questions of ethnology, philosophy, history, and all manner of current controversial topics. His systematic idealism is buried in the mass of this concrete reference. To all these idealists idealism means, in the first place, power in definite fields of concrete human interest. It is not to them primarily what it primarily was to their forerunners — a technically perfect metaphysical system.

Behind all their interest in the concrete there lay, of course, for the English thinkers, the point of view from which they regarded it, and the considerations which seemed to them to make their general point of view a metaphysical necessity. And they have done their part in giving these considerations point. They have contributed to the science of metaphysics. But the same concrete interest which makes them sometimes prefer being metaphysical students of other things to being metaphysicians operates in their metaphysical work itself and makes it distinct from the great system-building of the past. They are not in search of system so much as the possibility of it. The classical idealism enveloped the universe in its system. In an age of spiritual world-conquest it had been its pride to be able to discern progressive manifestations of its principle in the great epochs of history, in the successive systems of philosophy, in the development of political institutions, in the periods of art, in the system of the natural sciences. To give to every matter of fundamental human interest its place in the evolution of one ultimate, dialectically moving principle had been the object, *e.g.*, of Hegel's *Phenomenology*. As compared with this the later idealists are not greatly impatient to see the ultimate, divine order of the world. They are content to know that some such order exists and is the ultimate truth of things, so that there is substantiation for the ultimate hypothesis of religion. For the rest, they are interested in the particular departments of human experience as objects of a study which treats them for their own sakes although without forgetting that there is an ultimate principle in the nature of things and that they are connected with it. The Neo-Hegelian writers, one might say, are interested in the incidents of the dialectical process and they are interested in its ultimate outcome, but they are not specially interested in its cohesion. That this process invades their metaphysic is clear from the most notable metaphysical production of the school, Bradley's *Appearance and Reality*. There is something in the procession of the topics in that work which reminds us of the procession of 'categories' in the *Phenomenology*. But the difference is shown by the absence of the attempt in the English work to give each 'category' its place in an articulated system. The thought treats them *seriatim*. It does not make a feature of their ascending order. It is confined to showing about them all equally that they are not adequate to the spiritual whole which idealism takes the universe to be, but that, on the other hand, none of them can endanger the spiritual whole, while it is shown that, for indisputable reasons, the spiritual whole must be. This taking of what were but the incidents of the dialectical process for the classical idealists to be each a field for independent study and criticism, together with the interest taken in discussing what 'must be' the outcome of the whole process, is characteristic of the school. Despite the great advance towards a more positive presentation of the same main considerations in the latest great product of Neo-Hegelianism, Bosanquet's Gifford Lectures, the lightness of its touch on the question of the internal arrangement of the categories is entirely in the manner of the school, and effectually dis-

tinguishes even this, perhaps the most comprehensive and systematic Neo-Hegelian work, from any work of the classical German period.

LITERATURE.—It has been impossible to deal with the movement in its entirety. We have not named all or even the central writers. And, until some adequate history of the movement appears, the only way to get a grasp of what it had to teach is to read a few works of typical representatives of it. The following list taken in the order given will, it is believed, form an effective introduction to the standpoint: John Caird, *Introduction to the Philosophy of Religion*, Glasgow, 1880; Henry Jones, *Idealism as a practical Creed*, do. 1909; T. H. Green, 'Popular Philosophy in its Relation to Life,' in *Collected Works*, ed. Nettleship, London, 1885–88, iii., *Prolegomena to Ethics*, Oxford, 1883; R. L. Nettleship, *Philosophical Lectures and Remains*, London, 1897; F. H. Bradley, *Appearance and Reality*[2], do. 1902; B. Bosanquet, *Principle of Individuality and Value*, do. 1912, and *Value and Destiny of the Individual*, do. 1913.

J. W. SCOTT.

NEO-KANTISM.—1. Meaning and explication of the term.—Neo-Kantism is the philosophic endeavour to expound and justify Kant's theory of the world, so that it shall satisfy the demands, and solve the problems, of modern culture. It embraces also the thought performances of those thinkers who, deviating from Kant's methods and principles, find it first of all necessary to defend and justify any such deviation from him. Hence the term 'Neo-Kantists,' or 'Neo-Kantians,' is applicable in a collective sense to investigators like H. Vaihinger, A. Riehl, J. Volkelt, F. Paulsen, H. Cohen, P. Natorp, and many others of varying shades of opinion. Cohen, Natorp, W. Kinkel, and E. Cassirer are the chief representatives of the Marburg school, whose methods are idealistic. Very diverse points of departure mark this revival of Kantism. At one extreme we have the positive or immanent unconscious school of W. Schuppe, J. Rehmke, R. von Schubert-Soldern, and A. von Leclair. These noetical thinkers reject all extramental elements, and treat all being as only conscious content. Hence their advocacy of the monism of consciousness. Schuppe is a more significant thinker in this connexion than is often supposed, but his views cannot be expounded here. At the other extreme stands the metaphysical school of W. Wundt, E. von Hartmann, and Volkelt, of whom the last-named has actually tracked the inconsistencies and contradictions of Kant to their ultimate hiding-places in Kant's inharmonious thinking.

In its inception, as seen in F. A. Lange, it was really a bifurcated movement. Founding on Kant's limitation of knowledge to the objects of experience, Lange would have philosophy, as science, confined to the task of yielding a more securely grounded and limited theory of knowledge. Again, availing himself of Kant's critical idealism, he would resolve the whole corporeal world into mere appearance for the apprehending consciousness, conditioned and fixed by *a priori* forms of knowledge. The antipathy to speculative philosophy in these positions is very marked, and Lange's theoretic materialism simply presented a regulative principle for scientific investigation. It is easy to see in Neo-Kantism the natural rebound from extreme idealism, in the lengths to which the Neo-Kantian doctrine of object-subject has been carried. But it is obviously unsatisfactory that Neo-Kantism should have attached itself to the empirical and sceptical sides of Kant's philosophy, leaving in abeyance the rationalistic element so characteristic of Kant as we find him in the whole presented to us by history. The modifications in the positions of Cohen, E. Laas, Paulsen, and Natorp are, in this connexion, interesting and suggestive. But Lange was the real head of the movement, in which, allied to the limitation of knowledge, experimentally, to the world of sense, was an aversion to inquiries of a metaphysical or transcendental character. Everything bore the stamp of relativity, and absolute truth was despaired of. Cohen's criticisms had a modifying effect, in certain well-defined respects, upon Lange's position, but what concerns us here is that he simply took his stand on knowledge as we find it in the natural sciences, whose methods he would apply to psychology. His is critical materialism, aware, as the older materialism was not, of the purely phenomenal character of matter. This, then, carries him back upon idealism, and between these two Lange's thought, which is a kind of idealistic naturalism, oscillates in no very satisfactory manner. In its later developments Neo-Kantism has really become a philosophy of culture. Its logic is a logic of development, whose aim is to get at the foundation of the culture-consciousness of humanity, as expressed in science, art, and morality. It is psychology—the critico-idealistic psychology of Cohen—that, according to Kinkel, makes possible the unity of these three directions in the consciousness of humanity. But it must be said that, though a philosophy of development, Neo-Kantism, like that of Cohen, is yet not a philosophy of history.

2. Historic development of Neo-Kantism. — Although Neo-Kantism may be taken as having its rise about the year 1865, yet the cry for a return to the epoch-making Kant had been raised long before. In that year the feeling of the time found strong expression in Otto Liebmann's *Kant und die Epigonen*. Weisse had, two decades earlier, declared that return should be made to Kant's point of view, and Liebmann, going much further, affirmed the idealistic tendencies of Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, the realistic positions of Herbart, the empirical viewpoint of Fries, and the transcendental trends in Schopenhauer to be one and all rooted in the teaching of Kant, to whom, he insists, return must be made. He holds, however, Kant's 'thing-in-itself' to be an absurdity, responsible for the four erroneous tendencies just pointed out. In his next book, *On the Individual Proof for the Freedom of the Will* (1866), Liebmann demurs to Kant's way of reconciling freedom and necessity. In two later works (*Objective Vision*, 1869, and *The Analysis of Reality*, 1876) he adopts the standpoint of the criticism founded by Kant—the Newton of speculation—who discovered the laws of intellect. Lange's great work on the *History of Materialism* first appeared in 1866. He holds, in the main, with Kant, and regards the essential reality of things as unknowable by us, since our every act of knowledge is a result of what is outside us and of what is within us. He views with disfavour Kant's wish to find out *a priori* what exists *a priori* within us. He holds that other things besides space, time, etc., exist *a priori* within us, as development advances. With Lange, after Kant, knowledge is restricted to the sphere of sense, and truth is known only in the realm of experience. The cry for return to Kant had been made as early as 1832 by K. Fortlage, and later by E. Zeller and Kuno Fischer—to say nothing of E. Reinhold and others. Indeed, the real beginnings of the return to Kant lay with the appearance of Kuno Fischer's great exposition of Kant's philosophy, with its fine exhibition of the development in Kant's thought (1860). Co-operant with such influence was the treatment by H. von Helmholtz of physiological optics and acoustics as accordant in result with the critical philosophy of Kant—a line of inquiry then significantly new.

In the transcendental group high places are occupied by H. Cohen and P. Natorp. Cohen's logic of pure knowledge is neither a pure theory of knowledge nor a psychological logic, but a system of building up a thought-world, in pursuance of Neo-Kantian desire to be rid of anti-metaphysical psychologism. His abjuration of psychologism

runs through his whole logic. But, without entering on the discussion of the whole matter, it must be said that psychologic reflexion asserts itself for Cohen, in the concept-producing activity of thought, in spite of himself. His positions are at times paradoxical, as the result of his unreasonable attitude towards the 'given.' For him the weakness of Kant lies in his firm prejudice for the 'given'—the error that man need, or can, give anything to thought. Cohen's new treatment of psychology would reconstruct the mental out of its own factual productions. Natorp may be classed with Cohen, inasmuch as they both stand—though not without differences—for the Marburg principle that, instead of the dogmatic view of subject and object as ultimately given, subject and object are to be held as constituted only by fiats of thought itself. In these thinkers we see Neo-Kantism trying to pass from the objective to the functional, and from rigid substance, as it appears to abstract thought, to the vital activity of concrete mind itself. Thus Natorp erects his system of fundamental logical functions, not as existing, but as deduced from the fundamental act of knowledge. His work is subtle, and marked by logical precision, but he tends to depart from his own strictly logical positions, and to break through into the psychological sphere. His idealistic contention that thought first generates the object stands in obvious need of modifying sense, if we are to be saved from scepticism. Besides Cohen and Natorp, the transcendental group includes E. König, A. Stadler, K. Lasswitz, W. Koppelmann, and F. Staudinger. König's view is a really phenomenist one, and, from attachment to the experiential side of Kant, he made studies of the causal problems of an extremely valuable character. Koppelmann treats, with clearness and power, of Kant's relations to ethics and to Christianity.

Paulsen proved a powerful exponent of Neo-Kantism, setting forth historically the development of Kant's theory of knowledge. Later, he blamed speculative idealism for thinking that it could evolve a system of absolute knowledge of reality by rational thought, in independence of experience. He held that thought without experience leads to the knowledge of reality just as little as experience without thought. The efforts of B. Erdmann and H. Vaihinger at Kantian interpretation must be here noted, that of J. Volkelt having been already mentioned. It should be observed, further, that it was in critical connexion with Kant that such German positivists as E. Laas and A. Riehl developed their theory of knowledge. The work of both of these thinkers is acute and interesting, and the same may be said of that of R. Avenarius, who may be classed with them. Laas occupies a position approximating that of Mill. His positivism is one which founds alone on positive facts, that is to say, perceptions, and which demands that all judgments shall show the experiential bases on which they rest. Laas is viewed by Riehl as holding in effect the position of universal idealism or universal relativism—an unstable position. Riehl himself has affinities with the intellectualistic basis of the Kantian theory of knowledge, but is in many respects nearer of kin to Spencer. A critical realist, he holds to a transcendent ground of appearances, but, with Kant, grounds objectivity in the synthetic unity of apperception. Riehl is an incisive critic of idealism, and holds it no prejudice of Kant, but only of his expositors, that the critical philosophy is grounded in psychology. On this it may be remarked that the question how representations arise is quite different from the other inquiry whether these representations contain objective knowledge, or agree with the object, and that the latter question is not one to be decided by a psychology. Avenarius termed his system 'empirio-criticism,' and dealt with the theory of experience in such a way as to give us at the same time a theory of knowledge. He claims that his 'empirio-criticism' combines and transcends Hume and Kant. Professing an absolute realism, he lands himself in subjective idealism, even while appearing as its critic.

G. Thiele, in his important work on the philosophy of self-consciousness, held that to be true which corresponds with reality, and laid the usual Neo-Kantian stress on fact and experience. Quite recently W. Kinkel has shown affinities with the Marburg school, especially with Cohen. In this connexion it may be remarked that the movement back to Kant has meant a limitation of the field of psychology, at the hands of polemical logical idealism. The works of B. Bauch and E. Cassirer, within very recent years, are not without thought-relations to Neo-Kantism.

Neo-Kantism has proved a powerful impulse in the sphere of religion, as witness A. Ritschl, W. Herrmann, and J. Kaftan. It holds the religious instincts to be not less authoritative than the other instincts; it lays stress upon ethics; it emphasizes history; it puts in the foreground of its thought the idea of the Kingdom of God, as a sphere of right living. Among more recent developments we can merely note that of Neo-Kantist thought in socialism, as by K. Vorländer and others, who treat socialism in this connexion after a Kantian moral theory of the world.

In France neo-criticism, with C. Renouvier as leader, was essentially Neo-Kantist in character. Renouvier was almost more Kantian than Kant himself. He modified and supplemented Kantian criticism by subsuming all the categories under the principle of the relativity of knowledge, and by making them all modes of the category of relation. Though Renouvier thought the Kantian philosophy 'practically bent upon the ruin of the person,' yet, for him, 'no objective representation' could be 'more than *subjectively* objective'; and we have merely ideas aroused in us by the presence of objects or bodies, but no real perception of bodies in themselves. Renouvier allowed his system to become rather fanciful and composite, and somewhat heterogeneous in its answers. Critical and suggestive though his theory was in parts, its mixed character keeps it from being satisfactory.

3. Further criticism of Neo-Kantism.—In addition to the critical references in the course of this article, some further explicit criticism of Neo-Kantism may now be made. One thing that must be put to its credit is that, in severe comparisons with extreme idealistic systems, it has wonderfully maintained its inner force and its external efficacy. It is the abiding merit of Neo-Kantism to have re-discovered, amid the growing heaps of system, the most valuable ideas of the critical philosophy, and to have elaborated them in new and fruitful ways. But it was obviously wrong in thinking to derive all from Kant, and to ignore influences that came from Lessing, Herder, Goethe, Schiller, and others. As we have seen, one result, in Germany, of the Neo-Kantist movement has been a plethora of epistemological theories of the most divergent character, as exemplified in Cohen's criticism of knowledge, the philosophic criticism of Riehl, the immanent philosophy of Schuppe, and so forth. Naturally, the right of epistemological theory to build up a system of knowledge in its own strength, and without metaphysical presuppositions, has been keenly disputed. The bankruptcy of epistemological theory has at times been proclaimed by those who have fallen back upon metaphysics. As might be expected, the results are as diverse as the methods, and range from extreme phenomenalism to extreme realism. It cannot be said that

attempts at harmonization have proved more than vain. The root-trouble of Neo-Kantism lies in its point of departure. That consists of an unhistorical mode of thinking, which, rejoicing in its isolation and its alleged freedom from dogmatic dependence, corrects Kant, in spite of itself, in all the diversified forms of Neo-Kantist thinking. It is thus manifest that its isolated critical mode does not come near objective and universal validity. Neo-Kantism has been styled 'Half-Kantism,' on the ground that Lange rejected the whole practical philosophy of Kant, while Paulsen held to the very half which Lange spurned. Certainly the Neo-Kantists have shown a somewhat irrational leaning to the negative side of Kant, with the unspiritual and mechanical world-view attaching thereto. Wundt has opposed Neo-Kantist separation of science and metaphysics. Cohen and some others do not seem sufficiently to realize that Kant, in his *Critique of Pure Reason*, sought for experience a basis that should include physics and psychology. It seems clear that, in Neo-Kantism, the meaning of inner experience has not been at all sufficiently determined. Not less certain does it appear that the critical materialism, or idealistic naturalism, of much Neo-Kantism is too uncritical of the mind's part in relation to the knowledge given in science. If philosophy is to be critical, it must recognize the reality of matter to lie, for us, not apart from consciousness—this, without impairing the epistemological fact that the object, when given, wakes a conviction of extra-mental reality. Our knowledge implicates existence or reality beyond knowledge. The cognitive subject cannot fail to recognize that that of which he has knowledge exists without him, and cannot possibly be one with his own mental state. But, although the object is so important to many characteristic Neo-Kantists, it seems that, when subject and object come together, the Neo-Kantists fail to do justice to the part played in knowledge by the combining self-active subject. For the object exists but for this conscious subject—its necessary correlate, so far as knowledge is concerned. It must be said that the facts of the relation subsisting between psychology and transcendentalism have still been too little expiscated by Neo-Kantism. The transcendental categories, it should be observed, are not deduced from psychological concepts. Rather is it the case that psychological ideas are here viewed from a transcendental standpoint. When Neo-Kantists have turned from the empirical to the rational—Cohen and Volkelt are examples—the influence of Hegel, rather than of Kant, has been apparent, in spite of Cohen's express repudiation of Hegel. Both Hegel and Cohen build up all-spanning thought-worlds, and they can be compared through the range of categories employed by them. In keeping with this, Kinkel insists that thought must have no source or origin outside itself, and Natorp proclaims facts to be not given, or attainable, by empiric knowledge in any absolute sense; so that we are brought at length to a doctrine of absolute relativity. In fine, Neo-Kantism lands itself in an unfortunate dilemma. For it says, practically, that we know that there is infinite knowledge, and that there are ideas, but that we, with our finite, discursive thought, can never reach them—the serious practical result of which would seem to be that object and knowledge, form and content, being-in-itself and culture-consciousness, never do, in Neo-Kantism, come together in their proper mode or relation of hanging all together, at least never in such a way as to meet the demands of philosophical requirement. What Neo-Kantism has increasingly evidenced itself, as a system, to be is a *Kulturphilosophie*, having its acme in the idea of humanity.

LITERATURE.—O. Liebmann, *Kant und die Epigonen*, Stuttgart, 1865, *Zur Analysis der Wirklichkeit*[2], Strassburg, 1880; H. Cohen, *Kants Theorie der Erfahrung*, Berlin, 1871, *System der Philosophie*, i. ('Logik'), do. 1902; A. Stadler, *Kants Teleologie*, do. 1874; A. Riehl, *Der philosophische Kriticismus*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1876–87, tr. A. Fairbanks, *Theory of Science and Metaphysics*, London, 1894; F. Paulsen, *Versuch einer Entwickelungsgeschichte der kantischen Erkenntnisstheorie*, Leipzig, 1875, and 'Was Kant uns sein kann' (*Vierteljahrsschr. für wissensch. Philos.*), do. 1881; E. Laas, *Kants Analogien der Erfahrung*, Berlin, 1876, *Idealismus und Positivismus*, do. 1879–84; F. A. Lange, *Gesch. des Materialismus*, Iserlohn, 1866, tr. E. C. Thomas, *Hist. of Materialism*, 3 vols., London, 1877–81, *Logische Studien*, Iserlohn, 1877; W. Schuppe, *Erkenntnisstheoretische Logik*, Bonn, 1878, *Zeitschr. für immanente Philosophie*, Berlin, 1897–99; P. Natorp, *Die logischen Grundlagen der exakten Wissenschaften*, Leipzig, 1910, and earlier works; J. Volkelt, *Erfahrung und Denken*, Hamburg, 1885, and other works; R. von Schubert-Soldern, *Grundlagen einer Erkenntnisstheorie*, Leipzig, 1884; K. Lasswitz, *Die Lehre Kants von der Idealität des Raumes und der Zeit*, Berlin, 1883; R. Avenarius, *Kritik der reinen Erfahrung*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1888–90; E. König, *Die Entwickelung des Causalproblems*, 2 vols., do. 1888–90; G. Thiele, *Die Philosophie des Selbstbewusstseins*, Berlin, 1895, and earlier works; W. Koppelmann, *Immanuel Kant und die Grundlagen der christlichen Religion*, Gütersloh, 1890; J. Lindsay, art. 'Il Movimento Neo-Kantiano in Filosofia,' in *Cœnobium*, Lugano, 1911.

JAMES LINDSAY.

NEO-PLATONISM.—1. Precursors of Neo-Platonism.—The philosophy of Plato, and even that of his independent disciple Aristotle, was a kind of splendid digression from the main current of Greek speculation. Plato's was a many-sided nature. He is by turns sceptical and mystical, constructive and analytical, a socialist and a conservative. But at bottom he is a pessimistic aristocrat, who can find little to admire or hope for in the spirit of his age. Many of his ideas could be realized only under a theocracy such as the Roman Catholic Church attempted to establish in the Middle Ages, so that Nietzsche was not wholly wrong in calling him a Christian before Christ. The evolution of thought in his own mind was a curious foreshadowing of what happened at last to his school. His growing sympathy with Orphic and Pythagorean teachings, the devoutness and solemnity of his later attitude towards religion, the ethical rigorism of his old age, with its strongly marked ascetic tendency, his interest in oracles and demons, and the momentary appearance of an 'evil soul' in the *Timæus*, all pointed the way which Platonism was much later to follow. Loyalty to their master was always a tradition of the Platonic school; but his disciples were not content with mere commentatorship, like many of the Peripatetics, and they often diverged from their founder more widely than they knew. The members of the older Academy Pythagoreanized still further than Plato had done, laying stress on the lore of numbers, and dropping the 'doctrine of ideas,' which they could not understand. After a time they grew tired of number-mysticism, and concentrated their attention upon religion and ethics. Plato's idealism now fell into the background, and a speculation, at once arid and timorous, on epistemology led the school, under Arcesilaus and Carneades, to deny the possibility of knowledge, asserting that probability is enough for practical purposes. The 'New Academy' followed, given up to quibbling disputations about the grounds of probable belief. A period of frank eclecticism ensued. Greek thought was now entering upon a long period of comparative barrenness, which lasted from the early part of the 3rd cent. B.C. to the rise of Neo-Platonism. Such movement as there was in the Platonic school was away from scepticism and towards mysticism. The New Academy, in despair of metaphysics, had referred men to practical utility as a test of truth; and it became again necessary to ask what is the end to which action should be directed in order to be useful. Since dialectic was discredited, the only source of illumina-

tion could be the inner light. The school now taught that truth is given intuitively to the mind. Thus Platonism tended to become a philosophy of revelation, and scepticism (in spite of an attempt to revive it by Ænesidemus) passed out of the Platonic tradition. By teaching that the supersensual alone is real, and divine illumination alone blessed, the school returned, though with a difference, to the position of Plato himself. The whole influence of the school was now on the side of belief and piety.

But the cradle of Neo-Platonism was not the quiet university town of Athens, but the great manufacturing city of Alexandria. From the time when the Alexandrian school rose into prominence, the official Academy, with its professor—the Diadochus, as he was called—at Athens, fell into insignificance, until, near the beginning of the 5th cent., the Academy was captured by the school of Plotinus, or rather of Iamblichus, and remained Neo-Platonic till the edict of Justinian in 529 closed the series of Platonic professors who had taught at Athens for 800 years. It is to be noted that Plotinus, Porphyry, and Iamblichus wished to be called Platonists, not Academicians. It is well known that Alexandria was at this time not only a great intellectual centre, but the place where, above all others, East and West rubbed shoulders. The wisdom of Asia was undoubtedly in high repute about this time. Philostratus expresses the highest veneration for the learning of the Indians; Apollonius of Tyana went to India to consult the Brāhmans; Plotinus himself accompanied the Roman army to Persia in the hope of gathering wisdom while his comrades searched for booty; and the Christian Clement has heard of Buddha (Βουττά). It is, therefore, natural that many modern scholars have looked for Oriental influence in Neo-Platonism, and have even represented it as a fusion of European and Asiatic philosophy. But, though the influence of the East upon the West was undoubtedly great during the decline of the Western Empire, it is not necessary to derive any Neo-Platonic doctrines from a non-European source. Neo-Platonism is a legitimate development of Greek thought, and of Plato's own speculations. In some ways it might even be said that Plato is more Oriental than Plotinus. It is another question whether Neo-Platonism was influenced in any way by the Jewish Alexandrian school, which is known to us through the writings of Philo. The resemblances between the Essenes and the Neo-Pythagoreans, and between Philo and Plotinus, are so striking that many have thought it impossible to deny a direct dependence. But it is more probable that the Greek and the Jewish Alexandrian schools developed side by side under parallel influences. Philo does not seem to have been much read by the educated pagans, who had strong prejudices against the Jews.

The Pythagorean school, as a philosophy, disappears from view in the 4th cent. B.C. But as a religious society, in connexion with the so-called Orphic rule, it was full of life. The Pythagoreans practised the simple life on a diet of vegetables and water. About 100 B.C. they produced a number of pseudonymous treatises, among them the metrical maxims called the 'Golden Verses of Pythagoras.' They taught that the Monad is the beginning of all things. From the Monad came the 'Indefinite Dyad,' and from the Dyad the other numbers, and geometrical quantities. The soul is divided into three parts (*νοῦς, θυμός, φρένες*), of which the first alone is immortal. The space between earth and heaven is filled by invisible spirits, who may be induced to foretell the future and give advice. The world is a living rational being, of which the animating principle is heat. As centres of heat the sun and stars are gods. For a time the school or sect languished, at least in Rome, where, Seneca says, they could not find a professor to teach them (*Nat. Quæst.* VII. xxxii. 2). But at Alexandria there was a strong revival. Neo-Pythagoreanism was consciously eclectic; it tried to fuse together the systems of Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoa, consecrating the whole under the name of Pythagoras, whose doctrines, they maintained, had come down to them by oral tradition. They did not discard the number-mysticism of the older school, but gave it a deeper metaphysical meaning. The Monad became the ultimate ground of all good and of all the order of the universe. The Dyad, on the contrary, was the ground of all imperfection and disorder. The Monad was the sign of the Godhead, of spirit and form; the Dyad of 'matter.' They acknowledged a plurality of subordinate gods, and deified the heavenly bodies. They taught that God is both immanent and transcendent, thus attempting to reconcile Stoicism with Platonism. The rift between God and the world was partly closed by the idea of a World-Soul, which vaguely embraced Stoic, Aristotelian, and Platonic conceptions. The phenomenal world is unsubstantial and constantly changing. It derives all the reality which it possesses from the Divine Ideas. But here came in the fantastic lore of numbers. Arithmetical symbols were converted into creative types of objects, and certain numbers, especially 3, 4, and 10, had a special sanctity. In their theory of knowledge they followed Plato. There are four kinds of knowledge, with corresponding faculties: (1) *νοῦς* (*νόησις*), spiritual perception, (2) *διάνοια*, discursive reason, which produces *ἐπιστήμη*, science, (3) (*δόξα*), opinion, which draws inferences from sensuous perception, (4) *αἴσθησις*, sensuous perception. As regards the fate of the world, they taught that the universe is eternal, and the human soul imperishable. The soul is a microcosm, with affinities to every grade of existence. They believed in transmigration. The Neo-Pythagoreans were strict vegetarians, and celibates, at least as a counsel of perfection. The 'Pythagorean life' was a recognized and standardized discipline. The Life of Apollonius, the typical Neo-Pythagorean saint, represents him as an ascetic, a model of piety and devotion. He wore only linen clothes, abhorred bloody sacrifices, and kept holy silence for five years. He had miraculous powers; he cast out devils and raised the dead.

The syncretizing tendency of the age is strongly marked in Plutarch and Maximus of Tyre. The former accepts the notion of an evil World-Soul, developing the suggestion in Plato's *Timæus*. But he is no Manichæan; evil, for him, needs only supplementing and redistributing to make it good. More important than either of these, as a precursor of Neo-Platonism, is Numenius of Apamea, who so far anticipated Plotinus that Amelius had to vindicate the originality of his master. Numenius wished to go back to Plato and Pythagoras, but also to sweep into his net the wisdom of the East, including even Judaism. He gathered together the crowd of inferior gods to whom Plato had entrusted the creation of the world, into a single Demiurge, with attributes like those of the Christian-Alexandrian Logos. The Godhead above the Demiurge he calls in so many words a *roi fainéant* (*βασιλεὺς ἀργός*, Eus. *Præp. Evang.* XI. xviii. 4). The world is 'a third God'; so that Numenius gives us a Trinity of unequal Persons. The immediate teacher of Plotinus was Ammonius Saccas, who is said to have been at one time a Christian. Next to nothing is known of his doctrines, which were not committed to writing; but Plotinus, on first hearing him, exclaimed, 'This is the man I was looking for' (*τοῦτον ἐζήτουν*), and remained his disciple and friend as long as he lived in Egypt.

2. Plotinus.—Plotinus was not by intention an eclectic. It was no part of his scheme to combine the systems of Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoics. He considered himself a Platonist, and indeed a conservative Platonist. His reverence for antiquity, which was part of the spirit of the 3rd cent., when creative genius was at a low ebb, made him chary of finding errors in any of 'the ancient philosophers of blessed memory' (*οἱ ἀρχαῖοι καὶ μακάριοι φιλόσοφοι*, *Enn.* III. vii. 1), and he tried to represent their divergent views as no more than superficial differences. But to Plato alone he allows plenary inspiration. He will not admit that he ever deserts his master's teaching. Again and again we find such protestations as these:

'This doctrine is not new; it was professed from the most ancient times, though without being developed explicitly; we wish only to be interpreters of the ancient sages, and to show by the evidence of Plato himself that they had the same opinions as ourselves' (*ib.* v. i. 8).

He even maintains that his three hypostases, the One, spirit, and soul, are to be found, not merely in Plato, but in Parmenides, Heraclitus, Anaxagoras, and Empedocles (*ib.*). Pythagoras, next to Plato, is treated with most reverence, though Plotinus does not really owe very much to this school, except through the Platonic tradition. Aristotle is treated with more freedom; he frankly criticizes the Aristotelian categories. In reality, however, he borrows a great deal from him—especially the fundamental conceptions of *δύναμις* and *ἐνέργεια*, which are of vital importance in Neo-Platonism. The world of Ideas is really alive for Plotinus; each Idea is an *ἐνέργεια*. It is an original type of a definite individual: thus the Ideas have an independence which they have not in Plato. In psychology too there are important unacknowledged debts to Aristotle. It might even be maintained that Plotinus knew and understood Aristotle better than Plato, though he names him only four times. To his successors Plotinus seemed to have achieved in principle the unification of these two great philosophies, a task which was avowedly set before themselves by Porphyry, Iamblichus, and other Neo-Platonists down to and including Boëthius. To Stoicism the attitude of Plotinus is in the main hostile, since it is one of his main objects to combat materialism in all its forms. Yet he owes to the Stoics, in part, his dynamic pantheism—the doctrine that the living forces of the Deity permeate all nature; and the somewhat enigmatic part played in his system by *λόγοι* and *πνεῦμα* shows Stoical influence. He sums up his quarrel with Stoicism in *Enn.* IV. vii., where he says that it is a radical mistake to explain the higher by the lower, and to suppose that the merely potential can of itself develop activity.

The life of Plotinus extended from about 205 to 270, the exact dates being uncertain. He is said by Eunapius and Suidas to have been born at Lycopolis in Egypt. At the age of 27 he became a student of philosophy at Alexandria, and attached himself to Ammonius, whose lectures he attended for eleven years. At the end of this time he left Alexandria, and accompanied the emperor Gordian on his ill-starred expedition against Persia, his object being to gain a personal acquaintance with the philosophies of the East. Gordian was murdered during the campaign, and Plotinus with difficulty made his way back to Antioch. Soon after, he took up his abode in Rome, where he lived for the rest of his life. His mode of living is described by his disciple Porphyry as the ideal of the philosophic character. He had numerous pupils, of both sexes and all ages, to whom he lectured, though, as Bigg says (*Neoplatonism*, p. 187), his school was more like a literary society than a class-room. It was not till near the end of his life that he began to write. His conferences were attended by several prominent men, such as the senator Rogatianus, whom he persuaded to renounce his worldly possessions and retire from public life. The emperor Gallienus and his wife Salonina had a great admiration for him, and even promised to help in a wild scheme to found a city on a deserted and probably malarious site in Campania, to be constituted on the model of Plato's Republic. Fortunately the idea was abandoned. In spite of this aberration, Plotinus was a good man of business, and was in request as a guardian and trustee of young orphans of the upper class. He also came forward as a peacemaker, and had no enemies, except among rival philosophers, one of whom, Porphyry says, tried in vain to bewitch him by sorcery. He lived an ascetic life, eating no meat and sleeping but little. He died at the age of 66, after a long illness, at a country house near Minturnæ. His friend, the physician Eustochius, heard his last words: 'I was waiting for you, before the divine principle in me departs to unite itself with the divine in the universe.' In such a busy life, we might suppose that prayer and meditation could find but little place. But it was not so. Plotinus would often spend whole nights in 'the prayer of quiet.' In the words of Proclus, the greatest of his successors, his soul, which he had always kept pure, took flight towards the divine principle, prayed to it, and adored it. He had always endeavoured to raise himself above the stormy waves of this brutal life, which is nourished on flesh and blood. It is thus that this divine man, whose thoughts were always turned to the supreme God and the unseen world, merited the privilege of beholding several times the immediate presence of the Godhead, who has neither sensible nor intelligible form, since He is exalted above intelligence and being itself. (This is the beatific vision of all the mystics. Plotinus enjoyed it four times during the six years when Porphyry lived with him.)

The *Enneads*, edited by Porphyry, are mere lecture-notes, which Porphyry found as an unsorted heap of almost illegible MS; for Plotinus had weak eyes, and never cared to work up his lectures in literary form. Porphyry did his best to arrange his material according to subject, disregarding the date of composition. He was less wise in dividing it into six books, each containing nine chapters—a fanciful arrangement dictated only by respect for the 'sacred numbers.' Even the younger members of the Neo-Platonic school, who almost worshipped the memory of Plotinus, groaned over the obscurity of his style and the chaotic condition of his writings. 'Enigmatic,' 'harsh and unintelligible,' 'scattered and disorderly,' such are the criticisms of men who regarded his wisdom as almost superhuman. The modern reader will not differ from them. There is no harder Greek than the *Enneads*, because it is bad Greek. The author, writing notes to refresh his memory in lecturing, has no mercy on his readers. There are passages of noble sublimity, of tender charm, of lofty devotion, in the *Enneads*, which delight as well as instruct the reader; but on the whole it is probable that no great teacher has placed so many obstacles in the way of his own popularity as this devotee of the ever-charming Plato. Modern historians of philosophy have generally shirked the trouble of reading him—with the result that more blunders are current about this philosophy than about any other system, ancient or modern. Critics have merely copied each other's remarks about him.

Plotinus sets himself to overthrow three enemies of the true philosophy—materialism, scepticism, and dualism. These are the three errors which, in his opinion, it is most necessary to confute. Those critics who have found in Plotinus himself a philosophy of dualism have misunderstood him from top to bottom. Popularized Platonism often takes a dualistic form; but neither in Plato nor in Plotinus is there any justification for the notion that there are two world-principles and two worlds. In the case of Plato, this error has been exposed satisfactorily by Bernard Bosanquet (*The Principle of Individuality and Value*, London, 1912, p. 8).

Plotinus, then, in opposition to these heresies, maintains that reality is spiritual, knowable, and single. There are two fundamental trinities in his system. One is the trinity of divine principles, consisting of the Absolute or Godhead, which he calls indifferently the One and the Good, spirit (this is by far the best English word for *νοῦς*, which is commonly rendered 'intellect' or 'intelligence'), and soul. The other is the tripartite division of man into spirit, soul, and body. This triadic schematism was almost obligatory on a Greek philosopher. Three is the perfect number; its continual recurrence in all mental processes, particularly in the syllogism, led to an almost superstitious reverence for this symbol. But there is nothing forced or arbitrary in either of these triplets in Plotinus;

the dominance of the triad is much more marked in Proclus, as it is in Hegel. Besides (and this is a most important point), Plotinus wishes to draw no hard boundary-lines across the field of experience, whether physical, psychical, or spiritual. His map of the world is covered with contour-lines, which, as in the designs of modern chartographers, are understood to indicate not chasms but gradual slopes. He draws a ladder and gives names to the rungs; but the reality, he wishes us to understand, is much more like an inclined plane. This is eminently true of the three divine principles; it is not less the key to his anthropology.

In their objective aspects body, soul, and spirit are respectively the world as perceived by the senses (*κόσμος αἰσθητός*), the world interpreted by the soul as a spatial and temporal order, and the spiritual world (*κόσμος νοητός*). The organs which perceive the world under these three aspects are the bodily senses, the discursive reason (*διάνοια*), and spiritual perception or intuitive knowledge (*νόησις*). It is only when we exercise the last—the highest faculty of our nature, a power 'which all possess but few use'—that we are ourselves completely real and in contact with reality. This reality is neither an independently existing external universe nor a subjective construction thrown off by the mind. It is constituted by the unity in duality of the spiritual faculty and the spiritual world which it beholds in exercising its self-consciousness. Spirit and the spiritual world imply and involve each other; neither has any existence apart from its correlative. If the spiritual world may be called the self-externalization of spirit, spirit may with equal propriety be called the self-consciousness of the spiritual world. Plotinus is not an idealist in the modern, post-Kantian sense, though he argued against Longinus that 'the spiritual world is not outside spirit' (*οὐκ ἔξω νοῦ τὰ νοητά*). In saying this, he did not mean that all reality is mental, or that apparently external objects are created by the mind which perceives them; he only meant to deny one interpretation of Plato's Ideas—that which made them independently existing entities, which the mind contemplates as something other than itself. The *νοητά* are not outside *νοῦς*; but they are certainly not created by *νοῦς*.

Reality was conceived by Stoics and Epicureans alike as body itself, or as a quality or relation of body. As against these schools, Plotinus sees the issue more clearly than any previous thinker. Neither Cicero nor Plutarch ever calls the Stoics and Epicureans materialists. It is to Plotinus more than to any other philosopher that we owe the first clear doctrine of spiritual existence. His refutation of materialism is still valuable. The Stoics, he says, ascribe to matter (*ὕλη*) properties which cannot belong to it. Matter is really a mere abstraction; it is the bare receptacle of forms, the subject of energy, viewed by abstraction as subsisting apart from the energy which alone gives it meaning and existence. Plotinus's 'matter' is not material; it is not to be confounded with the ponderable stuff to which science gives the same name, and which it is now engaged in subdividing till it seems on the point of being sublimated into the subject of electrical energy—a strange approximation to Plotinus's own view. Matter is that intangible, impalpable all-but-nothing which remains when we subtract from an object of thought all that makes it a possible object of thought. This is quite clearly the Neo-Platonic doctrine about matter. It is immaterial; it is a mere abstraction; we arrive at it only by thinking away all that makes consciousness of an object possible. And yet it is commonly said, and not without some excuse, that 'matter' is in this philosophy the principle of evil. The difficulty is a real one. It raises the question of the interrelation of the two hierarchies—that of existence and that of value. Plotinus has disposed of the claim of matter to possess substantial reality (*οὐσία*). But the word 'evil' at once introduces another scale—that of value. The existential problem has, strictly speaking, nothing to do with values. An 'appearance,' as opposed to 'reality' (*οὐσία*), is a partial presentation of reality which needs to be enlarged or harmonized in order to make it a true presentation. It is false if it claims to be a presentation of fact in all its relations, whereas in truth it ignores some of those relations. It is an error to mistake appearance for reality; *e.g.*, it is an error to regard the world of sense as an objective, self-existing cosmos. This error may be the cause of moral fault; but there is nothing evil about the appearance itself. A shadow has its place in the order of the world, as well as the substance which casts it. It is, however, impossible to confine ourselves to the purely existential aspect of things. It is impossible for the biologist, *e.g.*, to avoid using such words as 'degeneration,' 'survival of the fittest,' which imply an ethical or qualitative measurement. Only in pure mathematics are value-judgments excluded. Qualitative estimates are based on fact not less than quantitative, but they give us a different standard and different results, so that we are threatened with an intractable dualism. For Plotinus it is an article of faith that the hierarchies of existence and of value must ultimately be found to correspond, so that the class which has the lowest degree of reality in the existential scale must have the lowest degree of value in the ethical scale. But there is one important difference between the two series. In the scale of existence there are no minus signs; the all-but-non-existent occupies the lowest rung of the ladder. But in the scale of values we have to register temperatures below zero. There are many facts, and some persons, of whom we may say that it would have been better if they had not come into existence. The moral standard, therefore, is essentially dualistic, the existential monistic. We may either force the two schemes into harmony by investing 'matter' or 'flesh' with evil characteristics, in which case we have accepted metaphysical dualism, or retain monistic views by holding that the opposition between good and evil is only relative. The minus signs disappear, from the standpoint of the Absolute. The latter is the solution towards which Plotinus inclines; but he is too conscious of the positive obstacles which impede morality to be satisfied with a theory which makes evil a mere defect in the penetration of matter by spirit or soul. His utterances on the problem of evil cannot all be reconciled. But his deepest view is that matter is the absence of order which when isolated by abstract thought becomes the foe of order. In arguing against Stoical materialism, he sometimes uses 'matter' in the Stoical sense instead of his own, meeting his opponents on their own ground. But Zeller is quite wrong in saying that Plotinus makes matter the evil principle. Matter is 'potentially all things'; 'it is what it may become'; it is the necessary condition of all good. There is such a thing as 'divine matter' (*θεία ὕλη*), which is enriched and glorified by the spirit poured into it, so that it has a place in the eternal world. Here below, matter remains 'a decked out corpse,' because form and substratum are to some extent held apart; 'yonder,' matter too is delivered from the bondage of corruption. In heaven form and matter are 'one illuminated reality' (*μία οὐσία πεφωτισμένη*). Evil, for Plotinus, is not a negation posited in the Absolute; the necessary tension belongs only to the world of becoming. Friction

and conflict belong to the world of soul, which is also the world of will; they are a condition of the actualizing of reality on that plane, but not in the realms above. When he is asked why strife and friction exist, even in this imperfect world, he can only say, 'It had to be.' Necessity is to Plotinus a part of the ontological argument. It belongs to the inner nature of goodness that it should create in the fullest and freest manner; and this creation is not a reduplication of a perfection which cannot be measured quantitatively, but the production of a hierarchy exemplifying every possible grade of existence and value. These hierarchies are also immediate data of experience, so that they cannot be explained from outside. They are the foundations on which philosophy has to build.

But now arises an epistemological difficulty. Reality is constituted by the trinity in unity of the perceiving spirit (νοῦς), the spiritual world (τὰ νοητά), and the spiritual perception (νόησις) which unites subject and object in one. Reality is thought, thing, and the relation of identity between them. This correspondence and mutual dependence of subject and object holds good all down the scale. Like alone sees like. How then do we come by the 'false opinions' which invest matter with a spurious substantiality? There is, Plotinus says, an element of indeterminateness in the soul, which apprehends the indeterminate, matter. This half-blinded spiritual faculty, this clouded perception, this shapeless object, all 'desire' to rise together into a clearer light where they will be transformed. Our average life is lived on the middle level of the soul's activities, the organ of which is discursive reason (διάνοια). But, when the soul gives itself humbly as 'matter' for spirit, it is raised up to the higher sphere of life 'yonder,' in the spiritual world. The world of appearance may be described either as the real world seen through a glass darkly or as an actual but imperfect copy of a perfect original. The real-idealism of Plotinus holds these two views together. 'A feeble contemplation makes a feeble object of contemplation.' The world of appearance shows us a diversity which exists by the side of unity, instead of the concrete unity of spirit; mutual exclusion as the mark of differentiation, instead of the mutual inclusion or compenetration which exists in the spiritual world; strife and opposition in the place of harmony; time in the place of eternity; perpetual flux and change in the place of the unchanging activity of spirit. 'Sensible reality' (ἡ ἐνταῦθα ὁμώνυμος οὐσία) is but a shadow of true reality. The sensible world is a reflexion of the eternal world in the mirror of matter.

The sensible world is the creation of the universal soul, through the medium of nature, which is its moving power. Nature is the active faculty of the universal soul, its outer life, the expansion and expression of its being, that without which it would be shut up in itself. Nature is sleeping spirit. All its activity comes from soul; it casts upon matter a reflexion of the forms which it has received from above. On nature's methods Plotinus says:

'If anyone were to demand of nature why it produces, it would answer, if it were willing to listen and speak: You should not ask questions, but understand, keeping silence as I keep silence; for I am not in the habit of talking. What ought you to understand? In the first place, that which is produced is the work of my silent contemplation, a contemplation produced by my nature; for being born myself of contemplation I am naturally contemplative, and that which contemplates in me produces an object of contemplation, as geometers describe figures while contemplating. I however do not describe figures; but while I contemplate I let fall as it were the lines which mark the forms of bodies. I preserve the disposition of my mother the universal soul, and of the principles which produced me [the creative Logoi]. They too were born of contemplation, and I was born in the same way' (*Enn.* III. viii.).

By contemplation Plotinus means attention directed to that which is above ourselves in the scale of reality and value. All creative activity is the (in a sense) unconscious result of this steady devotion to what is higher than ourselves. We always create after some pattern in a higher sphere; and the whole world, thus produced, is an image of the mind and thought of God. Foot-prints (ἴχνη) of the universal soul, and of spirit itself, are to be found everywhere.

Extension (τόπος) is the necessary form which results from the inability of matter to receive all forms without dividing and separating them. The purely indeterminate is spaceless; extension is given to it by the soul. Leibniz was only partially right in calling space the form of co-existence; for co-existence can be conceived, though not pictured, non-spatially. It is also the form of the whole and part relation; of the inclusion of one thing by another. Again, it is the form under which we recognize near and far, and so infer the reality of the unseen and unexperienced. The external world can teach us much about ultimate truth. Plotinus mentions especially order and limit (τάξις and πέρας) as the chief lessons of natural science. But he insists strongly on the reflexions of the divine beauty which we find in the visible world. His quarrel with the half-Christian Gnostics—the most vigorous polemic in the *Enneads*—is mainly on the ground that they despise this beautiful world and regard it as evil. 'All things that are in heaven (ἐκεῖ) are also on earth,' he says in a passage which should have saved some of his critics from many blunders (*Enn.* v. ix. 13).

Plotinus is well aware that time is one of the hardest problems in metaphysics. He does not claim to throw any new light upon it. Time, the moving image of eternity, arose through the desire of the soul of the world to exert its powers. Time is the form which the soul creates for itself when it desires to reproduce the eternal ideas as living activities. In the vulgar sense, time is as everlasting as eternity; it never began and will never end. It is 'the activity of an eternal soul not turned towards itself nor within itself, but exercised in generation and creation' (*Enn.* III. vii. 12). This view of time implies teleology. Time is essentially the interval between the inception and completion of creative purpose. Causation is a teleological category, and belongs exclusively to psychical life, or to physical life as determined once for all by a first cause. If the world were merely a mechanism, there would be no causation, but only invariable sequence. Causation, in fact, is what Bergson calls creative evolution, and it requires *la durée*, as he says. But Bergson does not succeed in proving that psychical evolution, in 'real time,' is irreversible or unpredictable. He only makes it discontinuous, whether we read it forwards or backwards. It is unpredictable, not absolutely, but only by the laws which govern inorganic matter. Creative evolution may be the orderly development of psychical or spiritual laws. If so, his argument for contingency falls to the ground. For Plotinus, every distinct idea 'yonder' becomes a finite purpose 'here.' Every attribute of God's essence becomes an activity of His existence. The time-process is not the necessary form of the self-evolution of God; it is the product of His free but necessary creative activity. Nor is there any radical difference between the laws which regulate organic and inorganic objects. The same spirit which slumbers in the stone and dreams in the flower awakes in the human soul. Time then is not merely the measure of the impermanence of the imperfect. It is, in his careful definition, the measure of definite finite activity directed to some end from which it is quite distinct

(*Enn.* VI. i. 16). What is real in time is the potentiality of qualitative change. 'Movement of itself does not need time.' From the point of view of practical religion it makes a great difference whether we regard the phenomenal world as a polarization of changeless reality, or whether we hold that its being is radically teleological. The former view, when developed logically and held exclusively, leads to the vacuous existence of the Indian contemplative, the latter to the vulgar conception of eternal life as survival in time, and to the brutal activity of the western man, with whom, as Bosanquet says (*The Value and Destiny of the Individual*, London, 1913, p. 295), reliance on the future has become a disease. Plotinus tries to combine the truth in both; but he shows no interest in the larger life of nations, which may justly be regarded as representing unitary thoughts and purposes in the mind of God. His view of the fate of the world is nevertheless vastly superior to those dreams of perpetual progress which, in spite of their scientific absurdity, are so popular among ourselves. The world-order, according to Plotinus, evolves regularly till the end of an astronomical cycle, when the whole process is repeated. Thus the history of the universe consists of a number of vast but not infinite schemes, each of which has a beginning and an end. An infinite purpose is, as he sees, a contradiction in terms. We must find consolation for the inevitable disappearance of our species by remembering that in the eternal world all values are preserved intact.

The relation of the world 'here below' to the world 'yonder' has been completely misunderstood by most critics of Neo-Platonism. There is only one real world, the *κόσμος νοητός*. The kingdom of *οὐσία* includes soul, but nothing lower than soul. The half-real phenomenal world is a necessary product of soul, and without it the divine principles would not be what they are; for

'It is necessary that each principle should give of itself to another. The Good would not be the Good, nor Spirit Spirit, nor Soul Soul, if nothing lived dependent on the first life' (*Enn.* II. ix. 3).

Thus every grade of being is bound in 'a golden chain about the feet of God.' All divine creativeness is what philosophers call transeunt or transitive activity. The higher does not need the lower; God does not need the world. The necessity of the world lies in the inner nature of all which derives its being from the One who is also the Good. Proclus (who, of course, must be used with caution as an interpreter of Plotinus) says that God created the world by His goodness, His will, and His providence, a trinity in unity (*ἑνοειδὴς τριάς*) of motives. The soul descends into the phenomenal world because it wishes 'to imitate the providence of the gods.' It is, in a word, the character, not the essence, of God that calls the world into being. There are some thinkers who deny the possibility of transitive activity. But this is to destroy, not merely Platonism, but all theism. If God is transcendent at all, part of His activity must be transitive. The analogy of mechanical laws need not frighten us. As soon as we reach the domain of *οὐσία*, we deal with values which are increased by sharing, with forces which 'operate unspent.'

The world of sense, then, is created by soul after the pattern of spirit. It is a construction of superficial experience, a rough-and-ready synthesis based on imperfect data. It is not identical with the world as known to natural science. The latter is an attempt to interpret the universe by the exclusive use of quantitative categories. The world of common experience is quite different from this. It is a blurred and confused picture of the spiritual world, distorted by defects in the organ of perception, and split up by the very conditions of soul-life. For all that, it is a great and glorious thing, a vision of the eternal verities. Plotinus replies indignantly to the Gnostic theory that the world was created through a lapse of the universal soul:

'We affirm that the soul created the world not because it looked downward but because it looked upward. In order to look downward, the soul must have forgotten the spiritual world. But if it had forgotten it, how could it create the world? Where could it find its pattern, except from what it saw yonder? But if it thought of the spiritual world while creating, it did not look downward at all. . . . We must not allow that the world is ill made because it contains much that is disagreeable. It is only an image of the spiritual world, but could there be a more beautiful image? . . . Do not suppose that a man becomes good by despising the world and all the beautiful things that are in it. When we love a person, we love all that belongs to him; if we love the father, we love the children for his sake. But every soul is a child of our Father in heaven. How can this world, with the divine powers which it contains, be separated from the spiritual world? Those who despise what is so nearly akin to the spiritual world, prove that they know nothing about the latter except in name' (*Enn.* II. ix. 4).

The flaws which we justly observe in the world as we know it are themselves evidence that the soul has her true home in a higher sphere, above the discordance, change, and strife which are the conditions of spatial and temporal existence. What is most real in this world is that which most reflects the mind and purpose of that which called it into being. The only way to understand anything is to view it in relation to its source and goal in the sphere next above it. The 'nature' of anything is to be sought in its completed development.

The Third Person in the Neo-Platonic Trinity is not the aggregate of individual souls, but 'the soul of the all.' To this Plotinus assigns attributes which hardly distinguish it from spirit. It is exalted above space and time. It remains itself at rest while it illuminates the world and gives it life. It is not in the world; rather the world is in it, embraced by it and moulded by it. The individual soul can understand itself only by contemplating the universal soul. The passage in which Plotinus urges us to this holy quest is one of the finest in the *Enneads*, and it is familiar to thousands who have never read Plotinus, because it is closely imitated by Augustine in the most famous chapter of the *Confessions*:

'The soul ought first to examine its own nature to know whether it has the faculty of contemplating spiritual things, and whether it has indeed an eye wherewith to see them, and if it ought to embark on the quest. If the spiritual world is foreign to it, what is the use of trying? But if there is a kinship between us and it, we both can and ought to find it. First then let us consider that it is the universal soul which created all things, breathing into them the breath of life. . . . The soul sets them in their order and directs their motions, keeping itself apart from the things which it orders and moves and causes to live. The soul must be more honourable than they, since they are born and perish, as the soul grants them life and leaves them; but the soul lives for ever and never ceases to be itself. This great soul must be contemplated by another soul, itself no small thing, but one that makes itself worthy to contemplate the great soul by ridding itself of deceit and of all that beguiles common souls, through quiet recollection. For it let all be quiet; not only the body that encompasses it, and the tumult of the senses, but let all its environment be at peace. Let the earth be quiet, and the sea and air, and the heaven itself calm. Let it observe how the soul flows in from all sides into the resting world, pours into it, penetrates and illumines it. Even as the bright beams of the sun enlighten a dark cloud and give it a golden border, so the soul when it enters into the body of the heaven gives it life and immortality and awakens it from sleep. . . . The soul gives itself to every point in this vast body. . . . But itself is not divided; it does not split itself up in order to give life to each individual. All things live by the soul in its entirety; it is all present everywhere, like the Father which begat it, both in its unity and in its universality. The heaven, vast and various as it is, is one by the power of the soul, and by it is this universe of ours divine' (V. i. 2).

Individuality is always a difficult problem in systems like that of Plotinus. Individual souls are not *parts* of the universal soul. They are rather *λόγοι* (active principles) of spirits, corresponding to distinct Ideas 'yonder.' But in the spiritual world there is distinction without separation. The separateness and mutual externality of

souls in this world is a πάθημα of bodies, not of soul itself. In this world we find separation without disparity, and resemblance without unity; 'yonder' it is not so. And even here the soul never loses its correspondence with the universal soul, through which 'all souls are one.' Sympathy is as much a fact of experience as individuality, and bears witness to a real unity behind apparent separateness. Plotinus is anxious to preserve human individuality. 'Each individual must be himself' (δεῖ ἕκαστον ἕκαστον εἶναι); and each individual soul is 'an original cause' (πρωτουργὸς αἰτία, *Enn.* III. i. 8). The soul 'is present' with the body, but not within it; it remains pure of all admixture, and is always itself.

Psychology of Plotinus.—Sensation (αἴσθησις) is not a passive impression made by external objects on the perceiving faculty. It is an activity—an ἐνέργεια, not a πάθος. The difference between sensations and spiritual perceptions (νοήσεις) is one of degree; sensations are dim νοήσεις. The mind is never dormant in perception; what we call perception is largely the work of imagination. The fact that we can perceive external objects at all is a proof of the 'faint sympathy' (ἀμυδρὰ συμπάθεια, IV. iv. 40) which pervades all nature, for we can be aware only of what is akin to ourselves.

Pleasure and pain are not pure sensations, since they are states of consciousness; and, on the other hand, they are not affections (πάθη) of the soul. They belong to 'the compound' (τὸ σύνθετον), *i.e.* to soul present to body, or body present to soul.

Memory and imagination, which in Plotinus are closely connected, belong to the discursive reason (διάνοια). Recollection (ἀνάμνησις) demands a higher kind of volitional and rational activity than memory (μνήμη), and is confined to man, while the lower animals possess some memory. Plotinus transforms Plato's ἀνάμνησις into a doctrine of innate ideas potentially present. The higher soul is by choice forgetful of all that is foreign to its true nature, but it *recovers* ideas which belong to an earlier and nobler state of existence, which have been forgotten here below. Memory is of images only; spiritual perception is first transformed into an image reflected in the mirror of the imagination, and memory is the faculty which grasps this image. We do not 'remember' νοητά, because we contemplate them as permanent activities of our higher self. There is no memory 'yonder'; for all spiritual perception is timeless (ἄχρονος πᾶσα νόησις, *Enn.* IV. iv. 1). Imagination (φαντασία), opinion (δόξα), and discursive thought all float between the spiritual and sensible worlds. Perception seizes the forms (εἶδη) of sensible objects. At the summit of this faculty, when the αἴσθημα becomes a purely mental representation, the faculty takes the name of τὸ φανταστικόν in presence of the object, of memory in its absence. Imagination is mid-way between sensation and reason; its higher state is the same as opinion. Porphyry makes the three faculties of knowledge to be sensation, imagination, and νοῦς, and says that neither sensation nor νόησις is possible without imagination. Φαντασία, it will be seen, is nearer *Vorstellung* than 'imagination,' and φάντασμα is what modern philosophy incorrectly (to a Platonist) calls an 'idea.' Some modern writers, notably Wordsworth, have given imagination a far more exalted place. The 'imagination,' which 'is reason in her most exalted mood,' is Plotinus's νοερὰ φαντασία. Even 'intellectual love,' which ushers spirit into the presence of the One, is for Wordsworth inseparable from imagination—a profound truth which is the key to the understanding of religious symbols generally. In the discursive reason (διάνοια) the proper function of the soul is achieved. Self-consciousness belongs to it; the yet higher activities of the soul are not self-conscious. Plotinus does not regard self-consciousness as the highest of human powers. He has observed that we do things best when we are not thinking of ourselves as doing them; our organs remind us of their existence only when they are out of order. What we call consciousness of self is in truth consciousness of a contrasted not-self. There is a kind of unconsciousness in the highest experiences of the soul; our senses 'protest that they have seen nothing' (*Enn.* V. viii. 11); but we can no more doubt them than we can doubt our own existence. But discursive thought is only the polarized copy of νόησις. The soul, in knowing itself, 'knows that there is something better than itself'; it knows itself as another's (V. iii. 4 and 6). Plotinus purposely makes νοῦς and διάνοια overlap; discursive reason is never separated from νόησις at the one end, and creativeness (ποίησις) at the other. The realm of soul is 'the world of life' (κόσμος ζωτικός, identified with ψυχή by Proclus). Soul has οὐσία, but the soul-world is fully real only when it is taken as a whole, not as split up among individual *foci* of consciousness, and in time. There are three planes on which a man may live, and his rank in the scale of existence depends on the choice which he makes: he may live a purely external life, obeying his natural instincts, or he may live in obedience to his discursive reason, the life of an intelligent but unspiritual man, or he may, in rare instances, attain to 'the life of gods and godlike men,' the life of the spirit. The soul, as a microcosm, has affinities with every rung of the ladder which reaches from earth to heaven. These stages shade off into each other; Neo-Platonism knows of no rigid barrier-lines.

Before our birth, says Plotinus, we existed as pure souls and spirits, attached to the universal soul. Why do souls ever leave this happy state, and 'come down' to earth? This is a real crux of Neo-Platonism, and Plotinus, who always seems to be thinking aloud, does not conceal his perplexity about it. He throws out several suggestions which do not pretend to be consistent with each other. He has consulted Heraclitus, Empedocles, and Pythagoras without finding any clear answer to the question. Even the divine Plato does not always use the same language. How shall we reconcile his well-known words about the body being the cave, the prison, the tomb of the soul, and about the moulting of the soul's wings through contact with matter, with the doctrine of the *Timæus*, that the Creator sent soul into the world to make it the abode of spirit or intelligence, and with a view to its perfection? If we follow the *Timæus*, the soul is not to blame; 'we may care for that which is below us without ceasing to abide in the highest and best.' Plotinus shows us that he would like to follow the *Timæus*, not the *Phædrus*. But he characteristically tries to prove that both may be true. It is permissible to say that God sent the souls down to earth, for 'the operation of the highest principle, even though there are many stages between, can be traced down to the end of the process.' And yet the soul commits two faults, one in coming down, and the other in entering into bodies. It does so by choice, and because it desires to bring order into what is below. If it returns quickly, it has suffered no hurt; indeed it has put forth powers which would otherwise have remained latent. The soul *must* communicate its gifts, for all grades of reality and value must exist, down to the lowest degree possible. The soul learns its own good by the experience of contraries, though the strongest souls may understand evil without experience of it (IV. viii.). The

soul descends into the body prepared for it, as if summoned by a herald (IV. iii. 13). The soul has a desire to go forth and create according to what she has seen in the spiritual world (IV. vii.). The ascents and descents of the soul are necessary parts of the universal harmony (IV. iii. 12). Yet there is a danger lest the soul be 'deceived and bewitched' by the charm of sensuous being (IV. vi. 3). It beholds itself in the mirror of matter, and like Narcissus falls in love with the image and plunges in after it (IV. iii. 12). These last passages represent the real view of Plotinus. The local metaphors of ascent and descent must not mislead us. The soul does not sin by desiring to create after the eternal pattern in a lower sphere; it is entirely right and necessary that our world should exist; but, as soon as we forget that we are strangers and pilgrims here, sin begins. There is a want of firmness and consistency in the teaching of Plotinus on this subject; he is hampered partly by reverence for Plato, and partly by the very natural tendency to *Weltflucht* in a dismal and hopeless age; but his deeper thought is unquestionably that which most decisively excludes the Gnostic errors which he combats so strenuously.

Plotinus also asks, Can the soul itself sin? Does it 'descend entire,' or is there a divine nucleus at the heart of humanity, which can take no stain? Plotinus holds that there is, and he expresses this in spatial imagery by saying that 'part of the soul remains above.' This is his own theory, though he tries to father it on Plato. And it is most interesting to find that the later Neo-Platonists, in spite of their almost superstitious reverence for the 'most divine Plotinus,' frankly desert him here. Iamblichus, Proclus, Simplicius, and Priscian all maintain that the soul comes down entire; only Theodorus and Damascius follow Plotinus. Proclus, who is quite emancipated from the Platonic doctrine of *πτεροῤῥύησις*, makes the creation of the world an essential movement of spirit. The soul descends 'because it desires to imitate the providence of the gods. What nobler enterprise could it set itself than to hand on to other created beings the gifts which God has given to itself?' (Proclus, *in Timæum*, 338). It is plain that later Neo-Platonism is more willing to receive a true *incarnational* doctrine than Plotinus was. The soul may still be at home in heaven while it energizes with all its powers on earth. The more deeply it penetrates into the darkest recesses of nature, the more fully is it fulfilling its divine task. Heroic action and real struggle are proper to the divine life.

The soul, which exists in its own right, neither comes into being nor perishes. When separated from the body it no longer exercises its lower faculties, which are not extinguished by death, but remain *δυνάμει* only (*Enn.* III. iv. 6). Such faculties as opinion, reasoning, and memory are superfluous under the conditions of eternal life. Resurrection, he says pointedly, is an awakening from the body, not with the body (III. vi. 6). Discarnate souls help the universal soul to govern the world; their separate individuality is not lost, but latent (*οὐκ ἔστιν ἐνεργείᾳ οὐδ' αὖ ἀπόλωλεν*, VI. iv. 16). And yet beatified spirits enjoy a happy communion with each other. Unrighteous souls are sent into other bodies, even the bodies of ignoble beasts, as a punishment. Chastisements are proportioned to offences by divine law (IV. iii. 24). A man's guardian angel (*δαίμων*) may also inflict chastisement on the disembodied soul (III. iv. 6). There is a higher and a lower soul. The higher soul cannot be lost, but we may, so to speak, lose it by identifying ourselves with lower interests. The soul of the bad man may be lost, but not the soul which would have been his if he had not been a bad man. We are what we love and care about.

We now come to what for Neo-Platonism is the centre of the whole system—the spiritual world. It is here that we are to find the fully real and the completely true. This reality is neither thought nor thing, but the unity in duality of spirit (*νοῦς*) and the spiritual world (*νοητά*). Plotinus is no idealist in the modern sense. 'Spirit, the whole of reality, and truth, are one nature' (III. ix. 3). 'Being, by being perceived, gives to Spirit perception and existence' (*τὸ ὂν τῷ νοεῖσθαι τῷ νῷ δἰδὸν τὸ νοεῖν καὶ τὸ εἶναι*, V. i. 4). 'Spirit in beholding reality beheld itself, and in beholding entered into its proper activity, and this activity is itself' (V. iii. 5). Nor does reality consist in a relation: 'reality is that which is seen, not the act of seeing' (VI. ii. 8). *Νόησις* is the relation between *νοῦς* and *νοητόν*, but the two are identical, though not absolutely fused. 'Where Spirit energizes in itself, the objects of its activity are other spirits; but where it energizes outside itself, the soul' (VI. ii. 21). 'The *νοητά* are many in one and one in many and all together' (VI. v. 5). Spirit 'wanders among realities' (*ἐν οὐσίαις πλανᾶται*) on 'the field of truth,' remaining always itself. Though it does not change, it is constantly active.

Plotinus has much to say about the categories of the spiritual world; but he is again hampered by Plato, who gives one set of categories in the *Philebus* and another in the *Sophist*. In the spiritual world there are certain antinomies which cannot be reconciled in our ordinary experience, but which in a higher sphere are fully harmonized. These are—thought and its object; identity and difference; change and permanence. The discussion of these categories, which occupies a great deal of space in the *Enneads* (for he takes the opportunity of criticizing Aristotle at great length), has been very differently estimated by modern critics. To the present writer it seems disappointing. The subject-object relation is not on the same footing as change and permanence. The real attributes of the spiritual world are truth, beauty, and goodness, as Plotinus is well aware. In the spiritual world these are both fully realized and fully operative. He insists repeatedly that it is a *life* which he is describing, a state of intense activity which, as being unimpeded, may also be called rest. Some of the finest passages in the *Enneads* (*e.g.*, V. i. 3, V. iii. 3, V. viii. 4, VI. vii. 31) describe with enthusiasm the glory of life in the eternal world.

The individual spirit is the same being as the individual soul, only transformed into the divine image and liberated from all baser elements. There is 'something unique' in every spirit; but it is no longer any bar to the most complete communion with all that is good, true, and beautiful in others. Spirits pass their existence in 'living contemplation' (*θεωρία ζῶσα*, III. viii. 8). In this state 'soul is the matter of Spirit' (III. ix. 3), which means that the self-transcendence of the soul is achieved by making itself the passive instrument of spirit. In knowing God, the spirit knows also itself; and the soul can have direct access to God—'there is nothing between.'

The whole philosophy of Plotinus is an ontology of moral, intellectual, and æsthetic values. The highest form in which reality can be known by spirits, who are themselves the roof and crown of things, is the general ideas of truth, beauty, and goodness, manifesting themselves in the myriad products of creative activity. These attributes of reality, which, so far as we know, constitute its entire substance, are spiritual; *i.e.* they belong to a sphere of unified existence which is neither subjective nor objective but constituted by the indis-

soluble unity in duality of subject and object. These three attributes are ultimates, in our experience. They cannot be fused, or even wholly harmonized. There is a kind of noetic parallelism between them.

We have now reached in our survey the last stage of the soul's upward journey, the absolute Godhead above existence, whom Plotinus calls the One or the Good. The spiritual world is the Neo-Platonic heaven, and the undivided spirit who is completely expressed in that world is the normal object of religious worship. But philosophy must distinguish between God and the Godhead. The God whom we worship is the revelation rather than the revealer, just as the personality that we know is the 'Me' rather than the 'I' who knows the Me. The source and goal of revelation cannot be revealed; the source and goal of knowledge cannot be known. The goal of the intellect is the One; the goal of the will is the Good; the goal of love and admiration is the Beautiful. Plotinus follows all three lines of ascent. The Absolute *must be*—this is the conclusion of the dialectic; it *ought to be*—this is the conclusion of ethics; it *is*—this is the discovery of the 'Spirit in love' (*νοῦς ἐρῶν*). The dialectical proof is that the idea of plurality implies that of unity, that of relativity an Absolute. The moral aspiration for the Good is assumed throughout the *Enneads*; it is regarded as too fundamental to need argument. Of the Beautiful he says that he who has not yet seen God desires Him as the Good; he who has seen Him adores Him as the Beautiful (I. vi. 7). It is true that he does not add *τὸ καλόν* as a third name of the Absolute. But he does not really subordinate Beauty to Truth and Goodness. Ultimately, they are one and the same. Since the One has no form, it is better, Plotinus says, to call Him Beauty than the Beautiful; he is 'the source and principle of all beauty, the power that is the flower of all the beautiful, the creator of beauty' (VI. vii. 8).

The Absolute is called by Plotinus the One. The Monad in Pythagorean arithmetic was not itself a number, but the source in which the whole nature of all numbers was gathered up and implicit. There is a sense in which unity and plurality are correlatives, so that we cannot have one without the other. In this sense the Absolute One is a contradiction. But for Plotinus the One is the transcendence of separability rather than of plurality. The One is 'beyond existence.' For Plato the Good had been within the circle of the Ideas; for Plotinus it is above them. He uses in speaking of the One the negative language familiar to all students of mysticism. The One is beyond existence, beyond spirit and life; he is in truth ineffable (*ἄρρητον*); whatever we deny of him we deny rightly; or rather we may speak of him if we add, 'yet not this but something higher.' Thus the Absolute does not think, and is not conscious; but he knows himself by a direct self-intuition (*ἁπλῆ τις ἐπιβολὴ αὐτὸ πρὸς αὐτό*) and abides in a state of wakefulness (*ἐγρήγορσις*) beyond being (V. iii. 13). In the Absolute knower and known coalesce so perfectly that no relation exists between them. The Absolute's knowledge of Himself is an *ἀληθινὴ νόησις*, though different from that of *νοῦς*. We must not attribute will to the One, but we may say 'he is what he willed to be, for he posited himself.'

If the One did not generate the spiritual world, its activity, says Plotinus, would have been dormant and hidden. The objection, 'How can multiplicity emanate from absolute unity?' is answered by boldly carrying the war into the enemy's country. 'Can you show any reason why the First Good should remain stationary in itself? Is it envious? Or is it impotent, though it is the source and potentiality of all things?' (V. vi. 1). As a mere metaphor, he bids us think of the effluence of light from the sun, which loses nothing by shining. This is, as we now know, an unfortunate illustration; but it does not affect the argument, since, as has been urged, the law of the expenditure of energy does not hold good for spiritual existence. The One does not lose anything by creating spirit, but its power penetrates not only all the spiritual world, but the soul-world likewise, down to the lower confines of being. We must remember that there is no sharp division between the Absolute and spirit, nor between spirit and soul. Just as there is no obstacle to prevent soul from becoming spirit—'only then we call it no longer soul, but *our* Spirit'—so there is no barrier between spirit and the One. The chain is unbroken throughout. Indeed, he says once, quite clearly, that spirit is the self-consciousness of the Absolute. 'The One turned towards himself and looked, and this seeing is Spirit' (V. i. 7). Reciprocally, 'Spirit, while thinking itself, thinks the One, for it thinks of itself as active, and the activity of all things turns towards the Good.' All activity directed to spiritual ends is an unconscious contemplation of God.

When Plotinus calls the Absolute the Good, he may seem to fall under the censure of Bradley, who proves that morality, as such, must be transcended in the Absolute. He explains, however, that it is only in relation to ourselves that this name can be given to the One. Moreover, he does not use 'the Good' in a moralistic sense. Virtue, he says truly, is not the Good, but a good (I. viii. 6). 'The Good' is rather the *Perfect*—harmonious unity as the goal of desire. The Good is the fulfilment of the natural desire (*ὄρεξις*) for self-completion and self-transcendence, to which we are impelled by our nature. 'All things strive after life, immortality, and activity' (VI. vii. 20).

We can know the unknowable, because we ourselves in our deepest ground are the unknowable. This is the foundation of the Plotinian mysticism, which comes in as the crown of an all-embracing metaphysical system. The soul, when it has become spirit, has in a sense reached its goal; but even then it counts not itself to have apprehended. Even in heaven there is the mystery of love for something beyond; even the beatified spirit may still love and aspire. Even in this life moments are not denied us, though they are few, when the soul is swept entirely out of itself and carried up into the ineffable region 'beyond existence,' where the One manifests himself in his majesty.

'What is better,' he asks, 'than the life of Spirit, most wise and sinless and faultless as it is? . . . If we find nothing better than Spirit, we will stop there. But no! we must mount still higher, to find the absolutely One and self-sufficing, on which all these things depend. It must be something above and beyond being. Is it enough to say this and then leave the subject? No, the soul is in travail and longing. Can we find a charm for this pain? It cannot come through the discursive reason, but by some spiritual contact, about which we may reason afterwards, but not at the time. We must believe that the soul has truly seen, when it suddenly perceives a light. We must believe that God is present, when he comes into the house of him who invites him, and gives him life. . . . This is the soul's true goal, to touch that light, and to behold it by means of that light itself, and not by any other light; even as we see not the sun by any light except its own' (V. iii. 17).

There are many other fine passages in the *Enneads* in which the beatific vision is described. In the last chapter he imagines a worshipper at the mysteries led through the forecourts adorned with statues of the gods, and at the last admitted into the Holy of Holies itself.

'And when the vision is over, the man will once more awake the virtue that is in him. . . . This is the life of the gods, and of godlike and blessed men, a release from all else here below, a life that takes no pleasure in earthly things, a flight of the alone to the Alone' (VI. ix. 11).

The system of Plotinus has the appearance of mysticism superimposed upon rationalism, not unlike the philosophy of Spinoza. But it is not legitimate to limit mysticism to rapture or ecstasy. The central doctrine of mysticism is not that we can see God only in a state of swoon, but that we can see only what we are. This principle is applied consistently by Plotinus at every stage of experience. He uses it to confute in turn materialism, naturalism, and intellectualism, each of which is shown to be a synthesis from imperfect data, composed by an imperfect instrument. At the final stage spirit itself is led to define itself against the background of a deeper mystery. In this sense mysticism is present and active throughout the whole scheme. Another fundamental doctrine of mysticism is that love is the key to all mysteries, the guide and revealer of all higher truth. Here also Plotinus applies a great principle to the whole of life. There is a half-unconscious upward striving (ἔφεσις) in all creation, which groans and travails to be delivered from the bondage of corruption. At the top of the ladder the νοῦς ἐρῶν throbs with the *amor intellectualis Dei*, and at rare intervals feels that its passion is satisfied. The main difference between the mysticism of Plotinus and traditional Christian mysticism, as standardized in Roman Catholic manuals of ascetical theology, is that the ecstatic state is with Plotinus an exceedingly rare phenomenon, encountered only at the summit of spiritual development; and it is noteworthy that his successors in the school do not cheapen it at all. Christian mysticism, on the other hand, speaks of such visitations as common in the early stages of the life of holiness, and warns beginners not to think too much of them. Some female mystics are recorded to have spent a considerable fraction of their lives in a state of trance. This difference is in no way to be traced to the teachings of Christianity, which gives no encouragement to the indulgence of violent religious emotion. It is the result of the discipline of the cloister, and of the peculiar mental conditions induced by that kind of life. The Hellenic mind was averse from this kind of asceticism, and Plotinus at any rate would not have approved of deliberate self-hypnotization such as was practised by many mediæval mystics. The sanity and calm of Neo-Platonic discipline preserved its votaries from the terrible reactions which fill so large a place in the biographies of Christian mystics. There is not a trace in Plotinus of 'the dark night of the soul,' or the experience of 'dereliction.' Even if we grant that the Greeks made too little of sin and repentance, the balance of good seems to be decidedly on the side of Plotinus and his disciples. And it must be remembered that no religious teacher appealed less to religious excitement than the Founder of Christianity.

The mystical state is always the result of intense mental concentration, which Plotinus calls ἁπλωσις. The mind must be resolutely shut against all impressions from outside; hence the language used by all mystics about the blankness or darkness of the mind at the moment of vision. Plotinus experienced this vision several times—Porphyry says four times during his own association with him. But the importance of ecstasy in Neo-Platonism has been as much exaggerated as that of Nirvāna in western books about Buddhism. What the doctrine of the One as the supreme object of love really secures is that human spirits in their most exalted mood may share not only a common life and a common happiness, but a common hope and a common prayer.

The connexion of ethics with philosophy was becoming closer throughout the whole history of Greek thought. In Plotinus the two blend very completely. But there is not much—perhaps too little—about social and political morality in Plotinus. He tells us that the 'political virtues' must be acquired first, but touches very lightly upon them. They are a preparatory stage; next comes 'purification' (κάθαρσις). The soul must cleanse itself from external stains, and strip off its own lower nature:

> 'Chisel away from thy soul what is superfluous, straighten that which is crooked, purify and enlighten that which is dark, and do not cease working at thy statue until virtue shines before thine eyes with its divine splendour, and thou seest temperance seated in thy bosom in its holy purity' (I. vi. 9).

Discipline of the thoughts is the most important part of this training; if the heart be kept pure, right action will follow almost necessarily. The simple life, rather than mortification of the flesh, is in harmony with Neo-Platonic ethics. But in the matter of love and marriage he is not much superior to his contemporaries. He sees that sensuous indulgence rivets the chains which bind the soul to earth; he does not see that the love of man and woman, consecrated by marriage, may be the best initiation into heavenly love. The conflict with evil is a process of emancipation rather than a struggle with a hostile spiritual power. Human wickedness is never absolute. 'Vice is still human, being mixed with something contrary to itself.' Most sin is caused by 'false opinions' (ψευδεῖς δόξαι), untrue valuations, and ignorance of all kinds. Goodness must be sought for its own sake. 'If any man seeks anything else in the good life, it is not the good life that he is seeking' (I. iv. 12). The only true motive is the desire 'to become like to God.' The ultimate good is to be something, not to do something. Thus all virtues are in a sense a preparation for contemplation (θεωρία); and the three main roads which lead us upward are the arts, philosophy, and love. The cult of beauty is thus, as for Plato himself, an indispensable part of the moral life. But 'beauty' is an attribute not only of visible forms, but still more of noble actions and noble thoughts. Plotinus would have us admire truly, think truly, and love truly—these three, in his view, 'lead life to sovereign power.' The great sin is selfishness or self-will, which makes us 'forget our Father.' The separate self is a figment; we are members one of another, and may be compared to a choir which sings out of time when it ceases to look at the conductor. The Plotinian ethic is theocentric, but not unsocial.

Plotinus himself felt no need of the popular mythology and worship. He surprised his disciples by his indifference to the externals of religion; and, when they ventured to question him on the subject, he replied, 'It is for the gods to come to me, not for me to go to them.' In this attitude he differed greatly from his most famous successor, Proclus, who spent much of his time at the temples, engaged in devotional exercises. Plotinus uses the names of the gods to serve as an allegorical presentment of his system. They have no reality for him. But he leaves room for them by his doctrine that the universe contains many beings more divine than man—dæmons, and gods, who are dæmons of a superior order. He believes in magic, like all his contemporaries, and to some extent in astrology; but he reduces these beliefs as much as is possible without abandoning them. He attaches importance to prayer, but prefers 'the prayer of quiet,' which does not offer petitions. He does not encourage us to pray for deliverance from earthly calamities. Some of these are necessary in a universe constituted like ours; others have their appropriate remedy (*e.g.*, if a nation wishes to avoid servitude, it must learn to fight); and all of them are of small account to an immortal being, who knows that he is only a temporary sojourner in a world where such things happen. The soul is not in-

jured by such occurrences, and we should bear public and private calamities philosophically. Death only means that 'the actor changes his mask.' We may trust that Providence orders all for the best.

3. Neo-Platonism after Plotinus.—The appearance of a great speculative genius like Plotinus in a period so barren of originality as the 3rd cent. of our era had an immediate and decisive influence on the future of Greek philosophy. The school of Plotinus swallowed up and absorbed all other systems. A hundred years after his death Eunapius could say that he was more read than Plato himself, and adds quite justly that his fame is very largely due to his disciple Porphyry.

(*a*) *Porphyry.*—Porphyry (he took this name as the Greek equivalent of his Syrian name Malchus = Melek, a king) was born in 233 and died soon after 300. He is best known as a formidable opponent of Christianity; but our present subject is his influence upon the development of Neo-Platonism. He was mainly an expositor and commentator, his writings being afterwards much used for educational purposes; and it is to him that we owe the preservation of Plotinus's own writings. So far as we can judge from the rather scanty remains of his numerous books, he attempted to schematize the progress of the soul from the lower to the higher virtues more thoroughly than his master had done, and laid much more stress on asceticism, especially on abstinence from a flesh-diet. The philosopher, he held, ought not to live like the rest of mankind, but to follow rules like those which priests, who have accepted the obligation to lead a holier life than other men, lay down for themselves (*de Abstinentia*, 4, 18). He denied the transmigration of human souls into animal bodies, which Plotinus had accepted, though perhaps not quite seriously. Porphyry was a devout and highly moral man, of a somewhat sombre and fanatical temperament; on one occasion Plotinus had to dissuade him from taking his own life. He was dutifully credulous of his own mythology, though his rationalist attacks upon the NT miracles showed much acuteness. Augustine, writing, of course, after his death, pointed out that some of his beliefs were derived 'not from Plato, but from his Chaldæan masters,' and that the Chaldæan superstitions which he favoured were as criminal by Roman law as Christianity itself.

(*b*) *Iamblichus and others.*—Iamblichus, another Syrian, had been a pupil of Porphyry. He was a more considerable philosopher than his teacher. He showed his independence by teaching that every soul must descend and ascend periodically; there is no permanent abode in heaven for any one. The soul also descends entire, and is not impeccable. 'If the will sins,' he asks, 'how can the soul be sinless?' (*εἰ ἡ προαίρεσις ἁμαρτάνει, πῶς ἀναμάρτητος ἡ ψυχή*; Proclus, *in Tim.* 341). He also developed the triadic arrangement of the stages of emanation. The scheme of Iamblichus is nevertheless a religion, of the Gnostic type, rather than a philosophy. He turns the ideas and hypostases of Plotinus into gods and dæmons, and leaves the door wide open for magic and theurgy, though he does not seem to have encouraged these superstitions deliberately. At any rate he laughed (a rare event with him) when asked whether it was true that he sometimes floated in the air while saying his prayers. He is throughout more in sympathy with the Pythagoreans than with the Platonic tradition. Iamblichus died about 330.

The names of several lesser men, belonging to the school of Iamblichus, are preserved. Julian was himself a philosopher of this school, and his brief reign raised the hopes of the pagans, who were now clearly on the losing side. Neo-Platonism had definitely committed its fortunes to the sinking ship of paganism; and, as the abler minds transferred their allegiance to Christianity, carrying with them most of what was vital and permanently valuable in the philosophy of the later paganism, the Hellenists were driven more and more to rely, not upon the independent speculations of the great Greek thinkers, but upon the inertia of religious conservatism. The dividing-line between Christians and pagans was mainly the question of loyalty to the Hellenic tradition. The battle was not so much between Plato and St. Paul as between Homer and Moses. The real objection felt against Christianity was that it was the religion of 'barbarians.' One of the 4th cent. Neo-Platonists, Antoninus, predicted plaintively that 'a fabulous and formless darkness is about to tyrannize over all that is beautiful on earth.' Philosophically, this Syrian school is of very little interest after Iamblichus.

The next event in the history of the school is its capture of the professorial chair of Platonism in Athens. About 400, Plutarch, a member of the school of Plotinus and Iamblichus, became the Diadochus. Plutarch was followed by Syrianus, Syrianus by Proclus, who next to Plotinus is the greatest among the Neo-Platonists.

(*c*) *Proclus.*—Proclus was born in 410, at Constantinople, of a Lycian family. He studied first in Alexandria, and came to Athens at the age of nineteen, where both Plutarch (in spite of his great age) and Syrianus taught him. In 438 he became head of the school, and held the office till his death in 485. He was a man of great amiability and attractiveness, in spite of a slightly hasty temper. His life was that of a busy college tutor. He lectured five times a day, and wrote voluminously, but still found time to give his evenings to his pupils, and to take an active part in municipal business. This is the more remarkable as he was zealous in his religious exercises, worshipping the sun three times a day, observing all the holy days of the Egyptian calendar, and spending part of the night in prayer, praise, and sacrifice. His religion was an amalgamation of various cults, and has been compared to Comte's 'religion of humanity.' Legends gathered round him in his life-time. He was frequently visited by the gods in person, and was a great miracle-worker. It may be doubted whether Proclus himself ever encouraged these stories. He was too much in earnest about philosophy to wish it to be submerged by theurgy and magic.

Proclus carries much further the method of finding triads in every stage of emanation. There are traces of this in Plotinus, and from Porphyry downwards this schematism becomes more popular and more arbitrary. Every creative energy produces things like itself, but less perfect. These strive to return to their source. There is therefore a universal circular movement away from and back to the creative source. The three stages are called *μονή, πρόοδος, ἐπιστροφή*, and we find these circles everywhere in nature. But the energy of the One extends down to the lowest of created things—a direct energy, in which the intermediate causes have no share. Plotinus (*Enn.* IV. viii. 6) had taught that the activity of the One extends as far as matter, and, in spite of some critics, there does not seem to be any real difference between the two philosophers on this point. The One is *ἀμέθεκτον*, which means that *all* its activity is 'transitive.' The creatures are informed by it, but they in no way share it among them. This doctrine of detached causes extends to other grades of being, and is rather obscure. It is connected with the interpolation of new intermediate terms, such as the 'independent henads' (*αὐτοτελεῖς*

ἑνάδες), which are the gods, and are above being and life and spirit. This difficult doctrine is at any rate intended to carry the source of plurality above the world of νοῦς. It might be made the basis of a metaphysical pluralism.

Critics have rightly discerned 'scholasticism' in Proclus. He relies almost exclusively on deduction, which assumes that philosophy is a system of known truths, and that the mission of the philosopher is to place them in logical order and perfect clearness (Chaignet, *Psychol. des Grecs*, v. 297). This apparent rigour of method more often obscures than illuminates the great and simple ideas of Plotinus. It is, however, not strange that Hegel admired him; for not only do the triads of Proclus anticipate to some extent the thesis, antithesis, and reconciliation of Hegelianism, but the doctrine that God arrives at self-consciousness in and by the world is not far off in the speculation of this Neo-Platonist. Bigg thinks that it would be as easy to drop Platonism out of Proclus as polytheism out of Plotinus (*Neoplatonism*, p. 325). This is going rather too far; but Proclus sometimes comes very near to the Gnostics, whom Plotinus, in the name of Plato, combated so strongly.

Proclus abounds in excellent philosophical aphorisms, such as:

'Three things make the perfection of divine beings and supreme principles—the good, science, beauty; there are three things inferior to these, but which penetrate all the divine orders—faith, truth, and love' (*Theol. Plat.* i. 1). (Porphyry had already adopted the Christian theological virtues, only adding 'truth' as a fourth, and changing ἀγάπη into ἔρως.) 'Discovery is a silence of the soul' (*i.e.* we only learn to know God when the soul is passive). 'The soul is the world of life' (κόσμος ζωτικός, *in Tim.* 172). 'The movement of life is towards the Good, of thought towards Being' (*ib.* 229). 'Do nothing in vain, for God and nature do nothing in vain' (*in Alcib.* 3. 94). 'All things pray except him to whom all things pray' (*in Tim.* 65). 'Evil is not a disease or a poverty but a wickedness of the soul' (*ib.* 335).

(*d*) *Successors of Proclus.*—The succession of the Diadochi ran on after Proclus for over forty years, through Marinus, Isidorus, Zenodotus, Hegias, and Damascius. Simplicius, a member of the school, was writing his valuable commentary on Aristotle. Damascius seems to have been the ablest of Proclus's successors; his work on *Problems connected with First Principles* is extant. He emphasizes the impossibility of making any assertions about the unknowable Absolute. Then the blow fell which brought to an end the teaching of philosophy in Athens, after 800 years. Justinian, anxious to win a reputation for orthodoxy, closed the lecture-rooms and confiscated the endowments. Damascius and his friends determined to go outside the Roman Empire altogether, and repaired to the court of Chosroes in Persia. They were woefully disappointed in the East as a home for philosophers, and returned to Europe, Chosroes generously securing for them a promise from Justinian that they should be unmolested. They continued to write commentaries for several years longer.

4. Influence of Neo-Platonism on Christianity.—There was in the 3rd and 4th centuries so much friendly interchange of ideas between Christians and pagans, especially at Alexandria, that, as Harnack has recently shown (*HJ* x. [1911–12] 65 ff.), there is very little difference between Porphyry and his Christian contemporaries in their general view of life and duty. The great lesson which Christianity had to learn from the Platonists was the meaning of 'God is Spirit.' The idea of timeless and incorporeal existence was accepted by the Church, but not without much difficulty. Tertullian is still materialistic, and even Augustine believed, before his conversion, that Christianity was committed to the doctrine that God has a body. The acceptance of Greek idealism necessarily modified the beliefs about the future life, though here there was hardly an attempt to gain consistency. Eschatology everywhere is a congeries of incompatible hopes and contradictory symbols. Origen was an elder contemporary of Plotinus, and we can hardly speak of Neo-Platonic influence in his case, though he was doubtless acquainted with Ammonius Saccas. The Cappadocian Fathers, Basil and the two Gregorys, are full of Plotinian ideas (see art. CAPPADOCIAN THEOLOGY). But it is with Augustine that the stream of Neo-Platonic influence flows strongly into Christian theology. Augustine was converted first to Platonism, and came through Platonism to Christianity. His early writings are steeped in Plotinus, whom he knew in a Latin translation, and some of the most famous passages in the *Confessions* show reminiscences of the *Enneads*. Even in later life, when the philosopher in Augustine was almost extinguished by the bishop and Church Father, the influence of Neo-Platonism upon his theology remained great. Passing over the hymn-writer, Synesius, who apostrophizes the Deity as ἑνοτήτων ἑνὰς ἀγνὴ, μονάδων μονάς τε πρώτη, we strike another channel of Neo-Platonic influence in 'Dionysius the Areopagite,' whose works were treated with reverence in the Church as the work of St. Paul's Athenian convert. 'Dionysius' may have been a pupil of Proclus, and was certainly influenced by him. Boëthius (put to death in 524) represents an eclectic Neo-Platonism mainly concerned with ethics. He and Macrobius, who also quotes the Neo-Platonists, were widely read in the Middle Ages. In the 9th cent. John Scotus Erigena bridges the gulf between Neo-Platonism and Catholic scholasticism. The Arabian philosophers were about equally indebted to Aristotle and to the Neo-Platonists, whose writings they were unable to distinguish from each other. Thomas Aquinas often quotes Dionysius; and the influence of Neo-Platonic doctrines upon Dante (in the *Paradiso*) is well known. Duns Scotus was a student of the *Fons Vitæ* of Ibn Gabirol (Avicebron), which is a Neo-Platonic treatise. Some of the heretical mystics of the 12th and 13th centuries held doctrines akin to those of Plotinus and Proclus. Such were David of Dinant, Amalric, and Joachim of Flore. At the Renaissance there was a violent anti-Aristotelian reaction, which rested on Plotinus as much as on Plato. Marsilio Ficino published a Latin version of the *Enneads* in 1492. Bruno and Campanella seized the nature-loving and half-pantheistic side of Plotinus, and preached a nature-mysticism not unlike that of Wordsworth. In England the little school of Cambridge Platonists (*q.v.*), in the 17th cent., tried to revive the diligent study of Plotinus. Berkeley's *Siris* is a Neo-Platonic essay. More important is the influence of Plotinus on German philosophy. Eckhart, however he arrived at his position, was purely and simply a Christian Neo-Platonist; and Boehme was a kindred spirit. From these pioneers, as may be traced in any German history of philosophy, was handed down and developed the great edifice of modern idealism. Platonism has also had a very marked influence upon English poetry, notably upon Spenser, Wordsworth, and Shelley. As Eunapius says, 'The fire still burns on the altars of Plotinus.'

5. Permanent value of Neo-Platonism.—Whittaker reminds us that Neo-Platonism is, metaphysically, the maturest thought that the European world has seen:

'The modern time has nothing to show comparable to a continuous quest of truth about reality during a period of intellectual liberty that lasted for a thousand years' (*The Neoplatonists*, p. 210).

Our educational method of treating Greek philosophy as if it came to an end with Aristotle, or with the Stoics and Epicureans, is most unfortun

ate. It directly encourages the sheer ignorance or superficial knowledge which has interfered with any really intelligent and respectful study of the latest stage in the great debate. The Neo-Platonists are dismissed as pagans who, if they had had more sense, would have been Christians, as examples of 'extreme dualism' in philosophy, or as dreamy mystics whose ambition was to 'swoon into the Absolute.' Such views could hardly survive a diligent study of the *Enneads*. In the opinion of the present writer, Plotinus is one of the great thinkers of the world, whose philosophy is still of the utmost value to humanity. We shall not go to him for sound physical science, nor for instruction how to discharge the duties of a good citizen under a democracy. But even here we cannot help thinking that his theory of recurrent cycles, during which worlds are made, unmade, and remade, is far more scientific than the views which are popularly held; and that the scale of values which he gives us would, if adopted, promote a far more satisfactory social order than that under which we live. His idealistic ontology, which finally disposes of materialism without making the phenomenal world unreal and meaningless, comes near to solving one of our deepest problems. That his philosophy is throughout religious and ethical means that he has not left out the highest of human interests. The one defect in a grand constructive effort seems to be that on which Augustine laid his finger. 'The world made flesh—that found I not among them.' In other words, it is an error to make the highest Principle exempt from suffering. It is, as Plotinus knew, no necessity of the divine nature to plunge in the river of becoming; but it is part of the divine character to pity and redeem by a costing effort. An incarnational philosophy of religion, which teaches that the Son of God comes to seek and save the lost, has a profound effect upon the character of him who accepts it. For it becomes our duty and privilege to 'imitate the providence of God' by making sacrifices ourselves in order to help our brethren. This great truth, which Christianity can supply, does not seem to be incompatible with the ground-principles of Neo-Platonism. Rather it was assumed too lightly by Plotinus that spirit and higher soul must be inaccessible to pain and conflict, as also to sin. But, if the soul 'comes down,' it accepts the conditions of the world into which it comes: an invulnerable soul would not have truly 'come down' at all. With this exception, which is easily made good, the modern truth-seeker may well say of Plotinus what Plotinus said of Ammonius—τοῦτον ἐζήτουν.

LITERATURE.—i. *EDITIONS OF PLOTINUS.*—Basel, 1580 (Gr. text with Ficino's Lat. tr.); F. Creuzer, 3 vols., Oxford, 1835 (with Ficino's tr. and commentaries, notes by Wyttenbach, and apparatus criticus by G. H. Moser); F. Dübner, Paris, 1855, in Didot's Library (a reproduction of Creuzer's text); A. Kirchhoff, Leipzig, 1856 (text without notes, the *Enneads* rearranged in chronological order); H. F. Müller, Berlin, 1878; R. Volkmann, Leipzig, 1884. The Dübner ed. contains also the *Sententiæ* of Porphyry, and the *Institutio Theologica* of Proclus.

ii. *TRANSLATIONS.*—M. Ficino, Florence, 1492; M. N. Bouillet, 3 vols., Paris, 1855 (a very free tr., clear and readable, but often inaccurate; the book contains also copious notes and appendices); H. F. Müller, 2 vols., Berlin, 1878 (a literal tr., more scholarly than Bouillet's, but crabbed and obscure); Thomas Taylor, several trr. of extracts, published at various times from 1787 to 1834; the chief of these has been reprinted, with an introd. by G. R. S. Mead, under title *Select Works of Plotinus*, London, 1895. A few other partial trr. have appeared.

iii. *WORKS ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF PLOTINUS, AND ON NEO-PLATONISM GENERALLY.*—C. Steinhart, *Meletemata Plotiniana*, Naumburg, 1840; C. H. Kirchner, *Die Philosophie des Plotin*, Halle, 1854; J. Matter, *Essai hist. sur l'école d'Alexandrie*, Strassburg, 1820; G. Loesche, *Augustinus Plotinizans*, Berlin, 1881; L. Grandgeorge, *Saint Augustin et le néo-platonisme*, Paris, 1896; C. Steinhart, 'Plotin,' in Pauly-Wissowa; C. A. Brandis, 'Plotinus,' in Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Biography*; J. R. Mozley, 'Plotinus' and 'Neoplatonism,' in *DCB*; J. Simon, *Hist. de l'école d'Alexandrie*, i. ii., Paris, 1845; E. Vacherot, *Hist. critique de l'école d'Alexandrie*, do. 1846; A. Richter, *Neuplatonische Studien*, 5 vols., Halle, 1864–67; E. Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen*[4], Leipzig, 1903, last vol.; A. E. Chaignet, *Hist. de la Psychologie des Grecs*, iv. and v., Paris, 1893 (the fullest and in some ways the best account of the whole school; vol. iv. is devoted to Plotinus vol. v. to the later Neo-Platonists); F. Ueberweg and M. Heinze, *Grundriss der Gesch. der Phil.*, i., 'Das Altherthum,' Berlin, 1894 (very full bibliography both for Plotinus and for his successors); H. Siebeck, *Gesch. der Psychologie*, Gotha, 1884; A. W. Benn, *The Greek Philosophers*, London, 1882 (chapter on the spiritualism of Plotinus valuable); C. Bigg, *Neoplatonism*, do. 1895 (a good popular account of the whole subject); T. Whittaker, *The Neoplatonists*, Cambridge, 1901 (an admirable work); A. Drews, *Plotin*, Jena, 1907 (an important study, but too much under the influence of Hartmann's philosophy); E. Caird, *Evolution of Theology in the Greek Philosophers*, Glasgow, 1904, ii.; R. Eucken, chapter on 'Plotinus' in *Lebensanschauungen der grossen Denker*[8], Leipzig, 1909; B. A. G. Fuller, *The Problem of Evil in Plotinus*, Cambridge, 1912.

The writer of this article has long been engaged on a detailed study of Plotinus, which is now nearing completion.

For the later Neo-Platonists, the bibliography in Ueberweg-Heinze may be consulted.

W. R. INGE.

NEO-PYTHAGOREANISM. — Neo-Pythagoreanism was one among many kindred phenomena resultant upon the spiritual commotion which marked the gradual decline of classical culture and, at length, ended in the triumph of the Christian Church. It may be dated after the 'death of the oracles' in the time of Nero and his immediate successors (cf. Tacitus, *Hist.* i. 2), although presages of it occurred long before (*e.g.*, the Bacchanalian affair; cf. Livy, xxxix. 8 f.). Thus, despite his acquaintance with its ascetic discipline from youth (*Ep.* 108, 17), Seneca asserts towards the close of his life (*c.* A.D. 62) that the Pythagorean school had ceased to have an organization (*Nat. Quæst.* vii. 32). Possibly this was because he associated it with the school of the Sextii which, as he says in the same place, disappeared rapidly. But, although he was unconscious of it (failing to recognize his own defection from the 'old' Stoa), another reason probably had greater weight. Alexander and Aristotle dead, an era of change overtook the Hellenic spirit. Greek religion, having crystallized at the point where the mythological deposit was greatest, fell behind the intellectual consciousness of the race. The deeper insight suffered as a consequence. 'First philosophy' came to be confounded with impossible superstition. For the mysticism associated traditionally with Pythagoras, the sublime intuition of Polygnotus (cf. Aristotle, *Poet.* ii. 2), and the immaterialism of Plato as seen in the *Philebus*, *Parmenides*, *Phædrus*, and especially *Timæus*, failed to retain a hold upon a people forced by its critical genius into rationalistic natural religion and pragmatic ethics. Seneca lived at a time when this phase had nearly passed, when profound yearning for a positive, personal faith was beginning to manifest itself in reversion to Platonizing immaterialism and to venerable theosophy, but when the intellectual sobriety of the schools still retained much of its authority (cf. W. W. Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, Oxford, 1911, lects. xv., xvii.). And, as he missed the significance of men like Posidonius and Alexander Polyhistor, he could hardly be expected to note the import of the revival of movements akin to 'Orphic-Pythagorean' esoterism (cf. H. W. J. Thiersch, *Politik und Philosophie in ihrem Verhältniss zur Religion unter Trajanus, Hadrianus und die beiden Antoninen*, Marburg, 1853). It is important to recall that animism (*q.v.*) was still universal in the Roman world (cf. Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 429 f.; Propertius, v. 7. 1 f.; Lucan, *Phar.* ix. 1 f.). Inevitably, it favoured those 'private' as opposed to State religious observances against which the government felt compelled to take repressive measures, and 'Pythagorean' occultism seems to have been associated with such illicit oracles (cf. Livy, xl. 29, xxv. 1; Tac. *Ann.* vi. 12)

Astrology figured in these practices, so much so that, in 139 B.C., Cn. Cornelius Hispallus, the Prætor Peregrinus, ordered all 'Chaldæans' to quit Rome and Italy within ten days. Now, thanks to its cosmology, Stoicism (*q.v.*) had affinities with astrology, and when, in the person of Posidonius of Apamea (fl. 86–62 B.C.), Cicero's teacher (cf. R. Hirzel, *Untersuch. zu Ciceros philos. Schriften*, Leipzig, 1876–83, i. 191 f., ii. 257 f., 477 f., 756 f., iii. 342 f.; F. Cumont, *The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, Eng. tr., Chicago, 1911, ch. vii., *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans*, New York, 1912; W. W. Jaeger, *Nemesios von Emesa*, etc., Berlin, 1914), Oriental ideas invaded the West under authoritative intellectual auspices, this pseudo-science gained most influential adherents (cf. Suetonius, *Aug.* 1), and was soon expounded by P. Nigidius Figulus (prætor, 58 B.C.). This, together with the blunting of the Greek critical habit, which found its last successful exponent in Carneades († 129 B.C.), the prominence of encyclopædic or antiquarian knowledge, and the growing thirst for mystical revelations, placed astrology in an incontestable position by the time of Tiberius (cf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 22, *Ann.* vi. 21), and marked the moment favourable for a revival of 'Pythagoreanism' (see DIVINATION [Roman]).

1. **History.**—Where so much remains obscure, detailed historical sequence is unattainable. In fact, we have an aspect of an elusive movement, in which man asserts his personal need for assurance of right relation with the divine, adopts doctrines of very diverse origin when they seem to lend him support, seeking all the while hoary authority to justify his beliefs, and, in an attempt to systematize, appeals at the moment to current traditions respecting one type of speculation. Seneca was right so far — Neo-Pythagoreanism never became more than a transitional phase. In itself, it left no permanent mark upon philosophy, and it influenced religion only to the extent to which it was absorbed into a larger whole (cf. J. Simon, *Hist. de l'école d'Alexandrie*, Paris, 1844–45, vol. i. bk. ii. ch. iv.). Thus when, in 181 B.C., the Pythagoreanizing forged 'Books of Numa' were unearthed on the Janiculum, the fraud testified to tendencies that had acquired momentum already. Repression by government served only to drive them underground, and, beginning with Alexander Polyhistor, the freedman of P. Cornelius Lentulus (*c.* 80 B.C.), to whom Diogenes Laertius and Clement of Alexandria assign a Life of Pythagoras and commentaries upon his teaching, many pseudonymous 'Pythagorean' works—those attributed to Archytas being most important—were produced during the period when the Roman Principate was developing. Like that of the 'Books of Numa,' their intent was obvious—to acquire the authority (cf. F. Beckmann, *Dissertatio de Pythagoreorum Reliquiis*, Berlin, 1844) of an august name for doctrines which, as yet, were anathema to the State religion. Possibly, too, they may have been designed to effect for 'Pythagoreans' what the Septuagint had done for the Hellenistic Jews, for Philo especially—in this regard the association of many of the Neo-Pythagoreans with Alexandria is significant; and when, early in the 3rd cent., Philostratus cast a halo about the career of Apollonius of Tyana (*q.v.*), he may have been trying, like Hierocles eighty years later, to parallel the authority derived by Christians from the Founder of their faith. In any case, from the outset, only one interpretation can be placed upon the appeal to antiquity. Philosophy was being transformed into a mystical creed. After Alexander Polyhistor the movement was sustained by P. Nigidius Figulus (a friend of Cicero), Eudorus of Alexandria (*c.* 20 B.C.), Arius Didymus of Alexandria (an intimate of Augustus), Sotion of Alexandria (the teacher of Seneca), Apollonius of Tyana (*c.* A.D. 65–85), Moderatus of Gades (*c.* A.D. 65), Secundus of Athens (*c.* A.D. 120), Numenius of Apamea and Nicomachus of Gerasa (*c.* A.D. 170), and Philostratus (*c.* A.D. 220). Doubtless there were many others; for even of those mentioned we know little, Apollonius excepted—and he became a subject of romance—and, ere the time of Secundus, Neo-Pythagoreanism was being absorbed rapidly, by a process of syncretism (*q.v.*), in the eclectic Pythagoreanizing Platonism represented by Plutarch of Chæronea (*q.v.*), who, in turn, was the harbinger of Neo-Platonism (*q.v.*).

2. **Teaching.**—Neo-Pythagorean teaching cannot be recovered in detail. The movement was very complex; records are largely lost; the stress laid upon the incidental doctrines wavers from representative to representative at different times; and, on the whole, there is little philosophical relation to Pythagoras. Further, the teaching was highly syncretist, drawing impartially upon previous systems, even upon Epicureanism, which it opposed vehemently, and making large drafts upon Stoicism, against which it was a reaction. The reasons are tolerably plain. The spiritual currents of the age set away from scientific, logical thought and flowed towards religious persuasion, which, perforce, sought support in popular fables and superstitions (cf. Cicero, *de Div.*). Philosophy had lost constructive power, and, the theoretical motive gone, all schools had grown fundamentally sceptical. Moreover, social unrest and dissatisfaction with life, consequences of ethical staleness and civic atrophy, had engendered a consciousness of failure or defect that came nigh a sense of sin. This, in turn, bred an appetite for portents, dreams, horoscopes, and other marvels—the lower aspect of the movement. On a higher level, it produced a desire for immortality, for a perfection impracticable under corporeal conditions, and accordant eschatological speculation (see COMMUNION WITH DEITY [Greek and Roman]). Out of this arose attachment to a peculiar species of immaterialism, leading to a henotheistic (see MONOLATRY AND HENOTHEISM) conception of an overruling Power, and to a yearning for assurance of personal relationship with a Supreme Being. But the emphasis upon the transcendence of deity—itself a result of the opposition between matter and spirit—rendered intermediate beings necessary, and so the higher level of the movement returned upon the lower, in the doctrine of dæmons (see DEMONS AND SPIRITS [Greek and Roman]). Neo-Pythagorean teaching exhibits an attempt to satisfy these aspirations by appeal to Greek resources, just as Philo and his school (see ALEXANDRIAN THEOLOGY) revert to the Hebrew Scriptures and Jewish theology. They agree in availing themselves—somewhat unconsciously, it is true—of Oriental theosophizing notions. Thus, the teaching gleaned its materials from the past—there was no dominating or transitive contemporary leader—and ancient tendencies of Hellenic thought aided its syncretism.

While, then, it is impossible to outline a system, or even to detect a series of co-ordinate doctrines, the following factors may be noted. (1) The ideal of the 'wise man' was a consequence of the indigenous Greek contention that philosophy is a 'way' of life. And, when the 'wise man,' inculcating virtue as its own reward, remained aloof from the people and their demands, it was easy to transfer allegiance to God, and to envisage the 'blessed life' in terms of practices which assimilated themselves to the ceremonial purification (see ESSENES) of the mysteries (*q.v.*) or could be linked with the reputed habits of the 'Pythagorean

band' (Sextius). It was no accident, accordingly, that the philosopher should become the hierophant (the Pythagoras or Apollonius of romance); because his extraordinary insight attested the incalculable abnormally, he stood midway between the gods and men (Apollonius). Again, this agreed with the tradition (cf. Plato, *Rep.* x. 600 A) that Pythagoras introduced a secret ὁδός τις βίου, designed to supersede or supplement the religion of the State—the essence of Orientalizing tendencies after Domitian. (2) Plato's doctrine of an incorporeal world which, thanks to its conceptual character, is superior to the realm of sense, could be developed readily in relation to the Pythagorean theory of numbers, thus affording a hierarchy of realities mediating between the 'Highest' (One) and the appearances of the phenomenal world (Alexander Polyhistor, on the *Pythagorean Commentaries*). This, again, following the Later Stoa, could be accommodated to a sharp dualism (see DUALISM [Greek]) between matter and spirit, or body and soul (see BODY [Greek and Roman]), by the simple expedient of depriving the ideas (numbers, forms) of ontological independence, and making them existences in the divine mind, *i.e.* teleological subordinates (Eudorus—the view of the Neo-Pythagoreans on the whole). If, as some held, the ideas had no existence outside of the divine mind, an ontological dualism necessarily resulted (Plutarch); on the other hand, if, as the stricter Neo-Pythagoreans seem to have contended, they possess such an existence, a theory of three, or many, principles was evolved (Moderatus, Nicomachus), and, in the end, by personification of the Supreme Idea, a trinity (Numenius). (3) In reaction against the implicit materialism of the Stoics, Aristotle's doctrine of the eternity of the world (cf. *de Cœlo*, i. 10 f.) and of time (cf. *Phys.* iii. 6) was adopted; but the stress was shifted from its cosmological to its anthropological significance, *i.e.* to man's eternity (cf. *Pol.* ii. 8, 1269[a] 4). Not that the cosmological aspect was dismissed summarily; it commended itself in the theory of the divinity of the stars (cf. *de Cœlo*, ii. 1), which could be accommodated to astrological prediction, to the notion of cosmical harmony according to number, time, and, possibly, 'mixture' in space, where, as the Neo-Pythagoreans, misunderstanding Plato, did not observe, myth ousts philosophy; it was convenient also in connexion with speculations about the changeless medium that fills interstellar space (see COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY [Greek] and [Roman]). More important, however, was the doctrine of man's divinity. If creative force be eternal in the world, it is eternal in man; hence an open road to belief in divine 'participation'; as God is to the world, so is the soul to man. Therefore, if a man is to be selected as an object of divine grace, he must worship by 'the most beautiful faculty we possess,' *i.e.* reason (Apollonius, *ap.* Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* iv. 13). This is the warrant for the asceticism (see ASCETICISM [Greek] and [Roman]) that delivers man from the snares of the body, for the helpful communion of the mysteries, and for belief in rebirth—a process which enables the soul to rise or fall in the scale of existence. Thus, the teleological relation of deity to the celestial and the terrestrial worlds, obvious in the motions of the stars, in the succession of the seasons, and so on, was adjusted to man also. Stoic self-sufficiency broke down utterly; deliverance from matter became the consummation. So the old gods, viewed now as dæmons, could play the part of special providence to man (cf. Plutarch, *de Def. Or.* 13); touched in all things like as he is, they could come nigh him as the 'First, who is One above all,' could not. Thus, immanence of the divine in the human was provided for indirectly under 'symbols,' directly by revelation through hierophants, who acquire illumination through holiness, which, in turn, they achieve by asceticism (Philostratus). Plainly, we are on the verge of special revelation here, and the introduction of the concept of authority is imminent (see GNOSTICISM). In general, then, it may be said that the substance of the teaching is Greek (see GREEK RELIGION), the mood Oriental; and, till Numenius, who had come under the spell of Philo, the material served, all things considered, as a defence against the more insidious, not to say degrading, issues of the mood (see ISIS); hence the transitional character of Neo-Pythagoreanism. But the ancient self-governing State was passing into a quasi-Oriental despotism; and this change found a parallel in the transformation of independent philosophy into a mystical theosophy with a theocratic trend. We therefore find no consistent system, but merely a group of ideas, strung together loosely, in which the sane intellectual curiosity of the Greeks is surcharged with a hybrid, if fervent, supranaturalism. For, the ancient aristocratic religion having failed to assuage popular imagination, men were seeking the purification and, at the same time, the immortality of the soul. Philosophy could not but be diverted to religious aims. The elevation of spirit over matter which it taught was taken to imply that matter could be directed by spirit, the limits of space and time notwithstanding. The eclipse of Hellenic rational science had begun.

LITERATURE.—See the bibliographies under the articles cited in the text, the books by Friedländer, Réville, Boissier, Gregorovius, Mahaffy, Wendland, Glover, Seeck, H. W. and F. G. Fowler, and the histories cited under NEO-CYNICISM. The literature is given fully in F. Ueberweg and K. Prächter, *Grund. der Gesch. der Phil.*[10], Berlin, 1909, vol. i., sects. 16, 65–67; the best digest is still E. Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen*[4], Leipzig, 1909, iii. 2; the most vivid picture of the general situation is S. Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*[2], London, 1905, bk. iii. ch. iii., bk. iv. ch. iii. f. See also C. Bäumker, *Das Problem des Materie in der griech. Philosophie*, Münster, 1890; G. Milhaud, *Les Philosophes-géomètres de la Grèce*, Paris, 1900; A. E. Chaignet, *Pythagore et la philosophie pythagoricienne*, 2 vols., Paris, 1873; J. Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*[2], London, 1908, chs. ii., vii.; A. Trendelenburg, *Platonis de Ideis et Numeris Doctrina*, Leipzig, 1826; A. Döring, 'Die eschat. Mythen Platos,' in *AGPh* vi. [1893]; J. Cohn, *Gesch. des Unendlichkeitsproblems*, Leipzig, 1896; A. Schmekel, *Die Phil. des mittleren Stoa*, Berlin, 1892; P. Decharme, *La Critique des traditions religieuses chez les Grecs*, Paris, 1904, bk. ii. ch. xi.; F. Lauterbacher, *Der Prodigienglaube der Römer*, Burgdorf, 1904; G. Anrich, *Das antike Mysterienwesen*, Göttingen, 1894, pt. i. ch. iv.; R. Reitzenstein, *Hellenist. Mysterienreligionen*, Leipzig, 1910; A. Dieterich, *Kleine Schriften*, do. 1911, p. 449 f.; H. O. Taylor, *Deliverance; the Freeing of the Spirit in the Ancient World*, New York, 1915; E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, Leipzig, 1913, p. 337 f.; F. C. Conybeare, *Philo about the Contemplative Life*, Oxford, 1895; C. Bigg, *Neoplatonism*, London, 1895, ch. ii., *The Origins of Christianity*, Oxford, 1909, ch. xxii., *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria*[2] (*BL*, 1886), do. 1914, lect. vii.

R. M. WENLEY.

NEPĀL, NIPĀL. — **1. Physical characteristics.**—The kingdom of Nepāl, on the northern frontier of India, is a native State extending along the southern slopes of the Himālaya for about 500 miles, with an area estimated at 54,000 sq. miles, and a population of 4,000,000.

It falls into four zones: the Tarāī (probably Skr. *tala*, 'the tract below the hills'), the water-soaked malarious region along the British frontier; the hill range continuous with that of the Siwāliks; the hilly country extending to the Himālaya; and the Himālaya itself, culminating in Mount Everest (29,000 ft. high), and within Nepāl in Kinchinjunga (28,146 ft.). But for purposes of religion and ethnography the country may be divided into three regions: the Tarāī; the valley of Nepāl, with its capital Kāṭmāṇḍū (*q.v.*); and the mountainous country bordering on Tibet. Owing to the jealously exclusive policy of the Gurkhā rulers we possess less knowledge of Nepāl than of any region on the borders of India, except perhaps the upper course

of the river Brahmāputra, barred by hostile savage tribes.

2. History.—The meaning of the name Nepāl is uncertain, the Brāhman derivation from a saint Niyamapāla, 'observer of vows,' being perhaps an afterthought. The name is identical with that of the Newārs, the oldest known inhabitants of the valley. There is a long series of native chronicles which, like those of Kashmīr, embody information of value, but need to be checked by epigraphic and other independent evidence. These have been analyzed by D. Wright (*Hist. of Nepāl*, Cambridge, 1877). In the 4th cent. A.D. a Lichchhavī dynasty ruled the country, and it was apparently by their aid that Chandragupta Maurya raised himself to power; it continued autonomous, but under Gupta suzerainty under Samudragupta (V. A. Smith, *Early Hist. of India*[3], Oxford, 1914, pp. 279 f., 285, 365).

'Local tradition affirms that long before the time of Samudragupta, in the days of Aśoka, in the 3rd cent. B.C., the valley was under his control, and this tradition is confirmed by the existence at the town of Pātan of monuments attributed to him and his daughter, and by inscriptions which prove that the lowlands at the foot of the hills were an integral part of his empire' (*ib.* p. 366, and the same writer's *Aśoka*[2], Oxford, 1909, pp. 77, 81).

The Buddhist pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang (A.D. 629–645) may not have visited the country in person, but he speaks of a king Amsuvarman (Anchu-famo), founder of the Ṭhākurī dynasty, who died about A.D. 642 (S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, London, 1884, i. 80 f.; T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, London, 1904–05, ii. 84). It is not certain whether Harsha (A.D. 612–647) exercised control over the country (Smith, *Early Hist.*[3], p. 366). But about the 8th cent. A.D. the period of dependence on Tibet began, and the country had little connexion with India until the Muhammadan conquests led to the emigration of bodies of Hindus, the Gurkhās claiming to be descended from fugitives from Rājputāna after the capture of Chiṭhor by Alā-ud-dīn Khiljī, A.D. 1303 (*ERE* vi. 456). For the blood-stained later history see *IGI* xix. 30 ff.

3. Religion.—Nepāl thus forms the meeting-ground of at least three cultures: the Mongolian stock, including the Newārs, and tribes of Tibetan origin, such as the Kirāntīs of E. Nepāl, more purely Mongoloid and less civilized than the Newārs, the Murmīs, Lepchās, and Limbūs of the hills adjoining Sikkim and Dārjīling; in the Tarāī are the Thārus and Boksās, akin to the aboriginal population of the Indian plains, probably of the Mon-Khmer races, all now ruled by the Gorkhās or Gurkhās, a mixed race including Mongoloid and Indo-Aryan strains (A. Baines, *Ethnography* [=*GIAP* ii. 5], Strassburg, 1912, p. 136 ff.). The Mongoloid element in the population appears in the temple architecture of the valley, which is of the primitive Chinese type, in which the roof is the main element, the walls being mere screens set between pillars.

'Certain temples and tombs of Jain priests in the South Kanara District on the western coast of the Madras Presidency, built in a style obviously derived from wooden originals, possess a surprising and unexplained resemblance to the buildings of distant Nepāl' (V. A. Smith, *Hist. of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, Oxford, 1911, p. 48).

The beliefs of the Newārs are animistic with a veneer of Buddhism. The Gurkhā aristocracy, like all recent converts, are devoted followers of Brāhmanical Hinduism, stringently repress cow-killing, and employ Brāhmans as their priests.

(*a*) *Animism.*—The animistic beliefs current in Nepāl resemble those of the entire Himālayan region. The *deotās*, or hill-spirits, are special objects of worship. The Tibetans worship Mount Everest as the abode of the five celestial nymphs who confer immortality, and the Gosāinthān peak, which stands due north of the valley, is distinguished for its sanctity; the sacred tusk of Nārāyaṇa, buried amidst its snows, is an object of special worship to pilgrims (L. A. Waddell, *Among the Himalayas*, p. 351 f.; H. A. Oldfield, *Sketches from Nipal*, i. 4). Mountain-passes, probably on account of the rarity of the air, are scenes of spirit-possession, and the spirits are propitiated by the erection of cairns on which offerings are placed (*GB*[3], pt. vi., *The Scapegoat*, London, 1913, p. 8 ff.).

At a pass in Sikkim Waddell (p. 115) tells how his men laid down their loads at such a cairn, tore a few rags from their dress, tied them to a twig or stone which they placed on the cairn as an offering, crying out, 'Pray accept our offering! The spirits are victorious! The devils are defeated!' (for this kind of offering see Hartland, *LP*, London, 1894–96, ii. 214 f.).

Springs, and particularly hot springs, are regarded as the work of spirits which cause disease if not conciliated (Waddell, pp. 203, 216). Worship of snakes and cows is common, and we find in Nepāl the curious tabu against the use of milk which prevails widely in E. Asia (*FL* xxiii. [1912] 285 ff.). In connexion with serpent-worship that of the frog may be noted. Waddell (*IA* xxii. [1890] 293 f.) states that among the Newārs of Nepāl the frog is regarded as an amphibious water-deity, subordinate to the *nāga* demigods. The Newārs worship the *nāga*, or dragon, at the festival of the *Nāgpanchamī*, 'Dragon's Fifth,' so called because it is held on the fifth day of the month Bhādon (August–September).

The priest ceremonially washes his face and hands, and makes an offering of food, milk, and water to the *nāga*, with the invocation: 'Hail Parameśvara [Supreme Lord], Nāga-rāja, and Ye Nine Nāgas! I pray you to receive these offerings and to bless us and our crops!'

With this rite is combined the propitiation of the frog, which is performed in the month of Kārttik (October) at a pool frequented by frogs.

A dole of food is placed in five brazen bowls, and a pile of butter and incense is set alight. Then the priest invokes the frog-spirit: 'Hail Parameśvara, Bhūmināṭha [Lord of the Earth], I pray thee to receive these our offerings, to send timely rain and bless our crops!'

The rite seems to be a form of magical rain-making.

(*b*) *Buddhism.*—Buddha was closely connected with Nepāl, having been born in the Śākya territory, at the foot of the Nepāl hills. Aśoka introduced the faith into Nepāl, and by about A.D. 640 it reached Tibet (Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 9). An inscription of the 3rd cent. B.C., discovered at the *stūpa* of Sānchī, gives the legend: 'Of the good man Kassapa-gotta, the teacher of all the Himālaya region' (T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, London, 1903, p. 299 f.). The local traditions in Nepāl indicate that Śankara Āchārya, the prophet of the Neo-Hinduism, who lived about the beginning of the 8th cent., persecuted the Buddhists, and by his magical powers dismissed Sarasvatī, the goddess of eloquence, whom the Buddhists had installed in a jar of water to assist them in the controversy with the Hindu missionary (Wright, p. 118 f.). Buddhism in Nepāl is at present in a degraded condition.

'Buddhism has sadly degenerated from the high standard of doctrine and of discipline which was established by the primitive Buddhist Church in the early ages of its history. Theoretically the religion is unchanged. The Buddhist scriptures now extant in Nipal, and which are still looked on as the only inspired authority on all matters of faith, propound the same orthodox doctrines which were preached by Sakya between two thousand and three thousand years ago; but the Church itself has become corrupt, its discipline is totally destroyed, and its social practices at the present day are in direct defiance both of the letter and spirit of Buddhist law. Its monastic institutions, with their fraternities of learned and pious monks, have long since disappeared; the priesthood has become hereditary in certain families, and the system of caste, which was denounced by Sakya and the early Church as utterly repugnant to their ideas of social equality, has been borrowed from the Hindus, and is now recognized as binding on all classes of Buddhists in the country' (Oldfield, ii. 72).

Nepālese Buddhism has absorbed much from the

local animism and Tāntrik Hinduism; prayer has become mechanical, offered by means of praying-wheels and flags inscribed with petitions erected near the temples. Nepāl, both in the valley and in the Tarāī, possesses a great series of Buddhist antiquities, the Lumbinī (*q.v.*) garden and the remains connected with it, and some of the few extant *stūpas* like those of Śambhunāth and Budnāth within a few miles of Kāṭmāṇḍū. It is much to be desired that the Government should be induced to afford facilities for their examination.

(*c*) *Hinduism.*—The cult of Śiva is of special importance in Nepāl. Even Buddhists have adopted the symbols of the *liṅga* and the *yoni*, the former being regarded as the lotus in which the spirit of Ādibuddha, in the form of flame, was made known to Mañjuśrī and the early Buddhas, the latter representing the sacred spring in which the root of that divine lotus was enshrined (Oldfield, ii. 203). The cult of Śiva in the form of Paśupati, 'lord of animals,' is as popular as in other parts of the Himālaya (E. T. Atkinson, *Gazetteer Himalayan Districts*, Allahābād, 1882–84, ii. 771 ff.). The *Śivarātri*, or night-feast of the god, occurs on the first day of the month Phālguna, in the early spring, when, according to Oldfield (ii. 321 f.), all the Hindu population of the valley, both Gurkhā and Newār, from the Mahārājā and his highest chiefs down to the poorest classes, throng to the shrine of Paśupati within the twenty-four hours during which the festival lasts.

The chief object of worship is the four-faced *liṅga* of Śiva which stands in the principal temple. Prayers and offerings are made to it, and the usual fees are paid to Brāhmans and to the officiating priests. These priests pour water over the *liṅga* as a rain-charm, wash it, and cover it with flowers, after which the officiant, reciting certain incantations, reads out of the scripture the names and qualities of the deity, while the worshippers fling leaves of the *bel*-tree, sacred to the god, over the head of the *liṅga* (*ib.* ii. 321 f.).

The god is also specially worshipped with his consort in the form of Bhairava and Bhairavī, old gods of the earth. According to the local legend, the four Bhairavīs, finding that they could not get blood to drink, as there were no Rājās, resolved to create the Nepāl monarchy (Wright, p. 105). The festival of Śiva in this form is the *Bhairava-jātra*, which is followed by a procession of the *liṅga* accompanied by masked dancers. At the festival in honour of the consort of Śiva, Bhairavī Devī, the image of the goddess is brought to her original home, Devī Ghāṭ, where buffaloes are sacrificed and their life-blood drunk by the Newār worshippers. The account of the rite, as given by Oldfield (ii. 293 f.), is disgusting. Here the goddess has no regular temple. As a purely local aboriginal deity imported into Hinduism, she is represented only by a pile of stones, walled in temporarily every year to protect the deity from being seen or disturbed by the profane. Śiva at Kirtipur is worshipped in his tiger form as Bāgh Bhairava, a survival of the primitive theriolatry. Brutal animal-sacrifices are also made at the *Dasahra* festival as a method of expelling evil spirits (*FL* xxvi. [1915] 42 ff., 57). Durgā in her more awful form, Chandeśvarī, was imported into Nepāl by one of the early Rājās, and placed in the centre of the country as its tutelary deity (Wright, p. 154). On the whole, the Hinduism of Nepāl has assumed a degraded form, and nowhere else in India, except at a few shrines like those of Kālī at Calcutta, Vindhyavāsinī Devī at Bindhāchal, Devī at Devī Pātan, and in the worship of the village-deities in Madras, does the custom of animal-sacrifice survive in such a brutal form.

LITERATURE.—There is a considerable literature connected with Nepāl, but most of the writers were not permitted to visit any part of the country beyond the capital and its neighbourhood. The most useful books are H. A. Oldfield, *Sketches from Nipal*, London, 1880; D. Wright, *Hist. of Nepāl*, Cambridge, 1877; L. A. Waddell, *Among the Himalayas*, London, 1899, *The Buddhism of Tibet*, do. 1895; B. H. Hodgson, *Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nepāl and Tibet*, do. 1874. The following are other authorities: C. Bendall, *A Journey of Literary and Archæological Research in Nepal and N. India, 1884–85*, London, 1886; P. Brown, *Picturesque Nepal*, do. 1912; F. Egerton, *A Winter's Tour in India, with a Visit to the Court of Nepaul*, do. 1852; F. Hamilton (formerly Buchanan), *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepal*, Edinburgh, 1819; W. Kirkpatrick, *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul in 1793*, do. 1811; S. Lévi, *Le Népal: Étude historique d'un royaume hindou*, Paris, 1905; L. Oliphant, *A Journey to Katmandu*, London, 1852; T. Smith, *Five Years' Residence at Nepaul, 1841–45*, do. 1852; R. Temple, *Journals in Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim, and Nepal*, do. 1887.

W. CROOKE.

NEREIDS.—See NATURE (Greek), above, p. 227[a].

NESTORIANISM.—This is the name given to a heresy which divided Christ into two Persons, closely and inseparably joined together, and yet distinct. It became acute in the 5th cent., and is named after Nestorius, bishop of Constantinople A.D. 428–431. Whether Nestorius himself held this view of the Incarnation is a matter of dispute, and we shall have to consider the question in the course of this article.

1. **Pre-Nestorian Christology.**—After the settlement at Nicæa (A.D. 325) of the Arian question with reference to the relation of the Son to the Father, and even while the kindred question of the personality and Godhead of the Holy Ghost was still being discussed, men were groping after true ideas of the Incarnation, and after the true meaning of the words (Jn 1[14]): 'The Word became flesh and tabernacled among us' (*ἐν ἡμῖν*). In other words, after the settlement of questions relating to the Holy Trinity, Christology became the subject that chiefly occupied the minds of Christian theologians. The problem to be solved was, How can Christ be truly God and also truly man?

(*a*) *Apollinarism.*—The first detailed solution of the problem was offered by Apollinarius, or (as most Latin writers call him) Apollinaris, the younger, bishop of Laodicea in Syria, who began his theological life as a decided and orthodox opponent of Arianism, but in later years developed the heresy named after him (see art. APOLLINARISM). He answered the question by affirming that our Lord's humanity was not perfect. Adopting the Platonic trichotomy of man into body, soul (*ψυχή*), and spirit (*πνεῦμα* or *νοῦς*), as in 1 Th 5[23], he asserted that, while our Lord had a true human body and a true human soul (*i.e.* that part of man which is common to him and the animals), the Logos or Word occupied in Him the place of the *πνεῦμα*, which is the highest part of man. This idea is due to a reaction from Arianism (*q.v.*), and a desire to affirm at once the real divinity of our Lord and His real unity. But an imperfect humanity means an unreal Incarnation; and Apollinarius's teaching was emphatically condemned at the Second General Council, that of Constantinople, A.D. 381 (can. 1; see also Hefele, *Hist. of the Councils*, ii. 348).

(*b*) *The school of Antioch* in the 4th cent. had a special relation to the teaching of Nestorius. Its tendency was the opposite of that which has just been considered. It was also quite different from that of Alexandria. The Alexandrian teaching dwelt most on the divine side of our Lord, the Antiochene on the human. In the interpretation of the Scriptures, while the Alexandrians revelled in allegory and mystical exegesis, the Antiochenes confined themselves to external facts; they studied the Scriptures from a purely historical point of view, and examined them word by word for the grammatical meaning. Such a method, so much akin to the methods of the present day, has both advantages and disadvantages. The advantages (if we may take as a good example of the school

Theodore, bishop of Mopsuestia, in Cilicia, known by the Nestorians as 'the Interpreter' on account of his exegetical work) are sound common sense and a rational presentment of the historical position of the author commented on. The disadvantages of Theodore's method, as summed up by H. B. Swete, are:

'Want of insight into the deeper movements of Scriptural thought; a tendency to read his own theology into the words of his author; a lack of spiritual force, an almost entire absence of devotional fervour' (*Patristic Study*, London, 1902, p. 100).

In their Christology the Antiochene writers emphasized our Lord's real humanity, in opposition to Apollinarius. The two authors of this school in the pre-Nestorian period who are most important for our present investigation are Diodorus, bishop of Tarsus, and his pupil, Theodore of Mopsuestia, already mentioned. Both dwell especially on the real humanity of our Lord, but in both there is a tendency, which in Diodorus (to judge by the scanty fragments that remain of his works) was scarcely more than latent, unduly to separate the natures of Christ, and to make of Him two Persons. Theodore goes much farther than his master, and in him has been seen both by ancient and by modern writers the real founder of Nestorianism. This is the view of the contemporary layman, Marius Mercator, to whose curiosity and diligence, when he was staying for the purposes of his business in Constantinople, we owe the preservation, in a Latin version, of several sermons and other writings of Nestorius. Marius emphatically fathers the error on Theodore (*PL* xlviii. 110).

A very brief summary of Theodore's teaching must here suffice (for further particulars see Swete's art. 'Theodorus of Mopsuestia,' in *DCB* iv., esp. p. 944 f.). Theodore affirmed the true humanity of our Lord and its perfect sinlessness; this was due, he said, to His union with the Person of the Divine Word which He had received as a reward for His foreseen sinlessness. The Word dwelt in the man Christ. 'He united the assumed man entirely to Himself and fitted Him to be a partaker with Him of all the honour of which the indwelling Person who is Son by nature partakes.' Theodore rejected the word ἕνωσις for the union of God and man in Christ, and used rather συνάφεια ('connexion'); he disliked the term θεοτόκος (below, §§ 2, 4), but allowed that it might be used in a certain sense. Mary was both ἀνθρωποτόκος ('man-bearer') and θεοτόκος ('God-bearer'). She was mother of the man, but in that man, when she gave Him birth, there was already the indwelling of God.

Theodore was 'felix opportunitate mortis.' He died in 428, a few months after Nestorius went to Constantinople (below, § 2). Had he lived longer, there can be little doubt that he would have been condemned for the teaching which was in reality his own, though it was popularized by Nestorius and therefore named after him. Theodore's doctrines were formally condemned at the Fifth General Council, held at Constantinople in 553.

It was against such teaching that the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon (431 and 451) affirmed that our Lord was one Person only; and the approved doctrine may be summed up in the admirable and careful words of Hooker:

'The Son of God did not assume a man's person unto his own, but a man's nature to his own person' (*Ecclesiastical Polity*, v. 52).

2. Nestorius and the Council of Ephesus.—The present generation has had the opportunity of learning something more of the history and a great deal more of the teaching of Nestorius than its predecessors, owing to recent discoveries and investigations. Before we go farther we may try to estimate the value of our most important, though by no means our most voluminous, authority, the historian Socrates; for from the accounts of the avowed enemies of Nestorius we shall be inclined to make considerable deductions.

Socrates was a layman of Constantinople, orthodox (for there is no good reason for calling him a Novatian), but not violently opposed to Nestorius, willing to put the best construction on his words, and evidently not at all predisposed to favour Cyril or Alexandrian teaching (*HE* vii. 15, 34). He was specially interested in the affairs of his native city, and a searcher after truth, so that he dwells most on what he himself saw (v. 23). He was specially devoted to unity and peace (vii. 48), and greatly disliked persecution for religious belief (see below). He sees good in the Novatians, whose bishop at Constantinople he praises. On the whole, his disposition, ability, and opportunity for observation being what they were, great reliance may be placed on his comparatively brief record of the Nestorian controversy. He wrote in 439. For his conclusions on the subject see below, § 6. It may be added here that Theodoret, bishop of Cyrrhus or Cyrus in Syria, does not bring his *Ecclesiastical History* down to the outbreak of the controversy, but ends it with the death of Theodore of Mopsuestia, although he seems to have written it a good many years later. Probably this omission was made with a purpose, as he was one of those Antiochenes who afterwards took an undecided line, though eventually he agreed to the union. We must also notice that Sozomen, whose *Ecclesiastical History* covers the same period as that of Socrates, does not mention Nestorius except in a very indirect allusion (ix. 1). His silence is instructive, and probably shows that the controversy did not excite quite such a universal interest as one might have supposed. Much of what follows is taken from Socrates.

Nestorius was, as Socrates expressly says (*HE* vii. 29), a native of Germanicia, a city in the east of Cilicia. A Syriac tradition describes him as of Persian origin; but it appears to be due to a desire to connect him with the later 'Nestorians' of the Persian empire; and the historical references of the later Syriac writers are so full of fable and ridiculous statements that it is impossible to put any trust in their unsupported averments. Nestorius became a monk of the monastery of Euprepius, near Antioch, and was famous for his eloquence as a preacher, and, according to some, for the austerity of his life (Socrates, *loc. cit.*; Gennadius, *de Vir. illustr.* 54). The see of Constantinople becoming vacant in December 427, and the ecclesiastics of the city having displayed ambitious rivalry, a bishop was sought for from outside its limits; and, by the influence of the emperor Theodosius II., Nestorius was appointed, and was consecrated on 10th April 428. Theodosius hoped to bring from Antioch a second Chrysostom, whose eloquence would greatly further the cause of religion.

Nestorius's first act, a few days after his consecration, was to make a fierce attack on heresy; he promised the emperor heaven as a recompense, and also assistance in conquering the Persians, if he would purge the earth of heretics. Nestorius immediately proceeded to the destruction of the chapel of the Arians in the city, and persecuted the Novatians, whose 'bishop Paul was everywhere respected for his piety' (Soc. *loc. cit.*), and the Quartodecimans in Asia, Lydia, and Caria; also the Macedonians or 'Pneumatomachi' (who denied the Godhead of the Holy Ghost), and others. He is with some reason blamed by Socrates as a furious persecutor.

The first outbreak of the Nestorian controversy was due to a presbyter named Anastasius, brought by Nestorius from Antioch (Soc. *HE* vii. 32). He preached in Constantinople against the popular name Theotokos (see below, § 4). The presbyter exclaimed: 'Let no one call Mary Theotokos, for Mary was but a woman, and it is impossible that God should be born of a woman'; and his sermon gave great offence. Thereupon Nestorius delivered a course of sermons supporting Anastasius. Several of these have been preserved by Marius Mercator (above, § 1).

Socrates passes over the events which happened during the next three years. But before the Council of Ephesus (the Third Ecumenical) was held, in 431, Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, entered into controversy with Nestorius because of his teaching. Cœlestine, bishop of Rome, held a

synod in that city in 430, and the synod declared Nestorius a heretic. Shortly afterwards a synod at Alexandria under Cyril did the same thing. Cyril drew up twelve 'anathematisms' (below, § 5), and Nestorius replied with twelve counter-anathematisms. Finally, the emperor summoned a General Council, to meet at Ephesus on Whitsunday (June 7) 431. In the meantime the bishops of the province of Antioch, whose metropolitan was John, examined Cyril's anathematisms, and found them unsatisfactory. The Antiochenes were by the traditions of their school inclined to favour Nestorius and to oppose Alexandrian teaching. And, whatever was the reason, whether from a desire to oppose Cyril, or from a wish that Nestorius should not be condemned in their presence (for they were a small minority), or, as some say, from accidental causes, they delayed their arrival at Ephesus till 26th or 27th June.

The first to arrive was Nestorius, who came soon after Easter with 'a great crowd of his adherents' (Soc. vii. 34). Cyril arrived just before Pentecost, others a few days later. After waiting more than a fortnight after the day fixed for the Council, and after receiving a friendly letter from John of Antioch and then (as he himself declares) a message requesting him to proceed without him, Cyril held the first meeting of the Council on 22nd June, 198 bishops being present. The letter of the Council to the emperors Theodosius and Valentinian (Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Collectio*, iv. 1235 ff.) expressly says that John sent before him two bishops, Alexander of Apamea and Alexander of Hierapolis, to tell the Council to go on without him. Nestorius declined to be present at this meeting, or to send any explanations of his teaching. The bishops, after investigating his sermons and writings, on the same day condemned him to deposition. In these proceedings no one appears to any great advantage. Cyril showed himself more of a prosecutor than of a president or judge; and, late as the Antiochenes were, he ought to have waited for them a little longer. Nestorius put himself out of court by his absence and by his unconciliatory and provocative language during the time of waiting; and the excuses offered in his lately-discovered 'Apology' (see below) do not exonerate him. The emperor comes out of the affair very badly, for he openly favoured the accused, just as later he openly favoured Eutyches, whose doctrines were the exact opposite of those of Nestorius; and the imperial commissioner, Candidian, outstepped all propriety in endeavouring to support Nestorius. Equally unsatisfactory was the part played by the Antiochenes, whose tardiness in arriving can with difficulty be believed to have been accidental. When they did arrive, they held a rival Council, attended by a small minority of 43 bishops, and deposed both Cyril and his supporter Memnon, bishop of Ephesus. They did not refer to the case of Nestorius on its merits at all, but only said that Cyril's Council had no right to depose Nestorius before their arrival.

The emperor thereupon showed much vacillation. He ordered the arrest of Nestorius, Cyril, and Memnon alike. But eventually public opinion forced him to release Cyril and Memnon and to banish Nestorius, first to his old monastery, then (at John of Antioch's own request) to Arabia, and finally (perhaps before the last arrangement was carried into effect) to the Oasis (of Ptolemais) in Egypt, where he still remained when Socrates wrote (A.D. 439). The emperor also summoned several bishops of the Ephesine majority to Constantinople to arrange for the filling of the vacant see there, and Maximian succeeded Nestorius. Socrates calls Maximian 'rude in speech' but 'inclined to live a quiet life' (vii. 35). He was soon after succeeded by Proclus, and under these two peaceful bishops quiet reigned in the capital.

Till a few years ago little of Nestorius's later life was known. But the newly-discovered *Book of Heraclides*, the 'Apology' of Nestorius, shows us his life in exile. It was written in Greek, under the pseudonym of 'Heraclides of Damascus,' by Nestorius after his deposition. There is little doubt that Heraclides is a fictitious personage; and, once we get to the book itself, there is no veiling of the fact that Nestorius is the author; a pseudonym was necessary to prevent the book from being burned unread by those who hated the very name of the writer; for he retained very few friends, even among the Antiochenes, in his later life. The book has been preserved to our own day in a Syriac version, in the library of the E. Syrian (Nestorian) Catholicos, at Qochanes in the mountains of Kurdistan. Only one MS has survived, and that was unknown to European scholars; but it has lately been several times copied, and the book was published in 1910 by P. Bedjan in Syriac and by F. Nau in a French translation of the Syriac. Already, however, J. F. Bethune-Baker, in *Nestorius and his Teaching*, had given copious extracts from it in English. The 'Apology' (which will be cited in this art. as *Heraclides*) begins with a lengthy introduction, in 93 chapters, on heresies, proceeds to a history of the Council of Ephesus, following the order of the acts of that Council, and quotes numerous documents. A valuable appendix deals with events which followed the Council; it mentions the Robber Synod ('Latrocinium') of Ephesus (A.D. 449), and also the 'Tome' of Leo the Great (the *Dogmatic Epistle* to Flavian, bishop of Constantinople, *Ep.* xxviii., A.D. 449), which Nestorius praises greatly, and looks upon as supporting his own position. Nestorius died probably just before the Fourth Ecumenical Council, which was held at Chalcedon (opposite Constantinople) in 451. The later Monophysite and Nestorian accounts of his death, as one might expect, differ considerably in detail. They are both quite untrustworthy. For the Monophysite account and for authorities for Nestorius's later life see Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. xlvii. n. 55; but the discovery of *Heraclides* has corrected our previous knowledge on the subject. Cyril had died in 444, some seven years before his antagonist.

The 'Apology' is called in the Syriac the '*Tegurta' of Heraclides*, and Bethune-Baker translates this 'The Bazaar of Heraclides,' suggesting that the original Greek had *ἐμπόριον*. But Nau (p. xviii), with much more probability, urges that the original was *πραγματεία*, which may mean either 'trade' or 'a treatise.' It seems that the Syriac translator blundered, and gave the word the former meaning when he should have given it the latter. That *πραγματεία* meant 'a treatise' in Nestorius's own day is clear from the account in Socrates, who uses this word when he says that Nestorius had very little acquaintance with the 'treatises' (*πραγματείας*) of the ancients. Audishu (Ebedjesus, † A.D. 1318), the learned Nestorian writer, mentions among Nestorius's writings 'the book of Nestorius.' This favours Nau's argument. For a further confirmation see E. W. Brooks, in *JThSt* xvi. [1915] 263.

After the Council of Ephesus there remained for some time a schism between the Antiochenes and the rest of Christendom. This was less on account of Nestorius—for even Theodoret later on, in his book on heresies (*DCB* iv. 917[b]), speaks strongly against him—than because of Cyril's anathematisms, which the Antiochenes greatly resented. Socrates merely mentions the schism (vii. 34), but we have many documents bearing on the subject, and these are collected in Mansi's great work on the councils (vol. v.). Eventually, however, union was restored, largely through the efforts of Paul of Emesa, who acted as intermediary between Antioch and Alexandria. The Antiochenes propounded a perfectly orthodox creed, containing the expression 'Theotokos,' and this was fully accepted by Cyril (for the text see below, § 5); they also agreed to the

condemnation of Nestorius. Cyril, on the other hand, explained (in a letter to Acacius, bishop of Berœa and one of the Antiochene party) the language of his anathematisms in a manner satisfactory to John of Antioch and to most of the bishops of that party (below, § 5). This was in 433. There were, indeed, opponents on both sides. Of Cyril's adherents some, the progenitors of the Monophysites of the next generation, blamed Cyril severely. Of John's adherents some were definitely Nestorian, some (like Theodoret) were still doubtful about Cyril's orthodoxy, even after his explanations; and these all blamed John. But at last all the Antiochenes except fifteen (for whose names see Hefele, iii. 152 f.) agreed to the union, and the dissentients were deprived of their sees. For the after history of Nestorianism see § 8 below.

3. Change of meaning of certain technical words. — In order to understand the doctrines taught by or imputed to Nestorius, it is necessary that we should investigate the meaning of the expressions *substantia*, *οὐσία*, *ὑπόστασις*, *persona*, *πρόσωπον*, and *φύσις*, as used by Christian writers of the pre-Nestorian period. These words, except the last, were during that period chiefly discussed with reference to the Holy Trinity, in consequence of the Arian controversy. But some of them were used in more than one sense, and, as is usually the case in similar circumstances, violent disputes arose, owing to a lack of proper definition, between theologians who meant the same thing, but expressed it in different words. It is the duty of the conscientious historical student to endeavour to get behind words, and to discriminate between the two cases of essential difference between writers who use similar phraseology, and of essential identity between those who use different expressions.

(*a*) *Substantia and οὐσία.*—We need not here consider the pre-Christian use of *οὐσία* (for this see A. Robertson, *Select Writings and Letters of Athanasius* ['Nicene and post-Nicene Fathers'], Oxford, 1892, p. xxxi f., and T. B. Strong, as below). The word was used by Greek Christian writers, though not quite exclusively (see below), to express that which is common to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, the divine 'essence'; and the Latin equivalent was *substantia*. Thus the divine *οὐσία* is spoken of by Justin Martyr (*Dial.* 128) and Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* ii. 2); and Tertullian (*adv. Prax.* 2) says that Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are 'unius substantiæ.' Hence the Nicene Creed affirms that the Son is 'homoousios' ('of one substance' or 'consubstantial') with the Father; and very shortly afterwards the same expression is used of the Holy Ghost, as in the *Testament of our Lord* (i. 41, *c.* A.D. 350); and Athanasius's Council held at Alexandria in 361 (Soc. *HE* iii. 7; Soz. *HE* v. 12), and some versions of the baptismal creed in the *Egyptian Church Order*, in the middle of or early in the 4th cent., speak of 'the consubstantial Trinity' (Maclean, *Ancient Church Orders*, Cambridge, 1910, p. 115; another version and the *Ethiopic Church Order* have 'Trinity equal in Godhead'). It is rather remarkable that the word 'homoousios' is not applied to the Holy Ghost in the enlarged Nicene Creed which we use at the present day (known as the 'Constantinople Creed'); but it is so applied in the confession of Charisius read at the Council of Ephesus in 431 (Mansi, iv. 1347). The word is an instance of a technical phrase changing its meaning, for in another sense it is said to have been repudiated by the orthodox at Antioch in the 3rd cent., when used by Paul of Samosata (Hefele, i. 123; T. B. Strong, in *JThSt* iii. 292). For a detailed examination of the word 'substance' see Strong in *JThSt* ii. 224, iii. 22.

(*b*) *Ὑπόστασις, persona, πρόσωπον.*—The Church had some difficulty in fixing on a proper phrase for expressing the distinctions in the Holy Trinity; and all these three words show at different periods considerable variation in meaning. The word *ὑπόστασις* (lit. 'foundation' or 'support'), which, as Socrates tells us (*HE* iii. 7), was not a term approved by Greek grammarians and philosophers, was first used by the Christians in the sense of 'substance,' *οὐσία*; this, Socrates says, was the usage of many 'moderns.' And this sense of the word is frequent; it is found in He 1[3] (see Westcott's note, *Com.*[3], London, 1906), also in Gregory Thaumaturgus (quoted by Basil, *Ep.* ccx. 5), usually, but not always, in Athanasius (see Robertson, pp. 90, 482), and in the anathema attached to the Nicene Creed: 'Those who say . . . that [Jesus] is of another hypostasis (*ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως*) or ousia [than the Father] . . . the Catholic Church anathematizes.' On this anathema see J. H. Newman's excursus revised by Robertson (p. 77 ff.); it is disputed whether *ὑπόστασις* and *οὐσία* are here meant to be identical; Newman and Robertson assert the affirmative, the well-known theologian Bishop Bull (1634–1710), following St. Basil, the negative. If, as is probable, the books against Apollinarius contained in the works of Athanasius were written by that Father, he denies the propriety of the expression 'hypostatic union,' which became in the 5th cent. the approved method of expressing the union of our Lord's two natures (see below, § 5). But Athanasius here understands the phrase to mean 'union of substance' (see Hefele, iii. 3, and below (*c*)).

This sense of *ὑπόστασις* gradually died out except among the Nestorians, and the word came to be used to express the distinctions in the Godhead. It would be pure Arianism to speak of 'three hypostases' in the Godhead, in the earlier sense of the word; but the sense changed and men came (not without much hesitation) to speak of 'one ousia, three hypostases' as denoting the Unity in Trinity. In the 3rd cent. Origen already uses *ὑπόστασις* in this sense, keeping *οὐσία* for 'substance' (*c. Cels.* viii. 12, etc.). In the 4th cent. Gregory of Nazianzus (*Orat.* xxi. 35, 'On the great Athanasius') says that *οὐσία* denotes the nature (*φύσις*) of the Godhead, *ὑποστάσεις* the 'properties' (*ἰδιότητες*) of the Three.

Some of the Greeks, however, used *πρόσωπον*, as the Latins used *persona*, to denote the distinctions in the Godhead. *Persona* properly means 'an actor's mask,' hence 'a character' on the stage, and so it is often used of 'a feigned character.' But it came to mean 'an individual,' 'a person,' 'a personage.' Similarly *πρόσωπον*, which properly means 'a face,' came in classical Greek to mean 'an actor's mask,' and in later Greek 'a person.' In a theological sense Tertullian already uses *persona* of the Holy Trinity (*adv. Prax.* 7, 12); and he has been followed by Western theologians to the present day, who have with one consent spoken of 'una substantia, tres personæ.' Some of the Greek writers followed suit and used *πρόσωπα* to denote the 'persons' of the Holy Trinity, as Hippolytus early in the 3rd cent. (*c. Hær. Noeti*, 7, 14), Basil in the 4th (*loc. cit.*), and others. Thus, in later days *ὑπόστασις* and *πρόσωπον* were used in the same sense, only that the latter was sometimes looked upon with suspicion as being capable of a Sabellian meaning, as if it meant 'appearance,' 'aspect' only; Sabellius had said that there were three *πρόσωπα* in the Godhead, but he meant that the Son and the Holy Ghost were the Father under different aspects (*c.* A.D. 200). Gregory of Nazianzus, in the 4th cent. (*Orat.* xxxix. 11, 'On the holy lights'), allows both terms, *ὑπόστασις* and *πρόσωπον*, though he prefers the former.

The use of *ὑπόστασις* in this later sense met with some opposition. It had already caused some discussion between Dionysius of Rome and Dionysius of Alexandria, in the 3rd century (see Westcott, in *DCB* i. 851). At the Council of Sardica (Sofia, the present Bulgarian capital) in 343 (for the date see Hefele, ii. 86) the Western bishops condemned the expression 'three hypostases' as Arian, taking the word as equivalent to 'substance' (Theodoret, *HE* ii. 6). And, still later, Damasus of Rome (*c.* 370) takes it in the same sense (*ib.* ii. 17). Jerome says (*Ep.* xv. 4, 'ad Damasum') that in Syriac they spoke of three hypostases, but he himself refused to use the expression, as 'hypostasis never means anything but essence.' Gregory of Nazianzus (*Orat.* xxi. 35) says that 'the Italians' introduced the word 'persons' because of the poverty of their language (which prevented them distinguishing *ὑπόστασις* from *οὐσία*) so as to avoid being understood to assert three essences. The Council of Alexandria, held in 361 (see above), determined with much good sense that the word may have either meaning (Hefele, ii. 277); and so Athanasius asserts (*Tom. ad Antioch.* 6).

We are so accustomed to speak of three 'persons' in the Holy Trinity that we are apt to overlook the difficulties presented by the term in the earlier ages. It must not be taken, on the one hand, to mean three separate individuals, as if the Holy Trinity was like three men; nor yet, on the other hand, must it be understood to denote merely three different aspects of the Godhead, as Sabellius taught.

(*c*) *Φύσις* ('nature').—Until the Council of Chalcedon, in 451, the sense of this word was not absolutely fixed. It is used as a somewhat vague equivalent for *οὐσία* in Athanasius, *de Synodis*, 52 (see Robertson, p. 478, note). But two traditional, though somewhat ambiguous, phrases were used by Cyril of Alexandria as from Athanasius. One was *ἕνωσις φυσικὴ* (see Cyril's third anathematism [Hefele, iii. 32]), which, if it meant 'a fusion of the natures,' would be heretical; and the other was 'one incarnate nature of God' or 'of the Word': *μία φύσις τοῦ θεοῦ (λόγου) σεσαρκωμένη* (*ib.* 3, 31, 141 f.). The former phrase, however, says only that the two natures were united, which all allow, and nothing of their being fused (see Cyril's explanation, below, § 5). In the latter phrase *φύσις* is used with an approach to the idea of 'personality'; but the words were at least ambiguous, for they were quoted by Dioscurus at Chalcedon as proving Eutychianism. This sense of *φύσις* happily passed away, or we might have had endless confusion. The phrase was believed by Cyril to have been used by Athanasius ('not two natures, but one incarnate nature of God the Word'); but the book in which it occurs, *de Incarnatione Verbi Dei* (not to be confused with the famous treatise of that name by Athanasius), is really a forgery of the Apollinarian school (Robertson, p. lxv). From the middle of the 5th cent. *φύσις* was used of the divinity or the humanity of the Lord. He has two natures, divine and human, united but not commingled. The Monophysites and Eutychians in different ways affirmed the fusion of the two, so that they were, or became, one.

For the later Syriac equivalents of some of the above terms see below, § 8.

4. The doctrine of Nestorius examined.—We may now proceed to consider what the doctrine known as 'Nestorianism' is, and whether, as a matter of fact, Nestorius himself taught it. Since the discovery of *Heraclides*, his doctrine has been re-examined by several writers, with the result that, while Bethune-Baker thinks that he ought to have been acquitted, Nau and Bedjan consider that even after his 'Apology' he would have been rightly condemned. The question is a personal one, concerning Nestorius himself only, but is not of supreme importance. It does not affect the question, which is the really vital one, whether Nestorianism is erroneous.

(*a*) *What Nestorianism is.*—In order to emphasize the reality of our Lord's manhood, in opposition to Apollinarism, this doctrine conceives of the Incarnate as uniting in Himself two persons, the Logos and a man, although these two persons were so inseparably united that they might in a sense be deemed one. But, putting aside all technicalities, it fails to affirm, as Pearson admirably puts it (*Expos. of the Creed*, art. iii., p. 293, n. 92), that 'the Son of God, begotten of His Father before all worlds, was incarnate and made man, and . . . that the same only-begotten Son was conceived by the Holy Ghost and born of the Virgin Mary.' Nestorianism in reality denies a true Incarnation just as much as Apollinarism does.

(*b*) *What Nestorius did not teach.*—We may clear the way by dismissing a popular charge against him, namely, that he denied that our Lord was God. It was commonly thought that he was in agreement with Paul of Samosata and Photinus. The former, a bishop of Antioch in the middle of the 3rd cent., taught that our Lord was merely man, and 'was not before Mary, but received from her the origin of His being'; and that He pre-existed only in the foreknowledge of God (Athanasius, *de Synodis*, iii. [45]). Photinus, the pupil of Marcellus of Ancyra in the 4th cent., taught much the same doctrine. But this was not Nestorius's teaching, and the idea that it was so is largely due to his unfortunate saying about God and an infant, for which see below (*f*). Socrates (*HE* vii. 32) says that he had examined Nestorius's writings, and found that he did not hold these opinions; and the extant sermons and fragments, as well as *Heraclides*, fully bear out this verdict.

(*c*) *The title 'Theotokos' and the communicatio idiomatum.*—There can be little doubt that, though Nestorius did not deny that our Lord was God, yet much confusion was produced by his not being able to distinguish the abstract from the concrete. This inability is shared by most of the Syriac-speaking Christians of the present day, and is found among the Greeks of old time, though in a lesser degree (for *ἄνθρωπος* = 'manhood' see below, (*d*)). To them the words 'God' and 'Godhead' were often interchangeable; and so 'man,' 'manhood.' This is probably due to a defective sense of personality. A modern E. Syrian, *e.g.*, will often say that 'there is much manhood' in a room when he means that there are many men present. Hence to Nestorius phrases like 'God died' or 'God was born,' which meant that 'He who is God died,' or 'He who is God was born,' implied that the Godhead died and was born. In fact, he often imputed to his opponents the very doctrine which many of them imputed to him, that our Lord owed His origin to His mother. Nestorius had a horror of the method of speech which goes back to the earliest Christian ages (for instances see below), and is called by the Latins *communicatio idiomatum* and by the Greeks *ἀντίδοσις*; by which, because of the unity of our Lord's person, the properties of one of His natures are referred to when a title appropriate to the other nature is being used. When, *e.g.*, Ignatius talks of the 'blood of God,' he means that He who is God shed His blood in His manhood. And so the phrases 'God died,' 'God was born,' however harsh they may sound to a modern ear, were common before Nestorius, as expressing the fact that He who was born of the Virgin Mary and died upon the Cross was truly God. But it would be false to substitute the abstract for the concrete in these phrases, and

say that 'the Godhead died' or 'was born.' The fact that Apollinarius delighted in expressions such as the above was doubtless one element in setting Nestorius against them.

The watchword of the Nestorian controversy was 'Theotokos' (*θεοτόκος*, 'God-bearer,' Lat. *deipara*). It had been long in use, and was the popular name of the Blessed Mother; and, as we have seen (above, § 2), the prohibition of its use by Nestorius roused the fiercest opposition. It can only mean 'bearer of Him who is God,' and not, as Nestorius supposed, 'bearer of the Godhead.' It enshrined the vitally important doctrine that the same He who was born of Mary was from all eternity God the Son, and not only one who was inseparably connected with Him. It ought to be added that *θεοτόκος* is not designed to honour Mary, but rather to explain the position of her Child. It is perhaps unfortunate that it frequently gave place to the expression 'mother of God' (*μήτηρ θεοῦ*, 'Dei genetrix'), which has not quite the same connotation, and may be liable to suggest Monophysite ideas, which the original *θεοτόκος* does not do. Cyril himself uses, but very rarely, *μήτηρ θεοῦ* for *θεοτόκος*. It must also be observed that the question is not whether 'Theotokos' is a suitable name to use (on that matter opinion may legitimately vary), but whether the doctrine underlying the title, that He whom the Virgin bore is the same person as the Word of God, is true. The title was approved at the Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon in 451 (Hefele, iii. 347).

Some instances of the *communicatio idiomatum* in very early times may be mentioned. In Ac 3^{15} ('ye killed the Prince of life') we have such an instance: 'the Prince of life' is a title of our Lord's Godhead, but St. Luke is speaking of His death. A striking instance would be Ac 20^{28} ('the church of God which he purchased with his own blood'), but we are not quite certain of the text; 'God' is a better supported reading than 'the Lord,' but it has been suggested by Hort that originally the text ran 'with the blood of his own Son.' Other early examples are: *Barnabas*, 7 ('the Son of God . . . suffered'); Clement of Rome, *Cor.* 2 ('His sufferings'; 'God' having preceded, according to Lightfoot and Harnack); Ignatius, *Eph.* 1 ('blood of God'), *Rom.* 6 ('suffering of my God'); Tatian, *Address to the Greeks*, 13 ('suffering God'); Tertullian, *ad Uxor.* ii. 3 ('blood of God').

The word 'Theotokos' had been used in the 3rd cent. by Origen, who in his commentary on Romans gave an 'ample exposition' of the term (Soc. *HE* vii. 32); by Gregory Thaumaturgus, *Hom.* 1, 'On the Annunciation' (Eng. tr. in 'Ante-Nicene Chr. Lib.' xx. 134 ff.); and by Archelaus of Kashkar, *Disputation with Manes*, 34 (*ib.* p. 348); in the 4th cent. by Alexander, bishop of Alexandria at the time of the Nicene Council (quoted by Theodoret, *HE* i. 3); Eusebius, *Vit. Const.* iii. 43; Athanasius, *Orat. c. Arian.* iv. 32; Basil, *Ep.* cccIx., 'Of the Holy Trinity'; Gregory of Nazianzus, *Ep.* ci., 'ad Cledonium'; and by others.

The title was no real difficulty to the Antiochenes, who recognized its antiquity and its meaning; and it did not stand in the way of union. Even Nestorius, when all went against him (for, as we have seen, the Antiochenes were much less for him than against Cyril) exclaimed: 'Let Mary be called Theotokos if you will, and let all disputing cease' (Soc. *HE* vii. 34). In a Greek fragment quoted by Loofs (*Nestoriana*, p. 353) he is willing to tolerate the term 'as long as the Virgin is not made a goddess'; in a sermon (Loofs, p. 276) he suggests *θεοδόχος* ('one who receives God') rather than *θεοτόκος*. He wished, like Theodore (see above, § 11), to introduce the term *ἀνθρωποτόκος* ('man-bearer') as a complement to *θεοτόκος*, but he preferred *χριστοτόκος* ('Christ-bearer'). Yet up to the end of his life, as we see again and again in *Heraclides*, he attacked the term *θεοτόκος*. (For two elaborate notes on this term see Pearson, *Expos. of the Creed*, art. iii., p. 318, notes 36, 37.)

(*d*) *Favourite expressions of Nestorius.* — He always speaks of 'two hypostases' in Christ. It seems fairly clear that he uses the word *ὑπόστασις* in its earlier sense of 'substance,' and that he means by 'two hypostases' our Lord's two natures. But he causes some confusion by talking of the two hypostases and their two 'characteristics' or 'natures' (*φύσεις*). His persistent refusal to see any other possible sense of *ὑπόστασις*, though another sense had become common long before his day (above, § 3), is a justification of Socrates' opinion (*HE* vii. 32) that he was ignorant (see below, § 6). A little later the Council of Chalcedon fixed the terminology by affirming that in our Lord there was one *ὑπόστασις*, one *πρόσωπον*, two natures, 'without confusion, without change, without rending, without separation' (*ἀσυγχύτως, ἀτρέπτως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀχωρίστως* [Hefele, iii. 350]).

In many passages of Nestorius 'a man' is used where it is charitable to suppose that 'manhood' is meant (see above (*c*)). The use of this particular concrete for this particular abstract is found in older writers, such as Athanasius, who uses the phrase 'the Man from Mary' when he is speaking of our Lord's humanity (*Orat. c. Arian.* iv. 35; so i. 45, etc.). Also in the *Exposition of Faith* (*ἔκθεσις*) Athanasius three times uses the expression *ὁ Κυριακὸς ἄνθρωπος* for 'the Lord's humanity' (also elsewhere); and subsequent writers followed him, Latins translating it by *Homo Dominicus*. But Augustine, who had used this phrase, later disapproved of it (*Retract.* I. xix. 8). Robertson remarks (p. 83) that Athanasius did not employ 'man' for 'manhood' carelessly, nor in an ambiguous context, and that there is no doubt of his meaning. But, had he lived a century later, Athanasius would probably have used different language. In this connexion it should be added that certain NT expressions like 1 Ti 2^5 ('one mediator . . . [himself] man, Christ Jesus') and 1 Co 15^{47} ('the second man is of heaven') are not relevant to the present subject. In these 'man' is not used for 'mankind.' But it is quite Biblical to speak of our Lord as 'a man' (cf. Jn 8^{40}, Ac 2^{22} 17^{31}).

The metaphors 'temple,' 'veil,' 'vesture,' and 'instrument' (*ὄργανον*) are very common in Nestorius, as they had been in Theodore of Mopsuestia. In themselves they are unobjectionable; their context must determine whether they are suitable. If it is the 'manhood' that is the temple, or vesture, etc., the phrases are perfectly orthodox. But, if 'a man' is the temple, etc., they may reasonably be objected to as erroneous. A few examples out of a great number are the following: 'Mary did not bear the Godhead but a man (*hominem*), the inseparable instrument of the Divinity' (Loofs, p. 205). 'The manhood (*ἀνθρωπότητα*), the instrument of the Godhead of God the Word' (p. 247). 'The Creature did not bear the Creator, but bore a man (*ἄνθρωπον*), the instrument of [the] Godhead' (p. 252). 'The Lord was clothed with our nature . . . the vesture of [the] Godhead, the inseparable clothing of the divine substance' (p. 298). 'I said that the temple was passible, and not God who quickens the temple which has suffered' (*Heraclides* [Bedjan, p. 318; Nau, p. 202]).

It is much more difficult to find an orthodox sense for the expression *συνάφεια* ('connexion'), by which the union effected by the Incarnation is expressed by Nestorius and Theodore. This is symptomatic of the whole trend of their teaching, towards the conception of two distinct beings joined together, though joined inseparably. They objected to the expression *ἕνωσις* ('union'), holding that it conveyed the idea of a confusion of the human and divine natures. But the main objection to *συνάφεια* was that it spoke of a conjunction of the Word with a man, not of human nature with the Word.

Nestorius also frequently uses the word *πρόσωπον*. But he uses it very ambiguously. Thus he several times speaks in *Heraclides* of the *πρόσωπον* of the Godhead and the *πρόσωπον* of the manhood (Bedjan, p. 289; Nau, p. 183, etc.); and so he says in a passage of a sermon which we have only in Latin (Loofs, p. 255): 'Christ took the person

(*personam*) of the nature that was in debt and through it paid the debt as a son of Adam.' He affirms, indeed, one *πρόσωπον* in our Lord, but he frequently appears to conceive of two persons (*πρόσωπα*) united so as to make one person (*Heraclides* [Bedjan, pp. 94, 305, etc.; Nau, pp. 61, 193, etc.]).

It is, however, not so much by his technical terms (even though they show much confusion) that Nestorius must be judged as by the general character of his teaching. Theological terminology was in the process of construction; as we have seen, technical words changed their meaning, and it was an indirect benefit of the early heresies that they forced men to think more clearly and to define their terms. In the matter of technical phraseology we shall do well even to stretch a point in giving Nestorius the benefit of the doubt whenever we are able to do so with a clear conscience. And it must also be remembered that most Christian thinkers of the first few centuries of our era were somewhat vague in their ideas of 'personality.' Even when we have fixed on proper words to express the 'persons' of the Holy Trinity, we still have to find suitable terminology for 'personality' in man, for the word 'person' cannot mean exactly the same thing when we are speaking of the distinctions in the Holy Trinity as when we are speaking of the 'personality' of ourselves or of the Incarnate Lord. We may, therefore, now pass over Nestorius's technical terms and endeavour to estimate the general meaning of his teaching.

(*e*) *Examples of Nestorius's teaching.* — The counter-anathematisms were directed against those of Cyril, and ascribe to him Apollinarism pure and simple. But, in doing so, they run to the opposite extreme. The seventh, *e.g.*, when literally translated, runs as follows:

'If any one says that the man who was created of the Virgin and in the Virgin is the Only-begotten who was born from the bosom of the Father before the morning-star (*luciferum*), and does not rather confess that he became partaker of the designation of Only-begotten because of connexion (*unitionem*) with him who is naturally the Only-begotten of the Father, and also says that any other than Emmanuel is Jesus, let him be anathema' (see Loofs, p. 214, for the Latin of Marius Mercator, and Hefele, iii. 36, for a rather free English translation).

Some of the other counter-anathematisms are scarcely less 'Nestorian.' Some are ambiguous; others charge Cyril with affirming what he never did affirm. On the other hand, Nestorius rejects an exaggeration of Nestorianism in his 6th anathematism:

'If any one after the Incarnation calls another than Christ the Logos . . . let him be anathema';

but from the rest of this 6th anathematism it is not easy to draw any good sense.

From other writings of Nestorius may be cited a few examples, in addition to those already given. In some Nestorius approaches a position which it is difficult to distinguish from true Nestorianism; in others he approaches orthodox doctrine. Cassian quotes him as saying: 'No one bears one who was before herself' ('nemo anteriorem se parit'), and almost the same words (with 'antiquiorem') occur in his first letter to Pope Cœlestine (Loofs, pp. 168, 351). On one occasion (*ib.* p. 352), with reference to the name 'Theotokos,' he asks if, because the babe John was filled with the Holy Ghost from his mother's womb, one ought to call Elisabeth 'Pneumatotokos' ('Spirit-bearer') — a question which shows him to have been either a hopelessly confused thinker, or else (if the relation of the Son of Mary to the Logos is to be compared with that of John to the Holy Spirit) a confirmed 'Nestorian.' Another saying (Loofs, p. 292) which is decidedly ambiguous is:

'The same (*ὁ αὐτός*) was both babe and Lord of the babe . . . the same was babe and inhabitant (*οἰκήτωρ*) of the babe.'

The phrases 'Lord of the babe' and 'inhabitant of the babe' seem to point to two persons, namely 'the Lord' ('the inhabitant') and 'the babe,' even though they be united with 'the same.' In one of his sermons (Loofs, p. 327 f.) Nestorius says:

'The babe that is seen . . . is Son eternal in respect of that which is hidden, Son, Creator (*δημιουργός*) of all. . . . For the babe is God in his own right (*αὐτεξούσιος*).'

Here we have a much closer approach to the conception of the single personality of our Lord.

Nestorius repeated Theodore's language about the Logos dwelling in Christ, and about the indwelling being due to God's good pleasure (*εὐδοκία*). He said that he was willing to worship 'him that is borne on account of him that bears' (Bethune-Baker, pp. 44, 93, 153).

In *Heraclides* the language is very diffuse and the arguments often difficult to follow; they are on the whole better balanced than those of his earlier works, though they include much that is ambiguous. The following is a specimen (Bethune-Baker, p. 86):

'He passed through blessed Mary. . . . I said that God the Word "passed" and not "was born," because He did not receive a beginning from her. But the two natures being united are one Christ. And He who "was born of the Father as to the divinity," and "from the holy Virgin as to the humanity," is, and is styled, one; for of the two natures there was a union. . . . The two natures unconfused I confess to be one Christ.' [He goes on to argue against the name 'Theotokos.']

It must be added that his summary of his own position in *Heraclides* is hopelessly confused (Bedjan, p. 128 f.; Nau, p. 83). It contains a statement of Christ's sinlessness; but it shows all the old inability to see the difference between the abstract and the concrete.

(*f*) *The saying about God and an infant.*—This saying is so important historically that it must be considered separately. Socrates (*HE* vii. 34) reports Nestorius as saying at Ephesus during the time of waiting for the Antiochenes: 'I would not name him who is two or three months old God' (*ἐγὼ τὸν γενόμενον διμηναῖον καὶ τριμηναῖον οὐκ ἂν θεὸν ὀνομάσαιμι*). This saying embittered the people against Nestorius more than any other, and was doubtless one great reason for attributing to him the heresy of Paul of Samosata (see above (*b*)). Nestorius deals with this saying in *Heraclides*, and either he or his Syriac translator gives another turn to the sentence (Bedjan, p. 202; Nau, p. 121). Here it is made to run: 'I do not say that God is aged two or three months.' In the Acts of the Council of Ephesus we read (Mansi, iv. 1181) that Nestorius was reported to the Council as saying that it is not right concerning God to speak of suckling or birth from the Virgin. 'So also then' (continued the witness Theodotus, who had been his friend) 'he frequently said *διμηναῖον ἢ τριμηναῖον μὴ δεῖν λέγεσθαι θεόν*.' The last words, Bethune-Baker remarks (p. 79 n.), would be read by no Greek scholar in any other way than as they are explained in *Heraclides*, *i.e.* 'that God ought not to be called two or three months old.' But he perhaps forgets that, as a matter of fact, Nestorius was *not* understood in this sense; for there is not the slightest ground for supposing that Socrates wilfully distorted his speech. The Greek-speaking people of the 5th cent. were not 'Greek scholars'—nor was Nestorius. And therefore it is by no means certain that (supposing that the words were exactly as given in the Acts of the Council) Nestorius, when he spoke them, meant what *Heraclides* suggests. For what is the meaning of the phrase in *Heraclides*? The proposition that 'a two or three months' old child is not God' is perfectly intelligible, however erroneous it may be. But there is no satisfactory sense in the phrase 'God is not two or three months old.' No one would dream of affirming that He was. And, if Nestorius

really did mean such a foolish thing by words uttered on the spur of the moment, we cannot conceive why he should have repeated it 'often' (πολλάκις). If 'no Greek scholar' could understand it otherwise, why did it make such a sensation in the Council of Ephesus? The letter of the Council to the emperors (Mansi, iv. 1235 ff.) has the saying thus: ἐγὼ τὸν διμηναῖον καὶ τριμηναῖον θεὸν οὐ λέγω, which shows that the Council understood the saying as Socrates did; in this form it can only mean 'I do not call one who is two or three months old God.' Assuredly no one present would have affirmed that 'God was two or three months old.' And, if that were the meaning of the saying, why did not Nestorius explain it at once, when he found what a sensation it caused? Under these circumstances the suspicion arises that in the heat of the moment, and very probably without meaning quite all that he said, Nestorius made the statement attributed to him by Socrates, whether it was in the exact words given in the *History*, or in those given in the Acts of the Council, or in the letter to the emperors; and that on reflexion he made the explanation which is found in *Heraclides*. The explanation has all the appearance of being an after-thought.

5. The solution of the question of the personality of our Lord.—Before we come to a conclusion as to Nestorius's own teaching, let us consider how the question was solved by Cyril and by the Antiochenes, whose united efforts prepared the way for the definitions of the Council of Chalcedon. The creed composed by the Antiochenes, and accepted by Cyril as true, and incorporated by him in his celebrated letter to John of Antioch, written on the conclusion of the union, and known as *Laetentur coeli* (Mansi, v. 301 ff.; for the Greek of the creed see Hefele, iii. 131 n.), is of the greatest importance. It ran as follows:

'We confess therefore our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Only-begotten, perfect God and perfect man, of a reasonable soul (ψυχῆς) and body; before the ages begotten of the Father as to the Godhead, but in the last days [born], the same one (τὸν αὐτόν), for us and for our salvation, of Mary the Virgin as to the manhood; the same one of one substance with the Father as to the Godhead and of one substance with us as to the manhood. For there has become a union (ἕνωσις) of two natures (φύσεων); wherefore we confess one Christ, one Son, one Lord. According to this thought (ἔννοιαν) of the union without mingling (ἀσυγχύτου), we confess the holy Virgin [to be] Theotokos, because God the Word was made flesh (σαρκωθῆναι) and became incarnate (ἐνανθρωπῆσαι), and from the very conception united to Himself the temple which He took of her. But we know that the theologians make some of the evangelical and apostolical utterances about the Lord refer in common to the one person (πρόσωπον), and separate others as [referring] to the two natures, and apply those which are divine (θεοπρεπεῖς) to the Godhead of Christ, but those which are humble [deal with the humiliation] to His manhood.'

Here we have a perfectly orthodox statement of doctrine from the school that was supposed to favour Nestorius. Nothing could be more explicit than its positive affirmation that our Lord is one person, and nothing better than the statement of the distinction of the two natures. If the suspected word 'temple' occurs, the context makes it quite clear that it means 'manhood' and not 'a man.' With the last sentence, which is an addition to the creed as originally compiled, but is included in Cyril's letter to John of Antioch, compare Cyril's fourth anathematism.

Side by side with this confession of faith we may set Cyril's teaching, both as first put out in his anathematisms (Hefele, iii. 31 f.) and then as explained by him (*ib.* p. 122). In the second anathematism Cyril speaks of the Word 'hypostatically uniting' Himself with the flesh, *i.e.* with human nature. In the third he repudiates the word 'connexion' (συνάφεια) and speaks of a 'conjunction in physical union' (συνόδῳ τῇ καθ' ἕνωσιν φυσικήν). It was these last words that especially aroused opposition, though it was a traditional phrase (see above, § 3 (*c*)). And Cyril therefore in his explanation asserted that

'Christ had a reasonable human spirit (πνεῦμα), and that no mixing and mingling and no confusion of the natures in Christ had taken place; but, on the contrary, that the Word of God is in His own nature unchangeable and incapable of suffering. But in the flesh one and the same Christ and only-begotten Son of God suffered for us' (translation revised from Hefele, iii. 122).

It is the bright spot in the rather sordid history of the controversy that Cyril and the Antiochenes showed such a spirit of mutual forbearance, and that each endeavoured to understand the real meaning of the other. Yet even modern writers have sarcastically spoken of both John of Antioch and Cyril 'eating their words' and unworthily giving up their opinions. The present writer believes this to be an erroneous view of history; and that John and Cyril had in reality agreed all along in their theology, though they had expressed themselves differently. No historical character has been so variously judged as Cyril.[1] But, with all his faults of impetuosity and temper, he has the merit of having seized the real point of the controversy. When this was once done, it was possible, by explanation of the words used on either side, to arrive at a satisfactory agreement. The crucial point was that it was essential for a true Incarnation that He who was with the Father from all eternity, very God of very God, should be the self-same He who was born of the Virgin, and should not merely have been joined, however inseparably, to the child of the Virgin. It was equally essential that His Godhead and His manhood should not be fused into something else, or confusedly commingled. On these points Cyril and the Antiochenes agreed.

Two methods of expression which affirm that our Lord is a single Person must here be mentioned.

(*a*) *Impersonality of our Lord's manhood.*—This has been the usual way of expressing the single personality. The personality is said to reside in our Lord's Godhead as pre-existent, and therefore the humanity is said to be impersonal in itself, but personal in Him only (Bethune-Baker, p. 98). This does not mean that the human nature of Christ is in any way imperfect. It is perhaps more accurate to put it, as Bethune-Baker suggests, that our Lord's human nature 'is never impersonal, because it has His personality from the first'; which is another way of stating the same truth. But it would be pure Nestorianism to say that our Lord's manhood had a personality other than that of His Godhead.

(*b*) *The 'hypostatic union.'*—This phrase has been generally approved as expressing that in our Lord there are two natures united in one hypostasis or person. As we have seen, Cyril uses the expression, and it was used at a synod held under him at Alexandria (Hefele, iii. 29). It is this 'hypostatic union' that is the justification of the mode of expression called *communicatio idiomatum* (above, § 4). But, though the phrase 'hypostatic union' is a valuable one when properly understood, it is doubtless capable of a wrong meaning. It has already been mentioned (above, § 3) that Athanasius (or another writer of his school) repudiated it in the sense of 'union of substance'; and so Nestorius understood it to mean a union which resulted in one nature (Nau, p. xv). Even taking ὑπόστασις in its later sense of 'person,' the phrase might mean 'the uniting of two persons so as to make them one person.' In fact, this is a good instance of a technical term being a good servant but a bad master. We have here also to 'get behind words.'

6. Conclusion from the evidence as to Nestorius

[1] For opposite views of Cyril's character Gibbon and Hefele should be read. But, while both take a decided line, Hefele is impartiality itself as compared with Gibbon.

and Nestorianism.—Very different verdicts have been given, since the discovery of *Heraclides*, on the question whether Nestorius was a Nestorian. On the one hand, Bedjan and Nau, the editor and translator of the book, think that, even after the explanations offered in it, Nestorius would have been condemned as heretical.

'We must not forget that the two natures involve with him two distinct hypostases and two persons (prosôpons) united together by simple loan and exchange' (Nau, p. xxviii).

On the other hand, Bethune-Baker, on an examination not only of *Heraclides*, but also of the other writings, considers Nestorius orthodox; and, what is rather surprising, seems to think him an able man (pp. 122, 175 ff.):

'The ideas for which Nestorius in common with the whole school of Antioch contended, really won the day'; 'Nestorius himself was sacrificed "to save the face" of the Alexandrines' (p. 207).

The present writer cannot take so rosy a view of the matter as this, and especially dissents from the last three statements. It seems much more in accordance with the evidence to hold that Nestorius sometimes used heretical and sometimes orthodox language. If we may suppose that we have *Heraclides* as it left Nestorius's pen, unaltered by the Syriac translator, we have, indeed, a better presentment of doctrine than in some of his other writings, though even in *Heraclides* the tendency is heretical, and the expressions, *e.g.*, about two πρόσωπα are hard to reconcile with true teaching. On the other hand, we can scarcely, with Nau, adduce the expressions about two hypostases as heretical, as 'hypostasis' is here used in the older sense of 'substance.' And we may hope that, when freed from the temptation that besets an eloquent and popular preacher of saying rather more than on calm reflexion he would have written, and when in seclusion he had more time for thinking out the problem and for writing on it at leisure, Nestorius to a great extent rid himself of his errors. For his heresy, if he was a Nestorian, was due to confusion of thought. We probably cannot come to a better conclusion than that of the contemporary historian, Socrates, who, though he mentioned Nestorius's faults, especially as a persecutor, candidly endeavoured to 'be unbiassed by the criminations of his adversaries' (*HE* vii. 32). Socrates, having perused his writings, 'found him to be an ignorant man'; he 'found that he did not deny Christ's Godhead,' but that he was 'scared at the term Theotokos as though it were a bugbear' (or 'hobgoblin'). This was due, Socrates says, to the fact that, though eloquent, he was not well educated, and did not know the 'ancient expositors.' The conclusion, then, which seems most suitable to the evidence is that, while Nestorius was not a systematic and consistent upholder of what we call 'Nestorianism,' yet he sometimes spoke erroneously; and, even if we give him the benefit of the doubt with regard to technical terms, it is difficult to acquit him altogether of a certain amount of heresy, and of a heresy which is particularly dangerous.

He fully saw the danger of the opposite error, even though it was not as openly expressed as in the immediately succeeding age. But errors are usually the result of reaction from another error; Apollinarism was a reaction from Arianism, Nestorianism from Apollinarism, as afterwards Eutychianism was a reaction from Nestorianism. It is not always easy to hit the golden mean between two doctrinal extremes. Nestorius could see no mean between his teaching and that of Apollinarius, and, as a consequence, he also, like Apollinarius, tended to destroy the Incarnation, though in an opposite manner. But he was a foolish and obstinate man, who did not see the outcome of his own teaching. Had he explained it as Cyril and the Antiochenes explained theirs, his future would have been a happier one. As it was, he who began by persecuting heretics was himself persecuted as a heretic till the day of his death.

7. **Writings of Nestorius.**—(*a*) The following works of Nestorius are now extant: *The Book of Heraclides*, preserved in Syriac (see § 2 above); the *Counter-anathematisms*, in reply to Cyril, preserved in a Lat. tr. by Marius Mercator (Loofs, p. 211); a Greek homily, *On the High-Priesthood of our Lord*, preserved among the sermons of Chrysostom (Loofs, p. 230); three Greek homilies, *On the Temptation* (Nau, p. 335), also preserved in a Syr. tr. (Marius Mercator translated portions of these into Lat., and the fragments are extant; parts of these homilies have been made up into a single homily attributed to Chrysostom); *Letters* (some in Greek) to Cyril, Cœlestine, Cœlestius the Pelagian, John of Antioch, the emperor Theodosius, and others (Loofs, p. 165 ff.): Nau also gives (p. 370) two versions of a letter to the people of Constantinople, which Loofs (p. 202) looks upon as 'doubtless unauthentic'; *Sermons*, chiefly in a Lat. tr. by Marius Mercator, but also in fragments quoted by Cyril of Alexandria or in the Acts of the Council of Ephesus, or elsewhere (Loofs, p. 225 ff.); fragments of the *Theopaschites* (Loofs, p. 208) and the *Tragedy* (Loofs, p. 203), for which see below (*c*).

(*b*) *Probably unauthentic works.*—The *Liturgy of Nestorius*, still used by the E. Syrian or Nestorian Christians, is almost certainly not the work of that writer. It is not a complete liturgy, but an Anaphora only, borrowing the first part of the service, and also the conclusion, from the older *Liturgy of the Apostles Addai and Mari*, which is the principal liturgy used by the E. Syrians. It is not of the type of liturgy with which Nestorius was familiar either at Antioch or at Constantinople, but is of the E. Syrian family, though it is influenced to some extent by the Byzantine rite. It was probably composed by an E. Syrian who had a Constantinople liturgy before him, and may be dated, in its original form, some time before Narsai, *i.e.* before the end of the 5th century.

Besides the sermons mentioned above, P. Batiffol has suggested that 52 homilies preserved among the works of various orthodox writers are in reality the work of Nestorius (*RB* ix. [1900] 329). They are thought to show the style and manner of thought of that writer. But, as Bethune-Baker remarks (p. 102 f.), theological language was more fluid in the East than in the West in the earlier ages; and therefore it does not follow that, because in a sermon we find a somewhat unusual phrase which was used by Nestorius, the sermon must be attributed to him. Batiffol's suggestion has not been very favourably received. On the general question of assigning the authorship of sermons, it may be remarked that there is nothing strange if one of Nestorius's own sermons has been attributed to a preacher like Chrysostom, and preserved among his works. They were both of the Antiochene school of thought, and all Antiochenes had much in common in the way of literary style and line of reasoning; besides, the worst heretic (and we need not think worse of Nestorius than that he was a very confused thinker) does not always preach heresy.

In addition to the above works there are extant *Twelve Syriac Anathematisms*, given in Syr. and Lat. by Assemani (*Bibl. Orient.* iii. ii. 199–202) and in Lat. by Loofs (p. 220). But these are of very doubtful authenticity.

(*c*) *Old lists of Nestorius's works.*—Gennadius, who continued Jerome's *Lives of Illustrious Men* after his death, says that Nestorius wrote many treatises on various questions while still in Antioch, and that these were already tainted with his error. After he went to Constantinople, he wrote a work *On the Incarnation*, on 62 passages of the Scriptures (Gennadius, *de Vir. illustr.* 54). These works of Nestorius are not now extant.

The Syriac translator of *Heraclides* says that both *Tĕôpastîqôs* (= *Theopaschites*) and the *Tragedy* were written as an apology against those who blamed Nestorius for having demanded a council. 'Theopaschites' is a nickname given to an opponent, and had already been used, if a Syriac writer is to be trusted, by Gregory of Nazianzus (R. Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, Oxford, 1879–1901, ii. 4367); in the 6th cent. it was applied to the Monophysites in connexion with the addition to the Trisagion of the words 'One of the Trinity was crucified' (Hefele, iii. 457 f.). It was somewhat like the older nickname 'Patripassians,' which denoted those who were said to hold that the Father suffered.

In Audishu's list of Nestorius's writings are given: the *Tragedy*, *Heraclides*, a *Letter to Cosmas* (not extant), the *Liturgy of Nestorius* (see above), a book of *Letters*, and a book of *Homilies and Sermons* (Bethune-Baker, p. 26).

8. **The later Nestorians.**—(*a*) *Within the Roman empire.*—It has already been stated (above, § 2) that the Antiochenes were doctrinally divided among themselves. After the general acceptance of the union arranged by John and Cyril some of the bishops finally refused to assent to it, and, openly siding with Nestorius, were deprived of their sees. Several of them seem to have travelled eastwards, no doubt taking with them those of their priests and deacons who supported them, and reinforced the E. Syrian Church (see below). Whatever view we take of Nestorius's own teach-

ing, some of these Antiochene extremists were thoroughgoing 'Nestorians,' and it is to them that the E. Syrian Church owed its knowledge of the controversy. Yet for a considerable time Nestorianism retained some footing in the Roman empire itself; *e.g.*, Cosmas Indicopleustes, the well-known traveller and geographical writer, who lived in Egypt, and published his books in 547, is said to have been one of its adherents (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ch. xlvii. n. 116; *DCB* iv. 32[b]).

(*b*) *In the Persian empire.*—The 'East Syrian' Church, or, as it proudly calls itself, 'the Church of the East,' had existed, in all probability, from the Apostolic Age; but, it being the Church of the Persian empire, its members were a good deal cut off from their brethren who were subject to the Roman emperor, and the separation ever tended to increase. It was fostered by the civil authorities for political purposes. Yet it is somewhat surprising to learn that the E. Syrians knew nothing officially of the Council of Nicæa till 410. Similarly, they did not hear of the Christological controversies of the Roman empire until they were practically decided there. The dissentient Antiochenes would not give them a favourable account of Cyril and of the proceedings at the First Council of Ephesus, and to this day they hold that Nestorius was unjustly condemned, and reckon him, with Diodorus and Theodore, among the 'Greek doctors' whom they commemorate on the fifth Friday after Epiphany. They bear witness to the absence of personal connexion between Nestorius and their Church by not including him among the 'Syrian doctors,' *i.e.* those of the 'Church of the East.' They accepted the 'Tome' of Leo and the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon as part of their *Sunhadhus*, or book of canon law; and their final separation from the Orthodox did not take place till about the time of the conquest of the Persian empire by the Muhammadans in the 7th century.

Their missions in the whole continent of Asia were extensive; the foundation of the old Church in India, that of the 'Christians of St. Thomas' in Malabar, was due to them, and is attested by Cosmas Indicopleustes in the 6th cent. (*DCB* i. 693[a]); a monument at Si-ngan-fu in China still bears witness to their activity in that country; and their evangelistic zeal gave rise to the story of Prester John. But this Church which spread all over Asia is now reduced to the 'shadow of a shade,' and finds its home, to the number of 100,000 souls or more, in the mountains of Kurdistan, and in the neighbouring plains of Adharbaijan in Persia and of N. Mesopotamia in Asiatic Turkey.

The great school of the Nestorians was at Edessa, or Ur-hai. After the death of Rabbulas, Cyril's great supporter, Ibas succeeded as bishop of that city, and fostered Nestorian teaching. But they were finally driven out of Edessa in 489 by the emperor Zeno, and they then established their school at Nisibis.

(*c*) *Do the E. Syrians hold Nestorian doctrine?*—This is not an easy question to answer fully; there is, however, no necessary connexion between it and that already considered, whether Nestorius was a Nestorian. There can be no doubt that some of the E. Syrian writers have used decidedly Nestorian language. Yet on the whole it is remarkable how free their liturgical and synodical language, in particular, is from it. There is, however, a phrase to which they cling tenaciously, and which must be considered. They affirm that in Christ there are two *kyānē*, two *qnūmē*, one *parṣūpā* (the Syriac words are given as pronounced by them, though the plural termination is often *-ī* rather than *-ē*). The first of these terms, *kyānā*, is *φύσις*, 'nature'; the second, *qnūmā*, is *ὑπόστασις*; the third is *πρόσωπον* transliterated. It seems clear that, like Nestorius, the E. Syrian Christians take *ὑπόστασις* in its oldest sense of 'substance,' and so they talk of the *qnūmā* of the Godhead and the *qnūmā* of the manhood. If we may acquit Nestorius, when he spoke of 'two hypostases,' of meaning by that term two persons, we may certainly also acquit the E. Syrians of doing so. They try to make a distinction between *kyānā* and *qnūmā*, when speaking of our Lord, but really they mean much the same thing by both words. We may notice that both they and their neighbours, the Monophysites or W. Syrians (known as 'Jacobites'), speak of the three *qnūmē* in the Holy Trinity, not of three *parṣūpē*. We see, therefore, here some inconsistency. For a very careful discussion of these and other Syriac technical terms see the appendix (by another pen) to Bethune-Baker's *Nestorius and his Teaching* (p. 212 ff.). It is very generally agreed that, whatever vitality 'Nestorianism' may have had in the past in the E. Syrian writers, it is now entirely dead among these Christians. It is an example of their confusion of thought that in the oath taken by their bishops they affirm that Christ has one will, one power, and is confessed in two *kyānē*, two *qnūmē*, and one '*parṣūpā* of filiation' (the last is a very common phrase in their writers). But Monotheletism was the very opposite error to Nestorianism (Nau, p. xii).

LITERATURE.—Socrates Scholasticus, *HE* vii. 29–35 (Eng. tr. in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Oxford, 1891); J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima Collectio*, Florence, 1759–98 (includes the collections of Labbé, Cossart, and others), iv. and v.: C. J. Hefele, *Hist. of the Councils of the Church*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1894–96, iii.; F. Nau, *Nestorius: le livre d'Héraclide de Damas*, Fr. tr., Paris, 1910; the Syriac text (same title), ed. P. Bedjan, do. 1910; J. F. Bethune-Baker, *Nestorius and his Teaching*, Cambridge, 1908; F. Loofs, *Nestoriana*, Halle, 1905, *Nestorius and his Place in the History of Christian Doctrine*, Cambridge, 1914; E. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, London, 1776–88 (many subsequent edd.), ch. xlvii.; J. C. Robertson, *Hist. of the Christian Church*, do. 1875, ii.; G. T. Stokes, artt. 'Nestorianism,' 'Nestorius,' in *DCB*; W. Bright, art. 'Cyrillus, no. 7,' in *DCB*; H. B. Swete, art. 'Theodorus of Mopsuestia,' in *DCB*; M. Brière, *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*, Paris, 1910, p. 1 ff., 'La Légende syriaque de Nestorius'; A. Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr., London, 1894–99; H. M. Relton, 'Nestorius the Nestorian,' in *CQR* lxxiii. [1912] 296; A. C. Headlam, 'Nestorius and Orthodoxy,' in *CQR* lxxx. [1915] 464; J. Pearson, *An Exposition of the Creed*, London, 1659 (quotations from Burton's ed., Oxford, 1870); R. Hooker, *Ecclesiastical Polity*, London, 1594–97, v. 52 (an admirable summary of doctrine).

For the later Nestorians see J. S. Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Rome, 1719–28, iii. and iv.; E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of Governors: the Historia Monastica of Thomas of Marga*, Syr. text and Eng. tr., 2 vols., London, 1893 (some valuable biographies); A. J. Maclean and W. H. Browne, *The Catholicos of the East and his People*, do. 1892; W. A. Wigram, *Introd. to the Hist. of the Assyrian Church, 100–640 A.D.*, do. 1910 (a history of the Nestorians); G. P. Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, do. 1852.

A. J. MACLEAN.

NĔTHĪNĪM (NĔTHŪNĪM).

—According to the theory of the Priestly Code (P), Nu 3^{5-9} 8^{5-19} (cf. also 18^{6}), the Levites were given (*nĕthūnīm*) unto Aaron and his sons in behalf of the children of Israel, 'to do the service of the tabernacle.' They were a wave-offering given to Jahweh in place of the first-born, a gift to Aaron and his sons from among the children of Israel 'to do the service of the tent of meeting.'[1] So, in the Greek Ezra (1 Es 1^{3}) they are called *hierodouloi* (*q.v.*), or temple servants, which is elsewhere in this book, as in Josephus, the translation of *nĕthīnīm*. This theory does not, however, conform with the earlier

[1] As our present Hebrew text reads, they were *nĕthūnīm nĕthūnīm*, which the translators render 'wholly given,' or 'utterly given.' Probably (see Batten, *ICC*, 'Ezra and Nehemiah,' p. 88) we should read *nĕthīnīm nĕthūnīm*, *i.e.* they were 'Nethinim given unto Aaron and his sons.' *Nĕthūnīm* and *nĕthīnīm* are, in fact, merely differentiations of one and the same word and are confused with one another (cf. Ezr 8^{17}). It is worthy of note how large a number of the Levitical names, especially in the later books, are compounds or derivatives of *nāthan*, 'give.'

practice. As late as the Exile the Levites are priests. In the reform of Josiah (623 B.C.) every Levite was recognized as a priest, having potentially the right to serve as such in the Jerusalem Temple (so the book of Deuteronomy). At this time and earlier the *hierodouloi*, who performed the menial or non-priestly service of the Temple, were frequently, if not generally, foreign slaves, given for this purpose (*nĕthīnīm*), or the descendants of such slaves—precisely the same use which we find in the temples of other countries, both earlier and later, as in Babylonia and Greece, and even in the Muhammadan shrine at Mecca. From analogy we should suppose that this would have been the case; that it was so up to and including the time of Nehemiah is clear from the testimony of the Bible.

According to Nu 31^{30}, out of all booty of war, including slaves, a certain proportion was to be given to the priests and Levites—which is really a record in legislative form of an ancient fact and right. A case of this in actual practice, referred to in the story of the conquest of Canaan under Joshua, is that of the Gibeonites, made 'hewers of wood and drawers of water for the house of God' (Jos 9^{22-27}; cf. also 1 K $9^{20f.}$). According to the book of Ezra, this practice, for the Jerusalem Temple, dated back to David, the Nethinim of his day being descendants of the slaves 'whom David and the princes had given for the service of the Levites' (8^{20}). Among the Nethinim of that period are noted specifically, also, descendants of slaves given by Solomon (Ezr 2^{55}). These Temple slaves were, as a rule, foreigners, captives taken in war, and in the first generation presumably uncircumcised heathen. Hence Ezekiel's protest: 'No foreigner, uncircumcised in heart and uncircumcised in flesh, shall enter into my sanctuary' (44^9).[1] He proposes that instead of these foreign slaves the Levitical priests of the high places shall be made *nĕthīnīm*, ministers of the sanctuary. This rule, however, was not adopted, at least in this form, at that date, and, after the return from the Exile we still find the non-Levitical Nethinim, descendants of former Temple slaves, servants of the sanctuary. It is from the post-Exilic writings that we obtain our fullest notices of these Nethinim, and in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah we first find, in fact, the word *nĕthīnīm* used as a *terminus technicus*.[2] Here, also, we have the first distinct and clear mention of the method and organization of the Temple service, and of the titles of the Temple servants and officials. Of these there are five distinct classes mentioned: priests, Levites, singers,[3] porters, and Nethinim. In the list of those returning from the Exile (Ezr 2^{43-70}, 1 Es 5^{29-41}, Neh 7^{41-60}) 35 to 41 families of Nethinim are mentioned, with an additional 10 families of 'sons of the slaves of Solomon.' The whole number of Nethinim, according to all these lists, was 392 individuals. The inclusion of the 'sons of the slaves of Solomon' in this total is an evidence, it may be said in passing, of their constituting part of the Nethinim, in connexion with whom they are mentioned in all places where the name occurs. The names in these lists are very largely foreign, including Edomite, Assyrian, and especially Aramæan elements, and many of them do not occur elsewhere—incidental evidence of the non-Israelite origin of the Nethinim.

In the account of Ezra's return (Ezr 8^{17-25}) we are told that from Ahava on the Euphrates he sends to Iddo, the head-man of Casiphia, to obtain Levites and Nethinim, of whom there was a lack in the returning caravan, and receives in return 38 Levites and 220 Nethinim. In Neh $3^{26.\ 31}$ we are told that the Nethinim lived in the Ophel, and that the house of the Nethinim was 'opposite the gate of the muster.' In 11^{21} we are again informed that the Nethinim dwell in the Ophel, and that Ziha and Gishpa (Hasupha?) are their chiefs. In Neh 11^3 we learn that they have possessions among the cities of Judah, like the priests and Levites, and in $10^{28f.}$ they, with the Levites, porters, and singers, are among the covenanters, who 'entered into a curse, and into an oath, to walk in God's law.' Like the priests and Levites, they were free from taxes (Ezr 7^{24}).

From all this it would appear that before the Exile the Nethinim had ceased to be foreigners and had become a part of the Jewish people, so firmly attached to the Temple that the Exile could not break that attachment, so that a goodly number of them, when the opportunity was given, returned to their ancestral occupation of the service of the Temple. Evidently they were by this time regarded as an integral part of Israel, and as such they had their inheritance like the rest among the cities of Judah. It is clear that they must have been well organized for the fulfilment of their functions before the Exile, and that organization was handed down and became the basis for the later organization in 'families,' with two head-men, those in service quartered in a house especially assigned for that purpose in the Ophel, the rest living in their possessions among the cities of Judah. It also appears that they considerably outnumbered the Levites.

In the book of Chronicles the Nethinim are mentioned only once—1 Ch 9^2,* a passage which is really taken from the list in Neh 11^{3-19} and should be regarded as a citation of an earlier source. With this exception there are no Nethinim[1] in Chronicles. They disappear entirely, as do also the singers and the porters, all of them being now included in the Levites, to whom are assigned all the functions heretofore performed by them. So far as the functions of the Nethinim are concerned, this is explicitly stated at a later date, about the commencement of the Christian era, by Philo in his *de Præmiis Sacerdotum*, 6, where he says that the sweeping and cleaning of the Temple were done by the Levites.

The protest of Ezekiel, to which attention has already been called, was the basis of the theory of the Priestly Code, as expressed in Numbers, which was finally put in practice at the time of the Chronicler, not by the elimination from the Temple of the descendants of the slaves, but by their amalgamation with the Levites, with the prohibition presumably for the future of the admission of any foreign slaves.

We may then sum up the history of the origin and development of the Nethinim as follows. From the outset there were attached to Israelite temples, to perform various services, slaves, either bought with money, or foreigners, captives of war; and indeed, in the case of captives taken in war, a certain portion was always assigned to the service

[1] Zec 14^{21} 'There shall be no more a Canaanite in the house of Jahweh.' This is commonly understood, however, not to refer to Canaanites in a racial or religious sense, Canaan meaning 'merchant' or 'pedlar.'

[2] The word occurs sixteen times in these two books (once as *nĕthūnīm*); elsewhere in the Bible only in 1 Ch 9^2, and perhaps in the two passages in Numbers already cited.

[3] Among the singers there were included, apparently, women as well as men (cf. Ex 15^{20}, Ps 68^{25}). In the salary lists from the temple of En-lil at Nippur we have also both men and women among what are evidently the Nethinim of that temple. Among those included in the lists of temple employees there are singers, gatemen, shepherds, grinders, weavers, temple servants, etc. Incidental evidence of forced labour is furnished by the note against some names, indicating that at that time those persons were not on hand, having run away (A. T. Clay, *Bab. Ex. of Univ. of Penn.* xiv.).

* The Peshitto Syriac here renders Nethinim by 'sojourners,' in Neh 10 and 11 by 'slaves,' in Ezr 8^{20} by 'men.'

[1] 1 Ch 6 seems to show this amalgamation. Here the Levites are divided into three tribes, among whom are included specifically the singers; and the Levites are described as Nethinim, given for all 'services of the tabernacle.'

of the priests of the sanctuaries. As in the case of other sanctuaries, so also in Jerusalem, from David's time onwards, slaves were assigned from among the captives taken in war for the service of the sanctuary, and in post-Exilic times there still existed a special subdivision of these Nethinim, or slaves of the sanctuary, claiming to be descendants of those given at the organization of the Temple services under Solomon.

The priests of the Jerusalem Temple, as of the other sanctuaries, were Levites, and all Levites were priests performing the priestly functions. The other functions of the sanctuary were performed by the slaves given for this purpose. These functions were divided, so far as our information goes, into three main parts; singing, guarding the gates and performing the service of porters, and the more menial functions, such as cleaning. It was to those performing the latter functions that the title Nethinim was given. Originally the slaves assigned to these various functions, being presumably largely foreign captives, were heathen and sometimes uncircumcised. They themselves, however, or their descendants, continuing in the service of the Temple, became in time circumcised Israelites. At the same time, their ranks would seem to have been recruited from time to time by foreign captives; hence the protest of Ezekiel, referred to above, against uncircumcised foreigners serving in the Temple.

With the overthrow of the high places and the concentration of worship at Jerusalem, in 623 B.C., it became necessary to provide for all Levitical priests at that Temple. Had they become priests there, its priestly sacrificial staff would have been inordinately increased; hence the priests of that Temple resisted this reform for the sake of their own prerogatives and perquisites. The Reformation, however, marks a very distinct step in exclusivism—the separation of the Jewish people from the outside world, and of their sacred worship and its service from all outside contact.

The protest of Ezekiel, himself a priest of the Temple, and his proposition to have all Temple service performed by Levites, are evidence of the existence among the priests of the intent to preserve priestly functions and prerogatives exclusively for the descendants of the priests of the Jerusalem Temple. Hence the rejection of the claims of Levites from other sanctuaries to act as priests in their Temple. It is also evidence of a spirit of religious exclusivism, which would shut out foreigners from the nation, and particularly from the sacred religion of the nation, as represented in the Temple functions. 'Let us get rid of the foreigners and utilize these Levites for the service of the Temple heretofore performed by them. The Levites deserve to be so treated as a punishment for their idolatry in the past.'

In principle this point of view was made effective in the Priestly Code, which did not, however, become the law of the Jews or of the Temple until long after the return from the Exile. To this extent, however, Ezekiel's point of view seems to have become at once effective, that, with the return from the Exile, only those counted as Jews were allowed to serve in the Temple, circumcised men of the Jewish religion. Such the porters, the singers, and the Nethinim had become, and with the restoration of the Temple after the Exile they resumed their old functions. The number of so-called Levites who returned was very small in relation to the number of these three classes of Temple servants.

Precisely what the function of the Levites now was it is difficult to determine. Theoretically they seem to be distinguished from the priests on the one hand and from the porters, singers, and Nethinim on the other. The tendency was, on the one side, to push down the Levites, by making them inferior to the priests, and, on the other, to exalt the Temple servants by bringing them to an equality with the Levites. The distinction of priests, Levites, porters, singers, and Nethinim is established for the time of Nehemiah (*c.* 440 B.C.) and of Ezra (*c.* 380 B.C.). The Priestly Code, promulgated at the latter period, abolishes the distinction between those rendering any service below that of the priesthood in the Temple. They are all alike to be regarded as Nethinim, given to God for the Temple service, and, accordingly, in the records of the Chronicler (*c.* 300 B.C.) we find the old distinctions done away with. There are now only priests and Levites. This process seems to have been a gradual one, and affected first the singers. So in certain remodelled portions of Nehemiah ($11^{15.\ 19.\ 22t.}$ $12^{8t.\ 24t.\ 27-29}$) the musicians are already regarded as Levites. This is true throughout Chronicles, and here indeed they not only no longer rank below Levites, but they are the highest class of Levites. By the time of Agrippa II. (A.D. 50) this attitude of exaltation of the singers at the expense of the Levites in general reached a climax, so that at that time the singers became a separate class, entitled to wear linen robes like the priests (Jos. *Ant.* XX. ix. 6).

Door-keepers were the next to be included as Levites, as shown by 1 Ch 9^{26} $15^{18.\ 23t.}$ 23^{3-5}, and Nethinim the last. With the admission of the latter, all are alike; Levites are Nethinim, and Nethinim are Levites.

There is no mention in the NT of singers, porters, or Nethinim, as distinct from Levites. At that time, apparently, all Temple functions, outside of the sacrificial ones, were performed by those who were called Levites, *i.e.* the descendants of the ancient Levitical priests of the high places, and of the slaves attached at various times to the Temple by purchase or by capture for the performance of the various other functions, as Philo also testifies.

The Talmud, by its references, shows that Nethinim did not exist in the Talmudic period, but it also shows that the Talmudic interpreters were conscious of the foreign origin of the Nethinim, mentioned in the Biblical books. Accordingly in the Talmud Nethinim are classed with, or even placed below, bastards, and their descendants for all time forbidden to marry with Israelites (*Yeb.* ii. 4, viii. 3, *Kid.* viii. 8, *Yer. Hor.* iii. 5, and *Yer. Yeb.* viii. 5).

LITERATURE.—Biblical Encyclopædias, especially *HDB*, *EBi*, and *JE*; commentaries on Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles, especially *ICC*, 'Ezra and Nehemiah,' Edinburgh, 1913 (L. W. Batten), 'Chronicles,' do. 1910 (E. L. Curtis and A. A. Madsen); H. E. Ryle, *Ezra and Nehemiah*, Cambridge, 1893, p. lvii; C. C. Torrey, *The Composition and Historical Value of Ezra-Nehemiah*, Giessen, 1896, p. 17; Hebrew or Biblical Archæologies, especially J. Jacobs, *Studies in Biblical Archæology*, London, 1894, pp. 104-122; W. Nowack, *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Archäologie*, Freiburg, 1894; E. Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 225, 273; W. W. von Baudissin, *Gesch. des AT Priesterthums*, Leipzig, 1889, pp. 100, 142*f.*; H. P. Smith, *OT History*, Edinburgh, 1903, p. 170; J. P. Peters, *Religion of the Hebrews*, Boston and London, 1914, p. 142.

JOHN P. PETERS.

NEUTRALITY.—The term *neutrales*, or 'neutral,' as technically applied to States and persons, is not older than the 15th cent., its equivalent in classical Latin being *medii* or *medii amici*. The subject of neutrality is one of the most important in the code of rules which regulate the intercourse of nations, and it includes not only principles and practices which are as old as international law, but also elements of the most recent date. The law of neutrality is new in so far as it deals with the relations between belligerent States and the individual citizens of neutral States, whose interest it is to continue their commercial pursuits unhindered by the war. It is new in so far as it

recognizes that certain reciprocal rights and duties exist between warring Powers and States which elect to remain at peace. In the first case the rules laid down owe their existence to the gradually increasing power of commerce; in the second instance we find that modern reform is due not to the self-interest of nations and individuals, but to purely humanitarian and ethical considerations, which themselves are the fruit of a higher civilization and the slow growth of moral sentiment.

The whole law of neutrality is based upon the principle that peace is the normal state of civilized mankind, that war is an interruption of this condition. In early times this was far from being the case; indeed, it was war that was the rule and peace the exception. And until the end of the 18th cent. belligerent States were so much more powerful than neutrals that their right to violate territory, to interfere with commerce, to do, in fact, as they pleased, was practically unquestioned. The ethics of war consisted for them in considerations simply of military advantage. How was victory to be attained most speedily and cheaply? How was defeat to be made crushing and permanent? These principles operated with peculiar severity upon neutral countries. But the military power of neutrals cannot now be disregarded, and belligerents must respect their rights at the risk of increasing the number of their enemies. To this extent the power to dictate terms on matters affecting neutrals has changed hands.

The position of a neutral during war is held to be the same as it was before hostilities began—free, that is, from all restraint—except with regard to the observance of certain rules which are regarded as binding upon all civilized nations. Two clear principles underlie those rules: (1) neutrals must be absolutely impartial; (2) belligerents must show absolute respect for the sovereignty of neutrals. This impartiality on the part of neutrals had to be secured at one time by special treaty. But the feeling gained ground that neutrality ought to mean one thing or another, and that on the outbreak of war every nation ought to make a clear choice between openly engaging in war and standing out of it altogether—the decision taken being, of course, subject to future re-consideration. Even after this new point of view prevailed, however, there was for a long time an exception in favour of defensive alliances. A State could preserve its so-called neutrality, while giving assistance previously promised to one of the belligerents, without, as would now be the case, being held a party to the war.

The rights and obligations which are set forth in the law of neutrality are (1) those between belligerent States and neutral States, and (2) those between belligerent States and neutral individuals. The duties of neutral States are to act towards belligerents with impartiality and to acquiesce in the exercise on the part of either belligerent of his right to punish neutral merchantmen for breach of blockade and carriage of contraband. The duties of a belligerent are to respect the sanctity of neutral territory, to act towards neutrals with impartiality, and to refrain from suppressing their intercourse and especially their commerce with the enemy. A neutral State must not assist either belligerent with men, money, or the necessities of warfare. It may not allow forces of either belligerent to pass through its territory or the agent of either to levy troops or fit out warlike expeditions thereon. When by any fault or accident it has failed to preserve an honest neutrality, it is obligatory on a neutral Government to make suitable reparation at the risk of being involved in the hostilities. A neutral Power incurs no responsibility if it allows its nationals to leave neutral territory to enlist in the services of a belligerent. Nor is it bound to prevent its nationals from trading in contraband with a belligerent, but such trade is subject to the belligerent's rights of capture.

The obligation on a belligerent to respect the sanctity of neutral territory implies that his land forces may not enter the country of a neutral, and that he may not carry on hostilities in its waters. In technical language, he may not use its land and waters as a base of operations. When he has failed to obey regulations of a fair and legitimate kind which a State has made for the preservation of its neutrality, he must offer all reparation in his power. It is the modern practice of nations to allow the ordinary commerce of neutral individuals to proceed unmolested, subject to certain restrictions and under rules which may be regarded as having been fixed by the Declaration of Paris in 1856. These rules are: 'A neutral flag covers enemy's goods with the exception of contraband of war' and 'Neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under an enemy's flag.' It is the desire of the neutral to continue his trade as far as possible uninterrupted by the war; it is the aim of the belligerent to prevent commodities of all kinds from reaching the enemy, and any settlement of the question of what trade may be legitimately conducted by neutrals is in effect a compromise between their interests and those of the belligerents. Certain goods may be carried by a neutral to a belligerent only at the risk of capture, these being known as contraband of trade, and it is the practice of a belligerent at the beginning of a war to publish a list of what he intends to treat as contraband. All other goods, in the absence of a blockade, may be freely carried between neutrals and belligerents. Articles of contraband are primarily and ordinarily those used for military purposes in time of war. Articles which may be and are used for purposes of war or peace, according to circumstances, are classed as conditional contraband. It is obviously in the interest of neutrals to restrict the list of contraband within the narrowest limits, whereas a belligerent seeks to widen the scope of the term to his own advantage, so that disputes as to what should or should not be considered contraband are of frequent occurrence. Absolute contraband can be captured by a belligerent on its way to enemy territory and confiscated. But, if consigned by one neutral to another, it is not liable to capture, unless it can be shown that it is intended ultimately to reach a belligerent country. This is known as the doctrine of continuous voyage. Conditional contraband may only be captured if it is consigned to a belligerent Government, or its agent, or to the armed forces of the belligerent. This rule, however, has recently been held inapplicable to modern conditions, and the distinction between absolute and conditional contraband has been practically obliterated.

If a neutral intends to run a blockade, he does so at the risk of the loss of his ship. If he performs what is called unneutral service—*i.e.* if he carries officials in the service of one of the belligerents or important dispatches belonging to a belligerent, or if he conveys signals for the benefit of either party, or aids with auxiliary coal, repair, supply, or similar ships—he is liable to be treated as a belligerent.

There are certain States, persons, places, and even things which have been made permanently neutral, or, in technical phrase, have been neutralized. The ordinary State may be neutral, and remain neutral or not, as it pleases. But States like Belgium and Switzerland have not this freedom of choice. By international agreement they

have bound themselves to refrain from engaging in war unless in strict self-defence, and, so long as they observe this agreement, the guaranteeing Powers undertake to protect them from attack. Thus the invasion of Belgium in 1914 by Germany, one of the guaranteeing Powers, was the immediate cause of the participation of Britain in the European War. The province of Savoy, the grand duchy of Luxemburg, and the Suez Canal occupy a position similar to that of Switzerland. The persons of nurses, doctors, and chaplains attending to the sick during war have also by convention acquired a neutral character.

LITERATURE.—A fuller discussion of the principles outlined above will be found in T. J. Lawrence, *Principles of International Law*[4], London, 1910, and similar text-books. The reader should also consult T. E. Holland, *Studies in International Law*, Oxford, 1898, ch. xiv.; L. Oppenheim, *International Law*, London, 1906, deals exhaustively with the subject.

M. CAMPBELL SMITH.

NEW BIRTH.—See REGENERATION, TRANSMIGRATION.

NEW BRITAIN AND NEW IRELAND.—These are the two largest islands of an archipelago, lying north-east of New Guinea, which also includes New Hanover, the Duke of York group, Vuatom, and many other islands. The group is mainly of volcanic origin, and has several active volcanoes. Large regions are still wholly unexplored, especially in the interior and on the south coast of New Britain. The regions about which most is known are the Gazelle Peninsula at the north-eastern extremity of New Britain, the Duke of York group, and the southern half of New Ireland.

1. Population.—The islands are inhabited by a population bearing a general resemblance to other Melanesians, but probably showing less variation than in most other parts of Melanesia, the more negroid characters of this people predominating especially in the Gazelle Peninsula.

2. Language.—Most of the languages spoken in the archipelago belong to the Melanesian family, but several peoples are known to speak languages resembling the Papuan languages of New Guinea, and more will probably be found in the unexplored parts of New Britain. The best known of the peoples who speak these non-Melanesian languages are the Baining, who occupy the hills in the interior of the Gazelle Peninsula, and the Sulka, living to the south of the isthmus of this peninsula. Neither people differs physically from its neighbours who speak Melanesian languages, though striking differences of culture accompany the difference of language.

3. Social organization and secret societies.—Two chief forms of social organization are known: the dual organization with matrilineal descent, and the totemic clan-organization, probably with matrilineal descent also. The dual organization occurs in the Gazelle Peninsula, the north coast of New Britain, the Duke of York group, and the greater part of the southern half of New Ireland, while the totemic organization is found in the northern half of New Ireland and New Hanover, and in a somewhat different form on the south-eastern coast of New Ireland. These two regions will be spoken of in this article as the dual and totemic regions respectively.

The moieties of the dual region are in most parts named after birds, and the attitude of the people towards the object connected with their moiety resembles that usually associated with totemism. In the Duke of York Islands the animals connected with the moieties are insects, and the respect shown to these animals is even greater than is usual in Melanesian totemism; if one is found dead, it is buried with the same honours as a human being. The moieties have a number of subdivisions, which are probably local groups. In the totemic region the totems are usually birds.

Hereditary chieftainship with patrilineal succession is probably present in the totemic region, at the southern end of New Ireland, and in the north-western part of New Britain. In some parts of the Gazelle Peninsula two kinds of chief are distinguished—one whose business it is to look after the shell-money, while the other or others lead in war—but both offices may be combined in the same person. When these dignities are hereditary, they pass to the brother or sister's son.

In other parts of the Gazelle Peninsula, and probably elsewhere, authority depends chiefly on wealth and position in the organizations known as the *Dukduk* and *Ingiet*, especially the former. These resemble the secret societies of other parts of Melanesia. The *Dukduk* is the more recent, at any rate in the Duke of York Islands and New Britain. It is said to have come to them from the southern part of New Ireland, where it has now almost disappeared. It has two sections called *Dukduk* and *Tubuan*, represented in the rites by men wearing different forms of conical head-dress. The *Tubuan* is always in existence and is called the mother of the *Dukduk*, which 'comes to life' annually and dies again later in the year. The cult of the dead, which is the motive of similar societies in other parts of Melanesia, is not obvious in the ritual of the *Dukduk*, and there is reason to suppose that this ritual may have been derived in part from a cult of the sun. The *Dukduk* is an organization whose members exert great powers over the rest of the community, from whom they are able to extort money and other goods by a process of terrorization and blackmail. Rank within the organization probably depends chiefly on wealth.

The other secret organization, the *Ingiet*, is more clearly connected with a cult of the dead. Stone images, which represent dead ancestors in human or animal form, are prominent in its ritual. Within the *Ingiet* is another organization, entered by a special process of initiation, which is devoted to practices of the kind usually called magical. Their special feature is that members learn how to project some part of themselves, called *magit*, into the form of an animal or of some other human being. The *magit* brings about the effect which the worker of the spell desires—usually the injury of some other person. In another branch of the *Ingiet* men learn how to protect themselves from the harmful action of the *magit* of others.

Another feature of the *Ingiet* is the practice of a rite in which new members are initiated on the top of a high canoe-shaped platform erected on a tree set in the ground with its roots upwards. The initiates are submitted to certain ordeals, and those who fail to retain a proper instructor who tells them how to behave run the risk of becoming transformed into beings, called *tutana vurakit*, who live for ever as wild men of the woods.

Dances in which enormous masks are worn or carried take place among the Baining, but there do not appear to be any definite organizations corresponding to the *Dukduk* and *Ingiet*.

4. Disposal of the dead.—There is much variety in the disposal of the dead. In the dual region interment is the most general mode. In the Duke of York Islands the bodies of influential men are either thrown into the sea or exposed on platforms, usually in canoes. One feature of this region is the use of the upright position of the dead body. Bodies thrown into the sea are weighted so that they will take this attitude, and occasionally the body of a chief may be interred in this position. In the totemic region the most usual method is cremation, but the dead may be placed

on platforms or may be either interred or burned in the sitting position. In one region of New Ireland the dead are packed in chalk in the sitting position and preserved under the roof of the house in which the survivors live.

The people of New Britain who speak non-Melanesian languages dispose of their dead in distinctive ways. The Sulka bury them in the sitting position, but with the upper part of the body above the ground and covered with a tower-like structure. The Bairing inter the dead body, but take no special precautions to prevent its being devoured by pigs or dogs; and, associated with this absence of care for the body, there is said to be no belief in a life after death. The other people of the Gazelle Peninsula believe in homes of the dead in the east. One of these, called Tingenatabaran, reserved for those who have acquired large quantities of shell-money, has an abundance of all that the Melanesian desires, while those who have not acquired sufficient wealth pass to a comfortless existence in a place called Yakupia.

Though the skulls of the dead are sometimes preserved and are the object of ceremonial, there is no regular cult of dead ancestors apart from the *Ingiet* and *Dukduk*. The ghosts of the dead, called *tabaran*, are greatly feared, being supposed to have a harmful influence on the living, but we do not know of offerings and prayers to these beings such as form a prominent part of the religious ceremonial of many other parts of Melanesia.

5. Supernatural beings.—There are beliefs in several kinds of spiritual beings, some of whom are beneficent and others injurious to man. We do not know of any being who can be regarded as a supreme deity except in New Ireland, in the central part of which there is a belief in a good being who made the sky, the earth, and its people. This being is called *hintubuhet*, a word which means 'female ancestor,' and is also used for the birds and other sacred objects connected with the moieties of the dual organization. The *hintubuhet*, who is believed to have created the world, is not, however, supposed to take any special interest in her handiwork. Men have no duties towards her; they neither propitiate nor pray to her, and she neither punishes nor rewards.

A class of beings in whose beneficence towards mankind the people of New Britain believe is called *inal* or *pepe*. These beings live in banyan trees; they are not birds, though they resemble them in having wings. They send men into conditions of trance, in which they acquire new knowledge, or into states of ecstasy so that they are able to perform acts of which they are quite incapable in their ordinary condition. In the trances men learn new songs, dances, and love-charms, are taught how to make certain ornaments, and attain other desirable knowledge, but they are never taught any measures by which they can harm their fellows. Initiation into the cult of the *inal* also assists in the attainment of happiness in the life after death. The knowledge how to become possessed by the *inal* is obtained through a process of initiation by, and payment to, those who already possess the knowledge. If in his trance a man learns a new dance or song which appeals to others, he can sell it, the cult thus becoming a source of profit. It is a question, however, whether this economical aspect of the belief is not relatively recent.

Another class of supernatural beings, called *kaia* in the Gazelle Peninsula and *tadar* in the central part of New Ireland, occupies a more prominent place in the minds of the people. These beings have a local character and are greatly feared by all except the people of the districts which they inhabit, to whom they act as protectors, thus forming a kind of guardian-spirit. It is believed that any intrusion on the domain of a *kaia* or the taking of fruits or other objects by strangers is resented by this being, who thus protects property and preserves the produce of the district for its inhabitants. The most important of the *kaia* are gigantic creatures with the bodies or tails of snakes and the bearded faces of men. They have companions who are believed to be harmful to those who offend the *kaia*. The most important of these companions are dogs with hanging ears and other characters which distinguish them from the Melanesian dog of the present time. Other companions of the *kaia* are pigs, fowls, lizards, snakes, ants, and other animals, many of which are naturally harmful to mankind. The *kaia* not only is able to bring disease upon individual persons, but also may punish a whole community by causing earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, thunder-storms, floods, pestilence, or famine.

There are beliefs in several other supernatural beings which take a less important place in the lives of the people than that of the *tabaran* and *kaia*, or *tadar*. Female beings are believed to inhabit hollows in rocks or trees, from which they come forth in the dusk and entice men, who suffer in consequence from painful diseases of the sexual organs. Dwarfs with long beards and of enormous strength are said to uproot trees from the ground and bear them to their dwellings. Wild men, who have only two teeth and long tufts of hair growing from forehead, neck, and sides, are believed to be derived from the unborn children of women who die during pregnancy.

The people of the west coast of New Ireland believe in men with long hair, in others with a face at the back as well as in front of the head, in others with enormous ears, and in another with one arm of the ordinary length and the other 50 to 80 yards long, with which he seizes canoes which venture within its reach. Still another being belongs to a river which disappears under ground to reappear again at the spot where the spirit is believed to dwell.

All these beings are thought to be still alive, though some of them are never seen by mortal eye. Stories are also told of men of old time who no longer exist. Prominent among these are two men connected with the moieties of the dual system of whom numerous stories are told, all of which illustrate the superior ability and wisdom of one and the stupidity and ignorance of the other.

6. Sun-worship.—In one district of the island of Vuatom there is a definite cult of the sun, the rites of which take place at the southern solstice, and there is some reason to suppose that a cult of the sun may underlie certain features of the ceremonial of the *Dukduk*. The sun is sacred to one of the moieties in the central part of New Ireland, and in the northern part of New Ireland an object representing the sun is burned after it has been the subject of rites.

7. Circumcision.—Circumcision is practised by the Sulka and in Rook Island, lying between New Britain and New Guinea, while the operation of incision occurs at the north-east end of New Britain. In Rook Island the operation takes place in a club-house and is followed by a long period of seclusion.

8. Money.—The sacred character of money, of which there are definite signs elsewhere in Melanesia, comes out very strongly in New Britain, in one part of which the shell-money is called *tambu*—a word which has the general meaning of 'sacred.' This money takes a very prominent place in the ritual both of the *Dukduk* and of the ceremonies following death.

9. Drums.—Two kinds of 'drum' are used—the form more properly called a gong and the drum proper, the sound of which is produced by striking a membrane. It is the gong that is used especially in sacred rites, while the drum proper is used in connexion with dances of a more secular character. The instrument used to make the mysterious sound of the secret rites is the bull-roarer, and the shell-conch is also prominent in these rites.

10. Betel.—Betel-chewing, in which a mixture of areca-nut, betel-leaf, and lime is used, is a general custom, and some or all of the constituents of the mixture are used in magical and religious rites.

11. Art.—The decorative art of the dual region is characterized by the presence of spirals, while that of the totemic region takes the form of highly-complicated carvings, the general motive of which is the representation of a struggle between birds who act as the guardians of mankind and evil beings represented by snakes. In this region bisexual images are made about the meaning of which we have at present no information.

LITERATURE.—R. H. Rickard, *Proc. Roy. Soc. Victoria*, iii. [1901] 46, 70; A. Willey, *Zoological Results based on Material from New Britain, New Guinea, Loyalty Islands*, etc., pt. 6, Cambridge, 1902; P. Rascher, *AA* xxix. [1904] 209; P. A. Kleintitschen, *Die Küstenbewohner der Gazellehalbinsel*, Hiltrup bei Münster, 1906; R. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee*, Stuttgart, 1907; E. Stephan and F. Graebner, *Neu-Mecklenburg*, Berlin, 1907; P. J. Meier, *Mythen und Erzählungen der Küstenbewohner der Gazelle-Halbinsel*, Münster, 1909; *Anthropos*, iii. [1908] 1005, v. [1910] 95, vi. [1911] 837, vii. [1912] 706, viii. [1913] 1, 286, 688; P. G. Peekel, *Religion und Zauberei auf dem mittleren Neu-Mecklenburg*, Münster, 1910; G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, London, 1910; G. Friederici, *Beiträge zur Völker- und Sprachenkunde von Deutsch-Neuguinea*, Berlin, 1912; W. H. R. Rivers, *The Hist. of Melanesian Society*, Cambridge, 1914. W. H. R. RIVERS.

NEW CALEDONIA. — This island, which forms the south-western extremity of Melanesia, is inhabited by a people who resemble other Melanesians in showing a mixture of two main types, one Negro and the other resembling the Polynesian. There is much linguistic diversity, but little is known about the character of the languages. All those recorded belong to the Melanesian family, though of an aberrant kind.

1. Social organization.—The social organization varies in different parts of the island. An exogamous clan-organization, in some cases on a local basis, appears to be general, but there is no evidence of any dual system. In some parts the clans are named after ancestors, and elsewhere they appear to be totemic, each clan being associated with an animal which may not be eaten and is regarded as a father. The members of certain social groups are believed to be able to promote the growth of plants, and this power is associated with a tabu on the use of the plants as food, but we do not know whether these social groups have other totemic characters. Wherever we learn its nature, descent is patrilineal, and inheritance also follows this mode of transmission. The cross-cousin marriage is practised, and there is definite avoidance between brother and sister. The relation between a man and his sister's son, so frequent in Melanesia, takes in this island the special form that a man who sees the blood of his nephew thereby obtains extensive rights over his property.

Hereditary chieftainship with succession in the male line is found, and there is some evidence for the presence of the distinction between sacred and secular chiefs. The sacred chief is highly honoured and is said to be regarded as a divinity.

2. Religious beliefs.—There is no evidence of any belief in a supreme deity, but there is a belief in several sacred beings with special names who preside over the home of the dead or are believed to live on mountains. There is little doubt, however, that, as in other parts of Melanesia, the essential element in the religion of the people is the cult of dead ancestors. Offerings are made to the skulls of dead relatives, and certain men are believed to be able to summon the ghosts of dead chiefs and obtain from them information about the future.

Masks are worn on certain occasions, as in the rites which follow death and after the operation of incision, but we have no evidence that they are connected with such definite organizations as are present in other parts of Melanesia.

There is a definite cult of the sun in which the tombs of ancestors are visited and fires are lighted on 'altars' on the tops of mountains. Rites are performed both at sunrise and at sunset. There is evidence that chiefs are especially associated with the sun, for, when a chief is dead, the people say, 'The sun has set.'

There is a belief in a snake-like being inhabiting a cave, and there seem to be other signs of a cult of serpents, although there are no snakes on the island.

3. Disposal of the dead.—There is much variety in the modes of disposal of the bodies of the dead. In one method of frequent occurrence the body is buried in the squatting position with the head above the ground so that the skull can be removed and preserved, this taking place six months after death in the case of a chief. The teeth may be extracted as relics, and the teeth of women may be sown in order to promote the growth of crops. The dead are sometimes interred in the extended position, as a special mark of honour. They are also mummified, especially among the chiefs of the northern part of the island. In some cases in which the body is preserved caves are used as funerary chambers, but more frequently the body, with the legs folded on the trunk, is placed on a platform in a banyan or other kind of tree. This method, which is said to be ancient, is now in vogue chiefly in the interior of the island. The dead are believed to go to a place at the bottom of the sea, whose chief is represented with rocks in the place of the lower part of the body and with trees growing from the upper part.

4. Culture.—The people are agricultural and practise terrace-cultivation and irrigation on a large scale. There are rites connected with first-fruits, the first yams being eaten by the chiefs. We know little of the nature of the rites performed to promote the growth of vegetation, but, as in other parts of Melanesia, stones are used in them.

A special feature of the material culture is the presence of the round house, often with an image in human form at the summit of the conical roof. The rectangular house also occurs, but the circular form is the more frequent and is used for the club-houses and for the houses of chiefs, as well as for those of the general population.

The people practise incision, the use of the pudendal sheath, tatuing, deformation of the head, piercing and distension of the ear-lobe, and use shell-money and wooden gongs. The human motive is prominent in the decorative art, and the human figure is sometimes represented with a protruding tongue.

A feature of the culture of New Caledonia which distinguishes it from other parts of S. Melanesia is the prominence of the cult of the sun, and this cult is associated with many customs which accompany it in other parts of the world.[1] A few features of culture, such as the use of nephrite and the protruded tongue in the decorative art, suggest a relation with New Zealand.

[1] Cf. Elliot Smith, *The Migrations of Early Culture* Manchester, 1915.

LITERATURE.—M. Glaumont, *REth* vii. [1889] 73; **Lambert**, *Mœurs et superstitions des Néo-Calédoniens*, Nouméa, 1900; J. J. Atkinson, 'The Natives of New Caledonia,' *FL* xiv. [1903] 243 ff.

W. H. R. RIVERS.

NEW CHURCH.—See SWEDENBORG.

NEW DISPENSATION.—The Church of the New Dispensation was the name given by Keshab Chandra Sen to the section of the Brāhma Samāj which remained faithful to him after the schism of 1878. The publication of Śāstrī's *History of the Brahmo Samaj* and other fresh material makes it desirable to give here a rather fuller account of the New Dispensation than that which appears in art. BRĀHMA SAMĀJ (vol. ii. p. 820). For the historical connexion readers will refer to that article.

The subject is one of considerable interest; for what Keshab attempted to do was to create a religion which should be the final religion for all men, and should stand in living relations with all foregoing religions. Madame Blavatsky attempted something of the same kind but on other lines in India about the same time.

The great secession took place in 1878, and it left Keshab with a very seriously diminished following. The New Dispensation was not announced, however, until Jan. 1880, and its significance was not clearly and fully unfolded until Jan. 1881, only three years before his death. At the anniversary meetings held then Keshab appeared on the platform under a bright red banner, on which were inscribed the title Naba Bidhān (*i.e.* Nava Vidhāna, 'New Dispensation') and an extraordinary symbol, made up of the Śaiva trident, the Vaiṣṇava *khunti*, the Christian cross, and the Muhammadan crescent. On the table beside him lay the Scriptures of the four great religions, Hinduism, Buddhism, Muhammadanism, and Christianity. In a sermon he expounded the New Dispensation, declaring that it was a revelation from God, that in it all religions were harmonized, and that he and his missionaries were the apostles of this new divine message. At the evening service the Hindu ceremony named *āratī*, the waving of lights before an image, was introduced in a modified form as a significant feature of the system.

The chief conceptions of the new position are that in the New Dispensation all religions are harmonized, and are so set forth as to become available as spiritual food for the members. The new system is a revelation from God; and it is therefore the duty of all men, of whatever race or religion, to accept it, and to find within its organization their spiritual home. It was spoken of as a far larger and more serious thing than the old Brāhmaism; and all Brāhmas who refused to accept it were condemned as unbelievers and enemies of God. The revelation had been sent by God, the Divine Mother, to Keshab; and, though he disclaimed the title of prophet, he frankly claimed authority in the New Dispensation. He frequently issued in the name of God proclamations in which he denounced in vehement terms the men who had left him. In full confidence in these new ideas he went on to introduce into the thought and ritual of the New Dispensation fragments of Hindu and Christian belief and practice.

The central conception of the New Dispensation has three sources—Keshab's belief in his own perpetual inspiration, the Christian doctrine of dispensations, and Rāmakṛṣṇa Paramahaṁsa's doctrine, that all religions are true.

It is abundantly clear that Rāmakṛṣṇa exercised a very powerful influence over Keshab's mind. For many years he was a strict theist; but he made the acquaintance of Rāmakṛṣṇa about 1875, and from 1878 onwards one can trace a new attitude to Hinduism in his teaching; finally there emerged in the year 1881 the definite statement, 'All the established religions of the world are true.' A friend of Rāmakṛṣṇa had a symbolical picture painted which represents Rāmakṛṣṇa teaching Keshab this doctrine. A Christian church, a Muhammadan mosque, and a Hindu temple occupy the background. In front of the church stand Keshab and Rāmakṛṣṇa, the former carrying the banner of the New Dispensation, the latter calling Keshab's attention to a group of figures which fill the rest of the foreground. They are men of many religions, each carrying a symbol of his faith, and in the centre of the group are Christ and Chaitanya dancing a religious dance together.

While Keshab's teaching and religious practice were undergoing this very remarkable change, another most interesting revolution was taking place in his mind. From the beginning of his theistic life he had been much more under Christian influence than any earlier Brāhma had been. He not only recognized the value of Christ's ethical and social principles, but lived in the inspiration of His character and followed Him with tender love and adoring enthusiasm. He was a strict theist, yet his religious life was rooted in Christ. But during the period when he developed his New Dispensation theory he was driven onward by his personal experience to give a more adequate account of the person of Christ, and finally reached the position that He was the Logos, the Son of God. He also accepted the doctrine of the Trinity. Yet he continued to teach the New Dispensation theory to the end. He was not a systematic thinker.

Keshab's personal power, the extreme brilliance of his teaching, and the faithful toil of a large number of missionaries combined to secure considerable success for a few years; but the leader died in Jan. 1884, and the final outcome of the undigested eclecticism of his new system was precisely what one would expect it would be: the Church of the New Dispensation broke up into sections, and even into fragments, which have never been again united.

LITERATURE.—Śāstrī, *Hist. of the Brahmo Samaj*, Calcutta, 1911–12; J. N. Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India*, New York, 1915.

J. N. FARQUHAR.

NEW ENGLAND THEOLOGY.—See EDWARDS AND THE NEW ENGLAND THEOLOGY.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—See BEOTHUKS.

NEW GUINEA.—It is impossible in a short article to deal adequately with the religions of the various peoples of so large an island as New Guinea, and it is difficult to make satisfactory generalizations, as very few groups of people have been carefully studied, and even about these our information is rarely complete. The inhabitants of New Guinea are of mixed origin and have been subject to various cultural influences coming in from the east, north, and west. The main racial elements are Negrito, Papuan, and Melanesian, with intermixture in places with peoples from the E. Indian archipelago. It is quite possible that there are or were more than one variety of Negrito in New Guinea. The only true Pygmies are the Tapiro, whose appearance and material culture have been described by A. F. R. Wollaston (*Pygmies and Papuans*, London, 1912) and C. G. Rawling (*The Land of the New Guinea Pygmies*, do. 1913), and the Pěsěchěm (*Nova Guinea*, vii. [1915] 145, 233); of their social and religious life we know nothing. With a perceptible Negrito strain are the Kamaweka mountain tribes behind Mekeo, British New Guinea (*JRAI* xxxix. [1909] 329), the Mafulu (R.

W. Williamson, *The Mafulu Mountain People of British New Guinea*, London, 1912), the people of the Goliath mountains, Netherlands New Guinea, and of the Torricelli mountains, German New Guinea, and the Kai, German New Guinea; traces of the Pygmy stock also occur elsewhere (cf. Haddon, in Wollaston, p. 303 ff.; O. Schlaginhaufen, 'Über die Pygmäenfrage in Neu-Guinea,' in *Festschr. der Dozenten der Univ. Zürich*, Zürich, 1914). Of these the Mafulu and Kai alone have been studied; the Mafulu are mixed with Papuan and Melanesian elements, and their customs and beliefs betray this mixture, there being no socio-religious customs which we can refer with probability to the Negrito element. Owing to the spread of various cultures it is difficult at the present stage of our knowledge to determine what elements belong to the different strata, and lack of space prevents a discussion of these problems. A few indications will, however, be attempted. A geographical arrangement has been adopted as being the most satisfactory, beginning with the south-west and continuing along the southern, eastern, northern, and north-western areas, for the reason that the presumably purest Papuan peoples will be treated first, then the predominating Papuo-Melanesians, and finally those peoples who have been directly affected by influences from the E. Indian archipelago.

The **Kaia-kaia**, or **Tugeri**, at Merauke (about 140° 23′ E., 8° 28′ S.) are inveterate head-hunters. All the men sleep in a few men's houses at each end of a village, and there is a bachelors' club-house outside the village; no one may enter the house of the opposite sex. There is a complicated patrilineal exogamous totemic system, in which plants are combined with animals into main and subsidiary groups. Several villages assemble at initiation, bull-roarers are employed, and there are many dances in which masks are worn and animals represented. The bull-roarer is anthropomorphized as Sosom, a mythical monster in the bush, who at the annual festival at the beginning of the south-east monsoon devours the novices but brings them back to life; it is not known to be used anywhere else in Netherlands New Guinea. The youths receive a new name but are not circumcised (R. Pöch, *SWAW* cxv. [1906] i. 899 ff.; *ZE* xxxix. [1907] 392; *Geog. Journ.* xxx. [1907] 616; the system of age-grades is described by H. Nollen, *Anthropos*, iv. [1909] 553).

The **Toro**, who live up the Bensbach River, have totems which descend in the male line; probably they, like the natives of the Morehead River, use their bull-roarers in initiation ceremonies (C. G. Seligmann and W. M. Strong, *Geog. Journ.* xxvii. [1906] 229).

The **Dungerwab** of the Wăsi Kūsa believe that ghosts of men, dogs, and pigs, but not of cassowaries, go into the sky. Grave-offerings are made (*Ann. Rep. Brit. New Guinea*, 1895–96, p. 44).

Chalmers says that the **Bugilai** (near the coast about 142° 20′ E.) practise totemism, have an initiation ceremony, believe in a great spirit, Kaka, and that ghosts (spirits ?) are everywhere. The ghost (*yedo*) goes right away to Bēmor in the west (*JAI* xxxiii. [1903] 109).

The **Masingara**, behind Mawata, have a crocodile-cult. At large hunting ceremonies men dance round two effigies of crocodiles, one of which represents Nugu, whom B. A. Hely describes as their deity (he is also represented in human form), libations of kava are made to them, and they are greased with pig's fat (*Ann. Rep. Brit. New Guinea*, 1894–95, p. 45).

The bush people up the Binaturi River employ carved wooden figures (*udo*) in the ceremonies connected with the planting of bananas. The figures are anointed with oil, food is heaped in front of them, and there is dancing (MS).

The islanders of **Torres Straits** are Papuans, but the western islanders speak an Australoid language, while the eastern islanders speak a Papuan language. There was a large variety of natural and worked stones and carved wooden figures which were supposed to ensure good crops and influence animals and the elements. In Mabuiag wooden human effigies (*madub*) were said to become animated and go round the gardens swinging bull-roarers to make plants grow. Perhaps in all cases sacred words were employed. Many belonged to definite families or to the heirs of definite localities, but certain stones, shrines, or rituals belonged to larger groups. Offerings were made to some of them. Masked dances to increase the food-supply were common. Typical totemism occurred in the west, but had disappeared in the east. Omens were obtained from birds and other sources, and in Mer the ghost of a recently deceased man usually appeared in the form of some animal, that of a woman as a flying animal. Skull-divination was common. A distinction was made at all events by the western islanders between a ghost, *mari*, of a recently deceased person and its later stage, *markai*; the former was feared, but the latter was friendly. The dead were buried in an extended position. There were numerous funeral ceremonies, the most elaborate being that at which several ghosts were dispatched finally to their island home in the west. Certain men in Mabuiag were friends of the ghosts and possessed the gift of ghost-divination. There are slight traces of a former manes- or ancestor-cult, but ancestors were not apotheosized. A high code of morals was inculcated at very important initiation ceremonies, at which seclusion was practised and the lads were terrorized. Ghosts resented wrong done to their children; otherwise morality derived neither sanction nor support from non-human influences. Tales were told of heroes who introduced new foods or a new technique, or instructed people in new ceremonies; some of these came from New Guinea. Kwoiam, the warrior-hero of Mabuiag, was of Australian origin; two emblems made by him were called *augud* (the name for a totem), and were associated with the dual organization. In Muralug Kwoiam was regarded as an *augud*. A family of mythical brothers came from New Guinea first to certain western islands, and then two went to Mer. At Yam two of the brothers became identified with totems, and were prayed to as *augud*; they were represented by turtle-shell images of a crocodile and a hammer-headed shark, under each of which was a stone in which the spirit of the *augud* resided; the cult at these complicated shrines was essentially a war-cult. In Mer the hero-cult took the form of a secret society or religious fraternity of the usual W. Pacific type, which did not develop into a war-cult, but took upon itself disciplinary functions. The sacred men connected with it attained considerable power, which they frequently used for their private ends, and were on the way to become priests. The hero-cults were not an evolution from totemism. A transformation of totemism had certainly occurred, but by a grafting of a new cult upon an old. Nor is there any suspicion that the heroes of the cults were locally developed ancestors, though they may have arisen in this way in their original country. Unless the heroes of the cults be regarded as gods, it can be stated definitely that the Torres Straits islanders had no deities, and certainly they had no conception of a supreme god (A. C. Haddon, 'The Religion of the Torres Straits Islanders,' *Anthrop. Essays presented to E. B. Tylor*, Oxford, 1907, p. 175 ff.; *Rep. Camb. Exped. Torres Straits*, v., vi.).

The natives of **Kiwai** island and **Mawata** on the coast to the west are practically the same people. Patrilineal totemism was first noted among the western Papuans by the present writer in 1888 and by E. Beardmore in 1889 (*JAI* xix. [1890] 297 ff., 459 ff.). B. A. Hely (*Ann. Rep. Brit. New Guinea*, 1898, p. 134) gives an account of totemism at Kiwai and Mawata, which is reprinted in the *Rep. Camb. Exped. Torres Straits*, v. 187 ff. (cf. A. C. Haddon, *Head-hunters, Black, White, and Brown*, London, 1901, p. 101 ff.). On Kiwai initiation (*moguru*) takes place at the beginning of the yam season. On hearing the bull-roarer, all the uninitiated have to leave the village, in order to see the wooden effigies Kurumi, Uruparu, and Paromiti. Large feasts have to be prepared, and, when they are shown, fire is showered on the lads. Various immoral practices are indulged in. Only those who have passed through all the stages of initiation may drink kava (*gumada*).[1] The effigies are used when they are going to fight or when there is sickness; smaller ones are employed as charms (J. Chalmers, *JAI* xxxiii. [1903] 119). The young men are hardened by fighting among themselves with burning torches, which they place previously for a moment on wooden human figures (*mimia*) which are arranged down the sides of the men's house (G. Landtman, MS). Bull-roarers are swung to ensure good garden crops, and wooden images of nude women make sago abundant. Both of these enter into the initiation ceremonies; the latter were described as 'God belong *moguru*,' and one name for a bull-roarer is 'mother of yams.' A wooden image of a man (*uvio moguru* or *oraoradubu*) is used at initiation; he makes everything grow, and presents of food are made to him when the planting season arrives. He is always consulted before fighting, and presents are given him to secure success in getting heads. In cases of sickness offerings are made, and he is prayed to as follows: 'Oh, Uvio, finish the sickness of our dear one, and give life' (Chalmers, MS, quoted in Haddon, p. 107). For further information on totemism, etc., at Mawata see Seligmann, quoted by Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, ii. 29–34. Landtman (*Festskrift tillegnad Edvard Westermarck*, Helsingfors, 1912, p. 59 ff.) has given a good account of the wanderings of the dead in the folk-lore of the Kiwai-speaking Papuans.

The legendary Sido of Kiwai opened the road to Adiri, or Woibu, the land of the dead, a country in the western sea. His was the first death, which was also a murder. His ghost was mischievous during its wanderings, and after various adventures reached the barren Adiri. Here he married the daughter of a man also called Adiri, and, as there were no houses, gardens, fires, or proper food, he introduced them. All mortals follow Sido's road, but may do so in the guise of animals. Some people who have died a violent death remain on the spot for a long time, and their ghosts are much feared. Some ghosts go underground. Ghosts can return to earth; some are malevolent, others are quite friendly and helpful; presents of food are often deposited at places which they frequent and a request is made, but there is no regular or continuous cult. In building a man's house various objects, such as thorny bushes, parts of spiders, bats, etc., are placed in the holes for the piles and in various parts of the structure for the purpose of closing the road to Adiri and preventing men from becoming ill or being killed. They have reference to similar objects which barred the road that Sido took.

Magico-religious ideas enter into all their practical life.

The Kabiri, or Girara, who live north of the estuary of the Fly, are head-hunters, chew kava, and have five patrilineal totems. They pay great attention to human heads, and probably have a manes-cult. At their principal ceremony, *moiiata*, three large named wooden effigies of crocodiles are exhibited, masks are worn, marriages are celebrated, and youths are initiated. The boy to be initiated is previously hidden and at the ceremony is placed in the jaws of one of the crocodiles (W. N. Beaver, *Ann. Rep. Papua*, 1911–12, p. 11; A. P. Lyons, *ib.* 1913–14, p. 100).

The tribes in the deltas of the Turama, Omati, and Kikori are allied, but very little is known about them. Each village has at least one *dubu-daimu*, or house for the married men, with a number of shrines which consist of a perforated board (*agibi*) on which is carved a human face, and to the hooks of which numerous skulls are suspended; in front of the carving is a shelf supporting the skulls. The skulls are those of enemies or of victims who have been sacrificed when a war canoe is made or a *dubu-daimu* erected, their bodies having been boiled and eaten. There are similar but much smaller carvings (*marubu*), from which birds' heads are suspended. An *agibi* probably belongs to a family or clan. Male and female effigies are carved to represent dead people, and are connected with some form of ancestor-cult, as also are probably boards or tablets carved with human designs (MS). One ceremony is described by H. J. Ryan (*Ann. Rep. Papua*, 1913, p. 76).

Namau is the coastal district from Era Bay to the Alele mouth of the Purari River. The people are lusty head-hunters and cannibals. The club-houses (*ravi*) are especially fine, and formerly contained large numbers of skulls of enemies and victims; in a screened-off portion at the end are eight to ten basket-work monsters with four legs and great gaping jaws; these *kopiravi*, or *kai-ia-imunu* ('sky *imunu*'), have names. Before going out to kill any one, the men consult the spirit of the *kopiravi*; it comes out of the *ravi* and causes the canoe to rock if the expedition is to be successful. The present writer was informed that the dead bodies of victims were thrust inside the *kopiravi* and left there all night while the men danced in the front part of the *ravi*. Next morning the bodies were cut up with bull-roarers (of which numbers are kept under the *kopiravi*), and then cooked and eaten. A human victim, a cassowary, and a pig have to be sacrificed when a canoe is completed. The skulls of their own dead are kept in the houses. Totemism existed, but is now breaking up. According to Holmes, the conception of *imunu*, 'the life principle,' runs through all their religion; masks are *imunu*. The carved tablets (*koe*) which occur in such numbers in the shrines in the *ravi* seem to be personal *imunu*; it would seem that they are ancestral tablets, and, if the bull-roarers represent ancestral ghosts, the tablets may be hypertrophied bull-roarers; one name for the bull-roarer is *imunu viki*, 'crying *imunu*.' Holmes is now studying these people, who seem to be remotely related to the Elema tribes, but the *kopiravi*-cult is peculiar to them, and their religion seems to be a combination of head-hunting, cannibalism, and a manes- or ancestor-cult; the *kopiravi* may prove, however, to be effigies of spirits who may be regarded as gods. Chalmers first described the *kanibus*, as he calls them (*Pioneering in New Guinea*, London, 1887, pp. 63–66; cf. J. H. P. Murray, *Papua, or British New Guinea*, do. 1912, p. 178, pl. on 219).

Elema is the coastal district between the Alele mouth of the Purari in the west and Cape Possession in the east. Apparently all the tribes have migrated towards the coast, the original home of the 'Ipi' tribes being on the south side of the mountain range near the east bank of the upper Purari. The initiation of a youth is all-important, since it is on the performance of the instructions which he received as an initiate that the social and moral welfare of the tribe depends, and great

[1] The distribution of kava-drinking has an important cultural significance. It occurs in New Guinea at Astrolabe Bay, Finschhafen district, Fly estuary district, inland from Mawata, at Merauke, and perhaps on the upper reaches of the Fly (cf. Haddon, 'Kava-drinking in New Guinea,' *Man*, Oct. 1916).

reticence is observed about the proceedings. The various stages are marked by feasts, at which pigs always figure.

The first stage is when the boy is about eight years of age, two or three years prior to his entering the *eravo* (club-house) for seclusion; he is then formally taken into the *eravo* and greeted with the noise of bull-roarers (*tiparu*), which he sees for the first time; one is placed on his chest, and he is severely beaten. Bull-roarers are swung day and night till the feast is over. After the lad has entered the *eravo* for his period of seclusion, the clan feast of Kovave is held. Ten days previously a large number of young men wearing Kovave masks announce that Kovave is about to visit the village; they are the sacred messengers of the mountain-god, as is proved by the fact that they do not walk on the soles of their feet. Every night bull-roarers are swung, and all women and children keep indoors. On the great day large quantities of food and pigs are taken to a tabued spot in the bush for Kovave to the accompaniment of the beating of drums and blowing of conchs, and at nightfall the novices are marched there. In the dark a feigned gruff voice assures them that Kovave is speaking to them. He promises to be their friend as long as they observe all tribal and clan duties, obligations, and secrets; otherwise they will be punished with disease and death. Unexpectedly a Kovave mask is placed on each boy's head amid a loud buzzing of bull-roarers; he is then beaten, and all are marched back to the *eravo*. The feast is partaken of by the initiated members of a given clan, not by the tribe. The lads remain in well-guarded seclusion in the *eravo*; they must not be exposed to the rays of the sun lest they suffer thereby, nor do any heavy manual work lest their physical development be hindered, and they must have no dealings with females. When allowed to go outside they are encased in plaited palm-leaves and must maintain silence. There are food-tabus, and during seclusion they are instructed in all matters pertaining to tabu. They are taught that the tribe must take the first place in all their actions, and whatever serves the highest interest of the tribe is justifiable; everything that is, or can be, must be subordinated to the pursuit of obtaining the fittest; this idea is dominant till death. The next stage of initiation is one of greater liberty, but still subject to strict surveillance. The final stage is the *semese*, or warrior festival, which is of tribal significance, and in which large masks are employed. First of all, numerous pigs are killed, accompanied with great noise. Four men wearing Kovave masks arrive from a hill village and receive presents of pigs. In the evening there is a procession of symbolic masked figures from the *eravo*, followed by most of the villagers. The novices and recent initiates man a scaffolding in front of the *eravo* and welcome the effigies with song; armed men in front of the effigies fire arrows at the *eravo*, and dancing is kept up all night. At daybreak there is another procession of human-face masks and totem effigies. The festivities last as long as the food holds out. Only the initiated may eat pig-flesh; others must eat dog-flesh. At the last procession there is no dancing, and all the masks are then burned. The festival has a religious significance to the native mind more profound than it can express to an alien mind; at it friend and foe meet in peace on common ground, all anxious to do honour to their ancestors, from whom come all temporal blessings. The period of seclusion is now terminated, and the initiate can marry and take his place in the social life of his community. The final degree of initiation is the *makaikara*, 'sea' ceremony, which may be clan or tribal; totemic decoration is employed, but no masks. The chief addresses the people, and then shouts to Kaiapo, the god of the sea, acknowledging the indebtedness of his tribe to him, invokes him to continue his protection of their crops and to give them a plentiful supply of fish, and reminds him that the present festivities are in his honour. The clan *makaikara*, though impressive, is less elaborate.

The religious ideas resolve themselves into reverence for certain objects, a belief in the existence of ghosts, and the worship of gods. The name for ancestors is practically the same term (*ualare*) by which all sacred objects are designated. Certain animals are *ualare*, and, as these were never injured or eaten by the ancestors, so their descendants hold them sacred; or they may be natural objects or phenomena. (1) All tribal *ualare* are regarded as deities who in the long ago temporarily assumed human form when they became the ancestors of the respective tribes and at the same time appropriated certain areas for their posterity, which they furnished with vegetable food. Some of the immediate descendants of the original ancestor are credited with his supernatural attributes. These *ualare*-deities are kind and beneficent, and are angered only after much provocation from the tribes, not by individual wrong-doing. There are two of them; the one associated with the sea is occasionally malevolent. It is strange that the inland tribes also have the same ideas. (2) Clan *ualare*-deities are ancestors who acquired their powers from the father (or from the mother—in the latter case descent is matrilineal), who created himself from a natural object or is a nature-deity. (3) Individual *ualare*, unlike the others, are not inherited. A personal *ualare* may be that of either parent or of the person after whom a man is named, or the result of a dream. Every man of legitimate birth has two *ualare*, such as a bird, a dog, a pig, a wallaby, or a tree, and a fish; rarely a man may have two trees or only one *ualare*, as women have. A man should not injure or eat his *ualare*; he fasts and mourns as for a relative when one is killed, and he wears parts of it as personal adornment—which no others may do. It is quite evident that the *ualare* was originally a totem, but the totemic idea has been greatly extended through ancient contact with another cult. Holmes believes that the Namau of the Purari delta and the Elema tribes used to be closely allied, and that the former have a purer and more elaborate totemic cult.

The future of ghosts (*ove*) depends upon the death which the individuals have died. Ghosts of warriors go to the residence in the sky of Hiovaki, the god of war, but can roam about their old surroundings. Those that have died a natural death go to their respective places when assured that all mourning ceremonies have been duly observed. Those that have died a violent death roam about constantly and are malicious. Spirits (*harisu*) are classified as good or bad, and have their respective spheres of action, and thus may be termed gods. The great good god is Harisu; Harohoha is his messenger, and he communicates through sorcerers. The pageant of the warriors' festival represents all the totems (*ualare*), ghosts (*ove*), and gods (*harisu*), but effigies are not made of Harisu and Harohoha. Ualare created the visible world and nearly all the animals and foods. Kivovia created sago, areca palms, and other good things, his son created dogs, and Ruapu the pig. As Harisu is the supreme god of all the minor gods who work for the welfare of mankind, so Karisu is the supreme god of the minor malignant deities. Kovave, the mountain-god, holds the fate of travellers; Hiovaki, the war-god, dwells in the sky; Oalea, a malignant god resident on Yule island, is the god of *tiparu*, the bull-roarer. Saukoro is an evilly-disposed god who dwells in hollow trees. The kindly minor deities seem concerned only with the protection of foods and receive propitiatory worship; thus the gods of bananas are besought to protect bananas from the ravages of birds, and the gods of winds and the sea are invoked before a voyage. Every family of living things from man downwards has its special god or guardian spirit for whom awe is felt (Holmes, *JAI* xxxii. [1902] 418, xxxiii. 125, *Man*, 1905, pp. 2, 17, and MS). Chalmers says that the only guardian spirits of the Toaripi are those of father and mother, and to them they appeal in distress or want by land or sea (probably this statement requires modification), and that in times of great sickness they expel the evil spirits of sickness from the village with great noise and the throwing of firebrands (*JAI* xxvii. [1897] 334). He says elsewhere that the Toaripi ('Motumotu') believe in a great spirit called Saukoni, who is vindictive, steals native food, and kills people. Semese, his two sons, the sun, moon, stones, rocks, and mountains are worshipped; in a small degree they worship dead warriors long after they have gone. Hiovaki Semese, a spirit in the heavens, made the land and sea; to him they pray for goodness and strength in fighting; his sons are Hiovaki and Miai. Ghosts are like men; they live in Lavau in the west. All animals and objects have a spiritual part for the use of ghosts. At Perau, Vailala River, Chalmers saw two wooden idols,

Epe and Kivava, and a large stone 'Ravai' to which offerings are made, and they are appealed to in cases of sickness, 'seeing that Kanitu, the Great Spirit, is represented in them. . . . At Elema the Great Spirit is "Kanitu," at Namau, "Kanibu"' (*Pioneering*, pp. 168–174, 84). Tabu on garden produce is enforced by masked men, *harihu* ('spirits'), whose office is hereditary. Chalmers calls the mask *oioi* (*JAI* xxvii. 329); this custom has spread to certain Roro-speaking tribes, where it is known as *kaivakuku* (C. G. Seligmann, *The Melanesians*, Cambridge, 1910, pp. 299, 300); it also occurs at Hisiu, Redscar Bay (*Ann. Rep. Brit. New Guinea*, 1901, p. 2).

The Mambule (Mafulu) are an admittedly mixed people of Pygmy (Negrito) -Papuan descent and probably influenced by Melanesian culture. They inhabit the upper waters of the Angabunga (St. Joseph River), but they have affinities with the inhabitants of the Chirima affluent of the Mambare on the north-eastern side of the Main range, and it is possible that they have trading relations with the natives of the Waria River. There is no totemism, but there are clans and clan villages which are grouped into communities, each community being for many purposes a composite whole. The villages of one clan have a common chief and club-house (*emone*). Descent is definitely patrilineal. There is a ceremony at the assumption of the perineal band by boys and girls at which the decorated child stands on a dead pig bought from the family by an outsider. Only people from other communities take part in the dance. This ceremony is frequently performed at the 'big feast.' Later there is a purification ceremony. There is no seclusion of boys or girls at any time, no initiation ceremony, wearing of masks, or use of bull-roarers. A similar ceremony takes place before boys and girls may enter the *emone* (but after a girl has received the perineal band she may not enter the *emone*), and also to confer the right to beat a drum and to dance. When a person is dying, a woman gives a heavy blow on the side of the head, and pronounces the patient dead, and all the people shout to drive away the ghost. The body is wrapped in leaves and bark, doubled up in a crouching position, and placed on its back, in a grave in the open village enclosure. Every one shouts to frighten the ghost away, the grave is filled up, and the funeral is over. A mother often amputates the end of a finger for a child. Two or three days later a feast is held, all bring spears, and a ceremony something like the 'big feast' takes place. The killing of the pigs finally propitiates or drives away the ghost. Then wild pigs are caught, killed, and eaten, and the village is swept by way of purification. A chief's funeral is attended with more ceremonial; the wrapped-up body is placed in an open rude wooden box either supported on poles or placed in the fork of a *gabi* fig-tree. In the case of a chief all except two men watchers leave the village for two or three weeks; then they return, kill wild pigs, and sweep the village.

The 'big feast' is held in a particular village at intervals of about fifteen or twenty years, and requires a very long preparation.

Usually a new *emone* is built, and also new houses, view platforms, and sheds for guests. Composite high posts are erected, on which food and skulls are placed, and round the central space slender poles connected by a cord are put up, on which food is displayed. If one does not already exist, they build a box-shaped wooden burial platform on high poles containing the skull and bones of a chief, and others are added to it. Three trees are erected in the centre of the village. The ceremony is very impressive. Two women guests with pigs' tusks in their mouths rush round the enclosure brandishing spears, and strike at the chief's *emone*. Male guests brandish spears, also in silence, and knock down the trees. Other guests perambulate the enclosure. The chief of the clan cuts down the burial platform, which is not rebuilt. Food is distributed to the most important men, and the real dance is performed only by some of the guest men, who wear skulls and bones in addition to feather head-dresses and carry drums and weapons. Various smaller ceremonies then take place. There is next a general distribution of food among guests. It may take a week before the village pigs are collected. These are killed by a professional on the spot where the burial platform stood, and placed in a line. Bones are dipped in the bleeding mouths of the pigs, and the skulls and other bones anointed with them and then hung up. When the feast is over, all bones are removed from the posts and are never used again ceremonially. Some may be hung up in the *emone*, or put in a box in a tree, or otherwise disposed of. After the guests have gone, wild pigs are killed on the site of the burial platform and eaten by the villagers. The bulk of the villagers then leave the village for about six months to make new gardens.

There is no belief in a universal god, but a general belief in a mysterious personage, Tsidibe, who has immense power and once passed through the country from east to west, traces of his passage being seen in strange rocks and stones. He taught the people all their customs, dances, and manufactures, and finally reached the land of the white man; hence his superior culture. He is essentially a beneficent being, but he has no cult. At death the ghost leaves the body and goes to the tops of the mountains, where it exists for ever; it becomes the sunlight on the ground in the forests, or, if that of an elderly person, it becomes a fungus. The food of all ghosts is the ghostly elements of native food. There is no reincarnation. A few special trees and creepers (the *gabi* is one) imply the presence of a spirit. All ghosts and spirits that never had a bodily form are evilly-disposed, and are associated with those who practise magic (Williamson, *The Mafulu*).

The Kuni are a Melanesian-speaking people living between the Mafulu and the Roro, south of the middle waters of the Angabunga. The soul is a spiritual being reproducing the shape of the body and is manifested in the breath; there are no moral ideas connected with it; the object of ritual practices is to avoid earthly evil or, more rarely, to secure some advantage. The ghost stays near the village to see that all ceremonies are performed and terrify neglectful relatives, or to communicate with the living. After some time it leaves the village and goes into a lonely part of the mountains. There is no judgment after death; all ghosts are in a state of discomfort and cold. The dead are buried, and sometimes the village is abandoned. A small feast is held when the bones are exhumed; the skull is usually hung in the club-house (*kufu*) or in the dwelling-house, generally with the tibiæ and radii, which at great dances are painted red and held in the hand; the mandible is detached and decorated, but is taken out only on great occasions. Other bones are worn by the widow. At great dances the skull and bones of some great ancestor may be worn, though the feast is not given in his honour. At the great feast in honour of the dead, 'objects of abstinence' are washed in the blood of a pig reared by the family concerned. The dead are invoked to send good hunting and fishing, and for this reason ancestors' names are remembered. There is no trace of a supreme spirit or creator, but there are various spirits which produce earthquakes, cause mists to rise, frighten people in the bush, and so forth; these are not ghosts but true spirits. They have definite abodes, generally under great stones; certain women have converse with them. Besides these there are the *ivikála*, who are known to the Mekeo and Roro and to two other (Papuan-speaking) peoples. They are merged with the animal, tree, stone, etc., which they occupy. Their only cult is in the avoidance of uttering their name, though this rule is readily broken if things go wrong. When the *ivikála* is a tribal one, it must not be killed or injured. Every group of villages, or even a single village, has its special *ivikála*. Sometimes an

ivikála is attached to any spot like a rock or hole, and people must be silent in its proximity; some are wild dogs or reptiles inhabiting villages. Their origin is ascribed to Oveló́a, who also caused men to arise from the bowels of the earth. Allied to these are the spirits of stone dishes of unknown origin. Finally, there are *káfu*, any object which a given sub-tribe, village, family, or even individual, has chosen as a witness of the truth of a statement. That of the sub-tribes is inherited; sometimes the family or individual one is chosen, but the personal *káfu* does not affect that of the village or sub-tribe. *Káfu* demands silence on its name; it is insulted by being named in its presence or outside its territory. *Káfu* may be a relic of totemism, since certain sub-tribes are often called by its name. The use of *káfu* to affirm the truth of a statement seems Papuan in origin, like that of *ivikála*, and has not yet been traced to the coast (V. M. Egidi, *Anthropos*, viii. [1913] 202).

Very little can be said about the religion of the western Papuo-Melanesians, who extend from Cape Possession to Mullins Harbour. In the most westerly tribes, the **Roro** and **Mekeo**, traces of totemism seem to persist in the badges (*oava*) of the exogamous patrilineal clans; there are club-houses analogous to those of the Elema but without ritual objects, and there are no initiation ceremonies.

A different cultural element is marked by the open ceremonial platforms (*dubu*) which are found among the **Motu** and allied tribes who extend from Redscar Bay to Kapakapa, being best developed among the Sinaugolo, etc., some distance inland from Kapakapa. These people state that they came with a *dubu* post from Mt. Tabogoro, a spur of the main range. The *tabu* is a very important feast in which the whole countryside participates; generally a new *dubu* is built for it; unmarried girls dance on a special platform. The *dubu* has a close association with ghosts, who visit it at feasts to eat the shadow of the food. There were no skull trophies in this area.

The district from **Hood Peninsula to Aroma** is characterized by steeple-houses (*koge*), on which or on platforms skulls were hung, and probably ghosts were connected with them. The house may decay, and then its platform serves as a *dubu*, on which at the *kapa* feast recently tatued nubile girls mount, doff their petticoats, and are anointed with oil. The girls cut up yams and pelt the crowd with areca nuts, and drums are beaten by women on the *dubu*. It is solely a women's ceremony, one object of which is to bring good luck to the gardens (R. E. Guise, *JAI* xxviii. [1899] 214; Haddon, *Head-hunters*, p. 217).

There is a general uniformity in the religious beliefs of all these people. The Roro dead are buried with the head towards the rising sun, but on Yule Island with the feet towards Mt. Yule. The ghosts frequent the villages; if they desert them, there will be no luck, but they may send bad luck in hunting or fishing if annoyed, and they are then conjured out of the village. They reside in the bush behind Cape Possession; on their way they are intercepted by an evil spirit like fire, who asks if their ears and nose have been pierced and how death occurred (Seligmann, pp. 275, 303, 310). Koita ghosts (*sua*) go to a mountain, Idu, their legendary home, whence they quickly return with other ghosts to carry away the *sua* of objects which the dead man cared for in this life. They live for a long time, but gradually weaken and cease to exist as they are forgotten on earth. They frequently return to the village, showing little benevolence, but punishing any neglect of funeral rites or infringement of tribal custom. Only the Sinaugolo invoke their ancestors. Everywhere there are malicious spirits, most of whom inhabit definite areas. All the heavenly bodies are more or less venerated; people 'yell' only for the new moon at Port Moresby (*ib.* pp. 183–193).

The **Northern Massim** of the Trobriands, Woodlarks, etc., have been strongly influenced from the east; they are not cannibals, and have a royal family in each district or island. The following account of the Trobriands may be taken as typical. There is a system of linked totems for each of the four clans: a bird is of supreme importance, with which are linked a four-footed vertebrate, a fish, and a plant, and various less important birds. There is no snake-totem. There is no physical or psychical resemblance to the totem, nor is it omen-giving. The usual tabus are more or less in force, but a man may fight another with the same totem. The clans are matrilineal, but the father's totem is regarded, and marriage is not permitted into the father's clan. The dead are buried; after some time the skeleton is exhumed, and a chief's skull is made into a lime-pot by his children, which they and the widows may use. When certain relatives of a dead chief die, an arm bone is removed and made into a lime-spatula; other bones may be worn. The ghosts of the Trobriand islanders go to Tuma, a small island to the north-west, where they descend to the under world presided over by Topileta, a gigantic tatued man; he causes earthquakes, and, when he becomes old, makes medicine which restores to youth himself, his wife, and his children. Opinion is divided as to whether pigs, dogs, and all birds have a soul as well as men. The breath accompanies the ghost to Tuma, and possibly the shadow. The soul can leave the body without death ensuing. Ghosts visit a feast held ten months after death, and food is sometimes specially cooked for them at this feast, but they are not summoned to it. The four clans were sent to the upper world at Tuma by Topileta, as people increased too rapidly; each ancestor came with his totem-animals. The earlier people built houses and made gardens, but had no yams and apparently no pottery; Topileta told the clans to bring these (*ib.* pp. 7, 677–691, 719, 733–735).

The conditions at **Milne Bay** somewhat resemble those of Bartle Bay, but there are no initiation ceremonies for boys or girls. The corpse is placed in a squatting position in a grave, which is roofed over with planks and earth; it faces east, otherwise the ghost would not be able to reach the other world. Funeral feasts take place monthly for about a year; at the last great feast all the man's pigs must be killed and his coco-nut trees knocked down, and all tabus end. Before this feast (which may serve for several deaths) new houses must be built, a number of pigs are killed, and food is piled on a special platform. The assembled friends have a sham fight, and food is distributed; there is a good deal of dancing, but not on the platform. The coiffure of the dead man, which was cut off and retained by his brother, is presented to the maternal uncle of the dead man along with a pig; the coiffure is burned and the pig singed, and the dead man is now completely finished with. The ghost (*arugo*) goes to Hiyoyoa, the other world under the sea at the head of Milne Bay, which is presided over by Tumudurere, who, like his wife and children, is white-skinned and smooth-haired; he never existed on earth as a man. Many people assert that they can go to and return from Hiyoyoa, but, if they ate food there, they would never return. Cannibalism was largely due to revenge; the victim was dragged to the stone circle of the clan, burned to death, and eaten partly inside partly outside the circle. No one eats his own killing; a killer or captor is under food and other restrictions for a month (*ib.* pp. 464, 609, 620, 632, 655).

Thanks to Newton, Seligmann, Stone-Wigg, and others, we have good ethnological data concerning the natives of Bartle Bay on the south shore of Goodenough Bay. The people are included by Seligmann among the Southern Massim group of the Papuo-Melanesians; they have exogamous clans which take their names from real or hypothetical bush settlements or stocks. Each clan has one or more totems, *bariawa*—a term used for anything that is out of the ordinary run of experience, such as supernatural beings or white men. The totem is regarded as the ancestor of the family, and is not eaten. They are matrilineal, but youths may elect to join the father's clan; they do not marry into the father's clan, and as a rule children may not eat their father's totem. Certain clans have a stone totem which gives strength in war, and near it skulls of enemies are placed. Totems are sometimes regarded as omen-giving. Totemism has a wide sociological effect. Thus the Boianai and tribes farther west know nothing of the *walaga* feast and take no part in it, while the shore people from Wedau eastwards do; yet totemism brings all these peoples into close relationship (H. Newton, *In Far New Guinea*, London, 1914, p. 163). Chiefs possess considerable influence and power; in addition there are departmental experts in beneficent magic; both offices are hereditary and are often combined in the same person. Of equal extension with totemism is the *kimta* bond, which includes all individuals of the same sex and of approximately the same age. Initiation, which is said to have been instituted by a superhuman being, formerly took place about every three or four years; it is now held at longer intervals.

The boys live in a special hut apart from the village for four to six months; they work in the gardens or on the seashore, and are instructed by the old men; there are food and sexual tabus; the food is cooked by their mothers in special small pots, but no one eats the food prepared by his own mother. The day before the end of their seclusion they hunt with the men. Next day they wear a new belt, and a comb for the first time.

Formerly girls were secluded at puberty in a house for one to three months, and abstained from all flesh food. A dead man is buried by his clan on his side with his head (Wedau) or feet (Wamira) in the direction from which his ancestors originally came when led by the totem; upright stones are sometimes placed at the head of the grave. Each clan, group, or settlement has its own grave, so that graves are frequently reopened; bones are not kept in the houses. At Gelaria the corpse is carried to the grave with flexed limbs so as to form a compact bundle; a chief is buried in a squatting position, but a commoner is laid on his side; in either case he faces the direction whence his clan came. Most frequently disease and death are caused by a 'sending' projected from the body of a sorcerer or witch. It is thought of as leading a separate life after the death of the persons in whom it is normally immanent. After a woman's death the 'sending' (called *labuni* at Gelaria) may pass to her daughter or go with her ghost (*aru*) to the other world (it is evidently analogous to the 'soul-stuff' of the Kai). Any woman who has had children may command a *labuni*, and she is employed by any one. Disease is produced by various objects, human bones being most potent, but only the spiritual portion enters the victim. Knots are tied by specialists in the hair as a preventive against charms, and things are tied round ankles, knees, and wrists so as to block the entrance of spirits into the body. The ghost after death 'goes to Maraiya in the south-east, "where is the Lord of the dead Tauurnariri (for Wedau) who prepares the place for each and assigns to each his place"' (Newton, in Seligmann, p. 657); but Newton also says that the ghost wanders around the familiar places for some time after death; but about Wedau and Wamira, when the death-feasts are finished, it goes to a valley east of Cape Frere, the entrance to the other world being through a hole in the ground (*In Far New Guinea*, p. 219 f.). The skin of ghosts is white; the life there resembles that here; those who are wealthy here are so there; they may fight among themselves, and whoever is killed is dead for ever. Spirits wander about at will, but usually favour certain places, as a rule dark uncanny spots. The only good that spirits do is to make strangers fear to intrude, as they are jealous of them. Some spirits do not injure men, others are ghouls; none are good. Incantations are a very prominent feature of native life. Every person, food, animal, occupation, and amusement has its *pari*; these must be used or results cannot be looked for. They are not addressed to any person or spirit; some can be bought from their owners, but not those which are hereditary, and bestow on the possessor a distinct office (M. J. Stone-Wigg, *The Papuans*, Melbourne, 1912, p. 26). In Goodenough Bay a child's spirit does not enter him until he gains intelligence, and the right sort of spirit has to be got into the child and the wrong one kept out by means of special charms and exorcisms. Some say that he has an uninstructed vaporous soul which is in danger of being lost; therefore, when a baby is carried along a path for the first time, the father walks behind and throws down bundles of leaves so that the child's spirit may not lose the path or the child would never be able to speak (*ib.* p. 28). The ghost, *konaga*, dies after an ill-defined period, becomes a spirit, goes into the sea, and feeds on the foam. There it remains for ever (*ib.* p. 27).

The *walaga* feast is the cult of the mango, and is the most important ceremony in the Bartle Bay district, bringing together from a great distance even hostile communities. The name is derived from the great dancing platform built for the occasion.

The headman of the clan giving the feast selects a young wild mango-tree, and he and the men who help him to clear the ground round it are holy; they may not drink or touch water nor eat boiled food or mangoes; these fasting men live in a special house (*potuma*). A temporary village is built round the platform in the bush. The platform is prepared and erected by the fasting men with the aid of the charms of all the medicine-men from the neighbouring mountains, who also extract the *aru* (ghost) of any dead man that may happen to be present in the post (from one a human bone was said to have been extracted). They carry the ghost away and release it in the bush.[1] The tree is carefully cut down by the fasting men with a special stone adze (iron should never be used), and all chips, etc., are caught on new mats. With great ceremony and care the tree is wrapped in the mats with the chips and fallen leaves, carried to the *potuma*, and later tied to the central pole of the platform; no part of it may ever touch the ground. Things belonging to a dead man may be hung on the pole above the tree. Guests arrive bringing pigs. If one brings five pigs, this is called a mango, and a small mango-tree is cut down. Dancing and singing continue all night. At daylight the pigs are killed, being speared as slowly as possible so that the maximum amount of squealing takes place. The mango-tree must hear their cries, smell the burning fat, and know that blood has been poured out. Otherwise the crops will fail, the fruit-trees be barren, the pigs will not be productive, and even women will fail to bear children (Stone-Wigg, p. 32). After the distribution of food the guests disperse. The following day the mango-sapling is taken down, wrapped up in mats, and hung in the roof of the *potuma*. After an interval of many months it is removed and carried with great ceremony to the centre of the temporary village. A certain man cuts green mangoes in pieces and puts them in the mouths of the fasting men, who chew and spit the fragments in the direction of the setting sun so that 'the sun should carry the mango bits over the whole country and every one should know.' A piece of the tree is cut off and burned with the chips, etc. The mango-tree is again wrapped up and carried to the house of the head man. It is brought out and exhibited at intervals, and a piece broken off and burned on each occasion till it is totally destroyed. Then this community may have a new *walaga*, but another community may have a *walaga* in the meantime.

The significance of this ceremony is not yet fully

[1] To the east of Bartle Bay bull-roarers, used at no other time, are said to be swung by the fasting men all the time the posts are being stepped.

understood; in some ill-defined way it is associated with the ghosts of the dead.

'It seems that in some way the *walaga* is specially the finale for all death feasts, and the idea is that the spirits of the dead should be gratified by knowing that all duties have been performed. If not, they would take revenge . . . yet the spirits of the dead do not seem to be present' (Newton, in Seligmann, p. 651).

Stone-Wigg relates that a long time ago, when human victims were offered, Dabedabe was born; all his brothers and sisters were pigs; he persuaded people to substitute pigs for human victims. Since his death his spirit can be passed by ceremonies and incantations into a mango-tree selected for the purpose. It is by no means evident why a mango-tree should be sacred, for, though mangoes are a common food and much liked, they are not sacred in any way or connected with garden magic. There may have been some connexion between this ceremony and the *barlum* and allied feasts, but, if so, the *walaga* has been subject to other cultural influences; that this is probable is indicated by the frequent occurrence of stone monuments in this part of Goodenough Bay. These consist of stone circles and lines of stones; the former were mainly the meeting-place of the old men, which no woman might approach. Some at Wamira were certainly used during cannibal feasts. The body was cut up in the circle, washed at the shore, and cooked and eaten in the circle. At Wedau the stone circles do not seem to have had much significance, and cannibal feasts were not held in them. In all the villages are stones which are reverenced and may not be moved. In the Boianai villages many are carved; their presence ensures success to all garden work, a plentiful supply of food, and happiness to the people. No one knows their origin. Stones in and near houses have an influence on life, health, and prosperity (Seligmann, pp. 451, 465 ff.).

There is an overlapping of Papuan and Melanesian peoples at Cape Nelson. The **Kworafi**, or **Korapi**, have patrilineal totemism (Pöch, *ZE* xxxix. 389); they are the southernmost representatives of the Papuan-speaking Binandeli ('Orokaivas'), who extend thence to the Mamba River and some 20 to 30 miles inland (Murray, *Papua, or British New Guinea*, pp. 98, 108). The **Kubiri** are also totemic, but a departure from typical totemism is shown by W. M. Strong's statement, 'The crocodile is a totem and its intercession is sought by placing food in the rivers for it to eat' (*ap.* Seligmann, p. 744).

The cult of a mythical snake, Baigona, which is supposed to live on Keroro (Mt. Victory), has recently spread to the coast, mainly to the west and especially up the rivers of the Kumusi and Mambare Divisions. The authorized practitioners, *baigona*, claim to have control of rain, practise massage, employ two drugs, and regulate the affairs of the natives; snakes and certain reptiles may not be killed (*Ann. Rep. Papua*, 1911, p. 139, 1912, pp. 14, 129, 134, 1913, p. 152; Murray, p. 38). Sir William Macgregor says:

'In many places no native will kill a snake. Evidently snake cult is an ancient form of veneration and worship connected with ancestors over a large area of British New Guinea' (*Ann. Rep. Brit. New Guinea*, 1898, p. 47).

The *thaw* ceremony is common to the **Koko** of the Yodda valley of the head waters of the Mamba River and neighbouring tribes of the Kumusi watershed, Orokaiva mountains, and almost to the coast.

The ceremony takes place at considerable intervals, and boys and girls are initiated at the same time, having been previously secluded in houses built for them in the bush. During the preparations trees are pulled down by the hunters of wild pigs, and bull-roarers are swung, and the children are told that this is the work of ghosts. Visitors attend from far and near. On the night of the ceremony all lights are put out, and the men, wearing huge head-dresses of feathers and frames of pigs' teeth over their faces, enter the village square and kneel in front of the large central scaffolding. The candidates are brought in from the bush with yells and shrieks, men seize the lads, run up and down the village with them, and throw them on the scaffolding, the women following with waving spears, and all uttering cries and yells. The boys try to climb up the scaffolding, but are repeatedly hauled down. Sometimes a man will rush at the boys, swinging his clubs and shouting, 'I am the ghost.' Among other tortures the boys are drenched with cold water. Towards the end of the night the girls are put through a similar performance, though they are treated much less roughly. Immediately after daybreak boys and girls are completely covered with hoods of bark-cloth. The boys are told to turn their backs, and the men pull down trees with lianas, which is said to have been done by the ghosts. After this bull-roarers are brought out for the first time, and the lads are told that the ghosts are present. The men shout, 'Do not kill my child!' and utter the names of the ghosts, who apparently are dead ancestors. The hoods are next drawn off and the bull-roarers are shown and explained to the initiates. The bull-roarers are taken into the bush, and pigs and other food brought into the village; after the feast the guests disperse. The initiates return to the initiation houses in the bush, where they must remain in close confinement for a month; large smoky fires are kept burning under the floor to make them sweat profusely; they are not permitted to talk much, and then only in a low voice. Should a boy happen to drop taro through the floor, he would be killed (the mother would know of the death only when the lads returned home, and she would not be permitted to make any comment). Instruction is given of a moral nature and relating to the ordinary occupations of life.

It is stated that one-holed flutes are played by the girls (?) in the bush after their initiation. They are blown in pairs, a long one about 5 ft. in length and a shorter one.[1] Extreme care is taken of the bull-roarers; should one break and a chip strike any one, that person, when next he goes hunting or fighting, will be wounded in the spot where he was struck by the bull-roarer; among the tribes on the lower Kumusi, if a bull-roarer strikes any one, he will die. It is strongly impressed on all the uninitiated that the noise made by the bull-roarers is really emitted by a ghost (E. W. P. Chinnery and W. N. Beaver, *JRAI* xlv. [1915] 69 ff.). According to Murray (p. 105), the Koko and allied tribes are cannibals and physically of the mountain type; they differ in appearance and language from the Binandeli-speaking natives of the plain. Chinnery and Beaver say that they differ very little from the rest of the 'Orokaiva' tribes of the Kumusi Division.

The *balum*-cult has been described by Lehner for the **Bukaua**, who live on the north coast of Huon Gulf, and by Schellong and Zahn for the **Jabim** about Finschhafen, whose area adjoins that of the Bukaua. They are closely allied Melanesian-speaking tribes. Among the Bukaua the term *balum* includes: (1) the secret cult of an uncanny being to whom are attributed geographical catastrophes, and who personified is regarded as the ancestor of a village kin called after it, women being told that it is a greedy monster and must be bought off by fat pigs; (2) the bull-roarer, which produces the voice of the spirit; and (3) the ghosts of those who have been long dead.

(1) The *balum* circumcision feast is held at intervals of ten to eighteen years in the country of the Bukaua and Jabim, and between times among the hinterland Kai and the Tami islanders. The preparations are lengthy, as great numbers of people come from far and near to the feast.

The special house (*lum*) for the candidates is erected in the village, which the women have to leave (the Jabim build it in the bush); dogs' and pigs' blood and chips of various woods are placed in the holes for the posts. Boys in the *lum* have to abstain from certain food for three to five months and spend their time making mats and flutes. On the day of circumcision with great noise and swinging of bull-roarers the boys are conducted to the *balum* hut; this is a long gradually decreasing hut, the roof-pole of which is a complete areca-palm, the roots representing the head and hair of the *balum* monster and the crown of leaves its tail; the jaws are closed with mats on which a grotesque face is painted. Each boy is struck on the brow and under the chin with a bull-roarer to make him keep silence before the uninitiated, talk sense, show hospitality, act properly, etc. As the boys are dragged into the hut, men squatting on each side emit growls, and in this way the boys are swallowed

[1] Similar flutes have been seen at Sangara, near Mt. Lamington, and on the Upper Waria, where they are regarded as intensely sacred and on no account to be seen by women and children.

by a roaring monster. The circumcision is accompanied by the booming of bull-roarers and the noise of bamboo flutes. Here the boys remain for two or three months in total seclusion from women; they amuse themselves by playing flutes, and are instructed in tribal and personal conduct by the old men. Among the Jabim, when the women return to the village, the boys go to large huts in the bush for about three months, play flutes, and do plait-work and carving; they must not be seen by women, who sound bamboo slit gongs to warn the boys of their approach (O. Schellong, *AE* ii. [1889] 158).

(2) There are various kinds of bull-roarers (*balum li*), some being wonderfully decorated. Some at least of the designs are symbolic and convey warnings or illustrate certain aspects of the cult. They are divided into 'ruling' and 'serving'; each village clan has one of the former and several of the latter. Ruling bull-roarers bear the names of prominent dead men whose characteristics they recall; they are carefully handed down through generations; the name is often used as a war-cry, in pig-catching, in the girls' ceremony, etc. Less respected but also guarded from women's sight are the serving bull-roarers, which also are named after the dead but concern only their descendants. A third class are those bull-roarers with a high tone; they are the wives of the first class. Very small bull-roarers are worn as ornaments by the chief men at the *balum* feast.

(3) There is a belief in a soul (*katu*), which is a sort of independent spiritual principle that can leave the body, as in sleep, and to which clairvoyance is attributed. At death the *katu* become ghosts (*ngalau*), which at any time may assume any form and behave as if alive; finally, they become *balum*, which mostly have hostile relations with the living, but may be pacified by offerings. These natives feel beset by the *balum*, and their whole life is dominated by the fear of them. The *balum* cult thus combines the initiation of the youth into the society of the adult men with the recognition of his kinship with the dead, his death to the old order and new birth into a higher social status being symbolized by his being swallowed by a monster who is the ancestor of the village kin. The prominence and symbolism of the bull-roarer are very noticeable features in the cult, and the playing of flutes by the initiates is also noteworthy. These are of two kinds, which are spoken of as husband and wife, and must not be seen and should not be heard by women. The dead are buried, but respected persons may be mummified, and the skull and some bones may be kept for some time. Every dead Jabim man of repute has a bull-roarer buried with him. Ghosts are not always harmful but may help the living, especially in gardening and hunting, and for this purpose offerings of food are made to them. There are traces of totemism among the Jabim and Bukaua. Certain families believe that some animal was formerly among their kindred, and they reverence it on that account; if it was a pig, *e.g.*, they avoid pork; or they may spare the crocodile because their tribal ancestress gave birth to one together with their ancestors. The Jabim and Bubui folk believe that any one having an animal relative on the mother's side is changed into that animal after death; if another man kills such an animal, its human relatives must avenge it by fighting him in pretence, and must give a funeral feast in its honour. Closely akin to totemism is the watchword of each village clan, which, if an animal, is generally the same as the totem; protest is made if it is killed, and compensation may even be demanded (*ib.* p. 145; K. Vetter, quoted by Krieger, *Neu-Guinea*, p. 183; H. Zahn, in Neuhauss, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea*, iii. 287; S. Lehner, *ib.* p. 395).

The Tami islanders to the north of Huon Gulf are much purer Melanesians than their neighbours on the mainland, and in their ceremonies they employ masks which elsewhere are met with only west of Cape König Wilhelm. Men have two souls, both resident in the abdomen. The 'long soul' wanders when a man sleeps, and is tantamount to our consciousness. At death it immediately leaves the body, appears to relatives, and goes to Magilep in N.W. New Britain (whence a migration probably took place to Tami). The 'short soul' at first remains near the body, and then goes underground to Lamboam, but returns to frighten the sorcerer who caused the death. After two or three years there is a great feast and dance, at which numerous ghosts enjoy the 'soul' of the good things. They recognize two kinds of supernatural beings—*buwun* and *kani*. The *buwun* are spirits who live on an uninhabited island; they have a fish body and human head, but are invisible. Epidemics and earthquakes are ascribed to them. They are not worshipped except in the event of a great epidemic, when a miserable pig or dog is sacrificed. One of these spirits is Anuto, a good being, who created the sky, earth, and mankind. He sits on the earth and holds up the sky with his head. Apparently no regard is paid to him except that at feasts or markets the first portion is offered to him and put in a basket to the east. Anuto eats the soul of the offering; the people eat the rest. Bamler compares him with the Jabim 'Anuto,' Siassi 'Anutuat,' and the South Sea 'Atua,' god. The sun and moon were formerly addressed as 'lord.' The *kani* is the *balum* of the mainland, and comprises the spirit invoked at circumcision (under this head belong the mask-spirits called *tago* on Tami and Siassi and at Magilep, and the wooden masks [*ngaboyo*] of Rook Island). The *kani*, which is represented by the bull-roarer, is described as a dragon invisible to women and is spoken of as 'lord.' This cult is the only public religious ceremony, and the Tami say that it was forced on them by the mainlanders, apparently about 150 years ago, before which time circumcision was not practised. They say that it spread to Siassi and Rook Island and to Magilep. Details of the *kani* festival are essentially similar to those of the *balum* festival. The oldest religious stratum appears to be that of the *tago*, who were created with their respective families or clans, those of the oldest families being most respected. Some of the *tago*, who are addressed as 'lord,' are said to live in holes in the island, but others come from other islands. *Tago* are represented by masks which are kept in a hut in the bush where women and children may not go. When men dressed in the *tago* masks appear, a tabu is placed on all coconuts for one year, during which time there must be peace; this happens about every ten or twelve years (G. Bamler, in Neuhauss, iii. 489).

The Kai are a people of mixed Pygmy and Papuan descent, who speak a Papuan language and inhabit the Rawlinson and Sattelberg ranges north of Huon Gulf. They may be regarded as very primitive, and, as they have been carefully investigated by Keysser, they form a good basis for comparison with other peoples. A long hut, which tapers away behind, is built for the circumcision festival in the jungle, and no woman may go near it. It represents Ngosa ('grandfather'), a monster who swallows the novice. In it are kept bull-roarers (*ngosa*), which are employed in the ceremony; only the old men have access to them. The Kai are very religious, their whole thought and conduct being influenced by animism. Everything has a soul-stuff completely permeating it; a shaving of wood has the soul-stuff of the tree, a stone that of the parent rock; so also a man's nails, hair, etc., that of the man. A man's glance, voice, and even his name also contain his soul-stuff; thus the names of people long dead are still potent in charms. The powers or qualities of a person or thing belong

also to his soul-stuff, and may be transmitted by contact with or without the agency of words of charming—*e.g.*, yam or taro stones with which shoots are touched before planting out, or the bone of the forearm of a dead hunter. The soul-stuff can be isolated or withdrawn. There is a mutual attraction between allied soul-stuffs; thus a white leaf of the size and form of the egg of a megapod will guide the Kai in his search for eggs in the bush. Whatever befalls the soul-stuff is undergone by its owner as well. These animistic ideas affect their whole life; thus certain foods must be avoided by parents. They are further exemplified in love-charms and in the agricultural charms which are employed at every stage from the clearing of the ground to the harvest. Certain games assist the growth of crops: swinging and playing cat's cradle help yams to grow; top-spinning helps taro; and stories of the earliest times are generally told by a few of the older men, but the narration ceases when sowing is over and the plants begin to shoot. The soul-stuff and the body thrive or perish together, but the soul persists after death and is just like the original man. This ghost has in its turn soul-stuff, for ghost sorcerers of the other world can bewitch other ghosts through their soul-stuff, and the death of the ghost follows. A further degradation results; the ghost sinks to an animal, and finally to an insect; with the death of the insect the soul-metamorphosis ends. The death sorcerers, who form a sort of small caste, work by means of something connected with the victim which contains his soul-stuff, but wounds and sickness may be caused by ghosts and spirits—indeed, the first suspicion falls on them. There is great dread of the ghost which has left the body when the man is dead, those of fierce warlike men being most feared, since the character of the man is perpetuated in his ghost (the ghost of a thief will go on thieving). Property, trees, etc., are destroyed at a death in order that the ghost may have these things in the spirit land. A bamboo is placed in the grave to connect the corpse with the upper world, so that the ghost may have easy access to the body. In return for benefits received in the form of little offerings of cooked taro or crabs, the ghost furthers crops and is expected to send good luck in hunting, especially if he was a good hunter when on earth. The ghost takes only the soul-stuff of the offering; the material part may be eaten by the people. If things go very wrong, the ghost is blamed, his grave is knocked about, or he may even be driven away by pouring a pungent juice down the tube at the head end of the grave. The ghost of a slain person is particularly feared, and pursues those carrying weapons smeared with his blood so as to recover his soul-stuff; thus gory weapons are left outside the village for some time till the ghosts have regained their soul-stuff and are then carefully washed before being brought into the village. After the decomposition of the body, the ghost journeys to the world beyond, the entrance to which is the ghost cavern west of the Sattelberg. Ghosts are received by Tulumeng, the stern ruler, who accords a place to each according to whether he was slain or bewitched; every one must have the lobes of the ears and the septum of the nose bored. The life beyond is much the same as on earth. Ghosts have powers beyond those of men, which become accessible to men by means of the names of ghosts or by fetishes which act as vehicles of their soul-stuff; those of the newly departed are helpful to agriculture and hunting. There are various male and female spirits who are invoked to make plants grow or guard the crops, when catching birds, eels, pigs, etc., before fighting, or for other reasons. There is a creator Mâlengfung who has no practical effect on life; after making the world he put in it the demi-gods, or *nemu*; he also made a giant, 'old Panggu,' who, like himself, is partly flesh and blood and partly rock. The *nemu* made men, discovered edible fruits, first planted gardens and made houses, and death came through them. Finally they turned into animals or blocks of stone, being destroyed by a great flood. Calling the *nemu*, to whom field produce is traced, to memory helps its growth. The forces of nature are personified and are placated or even defied. There is no idea of relationship with animals and no totemism (C. Keysser, in Neuhauss, iii. 3 ff.).

At the Papuan villages of Sialum and Kwam-kwam in the neighbourhood of Cape König Wilhelm (6° 8′ S. lat.) there is no deity who must be worshipped. Offerings are made to ghosts at burial to keep away from the village and bring no misfortune on it, and when beginning tillage to keep away harmful influences and protect from pigs and grasshoppers. Offerings are made to the ghosts of dogs and pigs whose death cannot be accounted for. The *nai*, or ghosts of men who have died far from home, are the only friendly spirits; they warn people of danger and foretell events. The only spirit-cult is *mate*, but the people will tell nothing about it for fear of the inlanders who are the real owners of *mate*. The cult seems to be much the same as the *balum*-cult, but the associated circumcision is falling into disuse. A number of spirits are included under *mate*, chiefly the ghosts of ancestors and of the recently dead; of the rest nothing is known. There are various spirits who are mainly malevolent. Nemunemu created the sky and earth (this is now the name for white men). The creators of the world were two brothers; the elder made the mainland and gave his people the bow and stone club, the younger made the islands and the sea, and instructed his people in making spears and burning lime for betel-chewing; the differences in language are also due to them (Stolz, in Neuhauss, iii. 245).

Most of the information from Astrolabe Bay has been obtained at the Papuan village of Bogadjim; all the other coast villages except Bongo are Melanesian-speaking. The corpse is exposed on a framework on which food is hung; that of a man is painted white and red and crowned with red hibiscus flowers by members of the *asa* society. After a few hours burial takes place with grave-gifts; if not buried, the ghost wanders about seeking its old home. The village of ghosts is not located; its inhabitants are still interested in earthly affairs. The ghosts of those slain in battle go to another place and are still more terrifying; they prowl about the village as long as they are unavenged. The song of the *kiau* bird is thought to be the voices of the dead, and it is a good omen if it is heard when making magic in the gardens to get a good crop. The dead help their relatives and are invoked on all sorts of occasions. Great wooden images, apparently of especially honoured dead, are made in Bongu and widely exported. Every few years a feast is held in their honour, which women may not share; if the image fails to help suppliants, it may be set aside. Other spirits are the embodiment of hostile forces of nature, smallpox, spring tides, bad Europeans, etc. There is no idea of a creator. The whole world—mountains, valleys, water, trees—is animated. The existence of totemism is doubtful. The *asa*- or *ai*-cult centres in a poor sort of house in the jungle which contains wooden masks and the ritual musical instruments, *asa*-flutes, etc. Nothing is known about the initiation ceremonies, which take place about every ten or fifteen years, but Biro (*Eth. Sam. Ung. Nat. Mus.* iii. 183) says that they are just the same as the *balum* at Finschhafen;

circumcision then takes place and bull-roarers are used. Bull-roarers, which differ from those of Huon Gulf, are of varied form and decoration; unperforated ones are in common use as love-charms, and are given by the girls to young men. These and other ritual objects are figured by Semayer. Biro states that the *asa*-house was formerly the only place for practising ancestor-cult, initiation ceremonies of youths, and the sacred dances, but that latterly, though not from European influence, *asa*-houses are neglected, being replaced by the men's house (B. Hagen, *Unter den Papua's*, Wiesbaden, 1899; W. Semayer, 'Beschr. Cat. L. Biro,' *Eth. Sam. Ung. Nat. Mus.* iii. [1901] 181–196).

The Monumbo are a Papuan-speaking people living about Potsdamhafen (145° E. long.). They do not believe in a supreme being, or moral good and evil, or recompense hereafter. Ghosts are supposed to live like mortals, and are invoked and prayed to. Images (*dva*) are made of every dead tribesman, as any ghost may do harm if left loose; they are not merely memorials of the dead, but residences of the ghost. Offerings of food are made to them to secure their help, but they are scolded if it is withheld; in time they pass into oblivion. When ghosts have grown old, they die and are changed into animals and plants (white ants, a kind of pig, the *barimbar*-tree, etc.). There is great fear of magic, and many ceremonial tabus are observed. There is a myth of a creator Ombéraman, who was killed by a woman and her parthenogenetic sons; she told her two sons to kill her, and from her and from her blood mankind appeared, but previously she instructed them in making houses, pottery, masks, etc. There are two kinds of dances, 'mask-dances' and 'people-dances.' In the former there is great diversity in the masks; the masked figures represent *murup* who inhabit the primeval forests of the Ramu and Augusta River valleys; women and children may not approach or the *murup* will kill them. Not only are the masks called *murup*, but the name is also given to the long bamboo flutes, women being told that their noise is the cry of the *murup* monster; the flutes are kept in the men's houses carefully concealed from the uninitiated; they are blown on the completion of a chief's house, at initiation of youths, and after burial of the male dead. The dancing lasts for one week, but very few men join in it though crowds of both sexes attend. There are six kinds of mask: three are imitations of the dog, kangaroo, and cassowary, three imitate higher beings who may be connected with the flute *murup*; both groups are treated as mysteries and are all called *murup*, but have proper names besides. The second group was borrowed a long time ago from the Koranduku to the west. Masks, flutes, and small mask-like amulets are provided with a soul by special consecration by fumigation. As having a soul, they are reverenced, sacrificed and prayed to, and treated as patron spirits. They are expected to give fine weather or a safe journey, and to reveal in dreams if fish are in the net or an enemy is lurking. Special masks and flutes belong to each patrilineal clan. The head of the clan that provides a feast arranges matters, but works in a friendly way with other chiefs; his wife may enter the men's enclosure and see the flutes, and all the men present have intercourse with her. From a rite that takes place it would seem that the flute has some connexion with procreation (F. Vormann, *Anthropos*, v. [1910] 407, vi. [1911] 411). Pöch says that totemism does not occur, but there appear to be survivals; he also states that the songs, dances, and ceremonies of the Monumbo came from the low country between the Ramu and the Sĕpik (*Mitt. der anth. Gesellsch. in Wien*, xxv. [1895] 235; *ZE* xxxix. 384).

Up the Sĕpik (Kaiserin-Augusta River) are wonderful houses containing slit gongs, ceremonial flutes, numerous skulls, carved figures, dance-masks, etc., but we have no information as to the cult. On the lower river flutes (*murup*) are kept in men's houses with bull-roarers. Head-hunting prevails on the river and in the neighbourhood; at Watam on the coast, Pöch says, skulls must 'take part' in pig feasts (*Globus*, xciii. [1908] 171). Enemies' heads are kept in the men's house. Reche considers that head-hunting is connected with manism, especially a skull-cult; one tries to get the skull (the seat of the soul) of an enemy into one's power so as to secure its help for oneself and withdraw it from the enemy (Neuhauss, i. 58, 235; O. Reche, *Der Kaiserin-Augusta-Fluss*, Hamburg, 1913, pp. 356–398). Von Luschan describes several wooden images which he calls 'ancestor figures' from the mouth of the Ramu, about 4° S. lat. (in Krieger, p. 498). They are of an entirely different type from the Geelvink Bay *korwar*, but nothing was then known about them. Vormann was told that the images from the mouths of the Ramu and Sĕpik have the same significance as among the Monumbo. They are, as P. W. Schmidt points out, images of the dead and not ancestor figures (*Globus*, lxxxiv. [1903] 111); food is offered and appeals for help are made to them (Reche, p. 358). Reche suggests that the faces and heads on weapons, shields, canoes, etc., up the Sĕpik have a similar meaning, and are, in fact, representations of dead persons or of their ghosts (p. 360 f.).

Neuhauss (i. 412) records the only clear case of totemism in 'German New Guinea.' Around Dallmannhafen and on the neighbouring islands exogamous tree-totemism is wide-spread; there are the usual tabus. If danger is averted or a special piece of good fortune happens, a man utters the name of his totem tree. The tree is that man's good spirit. There are also animal totems. Neuhauss refers to an ancient totem tree on Seleo, Berlinhafen; all the people would die if it were destroyed.

Among the littoral Melanesian-speaking peoples in the neighbourhood of Berlinhafen, and on the neighbouring islands, the dead are buried in a coffin made of areca-palm wood, but the bones are exhumed in December after two or three years with great ceremony for men, the grave being opened when the sun is at the zenith, and the skull and a thigh-bone of a man are kept in the club-house (*alol*) of that division of the village; in the case of other people they are kept in the house or thrown away in a charnel spot, but various bones are kept to be worn. There is a dim idea of reward and punishment for ghosts, and a sort of metamorphosis into fish or pigs. The memory of the dead is often celebrated, and by means of their bones they are invoked to calm a wind, etc. On certain days at the beginning of spring graves are tidied up to bring good luck on sea and in trade, as neglect would bring great misfortune. Sickness is produced by ghosts, who are exorcized. On Tumleo Island a ghost goes underground and has to pay a spirit in order to cross a ladder over a great piece of water; then it goes by canoe to a great river on the mainland, where there are three subterranean cities of the dead. There are good female spirits (*tapum*) who bring good luck and protection to those who honour them and good fortune in hunting; they are so numerous that in Tumleo each village has several, and in Sapi each family has one. The cult consists of keeping the spirit-house (*parak*) clean, and in it are held special feasts with drum-beating and the playing of water-flutes. Women and children may not enter or listen to the music, as the spirit is unfriendly to women, who have to provide it with abundant food. The *tapum*

are the parthenogenetic progeny of a spirit, Mokrakun, who, owing to a flood on the mainland, drifted to Tumleo; she was discovered by the women, but the men appropriated her and built a *parak* for her. The *parak* is a highly ornamented two-storeyed house which contains the slit drums and water-flutes. The *parak* is where spirits, and the *alol* where ghosts, are revered. The spirit- and club-houses are repaired and a festival held before the south-east monsoon begins, this being the trading season. Festivals are held in these houses after successful hunting or fishing. There are various evil spirits that infest many places (M. J. Erdweg, *Mitt. der anth. Gesellsch. in Wien*, xxxii. [1902] 274 ff.; and cf. R. Parkinson, *AE* xiii. [1900] 35, 41 ff.). Biro calls the *parak* '*karowara*,' and states that in one at Tarawaj against the wall were red human and animal images of various sizes and also little images leaning against coco-nut shells; before some of them food was placed. Several of these images are figured; he terms them 'Ahnenfigürchen' (J. Janko, 'Beschr. Cat. L. Biro,' *Eth. Sam. Ung. Nat. Mus.* i. [1899] 45 ff.). On Ali Island curious bored stones are used in sorcery, and on Meta Island, Dallmannhafen, a bored stone is kept which is believed to ensure an abundant catch of fish (Parkinson, p. 44).

As regards **Humboldt Bay**, which is the western limit of the occurrence of the slit gong, Van der Sande states that the people are entirely impregnated with religion. He received the impression that they believe the universe to be ruled by supernatural powers which are feared, and that all feasts have a religious character in so far as they take the place of prayers and ward off evil. Feasts in commemoration of the dead take place in the 'temple' (*kărĕwări*, which seems also to be the name of the spirit associated with it). This building contains the sacred drums and flutes; these are always blown two at a time; it is a religious act and indicates that the spirit is hungry and the women have to prepare food for the inhabitants of the temple (*Nova Guinea*, iii. 287 f., 294–297).

De Clercq and Schmeltz state that east of Cape D'Urville the greatest festivals take place in large buildings, *ruma* (*roemah*) *kărĕwări*, in which men call upon the ghosts of their forefathers to ward off harm from those going on a journey, and feasts are celebrated on starting for or returning from a fight. Especially are they connected with shark-fishing, with which the whole life of the men is bound up; these ceremonies take place only during the west monsoon or fishing season (*Ethnographische Beschrijving*, p. 180).

The coastal people of the **Mamberamo** (137° 50′ E. long.) mostly migrated from the northern islands of Geelvink Bay. They are very intelligent and energetic, and are head-hunters; they speak a Melanesian language. Totemism of a kind is practised. Representations of the totem animals are tatued on both sexes; these animals were in early times brothers of the men. The good principle is the full moon; they pray when she rises for good things; the dead go to her husband and sit with him in a squatting posture as a sign of most blessed repose. Ghosts trouble themselves little about the living, but blood-revenge must not be neglected. The dead are placed in little boats on a decorated high framework, the skull being eventually kept in a little hut in the forest. Squatting wooden figures (*korvar*) are made, into which the ghost enters at times and announces its will to descendants and foretells the future. The July full moon is the time of the moon's wedding; she is then very gracious; at the great festival then held amulets are consecrated. The principle of evil is a spirit, Sinompi (Suangir in the west), who sits under the roots of pandanus-trees and howls; if any one is ill, a picture of Sinompi is tatued on the chest, or in some places he is sacrificed to. There was an old culture-hero who gave laws and founded the men's houses; his laws were disobeyed and he vanished, but he will return some day and everything will be renewed; therefore he is called Manseren koreri, *i.e.* the god at whose return everything will cast its skin (Moszkowski, *ZE* xliii. 322–329). The inland tribes of the Mamberamo are of a different stock and apparently speak a Papuan language. A flood myth is current among them. They have a great initiation festival.

On the day before it is held women and children leave the village, the novices are taken into the men's house and are said to be blind, and the sacred bamboo flute is sounded (no woman may see or hear it or the Mamberamo would again overflow the land and kill all living beings). The novices' eyes are opened when they hear the flute and they now recognize the sanctity of the men's house.

A similar festival is held by all the tribes up to the Central mountains. The dead are exposed on high platforms in the forest; the people fear the ghosts, and a village is abandoned after a death. They believe all nature to be animate: if it thunders, the mountain is angry; when a man is drowned, the river is angry (*ib.* pp. 340–342).

In the Geelvink Bay district a manes-cult based mainly on fear of the ghosts is very evident. Dead infants are placed in baskets and slung on a tree so that Narwur and Imgier—male and female spirits who live in the evening mist of the forest and kill babies because they love them and wish to have them near—may take them and spare the other children. The other dead are buried. In some parts, as in S. Japen (Jobi), corpses are mummified, kept in the house, and later removed to hollow trees. Some believe that the soul has its seat in the blood and that the ghost goes to the bottom of the sea. After death the ghost abides by the corpse and is buried with it. A small wooden image is made and taken to the grave; the ghost passes into it, and is supposed to remain there so long as satisfactory answers can be obtained from it; should the answers be unsatisfactory, it is believed that the ghost has deserted the image, and it is thrown away as useless. These *korwar*, or *karwar*, are kept in the houses or taken on sea voyages, and are consulted on all important occasions. An offering is placed before the *korwar*, which is either held in the hands or placed on the ground. The ghost is supposed to pass from the image to the suppliant, who thus becomes inspired. The mere presence of such images benefits the sick, though they may not be the ancestors of the patient (various authors quoted by Frazer, *Belief in Immortality*, i. 307–313). *Korwar* are generally made of persons who have died at home, but can be made for others, in which case the ghost is called to the village by setting fire to a great tree. The skulls of very important men or warriors sometimes form the head of the *korwar* that represents them; but on Ron Island such images are made of all first-born children who are about twelve years of age or more; they are consulted as oracles (de Clercq, p. 632). Van der Sande (p. 302) says that the *korwar* are found only in coastal villages and as far east as Liki (Kumamba Islands), but he is evidently referring to the characteristic squatting Geelvink Bay images, since analogous images spoken of as ancestor images are found about the mouths of the Sĕpik and Ramu Rivers (4° S. lat.), and in the Arfak mountains and elsewhere in the north-west. The distribution of the various kinds of *korwar* is given by Serurier (*Tijdschr. voor Indische Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde*, xl. [Batavia, 1898] 287). The men's house or 'temple' (*rum sĕram*) is adorned with carvings of human beings and crocodiles; little more is known about them than that the young men sleep there. Van der

Sande equates them with the *kărĕwări* of Humboldt Bay district and the *parak* of Berlinhafen, but points out that the cult has diminished (p. 302). At Doré and Mansinam women holding *korwar* dance to drum-beating until they fall into a trance. Other 'Malay' customs occur there, such as the use of the soul-house, with a bird brooding over it, whither a woman's soul can repair when she goes on a journey for the first time (Moszkowski, p. 326). In Geelvink Bay the moon is believed to be inhabited by a woman who weaves; she is invoked before going on trading journeys. There is excitement over the new moon. Thunder and lightning are stated at Doré to be due to evil spirits; men swear by the sky. A sort of dualism occurs in Manuval, the evil spirit of night, and Narvoje, a good spirit living in the mist; there are also a creator and numerous bad spirits who cause thunder and lightning, storms, and all kinds of harm (J. L. van Hasselt, quoted by Krieger, p. 405).

The Windessi of the west coast of Geelvink Bay generally place their dead on a platform, often on an islet, and omens are taken. After a year the feast of the dead takes place, at which *korwar* are made, into the head of which the real skull may be inserted. The feast lasts for two days, accompanied by dancing and singing, but not by drum- or gong-beating. If in the meantime they kill some one who is reputed to be an incarnate evil spirit (who presumably caused the death of their relative), they do not carve a *korwar*, but make marks on the skull of the murdered man, and have instrumental music. The living have two souls; when a woman dies, both of them go down into the nether world, but, when a man dies, one of his souls goes below, the other passing into a living man (rarely a woman), who thereby becomes a medicine-man and has powers to heal the sick (J. L. D. van der Roest, quoted by Frazer, *Belief in Immortality*, i. 318). In Windessi, Biak, and other islands the bodies of enemies are thrown into the forest; later their skulls are preserved. Fellow-tribesmen are exposed on coral islets (Moszkowski, p. 325).

In the Arfak mountains the dead are mummified by being smoked in a hut. On the highest mountains dried mummies are placed in hollow trees (Moszkowski, p. 325). De Clercq could find no trace of a worship of gods among the coastal tribes of the islands of Waigiu, Salwatti, Misol, etc., but they keep in their houses *karwar* and miniature houses of the dead, at which men only may make the daily offering of sago. In the chief's house are shrines for the ghosts of all the persons who have died in the village. The mountain tribes, however, believe that the ghosts dwell in branches of trees, to which they attach food and strips of white and red cotton. The people of the 'Negen Negorijen' make male and female *karwar*, in which the ghosts of their ancestors are supposed to reside. These afford protection to the households, and food is set beside them at festivals (de Clercq, p. 205). The Seget Sélé at the extreme westerly point of New Guinea bury their dead in the islet of Lago and erect little houses for their ghosts in the jungle, which are never entered (*ib.* p. 211). Wooden images of the distinguished dead are made in MacCluer Gulf; at Sekar similar *korvar* protect property, and one ancestor figure, Aerfanas, makes girls pregnant (H. Kühn, quoted by Krieger, p. 402 f.); in the same place small bowls (called *kararasa* after the ghosts of ancestors who are believed to lodge in them) are hung up in the houses, and on special occasions food is placed in them (de Clercq, p. 462). In the islets of the Angunung district in the south of MacCluer Gulf corpses are placed in hollows in the rocks, which are adorned with pictographs (*ib.* fig. p. 459).

The Papuans of the Mimika River either bury their dead in a shallow grave or place the body in a coffin supported on trestles; occasionally the corpse is just placed on a platform. Only the skull is eventually retained and kept in the house. There is a belief in ghosts. The first peal of thunder in the day is greeted with a long tremulous shout, as is the rare whistle of a certain bird; in a bad thunderstorm the ground is beaten and sticks waved with shouting. The first sight of the new moon is greeted with a sort of bark (Wollaston, pp. 131, 132, 136–140). A 'form of prayer' by wailing is practised during the performance of any risky deed, at the ceremonial slaughter of a pig, and even at the setting of the sun. There are carved figures of men in some villages, for which, however, no respect is shown (Rawling, pp. 135–139, 224).

Wollaston refers to a pig festival, attended by visitors from distant parts, in which women draped in leaves drove two boars into the jungle. The men formed a hollow square in the village; the women driving the boars returned to the village, and, as the boars were being bound, the women set up a great wailing and plastered themselves with mud. The boars were clubbed to death on a large sloping platform, and, when they were dead, the women threw themselves on the dead bodies, wailing loudly. The men also wailed. After the mud had been washed off, playing took place; the women and girls chased the men into the river and beat them without retaliation. A child had its ears pierced on this occasion (pp. 134–136).

No explanation of the ceremony was obtained but it appears to be a variant of the great periodic festivals of the eastern coastal districts.

General observations.—A few generalizations on the religions of New Guinea may now be made. Everywhere man is believed to possess a soul which leaves the body at death, and may then be termed a ghost. The ghost remains for some time in the neighbourhood of the corpse, and, although it may go to an underground world or to some island, it frequently revisits its former home, partly to be revenged on the sorcerer who compassed the death of its body, partly to be assured that the funeral rites are duly performed. If this is the case, it is pleased and may be helpful; otherwise it is malicious, and it may show displeasure if its children are molested or tribal customs neglected. After a long interval an elaborate festival is held, and the ghost is finally dismissed to the other world. During all this time offerings are made to the ghost and it may be prayed to for help; for this purpose the skull is frequently kept and often other bones as well, as the ghost retains connexion with them. The final ceremony is all-important, though the period which elapses before it is variable. It is often the occasion of initiation ceremonies, the idea seeming to be that, as the ghosts, at all events of the recently dead, are present, it is a convenient opportunity to socialize them with those who are being admitted into tribal life. The bull-roarer seems in many tribes to be associated with ghosts, often indeed to be their representative, which may explain its very constant use in initiation ceremonies. The carved tablets or boards which are so constantly found in the 'club-houses' are connected with a manes- or ancestor-cult, as are also masks; but these in some instances may represent spirits that never were men and whom it is permissible to speak of as gods. The employment of masks, however, is limited, and evidently belongs to a distinct culture.

As the ghosts are often invoked to make the gardens or plantations fruitful, so the occasion of the final funeral feast may be taken as a special opportunity for securing their aid. The initiation ceremonies are not merely the promotion of status of the novitiates, but also their introduction to sexual life. Usually the puberty ceremonies of both sexes are distinct, but they may be combined. The relation between human reproduction and the

fruitfulness of the soil is frequently recognized. Thus we find that the 'great festival' is of complex origin and import, and it is not surprising that one or other aspect is predominant in different localities. It is probable that its components were perfectly distinct rites connected severally with puberty, death, and horticulture. That such syncretism does take place is proved by the fact that the occasion of the great feast is taken by the Mafulu to perform minor social rites, such as nose-boring, etc. The various developments that may occur will depend upon the social organization of the people, the different cultural influences that have come in from outside, and other circumstances, among which must be reckoned migration. If the migration has been gradual, a connexion may be retained with the parent stock, or at all events the differentiation may not be great, as among the Elema tribes, but, if the migration has been from afar, as among the Motu, a great obliteration may be expected.

Totemism has a discontinuous distribution, but there is no evidence as to whether it was at one time universal; in some places there are what appear to be vestiges, and in others totemism has been modified by later influences. For more detailed information Frazer's *Totemism and Exogamy* (ii. 1–62, iv. 276–286) may be consulted.

Head-hunting is wide-spread, though not universal; it, too, is the criterion of a cultural drift. Often a victim must be offered at the consecration of a new club-house or for 'blooding' a war canoe. The *kopiravi*-cult of the Purari delta and the *agibi*-cult farther west are special developments of head-hunting, which at present cannot be linked with other phases of the custom. Cannibalism is frequently associated with head-hunting; sometimes it is of a very mild order, being a form of contagious magic; often it is a solemn act of revenge; in some cases human flesh is eaten for pleasure.

The rich religious life of many of the tribes of the Papuan Gulf seems to find a parallel among the peoples up the Sĕpik, judging from their paraphernalia, although we do not know anything about their religion. It seems probable that there has been a migration southward from the Sĕpik, which introduced among other things men's houses and the use of masks eventually as far south as Torres Straits, thus complicating the more aboriginal culture which, we may assume, the less influenced Papuans possessed. The Papuan substratum probably extended all over New Guinea, and in some cases has remained relatively pure even at points along the coast. There is abundant linguistic, cultural, and other evidence of several migrations from Melanesia in the south-east and east. The total absence of masks south of 9° S. lat. and the almost co-extensive absence of the bull-roarer are significant. Noteworthy, too, are the apparently weak religious sentiment of the W. Papuo-Melanesians and the stone erections of many of the S. Massim. The employment of sacred flutes among the inland tribes of the Mamba and Waria, from Huon Gulf to Humboldt Bay, and on the Sĕpik and Mamberamo Rivers, indicates a definite cultural influence with which may be associated the distribution of slit gongs and spirit-houses from Humboldt Bay to Berlinhafen and up the Sĕpik. The prevalence of various kinds of *korwar* from the Mamberamo to MacCluer Gulf is significant; their distribution indicates more than one cultural drift from Indonesia.

A manes-cult is practically universal, though in places it seems to be feebly developed. Frequently the bull-roarer is definitely associated with this cult, as are also masks and ceremonial tablets on which human faces are carved. In the Papuan Gulf, according to Holmes, ancestors seem to have been promoted into distinct gods. Culture heroes are frequently recognized, and there is a tendency to apotheosize them when they come from elsewhere. The absence of a priesthood has prevented the systemization of religion.

LITERATURE.—F. S. A. de Clercq, 'De West- en Noordkust van Nederlandsch Nieuw-Guinea,' *Tijdschrift van het koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, ii. x. [1893]; F. S. A. de Clercq and J. D. E. Schmeltz, *Ethnographische Beschrijving van de West- en Noordkust van Nederlandsch Nieuw-Guinea*, Leyden, 1893; J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, 4 vols., London, 1910, *The Belief in Immortality and the Worship of the Dead*, i., do. 1913, pp. 170–323; A. C. Haddon, *Head-hunters, Black, White, and Brown*, do. 1901; M. Krieger, *Neu-Guinea*, Berlin, 1899; M. Moszkowski, 'Die Völkerstämme am Mamberamo in Holländisch-Neuguinea, etc.,' *ZE* xliii. [1911] 315–343; J. H. P. Murray, *Papua, or British New Guinea*, London, 1912; R. Neuhauss, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea*, 3 vols., Berlin, 1911; H. Newton, *In Far New Guinea*, London, 1914; *Nova Guinea*, vii., Leyden, 1915; *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. [1904], vi. [1908]; C. G. Seligmann, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, Cambridge, 1910; G. A. J. van der Sande, *Nova Guinea*, iii. 'Ethnography and Anthropology,' Leyden, 1907.

A. C. HADDON.

NEW HEBRIDES.—This archipelago in the western Pacific Ocean consists of a fairly compact mass of islands in its northern and central parts, tailing off to the south into the more widely separated islands of Eromanga, Tanna, Anaiteum, Aniwa, and Futuna. The term 'New Hebrides' is often used to include the Banks and Torres Islands lying to the north.

With the exception of the Torres group, all the islands are volcanic and are very fertile and not specially unhealthy. The chief foods are the yam, taro, bread-fruit, banana, and coco-nut, together with fish, and on festive occasions pork and fowls. The population has decreased very greatly, partly owing to the introduction of European diseases, alcohol, and firearms, but probably in still greater measure owing to artificial restriction of the birth-rate. In some parts the decrease has now been stayed and families have become larger, especially where missionary influence is strong.

1. **Somatology.**—The inhabitants of the New Hebrides are examples of the Oceanic variety of the Negro, but there is very great variety of physical type. In some places, such as parts of Lepers' Island (Oba) and Ambrim, the people are much lighter than the average in colour, and nowhere are they so dark as in some of the northern islands of Melanesia. There is also great variety in stature. The people of the interior of Espiritu Santo (commonly called Santo) are so small (3 ft. 6 in. to 4 ft. in height) that they may properly be called Pygmies, and there are indications of a similar population elsewhere. There is more constancy in the nature of the hair, which is nearly always frizzly and black, but examples of curly or wavy hair are occasionally to be observed.

The great variety of population has probably arisen through the fusion of several light-coloured and wavy- or straight-haired immigrant peoples with an indigenous Negro or Nigritic population. In some places the physical characters of the people may have been influenced by later settlements of Polynesians, but the cultural resemblance to Polynesia has probably arisen more through the settlements of the wanderers who originally peopled Polynesia than through the later arrival of Polynesian castaways and migrants.

2. **Language.**—Two families of language are spoken in the New Hebrides—Melanesian and Polynesian. The Polynesian languages are spoken only in certain small islands in the southern and central parts of the group, viz. Aniwa, Futuna, Vila (or Fila), Meli, and the western part of Mae. The presence of Polynesian languages in these islands is probably due to the relatively recent

settlement of small bodies of Polynesians who perhaps reached the islands as castaways, and, blending with the earlier Melanesian population, succeeded in introducing their language. The Melanesian languages which are spoken in every other part of the group show very great variety in vocabulary and phonetic character, the differences in grammatical structure being smaller or at any rate less obvious. In vocabulary and phonetics the differences may be very great, especially aberrant examples being found at Hog Harbour in the north-eastern part of Santo, at South-west Bay in Malekula, and in Ambrim and Epi. The languages of the southern islands differ considerably from the rest, the language of Anaiteum departing more widely than the others from the usual Melanesian character. Variations may be found quite close to one another, and an island less than a mile in length may show two or three dialectical variations.

There is no close correlation between language and physical character. The people of the islands where Polynesian languages are spoken differ little from their Melanesian-speaking neighbours, and the speakers of anomalous Melanesian languages may conform closely to the prevailing physical type. Thus, in Santo the people of Hog Harbour who are anomalous in language are not so in physical appearance, while their Pygmy neighbours speak a language conforming closely to the general Melanesian type.

3. Social organization. — Four chief types of organization can be distinguished: (*a*) the dual organization with matrilineal descent; (*b*) the totemic clan-organization; (*c*) a clan system dependent on locality with local exogamy; and (*d*) a system in which there is no clan-organization, in which marriage is regulated by kinship.

(*a*) The dual organization with matrilineal descent is found in the purest form at Hog Harbour at the north-eastern part of Santo. Immediately north of this the moieties are subdivided into sections, and this is also the case in the northern part of Pentecost, the eastern side of Oba, the north-western part of Santo, and the Banks Islands. In parts of Santo the dual organization is fused with a totemic system to produce a highly complex organization.

(*b*) The totemic system is found in its purest form in Sandwich Island (Fate) and the adjacent islands, such as Nguna, Vila, and Meli. The people of these islands are organized in a number of matrilineal clans, each associated with a plant or animal, the former being the more numerous. The condition would be one of typical totemism if there were not an almost complete absence of the tabus on the use of animal or plant which are usually associated with totemism. The totemism of Santo is still more anomalous. The sub-groups of the moieties of the dual organization are associated with plants or animals, and a person belongs to the clan of his mother, but every person includes in his or her personal name the name of the totem of his or her father. Thus, a man whose father belongs to the kava (*ae*) clan and his mother to the coco-nut (*olo*) clan will belong to the *olo*, but will have the word *ae* as a prefix to his personal name.

(*c*) The organization with local exogamy is found in Ambrim, in some parts of Malekula, and in the small islands (Vao, Atchin, Wala, etc.) on the north-eastern shores of that island. Since a man belongs to the locality of his father, the condition is patrilineal.

(*d*) The fourth kind of organization, in which marriage is regulated by kinship, is found in Tangoa and Eraki, small islands at the southern end of Santo, and in several villages on Santo. It is also present in Malo and Tituba, and in the western part of Lepers' Island (Oba). It may also be present in the group of small islands lying between Sandwich Island and Epi, often called the Shepherd Islands. At present we have no definite knowledge concerning the social organization of the islands from Eromanga southwards.

Some of the islands, such as Ambrim, are highly communistic, and the whole group seems to present various intermediate stages between communistic and individual ownership of property. In most parts chieftainship in the strict sense cannot be said to exist, but is replaced by the status which accompanies high rank in the organizations known as the *Mangge*, *Sukwe*, etc. (see below). Chieftainship, however, is present in the southern islands and probably in the group of islands lying between Sandwich Island and Epi. Wife purchase is general throughout the islands, but in some parts is accompanied by a condition in which the young women are monopolized by the old men, the young men having to be content with widows. Probably as the result of this social condition, there are a number of peculiar forms of marriage, such as marriage with the daughter's daughter of the brother, with the daughter of the sister's son, the wife of the father's father and of the mother's brother. These marriages occur especially in the northern part of the group, while the region south of Epi, with the exception of the Fate group and the small islands between Sandwich Island and Epi, is characterized by the presence of the cross-cousin marriage (*ERE* viii. 425 f.). A limited form of this marriage occurs also at Hog Harbour and on the east coast of Malekula.

The chief objects used in the purchase of wives are pigs, and these animals also form the chief medium of exchange and payment in other transactions. In the New Hebrides mats form a kind of money. In the Banks Islands shell-money is the chief currency, and in the Torres Islands arrows and pigs' jaw-bones.

The organizations to be described in the next section take a very important place in social life, and there is hardly a branch of social organization upon which they do not exercise a profound effect.

4. Religion.—In most of the islands there is a belief in a being who is usually supposed to have created man and to take an interest in his welfare. In Ambrim this being is called Taktak, in the northern part of Malekula Tagar, in Atchin Tahar, in Oba Tagaro, in Malo Tokotaitai, in Tangoa Soketatai, in different parts of Santo Totetara and Yetar, while in the southern islands he is known by some form of the Polynesian Mauitikitiki, viz. Moitikitiki in Anaiteum and Tanna and Amoshikishiki in Futuna. Though these beings correspond in many ways with our idea of 'god,' they are not the object of any special cult, and the people seem to attach little, if any, importance to the possibility of their intervention in human affairs. In some places they are connected with the sun and moon. In Atchin Tahar represents both sun and moon. At Nogugu, in Santo, Totetara is believed to dwell beyond the setting sun, and the people of Tangoa occasionally throw food towards Mata ni alo, 'the eye of the sun,' asking it to take the offering to Soketatai. The worship of sun and moon is said to have been present in the southern islands, and representations of sun and moon have been found carved on rocks in Anaiteum.

Beliefs and practices connected with such beings as Soketatai are, however, of very little importance beside the cult of the dead, and especially of dead ancestors, which is the central feature of the religion of the New Hebrides. The belief in the influence of the dead upon the living inspires much of the religious ceremonial, and in some, if not all, of the islands the cult of dead ancestors forms part

of an elaborate organization called the *Mangge* in Ambrim, *Mangki*, *Mengge*, or *Maki* in Malekula and the adjacent islands, and *Mwele* or some form of the word *Supwe* (*Supkwe* or *Sukwe*) in Santo and the Banks Islands. This cult certainly extended as far south as Sandwich Island (Fate), and was probably present in the southern islands. The practice of the cult is closely associated with the representative of the Melanesian club-house called *gamal*, *khamali*, etc. Though we have as yet no definite evidence of the presence of the whole cult in the southern islands, the club-house which accompanies it elsewhere is certainly present, and the people use kava, which is associated throughout this part of Melanesia with the cult practised in the club-house.

In the Banks Islands the organization has two distinct sections— the *Supkwe* proper and the *Tamate*, or 'ghost' secret societies. In the New Hebrides these two sections are combined in one cult, which has little of the secret character of the 'ghost' societies of the Banks. All the organizations consist of a number of grades, and men rise in rank and social estimation by passing from grade to grade, making payments on each occasion to those who are already members; the payments consist of pigs in the New Hebrides and of shell money in the Banks Islands. A member of the organization may eat only food cooked at his own fire or at the fire of a member of his own rank; this makes the institution resemble the caste of India, which has led European settlers in the New Hebrides to speak of the whole organization as 'caste.'

The chief features of the ceremonial of the *Mangge* of Ambrim are the killing of pigs, the assumption of a new name by the initiate, and the making of a new fire. The leading feature of the higher ranks is the setting up of an image in human form, in which it is believed that the ghost of the father's father comes to reside and care for the welfare of his descendant who is taking the new rank. The image is covered by a house or some structure representing a house.

In other islands—Santo, Malo, and Malekula—an important feature of the ritual is the erection of dolmen-like structures consisting of a table-stone resting on stone supports, upon which a new member stands when he is killing a pig. Nearly everywhere the banyan tree forms a striking object in the places where the ceremonies are held.

Wooden gongs, often called drums, are used in all forms of the organization to give special signals so that all shall know the nature of any ceremony which is about to be performed. In Ambrim and Malekula and in many of the islands to the south as far as Fate the gongs are set upright in the ground and are adorned with representations of the human form. In Santo they are little ornamented and lie on the ground. The shell-conch is also prominent in the ritual, being blown in some islands whenever a boar passes from one person to another. Only the flesh of male pigs may be eaten by those who belong to the organization, and in many islands especial importance is attached to pigs believed to be hermaphrodite.

A prominent difference between the organizations of Santo on the one hand and Malekula and Ambrim on the other is that in Santo more importance is attached to the number of pigs killed. In some parts of Santo a man may have to kill more than a thousand pigs, the number accumulating from the time when he took his first step. In Malekula and Ambrim, on the other hand, more importance is attached to the kind of pig, especially to the degree of curvature of its tusks. In Ambrim only a few pigs are killed, though many pass from the new to an old member in payment for the various objects used in the ritual.

The connexion of the organization with ancestor-cult is especially obvious in Ambrim. Elsewhere the religious character of the institution has often fallen into the background, while the economical aspect has become especially important. This importance has arisen out of two factors: (1) the payments made by new members to old have produced a complicated system of vested interests, a man in a grade receiving from new members a return for the payments that he had himself made in order to reach his present rank; (2) the other mode is by the connexion of the organizations with the practice of tabu. In some islands, such as Ambrim, membership of the organization is the chief means by which a man can reserve property for his own use, and in Ambrim the power of tabu is definitely associated with the ancestor-cult, any infraction being punished by the ghostly ancestors of the tabuer, who inflict some form of illness on the offender.

In Ambrim the rites following death are almost an exact replica of the proceedings when the dead man took his last step in the *Mangge*, and this connexion between the ancestor-cult and the death-rites is probably present in Malekula. The chief mode of treatment of the body of the dead which is associated with the *Mangge* and allied cults is interment in the extended position, often in the house or club-house. In some places only the head is interred, while the body is kept on a platform, and this practice appears to be the representative of an older mode of disposal in which the bodies of the dead were placed on platforms, sometimes in the branches of a banyan tree. This mode of disposal is still practised in some parts of Santo. In one district of South-west Bay in Malekula the bodies of important men are dried over a fire on a frame-work inside the house. After a time the bones are thrown away except the skull, which is taken to the club-house. It is covered with plaster and made to resemble the dead man as much as possible. It is then fixed to an artificial body, which is decorated with all the insignia proper to his rank in the *Mengge*. Under certain conditions in Ambrim the dead may be interred in the upright or sitting position, and the sitting position is the rule in the interment of old men in Vao and Atchin, and appears to have been habitual among the now extinct Bushmen of Fate. In some of the southern islands, such as Anaiteum, dead commoners were thrown into the sea, while chiefs were interred.

Everywhere in the New Hebrides the dead are believed to pass to some place at a distance from their home in life. The people of Ambrim and of some parts of Malekula are believed to go to the great volcano in Ambrim, and those of the southern part of Malekula to South-west Bay. The people of Malo and Tangoa go to a place in Santo, those of Nogugu on the west coast of Santo to a cave at the northern point (Cape Cumberland) of the western side of Big Bay, and those of Hog Harbour to two mountains on the eastern shore of Big Bay. The people of Fate and other central islands usually pass to some small island, reef, or point of land in the vicinity. The dead of Atchin are said by the old men to go to Tahar (see p. 353[b]), this belief co-existing with that in the passage to Ambrim.

The journey of the dead to their future home may be accompanied by various trials, and success in reaching it does not depend on the possession of moral qualities as we understand them, but rather on such features as membership of the *Mangge* and similar organizations, the knowledge of certain songs, tatuing, and the boring of ears or nose. The dead of the small islands lying north-east of Malekula succeed in reaching their home in Ambrim only by the gift of the pigs killed in their funeral rites to a being called Lesausau in Atchin

and Lehethheth, in Vao, whom they meet on the way. At Hog Harbour those who are killed in war go to one mountain and those who have died from disease to another.

The *Mangge* and similar organizations are very far from exhausting the ceremonial of the New Hebrides. In Ambrim the bull-roarer is swung after the death of a man who has learned with special ceremonial how to use it in life. This ceremony and one called *rom*, in which masks are worn, are probably survivals of an older cult allied to that of the *Tamate* societies of the Banks Islands, which existed in the island before the introduction of the *Mangge*. The bull-roarer is said to have passed to Ambrim and Malekula from Epi; it is used as a toy in parts of Santo.

The operation of incision, a variety of circumcision (*ERE* iii. 660), is practised in Malekula, Ambrim, the southern part of Pentecost, Epi, Eromanga, Tanna, and probably Anaiteum, and true circumcision occurs in the northern part of Malekula. In each case the operation is accompanied by prolonged ceremonial, in which boys undergo a period of seclusion, with features suggesting the representation of death which are also present in the proceedings of the *Tamate* societies of the Banks Islands. In Ambrim incision certainly belongs to a stratum of culture older than the *Mangge*. The practice is associated with a special form of dress, the pudendal sheath, either in a simple form in Ambrim and parts of Malekula, or greatly exaggerated in size in other parts of Malekula and in the southern islands. The operation and mode of dress are very closely associated; where one occurs, the other is always found. Though the customs of boring the ears and nose have an influence upon the fate of a man after his death, the boring does not seem to be accompanied by any special ceremonial.

Another mutilation—knocking out the upper incisor teeth of women—is practised at Hog Harbour, in South-west Bay, and in a district in the middle of the east coast of Malekula. At South-west Bay the operation is performed with ceremonies resembling those accompanying incision. Deformation of the head is performed in the southern part of Malekula and in the adjacent Maskelyne Islands.

Prolonged and important ceremonies are performed in connexion with the making of new canoes and gongs. In some islands the ceremony of making the wooden gongs forms part of the ceremonial of the *Mangki* or *Maki*, but in Ambrim it is wholly distinct, though the gongs when made are used in the ritual of the *Mangge*. The canoe ceremonies were performed only in the case of the large canoes used for going to other islands, and are now performed when the people have bought large boats of the European pattern. In Ambrim the ceremonial has much in common with that performed when making a new gong.

We do not know of any special ceremonial accompanying other manufactures. Pottery is made by women on the west coast of Santo and was formerly made in many other parts of the group, but the manufacture does not seem to have had a ceremonial character, and, beyond the killing of pigs, we have at present no knowledge of religious ceremonial accompanying house-building or the making of weapons or other objects.

5. **Magic.**—Various kinds of magic are practised in the New Hebrides, but apparently play a less prominent part in the lives of the people than in the Banks and Torres Islands. In these islands the people chiefly fear the magical powers of members of their own community, and in the Banks Islands associations have come into existence for mutual protection in this respect. In the New Hebrides magic is also practised within the community, but in some islands the people fear chiefly the magic of their neighbours, and especially do the people of the coast fear those who dwell in the bush. Magical powers are widely ascribed to the people of Ambrim, who in their turn dread the magic of the inhabitants of certain parts of Malekula.

In the Banks Islands magical powers are believed to be derived from spirits (*vui*) whose efficacy depends on an attribute called *mana* (*ERE* viii. 375 f.). We have no evidence at present that similar spirits are supposed to produce magical effects in the New Hebrides, and, though the word *mana* exists with other meanings, we do not know of the presence of the beliefs which this term connotes in the Banks Islands.

LITERATURE.—R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, Oxford, 1891; F. Speiser, *Two Years with the Natives in the Western Pacific*, London, 1913; W. H. R. Rivers, *The Hist. of Melanesian Society*, Cambridge, 1914; W. Gunn, *The Gospel in Futuna*, London, 1914. The foregoing article is based chiefly on recent work by J. W. Layard and the writer, the record of which has not yet been published. W. H. R. RIVERS.

NEWMAN.—John Henry Newman was born in London on 21st Feb. 1801. His father's family has been said to be of partly Jewish descent, but there is no evidence for the assertion. His mother's family, Fourdrinier by name, was descended from French Huguenots who left France on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Her influence, her fervent if somewhat narrow piety, was largely responsible in his childhood for the formation of that intense conviction of the reality of the spiritual world which is his distinguishing characteristic. As a boy he was already a mystic, and at fifteen he underwent the experience known in Evangelical circles as conversion. In 1808 he was sent to a private school at Ealing, where he remained until he went up to Trinity College, Oxford, in June 1817. A year later he was elected to a scholarship, and took his B.A. degree in 1821, although, owing to nervous exhaustion from overwork, with a less brilliant place in the class-list than was expected. His real powers were known, however, and recognized in 1822 by his election to a fellowship at Oriel. This college, although a small one, had taken the lead in the intellectual revival of the early 19th cent. at Oxford, and to be chosen a member of that brilliant society was to win the blue ribbon of Oxford scholarship.

At first the influence of his new associates, with Whately as the dominant force among them, seemed likely to lead him in quite a different direction from that which he afterwards took. They 'called everything into question; they appealed to first principles, and disallowed authority as a judge in matters intellectual' (Ward, *Life of Newman*, i. 37). The abiding result of this intercourse was his liberation from the narrow, almost Calvinistic, theology of his youth, and that breadth of sympathy which marked his later writings. In 1824 he took orders in the Church of England, and was appointed to the curacy of St. Clement's, Oxford, a parish almost entirely inhabited by the poor. On his appointment in 1826 to a tutorship at Oriel, which, unlike the preceding generation of tutors, he regarded as involving a definite responsibility for the souls of his pupils, he resigned his curacy; and in 1828 he was named vicar of St. Mary's, the university church. In the latter year his friendship with Hurrell Froude brought him into relation with Keble; and little by little he began to value more highly the ancient traditional element in religion, and to study with avidity the writings of the early Christian Fathers. He began to think that he had overvalued the function of the mere intellect in matters of religion, and to

dread the liberalism which characterized the keenest thinkers of the day both at Oxford and at Cambridge. It is curious to find that his first notable stand on public questions was his opposition in 1829 to Sir Robert Peel's re-election as member of parliament for the university because of his proposing Catholic emancipation—an opposition based, however, not upon Newman's prejudices (at that time very real) against the Roman Catholic system, but on his conviction that the measure was an outgrowth of the indifferentism of the day. This does not mean that he ever became, or could have become, a blind reactionary—he had much sympathy, for instance, with Roman Catholics of the type of Montalembert in France; but this whole aspect of his life is best summed up in the words which he spoke fifty years later on his reception into the College of Cardinals.

'And, I rejoice to say to one great mischief I have from the first opposed myself. For thirty, forty, fifty years I have resisted to the best of my powers the spirit of Liberalism in religion . . . the doctrine that there is no positive truth in religion, but that one creed is as good as another. . . . It is inconsistent with any recognition of any religion, as *true*. It teaches that all are to be tolerated, for all are matters of opinion. Revealed religion is not a truth, but a sentiment and a taste; not an objective fact, not miraculous; and it is the right of each individual to make it say just what strikes his fancy' (Ward, ii. 460).

After finishing his first serious piece of historical study, *The Arians of the Fourth Century*, in 1832, he set out for rest and refreshment, in company with Hurrell Froude, on his memorable Mediterranean journey, during which he came in contact for the first time with the Roman Catholic system in actual operation, and was nearly dying of a fever in Sicily. He told his servant that he did not think he should die, for he believed that God had a work for him to do. The same sense of a divine guidance is expressed in the hymn, 'Lead, kindly Light,' which he wrote while becalmed in an orange-boat off the coast of Sicily on his homeward way from Naples to Marseilles.

He reached England at a time critical for the Established Church. Ten Irish bishoprics had been suppressed, and disestablishment seemed among the possibilities. Froude, Keble, and Palmer had already resolved to 'write and associate in defence of the Church,' and on 14th July 1833 Keble preached in St. Mary's his famous sermon on 'National Apostasy,' from which the formal beginning of the Oxford Movement was dated. Newman threw himself heartily into their plans, and in December the *Tracts for the Times* (1833–41) began —pamphlets of varying size, but of uniformly academic rather than popular tone, intended to vindicate the continuity of the Church of England and the integrity of the Prayer Book. Presently he reached the height of his influence; in the Oxford of 1838 he was the central figure, and every one bears witness to the marvellous effect of his sermons in St. Mary's. One testimony may be quoted from a Scottish Presbyterian:

'To call these sermons eloquent would be no word for them; high poems they rather were, as of an inspired singer, or the outpourings of a prophet, rapt yet self-possessed. And the tone of voice in which they were spoken, once you grew accustomed to it, sounded like a fine strain of unearthly music. Through the silence of that high Gothic building the words fell on the ear like the measured drippings of water in some vast dim cave. After hearing these sermons you might come away still not believing the tenets peculiar to the High Church system; but you would be harder than most men, if you did not feel more than ever ashamed of coarseness, selfishness, worldliness, if you did not feel the things of faith brought closer to the soul' (J. C. Shairp, essay on 'John Keble,' in *Studies in Poetry and Philosophy*, Edinburgh, 1868, p. 278).

But presently arose the doubts as to his position which were to make the next five years a time of torture to him. His studies (1839) in the history of the Monophysite controversy, followed by the impression of the other parallel in the Donatist schism and St. Augustine's classic words, 'Securus judicat orbis terrarum,' set him thinking whether a local, a national, Church cut off from antiquity on the one side and on the other from the majority of Christians in the present day could indeed be the body of Christ. He managed to put the doubts away from him; but, in his own phrase, 'he who has seen a ghost can never be as though he had not seen it,' and they were bound to recur. In 1841 he published the famous Tract xc., 'On Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge,' in which he tried to prove that the XXXIX. Articles need not bear the anti-Roman sense popularly attributed to them. It caused intense excitement and was condemned by a number of bishops, in order to emphasize the Protestant character of the Church of England. In April 1842 Newman took up his abode in the row of simple cottages at Littlemore, a few miles out of Oxford, which he had prepared with a view to the foundation of a quasi-monastic community. He resigned the vicarage of St. Mary's in September 1843. 'From the end of 1844,' he writes, 'I was on my deathbed as regarded my membership in the Anglican Church.' Yet, until he was sure, he felt bound not to unsettle others, and withdrew himself more and more into solitude, giving himself to uninterrupted prayer and study. In March 1845 he resigned his fellowship, and on 9th October he was received into the Roman Catholic communion by Father Dominic, an Italian Passionist who was travelling in England.

In the following year he went to Rome and made some studies there, and was ordained priest on 30th May 1847. After considerable weighing of what his future work should be, he joined the Congregation of the Oratory, founded by St. Philip Neri in the 16th cent., and more loosely organized than the old monastic orders. The plan of a new Oratorian house in England, the first there, was approved by the pope. It was established at Edgbaston, a suburb of Birmingham, in January 1848, with Newman as superior; and this was his home for the rest of his life, except for the Irish interlude. In 1850 he gave some notable lectures in London on 'Certain Difficulties felt by Anglicans,' and a few months later another series on 'The Present Position of Catholics in England,' the best written, in his own opinion, of all his works. In one of these, delivered in the Corn Exchange, Birmingham, he exposed in very plain language the abominable vices of an apostate Italian friar named Achilli, who had been lecturing against the Church (the passage is given in full in Ward, i. 279). Following closely an article by Cardinal Wiseman in the *Dublin Review* of July 1850, he detailed the scandalous career of Achilli, who brought an action for libel against him. It proved very difficult to get from Italy the necessary witnesses; the jury was prejudiced by the violent anti-Roman feeling of the days of the 'Papal Aggression'; and Newman was found guilty and sentenced to a fine of £100, which, as well as the enormous expenses of the trial, was at once paid by popular subscription. In a leading article the *Times*, which then spoke the sober mind of England, called the proceedings 'indecorous in their nature, unsatisfactory in their result, and little calculated to increase the respect of the people for the administration of justice or the estimation by foreign nations of the English name and character.'

In 1852, at the first synod of the restored hierarchy, he preached the magnificent sermon on 'The Second Spring' which Macaulay is said to have known by heart. Before this he had been asked to take the rectorship of a Roman Catholic university to be established in Dublin, but he was not actually installed until February 1854. The story is too long to tell in detail of how misunderstandings and apparent lack of support from some of the Irish bishops made his position anything

but comfortable (see his own account published after his death under the title of *My Campaign in Ireland*, and Ward, i. chs. xi., xii.); but he was never at home in his new surroundings, and at the end of 1858 he resigned his office and went back with relief to the quiet life of the Oratory.

The next five years were years of discouragement and apparent failure. Singularly enough, it was a bitter and unscrupulous attack upon him that led to his restoration to a wide popularity not only among the members of his own Church, but in the English world at large. In a review of Froude's *History of England* (*Macmillan's Magazine*, Jan. 1864) Charles Kingsley wrote:

'Truth for its own sake has never been a virtue with the Roman clergy. Father Newman informs us that it need not be, and on the whole ought not to be;—that cunning is the weapon which Heaven has given to the Saints wherewith to withstand the brute male force of the wicked world which marries and is given in marriage. Whether his notion be doctrinally correct or not, it is at least historically so.'

Newman might possibly have let the thing pass, 'grave and gratuitous slander' as he called it in his initial demand on the publishers for reparation, if it had touched himself alone. But he felt that the honour of the whole Roman Catholic priesthood was at stake; and when, in answer to his request for substantiation, Kingsley was able to give but one reference, and that from a sermon preached in St. Mary's while Newman was still an Anglican, the matter could not be allowed to rest. Yet the only apology that he offered, printed in the following number of the magazine, was merely conventional and did not touch the real point at issue; and in a pamphlet entitled *What, then, does Dr. Newman mean?* he actually deepened the offensiveness of his original charge. Newman came to the conclusion that the only way to vindicate himself completely was to do what was extremely distasteful to his sensitive and retiring disposition—to give a minute history of all the mental processes which had led him to his change of allegiance. In seven parts, at intervals of a week, he published the *Apologia pro Vita Sua*, which, written as it was at high speed and under the pressure of conflict, has been often called the greatest piece of autobiographical writing in the English language.

'Not the letters of Pascal, nor those of Junius, won more instant success. The *Apologia*, as it was given to the world Thursday after Thursday, appeared in all hands, was read in clubs, in drawing-rooms, by clerks on the top of omnibuses, in railway trains, and one had almost said, in pulpits, for everywhere its author was discussed, his pathetic or striking sentences quoted, his English more than ever admired' (Barry, *Cardinal Newman*, p. 123).

Abundant testimony to the convincing effect of Newman's defence might be collected from many people absolutely at variance with his religious beliefs. Richard Holt Hutton, editor of the *Spectator*, a Liberal in politics and, until late in life, a Unitarian in religion, a known admirer of Kingsley, put forth strongly in more than one article that 'the whole justice of the matter seems to us on Dr. Newman's side'; and Frederic Harrison, in a sketch of Kingsley's whole work and influence (*Studies in Early Victorian Literature*, London, 1895, p. 180), declines even to speak of 'his miserable duel with Cardinal Newman, wherein he was so shamefully worsted.'

Apart from the *Apologia*, the most interesting activity of the sixties in Newman's life was the attempt to establish a centre of Roman Catholic life and teaching in his still-loved Oxford. The scheme was opposed by Manning and others, and ultimately abandoned—though since Newman's death the principle for which he contended has been fully recognized. The details of this controversy may be seen at length in Ward's *Life*, chs. xxi., xxiv. f., and in Purcell, *Life of Cardinal Manning*, ii. ch. xiii. f. In 1866 he began to make notes for the work which he regarded as one of his most important, the *Essay in Aid of a Grammar of Assent*. The next four years were largely occupied with serious thought and correspondence touching the apparently approaching definition of papal infallibility at the Vatican Council of 1870. He found in the utterances of the *Dublin Review* and the *Univers*—strongly Ultramontane—exaggeration and party spirit which seemed to him unhappy in tendency and likely to lead to portentous evils.

'Newman's great fear, in the years 1866–70, during which the proposed definition was canvassed, seems to have been that by its terms it might appear to the world at large to sanction such excesses as those of M. Louis Veuillot [editor of the *Univers*], novelties which were at variance with traditional Catholic theology' (Ward, ii. 239 f.).

In 1868 the pope, after having his works examined and approved by official theologians, directed that he should be asked to help in preparing the material for the Council, which not only was a testimony to his orthodoxy, but gave him a definite standing when he was impelled to discuss the important question at issue. He declined to attend in person the theological conferences in Rome, but did his best to assist by correspondence such bishops as wished his advice. His fears were not allayed until the definition was actually made. His objection was not so much to the making of a definition as to the sort of definition which he felt was likely to be passed, in haste and under partisan pressure. When he saw the actual text of the decree, he was satisfied with its moderation.

'So far, indeed, as doctrine was concerned, no more was defined than he himself had always held. The old Ultramontanism of which Archbishop Sibour and Montalembert had been staunch defenders became a doctrine of faith. The Ultramontanism of the *Univers* received no countenance in the text of the definition. . . . The tendency towards excessive centralisation which he deplored was not a matter of doctrine but of policy' (Ward, ii. 307 f.).

He had said of the *Grammar of Assent*, which appeared early in 1870, that he expected it to be his last work; and in a memorandum of 14th Oct. 1874 spoke of 'my habit, or even nature, of not writing and publishing without a *call*' (Ward, ii. 400). Only a month later such a call came to him in a bitter attack, first in a magazine article and then in a pamphlet, by Gladstone, upon *The Vatican Decrees in their Bearing on Civil Allegiance*. It was thought by not a few that the statesman was irritated by the defeat, through the influence of the Irish bishops, of his Irish University Bill of 1873; at any rate, he came out with the statement that 'Rome had substituted for the proud boast of *semper eadem* a policy of violence and change in faith,' and that since the events of 1870 'no one can become her convert without renouncing his mental and moral freedom, and placing his civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another.' In a brilliant pamphlet, entitled *A Letter to the Duke of Norfolk* (the leading Roman Catholic layman in England), Newman refuted Gladstone's charge, taking occasion at the same time to disown some of those exaggerated conceptions of the pope's position which he had deprecated before the Council.

In 1877 his old college at Oxford, Trinity, made him an honorary fellow, and in the following February invited him to pay a visit, of which Lord Bryce records:

'There was something tenderly pathetic to us younger people in seeing the old man come again, after so many eventful years, to the hall where he had been wont to sit as a youth, the voice so often heard in St. Mary's retaining, faint though it had grown, the sweet modulations Oxford knew so well, and the aged face worn deep with the lines of thought, struggle, and sorrow' (Ward, ii. 430).

But a greater honour was in store for him. Leo XIII., who had become pope in April 1878, signified in the following March his intention of conferring a cardinal's hat upon the venerable English

Oratorian; the actual creation took place in the consistory of 12th May, and was made more welcome by the permission, not granted to a cardinal who was only a priest since the time of de Bérulle, superior of the French Oratory, in the 17th cent., to continue his residence in England. His health grew increasingly feeble with advancing years, though to the last he endeavoured to be always working for the cause to which he had given his life. He died on 11th August 1890, and was buried at Rednal, under a stone engraved at his own desire with the words 'Ex umbris et imaginibus in veritatem'—words recalling the spirit of his best-known utterance, the appeal of the hymn written nearly sixty years before to the 'kindly Light' to lead him through all darkness and danger safely home.

During the years since his moving voice fell silent his influence has been perpetuated by the manifold appeal of his writings. Testimony to the unsurpassed excellence of his prose style—'common English made perfect,' as Barry calls it; 'not so much the expression of a thought as the thought taking shape in a perfectly pure medium of language' (A. C. Benson, *The Upton Letters*[2], London, 1906, p. 26)—might be collected from many good judges who have again no sympathy with his theology, as widely divergent from it, in fact, as R. H. Hutton and W. E. Henley, who says of Thackeray (*Views and Reviews*, London, 1908, i. 18), 'Setting aside Cardinal Newman's, the style he wrote is certainly less open to criticism than that of any other modern Englishman.' One of the most penetrating judgments is that of William Vaughan Moody:

'Newman's prose style at its best is characterized by an unobtrusive distinction, and by a kind of aerial transparency in comparison with which even Arnold's prose appears slightly dense. Although Arnold's meaning is always perfectly clear, it reaches us, so to speak, through a resisting medium; we are conscious of his manner. Newman, it may almost be said, has no manner, or at least his manner is so completely one with his matter that it passes unobserved; his words convey his meaning as ether conveys light. If Arnold is as clear as crystal, Newman is as clear as mountain air. This quality of style, by virtue of which it incorporates itself in meaning and becomes, as it were, invisible, is the highest attainable quality; and Newman, in certain passages especially of his *Apologia* and his *Idea of a University*, has perhaps come nearer than any prose writer of his century to the type of perfect prose' (*Hist. of English Literature*, New York, 1902, p. 342).

Of all his thirty-six volumes, that in which these qualities are best exemplified on a subject of general interest is probably *The Idea of a University Defined and Illustrated* (1873), in which—again side by side with Matthew Arnold—he pleads for a broad general culture against the aggressive utilitarianism of the day, and exhibits the serene Oxford suavity in its most charming form. But greatest in substantive importance (unless the *Essay on Development* may be thought to rival it), although, because of the concentrated attention which it requires, never likely to be popular, is the *Essay in Aid of a Grammar of Assent*. Again and again he had justified in his *University Sermons*, preached before his conversion, as Hutton points out,

'the potent implicit reason of man against the fruitless and formal explicit reason,' shown 'how much more powerful was the combination of humility, trust, imagination, feeling, perception in apprehending the revealed mind and will of God, than the didactic and formal proofs to which the popular religious appeals of our day usually have recourse' (*Criticisms on Contemporary Thought and Thinkers*, London, 1894, ii. 276).

For years he had wished to write something which should deal with the relations of faith and reason in such a way as to answer the difficulties of modern sceptics, of which he had naturally a more vivid realization than most of his fellow-Catholics. Twenty years earlier he had complained that the Italian theologians 'know nothing at all of heretics as realities' (Ward, i. 247); and he had been seeking a key to their situation, which, as mentioned above, he thought he had discovered in 1866 in the idea 'that certitude is a form of assent, and that to treat of the psychology of assent as distinguished from inference' was the way to reach his aim. The book is too long and too closely reasoned to be analyzed here; its value is its keen insight into certain mental processes which are deeply rooted in the experience of mankind, though their importance is not as a rule fully realized, which account for and justify beliefs not to be adequately proved by explicit logical arguments. It was a bold experiment; where scientific theology had tended to use the deductive method exclusively, the *Grammar*, with its minute psychological observation, was a step in the direction of employing the Baconian method.

'How man ought to arrive at certitude has been the subject of many an ambitious treatise. How, in concrete matters, he does arrive at it, was Newman's concern' (Barry, p. 148).

The *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, most of which he had written before his conversion as an intellectual exercise for himself, evidences his growing conviction that the Roman Catholic belief of the 19th cent. was substantially the same as that of the apostles, only more explicitly defined and amplified. Its main contention may be most simply understood by recalling the use of the word 'development' in photography, where the chemical process is unable to bring out anything that was not originally imprinted on the plate by the sun's rays, yet the outline only at last becomes clearly visible. To some thinkers of the present day the enforcement of this idea, which anticipated so curiously in the ecclesiastical field much that Darwin was to suggest in the realm of biology, seems Newman's most important contribution to religious thought; and certain Modernists, especially in France, have attempted to claim him as in sympathy with their position. He was, indeed, one with them in his anxiety to show the reasonableness of his faith to the modern non-Catholic world, whose peculiar difficulties he understood so well; and they might gladly quote such phrases as these, detached from their context:

'Old principles reappear under new forms. [The living idea] changes in order to remain the same. In a higher world it is otherwise, but here below to live is to change and to be perfect is to have changed often' (*The Development of Christian Doctrine*, pt. i. ch. i. sect. i. [ed. 1878, p. 40]).

But the context and the attitude of humble submission to authority which characterized Newman's forty-five years as a Roman Catholic tell a different story; and the lecture entitled 'A Form of Infidelity of the Day,' delivered in 1854 (*Idea of a University*[4], London, 1875, pp. 381–404), distinctly condemns, in an almost prophetic manner, the special temper of mind which was to be known half a century later by the name of Modernism (*q.v.*).

His genius did not find full development in the realm of fiction, although his two attempts in this field—*Callista* (1856), a tale showing the influence of Christianity on the educated world of the first Christian centuries, and *Loss and Gain* (1847), a novel full of interest for its vivid picture of the Oxford of the Movement—have many exquisite passages. The greater part of his poetry belongs to the early days, and is marked by the austere sobriety of *The Christian Year*. What was written later shows the same progress as is apparent from his Anglican to his Roman Catholic sermons—a greater intensity and fervour, life and colour. One poem stands out as unique in beauty and force. *The Dream of Gerontius* (1865), describing in dramatic form the death of a Christian and what follows it, written at a time when he was often meditating upon the expected approach of his own death, has a soaring splendour of imagination which induces a modern non-Catholic critic (W. J. Dawson, *Makers of English Prose*, p. 296) to

reckon it 'one of the great poems of the world, in spirit and substance akin to Goethe's *Faust* and Dante's trilogy, in depth of spiritual insight and emotion superior to the former and the equal of the latter.'

The same writer goes on to call it 'the most characteristic fruit of Newman's genius. For by birth and training, by temperament and life, Newman was essentially a religious genius, a prophet to whom doors of vision stood wide where other men saw only impenetrable darkness; yet so sensitively sympathetic, that he knew the weight of darkness which crushed others, although he never once succumbed to it. And it is by virtue of this temperament and genius that he will always be reckoned the greatest religious writer whom England has produced—perhaps also the greatest since Augustine and Aquinas.'

LITERATURE.—Newman's *Works* are published in 36 vols., London, 1868–81. The final authority on his biography is the *Life* by Wilfrid Ward, 2 vols., do. 1912. There is a valuable monograph by William Barry[2], do. 1904, and other brief Lives by W. Lockhart, do. 1891; R. H. Hutton, do. 1891; Wilfred Meynell, do., n.d. [1887]. Inestimable in their wealth of detail on the Anglican period are his *Letters and Correspondence*, ed. Anne Mozley, 2 vols., do. 1891; see also *Contributions chiefly to the Early History of Cardinal Newman*, by his brother F. W. Newman, do. 1891. Other works which may be consulted are E. S. Purcell, *Life of Cardinal Manning*, 2 vols., do. 1895; H. P. Liddon, *Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey*, 4 vols., do. 1893–97; T. Mozley, *Reminiscences, chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement*, 2 vols., do. 1882; *Letters of the Rev. J. B. Mozley*, ed. Anne Mozley, do. 1885; J. T. Coleridge, *Memoir of John Keble*, do. 1869; Walter Lock, *John Keble*, do. 1893; R. W. Church, *The Oxford Movement*, do. 1891, *Occasional Papers*, do. 1897; C. Kegan-Paul, *Biographical Sketches*, do. 1883; E. A. Abbott, *The Anglican Career of Cardinal Newman*, 2 vols., do. 1892; R. H. Hutton, *Essays on some Modern Guides of English Thought in Matters of Faith*, do. 1887; J. A. Froude, *Short Studies on Great Subjects*, iv., do. 1883; John Morley, *Miscellanies*, 4th ser., do. 1908; Aidan Gasquet, *Lord Acton and his Circle*, do. 1906; Percy Fitzgerald, *Fifty Years of Catholic Life and Social Progress*, 2 vols., do. 1901; *Letters of Archbishop Ullathorne*, do. 1892; W. Sanday, *England's Debt to Newman*, do. 1892; C. Sarolea, *Cardinal Newman and his Influence on Religious Life and Thought*, do. 1908; P. Thureau-Dangin, *La Renaissance catholique: Newman et le mouvement d'Oxford*, Paris, 1899; Henri Brémond, *Newman: Le Développement du dogme chrétien, Psychologie de la Foi, Essai de biographie psychologique*, 3 vols., do. 1905–06, Eng. tr., *The Mystery of Newman*, London, 1907; W. J. Williams, *Newman, Pascal, Loisy, and the Catholic Church*, do. 1906; L. E. Gates, *Three Studies in Literature*, New York, 1899; W. J. Dawson, *Makers of English Prose*, do. 1906. Joseph Rickaby has published an *Index to the Works of John Henry Cardinal Newman*, London, 1914.

A. I. DU P. COLEMAN.

NEW MOON.—See CALENDAR.

NEW TESTAMENT.—See BIBLE.

NEW TESTAMENT IN MUHAMMADANISM.—See OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS IN MUHAMMADANISM.

NEW THOUGHT.—New Thought, sometimes known as 'progressive philosophy,' has been defined as 'the latest product of growing mind' (C. D. Larson, *Eternal Progress Magazine*, Feb. 1912, p. 13), and as 'an attitude of mind and not a cult' (W. W. Atkinson, in the *New Thought Magazine*). Neither definition is complete.

1. Principles.—Some of the underlying principles of New Thought are the following: the existence of an omnipresent God—a God immanent in nature; universal life, intelligence, and energy, underlying and pervading the universe, finding expression in every created entity, colouring the rose, moulding the leaf, painting the sunset, clothing the grass with beauty, teaching the bird its song, reaching its culmination in man and revealing to him his own individuality and the consciousness of his own divine soul; the reign of universal law—the law of cause and effect; and that this law is as inexorable in the mental and spiritual world as in the physical universe; that thoughts are forces, and under this law every thought planted in the subconscious is expressed in the life and personality of the individual; 'whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap' (Gal 6[7]); the identity of the individual or human soul with the universal or divine Soul, and hence the continuity of the soul after the change which we call death; the brotherhood of man as the true foundation of every human relationship; that truth is the only foundation for religion and for ethical or moral growth; that evolution is God's method of creation, and that man is the result of evolutionary processes.

2. Religion or philosophy.—A religion or philosophy founded on these principles cannot harmonize with many of the Christian dogmas. New Thought excludes such doctrines as the duality of man and God, miracles in the accepted sense, the vicarious atonement, the forgiveness of sins, and priestly mediation. It seeks to interpret the world and nature as science has recorded them, but also to convey their finer and esoteric meanings to the human understanding. The fundamental purpose of religion and science is the same—namely, the discovery of truth. No conflict ever existed between true religion and real science; the only conflict was between contending dogmatists. Truth does not produce conflict.

New Thought holds that mind is the dominant power in man, and that his life and personality are the sum total of his thoughts. It would employ the laws of modern psychology in the mental development of man and the creation of proper mental states for bodily health, intellectual and moral efficiency. It lays emphasis on the value of constructive thinking. Thought is the helmsman that every man obeys. Thought determines character; thought is character. The conscious mind supplies ideals; the subconscious brings them into expression. Every thought sent forth attracts like thoughts, whether good or bad; this law is as certain as the law of gravitation.

It sees every man as a divine soul, hence it recognizes limitless possibilities within him. The purpose of true religion is to call the divine qualities of man into expression. It advocates a religion for to-day, and recognizes character as the only asset that man can carry into another state of existence. It sees in God and man the same attributes; otherwise man could form no comprehension of God. 'Man is a microcosm of God.' Accepting the fundamental unity of creation, it recognizes a kinship between man and every created entity, and that unity as the only foundation for the brotherhood of man. When the conception of this unity embraces our whole being, then and then only are we free.

Realizing God as omnipresent, indwelling in man, it finds no place for intermediaries. If God is indwelling in man, there is no occasion for a vicarious atonement to restore His lost relationship. Man's only separation was in thought, only an illusion of theology, an invention of the Church to make a place for intermediaries. Man having his origin in the lowest forms of animal life, his course has been steadily upward, until he now stands at the summit of creation, capable of abstract thought, conscious of his own divine qualities. His only fall was upward.

'If the sole Divinity of Jesus is denied, the Divinity of all men is affirmed' (S. D. Kirkham, *Ministry of Beauty*). While the Christian religion would bring God down to man, New Thought would lift man up to God, *i.e.* to the consciousness of his own divinity.

As the Christian creeds—Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, and all the Protestant branches—rest on the allegory of Eden related in Genesis, they must either stand or fall by the construction which their theology has placed thereon. It is inconceivable that God would condemn the race for one act of their common ancestor, when that act was a step upward in the evolution of man—an effort to rise

above the animal and become man. According to Gn 3[5], the serpent said to Eve: 'God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as God, knowing good and evil.' Was it wrong for man to become wise? According to theology, God put a ban on knowledge and wisdom, and manifested intense jealousy over man becoming like Himself. To-day we would not seriously regard a religion that did not urge man to become like God.

Adam and Eve ate and they became wise; they knew good and evil. Was there a penalty? Yes; every progressive step has its penalty. Adam and Eve as animals were happy only as the animal is happy. They had only physical desires; no worries fretted their lives; they could not sin; they were strangers to remorse. As man and woman, knowing good and evil, they could sin; they could feel the sting of remorse, and must thereafter pay the penalties of sin.

New Thought is not a system of thought, for, when thought is moulded into a system, it ceases to grow, and is not therefore new. The term can be employed only to convey the idea of growing thought. Man applies thought to the truths that enter into his consciousness, he gains new and enlarged conceptions, his mind expands, and his resultant thought is new. Every religion or philosophy is the product of human thought. When mind develops and expands, religions and philosophies must likewise expand. Unless a religion or philosophy is based on universal principles, when mind expands beyond its circle, it must fall. When so based, mind cannot pass its boundaries, however far it may soar, for thought cannot transcend infinity. Here is the test between temporal and enduring religions. Until the world worships a universal God, we can never have a universal religion; we can never have a universal religion so long as we worship a distant God. Until we have a universal religion, we can never have universal peace or the brotherhood of man.

The greatest gift from God to man is a growing mind. Were our ideas fixed and changeless, life would become intolerable. It is the new conception that thrills the soul and broadens the understanding. In the search for truth each discovery becomes a cause, a starting-point for the discovery of more truth. The discovery of every law of nature is a forerunner of a more universal law. Each step towards the infinite reveals new light. Our last thought may be our best, but not our ultimate, thought.

Science in its broadest aspect is a search for the knowledge of God. Because its fundamental idea is a search for truth success has rewarded its efforts. To gain higher conceptions of the basic laws of the universe is the real work of man. As man grows into a closer intimacy with nature, he enters a richer field of experience, he gains a wider spiritual vision, he realizes his oneness with universal life. New Thought means spiritual and mental growth, constant and eternal progress. Recognizing divine qualities in man, it sets no bounds to the soul's progress.

New Thought does not teach the moral depravity of man. Such thoughts demoralize and weaken the individual. What we sow in the subconscious is reproduced in the life expression and personality. Modern psychology is believed to be rapidly undermining many theological fallacies. Miracles in the accepted sense New Thought does not conceive as possible in a universe of law. The only miracles are phenomena not understood, but nevertheless the result of law. It applies the pragmatic test to every religion and philosophy, Are you true? What do you give to man to carry to his daily tasks?

New Thought is not favourably impressed with the idea of a special revelation through a book or certain favoured individuals. Men of this age, becoming more and more intellectual and discriminating, will not accept a revealed religion from a book whose authorship and date of production are unknown, according to the voice of modern scholarship. God never spake to man, but through man, for man is a part of God. Through man He finds expression as He does in the rose and bird, only in the rose and bird He manifests in lower octaves. The essence of the soul, as of the universe, is unity. The book of Nature is always an open volume, and from its pages we may read God's thoughts and secrets. He whose ear is attuned to Nature constantly hears her divine and peaceful melodies. The rocks and trees and running brooks teach profounder lessons than were ever read in books or taught by man to man. In the book of Nature we catch glimpses of eternal beauty, harmony, infinite power, universal order, abiding and constant love.

New Thought is a progressive idealism, viewing the visible universe as the expression of cosmic mind and all created entities as the result of divine ideals. The starting-point of all things is in thought-images; mind expresses itself in matter. Absolute idealism or Christian Science denies the existence of matter, holding that nothing exists but the ideal. Here is the line of divergence between the two philosophies. The idealism of New Thought is progressive, because all healthful ideals change as man gains new visions of the truth.

New Thought proclaims a robust individualism. The individual is the unit from which all greatness springs. Man is great only as he is individualistic, only as he follows his own path. The individual ranks above all institutions. All masters of thought have taught this truth. Human thought created every institution, and no institution is greater than its creator. Jesus spoke to individuals and not to institutions; neither did He found an institution.

New Thought recognizes no authority save the voice of the soul speaking to each individual. Every soul can interpret aright the oracles of truth. The assumption of authority, it is held, marks the decline of religion and stifles every spiritual impulse. When man has found the light within, he consults no authority how he shall worship God. As the adherents of New Thought conceive of God as omnipresent and hence indwelling in man, their idea of prayer differs from that of those who hold the dualistic conception. The dualist prays to an absentee God, the others to the God within. True prayer is not debasing the soul in the presence of divinity; it is lifting the soul up; it is bringing the conscious mind into touch with the universal mind; it is lifting the soul into an atmosphere where one feels the glow, the beauty, and harmony of the divine presence, and the play of vibrations from the source of eternal truth.

New Thought presents two ideas as supremely fundamental and important in man's development: (1) that he is a divine soul, and hence has within himself unlimited potentialities, slumbering perhaps and waiting to be called into expression; and (2) that he is under the dominion of universal law—the law of cause and effect; that he is punished by every wrong and rewarded by every virtue. Until we grasp the true significance of these truths, we shall never find a true religion or the pathway of spiritual progress. This philosophy conceives of evil as only a misdirected energy. All forces are good; only as they are misdirected do they produce harm. Evil has been unduly exalted and good unreasonably minimized. The Church

created an imaginary Satan, and at the same time emphasized man's weakness and inability to resist him. True teaching exalts the good and replaces negative with constructive thoughts. To teach man to come into the conscious realization of the divinity within, the unity of God and man, so that out of the sublimity of his own soul he can say with the Gentle Seer of Galilee, 'The Father and I are One,' is the supreme voice and meaning of New Thought.

LITERATURE.—A. L. Allen, *The Message of New Thought*, London, 1914; J. Allen, *The Path to Prosperity*, New York, 1907, *The Way of Peace*, do. 1907; E. H. Anderson, *Psychical Development and Philosophy of the New Thought*[2], Toledo, O., 1901; W. W. Atkinson, *Law of the New Thought*, Chicago, 1902; R. W. Emerson, *Essay on Nature*, Boston, 1854; J. Fair, *The New Life*, 4 vols., Philadelphia, 1908; E. W. Hopkins, *The Science of New Thought*, Bristol, Conn., 1904; S. D. Kirkham, *The Ministry of Beauty*, New York, 1907; B. MacLelland, *Prosperity through Thought Force*, Holyoke, Mass., 1907; C. B. Patterson, *Dominion and Power*, New York, 1901; T. T. Troward, *Edinburgh Lectures on Mental Science*, do. 1910; J. W. Winkley, *First Lessons in the New Thought*, Boston, 1904; H. A. Youtz, art. 'New Thought,' in Schaff-Herzog.

ABEL LEIGHTON ALLEN.

NEW YEAR.—See FESTIVALS AND FASTS.

NEW ZEALAND.—See AUSTRALASIA, POLYNESIA.

NICARAGUANS.—See CENTRAL AMERICA, MEXICANS.

NICOBARS.—1. The country and the people.—The Nicobars are a group of nineteen islands in the Bay of Bengal, twelve of which are inhabited, at the southern extremity of the long string of islands, stretching between Burma and Sumatra, usually called the Andamans and Nicobars (see ANDAMANS). The name implies 'the land of the naked,' by which the islands have been known to travel and commerce for many centuries, as they lie in the direct sea route from west to east. The people are not, however, really naked, though they wear very little clothing owing to the heat of the climate.

The Nicobarese are not divisible into tribes, and what differences are observable among the inhabitants of the several islands may be safely referred to habitat and the physical difficulties of communication between the islands.

By language, physique, and tradition they belong, no doubt, to the general Indo-Chinese race of the Farthest East, and came into their present home long ago from the south-east corner of Asia. Throughout the ages, from the days of the geographer Ptolemy onwards, they have been known for the same characteristics—want of clothing in the men, short petticoats for the women, possession of coco-nuts, betel, and ambergris, manufactures in cane and bamboo, eagerness to trade for iron with passing vessels, communication with strangers by canoes, isolation from the world except for passing ships—that is, as having the same civilization and the same habits as distinguish them at the present day. In this view a study of them is of great ethnological value, as, owing to their consistent isolation from the earliest times, it must be to *their* habits that we should look for an explanation of those of the great general group of mankind to which they belong. The same observation is true of their speech, which clearly belongs to that group of tongues now represented by the Mon language of Pegu and Annam and the Khmer language of Cambodia among civilized peoples and by the dialects of a number of uncivilized tribes in the Malay Peninsula and Indo-China. The isolation of the speakers of the Nicobarese dialects, and the small admixture of foreign tongues to be found in them, render them a probably true basis for the philology of the Indo-Chinese family of languages.

The Nicobarese are not savages, and apparently have not been so at any time in the long period during which they have been reported on by Indian, Greek, Arab, and Chinese traders. They are a fine, strong race with idle habits, as they live in what is to them a land of plenty with a hot enervating climate. Their great standby is the coco-nut, which supplies food and drink and many other wants both of themselves and of their domestic animals, and, by means of trade and barter, every foreign luxury that they desire, including rice, cotton clothing, and metal ornaments. Though they will not cultivate rice because they can import it, they are capable fruit gardeners. They are well housed, and their villages are carefully arranged and often kept extraordinarily clean. They can manufacture, in wood, iron, cane, and pottery, most of the articles which they require for domestic use, importing the rest, and they are good canoe-builders. They have a definite system of trade, both internal and external, though they do not use money, but employ coco-nuts as their currency, in the use of which they have created for themselves a ready and quick-witted method of valuation. Everything is estimated in pairs of coco-nuts, even foreign money, and, with the aid of an ingenious and intelligent system of reckoning by scores, they can count and tally accurately up to very large numbers. They reckon time by the moon (lunar months) and by the monsoon or half-yearly season, never by the year, with considerable accuracy by means of intercalary nights and rough calendars notched on wood. The distances between the islands have made them study the stars and winds to a limited extent, and turned them into experts in the feeling of direction, and, as among other Far Eastern peoples, the points of the compass are thoroughly understood and constantly in mind. They are natural linguists, and pick up readily, in 'pigeon' fashion, any tongue that they come across in business or trade. In this way they got on formerly in Portuguese, Danish, German, and English, and in early times in Malay and Chinese. Nowadays English, Burmese, Hindustani, and some Tamil are their chief foreign acquirements. Their own language, though unwritten, is a remarkable product of the human mind. It is a highly developed analytical language with a strong resemblance in grammatical structure to English. It bears every sign of a very long continuous growth both of syntax and of etymology, and is clearly the outcome of a strong intelligence constantly applied in its development. The last observation sums up the mental powers of the Nicobarese. Though arrested as to development in the stage of half-civilization, they are up to that point a clearly intelligent people.

Taken as a whole, the Nicobarese, though for a long time they were callous wreckers and pirates and then very cruel, and though they show great want of feeling in their 'devil murders'—a form of public execution of undesirables—are a quiet, good-natured, inoffensive people, honest, truthful, friendly, helpful, polite, extremely hospitable towards each other, and not quarrelsome. By inclination they are friendly and hospitable towards and not dangerous to foreigners, though in places suspicious of them, and then surly. They are kindly to children, the aged, and those in trouble, even when foreigners, respectful and kindly to women, the wife being a help, not a slave, and deferential towards elders. They are conservative and bound down by custom in all things, though capable of change of habits on occasion.

The Nicobarese are given to drink from home-made coco-nut toddy and any foreign liquor that they can get. Their great pastime is feasting, not only on every 'religious' pretext that presents itself, but also by way of family conviviality. They are musical, and sing clearly and well in unison. The social emotions are highly developed, and domestic trouble will on occasion lead to suicide. The family system is patriarchal, and what government exists is extremely democratic in character. They are kept perpetually poor by the custom of destroying all personally acquired property at death and dividing equally all real property among sons, daughters getting a share on marriage. Girls are

free to marry whom they wish, subject to such pressure as the possession of means on the part of suitors naturally produces.

2. Religion.—(*a*) *Historical aspect.*—It will be observed that the study of the religion of such a people as this, small though their numbers may be—only some 6500—is something more than merely interesting, as it may lead to an explanation of much that is to be found in the customs and ideas of their congeners on the neighbouring continent, and of the more numerous and civilized islanders of the Malay Archipelago, who have long been subjected to a close contact with the outer world.

Especially will the study be found informing, because, unlike the case of the Andamans, there is as long a history of European occupation, chiefly by missionaries, as exists of any other land in the Eastern seas. In the 16th cent. came the Portuguese. French Jesuits were there in the 17th and early 18th centuries. In the latter half of the 18th cent. Protestant Danes from Tranquebar tried their influence on the people by means of a Moravian (Herrnhuter) mission, which lasted after a fashion till 1834. Then French Jesuits succeeded again, only to disappear in 1846. These missionary efforts were accompanied by attempts, all more or less feeble, to colonize the islands by Frenchmen, Danes, and Austrians, until the advent of English power in the islands for political reasons in 1869. The climate is a fatal one for Europeans, and every one of the pre-British efforts, missionary or political, failed miserably. Indeed, the long story of the European attempts to colonize and evangelize such a land as the Nicobars is a record of the extreme of useless suffering that merely well-intentioned enthusiasm and heroism can inflict if they be not combined with practical knowledge and a proper equipment. Beyond leaving behind it a valuable and continuous series of records of all kinds about the country and the people, a few religious terms of European origin, such as *pater* for sorcerer, and *Deos* (also *Reos*) for God, already degraded, as *Deuse*, into a plainly anthropomorphic chief of the spirits to be feared, a few personal names of Christian origin, and a folk-tale here and there saturated with European ideas, all the missionary effort of 300 years has had no effect whatever on the religion of this old and most conservative people. One of the most noteworthy facts about them is that, in spite of everything, their religion has remained the same throughout the ages.

(*b*) *Animistic form.*—The indigenous religion of this semi-civilized people is an undisguised animism, and all their very frequent and elaborate ceremonies and festivals are aimed at exorcizing and scaring spirits—'devils,' as they have learned to call them from the missionaries, the term 'devil' being often quaintly transferred from the spirit itself to the spirit-scarer. Fear of spirits and ghosts (*iwi*) is the guide to all ceremonies, and the life of the people is very largely taken up with spirit-scaring and spirit-controlling ceremonies and feasts of all kinds. They are usually held at night, and, whether directly religious or merely convivial, seem all to have an origin in the overmastering fear of spirits that possesses the Nicobarese. It has so far proved ineradicable, and all the Christian missionary effort so long applied has had no appreciable effect on it. The one outcome of the religion of political import is the ceremonial murder of one of themselves for grave offences against the community—*e.g.*, for murder, habitual theft, or public annoyance. Such an offender is regarded as 'possessed,' and is by a sort of lynch law formally put to death with great cruelty. This, the 'devil murder' of the Nicobars, is now being gradually put down.

Witches and, of course, witch-finders abound. It follows that the mind of the Nicobarese is largely occupied with superstitions, which extend to the ancestors, the sun, and the moon. The funeral ceremonies show that human shadows are the visible signs of the spirits of the living, and on Car Nicobar there is a special ceremony for 'feeding shadows.' Every one's fortune and sickness are spirit-caused or witch-caused, and the remedy in every case is special exorcism by means of the *menlūana* (shaman, or doctor-priest), or by general exorcism performed privately. Of the latter class of remedy is a libation poured out always before drinking and at spirit-feasts. Lucky and unlucky actions and conditions abound, of which a quaint instance may be quoted: it is lucky to get a pregnant woman and her husband to plant seed in a garden. Uneven numbers are unlucky, and no others are allowed at funerals.

3. Religious influence.—(*a*) *On art.*—The superstitious and animistic beliefs of the Nicobarese explain a good many articles to be seen prominently in their houses and villages. Such are the *henta*, which consist of paintings, sketches punctured on areca-nut spathe screens, or carvings on boards. They represent all sorts of objects, such as huts, trees, birds, domestic animals, men and women, ships and canoes, crocodiles and fish, including the merman and mermaid, sun, moon, and so on. Deuse, *i.e.* God, in the degraded form of a chief of the spirits, is frequently represented in some of the islands as a man in quaint European garb, with a wine-glass in his hand, surrounded by various weapons, implements, or articles in daily use, including a mat, a table, chairs, decanters, watch, telescope, and boatswain's whistle. All this shows that the people regard him as a European spirit embodied in a ship's captain, the most powerful human being of their acquaintance. The object of the *henta* is to gratify the good spirits (*iwi-ká*) and frighten away the bad spirits ('devils,' *iwi-pot*).

A development of the *henta* is the *kareau*, the most prominent object in many Nicobarese houses. This is a human figure in a threatening attitude, often of life size and armed with a spear, which is made in times of sickness under the orders of a *menlūana*, with the object of discovering or frightening away the bad spirits that have caused the sickness. If the patient recovers, the image is regarded with favour, and retained for future services: if he dies, it is thrown into the jungle. Other common carvings are a ladder (*halak*) for the use of the *menlūana's* spirit, to climb up and discover whether the spirit of sickness is in the air, and a canoe or ship to enable his spirit to search for the evil one among neighbouring villages or islands. Similarly fish, birds, animals, sometimes with human faces, are carved in order to invoke the assistance and good will of their spirits in helping the *menlūana* to discover the whereabouts of offending spirits, and so to alarm them that they will not repeat their visits.

(*b*) *On festivals.*—The spirit-feast is a family (including the friends) general exorcism with the aid of the *menlūana*, rubbed over with oil, his face painted red, and worked up to an ecstasy by drink and his mysteries. His business is to catch the *iwi*, or spirit of harm, after a struggle, and put it into a small decorated model of a boat, which is towed far out to sea. In cases where spirits have caused sickness, or where they might damage a new hut, they are caught and put out to sea in special cages placed on special rafts. This apparently harmless ceremony leads, however, to the most serious, and in some cases comic, quarrels of the people. Should the raft land at a coast village, the spirit of evil is transferred thereto, and at once a sudden attack is organized on the offending and unsuspecting village that has let it loose. This attack is ceremonial in its nature, though severe, and must be conducted with special quarter-staves until some heads and limbs are broken, when both sides fraternize and wind up with a joint jollification.

(*c*) *On customs.*—In fact, the main-spring of all the religious ceremonies of the Nicobarese is the controlling or scaring of spirits. They pass their lives in dread of the spirits, chiefly of the dead, and the effort to overcome them is seen most clearly in the various ceremonies connected with death. The customs in the northern and southern islands are distinct, but everywhere extravagant grief is displayed at all deaths for fear of angering the ghosts. Everywhere funeral ceremonies are prolonged and elaborate, but all are for the one end of rendering the ghosts harmless, and preventing them from leaving the grave. In the south after

some time the *lanēatla* feast is held, when the skeleton is exhumed, thoroughly cleaned, and re-interred. In the north this feast is represented by the ceremony of disinterment of all the recently dead at the same time, and the disposal of their bones in a communal ossuary. Both these ceremonies have the object of making the ghosts harmless—in the one case by depriving the bodies of all their flesh, and in the other by mixing them all up together. As with the primitive Andamanese, it is the recently dead who can do most harm to the living. For the disposal of the bodies of highly revered personages there are special ceremonies everywhere. This is interesting as a distinctly Indo-Chinese custom.

(*d*) *Tabu.*—Connected with the death ceremonies especially there is a wide custom of tabu, which may be light or serious in its consequences, as it is a sort of privately imposed self-denying ordinance as to what shall be tabued from use in the way of food or drink. In the case of those entitled *saōkkua* ('dainty,' 'fastidious') it amounts to an embryonic asceticism. There is, of course, a great deal of pretence about observing self-imposed but highly inconvenient funeral tabus, and many amusing stories are told of the ways and means adopted of avoiding them. Once the idea was started, however, tabu has been extended in all directions, until it has affected the form of huts in villages, and confined certain industries to localities, such as the making of pottery to Chowra Island, shell-lime to certain other islands, and fish traps to Nancowry Harbour in the rainy season. It has greatly affected the nomenclature of the people, as the names of the dead may not be used again by relatives and friends for a whole generation, and, since personal names are always words in common use in the language, these words are also avoided—so much so, indeed, as to affect the dialects of villages from time to time.

(*e*) *Priests and novices.*—The *menlūana* is a shaman or doctor-priest of the sort that is common to many half-civilized peoples, but there is an interesting variety of him at Car Nicobar in the *māfai*, or novice, the name actually meaning one undergoing sacerdotal instruction. Any one who feels himself inspired may become a *māfai*, but he does not necessarily pass on to the stage of *menlūana*. The ordinary cause of becoming a *māfai* is recovery from severe illness, and the life is that of comfortable, well-fed idleness — a condition which has caused imposture in some cases. The use of the *māfai* to the public is to cure the sick by touch. It need hardly be said that in the circumstances the medicine of the Nicobarese is almost wholly exorcism and belongs to the domain of superstition. The Nicobarese 'doctor' cures by a spiritual fight with the spirit which has possessed the sick man, and includes conjuring tricks in his practice, in order to press damaging articles, like pigs' teeth, stones, etc., out of the patient's body. There is no idea of surgery.

4. Folk-tales.—Tales of origin—in this case from a man and a dog—and the like, told in a jerky, disjointed fashion, the Nicobarese share with many parts of the civilized and semi-civilized world. Chowra Island is their holy land, the cradle of the race where the men are all wizards—a belief that the inhabitants thereof have turned to good account for keeping the control of the internal trade chiefly in their own hands. But one must be careful with Nicobarese folk-tales, as the people have proved themselves to be receptive of foreign stories and to be fond of repeating them in a purely native dress (see *Census of India, 1901*, iii., Report, 'The Andaman and Nicobar Islands,' p. 230). Hence the presence in some of their tales of creatures which are not indigenous in the islands, and hence also the practically certain missionary origin of the tale of the Creation prevalent in Great Nicobar, in which Deuse (God) appears with Eve and her birth, the forbidden fruit, and the temptation.

LITERATURE.—This is largely mixed up with that of the Andamans (see ANDAMANS), but the following works may be separately consulted with profit, especially as many of them contain valuable bibliographical notices in several languages: R. C. Temple, *Census of India, 1901*, iii., 'The Andaman and Nicobar Islands,' Calcutta, 1903, *IGI* xix. 59 ff., republished, 1909, in *Provincial Series*, 'Andaman and Nicobar Islands,' *Gazetteer*, 1908, 'Andaman and Nicobar Islands'; *Selections from the Records of the Government of India*, no. lxxvii. Calcutta, 1870 (valuable bibliography); F. A. de Roepstorff, *Vocabulary of the Dialects spoken in the Nicobar and Andaman Islands*, do. 1875 (references French, Danish, German), *Dict. of the Nancowry Dialect*, do. 1884 (references to Danish works).

All the above are Government of India publications. See also W. Dampier, *New Voyage round the World*, London, 1697; E. Renaudot, *Ancient Accounts of India and China by two Mohammedan Travellers*, do. 1733; *Lettres Édifiantes*, xi., Toulouse, 1810: F. Maurer, *Die Nikobaren*, Berlin, 1867 (valuable bibliography, English, Danish, German, from 1799 to 1863); E. H. Man, *Nicobar Voc.*, London, 1888, *Dict. of the Central Nicobarese Language*, do. 1889.

There are also references in H. Yule, *The Book of Marco Polo*, London, 1871, and in I-Tsing, *Travels*, ed. E. Chavannes, Paris, 1894, and J. Takakusu, Oxford, 1896. Articles will be found in *JRAI*, those by E. H. Man being very valuable; in *Asiatic Researches*, by N. Fontana, iii. [1802], G. Hamilton, ii. [1801]; in *JASB*, 1870, by de Roepstorff; in *IA*, many by E. H. Man and R. C. Temple; in *Journ. Ind. Archipelago*, by Chopard, iii. [1844]; in *Journ Philol. S.*, by A. J. Ellis, 1882; in *JRAS*, Straits Branch, by C. O. Blagden. There is a valuable article by W. Svoboda, in *AE* v. [1893] 186 ff., 'Bewohner des Nikobaren-Archipels,' with coloured plates and a good Continental bibliography. R. C. TEMPLE.

NICOLAITANS.—This is the name given to a sect mentioned in Scripture only in Rev $2^{6.15}$; but the Jezebel of Thyatira was probably a woman of influence within the party, and the paragraph 2^{18-29} throws light upon their tenets and practices. Outside of Scripture are several allusions, lacking in definiteness and leaving many questions unanswered. Irenæus (*adv. Hær.* i. 26) reproduces the description of the Apocalypse, and seems to have had no other source of information, but in iii. 11 he adds that the Nicolaitans anticipated Cerinthus and were therefore to be classed as a 'vulsio (ἀπόσπασμα) ejus quae falso cognominatur scientia.' Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* ii. 20, iii. 4) refers to the sect as immoral, and quotes a tradition as to its origin, which is adopted by Eusebius (*HE* iii. 29) without any suggestion of the existence of other accounts. Tertullian (*adv. Marc.* i. 29) makes similar charges of self-indulgence and lustfulness; but his language elsewhere (*de Præsc. Hær.* 33) suggests that the Nicolaitans had ceased to exist as a separate sect, while the name served as a convenient description of the morals of some of the Gnostics (cf. 'sunt et nunc alii Nicolaitae; Caiana haeresis dicitur'). Such other early evidence as is extant is obviously, or even confessedly, based upon what has already been cited; and the most likely explanation is the existence of two entirely independent sects or groups—the Nicolaitans of the Apocalypse, struggling unsuccessfully for a hold in the important centre of Ephesus (Rev 2^{6}), but flourishing in the comparative security of Pergamum, the ancient official capital of the province, and Thyatira (Rev $2^{15.\ 20ff.}$), and a later libertine Gnostic sect, which at the beginning of the 3rd cent. either justified some of its practices by an appeal to the teaching ascribed to Nicolaus or because of those practices attracted the condemnation associated with his name.

1. Origin of the name. — There are several theories as to the origin of the title, but not one of them is free from difficulty.

(1) The easiest and earliest derives the name from that of the deacon 'Nicolas a proselyte of Antioch' (Ac 6^{5}), about whom nothing is certainly known, the numerous legends having arisen in the endeavour to explain his assumed relation to the sect.

Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iii. 4 f.) preserves a story to the effect that the deacon was reproved by the apostles for the jealousy with which he watched over his beautiful wife, whereupon he offered to give her over (ἐπέτρεψεν) to any one of them who wished to marry her, and himself lived afterwards blamelessly. The deacon is further quoted as using the phrase δεῖν παραχρῆσθαι τῇ σαρκί, and the ambiguity of παραχρῆσθαι was the cause of misunderstanding. Nicolas used the word in the sense of despising or ill-using (Herod. i. 108, viii. 20, though with a different construction; cf. Just. *Apol.* i. 49); but the sense of misusing by indulgence (Arist. *ap.* Plut. ii. 527 A; Philo, ii. 61) was assumed by an Antinomian party in the Church, who proceeded to claim the deacon's sanction and to shelter themselves under his name. Epiphanius (*adv. Hær.* i. 25) gives the story another turn, and represents Nicolas as separating from his wife in obedience to the counsels of perfection, but afterwards as breaking down his purpose and returning to her again. This conduct he is implied to have justified by easy principles, and thus he 'occasioned the foundation of the sect of the Nicolaitans.' But not only is Epiphanius a rather late witness; his account is discredited by his evident disposition to disparage marriage. He reads the sentiments of his own day into the practice of a much earlier age. On the whole, whatever testimony there is is distinctly in favour of the deacon. Eusebius and Hippolytus are not independent, and have no original information on the subject, and Theodoret (*Hær. Fab.* iii. 1) professedly follows Clement, who defends Nicolas from the charges to which his assumed followers were open, thereby discrediting his own theory of the origin of their name. Twice in the 'long' recension of the Ignatian *Epistles* the Nicolaitan is qualified as ψευδώνυμος (*Trall.* 11, and *Philad.* 6), and the term may have been borrowed from *Apost. Const.* vi. 8. Thus in all probability the assumed connexion of the sect with the deacon is but another instance of the tendency to fasten upon an 'apostolic man' as the originator of every early movement and even as the founder of any important heresy; but, whilst that tendency may throw some light upon the views put forth by Clement and Epiphanius, it does not explain the occurrence of the word in the Apocalypse.

(2) Even less can be said in support of the theory that Nicolas is a translation or transliteration of Balaam. It is true that the Apocalypse is allegorical; but the appetite of its author for symbol was not without limit, and he is not likely to have tried to bewilder his readers with a hopeless puzzle in etymology. The name of Balaam was already current as typical of certain false views and immoral practices (2 P 2^{15}, Jude ^{11}, *Pirqe Âbôth*, v. 28 f.); and in Rev $2^{14f.}$ a comparison is instituted between the effects of his teaching and that of the Nicolaitans, but there is no suggestion that the two words are themselves identical in meaning. Every attempt to show that Νικόλαος is a real equivalent to בִּלְעָם has failed, and the phrasing of the verses does not warrant the supposition that etymological identity was imagined.

(3) Another Nicolas than the deacon must in consequence be sought as the founder of the immoral party at Pergamum. The name was not uncommon, and exact identification is not at present possible. According to pseudo-Dorotheus, there was a Nicolas, bishop of Samaria, who fell into heresy and evil ways under the influence of Simon Magus, and he may have given his name to the sect; but pseudo-Dorotheus is not only a late witness, but for other reasons somewhat untrustworthy. The same may be said of pseudo-Abdias, who in his *Acta Apost. Apoc.* introduces us to another Nicolas, who is alleged to have been converted in his old age, after a life of indulgence, through the persuasion of the apostle Andrew. Had this man professed Christianity before his conversion, the circumstances would have been in fair agreement with the conditions as set forth in the Apocalypse. The rise of a noxious party in a district within reach of the scene of the traditionary labours of Andrew would be explained, together with the speedy disappearance of that party as a separate Antinomian sect. But in the absence of better or confirmatory evidence all that can be said with confidence is that this Nicolas is the sort of man required, and that to him or to a namesake of similar character may be ascribed the mischief wrought in the northern and neighbouring cities of Pergamum and Thyatira, and suppressed with difficulty but with success in the church of Ephesus.

2. Tenets and practices.—Concerning the beliefs and usages of these original Nicolaitans there is no other direct evidence than is contained in the letters to Pergamum and Thyatira. That resolves itself practically into two statements, as to the meaning of which the context is more significant than are parallel phrases in different connexions.

(1) The one is the explicit comparison with the teaching of Balaam (Rev $2^{14f.}$) in the two particulars of sanctioning and even recommending fornication and compromise with idolatry, with a view 'to cast a stumbling-block before the children of Israel,' to frustrate their right endeavours, and by guile to bring about their fall. Certain means, in themselves bad, were deliberately selected for the accomplishment of an inhuman and entirely immoral purpose. The specific references are to such verses as Nu 31^{16} $25^{1.\ 2}$; and, though the story of Balaam, as we now have it, has been compiled from several sources, and extracts from JE and from P are woven into it without complete success in unifying the tradition, the writer of the Apocalypse would not be perplexed by any such complications, and his thought is sufficiently clear. Balaam, a recognized prophet or soothsayer, a man not without some knowledge of and reverence for Jahweh, counsels Balak to seduce Israel from its allegiance to Jahweh, and thereby from the enjoyment of His protection, by alluring the people into the immoralities associated with the Moabitic or Midianitish nature-worship. Similarly the Nicolaitans must be considered as loosely connected with Christian organizations of their day, and as seeking to undermine the godliness of the people by beguiling them into complicity with idolatry and into a practical disregard of the sinfulness of sins of the flesh. Self-deceived like Balaam, they glossed over obvious wickedness and so dressed it up as to make it pass off more easily with their consciences (cf. J. Butler, *Works*, ed. W. E. Gladstone, Oxford, 1896, ii., *Sermons*, p. 131, § 12); and hence the allusion involves the charge of a deliberate attempt to impose upon themselves and others in moral matters that were confessedly of the first importance. That such was their leading characteristic appears also from the changed imagery of the message to the neighbouring church.

(2) The second statement is implied in this message to Thyatira, where it is evident that the difficulty was the same, though the OT parallel was found in the case of Jezebel (Rev 2^{20}, 1 K 21^{25}), possibly because some female in the church had joined the movement and become the head and front of the offence. The evil that was violently opposed at Ephesus (Rev 2^{6}) was tolerated with inadequate opposition at Pergamum ($2^{14f.}$), but at Thyatira does not seem even to have been interfered with (2^{20}). The district was and continued to be notorious for its prophetesses, Oriental and Montanist; and it is easy to imagine that some Christian woman of influence became affected by the spirit of the place, claimed for herself the gift of prophecy, and proceeded to use it in the promulgation of views elsewhere known as Nicolaitan. The new feature in the description of those views is the claim to superior knowledge, a natural adjunct to the faith of a party led by a professed prophetess—a claim to know 'the deep things of Satan' (2^{24}). It is very unlikely that any traces of incipient Gnosticism in a technical sense are to be found in that phrase, or anything beyond the pretension to esoteric and privileged knowledge characteristic of every exclusive group. 'Deep things' is an easy expression for any pretender to special intuition to use, and entirely neutral in regard to the implication of Gnostic attachments. St. Paul uses it (1 Co 2^{10}) of the inscrutable regions where God's plans for mankind are framed, and in the singular for the central riches of the wisdom and love of God (Ro 11^{33}, Eph $3^{18f.}$). Man's heart also has a depth (Jth 8^{14}) that cannot easily be sounded, and in nature are recesses into which none but divine thought can penetrate. The figure is early and common, confined to no class or sect, but the heritage of every tongue, and from its use alone there is no need to infer any leaning towards Gnosticism. The qualifying phrase 'of Satan' is not without perplexity. It can hardly be taken literally as implying that the Nicolaitans themselves claimed a special knowledge of the things of Satan. Accordingly Hort (cf. *Com. in loc.*) is disposed to alter the generally accepted punctuation, and to connect 'as they say' with the words that follow, as though the Nicolaitan teachers professed to impose no superfluous burden, a contemptuous reference to the Jerusalem decree (Ac 15^{28}) being implied by the

appropriation of the obnoxious term βάρος, which, however, Hort regards as merely a coincidence. If the ordinary punctuation be preferred, the genitive must be taken as the writer's own characterization of the 'deep things'; and by describing them as 'of Satan' he referred simply to their mischievous and evil quality or to Satanic influence as the only influence powerful enough to enable a man to justify sin to his own conscience, and did not closely relate them with the abominations of the local Ophitic worship. That the last-named was his purpose has been inferred from the parallel between this phrase and the allusion to 'Satan's throne' in the message to Pergamum (Rev 2^{13}). It is true that Pergamum was a centre in Asia of the worship of Asclepius, whose symbol was a serpent (Paus. II. xxvii.), which in the Apocalypse is the symbol of Satan (12^{9}). Jewish story explains sufficiently the association of the serpent with the tempter (Gn 3; cf. Rev 12^{9}). At the same time, though the worship of Asclepius was in part the worship of evil, the serpent seems to have been connected with it as a symbol of wisdom and renovation; and there was certainly no reason for singling it out from other Greek or mixed cults for special condemnation. To attribute anything to Satan is in reality one of our writer's favourite phrases of opprobrium, and it is rare that anything more specific is suggested by it. The hostile Jews at Smyrna (Rev 2^{9}) and at Philadelphia (3^{9}) are 'a synagogue of Satan,' where the controlling thought in the ascription of the name seems to be the paternity of the sin of lying (cf. Jn 8^{44}). Similarly the party in the Asiatic churches was deceived and self-deceived, and therefore might be conceived as under the immediate influence of Satan. They boasted of their knowledge of deep things, but were actually misled into wrong and vicious conclusions, as though under the direct guidance of Satan. They asserted as Christian freedom a personal right which really meant self-indulgence and sin; and the moral confusion might justly be ascribed to the author of all confusion. That the phrase contains a veiled allusion to the local Ophitic mysteries, to the gross rites of the aboriginal paganism, or even to the worship of the emperor (which, however, seems to have been introduced into Pergamum as early as A.D. 29; cf. Swete on Rev 2^{13}), is an unnecessary suggestion, recondite and unconvincing.

3. Alleged relation to apostolic teaching.—The theory that identifies the Nicolaitans with the followers of St. Paul rests upon an unsubstantial basis, constructed chiefly of a few forced parallels in phraseology. The leaders of the group in Ephesus called themselves apostles (Rev 2^{2}), and one of them in Thyatira may have called herself a prophetess (2^{20}), just as St. Paul occasionally laid stress on his apostleship, and perhaps also implicitly claimed the gift of prophecy. The distinction between the Jew by race and the Jew by spiritual descent is common to both sides, though St. Paul uses less vigorous language and is sparing of denunciation. 'The deep things of God' (1 Co 2^{10}) and 'the deep things of Satan' (Rev 2^{24}) are related expressions, but the relation is not that of affiliation in phrase so much as that of independent appropriation of a common and current figure. Against the Nicolaitans and their allies the principal charge was that they taught 'to eat things sacrificed to idols, and to commit fornication' ($2^{14.\ 20}$). A passage in St. Paul's writings where fornication is authorized has yet to be found, and even his teaching about sacrificial feasts is closely guarded (1 Co $8^{4ff.}$). Hence altogether the explanation of the Nicolaitans as a Pauline group is quite inadmissible. Their tenets and practices were generally such as he either wholly rejected or in one case cautiously permitted in the interest of Christian freedom. And, just as the theory that Revelation was designed to be a polemic against Pauline Christianity has failed to establish itself as a whole, the included plea of the Pauline attachments of the Nicolaitans proves without recommendation in fact or even in probable conjecture.

In reality St. Paul, though more given than St. John to compromise on non-essentials, would have opposed the Nicolaitans with equal or greater vehemence. His own principle, indicated in Gal 5^{6} and illustrated in detail elsewhere in his letters (cf. 1 Co 8^{13}), was to contend for whatever was central in belief or fundamental in practice, and to allow considerable latitude in regard to whatever did not really matter; but, as soon as anything indifferent was exalted to the rank of the indispensable, it met with stern opposition. Christian liberty was to be maintained against both legal bondage and moral laxity; and yet the Christian 'under law to Christ' (1 Co 9^{21}) must be guilty of no offence against Him or His disciples, while admitting no rival. In the conflict with Græco-Roman civilization a practical difficulty continually arose in deciding how far professed Christians could or should comply with the social usages of their neighbourhood. The public festivals in the Ionian cities were the joy and pride of the citizens, and the private clubs or gilds met often in sacred buildings and interspersed sacrificial rites in their formal meals. The question was as to what concessions were legitimate or in the interest of the spread of the Christian religion and the protection of its professors from national suspicion. The Nicolaitans were the extreme party who disregarded all the safeguards with which St. Paul had invested the law of compromise, and pleaded for a suicidal blending of Christian beliefs with idolatrous worship, of theoretical Christian morals with sexual practice of the most immoral kind. St. Paul had seen the possibility of these developments in his day, and would not have considered St. John's denunciation of them as unnecessary or too strong.

4. Later sects of Nicolaitans.—The original sect of the Nicolaitans was not long-lived (Eus. *HE* iii. 29), though, as has been seen, it attracted the attention of several of the Fathers, who speculated as to its origin and the personality of its founder. But the name, sometimes merely as a term of abuse, has been attached to several later groups without implying any dependence upon one another or upon the sectaries in Asia Minor. There is evidence at the beginning of the 3rd cent. of the existence of a Gnostic sect of immoral habits, called therefore Nicolaitans (Epiph. *Hær.* xxv.; see also pseudo-Tert. *adv. omn. Hær.* 1, and Hipp. *Hær.* vii. 24). They shared in the worship of the great Mother-goddess, the goddess of heaven, and in the unbridled prostitution associated therewith; and, though their special object appears to have been to prevent the sexual propagation of mankind and the consequent perpetuation of evil, their cult might fitly be described as a mixture of idolatry and fornication. In the disputes as to the celibacy of the clergy again the term was applied to the married priests by the opponents of clerical marriage. It appears to have been first used in this connexion by Cardinal Humbert (*Cont. Nicetam*, 25), who described the 'Nicolaitan heresy' as consisting in the justification of clerical marriage; and in that sense it obtained official recognition in the canons of the Council of Piacenza (March 1095). Again, among some of the tendencies that preceded the organization of the Friends, the word occurs curiously to denote those who upheld creeds and outward ordinances, and exalted the authority of the written word above that of personal intuition (see C. Burrage, *The Early English Dissenters*,

Cambridge, 1912, i. 217 ff.). It was a usage begotten of the desire for a word of reproach rather than in the workings of the instinct for historical continuity; and in this case, as in the others, the passage in the Apocalypse may have suggested the term but has no real light cast upon it.

LITERATURE.—The Patristic references, which are really the only original authorities, are given in the text. Among the commentaries on Revelation, H. B. Swete (*The Apocalypse of St. John*, London, 1906, esp. p. lxxi ff.) and F. J. A. Hort (*The Apocalypse of St. John, 1-3*, do. 1908) may be consulted with advantage. See also W. M. Ramsay, *The Letters to the Seven Churches*, do. 1904, esp. p. 299 ff., and A. V. Green, *The Ephesian Canonical Writings*, do. 1910, esp. p. 180 ff.

R. W. MOSS.

NIETZSCHE.—1. Life.—Friedrich Nietzsche, philosopher, poet, mystic, and prophet, was born on 15th Oct. 1844, at Röcken, near Lützen, in the Prussian province of Saxony. There is some reason to believe that he was of remote Polish descent; this always gave him much satisfaction, and he was pleased when living in Italy to be mistaken for a Pole. On the paternal side he came, like Emerson, of a line of ministers, and his mother was a minister's daughter; it was a significant origin for one who remained throughout life a preacher, though not of the gospel that he had been taught. He came on both sides of healthy and long-lived families. His father, however, a man of sensitive temperament and poetic mind, died at the age of thirty-five as a result, apparently, of injury to the head from a fall; his mother, a woman of much beauty and vitality, with a rebelliously high spirit, resembled Goethe's mother in temperament, and was of the same age of eighteen at her distinguished son's birth. After the father's death the family removed to Naumburg. Here the child, who grew tall and strong, though only beginning to talk at the age of two and a half years, was surrounded by exclusively feminine influences. He was a quiet, refined, and well-behaved boy, with fair hair and grave dark eyes, very truthful and very polite, though possessing a passionate temper which he early learned to control, with no liking for rough games or coarse amusements, and a taste for poetry and music. At school young Nietzsche was one of the best pupils—serious, reserved, pious, and fond of the Bible, called by his schoolfellows, over whom he exerted much influence, 'the little minister'; he excelled in all subjects except mathematics and athletics, and was especially devoted to the classics; at the same time he became a brilliant extemporizer on the piano. At the age of sixteen he obtained a scholarship which enabled him to enter the Pforta School, not far from Naumburg; this is a kind of Public School, of exclusive character, and with a very high level of discipline and scholarship.

In 1861 young Nietzsche received his first Communion, and, when he left Pforta to proceed to Bonn University, he obtained a certificate of good conduct and industry and special excellence in the subjects of Religion, German, and Latin. At Bonn he entered the faculties of Theology and Philology, but, led by his Hellenic tastes, he more and more concentrated on philology, which, also, he felt to be a needed discipline to his own temperament. Ritschl and Jahn were his teachers. When a quarrel arose between these two philologists, and the former went to Leipzig University, Nietzsche followed his beloved teacher, who had a high regard for the young student's qualities and scholarship. At Leipzig he took the chief part in founding and carrying on a Philologists' Club, occupied himself with important investigations into the history and sources of the writings of Theognis, Suidas, and Diogenes Laertius, and formed many valuable friendships, especially with Rohde and Gersdorff. His friends were always men of noble character and tastes akin to his own; throughout life he cherished high ideals of friendship, but his few attractions towards women were superficial and fleeting. While a student, he by chance became acquainted with the works of Schopenhauer; he had long felt intense admiration for the works of Wagner (to whom he was not personally introduced until 1868); Schopenhauer and Wagner became the two chief influences on his life and thought, and he began to lose his Christian faith, although then, and long after, he displayed no aggressive opposition to Christianity, remaining, in his own words, 'a reverent animal.' At the same time he endeavoured to take part in the beer-drinking and duel-fighting life of the students' clubs, but these attempts speedily ended in failure; he took the unusual step of severing himself from his club, and throughout life experienced nothing but loathing for the 'beer-materialism' and related accompaniments of the ordinary German's intellectual life. Goethe's *Conversations with Eckermann*—'the best German book there is,' he declared—became and always remained with him a profound influence, and the same may be said of Emerson; he looked upon Emerson as a kind of elder brother, and throughout the whole of his active life some volume of Emerson's *Essays* always accompanied his wanderings. His chief early interests and influences were, however, Hellenism, Schopenhauer, and Wagner. Later the last two influences were left behind, though he always recognized the great importance of both, and Rome became more to him than Greece; but the early attraction of Hellenism, and the sound philological training of Pforta, made him a philologist.

In 1869, at the early age of twenty-four, and largely through the influence of Ritschl, Nietzsche was elected Professor of Classical Philology in the University of Basel, and he occupied this position for ten years. He was a careful and conscientious teacher, devoting himself more especially to his best students; there were not many, however, who attended his courses, and even these decreased in number as his unconventional opinions discredited him among orthodox professional philologists. The year after his appointment to Basel the Franco-Prussian War broke out. Nietzsche was still patriotic; he had gone through his military training, as a student, in the artillery, and he wished to take part in this war; that was not, however, possible in any active military capacity, as he had been obliged to become a naturalized Swiss citizen; he, accordingly, after a course of training, joined an ambulance corps and engaged in nursing the wounded outside the walls of Metz. He had been occupied in this work for only a few weeks when a severe attack of dysentery and diphtheria compelled him to abandon it, but this brief contact with the suffering and misery of war produced such an effect on his sensitive and sympathetic nature that for some years after he was scarcely able to speak of his experiences.

This episode in Nietzsche's life was memorable for more than one reason. In the first place we may date his ill-health from it. He had been a robust and healthy youth, though rather troubled by his eyes. From now on he became liable to frequent and severe attacks of eye-trouble, migraine, and sleeplessness, as well as to stomach troubles. In the second place, this was the period when he was actively engaged in working out the conceptions embodied in his first book, *The Birth of Tragedy* (*Die Geburt der Tragödie*). Although this book sprang out of Hellenic studies, it was clearly not the work of a scientific philologist, but of a poet and artist. The philologists shook their

heads over it when they were not actively hostile; a few enthusiastic friends took Nietzsche's side, and a furious Teutonic controversy, in which the author himself played no part, raged round the book. This was the first of a considerable series of books which continued to appear until in 1889 Nietzsche's brain suddenly gave way. In 1879 his health compelled him to resign his professorship; he was granted a pension which with small private means enabled him to wander about Europe in the search for a climate favourable to his health; but he always lived in an extremely simple manner and well within his small income. Most often he was in Genoa and the Riviera or in the Engadine. His friendship with Wagner, the most significant episode in his life, had come to an end at the first great Wagner festival at Bayreuth in 1876. There were numerous subsequent friendships with men and women, but these often ended in misunderstanding and rupture; Nietzsche's high-strung temperament and exalted ideals of friendship evidently rendered him a difficult friend, though, while absolutely independent in abstract matters, he was easily influenced in personal and practical matters. He inspired esteem, almost veneration, in the common people among whom he lived, and towards whom he was always sympathetic, more in Italy, however, than in Germany, although he considered that Socialistic Labour leaders were ruining the cheerful and contented spirit of the people by inspiring them with new needs and new hatreds, while at the same time they had not the courage to attack alcohol, which, in his eyes, was the worst of all the people's enemies. His Genoa landlady many years afterwards talked of his friendliness and sympathy, and used to call him 'il santo'; his early friend, Rohde, the distinguished Hellenist, similarly remarked of him that he was 'a disguised saint.'

During the years that followed his departure from Basel until his mind finally gave way, nearly all Nietzsche's books were written and published, as his health permitted, although they attracted little or no attention. All his later books he had to publish at his own expense, and of one of these, of which he had forty copies printed for friends, he found occasion to give away only seven. There was never any real and lasting improvement in his health; he continued to suffer severely from eye-strain, headache, sleeplessness, and stomach troubles, as well as mental overstrain, for which he found only the dangerous relief of an excessive use of drugs, especially chloral. There was never, however, any definite mental trouble; his books showed, in an ever-increasing degree, a peculiar intellectual irritability, self-centred and egoistic, but were never the work of a madman; his letters also, except in the last few days before the final breakdown, were entirely sane. His acquaintances and the guests at the *pensions* at which he stayed, up to the last, perceived nothing morbid or peculiar about him, and always found him cheerful, equable, and sympathetic. He was always considerate for others, and an invalid English lady who knew him latterly tells how solicitous he was that she should not read his books. Early in 1888 he received the first signs of European recognition in the appreciation of the two chief European critics of the day, H. A. Taine and G. Brandes, both of whom entered into correspondence with him. But in January 1889 at Turin he was suddenly found in a state of complete insanity, and from that moment he never wrote a line. The precise form of his insanity has been much debated; the doctors called it 'atypical paralysis,' which is vague. P. J. Möbius (in *Über das Pathologische bei Nietzsche*, Wiesbaden, 1902) regarded it as general paralysis of the insane. This seems very doubtful, and is founded chiefly on a statement which has since been withdrawn. Hubert Norman, in a careful study of the case (*Journal of Mental Science*, Jan. 1915), concludes that he suffered from maniacal depressive insanity, alternating, with apparently normal intervals, between mental excitement and mental depression; we have to remember, however, that his friends and acquaintances saw nothing of this excitement and depression, while his sister also emphasizes his equable cheerfulness. Nietzsche's case is perhaps fresh evidence that even in insanity genius fails to follow the ordinary rules. In any case Nietzsche's life henceforth became almost vegetative, on the mental level of a child's. H. Lichtenberger, who saw him in 1898, refers to his magnificent brows and the eyes which seemed to direct their light inward, remarking that the spectacle was inexpressibly sad, yet beautiful and peaceful. He was tenderly cared for by his mother and his devoted sister and biographer, Frau Förster-Nietzsche. He died at Weimar on 25th Aug. 1900.

2. Works.—J. Burckhardt, the historian of civilization, who was a sympathetic colleague of Nietzsche's at Basel, said of him as early as 1869, 'Nietzsche is as much an artist as a scholar.' This became clearly visible a few years later (1871) in Nietzsche's first book, *The Birth of Tragedy*. The book is permeated by enthusiastic admiration for Wagner and infused with the spirit of poetry; it is not a work of scientific scholarship. But, while stating here his conception of the Apollonian and Dionysian spirits, and setting out his dream of an ideal state of human life in which culture would be one with nature, he also helped to make clear a deeper view of the Greek spirit than that hitherto prevailing, which regarded it as a spirit of superficial cheerfulness. Intemperance, wildness, the Asiatic spirit, seemed to Nietzsche to lie at the root of the Greek soul; it was in his struggle with these tendencies that the Greek revealed his special characteristics. Here, at the outset, we find the insistence on suffering as the condition of vital development which never forsook Nietzsche. His next book, published in 1873–76, *Unseasonable Considerations* (*Unzeitgemässe Betrachtungen*), is made up of a series of elaborate and important essays. One deals with Wagner in Bayreuth, and was the first attempt, still probably the ablest and most eloquent, to place the composer's claims on the highest ground. Another discussed the use and abuse of history, and severely criticized the German tendency to exaggerate the importance of history in culture. In yet another of these essays, on Schopenhauer as educator, Nietzsche set forth the fine influence which, he conceived, Schopenhauer might exert on his readers; much as Nietzsche's estimate of Schopenhauer sank, he always regarded the statement of the case in this essay as fundamental, Schopenhauer's liberating influence being independent of Schopenhauer's doctrines, and most of what was said of it here applying equally to Nietzsche's own influence. A very significant revelation of Nietzsche's attitude towards life was contained in the essay on D. F. Strauss, the author of the *Life of Jesus* and *The Old Faith and the New*, which had just then appeared. Strauss was one of the founders of modern Prussianism and a typical champion of German culture. To Nietzsche he represented the new spirit of Germany created by the Franco-Prussian War, in its worst manifestations. It was as such that he assailed Strauss, with no personal animus, and, when the old man, very shortly after, died, Nietzsche was deeply grieved lest he might possibly have embittered his last days. The war, Nietzsche felt, had created an attitude of paltry self-complacency in Germany and introduced a false ideal of culture. In attack-

ing Strauss, he was attacking, and not for the last time, German 'culture,' and setting forth his own ideal of culture as 'unity of artistic style in every expression of a people's life'; at this time, and always, he regarded the French as the supreme representatives of true culture.

Human, all-too-Human (*Menschliches, Allzumenschliches*), which is transitional in character, was published in 1878. In this 'Book for Free Spirits' Nietzsche finally abandoned the method of essays carefully elaborated with a due regard to literary conventions, and adopted the more free, aphoristic, and fragmentary method which afterwards he always preferred; it suited his direct and personal way of approaching problems, and it doubtless suited also the limited energies which bad health placed at his disposal. *The Dawn of Day* (*Morgenröthe*), which completely reveals Nietzsche's characteristics, was published in 1881, and was followed by *The Gay Science* (*Die fröhliche Wissenschaft*), published in 1882, and *Beyond Good and Evil* (*Jenseits von Gut und Böse*), published in 1886; these books all belong to the same class and possess considerable resemblance in substance and method. For many readers they include most that is precious in Nietzsche's work. They represent him in his central and most mature period; they range freely over a vast field; they are full of the most penetrating criticism and insight into the deepest questions of life and thought and art; they are for the most part free from the unbalanced extravagances and the reckless over-emphasis which we so often find in his later work. Before this series of works came to an end, Nietzsche had already begun the most famous of his books, *Thus spake Zarathustra* (*Also sprach Zarathustra*, 1883–91). Its first origin was at Sils Maria in 1881. It consists of four parts, each part written with great rapidity, usually in about ten days, although the parts were separated by long intervals. Zoroaster had always been a favourite figure of Nietzsche's, embodying some of the ideas to which he was most attracted, and it was therefore natural that he should give this traditionally imposing name to his typical Superman. It is easy to understand the position which *Zarathustra* has attained; it has a certain kind of unity since it is written around a single figure and throughout in the lofty rhythmic style which we commonly regard as Biblical; it is moreover, all are agreed, magnificently written; it contains pictures and passages of a highly impressive character. Many, however, will agree with so competent a critic as Brandes that it has been over-rated, being too monotonous and lacking in imaginative invention. When we read it carefully, we are made to feel that its imposing surface frequently covers no great depth of thought or truth of insight; it sometimes seems simply a marvellous *tour de force*. Nietzsche was not, however, entirely wrong in attaching so much importance to his *Zarathustra*. Apart from its rare beauty, it possesses a certain coherence as a narrative of the passage of the Superman, Nietzsche's perfected human being, through life, and a record in brilliant imagery of his attitude towards the difficulties of life. We may regard it as Nietzsche's *Pilgrim's Progress*. *The Genealogy of Morals* (*Zur Genealogie der Moral*, 1887), largely dealing with Christian and traditional morality, the ascetic ideal, and the analysis of the conscience, may be said to form the transition to the last group of Nietzsche's writings. This group includes *The Case of Wagner* (*Der Fall Wagner*, 1888), attacking Wagner's music which he had in early life so enthusiastically admired, *The Twilight of the Idols* (*Götzendämmerung*, 1889), *Nietzsche contra Wagner*, and *Antichrist* (both first published in the collected edition of his works), while *Ecce Homo*, also written at the end of this period, was not published until 1908; it is the most egoistic, it might be said, arrogant, of all Nietzsche's writings, but of much biographical value. *The Will to Power* (*Der Will zur Macht*), remarkable but often imperfect and obscure fragments of what was meant to be an extensive and important work, was also published posthumously. All these later writings after *Zarathustra*, and to some extent including *Zarathustra*, show a frequent tendency to self-assertion, unrestraint, over-emphasis, and extravagance—all of which are absent from the earlier writings—and they are chiefly responsible for the various common misunderstandings of Nietzsche's attitude and opinions. In these last writings, brilliant as they may be, he too often forgot his own wise saying that 'a spirit who is sure of himself speaks softly.' It may be added that Nietzsche wrote some notable poems (*Gedichte und Sprüche*) published in 1898, and also composed music, which has been variously judged.

3. Place and influence.—(*a*) *Nietzsche's ideas and originality.*—Nietzsche is frequently termed a philosopher, but, in the proper sense of that term, he was something less and something more than a philosopher. He may have recognized this himself in his tendency to avoid the term 'philosophy' and to speak, in preference, of the 're-valuation of values.' Philosophy to him was simply a perpetual criticism of thought and life. Of coherent and consistent system he had almost nothing, much less even than Schopenhauer, from whom his own thinking started, so far as it was in any sense philosophic, and one feels that the attraction of Schopenhauer for him lay in the earlier master's constant appeal to the concrete and practical problems of living, in the beauty of his style, and in the fact that (as Nietzsche has expressed it) the value of the stones he builded with is so much greater than that of the edifice itself. Nietzsche never completed any systematic statement of his philosophical system, the book in which he proposed to do this, *The Will to Power*, remaining merely a series of fragments, comparable to his other books of the same period. Nor is it possible to arrange Nietzsche's leading ideas into any harmonious whole. A. Fouillée, an accomplished philosophic thinker not altogether hostile to Nietzsche, has analyzed his conceptions at length with much care, and finds that they finally fall into a 'dust of antinomies'; he denied authority and yet the Superman constituted an authority; he denied absolute truth and yet proclaimed the transvaluation of truth; he affirmed egoism and yet presented a self-abnegating law of life; he glorified the passions and yet declared the supreme necessity of austere self-discipline. Moreover, when we coldly investigate Nietzsche's favourite and persistent conceptions, we can scarcely attribute to them any great fruitfulness, originality, or even precision. Let us, for instance, examine the conception of the Superman with which in popular opinion Nietzsche's name is especially associated. He used the word *Uebermensch* first at the age of seventeen, applying it to Byron's heroes, and later to Shakespeare's; as a more abstracted conception, it is probably due, as Brandes has suggested, to Renan (a writer with whom he was not in sympathy), who, in 1871, in the discouragement caused by the Franco-Prussian War, tentatively put forward the view (in a dialogue called 'Rêves' of his *Dialogues philosophiques*) that 'the goal of humanity is the production of great men' for the domination of mankind; Renan had specially referred to Germany as offering the most favourable soil for this, as he regarded it, deplorable consummation. When Nietzsche began to use the term seriously, it was rarely or never biologically, as denoting a higher

species developed in the Darwinian way, for he regarded Darwinism as an unproved hypothesis, though he accepted evolution and esteemed Darwin. He was acquainted with Galton's work, and it is possible to use many of his sayings concerning the Superman in the eugenic sense, but it is difficult to say how far he so intended them and impossible to regard him as a pioneer of eugenics. More and more, as he spoke of Supermen and declared that 'the goal of mankind is in its great Exemplars,' he simply had in mind men of genius of the type of Cæsar, Napoleon, and Goethe. However vaguely suggestive in the mouth of the artist and the poet, the term 'Superman' was of no precise philosophic or scientific significance. Much the same may be said of another favourite conception of Nietzsche, that of 'eternal recurrence.' It came to him in 1881, when he was planning *Zarathustra*, and he regarded it as the fundamental underlying doctrine of that work, 'the highest formula of affirmation that can possibly be achieved.' It seems to have been a revivification of the old Pythagorean idea, stimulated by reading Helmholtz, Riemann, and the earlier writings of Wundt. It can scarcely be said, however, that Nietzsche made any fruitful use of this ancient and outworn formula, however suggestive he may personally have found it; it is, indeed, an idea which, it has been said, seems to place man in the position of a squirrel in a cage, endlessly turning round himself. We may note that all Nietzsche's persistently iterated formulas belong to the last ten years of his active life, when we may find reason to believe that his mental grip was no longer so close as before nor his insight so penetrating. It is not in such formulas that his originality lies, but rather in the personality of the man, in his direct and sincere attitude towards life and thought, his acutely sensitive receptivity to the influences of his time, and his intense energy in reacting to them vitally.

(*b*) *His ethical attitude.*—It was inevitable that a man of this temper should sooner or later become profoundly interested in moral problems. In Nietzsche's case this interest was rather late. His instinctive moral seriousness, that of the unspoilt 'child of the Manse,' only gradually became self-conscious and aggressive under the influence of his intellectual development. *The Dawn of Day* is the first of his thoroughly unconventional ethical writings, and it was only about this time that he began to call himself an 'immoralist.' 'I like not those coquettish bugs,' Nietzsche once wrote, 'with an insatiable ambition to smell of the Infinite, until eventually the Infinite smells of them.' It is an illuminating remark, and enables us to understand why it is that many readers of Nietzsche have failed to realize that it was not the Infinite that he was assailing but merely the bugs. Nietzsche himself sometimes opened the path to misapprehension. He is not to be classed with the adepts of paradox, but the epithet 'immoralist' was merely a paradoxical way of declaring his growing alienation from the traditional morality of his time; we must bear in mind the point on which he so often insisted, that every innovator in morals, like Jesus and like Socrates, is regarded as 'immoral.' The 'immoralist' was intensely absorbed in questions of morality, and, not only so, but in actual practice, he was, from first to last, himself strictly moral, even in a rare degree, from the standpoint of the very morality, that of traditional Christianity, which in theory he condemned. He fully accepted the foundations of morality, the binding nature of duty, the supremacy of the will. Yet he was entirely opposed to what he considered the 'Christian-democratic' ideals of selflessness, humility, renunciation, and the sacrifice of the strong to the weak. The clue to the development of his moral conceptions lay in his own intensely sensitive and sympathetic nature, rendered hyperæsthetic by the strain of his physical disorders. The 'hardness' which he preached was the shield that he himself needed against the arrows of the world. It was on this personal basis that Nietzsche's restless intellect wrought concordant ethical conceptions and images.

'My brother,' wrote Frau Förster-Nietzsche, 'was not at all suited to the role of a warrior "whose paradise is in the shadow of his sword." He could fight an impersonal type, but when the type appeared embodied in a sensitive human form, he suffered from his own blows even more than the enemy he assailed. "I was not made to hate," he would say.'

When we come upon passages glorifying war in *Zarathustra* and the later writings (they are never found in the earlier books), we must read them in the light of what we otherwise know concerning Nietzsche's attitude towards war. He had had actual experience of only one war (in 1870), and that had not only left in him an impression of horror, but had convinced him that the effects of war are disastrous even on the victors. He never advocated any particular war, least of all for the aggrandizement of Germany (he scoffed at the cry 'Deutschland über Alles!' and wished to be a 'good European' rather than a good German); he disapproved of militarism and standing armies, and loathed the conception of the State which it is the object of militarism to magnify. The idea of combat and war has, however, always been idealized in Germany, even by philosophers and moralists, and it is not unnatural that Nietzsche should have adopted it. The apostle of the most peaceable of religions exhorts the disciple to 'fight the good fight,' and Nietzsche, not unreasonably, believed that struggle, self-discipline, and suffering are necessary for moral development, in accordance with his favourite motto, 'Virescit volnere virtus.'

These are the considerations that we must bear in mind when reading some of Nietzsche's utterances on sympathy and pity. It must be added that those utterances, especially when detached from his later and more extravagant writings, often present an altogether misleading view of their writer's attitude. To reach a saner view a wide and impartial collation of passages is necessary; this has been carefully made by W. M. Salter ('The Philosopher of "The Will to Power," i. Nietzsche on Love and Pity,' *HJ* xiii. [1914] 102 ff.), and shows that Nietzsche, far from condemning pity *per se*, merely desires a revision of the things deserving pity, and is prepared to expend pity on that pity which fails to see the need of suffering and sacrifice in life.

At the same time, while setting in a clear light the source and the nature of Nietzsche's attitude towards current morals, we must not disguise the radical opposition presented in many respects by his own moral ideas. Our morality, as Nietzsche saw it, has been largely moulded by Christianity reinforced by modern democratic social developments, and these influences have been predominantly altruistic, subordinating the duties which regard self to the duties which regard others, and placing the interests of the whole unconditionally over the interests of the individual. Now Nietzsche, as witnessed by his ever growing admiration for the Romans, to whose temperament Stoicism was so well adapted, was by his classical training a pagan, by his intellectual distinction an aristocrat, and by his fundamental genius an individualist, for whom morality was always an individual matter to be achieved by combat, self-discipline, and pain. St. Bernard, it is true, used the same moral methods; but, while Bernard used them to impress on men that they are but sacks of dung and the food of worms, Nietzsche would use them to train men in

the fortitude and energy which befit the masters of the world. He believed that 'good' and 'bad' in most languages originally indicated, respectively, the qualities of the aristocrat and of the plebeian herd (this occurred to him as early as 1864, when studying Theognis), and some of his later writings, notably *The Genealogy of Morals*, are mainly concerned with the analysis of the emotions and ideas of that herd-morality which, he came to believe, dominates our modern civilization.

(*c*) *His significance and mission.*—If we look back on the last third of the 19th cent., we see to-day that it was spiritually dominated by two figures who completely and extremely expressed its two opposing sets of ideals: Tolstoi and Nietzsche. Tolstoi represented the Christian, social, and humanitarian group of ideals, in a form which even the ordinary Christian finds extravagant, while Nietzsche represented the rationalistic, pagan, and individualist group of ideals in a form which, for his part, the ordinary rationalist also finds extravagant. Each of them was a consummate artist in his way, a penetrating psychologist, and a struggling pilgrim along the path of life, painfully seeking to work out his own salvation. They differed conspicuously in this, among other respects, that, while Tolstoi was simply re-vitalizing the tradition in which our civilization has developed, in which we ourselves still live, Nietzsche was seeking after ideals which either lie far back in the remote Hellenic and Roman past or have not yet come to birth, so that his significance was much less easy to perceive, and during the whole of his own active life was never perceived at all. But, for this very reason, when once perceived, Nietzsche's message is all the more novel and stimulating, a perpetual challenge to all those who with open eyes are seeking their way on that same perilous path of life. Nietzsche is not, indeed, to be counted a guide along the path; his stimulating and challenging influence, fortifying to the strong, may be dangerous to the weak. He was too much of an individualist to desire disciples; he said himself that what he hoped to do was to stimulate the productivity of others and to increase independence in the world; 'nothing is farther from me than to make proselytes'; we may say of him, as he said of Schopenhauer, that 'the man's free and brave attitude towards the world remains mightily potent and helpful.' He cannot be ranged alongside the world's greatest spirits; we cannot place him by his master (so far as he may be said to have a master), Goethe. The searchlight of his genius could shed its penetrating beam on a great number of spots, but we miss the all-embracing light which reveals the gracious harmony of the whole. Nietzsche's proposed solutions of definite problems are scarcely sufficiently precise or sufficiently sound to command general assent, and it seems unlikely that he will occupy a permanently important place in the history of philosophy. We may better place him in that procession of distinguished figures in the world's spiritual history—artists and moralists, sometimes mystics or prophets—which includes Marcus Aurelius, William Blake, Emerson, Thoreau, and Whitman. However transitory his influence may prove as a philosopher, his place as an artist is assured, for he carried the German language to a new stage of perfection; 'one day it will be said,' he wrote at the end, 'that Heine and I were the supreme artists of the German language,' and the claim is scarcely now seriously disputed. His work, moreover, will always be interesting for its singular gleams of insight and for the passionate vitality with which it presents the struggles and progress and fate of a human soul of the acutest sensibility and the rarest endowment.

LITERATURE.—There are several edd. of Nietzsche's works, notably the large library ed., *Nietzsche's Werke*, Leipzig, 1895 ff., in many volumes, not yet completed by all the fragments, and a convenient pocket ed., *Nietzsche's Werke*, 10 vols., Leipzig, 1906. The English reader's needs are now well supplied by a sound English version, ed. Oscar Levy, *Complete Works of Nietzsche*, 18 vols., London, 1909–13; this ed. contains everything of importance, except the fragments and the letters, which occupy numerous volumes in the German edd., and the last vol. is made up of a valuable index. A knowledge of Nietzsche's life is as indispensable to a just understanding of his attitude as a knowledge of his works, and the chief source is the biography in 2 vols., *The Young Nietzsche* and *The Solitary Nietzsche* (Eng. trr., London, 1912 and 1915), by his sister, Frau Förster-Nietzsche. This is necessarily a partisan biography, but it is written with intimate knowledge and sympathy by a highly intelligent woman, whose chief life-work has been the care of her brother and of his fame, and the supervision of the publication of his works. All other biographies of Nietzsche are mainly founded on this. The most useful and comprehensive in English is probably M. A. Mügge, *Friedrich Nietzsche: His Life and Work*, London, 1908; it has a considerable bibliography. Slight but interesting, as written by an early and distinguished admirer, is G. Brandes, *Friedrich Nietzsche*, Eng. tr., do. 1914. There are many books on Nietzsche's philosophy, but they may mostly be dispensed with. Mention may, however, be made of A. Fouillée, *Nietzsche et l'immoralisme*, Paris, 1902, as a very penetrating criticism by an eminent thinker, and of J. de Gaultier, *Nietzsche et la réforme philosophique*, do. 1904, an appreciative statement by another eminent thinker, and especially must mention be made of H. Lichtenberger, *La Philosophie de Nietzsche*, do. 1898, a highly intelligent, sympathetic, and judicious discussion, probably the best book of this kind about Nietzsche; there is an Eng. tr. by J. M. Kennedy (*The Gospel of Superman*, Edinburgh, 1910), and a Germ. tr. (*Die Philosophie Friedrich Nietzsches*, Dresden, 1899), which is of special value on account of a long and illuminating introduction by Frau Förster-Nietzsche on the sources of Nietzsche's ideas.

HAVELOCK ELLIS.

NIHILIANISM.—The term 'Nihilianism' is employed to denote an erroneous view regarding the Incarnation of our Lord, adopted by certain theologians of the 12th century. They expressed their teaching on the point in the proposition, 'Christus secundum quod homo non est aliquid,' though, as will be seen below, the meaning that they attached to this formula is not that which at first sight it appears to convey. The origin of the error is to be found in the speculations of Abelard (*q.v.*) as to the union of natures in Christ. He held that the phrase 'Deus est homo' could not be taken literally, since, strictly interpreted, it would involve the identity of the temporal and the eternal, the creature and the Creator. The true meaning of the proposition 'Deus est homo' is, he maintained, 'Deus est habens hominem' (*Epit. theol.* 24 [*PL* clxxviii. 1733 f.]). He had, in fact, failed to realize the Catholic conception of two distinct substantial natures possessed by the same eternal Person. Where that conception is admitted, the proposition in question presents no difficulty. It does not affirm the identity of the two natures, but simply that the same Person who is God in virtue of the one nature is man in virtue of the other. His own theory of the Incarnation, with which we are not here concerned, was very different from this (cf. *Introd. ad Theol.* iii. 6). Abelard's influence on the theology of the following century was considerable, and several theologians, while avoiding his more signal errors, nevertheless adopted and gave further development to his view regarding the significance of the proposition 'Deus est homo.' They asserted that the union between the divine and human natures was not, as had hitherto been taught, substantial, but was such that the human nature stood to the divine in the relation of an accident. Peter Lombard in a well-known passage (*Sent.* iii. dist. 6) gives us the three views as to the Christological question which were held by various doctors of his day. Of these the third is that to which the name of Nihilianism has been given. According to the first view, although the human nature which the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity assumed had no existence before the Incarnation, it should nevertheless be conceived as a fully constituted human being, possessed of all

that is required to give it complete subsistence, even apart from its assumption by the Godhead. The second view asserted that, while the Son of God assumed a complete human nature, body and soul, yet this nature did not, apart from its union with the Person of the Son, possess independent subsistence. God did not assume an individual *homo*, but an individual *humanitas*, which became a subsistent *homo* only in virtue of this union. It will be seen that these two views (of which the second is that of orthodox Christianity) agree at least upon the fundamental point that the human nature was assumed as a substance; that in the proposition 'Deus est homo' the predicate expresses a substantial nature and not an accidental qualification of the divine Person. The exact contrary is the teaching of the third view. According to it, the human nature was a mere vesture with which the Son of God clothed Himself in order to appear among men, and is to be referred not to the category of substance, but to that of *habitus*, the tenth of the Aristotelian categories. The phrase 'Deus est homo,' it was asserted, is an inaccurate expression for the more correct 'Deus est humanatus.'

The formula which we have cited above as containing the summary expression of the Nihilianist tenets, 'Christus secundum quod homo non est aliquid,' was simply intended to express this belief. It was not meant in any way to deny the reality of the body and soul of Christ. The Nihilianist theologians fell into no error in this regard. They merely desired to assert the accidental character of the human nature, to declare that *homo* cannot be predicated of Christ as a substance (*quid*), but only as an accident (*quale*) (cf. Petrus Pictav. *Sent.* iv. 10 [*PL* ccxi. 1173 ff.]).

But those who adopted this view believed it necessary to draw yet another conclusion. Since it appeared to them that, where body and soul coalesce to form one nature, it is impossible to deny to the resulting *compositum* the title of substance, they maintained that the Son of God assumed His body and His soul as separate entities and not united the one to the other. There was thus, they asserted, nothing in Christ which could be called *homo*. The formulæ with which they expressed their belief as to this point were: 'Nihil constat ex anima et carne Christi,' 'Nihil quod est homo est Deus,' 'Christus nihil est in eo quod est homo' (*Apol. de Verbo Incarnato*, qu. ix., *ap.* Hug. de S. Victore, *PL* clxxvii. 307; cf. Gualterus de S. Victore, *Contra Quatuor Labyrinthos* [*PL* cxcix. 1130]). It will be seen from these expressions that the designation 'Nihilianist' is not altogether a misnomer.

The view was supported by a series of philosophical difficulties urged against the substantial union (Petrus Pictav. *loc. cit.*). These are due in every case to a failure to understand what is really involved in that doctrine. The argument which seems to have been regarded as the most important was based on the definition of person universally accepted in the schools, 'substantia individua rationalis naturae.' It was urged that the validity of this definition rendered it manifest that, if the human nature of Christ was a substance, it must also be a person, and that in this way the doctrine of a substantial union compelled those who maintained the proposition 'Christus est Deus' to introduce a fourth personality, the man Christ Jesus, into the Trinity (cf. Abelard, *Epitome*, 24 [*PL* clxxviii. 1732]; and H. Denzinger and C. Bannwart, *Enchiridion*[11], Freiburg, 1911, no. 372). Appeal was, however, also made to the words of St. Paul, Ph 2^7 'in similitudinem hominis factus, et habitu inventus ut homo,' and to passages from St. Augustine and St. Hilary, in which these Fathers speak of the human nature of Christ as a garment (*habitus*) taken by the Son of God for the purpose of His earthly manifestation.

This theory of the Incarnation is, on more than one count, incompatible with vital elements of Christian belief. If the human nature of Christ does not belong to Him as His substance, but is merely an external vesture related to Him as an accident, then we can no longer say that He who was born of the Virgin Mary and who suffered on the Cross for us is, in truth, very God. In this case these events befell a human nature extrinsically related to the Godhead, but it was not God who underwent them for us. Further, if in Christ soul and body were not united so as to form a complete substance, He cannot, properly speaking, be termed a man. A soul and a body in separation the one from the other are no more a man than, previous to the work of building, the materials of a house are a house. Were this theory true, we should have no right to claim Christ as belonging to our race, and one with us.

As regards the Patristic passages which speak of Christ's human nature as a garment, they are perfectly consistent with orthodox belief. For, though His human nature belongs to Him as a substance, and is not a mere external adjunct, yet He took it of His own free will and by way of addition to the nature which was His by right and in which He already subsisted. In both of these points the comparison with a vesture holds good even for those who unreservedly accept the doctrine of the substantial union (cf. Thomas Aquinas, *in Lib. Sent.* III. dist. vi. qu. 3, art. 8, ad 1).

The theory was only bearing its natural fruit when it led a certain number of those who held it into the Adoptianist heresy. If Christ as man is not God, then it follows that He must be the adopted and not the natural Son of God. Gerhoch of Reichersperg, who was the most prominent opponent of the error, distinctly connects it with the opinions with which we are dealing (*Ep.* 17, 'ad Alex.' [*PL* cxciii. 564]). As early as the pontificate of Honorius II. (1124–30) he found it necessary to confute a French theologian named Luitolph, who was propagating Adoptianist views at Rome (*Ep.* 21, 'ad Coll. Card.' [*PL* cxciii. 576]). At a later date (1150) he was engaged in a still more important controversy on the same subject with Folmar of Triefenstein. These developments, however, lie outside the scope of the present article.

In view of the metaphysical difficulties which surround the point at issue, it is not surprising that several theologians of eminence for a time at least succumbed to Abelard's influence, and were disposed to look with favour on the Nihilianist solution. It is found in the *Sententiæ* of the Bolognese doctor, Roland Bandinelli, afterwards raised to the pontificate as Alexander III. Peter Lombard held it as a matter of private opinion, though, as his former pupil and subsequent opponent, John of Cornwall (*DNB* xxix. 438), tells us, he was careful to make it clear that he would never hold it if the Catholic Church should determine in a contrary sense (*Eulogium ad Alex. III.*, 3 [*PL* cxcix. 1053]). His disciple, Peter of Poitiers, here as elsewhere, adopts the same view as his master. Indeed, the influence of Peter Lombard was so great that it won a very wide acceptance for the error. John of Cornwall speaks of 'infiniti scholares' (*op. cit.*, præf.) and again of 'tot greges scholarium' (19) who had adopted this opinion, and believed it to be in accordance with the data of revelation. On the other hand, it did not lack strenuous opponents. Among these may be mentioned the doctors Robert of Melun (subsequently bishop of Hereford [*DNB* xlviii. 366]) and Maurice of Sully (subsequently bishop of Paris).

At the Council of Tours (May 1163) the point was debated at length; but it would appear that no formal decision was taken. It is of interest to note that the pontiff presiding at this Council was none other than Alexander III., who, as we have mentioned, had some twenty years before, as a private doctor, maintained this very opinion. In the following year (1164) a great assembly of theologians was held at Sens, at which the pope was again present. Here he issued a prohibition against 'omnes tropos et indisciplinatas quaestiones in theologia'; and he ordered the bishop of Paris to see that these discussions should cease. Again in 1170 (2nd June) he wrote to the bishops of Bourges, Rheims, Tours, and Rouen, commanding them not to permit the error 'quod Christus secundum quod homo non est aliquid' (Jaffé, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, Leipzig, 1888, 11809). Another letter of the same year (18th May 1170), to the bishop of Paris, bids him convoke his suffragans in order that a final stop should be put to the propagation of the opinion (Jaffé, 11806). A still more important step was taken in 1177. On 18th Feb. of that year the pope wrote a letter to William, archbishop of Rheims, in which the doctrine is condemned under pain of anathema (*Corpus iuris canonici: Decr. Greg.* v. 7. 7; Denzinger-Bannwart, *Enchiridion*[11], no. 393). There can be no doubt that the *Eulogium* of John of Cornwall contributed to bring about this result. That work, as J. de Ghellinck shows, appeared between 1175 and 1177; and it is a direct appeal to the pope to pronounce a definite condemnation. Among the controversial writings of the period it takes a high place, alike for the moderation of its tone and for its clear and ample demonstration that the doctrine which it attacks is altogether inconsistent with orthodox belief. It is, however, noteworthy that the author himself falls into error in supposing that the first and not the second of the views as to the Incarnation mentioned by Peter Lombard is that which expresses the revealed doctrine.

The pope was now so convinced of the need of strong measures that at the Lateran Council of 1179 he proposed to procure the condemnation of Nihilianism by a formal conciliar decree. He was, however, deterred by the opposition of several of the cardinals and by the vigorous protests of Adam, bishop of St. Asaph (*DNB* i. 75). After this date the doctrine seems to have ceased to exercise any noticeable influence.

LITERATURE.—Petrus Lombardus, *Sent.* iii. 6, 10 (*PL* cxcii.); Rolandus Bandinelli, in A. M. Gietl, *Die Sentenzen Rolands*, Freiburg, 1891; Petrus Pictaviensis, *Sent.* iv. 10 (*PL* ccxi.); Thomas Aquinas, *Comment. in Lib. Sent.*, Parma, 1857, III. vi., x.; Johannes Cornubiensis, *Eulogium ad Alex. III.* (*PL* cxcix.); anon. *Apologia de Verbo Incarnato* (attributed by some to John of Cornwall) (*PL* clxxvii.); Gualterus de S. Victore, *Contra Quatuor Labyrinthos Franciæ* (*PL* cxcix.), in C. D. d'Argentré, *Collectio Judiciorum de Novis Erroribus*, Paris, 1728, i. 112; J. Bach, *Die Dogmengesch. des Mittelalters vom christologischen Standpunkte*, Vienna, 1873–75; C. J. von Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, Freiburg, 1873–90, ed. H. Leclercq, *Hist. des Conciles*, Paris, 1907–13, v. (2) 974; E. Portalié, art. 'Adoptianisme au XII. siècle,' in J. M. A. Vacant, *Dictionnaire de Théologie*, i. (Paris, 1903) 413; J. de Ghellinck, *Le Mouvement théologique du XII. siècle*, Paris, 1914.

G. H. JOYCE.

NIHILISM.—See ANARCHY, SOCIALISM.

NIHILISM (Buddhist).—Buddhism, as known to the Brāhman authors, *i.e.* Buddhism of the Great Vehicle, has been strongly criticized by them as nihilistic (cf. *vainā́sika*). The extreme Vedāntist (Śaṅkara's school), who held the doctrine of illusion (*māyāvāda*), was charged with the same crime and styled a pseudo-Buddhist.[1] Both indictments are justified, and there is no doubt that the 'absolute truth (*paramārthasatya*) of the extreme Buddhist and of the extreme Vedāntist is an unqualified negation of the world of appearances, a negation of existence (*saṁsāra*). The two nihilisms—nihilistic nihilism of the Buddhists: there is nothing; and monistic nihilism of the Vedānta: there is being alone—differ so little that a book could be written illustrating the position of the Vedānta with phrases and stanzas borrowed from Buddhist works (*Gauḍapādakārikā*).[1] The only difference between the two systems is that the Vedānta recognizes an unqualified being—in fact, its denial of existence has its source in its belief in being—whereas Buddhism, from the very beginning, had denied being and then went so far as to deny existence. It was very easy to make a place in Buddhism for the Vedāntic affirmation, and some Buddhists did not fail to proclaim that voidness is the very nature and essence of things.[2] Voidness hitherto has been understood as their character, as it is said: 'Form (*rūpa*) is void, because it is void or without any reality, not owing to Voidness.'[3] Thus was evolved a curious aspect of the pantheistic theory, very like Vedānta and probably largely indebted to it.

But, to be fair, one must consider the problem from another point of view, and it will appear that neither Vedānta nor Buddhism is nihilistic. Like Śaṅkara and Māyāvādin philosophers, the neo-Buddhist doctors of nihilism loudly claim to be firm supporters, and the only firm supporters, of morality, religion, realistic philosophy. While they are proud of being Śūnyatāvādin, they fiercely disclaim to be Nāstika (see art. MATERIALISM [Indian]) or Vainā́sika.

They are very good when they criticize the position of their opponents, believers in reality. There is no life or existence if there is no change; and there cannot be change if there is being. What exists (*sat*) must be instantaneous (*kṣaṇika*).[4] And the generation of instantaneous things in succession is incomprehensible and impossible.

But they were also well aware of the conspicuous target that their absolute (*pāramārthika*) dogmas offered to their adversaries. Nāgārjuna, their chief, if not first, exponent, has put the objection in the plainest possible language.[5] The old Buddhist (Little Vehicle) is introduced to point out that, if everything is void, nothing will remain of the old Buddhist fabric. The stone on which Buddhism is strongly built is the truth of suffering: Buddha taught a path leading to the deliverance from suffering, and the neo-Buddhist denies the existence, not only of the sufferer, as Buddha himself did, but of suffering too. Buddha contrasted existence (*saṁsāra*) and liberation from existence (*nirvāṇa*), desire (*kleśa*) and absence of desire (*vyavadāna*), while Nāgārjuna maintains that beings are 'in Nirvāṇa' (*nirvṛta*) from the beginning. Buddha did not believe that there is an ego who practises the rules and follows the Path, but he was an indefatigable preacher of 'act and fruit,' while his modern disciple, Nāgārjuna, the so-called 'Buddha without marks' (*alakṣaṇa*), endeavours to show that act is void.

The answer of Nāgārjuna is to the point. To begin with, the cardinal principle of Buddha is that one must rely on truth—on reasoning. That is the refuge, not the authority of any one. Where there is disagreement between the Buddha's sayings and the dicta of reason, we have to look

[1] See T. Aufrecht, *Cat. of Sanskrit MSS Bibl. Bodleianæ*, Oxford, 1884, p. 14.

[1] See *JRAS*, 1910, p. 129 ff.

[2] See D. T. Suzuki, *Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, London, 1907.

[3] *Prajñāpāramitā, passim* (see *Aṣṭasāhasrikā prajñāpāramitā, Bibl. Indica*, Calcutta, 1888).

[4] See *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha*, tr. E. B. Cowell and A. E. Gough, London, 1882.

[5] *Mūlamadhyamaka*, p. 475 ff.

on these sayings as provisional—expressions for the convenience of hearers, not true expressions of Buddha's mind.[1] So much for the charge of heresy. And it is evident that the old philosophy—negation of an ego, belief in the existence of *dharmas* (see PHILOSOPHY [Buddhist])—does not bear criticism (*vichāra-asaha*). All the common notions—cause, act, fruit, etc.—which Buddha admitted so far, because his disciples were not ripe for the truth ('I do not disagree with the world' [*lokena sārdham na vivadāmi*]), are contradictory. Nāgārjuna is subtle—more subtle than solid—in finding 'antinomies.' The doctrine of voidness, therefore, is the true word of Buddha.

It remains only to make sure that this unqualified nihilism of the 'pure reason' does not weaken the old positions of Buddhism, does not 'destroy' the common notions of everyday and of religious life. Buddhists and Indians do not object to any metaphysical theory, and one is often astonished at the marvellous freedom of their most orthodox writers. They have often been praised by Europeans for their so-called free thinking. But this freedom has its limits, and sometimes very narrow ones. In the present case it is all-important for a Buddhist that the holy Path should remain safe. It is safe in the town of Voidness, and, to tell the truth, the Path can be followed only by a believer in voidness.

The aim of the Path is deliverance from suffering; *i.e.* deliverance from existence. The Path, therefore, is the suppression of desire. And, although the old Buddhists failed to realize this psychological fact, there cannot be cessation of desire as long as there remains in the mind any idea of pleasure, pain, or existence. The Buddhist of the Little Vehicle strives for liberation, without knowing that this very endeavour is framed with desire; therefore the saint of the old pattern, the *arhat*, when he dies, has not really done what is to be done, has not practised the true *brahmacharya*, and he will live again. To be qualified for liberation, one must know that there is neither *saṁsāra* nor *nirvāṇa*, neither Buddha, liberated, nor candidate for liberation.

We should rejoin that, if things are void of any real existence and like a dream, mirage, or magical creation, there cannot be any order and consequence in the coming and going on of these things; that, therefore, the means leading to liberation from desire are of no avail. There is no reason why these dream-like illusions should not continue to deceive us. They are without cause; therefore there is no means of stopping them. But Nāgārjuna does not believe that void things are going on without order and consequences: the various magical contrivances depend, as a matter of fact, on various formulæ. It is true that causation, motion, and knowledge do not support criticism; but criticism does not destroy the indisputable fact that everything is happening *as if* there were causation, motion, knowledge. Everything is absurd in the nightmare which we are dreaming; but, while we have first to know that this is an absurd nightmare, in order to obtain a reasonable sleep, we have also to understand the rules that govern its *processus*. It is an absurd nightmare; that is the absolute truth. It is going on because we cling to it, because we find pleasure in it, because we are feeding it—absurd and unreal as it is—by absurd and unreal affections or dislikes; such is the experimental truth. Nāgārjuna does not 'destroy' the experimental truth; he emphasizes, on the contrary, this fundamental point that, unless we manage void and illusory things according to the rules that govern their *processus*, it will be impossible to reach the other side of illusion. This system may not bear criticism; but it is nevertheless an honest and able attempt to cook the last fruit of nihilism—negation of suffering and of liberation—evolved from the old nihilistic seed sown by Buddha himself, in the most orthodox juice (*rasa*) of the Good Law, the juice of suffering and liberation.

[1] L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme*, Paris, 1909, p. 130 ff.

LITERATURE.—The chief authorities are Nāgārjuna, *Mula-madhyamaka* (*Bibl. Buddhica*, iv.), Petrograd, 1913, and Chandrakirti, *Madhyamakāvatāra* (*ib.* ix.), do. 1912, and tr. in *Muséon*, viii. [1907], 249, xi. [1910] 272, xii. [1911] 235. See, further, PHILOSOPHY (Buddhist), MADHYAMAKA, and MAHĀYĀNA.

L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

NĪMĀVATS.—The Nīmāvats are a Vaiṣṇavite sect of considerable influence in the north of India. They are especially numerous in Bengal, in and around the home of their founder Nimbārka at Vṛndāvana, near Mathurā, in the Monghyr district in the north of the province. His father's name is given as Jagannātha; and, according to some authorities, he spent a considerable part of his life in Bellary, in the province of Madras. Nimbārka is said to have derived his name from a miracle which he performed on the occasion of the unexpected appearance of a Bairāgin ascetic at his house late in the evening, demanding food. His visitor was under a vow not to eat after sundown. Nimbārka, therefore, not to fail in hospitality, caught the sun in a *nīm*-tree, and delayed its setting until his guest had satisfied his hunger. The founder is believed to have been an incarnation of the sun-god, or of Sudarśana, the discus of Viṣṇu or Kṛṣṇa, itself a solar symbol; and the *nīm*-tree is universally associated with solar worship. His date has not been certainly determined; probably he lived and taught in the early part of the 12th cent.; and by some he has been identified with Bhāskarāchārya, who at that time studied and wrote on mathematics and astronomy.[1]

The community or sect founded by Nimbārka is known as the Sanaka or Sanakādi-sampradāya, the latter term denoting the organized system or 'church' of Sanaka and his successors. Sanaka is described as the predecessor of Nimbārka in the second generation of teachers, and the inspired source of the knowledge which had been communicated to him immediately by the 'divine lord' (Bhagavat). The members of the community direct their chief worship to Kṛṣna and his spouse Rādhā. They bear on the forehead as a caste-mark two perpendicular lines of white clay (*gopi-chandana*) with a central black spot, and carry a rosary and necklace of the sacred *tulasī* wood. Many of them are wandering *sannyāsins*; others marry and fulfil the duties of ordinary citizens and householders.

Nimbārka wrote a commentary on the *Brahma-sūtras*, which in its turn formed the text of commentaries by his followers and successors. A knowledge of the doctrines which he taught, however, is obtained chiefly from a brief dogmatic treatise of which he was the author, known as the *Siddhāntaratna*, or *Daśaślokī*, consisting of ten stanzas, whence the latter name is derived. His teaching was based upon that of Rāmānuja, from whom he was not far removed in time, which he extended and developed in the direction of assigning a quasi-independent position to the individual soul (*jīva*) and to the inanimate universe. This qualified individualism, however, is not to be understood as though these two can or do maintain an existence distinct or separate from Brahma. They are essentially and permanently one with that which is all and in all. The system of Nimbārka, therefore, secures in form at least the monistic position.

[1] C. M. Duff, *The Chronology of India*, London, 1899, p. 139, with references; Monier-Williams, *Brāhmanism and Hinduism*[4], p. 146 f.

Jīva and the world are distinct from Brahma only in the sense that they are developed or evolved from his qualities, force, or *śakti*, so as to constitute the universe of animate and inanimate forms. They exist in him in a subtle (*sūkṣma*) guise, which in the world of phenomena takes on a gross (*sthūla*) body, yet remaining essentially united to him, with no detached being or life. Nimbārka's teaching, therefore, combines a modified pluralism with the Vedāntic monism. Equally also with Rāmānuja he emphasized the importance and need of *bhakti*. The grace of Brahma is for all who are in need and who seek him with devotion and faith. This is the only way of salvation by submission to the will of Kṛṣṇa, and trust in his mercy; at the feet of the one god all should offer worship and devotion, and thus alone can they obtain deliverance from distress and the darkness of ignorance and sin.

Like other Indian teachers, Nimbārka distinguished two classes of souls: those already emancipated and those yet in bondage. For the devotee who sought emancipation it was essential to obtain a knowledge of five things: (1) the nature of the object of worship, defined as *sachchidānanda*, 'reality,' 'thought,' 'bliss'; (2) the nature of the worshipper; (3) the results to be anticipated of the divine grace, explained as devotion, self-surrender, supreme affection, etc.; (4) the bliss produced by true *bhakti*; (5) hindrances to union with God. Instances of the last are idolatrous worship, disregard of the divine commands, etc. Inanimate objects also are of three kinds: (1) those that owe their origin to *prakṛti*; (2) those that do not originate from *prakṛti*; (3) time. The *jīva* finds its true nature and destiny when by the grace of God the hold of *prakṛti* is relaxed, and final and complete separation achieved.

Thus the followers of Nimbārka have inherited and maintain theoretically a doctrine of compromise, to satisfy, on the one hand, the evidence or apparent evidence of the reality of the visible universe and of the individual soul, and, on the other, not entirely to break with the Vedāntic doctrine of absolute unity (*advaita*). Of the history of the sect since its foundation little or nothing is known. Its members are said to have suffered much persecution at the hands of the Jains and others, and at one time the sect almost ceased to exist. No effort seems to be made to propagate their distinctive teaching, nor are they actively hostile to other forms of belief.

LITERATURE. — M. Monier-Williams, *Brāhmanism and Hindūism*[4], London, 1891, p. 146 f.; W. Crooke, *PR* i. 6 f.; R. H. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and minor religious Systems* (=*GIAP* iii. 6), Strassburg, 1913, pp. 62–66., 160 f.; A. S. Geden, *Studies in the Religions of the East*, London, 1913, p. 383 f. See also art. BHAKTI-MĀRGA, vol. ii. p. 545.

A. S. GEDEN.

NINOMIYA SONTOKU.—1. Life.—Ninomiya Sontoku, the peasant sage of Japan, was born near Odawara in 1787, and died in 1856. When he was twelve years of age, his father died, leaving him to support the family. He had little opportunity for study, but so intense was his thirst for knowledge that he carried his Confucian Classics wherever he went, and would read as he walked, or would keep his book open near him as he worked, that he might catch frequent glimpses of its pages. When he was sixteen years of age, his mother died, and the family was broken up. Ninomiya went to live with his uncle Mampei, a sordid old man, who grudged him the oil he used when poring over his books at night. So the boy found a tract of deserted land, and planted it with rice-plants which the farmers had discarded. Thus he was able to supply his own oil for study. Even this did not appease his uncle, who considered study a shameful waste of time and oil, so he strictly forbade him to study at night. Then Ninomiya rose as soon as the day began to dawn, and pursued his studies before his uncle was awake. For lack of paper and ink he practised writing in the sand. He continued to cultivate his tract of waste land, saving the money each year until he was able to redeem his father's estate. These early experiences proved to be stepping-stones to his great life-work.

A man named Hattori, a clansman of the lord of Odawara, hearing how Ninomiya had redeemed his father's estate, and being himself in great financial difficulties, urged Ninomiya again and again to come and help him to save his estate. Finally Ninomiya yielded, on condition that Hattori should strictly follow directions. The family were not allowed to wear silk or to indulge in any needless luxury. He made them live so well within their means that each year there was a surplus. The result was that in five years prosperity was restored to the estate of Hattori. Not only were all debts paid, but there was money in hand, which Hattori offered to Ninomiya. Ninomiya refused any reward for himself, but divided a portion among the servants who had been his loyal helpers.

The next appeal for help came from the lord of Odawara, who had heard of the great good accomplished on his clansman Hattori's estate. Sakuramachi, in Shimotsuke province, was once very prosperous, producing 20,000 bushels of rice annually and supporting over 400 homes. It had gradually declined until it produced less than 4000 bushels of rice, and the people were correspondingly degraded.

Ninomiya first made a thorough examination of existing conditions. Then, to the lord of Odawara's surprise, he refused all offers of money to carry on the work. His plan was to make the people work out their own redemption. He himself sold out all that he had, and went with his family to reside in Sakuramachi. The first few years brought little but discouragement. All his efforts seemed unavailing. Indolence, gambling, drunkenness, and vice continued to flourish. Suddenly Ninomiya disappeared, and the people, alarmed lest he had deserted their cause, made a search for him, and found him at the Narita temple, where he had spent twenty-one days in fasting and prayers for his people. They were so impressed by his devotion and self-sacrifice that they promised him their diligent support if he would but return to their village. During the next five years unprecedented prosperity crowned their efforts. At the end of that time, when the famine of the seventh year of the Tempo era (1836) occurred, the people of Sakuramachi were able to assist the neighbouring districts with food and money. The storehouses were opened, and from March to May they fed over 40,000 persons. In addition Ninomiya loaned about $3000 to the people without interest.

After the death of the lord of Odawara he was employed by the Tokugawa government in A.D. 1842. It was his custom to begin his work in the most promising village or district and gradually to work out from there. He praised and encouraged the industrious ones, and patiently taught the unworthy. Wherever he went, he preached the duty of man, emphasizing filial piety, honesty, righteousness, and brotherly love. He gave homes to the homeless, loaned money without interest to those who were in debt, advising them to write the amount of their indebtedness above their god-shelf, that they might be reminded of it daily as they performed their devotions. He supplied farm implements until the people were able to buy for themselves, and taught by example and precept the importance and dignity of honest toil and mutual helpfulness. Thus he spent his life, until

he was over seventy years of age, bringing hope and cheer to the people of Japan.

2. Teaching.—Ninomiya's teaching centred in the idea of gratitude to heaven, earth, and man for blessings received—to heaven for the light of the sun and moon, for growth and decay; to earth for the trees, grain, birds, animals, and fish; to man for his various offices and labours. Hence the first principle of conduct is to make suitable return for these blessings. The manner in which such return can be made is set forth in Ninomiya's teaching known as 'Hotoku.'

The society of 'Hotoku' was organized by his disciples. The members of the society are expected to conduct their lives in such a way as to bring prosperity to themselves and to their country. By their conduct they must show their gratitude for all the blessings that they have received from the gods, the emperor, and their ancestors. They must be industrious, and live so within their income that they will have a surplus, which may be used to develop waste places or new industries. 'Hotoku' is not a religion, but it tries to put the best elements in Shintoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism into practice, laying great stress on national spirit.

The society has two funds: one is made up of voluntary offerings from the members, known as 'foundation money,' and may be used for current expenses, public works, encouraging new industries, relieving distress, or rewarding good deeds; the second is made up of the surplus funds of the members, known as 'good seed money.' This fund may be loaned to the members or to other worthy persons without interest, on a vote of the society. Ninomiya condemned the taking of interest, because heaven does not demand interest on her blessings. The borrower is expected to return the loan in ten annual payments, and then in the eleventh year to bring an extra payment as a thank-offering for the benefits which he has received from the society.

The central idea of Ninomiya's method was to have a yearly surplus. He said that it was in that way that the earliest ancestors of Japan opened up the country and redeemed waste places. The same method would reclaim any number of deserted plains, and rescue any number of people from poverty. He urged this method upon the feudal lords of the Tokugawa age when they became financially embarrassed, and, even when they enjoyed prosperity, he still urged them to lay by something either to help the poor or against a time of famine.

He regarded self-sacrifice as a fundamental virtue, without which peace and prosperity were impossible. He used to say to young men:

'If you wish to succeed you must unselfishly serve men. I have learned from experience that self-sacrifice is essential to success. When I was a poor boy, I owned but one spade. One day it broke and I was greatly embarrassed. I tried to borrow a spade from an old man who lived next door, but, as he had need for it in his own garden, I offered to do his work for him. When I had finished digging and planting his garden, he gladly gave me the spade and said I was very welcome to use anything he had. You young men do not need to spend your mornings in bed; rise early and find something, however small, to do for some one else. Some may not appreciate your act of kindness, others may thank you profusely, while others may offer you some slight reward. It matters not how they receive it; your responsibility is to give yourselves to others.'

Ninomiya condemned the spirit of revenge. He said that Iyeyasu, the first of the Tokugawa Shoguns, being born in a warlike time, admired the spirit of revenge, but a great Buddhist priest taught him a better way, by emphasizing the beauties of benevolence. From that time the great Iyeyasu discountenanced revenge. Ninomiya thought that all Japanese should learn to love benevolence. Revenge leads to revenge without limit. If it were encouraged, the world would become a scene of bloodshed and murder. It is the duty of the government to administer justice, and punish the guilty.

He taught that good and evil are relative terms, like far and near. The difference between far and near depends entirely upon your standpoint. So with good and evil; nothing is absolutely good or absolutely evil. Man deplores waste places; the bear and the deer rejoice in them. The thief thinks it good to steal; the government condemns it. Happiness and misery always go hand in hand. Water under control is a blessing; uncontrolled, it brings floods and misery. The hunters' joy is the sorrow of the birds and animals.

3. Religion.—Ninomiya favoured no one religious sect, but was liberal towards all. He thought that, just as one may reach the summit of Mt. Fuji by many different paths, so men may reach truth through any of the various sects of religion. Shintoism is useful for opening up the country, Confucianism for governing the country, Buddhism for giving peace of mind. He described his own teaching as a medicine tablet in which he had thoroughly mixed two parts Shintoism, one part Confucianism, and one part Buddhism. They need to be well mixed to be effective. His sacred book was the unwritten book of nature. He disliked priests because they were consumers rather than producers. Yet he was very religious. He used to say: 'Without sound, without odour, heaven and earth repeat over and over the unwritten sacred book.' To read this book you must close the physical eye and open the spiritual eye. There may be errors in the written sacred books, but never in nature's book. If the written book did not agree with nature's book, he rejected it.

4. Conclusion.—Ninomiya was not merely an economist, although his work was largely connected with the accumulation of wealth. In his report concerning the district round lake Imba he advocated a reformation of the ethical and moral conditions of the people as of more importance than the mere improvement of their material environment. He reported that it was impossible to employ them on any government enterprise unless their spiritual natures were reformed. Even if their district became wealthy, the moral ideals of the people were such that wealth would only increase their vice and sensuality. If their moral natures were reformed, wealth would be a blessing and not a curse to them. Again, when he was appointed to his last great work, he sighed and said: 'My intention is to refine human kind rather than to restore deserted places, but now I am again ordered to do the latter.' These references are sufficient to show that Ninomiya placed moral teaching first, and the development of wealth second. He used to say: 'If we could only develop the deserted places in human minds, we could then let the deserted fields look out for themselves.'

LITERATURE.—Tadasu Yoshimoto, *A Peasant Sage of Japan*, tr. from *Hotoku-Ki*, London, 1912; R. C. Armstrong, *Just Before the Dawn* (*The Life and Work of Ninomiya Sontoku*), New York, 1912; Kanzo Uchimura, art. in *Representative Men of Japan*, Tokyo, 1908; R. C. Armstrong, art. in *TASJ*, vol. xxxviii. [1910] pt. ii.; Takayoshi Tomida, *Hotoku-Ki* (Jap.), Tokyo, 1905; Masaye Fukuzumi, *Yawa* (Ninomiya's evening addresses) (Jap.), Shizuoka, 1887; *A Study of Ninomiya* (Jap.), published by The Sapporo Agricultural College, Tokyo, 1909.

R. C. ARMSTRONG.

NIRMALĀS.—The Nirmalā Sādhūs, or 'pure saints,' are a Sikh order which was bitterly opposed to that of the Akālīs. They are said not to undergo any rite of purification, but merely to receive the *amrit* like other Sikhs when they become Singhs. They originated, like the Akālīs, in the time of Gurū Govind Singh, but the history of their foundation is obscure.

According to one story, a water-carrier was seized by the Gurū's soldiers for supplying their enemies with water during a battle, but the Gurū declared him 'stainless' (*nirmalā*) This account, however, undoubtedly arose out of a confusion between this order and the Sewāpanthīs. According to the *Panth Prakāsh* (Amritsar, 1892, p. 855), the Nirmalās originated thus: Gurū Govind Singh invited a Brāhman to come from Benares to teach the Sikhs, his disciples, Sanskrit, but he declined the invitation, saying that none but Brāhmans were entitled to learn Sanskrit or the Vedas, and pointing out that many of the Sikhs were artizans or even menials by caste. To this the Gurū rejoined that the Sikhs would become more erudite than the Brāhmans, and that the latter would one day be glad to learn from the Sikhs. He also sent many of his disciples to learn Sanskrit. They wore the saffron garment of the *sādhū*, and translated many Sanskrit works into the vulgar tongue. These people were styled Nirmalās by the Gurū. Another story is that once the Gurū asked his Sikhs to cook *karā parshād* (sweet-meat eaten in communion), and they all obeyed him except thirteen, who kept their seats. These were called Nirmalās, as they had discarded the things of this world (from *nivirt*, 'renunciation'). A third tradition is that once after a hard-fought fight the Gurū and his companions went to rest, but at midnight he arose to see if any were awake in meditation. Those whom he found keeping vigil in spite of their fatigue he called Nirmalās.

The precise derivation of the name is obscure. The Yogīs practise a rite called *nivali*, or *niuli* (physical purification by purging) as a preliminary to the rite of *yoga* (drawing in the breath) properly so called, and the term Nirmalā may be derived from this practice.

At first the Nirmalās took the *pahul* and wore white raiment, but they have adhered to the study of the orthodox Hindu scriptures and thereby lost touch with Sikhism. They now wear the ordinary saffron robes of the Indian *faqīr*, possibly to facilitate begging, which they profess to avoid, as they claim to subsist on offerings voluntarily made. All Nirmalās are *kesh-dhārī*, *i.e.*, they wear the *kes* of the true Sikh or Singh.

The Nirmalās form a well-disciplined and highly respected organization. Each monastery is under a *gurū*, while a council or committee periodically visits their societies throughout the Province. Almost always celibate, they bear a far higher reputation for morality than most of the other religious orders in the Panjāb. Their principal *akhāra* is at Hardwār, but they also have foundations at Amritsar and elsewhere in the Panjāb.

H. A. ROSE.

NIRVĀṆA.—*Nirvāṇa*, etymologically 'blowing out,' 'cooling,'[1] or *mokṣa* (*q.v.*), 'deliverance,' is the central idea of the teaching of Śākyamuni and the *raison d'être* of Buddhism.

'As the vast ocean, O disciples, is impregnated with one flavour, the flavour of salt, so also, my disciples, this law and discipline is impregnated with but one flavour, with the taste of deliverance' (*Chullavagga*, IX. i. 4).

It was in order to lead his fellow-creatures to *nirvāṇa* that Śākyamuni preached the True Law; it is in order to reach *nirvāṇa* that monks and nuns forsake the duties of secular life, become strangers to the society of the family, both the dead and the living, which assembles around the domestic fire, and devote themselves to the practices of an ascesis which has one 'flavour,' the flavour of *nirvāṇa*.

It seems, therefore, that we should be amply provided with definitions of *nirvāṇa*, and that there should be no doubt as to the actual meaning of the word. As a matter of fact, the present writer believes that we know what *nirvāṇa* is as well as the Buddhists themselves did, and it is not our fault if we are not able to give an unambiguous statement. The Buddhist felt satisfied with a description which does not satisfy us, because, whereas we have been for centuries trained to make our ideas clear, this was not the case with the Indians; and also because we look at the Buddhist doctrines from the outside, without in the least believing in them: whereas *nirvāṇa* is for us a mere object of archæological interest, it is for Buddhists of paramount practical importance. Our business is to study what *nirvāṇa* may be; the business of a Buddhist is to reach *nirvāṇa*—a very different thing.

1. **Nirvāṇa as a negative conception.**—The idea of *nirvāṇa* cherished by the Buddhists is chiefly a negative one. They know what existence is. They know that existence is suffering—every existence, even the happy life of the gods, because the gods are to die and to be reborn; every existence, even the almost endless dreamy meditation of the beings living in the 'realm of neither notion nor no notion' (see art. COSMOGONY [Buddhist]). And they think that there is an exit, an end to the ever-recurring birth and death; there is an 'extinction' of the everywhere and always miserable consciousness; there is a *nirvāṇa*, deliverance from existence; and that is, indeed, enough. We must admit that the prospect of an endless migration from world to world, from hell and animal birth to hell and animal birth, is an appalling one, although we fail to realize fully its appalling character because we are not disposed to share it. But it is fairly evident that, at the time of Śākyamuni, many men were tired of existence.[1] They had learned to despise the trivial and unstable joys of life, and taken so gloomy a view of the universe that deliverance—unqualified deliverance—seemed to them a goal for which it is worth while to strive. This negative definition does not appeal to the most innate needs of our mind and heart—and that is the reason why *nirvāṇa* has been so often misunderstood; but the first duty of a historian of religion is to admit that some 'states of mind' may be human although they are not European or modern.

2. **Nirvāṇa as a happy state.**—While we believe that we are right on this point—namely, that some Indians were deeply pessimistic and that this pessimism culminated in the Buddhist ideal of an unqualified deliverance—it is not difficult to understand how this wan and cold ideal received the tinge of the warmest colours of confidence and hope. There is an enormous mass of texts which represent *nirvāṇa* as a happy state.[2] Every phrase that the Brāhmans use to describe the fortunate merging of the individual self into the absolute and universal self is or may be used by the Buddhists to describe the deliverance. *Nirvāṇa* is the farther shore (*para*), the island (*dvīpa*), the endless (*atyanta*), the immortal (*amṛta*), the immortal state (*amṛta pada*), the *summum bonum* (*naiḥśreyasa*). It is better than any existence, however pleasant. Śākyamuni, who discovered the path to it, felt obliged, out of love for mankind, to preach his discovery. Nothing can surpass the joy of the monk when he realizes that he will reach *nirvāṇa*; the *Dhammapada* and the 'Psalms of the Elders and the Nuns' (*Theragāthā*, *Therīgāthā*)[3] give eloquent evidence of the deep joy and thrilling hope with which *nirvāṇa* was looked upon. It is difficult to find in the Brāhmanic literature, or

[1] On the various meanings of *nirvāti*, *nirvāṇa*, see Senart, 'Nirvāṇa,' in *Album Kern*, p. 101 ('extinction,' 'disappearance,' 'becoming cool,' 'refreshment,' 'comfort' [*nirvṛti*], 'repose,' 'serenity' [*śānti*]).

[1] E. J. Thomas, *Buddhist Scriptures* ('Wisdom of the East' ser.), London, 1913, p. 20, strongly remarks that 'it is sometimes unintelligently said that continued rebirth is a dreary doctrine. But it does not necessarily mean rebirth upon earth.' To read certain books it seems that India was, as it were, hallucinated by the idea of rebirth and death, whereas the Indian literature gives us a quite different image of Indian life. So far right. But we are concerned with the Buddhists, *i.e.* with the monks, with 'spiritual' men, who did really despise the paradisiac as well as human pleasures. Common religious people dreamed of paradises as they do to-day. Many more still lived as immortals (*amarā iva*) would live, given to pleasure and gain (*kāma*, *artha*), despising *dharma*.

[2] These texts usually refer to the 'earthly *nirvāṇa*' (see below, § 4). But are such terms as *amṛta* compatible with this opinion?

[3] See the tr. of C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *Psalms of the Early Buddhists*, London, 1909–13, i. and ii., esp. introd. to vol. i. p. xxxvii.

even in the *Upaniṣads*, feelings so fervid and enthusiastic.

It may be said that such feelings draw their strength and their import from mysticism and religious exaltation; and we must agree that there is little doctrinal speculation in them. Nevertheless the fact remains that Buddhists spoke of *nirvāṇa* as a firm believer in happiness after death would speak of paradise; and this fact is an important point in the description of what the Buddhist thought of *nirvāṇa*.

3. Doctrinal statements.—When we turn to doctrinal statements, we are confronted with two or possibly three opinions: (1) deliverance is pure and simple annihilation; (2)—which will not prove tenable—*nirvāṇa* is some inconceivable existence; (3) Śākyamuni has refused, in so many words, to state whether deliverance is annihilation or not.

(1) There are texts which suggest that deliverance is annihilation—*e.g.*, the narrative of the death of Śākyamuni:

> 'As the extinction of a flame
> Even so was his mind's release';[1]

but similes are, as a rule, misleading, and the simile of fire that perishes when the fuel is consumed is used in the *Mahābhārata*, where annihilation is out of the question.[2]

We have here in view the whole fabric of the speculative texts, the texts which force upon us the identification of deliverance with annihilation, because they do not leave room for any other surmise. These texts are very numerous and free from any loophole for doubt. They provide us with a scientific description of man, and teach that there is nothing permanent in him. As a matter of fact, there is no 'man' or 'being' (*puruṣa*, *sattva*), 'soul' (*ātman*), or 'person' (*pudgala*); such expressions are mere names for a complex of elements (*skandhas*), some corporeal, some spiritual, which are dissolved at death.[3] If the causes—actions to be rewarded in some other life (see art. KARMA)—remain that give to the dying consciousness the power of creating, in some embryo, a new consciousness that continues the first one and enjoys the fruits of previous lives, there is no cessation of existence, there is no annihilation. If, however, these causes are wanting—and they are wanting in the case of a saint, who has destroyed desire and burned act—the consciousness is blown out as the flame of a lamp, and that is *nirvāṇa*, *i.e.* the end of life, of consciousness, and of suffering. All the mystic or psychological data—all idea of a transcendent self, of an immanent absolute—that could give any support to a conception of survival of whatever kind, personal or impersonal, have been sedulously destroyed by Buddhist philosophy.

Here we must confess, however, that this identification, '*nirvāṇa* = annihilation,' is not one of the 'primordial' doctrines of Buddhism. The doctrine of annihilation was not an 'original purpose'; it was a result. That is to say, Śākyamuni (or the Church) did not start with such an idea of deliverance; this idea has been forced upon him (or upon them) because he has been rash enough to deny the existence of a soul.

[1] *Dīgha*, ii. 15 f. (cf. *Suttanipāta*, 235), tr. E. J. Thomas, *Buddhist Scriptures*, p. 116; cf. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Oxford, 1899–1910, ii. 176; the Sanskrit version, *Madhyamakavṛtti* (*Bibl. Buddhica*, iv., Petrograd, 1913), p. 524, with an interesting discussion on *nirvāṇa* conceived as something real (*bhāva*).

[2] xii. 543; *SBE* viii.[2] [1898] 247.

[3] Thomas, p. 9: 'The self is compound and hence impermanent. When the individual is analysed into body and mind with its qualities and functions, what is there remaining behind? The soul, ātman, said the Vedāntin, that permanent entity which is in reality identical with the absolute and eternal Brahma. But the Buddhist answer was that there is nothing remaining. The elements of the self *are* the self, just as the parts of the chariot *are* the chariot.'

We shall see that, according to some evidences, Śākyamuni did his best to avoid this 'result,' and even objected to a definite statement of it. But, when certain premisses are accepted, conclusions follow with the fatality of destiny. *Tarka* ('logic') is indeed a most dangerous auxiliary of religious thought.

(2) There is a text, dressed in scholastic garb and therefore the more authoritative, which would lead us to suggest that *nirvāṇa* is, in the words of H. Oldenberg, 'an existence that is beyond reason and conception.'[1]

> 'At this time, a monk called Yamaka has adopted the following wicked heresy: "I understand the doctrine taught by Bhagavat to be this, that a monk who is free from the depravities (*āsava*) when his body dissolves, is annihilated; that he perishes; that he does not exist beyond death."'

If it is a wicked heresy (*pāpakā diṭṭhi*) to hold that the dead saint has perished, the obvious inference is that he continues to exist. But let us see the sequel.

Sāriputra, the disciple full of wisdom, endeavours to save Yamaka from this wrong view. Yamaka feels obliged to admit that a saint, a living saint, is neither identical with the bodily form, with the sensations—in a word, with the *skandhas* that are the constituents of what the common people style an individual or a person—nor, on the other hand, is he different from them. And Sāriputra concludes, in the words of Oldenberg:

> 'Thus then, friend Yamaka, even here in this world the saint is not to be *apprehended* by thee *in truth*. Hast thou, therefore, a right to speak, saying: "I understand the doctrine taught by Bhagavat to be this, that a saint . . . does not exist beyond death"?'

Hence the conclusion:

> 'One who clearly and indefinitely renounced an everlasting future would speak in another strain: behind the veil of mystery there lies the longing for escape from opposing reason, which declines to admit the conceivableness of everlasting existence, the hope for an existence which is beyond reason and conception.'

But, if it is heresy to maintain that a saint (an *arhat* or a *tathāgata*) perishes at death and does not exist beyond death, the obvious reason, stated by Sāriputra, is that an 'individual' or a 'person' is a mere *être de raison* which does not perish because it does not exist. As Śāriputra tells Yamaka, the living saint is neither identical with the *skandhas* nor different from them. If he were the body, etc., he would of course exist and would also be subject to annihilation when the body dissolves. If he were different from the body, etc., he would be eternal; but he is not different from them, because, when we speak of somebody as being a man or a saint, the only reality of which we are speaking is the group of *skandhas*. All Buddha's teaching is to make clear that the body, etc., are the only things that exist and that may be spoken of.[2]

The Yamaka-Śāriputra dialogue, therefore, cannot be understood as a veiled positive answer to the question of survival. It means that such questions are devoid of any actual meaning, and can be dreamt of only by foolish people who have not learned the first lesson of Buddha, that there is no soul.[3]

But what about the phrase which we have italicized above: 'apprehended in truth'?[4] The present writer is of opinion that the passage must

[1] *Saṁyutta*, iii. 109; cf. H. C. Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, Cambridge, Mass., 1900, p. 133; Oldenberg, *Buddha*[2], tr. Hoey, p. 282[3], tr. Foucher, p. 279.

[2] Cf., e.g., *Saṁyutta*, iv. 374: '*Yena rūpeṇa tathāgatam paññāpayāmāno paññāpeyya taṁ rupam pahīnam.*' For another exegesis of the phrases, 'neither identical . . . nor different,' see below, p. 378[a].

[3] See the end of the dialogue, and the concluding words of Yamaka: 'Henceforth, when I shall be asked whether a saint perishes at death or not, I shall answer: body is perishable (*rūpam anichcham . . .*).'

[4] *ditthe va dhamme sachchato tathato anupalabhiyamāno*, Fr. tr., p. 279: 'le Parfait ne peut être compris en vérité et en essence par toi.'

be translated: 'the saint is not found by thee to be something real,' or, in the words of Warren, 'considering now that you fail to make out and establish the existence of the saint in the present life.' The use of the expression *na upalabhyate* in later Buddhism (Mādhyamika school) has been known for a long time; also the logical use of the *anupalabdhi* to establish the non-existence of something somewhere; and we have now the evidence of the *Mahāniddesa*, the oldest of the commentaries, which has even been admitted in the *Suttapiṭaka*, where *natthi*, 'is not,' is commented *na saṁvijjati*, 'does not exist,' *n'upalabbhati*, 'is not perceived.'

Grammar is a conjectural science, and no matter of importance can be decided upon these philological grounds. But Oldenberg's version would be admissible only if supported by some clearer references to a state 'that is beyond conception and reason.' These references are scarce, and wear a garb of metaphor that diminishes their importance. Two may be mentioned. The first one, in the dialogue of the nun Khemā and the king Pasenadi (*Saṁyutta*, iv. 374), is specious. The comparison of the saint with the unmeasurable ocean must not lead us astray, as the text concludes with the common lesson on the *skandhas*. It gives only evidence of an ill-advised tendency to mystery. The second one is a celebrated fragment which occurs in two of our oldest books:[1]

'There is, O disciples, a something that is not born, not produced, not created, not compounded.[2] Were there not, O disciples, this something not born . . ., there would be no possible exit for what is born.'

The present writer has often quoted this statement as favouring the opinion that '*nirvāṇa* is existence.' But Oldenberg has rightly remarked:

'These words seem to sound as if we heard Brāhmanical philosophers talking of the Brahma, that has neither beginning nor end. . . . Yet these expressions, when viewed in the connection of Buddhist thought, convey something wholly different. . . . For the Buddhists, the words: "there is something uncreated," merely signify that the created can free himself from the curse of being created.'

To sum up: there is little doubt that the nihilistic interpretation of Buddhism—negation of a soul, negation of the survival of the saint—is the leading doctrine of the *Piṭakas* (old Scriptures), as it is of the mediæval northern scholastic (Madhyamaka). But there have been in the ancient Church as well as in historical times many 'heretics,' and among them the 'believers in personality' (*pudgalavādin*), these 'maintainers of Sāṅkhya' (*sāṅkhyavādin*) in disguise. The Pudgalavādins stated that the *pudgala*, the self, is neither identical with the *skandhas* nor different from them; nothing can be predicated of it (*anabhilāpya*); it nevertheless exists. They probably admitted some transcendent form of eternal existence.

(3) There is a third set of texts which we may style 'agnostic' (see art. AGNOSTICISM [Buddhist]). Strong and clear as was the teaching of the Master, many of his disciples felt dissatisfied with his utterly nihilistic doctrines, and hoped, in the depth of their hearts, that they misunderstood him. Let us not forget that the disciples of Śākyamuni came to him as to the discoverer of the Path of Immortality (*amṛta*), and were not previously informed concerning the only immortality possible, namely eternal silence and destruction. If we are not mistaken, it is therefore easy to understand that many monks were anxious to be made sure about *nirvāṇa*, not by logical conclusions drawn from metaphysical tenets, not by metaphorical and conflicting phrases, but by a definite and authentic statement from the lips of the Master. The texts give sundry evidences of this state of mind.[1] But the Master refused to give any answer, and he added the reason of his silence:[2]

'Why has Buddha not taught his disciples . . . whether the saint lives on beyond death or not? Because the knowledge of these things does not conduce to progress in holiness. . . . What contributes to peace and enlightenment, Buddha has taught his own: the truth of suffering. . . . Therefore, Māluṅkyāputta, whatsoever has not been revealed by me, let that remain unrevealed; and what has been revealed, let it be revealed.'

This passage seems to us to express the feelings of the Buddha's disciples who did not care for metaphysics; they did not seem to have realized that the first truth, 'Everything is unsubstantial,' contains at least an authoritative expression of nihilism.

A large number of the Buddhists, and by far the larger number of the Buddhists who wrote—to say nothing of Śākyamuni himself, whose personality remains an unfathomable riddle—were bold enough to face the problem of the 'non-existence of a soul' (*nairātmya*) with its inevitable consequence, namely annihilation at death. But the monks who have recorded and introduced in the Scripture this 'positivist' statement, 'I have taught what is useful; what I have not stated, let that remain unstated,' are the exponents of the commonest attitude concerning *nirvāṇa*.

The Buddhists have discussed the question of the nature of *nirvāṇa* much less than we have done.[3] They know that *nirvāṇa* is deliverance and that deliverance is the highest good, the only good to be hoped for. That is enough. What is interesting and worth search is the path to *nirvāṇa*; discussing *nirvāṇa* is far from being the best path to it; and Buddha rightly discouraged such discussion.

4. **An earthly nirvāṇa.**—Childers[4] was the first to point out that, in a number of texts, *nirvāṇa* does not mean deliverance from existence, the state beyond death of the dead saint, but the 'brief period of bliss' enjoyed by the man who has liberated himself from desire and become a saint, before he obtains final *nirvāṇa* at death—in other words, the state of the *arhat* or the *jīvanmukta* (*qq.v.*).[5] Much stress has been laid on this conception of an earthly *nirvāṇa* by several writers, among whom is Rhys Davids; and rightly so. On the one hand, deliverance from desire is the cause and the token of deliverance from existence. On the other hand, India has always been full of reverence for the saints who have reached a thorough *śrapaṣṭa* and become insensible to pleasure, suffering, and hope: 'I do not wish for death; I do not wish for life.'[6] Neophytes longed for that 'professional' perfection, a sublime pattern of which was given by Śākyamuni; and it can be maintained that many monks dreamed only of the earthly *nirvāṇa*, without taking trouble about final *nirvāṇa*. They thought only of attaining the happiness and detachment of *nirvāṇa* in this life.[7] There is much 'professionalism' in Buddhism, more than is generally admitted. Childers' hints and Rhys Davids' discussions must not be neglected if we want to get a complete idea of what *nirvāṇa* was for the Buddhists.

[1] *Udāna*, viii. 3; *Itivuttaka*, 43.

[2] It is worth while to look at the list of the 'not compounded' (*asaṁskṛta*), which seems to be old: (1) space (*ākāśa*), which is simply a name, being the mere absence of a thing 'making obstacle' (*anāvaraṇamātra*); (2) the destruction of the things which perish without premeditation (*apratisaṁkhyānirodha*), as the wood perishes in the flame, as the flame perishes when the fuel is wanting; (3) the destruction brought about by premeditation (*pratisaṁkhyānirodha*), *i.e.* the extinction of the thought of the saint, more exactly, the cessation of the production of new thoughts—i.e. *nirvāṇa*. See L. de la Vallée Poussin, 'Les trois Asaṃskṛtas,' in *Album Kern*, pp. 111–113.

[1] See, *e.g.*, *Majjhima*, i. 426; *Saṃyutta*, iv. 374.

[2] Oldenberg, *Buddha*[2], tr. Hoey, p. 276.

[3] See, however, Burnouf's *Introduction* and *Madhyamakavṛtti*, ch. xxv. pp. 519–541.

[4] *Dict. of the Pali Language*, p. 268.

[5] The term *sa-upadhisesa nibbāna* is often understood as referring to the state of the *arhat*.

[6] *Theragāthā*, 1002.

[7] See *Saṁyutta*, iv. 251.

The present treatment of the subject is not very clear, for it is difficult in dealing with such a problem to be both fair and coherent. Incoherence is one of the chief features of Indian thought. We believe that orthodox Buddhism (*i.e.* the Buddhism of the books) maintains that *nirvāṇa* is a mere concept, the state of a thing that does not exist and of which nothing can be predicated. A saint, after death, a *nirvṛta* or a liberated one (*mukta*), is 'void' (*śūnya*); therefore he can be said to be annihilated. The conclusion, in Europe, would be evident. But Mātṛceṭa tells us:

'Others than Buddha may have won liberation; but in Buddha the superiority is altogether great: all the liberated are void; but the void of a hair cavity compares but poorly with the large void of the sky.'[1]

We shall conclude with the words of Barth:

'The imagination even of an Asiatic has some difficulty in settling down to the idea of annihilation. Thus the Chinese pilgrims Fa-Hian and Hiouen-Thsang, who . . . were orthodox believers in the complete Nirvâṇa of Buddha, nevertheless speak of miracles, and even of apparitions of his, as if he had not ceased to exist; and it is beyond a doubt that with many of the Buddhists of former days Nirvâṇa was only what it is with the majority of them to-day, a sort of eternal repose or a negative state of blessedness. This does not hinder Buddhism from being doctrinally the confession of the absolute vanity of all things, and, as regards the individual, an aspiration after non-existence.'[2]

5. Origins of the notion of nirvāṇa.—This problem is very obscure. The present writer would merely state that Oldenberg's opinion that 'the idea of *nirvāṇa* originates from the idea of Brahman'[3] cannot be received with absolute confidence. The Buddhist idea of *nirvāṇa*—unqualified deliverance or qualified annihilation—arose from the same causes that produced the Brāhmanic idea of *nirvāṇa*, *brahmanirvāṇa*, merging in the absolute. The same attitude towards life, towards 'contingent existence,' produced two conflicting views on the end of man, two conflicting eschatologies, in harmony with two conflicting metaphysics—the nihilism of the Buddhists and the monism of the Brāhmans. But our texts never mention *brahman*, the absolute of the Vedānta; and they never consider the *ātman*, which is the absolute of the *Upaniṣads*, as the universal principle, but always as the individual soul—the existence of which they firmly deny. They discuss the possibility of reaching by the Brāhmanic means the world of the god Brahmā, and they show the right means to reach it; but they have not a word on the *brahmanirvāṇa*, the merging in *brahman*. It seems, therefore, that the Buddhists were, at the beginning, quite ignorant of the eschatology of the *Upaniṣads*. This ignorance may be explained in many ways; until the chronology of the Brāhmanic and Buddhist literatures has been settled, a sure explanation is impossible.

LITERATURE.—The literature of *nirvāṇa* is very large, and a complete bibliography would have hundreds of headings. We may mention: E. Burnouf, *Introd. à l'hist. du bouddhisme indien*, Paris, 1844, pp. 18, 516, 594; F. Max Müller, *Chips from a German Workshop*, London, 1867–75, i. 279 ff., 'The Meaning of Nirvâṇa' (1857); T. Rogers, *Buddhaghoṣa's Parables*, do. 1870, Introd. p. xxxix; *Dhammapada*, *SBE* x. [1881], Introd. p. xliv; J. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire, *Le Bouddha et sa religion*[2], Paris, 1862, tr. Laura Ensor, London, 1895; R. Spence Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*[3], London, 1866, pp. 5, 20, 291; P. E. Foucaux, *Doctrine des Bouddhistes sur le Nirvana*, Paris, 1864, and *Revue bibliographique*, 15th June 1874; R. C. Childers, *Dict. of the Pali Language*, London, 1875, pp. 265–274; A. Barth, *Les Religions de l'Inde*, Paris, 1879, tr. J. Wood, London, 1882, p. 113 ff.; V. Trenckner, *Milinda-pañho*, London, 1880, p. 424; H. Oldenberg, *Buddha, sein Leben, seine Lehre, und seine Gemeinde*, Berlin, 1881, [5]1912, [2]tr. W. Hoey, London, 1882, [3]tr. A. Foucher, Paris, 1903; T. W. Rhys Davids, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by . . . Indian Buddhism* (*HL*), London, 1881, *Buddhism* (American Lectures), New York, 1896; E. W. Hopkins, *The Religions of India*, London, 1896, p. 321 ff.; J. Dahlmann, *Nirvāṇa, eine Studie zur Vorgesch. des Buddhismus*, Berlin, 1897; J. A. Eklund, *Nirvāṇa: en religionshistorisk undersökning*, Upsala, 1899; E. Senart, 'Nirvâṇa,' in *Album Kern*, Leyden, 1903, pp. 101–104; F. O. Schrader, 'On the Problem of Nirvâṇa,' *JPTS*, 1904–05, p. 157; L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme: Opinions sur l'hist. de la dogmatique*, Paris, 1909, p. 84.

L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

NOACHIAN PRECEPTS.—The attitude of the Hebrews towards foreigners or 'Gentiles,' especially those who lived in their midst, underwent definite changes. It was in this connexion that there grew up the conception of the 'Noachian precepts'—the duties that could be required of the Gentiles in accordance with Biblical commands prior to the Mosaic legislation, which was regarded as peculiar to the Hebrews.

The exclusive temper of the Hebrew nation was a gradual growth. In the time of David (*c.* 1000 B.C.) a Hittite held high office and even the Philistines could be hosts. While P carefully notes that Isaac and Jacob avoid exogamy, the earlier sources, E and J, represent Joseph and Moses as marrying foreign wives. By the time of Deut., however, Israel's religion had become self-conscious, aware of its difference from other religions, devoted to the one spiritual God; accordingly, pagan customs were denounced, Canaanite peoples were banned, and an alien could not reside without restrictions among the children of Israel (cf. Dt 23^3). This exclusive tendency is explicitly formulated in the Priests' Code with its regulations regarding alien immigrants, marriage, descent, diet, and the like. Within a short time after the return from the Exile P's account of man's early history had become axiomatic in Judaism, and the devout Jew found in the commands of the Creator as communicated by the Mosaic writings the sole sanction for human duty. P represents legitimate sacrifice, the Divine Name, the distinction between clean and unclean, as things unknown before the time of Moses. Yet, though he was ignorant of the Mosaic Law, Noah was a just man according to the standards of his age (P); and, as all the descendants of Noah could claim God as their creator and preserver, his standards might be expected from all; hence the term 'Noachian precepts.'

Post-Exilic writings vary in their attitude towards Gentiles. Ruth, Jonah, and some of the Psalms (100, 67, etc.) indicate a charitable disposition; the Wisdom literature favours tolerance; and the Greek influence created a party with wider sympathies. On the other hand, Joel, Zec 9–14, and Esther are definitely hostile. The forcible conversion attempted by Antiochus stimulated feeling in the same direction, and the Maccabæan wars created the stern uncompromising piety of the future Pharisees. In the Apocrypha, while there is evidence of the more generous disposition (*e.g.*, To $14^{6f.}$, Wis 1–11), the glorification of the Jews is equally conspicuous (*e.g.*, Wis 12–19). The use of the names of Adam, Enoch, Noah, and Abraham in Apocalyptic literature was designed to avoid the risk of collision with the Torah, which was regarded as valid for all time. Among the disciples of Jesus the charitable attitude towards Gentiles had a new birth, but this tended to intensify the exclusive elements in Pharisaism; and it is to the discussions of Rabbis in this connexion during the first three centuries A.D. that precise definitions of the precepts of Noah are due.

The Noachian laws did not include all pre-Mosaic injunctions, but only those which coincided with the laws enunciated at Sinai (*Sanh.* 59*a*); *e.g.*, circumcision was not required of Gentiles. It was only after this general principle was established that the number and scope of the Noachian precepts could be defined. According to the

[1] *Varṇanārhavarṇana*, 10 f., ed. and tr. F. W. Thomas, *IA* xxxiv. [1905] 145 ff.; see A. F. R. Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature*, Oxford, 1916, p. 78.

[2] *Religions of India*, p. 114.

[3] *Buddha*[3], tr. Foucher, p. 281: 'L'idée du *nirvāṇa* est sortie de celle du Brahma.'

tractate *Sanhedrîn* (56*a*), they were seven in number: (1) obedience to authority (דינין), (2) reverence for the Divine Name, (3) abstinence from idolatry, (4) from incest (Gn 12^{19} 20^{3}), (5) from murder ($4^{9ff.}$ 9^{6}), (6) from robbery (21^{25}), (7) from eating flesh of living animal (9^{4}). The list grew, and in the 3rd cent. Ulla could speak of 30 commandments to which Noachidæ owed obedience, though he declares that they fulfilled only three (Cholin, *a* and *β*). The original seven, however, were the most important, and by observing these as a minimum a Gentile settling among Jews might be advanced to the privileges and responsibilities of the proselyte.

'The Rabbis taught: Naaman's proselytism was only to perform the seven commandments given to the descendants of Noah. Nebusaradan, however, was a true proselyte; from the descendants of Sisera were such as taught the Torah among a majority of Israelites. From the descendants of Haman were such as learned the Torah in the city Bne-Berak' (*Sanhedrin*, tr. M. L. Rodkinson, New York, 1902, viii. 299).

The temper of the Rabbis appears in the following pronouncement:

'A Gentile who employs himself in the Law is guilty of death. He is not to employ himself except in the seven commandments that belong to the Gentiles. And thus a Gentile who keeps a Sabbath, though it be on one of the week days—if he make it to himself as a Sabbath, he is guilty of death; it is not necessary to add, if he appoint for himself a festival. The general rule is, that they are not permitted to innovate in religion, or to make commandments for themselves out of their own heads. Either let a Gentile become a proselyte of righteousness, and take upon him the whole Law; or let him remain in his own law, and neither add nor diminish. But if he employs himself in the Law, or keeps a Sabbath, or makes any innovation, he is to be beaten and punished, and informed that he is for this guilty of death—but he is not to be killed' (*Hilḫôth Melaḫîm*, x. 9, tr. A. M'Caul, *The Old Paths*, London, 1837, p. 12).

The question was raised whether the Gentile should consider the seven precepts so inviolable as to claim his obedience even to the extent of suffering martyrdom for them. The school of Rabh (3rd cent. A.D.) decided in the negative, because Naaman had been allowed by Elisha to bow in the house of Rimmon (2 K $5^{18f.}$).

The fate of non-Jews in the Messianic kingdom was also discussed, the dominant view being that they would never adopt the whole Jewish Law.

Rabbi Jose (2nd cent. A.D.) declared that, though they would betake themselves to the Law and wear phylacteries, 'when they see the war of Gog and Magog breaking in upon the Messianic kingdom, they will throw away the Law and cry, "Let us break their bonds asunder and hrow their fetters away from us."'

The best that can be promised to a good Gentile has the authority of Maimonides:

'Whosoever confesses himself liable to observe the seven precepts of Noah and is diligent in fulfilling them, belongs to the pious among the nations and has a portion in the world to come' (*Melaḫîm*, viii. 11).

The decrees of the Council of the Apostles in Jerusalem (c. A.D. 50), Ac 15^{20} (cf. art. JUDAIZING), are independent of the later Rabbinical definitions. Among the Rabbis the postulates of the Priests' Code in Genesis are studied as the sole authoritative voice on man's origin and duty; but in the Apostolic Council custom and conduct are freely reviewed by the living Christian spirit.

LITERATURE.—Hamburger, *s.v.* 'Noachiden,' and cognate articles, 'Nichtisraelit,' 'Heiden,' 'Fremden,' etc.; W. Bacher, *Die Agada der Tannaiten*, Strassburg, 1884.

D. M. KAY.

NOETIANISM.—See MONARCHIANISM.

NOMINALISM.—See REALISM.

NOMISM.—'Nomism' or 'legalism' is the name given to the view that moral conduct consists in the observance of a law or body of laws. It stands opposed to those conceptions of morality which postulate an end to be pursued or an ideal to be realized rather than a law to be fulfilled. Legalism is not necessarily to be identified with what Kant, in contrast to morality, calls 'legality.' By 'legality' Kant means the moral practice of one for whom moral law is no more than a rule, while he applies the term 'morality' to the conduct of one who finds in the law likewise the determining ground of his actions (cf. *Metaphysik der Sitten*, ed. J. H. von Kirchmann, Berlin, 1870, pp. 252, 226 f.; T. K. Abbott, *Kant's Critique of Practical Reason*[3], London, 1883, pp. 269, 282), it being understood, of course, that the law is for Kant a rational and in essence a purely formal principle. Legalism may even take the form of a willing obedience which exalts reverence for the law above every other motive, whether such law be of a purely rational or of a positive and historical character. In this sense it may be, and indeed ought to be, an element in all moral life, even in its highest phase, and is then at bottom identical with what Kant calls 'morality,' though it need not bear the abstract character that Kant assigns to virtue nor imply any indifference to the practical results of observing the moral law. Whatever name we give to the supreme principle of morality, that principle must always be of the nature of a law. The moral ideal or end towards which our action is directed not only exercises an attractive power over us, but manifests itself also as an authority which makes demands upon us. Christian ethics, alike in its Protestant and in its Catholic form, has always upheld the conception of law, and rejected antinomianism, *i.e.* the doctrine that the moral agent who has attained to maturity has no need of external ordinances. It maintains that law cannot be dispensed with by the Christian, in so far at least as he is still subject to the power of sin; and it was from this point of view that the Formula of Concord decided the question of antinomianism. On the other hand, it is necessary to guard against what may be called positive legalism, which forgets that law and obedience are merely the form of the moral life, and not its substance. Positive legalism is exposed to danger on two sides: (1) it tends to regard the law as a multiplicity of commandments without inward coherence, and (2) it tends to confound a merely outward observance of those commandments with an allegiance of the will to the spirit of the law—to foster obedience from motives of fear or interest, and thus to become an unintelligent and Pharisaical conventionalism. Wherever we find these two defects, we have a spurious legalism, and it is to this false legalism, or else to the positive legalism as just defined, that the term is most frequently applied.

The idea of legalism, both in the good and in the bad sense of the word, was not unknown among the ancients. If we except the Stoics, Greek thinkers always identified the moral law with the law of the State. We nevertheless find Socrates, or at least Plato speaking as the interpreter of Socrates, insisting upon a willing and resolute obedience to the laws, and condemning the attitude of those who obey them only from the fear of punishment. Respect for and love of the law were quite familiar sentiments among the Greeks and Romans. The Stoics advanced to the conception of a universal law of nature, which they regarded as the foundation of all the duties and rights of human beings. This conception gave rise to a casuistry which could not fail to make a cleavage between a genuine and an unintelligent or insincere legalism. Spurious legalism is in a peculiar degree characteristic of the ethics of Judaism and Roman Catholicism. Judaism reduced all moral life to the observance of a historically revealed law, whose various constituents cannot be brought under the unity of one pervading spirit. Nevertheless, the obedience of the Jews issued in many cases from pure respect for and inward acquiescence in the law. Thus the love of the law plays a great part in the Psalms, although that love frequently

manifests itself in the form of sheer legalistic bigotry. Among the mass of the Jewish people, however, an unintelligent mechanical, self-interested, and even hypocritical observance of the law was the rule. In proportion as the casuistry of the scribes made obedience to the law ever more difficult and exacted an ever more scrupulous precision on the part of the conscientious observer, it gave rise to a deplorable practice of religious trafficking, and was itself compelled to find means of evading certain commandments under the show of fulfilling them. It would seem, nevertheless, that a reaction against this debased legalism made itself felt within the confines of Judaism itself, as is indicated by the fact that certain circles were intensely concerned to discover the 'great commandment' of the law, *i.e.* a commandment that would comprise all the rest.

It was felt necessary to appeal from the letter of the law to its spirit. Jesus made this appeal in the most emphatic way, and pursued the spurious legalism with denunciation and scorn. He even brought upon Himself the charge of being a despiser of the law, while, as a matter of fact, His great object was to secure its fulfilment by showing that its observance demanded, above all, love to its Author, and devotion to its supreme end—the transformation of mankind into a society of mutual love. St. Paul, too, incurred the imputation of antinomianism (Ro $7^{1\text{-}23}$), but he denied that he was ἄνομος: he was in truth ἔννομος Χριστοῦ (1 Co 9^{21}), *i.e.* he upholds the idea of a law to which even the Christian is subject. As a matter of fact, he endorses the Law of Moses by bringing it under the unity of a supreme principle (Ro $13^{8ff.}$), and sometimes he actually seems to maintain the letter by availing himself of an allegorical interpretation (1 Co 9^{9}, Gal $4^{21ff.}$). St. Paul's doctrine that the natural man is incapable of fulfilling the law, and that the law is unable to effect his salvation, was designed, above all, to sever the root of that spurious legalism which was the source of fatal delusion in some and of perpetual misgiving in others.

The legalistic tendencies reprobated by Jesus and St. Paul were not long in manifesting themselves in the Christian Church. The gospel came to be regarded as a new law; positive and even spurious legalism gained the upper hand in the sphere of practice and often also in that of doctrine. One of the main results of this triumph was the distinction between an obligatory morality and an optional morality, a distinction which had been made by the Stoics, and which re-appears in the Christian literature of the 2nd cent., developing later into the distinction between evangelical precepts and counsels. This tendency is closely allied to the false legalism to which the law is simply a mass of statutory ordinances without organic unity. Roman Catholic theology distinguishes various categories of laws, viz. natural divine law, positive divine law, positive human law, and prescriptions of the Church, of all which it proclaims the complete harmony, but which, in reality, form a collocation altogether heterogeneous, and are as such but little calculated to produce singleness and concentration of moral volition. In theory, no doubt, Roman Catholicism demands that the law shall be obeyed willingly and of conviction, but, as it does not insist upon the transformation of the heart, it is forced to place human liberty—regarded as the liberty of the natural propensities—in perpetual opposition to the law, which forms an obstacle to the growth of that liberty. Hence the law cannot be considered as anything but a yoke and a curb, nor can its observance rest upon any other motive than desire to evade penalty or acquire merit. Legalism in this sense was bound to adopt the distinction between precepts and counsels, and to create the theory of probabilism (*q.v.*), which is hardly more than a device for eluding the law by rendering it vague. Such a legalism, however, can have no ground to stand upon where the law is regarded simply as the expression of an ideal which we have made our own and of an end which we strive to realize.

The Reformers, in reviving the Pauline doctrine of justification through faith, and in substituting for the distinction between precepts and counsels the idea of a vocation which, while individualizing the law, rescued it from the atomism of the casuists, struck at the very foundations of spurious legalism. It ought to be said, however, that, while the Reformers fought against false legalism with success, they were less fortunate in the manner in which they formulated the moral law, and in enunciating the claims of a properly defined legalism. While Protestantism may know nothing of the spurious legalism, it has not always been wholly free from legalism in the positive sense. The Reformed Church, in particular, has laid great emphasis upon the idea of law; it has frequently regarded the Scriptures as a legal code, and has not always succeeded in adequately distinguishing between the letter and the spirit of the Biblical precepts. Pietism likewise has sometimes lapsed into an ignoble and punctilious legalism. The Anabaptists thought of the Bible as being primarily the revelation of a law, and of the Christian life as consisting in obedience to it; yet, while their legalism made them narrow, it has not in the slightest degree undermined their earnest morality, as holds good likewise of the Reformed Church and Pietism.

If the spurious legalism that takes cognizance, not of a single all-pervading law, but only of particular laws, and deals with these in a commercial spirit, and the positive legalism, to which moral life consists wholly in fulfilling a law, play a large part in the history of the Christian Church and the history of humanity, it is none the less true that there is a just and proper legalism which is required as a counteractive to a morality purely æsthetic and sentimental. Legalism, narrow though it be, may have a considerable educational value in habituating human beings to resist their natural impulses, and to bow before an absolute authority. Rightly understood, indeed, legalism is a necessary condition of true moral liberty, as it reminds us that we are free only in proportion as we detach ourselves from our egoistic nature and rise above the claims of self.

LITERATURE.—The subject is usually dealt with in general histories of ethics and in histories of Christian ethics; cf. in particular: J. Denis, *Hist. des théories et des idées morales dans l'antiquité*[2], Paris, 1879; C. E. Luthardt, *Gesch. der christlichen Ethik*, Leipzig, 1888. See further works on Biblical theology, esp. B. Stade and A. Bertholet, *Biblische Theologie des alten Testaments*, 2 vols., Tübingen, 1905–11; H. Holtzmann, *Lehrbuch der neutestamentlichen Theologie*[2], 2 vols., do. 1911; H. Weinel, *Biblische Theologie des neuen Testaments*, do. 1912; W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter*[2], Berlin, 1905; E. Schürer, *GJV*[3.4], Leipzig, 1898–1902, ii.; O. Holtzmann, *Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte*[2], Tübingen, 1906; cf. also the systematic expositions of Christian ethics, and esp. J. Gottschick, *Ethik*, Tübingen, 1907; V. Cathrein, *Moralphilosophie*, Freiburg i. B., 1890; W. Herrmann, *Römische und evangelische Sittlichkeit*[3], Marburg, 1903; J. Mausbach, *Die katholische Moral und ihre Gegner*, Cologne, 1911.

EUGÉNE EHRHARDT.

NONCONFORMITY.—1. **Meaning and application of the term.**—Although anybody who declined to fall in with the religious usages of his people might be called a 'nonconformist,' the name has come to have a more definite, specific meaning in English national life and history, so that we can speak of 'the Nonconformists,' the article indicating a particular section of the community with its own characteristic views and policy. The negative form of the word points to

an antithesis. There can be no nonconformity where there is not some rule or set of regulations compliance with which is refused. Further, the word has a political connotation. While 'heresy' stands for opposition to ecclesiastically settled orthodoxy, 'schism' for separation from the communion of the society claiming to be the one true Church, and 'dissent' for divergence from the beliefs and doctrines maintained by the national settlement, Nonconformity consists in not carrying out the requirements of an 'Act of Uniformity,' which is a law of the State. Accordingly, in America, in the British colonies, and in India there are no Nonconformists, because the English Acts of Uniformity did not extend beyond England and Wales. The disestablishment of the Welsh Church involves an end to Nonconformity in Wales. On the other hand, in Scotland, while Presbyterianism is the established form of Christianity, the Anglican Church, though outside the Establishment, is not, strictly speaking, Nonconformist, because since the suppression both of the Prelatists and of the Covenanters, Scotland has enjoyed religious liberty unhampered by any Act of Uniformity. Next, it should be observed that all the Acts of Uniformity have aimed at enforcing the use of the successive forms of the Book of Common Prayer that Parliament has sanctioned from time to time. They are not concerned with differences of religious belief except in so far as loyalty to the contents of this book and an honest use of it are concerned. It is possible to be a heretic inside the Established Church—with regard to doctrines not defined by the Prayer Book—and commit no offence against an Act of Uniformity; and it is also possible to agree with the Church standards of doctrine and yet be a Nonconformist, because not accepting everything in the Prayer Book. For some time there were Nonconformists within the pale of the Church, even Nonconformist ministers and bishops; Hooper was such. But their position was illegal, and, though the earlier Acts of Uniformity were not always pressed, the rigorous application of the latest of these Acts (that of 1662) drove all Nonconformists out of the Church. Thus, strictly speaking, a present-day Nonconformist is a person who is kept out of the Established Church of England on account of his refusal to accept the Book of Common Prayer in its entirety. But practically any one who stands outside the Established Church and associates himself with some other Christian Church is regarded as a Nonconformist, whatever his views about the Prayer Book may be. There are even Nonconformist churches that use this book in their regular services. Here we have the exceptions that prove the rule.

Historically regarded, the Nonconformists have been further characterized by their adherence to Puritanism in opposition to any approach towards Roman Catholicism on the one hand and towards Erastianism on the other. The early Nonconformists rejected certain ancient mediæval beliefs and usages that had been retained in the Elizabethan Church, in particular two—Episcopacy and the use of vestments. They claimed to represent primitive Christian beliefs and practices, and denied the right of the State either to alter or to add to them. In this way most of the early Nonconformists became Presbyterians and the remainder Congregationalists and Baptists.

It has been maintained that beneath these specialities of opinion and practice there lies a vital principle inspiring them and so essentially separating the Nonconformist from the Roman Catholic conception of religion. This is that, while the Catholic system begins with the Church as an institution and seeks to work inwards towards spiritual religion by the influence of its rites and ordinances, the Nonconformist process is the reverse, commencing with the individual, with personal spiritual life, from which the Church and its activities are evolved as its fruits and products. Although these two ideals appear to be more or less clearly represented in the two types respectively, yet it cannot be shown that the divergence began with them or that they were always recognized as the most fundamental factors.

Lastly, it should be observed that, while modern Nonconformists are opposed to any interference with religion by the State, and stand for complete religious liberty—Cavour's 'free Church in a free State'—this was by no means the case among the early Nonconformists, with the solitary exception of the Baptists. The Presbyterians, while holding to the Puritan principle of keeping to the Word of God pure and simple as the standard, would have had their interpretation of the Bible enforced by the government, and there are even some statements of the Congregationalists Browne, Barrow, and Greenwood that recognize the authority of the civil magistrate for maintaining religious orthodoxy. If Cartwright had obtained the support of the government in his controversy with Archbishop Whitgift, he would have put down Episcopacy by force in favour of Presbyterianism. There was nothing to choose between the two with reference either to religious liberty or to the idea of a State establishment of religion. It was only in course of time that the Nonconformists came to agree on an entire repudiation of State interference with religious beliefs and practices and a demand for the disestablishment of the Church and the maintenance of complete religious liberty—the present Nonconformist position.

2. Tudor period.—Previous to the Tudor period there were divergences from the standard beliefs and practices of the Church, most conspicuously in John Wyclif and his followers, the Lollards. But, while Wyclif repudiated the authority of the pope over the Church in England, he asserted that of the king. The Lollards were persecuted by the civil authorities for heresy and dreaded on account of their socialistic tendencies. Although when they met in secret doubtless they would have conducted their services in a manner agreeable to their convictions, since there was no Act of Uniformity under which they could be arraigned, yet their separation from the Church was not effected in this way, and therefore, strictly speaking, they should not be described as Nonconformists.

Under Henry VIII. the Act of Supremacy, substituting the king for the pope as head of the Church, and the legal enforcement of the Six Articles were two fruitful causes of dissidence—the one repudiated by stanch Roman Catholics and leading to the martyrdom of Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More as well as less notable champions of the papacy, the other making martyrs of thoroughgoing Protestants who denied the doctrine of the Mass, so that supporters of the Roman discipline were beheaded and rejectors of the Roman doctrine hanged. But Henry and his parliament did not interfere with the ceremonies of the Church, although in the year 1540 a commission was appointed to inquire into them. Meanwhile varieties of usages that had come down from time immemorial in the different dioceses continued undisturbed, and no attempt was made to enforce any particular form of service. As yet there was no one Book of Common Prayer to which conformity could be required.

The establishment of the reformed religion in the reign of Edward VI. was accompanied by an important innovation with regard to uniformity of worship. In the reign of Henry VIII., as early as

the year 1544, the litany was ordered to be used in English; but as yet there was no complete English Prayer Book. In the year 1549 there was issued the first Book of Common Prayer, compiled in the main out of ancient missals. This was revised by Cranmer with the assistance of Martin Bucer, then Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, and Peter Martyr, who held a similar post at Oxford; and their labours resulted in Edward VI.'s Second Prayer Book—a work which showed considerable advance in the direction of Protestantism. Transubstantiation was now distinctly repudiated, prayers for the dead, anointing at baptism, and extreme unction were omitted, and the use of all vestments except the rochet and the surplice was forbidden. Neither of these Prayer Books had been submitted to Convocation when it was enforced by Act of Parliament. The first Act of Uniformity—that requiring the use of Edward VI.'s First Prayer Book—proclaims itself such. Its preamble contains the following declaration:

'Of long time there hath been had in this realm divers forms of common prayer, commonly called the Service of the Church; that is to say, the use of Sarum, of York, of Bangor, and of Lincoln; and besides the same, now of late, much more diverse and sundry forms and fashions have been used in the Cathedral and parish churches—with divers and sundry rites and ceremonies concerning matins and even song, and in the administration of the Sacraments of the Church.' It goes on to assert that the king has 'diverse times assayed to stay innovations or new rites,' adding: 'Yet the same hath not had such good success as his highness required—therefore he hath been pleased with the interest to secure a uniform, quiet, and godly order, to appoint commissioners, to make one convenient and meet order of common prayer, the which, by the aid of the Holy Ghost, is by them concluded.'

It is enacted that the services in the churches are to be conducted in such 'form as is contained in the said book, and none other, or otherwise' (*Statutes*, 2 and 3 Edward VI., cap. 1). The act is enforced by severe penalties, including deprivation, fines, and imprisonment, which after a third offence is to be for life. The origin of Nonconformity may be traced back to this first Act of Uniformity in English history. There were two parties to whom it was not acceptable. Designed expressly to effect a repudiation of Roman Catholic practices and doctrines, it could not but be obnoxious to adherents of the mediæval faith. It was against their position that its guns were directed. But there was another party in the line of fire whose antagonism had not been contemplated—the party of the Puritans. Aiming at the English method of compromise and moving slowly, the Reformation in the southern portion of our island was less drastic than in Scotland, where the Calvinistic model was adopted. This was not at all satisfactory to those English Protestants who desired to go as far as the more advanced Continental reformers. Foremost among them was John Hooper, afterwards bishop of Gloucester, who refused to use the vestments, openly objected to much in the Act of Uniformity, and even declined to take the oath of the royal supremacy. He has been called 'the first Nonconformist' (Skeats, *Hist. of Free Churches of England*, p. 6). He was also the first minister in the Church to pronounce clearly for the freedom of the Church from State control—a position which the main body of the Nonconformists did not take up till more than a hundred years later.

'Touching the superior powers of the earth,' he writes, 'it is not unknown to all of them that have read and marked the Scripture that it appertaineth nothing unto their office to make any law to govern the conscience of their subjects in religion'; and, again, 'Christ's Kingdom is a spiritual one. In this neither Pope nor King may govern. Christ alone is the governor of his Church, and the only law-giver'; and, again, 'The laws of the civil magistrate are not to be admitted in the Church' (quoted in Skeats, p. 7).

This is quite the Free Church position. Hooper was imprisoned at the Fleet, but was liberated by the king after some small concessions had secured his submission, and then under the persuasion of leading Continental reformers he accepted the bishopric of Gloucester in the hope of helping to carry the Reformation further in England. Edward VI.'s Second Prayer Book (A.D. 1552) registered a considerable advance in this direction. The second Act of Uniformity (5 and 6 Edward VI., cap. 1), enforcing the use of the revised Prayer Book, forbade attendance at any other form of service under penalties amounting—for the third offence—to imprisonment for life.

During Mary's reign, while all types of Protestantism were banned, there was no longer any occasion for specific Nonconformity. Her brother's Acts of Uniformity were nullified by the restoration of Roman Catholicism. But the return of Protestantism with the commencement of the reign of Elizabeth brought back the Prayer Book and was confirmed by a new Act of Uniformity (Elizabeth, cap. 2, A.D. 1559) with penalties amounting to imprisonment for life in case of a third conviction, also fining parishioners twelve pence for every offence of non-attendance at church. The Book of Common Prayer was revised by a commission of divines and members of the Council, who combined the two forms of it issued in the reign of Edward VI. The result was a ritual less advanced in Protestantism than King Edward's Second Prayer Book. In particular, the description of the adoration of the elements as 'idolatry' and the assertion that 'the sacramental bread and wine . . . remain still in their very natural substances,' with other statements to the same effect, were removed. In the beginning of her reign Elizabeth desired to be conciliatory. It may be said that the *via media* of the Church of England is very largely due to the great Tudor queen's policy. She repudiated the papacy, and, while reluctant to be called 'supreme head' of the Church, accepted the title 'supreme governor.' But, quite apart from her desire to gather in as many of her subjects as possible, Elizabeth was personally enamoured of ceremony, and she found the bareness of the extreme Protestant type of worship repulsive to her taste. Accordingly she had no sympathy with Puritanism. This movement now came into prominence under the leadership of a great scholar and masterly controversialist, Thomas Cartwright of Cambridge, who exerted wide-spread influence, not only in the University, but also throughout the country. Cartwright went beyond the position of Hooper in the reign of Edward VI., and distinctly rejected the Episcopal form of government, pronouncing for Presbyterianism on grounds of Scripture. He was opposed by Whitgift, then Vice-Chancellor of the University. But even Whitgift, while defending Episcopacy, did not accept the Catholic doctrine of apostolical succession or even the divinely appointed authority of bishops as a distinct order of the ministry. This High Church view of the episcopate appears to have been first advocated by Bancroft in the year 1588. We wait for Laud in the reign of James I. for the full assertion of the doctrine of apostolical succession. While Cartwright held that the Presbyterian order, with the right of the people to elect their ministers, was authoritatively required by Scripture, Whitgift maintained that the external polity of the Church was left an open question which the Christian State could settle for itself. It may be said, therefore, that Whitgift took a more liberal view of the situation than Cartwright. But then the Erastianism that accompanied it limited this liberty to the crown and a subservient parliament. In point of fact, it was only the queen who enjoyed freedom in the matter; her subjects, including the Church and its ministry, were tied down by the Act of Uniformity to the system of government on

which she had decided. In the year 1574 Travers published his *Disciplina Ecclesiæ ex verbo Dei descripta* at Geneva, and twelve years later Cartwright translated it into English with additions. He and some 500 ministers signed their agreement with it. This book was pronouncedly Protestant, and it advocated the form of church government adopted by the French Presbyterians. Efforts were made to further the Puritan cause by the introduction into Parliament of bills limiting the stringency of subscription and the powers of bishops. But they were all stopped by the queen and the court party which stood for the Episcopal settlement. In spite of this fact most of the Puritans remained in the Church. These were Presbyterians who hoped for the ultimate triumph of their own views in the Establishment, and who, cherishing that hope, submitted for the time being to ordinances of which they did not approve. A minority could not agree to this policy. A Presbyterian conventicle was founded at Wandsworth in 1572. This was suppressed and its members were scattered—the first instance of the breaking up of a Nonconformist church. But it was by the Congregationalists that the idea of separation was developed. Their view was first expounded by Robert Browne, whose *Treatise of Reformation without tarying for anie* was published in 1582. He blames those preachers who will not reform themselves or their charges, but wait till the magistrate commands or compels them. In taking up this position, he plainly advocates positive and open Nonconformity. It may be regarded as an accident that this was first identified with Independency; but, while Presbyterianism could be established by the State or left free as the case might be, Independency logically involved separation, because it recognized Christ as the only Head of the Church and the body of the Church members as the one authority competent to interpret His will. Browne's fundamental principle also requires the same freedom. He states it thus:

'The Kingdom of God was not to be begun by whole parishes, but rather of the worthiest, were they never so few' (*A True and Short Declaration*, etc., p. 6).

The Presbyterians were willing to retain the parochial system, which assumed the Church membership of the whole nation. In rejecting this and arguing for a separated Church of genuine Christians, Browne necessarily broke not only with the existing Anglican and Episcopal Act of Uniformity, but with the very idea of such an act. He would have had to stand out from an established Presbyterian Church. It is true that he did not always see the legitimate inferences to be drawn from his contentions; for, while in one place he says, 'They [the magistrates] may do nothing concerning the church, but only civilie, and as civile Magistrates' (*Treatise of Reformation*, p. 12), he is not always clear on the point or consistent with it. But this personal vacillation does not affect the inherent requirements of his principles. See, further, art. BROWNISM.

Thus the early Independents became pronounced Nonconformists and were persecuted as such. Robert Browne was reconciled to the Established Church in his later days. But the Independents or Congregationalists—the names are synonymous—Barrow, Green, and Penry were hanged as Nonconformists, the grounds of their condemnation being publishing seditious books, denying the royal supremacy (which was treated as constructively implying treason against the queen), and attacking the existing ecclesiastical order. The statute of the royal supremacy was originally directed against the Roman Catholics and their adhesion to a foreign prince, in the pope, and Protestant Nonconformity was then scarcely considered. It does not appear that Queen Elizabeth knew or cared anything about the obscure Separatists. Their obstinate recalcitrance came as an unpleasant surprise to her. It was Whitgift who drew them out to the light, and he must bear the chief responsibility for the treatment that they received. For fuller particulars concerning these Elizabethan Nonconformists see artt. CONGREGATIONALISM and PRESBYTERIANISM.

In 1593 there was enacted a rigorous law against Nonconformity (35 Elizabeth, cap. 1), threatening imprisonment, which was to continue till open submission and declaration of conformity were made. Obstinate offenders were to abjure the realm.

3. Early Stuart period.—During the reigns of James I. and Charles I. the Elizabethan requirements remained in force and with them the prohibition of Nonconformity. Nor was this all. Fresh disabilities were introduced and additional power was given to the engines of repression, so that the plight of the Nonconformists was worse now than it had been during the later years of Queen Elizabeth. They were harried out of the land. The irresponsible courts of the Star Chamber and the High Commission destroyed both liberty and justice. The first flight of the Separatists to Holland took place under Elizabeth; a second followed under James I., when life in England had become intolerable for them. Unlike the Presbyterians, Puritans within the Church, who numbered in their ranks some of the ablest, most scholarly, and cultured men of their day, the earlier Congregationalists were for the most part persons of humble origin and meagre attainments, although the martyrs Barrow and Greenwood were both educated at Cambridge University. A man of wider culture and larger intelligence, as well as higher tone, was John Robinson, who went from Scrooby in Nottinghamshire to Amsterdam, where he was followed by his congregation, and thence to Leyden. Here Congregationalism was first established on a firm basis by a capable and large-minded exponent of its principles, and from this place it crossed over to America with the Pilgrim Fathers (*q.v.*). The Independents from Leyden were followed by others from England and also by Puritans who had not voluntarily separated from the Established Church, but who could not submit to its legally enforced requirements. They too, on joining the exiles at Plymouth, came to be fused with the Independents, whose principles they ultimately adopted. On the other hand, the Puritan Nonconformists, who made a new settlement in Massachusetts, carried with them their Presbyterian tenets and established a rigorous Calvinistic government in the New World. It has been urged against the Nonconformists that after claiming liberty in England they practised tyranny in America. But to say this is to fail in discrimination. We should distinguish between the two classes of exiles. John Robinson's people, who had claimed Church freedom in the Old World, did concede it to a very large extent in New England; but the Puritans, who denied it and enforced a State-governed Presbyterianism in Massachusetts, had never objected to the State establishment of religion, and, if they had obtained the upper hand at home, they would have enforced their form of Church government, as was the case with their successors in the days of the Long Parliament when the Covenant was adopted. Thus each party remained consistent with its principles.

Meanwhile efforts were being made to secure an ecclesiastical settlement in England. In the year 1604 the Hampton Court Conference was summoned—ostensibly in order to bring the opposing parties together. Dr. Reynolds, representing the Presby-

terians, desired to secure permission for assemblies of the clergy every three weeks, 'prophesying,' and diocesan synods, each composed of the bishop and his presbyters. This proposal aimed at a compromise combining the essential elements of Episcopacy and Presbyterianism. In all probability, if it had been adopted, we should have heard little more of Nonconformity except among the detached sects—Congregationalists, Baptists, Quakers, etc.; for the majority of the Puritans were anxious to remain in the Church and to arrive at a common settlement. But this was not to be. The tone of the conference was anti-Puritan, and all that it effected was a more pronounced opposition to the Presbyterians and other Nonconformists.

The same year James I., who thought his own consummate wisdom equal to a task at which theologians and statesmen had failed, made an attempt to determine the dispute by issuing his *Book of Canons*, which required every clergyman to subscribe 'willingly and *ex animo*' to the royal supremacy, the Book of Common Prayer, and the Thirty-nine Articles. The king did not explain how any compulsion could be needed for what was to be done willingly. Although the book was passed under the Great Seal, it was never adopted and authorized by Parliament. But it sufficed to aggravate the persecutions of a royal and episcopal tyranny. The hard case of the Puritans was still further embittered by the position taken up by Laud—and that on two accounts. First, Laud followed Bancroft in adopting the doctrine of the apostolical succession of bishops. This implied that Presbyterian ordination was invalid, and it repudiated the Churchmanship of all but Episcopalians. Inferentially it cut off the Church of England from communion with all the great Protestant Churches on the Continent, Lutheran, Calvinistic, and Zwinglian—a complete reversal of the policy of Elizabeth, who had championed the Continental Protestants. It also indicated some undoing of the work of the Reformation—a move back in the direction of Roman Catholicism. Laud himself had no leanings towards the papacy. On the contrary, his aim seems to have been to strengthen the Church of England by giving it a sound basis. Under the strong Tudors the royal supremacy was an adequate substitute for the papal; but that was not the case with the Stuarts. Hooker had tried to justify the Episcopal position on grounds of Scripture and antiquity. But some one clear principle seemed needed to strengthen it against the Presbyterian position and at the same time justify it in view of Roman Catholic claims. This Laud thought he had found in the divine appointment of the Anglican episcopate and its mystical powers. Such a contention was especially offensive to the Puritans, and it aggravated their objections to the conduct of Church affairs by the authorities. The Prayer Book as interpreted by Laud was far worse than the Prayer Book as interpreted by Parker. In the second place, Laud was an Arminian, and the 17th cent. saw the Church of England invaded by Arminianism. Archbishop Whitgift had been as Calvinistic as Cartwright. Those two controversialists agreed in doctrine, while they differed as to the discipline and government of the Church. Elizabeth herself was Calvinistically inclined, and the Elizabethan Church was mainly Calvinistic. The Lambeth Articles, which went beyond the Thirty-nine Articles in the direction of extreme Calvinism, represented the dominant spirit of Anglicanism at the end of the 16th century. But the 17th cent. saw a great change in this respect. The Puritans, however, remained true, in the main, to the Genevan theology. There were exceptions, as in the case of John Smyth, who broke off from the Independent Church at Leyden on Baptist principles and founded the General Baptist body, and later in the Independent John Goodwin. The Calvinism of the bulk of the Puritans was directly opposed to the Arminian tendencies of the Stuart Church, and thus a second ground of divergence appeared, still further widening the breach and intensifying the antagonism between the Established Church and Nonconformity. The vigorous activity of Laud made this antagonism acute.

4. **The Parliamentary and Cromwellian periods.**—Then came the reaction, and Laud was sacrificed to the Presbyterian opposition. But the execution of the great Churchman did not save the ill-advised king and his incompetent courtiers. The Civil War indicated the uprising of Protestant England and Scotland against prelatical tyranny as much as against royal despotism. It was a fight for religious liberty. But with the Presbyterians this proved to be only liberty for themselves and their own views. Two stages in the subsequent triumph over the court and Episcopal side must be kept distinctly apart if the parties concerned are to be justly judged. The first is in the period of the Westminster Assembly and the Long Parliament, when Presbyterianism was made the religion of the nation by Act of Parliament, and the Solemn League and Covenant adopted by Parliament in England as well as north of the Tweed. The execution of this Erastian requirement was never complete. Presbyteries were established in London and in Lancashire; but little was done to set them up in other parts of England. Many Episcopalians were then ejected from their livings, with a reduced maintenance at least allowed them by law (though they did not all get it), but not so many as Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, London, 1714, might lead us to suppose. In his exhaustive study of *The Ejected of 1662 in Cumberland and Westmorland*, 2 vols., Manchester, 1911, B. Nightingale has gone carefully through Walker's names for those counties, and finds (1) some incumbents removed for inefficiency or moral faults, (2) some for malignancy, on political grounds, and (3) some only deprived as pluralists of all livings but one, which they were allowed to retain. There is no reason to believe that the case was different in other counties, the records of which have not been so thoroughly searched. Still, no doubt there was much suffering under this parliamentary despotism, as well as real heroism and the true martyr spirit among loyal lovers of the suppressed Prayer Book.

The second period is that of the Commonwealth, when Oliver Cromwell held the power of the State in his own hands. Cromwell had called the Westminster divines 'persecutors.' The five Independents who had left the Westminster Assembly when they had found all protests against the forcing of Presbyterianism on the nation ineffectual had stood out for a freer course. But even they had not anticipated the breadth of the great Protector's policy. This was to leave all godly men and gospel preachers, whether Congregationalist, Presbyterian, or Episcopalian, in possession of their parishes so long as they discharged their duty faithfully. His triers were not all of one party, and they were expressly ordered not to molest worthy ministers of any of these persuasions. It was the widest, most comprehensive Church order ever established. Even some Baptists as well as many of the three denominations mentioned above now entered the ministry of the Established Church, notably Henry Jesse, rector of St. George's, Southwark, John Tombes, vicar of Leominster, and Paul Hobbson, chaplain to Eton College. We must regard this as a large-minded statesman's

practical expedient devised to meet a peculiarly awkward situation. It was not wholly consistent with the requirements of any of the parties concerned, for the Episcopalians had no bishops, the Presbyterians had no synods except in London and Lancashire, and the Independents were in charge of whole parishes, while also gathering and meeting their separated churches in those parishes. In reality it was an established Congregationalism unfettered by any formal creeds or canons of Church order. This secured personal liberty for the ministers and churches that it included within its ample boundaries. No Episcopalian was to be ejected except for inefficiency, immorality, or plotting against the government. Roman Catholics, Unitarians, and Quakers were not included in Cromwell's otherwise comprehensive Church. But none of these people are known to have been holding livings when he assumed the reins of government. The Protector removed the disabilities of Baptists and Congregationalists who had remained outside the Establishment all along—quite the majority in those denominations; and, although the Quakers were still obnoxious to the law, he endeavoured, being favourably impressed in an interview with George Fox, to soften its rigour against them. Oliver Cromwell did not live long enough to test the efficacy of his efforts to secure religious amity; and his arrangement fell to pieces in the chaos that followed his death and the succession of his incompetent and negligent son Richard, who was more at home in a country gentleman's life among horses and dogs than in great affairs of State.

5. Period of the Restoration.—A national revulsion against the gloom and sternness of Puritanism and despair of the establishment of settled order by the government of the day led to a joyous welcome of Charles II. when he landed at Dover on 25th May 1660. Many have expressed surprise that the Presbyterians took the lead in bringing about the restoration of the Stuart dynasty. It should be observed, however, that at the time of the Westminster Assembly this party, in its antagonism to the Independents, who had leanings towards Republicanism, was turning towards the monarchy. Besides, could its leaders have gauged the depths of Charles's perfidy? Ten years before this, when in Scotland, he had sworn to support both the National Covenant of 1581 and the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643, and he had renewed his oath when crowned at Scone. Honourable men would find it hard to expect that a king would so forswear himself as to repudiate such an oath and sanction the persecution of those who remained faithful to its principles. Then they had the king's letter to the House of Commons, in which he promised to respect tender consciences and maintain religious liberty. Was it to be supposed that within two years he would break his word and repudiate the promise on condition of which he had been called to ascend the throne? Many had grave misgivings; but the tide was too strong for them. The worst that we can say of the Presbyterians who invited Charles is that they were deceived as to the character of the prince with whom they were dealing, having no conception of its incredible baseness. Not that we are to accuse Charles of any Machiavellian policy of duplicity. Probably in his easy, careless way he intended to keep his word when he gave it. He was no lover of persecution; he would have liked all things to go pleasantly so long as he could revel in his own pleasures. But, when these were threatened—being the only serious objects of his life—oaths and vows might be scattered to the winds.

So it came about that the restoration of the monarchy brought with it almost as a matter of course the restoration of the Anglican Episcopal Church. The popular revulsion against Puritanism made this inevitable. Charles could not have prevented it. What his pledged word should have opposed was the concurrent ecclesiastical tyranny which immediately began to oppress every other kind of Church life. Many Presbyterians and others were at once expelled from their livings in the Church. In most cases this was in order to restore the rectors and vicars who had been cast out by the previous government. As far as that was the case, there could be little just ground of complaint. It was hard on the ejected; so had the previous ejectment been hard on the Episcopalians, who could also claim priority of right. But these cases do not cover all the ground. Apart from the restoration of livings to survivors from previous ejectment, a dead set was made against the Puritans, and many suffered in consequence. For two years, however, no new law was passed in order to bring about a sweeping clearance. But the storm was brewing, and in the year 1662 it burst with wide-spreading results. During the intermediate period the Puritan party was gradually experiencing more and more disfavour. This was seen in Parliament, where the expressions of vindictiveness against the opponents of the late king became more pronounced as time went on. It was also manifested by the actions of the government. Ten Presbyterian ministers were appointed among Charles II.'s first chaplains, of whom, however, only four actually preached before the king. These were Reynolds, Spurstow, Calamy, and Baxter.

'I suppose,' writes Baxter, 'never a Man of them all ever received or expected a Penny for the Salary of their Places' (*Life and Times*, pt. ii. p. 229).

The Worcester House Conference was then called together at the house of the Lord Chamberlain. It consisted of a meeting of Presbyterian chaplains with leading statesmen in the presence of the king, who professed to be glad at any approach to agreement—no doubt, in spite of his deep duplicity, with some sincerity, for he was not ill-natured, and he always desired to see things going pleasantly. Baxter had previously conferred with Archbishop Usher, and the two had come to an agreement as to the terms to be proposed for a settlement. These were the appointment of a suffragan bishop in each rural deanery, annual diocesan synods, and a national synod every three years. It was to be a combination of Episcopacy and Presbyterianism. This suggestion, together with a recommendation for revision of the liturgy, was now adopted and proposed by the Presbyterian chaplains. They do not seem to have made any clear pronouncement on the vital question of Episcopal ordination. When the scheme was submitted to the bishops, they drew up a reply, which was presented to the Presbyterian chaplains in writing. On 4th Sept. Clarendon sent a draft declaration for indulgences to the Presbyterian divines, to which Baxter wrote an elaborate answer; and on 22nd Oct. he effected a meeting of representatives of both ecclesiastical parties together with the Dukes of Ormond and Albemarle, the Earls of Manchester and Anglesey, and Lord Hollis, the king himself being present. There were six bishops and six Presbyterians. This was at Worcester House in the Strand, where Clarendon was living at the time. Unhappily, the conference broke down on a proposal of the king, introduced by the Lord Chancellor, granting liberty of meetings for religious worship provided they did not disturb the public peace. This was in response to a petition for toleration that the king had received from 'Independents and Anabaptists.'

'The Presbyterians,' says Baxter, 'all perceived . . . that it would secure the Liberty of the Papists' (pt. ii. p. 277).

Baxter, himself the champion of liberty, who was labouring for peace and comprehension, protested against the inclusion of papists and Socinians. Thereupon the king broke up the meeting. Two or three days later Charles issued a manifesto embodying some of Baxter's proposals, including the appointment of suffragan bishops, the requirement that censures should not be issued without the co-operation of presbyters, and a revision of the Prayer Book. The king also gratuitously renewed the declaration from Breda that no one should be disquieted for differences of religious opinion. Baxter, Calamy, and Reynolds were offered bishoprics. Baxter declined; Calamy would wait till the new royal declaration became law—which never was the case; Reynolds, on Baxter's advice, and hoping to help the Puritan cause, accepted the see of Norwich. When the proposals of Charles's manifesto came before Parliament, they were rejected.

In the winter of the same year an excuse was found for oppressive measures in Venner's insurrection—a petty disturbance raised by a small party of fanatical Fifth Monarchy men. But this was not the real cause of the new severity, for, although a declaration curtailing religious liberty was not issued till 10th Jan.—four days after the riot—the Council Book shows that its provisions had been decided on in the Council on 2nd Jan., *i.e.* four days before that outbreak (see J. Stoughton, *Church and State Two Hundred Years Ago*, London, 1862, p. 131). This order in council forbade the meetings of Anabaptists, Quakers, and other sectaries in large numbers, and restricted them to their own counties. Apart from its specific requirements, there were plenty of old laws that had slumbered neglected under more liberal administrations which could be revived and utilized for the persecution of Nonconformists, and there were many victims of this persecution before the famous ejection. Among others John Bunyan had been sent to Bedford jail for his Nonconformist activity on 12th Nov. 1660—eighteen months before the new Act of Uniformity was passed.

6. The Savoy Conference.—The Savoy Conference was summoned by royal authority on 25th March 1661, as a commission to attempt a settlement by a revision of the Prayer Book. It consisted of Church dignitaries and Presbyterians. The Congregationalists, Baptists, and other denominations were not represented in it. The bishops showed from the first no inclination to come to terms, and they repudiated the objections urged by the Presbyterians to any of the contents of the book as it stood. Baxter, who had undertaken to draw up a scheme of suggestions for amending it, made the amazing mistake of writing an entirely new book of prayers and offering it to the bishops as a substitute for their old Prayer Book. Utterly unpractical and altogether lacking in diplomatic policy as the great and good man showed himself to be in this matter, he was throughout labouring for peace, and the supreme object of his endeavours was to secure a united Church. It was not Baxter's unpracticalness, however, but the obvious determination of the bishops to make no concessions, that led to the failure of the conference. The Savoy Conference met at the time when preparations were being made for the king's coronation—a great and gorgeous function in which none but Episcopalians of the Established Church took any part. Thus the very object of a conference called together by royal authority was negatived in the eyes of all men while its discussions were being carried on.

7. Reactionary measures.—Meanwhile a new House of Commons was elected, and no sooner did it meet than it began to show its character. Young squires whose fathers had suffered for the royalist cause were in no mood to welcome projects of conciliation and compromise. In particular, three measures passed in the first year of this parliament (1661) marked the reaction against the Puritan régime very distinctly, viz. acts for the return of the bishops to the House of Lords, the restoration of some ancient ecclesiastical customs, and the exclusion of Nonconformists from municipal offices by requiring the test of the sacrament in an Anglican church. These measures were brought in so closely together and pressed through so quickly that it is manifest that they were in a pre-concerted plan for the effective re-establishment of a dominant Episcopacy. Charles's promise at Breda of respect for tender consciences and religious liberty was flung to the winds in the royal assent to these Acts of Parliament.

8. Act of Uniformity.—A fourth measure, of greater historical importance and far-reaching consequences, was the now famous Act of Uniformity (14 Charles II., cap. 4), which split the Church in two, and thereby created Nonconformity as a powerful factor in the national life. The bill was introduced into the House of Commons by Serjeant Keeling, a man whose disposition may be seen in the fact that on one occasion, when he was a judge, he fined each member of a jury 100 marks for acquitting some people who had assembled for worship one Sunday with Bibles but without Prayer Books. It was read a first time on 29th June, and it had passed through all its stages and was sent up to the House of Lords by 10th August. As it then stood, this bill required all clergymen, on pain of ejectment from their livings for disobedience, to declare publicly 'their unfeigned assent and consent to the use of all things' contained in the Book of Common Prayer. This was legislating in the dark; for the revision of the Prayer Book in Convocation by order of council was not begun till November, and was completed only on 20th Dec.—more than four months after the requirement to give conscientious consent to the use of all that it was to contain had been voted by the Commons. Any clergy who after their ejectment conducted public services were to be punished with imprisonment—three months for each offence.

It was not till the next year, 1662, that the House of Lords took the measure into consideration, and then several amendments were introduced, most of which rendered it more drastic. The date for ejectment in case of non-compliance was brought back from Michaelmas to St. Bartholomew's day, thereby depriving the incumbents of the tithes which they had earned by nearly a year's work. Worse than this, the subscription was altered from assent and consent to the 'use' of the Prayer Book to assent and consent to 'all its contents,' so as to run thus: 'I, A. B., doe declare my unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything contained and prescribed in and by the book intituled The Book of Common Prayer,' etc. Here we come to the crux of the matter. The acceptance of this amendment by the Commons and the assent given to the bill by the king constituted the essential cause of subsequent Nonconformity. The clergyman who could not declare that he conscientiously believed every sentence printed between the two covers of that book was to be deprived of his living in the Church of England. When an attempt was made in the House of Lords to explain this clause as meaning only a promise to use the book in its entirety, that explanation was negatived. There can be no doubt that the clause was made as exacting as possible for the express purpose of expelling the Puritans from the Church of England. Addi-

tional amendments required of all cathedral dignitaries, schoolmasters, and private tutors a declaration of non-resistance and a repudiation of the Solemn League and Covenant—*i.e.* a condemnation of the action of the parliamentary party in the late war. The clause referring to the Covenant was to be in force only for twenty years, after the expiration of which period it might be expected to be no longer necessary. On the other hand, two amendments were introduced by the Lords mitigating the severity of the bill. One was assenting to the king's suggestion that he should be allowed some dispensing power, the other giving to the ejected ministers a grant of one-fifth out of their forfeited livings, similar to the grant that had been made to ejected Episcopalians by the Long Parliament. When the bill thus amended was sent up to the Commons, the House accepted all the changes which added to its severity and rejected the two changes of the opposite character. No doubt Charles's motive in claiming dispensing power was suspected as intended to prepare for leniency towards Roman Catholics. The rejection of the amendment proposing a small pension for the ejected clergy shows the animus of the House.

9. The ejectment.—On 19th May the bill in its final form received the royal assent. Baxter at once resigned his two London lectureships. This he did lest his attitude should be misunderstood as implying compliance with the measure. It is commonly supposed that, when the act came into force, it resulted in the ejectment of 2000 clergymen.[1] In point of fact, the number of those who were deprived of their livings on 24th Aug. 1662 was somewhat less; but, if we add to the list the names of those who had been expelled after the king's accession, during the intermediate two years, probably it will mount up to more than 2000. This then may be said in round numbers to be about the total of the ejected Nonconformists in the reign of Charles II.[2] Among them were some of the most learned, earnest, and effective ministers. The ejectment of these men inflicted a tremendous blow on the Church. At the same time the impoverishment of the Establishment carried with it a corresponding enrichment of Nonconformity. To the few Congregationalist and Baptist churches that had dared to maintain their independence was now added a large number of ministers and their disciples who were henceforth to maintain their religious life and teaching outside the pale of the Church of England. Most of these people went out with no faith in Free Church principles. The majority were Presbyterians who had stood for the establishment of Presbyterianism. There were also some Episcopalians, who, while believing in the three orders and the authority of bishops, could not give their conscientious assent to certain things in the Prayer Book, chiefly because it seemed to contain remnants of Romanism; and there were the Independents and the few Baptists who never would have been in an Established Church if they had realized the logical issues of their principles. Together these four classes of ejected ministers with their faithful disciples all became Nonconformists. Many of them proceeded to found new churches in accordance with their distinctive tenets. The result of their activity is to be seen in the number of 1662 churches that were celebrating their 250th anniversary in the year 1912. The ministry of the ejected ministers was liable to punishment, and in many cases was punished, the penalty imposed for preaching or conducting services after ejectment being three months' imprisonment.

There can be no doubt that this act entailed a vast amount of suffering among the ejected and impoverished clergy and their families. It is clear also that there were real heroism and a fine fidelity of conscience on the part of men who left their homes and their flocks and went out as wanderers, in most cases with no prospect of a livelihood or opportunity for continuing their life-work. On the other hand, the following facts should also be remembered. (1) The persecutors had in many cases been persecuted themselves under the parliamentary régime. Revenge is un-Christian; but it is human, and its added severity when the tables are turned is also in accordance with human nature. (2) Most of the victims would have enforced a uniformity of their own on their persecutors if only they could again have got the upper hand, for they were in sympathy with the Covenant. This is not true of all. (3) The position of the Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Baptists within the Established Church, if they had been permitted to remain, could not have been happy, and they would have been wise to come out of their own accord in order to share the freedom and independence of their ecclesiastical fellows who were already maintaining their separate churches. Hard as was their fate personally, the ejected were able to advance their principles much better outside the Church than would have been possible within its bounds, however wide these might have been.

10. Conventicle Act.—The Act of Uniformity was directed against nonconforming clergymen and teachers. It did not directly affect the congregations. There were old laws that could be brought to bear on the attendants at Nonconformist services. In particular, by an act of the reign of Elizabeth (35 Elizabeth, cap. 1) all persons attending any other services than those of the Church of England as by law established incurred a penalty of imprisonment, and, if they failed to make their submission in three months, were liable to banishment from the kingdom. But doubts were raised whether this law was still operative. Accordingly, in the year 1664 the Conventicle Act (16 Car. II., cap. 4) was passed, declaring it to be 'very clear and evident' that the Elizabethan statute was still in force and 'ought to be put in due execution,' and providing further and more speedy remedies against the practices of 'seditious sectaries and other disloyal persons.' It was now enacted that every person over sixteen years of age attending any Nonconformist service, at which five or more persons—in addition to the household—were present, was liable to a fine of £5 for the first offence, and in default of payment to imprisonment for three months; for the second, £10 or six months; for the third, £100 or seven years' transportation to one of his Majesty's foreign plantations. The exile was to pay his own passage money, and, if he did not provide this, his goods were to be distrained for the purpose. If that did not bring in enough money, the shipper might detain him as a labourer till he had worked the amount off for any period up to five years. The

[1] Calamy reckons 2188; Palmer, 2196.

[2] It has been pointed out that, since the Revised Prayer Book was not published till about three weeks before the act was to come into operation, some clergymen in remote parts could not even have seen it when they were required to give their solemn assent and consent to all its contents. It would have been only reasonable to have allowed everybody a sufficient time for studying it. And indeed it should be noted that the act expressly provides for those who are prevented from complying with its requirements at the assigned date by any 'lawful impediment.' But it was left to the bishop to determine what constituted a 'lawful impediment.' Inability to see the book in time might well be reckoned such. And there is extant a document in which the bishop of Peterborough excuses delay in signing on the part of his cathedral prebends for this very reason. On the other hand, a bishop might override this excuse or hold that a delaying clergyman whose ejectment he desired could have obtained a copy of the book in time. It was left entirely to the bishop's decision.

act was to be in force for three years and till the close of the first session of Parliament held after the expiration of this period. Now began the romance of Nonconformity, fascinating to read about, but tragic to experience. Meetings were held in lonely houses, in cellars, in hay-lofts, in all sorts of out-of-the-way places. Secret passages were provided and watchers were set to give notice of the danger of arrest. In spite of every precaution, many conventicles were surprised and their attendants carried off to jail.

11. **Five Mile Act.**—The next year occurred the Plague of London, and then, some of the newly-appointed city clergy having fled to the green fields to escape the infection, some of their predecessors —the ejected ministers—returned to their old flocks and ministered to them in their distress (see Baxter, pt. iii. p. 2; Burnet, *History*, i. 411). The same year, 1665, there was passed the Five Mile Act (16 Car. II., cap. 2), to still further restrict the activity of Nonconformist ministers. It required all persons in holy orders or pretending to be in holy orders who had not made the declarations required by the Act of Uniformity to take an oath that 'it is not lawful upon any pretence to take up arms against the king,' and to add, 'I will not at any time endeavour any alteration of government, either in church or state.' The ejected minister who refused to take this oath was forbidden, under penalty of £40, to come except on a journey within five miles of any city or corporate town, or of any parliamentary borough, or of any parish, town, or place in which he had formerly been the parson, vicar, curate, stipendiary, or lecturer, or had conducted any Nonconformist service. He was also forbidden to keep any school.

12. **New Conventicle Act.**—A scheme of comprehension agreed upon between Wilkins, bishop of Chester, and the Presbyterian leaders, and favoured by Stillingfleet, Tillotson, and Reynolds, which would have allowed Presbyterian ordination with the addition of the laying on of the bishop's hands to confer *legal* authority and also permit assemblies in *orthodox* meeting-houses, never got the length of a bill in Parliament. On the other hand, in the year 1670, after the expiration of the Conventicle Act, Sheldon, bishop of London, who had taken a foremost part in shaping and pushing forward the measures against the Nonconformists, persuaded the king to issue a proclamation commanding the old (Elizabethan) laws against Nonconformity and also the Five Mile Act to be put in force. The House of Commons thanked the king and proceeded to pass a new and milder Conventicle Bill (22 Charles II., cap. 1), fining only five shillings for the first offence and ten shillings for the second, with no imprisonment. If some could not afford to pay the fines, others who were in the congregation could be required to make them up to the amount of £10 for each person thus mulcted. Preachers were to be fined £10 and £20. This measure, though much less severe than the earlier law, proved to be more effective. It was followed in 1673 by the Test Act, which practically excluded consistent Nonconformists from all government employment — civil, military, or naval.

13. **Indulgences.**—In the year 1672 Charles attempted to put in force the dispensing power which he said was 'not only inherent in him, but hath been declared and recognized to be so by several statutes and Acts of Parliament.' He gave as his reason for doing so that there was 'very little fruit of all those forcible courses,' so strong and stubborn was Nonconformity in spite of all attempts to suppress it. This was while the king was enjoying some freedom during a parliamentary recess; but the next year, within a week of re-assembling, the Commons resolved 'that the Penal Statutes in matters ecclesiastical cannot be suspended but by Act of Parliament.' When the king held out, they refused him supplies. This drove him to yield, and he broke the seal of his declaration with his own hands and recalled the licences issued under it.

James II. went further with the obvious intention of securing privileges for the Roman Catholics by enlarging the bounds of religious liberty, perhaps also because he was really opposed to persecution. On 4th April 1687 he issued a Declaration of Indulgence suspending all laws inflicting penalties for Nonconformity. There were victims of those laws who gravely disapproved of this unconstitutional action and refused to avail themselves of the advantages that it offered them. John Howe denounced the dispensing power. Daniel Williams said that he would rather suffer injustice than sanction violation of the fundamental principles of the constitution. But great difference of opinion on the question existed, as may be seen in the war of pamphlets that followed, and many Nonconformists availed themselves of these indulgences—as many as 3500 in five months (for specimens of the licences see G. L. Turner, *Original Records of early Nonconformity under Persecution and Indulgence*, 2 vols., London, 1911). On 27th April 1688 James issued his second Declaration of Indulgence with a command that it should be read in all the churches. When the seven bishops who refused to obey the illegal order were tried and acquitted, the Nonconformists joined with the people generally in acclaiming this vindication of law in opposition to Stuart despotism.

14. **Toleration.**—The flight of James followed by the accession of William and Mary brought the Nonconformists relief from the persecuting laws. The king himself recommended the repeal of the Corporation and Test Acts; but, although efforts were made in Parliament to bring about these ends, they were not successful. On the other hand, all holders of office in State and Church were required to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance to the new sovereign. Four hundred of the clergy, including six bishops, refused, considering themselves still bound by their oaths of allegiance to James. These 'Nonjurors' (*q.v.*) were really Nonconformists in their separation from the Church, although not as regards the Act of Uniformity, to which they still adhered. On 24th May 1689 the Toleration Act (1 William and Mary, cap. 18) was passed. It granted exemption from all the penalties to which Nonconformists were liable under the Acts of Elizabeth and Charles II. Thus, while it did not repeal any of those acts, it drew their teeth. Nonconformity was still illegal. The Act of Uniformity not only still kept those who did not accept the Prayer Book in its entirety out of the Church; it still forbade ejected ministers to conduct services elsewhere, and conventicles were still prohibited. But there was no punishment for disobeying these laws. This anomalous position involved toleration, but not full liberty of conscience, much less religious equality. It was only granted subject to the following conditions: (1) the oath of allegiance, (2) subscription to a declaration against popery, (3) subscription by ministers of Nonconformist congregations to the Thirty-nine Articles, with the exception of Article 3 and part of Article 4. Baptists were also exempt with regard to the Article on Baptism, and Quakers were altogether free from this condition. Previous legislation making attendance at public worship compulsory was confirmed and extended to include Nonconformist places of worship. These were to be licensed and protected from molestation under penalties.

Limited as the toleration was, it gave at once release from legal persecution, and it was followed by a great extension of the building of Nonconformist meeting-houses. Before the end of the century as many as 2418 licences for Nonconformist places of worship were taken out.

15. Comprehension Bill. — Meanwhile Burnet, Tillotson, Tenison, and other men of liberal sentiments were for going further, and they favoured a Comprehension Bill, which was introduced into the House of Lords by the Earl of Nottingham and passed in that chamber, but relegated by the Commons to Convocation, where, after it had been carefully examined by a commission, the Upper House favoured it, but the Lower condemned it. The Presbyterians and Congregationalists were largely in favour of it, especially Baxter and Calamy. But the House of Commons did not proceed with it in face of the adverse attitude of the bulk of the clergy. Calamy thought that, if the bill had passed, it would have brought two-thirds of the Dissenters into the Church. The Baptists, the Quakers, and the Unitarians would still have stood out in nonconformity. This measure had required a modified subscription giving general approval of the doctrine of the Church of England and a promise to conform to its worship and government. The more rigorous Nonconformists could not have agreed to that; but it was the Church party that actively opposed the measure and stopped its progress.

16. Queen Anne and reaction.—The reign of Anne was marked by a reaction against the tolerant policy of William and Mary, the queen's main object being to strengthen the Church of England. Dissenters were now subjected to many kinds of petty persecution and insult in spite of the Toleration Act. In the first year of the new reign De Foe's *Short Way with Dissenters* appeared as an anonymous tract. It recommended their extermination. The High Church party was completely deceived by it, and, reading it as a grave recommendation of the sternest measures, exulted in the daring of its proposals. When they discovered that it was written by a Dissenter as a satire on their attitude to Nonconformity, they were furious. Its author was discovered, prosecuted for using seditious language, fined £200, and put into the pillory—an outrage which the London populace turned into a glorification by decking the pillory with flowers.

17. Occasional Conformity Act.—During this reign two measures were enacted for increasing the disabilities of Nonconformists. One was the Occasional Conformity Act, which was passed by the Commons in 1702 and again in 1703, but on each occasion thrown out by the Lords. At last, in 1711, it was pushed through Parliament by a bargain with the Whigs, who preponderated in the Upper House, they being then intent on defeating the negotiations that led to the Peace of Utrecht. It had become customary for Nonconformist municipal and other officials to evade the Test and Corporation Acts by taking the sacrament in their parish churches once or twice a year, though attending their own meeting-houses on other occasions. De Foe had vehemently denounced the practice. This new law enacted that any persons in public offices who, after taking the sacrament test, attended any religious meeting where five persons were present besides the family should be disabled from their employments and fined £100, with the addition of £5 for every day they acted in such employments, and further incapacitated till after a year's conformity. A reward of £40 was offered to informers, encouraging spies in the meeting-houses. This act was designed to exclude Nonconformists from all public service. It was to a considerable extent evaded by the practice of keeping a private chaplain in the occasional conformist official's house.

18. Schism Act.—The Occasional Conformity Act had allowed Nonconformist teachers and preachers to exercise their callings on certain conditions elsewhere than in the counties where they had been originally qualified, and many of them obtained a living by keeping schools. Academies were now springing up for the education of the ministry. The 17th cent. Nonconformist ministers had been among the most cultured alumni of the universities, but the Act of Uniformity excluded their successors from those ancient national seats of learning. Accordingly, valiant attempts to compensate for this deprivation were made by the Nonconformist scholars, who prized an educated ministry. The Schism Act (1714) was designed to destroy Nonconformist scholarship; like a similar ordinance of the emperor Julian directed against the higher education of the Christians in the Roman empire, it aimed at accomplishing its purpose by a process of intellectual starvation. To recover favour with the queen, the free-thinker Bolingbroke prompted the measure. It was introduced in the Commons by Sir W. Windham, and, though opposed by the Whigs, carried there by 237 votes to 126. Bolingbroke obtained only 77 votes to 72 in the Lords. To their credit five bishops and 28 lay peers signed their protest against this peculiarly mean and cruel bill. It enacted that teachers must (1) be licensed by their bishop, (2) promise to conform to the liturgy, (3) take the sacrament at least annually in the Church of England way. Certain mitigating qualifications introduced by the Lords were accepted by the Commons and incorporated in the bill, viz. (1) teachers of elementary subjects were exempt, and (2) also tutors in noblemen's families; (3) only the higher courts could inflict the penalties. A gratuitous injustice was the extension of the act to Ireland. So strongly was the government set against the Dissenters that in all probability before long the Act of Toleration would have been repealed if Queen Anne had not died the same year.

19. Nonconformity under the House of Hanover.—While many in the Anglican Church sympathized with the cause of the two Pretenders, the Nonconformists welcomed the House of Hanover and were among its stanchest supporters. George I. came pledged both to Protestantism and to the maintenance of religious liberty. But, although overt acts of persecution ceased with his accession, the Occasional Conformity and Schism Acts were not repealed till the year 1719, when Stanhope carried through the measures of liberation. He attempted to destroy a third act of religious intolerance, the Test Act; but with that he failed. In the year 1722 an act was passed to relieve the Quakers from a form of words in making their affirmation of loyalty which they deemed contrary to their principles, with the result that even now some of them were in prison. It was vehemently opposed by Atterbury and other bishops and clergy; but their opposition was ultimately borne down.

20. Period of decline.—The removal of the worst legal disabilities was not followed by prosperity to the Nonconformists, who shared in the general decline of religious life during the period preceding the Methodist revival. The anonymous author of *An Enquiry into the Causes of the Decay of the Dissenting Interest*, published in 1714, attributed this to two causes—lack of thought and defective organization resulting in the inadequate payment of ministers. But the subsequent growth of Arianism, issuing at length in Unitarianism among

the Presbyterians and General Baptists, did not suggest a creed-bound orthodoxy. The causes were deeper in the life of the nation and the spirit of the times, and Anglicans as well as Dissenters shared in the depression of religious life. There was a further cause of weakness that affected only a minority of the ministers. This was the *Regium Donum*, a secret annual gift from the king for the benefit of ministers' widows that had been engineered by Walpole. When it became known, many Nonconformists opposed the receiving of it as contrary to their principles. But it was kept up amid much heart-burning for more than a century.

21. **'The Church in danger.'**—The invasion by the Pretender in 1715 was made the occasion for the cry of 'The Church in danger,' when riots occurred in which a number of Dissenting meeting-houses were destroyed. Two years later a sermon preached before the king by Hoadly, the bishop of Bangor, on 'The Nature of the Kingdom or Church of Christ' raised a storm and revived this party cry. Hoadly advocated 'the union and mutual charity of all Protestants,' and declared that the time had come when all the disabilities of the Dissenters might be removed. For this he was charged in the Lower House of Convocation with undermining the constitution of the Church and impeaching the authority of the king. Convocation was prorogued before the Upper House had time to face the question, and for long after effectually silenced.

22. **The 'Dissenting Deputies.'**—Just before the general election of 1734 a body known as the 'Dissenting Deputies' was formed in order to take political action for the rights of Nonconformity. It exists to-day and consists of delegates of the Presbyterian, Congregational, and Baptist Churches within ten miles of London. Sir Robert Walpole promised it his support, and the Dissenters in return worked for his side in the election. But when, after he had secured a majority, the deputies asked him to use the government influence for relieving them from the oppression of the Corporation and Test Acts, he procrastinated on the plea that the attempt would revive the cry of 'The Church in danger,' and finally declined altogether to help them. In the House of Commons he declared that the proposal was ill-timed, and thereupon it was lost by 251 to 123 votes. Nevertheless the Dissenting Deputies succeeded in stopping many local acts of illegal tyranny and oppression and also in securing some parliamentary relief.

For instance, there was a peculiarly cruel form of tyranny practised in the city of London when Nonconformists were elected to the office of sheriff. A heavy fine was inflicted on a person who declined to serve in this office after being elected to it. The Corporation Act prevented honest Nonconformists from serving. But some Nonconformists were elected in view of that fact for the express purpose of getting them fined. This iniquitous procedure was now stopped.

An attempt to widen the Church by the abolition of subscription to the Articles, which was begun in the year 1771 by Archdeacon Blackburne in his *Proposals*, was defeated by protests in the interests of orthodoxy which cut across the old lines of division. It was thought to be promoted in the interests of the Unitarians—people who at this time were taking the most prominent place in efforts for religious liberty under the able leadership of Priestley and Price. Towards the end of the century renewed attempts to abolish the Corporation and Test Acts secured the powerful support of Fox; but they were opposed by Pitt, partly on account of the sympathy of the Dissenters with the French Revolution in its earlier stages. In the riots that took place at Birmingham the mob burned down Priestley's house.

23. **Methodism.** — Although both of John Wesley's grandfathers had been ejected ministers, he as well as George Whitefield was a Churchman, Wesley in particular clinging to Anglicanism to the last, even after he had been denied access to the churches and had himself ordained Methodist ministers. Nevertheless the Methodist revival gave a great impulse to Nonconformity in two ways: (1) by its revival of religion; unlike the parish clergy, the Dissenters welcomed the movement for which their most earnest ministers, Isaac Watts and Philip Doddridge, had prepared; (2) by the breach between Methodism and the Church; while the Methodists did not reckon themselves Nonconformists, their compulsory separation from the Establishment and independent action could not but weaken the Church-and-State position and correspondingly strengthen that of Nonconformity.

24. **Repeal of penal enactments.**—A 'Protestant Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty' was founded in the year 1811. Its object was to 'obtain the repeal of every penal law which prevented the complete enjoyment of religious liberty. The chief leader in this movement was John Wilks, a son of Matthew Wilks, the minister at Moorfields. Acting in conjunction with the Dissenting Deputies, within a twelvemonth it secured the repeal of the Quakers' oaths, the Conventicle Act, and the Five Mile Act. The statutes of William III. and George III. which excluded Unitarians from the benefit of the Toleration Act and punished a denial of the doctrine of the Trinity as blasphemy were repealed the next year (1813). In 1820 Lord John Russell, who had become the champion of religious liberty and obtained the enthusiastic support of the Nonconformists, carried through the long-delayed repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. The earliest of all the acts against Nonconformity, its very parent, the Act of Uniformity, still remains on the statute-book, and it is still in force as regards the ministry of the Anglican Church, although its penal clauses with regard to Nonconformists were neutralized by the Act of Toleration. The Registration Act of 1836 (6 and 7 William IV., cap. 85) ordered a State registration of births, deaths, and marriages, which is specially beneficial to Nonconformists, because previously the only registers were those of the parish clergy. The Dissenter Marriage Act of the same year (6 and 7 William IV., cap. 83) allowed of marriages in Nonconformist places of worship licensed for the purpose on condition of the presence of the registrar. The starting of the *Nonconformist* newspaper in the year 1841, under the masterly editorship of Edward Miall, gave a fresh impulse to movements for religious equality as well as liberty. Three years later 'The British Anti-State Church Association' was formed for the disestablishment of the Church. Its title was changed in 1853 to that of 'The Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control'—known popularly as 'The Liberation Society'—of which J. Carvell Williams was long the secretary. Compulsory Church rates were abolished in 1868 (31 and 33 Victoria, cap. 109). After many earlier attempts had failed, W. E. Gladstone, who had defended them while he represented Oxford University, now supported the abolition of compulsion, so that Church rates were made purely voluntary and to be demanded only of those willing to pay them. The disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Ireland (32 and 33 Victoria, cap. 102) under Gladstone's leadership in 1868 put an end to Nonconformity in Ireland by establishing complete religious equality in the island.

The year 1871 saw the University Tests Abolition Bill passed into law (34 and 35 Victoria, cap. 26). This threw open degrees and appointments in

the universities to Nonconformists. The emancipation, however, was not so complete as C. S. Miall represents it in his continuation of Skeats's *History of the Free Churches* (p. 624). Theological degrees and theological professorships are still confined to members of the Church of England. In 1882 the headships of colleges and fellowships were freed from ecclesiastical restrictions.

25. **Education.**—The Education Act of 1870 (33 and 34 Victoria, cap. 75), though the work of a Liberal government, conceded privileges to the Established Church to which the Nonconformists strongly objected, since they put the denominational schools on the rates. The Education Acts of 1902 (2 Edward VII., cap. 24) and 1903 (2 Edward VII., cap. 42) still further extended those privileges by placing the entire maintenance of such schools on public funds, leaving only the providing of the buildings to the denominational supporters. This is objected to by Nonconformists an unfair privilege, especially as most of the expense of the building had previously been met by grants of State funds. But two other objections are felt to be more serious: (1) the compulsory attendance of the children of Nonconformists at Church schools in single school areas, the 'conscience clause' which provides an escape from the denominational teaching proving to be practically ineffective; (2) tests for teachers, involving the exclusion of Nonconformists from the head teacherships of thousands of State-supported schools.

26. **Free Church councils.**—Until near the close of the 19th cent. the Nonconformists had acted together only for specific objects and as occasion required. In the year 1892, mainly owing to the instigation of Rev. Hugh Price Hughes and Dr. Guinness Rogers, the first Free Church Congress met in Manchester with some 370 delegates representing all the leading Free Churches. Dr. Mackennal was then appointed honorary secretary of a movement which developed into 'The National Council of Evangelical Free Churches.' Local councils affiliated to the National Council and nominating its members have been formed all over the country. These councils carry on united missions, organize common parochial visitation, take action with regard to morals in civic and public life, and generally give effect to the united action of the Churches which they represent. The National Council deals with such questions as religious liberty, temperance, peace and war, social and trade ethics, slavery, gambling, and immorality, in the State and the nation.

27. **Present condition of Nonconformity.**—According to the statistics of the *Free Church Year Book* for 1916, in the previous year there were 1,995,278 Free Church members reported by the denominations of the Federation; 10,863 ministers in charge; 54,449 lay preachers; 399,624 Sunday-school teachers; and 3,161,791 Sunday-school scholars. These figures do not include the nearly 750,000 attendants at Brotherhood meetings, except in the case of those who are also Church members, nor the 100,000 members of adult schools, most of which are organized by Free Churchmen, nor the members of Churches that send in no report—some few in the Federation, others of small denominations not in it. Then we must add those Nonconformists who are not registered members of Churches, though attendants at Free Church services, if we would form any estimate of the present number of Nonconformists in the country.

28. **Nonconformity in Wales.**—The first conspicuous Welsh Nonconformist was John Penry, who had done much to evangelize his native country when he was hanged at Southwark on a charge of issuing seditious publications. This was in the reign of Elizabeth. The several Acts of Uniformity applied to Wales as well as to England, and resulted there also in Nonconformity with its consequent sufferings. At the instigation of Laud the bishops of St. David's and Llandaff commenced a systematic prosecution of clergy who did not conform. In his annual addresses to the king the archbishop reports many instances.

In 1633 he states that the bishop of St. David's certifies that he had suspended a lecturer for 'inconformity'; in 1635 that the bishop of Llandaff had carefully prepared articles for the High Commission Court against 'two noted schismatics, Wroth and Erbery—where, when the case is ready for hearing, they shall receive according to the merits of it'; in 1636 that 'there is one Matthews, the vicar of Penmain, that preaches against the keeping of all holy days, with divers others, as fond or profane opinions. The bishop hath inhibited him, and if that doth not serve I shall call him into your High Commission Court.' Many more instances might be given (see Lambeth MSS Vol., 943, cited in Rees, *Nonconformity in Wales*, pp. 38–40).

The founding of regularly organized Nonconformist churches in Wales began with William Wroth, known as the 'Apostle of Wales.' Born in 1570 at or near Abergavenny, he was educated at Jesus College and Christ Church, Oxford, where he appears to have lived for nine years. As rector of Llanvaches in Monmouthshire, he attracted multitudes of people from the surrounding districts and carried on a great religious work among them. Like John Wesley in England at a later time, he gave offence to the ecclesiastical authorities by preaching in various places all over the principality. In 1638, soon after Laud became archbishop of Canterbury, Wroth was summoned to the Court of High Commission and there deprived of his living on the ground of his ecclesiastical irregularities. The next year he founded an Independent church at Llanvaches, where he died three years later. This is reckoned to have been the first Nonconformist church in Wales. The outbreak of the Civil War scattered the Welsh Nonconformists, who found themselves a small minority in the midst of a population of royalists. For the time being the churches were broken up and the fugitives took refuge from persecution in Bristol. Those who dared to remain in Wales were harried by Prince Rupert, their cattle driven off, their houses robbed, and some of them killed. After the defeat of the royalists there was an ordinance of Parliament for sending itinerant ministers into S. Wales supported by the revenues of St. David's and Llandaff. In the year 1649–50 Parliament passed an ordinance entitled 'An Act for the better Propagation of the Gospel in Wales and Redress of some Grievances,' appointing commissioners with authority to try to remove clergymen and schoolmasters found guilty of 'any delinquency, scandal, malignancy, or non-residence,' to grant certificates for approved ministers and schoolmasters, and pay them out of the sequestrated revenues of the parishes from which the persons objected to had been ejected. Most of these commissioners had been Royalists and Churchmen previous to 1646, and only a minority appeared as Nonconformists after the Restoration. In his *Sufferings of the Clergy* Walker states that between 500 and 600 were ejected by the commission; but he is able to name only some 330, and of these, as in his lists of the ejected in England, some were pluralists who were only deprived of all benefices but one, but allowed to retain that.

The earliest Nonconformists in Wales were Congregationalists. The first Baptist church in the principality was founded at Ilston, Glamorganshire, in 1649 by John Myles. The Society of Friends appeared in Wales a little later than the Baptists. The first known Quaker in the principality is Thomas Holmes, who was very active in promulgating his principles. The leaders of the

early Welsh Quakers were educated men of some social position, but the majority of their followers were drawn from the lower classes.

Immediately after the Restoration persecution of the Welsh Nonconformists began, and in a month every prison in the principality was filled with them. This was before the passing of the Act of Uniformity in 1662. That act issued in over 100 ejectments in Wales and, consequently, a considerable increase of Welsh Nonconformity. Previously there were no Presbyterians among the Welsh Nonconformists, who were all Independents, Baptists, or Quakers. But now the expulsion of the Puritans, the majority of whom were Presbyterians, developed a Presbyterian type of Welsh Nonconformity, but not as yet with any formal distinction between Presbyterian and Congregational Churches. The impossibility of organizing presbyteries and synods in times of persecution compelled the Nonconformist Churches to work independently, so that the practice was Congregational even among people who cherished the Presbyterian ideal, although the ordination of a number of ministers together in one place for the charge of different places and some other innovations showed tendencies towards Presbyterianism. In point of fact, the words 'Independent' and 'Presbyterian' came to be used as synonymous terms throughout the principality and to be applied to the same churches. Following the Act of Uniformity, the Conventicle, Five Mile, Test, and Corporation Acts affected Wales as well as England and added to the disabilities and sufferings of the Welsh Nonconformists. As usual, the Society of Friends came in for the most cruel treatment, but some of the ministers of the various dissenting churches were rudely handled and compelled to suffer great hardships.

The early Nonconformists were foremost in printing and publishing books for the religious instruction of the Welsh. Of the ten editions of Scripture in Welsh—five of the whole Bible and five of the NT—which were issued between 1641 and 1690 nine were produced by Nonconformists. The *Assembly's Catechism* and the *Whole Duty of Man* were published in Welsh during this period, as also were several original works composed by Nonconformists. All these books had to be printed in London or Oxford.

The Act of Toleration set the Welsh Nonconformists free in common with their co-religionists in England. Unhappily a hot controversy between the Baptists and their opponents occurred about this time and seriously impeded the positive religious work of the Welsh Nonconformists. A more serious trouble appeared about 1729 in the 'Great Arminian Controversy.' Hitherto, with the exception of the Quakers, the Welsh Nonconformists had been Calvinists and their young people and converts had been required to learn the *Assembly's Catechism*. But now Arminian ideas began to take hold of the students at Caermarthen and to spread through their influence as they came to be settled in pastorates.

Depressed during the reign of Queen Anne, Nonconformity in Wales made considerable progress in the middle of the 18th cent. throughout the south part of the principality; but as yet it scarcely took hold of the Welsh population in the north, where it was then almost confined to the English churches. The Methodist revival was anticipated in Wales by Griffith Jones, an Anglican clergyman, who carried on a preaching mission throughout the principality and established 'itinerant schools' for the education of children by travelling teachers, for the most part Nonconformists. But the actual founder of Methodism in Wales was Howell Harris, who was born at Trevecca, Breconshire, in 1714. He and his associates, like the early English Methodists, did not contemplate severance from the Anglican Church or the founding of a new denomination. Though treated as Dissenters by rigorous Churchmen, they did not regard themselves as Nonconformists. But one result of their activity was to quicken and enlarge the religious life of the Nonconformist Churches. They met with violent opposition from Churchmen as well as from the mob. Worse than this was the division that arose between Harris and Rowlands and their followers. About the year 1769 a division occurred between the Calvinists and the Arminians in the Churches then known indifferently as Independent and Presbyterian, and after this the Calvinistic section came to be called simply 'Independent,' and the Arminian, which had its headquarters at Caermarthen, and had drifted towards Unitarianism, was denominated 'Presbyterian.'

The Wesleyan Methodist movement was slow in making progress in Wales at first, because its preachers could preach only in English; and later, when Welsh preachers were sent out by this Church, their Arminianism was dreaded by the Calvinistic Methodists. These people considered themselves to be members of the Church of England down to the year 1811, when they had ministers formally ordained. There were then some 300 or 400 congregations with a few clergymen travelling about among them to administer the communion; and the necessity of the case drove the society to the new step in spite of the vehement protest of most of the clerical leaders. After that this Church began to grow rapidly, and it is now the most powerful denomination in the principality. One consequence of the religious awakening in the 18th cent. was that Nonconformity spread rapidly in Wales. The disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Wales, an action for which almost all the Welsh members of parliament were pledged, but which hitherto had been prevented by the House of Lords, in spite of being repeatedly voted by the House of Commons, was passed into law under the Parliament Act in the year 1914. Subsequently it was hung up by the suspensory legislation agreed upon because of the Great War. This would put an end to Nonconformity in Wales by liberating the principality from Charles II.'s Act of Uniformity and establishing religious equality among the Churches. Wales, like England, is still left to bear the grievance of the 1903 Education Act in its patronage of denominational schools with tests for teachers, against which the Free Church Council still protests.

LITERATURE. — *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series* (from reign of Edward VI. to William and Mary), London, 1858–97; R. Baxter, *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ: Life and Times*, ed. M. Sylvester, do. 1696; J. Walker, *Sufferings of the Clergy*, do. 1714; Earl of Clarendon, *Hist. of the Rebellion*, 3 vols., Oxford, 1702–04, *Life of Clarendon by Himself*, 3 vols., do. 1759; G. Burnet, *Hist. of His own Time*, 2 vols., London, 1724–34; D. Neal, *The Hist. of the Puritans*, 4 vols., do. 1732; W. Sewell, *Hist. of the Quakers*, Eng. tr., do. 1722; J. Stoughton, *Hist. of Religion in England*[4], 8 vols., do. 1901; W. R. W. Stephens and W. Hunt, *A Hist. of the English Church*, 8 vols., do. 1899–1910 (vols. iv.–viii.); C. J. Abbey and J. H. Overton, *The English Church in the Eighteenth Century*, 2 vols., do. 1878; H. S. Skeats and C. S. Miall, *Hist. of the Free Churches of England*, do. 1891; W. B. Selbie, *Nonconformity: its Origin and Progress*, do. 1912; C. Burrage, *The Early English Dissenters*, 2 vols., Cambridge, 1912; H. Gee and W. J. Hardy, *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, London, 1896; G. L. Turner, *Original Records of Early Nonconformity*, 2 vols., do. 1911; R. W. Dale, *Hist. of English Congregationalism*, do. 1907; J. C. Carlile, *The Story of the English Baptists*, do. 1905; T. E. Harvey, *The Rise of the Quakers*, do. 1905; C. Silvester Horne, *A Popular Hist. of the Free Churches*, do. 1903, *Nonconformity in the Nineteenth Century*, do. 1905; W. Rees, *Hist. of Protestant Nonconformity in Wales*, do. 1861; J. E. de Hirsch-Davies, *Popular Hist. of the Church in Wales* (Anglican), do. 1912; H. Elvet Lewis, *Nonconformity in Wales*, do. 1904; the English Histories of L. von Ranke (Eng. tr., Oxford, 1875), S. R. Gardiner (London, 1863–1903), J. R. Green (do. 1877–80), and W. E. H. Lecky (do. 1878–90); *DNB*.

W. F. ADENEY.

NONJURORS.—The Nonjurors were clergy and laymen who, though no Romanists, scrupled to take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration imposed, particularly on office holders, under William III. and George I. The term, strictly including some Scottish Covenanters, is commonly restricted to Episcopalians, but extended to persons who, though exempted from the oaths as unofficial, attached themselves to the Nonjurors proper. Those rejecting only the oaths of 1701 and 1714 are sometimes distinguished as Non-Abjurors.

The English and Scottish Nonjurors may be most conveniently treated separately; their Irish brethren, including but one bishop, William Sheridan of Kilmore, hardly demand separate notice.

1. England.—The English Nonjurors—originally over 400 clergy, with an unknown number of laymen—were often important individually as men of the highest character and of great learning. Corporately, they stood on the one hand for the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance, on the other for the right of the Church to independence in spiritual matters. They maintained a 'State point'—that William's title was 'pretended'; and a 'Church point'—that even a legitimate sovereign could not deprive bishops without ecclesiastical sanction.

Their reputation for piety and learning requires no laboured proof. The Dr. Wolf of *The Nonjuror* (Colley Cibber's adaptation of *Tartuffe*, London, 1718) at best misrepresents as typical the servility and intrigue which poverty and dependence perhaps fostered in exceptional cases. Inspired by an antipathy political and possibly personal, it flattered and fomented popular prejudice. But, in spite of Johnson and Macaulay, it has long been recognized as a libellous caricature, well matched by Whiggish abuse of the Nonjurors as 'British Hottentots, as blind and bigoted as their brethren about the Cape, but more savage in their manners' (cited by Overton, *Nonjurors*, p. 310). The Nonjurors in general, sacrificing everything to conscience, showed at least a noble courage. Nor could any small community easily outmatch a group of saints like T. Ken, J. Kettlewell, W. Law, R. Nelson, and N. Spinckes. Again, the mere names of G. Hickes, H. Dodwell, T. Baker, R. Rawlinson, and T. Hearne sufficiently attest the learning of a class in which, at both universities, 'the intellectual interests of the time were almost entirely centred' (W. H. Hutton, *The English Church, 1625–1714*, London, 1903, p. 243).

The Nonjurors were no whole-hearted enemies of William, little as they might approve of his birth, his character, or his creed. They included five bishops of the famous Seven—W. Sancroft, T. Ken, J. Lake, F. Turner, and T. White—with two others, R. Frampton of Gloucester and W. Lloyd of Norwich, who had lacked only opportunity to join them. They accepted William's interposition, stoutly refusing to proclaim their abhorrence of it. They even joined in urging him to safeguard the welfare of the Church and nation. But they denied (Ken with one hesitating reservation) that the crown could be forfeited. Sancroft would neither visit William nor attend the Convention. The other bishops insisted on a Protestant regency for a titular Romanist king. And none joined in the offer of the crown to William and Mary. It was indeed a commission from Sancroft to his suffragans that made the coronation possible; yet neither he nor his party would swear allegiance, or even use the State (henceforward the 'immoral') prayers. Hence, under 1 William and Mary, cap. 8, six prelates with their beneficed supporters were *ipso facto* suspended on 1st Aug. 1689 and deprived on 1st Feb. 1690. Lake, W. Thomas of Worcester (a like-minded bishop), and T. Cartwright of Chester (distinguished from the rest by his devotion to James, whom he followed abroad) died between the passing of the act and the deprivation. Kilmore—Sheridan having withdrawn—was adjudged, like the throne, vacant by desertion.

The sees thus emptied remained unfilled for over a year. William, desiring compromise, offered to waive the oaths if the bishops agreed to discharge their spiritual functions. And great Churchmen like South, though recognizing William, declined preferment gained through the scruples of others. But Nonjurors could not accept conditions involving at least implicit recognition of William's royal supremacy; they could only promise to live quietly. And hence in May 1691 new bishops were consecrated, headed by the reluctant J. Tillotson as primate.

Meanwhile many lay Nonjurors—notably Dodwell, Roger North, and the second Earl of Clarendon—had sacrificed their prospects to their consciences.

James II.'s death, apparently inviting reconciliation, merely added Non-Abjurors to Nonjurors, for the oath of 1701 not only abjured the Pretender, but expressly recognized William's legitimacy—a point hitherto discreetly evaded. And the oath of 1714, to George I., increased their number.

But Nonjurors, however Jacobite in sympathy, were seldom actively disloyal. Turner, indeed, earned exile by complicity in Preston's and Fenwick's plots (1690 and 1696). And the Non-Abjuror historian T. Carte, apparently a '15 rebel, had a price of £1000 on his head as a conspirator with Atterbury. But Turner's implication of his fellow-thinkers in his treasons was unjustified. They waged, indeed, a paper warfare. They ministered spiritual comfort to dying plotters. But they seldom plotted themselves. One Jacobite scheme was actually revealed by a Nonjuror. And, as the Jacobite menace weakened, Nonjuring politics—the 'State point'—lost all importance.

The 'Church point,' however, to some extent remained. The conception of the Church as an autonomous society—the lasting contribution of the movement to English theological thought—had an immediate practical significance. It produced a certain alienation of the Nonjurors from the Establishment. They repudiated deprivation by mere Act of Parliament. They therefore considered Tillotson and his fellows intruders, thrust into sees not canonically vacated, without title to recognition, at least while the lawful incumbents survived and claimed their rights. And hence some of them condemned the National Church as now schismatic.

'Some'—for all along they suffered from those distracted counsels which especially beset seceders from a great communion who lack alike a supreme constituted authority and the sobering influence of corporate wealth and temporal responsibilities. Even their bishops adopted different attitudes towards William's proceedings: Thomas of Worcester, who died before suspension, was yet already preparing to welcome Stillingfleet as his successor; Ken remained at Wells as late as possible, publicly protested, like Turner, against his deprivation, and long retained his diocesan style; and Sancroft yielded only to the imminent threat of forcible eviction. Again, Kettlewell justified resistance by the mere injustice of the expulsions, Dodwell only by their invalidity.

There was equal disagreement as to future relations with the Established Church. Sancroft, unlike Ken, declared her schismatic. Hickes denied to her 'usurping' bishops and their adherents not only sacerdotal powers, but even the benefits of the Incarnation (it was the posthumous publication of his attack on all Jurors that pro-

voked Benjamin Hoadly to reply, and so led to the 'Bangorian Controversy' and the long suspension of Convocation). But Kettlewell professed himself still a member, and many clergy, though never officiating, remained in lay communion.

Practice as to public worship therefore inevitably varied. Some, like Law and Nelson, attended their parish churches, without protest against the 'immoral prayers.' Others went, but protested: Frampton, retaining a small living, read the service and preached, but omitted the names of the sovereigns. Others, again, attended only failing some convenient Nonjuring assembly. And others refused attendance altogether, holding, with Sancroft, that it would necessitate a second absolution after the service. Yet in the country, generally, opportunities for special corporate worship were few. Even in London, though Nonjuring 'churches' were reckoned in 1716 at over fifty, the prologue to *The Nonjuror* mocked their furtive character:

> 'Each lurking pastor seeks the dark,
> And fears the Justices' inquiring clerk.
> In close back rooms his routed flock he rallies,
> And reigns the patriarch of blind lanes and alleys.'

The number is possibly a gross exaggeration. The Nonjurors had now not only lost their great protagonist Hickes, but, even before his death, suffered a secession revealing once more their inveterate disunity.

Dodwell's *Case in View Consider'd* (London, 1705) had limited the separation to the lifetime of the deprived bishops. Hence in 1710, when Ken, the sole survivor, renounced his claims, Dodwell and many others rejoined the Established Church, though still maintaining the 'State point.' But Hickes insisted that only official repudiation of the deprivations could heal the schism, and the distinct Nonjuring episcopal succession which his view required had been secured in 1694, when he and Thomas Wagstaffe became suffragan bishops of Thetford and Ipswich. Here again difference of opinion had appeared. The consecration, authorized by James and Sancroft, was performed by Lloyd (to whom Sancroft had delegated his metropolitan authority in 1692), Turner, and White. But Frampton held aloof, and Ken only reluctantly consented. The proceeding involved continued schism, and its claim to legality—based on Henry VIII.'s Act for Suffragan Bishops—was not undisputed. Yet the 'Hickesites,' between 1713 and 1741, carried out further consecrations, continuing the episcopal line till the death of Robert Gordon in 1779. The new prelates, however, were bishops 'at large,' without territorial title, though Jeremy Collier, after Hickes's death, styled himself 'Primus Anglo-Britanniæ Episcopus.'

Meanwhile yet another controversy had arisen. The Prayer Book of 1662, with Kettlewell's form of recantation for converts, satisfied the early liturgical demands of most Nonjurors. But Hickes used the Communion Office of 1549, and after his death (1715) a reform movement began, culminating in the compilation, by Collier, T. Brett, and others, of a new Service Book (1718) based on the 1549 Prayer Book, but enriched from primitive liturgies. Four 'Usages'—the mixed chalice, prayers for the faithful departed, prayer for the descent of the Holy Ghost on the consecrated elements, and prayer of oblation of the consecrated elements—were thus adopted, sometimes even declared necessary to salvation, by 'Usagers.' 'Non-Usagers' rejected them, or at least condemned a view branding as schismatics Romanists, Anglicans, and even most Nonjurors. The Scottish bishops, invited to decide, named a mediator whose attempted compromise failed. Both parties consecrated bishops to maintain their views, and only in 1732 was ritual unanimity attained through the 'Instrument of Union,' restoring the 1662 book on condition that it should be so used and interpreted as to satisfy the Usagers on the four crucial points.

No important event marked the later history of the English Nonjurors, but meantime they had long negotiated for union with the Orthodox Church, failing, however, completely—mainly through the demand of the Eastern patriarchs for unconditional submission.

Episcopal succession among the English Nonjurors.—
i. The regular succession.—
1694—George Hickes († 1715); Thomas Wagstaffe († 1712).
1713—Jeremy Collier († 1726); Samuel Hawes († 1722); Nathaniel Spinckes († 1727).
1716—Thomas Brett, sen. († 1743); Henry Gandy († 1734).
1721—Hilkiah Bedford († 1724); Ralph Taylor († 1722).
1722—John Griffin († 1731).
1725—March: Henry Doughty († 1730); May: John Blackbourne († 1741); June: Henry Hall († 1731).
1727—Thomas Brett, jun. († before 1743?).
1728—March: Richard Rawlinson († 1755); December: George Smith († 1756).
1731—Timothy Mawman († ?).
1741—Robert Gordon († 1779).
ii. The irregular successions.—(*a*) *For America.*—
1722—Richard Welton († 1726); John (?) Talbot († 1727).
(*b*) *To carry on the Usager party.*—
1733—Roger Laurence († 1736); Thomas Deacon († 1753).
1742—Kenrick Price († 1790).
[?] —P. J. Browne (said to = Lord John Johnstone, son of the Marquis of Annandale, † 1779).
1780—William Cartwright († 1799).
1795—Thomas Garnett († ?).
? —Charles Boothe († 1805).

2. Scotland.—In Scotland the almost universal rejection of the oaths by the clergy, including every bishop, on the one hand, and the re-establishment of Presbyterianism, on the other, created conditions unparalleled in England. No 'Church point' of the English type was possible. Yet almost the whole Episcopal Communion was involved in the 'State point.' Anne, indeed, allowed a tacit toleration, though the Toleration Act of 1712 nominally enforced the oaths and prayers. But her death, the '15, and (after a peaceful period) the '45 brought ever more harshness to bear on the Church, culminating in an attempt to destroy it altogether. The share of Churchmen in Jacobite risings—though far slighter in 1745 than in 1715—was both a cause and a consequence of this severity. Hence the decline of Jacobitism and the accession of George III.—resolute for toleration—were epoch-making in Scottish Church as in English political history. And the recognition of George by the Scottish bishops when the Young Pretender died ended the northern Nonjuring movement.

Meanwhile Scottish Nonjurors had both influenced and been influenced by their English brethren. Archibald Campbell and James Gadderar, Scottish bishops 'at large' living in London—Campbell for life, Gadderar for many years—had supported both the Usages and the negotiations with the Eastern Church, and with others had helped to consecrate English bishops. Conversely, the Usages problem—complicated by the question whether bishops should again become diocesan (though no regular royal nomination or *congé d'élire* was available) or, as a college, should jointly rule the whole Church—divided the Scottish Nonjurors. They too produced two sets of bishops—Usagers and diocesans *v.* Non-Usagers and collegers. But here again a compromise, favouring the diocesans, established final peace in 1732. To the Scottish Church Gordon, the last regular English Nonjuring bishop, commended his dwindling flock. To the single-handed action of the Scottish Campbell—an irreconcilable Usager—the English Nonjurors owed an irregular episcopal succession lasting from 1733 to 1805. And from the Scottish Church the American Colonies finally secured a renewal—in canonical fashion—of the short-lived line of bishops irregu-

larly founded by the English Nonjuror R. Taylor in 1722.

LITERATURE.—T. Lathbury, *Hist. of the Nonjurors*, London, 1845; J. H. Overton, *The Nonjurors*, do. 1902 (the notes afford a good guide to works on the movement); S. L. Ollard and G. Crosse, *Dict. of English Church Hist.*, do. 1912, *s.v.* The subject is also partially treated in Lives of the leading Nonjurors, notably in the biographies of Ken by 'A Layman' (J. L. Anderson)[2], 2 vols., do. 1854; and E. H. Plumptre[2], 2 vols., do. 1890. Nonjuror writings—especially those of Brett, Collier, Dodwell, Hickes, C. Leslie, and Spinckes—illustrate the various controversies.

CHARLES J. B. GASKOIN.

NON-RESISTANCE.—See RESISTANCE.

NORTH AMERICAN PHALANX.—See COMMUNISTIC SOCIETIES OF AMERICA.

NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE.—See PANJĀB.

NORWAY.—See TEUTONS.

NOSAIRIS.—See NUSAIRIS.

NOSE.

—The nose is important from an anthropological point of view, since the variations of its form afford an index of race. In the skull the shape of the nasal bones and the nasal opening are expressed in figures as the nasal index—in other words, the relation between the height from the root of the nose to the anterior nasal spine, and the breadth of the bony mass. The skull may be platyrhinian (flat-nosed), leptorhinian (long-nosed), or mesorhinian (medium-nosed), according as the breadth of the bones and opening is greater or less, this forming an invariable criterion of race. Negroes, Australians, and Bushmen are platyrhinian (61·7 to 53·7), Mongolians are mesorhinian (52·1 to 50·1), and Caucasians are leptorhinian (47·9 to 42·2). In Hindu literature the nose is described as one of the nine (or eleven) portals of the body, or one of the apertures of the head.[1] These portals or cavities are divided into those above and those below the navel, pure and impure respectively.[2] The nose, being above, is one of the pure apertures. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* says:

'That part of the vital air which is immortal is above the navel, and streams out by upward breathings,'[3] *i.e.* from nose or mouth.

In the OT strength is expressed by forcible breathing from the nostrils (Job 39^{20}, Ps 18^{15}). The importance of breathing through the nose, not through the mouth, was already recognized by the American Indians, as noted by G. Catlin, who wrote a small book on the subject. In accordance with the belief in monstrous races current in antiquity (see MONSTERS [Ethnic]), we find an occasional assertion of the existence of noseless tribes who 'draw breath through two holes,' as Benjamin of Tudela alleges of the Turks of the steppes, a people with mesorhinian skull, naturally regarded as noseless by an observer accustomed to more shapely noses (cf. § 3 for noseless ghosts).[4] On the other hand, extravagantly long noses are sometimes attributed to mythical beings—*e.g.*, the nose of the Norse Huldre folk is very long, reaching to the saddle-pommel.[5]

1. The odour of the sacrifice.—Whatever later notions may have attached to burnt sacrifices, it is probable that the early idea was that the smell rising upwards with the smoke was pleasing to the gods.

In the Babylonian flood-story Utnapishtim offers sacrifice and 'the gods smelt the sweet savour; the gods gathered like flies over the sacrificer.' In the corresponding Hebrew narrative, when Noah offers burnt-offerings, 'the Lord smelled the sweet savour' (Gn 8^{21}). Generally it is said of burnt-offerings and of incense that they are 'a sweet savour before the Lord,'[1] just as offerings on high places were 'sweet savour' to idols (Ezk 6^{13}). When God is displeased with Israel, He is represented as saying, 'I will not smell the savour of your sweet odours' (Lv 26^{31}), 'I will smell no sweet savours in your solemn assemblies' (Am 5^{21}). Similarly, Homer describes the savour of the sacrifice involved in smoke ascending to heaven,[2] and the Zulus burn incense with the caul of the sacrificial beast to give to the spirits a sweet savour.[3] Both Origen and Porphyry maintained that the demons were nourished with the fumes and smoke of sacrifice and incense, and waited in the region of the air for these, presumably inhaling them with nose and mouth.[4] The idea is finely spiritualized in Ezekiel (20^{41}), where God says of Judah, 'As a sweet savour will I accept you,' and by St. Paul, who says of Christ's sacrifice that it was 'to God for an odour of a sweet smell' (Eph 5^{2}), of the faithful that they are 'a sweet savour of Christ unto God' (2 Co 2^{15}), and of the gifts sent by the Philippians that they are 'an odour of a sweet smell, a sacrifice acceptable, well-pleasing to God' (Ph 4^{18}).

Gods and spirits, like mortals, loved sweet-smelling odours and disliked evil odours. Hence they were pleased with incense, and malodorous fumigations were commonly used to drive off demons, though pleasant odours sometimes have this effect (see INCENSE, § 2).

2. Salutations with the nose.—One curious form of salutation found among several peoples is that of smelling each other or of rubbing noses. The custom is found in N. Asia and America, in Polynesia and parts of Melanesia, in the Malay Archipelago, in New Guinea, among aborigines of India, in Madagascar, and sporadically elsewhere.

The Eskimos rub noses and draw the palms of their hands over their faces.[5] With the Laplanders each man lays his right hand on the shoulder of the other, and places the point of his nose on that of the other, rubbing them, with the words, 'Well, Well!'[6] The custom is found among the Samoyeds,[7] and E. Petitot reports it of the Dénés and Dindjié of the north-west of Canada,[8] and it is alleged of the Blackfeet Indians.[9] In New Zealand and in the Friendly Islands the noses are joined (*hongi*) and the one rubs the other's hand on his nose and mouth.[10] Similar customs are found in many others of the Pacific groups.[11] The Samoans join noses, at the same time giving each other a hearty smell.[12] In Astrolabe Bay, New Guinea, the natives squeezed the nostrils with the forefinger and thumb of the right hand, pointing to the navel with the index finger, and grunting at intervals.[13] Joining noses without rubbing is also mentioned of the Sandwich Islanders in former days.[14] In Fiji smelling the hand is described as the parting or greeting ceremony, along with strong inhalation. A person of lower station smells the foot of a chief.[15] Rubbing noses is met with in New Guinea, as well as in the Aru Islands and Buru (among women).[16] Among the Malays smelling is the usual form of greeting, the words 'smell' and 'greet' being interchangeable. The head and neck are embraced and the smell inhaled.[17] In Celebes at the departure of friends there is a general nose-rubbing—'the Malay kiss'—and the Burmese phrase, 'Give me a smell,' is the equivalent of 'Kiss me.'[18]

---

[1] *Bhagavad-Gītā*, v. 19 (*SBE* viii. [1882] 65); *Katha Upaniṣad*, v. 1 (*SBE* xv. [1884] 18).

[2] *Manu*, v. 132 (*SBE* xxv. [1886] 192).

[3] *SBE* xli. [1894] 267.

[4] *Itinerarium*, tr. A. Asher, London, 1840, p. 83; cf. *PC*[3] i. 388.

[5] *FL* xx. [1909] 327.

[1] Cf. Ex $29^{18.25}$, Lv $1^{9.13.17}$ $2^{2.13}$, Nu 15^{3} etc. Cf. 1 S 26^{19} 'Let him accept (=smell) an offering.'

[2] *Il.* i. 317; cf. Lucian, *de Sacrif.* 9.

[3] H. Callaway, *The Religious System of the Amazulu*, Natal, 1870, pp. 11, 141, 177.

[4] Origen, *Exhort. ad Mart.* 45; Porph. *de Abst.* ii. 42.

[5] F. W. Beechey, *Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Behring's Strait*, new ed., London, 1831, i. 242, 351; H. R. Rink, *Danish Greenland*, do. 1877, p. 223; E. Petitot, *Les grands Esquimaux*, Paris, 1887, p. 58.

[6] J. Scheffer, *Hist. of Lapland*, Eng. tr., Oxford, 1674, p. 317; *Globus*, xii. [1867] 52.

[7] M. A. Castrén, *Reisen im Norden*, Leipzig, 1853, p. 258.

[8] Petitot, p. 58.

[9] T. Waitz and G. Gerland, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, Leipzig, 1859–72, iii. 136.

[10] E. Tregear, *JAI* xix. [1890] 113; H. Ling Roth, *ib.*, p. 166.

[11] W. Wilson, *Missionary Voyage to S. Pacific*, London, 1799, p. 363 (Society Islands); E. H. Lamont, *Wild Life among the Pacific Islands*, do. 1867, pp. 18, 296 (Marquesas, Penrhyn Island); cf. W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, do. 1830, ii. 11.

[12] G. Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, London, 1861, p. 346, *Samoa a Hundred Years Ago*, do. 1884, p. 179.

[13] *JAI* vi. [1877] 108.

[14] *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, 1830–31, iv. 288.

[15] T. Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*, London, 1858, i. 152; A. St. Johnston, *Camping among Cannibals*, do. 1883, p. 302.

[16] J. Chalmers and W. W. Gill, *Work and Adventure in New Guinea*, London, 1885, p. 151; R. Andree, *Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche*, Leipzig, 1889, p. 226.

[17] J. Crawfurd, *Hist. of the Indian Archipelago*, London, 1820, i. 100.

[18] A. R. Wallace, *Malay Archipelago*, London, 1869, ii. 152; Andree, p. 224.

With them, as with the Chittagong Hill people, the mouth and nose are placed on the cheek of the other person and a strong inhalation takes place.[1] The Khyoungtha adopt the same method of greeting.[2] Among the Mongol tribes and with the Chinese (only as an act of love) the nose is placed on the cheek and inhalation follows.

Though these methods of salutation vary, it is probable that all are connected with the act of smelling each other on meeting or parting. The sense of smell is much stronger with savages than with more civilized men. The smell of the human body, or of various parts of it, different with different races, is agreeable to many, whether on normal or abnormal grounds.[3] Whether or not the smelling of a person in greeting is associated with a recognition of him through the sense of smell, as H. Spencer maintained,[4] it is certain that it must have some agreeable sensations for those who practise it.

There are numerous instances of this: a Mongol father smells from time to time the head of his youngest son as a mark of affection;[5] a father in Timorlaut smells and fondles his child;[6] Isaac smelled the smell of Esau's raiment on Jacob, and compared it to 'the smell of a field which the Lord hath blessed.'[7]

The salutation by smelling might easily become conventional—a mere rubbing or touching of noses, or laying the head on the shoulder of a friend, as with the Ainus of Saghalien.[8]

3. Nose-ornaments.—The piercing of the septum of the nose, less usually one of the alæ, is found very generally in some regions, but only sporadically in others, and with some peoples not at all—*e.g.*, Fuegians, Andamans, Polynesians, nearly all N. American tribes, and most of the higher races. The piercing, which is often of a ritual character, has for its purpose the wearing of some ornament in the hole thus formed—a piece of wood or bone, feathers, or metal (*e.g.*, a ring). The peoples among whom this custom is found are the Australians (almost universally), peoples of Papuasia (Solomon Islands to New Guinea), wild tribes in Malaysia, some African tribes (Bushmen, some western Negro and Bantu tribes), tribes of N.W. America, tribes in the interior of S. America, Hindus, and formerly the Jews and some other Semitic peoples.

In Australia a piece of wood or bone, or, on ceremonial occasions, feathers or pieces of twig, are worn.[9] Women in the Lower Murray River tribes wear a little ring of bone.[10] The piercing is usually ceremonial. In New S. Wales the medicine-man goes through a series of contortions on the ground, pretending to suffer pain, and is then delivered of bones—those which the boys are to wear. The boys are told that the more the medicine-man suffers, the less will they suffer.[11] Among the Kurnai the piercing occurs before initiation. With the Wurunjerri old men do it for boys, old women for girls.[12] With the Arunta and other tribes the piercing of a girl's nose is done by her husband, with the Kaitish by the wife's father.[13] Among some of the tribes the nose-peg is merely ornamental, but, as special objects are sometimes inserted at ceremonies, this may not have been its only purpose. A medicine-man in the Warramunga tribe wears through the nose a *kupitja*, 'the emblem of his profession and very closely associated, in some mysterious way, with his powers as a medicine-man.' It is made of fur-string, coated with grease and red ochre, and is held in great reverence.[14] The natives of Gippsland believe that those who have no nose-peg will suffer in the other world. In some of the tribes the mother flattens the nose of the child; the insertion of the nose-peg also aids this.[15]

Among the Papuasians from the Solomon Islands to New Guinea a pin is usually worn in the septum. Among the Motu (British New Guinea) the piercing occurs at the age of six.[1] Should a child die before then, the operation is performed on the corpse. Here the reason is that those whose noses are not pierced cannot enter into bliss, where, curiously enough, spirits are noseless. The unpierced must go with ghosts possessing noses to a place where there is little food.[2] So, among the Koita, corpses with unbored noses have the operation performed on them; otherwise in the other world creatures like slow-worms would be attached to their nostrils.[3] In the Fly River district children of both sexes have their noses pierced, for scandal would otherwise arise, and an unpierced person could not marry. At the piercing, which is done by the mother's father or uncle, a feast is given. The nose-ornament is a piece of wood three-quarters of an inch in diameter with pieces of shell at each end.[4] In Mabuiag and Muralug, Torres Straits, the septum is pierced when the child is a fortnight old. Long nose-ornaments are worn on festal occasions.[5] In Torres Island a ring is worn. In the Solomon Islands the tip of the nose is pierced and a pin inserted; in New Britain the side of the nose is pierced.[6] In Torres Straits Islands, where the skull is preserved, it is sometimes given an artificial nose of wood and beeswax, or, as in New Guinea, a very large ornament is fixed to the nasal cavity.[7]

The custom is found among the wild tribes of the Malay Peninsula (Semang, Sakai), a quill of porcupine or a piece of bone or stick being worn.[8]

Passing to Africa, among the central tribes (Machinga, Yao, and Nyasa groups) women pierce the left side of the nose at the age of eight and wear in it later a metal or ivory ring. They are laughed at if the right side is pierced.[9] Among the western tribes, Bantu and Negro, nose-ornaments are common, but sometimes, though the septum is pierced, no ornament is worn, as in the Congo Free State.[10] Nose-piercing is also found among the Bushmen.[11]

Among some of the north-western tribes of America—Aleuts, Kutchin, etc.—the piercing of the septum was general, and the wearing of a quill-like shell.[12] The interior tribes of the Amazonian region perforate the septum to receive straws, feathers, and other ornaments. Among the Nhambiquiras this is confined to the men.[13]

It is in India among women that the most elaborate nose-ornaments are worn, their form varying according to caste and position. Here the piercing is found on the right wing of the nose, or with Muhammadans in the Panjāb on the left wing. The piercing is performed in infancy. Special respect is paid to a woman's nose-ring. A stranger may not mention it, and it is a sign of wedded happiness. Shī'ah women remove it in Muharram as a sign of mourning.[14]

The Hebrews probably derived the custom of wearing nose-rings from their Semitic kindred. Whether, among the latter, they were generally worn by men is uncertain. In Jg 8^{24} Ishmaelite men seem to wear them, and Pliny also refers to the custom among men. In the OT the practice among the Hebrews is confined to women.[15] Such a ring, often of large size, was a valuable present from a lover (Gn 24^{47}), and sometimes more than one were worn, hanging from the alæ, not from the septum. This ornament was much valued, perhaps as an amulet as well as an ornament.[16] The Talmud forbids nose-rings to be worn on the Sabbath. The Mishnāh describes them as one of the ornaments liable to become unclean.[17] In modern Egypt nose-rings are worn by women of the lower classes, usually through the right ala. The ring is of brass or gold, sometimes with pendent beads.[18] They are also worn by Bedawī women.

While ornaments are liable to be attached to any part of the body, and while it has been thought that the idea of wearing nose-rings may have been suggested by the fact that they were put through the nose of cattle (this does not account for nose-sticks and the like), it is possible

---

[1] T. H. Lewin, *Wild Races of S.E. India*, London, 1870, p. 46.
[2] *Ib.* p. 118.
[3] O. Stoll, *Das Geschlechtsleben in der Völkerpsychologie*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 302 ff.
[4] *Principles of Sociology*, London, 1893–96, ii. [1893] 15.
[5] G. Timkowski, *Travels through Mongolia*, Eng. tr., London, 1827, i. 196.
[6] *JAI* xiii. [1883] 20.
[7] Gn 27^{27}.
[8] *JAI* iii. [1874] 237.
[9] R. Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, London, 1878, i. 278; N. W. Thomas, *Natives of Australia*, do. 1906, p. 68; Spencer-Gillen[b], p. 615; E. Palmer, *JAI* xiii. [1884] 286.
[10] Brough Smyth, i. 277.
[11] D. Collins, *Account of the English Colony of New S. Wales*[2], London, 1804, p. 366.
[12] Howitt, p. 740 f.
[13] Spencer-Gillen[b], p. 615.
[14] *Ib.* p. 484.
[15] Brough Smyth, i. 274.

[1] Howitt, p. 742 f.; Thomas, p. 20.
[2] J. Chalmers, *Pioneering in New Guinea*, London, 1887, p. 168 f.; *JAI* vii. [1878] 484 f.
[3] C. G. Seligmann, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, Cambridge, 1910, p. 192.
[4] J. Chalmers, *JAI* xxxiii. [1903] 121 f.
[5] A. C. Haddon, *JAI* xix. [1890] 370, 406, 431.
[6] *Handbook to the Ethnographical Collections, British Museum*, London, 1910, p. 120.
[7] *Cambridge Anthrop. Exped. to Torres Straits, Reports*, v [1907] 258; *Handbook*, p. 144.
[8] W. W. Skeat, *JAI* xxxii. [1902] 132; cf. *ib.* xxxix. [1909] 145 (women of the tribes of Ulu Plus, Perak).
[9] H. S. Stannus, *JRAI* xl. [1910] 316.
[10] *Handbook*, pp. 231, 240; E. Torday and T. Joyce, *JRAI* xxxvii. [1907] 147.
[11] *Handbook*, p. 212.
[12] Stoll, p. 108; *Handbook*, p. 257.
[13] *Handbook*, p. 279; T. Roosevelt, *Through the Brazilian Wilderness*, London, 1914, p. 208.
[14] Stoll, p. 111; H. A. Rose, *JRAI* xxxvii. [1907] 256; *PR* i. 43.
[15] Gn 24^{47}, Ex 35^{22}, Pr 11^{22} 25^{12}, Is 3^{21}, Ezk 16^{12}. In some of these passages there is ambiguity, as the same word may mean 'ear-ring.'
[16] W. R. Smith[2], p. 453.
[17] Cf. T. De Quincey, 'Toilette of the Hebrew Lady,' *Works*, xi. [1862] 121 f.; *JE* ix. 339.
[18] E. W. Lane, *Modern Egyptians*[3], London, 1846, iii. 224.

that, like labial ornaments, nose-ornaments and piercing the nose had a magical origin. The nose is one of the spirit-entries of the body; hence, like mouth-ornaments, those of the nose may have served the purpose of amulets to prevent spirits entering by the nose when breathing (see MOUTH). The purposes alleged of the nose-ornament with some Australians and Papuasians (see above) are perhaps secondary. Yrjö Hirn points out that savage face-ornaments, wood or bone, in nose, mouth, ears, etc., give an appearance of strangeness to the face and hence attract eyes which might otherwise regard it with indifference. They have the effect of charming.[1] Nose-ornaments are of wood, shell, pearls, feathers, bones, teeth, and metal. Sometimes they serve as distinctive tribal marks, or are worn by one sex, or only after marriage.[2]

The nose is sometimes ornamented by painting or tatuing, or by cicatrices. It may also be further deformed by flattening or by slits. The Miranhas of Brazil incise the alæ and turn them over.[3] Some castes in India slit the alæ in connexion with religious usages.[4] If the passage in Lv 21[18] means 'slit nose' rather than flat nose, such a mutilation prevented a man from being a priest.

4. Sneezing.—Superstitions about sneezing are found in ancient and modern times, and also among the lower races.

The Greeks regarded sneezing as a favourable omen, or as divine.[5] 'For Simichidas the Loves have sneezed,' and of a bridegroom it is said 'Some good spirit sneezed out on thee a blessing.'[6] Penelope says, 'My son has sneezed a blessing on all my words.'[7] Generally the sneezer was saluted with ζῆθι, Ζεῦ σῶσον! So the Romans saluted the sneezer with *Salve!*, or wished him health.[8] With the Hindus sneezing is connected with demoniacal influence—a spirit entering or leaving the nose, or being expelled from it. The formulæ on sneezing are 'Live!', answered by 'With you!', or 'God bless you!', or 'God be praised!' The last is Muhammadan, and with Muhammadans it is customary to wash the nose out with water because the devil visits it at night.[9] In Egypt, when a man sneezes, he says, 'Praise be to God!' Each one present says, 'God have mercy on you!', and he replies, 'God guide us and guide you!'[10] In certain cases in Hindu belief sneezing is ominous; *e.g.*, if one is beginning work and hears another sneeze, it is necessary to begin over again. Sneezing at a threshold is unlucky.[11] In ancient Persia it was necessary when sneezing to recite one *Yatha ahû vairyô* and one *Ashem vohû*, because there is a fiend in the body as well as a fire or disposition or instinct of sneezing. This wages war with the fiend, and sneezing means that the fiend is coming out. When another hears the sneeze, he also utters the same prayers.[12] The Jewish formula towards one sneezing is called *Asusa*, or 'Health.' The wish is, 'Your health!', 'God bless you!', 'For life!', or 'For a happy life!' The sneezer usually cites Gn 49[18], and, when the bystanders bless him, replies, 'Be thou blessed!'[13]

A legend in *Pirqe Eliezer* says that until Jacob's time man sneezed at the end of his life and then died. Jacob was, however, granted time to make his will, and now illness always precedes death. Hence, when one sneezes, the wish is uttered 'For life!', so that the sign of death may be changed to that of life.

In mediæval and later folk-custom in different parts of Europe similar formulæ have been in use—'Helfîu Got!', 'Christ iu helfe!', 'Got helfe dir!', 'Deus te adjuvet!', 'Gesundheit!', 'God bless you!', 'Bless you!', 'Felicità!', etc.[14] Sneezing was sometimes regarded as a momentary palsy.[15] In early Christian times the sign of the cross was made, but later ecclesiastical advice was not to regard sneezings.[16]

With the Zulus sneezing is a good omen, as it is a sign that the *idhlozhi* (*manes*) are with the sneezer, and he returns thanks. If a child sneezes, the people say, 'Grow!', as it is a sign of health. Christian Zulus say, 'Preserve, look upon me!', or 'Creator of Heaven and Earth!'.[1] In Guinea, when a chief sneezes, all wish him happiness and prosperity.[2] In Samoa at sneezing the bystander said 'Life to you!'[3] (for Indonesian beliefs see *ERE* vii. 236). The Koita of British New Guinea regard sneezing in sleep as a sign that the soul has come back to the body. If one does not sneeze for some weeks, this is a bad sign—the soul must be far away.[4] So, with the Zulus, if a man is ill and does not sneeze, it is thought that the disease is great. Sometimes sneezing is of bad omen. In Tonga, if one sneezes while starting on an expedition, it forebodes evil.[5] In Old Calabar people say, 'Far from you!', with gestures as if warding off evil, when children sneeze, and in New Zealand on similar occasions charms are said to prevent evil.[6]

Thus the rationale of the practice varies, though in its origin it is connected with the presence of spirits, their entrance or egress from the body. According as the spirits are good or bad, sneezing will be regarded as wholesome or the reverse. Where it is thought that the soul is itself returning, the omen will be good (cf. the sneezing of the child restored to life by Elisha [2 K 4[35]]); but, if the soul is leaving the body, it will be bad (cf. the Jewish tradition above). Perhaps a sneeze was regarded as dangerous because it might expel the breath or soul, man's breath (*i.e.* life-breath) being in his nostrils (Is 2[22]; see MOUTH, § 3), just as yawning is dangerous for this and other reasons.[7]

Omens are drawn from sneezing.

The Negroes of Jamaica think that, if your nostrils itch so that you sneeze, some one is backbiting you.[8] In N. Carolina, if you sneeze when eating, you will hear of a death.[9] Other German omens are that sneezing while putting your shoes on is a sign of ill-luck, or, if you are telling something and you sneeze, your assertion is true, or (Esthonian), if two pregnant women sneeze together, they will have daughters, but sons if their husbands sneeze.[10] Many other such omens exist. Omens, usually of a trivial character,[11] are also drawn from an itching nose.

In connexion with the idea that the soul is entering or leaving the body at sneezing, it is noticeable that some savages believe that it may find an exit by the nose just as it does by the mouth. Hence the nostrils of a dead or dying man are sometimes held or closed (along with the mouth) to keep his soul in, either to benefit the man or to prevent its issuing forth and carrying off the souls of others.[12] In Celebes fish-hooks are attached to a sick man's nose to catch the issuing soul.[13] Eskimo mourners or those who prepare the body for burial plug the nostrils, lest the soul should find an exit and follow the dead.[14] Instances of a savage sleeping with nose and mouth covered to prevent the soul leaving are known. Again, as the breath from the mouth may contaminate sacred objects, so also may breath from the nose. Hence both are covered in certain rites.[15]

5. For nose-bleeding many medico-magical cures are current among the folk—holding a living spider twisted up in a linen cloth to the nose (Roumania); the use of the Bible and key (England); the use of a bloodstone, allowing the blood to fall on it, then placing it down the back; as the blood dries, so does

---

[1] Y. Hirn, *The Origins of Art*, London, 1900, p. 208.
[2] O. Hovorka von Zderas, *Mitteilungen der anth. Gesellschaft in Wien*, xxv. [1895] fasc. 4 and 5; see also *L'Anthropologie*, vii. [1896] 234.
[3] *L'Anthropologie*, vii. 234. [4] Stoll, p. 111.
[5] Xenophon, *Anab.* III. ii. 9; Arist. *Prob.* xxxiii. 7.
[6] Theocr. vii. 96, xviii. 16. [7] *Od.* xvii. 541.
[8] *HN* xxviii. 2; Apul. *Metam.* ii. 211.
[9] *PR* i. 240 f.; W. Ward, *A View of the Hist., Literature, and Religion of the Hindoos*[3], London, 1817, i. 142. In one of Somadeva's tales the spirit of the air says, 'When he enters into his private apartment, he shall sneeze a hundred times; and if some one there does not say to him a hundred times, "God bless you," he shall fall into the grasp of death.'
[10] Lane, ii. 16. [11] *PR* i. 241.
[12] *Sad Dar*, vii. 1 ff. (*SBE* xxiv. [1885] 265).
[13] *JE* ii. 255.
[14] J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, tr. J. S. Stallybrass, London, 1882–88, iii. 1116, iv. 1637; *PC*[3] i. 102.
[15] Grimm, iii. 1116. [16] *Sermo S. Eligii*, in Grimm, iv. 1787.

---

[1] Callaway, p. 222 ff.
[2] W. Bosman, in J. Pinkerton, *General Collection of . . . Voyages*, London, 1808–14, xvi. 478.
[3] Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, p. 348.
[4] Seligmann, p. 189 f.
[5] W. Mariner, *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands*, London, 1817, i. 456.
[6] R. F. Burton, *Wit and Wisdom from W. Africa*, London, 1865, p. 373; E. Shortland, *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders*, do. 1856, p. 131.
[7] Cf. *PR* i. 241; *PC*[3] i. 102; Lane, ii. 16.
[8] *FL* xv. [1904] 76. [9] *FLR* iv. [1881] 94.
[10] Grimm, iv. 1785, 1788, 1843.
[11] See *FLR* iv. [1881] 94; *FL* xiii. [1902] 50, xv. [1904] 94, xvi. [1905] 75, xxiii. [1912] 462, xxiv. [1913] 90, 227.
[12] E. Modigliani, *Un viaggio a Nias*, Milan, 1890, p. 283; M. Radriguet, *Les derniers Sauvages*, Paris, 1882, p. 245 (Marquesans); *Annales de la Prop. de la Foi*, xxxii. [1860] 439 (New Caledonians); A. d'Orbigny, *L'Homme américain*, Strassburg, 1840, ii. 241, 257 (Itonamas, Cayuvavas).
[13] *GB*[3], pt. ii., *Taboo*, London, 1911, p. 30.
[14] *Bulletin of American Museum of Nat. Hist.* xv. [1901] pt. i. 144; *6 RBEW* [1888], p. 613 f.; *9 RBEW* [1892], p. 426.
[15] See MOUTH, § 3; *ERE* iv. 503[a].

the bleeding (Cambridgeshire); writing the name on one side of a piece of lime-wood and the letters O R on the other, then burning it (17th century).[1]

6. The phrase in Ezk 8^{17} in connexion with sun-worship—'they put the branch to their nose'—has been explained with reference to the Zoroastrian use of the *barsom* (*q.v.*), or to an earlier Magian rite identical with it.[2]

For nose-flutes see MUSIC (Primitive and Savage), § 5 (3).

LITERATURE.—i. *SALUTATIONS.*—R. Andree, 'Nasengruss,' in *Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche*, new ser., Leipzig, 1889; H. Ling Roth, 'Salutations,' *JAI* xix. [1890] 164 ff.; E. B. Tylor, *Researches into the Early Hist. of Mankind*[2], London, 1870, ch. iii.

ii. *ORNAMENTS.*—O. Hovorka von Zderas, 'Verzierungen der Nase,' *Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, xxv. [1895].

iii. *SNEEZING.*—R. G. Haliburton, *New Materials for the Hist. of Man*, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 1863; *PC*[3] i. 97 ff.

J. A. MACCULLOCH.

NOVATIANISTS.—This is the name given to the adherents of Novatian, a distinguished Roman theologian and presbyter of the 3rd century. His case is remarkable in that his secession had nothing to do with his teaching, but was the result of disputes, personal and disciplinary, within the orthodox Churches of Rome and Carthage; it is remarkable also as an instance of a characteristic doctrine being developed to justify a separation which had already been carried out. To understand the schism, it is necessary to consider the events in Rome and Carthage of the years 250 and 251. One of the first victims of the Decian persecution was Fabian, bishop of Rome, who suffered on 20th Jan. 250. During the crisis his place could not be filled, and there is evidence of a struggle among the leading presbyters for the direction of the policy of the Church and the ultimate succession to the bishopric. The first to take the lead was a grossly illiterate person, the author of *Ep.* viii. in the collection of St. Cyprian's letters. That letter was the beginning of Cyprian's troubles. It was addressed by the presbyters of Rome to the presbyters of Carthage, and advised them to act as if both sees were equally vacant. Cyprian had (in obedience to a vision, as he believed) secreted himself at a distance from Carthage, and the spokesman of Rome regarded this as an abdication which was as effectual as the martyrdom of Fabian to make his see headless. It is needless to enter into the dispute in Carthage, where the bishop and the majority of the presbyters were soon at strife over the terms on which Christians who had lapsed into paganism through fear of death should be restored to communion. Cyprian took a sterner line than the clergy. The confusion at Carthage became intolerable, and it was largely due to the encouragement which Rome had given to the clergy against their bishop. There was a change in Roman policy, and therefore also a change in its spokesman. Novatian became the leader. He had strong claims to the position, and therefore also to succession, when an election should be possible, to the see. He was a distinguished theologian, and the only one of the Roman clergy, so far as is known, who could speak with authority on the topic. His orthodoxy was above suspicion; his doctrine was derived from that of Tertullian, on which he had made a certain advance. It is true that his Christology, like that of all theologians before Chalcedon, was in some measure tentative and contained hints which might be developed into conclusions that were, in the future, to be regarded as heretical; but it would be an anachronism to suppose that he or any of his contemporaries dreamed that anything was wrong with it. His life was as far above suspicion as his doctrine; the charges that were to be brought against him in the struggle for the bishopric of Rome are disproved by the fact that they had never been advanced against him as a presbyter. He was regarded as a grave, learned, and consistent minister and teacher. Especially it must be noted that his doctrine on the point where he was, as a schismatic, to vary from the normal teaching of the Church was as yet precisely that of St. Cyprian. The bishop of Carthage insisted that the penitence of the lapsed must be tested before they were restored to communion. So taught Novatian also, who gave his full approval, when writing as representative of the Roman Church, to the measures which Cyprian was taking. As yet he had not discovered that the Church was powerless to pardon such sin. He was, in fact, no rigorist. We learn from Cyprian (*Ep.* lv.) that he took the more lenient view, and that generally held, concerning the restoration of penitent adulterers to communion.

It was thus as a normal Churchman that he stood as a candidate for the see of Rome. His rival was Cornelius, an equally respected presbyter of Rome, apparently of longer standing. The election was held, after the slackening of persecution, in March 251. We know nothing of the proceedings, save that both candidates claimed to have been duly elected, and that both were consecrated by bishops who were their supporters. Those who thus sanctioned the election of Cornelius were much more numerous than those who upheld Novatian; but the rights of the latter, if he were duly elected, were not diminished by the fact that the bishops who consecrated him were few in number. There was no recognized court to which the rivals could appeal; the validity of the successful candidate would in due time be demonstrated by the adhesion of the Roman community. At first it seemed that Novatian's chance was good. The majority of the confessors, those who had suffered in the late persecution, were on his side, and they were the most respected members of the Church. But local opinion was guided in great measure by the decision of the leading churches elsewhere. Both rivals at once sent clerical messengers to the great sees to announce their election, and the holders of those sees had at once to make up their minds. Not only the emissaries but other Christians from Rome would certainly visit their cities, claiming communion on the ground of commendatory letters from either Novatian or Cornelius; and the letters of one or the other must be repudiated. The two great Eastern sees decided differently. Fabius of Antioch took the part of Novatian. His character and motives are above suspicion, and, since he had evidence before him which is now lost, we must assume that there was a good deal to be said on behalf of Novatian's claim that he had been duly elected. Dionysius of Alexandria took the opposite course and supported Cornelius. But he bore himself with Christian courtesy in a strife which engendered much bitterness. He suggested to Novatian that he should retire in the interests of peace from a position which he had unwillingly assumed. But Novatian's 'nolo episcopari' may have only been an expression of conventional propriety; and in any case Novatian might reply that he could not desert his supporters or sanction, by withdrawing his claim, Cornelius's assumption of an office to which he had not been lawfully elected. But Dionysius had not suggested that the affair should be compromised by a resignation of both competitors, and can hardly have expected that his kindly effort should succeed. Its tone, however, proves that he disregarded the

[1] *FLJ* ii. [1884] 219; *FL* xvi. [1905] 169, xxiii. [1912] 238, 349; many other instances in W. G. Black, *Folk-Medicine*, London, 1883.

[2] See J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, London, 1913, p. 189 f. He rejects C. H. Toy's correction of the text (*EBi* ii. 1463), 'they are a stench in my nostrils.'

attacks on Novatian's character that were being made by his rival. There remained one Church whose importance and whose nearness to Rome rendered it necessary for each candidate to gain its adherence. It was that of Carthage. We have seen that Cyprian, its bishop, had been involved in grave difficulties with his clergy, in which Rome, led by Novatian, had taken his side. But Cyprian was still engaged in warfare with the majority of his clergy, he ignoring their existence and they professing (as Rome had once done) that he had vacated his see. The leader of the clergy was Novatus, whose name has been confused by Eusebius and others, to the darkening of the story, with that of Novatian. The two men were known to each other, for Novatus had visited Rome during the vacancy and had been courteously received by Novatian. The latter had approved Cyprian's policy in regard to the lapsed and disapproved the laxity of Novatus and his colleagues. He had also recognized Cyprian as bishop; but there was nothing strange in his welcome to Novatus, for he may well have thought that Cyprian was acting unconstitutionally, or at least harshly, towards the clergy of his Church, and that, in the interests of future peace in Carthage, it was well to keep on good terms with both parties in the conflict. This relation of Novatian with the clergy of Carthage won him their support as soon as Cyprian had adhered to Cornelius. There, as at Antioch and Alexandria, the messengers of both rivals had appeared, and claimed recognition. For a while Cyprian withheld his decision. Cornelius, we know, was made anxious by the delay; probably Novatian was hopeful. But, when Cyprian had made up his mind, he expressed himself with as much vigour as Cornelius could have wished. And it must be said that both Cyprian and Cornelius used to the full the licence of the age. Vituperation was a department of the art of rhetoric as taught in the schools, and need be taken no more seriously when employed by a Christian writer than when Demosthenes or Cicero used it to discredit an opponent. It was the ordinary missile of controversy. The charges against Novatian either related in the main to circumstances of his baptism which had been condoned by the bishop who admitted him to orders, and therefore could no longer be pleaded against him, or were reflexions upon his courage in the persecution, and are refuted by the fact that his chief supporters were the confessors, who must have known how he had borne himself and were the last of men to tolerate in their bishop a lower standard of loyalty than their own. But the breach between Novatian and Cyprian was now impassable, and, in obedience to a principle common to both, each henceforth asserted that the other was outside the Christian Church. Their test of membership was that of communion. Cyprian was in communion with Cornelius, who, according to Novatian, was not bishop of Rome; therefore, according to Novatian, Cyprian was not a bishop of the Catholic Church. According to Cyprian, Novatian, being out of communion with his own Church as represented by Cornelius, its bishop, was out of communion with the whole of Christendom. It was common ground that a local church must have a bishop, and therefore Novatian procured the consecration of one of the party of his ally, Novatus. This party provided the new bishop with an organization in working order, and including a majority of the presbyters of Carthage, who had already, and on independent grounds, reached the conclusion that Cyprian had vacated his see and was no longer bishop.

This consecration of the new bishop, Maximus, in Carthage, took place in 252, and from that time the schism, represented by bishops in Rome and in Carthage who claimed to be the true bishops of those sees, was incurable. At first it seemed that the chances of the two Churches were about equal. But in this year, 252, Fabius of Antioch died, and his successor reversed his policy. And very quickly, actuated by motives of which we are uninformed, the Roman confessors, or at least the great majority of them, transferred their allegiance to Cornelius. There is no reason whatever to think that they were wrong in doing so. But Novatian could not see the matter in that light. He held that he had been validly elected and therefore that communion with himself was a necessity for Christians. Numbers were not the test, and those who deserted him unchurched themselves. He still had considerable support. In 254 we find Marcian, bishop of Arles, the most important see of Gaul, in communion with him, and Cyprian writing (*Ep.* lxviii.) to Stephen, who had lately become bishop of Rome, urging him to initiate a movement at Arles for the consecration of a new bishop there who should be in communion with themselves. We do not know the sequel, but there can be no doubt that there, and universally, the Novatianists were excluded, but still claimed to be the true Church and provided for their continuity by consecrating for themselves bishops. That their numbers were considerable and their extension wide is evident, but we have no means of estimating the size of their Church. It is only by accident that we hear of their existence in various regions; *e.g.*, their presence in Spain is proved by the controversial writings against them of Pacian of Barcelona in the second half of the 4th century. They were strongest in Asia Minor, where the Montanists, attracted by their claim to purity, seem to have fused with them; and the nearness of that region to Constantinople gave them weight in the great doctrinal controversies.

With the claim to purity we come to what grew into the *raison d'être* of Novatianism, though, in fact, so far as Novatian was concerned, it was an afterthought, and not the occasion of his action. We have seen that he began by agreeing with Cyprian, and with the general opinion of Christendom, that, though lapse into paganism was a sin of the greatest gravity, it was not unpardonable. But, when his schism was final, though his breach with the Catholic Church was due to a dispute upon a historical fact, whether he or Cornelius had been duly elected, it was inevitable that differences should arise, and that he should detect fresh errors in the society which had rejected him. He found one in this very matter of the lapsed. The Church, he came to teach, was defiled by restoring those who had been guilty of such a sin. It did not cleanse them; it shared their guilt. The unpardonable character and the contaminating nature of the sin became for the followers of Novatian a cardinal doctrine; not that they denied God's power to forgive, but they denied His gift to the Church of that power. This contamination was unending; it passed from generation to generation of those who received communion or orders from the persons who had contracted the original defilement. There was thus a second barrier between Novatianists and the Church; the latter had not only erred in rejecting the lawful ministry, and so cut itself off from Christ, but it was also involved in a guilt from which no power on earth could relieve it. As the original, the historical, question lost its interest through the lapse of time, the latter doctrine became the conspicuous differentia of the Novatianist Church.

In all other respects its development followed the same lines as its rival. Novatian's own theology, borrowed from Tertullian, started his Church

on a course of thought which led to full agreement with that which prevailed at Nicæa in 325. It may be that, conscious of rivalry, the smaller body made it a point of honour not to fall behind in doctrine; in any case, the Church of Novatian had its day of triumph when Constantine called in Acesius, its bishop of Constantinople, to advise him as an impartial expert in his dealings with the bishops of the greater Church who were at strife. Acesius's verdict was for the doctrine of Athanasius, and, though he gave no satisfactory answer to Constantine's natural inquiry why, seeing that they believed alike, the two Churches did not coalesce, and had to endure the emperor's taunt, 'Set up your ladder and climb to heaven alone,' he and his followers had earned the gratitude of the orthodox. Therefore, during the dominance of Arianism, from the reign of Constantius to that of Valens, they suffered from persecution equally with the orthodox, and, when the victory of Athanasianism came with Theodosius, they were tolerated and even favoured. They seem, at least in Constantinople and Rome, to have been an educated and influential body, with weight beyond their numbers, though in each city they had several churches. Monasticism grew up among them as early as among the Catholics. Of distinctive practices we hear as little as of distinctive doctrines, apart from the great barriers between them and the rest of orthodox Christendom. There is some evidence that they dispensed with unction at baptism, and some of those who represented the former Montanists retained certain Montanist peculiarities. But the Novatianist community was singularly free from internal differences, and nothing unworthy of its claim to purity is recorded. To a body so respectable and so orthodox in doctrine it was natural that advances should be made, and the Council of Nicæa, in its 8th canon, even offered to recognize the orders of Novatianist clergy.

This was the consistent temper of the Catholics till, with the death of the generation that had known the Arian strife, the Novatianist services to orthodoxy were forgotten. In 412 the Western emperor Honorius issued a severe edict against them, and the popes of the 5th cent. consistently aimed at their suppression. In the East they were suffered to remain in peace a little longer, and the interest in their concerns taken by the historian Socrates has raised the suspicion that he may have been one of their number, and certainly shows that it was safe for a literary man to sound their praise. The storm came in the middle of the century when Cyril in Alexandria and Nestorius in Constantinople, agreeing in intolerance, denied them the opportunity of public worship and strove to force them into conformity. But they maintained their corporate life in many places. There is evidence of Novatianists in the 6th cent., and perhaps in the 7th, and probably it was rather to the general collapse of the ancient society than to the efforts of their adversaries that their final disappearance was due.

LITERATURE.—Eusebius, *HE* (letters of Cornelius and Dionysius); Cyprian, *Epp.*; Pseudo-Cyprian, *ad Novatianum* (printed in Cyprian's works); Socrates, *HE*; Sozomen, *HE*; Pacian, *Opuscula*; numerous references in all the ecclesiastical writers of the 4th and 5th centuries. Modern Church histories and histories of doctrine deal fully with the subject; the best recent treatment is by A. Harnack, in *PRE*[3].

E. W. WATSON.

NOVEL.—See FICTION.

NUBA. — 1. Geographical distribution and organization.—The Nuba may be regarded as the Negro or Negroid aborigines of Kordofan, although at the present day the northern half of this area is inhabited by Arabic-speaking tribes professing Islām, so that Dar Nuba, the country of the Nuba, occupies only the southern half of the administrative province, extending over 2½° of latitude from about 12½° to 10° N. Even so it includes some 50,000 sq. miles, being bounded on the east by the Shilluk territory fringing the west bank of the White Nile, on the south by Lake No and the Bahr el-Ghazal, and on the west by Dar Homr and Darfur. But, since southern Kordofan is a great plain dotted with isolated hills and ranges, and the Nuba are essentially hill people, they actually inhabit only a small part of this area. Although it would be out of place to discuss the mixed Muslim population of the flat country, it may be said that, except in the case of some of the smaller and weaker Nuba hills where intermarriage has taken place, they have not exerted any great influence on the hill-men. Indeed, it is surprising to find that even in northern Kordofan, where the country has come thoroughly under Arab influence, traces of the older religious and social systems persist, while on some hills many inhabitants show Nuba physical characters. On the other hand, there do not seem to be any northern hills on which non-Arabic languages are spoken, even where the remains of the old religious beliefs exist, as, *e.g.*, on Jebel Kaja (about 14° 30′ N.). It is far otherwise in the south, where the Nuba, though raided for cattle and slaves, have retained their independence, for even under Dervish rule the Emirs sent against the Nuba did little more than reduce the more exposed hills, in some cases carrying off almost the whole population.

North of the twelfth parallel foreign influence is pronounced; even in Bruce's time[1] Jebel Tegele and Jebel Daier had been overrun from Darfur and Sennar alternately, and had furnished a garrison to the latter province—or kingdom, as it then was. The inhabitants of the hills lying between the eleventh and twelfth parallels, though less sophisticated than their northern neighbours, are by no means as unaffected as the hill-men further south.

It does not appear that any recent physical, cultural, or linguistic influence has been exerted on the southern Nuba by the Shilluk, whose villages form a line along the White Nile to the south-east of Dar Nuba, nor by the Dinka and Nuer to the south.

As customs vary from hill to hill, and even in different communities on the same hill, it may be as well to state that the present writer has visited the following hills, Amira, Korindi, Eliri, and Talodi, all in the extreme south of Dar Nuba, and has had opportunities of obtaining information from natives of Kanderma, Kawarma, Tiramandi, and Dilling, the last lying just north of 12° N. lat.

One of the most remarkable features of Dar Nuba is the multiplicity of languages spoken within its bounds. The inhabitants of hills only a few miles apart may speak languages mutually unintelligible, and even on the same *massif*—when this is of moderate size—there may be two or three communities speaking different languages and coming little in contact with one another, though their habits, customs, and beliefs are fundamentally the same.

A good example of the prevailing condition is offered by Jebel Eliri. The Eliri, said to be the original inhabitants of the *jebel*, have been forced to cede the best part of it to the Lafofa, who came from the neighbouring Jebel Tekeim. The Eliri have mixed with the 'Arabs' below to some extent, and now inhabit a small village high up on the *jebel*, a few houses close to the Lafofa village, and a settlement at the base of the hill. A few Eliri men speak the Lafofa dialect, though none of the Lafofa profess to understand the Eliri dialect, and only two or three mixed marriages are recorded. On the same *jebel*, about 6 miles to the west, is Talassa, where the Korongo dialect is spoken, the founders of this community being natives of Jebel Korongo who were joined by refugees from various northern hills which had been attacked by the Dervishes.

At least sixteen languages are already known in

[1] J. Bruce, *Travels to discover the Source of the Nile, 1768–73*, Edinburgh, 1790.

Library of
PACIFIC BIBLE SEMINA
0535 EAST ANAHEIM ST
LONG BEACH, CALIFOR

southern Kordofan, and, if a few of these should prove to be only dialects, this can hardly be the case with the majority.

This brings us to one of the outstanding difficulties connected with the Nuba, viz. their widespread confusion with the Barabra or Berberines, the inhabitants of Nubia north of the fourth cataract—a difficulty which makes it necessary to define the position of the Nuba at some length and as precisely as possible. Apart from the fact that Dar Nuba is even now one of the least known parts of Africa, the confusion is due, at least in part, to writers who have insisted on applying linguistic criteria to determine the ethnological position of the Berberines and the tribes of northern Kordofan. Frederick Müller formed a Nuba-Fulah group of languages to include the Barabra dialects and Fulah. Keane rejected this view almost with scorn, but, on account of similarities in the language, or some of the languages, spoken in northern and central Kordofan to those spoken by the Barabra, did not hesitate to proclaim the essential unity of the Barabra and the tall black Negro hillmen of Kordofan. The confusion may have been increased by the similarity of the names Nuba and Nubia, for German scholars actually speak of the Barabra dialects as 'Nuba Sprache.' In any case it is not difficult, in the light of fuller knowledge of the Nuba themselves and of the history of Kordofan, to explain the similarity of language which misled Keane. This will be referred to later; meanwhile it may be pointed out that the difference between the present-day Barabra and the Nuba of Kordofan, as shown by physical measurements, is confirmed by a whole series of characters not susceptible to expression by measurement. The Nuba is stoutly-built, muscular, and so dark-skinned that he may be called black; the Berberine is of slight, or more commonly medium, build, not particularly muscular, and in skin-colour varies from a yellowish to a chocolate brown. The hair of the Nuba is invariably woolly; that of the Barabra, though approaching the Negro in individual instances, is commonly curly or wavy, and may be almost straight, while the features of the Barabra are not uncommonly absolutely non-Negroid.

Thus there can be no doubt that the two peoples are essentially different in physical characters, and the same holds good on the cultural side. The Barabra scar their faces in the manner common to the Beja and riverain tribes of so-called 'Arabs'; they circumcise their youths and mutilate their girls, but they do not cover the bodies of their women with cicatrices or remove their incisor teeth, nor do their women perforate the lower lip in order to wear a lip-ornament. The Nuba do not circumcise their boys or mutilate their girls, but practise the remaining deformations mentioned.

To return to the language: if the speech of the southern Nuba be compared with dialects (Mahass, Sukkhot, etc.) spoken by the Barabra, it will be found that the inhabitants of the hills of southern Kordofan situated but little north of the Bahr el-Ghazal have a language, or rather a series of languages, with grammatical structure and vocabularies which do not resemble the Berberine dialects. The communities of some of the hills are as yet unaffected by northern influence, as is shown by the fact that the men still go absolutely naked and uncircumcised—the very first result of Arab (Muhammadan) influence being the assumption of at least a minimum of clothing and the adoption of circumcision. The resemblances found between the languages of the Barabra and the Nuba of northern Kordofan are, in fact, due to foreign influence, to which the more northern hill-men have been subjected for a considerable period. It has long been known that the southern Barabra of Dongola Province are keen traders; indeed, the traveller in Kordofan soon comes to recognize that these folk have exerted a sustained and increasing influence for a considerable time. As might be expected, this influence is most marked in the north, where important settlements of Barabra have long existed, but there is no doubt that it has penetrated deep into the heart of Kordofan to a degree not commonly realized, and it is this pacific and mercantile penetration that must be held responsible for the similarities which have been discovered in the Berberine and Nuba languages. So much evidence in support of this opinion, which apparently has not previously been put forward, will be found in MacMichael's recent work, *The Tribes of Northern and Central Kordofán*, that it will be sufficient to note that passages confirming this view occur in the writings of El Tunsi (referring to about 1784–85), Rüppell (1829), and Pallme (1839).[1] But, although some of the languages of northern Kordofan and even of northern Dar Nuba may show resemblances to the Barabra dialects, the languages of southern Dar Nuba are quite unlike these both in structure and in vocabulary. In the Berberine dialects grammatical changes in both nouns and verbs are produced by suffixes; in the Nuba this is done by initial change. Moreover, in the latter, alliterative assonance prevails to a considerable extent; *e.g.*, the plural of *čalanga jōte* (Eliri), 'a good club,' is *malanga mōte*.[2] Turning to the vocabularies of seven languages published by B. Z. Seligman—and for the moment neglecting the most northerly—the most that can be said from the point of view of affinity with Barabra is that there are a few words scattered in the lists which might be connected with Nubian or Arabic. Kawarma, the most northern of the languages investigated, shows a decided Berberine influence.

The position may perhaps best be made clear by a consideration of the numerals. The most southern hills have special words for the first numerals, but form 6 by x+1, 7 by x+2, etc. This is not a Berberine characteristic, though Kawarma shows a decided Berberine influence especially in the agreement of the initial sounds of the words, while the numerals given by Munzinger for Jebel Daier (about 12½° N.) show merely dialectical differences from the Berberine.

It is then obvious that there is the greatest difference between the languages spoken by the Nuba in the far south of Kordofan and those used further north, the latter closely resembling the Berberine. Moreover, in physical characters and culture the Nuba stand absolutely apart from the Barabra, so that it is perfectly reasonable to conclude that the Berberine characteristics in the languages of the more northern Nuba are due to the gradual penetration of Berberine influence, and are not due to the common origin of Nuba and Berberine.

Each Nuba community is autonomous; there is no division into clans and no restrictions upon marriage other than those imposed by blood-relationship; indeed, nearly all unions take place within the community. Women and children are well treated, property passes in the female line, and girls choose their mates and are allowed the greatest freedom; no bride-price is paid, and either party can break the marriage at pleasure, separations and the formation of new attachments occasioning little or no trouble so long as they are openly declared. This applies to the most southern communities; further north, where a bride-price is paid, matters are less simple.

There is no definite evidence of the existence of totemism, but on Tira el-Akhdar and also on Jebel Lumun there are people who claim descent from leopards, and who will not kill leopards as other folk do. These man-leopards can make themselves invisible at pleasure, and, even if speared, cannot be seen or tracked. No difficulty is made about marrying into the leopard families. Although no man turns into a leopard without good cause, no one will go into a man-leopard's house without an invitation lest he should come upon the owner while skin-changing. On Tira el-Akhdar there are also people descended from a species of snake called *erunga*, which is the family-name of the snake people. These folk can turn into snakes, and, if any one is injured by an *erunga*, one of them spits upon and massages the injured part and the patient gets well. Probably exogamy does not prevail in either leopard or snake families.

The regulation of public life is ultimately in the hands of the rain-maker and certain subordinates who are in fact his executive officers,[3] though, in some instances at least, they seem to partake of his spiritual authority and to be his assistants in the rites of his office.

[1] W. P. E. S. Rüppell, *Reisen in Nubien, Kordofan, und den peträischen Arabien*, Frankfort, 1829; I. Pallme, *Travels in Kordofan*, Eng. tr., London, 1844.

[2] S. H. Ray considers that certain forms of grammar seem to connect the Nuba languages with those spoken far away to the west and to the south, *i.e.* the Jolof (Wolof) and somewhat more indefinitely the Bantu.

[3] The men usually called *mek* and considered as chiefs in the intercourse between the government and the Nuba are, as a rule, executive officers of the kind indicated.

The Nuba are skilled and energetic cultivators, and possess only a comparatively small number of cattle, so that their herds do not take the great place in their life which cattle occupy in the thoughts and conversation of the Dinka and Shilluk. Nevertheless, only men herd the cattle and milk the cows, and, since on certain hills the initiation-ceremonies of the lads are connected with the cattle and take place in specially prepared cattle-kraals, it seems possible that at one time cattle may have played a larger part in the lives of the Nuba than they do at present.

During recent years, and even now when peace has been established and the fear of Arab raids has been removed, the Nuba cultivate their grain upon the plateaux of their hills, or, if these are insufficient, construct terraces on which to grow *dura*. But there is reason to believe that at one time, before the Baqqara pushed their way into central Kordofan and began to raid the south, considerable areas of the plain in the neighbourhood of the hills were cultivated.

At his best, *i.e.* on those hills which have been strong enough to resist Arab influence, the Nuba is plucky and generous, and, when once his innate suspicion of strangers has been overcome, he is a cheerful companion and makes an excellent host. Both sexes are cleanly, and the condition of their settlements compares most favourably with that prevailing in the villages of the Nilotes. To a certain extent this may be due to the presence of the domestic pig which is found in their hills, but it is, in part at least, due to their being more particular to keep themselves and their huts clean. No rubbish or dirt is allowed to accumulate in the interior of their houses, and the women always wash their hands before grinding *dura* or preparing food.

2. High gods.—Although it is probable that all Nuba believe in an otiose high god, in practice he is overshadowed by the spirits of the dead, except perhaps in connexion with rain-making, while in some instances a powerful ancestral spirit seems to be confused with the high god, or has perhaps usurped his name. Thus, on Jebel Kawarma, Jebel Kanderma, and Jebel Tira el-Akhdar the highest spiritual power is called Elo, but, while some at least of the Kawarma people recognize him as their ancestor who came out of the rock Eldu, and know the site of his grave, the inhabitants of the other two hills do not believe that he was human, and say that he lives in the sky with the rain which he sends. Nevertheless the Kawarma folk invoke Elo at a ceremony held at the beginning of the rains, which has as its purpose the increase of the cattle. A bullock is killed and a bowl of native beer is passed round and over the body, while Elo is invoked, 'Elo, we are hungry, give us cattle, give us sheep.' So, at Dilling, while some appeared to regard Belet as an ancestral spirit, some at least of his attributes are those of a god. He sends rain when the rain-maker asks it, and causes the corn to grow; he also gives increase of cattle and men. He inhabits (perhaps only at times) a holy cave called Kulignala which would appear to be regarded as T*n*ala, 'the other world,' or at least as its entrance. It should be noted that religion appears to be more developed in the northern hills of Dar Nuba than in the extreme south, though there is no reason for attributing this to Arab influence.

On some hills the high god is invoked in oaths, as among the Lafofa, who swear by a sacred fire and by Kalo, who created all things and in whose house (the sky) are the sun and moon.

3. Eschatology and the cult of the dead.—The eschatological ideas of the Nuba, though fairly uniform in principle, vary somewhat from hill to hill. Generally speaking, the spirit or shade of the deceased is considered to remain in the grave with the body, yet the spirit can and does emerge to visit the village, and is seen by relatives and friends in dreams, but not otherwise. In spite of this it was sometimes said that nothing was known concerning a life after death, and that man was literally 'as the beasts.' It was especially on Jebel Eliri that this view was proclaimed; but, even if some folk of the Lafofa and Eliri communities hold no formal beliefs as to the survival of any spiritual part after the death of the body, the funeral rites of these people would alone suggest that the general opinion is that something persists after death. As a matter of fact, the agnostics were relatively few in number.

The animals killed at and after the funeral are for the benefit of the dead; one informant went so far as to say that, if a bullock, or at least a goat, was not killed, the dead in the family grave would hold the new-comer to be a wretched fellow of no account. The near blood-relations of the deceased alone eat the flesh of these animals, and husband and wife do not partake of the flesh of animals killed for a spouse. If a bullock is killed, it is provided by a son of one of the sisters of the deceased. It appears that the relatives should stay in the house of mourning where the feast is to be held for the whole of the first night after the funeral.

The southern Nuba bury in family-graves shaped like an inverted funnel, the shaft, corresponding to the stem of the funnel, being so narrow that a living man can only squeeze down with his hands above his head. The shaft is 6 to 8 ft. long, and expands below into a circular chamber with sloping sides some 3 ft. high in the centre and perhaps 8 ft. across. In the middle of the floor, *i.e.* under the opening of the shaft, there is usually a mound of earth about a foot high. Any one lowered down the shaft naturally lands on this. When a burial takes place, a couple of men are lowered into the grave and they receive the body, which is laid (whether on side or back is uncertain) at the periphery of the chamber. It is said that such family-graves occurred at least as far north as Dilling; nevertheless, there is great variety in the mode of burial. Thus, on Jebel Nyema and Jebel Katla Kurun the grave is a short narrow-necked cell in which a single body is interred in the squatting position, while at Beraeis, in the far north of Kordofan, the Nuba ancestors of the present half-breed population buried in the lateral posture with limbs flexed. The body is commonly rubbed with oil before burial, but it is generally buried naked except for bead-ornaments. Various objects may be placed in the grave, including a hoe; those which are not of iron are broken, while iron ones (perhaps these, too, are destroyed) are removed the next time the grave is opened, and the iron is worked up into new implements, which become the property of the sons of the sisters of the deceased. The more important the man, the greater the number of things buried with him, and at Talodi it is said that, when a really notable man is buried, his *angareb* and shield are placed on his grave. Most of the graves actually seen had one or more gourds or pots upon them; often these had been purposely holed. The whole matter of death ceremonial was summed up by a native of Jebel Tamtam who said, 'The stronger the man, the more important he is both in life and after death.' Hence, in most communities, when an ordinary man dies, there is only one big feast, which is held soon after his death, but for important men two or three feasts are held at intervals of about a year. These feasts appear to be made in or near the house of the deceased.

At Dilling the spirits of the dead are thought to

visit the living, especially at the time of the *dura* harvest. When the *dura* is cut, every widow believes that the spirit of her husband will come to her that night, so she sends her children away and prepares food and drink. She puts a clean mat upon the floor and sleeps naked upon it as if with her husband. A woman does this only for her first husband, and, although there is no idea of any congress with the spirit, her husband (if she has married again) would not remain in the hut. Mothers prepare food and a bed for a dead child in much the same way.

On Jebel Kawarma live sheep, often as many as ten, are said to be put in the grave with the body as well as a hoe and other objects. The sheep are not tied up. The bead-ornaments commonly worn are left upon the body, which is wrapped in the skin of a pig killed for the purpose. The spirit remains in the grave and delights to look after the sheep, yet it comes out at times and may then be seen in dreams. If a 'big' man is seen in a dream, his relatives may pour a pot of *merissa* on the grave and sacrifice an animal at the door of his house, the latter custom possibly being due to Arab influence.

The matrilineal habits of the Nuba are specially well marked in their burial rites. Both men and women are buried with their mother's relatives. The men of Jebel Eliri were at first reluctant to show their burial-places. This was the more remarkable because no difficulty was made in talking about death and burial customs. It was explained later that it was not customary to show the graves to strangers, and that the people themselves did not visit them.

On Jebel Korindi it was thought that death might be due to the dead calling the living to join them, and in one case an *angareb* with the dead body upon it was taken round to the houses of certain deceased who were supposed to have called the dead person to them.

4. Rain-makers and rain-making.—The rain-maker is the most important man in each community, and the regulation of public life is ultimately in his hands, though he will scarcely be heard of by strangers until they have gained a considerable measure of the confidence of the people. In the old days the rain-maker was not allowed to go to war, and every effort was made to protect his person against accident, the reason for this being that each succeeding rain-maker incarnates the spirit of a great and long-dead predecessor. The rain-maker is not the only practitioner of magic; there are experts in other departments, but these have nothing like the same influence and do not at present demand consideration. Far below the rain-maker in importance there are certain men who are more or less responsible for the temporal government of the community, and who formerly led the fighting men of their *jebel*, though assuredly they would do nothing in opposition to the wishes of the rain-maker. When the rain-maker drinks and eats with other important men, he takes the first sip or mouthful and then tells the others to begin; this makes even a small quantity of food sufficient for all. On Jebel Eliri he keeps the large fire-sticks with which to make the fire on which oaths are sworn 'by this fire and by Kalo,' and the plaintiff must pay him a fee before he will produce the sticks and kindle the fire.

In some communities, as at Dilling, the rain-maker may not leave the hill, while on Eliri he may go no further than the grave of his great predecessor Geberatu (whose spirit is immanent in him), where he performs the rain ceremony.

The power of the rain-maker and the other departmental experts of the Nuba is due to the immanence in their bodies of the spirit of a great predecessor in their own department of magic; thus Koko, the rain-maker of the Lafofa of Jebel Eliri, is supposed to have in him the spirit of Geberatu,[1] who lived three generations ago, and the remains of whose homestead still exist at the base of Jebel Eliri. According to the commonly accepted belief, the spirits of the dead cause the ancestral spirit of the expert, *i.e.* the spirit of the great predecessor, to become immanent in the new expert. It is held that this occurs while the future expert is quite young, and the writer has more than once been told how a mother will wake up in the night to find that her child is not by her side, though he is there in his old place in the morning. She tells her friends, and it may be thought that the spirits have taken her child to make him an expert. It is believed that the spirits come to the experts in dreams and help them, but informants frankly admitted that they knew nothing about this, for, as one of them said, experts are not given to relating their experiences. The rain-maker may be a woman, as is the case on Jebel Kawarma at the present time, and as among the Lafofa three generations ago, when Nalu, the grandmother of Koko, was rain-maker.

At Dilling the rain is called *ara*, and each rain-maker has immanent in him the spirit of Oršera, the first rain-maker. Soon after the death of a rain-maker his spirit becomes immanent in his successor, possessing him by night and causing him to shiver, groan, and shout. The next morning the assistants of the dead rain-maker are told that the *oro* (*i.e.* the ancestral spirit immanent in rain-makers of the tribe) has come to him. They take him to the holy cave Kulignala, which he enters and where he speaks with Belet. When he comes out, they put round his neck a very old piece of (woven?) material which is kept in the cave, and at the same time he is given certain sacred spears (*oro*) and a metal bracelet, said to have been the property of Belet, which are taken to Kulignala whenever a rain-maker dies. The rain-maker keeps these spears in a special house, and uses one of them to kill the sacrifice at the rain ceremony. The house of the dead rain-maker is destroyed, and a new house built on the same site with fresh materials; for, if the rain-maker were to live in the house which belonged to his predecessor, he would soon die.

The accounts of the technique of rain-making given below show very considerable variations on different hills or different groups of hills. Each community 'makes' its own rain, and no one seems to have realized that one rain-maker would be sufficient for each *massif*. On the contrary, the greatest wonders are told of rain-makers only a little way off. Thus, the Lafofa people believe that the rain-maker of Jebel Tekeim on the Eliri *massif* is associated with a 'red' snake, whose form he is said to assume at will. According to

[1] The writer first heard of Geberatu as a long-dead hero of extraordinary wisdom and foresight, who generations ago led the Lafofa up the *jebel*, and it is certain that to most of the Lafofa Geberatu is the mighty hero of a remote and almost legendary age. When the name of the first rain-maker is asked, the answer is invariably the same, 'Geberatu,' yet Nalu, the sister of Geberatu, is still alive, though she is an old woman; and on the Lafofa plateau there are still standing the remains of walls said to have belonged to a group of huts occupied by Geberatu after he and his people left their settlement on the plain below. Nalu, with whom the writer talked in 1910, cannot be more than 60 or 70 years old. It was not possible to discover how many years separated her birth from that of Geberatu, but, as she and the rain-maker had one mother, the maximum can scarcely have been more than 25 years; probably it was less, and Geberatu must have been in his prime not more than 50 or 60 years ago. Thus, although Geberatu died within memory of living folk, and although his near relatives are still alive, the identity of the rain-maker is fast being forgotten, and for it there is being substituted the figure of a legendary hero, gifted with extraordinary wisdom and foresight.

the Lafofa, the Tekeim people, to obtain rain, take milk and put it in a special hole high on a hill, where it is taken by the snake or rain-maker in his snake form.

In connexion with the rain-making snake of this hill, it was extremely interesting to find at Jebel Kaja, in the far north of Kordofan, among a people who have been Muhammadans for some generations, that, though it is recognized that Allah sends the rain, a ceremony is held in honour of or to propitiate Abu Ali, a great ancestor and rain-maker who did not die but disappeared, and whose spirit still possesses folk at the ceremony. But Abu Ali is also a great snake; indeed, in some villages of the Kaja *massif* he is known only in that form, and, although he has not been seen since the Mahdiya, the yearly ceremony is performed in and before a special hut built by the crevasse on the sacred hill which was his place. A goat is killed and its blood smeared upon the rocks, its flesh being cooked at a fire newly made with fire-sticks, and eaten by those concerned in the ceremony who become possessed by Abu Ali, who was described as 'riding' them.

At Talodi the rain-maker keeps in his house a potsherd on which lie three fragments of *dura* grinding-stones and one fragment of one of the larger stones on which the grain is ground. To bring rain, he pours water on these stones inside his house and kills a ram or pig, cutting its throat in the central court of his house. The blood is caught in a gourd and brought outside the house, when first the rain-maker and then the people take some of the blood in their hands and fling it in the air towards the sky, and into the rain-maker's house. Then the rain-maker takes a gourd of water and throws its contents towards the sky. Before he does this, the people howl as on joining battle, and the women shriek; only the rain-maker is silent, praying inwardly. The rain should come the same day, or at most in two or three days. When it comes, the potsherd and the stones on it are brought out of the dark corner where they have been kept, and placed where the water from the roof will drip on them during the whole of the rainy season. Then, when the crops are cut, the stones are brought inside the house.

The rain-maker should stay in the house all the rainy season, leaving it only when absolutely necessary. A rain-maker will not give strangers (or any people other than members of his own family) anything to eat or the rain will not fall. The rain-maker takes *merissa* with others, but drinks first, and this blesses the liquor.

The site of the rain-making ceremony of the Lafofa is at the foot of Jebel Eliri, where among the ruins of what was once a considerable settlement there are certain remains which are associated with Geberatu. These are: (1) the foundation of his house, showing remains of large pots and of his granaries; (2) his grave; (3) a slab of rock near by, bearing the foundations of a hut in which, it was said, Geberatu made his rain-medicine. These remains are excessively holy, and it was only after prolonged negotiations that the writer was allowed to visit them, and certain preliminaries (said to be those preceding the rain ceremony) were necessary. These included the sacrifice of a goat, which was eaten where it was killed in the pass above the remains, its blood being sprinkled on the rocks at the side of the track. It was not possible to ascertain anything as to the procedure of rain-making on this hill, but it appeared that a special hut or shelter (perhaps temporary and destroyed after use) would be erected not far from the site of the hut used by Geberatu for making rain, and in this the rain-maker would perform his office.

At Dilling before the rain-making ceremony a clean vessel filled with beer is left overnight for Belet in his sacred cave. In the morning the bowl is empty, and it is supposed that Belet has drunk it.

The following is an account in outline of the rain-making ceremony, but it must be remembered that it was given by a man standing in no specially close relationship to the rain-maker.

The rain-maker builds a special house, henceforth regarded as sacred, and provides a white cock and a virgin she-goat of any colour. His assistants make a hole in front of the sacred house and let the blood of the cock and of the goat run into the hole; the skin, feathers, bones, and bowels also go in. This is all done privately by night, and at the same time the rain-maker puts some of his own *dura* and *merissa* in the hole. Then, as it is believed, the rain-maker goes the same night to the cave Kulignala and there communes with Belet. After this the rain comes; if the *dura* put in the ground by the rain-maker comes up well, all the country will have a good crop. The flesh of the goat and fowl is eaten by his assistants and by certain old men.

5. **Magic and departmental experts.**—Although the rain-maker whose prayers bring the rain is the spiritual and temporal head of the community, yet he has not universal control, for there are other departments each of which has, or may have, its own expert. On Jebel Eliri there are only two, but there is a larger number on more northern hills. On Jebel Eliri, where there is a 'sickness expert' and a 'grain expert,' the former, Deboi by name, is much looked up to, but little consideration is shown to the grain expert, perhaps because he is an old and feeble man belonging to the weak Eliri community. The position occupied by Deboi is particularly interesting, though it is difficult to appreciate its significance. With the possible exception of a few old men who are his relatives, he eats alone, and he always drinks alone; no one would touch *merissa* from which he has drunk, for he has the *korgo* (control?) of sickness and his mouth is 'hot.' Yet he is obviously a man respected and feared; he exacts what seem enormous fees for curing people (whoever he treats is assuredly cured, so many say), and does not hesitate to refuse to treat people who seem unlikely to get well. The writer feels tolerably confident that the awe in which Deboi is held is not due to his practising magic to induce disease or death, yet he cannot account for it, nor could his informants explain it. Probably the explanation of the matter is to be found in the remark that 'the stronger the man, the more important he is both in life and after death,' and Deboi is certainly one of the most striking people upon the hill.

When a man is sick, some one, usually his *imbing* (mother's brother, sister's son), takes some iron to the smith. This the latter makes into a bracelet, receiving a comparatively small fee of *dura* or something equivalent in value for his pains. The *imbing* takes the bracelet to Deboi, who puts it in the ashes of his sacred fire. Next morning the *imbing* conducts the patient to Deboi, taking with him a sheep or *dura* and beans. The patient does not go into Deboi's house, but sits down under the tree near the special fire which Deboi has lighted early in the morning by rubbing together two pieces of wood. The *imbing* takes the offering into the house and Deboi bleeds the patient, the blood being buried in the ground. He then takes ashes from the special fire and rubs the wounds, mumbling charms meanwhile; he also puts the iron bracelet, now regarded as a potent amulet which must never be removed, on the patient's wrist. He then washes his hands and sprinkles the patient's whole body with the water, telling him to go away, for he is cured. After ten days, when the patient is better, he goes back to Deboi, who awaits him under the tree where he has again kindled a fire: Deboi pours some water over the patient's head and tells him to go and have his head shaved. Young men go to Deboi before the ceremonial beating at the end of their first period of seclusion; he pours sour milk on their bodies, and they smear ashes of the fire on themselves to prevent them from feeling pain.

The corn expert is an old and decrepit man, a native of the Eliri community. He has in his house in special gourds a supply of *dura* of his own growing, which is mixed with the seed *dura* of the people of Eliri and Lafofa before planting. Both the sickness and the corn expert have within them an ancestral spirit, namely that of the original departmental expert; but, though iron-working on Jebel Eliri is conducted in a small rock-shelter by one man, who besides smelting the ore performs a certain rite to ensure a good smelting year, the writer could not discover that any ancestral spirit was thought to be immanent in him. At Dilling besides the rain-maker there are corn, sickness, and war experts, in each of whom an ancestral spirit is immanent.

6. **Oaths.**—Reference has been made above (§ 2) to the form of oath used among the Lafofa on Jebel Eliri. On Jebel Kawarma oaths are sworn upon a very old spear-blade kept by the rain-maker. The man taking the oath licks the blade, and, holding it to his throat, says, 'If I swear

falsely, may I be killed!' Sacred spears also exist at Dilling, but the writer cannot say whether oaths are taken upon them as they are upon special iron bracelets and perhaps other metal objects which are the property of the rain-maker whose insignia they probably are. At Tasume on Jebel Talodi men swear by the earth, the formula being, 'By this earth in which I shall be buried.'

LITERATURE.—Watkiss Lloyd, 'Notes on Kordofan Province,' *Geographical Journal*, xxxv. [1910]; H. A. MacMichael, *The Tribes of Northern and Central Kordofán*, Cambridge, 1912; Werner Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, Basel, 1864; Brenda Z. Seligman, 'Note on the Language of the Nubas of Southern Kordofan,' *Zeitschrift für Kolonialsprachen*, i. iii. [1910–11]; C. G. Seligman, 'Some Aspects of the Hamitic Problem in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan,' *JRAI* xliii. [1913], and 'A Note on the magico-religious Aspect of Iron-working in Southern Kordofan,' *Annals of Archæology and Ethnology*, vi. [1914].

C. G. SELIGMAN.

NUBIA.—See ABYSSINIA.

NUMBERS.

Introductory (T. DAVIDSON), p. 406.
Aryan (A. B. KEITH), p. 407.
Semitic (W. CRUICKSHANK), p. 413.

NUMBERS (Introductory). — **1. Origins.** — From our observation of the minds of children in learning arithmetic, as well as from the evidence gained among savage races, we may conclude that numeration ultimately depends upon the evidence of sense. The very names still used to denote lengths, such as 'hand,' 'foot,' 'span,' show how the art of mensuration had its origin, and it is equally certain that arithmetic began by counting on the fingers and toes—by fives, tens, and twice tens, or twenties (quinary, decimal, and vigesimal notation). The next step to the primitive mind was the formation of numeral words, which served as numerals after their original sense was forgotten. Numeral figures began by the adoption of special marks for the fives, tens, hundreds, etc., leaving the simple strokes for the few units left over, as in ancient Egypt and Assyria, and our present Roman numerals. Another device was to employ the letters of the alphabet in their order to stand for numbers, as in the sections of Ps 119, which are numbered by the letters of the Hebrew alphabet. Or the initial letter of the word for the several numbers might be used, as in the Greek inscriptions, χ (χίλιοι), 1000, etc. The Roman C has been understood to be the initial of *centum*, M, of *mille*. The history of the word 'calculate' (Lat. *calculus*, 'pebble') throws a light on the ancient use of pebbles for counters—a method of figuring systematized in the Roman *abacus*, with lines of holes for pegs, the Chinese *swan-pan*, with balls strung on wires, to be found in our own infant-schools. The last stage is the invention of the sign for zero, or nothing, to show the empty column in the *abacus*, whether due to the Arabs, as we suggest in speaking of 'Arabic numerals,' or to the Indians, as ascribed by the Arabs themselves. The quinary system is frequent among the lower races, among whom we find also the vigesimal system, but the more developed races show a preference for the more convenient intermediate decimal system. The Roman numerals, i., ii., . . v., vi., . . x., xv., etc., form a quinary system; the Gaelic 'one, ten, and two twenties'=51, a vigesimal; and we find a vigesimal system surviving in the midst of a decimal system, as in the French *quatre-vingt-treize*=93. The introduction of the late Latin *dozena* (Lat. *duodecim*) shows an apprehension of the practical advantage of counting by dozens. And we see a striking example of the vitality of an older system of numerals in the survival to this day of the so-called 'Anglo-Cymric score,' a corrupted form of the Welsh numerals in doggerel rhymes, still used in Cumberland for counting sheep, and by children in their games in many parts of Great Britain and even America. Our own system of numerals is decimal, yet we find such survivals as 'three-score-and-ten'=70. The scheme of grammatical number (singular, dual, plural), as in Hebrew, Greek, etc., has been ingeniously and plausibly explained as a survival of a primitive stage of thought when all beyond two was an idea of indefinite number.

2. Significance.—In the folklore of many peoples we find evidences of peculiar sanctity attaching to certain numbers, notably 7, 10, 70, and in a lower degree, 3, 4, 5, 12, 40, and 100. In Scripture we find that some of the numbers are meant to be taken representatively rather than determinatively. The numbers 7, 10, 40, 100 are regarded as giving the idea of completeness—a notion found in the speculations of Pythagoras, the Gnostics, and even St. Augustine. Philo explains the six days of the Mosaic creation as not so much a chronological succession as an order attached to created things; 6 is chosen on account of its perfection, and because it contains the male and female principles, being the product of 3 and 2, the first of the odd and even, or the male and female, numbers. The number 7 is an image of God, and is impressed on the universe, as well as on the bodily and mental constitution of man; 2 is the image of matter, being divisible; while 3 is the image of solid body, which has three dimensions. But among the numbers up to ten 7 alone neither produces nor is produced, not being formed from any other number by multiplication. Everything in the kosmos is enamoured of 7—the idea of the planets, as unity is of the fixed sphere. Such fantastic speculations were carried further by many of the Kabbalists, but their conclusions may be neglected.

'Away with all niceties of Pythagorean calculations; all numbers are alike to me,' says Joseph Hall (*Select Works*, London, 1811, p. 510), 'save those which God himself hath chalked out to us.'

3. Superstitions.—Folklore is full of superstitions about lucky and unlucky days. Eschew the fifth day, says Virgil (*Georg.* i. 277, 284), but choose the seventeenth. Hesiod (*Op. et dies*, 823) distinguishes between 'mother-days' and 'stepmother' days. Shakespeare notices the belief that there is luck in odd numbers, but Virgil had already said 'numero deus impare gaudet' (*Ec.* viii. 75), and, accordingly, three threads of three hues are used in the thrice-repeated charm to draw Daphnis home. The number 3, or some multiple of it, is the most popular of mystic numbers in Britain. It enters largely into all prescriptions of folk-medicine, while 7 hardly appears, except with reference to the personal healing powers of a seventh son. It is still counted peculiarly unlucky to be the thirteenth guest at table, or to rent a house numbered 13. And few superstitions have greater vitality than the belief that there is grave danger to life in the attainment of the sixty-third year—the 'grand climacteric' of ancient medicine.

'For the daies of men,' says Sir Thomas Browne, 'are usually cast up by Septenaries, and every seventh year conceived to carry some altering character with it, either in the temper of body, mind, or both. But among all other, three are most remarkable, that is, 7 times 7 or fourty nine, 9 times 9 or eighty one, and 7 times 9 or the year of Sixty three; which is conceived to carry with it the most considerable fatality'

(*Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, bk. iv. ch. 12, *Works*, ed. S. Wilkin, London, 1835–36, iii. 48).

4. Mystical numbers.—Another use of numbers has given rise to much perverse ingenuity. Thus the mystical number 666, in Rev 13[18], is now usually read NeRON KeSaR, the Hebrew form of the Latin Nero Cæsar:

N R O N K S R
50+200+6+50+100+60+200=666.

It is needless to point out that it may be read equally well as Lateinos, or perhaps other words.

Perhaps the most remarkable example of this fantastic use of numbers is to be found in Sir Thomas Browne's *Garden of Cyrus*. Its aim is to show that the number 5 not only pervades all the horticulture of antiquity, but recurs throughout all plant life, as well as the 'figurations' of animals. 'You have,' says Coleridge, 'quincunxes in heaven above, quincunxes in earth below, and quincunxes in the water beneath the earth; quincunxes in deity, quincunxes in the mind of man, quincunxes in bones, in the optic nerves, in roots of trees, in leaves, in petals, in everything' (*Biographia Epistolaris*, ed. A. Turnbull, London, 1911, i. letter 127 [1804]).

LITERATURE.—A. F. Pott, *Die quinäre und vigesimale Zählmethode bei Völkern aller Welttheile*, Halle, 1847, supplemented in *Festgabe zur xxv. Versammlung deutscher Philologen*, do. 1867; E. B. Tylor, *PC*[4], London, 1903; W. Jones, *Credulities Past and Present*, do. 1880; Isaac Taylor, *The Alphabet*, 2 vols., do. 1883.

T. DAVIDSON.

NUMBERS (Aryan).—**1. Indian.**—(*a*) *Vedic.*—In Vedic religion and mythology the numbers 3, and its multiples, and 7 occur frequently, and for the most part without any trace of the earlier use of either 3 or 7 as the more primitive unit. In the case of the number of worlds, however, it is clear that 3—heaven, sky, and earth—is the earliest division, from which in the Rigveda is often derived the triplication of each of these, making 9 divisions in all. There is mention, however, of 7 regions and 7 places of the earth in the Rigveda (IX. cxiv. 3, I. xxii. 16), probably derived from the conception of 7 points, which itself is a development of the 4 or 5 of the Rigveda, and the 6 or 7 of the Atharvaveda. That Veda (X. viii. 18) and the *Aitareya* (II. xvii. 8) and the *Pañchaviṁśa* (XVI. viii. 6) *Brāhmaṇas* agree in using 1000 as the number to describe the distance of the heaven from the earth, whether measured by the day's flight of a bird, or journey of a horse, or by cows placed on the top of one another. There is no clear mention of 7 worlds before the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad* (I. ii. 3).

The number of the gods in the Rigveda is often given as 33, divided into 3 sets of 11 each,[1] which once (I. cxxxix. 11) are said to be situated in the heaven, the earth, and the waters, presumably the aerial waters. By a mere freak the number is once given as 3339 (III. ix. 9). In the *Brāhmaṇas* a different conception of the composition of the number 33 appears: the main elements are the 8 *vasus*, 11 *rudras*, and 12 *ādityas*, but the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* adds either (IV. v. 7. 2.) Dyaus and Pṛthivī or (XI. vi. 3. 5) Indra and Prajāpati to make up 33, while the *Aitareya* (II. xviii. 8) adds the *vaṣaṭ* call and Prajāpati. The number in the Rigveda and the *Brāhmaṇas* does not include all the gods. Other passages of the *Śatapatha* make the gods 7-fold (VI. v. 3. 11) or 3 (XIII. i. 7. 2), but these are mere cases of speculation. The division into 3 worlds leads to an occasional grouping of the 3 chief gods of these worlds: the Rigveda in a late hymn (X. clviii. 12) connects Sūrya and the heaven, Vāta and the air, and Agni and earth; the *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* (IV. ii. 12) declares that Agni, Vāyu, and Sūrya are sons of Prajāpati, and, by Yāska's time (*c.* 500 B.C.), theologians existed who reduced all the gods to one of the triad Agni, Indra or Vāyu, and Sūrya (*Nirukta*, vii. 5). It is not improbable that this triad is to be traced to the simpler conception of the 3 forms of fire—on earth, in the atmosphere, and in heaven—which appears also to be the explanation of the story of Trita Āptya,[1] and the Avestan Thraetaona. There are also 3 sacrificial deities who are invoked in the Āprī hymns of the Rigveda — Sarasvatī, Idā, and Bhāratī. The number 7, however, is also prominent, especially in connexion with Agni; he has 7 wives, mothers, or sisters, 7 flames, rays, or tongues; the sun has 7 horses; the song for Agni is 7-fold. Rudra, who has 3 mothers already in the Rigveda (VII. lix. 12), is given 8 and 9 names in the *Kauṣītaki* (vi. 1 ff.) and *Śatapatha* (VI. 1. 3. 7 ff.) *Brāhmaṇas*. The *maruts* are numbered as 3×60 (VIII. lxxxv. 8) or 3×7. The cow, or the dawn as the mother of the cows, has 3×7 names. There is a group of 7 *ṛṣis*, who in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (II. i. 2. 4) are identified with the stars in the constellation of the Great Bear; 7 demons are also grouped together (Rigveda, X. cxx. 6). The Atharvaveda mentions 7 honeys of the *aśvins'* whip, 7 reins and wheels of time, and 1007 births of Rohita. The rivers and seasons are 7 as well as 5. The number 3, however, appears as that of the heads of Viśvarūpa, son of Tvaṣṭr, and a 99-armed demon is mentioned in the Rigveda (II. xiv. 4). The demons, especially Śambara and Vṛtra, have 90 or 99 citadels, and their numbers sometimes go as high as 30,000 or 100,000. On the other hand, ancient priestly clans of Navagvas and Daśagvas seem to be connected with the numbers 9 and 10 respectively.

The *ādityas* are 12 in the *Brāhmaṇas*, but in the Rigveda no more than 6 are mentioned by name, and the number is given as 7 or 8 only in late hymns (IX. cxi. 3, X. lxvii. 8). In the *Brāhmaṇas* their connexion with the 12 months of the year is obvious: a year of 12 months with 360 days is clearly known in the Rigveda (i. 25 and 164), and the intercalation of a month is also referred to. The theory[2] that earlier the *ādityas* represented the 7 planets, being borrowed from a Semitic source, is not supported by any evidence. The 4 *ṛbhus* who sleep for 12 days (Rigveda, IV. xxxiii. 7) in the house of Agohya, perhaps the sun, apparently may represent the seasons: the 12 days may be merely a representation of the months of the year rather than 12 days added to bring a lunar year of 354 days up to a solar year of 366 days, neither of which is known to the Rigveda.[3] The 27 *nakṣatras* of the *Saṁhitās* after the Rigveda, and the 27 *gandharvas*, developed from the one *gandharva* normal in the Rigveda, indicate a scheme of 27 lunar mansions which may be borrowed from a Semitic source. The later *Saṁhitās* also present the numbers in the light of deities to whom offerings are made at the horse-sacrifice.

In the ritual there is a group of 7 *hotṛs*, from whom the conception of 7 *ṛṣis* may have been borrowed; the full *soma*-ritual, however, requires 16 arranged artificially in 4 groups of 4.[4] Though in the developed ritual all kinds of numbers appear, 3 remains very frequent, animal victims often being offered in threes, as at the horse-sacrifice; 7 or 3×7 stalks of *darbha*-grass are used; there are 7 layers or 21 bricks of the fire-altar. The number 3 is also important for the arrangements of the *soma*-sacrifice: there are 3 pressings, each accompanied by songs and recitations, 3 *soma*-tubs, and 3 sacrificial fires. Among the forms of chanting used the 3-fold, 15-fold, 21-fold, and 25-fold are prominent. The number 12 is also important; *soma*-sacrifices up to 12 days' length were classed as *ahīna*-sacrifices, those of 12 days might be either

[1] Traces of an earlier belief in 10 gods are seen by E. W. Hopkins, *Oriental Studies*, pp. 150–154; but for this view there are no adequate grounds.

[1] See A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology* (=*GIAP* III. i. A, Strassburg, 1897), pp. 67 ff., 93 f.

[2] H. Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, Berlin, 1894, p. 185 ff.; *ZDMG* xlix. [1895] 177 f., l. [1896] 50 ff.

[3] A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic Index*, London, 1912, ii. 413; Keith, *JRAS*, 1915, pp. 131–133.

[4] The Iranian ritual has 8; cf. Oldenberg, p. 383 ff.

ahīnas or *sattras*, and those above 12 days were *sattras*, based on the 12-day form as a norm. In the *Mahad Uktha* of the *Gavāmayana* ceremony the litany was made up of 3 sets of eighties of triplets. The number 7 is of importance in the marriage ritual in the form of the 7 steps which, when taken, render the marriage securely concluded. A period of 9 days' impurity follows after childbirth; the naming of the child on the 10th day ends the impurity. In the funeral rites, after a death the relatives in some cases had to sleep for 3 days on the ground; when the *pitṛmedha* was performed, the place of burial was thrice circumambulated, 3 stones were thrown into a hole in the ground, and 7 furrows were dug. The favourite day for offerings was the 8th of certain months, though the 9th was sometimes chosen.

Vedic magic is also full of references to 3, 7, and 21 as numbers; of special interest is the enumeration of 55, 77, and 99 in a charm in the Atharvaveda (vi. 25). In another passage (xix. 47) the numbers 11, 22, 33, 44, 55, 66, 77, 88, and 99 are enumerated, but their signification is obscure.[1] Mention is also made of 53 sorceries, 100 sorcerers, and 7 charms. The 55 and 77 may be compared with the 55 and 78 steeds offered at the horse-sacrifice by Bharata on the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā (*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIII. v. 4. 11).

(*b*) *Post-Vedic.* — Of the many mentions of number in post-Vedic religion and mythology only a few have any special characteristic. In the epic and in Manu[2] appears for the first time the doctrine of 4 ages: each has a dawn and a twilight of a tenth of its whole duration, and the periods of the main portions of the 4 are 4000, 3000, 2000, and 1000 years respectively, though the exact length of each year is obscure. The total is 12,000 years. The geography of the world is also stereotyped in the theory of 7 concentric continents,[3] and an elaborate doctrine of hells[4] is developed: the *Mārkaṇḍeya* and *Padma Purāṇas* give 7, the *Mahābhārata* 6, Manu and Yājñavalkya and the *Agni Purāṇa* 21, and the *Bhāgavata* and *Viṣṇu Purāṇas* 28. The importance of the number 4 appears in the definite acceptance of 4 Vedas and 4 orders of life in place of the simpler 3—student, householder, and ascetic—of the Vedic texts. The quarters now number 8 and are provided with deities, the 8 *lokapālas*. Moreover, the gods now appear in sculpture with more than a normal number of heads and arms. Brahmā is 4-headed, probably to signify his omniscience and omnipresence, which is an inheritance from Vedic conceptions of Puruṣa and Prajāpati. Śiva, again, has, besides 5 heads, 3 eyes, which may be connected with his epithet Tryambaka, 'having three mothers,' in Vedic texts. He has 1008 names to Viṣṇu's 1000. His names are, however, in practice usually 8 as against 9 in Vedic times. Viṣṇu's *avatars* are given at 10, 20, or 22, not with multiples of 3.

The triad of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva as creator, preserver, and destroyer of the universe is probably later than a conjunction of Viṣṇu and Śiva under the name Harihara, and in any case cannot be traced beyond the latest portions of the epic and the *Purāṇas*.[5] Nor does it appear ever to have been anything but a philosophic view.

(*c*) *Buddhist and Jain.*—In Buddhist literature we find frequent references to the gods as *tidasa* or *tāvatiṁsa*, 30 or 33. The former term is also used in the epic and probably must be explained as merely a more convenient expression for the 33 of the more regular use; that it means 13[1] is quite incredible. In the accounts of the Buddha the number 7 recurs with remarkable frequency: the new-born *bodhisattva* takes 7 steps (*SBE* xix. 3 f.); on a 7-gemmed ladder Buddha descends from heaven (*ib.* p. 241); there are 7 jewels of the Buddha (*ib.* xxxvi. 220), 7 sacred places at Vesāli and Rājagaha (*ib.* xi. 40, 56 ff.), 7 ramparts and 7 rows of palm-trees in King Sudassana's town, 7 terraces in the world Sukhāvatī, 7 kinds of instruments, 7 classes of minds, 7 acts which bear fruit even in this life; the earth shook 7 times at Vessantara's largesse; and there are even 7 Buddhas. This list, which could be indefinitely extended, is clear proof that the number 7 is as holy for the Buddhists as for India in general, and the fact that Buddhist hells are 4, 8, 16, and 32 by preference cannot be treated[2] as a real proof that 8 is the holy number of Buddhism in place of 7 of Hinduism, for 8 has otherwise no special appeal to Buddhism. The number 10 is found in the statement that Buddha is possessed of 10 noble states, 10 powers, understands 10 paths of *karma*, and is endowed with 10 attributes of *arhat*-ship (*ib.* xiii. 141 f.). The *Lalitavistara*[3] tells that Buddha left the Tuṣita heaven 12 years after it had been predicted that he would do so, and that he chose the 13th of the possible forms presented. More important, however, is the fact that Buddhism is devoted to enormous numbers, especially in the Mahāyāna school, but also quite markedly in the Hīnayāna, such numbers as 84,000[4] and multiples being quite common (*ib.* xi. 239, xvii. 1 ff., xxi. 1 ff., xlix. [ii.] 2 ff.).

Jainism, with its passion for systematizing, divides the gods into 4 classes, each assigned in definite numbers years of existence of colossal amount (*SBE* xxii. 222 ff.), and it arranges all its tenets under numerical categories in which every number is given full consideration. The 4 noble truths of Buddhism, a conception which has affinities in Indian medicine, are replaced by 9, while Buddhism lays stress on 3 in its triad of Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṅgha. The doctrine of 24 *tīrthakaras* in Jainism has a Buddhist analogue, and modern Jainism lays stress on the 4-fold character of the community as composed of monks and nuns and male and female lay adherents respectively.[5] The number 12 is found in the Buddhist doctrine of causation, where the number of members is so loosely constructed that it is not impossible that the desire to make up the full number had something to do with the production of the chain.

Buddhists and Jains alike share in the ordinary views of sacred numbers of other Indians: the mother of a Jain child is solemnly bathed on the 9th day after birth, the child's name is given on the 12th day, its hair is cut in the 3rd, 5th, 7th, or 9th month of its first year of life, and in the feeding ceremony performed by the maternal aunt the food is given 7 times.[6]

2. Iranian.—In Iranian literature the number 3 and its multiples appear together with 7, which is certainly more frequent in the later Pahlavi texts than in the Avesta. The conception of 3 worlds appears to be reflected in the form of the 3 heavens through which the soul ascends to Garōnmāna (*Yašt* xxii. 15), while a 9-fold division occurs in the 3 heavens, 3 intermediate spaces, and 3 hells. Yima is also said to have enlarged the earth by a third on 3 occasions (*Vendīdād*, ii. 11, 15, 19). But the *Yasna* (xxxii. 3) clearly recognizes 7 *karšvars*

[1] Oldenberg, p. 516.
[2] E. W. Hopkins, *Religions of India*, London, 1896, p. 418 ff.
[3] G. Thibaut, *Astronomie* (=*GIAP* iii. 9, Strassburg, 1889), p. 21.
[4] L. Feer, *JA*, 1893, i. 112 ff.
[5] Hopkins, *Rel. of India*, p. 457 ff.

[1] E. Böklen, *Die 'Unglückszahl' Dreizehn*, p. 4, n. 4.
[2] Hopkins, p. 478.
[3] See S. Lefmann's tr., Berlin, 1874, p. 11 ff.
[4] So also often in the *Purāṇas*.
[5] Mrs. S. Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, Oxford, 1915, p. 42.
[6] *Ib.* p. 194 f.

of earth, and it is impossible to prove either from the 10 kinds of men in the *Bundahišn* (xv. 5) or from a reduction of the 16 lands enumerated in the *Fargard* to 10[1] that 9 was the primitive number. From each of the 2 chief streams, in later Parsiism, 9 minor streams are derived. In the *Bundahišn* (i. 8 ff.) is found the doctrine of a world age of 12,000 years divided into 4 periods of equal length; in the *Ardā Vīraf* (18, 54), however, the period is 9000, while in Plutarch (*de Is. et Osir.* 47) it is 6000—which suggests that it is not of Aryan origin.[2]

Among the gods certain traces of triads can be found. Thus Ahura Mazdāh, Aša, and Vohu Manah stand in specially close association (*Ys.* xxx. 9, xxxiii. 6), and Artaxerxes Mnemon joins Ahura with Anāhita and Mithra in his inscriptions. Thraetaona is not to be dissociated from the Vedic Trita; he is credited with 3 sons. The demon, Azi Dahāka, overthrown by Thraetaona has 3 heads (*Yt.* v. 29), like the snake Srōbar, who has been compared with the 3-headed Kerberos. Later tradition saw in the 3 maidens mentioned in *Yt.* xiii. 141 f. the mothers of the 3 saviours—which has led to their being compared with the Norns.[3] Late texts ascribed a spirit to each of the 30 days of the month (*SBE* v. 401–406), and 33 lords of ritual order appear earlier (*ib.* xxxi. 198, 205). The 24 deities mentioned by Plutarch (*de Is. et Osir.* 47) appear to be unknown in Iranian texts.[4] According to the *Bundahišn* (xxx. 2 f.), when the end of the world comes near, one taste of consecrated food affords nourishment for 3 days and 3 nights, and in the last 10 years men need no food at all. For 90 days the heavenly powers contend with Ahriman, and after Keresāspa's death 99,999 *fravašis* guard his body (*Yt.* xiii. 61). The 4 regents in the heaven of the *Tištrya Yašt* are probably not primitive. The 7 planets and the 7 powers of the demon Aešma are only recorded late (*SBE* v. 108, 113), but the number of the Amesha Spentas as 7 is already foreshadowed in the close association of the 7 in the *Yasna* (xlv. 10, xlvii. 1).

In the ritual the purification of a woman after childbirth is produced by 3, 6, or 9 drinks of a certain preparation. Death in the house renders it necessary to extinguish the sacred fire for 9 days; the mourners follow the dead to within 90 paces of the burning place; a dog is taken 3, 6, or 9 times over the road along which the body is carried to make it pure. The priest murmurs thrice the 3 words, 'Good thought, good word, good deed.' In the 3 nights after death an account is made of merits and rewards, of faults and punishments.[5] For the pious man the Chinvat bridge extends to the breadth of 9 spear- or 27 arrow-lengths. Up to the 9th generation the sinner affects his descendants. The number 9 appears also in the ordinary sacrificial ritual: the *Vendīdād* (xxii. 20) records the offering of 9 bulls, 9 horses, 9 camels, and 9 of each male kind of lesser animal. The sacred *barsom* is made up of 3, 5, 7, or 9 bundles (*SBE* xxxi. 299). The *Vendīdād* (iii. 14) knows of 9 openings of the body, and (xxii. 2) of 9 diseases which are magnified to 99,999. The number 5 is of importance in so far as the Avestan doctrine recognizes 5 divisions of human personality,[6] but the number 12 is unimportant.

3. **Greek.**—In Greek religion and mythology the leading numbers are unquestionably 3, 9, and 12, which occur much more frequently than any others. Among the great gods indeed no triad is definitely to be found: the triad Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades (*Il.* xv. 193) seems poetical rather than religious, and there is no clear evidence that at Eleusis Zeus, Demeter, and Kore formed a trinity in close relationship.[1] But among the lesser divinities triads are not rare: 3 Horai appear on an old Spartan relief;[2] the Erinyes, Eumenides, or Semnai are 3 as early as Euripides (*Or.* 408); the number 9 in the Orphic *Theogony* (frag. 218) appears to be later. Though Hesiod (*Theog.* 273 f.) knows only 2 Graiai, they appear as 3 in Aischylos (*Prom. Vinct.* 795). Hesiod himself (*Theog.* 902) knows of 3 Horai, and the 3 nymphs mentioned by Longos (*Past.* ii. 23) were doubtless a popular view. We hear also of 3 forms of Aphrodite and 3 of Hera. By the time of Plato (*Gorg.* 523 ff.) Aiakos, Rhadamanthys, and Minos had become a triad of judges of the dead, and the number 3 appears often in the mythology, though that number is not specifically distinctive of either the Charites, of whom Homer seems to recognize many, or the Graiai.[3] The Muses are 9 in Hesiod (*Theog.* 77 ff.) and the *Odyssey* (xxiv. 60), though elsewhere their number appears as 2, 3, 4, or 7; the Korybantes and Kouretes also appear as 9. The same number appears in the years of exile allotted to Apollo and Herakles, and in the strange story recorded by Pliny (*HN* viii. 81) of the practice in the worship of Zeus Lykaios for a man of the family of Anthos to go and live for 9 years among the wolves as one of them. The same period of 9 years is allotted to the souls for purification in Pindar's eschatology (frag. 133).

The number 12 is not formally recorded of the gods in Homer, even in the late *Theomachia*; but Hesiod has 12 Titans (*Theog.* 133 ff.), and the *Homeric Hymn* (ii. 128) speaks of Hermes dividing into 12 pieces the two oxen which have been slain, implying a knowledge of the 12 gods. Later the view is accepted generally: Aristophon (*ap.* Athen. 563) represents Eros as a 13th god cast out from the circle of the 12, but Herakles is said to have refused to be included in the 12 since some other must be omitted to provide room for him (Diod. Sic. iv. 39). The narrative in Plato, *Phædr.* 247 A, implies 13 gods, and Philostratos (*Ep.* 39) declares that the Athenians added Eleos as the 13th god. The labours of Herakles are 12, and in the 13th generation he arises to set free Prometheus. The story of Odysseus is marked by the number 12: he has 12 ships (*Od.* ix. 159), he goes with 12 companions to the cave of Polyphemos (ix. 195), he shoots through 12 axes (xix. 573 f.), and has 12 women working at the mill (xx. 107). After 12 years Erichthonios is the supplanter of Amphiktyon (Apollod. III. xiv. 6). Of Neleus's 12 sons Nestor alone survives (*Il.* xi. 692). The children of Niobe are reckoned at 12 or 14. The number 13 appears in the tale of Ares being fettered for 13 months in a bronze jar in the *Iliad* (v. 387), and in the tale of the wooers of Hippodameia who were slain in seeking her hand.

The number 7 is confined to groups like the Pleiades or the stars of the constellation of the Great and Little Bear. The 50 sons and daughters of Selene and Endymion are possibly also of astronomical origin, the months of the Oktaeteris. E. Siecke[4] finds also in the 3 heads of Hermes, Hekate, Kerberos, the Lernæan hydra, and Skylla and in the birth of Hermes on the 4th day of the month allusions to the 3 days of no moon and its birth on the 4th day.

In the ritual 3 and 9 are favourite periods of time; thus offerings to the dead were made on the 3rd, 9th, or 30th day after death. For 9 days before the Thesmophoria women were required to observe strict chastity (Ovid, *Met.* x. 434). The

1 G. Hüsing, *Die iranische Überlieferung*, p. 27 ff.
2 J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, London, 1913, p. 408 ff.
3 Hüsing, p. 188.
4 Cf. Böklen, p. 86.
5 Moulton, p. 289.
6 *Ib.* p. 255 ff.

1 W. Ridgeway, *Dramas and Dramatic Dances of non-European Races*, Cambridge, 1915, p. 40 ff.
2 *GGA*, 1895, p. 312.
3 O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie*, Munich, 1906, p. 1088.
4 *Hermes der Mondgott*, pp. 13 ff., 63 ff.

Karneia, and the festivals known as Agogia and Katagogia of Aphrodite (Ælian, *de Nat. An.* iv. 2, *Var. Hist.* i. 15), were carried on for 9 days. Every third year, by inclusive reckoning, the Bacchic revels were normally held, and every 9 years, according to Plutarch (*Thes.* 15), the Athenians were compelled to send tribute to Minos, whose 9-yearly rule (*Od.* xix. 179) is a problem of much obscurity.[1] But Apollo's birthday was on the 7th of the month; he was also a 7-month child (Lucian, *Dial. Deorum*, ix. 2), and great festivals like the Karneia and Thargelia began on the 7th day, while there was a festival of 7 days' duration to Demeter Mysia of Pellene (Paus. VII. xxvii.). The older period of 9 days is, however, predominant in Homer; thus the king of Lycia entertains Bellerophon for 9 days and slays 9 oxen in his honour (*Il.* vi. 174), and for 9 days the Trojans are to mourn for Hektor (*Il.* xxiv. 664), as opposed to the 7-day periods of mourning for Adonis. In other points the same facts can be observed: the tripod and triaina are especially sacred; the first at least is clearly connected with 3, and the latter was so understood in classical Greek times, whatever its original sense. The same number appears in the important offering of 3 perfect male beasts—bull, ram, and boar—which was common from Homer (*Od.* xi. 130 f.) onwards especially in oaths (schol. *Il.* xviii. 197). The hekatomb was divided often into 3 classes of animals, and the funeral pyre was circumambulated 3 times (Dio Cass. lvi. 42). The number of victims was often 9; in Homer the hekatomb is already a mere description of a large sacrifice, and the largest described had 9 × 9 bulls (*Od.* iii. 7 ff.). At Mykonos an annual offering was made to Semele of which a ninth was given to the goddess and the rest consumed (Dittenberger, *Syll.* 615). In Homer (*Od.* xiv. 434 ff.), on the other hand, one out of 7 parts is given to Hermes and the nymphs and the rest eaten by Eumaios and the others. Selene was offered 6 *selenai*, or round cakes, with a 7th shaped like an ox (Poll. vi. 76); but that goddess had a special connexion with the number 7, and offerings of 7 animal victims are totally unknown, the evidence of Vergil (*Æn.* vi. 38 f.) being of no value for historical purposes.[2]

4. **Roman.**—In Roman religion a fairly important place is taken by the number 3, and, with the development of this religion, by multiples of 3. The oldest pantheon seems to have treated Juppiter, Mars, and Quirinus as the 3 chief; they appear as the gods with *flamines maiores*, as opposed to *flamines minores*, and they occur in conjunction in such solemn and ancient rites as the conclusion of treaties by the *fetiales* (Livy, viii. 9), the ritual of the Salii (Servius on *Æn.* viii. 663), the formula of *devotio* (Livy, viii. 9), and in the dedication of the *spolia opima* (Festus, p. 189). Similarly in the *Iguvine Tables* the three gods, Juppiter, Mars, and Vofionus, bear the name Grabovius apparently as a mark of their special rank among the Umbrians. Other triads are not primitive: the 3 Fates are Greek borrowings, Parca being originally a single goddess concerned with childbirth. The 9 Muses are also Greek, but 12 divine powers were invoked, according to Servius (on *Georg.* i. 21), at the offerings to Tellus and Ceres performed by the *flamen Cerialis* at the time of sowing. A formal list of the great gods as 12 is not found before 217 B.C., when a *lectisternium* to the 12, Juppiter, Juno, Neptunus, Minerva, Mars, Venus, Apollo, Diana, Volcanus, Vesta, Mercurius, and Ceres, was held and the number 12 introduced in imitation of the Greek practice (Livy, xxii. 10). The same number appears in the legend of Romulus, who took the place of the 12th son of Acca Laurentia, and who saw 12 vultures while Remus saw only 6. The *ancilia* were also 12.

The numbers 3 and 12 play a part in the priestly colleges which are so prominent in Roman religion.[1] The 3 *flamines maiores* had beside them 12 *flamines minores*. Of the *augures* and *pontifices* alike the original number seems to have been 3, raised first to 6, then by the *Lex Ogulnia* to 9, by Sulla to 15, and by Cæsar to 16. The classical number of the Vestal Virgins was 6 (Festus, p. 344), and it is doubtful what faith can be put in the odd tradition (Dion. Hal. ii. 67, iii. 67; Plut. *Num.* 10) that they were originally not 3, but 4; only quite at the end of the classical period do we find 7 or 10 mentioned. The *III. viri epulones*, instituted in 196 B.C., increased, through the stage of 7, to 10 in Cæsar's time. On the other hand, the Arvales were 12, the Salii 12+12, and the Luperci probably the same number. Those charged with the divinity of Rome were also 12. The *XV. viri sacris faciundis*, on the other hand, seem to have grown from 2 to 10 by 367 B.C. The Sibylline Books which were their care were, according to tradition, originally 9, but were reduced to 3 or 1 as a result of the slowness of King Tarquin to avail himself of the offer. As performers of dances in honour of the gods we hear of bands of 10 girls and 10 boys, or of 27 of either sex, as at the Ludi Seculares of Augustus. The Sodales instituted by Tiberius in honour of Augustus numbered 21 (Tac. *Ann.* i. 54)—a number later increased to 28.

In the ritual we find that vows were sometimes offered for 5, 10, or 20 year periods: thus the *ver sacrum* recorded in Livy (xxii. 10) was for the event of 5 years' success. The duration of religious festivals, originally fixed at one day, tended in the case of celebrations of victory to be extended from 2 or 3 to 10, 25, or 50 days. The number 9 appears in the *novemdiale sacrum*, which was regularly ordered when a shower of stones fell (Livy, i. 31, xxx. 38), the festival lasting for 9 days. The usage seems to have been no more than an extension to public life of the offerings of purification made on the 9th day after the birth of a child, when its name was given (Macr. I. xvi. 36), and when apparently the adoration of the *fata scribunda*, the writing Fates, mentioned by Tertullian (*de Anima*, 39) may have taken place,[2] and the sacrifice offered to the dead on the 9th day recorded by Porphyry (on Horace, *Epod.* xvii. 48). The use of the name in the last two cases can be explained only on the theory that the term applied originally to the whole period of impurity after birth or death respectively, which was brought to an end by the offering on the last day. On the *nundinæ* offerings were regularly made to Juppiter, according to Macrobius (I. xvi. 30); in that case, the reckoning being inclusive, the offering recurred every 8 days.

The amounts and numbers of victims varied. In the old offering to Mars and Silvanus for the welfare of the cattle (Cato, *de Agr.* 83) the offerings were 3 portions each of spelt and wine, and 4½ of lard and pulp. From the spoils of Camillus 3 golden vessels were dedicated in the temple of Juppiter (Livy, vi. 4). The offering of 27 Argei by throwing them from the Pons Sublicius into the Tiber is variously explained,[3] but the significance

[1] J. G. Frazer, *GB*[3], pt. iii., *The Dying God*, London, 1911, p. 70 ff., takes the period as 8 years.
[2] P. Stengel, *Opferbräuche der Griechen*, Leipzig, 1910, p. 222 ff

[1] G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], Munich, 1912, p. 503 ff.
[2] *Ib.* p. 235 f. With this rite may be compared the Indian belief that on the 6th day the fate of the child is written invisibly by the goddess of the day (Mrs. Stevenson, p. 193 f.).
[3] W. Warde Fowler, *Religious Experience of the Roman People*, London, 1911, pp. 54 ff., 321 ff.; *GB*[3], pt. v., *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, London, 1912, ii. 107 f.

of the number is the same in any case. Other numbers occurring are 20 (Livy, xl. 2), 40 (xliii. 13), 120 (xxx. 21), 300 (xxii. 10), and 50 (xlv. 16). In magic also the number 3 and its multiples are common; noteworthy are the *dodra*, a drink of 9 elements, mentioned by Ausonius (*Ep.* 86), 7 or 9 knots used in a magic rite reported by Pliny (*HN* xxviii. 48), and the rule of repeating a formula against gout 27 times recorded by Varro (*de Re Rust.* I. ii. 27). The number 9 in connexion with the *manes* occurs in Ovid, *Fast.* v. 439, 443.

5. Celtic.—In Celtic religion and mythology the number 3 is of very frequent occurrence, 9 and other multiples are not rare, and 7 is fairly often found, but, in the main at least, probably owing to Christian influence, and certainly so in works which were composed in their present form long after Christianity had worked upon the Celts. The number 3 is often connected with a group of goddesses known from many inscriptions found in Celtic areas on the Continent, the Matres or Matronæ, in whom has been seen an earth-goddess developed into 3 under the influence of a division of the year into 3 seasons.[1] As Nemetiales the Matres were divinities of the grove, as Campestres of the fields; they were specially worshipped by women, whom they protected. They survive in folklore as the *dames blanches*, as wise women, and as fairies. They are found in Roman Britain, once as the 3 Lamiæ, but whether of indigenous origin is uncertain; in Ireland the conception seems attested by the legends of 3 Brigits and 3 Morrigans, and perhaps also in the legend of the 3 wives of the 3 kings of Ireland who asked that that country should bear their names. Another triad is to be seen in the figure on a Paris altar of a woodman cutting down a tree,[2] the branches of which are carried round to the next side of the altar, on which is a bull with 3 cranes; the woodman is the god Esus, who with Taranis and Teutates is mentioned by Lucan (i. 444), but there is no evidence that these three ever formed a real triad of great gods among any branch of the Celts. A 3-headed or 3-faced god, perhaps Cernunnos, is found represented on several altars in France. In myth the number 3 is found in every form; the sun-[3] or vegetation-[4] hero Cúchulainn has hair of 3 colours, he bathes in 3 baths, the heat from his body melts the snow for 30 feet around him; the 3 blemishes of the women of Ulster arise from love of him; he steals the 3 cows of Mider; he is slain through the agency of the 3 sons and 3 daughters of Calatin; his body is buried under the 3 flagstones of Lugaid's courtyard; in one version his feats are numbered as 27. Medb, queen of the west, had 3 brothers, the white ones of Emain, and 2 sisters; Gwydir is one of the 3 herds of Britain; we hear also of 3 landless monarchs, 3 holy clans, 3 astrologers; Manannan is one of 3 golden cordwainers of Britain; he is reputed to have 3 legs, and banishes 3 men from fairy-land to the Irish court of Tara, to remain there for 3 reigns as a punishment for lying or injustice. The Fians are numbered as 3000, divided into smaller bodies of 100, 50, and 9, under captains.

The number 9 appears in the myth of Manannan, who is submerged by 9 waves but rises on the 10th; he has 9 daughters. Medb always needed 9 chariots, and the doors of the palace in which Conaire was slain were 9. There are 9 porters at the 9 gates of Yspadaden Pencawr, in the story of Kulhwch and Olwen. Peredur vanquished the 9 witches of Gloucester; 9 maidens fed with their breath the fire beneath the cauldron of the Head of Hades; in the Irish story 9 sacred hazels grow over the well of wisdom. Niall has 9 hostages, Fedelm 9 forms or hearts, Forgall perhaps 9 tricks. In art we find a god represented with a ring to which are attached 9 symbols of S shape.[1] The number 7 is in comparison of little importance: the step of Arthur causes 7 years' sterility; Bres grows twice as fast as other children until he is 7; for 7 years the magic birds of Rhiannon charm Bran's companions; at 7 Cúchulainn takes Conchobar's weapons and overcomes 3 champions; he has 7 eye-pupils; he also fought the waves for 7 days; there are 7 daughters of the sea, and one legend tells that a child set floating on the waves every 7 years keeps them in their place. There are 7 or 8 Maine, and 8 officers of Arthur's court, 7 of whom serve under one.

For other numbers there is little evidence; round the image of Cenn Cruaich were 12 others,[2] but this is an isolated case. For 13 days Nuada resigns his throne to Lug. More significant is the custom recorded of the Galati by Strabo (xii. 5. [p. 567]), according to which 12 priest-kings were with 300 others concerned in the great assemblies held in the Drunemetum. The initiation of the Irish Filé lasted from 7 to 12 or even 20 years (Cæsar, *de Bell. Gall.* vi. 14). The number 4 occurs in the story of Kulhwch and Olwen, from whose footsteps sprang 4 white trefoils, in the legend of the 4 dimples of Cúchulainn, and in the 4 kisses of Oengus which turned into birds to haunt the youth of Erin. Mention is made in the story of Olwen of the 24 sons of Custennin slain by their uncle, with whom may be compared 24 ladies released by Owein ab Urien.[3] Of larger numbers may be mentioned the 3×50 islands to the west of Erin which occur in the story of Bran, the same number of queens who loved Cúchulainn, and the 300 years spent by Oisin in Elysium.

Of the ritual so little is recorded that it is not surprising that numbers are not prominent; it was, however, customary to perform the *deasil*, or ceremonial circumambulation, 3 times, and there are many traces of numbers as used in magic: thus 3 berries of one tree make a man young, while one berry is an equivalent of 9 whole meals. From the grave of Diancecht, the Irish god of medicine, grew 365 healing plants, doubtless one for each day of the year,[4] and Diodorus (v. 32) mentions a great quinquennial human sacrifice.

6. Teutonic.—Throughout Teutonic mythology and religion there are clear traces of the importance of 3 and its multiples, especially 9. There is some evidence for a belief in 9 worlds and 9 heavens; to Valhalla are ascribed 540 doors, and Asgard is not merely divided into 12 or 13 spheres, but, according to Honorius of Augustodunum, appears to have consisted of 3 heavens with 9 spheres each.[5] More unequivocal is the evidence regarding the gods: there was a distinct tendency to group the 3 chief deities together; Cæsar (vi. 21) speaks of Sol, Luna, and Vulcanus as worshipped by the Germans; Tacitus (*Germ.* 2) tells of the origin of the tribes of Ingævones, Istævones, and Erminones from Mannus; in the 3 names have been seen designations of Tius, or of Nerthus, Wodan, and Tius respectively. In *Germ.* 9 he speaks of the worship of Mercurius, Mars, and Hercules, in whom we are, no doubt, to see Wodan, Tius, and Thor respectively. The heathen Saxons, when required to abjure their gods in A.D. 776,

[1] J. A. MacCulloch, *Religion of the Ancient Celts*, Edinburgh, 1911, p. 44.
[2] S. Reinach, *RCel* xviii. [1897] 254 ff.
[3] J. Rhys, *Celtic Heathendom*, London, 1888, p. 481 ff.
[4] MacCulloch, p. 139 f.

[1] S. Reinach, *Bronzes figurés de la Gaule romaine*, Paris, 1900, p. 33.
[2] J. Loth, *RCel* xxv. [1904] 157.
[3] Rhys, p. 491 f., sees in them the 24 hours of the day.
[4] So at the Daphnephoria 365 purple ribands signified the days of the year (Proclus, *ap.* Phot. *Bibl.* p. 321).
[5] Cf. K. Weinhold, *Die mystische Neunzahl bei den Deutschen*, p. 52 f.

abjured Thuner, Woden, and Saxnot, the last being the Saxon appellation of Tius. At Upsala Adam of Bremen (iv. 27) tells of the worship of Thor, Odin, and Freyr, the equivalent there of Tius. Other triads are also known, but doubtless are less primitive—those of Odin and his two brothers, Veli and Ve, of Odin, Hœnir, and Loki, and of Har, Jafnhar, and Thridi. The last combination, the final member of which has been compared with the Vedic Trita, is late, and doubtless not uninfluenced by the doctrine of the trinity.[1] More primitive are the 3 Norns and the 3 swan-maidens; and the Valkyries sometimes go in threes. The stones on which Loki is bound to undergo the penalty of slaying Balder are also 3.

While there is no set of 9 recorded for the high gods, lesser divinities are not rarely thus grouped: there are 9 daughters of Aegir, 9 mothers of Heimdall, 9 daughters of Odin; the *Beowulf* (575) mentions 9 sea-monsters, and 9 is a frequent number of spirits of various kinds—ghosts, elves, and so forth. The Valkyries are sometimes 9; they consort with men for 7 years, probably a later variant of the 9 years which the swan-maidens may spend with men. For 9 days men remain werwolves, and leave the skin on the 10th day, according to the *Volsunga Saga* (8); other accounts make the condition last 3, 7, or 9 years. Tyrr's wife has 900 heads, and the sun wheel seems to have been thought of as having 9 spokes.[2] After slaying the serpent in the last battle of the gods, Thor goes 9 steps before he dies.

The number 12 for the gods is not found before the late Edda, where it occurs in the *Hyndlalied* (30).[3] The *Gylfaginning* (14) speaks of 12 seats for the gods with one for the All-father. The Norns also appear later as 12, the Valkyries as 13 or 27. The 12 knights and 12 nuns of Kreuzburg[4] seem to be based on the doctrine of 12 gods. The number 12 occurs in other connexions: Mimir has 12 workers under him; heroes are ascribed the strength of 12 men.

For the ritual there is the important evidence of Thietmar of Merseburg, who (i. 9) gives an account of New Year sacrifice at Ledra in Denmark, at which every 9 years 99 men, horses, dogs, and cocks were offered, and of Adam of Bremen, who (iv. 27) describes a spring festival held every 9 years at Upsala, in which 9 of each male kind were offered. It is possible in each case, but not recorded, that the sacrifice lasted 9 days. The *Ynglinga Saga* (29) tells of the Swedish king Aun or Ani who offered his 9 sons, one every 9 years, to Odin to secure long life; the people prevented his offering a 10th son, so that the king died. We hear also of the use of cakes of 9 constituents in the ritual. The name of a child was given on the 9th day after birth, when it became a subject of *wergeld* (*Lex Sal.* xxiv. 4, xli. 10). After death the souls returned on the 3rd or 9th day, and feasts for the dead seem to have been held on the 3rd, 6th, or 9th day after death; spirits rove about at the 3rd, 9th, or 12th hour.

Diseases are numbered variously as 3, 9, 70, 72, 77, and 99. Plants used against them are often counted as 9, while a single plant is stated to have 9-fold strength. The number 9 repeatedly occurs in magic and divination, often beside 3. It figures also in the ordeal, where 9[5] ploughshares are used as the test, and appears in many prescriptions of law, as in the numbers 9 and 12 for witnesses and judges. In all these cases traces of the substitution of 7 for 9 under Christian influence are found.

7. **Slavic.**—In the scanty records of Slavic religion and in the mythology there are clear signs of preference for the numbers 3 and 9, 7 being due to Christian influence. Among the ancient Prussians, at their chief sacred place, Romove, in the niches of the sacred oak were placed images of the 3 chief gods, of whom Perkunos, the thunder-god, was the most important.[1] Other evidence speaks of 3, 9, or 27 Pehrkoni as Lithuanian deities. With the last number may be compared the 27 lands or 30 kingdoms which occur often in Russian folk-tales.[2] The Serbian hero Balatchko, like the Celtic Cernunnos, is believed to have had 3 heads, and the same account is given of Pegam of Carniola. The Russian folk-hero, Fjodor Tugarin, watches for 3 days without sleeping 12 mares belonging to an old woman; he accomplishes this task with the aid of 3 grateful beasts, and is rewarded by the gift of a foal which grows up in 3 days. Another story tells of Ivan, the cow son, who by the aid of 12 smiths compels a dragon, who has sons with 3, 8, and 9 heads, to disgorge his two brothers whom in the shape of a sow she had swallowed. The number 12 occurs frequently in other folk-tales in conjunction with 3 and 9. Among the Letts the conception of the Parcæ is not found as a trinity; a late legend reported in 1839 tells of 7 goddesses, of whom 3 spin the life of men, the fourth tells tales to divert the spinners and shorten the duration of life, the fifth exhorts to industry, the sixth cuts the threads, and the seventh washes the garment and gives it to the most high god, and it becomes the man's winding-sheet.[3] The Bulgarian Samodévy have affinities with both the 3 Fates and the 3 swan-maidens.

8. **Signification of numbers.**—The evidence cited shows clearly that 3 and 9 are Aryan numbers, and suggests that they had definite sacred associations before the development of the different branches of the family, though it is possible that the development of the sacred character of the numbers is later and independent. The explanation of the choice of these numbers is doubtful. The most popular theory appears to be that which derives the use from reckoning of time by weeks of 9 days, 3 of which make up, with 3 *epagomenai*, a full synodic month. Hüsing,[4] who takes this view, explains the choice of a week of 9 days as due to the effect of the 3 *epagomenai* which led to the division of the visible phases of the moon by 3, with the result of 3 weeks of 3×3 days. The existence of this week as a division of time derived from observation of the moon is open to serious doubt; it is supposed to be supported by the Latin *nundinæ*, but that week was one of 8 days only, the reckoning involved in the term *nundinæ* being due to the fact that the Romans reckoned inclusively the date of the market-day from the previous market-day; moreover, the Romans carried on the system of reckoning without regard to the fact that it never did coincide with the movements of the moon. Rhys,[5] who accepts for the Celts a week of 9 nights and 8 days, which he compares with the *nundinæ*, though we have no evidence that the *nundinæ* were ever so conceived, admits that such a week has no reference to the moon. For other Aryan peoples there is no evidence[6] in favour of the 9-day week except what is deduced from its appearance in religion and custom

[1] W. Golther, *Germanische Mythologie*, Leipzig, 1895, p. 355.

[2] In sun spells the number 9 is very often found in both Teutonic and Celtic records; see *GB*[3], pt. vii., *Balder the Beautiful*, London, 1913, i. 155, 172, 201, 271, 278.

[3] Golther, p. 199 f.

[4] Böklen, p. 25 f. This may be Slavic in origin.

[5] In late Indian use the number 7 is normal; in Irân 6 and 33 ordeals are known; for 9 cf. the years of punishment of an oath-breaker in Hesiod, *Theog.* 801.

[1] J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, tr. J. S. Stallybrass, Oxford, 1882–88, i. 171 ff.

[2] A. N. Afanassjew, *Russische Volksmärchen*, Germ. tr. by Anna Meyer, Vienna, 1906, no. 39.

[3] Grimm, i. 416, n. 2. [4] P. 20. [5] P. 360 ff.

[6] For Greece see Gruppe, p. 940.

as a period of solemnity, and this use need not, of course, be in any way connected with a reckoning of time. Böklen[1] holds that the origin of the use is to be traced to the fact that the period from the last quarter of the moon to the appearance of the first sickle of the new moon is 9 days; it would be convenient to reckon from the last quarter in order to predict the appearance of the new moon, which it would be difficult to observe if the sky was obscured. He supports this view by the fact that the word 'nine' (Skr. *návan*) may be connected with 'new' (Skr. *náva*), and that in magic practices it is common to count backwards from 9 to 1—which has certain analogues in the Greek and Roman calendars. Moreover, in many myths a decided issue is arrived at with the 9th or 10th day, 10 being a variant reckoning of the period in question. The grounds adduced are clearly far from strong, and it is in this view hardly sufficiently recognized that the number 9 is constantly used in places where 3 is also used: a good example of this is the Vedic recognition of 9 worlds, which is clearly based on the assignment to each of the 3 of 3 divisions. In this sense it may safely be said that many nines are merely developments of primitive threes, and the problem reduces itself to the origin of the sanctity of 3. This is hardly to be traced to a reduction from the number 12, or to the 3 *epagomenai*, or, as suggested by Böklen for stories of the Trita type, the full moon, waning half-moon, and last visible moon phase, but may rather owe its importance to the fact that it is in the Aryan languages which distinguish a dual the first expression of plurality; this may be enough to explain its prominence in all forms of religious and secular life.

The number 7 has certainly in many cases in Celtic, Teutonic, and Slavic myth superseded an older 9, nor is it reasonable to doubt that this is directly due to the influence of the Jewish and, later, Christian week; there is clear evidence that in the 1st cent. B.C. at latest there had sprung up in Rome the use of a week in which the names of the days were given according to the planets,[2] and the fact that the days of the week in Teutonic mythology are heathen names suggests that the 7-day week was received before Christianity. But the theory that 7 is due to Babylonian influence—apart from the fact that the 7-day week is not proved for Babylon—is open to the serious objection that 7 is a favourite number in the Rigveda, and that it must therefore be assumed that this number was borrowed at a very early period by the Vedic Indians from a Semitic source; but this is improbable in the absence of any other clear indication of Semitic influence on the Rigveda. Hüsing and Böklen agree in seeing in the 7-day week a week based on the phases of the moon, making up a month of 4 weeks+2 days, in the view of the former, while, in the opinion of the latter, the origin of the choice of 7 is that, when the period of 9 days takes the place of the last quarter, the remaining part of the month naturally falls into 3 sets of 7 days. Neither explanation is convincing, and, as the Vedic Indians did not know the 7 planets,[3] and, though they knew 7 *ṛṣis*, these were not stars in the Rigveda period, the question of the origin of the sacred character of 7 must probably remain unsettled.

The numbers 12 and possibly 7, if taken as 6+1, are usually ascribed to Babylonian influence, and brought into conjunction with the sexagesimal reckoning which is indicated by the forms of the numbers for 11, 12, and 70 in Gothic, and of which traces are seen in the Latin use of *sexaginta* and *sescenti* as indefinite numbers;[1] in the ship catalogue in the *Iliad* numbers like 12, 60, and 90 are found; 12 is prominent in Odysseus's adventures, and 360 as a round number appears in the total of Eumaios's swine. But too much stress must not be laid on this evidence; 12 is found in the Rigveda in connexion with the months of the year, and this is most probably the significance of the 12 *ādityas* of the *Brāhmaṇas*. By far the most plausible explanation of 12 is its connexion with the months, and of the sexagesimal system the 360 days of the year, also Rigvedic, and there is no ground to ascribe either 12 or 360 in the Rigveda to Semitic origin.[2] Other theories of the origin of 12 are the 12 *epagomenai* added to make up a year of 354 days to 366, itself probably a late conception derived from the 12 months, or the 12 signs of the zodiac, which are clearly quite late. Böklen, however, insists that the 12 are moon phases, that the idea goes back to neolithic times, but was probably developed by the Babylonians, who transferred it into a solar method of reckoning. He supports his theory by insisting that it offers the best explanation of the unlucky character of 13, which, however, if early, as is most improbable,[3] can equally well be explained by the unsettled character of the 13th month seen already in the Rigveda (I. xxv. 8), and of its frequent alternation with 12, the alternation of 12 with 14, with 16, with 24—the phases being counted as double, and the full moon being omitted—with 27, and with 40 (*i.e.* 30+10). He also derives the number of months, or *epagomenai*, and the figures of the zodiac from this source. But all these hypotheses lack solid grounds; the only clearly lunar number is 27 in the case of the Indian *nakṣatras*, which may be Semitic in origin, but are not found in the Rigveda.

LITERATURE.—The following are the more important of recent works on numbers in Aryan religion: E. W. Hopkins, 'The Holy Numbers of the Rigveda,' *Oriental Studies*, Boston, 1894, pp. 141–159; H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, 'Les Nombres trois et neuf, sept et cinquante, dans la littérature homérique et chez les Celtes,' *RTP* xiii. [1898] 289–298; H. Diels, *Sibyllinische Blätter*, Berlin, 1890; E. Wölfflin, *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1884–1909, ix. 177 ff., 333 ff.; W. H. Roscher, 'Die Sieben und Neunzahl im Kultus und Mythen der Griechen,' *ASG* xxiv. [1904], 'Die Tessarakontaden und Tessarakontadenlehren der Griechen und anderer Völker,' *Berichte der phil.-hist. Klasse der königl. sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, lxi. [1909]; K. Weinhold, *Die mystische Neunzahl bei den Deutschen*, Berlin, 1897; W. Schultz, 'Gesetze der Zahlenverschiebung im Mythen und in mythenhaltigen Überlieferung,' *Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, xxx. [1900]; E. Siecke, *Hermes der Mondgott*, Leipzig, 1908; G. Hüsing, *Die iranische Überlieferung und das arische System*, do. 1909; E. Böklen, *Die 'Unglückszahl' Dreizehn und ihre mythische Bedeutung*, do. 1913; H. Hirt, *Die Indogermanen*, Strassburg, 1907, pp. 535–539; H. Usener, *Rhein. Museum*, lviii. [1903] 1 ff., 161 ff., 321 ff.

A. B. KEITH.

NUMBERS (Semitic).—**1. Scope of term 'Semitic.'**—In his *Vergleichende Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen* (Berlin, 1898) H. Zimmern exhibits five comparative lists of the numbers 1–10 (p. 179), in Assyrian, Aramaic, Hebrew, Arabic, and Ethiopic, all of which show marked similarity. The first three of these may be considered as falling within the scope of this article. He further presents the oldest forms of the names of these numbers, now reduced to a single list (p. 181), and finds that Egyptian shows analogy to this in respect of the numbers 2, 6, 7, 8, and 9, but that 1, 3, 4, 5, and 10 are altogether different. On philological grounds, therefore, we should be justified in leaving Egyptian in a neutral position, the difference being equal to the agreement. G. A. Barton (*A Sketch of Semitic Origins*, New York, 1902, p. 170; cf. *EBi* iii. 3434) classes the Hamito-Semitic system of number as one, being decimal or

[1] P. 84 ff. [2] Gruppe, p. 960 ff.
[3] A. B. Keith, *JRAS*, 1911, pp. 794–800; cf. E. Meyer, *Gesch. des Altertums*, Stuttgart, 1913, I. ii. 588, 878.

[1] H. Hirt, *Die Indogermanen*, p. 535 ff.
[2] Macdonell and Keith, ii. 128 f.
[3] Keith, *JRAS*, 1916, pp. 350–355.

quintal, in opposition to the sexagesimal system of the earlier Babylonians. Comparison of the system of signs used to express numbers also reveals a considerable degree of likeness between Egyptian and Aramaic notation. We may add to the latter Hebrew,[1] since there are grounds for believing that signs were in use among the Hebrews, although, it is true, their Scriptures reproduce numbers only by words. The ostraka discovered at Samaria show signs and words in combination, the ninth and tenth years being spelt in full, and two others, apparently the eleventh and the thirteenth, always expressed by figures (D. G. Lyon, in the *Harvard Theological Review*, iv. [1911] 138). S. R. Driver remarks that, on the supposition that their numbers were not written in full, but expressed by symbols, 'the ancient Hebrews, it is reasonable to suppose, would have adopted a system similar to that in use amongst their neighbours, found equally in Phœnician, Palmyrene, Nabatæan, and Old Aramaic inscriptions, and used also in Syriac' (*Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*[2], Oxford, 1913, p. 97, n. 2). We shall subsequently note the leading features in this notation by means of symbols, which was current among the W. Semitic peoples who made use of the decimal (or quintal) system of numeration. But in the first place it is necessary to look more closely at the sexagesimal system of Babylonia (E. Semitic, it may be termed), which at all times had a good claim to be regarded as decimal also,[2] and which in the course of centuries came to be closely approximated to the purely decimal system of adjacent lands to the west and south.

2. Babylono-Assyrian (or E. Semitic) notation.—A flood of light has been cast on the earlier stages of the science of numbers by the discoveries at Nippur, the results of which, in so far as they are relevant to our purpose, have been set forth by H. V. Hilprecht (*The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, 1906, vol. xx. pt. i. chs. ii. and iii.) in a treatise to which every student of the subject acknowledges his indebtedness.[3] To deal only with the 'mathematical' tablets, excluding the 'metrological' (ch. iii.)—they show for the most part a series of multiplication and division tables, symbolically represented. Such terms as are necessary to supplement the symbols are derived from the Sumerian language, which suggests that the whole numerical system was derived from the older civilization of Sumer and Akkad. It may, indeed, be affirmed that the sexagesimal-decimal system of the Semitic Babylonians is in reality Sumerian. The list of these terms as given by Hilprecht (p. 23) includes: A-DU (=×), 'times'; A-AN, rendering a number distributive; IGI-GAL (='denominator,' used to express a fraction); LAL (=−), 'minus'; SI-A (=+), 'plus'; IB-DI, 'square'; and BA-DI-E, 'cube.'

The lists of multiplication tables actually known to Hilprecht from the Temple School and Temple Library of Nippur number from 44 to 46. All the integers from 1 to 9 are used as a basis, with the exception of 7, *i.e.* all the numbers which are divisors of 60 or its powers. Generalizing, it is found that the tables range from 2×1 to 180,000 ×1, and that they are all related to 60^4, or 3600^2, which is 12,960,000. In the sexagesimal system the numbers 60, 600, and 3600 bear special names, viz. *soss*, *nêr*, and *šar*, corresponding to units, tens, and hundreds among ourselves, or, more accurately, to tens, hundreds, and thousands.

[1] Josephus (*Ant.* I. viii. 2) credits Abram with having communicated arithmetic to the Egyptians.

[2] A. Jeremias (*The OT in the Light of the Ancient East*, London, 1911, i. 63) holds that both systems are of pre-historic origin.

[3] See the remarks of T. G. Pinches, in *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*, Leipzig, 1909, p. 77.

The symbols employed for the units are upright wedges (𒁹), combined in such a way as immediately to suggest the number for which they stand. Tens and multiples of 10 are represented by oblique wedges or 'crotchets' (𒌋) up to 50. With the *soss* (60) the upright wedge used for absolute units is renewed, each wedge standing for a multiple of 60. The value to be attached is determined by the position of the upright wedges relatively to the smaller numbers, *i.e.* tens and units, following them. Intermediate tens are represented by a combination of upright and oblique wedges—*e.g.*, 𒌋𒐗 = 70; 𒐐𒌋𒌋 = 140. The *nêr* has, as a rule, its own symbol (𒐘), and likewise the *šar* (𒐕), although the oblique wedge alone, by virtue of its position in the scale, can do duty for 600, and the upright wedge alone for 3600, and the series can be continued indefinitely, thus:

𒁹 𒌋 𒁹 𒌋 𒁹 𒌋 𒁹 𒌋

12,960,000 2,160,000 216,000 36,000 3600 600 60 10 1

As an example of how the system works out,[1] the following (Hilprecht, no. 16, l. 24 rev.) may be given:

𒐐𒐐𒌋𒌋𒌋 A-DU (=×) 𒐐𒐐𒌋𒌋𒌋 = 𒐐𒐐𒌋𒌋𒌋𒐕𒐐𒐗

i.e. 1 *nêr* + 2 *soss* + 3 tens × do. = 156 *šar* + 1 *nêr* + 5 *soss*, or, by the above series:

12 *soss*

i.e. 600 + 2 × 60 + 30 × do. = 2 × 216,000 + 3 × 36,000 + 6 × 3600 + 1 × 600 + 5 × 60

(*i.e.* 750 × do.)

i.e. 562,500 = 562,500.

Owing to the absence of the 'zero' in the Babylonian system, there is, according to our idea, an element of ambiguity present. It is difficult to know whether absolute units or *soss*-units are dealt with, and it is only by reference to the context (as in the above example) that the truth can be ascertained. The ambiguity is not found in later texts, where the *soss* symbol never terminates a number and the rule as stated above is strictly adhered to. In early texts, however, the *soss* is found at the end, even in numbers relatively small. Thus, A. Poebel (*Historical Texts*, Philadelphia, 1914, p. 190, n. 1; cf. plates xx., xxi.) gives 5700 = 3600 + 3 × 600 + 5 × 60. The *soss* in this instance is indicated by a horizontal instead of a vertical wedge. On the same tablet (no. 34) can be seen the circles and semi-ellipses out of which the conventional wedges arose. The *nêr* is composed of a horizontal wedge followed by a semi-ellipse, and the tens are complete circles.

A. T. Clay (*The Babylonian Expedition of the Univ. of Penn.*, ser. A, xiv. [1906] 16 f.) informs us that 'in the pre-Sargonic period, when the circle had the value ten, and the semi-elliptical impression stood for one, it is very likely that the upper end of the stylus was round; and that it was used to make the numerals. The circle was made by pressing the stylus perpendicularly into the soft clay; and the semi-elliptical by leaning it lengthwise, as in writing.'

An interesting number given by Poebel in the tablet referred to is 5864 (col. 20, 10), which is made up of 6000—(2 × 60 + 10 + 6). That is, the LAL sign (= −) is employed, covering 2 *nêrs*, 1 ten, and 6 units. As a rule the LAL has a much more restricted use than this, entering into the number 19 principally; 19 is 20 LAL 1, which, appearing in our type as 21 − LAL, is apt to be mistaken for 20—another evidence, as it seems, of the disadvantage arising from the want of 'zero.'[2] It should be noted that in lists where we make the entry '0,' as an alternative to leaving blank, the Babylonians in some cases make use of the sign *ul*, meaning 'not,' 'nothing.'

It will readily be seen that the Babylonians (or rather the Sumerians), by employing the *soss* (60)

[1] It is unsuccessfully applied by D. W. Myhrman in *The Babylonian Expedition of the Univ. of Penn.*, ser. A, vol. iii. [1910] pt. i. p. 68, n. 2. In this instance the true sign of *nêr* is given, as can be proved by means of three partial totals in the body of the text.

[2] On this point see C. H. W. Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, Cambridge, 1898–1901, ii. 190.

as a secondary unit, obviated in a measure the difficulty, real to them as to other nations of antiquity, arising from fractions. Fractions, and symbols denoting fractions, were certainly in use,[1] but chiefly in metrological series, where they had reference to higher and to standard units, of which they formed an exact part. For this reason they have a claim to be regarded as integral.[2] In dealing with fractions of a *šar*, *e.g.*, the Babylonians expressed these by integers, as may be seen in the highly interesting tablet translated by Hilprecht[3] and submitted to competent American and European mathematicians for solution of the problem attaching to it. The difficulty still remains, but Hilprecht himself seems really to have reached the solution by bringing what appear to be integers into fractional relation to the *šar*. Thus, 720 standing opposite 125 would seem to denote that the latter number consists of 2 *soss* and 5 over. In relation to the *šar* this 5 is $\frac{5}{3600}=\frac{1}{720}$, in our notation, expressed in the tablet, however, by 720. What is written presents a grave difficulty, but the speech of teachers and pupils may have made everything quite clear. All the tablets of this class appear to be of the nature of ready-reckoners.

The question arises, Why was 60 chosen as a basal unit? Its use in astronomy is apparent, but which is 'earlier' and which 'later' cannot be determined.[4] According to S. Langdon (*Lectures on Babylonia and Palestine*, Paris, 1906, p. 79), the sexagesimal system is probably based on the fact that in the human form there were about 60 finger-breadths from the nose to the fingers. We have already indicated the practical value of selecting a number which is divisible by the first quintette of units: it saved the complication arising from fractions. This would be still more true of 60^4, or 12,960,000, the number underlying all the known tables of multiplication and division. The results thereby gained, which doubtless were committed to memory, formed so many *points d'appui*, and from the known the unknown could be reached. Intermediate primary numbers could be dealt with by aid of the recognized tables of composite numbers, standing in obvious relationship to the sexagesimal unit or system. Thus 31^2 was calculated from 30^2 (a member of the 60^4 series), by means of the binomial theorem, which Hilprecht maintains must have been known to the Babylonians in some form or other.[5] There is, indeed, another use underlying the number 60^4, but this can be more appropriately discussed under the heading of 'Sacred numbers' (see below, § 5).

When we come to study the numerical system of the classical period of Babylono-Assyrian literature, which includes the annals of the great kings, we find that the reckoning by *šars* and *nērs* has given place to the decimal system, the *soss* remaining as a kind of relic of antiquity. In Tiglath-Pileser I.'s Annals (*c.* 1100 B.C.) 4000 is written as 4 followed by the sign for 'thousand' (𒈫, *limu*), while 60 and 120 continue as 1 *šu-ši*, 2 *šu-ši* (*soss*). In the Annals of Ašur-naṣir-pal III. (885–860 B.C.) 260 is written as 2 followed by the sign for 'hundred' (𒁹, *meat*) +1 *šu-ši* (*soss*) (col. i. 64). The number deported from Samaria (722 B.C.) is given as 27,290, made up of 27 thousand + 2 hundred + 60 + 30. Out of the 46 strong cities round Jerusalem Sennacherib brought away 200,150 men, expressed by 𒐖 𒁹 𒈫 𒐖 𒁹 (=2 × 100 × 1000 + 1 × 100 + 50).

Ordinal numbers are readily distinguished by the addition of the sign 𒅖 (*kan*, *kám*) to the cardinals. The names of the ordinals 3–14 are found spelt out at length in one of the Tell el-Amarna tablets (Brit. Mus. no. 82), which was evidently prepared for educational purposes[1]—an instructive instance of how the names of numbers are recovered. Even yet there are gaps left, as an examination of any grammar will disclose.[2] The degree of similarity between the E. and W. Semitic names for numbers, and the grammatical laws governing them, can be ascertained by reference to H. Zimmern's *Vergleichende Grammatik*, already quoted. The Assyrian word for 'thousand' (*limu*) is the only noteworthy exception, standing as it does without any analogous form in W. Semitic. The word there employed (*'alāf*, *'élef*) has lately given rise to much discussion through the attempt made by W. M. Flinders Petrie (*Researches in Sinai*, London, 1906, p. 208 ff.) to reduce the numbers of the children of Israel, on the strength of the similarity between the words for 'thousand' and 'family' or 'sept.'[3] The Sumerian names of the numbers 1–9 will be found in F. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Lesestücke*[4], Leipzig, 1900, p. 111 n.

3. Aramaic notation. — The other system of notation with which we are here concerned is the W. Semitic, which we shall call by the specific term 'Aramaic.' It may be linked to the Babylono-Assyrian through the nexus afforded by the 'Aramaic endorsements'[4] found on business tablets. According to J. H. Stevenson (*Assyrian and Babylonian Contracts*, New York, 1902, p. 27), the signs found in the inscriptions of the British Museum tablets examined by him are:

𒐕=1, 𒐖=2, 𒐗=3, 𒐖 𒐕=5, 𒐘=5, 𒐗 𒐕=6, 𒐘 𒐕=6, 𒐖 𒐗 𒐕=7, 𒐖 𒐘=7; 𒐙, 𒐚=40.

The point calling for attention in this table is the alternative sign introduced at the quintal stage. The series can now be supplemented by the recently-discovered Elephantinē papyri,[5] a system essentially the same as the above. The units 1–9 are grouped in threes, the last to the left being lengthened below, or placed obliquely, as a rule. This indicates that it is the final unit. The series may be illustrated by the following numbers with their symbols:

𒐚 𒐗=4; 𒐖 𒐗 𒐗=8; 𒌋=10 𒐚 𒐗 𒌋=14; 𒎙=20; 𒎙𒎙=40; 𒎙𒎙𒎙=60; 𒌋 𒎙𒎙𒎙𒎙=90; 𒐙=100; 𒐙 𒐖=200; ; 𒐙=1000 (also written לך = אלף); 𒐙 𒐕=10,000.

Example:[6] 𒐖 𒐗 𒌋 𒎙𒎙𒎙 𒐙 𒐖 𒐗 לך 𒐙 𒐕=1575.

In the Elephantinē papyri the signs are sometimes followed by the names, to give exactness:

𒐚 הו ארבעה	(4, *i.e.* four)	(Pap. 28, 4).
𒐖 𒐗 הו שתה	(6, *i.e.* six)	(Pap. 33, 3).[7]

If these two systems, as found in the 'Aramaic endorsements' and in the Elephantinē papyri, are compared with those in use among the N. Semitic

[1] *E.g.*, ½, ⅓, ¾, and ⅚, all with special signs. In addition there were two regular series formed from the ordinals (T. G. Pinches, *Outline of Assyrian Grammar*, London, 1910, p. 18). ⅔ held an exceptional position, with properties resembling an integer, in both Egyptian and Sumerian (A. Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, Eng. tr., London, 1894, p. 365; H. V. Hilprecht, *Bab. Exped.* xx. pt. i. p. 25).

[2] Cf. 3 and 6 pence in relation to a shilling. The coins each in their degree are integral, and yet each is a fractional part of the higher member in the series.

[3] *Bab. Exped.* xx. pt. i. p. 28.

[4] A. Jeremias, *Das Alter der babylonischen Astronomie*[2], Leipzig, 1909, p. 67.

[5] *Bab. Exped.* xx. pt. i. p. 24 n.

[1] C. Bezold, *Oriental Diplomacy*, London, 1893, pp. xxiv, xxxix.

[2] See Pinches, *Assyr. Gram.*, p. 16; Johns, ii. 186 ff.

[3] A. H. McNeile, *The Book of Exodus* (Westminster Comm.), London, 1908, p. 75; A. R. S. Kennedy, *Leviticus and Numbers* (*Century Bible*), Edinburgh, 1910, p. 189 ff.; cf. J. F. McCurdy, *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*, New York, 1896, ii. 102.

[4] Cf. A. T. Clay, 'Aramaic Indorsements in the Documents of the Murašu Sons,' *OT and Semitic Studies in Memory of William Rainey Harper*, Chicago, 1908, i. 287–324.

[5] E. Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus Elephantine*, Leipzig, 1911, p. 198; cf. A. H. Sayce and A. E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri discovered at Assuan*, London, 1906, p. 15; A. Ungnad, *Aramäische Papyrus aus Elephantine*, Leipzig, 1911, *passim*.

[6] Ungnad, p. 85.

[7] *Ib.* pp. 46, 52.

peoples,[1] the differences will be found to be very slight. Even the Egyptian system is not unlike.[2]

The so-called Alexandrian system, according to which numbers are compounded by means of the letters of the alphabet—a system in general use about the time of Christ, and still to be seen in the Hebrew Bible—is here left out of account, as having entered into Semitic use from an extraneous (probably Greek) source,[3] and as being common property among so many nations and peoples of antiquity. The system is one very apt to lead to corruption in numbers relating to foreign matters.[4]

4. Semitic numbers in general. — It can be gathered both from the language of numbers and from the symbols employed to represent them that, in theory at least, no upper limit is to be assigned to Semitic enumeration. If we except indefinite expressions (*e.g.*, myriads)—a form of speech common to all nations past and present—we find that in practice numbers are confined to sums under 1,000,000. In the OT there is only one instance of a number exceeding this (1,100,000 [1 Ch 21^5]). The notation appears to us clumsy, but cannot be characterized as amateurish. Indeed, we marvel at the ease with which *sosses*, *nêrs*, and *śars* are manipulated. We have insisted on the difficulty presented by fractions, and we find that the results of problems involving fractions are only approximately correct. This is especially true of Egypt, where, it is evident, knowledge was the outcome of repeated trials and practical tests, the truth, when attained or approximated, being carefully treasured and transmitted. The method is inductive, and 'the answers given represent the accumulated experiences of many previous writers.'[5] In the keeping of accounts the accuracy of the scribe is not lightly to be questioned. The many business tablets that have now been deciphered, recording a single transaction that did not require to be transcribed, with their system of partial totals and grand totals,[6] can readily be checked, and as a rule they are found to be correct. It is otherwise with numbers occurring in annalistic records. These have often been copied, and show a tantalizing number of discrepancies. A glaring example may be seen in the figures relating to Shalmaneser III.'s campaign of 854 B.C., where four sets of enemy losses are given, the numbers ranging from 14,000 to 29,000. There is reason to think that the Assyrians in this instance were actually defeated.[7] Equally unreliable are the figures appearing in the Elephantinē papyri, which are supposed to be a transcript of the Inscription of King Darius at Behistûn.[8] While these discrepancies may be due to the copyist,[9] the chief reason for the doubtfulness of the figures lies in the tendency to exaggerate—a common failing among the despots of the ancient East. The Oriental partiality for large numbers is shared even by the Chronicler of the OT.[10] Where exact numbers were no longer obtainable, round numbers took their place—an evident feature of the chronology of the book of Judges,[1] and far more evident in the length of the reigns of the mythological kings before and after the Flood. The foreshortening of the historical perspective, to which Sayce has called attention[2] in connexion with the narrative of the book of Kings, as a source of certain subtle errors in chronology, finds its counterpart in the protracted figures attached to the times that are unhistorical and even mythical, which prevent a reliable chronology ever being drawn up. The same phenomenon that meets us in Genesis in the great age ascribed to the antediluvians and the reduced longevity of the generations following is found in the Babylonian records, as can now be studied in the new lists of kings published by Poebel (*Historical Texts*, pp. 73–140).[3] In another connexion the same writer comments (p. 50) on the idea that whatever man made (*e.g.*, a boat or a landmark) in those old days was of enormous dimensions, and connects it with the belief in enormously long life and higher stature than at present.[4] This tendency to gild the past has therefore to be allowed for in dealing with numbers, but usually we have no great difficulty in drawing the boundary-line between the mythical and the historical.

5. Sacred numbers.—Jeremias asserts[5] that a preference for odd numbers is universal: 'Numero deus impare gaudet.' This accords with the selection of 5 and 7 to be the fundamental ciphers of the astral system, to which he attaches himself. It is in reality duodecimal-sexagesimal: $5+7=12$; $5\times12=60$. To this may be opposed the finding of Hilprecht (p. 34), who says that 7, 11, and 13, being no divisors of 12,960,000, have continued even to the present to be regarded as unlucky numbers in the life and history of man. He invites us in this light to examine the Babylonian Sabbath question. It may be assumed that 3 and 5 as factors of the sexagesimal unit are to be excluded from this condemnation. The fact, therefore, would appear to be that facility or difficulty in operating with the various numbers was of chief account. It is difficult to see why any number, abstractly considered, should be either lucky or unlucky. Numbers had to be related to deities, magic, divisions of time, etc., before moral or sacred significance could arise. A 'science of number' in the Pythagorean sense was not yet conceived of; number had not been exalted as the ἀρχὴ καὶ ὕλη of which the world was made.[6] At the same time, all numbers were sacred to the Babylonians:[7] but there was a limit set to their sanctity:

'Numbers might be sacred, they could never be deified, they were not worshipped, nor were artistic representations of them imagined' (F. Cumont, *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans*, New York and London, 1912, p. 112).[8]

In Babylonia the numbers from 60 down to 1 came to be reserved each for a particular deity the planetary deities having their numbers apportioned with less regularity than the great gods which points to the fact that the latter were brought in, and, as it were, 'canonized,' last of all. Thus, 60 = Anu (father of the gods), 50 = Bel, 40 =

[1] See G. A. Cooke, *A Text-Book of North-Semitic Inscriptions*, Oxford, 1903, pp. 43 f., 55, etc.; M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, Giessen, 1900, p. 106 ff.; *EBr*^{11}, art. 'Numeral,' with table.

[2] J. G. Wilkinson, *The Ancient Egyptians*, London, 1878, ii., table opp. p. 493.

[3] J. Gow, *A Companion to School Classics*^{3}, London, 1893, p. 11 f.; *SDB*, art. 'Number,' sect. 3; A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, London, 1911, p. 275 ff.

[4] Poebel, *Hist. Texts*, p. 105.

[5] W. W. Rouse Ball, *Hist. of Mathematics*^{2}, London, 1893, pp. 3, 8; C. Warren, *The Ancient Cubit*, do. 1903, p. 31 ff.

[6] Assyr. *napḫaru* = 'total'; Sum. *šunigin* = 'total of totals,' 'grand total.'

[7] R. W. Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the OT*, New York, 1912, p. 289 f.; A. H. Sayce, *The 'Higher Criticism' and the Monuments*^{2}, London, 1894, p. 391, note 6.

[8] Ungnad, p. 83 ff. [9] McCurdy, ii. 87 n.

[10] Sayce, p. 463 f.; cf. G. B. Gray, *Numbers* (*ICC*), Edinburgh, 1903, p. 10 ff.

[1] *HDB* ii. 817 f.; G. F. Moore, *Judges*^{2} (*ICC*), Edinburgh, 1903 pp. xxxvii ff., 424, 426 f.

[2] Pp. 422, 439 f.

[3] Cf. H. Zimmern, *The Babylonian and the Hebrew Genesis*, London, 1901, p. 46 ff.

[4] Cf. E. Naville, *Archæology of the OT*, London, 1913, p. 85 f.

[5] *OT in Light of Ancient East*, i. 63, n. 3.

[6] Gow, p. 301 f.

[7] Jeremias, *OT in Light of Ancient East*, i. 63, with specimens of the application of the numbers 0–15 (1 and 8 excepted), 40, 70, 72, 73.

[8] Several apparent exceptions are given by A. Smythe Palmer, *The Samson-Saga*, London, 1913, p. 205 and note 3. The references are to the Canaanite deity, Baal-shâlisha, 'the Lord of Three'; the Hittite god named 'Three' (Salas, Salsu); the Egyptian 'god Eight'; the Babylonian 'god Seven'; and 'god Four.' These do not seem to be sufficient to impair the force of Cumont's generalization.

Ea, 30 = Sin, 25 = Merodach, 20 = Šamaš, 15 = Ištar, 10 = Ramman.[1] This species of identification is dependent upon the calendrical system—*e.g.*, Sin = 30 = days of the ordinary month.[2] It would be difficult to show that the whole of the numbers 1–60 were thus appropriated, but at least 'sixty' is representative of all the gods, and equivalent to 'the entire pantheon.'[3] An interesting contrast in number is afforded by the 'fifty' renowned names of the great gods, with which Merodach was at last endowed.[4]

Among the units 7 has come to be regarded as the sacred number *par excellence*. In Babylonia it was so esteemed, Jastrow thinks, largely, if not solely, because it was a large number (cf. seven spirits of Scripture = a miscellaneous mass of spirits).[5] It holds the foremost place in magical formulæ. We have already noted the fundamental position accorded to it in the astral system. By others it has been regarded as sacred because of its astronomical relations — *e.g.*, the seven planets, and the division of the lunar month into four quarters of seven days.[6] The tabu on the seventh day (and multiples thereof) of certain Babylonian months has generally been regarded as transitional to the sanctity of the seventh day (Sabbath) among the Hebrews.[7] The number 7 is favoured by the Priestly Writer, 5 figures prominently in the Joseph story,[8] and 3 (and its multiples by 10) in the story of Samson.[9] For reasons associated with deity or deities, 1, 2, 3, and 9 have special claims to sanctity (monism, dualism, triads, enneads). By reason of a recent discovery, made by Poebel,[10] whereby the goddess Nin-Ḫarsag took a part in the creation of mankind along with the triad, An, Enlil, Enki, the number 4 may also be included in this category. Groups of 5 and 10 (pentads and decads) have recently acquired significance in the laws of Babylon and Israel.[11]

A comparison of articles on 'Number' in *HDB*, *SDB*, and *EBi* discloses the fact that 1, 3, 4, 7, 10, 12, 40, and 70 are specially treated for their sacred and symbolical significance. The symbolism of such numbers has been variously interpreted —*e.g.*, by C. F. Keil,[12] H. Schultz,[13] R. L. Ottley,[14] and A. H. McNeile,[15] the last-named prefacing his rendering by the caution:

'It is easy to be led into extravagance in attempting to interpret the significance of numbers; allegorical arithmetic has called forth fantastic absurdities from both Jewish and Christian writers.'

This caution is all the more needed in view of the methods of the astral school, represented by H. Winckler and A. Jeremias, whose *motifs* are still open to considerable doubt.

Their main thesis would, however, appear to be strengthened by Hilprecht's exposition[16] of the meaning of the number 12,960,000 (= 60^4 or 3600^2). This is none other than the famous 'number of Plato' (*Republic*, viii. 546 B-D), as determined by J. Adam[1] and others, the 'lord of better and worse births,' a geometrical number constructed out of the elements of the number which expresses the shortest period of gestation in the human kind (216 days). Hilprecht takes the number as the arithmetical expression of a great law controlling the universe, which he calls the 'law of uniformity or harmony.' For this reason 12,960,000 has a claim to be regarded as the sacred number in chief of Babylonia. When related to time, 12,960,000 days = 36,000 years (counting 360 days in a year), which is 'the great Platonic year' and also a Babylonian cycle.

The conclusion is obvious that Babylonia, and not Greece, is the home of this whole cult. The number 12,960,000 is fundamental both in astronomy and in astrology, governing the universe (the macrocosm) and also the life of man (the microcosm). Everything in man's life from his birth to his death is governed by this number or one of its divisors, especially the period of gestation; 216 days, the period of the seven months' child, and 270, the period for a nine months' child, inaugurate a lucky birth, for both are divisors of 12,960,000. So with every other number which is a divisor of 12,960,000 (for unlucky numbers, see above).

From this it will be seen what an elaborate astrological structure has been reared upon the foundation of the geometrical number 12,960,000. Granting the theoretical validity of this number, there is a serious difficulty about its application, if we think only of births, for the multiplication and division tables now known (§ 2 above) are far more extended than would be necessary for the particular end of determining lucky and unlucky births. The situation is somewhat relieved by bringing in the periods of the moon, in its phases or in its course (see art. BIRTH [Assyro-Babylonian], vol. ii. p. 643). Even with this added, we are left in ignorance about many points in the Babylonian praxis. 'How far they carried their liking for numbers and mystic calculations we have yet to learn.'[2] While the theory of Hilprecht, which, as we have seen, is astral, may be said at present to rule, there may be some who will share the view of R. W. Emerson, who said of Plato that, 'in his eighth book of the Republic, he throws a little mathematical dust in our eyes.'[3] What has now been added to Plato or, rather, what has been shown to be the source of the ideas of Plato (and Pythagoras) may seem to them like throwing a little more dust.

LITERATURE.—This has been given in the article, the more important references being embodied, the others appearing in the footnotes.

WILLIAM CRUICKSHANK.

NUSAIRIS. — The Nusairis, also known as Ansariyah, are not only a sect, but a nation, inhabiting the mountainous country north of the Lebanon, between ancient Eleutherus, the Orontes, and the Mediterranean coast. Although the Nusairi population in this mountainous barren region live a rather wretched life, cultivating mainly the vine and tobacco, the colonies which it has founded in Antioch, Mersina, Tarsus, and Adana are very prosperous. We may reckon the total of this population at 150,000; in earlier times they were no doubt more numerous.

1. **Etymology.**—The name 'Nusairi' has given rise to a great many theories: it has been thought to be a diminutive of the Arab *Nasrani* ('little Christian'), but this etymology is contrary to Arabic grammar, and, as the supposed conversion of the race to Christianity took place before the establishment of Islām in this region, it would be

1 G. Maspero, *The Dawn of Civilization*, Eng. tr., London, 1901, p. 673; M. Jastrow, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, Boston, 1898, p. 465 f.; Smythe Palmer, p. 207.
2 Jastrow, p. 465. 3 *HDB* v. 557ª, note ††.
4 Pinches, *The OT in the Light of the Hist. Records of Babylonia and Assyria*³, London, 1908, p. 45 ff.
5 Jastrow, *The Rel. of Bab. and Assyr.*, p. 265.
6 Jastrow, *Hebrew and Babylonian Tradition* (Haskell Lectures), London and Leipzig, 1914, p. 170 ff.; L. R. Farnell, *Greece and Babylon*, Edinburgh, 1911, p. 293 f.
7 Sayce, p. 75 ff.; W. R. Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, new ed., London, 1907, p. 181 f.
8 J. Skinner, *Genesis* (*ICC*), Edinburgh, 1910, p. 488.
9 Smythe Palmer, p. 199.
10 *Hist. Texts*, p. 24 ff.
11 C. H. W. Johns, *The Laws of Babylonia and the Laws of the Hebrew Peoples* (Schweich Lectures, 1912), London, 1914, pp. 26, 61, 71 (with references).
12 *A Manual of Biblical Archæology*, Edinburgh, 1887, i. 127 ff., 133 ff.
13 *OT Theology*, Edinburgh, 1892, i. 351, note 5.
14 *Aspects of the OT* (*BL*), London, 1897, p. 264.
15 *The Book of Exodus* (*Westminster Comm.*), p. lxxxviii.
16 Pp. 29–34.

1 J. Adam, *The Republic of Plato*, Cambridge, 1902, ii. 201–208, 264–306.
2 T. G. Pinches, in *Hil. Ann. Vol.*, p. 77.
3 *Representative Men*, 'Plato: New Readings,' last paragraph.

surprising if the name was borrowed from Arabic. Another theory, which is more wide-spread, is that 'Nusairi' comes from Muḥammad ibn Nuṣair, who is said to have founded the sect in the 11th century. But this Ibn Nuṣair was a follower of the eleventh *imām*, Ḥasan al 'Askari, while the doctrine of the Nusairis recognizes only seven *imāms*; and this etymology, which has given rise to popular accounts placing Muḥammad ibn Nuṣair in the time of the Umayyads Mu'āwiyah and Yazīd, cannot be admitted, although upheld by S. Guyard, C. Huart, and H. Lammens. It has no more to recommend it than the theory which connects them with Nuṣair, a freedman of 'Alī, or with the Anṣārs of the Prophet. As Dussaud abundantly proves, the Nusairis of our day are the Nazerini mentioned by Pliny the Elder (*HN* v. 81) as forming a tetrarchy separated from Apamea by the river Marsyas (Orontes). The Greek historian Sozomen (*HE* vii. 15) shows them at the end of the 4th cent. helping the pagans of Apamea against the Christians; he gives them the name of Galilæans, which Lammens, by an extremely ingenious hypothesis, derives from Bargagylus, a supposed ancient form of Bargylus, the name given by Pliny to one of their mountains.

2. History.—The Nusairis, being isolated, preserved their paganism in spite of the triumph of Christianity, and later of Islām, in the surrounding country. Nevertheless it is certain that the contact of these two religions was not without influence upon the Nusairi beliefs. The greatest influence, however, was exercised by the Ismā'īlis, who were forced in the 12th cent. to leave their ephemeral dwelling-place in Bāniās and settle in the Jebel, where they became famous under the name of Assassins (*q.v.*). Further, the influence of the Ismā'īli doctrines had begun as early as the 9th cent., and we see from a refutation by Ḥamzah, the apostle of the Druse religion, that the Nusairi religion was established at the beginning of the 11th century. After the victories of Baibars and the destruction of the Ismā'īli power the Muslims made an unsuccessful attempt to convert the Nusairis. Their massacre, which was demanded by certain fanatics—among others the theologian Ibn Taimīyyah, in a *fatwā* published by Guyard (*JA* VI. xviii. [1871] 158–198)—would have been contrary to the interests of the Muslims. They have maintained their independence, and survive down to the present day divided into clans, often at war with one another, but paying tribute to the pasha of Tripoli. In the middle of the 19th cent. a chief arose among them, Ismā'īl Beg by name, who proclaimed his authority, and secured recognition by the Turkish government as ruler of the country of Safita. By paying an annual tribute of 300,000 francs he enjoyed absolute authority, and, like Rashid al-Din Sinān among the Ismā'īlis, became the hero of legends far more ancient than himself. After his death the Turkish government succeeded in establishing its direct administration in the country—the result of which, as everywhere else, was the persecution and ruin of the land.

3. Present-day religion.—The religion of the Nusairis, therefore, is the ancient pagan religion of the district, very much altered by Christian, Muslim, and especially Ismā'ilian influences, but not reaching the stage of Christianity and Islām. The groundwork of their doctrines is contained in the *Kitāb al-Majmū'*, published and translated by Dussaud (*Hist. et religion des Nosaïris*, appendix, pp. 161–198). Like the Ismā'īlis, they divide time into seven cycles, each having its own manifestation of deity; this resembles the doctrine of the pagan Ḥarrānians, according to which the creator was single in his essence but multiple in his manifestations in bodies, and these bodies were the seven planets which govern the world. The Ismā'īlis and the Druses hold that a prophet appears in each entrusted with a new religion (*nāṭiq*, 'utterer'). The *nāṭiq* multiplies into seven persons, the first of whom is called *asas* ('foundation'). The *asas* are inferior to the *nāṭiqs* (except 'Alī) among the Ismā'īlis and the Druses. With the Nusairis the *asas* are superior to the *nāṭiqs*; the *asas* are Abel, Seth, Joseph, Joshua, Asaph, Peter (Shema'un), and 'Alī; the *nāṭiqs* Adam, Noah, Jacob, Moses, Solomon, Jesus, and Muḥammad. 'Alī, the *asas* of the seventh period, has become a god; he bears the epithet Ma'nā, corresponding to that of 'the Word' for Jesus; it is to the Ismā'īlian influence that he owes this rôle.

> 'Alī ibn Abu Ṭālib was not begotten; he is unique, immortal, and has existed from all time; his essence is the light; from him the stars shine; he is the light of lights. Although deprived of all attributes, he cleaves rocks, drives back seas, and directs affairs; it is he who destroys empires. He is hidden, not enveloped, that is to say, he is hidden by the nature of his divine essence, not by a covering. He is mind, *ma'nā'* (*Kitāb al-Majmū'*, tr. Dussaud, p. 162).

The formula employed is copied from the Muslim formula: 'I testify that there is no god but 'Alī ibn Abu Ṭālib.' Dussaud ingeniously conjectures that there is a confusion between 'Alī el A'la and the epithet of the old Phœnician deity Elyum ('the very high'), whom the Greeks called Adonis. 'Alī created Muhammad, whom he called his 'name' (*Ism*), and who is also his 'veil' and his 'dwelling-place.' Muhammad in his turn created Salmān al-Fārisī from the light of his light, made him his 'gate' (*Bāb*), and entrusted him with his propaganda. These three persons form a triad, which seems more ancient than the Christian Trinity, and which goes back to the divine triads of the Syro-Phœnician cults, and in particular to the Palmyrene triad 'Alī=sky (Ba'al-Shamain, Balsamem), Muhammad=sun (Malak bel), and Salmān=moon (Aglibol). In the initiation ceremonies this triad is represented by 'the mystery of *'Ain-Mim-Sin*' (the initial letters of 'Alī, Muhammad, and Salmān). Muhammad created the five 'incomparables,' who in their turn created the world and are the five planets. The five 'chosen ones' are the five divine emanations to which the five prayers of the day are consecrated.

The Nusairis do not believe in the immortality of women, who have no reasonable soul, and they hold that the use of wine is lawful.

4. Sects.—The Nusairis are divided into four classes: the Ḥaidāris (from the surname given to 'Alī, El-Haidar, 'lion'), who have come most into contact with foreign influences, the Shamālis, the Kalazis, and the Ghaibis. The Shamālis claim that the god 'Alī, identified with the sky, dwells in the sun, which represents Muhammad. This idea recalls the Syrian cult of Ba'al-Shamaim (sky-god) assimilated by the Greeks with Helios. The name Shamāl (from which the Jews derive Samuel, the angel of death) seems to represent the sun (another name of the sect is Shamsi) in its nocturnal course; it should be noticed that the Shamālis go a great length with their worship of Muhammad, who, in the primitive triad, is identified with the sun, united with 'Alī by the light, but separated from him by the manifestation of appearance. With the Kalazis, or Qamaris, the moon is the abode of 'Alī; it is celebrated in the poems that we possess of this sect and represented by wine: in their figurative language, according to Dussaud, by drinking pure wine one reaches a close acquaintanceship with the moon. Some writers hold that there are traces here of a lunar goddess who is none other than the great Syrian goddess Astarte. Their name is derived from that of the *shaikh* Muhammad ibn Kalazi. The fourth sect, the Ghaibis, 'believe that God appeared, and then became

invisible; the present time is that of the absence' (*ghaibah*), whence their name; they seem to be influenced by the Ismā'īlian doctrine of the *Tanzīh*, which deprives God of His attributes; they therefore consider the absent (*ghaib*) as God ('Alī), identified with the air, as, among others, with the sky.

5. Initiation.—The initiation ceremonies seem to have been borrowed by the Nusairis from the Ismā'īlians, and to have replaced the ancient mysteries; but, as in the case of the doctrine of the *nāṭiqs* and the *asas*, the Ismā'īlis initiate into a doctrine, the Nusairis into mysteries (Dussaud, p. 105). They have retained the use of wine and the veiling of the initiate. The nine degrees of Ismā'īli initiation are reduced to three, overburdened with ritual elements. The initiate must be the child of Nusairi parents; he receives instruction from a stranger to his family—which creates between him and his teacher very close bonds of relationship. The *imām* receives him into the number of the faithful after certain ceremonies, in the last of which wine plays a very important part, in the form of communion. It should be noticed that, among non-initiated Nusairis, Khodhr (Khadhir = Elī) is the name of the god *par excellence*, as 'Alī is among the initiated.

6. Metempsychosis.—Metempsychosis is one of the dogmas of the Nusairis, but it differs from that held by the Ismā'īlis. The faithful is transformed seven times before he goes to take his rank among the stars, of which 'Alī is the prince. If he is blameworthy, he is re-born as a Christian or a Muslim, until expiation is complete. Infidels, who have not worshipped 'Alī, live again in the form of dogs, camels, mules, asses, or sheep.

7. Festivals.—The chief festivals of the Nusairis are: (1) the *El Ghadir* ('the pond') festival, on the 18th of Dhū'l ḥijjah; it is of Shī'ite origin, and commemorates Muhammad's appointment of 'Alī as his successor; it is celebrated among the most important *shaikhs*; (2) the festival of the breaking of the fast (*fiṭr*); (3) that of the sacrifices (12th of Dhū'l ḥijjah); (4) that of the *Firash*, which commemorates the self-sacrifice of 'Alī exposing himself to the blows of the Quraish in place of Muhammad; (5) that of *Ashurah* (10th of Muḥarram) in memory of the massacre of Karbālā. According to the Nusairis, Ḥusain did not die, but disappeared like Jesus. The festival of the second *El Ghadir* (9th of Rabī' I.) celebrates the recognition of the sons of 'Alī by Muhammad. That of the Birth commemorates the nativity of Jesus Christ, but it is of Muslim origin; perhaps it is a remnant of that which the pagans of Ḥarrān celebrated at the winter solstice for the birth of the sun. The spring and autumn equinoxes are the occasion of festivals in forms borrowed from the Persians—the *Nawruz* and the *Mihrajan*. Those are the official festivals. Some popular ones are: that of the Baptism (*El Qiddas*), the day of the Epiphany, of the Palms, of Pentecost, and especially of St. Barbe. Lastly, there are several pilgrimages, the most important of which is that of Khodhr (Khadhir = Elī).

8. Conclusion.—Like all secret sects, the Nusairis have been subjected to all kinds of accusations: the Ismā'īlis have contended with them by rivalry, and the Christian historians of the Crusades have re-echoed the slanders hurled at them by the Muslims.

LITERATURE.—The chief work on this sect is R. Dussaud, *Hist. et religion des Nosaïris*, Paris, 1900, which has been followed in this article (cf. artt. by R. Basset, in *RHR* xlvi. [1902]; C. F. Seybold, *LCBL* lii. [1901] 1255 ff.; M. Hartmann, *ZDPV* xxiv. [1901] 186–194; R. Duval, *RA* xxxvi. [1901] 184–186; C. Clermont-Ganneau, *CAIBL* [1900] 700–702; J. Halevy, *RS* ix. [1901] 88 ff., and I. Goldziher, *ARW* iv. [1901]); on pp. xiii–xxxv will be found the complete list of works, both Eastern and Western, that have appeared on the Nusairis down to 1900. See also H. Lammens, 'Notes de géographie syrienne,' in *Mélanges de la faculté orientale de Beyrout*, i. [1900] 271–283, 'Une Visite au ṣaiḫ suprême des Noṣairis Haidaris,' *JA* xi. v. [1915] 139–159.

RENÉ BASSET.

NYANJAS.—The peoples dealt with in this article are those speaking the Nyanja or Lake language of the Protectorate of Nyasaland and adjoining territories. They cover the district embraced by the southern portion of that Protectorate, extending from Port Herald on the south as far north as the 13th parallel of south latitude. Divisions of the tribe stretch into Portuguese territory on the west, and into N. Rhodesia, where they inhabit the lower part of the Loangwa valley. They are also to be found in a narrow strip of country along the east shore of Lake Nyasa, into which they were driven by pressure of the Yao tribe from the east.

The tribe is divided into various subdivisions, which differ from each other to a small degree both in dialect and in customs. These divisions are: Amang'anja, Ampotola, Amaravi, Ambo, Antumba (or Akantunda), Achewa, and Achipeta. About the time of Livingstone's first visit to Nyasaland, a tribe of Zulus called Angoni migrated from the south and after various wanderings conquered the country inhabited by the northern divisions of the Nyanja tribes, on whom they imposed several of their habits and customs, while at the same time they adopted the language of the conquered people. Now Zulu has entirely given place to Nyanja in one or other of its dialects.

1. Clans.—Like many other Bantu tribes, the Nyanjas are divided into clans or families, which trace their descent through the mother. The better known of these clans are the following: Abanda, Apiri, Amwale, Amilanzi, Adzimbiri, Ankhoma, Ambewe, and Anthanga. The clan-names are to be found all through the adjacent tribes—the result largely of intertribal warfare and slaving, in which women formed the most prominent and most valuable asset. Though the origin of these names has been accounted for by the theory of the totem, there is now no trace of any such ideas connected with the names as would point to a totem origin. The names are not those of any animal or object in nature, nor do they carry any custom of tabu peculiar to the clan. Certain of the clans, however, used to have customs peculiarly their own. The Abanda, *e.g.*, always killed slaves to put into the grave along with the dead body of their chief. Among the Apiri a man used to take a temporary wife, living with her for a year, and then putting her away before taking a permanent wife, or wives, according to native rite and custom.

With the arrival of the Zulu Angoni there came the custom of the descent following the clan of the father, and then a series of new clans was introduced: Apovu, Anjobvu, Anamvu, Ansomba, Ananyoni, etc. These are the names of wild animals—gazelle, elephant, hippopotamus, etc.—and to the members of the clan the flesh of its name-animal is tabued. This custom has gradually spread over the northern portion of the tribe—especially those parts conquered by the Angoni—and now it is common to find natives who claim to belong to two clans, one by the father and one by the mother, the former carrying with it the tabu. Such clan-names are now largely employed as surnames.

2. God and spirits.—(*a*) The generic name for God among the Nyanja is Mulungu or Mlungu, which appears in Swahili as Muungu, and in Lomwe and Makuwa as Mluku. Under this term is embraced not only the deity, but all that appertains to the spirit world. Whether in its primary sense it conveys the idea of personality is doubtful.

as the word belongs to an impersonal class of nouns, and always takes the concord of an impersonal class. When, however, the deity is alluded to in respect of any of his attributes, there is no doubt that personality is assigned, as when the Nyanja speak of 'Leza, the Nurse,' 'Mlengi, the Creator,' 'Mphambi, the heavens,' and 'Chauta, the Almighty.' Other names are also assigned to the Supreme Being, as Chanjiri, Chinsumpi, Mbamba, Mphezi, but these are generally confined to certain local manifestations of the deity through the possession by some individual of divine powers. Among the tribe of S. Angoniland in 1910 there appeared an individual who claimed such divine powers under the name of Chanjiri, and demanded tribute in the form of offerings from the people, at the same time attempting to dissuade them from paying the annual tax to the Government. While the names Leza and Chauta are the common appellatives of the deity among the neighbouring Awemba and Atonga, the name Mulungu is universally recognized as signifying the Supreme Being, and among the Nyanja people is the only designation in use.

(*b*) Some districts have their local deities or spirits to whom worship is paid at definite shrines —generally on the top of some prominent mountain. In the Blantyre district there are two such shrines on the summits of Mounts Soche and Michiru, where offerings are made in time of public distress to the spirits of Kankhomba and Mpalale. There is little doubt, however, that these are the names of two chiefs who ruled in the respective districts before the time of historical record, and whose names are thus preserved in the worship paid to their spirits. Till recently a local *mbona*, or seer, lived near Port Herald who claimed divine powers for himself, and whose wife—always chosen from a certain family—acted as priestess and means of communication with the outer world, he having shut himself up in complete seclusion.

(*c*) The *mizimu*, or spirits of the dead, form the chief inhabitants of the unseen world. The word is used to denote the disembodied spirit or soul of man, and there is no spirit which was not at one time existent in a living bodily personality. When this disembodied spirit is conceived as a worker of evil and as possessing an evil influence, it is termed *chiwanda*.

It is to the *mizimu* that the people most frequently resort when they wish to get into communication with the unseen. It is to the *mizimu* that prayers are most frequently offered and sacrifices made. Only in time of great local fear or calamity, such as drought or famine or pestilence, are addresses paid to Mulungu or to the local deities.

The *mizimu* make their presence known and communicate their wishes to the living by means of dreams, when the spirits of the dead hold converse with the spirits of the living and the spirits of the living hold converse with each other, and through the medium of the *mlaula*, or prophet, who is inspired by the *mizimu* to rave (*bwebweta*) —the ravings being accepted as the voice of the dead.

The *mizimu* have their abode at the hut of the deceased or at the grave where the body is buried. Offerings are not usually made at the grave—as among so many of the neighbouring tribes—but at the hut where the person lived, or at some place such as the foot of a tree near the hut where he was accustomed to resort. Sometimes in the case of an important chief a small sacrifice hut, called *kachisi* or *gombazi*, is built on the outskirts of the village, and there the customary offerings are made.

(*d*) The spirit may take up its abode in some wild animal, as a lion, leopard, or python. This is the case only with such persons as have while in life secured medicine which has the power of effecting such a transmigration of the soul. These animals are held in awe, and are rarely interfered with; but, should one be killed accidentally or of necessity, the native has no theory as to what comes after. There, as in so many problems of life, he confesses that he is against a dead wall which he has no means of surmounting.

(*e*) Among the Angoni Nyanjas the spirit may be made to locate itself in any object such as a piece of cloth, a basket, a doll, or, in the case of a person of importance, such as a chief or headman, in a fowl, a goat, or an ox. The spirit is 'captured' by the *mlaula*, or, if it is that of a person of lower rank, by an old woman who has ceased to bear children. Such objects or animals are set aside as sacred. Should the animal die, another animal is chosen and set aside as *wa mizimu*, the property of the spirits. The other class of objects in which the spirits are located are treasured among the household stuff, and are generally kept near the bed or sleeping-place of the head of the family.

3. Burial customs.—Immediately after death the corpse is bathed, if of a man by men, if of a woman by women. Any one may perform this office, but it usually falls to the older people. Any neighbour may assist in carrying the corpse to the grave, and in digging the grave, but on those who go down into the grave and receive the corpse from those above special duties are laid. They are known as the *adzukuru* (from the root *kuru*, 'greatness'). There are no official *adzukuru*; any person may perform the function, but by habit and custom of the community certain individuals usually have the office assigned to them. To them afterwards falls the duty of offering the sacrifices to the spirit of the dead. Theirs are the portions of food which are left over from the sacrifice, and which they have the right of dividing among their friends. After the burial the mourners return to the empty hut, which the *adzukuru* pull down. Should it be decided to take steps to ascertain the cause of the death, the *ula* is consulted (see § 9), and the case may proceed to the chief's court to be settled there. Two months or so after the burial the *adzukuru* summon the mourners together, and a feast is made (generally of beer), a sacrifice is offered, and the shaving of heads of the mourners finishes the mourning.

4. Sacrifices. — Sacrifices are offered (*a*) to Mulungu, (*b*) to the spirits of the dead chiefs and headmen, and (*c*) to the spirits of dead relatives.

(*a*) Sacrifices to Mulungu as the Supreme Being are offered in a small sacrificial hut (*kachisi*) built on the outskirts of the village or at the foot of any large tree where there is shade—preferably the large tree in the village *bwalo*, or courtyard. Any tree, however, that gives shade may be a place of sacrifice. Persons on a journey or in the hunting-field place an offering almost anywhere—under a tree, if possible, or at the meeting of two roads. The offerings consist mostly of food—beer, flour, etc.—while pieces of calico are offered by being torn up and hung from the tree or spread over the sacrifice hut. At the beginning of harvest offerings of first-fruits are made in the sacrifice hut, the whole village joining in the sacrifice and the chief or headman acting as officiating priest for the occasion.

(*b*) Sacrifices are offered to the spirits of the dead chiefs or headmen. These, like the others, consist of food—beer, flour, etc. They may be offered near the hut where the dead person lived, or at the sacrifice hut where his spirit may be approached. The offerings are made by some descendant or relative of the deceased chief, generally by his

successor in office. In one instance near Blantyre the dead chief had been the chief of a tribe which had been conquered and its members scattered by the present chief of the country. When a sacrifice was made, a member of the conquered tribe—a relative of the deceased—had to be found to offer the sacrifice, as likely to be more acceptable to the spirit whose favour was sought. Among the Angoni Nyanjas the offering may take the form of an animal in which the spirit of the dead is located, and the animal is thereafter looked upon as the property of the spirit. If it is a fowl or goat, it is not usually separated from its fellows, but if it is an ox—usually dedicated to chiefs only—a special kraal may be built for it and a special caretaker set apart.

(*c*) Sacrifices are made to the spirits of dead relatives or friends—a little flour, beer, a fowl, or a goat, part of which is made the offering, the remainder being partaken of by the friends of the *adzukuru*, or offerer. Where the spirit of the dead has been located in any article of household use, the offering is placed close to it.

5. **Initiation ceremonies.**—Among the whole of the Nyanja-speaking peoples there is no initiation ceremony for males and no rite of circumcision. This shows that they had not come under the influence of the coast Arab or Muhammadan. There is, however, in the case of females a ceremony of initiation at the age of puberty. The period of instruction varies among the different sections of the tribe from one or two days to a month. During this period the girls live in a hut apart by themselves and are instructed by old women in the duties and acts of the married state. There is no form of mutilation or circumcision, but the girls are taught by manual manipulation to prepare the organs for the marital acts. When the married woman becomes pregnant for the first time, the old women again take her aside and instruct her in the mysteries of childbirth and motherhood.

6. **Marriage.**—In the marriage ceremony of the Nyanja people the chief agents, next to the persons themselves, are the 'sureties' (*ankhoswe*), by whom the marriage is arranged and on whom the responsibility for its well-being depends. They are usually the brothers or some very near relatives of the contracting parties. The man and woman take no part in the preliminary negotiations; everything is done for them by their respective 'sureties.' Should difficulties arise between the husband and wife, the duty of making reconciliation or of permitting a divorce lies with the 'sureties,' and without their consent no alteration in the condition of husband and wife is sanctioned.

The woman remains in the village of her parents, where the husband builds her a hut if her father has not already built one for her. The mother-in-law expects help from him in the hoeing of her garden. Beyond this the husband has no other indebtedness to his wife's family. When the hut is ready, the husband makes his wife's village his home. If he has other wives, he pays it periodical visits. There is no marriage ceremony beyond the entry of the husband into the wife's hut. Should the husband prove impotent, this is a ground for disannulling the marriage at once. The first-born child is named by the husband's relatives, and, when other children are born, it goes to the home of the mother-in-law and is reared by her, 'in the place of the daughter whom she has lost.'

The custom of *ukulobola*, or payment by the husband to the wives' relatives, does not exist among the Nyanja tribes. Only in the northern districts, where they are in close touch with the Angoni (Zulu) tribe, does one find the custom occasionally introduced.

Wives are inherited from the maternal uncle along with other property. The uncle's head-wife may become the head-wife of his successor. More generally she is allowed to retire into private life, and her place as head-wife may be taken either by the successor's first wife or by some other of the inherited wives. Separation is common, the cause generally being adultery on the woman's part or neglect on the husband's part. The matter is decided by the 'sureties.' If divorce is sanctioned, the husband hands over some small article (*kupereka mubvi*, 'to hand over an arrow') to the wife as a token of her freedom, and without this ceremony no divorce is complete. The whole marriage principle is simple. The woman is the property of her clan or family, and so are the children. Hence the husband makes his home with his wife's relatives. This is altogether a different state of society from that in which the husband takes the wife to his home—in which case he must pay the *ukulobola* as compensation to her family for the loss of the woman and her children.

7. **Witchcraft and disease.**—The power of witchcraft belongs to a certain clan of witches (*afiti*). Their object in seeking this power is to obtain the means by which they may avenge themselves on their enemies and destroy their fellow-beings. As they keep this power by eating human flesh, they may be supposed also to exercise it that they may secure the necessary food. They work their spells by means of 'medicines,' which they keep in small antelope's horns, and hence they themselves are euphemistically described as *a nyanga*, 'they of the horns.'

The *afiti* have their enemies, who are bent on their discovery and destruction. These may be renegade *afiti*, who turn their knowledge to the destruction of their old associates. The *seketera*, or *setekera*, the 'throat-cutter,' is the most commonly recognized of these enemies. The *wa nyundo*, 'he of the hammer,' is another. By means of more powerful medicine they compel the *afiti* to reveal themselves, when they attack them, the one with his knife, the other with his hammer. The *afiti* form a secret society into which only the initiated are admitted. The fear of them hangs a dark cloud over the whole of native life, and the superstition is the cause of more deaths than all the diseases of the climate put together.

The *mabisalira* is a professional witch-finder, generally a woman, who is known over a large district, and who is called in when all other means of inquiry have failed. She obtains her power by means of medicine, which she purchases or otherwise secures from another member of the craft. In the process of her divination she works herself into a frenzy and her audience into a state of excitement by a weird dance, accompanied by physical contortions and bodily postures such as enter into all native dancing. She seizes and smells the hands of the bystanders till she is able to fix on the guilty person, whom she names. In the course of her performance she digs up with a spear the various horns of medicines and charms which have formed the suspect's stock-in-trade. In this way the village is purged of all occult agencies. The *mabisalira* has also the power of expelling from any person the *afiti* power which he may have acquired without realizing what its possession meant. By application of medicines the patient is caused to vomit, and in this way gets rid of the occult powers which he has acquired. Of course, against an accusation by a *mabisalira* the accused has always the resources of appeal to the poison ordeal (see § 9).

Disease has its origin in witchcraft, whatever be its nature. The same applies to all accidents, epidemics, losses, and misfortunes. Although a

disease may be acknowledged as contagious or infectious, its ultimate origin is always to be found in the dark operations of the *afiti*. Hence medicines are almost always charms, working through occult powers. No doubt experience and experiment have led the native to acknowledge the medicinal value of certain substances, and for external diseases the application of certain drugs is recognized to have its curative effect. But for the treatment of deep-seated or unknown disease it is to the occult powers of charms that resort is always had.

8. **Fetishes and charms.**—Among the northern branches of the Nyanja tribe, the Achewa and the Achipeta, as has already been pointed out, certain articles may become the abode of the spirits and are fetishes, objects of reverence as well as worship. Among the southern branches of the tribe there is no such belief, except in so far as the spirit of the dead may be believed to enter into some wild animal. Charms, however, are used and worn among all classes and for almost every variety of purpose. They range from the application of some medicinal herb either as an ointment or as an ash rubbed into incisions made in the skin of the affected part, or the little twigs worn in the necklace to cure a headache or toothache, to the big bag of medicine worn round the neck of the elephant-hunter by which he brings the game within reach and range of his guns and obtains accuracy in shooting. Charms are worn to secure safety on a journey, success in trading or in war, and to protect the hut from the visits of the dreaded *afiti*, or the garden from the depredations of wild pigs or thieves. Doubtless these charms were originally fetishes, endowed with occult power from being the abode of some spirit. Now, however, in the native mind they are entirely dissociated from any spirit-possession, and the powers which they possess are ascribed to the articles themselves.

9. **Divination.**—(*a*) *Lots.* — Divination is by means of *ula*, 'lots,' which are resorted to on all occasions of doubt, or when the disclosure of secrets is desired. For the discovery of such crimes as witchcraft, theft, or adultery it is the invariable means. The lots are consulted whenever the fortunes of the future are in doubt, as before going on a journey, making war, or starting on a hunting expedition. The *ula* exist in a large variety of forms, from simple divination by means of the position in which small pieces of a cup or plate fall when thrown out of a dish to the *phenda*, or ordeal by boiling water, and the use of the divining-rod. In the last the holder of the rod grasps it by both hands, and is dragged by it to the spot where the object sought for is concealed or where the guilty individual is to be found.

(*b*) *The poison ordeal.* — The poison ordeal (*mwabvi*) is the supreme court of appeal for a final declaration on all questions of innocence or guilt. The verdict of the *ula* or the *mabisalira* may be refused or denied; the verdict of the poison ordeal is accepted by both parties as a final closing of the case. It consists of a decoction of the bark of the *mwabvi*-tree, which is pounded in a mortar with a certain quantity of water warmed by means of a hot stone dropped into it, and given to the accused or appellant to drink. Sometimes both parties drink together to assert the truth of their asseverations. Upon the effect of the poison hangs the verdict. If the accused dies, he is guilty, and, the case being thus decided against him, his friends and relatives have to pay compensation for the crime which he committed. If the accused vomits, he is innocent, and the accusers, having made a false accusation, have to pay compensation to the person whom they thus defamed.

The poison ordeal is administered in several ways. (1) It may be drunk by the accused himself in the presence of the accusers. As soon as the poison begins to show that it is to have a fatal effect, the accuser and his friends usually set upon their victim and beat him or otherwise maltreat him till he dies. The body may then be burned, or thrown into the bush to be devoured by beasts of prey or vultures. It is never given ordinary burial. (2) The poison may be administered to some domestic animal, a fowl or a dog, and by the result the innocence or guilt of the accused is declared. (3) Among the Angoni Nyanjas the poison is administered to villages or even districts, in order to clear them of the accusation or suspicion of witchcraft, or to purge them of all persons suspected of using occult powers. Not infrequently, if an Angoni chief doubted the loyalty of any of his villages, he would order a wholesale drinking of the poison. In this way many deaths occurred, whole villages being sometimes almost entirely wiped out.

10. **Social organization.**—The chief sitting in the council of his elders or headmen is the head of all authority and the highest court of law in his country. Decisions may be given in smaller cases by the headmen, but all serious cases are taken to the chief's court for final decision. War is declared by the chief alone. None of his people can go on a foray without his consent. The chief is responsible for the acts of his subjects. The members of a village or clan are all held individually responsible for the actions of any of their fellow-members. There is no criminal law nor such a thing as 'crime' in native law. All offences are civil offences—against property—and so may be atoned for by payment according to the amount of damage done. This is the fundamental principle at the root of native law. The native whose goods have been stolen fails to see the justice of merely imprisoning the thief while the stolen property is left unrestored. Under native law the thief would have been obliged to make restitution for the stolen goods, or his relatives would have paid the amount for him. Assault on the person is compensated for by a monetary payment according to the amount of the injury inflicted. Adultery is punishable by death or by payment of a slave or the value of a slave. It is, in native law, an offence against the property or rights of the husband.

The line of descent being through the mother and the laws of property demanding that it be kept within the clan, inheritance falls to the brother by the same mother; failing him, to the oldest sister's son. The heir takes the name as well as the property of the deceased. No one can fall heir to two names. Under the native régime monogamy is the rule and polygamy the exception. Wealth or inheritance alone is responsible for polygamy.

LITERATURE.—D. and C. Livingstone, *Narr. of an Expedition to the Zambesi and its Tributaries*, London, 1865; D. C. Scott, *An Encyclopædic Dict. of the Mang'anja Language*, Edinburgh, 1892; H. Rowley, *Story of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa*, London, 1866; D. Macdonald, *Africana*, do. 1882; R. S. Rattray, *Chinyanja Folklore, Songs, and Stories*, do. 1907; H. H. Johnston, *British Central Africa*, London, 1898.

A. HETHERWICK.

NYĀYA.—*Nyāya* in Sanskrit signifies 'Logic,' and is the title of the latest of the six philosophical systems of the Brāhmans. These are in order the Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Mīmāṁsā, Vedānta, Vaiśeṣika, and Nyāya. Its founder is known either by his gentilic name of Gotama (Gautama) or by a nickname which has lost its opprobrious meaning and has supplanted the personal name, Akṣapāda, 'the eye-footed,' *i.e.* with the eyes directed on the feet.

The name of 'Logic' has been given to the system, because it treats of formal logic in the most exhaustive manner, and this forms its principal theme. In the first sentence of Gotama's text-book, the *Nyāya-sūtras*, which were composed *c.* 150 B.C., sixteen logical ideas are found enumerated, with the characteristic addition that the true knowledge of their nature leads to the attainment of final emancipation, *i.e.* the release of the soul from the cycle of existence. Nothing shows more clearly the dominant position assumed by formal logic in the Nyāya system.

Gotama's logic enjoys great popularity in India, and for a long time has served as the foundation of all philosophical research, as is shown by the fact that the terminology of the Nyāya has found its way into the later text-books of all the other schools. The Nyāya philosophy, however, is in no way limited to logic and dialectic, but claims to be a complete philosophical system. Regarded as such, it is only a further development and completion of the Vaiśeṣika system (see art. VAIŚEṢIKA), from which it has borrowed not only its doctrine of atoms and of the origin of the universe, but also its psychology. Just as in the philosophy of the Vaiśeṣika, so according to the doctrine of the Nyāya, souls are infinite and eternal, possess definite qualities, and are only by means of the material organ of thought which they possess capable of experience and knowledge. Nevertheless the Nyāya philosophy is set to a different key from that of the system of the Vaiśeṣika. In harmony with the older systems in its theory of the universe it maintains the consistent pessimism and the ascetic character which above everything else require the suppression of the desire for action; and in connexion with this it again presents deliverance from the misery of empirical existence, *i.e.* the attainment of a condition of absolute unconsciousness, as the supreme goal of human endeavour — prominent characteristics which in the Vaiśeṣika philosophy (at least in Kaṇāda's text-book) appear toned down to a remarkable degree.

In all the Indian systems the means by which knowledge may be attained are discussed, now a greater and now a less number of methods being recognized, but nowhere is the subject so fully expounded as in the Nyāya. Here four sources of true knowledge are recognized: (1) perception (*pratyakṣa*), (2) inference (*anumāna*), (3) analogy (*upamāna*), (4) credible testimony (*śabda*). It is obvious, however, that inference, as the only reliable means of attaining philosophical knowledge, completely overshadows the other three. There are three kinds of inference: (1) inference from the cause to the effect (*pūrvavat*), when, for instance, from the rising clouds the conclusion is drawn that a storm of rain is impending; (2) inference from the effect to the cause (*śeṣavat*), when, for instance, from the swelling of the rivers it is inferred that rain has fallen in the uplands; (3) conclusion as to something beyond the reach of the senses only to be known in the abstract (*sāmānyato dṛṣṭa*), when, for example, the individual senses are made the foundation on which to base a general conception of the instrument of perception. The distinction usual in European logic since the time of Aristotle between induction and deduction was strangely enough never made in India.[1]

The syllogism of the Nyāya consists of five members, which are illustrated by the standing example of fire inferred from the smoke on the mountain:

(1) Proposition (*pratijñā*): there is fire on the mountain.

(2) Cause (*hetu*): for the mountain smokes.

(3) Exemplification (*dṛṣṭānta*): wherever there is smoke there is fire, as, for example, on the hearth in the kitchen.

(4) Recapitulation of the cause (*upanaya*): the mountain smokes.

(5) Conclusion (*nigamana*): therefore there is fire on the mountain.

If this scheme is contrasted with the simple threefold syllogism of Aristotle, it is seen to be unnecessarily diffuse, since the members (4) and (5) are, in fact, only repetitions of (2) and (1). The aim, however, of the founder of the Nyāya system was not in the least to propound the most concise form of syllogism possible; he desired to teach how best to impart to others a conviction reached by an inference. Thus, from the sphere of logic he encroached on that of rhetoric. Even in India, therefore, no difficulty was found in accommodating the above-mentioned scheme of five members to that of three, to which we are accustomed. The conception on which the theory of the syllogism of the Nyāya rests bears the name of 'invariable association' (*vyāpti*). Instead of starting as we do with an affirmative proposition, universally valid—'All smoke presumes the existence of fire'—the Nyāya philosophy asserts the 'invariable association' of smoke with fire. The sign observed (*liṅga*)—in this instance the smoke—is 'invariably associated' (*vyāpya*); the vehicle of the sign which is to be inferred (*liṅgin*)—in this instance the fire—is the 'invariable associate' (*vyāpaka*). Logically the conception is quite correct, although the form of the expression conveys to us a suggestion of strangeness. For smoke is always and unconditionally associated with fire, but not *vice versa* fire with smoke; for there is smokeless fire. The definitions of the conceptions here mentioned, and the doctrines of their application, not only occupy a large place in the literature proper of the Nyāya system, but have a wider range in the philosophical systems of India.

The conception which the Nyāya philosophy presents of causality is somewhat different from that of the older systems, in which only two kinds of causes are admitted, the material and the effective. The material cause of a thing (*upādāna-kāraṇa*) is the matter from which it proceeds or of which it is composed or consists; the effective cause (*nimittakāraṇa*) is both the motive-power from which it originates and the means by which it is produced. The material cause of a given object is always the same, and therefore is described as the chief cause. The effective causes, on the other hand, of which frequently a whole series present themselves, need not be the same in similar cases, and are therefore termed also accompanying or secondary causes (*sahakārikāraṇa*). In place of the expression 'material cause,' which is elsewhere customary, the Nyāya philosophy employs in exactly the same sense the term 'inhering cause' (*samavāyikāraṇa*), with evident reference to the sixth category of the Vaiśeṣika system, and together with the two kinds of causes here named postulates a third, the 'not-inhering cause' (*asamavāyikāraṇa*), which we may describe as 'formal.' To use the ordinary example of the Nyāya books, in the case of a carpet the threads are the inhering cause, the combination of the threads the not-inhering cause; the weaver's tools, his diligence and skill, and the weaver himself are the effective causes. The carpet itself is the inhering cause of its qualities; the qualities of the threads are the not-inhering cause of the qualities of the carpet.

The most important features of the Nyāya philosophy have here been set forth. But the system further treats of the meaning of numerous logical conceptions, and of fallacies, sophisms, and other

[1] Cf. Max Müller, *ZDMG* vi. [1860] 235; Albert Bürk, *WZKM* xv. [1901] 251 ff.

errors of speech, accompanied always with elaborate and subtle classifications and subdivisions. To those desirous of investigating the subject further, the able article of H. Jacobi on 'Indian Logic' may be recommended.[1]

One point of importance remains to be noticed, which has to do with the Vaiśeṣika system as well as with the Nyāya.

The *Vaiśeṣika-* and *Nyāya-sūtras*, the treatises upon which the two schools are founded, contain no mention of God. Since they, moreover, assert the eternal and uncreated nature of both soul and matter, and conceive the fate of the individual in harmony with the universal Indian view as the result of his good and evil deeds in the present or earlier existences, there can be no doubt of the originally atheistic character of both systems. Probably we ought to recognize here the influence of the Sāṅkhya system; and in fact the doctrines of the Vaiśeṣika-Nyāya, although in several respects opposed to the Sāṅkhya, seem, on the other hand, to be dependent upon it in some of their fundamental tenets. When later the Vaiśeṣika and Nyāya systems came to be blended together, the combined school adopted theistic views, but never saw in the personal God, whom they assumed, the creator of matter. Their theology is set forth in the *Kusumāñjali* of Udayanāchārya (*c.* A.D. 1300), and in various later works which discuss the two systems in common. According to the view which they hold in harmony with the doctrine of the Yoga, God is a distinct soul like the other individual souls, and these are equally with Him eternal. He is, however, distinguished from them by the fact that He alone possesses the attributes of omniscience and omnipotence, which qualify Him for the government of the universe; and that, on the other hand, He lacks those attributes which result in the entanglement of all other souls in the cycle of existence.

LITERATURE.—F. Max Müller, *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, London, 1899, ch. viii.; M. Monier-Williams, *Indian Wisdom*[4], London, 1893; *Sarva-darśana-saṅgraha*, tr. E. B. Cowell and A. E. Gough[2], London, 1894, ch. xi.

R. GARBE.

NYIKA.—1. Distribution.—'Nyika (Wanyika),' also 'Wanika' and in the Portuguese records 'Vanica,' is a name applied to several Bantu tribes in E. Africa. It is not an ethnic designation, as it simply means 'people of the wilderness,'[2] and appears to have been used by the Swahili to denote a set of tribes who, during the 16th cent., migrated down the coast in a south-westerly direction from the steppes on the left bank of the Tana. It is not used indiscriminately for the inland natives, as the Taita, Pokomo, Segeju, and Kamba do not seem ever to have been included under it, though the first three, at any rate, are probably connected in some way with the nine tribes to whom it has—whether arbitrarily or not—been assigned. These are distributed as follows:

(1) The **Giryama**, in the country north and south of Mt. Mangea, which lies, roughly speaking, about 39° 40′ E. by 3° 20′ S. They extend beyond the Sabaki—in fact, the important settlement of Garashi lies north of that river; and in recent years single families have been migrating farther and farther north, even beyond the Tana. Their southern boundary is the Mleji, the stream which crosses the road from Rabai to Kaloleni.

(2) The **Ravai**[3] between the Mleji and the Mtsapuni stream, the latter being about half-way between Rabai Boma and Mazera's station on the Uganda Railway.

(3) The **Duruma**, west of the Mtsapuni. They are said to be partly descended from a number of Makua brought to Mombasa by a Portuguese known as 'Bwana Kigozi' (De Goes?).

(4) The **Digo**, west of the Duruma and extending over the border into German E. Africa, where they occupy the hinterland of Tanga (Baumann, *Usambara und seine Nachbargebiete*, pp. 144–161). These four are the larger Nyika tribes; the remaining five are (now, at any rate) of less importance. They are chiefly found on the ridge of hills running southward from the Voi river, between the Giryama countryland the sea.

(5) The **Kauma** have their principal *kaya*, or fortified village, about a day's march south of Mtanganyiko on the Voi river (which runs into the Kilifi creek). Some of them live north of the Sabaki, near Garashi.

(6) The **Chonyi**, whose *kaya* lies south of Kaya Kauma. There are also a few of them near Garashi.

(7) The **Dzihana** (Jibana), a few miles south of Kaya Chonyi, on the way to Ribe. Their clan-names (see below) seem to indicate a close connexion with Chonyi.

(8) The **Kambe** (not to be confounded with the Kamba of Ukambani, the district south-east of Nairobi) have one *kaya* between Jibana and Ribe (but a little off the main road) and another (Kaya Kambe ya Bate) north of the Sabaki, near Jilore.

(9) The **Rihe** ('Ribe') are a small tribe living almost within sight of Mombasa and a few miles from Rabai. The old *kaya* is not quite an hour's walk from the present (Methodist) mission village of Ribe.

Krapf (*Reisen in Ost-Afrika*, i. 180) mentions twelve tribes of 'Wanika,' but nowhere gives a definite list of them. He incidentally refers to the tribes of Shimba and Mtawi (ii. 91), who are subdivisions of the Digo, and on the same page mentions the Lungo tribe 'der zu den Wadigo-Stämmen der Wanika gehört,' so that it is not clear whether he reckons it separately. He may, however, have reckoned as the twelfth the Tiwi, which he does not mention, but which occurs in an Arabic MS of which translations are published by both Owen (*Narrative of Voyages*, i. 418) and Guillain (*Documents sur l' hist. . . de l' Afrique orientale*, i. 618). Among the 'cities of the Vanikat' (evidently meaning the *kayas*) enumerated in this MS, nine can easily be identified as the tribes given above; the others are Mtawi, Mtawi-Shimba (probably an offshoot of the former), Tiwi, and Lungo. There is a village called Tiwi about half-way between Mombasa and the German frontier, and on the Shimba hills, just south of Mombasa, are several Digo villages somewhat isolated from the rest of the tribe, to which, no doubt, all four names really belong.

2. Origin.—The general native tradition is that the Wanyika come from Sungwaya (Shungwaya, Shingwaya), the native name for the plains on the left bank of the Tana (Hollis, *JRAI* xxx. 276, n.). They are said to have been driven thence by the Galla. According to the old headman of Kaya Kauma, this happened thirteen generations ago. Some say that all the Wanyika are descended from Matseze and his wife Mbodze, who lived near Sungwaya.[1]

Another Kauma informant told the writer that, at the time of the migration, the Pokomo (*q.v.*) were already settled in the Tana valley and the Segeju in the delta of the same river, 'from the old Ozi to Chadoro.' The former preferred to submit to the Galla, and were treated as their serfs till within the last fifty years; the latter marched south with the Wanyika till they arrived at or near their present abode, viz. the neighbourhood of Tanga, though there are some within British territory, south of Gasi (Baumann, p. 25 f.). The Wanyika appear to have remained with them for some time; but, as their numbers increased, they sent off three successive swarms northward, the first being the Kauma, the second the Rabai (who, according to this informant, built their *kaya* at Mbuyuni, not far from what is now Mazera's station on the Uganda Railway, migrating afterwards to Rabai Mpia, where Krapf found them), and the last the Duruma, who seem to have settled much about where they now are. Krapf's account (i. 411; cf. also his *Dict. of the Suahili Language*, London, 1882, *s.v.* 'Mutsi muiru') at first sight

[1] *GGN*, phil.-histor. Klasse, 1901, p. 460 ff.

[2] *Nyika*, in Swahili, originally meant 'grass,' and is used for the 'bush steppe,' the open ground covered with coarse grass and scrub, as distinguished from the forest, *mwitu*.

[3] *v* here denotes the 'bilabial *v*,' which is the sound used by the people themselves. The Swahili call them 'Warabai,' and the name in this form has been officially given to the district. It does not belong to the present mission station (founded by Rebmann in 1850), which is properly called Kisulutini.

[1] Near Kaloleni, in Giryama, is the grave of another Mbodze, by some said to be a descendant of the first, where rain-making ceremonies are performed in time of drought.

seems incompatible with the above; he says (and this is borne out by a MS kindly placed at the present writer's disposal by Miss Austin) that they came from Rombo in Chaga and built their *kaya* on Mriale hill, where the site is still shown, though quite overgrown with forest. Thence they moved to Rabai ya Kale ('Old Rabai,' or Vokera), and later to Rabai Mpia ('New Rabai'), which had, in 1845, been occupied only for about 30 years (Krapf, i. 251). He gives no very clear indication as to the site of Rabai ya Kale, which he visited more than once (i. 215, 230), but it seems to have been near the head of the Jomvu creek.

As this migration is evidently much later than the other, it was probably a return movement. There is nothing to prevent our supposing that some, if not all, of the Wanyika had reached the neighbourhood of Kilimanjaro, or that they were joined by some of the Chaga clans when they once more set their faces northward. The MS above referred to states that Chonyi and Dzihana are offshoots of this tribe.

A note of time for the southward migration from Sungwaya is furnished by the recorded fact that the 'Mosseguejos' assisted the Portuguese, in 1589, to defend Malindi against the Wazimba (Guillain, i. 402; Baumann, p. 26; Strandes, *Die Portugiesenzeit von Deutsch- und Englisch-Ostafrika*, p. 153).

The Giryama are said by some to have come from the Taita hills and to be quite distinct from the Wanyika who came out of Sungwaya. The probable solution is suggested by other informants, according to whom the Giryama and Taita tribes left Sungwaya together and settled down, as did the Wanyika and Wasegeju. Later, the Giryama, leaving the others behind, went north again and established themselves on Mt. Mangea, which is looked on by some as their original centre of dispersion (Krapf, i. 359; Wakefield, *Thomas Wakefield*[2], p. 60). The Kambe insist that they left Sungwaya as a separate tribe, along with the Kauma, of whom the Rihe are an offshoot. But 'the Ribe are the most ancient of all the Nyika sub-tribes, and if members of all the sections meet together, the Ribe representative has the right to speak first' (Hollis, MS information). Probably some of these conflicting accounts are to be explained by the fact that the tribes are not always homogeneous. Thus, some perplexity was occasioned by a statement that the Pokomo came from Taita. This appears to mean that, when the Rabai left Mriale, they 'split up into several sections, going respectively to Pokomo, Chonyi, Jibana, Mtahi, and Mtongwe. . . . To this day the section which went to Pokomo are said to be distinguishable by their Rabai names' (Austin, MS). This is confirmed by members of the Pokomo tribe.

3. Physical characteristics.—The Giryama present a well-marked physical type: they are tall, many well over 6 ft., muscular and well made, with a peculiar breadth of head and squareness of face; the complexion is a very dark brown; the nose, as a rule, not excessively flat. Similar types are sometimes found among the Rabai, but these are far less homogeneous; their situation, within easy reach of Mombasa and in touch with several inland tribes, exposed them to frequent contact with strangers who came to trade and frequently settled down and intermarried with them. Besides, we find that, as long ago as 1614, Rabai was inhabited by the slaves of the Sultan of Mombasa (Guillain, i. 419), and these would be drawn from various parts. Many of the present inhabitants are freed slaves, or the children of such, belonging to the Nyanja, Yao, Ngindo, and other tribes. The Duruma are far from homogeneous, perhaps for the reason already stated. The population of Ribe is also very mixed. Chonyi and Jibana may perhaps represent the primitive Rabai rather better than those who go under the latter name.

The Digo 'are slender and remarkably well built; they have pleasant, oval faces, in which the negro type is not exaggerated, and which decidedly indicate an affinity with the northern Hamitic tribes, such as the Galla and Somali. The predominant colour of their skins is a shade between cinnamon and coffee-brown; but, as might be expected, innumerable gradations occur' (Baumann, p. 145).

4. Social organization.—(*a*) *Clans.*—All these tribes are organized on a basis of exogamous clans, among which, however, there are important distinctions. The Giryama trace descent through the father, as do the Kauma and Kambe, Chonyi, Dzihana, and Rihe. The Digo and Duruma trace it through the mother, and the Rabai appear to be passing from one stage to the other. They have two sets of clans, called 'male' and 'female'—the men belonging to the first, and the women to the second. A man inherits two clans, his father's and his mother's, but for all practical purposes he is counted as belonging to his father's, while the reverse is the case with his sister. The statement that one of the Dzihana clans is 'a women's clan' seems to indicate that this tribe may once have had a similar arrangement. We have a hint of the change from matrilineal to patrilineal descent in the case of the Kauma, in a pedigree which goes back for seven generations in the male line, then changes to the female; also perhaps in the fact that the tribal ancestress, Mbodze, is always named before her husband, Matseze.[1]

A former Assistant District Commissioner at Rabai says: 'It is probably not very long since the Northern Nyika passed from the stage when mother-right obtained, for I remember a case . . . in 1898, of a Rabai man suing his nephew for seizing the estates of his deceased father' (Hollis, MS).

(*b*) *The kaya.*—The *kaya* is intimately connected with the clan-organization. It is usually situated on a hill-top in the densest part of the forest (Kaya Jibana has a particularly commanding situation and difficult approach); it is surrounded by a circular palisade of stout stakes, with two gateways at opposite points, closed by heavy wooden doors and approached by a steep and narrow pathway. Usually there are three gateways at each entrance—perhaps there was formerly a triple palisade, but, since people have been able to live outside the *kaya*, the defences have fallen into decay. Kaya Rihe and Rabai Mpia are now deserted, though the latter is still used for assemblies of the elders, and the *mwanza* is kept there; and, in the former, the site of the old council-house can still be traced. The *moro*, or council-house, is the meeting-place of the men, and serves the purposes both of a parliament-house and of an ordinary club. At Garashi and both the Kambe *kayas* it seemed to be open to strangers; at Kaya Kauma, though the place was pointed out, the present writer was not allowed even to approach it. Should any unauthorized person (*i.e.* one not belonging to the order of elders, or armed with their permission) go there, it was said that he would fall down in a fit and not recover till treated by the elders. Besides the *moro* each clan (*mbari*), or in most cases each of the larger divisions of the tribe (usually consisting of several *mbari*), has its club-house (*lwanda*, but the Swahili word *baraza* is often used), round which the huts of the families belonging to that section are grouped. Evidently the only name for these larger units is *kabila*, from the Swahili; it is possible that they were originally *mbari* which branched off into the smaller divisions now known by that name, and it is sometimes difficult to keep the two sets of names distinct. There are five sections of the Kauma tribe: the Andarari, Adzakaa, Amongwe, Adzundza, and Amvitsa, compris-

[1] This is not accidental, for the present writer was expressly corrected by an old man when mentioning them in the reverse order.

ing seventeen *mbari*; but there are only two club-houses, the Amvitsa and Amongwe sharing one opposite the north gate of the *kaya*, the other three the corresponding southern one. At Kaya Chonyi, however, eleven out of seventeen *mbari* have a *baraza* each; the remaining six share three between them, perhaps indicating a recent sub-division. Kaya Dzihana and Kaya Rihe each have (or had) four *barazas*.

(*c*) *Totemism.*—There are traces of totemism, though, as far as our present state of knowledge goes, it seems to be almost forgotten. The Giryama clans 'are divided into two sections, according as they avoid the *kasiji* or the *katsendzere* bird' (MS information communicated by Hobley). The *kasiji* is a tiny finch, sky-blue and grey in plumage; it is never killed or eaten, but it is difficult to determine how far it is actually regarded as sacred. The *katsendzere* is a still smaller bird, grey, with a crimson spot just behind the head. Some of the Chonyi clans refuse to eat the *loma* (ant-bear), an animal to which some curious superstitions are attached. There are other food-prohibitions, though it is not certain whether these have anything to do with totemism or not; Chonyi, and certain clans of Kauma and Kambe, may not eat the flesh of the *funo* antelope within their *kaya*, though there is no objection to their doing so elsewhere (Hollis, MS).

How far the curious veneration for the hyena (Krapf, i. 248, and *Dict. of the Suahili Language*, *s.v.* 'Fisi'; New, *Life . . . in E. Africa*, p. 132; Taylor, *Giryama Vocabulary*, p. 82) is really totemistic is difficult to say. It is not connected with any particular clan, as with the Nandi, who certainly have a hyena totem (Hollis, *The Nandi*, Oxford, 1909, p. 11; some usages with regard to the hyena extend to the whole tribe [*ib.* p. 7]). Nor can it be connected with a custom of leaving the dead to be devoured by hyenas, for among the Nyika tribes the dead are always buried. Sham traps were set up on recent graves outside Kaya Kauma, to prevent exhumation by hyenas or bush-pigs. Neither the Galla nor the Pokomo venerate the hyena, though the latter remark on such veneration as a peculiarity of the Wakoshoro (their name for the Giryama). Giryama of middle age say that a man was formerly fined by the elders if he killed a hyena, but the regulation is no longer observed.

(*d*) *Government.*—There is nothing like a paramount chief of any Nyika tribe, though the Digo have hereditary sultans, with the title *kubo* (Hollis, *JRAI* xxx. 276, 289, and MS information). The government is carried on by the 'elders' (*azhere*). Any member of the tribe who has passed through the preliminary degrees (Taylor, pp. 43–45) is eligible for entrance into the *kambi*, or council, on payment of the proper fees, the badge of this status being an ivory armlet (*luvoo*). Members of the *kambi* may afterwards be admitted, first to the *vaya*, or 'circle of the elders,' who 'may deliberate on smaller judicial questions in their own district, but are really nothing more than a convivial club' (Taylor, p. 44), and afterwards to 'the *Fisi* "Hyena" —the Inner Circle of all and very select. . . . The members of the Hyena inspire great terror, as they are the depositories of the most potent spells and oracles' (*ib.* p. 45). From these last two classes are chosen the three *enye-tsi*, 'owners of the land,' who carry on the government during the space of a *rika* (or 'circumcision-cycle') and then 'hand over the country' to their successors, *i.e.* all those circumcised next after them, the ceremony taking place about once in thirteen years, which, according to one native informant, is the duration of a *rika*. But the collective circumcision-festival is falling into disuse, the operation being regarded more and more as a purely individual, or at most a family, matter; and this, perhaps, is the reason for the difference in a recent account:

'There are now among the Wagiryama a considerable number of native councils or *kambis*. An elder more intelligent than his confrères soon becomes the nucleus of a *kambi* and by general assent is established as their president (*mwanamuli*). All the people living within the sphere of his influence send their elders to the *kambi* which meets at or near his village' (Hobley, MS).

The whole system seems, in its general features, to be common to Nyika, Pokomo, Kamba, Kikuyu, and probably other Bantu tribes, also to the Galla (*Journ. of the Afr. Soc.*, 1913, p. 369, 1914, p. 262 ff.), Masai (Hollis, *The Masai*, Oxford, 1905, pp. 260–263), and Nandi (Hollis, *Nandi*, p. 12). The *mwanza*, or friction-drum, used for convening the *kambi*, is kept by the elders in a hut built for the purpose in the *moro*, and carefully hidden from all but the initiated (Krapf, i. 312 ff., where the ceremonies connected with it recall the W. African *poro*). It is sounded when a new law is to be promulgated, or as a signal for dances and other ceremonies which take place at the beginning of the rains—usually in February.

5. **Religion.**—The Nyika, like other Bantu tribes, use the name Mulungu, which, according to Taylor (p. 47), 'is often popularly understood as (1) sky, (2) luck, (3) manes of father,' etc. The greater part, if not all, of their religious observances seem to be connected with ancestor-worship. There appear to be some spirits (*pepo*) which are, or have become, distinct from ancestral spirits (Taylor, pp. 32, 81); of these, Katsumbakazi recalls certain mythical beings of Pokomo tradition, and also the Zulu legends of the Abatwa (Bushmen). The Duruma say (native MS communicated by Hollis) that every person is accompanied by a guardian spirit (*pepo*); it may be ancestral, but, if so, the native mind is not apt to perceive any incongruity between this and the belief that the shade (*koma*) of the dead haunts the vicinity of the grave. An important grave is marked by a carved post (*kigango*), sometimes surrounded by other posts representing wives or relatives not necessarily buried in the same place (see photographs taken by Captain Knox at Kaya Dzihana, in *Man*, ix. [1909], facing p. 145, with note by Hollis). It is here that offerings are made to the *koma*, usually of meal and beer (*pombe*); occasionally a fowl is killed (Taylor, p. 81). Possession by spirits is frequent (*ib.* p. 32, and Hollis, MS) and gives rise to the usual dances, etc. (cf. the Nigerian *bori*); it is sometimes induced by dancing, in order to obtain information believed to be communicated by the spirit, as in a case witnessed by the writer, where the mother of a sick child had the appropriate remedy revealed to her. Diviners (*tsuha mburuga*) are frequently consulted in case of illness or other difficulty, and make use of a process analogous to the *bula* of the Baronga, etc. There do not appear to be any professional rain-makers; in fact, it is not rain-making that is attempted in time of drought so much as the discovery of the persons who are keeping back the rain, having buried certain charms for the purpose. A ceremony for producing rain, however, has sometimes been performed at the grave of Mbodze, and is of the nature of sympathetic magic; the main point of it is the setting up of a *kinu* (wooden mortar) on the grave and filling it with water (native information; cf. also Taylor, p. 82).

The elders of the *fisi* supply the charms (*kiraho*) which protect growing crops, etc., and entail a curse on any one who removes or disregards them. They, with the *vaya*, also administer the ordeal (*kiraho, kurya muma*) in certain criminal cases (Hollis, MS).

6. **Material culture.**—The material culture of the Nyika offers some interesting peculiarities. Their huts are quite unlike the hemispherical ones of the Zulus, the slightly different ones of the Pokomo

and Galla, or the circular ones with a conical roof of the Kikuyu, Nyanja, etc. They are rectangular in ground-plan, with a thatched roof descending from the ridge-pole to the ground, so that there are, properly speaking, no walls, and the general outline is not unlike that of a haystack. Sometimes this kind of house has straight gable-ends, filled in with upright stakes; more usually the ends are sloped and thatched down to the ground like the sides. Those of the Digo are somewhat different (Baumann, p. 147). The dress of the men is the usual waist-cloth of cotton fabric, with or without an upper cloth draped over one shoulder; the characteristic costume of the women (where they have not adopted the two cloths of the Swahili women) is the *rinda*, or kilt, reaching from the waist to the knees (*ib.* p. 146).

The most usual weapon is the bow; the Giryama bow differs slightly in form from that used by the Wasanye. The arrows are often poisoned; in this case they are reed-tipped; otherwise they have barbed iron heads. The Giryama also use the parrying-stick (*kipungu*), which is very rarely found elsewhere in Africa; and another peculiar weapon is a three-sided club (*ndata*) used for killing snakes. They also have swords (*mushu, mufyu*), which are as much implements as weapons, and smaller knives.

The Giryama are said to have been once highly skilled in metal-work, but now they buy from the Kamba the fine copper and iron chains which they wear as ornaments and which, so they say, they taught the Kamba to make.

The Nyika live chiefly by agriculture, which is mainly the concern of the women; they keep goats and sheep, but few, if any, cattle. In recent years they have taken to planting coco-nuts, less for the sake of the nuts than for tapping them for palm-wine, which formerly they bought from the Swahili. The ground is cultivated with the hoe (*jembe*) and the most usual crops are maize, millet, sweet potatoes, beans, pumpkins, etc.

7. Conclusion.—Different opinions have been expressed as to the character of the Wanyika, and they consist of such various elements that it would be difficult to give a compendious judgment of them as a whole. The unfavourable estimate, *e.g.*, of H. H. Johnston (*The Kilima-njaro Expedition*, London, 1886, p. 42) must be qualified by the consideration that the Rabai people are a very mixed race, consisting largely of ex-slaves, and that a starting-point for caravans is much on a level with a seaport in the types of character that it presents. The Giryama are a vigorous race, full of fine possibilities; and the others, with all deductions, contain very good material for future development. Their old institutions appear to be breaking down, which is unfortunate, as there are many important facts yet unrecorded; but, so far as one can judge, this is not a symptom of decay, but a stage of growth, to be watched with interest and fostered with judicious care.

LITERATURE.—C. Guillain, *Documents sur l'histoire, la géographie, et le commerce de l'Afrique orientale*, 3 vols., Paris, 1856–57; W. F. W. Owen, *Narrative of Voyages to explore the Shores of Africa, Arabia, and Madagascar, performed in H.M. Ships Leven and Barracouta*, London, 1833; J. L. Krapf, *Reisen in Ost-Afrika*, Kornthal, 1859; C. New, *Life, Wanderings, and Labours in E. Africa*, London, 1873; E. S. Wakefield, *Thomas Wakefield, Missionary and Geographical Pioneer in E. Equatorial Africa*[2], do. 1904; O. Baumann, *Usambara und seine Nachbargebiete*, Berlin, 1891; W. E. Taylor, *Giryama Vocabulary and Collections*, London, 1891; J. Strandes, *Die Portugiesenzeit von Deutsch- und Englisch-Ostafrika*, Berlin, 1899; C. Eliot, *The E. Africa Protectorate*, London, 1905; W. W. A. FitzGerald, *Travels in the Coastlands of British E. Africa and the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba*, do. 1898; A. C. Hollis, 'Notes on the History of Vumba, E. Africa,' in *JRAI* xxx. [1900] 275–297, and MS information; MS information obtained from C. W. Hobley, Provincial Commissioner, Mombasa, H. R. Tate, District Commissioner at Malindi in 1913, and Miss Austin, C.M.S., Rabai; A. Werner, 'The Bantu Coast Tribes of the E. Africa Protectorate,' in *JRAI* xlv. [1915] 326 ff., and MS information personally collected in E. Africa; A. H. Hardinge, 'Report on the Condition and Progress of the E. Africa Protectorate from its Commencement to the 20th July, 1897,' *Parliamentary Paper*, Africa, no. 7 [1897] [c. 8683].

A. WERNER.

NYMPHS.—See NATURE (Greek), vol. ix. p. 226[b].

NYSA (Νύση).—The sacred name of Nysa is from the beginning an integral element of the legend of Dionysos. There is, doubtless, an etymological connexion between the two names, but their significance escapes us (Diod. iv. 2. 4: *Διὸ καὶ τραφέντα τὸν Διόνυσον ἐν τῇ Νύσῃ τυχεῖν τῆς προσηγορίας ταύτης ἀπὸ Διὸς καὶ Νύσης*).[1] The name of Nysa first occurs in one of those tantalizing passages, of which there are several in Homer, in which we get a glimpse into a whole world of legend lying behind the Homeric poems. The story is told, merely in outline, of the fate of Lykoergos, king of the Edones of Thrace, who withstood by violence the spread of the orgiastic cult in this its native home:

> *ὃς ποτε μαινομένοιο Διωνύσοιο τιθήνας*
> *σεῦε κατ' ἠγάθεον Νυσήϊον,*

'that erst chased through the goodly land of Nysa the nursing mothers of Dionysos' (*Il.* vi. 132 f.).

As we come down the stream of Greek poetry and myth, the name frequently recurs—now as that of a mountain, now as that of a city, now, again, as that of a nymph fabled to have mothered the infant deity; but, whatever its guise, it is always a mystic entity, eluding exact analysis and baffling all attempts at precise localization. Hence it has been happily described as 'in fact, a mountain which attended Dionysus on his travels' (quotation in J. E. Sandys, *Bacchæ of Euripides*[3], Cambridge, 1892, line 556).

The vine, the god's chief gift to man, must, it was felt, have had somewhere on earth a place of origin, and in much the same way as Attica claimed to be, for Greece if not for the whole world, the motherland of the olive (Herod. v. 82: *λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐλαῖαι ἦσαν ἄλλοθι γῆς οὐδαμοῦ κατὰ χρόνον ἐκεῖνον ἢ ἐν Ἀθήνῃσι*; cf. Soph. *Œd. Col.* 694 ff.: *ἔστιν δ' οἷον ἐγὼ γᾶς Ἀσίας οὐκ ἐπακούω . . . φύτευμ' ἀχείρωτον αὐτοποιόν*, κτλ.—where note the reference in the opening words [678 f.]: *ἵν' ὁ βακχιώτας ἀεὶ Διόνυσος ἐμβατεύει*), so did various places, nearer or more remote, in all parts of the Greek world, claim to be the original home of the vine (*e.g.*, Soph. *Antig.* 1131: *καί σε Νυσαίων ὀρέων | κισσήρεις ὄχθαι χλωρά τ' ἀκτὰ | πολυστάφυλος πέμπει*—alluding to the claim of a Nysa in Eubœa near Ægæ; cf. Soph. frag. 235).

Hence Herodotos (iii. 97; cf. ii. 146) knows of a 'sacred Nysa' (*Νύση ἱερή*) among the Ethiopians who border upon Egypt. Diodoros, who greatly exercised himself over the antecedents and early history of Dionysos, holds that the scene of his birth was in Arabia (in support of which opinion he is never tired of quoting *Hymn. Hom.* i. 8 f.: *ἔστι δέ τις Νύση, ὕπατον ὄρος, ἀνθέον ὕλῃ, | τηλοῦ Φοινίκης, σχεδὸν Αἰγύπτοιο ῥοάων*—which does not appear very convincing; see Diod. iii. 66. 3, and cf. iv. 2. 3: *πρὸς τὸ ἄντρον τὸ ἐν τῇ Νύσῃ, κείμενον μεταξὺ Φοινίκης καὶ Νείλου*—the cave at any rate is vouched for by *Hymn. Hom.* xxvi. 5 f.: *Νύσης ἐν γυάλοις· ὁ δ' ἀέξετο πατρὸς ἕκητι | ἄντρῳ ἐν εὐώδει*); but he knows also of a serious claimant in Libya (iii. 68. 5), not to speak of a third in India (i. 19. 7). Similarly in poetry, starting as, for Homer, a Thracian locality (whether mountain or plain is not clear),[2] it has already 'won over into the mythical' in Soph. frag. 782:

> *ὅθεν κατεῖδον τὴν βεβακχιωμένην*
> *βροτοῖσι κλεινὴν Νῦσαν, ἣν ὁ βούκερως*
> *Ἴακχος αὐτῷ μαῖαν ἡδίστην νέμει,*
> *ὅπου τις ὄρνις οὐχὶ κλαγγάνει;*

(*ap.* Strabo, xv. 687).

[1] P. Kretschmer's view, in *Aus der Anomia*, Berlin, 1890, p. 17 ff., that the element *νυσος* is a masculine form of a Thracian *νυσα*='nymph,' or 'daughter,' is not now accepted. The first part of the name *Διόνυσος* is, of course, from the same root as the word *Ζεύς*, and means 'god.'

[2] In Apoll. Rhod. ii. 1214 (*οὔρεα καὶ πεδίον Νυσήϊον*) it is both mountain and plain—though, of course, now far removed from Thrace.

Euripides also never commits himself to any clear indication of locality. It was not until the time of Alexander that the floating mass of legend and imagery connected with the name became anchored upon a definite spot. Until that time came we see Nysa, as the geographical horizon of the Greeks widened, being pushed ever farther away towards the edge of the world, a far-off land of wild beauty, fit birth-place of a god of wine and revelry and sensuous delights, who was also connected so closely with the mystery of life as exhibited in vegetation and wild animals.

The triumphant irresistible bursting of Alexander the Great into the secrets of the Far East naturally appealed to the imagination of his generation as a sort of incarnation of a fabled progress of Bacchus through these same regions. The exploits of Alexander it was that gave birth to the legend of the conquest of India and the East by Dionysos, rather than the converse; and the imagination of court flatterers was exercised to provide divine prototypes of Alexander's achievements. Being himself reputed son of Zeus-Ammon, and Dionysos also being, in some stories, a son of Ammon (Diod. iii. 68. 2 f.), it was altogether suitable that Alexander should tread literally in the footsteps of his divine predecessor, and at last come upon that very city of Nysa which had existed in the imagination of so many generations as built by Dionysos for his wearied Bacchanals, and upon that same Mt. Mēros on which his troops had refreshed themselves amid its ivy and laurels:

πόλιν παρ' αὐτοῖς Νῦσαν Διονύσου κτίσμα, καὶ ὄρος τὸ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως Μηρόν, αἰτιασάμενοι καὶ τὸν αὐτόθι κισσὸν καὶ ἄμπελον, οὐδὲ ταύτην τελεσίκαρπον, κτλ. (Strabo, xv. 687; cf. Arrian, *Anab.* v. 1 ff.).

Perhaps these stories were set afoot by Aristobulos and Kleitarchos, who accompanied Alexander's campaigns for the express purpose of glorifying them. Arrian (*loc. cit.*) makes it clear that Alexander himself desired and encouraged these inventions and flatteries, being by this time far gone in megalomania. He also makes it clear that sensible people mocked at these pretensions (*Anab.* v. 3, criticism by Eratosthenes). It is interesting to mark the misplaced ingenuity of these fabulists. Alexander could not well be allowed to outdo the god, so he merely re-discovers the town which Dionysos founded. Herakles, however, was at best but a demi-god, and, besides, an ancestor of his own; consequently there was nothing unseemly in feigning that Herakles had failed to capture Aornos, which Alexander, a greater son of Zeus, mastered (*ib.* iv. 28, v. 26). Aornos has been identified as Mahāban (*q.v.*), a precipitous stronghold above the Indus. The city of Nysa which Alexander discovered is thought to have lain at the foot of the peak of Koh-i-Mor,[1] a culmination of a spur of the Kunar range in the district of Bājour, or Bājaur. If so, the Koh-i-Mor itself will be the Mt. Mēros of Arrian. According to T. H. Holdich (*Geogr. Journ.* vii. [1896] 42 ff.), a section of the Kāfir community of Kamdesh[2] actually claim a Greek origin, and still chant hymns to the god who sprang from Gir Nysa ('mountain of Nysa'). Wild vines and ivy growing in profusion recall the classical attributes of the region (see the remarkable art. above quoted, where, on p. 48, some lines of a hymn are translated).

LITERATURE.—There is nothing known to the present writer except stray remarks in commentaries upon the ancient passages here quoted. W. J. WOODHOUSE.

O

OAHSPE.—The Book of Oahspe, though little known, possesses considerable interest for students of the pathology of religion; and from this point of view it is, perhaps, of greater value even than the Book of Mormon (for which see SAINTS, LATTER-DAY). Its author had evidently read fairly widely, the result being an indigested—and indigestible—farrago of superficial Orientalism, Gnosticism, baseless history, fantastic cosmology, Freemasonry, spiritualism, and fads of every sort, combined with hatred of Christianity.

The author of Oahspe was an American dentist, John Ballou Newbrough. According to his preface, he was a spiritualist who, about 1881, claimed to have received from 'angels' revelations which he took on a typewriter for half an hour daily. These lucubrations, which he was forbidden to read until, after fifty weeks, the whole work had been 'mechanically written through my hands by some other intelligence than my own,' form the Book of Oahspe. The followers of the religion are to call themselves 'Faithists,' and are to be pacifists, vegetarians, and altruists, besides avoiding intoxicants, drugs, and tobacco, and abolishing all competitive systems, national tariffs, national legislation, and the like.

To give a full analysis of the some 800 pages of Oahspe, with its multitudinous 'books,' would be futile, and only the most salient points will be noted here. The work is so named because 'it relates to earth, sky and spirit' (Oahspe, v.[26]), but is not infallible (v.[24]). It 'is not a destroyer of old systems or religions. It reveals a new one, adapted to this age, wherein all men shall be as brethren' (pref. to 1st ed.).

The Supreme Being is named Jehovih ('from the sounds the wind uttereth . . . E-O-Ih' [Book of Jehovih, 1[7]]), who possesses two entities, unseen and potent (Es) and seen and impotent (Corpor), Es being further divided into 'etherean' and 'atmospherean' worlds, only the former of which are inhabitable (*ib.* 1[5] 2). Between Jehovih and mankind numerous beings intervene, the hierarchy being: Lord, Lord God, God, Orion Chief, Nirvanian Chief, and Jehovih. Those of immediate concern to man are the Lords and Gods, who are ex-mortals, and whose origin is as follows:

The earth and the family of the sun travel in an orbit requiring 4,700,000 years to traverse. Every 3000 years the earth passes through etherean lights, and angels from the second heaven come to earth. These form ties with mortals and cannot inherit the 'emancipated heavens' of Jehovih till their children are redeemed 'in wisdom and power even to the sixth generation.' The chief of these is called God, who appointed, among other assistants, Lords. At the end of the dominion of a God and his Lords, Jehovih sends ships from Etherea to them and to Brides and Bridegrooms and carries them 'up to the exalted regions I have prepared for them.' These are called Harvests, and take place every Dan (=six generations of mortals). When angels cohabit, they 'shall rise in wisdom and virtue; but such of them as cohabit with asuans [human beings] will bring forth heirs in the descending grade of life.' God and the Lords appoint Ashars as guardians of mortals, and Asaphs for the Es'yans, or spirits of the dead (*ib.* 7).

The first God was Sethantes, son of Jehovih; but there were many others—I'hua Mazda, who inspired Zarathustra, Yima, who inspired 'Po, Div, who inspired Brahma, Vishnu, who inspired Abram of Par'si'e and (later) of Arabin'ya, and Os', who inspired Ea-Wah-Tah of N. Guatama (N. America).

The world is now in its sixth era, which began when the Beast (self) divided itself into four heads—Brahman, Buddhist, Christian, and Muhammadan; but in the seventh era, which is now dawning, the Faithists will separate from the

[1] The Koh-i-Mor is visible from the Peshāwar valley. On its southern slope is the village of Nuzar, or Nusar.

[2] These live in the lower Bashgol valley—the Bashgol being an affluent of the Kunar river, joining it from the north-west some 40 miles below Chitrāl.

Uzians (the rest of mankind) and found Jehovih's kingdom on earth. This revelation was made in A.K. 33 (= A.D. 1881, the era of Kosmon beginning in A.D. 1848). There have also been sixteen cycles, whose Gods were Sethantes, Ah'shong, Hoo Le, C'pe Aban, Pathodices, Goemagak, Goepens, Hycis, See'itcicius, Miscelitvi, Gobath, F'aiyis, Zineathaes, Tothsentaga, Nimeas, and Neph.

The earth is divided into Whaga (or Pan), Jud (Asia), Thouri (America), Vohu (Africa), and Dis (Europe). Because of the general decay of mankind Whaga was submerged by a deluge, though a trace is left in Japan, or Zha' Pan, which means 'relic of the continent of Pan.' After the flood the kingdom passed 'near and over the land of Jaffeth' (China). Finally, after many vicissitudes, the dominion of the Lords and Gods on earth will be completed in Thouri, thus fulfilling what the I'hins of Whaga began (Lords' First Book, $1^{39-43, 55}$; Synopsis of Sixteen Cycles, 3; Book of Aph, 4, 6; Sethantes, 11^{4-7}). These I'hins, who were the 'mound-builders' and Puebloan Indians (First Book of First Lords, 3^{4-8}; Book of Thor, 1^{19}), were Abels, begotten of heaven and earth. Through association of man with Asu'ans (Adams) arose the Druks (Cains), who were idle, naked wanderers in the wilderness. 'The I'hins were white and yellow, but the Druks were brown and black; the I'hins were small and slender, but the Druks were tall and stout.' From the Druks and Asu'ans sprang the Yak, or 'ground people,' walking on all fours, and made eunuchs and servants by the I'hins. Asu'ans, Yaks, and Druks have all disappeared, except where the last have cohabited with I'hins, thus giving rise to the I'huans or Ong'wee (American Indians), who were 'red like copper; and they were taller and stronger than any other people in all the world' (First Book of First Lords, 1–3, 6).

The first Faithists were the Par'si'e (Persians), whom Jehovih 'created as a shield, to guard his chosen, the I'hins' (Lords' Fifth Book, 3^{14}), and many of the great men in the Bible followed this religion. Thus, according to the 'Basis of Ezra Bible,' set forth in the Book of Savah, Moses, Samuel, Elijah, and the Prophets were Faithists, and from them sprang the Asenean (Essene) Association. From the Aseneans came Joshu in Nazareth, who 're-established Jehovih, and restored many of the lost rites and ceremonies. In the thirty-sixth year of Joshu's age he was stoned to death in Jerusalem by the Jews that worshipped the heathen gods' (cf. God's Book of Eskra, 42–44). Forty years later a false God, Loveamong, brought on war, and later 'changed his name and falsely called himself Christ, which is the Ahamic word for knowledge. And he raised up tribes of mortal warriors, who call themselves Christians, who are warriors to this day.'

Loveamong, with the other Triunes, Ennochissa and Kabalactes, endeavoured to overthrow Jehovih, assuming the names of Brahma, Budha, and Kriste to combat Ka'yu (Confucius), Sakaya (Buddha), and Joshu. But Loveamong failed to keep his word to his chief angel warrior, Thoth, or Gabriel, who rebelled in consequence, and raised up Muhammad. Muhammadanism is to perish first, then Brāhmanism, then Buddhism, and finally Christianity. During the period treated by the Book of Es (*c.* 1448–*c.* 1848) there is an abrogation of revelations, ceremonies, etc., and liberty of thought begins to prevail. Melkazad is divinely sent to inspire a migration to Guatama, and he raises up Columbo to discover it to broaden the sphere of Jehovih's kingdom and to aid in overthrowing the Triunes and Thoth. Then Loveamong inspires his followers (Roman Catholics) to punish heresy, thus giving rise to Protestantism, which also is inspired by evil spirits. The Pilgrim Fathers were inspired by the God, but corrupted by Loveamong; the Quakers were Faithists at heart. Thomas Paine was inspired by Jehovih, the other chief men 'raised up by God, to establish the foundation of Jehovih's kingdom with mortals,' being Jefferson, Adams, Franklin, Carroll, Hancock, and Washington. During the decay of Loveamong's kingdom petty Drujan Gods set up little principalities, such as Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists, while Pirad founded the Mormons, Lowgannus the Shakers, and Sayawan the Swedenborgians.

Jehovih's earlier struggles are recorded in the Book of Wars against Jehovih, but these need not be summarized, any more than the fantastic biography of Zoroaster in the Book of God's Word, or the life of Sakaya, who became a Zoroastrian (God's Book of Eskra, 24–29). The wildness of the work in history is evident when we say that it alleges that Buddhism and Christianity were made up chiefly from the history and miracles of Zoroaster, who flourished 8900 years ago; that Abram was a Persian; that Brahma, who lived 5800 years ago, re-established Zoroastrianism in India; and that Ea-Wah-Tah, Brahma's contemporary, established a United States of America, called O-pah-e-go-quin or Algonquin, which formed the model for the present country of that name.

There are three resurrections: the first, when the corporean doffs his mortal body and is born a spirit; the second, when the individual self is put off and an organic community is begun; and the third, when angels rise so high that they pass into Etherea (Sethantes, 14^{2}; Book of Discipline, 1^{19} 2–4). As to those not yet prepared for future blessedness, Drujas, Fetals (spirits who graft themselves on mortals), and Es'yans are taken to 'a place in My exalted heavens suitable for them; and ye shall wall them about in heaven that they cannot escape, but that they may be weaned from evil' (Synopsis of Sixteen Cycles, 3^{18}; cf. Book of Aph, 6^{9-11}).

The keynote of Jehovih's message to man is 'Order, Purity, Discipline, Justice, and Good Works—or, Retribution' (Book of Discipline, 3^{18}). Asceticism, charity which does not make its recipient self-supporting, and missionary activity are condemned (celibacy is, however, regarded as higher than the married state); law is to be abrogated as necessity for it diminishes; freedom of opinion and of judgment is urged (*ib.* 26–29; Book of Inspiration, 11); and separatism from secular governments is advocated (Book of Jehovih's Kingdom on Earth, 26^{12-20}). Seven castes exist: prophets, those of highest lineage, priests, nuns, physicians, very rich, and very poor (First Book of God, 5^{18}); and systems of government are threefold: monarchies, republics, and fraternities, the last being the highest (Book of Discipline, $11^{11f.}$). The doctrines are best summed up in Book of Judgment, 1^{33-50} 21^{18-32} (cf. Book of Discipline, 6, 9^{1-18}).

About 1894 a community called Shalam was established by the Faithists in New Mexico, the most of its area of some 14,000 acres being for children (of non-Faithists) and their nurses, teachers, and caretakers. This was to be conducted according to the principles set forth in the Book of Jehovih's Kingdom on Earth. The remainder, called Levitica, is regulated by the rules of the Book of Gratiyus (not contained in Oahspe itself). Heavenly schools, factories, nurseries, etc., are repeatedly mentioned in the book; and what may have been intended as initiation rites are described in the Book of Savah.

The sect still survives, though its numbers are very small.

LITERATURE.—The first ed. of Oahspe was printed at Boston in 1882; a second ed., considerably changed, do. 1891 (reprinted London, 1910). See also C. L. Brewer, *Historical Outline of Oahspe, the Cosmic Bible*, San Francisco, n.d.; J. N. Jones, *Thaumdt-Oahspe*, Melbourne, 1912. The sect publishes, at Los Angeles, Cal., *The Faithist Messenger*.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

OAK.—See TREES.

OATH.

Introductory and Primitive (A. E. CRAWLEY), p. 430.
Chinese.—See ORDEAL (Chinese).
NT and Christian (W. ERNEST BEET), p. 434.
Semitic (M. A. CANNEY), p. 436.

OATH (Introductory and Primitive). — The oath[1] connects with the vow, the ordeal, the covenant, and the wager. Its definition must distinguish it from those, but we must recognize the fact that their primary constituent is the oath; they are special applications of it. A vow is not actually such, unless there is a personal condition realizable upon fulfilment; an ordeal 'involves an imprecation with reference to the guilt or innocence of a suspected person, and its proper object is to give reality to this imprecation, for the purpose of establishing the validity or invalidity of the suspicion.'[2] So in the Middle Ages 'an oath was an indispensable preliminary to every combat, and the defeat was thus not merely the loss of the suit, but also a conviction of perjury, to be punished as such.'[3] But the oath of the ordeal was tested immediately. A covenant—the blood-covenant, *e.g.*—has no force except from the fact that it is 'accompanied by curses or self-imprecations,'[4] and it is mutual. With regard to the distinction between the oath and the covenant, it is clear that the latter is a mutual oath. A good parallel is to be found in the distinction between the Moroccan *l-'âr*, the individual oath, and *l-'âhĕd*, the mutual, 'both parties transferring conditional curses to one another.'[5] A wager, as in the old Roman method of action at law, is also a mutual process, and involves the oath in the form of a promise to pay. The ethical significance of the oath is, throughout, personal responsibility. As such, it is eminently fitted for legal use, and has always figured conspicuously in the legal process of all races; it is still, in the highest civilizations, a formal guarantee of truthfulness, both in courts of law and in ordinary social intercourse, and still retains some of its primitive supernatural force and dignity, which seem to have been based originally upon the magical power of the spoken word, and later upon the appeal to a supernatural being.

The *OED* defines oath as 'a solemn and formal appeal to God (or to a deity or something held in reverence or regard), in witness of the truth of a statement, or the binding character of a promise or undertaking.' This definition is defective, because many primitive oaths have no appeal to anything 'held in reverence or regard,' but are absolutely direct; there is only the personal will or wish. Tylor defined an oath as 'an asseveration or promise made under non-human penalty or sanction.'[6] But oaths can be taken under human sanctions and upon living persons, just as a life may be insured.

Westermarck developed the conception of oath by emphasizing, not its indirect reference, but its essential character.

'An oath is essentially a conditional self-imprecation, a curse by which a person calls down upon himself some evil in the event of what he says not being true. The efficacy of the oath is originally entirely magical, it is due to the magic power inherent in the cursing words.'[7]

But the essence of 'cursing and swearing' was in existence before human speech was at all well developed, and the efficacy of the spoken word was no doubt preceded by the efficacy of emotion, of the inarticulate will or wish. To complete the definition proposed by Westermarck, it is necessary to note that where a magical process is involved the imprecation is frequently not formally expressed; but a magical process may imply an imprecation, or itself be actually the imprecation, translated from words into matter.[1] When oath gives place to solemn affirmation, the guarantee of good faith and of truth-speaking is now in the moral sphere of personality; there is no more magic or religion. The process has this in common with the pre-animistic, that its essence is emotional—the emotion being that of self-respect and personal responsibility. And this has always been 'the nature of an oath.'

1. **Early forms.**—The oath in the form of a pure self-imprecation without a medium (or object sworn upon, or, rather, with which contact is established) or reference to a helper, witness, or punisher (king, spirit, or god), is naturally rarely found, but *a priori* it should precede the materialistic magical oath or the spiritualistic. A man may say or wish, 'May I be hurt, or die, if what I say is untrue!' and such a process may clearly be antecedent to elaborate use of objects and spirits. Even in advanced culture, when religious sanctions are real and, later, customary, this mode is natural and frequent, both in serious (though not public) swearing and in profane oaths like 'Damn me!' where there is no real reference to a divine power. In cases like that of the Sumatran oath, and a story by Eusebius, we do not know the form of the oaths, but they may have been merely spoken wishes without references. Marsden writes that the Sumatran swears thus:

'If what I now declare is truly and really so, may I be freed and cleared from my oath; if what I assert is wittingly false, may my oath be the cause of my destruction.'[2]

The 'oath' here may be the object sworn by or merely the spoken word, which in primitive thought early acquired an almost material substance, and was fully material when written.

Eusebius records that three men accused Bishop Narcissus and confirmed the charge by solemn oaths, the first that he might perish by fire, the second, by pestilence, the third, that he might lose his sight. These self-imprecations were fulfilled.[3]

'The Dharkâr and Majhwâr in Mirzapur, believe that a person who forswears himself will lose his property and his children; but as we do not know the contents of the oath, it is possible that destruction of the latter is not ascribed to mere contagion, but is expressly imprecated on them by the swearer.'[4]

The oath is in the first place a curse, and the 'magic power inherent in the cursing words'[5] is its essence. The words may come to be regarded as a form of *mana*, magical power, semi-material and semi-spiritual.

Thus, in old Teutonic folklore, the curse settles and takes flight, like a bird.[6] The Irish believed that 'a curse once uttered must alight on something.'[7] 'To take an oath of any

[1] Old Eng. *âdh* (the derivation is doubtful), 'swear'='answer'; *jurare*='bind'; so ὅρκος.
[2] *MI* i. 505.
[3] *Ib.*
[4] *Ib.* ii. 208.
[5] *Ib.* ii. 623.
[6] Art. 'Oath,' in *EBr*[11] xix. 939[b].
[7] *MI* ii. 118.

[1] *MI* ii. 690.
[2] W. Marsden, *Hist. of Sumatra*[3], London, 1811, p. 238.
[3] Eus. *HE* vi. 9.
[4] *MI* i. 60, quoting W. Crooke, *TC*, Calcutta, 1896, ii. 237, iii. 444.
[5] *MI* ii. 118.
[6] J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, tr. J. S. Stallybrass, Oxford 1882–88, iv. 1690.
[7] *Ib.* iii. 1227.

sort is always a matter of great concern among the Bedouins. It seems as if they attached to an oath consequences of a supernatural kind.' An oath must be taken at a distance from the encampment, 'because the magical nature of the oath might prove pernicious to the general body of Arabs.'[1] 'The curse,' says Westermarck, 'is looked upon as a baneful substance, as a miasma which injures or destroys anybody to whom it cleaves.'[2] Therefore Arabs, 'when being cursed, sometimes lay themselves down on the ground so that the curse, instead of hitting them, may fly over their bodies.'[3]

'The punishing power of a word is particularly conspicuous in the case of an oath,'[4] and its contagious character resembles that which is attributed to tabued persons and things, and it acts mechanically.

Berbers undress when about to take an oath, and Westermarck concludes that the real reason is 'a vague idea that the absence of all clothes will prevent the oath from clinging to themselves. They say that it is bad not only to swear, but even to be present when an oath is taken by somebody else.'[5]

Passing from the oath 'on' the swearer's self, we come to what are apparently cases of substitution. An intermediate stage is swearing on this or that part of the swearer's person.

In Samoa a man says, 'Touch your eyes if what you say is true.'[6] This is putting a conditional curse on his eyes. So the Romans swore by eyes and head.[7]

When a man swears to his truthfulness or innocence 'on' another person, the oath may be a conditional curse on that person, as a substitute for the swearer, or as if the swearer had insured that person's life, especially if held in reverence.

Thus, it is common for a man to swear on his children or parents. The Tungus swears, 'May I lose my children and my cattle!'[8] The same oath is found in Mirzapur, and is common in the N.W. Provinces of India. Men swear on the heads of their children, or hold a child in their arms. 'May my children die if I lie!' says the Kol.[9] In Ashanti a criminal may swear on the king's life, and is then pardoned, or harm would result to the king.[10] The Hottentots hold that the highest oath that a man can take is 'by his eldest sister.'[11]

2. The embodied oath.—The largest class of oaths in the early and middle cultures, continuing also into the higher, is that in which the swearer swears 'by' or 'on' some object, powerful, dangerous, or sacred, or some person or animal with like qualities. This form of oath involves some questions of theory which will be discussed after some typical examples have been submitted.

In N.W. India a cock is killed and, as the blood is poured on the ground, the oath is taken 'over it.'[12] The Khond swears on a tiger-skin, praying for death from a tiger if he lies, upon a lizard-skin 'whose scaliness they pray may be their lot if forsworn,' or upon an ant-hill 'that they may be reduced to powder.'[13] The Nāga of Assam stands within a circle of rope, praying that he may rot as a rope rots, or he holds a gun-barrel, a spear, or a tiger's tooth, saying, 'If I do not faithfully perform my promise, may I fall by this!'[14] The Ostyak imitates the act of eating and calls on a bear to devour him.[15] 'The Iowa have a mysterious iron or stone, wrapped in seven skins, by which they make men swear to speak the truth. The people of Kesam . . . swear by an old sacred knife, the Bataks of South Tóba on their village idols, the Ostyaks on the nose of a bear.'[16] The Moors lend efficacy to an oath by placing it in contact with, or making it in the presence of, 'any lifeless object, animal, or person endowed with *baraka*, or holiness, such as a saint-house or a mosque, corn or wool, a flock of sheep or a horse, or a shereef.'[17] The last is a comprehensive example. The oath upon sacred relics was prevalent in mediæval Christendom, and 'so little respect was felt for the simple oath that the adjuncts came to be looked upon as the essential feature, and the imprecation itself to be divested of binding force without them.'[18]

The Latins swore by *Jupiter lapis*, holding the sacred stone in the hand.[1] The Athenian archons stood on a sacred stone and swore to rule righteously.[2] The ancient Danes swore on stones, and the same oath is recorded of the islanders of Iona.[3] In Samoa the accused lays his hand on the sacred stone of the village, and says, 'I lay hand on the stone. If I stole the thing, may I speedily die!'[4] The Old Prussians placed the right hand on the neck and the left on the holy oak, saying, 'May Perkun (the thunder-god) destroy me!'[5] The Lombards swore 'lesser' oaths on consecrated weapons, 'greater' on the Gospels.[6] The chief oath of the Danes was on a sacred ring; their oath to Alfred was taken on this.[7] The Kṣatriya swore by his weapons or his horse.[8] The mediæval knight swore 'super arma.'[9] Achilles swore by his sceptre.[10] Mediæval theory distinguished the written or spoken oath from that which was ratified by contact with or inspection of a sacred object. The latter was a corporal or bodily oath, and the sacred object was a 'halidome.'[11] A frequent oath among the Bedāwin was 'to take hold with one hand of the *wasat*, or middle tent-pole, and to swear by the life of this tent, and its owners.'[12] The most stringent oath among Hindus is that in which water of the Ganges is held in the hand.[13] Similarly, the Homeric gods swore by the river Styx.[14] Other natural forces, such as the sun and moon, are frequently sworn by,[15] as Westermarck supposes, because of 'their superior knowledge' as all-seeing.

Arabs swore by dipping hands in the blood of a camel. The Sânsiya swear over the blood of a cock. The Homeric oath, given by Tyndareus for the defence of Helen, was taken standing on a sacrificed steed.[16] The old Danish ring held during the oath was sprinkled with the blood of a bull.[17] Hannibal's famous oath, or vow, against Rome was taken 'tactis sacris'; and the Homeric Greeks laid the hand on the sacrifice,[18] as the mediæval European touched the altar or the relics. So Harold is depicted in the Bayeux tapestry.[19] Another method of the Nāgas of Assam (involving a mutual oath) is for the two men to hold a dog which is chopped in two; this is emblematic of the fate which will befall the perjurer.[20] According to one interpretation of a Roman oath, the swearer invoked the heaven god, while a hog was slain with the sacred flint-stone, representing the god's thunderbolt, and he prayed, 'So smite the Roman people if they break the oath!'[21] 'The Tungus brandishes a knife before the sun, saying, "If I lie may the sun plunge sickness into my entrails like this knife."'[22]

It is perhaps in accordance with primitive thought at one stage of its development that the strongest of all oaths is that in which the sacred object, or medium, is eaten or drunk.

Frazer regards this process as being the differentia of the 'Aino sacrament.'[23] The Tenimberese dip a sword in their own blood and drink it, praying for death if they are forsworn.[24] So, in Malaysia, water is drunk in which daggers, spears, or bullets have been dipped; 'May I be eaten up by this dagger or spear!' is the formula.[25] The Tunguses have another oath, in which the swearer drinks the blood of a dog, the throat of which has been cut and its flesh cut up. The swearer says, 'I speak the truth, and that is as true as it is that I drink this blood. If I lie, let me perish, burn, or be dried up like this dog.'[26] The Chuvashes place bread and salt in the mouth, and pray, 'May I be in want of these, if I say not true!'[27] The 'great oath' of the Tibetans includes the eating of a portion of an ox's heart.[28] The Masai drinks blood, saying, 'If I have done this deed, may God kill me!' If he is innocent, no harm happens; if guilty, it is expected that he should die in a fortnight.[29] On the Gold Coast a man taking an oath eats or drinks something which has a connexion with a deity, who is invoked to punish him if he forswears himself.[30] Elsewhere on the Gold Coast an accused man had to drink the 'oath-draught' and pray that the fetish may slay him if guilty.[31] 'If I have been guilty of this crime, then,

1 J. L. Burckhardt, *Notes on Bedouins and Wahabys*, London, 1831, pp. 13, 165.
2 *MI* i. 57.
3 *Ib.*
4 *Ib.* ii. 118.
5 *Ib.* i. 59.
6 G. Turner, *Samoa*, London, 1884, p. 184.
7 W. Smith, *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiquities*[3], London, 1890, *s.v.* 'Juramentum,' p. 1051.
8 Georgi, quoted by Westermarck, *MI* ii. 120.
9 Crooke, *TC* ii. 287, iii. 313, 444, etc.
10 A. B. Ellis, *Ewe-speaking Peoples*, London, 1890, p. 224.
11 T. Hahn, *Tsuni-Goam*, London, 1881, p. 21.
12 Crooke, *TC* iv. 281.
13 S. C. Macpherson, *Memorials of Service in India*, London, 1865, p. 83.
14 *JASB*, 1875, p. 316.
15 G. A. Erman, *Travels in Siberia*, Eng. tr., London, 1848, i. 492.
16 *MI* ii. 119, quoting authorities.
17 *Ib.* ii. 120.
18 H. C. Lea, *Superstition and Force*[4], Philadelphia, 1892, p. 29.

1 J. E. Tyler, *Oaths*[2], London, 1835, p. 121.
2 *GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, London, 1911, i. 160.
3 *Ib.*
4 Turner, pp. 30, 184.
5 Tylor, *loc. cit.* p. 940[a].
6 *Ib.*, quoting J. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsaltertümer*[4], Leipzig, 1899, p. 896.
7 Tylor, *loc. cit.* p. 940[b].
8 *SBE* xxxiii. [1889] 100.
9 Du Cange, *Glossarium mediæ et infimæ Latinitatis*, Niort, 1883–87, *s.v.* 'Juramentum,' iv. 459.
10 Hom. *Il.* i. 234.
11 Tylor, *loc. cit.* p. 941[b].
12 Burckhardt, p. 72.
13 *MI* ii. 120.
14 Hes. *Theog.* 784–806.
15 *MI* ii. 122.
16 Paus. III. xx. 9.
17 *MI* ii. 621.
18 Livy, xxi. 1; *Il.* iii. 275, xix. 175.
19 Tylor, *loc. cit.* p. 941[b].
20 *Ib.* p. 939[b].
21 *Ib.* p. 940[a], quoting Livy, i. 24, Polyb. iii. 25.
22 *Ib.*
23 *GB*[3], pt. v., *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, London, 1912, ii. 313.
24 J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige Rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, Hague, 1886, p. 284.
25 W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, London, 1900, p. 525.
26 *MI* ii. 119, quoting Georgi.
27 *Ib.*
28 L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895, p. 569, note.
29 A. C. Hollis, *The Masai*, Oxford, 1905, p. 345; M. Merker, *Die Masai*, Berlin, 1904, p. 211.
30 A. B. Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, London, 1887, p. 196.
31 W. Bosman, *Descr. of the Coast of Guinea*[2], London, 1721, p. 126.

Mbiam! *thou* deal with me!', swears the accused in Calabar,[1] after drinking filth and blood, the ju-ju drink, *mbiam*. So with the majority of ordeals, their essence being an oath, a self-imposed imprecation.[2]

3. Psychology of the oath.—The above-cited examples illustrate the more primitive forms of oath. It seems probable that eating or drinking the 'oath' is the latest of these forms, and that the earliest is the merely verbal self-imprecation. As for the original meaning of the employment of a concrete object, sacred or otherwise, which itself comes to be regarded as the 'oath,'[3] containing, as it does, the words or the power of the curse, ready to act with mechanical precision if the swearer has lied, the principle is clearly magical, passing into symbolism as the belief in magic decays. But the question remains as to what psychological process developed the employment of a concrete object.

'Sometimes,' says Westermarck, 'the person who takes the oath puts himself in contact with some object which represents the state referred to in the oath, so that the oath may absorb, as it were, its quality and communicate it to the perjurer.' 'In other cases the person . . . takes hold of a certain object and calls it to inflict on him some injury if he perjure himself.'[4] Again, 'another method of charging an oath with supernatural energy is to touch, or to establish some kind of contact with, a holy object on the occasion when the oath is taken.' Such are some of the methods of increasing the magical power 'inherent in the cursing words.'[5]

At a stage of religious evolution when sacred objects are in being, it is natural that they should be employed to strengthen the oath. Later still, the oath is strengthened by contact with a god, or his name is invoked, or a sacrifice is made. But in earlier stages, when the object or medium is not sacred of itself, but indifferent, how came it to be used in a magical way and on magical principles? A large proportion of primitive oaths are cases of imitative magic. The swearer, for instance, may apply a spear to his body and pray that he may be slain by the spear if he is forsworn. But is such ritual due to a belief in imitative magic? It seems more probable that an act of pre-imitation (so characteristic of early psychology) came to be employed as a mode of *realizing* the nature of an oath, and that from this was developed the magical force of the embodied words. Pantomime led to imitative magic, not *vice versa*. In such cases as where a man stands on a stone and the strength of stone adds confirmation to his words,[6] there is natural association of ideas, which may lead to a belief in a magical connexion.

4. The oath and the god.—When the theistic stage of religion is reached, and the god subsumes in his own person a multitude of holy lines of force, the oath is brought into connexion with the god. But even here the connexion remains magical for a considerable time, before it decays into a symbolic relation or is changed into that between offender and punisher.

'The oaths which the Moors swear by Allah are otherwise exactly similar in nature to those in which he is not mentioned at all. But the more the belief in magic was shaken, the more the spoken word was divested of that mysterious power which had been attributed to it by minds too apt to confound words with facts, the more prominent became the religious element in the oath. The fulfilment of the self-imprecation was made dependent upon the free will of the deity appealed to, and was regarded as the punishment for an offence committed by the perjurer against the god himself.'[7]

When the god is appealed to, the appeal may be for his help or his witness; or, again, his divine name may be invoked, and in case of perjury the power of the name, thus wrongly used, will punish the forswearer. In many cases there is merely an act of transference; the swearer, so to say, hands his oath over to the god, who will deal with it according to the innocence or guilt of the swearer.

The god Mwetyi, in S. Guinea, is 'invoked as a witness, and is commissioned with the duty of visiting vengeance upon the party who shall violate the agreement.'[1] The Comanche Indian calls upon the great spirit and earth to testify to the truth of his oath.[2] The Solomon Islander swears by a *tindalo*, 'spirit.'[3] The Greek said, 'Let God know,' 'Let Zeus know'; the Latin 'I call to witness,' among other things, the ashes of his forefathers. The Egyptian called Thôth to witness;[4] he would also swear by the name of the Pharaoh.[5]

The ordinary 'invocation' of a deity is a vague appeal,[6] but it seems that the phrases corresponding to 'by,'[7] common in most languages, imply that the god is a helper or a guarantor.

When contact is established between the swearer and objects belonging to or representative of the deity, the principles of magic apply, for the punishment is mechanically administered by means of the sacred object. Traces of the emotion which prompts these ideas may be found even when magic is superseded by symbolism or mere reverence.

Laying the hand on the altar, the sacrifice, or the sacred relics is a regular method where these holy paraphernalia are existent.[8]

The Iranian swore before a bowl of water containing incense, brimstone, and one *danak* of molten gold.[9] 'To make an oath binding,' the Gold Coast people give the swearer 'something to eat or drink which in some way appertains to a deity, who is then invoked to visit a breach of faith with punishment.'[10] So in mediæval Europe the host was eaten, and the swearer prayed that it might choke him, if he lied.[11]

When the priesthood is influential, an oath may be made on the priestly person, as by the Hindu touching the legs of a Brāhman.[12]

By far the most usual medium in the higher religions is to touch, hold, or kiss the sacred books of the faith.

The Hindu swears on the Sanskrit *Harivaṁśa*; the Muhammadan on the Qur'ān; the Jew on the Hebrew Bible; the Christian on the 'book,' viz. the New Testament.[13] The old Lombards swore the 'greater oath' on the Gospels.[14] The Sikh swears on the Granth; the Iranian on the Avesta.[15] In mediæval Europe the book was laid on the altar.[16] The words of Chrysostom show an early development in the Christian Church, possibly due to the Jewish practice, which itself has been said to be a loan from the Roman.[17] He writes: 'Do thou, if nothing else, at least reverence the very book thou holdest forth to be sworn by, open the Gospel thou takest in thy hands to administer the oath, and, hearing what Christ therein saith of oaths, tremble and desist.'[18] The practice of kissing the book appears quite early in the Middle Ages.

5. Various rituals.—The ritual and rules of oath have interesting varieties.

Greeks and Latins distinguished between the sexes in the oaths proper to each. Both Greek and Jew lifted up the hand. The French and the Scots raise the right hand, saying respectively, 'Je jure,' and 'I swear by Almighty God.'[19]

Among formulæ there is as early as Justinian the lengthy invocation:

'I swear by God Almighty, and His only begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Holy Ghost, and the Most Holy Glorious Mother of God and ever Virgin Mary, and by the Four Gospels which I hold in my hand, and by the Holy Archangels Michael and Gabriel,' etc.[20]

Derived from Latin idiom, the phrase, 'So help me God!' and its varieties have persisted. 'Sic me adjuvet Deus!' was used in Charlemagne's

[1] M. H. Kingsley, *Travels in W. Africa*, London, 1897, p. 465.
[2] See *MI* ii. 689 ff.
[3] The Greek ὅρκος also meant the object sworn by; the word for oath has this meaning in most languages.
[4] *MI* ii. 118 f. [5] *Ib.*
[6] *GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, i. 160.
[7] *MI* ii. 122.

[1] J. L. Wilson, *Western Africa*, New York, 1856, p. 392.
[2] *MI* ii. 120.
[3] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, Oxford, 1891, p. 217.
[4] C. P. Tiele, *Comparative Hist. of Egyptian and Mesopotamian Religions*, Eng. tr., vol. i. 'Egyptian Religion,' London, 1882, p. 229.
[5] *GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, i. 419.
[6] Latin had 'Ita me iuvet!' as English has 'So help me God!' [as I speak true].
[7] Greek μά, Latin *per*.
[8] Tylor, *loc. cit.*; J. E. Tyler, p. 104.
[9] *SBE* iv. [1895] 49.
[10] Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples*, p. 196.
[11] F. Dahn, *Bausteine*, Berlin, 1879–80, ii. 16.
[12] *MI* ii. 120. [13] *Ib.*
[14] Du Cange, *loc. cit.* [15] Tylor, *loc. cit.*
[16] *Ib.* p. 941[b]. [17] *Ib.*
[18] *Ad pop. Antiochenum*, hom. v.
[19] Tylor, *loc. cit.* p. 940[b]; *Il.* xix. 175, 254; Gn 14[22], Dt 32[40]; Tyler, p. 97.
[20] Tylor, *loc. cit.* p. 941[b].

days; old French had 'Si m'ait Dex'; German, 'So mir Gott helfe.' Hebrew variations were, 'As the Lord liveth and as thy soul liveth,' 'By the life of,' 'So do God to me and more also!'

The selection of an object to swear by has given play to the imagination, and in other cases has been determined by special circumstances.

Instead of swearing by the *genius* of the emperor, the early Christians swore by his safety, to avoid possible idolatry.[1] The Brāhman swore by truth, or by his own good deeds;[2] Telemachus by the sorrows of his father.[3] In mediæval Europe a man swore by his beard or his name, or by the head of God. There was a 'great oath' 'per Regiam majestatem.' William the Conqueror swore 'by the splendour of God,' the most magnificent oath in history;[4] also 'per creaturas.' Rufus swore 'per hoc et per hoc'; Richard I. by God's legs; John Lackland by God's teeth.[5]

The profane oath, used to emphasize an asseveration, has many quaint varieties in all languages.

The Latin was fond of *me hercle*!; the Italian is addicted to *per Bacco*. The Elizabethan English used many curious conversational oaths, mostly modelled on the official formulæ, such as 'Zounds' ('God's wounds'), 'Odsbodkins' ('God's body'), 'Sdeath' ('God's death'). A pious instinct prompted substitution, to avoid using the sacred name, hence *morbleu* ('mort Dieu'). Similarly Socrates swore 'by the dog,' 'by the cabbage,' and 'by the ——'; Lampon 'by the goose,' as did Socrates also.

6. Penalty of false oath.—Whatever the ritual and formula of the oath, or the nature of the object with which the oath is brought into contact, the practical sense is the conditional punishment for perjury. The fear of magic power in the primitive mind has the same value as the fear of God; behind both is the fear of retribution. It was psychologically inevitable that the oath should come to be based on the moral resentment of a deity. Even in the case of the African swearing by a fetish or the New Hebridean invoking punishment from the spirits, man's personal responsibility puts itself in the hands of a retributory power. And from the earliest stages the community, in some way or other, has made real the supernatural penalty, either by shamanistic terrorizing or by prosecution for perjury.

If, as Westermarck holds, the god in early thought is, even though appealed to, 'a mere tool in the hand of the person invoking him,' since the efficacy of an oath is magical,[6] yet the fear of retribution is still present, and in the highest cultures this conception probably overrides the idea of 'the moral nature of the Divinity' being depreciated. This view of the god's relation to perjury, as to other crimes, is clearly a late sophistication, without any practical social meaning. Grotius was therefore mistaken when he wrote that even the man swearing by false gods is bound by his oath 'because, though under false notions, he refers to the general idea of godhead, and therefore the true God will interpret it as a wrong to himself if perjury be committed.'[7] God and His equivalents are the supreme and supernatural sanction of the judgments of the social organism. It is precisely because of this principle that the gods have come to be regarded as all-good no less than all-powerful.

'If,' *e.g.*, Westermarck notes, 'a god is frequently appealed to in oaths, a general hatred of lying and unfaithfulness may become one of his attributes. . . . There is every reason to believe that a god is not, in the first place, appealed to because he is looked upon as a guardian of veracity and good faith, but that he has come to be looked upon as a guardian of these duties because he has been frequently appealed to in connection with them.'[8]

In turn the god's perfect veracity and hatred of a lie make the supernatural sanction stronger.

The process by which an oath becomes personified into an oath-deity presents no psychological difficulty, nor that by which a god, like Zeus, subsumes the attribute of an avenger of perjury. The Erinyes of the Greeks were personified oaths and curses; so, too, were the Arai. It is significant, however, that Horkos hardly became a deity; the oath-object was too much of a fetish to develop independently into anything higher.

'Owing to its invocation of supernatural sanction, perjury is considered the most heinous of all acts of falsehood.'[1] Like all gross crimes, it is supposed to disseminate a contagious miasma.[2] The Greeks held that, if not punished in this life, it would be after death.[3] Such cases as are extant of its being ignored by custom or law are probably due to some transitional stage in the social régime, when, *e.g.*, custom was giving place to law, or to a certain decadence. Westermarck quotes the Rejangs of Java, some Battak of Sumatra, early Greeks, Hebrews, and Teutons, as having no penalty for perjury.[4] There are indications that the early Romans also ignored the crime. But, as Westermarck adds, if not regarded as a crime, it was regarded as a sin, in which case the shamanistic machine would effectively carry out the required retribution.

Kafirs and Malays punish it severely. The old Hindus banished or fined the perjurer. The cutting off of the right hand, uplifted during the oath, was the penalty among the ancient Scandinavians and Teutons, and lasted into the Middle Ages, and beyond.[5]

7. Applications of oath.—Among the applications of the oath and the institutions which essentially involve it, the following may be noted briefly, in order to illustrate the general range of the oath:

Early kings, especially of the magical type, may have been constrained by some form of shamanistic engagement. The kings of Mexico swore to make the sun to shine, the rain to fall, and the crops to grow.[6] On similar principles gods were believed to swear among Hindus, Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans.[7] Gods swore in human fashion, lifting up the right hand.[8] A Homeric god, forsworn by the Stygian oath, was exiled for nine years.[9]

The archons, generals, and other officials of Athens swore oaths on taking office. The official oath was more prominent there, it seems, than in Rome. The emphasis placed upon the oath in mediæval Christian theory seems to have developed the coronation-oath, which also brought the monarch, in a sense, into responsible contact with the Church. This oath still survives in constitutional and other monarchical régimes. Both Greek and Roman soldiers took an oath. The Roman *sacramentum* included an *execratio*, but Tylor traces it to the Roman legal wager, according to which each party to a suit paid money into court, forfeiting his pledge in case of defeat.[10] Originally this legal *sacramentum* may have been accompanied by a self-imprecation. It is supposed that the military *sacramentum* developed into an oath of fealty to the emperor.[11] In the Athenian *ἀνάκρισις*, preliminary stage of a suit, each party swore.[12]

Primitive examples of the oath at law are not wanting. On the Slave Coast of W. Africa the god Mawu is appealed to not only by the parties, but by the judge.[13]

The majority of ordeals are really concrete oaths taken by the accused party, and the self-imprecation is realized immediately. In modern law the legal oath is taken by witnesses alone, though the juror's oath survives. This is in direct opposition to the mediæval principle, which developed considerable abuses in the practice of compurgation (*q.v.*). Evidence was not wanted; only proofs were asked for, and, in default of proof, an oath. This could be multiplied by one or more *compurgatores*, practically witnesses to the truth of the party's oath of innocence or right. When unsupported, the party swore 'sua manu.' According to the number of his *compurgatores*, he swore by any number of 'hands.' A bishop of Ely swore 'centesima manu,' and as many as 300 are recorded. The *compurgatores* laid their hands on the *pyx*.

1 Tertullian, *Apol.* 32.
2 *SBE* xxv. [1886] 274, 299, xxxiii. 97.
3 *Od.* xx. 339.
4 Du Cange, iv. 462 f.
5 *Ib.*; and Tylor, *loc. cit.* p. 941b.
6 *MI* ii. 687.
7 *De Jure Belli et Pacis*, II. xiii. 12.
8 *MI* ii. 123.

1 *Ib.* ii. 123.
2 *SBE* iv. 49 (Zoroastrians).
3 W. Smith, *loc. cit.* p. 1045.
4 *MI* ii. 123.
5 *Ib.*, quoting authorities up to the 16th century.
6 *GB*3, pt. i., *The Magic Art*, i. 356.
7 *SBE* xxxiii. 98; Homer and the OT.
8 Tyler, p. 98.
9 Hes. *Theog.* 793.
10 Tylor, *loc. cit.* p. 939b.
11 Smith, *loc. cit.* p. 1049.
12 *Ib.*
13 J. Spieth, *Die Ewe-Stämme*, Berlin, 1906, p. 415.

and the accused laid his hand upon theirs.[1] One attempted remedy for the abuse was the judicial duel, wager of battle.[2] The final remedy was found in confining the privilege of oath to the witnesses.

The essence of ordeals is the oath, though the fact is obscured by the unfair incidence of the physical result. Hindu theory recognized the essential connexion; the word *śapatha* connotes both 'oath' and 'ordeal.' Oaths were used for lesser offences, ordeals for heavy crimes.[3] The mediæval wager of battle was a mutual ordeal, each party taking an oath (see ORDEAL).[4]

The covenant and the treaty have been largely based on the mutual oath, until signatures replaced the spoken word.

The Greeks and Romans ratified their treaties by oaths, the text of which was inscribed in the official inscriptions.

In primitive ritual the mutual oath was strengthened by various imitative and magical methods.[5] The blood-covenant is 'regularly accompanied by curses or self-imprecations.' Similarly with other forms of compact.[6] Tylor notes the differentia, which also applies to the vow, in the following typical cases:

Grasping hands, putting one hand between the hands of another, are compacts, not oaths. The hand 'under the thigh' is a rite of covenant. Mixing blood or drinking one another's blood is not an oath unless there is a mutual self-imprecation, such as dipping weapons in the blood.[7]

8. Prohibition of oath.—Certain sacred persons are prohibited from incurring the dangerous risks of an oath.

Such was the *flamen* of Juppiter, and Plutarch suggests that the reason was that otherwise 'the peril of perjury would reach in common to the whole commonwealth, if a wicked, godless, and forsworn person should have the charge and superintendence of the prayers, vows, and sacrifices made in the behalf of the city.'[8] Nor might the Vestal Virgins take an oath.[9]

The sect of the Essenes were averse from the oath; they prided themselves on their truthfulness; they argued that those who could not be believed without swearing were self-condemned.[10] Christ taught, 'Swear not at all.'[11] His expounders have explained the precept to refer to profane and frivolous oaths alone. But the teaching, 'Let your yea be yea and your nay nay,' is clearly inclusive, and of the same character as the Essene doctrine. The Anabaptists and, later, the Quakers refused oath-taking. The latter have argued that, 'if on any particular occasion a man swear in addition to his yea or no, in order to make it more obligatory or convincing, its force becomes comparatively weak at other times when it receives no such confirmation.'[12]

But this argument neglects the power (apart from that of superstition or religious feeling) of ceremony, which is practically the imperious gesture of the social body. Charles Bradlaugh initiated the right of affirmation in place of the oath.

LITERATURE.—This is quoted throughout the article. See also E. von Lasaulx, *Der Eid bei den Römern*, Würzburg, 1844.

A. E. CRAWLEY.

OATH (NT and Christian).—1. NT times.—The true starting-point of our investigation of the place of the oath in the new régime initiated by Christ must of necessity be found in the *ipsissima verba* of the Master Himself. Here, at the outset, we are met by a difficulty; for, on the face of things, the almost universal practice of Christendom appears to be in flagrant disregard of an explicit injunction of Christ, whose words on this subject, taken by themselves, seem to amount to nothing less than an absolute prohibition of the oath under any circumstances or in any form (Mt 5^{34-37}; cf. also Ja 5^{12}). But a final conclusion upon this matter is not so simple as appears on the surface.

[1] Du Cange, *s.vv.* 'Sacramentum,' 'Juramentum'; Tyler, p. 266.
[2] *MI* i. 505 f.
[3] *SBE* xxxiii. 97, 99 ff.
[4] *MI* i. 504 ff., ii. 687.
[5] See *GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, i. 289; Gn $15^{9ff.}$, Jer 34^{18}.
[6] *MI* ii. 208, 624, 686.
[7] Tylor, *loc. cit.* p. 940[ab]; cf. Gn 24^{2} 47^{29}; Herod. iv. 70.
[8] *Quæst. Rom.* 44.
[9] Aul. Gell. x. xv. 31.
[10] Jos. *BJ* II. viii. 6.
[11] Mt 5^{34}.
[12] J. J. Gurney, *Views and Practices of the Society of Friends*, Norwich, 1842, quoted in *MI* ii. 124.

It is evident that, if Christ's admonition be interpreted as an absolute prohibition, some of His early followers, who had the best opportunities for knowing His mind and what the modern logician would describe as His 'universe of discourse,' were in serious error as to the meaning of His words. St. Paul, *e.g.*, again and again expresses himself in terms that are indistinguishable from the oath (cf. 1 Th 2^{5}, 2 Co 1^{23}, Gal 1^{20}, Ro 1^{9}); the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews makes use of language which bears unmistakable witness that he also was unaware that the practice of swearing had ceased to be legitimate ($6^{16f.}$ $7^{20f.}$); and the seer of the Apocalypse does not hesitate to put an oath into the mouth of the angel-representative of the Eternal ($10^{5f.}$). Christ Himself, moreover, to all intents and purposes submitted to be sworn (Mt $26^{63f.}$); and His ἀμήν, ἀμήν, is almost, if not quite, an oath. In view of these facts, our Lord's apparent prohibition should not be regarded as being too explicit to be discussed; it rather demands careful consideration in relation to NT teaching as a whole, if haply superficial contradictions may be resolved.

The classic passage—a very interesting section of the Sermon on the Mount—that constitutes the inevitable starting-point of any discussion of the lawfulness or otherwise of the Christian oath forms one of a series of illustrations of the contrast between the new life in Christ and the old Hebrew ideal of religious living. That the Christian man should always abide by his word is the real burden of Christ's injunction, which was in truth greatly needed. For the Jews held that only oaths, as distinguished from the mere promise, and only some of these, need be kept. An elaborate system of distinctions between oaths, which would have moved the admiration of a mediæval casuist, had been gradually evolved; a lie was not held to be sinful unless sworn to, and even perjury itself was at worst venial, unless the broken oath had been taken in a particular form. Such a system necessarily cut at the root of that good faith apart from which a well-ordered social organism becomes impossible, and in foreign relations could not fail to bring upon a people who practised it a very bad name. This is what actually came to pass; and it was the fate of the Jews to be generally regarded with suspicion and dislike not only in the time of Christ, but also for many centuries to follow. Herein also may be found an explanation, at any rate in part, of the oppression to which the Jew was normally subject throughout the Middle Ages, and from which he is not entirely free even to-day. So great, indeed, did this anti-social trifling with the plighted word become that the Talmud laid down that, if repeated (as in Mt 5^{37}), a simple 'Yes' or 'No' ought to be regarded as being as binding as an oath. It should also not be overlooked that Christ did not exactly say that anything beyond a simple statement is absolutely evil, but that it springs from evil—a delicate distinction, perhaps, but a real one none the less. In an ideal condition of society absolute truthfulness and perfect sincerity would prevail in all personal relations. The oath would naturally disappear, inasmuch as a simple 'Yes' or 'No' would afford adequate assurance of good faith. That more than this is required in practice is entirely due to the imperfection of all human society; whence it follows that the oath, whether absolutely evil or not, certainly springs out of evil, *i.e.* out of that ill condition of social relations which demands more than a simple affirmation or denial as a guarantee of truth in statement or honest performance of promise (cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. 8).

Though, on the face of it, Christ's statement (Mt 5^{34}) has all the appearance of an absolute prohibition, it is difficult, in view of the practice of

His immediate followers and His own apparent recognition of the legal oath, not to suppose that it was meant, and was at the time understood, to be limited in its reference. The fact that the oaths mentioned in this prohibition, in which there is no specific citation of the Divine Name, are typical examples of just the kind of oath that many Jews of that day lightly took, and broke without scruple, renders it not improbable that what our Lord had in mind was not so much the oath seriously taken and honourably observed as the light swearing and the casuistical distinctions (cf. Mt 23^{16-22}) that all too frequently degraded the oath into a form as useless as it was profane.

These considerations should at least warn us against hastily accepting a theory based upon a single passage regarded in isolation from the teaching of the NT as a whole. We may, however, conclude with assurance that Christ sought to impress upon the minds of His hearers not merely that playing fast and loose with the oath was an offence in the sight of God, but that the absence of an oath in no way lessened man's obligation at all times to speak the truth.

2. Early Church.—However unnecessary it might be in an ideal society, this has ever been so far from realization in practice that the carrying over of the oath into the newly-established Christian system will commend itself to the reason of most men. The age was an illiterate one, and illiteracy remained the rule for many centuries after Christ. In a community among the members of which writing was a rare accomplishment the oath contributed to fill the place occupied in a society such as our own by the written as compared with the merely verbal agreement. It is not, however, altogether a matter for surprise that, custom, convenience, and the practice of the Apostolic Church being on the one side, and the apparently express prohibition of Christ on the other, there was much difference of opinion, in the early Church, as to the lawfulness or otherwise of the oath. This is apparent to any one who has even a nodding acquaintance with Patristic literature. A few illustrative examples, culled almost at random from the writings of the Fathers, are all that can be given here. Conspicuous among the advocates of prohibition was Chrysostom, for whom the oath was nothing less than 'a snare of Satan,' and by all means to be avoided (*Serm. ad pop. Ant.* hom. xv., *in Acta Apost.* hom. viii.f.; cf. also hom. x.; on the same side see also *Clem. Hom.* iii. 55, xix. 2; Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 16; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 14; cf. also vii. 8). Augustine also disliked the oath, not so much on the ground of divine prohibition as through fear of perjury (*Enarr. in Ps.* lxxxviii. (lxxxix.) 4, *de Mend.* 28; cf. also *Ep.* xlvii. 2). As against these views, while trifling or profane swearing was universally condemned, it was argued by others, on the ground of NT usage in general and the example of St. Paul in particular, that Christ could not have intended to put completely under the ban the serious use of the oath. As a conspicuous exponent of this view of the case, we may mention Athanasius, whose practice certainly squared with his theory (cf. *Apol. ad Imp. Const.* 3).

3. Middle Ages.—By the time that Christianity had established itself as the religion of the empire, there was really little to differentiate Christian and pagan circles in the matter of the oath. Christian imperial legal procedure required that witnesses should be sworn (*Cod. Theod.* xi. 39; *Cod. Just.* iv. 20, 59)—a practice that has been maintained until our day. As time went on, the oath, in ever growing measure, became a factor in almost every social relationship; *e.g.*, in addition to the judicial oath, guaranteeing truth, may be mentioned those pledges of fidelity, the oath of fealty, the coronation oath, and the oath of office generally. This was the case in ecclesiastical no less than in civil life, as witness ordination oaths, monastic and crusaders' vows. Not only did the oath prevail beyond all precedent in mediæval religious circles, but the Church was at pains to take the oath generally into her keeping and control (*Decret. Grat.* can. xxii.), and claimed as her peculiar prerogative the right of absolving from performance of an oath duly sworn. The Christian oath rested ultimately upon a religious basis; this the Church held to justify her claim, as the earthly representative of Him to whom the actual or implied appeal of the swearer had been addressed, and who, as she at any rate believed (cf. Eus. *HE* vi. 9), did not on occasion disdain to visit with material penalty abusers of the oath.

For an oath to be valid the Church required (1) *veritas in mente*—the words used must be a straightforward expression of what the swearer means to do or to assert; (2) *judicium in jurante*—clear understanding of what is involved in taking an oath, for lack of which idiots, children, atheists, and convicted perjurers were held incapable of being sworn; and (3) *justitia in objecto*—the object of the oath must be legitimate, for even an oath cannot bind a man to do the forbidden or to commit sin, a classic example being found in Herod's oath, which is quoted again and again in Patristic and early Christian literature. It was under the last head that the Church especially claimed her right to determine in respect of the oath, as being in most cases the only competent judge of *justitia in objecto*, whence it followed as a matter of course that to her appertained the right of annulment.

In spite of the prevalence of the oath in Christian circles generally, communities have existed from early times which, whether attributing an absolute prohibition to Christ, or shrinking from the responsibility of the act, have made it a matter of conscience to avoid the oath in any shape or form. As these communities have often been small, both in numbers and in historical importance, it will suffice to name the Waldenses, Hussites, Mennonites, Anabaptists, Moravians, and Friends (*qq.v.*).

4. Modern.—Though the Reformation changed many things, it retained the oath as a recognized and serviceable social institution. Art. xxxix. of the Church of England, *e.g.*, embodies a formula which may be accepted as a fair statement of Protestant opinion with reference to the use of the oath as conformable to religion and common sense. For, while the assertion of untruth is always a sin, it is manifestly impracticable that it should always be treated as a legal crime. But the well-being of the community, the maintenance of an ordered state of society, demands that, under certain circumstances, it should be treated as such. The legal oath secures this; perjury is a crime, for which due penalty may be exacted. That the oath is not the only means of securing this end is, of course, true; this has been publicly recognized in the Oaths Act, 1888, in which provision was made for those who, like the Quakers, on conscientious grounds decline to swear or, as non-Christians, decline to take the Christian oath. But, allowing this, the oath generally meets the case; it has, moreover, acquired associations and a religious sanction which add to its effectiveness; it has on historic grounds become an integral part of the apparatus of social life; there appears, therefore, to be no sufficient warrant for discontinuing its use, though, of course, its abuse cannot be deprecated too strongly. Yet, in the last resort, it must be admitted that the very existence of a need for the oath or some equivalent for it is due solely to

the imperfect Christianity of Christian people at the present day as throughout the past. If the ideal of living set up by Christ were actually realized in practice, the oath would forthwith become superfluous; for lying and ill faith would be unknown, a simple affirmation or denial would meet all needs, and a promise would require no further guarantee. Unhappily this is far from being the case; and, society being what it is, the retention of the Christian oath appears to be entirely justified, alike on the grounds of religion, ethics, common sense, and practical convenience.

LITERATURE.—Among the not over-numerous works dealing with the oath in general the following may be named: E. Coke, *Institutes of the Laws of England*, ed. F. Hargrave and C. Butler, London, 1789; *The Book of Oaths* (anonymous), do. 1649; C. F. Stäudlin, *Gesch. der Vorstellungen und Lehren vom Eide*, Göttingen, 1824; J. E. Tyler, *Oaths: their Origin, Nature, and History*, London, 1835; K. F. Göschel, *Der Eid*, Berlin, 1837; F. A. Stringer, *Oaths and Affirmations*[3], London, 1910; C. Ford, *On Oaths*, do. 1903. There is much matter bearing on the subject in commentaries on Holy Scripture, readily available; in the writings of the Fathers, and later ecclesiastical literature, partial reference to which has been given in the text; and in more official documents, such as certain of the Papal Decretals, and so forth. For the practical study of the institution in detail, reference may be made to the Histories, primary and secondary, which are too numerous to mention here.

W. ERNEST BEET.

OATH (Semitic).—Oaths are very common in Semitic speech, particularly in Arabic. This need not imply that the ordinary assertions of a Semite could not or cannot be trusted, though the Arabs have a bad reputation in this respect.[1] It may point rather to a fondness for emphatic speech. In the case of the Hebrews much of this particular kind of emphasis may have been lost in editorial refinements and manipulations; but the use in Hebrew of such syntactical constructions as those with the infinitive absolute and with the perfect of certitude may be taken to indicate that emphatic utterance was characteristic of the people and the language. When, therefore, the oath as a solemn asseveration came into use, its growth on such soil would be rapid and luxuriant. But in its more original form the oath was more an action than an utterance. It was part of the ceremony of a compact or agreement. Such ceremonies, more or less elaborate at first, gradually become modified and simplified until only a gesture may remain. In the judicial oath, which is usually for the most part a form of words, we have the later or latest development. It implies considerable progress both in law and in religion.[2] The oath is still of the nature of a compact or agreement.[3] Hebrew and Arabic philology may be said clearly to indicate the ceremonial origin of the oath among the Semites. Some of the words for oath—Heb. *shĕbhu'ah*; Arab. *yamîn* and *qasam*—imply ceremonies. The Heb. *shĕbhi'ah* is connected with the word for 'seven' (*shebhă'*); and 'to swear' (*nishba'*) is literally 'to do things by sevens' or 'to come under the influence of seven things.'[4] Seven was a sacred number among the Semites (cf. Gn 33[3], Lv 4[6], Nu 23[1], Jos 6[4], etc.; Qur'ān, ii. 27, xxiii. 17, xv. 44, 87, xxxi. 26, etc.). It probably had magical significance.[1] In any case, certain narratives confirm the view that some action by sevens was the primary idea. Thus seven ewe lambs figure in the oath regarding a well made between Abraham and Abimeleeh (Gn 21[31]), and on this account the place is said to have been called Beer-sheba, 'Well of Seven.'[2] Again, Herodotus describes an Arabian oath of covenant (iii. 8) in which seven stones are smeared with blood (cf. Hom. *Il.* xix. 243 ff.; Paus. III. xx. 9). The Arab. word *qasam*, used of the judicial oath, is derived from a root which in its simple form means 'to divide into parts' (*qasama*; iv. *'aqsama*, 'to swear'). Here again some magical ceremony may be implied;[3] and we are again helped by an OT narrative. In Gn 15[10. 17] we have a story of the making of a compact in which certain animals are cut up and the pieces arranged in a particular way. At sunset a smoking oven and a flaming torch pass between the pieces (cf. Jer 34[18f.]). In this narrative, which is composite and confused, there is a hint of some ancient and rather elaborate ceremony (probably magical). We need not think of a sacrifice; and originally no doubt it was the contracting parties who passed between the pieces.[4] The significance of the pieces or parts is doubtful.[5] But, in any case, just as the Heb. word has some such primary idea as 'to do a thing by sevens,' the Arab. word would seem to denote primarily 'to do a thing by parts.' The Arab. word *yamîn* really means 'the right hand.' Since the right hand was much used in contract or oath ceremonies, the same word came to denote an oath.[6] The Arabs give the hand in swearing. There is reference to the same action among the Hebrews as well. In 2 K 10[15] the giving of the hand is an indication of loyalty (cf. La 5[6], 2 Ch 30[8]). In Ezr 10[19] the expression is equivalent to 'promise' or almost to 'swear.'[7] In 1 Ch 29[24], where RV has 'submitted themselves unto Solomon the king,' the Heb. text has 'gave the hand under Solomon.' This was perhaps the more original form of the expression. The person who swore put the hand or hands under the person to whom the oath was sworn. In the Qur'ān (xlviii. 10) we find the words:

'In truth, they who plighted fealty to thee, really plighted that fealty to God: the hand of God was over their hands.'

The original ceremony may have been something like that described in Gn 24[2. 9]. When Abraham makes his servant swear, he directs him at the same time to put his hand under his (Abraham's)

[1] Cf. C. M. Doughty, *Wanderings in Arabia*, i. 110: 'To speak of the Arabs at the worst, in one word, the mouth of the Arabs is full of cursing and lies and prayers; their heart is a deceitful labyrinth.'

[2] This stage of development was reached, of course, at different times among different sections of the Semitic race. The Ḥammurabi Code shows that the judicial oath was employed by the Babylonians as early as 2000 B.C.

[3] It always implies as its full form a conditional sentence. Indeed, the simplest oath, judicial or otherwise, may be said to do this. Perjury is a repudiation of sacred things, a violation of religion. When a modern Arab swears by God, *Wellâhi* or *Wellâhi-Billâhi* or *Wullah-Ballah* (Doughty, i. 110), the original implication is: If I perjure myself, I am false to my belief that God is the living God, and I call down upon myself the punishment due to such infidelity.

[4] Wellhausen (*Reste*, p. 186) thinks that the word may imply a sevenfold repetition. But the repetition of a formula is probably a later idea.

[1] Cf. R. C. Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, London, 1908, p. 164 ff., etc.; W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, do. 1900, p. 225 f.; also *GB*[3], pt. ii., *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, do. 1911, p. 305 f.

[2] This is no doubt the meaning, though the name might be explained 'well of the oath,' or even 'well of Sheba.' C. F. Burney (*JThSt* xii. [1910] 118 f.) explains Sheba as the god Seven; but, since in Assyrian *mamîtu*, 'oath,' occurs as the name of a goddess (Mercer, *The Oath in Babylonian and Assyrian Literature*, p. 27), Sheba here may be the oath personified (cf. the personification of Gr. ὅρκος). Mamitu is never mentioned in oath formulæ; but we find reference to 'the mistress (goddess) of the oath' as witness to a treaty (Mercer, p. 28). Of course the story in Genesis may be only a popular etymology invented to explain an already existing name; but in any case it throws light on the primary idea in the Heb. word 'to swear.'

[3] Especially as other forms of the same Arab. root are used of practising divination (see F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, *A Heb. and Eng. Lexicon of the OT*, Oxford, 1891 ff., *s.v.* קסם, and Wellhausen, p. 133 f.).

[4] Not 'as a symbol that they were taken within the mystical life of the victim' (W. Robertson Smith, *Rel. Sem.*[2], p. 480 f.). This idea is hardly primitive enough.

[5] Mercer (p. 40 f.) finds an interesting analogy in an Assyrian inscription of the time of Ašur-nirâri II. (754–745 B.C. [Mercer]) in which a treaty between Ašur-nirâri, king of Assyria, and Mati'ilu, ruler of a district west of Ḫana, occurs. A ram was taken from the herd and beheaded. According to Mercer, this was done, not as an offering or sacrifice, but to typify what would be the fate of the perjurer.

[6] Possibly the same word in Hebrew should sometimes be translated 'oath.' In Ps 144[8], *e.g.*, we might translate 'their oath is a false oath.'

[7] The same thing is expressed by the 'striking of hands' in Job 17[3], Pr 6[1] 11[15] 17[18] 22[26].

thigh.[1] This suggests that originally the hand was placed under the most sacred part of the person, the seat of a mysterious, awe-inspiring, life-giving force.[2] We may suppose that in course of time instead of this the hand of one person was placed under the hand of the other. Out of this practice grew a still simpler action, first a kind of hand-shake, and then a mere lifting of the hand. Thus 'to lift the hand' became equivalent to 'to swear' (Gn 14^{22}, Dt 32^{40}, Ex 6^{8}, Ps 106^{26}).[3]

The judicial oath, unless followed by an ordeal, is more a form of words. But various other ceremonies have been noted in connexion with oaths, judicial or otherwise. Doughty (i. 110) speaks of a faithful form of swearing among the Arabs called *halif yemin*:

'One takes a grass stalk in his fist, and his words are *Wa hyât hâtha el-aûd*, By the life of this stem, *wa'r rubb el-mabûd*, and the adorable Lord.'[4]

Burckhardt mentions others. One of the most common in ordinary life is to take hold of the *wasat*, or middle tent-pole, with one hand and to swear 'by the life of this tent and its owners.' A more serious oath, used only in exceptional cases, is called *yemein el-khet*, the 'oath of the cross lines.' The account of this oath may be given in Burckhardt's words:

'Thus, if a Bedouin accuses his neighbour of a considerable theft, and cannot prove the fact by witnesses, the plaintiff takes the defendant before the sheikh, or kady, and calls upon him to swear in his defence whatever oath he may choose to demand from him. If he complies readily, his accuser leads him to a certain distance from the camp, because the magical nature of the oath might prove pernicious to the general body of Arabs, were it to take place in their vicinity. He then with his *sekin*, or crooked knife, draws on the sand a large circle, with many cross lines inside it. He obliges the defendant to place his right foot within the circle, he himself doing the same, and addressing him in the following words, which the accused is obliged to repeat—"By God, and in God, and through God, (I swear) I did not take it, and it is not in my possession." Some persons enter the circle with both feet. It is said that Mohammed once made use of this oath, and to swear falsely by it would for ever disgrace an Arab. To make it still more solemn, a *shemle* (or camel's udder-bag) and an ant (*el nemle*) are placed together within the circle; indicating that the accused swears by the hope of never being deprived of his camel's udder, and of never experiencing a time when he should want even the winter provision of an ant' (ii. 127 *f.*).

In this form the oath is called the *yemein el shemle we nemle*, or 'oath of the *shemle* and *nemle*.'

In Babylonian and Assyrian contract-tablets and inscriptions there are many references to mere oaths of attestation, from the early days of Babylonian business life down to the Persian period. These are interesting as giving often the occasion, place, time, and general circumstances of the oath. It appears that the Babylonians and Assyrians went to the temple to take their oaths (cf. the expression 'before the god'). A very common place was the 'gate' of the temple; but other places also are mentioned.[1] In contracts dating from the second part of the so-called dynasty of Ur oaths are taken in the temple of Nin-mar-ki by the name of the king with or without witnesses; or by the name of the king with witnesses and before certain named persons; or without invoking any one and with or without witnesses. In the contracts from the Ḥammurabi dynasty the oaths are with or without witnesses. They are by the name of the god and the king, and sometimes also of the city; *e.g.*, we find invocation of 'Shamash and the king,' 'Shamash, Marduk, and the king,' 'Shamash, Marduk, the king, and the city of Sippar,' etc. (Mercer, p. 7).[2] These are the two gods most frequently invoked. With them is generally associated the reigning king. In contracts of the Cassite dynasty the oath is sworn by En-lil, Ninib, Nusku, and the king. But in this dynasty the custom of taking the oath seems to be less common, and in subsequent periods it falls more and more into disuse. In treaties the oath figures as early as *c.* 2900 B.C. (treaty made by E-an-na-tum, king of Lagaš or Sirpulla; see Mercer, p. 21). There are several references in the Tell-el-Amarna tablets (29, 67, 148, 149, 164) and in Assyrian inscriptions (Mercer, p. 22).

Among Hebrews, Babylonians, and Arabs the ordinary judicial oath has much in common. The Ḥammurabi Code in the case of grievous assault demands an oath of lack of malice and payment of the doctor. As Johns points out, Exodus ($21^{18f.}$) omits the oath and orders payment for loss of time. If the injured man dies, the Ḥammurabi Code allows an oath of want of malice to be taken (§ 207), and accepts compensation. The same Code requires a person accused of incest either to take a solemn oath or to submit to an ordeal, as the case may require. In Nu 5^{11-31} a woman accused of incest has to take an oath and to submit to an ordeal as well. Among the ancient Arabs a wife suspected of infidelity had to ride on a camel between two sacks of dung to the sanctuary and there swear seventy times that the suspicion rested upon calumny. The requirement of the Qur'ân is simpler.[3] If a man accuses his wife of infidelity, he must swear four times that he speaks the truth, and then ask that the curse[4] of God may fall upon him if he lies. The woman can meet this by swearing four times that he lies and then calling down upon herself the anger of God if he speaks the truth. In Ex $22^{10f.}$ it is ordered that, if an animal has been entrusted to a man, and it die or be hurt or be driven away, the man to whom it was entrusted

[1] Mercer (p. 39) thinks that this narrative can be paralleled by a passage from the Nimrod Epos (xi. no. 70, l. 210): *il-pu-ut pu-ut-ni ma iz-za-az ina bi-ri-in-ni i-kar-ra-ban-na-ši*, '(he made my wife kneel down by my side) touched our foreside, walking in between and blessing us.' He gives reasons for thinking that *il-pu-ut pu-ut-ni* may be translated here 'he touched (in oath) our foreside (*i.e.* our privy parts),' and compares the common phrase *ištên pût šanî naši*, 'one lifts the forepart of another,' *i.e.* 'one answers for another.'

[2] We might think of phallic worship here (cf. Holzinger on Gn 24^{2}); but this is not necessary. The genital organs (represented by the thigh) are regarded simply as the instruments of a kind of divine power. The conception was wide-spread; and there are traces of the same kind of ceremony in various parts of the world (see H. Ewald, *Alterthümer des Volkes Israel*,[3] Göttingen, 1866, p. 26, and note particularly the Australian parallel cited by G. J. Spurrell, *Notes on the Text of Genesis*[2], Oxford, 1896, p. 218). Other explanations have been offered. Dillmann explains by the fact that (avenging) descendants proceed from the loins (Gn 46^{26}, Ex 1^{5}, Jg 8^{30}). Others (Targum Jon., Rashi) think that the generative organ was considered sacred because sanctified by circumcision. A. J. N. Tremearne (*The Ban of the Bori*, London, 1914, p. 62), in reference to this explanation, adds: 'Perhaps a survival of this is seen in the practice found amongst certain West African tribes of passing a knife or other piece of iron between the legs when taking an oath.'

[3] The Assyrian word *niš*, 'oath,' is from the verb *našu* (Heb. *nâsâ'*), which means 'to lift up (the hand),' especially as a gesture in taking an oath (Mercer, p. 29).

[4] According to Burckhardt, the 'oath of the wood' is often taken before a judge. His account of the oath is as follows. A small piece of wood (or some straw) is taken up from the ground and presented to the person who is to swear. He is requested to 'take the wood and swear by God and the life of him who caused it to be green and dried it up' (*Notes on the Bedouins and Wahâbys*, ii. 127).

[1] Whether *Šurinnu*, which is often mentioned, was a place (Muss-Arnolt, 'column'), an 'emblem' (Thureau-Dangin), or the receptacle of the oath-emblems, is doubtful; but at any rate it seems to belong to the temple (Mercer, p. 35).

[2] Certain parts of the temple are mentioned as the place of attestation. Sometimes the parties are said to go to 'the divine emblem' (KU. 715; see Mercer, p. 11 f.).

[3] D. S. Margoliouth (*The Early Development of Mohammedanism*, London, 1914, p. 48 f.) points out that the ruling of the Qur'ân in the matter of oaths reveals the development of a change of attitude. In xvi. 93 there is a command to keep oaths. In v. 91 the principle of compensation is introduced: an oath may be violated, and atonement made by some other performance. In lxvi. the new principle is confirmed. The tendency is towards laxity; 'and it has had the decidedly serious result that there appears to be no mode known to Mohammedan law whereby an oath can be made legally binding.'

[4] As Wellhausen says, the oath is always eventually a curse. The Heb. word for 'a curse,' *'ālāh*, is often translated 'oath.' Where *'ālāh* and the more usual word for oath, *šĕbhu'āh*, are combined, the severity of the eventual curse is increased and emphasized (see Nu 5^{21}; and cf. 1 K 8^{31}, 2 Ch 6^{22}, Neh 10^{29}, Dn 9^{11}).

may clear himself by taking a solemn oath. This is the oath of purgation (cf. 1 K 8^{31}). The same provision is made in the Ḥammurabi Code (cf. S. R. Driver, *Exodus*, Cambridge, 1911, p. 423). Among the Arabs it is still possible for a person suspected of theft to clear himself by taking a solemn oath (see Burckhardt, i. 126–129; Doughty, i. 267; and cf. E. W. Lane, *Modern Egyptians*[5], London, 1871, i. 384). According to Dt $21^{1ff.}$, when a man was found slain, the elders of the place had to swear that their people were guiltless of the murder. Robertson Smith (p. 64) thinks that exactly the same custom prevailed in Arabia (cf., however, Wellhausen, p. 189, n. 1).

Several oath formulæ are mentioned in the OT —*e.g.*, 'God do so to so and so and more also' (1 S 14^{44} 25^{22}, 2 S $3^{9.\ 35}$, 1 K 2^{23}); 'As Jahweh liveth!' (1 S 14^{39} 19^{6}); 'As Jahweh liveth and as thou thyself (thy soul) livest' (1 S 20^{3}); 'As Jahweh liveth and as my lord the king liveth' (2 S 15^{21});[1] 'Jahweh is a witness between me and thee for ever' (1 S 20^{23}, inserting *'ēdh* after *Jahweh*; or 'Jahweh is an everlasting witness,' reading simply *'ēdh 'ōlām*); 'By myself have I sworn' (Gn 22^{16}, Jahweh being the speaker). Among Arabic examples are the following: 'By what this (copy of the Qur'ān) contains of the word of God'; 'I impose upon myself divorcement'; 'I impose upon myself a triple divorcement'; 'I impose upon myself interdiction'; 'By God the Great'; 'As the Lord liveth' (*Wa hyât Ullah*); 'As I live' (*Aly lahyaty*). The Jews swore by the Temple (Jer 7^{4}) as well as by persons. They are said to have sworn also by heaven (cf. G. H. Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, Leipzig, 1898, i. 168 f.), by the earth, by the sun, by Jerusalem (see *Shĕbū'ōth*, iv. 2; Mt 5^{34} 23^{16}; *Berākhôth*, 55; *Qiddūshîn*, 71*a*; Maimonides, *Yad Ha-Ḥăzāqā*, *Hilkôth Shĕbū'ōth*, 12). The modern Arabs swear by the life of persons or parts of a person (*e.g.*, the head, the beard; see Lane, *Modern Egyptians*[5], i. 349), and even of things (*e.g.*, fire, coffee, etc.; see Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, Cambridge, 1888, i. 269). According to S. I. Curtiss (*Primitive Semitic Religion To-day*, London, 1902, p. 113 f.), Muhammadans at Hamath, in N. Syria, swear by God's phallus.

'In the village of Bludan, about twenty-five miles west from Damascus, which is composed of Greek Christians of a very low type, the same oath is heard on the lips of women. . . . Another form of oath of a similar sort may be heard in Nebk, in the Syrian desert, and at Zebedani.'[2]

Muhammadans are said also to swear by the sacred pilgrimage route to Mecca. If the text of Am 8^{14} is correct, the Israelites used the same kind of oath: 'As the way of Beersheba liveth.' But the oath is peculiar and without parallel in Heb., and the text is perhaps corrupt.[3] The pilgrimage to Mecca is of such importance that it is natural to find this and other oaths associated with it. Thus the sanctity of him who instituted it, or of him in whose honour it is made, is, of course, a sanctity by which to swear. In Ḥarīrī's *Maqāmah* of Alexandria (as rendered by T. Preston, *Makamat of Al Hariri of Basra*, London, 1850) occur the nes:

'Lo! here I swear by Mecca's Lord divine,
Whose pilgrims, sped by camels, seek his shrine' (p. 108).

Preston compares a similar asseveration in the poem of Nabegra: 'By the eternity of Him to whom I have gone on pilgrimage of the Hadj!' In the *Maqāmah* of Koufa we have (Preston, p. 218): 'By the sanctity of the Shaikh (Abraham) who ordained the hospitable meal and founded the place to which the hadj is made (the Kaaba) in the mother of towns.'

The Essenes refrained altogether from swearing (Jos. *BJ* II. viii. 6). It has been thought that even in Ec 9^{2} the taking of an oath is regarded as objectionable.[1] In any case the Jews came to regard the taking of an oath as a very serious matter. The general principle is, 'Let thy yea be yea and thy nay be nay' (*Bābhā Mᶜṣī'a*, 49*a*); for he who utters an untruth is excluded from the divine presence(*Sôṭāh*, 42*a*). There are many passages in Rabbinic literature which express abhorrence of false or vain oaths. Such falsehood is one of the seven capital sins which provoke God's severest judgment on the world (*Ābhôth*, v.). A false oath, even if made unconsciously, involves a man in sin, and is punished as such (*Gittin*, 35*a*). The oath or vow which a man was charged to make by a Jewish court of justice could be absolved by no Rabbi or Rabbinical tribunal. Oaths uttered over the Scroll of the Law were particularly sacred. In the age of the Geônîm no dissolution of business contracts made on oath was permitted (cf. E. Landau, *Responsen*, Prague, 1776, [2]1810–11, p. 123).[2]

LITERATURE.—*HDB*; *EBi*; Herzog-Hauck, *Realencyklopädie*[3]; *JE* ix. 365; *DI*; J. D. Michaelis, *Das mosaische Recht* (ed. J. L. Saalschütz), Berlin, 1846–48; W. Nowack, *Lehrbuch der hebräische Archäologie*, 2 vols., Freiburg, 1894; S. A. B. Mercer, *The Oath in Babylonian and Assyrian Literature*, Paris, 1912; J. L. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahâbys*, London, 1831; J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*[2], Berlin, 1897; W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*[2], London, 1894, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, new ed., do. 1903; C. M. Doughty, *Wanderings in Arabia*, 2 vols., do. 1908; C. H. W. Johns, *The Relations between the Laws of Babylonia and the Laws of the Hebrew Peoples* (Schweich Lectures, 1912), do. 1914. Some other works have been referred to in the course of the article.

MAURICE A. CANNEY.

OBEDIENCE.—In the sphere of ethics the term 'obedience' signifies the practical submission to an authority regarded as universally valid or to an authority of a concrete or provisional character. In the former case it stands opposed to disobedience; in the latter to self-determination, culminating in complete personal autonomy, which, however, must be distinguished from romantic caprice.

1. **Obedience as an ethico-religious principle.**—Unconditional obedience is demanded in certain stages of religion—in those, namely, which are characterized by the enunciation of positive laws. The laws in question may be grounded on ancient custom, priestly enactment, or the ordinances of sacred books. The motives for obedience, too, may be of the most varied kind, such as convention, fear, hope of reward, and even belief in the real excellence of the law, and trust in the authority

[1] The word translated 'as liveth' has been less correctly rendered 'by the life of.' It is an adjective, and is pointed differently by the Massoretes (*e.g.*, in 2 S 15^{21}) to distinguish oaths sworn by Jahweh from oaths sworn by false gods and other non-enduring persons and things. If Hos 4^{15} has preserved the true text, the Israelites are forbidden there to swear 'As the Lord liveth!' This prohibition, however, is very unlikely. W. R. Harper (*Amos and Hosea* [*ICC*], Edinburgh, 1905, p. 263 f.) is probably right in conjecturing (with Wellhausen, Nowack, and G. A. Smith) that 'in Beersheba' has fallen out. Read: 'And swear not in Beersheba, "As Jahweh liveth!"' This oath was permitted (Jer 4^{2} 38^{16}), and at a later date was even commanded (Dt 6^{13} 10^{20}).

[2] The use of this oath may be taken perhaps to imply phallic worship as its origin. Or it may be due to the kind of tradition that makes certain persons the offspring of a divine father. The stories of the opening of Leah's womb (Gn 29^{31}) and of the visit of the angel of Jahweh to Samson's mother (Jg 13^{3}) have been referred to in this connexion (see R. C. Thompson, *Semitic Magic*, p. 78).

[3] It has been suggested that *we-ḥê derek* should be read *we-ḥê dôdeka*, *dôd*, literally 'darling,' being used here in the sense of patron-god. Thus C. F. Kent (*Student's OT*, 'Sermons, Epistles, and Apocalypses,' iv., London, 1910, p. 79) translates, 'And as liveth thy patron, O Beersheba!' A. B. Ehrlich (*Randglossen*, v. [Leipzig, 1912] 252) even conjectures that there is no oath here at all. For *ḥê* he would read in both clauses *'ê*, and, for *we-ḥê derek*, *we-'ê bōrēk*: 'And they shall say, Where is thy God, Dan? and Where is thy Spring, Beersheba?'

[1] But this is probably due to a wrong interpretation. Rather one who takes an oath and loyally keeps it is contrasted with one who is afraid to take an oath or to keep it.

[2] For the Rabbinic references the writer is indebted to Maurice H. Farbridge, M.A., Faulkner Fellow in Manchester University.

behind it. In no case, however, is the individual really free, for, while he is regarded as sufficiently intelligent to propose tasks for his own will, he is assumed to be still spiritually dependent and immature.

To begin with, there are religions in which obedience to the deity takes the form of obedience to particular laws. Instances of this attitude are found in the law-book of Manu, in the religions of Egypt, Babylonia, and Persia, in Judaism, and in Muhammadanism. The inevitable result of this is a constant increase in the number of particular commandments, and a corresponding tendency to casuistry, as seen in Judaism, especially in the Hălākhā. External scrupulosity is here conjoined with a decline in ethical feeling, though it is true that feeling itself is sometimes brought under law, as when the Jesuits ask how often one must love God—if, *e.g.*, twice a day will suffice. The laws may vary greatly in their subject-matter, but this is of less importance than the fact that laws have actually been given. A characteristic feature of this stage of development is that each law tends to stand by itself, and there is also a tendency to separate the works of the law from the individual doer, as in the Parsi religion (cf. the *Thesaurus operum* of Roman Catholicism), though it should be noted that in Parsiism purity of thought is demanded no less than purity of word and action.

Nevertheless, it is impossible, in these forms of religion, to bring the inward spirit and the outward action into complete harmony, for the spirit enjoined is simply that of readiness to obey. Moreover, as the laws are regarded as ordinances of the deity and therefore unchangeable, they often, as, *e.g.*, in Islām, become a clog upon moral development, though it is true that the Jesuits, who make obedience a principle of ethics, have in the clergy an authority which decides each case by itself.

The doctrine of absolute obedience presupposes that there are some who command and some who obey. The latter are those who are assumed to be spiritually in their nonage. They are free in a purely formal sense, *i.e.* either to obey or to disobey, but not to reason why. In fact, the more rigorous the demand for obedience, the less possible is it for them to perceive the goodness of the law, so that their obedience itself becomes purely formal, and tends to degenerate into spiritual indifference, while in turn the commanding authority becomes in its decisions more and more inclined to mere caprice (cf. the probabilism of the Jesuits). At this stage disobedience may be simply an act of will in conflict with a particular law, or it may be a fundamental revolt against mere submission, in which case it is construed by the authority as rebellion against God. But, while such revolt may rest upon self-will and arrogance, it may sometimes proceed from doubt as to the divine character and origin of the law enjoined, and this doubt may even prompt the question whether the individual ought to be permanently treated as spiritually immature. Thus disobedience and doubt may usher in a higher movement—a process of development transcending the standpoint of absolute submission to authority.

This process, again, exhibits various stages. The advance can be traced to some extent in several of the Aryan religions. Brāhmanism insists upon the law of caste and the authority of the Vedas, but accords perfect freedom to those who are absorbed in the contemplation of Brahman. Buddhism in time re-instituted the distinction between monk and layman, and prescribed laws for each, but still asserted that redemption was for all, and that the more passive virtues of pity and contemplation should rest upon individual initiative. It was in Greek ethics, however, that the principle of obedience was more fully transcended. The Sophists, applying the solvent of doubt to convention and tradition, founded moral laws on θέσις, voluntary determination. In the *Republic* of Plato the classes corresponding to 'appetite' and 'courage' are certainly pledged to obedience, but those representing 'reason' are to act from their intuition of the Idea of the Good. A still greater measure of spontaneity and independence appears in Aristotle's doctrine of virtue and the cosmopolitanism of the Stoics.

Christianity, again, in so far as it is linked with the OT law, still retains a certain authoritative tendency, but in reality, as Christ proclaimed a free interpretation of the law, its characteristic attitude is fundamentally different. While the law still stands, the Holy Spirit is given to the Christian; love is the fulfilling of the law; the spiritual man judges all things. In its historical development, however, Christianity assumed a more statutory character as regards both doctrine and practice. In the Greek Church the authority set up was more of a doctrinal nature; in the Roman the laity became wholly dependent upon the ecclesiastical institution. It is true that, originally, Protestantism urged the rights of personality in the religious sphere, but neither in doctrine nor in ethics did it free itself fully from the standpoint of obedience. The authority of the Scriptures and of the Decalogue was maintained, and that of the confessions was added to it; and, in short, submission to the Church met with more approval than the denial of papal infallibility might lead one to expect. Official Protestantism, in fact, is a transitional stage in which the religion of obedience and the religion of freedom have each a place. The same thing appears in recent Protestant ethics, which at once recognizes secular morality, and seeks to base morality upon Scripture and even upon the Church (J. Weiss, F. H. R. Frank, C. E. Luthardt). All along, however, there were thinkers to whom Christianity was essentially the religion of freedom, who either, like Clement and Origen, distinguished between popular faith and knowledge, and found the source of a free and rational morality in a voluntary union with the Logos, or interpreted Christianity as a form of mysticism, whether of a more contemplative or a more ethical character, as, *e.g.*, in Dionysius the Areopagite and in the *German Theology* (ed. F. Pfeiffer[3], Gütersloh, 1875) respectively. In Reformation times we find a broader conception of ethics among certain dissenters, while subsequently the Quakers appealed to the Inner Light, the testimony of the spirit, in every heart.

Within Christianity there has also been a rationalistic tendency which based ethics less upon obedience than upon action regulated by personal insight. Spinoza, who, though he did not belong to the Church, was in his ethics anything but a Jew, held that man shares in the divine activity, and so acts freely in the various relations of life. The English deists, notably Herbert of Cherbury, advocated a morality founded upon universal consent, virtue being thus based upon natural reason. But the most pronounced opponent of statutory obedience was Kant, who founded ethics on the autonomy of the practical reason. He rejected all attempts to find a basis for morality in authority of any kind, and, in particular, in religious authority. Religion itself, he holds, rests upon morality: we postulate God simply as the guarantee that the moral law and the law of nature are ultimately one. The moral law is to be obeyed, however, because it is in itself good, and not on the ground of its divine origin. Fichte, too, asserts that authority and tradition must be transformed

into freedom, and that we must recognize ourselves as organs of divine Providence and as able to grasp the content of moral law by intellectual intuition. Hegel likewise brings morality under the standpoint of freedom, the final stage of this being the *Sittlichkeit* in which the human spirit comes into complete harmony with the moral content revealing itself in the family, civil life, and the State. Autonomy of a kind is found also in the religious ethics of Schleiermacher: the divine spirit acts in man as the incentive to moral conduct, and knowledge of moral content is drawn from the Christian consciousness and from the moral reason, so that ethical action is free, resting upon religious impulse and personal insight.

The results of the foregoing survey may be set forth as follows. As long as the individual falls short of complete self-mastery, he is dependent upon the community for his ethical conceptions, these being usually represented as of divine origin; at this stage his normal practice is simply obedience. A further point is reached when he asks for the grounds on which obedience is demanded. Here obedience may still be counselled—as the more profitable course. But this is not an ethical solution at all, and the next step is to inquire into the content of the moral law. Should obedience still be enforced, the individual begins to question the rightness of the law, and his mind oscillates between doubt and submission. The highest stage of moral life is reached when the subject not only acts from an ethical motive, but feels responsible for his knowledge of moral content, *i.e.* claims the right to test that content in each particular case.

2. Obedience in practical life.—It is obvious, however, that in certain phases of social life obedience to a concrete authority, *i.e.* the subordination of private judgment and private choice to the expressed will of others, may rightly be demanded. These phases may be enumerated as follows: (1) the training of children—the necessity of obedience to parents or their representatives; (2) the married state—the position of the wife in relation to her husband; (3) domestic and industrial arrangements, or the hierarchy of private or public service—the servant's submission to the master, or that of the subordinate to the superior official; (4) the Church—the duty of the members to the constituted authority; and (5) the State—the relation of the subject to the law. With the exception of (3) these are dealt with in some detail in the art. EMANCIPATION (vol. v. p. 270 ff., esp. § 2), and, more generally, also in the art. AUTHORITY (vol. ii. p. 249 ff.). For (3)—in part—see artt. EMPLOYERS, EMPLOYMENT (vol. v. pp. 295 f., 297 ff.); here it need only be noted that the relation of master and servant, now that civilization has passed beyond the stage of slavery, is in essence a contract, that the servant's obedience is simply his faithfulness to an agreement which was voluntarily entered into and may be voluntarily dissolved, and that the relation may become an ideally ethical one when both employer and employee take a kindly human interest in the concerns and welfare of each other. In the public service, again, the obedience of the inferior to the superior official would seem to be absolutely necessary for the sake of order, and the question here is how the inferior is to preserve his moral responsibility when commanded to do what offends his moral judgment. For him to abandon the service might mean that the State thus lost its most conscientious officials, while to leave the responsibility of his conduct to his superior would be to reduce himself to a moral cipher. The practical solution of the problem is probably to be found in the right of free discussion: the inferior must be at liberty to lay his objections before the higher authority, and the latter must be willing to discuss them; but in the last resort the conscientious objector, if still unsatisfied, should have the power of relinquishing his office. This case bears some affinity to that between subject and State (5). Here, however, another factor presents itself, viz. that in a free State the subject has a share in making the laws which he is asked to obey. He has the right to challenge any part of the established order, and to work for its reform, and accordingly it would seem that until the desired reform has been instituted it is his duty to obey.

3. Obedience and freedom.—The fact that in certain concrete relationships obedience may be justly required is not in any real sense incompatible with the fundamental personal freedom to which our inquiry in § 1 led us. In that inquiry we saw that the individual must attain to a sense of complete responsibility as regards his moral task. But it is a necessary condition of that task that, so far from being an isolated individuality, he is connected with other individuals, and stands with them in a vast complex of relations. His freedom is thus to be realized, not by breaking away from such order as has been established, but rather by exercising his inherent right to test all the laws, institutions, and counsels that constitute the established system of things. In this way his obedience is as far from blind submission as his freedom is from mere caprice.

In any existing system of social relations the possibility of improvement and progress depends in the ultimate upon free criticism. If the convictions of the individual are not at variance with the existent order, his obedience to it is obviously free action. Should there be antagonism, however, between his convictions and the course of action demanded of him, he must be at liberty to state his views publicly, while, similarly, the authority claiming his obedience must be prepared to set forth the other side, and must not fall back upon any arbitrary dictum or ancient convention. In such conditions the individual should submit to the established order until it is abrogated. His obedience will then be no abandonment of the duty of forming and defending his own convictions; on the contrary, it will rest upon a recognition of the fact that statutory laws are essential to the existence of a community, and especially of the State—essential, that is, to the preservation and extension of freedom itself. Cf. also the artt. EDUCATION, ETHICS AND MORALITY, FILIAL PIETY, FREE WILL, LOYALTY, SLAVERY, etc.

LITERATURE.—The more important works relating to the subject are given in the literature to the artt. AUTHORITY and EMANCIPATION, to which may be added A. Dorner, *Philosophische Ethik*, Berlin, 1895, pp. 437 ff., 657 ff., 407 ff., 503 ff., 469 ff., 717 ff.

A. DORNER.

OBI.—See VAUDOUX.

OBJECT, OBJECTIVE.—Whatever the mind can hold before it—attend to, think of, perceive, or contemplate—is called an 'object' of the mind; and this content of the mind's interest is said to be 'objective.'

The term 'object' has been used in philosophical discussions loosely and ambiguously; and in recent discussions the attempt is made to give it the consistent though very general meaning formulated in the definition above (cf. *DPhP*, *s.v.*). The principal confusion has arisen from the use of 'object' for 'external object' or physical thing, the 'objective' world being the 'physical' world. This is very inadequate for two reasons.

(1) To identify the objective with the physical is to limit the process by which the mind apprehends objects or contents generally to a single case, the

external. This is quite illegitimate. The process of the objectifying of contents is one which arises genetically very early in conscious life and develops through a series of stages in which objects of many sorts are constructed — objects of perception (things), of memory (images), of fancy, of imagination, of play, of thought. There are religious and æsthetic objects, mental no less than physical, fancied and imagined no less than seen and felt objects. The self is an object as the other person is; the 'castle in Spain' and the imagined thought or idea. The absurd, the visionary, the impossible, all become mental objects when set up in consciousness for inspection, thought, or contemplation (cf. A. Meinong, *Gegenstandstheorie*, Leipzig, 1907, and J. M. Baldwin, *Thought and Things*, 3 vols., London and New York, 1906–11).

The external or physical thing, therefore, is only one among many 'objects,' each having its own characters or 'co-efficients,' upon which the mind proceeds in giving it its place and mode of reality.

(2) A second reason for rejecting the usage which makes the objective co-extensive with the external arises from the consideration of the dualism between subjective and objective. This dualism appeared late in the history of reflexion, as it arises late also in the development of the individual. It requires the separation from each other of the two spheres of existence or reality as distinct worlds, one of experience, the other of that which is the cause or occasion of experience. But, before this is attained, the dualism of internal and external is already in force. From the rise of competent perception the external world is distinguished from the world of persons, and things are foreign to the observer and actor. Accordingly we have to say that the external thing takes on a new phase when it becomes an 'object' to the mind that perceives it, a phase in which it is recognized as being not only a thing but also an element in experience and in so far a mental state. These two meanings are clearly distinguishable, as they are not always co-extensive; hallucination shows the objective wrongly treated as external, and certain illusions such as those of persecution show the external endowed with properties which, while objective in force, are subjective in origin.

In brief, then, the objective is a sphere within experience; and, in a given case, the object may or may not have external value as well.

There are, therefore, strong reasons supporting the definition given above. It enables us to consider objectivity and externality as two relatively distinct problems. In the analysis of mature consciousness it is important that the question of epistemology—what is the meaning of the external?—should not be embarrassed by complications arising from the problem of the objective.

LITERATURE.—See the classic discussions of theory of knowledge by Locke, Hume, Berkeley, etc., and the chapters on 'Knowledge' in the principal systematic treatises on psychology.

J. MARK BALDWIN.

OBLIGATION.—See MORAL OBLIGATION.

OBSCENITY.—The definition of obscenity both in language and in law is vague.

The *OED*, *s.v.* 'Obscene,' says: 'ad. L. *obscēnus, obscœnus*, adverse, inauspicious, ill-omened; transf. abominable, disgusting, filthy, indecent: of doubtful etymology.' 'The precise meaning,' says Craies, 'is decidedly ambiguous,' but 'the test of criminality . . . is whether the exhibition or matter tends to deprave.'

In Craies's definition not only is it necessary to define 'deprave,'[1] but it is extremely improbable that the original intention of the law was this alone. The law merely codifies social resentment, but why social opinion originally resented 'obscenity' is a difficult question of psychology. Meanwhile, with regard to the meaning of the idea and the etymology of the Latin term, it is to be noted that the differentia of obscene things, acts, and words is, negatively, concealment, or, positively, publication. In other words, to take a considerable percentage of obscene matter, this consists of natural acts and terms, and the exploitation of the organs from which they are derived, which, on being made public, offend social opinion. Thus, a plausible derivation of the word connects it with Latin *obscurus*, 'concealed,' and terms in various languages corroborate this. But the primary meaning of the Latin word seems to have been 'inauspicious,' 'ill-omened,' and the Latins resented obscenity just for this reason of ill-omen.[1] A parallel to this is the social objection to profane swearing. The most probable derivation, therefore, is perhaps that of Littré and Skeat:[2] connected with the Lat. *scævus*, 'left,' 'left-handed,' and 'inauspicious,' the word *obscenus, obscœnus*, may presuppose *obscævinus*, on the strength of the verb *obscævare*, found in Plautus.[3]

The things, acts, or words which when published constitute obscenity cannot produce social resentment on one ground alone. There is, *e.g.*, a tendency to explain the modern feeling as a development from a primitive magical use of the sexual and excretory areas. Thus, Ellis suggests that the universal gesture of contempt by exposure was originally magical and intended to drive away evil spirits, the evil eye, and the like.[4] But it is difficult to see how a gesture of magical potency should have substituted for this the quality of contempt, based, as it here is, upon excretory relations. Again, the idea of obscenity is fully developed among primitive peoples, and they show no trace of the magical meaning, though the suggestion of filthiness is frequent. On the other hand, though the psychology of sex is always complicated by the excretory relations, it is impossible to refer obscenity to the latter sphere alone.[5] Again, it is doubtful whether even in the Greek and Roman use of the phallus as an ἀποτρόπαιον, *fascinum*, amulet against evil and the evil eye,[6] the original potency of the charm was 'magical.' The erect form of it, as, *e.g.*, in the statues of Priapus which protected gardens, rather suggests contempt, based upon sexual power. Vague magical ideas would naturally attach themselves later.

The application of obscenity as a form of abuse, among both primitive and civilized peoples, and certain facts of sexual and excretory mental pathology, throw light upon the whole subject of the psychical bases of the idea of obscenity. The simpler societies, as, *e.g.*, those of the Dutch East Indies, are familiar with the idea and practice of obscenity. They chiefly use it, as do the children of European peasants, by way of opprobrium and insult. Exposure, gestures, and language include both the sexual and excretory spheres. Natural modesty is violated, contempt is expressed, and there is a minor form of curse, consisting in a wish that the victim may break this or that sexual tabu—in other words, commit this or that form of incest or self-abuse.[7] The only trace of a super-

[1] W. F. Craies, *EBr*[11] xix. 953.

[1] H. Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, i., *The Evolution of Modesty*, Philadelphia, 1899, p. 67.

[2] Littré, *Dict. de la langue française*, iii. [1873] 780; Skeat, *Etymological Dict. of the Eng. Language*[4], Oxford, 1910, *s.v.*

[3] *Asinaria*, II. i. 18.

[4] *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, v., *Erotic Symbolism*, Philadelphia, 1906, p. 100 f.

[5] As E. Fuchs, *Das erotische Element in der Karikatur*, Munich, 1912, p. 26, quoted by Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, iv., *Sexual Selection in Man*, Philadelphia, 1905, p. 47.

[6] *Fascinum* means both the evil eye and the charm, in shape of the phallus, worn by children to protect them against it (W. Smith, *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiquities*[3], London, 1890–91, i. 827).

[7] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, The Hague, 1886, p. 43.

stitious or magical content is in reference to the menses. But the so-called 'horror' of this function is probably in origin based upon disgust at excretory phenomena, magical ideas following as usual.

The obsession known as 'exhibitionism' illustrates what may be called the tendency to obscenity, which seems to be connected with a self-feeling based upon sex.[1] Similarly, the obsession known as 'befouling' is a pathological replica of the normal method of expressing contempt by an obscene act.

Some typical expressions of social practice and theory may here be noted. In common with civilized peoples generally the natives of N.W. Central Queensland employ two vocabularies for the sexual organs, a 'decent' and an 'indecent.'[2] Throughout human history there has persisted some form of veneration for the organs which perpetuate the race. Greek religion had its *phallophoria*,[3] and Indian religion has from the earliest times had its veneration or worship of the *liṅga* and *yoni*. The British *raj* has made special exemptions for representations in temples or in processions of idols which to the European might appear obscene.[4] Respect for the genital organs has, to the credit of humanity, prevailed over disgust, and the so-called 'phallic worship' of early investigators was a fact, though misconstrued (see PHALLISM).[5]

The employment of sexual functions as a magical method of stimulating the growth of vegetation has been illustrated by Frazer.[6] This and the similar practice of exposing the person in agricultural ritual constitute a sort of legalized obscenity. In saturnalian proceedings also obscenity, especially of language, is enjoined. Similarly on other occasions obscene language is allowed to women if they are interrupted by men in their own rites.[7]

Whether ritual obscenity in agricultural magic is based on the idea of homœopathy, and is originally to stimulate growth, is very doubtful. Many cases seem to have the character of the *fascinum*, and to be intended to drive away evil influences. There are many others also which are not concerned with agriculture. *A priori*, it would be expected that obscenity legalized in ritual should retain the meaning of obscenity in general, and a comparison of these ritual uses seems to show the same conclusion.

LITERATURE.—Besides the works cited in the article see J. G. Bourke, *Scatalogic Rites of all Nations*, Washington and London, 1891.

A. E. CRAWLEY.

OBSCURANTISM.—The significance of this term is moral rather than intellectual, the state of darkness which it denotes being the result not merely of unenlightenment, but also and far more of opposition to the light (Is 5^{20} 'Woe unto them that put darkness for light, and light for darkness'; Lk 11^{52} 'Ye have taken away the key of knowledge').

'For the true *obscurantists* are the passions, the prejudices, the blinding delusions of our nature, warpt by evil habits and self-indulgence; the real *obscurantism* is bigotry, in all its forms, which are many and even opposite' (J. C. Hare, in *Guesses at Truth by Two Brothers*, London, 1897, 2nd ser., p. 501 f.).

As regards the sphere of its operation, however, obscurantism is a term of intellectual import, since it has reference to the interests of knowledge rather than to those of practical life.

The name owes its origin to the mediævalizing tendency prevalent in Europe during the earlier part of the 19th century.

Then 'the world, as that generation dreamed, was to be made young again,—not by drinking, where Wordsworth led, from the fresh springs of nature,—but by an elixir distilled from the withered flowers of medieval Catholicism and chivalry, and even from the old roots of primeval wisdom' (W. Wallace, *The Logic of Hegel*, Oxford, 1874, p. xxx).

On this subject the writer of the passage already quoted from *Guesses at Truth* had remarked just before:

'People have been sounding the alarm for many years past all over Europe against what they call *obscurantism* and *obscurantists*; that is, against a supposed plot to extinguish all the new lights of our days, and to draw down the night of the middle ages on the awakening eyes of mankind' (p. 501).

Probably he has in view the ecclesiastical as well as the literary movements of the century, but in any case the attempted revival of mediævalism gave rise to the employment of the term. At the present time obscurantism, so far as it is not used in a general sense as signifying opposition to inquiry and enlightenment, suggests mediæval associations in their more historical connexion rather than their revival in the 19th century. As thus understood, however, the term always should be, though it by no means always is, applied not so much to what went on during the Middle Ages as to what went on at their close. For it was not until scholasticism, *e.g.* (which is most often the reference intended), had ceased to serve its purpose that it could with justice be described as obscurantism; *i.e.*, it was not until then that it could truly be said to be injurious to intellectual interests from an ethical point of view. In other words, obscurantism can be rightly ascribed to mediæval thought only when the latter, in the days of its decline, came to stand in direct opposition to humanism. The humanistic movement was no doubt primarily directed to the removal of intellectual hindrances, such, *e.g.*, as those enumerated by Bacon in his list of *idola* (cf., however, *Novum Organum*, bk. i., aphorisms lxv., lxxxix., and xc., for some of the more strictly obscurantist impedimenta). But, besides thus contributing to the progress of knowledge, humanism also acted as a purifying influence with respect to that corruption proceeding from moral causes which had been produced by mediæval obscurantism, and especially it served this purpose with respect to the revival of the sense of truth.[1]

The impulse to obscurantism in its more general signification arises from a deeply-rooted, if not inherent, tendency of human nature to distrust knowledge. This tendency is especially liable to become aggravated when it operates in the sphere of religion:

'in the religious world generally, an uneasy suspicion of knowledge and its results, of intellect and its cultivation,' 'a mistrust not of any result of science, but of science itself, a disaffection not to this or that critical investigation, but to the inquiring mind,' 'a sentiment of jealousy towards intelligence, as something not wholly good in its nature' (Mark Pattison, *Sermons*, London, 1885, p. 138 f.; sermons vi. and vii. are both, in fact, directed against obscurantism).

Obscurantism, when it is wide-spread, commonly makes its appearance in a decadent state of society and under conditions favourable to the growth of professional or class exclusiveness. As thus considered, it is the vice of a select body which stands in no relation to the common conscience and the light of day.

'The more exclusive the professional class becomes, the more separate, collectively, from the body of the Church, the more serious is this danger.' Not even Christianity 'could have been preserved from moral dissolution but for the incessant revolt from beneath of the unsophisticated conscience of the multitudes. . . . It is an ominous symptom in a Church when it is content to look upon the masses in darkness, when it discourages every attempt to make their share in the common

1 See Ellis, *Erotic Symbolism*, p. 100 f.
2 W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies*, etc., Brisbane and London, 1897, p. 184.
3 L. R. Farnell, *CGS* v. 197.
4 Craies, *loc. cit.*
5 R. Andree, *ZE* xxvi. [1895] 678.
6 *GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, London, 1911, ii. 97 f.
7 *GB*[3], pt. ii., *Taboo*, London, 1911, p. 154.

1 'The revival of the sense of Truth was due to the secular philosophers of the seventeenth century—men like Bacon, Descartes, and Locke' (W. E. H. Lecky, *Spirit of Rationalism in Europe*[2], London, 1865, ii. 490)—an overstatement, but one which is perhaps not surprising, having regard to the nature and extent of the effects produced (for a presentation of these in a popular form see Edith Sichel, *The Renaissance*, London, n.d.).

heritage accessible to them, when it sets itself to thwart upward movements' (J. Denney, 'The Dissolution of Religion,' in *Exp* v. iv. [1896] 265, 267 f.).

The forms which obscurantism assumes are many and various. Not unfrequently it endeavours to prevent the truth from coming to light by means of a studied ambiguity, resorting for this purpose to unmeaning phrases, undefined issues, and Rabbinical subtleties. Or, again, sometimes the obscurantist, taking advantage of the undoubted fact that 'the background of thought is . . . a mystery for all of us, a realm of things which even if known cannot be fully expressed' (H. M. Gwatkin, *The Knowledge of God*[2], Edinburgh, 1908, ii. 314), misrepresents this truth so as to make it serve for the purpose of excluding from the province of legitimate inquiry matters which, within limits, admit of investigation as likewise of intelligible explanation. Or, once more, a kindred distortion of the moral sense is evidenced by the unwholesome preference of obscurantists for that which is secondary and derivative as contrasted with that which is primary and fundamental, for the accretions and embellishments of truth as contrasted with the sources of its inspiration, for the peculiarities of practice and doctrine as contrasted with the obligations which are universally binding.

Thus, it was the complaint urged by his contemporaries against the prophet Isaiah that 'the general truths of spiritual religion' which he proclaimed were of the nature of 'commonplace repetitions;—"precept upon precept, precept upon precept, line upon line, line upon line . . . ", . . . the complaint of the babblers of Ephesus against S. John, the protest of all scholastic and pedantic systems against the freeness and the breadth of a Greater than John or Isaiah' (A. P. Stanley, *Lect. on the Hist. of the Jewish Church*, ed. London, 1889, ii. 385).

Lastly, this dislike of simplicity and of those common moralities which are always the soul of religion usually takes practical effect in the substitution of mechanism and authority for the seeing eye and sympathetic heart, the result being a gradually diminishing respect for truth and a total absence of enthusiasm on its behalf.

Obscurantism always sooner or later provokes a reaction, the presence of which makes itself felt sometimes negatively—*e.g.*, in a sense of dissatisfaction and state of unrest—at other times in positive and constructive efforts such as the reconsideration of the standards of faith or the revision of formularies and Church government. The methods adopted by obscurantism for the purpose of suppressing such manifestations resemble those previously adopted by it for the purpose of preventing them from making their appearance.

Thus, 'what was meant innocently, though, perhaps, without due regard for the consequences,' is by the obscurantist represented as 'a conspiracy, a rebellion, an attempt to overthrow the faith' (*ib.* i. 195).

Or, it may be, the obscurantist canonizes the dead prophets whom his prototypes in the past persecuted, whilst living prophets are persecuted by himself.

But, though obscurantism is possessed of almost unlimited resources, and though its intensive power is only increased owing to its being compelled by the progressive tendencies of modern civilization to work beneath the surface, we may remember for our comfort, on the other hand, that the really notable thing that has been achieved during the last three centuries is not so much any addition which has been made to our knowledge, or any result of inventive skill or industrial effort, as rather the education of precisely those truth-loving propensities of human nature which are most likely to be of service in the struggle against obscurantist influences. Thus, what most counts now in religious inquiry, philanthropy, and physical science (to take only three examples) is the *spirit* which prevails in these spheres, and this spirit will be found in each case to have been acquired as the result of an evolution by antagonism to such influences through long ages. There are, however, other more specific encouragements which we may likewise cherish—*e.g.*, the love of publicity in the modern world, the growth of sympathy, the spread of democracy, the more critical spirit in which estimates and claims once taken for granted are now examined. These remedies have their value and are in their measure efficacious, but it should never be forgotten that obscurantism is due to a deliberate intention and cannot therefore be successfully combated merely by those agencies which are designed for the removal of error or ignorance.

LITERATURE.—The literature, involving, as it does, references to text-books on the reactionary movements in history and to miscellaneous works illustrative of the anti-progressive tendencies in human nature, is too comprehensive to be here summarized. More specific references which may be found useful (in addition to those mentioned in the article) are the following: Plato, *Phædrus*, 272 to end, *Republic*, 382 ff. (and cf. ὑποκορίζόμενοι in 400 E), *Laws*, 875; Thucydides, iii. 82; Abelard, *Introd. ad Theologiam* (*Opera*, ed. A. Duchesne, Paris, 1616, p. 1046 [on the depreciation of religious knowledge]); C. Werner, *Die Scholastik des späteren Mittelalters*, Vienna, 1881–87, ii.; A. Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr., London, 1894–99, vi. 161 (on the decline of scholasticism), vii. 108 (on Liguori); C. Beard, *Port Royal*, do. 1873, vol. i. bk. ii. chs. ii., iv. f., vol. ii. bk. iii. ch. ii.; J. Tulloch, *Hist. of Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England in the 17th Century*, Edinburgh, 1872, i. 38 f.; C. J. Abbey and J. H. Overton, *The English Church in the 18th Century*, London, 1878, i. 297–300 (on the conditions which give rise to obscurantism); I. A. Dorner, *Hist. of Protestant Theology*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1871, ii. 77, 255; A. Plummer, 'Recollections of Dr. Döllinger,' in *Exp* iv. i. [1890] 274 f. (three admirable examples); B. Jowett, *Thessalonians, Galatians, Romans*[3], London, 1894, esp. 'Dissertation on Casuistry'; G. Tyrrell, *Medievalism*, London, 1908; G. Salmon, *Infallibility of the Church*[3], do.; and a great number of others, though by many who make use of the term it is understood merely in their own sense and is applied merely from their own point of view.

C. A. WHITTUCK.

OBSESSIONS.—See INSANITY.

OCCASIONALISM.—Occasionalism, or the doctrine of occasional causes, is a theory which was propounded in the Cartesian school in order to explain the relation between soul and body. Pre-Cartesian (scholastic) philosophers had believed in a reciprocal causal relation between body and mind, a natural or physical interaction, consisting in the passage of substance from the one to the other (*influxus physicus*). But the extreme dualism of Descartes (1596–1650), according to which matter and mind were absolutely independent and disparate substances, rendered such an explanation impossible for himself. He believed in interaction, but was unable to explain it in terms of anything known. He could only regard it as a unique fact; and he left the problem which it implied without any satisfactory solution.

Here lay one of the most obvious weaknesses of the Cartesian system, and Descartes's followers were not slow in realizing it and endeavouring to remove it. Descartes himself had spoken of mind and matter as alike dependent on nothing but the 'ordinary co-operation' of God. This suggestion was seized by several of his disciples. Louis de la Forge declared the relation between body and soul to be explicable only on the supposition that they had been originally united by God. J. Clauberg (1622–65) denied that body could influence mind, though he did not deny the reverse action, and taught that bodily events are only the occasions, not the causes, of mental. G. de Cordemoy (1620–84), on the other hand, held that, without divine intervention, it is as impossible for the soul to receive new ideas as for the body to receive new motions: on the occasion of a bodily change God produces the corresponding 'idea' in the soul, and on the occasion of our willing God moves our limb. S. Régis (1632–1707), another Cartesian, reached

the inference that God is the only truly efficient cause.

These doctrines were developed and systematically formulated as a coherent theory by **Arnold Geulincx** (1623–69), a Cartesian of the Netherlands; he, therefore, is usually regarded as the founder of occasionalism. Geulincx held that self-activity cannot be unconscious; that one can do nothing without being conscious of how the action is performed; for whatever is produced from the mental substance must be produced clearly and distinctly. From this he deduced that the body is beyond control; we are only spectators of its motions; it is managed by the Deity. And, if mind cannot be conceived as working the body, much less can the material thing be capable of influencing the mental. Finite beings, then, are only occasions or instruments for the activity of God. The correspondence between the series of bodily movements and the series of volitions and ideas was illustrated by analogy with two clocks which keep time, not because the one affects the other, but because they are the work of one and the same maker. Such occasionalism does not, as is often supposed, imply the arbitrary intervention of a *Deus ex machina* or universal special providence. The correspondence between the bodily and the mental series is ruled by general laws ordained by God. The correlation is thus pre-established, not the result of perpetual isolated miracles. But Geulincx does not ground the concomitance and correspondence between the bodily and mental in the real nature of the material and spiritual substances; he recognizes immanent causality no more than transeunt.

In these respects Geulincx's theory is to be distinguished from **Leibniz's** (1646–1716) doctrine of pre-established harmony, with which it has much in common. Indeed, the Leibnizian doctrine grew out of, and was intended to replace, occasionalism. But, whereas the theory of Geulincx made the connexion between body and soul, and their concomitant phenomena, merely arbitrary, Leibniz's pre-established harmony was rational, in that each monad was supposed to unfold its series of states in an intelligible order.

The extremest development of occasionalism is to be found in **Malebranche** (1638–1715), whose *La Recherche de la vérité* appeared about nine years later than the *Ethica* of Geulincx. Occasionalism was first intended as a theory of the relation between body and soul, such as should obviate the necessity of asserting their interaction. Its application was extended, however, to causation in general, and it culminated in the denial of transeunt, or efficient, or, indeed, of any kind of secondary causes. In denying necessary connexion between two events which we relate as cause and effect, Malebranche foreshadowed part of Hume's doctrine. Further, Malebranche gives the doctrine an epistemological significance. Not only can mind and matter not interact; mind cannot even know matter. We 'see things in God'; *i.e.*, apart from our connexion with Him and His activity upon us, we can neither perceive nor will. As God is the only cause, so is He the only source of all our knowledge. Matter is thus only the 'occasion' of our knowledge. Our knowledge of nature is fully explained by God's working in us. Logically, Malebranche should have abolished one of the 'substances' of Cartesian dualism or else have applied extension to the nature of God, as did Spinoza. It is interesting to see that **Berkeley** (1684–1753), who did take the former of these alternative steps, arrived by a different road at the main result of the occasionalists—that there is no secondary efficient causality. The 'occasional causes' of Geulincx and Malebranche are the equivalents of Berkeley's 'signs.' Had Geulincx and Malebranche not been restrained from following out the latent consequences of their occasionalism by their devotion to the Christian religion, they would inevitably have been led on to Spinozism. Their theory supplied them with a regular and orderly world, with its necessary connexions. But these necessary connexions did not inhere in things; they inhered solely in the will of God. That the world is a cosmos, not a chaos, is due, for them, to the uniformity of God's will. This uniformity is merely postulated. Moreover, it is such that Malebranche can call it 'usual' only; he thus seeks an opening for miracle and divine personality. A little more rigour in logicality, and these premisses yield the conclusion of Spinozism.

The rise of occasionalism (a solution of causality on theistic lines) involved the emergence of 'the causal problem' (see CAUSE, CAUSALITY). The Cartesian school prepared the way for Hume. But, since the 17th cent., occasionalism has been of little more than historical interest.

LITERATURE.—R. Descartes, *Meditations*, tr. J. Veitch[9], London, 1887, v. and vi., *Passions de l'Âme*, etc.; A. Geulincx, *Ethica*, 1665, p. 113, and *Metaph. vera*, 1691, i. 5–8; N. Malebranche, *Entretiens sur la métaph. et sur la religion* (dial. vii.), and *Recherche de la vérité*, v., vi., etc. (*Œuvres*, ed. J. Simon, Paris, 1842–53); G.W. Leibniz, *Nouveau Système*, Paris, 1695, pp. 11–end; G. Berkeley, *Principles of Human Knowledge*, and *Hylas and Philonous*, dial. ii. (ed. A. C. Fraser, Oxford, 1901); Histories of Philosophy—*e.g.*, A. H. Ritter (Eng. tr., Oxford, 1838–46), F. C. A. Schwegler (Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1867), F. Ueberweg (Eng. tr.[4], London, 1885), J. E. Erdmann (Eng. tr., do. 1890), W. Windelband (Eng. tr., New York, 1893), H. Höffding (Eng. tr., London, 1900). For Clauberg see *Dict. des Sciences philos.*, *par une société de professeurs de philos.*, Paris, 1844, i. 523.

F. R. TENNANT.

OCCULTISM.—'Occultism' is a term of recent invention; it is unknown to most dictionaries. Popular use, however, is apparently tending to give it both a general and a special meaning. It purports generally to signify the doctrines, practices, and rites of things hidden and mysterious, and thus extends its meaning to cover the realms of magic and mystery, marvel and miracle of every kind; not only so, but it would further claim for itself authority in the well-nigh limitless regions of abnormal psychical phenomena, and even those of religious experience. It thus aspires to embrace so vast a field of such varied phenomena that it has all the appearance of being a vague generalization of no scientific value; and it seems highly improbable that it will maintain its own lofty claims against the popular hardening of its meaning into a more special sense. This popular restricted meaning associates occultism with the occult sciences and their study; the term should therefore be more particularly confined to the claim that there are really such sciences, and that the rumours of them are not due solely to the vivid imagination of the credulous or to the modern uncritical revival of superstitions from a pre-scientific age. The *OED* implies this when in such reference it gives 'occult' the signification 'of the nature of or pertaining to the ancient and mediæval reputed sciences (or their modern representatives) held to involve the knowledge or use of agencies of a secret or mysterious nature (as magic, alchemy, astrology, theosophy and the like).' The open verifiable human knowledge to which the name 'science' is reserved by general use has, as every one knows, gradually encroached upon the one-time private preserves of the artificially occult. It is not only that chemistry, *e.g.*, has superseded alchemy, and astronomy astrology, so that the occultist, in defence of the ancient claims of these once reputed sciences, has to withdraw to psychic ground and the subjectivism of symbolism, but also that a whole world of psychical phenomena, some of which, consciously or unconsciously, formed

the main stock-in-trade of the magicians and psychic initiates of the past, are now being openly experimented with by scientific methods of observation and description. In the phenomena of hypnosis and suggestion, of abnormal psychology and psychical research, we are gradually acquiring a vast territory from the hitherto occult and mapping it out, and it is on this common ground of so-called 'borderland' science that the claims of occultism are being, and will continue to be, scientifically tested. The special meaning of 'occultism,' then, as found in current literature dealing with psychism and allied subjects, is the claim to knowledge of a scientific nature which is inaccessible to the accepted methods of positive objective scientific research.

That there are innumerable physical and psychical secrets of nature and man still to be discovered no one will deny; that there are phenomena which it is the habit of scientific men not to admit until compelled to do so those acquainted with the history of so-called mesmerism and of the opposition to the work of even organized psychical research will find little difficulty in acknowledging. But the claim of the occultist goes far beyond this; his claim is that the perfect science of all these matters not only already exists in the divine mind or even in the minds of superhuman intelligences, but that it is possessed actually here and now by certain perfected individuals of human lineage—that there already exists a secret science of nature and of man to which access can be gained only by the duly initiated. Occultism thus stakes its all on the claim of being science; it is neither religion nor religious mysticism, neither philosophy nor art. An occultist in any precise sense of the word is one who claims to be an initiated pupil of the adepts or secret holders and dispensers of this reputed precise, hidden knowledge of nature and of man.

There is, of course, nothing new in all this, except that the modern claims are vastly greater than those of antiquity and of the Middle Ages. In the past, in all ages and climes, there have been persistent rumours of secret knowledge and claims to the possession of secret powers. Indeed, secrecy was for long the general condition of all special knowledge. From the primitive magician and medicine-man onwards, manifold reports of secret societies and associations, of mystery-institutions, of initiation and adeptship, are recorded throughout the centuries. A generation ago it was supposed that positive science had put an end to all such pretensions and extravagances. But to-day we have a marked renaissance of these rumours and a widely-spreading interest in everything connected with the idea of initiation. In some circles claims that beggar the proudest boasts of the past are openly advanced; and it is asserted that the government of the world, if not of the universe, is in the hands of those who know the inner nature and secrets of the cosmos, and who constitute a hierarchy of ever loftier grades reaching even up to deity itself. These reputed perfected men claim to be the masters of inexhaustible sources of occult scientific knowledge attained by means of laboriously and carefully trained psychical and spiritual powers, the nature of the lowest of which may be deduced from a study of abnormal psychical phenomena and of the traditional systems of psychology and mental discipline in India and other Eastern lands.

The general tenor of the claims of occultism is thus seen to be that there is an indefinitely extensible domain of the secret science of inner things or of occult causation; that this knowledge is far more accurate and detailed than that of the open sciences of material and mental phenomena, which deal solely with normally accessible data and their interrelations and, therefore, at best with secondary causes; and that such knowledge may be acquired by definite methods of training and research under the direction of those who have been already initiated into these reputed mysteries. In the first place, we are asked to believe that there is a wealth of as yet profanely undiscovered physical facts which are already known to the adepts of occult science—facts which can and will be gradually discovered by the normal progress of open scientific research and its continually improving methods and instruments. In the second, we are told that these secrets are otherwise learned by the occultist, who holds that all physical facts and forces are mainly, if not exclusively, determined and ruled from within by means of psychical facts and forces. The immediate instruments of his science, he asserts, are therefore necessarily psychical—extensions by psychical intensification of the normal range of physical sensation and the development of new organs, or the actualizing of latent or potential organs and orders of sense, and of a great variety of psychic and mental powers.

The contention, therefore, is that the science of inner nature is not an arbitrary withholding of knowledge, but a natural secret, and necessarily so, because the means of research are not normally possessed by mankind. Open science is confined to accurate observation and description of phenomena by the normal powers of sense and mind, aided by delicate instruments of research perfected by human ingenuity to extend the range and correct the inaccuracy of the normal senses. The claim of occultism, on the contrary, is that the range of the senses can be enormously extended psychically, and so the imperfection and inaccuracies of the normal senses can be progressively corrected by the natural development of the powers of the human organism itself; and, as these are said to be indefinitely, if not infinitely, developable, the knowledge so acquired can, *ex hypothesi*, become more and more perfect, not only as to the superficial observation and cataloguing of physical facts, but also in the more immediate observation of mental and spiritual processes and realities. And, such being the conditions of research, it follows inevitably, it is said, that this order of science must necessarily be secret; for it can be proved and authenticated only by those and to those who are possessed of such powers. Thus, *e.g.*, with regard to purely physical phenomena, a man, it is claimed, can become, as it were, his own microscope and telescope psychically. It is further asserted that the range and accuracy of such psychical powers, when properly trained, can be so extended as to make the most powerful and delicate instruments known to physical science appear, in comparison, as crude and clumsy as the implements of the stone age alongside of a 15-in. gun or the most delicate chemical balance.

Occultism sharply distinguishes itself from mediumship or from passive sensitivity, as seen in the phenomena of spiritism or of hypnotism, suggestion and auto-suggestion, and, indeed, from any and every form of sporadic and uncontrolled automatism or psychical sensitivity or activity. There are, as all who have studied the subject are well aware, many cases of healthy natural sensitivity and also innumerable cases of abnormal sensitivity, of hyperæsthesia, anæsthesia, and telæsthesia due to disease or morbid and hysterical states. These are very probably indications of psychical capacities normally latent in all men and manifested in the case of such sensitives, subjects, and patients in an embryonic stage. The occultist claims that these latent capacities can be developed and made usable at will, so that they can be as fully controlled as, or even more so than, the normal powers of

sense and mind; that beyond these extensions there are other orders of powers and capacities, of which mediumship and other observable psychical phenomena can give no indication; that along this way there opens up a path of ascent to ever higher powers; and that these orders of powers are the keys which open the gates of progressive initiation into ever deeper or more exalted orders of knowledge. An initiate into even the lowest of the grades of occultism, it is claimed, is not a medium or hypnotic subject to be used by profane experimenters or even controlled by invisible intelligences, but always a self-conscious and self-controlled individual using his self-developed powers at will.

With regard to modern occultism, extravagant ancient pretensions of every sort and kind have been disinterred, not only from the accessible memory of the past, but also from what may be called the subconscious of history, and uncritically heaped together and embellished with all the glamour which the garish borrowed trappings of a modern scientific terminology can lend them. The modern occultist professes to bring into the field of the fully conscious, not only what the scientist regards as still in the unfocused marginal consciousness of present scientific observation, but also dim impressions from the foreconscious of ancestral memory and the mass impulses of general human subconsciousness. Claims which have been put forward for mysticism in the domain of religion are now advanced for occultism in the province of science. Now, the philosophical problems raised with regard to genuine mysticism are already of very great and grave importance.

To mention only one of them: Is religion in the best sense dependent on the possession of mystical gifts? In other words, Is mystical experience the test of spiritual achievement? Must the saint necessarily be a mystic? If so, it is evident that the non-mystic can never attain to the height of sanctity and the realization of spiritual verities. He is barred by his mystical incapacity, and not by his moral worth, from such an achievement. From this view both the common sense and the moral intuition of religion strongly dissent; and this is perhaps one of the main reasons why mysticism has been and still is regarded with suspicion by many sincerely religious minds. They ask, Is religion essentially spiritual, and therefore open to all who whole-heartedly turn to God and practise the commandments of the good law, or is it an art, such as painting, sculpture, or music, which depends upon natural talents quite apart from any moral qualification? The contention is that the man who lives a good life is nearer and dearer to God, and therefore more really than any other knows what is worth knowing. To live a good life, it is said, is open to all; it is a question of conversion of the will and not of the possession of any special powers of sense or understanding; it is not dependent on a special gift or talent other than that of the general grace of God. There is not a gift of goodness in the same sense that there are gifts of vision or of mathematical ability and the rest. Goodness belongs to another order of things; it belongs to the moral and therefore genuinely spiritual and divine order of realization. The powers of the spirit are the virtues. To this the defender of mysticism in a spiritual sense replies that the doing of the will is truly the pre-requisite of the knowing of the doctrine; but this knowing of the doctrine is a vital spiritual knowledge—so much so that to the doer of the will all things are added—and therefore the genuine mystics are not necessarily those possessed of a natural talent for mysticism from the start, but rather those who by living the spiritual religious life necessarily attain to a knowledge of spiritual verities, and spiritual verities are synthetic and naturally include all other orders of truth. Here goodness is set before knowledge, doing rightly before understanding correctly.

Science in the ordinary sense of the term, on the contrary, has no necessary connexion with goodness; a man may be an excellent chemist or mathematician, and at the same time live viciously. It is true that it is hoped by many that in proportion as science extends its conquests general ethics will improve; but there is little to show that this must necessarily be so; we may at any moment find ourselves involved in a period of scientific barbarism as the result of the extension of purely intellectual progress. Now, in so far as occultism claims to be possessed of scientific knowledge, it is evident that the possession of occult knowledge is no guarantee whatever of moral goodness; and this is freely admitted in all the literature of the subject.

It is true that the natural instinct of mankind has ever been to keep secret any knowledge that it might possess in order to use it for its own advantage; but from the beginning the spirit of modern science has been opposed to secrecy. The test of its facts is that they can be openly verified. It has therefore been opposed to such antitheses as esoteric and exoteric, initiated and profane. The occultist retorts that he has not made the distinction, but finds it in nature. To this the scientist rejoins that, in proportion as open science has won territory from the occult, it has proved the emptiness of these claims. Our struggle is not only with nature, whose secrets we admit as something which patient research will gradually reveal, but also with unscientific human nature whose formerly professed 'secrets' we have scientifically proved to be in general arbitrary pretensions to real knowledge. The experience of history and the history of experience justify us in rejecting the division of mankind into the initiated and the profane in the traditional sense of these terms, and we refuse to believe that the men who have added to human knowledge by careful observation, by workable hypotheses and openly verifiable methods, are as if they knew nothing in comparison with initiates into the mysteries of a secret knowledge.

But, on the other hand, science has to be true to herself and to her highest ideals. Contemptuous denial of the very existence of so-called occult phenomena, and not only of the claims of the occultist about them, which till recently dismissed the whole subject as utterly unworthy of serious consideration, has at length had to be modified; and it is now recognized by a not inconsiderable number of open-minded scientific investigators that these exaggerated claims are due to the uncritical acceptance of a large mass of psychical phenomena which demand careful investigation. The work that has already been done points to such a wide extension of scientific research into hitherto obscure and unrecognized facts of consciousness and psycho-physical and psychical activity as to promise to future generations the possibility of getting to know the mind of man almost as intimately and precisely as the science of the present day knows the physical facts of nature. That, however, any but the most modest claims of the occultist will be justified is highly improbable; it is far more likely that his present secret science of mind, if he possesses one, will be found to involve as many crudities as ancient alchemy when compared with modern chemistry.

The battle must naturally be first fought out over such classes of psychical phenomena as are controllable and whose veridical nature is susceptible of definite proof or disproof—namely those dealing with verifiable facts which are beyond the range of normal sensation and outside the prior knowledge of all concerned. Take, *e.g.*, clairvoyance and clairaudience, not simply visual and auditory hyperæsthesia at short distances where acute normal sight or hearing might be held to afford sufficient explanation, but at long distances or through obstacles impenetrable to the most acute normal powers of sense. There is already a mass of evidence which has established the possibility of such genuine clairvoyance and clairaudience to the satisfaction of many careful observers as belonging to a class of phenomena entirely distinct from those subsumed under the much abused term 'telepathy,' which signifies the intercommunication between two or more minds under conditions which exclude all known physical connexion. A clairvoyant is supposed to see independently of any other mind. Here, then, for many investigators

there is a class of phenomena of immense importance for an extended science of mind. Such extensions of physical sense, however, are apparently sporadic, occasional, and beyond the control of the will. Yet on this limited basis of fact the occultist erects a vast structure of assertion. He asserts that by training it is possible to be clairvoyant and clairaudient at will; that all physical phenomena, no matter at what distance, can be deliberately investigated by the adept clairvoyant as immediately and minutely as the scientist can observe things within the normal range of vision or in his laboratory aided by the most delicate instruments. It is further asserted that there are modes of clairvoyance that go far beyond this and are incapable of objective proof for the profane. But with regard to this physical clairvoyance, at least within certain limits, we have a claim susceptible of definite proof or disproof, phenomena that can be controlled by methods of scientific research open to every careful observer. So far, however, scientific psychical research has had to be content with cases of telepathy and clairvoyance that are of the 'hit and miss' variety, the least successful results, indeed, being attained when deliberate experiments have been attempted. Nevertheless, if clairvoyance of even the limited nature referred to above is a fact —and it seems to be so—reason also leads us to believe that the possibility is open for clairvoyance extending beyond the earth and its atmosphere; but an open-minded admission of possibility is a very different thing from proved fact. The evidence required for the proof of extra-terrestrial clairvoyance must be ample and, above all, consistent; and no item of evidence has so far been brought into court, nor, indeed, has any attempt been made to adduce it.

So, too, with regard to the phenomena of psychometry, as it is called, where a series of impressions, representations, or pictures is subjectively felt by or presented to a sensitive from contact with a physical object, such, *e.g.*, as a letter or a piece of worked or natural metal or stone, with which the subject has never had previous contact. Sometimes these impressions or pictures can be proved to be fairly accurate, and in some cases astonishingly so. Here we have another class of psychical phenomena which deserves the most searching investigation of science. But here also the occultist avers, not only that the whole past history of the successive environments of any physical object—say, *e.g.*, a celt from the stone age—can be accurately read in subjective picturings by the trained possessor of this psychometric capacity, but also that such limited psychometry is a very small thing for the occultist, and simply one of the many indications that there is an objective world-memory, or what he would call the etheric record, of everything that has ever happened; also that this memory of inner nature is accessible at will to the trained occultist, who can thus check and correct all history and supplement it indefinitely right back to the very beginning of things.

The phenomena of clairvoyance and psychometry that fall within the region of controllable physical fact are susceptible of exact research and form part of the subject-matter of scientific psychical investigation; but modern occultism lays claim to far more extended powers of physical vision than these. It claims, *e.g.*, to be able at will to analyze the theoretical units of matter, whether atoms or electrons. By the use of this extended power of sight, it is asserted, an atom can be magnified to any extent, and analyzed, not only into a system of electrons, but into successively extended complexities of contents far beyond its electronic constitution. Though, of course, in the nature of the case there is no direct means of controlling such statements, they can be indirectly dealt with; for, precisely because the assertions of what is called 'occult chemistry' agree more or less with the general data of recent scientific hypotheses, there is more than a suspicion that such statements are constructs of the imagination of natural visualizers, conditioned by what is already the common knowledge of every student of chemistry and physics. If, however, it were a fact that a number of clairvoyant occultists, independently of one another, had arrived at the same results, then there would be an intensely interesting problem to consider. But at present there is no evidence of such genuinely independent experiments having been attempted; though such claims have been made, they have been found on investigation to depend on the 'clairvoyant observation' of two or three at most, and in every case the two or three were together and not isolated, and the investigation was determined by the predominant psychism of one individual. What, moreover, the makers of such claims do not explain is that not a syllable of such notions was breathed by occultists before science had announced its facts and enunciated its hypotheses.

Again, with regard to the phenomena of modern spiritism that depend on mediumship, and are believed by convinced spiritists to be determined by invisible intelligences—and those, too, for the most part excarnate human beings—occultism admits the phenomena and the existence of the spirits, but it deprecates mediumship and professes to be able to communicate at will directly with the invisible world and its inhabitants. The method that occultism advocates—and, if it is based on fact, few will deny that it is to be commended as preferable—is not to bring the dead back to earthly conditions, but for the living to develop the power of consciously entering into the state of the departed in order to establish communication with them. These mediumistic phenomena are common ground, not only for the spiritist and occultist, but also for the student of abnormal psychology and psychical research.

With regard to the 'powers' which it is the main object of the occultist to develop, there is an enormous field of research in the literature and traditions of the East, as well as of Western antiquity and mediævalism, that has so far scarcely at all engaged the attention of modern scientific inquiry. It is a slight acquaintance with this vast literature and with some of the many practices recorded in it that has suggested and encouraged most of the occult claims. Accordingly, occultists are confident that, before their claims can be disposed of, the psychical science of the West will have to reckon with these Eastern traditions, which consistently aver that the various abnormal capacities now definitely proved by the modern study of psychical phenomena to be possessed in some degree by certain hypersensitive individuals have been not only known in the Orient for many generations, but also in some circles systematically developed and studied. This is more or less historically true, and, whether or not the occultists themselves who make the claims will ever be thought worthy of serious scientific attention, one of the chief psychological tasks of the future will, in all likelihood, have to be a methodical re-investigation on scientific lines of these accomplishments of Eastern genius, with a view to seeing what objective truth and utility they possess; and then, indeed, it may possibly be found that by this revision and re-experimentation a science of mind will gradually be built up that will be a worthy counterpart and complement to those high achievements of physical science

which have indubitably inaugurated a new age of genuine knowledge such as the world had not previously dreamed of. Whether the mental science of the future will as far surpass the psychical knowledge of the past, including what is best in Eastern and especially Indian tradition, as our present-day physical science transcends the fondest dreams of the ancients is upon the knees of the gods. But there seems no sufficient reason to doubt that, as the West is at last beginning to take an interest in the world-old problem of 'self-knowledge,' its energy and industry and the fearlessness of its open research will carry it far into the region of the hitherto unknown in its pursuit of objective truth. And the further it goes the more will occultism be driven to seek refuge in the pure subjectivism of personal psychism and the boundless realms of the uncriticized imagination. This much virtue, however, will have to be allowed it, that in the welter of its extravagant claims it has advertised the existence of some things at least that undoubtedly deserve the most serious attention and careful investigation of the best trained minds that we possess.

LITERATURE.—The literature is copious and of an exceedingly diversified character. Among special books on the subject are the following: A. Besant, *Essays and Addresses*, iii., 'Evolution and Occultism,' London, 1913, *Occultism, Semi-Occultism, and Pseudo-Occultism*, do. 1899; *Cambridge Encyclopædia of Esoteric Subjects*, New York, 1903–05; J. H. Dewey, *New Testament Occultism*, do. 1895; J. W. Frings, *The Occult Arts*, London, 1913; D. P. Hatch, *Scientific Occultism*, Los Angeles, 1905; L. Jacolliot, *Occult Science in India and among the Ancients*, New York, 1900; K. Kiesewetter, *Der Occultismus des Alterthums*, Leipzig, 1896, *Gesch. des modernen Occultismus*, Berlin, 1889; A. Lang, *Magic and Religion*, London, 1901; C. W. Leadbeater, *Some Glimpses of Occultism, Ancient and Modern*, Chicago, 1903; F. Lenormant, *Les Sciences occultes en Asie*, Paris, 1874; J. P. Migne, *Encyclopédie théologique*, Paris, 1844–66, 1st ser., vols. 48 and 49 ('Sciences occultes'); E. O'Donnell, *Ghostly Phenomena*, London, 1910; 'Papus' (G. Encausse), *L'Occultisme*, Paris, 1902, *Traité élémentaire de science occulte*[2], do. 1903, *Qu'est-ce que l'occultisme*[2], do. 1905; E. B. Salverte, *Des Sciences occultes*[3], do. 1856; 'Sephariel,' *A Manual of Occultism*, London, 1910; A. P. Sinnett, *The Occult World*, do. 1881, *Occult Essays*, New York, 1906; J. B. Tissandier, *Des Sciences occultes et du spiritisme*, Paris, 1866; A. E. Waite, *The Occult Sciences*, London, 1891; B. Wilson, *Occultism and Common Sense*, do. 1908. Some aspects of the subject will be found treated under CHARMS AND AMULETS, CRYSTAL-GAZING, DEMONS AND SPIRITS, DIVINATION, HYPNOTISM, MAGIC, PSYCHICAL RESEARCH, SPIRITUALISM, THEOSOPHY.

G. R. S. MEAD.

OCEANIA.—See AUSTRALASIA, MELANESIA, POLYNESIA.

ODDFELLOWS.—During the first half of the 18th cent. the popularity of Freemasonry led to the establishment of similar secret societies, partly convivial and partly charitable. R. W. Moffrey, who is a past Grand Master of the Manchester Unity of Oddfellows and writes with authority, suggests that, while the Masonic Order was founded on the traditions of the craft-gild of the masons, there were other crafts which were not strong enough to establish an order of their own, and that a combination of these crafts formed themselves into an order, and adopted the title of 'Oddfellows' (*Oddfellows' Magazine*, Sept. 1888, and *A Century of Oddfellowship*, p. 16). Spry (*Hist. of Oddfellowship*) gives minutes of a meeting of a 'lodge,' no. 9 of the Order of Oddfellows, dated 12th March 1748, from which it would seem that eight previous lodges had been established before that date. A quotation by the same authority of a supposed reference to Oddfellows' lodges as social institutions in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1745 has not been verified, and is thought to be erroneous. The Freemasons secured as members several noblemen and gentlemen of the best rank, and along that line their evolution proceeded. The Oddfellows had more self-reliance or less success in attracting patronage, and hence their evolution has proceeded along lines which have led to their developing into a number of large Friendly Societies (*q.v.*), one of which is now the greatest Friendly Society in the world. Some Oddfellows are not contented with this plain story of their origin, and claim that their order was founded in A.D. 55, in the reign of Nero, and that the title of 'Oddfellows' was bestowed upon it by Titus. An Ancient Order of Oddfellows and a Patriotic Order of Oddfellows existed in the 18th cent., and appear to have become part of the Grand United Order, which may thus probably be entitled to be considered the oldest order of Oddfellows in existence. The ritual of the Patriotic Order of Oddfellows describes the proceedings at the initiation of a member.

> Every brother present wore a mask, and the presiding officer a long white band and wig, and an apron of white leather bound in scarlet. The candidate for membership was led into the lodge-room carefully blindfolded. After an interval of absolute silence, he was ordered to stand, and noises were made by rattling heavy chains and otherwise. He was then tumbled in among brushwood, or soused over the head-in a large tub. On the bandage being suddenly removed, he found a person presenting a sword at his breast. He was then shown a transparency representing a skeleton, and a charge was delivered to him (J. F. Wilkinson, *Mutual Thrift*, p. 14).

The practice of all these absurdities indicates that the main function of these lodges was conviviality, and the incidental application of funds to benevolent purposes continued until the early part of the 19th cent., when lodges began to be established promising definite allowances in sickness in return for fixed contributions. At first the conditions under which benefits were assured were framed without any real knowledge of the nature and extent of the burden which the lodges were undertaking. The contributions were not graduated according to age, and the benefits promised were the same for every member, whatever his age at entry may have been. In this respect the lodges were in the same condition of ignorance as the early life assurance companies, which insured every person at a 'flat rate' of £5 per cent. The history of Oddfellowship after that early day has been one of steady and continuous improvement. Moffrey (*Century*, p. 18) fixes the year 1810 as that in which the Manchester Unity of Oddfellows started, though it was not till 1814 that the minutes of its Grand Committees began to be printed. These bodies, which afterwards became the Annual Moveable Committees and ultimately the Annual Moveable Conferences, have been the principal organs of the successive reforms that have taken place. In 1815 it was resolved that each lodge should relieve its own sick (*ib.* p. 22) and that every member should subscribe one shilling towards a funeral fund in the hands of the Grand Master of the order. Gradually the system of districts grew up, as intermediaries between the lodges and the order. In 1825 returns of the number of members were called for from each lodge, for the purpose of seeing whether the order in general was in a state of prosperity or not (*ib.* p. 29). At that time, however, 'the bond of union with the Order was frail.' In 1827 the Board of Directors was established. In 1828 a graduated scale of initiation fees was adopted, and it was resolved that no person should be initiated above 45 years of age. In 1844 an annual financial statement was required from every lodge, and graduated tables of contributions prepared by G. Davies, an eminent actuary, were circulated. As the returns of lodges showed many irregularities, a first step towards financial improvement was taken in 1845 by an arrangement that separate funds should be provided for management and other expenses. In 1850 Henry Ratcliffe, the secretary of the order, published his *Observations on the Rate of Mortality and Sickness*, derived

from the returns of the lodges, and in 1853 a system of graduated contributions according to age at admission was adopted. In 1864 tables founded upon Ratcliffe's observations were accepted, and in 1867 it was unanimously resolved that these tables, and others that the directors might certify to be equivalent, should be made part of the general rules of the order, and adopted in its several districts. In 1871 it was resolved that every lodge in the Unity should be valued and the results tabulated and laid before the society. It was also resolved that every lodge should be registered under the Friendly Societies Acts. By the Act of 1875 the valuations upon which the order had insisted for its lodges in 1871 were made obligatory on all Friendly Societies, and returns of them were required to be made to the registrar. In 1879 R. Watson was appointed actuary to the order, to supervise these valuations. In 1882 a Unity Superannuation Fund was established. In 1884 the practice of raising funeral funds by an equal levy was abolished. In 1890 the central fund required by the Act of 1875 to be raised in every order was so organized as to provide relief to lodges in distressed circumstances. In 1891 it was resolved that that relief might take the form of guaranteeing by the Unity the funeral benefits. In 1893 branches to consist of female members were authorized, but they were not fully recognized until 1898. In 1895 the rules relating to secession were revised and made more stringent, so as to provide that a seceding lodge with a surplus should contribute towards any deficiency which might exist in the funds of the district to which it had belonged. In 1909 it was resolved that no lodge having surplus capital should be allowed to appropriate that surplus to the benefit of its own members without setting aside at least 5 per cent of the amount for the relief of other lodges having a deficiency. By the voluntary efforts of this great order there had been built up an organization which had gradually been improved and rendered more stable, until it might have been thought that the goal of absolute solvency in every branch and a federal guarantee of the benefits of all the branches by the Unity were within sight, when in 1911 the Legislature intervened and, by the passing of the National Health Insurance Act, substituted for the voluntary principle, which had been so fruitful in good results, a system of compulsory insurance. It will be convenient, therefore, to review the position of Oddfellows' societies, in the first instance, as they were before the passing of that Act, and then to consider the influence which that Act is likely to have on their voluntary work.

The position of Friendly Societies generally before the introduction of national insurance is shown in the report of the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies for the year ending 31st Dec. 1906 (*Parliamentary Papers* of session 1907, no. 49, xi. pp. 16–81). If we extract from that report the details relating to Societies of Oddfellows, it appears that there were 46 orders of Oddfellows then in existence, but 10 of them had only a single branch, and are therefore hardly qualified to be recognized as orders. Others had only a small number of members. These orders had 6990 branches and, on the average of the whole, each branch had 148 members, the total membership being 1,035,785. The income of the benefit funds was £1,703,674, or £1 12s. 11d. per member, and the payments out of those funds aggregated £1,307,814, which was equivalent to £1 5s. 3d. per head. The difference between the income and the payments was £395,860. This went to increase the total assets, which amounted to £12,483,004, or on the average to £12 1s. per member, or to 7⅛ years' income of the benefit funds.

In many respects the Oddfellows compare favourably with other orders, in which the number of members of each branch was 122 only, the income of the benefit funds £1 6s. 8d. per member, the payments out of those funds £1 1s. per member, and the total assets £7 0s. 6d. per member, or 5¼ years' income of the benefit funds, and also with the societies not having branches, in which the income from benefit funds was £1 0s. 8d. per member, the payments out of those funds 17s. 10d. per member, and the total assets £5 12s. 5d. per member, or 5½ years' income of the benefit funds. So great, however, is the variety of the benefits assured by different societies that these figures are not in all respects comparable. Among the Oddfellows' societies the Manchester Unity far outdistanced every other, having 60 per cent of the total number of lodges, 73 per cent of the members, 80 per cent of the benefit income, 77 per cent of the benefit payments, and 88 per cent of the accumulated funds of all the orders of Oddfellows. Each of its lodges had on the average 180 members; the income of the benefit funds was £1 16s. per member, the payments out of them £1 6s. 7d., the total assets £14 10s. per member, or 8 years' income of the benefit funds. In every respect, therefore, it had the advantage over other societies. Six other orders of Oddfellows had each more than 100 lodges and more than 10,000 members and £10,000 income with assets ranging from £50,000 to nearly £500,000. The rest were very small in comparison. Manchester is the seat not only of the Manchester Unity, but of the next two largest orders in succession—the Grand United Order of Oddfellows and the National Independent Order of Oddfellows.

A comparison of the Chief Registrar's return for 1906, so far as regards the orders of Oddfellows, with a similar return for five years earlier shows an increase of 52,865 in the number of members, of £41,721 in the surplus benefit income of the year, and of £2,317,343 in the total assets. These increases appear to have taken place in the smaller orders as well as in the Manchester Unity, and support the inference that under the voluntary system there had been a gradual improvement going on among all the societies of Oddfellows which went far to justify them in their instinctive resistance to any proposal of State control or State interference with the working of Friendly Societies. It had been the wise policy from the first of the various Acts of Parliament dealing with Friendly Societies to respect and maintain this freedom of action in many matters which in other countries would be regulated by authority.

With regard to the position of Oddfellows' societies as affected by the National Insurance Act, 1911, reference may be made to statements by Sir Alfred W. Watson, the actuary to the Insurance Commissioners, who was formerly actuary to the Manchester Unity. The principal orders Oddfellows have become 'approved Societies' under that Act.

'Parliament, in incorporating the Friendly Societies in the new work of National Insurance, did not intend to interfere with their private enterprises. It might happen, in the course of years, that a great deal of what would have been private enterprise of the Societies would come to be State business; and, therefore, in the course of time, the complete liberty which the Societies enjoyed would extend, proportionately, to a smaller part of their affairs than it did at present. But with regard to the voluntary business of the Societies, whether obtained before or after the passing of the Insurance Act, they were left with almost the same amount of unfettered freedom as they possessed before the Insurance Act was passed. The rules which the Societies must make to the satisfaction of the Insurance Commissioners mean the rules for the transaction of their business under the Act. For the transaction of their voluntary business they might make any rules they pleased,

and the Commissioners had practically no concern with those rules. So far as the valuations of the Societies outside the Act were concerned, that is, the valuations of their voluntary funds, they made those valuations at the same time and in the same way as they previously made them. They employed whom they liked, and they had absolute freedom to act or not to act upon the advice which the valuer tendered to them. Each Society under the Act was valued as though it were an absolutely independent unit. If, however, it had fewer than 5000 members and it had a surplus, one-third of that surplus was carried to the county pool, the other two-thirds being absolutely its own for its disposal in its own way, subject to the provisions of the Act and the sanction of the Commissioners. The object of that transference of surplus was to enable the pool to make good the deficiencies in other Societies connected with the pool, up to a limit, in the normal case, of three-fourths of the deficiency; so that the pooling referred to was only intended to correct the fluctuations due to a limited membership. The separation of accounts as between male and female members was only partial. If the rules of a Society enabled or required the contributions of men and women to be paid into the same fund, no separate account keeping was called for. Under Section 72 of the Insurance Act every registered Friendly Society which provided benefits similar to those of the Act . . . had to make a scheme dealing with the contributions and benefits of its members on the voluntary side. But Parliament had been so careful to refrain from interfering with the private contracts of Societies and their members, that it had laid it down that the scheme might provide for the continuance of the existing contributions and benefits; it might provide, in fact, for the reduction of the contributions and benefits, or for their continuance, as the Society determined. The primary purpose of the insistence on a scheme was, therefore, to bring home to the members the fact that a change had taken place, and that National Insurance extended to the majority of them; and to cause them to apply their minds to the problem whether their Friendly Society should continue to maintain its old contracts to their full extent, or whether it was desirable that some modification should be made. The whole thing was in the hands of the Society, and it was a matter of great interest, and to some a matter of great surprise, that the vast majority of the Societies had allowed their members to determine for themselves whether they would continue their old contracts or accept a reduction of contributions and benefits on the private side. The great majority of the members, certainly as many as 80 per cent., taking all Societies together, had decided that they would continue their old contracts. The result was that, in respect of several millions of people, from 1912 onwards the contribution of each person for provident purposes was increased by about 3d. a week, not 4d., the insured person's share of the contribution under the Insurance Act, because a person did not require two doctors, and generally the members had reduced their contribution by a penny a week, which was about the sum they used to pay to the doctor. But in the case of several million people, the contributions had been increased since 1912 by 3d. a week, and the sickness benefit by 10s. a week. As a consequence, an enormous number of people were now insured for amounts which approximated far more closely to their wages than anything which previously had been regarded as practicable in sickness insurance. That fact might be connected with the large increase in the rate of sickness which several Friendly Societies had reported since 1913. It was an interesting circumstance that rather than reduce their contracts in their private Friendly Societies, the vast majority of people who had entered into Friendly Society membership had elected to take the obligations of the Insurance Act, and get the benefits of the Insurance Act, in addition to their previously existing arrangements with their Societies. With regard to the Manchester Unity of Oddfellows, the largest of them, it was an indication of the extent to which progress was being made, that, although in 1900 the Society had a balance of assets and liabilities, the valuation showing an equality of surpluses and deficiencies, the Society in 1905 had a surplus of nearly half a million. In 1911, when it had taken courage, and had resolved to be valued on a modern basis obtained from its own experience, a decision which added many hundreds of thousands of pounds to the estimate of its liabilities, the valuation showed again an almost exact balance of assets and liabilities. Making due allowances for the change of valuation basis, this meant that that Society was not only solvent on the strongest test that had ever been applied to any Friendly Society, but that it had made great progress during the preceding five years, as it was shown to have done during the five years before that' (*Journ. Royal Statistical Society*, lxxviii. 433–438).

Reference may also be made to the answer to Sir Alfred W. Watson's statements made on the same occasion by the writer of this article (*ib.* pp. 443–445), who takes a less hopeful view of the probable effect of the Act on the voluntary work of the societies.

With regard to the relation of Oddfellows' societies to the European war, it was estimated in 1915 that more than 100,000 members of the Manchester Unity were in the fighting line or in training. At an early stage the Annual Conference decided to pay the contributions of members on active service, but it was probably not then contemplated how numerous they would be or how heavy would be the burden thus assumed. In 1915 a further step was taken by the establishment of a War Mutual Liability Fund of the order for the purpose of assisting lodges to meet their liabilities in respect of members serving as soldiers or sailors. This fund is to be supported by a levy upon every lodge in proportion to the number of its members. As one obvious result of the war will be to increase the burden upon the lodges arising from sickness, disability, and death, the foresight with which the Oddfellows have determined to spread that burden over their whole Unity is much to be commended.

LITERATURE.—R. W. Moffrey, *Rise and Progress of the Manchester Unity*, Manchester, 1905, *A Century of Oddfellowship*, do. 1910; J. Spry, *Hist. of Oddfellowship*, London, 1867; J. F. Wilkinson, *Mutual Thrift*, do. 1891; F. G. P. Neison, *Contributions to Vital Statistics*[3], do. 1857; H. Ratcliffe, *Observations on the Rate of Mortality and Sickness*, Colchester, 1850, 1852, 1861; C. Hardwick, *Hist. of Friendly Societies*, London, 1859; *Oddfellows' Magazine*, *passim*; Quarterly Reports of the Manchester Unity, *passim*; Reports of the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies, *passim*; Reports of the Royal Commission on Friendly Societies, 1870–74; *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, xxxviii. [1875], xlviii. [1885], lviii. [1895], lxviii. [1905], lxxviii. [1915]; E. W. Brabrook, *Provident Societies and Industrial Welfare*, London, 1898, *Institutions for Thrift*, do. 1905. E. BRABROOK.

OFFERINGS.—See SACRIFICE.

OFFICE, THE HOLY.—This name, which is now the formal title of the Roman Congregation created in the 16th cent. to watch over the purity of the faith, seems to be due to the former technical association of the word *officium* with the function of detecting and repressing heresy. In the ecclesiastical courts causes of 'instance' were opposed to causes of 'office,' the former consisting of actions for the recovery of legal rights, the latter of proceedings by way of accusation, denunciation, or inquisition. Roughly speaking, therefore, the word 'office' was used specially in connexion with the criminal, as opposed to the civil, jurisdiction of an ecclesiastical judge. In any case there is no doubt that the phrase 'officium inquisitionis haereticae pravitatis' had become stereotyped among the canonists long before the close of the 15th century. Torquemada, the first Inquisitor General of Spain (1483–98), was himself accustomed, if we may trust the text of his *Instructions* printed in 1576, to refer compendiously to the tribunal over which he presided as *El Sancto Officio* without any further addition.

In tracing the history of the name one may remark how Sixtus IV., in a bull of 1484, directs that any Spanish bishop who might be of Jewish descent was not to act himself, but to be represented by an *officialis*, in all those matters 'quae Inquisitionis haereticae pravitatis officium concernunt' (see F. Fita, in *Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia*, Madrid, xv. 475, and cf. pp. 476, 477, 479, etc.). Both the name 'official' as applied to the chief legal functionary who represented a bishop (the judge of the Arches Court of Canterbury is to this day designated 'Official Principal' in the patent by which he is appointed) and the oath *ex officio*, only abolished in England by statute in 1640 (16 Carol. I. c. 11), probably find their explanation in this technical meaning of the word 'office.' Cf. some of the decretals of Innocent III. in the *Corpus Juris*, c. 31, X. v. 3 and c. 10, X. v. 34, also one of Clement IV. (1265) in the Sext, cc. 10 and 11, in VI[to] v. 2.

The mediæval procedure employed in the detection of heretical pravity having been dealt with in the art. INQUISITION, it remains to treat of the later developments of the same movement commonly known as the Spanish Inquisition and the Roman Congregation of the Holy Office.

1. The Spanish Inquisition.—(*a*) *History.*—When Spain under the rule of Ferdinand and Isabella became in a sense one kingdom, conditions prevailed which seemed to demand exceptional legislation. All through the 12th and 13th cen-

turies the large Jewish population of the peninsula had grown in numbers and importance. On their part usurious practices and a certain love of display, on the part of their enemies envy and such wicked calumnies as the ritual murder charge, had helped to keep alive the blind religious prejudices of the Christians, which every now and then were fanned into a flame by some fanatical preacher. A particularly violent outburst of anti-Semitic hatred took place in 1390–91. Vast numbers of the Jews, whom prosperity had probably robbed of their staunchness, were cowed into seeking baptism, and many more were won over a few years later by the extraordinary eloquence of the Dominican St. Vincent Ferrer. But, as a body, these converts, known to their Jewish fellow-countrymen as Marranos (a word which also means 'swine'), were inconstant and at best only half-hearted. In many cases they still maintained in secret the practices distinctive of their race.

'The insincerity of the conversion of a large portion of the Marranos was incontestable' (Lea, *Inquisition in Spain*, i. 156).

This constituted a danger alike to Church and State, the more so that the highest offices in both were frequently filled by men of Jewish descent. There is evidence that Pope Sixtus IV. suggested the introduction of an organized inquisition in 1474, proposing N. Franco, who was then acting as papal legate, for inquisitor. But Ferdinand had no wish to sanction an institution which would be almost entirely controlled by the Holy See. He wanted an inquisition of his own, and after some negotiation a bull was procured from Sixtus in 1478 which empowered the sovereigns to nominate either two or three inquisitors who should be men over forty, of blameless life, and of attested learning (the bull is printed by Fita, *Boletin*, xv. 450 f.). A beginning was made at Seville, where 'Judaizing,' *i.e.* relapse into Jewish practices, was believed to be most rife, in Dec. 1480. Here from the outset the two Dominican inquisitors conducted the proceedings with a ferocity which outraged all the conventions prescribed even by the common (ecclesiastical) law of those days to secure justice for the accused. Complaint was made to Rome, and Sixtus remonstrated with vigour in letters addressed to the sovereigns. Döllinger (*Kleinere Schriften*, p. 330 f.) has mocked at the vacillations of this intervention, but it is a fact that the pope did intervene and that as a consequence the grosser forms of abuse seem to have been checked, while substantial changes were made in the whole organization (see Grisar, *ZKT* iii. 561–563). On the other hand, Sixtus undoubtedly sanctioned soon afterwards the extension of inquisitorial proceedings to Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia, and Majorca. There were disputes over the question of the appeals which the victims of the tribunals of the Holy Office addressed to Rome in great numbers, but some sort of final settlement was arrived at by the appointment of the Dominican Thomas de Torquemada, formerly Isabella's confessor, a man of mortified life and strong religious convictions, however fanatical his zeal, to the newly-created office of Inquisitor General. Torquemada's personal austerity is admitted even by such writers as Llorente and Sabatini. Under Torquemada a code of *Instructions* was issued which secured uniformity of practice in the tribunals of the Holy Office, and the institution was extended to the whole of Spain. There can be no doubt that in these early years the proceedings against the unfortunate Judaizers were of frightful severity. A great deal of Llorente's partisan history has been controverted, and the documents from which he worked, notably those connected with the Inquisition of Seville, have been destroyed, but there are plenty of materials surviving which leave room for no illusions as to the merciless character of the whole organization. The account given by Sebastian de Orozco, a contemporary and eye-witness, of the proceedings of the Inquisition of Toledo from 1485 to the end of the century has been printed entire by Fita (*Boletin*, xi. 296 ff.). On an average some twenty relapsed Judaizers were annually burned at Toledo in those early years, and many thousands were penanced, though even this savagery does not quite bear out the exaggerated pictures of bloodthirstiness drawn by such writers as Amador de los Rios or W. H. Rule. The Toledo tribunal supplanted one that had been previously established at Villa Real (the modern Ciudad Real), but this and Seville were only two out of eight or ten great centres of inquisitorial activity which the ample powers accorded to Torquemada enabled him to set up. There were others at Cordova, Murcia, Llerena, Jaen, Saragossa, Valencia, Barcelona, Majorca, etc., and their sphere of action was continually extending. It may be said that the earlier history of the Spanish Inquisition culminated in the expulsion of the Jews, first from Andalusia and then in 1492 from the whole of Spain. This expulsion was, of course, a political measure carried out by the sovereigns and the Cortes, but undoubtedly their action had been much influenced by Torquemada and by the famous inquisition process following upon the supposed ritual murder of a child afterwards venerated as El santo Niño de la Guardia. It is noteworthy that even so severe a critic of the Holy Office as R. Sabatini (*Torquemada*, pp. 271–355) finds it impossible, after an elaborate study of the documents of the process, to arrive at any satisfactory explanation of this mysterious murder. He admits the fact that the child was put to death, and he acquits Torquemada of any foul play or forgery of documents, thus rejecting the solution of such Jewish apologists as M. Loeb (*REJ* xv. [1887] 203–232). The original depositions from the Inquisition records have been printed by Fita (*Boletin*, xi. 7–160). Anti-Jewish feeling undoubtedly ran very high at this period, and economic conditions, as may be inferred from the terms of the *Pragmatica* published by the sovereigns on 30th March 1492, largely contributed to it. Nor was this hatred of the Jews confined to Spain or to the adherents of the papacy. Luther, at any rate in his later years, held anti-Jewish views quite as uncompromising as those of Torquemada.

'Their synagogues,' he declared, 'ought to be razed to the ground, their houses destroyed, their books, including the Talmud and even the Old Testament, taken from them and their rabbis compelled to earn their bread by hard labour' (see *JE*, *s.v.* 'Luther,' where full references are given).

Partly perhaps as a result of the expulsion which must have cowed the Marranos and weakened Jewish influences, the violence of the inquisitorial persecution declined during the first quarter of the 16th century. Cardinal Ximenez, who was Grand Inquisitor of Castille from 1507 to 1517, was by nature humane and just, so that he is commended for many things even by Llorente, notably for his prosecution of the iniquitous inquisitor Lucero. So, again, in reference to the successor of Ximenez E. Armstrong remarks:

'Hitherto under the influence of Adrian of Utrecht the Holy Office had shown singular moderation towards the Moorish or Morisco population. The King had given up the proceeds of confiscation to build churches for the converts, the term within which relapsed heretics might be reconciled to the Church was extended, the obligation of wearing the *sanbenito* after public abjuration was no longer imposed' (*The Emperor Charles V.*, new ed., London, 1910, i. 109).

There can be no doubt also that during all this period considerable influence was exercised by the Holy See in restraining the excesses of the inquisi-

tors. Alexander VI., Julius II., Leo X., and Clement VII. all at different times found themselves in conflict with the officials of the Spanish Holy Office. The history of the introduction of the Inquisition into Portugal, which after six years of negotiation was only brought about under Paul III. in 1536, is particularly significant. All the delay was caused practically by the limitations imposed by the papacy with the view of obtaining more merciful treatment for the new Christians, who, as the victims themselves protested, had been converted by force from the Judaism or Muhammadanism which they formerly professed.

From about the middle of the reign of Charles V. there was a change in the main direction of the activities of the Holy Office. Spain, and especially certain districts on the east coast, had not altogether escaped the influence of the new learning. In some places the doctrines of the Reformers were discussed and secretly propagated, while elsewhere the religious unrest of men's minds found expression in extravagant forms of mysticism. It may be said, then, that during the greater part of the 16th cent. it was the Protestants and *alumbrados* ('illuminated'), rather than the converted Jews and Moors, who principally attracted the attention of the Inquisition. Both St. Ignatius Loyola and St. Theresa in their different periods fell under suspicion and were made the subjects of inquisition proceedings. The works of the celebrated ascetical writer Luis of Grenada were for a long time under discussion. The famous process of Bartholomew de Carranza, archbishop of Toledo, lasted seventeen years, and only the revocation of the cause to Rome by Pius V. saved him from what must now seem most unjust and arbitrary condemnation. It would not be quite fair to lay directly at the door of the Inquisition the expulsion of the Moors in 1609. Political reasons—*e.g.*, their connivance with the Barbary rovers in kidnapping Christians, and their engaging in political intrigues with the Sultan—were put forward in the edicts of Philip II., 10th Dec. 1567, and Philip III., 9th Dec. 1609 (these are printed by Balmez, *El Protestantismo comparado*, French tr., in vol. ii. appendix), but undoubtedly the facts, or supposed facts, elicited under torture in the Inquisition trials had much to do with the decision arrived at. The whole matter has been very fully and straightforwardly dealt with by P. Boronat y Barrachina, *Los Moriscos Españoles y su Expulsion* (Valencia, 1901), who, in spite of strong national and religious sympathy with the Inquisition, fully admits the expulsion to have been economically disastrous for Spain. It had, however, the approval of many enlightened contemporaries—*e.g.*, Cervantes. In the 17th and 18th centuries the action of the Holy Office undoubtedly grew much milder, and at this stage a good deal of its energy was spent in investigating cases of atheism or blasphemy and also the conduct of ecclesiastics accused of offences against morality. The Holy Office in Spain, revived in 1814 after a temporary eclipse under Napoleonic influences, was formally and finally suppressed in 1820.

(*b*) *Distinctive features.*—A prevalent view of the Spanish Inquisition, and one much favoured by Roman Catholic apologists such as J. de Maistre, C. J. von Hefele, J. Hergenröther, A. Knöpfler, etc., holds that the Holy Office in Spain was a State institution. To this L. von Ranke has lent countenance by calling it 'a royal tribunal equipped with spiritual weapons' (*Die spanische Monarchie*[4], in *Werke*, xxxv. [Leipzig, 1877] 195). The truer statement, as H. Grisar has pointed out, would be the converse. It was really a spiritual court invested with royal authority. The situation in Spain (see K. Benrath, in *PRE*[3] ix. 158–161) was very much akin to that in Venice. There also the State was thoroughly willing to co-operate in the work of suppressing heresy, but only on condition that the control of the tribunal was not taken out of its hands. Whether the establishment of the Inquisition in 1478 owed anything to the initiative of the Holy See seems doubtful. But, on the other hand, it was from the pope from first to last that the Holy Office derived its powers. The peculiarity of the Spanish tribunal lay in its centralization, *i.e.* in the appointment of a single Inquisitor General, and, though this office was for a brief space entrusted to a commission of four, and although under Ximenez a separate Grand Inquisitor was named for Aragon, the institution for more than three centuries possessed a unity of organization which inevitably made it an instrument of great power in the hands of the crown. In practice the sovereign nominated the Inquisitor General, though it would be wrong to infer that it was customary to appoint any but men of recognizedly high character. Some of them, like Ximenez and Adrian of Utrecht (afterwards Pope Adrian VI.), were ecclesiastics not only of ability but also of the sincerest piety. Another distinctive feature was the council of the 'Suprema'—a body which in 1483, under the designation of the 'Consejo de la Suprema y General Inquisicion,' was added to the four royal councils already existing. The number of members, at first uncertain, came to consist of five, besides the Inquisitor General, and to these Philip II. added two from the Council of Castille. These were sometimes laymen, and, as the king nominated, even though the names were submitted to him by the board itself, the influence exerted by the civil power was enormously great. The Suprema (see Lea, *Inquisition in Spain*, ii. 166 f.) gradually gained influence at the expense of the Inquisitor General, but it was through the latter that the members of the council as well as all subordinate officials of the Holy Office formally derived the spiritual powers with which they were invested. The Suprema also acted as a court of appeal with respect to the local tribunals.

As regards procedure the Spanish Inquisition does not appear to have differed materially from what has been already described in the art. INQUISITION (vol. vii. p. 330 f.). It need only be said here that the practice was by no means so arbitrary or even so unfair as the reader would infer from the accounts given by Lea and other critics, all of them quite unacquainted with the technicalities of the canon law upon which the procedure of the Holy Office was based. While there is much—particularly the use of torture and the inadequate representation of the accused by counsel—which every right-thinking man must condemn, there is no sufficient ground for saying that the Spanish inquisitors as a body were intent only on securing a conviction without regard for either truth or justice. The Holy Office, in fact, contrasts favourably so far as concerns the observance of forms of law with the secular tribunals of other countries, notably those English courts which pronounced sentence upon religious dissentients tried for high treason during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth. Lea does not deny (see, *e.g.*, iii. 43–52) the existence and formal recognition of certain safeguards to protect the accused, but he declares them to have been mere affectations which were of no practical avail. It is to be regretted that he has not printed *in extenso* a few of the processes upon which his verdict is based, so that the trained canonist might be in a position to judge of the evidence for this very unfavourable view.

As for the terrible barbarities committed by the Spanish tribunals in torturing suspects and relaxing, *i.e.* requiring the secular arm to burn the

condemned, there is unfortunately no room for doubt of their reality. At the same time it should in fairness be remembered that as late as 1784 a woman was burned at the stake at Portsmouth for murdering her husband (see L. O. Pike, *Hist. of Crime in England*, London, 1876, ii. 379), and that about 1735 such executions by fire simply for uttering counterfeit coin were common in England, often numbering as many as half a dozen in a year.

Of the frequency of relaxations to the secular arm in the early days of the Inquisition it is difficult to obtain an impartial estimate. Llorente, whose figures have too often been accepted without discussion, is certainly untrustworthy wherever the numbers given are merely a matter of speculation.

'There is no question,' says Lea (iv. 517), 'that the number of these [Inquisition victims] has been greatly exaggerated in popular belief, an exaggeration to which Llorente has largely contributed by his absurd method of computation on an arbitrary assumption of a certain annual average for each tribunal in successive periods.'

The most striking example quoted by Lea is that of the Canaries, where Llorente estimates the number of persons burned at 1118, whereas we now know the actual number to have been exactly eleven; but this misrepresentation, of course, is quite exceptional. Down to the death of Torquemada in 1498, according to Llorente, 8800 persons were burned. The true number is probably not many more than the quarter of that, but, on the other hand, Rodrigo's estimate of 400 is absurdly below the mark. In the absence of the Seville records no accurate computation can be attempted. What we know for certain is that in the following centuries the numbers steadily diminished. Probably no calculations have been more carefully made from first-hand sources than those of Schäfer. According to him (*Beiträge zur Gesch. des span. Protestantismus und der Inquisition*, i. 156 f.), the estimates of Inquisition victims made by such writers as Fliedner and Llorente, at any rate as regards the punishment of Protestants, are enormously exaggerated. Out of 2100 persons indicted for Protestantism whose processes are preserved, only about 220 were burned in person, and 120 in effigy, and these figures include the great autos of Valladolid and Seville, which alone account for 70 burnings in person and 30 in effigy. Moreover, many who suffered in this way were admittedly foreigners.

However much the Inquisition and its methods may run counter to modern feeling, there is force in the contention 'No Church, no morals; no dogma, no Church; therefore purity of faith is of supreme importance.' It is this conviction that has led such straightforward and patriotic Spaniards as J. L. Balmez and Menendez y Pelayo to urge that there may still be something to admire in this unpopular institution. In any case those who can see in it nothing but a brutal and mercenary organization to fill the coffers of the State and the pockets of the inquisitors have certainly misread the facts. We shall not have a trustworthy and impartial history of the Inquisition until the point is grasped that there are many men, not only among the simple but also among the learned, worldly-minded as well as spiritual, who conscientiously hold that orthodox dogmatic belief is the pearl of great price for which all other things in the world ought to be sacrificed.

2. The Holy Office in Rome.—This does not call for very full treatment. The bull of Pope Paul III., *Licet ab initio*, anticipating in some sense the action of the long-looked-for Council of Reform, nominated in 1542 a congregation of six cardinals to watch over the purity of the faith, gravely imperilled in that time of religious unrest. No very sensational developments followed. Although by an obscurantist policy which Pastor has not hesitated (*Gesch. der Päpste*, Eng. tr., xii. 507) to denounce in outspoken language the Holy Office still refuses all direct access to its Roman archives, and although the best sources of information, even though many have perished, are thereby withheld from students, still a good deal of valuable material has been collected *aliunde* by Buschbell (*Reformation und Inquisition in Italien*) and others. Buschbell makes it clear that in the early years—at any rate until the pontificate of Paul IV.—much humanity was shown to the Inquisition prisoners in Italy. Consideration was shown to the sick, strict confinement was enforced only in a few extreme cases, the use of torture was rare, and the inquisitors were personally merciful (pp. 219–222). Proceedings in the south of France were much more severe at the same epoch (*c.* 1545). This moderation, however, was not maintained during the pontificate of Paul IV. (G. P. Caraffa, 1555–59). In spite of his violent anti-Spanish bias, he is believed to have brought from Spain, where he was legate, strong convictions as to the need of severity in dealing with heretics. The Roman Inquisition was stimulated to an activity which even the most earnest and orthodox condemned. It has often been maintained by Roman Catholic apologists, such as Lacordaire or even Balmez, that the Roman Inquisition never pronounced a capital sentence. Fuller investigation has shown that this is untrue. In 1556 twelve (some say twenty-four) Marranos were burned at Ancona after trial by the Holy Office, and other condemned persons were executed at the stake even in Rome itself (see Pastor, German edition, vi. 507, 518). Many of those delated and imprisoned at this period were afterwards declared free from the slightest taint of heresy. The case of Cardinal Morone (and we might add that of Cardinal Pole) was a conspicuous example of such injustice. Popular feeling raged so high that at the death of Paul IV. the Inquisition buildings were sacked and many of its records destroyed. Paul IV. also introduced in Rome the Index of forbidden books. Undoubtedly the severity shown at this time, which lasted on, though with mitigated activity, during the reigns of such pontiffs as Pius V. and Sixtus V., did have an effect in checking the progress of Protestantism and in restoring a more austere standard of morals than had prevailed during the Renaissance period, but the milder attitude of most succeeding popes showed that they regarded these extreme measures as justified only by some crisis exceptionally menacing to the purity of the faith. Taken as a whole, and considered in comparison with the action of the tribunals of the Inquisition in other parts of the world, the Roman Congregation of the Holy Office has throughout its history conspicuously shown a spirit of moderation. It has lately been reconstituted by Pope Pius X., and it still takes the first place among the Roman Congregations, having now added to its duties the decision of all questions arising out of the doctrine and practice of Indulgences. In its judicial capacity, as need hardly be said, the Holy Office now enforces none but what are, practically speaking, spiritual penalties.

3. The Holy Office elsewhere.—The activities of the tribunals of the Inquisition, always deriving their jurisdiction mediately or immediately from the Roman pontiffs, in various other parts of the world have been chronicled by many different investigators. Benrath, *e.g.*, has occupied himself more particularly with the Inquisition in Venice, especially during the 16th century. Here, as in Spain, the secular power exercised many checks upon the freedom of the inquisitors, and here capital punishment, when inflicted, took the form

not of burning the culprit, but of drowning him in one of the lagoons, in itself certainly a more merciful procedure. In a summary of the 16th cent. cases which he has investigated Benrath tells us that there were 803 processes for Lutheranism, 5 for Calvinism, 35 for Anabaptism, 43 for Judaizing, 65 for blasphemy, 148 for the possession of heretical books, 199 for sorcery (involving more particularly sacrilege with consecrated hosts), 22 for perjury in Inquisition trials, 23 for grosser forms of immorality, 20 for clerical concubinage, 45 for contempt of religion, and 27 for disregard of the laws of fasting and abstinence. In the 17th cent. the number of prosecutions was much less on all counts. As regards the Netherlands, P. Frédéricq has produced five volumes of his *Corpus Documentorum* dealing with the Inquisition trials. The Holy Office during the 16th cent. was very active and created much popular resentment. It was here that, on 1st July 1523, two Augustinian monks were burned—the first victims who suffered for Lutheranism—at the Grand' Place of Brussels. It was on this occasion that Luther composed the hymn, or, more correctly, the historical ballad, beginning: 'Ein neues Lied wir heben an.' Throughout the Spanish dependencies tribunals for the detection of heretical pravity were introduced almost as soon as any settled ecclesiastical government had been established. A Chilian scholar, J. T. Medina, has devoted much labour to investigating the past history of the Inquisition not only in his own country, but also in Cartagena, La Plata, Mexico, Lima in Peru, and the Philippines. Quite recently he has published a volume on the very early days of the institution in America, pointing out that, while inquisitorial powers were still left in the hands of the ordinary bishops, abuses and excesses were more rife than when, as happened later, special inquisitors were appointed for the purpose. It is generally admitted that in many cases the inquisitors, who claimed no jurisdiction over the natives themselves, as long as they were unbaptized, proved to be true friends to the unfortunate aborigines and stood between them and the brutal oppression of their conquerors.

LITERATURE.—i. *SPAIN.*—The subject has been most fully dealt with in modern times by H. C. Lea, *Hist. of the Inquisition in Spain*, 4 vols., New York, 1906–07, *The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies*, do. 1908, and *The Moriscos of Spain, Conversion and Expulsion*, do. 1901; P. M. Baumgarten, *Die Werke von Henry Charles Lea*, Münster, 1908, criticizes Lea's bias and inaccuracies, but without giving special prominence to these volumes. In *Boletin de la Real Academia de la Historia*, Madrid, Fidel Fita has published a large number of documents connected with the Inquisition, notably in vols. v., vi., ix., xv., xvi., xxiii., etc. For the history of Protestantism the best work is E. Schäfer, *Beiträge zur Gesch. des spanischen Protestantismus und der Inquisition*, 3 vols., Gütersloh, 1902. Among older books may be mentioned: L. a Paramo, *De Origine et Progressu Off. S. Inquis.*, Madrid, 1598; P. a Limborch, *Hist. Inquisitionis*, Amsterdam, 1692, Eng. tr., London, 1731; J. A. Llorente, *Hist. Critica de la Inquisicion de Espana*, 10 vols., Madrid, 1822, abridged Eng. tr., *Hist. of the Inquisition of Spain*, London, 1826. Cf. also: J. Amador de los Rios, *Hist. de los Judios de España y Portugal*, 3 vols., Madrid, 1876; J. Orti y Lara, *La Inquisicion*, do. 1877; F. J. Garcia Rodrigo, *Hist. verdadera de la Inquisicion*, 3 vols., do. 1876–77; P. Boronat y Barradina, *Los Moriscos Españoles y su Expulsion*, 2 vols., Valencia, 1901; R. Sabatini, *Torquemada and the Spanish Inquisition*, London, 1913; H. Grisar, in *ZKT* iii. [1879] 548–578; M. Menendez y Pelayo, *Hist. de los Heterodoxos Españoles*, 3 vols., Madrid, 1880–82; I. Melgares Marin, *Procidimientos de la Inquisicion*, 2 vols., do. 1886; J. L. Balmez, *El Protestantismo comparado*, do. 1846, most conveniently consulted in the French and English translations (Eng. tr., *Protestantism and Catholicity*, 3 vols., London, 1849); C. J. von Hefele, *Life of Card. Ximenez*, Eng. tr., London, 1860.

ii. *ITALY AND ELSEWHERE.*—G. Buschbell, *Reformation und Inquisition in Italien*, Paderborn, 1910; L. von Pastor, *Gesch. der Päpste*, 6 vols., Freiburg, 1886–1910, esp. vols. v. and vi., Eng. tr., *Hist. of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages*, 12 vols., London, 1891–1912; P. Tacchi Venturi, *Storia de la Comp. di Gesu in Italia*, vol. i., Milan, 1910; K. Benrath, art. 'Inquisition,' in *PRE*[3], and *Gesch. der Reform. in Venedig*, Halle, 1867; L. Amabile, *Il Santo Officio della Inquisizione in Napoli*, 2 vols., Citta di Castello, 1892; P. Frédéricq, *Corpus Documentorum Inquisitionis haeret. pravit. Neerlandicæ*, 5 vols., Ghent and The Hague, 1889–1903; J. J. I. von Döllinger, *Kleinere Schriften*, Stuttgart, 1890; J. T. Medina, *La Primitiva Inquisicion Americana, 1493–1569*, Santiago de Chile, 1914 (the same author, as mentioned in the text, has also compiled a number of other Inquisition monographs); A. Millares, *Hist. de la Inquis. en las Islas Canarias*, Las Palmas, 1874; L. de Alberti and B. W. Chapman, *English Merchants and the Spanish Inquisition in the Canaries* (Royal Historical Society), London, 1912.

HERBERT THURSTON.

OIL.—See ANOINTING.

OJIBWA.—The Ojibwa (Ojibway, Chippewa) are an Algonquian tribe scattered over a region extending 1000 miles from east to west, and including both shores of Lake Huron and Lake Superior, with the Turtle Mountains of N. Dakota approximately marking their western limit. Naturally, the bond connecting groups spread over this immense area is linguistic and cultural rather than political; and even culturally there has been an appreciable degree of local differentiation, so that it would be permissible to speak of several distinct tribal groups. The westernmost Ojibwa outposts, transcending the boundaries given above, viz. the Saulteaux and Bungi of S. Manitoba and Saskatchewan, have in considerable measure assimilated features of Plains Indian (*q.v.*) life as opposed to the Woodland culture connected with their pristine habitat. The total number of the Ojibwa may be set at 35,000, of whom about 15,000 reside in Canada. In the United States (Census of 1910) there were 20,214 Ojibwa, of whom, however, only 34·5 per cent were full-bloods.

Linguistically the Ojibwa are very closely related to the Ottawa and Pottawatomi, with whom the groups south of Lake Superior formed a loose confederacy, while the bands to the north have affiliated and almost merged with the Cree. Historically the S. Ojibwa have played a more important part than their northern kinsmen. Having secured firearms before the other tribes west of Lake Michigan, they waged successful wars against the Foxes and E. Sioux, driving the latter westward towards the Plains and forcing the Foxes to unite with the Sauk Indians.

Apart from the characteristics due to contact with the Plains, the Ojibwa represent a typical form of the 'Eastern Woodland culture' of American ethnographers.

1. **Material culture.**—The Ojibwa were essentially hunters, and in a minor way fishermen, but south of the Straits of Mackinaw and Lake Superior they also cultivated the soil for maize, pumpkins, and beans, and gathered wild rice. Their style of habitation varied locally and seasonally. The principal types were (1) a rectangular lodge covered with the bark of elm or cedar trees, the roof being oval or gabled; and (2) a dome-shaped structure, used especially in cold weather, which was covered with flag-reed mats or sheets of birch-bark. In addition there were conical lodges like those of the Plains and a long lean-to similar to the bark house, but lower, longer, and with a double entrance. Clothing was made from the dressed skins of deer, moose, elk, and caribou. The men wore loose shirts, breech-clouts, leggings extending nearly to the hip, and moccasins. The women wore a belted dress reaching below the knee and open at the neck and arms, or a skirt with a short loose jacket. They also had moccasins and leggings, but the latter barely reached up to the knee. Both sexes had skin robes with the hair left on. Fire was made by twirling a stick in the socket of a block of wood with the aid of a bow, or by striking one piece of flint against another. Water transportation was mainly in birch-bark canoes, though south of the Straits of Mackinaw

dug-out canoes were employed. In the winter toboggans were used, sometimes with dogs. The bow and arrow formed the principal weapon, to which was added a war-club. There is traditional evidence for the use of pottery cooking vessels, but the principal arts were matting and weaving. Bags woven from cord made from the inner bark of bass or cedar and from wild hemp fibre were often decorated with beautiful geometric designs. On account of the ease with which vessels of all sorts could be fashioned of birch-bark, neither basketry nor wood-carving was well developed, though checkerwork baskets and wooden spoons are found. For amusement the Ojibwa had a great variety of games, both of chance and of an athletic character; of the latter may be mentioned lacrosse, which has since been borrowed by the Whites.

2. Social and political organization. — The Ojibwa are divided into a large number of exogamous clans, or (in the nomenclature of American ethnologists) gentes, descent being in the paternal line. While transgressions of exogamy in a number of other American tribes were disapproved rather than strictly punished, as, say, in Australia, there is evidence that the Ojibwa exercised greater rigour and punished offenders with death.[1] The kinship terminology, though varying in minor points in the several bands, conforms to the classificatory type that, according to W. H. R. Rivers, may be expected in a tribe with exogamous subdivisions. The gentes, of which there were more than twenty, bear animal names, some of the most important in numbers and prestige being the Crane, Catfish, Bear, Marten, Wolf, and Loon gentes. In the native traditions the original number is set at five, the eponymic ancestors being described as suddenly appearing from the depths of the ocean. While the term 'totem' is of Ojibwa origin and while totemic features naturally occur, the religious elements of totemism do not seem to be fully developed. We learn, *e.g.*, that members of the Bear gens resembled their ancestor in their pugnacity and bad temper, but we do not know whether the bear was tabu to the totemites or was the object of a distinctively totemic cult. The totem-animal was, however, pictorially represented to indicate an individual gentile affiliation.[2] There is some indication that at one time the individual names were associated with the individual's gens; but in recent times the custom has been for the parents to select a sponsor, who gives the child a name in no way related to its gens, but referring to his own personal *manitu* (see below, p. 456[a]).[3]

The gentes were grouped together in a number of feeble phratries of obscure function. Thus, we learn that the Noka phratry was once composed of gentes named after parts of the bear's body, and later of two divisions affiliated, respectively, with the common and the grizzly bear. In several of the phratries one gens seems to have been the predominant one. Whether all the phratries, like the gentes, bore animal names remains undecided; and we are also left in doubt as to whether the phratries were exogamous. The only functions specifically ascribed to them are of a political character: the Crane and Awause 'were first in council, and the brave and unflinching warriors of the Bear family defended them from the inroads of their numerous and powerful enemies.'[4] Moreover, to the Bear phratry was entrusted the guardianship of the war-pipe and war-club.

The political organization was loose even in the early days. There was a general council of adult males with somewhat vague powers, which selected the chief, whose office was nevertheless in a measure hereditary, since there was a tendency to choose a chief's son provided he gave any evidence of ability. The incumbent of this office likewise had rather vague functions, his influence depending on his personal qualities rather than on his station. A chief usually had an adjutant, whom he might request to speak for him and send on errands.[1] Different bands had distinct councils and chiefs; there was no confederacy uniting all the Ojibwa under a single executive or legislative head. Among the W. Ojibwa there was the characteristically Plains Indian feature of a soldier organization of tried warriors who controlled the buffalo-hunt and also acted as a police body in camp.

Among the Timiskamig Ojibwa of N. Ontario, and probably other bands as well, each family had a distinct hunting territory, which must not be trespassed upon by other families, offences being sometimes punished with death and more frequently by evil magic directed against the offender.[2]

3. Miscellaneous social customs.—Certain social usages must be referred to on account of their ethnological importance. The method of giving names has already been described. The Ojibwa had the reluctance shared by many tribes to mention their personal names, though they did not object to others doing so in their presence. Husband and wife never mentioned each other's name, nor did a mother-in-law utter her son-in-law's name.[3] The latter circumstance deserves mention, since we are positively assured that the Ojibwa lacked the familiar mother-in-law tabu.[4] As among the Dakota, two young men frequently adopted each other as special friends or comrades for life, in which case they exchanged gifts and thereafter always shared their property if either was in want.[5]

In so warlike a tribe feats of arms were, of course, highly esteemed, and at festive gatherings each warrior recounted his exploits, which were also symbolically represented by feathers worn in the head, as among the Sioux. To boast of deeds not actually performed was to lose social prestige in the tribe.[6]

The mode of disposing of the dead and relevant customs may be treated under this head, though there is, of course, a religious aspect to these usages. The body was interred with the belongings of the dead, and over it was placed a wooden covering with a hole in the side, where the relatives placed food and tobacco. Pictographic drawings were sometimes traced on a board serving as a tombstone, to indicate, *e.g.*, the buried warrior's gens and his martial deeds. A funeral feast occurred with singing and drumming to cheer up the mourners, and an offering of food and drink was made to the dead. When the corpse was removed from the lodge for burial, it was not carried out of the doorway, but through a hole cut out in the bark in the lodge. The entire lodge was pulled down and the fire extinguished. By way of mourning the relatives blackened their faces with charcoal, tied leather strips round their wrists and ankles, cut off their hair, and assumed

[1] *A Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner*, New York, 1830, p. 313; W. H. Warren, 'Hist. of the Ojibways,' *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, v. [St. Paul, 1885] 42.
[2] Tanner, p. 175.
[3] William Jones, 'Central Algonkin,' *Annual Archæological Report*, 1905, Toronto, 1906, p. 136 f.; Peter Jones, *Hist. of the Ojebway Indians*, London [1861], p. 161.
[4] Warren, p. 99.

[1] J. G. Kohl, *Kitchi-gami*, London, 1860, p. 161 f.
[2] F. G. Speck, 'Family Hunting Territories and Social Life of various Algonkian Bands of the Ottawa Valley,' *Canada Geological Survey Memoir*, 70 [Ottawa, 1915]; Tanner, p. 91; Kohl, p. 421.
[3] Kohl, pp. 273–276; P. Jones, p. 161 f.
[4] Tanner, p. 146. [5] Kohl, p. 271. [6] *Ib.* p. 21.

the most unsightly clothing possible; laceration was also practised by running knives and thorns through the flesh. During the period of mourning, which lasted for a whole year, daily offerings were made to the dead by putting a portion of food into the fire, and during occasional visits to the grave feasts and offerings, including tobacco, were made in honour of the departed spirit. Widows and bereaved parents were wont to fashion a doll-like parcel of clothes representing the deceased and carry it about for the entire year on all their travels.[1]

4. Religion.—(*a*) *Manitu concept.*—The centre of Ojibwa religious life is occupied by the *manitu* concept, which corresponds fairly closely to the *wakanda* of the Dakota and the *orenda* of the Iroquois. In the interpretation of William Jones,[2] which, in view of his Algonquian lineage, combined as it was with anthropological training, is entitled to special consideration, *manitu* (*q.v.*) is 'a cosmic, mysterious property which is believed to be existing everywhere in nature,' and with which the individual sought to enter into personal relation. In the trance induced by the rigorous fast to which he subjected himself, he might be 'fortunate enough to experience a mystic transport at the sight of something animate or inanimate,' then that object would probably become one of religious veneration to be supplicated in the critical times of life. The essential point in this interpretation is the abstract character of the *manitu*; according to Jones, the various spirits or deities are such in so far as they are endowed with common mystic property, being differentiated by the varying degrees in which they participated in this essence. As for the individual reaction, the emphasis is placed on the peculiar and overwhelming emotional thrill that invests an experience with the quality of the uncannily strange. Thus, we have the case of an Ojibwa who in a state of fatigue lay down facing a huge boulder. As he looked at it, it seemed to oscillate, advance towards him, make a bow and then return to its former position. The Indian at once felt the greatest veneration for the rock, regarded it as his tutelary god, and never thereafter passed by without leaving a tobacco offering.[3] The rock did not become supernatural, according to the view expounded, because of any spirit residing there or controlling it, but simply because the psychological experiences connected with it led the individual to associate it automatically with the unindividualized concept of the mysterious, i.e. *manitu*.

Jones's interpretation has been generally accepted by American ethnologists, with whose observations among other tribes it seems to harmonize admirably, but was recently challenged by another field worker among the Ojibwa. According to P. Radin,[4] the accepted view suffers from the over-systematization of observers imbued with Caucasian metaphysics, and does not correctly represent the attitude of the Indian mind. *Manitu*, he insists, always refers 'to definite spirits, not necessarily definite in shape.' An arrow possesses specific virtue because it is a transformed spirit or the gift of a spirit; a peculiar object receives offerings because it belongs to a spirit or is similarly possessed by it. *Manitu* as an essence distinct from definite spirits, Radin concludes, is 'an abstraction created by investigators.'

Radin's critique undoubtedly has the merit of crystallizing discussion of the subject, but it cannot be said to have shaken the older interpretation. The danger of over-systematization, of attributing to the Indian a philosophical belief in a definite force immanent in the cosmos, seems illusory, since Jones himself emphasizes the unsystematic character of the belief. Accounts of Indian visions fairly bristle with experiences of precisely the type cited above from Kohl's work. *Pace* Radin, there is not the slightest evidence that many of these rocks, trees, charms, etc., derive their sacred character from a spirit already existing for the religious consciousness and subsequently associated with these objects. *Manitu* remains, accordingly, the concept of a cosmic force, unanalyzed, not nearly so definite as corresponding concepts of our science and philosophy, but comparable to the vague folk-generalizations familiar to the student of language and denoting the objective basis of the specifically religious emotions.

(*b*) *Visions.*—The deliberate quest of supernatural power is one of the most wide-spread features of N. American religious life, but among the Ojibwa it was characterized by a distinctive peculiarity—the extraordinary extent to which the procedure was regulated by the older members of the visionary's family. At the age of puberty or, as would appear from some authorities, rather before it, a boy was ordered by his parents, or preferably his grandparents, to retire to a secluded spot, abstain from food and drink, and await a supernatural revelation. If, after several days' abstention, he succumbed to temptation, all his efforts went for naught and he was obliged to begin again, his actions being watched by his elders. Nor were his reactions to the mystic experience a purely individual affair; he was warned to decline certain evil revelations vouchsafed by malignant *manitu* powers that might lead to his destruction. Thus, one of Radin's informants had rejected the blessing of a chickadee in accordance with his grandmother's injunctions and only accepted the subsequent revelation of a white loon, which offered him long life and immunity from disease. In short, we are not dealing with a simple psychological experience or with that experience as moulded by the tribal pattern for visions, which would operate automatically under any circumstances; we have in addition the far-reaching conscious control of the situation by the individuality of the supervising elder. Practically everything is pre-determined, something sharply defined is expected by the prospective visionary, and the interpretation of the vision is cast in a pre-existing mould. It is clear that in this way a virtual inheritance of shamanistic power is rendered possible since the elder prescribes the content of the vision.[1]

Visions were not restricted to the time of puberty, though those seen then were of the greatest importance, and, as illustrated by the case of the swaying rock, were not confined to deliberate quests. Women were not barred from either mode of communication with the world of mystery.

The vision secured by an individual was likely to shape the future course of his life: the promise that he was to become a famous hunter would make him specialize in that direction, the sight of some object held in reverence by the members of the Midē' society might lead the visionary to seek admission, and so forth.

(*c*) *Mythology.*—While the number of *manitu* beings was indefinite, embracing at least potentially the entire animate and inanimate universe, there were among them not a few clearly individualized and localized deities, some of them doubtless of significance only in the theoretical speculations of

[1] Kohl, pp. 106–112; P. Jones, pp. 98–101.
[2] P. 190, and 'The Algonkin Manitou,' *JAFL* xviii. [1905].
[3] Kohl, p. 59.
[4] 'An Introductory Enquiry in the Study of Ojibwa Religion,' *Papers and Records of the Ontario Historical Society*, xii. [1914] 1–11, 'Religion of the N. American Indians,' *JAFL* xxvii. [1914] 344 ff.

[1] Kohl, pp. 233–242; Radin, 'An Introductory Enquiry,' p. 1 ff.

the shamans, while others played a dominant part in the everyday life of the people. Of great interest is the dualistic conception of a Great Spirit or Master of Life, Kitchi-Manitu, opposed to an evil divinity, Matchi-Manitu, that controls all the bad spirits. That missionary influences have affected this belief is the impression of both W. Jones and Radin. On the other hand, it is by no means certain that the conception was created by Christian doctrine, which may merely have had the effect of emphasizing the ethical motive involved. It is important to note that, while Kitchi-Manitu is continually referred to in the sacred festivals, he corresponds otherwise to Andrew Lang's notion of an otiose high god, being completely overshadowed in practical life by the lesser *manitus* and in mythological folklore by Nenebojo (known among the several local groups and in the orthography of different writers as Nänabuco, Minabojo, Menaboju, etc.).

Nenebojo, who impressed some observers as an intermediary between the higher deities and mankind, as a sort of Prometheus or Hercules, seems, in fact, the supreme figure of Ojibwa mythology. Great social and ceremonial institutions were traced to him as their founder, and even such material possessions as the canoe were derived from his inventive genius.[1] He was miraculously conceived through a girl's facing west contrary to her mother's warnings, and thus falling a prey to the west wind. He spent his boyhood with his grandmother, then began to travel through the country, meeting with innumerable adventures in the course of his journeyings. In many of these Nenebojo figures as an unscrupulous trickster, who stops at nothing to attain his ends.

Thus, when in need of food he offers to teach the ducks a new dance during which they are to close their eyes; when they unsuspectingly obey his instructions, he wrings their necks, one after another.

Frequently, as in the story cited, he is not permitted to enjoy the fruits of his cunning, but is beaten at his own game by some being of superior shrewdness. The disharmony between the heroic features revealed in some of the myths and the dastardly and deceitful character that appears in others is not a distinctively Ojibwa problem, but presents itself in many of the N. American mythologies.

One of the most important tales deals with his exploits against the water-spirits, who had slain his brother (nephew or grandson in other versions), a fox or wolf, which subsequently comes to preside over the spirits of the deceased. Lying in ambush, Nenebojo succeeds in badly wounding one of the enemies' chiefs, then flays an old woman, puts on her skin, and pretends to doctor the patient, whom, of course, he destroys. The other water-spirits cause a general deluge, which threatens to overwhelm him though he flees to the highest summits. He constructs a raft, however, and not only saves himself and all the animals that he meets, but re-creates the world from a little earth brought up by the musk-rat, which he ordered to dive for some.[2]

Of the other *manitus* the Thunder is of considerable importance, being the patron of one class of shamans, the *jessakid* (see below). Four great deities are believed to occupy, respectively, the four corners of the earth. Finally, mention must be made of the Windigo, a term extended in recent times to human cannibals, but primarily designating a race of gigantic ogres who fed on human flesh.

The Ojibwa conception of a future life is devoid of the notion of reward or punishment for earthly activities, and centres largely in the picturing of serious dangers that menace the soul on its way to the spirit land, which lies in the west.

The souls are obliged to travel along a path in the centre of which they are tempted by an enormous strawberry, to eat of which involves instant destruction. After proceeding for several days they encounter a broad river, only partly spanned by what appears to be a vibrating log, which bars the way. In reality it is a snake, and the wanderers are obliged to leap across the gap on to its head. If they jump short or fall from the bridge into the water, they are transformed into toads or fishes; hence the special grief over the death of little children, who are deemed unable to make the difficult crossing unless escorted by an older friend or relative.

The goal of the souls is familiar from the accounts of seers and of those who have died and come to life again, the spirits deeming that their time had not yet come and accordingly sending them back to earth again. In the land of spirits every one is happy; there is no strife, labour, or hunting, but a continual round of pleasure with drumming, singing, and feasting.[1]

(*d*) *Shamanism and magic.*—During the puberty fast the Thunder occasionally blesses an individual with the gift of prophecy and certain other supernatural powers. Such persons are known as *essakids* (*tcīsa'kiwin*), and are quite unorganized, each practising his profession independently of the others. The *jessakid* foretells the success or misfortune of hunters and warriors, predicts the recovery or death of a patient, announces where game can be found, whether distant friends are yet living, and the like. These prophecies are delivered from within a roofless, cylindrical, chimney-like structure covered with bark or robes. When the *jessakid* had seated himself inside the structure, it began to sway violently from side to side, and strange voices, interpreted as those of the *manitus*, became audible to the crowd without. In addition to the Thunder, the Great Turtle is mentioned as a leading spirit in this performance. A *jessakid* also exorcizes demons and, more particularly, sucks out pathogenic spirits from the patient's body by means of tubular bones, swallows them, and ultimately vomits them out.[2]

Another type of shaman is represented by the *wabano*, who likewise become such as the result of a vision. They, also, are not organized into a society. A *wabano* furnishes hunting and love medicines, but his distinctive power consists in his immunity from the effects of fire and heat, which is demonstrated in public performances. A shaman of this class will pick up red-hot stones and coals, or plunge his hand into a kettle of boiling water and extract the head of the animal cooked.[3] The last-mentioned feat is probably historically connected with the Hot Dance of the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara, and part of the Heyoka cult of the Dakota.

A third class of shamans corresponds more closely to the ordinary medicine-men. These are medical practitioners cognizant of the mysterious curative properties of roots and herbs, administered after the chanting of sacred incantations. According to W. Jones, they also practise the *jessakid* trick of sucking out malignant spirits by the aid of round, slender bones.[4]

Magical practices are not by any means the exclusive prerogative of a favoured class of shamans. The laity avail themselves in part of the same principles, viz. those of sympathetic and imitative magic. Thus, when a man desires to bring grief upon another, he makes a small image of the enemy and pierces its head or heart, causing an affliction of that part; if the desire is to kill, the effigy is buried or burned amidst magic spells. A corresponding device is employed to ensure success in the chase, the game animals being sketched on

[1] Kohl, p. 34; W. Jones, 'Central Algonkin,' p. 145.
[2] H. R. Schoolcraft, *The Myth of Hiawatha*, Philadelphia, 1856, pp. 13–51, *Algic Researches*, New York, 1839, i. 134–174; Radin, *Some Myths and Tales of the Ojibwa of South-eastern Ontario*, Ottawa, 1914, pp. 1–23; Kohl, pp. 385–394.

[1] Kohl, pp. 214–226; P. Jones, pp. 102–104.
[2] W. J. Hoffmann, 'The Midē'wiwin or "Grand Medicine Society" of the Ojibwa,' 7 *RBEW* [1891], pp. 157 f., 215–255; W. Jones, 'Central Algonkin,' p. 145; Schoolcraft, *Historical and Statistical Information respecting the History, Condition, and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States*, Philadelphia, 1851–57, i. 388 ff.
[3] Tanner, p. 135 f.; Hoffmann, p. 156 f.
[4] Hoffmann, p. 159; W. Jones, 'Central Algonkin,' p. 145.

birch-bark or carved in wood. The incantations associated with these rites bear reference primarily to the mythological character Nenebojo. They, as well as the songs of the Midē'wiwin, were represented pictographically by realistic images drawn on birch-bark; these were mnemonic in character, a single sign often helping to recall a group of ideas and the air of a song.[1] Sympathetic magic is also used to induce love on the part of a beloved woman; the magician in such a case uses carved effigies of himself and his beloved, with mysterious powders in bags fastened with a lock of hair. By piercing the heart with a needle dipped into the several powders, various results may be effected, such as the relenting of the woman to the extent of pining for her admirer or her punishment for spurning his offers.[2]

While the shamanistic performances hitherto treated are manifestations of individual power or knowledge, the Midē'wiwin was a secret *society*, composed of both men and women. Magical practices of the type described above were by no means dissociated from this organization, but its special function was concerned with life after death. Since, according to Ojibwa eschatology, the souls of the deceased encounter various dangers, the object of the Midē'wiwin is to overcome these obstacles by the use of formulæ known exclusively to the members. Initiation follows only after a long period of instruction, and the fees required are very considerable. Among some of the Ojibwa there are no fewer than four degrees of initiation, and from other groups as many as eight are reported. Foremost among the rites of initiation is the 'shooting ceremony,' in which the leader points a medicine-bag at the novice, who falls prone upon the ground, rendered unconscious by a magic shell that is believed to have entered him. When restored to life, he shows his newly-acquired powers as a member by similarly shooting those of older standing in the society. Admission is sought either because of a vision suggesting it to the candidate or in order that he may replace an individual who died during the time of preparation. As Radin points out, the essential secret knowledge is imparted by the novice's individual preceptor during the preparatory period; it is then that he receives instruction in the specific teachings of the Midē'wiwin and learns to interpret the symbolic birch-bark records. While the Midē'wiwin is undoubtedly a definite organization, the individual element is thus nevertheless of great significance from the subjective point of view.[1] From the point of view of the tribe at large the Midē'wiwin performances constitute the one ceremony of overshadowing importance, comparable to the Sun-dance of the Plains. The membership was numerous, while the unassociated shamans of the other groups never comprised more than a few isolated individuals.

(*e*) *Various religious practices.*—A number of religious practices, while less impressive than the rites of the Midē'wiwin and the shamanistic performances already described, are nevertheless of great importance in the daily life of the people. In this connexion may be mentioned the constant offering of tobacco to all sorts of objects viewed with religious veneration and sacrifice of dogs at religious festivals.[2] Like the majority of the N. American Indians, the Ojibwa indulged in sweat baths, not from purely hygienic motives, but as a religious rite accompanied with sacred songs.[3]

Among the W. Ojibwa the Sun-dance of the Plains Indians, though an intrusive feature, was prominent. They also had a Windigokan, or cannibal cult, shared with the Assiniboin and Cree, in which masked clowns performed ludicrous rites, expressing the opposite of their intended meaning, and exorcized disease-causing demons.[4]

LITERATURE.—This is cited in the footnotes.

R. H. LOWIE.

OLD AGE.

Psychological (E. D. STARBUCK), p. 458.
Introductory and Primitive (P. J. HAMILTON-GRIERSON), p. 462.
American (L. H. GRAY), p. 465.
Chinese (R. F. JOHNSTON), p. 466.
Greek (W. J. WOODHOUSE), p. 469.
Hebrew and Jewish (MORRIS JOSEPH), p. 471.
Hindu.—See ABANDONMENT AND EXPOSURE (Hindu).
Iranian (L. H. GRAY), p. 473.
Japanese (M. REVON), p. 474.
Roman (A. SOUTER), p. 475.
Semitic and Egyptian (G. A. BARTON), p. 478.
Teutonic (B. S. PHILLPOTTS), p. 480.

OLD AGE (Psychological).—If we should follow the custom of dividing life into the traditional seven ages, as is not infrequently done, the period of old age would cover the last two ages—elderliness, from about 55 or 60 to about 70 years, and senescence, which moves progressively from 70 towards 'second childhood and mere oblivion' (E. C. Sanford, 'Mental Growth and Decay,' *AJPs* xiii. [1902] 426–449). Both ages are alike in marking a decline from the physical vigour and mental acumen which characterize the middle years of life. The essential underlying condition of the transition to the state of age has usually been supposed to be the decline and, later, the termination of the reproductive functions. This notion harmonizes many of the phenomena of age, including the fact that its inception among women is from five to ten years earlier than among men. It has been much discredited, however, by recent researches.

1. **Symptoms.**—In enumerating the marks of approaching age it is of the utmost importance to distinguish between the fundamental and accidental, and between the normal and pathological. It has been altogether too common in the discussions of this period to hit upon the superficial changes that easily strike the attention, and to overlook the deeper-lying events. Among the marks that indicate the normal approach of senescence are: transfer of interest away from things of sense to those of deeper human concern; moving past the technique of science to its higher meanings (Socrates' confession in Plato, *Phædo*); seeing things in perspective (Tennyson, in *Locksley Hall, Sixty Years After*); lack of originality in discovering new interests, but greater enthusiasm for old ones—even old aversions and pessimisms (Schopenhauer); freedom from the stress of passion, and the transfer of energy to higher loves (Tolstoi, Augustine); fixity of habit of thought, giving,

[1] Kohl, p. 281; Tanner, pp. 174, 189 f., 341, 351, 363; W. Jones, 'Central Algonkin,' p. 144.
[2] Kohl, pp. 395–397.
[1] Hoffmann, pp. 149–300; Kohl, pp. 41–52; W. Jones, 'Central Algonkin,' p. 146; Radin, 'The Ritual and Significance of the Winnebago Medicine Dance,' *JAFL* xxiv. [1911] 149–208; Frances Densmore, 'Chippewa Music,' *Bull. 45 BE* [1910], p. 13 ff.
[2] Kohl, pp. 38, 60. [3] *Ib.* p. 288.
[4] A. Skinner, *Political Organization, Cults, and Ceremonies of the Plains-Ojibway and Plains-Cree Indians*, New York, 1914, pp. 500–511, 'The Cultural Position of the Plains Ojibway,' *American Anthropologist*, xvi. [1914] 314–318.

within a certain range, poise and stability of judgment (Darwin, Huxley, Kant).

Age suffers losses, even among the normal, that are irrevocable. The senses are less delicate. Memory for details is gone past recovery. The bent form, the shrivelled bulk, the halting step, the tremulous hand, the falling teeth, the wrinkled skin, the whitened hair, and the corresponding internal changes, even within the central nervous system, with its disrupted nuclei, its pigmented and shrunken tissues, and its depleted cellular substance—all these are unmistakable signs of physical degeneration, which increases until at last the organism must pay its full debt to nature.

Are these the marks merely of progressive degeneration of the entire personality? Are they the characteristics of age, or its necessary accident? Are the relatively few instances of men and women who appear to grow in grace, wisdom, and power to the very end of life merely the exceptions to the rule of senescent decline? Or do they represent the norm? In order to escape a hasty judgment, it is well to keep in mind the law of progressive variation, among individuals of the same species or genus, along with increasing years. During fœtal life and early infancy individuals are much alike. Heredity and selection have busied themselves cutting off the variants and fixing stable lines of inheritance. From babyhood on through life there is, however, an ever-increasing departure from the central highway of development. In other words, the average deviation in the species from the norm increases more and more, until at last there are relatively few persons who are true to type. Their sparseness is no necessary sign of eccentricity.

2. The origin of senescence.—A positive answer to the questions raised can be approached by raising another—Why did old age and death come into the world? Among many of the lower kinds such a fate is not always necessary. Single-celled organisms that propagate themselves by cell-division enjoy, barring fatalities, a sort of terrestrial immortality. When one organism splits, in order to pass on into two others (to the extent that they are 'others'), it cannot be said to die, although in a sense the original structure disappears, for 'there is nothing left to bury.'

Living forms soon discovered the utility of union and co-operation. They colonized. The result was an organism. This arose through division of labour among the various cells, and the consequent specialization of structure and function. Some of the cells wore out faster than others, while many of them, as always happens in a democracy, built themselves up at the expense of their fellows. The colony was soon full of discord. It was, furthermore, a charnel-house of worn-out units. It had to clean house and start afresh. As a colony, it broke up. The organism died. Our first result is that 'death was the price paid for a body' (P. Geddes and J. A. Thomson, *Evolution*, London, 1911, p. 88). The debt is paid in instalments; and the period of old age is the time allowed for the settlement of all arrears.

Old age may, however, be interpreted in terms of life as truly as in terms of death. Nature as a whole seems to behave like an organism, and to have a passion for continuance and progress. She is full of resources. She is a shrewd bargainer. She pawned individual deathlessness for a body, but the body was only a means to an end—that of higher biological efficiency. By 'scrapping' the worn-out organism frequently, and starting afresh, there is no sacrifice, if only the successes and acquirements of each generation can be conserved in every succeeding one. This was provided for by the fact of heredity, both 'blood' and 'social.' Indeed there is a total gain, since each fresh individual, like Nature herself, having the obsession for progress, can profit by its own experience, discover new adjustments, and thus add a little to its own original capital. This exchange of individual terrestrial immortality for biological conservation and improvement lies, surely, at the very heart of racial progress. So clear is its truth that an ageing person, if only he thinks in terms of life as a whole, might, as his end draws near, cheerfully 'lay him down with a will,' knowing that his demise is part of a plan of higher fulfilment. He could at least accept gracefully that which Nature bestows graciously.

Nature's problem has always been, and is, at death to discover ways of saving, from the rubbish of the old organism, the elements for the rebuilding of a new one, and a better than the old. She has found no fewer than five ways of sloughing off old bodies and reconstructing along better lines. All five methods centre in the fact of reproduction. They stand for a series of movements biologically in two directions, one of which is progressively fatal to the cosmic individual, while the other is progressively beneficial to the race, seemingly at the expense of the individual. On the one hand, they have planted the fact of old age and death so deep within the laws of life that among higher kinds it is inviolable and irrevocable; on the other hand, they are but five discoveries of ways, not only of progress, but of the liberation of intellectual and spiritual values. The first method is that of 'regeneration,' involving dedifferentiation and rejuvenescence. By this means of reproduction almost any fragment of the original organism can reproduce its kind, as when a 'cutting' from a rose-stem or grass-root, or a fragment of an earth-worm or planarium, is sufficient for the regeneration of a new adult structure true to type. The various cells or cell-groups in the organism somehow, strangely, completely reflect within themselves its entire composite life (according to Weismann and his school, the fragments contain original, changeless germ-plasm, out of which the new organism develops). The sequent or fragment goes through a process of reduction or simplification or dedifferentiation, along with increased metabolism, and rediscovers the road leading to a repetition of the life-cycle. The process of dedifferentiation, which is an act of ageing, is an anticipatory step towards a rejuvenescence. Among these kinds senescence is a utility—that of 'scrapping' and renewal—though not a necessity. It is a function of metabolism. If the relation between nutrition and repair, on the one hand, and waste and decay, on the other, can be kept constant, the age-cycle can be eliminated, and terrestrial immortality is attained. C. M. Child has kept *planaria velata*, whose life-cycle, with abundant feeding, is three or four weeks, in a state of perpetual youth, by giving them a quantity of food just sufficient to prevent reduction, and not sufficient to permit growth (Child, *Senescence and Rejuvenescence*, Chicago, 1915, p. 167 f.). At the end of three years the animals showed all the signs of health and youth, and none of the marks of age.

Three other methods of reproduction, which progressively emphasize the life-cycle, are 'budding,' 'sporialation,' and 'parthenogenesis' (*q.v.*), the first two being asexual, and the other standing at the parting of the ways between the several lower types of perpetuation of the species and the highest mode, the sexual.

Many of the lower species have employed the sexual mode of reproduction on occasion, as when the aphis multiplies its numbers all the summer long by parthenogenesis, and then, in autumn, leaps the winter by the aid of sex. But now at

last have come the species that have burned all bridges behind them, and have depended solely upon the one biologically successful method of reproduction. Up to the time of implicit dependence upon sexual reproduction Nature was more concerned with the amount of life in the world than with its quality. Henceforth she prized quality even at the expense of amount.

There have been many gains from depending exclusively at last upon the accident of sexual reproduction. Important among them is the increased variation among offspring that has resulted from the crossing of strains through mating, and consequently the enrichment of the individual, and also indefinitely greater adaptation from generation to generation. But the supreme advantage has arisen through the complete establishment of the life-cycle ending in old age and death. Out of this single biological fact have radiated innumerable resultants, most of them representing the lines of liberation of essentially all the higher mental and spiritual values that make man that which he distinctively is. Among the gains, in addition to the priceless one of starting each generation with a clean slate and also with the refined and corrected wisdom of the race as its dowry, are the following: the care of offspring, resulting in the spirit of kindliness; warm-bloodedness and increased metabolism, with corresponding mental alacrity and acumen; helpless babyhood and lengthened infancy, demanding even greater love, wisdom, and purpose; colonization, in the family and larger groups, and the full birth of sympathy, co-operation, and other social virtues; the habit of adjustment, the habit of learning, the habit of growth, which contain the secret of progress and development. Progressively, among all kinds above the protozoa, terrestrial immortality has been sacrificed for sympathy, intelligence, and appreciation.

Old age, as the termination of the physiological cycle, has gained psychologically in many ways: enrichment to itself, through giving its wisdom back to the rising generation; greater eagerness to make the most of life while it lasts; in facing the fact of change and dissolution the more careful re-evaluation of all values in the quest of the changeless; the intensification of values, as the individual is caught between life and death, between love and sorrow. Other mental compensations centre in the fact of senile rejuvenescence, and will be described below.

3. Causes of old age.—It has ever been one of the lively problems of physiology to determine the direct contributing factors involved in bodily decline. None of the theories seems as yet altogether satisfactory. Most of them are but statements in other words of the fact of senility, or of the accompanying conditions of old age, rather than of underlying causes.

It is due to the wearing out of the organism (Lotze, *Microcosmus*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1897, i. 50–62); to a 'vital ferment' in the organism (O. Bütschli, 'Gedanken über Leben und Tod,' *Zoolog. Anzeiger*, xv. [1892]); to a progressive decrease in the metabolism of the body (A. Bühler, 'Alter und Tod,' *Biolog. Centralblatt*, xiv. [1904]); to 'greater stability of the organism along with decreased dynamic activity' (Child, p. 459); to the incapacity of cells to reproduce for replacement of worn-out tissues (A. Weismann, *Über Leben und Tod*, Jena, 1884, *Das Keimplasma*, do. 1892); to increased cell-differentiation at the expense of recuperation (H. S. Jennings, *Popular Science Monthly*, lxxx. [1912] 563 f.); to the increase and differentiation of the cytoplasm of cells at the expense of nuclear substance (C. S. Minot, *The Problem of Age, Growth, and Death*, New York, 1908). There is a bewildering array of other 'causes,' entangling themselves with biological reproduction, chemical inhibitors, colloidal substrata, and auto-catalyzers.

Whatever be the more intimate processes involved, it seems clear that senescence is accompanied by a break-down of the physiological mechanism at some vital spot. It is well known that the brain substance is intimately concerned in the process (H. H. Donaldson, *The Growth of the Brain*, New York, 1909, ch. xvii.; M. Mühlmann, 'Beiträge zur Frage nach der Ursache des Todes,' *Arch. für Path.* (Virchow), cxv. [1914]) and that it suffers a disappearance of nuclei and a depletion of cytoplasmic substance.

One of the most highly popularized notions is that of E. Metchnikoff (*The Nature of Man*, Eng. tr., London, 1903, *The Prolongation of Life*, Eng. tr., do. 1907). Senility is due, according to Metchnikoff, to the auto-intoxication of the organism through poisoning from the bacteriæ cultured chiefly (for man) in the superfluous sack, the large intestine. As a result of the poisoning, the phagocytes, or white corpuscles of the blood, are diverted from their normal function of protection against the invasion of harmful bacteriæ, and themselves attack the tissues of muscles, bones, arteries, and brain, bringing about their final destruction. The theory has found small acceptance so far among biologists. Old age is clearly an older fact biologically than Metchnikoff treats under that caption.

Perhaps the most intimate and minutely critical study of the problem to date is that of C. M. Child. He shows that senescence is relatively independent of sexual reproduction, and that both are organically bound up as utilities within the biological processes, which move rhythmically through a neat balancing of the processes of expenditure and recuperation, of differentiation and dedifferentiation, of progression and regression, combined with an act of rejuvenescence.

'Death is the inevitable end of the process of senescence when regression and rejuvenescence do not occur' (p. 461).

4. Interpretation of the state of age.—As seen and felt from within, what meanings and values really characterize the last years of life? The answers are varied in the extreme. In boldest outline it will be sufficient to mention three types of attitude, the first two more or less fatalistic, the third genial, perhaps idealistic.

(*a*) *Degeneration.*—The marks of senescence are physiological disintegration and mental decline. This conception draws largely from the two sources of physiology and pathology. It is true in the majority of instances of senility. The various powers or functions do not age equally rapidly among themselves (Minot, p. 249), nor are any two persons alike in the date, rate, or order of weakening. There is, accordingly, a vast variety of spiritual attitudes of senescents towards the approaching state of age.

Classic instances are: graceful acceptance of the result by Cicero in *de Senectute*; the superior disregard of death by Epicurus; the Stoic acceptance of the order of Nature by Marcus Aurelius; the pathetic disillusionment about the vanity of all things by the writer of Ecclesiastes; the warm sunset afterglow in *Over the Teacups* (1890) of Oliver Wendell Holmes; the frank pessimism of C. R. E. von Hartmann, whose soul finds consolation in a 'philosophy of the unconscious' (*Philosophy of the Unconscious*, Eng. tr., London, 1884); and the sombre passion of the tragically musical dirge of Matthew Arnold, who finds at the close of the act of 'growing old' 'a hollow ghost,' 'immured in the hot prison of the present,' adding 'month to month with weary pain' (*Growing Old*).

Unless there is found some new centre around which later life reconstructs itself, or some old love or present enthusiasm or new hope that springs up, the usual outcome of senescence is a total decline of body and mind. On the pathology of senility there has grown up an extended literature (see *DPhP*, *s.v.* 'Senescence'; also J. Nötzli, *Über Dementia Senilis*, Zürich, 1895).

(*b*) *Reversion, or retrogression, leading to a 'second childhood.'*—This theory is a refinement of the preceding through discovering a law which seeks to determine the nature of senescent decline, some of its stages, and its final quality. The law is that the procedure from the period of highest

power, efficiency, and insight of the forties and fifties is the exact reversal, step by step, of the processes of upbuilding from childhood to the height of attainment. A convenient comparison, though something more than a mere analogy, since it suggests a fundamental law of development, is that of the growth of a fruit-bearing tree. It first shows a stalk or trunk, then branches and leaves; soon it bears blossoms without fruit, then fruit, and finally a rising curve of quantity of fruit. The fruitage then begins to decline; then come blossoms without fruit, leaves without blossoms, leafless twigs, twigless branches, and at last only a trunk, which stands as a relic of a departed glory and a symbol of a completed cycle.

There is much in the psychology and the pathology of old age to fortify this law. T. Ribot has shown that in the diseases of the will 'dissolution always follows the inverse order of evolution,' and that 'the complex manifestations of will disappear before the simpler ones, and the more simple ones before automatic activity' (*The Diseases of the Will*, Eng. tr., Chicago, 1896, p. 114). He has demonstrated a similar law in maladies of memory (*Les Maladies de la mémoire*, Paris, 1881, p. 119 ff.). It is a matter of common observation that very old people enjoy most the reminiscences of very early life, and that their memories of childhood are extremely vivid. It is more than a figure of speech that designates extreme old age as a 'second childhood.'

In so far as this law of reversion is true, it is clear that the quality of mentality of extreme age, and of its pathologies, will be determined by the release of those instincts and impulses that are biologically old, and by those tastes and aptitudes peculiar to the early years of each individual.

(c) *Rejuvenescence and the attainment of full spiritual majority.*—The conviction has been rather wide-spread that the maturest wisdom and the highest spiritual satisfactions belong to the closing years of life. Indeed, a considerable number of the world's most productive geniuses have borne testimony to that fact. In early India it appears that the fourth and last stage of life was regarded as the choicest of all periods, and was anticipated with eagerness (Max Müller, *Three Lectures on the Vedânta Philosophy*, London, 1894, pp. 18–20). This notion has been most successfully immortalized in the familiar lines of *Rabbi Ben Ezra*, of Robert Browning.

Are the instances of sober, creative old age the exceptions that prove the rule of senile degeneration, or do they obey a higher law? Is the renewed spiritual serenity that often attends extreme age born out of a gratuitous optimism, or is it the natural flavour of a ripened insight? The answer to these questions has many conditions. Has one by good fortune, or by the grace of a good judgment, found and kept 'the middle way,' 'the golden mean,' 'the straight and narrow way,' that leads progressively onward? The chances are against it. It seems to be the rule that, after the passing of the middle years of productivity, men and women fall into something of a slough of despond. Do they then look backward, and seek to cultivate still the athletic powers, the mental acumen, and the lively sentiments of the glorious middle years of life? That way leads to despair and defeat. Do they, on the contrary, look onward to the pleasures and satisfactions peculiar to old age? Much depends, apparently, on the mental attitude in such matters. Often the secret of deliverance from the valley of discouragement lies in a wrestling of soul, like that of Tolstoi, when he had completed his first successful career, to gain a hold upon the things of permanent worth and value. Then began the real Tolstoi. If one can safely 'cross the dead-line' that lies in the bottom of the valley, then the hills of a higher perfection rise more clearly into view.

There are a good many lines of evidence, apart from the biographical and autobiographical, that there may be a genuine rejuvenescence in extreme age, with a rebirth upon higher levels of mentality.

(1) *Delayed senescence of the central nervous system.*—The central nervous system, the mechanism particularly concerned with mentality, is the most stable tissue of the body. Its cells persist throughout life. It resists exhaustion even at the expense of other tissues. It is the last to give way under starvation. It has a delayed senescence as compared with the rest of the organism. The rest of the bodily functions have been placed progressively, biologically, at the disposal of the brain for a copious supply of blood, to furnish it with nourishment, and to wash it free of toxic products through a generous supply of adrenaline. Towards the close of life the central neural processes become the ruling power in the original democracy of functions.

(2) *Mental rejuvenescence.*—Just as among lower organisms some fragment of the body can be a nucleus for the re-centring of all the life processes in a new young creature true to type, so in a growing individual it is possible for a functionally young part of the mechanism to form a centre of healthy reconstruction, giving a fresh lease of life. So true is this law that Child remarks:

> 'These experiments leave no basis for the contention that the organism or the cell cannot become young after it has once undergone senescence, and that the only source of youth is an undifferentiated germ-plasm' (p. 179).

The central nervous system, which has resisted most successfully the processes of decline, becomes naturally the centre of reformation. The consequence is a fresh psychic release. From this standpoint one can understand better the successive rebirths after pessimisms of Goethe, who wrote to Zeller in his eighty-third year:

> 'I am delighted to find that even at my great age, ideas come to me, the pursuit and development of which would require a second life' (for a study of Goethe's old age see Metchnikoff, pp. 270–300).

(3) *Refinement, in the new nucleus, of original endowments.*—It is evident from the foregoing that the secret of senile rejuvenescence, when it occurs, is the formation of a new nucleus of selfhood on higher levels of mentality. It arises in part from the refinement, or 'sublimination,' of native instincts and impulses. In the case of Swedenborg, *e.g.*, the condition of 'crossing the dead-line' and of progressive renewal during later years seems to have been the re-awakening and release, on spiritual levels of his nature, of the two native instincts of self-regard, resulting in a sense of divine leadership, and of sex, which culminated in the passion of 'divine love.' The ingredients which enter into the final complex of refined instincts and secondary characters, that constitute the final 'spiritualized' self-hood, vary greatly in different individuals.

(4) *Enrichments through contact with life and through conservation of experiences.*—Each person at any point in his career is 'part of all he has met.' If the course of his life has proceeded normally, the stream of life widens, the judgments are more tried and trustworthy, the perspective clearer, with each succeeding stage. Even the subconscious experiences, from earliest childhood throughout, it has been amply proven, are indelibly stamped upon the character, and are 'conserved' as active elements in later mentality (consult, *e.g.*, Morton Prince, *The Unconscious*, New York, 1914). Furthermore, the processes of selection and rejection, of discrimination and

association, of analysis and synthesis—in short, the gaining of wisdom through experience—go on as truly in the subconscious life as in the conscious. Senescence, accordingly, may enjoy the cumulative wisdom of the years.

As has been indicated, the progress towards extreme age is marked by the progressive suppression, in reverse order, of later acquisitions. The first rejections are, therefore, those things that are relatively secondary, accidental, and accessory; but they have not been weakened until they have poured their riches into the channels of expression and thought that are more primary and fundamental. On the basis of the initial and original, enriched by all later acquisitions, life is simplified and clarified; its wisdom is a disciplined insight into that which has the more abiding worth. The dross is thrown off; 'what remains is gold.'

(5) *Recentring the personal life within the biological norm.*—The return to a 'second childhood,' transfigured and spiritualized, as it now is through its contact with life, is, at the same time, a return to the central highway of racial progress. There is a profound truth in the statement of Havelock Ellis that the progress from childhood to maturity is a growth in degeneration (*Man and Woman*[5], London, 1914, p. 26). It is equally true that the movement towards normal old age is a progress in the direction of the biologically stable and the psychologically fit.

The foregoing facts, seen in relation, show that the losses in advancing from the sixties to the eighties or nineties, may be so far counter-balanced by gains as to leave a clear profit. An analogy will help. The fineness and accuracy of the special senses improve, on the average, through childhood years, and reach their highest point during the middle teens. From that point on there is a gradual decline in sensory efficiency during the late teens and twenties. Nature has been bartering that sort of skill for the more profitable acquisition of guidance by ideas. Shall we not say that she has, at a much later period, exchanged knowledge for insight, and insight for the appreciation of spiritual values?

The entire meaning of normal senescence, its rejuvenescence, and its transfiguration, is fittingly symbolized in the following confession of Wa-su-Luta, a Sioux Indian of 83 years, that the Rev. Dr. A. McG. Beede, of Cannon Bell, N. Dakota, has allowed the writer to use from his large collection:

'I was getting old,' said Wa-su-Luta, 'I wanted the Living Ones (Woniga) to come to me and give me new life. I was discouraged. I had been a wicked man, worse than men were before the white man came. I went out on to a hill and prayed: "Great Spirit, pity me and make me new before I die." I prayed this over and over until I was discouraged. Then a bird came near me and sang, "Easy, easy, easy." I thought awhile and then I said, "If it is so easy, it must be something that a child may do." So I let the child-man in me come out of me. When I saw the child-man that was there by my side, he looked so sinless and happy that I cried. Then the Living Ones came floating over the hill like undulating zephyrs (Wasicu). New life came into me. I could see Great Spirit's kingdom. I saw His home everywhere in the Earth and Heavens, the same as my grandfather saw it before they initiated him into the White Lodge. I was glad.'

The third, or optimistic, view of old age is clearly more than an apologetic for the seeming richness and serenity of the riper years. Only a mechanistic or materialistic philosophy could look upon the end of life without finding in it a possible rich compensation. If one combines the conception of old age viewed simply in the personal life with the notion, to which the entire developmental scheme bears much evidence, that, in the world order, spiritual values are being conserved, it is evident why the 'declining years' are so often approached in a spirit of gratitude for their profounder satisfactions, and of renewed consecration to a Higher Wisdom.

LITERATURE.—See the works cited throughout.

EDWIN D. STARBUCK.

OLD AGE (Introductory and Primitive).—1. **Variance of view as to the old.**—'There is,' writes Sir Henry Maine,[1] 'a story of a New Zealand chief who, questioned as to the fortunes of a fellow-tribesman long ago well known to the inquirer, answered, "He gave us so much good advice that we put him mercifully to death." The reply, if it was ever given, combines the two views which barbarous men appear to have taken at different times of the aged. At first they are useless, burdensome, and importunate, and they fare accordingly. But at a later period a new sense of the value of wisdom and counsel raises them to the highest honour. Their long life comes to be recognised as one way of preserving experience.'[2] It seems, however, to be hardly accurate to regard these views as respectively earlier and later in point of time, for in not a few instances they co-exist. It is not the number of their years that determines the position of the aged, but the degree of their weakness and helplessness. So long as they can work and fight, they have little to fear; but, so soon as they become unfitted for these pursuits, longer life is a calamity, unless their family and clan regard the value of their wisdom as outweighing the burden of their support. It is the advance of culture that first ameliorates their lot. But this law of progress, if law it can be called, is subject to many important exceptions. Sometimes the restless nomad, dependent upon scanty means of support, and feeling, by reason of his manner of life, the full weight which the maintenance and conveyance of the sick and old impose upon him, treats them with care and listens to them with respect. And sometimes peoples on a far higher plane of civilization than his neglect, ill-use, and despise them.[3] In short, the treatment accorded to old age differs widely in different cases. It is affected by many influences, such as the natural disposition of a people, the circumstances of its daily life, and the nature of its religious views. Sometimes more than one of these elements are found in conjunct operation, and sometimes a diversity of usage prevails among near neighbours or even within a single people.

Thus, certain tribes in Central Africa show every kindness to the aged in order to secure their good will after death, while adjoining tribes cast out their old people as food for wild beasts.[4] A similar divergence is found among the Banaka and Bapuku—peoples of the Cameroons—who treat old people well, while some of the neighbouring tribes spear or abandon them.[5] Some of the Namaquas are kindly to the aged and infirm, while others, when they are about to change their camp, put their old fathers and mothers into small enclosures of bushes, with some food and water, and leave them there to die.[6] Again, A. Mackenzie,[7] in writing of the Chippewas, says that the practice of abandoning the old and feeble was not in general use; and a somewhat similar statement is made regarding the Caribs.[8]

2. **Respect and kindliness towards the old.**—By

[1] *Dissertations on Early Law and Custom*, London, 1883, p. 23 f.

[2] 'This seems the best explanation of the vast authority which, in the infancy of civilisation, was assigned to assemblies of aged men, independently of their physical power or military prowess' (*ib.* p. 24). Maine cites Freeman as giving 'a long list of honorific names belonging to classes or institutions, which indicate the value once set by advancing societies on the judgment of the old. Among them are, Senate, γερουσία (the Spartan Senate), δημογέροντες (its Homeric equivalent), πρέσβεις (Ambassadors), Ealdorman, Elder, Presbyter, Monseigneur, Seigneur, Sire, Sir, and Sheikh' (*ib.* p. 23). See art. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

[3] H. Schurtz, *Altersklassen und Männerbünde*, Berlin, 1902, p. 56 f.

[4] F. S. Arnot, *Garenganze*[2], London, 1889, p. 78, note.

[5] S. R. Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse von eingeborenen Völkern in Afrika und Ozeanien*, Berlin, 1903, p. 41.

[6] J. Campbell, *Travels in S. Africa*[3], London, 1815, p. 428.

[7] *Voyages . . . through N. America . . . in 1789 and 1793*, London, 1801, p. cxxviii.

[8] L. de Poincy, *Hist. naturelle et morale des Antilles de l'Amérique*, ed. C. de Rochefort, Rotterdam, 1681, p. 565.

many of the rudest peoples old age is held in high respect.

Among the Andaman Islanders the sick, the aged, and the helpless receive every attention;[1] and in the Nicobars the old are allowed to live out their lives, and are invariably treated with kindness and consideration.[2] The Patagonians are said to show deference to age;[3] and among the Fuegians the word of an old man was accepted by the younger people as law, and his authority was never disputed.[4] This statement is, however, to be read along with that of Bridges, who says of the Yahgan of Cape Horn that, while they are bound to maintain their aged parents, they often neglect them, and sometimes use them cruelly, and that cases are not unknown in which they have killed them, when they have grown weary of the burden of attending to them.[5] Von Martius observes that the Botocudos exhibited a tenderness towards helpless age hardly to be expected of them;[6] while Ehrenreich gives an instance of their neglect of a man totally blind who was left without guidance or assistance to follow the tribe as best he could.[7] The first duty inculcated upon their children by the Ainus of Japan is deference to parents, a careful regard for their elder brother, and reverence for the old men of their village.[8] The Kamilaroi youth[9] and the novices at Tutu and Mabuiag[10] are instructed to support the old and infirm; and a somewhat similar account is given of the Aetas of the Philippines.[11] Respect to the aged is paid by the Bogotos of S. Mindanao,[12] and by the inhabitants of Ceram and many of the islands and archipelagoes described by Riedel;[13] by the Barea and Kunama,[14] the Jekri[15] and the Wagogo.[16] The Ovambo tend and nurse the old and the crippled;[17] and, among some of the tribes of Togoland, those of the old people who are in poverty or unable to provide for themselves are supported by their relatives.[18] The Malagasy respect the aged, and care for the infirm and the sick;[19] a similar account is given of the Chinooks,[20] Botocudos,[21] and Samoans;[22] and the Kurile Islanders treat the aged with reverence.[23] Among the Mandingoes an old man is never found in destitution. They hold it to be a son's duty to provide for his aged father; and, indeed, if a son has lost his father, it is very likely that he will look out for some childless old man, and support and care for him. 'There is no nation,' writes Laing,[24] 'with which I am acquainted, where age is treated with so much respect and deference.' The Aleuts provide the sick and old with food when they have nothing of their own, and love and reverence their parents, grandparents, and near relatives. Sons sacrifice their prospects in order to care for them in old age, and it is a thing unheard of that a son or daughter should maltreat a parent.[25] Among the tribes of the Caucasus old age is reverenced. The Ossetes show the strongest love for their parents and the greatest deference to age.[1] The Circassians treat old people with respect, and whoever insults or maltreats an old man or woman is by law made liable to severe punishment.[2] Among the Khevsures of Georgia respect for age is required to a degree quite remarkable;[3] and to yield it is a universal custom among the Avars, a Lesghian tribe. Indeed, among the latter the will of a parent is so sacred that the child would die rather than disobey.[4] The Reindeer Chukchis show considerable deference to their old people; and among the coast Chukchis the aged who cannot walk are carried by their relatives.[5]

Deference to the old is in many instances attributable not to reverence for age in itself, but to age and the wisdom, knowledge, and experience which are deemed to be its almost invariable accompaniments.

Thus, Loskiel says of the Iroquois and Delawares that 'age is everywhere respected, for long life and wisdom are regarded as always connected';[6] and, according to Carver, 'the words of the ancient part of the community are esteemed by the young as oracles.'[7] Among the natives of Tongataboo old age and its attendant experience are highly respected;[8] the Eskimos of Behring Strait[9] and Point Barrow[10] defer to the opinion of the aged, whether men or women; and a very similar account is given of the Veddas of Ceylon.[11] Among the Gilyaks the 'old men' of the clan decide questions of cult and clanship. They are the repositories of clan customs, genealogies, and traditions, and in such matters are of high authority.[12] The 'old man' of the Yukaghir, who is generally the oldest member of the community, regulates war and fishing and hunting expeditions, selects the resting-places of the group during its wanderings, sacrifices to the clan ancestor, presides at festivals, and enforces obedience to established custom, while his wife holds a somewhat similar position among the women.[13] It has been said of the Kurnai that among them 'age was held in reverence, and a man's authority increased with years. If he, even without being aged, had naturally intelligence, cunning and courage, beyond his fellows, he might become a man of note, weighty in council, and a leader in war; but such a case was exceptional and, as a rule, authority and age went together. The authority of age also attached to certain women who had gained the confidence of their tribes-people. Such women were consulted by the men, and had great weight and authority in the tribe. . . . Together with the old men, they were the depositaries of the tribal legends and customs, and they kept alive the stringent marriage rules, . . . thus influencing public opinion very strongly.'[14] The old men get the best food,[15] and, in N. Queensland, they 'have the youngest and best looking wives, while a young man must count himself fortunate if he can get an old woman.'[16] 'There is no such thing as doing away with aged and infirm people; on the contrary, they are treated with especial kindness, receiving a share of the food which they are unable to procure for themselves.'[17] The truth of this tribute and its general applicability to the natives of Australia are amply attested by other authorities.[18]

---

[1] E. H. Man, *On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands*, London, 1883, pp. 14, 17, 25.
[2] Man, 'The Nicobarese Islanders,' *JAI* xviii. [1888–89] 385.
[3] R. Fitzroy, *Narr. of the Surveying Voyages of H.M.S. 'Adventure' and 'Beagle,' 1826–36*, London, 1839, ii. 172.
[4] *Ib.* ii. 179.
[5] T. Bridges, 'Mœurs et coutumes des Fuégiens,' tr. P. Hyades, *BSAP* III. vii. [1884] 176.
[6] Cited by P. Ehrenreich, 'Ueber die Botocudos der brasilianischen Provinzen Espiritu Santo und Minos Geraes,' *ZE* xix. [1887] 32.
[7] Ehrenreich, *loc. cit.*
[8] J. Batchelor, *The Ainu of Japan*, London, 1892, p. 113 f.
[9] A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of S.E. Australia*, London, 1904, p. 594.
[10] C. G. Seligmann, *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. [1904] 210, 214.
[11] J. Foreman, *The Philippine Islands*[2], London, 1899, p. 130.
[12] A. Schadenburg, 'Die Bewohner von Süd-Mindanao und der Insel Samal,' *ZE* xvii. [1885] 9.
[13] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, The Hague, 1886, pp. 102, 152, 192, 250, 335, 370, 404, 433.
[14] W. Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, Schaffhausen, 1864, p. 474.
[15] R. V. Granville and F. N. Roth, 'Notes on the Jekris, Sobos, and Ijos of the Warri District of the Niger Coast Protectorate,' *JAI* xxviii. [1898] 109.
[16] J. E. Beverley, 'Die Wagogo,' *ap.* Steinmetz, p. 212.
[17] C. J. Andersson, *Lake Ngami*, London, 1856, p. 197 f. Steinmetz gives a similar account of the Banaka and Bapuku, the Msalala, the Ovaherero, the Amahlubi, and several tribes of the French Sûdan (pp. 41, 114, 165, 276, 302, 355).
[18] Asmis, 'Die Stammesrechte des Bezirks Atakpame,' *ZVRW* xxv. [1911] 125 f.
[19] J. Sibree, *Madagascar and its People*, London, 1870, p. 187.
[20] H. H. Bancroft, *The Native Races of the Pacific States of N. America*, London, 1875–76, i. 242.
[21] Maximilian Prinz zu Wied Neuwied, *Reise nach Brasilien, 1815–1817*, Frankfort, 1821, ii. 40.
[22] G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, London, 1910, p. 55.
[23] S. P. Krasheninnikov, *The Hist. of Kamtschatka and the Kurilski Islands*, tr. J. Grieve, Gloucester, 1764, p. 236.
[24] A. G. Laing, *Travels in the Timannee, Kooranko, and Soolima Countries in W. Africa*, London, 1825, p. 134.
[25] J. Weinaminow, in K. E. von Baer and G. von Helmersen, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss des russischen Reiches*, Petrograd, 1839, i. 183, 206.

[1] A. von Haxthausen, *Transcaucasia*, London, 1854, p. 414 f.
[2] J. S. Bell, *Journal of a Residence in Circassia during the Years 1837–39*, London, 1840, i. 202; K. Koch, *Reise durch Russland nach dem kaukasischen Isthmus, in den Jahren 1836–38*, Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1842–43, i. 373.
[3] O. von Hahn, *Bilder aus dem Kaukasus*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 81.
[4] *Ib.* p. 179.
[5] M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, Oxford, 1914, p. 28.
[6] G. H. Loskiel, *Hist. of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in N. America*, tr. C. I. La Trobe, London, 1794, i. 15.
[7] J. Carver, *Travels through the Interior Parts of N. America in the Years 1766–68*, London, 1778, p. 243.
[8] W. Mariner, *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands*[3], Edinburgh, 1827, ii. 95; J. Wilson, *A Missionary Voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean, in the Years 1796–98, in the Ship 'Duff,'* London, 1799, p. 362.
[9] E. W. Nelson, 'The Eskimo about Bering Strait,' *18 RBEW* (1899), p. 304.
[10] J. Murdoch, 'Ethnological Results of the Point Barrow Expedition,' *9 RBEW* (1892), p. 427.
[11] P. and F. Sarasin, *Ergebnisse naturwissenschaftlichen Forschungen auf Ceylon in den Jahren 1884–86*, Wiesbaden, 1893, iii. 486 f.
[12] Czaplicka, p. 49; see art. GILYAKS. [13] *Ib.* p. 37 f.
[14] Howitt, p. 316. In British Guiana the old women occupy a somewhat similar position (R. Schomburgk, *Reisen in Britisch-Guiana, 1840–44*, Leipzig, 1847–48, ii. 320).
[15] E. J. Eyre, *Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia in 1840–41*, London, 1845, ii. 385. Howitt (p. 594) tells us that at the Bora ceremony Kamilaroi youths are instructed to support the aged and infirm.
[16] C. Lumholtz, *Among Cannibals*, Eng. tr., London, 1889, p. 163; L. Fison and A. W. Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, Melbourne, 1880, p. 354; G. F. Angas, *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand*, London, 1847, i. 82; Scott Nind, 'Description of the Natives of King George's Sound,' *JRGS* i. [1832] 38 f. J. Gumilla (*Hist. naturelle, civile et géographique de l'Orenoque*, tr. M. Eidous, Avignon, 1758, i. 277) gives a somewhat similar account of the Othomacos.
[17] Spencer-Gillen[3], p. 51.
[18] *Ib.* pp. 10, 12; K. L. Parker, *The Euahlayi Tribe*, London, 1905, p. 79; Howitt, p. 766; T. L. Mitchell, *Three Expeditions*

3. Influence of nomadic life on treatment of the old.—Eyre observes of the tribes with which he was acquainted that, while the blind and infirm were well treated when young, they were left to perish as soon as age added to the burden of caring for them.[1] This change of attitude has been observed to prevail among many nomadic peoples, and, indeed, is an almost necessary consequence of their habits of life.

Thus, the Sioux and Assiniboins abandoned those who were no longer able to follow the wanderings of their tribe; and it seems that a similar practice was followed by the Minnetarees, Ricaras, and others, who, when living in settled villages, treated their old people with kindness.[2] Catlin observes that this custom was common to all the tribes who roamed the prairies;[3] it was followed by many of the northern Indians;[4] and it was found not only among the nomadic Ahts, but among those who were settled on the coast.[5] In Rotuma the aged were well cared for, but, as soon as they were seized with illness, they were much neglected, and even allowed to die unnoticed;[6] the Lenguas attend to their old people with care, except in cases of incurable sickness, when, after they have employed in vain every means of cure, they abandon or even strangle them.[7] The Eskimos of Greenland do not exhibit any pronounced reverence for the aged. They honour them so long as they are able to work, and are subject to their influence if they have sons and were good hunters in their day. Even a woman of advanced years, if she has able-bodied sons, is respected. But, when men or women become too old to take care of themselves, they receive scant consideration, and are sometimes even treated with ridicule.[8] A similar account is given of the Thonga of E. Africa.[9]

4. Place of the old in tribal ceremonies.—In numerous instances the old people of a tribe take a prominent part in the performance of its ceremonies.[10]

Thus Kosa boys, after they have undergone circumcision, are instructed by an old man as to their duties as tribesmen;[11] and, in the case of the Larakia tribe near Port Darwin, the old men school the youths on their arriving at puberty in endurance, by imposing on them heavy tasks accompanied with kicks and blows.[12] An old woman plays an important rôle in the puberty rites observed by the girls of the Tanganyika plateau,[13] and ornaments the marriageable girls of the Abipones by pricking the skin with thorns and rubbing ashes into the bleeding wounds.[14]

5. Special employments of the old.—In some cases special employments are assigned to the aged when they are no longer able to fight or engage in hard work.

Thus, among some of the Californian tribes the old warrior has to carry as best he can without assistance the game which his son has killed, or is compelled to do menial work under the superintendence of the women.[1] In Ceram the old man who can no longer work acts as the nurse of little children;[2] and by order of one of the Yncas such a person was employed to scare birds from the crops.[3]

As to the place of old people in the organization of primitive society see art. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

6. Contempt and ill-treatment of the old.—In some instances old age is despised.

Thus, among the Hupa, Pomo, and Gallinomero tribes of California the aged were treated with the greatest contumely.[4] At Tahiti no respect is accorded to old people. They are thrust aside and receive little attention.[5] In Fiji they excite contempt;[6] and in some of the Solomon Islands they are, along with the sick, the objects of ridicule.[7] The Lapps are said to be undutiful to their aged parents;[8] and a similar account is given of the Yakuts, among whom parents who are decrepit and of feeble understanding are especially the object of ill-treatment.[9] The Kagoro show little reverence for age except in the case of their chief and an important official (*meakwap*), who administers ordeals and leads them in all sacred ceremonies;[10] the Bechuanas[11] and the Indians of British Guiana despise old people.[12]

In some cases the old suffer from mere neglect; in others they are cruelly used, abandoned, or even killed.

By the Kutchins of the Yukon they are simply neglected;[13] among the Ba-Huana they are often subject to ill-treatment.[14] By the Yahgan of Cape Horn they are often much neglected and even cruelly handled, and, in some instances, they have been killed by their own children who had grown weary of tending them.[15] At Huahine the aged received little attention in illness, many died as much from hunger as from disease, and sometimes, if there was but faint prospect of their recovery, they were clubbed to death, speared, or buried alive.[16] In the Island of Pines all aged and decrepit persons, and those who were suffering from protracted illness, were either put to death by their relatives or conveyed to one of the small islands and left to starve;[17] and in olden times the Koryaks killed all their aged parents.[18] The Corannas, like the Bushmen, expose their old people to be devoured by wild beasts.[19] The Bechuanas pay so little regard to them that they are sometimes allowed to starve or to be eaten by dogs;[20] the Damaras kill useless and worn out people, and even sons smother their sick fathers.[21] A very similar account is given of the Nutkas,[22] and of the Gallinomeros of California.[23] Old age is but little respected among the Tibetans of Kokonor. Indeed, it is by no means an infrequent case when the son kills the father who has become a burden.[24] At Fazolq on the Blue Nile old people were buried alive; and the same custom is said to have existed among the Negro

---

into the Interior of E. Australia, London, 1838, ii. 340; art. ETHICS AND MORALITY (Australian).

[1] Eyre, ii. 382. See A. Oldfield, 'On the Aborigines of Australia,' *Trans. of the Ethnological Society*, new ser., iii. [1865] 248; J. Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, Melbourne, 1881, p. 62.

[2] M. Lewis and W. Clarke, *Travels to the Source of the Missouri River*, London, 1815, ii. 421.

[3] G. Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the N. American Indians*, London, 1841, p. 216 f.; see art. ABANDONMENT AND EXPOSURE.

[4] In writing of the Chippewas, A. Mackenzie (*Voyages*, p. cxxviii) attributes their abandonment of old people to the necessities of a wandering life; J. Long (*Voyages and Travels of an Indian Interpreter and Trader*, London, 1791, p. 74 f.) states that they tomahawked them, thinking that, in so doing, they were sending them to a better country, where their strength would be renewed, and they would be able to hunt again with all the vigour of youth. Cf. S. Hearne, *A Journey . . . to the Northern Ocean*, do. 1795, p. 345 f.; cf. p. 202 f.

[5] G. M. Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, London, 1868, p. 256 f.

[6] J. S. Gardiner, 'The Natives of Rotuma,' *JAI* xxvii. [1893] 408.

[7] W. B. Grubb, *Among the Indians of the Paraguayan Chaco*, London, 1904, p. 75.

[8] F. Nansen, *Eskimo Life*, tr. W. Archer, London, 1893, p. 177 f.

[9] H. A. Junod, *The Life of a S. African Tribe*, London, 1912, p. 211.

[10] E. Torday and T. A. Joyce, 'Notes on the Ethnography of the Ba-Yaka,' *JAI* xxxvi. [1906] 46; K. Endemann, 'Mittheilungen über die Sotho-Negros,' *ZE* vi. [1874] 37; Spencer-Gillen[a], p. 214 f.; S. Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, Berlin, 1907, p. 101; J. Macdonald, 'Manners, Customs, Superstitions, and Religions of S. African Tribes,' *JAI* xix. [1889–90] 264 f.; H. Zache, 'Sitten und Gebräuche der Suaheli,' *ZE* xxxi. [1899] 61 ff.; R. S. Rattray, *Some Folklore Stories and Songs in Chingaiya*, London, 1907, p. 102; E. Gottschling, 'The Bawenda: a Sketch of their History and Customs,' *JAI* xxxv. [1905] 372 f.; H. S. Stannus, 'Notes on some Tribes of British Central Africa,' *ib.* xl. [1910] 297.

[11] G. McCall Theal, *Hist. of S. Africa [1791–1795]*, London, 1888, p. 205.

[12] Spencer-Gillen[b], p. 331 f.

[13] C. Gouldsbury and H. Sheane, *The Great Plateau of N. Rhodesia*, London, 1911, p. 159 f.

[14] M. Dobrizhoffer, *Account of the Abipones, an equestrian People of Paraguay*, tr. S. Coleridge, London, 1822, ii. 20 f.

---

[1] S. Powers, 'Tribes of California,' *Contributions to N. American Ethnology*, Washington, 1877, iii. 118 f., 169.

[2] Schulze, 'Über Ceram und seine Bewohner,' *ZE* ix. [1877] 121.

[3] Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, pt. i., ed. C. R. Markham (Hakluyt Society), London, 1869–71, ii. 205.

[4] Powers, iii. 118 f., 169, 178. Among the southern Californian tribes the youths were taught to venerate old age (*NR* i. 390).

[5] J. Wilson, *Missionary Voyage*, p. 362.

[6] T. Williams and J. Calvert, *Fiji and the Fijians*[2], ed. G. S. Rowe, London, 1858, i. 183.

[7] R. Thurnwald, 'Ermittlungen über Eingeborenenrechte der Südsee,' *ZVRW* xxiii. [1910] 342.

[8] J. Scheffer, *The Hist. of Lapland*, Eng. tr., Oxford, 1674, p. 14.

[9] W. G. Sumner, 'The Yakuts,' *JAI* xxxi. [1901] 76; see Czaplicka, p. 161.

[10] A. J. N. Tremearne, 'Notes on the Kagoro and other Nigerian Head-Hunters,' *JRAI* xlii. [1912] 141, 189.

[11] J. Campbell, *Travels in S. Africa . . . a second Journey*, London, 1822, ii. 210.

[12] E. F. im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, London, 1888, p. 224; see Schomburgk, ii. 320.

[13] *NR* i. 131, note 224.

[14] Torday and Joyce, 'Notes on the Ethnography of the Ba-Huana,' *JAI* xxxvi. [1908] 292.

[15] Bridges, p. 176.

[16] W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, London, 1830, ii. 281 f.

[17] A. Cheyne, *Descrip. of Islands in the W. Pacific Ocean*, London, 1852, p. 8.

[18] Czaplicka, p. 150. [19] Campbell, ii. 235, 276.

[20] *Ib.* ii. 210.

[21] Andersson, p. 197 f.; F. Galton, *The Narr. of an Explorer in Tropical S. Africa*, London, 1853, p. 112.

[22] W. C. Grant, 'Description of Vancouver's Island,' *JRGS* xxvii. [1857] 304.

[23] Powers, p. 178.

[24] W. W. Rockhill, *The Land of the Lamas*, London, 1891, p. 81. As to Tibetan anthropophagy see below.

tribes south of Kordofan.[1] It is said to be the practice of a dwarfish people in Timor for sons to force their aged fathers to join a foray, and, having slain them in combat, to claim the reward for their heads.[2]

7. Voluntary death of the old.—The burden of old age is felt in many instances to render longer life so undesirable that the aged ask to be put to death or at all events are content to die at the hands of their relatives.

Among the Payaguas of Brazil men offered themselves to be buried alive when weary of life by reason of old age, decrepitude, illness, or tedium.[3] Among the Koryaks death at the hands of their fellow-tribesmen was accepted as the natural end of life;[4] and in N. America the aged of the prairie tribes acquiesced in their abandonment.[5] In some of the northern islands of the Solomon group those who are too old to work or fight are put to death, as it seems, with their own consent.[6] The burying alive of parents who had become burdensome was of almost daily occurrence among the Fijians,[7] and was undertaken at the instance of the old people themselves, who thought that, if they died while vigorous, they would be vigorous in the future life.[8] Among the Indians to the west of Hudson Bay those who were too old to support themselves requested their children to strangle them. A grave was dug, in which the old man placed himself, and, when he had signified that he was ready, two of his children strangled him with a thong.[9] In Fate, one of the New Hebrides, the aged were buried alive at their own request. It was even considered a disgrace to the family of an aged chief that he should meet his end in any other manner.[10] A somewhat different account is given of the fate of the old at Malekula, another island of the same group. There a person who is old and decrepit is informed that his or her burial will take place on a certain day. Sometimes he or she is buried alive, and sometimes strangled before burial.[11] In Mota, Pentecost, and Leper's Island the sick and aged are buried alive out of kindness. It is a common thing for them to beg their friends to put them out of their misery.[12] The Caribs, at the request of their parents, slew them, believing that they did a good work in delivering them from the weariness and misery of old age. The practice was not, however, a general one.[13] Among some of the tribes of Florida children killed their parents on the ground that they were useless and a burden to themselves, and considered that in so acting they showed a sort of religious and pious affection.[14] The Hottentots abandon aged and helpless persons, so that they may not linger on in misery.[15] With the Chukchis voluntary death is a regular custom. The old people are killed at their own request by some near relative by stabbing, strangulation, or shooting. Before the ceremony of killing a formula is pronounced, after which no retreat is possible because the spirits have heard the promise and will punish its violation. Natural death is the work of evil spirits (*kelet*), and these are escaped by voluntary death; and those who have ended life in this way have the best abode in the future life.[16] This voluntary death is said to prevail among the Eskimos of the Alaskan shore,[17] and was practised by the natives of Kamtschatka[18] and the Yakut.[19]

8. Cannibal practices in regard to the old.—In many instances old people are not only killed, but eaten.

The stock instance of this practice is that of the Battak of Sumatra, who, according to Leyden, eat their parents when aged and infirm, not so much to gratify their appetites as to perform a pious ceremony. When a man becomes old and weary of the world, he is said to invite his own children to eat him. He ascends a tree round which his friends and family gather, and, as they shake the tree, they join in a funeral dirge, of which the import is, 'The season is come, the fruit is ripe, and it must descend.' The old man comes down from the tree and his relatives put him to death and eat him.[1] Yule was told almost exactly the same story of some wild tribes of Arakan.[2] Oderic says of the Tibetans that they eat their parents out of respect for their memory,[3] and Rubruquis and Carpini gave the same account.[4] Barbosa gives a like report of certain tribes in the interior of Siam;[5] and several non-Aryan peoples, such as the Massagetæ, the Padæi, and the Issedones,[6] the Birhors of Central India,[7] and certain wild tribes of Kweichan,[8] have been credited with the practice. The Samoyedes and Ostiaks themselves admit that formerly old parents unfit for work were killed and eaten by their children in the expectation that after death they would fare better;[9] a somewhat similar account is given of the Cachibos of Brazil;[10] and the Tupis are said to eat their dead as a last demonstration of affection.[11]

9. Motives impelling to voluntary death and cannibalism.—Frazer has pointed out that among many peoples the belief prevails that a man will enter upon the future life with precisely the same powers and capacities as those of which he was possessed at the time of his death;[12] and it is to this belief that the practice of voluntary death in use among the Fijians has been attributed.[13] Another motive to such an act is fear of the contempt which attaches to physical weakness among a nation of warriors;[14] and, no doubt, views such as these may incline old people to acquiesce in or even desire death while still in the enjoyment of health and vigour. On the other hand, those who kill or kill and eat their old people not infrequently represent their practice as an act of kindness, as a pious ceremony, or as an honourable burial.[15] Westermarck, however, observes with great cogency that usages such as these, 'like so many other funeral customs which are supposed to comfort the dead, may be the survival of a practice which was originally intended to promote the selfish interests of the living.'[16]

LITERATURE.—In addition to the references cited in the art. see E. Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, London, 1906–08, Index, *s.v.* 'Old Age'; A. H. Post, *Die Anfänge des Staats- und Rechtslebens*, Oldenburg, 1878, p. 242 f., *Afrikanische Jurisprudenz*, do. 1887, i. 298 f., *Studien zur Entwicklungsgesch. des Familienrechts*, do. 1889, p. 337 f., *Grundriss der ethnologischen Jurisprudenz*, do. 1894–95, ii. 43 f.; artt. ABANDONMENT AND EXPOSURE, CANNIBALISM, EUTHANASIA, SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

P. J. HAMILTON-GRIERSON.

OLD AGE (American).—1. North America.—The treatment of the aged in N. America seems to have been, on the whole, unfavourable, especially among the barbarous tribes of the Pacific coast.

1 R. Lepsius, *Letters from Egypt, Ethiopia and the Peninsula of Sinai*, tr. L. and J. B. Horner, London, 1853, p. 202.
2 H. O. Forbes, 'On Some of the Tribes of Timor,' *JAI* xiii. [1883–84] 407.
3 R. Southey, *Hist. of Brazil*, London, 1817–19, iii. 619, citing Jaboatao, Pream. § 24.
4 P. Sartori, 'Die Sitte der Alten- und Krankentötung,' *Globus*, lxvii. [1895] 108, citing G. Kennan, *Tent Life in Siberia*, New York, 1870.
5 Catlin, p. 216 f.
6 H. H. Romilly, *The W. Pacific and New Guinea*[2], London, 1887, p. 70.
7 J. E. Erskine, *Journal of a Cruise among the Islands of the W. Pacific*, London, 1853, p. 250.
8 Williams and Calvert, i. 183; C. Wilkes, *Narr. of the United States Exploring Expedition, 1838–1842*, London and Philadelphia, 1845, iii. 94 f.; J. d'Ewes, *China, Australia, and the Pacific Islands in 1855–56*, London, 1857, p. 204; B. Seeman, *Viti*, Cambridge, 1862, p. 193.
9 H. Ellis, *A Voyage to Hudson's Bay*, London, 1748, p. 191.
10 G. Turner, *Samoa a hundred Years ago*, London, 1884, p. 335.
11 B. T. Somerville, 'Notes on some Islands of the New Hebrides,' *JAI* xxiii. [1894] 6.
12 R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, Oxford, 1891, p. 347.
13 L. de Poircy, p. 565. 14 *Ib.* 15 McCall Theal, p. 90.
16 Czaplicka, p. 317 f.; H. de Windt, *Through the Gold-fields of Alaska to Bering Straits*, London, 1898, p. 223 f.; W. H. Hooper, *Ten Months among the Tents of the Tuski*, do. 1853, p. 188.
17 De Windt, p. 225.
18 G. W. Steller, *Beschreibung von dem Lande von Kamtschatka*, Frankfort and Leipzig, 1774, p. 294.
19 Czaplicka, p. 161.

1 J. Leyden, 'On the Languages and Literature of the Indo-Chinese Nations,' *Asiatic Researches*, x. [1811] 202.
2 H. Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, London, 1866 (Hakluyt Society), i. 100, note 3.
3 *Ib.* i. 150.
4 *The Texts and Versions of John du Plano de Carpini and William de Rubruquis*, London, 1903 (Hakluyt Society), pp. 118, 232.
5 Duarte Barbosa, *The Coasts of E. Africa and Malabar . . . in the Beginning of the 16th Century*, London, 1866 (Hakluyt Society), p. 190.
6 Herod. i. 216, iii. 99, iv. 26. See O. Schrader, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, Strassburg, 1901, p. 38.
7 E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1872, p. 220 f.; H. Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*[3], rev. H. Cordier, London, 1903, ii. 293, 298, note 5.
8 Yule, *Marco Polo*[3], *loc. cit.*
9 E. Eichwald, *AA* iii. [1868–69] 333, cited by H. Vos, 'Die Verbreitung der Anthropophagie auf den asiatischen Festlande,' *AE* iii. [1890] 71.
10 F. de Castelnau, *Expédition dans les parties centrales de l'Amérique du Sud*, Paris, 1850–59, iv. 389; see J. G. Müller, *Gesch. der amerikanischen Urreligionen*, Basel, 1867, p. 243.
11 Southey, i. 379.
12 *GB*[3], pt. iii., *The Dying God*, London, 1911, p. 11 f. The Mexicans held that those who died of old age went to a land of darkness (F. S. Clavigero, *The Hist. of Mexico*, Eng. tr., London, 1807, i. 242 ff.).
13 Wilkes, iii. 96.
14 Frazer, *loc. cit.*; H. Hale, *U.S. Exploring Expedition*, Philadelphia, 1846, p. 65 (Fiji); Turner, p. 335 (New Hebrides).
15 P. Kolben, *The Present State of the Cape of Good Hope*, Eng. tr., London, 1731, i. 322 (Hottentots); Hooper, p. 188 f.; Seemann, p. 192; Leyden, in *Asiatic Researches*, x. 202; Yule, *Marco Polo*[3], i. 293, 298, note 5.
16 *MI* i. 390.

The Gallinomeros of California behaved towards the old with utter contempt, forcing even aged warriors to do the most menial work under the supervision of women. Aged parents were killed by the same tribe, and among the Lower Californians the aged were neglected and put to death if ill for a long time. In like manner, the old were abandoned by the Shoshones when they became a nuisance. Turning to the Algonquian and kindred stocks, we find that the condition of the aged was, on the whole, apparently preferable to their lot in the west. It is true that the *Jesuit Relations* represent the Hurons as intending to kill a certain old man, and as abandoning two sick and aged women, whom, however, they were glad to receive back when the Jesuit missionaries succeeded in restoring them to health (*Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, ed. R. G. Thwaites, Cleveland, 1896–1901, xx. 239, xxx. 135–137). It is expressly stated that at Three Rivers, Quebec, 'old age and poverty are held in the utmost contempt by the savages' (*ib.* xlvi. 128), a condition which is quite analogous to the western Yuma contempt for the aged (H. H. Bancroft, *NR* i. 515). The Jesuit missionary G. Lalemant makes the following statement of the Iroquois near Quebec:

> They were accustomed 'to kill their fathers and mothers when they are so old that they can walk no longer, thinking that they are thus doing them a good service; for otherwise they would be compelled to die of hunger, as they have become unable to follow the others when they change their location' (*Jes. Rel.* iv. 199).

Herein lies the clue to the retention of the practice of abandoning or killing the aged among relatively advanced American Indian tribes. It was regarded as an act of mercy, and there is little doubt, in view of the conditions under which these tribes lived, that this view was correct (cf. also T. Waitz, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, Leipzig, 1860–77, iii. 116). Honour and respect for the old were by no means unknown, as is clear from the repeated ascription of these virtues to the Hurons, as well as to the Abenakis of New Brunswick (*Jes. Rel.* ii. 212, xiii. 37, xlvi. 174), while among the western Koluschans honour towards parents was a duty obligatory on children (H. Ploss, *Das Kind*[2], Leipzig, 1884, ii. 409).

2. Central America.—Among the sessile population of Central America the aged were held in high esteem. The Zapotecs regarded old age with the utmost reverence (*NR* i. 661), and the ancient Mexicans and Peruvians did equal homage to their elders.

3. South America.—In S. America the aged seem to fare better than in the more rigorous northern part of the continent. Yet their fate is scarcely enviable among tribes such as are described by E. F. im Thurn in Guiana:

> 'Powerless old age meets with no respect. When old and past work, they are indeed allowed to remain in their hammocks in the houses which once, perhaps, belonged to them, and are fed by their younger relations in a rough and grudging manner; but no further care or kindness is shown to them' (*Among the Indians of Guiana*, London, 1883, p. 224).

The practice of putting the aged to death when hopelessly ill is also known in S. America, even among tribes which hold the old in high honour, so that W. B. Grubb writes:

> 'The aged are well cared for, no neglect being shown except in cases of incurable sickness, when, after every effort to cure them has been made in vain, they are abandoned, or even suffocated or strangled' (*Among the Indians of the Paraguayan Chaco*, London, 1904, p. 75).

LITERATURE.—See the authorities cited throughout.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

OLD AGE (Chinese).—Among the innumerable mottoes expressive of hopes and good wishes which are to be seen pasted over the doorways of Chinese houses none is commoner than a scroll consisting of four characters which mean 'May this house be visited by the Five Blessings.' These blessings are long life, worldly prosperity, health, love of virtue, and a natural death. The first is popularly regarded as the most important; for the others, as the practical Chinese mind argues, necessarily presuppose the maintenance of life, and, so long as life lasts, there is always room for hope that the other blessings will be added.

The conviction that a long life is eminently desirable is carried to its logical result in that reverence for age which is perhaps one of the most remarkable and beautiful characteristics of the Chinese people. In no country in the world are the aged treated with more courtesy, respect, and deference than in China.

Among the Chinese reverence for age is essentially connected not merely with the traditions of social practice, but also with ethical theory. All the Confucian classics lay emphasis on the duty of treating the aged with respect. The 'Book of Rites' tells us that the ethical standards of the Yü, Hsia, Yin, and Chou dynasties were not identical in respect of all the things which they held in honour; but that, whereas virtue was honoured by the Yü sovereigns, rank by the Hsia, riches by the Yin, and kinship by the Chou, all four dynasties gave honour to old age.[1] Mencius says that 'the proper object of the loyalty of virtuous men is the prince who knows how to provide for the welfare of the aged.'[2] King Wên, to whose efforts the foundation of the Chou dynasty (12th cent. B.C.) was mainly due, was regarded as a model prince, because (among other reasons) he was one of those who 'knew how to provide for the welfare of the aged.' Mencius observes that 'the people whom we described as starved and famished are those who lack food and warmth, but among the subjects of King Wên there were no old people to whom food and warmth were lacking.'[3] Confucius himself is said to have declared that one of his chief desires was to secure rest and peace for the aged.[4]

The 'Book of Rites' gives instances of the manner in which the royal sages of olden times proved their moral worthiness by their respect for old age. Among persons of the same rank at court precedence was accorded to the eldest. Aged ministers and officials were granted various special privileges. Under the rule of these kings 'residents in the country took their places according to their age, and the old and poor were not neglected, nor did the strong come into collision with the weak.'[5] After the royal hunting expeditions the largest share of game went to the aged. When the king gave audience to a minister who was seventy years of age, the minister was privileged to sit in the royal presence. If the king wished to consult a minister or ex-minister who had attained a very great age, it was unnecessary for the latter to come to court; the king himself would go to his house and would bring the old man presents of delicate food.[6] When the king went forth on ceremonial journeys, or to perform the customary rites at the sacred mountains, he would make inquiries about the local princes and chiefs who had reached extreme old age, and would visit them in their own homes.[7]

A certain amount of scepticism as to whether the monarchs of ancient China were really in the habit of treating old men with all these marks of

[1] *SBE* xxviii. [1885] 229 f.
[2] J. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, Hongkong, 1861–72, ii.[2] [Oxford, 1895] 461. The tr. here given is not verbally identical with Legge's. Cf. also p. 303 f.
[3] *Ib.* ii.[2] 462.
[4] *Ib.* i. 188.
[5] *SBE* xxviii. 230.
[6] *Ib.* xxvii. [1885] 241, 465, xxviii. 282.
[7] *Ib.* xxvii. 216, xxviii. 232.

deference is perhaps permissible. But it is easy to see why the early recorders of law and custom in China should have attributed such conduct to the semi-mythical sovereigns of the Chinese 'golden age.' Just as the Hebrews and other ancient peoples enormously enhanced the influence and prestige of their moral codes by attributing them to divine inspiration or to 'the finger of God,' so the old Chinese moralists sought to sanctify the highest ethical ideals and principles known to their own race by tracing them to the almost supernatural wisdom and virtue of their ancient holy kings. In describing what was assumed to have been the ethical standard of the royal founders of Chinese civilization, the moralists aimed at setting an ideal before the rulers and people of their own time. They always professed not to be inculcating a new or a higher morality than that hitherto practised, but to be merely re-affirming the teachings of past ages. Confucius himself repudiated all claims to originality: he was no innovator—merely a 'transmitter.'

Whatever may have been the true history of the origin and development of the moral ideas of the Chinese, we have ample evidence that reverence for age has been one of their most conspicuous and characteristic moral qualities from the earliest days of which we have authentic record. This reverence was by no means confined in its manifestations to acts of a merely ceremonial nature. That it also had a thoroughly practical side is shown in the legal provision which exempted (and still exempts) old men from severe forms of punishment in the law-courts.[1] Under the semi-socialistic system of ancient China tenderness for age is also shown in the acceptance by the State of full responsibility for the proper care and nourishment of old people. There were several classes of persons who received regular subsistence-allowances. Among these were young orphans, childless old men, old widowers, and old widows. Chinese sympathy and charity were not, indeed, directed towards the alleviation of the needs of only these; for provision was also made for the dumb, deaf, lame, blind, crippled, and deformed, and for superannuated government officials and the parents and grandparents of those who had died in their country's service.[2] But it was in connexion with the needs and claims of the aged that the State regulations reached their highest degree of elaboration. The old-age pensions were paid in kind, not in money; they consisted, however, not merely of grain and other food-stuffs, but also of various useful articles, such as benches and walking-staffs.[3] We are told of a very remarkable custom whereby the aged pensioners were entertained as guests of the State in the government schools.[4] Thus the very young and the very old were brought together in circumstances which cannot have failed to strike the youthful imagination and to exercise a highly beneficial influence on the development of the moral sentiments. That children should treat their elders with respect was, indeed, impressed upon them by their schoolmasters in the ordinary course of the scholastic routine.

'Let careful attention,' says Mencius, 'be paid to education in schools. Above all, let emphasis be laid on the filial and fraternal duties. If that is done properly, we shall not see, on our public roads, grey-haired old men carrying burdens on their backs or on their heads.'[5]

But the impression made on youthful minds by the striking example set them by the State itself in its public demonstrations of respect for age must have been far deeper and more lasting than any which can have been made by the mere force of pedagogic precept. The 'Book of Rites' tells us that the king personally presided at the entertainment of the pensioners and superintended the distribution of food and drink.[1] No doubt these duties were, in practice, usually carried out by deputy; in any case the royal share in the proceedings would necessarily become, or tend to become, formal or symbolical. It may be compared, perhaps, with that venerable custom whereby the emperor of China ploughed three furrows in front of the Altar of Agriculture, thus setting an example of industry to his people and dignifying the labours of the millions who toil in the fields.

Seventy was the age at which officials were entitled to claim release from the cares of office.[2] When the ex-official reached the age of eighty, one of his official friends was released from public duties for the express purpose of attending on him. When he attained his ninetieth year, all members of his family employed by government were allowed unlimited leave of absence so that they might devote themselves to the old man's welfare.[3]

The Chinese moral code contains various rules and suggestions as to the etiquette which should govern the relations between old and young.

We are told, *e.g.*, that a man should treat those who are twice as old as himself with the same kind of deference as he would show to his father, and he should treat one who is ten years older than himself as he would treat an elder brother. In the company of one who is senior by five years he should not walk abreast with him, but a little way behind him. When a group of men of various ages are sitting together, the eldest should be allowed to take the seat of honour.[4] If an old man and a young man are walking together, and each carries a burden, the young man should take the old man's burden in addition to his own, if he is physically able to do so; if he is not able to carry both burdens, he should carry the heavier of the two. An elderly man should not be expected or allowed to carry a burden which is too heavy to be carried in one hand.[5] When a death occurs in a family, the aged survivors are not expected to carry out the full rites of mourning. This is because the privations and fasts which are necessary in the case of young mourners might be injurious to an old man's health.[6]

Though the attainment of old age is regarded as a matter for congratulation, it is necessary to avoid direct and pointed references to the advanced age of those whom one is addressing. In this matter tact and discretion are as necessary in China as they are in Europe; and only long experience of Chinese social conventions, and a delicate appreciation of the circumstances of each individual case, will save the well-meaning European from unconsciously offending against Chinese canons of good taste. The 'Book of Rites' tells us that, when a man is addressing his parents, he must not remind them of their age;[7] and in the 'Twenty-four Examples of Filial Piety' this precept is illustrated in somewhat grotesque fashion by the story of the elderly man who, in order to divert the thoughts of his venerable parents from decay and death, played and gambolled in their presence as though he were still the darling of their early wedded life.[8] But old age has been treated by poets and essayists in a much more serious manner than this; and, indeed, a very attractive anthology might be made of the graceful and touching utterances of Chinese writers on the different aspects of this subject. If they love to dwell on the tranquillity and beauty which mark the evening of a

1 This is referred to in the 'Book of Rites' (*SBE* xxvii. 66); but it is also a well-known provision of the criminal law. The exemption is not, of course, absolute; but, even when convicted of murder, old men have been treated with extraordinary leniency (see E. Alabaster, *Notes and Commentaries on Chinese Criminal Law*, London, 1899, pp. 98 f., 103).

2 See *SBE* xxvii. 240–244, 464 f.; and E. Biot, *Le Tcheou-Li*, Paris, 1851, i. 82 f., 287, ii. 211.

3 *SBE* xxvii. 287 f.

4 *Ib.* xxvii. 242; see also Legge, ii.[2] 243 (footnote).

5 Legge, ii.[2] 131 f.; see also p. 149.

1 *SBE* xxviii. 231 f. 2 *Ib.* xxvii. 241, 466, 479.

3 *Ib.* xxvii. 466. Similar rules applied in the case of the blind.

4 *Ib.* xxvii. 68 f., 73 f., 76 f.

5 *Ib.* xxvii. 244; cf. xxviii. 230.

6 *Ib.* xxvii. 88; cf. xxviii. 439 f., and Legge, iv. pt. ii. 473, 475.

7 *Ib.* xxvii. 68.

8 See *The Book of Filial Duty*, tr. Ivan Chên, in the 'Wisdom of the East' series, London, 1908, p. 40.

well-ordered life, they do not ignore the weariness and pain, the vain regrets and wistful longings, from which old age is rarely free. 'Dust thou art and unto dust shalt thou return' is a truth which the religious and ethical teachers of China make no attempt to conceal; indeed, they themselves have given expression to it in precisely the same language.[1]

The Chinese ideograph which stands for 'long life' or 'old age' is very frequently brought into artistic association with that which stands for 'happiness.' These two characters have been written in innumerable fanciful ways, for artistic reputations can be won and lost, in China, by the degree of skill or ingenuity which a calligraphist displays in his treatment of these almost sacred symbols. The Chinese, as is well known, regard their wonderful system of ideographic writing with feelings akin to reverence; but among all the thousands of existing characters none occupies a more exalted place in popular esteem than the two which stand for 'long life' and 'happiness.' They meet the traveller's eye wherever he goes, though sometimes they are so fantastically written as to be almost unrecognizable. He will find them carved on the rugged boulder that crowns the summit of some sacred mountain—and will learn, perhaps, that they reproduce in facsimile the handwriting of some famous calligraphist of a thousand years ago; and he will find them embossed on the buckles and napkin-rings that are manufactured for Western 'globe-trotters' by the Chinese silversmiths of to-day.

But it is not only in the written ideographs that the ideas of long life and happiness find artistic expression. Many evergreen trees are regarded as symbolical of longevity, and a fir-tree with snow upon its branches is an emblem of a happy and serene old age. Similar ideas are associated with the bamboo. Among animals the crane and the tortoise are universally recognized in China as emblematic of longevity and immortality. These animals frequently appear in the paintings and embroideries which are presented to old people on their birthdays and other anniversaries. When used in this symbolic way, the tortoise is often represented as having a row of tails. This is based on an old fancy that, until a tortoise passes its hundredth year, it possesses only one tail, but that by the time it has reached the age of a thousand it has ten tails. Perhaps it might be a difficult task to disprove this.

The Chinese reverence for age rests to a great extent on the sound principle that there is no period of human life which cannot furnish its appropriate contribution towards the development of the complete man. That character is something which each man builds up for himself throughout the whole course of his life is a belief which is no less clearly recognized by Confucianism than it is by modern psychology in the West. Old age is reverenced in others and desired for oneself; for it is believed by the Chinese that the normal lifetime of a man, from childhood to old age, is no longer than is necessary for the full realization of a man's moral and spiritual capacities. The Chinese divide life into various stages, and it is not till he has arrived at the age of sixty that a man is supposed to have reached the stage of moral and intellectual development that entitles him to be described as a person of 'wisdom and experience.'[2]

[1] The passage occurs in a Chinese commentary on the 'Book of Rites.' *Hsing shêng yü t'u erh fan yü t'u*, 'the body takes its rise from the earth and will return to the earth.' The Chinese say that, when the white hair turns yellow (in extreme old age), this is a sign that the bodily organism (*hsing*) is about to return to the place whence it sprang (its *pên*, or origin)—namely, the earth; for yellow is the colour with which, in China, earth is symbolically associated.

[2] *SBE* xxvii. 65 f., 478 f.

The Confucian conception of the normal stages of moral growth, under the most favourable conditions, may be learned from a well-known passage in the *Analects*, which tells us that Confucius, at the age of fifteen, was bent on acquiring knowledge; at thirty he 'stood firm'; at forty he had 'no doubts'—*i.e.*, he had tested his own capacities and had defined his relationship to the world;[1] at fifty he 'knew the decrees of heaven'—*i.e.*, he had developed the spiritual side of his nature; at sixty his ears were 'attentive to the truth'; at seventy he could follow the impulses of his heart without going wrong.[2] As Confucius died at the age of seventy-two, we find from this analysis that the development of his character was practically continuous throughout all the years of his life. From the biographical point of view, the passage is not without interest; but it is valuable mainly as an early and instructive example of introspective psychology, and as implying a recognition by the Chinese of the important fact that no period of human life—not even the period of physical decay—is necessarily unprogressive or sterile. It is not till he has safely arrived at the haven of old age—an old age that has been preceded by strenuous and continuous moral activity—that man can hope (theoretically at least) to 'follow the impulses of his heart without going wrong.'[3]

Confucian psychology in this respect is by no means contradicted by that of 20th-century Europe. William MacDougall describes how, after repeated moral conflicts, resulting in the acquirement of 'the irresistible strength of a fixed and consolidated habit' of right doing, the self may come 'to rule supreme over conduct.' The individual has at least the potential capacity of rising above moral warfare; 'he attains character in the fullest sense and a completely generalized will, and exhibits to the world that finest flower of moral growth, serenity.'[4] It is interesting, in the same connexion, to note that the crowning spiritual experience of some of the Christian mystics seems to have been a sense of complete liberation from the state of moral unrest and strife.

'"La guerra e terminata," all the energy of a strong nature flows freely in the new channels, and modification ceases, mechanically, to be possible to the now unified or "regenerated" self,' writes E. Underhill, with special reference to the case of St. Catherine of Genoa.[5]

In spite of the fact that many of the customs recorded in the 'Book of Rites' have long been obsolete, the moral sentiments of the Chinese with regard to old age have undergone no material alteration. The modifications which have taken place in outward observances may be traced to a variety of causes, of which the most important is the crystallization of the rules and duties relating to the cult of ancestors. If in normal circumstances the State no longer provides for the necessities of old men and women, this is because the care of the aged is a responsibility which is assumed as a matter of course by sons and other relatives. The State recognition of the mutual claims and responsibilities of parents and sons is illustrated in a striking way by the frequent reduction or remission of sentences imposed on criminals on the ground that the accused persons were the sole support of their aged parents. Such pleas are often advanced in the law-courts, and always receive careful con-

[1] We are told on Confucius's authority that 'a man who is unpopular at forty will always be unpopular'—*i.e.*, that such further development as may take place after that age will proceed along lines which have been already laid down (Legge, i. 330).

[2] See Legge, i. 146 f.

[3] Confucius realized, of course, that old age is liable to certain moral perils which may be regarded as peculiarly its own. He pointed to covetousness as one of these (*ib.* p. 313).

[4] *Social Psychology*[7], London, 1913, pp. 261–263.

[5] *Mysticism*[4], London, 1912, p. 264; see also W. R. Inge, *Personal Idealism and Mysticism*, do. 1907, p. 16.

sideration.[1] The ethical basis of the Chinese social system is filial piety, and the duties and obligations as well as the rights and privileges of every member of a Chinese family are so clearly defined and so rarely repudiated that only in quite exceptional circumstances (such as those brought about by famine, plague, floods, earthquakes, and war) are old men and women liable to become dependents on private charity or the bounty of the State.

'If it be objected,' writes an English-educated Chinese student of sociology, 'that the burden of the family drags down individuals from self-development, at least it is true that publicly organized relief is a much less urgent problem with us than it is in England.'[2]

It may not be out of place to mention that in the territory of Wei-hai-wei, now under British rule, there is not, among the 150,000 inhabitants, a single individual who requires to look elsewhere than to his or her own family-group for the means of support in old age.

Young China is showing many signs of restiveness under the social and ethical restraints of the old order, and it is not unreasonable to question whether respect for old age will, in the future, be as conspicuous a feature of the Chinese character as it has been in the past. Fortunately, however, the old ways have not yet fallen into oblivion, and even among the ardent young patriots of the New China there are many who believe that the regeneration of their country is not by any means contingent upon the wholesale surrender of all that has contributed to China's moral greatness in the past.

As an interesting indication of President Yuan Shih-k'ai's determination not to give up the old customs whereby public homage was rendered to virtuous old age, we may cite a Presidential mandate which was published in Peking as recently as 6th Jan. 1915.

This mandate refers to the fact that the mother of Lieut.-General Liu Hsien-hêng had reached the age of one hundred years. This lady, it continues, is noted for her admirable personal qualities and for the unwearied devotion which she showed in the education of her distinguished son. In spite of her advanced age, it is gratifying to learn that her health and good spirits are by no means impaired. 'She is indeed a person of whom the State may well be proud.' The mandate concludes by specifying the honours that are to be conferred upon the old lady. These are to include a *pien* (honorific tablet) bearing the four characters *Shu Tê Ch'i Nien*, 'Womanly Virtue and Venerable Age.' This tablet is to be hung on the walls of her home as a perpetual token of the State's recognition of her virtues and in commemoration of her attainment of a great age.

It will be noticed that in this mandate (which is typical of multitudes of similar decrees that have been issued by Chinese emperors in past centuries) emphasis is laid, not merely on the age of the person concerned, but also on the fact that her life has been well spent. That the good sometimes die young is a lamentable fact which the Chinese know as well as we do; but they love to think that a virtuous life receives its appropriate reward in a serene and happy old age; and nothing gives greater satisfaction to their ethical sensibilities than the contemplation of cases in which the ideal combination of exalted virtue and great age has been attained in real life. Thus it is that many of the virtuous kings of ancient times are credited with abnormally long lives.[3] Even in later and more degenerate times it was supposed that the proper span of a good man's life was a hundred years. It is largely because a long life is believed to be one of the rewards of virtue that the funeral of an old man (especially if he has left behind him a large and prosperous family of descendants) is regarded as a congratulatory festival rather than as an occasion for sorrowing and condolence.[1]

There is a story told of an elderly English admiral who, while walking with a fellow-countryman in the streets of Canton, unexpectedly found himself surrounded and threatened by an excited and turbulent mob of anti-foreign Chinese. Acting on the suggestion of his companion, who knew the Chinese character, the admiral removed his hat and displayed his grey locks; whereupon the angry crowd immediately fell back in abashed silence, and the Englishmen proceeded on their way unharmed.

This story may be apocryphal; but, so long as the telling of such stories in illustration of the Chinese character continues, as at present, to be deserved by the Chinese people, it will be impossible for Western critics to withhold from the civilization of China a high tribute of respect and admiration.

LITERATURE.—This has been indicated in the article.

R. FLEMING JOHNSTON.

OLD AGE (Greek).—The ordinary Athenian view of old age is well summed up by the aged Kephalos at the opening of Plato's *Republic*:

'Old men flock together; they are birds of a feather, as the proverb says; and at our meetings the tale of my acquaintance commonly is—I cannot eat, I cannot drink; the pleasures of youth and love are fled away: there was a good time once, but that is gone, and now life is no longer life. Some of them lament over the slights which are put upon them by relations, and then they tell you plaintively of how many evils their old age is the cause' (*Rep.* 329A, tr. B. Jowett[2], Oxford, 1881).

The speaker indeed goes on to say that the real cause of this discontent lay not in old age *per se*, but in the individual character (doubtless Plato's own view), and the testimony of the aged poet Sophocles is quoted in witness of the blessed calm and freedom of old age from the tyranny of the passions; but Greek literature of all periods is far too thickly strewn with obviously sincere dispraise of age to permit us to doubt that it was wholly hateful to the average Greek. No Greek writer has surpassed Sophocles himself, the *Republic* notwithstanding, in the bitterness of his references to old age—and that in the latest of his tragedies:

'For when he hath seen youth go by, with its light follies, what troublous affliction is strange to his lot, what suffering is not therein?—envy, factions, strife, battles and slaughters; and, last of all, age claims him for her own,—age, dispraised, infirm, unsociable, unfriended, with whom all woe of woe abides' (*Œd. Col.* 1230 ff., tr. R. C. Jebb[3], Cambridge, 1900).

At the other end of the scale, Aristotle, in a long passage unrivalled for the cruel ruthlessness of its characterization, gives a picture of old age in the same pessimistic style (*Rhet.* ii. 13=1389[b] 13). An 'ingrained horror against the condition of life which destroys beauty and mars enjoyment,'[2] and the haunting thought of the two inevitable demons (Keres [*q.v.*]) of Age and Death, ever waiting in the background of life, came near to poisoning the springs of happiness for the Greeks.[3] The vanishing of youth like a sunbeam, and the pains of age (frag. i. 5: *ὀδυνηρὸν γῆρας*; v. 5: *ἀργαλέον καὶ ἄμορφον γῆρας*) which make a man ugly (*αἰσχρόν*) and wretched (i. 6), and death more tolerable than life (ii. 10), is the burden of Mimnermos. Even Æschylus hardly finds anything better to say of a man stricken in years than that 'his leaf is withered, and with his three feet he wanders weak as a child, a day-lit dream' (*Agam.* 79 ff., tr. A. W. Verrall, London, 1889). Euripides in the same vein contrasts youth and age in a great ode that sounds like the swan-song of his own golden youth (*Herc. Fur.* 637 ff.). For Pindar, the poet of the 'delightful things in Hellas' (*τὰ τερπνὰ ἐν Ἑλλάδι*), the very heart of life lay in wealth, strength, and

[1] For the legal usages in this matter see Alabaster, pp. 103–106.

[2] P. L. K. Tao, 'The Family System of China,' in *Sociological Review*, Jan. 1913.

[3] For statements to this effect cf. the *Shu King* (Legge, vol. iii. pt. i. pp. 25 and 51, pt. ii. p. 466 f.); cf. also *SBE* xxvii. 344, and Wang Ch'ung, *Lun Hêng*, tr. A. Forke, i. (London, 1907) 313–317, 325 f.

[1] On this subject see DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Chinese), vol. iv. p. 451 § xo.

[2] Mahaffy, *Social Life in Greece from Homer to Menander*, p. 249.

[3] Cf. Theog. 767: *τηλοῦ δὲ κακὰς ἀπὸ κῆρας ἀμῦναι, | γῆρας τ οὐλόμενον καὶ θανάτοιο τέλος.* See the vase in the Louvre (Pottier, *Cat.*, no. 343; figured in J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*[2], Cambridge, 1903, p. 174), in which Herakles with his club is about to beat out the brains of a shrivelled ugly little figure, labelled Γῆρας, which leans on a stick.

beauty, and in 'glorious-limbed youth' (ἀγλαόγυιος ἥβα [*Nem.* vii. 5]). The Athenian Solon really stands on the same plane, in his definition of the happy man as one who is 'whole of limb, free from disease, a stranger to misfortune, happy in his children, and comely to look upon, and who shall also end his life well' (Herod. i. 32).[1]

In a word, the ancient Athenian knew little of the art of growing old gracefully;[2] nowhere is Greek literature so querulous, so wanting in dignity, as in dealing with age and its disabilities; while, conversely, the glory of youth, especially in its purely physical aspect, is the dynamic impulse of Greek art in all its forms, especially in sculpture. Mimnermos prays that free of disease and sorrow he may die at the age of sixty years. We are not surprised to read that the old people of Keos, when they reached the age of sixty or upwards and felt their powers decaying, put themselves quietly out of the way with a draught of hemlock—being indeed compelled by law to do so, in order that there might be a sufficient maintenance left for others, and that they themselves might not suffer from sickness and weakness of extreme old age (Strabo, p. 486: *προσέταττε γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὁ νόμος τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἑξήκοντα ἔτη γεγονότας κωνειάζεσθαι καὶ τοῦ διαρκεῖν τοῖς ἄλλοις τὴν τροφήν*. And see the story there told in reference to *τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους*. Cf. Ælian, *Var. Hist.* iii. 37; Heracl. Pont. in Müller, *FHG* ii. 215).

It seems clear that, while the Athenians, in theory, respected and honoured the old, the facts of life were hardly in harmony with theory.[3] Thorough, and perhaps supersensitive, humanists as they were, the actual objective aspect of old age seems to have been repulsive to them; involving, as a rule, enfeebled powers of enjoyment of most forms of social intercourse, it was *per se* a hateful thing, and its victims were regarded with at best a half-contemptuous tolerance as living a very death in life.[4] Notwithstanding some examples and utterances in a contrary sense (*e.g.*, in literature, the tendance of Œdipus by Antigone [Soph. *Œd. Col.* 347 f.: *ἀελμεθ' ἡμῶν δύσμορος πλανωμένη, | γεροντα γωγεῖ*]), the general sentiment and conduct towards the aged, in historical Athens, fell far short of that kindliness which must be regarded as a touchstone of social progress, a derivative of that whole attitude towards the weak and the helpless, the young and the suffering, which is one of the prime distinctions between modern and ancient times. The truth is that under the strenuous conditions of ancient life, in which one must be either hammer or anvil, there was but little room for the claims that might be urged by age on the ground of long and varied experience; and this impatience of age in the political sphere reacted upon the general social conception, being reinforced also by that intense selfishness which so deeply stained the national character.

In this respect, as in most other things, Sparta stood in conspicuous contrast with Athens; and, while Athenians did not hesitate to applaud the Spartan practice as a matter of principle, they made little attempt to imitate it—for all their own altar of Compassion in the Agora (cf. Xen. *Resp. Lac.* x. 8: *καὶ γὰρ τὸ πάντων θαυμαστότατον ἐπαινοῦσι μὲν πάντες τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπιτηδεύματα, μιμεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτὰ οὐδεμία πόλις ἐθέλει*).[5] There lies probably some deep significance behind the fact that it was in Sparta that honour to the aged as such was a fundamental of the social system (cf. *ib.* x. 2: *θεὶς γὰρ τοὺς γέροντας κυρίους τοῦ περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγῶνος διέπραξεν ἐντιμότερον εἶναι τὸ γῆρας τῆς τῶν ἀκμαζόντων ῥώμης*). Herod. ii. 80 remarks that Egypt and Sparta agreed in the respect paid to age; it evidently struck him as very strange. Here we may recall the hackneyed anecdote of Cicero (*de Senect.* xviii. 63 f.) of the aged man to whom the Lacedæmonian ambassadors in the Athenian theatre offered a seat—and brought down the house—'dixisse ex iis quendam, Athenienses scire quae recta essent, sed facere nolle.' For the respect paid to the old by the young in Sparta see the anecdote in Plut. *Lyc.* 15.

Perhaps the early decay of respect for the aged is in part traceable to the fiery experiences of the migratory age, which must have destroyed many of the finer elements in civilization (cf. G. Murray, *Rise of the Greek Epic*[2], p. 101). Partly also, perhaps, it was a natural result in military societies, where with decay of bodily powers practical fighting value disappeared—the universally recognized limit of age for active military service in Greece was sixty years. How far, if at all, it is to be brought into relation with the primitive practice of slaying the man-god as soon as he exhibited symptoms of failing powers, in order to transfer his spirit with unimpaired vigour to a successor—a practice and belief which undoubtedly took a broader sweep, beyond the circle of rulers, and affected the general sentiment touching bodily decay and death in the case of ordinary folk—must be left here undetermined (see J. G. Frazer, on the preference for a violent death, in *GB*[3], pt. iii., *The Dying God*, London, 1911, p. 9 ff.). Certain is it that, apart from the example of Sparta, there is ample evidence of a time when the aged counted for more in public life than was the case generally in Athens.

A reminiscence of the pristine status of the aged lingers in the use of the word *πρέσβεις* = 'ambassadors.' The use of the term *τὰ πάτρια* to express 'ancient law,' 'the way of ancestors,' is derived from a time when the old men of the tribe (*οἱ γέροντες*) were the repositories of the sacred tradition or institutions of the community (cf. G. Murray, *Four Stages of Greek Religion*, New York, 1912, p. 51). This was an actual working fact at Sparta, where the *γερουσία* of twenty-eight men over sixty years of age,[1] in conjunction with the two kings, was the guardian of the custom of the State, and 'in case the people decided crookedly the senate with the kings were to reverse their decision' (Plut. *Lyc.* 6: *αἱ δὲ σκολιὰν ὁ δᾶμος ἕλοιτο, τοὺς πρεσβυγενέας καὶ ἀρχαγέτας ἀποστατῆρας ἦμεν—τοῦν' ἔστι μὴ κυροῦν, ἀλλ' ὅλως ἀφίστασθαι καὶ διαλύειν τὸν δῆμον*). The constitution of Sparta was in this respect a survival from a time when an oligarchy of old men decided all matters of importance, to the practical exclusion of the younger men, who in general assembly (Apella or Agora) had merely a right of acceptance or rejection of definite proposals, without power of amendment or discussion (cf. Thuc. i. 87). In Athens a similar council also existed, a mere shadow of its former self, in the shape of the once venerable Areiopagos, which under the developed democracy was entirely cut off from all direction of political affairs. Only when the policy of the younger men had brought the State to the brink of ruin, by the failure of the expedition to Sicily, in 413 B.C., was recourse had once more to the counsel of the old, to save if that were still possible (Thuc. viii. 1: *καὶ ἀρχήν τινα πρεσβυτέρων ἀνδρῶν ἐλέσθαι, οἵτινες περὶ τῶν παρόντων ὡς ἂν καιρὸς ᾖ προβουλεύσουσι*).

Even in Homer the precariousness of the rights of the aged as against the young and lusty is clearly evident through the glamour of courtly and heroic life and poetry. Nestor is no real exception, for, besides having plenty of sons to champion him, he is represented as more than merely old—he has lived so far beyond the usual span of life that he enjoys the prestige of a sort of sanctity for his very age; and, besides, he is deliberately treated by the poet as a privileged figure.[2] With Peleus, for all that he is mated with an immortal, the case is very different. Achilles in the under world puts the anxious question to Odysseus:

[1] Aristotle, *Rhet.* i. 5 = 1360[b] 14 ff., says almost exactly the same thing, with some amplifications.

[2] For Sparta cf. Plut. *An seni sit ger. resp.* 24: *ὁ Λύσανδρος εἶπεν, ὡς ἐν Λακεδαίμονι κάλλιστα γηρῶσιν.*

[3] In his *Rise of the Greek Epic*[2], Oxford, 1911, p. 107, G. Murray says: 'Any sympathetic reader of early Greek poetry will have noticed the importance, almost the sanctity, attached to three classes of human beings: strangers, suppliants, and old people.' He is referring, of course, chiefly to Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 331 (see below), but he certainly exaggerates—in regard to the last class, at any rate.

[4] Cf. Semon. frag. 71: *τίς γὰρ ἀδονᾶς ἄτερ | θνατῶν βίος ποθεινός*; Soph. *Ant.* 1165 ff.: *τὰς γὰρ ἡδονὰς | ὅταν προδῶσιν ἄνδρες, οὐ τίθημ' ἐγὼ | ζῆν τοῦτον, ἀλλ' ἔμψυχον ἡγοῦμαι νεκρόν.*

[5] Cf. Paus. i. xvii. 1: 'Ελέου βωμός, ᾧ, μάλιστα θεῶν ἐς ἀνθρώπινον βίον καὶ μεταβολὰς πραγμάτων ὅτι ὠφέλιμος, μόνοι τιμὰς Ἕλλήνων νέμουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι. He goes on to mention an altar of Αἰδώς also. At the best it was allowed that age brings wisdom (cf. Hom. *Il.* iii. 109 f.). But the characteristic of Athenian democracy is expressed in the complaint of the Erinyes—*ἐπεὶ καθιππάζει με πρεσβῦτιν νέος* (Æsch. *Eum.* 734).

[1] Cf. Tyrt. *ap.* Plut. *Lyc.* 6: *πρεσβύτας γέροντας* as an element of the Spartan constitution. In the light of his observation of the ill effects of life-tenure by men of advanced age in oligarchically organized States, Aristotle criticizes this, especially in respect of the judicial functions of the Spartan Gerusia; for there is, he says, an old age of the mind, as well as of the body (*Pol.* ii. 9. 25 = 1270[b]). On the same lines, he would not approve of the life-tenure of the members of the Athenian Areiopagos. The best men in his ideal State become priests in advanced age, and Plato is of much the same opinion (*Laws*, 755 A, 923 B).

[2] Cf. A. Lang, *Homer and his Age*, London, 1906, p. 234: 'Of all the characters in Homer that of Nestor is most familiar to the unlearned world, merely because Nestor's is a "character part," very broadly drawn.'

'Tell me of noble Peleus—is he yet held in honour among the Myrmidons, or do they set him at naught from Hellas to Phthia, for that old age binds his hand and foot? For I am no longer his champion under the sun' (*Od.* xi. 494 ff.).

And the father of Odysseus himself is fain to betake himself to his distant farm 'withered, unkempt, and clad unseemly' (*Od.* xi. 187 ff., xxiv. 225 ff.).

Hesiod, in his fanciful sketch of the evolution of the world through the various ages, imagines a first or golden age in which men did not grow old, but passed away without pain or decay, as if falling on sleep (*Works and Days*, 113 ff.). The fifth or iron age of the poet's own time is one which, as it passes gradually into the sixth age, will exhibit a progressive depravity, among the marks of which will be that children dishonour their ageing parents and set at naught their admonitions (182 ff.). Hesiod's catalogue of deadly sins includes, along with injuries done to suppliants, guests, or orphans, harsh words to aged parents (331 ff.). The limitation or narrowness of range here observable is found in later Athenian society; for in Athens also the obligation of reverence or kindliness towards the old tended to be thrown entirely upon the family group, and to be confined to the special relationship obtaining between parents and children. The very insistence of Greek lawgivers upon this specific form of the obligation may well raise a suspicion that, even as thus limited, it was by no means universally honoured in practice. Among the Athenians, in fact, it was a counsel of perfection for the individual member of the family rather than, as in Sparta, a general attitude of society, binding without further question, even where the narrower relationship did not exist.[1] We are thus compelled to make special reference to this particular form of obligation, as dealt with in Athens.

The general term was γηροτροφεῖν or γηροβοσκεῖν. The law compelling children to nurture and protect their parents in old age (ὁ τῆς κακώσεως νόμος, in Is. viii. 32, where the speaker is at pains to insist that it covered also grandfather and great-grandfather)[2] was, of course, attributed to Solon (Aristoph. *Birds*, 1354 ff.: ἐν ταῖς τῶν πελαργῶν κύρβεσιν; Dem. xxiv. 103). It seems to have specified four forms of breach—ill-usage, refusal of bed or of board, and neglect of funeral rites (τὰ νομιζόμενα; see Lys. xiii. 91; Dem. xxiv. 107; Aristoph. *Birds* 757). It was enforced by a γραφὴ γονέων κακώσεως, which came before the chief Archon (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* lvi. 6; Hyper. *Pro Euxen.* 6: φαῦλός ἐστι πρὸς τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ γονεῖς· ὁ ἄρχων ἐπὶ τούτου κάθηται). In accord with his own exalted conception of filial duty (see the remarkable passage in *Laws*, 931 A: πατὴρ οὖν ὅτῳ καὶ μήτηρ ἢ τούτων πατέρες ἢ μητέρες ἐν οἰκίᾳ κεῖνται κειμήλιοι ἀπειρηκότες γήρᾳ, μηδεὶς διανοηθήτω ποτὲ ἄγαλμα αὐτῷ, τοιοῦτον ἐφέστιον ἵδρυμα ἐν οἰκίᾳ ἔχων, μᾶλλον κύριον ἕσεσθαι), Plato prescribes as penalty for its violation perpetual exile and exclusion from the temples (*Laws*, 881 E). His penalties are sterner than those actually in use. At Athens a son convicted of maltreatment of parents became ἄτιμος τὸ σῶμα (but without confiscation [Andoc. i. 74; see art. ATIMIA]). This meant that he was excluded from the Agora, *i.e.* from the ordinary privileges of civic intercourse, and could not speak in the assembly (Æschines, i. 28: ἐάν τις λέγῃ ἐν τῷ δήμῳ τὸν πατέρα τύπτων ἢ τὴν μητέρα, ἢ μὴ τρέφων, ἢ μὴ παρέχων οἰκησιν· τοῦτον οὐκ ἐᾷ λέγειν). Whether this was the sole penalty is not known. He certainly ran the risk of being excluded from office; for one of the questions put at the 'scrutiny' (δοκιμασία) of a candidate for the Archonship was whether he treated his parents well (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* lv. 3: γονέας εἰ εὖ ποιεῖ), and a negative proved against him entailed rejection (Xen. *Mem.* ii. 2. 13). The obligation, however, was subject to the proviso that a parent had given his son an education befitting his station in life (Plut. *Sol.* 22: υἱῷ τρέφειν τὸν πατέρα μὴ διδαξάμενον τέχνην ἐπάναγκες μὴ εἶναι).

The provision by which a suit might be instituted by a son against an aged father for mental imbecility, in order to deprive him of the management of his estate, seems sometimes to have been improperly used (cf. Plat. *Laws*, 928 E: υἱεῖς τ' αὖ σφίσι πατέρας ὑπὸ νόσων ἢ γήρως διατιθεμένους αἰσχρῶς ἐξεῖναι παρανοίας γράφεσθαι; Aristoph. *Clouds*, 844 f. The well-known story of the prosecution of the aged Sophocles by his son Iophon is, however, an invention or mere mistake). Socrates was accused of encouraging this undutifulness (Xen. *Mem.* i. 2. 49; cf. the scene in Aristoph. *Clouds* [1321 ff.], in which Pheidippides, represented as a pupil of Socrates, asserts his right to inflict bodily chastisement upon both father and mother). Aristophanes in another play represents an old juror as congratulating himself that his official position and pay enable him to command at least a show of family affection, together with more tangible comforts (*Wasps*, 605 ff.).

It is, of course, not to be gathered from the above that either aged parents or old folk in general were treated as a rule especially badly in Athens. Probably few States in Greece offered as efficient protection to life and limb, personal dignity, and property as was given by the laws of Athens (cf. Dem. *Mid.* 221 ff.); perhaps none provided so ready access to legal protection and redress to even the humblest and most helpless. And, notwithstanding their tendency to a certain smugness of self-glorification on this score,[1] we may readily grant that the public conscience of the Athenians was more tender in regard to breaches of the 'unwritten laws' of mankind (κοινὸς νόμος ὁ κατὰ φύσιν [Arist. *Rhet.* i. 13=1373. 4])[2] than that of the rest of the Greeks. It still remains a fact, however, that reverence and care for the aged, as such, had in Athens, outside the family relationship, no stronger force behind it than the vague feeling of αἰδώς, 'shame,' the 'unseen barrier' (G. Murray, *Rise of the Greek Epic*[2], p. 103 f.)—a mere emotion, not organized in a conscious and binding social ordinance. What must have been the disintegrating effect upon this of the not infrequent ruthless enslavement and massacre of whole communities, *e.g.* Skione (Thuc. v. 32: ἀπέκτειναν τοὺς ἡβῶντας, παῖδας δὲ καὶ γυναῖκας ἠνδραπόδισαν) and Melos (Thuc. v. 116)? The cynical contempt for justice and mercy exhibited in the latter case was indeed symptomatic of a terrible deterioration in Athenian character—a change for the worse which, according to Thucydides, passed like a blight over the whole Greek world in the course of the Peloponnesian war (Thuc. iii. 82 f.: καὶ μὴν τὸ ξυγγενὲς τοῦ ἑταιρικοῦ ἀλλοτριώτερον ἐγένετο).

LITERATURE.—Beyond a few pages in J. P. Mahaffy, *Social Life in Greece from Homer to Menander*, London, 1898, the subject has apparently not been treated, except by way of mere reference.

W. J. WOODHOUSE.

OLD AGE (Hebrew and Jewish).—For the Biblical writers this earthly life, despite its many inevitable sorrows, is so essentially good that length of days is accounted a blessing. It is one of the rewards promised to righteousness (cf. Ex 20^{12} 23^{26}, Dt 4^{40} 5^{33} 11^{21} 22^{7}, Is 65^{20}, Ps 91^{16} 92^{14}, Pr 10^{27} 12^{28} etc.). 'Despise not thou,' Eliphaz exhorts Job, 'the chastening of the Almighty'; for then 'thou shalt come to thy grave in a full age, like as a shock of corn cometh in in its season' (Job $5^{17.\ 26}$). A short life is a life ended before its time, an incomplete life. What constitutes old age in the view of the Biblical writers? Gn 5 tells of men who lived more than nine centuries, and in Gn 6 the divine decree fixes 120 years as the span of human life. But in the books subsequent to the Pentateuch the average duration of life and the corresponding conception of old age are much the same as those of our day. The statement of the Psalmist (Ps

[1] Cf. Xen. *Mem.* iii. 5. 15: Λέγεις, ἔφη, πόρρω που εἶναι τῇ πόλει τὴν καλοκἀγαθίαν. πότε γὰρ οὕτως Ἀθηναῖοι, ὥσπερ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἢ πρεσβυτέρους αἰδέσονται, οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πατέρων ἄρχονται καταφρονεῖν τῶν γεραιτέρων; Cic. *de Senect.* xviii. 63: 'Lacedaemonem esse honestissimum domicilium senectutis; nusquam enim tantum tribuitur aetati, nusquam est senectus honoratior'; cf. an important passage in Arist. *Eth. Nic.* ix. 2. 7 ff.

[2] But in Attic prose γονεῖς never properly means anything but 'parents' in the strict sense, though Plato also (*Laws*, 931) would extend the range of the law. For Ionic usage cf. Herod. i. 91.

[1] Cf. Thuc. ii. 37: ἀκροάσει τῶν νόμων, καὶ μάλιστα αὐτῶν ὅσοι τε ἐπ' ὠφελίᾳ τῶν ἀδικουμένων κεῖνται καὶ ὅσοι ἄγραφοι ὄντες αἰσχύνην ὁμολογουμένην φέρουσι; Plato, *Laws*, 642 D (Athenians the only people who are good by nature, by a dispensation of Providence); Dem. *Mid.* 49; Paus. i. xvii. 1: τούτοις δὲ οὐ τὰ ἐς φιλανθρωπίαν μόνον καθέστηκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεοὺς εὐσεβοῦσιν ἄλλων πλέον.

[2] For the 'unwritten law' (τὸν Πανελλήνων νόμον [Eur. *Suppl.* 526]) see Soph. *Œd. Tyr.* 865 ff., and Xen. *Mem.* iv. 4. 19, where Socrates speaks of the ἄγραφοι νόμοι which are ἐν πάσῃ χώρᾳ κατὰ ταὐτὰ νομιζόμενοι, and Soph. *Antig.* 456 f.

90^{10}) is clear and decisive: 'The days of our years are threescore years and ten, or even by reason of strength fourscore years.' 'At the most,' says Ben Sira (Sir 18^{9}), 'the number of man's days are a hundred years.' Nor is there any discrepancy between the two estimates. The first gives the average, the second the extreme, duration of human life. The great personages of the Pentateuch who come after the Deluge—Nahor, Terah, the Patriarchs, Moses, Aaron—live longer than a century. But, as Leopold Löw points out (*Die Lebensalter*, p. 234), 'as regards the post-Mosaic period the Bible names only three persons whose ages exceeded a hundred, viz. Job (a doubtfully historic character), Jehoiada the High Priest, who, according to Chronicles, lived to be 130, and Joshua, who died at 110.' Eli is blind at ninety-eight (1 S 4^{15}), and is evidently regarded as very old; and Barzillai, at eighty, is described as 'a very aged man,' and as asking, 'Can thy servant taste what I eat or what I drink? can I hear any more the voice of singing men and singing women?' (2 S $19^{32.\ 35}$). Further, as Löw also points out, of the fourteen kings of Judah whose age at death is stated no one reached seventy. Of these Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josiah are praised as righteous kings, and yet the first died at fifty, the second at fifty-four, and the third before he was forty. According to the view of Maimonides (*Môrêh Nᵉbhûkhîm*, ii. 47), the longevity of the Patriarchs was exceptional; ordinary men and women in their time lived much shorter lives. That even the Pentateuchal writers formed a moderate estimate of the average duration of life is indicated by the laws providing for the compulsory retirement of the Levites from active service on their reaching the age of fifty (Nu 8^{25}).

In the Bible the disabilities of old age are clearly recognized. The famous passage in Ec 12, with its allusion to the years of which one says, 'I have no pleasure in them,' and its picture of the darkened sun and moon, the trembling keepers of the house, the strong men bent, the diminishing grinders (all images for the physical infirmities of the aged), is typical of the attitude of the OT writers to this aspect of the subject. The thought of the loss of vigour which inevitably accompanies the decline of life is expressed in the Psalmist's prayer (Ps 71^{9}; cf. v.^{18}), 'Cast me not off in the time of old age; forsake me not when my strength faileth.' But over against the physical and other drawbacks of old age are set its moral and spiritual advantages: 'The hoary head is a crown of glory' (Pr 16^{31}; cf. 17^{6}); it is the embodiment and the symbol of ripe wisdom (Job 12^{12} 32^{7}). It is because of such higher attributes as these that old age is honourable and deserving of respect. Mere length of days, which is more or less an accident, does not entitle the aged to consideration. Their real claim to it lies in the intellectual and moral excellences which they have acquired in the course of their long life. 'The hoary head is a crown of glory, if it be found in the way of righteousness' (Pr 16^{31}), and 'better is a poor and wise youth than an old and foolish king, who knoweth not how to receive admonition any more' (Ec 4^{13}; cf. Job 32^{9}). Nevertheless age is, as a rule, the guarantee of experience. A child-ruler is a calamity (Ec 10^{16}; cf. Is 3^{4}), but 'with aged men is wisdom, and in length of days understanding' (Job 12^{12}; cf. $15^{9.\ 10}$). Elihu, however, who is a young man himself, contests the universality of this truth. The spirit of God may give a man understanding independently of his years (Job $32^{7.\ 9}$). But, when age goes with wisdom and righteousness, it must be honoured. Not only is it to be regarded respectfully, but it must be treated with outward signs of reverence. 'Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head' (Lv 19^{32})—a command which has for its sanction the warning, 'Thou shalt fear thy God.' He who violates the precept has nothing to fear from the aged; for they are too feeble to avenge the dishonour offered them. But he has to fear God, who protects the weak and makes their cause His (cf. v.^{14}). Even to interrupt them when they are speaking is improper; Elihu waits before intervening in the famous discussion because the others are 'elder than he' (Job 32^{4}). That it is the part of wisdom to listen to the advice of old people in preference to that of the young is implied in the story of Rehoboam (1 K 12; cf. Dt 32^{7}). It is a sign of the degeneracy of the times and a cause of impending calamity when youth bears itself insolently towards age (Is 3^{5}, La 5^{12}). But, even apart from the higher qualities just mentioned, the physical weakness inseparable from old age bespeaks especial consideration for it. To 'nourish' the aged in the wider sense of the term is a duty (Ru 4^{15}).

The honourableness of old age is set forth in the Apocrypha also. A peculiar charm clings to it: 'As the lamp that shineth upon the holy candlestick, so is the beauty of the face in ripe age' (Sir 26^{17}). The old must be helped (3^{12}); they must not be 'vexed' (*ib.*); their infirmities must be borne with patiently (v.^{13}). Their society is to be sought out (6^{34}). The aged must not be contemned, 'for some of us also are waxing old' (8^{6}). But, again, wisdom and moral worth are the conditions precedent to an honourable old age: 'Understanding is gray hairs unto men, and an unspotted life is ripe old age' (Wis 4^{9}). Further, as in Proverbs ($3^{2.\ 16}$), the attainment of old age is made dependent upon a man's way of life (Sir $30^{23\text{-}25}$).

The doctrine of the Rabbis on this subject is a development of the earlier teaching. They feel the drawbacks of old age as keenly as do the Biblical sages:

'The commonest figs pleased us better when we were young than the costliest peaches do now that we are old' (Jer. *Peâh*, 20*a*). 'He that learns when he is young,' the Rabbis say elsewhere (*Âbhôth*, iv. 20), 'writes on clear paper; he who learns in old age writes on blotted paper.'

Another saying (*Âbhôth dᵉ R. Nathan*, 23) likens the latter to a man who marries when he is old, and to a surgeon who has a knife for his operation, but no ointment with which to close the wound. For the Talmud also long life is the outcome of the well-spent life. Vice ages a man before his time (*Shab.* 152*a*). He has to pay the penalty for youthful sins in the after years. Needless or excessive physical strain is another agent that shortens life. Thus the Talmud warns us against living in a city set on a hill since it entails toilsome ascents (*'Êrûb.* 56*a*). In like manner, a Rabbi, questioned as to the reason why he has himself carried to the bath-house, instead of walking to it, answers that he must keep his strength for his declining years (Jer. *Beza*, 60*c*). What constituted old age for the Talmudic teachers is evident from the saying (*Âbhôth*, v. 24) that 'at sixty a man attains old age, at seventy the hoary head.' Death before sixty, they say in another place (*Mo'ed Kaṭon*, 28*a*), is premature. Some conversations between aged Rabbis and their disciples on the secret of their longevity have been preserved by the Talmud. Each Rabbi accounts for his long life in practically a different way, and assigns more than one reason for it. The explanations range from obedience to the ritual law to the observance of the highest morality:

'I have never risen on the fall of others, or taken with me to my bed the recollection of a wrong done to me during the day'; 'I have never accepted a gift' (*i.e.* when acting as a judge); 'I have never shown myself angry in my house, or taken pleasure

in the misfortunes of others; nor have I called another by an opprobrious name' (*Megillāh*, 27*b* ff.).

The Midrāsh (*Midr. Rabbāh* to Lv 14[1]) has the story of a man who, masquerading as a mountebank, offers for sale the elixir of life. He gives his customers the verse in Ps 34[12f.] 'What man is he that desireth life, and loveth many days . . .? Keep thy tongue from evil.' Diligent attendance at public worship is another practice conducing to long life (*Berākhôth*, 8*a*). Physical influences also play their part, especially attention to hygienic rules. Thus the Talmud recommends the habit of eating slowly, due regulation of the bodily functions, bathing, and moderate exercise (*ib.* 54*b*; *Kethūbhôth*, 77*b*, 111*a*). Rabbi Ḥanina, vigorous at eighty, attributes his strength to his mother's habit of giving him warm baths and anointing his body with oil when he was a child (*Ḥullin*, 24*b*). Maimonides, in his turn, after quoting many dietetic prescriptions from the Talmud, concludes as follows:

'To every man who obeys these rules I guarantee that he will never be ill, but, on the contrary, will achieve old age, need no doctor, and enjoy perfect, uninterrupted health unless he has had a feeble constitution from the beginning, or has been addicted to evil habits from his early years, or is attacked by plague or famine' (*Hil. Dēoth*, iv. 20).

A physician, however, Maimonides discerns the powerful influence exerted by the intellectual and the spiritual life upon the physical health, and therefore upon a man's chances of attaining old age. Thus the section (*Hil. Dēoth*) of his *Yād* from which the foregoing passage is taken deals as much with morals as with hygiene. He does not stand alone in this respect. Most of the many Jewish aids to right living which have appeared since the close of the Talmud give equal attention to physical and religious wellbeing. For the authors of these manuals the physical life is eminently worth safeguarding as the one certain opportunity for service (see art. LIFE AND DEATH [Jewish]); and, on the other hand, the health of the soul is an essential condition of the bodily health. A typical example is the work entitled *Shebilē Emunah*, written by Meir ibn Aldabi (14th cent.), in which Galen and Hippocrates are placed under contribution equally with the Bible and the Rabbis, and in which disquisitions on anatomy, hygiene, and longevity are inserted between chapters on theological questions. For Jewish teachers, ancient and more modern alike, old age is a good thing; it is the natural rounding off of the physical life. Nevertheless an early death is not necessarily a premature death. A brief life may still be a full life:

'There are those who win their world in a single hour' (*Ābôda Zārā*, 10*b*).

Old age, too, is honourable. The aged have the matured wisdom which youth necessarily lacks.

'He that learns from the young eats unripe grapes, drinks new wine; he that learns from the old eats ripe grapes, drinks old wine' (*Ābhôth*, iv. 20).

This is said of those who possess both years and learning. As to ordinary folk the Talmud makes a curious discrimination between the sexes. It quotes with approval the current adage, 'An old man in the house is a nuisance, an old woman a treasure' (*Erahîn*, 19*a*). On the other hand, old women are fonder of amusement than old men are:

'A drum sets a woman of sixty jigging as though she were six' (*Moed Kaṭon*, 9*b*).

Respect for old age occupies a prominent place in the Talmudic ethics. 'Who is sure of heaven? He that honours the aged' (*Bābhā Bathrā*, 10*b*). The duty has no limitations of race or religion; it must be practised towards the Gentile (*Qiddūshîn*, 33*a*). On the other hand, moral worth must grace it if it is rightly to claim respect. 'What,' ask the Rabbis (*Midr. Rabbāh* to Gn 24[1]), 'is honourable old age?' They answer, 'That which has won a man both worlds. It is possible to be venerable without being old, and contrariwise. 'Some men are aged, but lack years; others live long, but lack age,' *i.e.* experience and character; but to be old and venerable is the ideal condition (*ib.*; cf. Wis 4[9]). The Talmud (*Berākhôth*, 28*a*) tells of a sage (Eleazar ben Azariah) who, appointed head of the Sanhedrin at eighteen, suddenly becomes grey as a sign of his fitness for the high office. For the Talmud, indeed, the learned are always aged, irrespective of their years (*Qiddūshîn*, 33*a*). To them must be shown the deference which is due to old age. The Rabbis lay down detailed rules for their treatment. One must rise before them, reverently salute them, refrain from sitting in their accustomed seats, and from contradicting or interrupting them. They must be addressed respectfully and answered gently (*ib.* 32*a*, 33*a*; *Midr. Rabbāh* to Nu 11[16]; Maimonides, *Hil. T. Tôrāh*, chs. v., vi.). Their advice, even if it be to pull down the Temple, is to be preferred to the opinion of the young, though it be to build it up (Tosefta, *Ābôda Zārā*, i. 19). Even the old sage who has forgotten his learning must be treated tenderly; for were not the broken tablets of the Law placed in the Ark of the Covenant side by side with the whole tablets (*Berākhôth*, 8*b*)? So far did some of the Rabbis carry their reverence for age that they would rise before an unlettered old man on the plea that his very longevity necessarily proved that he had merits. A heathen sage was also thus to be honoured, for 'many a sorrow must have lighted upon that grey head' (*Qiddūshîn*, 32*b*, 33*a*). On the other hand, day-labourers, when at work, are exempt from the duty of rising before the aged, for their time is their money. And the Rabbi is exhorted not needlessly to impose the duty of showing him respect upon the common people. To this end he is counselled to go by unfrequented byways in order to avoid the crowd (*ib.* 33*a*; Maimonides, *Hil. T. Tôrāh*, vi. 2, 3).

Jewish practice is the embodiment of the foregoing precepts. Reverence and tender consideration for old age fill a large place in the Jewish life. The aged who to a long life unite piety and learning are made the object of singular veneration. The chief places in the Sanhedrin and the synagogue, as well as at table, were given to old people. Very aged men, however, were debarred from membership of the Sanhedrin owing to the fear that old age might have blunted their feelings and so made their judgments unduly severe (*Sanh.* 36*b*; Maimonides, *Sanh.* i. 3). In the charitable domain the old, whether learned or not, are deemed worthy of especial solicitude. The discharge of this obligation was a characteristic feature of the Essenes (Philo [ed. Mangey, London, 1742], ii. 459). Special charities for the relief of the aged have always been a familiar feature in the Jewish communal organization. These took the form of money gifts, but also of institutions called *heqdēsh*, 'the consecrated house'—hospitals in the broadest sense of the term, which offered an asylum not only to the sick, but to strangers and old people. The earliest instance of such an institution known to history is that in Cologne in the 11th century.

LITERATURE.—I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, London, 1896; Hamburger, artt. 'Alter,' 'Greisenalter,' 'Lebensdauer,' and 'Verlängerung des Lebens'; M. Joseph, *Judaism as Creed and Life*[2], London, 1910; *JE*, artt. 'Charity' and 'Age, Old'; L. Löw, *Die Lebensalter in der jüdischen Literatur*, Szegedin, 1875; S. Suwalski, *Chayē Hayehudi*, Warsaw, 1898.

MORRIS JOSEPH.

OLD AGE (Iranian).—Iranian data concerning the treatment of the aged are curiously meagre Strabo (p. 517), quoting Onesicratus, who flourished in the time of Alexander the Great, says that

the Bactrians were accustomed to throw those who were worn out with age or infirmity to dogs bred expressly for the purpose; so that the space before the Bactrian metropolis was clean, but the land within the walls was covered with human bones. This barbarous custom, he continues, was stopped by Alexander. A similar statement is made by Porphyrius (*de Abstinentia*, iv. 21), while instances of cold-blooded abandonment of the sick are given by Agathias (ii. 23), who wrote in the 6th cent. A.D. In the Avesta itself there is only a single allusion which can be construed as referring to the treatment of the aged. This is contained in the *Vendīdād*, iii. 15–21, which states that one who bears a corpse alone, thus bringing upon himself the most dread of all impure demons, must be placed in a dry and barren spot, where few living creatures pass, and at least thirty paces from fire, water, the *barsom*, and the faithful Zoroastrian. There he is to be confined in an enclosure, and to be clothed and fed wretchedly until he becomes 'old' (*hana*), 'aged' (*zaurura*), and 'impotent' (*pairištā-xšudra*)—terms which the Pahlavi *Frahang-ī Ōīm* (ed. H. Jamaspji and M. Haug, Bombay, 1867, pp. 5, 48; ed. H. Reichelt, Vienna, 1900, p. 9) explains as connoting respectively 'seventy,' 'fifty,' and 'ninety' years of age, while the Pahlavi commentary on the *Vendīdād* passage (ed. F. Spiegel, Vienna, 1853, i. 26; ed. D. P. Sanjana, Bombay, 1895, p. 38) makes the adjectives denote 'fifty,' 'fifty' (doubtless a clerical error for 'sixty'; cf. Spiegel, *Commentar über das Avesta*, Leipzig, 1864, i. 91), and 'seventy.' When the person thus defiled reaches these ages, the Mazdayasnians are directed to send to him a sturdy man, who is to cut off his head and leave his corpse for the vultures, while the executioner repeats the words: 'This man repenteth him of all his evil thoughts, and evil words, and evil deeds.' There is, therefore, a certain degree of confirmation of the Greek statements as to the Persian treatment of the aged, but it must be borne in mind that the cases of such abandonment and putting to death of the old are restricted by the Avesta text to a single case of religious pollution of the utmost gravity, so that to this day the Persian Zoroastrians require two corpse-bearers at the *dakhmahs* ('towers of silence'), while each pair of those who carry the dead body to the tower must be symbolically joined by the *kusti*, or sacred girdle (A. V. W. Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, New York, 1906, pp. 389, 392).

Despite the statements of Onesicratus and Agathias, and notwithstanding the Avesta passage already discussed, it would seem that the position of the aged in ancient Persia was one of respect, if the general spirit of the sacred books of Iran forms any criterion, and if the affection for children which characterized the Persians, and which usually implies care for the equally helpless aged, be taken into consideration. This is borne out by the *Cyropædia* of Xenophon (I. ii. 13 f., VIII. vii. 10), which, romance though it be, is perhaps of more value as a source for Persian life than is generally believed; while the Avesta itself (*Vendīdād*, xii. 1) requires the children to mourn thirty days for a deceased parent if good (*i.e.* in heaven) or sixty days if evil (*i.e.* in hell). The Pahlavi *Artā-Vīrāf* (lxv., ed. Haug and E. W. West, Bombay, 1872, pp. 94–95, 188) likewise assigns a distinct punishment in hell for those children who failed to respect their parents; and the classical writers Herodotus (i. 138), Aristotle (*Eth. Nic.* viii. 10), and Quintus Curtius (v. ii. 22) explicitly affirm the reverence of Persian children for their fathers and mothers (A. Rapp, *ZDMG* xx. [1866] 111).

LITERATURE. — F. Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, Berlin, 1863, pp. 297–299; F. Spiegel, *Eränische Alterthumskunde*, Leipzig, 1878, iii. 682; B. Brisson, *De regio Persarum principatu*, ed. J. H. Lederlin, Strassburg, 1710, pp. 451–453, 597–598.

LOUIS H. GRAY.

OLD AGE (Japanese).—Like other races, the Japanese have always both hoped for and feared old age. In the ancient poems, which give expression to their inmost feelings, we find them wishing for the long life of the crane and tortoise, or envying the thousand-year-old pine-tree (see M. Revon, *Anthologie de la littérature japonaise*, Paris, 1910, pp. 144, 150, 157), but at the same time they lament 'the snow and the waves' which year by year they discover in their bronze mirror, and bewail the rapid course of human life, ephemeral as the foam on the water, like the dew or the convolvulus blossom (*ib.* pp. 145, 246, 338, etc.). Old age with them, however, is singularly softened by the respect which is accorded it, and which is noticeable, with but a few exceptions, throughout the whole history of their civilization.

This arose naturally from the respect for parents which we find as early as the mythological stories.

The emperor Keikō, *e.g.*, terrified at the violent temper of his son, the famous hero, Yamato-dake, sends him, almost alone and unarmed, to fight formidable enemies in all parts of the empire; Yamato-dake does not dream for a moment of disputing his father's orders. This fierce warrior weeps at the thought that his father wishes for his death, but he obeys with absolute submission (see HEROES AND HERO-GODS [Japanese], vol. vii. p. 663, and cf. *Kojiki*, tr. B. H. Chamberlain², Tōkyō, 1906, p. 260).

This filial respect gradually extends to others besides parents, to all aged men whose experience and wisdom are appreciated (*e.g.*, *Kojiki*, 147). The emperor himself, in spite of his divine character, willingly renders homage to the superior experience of the aged minister Take-uchi, a Japanese Methuselah (*ib.* 353).

If this was the case in the primitive period, it would be much more so when the development of ancestor-worship, under Chinese influence, and the general advance of society had added to this instinctive respect for the aged and given it a more definite moral significance.

It must be said, however, that at the time of the great civil wars of the Japanese feudality, and as a natural consequence of the brutality which necessarily accompanies the warlike spirit, the aged were not always honoured as they ought to have been. To men who admire power above everything else, the old man appears more or less as a useless dotard.

In a historical work of the 12th cent., towards the end of the Heian period, a young *samurai* of twenty speaks to two centenarians in a tone of presumptuous lightness, which makes one of them reply to him thus: 'The aged guard the memory of the past. Wise emperors used to send for all the old people in the country to ask them about the life in former times, and it was by paying heed to what they said that they governed the people. The aged are therefore venerable beings. Do not scorn them, young men!' (Revon, pp. 228–231).

This germ of irreverence could not help developing in the following period, the gloomy warlike epoch of Kamakura.

In a 13th cent. military history a certain Sanemori, a *samurai* more than septuagenary, relates why he has thought it necessary to dye his beard and hair black: 'Old men who take up their bow and arrow to go and fight must dye their hair with black ink. And this is why. Even in times of peace the young laugh at white hairs; much more on the battle-field. If an old man wishes to advance, they say that he has lost his reason; if he retreats, they insult him, saying that he is a coward; and he does not dare to compete with these young people. As for the enemy, they despise the old as good for nothing. The white hairs of old age are the saddest thing in the world' (*ib.* pp. 241–244).

After this long period of civil wars the great peace of the Tokugawa period was established, and respect for old age, and the happy state resulting from it, again appeared and became fixed with the refinement of civilization. Many proofs of this state of mind are found in the philosophers, especially those of the Chinese school. It will suffice here to draw attention to a Japanese custom which

is specially interesting in this connexion, viz. that of *inkyo*.

To understand this custom it is well to know its historical orgin, which lies in the practice of abdication, so wide-spread in Japan. When the custom of abdication itself was introduced, in the 7th cent., it was in consequence of Buddhism, which taught contempt for the world, and advised men, especially those of a certain age, to retire into solitude, there to meditate and prepare themselves for the other life. This religious motive did not altogether cease to exist afterwards, but it yielded to a political reason; for, from the time when the Fujiwara and other great families practically monopolized the imperial power, they acquired the custom of strengthening themselves by not allowing any but quite young emperors to reign, often mere children, whom they forced to abdicate whenever they reached an age when they might have shown a disposition to be independent. For this reason emperors often abdicated about the age of twenty, or even earlier (Rokujō [1166–68], *e.g.*, was made emperor at the age of two and resigned when only four years old). But these retired emperors (*in*) were often older men, who continued to act behind the scenes, and sometimes played a more effective part there than during the time of their nominal sovereignty. Now, in consequence of that spirit of imitation which is one of the most powerful social forces, this system of abdication gradually extended to ministers of State, to officials, and even to the most unassuming heads of families, and it ended in the general custom of *inkyo*.

According to the researches of native philologists, the word *inkyo* originally meant 'concealment'; gradually it was applied to 'retirement to one's native place'; and then it denoted 'the withdrawal from the active management of household or government affairs in favour of a son or relative.' Lastly, it may be translated by 'dwelling in retirement'; and it is used in practice to denote either the fact of abandoning the affairs of one's house in order to retire to private life or the man who retires in this way. In the time of the Tokugawa, and down to the Revolution of 1867, it may be said that this was a custom almost generally followed by the Japanese as soon as they had passed middle life. They left their property to their heirs, gave up their official duties or their business affairs, and, having become *inkyo*, they devoted the remainder of their lives, surrounded by tender care, to pleasant rest or quiet studies.

To-day this custom is gradually disappearing, either on account of new necessities and the harder kind of life consequent on the introduction of Western civilization, or perhaps, in some measure, as a result of the tendency of many modern Japanese to exchange their old national customs, often without sufficient reasons, for foreign usages. Nevertheless it is curious that, while the *inkyo* is severely attacked by the Japanese themselves (see Shigeno An-eki, 'The Evils of Abdication, Heirship, and Adoption,' in *TASJ* xv. i. [1887] 72–82), sensible Europeans praise and envy this custom:

'The new government of Japan is endeavouring to put a stop to the practice of *inkyo*, as being barbarous because not European. But to the people at large it appears, on the contrary, barbarous that a man should go on toiling and striving, when past the time of life at which he is fitted to do good work' (B. H. Chamberlain, *Things Japanese*[3], London, 1898, p. 14).

This view seems most just, when we compare the European system fairly with the old Japanese one. With us the best part of life is lost in vain studies; we begin active life much later and consequently have often to prolong it to the extreme limits of old age. In this way neither young nor old have time to enjoy life properly. The ancient Japanese, on the contrary, began practical work when very young, they founded their families earlier, and consequently they could very soon leave the place to the young people in order to pass the second half of their lives in peace, while the young men worked eagerly, at the normal age of greatest activity, in view of that happy life which they in their turn were soon going to win. For social utility the result was the same; and, as far as the happiness of individuals was concerned, it was infinitely superior. The civilization which devised the *raku-inkyo*, 'the happy retired one,' certainly deserves a place of honour among truly humane civilizations.

LITERATURE.—This is cited in the article.

M. REVON.

OLD AGE (Roman).—The Latin words connected with old age are two, *senex*, 'an old man,' and *anus*, 'an old woman,' with their respective derivatives. The former comes from a root which is present also in other Indo-European languages, and has in its turn perpetuated itself in the Romance languages in the comparative form *senior* (Fr. *sieur*, *seigneur*; Ital. *signor*; Span. *señor*; Portuguese, *senhor*, etc.). The latter finds its kindred in Germ. *ana*, Armen. *han* ('grandmother'), and Lith. *anyta* ('mother-in-law'), but has left no trace in the Romance languages, having been killed by the other root. The word *antiquus* tended to become used exclusively of things, and the word *uetus* (*uetulus*, *uetustus*, etc.) refers rather to time (period) than to age, though the Romance words like *vieux* (Fr.) and *viejo* (Span.) show that in speech this adjective was generally applied to old people. Of the derivatives of *senex* not all had precisely the same shade of meaning; e.g., *senectus* meant 'old age as a definite period of life,' while *senium* meant 'old age as bringing infirmity with it, helpless old age' (R. Ogilvie, *Horæ Latinæ*, London, 1901, p. 201). The form *senecta* appears to be a coinage of the poets, as more convenient for their metre than *senectus*, of which it is a real synonym (see below, however). The verb *seneo* habitually carries the idea of the weakness of age. One of the most interesting derivatives is *senatus*, lit. 'a body of old men,' but the analogy of *magistratus* and other words would seem to indicate that originally the word was an abstract noun, meaning 'the duty of an old man' (or 'of old men'). An interesting parallel is to be found in the word γερουσία, which first means 'old age,' but comes to be used collectively = 'a body of γέροντες.' Such a council is mentioned as early as the Homeric poems, and the word, collectively used, is frequently found in Roman imperial times, though at that date it appears to have lost almost all political significance (Pauly-Wissowa, vii. 1264 ff., art. 'Gerontes, Gerusia'; W. M. Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, vol. i. pt. i. [Oxfo d 1895] pp. 64, 110, vol. i. pt. ii. [do. 1897] pp. 368, 438, 630). Another parallel, which illustrates the original connexion between old age and the wisdom required for State deliberations, is to be found in the words πρεσβύτερος, πρεσβυτέριον (see the present writer's *Pocket Lexicon Gr. NT*, Oxford, 1916, *s.vv.*). Why the comparative was used in this connexion (as also, perhaps on the analogy of the Gr., in the case of the Lat. *senior*, especially in the later period) is uncertain, but the probable reason is that it offered an easy way of distinguishing between those who were actually old (positive) and those who were merely officially old (comparative). We are here concerned only with the fact that the use of words properly associated with old age to indicate members of advisory or legislative councils appears to have been almost, if not quite, universal in Mediterranean lands. This is perhaps the proper place to mention that the Roman senate was sometimes worshipped as divine—*e.g.*, along with the emperor

Tiberius and his mother Livia in A.D. 23 by certain towns in Asia Minor. In that year it was decreed to build a temple in honour of this joint cult, and in A.D. 26 the building was entrusted to the people of Smyrna. Other instances of worship of the Roman senate, one as early as Augustus, are collected in W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, iv. (Leipzig, 1910) 708 ff., art. 'Senatus.' The senate was represented in art as an old man with a tunic and toga, bordered with purple, and with a wreath on his head (Dio Cass. lxviii. 1, 5).

Among the many personifications of states or abstract qualities which were deified by the Romans, Senecta or Senectus found a place. Senectus was daughter of a father Erebus and a mother Nox, a gloomy conception of old age which probably came to the Romans through the Greeks (Hyginus, *Fab.* præf. p. 9, 7, ed. M. Schmidt, Jena, 1872). Cicero, in his *de Natura Deorum*, iii. 17, 44, enumerates a long list of feelings, passions, and states which, he says, were personalized by the old genealogizers, Senectus being a sister of Æther and Dies. The qualities enumerated are Amor, Dolus, Metus, Labor, Inuidentia, Fatum, Senectus, Mors, Tenebræ, Miseria, Querella, Gratia, Fraus, Pertinacia, Parcæ, Hesperides, Somnia—for the most part a gloomy brood, all of them children of Erebus and Nox. Some of them reappear in Vergil's description of the lower world, as having their quarters in front of the entrance: *tristis* ('gloomy') Old Age is flanked by Morbi ('diseases') that make the sufferer sallow, and by Metus, in which the fear of death may be comprised (*Æn.* vi. 275). In Lygdamus [Tibullus], iii. 5, 16, Old Age appears with white hair, bent body, and slow-moving feet. In a catalogue of gloomy and evil states or qualities in Silius Italicus (xiii. 583) Old Age appears as *queribunda*, 'full of tearful complaint,' while in a similar list in Seneca (*Hercules Furens*, 696) 'slow-moving Old Age, hidden away in a corner, is aiding her steps with a stick' (see Roscher, iv. 710; H. Usener, *Götternamen*, Bonn, 1896, p. 366; and cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* 'Geras,' as well as art. OLD AGE [Greek]).

From this gloomier side of old age it is a relief to turn to the pages of Cicero's *Cato* or *de Senectute*, the Roman classic on the subject. Cicero did well to choose Cato the Censor as the type of old age, for he was both vigorous and contented. The secret was that he, according to the Stoic teaching, lived in harmony with nature. The faults of old age are generally due to the character of the complainants. Prosperity may make old age easier, but without a well-trained character it is intolerable. Fabius Maximus, Plato, Ennius, and others are instanced to show that old age can be happy. A series of charges against old age is then refuted. These charges are: (*a*) it unfits men for business; (*b*) it weakens the bodily powers; (*c*) it renders men incapable of pleasures; (*d*) it must be gloomy, because it cannot be free from the anticipation of death. Cato very skilfully rebuts these, and is certainly on strong ground in his insistence that character has most to do with the attitude of the old to their age. The growth of physical weakness is admitted, but it is compensated for by a growth of wisdom, which is above all things necessary to temper the hot-headedness of youth. Any lack of memory in old age is due either to an original defect or to insufficient exercise of the memory. The bodily strength of an old man depends almost entirely on his having lived temperately in youth and manhood. Moreover, he is not expected to exert it. Cases of weakness are due to ill-health, and caution in old age is very helpful (cf. the admirable work of a modern Cato, Henry Thompson, *Diet in Relation to Age and Activity*, London, 1902). Cato proceeds to argue that physical pleasure is in itself bad, and that we ought to be thankful that old age saves us from its domination. The really lasting pleasures, such as conversation, literature, and agriculture, are open to him, as they are to younger men. He maintains that death cannot in any case be an evil, as the right object is a good, not a long, life. Moreover, death is natural, and what is natural is good. Surely accomplished old men can meet death as calmly as the uncultured young. To Cato, also, death is the entrance on an unending life. From the present life one should be content to depart, once one has had one's full share of it (cf. the introduction to the best ed., that by J. S. Reid, Cambridge, 1879, 1887, and later; the ed. of C. Simbeck, Leipzig, 1912, is important for the text).

Cicero was sixty-two years old when he wrote this treatise, which he intended to be to his friend Atticus and to others, as it had been to himself, a real means of alleviating the burden of old age. He seems to have had also another purpose, namely to point back to the period at which Cato had lived (the 2nd cent. B.C.) as the golden age of Rome's history. Cicero missed in the men of his time the 'serious simplicity, the unswerving adherence to principle, the self-sacrificing patriotism, which were the ideal Roman virtues' (Reid, p. 12). The value of his dialogue as representing the best Roman point of view is at first sight somewhat impaired by the knowledge that it is in part based on Greek sources. Reid has shown in detail that he has used Xenophon's *Œconomicus* and *Cyropædia*, and Plato's *Republic* and *Phædo*. Moreover, the influence of Aristotle's lost dialogues on the form of Cicero's is apparent. In those nearly all the speaking was done by one person, the interlocutors merely interjecting occasional remarks, and they were more popular than Plato's. It is probable, too, that Cicero used in addition, as the main basis of his tractate, a Greek work on this specific subject, whether that by Aristo of Ceos, a Peripatetic of the 3rd cent. B.C., or that of Theophrastus, or that of Demetrius Phalereus. Nevertheless, the treatise is really Roman. For Cicero, though deeply read in Greek literature, was a real son of the soil, and had been drilled in the Roman native dramatic literature by his father; so that we can after all regard the treatise as in the main an expression of the Roman attitude at its best. And it is fortunate that this is so, because, while there are, of course, many allusions to this subject in Roman literature, no other *specific* Roman treatise on old age has come down to us. Some of these allusions may now be quoted.

An epithet like *silicernium*, 'sack of dry bones' (Terence, *Adelphi*, IV. ii. 48), is a term of abuse, probably translated from the Greek original of the play, and with no significance in the attempt to gauge the general Roman attitude to old age. We are on more secure ground when we come to the well-known description of Horace:

> 'Many disadvantages surround the old man, both because he seeks gain and (wretched man!) forbears and fears to use what he has gained, and because he manages everything in a cowardly and timid way, a procrastinator, holding long to his hopes, inactive, eager for longer life, cross-grained, complaining, praising the days of his boyhood, blaming and criticizing the younger generation. The years till one's prime is over bring many advantages with them, but many disappear as we come nearer to the end' (*Ars Poet.* 169–176).

The writings of Seneca abound in references to old age. Some of the more striking or interesting may be translated, and it must be kept in mind that what sounds commonplace to us was not necessarily so to the first readers. Perhaps the most important writings of Seneca on this subject are *Epistles* xxvi., lviii., ci., and cviii. *Ep.* xxvi. was written when Seneca was 'within sight of old

age' (§ 1). He feels the burden of ill-health, and that, while his mind is vigorous, his body is already prematurely aged. He describes it as melting, as having bits plucked from it, and as losing some strength every day. He tries to welcome the prospect of the gradual dissolution, which is after all a natural process. Only death will decide what moral progress he has made. *Ep.* lviii. 30–32 has the following thoughts:

'Plato himself by care prolonged his life to old age. He had indeed been blest with a strong body, and had got his name from the breadth of his chest, but sea-voyages and perils had greatly impaired his strength: yet frugality, restraint in all that calls forth eager desire, and a careful guardianship of himself brought him to old age, though there were many reasons standing in his way. For you are aware of the fact, I suppose, that as the reward of his care Plato had the good fortune to reach the age of full eighty-one years. . . . Frugality can prolong old age. It is not I think to be longed for, yet it is not to be rejected either. It is pleasant to have one's own company as long as possible, when one has made one's own company worth enjoying.'

He then goes on to consider the question, natural in a Stoic, whether one ought to cut short one's old age by suicide. In *Ep.* ci. 10–15 he expresses strong disapproval of Mæcenas's sentiment that life is desirable, even if every part of the body be decayed or under torture. From the long *Ep.* cviii. one extract may be given (§ 28):

'The present day is always the best, because diseases come upon one, because old age begins to weigh on us and is over our heads, while we are still thinking of youth. Vergil, it is said, always puts diseases and old age together, assuredly not without reason; for *old age is an incurable disease.* Besides he has added the epithet *tristis* to it' (*Georg.* iii. 67, *Æn.* vi. 275, then quoted).

In *Ep.* lxvii. 2 he thanks old age, because it has chained him to his reading-couch, where he can enjoy the letters of his young friend Lucilius, as if he were conversing with him. In *Ep.* xiii. 17 he speaks of old men whom one may meet any day, engaged in the pursuit of ambition, foreign travel, or business.

'What can be more disgraceful,' he says, 'than an old man beginning life?' The same sentiment recurs: 'An old man learning his alphabet is a subject for laughter and contempt' (*Ep.* xxxvi. 4; cf. xxxiii. 7).

In *Ep.* iv. 2 he speaks of the childishness which sometimes persists in old age:

'We have the authority of old men, but the defects of boys, and not only of boys, but even of infants: for the former are afraid of trifles, the latter of bogeys, but we are afraid of both.'

'On a courtier being once asked how he had managed to reach old age at court, he replied: "By suffering injuries and giving thanks"' (*de Ira*, II. xxxiii. 2).

Ch. xx. of the *de Breuitate Vitæ* is concerned with the old who will not give up toil.

'Some,' he says, 'in the last stages of old age, yet make arrangements for the attainment of something fresh, as if they were young, and in the midst of undertakings great and evil alike collapse through weakness.'

He tells the story of a certain Turannius, who, being over ninety years old, was excused from the performance of his official duty by the emperor, without having made application for the indulgence. He went to bed, and commanded that he should be mourned as if dead, and remained there until his office was restored to him. In the *de Tranquillitate Animi*, ii. 6, the trite remark occurs that 'old age is slow to make changes.' There is a warning, in the *de Breuitate Vitæ*, ix. 4, for those on whom old age has come unexpectedly, while they have still the minds of boys, and are unprepared and 'unarmed' for it, not having perceived its daily approach.

'Some people hate to hear of old age and grey hairs, etc., and yet these are the very things for which they pray' (*Dial.* II. xvii. 2; cf. Augustine, *Tract. in Joh.* xxxii. 9, *in Ps.* 26, serm. iii. § 9).

'The most irascible people are little children, old people, and invalids' (*de Ira*, I. xiii. 5). 'Old men are cross-grained and given to complaining, like invalids and the convalescent' (*ib.* II. xix. 4).

The most striking passage on old age in Latin literature is Juvenal, *Sat.* x. 188–288. Beginning with the universal prayer for length of days, he goes on to describe the crop of serious troubles which awaits those who reach old age. He gives a loathsome description, with abundance of detail, of the physical unsightliness of many old persons, the decay of the various senses, and the diseases to which they are liable. There is also the loss of memory, he says, leading even to injustice towards one's relatives. It is clear from that part of the satire that he is thinking primarily of the old age of people who have led evil lives. Then there is the distressful state of a man who has survived all his loved ones, illustrated by accounts, mostly imaginary, of the later years of Nestor, Peleus, Laertes, and Priam. Turning to Rome, he writes eloquently of the cases of Marius and Pompey, though the latter, indeed, never reached real old age. J. D. Duff points out that Swift derived some of the details of the Struldbrugs (*Gulliver's Travels*, pt. iii. ch. x.) from this picture by Juvenal. In *Sat.* iv. 97 he mentions how seldom a nobleman reaches old age, because nearly all fall victims to the jealousy and cruelty of emperors (see J. E. B. Mayor's note on this passage and also on line 154; cf. *Sat.* x. 112 f. with notes). The same thought is given expression by other writers like Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dio Cassius, with particular reference to Nero's murders (see the passages in Mayor's Juvenal, i.[4] [London, 1889] 409). The subject of *orbi* (*orbæ*), persons of advanced age without heirs to inherit their wealth, occurs with almost sickening frequency in the literature of the period. These persons were the victims of *captatores* (*heredipetæ*), who courted them and performed every menial service to them on the chance that they might inherit their wealth. The great influence wielded by the *orbi*, and the capricious behaviour which seems to characterize such people, are often mentioned (passages in Mayor's notes on Juvenal, iii. 129, pp. 195, 368, iv. 19, pp. 220, 395). A pleasanter side of old age is revealed in the references to the games played by old men. They were especially fond of games with dice and draughts (Juvenal, xiv. 4, with the note of Mayor).

If we pass to the writings of the 4th cent. A.D., the impressions that we get are on the whole more pleasant. The astrological writer, Julius Firmicus Maternus, who afterwards became a Christian, in the course of his exposition of his subject, conveys to us, by the way, a good deal of information about the manners and morals of his time. Some of it is gruesome enough, but the picture is relieved by such phrases as 'longae ac beatae senectutis spatia' (*Mathesis*, III. iii. 15), 'longioris uitae et bonae senectutis' (III. x. 9), and 'usque ad mortem felicem senectutem' (III. iii. 6). The Christian leaven had been working for three centuries, and one of the blessings which it brings is beautiful old age. The writings of Ambrose abound in passages illustrating this:

'Aetas senectutis uita est inmaculata' (*Cain et Abel*, ii. 1). 'Senectus portus debet esse, non uitae superioris naufragium' (*Jacob*, ii. 10). 'In Actibus Apostolorum Barnabas Marcum adsumpsit, Paulus Silam, Paulus Timotheum, Paulus Titum. Sed illis superioribus uidemus diuisa officia, ut seniores consilio praeualerent, iuniores ministerio. Plerumque etiam uirtutibus pares, dispares aetatibus, sui delectantur copula, sicut delectabantur Petrus et Iohannes. Nam adulescentem legimus in euangelio Iohannem, et sua uoce, licet meritis et sapientia nulli fuerit seniorum secundus, erat enim in eo senectus venerabilis morum et cana prudentia. *Uita enim inmaculata bonae senectutis stipendium est*' (*Off.* ii. 20, § 100 f.). 'Aetates quaedam sunt meritorum, nam et senectus morum inuenitur in pueris et innocentia infantum reperitur in senibus,' etc. (*Sermo* lv.).

From Jerome also many passages might be produced in illustration, though his youthful behaviour and the bitterness of his disposition would hardly lead one to expect them. In a remarkable passage of *Ep.* lii. (§ 3), he describes how in the old, while all other virtues wane, that of wisdom alone increases. By the waning virtues he explains that he means that 'cuncta, quae per corpus

exercentur, fracto corpore minora fiunt.' He admits that in very many old men wisdom itself fades through age. Yet those who have acquired honourable accomplishments in their youth and have studied the law of the Lord day and night (Ps 1[2]) become more learned with age, more experienced, wiser, and 'reap the sweetest fruits of their old pursuits.' He then proceeds to give a number of instances of Greek philosophers and poets who continued learning to the last, and to these he adds the Roman name of Cato. An exhortation to Furia (*Ep.* liv. 14) gives, by way of warning, the other side of the picture:

'Iam incanuit caput, tremunt genua, dentes cadunt, "et frontem obscenam rugis arat" (Verg. *Æn.* vii. 417), uicina est mors in foribus: designatur rogus prope. Uelimus, nolimus, senes sumus. Paret sibi uiaticum, quod longo itinere necessarium est. Secum portet, quod inuitus dimissurus est; immo praemittat in caelum, quod, ni cauerit, terra sumptura est.'

Other passages in Jerome bearing on this subject are: *in Ecclesiasten*, xi. (ed. Venice, 1767, iii. (1) 483); *Præf. in lib. ii. Comm. in Amos* (vi. 263, 264), a very important passage; *Ep.* liv. 9 (the diet of the old); *Comm. in Esaiam*, III. v. 2 (iv. 48c, d, e, 49a) (distinction between *senex* and *presbyter*; cf. on v. 4, pp. 53a, 54a); *Comm. in Tit.* ii. 2 (vii. 714b).

At the same period Claudian, who, whether secretly Christian or not, writes in the pagan manner, penned an exquisite little poem on an old man near Verona who never travelled beyond the suburbs of that city (*Carm. Min.* 20 [52], ed. J. Koch, Leipzig, 1893, p. 223). He had passed all his life in the same house. He was not affected by the buffetings of fortune or the discomforts of emigration. He never trembled at danger, like the merchant prince or the soldier or the lawyer. Being in the country, he enjoys the ampler air and counts his years by the seasons. He has seen little of the world, but, possessing splendid physical strength and descendants, he knows more of real life than the man who has journeyed to the ends of the earth. The debt which Claudian here owes to Horace's second *Epode* is evident, but he chooses a different metre, and certain of the details, as well as the local setting, are his own.

The greatest of all Latin writers, Augustine, is full of references to this subject. In commenting on the 70th (71st) Psalm, v.[18], which in his Bible read 'usque in senectam et senium,' he points out that these two words are subdivisions of *senectus*, corresponding respectively to the Greek words πρεσβύτης and γέρων. He considers that πρεσβύτης connotes *grauitas*, and γέρων a later stage. Pointing out that the Latin *senex* has to do duty for both of these Greek words, he says that *senecta* indicates the earlier stage of *senectus*, and *senium* the later (cf. *de Genesi contra Manicheos*, I. xxiii. 39). In the *de diuersis Quæstionibus lxxxiii.*, qu. lviii. § 2, he says that *senectus* comprises as much time as all the other ages put together, because it is said to begin at sixty, and it need not end till one hundred and twenty. A pithy summing up occurs in *Sermo* lxxxi. 8:

'Homo est, nascitur, crescit, senescit. Querellae multae in senecta: tussis, pituita, lippitudo, anxietudo, lassitudo inest. Ergo senuit homo; querellis plenus est; senuit mundus; pressuris plenus est.'

He points out in *Tract. in Joh.* xxxii. 9 the folly of praying both for old age and for beauty, as the two are inconsistent. In *Enarr. in Ps.* cxii. 2 occurs the exhortation:

'Sit senectus uestra puerilis, et pueritia senilis; id est, ut nec sapientia uestra sit cum superbia, nec humilitas sine sapientia.'

The sense of *senior* in the Scriptures is expounded in *Locutiones in Heptateuchum*, vi. 29; *Quæstiones in Genesin*, i. 70, is important for the precise sense of the Scriptural words indicating 'old.' In a fine passage of *Sermo* cxxviii. (9, § 11) he says that the spiritual enemies of the old are wearied, but that they still have to contend with minor enemies who disturb the peace of old age (see also *Catech. Rud.* xvi. 24).

It will not be necessary here to pass beyond the period of Maximian, a poet of the middle of the 6th cent., who in his first *Elegy*, about 300 lines long, pours forth his soul in a dolorous lament. According to his story, he had every blessing that man could desire in his youth, of which he gives a long and detailed account. Sometimes his conceit is such as to excite laughter in the modern reader (*e.g.*, 59 ff.).

LITERATURE.—Except as a divinity, for which see the art. 'Senectus' in Roscher, the subject has not been, so far as the present writer knows, treated in modern times. The above article has been compiled from the ancient authorities quoted.

A. SOUTER.

OLD AGE (Semitic and Egyptian).—**1. Desirability.**—In the early times a long life was desired and considered a blessing by all Semites and Egyptians whose thoughts we can trace. This is natural, since all men, when in health, love life and abhor death. A Babylonian king invokes a blessing upon every one who shall respect his decree defining a boundary thus:

'May the river god and Nina, mistress of goddesses, be with him in fidelity and might, with Ea, creator of all, may they fix for him the destiny of life, days of old age, and blissful years may they prolong for him as a gift!'[1]

The OT contains many expressions that voice the same point of view on the part of the Hebrews (see 'Hebrew and Jewish' section).

A similar point of view was entertained by the Egyptians. In the *Precepts of Ptahhotep* we read:

'How good it is when a son receives that which his father says. He shall reach advanced age thereby.'[2]

Ramses IV. inscribed at Abydos a prayer to Osiris in which he says:

'And thou shalt give to me health, life, long existence and a prolonged reign. . . . Thou shalt double for me the long life, the prolonged reign of king Ramses II., the great god.'[3]

As Ramses II. reigned sixty-seven years, the petition is an appeal for a very long life.

The desirability of a long life led naturally to a longing for immortality. The Egyptian conceptions of the life beyond the grave are fairly well known.[4] They were transformed, through the influence of faith in Osiris, from belief in a colourless existence in an under world to faith in a bright heavenly hereafter. Although such a faith developed more slowly among the Semites, it is not wanting. The belief that man was denied immortality through divine purpose finds expression both in Gn 3 and in the Babylonian Adapa myth. The Hebrews, however, went farther than the Babylonians. In the period after 200 B.C. they developed a faith in a resurrection to a happy life on the earth for 500 years (*Enoch*, x. 10), and then to an eternal life (Dn 12[2-4]). This faith was taken over by Muhammad, who apparently had no question either as to the eternity of the bliss of the righteous or as to the torment of the wicked.[5]

2. Traditions of long life.—Among both the Hebrews and the Babylonians traditions were cherished that early men lived much longer than the average of human life in the historic period. The Hebrew tradition is embodied in Gn 5, and is familiar to all. Most of the antediluvian patriarchs were believed to have lived more than 900 years each. A Babylonian tablet in Philadelphia

[1] H. V. Hilprecht, *Old Babylonian Inscriptions*, Philadelphia, 1893–96, no. 83, reverse, lines 15–20.
[2] Cf. J. H. Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, New York, 1912, p. 235 ff.
[3] Cf. Breasted, *Hist. of Egypt*[2], New York, 1909, pp. 458, 506.
[4] See G. Steindorff, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, New York, 1905, p. 115 ff.; Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought*, lectures ii.–v., viii.
[5] See, *e.g.*, Qur'ân, xxii. 20 ff., lv. 60 ff.

contains a list of Babylonian kings who are said to have ruled for a like large number of years. They are as follows:

Babylonian Kings.	Hebrew Tradition.
Galumum, 900 (?) years.	Adam, 930 years.
Zugagib, 840 (?) years.	Seth, 912 years.
Aripi (perhaps read Admê), 720 years.	Enosh, 905 years.
Etana, the shepherd who went to heaven, 635 years.	Kenan, 910 years.
Pilikam, 350 years.	Mahalalel, 895 years.
Enmennunna, 611 years.	Jared, 962 years.
Melamkish, 900 years.	Enoch, 365 years.
Barsalnunna, 1200 years.	Methuselah, 969 years.
Meskingashir, 325 years.	Lamech, 777 years.
Enmeirgan, 420 years.	Noah, 950 years.[1]
Lugalbanda, 1200 years.	
Dumuzi, 100 years.	
Gilgamesh, 125 years.	

It is the present writer's belief that the antediluvian patriarchs of Gn 5 are transformations of some of these names,[2] but in any event the names are evidence that the Babylonians shared the belief that early men lived exceedingly long lives. Later Babylonian tradition, as represented by Berossos, increased the length of the reigns of antediluvian kings to many thousands of years each. Among the Hebrews it was believed that the average age of man was gradually reduced. Thus Shem is said to have lived 600 years; Arpachshad, 438 years; Shelah, 433 years; Eber, 464 years; Peleg, 239 years; Reu, 239 years; Serug, 230 years; Nahor, 148 years; Terah, 205 years;[3] Abraham, 175 years;[4] Sarah, 127 years;[5] Jacob, 147 years;[6] Joseph, 110 years;[7] and Moses, 120 years.[8] The belief in these ages, which are all found in the P document, was doubtless caused by Babylonian influence. A very early tradition embodied in the J document fixes the age of man at 120 years (Gn 6^3). The ages reported in the OT after the settlement in Palestine were of normal length. The belief that in the earlier time, the Golden Age of humanity, men lived to such great ages is eloquent testimony to the value which the Semites attached to old age.

3. Honours of age.—Among all Semitic people great honour has been given to old men. This arose in part from the patriarchal honours paid to the head of a family and in part from the semi-democratic organization of the clans. In Semitic patriarchal society sons married young, and brought their wives to the house of their father or grandfather, and the patriarch directed the fortunes of his descendants as long as he lived. The solidarity of the family made him alone responsible. The whole family was held guilty for his deeds. Thus Achan's family were all put to death for his sin (Jos 7). Similarly, the head of a family was responsible for the conduct of its members. Thus in Babylonia we hear of a woman, Belilit, the head of a family, who brought a suit to compel the payment of a debt. The debtor was able to exhibit receipts, showing that he had paid the money to her two sons, who were, apparently, grown men; the sons had embezzled the money. Such was the solidarity of the Babylonian family, however, that Belilit was fined an amount equal to the debt which she had sought to collect.[9] Such conditions led naturally to the honouring of old men, as well as to the belief that they were wiser than their juniors. Thus in the book of Job Elihu said:

> 'I am young, and ye are very old;
> Wherefore I held back, and durst not shew you mine opinion
> I said, Days should speak,
> And multitude of years should teach wisdom' ($32^{6f.}$).

Earlier in the book Eliphaz has said:

> 'What knowest thou, that we know not?
> What understandest thou, which is not in us?
> With us are both the grayheaded and the very aged men,
> Much elder than thy father' ($15^{9c.}$).

It was, as some scholars think, in part because of Job's age that he received the honours described in $29^{7ff.}$, though the honour paid him by other old men was doubtless on account of his wealth and charity. He says:

> 'When I went forth to the gate unto the city,
> When I prepared my seat in the street,
> The young men saw me and hid themselves,
> And the aged rose up and stood;
> The princes refrained talking,
> And laid their hand on their mouth;
> The voice of the nobles was hushed,
> And their tongue cleaved to the roof of their mouth' (29^{7-10}).

Since such honours were paid to old men of wealth and character, it was natural to conceive of God as the Supreme Old Man. Thus in Daniel God is called 'Ancient of Days' ($7^{9, 13, 22}$), and in the Enoch parables He is several times referred to as the 'Head of Days,'[1] apparently because He was conceived as a venerable Being with white hair like an old man.

4. Government by old men.—Among all the Semitic clans the government was in the hands of old men or of an old man. This was the natural outcome of the honour in which old men were held. The Arabic term for chieftain is to this day *shaikh*, which means 'old man.' In the OT there is abundant evidence that in the settled life of Israel the government of the cities was in the hands of the old men; the 'elders'[2] as rulers are referred to more than a hundred times (*e.g.*, see Dt $21^{2, 3, 4}$). That this government was known among the Semites of Babylonia appears from a contract which mentions the 'city and elders' as the source of legal authority.[3] Similar testimony is supplied by the Code of Ḫammurabi, in which *šibu*, or grey-haired men, are frequently mentioned as witnesses (see §§ 10, 13, etc.). In one of the sections erased from the pillar found at Susa, but recently recovered in a copy of the Code from Nippur, they appear in a capacity similar to that of the OT elders. The passage reads:

> 'If a man borrow grain or money from a merchant and for payment has no grain or money, whatever is in his hand, in the presence of the elders, he shall give to the merchant in place of the debt; the merchant shall not refuse it; he shall receive it.'[4]

Doubtless the Semitic custom of transacting important business in the presence of the elders led to the employment of *šibu* in Babylonia in the sense of 'witness.'

5. Decay in old age.—Late Semitic thought became reflective, and, where not illumined by the hope of a bright hereafter, it lost its delight in old age. Thus Qoheleth says (Ec $11^{10c.}$):

> 'Put away vexation from thy heart
> And remove misery from thy flesh,—
> For youth and prime are vanity.
> . . . . . .
> While the evil days come not,
> Nor approach the years of which thou shalt say
> I have in them no pleasure;
> While the sun be not darkened,
> Nor the light and moon and stars,
> Nor the clouds return after rain,

[1] Tr. from A. Poebel, *Historical and Grammatical Texts* (= Publications of the Babylonian Section of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, v.), Philadelphia, 1914, no. 3. Poebel has translated the tablet in *Historical Texts* (=*ib.* iv.), p. 73 ff., but the writer's rendering differs from Poebel's in a number of points.

[2] G. A. Barton, *JBL* xxxiv. [1915], and *Archæology and the Bible*, Philadelphia, 1916, pt ii. ch. viii.

[3] See Gn $11^{10ff.}$. [4] Gn 25[7]. [5] Gn 23^{1}. [6] Gn 47^{28}. [7] Gn 50^{26}. [8] Dt 34[7].

[9] See *Babylonian and Assyrian Literature*, ed. R. F. Harper, New York, 1901, p. 276. Cf. also Ezk 18.

[1] See *Enoch*, xlvi. 1, xlvii. 3, xlviii. 2, etc.

[2] Cf. Elder (Semitic), vol. v. p. 253 ff.; also *HDB* and *SDB*, *s.v.* 'Elder (in OT).'

[3] Published in F. Thureau-Dangin, *Lettres et contrats de l'époque de la première dynastie babylonienne*, Paris, 1910, no. 232, and tr. in M. Schorr, *Urkunden des altbabylonischen Zivil- und Prozessrechts*, Leipzig, 1913, no. 265.

[4] Published in Poebel, *Historical and Grammatical Texts*, and tr. Barton, *AJSL* xxxi. [1915] 225.

In the day when the keepers of the house shall tremble
And the men of valor bend themselves,
And the grinding-maids cease because they are few.
And the ladies who look out of the windows are darkened,
And the doors on the street are shut
When the sound of the mill is low,
And he shall rise at the voice of the bird,
And all the daughters of song are prostrate,—
Also he is afraid of a height,
And terror is on the road,
And the almond-tree blooms,
And the grasshopper is burdensome,
And the caper-berry is made ineffectual,
For man goes to his eternal house,
And the mourners go around the street;—
While the silver cord is not severed,
Nor the golden bowl broken,
Nor the water-jar be shattered at the spring,
Nor the wheel broken at the cistern,
And the dust shall return to the earth as it was,
And the spirit shall return unto God who gave it.'[1]

In this passage the decay of the powers in old age is allegorically described, and the description shows that to its author old age had lost its charm.[2] Kindred to this is a line in the *Mu'allaqāt* of Zuhair:

'I have grown weary of the troubles of life, and he who attains
To eighty years will grow weary, or mayest thou become
fatherless!'[3]

The recognition of the joylessness of age and the swiftness of approaching death led Qoheleth to urge the enjoyment of life while possible. In addition to the passage quoted, Ec 9[7-10] may be compared. This view had been reached by Babylonians and Egyptians much earlier. A fragment of the Gilgamesh epic reads:

'Since the gods created man,
Death they ordained for man,
Life in their hands they hold,
Thou, O Gilgamesh, fill indeed thy belly,
Day and night be thou joyful,
Daily ordain gladness,
Day and night rage and make merry.
Let thy garments be bright,
Thy head purify, wash with water;
Desire thy children, which thy hand possesses,
A wife enjoy in thy bosom.'[4]

Similarly an Egyptian poet, probably of the Middle Kingdom, wrote:

'Put spices upon thy head!
Let thy clothing be byssus
Expensively dyed
In observance of the divine behests!
Outdo thy past joyousness!
Let not thy heart be anxious!
Accomplish thy earthly affairs
According to the desire of thy heart!
To thee will come that day of lamentation,
When a paralyzed heart hears not their wailing.
Not with wine can one compel
The heart-beat of the man in the grave.'[5]

Not all Egyptian poets looked at the approach of death in this way. Another, who felt the joylessness of life, composed a poem on death which Breasted has entitled 'Death a glad release.' Each stanza expresses by means of a different figure how gladly the writer welcomes death. He concludes:

'Death is before me to-day
As a man longs to see his house
When he has spent years in captivity.'[6]

LITERATURE.—Authorities have been fully cited in the article.

GEORGE A. BARTON.

OLD AGE (Teutonic).—It seems as if the custom of putting the aged and infirm to death, or of allowing them to commit suicide, must have been prevalent among the Teutonic races in early times. Procopius[1] tells us that a peculiarity of the Eruli (the latest of the Germanic tribes described by him to accept Christianity) was their practice of putting the aged to death. It behoved any one overtaken by age or disease to ask his relatives to put an end to his life. He was thereupon placed on a funeral pyre, and a man not of his kin stabbed him to death with a dagger, after which the pyre was kindled. In the light of this passage the Scandinavian rite of marking a dying man with the point of a javelin to dedicate him to Oðin may well be a survival from earlier times, when the sick man was actually put to death (H. M. Chadwick, *The Cult of Othin*, London, 1899, p. 34).

It seems to have been a custom among several Teutonic races for the aged to commit suicide by casting themselves over precipices. It is mentioned in the late *Gautreks Saga* (ch. i.) as regularly adopted by the members of a mythical Swedish family on the approach of age, to relieve their descendants from the burden of their support, and the historian Geijer maintains that the names of many cliffs in Sweden testify to some such custom. Bede[2] mentions a similar method of self-destruction during a famine in Sussex, and the elder Pliny[3] speaks of it as a form of suicide usual among the Hyperboreans on the approach of age. In Iceland we can see the custom gradually falling into desuetude. It is reported that some men cast their aged kinsmen over cliffs in a famine in A.D. 976; but, though the sagas occasionally mention that the suggestion of putting the aged and infirm to death, or of letting them starve, was made under stress of famine, we hear of no other case of the proposal being actually carried out.[4] The practice of exposing infants long outlasted that of killing the aged. The last trace of any such method of disposing of adults unable to support themselves is found some time after the introduction of Christianity in Norway in the law which enacts that freedmen and freedwomen in want shall be placed in a hole dug in the graveyard and left to die.

A people like the early Scandinavians, who considered it a dishonour to die of disease or age instead of in battle, would not be likely to hold the aged in high honour; but in the period of which most of the sagas treat the old are usually treated with respect, and occasionally looked up to for their wisdom and experience. The god Oðin is thought of as old, and is represented in a poem as advising his listener to heed the words of the aged.

LITERATURE.—See the sources cited throughout.

B. S. PHILLPOTTS.

OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS IN MUHAMMADANISM. — 1. Introduction. — There appears to be no evidence that any portions of the Bible were accessible in Arabic before the prophet Muhammad's time. This is strange, since Christianity had already been accepted by numerous tribes in both N. and S. Arabia, and the tradition connects the origin of the modern Arabic script with the Christian State of Hīra; conceivably, however, the closely allied Syriac and Ethiopic dialects may have been considered sufficiently near these idioms respectively to permit of versions in them serving instead of copies in the vernacular. Indeed, here and there both the Qur'ān and the Tradition exhibit phrases which owe their origin to one or other of these translations, and of which the sense has sometimes escaped the native commentators; thus the apostles are called

[1] Quoted from Barton's tr. in *ICC*, 'Ecclesiastes,' Edinburgh, 1908.

[2] The passage has been differently interpreted by different scholars. For a summary of these opinions cf. Barton 'Ecclesiastes,' *ad loc.*

[3] See F. E. Johnson, *Es-sab'a al-mu'alaḳāt, The Seven Poems suspended in the Temple at Mecca*, London, 1894, p. 83, line 47.

[4] Published by B. Meissner, *MVG* vii. [1902] i., quoted by Barton, 'Ecclesiastes,' p. 162.

[5] Tr. from the German of W. Max Müller, *Die Liebespoesie der alten Ägypter*, Leipzig, 1899, p. 30.

[6] See Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought*, p. 195.

[1] *De Bell. Goth.* ii. 4. [2] *HE* iv. 13. [3] *HN* iv. 26.

[4] Cf. Saxo, *Gesta Danorum*, ed. A. Holder, Strassburg, 1886, viii. 284.

ḥawārīyyūn (Ethiopic), which the commentators render 'fullers'; the name *masīḥ* (Syriac *mshīḥā*, 'Christ') is thought to mean 'wanderer'; the Syriac *ḥāl*, 'sand,' occurs in a tradition about the Red Sea (Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, Cairo, 1313, i. 245); and *furqān*, 'salvation' (Syriac), is supposed to mean 'discrimination.' It seems clear that, had there been an Arabic version of the Bible at the time, either the sense of these technicalities would have been preserved or Arabic expressions would have been employed to represent them. On the rare occasions on which the Qur'ān quotes the Bible, the nature of the quotation is not such as to suggest that it was derived from a version in the same language. There is a tradition that, when Muhammad came to Medīna and came in conflict with the Jews, a member of the latter community prepared a translation of 'the Tôrāh' in order to convince the Prophet's followers that his accounts of its contents were untrustworthy; they were not, however, allowed to peruse it. The earliest Biblical quotation found in Arabic literature outside the Qur'ān is in Ibn Isḥāq's biography of the Prophet (ed. F. Wüstenfeld, *Das Leben Mohammeds*, Göttingen, 1858, p. 150), viz. Jn 15^{23}–16^{1}; this appears to be translated from the Palestinian Syriac version, whence the rendering *mnahmana* is quoted for the Greek παράκλητος. The word doubtless means 'comforter,' and is wrongly rendered 'praised' by Ibn Isḥāq.

Since proselytism among Muslims was never permitted in Muslim States, translations of the Bible into Arabic were not made with that object in mediæval times; a demand arose for them among the Christian and the Jewish communities when the language of the Muslim conquerors had been adopted by the former in Syria, Egypt, N. Africa, and elsewhere. Yet, if the Arabic bibliography called *Fihrist* is to be believed, one Aḥmad b. Abdallah b. Salām translated the whole Bible from Hebrew and Greek into Arabic for the library of Hārūn al-Rashīd (786–809); he also rendered the Ṣābian books from the Ṣābian language. We know from other sources that translation was carried on at this sovereign's court on a great scale, whence it is highly probable that this enterprise was either ordered or encouraged. The translator gives a few words of Hebrew in order to illustrate his method of translation, but they are not actually taken from the Bible. Possibly we have the first chapter of Genesis in this translation in Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir's *Kitāb al-bad' wa'l-ta'rīkh* (ed. C. Huart, *Le Livre de la création et de l'histoire*, Paris, 1901, ii. 3), since Abdallah b. Salām is quoted in the immediate neighbourhood, and the substitution of the father's name for the son's would be a pardonable slip. The OT was often revised or retranslated, and so also was the NT.

The canon given by Aḥmad b. Abdallah is curious, as it gives the number of 'revealed books' as 104, commencing with the book of Adam, and proceeding to those of Seth, Enoch, and Abraham; the only others mentioned are those of Moses and David. According to A. Sprenger, *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammad*, Berlin, 1869, i. 49, Ibn Munajjim, in 231 A.H., made a list of the canonical Scriptures of the OT and the NT. The *Fihrist* (377 A.H.) contains a list both of the Jewish and of the Christian Scriptures.

2. Place in the Prophet's teaching.—The Qur'ān repeatedly claims that it 'confirms what was before it,' and occasionally gives the names of the books to which this phrase applies. These are the *Rolls of Abraham and Moses*, the *First Rolls*, the *Taurāt*, the *Injīl*, the *Zubūr*, and the *Furqān*. There is no difficulty in identifying the four last names respectively with the Tôrāh, the *Euangelion*, the *Mazmure* (Syriac name for the Psalms), and the *Praqim* (a Rabbinical treatise, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*); but the process by which they have assumed these forms is not perfectly clear; popular etymology has probably influenced them all, and, indeed, Arabic etymologies are offered for all four words by those who maintain that the language of the Qur'ān has no foreign elements.

Though actual quotation from these works is unusual, a great deal of the matter which occupies the pages of the Qur'ān is reproduction of the Biblical narratives; being obtained from hearsay, these reproductions are inaccurate, mixed up with apocryphal matter, vague, destitute of chronology, and contradictory. The Qur'ān appears to contain Biblical narratives delivered by the Prophet at all periods of his career; in these errors are at times corrected, or difficulties explained away, yet it is not clear that the writer's command of his subject was at any one time greater than at any other.

In the Prophet's biography we can trace the difference of the standard by which his utterances on these subjects were judged at different times. In a pagan prophet, endeavouring to convert his countrymen to monotheism, a very little knowledge was thought remarkable; hence we may well believe that *sūrah* xix., when communicated to the Abyssinian king, as an apology for the Muslim refugees, won high approval; it certainly displayed some acquaintance with the OT and NT, and the slip by which the Virgin Mary is addressed as 'Sister of Aaron' may have seemed pardonable, like Vergil's 'Inarime.' When, however, Muhammad claimed to lecture Jews and Christians on their sacred history, a very different standard was applied; and the discussions between the Prophet and the Jews after the migration to Medīna led to stormy scenes. The differences between their respective versions of the Biblical narratives were explained by Muhammad as due to deliberate corruption of the text by the Jews (ii. 75, v. 44, iv. 45).

The way in which the Bible was utilized by Muhammad determined the attitude which his followers have ever since assumed towards it. That attitude is necessarily one-sided; the older Scriptures may be employed in defence of Islām, but not to its detriment; an appeal was made to them when evidence was required that the matter which the Prophet claimed to have received by revelation was veracious; but, when they were cited in order to expose his errors, they were not to be heard. The formula employed by some Muslim theologians, according to which the earlier Scriptures require confirmation from the Qur'ān, expresses this principle very clearly. Hence, when the evidence of the Qur'ān is quoted in favour of the earlier Scriptures, the Muslim controversialist replies that he recognizes them only to the extent to which the Qur'ān attests them. The famous Mu'tazilite Abu'l-Hudhail († 226 A.H.) is commended for having silenced a Jew thus (Jauzi, *Kitāb al-Adhkiya*, Cairo, 1306, p. 95).

The tradition ascribes to Muhammad not a few quotations of Biblical passages which are not utilized in the Qur'ān. So, according to Bukhārī (ed. L. Krehl, Leyden, n.d., ii. 224), he told his followers to shoot because their father Ishmael was a shot (Gn 21^{20}). He told (according to the same author, ii. 280) the story of the sun standing still, though without the name of Joshua, and combined with this the enactment of Dt 20^{5-7}. In the *Musnad* of Ibn Ḥanbal (vi. 21) he recommends the Lord's Prayer as a spell. Certain aphorisms which belong to Ecclesiasticus are ascribed to him in these collections. The Qur'ān itself, besides reproducing Biblical narratives, at times expresses itself in decidedly Biblical language, and the same is true of matter embodied in the books of tradition.

3. Use of the Bible by historians.—The study of history is, on the whole, popular in Islām, and, although it is chiefly occupied with the national vicissitudes, the need for locating these in the history of the world has led to a certain amount of research—sometimes of a highly creditable kind—into the records of other communities. Since the Qur'ān claims to be a development of the Biblical revelations, it was considered on the whole proper to obtain pre-Islāmic history from the latter, corrected, of course, from the statements of the Qur'ān. Those writers, then, who composed universal histories after the rise of secular prosaic literature, or who compiled compendia of the same, utilized the OT and NT Scriptures for their purpose on those conditions. Works of this sort are the *Chronicle* of Ya'qūbī (250 A.H.), the *Historical Handbook* of Ibn Qutaiba († 270), and the *Chronicle* of Ṭabarī († 310). The first and second of these evidently quote at first hand. A remarkable work in a kindred field is the *Chronology of Ancient Nations* by al-Bīrūnī († after 422), in which the differences between the chronologies of the Hebrew, the LXX, and the Samaritan copies of the Pentateuch are tabulated. Somewhat earlier is the summary of Israelitish chronology published by Ḥamzah of Isfāhān; he got it in the year 920 from a Jew in Baghdād, who knew by heart twelve Biblical books, whose names are somewhat disfigured in the Arabic transliteration. It is not probable that these extracts ever appealed to large circles of Muslims before imitation of European modes of education became popular. Hence allusions to Biblical history are rarely made, and would not be expected to be understood.

4. Use by preachers.—Although the extent to which the Ṣūfī movement was influenced by Christianity is apt to be exaggerated, it seems clear that there was often identity of aim between the Christian and the Muslim preachers, and that the latter found valuable material in both Testaments. Thus the earliest Ṣūfī writer, Muḥāsibī († 243), uses the parable of the Sower; numerous quotations from Biblical books (sometimes cited as *al-Israeliyyat*) are to be found in the *Qūt al-qulūb* of Abu Ṭālib al-Mekki († 386), some of which can be identified with texts in the canonical books, whereas others are clearly apocryphal. The OT (Isaiah) is also used in the *Mukāshafat al-qulūb* of Ghazālī († 505), probably at second hand, since the quotation is very much amplified. Such quotations are much less common in the works of the mystical (as opposed to the homiletic) Ṣūfīs, yet it is noticeable that in the most famous of the former, the *Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikam* of Ibn al-'Arabī (A.H. 627), the Biblical account of the sacrifice of Abraham, according to which Isaac was the victim, is preferred to that ordinarily got from the Qur'ān, which makes the victim Ishmael; and in the commentary on this work by Dawud al-Qaisari († 751; Bombay, 1300, p. 71) Jn 14^{28} is cited as the saying of 'the revealer of the divine secrets, the seal of the universal saintship.'

5. Use in Qur'ānic exegesis.—The employment of the Bible for the elucidation of the Qur'ān is not ordinarily approved; and, indeed, one of the charges brought against Muḥammad b. Isḥāq, the Prophet's biographer, is that he adopted this practice (Yāqūt, *Dict. of Learned Men*, ed. D. S. Margoliouth, London, 1913, vi. 401); a certain amount of Biblical matter has, however, got into the most orthodox commentaries, chiefly, it is supposed, through Ka'b al-Aḥbār and Wahb b. Munabbih, savants of the first Islāmic century. Thus Baidāwī inserts in his commentary on *sūrah* iii. a genealogy which is taken from that prefixed to the First Gospel. First-hand employment of the Gospels is found in the commentary of Fakhr al-din al-Rāzī († 606), who chiefly employs that of John. His references are respectful, but he does not attempt to harmonize the conflicting statements. In quite recent times, owing to the spread of European education and, with it, of acquaintance with the contents of the Bible, endeavours to explain the discrepancies between it and the Qur'ān and to justify the assertions of the latter have been made on a much more considerable scale. The late Egyptian Mufti Muḥammad Abdo and his disciple Muḥammad Rashīd Rida have done more than others in this line, and have come nearer the European treatment of this subject than their predecessors.

6. Use by controversialists.—Although conversion from Islām to other religions was not tolerated in any Muslim State, and conversion to Islām was usually effected by other methods than reasoning, the fact of members of different religious communities mixing on nearly equal terms in lecture-rooms and debating-societies in Baghdād and other Islāmic capitals naturally led to religious controversy; and it was hard to keep it out of discussions on logic or even geometry. Hence works professing to refute the Jewish and Christian systems were produced in a fairly constant series during the 'Abbāsid Khalīfate, and thence to our own time. In order to attack these systems with success it was necessary to study the Scriptures to a certain extent, and some of the controversialists took considerable pains in the matter. The Prophet's method is generally adopted, but the degree varies very much. The Spanish Ẓāhirite Ibn Ḥazm († 456) goes the length of treating the OT and NT as impudent forgeries; he denies that we even know the names of the apostles. His studies in the Pentateuch led him to anticipate some of the objections urged by modern critics—*e.g.*, J. W. Colenso. In the polemical work of the Syrian Ibn Taimīyyah († 728) a much more moderate view is taken. He urges, indeed, that the only prophets known to the Muslims are those mentioned in the Qur'ān, and that, as the stream cannot rise higher than the source, belief in these implies belief in Muhammad; but he is disposed to think that the alterations which the Scriptures have undergone are not very considerable, and he finds a whole series of predictions concerning Muhammad in the book of Isaiah; and this more nearly approaches the general practice of the controversialists. For the number of passages in the OT and NT which can be interpreted as predictions of the Muslim prophet is very large; and, in order that these may be utilized, a certain amount of authority must be granted the works which contain them. With some of these writers there is a tacit assumption that Arabic is the original language of the Scriptures; and it is sometimes said that the Christian doctrine of the Sonship of Christ is due to the misplacing of points in Ps 2^{7}, the words *anta nabī* ('Thou art a prophet') having been misread *anta bunayya* ('Thou art my Son')!

7. Use for guidance.—The question is discussed in treatises on the principles of jurisprudence 'whether we are bound by the codes of our predecessors,' and, though it might seem that only parts of the OT and NT had been abrogated, the doctrine of interpolation renders the use of the existing Bible improper in the minds of Muslim authorities; in practice, then, it does not count as a source of law, and reference to it is not approved by legal authorities.

The most curious case recorded in Islāmic history of resort to the Bible for assistance in an emergency is that of one 'Umār b. Bilal al-Asadi, who was asked by the Umayyad Khalīfah 'Abd al-Malik (685–705) to effect a reconciliation between himself and his queen, 'Ātika. This personage borrowed the expedient of the 'wise woman' in 2 S 14^{5-7}, and told the same story about his two sons, but deviated slightly

from the precedent in inducing the queen to intercede with the Khalîfah that the execution of the supposed murderer should not be carried out (*Aghânî*, Cairo, 1285, ii. 140). Cases of this kind are very rare; and it is not probable that, outside the group of specialists noticed, reading of the Bible was ever common among Muslims.

8. Biblical forgeries.—The theory having been accepted that the books in the hands of Jews and Christians are forgeries, it seemed desirable to supply the missing revealed books; and there are a certain number of compositions of this sort in existence, which adopt the literary form of the Qur'ân, in which the Deity addresses the prophet in rhyming sentences. A spurious Psalter of this kind is described by S. M. Zwemer in *The Moslem World*, v. [1915] 399–403. Sprenger (i. 51) claims to have discovered a fragment of the *Rolls of Abraham* mentioned in the Qur'ân, which doubtless is a fabrication meant to replace them. He quotes Ibn Munajjim († 300) for the identity of a work called *Sham' ata*, in the hands of the Jews but not of the Christians, with the *Rolls of Abraham and Moses*. There is naturally no difficulty in recognizing in this the Talmud, which often uses the word quoted of its contents. In the *Qût al-qulûb* there is a quotation from the 'Sûrah of Yearning' in the Tôrâh, which the author Abu Ṭâlib al-Mekki had himself read; in it the Deity taunts the reader with neglect of His communications, whereas he would stop his business in order to read a letter from a friend. This author appears to have had access to several apocryphal collections of this kind.

Probably the most remarkable among these apocrypha is the *Gospel of Barnabas*, which, after it had been occasionally mentioned for some centuries, was edited in Italian and English from a Vienna MS by Lonsdale and Laura Ragg, Oxford, 1907. Its date is acutely fixed by the editors for A.D. 1500–50 from the mention of 'Jubilee celebrated every hundred years'; and, though the Arabic scribblings on the margin of the MS suggest that Arabic was the original language, the editors are probably right in rejecting this opinion and supposing the Italian to be the original; it seems that a Spanish copy also existed at one time. The work, immediately after its appearance in English, was translated into Arabic for use in anti-Christian controversy; but no reference to its existence in Arabic before that date has been discovered in any Islâmic writer.

Besides apocryphal documents a considerable amount of matter of a similar kind collected round the names of those prophets who are mentioned in the Qur'ân; tales of this sort were invented by preachers, and then circulated. Several collections were made bearing the name *Qiṣaṣ al-Anbiyâ*, 'Tales of the Prophets'; the most popular is the *'Arâ'is al-Majâlis* of Tha'âlibî († 427 A.H.), which has been translated into other Islâmic languages. Much similar matter is to be found in the religious poetry of the Persians—*e.g.*, the *Bûstân* of Sa'dî and the *Mathnavî* of Jalâl al-dîn Rûmî.

LITERATURE.—H. Preserved Smith, *The Bible and Islam*, New York, 1897; A. Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthum aufgenommen?*, Bonn, 1833, ²Leipzig, 1902; G. Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner*, Frankfort, 1845; M. Lidzbarski, *De propheticis, quæ dicuntur, legendis arabicis*, Leipzig, 1893.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

OLD CATHOLICISM.—Old Catholicism is the modern revival of Catholicism as it was understood in the first centuries—not an attempt to perpetuate the faults either of doctrines or of works, revealed by history in the Christian Church of the early centuries, but an endeavour, on the part of its supporters, while conforming to their own times and their own countries, to be guided by the spirit of Christ, their only leader, and to labour, by this spirit, to put an end to the imperfections and vices that have defiled the Church in the course of time.

They are called 'Old,' not to disown the improvements which reason and the gospel declare to be necessary, but to show their fundamental dependence on Christ and His gospel. They have no intention whatever of founding a new religion or of joining one of the sects that dream of a fanciful Christianity in the future; but, faithful to the Church founded by Christ and preached by the apostles, as it appears in the books of the NT and in the Christian writings of the first centuries, they claim to live by the spirit of their fathers and the saints worshipped by their ancestors, and thus to unite the Christian past with the Christian present and the Christian future. When they speak of the first centuries, they speak especially of the first three, but in thought they include the next five also, because, in reality, the Church of the first eight centuries, in spite of its turmoils and its numerous dissensions, succeeded in remaining one in both East and West. It was not until the 9th cent. that Pope Nicholas I. fell away from the Eastern Church and caused schism. Although they are Westerners, the Old Catholics do not accept the inheritance of the faults of this pope, and they claim to go further, by extending the hand to Christians of the East and inviting them to labour with them for the restoration of union between the Christian Churches of the East and the West.

In this article we shall note (1) the occasion and origin of the Old Catholic movement; (2) its aims; (3) the results already attained; and (4) its present condition and expectations.

1. Occasion and origin.—Convinced long before the Vatican Council (1870) that the doctrines of papal infallibility and the universality of the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome over the Church were absolutely erroneous, the Old Catholics did not allow that the simple fact of the dogmatization of these two errors by the pope and the majority of the Council was sufficient to transform them into truths—still less, divine truths; and after, as before, the 18th of July, 1870, they rejected these two dogmas. It is hardly necessary to recall the proofs established by the Old Catholics of the falsity of these new dogmas—a falsity clearly shown up by the Scriptures, by universal tradition, by the history of the seven Ecumenical Councils, and by several other undoubted facts. None of these proofs has been seriously refuted by Roman Catholic theologians. The Old Catholics, therefore, by rejecting these false dogmas, remained faithful to the Catholicism of the time before the Vatican Council; they did not leave the Catholic Church to form a new Church; they remained in the Catholic Church of which they had always formed a part, and they continued to set the 'universal, unvarying, and unanimous' testimony of the Church in opposition to Roman innovations.

This attitude and the theological works which they have had to produce to prove the truth of their cause have led them to discover a number of errors made by Roman theologians and transformed into dogmas in the course of the ages, so that the protest against the false dogmas of the 18th of July, 1870, has logically incurred on their part the protest against all the false dogmas previously promulgated by the papacy (see especially W. Guettée, *La Papauté schismatique*, Paris, 1863, and *La Papauté hérétique*, do. 1874, and E. Michaud, *La Papauté antichrétienne*, do. 1873). This discovery of the errors of the Roman papacy from the 9th cent. to the present day, and in all the individual Churches under the jurisdiction of Rome, has given fresh impetus and considerable

importance to the Old Catholic movement. It is a complete history of Roman theology, re-made in accordance with authentic sources and contrary to the thousands of Roman falsifications pointed out recently by the most eminent theologians of all the Churches, including even Roman theologians. We may say that these new publications—this veritable resurrection of ancient documents that were believed to be buried in darkness — have created a new situation and started a thorough reformation of so-called Catholic theology.

This is a part of the work of the Old Catholics, but it is only one of their proposed aims.

2. Aims.—The chief aims may be reduced to three: (*a*) theological reform; (*b*) ecclesiastical reform; and (*c*) union of the Christian Churches.

(*a*) *Theological reform.*—This reform was not undertaken arbitrarily; nor is it conducted by each theologian according to his personal opinions on each of the disputed questions. A strict method governs all their actions, a method which results especially in distinguishing dogma from theology —dogma, which is the word of Christ as it is recorded in the Gospels, from theology, which is the explanation given by the apostles and scholars to secure the acceptance and practice of the precepts of Jesus Christ. Christ, being 'the way, the truth, and the life,' is the only Scholar, the only Master; He has declared it Himself to His disciples. It is therefore He alone who, as the only Mediator and Saviour, possesses the words of eternal life; it is He alone who is the light of the world, and it is He alone who has the right to impose His doctrines, decrees, and dogmas on His disciples. On the other hand, every disciple is entitled, and even duty-bound, to try to understand the dogmas of Christ, to see their depth and beauty, and to derive profit from them for the sanctification of his soul. Dogma is the divine truth which is taught by Christ; theology is the explanation given by men—an explanation more or less luminous, which each one may judge according to the light of his reason, conscience, and knowledge: 'Prove all things; hold fast that which is good' (1 Th 5^{21}).

The distinction between dogma and theology is made by the application of the Catholic test to every disputed point. The test is the one so well epitomized by Vincent of Lérins: 'What has been believed everywhere, always, and by all' the Christian Churches is Catholic (*Commonitory*, ii. [6]). The Catholic faith is the 'universal, unvarying, and unanimous' faith, because, even humanly speaking, all the Christian Churches cannot be making a mistake when they attest, as a fact, that they have always believed or not believed, from their very foundation, in the doctrine which the apostle-founders of their particular Church had taught them or not. It is not a question of settling an important discussion, but of making a simple statement of fact. As to the theological explanations which may be given of the established doctrine, they depend, like all the explanations in this world, on reason, science, history, and all the knowledge which humanity has at its disposal.

Thus faith and liberty are reconciled—the faith which depends not on any caprice or any school, but solely on the historical and objective testimony of the Churches; and liberty of criticism or of reason, which, conscientiously speaking, belongs to the religious truth transmitted to all the Churches, to the best of the religious interests of each Church. Thus the faith is a depository—a depository of all the precepts confided by Jesus Christ to His disciples, a depository which does not belong exclusively to any one person, but to everybody, to the preservation of which all faithful Churches carefully attend, so that none of it may be suppressed, and also that no foreign doctrine may be surreptitiously introduced into it (*depositum custodi*). And theology is a science which, like all other sciences, belongs to reason, to history, to criticism, and which also obeys fixed rules.

It is therefore neither a bishop nor a priest nor a scholar that is entrusted with the preservation of dogma, but all bishops, all priests, all scholars —in a word, all the faithful, members of the Church. Christ being the only Master of His Church, there is no other rule than His; it is sufficient to guard His doctrine and precepts. The Church was not instituted to found a religion other than that of Christ, but merely to preserve it and spread it throughout the world ('Go ye therefore, and teach all nations' [Mt 28^{19}]). Its mission is not to add to the dogmas of Christ, but only to preach them in order to sanctify the world by them ('Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you' [Mt 28^{20}]). The Church is therefore a guardian of the teachings and precepts of Jesus Christ; its title, the 'teaching' Church, means, not that it has the right to teach any doctrines that it pleases, but that it is its duty to preach openly what Christ taught His disciples in secret.

Real theological reform should consist in communicating to all men the teachings of Jesus Christ, as they are collected in the Scriptures and recorded in the universal tradition of the Church—a tradition which also belongs to all the members of the Church. It is the duty of pastors and scholars to explain them, and it is the duty of each member to study the explanations which appear to him wisest and most useful; the good sense and the Christian spirit that prevail in the Church are sufficient to ensure the final triumph of truth over error: 'Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them' (Mt 18^{20}).

Since the Church is not a chair to which might be addressed all the questions that arise in the minds of the inquisitive and the imaginative, it is not obliged to solve them or to prevent men from discussing among themselves matters which neither God nor Christ has thought fit to make clear. It is the work of scholars to elucidate the mysteries of science; the apostles have simply to preach the truths which Christ thought sufficient for the edification and sanctification of humanity. The fruitfulness of the faith does not consist in discovering new dogmas or in transforming the Church into a revealer, charged with completing the revelation made by Christ; the faith is fruitful, it increases, it grows by the closeness of its adherence to the word of Christ, and not by the proclamation of unknown dogmas. It is Christ alone who is the religious light and the religious life of the world; the Church must only be His humble servant.

(*b*) *Ecclesiastical reform.*—This reform should consist in reminding the Church what Christ wished it to be. Christ established a hierarchy for the service of the faithful. That hierarchy, therefore, ought to serve, and not to rule. Its office is a ministry, and not an authority. There is no *imperium* in the Church of Christ: 'neither as lording it over the charge allotted to you' (1 P 5^{3}); and the obedience of the disciples must be reasonable, and not servile (Ro 12^{1}). If any member wanted to be first, he had to be the first to serve his brothers, and not to give them orders—to feed the flock, *i.e.* to lead it into good pastures, and not to enslave it by false dogmas or exploit it by superstitions. The main duties of pastors are to arouse the conscience of the faithful, to enlighten it, to act as if each of them were another Christ:

'Christ liveth in me' (Gal 2^{20}). Christ took a firm stand against the Pharisees of His day, but He did not charge any of His disciples to rebuke his brothers, still less to excommunicate them or curse them.

The mission of the Church also is essentially religious and spiritual. Christ did not give it any worldly and temporal authority; He chose apostles and disciples only to lay the most strict duties on them, and thus to make examples of them for the flock. The early bishops or superintendents were only overseers, and not masters: 'for one is your Master' (Mt 23^{8}).

The primitive Church, then, was simply a gathering or reunion in which the first and only chief was, in the eyes of the faith, Christ Himself. Pastors and people simply formed a school, a body and a soul. This was the parish, and, if a dispute arose between any of the members, it was 'the Church' that restored peace: 'Dic Ecclesiae.'

Gradually bonds of brotherhood and charity were formed between the various local churches, and in this way synods came into being—special and very limited synods, before the idea of general councils was heard of. It is not only the idea of the true bishop, therefore, that has to be restored, but also that of the synod and the council. Because the so-called ecumenical council was believed to be the representation of the whole Church, it was soon confused with the Church, and rights were assigned to it which the Church itself hardly possesses. Under the pretext that the council was, as it were, the supreme jurisdiction of the Church, this jurisdiction was made a universal and absolute jurisdiction, to which was soon joined the privilege of infallibility. The practical consequences resulting from this confusion and the numerous abuses arising from them to the detriment of the Church are well known.

The Old Catholics are also engaged in restoring the true conceptions of pastor, bishop, synod, council, ecclesiastical authority, and even infallibility, according to the precise meaning of the Scriptures and according to ancient traditions. The constitution of the Church, they hold, is monarchical only because Christ is its only monarch; but, inasmuch as it is a society composed of men, the Church has been called from its very beginning a simple 'church,' and it has been regarded in its universality, since the time when the question of universality arose, as a Christian 'republic.' It would give a wrong idea of the early bishops to represent their action as an aristocratic government; the words of St. Peter himself are opposed to that.

The episcopal see of Rome was not long in attaining a certain priority, Rome being the capital of the empire; but it was merely a priority of honour, and not of jurisdiction. Christ did not appoint a master among His disciples. When He told Peter specially to feed His lambs and sheep, it was to restore to him the function of which he had proved unworthy, and of which he had been deprived in denying Christ. As Peter repented, he deserved to be reinstated, and he was; but it is a mistake to transform this reinstatement as a simple apostle into an exaltation above all the other apostles. The alteration of the constitution of the Church was accomplished by Rome by means of grossly erroneous interpretations of texts; the policy and the ambition of the bishops of Rome did the rest.

Such is the spirit in which the Old Catholics have set about restoring the true conception of the Church and realizing the ecclesiastical reform claimed for such a long time 'in capite et in membris.'

(*c*) *Union of the Christian Churches.*—This reform of the Church would have been very imperfect if it had not from the very beginning implied the re-establishment of union among the separate Churches. It has been rightly said that 'it is as difficult to see Christ behind the Church as to see the sun behind the darkness of night.' From the very start of their work the Old Catholics have made it one of their aims to study means of reviving this union. Their efforts during their international congresses, and their writings on this question in their *Revue internationale de théologie* (1893–1910), are well known; great reconciliations have been effected among all the Churches that have taken part in these, and, if the union has not yet been sanctioned, it is because there are still administrative obstacles to be overcome, and especially prejudices of a hierarchical kind to be put down—a matter of time, which more favourable social circumstances will undoubtedly help to bring to a successful issue.

It is already apparent to all eyes that the 'union' aimed at is not the 'unity' which many had at first imagined; that the latter is not necessary; and that, moreover, it is impossible, considering the needs of various kinds which are prevalent among the nations and which form part of human nature itself. The chimera of a false unity being removed, matter-of-fact men will return to the real nature of spiritual union and of the 'bond of peace' (Eph 4^{3}), which will be sufficient to form real Christian brotherhood throughout the world.

A better understanding has already been reached as to the respects in which the Christian Churches ought to be one, and those in which they ought to remain distinct and even different, in order to safeguard the autonomy of each and all. When all are one in loving one another, in working together for the social well-being, in banishing from their theology every trace of anthropomorphism and politics, in becoming more spiritually-minded after the pattern of Christ, and in establishing the reign of God in every individual conscience, then the union in question will be very near being declared: 'that they may be one, even as we are one' (Jn 17^{22}).

3. Results attained.[1]—(*a*) *Dogmatic.*—Among the dogmatic results already attained by the Old Catholics we may mention the following: the rejection and refutation of papal infallibility and of the pope's absolute and universal jurisdiction over the whole Church; the rejection and refutation of the other false dogmas taught by Rome in the *Syllabus* and elsewhere; the re-establishment of the true idea of dogma, of its distinction from theological speculation; the restoration in practice of the Catholic test: 'What has been believed everywhere, always, and by everybody is Catholic'; the ruling that purely Western and papist councils are not Ecumenical Councils, the latter being only seven in number (325–787); the declaration of the orthodoxy of the Eastern Church, called the 'Church of the seven Ecumenical Councils' because it has no other faith than that which was taught by them; the bringing into prominence of the union of the Churches, which must be neither a submission to the pope nor a neglect of dogma, but the maintenence of the autonomy of each individual Church in the universality of the whole Church.

(*b*) *Constitutional.*—Of these we may mention: the reduction of the primacy of the pope to the simple degree of *primus inter pares*—a title which does not confer any authority on him, but which lays on him the duty of attending more carefully than any other bishop to the decisions of the Church, to which he is subordinate; the binding of the pope to renounce every political vocation, and to

[1] On this subject see the present writer's study in *Revue internat. de théol.*, July 1897, pp. 506–521.

confine himself to his essentially religious vocation; the return of the bishops to the simplicity of the early bishops, who were by no means prince-bishops, but who, simply elected by the members and the clergy, remained independent of the pope, and directed their dioceses in union with their synod; the re-establishment of the simple worshippers in their rights as active members of the Church, who also attend to the guarding of the Church's interests and the maintenance of its discipline; and the revival of national and autonomous Churches, Catholic by the unity of their faith: 'una fides, unus Christus, unum baptisma.'

(*c*) *Disciplinary.* — Among disciplinary results are the following: the right of each individual Church to judge of the manner most useful to itself of applying the canons of discipline formulated in the provincial synods and the Ecumenical Councils; and the right of restoring among the clergy the choice of celibacy or marriage.

(*d*) *Liturgical.*—The liturgical results are: the return of the proper idea of the sacraments, which are neither empty symbols nor means of producing grace 'ex opere operato,' but simply acts of worship, in which Jesus Christ communicates His grace to well-affected souls; the revival of public penitence and the suppression of papal indulgences; the return of the spiritual conception of the Eucharist, with rejection of material transubstantiation as it was practised during the Middle Ages; the celebration of worship in the national language of each country, as well as the free gift of all religious work.

(*e*) *Politico-ecclesiastical.* — Lastly, among politico-ecclesiastical results mention may be made of the independence of individual churches towards the political commands of Rome, and towards any political interference whatever, the Church being a spiritual and religious society, and in no way a political society.

4. Present condition and expectations.—The Old Catholic Church exists in Germany, Austria, France, Holland, Russia, Switzerland, and America.

In Germany it is managed at the present day by Bishop George Moog, who is also president of the synodal representation. It has parishes in the chief towns of Prussia, Bavaria, the grand-duchy of Baden, Hesse, Saxe, Würtemberg, etc. Every year the episcopal administration publishes official statistics.

In Austria the episcopal administrator, Czech, who is also curate of Warnsdorf, attends to the parishes founded in Bohemia, Moravia, Styria, Carinthia, etc.

In France the Church (called Gallican Catholic) has only two parishes—one in Paris, the other in Nantes.

In Holland Mgr. Gul is the archbishop of Utrecht, and Mgr. Prins and Mgr. Spit are the bishops of Haarlem and Deventer. The archiepiscopal seminary is at Amersfoort. There are about 24 parishes.

In Russia the Church (called Mariavite) has three bishops—John Kowalski at Plock, Prochniewski at Warsaw, and Golembiowski at Lodz. In the kingdom of Pologne 66 parishes are administered by about 100 priests; in White Russia (Lithuania) there are three parishes, and in Little Russia (government of Kieff) there are also several parishes.

In America Bishop Hodur (Scranton), along with three vicars-general, manages several parishes which are extending daily.

There is a parish in London.

In Switzerland Bishop Eduard Herzog, along with the national synod and the synodal council, manages numerous parishes in twelve cantons. The organization is excellent. Apart from the faculty of Catholic theology, which forms part of the cantonal University of Berne, and whose funds are administered by the State of Berne, numerous commissions are in full swing, for examinations of the clergy, religious music, the press, the interests of the Church, the care of the sick, reunions of young people, the diaspora, etc. Annually the bishop and the president of the synodal council give an account, with all the necessary details, of the life of the parishes, the religious instruction of the children, etc. Reviews, journals, and instructive and edifying libraries are more or less prosperous.

It may be said that, in spite of the efforts put forth by the Old Catholics, they have not realized all the hopes entertained in their movement at the beginning of their work. But it must be added that political and social circumstances, and, still more, the almost universal religious indifference, have been exceedingly unfavourable to all advance. The stones which may be thrown at them strike all the other Churches at the same time. This is not a justification—far from it; but it is at least an explanation, which may possibly arouse hopes for the future. The Old Catholics are convinced of the truth of their cause. If during the first fifty years of their existence they have not worked with great enough skill, they have the hope that, by dint of struggling against thousands of obstacles, they have learned better how to struggle; that the serious events which are overturning Europe at the present day will not pass without creating new religious and even ecclesiastical conditions, which, with the grace of God and the zeal of the serious Christians of all the Churches, may become fruitful.

LITERATURE. — E. Michaud, 'L'Ancien-catholicisme ou catholicisme chrétien,' in *Chrétien évangélique*, xxxv. [1892], 'L'Ancien-catholicisme,' in the *Revue chrétienne*, III. ix. [1893] 253–267; the whole collection of the *Catholique national*, Berne, 1898–1908 (Stämpfli Library); the whole collection of the *Revue internationale de théologie*, 72 parts, Berne, 1893–1910 (Stämpfli Library), especially the following studies: no. 19 (1897), 'Résultats de l'ancien catholicisme'; no. 20 (1897), 'Ni ultramontains, ni gallicans, ni protestants, mais catholiques'; no. 21 (1898), 'L'Ancien-catholicisme et l'union des églises, jugés par un prêtre catholique romain,' 'Réplique du général A. Kireeff,' 'Reply of the Right Rev. Bishop of Salisbury'; no. 25 (1899), 'La Théologie ancienne catholique, ses caractères et son but,' 'Anciens-catholiques et protestants'; no. 32 (1900), 'L'Ancien-catholicisme et le protestantisme'; no. 34 (1901), 'Lettre sur l'état actuel du protestantisme'; no. 36 (1901), 'Le libre Examen et la tradition universelle'; Oct. 1904, 'De la Position théologique des anciens-catholiques'; no. 51 (1905), 'De la Position ecclésiastique et religieuse des anciens-catholiques,' 'La Logique de l'ancien-catholicisme, ses developpements et ses devoirs'; no. 56 (1906), 'Quinet et l'ancien-catholicisme'; no. 69 (1910), 'L'Accusation de protestantisme'; nos. 69, 70, and 71 (1910), 'L'Ancien-catholicisme et les raisons de son insuccès momentané.'

E. MICHAUD.

OLD PRUSSIANS.—1. Ethnology.—The Old Prussians formed the westernmost branch of the group of peoples which is represented to-day by the Letts and the Lithuanians. The Old Prussian language died out in the 17th cent., and the only specimens of it which have come down to us are three catechisms from the 16th cent. and an Elbing vocabulary dating, probably, from the beginning of the 15th. These remains show clearly that Old Prussian belonged to the Indo-Germanic family of languages and was most closely related to Lithuanian. The Old Prussians inhabited the coast of the Baltic, east of the Vistula, but their exact geographical position is hard to determine. Peter von Dusburg (in *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum*, i. 50, 146) makes the river Memel the boundary between Prussia and Lithuania; but in the chronicles of the Teutonic Order the word 'Prussia' is a political rather than an ethnological term. The eastern boundary of the Old Prussians was probably nearer the river Pregel than the river Memel (cf. H. G. Voigt, *Adalbert von Prag*, p. 128).

In the 2nd cent. A.D. Ptolemy (III. v. 21) mentions the Galindi and Sudini as peoples living to the east of the Vistula. The Galindi are frequently mentioned in later times as a distinct division of the Old Prussians, and the Sudini seem to have been another division of the same kind or at any rate a closely related people.

Another name which occurs more frequently in this region in early times is that of the Æstii. Tacitus (*Germ.* 45) describes them as an agricultural people inhabiting the amber coast of the Baltic. They are again mentioned by Cassiodorus (*Var.* v. 2) and by Jordanes (5, 23). It can hardly be doubted that the Este, described by King Alfred—in the account of Wulfstan's voyage which he inserted in his translation of Orosius—as inhabitants of the country immediately to the east of the Vistula, are the same people. It is usually held that the Æstii were Prussian, though a difficulty is caused by the fact that the name Æstii is obviously identical with German Ehsten, O. Norse Eistr, which in later times has denoted the Esthonians, a Finnish people belonging to a totally different linguistic family. We have no evidence that the Esthonians ever extended so far to the south-west as the Vistula, although the occurrence of the name Finnoi in Ptolemy's map should be noted. Whatever may be the solution of the difficulty, Alfred's account of the Este gives reason for believing that they were connected in some way with the Old Prussians. We may note in particular his account of horse-racing at funerals, which finds a curious parallel in the burial customs of the Prussian natives of later time (Lucas David, *Preussische Chronik*, ed. E. Hennig, i. 141). Reference may also be made to the laws ascribed to the *kriwe kirwaito* by Lucas David (p. 23). Both the Este and the Old Prussians drank mare's milk and mead (Dusburg, in *Script. Rer. Pruss.* i. 54; Alfred, ed. H. Sweet, London, 1883, pt. i. p. 20 f.). The art of artificial freezing ascribed by Alfred to the Este appears to have been known to the Prussians (cf. M. Praetorius, *Deliciæ Prussicæ*, ed. W. Pierson, pp. 45, 46, and note).

The name 'Pruzzi' is first mentioned in the 10th cent. in Ibrahīm ibn Ja'qub's account of the Slavic countries (his journey took place in A.D. 965; cf. W. Wattenbach, *Geschichtschreiber der deutsch. Vorzeit*[2], Leipzig, 1884–1912, xxxiii. 139 f.), and in the lives of St. Adalbert and elsewhere (cf. H. G. Voigt, p. 125 and note).

2. **History.**—The earliest known incident in Old Prussian history is the unsuccessful attempt made by St. Adalbert, bishop of Prague, in the 10th cent. to introduce Christianity. The saint was martyred (probably on the coast of Samland) on account of his having penetrated into a sacred grove which was forbidden ground to men of alien race and religion. In the 11th and 12th centuries, according to the Polish chronicles, Old Prussians frequently raided Poland, sometimes in conjunction with neighbouring peoples, Russians and Pomeranians. In the 13th cent. Conrad, duke of Masovia, who was greatly harassed by these raids, gave to Christian, bishop of Prussia, part of Culmerland as a fief, and together they founded the Knightly Order of Dobrzin. In 1228 Conrad and Christian, who had failed to convert the Prussians either by persuasion or by force of arms, called to their aid the Teutonic Knights (a body of German Crusaders), granting them Culm and any other lands that they could wrest from the heathen. The conversion and conquest of the Old Prussians were gradually effected, within the next fifty years, in spite of vigorous opposition. Their political organization was destroyed and they lived thenceforward as subjects of the Teutonic Knights, who, before this, had made themselves independent of all authorities except the papacy. The lay subjects of the order were now divided into two classes: in the first rank were the German immigrants and the Prussians who had freely submitted, and below them were the Prussians who had resisted to the last and were reduced to a condition of serfdom. In the 15th cent. the power of the Teutonic Order began to decline. The conversion of Lithuania and its alliance with Poland were a serious menace, especially as the discontented Prussian laity had strong Polish sympathies. In 1410 Ladislaus, king of Poland, inflicted a crushing defeat on the Teutonic Knights at Tannenberg. In 1454 the Prussian League (which had been formed in 1440 to resist the rule of the order) offered Prussia to the Polish king. In 1466 the Peace of Thorn gave W. Prussia to Poland. The order, however, retained E. Prussia as a fief from the Polish king. The Grand Master was to sit on the Polish Diet and half of the Knights were to be of Polish race. The E. Prussian brethren, however, continued to choose Germans for their Grand Masters. In 1526 the Hohenzollern Albert of Brandenburg, who was then Grand Master, having become a Protestant, secularized his territories and turned them into a hereditary duchy, to be held as a fief from Poland. In 1618 John Sigismund, elector of Brandenburg, on the death of his father-in-law, Albert Frederick, duke of Prussia, succeeded to his dukedom. In 1655 war broke out between Sweden and Poland. Frederick William, the 'great elector' of Brandenburg, who had made good his claim to the dukedom of Prussia, succeeded by his vacillating and treacherous policy in obtaining the complete independence of both Sweden and Poland. In 1701 the duchy of Prussia was converted into a kingdom by the emperor in favour of Frederick III., elector of Brandenburg.

3. **Sociology.**—The Old Prussians lived by agriculture, hunting, and fishing. They were acquainted with the art of navigation, and ships from Samland used to visit the commercial town of Birca in Sweden (Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburg. Eccles. pontificum*, i. 62 [*Script. Rer. Pruss.* i. 239]). According to accounts given by historians of the Teutonic Order, the civilization of the Old Prussians in the 13th cent. was by no means high. The art of writing was unknown to them (cf. Dusburg, in *Script. Rer. Pruss.* i. 53). Human sacrifice was common. Aged and infirm people and weakly or superfluous female infants were put to death (cf. David, i. 22, and papal bull of Honorius III., 1218). Over against German accounts of Prussian ferocity, we have Adam of Bremen's description:

'Pruzzi, homines humanissimi, qui obviam tendunt his ad auxiliandum, qui periclitantur in mari vel qui a pyratis infestantur . . . Multa possent dici ex illis populis laudabilia in moribus' (iv. 18).

The Old Prussians were polygamous, although, according to the laws of the *kirwait* (cf. David, i. 22), they were limited to three lawful wives. The condition of women was low. Marriage was by purchase or by capture. The wife was the servant of all in the house and did not eat in the presence of her husband (Dusburg, in *Script. Rer. Pruss.* i. 53; cf. also Meletius, *Epist. ad Sabinum*, tr. in *FL* xii. 299 ff.). Marriage of step-mothers was practised by the Old Prussians (David, i. 133).

According to Grunau (*Preuss. Chronik*, i. 98) and David (i. 138), there were three modes of disposal of the dead: the *kunigs*, as the highest noblemen were called, were cremated; noblemen of less exalted rank, called *suppanen*,[1] were buried in their castle-yards together with horses, hunting dogs, gold, and a barrel of mead; the common people were sometimes buried and sometimes cremated. According to Dusburg, both nobles and commons cremated their dead. We learn from the Treaty of Christburg that the dead man's most valued possessions, his animals, and even his favourite servants were burned with him (*Preuss. Urkundenbuch*, Polit. Abth. i. [Königsberg, 1882] 1).

When the Teutonic Knights invaded Prussia, they seem to have found there no central political organization, but a number of separate divisions or kingdoms. We hear, however, of a chief priest called *kriwe*, whose authority was recognized not only by all Prussians, but also by Letts and Lithuanians. The holy oak and fire at Romove, over which he presided, seem to have been the central sanctuary of the Baltic peoples (Dusburg, in *Script. Rer. Pruss.* i. 53). According to Grunau and David (who profess to derive their information from Bishop Christian), Romove, or Rickoyot, was at one time the seat of political as well as of religious authority (cf. Grunau, i. 62; David, i. 24 ff.). The story of king Widowuto and his

[1] It is worth noting that the first of these titles is of Teutonic origin (O. Norse *konungr*, O. Sax. *kuning*). The second is current in most of the Slavic languages, whatever its ultimate origin.

brother Bruteno, the high priest, and of the division of the kingdom among the twelve sons, is generally dismissed as an invention of Grunau, suggested by the Biblical stories of Moses and Aaron and the origin of the twelve tribes of Israel. It seems likely, however, that the legend contains at least a germ of genuine tradition. It is not difficult to find parallels for the double kingship and for the survival of the kingship as a religious institution after it had ceased to have any political significance.

4. Religion. — (*a*) *Authorities.* — References to Old Prussian religion occur in Lives of St. Adalbert, dating from the end of the 10th cent., in the *Chronicon Polonorum* of Vincent Kadlubek (dating from the beginning of the 13th cent.), and in an original document of the Treaty of Christburg (1249). The *Cronica Terre Prussie* of Peter von Dusburg (dedicated to Hochmeister Werner von Orselm in 1326) contains a treatise entitled *de Ydolatria et ritu et moribus Pruthenorum.* This is important because heathen ideas and practices undoubtedly survived in Dusburg's time; and he may well have derived his information from men who could speak of the old religion from personal experience. Chroniclers of the 16th cent. have much to say concerning the history and the social and religious life of the Old Prussians; but their evidence is not accepted as altogether trustworthy. Erasmus Stella, who composed in 1510 a treatise *de Borussiæ Antiquitatibus*, is not considered a reliable authority; but there is nothing intrinsically improbable in his statements about religion. The *Preussische Chronik*, completed in 1521 by the monk Simon Grunau of Tolkemit, is usually held to be a mass of falsehoods, composed in the interest of Poland. The Chronicle of Christian (who was made the first bishop of Prussia at the beginning of the 13th cent.) which Grunau mentions as the source of his description of Old Prussian religion is dismissed as a product of his imagination. Lucas David, a Protestant historian of acknowledged accuracy and critical ability, also states that Christian's Chronicle was the source of much of the information contained in the first volume of the *Preussische Chronik*, which he wrote in the latter part of the 16th century. It is generally thought that David's only knowledge of Christian's Chronicle was derived from Grunau, although David himself expressly states at times that he is using Christian's Chronicle and at other times gives Grunau as his authority. It has perhaps been taken for granted too readily that Christian's Chronicle never existed. A comparison of the parallel passages in Grunau and David suggests that they used the same source independently. Matthaeus Praetorius (born 1635) states that Christian's Chronicle was used by his great-grandfather, the historian Johann Bretkius, which again raises difficulties in the current explanation (cf. pp. 3, 4, 19, 39). Many of the customs and rites which Bishop Christian is said to have recorded are of a kind that can be paralleled from different religions in other parts of the world. Both Grunau and David describe some pagan festivals and superstitions from personal observation; for in their time the natives, though professing Christianity, continued to perform in secret the rites of their old religion. This was still the case in the following century when Praetorius wrote his *Deliciæ Prussicæ* in order to supply the lack of information concerning the customs of the Old Prussians by a study of the 'existing superstitious ceremonies of the Nadravians, Zalovians, and Sudavians.'

(*b*) *Gods.*—The earliest reference to an Old Prussian deity occurs in the Treaty of Christburg (1249):

'Ydolo quem semel in anno collectis frugibus consueverunt confingere et pro deo colere, cui nomen Curche imposuerunt.'

The feminine form Curche was later replaced by the masculine Gurcho. This deity is described as a god of food and drink, and his cult was said to have been derived from the Masurians (Poles).

In a document of 1418 it is stated that the Teutonic Order expelled from Prussia 'gentes servientes demonibus, colentes Patollom, Natrimpe (according to another reading, Pacullum, Patrimpe) et alia ignominiosa fantasmata' (see Usener, *Götternamen, s.v.* 'Natrimpe').

Probably these two deities are to be identified with the Patollo and Potrimpo who are said to have shared with Perkuno the worship at Romove, and who are coupled together as having an especial taste for human blood (David, i. 34). It has been stated that Curche, Patollo, and Natrimpe are the only divinities that we can ascribe to the Old Prussians with any certainty, and that the numerous names that occur in later sources are of Lithuanian rather than Prussian origin. It is, however, impossible to draw a hard and fast line between the religions of the two peoples.

The *Constit. Synod. Evangel.* of 1530 contains the following list of deities who were still worshipped by the Sudavians in Samland:

'Occopirmus, Suaixtix, Ausschauts, Autrympus, Potrympus, Bardoayts, Piluuytis, Parcuns, Pecols atque Pocols, qui dei, si eorum numina secundum illorum opinionem pensites erunt Saturnus, Sol, Aesculapius, Neptunus, Castor et Pollux, Ceres, Juppiter, Pluto, Furiae.'

Occopirmus was invoked as the 'mighty god of heaven and stars' (David, i. 147). Swaixtix, 'the god of light' (*ib.* i. 86), was invoked at agricultural festivals. Ausschauts is probably to be identified with 'Auscautum deum incolumitatis et aegritudinis' (Meletius, *Epist. ad Sabin.*; see *Archiv für slav. Phil.* xviii. 76) and Auschleuts (also Auschkauts), 'der Gott aller Gebrechen, Krankheiten und Gesundheit,' who was invoked when there was a poor harvest (David, i. 91). The name Autrympus occurs only here, and is probably a scribal error for Antrimpus, who is frequently mentioned as a god of the sea (cf. Meletius, *loc. cit.*; David, i. 86). Potrympus has already been described. He was a god 'von deme alles Gluck keme, in Streitten, Regierung, Hauzhaltung ausm Ackerbau und andern mehr' (David, i. 34). He was a god of fertility, and snakes were consecrated to him (Praetorius, p. 46). He appears to have some connexion with water: 'auch wurden Ime zugeeignet die fliessenden Wasser' (David, i. 87). Perhaps Autrympus and Potrympus should be taken together as different names for the deity identified with Neptune. *Na, po, an* are prepositions; *trumpa* may be connected with Prussian *trumpa = fluvius* (cf. Nesselmann, *Thesaurus Linguæ Prussicæ*, p. 191). Bardoayts is probably the same god as 'Perdoytus deus navium' (see Grienberger, in *Archiv für slav. Phil.* xviii. 78), 'Perdoytus Gott der Kaufleute' (Praetorius, p. 27). He must be connected in some way with 'Gardoaeten deum nautarum' (Meletius, *loc. cit.*) and Gardoaits, the special god of the fishermen living by the Kurische Haff and the Frische Haff, of whom Lucas David (i. 116) gives an interesting description. Probably forms in *b* and *g* existed side by side, which might account for the identification of Bardoayts with Castor and Pollux. Piluuytis (cf. the Lettish Pilnitis, god of riches) was one of the gods invoked at agricultural festivals. Parcuns is to be identified with the thunder-god Perkun, the most important deity of the Baltic peoples (cf. NATURE [Lettish, Lithuanian, and Old Prussian]). The names of the deity or deities connected with death appear in many different forms:

'Pecols atque Pocols'; 'Pluto, Furiae' (*Constit. Synod.*); 'Pocclum inferni ac tenebrarum deum, Poccolium aereorum spirituum' (Meletius, *loc. cit.*); 'Pecullus deus inferorum et tenebrarum. . . . Pocullus deus spirituum volantium sive cacodaemonarum' (*Archiv für slav. Phil.* xviii. 79); 'Potollos oder

Pickollos regierte in der Luft' (see *Archiv für slav. Phil.* xviii. 79).

The various forms have been hopelessly confused, but there seem to have been at least two different deities. Pecols, who is identified with Pluto (see above), is no doubt related to the Lithuanian *pekla*, 'hell' (cf. Polish *pieklo*, 'hell'), and it is possible that he is a personification of the land of the dead. 'Potollos oder Pickollos' is probably to be identified with the god of the Romove sanctuary whom David (i. 33) describes as 'chief god of the Prussians, and he was held to be a god of death and had power to kill.' Pickollos is probably connected with *pickuls*, the Old Prussian word for 'devil' (Nesselmann, p. 128). Cf. also Lith. *piktas*, 'evil'; *pykti*, 'to be angry.' A Nadravian peasant in conversation with Praetorius (p. 20) coupled together Perkunus and Pycullis as having power over the oak-tree. The heads of a horse and a cow were an accepted offering to Pikullis (Praetorius, p. 26); Patollo had a similar treasure at Romove (David, *loc. cit.*). This deity sometimes appears as the head of a host of similar beings. At the spring festival Perkunus was prayed to strike and drive away 'Pockollos with his companions and underlings' (David, i. 91), 'Patollos das seindt die fliegende Geister oder Teuffel' (*ib.* i. 87), 'Pocols = Furiae' (*Constit. Synod.*). We are reminded of the Valkyries, and of Odin, the leader of the Wild Hunt.

(*c*) *Sanctuaries.*—The Old Prussians seem to have had no temples, but there are many references to sacred groves, lakes, hills, etc. Sometimes offerings were made near holy stones.

'In dem Hockerlande soll auch ein Stein sein gewesen, darauf die Fischer wenn sie gefischett den ersten Fisch, so von Inen gefangen werden, gedachten Abgotte dem Kurkos geopfert und verbrandt haben' (David, i. 83; cf. also Praetorius, p. 21 f.).

The cult of Gurcho was also connected with the holy oak and perpetual fire at Heiligenbeil and other places, where corn and fruit, etc., were burned as an offering to the god (David, i. 82). Romove, or Rickoyot, which has already been mentioned, was a sanctuary of this type. It is described in detail by Grunau (i. 78) and David (i. 28 ff.). The oak was divided into three parts, each division consecrated to one of the three gods, Patollo, Perkuno, and Potrimpo, and containing his image. Before each god was placed his peculiar treasure. Patollo had the heads of a horse, a cow, and a man; Potrimpo a snake kept in a jar crowned with sheaves of corn; before Perkuno burned the perpetual fire. The oak was surrounded by curtains and round it dwelt priests and priestesses living in virginity, whose duty it was to offer sacrifices, tend the fire, feed the sacred snake, and serve their high priest, the *kriwe kirwaito*. Although David calls Patollo the chief god, it is always Perkuno who is said to communicate with the chief priest by means of thunder and lightning. Foreign potentates were not allowed to appear before the holy oak (Praetorius, p. 39). Dusburg, Grunau, and David agree in locating Romove in Nadravia. In the *Hochmeister Chronik* (15th cent.) we read that the heathen pope lived in Samland 'in dat dorp dat Romawe heit, end noemden sy alsoe ne Romen' (*Script. Rer. Pruss.* i. 53), and certain documents, written by John, bishop of Samland, in the 14th cent., referring to places in the neighbourhood of the villages of Romehnen and Lenknitten, mention 'Rummove,' 'Campus Rumbow . . . quercum viridem stantem prope sacrum campum' (J. Voigt, *Geschichte Preussens*, Königsberg, 1827–39, i. 644). At the end of the 13th cent. the Teutonic Knights were fighting in a part of Lithuania 'in qua villam dictam Romene que secundum ritus eorum sacra fuit combussit' (Dusburg, p. 159). Place-names compounded with Rom occur frequently in Prussia and Lithuania. It seems likely that Romove is a common rather than a proper noun, and the evidence of Praetorius leads to the same conclusion:

'Alle Art Bäume, deren Stamm sich von einander gezweiget und wieder zusammen gewachsen gewesen, sind den Preuszen heilig gewesen und sind es manchen noch. So war ein zusammen gewachsener Birnbaum in einem Garten zu Nibudzen, den die Leute rombotha Krauszis nanten und ein Maldinink oder Waidelot aus Zamaiten, der ihn gesehen, betrachtete ihn mit Ehrfurcht' (p. 16). There was also a fir-tree of this kind at Nibudzen 'welche noch anno 1664 gestanden. Bis weit aus Littauen sind die Leute zu diesem Baum gewallfahrt. Sie haben diese Tanne auch Rumbuta genannt und gesagt, wenn sie zu ihr gingen: "eikim Rombhowa." Romove oder nach der altpreussischen Mundart Rombhove von rombiu, rombothi zusammenwachsen' (p. 17).

(*d*) *Priesthood.*—There seems little reason to doubt that the Old Prussians possessed a highly developed priesthood. Its organization was destroyed when the Teutonic Knights burned down the oak at Rickoyot, but the priests exercised their functions in secret for several centuries. In the year 1520 a *waideler* (the usual word for 'priest') was forced to perform a severe penance for having offered up a sacrifice on the shores of Samland (David, i. 117 ff.). Grunau on one occasion found a number of Prussians assembled in a house, performing ceremonies in honour of Perkuno. The *waideler* who presided absolved the people from their sins, and immediately afterwards they all fell upon him, beating him and pulling his hair, and the louder he shrieked the more efficacious was their absolution. The ceremony concluded with the sacrifice of a goat, whose flesh was cooked with oak-leaves (i. 91). As late as the 17th cent. *waidelers* sometimes offered up prayers and sacrifices at the periodic festivals, and exhorted the people to remain faithful to the gods and their ancient customs (Praetorius, p. 23 f.). Even the traditional high-priestly office was not quite forgotten (*ib.* p. 48). According to the traditions recorded by Grunau and David, the Old Prussians had priestesses as well as priests, who were compelled to live in virginity.

Poggezana, the eponymous heroine of a district in Prussia, 'wohnete in einem Eichwald, und bleib ihre Tag eine Jungfraue, und wardt eine Waidelotinne'; she was said to have danced with the gods (David, i. 72 f.).

(*e*) *Sacrifice and festivals.*—The papal bull issued by Honorius III. in 1218 contains the statement that the Old Prussians 'immolate captives to their gods.' According to Bishop Christian's account (David, i. 47 f.), it was customary for a Prussian warrior to bind on to his saddle the first man taken in battle, and to burn to death both horse and rider as an offering to the gods. We hear of Teutonic Knights being put to death in this manner (see H. G. Voigt, p. 307, note 596). Apparently it was not unknown for a man to give up a servant, a child, or even himself to be burned alive as a sacrifice (David, i. 23). Horses were also sacrificed in this way (Dusburg, *loc. cit.*). Milk, honey, corn, etc., were thrown into the sacred fire at Heiligenbeil and elsewhere as an offering to Gurcho (David, *loc. cit.*). David (i. 92) distinguishes between village festivals and sacrifices and the more pomp ous ceremonies at Rickoyot. When the holy oak was destroyed, prayer and sacrifice were offered to the gods in other places, but no longer 'with burnt offerings, incense and the guarding of a perpetual fire.' Sacrifices were offered in case of sickness, war, etc., and also in connexion with the regular agricultural festivals. The ceremony usually consisted of invocation of the gods and the partaking of bread, beer, etc., and the flesh of the slaughtered animal—usually a bull or goat (for further particulars cf. David, i. 90–92, and Meletius, in *FL* xii. 293 ff.). Praetorius (pp. 48–69) describes the agricultural ceremonies in great detail. In all of them a drink-offering was poured on the ground, as a libation to Zemynele, the earth-goddess, who seems

to have taken the place of Pergubrius, Pilwitis, and various other gods mentioned by David and Meletius in this connexion (cf. Praetorius, p. 66).

(*f*) *The soul.*—Kadlubek (*Monumenta Poloniæ Historica*, i. 423) tells a curious story of the 'Pollexiani Getarum seu Prussorum genus, gens atrocissima.'

After a defeat by Casimir of Poland certain of their number were captured and held as hostages. The Prussians, however, refused to be influenced by any regard for the safety of these prisoners, because they believed that those who suffered an honourable death would thereby attain a more honourable rebirth, 'est enim Getarum communis dementia exutas corporibus quasdam etiam brutorum assumptione corporum brutescere.'

This is the only reference to an Old Prussian belief in metempsychosis. All authorities, however, attribute to them a strong faith in the immortality of the soul.

'Birth-days and funerals were celebrated alike . . . with the greatest hilarity and rejoicing' (Erasmus Stella, in *Script. Rer. Pruss.* iv. 294; cf. also Dusburg, *loc. cit.*).

In 1249 the Old Prussians promised to give up 'Tulissones vel Ligaschones,' priests who presided at funerals, and praised the dead for the deeds of violence and plunder that they had done in their lifetime.

'They also declared that they could see, there and then, the dead man flying through the sky on horseback, adorned in shining armour, with iron spear in hand, and together with a great company proceeding into the other world' (Treaty of Christburg, cited by H. G. Voigt, p. 590, note 31).

The *kriwe* was also supposed to see the dead leaving this world for the next (Dusburg, *loc. cit.*). The dead were connected in some way with the earth-deity:

'Ziameluks ist bei die heutigen Preussen, Nadraven, Zalovonien, Zamaiten, Lithauen noch so viel als ein Herr oder Gott der Erde und derer die in der Erde begraben worden' (Praetorius, p. 7).

At the funeral feast drink-offerings were poured out to Zemynele (the earth-goddess) and prayer was made:

'Be joyful, Zemynele, receive this soul well and guard it well' (*ib.* p. 101).

Festivals of the dead were held at regular intervals.

LITERATURE.—*Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum*, ed. T. Hirsch, M. Töppen, and E. Strehlke, 5 vols., Leipzig, 1861–63; *Monumenta Poloniæ Historica*, ed. A. Bielowski, 2 vols., Lwow, 1872; Simon Grunau, *Preussische Chronik*, ed. M. Perlbach, Leipzig, 1876–77, i.; Lucas David, *Preussische Chronik*, ed. E. Hennig, Königsberg, 1812, i.; Johann Meletius, *Epistola ad Sabinum de sacrificiis et idolatria veterum Borussorum, Livonum aliarumque vicinarum gentium* (1551), tr. F. C. Conybeare, in *FL* xii. [1901] 293 ff.; Hieronymus Meletius, *Warhafftige Beschreibung der Sudawen auff Samland sambt ihren Bockheiligen und Ceremonien*, Königsberg, 1561; M. Praetorius, *Deliciæ Prussicæ*, ed. W. Pierson, Berlin, 1871; K. Zeuss, *Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme*, Munich, 1837, pp. 667–681; H. Usener, *Götternamen*, Bonn, 1896; T. R. von Grienberger, 'Die Baltica des Libellus Lasicki,' in *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, xviii. [1896] 1 ff.; H. G. Voigt, *Adalbert von Prag*, Berlin, 1898, ch. xii. p. 119 ff.; K. Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, do. 1906–08, ii. 11–34; G. H. F. Nesselmann, *Thesaurus Linguæ Prussicæ*, do. 1873; E. Berneker, *Die preussische Sprache*, Strassburg, 1896.

ENID WELSFORD.

OLD TESTAMENT.—See BIBLE.

OM.—The origin of the word *om* is wholly uncertain. It has been traced to a pronominal base *av-* and its formation has been compared with that of *ay-am*, 'this,' on the theory that the whole word *avam* was resolved by the process of *saṁprasāraṇa* into *au-m*, whence came by ordinary euphonic combination *om*. For the development of sense may be cited the fact that *hoc illud* became the French *oui*, *om* having often definitely this meaning. But the evidence in support of this view is quite inadequate, and the most probable explanation is that the word is purely an exclamation, being the nasalized form of *o*, which again is connected with *ā*. This view is strongly supported by the fact that the common phrase *oṁ śrāvaya* alternates with both *o śrāvaya* and *ā śrāvaya*, and the nasalizing of sounds when prolonged in pronunciation is a regular part of Vedic usage. A further suggestion of its origin is contained in the earliest name given to the sound, the word *praṇava*. It is probable that this term properly denotes the protracting of the last syllable of the offering verse (*yājyā*), which was nasalized, the vowel being altered to *o*, and that *om* as an independent exclamation was derived from this use. With this would accord the rule of the grammar (Pāṇini, vi. 1. 95), according to which a short or long *a* before *om* does not as usual result in *aum*, but is omitted.

That *oṁ* is not a primitive exclamation is supported by the fact of its comparatively late appearance in the literature. It does not appear at all in the *Rigveda*, which shows that it does not belong to the earliest sacerdotal literature, and it is equally wanting in the *Atharvaveda*, which shows that it was not an expression in popular use. In the *Taittirīya Saṁhitā* it does not occur in any *mantra* passage, but it is alluded to once as the *praṇava*, in which passage (iii. 2. 9. 6) it clearly denotes the sound at the end of the offering verse uttered by the *hotṛ*. In the *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā*, on the other hand, we actually find *om* in the phrase *oṁ pratiṣṭha* (ii. 13), and it is stated (xix. 25) that by means of the *praṇavas* the form of the *śastras* is made complete. The *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* also uses *om* in the phrase *oṁ śrāvaya* (iv. 1. 11) and in a set of exclamations in iv. 9. 21. It is, however, in the *Brāhmaṇas* that we first find the definite use in the asseverative sense; the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (vii. 18), in describing the mode of the recitation of the legend of Śunaḥśepa, which was recited on the day of anointing in the ceremony of the consecration of a king, states that the response to each verse of the *Rigveda* employed in the rite by the *hotṛ* priest is to be an *om*, said by the *adhvaryu*, while the response to each *Gāthā* verse is to be a *tathā*, on the ground that the former response is divine, the second human, and this distinction is preserved in the *sūtras* which deal with the rite. The ordinary use as a solemn 'Yes' is found more freely in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (i. 4. 1. 30, x. 6. 1. 4, xi. 6. 3. 4) and elsewhere. But its use is confined to very formal responses, and normally to responses in the ritual.

Much more important than its use as a particle of asseveration is the development of its use as a mystical symbol embodying in itself the essence of the Vedas and of the universe. The first evidence of this important position of the word is to be found in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (v. 32), in which it is declared that *om* is the world of heaven and the sun, and where it is resolved into the three letters *a*, *u*, and *m*. These in turn are derived from the three *vyāhṛtis*, Bhūḥ, Bhuvaḥ, and Svar, these from the *Rigveda*, *Yajurveda*, and *Sāmaveda*, these from the gods Agni, Vāyu, and Āditya, and these from earth, atmosphere, and air. The passage may be later than the rest of the text, but it is of special value as it opens a set of speculations which come to a head in the *Upaniṣads*. It is noteworthy that it has no parallel in the *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* or in any other *Brāhmaṇa* text prior to the *Gopatha*.

In the *Upaniṣads* the doctrine of the sacred character of the syllable is steadily developed. The *Taittirīya* (i. 8) declares that it is the Brahman, the holy power which constitutes the universe, and derives this conclusion from the fact that in the ritual *om* takes an important place in each part; thus it is employed by the *hotṛ*, the *sāman* singer, the *adhvaryu*, and the *brahman*, and forms an integral part of the ritual of the *agnihotra*, the most regular of all Vedic offerings. The essence of this treatment of the syllable is to make it a symbol of the Brahman and to substitute meditation upon it in place of study of the Vedas—an idea helped by the doctrine that the word repre-

sents the essence of all three Vedas and of existence which the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* first sets out. The *Kāṭhaka Upaniṣad* (ii. 15) declares that all the Vedas proclaim the syllable *om*, and that it is for its sake that men practise holiness. But the full development of the doctrine is first found in the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*, which contains two elaborate accounts of *om*; they are followed by some supplementary and doubtless later remarks on it, and constitute the *Praṇava Upaniṣad*. According to the first of these accounts, the Brahman created Brahmā as masculine on a lotus leaf. He in turn created *om* with two letters and four *moræ*. The first letter of *om* produced the waters, the second the luminaries; then the first three *moræ*, which no doubt represent the three syllables in *o*, pronounced with prolongation, produced earth, atmosphere, and heaven; fire, wind, and sun; the three Vedas; the three *vyāhṛtis*; the three metres, *gāyatrī*, *triṣṭubh*, and *jagatī*, and so on. So far the account is in fair accord with that of the earlier texts, but the special Atharvan character of it is made clear by the derivation from the *v* sound (taken from the *o*) of water, moon, the *Atharvaveda*, *om* itself, *janat*, which is the *vyāhṛti* of the *aṅgiras*, or dreadful formulæ, of the *Atharvaveda*, the *anuṣṭubh* metre, etc., while from the letter *m* are derived the *Itihāsa Purāṇa* and other categories of literature, musical instruments, singing and dancing, the *bṛhatī* metre, etc. It is added that with *om* the *brahman* priest is able to make good all defects in the sacrifice, and that the repetition of *om* a thousand times secures all desires. In the second account we learn that in one of their interminable conflicts the *asuras* defeated the gods until the latter followed the leadership of *om*, whence *om* received the reward that no holy text might be recited without it, whether *ṛch*, *yajus*, *sāman*, or *śloka*. In the supplementary remarks other details of the word are given; it is stated to be pronounced differently in the different Vedas, and its four *moræ*, which are here differently explained from the account given before—which indeed seems to assume five—are connected with the deities Brahmā, Viṣnu, Īśāna, and Sarva, the two last being forms of Śiva.

The *Upaniṣads* connected with the *Atharvaveda* naturally develop further the views of the *Gopatha*. They devote their attention in large measure to the means of meditation by which the seeker for the Brahman can attain union with the Brahman, and for this purpose set little importance upon knowledge of the scriptures. In the place of such knowledge is set the study of the syllable *om*, which is described in a series of metaphors. Thus it is, in one view, the bow from which the soul as an arrow flies to the Brahman, in another the arrow which is shot from the body as a bow in order to pierce the darkness. It is also the ship on which a man travels over the ether of the heart, and the chariot which bears him to the world of Brahmā. The old analysis into three *moræ* occurs in the *Maitrāyaṇī Upaniṣad* (vi. 3), which describes them as fire, sun, and wind, and calls them the essence of all things. The *Praśna Upaniṣad* (v. 5), acting on the same basis, states that he who meditates by one *mora* attains the world of men, by two the way of the fathers (*pitṛyāna*), and by three the way of the gods (*devayāna*). This conception, however, changes, and, while four or five *moræ* are recognized in the *Gopatha*, we now hear of a fourth *mora*-less part which forms the crown of the syllable (*Maitrāyaṇī*, vi. 23). In the latest stage of the Atharvan *Upaniṣads* this is definitely called the third and a half *mora*, and is said to lead to the supreme goal, and to be represented by the point (*bindu*) of the *anusvāra*. Its sound is variously described, but normally as some sort of echo, and some versions turn the half *mora* into a fourth or add to a half *mora* an echo. It is, however, made clear that the meditation on *om* is not the highest stage, which can be performed only in absolute silence; and the syllable is compared with a chariot which is abandoned when the high road ceases and the foot-path begins. *Om* is only, after all, a word, and, ascending from it, man attains to nothingness in that which is not a word.

Side by side with the philosophic development of the symbolism of *om* in the *Upaniṣads* its ritual use is elaborated and closely defined by the *Śrauta Sūtras*. The variety of its employment does not conceal the essential nature of its uses, which are either the solemn affirmation or agreement, as in the response (*pratigara*) of the *adhvaryu*, or the intimation of the commencement and end of a recitation or an offering verse—a usage which explains the statement that *om* separates divine and human utterance. The special nature of the word is marked out by the care taken to define its mode of pronunciation and the treatment of final letters before it, when it ends a sentence. The *Prātiśākhya* of the *Rigveda* records its use in approval, while the *Prātiśākhya* of the *Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā* seems to refer to its use as commencing a litany by its assertion that in the Vedas the word *om*, here described by its less usual name *oṁkāra*, has the same sense as *atha* in the current speech (*bhāṣya*).

In the *sūtras* which deal with the domestic ritual and customary law a different aspect of the use of *om* from that treated in the *Śrauta Sūtras* presents itself. In the latter *om* is merely used as an important part of the recitation of the texts, but as early as the *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra* we are told that a man should daily recite the Veda privately, be it only the syllable *om* or the *vyāhṛtis*, and that this constitutes the offering to Brahmā. Similarly, while an ascetic is not allowed to give up the study of the Veda altogether, he is permitted to confine himself to the meditation on *om*, which is the root of the tree of the Veda and its essence, and by this means he becomes united with the Brahman (ii. 10. 23 f.). Still more important is the place taken by *om* in connexion with rites of expiation and purification. Baudhāyana, in setting forth (iv. 1) the advantages of the suppression of the breath, adds that *om* begins and ends the Vedas, and that *om* and the *vyāhṛtis* are the eternal and everlasting Brahman. For him who engages in reciting *om*, the *vyāhṛtis*, and the *gāyatrī* no danger exists anywhere. Sixteen suppressions of the breath, accompanied by recitation of the *vyāhṛtis* and of *om* repeated daily, after a month purify even the slayer of a learned Brāhman. The same rules reappear in *Vasiṣṭha* (xxv. and xxvi.), and by being repeated in the code of Manu (xi. 249 f.) complete the holiness of the word *om* as part of the ceremonies of purification. On the other hand, the use of *om* is equally necessary to the magic worker: the *Kauśika Sūtra*, that storehouse of Indian magic, in describing (ix. 8 f.) the preparation of the holy water, insists that the preparation shall be accompanied by the use of the syllable.

In the philosophic literature *om* holds its place as the object of meditation in the effort to realize the Brahman. Thus in the *Bhagavad-Gītā* it is identified with Kṛṣṇa as the universe and the Brahman, and the triad *oṁ tat sat* is declared as comprehending the nature of the Brahman. In the system of the Vedānta as interpreted by Bādarāyaṇa (*Sūtra*, iv. 3. 14 f.) it seems that the use of *om* for purposes of meditation falls under the same disadvantage as all meditation on the Brahman by means of symbols: the result is not the clear vision of the Brahman, but only the reward appropriate for the meditation on the particular symbol in each case;

but this doctrine does not harmonize with that of the *Praśna Upaniṣad*, which, as we have seen, declares that meditation on the three *mora* of *om* leads to the *devayāna* and thus, of course, to the Brahman. Nor does it appear that this view of *om* was ever generally accepted, meditation on *om* being regarded as a normal stage in the development of the knowledge of the highest Brahman.

This position of *om* is intensified in the Yoga system as it appears in the *sūtra* of Patañjali (i. 27–29); it is there brought into connexion with Īśvara, God, and, under the name of *praṇava*, declared to express him. The repetition of the word and reflexion on its meaning are enjoined as desirable, and it is stated that the result of this practice is the removal of obstacles and the right knowledge of him who thinks in an inverse way, *i.e.* of one who does not seek truth in ordinary consciousness. Hence the word has a definite and important place in all subsequent doctrine of Yoga practices.

On the popular side the syllable *om* persists throughout the whole of Indian religion as the proper accompaniment of *mantras*, whether Vedic or not. Thus, on the one hand, it is used invariably to accompany the sacred *gāyatrī* which it is part of the daily duty of the orthodox Hindu to repeat, and, on the other hand, it plays a great part in the innumerable varieties of Tantric *mantras* which form an important feature of the real religion of India. Its popularity depends no doubt in part on the normal equation of its elements with the Hindu trinity of Viṣṇu, Śiva, and Brahmā which is already found in the later *Upaniṣads* and is foreshadowed earlier. On the other hand, despite its popular character, it remains very sacrosanct: at the festival of Śiva on 27th February, when even the lowest castes take part in the rites, while women are permitted to make use of the *mantras*, an exception is made of the syllable *om*, doubtless because of its special holiness.[1] As an auspicious symbol, from the 6th cent. A.D. onwards, the initial letter is found in different forms to denote the commencement of a text in MSS and inscriptions.

To Jainism and to Buddhism the syllable *om* and its use were primarily characteristic of the Brāhman, but the force of the popularity of the syllable is shown by the fact that it became an integral part of the *mantra* of Avalokiteśvara in the Buddhist pantheon, the famous *oṁ maṇi padme*[2] *hūm*. So in the crypto-Buddhism of the 16th cent. in Orissa we find that from the *śūnya*, or void, is derived the *praṇava*, thus bringing the *praṇava* close to the principle of nonentity of the nihilist school of Buddhism.

In the *Purāṇas* besides assertions as to its general sanctity we find the syllable turned to sectarian use. Thus in the *Liṅga Purāṇa* the *liṅga*, which reduces both Viṣṇu and Brahmā to the recognition of their inferiority to Śiva, bears upon it the sacred syllable. On the other hand, it is said that the three letters represent Viṣṇu himself, his wife Śrī, and the worshipper; that the syllable is the three Vedas, the three worlds, the three sacred fires, and the three footsteps of Viṣṇu; and that by meditation upon it devotees attain supreme bliss.

LITERATURE.—The derivation of *om* from *avam* is defended by F. Max Müller, *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, new ed., London, 1903, p. 322 f., but is definitely rejected by O. Böhtlingk and R. Roth, *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, Petrograd, 1855–75, i. 1122. For the *praṇava* see J. Eggeling, *SBE* xxvi. [1885] 88, n. 3. *Om* in the *Upaniṣads* is discussed by P. Deussen, *The Philosophy of the Upanishads*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1906, pp. 101, 390–392; see also A. Weber, *Indische Studien*, Berlin, 1849–84, ix. 24, 60, 90, 91, 107, 108, 125, 132, 134, 140–143, 159, 160. For the *Purāṇas* see H. H. Wilson, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, ed. F. Hall, London, 1864–77, i. 1. *Om* in the Buddhism of Orissa is dealt with by Nagendra Nath Vasu, *Modern Buddhism*, Calcutta, 1911, pp. 44, 60, 62, 71, 72. For *om* as a *maṅgala* see G. Bühler, *Indische Paläographie*, Strassburg, 1896, p. 85. For *om* in the formula of Avalokiteśvara see L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme*, Paris, 1909, p. 381. *Om* in the Vedānta is discussed in *SBE* xxxiv. [1890] 169 f., xxxviii. [1896] 193, 196–199, 282 f., xlviii. [1904] 312 f., 362, 664, 682–685.

A. B. KEITH.

[1] E. W. Hopkins, *Religions of India*, London, 1896, p. 453.
[2] A. H. Francke, *JRAS*, 1915, pp. 397–404.

OMAHA INDIANS.—See SIOUANS.

OMENS.—See DIVINATION, PRODIGIES AND PORTENTS.

OM MANI PADME HUM.—See JEWEL (Buddhist).

OMNIPOTENCE, OMNIPRESENCE, OMNISCIENCE.—See GOD.

OMPHALOS (ὀμφαλός).—The Greeks had a story that Zeus, wishing to ascertain the exact centre of the earth, sent forth two eagles to fly simultaneously at equal speed from its eastern and western ends. They met at Delphi, and there in Apollo's temple was set up in commemoration the holy Navel-stone, or Omphalos, with a golden eagle at either side to mark earth's central point.[1]

The Delphian Navel-stone is described by Pausanias as 'made of white marble' (x. xvi. 3: λίθου πεποιημένον λευκοῦ). Strabo says that it was covered with sacred fillets (p. 420: καὶ ὀμφαλός τις ἐν τῷ ναῷ τεταινιωμένος). Numerous representations of the Omphalos, especially on coins and vases—on the latter most frequently in connexion with the appeal of Orestes to the protection of Apollo against the avenging spirits of his mother—enabled us to form a good idea of it, even before the recovery of actual specimens. Generally it is represented as in shape like a half-egg standing on a low quadrangular base; sometimes it emerges, as it were, so far as to be nearly like a whole egg with the lower end flattened to enable it to stand on its pedestal. Sometimes bare, at others it is draped with hanging fillets, at others again covered with a kind of coarse-meshed diagonal network of fillets, which are represented either as plain ribands or as tied tightly at regular intervals so as to look like a string of eggs (see for many representations J. H. Middleton, 'The Temple of Apollo at Delphi,' *JHS* ix. [1888] 295 f.).[2] These ancient pictorial representations are now superseded by two marble Omphaloi actually found at Delphi by the French excavators, one of them, covered with a network of fillets worked in the marble, having been found near the great altar of the Chians in front of

[1] Cf. Eur. *Ion*, 5 f.: ἵν' ὀμφαλὸν | μέσον καθίζων Φοῖβος ὑμνῳδεῖ βροτοῖς; Plato, *Rep.* 427 C: ὁ θεὸς . . . πάτριος ἐξηγητὴς ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀμφαλοῦ καθήμενος ἐξηγεῖται. Hence Pindar speaks of the Pythian priestess as 'seated near the golden eagles of Zeus' (*Pyth.* iv. 6: χρυσέων Διὸς αἰετῶν πάρεδρος). According to some, Zeus made use of crows in his investigation (κόρακας [Strabo, p. 419 f.]), or swans (Plut. *de Def. Orac.* 1). These variants were prompted by a desire to bring the Omphalos legend into closer connexion with Apollo. In Eur. *Ion*, 224 (στέμμασί γ' ἐνδυτὸν· ἀμφὶ δὲ Γοργόνες), describing the temporary and permanent decorations of the Omphalos, the figures, probably very ancient and rude sculptures, are identified as Gorgons. Probably very few people had ever set eyes on it or them.

[2] Representations of the Omphalos with eagles on it, or beside it, are rare. See electrum coin (5th cent. B.C.) of Cyzicus in *Num. Chron.*, 3rd ser., vii. [1887] pl. 1. 23; and a bronze coin of Megara (reign of Geta) in F. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner, 'Numism. Commentary on Pausanias,' *JHS* vi. [1885] 55, pl. A ix., which shows what are meant to be two birds, hardly distinguishable as eagles, perched on the summit. In *Mitt. des arch Inst. Athens*, xii. [1887] pl. 12, is a beautiful 4th cent. B.C. relief from Sparta, showing Apollo and Artemis (Nike?) and between them, on a step base, a low Omphalos with eagle *regardant* on either side. The two golden eagles were looted by the Phocians in the Sacred War, and consequently are not mentioned by Pausanias. Strictly, Strabo's remark, 'there is shown in the temple a certain Navel decked with fillets, and upon it the images of the legend,' should imply that the eagles, or reproductions of them, were again visible in his day, nearly 300 years after the Phocian war; but he is probably merely copying from older books

the temple (figured in J. E. Harrison, *Themis*, p. 398).[1]

A curious difficulty arises as to the exact position of the Omphalos at Delphi. From Æsch. *Eum.* 39*ff.*, where the priestess, on her way to the inmost shrine, sees Orestes seated *ἐπ' ὀμφαλῷ*, we infer, though the passage is not very clear, that it stood within the temple, and probably in the inmost shrine. This is indicated still more clearly in the conversation between Ion and the chorus of women standing without the temple, in Eur. *Ion*, 223 f., as well as by the remark of Strabo, whether or not that was his own observation. On the other hand, Pausanias mentions the Omphalos *before* he proceeds to the description of the exterior of the temple, and long before he speaks of its contents. He appears, therefore, to place the stone somewhere outside the eastern end of the temple, not far from the altar of the Chians on the left of the Sacred Way (Paus. x. xiv. 7; cf. Herod. ii. 135). If he is right, the Navel-stone must have been moved from its place within the temple in the interval between Strabo (1st cent. B.C.) and Pausanias (*c.* A.D. 180). The question thus becomes important, as the change may be indicative of a corresponding change in attitude towards the Navel-stone and the ideas with which it was associated.[2]

Perhaps the ejection of the stone was due to Nero, who played havoc with the temple (Paus. x. vii. 1; so J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, 6 vols., London, 1898, v. 317). But why was the stone not restored when the prophetic chasm, which he had tried to ruin (Dio Cass. lxiii. 14), was purified? It has also been suggested (by Verrall, *The Ion of Euripides*, Cambridge, 1890, p. xlvi) that, when Pausanias mentions as within the main *cella*[3] an altar of Poseidon, with statues of two Fates,[4] he is in fact unconsciously describing the Omphalos itself with its two mysterious figures that were variously interpreted as Gorgons or eagles. If insistence is to be laid upon his disjointed notes,[5] perhaps we should hold that Pausanias simply mistook a facsimile for the genuine object, which he was not allowed to see in its own place in the *adyton*. It is possible that the excellently preserved specimen mentioned above is the very Omphalos which Pausanias had before his eyes at this point in his description. There is nothing about it to suggest that it is primitive. The original primitive Omphalos, however, was perhaps the oldest object in Delphi, and was probably not movable.[6]

What was the real significance of the Omphalos? In the first place, it is to be noted that, far from being unique, as, according to the logic of the Greek legend, should be the case, the Delphian Navel-stone was but one, though the most famous, of a number of conical or pyramidal sacred stones revered in the Greek world and elsewhere.

At Megara a pyramidal stone (Paus. I. xliv. 2: *λίθος παρεχόμενος πυραμίδος σχῆμα οὐ μεγάλης*) was worshipped under the name of Apollo Karinos; at Sicyon there were images of Zeus Meilichios and Artemis Patroa, the former in the shape of a pyramid, the latter in that of a column (*ib.* II. ix. 6). Apollo, god of streets (Agyieus), was generally represented as a conical pillar in front of the house-door.[7] The image of Aphrodite in her great temple at Paphos in Cyprus was a conical white stone (Tac. *Hist.* ii. 3: 'non effigie humana, continuus orbis latiore initio tenuem in ambitum metae modo exsurgens'). Other examples are given by Frazer (*Paus.* v. 318 *f.*). Nor, again, was the name borne by the Delphian stone peculiar to it. At Phleious there was what was called the Navel,[8] which, it was claimed, was the centre of the Peloponnese (Paus. II. xiii. 7: *ὁ καλούμενος Ὀμφαλός, Πελοποννήσου δὲ πάσης μέσον, εἰ δὴ τὰ ὄντα εἰρήκασιν*); and in Crete, but for a different reason, a certain place bore the same name (Diod. Sic. v. lxx. 4).

Various explanations of the Omphalos have been suggested. It was a really brilliant idea of some of the ancients, or else a remarkable example of tenacity of tradition, when it was held that it marked the grave of the Python or of Dionysos.[1] The Omphalos really was a grave-mound of the sacred snake of Delphi, his abode after death, the seat of his power to aid through his oracular voice. It is a complex of grave and grave-stone, and as the latter it is not merely commemorative but magical. In its aspect as grave-stone it is ultimately of phallic origin. It is thus not confined to Delphi, nor associated only with Apollo.[2] Its primary connexion is with the primitive earth-deity and the spirits of the dead, who are also in some mysterious way the source of life and fertility for the living.[3] Apollo dethroning Gaia from her ancient seat, slaying the snake-daimon Python and usurping the oracle, though he is fain to keep the old machinery—the cleft, the tripod, and the Omphalos—represents the incoming of a new race with different, and, on the whole, higher ideas of religion. To the end, however, Apollinism, as well as the other 'Olympian' cults of Greece, continued to be rooted in the far more ancient pre-Hellenic, in some respect universal, type of religion, characterized by worship of daimonic earth-powers, ghosts of the dead strong for good and evil, exhibiting themselves as the sacred snake whose power is located in his tomb and magic column.[4]

LITERATURE.—J. E. Harrison, *Themis*, Cambridge, 1912, p. 384 *f.*, and art. 'Delphica,' in *JHS* xix. [1899] 205 ff.; J. H. Middleton, 'The Temple of Apollo at Delphi,' in *JHS* ix. [1888] 282 *f.*; O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, in Iwan von Müller's *Handbuch*, v. ii., Munich, 1897; C. Bötticher, *Der Omphalos des Zeus zu Delphi*, Berlin, 1859; W. Deonna, *REG* xxviii. [1915] 444, remarks: 'La question de l'omphalos est à l'ordre du jour archéologique, ces derniers temps.' He mentions a number of recent papers and books to which access has not been possible for the present writer.

W. J. WOODHOUSE.

ONEIDA COMMUNITY.—See COMMUNISTIC SOCIETIES OF AMERICA.

ONEIDA INDIANS.—See IROQUOIS.

ONTOGENY AND PHYLOGENY.—Ontogeny, in biological language, means the life-history of the individual organism; phylogeny the racial history of the class, order, family, genus, or species to which the organism belongs. Ontogeny is individual development; phylogeny is racial evolution. The usage is due to Haeckel, who formulated the recapitulation-doctrine that ontogeny tends to recapitulate phylogeny. As ontogeny has been discussed under DEVELOPMENT, and phylogeny, in

[1] A marble Omphalos found in Athens (*JHS* i. [1880] pl. v., *ib.* ix. 299) has a truncated top for the reception of a statue.

[2] This inference has been drawn, though not with entire success, by A. W. Verrall (note 3 on p. xiv of his ed. of Æsch. *Eumenides*, London, 1908, where he points out that in the time of Pausanias the Omphalos is 'a mere curiosity, and apparently is not even within the building').

[3] Note that the temple of Apollo at Delphi consisted of four parts, namely a *pronaos*, a *naos* (or main *cella*), the *adyton* (inmost shrine or sanctuary), and the oracular vault. The *adyton* was not open to the public (*Paus.* x. xxiv. 5: *ἐς δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ τὸ ἐσωτάτω παρίασί τε ἐς αὐτὸ ὀλίγοι*); and even into the *cella* apparently not all were permitted to go (cf. Eur. *Ion*, 226 *f.*). The original place of the Omphalos was the *adyton*.

[4] Paus. x. xxiv. 4: *Ποσειδῶνος βωμός, ὅτι τὸ μαντεῖον τὸ ἀρχαιότατον κτῆμα ἦν καὶ Ποσειδῶνος, ἕστηκε δὲ καὶ ἀγάλματα Μοιρῶν δύο.*

[5] 'His account of Delphi is more confused than any other part of his book. Possibly his loose notes, made on the spot, got mixed up, and he was unable afterwards to arrange them correctly' (Middleton, *JHS* ix. 292).

[6] It is possible that the original oracular cleft, with its sacred Omphalos, was not at the spot afterwards occupied by the great temple. It would be upon the occasion of the transference that the original grave-mound with its stucco (*λεύκωμα*) and cone was translated into stone in the form in which we know it.

[7] Cf. *CGS* iv. 148 *f.* It goes back to the primitive stage 'when pillar and altar and divinity were not clearly distinguished.'

[8] Note that the Phleiasian Omphalos was in close proximity to an *οἶκος μαντικός*, behind the Agora. It apparently is referred to on the coins (B. V. Head, *Hist. Num.*[2], Oxford, 1911, p. 409). Cf. the object called the Navel of Rome (*Umbilicus Romæ*) which stood behind the Rostra in the Roman Forum.

[1] Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* vii. 17: 'sed terrae medium non hoc sed quod vocant Delphis in aede ad latus est quiddam ut thesauri specie, quod Graeci vocant *ὀμφαλόν* quem Pythonos aiunt tumulum.' Cf. Hesych, *s.v.* *Τοξίου Βουνός: καὶ ὁ ὀμφαλὸς τῆς γῆς, τάφος ἐστὶ τοῦ Πυθωνος.* By *thesaurus* Varro is now taken to mean not, as was formerly supposed, a beehive tomb, like the so-called Treasury of Atreus, but a money-box of the beehive tomb shape. See H. Graeven, in *Jahrb. des arch. Inst* xvi. [1901] 160.

[2] The Omphalos in connexion with the cult of Aphrodite is noticed above. For the snake-twined Omphalos of Asklepios on coin of Pergamos see J. E. Harrison, *Themis*, p. 384. Asklepios is, of course, a snake-daimon of earth, giver of health and fertility through his dream-oracle.

[3] Hence H. N. Ulrichs was so far right in interpreting the Omphalos as a fetish stone of the earth-goddess (*Reisen und Forschungen*, i., Bremen, 1840, p. 77 *f.*). Cf. an inscription of Argos, which tells how the *προμάντιες* and *προφῆται* of Apollo Pythios 'established in accordance with the oracle the omphalos of Ga . . . and arranged a *thesauros* in the oracular shrine' (W. Vollgraff, in *BCH*, 1903, p. 271 *f.*)—probably a reconstruction of a primitive sanctuary.

[4] Cf. *CGS* iv. 193: 'What strikes us as most alien to Apollo in the Delphic ritual is the idea that the source of the inspiration is in the subterranean world, for he of all Greek deities has no part or lot in this

part, under EVOLUTION, this article will deal mainly with the relation between them.

1. **Ontogeny.**—(1) The term must be taken to include the whole life-history of the individual until the adult form is reached, but no precise punctuation is possible. Thus the brain may go on developing in complexity of nerve-cell connexions after all the other parts have reached their climax. It is often possible to distinguish an *embryonic* period within the egg-envelopes, a *larval* period, when the developing organism looks after itself but has not yet assumed the characteristic form of the adult (*e.g.*, caterpillar and tadpole), a *juvenile* period, when it shows the definitive features but is still very immature, an *adolescent* period, when the sexual maturity begins to be attained, and an *adult* period, when development wanes. One period may pass smoothly and gradually into another, or there may be crises of change. When these crises are very marked and involve re-organization—*e.g.*, when a pupating caterpillar gives rise to a butterfly, or a free-swimming Pluteus-larva to a sea-urchin, or a tadpole to a frog—the term metamorphosis is appropriate. It is sometimes useful to distinguish an early period of organ-forming (organogenesis) within the egg from a later period of functional development when the young creature actively uses its various parts.

(2) It is important to recognize that there are usually successive chapters in ontogeny, and that one organism may differ from another in the emphasis that is laid on one or other of these. One chapter may be long-drawn-out and another may be telescoped, and this seems to have come about in adaptation to particular conditions of life. Thus many fresh-water animals, such as the crayfish, have suppressed the larval stages which their relatives in the sea exhibit. This is adaptive, for the risks of being borne into unsuitable places are serious in rivers, but negligible in the open sea. That some river animals, such as caddis-worms, have prolonged larval stages does not affect the argument, for it will be found that they in turn have special adaptations, such as gripping structures or adhesive secretions which secure safety. The echinoderms of Polar seas have in most cases suppressed the free-swimming larval stages which are so characteristic of this class of animals, and this may be reasonably interpreted as adaptive to the inhospitable character of the surface waters. To take a very different illustration, it was observed by Alfred Russel Wallace that the mound-birds, or megapods, of Celebes leave their eggs to hatch, all unattended, in great hotbeds of dead leaves, and that the young birds can fly away on the day of their birth. In other words, a very peculiar condition is met by a precocious development of the flying power; the suppression of incubation has its counterpart in the suppression of the chick stage. The general idea is clear, that the great variety of life-history may be in part described as an elongating or a telescoping of this or that chapter in the ontogeny, and that this may be adaptive to particular conditions of life.

(3) Ontogeny is always a function of the hereditary nature on the one hand, and appropriate nurture on the other. The inheritance cannot be expressed except under the influence of certain environmental conditions and liberating stimuli; and the expression varies in some measure according to the nurture and the use which the organism makes of it from stage to stage. A rich nature may enrich itself; a poor one may impoverish itself. In a general way it may be said that the intrinsic factors implied in the germinal organization are directive, and that the extrinsic factors implied in the environmental or nurtural conditions serve as stimuli or inhibitants, or have a directly modifying influence.

2. **How phylogeny may be discovered.**—Very little is as yet certain in regard to the detailed phylogeny of living creatures. The construction of elaborate genealogical trees is still premature unless their provisional character is emphasized. Thus, while it is probably safe to say that birds evolved from the extinct deinosaurian reptiles, and from the subdivision Ornithischia, what the precise pedigree has been we do not know. Similarly it is still impossible to speak with definiteness in regard to the relationship of the numerous orders of living birds. It is easy to convince ourselves that swifts are not nearly related to swallows, nor cranes to herons, but it is only in a very tentative way that we can piece the parts of the pedigree together. The difficulties seem to be greatest when we inquire into the origin of the distinctive phyla (or series of related classes) — vertebrates, molluscs, echinoderms, and so forth. We have more definite knowledge of the descent of modern elephants from forms like Palæomastodon than we have of the origin of mammals, and we are much more convinced as to the derivation of mammals from reptiles than as to the origin of vertebrates from, let us say, annelid worms.

The establishment of a probable pedigree is an inference from various kinds of evidence. (*a*) There are the remains of extinct types buried in the fossil-bearing rocks, and, were this record complete and available, the deciphering of pedigrees would simply be a question of time and patience.

But, as Darwin said, the geological record is like 'a history of the world imperfectly kept, and written in a changing dialect; of this history we possess the last volume alone, relating only to two or three countries. Of this volume, only here and there a short chapter has been preserved; and of each page, only here and there a few lines.'[1]

On the other hand, the rock-record is often surprising. A good deal is known in regard to fossil jelly-fishes; certain stages in the life-history of some extinct forms, such as graptolites and brachiopods, are decipherable: the young ichthyosaurs can be seen within their mother; and the actual variations of some fresh-water snails (*Paludina neumayri* and *Planorbis multiformis*) can be studied. W. B. Scott of Princeton remarks:

'The geological record is not so hopelessly incomplete as Darwin believed it to be. Since *The Origin of Species* was written, our knowledge of that record has been enormously extended and we now possess, no complete volumes, it is true, but some remarkably full and illuminating chapters. The main significance of the whole lies in the fact, that just in proportion to the completeness of the record is the unequivocal character of its testimony to the truth of the evolutionary theory.'[2]

(*b*) The second basis for a pedigree is found in the structural resemblances of living forms. A deep-seated similitude in hip-girdle, hind leg, shoulder-girdle, and skull links modern birds back to the Ornithischia already mentioned, and the affiliation is corroborated by homologies between modern birds and modern reptiles. Thus both have a complex lower jaw which articulates with the quadrate bone; both have an inter-tarsal ankle joint; both have epidermic scales. These three resemblances are merely instances, and they are of unequal importance, the first being more significant than the second, and the second more significant than the third; but it is evident that, secure as may be the palæontological basis for the conclusion that birds have evolved from a reptile stock, we reasonably look for some corroboration in homologies between extant representatives of the two classes. In proportion to the specialization of the modern derivatives of a common ancestral stock will it be difficult to find other than very deep-seated resemblances between them, and in such cases great interest often attaches to vestigial structures—useless dwindling relics—which linger

[1] *Origin of Species*[6], London, 1882, p. 289.
[2] *Darwin and Modern Science*, ed. A. C. Seward, Cambridge, 1909, p. 199.

as tell-tale evidences of a superficially obliterated affinity. Thus the vestigial hip-girdle and hind-limb of cetaceans are of some significance in suggesting pedigree.

(*c*) In trying to discover the phylogeny of a type, recourse may also be had to the study of development. A clue is sometimes to be found here when none is offered either by palæontology or by the anatomical comparison of extant forms. A signal case was Kowalevsky's discernment (1866) of the chordate affinities of ascidians. No one had suspected that these peculiar sedentary animals were retrogressive chordates till Kowalevsky showed that the free-swimming larva had a dorsal nerve-cord, a notochord in the tail region, gill-slits opening from the pharynx to the exterior, and an eye developing from the brain. In the same way Vaughan Thompson's discernment of the position of barnacles among crustaceans was due to his discovery of the life-history. It may be said, however, that the study of development does not usually reveal the pedigree, but serves only to confirm the conclusion arrived at from the study of homologies and connecting links. To sum up, then: our knowledge of the phylogeny of a type rests on three sets of data—those derived from a study of extinct forms, those derived from comparative anatomy, and those furnished by embryology. Interesting corroborations may sometimes be found in other quarters; thus the mingling of the blood of two related types, such as horse and ass, hare and rabbit, is harmonious, while the mingling of the blood of unrelated types is destructive. Or, again, some light has occasionally rewarded the study of variation whether experimentally induced or occurring spontaneously in wild nature. Reversions, for instance, may occasionally serve as finger-posts in inquiries into phylogeny.

3. Relation of phylogeny to ontogeny. — The phylogeny, or racial history, of a type, such as spider or snail, frog or stork, implies a succession of achievements (differentiations and integrations) which, taken as a whole, seem to have required long ages for their establishment. Taking the last example, we think of the remote and obscure origin of back-boned animals or chordates, of the diverging of one vertebrate class after another until reptiles appeared, of the emergence of birds from the bipedal Ornithischian stock, of the appearance of primitive Ciconiiformes, and of the differentiation which led to the stork type at last. Now these successive steps in evolution have been, in a manner which we cannot conceive, enregistered in the germinal organization of the germ-cells by which the lineage is continued from generation to generation. Could we have seen into the details of the germ-cell of a primitive bird, we should probably have discovered more complexity than lay in the germ-cell of the primitive reptile, and much more than in the germ-cell of the primitive vertebrate. Even if microscopical sections of the germ-cells of extinct types were available, the various degrees of germinal complexity lie beyond the limits of visual demonstration, but the probability is that the germinal organization becomes increasingly intricate in an ascending phylogenetic series. (As a matter of fact some germ-cells are visibly much more complicated than others.) The difficult problem is how the enrichment of the germinal organization could come about.

We are adhering to the generally accepted view that the course of evolution has been from the apparently simple to the obviously complex—a process of increasing differentiation and integration except in parasitism, degeneracy, and other paths of retrogression. It may be noted, however, that W. Bateson has recently directed attention to the number of evolutionary changes which may be interpreted as due to loss, or to the removal of inhibiting factors.

He asks that biologists should consider 'whether the course of Evolution can at all reasonably be represented as an unpacking of an original complex which contained within itself the whole range of diversity which living things present' (President's Address, Brit. Assoc., Australia, 1914; see *Nature*, xciii. [1914] 640).

On this view organic evolution has been a sequence of emancipations, a throwing off of shackles; we adhere to the conception of a sequence of experiments in 'creative synthesis,' a series of adventures, often wild, in self-expression. To vary the metaphor, for the problem is hardly as yet discussible in other terms, we think of the living creature as a creative artist with itself as its chief work. Or, again, we think of it as trafficking with its environment, as trading with time, as putting its hereditary talents out to usury, or even speculating with them. In this, it seems important to observe, there need be much less of the fortuitous than is usually supposed. For the variation which arises in a germ-cell is in some measure conditioned by the already established organization —by the already accepted architectural style. Nor is the sifting or selection which decides the fate of the individual expression of the variation in question to be thought of as blind or haphazard; it is in definite and subtle relation to the correlations of organisms, the linkages, the web of life—the *systema naturæ*, in short—already established.

If the course of evolution has been a series of discoveries or inventions, or even a sequence of emancipations, there must have been registrations in the germinal organization, and there are two ways in which this enregistering may be thought of. (1) On the one hand, the experience of the fully developed individual may in some definite way affect the germinal organization. Thus Lamarckians have thought of the germ-cells being continuously enriched or impoverished by the gains or losses of the individual organism, and that in a perfectly specific or representative manner. There are very few facts which lend support to this view, and yet it seems premature to foreclose the question, or to assert that the experience of individuals counts for nothing in the evolution of the race. Many facts suggest that experiences of the individual may serve as variational stimuli to the complex germ-plasm. Though they do not leave representative imprints of themselves, they may pull the trigger of changefulness or sever another of the threads that bind the insurgent life. (2) On the other hand, the available data make it seem likely that most of the raw materials of progress are due to germinal variations or mutations, intrinsic changes in the germinal organization, permutations and combinations of hereditary items. Apart from what may occur during the growth and multiplication of the germ-cells, there are ample opportunities in the processes of maturation and fertilization for fresh shufflings and deals of the hereditary cards. The variations thus arising in the arcana of the germ-cells find expression in the individual life of the developed organism, and are there tested and sifted. If the metaphor be permissible, the germ-cell is the blind artist whose many inventions are expressed, embodied, and exercised in the developed organism, the seeing artist, who, beholding the work of the germ-cell, either pronounces it, in the light of the success which it brings, to be good, or, when it spells ruin, curses it effectively by sinking with it into extinction. There is never any difficulty in understanding how a germinal variation, having arisen, comes to stay. That is provided for in the continuity of the germ-plasm. It is probably, then, by the entailment of the results of intrinsic germinal experiments, and not by the imprinting of the results of individual experiences, that the

steps made in phylogeny become registered in the germ-cells and thus made expressible in ontogeny.

4. Recapitulation doctrine.—Long before the evolution idea was accepted by zoologists, the idea was mooted (*e.g.*, by Meckel in 1821) that the stages in individual development corresponded to grades of organization in the animal kingdom. Von Baer called attention to common features observable in vertebrate embryos in early stages, but he indicated at the same time that there was a remarkable specificity almost from the first. Louis Agassiz, in his *Essay on Classification* (London, 1859), expressed his belief in a correspondence between stages in embryonic development and the grades of differentiation recognized in the classification of living and extinct animals. Though no evolutionist, he wrote:

'It may therefore be considered as a general fact, very likely to be more fully illustrated as investigators cover a wider ground, that the phases of development of all living animals correspond to the order of succession of their extinct representatives in past geological times.'

His son, Alexander Agassiz, compared stages in the development of echinoderms with the fossil series, and said:

'Comparing the embryonic development with the palæontological one, we find a remarkable similarity.'

To Haeckel, in particular, credit is due for recognizing the importance of the recapitulation doctrine and stating it clearly in the light of evolution. He called it the 'fundamental law of biogenesis' ('biogenetisches Grundgesetz'), and stated it in the familiar words: 'Ontogeny is a recapitulation of phylogeny.' He also introduced the idea of palingenetic characters, which correspond to those of the ancestral stock, and kainogenetic characters, which are relatively recent additions. The latter, he said, may disguise the former in a perplexing way; in any case, the recapitulation is general, not exact, and often shows great condensation. Fritz Müller was another who did much (*e.g.*, in his *Für Darwin*, Leipzig, 1864) to illustrate and corroborate the recapitulation idea.

This doctrine has suffered considerably at the hands of its friends, who have sometimes stated it in an exaggerated and inaccurate way. When Milnes Marshall said, 'Every animal in its own development repeats its history, climbs up its own genealogical tree,' he was speaking picturesquely, for the recapitulation is general, not detailed; it often shows telescoping, and it is truer of stages in organogenesis than of stages in the development of the embryo as a whole. It is hardly necessary to say that a developing bird is never like a reptile, but only like an embryo reptile. It has also to be remembered that one term in the comparison, the phylogeny, is very imperfectly known, so that assertions as to the exactness of the recapitulation must be taken with much reserve. And, again, the illustrations that have been adduced have not always been very happy. The simplest animals are single cells; there are some balls of cells, like Volvox, on the border-line between unicellulars and multicellulars; and there are some very simple two-layered sacs of cells, such as Protohydra. But, when we see an animal of relatively high degree, such as the primitive vertebrate Amphioxus, beginning its life as a fertilized egg-cell, which develops into a ball of cells (blastula) and a two-layered sac of cells (gastrula), we are probably mistaken in regarding this as a recapitulation of very ancient phylogeny. Reproduction by means of isolated germ-cells need not have any historical reference to the Protozoa; a ball of cells may be the natural result of the cleavage of an ovum when it is not encumbered with too much yolk; and it is possible to account for the formation of a gastrula without dragging in the hypothetical ancestral gastræa.

An important criticism concerns specificity, *i.e.* the individuality and uniqueness of every well-defined type. A fish may be identified by a few scales, a bird by a few feathers. The cells lining the windpipe of a horse are readily distinguishable from those of a dog, and the palate of a land-snail from that of a periwinkle. There is pronounced chemical individuality in species, as may be detected in the milk of nearly-related mammals or the juice of the grapes in nearly-related vines. It is most literally true that 'all flesh is not the same flesh.' There is no doubt that increased precision of embryological work has disclosed the individuality or specificity of the organism even in early stages of ontogeny. Thus the number of chromosomes within the nucleus of a cell is, with few exceptions, constant for each kind of organism, and the embryo of a mouse could thus be distinguished from that of a rabbit, or that of an onion from that of a lily. But a recognition of the fact that an organism is from the start itself and no other is not inconsistent with admitting a significant correspondence between steps in individual development and steps in racial evolution. A tadpole is from the first in several ways an amphibian and not a fish, and yet in its two-chambered heart and branchial circulation it is for a time distinctly piscine.

One reason why the ontogenetic recapitulation of phylogeny must be general, not precise, is that the successive gains made in the course of racial evolution are not superimposed one upon another, but are severally incorporated into the organization and unified with it. The additions from millennium to millennium are not like new wings added to a house, for the tenements which we call individuals are continually dissolved, and there is re-unification at the start of each new life. Whatever further saving clauses may have to be appended to the 'recapitulation doctrine,' the broad fact remains that ontogeny is the making explicit of the germinal organization which is what it is because of phylogeny. The past lives on in the present in a manner peculiar to and characteristic of living creatures, and it is because it is determined by the past that an embryo moves towards a goal as if it had the future consciously in view. The ages that are gone have bent the bow in the plane along which the arrow of the individual flies. But ontogeny must not be thought of as the uncoiling of a wound-up spring, or as the unpacking of a marvellous treasure-box; it is a function of the individuality which is somehow condensed within the germ-cell. It is the transformation of the germinal organization into the adult organization, and it implies a series of steps in 'creative synthesis.' The fundamental fact which we are so far from understanding is that the fertilized ovum is at once the repository of ages of organic inventions and a unified individuality in the one-celled stage of its becoming.

LITERATURE.—J. M. Baldwin, *Development and Evolution*, New York and London, 1902; W. Bateson, *Problems in Genetics*, Yale Univ. Press, 1913; H. Bergson, *Creative Evolution*, Eng. tr., London, 1911; Hans Driesch, *The Science and Philosophy of the Organism* (Gifford Lectures), 2 vols., London, 1908; E. G. Conklin, *Heredity and Environment in the Development of Men*, Princeton and Oxford Univ. Press, 1915; L. Cuénot, *La Genèse des espèces animales*, Paris, 1911; *Darwin and Modern Science*, ed. A. C. Seward, Cambridge, 1909; C. Depéret, *The Transformations of the Animal World*, Eng. tr., London, 1909; *Die Abstammungslehre* (12 evolutionary essays by notable authorities), Jena, 1911; P. Geddes and J. Arthur Thomson, *Evolution*, London, 1911; R. Hertwig and R. von Wettstein, *Abstammungslehre* (a valuable co-operative work), Leipzig, 1914; J. W. Jenkinson, *Experimental Embryology*, Oxford, 1909; Hans Przibram, *Experimentelle Zoologie*, vol. i. 'Embryogenese,' Leipzig and Vienna, 1907, vol. iii. 'Phylogenese,' 1910; J. Arthur Thomson, *Heredity*[2], London, 1912, and *The Wonder of Life*, do. 1914; A. Weismann, *The Evolution Theory*, Eng. tr., 2 vols., do. 1904; E. B. Wilson, *The Cell in Development and Inheritance*[2], New York, 1900.

J. ARTHUR THOMSON.

ONTOLOGY.—1. Definition.—Metaphysics is traditionally divided into ontology, or the philosophy of being, cosmology, or the philosophy of nature, and psychology, or the philosophy of mind. Ontology, dealing with the most general characteristics of the real, includes those subjects which as common to the other two branches cannot be dealt with by either exclusively; cosmology and psychology study, in a very general way, one or other of the concrete forms which reality takes, while ontology is concerned only with the nature of the real in abstraction from its specific embodiments.

While it is possible to distinguish these branches of metaphysics, it does not follow that they can be kept rigidly apart, for psychological or cosmological conclusions inevitably act upon ontology. The question, What is being itself? implies a previous acquaintance with the *things which are*; and, if we hold that all that is is essentially a cosmos organized in a particular way, or if we believe that 'matter' is essentially relative to and constituted by consciousness, our ontological views will be coloured accordingly. Much of recent ontological speculation is vitiated by false psychological or cosmological assumptions.

The idea of being is the most general and consequently the least capable of definition with which philosophy is called upon to deal. As we do not find 'matter in general' *in rerum natura*, but always this or that concrete matter, possessed of specific qualities which differentiate it from other matter, so it is impossible to isolate being and examine its nature directly. 'Being-in-itself' is meaningless, for only that which has a definite nature of its own can be. Nor can we regard being as an additional predicate to be attached to that which is already a complex of various qualities, only lacking this further quality of 'being' in order to become an actual thing. As a complex of qualities, the thing already 'is.' Being is not a quality, but is latent in all qualities. Nor can we expect to show how 'being' itself came to be. We can to a certain extent understand how one thing 'comes into being' and another 'ceases to be,' in the unceasing flux of things, though here, too, further examination reveals change of form, and not creation or extinction; but the question of the origin of being is meaningless, for, presupposing, as it does, a previous complete nothingness out of which being proceeds, it postulates an effect for which there is *ex hypothesi* no cause, and thereby involves self-contradiction. We are compelled, therefore, to take being as given in the fact that 'something is,' and to proceed to investigate what is implied in the fact that something is as well as the special forms which the something may take.

2. Reality and knowledge.—If asked to specify what he regards as being or having existence, the unsophisticated individual would reply that 'things' at any rate existed, and would doubtless admit further that 'minds' might also be said to exist. He would also recognize that there was some relation between the two whereby the mind was aware of the existence of the thing; the precise nature of this relation has formed the crux of much philosophical discussion, and an erroneous conception of it has vitiated much ontological speculation. The question is asked, What must the nature of things be in order that they may be known?, and the answer is given that they must be in some way akin to the mind which knows them. What is this kinship? The mind, it is held, can know only that which is, in some sense or other, within it; and that which is within the mind is an idea; the mind, therefore, can know only its own ideas. It is concluded, therefore, either that things do not exist or that they can never be known. The fallacy lies in the sense attached to 'within the mind,' for 'being within the mind' simply means 'being known.' In direct experience we do not *know* ideas at all. An idea is an act of knowledge, either of a directly presented object or by way of memory, etc., and 'to have an idea of' means nothing more than 'to know.' The proposition that in order to be known a thing must be akin to the mind means simply that in order to be known a thing must be capable of being known.

The same fallacy of the 'mental' nature of things is found in the doctrine which, starting from sensation as given, postulates the activity of thought in ordering and correlating the data of sensation in order to make the object (*e.g.*, Green). There is no reality, we are told, apart from the activity of consciousness: the order of nature is nothing other than the relations which the mind imposes on the crude data of sensation. We do not know things, therefore, but only 'phenomena.' 'Nature,' says Green (*Prolegomena to Ethics*, Oxford, 1883, § 36), 'is the system of related appearances, and related appearances are impossible apart from the action of an intelligence.' Kant's theory implied that the sensations, still undetermined by relations, are 'the work of unknown things-in-themselves, acting in unknown ways upon us' (§ 38). Green, in the interests of the intelligibility of the real world, discards the things-in-themselves as meaningless, because, while claiming to be completely independent of our knowledge and themselves never known, they are yet the *cause* of our knowledge, and causation, being a relation, is the work of the mind and cannot be predicated of the world of things-in-themselves.

> 'That sensations therefore, the matter of our experience, should be connected as effects with things-in-themselves, of which all that can be said is that they belong to a world other than the world of our experience, and are not relative to the subject to which it is relative, is a statement self-contradictory or at best unmeaning' (§ 41).

This indubitably disposes of Kant, but what is left of the doctrine? There are two points to be noted. (i.) The 'sensations' are not 'arranged' by the understanding purely at random or capriciously. Why does the understanding give to one set of sensations a particular spatial order, to another the relation of cause and effect, etc., if it be not because of the inherent nature of the sensations themselves? *I.e.*, the 'sensations' (which really means the different qualities of the thing) come to the understanding already ordered and related in a definite way. (ii.) Any theory which seeks to show that the objects of experience are 'made' by the intelligence is ultimately incapable of accounting for the material out of which these objects are made (viz. sensations). For we cannot have any sensations we choose. Hence the argument finally reverts to something not 'made by the intelligence' upon which our sensations are dependent; of this entity idealists are precluded, by their own presuppositions, from giving an account. Green, *e.g.*, after criticizing Kant's things-in-themselves, is driven to speak of 'the exciting cause of sensation' (§ 59), the 'affection of the sentient organism by matter external to it' (§ 60), and 'a sensation excited by an external irritant' (§ 64). There is, then, after all an external matter which causes sensations; it can have no relations or qualities, for these are the work of the mind; it is therefore open to all the objections which Green alleges against Kant's things-in-themselves.

This confusion is due to the attempt to identify *perception* with *object*, and the failure to recognize that perception is the act of relating the mind to its object. A similar fallacy underlies the identification of reality with experience.[1] Experience

[1] Cf. F. H. Bradley, *Appearance and Reality*[2], London, 1908; A. E. Taylor, *Elements of Metaphysics*, do. 1903.

cannot be an ultimate and self-existent entity, because it implies two elements beyond itself: (1) the mind which experiences, and (2) the object which is experienced. Doubtless we cannot know reality without the mind; but this in no way implies that it is a general characteristic of reality to be incapable of existence apart from the mind or to be *psychical* matter of fact. In this type of argument the word 'experience' is used ambiguously as (*a*) the fact that we do have an experience, and (*b*) the object of which we have experience, and that which is true of (*a*), viz. that it cannot exist without the mind, is illegitimately transferred to (*b*).

The conclusion is, then, that the mind is capable of knowing an 'external' reality with qualities and relations of its own which are independent of their being known;[1] and the argument involves equally the reality of space and time.

3. Forms of being.—To investigate all the characteristics of reality would be to exhaust the contents of all the sciences. Ontology is concerned with only the most general *formal* characteristics, or categories. The widest possible interpretation was given to the idea of category by Hegel, who attempted to exhibit the framework of reality in the development of categories from the simplest (being) to the most complex and adequate (the absolute idea), which summed up and included all the others. Apart from criticisms on details of this deduction, it may be doubted whether the deduction itself is really valid. It would certainly be possible to show that one category is more complex than another; it might even be possible to arrange the categories in the order of their complexity; but to deduce them from a primary category of being without reference to the actual constitution of particular things is fundamentally impossible, for (1) we cannot tell *a priori* what the forms of things are to be, and (2), while some forms are united by mutual implication, others are united only by their simultaneous actualization in a concrete whole, and their connexion in consequence can be discovered only by experience. Hegel's deduction is in fact an attempt to correlate categories discovered in experience, and not a true deduction.

4. Being as a unity.—A fundamental characteristic which meets us in examining reality is the fact that 'things' are not isolated but interrelated. Philosophy seeks to exhibit this interrelation as the concrete development of one unifying principle: the ontological categories are subordinate types of order or unity, abstracting particular aspects of things; they are ways in which the 'manifold' reveals its inner unity. How that which is 'many' can also be 'one' was a problem which caused the Greeks much trouble before it was realized that it is not one and many in the same respect, and that a unity is essentially a union of many elements, not an undifferentiated whole.[2] The puzzle of the one and the many is a puzzle only when relevant considerations, which even language recognizes, are neglected; *e.g.*, a heap of apples is one heap of many apples, but not many heaps.

In the infinite variety which being presents there are features which transcend mere heterogeneity and reveal system. A system is a unity in which diverse elements are held together by a common principle. Some important types of unity must be indicated.

(*a*) The primary unity is the substance, or independent, self-existent being. A substance is commonly regarded as that which exists in its own right, while its attributes are dependent upon it and incapable of existence apart from it. The implied separation between substance and attribute must not be pressed too far, for the substance is itself incapable of existing apart from attributes, and ought to be regarded as their unity rather than as something to which they are merely attached, for attributes are nothing more than the activities of substance, and consequently the ways in which it is. It is evident, however, that no particular thing is a complete unity, or really self-dependent, for it always carries us beyond itself; it is related to other objects in the universe, and is what it is only because the laws of the whole universe are operative in constituting it. The only substance, therefore, in the sense of completely self-contained and independent reality is the whole, the cosmos, and, when we call particular things substances, we do so in a relative sense only, referring to their indifference to particular relations, not to an absence of all relation.

(*b*) If a thing is not completely independent, neither is it 'constituted by its relations.' We cannot suppose an entirely unrelated 'thing' subsequently entering into relations, but neither can we adopt the notion that relations alone are constitutive of reality, for a relation implies at least two terms between which it maintains itself, or which by a union of certain of their aspects constitute it, and which are therefore *logically* prior to the relation. There can be no relation if there is nothing to relate. A relation is a particular unity of two or more terms, not necessarily something common to them, though it may be based on their common possession of some particular nature (as existence in space); or the one may be complementary to the other (as in the subject-object relation); the relation is the being of one term in so far as it concerns itself with the being of another. This connexion may be permanent or temporary, essential or unessential: the general types of relation of which a thing is capable remain unaltered, but particular relations may vary without change of the thing itself. Those who deny this include in the essence of the thing every relation in which the thing happens to be at any given moment, which contradicts the notion of essence. A relation is dependent on the mind only when the mind enters into it as a term; there is frequent confusion between the mind's presence as a term in the relation of knowing and the presentation to the mind of the relation known.

(*c*) A most important type of relation is that of subsumption under the same universal. A thing or quality is not merely itself; it is a particular instance of a general type which also exemplifies itself in other ways. A universal is no mere creation of the mind, even though it cannot be handled; it has no existence apart from particulars, but it exists in its particulars: a book is not merely 'this,' it possesses a nature identical in some respects with that possessed by other objects. Berkeley rejected the theory of general ideas formed by abstraction, because he thought of them as general mental images, and he could not picture to himself a triangle which was neither equilateral nor isosceles nor scalene. So far he was right, but a universal is not a mental image; nor is it an idea formed by abstraction, for before we can begin to abstract we must already have recognized the common nature which is the universal. It is a form or law of being, a general nature which is capable of expressing itself in a variety of ways. We cannot 'picture' this kind of being; and, though we may have a conception of it, the universal is not merely our conception; it is implied

[1] These are not always *perceived* as they are: if a stick is thrust into water, it appears to be bent, but we *know* that it is straight. Thought corrects perception.

[2] We may find a lingering trace of this mistake in the efforts of materialists and idealists alike to render reality more explicable by reducing it to a single element, matter or mind. It is not sameness that makes unity, but union of differences.

in the universal that it is a real type of existence, a unity which holds together its particulars in a unique relation. Reality shows itself in definite, recurring forms, which the particular sciences make it their business to classify.

(*d*) From what has been said under (*a*) and (*c*) it follows that each particular thing is a unity of universals.

(*e*) Not only are existences united by similarity; their diversity also is essential to their systematization. Diverse material things 'interact' upon one another in an infinity of ways, whereby changes arise in their constitution; these changes are not fortuitous, but proceed according to a definite system, as is inevitable from the fact that each factor has a definite nature of its own, and consequently their interactions, which are determined by their natures, are also definite. This phenomenon of definite changes is generally known as causation; this implies more than the mere succession of one phenomenon upon another to which it has sometimes been reduced. It is implied that the earlier phenomenon is directly concerned in initiating the existence of the later; their relation is not merely temporal; there is involved an activity in the first phenomenon which deposits the second. The cause is thus strictly the whole collection of conditions necessary to the production of a phenomenon; but it is usual to regard as cause either the last added in time or any one of the conditions which happens to be prominent for any other reason, permanently present conditions being neglected. Laws of causation which thus provide the connecting link between dissimilar phenomena are themselves only a case of that unity in difference which is the nature of the universal; and they constitute an order throughout which one general principle prevails. Being in its universal nature remains the same amid the flux of particulars; everything changes, yet the types remain.

(*f*) It is evident that experience is a unity of subject and object, but it has also been argued that mind is the source of *all* unity, that, in knowing, the mind unifies the data of sense and forms them into an object, unifies phenomena into universal law, etc. This contradicts the very idea of knowledge, which implies the mind's attitude to something already there, and not the production of an object. Mind in its cognitive aspect selects its objects, doubtless, and may take a thing now in its unity, now as an element in a wider unity, but only because it already is such a unity or element; in its activity of will, however, mind is constantly engaged in organizing its objects for the realization of its own purposes and thus does create unities in which a number of material objects are united as instruments with mind for the attainment of an end. Reason and emotion unite minds in common purposes, which are limited only by the boundaries of mind itself. There is, then, an ever-expanding system of unities, from the unity of the mere thing to the unity of minds in society, and finally to the ultimate unity of nature and mind in the whole.

(*g*) Can anything be said as to the nature of this final and supreme system? Parmenides, Plato, Spinoza, Leibniz, and Hegel are among the names that one recalls in this connexion, but with little of secure and accepted result. Attempts have been made to exhibit the whole, the absolute, as a complete, perfect, harmonious, and self-consistent system, but thereby considerable violence is done to the details of reality in order to force them to take their place in an idealistic universe. For Bradley, *e.g.*, the real is the self-consistent; but all the particulars with their relations are found to be self-contradictory and therefore only appearances. Hence the absolute, while containing and forming the ground of all appearances, does not reproduce them as they appear to us; they are transmuted, fused, merged into something harmonious and consistent. Anything which falls short of the whole is self-contradictory (this is untrue; to be at the same time whole and part would be self-contradictory) and therefore unreal to that degree in which it does fall short. As self-contradictory it cannot directly take its place in the absolute, yet it is *something* and consequently must be represented in the absolute, in which all contradictions are reconciled and to the perfection of which all imperfection is contributory. The puzzles of time and space, relation and causation, good and evil, etc., are solved by the process of merging these phenomena in an absolute which knows them not. A satisfactory metaphysic can hardly be raised on such a basis. If nothing is what it appears to be, and each appearance is only a quite indescribable element in an unknowable whole, the fact that this whole is perfect and harmonious and contains the answer to all our questions does not afford much consolation. For, as soon as we begin to describe the absolute, the contradictions of experience are nothing to the irrationalities which emerge. For Bradley attempts to describe the whole in language applicable to the parts only, and consequently self-contradictory, while the parts, having been transmuted, are no longer the same, and the whole is not the whole of these parts. Such a procedure ignores the 'systematic' character of reality.

Accepting, as we must, the reality of the particular elements, with their incompleteness and unsatisfactoriness, we are precluded from any easy acquiescence in a complete and perfect whole already present. We must regard the whole as being itself a developing system, in which nature and mind are organic to each other, and ideals not themselves final are not yet finally realized. The real must not be identified with the ideal; the real is not, but is striving to be, the rational. We cannot recognize completeness apart from value, as Plato showed when he made the Good the mainspring of the system of reality; and that finite values are also ultimate and rooted in the nature of things seems to be a necessary condition of their being recognized as values at all. Whether the development as a whole is teleological or organic, whether all ideals exist final and complete in the mind of God and form the plan of development, or this is only the outcome of an internal necessity inherent in the finite, are questions which transcend the limits of ontology.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works mentioned under art. METAPHYSICS the following may be consulted: Plato, *Republic*, v. and vi., *Parmenides*, *Timæus*; Aristotle, *Metaphysics*; E. B. Holt and others, *The New Realism*, New York, 1912; S. S. Laurie, *Synthetica*, London, 1906; H. Lotze, *Metaphysics*, Eng. tr., Oxford, 1884; H. A. Prichard, *Kant's Theory of Knowledge*, do. 1909.

J. TURNER.

OPHITISM. — This is a designation, taken over from the Patristic writers, for an important phase of the Gnostic movement. The name Ὀφῖται properly belonged to one particular sect, but it was extended to a large group of sects whose practices and beliefs appeared to resemble those of the Ophites. With these other sects, however, the cult of the serpent, which the name denotes, had a quite subordinate place.

Our knowledge of the original Ophite sect is derived mainly from Origen's work *contra Celsum* (vi. 24–38); and his account is supplemented by Irenæus (*adv. Hær.* i. 30), Epiphanius (*Hær* xxxviii.), and pseudo-Tertullian (ii.). No document emanating from the sect itself has been preserved. Celsus had attributed to the Christians certain beliefs which he had found embodied in a

'diagram,' or graphic presentation; and Origen recognizes the diagram as one current among the Ὀφιανοί, whom he describes as an insignificant body, with no title to rank as Christians. Within this sect, he tells us, the God of the OT was known as 'the accursed God,' and the serpent which had led men to transgress His commandments was an object of reverence. The members of the sect made use of a seal, bearing the formula, 'I have been anointed with white ointment from the tree of life,' and mystical observances of various kinds played a great part in their worship. Their mythus, so far as it can be deciphered from the diagram which Origen sets forth in detail, seems to have been closely similar to that of the anonymous 'Gnostics' of Irenæus. But it may be gathered that the sect laid little stress on doctrine, and was a τελετή, or mystery-association, rather than a school. From the notice of pseudo-Tertullian it would appear that actual worship was offered to the serpent. Epiphanius describes the chief rite as a Eucharist, in which a serpent was released from a box and was allowed to entwine itself round the sacred elements.

This shadowy sect, however, was only one of many which are classed together under the comprehensive name of Ophites. The following are usually assigned to the group: (1) Cainites, (2) Perates, (3) Sethians, (4) 'Gnostics' of Irenæus, (5) Naassenes, (6) Barbelo-Gnostics, (7) Severians, (8) Nicolaitans, (9) Archontics, and (10) Justinians. In all these systems a place is given to the serpent, though its rôle is never much more than incidental. For the most part, as in Ophitism proper, it appears as the enlightener, and therefore the benefactor, of men; and by the Perates and Sethians it is identified with the Logos principle which at last manifested itself in Jesus. The 'Gnostics' of Irenæus view it under two contrary aspects. At first the benefactor of man, it shared in the punishment inflicted on him by the hostile God, and henceforth became his enemy. But, while the serpent is thus brought into connexion with the Biblical story, it is associated in some of the systems with a different order of ideas. It is the symbol, not so much of man's emancipation, as of the vitalizing principle of nature, or soul of the world. Thus the Naassenes described the serpent as a moist substance pervading everywhere and informing all existence. The Sethians conceived of a wind in the form of a serpent entering into the mingled world of light and darkness and begetting νοῦς. In the system of Justinus the serpent has a similar significance, which may be traced likewise in the figure of Leviathan, the circle enclosing the concentric spheres of the archons, in the Ophite system proper. In view of the wide-spread prevalence of serpent symbolism in Oriental religion, it is possible that this cosmical conception was the primary one, and that the Biblical interpretation was adopted later, as the result of Christian influence.

The figure of the serpent, however, has only a minor place in the Ophite systems, and their employment of it cannot be singled out as their common characteristic. It is impossible, indeed, to define the various members of the group in terms of any one distinguishing feature. They are best regarded simply as the anonymous Gnostic systems, contrasted with those which bear the names of historical teachers. The fact that they thus stand apart from the classical forms of Gnosticism is highly significant, though its significance, as we shall presently see, may be interpreted in two different ways.

While the Ophite sects are marked out by no definite peculiarity, they broadly resemble one another in so many respects that their inclusion in a common group is justified. Like the Gnostic schools generally, they rest on the conception of a cosmical disaster, whereby a portion of the heavenly light has become imprisoned in the lower world of darkness. The redemption of this higher essence is achieved by a being who descends out of the heavenly world, and who accomplishes his work partly by a weakening of the hostile powers and partly by the communication of a mystical gnosis (see GNOSTICISM). But, apart from the doctrines which they share with all forms of Gnosticism, the Ophite sects present a number of features which are more specially characteristic. (1) The highest being is generally designated by the name Anthropos, the First Man. (2) A prominence is given to a female principle (Μήτηρ), who is conceived as presiding over the work of redemption. The figure of Sophia, the fallen divinity, plays an altogether minor part, and was probably absent from Ophite teaching in its original form. (3) In almost all the systems a triad stands at the beginning of the cosmical process. Thus the Sethians commence with Light, Spirit, Darkness; the 'Gnostics' of Irenæus and the Naassenes with the Father and the Son, to whom the Holy Spirit is added, as a female principle. (4) The systems are mythological rather than speculative, and the occasional attempts to construe the myths in a philosophical sense are naive and unsuccessful. The mythology is based mainly on astral conceptions—*e.g.*, the archons are planetary divinities, of whom Saturn (Ialdabaoth) is the chief. There is little trace of the æonology which is so conspicuous in the more elaborate systems, and the various powers are conceived as originating from each other by a process of generation. (5) A cardinal importance is attributed in all the sects to magical rites, sacraments, secret watch-words, charms, and amulets. It is apparent that the beliefs embodied in the myths were little more than a background for the mystical observances in which the true gnosis consisted. (6) A peculiar feature of the sects is their anti-Judaistic bias, in which they appear to reflect, in exaggerated form, the attitude of Marcion. Ialdabaoth, the chief of the archons who hold man in bondage, is identified with the God of the OT, and opposition to his decrees is held to be incumbent on the true Gnostic. For this reason honour is rendered not only to the serpent, but also to the characters which stand condemned in Biblical history—Cain, the Sodomites, Esau, Korah, Judas. In some of the sects the revolt from the OT expresses itself in the encouragement of licentious practices; but the general tendency is towards a rigid asceticism. The God of the OT is viewed primarily as the Creator, responsible for the material universe, out of which the higher natures seek to be delivered. (7) The Ophite systems are impregnated with Christian ideas to a far less extent than the classical Gnostic schools. In some of them (Ophites of Celsus and Origen, Nicolaitans, Archontics) the figure of the Redeemer is entirely absent. In others (*e.g.*, Perates) no historical function is given to the Redeemer, who is a being of purely mythological or metaphysical nature. Even in systems which assume the identity of the Redeemer with Jesus the Christian elements seem to be little more than an embroidery on a pagan groundwork. Of this we have a striking evidence in the Naassene document preserved by Hippolytus, where the pagan original can be detached, without much difficulty, from the Christian commentary with which it is interwoven.

In Ophitism, therefore, we have a group of widely diversified systems—built up out of the *débris* of Babylonian, Persian, Syrian, and Egyptian mythologies—which yet possess features of

resemblance sufficient to distinguish them from the classical types of Gnosticism. How are we to account for these points of agreement and difference? According to the generally accepted view, the Ophite sects represent the primitive Gnosticism, which was gradually developed and transformed into a religious philosophy by a series of historical teachers. Hippolytus, our chief Patristic authority, regards the Naassenes and the kindred sects as the fountainhead of Gnosticism; and this judgment has been endorsed and worked out as a scientific hypothesis by a number of modern scholars (cf. Bousset, Reitzenstein). A different view has lately been advanced, in the light of a searching examination of the sources, by de Faye (*Gnostiques et gnosticisme*). He holds that the Ophite sects arose comparatively late, and were ultimately based on the anti-Biblical teaching of Marcion. Their variety he attributes to a process of mutual infiltration, at a period when the great Gnostic schools had begun to break up and to fall into new and often incoherent combinations. It is the merit of this theory that it recognizes the many accretions which have found their way into the systems, in the form in which we now possess them. They cannot, in any case, be accepted as anything but composite creations, borrowing largely from one another and from rival types of Gnosticism. But on several grounds preference must be given to the older view. (*a*) The Ophites are already known to Celsus, who wrote about A.D. 170, and it is improbable that at so early a date the great schools should have disintegrated. (*b*) The influence of Marcion, if it is indeed accountable for the anti-Biblical tendency, is at best superficial. In the rôle assigned to Ialdabaoth, the oppressor of mankind, we have primarily to do with ideas derived from astral religion; and the identification with the God of the OT is of the nature of an after-thought. (*c*) It is impossible to ignore the strong affinities between the Ophite doctrines and those of the pagan sects which are known to us through the Hermetic literature. These sects were probably pre-Christian, and were certainly anterior to the emergence of historical Gnosticism. (*d*) In spite of occasional details which suggest the influence of the great Gnostic schools, we have scarcely a trace in Ophitism of their more characteristic developments—*e.g.*, the æonology, the fall of Sophia. If the Ophite myths had arisen from a re-combination of the larger systems, these features would almost certainly have found a prominent place.

On these grounds it may be concluded that Ophitism, although at a later time it may have been modified by the influence of other Gnostic schools, represents in the main a primitive phase of the Gnostic movement. It had its true antecedents in those theosophical sects which had grown up in Egypt and the East during the age of syncretism, and it marks the beginning of the alliance of those alien sects with Christianity. In this consists the historical importance of Ophitism. It reflects the Gnostic movement in its earlier stages, and helps us to determine the sources and intrinsic character of its beliefs. From the evidence which it thus affords we may reasonably infer that Gnosticism, although it assumed the form of a Christian heresy, was in substance non-Christian, and that its speculations were for the most part a mere colouring for mythological ideas.

Dependent as we are on ecclesiastical writers who composed their notices with little understanding, from insufficient and perhaps garbled data, we have no means of ascertaining the history of Ophitism. The investigations of de Faye seem to make it clear that the original systems were gradually modified by contact with one another, with orthodox Christianity, and with the great Gnostic schools. At the same time, they seem to have maintained themselves, though with diminishing numbers and ever-lessening importance. By the middle of the 3rd cent. they had ceased to constitute a danger to the Church, and it had become difficult to discover their precise beliefs. That they continued to exist, and to exercise a certain influence even on the latest phases of Gnostic thought, may be gathered from the many coincidences between their mythology and that of the *Pistis Sophia* (*q.v.*) and other Coptic writings.

LITERATURE.—The subject is treated, more or less fully, in almost all the works enumerated under GNOSTICISM. The following are of special value for the study of Ophitism: A. Hilgenfeld, 'Der Gnosticismus und die Philosophumena,' in *ZWT* v. [1862] 400 ff.; R. A. Lipsius, 'Über die ophitischen Systeme,' *ib.* vi. [1863] 410 ff.; A. Hönig, *Die Ophiten*, Berlin, 1889; R. Liechtenhan, art. 'Ophiten,' in *PRE*[3]; W. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, Göttingen, 1907; R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, Leipzig, 1904; E. de Faye, *Gnostiques et gnosticisme*, Paris, 1913.

E. F. SCOTT.

OPTIMISM.—See PESSIMISM.

ORACLES.—See DIVINATION.

ORĀONS. — **1. Introduction. — The Orāons** (Orāoñ, Orāo) are a cultivating tribe numbering at the present time 751,983, of whom the greater part inhabit the Rānchi and Palamāu districts included in the province of Bengal, and some of the tributary States of Orissa, with a small number of emigrants in the Assam districts of Jalpaiguri and the Darjīling Tarāi, where they have gone to work in the tea-gardens. They call themselves Khuṛñk or Kūṛukh, a Dravidian term of uncertain origin, connected by some with the word *horo*, 'man,' or with *kuruk*, 'a crier,' or one capable of speaking, in contradistinction to the other races, whose language is not intelligible to them (for other explanations see Sarat Chandra Roy, *The Orāons of Chōtā Nāgpur*, p. 3 ff.). This word *horo* is probably the origin of the name Orāon, which in other forms appears in the titles of kindred tribes, like the Kol, Korwa, and Korku. The eastern branches of the Kol tribe, according to Driver (*JASB*, 1891, pt. i. p. 25), use the initial *h*, while those farther west prefer *k*. If the names Orāon and Khuṛñk be derived from the same root, the tribal names, like that of the allied Malē tribe, simply mean 'men'; and some have supposed that Orāon was a title conferred upon them by the Aryan invaders, possibly that of one of the septs with whom the newcomers first came in contact. Dalton (*Descriptive Ethnology*, p. 245) thinks that it may have been a nickname conferred upon them in reference to their roving propensities.

2. Racial characteristics. — The Orāons are Dravidians of the full blood.

'The colour of most Oráons is the darkest brown, approaching to black; the hair being jet black, coarse, and rather inclined to be frizzy. Projecting jaws and teeth, thick lips, low narrow foreheads, broad flat noses, are the features which strike a careful observer as characteristic of the tribe. The eyes are often bright and full, and no obliquity is observable in the opening of the eyelids. No signs of Mongolian affinities can be detected in the relative positions of the nasal and malar bones, and the average naso-malar index for a hundred Oráons, measured on the system recommended by Mr. Oldfield Thomas, comes to 113·6' [the average cephalic index is 75·4] (Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, ii. 139; cf. his *Tribes and Castes in Bengal: Anthropometric Data*, Calcutta, 1891, i. 402 ff.; Roy, pp. 17 ff., 80 ff.).

Taking him all round, the Orāon is a heavier and stronger man than the Mūndā or Santāl.

3. Traditions of origin.—The remarkable fact about the Orāons is that, as will be seen below (§ 4), they speak a language quite distinct from that of the Mūndā tribes which surround them. This has been taken to suggest that their settlement in their present home is of comparatively recent date. According to Dalton (p. 245), whose view was

Library of
PACIFIC BIBLE SEMINARY
4835 EAST ANAHEIM STREET
LONG BEACH, CALIFORNIA

accepted by Caldwell (*Dravidian Grammar*[2], p. 40), their traditions connect them with the Konkan, the lowland strip along the western portion of the Bombay Presidency, lying between the range of the W. Ghāts and the sea. Thence they are said to have wandered eastward along the central range of hills forming the backbone of the peninsula, and finally to have reached that portion of the range which overlooks the Gangetic valley in the province of Bengal, known as the Kaimūr hills. Here for a time they settled in the plateau of Rohtās in the Shahābād district. When they were expelled from this refuge by the Muhammadans, the tribe is believed to have split into two divisions—one, under the leadership of their chief, following the course of the Ganges and finally settling on the Rājmahāl hills, the other, led by his younger brother, going up the valley of the Son into Palamāu, turning eastward along the river Koel, and taking possession of the north-west portion of the plateau of Chotā Nāgpur. The Malē or Maler tribe and the Pahārias, who still occupy the Rājmahāl hills, are closely connected with the Orāons and speak an allied language.

'Some say that they expelled the Mundas from this portion of the country, and forced them to retire to their present settlements in the south of Lohardagá; but this statement is not borne out by local tradition, nor can it be reconciled with the fact that the few Mundas found in the Oráon *pargands* on the plateau are acknowledged and looked up to as the descendants of the founders of the villages in which they live' (Risley, ii. 139; Roy, p. 17 ff.).

The Orāons, again, are identical with the Ḍhāngars, whose name implies that, like the Pahārias, they are highlanders.

4. Language.—The traditions of the tribe are in some degree confirmed by their language. The old theory that the non-Aryan tribes of this part of India can be divided into a Dravidian and a Kolarian branch has broken down before the evidence of anthropometry. The distinction between the so-called Kolarian and Dravidian branches is purely linguistic, and does not correspond to any differences of physical type. Sarat Chandra Roy, however, disputes this assertion, and remarks that 'any one who has lived long enough amongst them and observed them with some attention can in most cases distinguish a genuine Orāon from a genuine Mundā' (p. 82). The Dravidian branch, which includes the Orāons, speaks a Dravidian language, while that of the Kolarians is now designated Mūṇḍārī. Kurukh, the Orāon tongue, is decidedly a Dravidian language, and is still spoken by over 500,000 people, though more than 100,000 Orāons have substituted Hindī or Mūṇḍārī for their mother-tongue.

The Orāons, then, are closely allied to their neighbours the Malē Pahārias and Ḍhāngars, and seem to have emigrated to this part of the country later than the Mūṇḍārī tribes which surround them. The most primitive branch of the tribe is that known as the Bergē or Bergā Orāons, who occupy the State of Gangpur, the long undulating table-land, which gradually slopes down to the north from the higher plateau of Chotā Nāgpur. They are a savage, fierce-looking people, probably a mixed race who have lived for centuries isolated from their brethren, and now speak a dialect distinct from theirs.

5. Religion: general characteristics.—

'The religion of the Oráons is of a composite order. They have, no doubt, retained some portion of the belief that they brought with them to Chota Nagpur; but, coalescing with the Mundas and joining in their festivals and acts of public worship, they have to a certain extent adopted their ideas on religion and blended them with their own' (Dalton, p. 256).

They differ from the Mūṇḍās in always possessing some visible object of worship—a stone, a wooden post, or a lump of earth. Their religion in its general outline is a form of animism, closely allied with that practised by their Dravidian brethren (see DRAVIDIANS [North India]).

6. The worship of Dharmesh, or Dharmē.—The head of their pantheon is a spirit known as Dharmī, Dharmē, or Dharmesh. One of the writers of this article, Hahn, is disposed to regard this name as philologically distinct from the Skr.-Hindī *dharmī*, 'virtuous,' 'godly,' and to translate it 'creator.' But there seems to be no sound evidence in support of this view, and it appears safer to regard the name as borrowed from the Hindus of the Plains. The name as used by the Orāons is feminine; but Dharmē is more generally regarded as a male, the husband of Dhartī Mātā, or Mother Earth. The worship of a deity with a similar name, Dharmarājā, is common in Bengal. There he is by some identified with Yama, the Hindu god of death-land, by others with the sun. Others, again, who have been more fully Hinduized, regard him as a snake-god, and some as a form of Śiva or Viṣṇu. He is a god of the lower castes, worshipped, not through Brāhmans, but by a member of one of the castes who adore him (Gait, *Census Report Bengal, 1901*, i. 201). He has, again, been identified with Buddha in that debased form of Buddhism which still survives among the Sarāk tribe in Orissa (*ib.* i. 204). As the Orāons regard Dharmē as manifest in the sun, the identity of these two forms of belief may be regarded as established. Dharmē, in fact, seems to represent one member, the male, in the androgynous cultus of a pair of deities, of whom the female is represented by Mother Earth.

Dharmē is regarded as the source of light and life. If sacrifice is made to him, which is usually done in the harvest season or in performance of a vow, it must, under the usual principle of imitative magic, consist of fowls or goats white in colour. The existence of the world, the gift of children, the growth of the fruits of the earth, are all believed to be due to him. The Orāon turns his thoughts to him in times of sickness or other calamity, when sacrifices to the evil spirits have proved to be of no avail. At such times the usual prayer offered to him runs: *Ana Dharmē akkun ninim ra'adāi*, 'O God! now all rests with thee.' Sacrifices are vowed to him in order to obtain children and for the cure of diseases of the reproductive organs.

In the legends of the tribe he is described as slaying the monstrous dragon into whose mouth the human race entered, believing it to be a cleft in the rocks. The body of this creature was destroyed by a rain of fire, by the heat of which the Hanumān ape (*Semnopithecus entellus*) got the black marks on his face which he bears to this day, and the mahogany tree (*Diospyros melanoxylon*) its black wood. Only one boy and one girl escaped destruction by hiding themselves in a crab shell, where the hounds of Dharmē, which were of all the colours of the rainbow, as befitted those of the sun-god, discovered them. To this pair Dharmē presented a pumpkin which contained the seeds of all varieties of corn, vegetables, and fruit. Thus the world was peopled.

Another legend of Dharmē is ætiological, explaining the peculiarities of certain birds. Some Asuras, a Bengal tribe which still practises the art of iron-smelting, were at work and the smoke of their furnace incommoded the god. He first sent the wagtail to remonstrate with them; but they twisted its tail so that it has gone on wagging ever since. Next he sent the crane; but they caught it by the head and dragged it, so that its neck became as long as it is now. Then he sent the robin redbreast; him they caught with a pair of red-hot pincers, and hence he comes to have a scarlet breast. Finally, he sent his son in the form of a leprous youth. He entered the furnace, pulled out some ingots of gold into which the iron had become converted, and came out cured of his disease. He had then no difficulty in tempting the Asura men to enter the furnace themselves, while their women worked the bellows to make the fire blaze more fiercely. But they all perished, and their wives craved the mercy of Dharmē, who banished them to the forests, where their spirits are propitiated with animal sacrifice and rice, and with oblations of spirituous liquor.

The most important rite in the worship of Dharmē consists in his emblematical marriage to Mother Earth, which is celebrated at the annual *Khaddī* festival, *khadd* meaning 'offspring' or the

sprouting of plant life. This is one of the common rites of imitative or symbolical magic by which the fertility of the soil and the growth of the crops are promoted. Here Dharmē is clearly symbolized by the sun, because at sowing time the sower faces the sun and throws the first handful of seed towards it in order to secure the blessing of Dharmē. His union with the Earth Mother is celebrated in the spring, when the *sāl* (*Shorea robusta*), one of the sacred trees of the tribe, puts forth its blossoms.

Dharmē is represented for the occasion by the tribal priest, and his consort by Kālo Pakko, the spirit which occupies the sacred grove attached to every Orāon village. Hither the priest, accompanied by his wife and other villagers, repairs, and, after sacrificing a fowl and offering rice and flowers, daubs the roots of an old *sāl*-tree with vermilion and oil, and, tying a cord round the trunk of the tree, weds Mother Earth to himself as representing Dharmē. He then daubs his own forehead, arms, breast, and ears with vermilion, as is done to this day in the Hindu marriage service—a survival of the original blood-covenant. Then he sacrifices a second fowl, and utters this prayer: 'O Kālo Pakko, may there be abundance of rain and fruitfulness in our houses and fields!' Next several fowls are sacrificed to evil spirits in general, and all the people eat and carouse as at an ordinary marriage feast. Towards evening the priest is carried on a strong man's back to his house, where his wife meets him and washes his feet. Next morning he goes round the village, and at every door the women meet him, wash his feet, and present him with an offering of rice and money, of which he returns part, and it is kept for good luck. His assistant throws water on every roof, and some of this is taken inside with the object of bringing prosperity. After this all eat and make merry, dance, and sing obscene songs, and indulge in orgies during which all self-respect and decency are forgotten.

This is the feast of fertility, and the season for marriages in the tribe. After it closes evil spirits are at rest, and a time of quiet and enjoyment is ushered in which lasts until the rainy season sets in during June and July.

In his account of this feast under the name of *Sarhūl* Dalton adds an incident which explains the significance of one part of the ceremony. When the priest visits each house, he dances with the women and places some of the *sāl*-flowers in their hair and over the door.

'The moment that this is accomplished, they throw the contents of their water-vessels over his venerable person, heartily dousing the man whom a moment before they were treating with such profound respect. But to prevent his catching cold they ply him with as much of the home-brew as he can drink, consequently his reverence is generally gloriously drunk before he completes his round' (p. 261).

It is clear that we have in this one of the rites of symbolical or imitative magic, in which pouring water over a sacred or tabued personage is regarded as a charm which will produce abundant rain (*GB*³, pt. i., *The Magic Art*, London, 1911, i. 247 ff.; Crooke, *PR* i. 73 ff.).

7. The worship of malevolent spirits.—While Dharmē is a benevolent deity, the chief interest of the Orāon centres in the malignant spirits by which he deems himself to be surrounded. These demand regular periodical propitiation to prevent them from doing mischief. They are known in the Kurukh language as *nād*, which is practically equivalent to the *bhūt* of the Hindus. The following are the chief spirits of this class.

(*a*) Darhā, whose abode is generally in an ancient grove of *sāl*-trees or of the *bel* (*Aegle marmelos*), where he is represented by a ploughshare or a piece of bamboo fixed in the earth in a slanting position near the root of a *sāl*-tree. Darhā is regarded as the tutelary deity of the village. He is evidently one of those vague impersonations whose titles and functions are not clearly defined and merge in those of other deities. Dalton (pp. 129, 220) identifies him with Dhartī, or earth, and with the Duār Pahār of the Cheros, Kharwārs, and Birhors. According to the same writer (p. 258), Darhā is the only spirit propitiated by the Orāons in some parts of the country.

'If fowls are offered to him, they must be of divers colours, but once in three years he should have a sheep from his votaries; and once in the same period a buffalo,' the flesh of which is shared with the tribal priest.

But it is believed that at some of his more important shrines, in spite of the pressure of British law, human sacrifices are still sometimes offered. It is said that this rite should be performed once in a generation, and that in default of it great misfortunes will fall upon the tribe. The arrangements are made at a secret council of elders, and certain persons are said to be selected to catch a victim, generally a boy or girl, who is called *ondkā*, 'seized,' 'eaten.' Dalton further remarks (p. 258) that those members of the tribe who are known as *bhagat* (Skr. *bhakti*, 'faith,' 'devotion'), *i.e.* those who have adopted the worship of the Hindu deity Śiva, have traditions of human sacrifice.

'I have been informed,' he says, 'by a Christian convert, who formerly belonged to the Bhagat fraternity, that in some villages near Lohardagga, they usually make an image of a man in wood, put clothes and ornaments on it, and present it at the altar of a Mahādeo. The person who officiates as priest on the occasion says: "O Mahādeo! we sacrifice this man to you according to ancient custom! Give us rain in due season, and a plentiful harvest!" Then, with one stroke of the axe, the head of the image is cut off, and the body is removed and buried. The Gonds make a similar offering to their Baradeo, and it was not always in effigy that the human sacrifice is made. There are grounds for concluding that the practice was observed by all the peoples of Dravidian origin.'

This is clearly akin to the well-known rites of propitiatory human sacrifice among the Khonds, or Kandhs (*q.v.*).

(*b*) The Deshwālī *nād*, the 'evil spirit of the land,' is a female. She is attached to every village, and is represented, like other Orāon deities, by a wooden peg. Every third and tenth year sacrifices must be made to her of buffaloes and fowls. If this rite be neglected, she will cause mischief and bring disease on men and cattle. She lives in the *sarnā*, or sacred grove, attached to each village.

(*c*) The Khūnṭā, or 'peg,' is the special *nād* of the three clans found in every village. It is represented by a small wooden peg fixed in the ground. Every third year, when the rice seedlings are being transplanted, a goat is sacrificed to the Khūnṭā *nād*, and yearly a fowl is offered to him at the same season. Every village has its own Khūnṭā *nād*, of which the residents alone know the secret name. This *nād* is of irritable temper, and, if his name is not kept secret, he is offended. In fact, no other *nād* more resents neglect.

(*d*) Kālo Pakko, Jhakrā Būṛhī, or Sarnā Būṛhī is the 'old woman' of the *sarnā*. She has already been mentioned in connexion with the cult of Dharmē (§ 6). She is represented among the Mūṇḍās by Jāhir Erā and Desaulī (Dalton, p. 261). Every year, at the *Khaddī* festival, a black fowl is sacrificed to her with some rice and rice-beer, and an earthen pot of water is placed at the stem of a *sāl*-tree for her refreshment. If, during the night, there has been a considerable evaporation of water from the jar, it portends, according to the usual system of symbolical magic, a failure of rain during the coming year. Again, if the fowls destined for sacrifice pick up some of the grains of rice offered to Kālo Pakko, it is an omen that she accepts the offering and will give them abundant rain and a good harvest. This forms an interesting parallel to the *tripudium* of the Romans (Cicero, *de Div.* ii. 71; F. Granger, *Worship of the Romans*, London, 1895, p. 189 f.).

Some authorities connect the worship of Kālo Pakko with that of the spirits of the Asuras who were slain because they offended Dharmē (§ 6), or suggest that the worship was intended to propitiate the ghosts of a people, the autochthones of the country, dispersed and slain by the later Dravidian and Mūṇḍā settlers. On the other hand, the close connexion of Kālo Pakko with the *sarnā*, or sacred grove, seems to make it clear that she is the im-

personation of the tree-spirit, many representatives of which are found in N. India. They are, like Kālo Pakko, closely connected with the rainfall and the fertility of crops and cattle (*GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, ii. 47 ff.). Hence, among the Orāons, she is often identified with Mother Earth, and her marriage and union with Dharmē are solemnized.

8. Evil spirits which need only occasional propitiation.—Among this class the following are the most important.

(*a*) Barandā is the hill *nād*, or spirit. When he leaves the mountain, his usual abode, and takes up his residence with men, he brings misfortune and poverty with him. He demands propitiation by an occasional sacrifice. He can be prevented from entering a house by the inmates eating sour or unsavoury food; this disgusts him and he leaves the place. According to Dalton (p. 258), he is propitiated with a sacrifice of bullocks or buffaloes because he is an evil spirit, 'who, when malignantly inclined, frustrates God's designs of sending rain in due season to fertilise the earth.' In Palamāu, according to Gait (i. 197), Barandā is believed to be a female formerly resident in Nāgpur, while in Rānchi he is thought to be, as already described, a malevolent male living in the hills, and always endeavouring to enter a house in order to bring misfortune upon the inmates. In Palamāu he is propitiated once in three years at the harvest-home. Each family has a service of its own, which is conducted by the *baigā*, or aboriginal priest. A she-goat is sacrificed after being induced to eat rice from the hands of the priest, the idea being that it is a willing victim, and that the responsibility for its death will not fall upon the person who arranges the sacrifice. The victim is cooked and consumed then and there by all present, the priest receiving a double share.

(*b*) The Addī or Erpā *nād* is the spirit of the household and of the landed property which it owns. The oldest among the owners keeps its representative in the shape of a wooden peg suspended in a tiny basket from the roof of his house. Whenever disease occurs to any member of the family, a fowl or goat is sacrificed to the *nād*. Some of the blood is sprinkled on the peg, and a feather of the fowl or a bone of the goat, with a few grains of rice and small coins, is placed in the basket which contains it.

(*c*) Chandī, the moon-goddess, is identical with Chando Omol of the Mūndās, and with Chando Bonga of the Santāls (Dalton, pp. 186, 214). Among the Orāons she is the goddess of hunting, and to her sacrifices of fowls and goats are offered to ensure success at the tribal hunting parties which take place yearly about the time of the full moon in March (see Roy, pp. 220 ff., 224 ff., 239 ff.).

(*d*) The *churel* is the ghost of a woman who has died in childbirth or in a state of impurity. When such a woman is buried, her angry ghost is appeased by the sacrifice of a black fowl performed on her grave, on which grains of rice are scattered to appease the spirit. As usual (see BENGAL, § 26), she appears as a woman with her feet turned backwards. She is constantly endeavouring to enter houses where a baby has been born, appearing as a black cat which tears the mother and infant. She also entices away youths and girls at night. When such dangers are feared, special sacrifices are offered at her grave, and the father of the child remains awake to repel her attacks.

(*e*) The *mūā*, 'the dead ones,' are, like the *bhūt* of the Plains, the ghosts of people who have died a violent death. The most common variety is the *baghaut*, the ghost of a man who has been killed by a tiger. In the place where such a tragedy has occurred a cairn is erected, to which every passer-by adds a stone. Occasionally a fowl or goat is sacrificed there, or on the spot where a murder has been committed, or where a person has been executed, in order to appease the restless malevolent spirit.

9. Minor spirits and apparitions.—Among these are Barandō, the spirit which causes whirlwinds, a disgusted restless *nād*, which goes whirling about in search of a fresh resting-place. The Orāon scares him by shouting *Hādī*!, 'Be off!' The *ekh*, or nightmare, is also a restless spirit of the departed, seeking for repose by entering the body of a sleeping person. The *bai* is another ghost which causes delirium, epilepsy, fainting fits, and lunacy. Charms and spells must be used to scare it. Aerolites and meteors are also departed spirits wandering about in search of a resting-place. In fact, the Orāon is surrounded by a world of spirits, some of which appear in dreams, some while he is awake, in the shape of giants or huge pillars without heads and arms.

10. Tree-worship.—The Orāon conceives trees to be the abode of spirits. Near every village a small fragment of the primeval forest, known as the *sarnā*, or *jāher*, is preserved as a refuge for the tree-spirits which have been disturbed and disestablished when the jungle was cut down. The trees of this grove are guarded by a most effective tabu, and no one dares to cut them down or even to collect the fallen branches (Roy, pp. 108, 172). In this grove the *sāl* is regarded as the most sacred tree, and it is the abode of Kālo Pakko or Sarnā Būrhī, the 'old woman' of the grove. Its flowers, as we have seen (§ 6), are used in the rite of rain-making, and from its branches is made the bower under which the marriage ceremonies are performed. The *karam*-tree (*Nauclea parvifolia*) is another sacred tree, worshipped as a benevolent godling. The *karam* festival is held at the beginning of harvest, about the end of August.

After purifying themselves by fasting, the youths and girls of the tribe go singing and dancing to the forest to fetch a branch of the tree. This is brought in triumph to the village dancing-place (*ākhrā*). Some of the lads, beating drums and clanging cymbals, seem to become possessed by the tree-spirit and throw themselves on the ground, shrieking and moving their heads and limbs in a state of frenzy. The branch, which is stuck into the ground in the centre of the arena, is decorated with flowers and lights. There it is watched by persons told off for the purpose, while the rest of the villagers hold high revel. When the feast is ended, one of the elders is seated on a stool close to the tree. An umbrella is held over him, and the people take their places round him. He recites the tribal legends, in return for which a collection is made for him among the audience. Dancing, drinking, and merriment go on all night. Next morning the tree is taken, with singing, dancing, and beating of drums, to the nearest river or stream, into which it is plunged. While the tree is fixed in the arena, the people worship it by bowing before it, and the priest sacrifices a victim.

The festival is believed to bring good luck and prosperous harvests, and it is regarded as a sort of thanksgiving at the first gathering of the crops. The flinging of the branch into water at the conclusion of the rite seems to indicate that its primary object is to act as a rain-charm.[1]

11. Totemism.—The Orāon tribe is divided into a number of septs of which a catalogue is given by Risley (*TC* ii. 113 f.). As in the case of many of the allied Dravidian tribes, these septs are named after various animals, plants, or material objects, such as the tiger, the wild dog, the squirrel, the cobra, the eel, the *bar*-tree (*Ficus Indica*), the *pusrā*, or fruit of the *kusum*-tree (*Sehleichera trijuga*), and so on, each of which the members of the tribe are prohibited from cutting, eating, burning carrying, using, and so forth (*ib.* i. Introd. p. xliii). But totemism, as it appears among the Orāons, is recognized at present merely as a mode of defining the exogamous groups, and, if in ancient times it exercised influence over their religious beliefs, it has now been so completely overlaid by other

[1] For other accounts of the *karam*-tree rites among the Orāons, Mūndās, and allied tribes see Dalton, pp. 198, 259; Gait, i. 191; *PR* ii. 94 ff.

superstitions and usages that it is no longer possible to recognize it. The question of totemism is fully discussed by Roy, p. 324 ff.

12. **Ancestor-worship and the condition of the dead.**—Dalton (p. 257) was of opinion that the Orāons 'have no belief whatever in a future state.' But this assertion is opposed to the results of his own investigations into their death customs and to other facts which have been brought to light by subsequent research. The body is carefully oiled and shrouded to placate the spirit; offerings of rice and copper coins, the latter probably intended as a viaticum to help the spirit on its way to the other world, are placed in the mouth of the dead, or thrown upon the funeral pyre and grave, both modes of disposal of the dead being recognized among them. After cremation the fragments of the bones are carefully gathered, placed in a new earthen jar, and brought ceremoniously to the village, the mourners scattering parched rice along the road, probably not, as Dalton supposed (p. 261), to mark the route, but rather to pacify the angry vagrant spirits which might trouble the ghost of the man whose obsequies are being performed. The cinerary urn is suspended to a post in front of the residence of the dead in order that the ghost, when so disposed, may have easy access to them. In the following December or January the solemn rite is performed of removing the bones of all those who have died during the last year to the tribal cemetery, which from the first establishment of the community has been appropriated to this purpose. Orāons are extremely tenacious in this matter.

'And even when one of them dies far from his home, his relations will, if possible, sooner or later, recover the fragments of his bones, and bear them back to the village, to be deposited with the ashes of his ancestors' (Dalton, p. 263).

Thus they recognize a conscious life of the departed. The dead are conceived as forming a community, and by the removal of his bones to the tribal cemetery the dead man obtains admission to their society. At the cemetery the bone jar is buried in a shallow grave, over which a slab is placed or an oblong stone is erected as a monument.

The death tabu is also recognized. During the time when the bones of the dead are retained in the village no marriage can take place. The persons who have had occasion to touch the body are regarded as unclean, and must wash their hands and feet after the funeral. One of the degraded Mahilī tribe, whom Orāons despise and with whom they will not eat, acts as funeral priest (*kartā*).

The subsequent rites are intended to ascertain if the spirit has really departed to death-land, and to prevent it from returning to trouble the survivors. The first object is attained by spreading ashes on the floor of the house after the removal of the body. The door is carefully shut, and, when the mourners return from the cremation ground, the ashes are examined to ascertain if any footprints are visible upon them. If anything appears which suggests the footprint of a man, it is supposed that the wandering spirit has failed to attain its desired rest, and must be appeased by offerings of food at the grave. The same belief prevails among many of the lower castes in N. India (*PR* i. 176, ii. 72 ff.). If the imprint on the ashes resembles the footprint of a cat, it is believed that the ghost has become an evil spirit, in which event sacrifices must be offered to appease it.

From this it would appear that ancestor-worship, in the true sense of the term, does not exist among the Orāons. The dead are regarded not as superior beings, but as dependent upon the living for food and other necessaries. Though they are propitiated to induce them to remain in death-land and to refrain from troubling the living, this placation does not reach the dignity of worship. The grave-stone erected over the place where the ashes and bones have been deposited is daubed at festivals with vermilion (possibly the survival of an earlier blood-sacrifice), and with oil and milk. Sometimes a fowl is sacrificed near these stones to secure the good will of the dead. At each of the tribal festivals fragments of food, with some liquor, are put outside the house, or allowed to fall upon the floor for the refreshment of the ancestors. In the same way, when the new rice is cooked, before any one dares to partake of it a portion is laid aside for them, and a fowl is offered. In times of danger or distress prayers are made to them, and these are accompanied by sacrifices. Some people drop at every meal a fragment of all the food, even tobacco, for the use of the dead.

13. **Exorcism.**—Dalton, as we have seen, was mistaken in supposing that 'the sole object of their religious ceremonies is the propitiation of the demons, who are ever thwarting the benevolent intentions of Dharmesh'; but it seems correct to say that, like all races in a similar stage of culture, 'they have no notion of a service of thanksgiving; and so far we may regard the religion of the Mundas as of a higher order than theirs' (p. 257). Exorcism of evil spirits forms an important part of their religious practices. When sickness or other misfortune befalls a man, he has recourse to the *ojhā*, or exorcist. Various devices are employed to remove the spirit agency to which they attribute disease. Thus, all the pots in use in the house, brooms, winnowing-fans, and other articles of the same kind, are carried to the cross-roads, and with them it is supposed that the spirit will be expelled. Another method illustrating the principles of contagious magic is for the sick man to place a cotton thread across a road by which travellers pass, and whoever touches the thread is sure to carry away the malady with him. When disease appears among the cattle, a sacrifice is made to the *nād* which haunts the village, and some of the blood of the victim is sprinkled on the wooden bell worn by the leader of the herd, or some streaks are made with lime upon it, and it is then hung round the neck of the herdsman. By this method the disease spirit is transferred to him, and he becomes possessed, rushing about wildly and striking at any one who comes in his way. The villagers then beat him gently with sticks and drive him over the village boundary. By this method the spirit is believed to abandon the village, never to return. By and by the man comes to himself, and all return home assured that no further evil will happen.

Other forms of disease are treated in the same way. Obstinate colic, supposed to be due to a demon entering the body of the patient, is cured by the *deoṛā*, or medicine-man, who mutters some spells and then sucks the navel of the afflicted person. By and by the mucus in the mouth of the exorcist is believed to assume the form of tiny worms or bones, which, being the root of the malady, he spits out, and recovery is assured. The exorcist deals with a case of snake-bite by sacrificing a fowl, the head of which he cuts off, to the spirit of the snake, while he recites some *mantras* bidding it be gone. Then he sucks the navel of the patient, and flings his spittle on the fowl which he has sacrificed. If the patient recovers, the *deoṛā* is credited with having expelled the poison with the evil spirit. In ordinary cases of disease the exorcist adds to the recitation of his spells and the sucking of the patient's navel the rite of fanning him with the stalks of thatching grass as a means of expelling the evil influence.

There are various methods of identifying the evil spirit or witch to whose machinations troubles are confidently attributed.

One plan is to sacrifice a fowl, and make an offering of rice in a winnowing-fan, the *mystica vannus Iacchi*, which is everywhere regarded as a wonder-working implement. Over the rice is placed an inverted saucer, such as is used for an oil lamp. The exorcist recites spells, calling on various evil spirits or witches whom he suspects to appear before him. Meanwhile he continues staring into a lighted lamp, moving his head violently all the time. By and by the shadow of an evil spirit or of a witch appears to his view. He then announces which spirit is to be propitiated, or names the witch who is working black magic against the patient. Should this method fail, he becomes himself possessed, shakes his head and body violently, jumps about, moving his limbs, in a state of frenzy, until he falls into a trance, during which he calls out the name of the spirit or of the witch.

It is difficult to say how far these practitioners believe in their own art. When they begin their career, they doubtless believe what they have been taught; but by and by they are tempted to adopt fraudulent practices in order to gratify their own vanity, or help another to satisfy a private grudge.

14. Witchcraft.—Like all the Dravidian races of this part of India, the Oraons believe firmly in witchcraft. The knowledge is said to be communicated to neophytes at annual meetings when witches, riding on broomsticks, assemble and dance. Most reputed witches are old, cranky, deformed women, whose curses upon an enemy, accidentally uttered and apparently fulfilled, show that they know and practise the art. They often deal in poisonous or narcotic drugs, and are hence known as *bisāhā*, or *bishāī*, 'poisoners.' They are believed to exercise their dangerous power over those whom they desire to injure through the hair-clippings and nail-parings of their victims. After reciting their wicked spells over things like these, they are believed to conceal them in a hollow tree, or bury them beneath the threshold of the person against whom their art is directed, with the result that he and his cattle pine and waste away. They are also reported to possess the power of extracting something from, or inserting something into, the body of their victim, which causes disease or death. Dropsy, consumption, and barrenness in women and cattle are popularly attributed to their malevolence. Others claim, or are said to possess, the power of turning themselves into tigers and other beasts of prey, and thus destroying their enemies or their cattle.

The intense dread of witchcraft is shown by the cruelty with which it is punished. In olden times, before the pressure of British law checked outrages of this kind, the punishment was invariably death. Nowadays the penalties are fine, excommunication, refusal to intermarry with them, and personal violence. The witch ordeals in use are as severe as the actual punishments. In one the suspect is bound to two large stones with his knees drawn up to his chin, and a fire of straw is lighted below him. The tests by hot iron, boiling oil, and flinging the suspected person into the village pond are also used. In fact, witchcraft is still a living superstition in the tribe, and it is only by the greatest vigilance that the authorities can repress the outrages which are its natural result.

15. Minor beliefs and superstitions.—Much attention is paid to dreams, which forebode the future, and the appearances observed each indicate some coming event—a snake announces a visit, the fall of a tree a death in the neighbourhood, and so on. It is dangerous to touch an epileptic, as the spirit causing the fit may be able to transfer itself. Curses are much feared. Oaths are taken over a little rice and cow-dung placed in an open space, by touching the shoulder of a mother or son, or by standing on a tiger-skin. In the last form they believe that, if the witness forswears himself, he will be killed by the animal. They strongly believe in omens. A seed of the castor-tree falling on a person walking below it, the branch of a tree breaking, a jackal passing the road from right to left, are all omens of disaster. Thursdays and Saturdays are unlucky. A house must not be built facing the north, the direction of death-land, and, when a house is being erected, an egg is broken on the site to propitiate the spirit, which is disturbed when the foundations are being dug.

16. The priesthood.—

In an Oraon village 'a priest there must be; an Oráon community cannot get on without one. The fate of the village is in his hands; in their own phraseology it is said that he "makes its affairs." He is also master of the revels, which are for the most part connected with religious rites. The doctrine of the Oráons is that man best pleases the gods when he makes merry himself; so that acts of worship and propitiatory sacrifices are always associated with feasting, drinking, dancing, and love-making' (Dalton, p. 247).

The tribal priest is known as *naigā* or *pāhān*, both being names which seem to be borrowed from the Hindus (Skr. *nayaka, pradhāna*, 'leader'), while the exorcist has borrowed his titles from the same source, *sokhā* (Skr. *sūkshma*, 'subtle') or *ojhā* (Skr. *upādhyāya*, 'spiritual teacher'). From this fact it may be argued that the differentiation of the priest from the medicine-man took place in comparatively recent times and under Hindu influence. The duty of the *pahān* is to perform all the regular sacrifices made to tutelary deities and the special acts by which evil spirits are propitiated. The office is not necessarily hereditary, but is usually conferred on a member of the *pāhān khūnt*, or priestly sept. On the occasion of the resignation, death, or apostasy of a *pāhān* the headmen of the village select two or three members of the priestly sept as suitable candidates. Then a round pebble is taken from the roadside and rolled in the direction of the houses occupied by the priests' sept. The person at whose door the stone stops is selected. He goes at once to the house of the late priest to receive the winnowing-fan, the symbol of his sacred office (§ 13). He is also provided with a knife, with which he sacrifices fowls, and an axe for decapitating goats, both made by the village blacksmith. As sacrificer, his duty is to behead the victim with a prayer that the good or evil spirit in whose name the offering is made will accept it and grant the favour which is desired. Among those members of the tribe who have come under Hindu influence his place is taken by the *pujār* (Skr. *pūjā-kāri*, 'doer of worship'). The *sokhā* is the witch- and spirit-finder, who ascertains the person who has worked black magic on the patient or the *bhūt* which is offended with him. Any one may learn this art, and the son often succeeds his father. The *deoṛā* or *ojhā* is the exorcist and medicine-man, who deals with spirits after they have been marked down by the *sokhā*. The knowledge of the craft passes down in a single family, but an exorcist of good repute may form a school and instruct disciples. Often, however, the duties of these functionaries are not carefully discriminated. In fact, there is reason to believe that the distribution of duties between priest, exorcist, and medicine-man is comparatively modern. In former times these varied duties seem to have been combined in a single official.

The priest is supported by a glebe, known as *naigkhāl* or *pahānkhet*, 'priest's field.' It is held rent-free, and, if it is occupied by a member of the priestly clan who is not acting as *naigā*, he has to remunerate the actual holder of the office. In some villages a patch of land is reserved, the profits of which are devoted to paying the expenses connected with public sacrifices and tribal feasts. Other patches are sometimes left uncultivated and reserved as a refuge for *bhūts* and evil spirits, who, with the *churel* and the *mūā*, haunt the cremation and burial grounds.

17. Christianity.—Christianity has gained many converts among the Oraons, and its influence has undoubtedly tended to elevate their moral character. The conclusions of Dalton (p. 257) are interesting as describing the situation in the infancy of the Christian Church.

'If we analyse the views of most of the Oráon converts to Christianity, we shall, I think, be able to discern the influence of their pagan doctrines and superstitions in the motives that first led them to become catechumens. The Supreme Being who does not protect them from the spite of malevolent spirits has, they are assured, the Christians under His special care. They consider that, in consequence of this guardianship, the witches and *bhûts* have no power over Christians; and it is, therefore, good for them to join that body. They are taught that for the salvation of Christians one great sacrifice has been made, and they see that those who are baptized do not in fact reduce their live-stock to propitiate the evil spirits. They grasp at this notion; and long afterwards, when they understand it better, the atonement, the mystical washing away of sin by the blood of Christ, is the doctrine on which their simple minds most dwell.'

LITERATURE.—The classical account of the Oraons is that by E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1872, p. 245 ff., to which all subsequent writers, including H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, do. 1891, ii. 138 ff., and W. W. Hunter, *Statistical Account of Bengal*, London, 1877, xvi. 279 ff., are largely indebted. A large amount of fresh information, the result of fifteen years' intimate acquaintance with the tribe, including three years' special inquiries about their customs and usages, has been collected by Sarat Chandra Roy, *The Oraons of Chôtâ Nâgpur*, Rânchî, 1915, who promises a second volume devoted to their religion and magico-religious system, domestic ceremonies, usages, and folklore. For their language see F. Hahn, *Kurukh Grammar*, Calcutta, 1900; R Caldwell, *A Comparative Dravidian Grammar*[2], London, 1875, pp. 39, 518 *f.*; E. A. Gait, *Census Report Bengal, 1901*, Calcutta, 1902, i. 327 ff.; G. A. Grierson, *Census Report India*, do. 1901, i. 288. The country occupied by the Oraons has been well described by F. B. Bradley-Birt, *The Story of an Indian Upland*, London, 1905.

F. HAHN and W. CROOKE.

ORDEAL.

Introductory and Primitive (A. E. CRAWLEY), p. 507.
Arabian and Muhammadan (TH. W. JUYNBOLL), p. 512.
Babylonian (S. LANGDON), p. 513.
Celtic (J. A. MACCULLOCH), p. 514.
Chinese (R. F. JOHNSTON), p. 516.
Christian (P. VINOGRADOFF), p. 519.
Greek (P. VINOGRADOFF), p. 521.
Hebrew (J. A. SELBIE), p. 521.
Hindu (A. B. KEITH), p. 522.
Iranian (E. EDWARDS), p. 524.
Malagasy (G. GRANDIDIER), p. 526.
Roman (A. C. PEARSON), p. 528.
Slavic (M. E. SEATON), p. 529.
Teutonic (M. E. SEATON), p. 530.

ORDEAL[1] (Introductory and Primitive).—The method of trying an accused or suspected person by subjecting him to a 'physical test fraught with danger, such as the plunging of the hand in boiling water, the carrying of hot iron, walking barefoot and blindfold between red-hot plough-shares,' and the like, the result in injury, more or less or none, being 'regarded as the immediate judgement of the Deity,'[2] has been practically universal[3] during a long period of social evolution. This period may be approximately decided by the facts that the Australian aborigines do not practise the ordeal, and that the peoples of Europe abandoned it shortly after the mediæval age. Before the development of Roman methods the ordeal was the logical conclusion of all legal procedure, and, as such, its history constitutes an important chapter in the book of justice. It should be noted that the ordeal was a concluding method, not a preliminary nor an invariable form, the essential condition of its use from the most primitive to the latest examples being that other more 'legal' methods of deciding the issue shall have failed. With the ordeal in use, verdicts of not-proven and disagreements of the jury were discounted.

'The Malay laws direct that the combat or ordeal shall be had recourse to in the absence of evidence. . . . "If one accuse and another deny, and there be no witnesses on either side, the parties shall either fight or submit to the ordeal of melted tin or boiling oil."'[4] In W. Africa 'all judicial cases are settled by the people in their collective capacity.' Witnesses are used, and give evidence under an imprecatory oath. But the ordeal is 'preferred.' 'Conscious of their own want of candour and honesty it is but natural that very little confidence is felt in the veracity of others.'[5] Among the early Teutonic peoples exculpation was possible either by oath, in which *cojurantes* were admitted, or by ordeal. The whole principle of their administration of justice was diametrically opposed to that of Roman law, which eventually superseded it. It knew nothing of evidence or trial proper; 'what it knew was proofs,' viz. oaths and ordeals, both being appeals to the supernatural. 'The *Beweisurteil* . . . awarded that one of the two litigants must prove his case, by his body in battle [bilateral ordeal], or by a one-sided ordeal, or by an oath with oath-helpers, or by the oaths of witnesses. The court had no desire to hear or weigh conflicting testimony.'[1] In ancient India the king judged 'by means of questions and even of ordeals.'[2] Among barbarous peoples the head-man, or more usually the medicine-man, superintends or administers the ordeal. In the early ages of Christian Europe the bishop or priest had a semi-official connexion with its administration, and in India the Brâhman. A special feature of the Teutonic ordeal was that 'the accused should perform its ritus himself; in no case could it be placed in the judge's hands.'[3] This to some extent prevented the inherent liability to abuse, which is instanced throughout—*e.g.*, in Africa, where the only chance of the accused person is to square the medicine-man. A recurring feature of the ordeal system is that the innocent are apt to demand the test, whereas the guilty dare not. As often as not, therefore, the innocent might be punished, but in many systems refusal to submit to the ordeal was itself regarded as tantamount to proof of guilt. In some cases the administrator submits to the test; in others proxies are allowed.[4]

Before describing the ordeal by its varieties, one or two ethnological points may be noted. At no time did Roman law have anything to do with the ordeal. It was known to the Greeks in its 'Aryan' forms,[5] but here again the law ignored it. The Chinese and American Indians similarly refused to develop the system. It is forbidden in the Qur'ân. The great spheres of prevalence of the ordeal are the Indian, African, and Teutonic peoples. In Africa the poison method predominates, in India and Europe the water, iron, and similar varieties; the freemen of early Europe preferred the battle ordeal.

It does not seem possible to detect any sequence of development in the different modes of ordeal either generally or in particular countries. Special conditions often dictate the mode adopted, as will appear below.

1. The poison ordeal.[6]—(*a*) This mode, predomi-

[1] 'Ordeal' is a modification of O.E. *ordâl* [*ordael*] or *ordêl*, the O.E. equivalent of a general Teutonic term, surviving in mod. Germ. *Urteil*, and having the original meaning of 'allotment,' 'dealing out,' 'judgement' (*OED*). Med. Lat. adopted the term as *ordalium, ordela*, but the more technical terms were *examinatio, purgatio, judicium* (du Cange, *Glossarium*, Niort, 1883–87, *s.v.* 'Ordela').
[2] *OED*, *s.v.*
[3] H. C. Lea, *Superstition and Force*[3], p. 218.
[4] J. Crawfurd, *Hist. of the Indian Archipelago*, Edinburgh, 1820, iii. 92, quoted by Westermarck, *MI* i. 504.
[5] J. L. Wilson, *Western Africa*, London, 1856, p. 136 f.

[1] C. P. Ilbert, art. 'Evidence,' in *EBr*[11] x. 11[b].
[2] *SBE* ii. [1897] 125, 170.
[3] J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, tr. J. S. Stallybrass, London, 1882–88, iii. 1108.
[4] See M. H. Kingsley, *Travels in W. Africa*, London, 1897, pp. 464, 490; Wilson, pp. 227, 398.
[5] Æschylus, frag. 284; Soph. *Ant.* 264 ff.
[6] See Lea, p. 327 ff.

nant in W. Africa, is closely connected with the prevalent phase of superstition, viz. the belief in witchcraft, according to which every death, other than violent, and every sickness is the result of evil magic. 'If you will read witchcraft as poison,' this state of affairs is better understood; and it is suggestive that the best remedy for witching is a 'brisk purgative and emetic,'[1] while the stock ordeal-water has similar properties.

Of the 'red-water' ordeal of N. Guinea J. L. Wilson wrote an account which deserves to rank as classical for the study of the primitive ordeal.

From the results of this ordeal 'there is and can be no appeal. Public opinion has long since acknowledged its perfect infallibility.' The 'red-water' is a 'decoction made from the inner bark of a large forest tree of the *mimosa* family.[2] The bark is pounded in a wooden mortar and steeped in fresh water. . . . It is of a reddish colour, has an astringent taste, and in appearance is not unlike the water of an ordinary tan-vat. . . . It is both an astringent and a narcotic, and when taken in large quantity is also an emetic.'

'A good deal of ceremony is used in connexion with the administration of the ordeal. The people . . . form themselves into a circle, and the pots containing the liquid are placed in the centre. . . . The accused then comes forward, having the scantiest apparel, but with a cord of palm-leaves bound round his waist, and seats himself in the centre of the circle. After his accusation is announced, he makes a formal acknowledgment of all the evil deeds of his past life, then invokes the name of God three times, and imprecates his wrath in case he is guilty of the particular crime laid to his charge. He then steps forward and drinks freely of the "red-water." If it nauseates and causes him to vomit freely, he suffers no serious injury, and is at once pronounced innocent. If, on the other hand, it causes vertigo and he loses his self-control, it is regarded as evidence of guilt. . . . A general howl of indignation rises from the surrounding spectators. Children and others are encouraged to hoot at him, pelt him with stones, spit upon him, and in many instances he is seized by the heels and dragged through the bushes and over rocky places until his body is shamefully lacerated and life becomes extinct.'[3] 'On the other hand, if he escapes without injury, his character is thoroughly purified and he stands on a better footing in society than he did before he submitted to the ordeal.' Later he arraigns his accusers, and these in their turn must submit to the ordeal or pay him a large fine. 'There is seldom any fairness in the administration of the ordeal. No particular quantity of the red-water is prescribed, and the amount administered always depends upon the state of feeling in the community towards the accused. . . . They are not fond of examining witnesses or scrutinising the evidences. . . . They suppose that the red-water itself possesses intelligence, and is capable of the clearest discrimination in all these doubtful cases. They suppose that when taken into the stomach, it lays hold of the element of witchcraft and at once destroys the life of the man.'[4]

In S. Guinea a decoction of the root of the shrub *nkazya* is used. 'If it acts freely as a diuretic it is a mark of innocence; but if as a narcotic and produces dizziness or vertigo, it is a sure sign of guilt. Small sticks are laid down at the distance of eighteen inches or two feet apart, and the suspected person, after he has swallowed the draught, is required to walk over them. If he has no vertigo, he steps over them easily and naturally; but, on the other hand, if his brain is affected, he imagines they rise up before him like great logs, and in his awkward effort to step over them, is very apt to reel and fall to the ground.'[5]

Among the Yoruba peoples the accused 'drinks *orisha*,' if there is not enough evidence. The *orisha* is a decoction of *odum* bark, and the priest is able to make it harmless or not. This powerful poison, if not at once rejected by the stomach, causes death, thus proving guilt. Its emetic effect often renders it harmless.[6] By boiling the infusion, by regulating the amount, or by allowing the poison to settle before administration, the witch-doctor is able to control to a considerable extent the action of this and other poisons.[7] In Calabar the famous 'Calabar bean' is used for the ordeal-water, or eaten without infusion.[8] As usual, if the recipient vomits, he is accounted innocent. A form of wager of law is reported, each litigant eating half a bean.[9] The 'great ju-ju' ordeal of Calabar, however, is *mbiam*. The accused recites a long imprecation, on these lines: 'If I have been guilty of this crime, then, Mbiam! thou deal with me.' The drink is compounded of blood and filth. In its action auto-suggestion seems to have an influence, as in other drinking and eating ordeals. The *mbiam* and other tests are also applied in the swearing of witnesses.[1] The Malagasy for their ordeal used the very poisonous *tanghin* nut (see ORDEAL [Malagasy]). Poison ordeals were used by the ancient Indians, arsenic or aconite being the medium, and absence of injurious effect proving innocence.[2]

(*b*) Pseudo-poisonous doses are frequently used; in some cases these are emetic, in others they act by superstitious auto-suggestion.

In ancient Greek folklore bull's blood was regarded as a poison. Before prophesying the priestess at Ægira drank a dose of this. Pausanias regarded it as an 'ordeal' or test of her chastity, Pliny as a means of inspiration.[3] As a method of legal ordeal the Masai drink a mixture of blood and milk. Possibly their custom of avoiding the combination of milk and flesh has something to do with the choice. The accused swears: 'O God, I drink this blood; if I have stolen the cattle this blood will kill me.' If he lives for a fortnight, he is regarded as innocent.[4] The Teniimberese drink their own blood after a sword has been dipped in it. In Aru (also of the Dutch E. Indies) a mixture of arrack, blood, and sea-water is employed.[5]

The following cases show the active principle of superstitious fear.

The Brāhman was exempt from the ordeal of the 'sacred libation'; so, too, were atheists (the condition is significant).[6] In this ordeal the accused drank water in which the images of 'terrible deities' had been bathed. While and after drinking, he faced the images, and said: 'I have not done this.' A fortnight was allowed for calamity to overtake him or not, as the case might be.[7] In an Ashanti ordeal 'an aggry bead is placed in a small vessel with some water; the person holding it puts his right foot against the right foot of the accused, who invokes the power of the bead to kill him if he is guilty, and then takes it into his mouth with a little of the water.'[8] The Melanesian magicians do a regular trade in legal ordeals. One method is for the accused to swallow a magic stone, supplied and heated by the magician. If no harm follows, innocence is proved.[9] In a Khond ordeal each of two litigants claiming a piece of land swallows a bit of earth therefrom; it is supposed to slay the false claimant.[10] According to certain Rabbis, the drinking by the Israelites of the dust of the golden calf was an ordeal; the guilty men were exposed by their beards turning red.[11] 'It is possible that the term 'bitter,' used of 'the water of jealousy,'[12] may imply a decoction similar to those of W. Africa, but there is no hint of such a drug in the accounts. When a woman was accused of adultery (for which alone the ordeal was employed), she was required to drink water in which dust from the Temple floor and a curse on parchment had been steeped and which had stood in the sacred laver. If innocent, she remained uninjured; if guilty, injury to thigh and belly (the instruments of the sin) was the result.[13]

Ancient and modern India and mediæval Europe employed a test which depends on the influencing of the masticatory processes.

In the rice ordeal the Hindu took into his mouth some grains of rice and ejected them on a *pipal*-leaf. If the grains were dry, his guilt was established. If they were moistened with saliva, he was innocent. Previously the rice was consecrated or charmed.[14] The same ordeal is employed in Indonesia.[15] In the Anglo-Saxon *corsned* or *nedbread* ordeal the accused ate morsels of bread and cheese consecrated and administered from the altar. If these were swallowed, innocence was proved. In the case of guilt 'God sent the angel Gabriel' to stop the victim's throat; and he would 'fail, dry-mouthed and choking through terror, to get it down.'[16] The mediæval ordeal of the

[1] Kingsley, p. 462.
[2] Popularly *sass-wood* (*sass* = 'bad'). It is known to all the Bantu tribes (Kingsley, p. 464). For its analysis see Lea, p. 223.
[3] Wilson, p. 225 f. [4] *Ib.* p. 227 f. [5] *Ib.* p. 398.
[6] A. B. Ellis, *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, London, 1894, p. 190 f.
[7] Lea, p. 222; Kingsley, p. 464.
[8] *Physostigma venenosum* (native *e-ser-e*) contains the important alkaloids, esserine (or physostigmine) and calabarine.
[9] Art. 'Calabar Bean,' in *EBr*[11] iv. 962[b].

[1] Kingsley, p. 465. On the poison ordeals of Africa see A. H. Post, *Afrikanische Jurisprudenz*, Oldenburg, 1887, ii. 110–120.
[2] E. Balfour, *Cyclopædia of India*[3], London, 1885, *s.v.* 'Ordeal'; *SBE* xxxiii. [1889] 114, vii. [1900] 53, 60 (berries of the *sringa*-tree). Elaborate details of Indian ordeal procedure are given in *SBE* vii. and xxxiii. ('Nārada's Laws') 100–117, and of the Iranian (33 ordeals) in *SBE* iv. *passim*.
[3] See J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias*, London, 1898, iv. 175.
[4] M. Merker, *Die Masai*, Berlin, 1904, p. 211.
[5] J. G. F. Riedel, *De Sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, Hague, 1886, pp. 284, 254.
[6] *SBE* vii. 54 f.
[7] *Ib.* vii. 60, xxxiii. 117; see Lea, p. 304.
[8] T. E. Bowdich, *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee*, London, 1819, p. 267.
[9] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, Oxford, 1891, p. 212.
[10] Lea, p. 225.
[11] G. W. Gilmore, in Schaff-Herzog, viii. 251[b], *s.v.* 'Ordeal'; Ex 32[20ff.].
[12] Nu 5[11-31].
[13] A. Macalister suggests 'wasting of the buttock (dislocation of the right thigh, Jos. *Ant.* III. xi. 6) and swelling of the abdomen, possibly ovarian dropsy,' in *HDB* iii. 326[a], *s.v.* 'Medicine'; L. Blau, in *JE*, *s.v.* 'Ordeal,' quotes *Ber.* 63*a*, and D. W. Amram, *ib.* i. 217[b], *s.v.* 'Adultery.'
[14] Balfour, *loc. cit.*; *SBE* xxxiii. 118, 318 (spitting blood was also a proof of guilt).
[15] Riedel, p. 441.
[16] Tylor, in *EBr*[11] xx. 174; this *judicium offae sive casei*, said to have been used at Alexandria about the 2nd cent., is practically the same as the *corsned*, 'trial-slice' (see du Cange, *s.v.* 'Corsned'); Lea, p. 299; Grimm, iii. 1109.

Eucharist was similar. The accused received the host, saying previously the 'intention' of the ordeal—'Si aliter est quam dixi et juravi, tunc hoc Domini nostri Jesu Christi corpus non pertranseat guttur meum, sed haereat in faucibus meis, strangulet me suffocet me ac interficiat me statim in momento.'[1]

2. Water ordeals.[2]—The plunging of a litigant or accused person in a river or lake is one of the most ancient tests among the Indo-European peoples, and, by a curious revival, also the latest to survive in Europe itself. It is mentioned in the Code of Ḥammurabi. The accused was required to plunge into a flowing stream; he was adjudged guilty if the water bore him away.[3] The usual proof of innocence is that the person immersed should sink; if he floats very soon after the plunge, he is guilty, 'rejected by the water.'[4]

This view is as early as the ancient Hindu ordeal; Manu says: 'He whom the water does not cast up is to be taken as truthful in his oath.'[5] Similarly, the Iranians held that Lake Frazdān 'receives what a righteous man throws in, but rejects the gift of the unrighteous.'[6] In modern times the Hindu has been called upon to repeat his oath while standing in a sacred tank—*e.g.*, that of the Lachman Kund in Ayodhya.[7] The ordeal of immersion among the early Germanic peoples saw the principle of rejection of the guilty by the water well developed: 'si aqua illum velut innoxium receperit—innoxii submerguntur aqua, culpabiles supernatant.' As was also the case in the boiling-water ordeal, the conditions of immersion were regulated by law. Even in the 9th cent. Hincmar recommended that 'he who is let down into the water for trial is to be fastened by a rope that he may not be in danger if the water received him as innocent.' A knot was tied on the rope to mark the depth of immersion proper to the case. The person was let down gently (*suaviter*) so as not to disturb the water.[8] Previously the water was blessed and a special mass was said. The accused was bound, perhaps to allow the water and his person to interact naturally. Possibly, in view of the preference of this ordeal in the trial of witches, which was the case even in the Middle Ages, the idea of the 'natural action' of an element was connected with the belief in the unnatural character of the witch—a principle which seems to have much to do with the modes of ordeal in general. The water ordeal was regarded in mediævalism as plebeian; the hot iron and the duel were patrician.[9] The epidemic superstitious fear of witchcraft, which is so curious a feature of the 16th and 17th centuries of European history,[10] reveals a mentality little superior to that of W. Africa, where the witch-doctor goes his rounds after every death. King James I. of England wrote in his *Daemonology*: 'It appeares that God hath appointed for a supernatural signe of the monstrous impietie of witches, that the water shall refuse to receive them in her bosom that have shaken off them the sacred water of baptism.'[11] The practice of 'ducking,' 'swimming,' or 'fleeting'[12] witches became almost a popular sport. The witch was 'stripped naked and crossbound, the right thumb to the left toe, and the left thumb to the right toe [large].'[13]

Both in India and in the E. Indian islands the test has been employed of keeping the head under water longer than the adversary. This is a naively harmless ordeal.

In Ceramlaut the litigants hold on to stakes fixed in the water; after taking their oaths they duck their heads below the surface, and the man first to emerge is adjudged the culprit. In Aru each litigant holds *sirih* in his hand, and the river of immersion is 'holy.'[14] The Dayaks have a similar test.[15] In the Hindu ordeal the parties entered the water; then a man shot an arrow, upon which they ducked under the water; to secure a favourable verdict it was necessary to remain under water until a man brought the arrow back. A sacred tank was a favourite scene for this ordeal.[16]

3. Boiling-liquid ordeals.—As is also the case with certain hot-iron or metal tests, the natural action of the heated element is set against the chance, infinitesimal but real, of escaping injury, by the reaction, hitherto not satisfactorily studied, of the skin; fire-walking 'miracles' and the harmless immersion of the hand in molten metal of a certain temperature are cases in point. But, as a rule, guilt or innocence is shown by greater or less proportion of injury done.

Hot water or oil is the mode most frequent in primitive ordeals.

In the Dutch E. Indies the test was to take an egg out of a vessel of boiling water or to touch molten lead.[1] The Dayaks employed boiling water,[2] the Malays boiling oil or molten tin.[3] In W. Africa the ordeal of boiling oil is usual for theft and adultery. The accused plunges an arm first in cold water and then in the hot oil; scalding is a proof of guilt. Wilson found that in some cases no scalding resulted, and thought that some special application was used. African chiefs periodically tested the virtue of their wives by this ordeal.[4] The Japanese and Ainus used the test of boiling water.[5] Dapper gives a vague account of a Sierra Leone ordeal, 'the water of cursing.' The water was a decoction of bark and herbs. The witch-doctor dipped his staff in this and dropped a little of the water on the accused saying, 'Is he guilty of this? If yea, then let it scald or burn him till the very skin come off.'[6] A Hindu method was to take a *masha* weight of gold out of boiling oil.[7] The Zend-Avesta speaks of the ordeal by boiling water, 'the truth-knowing water.' In it were placed incense, brimstone, and molten gold.[8] One of the most remarkable ordeals recorded is the Iranian ordeal of molten brass, in which a stream of molten metal was poured over the chest. Āturpat son of Māhraspand 'appealed to God's ordeal,' and had molten brass poured on his breast; he was unscathed. The words recited were, 'O Good Spirit, Ahura Mazda, by thy fire thou decidest between the opponents, according to the greater degree of piety and sanctity.'[9] It was also employed as an individual test of piety. Thus, Zoroaster underwent a series of ordeals administered by angels, and among them was this ordeal of molten brass.[10] Zoroaster, by the way, was said to have authorized 33 methods of ordeal.[11] The Germanic peoples continued a primitive method in the 'ordeal of the caldron.' This was to take a stone out of a vessel full of boiling water. As is frequently the case, the element was invoked to declare the truth—'O creature of water.' Two refinements appeared at an early date: the depth of immersion varied according to the enormity of the offence, and the measurement was made by tying a piece of string round the arm; or the stone was hung on a cord of a certain length. Another method was to use a weight (*cacabus*) instead of a stone. This varied in weight and required more or less time to extract. After immersion the scalded member was bandaged. The bandages were removed after three days, and the verdict was given according to the nature of the wounds.[12]

4. Hot-iron ordeals.[13]—The continued prevalence of this method, in various forms, is a remarkable feature of the history of ordeals.

Burckhardt has a suggestive observation in this connexion. The Bedawin as an ordeal make disputants lick a hot iron spoon; the one whose tongue is uninjured wins his case. If the iron is clean, and thoroughly white-hot, no injury need be received; if it is only red-hot, it would *touch* and burn the tongue (we italicize a significant word). Probably, he adds, administrators are aware of this difference and may know also of the possibility of dipping the hand with immunity in molten metal of a certain temperature.[14] Albertus Magnus, in his *de Mirabilibus*, wrote a receipt for protecting the skin. Central Africa is familiar with 'the ordeal of the hatchet.' The accused person repeats the words, 'If I have stolen the property of so and so, or committed this crime, let Mulungu [the deity] respond for me; but if I have not stolen, nor done this wickedness, may he save me.' The superintending witch-doctor passes the red-hot iron 'four times over the flat hand of the accused; and the people believe that if he is guilty his hand will be burned, but that, if innocent, he will suffer no injury.'[15] In ancient India also a red-hot hatchet was used. According to the *Upaniṣads*, the man knowing himself to be guilty is really burned when he grasps the heated axe, while the man who knows himself to be innocent is unharmed.[16] A ploughshare was also used;[17] this the accused licked with his tongue.[18] In the E. Indian Islands the headman places a piece of hot iron on the hands of the accused; while it is being heated, prayer is made to the coals.[19] Another method is for the accused to carry a ball or mass of hot iron a certain distance. The Greeks were familiar with this. In ancient India the accused walked, carrying the iron, through seven concentric circles,[20] distant apart so far that each was reached with a step. Some

1 F. Dahn, *Bausteine*, Berlin, 1879, ii. 16; see *MI* ii. 690.
2 See Lea, pp. 279–289; du Cange, *s.v.* 'Aquae frigidae judicium.'
3 H. Winckler, *Die Gesetze Hammurabis*, Leipzig, 1904, p. 10.
4 Lea, p. 280.
5 *SBE* xxv. [1886] 274.
6 Cf. *SBE* v. [1880] 86.
7 Balfour, *loc. cit.*
8 Du Cange, *s.v.* 'Aquae frigidae judicium.'
9 Lea, p. 283; du Cange, *s.v.* 'Aquae frigidae judicium.'
10 Lea, p. 287 ff.
11 Cf. *PC*[3] i. 141 f.
12 'Fleet' is dialectic for 'float' (causative).
13 J. Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, London, 1849, iii. 21.
14 Riedel, pp. 157, 254.
15 Balfour, *loc. cit.*
16 *SBE* vii. 59, xxxiii. 111 f.

1 Riedel, pp. 441, 254.
2 F. Patetta, *Le Ordalie*, p. 41.
3 Crawfurd, iii. 92.
4 Wilson, p. 228; Kingsley, p. 497.
5 Lea, p. 221.
6 O. Dapper, *Africa*, Eng. tr., London, 1670, p. 405.
7 Balfour, *loc. cit.*
8 *SBE* iv. [1895] 46, 49.
9 *Ib.* p. xlvii.
10 *SBE* xlvii. [1897] 159.
11 *Ib.* p. 74.
12 Lea, pp. 244–252; du Cange, *s.vv.* 'Aquae ferventis judicium,' 'Caldaria.'
13 See Lea, pp. 252–266; du Cange, *s.v.* 'Ferrum candens.'
14 J. L. Burckhardt, *Bedouins and Wahabys*, London, 1831, p. 69; and Tylor, in *EBr*[11] xx. 174[b].
15 J. L. Krapf, *Travels, etc., during Residence in E. Africa*, London, 1860, p. 173.
16 *SBE* i. [1900] 108 f.
17 Balfour, *loc. cit.*
18 *SBE* xxxiii. 319.
19 Riedel, pp. 379, 408, 441.
20 *SBE* vii. 57 f.

accounts suggest that the distance between each two circles was a foot. He was allowed to have leaves on his hands.[1] This ordeal was much in favour among the early Teutonic and Scandinavian peoples.[2] It is noteworthy that the principle of taking so many steps is found here as well as in India. The mass or bar of red-hot iron was carried a distance of nine feet or nine steps. Next to the wager of battle this ordeal had the most elaborate regulations.[3] It was allowed only to freemen, and only to such as were unable through sickness or such incapacitation as the loss of a limb[4] to take the wager of battle; it was also allowed to the clergy. The Laws of Athelstan give very full details. The person fasted before the test, bathed, made confession, and received absolution. His hand was 'sealed'[5] for some days previously, to prevent the use of methods to render the skin proof. These methods were discussed and believed in. As with other ordeals, the priests superintended and managed the test, and a special mass with special benediction of the iron was said. The hand, just before the test, was sprinkled with holy water, after the seal had been removed. According to the theory of *lada* or *purgatio*, used in all ordeals, the test was *simplex* for lesser charges and *triplex* for greater. Here the difference was in the weight of the iron, one or three pounds. The person carried the iron the proper distance and deposited it. His hand was bound up and sealed, and examined on the third day for verdict. The Danes seem to have used an iron glove, heated. The Teutons also used nine red-hot ploughshares; one step was taken on each, and the whole sole was to be pressed on it.[6] Melanesians have a curious ordeal in which the two litigants throw catches to one another with a red-hot stone, supplied by the shaman. The worse injured loses.[7]

5. Fire ordeals.—Walking[8] through a mass of burning fuel is a not infrequent ordeal.

It has always been known in India, a heap of burning *pipal*-leaves being used.[9] The virtuous Sitā proved her innocence to her husband Rāma by passing through the fire.[10] The Iranians seem to have used not only the ordeal in which molten metal was poured on the chest, but also walking on fire.[11] The Siamese walk over a pit of burning charcoal.[12] The Hindu theory personalized the fire, as it did the water; the fire, rather than harm the innocent, restrained its natural action; he whom the blazing fire burns not, whom the water forces not to come up, must be held innocent.[13] In early Europe the hand was held in a fire, or the person walked between two masses of burning logs.[14] It is possible, as has been suggested, that the folk-custom of leaping over bonfires is a survival or playful adaptation of these ordeals.[15]

6. Ordeal by combat.[16]—This is the most famous of legal wagers, and is a natural development from the most elemental method of settling a quarrel. As an ordeal, in which victory proves the justice of a cause, it embodies the principle that might is right; but, in order to be specifically an ordeal, combat must involve the element of supernatural interference. The victor wins, not by his own strength, but by the help of the god of justice. In mediæval theory chance was eliminated, though, curiously enough, it is probably the idea of chance, of risking a fall, that lies at the root of the ordeal-method generally. The result of the wager of battle, in mediæval theory, was an immediate judgment of God; the savage might ascribe it to the action of superior *mana*, magic, or spirits. We frequently, however, find restrictions imposed with the object of handicapping force by luck.

According to the *hagalangang* custom of some natives of Borneo, 'both parties are placed in boxes at a distance of seven fathoms opposite one another, the boxes being made of nibong laths and so high as to reach a man's breast. Then both receive a sharpened bamboo of a lance's length to throw at each other at a given signal. The wounded person is supposed to be guilty.'[1]

The connexion between the ideas of pure chance and absolute fairness is well illustrated by such cases.

The Homeric Greeks practised what resembled the wager of battle, and it was known to the Japanese.[2] It does not seem to have been developed by the Indians. The Scandinavian and Teutonic peoples have chiefly exploited it. A curious exception is the Anglo-Saxons, and the wager of battle was unknown in England until introduced by William the Conqueror.[3] The duel was an ordeal among the Teutons in pagan times when there was any doubt as to the guilt of the accused person. It was one application of the Scandinavian *hólmgang*. As the Christianized peoples of N. Europe developed their civilization, this institution became more popular and was the *judicium Dei par excellence*. The Church connived at it, though in theory denouncing it.[4] Confined to freemen, it was assisted towards its popularity by the general character of chivalry and especially by the tourney, which lent it all the pomp and circumstance of knightly contests. In its turn the judicial duel supplied forms for the joust and the tourney. The *gaige de bataille* was flung down, and the words 'Laissez aller' were the signal for commencing. The fight was *à outrance*; the body of the vanquished was hung in chains or mutilated.[5] The arms of the combatants were previously blessed. The intention was to saturate them with sanctity or to increase their natural sanctity.[6]

Each person confirmed the assertion of the justice of his cause 'by a solemn oath on the Gospels or on a relic of approved sanctity, and called upon God to grant victory to the right. . . . Defeat was thus not merely the loss of the suit, but also a conviction of perjury, to be punished as such.'[7]

One merit of combat was that of correcting 'the abuses of compurgation by oath.' A Burgundian king gave as a reason for authorizing the wager of battle that men might 'no longer take oaths upon uncertain matters, or forswear themselves upon certain.' Charlemagne and Otto II. delivered similar pronouncements.[8] It was thus an attempt to obviate the inherent defects of Teutonic law, and was a considerable obstacle accordingly to the development of Roman judicial principles. After the abolition of other legal ordeals in England in the 13th cent., the wager of battle survived unimpaired.[9] The right to demand this ordeal was actually claimed in England in 1818 by a man accused of murder. It was then formally abolished.[10]

Single combats between champions of armies have some similarity to the wager of battle. That between David and Goliath involved supernatural interference. It was a Frankish custom for the respective princes to fight one another if their armies could not decide the battle.[11]

'In most European countries,' Westermarck sums up, 'the judicial duel survived the close of the Middle Ages, but disappeared shortly afterwards. . . . From an early period Councils and popes had declared against it, but with little success; many ecclesiastics, indeed, not only connived at the practice, but authorised it, and questions concerning the property of churches and monasteries were decided by combat. There were other more powerful causes at work—the growth of communes, devoted to the arts of peace, seeking their interest in the pursuits of industry and commerce, and enjoying the advantage of settled and permanent tribunals; the revival of Roman law, which began to undermine all the institutions of feudalism; the ascendancy of the royal power in its struggle against the nobles; the increase of enlightenment, the decrease of superstition. But though finally banished from the courts of justice, the duel did not die. In the sixteenth century, when the judicial combat faded away, the duel of honour began to flourish.'[12]

Thus there was a return to the conditions from which the wager of battle arose. See, further, art. DUELLING.

7. Miscellaneous ordeals.—From a large assort-

---

[1] *SBE* xxxiii. 108 f.

[2] Du Cange, *s.v.* 'Ferrum candens'; J. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*[4], Leipzig, 1899, p. 918 ff. (Scandinavian *jernbyrd*).

[3] See du Cange, *s.v.* 'Ferrum candens.'

[4] *Mahemium.* [5] *Insigillare.*

[6] Du Cange, *s.vv.* 'Ferrum candens,' 'Vomeres igniti,' 'Pedale examen.'

[7] Codrington, p. 212. [8] Lea, pp. 266–270.

[9] Balfour, *loc. cit.*; *pipal* is *Ficus religiosa.*

[10] Stenzler, in *ZDMG* ix. 669, quoted by Tylor, *EBr*[11] xx. 174[b]; cf. the story of the wife of Charles the Fat passing the fire unscathed in a waxed shift (Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer, loc. cit.*).

[11] *SBE* xlvii. 74, 159. [12] Balfour, *loc. cit.*

[13] Manu (*SBE* xxv. 274).

[14] Du Cange, *s.v.* 'Ignis judicium.'

[15] *PC*[3] i. 84 f.; 'to haul over the coals' is so explained by J. Jamieson, *Etymological Dict. of Scottish*, Edinburgh, 1808.

[16] Lea, pp. 93–216; C. de Smedt, *Le Duel judiciaire et l'église*; du Cange, *s.v.* 'Duellum.'

[1] C. A. L. M. Schwaner, *Borneo*, Amsterdam, 1853, i. 212, quoted in *MI* i. 504.

[2] *Iliad*, iii. 276 ff.; Lea, p. 99.

[3] Lea, p. 105; Tylor, in *EBr*[11] xx. 175[a].

[4] Patetta, p. 179 ff.; Lea, p. 103 ff.; Tylor, in *EBr*[11] xx. 175[a].

[5] Froissart, iii. ch. 49; O. de la Marche, *Le Livre de l'advis de gaige de bataille*, ed. B. Prost, Paris, 1872, pp. 15, 19; du Cange, *s.v.* 'Duellum.'

[6] *MI* i. 506. [7] *Ib.* i. 505. [8] *Ib.*

[9] A.D. 1215–19. A *summa de pugna*, giving the detailed scheme of procedure, is printed by Patetta, p. 478 ff.; another order of battle, more detailed, is printed by du Cange, *s.v.* 'Duellum.'

[10] Tylor, in *EBr*[11], *s.v.* 'Ordeal.' [11] *Ib.* [12] *MI* i. 507.

ment of ingenious tests a few of the more conspicuous may be mentioned, as bearing upon the principles and origin of the ordeal.

There is a Melanesian ordeal in which the accused person is shot at with arrows from a certain distance. A hit means guilt.[1] At the other extreme is the Indo-Iranian ordeal of holding and swearing by a twig of a sacred tree. Here superstitious fear and a guilty conscience are in view. Leaves of basil, sacred to Viṣṇu, were used by the Hindus.[2] A very practical ordeal was invented by some Melanesian medicine-men; the accused person had to swim across a river infested with alligators, after these had been specially summoned by the medicine-man.[3] The same people worked also on the guilty conscience; and, since fear of tabu is known to cause sickness and death, it may be concluded that similar success attended the practice of the ordeal. The accused touched a spear and swore, 'If I did the thing, may I die with this spear.' Or the medicine-man sang a *saka* song, and the accused said, 'Well, that song is for me; if I did that, let me and my children suffer.'[4] Other tests of endurance besides that of holding the head under water are found. In early Europe there was the ordeal of the cross. The two litigants stood before a cross, with arms out-stretched (like the cross which they faced), and the first to let his arms drop was the vanquished.[5] In a Hindu ordeal the two persons stood on one leg, which was fixed in the ground, till one or other gave in.[6] A curious ordeal, which can hardly be credited with any success due to influence upon the nervous system, is that of the balance. In this Hindu ordeal the accused was weighed in a large pair of scales. His weight was taken by a basket of stones or other equivalent, and he then re-entered the scale. If he was lighter than before, he was innocent; if heavier, guilty.[7] The ordeal of *examen in mensuris* is mentioned in early European *benedictiones*, but its meaning is doubtful. Possibly it was a comparison of measurements of the accused taken at intervals.[8] The Hawaiian ordeal of *wai haalulu* involved a nervous reaction; the accused had to hold his hands over a bowl of water; if the water shook, he was adjudged guilty.[9] In the ordeal, or rather confrontation, known to the early English as bier-right the accused had to approach or touch the corpse of the murdered man. If he was guilty, the wounds bled afresh. In the *Nibelungenlied* the wounds of the dead Siegfried break open when Hagen approaches. Shakespeare uses the same motive. The phenomenon of blood liquefaction has been suggested as the principle of this ordeal. Or there may have been a belief that the soul remains near the body till vengeance is taken; by the murderer's touch it was roused to indignation and appeared in the form of blood.[10]

8. Ordeal by lot.[11]—The principle of chance enters into many ordeals; in some it seems to be the main element.

In a Hindu ordeal a ring and a live cobra were placed in a pot full of earth; the accused had to find and take out the ring with his hand. In another he had to draw one of two small images from a vessel, the image of justice or that of injustice, *dherem* or *adherem*.[12] In the *borru* ordeal of the Niam-niam the witch-doctor moistens two pieces of polished wood and slides one upon the other. If it glides smoothly, the man is innocent.[13] The W. African witch-doctor uses a pot and its lid. Repeating the names of suspected persons he takes off the lid at each name and looks in the pot. When the lid sticks, the name then uttered is that of the guilty person. This kind of symbolic work shows that the witch-doctor is absolute master of the law. The crudest case perhaps is his going round the village ringing his bell, which stops at the hut of the guilty person. The natives' only method of obtaining justice, as also of avoiding punishment when guilty, is to bribe the doctor.[1] Indians of the N.W. Provinces balance two arrows; one of these moves in the direction of the hand of the accused.[2] Mediæval Europe had a test in which a loaf of consecrated bread was hung between two witnesses by means of a stick passed through it. If it turned round, the accused was guilty. A similar method was that of the sieve, though used only unofficially, both by the ancient Greeks and by Europeans of the Middle Ages.[3] Held by the two middle fingers, the sieve turned over when the name of the culprit was mentioned.[4] Similarly a Psalter or Bible was hung by a key tied in it at Ps 50[18]—'When thou sawest a thief, then thou consentedst with him.' The ring of the key was balanced on the fingers, and the book turned or fell at the mention of the guilty person's name. Sometimes the ruling was that, if it turned from west to east, guilt was established; if from east to west, innocence.[5] In the above cases there may have been at work the same phenomena of muscular suggestion as in table-turning. In a Burmese ordeal plaintiff and defendant took candles of equal length, and lighted them simultaneously; judgment was for him whose candle lasted the other out.[6] Possibly some kind of lot ordeal is involved in the narrative of Jos 7[18ff.]; 1 S 14[41] proves the existence of such a test. A Dayak ordeal between litigants reduces the method to an almost frivolous plane. Each man is represented by a shell-fish on a plate; these are irritated by a sprinkling of lime juice, and the first to wriggle settles the innocence or guilt according to prearrangement.[7]

9. Origin of the ordeal.—Apart from the abuses which discredited the ordeal, the method possesses a real psychological merit. It challenges the accused person who protests his innocence to put that innocence to a dangerous physical test. The man conscious of guilt must be very strong-minded, in a superstitious, or any, age, to run the risk. If, as often happened, he refused to do so, the law punished him with torture or retribution appropriate to his crime. The demerit of the method is in its treatment of the innocent. He is bound by mere considerations of self-preservation to embrace the ordeal. In a superstitious age he has full confidence in its fairness, *i.e.* in its upholding of the right. Apart from superstition, he is in the position of a gambler who has a 'certainty,' and cannot refuse to put it to the touch. And the records again and again hint that self-confidence or consciousness of innocence has, at least occasionally, served as a mysterious factor of immunity.

In social psychology the ordeal has connexions with torture, divination, oath, and wager. Metaphor consistently repeats the idea of torture, not only risked, but, as a rule, undergone. This is a popular recognition of the great odds against immunity. The guilty person who submits to the ordeal and is injured is *ipso facto* in receipt of a punishment. But the idea of punishment does not appear to have connected itself with the ordeal, except in some European refinements, where a litigant outsworn was bound to submit to an ordeal, the result of which had no bearing on his case.[8] With regard to torture, Lea remarks that ordeal and torture are 'virtually substitutes for each other'; they have rarely co-existed.[9] In W. Africa, when an accused person denies his guilt, but refuses to submit to the ordeal, he is tortured. This is quite a logical conclusion from the principle of the ordeal.[10] It amounts to a compulsory submission to the ordeal. Psychologically, the successful endurance of torture applied, *e.g.*, for the extraction of evidence, is equivalent to the passing of an ordeal by an innocent man, and popular language describes both in similar terms.

1 Codrington, p. 213.
2 *SBE* xxxvii. [1892] 55; Balfour, *loc. cit.*
3 Codrington, p. 213. 4 *Ib.*
5 J. P. Kirsch, art. 'Ordeal,' in *CE*; Lea, p. 296.
6 Lea, p. 299.
7 *SBE* vii. 53, 56 f., xxxiii. 105 (the *tolā* ordeal); Balfour, *loc. cit.* 9 *MI* ii. 689.
8 Kirsch, *loc. cit.*
10 Lea, p. 315 ff.; Tylor, in *EBr*[11], *s.v.* 'Ordeal'; Shakespeare, *Richard III.*, act. i. sc. ii.; Brand, iii. 231; *MI* ii. 690.
11 Lea, pp. 311–315. 12 Balfour, *loc. cit.*; Lea, p. 311.
13 Lea, p. 223.

1 Lea, p. 223; Kingsley, p. 464. 2 Balfour, *loc. cit.*
3 Kirsch, *loc. cit.*
4 'Sieve-turning,' 'coscinomancy'; Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, iii. 1108 f.; Tylor, in *EBr*[11], *s.v.* 'Ordeal'; Theocritus, iii. 31.
5 Brand, iii. 35; Tylor, *EBr*[11], *s.v.* 'Ordeal.'
6 Shway Yoe, *The Burman*, London, 1882, ii. 254.
7 S. B. St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, London, 1862, i. 89.
8 Lea, p. 339 ff. 9 *Ib.* p. 371. 10 Kingsley, p. 464.

Most observers have noted the similarity between the ordeal and the primitive oath. The Nahuas, who practised no ordeals, made witnesses swear an oath, putting the forefinger to the earth and then to the tongue.[1] An oath has been regarded as an ordeal.[2] Tylor acutely observed that an oath, of the primitive concrete variety, becomes an ordeal when the curse takes effect at once.[3] Conversely, many ordeals involve waiting days, weeks, or months, before their issue is revealed. Westermarck has developed the connexion of the ordeal with the oath.

'The ordeal is essentially a magical ceremony. In many cases at least, it contains a curse or an oath which has reference to the guilt or innocence of a suspected person, and the proper object of the ordeal is then to give reality to the imprecation for the purpose of establishing the validity or invalidity of the suspicion.'[4]

An oath was 'an indispensable preliminary' to every wager of battle, and failure was perjury, to be punished as such. It is curious that one object of the judicial duel was 'to correct the abuses of compurgation by oath.'[5]

In W. African ordeals great importance is attached to the reciting of the oath.[6] The point of these oaths is the imprecation of the special result of the ordeal; but, when this result is practically certain, the oath is rarely used. In India one word, *ṣapatha*, denoted both 'oath' and 'ordeal,'[7] but the fact proves nothing but similarity. The oath, with its conditional curse (see art. CURSING AND BLESSING), is certainly a variety of the same species as the ordeal, but neither need be derived from the other. They proceeded on separate lines, the one on verbal, the other on physical. Both, in all probability, are derived from the elemental factor of a belief in luck or chance.

A distinction may be noted between the primitive and the barbarous conceptions of the ordeal. In mediæval Europe there was an appeal to the immediate judgment of God. Later, both oath and ordeal were 'appeals to the moral nature of the divinity.' But in savage theology the god, or his equivalent, is a mere tool in the hand of the person invoking him. Thus Westermarck rightly concludes that the idea of ordeal is not 'primordially based on the belief in an all-knowing, all-powerful, and just god, who protects the innocent and punishes the guilty, but that it largely springs from the same notion as underlies the belief in the efficacy of an oath,'[8] *i.e.* the mechanical power of cursing.[9]

Lea observes that the ordeal in its appeal to the supernatural or to chance made a great step towards practical justice. Tylor emphasizes the relation between the ordeal and the idea of chance; and there is little doubt that the concept of luck, itself patently primitive, is the root element in the ordeal. Many ordeals shade into divinatory processes, and the wager element, the risking of odds, is absent from no form of ordeal. The mechanism of magic seems to be quite secondary—to be, in fact, the mechanism by which luck works or may be worked by the operator. And this possibility of 'working the oracle' is no less prominent in primitive than in civilized affairs. When the Australian bier-carriers ask the dead man who bewitched him, and the bier moves to touch the guilty person, or when the W. African corpse causes the bearers to dash against the house of the murderer,[10] there is 'special knowledge' being applied in what is apparently a 'gamble.'

[1] H. H. Bancroft, *NR*, San Francisco, 1882–83, ii. 444.
[2] Lea, p. 323.
[3] Tylor, *EBr*[11], *s.v.* 'Ordeal.'
[4] *MI* ii. 687 *f.*; see i. 505.
[5] *Ib.* i. 505.
[6] Kingsley, p. 465.
[7] *MI* ii. 689, quoting J. Jolly, *ZDMG* xliv. [1890] 346, and Patetta, p. 14.
[8] *MI* i. 505, ii. 687.
[9] Lea, p. 93.
[10] E. J. Eyre, *Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia*, London, 1845, ii. 344; Wilson, p. 281.

Even Roman law in classical times approved the method of the wager at law. The concept of abstract justice and fairness seems to have developed from a primary notion of chance. One of its embodiments is the ordeal; magic and religion came in as reinforcing agents.

LITERATURE.—Federico Patetta, *Le Ordalie*, Turin, 1890; H. C. Lea, *Superstition and Force*[3], Philadelphia, 1878; E. Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, London, 1906; E. B. Tylor, art. 'Ordeal' in *EBr*[11]; C. H. Funkhänel, *Philologus*, ii. [1847] 385–402; A. F. Stenzler, *ZDMG* ix. [1855] 661–682; J. Kohler, *ZVRW* v. [1884] 368–376; C. de Smedt, *Les Origines du duel judiciaire*, Paris, 1894, *Le Duel judiciaire et l'église*, do. 1895; F. Dahn, *Studien zur Gesch. der germanischen Gottesurtheile*[2], Berlin, 1880.

A. E. CRAWLEY.

ORDEAL (Arabian and Muhammadan). — I. *ARABIA.*—The heathen Arabs, like many other primitive peoples, had recourse to ordeals when the truth could not be detected by other means.

1. **Oaths.**—In the first place, the oath, strengthened by imprecations, was generally regarded as a sort of ordeal. He who swore invoked by means of magical formulæ the wrath of God and all sorts of misfortunes, either upon himself if he was lying or upon others if they had committed some crime against him. Often fifty of his nearest relatives had to swear with him in order to strengthen the magical effect of the oath. No one doubted that the supernatural powers would punish the perjurers. The following instance is mentioned by Bukhārī:

A man of the Hudhail was slain by a Yemenite. The Hudhailites brought the murderer before 'Umar. The defence was that the slain, being formerly expelled by the Hudhailites themselves, was an outlaw. Fifty men of the Hudhailites swore that this was a lie, and the murderer was condemned. But divine judgment followed soon after; for, when the party returned, the perjurious Hudhailites were killed by the falling in of the cave in which they had taken shelter from rain (*Ṣaḥīḥ*, Leyden, 1908, iv. 323 [*diyāt* 22]; cf. J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*[2], Berlin, 1897, p. 188, for another example).

The judicial oath in early Arabia was taken by the plaintiff, or by the defendant, or sometimes by both. The old Arabic names of the oath, *jamīn* (*i.e.* the right hand, held forth in magical attitude) and *casāmah*, show clearly the connexion between exorcism and oath (see R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, Leyden, 1877–81, ii. 345[b]; and J. Pedersen, *Der Eid bei den Semiten* [*Der Islam*, iii., Supplement], Strassburg, 1914, p. 11 ff.). Magical practices resembling the oath were employed also in order to get back stolen property. If a man missed something, he proclaimed it in the market or some other place of assembly, cursing the unknown thief if he should refuse to restore the stolen object (Wellhausen, p. 192). Among the Bedawīn tribes many of the old ceremonies are still in use. A person suspected of having committed a crime is placed in a magical circle drawn on the ground and must swear an oath (several instances of this custom are given by J. L. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*, London, 1831, i. 127 ff.; C. Landberg, 'Notes sur quelques serments et pratiques sacramentales chez les Bédouins de l'Arabie,' *Arabica*, v. [Leyden, 1898] 121 ff.; A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, Paris, 1908, p. 188; A. Musil, *Arabia Petræa*, Vienna, 1907–08, iii. 338; Pedersen, p. 152).

2. **Fire ordeal.**—The fire ordeal was also well known in early Arabia. Every tribe, says Abū 'Ubaidah (*ap.* Jauharī, *Ṣaḥāḥ*, Cairo, 1282, *s.v.* 'Haul'), had a sacred fire with a priest. When a question was to be decided, the two disputants were placed at the fire and swore to their statements. The one who was in the right had nothing to fear; but his adversary was often hurt or even devoured by the fire. An instance of the fire test in Yemen is found in Ibn Hishām (ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1859, i. 17; see, further, Wellhausen, p. 189).

In modern Arabia the fire ordeal (*bishā'ah*) has

another form. The litigating parties come before the so-called *mubasshī*, who heats a sword, a spoon, or some other object, in the fire. Each of the disputants must lick the hot iron, and the one whose tongue becomes severely hurt loses his case (see Burckhardt, i. 121; Landberg, p. 162 ff.; I. Goldziher, 'Das Strafrecht im Islam,' *Zum ältesten Strafrecht der Kulturvölker: Beantwortung der Fragen zur Rechtsvergleichung*, ed. T. Mommsen, Leipzig, 1905, p. 108).

3. The 'arrāf.—Another ordeal was applied by the *'arrāf*, the holy man in early Arabia, who was said to be endowed with special talent for detecting crimes. He placed the suspected persons in a circle, took a jug between his index fingers, uttered magic formulæ, and went along the row with the jug. When he came to the thief, the jug began to turn by itself in the *'arrāf's* hand (see Maidānī, *Arab Proverbs*, Cairo, 1310, and many edd., ch. xviii. no. 103, ch. xxiv. no. 494; G. W. Freytag, *Einleitung in das Studium der arab. Sprache*, Bonn, 1861, p. 159; Wellhausen, p. 207; other methods of detecting witches, murderers, thieves, and other sinners by means of ordeals are described by H. von Maltzan, *Reise nach Südarabien*, Brunswick, 1873, p. 263 ff.; Wellhausen, pp. 189, 207; and C. M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Cambridge, 1888, ii. 188).

II. *ISLĀM.*—Islām forbade all sorts of exorcism and, properly speaking, the ordeals which are still in use among the Bedawīn tribes are in opposition to the prescripts of Islām. The only survival of the old ordeals in Muslim legal procedure is the judicial oath, either of the defendant or of the plaintiff; witnesses, according to Muhammadan law, do not swear an oath that they will speak the truth (see art. LAW [Muhammadan], vol. vii. p. 880).

In two special cases the old form of the heathen oath with imprecations is still used in Islām. (1) When a husband suspects his wife of infidelity, he may accuse her of adultery and contest the legitimacy of her child, invoking God four times as a witness that he is speaking the truth and calling down His curses if he has lied; then the marriage is dissolved, and the wife must be punished for adultery, unless she swears four times by Allāh that her husband has lied, invoking God's wrath upon herself if her husband has spoken the truth (see Qur'ān, xxiv. 6–9). This is called *li'ān*, 'mutual imprecation.' (2) When a person is killed and his next of kin accuses somebody of the murder without being able to prove his accusation, two cases are to be distinguished. When the circumstances under which the murder took place make it probable that the accuser is right, the judge requires him to confirm his accusation fifty times by oath (*casāmah*), and, when the accuser has sworn these oaths, the accused person is regarded as guilty and must pay the blood-price. But, when the charge seems unfounded, the accused person is liberated if he swears fifty times that the accuser is in the wrong. In both cases the fiftyfold oath seems to be a Muhammadan form of the old heathen *casāmah*, sworn by fifty men of a tribe.

The Muslim feeling is that the perjurer will not escape the evil consequences of his sin, but the law does not prescribe a special punishment for him, the oath rather being by itself an ordeal.

LITERATURE.—This is sufficiently cited throughout.

TH. W. JUYNBOLL.

ORDEAL (Babylonian).—Although magic forms an extremely important element in the religion of the Sumero-Babylonians, nevertheless their sound sense of justice and high development of law prevented the adoption of the ordeal in judicial procedure, except in those cases where the truth could not be discovered by real evidence. The only survival of this primitive practice which is recognized in the great Code of Ḫammurabi, a code adopted as the foundation of all Babylonian and Assyrian practice at law, is the test of the water ordeal for witchcraft. The second law of this code records the following ritual:

'If a gentleman has cast the accusation of witchcraft against a gentleman and failed to prove it against him, he against whom the accusation of witchcraft has been cast shall go to the river; having plunged into the river, if the river overcome him, his accuser[1] shall seize his house. But if the river declare that gentleman clean and he be rescued, he that cast the accusation of witchcraft against him shall be put to death. He that plunged into the river shall seize the house of his accuser.'

Although we possess many tablets which record the settlement of all kinds of lawsuits, yet none has been found to exemplify this law for the examination of sorcerers. It is probable that the law is only an antiquated remnant of an ancient ceremony no longer practised. But the water ordeal probably survived, and was apparently resorted to in some less dangerous form to settle disputes to which the ordinary methods could not apply.

E.g., in the Cassite period the king Adadshumiddin bestowed an estate of a man who died without heirs upon the deceased's brother. The son of the deceased's daughter contested against his great-uncle, and the king rejected his claim; the son of another sister of the deceased sued for a portion of the estate in the reign of the succeeding king, who decided against him. In the reign of the next king arose a certain man (Aḫudarū) who claimed to be the brother of the original owner, and he accused the owner confirmed by two preceding kings of having been no brother at all. Since the latter owner was now dead, his son was in possession, and the reigning king, obviously in doubt, not only called in the surviving brothers of the original owner, but ordered an ordeal[2] between the son of the confirmed owner and the pseudo-brother of the original owner.[3] But the pseudo-brother did not come to the ordeal,[4] and died the same year. Thereupon the king put the son of this pseudo-brother to the ordeal with the son of the previously confirmed owner.[5] The ordeal took place in the city Parakmāri, but the ritual is not described. The result was that the son of the owner confirmed by two preceding kings was declared clean.[6] Obviously the ordeal, if it consisted in plunging into the river, did not involve the drowning of the guilty man as in the ordeal of the wizard in the Code.

We have probably to do here with a modified form of the water ordeal. That it really is a water ordeal performed on the bank of a river is proved by a passage in the Babylonian Job, where the triumphant sufferer proclaims his deliverance from unjust torture.

'At the shore of the river where (men) ban[7] the lawsuits of mankind,
My forehead was sheared of the mark of a slave. . . .'[8]

The Babylonian scholars wrote the following comment upon this passage:

'"Shore of the river" means "oracle of God."'

We have here the same phrase for the ordeal as that employed in the Cassite lawsuit described above.[9] As late as the 7th cent. we find a lawsuit settled by this water (?) ordeal in the reign of Shamash-shum-ukîn.[10]

[1] The nominal verb employed here, *mu-ub-bi-ir*, really means 'he who accuses of sorcery.' The verb *ḫabāru* > *ebēru* means originally 'to bind,' 'to surround,' and is employed in the *pi'el* for 'to bind by a curse,' 'to ban,' 'to accuse of banning,' and also in the reduced sense of 'to accuse' simply, and may be employed of ordinary accusations.

[2] That the passage refers to an ordeal was recognized first by Peiser, *OLZ* xiv. 477. The phrase is written partly in ideograms *ḪAR ša DINGIR*, and means 'oracle of god.'

[3] *Dup-pa ana tērti ša ili iltaraššunutinnma*, 'he wrote them a tablet (ordering them) to an oracle of god' (L. W. King, *Babylonian Boundary Stones and Memorial-Tablets in the British Museum*, London, 1912, p. 16, iv. 38).

[4] *Ana tērti ša ili la illik* (*ib.* v. 4). [5] *Ib.* p. 17. 14.

[6] *Ina tērti ša ili ina āli Parak-māri ilu Marduk-kudurri-uṣur izkamma*, 'by the oracle of god, in the city Parakmāri, Marduk-kudurri-uṣur was clean' (*ib.* p. 17. 17 f.).

[7] *Ibbirru*, lit. 'they bind,' *i.e.* put a case to a magic test.

[8] Text not wholly certain (V. Rawlinson, 47*b*, 30).

[9] In the reign of Nabu-mukîn-apli of the VIIIth dynasty occurred a long and intricate lawsuit in which the king took part. Here again the king orders two litigants in a minor affair to pass the ordeal (*ana tērti ili iḳpurma*, 'he sent them to the oracle of god') and one of them 'was found clean' (*izkamma*) (King, p. 66. 3–5).

[10] Peiser, *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, iv. [1896] 168, no. ii. 6–7.

More often the ordeal of the oath was employed in cases which could not be settled by direct evidence.

E.g., in the reign of Sinmuballiṭ of the Ist Babylonian dynasty the heirs of an estate sued the business partner of their father and obtained the value of the father's business. The case was settled in the temple of the sun-god before nine witnesses, and the heirs signed an agreement not to complain again. But, having suspicion that this business partner was still retaining part of the estate, they sued him again before a judge who caused him to come to the temple of the sun-god and pass the ordeal of the oath. 'Erib-sin he gave over to the temple of Shamash for cleansing. At the great gate he swore "Whatsoever belonged to Girragamil from straw to gold is not in my possession," and so annulled their complaint.'[1]

The Code of Ḫammurabi also recognizes the ordeal of the oath as a means of self-rectification when no evidence can be adduced.

E.g. § 20 provides for the case of a man who has captured a runaway slave and failed to guard him until he could be handed over to his owner. The captor was supposed to have exercised all possible care to prevent the escape of the slave, and he is put to the ordeal of the oath. If he swears in the name of a god that such was the case, he clears himself of suspicion.

The Code provides the same ordeal for an agent who, when travelling for a merchant, is robbed of his money or goods. In that case, the agent being alone, no evidence could be adduced to prove that he had been robbed or that he had disposed of the goods for his own benefit. If he takes an oath in the name of a god that he has been robbed, he establishes his innocence.[2]

The ordinary legal expression for taking the ordeal of the oath is 'to make a cleansing[3] before god.'

Thus § 266 of the Code provides for a shepherd whose flock has been visited by some scourge or preyed upon by a lion. In either case he is not responsible to the owner for the loss. 'The shepherd before god shall make a cleansing and the owner of the sheepfold shall take upon himself the damage to the fold.'

In the division of inheritance the eldest brother usually acts as executor, and he often submits to the ordeal of the oath before the emblem of a god, obviously to free himself from any suspicion of having defrauded the other heirs.[4] Owing to the terminology and the practice here described, the place in the temples where men took the ordeal of the oath was called 'the place of cleansing.'[5]

LITERATURE.—F. E. Peiser, 'Zum Ordal bei den Babyloniern,' *OLZ* xiv. [1911] 477–479. On the closely related subject of the oath see OATH (Semitic).

S. LANGDON.

ORDEAL (Celtic).—The main references to the use of the ordeal among the Celts occur in the Irish and Welsh laws and in one of the Irish mythico-romantic tales. There are also some apparent references to it in classical sources.

1. Classical references.—Cæsar, in describing the funerals of the Gauls, says that, when a man of rank dies, if the circumstances of his death are suspicious, his relatives hold an examination of his wives after the method adopted towards slaves, and, if their guilt is discovered, they are tortured and put to death.[6] Probably some kind of ordeal was used as a method of discovering guilt. Julian speaks of the Rhine as an 'incorruptible judge of infants' among the Celts dwelling on its banks, drowning the child of an unfaithful wife, but restoring it to its mother's arms when the birth was legitimate.[7] The method used is described in a poem in the Greek anthology. The child was put on a shield by the husband and thus consigned to the river. This ordeal is connected with the Celtic cult of rivers—the divine river acting here as a judge.[8]

[1] M. Schorr, *Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden*, Leipzig, 1913, no. 282 f.
[2] § 103; for another ordeal by oath see also § 249 of the Code.
[3] *Ubbubu*. [4] Schorr, no. 194 f.
[5] *Ib.* no. 170. 16. The ordeal of the oath in case of a murder will be found in A. Ungnad, *Babylonische Briefe*, Leipzig, 1914, no. 218.
[6] *De Bell. Gall.* vi. 19.
[7] *Ep.* xvi., *Orat.* ii. (ed. F. C. Hertlein, Leipzig, 1875–76, pp. 495, 104).
[8] *Anth. Græca*, ix. 125 (ed. Didot, ii. 24).

Aristotle speaks of the Celts plunging infants at birth into the cold waters of a river in order to harden them,[1] but does not mention the ordeal. Elsewhere, among Teutons, Hindus, etc., the water ordeal was decided differently. If a person floated, he was judged guilty, the water rejecting him; if he sank, he was innocent, though he was drowned, for in this case the water received him. This method was used both judicially and popularly in the case of witches until comparatively recent times.[2]

The duel as a means of settling disputes is also referred to. Poseidonios stated that formerly in Gaul at feasts the strongest seized the thigh of the animal served up, and, if any other warrior attempted also to take it, the two fought and the victor received the meat.[3] Among the Celtiberians of Spain, in 206 B.C., P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus found that recourse was had to the duel by two sons of kings who as brothers had held the same throne, in order to settle the succession. They refused Scipio's arbitration and wished as judge only the god of war. Much later Silius Italicus said that this duel was conformable to the national custom.[4]

2. Irish ordeals.—The well-known Irish mythical story of King Cormac's adventure in the land of promise with the god Manannan contains a list of ordeals which has a close correspondence to those referred to in the Irish law-books and serves to explain them. Some of the ordeals in the list and the explanations given of their origin are doubtless mythical, though that only serves to show how firmly the use of the ordeal was fixed in Celtic custom. Morann, son of Carpre Cat-head, is said to have been born with a membrane over his head, which ultimately became a collar when he was placed in the sea and the magic 'ninth wave' passed over him. A covering of gold and silver was now placed on it, and it was used to test guilt or innocence. Placed round the neck of a guilty man, it choked him, but in the case of the innocent it expanded and dropped to his feet. Another collar of Morann's came out of a fairy mound, and, placed on the foot or hand of a guilty man, it cut the member off. He obtained a third collar from St. Paul, and wore it round his neck when delivering judgment. Then he never uttered falsehood. Mochton's adze was placed in a fire of black-thorn until red-hot. The tongue of the accused was then passed over it, when it burnt him if guilty, but did him no harm if he were innocent. Another ordeal was that of Sencha, who cast two lots out of the fire, one for the accused, one for the king. If the accused was guilty, the lot cleaved to his palm. A poet's incantation was first said over the lots. The vessel of Badurn was one which his wife obtained from a fairy mound beneath a well. If a man uttered three false words under it, the vessel separated into three parts, but, if three true words were spoken, these united again. The ordeal of the three dark stones consisted of filling a bucket with bog-stuff, etc., and placing in it three stones, white, black, and speckled. If a man drew the white stone out, he had spoken truth; if the black, falsehood; the speckled stone denoted that he was half-guilty. In the ordeal of the cauldron the vessel was filled with boiling water, in which the accused placed his hand. He was scalded if guilty, unhurt if innocent. Another ordeal was that of the old lot of Sen. Three lots were cast into water—the lord's lot, the ollave's lot, and the lot of the accused. If he was guilty, his lot sank; if he was innocent, it floated, as in the case of the child in the Rhine. Still another was that of Luchta's iron. This iron was seen by Luchta in

[1] *Politica*, vii. 15. 2.
[2] Hincmar (9th cent.) says: 'The water receives certain persons and thus proves them innocent; it rejects others and proves them guilty' (*PL* cxxv. 668). Cf. J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, tr. J. S. Stallybrass, London, 1882–88, pp. 1077, 1625.
[3] Athenæus, iv. 40. [4] Livy, xxviii. 21; Sil. Ital. xvi. 537 f.

Brittany and obtained by him. It was hallowed by wizards, then made red-hot and placed on the palm, with results similar to those of the adze ordeal. The ordeal of waiting at an altar consisted of going nine times round it and then drinking water over which a wizard's incantation had been said. If the person was guilty, the token of sin was manifest on him; if innocent, the water did him no harm. This ordeal is said to have been brought by Cai Cainbrethach out of the land of Israel, and it has some similarity to that described in Nu $5^{11ff.}$. The text then goes on to tell the story of Cormac and how he obtained his cup from Manannan. The cup broke when three words of falsehood were spoken, but was restored if three true words were spoken. Manannan showed its properties to Cormac and then gave him the cup, and he afterwards used it to distinguish truth and falsehood with the Gael.[1]

Stokes observes that, if Morann's three collars are different aspects of one collar, and, if Badurn's and Cormac's vessels are identical, this would reduce the number of the ordeals to nine —the number of the *divyâni pramânâni* in later Hindu lawbooks.

A passage in one of the Brehon law tracts speaks of the ordeals of the adze, of the chip of an old tree, of the Lestar Baduirnn (Badurn's vessel), of the three stones in the dark, of standing at the altar, of the cauldron, and of the holy draught, and they are said to be tests established by St. Patrick in the reign of King Laegaire to decide the disputes of the men of the land.[2] The method of using some of these is also explained, though in some instances the explanation is obscure.

The tongue was put across a red-hot adze. 'A chip of an old tree' is glossed as 'of the horse-rod of the patron-saint, or of his coffin, or of the consecrated tree.' Probably it was some species of lot. 'Lestar Baduirnn,' is glossed, '*i.e. ba*, "good," *for durn*, "on the hand," it used to break on the hand, *i.e.* it used to open or burst asunder, but it remained perfect on the hand of the upright.' Two myths of its origin are then given, one corresponding to that in the story of Cormac, except that here Dornn or Badornn is the name of the woman who obtained the vessel, not of her husband. The gloss on the three stones in the dark is, '*i.e.* to put three stones in a dark place, a speckled stone, a white stone, and a black one.' These were pagan tests. On the other hand, the ordeals used by Christians and instituted by St. Patrick were lot, *airisem*, and cauldron. *Airisem* seems to mean standing at the altar, glossed as 'standing at the stone of adoration'; hence it must have been pagan in origin. Of the cauldron it is said that 'what makes pagan tests of them is to bring *fuba* to them'—probably the use of some old pagan incantations or charms.[3] The holy draught is obscurely glossed as 'the book drink, such as the long book of Leithglinn, its perusal on water.'[4]

The ordeal of the red-hot adze is specifically mentioned in one MS in connexion with the case of a woman clearing her character from charges affecting it, when she had failed to find living compurgators. She rubbed her tongue on a red-hot adze of bronze or on melted lead (not iron—a proof of the archaic character of the ordeal). The adze was heated in a fire of rowan or black-thorn, magical trees with the Irish Celts. The MS describes this as 'a druidical ordeal.'[5] The red-hot metal ordeal is of wide occurrence—among the Arabs, Hindus, and Chinese. The ordeal of the cauldron has been sufficiently explained in the reference from the story of Cormac. The phrase used for it is *fir caire*, 'the proof of the cauldron.' Instances of its use in the laws are found in the case where distraining or distress is deferred until the *fir cáire* has taken place in connexion with some other process, but only when the man has gone into an 'externe territory' for it.[6] Again, the *dubhfine*, *i.e.* the uncertain family or members of the tribe smuggled in surreptitiously or concerning whose pedigree doubt had arisen, could receive no share of the family land until they tendered the proof of the cauldron.[1] Again, the illicit offspring of a harlot or of a woman who absconded from her husband must not settle among the tribe without invitation or the test of the cauldron or of the holy expurgation.[2] In the case of the *dubhfine* the proof of the cauldron is called *fir dé*, 'test of God,' showing that the older pagan rite had been Christianized. In earlier times the water itself gave judgment; now God gave judgment through the water. This ordeal, which is of wide occurrence,[3] is referred to by St. Gregory of Tours in the case of two ecclesiastics, one heretical, one orthodox. One of them suggested the judgment of boiling water. A cauldron was to be placed on a fire and a ring dropped into the boiling water, and each was to attempt to draw it forth.[4] The ordeal of the lots cast into the water has a certain parallel in one suggested by King Laegaire to St. Patrick and the Druids. They were to throw their respective books into water, and he would honour him whose books were unhurt. Patrick agreed, but the Druids dissented because the saint regarded water as a god (probably a reference to baptism). The ordeal by fire was offered by St. Patrick. A Druid was to go into a closed house with the saint's chasuble round him, and one of his clerics was to wear the wizard's tunic. Then the house was to be set on fire so that 'God might deal dooms.' The wizard was burnt, though he had gone into that side of the house which had been moistened.[5]

The idea of water, cold or hot, serving for an ordeal is further illustrated by the fact that it and air, sun, moon, etc., were taken as sureties for fidelity to an oath. They destroyed the oath-breaker, as in the case of King Laegaire, who demanded tribute after thus promising not to do so. 'God's elements gave a doom of death on the king.'[6]

The casting of lots was used by the Druids and in much later times was common both among the Irish Celts and in Brittany.[7] But it is referred to in the *Laws* as an ordeal, its technical name being *crann-chur* (*crann*, 'tree,' 'wood,' 'stick'); hence, perhaps, small pieces of wood were used, though it is said in O'Curry's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish* that the *crann-chur* consisted of putting in a box or pot black, white, and red pebbles, from which the accused drew until he drew either black or white. Black meant guilty, white innocent.[8] This is the ordeal of the three dark stones in the story of Cormac, and doubtless there were various methods of the *crann-chur*. The *Laws* refer to its use in a variety of cases—*e.g.*, in that of the *dubhfine*, alternately with the proof of the cauldron; in that of an animal killed in a pound by other animals; and in several others.[9] The lot was approved of by canon law in Ireland.[10]

The duel or combat was also recognized and is mentioned in the *Laws*, but it had to be gone through according to strict rule. It was illegal to fight without verbal engagements, viz. 'without proper security by word of mouth for restoring or righting the thing about which he gives the challenge.'[11] This appears to have been in a case of debt, and hence the duel after verbal engagements, literally 'contracts of the lips,' was legal. Elsewhere the consent of relatives to the duel

1 *The Irish Ordeals, Cormac's Adventure in the Land of Promise*, ed. and tr. W. Stokes, in E. Windisch and Stokes, *Irische Texte*, iii. [Leipzig, 1891] 206 ff.
2 *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, Dublin, 1865–1901, v. 470 f.
3 *Ib.* vi. 384. 4 *Ib.* v. 473.
5 E. O'Curry, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, London, 1873, ii. 216, citing MS H 3, 17 Trin. Coll. Dublin.
6 *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, i. 195, 199.

1 *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, iv. 285, 288 f. 2 *Ib.* v. 457.
3 H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Études sur le droit celtique*, Paris, 1895, i. 32, 35.
4 *de Gloria Martyrum* (= *Mirac.* i.), 81.
5 Stokes, *Tripartite Life*, London, 1887, pp. 56, 460.
6 *Ib.* p. 567. 7 J. Loth, *RCel* xvi. [1895] 313.
8 i. Introd. p. cclxxix; cf. p. clxiv.
9 *Ancient Laws*, iv. 285, 295, ii. 6; cf. iii. 66, 337, 438.
10 D'Arbois de Jubainville, ii. 100.
11 *Ancient Laws*, iv. 33.

seems to have been necessary, and, where that consent was obtained, the victor who slew his opponent was not charged with murder.

'If it be a sensible adult that is drawn into the combat-field with the consent of his family, and if there was no crime charged upon the person who drew him, or though there were a charge he avowed it, whether life-wound or death-wound ensue, he is exempt.'[1]

Witnesses were also necessary, as the gloss upon a story of two men about to engage in combat shows: 'There was nothing to delay them from engaging in the combat except that they had not a witness.'[2] Where the combatant was 'lawful spoil,' his arms and clothes were also lawful spoil to the victor.[3] Canon law attributed to St. Patrick the regarding of the duel as an offence meriting excommunication—*e.g.*, in the case of a debtor who, in spite of proof, denied his debt and had recourse to combat.[4]

3. Welsh ordeals.—The Welsh codes do not mention ordeals, but a late treatise states that there were three ordeals by the law of Dyvnwal Moelmud, for theft, for *galanas* (murder or composition for murder), for treason to a lord. They consisted of the hot iron, the boiling water, 'by putting the limb that did the deed therein,' and combat to such as should demand it lawfully. There was no punishment for the victor in the combat, for it stood instead of proof. But in amending the laws Hoel the Good and his judges observed that this was not just, and they established proof by men.[5] These three ordeals correspond to those already described in Irish procedure, and, though the reference is a doubtful one, this likeness tends to prove that the ordeal had actually been in use among the Brythonic Celts.

LITERATURE.—This is cited throughout the article.

J. A. MACCULLOCH.

ORDEAL (Chinese).—The use of the judicial ordeal in China is now mainly confined to the mountainous districts of the south-west, where numerous tribes of non-Chinese origin still maintain themselves in semi-independence. The decay of the ordeal is due partly to a growing disbelief in the superstitions which supported it and partly to the painful teachings of experience which compelled men to realize its fallibility as a test of truth. Its disappearance, however, leaves Chinese legal principles unaffected; Chinese law never accorded it theoretical recognition, but merely granted it a more or less grudging tolerance as a concession to immemorial custom. The fact that the notions and practices relating to ordeal have been regulated and modified by custom, not by law, explains why very few explicit references to the subject are to be found in the Chinese law-books.[6]

There is, however, an interesting passage in that constitutional handbook of the Chou dynasty known as the *Chou Li* (ascribed to the 12th cent. B.C.), from which we learn something of a legal practice that seems to have closely approximated to what we understand by ordeal. We are told that before a litigant in a civil suit was allowed to state his case in court he was required to hand in a sheaf of arrows (50 or 100), and that in criminal prosecutions initiated by private individuals the accusers were called upon to deposit in court a specified quantity (30 catties or Chinese pounds) of copper.[7] According to the best interpretation of this procedure, when a litigant or prosecutor handed in a sheaf of arrows or 30 catties of copper, his action was equivalent to (and was probably, indeed, accompanied by) a solemn declaration of the justice of his cause and a self-condemnation to righteous punishment if he were guilty of uttering untrue statements or making false accusations. The arrows were emblematic of unswerving and unerring truth. 'Straight as an arrow' was, and is, as well understood an expression in China as it is in the West, and the arrow's flight was regarded as an unmistakable symbol of moral rectitude. Similarly, the prosecutor who brought accusations against another was expected to show proof that he was willing to abide by the consequences of a complete elucidation of the rights and wrongs of his case. The metal which he deposited in court was a symbol of the justice to which he made his appeal. In demanding justice against his opponent he invoked retributive justice upon himself if his accusations were false. Hence the man who shrank from an appeal to the test of the arrows or the copper was confessedly uncertain of the truth or justice of his cause, or was secretly aware that his opponent was in the right. Thus, if only one of the parties to a case ventured to submit to the test, judgment went against the other by default.

'Certain ordeals,' as Tylor has said, 'are closely related to oaths, so that the two shade into one another. Let the curse which is to fall on the oath-breaker take effect at once, it then becomes a sign condemning the swearer—in fact, an ordeal.'[1] Lack of detailed information makes it difficult to decide whether the arrow and metal tests referred to in the *Chou Li* should be regarded as ordeals or merely as quaint and picturesque methods of oath-taking. It is certainly true, however, that in China, as elsewhere, many of the usages connected with oath-taking are almost identical with some forms of ordeal, and it is not always easy to draw distinctions between the two.

A Chinese chronicle contains an account of the following episode, which it assigns to the middle of the 13th century.

There was a certain man whose trade it was to sell temple-incense. His wares were of inferior make, but, when any of his customers grumbled at their price or expressed doubts as to their quality, he was in the habit of certifying to their excellence by means of the following oath: 'If this incense is not as excellent as I say it is, may a goblin meet me on the road and annihilate me!' One day, as he was crossing a bridge behind his shop, he was seen suddenly to fall prone on the ground as though he had been tripped up by some uncanny spectre visible to himself alone. When the bystanders ran to his assistance, he was already dead.

Stories of this kind, turning on a solemn invitation to the powers of the spiritual world to bring sudden death or calamity on the swearer if his words are untrue, are very common in Chinese annals. Confucius himself, on a certain memorable occasion, is said to have uttered such an oath.

[1] 'Book of Aicill,' *Ancient Laws*, iii. 297.
[2] *Ib.* i. 251 ff. [3] *Ib.* iii. 303.
[4] D'Arbois de Jubainville, i. 46, ii. 100.
[5] *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, London, 1841, p. 707.
[6] In this respect China and India are at one. Cf. *SBE* xxv. [1886] p. cii; see also E. B. Tylor, *PC*[4], London, 1903, i. 141. Montesquieu, *De l'Esprit des lois*, xxviii. 16 (*Œuvres complètes*, Paris, 1875–79), remarks that under the Salic law trial by ordeal was not a thing legally ordained, but was privately agreed upon and legally permitted.
[7] See E. Biot, *Le Tcheou-Li*, Paris, 1851, ii. 311; and *SBE* xvi. [1882] 103. The Chinese word here translated 'copper' is rendered by Biot 'gold or (other) metal.' In this passage the word can hardly mean gold. The amount to be paid into court would have been prohibitive; and the obligation to pay the same amount in all cases, irrespective of the nature and magnitude of the interests involved, would have implied the creation of an arbitrary and irrational uniformity which could hardly have failed to defeat the ends of justice. The original uses the character *chin*, which in modern Chinese usually signifies gold, but which formerly indicated metal of any kind, and was applied indifferently to gold, silver, copper, tin, and iron. A modern Chinese commentator (not cited by Biot) explains the word as signifying, in this particular passage, iron. Iron certainly suits the context well enough, for that metal would aptly symbolize the inflexibility of justice; it is perhaps more probable, however, that the metal was copper, which, indeed, was often known as *huang t'ieh*, 'yellow iron,' and which, though a ductile metal, has an exceptional degree of tenacity. We learn from other sources that copper was in ancient times frequently used in connexion with judicial procedure, and there would therefore be nothing exceptional in its use here. English readers will find a reference to the use of copper in judicial proceedings in J. Legge, *Chinese Classics*, Hongkong, 1861–72, vol. iii. pt. ii. p. 605.
[1] *EBr*[11] xx. 174.

'Confucius went to pay a visit to a lady whose moral character did not stand high in public estimation. A disciple ventured to remonstrate with him for having done so; whereupon Confucius cried out with an oath, "If I have done anything wrong, may God strike me dead, may God strike me dead!"'[1]

In a Chinese lawsuit, when the statements made or evidence given by the two parties are irreconcilable, and the truth cannot be elicited by ordinary methods, the parties sometimes adjourn from the law-court to a temple, and there perform the ceremony known as *tu chou*—the 'ordeal (or rather wager) by imprecation.'

The swearer unplaits his queue (if he has one), and lets his hair fall down over his shoulders, as though he were a criminal condemned to death. He then kneels before the altar, and utters the words upon the truth of which he is ready to stake his life. 'If I am guilty of the charge, or if my evidence is untrue, or if I have made a false accusation [as the case may be], I call upon the god to strike me dead before his altar.' The procedure varies in detail according to local custom or special circumstances. Sometimes the oath-taker proceeds by writing on a piece of paper the *pa-ko-tzŭ*, the 'eight characters' denoting the essential facts relating to his personal identity and time of birth. After lighting a stick or two of incense he kneels before the altar, and, uttering a set form of words, condemns himself and all his family to death if the statement to which he has sworn is perceived by the god to be untrue. The 'eight characters' are ceremonially burned, and the oath-taker's life is then wholly at the disposal of the deity addressed.

The procedure known as *fa-huang-piao*, 'the sending of a yellow missive,' is similar to this.

The swearer writes his accusation or evidence, accompanied by an oath-formula, on a piece of white paper. He also writes his name, address, and residence, the name of the temple where the ceremony is to take place, and the name of the divinity invoked. The oath-formula varies according to circumstances, but is usually framed in such terms as these: 'If I did so-and-so, may I die before sunset to-day!' or 'If I have spoken falsely, may I never be able to stand up again!' The white paper is folded up and enclosed in a covering or envelope of yellow paper, which is then committed to the flames. When it has been wholly consumed, the belief is that the message has reached its destination and that it will receive the due attention of the god whose intervention has been invited.[2]

As a rule, the deity in question is the *ch'êng-huang*, the 'city god,' who presides over the fortunes of the walled town in which the district magistrate's court is situated.[3] The ceremony may, however, be performed in other temples besides that of the *ch'êng-huang*, and the deity invoked may be almost any one of the numerous gods, spirits, or canonized personages who throng the Taoist pantheon.

It is well known that a Chinese witness will often claim the right to consecrate his oath by cutting off the head of a fowl. This is a symbolical way of saying, 'If I am lying, may I be killed as I kill this cock!'[4] This rite is still fairly common in inland China and is not unknown in the annals of British law-courts in Hongkong and the 'mixed courts' of the treaty-ports. Sometimes the killing of a real cock is dispensed with and a paper image of the animal substituted. The image is held up in front of the setting sun, and the swearer cuts off the head of the image just as the sun sinks below the horizon. According to another practice, the witness puts a number of beans into a basin and pounds them into a paste. By this action he condemns himself to be clubbed to death if his evidence is false. Yet another old custom was the ceremonial breaking of an arrow, which signified that the witness was willing to be broken in two if he committed perjury. Another practice was to blow out a candle-flame and to utter the words, 'If I have lied, may I be extinguished like this candle' (*ssŭ ju huo mieh*).

It is obvious that even the most solemn forms of oath-taking will be of little practical value in helping a magistrate to discriminate between true and false evidence, unless he feels justified in assuming the sincerity of the witness's belief that perjury will involve him in serious difficulties with the unseen powers. A guilty man will hesitate to send a 'yellow missive' to the spirit-world if he feels morally certain that the spirits will receive it and will take him at his word. But, though many Chinese—perhaps the great majority—are rather sceptical in these matters, conscious guilt is liable to reveal itself involuntarily in some slight outward sign, such as the blanching of the cheek or tremor of the hand. These signs will be instantly noted by an attentive and experienced magistrate, who, in spite of his own scornful disbelief in the objective efficacy of an elaborate oath-taking ceremonial, will often draw shrewd and valuable deductions from the appearance and general bearing of the parties and their witnesses.

The suggestion that the parties should adjourn to the city temple to swear oaths and dispatch 'yellow missives' usually comes not from the magistrate himself but from one of the parties concerned—not always the innocent one. But cases have been known when a clever magistrate has elicited the truth by making the parties undergo a bogus ordeal of his own devising. The following is an instance of how a magistrate succeeded by this means in unmasking the guilt of a man who had been accused of theft.

He informed the accused that he must prove his innocence by successfully undergoing the 'bell-touching ordeal.' He explained that in a certain temple there hung a bell which had the singular power of detecting the presence of thieves. When touched by a thief, he said, it would give forth sound, but, when touched by other persons, it would remain silent. The magistrate then gave orders that all the prisoners in his gaol, including the man accused of theft, should be marched off to the temple and made to stand in front of the temple-bell. He himself followed them, and gave a touch of solemnity to the proceedings by approaching the bell with reverence, as though it were a symbol of divinity, and uttering a short prayer suitable to the occasion. Having then caused a large curtain to be suspended in front of the bell so as to conceal it from view, he gave secret orders that the portion of the bell nearest to the curtain should be smeared with ink. This having been done, he bade the prisoners advance one by one and touch the bell by thrusting their hands under the curtain. A number of prisoners did as they were told, and as each of these withdrew his hand the magistrate noted that it was stained with ink. Then came the turn of the suspected thief. Believing that the magistrate's words would come true and that the bell, which had hitherto remained silent, would emit a sound if he touched it, he put his hand under the curtain as the others had done, but carefully abstained from bringing it into contact with the magic bell. He withdrew his hand, but his satisfaction at the success of his manœuvre was short-lived. Observing that there was no trace of ink on the man's fingers, the magistrate promptly declared that the case was closed and the guilt of the accused made manifest. Thereupon, we are told, the outwitted thief made a full confession.

That such bogus ordeals may often be far more useful than real ones will be readily conceded. The drawback is that the more successful and ingenious they are the smaller will be the likelihood that they can be resorted to on subsequent occasions with the same prospects of success.

There is a curious book of Chinese medical jurisprudence known as the *Hsi-yüan-lu*, which was formerly in the hands of all Chinese coroners and was widely used in official circles up to a very recent date. Though the book was compiled as late as the 13th cent. of our era, many of its prescriptions and directions are manifestly based on very ancient folk-lore and the surviving traditions of pre-historic magic, while some of the methods which it prescribes for discovering the truth in matters affecting criminal procedure are strongly suggestive of ordeal. We may cite, *e.g.*, the test of 'the *yin-yang* water,' which was no less irrational than the Christian ordeal of the Bible and the key. It is, or till recently was, Chinese law that, if a man finds his wife in the arms of a lover, he may, with impunity, put her to death, provided he does it immediately on discovery, before his natural

[1] H. A. Giles, *Confucianism and its Rivals* (*Hibbert Lectures*, 2nd ser.), London, 1915, p. 71.

[2] For brief accounts of these customs see L. Wieger, *Moral Tenets and Customs in China*, London, 1913, p. 521 f.; and H. Doré, *Recherches sur les superstitions en Chine*, Shanghai, 1912, pt. i. vol. ii. no. 4, p. 344 f.

[3] Cf. a story in the *Liao Chai*, tr. H. A. Giles, *Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio*[2], Shanghai, 1908, p. 212 f.

[4] Cf. Legge, vol. v. pt. i. p. 5; and Giles, *Strange Stories*, p. 358.

wrath has had time to cool, and provided he kills the lover at the same time. The proper way to effect the killing is to cut off both heads, if possible, by a single blow of a sword. To kill one of the guilty parties only will not excuse the homicide, for it will show that he acted with cool deliberation and might therefore have restrained himself from killing either. The reason why the killing is condoned is not that Chinese law regards human life as a thing of small account (for that is the opposite of the truth), but that it recognizes the weaknesses of human nature and makes allowance for acts committed under an ungovernable impulse. It sometimes happens, however, that the husband may be called upon to prove, in court, that his wife and her paramour were really guilty of the offence for which he killed them; and he may have serious difficulty in satisfying the magistrate of this, if the relatives of the dead man or woman insist that no act of adultery had been committed or was meditated. In that case the homicide may offer to abide by the results of the *yin-yang* test, which the *Hsi-yüan-lu* describes as follows:

'Take a water-jar and fill it with water, one half from the river and the other half from the well.[1] This is called "yin-yang water." Take a stick and stir the water into a swiftly whirling eddy. Then take the heads of the decapitated corpses of the man and woman and place them without delay in the water. If the pair were really guilty, the heads will turn nose to nose; but, if they were innocent, they will turn back to back, one above and the other below in the jar.'[2]

Strictly speaking, this is not a case of ordeal, but of divination, or rather it is a kind of *post mortem* ordeal if we regard it primarily as a test of the guilt or innocence of the slain wife, and divination if we regard it as a test to prove the guilt or innocence of the surviving husband.[3]

There is reason to believe that ordeal by fire was not unknown in China in former days, though the ceremony of walking over hot coals, which is occasionally practised in certain localities, is not necessarily, if ever, connected with judicial procedure. In Buddhist annals there is a legend that tells us of a victory obtained by Buddhism over Taoism by means of a fiery ordeal. The incident is assigned to the 1st cent. A.D.

Certain distinguished members of the Taoist priesthood strongly objected to the emperor's patronage of Buddhism, and offered to prove that theirs was the true religion by an appeal to miracle. 'Take the books of the barbarians [*i.e.* the Indian missionaries of Buddhism] and our own holy writings,' they said, 'and set them afire. If theirs are consumed, let them be banished; if ours are burned, we are prepared to suffer death.' This suggestion met with the emperor's approval, but to the surprise and mortification of the Taoists, who relied for their success on their proficiency in magic arts, all their books except one were utterly consumed in the flames. The sacred objects of the Buddhists, on the contrary, were preserved intact; for 'the flames were miraculously transformed into petals of water-lilies, by which all the books and images were enfolded and supported.'[4]

It was remarked at the outset that the ordeal is nowadays confined mainly to the tribes of non-Chinese origin which inhabit the mountainous regions of the south-west. These tribes form a considerable proportion of the population of Yunnan, Kuei-chou, and western Ssŭ-ch'uan. It may be observed that the ordeals known among these scattered communities are identical with many of those practised by the peoples of the Shan States, Siam, Cambodia, and Burma. This is readily accounted for by the fact that some of the Indo-Chinese races are ethnologically connected with the Lolo, Miao, Moso, and other tribesmen of the Chinese south-west, and that the latter, in spite of many centuries of isolation in an alien environment, have maintained many of the social usages and traditions of their more prosperous kinsmen.[1]

Writing of the Lolo, Colborne Baber says:

'Trial by ordeal is common. An article of value having been stolen and the thief remaining undiscovered, the people of the place are assembled by the medicine-men, and a handful of raw rice is served out to everyone. A solemn period of mastication follows, after which the resultant is spat out, and a stain of blood on the chewed mouthful infallibly betrays the culprit. It is affirmed that the gums of the guilty bleed, and that a confession always ensues.'[2]

The following is an account of a trial by ordeal which took place among a community of Black Miao as recently as 1911.

A quarrel arose between two women, the elder of whom objected to the younger coming to her house, on the ground that the younger woman's visits always brought bad luck. Her husband, for instance, had died after one such visit and her son after another. The younger woman's indignation at this charge was so intense that violent hostility broke out between the two households. Finally the relatives of the accused woman demanded the right of vindicating her character by means of the ordeal of boiling millet. 'A day was appointed and a great crowd gathered to see the trial. A large cauldron was brought out and set over a rudely prepared fireplace. Into this a mess of millet was put to boil and an axe-head was laid in the bottom of the cauldron. When the contents began to boil, the young woman's champion stripped his arm bare. His duty was to reach down into the boiling porridge and snatch out the axe-head with his naked hand. If the skin were blistered, then the young woman's cause was lost; if not, her honour was vindicated. Each side had also wagered a stake of some Tls. 25 [*i.e.* about 68s.]. To snatch out the axe-head was the work of an instant and the man's hand and arm came out uninjured from the scalding bath. It was clear therefore that the young lady was not the minister of bad luck.'[3]

We may conclude by citing a somewhat similar case of ordeal which took place still more recently in one of the tribal districts of N. Yunnan. Writing under the date of 20th June 1915, a correspondent of a Shanghai newspaper thus describes the proceedings:

'Some Chinese workmen were engaged in putting up some school buildings in connexion with missionary work. A twenty-cent piece was missing one day, and the owners, the carpenters, accused the masons of theft. The masons stoutly denied the charge, and then there was an appeal to trial by ordeal. At night, when the missionary was not about, a large iron pan of boiling water was got ready, and into this a half-dollar was thrown. The selected representative of the accusing carpenter first put his hand and arm into the water and took out the coin. Then the head mason had to follow suit. The carpenter's arm received no injury, but the mason was so badly burnt that it was many weeks before he could resume work. I examined the two arms and do not know why one was badly burnt and the other escaped injury. The carpenters concluded that the masons were guilty, and claim that the missing coin was returned to them on the quiet while they were sleeping. Such trial by ordeal is quite common in these parts.'[4]

LITERATURE.—This is indicated in the article.

R. FLEMING JOHNSTON.

[1] This is because the river is *yang* (active and therefore male) and the well is *yin* (passive and therefore female).

[2] E. T. Williams, in *JRAS*, N. China Branch, xxxviii. [1907] 91.

[3] Ordeal and divination are both 'methods resorted to for discovering the truth'; but 'the ordeal is undergone by the person accused to vindicate his innocence,' whereas 'divination is practised by third parties to fix the guilt of a crime on a particular person' (C. S. Burne, *The Handbook of Folk-lore*, new ed., London, 1914, p. 131).

[4] R. F. Johnston, *Buddhist China*, London, 1913, p. 137 ff. Cf. the Zoroastrian story of the ordeal successfully undergone by Âtûrpaṭ in the reign of Shâhpûhr II. about A.D. 330 (*SBE* iv. [1895] p. xlvii). For an amusing account of the rivalry between the two orders of friars in Salamanca in the reign of Philip II., and the fiery ordeal which resulted, see Goldsmith, *Citizen of the World*, Letter cxi. Giles (*Strange Stories*, p. 243) tells the story of the Buddhist monk who 'was to be thrown into a cauldron of boiling water in a fiery pit, when suddenly a lotus-flower came forth, the fire was extinguished, and the water became cold.'

[1] For an account of the ordeals practised among the Siamese and neighbouring peoples see G. E. Gerini's art. on the subject in *The Asiatic Quarterly Review*, 1895.

[2] 'A Journey of Exploration in W. Ssŭ-ch'uan,' *Royal Geographical Society, Supplementary Papers*, London, 1886, i. 70. Precisely the same test existed in Vedic India (see ORDEAL [Hindu], 3 (*c*)).

[3] *FL* xxii. [1911] 234. The boiling-water test is common throughout the Far East. For Japan see art. DIVINATION (Japanese), vol. iv. p. 805. It is also noteworthy that an axe was used in ancient Japanese ordeals as it is used to-day among the tribes of S.W. China, though in China the axe is placed in a tub of boiling water, whereas in Japan the axe 'was heated red-hot and placed on the palm of the hand' (*ib.*).

[4] *North China Daily News*, Shanghai, 6th July 1915. In Vedic India there was an ordeal whereby an accused person was 'required to take a gold-piece from a vessel of heated ghī and oil.' See art. DIVINATION (Vedic), vol. iv. p. 830[a], and ORDEAL (Hindu), 3 (*c*).

ORDEAL (Christian).—The word 'ordeal' corresponds to the German *Urteil*, meaning 'judgment,' or 'doom.' In German law *Urteil* has kept its general sense and *Ordal* is used with the same signification as the English 'ordeal,' viz. 'judgment of God.'

The subject of ordeals has been treated too much as a unity, whereas it is really a combination of several modes of procedure. The main idea is, undoubtedly, that supernatural powers are called upon to decide in a case, instead of leaving the decision to human wisdom. We find, however, that, notwithstanding this unity of the fundamental conception, three different methods are employed in order to reach the result. The three corresponding types are: (1) the practices grouped round the idea of struggle, the outcome of which is, of course, influenced by the divine power; (2) the group of appeal to chance (casting lots); and (3) the group of appeal to miracle; this group falls again into two subdivisions: (*a*) appeal to a direct manifestation of God's judgment; and (*b*) appeal to miraculous support against a human presumption.

1. **The idea of struggle.**—The idea of struggle leads to the trial by battle, which presents features both of self-help and of a judgment of Providence. The Bavarian law (cl. 2, sect. 1), *e.g.*, treats of a case of trying a man who is accused of conspiracy against his duke.

A preliminary investigation takes place. There must be three witnesses for the prosecution. If there be one witness only and if his statement be denied by the accused, that witness will have to prove by combat that what he has said is true: 'Cui Deus dederit victoriam illi credite.'

The treatment of battle in Bavarian law is also curious in other respects: a man could fight by a substitute; the struggle is not self-help in this case; we find even that the decision which of the two champions shall fight for which side is left to chance.

Thus (cl. 9, sect. 2), if a freeman be charged with stealing an ox or a milk-cow, either he must purge himself by oath with six oath-helpers, or else two champions will have to fight, but lots should be cast to decide to whom God will assign the stronger of the two champions. Cf. *Lex Baiuwar. Additio* (Synod of Ninhinga, cl. 4): lots shall not be cast in the case of a duel before the champions are ready, lest they might be insidiously hampered by incantations, diabolical devices, or 'magic arts.'

As another instance of the struggle-ordeal, the ordeal of the cross may be mentioned.

The contending parties having to hold up their hands, the decision is arrived at according as one or the other could hold out longer with outstretched arms (see *Capitulary* of Charlemagne of 806 on the division of the empire among his three sons [Boretius, *Capitul. Reg. Franc.* i. 129, cl. 14]. It is noticed there that controversies might arise as to the limits of the three parts assigned to the sons. In such a case the *Capitulary* forbids actual battle and substitutes instead the trial by cross. Evidently here again there was no question of letting the three kings stand and hold up their hands, but it had to be done through champions).

2. **Appeal to chance.**—The most interesting case of this is presented by the Frisian laws (sect. 14):

A man has been slain in a crowd; the man who claims composition does not know who is the slayer; he must ask Providence to decide. He is allowed to charge up to seven men, each of whom will have to purge himself by an oath with eleven oath-helpers. Thereupon all should go to a church (or to a saint's relics), and two sticks, one of them marked with a cross and both wrapped up in clean wool, should be put on the altar or the relics. Then, after prayers that God may show 'through an evident sign' if the oaths have been truthfully taken, a priest (or an innocent boy) should take one of the sticks. If it be the one marked with a cross, the seven are discharged. Otherwise each of the seven men should mark a separate stick with a sign, all these seven sticks should be wrapped up in wool and put on the altar (or on the relics), and then taken, one after the other, by the priest (or the innocent boy). The man whose stick is last to be taken will have to pay the composition. If the first seven have been discharged, the accuser can charge others, but in such further proceedings every accused can clear himself by oath with eleven oath-helpers, and there can be no further appeal to lots.

Lot appears also in a combination where it would not *a priori* be expected, and that is in the case of slaves.

A good example is *Pactus de tenore pacis domin. Hildeb. et Chlot.* 5. If a slave is suspected of a crime, but there is no proof against him, his fate will be decided by lot. The freeman would in such a case clear himself with oath-helpers.

The Salic law represents here an ancient point of view; it does not try to make the thing easier for the slave, but it cannot let him have oath-helpers. (Of course, torture very soon develops for slaves—*e.g.*, in the *Lex Visigothorum*, which was compiled under strong Roman influence.)

Lot in its very essence is based on equal possibilities for both sides.

3. **Appeal to miracle.**—(*a*) *Appeal to miraculous manifestation of the truth.*—A conspicuous example of such a manifestation is presented by the trial of the bier. There is a description of such a trial in Walter Scott's *Fair Maid of Perth.*

Oliver Proudfute has been killed because he had been mistaken for Henry Smith. Nobody knows who committed the murder. The body is laid in state in a church and suspected persons have to approach it and to swear that they are innocent of the murder. Should the murderer dare to approach it, it is expected that the veins of the slain will open and blood will flow.

Within the group of miraculous manifestations may also be ranged the trial of cold water, often used in cases of witchcraft; it consisted in noting whether a person thrown into water will be submerged as a token of innocence, or whether the water refuses to receive him because he is guilty.

An example of the trial of bread and cheese is found in the Laws of Aethelred (8. 22):

If a clerk in lower orders is charged and has no 'friends,' *i.e.* no relatives, and, therefore, 'has no oath,' *i.e.* cannot for that reason take an oath with compurgators, then he must try to swallow bread and cheese, 'and let him meet with what God willeth.' As an exception, the accused can take the Sacrament; evidently the choice of the procedure depended on the decision of the court (Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, i. 266).

The ceremony of trial by bread and cheese included the prayer of which we have an English example in the following words:

'Deprecor te, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, aeterne Deus, qui celum formasti et terram fundasti, mare limitibus terminasti, solem et lunam in splendore lucere fecisti, ut intelligant astantes, quia tu es (Deus), qui facis mirabilia. Et te dominum Iesum Christum humili prece deposco, ut qui furtum istud commisit uel qui consentaneus est, gula eius uel lingua seu fauces suae sic fiant constrictae et obligatae, ut panem uel caseum istum non praeualeat manducare' (*ib.* i. 425, cl. 5).

In all such cases the position in which the accused is placed presents no natural difficulty, and only bad conscience would make the trial a dangerous one.

(*b*) *Appeal to miraculous salvation.*—In this group of practices there is quite a different set of possibilities, and the position of the accused is from the outset a difficult one. Let us take *Lex Salica*, ch. 14.

The man who cannot find oath-helpers must go to the trial of the cauldron, *i.e.* take a ring or a stone out of boiling water; otherwise he will have to pay a heavy fine (62 shillings). This clause relates to the trial of a Roman who is accused of having robbed a Salian Frank, and cannot find the prescribed number of oath-helpers, while the truth of the charge does not appear certain.

Another important example is presented by the Ripuarian law (sect. 31. 5).

If a stranger be accused within the Ripuarian land and cannot find oath-helpers, let him clear himself by the fire or by the lot.

Why should such a difficult form of trial be imposed? Because he has no friends and, therefore, has only a low standing in society.

Another feature which illustrates strongly the fact that miraculous purification is adjudged only in exceptional circumstances is that a man who has been condemned to that form of trial may buy himself out. Here *Lex Salica*, ch. 53, is in point.

If the succumbing party would have to pay 600 shillings, the accused can, before the trial, redeem himself by a fine which amounts to one-fifth of the sum. Cl. 4 makes an interesting addition: if the accused gives more than one-fifth to his adversary, he may do so, but the peace-money will have to be paid to the public officer in such case. The public authority takes care that it should not be cheated of its rights (cf. 2 Aethelstan, 21 [Liebermann, i. 162]: if a man wants to make

an agreement about an ordeal, let him make an agreement about the private compensation but not about what we may call the 'criminal fine').

One may ask, why should not the accuser await the event of the trial and then claim the whole sum, instead of accepting a part? There was certainly the fear that the accused might be successful and thus his accuser would get nothing, but perhaps also an important motive was provided by the consideration that the accused might turn out to be insolvent.

One more characteristic feature is disclosed by Aelfred, 4 and 4. 1 (Liebermann, i. 50). When a man has conspired against the life of the king either directly or by harbouring exiles or their vassals, he has forfeited his life and all that he owns. If he wants to clear himself, he must swear with oath-helpers. Now, in Aethelred, 5. 30 (*ib.* i. 244), we read: 'He has to clear himself through threefold ordeal.' In one of the MSS (*ib.* 245, col. 1) he must clear himself in the 'deepest' manner which the witan can ordain. In Cnut, ii. 57 (*ib.* i. 348–350), this occurs again and the oath disappears. Thus we can observe a gradual change: first, there is only the oath; then, the oath and the ordeal; finally, only the ordeal.

Of course, the tremendous importance of the accusation is decisive in this case. From our point of view it may seem strange to make the defence more difficult because the accusation is more grave, but this is not uncommon in human psychology, and we may not be justified even in thinking that we are not sometimes acting under the same psychological motive—in some respects it holds good even to-day.

In Aethelstan, ii. 7 (*ib.* i. 154), we find that those who are often subject to accusations are to be driven to the simple ordeal. This relates to thefts. We see the same thing in Eadweard, i. 3 (*ib.* i. 140), concerning a person who is not worthy to take an oath. What is expected here is conviction, unless the accused is freed by a miracle.

The worst form is the triple ordeal, occurring, *e.g.*, in *Leges Henrici*, 64 (*ib.* i. 584). In regard to the misdoings of corrupt people and to conspiracies of perjurers, these should be subject to a more strict and difficult formula of oath. But it is so much feared that they may be unable to take the oath (as they would lose if they made a slip) that they prefer the ordeal. In its 'deepest' form as a triple ordeal it took the shape of lifting a red-hot bar of iron of three times the weight of the one used in simple ordeal, or plunging the arm instead of the hand into boiling water. The following was among the prayers used in Anglo-Saxon times (*ib.* i. 419, cl. 5) before the trial by red-hot iron was started:

'Deus, iudex iustus, qui auctor pacis es et iudicas equitatem, te suppliciter rogamus, ut hoc ferrum, ordinatum ad iustam examinationem cuiuslibet dubietatis faciendam, benedicere et sanctificare digneris, ita ut, si innocens de prenominata causa, unde purgatio querenda est, hoc ferrum ignitum in manus acceperit (uel pedes immiserit), illesus appareat, et si sit culpabilis atque reus, iustissima sit ad hoc uirtus tua in eo cum ueritate declarandum, quatinus iustitie non dominetur iniquitas, sed subdatur falsitas ueritati.'

There are some further points to which attention is due. We find that sometimes the accuser has to bear the burden of proof. This happens if the accuser requires something extraordinary—*e.g.*, if he challenges witnesses. *Lex Salica*, ch. 94, is here in point.

If one bring the charge of false testimony, he shall put his hand into the cauldron, and, if he takes out the hand not burnt, the accused shall pay 15 shillings; if, on the other hand, the hand is burnt, the accuser shall pay a like sum.

Such cases show that popular tribunals in the Middle Ages were not so passive as we might have thought. The court could assign the burden of proof to one party or the other, and this was a great power. The burden of difficult proof is generally assigned to the party making an improbable assertion.

Certain facts seem to be due to later development. Thus in 2 Aethelstan, 23. 2 (Liebermann, i. 162–164), it is ordered that in the case of an ordeal there should stand on each side no more than twelve men; and, if the accused have with him more than twelve, then the ordeal shall be lost for him unless they be willing to go from him. It is not said distinctly that these supporters are kinsmen, but they were probably kinsfolk. The accused might have produced oath-helpers in this case, and yet ordeals had become so common that resort is had to them instead of to an oath.

Another fact worth noticing is that in later times the miracle is invoked for the decision of private disputes and has settled down into something which might be called judgment of God at private law. The *Domesday Book* gives a number of such cases; we shall take only two examples:

'Vluiet probare offert se portaturum judicium quod non ita est sicuti dicunt' (i. 336). 'Hanc terram calumpniatur esse liberam Vlchetel homo hermeri, quocumque modo judicetur licet bello licet vel juditio. Et alias est presto probare eo modo quod jacuit ad ecclesiam die qua rex E. obiit; sed totus hundredus testatur eam fuisse terram regis et ad sanctam adeld' (ii. 339).

Iudicium and *bellum* are thus contrasted and the former admitted in a civil trial, but such cases seem to have occurred particularly when the testimony of the neighbourhood was challenged.

How did people in those days look on those forms of procedure? From our modern point of view it seems preposterous to ask a person to take up red-hot iron or to plunge his hand into boiling water. We may quote Lea on the subject:

'In general . . . as the result depended mostly upon those who administered the ordeal, it conferred an irresponsible power to release or to condemn, and it would be expecting too much of human nature to suppose that men did not yield frequently to the temptation to abuse that power. When Sigurd Thorlaksson was accused by Saint Olaf the King of the murder of his foster-brother Thoralf, and offered to clear himself by the red-hot iron, King Olaf accepted his offer, and appointed the next day for the trial at Lygra, where the bishop was to preside over it. When Sigurd went back at night to his ship, he said to his comrades that their prospects were gloomy, for the King had probably caused himself the death of Thoralf, and then brought the accusation against them, adding, "For him it is an easy matter to manage the iron ordeal so that I doubt he will come ill off who tries it against him"; whereupon they hoisted sail in the darkness and escaped to their home in the Faroe Islands (Olaf Haraldsson's Saga CXLV., Laing's Heimskringla, ii. 210). The injustice thus hinted at must often have been practised, and must have shaken the most robust faith, and this cause of disbelief would receive additional strength from the fact that the result was not seldom in doubt, victory being equally claimed by both parties' (*Superstition and Force*[3], p. 352 f.).

Pseudo-Cnut, *de Foresta*, 11. 2 (Liebermann, i. 622), shows that in the 12th cent. ordeal was regarded as an *ultimum refugium* of uncertainty; the purgation by red-hot iron shall nowise be admitted, unless the naked truth cannot be otherwise investigated. Eadmer, in his *Historia Novorum*, says about William the Red that he declared *judicium Dei* to be worth nothing, because it can be plied either one way or the other:

'Quod pro voto cuiusque hinc inde plicatur' (ed. Rolls ser., lxxxi. 102).

The last stage is reached when a very important canon of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) forbade priests to give their blessing to ordeals on any account:

'Nec quisquam purgationi aquae feruentis vel frigidae; seu ferri candentis ritum cuiuslibet benedictionis aut consecrationis impendat: saluis nihilominus prohibitionibus de monomachiis siue duellis antea promulgatis' (cap. 18, 'De iudicio sanguinis et duelli clericis interdicto').

The ordeal continued to linger for a long time in local tradition (*e.g.*, M. Bateson, *Borough Customs* [Selden Society Publications, vols. xviii. and xxi.], London, 1904–06, gives examples of it in later times) But the rule of the Lateran Council exerted a powerful influence; it cleared

the atmosphere and had much to do with abolishing that particular form of procedure in the principal courts.

LITERATURE.—J. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, Göttingen, 1828, [4]1899; H. Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1887–92, ii.: H. C. Lea, *Superstition and Force*[3], Philadelphia, 1878; F. Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, Halle, 1903–12, i., ii.

PAUL VINOGRADOFF.

ORDEAL (Greek).—The appeal to God for the settlement of a difficulty in human affairs is deeply ingrained in human nature, and therefore we find examples of trial by ordeal among all the tribes of the world (see J. Kohler, 'Die Ordalien der Naturvölker,' *ZVRW* v. [1884]).

In particular the Greeks seem to have developed many practices based on the idea of a direct appeal to a pronouncement of the gods. Forms of procedure of that kind were freely used in archaic Greece, and lingered on in many localities. The procedure of enlightened States like Athens, however, discarded this line of development, and we do not find direct testimony in this respect. This is natural enough, as the evidence of the classical period comes from a rationalistic age. The facts reported from other localities, however, are very characteristic. The cult of the Erinyes, the goddesses of revenge, was specially apt to call forth the direct manifestation of divine power. We learn from Pausanias (VII. xxv. 7) that a man who had committed homicide, or some other crime involving religious pollution, was supposed to become insane if he dared to enter the sanctuary of the Erinyes at Cerynea. Here punishment is coincident with the manifestation of guilt. And the same idea of immediate retribution appears in the story told by Philostratos in his biography of Apollonius of Tyana (i. 6). It relates to the water, *ὕδωρ ὁρκίου Διός*, which brought blindness and sickness to the man who had committed perjury. The same kind of superstition was attached, it seems, to the Horkos-stream in Bithynia: that stream was considered a most horrible one to swear by, as it used to pull the perjurer towards its whirlpools. A very curious development of this idea is presented by the legend relating to the water of the Styx. Hesiod tells us (*Theog.* 782 ff.) that the gods themselves used a form of ordeal to make sure of the truth in cases of dispute.

Iris was sent by Zeus to bring to Olympus a can of water from an underground stream (the Styx). The litigants had to drink of that water and the god who had made a false assertion would be overtaken by 'sleeping sickness' which lasted a year. When the ordeal had in this way led to a declaration of guilt, the deity convicted of the crime had to suffer further punishment for nine years and was, during that time, deprived of the food which conferred immortality on the gods.

We have no such detailed description as to an appeal to the Styx by mortals, although the oath by the water of the Styx was regarded as an especially terrible form of imprecation. The Horkos stream in Thessalia is described thus:

ὅρκου γὰρ δεινοῦ Στυγὸς ὕδατός ἐστιν ἀπορρώξ (*Il.* ii. 755); *ὅς τε μέγιστος ὅρκος δεινότατός τε πέλει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν* (*ib.* xv. 37 f.).

In a very definite form the practice of ordeal is described in Sophocles, *Antigone*, 264 ff.:

ἦμεν δ' ἕτοιμοι καὶ μύδρους αἴρειν χεροῖν,
καὶ πῦρ διέρπειν, καὶ θεοὺς ὁρκωμοτεῖν
τὸ μήτε δρᾶσαι μήτε τῷ ξυνειδέναι
τὸ πρᾶγμα βουλεύσαντι μήτ' εἰργασμένῳ.

The *μύδροι* remind us forcibly of the ordeal of red-hot iron which was so widely diffused in mediæval practice, and there can be no doubt that in this case a regular form of procedure before umpires was gone through. This particular ordeal may even have left a trace in Athenian practice, if the oath by the fire alluded to by Demosthenes (liv. 40) may be referred to the trial by red-hot iron.

The scantiness of information about actual trials must not lead to the conclusion that the recourse to these or similar practices was very rare. The extreme decentralization of Greek life and custom made it possible for the minor commonwealths to keep up ancient rites which had almost disappeared from the principal cities. We may notice in this connexion that the practice of finding out the guilt of a murderer by watching the oscillations of a suspended battle-axe (*axinomantia*) is reported (Pliny, *HN* xxxvi. 19), although it is impossible to settle the exact area in which such a practice was used. Something of the same kind was also used in connexion with shells, in the movement of which popular superstition discovered indications as to suspected guilt.

LITERATURE.—R. Hirzel, *Der Eid*, Leipzig, 1902; K. Binding and others, *Zum ältesten Strafrecht der Kulturvölker* (miscellanea in answer to queries by Mommsen), do. 1905.

PAUL VINOGRADOFF.

ORDEAL (Hebrew). — The only OT practice which involves the application of an ordeal in the proper sense of that term is described in Nu 5[11-31]. It was resorted to in order to disclose the guilt or the innocence of a wife accused by her husband of adultery. The ordeal was administered by the priest, who placed in the woman's hands the 'jealousy offering' (מִנְחַת קְנָאֹת), consisting of barley meal (קֶמַח שְׂעֹרִים), without oil or incense upon it. Some of the dust of the tabernacle was placed in a vessel full of water, and the solemn oath of purgation was administered to the woman. Thereafter the oath (called in v.[21] אָלָה שְׁבֻעַת, 'oath of cursing') was written on parchment, and the writing was then blotted out with the dust-impregnated water, which the woman was compelled to drink. If she was innocent, no effect followed; if guilty, 'the water that causeth the curse shall enter into her and become bitter, and her belly shall swell, and her thigh shall fall away' (וְצָבְתָה בִטְנָהּ וְנָפְלָה יְרֵכָהּ)—the punishment thus falling upon the instruments of her sin.

It is evident that the efficacy of the ordeal described is regarded as due entirely to divine intervention; the ingredients employed are innocuous. No doubt fear of the result often led to a confession of guilt. It is equally clear that the result is expected to show itself speedily (cf. *Sôṭāh*, iii. 4, where an interval of from two to three years is allowed). Unlike many of the prescriptions of the Levitical code, which were rather theoretical than practical, the 'jealousy' ordeal was really employed by the Jews (*Ber.* 63*a*; *Eduy.* v. 6; *Sôṭāh*, i. 58). According to Jewish testimony (*Sôṭāh*, ix. 9), it was efficacious only when the husband himself was innocent, and it was applied only in doubtful cases, and solely at the request of the husband (*ib.* iii. 6, iv. 2). It is said to have been abolished in the 1st cent. A.D., at the instigation of Johanan ben Zakkai, because adultery on the part of husbands became so common that the 'bitter waters' had no effect when administered to an unfaithful wife (*ib.* ix. 49). Johanan grounded his action on Hos 4[14].

It is possible that the 'jealousy' ordeal is only a particular instance of the water ordeal, which Robertson Smith and others believe to have been widely practised by the Hebrews (cf. *Rel. Sem.*[2], London, 1894, p. 181). It does not appear to the present writer that there is any allusion to an ordeal in Ex 32[20] (the children of Israel compelled to drink the dust of the golden calf), or in Ex 22[7-10] [Eng. [8-11]], or Jg 17[2] (cf. Lv 5[1]).

LITERATURE. — B. Stade, *ZATW* xv. [1895] 166–178; W. Nowack, *Lehrb. der hebr. Archäologie*, Freiburg, 1894, ii. 249–253; the Comm. on 'Numbers,' *ad loc.*, esp. G. B. Gray (*ICC*, Edinburgh, 1903), who also discusses textual questions to which it has not been found necessary to refer in above article; *HDB* iii. 273[b], 325[b]; *EBi* ii. 2341 ff.; *PRE*[3] vii. 33–35; *JE*, artt 'Ordeal' (ix. 427 f.), and 'Adultery' (i. 217 f.).

J. A. SELBIE.

ORDEAL (Hindu).—**1. In Vedic texts.**—So little of the early judicial procedure of the Indians is revealed to us by the Vedic texts that it is hardly to be wondered at if the traces of any use of the ordeal as a means of establishing disputed facts are of the slightest character. The oath in a similar use is seen by native tradition in one passage of the *Rigveda* (vii. 104. 14 f.), and it has been suggested that there are traces of the fire and water ordeals of later India in the story of Dīrghatamas (*Rigveda*, i. 158. 4), while one hymn (ii. 12) of the *Atharvaveda* has been interpreted as intended to accompany the performance of the fire ordeal. But in all three cases the suggestion of an ordeal is inadmissible, and it is in the *Brāhmaṇa* literature that we find not only the oath (*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, v. 30), but also the closely connected ordeal. In the *Pañchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* (xiv. 6. 6) we are told that Vatsa established his purity of origin against a taunt by a rival by walking through the fire—a phrase exactly parallel to that used in the *Antigone* (264) of Sophocles.[1] In the *Chhāndogya Upaniṣad* (vi. 16), a work of the close of the Vedic period, we learn of the ordeal of carrying a heated axe as applied in a case of theft, and a parallel to this passage has been seen in the *Rigveda* (iii. 53. 22), but without any real ground. The *Kauśika Sūtra* (lii. 8) seems to refer to the ordeal by the hot piece of gold. Finally, in one passage of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (xi. 2. 7. 33) there has been seen a reference to the balance ordeal as practised in later India. There remain, therefore, as proved for the Vedic period, say to 500 B.C., no more than one voluntary ordeal and one apparently judicial, and neither of these accords with the ordeals of the jurists.

2. In the early jurists.—The unimportance of ordeals in the Vedic period receives confirmation from the slight place which they occupy in the early jurists. In the *Dharma Sūtras*, which belong to the period from 500 B.C. onwards, they are passed over in silence by all except the latest of all, Āpastamba, who (ii. 11. 29. 6) merely refers to the use of ordeals as one way of deciding disputed cases. In the code of Manu the ordeal for the first time appears as a definite part of judicial procedure. It stands in the closest connexion with the oath, and it is plain that the ordeals mentioned are merely more stringent forms of the oath, a characteristic which holds good of Hindu ordeals throughout their history. The commentators see in the passage of Manu a reference (viii. 114–116) to the fire and water ordeals normal later, but this cannot be correct: the reference is merely to the person subjected to the ordeal escaping burning by the fire, and to his not being thrown up by the water; and, as the former ordeal is illustrated by the case of Vatsa, it seems clear that we have merely a case of fire-walking, and the second form was presumably nothing more or less than the ordinary Teutonic ordeal in which the person was thrown into the water and held innocent if he sank. The commentators say, in accord with the later usage, that these ordeals were reserved for graver cases.

3. In the later juristic literature.—The *Mānava Dharma Śāstra* was probably redacted in its present shape before A.D. 200, and the first evidence for the development of a system of ordeals is found in the *Smṛtis* of Yājñavalkya and Viṣṇu, dating probably from before A.D. 300. From that time on the *Smṛtis* develop the subject in increasing detail and on the same lines. The most important accounts are those of Nārada (*c.* A.D. 500), preserved in two versions, Bṛhaspati (*c.* A.D. 600), Kātyāyana, and Pitāmaha, who are possibly the former rather earlier, the latter rather later, than Bṛhaspati. The later text-books of law rely on the *Smṛtis*, and the continuity of practice is illustrated by the fact that in 1783 the chief magistrate of Benares was actually carrying out ordeals in the manner prescribed in the texts. In the course of time many changes took place in the mode of carrying out the ordeals, the number was increased, and detailed rules for their administration multiplied—for the most part, it must be noted, in the direction of making the ordeal less onerous on the person by whom it was carried out. As usual, the texts differ in innumerable details, but the following are the chief points of importance in their accounts of the circumstances under which ordeals could be applied.

(*a*) *Conditions of application.*—The form of procedure contemplated in all cases is one by formal plaint expressed in writing, to which the defendant lodges a formal reply; the mode of proof is then decided upon, and the decision is based on the success or failure of the defendant, or plaintiff, as the case may be, to make good his contention. The normal modes of proof recognized by the *Smṛtis* are documents and witnesses, with a preference for the former, and it is only when these two means fail to yield guidance, through insufficiency or equality of weight, that the ordeal can have a place, according to Yājñavalkya; the same rule seems usually to be recognized by the other *Smṛtis*, if not explicitly stated, while Kātyāyana goes so far as to rule that, even if only a part of the case can be established by witnesses, nevertheless the ordeal may not be applied. Even, however, when an ordeal is permissible, there is one important limitation on its use: it implies normally that the other party shall undertake as part of the proceedings to accept the penalty appropriate, be it merely a fine or even corporal punishment. To this rule there are two kinds of exceptions: in the first place, if a man desires to justify himself, he may undertake, according to Nārada, the ordeal without the other party undertaking to pay the penalty; in the second place, in cases of accusation of grave offences, which would be classified as crimes in modern jurisprudence, the king is allowed to decide that the ordeal shall be imposed without the accuser undertaking to bear the penalty, which would be, often at any rate, a capital one. These cases are given by Yājñavalkya as treason and great sins, by Viṣṇu as offences against the king and offences of violence (*sāhasa*); with this view Kātyāyana agrees, and Pitāmaha allows in these cases the application only of the ordeal by sacred libation. Nārada has two different accounts: in the first he restricts the administration of the ordeal without the other party accepting the penalty to cases of high treason and to the king's own servants; in the second he allows it in all cases of persons suspected by the king or denounced as criminals by intercourse with robbers. This version is noteworthy by reason of the stress laid on the rule that the ordeal should never be resorted to without the consent of the plaintiff, and by the statement that the ordeal is superior to human methods of proof. Bṛhaspati prescribes the ordeal for ruffians, adulterers, forgers of gems, pearls, or coral, and those who withhold deposits, and authorizes its employment for serious crimes or the appropriation of a deposit even when there are witnesses. But, though he asserts the superiority of ordeals properly administered to witnesses, he still restricts the use normally to cases where doubt arises as to a document or oral evidence and where ratiocination fails. Apparently in the special cases mentioned the ordeal might be imposed without the other party accepting a penalty, but this point is left obscure by the text. Pitāmaha shows that ordeals were not regarded universally with confidence, as

[1] O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie*, Munich, 1906, p. 877; cf. above, p. 521[a].

he provides for the case where there is no human evidence and where the two parties do not wish to resort to ordeal, in which event the king is to decide. The cases which thus are left to be dealt with by ordeal—normally only in the absence of human means of proof—are offences against the king, serious crimes, especially those of violence and adultery, theft and robbery, the withholding of a deposit or denial of an obligation, and matters done in secret, in the interior of a house, in a forest, or so long ago that there can be no evidence, and cases where the human evidence is perjured or otherwise suspect.

Even when an ordeal is permitted, however, it need not take any more severe form than that of an oath, the *Smṛtis* being all agreed that the oath is a form of ordeal suited for the lesser cases. Strictly speaking, it would seem from Manu that the test of the truth of the oath was whether any calamity came to the swearer, but, as no time within which the test was to be made good is specified in the later *Smṛtis*, and, as the oath is reserved for cases of less weight, it seems probable that in point of fact the sanction of the oath itself was considered to be sufficient.[1] Viṣṇu specifies in detail the oaths for smaller offences, estimated in money-value as not exceeding 5 *kṛṣṇalas* in the case of a Śūdra; for an offence valued at or exceeding 5 *kṛṣṇalas* but under half a *suvarṇa* the ordeal by sacred libation is imposed; for any more serious case any of the other four, the balance, fire, water, and poison. In the case of a Vaiśya the rates are increased twofold, for a Kṣatriya threefold, for a Brāhman fourfold, but he is exempt from the ordeal by sacred libation unless as a test of his future conduct in a transaction; any one convicted previously of crime must be subjected to an ordeal, however trifling the amount. Bṛhaspati prescribes for persons of the lowest order the poison ordeal when property worth 1000 *paṇas* has been stolen, the fire ordeal where the value is 750, the hot oil where the value is 400, the ordeals by rice, sacred libation, and *dharma* and *adharma* for values of 300, 150, and 100 respectively, and the ordeal by the ploughshare for the theft of a cow. These sums are doubled and quadrupled for persons of superior merit. Nārada and Pitāmaha agree in ascribing the rice ordeal to cases of larceny. The other *Smṛtis* leave the matter to the discretion of the king or the presiding judge.

Normally the ordeal fell to be performed by the defendant, but Yājñavalkya and Nārada clearly permit it to be performed, by mutual agreement, by the plaintiff, the defendant then undertaking the payment of the penalty. This, however, seems distinctly to be contrary to the views of Viṣṇu, Kātyāyana, and Pitāmaha. Kātyāyana alone appears to allow a substitute to undertake the performance of the ordeal, but only if the person concerned is an unbeliever, or guilty of one of the mortal sins, or of a mixed caste, or outside the Brāhmanical community.

(*b*) *Limitations of the use of ordeals.*—Certain restrictions are imposed on the use of ordeals according to the caste or the personal condition of the person concerned or the time of year. Nārada, in one version, Hārīta, and Pitāmaha seek to provide that the ordeals by the balance, fire, water, and poison shall be assigned to the Brāhman, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, and Śūdra respectively; and Kātyāyana, while giving as an alternative the use of all kinds for all castes, exempts the Brāhman from the water ordeal. Elsewhere Nārada states that ordeals should not be imposed on persons performing vows, ascetics, women, distressed persons, and those who are diseased; that the poison ordeal is not to be inflicted on the young, the old, ascetics, distressed persons, and madmen; that the balance is the suitable ordeal for eunuchs, distressed and afflicted persons, infants, old men, and the blind, and the balance and the sacred libation for women. He also forbids the use of poison for bilious people, water for those distressed, and fire for lepers, the blind, and those with bad nails. Viṣṇu prescribes the balance for Brāhmans, women, infirm old men, sick persons, and persons deficient in an organ of sense, and forbids the use of fire in the case of lepers, infirm persons, and blacksmiths, of poison for lepers, bilious persons, and Brāhmans, of water for persons affected by phlegm or other illness, the timid or asthmatic, or those who live by water, and of sacred libation for atheists or in time of disease. Kātyāyana agrees in forbidding the use of fire for blacksmiths and water for fishermen, and adds a prohibition of poison in the case of sorcerers, presumably because their native element would be too favourable to the accused.

As regards time, the rule is that the fire ordeal is appropriate in the rains and the cold and chilly seasons, the water ordeal in summer and autumn, the poison ordeal in the cold and the chilly seasons, while the balance is improper only in stormy weather; but these rules are, it is clear, rather counsels of perfection than binding regulations. An ordeal should never be performed in the afternoon, at noon, or at the twilight, but in the morning, and in a suitable public place.

(*c*) *The numbers and kinds of ordeals.*—Yājñavalkya gives a list of five ordeals: the balance, fire, water, poison, and sacred libation; and this list is also found in Viṣṇu. Nārada, however, in one account adds to it the ordeals of rice and the hot piece of gold, and Kātyāyana agrees with this account; Hārīta, who also gives seven, has that of choosing lots in place of the hot piece of gold. Bṛhaspati and Pitāmaha bring up the number to nine by adding to Nārada's list the ordeals of the ploughshare, and *dharma* and *adharma*. These nine alone are recognized as admitted by the law as legal means of proof, and the *Smṛtis* expressly state that irregular ordeals are quite improper. In all cases the ordeals are essentially religious in nature, and certain features derived from this characteristic are common to all forms. The person affected must, as in the case of a great sacrifice, fast the day before, and he must bathe and perform the rite in wet garments; each ordeal is accompanied by prayers, which, according to Yājñavalkya, are to be said by the accused, but, according to the other *Smṛtis*, by a Brāhman; in each case offerings are made, and the presiding judge is actually compared to the *adhvaryu*, or sacrificing priest, while in the case of the ordeal by balance the balance is treated in a manner analogous to the use of the sacred post at the normal sacrifice. The place must be public, in the hall of justice, or before the king's palace, or a temple, or at cross roads, just as a royal sacrifice is public.

In the ordeal by balance two posts are erected, 6 ft. high, and a transverse beam is placed over them 3 ft. long; from it by an iron hook is suspended the beam of the balance, which is 7½ ft. long, and from the two ends of which scales are suspended, the ends working in arches to permit of the accurate marking of the position of the scales. Then the defendant is put on one side and on the other an equal weight of stone, earth, etc., the position of the scales is marked, the defendant descends; the judge then adjures the man charged with the weighing and the balance, and the defendant is re-weighed, being acquitted if he proves lighter than at the first time. If he is of equal weight, he is condemned, according to Viṣṇu and Nārada, but re-weighed, according to Bṛhaspati, who provides for his condemnation if the scales break, while Nārada acquits him and Viṣṇu requires a re-weighing.

In the fire ordeal the defendant is required to walk at an even pace across seven circles of 16 *aṅgulas* in diameter and separated by an equal distance, carrying in his hand a piece of iron of 50 *palas* in weight, made red-hot. The number of circles is given as eight and nine by Nārada and Pitāmaha respectively, but in each case the defendant stands in the first, and in the second

[1] So in Greece (Hesiod, *Theog.* 785 ff.).

case he drops the ball in the last.[1] The hands are marked before the ceremony to show any abrasions, and, before the iron is placed on them, seven leaves of the fig-tree are put on, and, according to some authorities, grains, *śamī* and *dūrvā* leaves, and curds also. If the hands on examination show no sign of burning, the ordeal is a proof of innocence. Before the iron is placed in the defendant's hands, the judge addresses a prayer to the fire to decide the case. If the defendant drops the iron, the test must be repeated.

In the water ordeal the defendant is required to plunge under water while holding on to a man standing upright in the water, and to keep below the surface until a runner fetches an arrow shot from a bow at the place of immersion. This ordeal, which was obviously a very severe one in its simplest form as it appears in Yājñavalkya and Viṣṇu, is rendered less unfair by the rule of Nārada and Bṛhaspati that three arrows are to be shot from a bow of middle strength, that the midmost of the three arrows is to be chosen, and that two men are to be used, one to go to it and one to return. A further refinement noted by Nārada makes the distance one of 225 ft., while Kātyāyana allows the innocence of the defendant to be recognized although the top of his head may be seen above the water before the return of the runner. In this case the prayer is addressed to the water before the defendant enters it.

The ordeal by poison consists in the administration of seven *yavas* of the poison of the *śṛṅga* plant from the Himālaya or the Vatsanābha (*Aconitum ferox*) mixed in *ghī*; the accused is kept in a shaded place for the rest of the day without food, and is acquitted if he shows no signs of untoward effects. Nārada mitigates the severity of this rule by limiting the time for untoward symptoms to the period occupied by 500 hand-claps, and then allows the use of antidotes. In this case the prayer is addressed to the poison itself.

The ordeal by sacred libation consists in drinking three mouthfuls of water in which images either of dread deities or of the man's special deity have been bathed. The test of innocence is the freedom in the following 7, 14, or 21 days from any calamity such as illness, fire, death of kin, or punishment by the king, the latter provision affording considerable room for unfair treatment of the accused, which seems to be avoided by Bṛhaspati and Pitāmaha, who omit this detail. In place of a prayer the accused denies the charge formally.

The rice ordeal consists in chewing a number of unhusked rice-grains mixed with water in which an image of the sun has been bathed. The accused states the charge and faces east, *i.e.* towards the sun, as he eats; injury to the gums, the appearance of blood when he spits out the grains on a leaf, or trembling is a proof of guilt.

The ordeal by the hot piece of gold consists in taking out a hot piece of gold or a signet-ring from a pot of boiling *ghī*, or *ghī* and oil, with the thumb and forefinger; innocence is proved by absence of injury to the finger, and the prayer is addressed to the boiling liquid.

In the ploughshare ordeal a piece of iron, twelve *palas* in weight, is formed into a ploughshare, and made red-hot; the thief must lick it with his tongue, and is acquitted if it escapes injury.

In the ordeal by *dharma* and *adharma* images of these two powers are painted on leaves, which are duly worshipped and then wrapped in balls of earth and placed in a jar, from which the defendant must draw one. If he draws the *dharma* lot, then he is to be honoured by the assessors before whom the trial takes place, just as in the case of the five main ordeals Nārada prescribes that, if the defendant is successful, he is to receive a sum of 150 *paṇas* as a reward—from what source is not clear.

4. In non-juristic literature.—The evidence of the jurists is supported by the occasional references to ordeals found in other portions of the literature. Thus in the *Mahābhārata* (iii. 134. 27 ff.), which is parallel in time with Manu, we hear of a man proving an assertion by entering the water, and a fire ordeal seems also to be referred to in Sītā's vindication of herself in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (vi. 116), but only in the vague sense of the ordeal as found in Manu. It is in harmony with this that the ordeals play no part in the *Artha Śāstra*, which may[2] belong to the period before the Christian era. On the other hand, in act ix. of the *Mṛchchhakaṭikā* we find a criminal trial conducted upon the model laid down by Nārada and Bṛhaspati, and decided by evidence, while the condemned man alludes to the four ordeals of fire, water, poison, and the balance. The *Pañchatantra* (i. 403) expresses the rule of the *Smṛtis*, which prefer documents to witnesses and witnesses to ordeals as a means of proof. Hiuen Tsiang (7th cent.) mentions the fire, water, poison, and balance ordeals, but his account of the poison and water ordeals differs considerably; in the latter the process adopted was to fling into water the man tied in one sack and a stone tied in another, and innocence could be proved only by the man sinking and the stone floating. Suleiman (A.D. 851) mentions the fire ordeal and that with boiling fluid. Al-Bīrūnī (11th cent.) has a full account (*India*, tr. E. Sachau, London, 1888, ii. 159 f.); he states the preference for documentary proof, then the use of witnesses, failing whom divine tests are resorted to. The defendant must normally swear, but he may also tender an oath to the suitor, and the form of test ranges from the oath to the ordeal in the narrower sense of the word. The first ordeal is that by fire, the second that by water, in which the proof of innocence is afforded by the accused escaping drowning when thrown into a deep well or a deep and rapid river. The third is the drinking of holy water, guilt being proved by the vomiting of blood. The fourth is the balance, innocence being proved by increase of weight, not decrease. The fifth and sixth are the ordeals of the hot piece of gold and the fire in the usual forms. It is clear that the local practice varied; thus the *Smṛtichandrikā* (*c.* A.D. 1200) states that the water and the poison ordeals were obsolete at that time, but this statement can have applied only to the school of lawyers in whose circles that work was produced. Right down to the introduction of the rule of British law which forbids ordeals, there is abundant evidence in India of the practice of many different ordeals. Thus 'Alī Ibrahim Khān gives as practised at his own time, ostensibly in accordance with older texts, variants of the ploughshare and poison ordeals. As tests of witches we hear of the use of the ordeal of handling hot balls, the walking over hot coals and heated ploughshares, the throwing into water, the test by tying a bag of cayenne pepper over the head (if it failed to suffocate, guilt was held to be proved), and the rubbing of the eyes with capsicum (failure to shed tears was thought to establish innocence).

LITERATURE.—For the Vedic period see H. Zimmer, *Alt-indisches Leben*, Berlin, 1879, p. 183 f.; M. Bloomfield, *JAOS* xiii. [1887] p. cxxi ff.; A. Weber, *Indische Studien*, Berlin, 1850–98, ix. [1865] 44 f., x. [1868] 73 f.; R. Pischel and K. F. Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, Stuttgart, 1888–1901, ii. [1892] 159; A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic Index*, London, 1912, i. 364 f. The passages of Manu, Viṣṇu, Nārada, and Bṛhaspati dealing with ordeals are translated by G. Buhler and J. Jolly in *SBE* xxv. [1886], vii. [1880], and xxxiii. [1889]. Of the accounts of ordeals in the later juristic literature the most important are those in the *Mitākṣarā* (*c.* A.D. 1100), a commentary on the *Yājñavalkya Smṛti*, in the *Smṛtichandrikā* of Devaṇṇabhaṭṭa, in the *Divyatattva* of Raghunandana (*c.* A.D. 1600), and in the *Vīramitrodaya* of Mitramiśra (*c.* A.D. 1700). Of modern accounts the most important are those of A. F. Stenzler, *ZDMG* ix. [1855] 661–682, E. Schlagintweit, *Die Gottesurtheile der Indier*, Munich, 1866, and J. Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, Strassburg, 1896, pp. 144–146. The question of the connexion of Indian and other Indo-European ordeals is discussed by A. Kaegi, *Alter und Herkunft des germanischen Gottesurtheils*, Zürich, 1887, and E. W. Hopkins, *Religions of India*, London, 1896, pp. 275–279. The modern witch ordeals mentioned are given by W. Crooke, *PR*[2], do. 1896, ii. 271 f.

A. B. KEITH.

ORDEAL (Iranian).—At what period in the history of Īrān the practice of the ordeal originated we have no means of determining. Tradition, as reflected in the legendary portion of Firdausī's *Shāhnāmah*,[1] assigns to that custom a vogue in very remote antiquity. The innocence and purity of Siyāvush, or Siyāvakhsh, son of Kaikā'us, the second in the line of the so-called Kaianian kings, could be vindicated only by the use of the fire ordeal, to which he elected to submit himself. Two colossal walls of wood[2] were erected at just

[1] The number 7 is here the primitive number, and this fact tells against a historical connexion with the 9 in Teutonic ordeals (K. Weinhold, *Die mystische Neunzahl bei den Deutschen*, Berlin, 1897, p. 53).

[2] A. B. Keith, *JRAS*, 1916, p. 137.

[1] Ed. T. Macan, Calcutta, 1829, i. 396–398; tr. A. G. and E. Warner, London, 1905 ff., ii. 218 ff.

[2] Parsi tradition associated the scene of this ordeal with Abarquh, or Abarguh, a city situated about 80 miles south-west of Yezd, where Ibn Haukal and Yāqūt say that there existed extensive heaps or a large hill of ashes, and both regard this phenomenon as connected not with Muhammadan but with Parsi history (Yāqūt, *Geographisches Wörterbuch*, ed. F. Wüsten-

such a distance apart as would barely allow a horseman to pass between them. Siyāvush, however, emerged from between the flaming walls without scar or burn, thereby placing his honour beyond cavil, while his slanderess, Sūdābeh, had not Siyāvush magnanimously interceded for her, would have been put to death.

1. Sources.—The existing portions of the Avesta contain few allusions to ordeals; and the passages usually so interpreted (*Ys.* xxxi. 3, xliii. 4, li. 9 [*SBE* xxxi. (1887) 41, 100, 181 f.]; *Vend.* iv. 46, 54 [*SBE* iv.[2] (1895) 46, 48 f.]), with, perhaps, the exception of *Vendīdād*, iv. 46, 54, are not sufficiently explicit to render beyond doubt a reference to an ordeal as essential to their right understanding (but see below). If, therefore, we had formed our ideas of the place of the ordeal in the legal and religious life of the Iranians from the meagre and somewhat ambiguous references to that rite in the existing parts of the Zoroastrian scriptures, we should have erred grievously. It is to Pahlavi literature that we owe our knowledge of the very extensive and important use of the ordeal in early and later Iranian times. The Pahlavi *Dīnkarṭ* has preserved a brief account of the contents of the lost *nasks* of the Avesta, and, although details are, unfortunately, wanting, we are thus able, in a measure, to form a conception of the prevalence and the elaborate development of ordeals and their ceremonies in Avestan times. The *Dāṭistān-i-Dīnīk*, *Shāyast la-Shāyast*, and *Zāṭ-Sparam* also materially supplement our knowledge.

2. Origin and history.—The institution of the ordeal is attributed to Zoroaster in the *Dīnkarṭ* (VII. v. 4–6 [*SBE* xlvii. (1897) 74 f.]):

'And one marvel is the provision, by Zaratûsht, of the achievement of the ordeal, that indicator of the acquitted and incriminated . . . of which it is said in revelation there are about thirty-three kinds. These, too, the disciples of Zaratûsht kept in use, after that time, until the collapse of the monarchy of Irân.'[1]

Whether that statement represents historical fact or not cannot, of course, be definitely ascertained.[2] That the ordeal in some of its forms was practised in the Prophet's time and by him has much probability. And the veneration with which it is spoken of in so many of the references to it is due, perhaps, only in a lesser degree to the belief in its institution and use by Zoroaster than to its being the instrument of a divine communication.

3. Purposes and functions.—The general purpose of the ordeal, properly so called, was to discover guilt and innocence where other evidence was absent or insufficient. It was an invocation to God to judge and reveal His decision where human knowledge failed. Hence the appropriate and descriptive character of the German term *Gottesurtheil* for this rite.

But among the Iranians, at least, the ordeal had another, though kindred, function. It served as a test not merely of the innocence or guilt of a person, but of the truth or falsity of a religious system or a religious movement together with the veraciousness of the apostle or leader of such a religion. Its function in Zoroastrianism was identical with that of miracles for the Christian and Jewish religions and of the *mu'jizāt* in Muhammadanism. In the *Zāṭ-Sparam* Zoroaster is represented as undergoing a form of the fire ordeal with this purpose:

'The archangels exhibited three kinds of achievement [or ordeal] for the religion; first, by means of fires, and Zaratûsht walked three steps on them, with the words, "good thoughts, good words, and good deeds," and was not burnt' (xxi. 24 [*SBE* xlvii. 158 f.]).

The *Dīnkarṭ* exemplifies the performance of the ordeal of molten metal for the same end by a reference to the deed of Âtûrpat, son of Mâhraspand, under the Sasanian king Shâhpûhr II. (A.D. 309–379), when the Zoroastrian faith was in conflict with the Manichæan heresy.

'These, too [*i.e.* the ordeals], the disciples of Zaratûsht kept in use, after that time . . . and the custom of one of them is that of pouring melted metal on the breast, as in the achievement of the saintly Âtûrpat, son of Mâhraspand, through whose *preservation* a knowledge about the religion was diffused in the world; and of the manifestation, too, through that first wonder, this is also said, on the same subject, in the good religion, that of those, many, when they behold that rite of ordeal, it convinces the wicked' (VII. v. 5 [*SBE* xlvii. 74 f.]).

4. Forms.—The *Dīnkarṭ*, as already mentioned, states that revelation (meaning thereby, no doubt, the Avesta) recognized about 33 kinds (VII. v. 4 f.). If so many were in use at any period, only comparatively few of that number are mentioned in any documents. There would seem to have been a general classification into hot and cold ordeals. According to the *Shāyast la-Shāyast*[1] (xiii. 17 [*SBE* v. (1880) 360]), there were six hot ordeals. Fire itself would, naturally, constitute at least one, and, in various forms, possibly more than one of the six. The instance, already referred to, in which Zoroaster is described as walking on fires, would seem to indicate that such a form involved bodily contact with that element[2]—its sacred character notwithstanding. On the other hand, if we accept a reference to an ordeal, so called, as implicit in *Ys.* xxxi. 3, no physical contact is presupposed. The revelation, or 'decision' between the 'disputants,' for which the prophet prays, was evidently expected by the discernment, through the spirit, of the form or colour or some other visible feature of the sacred fire. In the strict and narrower sense of the term the process was not a case of ordeal; it was rather an instance of divination, the ordeal being really a species of divination (see also art. DIVINATION [Vedic], vol. iv. p. 829). But in the Pahlavi books the name 'ordeal' (*varīh*) is applied to both indiscriminately. The sacred twig, or *barsom*, ordeal (*baresmōk varīh*), mentioned more than once in these books, belongs to the same category (see *Dīnk.* VIII. xxxviii. [*SBE* xxxvii. 121 ff.]). Whether we should deduce from the passage, 'The *Gāthās* for an ordeal of the spiritual existence' (*ib.* IX. xvii. 8), that those hymns had a similar function it is impossible to determine. It may be nothing more than a metaphorical expression. The whole passage is obscure.

The clearest and most explicit reference to an ordeal in the existing portions of the Avesta is to another of the heat ordeals, namely, boiling water.

'Before the boiling water publicly prepared, O Spitama Zarathushtra! let no one make bold to deny having received [from his neighbour] the ox or the garment in his possession. . . . Down there the pain for his deed shall be as hard as any in this world: to wit, the deed of a man, who, knowingly lying, confronts the brimstoned, golden, truth-knowing water with an appeal unto Rashnu and a lie unto Mithra' (*Vend.* iv. 46, 54 [*SBE* iv.[2] 46, 48 f.]).

The water employed for this ordeal contained incense, brimstone, and molten gold. The formula recited at the performance of this rite was as follows:

'Before the Amshaspand Bahman, before the Amshaspand Ardibehesht, here lighted up . . . I swear that I have nothing of what is thine, N. son of N., neither gold, nor silver, nor brass, nor clothes, nor any of the things created by Ormazd' (*SBE* iv. 49, note 2).

Among the cold ordeals, one of the most frequently resorted to would appear to be that by poison. From the illustration in which the *Dāṭistān-i-Dīnīk* (xxxvii. 74 [*SBE* xviii. (1882) 102,

---

feld, Leipzig, 1866, i. 86; F. Spiegel, *Erân. Alterthumskunde*, do. 1871–78, i. 96, 598; A. V. W. Jackson, *Persia Past and Present*, New York and London, 1906, p. 341 f.).

[1] Cf. *Dīnk.* VII. vii. 2 (*SBE* xlvii. 82).

[2] See Jackson, *Zoroaster*, New York and London, 1898, p. 97.

[1] That work also claims to incorporate much material from lost *nasks* of the Avesta. See M. Haug, *Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis*[4], London, 1907, p. 106.

[2] But see *Dīnk.* VIII. xx. 42 (*SBE* xxxvii. [1892] 59).

and note, p. 102 f.]) refers to this ordeal, it would appear that the two litigants chose each a particular kind of poison, and each took or was supposed to take his own and his opponent's poison. Frequently, however, a dishonest litigant substituted an innocent powder for his own poison. But nemesis always followed, since he could not avoid taking his opponent's. The more cautious litigant took his opponent's poison, but trusted to being able to diagnose the nature of that poison, and then selected as his own one that was its antidote, and thus himself survived.

Associated with the ordeal of walking on fires and that of pouring molten metal on the bosom, and devoted to the same purpose, was the surgical ordeal:

'Cutting with a knife and the vital parts becoming visible . . . with a flowing forth of blood; and, after the hands had been rubbed over it, it became healed' (*Zāt-Sparam*, xxi. 26 [*SBE* xlvii. 159]).

One further aspect under which the Iranians practised ordeal was that of excessive eating (*pāūrū-khūrānō*). The *Dīnkarṭ*, detailing the contents of the *Nīkādūm Nask*, attributes to it the efficacy of causing escape from distress by bailiffs (VIII. xx. 33).

5. Regulations governing performance of ordeals.—The choice of, and preparation for, as well as the actual performance of, an ordeal were subject to very detailed and carefully systematized rules, embodied mainly, it would appear, in the *Sakādūm* and *Nīkādūm*[1] *Nasks* (see *Shāyast la-Shāyast*, x. 25). Scarcely any of the rules themselves, but only an enumeration of the points upon which regulations existed, are given in the Pahlavi analyses of those *nasks*. As regards the choice of the ordeal, several questions would emerge—among them, probably always, whether the ordeal was to be severe or one that was not severe (*Dīnk.* VIII. xxxviii. 64). Whether the rank of the subject influenced that decision in Īrān, as was the case elsewhere (see art. DIVINATION [Vedic]), we have but little if any documentary evidence upon which to base any conclusion. The *Dīnkarṭ* speaks of an ordeal that was 'not that for their own station, but that for the station of others' (VIII. xx. 12 [*SBE* xxxvii. 55]). But that passage admits of various interpretations.

The priest or righteous man presided over the performance and acted as judge of the outcome of the ordeal (*ib.* 56, 67). Attendants had their prescribed functions, probably to attend to the various appliances (*ib.* 16). In the case of the ordeal by fire, wood of a particular character was prescribed and used after special preparation (*ib.* 41).

References to certain rules—such, *e.g.*, as those for protecting the limbs during ordeal (*ib.* 14)—shed some light on the extent to which, after all, the system of ordeals was really believed in as an instrument of divine revelation.

6. The ordeal in relation to eschatology.—The authors of the Avesta (*Ys.* xliii. 4, li. 9), and the followers of the 'good religion' generally, evidently believed that Ahura Mazda would bring his mighty work to its final consummation by a great ordeal by fire and molten metal (*ayah khshusta*) through which the righteous and the wicked were destined to pass, and which was to act as the great sifter and final separator of true believers from those who had refused to believe (see *Bundahishn*, xxx. 20 [*SBE* v. 126]; A. V. W. Jackson, in *PAOS*, Oct. 1890, pp. 58–61; J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, London, 1913, p. 158, note 1).

LITERATURE.—To the works referred to in the course of the article it remains to add W. Geiger, *Civilization of the Eastern Iránians in Ancient Times*, tr. Dastur Peshotan Sanjānā, London, 1885–86, pp. 43–45.

E. EDWARDS.

[1] The *Hūspāram* and *Babō Nasks* also had references to ordeals.

ORDEAL (Malagasy).—The custom of judicial trials or judgments of God, *i.e.* ordeals, was widespread throughout the island of Madagascar down to the time of its conquest by France; it took the place of inquiry and trial in criminal matters.

Whenever a person was accused of a crime in Madagascar (murder, theft, and especially witchcraft), and had not been taken *in flagrante delicto*—which was usually the case with pretended sorcerers, to whom were attributed illnesses, misfortunes of all kinds, and even death—recourse was had to the ordeal. Among certain tribes—*e.g.*, the Merina—all the slaves employed in the interior of the palace, before being allowed to exercise their respective functions, had to submit to it in order to show if they had any evil intentions or if they were sorcerers, and, down to the time of Radama II., princes and persons of high rank took the same precautions with regard to their cooks; otherwise they would not have touched the food served to them.

The 'guilty' were always put to death by being beaten with sticks and stones, for the shedding of a sorcerer's blood—impure blood, which was supposed to defile the earth—was avoided, and, as a rule, his body was not buried, but given as food to the dogs and wild animals; it was imperative that no part of him should remain on this earth, that he should be completely annihilated, and that even his *manes* might not come in contact with those of honest men. Not only were his belongings confiscated and divided among the chief of the country, the magistrate, and the accuser, but often his wives and children were regarded as participants in his 'crime' and were sold as slaves; they, however, and his near relatives, had to abjure all complicity with the criminal. On the other hand, an indemnity was paid by the accuser to the one who came forth victorious from the ordeal.

Ordeals by poison, by boiling water or red-hot iron, by wild animals (crocodiles), as well as by sacred food or water, were in use in Madagascar until the year 1895. The earliest inhabitants mentioned in history—the Vazimba—did not make use of ordeals, as we know not only from traditions in Imerina, but also from the stories of those who still inhabit the Menabé; but, since the 17th cent. at least, they have been in use throughout the whole island, although all the tribes did not have recourse to the same ones. They seem to be due in the east, north, and west, and afterwards in Imerina, to the Jewish immigrants who came from Yemen long ago, and in the south to the Arabs who have come to settle in those districts since the 16th century. To the former are due the ordeal by poison, by the *tanghin*, which is similar to the bitter waters of the Jews, and which was practised in the north and the centre, and to the latter those by red-hot iron, boiling water, and crocodiles, which were practised in the south.

Until recent years the Malagasy believed in the infallibility of these tests, which they applied to all crimes and to all classes of individuals; innocent persons themselves often requested to be subjected to them when they felt that they were being suspected. They were applied sometimes to isolated persons, sometimes to groups, villages, or even whole cantons.

1. Ordeal by poison (*tanghin* or *kisompa*; north of 20° S. lat.).—(*a*) The *tanghin* (*Tanghinia venenifera*) is a beautiful tree of the family of Apocynaceæ, which grows abundantly in the wooded parts of the east and north; its fruit, which is of a yellowish colour and the size of a small peach, forms towards the middle of November and is ripe at the end of December; in the middle of a soft greyish pulp, which has a bitter, disagreeable taste, it contains a woody nut, with a rough surface;

inside the nut is a highly poisonous kernel, which changes in colour, when ripening, from white to a brownish-red; the red kernels are the most poisonous. The poison, whether inoculated under the skin or introduced into the stomach, produces the same effects, only not so quickly in the latter case; it stops the movements of the heart and is a general convulsant; the symptoms are considerable difficulty in breathing, uneasiness, nausea, and vomiting, increasing weakness, without convulsions or cries, but with some moaning; death is due to paralysis of the heart. The *tanghin*, which in large doses is a very violent poison, in small doses acts as a powerful emetic; the riper the kernel, and the nearer it is scraped to the germ, the greater is its toxicity. The *mpanozon-doha* (lit. 'he who administers') had therefore every facility for grading the dose of the poison according to his interests.

On the east coast, when a person was accused or even merely suspected of witchcraft, he was called upon to undergo the *tanghin* test: the kernel of a fruit gathered on the ground, and therefore very poisonous, was simply rubbed on a stone, over which a little water was then poured; this the accused drank, and his death decided his guilt. The wife and children of the guilty man became the slaves of the accuser. In the north-west, among certain tribes—the Bezanozano, the Sakalava, and the Antankarana—the *tanghin* was given to young chickens when a stranger arrived in order to find out whether he had good or bad intentions, and whether it was wise to form a connexion with him.

The *tanghin* ordeal was brought, as was said above, by the colonists who came from Yemen. During the reign of the third king of Javanese origin, Andrianjaka (1640–65), the chief, Andrianentoarivo, who had got some *tanghin* nuts from Ravo, a Sakalava king of the north-west, introduced it among the Vonizongo, whence it spread throughout the remainder of Imerina in the reign of Andriamasinavalona (1696–1740).

After making sure of the efficacy of the 'drink,' as they called it, by making a chicken (*mamono sotry*) swallow some of the gratings of the *tanghin* kernel, they put some of it into a *sosoa* ('rice-soup'), which the accused person ate; if he fell ill, he was declared guilty, and if he vomited, without any other discomfort, he was declared innocent.

The grandson of Andriamasinavalona, Andriambelomasina (1755–76), introduced modifications into this practice—notably that the accused had to swallow three pieces, the size of a finger, of the skin of an aroidea, the *songo*; if he vomited the three pieces, he was declared innocent; if not, he was recognized as guilty, and was put to death. Under Andrianampoinimerina (1787–1810) these were replaced by three fragments of the skin of a hen, each two centimetres square, and for the rice-water (*ranom-bary*) they substituted the *ranon-koba* ('flour-soup'); it was also in the reign of this king that in lawsuits and disputes the *tanghin* was given to dogs or fowls.

Since the beginning of the 19th cent. the circumstances connected with the ceremony of the administration of *tanghin* have changed very little; they were always marked by great solemnity.

The men who were present did not wear *sadika* (Malagasy breeches), and the women had bare shoulders, the *lamba* being fastened under the arms; the magistrate went to the person who was denounced as a sorcerer or a rebel, and arrested him wherever he was, saying to him: '*Sarobabay*!' ('Alas! I am very sorry [to arrest you, but it is the king's command']), and the *tanghin* was administered on the spot. The test took place during the day, but the house was hermetically closed in order that the darkness might be complete; a candle was lit, and there were brought a calabash full of water which had been put underground during the night, 'not having seen the sun,' two chickens, which had to undergo the preliminary test to find out the toxicity of the poison, a hen, which was killed in order to get the three pieces of skin, and a *tandroho* ('fishing-net'), in which the suspect was to vomit. The accuser had then to swear that he was not accusing for the purpose of harming an enemy, but that he was telling the truth. Then two *tanghin* kernels were taken, and, in order to make sure of the uniformity of the poison, a half of each of them was rubbed on a stone or on a sort of rasp moistened with a little juice taken from the trunk of a young plantain during the repetition of cabalistic words. The suspect had first to swallow a little rice; then the officiant, placing his hand on the accused's head, addressed an invocation to the *tanghin*, beginning with the words: 'Listen, listen carefully! Be attentive! *Manamango!* You are only a simple seed, quite round, without eyes, and yet you see clearly, without ears and you hear, without a mouth and you speak! By means of you God shows us his wishes!' They watched the suspect to see the effect of the *tanghin*, or gave him a drink of rice-water, and what he vomited was carefully caught in the basket in order to see if he put up the three pieces of skin, which had not only to be thrown up, but to be untouched, neither chewed nor rolled. Neither must he, in his efforts to vomit, fall with his head to the south—which was an 'evident' proof that he was a sorcerer. When his guilt was declared, his relatives, who had all been present at the test, retired, showing all the horror with which he inspired them from that time.

The number of victims to the *tanghin* is considerable, and difficult to estimate exactly. The popular belief is that one person in every five of those who take it dies. Now, during last century about one-tenth of the population of Madagascar were subjected to the test—which means the death of 40,000 to 50,000 individuals in a generation, *i.e.* 1500 to 2000 every year.

(*b*) In the west, in Menabé and further north, where the *tanghin* does not grow, the inhabitants used instead the root of the *kisompavavy* (lit. 'the female *kisompa*' [*Menabea venenata*]), which acted on the medullary nervous system; only the members of a certain family had the right to gather it, and it was very carefully guarded in the house in which were kept the *jiny*, or relics of the dead Sakalava kings.

The accused was led to the north of the enclosure of the king, and his *aoly* ('talismans') were removed, his hair was untwisted, and made to stand on end, and he was placed on the ground; one of the great chiefs of the country rubbed a piece of the root mentioned on a flat stone, slightly damp, invoking the ancestors of the king, the dead Maroseranana. When a sufficient dose of poison was rubbed down, another chief made some pellets of rice which had been cooked the previous night; the patient swallowed them, and then lay on his face and licked up and swallowed the poison paste on the stone. He was next led into one of the huts situated in the western part of the village, where *fihetsa* ('soldiers') kept him in sight, watching his movements—for he had not to scratch himself, to chase away a fly with his hands, to rave, or to vomit, under pain of being instantly put to death by blows of *akalo* ('drum-sticks'), sticks, and stones. As a rule, the corpse was dragged outside the village, on the west side, and abandoned as food for the dogs and wild animals.

2. Ordeals by red-hot iron, boiling water, or crocodiles.—These ordeals were sometimes practised indifferently by one and the same tribe, sometimes one or other of them was peculiar to a particular tribe. Before subjecting the accused to the test, the officiant always addressed a prayer to God to ask Him to make known the truth—a prayer which, except for the constant repetitions and redundancies in all Malagasy speeches, was always practically the same:

'Pay great attention, iron (or boiling water, or crocodile), listen carefully to what I am going to say to you. Do not burn (or do not kill) without reason. We have not caught the accused in the act; we have only suspicions, but, if he is really a sorcerer, an assassin, a thief, may his tongue be burned (or may his hand be scalded, or may the crocodiles devour him), let him die! But, O God of our fathers, if he is innocent, do not let him succumb, one, two, three, four, five, six times let him come forth triumphantly from this test, but the seventh, if he is guilty, may his tongue be burned (or may his hand be scalded, or may the crocodile devour him), and let him die.'

(*a*) In the ordeal by red-hot iron the iron was usually heated with wood of a special kind, during the prayer of the officiant, who afterwards touched the tongue of the accused three times (Antambahoaka), four times (Mahafaly and Antandroy), or seven times (Betsimisaraka of the south and the Antanosy), or else made him lick the iron once

(Antifiheranana and Betsileo), after a few scrapings of a royal *hazomanitra* ('sacred wood') had been put on it.

(*b*) In the ordeal by boiling water the accused, as a rule, had, without burning his hand, to take a pebble out of a pot half-full of boiling water, into which had been thrown some cow-dung and a few tamarind leaves (if, during the preparations, two dogs fought, if a crow flew over the gathering, if a house in the village went on fire, if bad news was heard, or if the accused let the stone fall, he was at once declared guilty); he had afterwards to lay down the stone beside the royal *hazomanitra* and cover his hand for twenty-four hours, but during all that time he was watched so that he might not apply a remedy. If he then had blisters on his hand, he was declared guilty.

(*c*) In the ordeal by crocodiles the accused was conducted to the bank of a river, which, after the necessary harangue, he crossed twice; if he came out of this test unharmed his accusers usually paid him as indemnity two oxen, then two others, one for the chief and one for the magistrate.

LITERATURE. — J. Chatin, *Recherches pour servir à l'hist. botanique, chimique et physiologique du tanguin de Madagascar*, Paris, 1873; H. H. Cousins, 'Tanghin or the Poison Ordeal of Madagascar,' *Antandnarivo Annual*, 1896, pp. 385-388; J. Sibree, 'A Malagasy Ordeal among the Tatsimo,' *ib.*, 1876, pp. 65-71, *The Great African Island*, London, 1880; A. and G. Grandidier, *Hist. physique, naturelle et politique de Madagascar*, Paris, 1908-16, vol. iv. (in the press); and for complete literature see G. Grandidier, *Bibliographie de Madagascar*, do. 1905-06, p. 882.

G. GRANDIDIER.

ORDEAL (Roman).—The nature of an ordeal has been explained above (p. 507), and all that is necessary here is to bring into line such vestiges of primitive ritual relating to ordeals as can be discovered in the Roman tradition, and the legendary stories which appear to show that a system of ordeals was at one time familiar to the Italian peoples. Not only are the materials scanty, but the elucidation of them is the more difficult because Latin literature is so largely dependent upon Greek models that it constantly tends to represent as native what is actually of alien origin. This qualification must always be borne in mind, even where the evidence is not on the surface such as to awaken suspicion.

1. Fire ordeal.—One of the commonest forms of ordeal is that in which the guilt or innocence of an accused person is tested by fire, *i.e.*, according to his ability or failure to endure unscathed the contact either of the fire itself or of a substance such as iron made red-hot by fire. Vergil puts into the mouth of the Etruscan Arruns the statement that his countrymen, while worshipping Apollo on Mt. Soracte, were enabled, owing to the strength of their piety, to walk through the flames, bearing live embers (*Æn.* xi. 785 ff.). It is probable that Vergil is alluding to the survival of an ancient rite in which Apollo had succeeded to the place of honour previously occupied by Vediovis in his capacity of an under-world god (G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, Munich, 1902, p. 191). Pliny (*HN* vii. 19) describes the immunity from the effects of fire as belonging to certain households known as Hirpi, who on that account were exempt from military and other State burdens. Varro (*ap.* Serv. in Verg. *loc. cit.*) ascribed their insensibility to the use of an ointment which they spread over the soles of their feet before exposing them to the fire. From Silius Italicus (v. 175 ff.) we get a clearer impression of the ritual: the celebrant was required to pass three times through the fire bearing offerings to the god, which, if successful, he deposited on the altar. One might guess that the aspirant to initiation in the order of the Hirpi, before securing his admission, made public celebration of his proficiency.

The word *hirpus* signified 'a wolf' in the Sabine dialect (Strabo, p. 250), and an ætiological explanation of the rite preserved by Servius declares that wolves robbed the *exta* from the altar of Dis pater, that they were pursued by the shepherds as far as a hollow which emitted pestilential vapours, that an epidemic followed, and that an oracle promised relief to the sufferers on condition that they imitated the wolves by living on plunder. We infer that the wolf-priests, who, so far as their name is concerned, may be compared with the Luperci Quinctiales and Fabiani in Rome (Wissowa, p. 483, n. 6), were the human representatives of the malignant power whose anger it was essential to appease.

A number of similar cases of walking through fire from India, China, and elsewhere have been collected by Frazer (*GB*[3], pt. vii., *Balder the Beautiful*, London, 1913, ii. 1-20), who concludes that the fire-walk was in its origin a form of purification, the flames being thought either to burn up or to repel the powers of evil (see also W. F. Otto, in Pauly-Wissowa, viii. 1934 f., and art. FIRE-WALKING, vol. vi. p. 30). So far as the evidence goes, the Latin rite had not become an ordeal in the sense that its successful performance was used to establish the innocence of an accused person, and is therefore an incomplete parallel to the proceedings referred to by Sophocles (*Ant.* 264 ff., as quoted above, p. 521[a]). The case of Mucius Scævola voluntarily thrusting his arm into the flame (Livy, ii. 12 f.) is essentially different; his purpose was not to declare his innocence by immunity, but to prove his courage by suffering. Nor can we attach any importance to the statement of the scholiast on Soph. *Ant.*, *loc. cit.*, who, in attributing the practice of touching molten iron to the Romans of his own day, was apparently speaking of the Byzantine period (R. Hirzel, *Der Eid*, p. 199). It is probable therefore that allusions to walking through fire as a type of extreme danger (Prop. i. 5. 5; Hor. *Carm.* ii. 1. 7) should be regarded as literary reproductions due to Greek influence.

2. Other similar tests.—There are more definite traces of the employment of other tests similar to the fire ordeal. An isolated instance of what Grimm called the *iudicium offæ* is recorded by the Horatian commentator Acron (on Hor. *Epist.* i. 10. 10). When slaves were suspected of theft, they were taken to a priest, who gave to each of them a crust of bread magically drugged. The culprit was discovered by the bread sticking in his throat. 'To pour water into a sieve' was a proverbial image used to express futile labour (Plaut. *Pseud.* 102); yet it was said that Tuccia, a Vestal virgin charged with unchastity, had successfully cleared her character by the invocation of Vesta to become her witness by enabling her to draw water from the Tiber and convey it thence in a sieve to the temple of the goddess (Val. Max. viii. 1, abs. 5; Pliny, *HN* xxviii. 12; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* ii. 69). Another Vestal, Æmilia, who, while in charge of the sacred fire, had temporarily entrusted it to a novice, with the result that it became extinguished, freed herself and the whole community from the suspicion of an undiscovered taint by submitting to the judgment of the goddess as a test of her purity. Although the altar was absolutely cold and not a spark remained among the ashes, a sudden flame at once broke out and spread itself over the linen girdle which the priestess had thrown on the slab (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* ii. 68). A similar story was current regarding Claudia Quinta, a Roman matron of blemished reputation, who successfully accomplished the self-imposed task of drawing off from a sandbank in the Tiber the ship which had struck there when conveying to Rome the statue of the Great Mother (Ov. *Fast.* iv. 305 ff.). Another chastity ordeal is recorded in connexion with a dragon's cave in the precinct of the temple of Juno at Lavinium (Ælian, *Nat. An.* xi. 16). On

stated occasions the priestesses entered the cave blindfolded, bearing a barley-cake to be consumed by the dragon. So long as they remained chaste, the sacred animal accepted their offering; but, if it was sensible of pollution, the cake was left untouched, and was subsequently broken into small fragments and removed from the precinct by the ants which acted as cleansers. The guilty woman was then traced and punished.

In some of these cases the offer immediately to submit to the test converts a protestation of innocence on oath into a trial by ordeal. For the test of an ordeal as contrasted with an oath lies exactly in the willingness of the swearer to invoke the immediate fulfilment of the curse (E. B. Tylor, in *EBr*[11] xx. 174[a], *s.v.* 'Ordeal'; Hirzel, p. 211). An example of what is actually an ordeal, though known as an oath, may be taken from the mysterious cult of the Palici in Sicily (Verg. *Æn.* ix. 585). Their sanctuary contained a fountain which rose to the height of some 10 ft. and again subsided. Here a sacred oath might be taken, with the result that, when its terms were inscribed on a tablet and thrown into the water, the tablet would float, if the words of the oath were true, but, if they were false, it would sink, and the perjurer was consumed with fire (Steph. Byz. p. 496, 14; [Arist.] *Mir. Ausc.* 58).[1] The scantiness of the literary evidence suggests that the practice of ordeals disappeared at a very early time, probably owing to the encouragement which the system offered to the fraudulent devices of the priests. According to the best authorities, there is no trace of them to be found in the Roman criminal law, and the nearest approach to one was the custom of allowing a criminal who was thrown over the Tarpeian rock to go free if he escaped unhurt after the execution of his sentence (H. F. Hitzig, in *Zum ältesten Strafrecht der Kulturvölker* [*Fragen zur Rechtsvergleichung gestellt von Th. Mommsen*], Leipzig, 1905, p. 44). So far as private law is concerned, it has been conjectured that the oldest form of civil process (*legis actio sacramento*) was the survival of an earlier ordeal (R. von Ihering, *Scherz und Ernst in der Jurisprudenz*[4], Leipzig, 1891, p. 385 ff.). In general, however, the place of ordeals was taken by the oath in the case of citizens and the torture applied to extract the truth from slaves (W. Smith, *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiquities*[3], London, 1890–91, ii. 852[b]). The exculpatory oath (*iusiurandum in iure*), if accepted by either party when proffered to him by his opponent, furnished a complete defence (*exceptio iusiurandi*) to any further proceedings on the same issue. In primitive jurisprudence oaths were of the highest importance, but in the developed system of the later republic and the early empire the challenge to an oath and its refusal had become so entirely the instruments of the pleader's chicanery that Quintilian discusses (*Inst. Or.* v. 6) the various ways in which an orator should make use of them.

3. Ordeal by battle.—The custom of ordeal by battle has left traces more easily recognizable. We are informed that the Umbrians down to historical times were accustomed to submit their private disputes to decision by fighting in full armour, and that the disputant who succeeded in slaying his opponent was considered to have established the justice of his case (Nicol. Damasc. *ap.* Stob. *Flor.* x. 70 [*FHG* iii. 457]). This has been compared with the survival until recent times of the Vehmgericht in Westphalia and the blood-feud in the mountains of Corsica and Sardinia (H. Jordan, *Die Könige im alten Italien*, Berlin, 1887, p. 44 f.). That the same principle extended to claims to office may be seen from the famous example of the *Rex nemorensis* at Nemi; and the legends which tell of the violent deaths suffered by several of the Roman kings (Livy, i. 14, 48; Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* iv. 38) have suggested that they habitually gained the throne by success in mortal combat (*GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, London, 1911, ii. 321). However this may be, there are not infrequent examples in early Roman history in which the decision of a quarrel between two nations is made to depend upon the result of a single combat between champions selected from the armies of either side.[1] The idea seems to be that the selection of champions who are equally matched or at any rate representative of the power of the respective opponents leaves the issue to the decision of the gods, who, as it is believed, will award the victory to the just cause.[2] In the contest between Æneas and Turnus, which in its details clearly suggests that it was an ordeal by single combat between representatives of the Trojans and Rutulians, the judgment of heaven is figured by the balance in the hands of Juppiter—an image borrowed by Vergil from Homer (*Æn.* xii. 725 ff.). Romulus, the legendary founder of the city of Rome, was challenged to single combat by Acron, the king of the Cæninenses, and his success was the occasion of the earliest dedication of the *spolia opima* (Plut. *Rom.* 16). The desire to procure an equal arbitrament appears clearly in the arrangements made for the combat between the Horatii and the Curiatii, who were selected as equally matched in number, age, and strength (Livy, i. 23 f.). T. Manlius took up the challenge of a gigantic Gaul, who, when the opposing armies were ranged opposite to each other on either side of the Anio, offered to decide the issue by the result of a duel between himself and the bravest man on the Roman side. The Gaul was slain and Manlius earned his cognomen Torquatus from the collar which he stripped from the neck of his fallen enemy (*ib.* vii. 9 f.). On a later occasion of the same kind M. Valerius received the manifest favour of the gods in the appearance of the raven which, by settling on his helmet, harassed and discomfited his adversary (*ib.* vii. 26).

LITERATURE.—Besides the references given throughout see K. H. Funkhänel, 'Gottesurtheil bei Griechen und Römern,' *Philologus*, ii. [1847] 385–402; R. Hirzel, *Der Eid: ein Beitrag zu seiner Geschichte*, Leipzig, 1902, esp. pp. 182–220.

A. C. PEARSON.

ORDEAL (Slavic). — Ordeal plays a part in the customs of almost all branches of the Slavic race, and of the Balkan Slavs especially. The attitude of Russia towards judicial combat and ordeal seems to show the influence of Scandinavian custom, and is therefore less typical of Slavic mentality.

Ordeal appears to have been known to the Czech peoples at an early day; thus, in Bohemia in the early 11th cent., under Duke Brzetislas, the *judicium Dei* seems to be the only form of evidence in a case where proof was difficult, as in a charge of cruelty brought against a husband by a wife. In the early 14th cent. redaction of Bohemian law by Rosenberg (called rather unwarrantably *Prava Zemé Ceské*, or 'Law of the Czech Country,' by A. Kucharski, *Älteste Denkmäler der slowenischen Rechte*, Warsaw, 1838, pp. 227–335) ordeal has apparently disappeared, and its place has been taken by the system of compurgation. In a still later redaction of the same century, the *Rad prava zemského*, or *Ordo judicii terræ*, the

[1] The account of Polemo followed by Macrobius (v. 19. 21, 26 ff.) is more indefinite.

[1] Good examples of single combats as applied in Germany and Spain to the settlement of public and private quarrels are given by Tac. *Germ.* 10 and Livy, xxviii. 21. 4 ff.

[2] Cf. Prop. iv. (v.) 6. 51 f. Such is also the implication of the familiar *Mars communis* (Cic. *de Orat.* iii. 167). The decision in battle is given by a veritable judgment of God: 'tunc ea habenda fortuna erit quam di dederint' (Livy, xxx. 30. 22).

chief test is the duel; thus, in a charge of murder, a judicial combat could be ordered. It was conducted with great formality, and was attended with ceremonies peculiar to the Czechs; the victor cut off the head of the vanquished, and placed it between the knees of the dead body; he then laid two dollars on the body and departed, safe from pursuit by the avengers of blood (tit. 26; Kucharski, *op. cit.* p. 436). Here too appears another peculiarity of Bohemian duelling customs; a woman over eighteen years of age, or a widow, could claim to fight her own duel, and was indeed encouraged to do so, in preference to choosing a champion, lest the life of an innocent man might be endangered. Her adversary was handicapped by being made to stand in a pit up to the waist; both man and woman were similarly equipped with sword and buckler (tit. 40; *ib.* p. 440). The peasant who, in fighting against a noble, had formerly been limited to a stick and small shield was now allowed to use sword and full-sized shield (tit. 37; *ib.* p. 440). Offences of damage done to harvests and gardens were once tested by ordeals of boiling water or red-hot iron; but now the iron ordeal was abolished, the redactor being of opinion that it had been instituted as a deterrent to the people rather than from any fear of God (tit. 53; *ib.* p. 446). Polish custom of the 13th cent. under Boleslav V. was very similar to Bohemian as regards the duel, which was not obligatory, but could be claimed by an accuser unconvinced by the witnesses. Ordeals of hot iron and of hot and cold water seem to have been merely alternatives to the duel.

Among the South Slavs ordeal is varyingly found. Stephen, founder of the Hungarian monarchy early in the 11th cent., apparently did not know of it; but after the conversion of the Magyars it is well established in the laws of the end of the same century (cf. I. de Batthyan, *Leg. Eccles. Hung.*, Claudiopolis, 1785, i. 439, 454). It is unknown in the monuments of the 13th cent.; the statute of Matthew of Slavonia (1273) knows oath and judicial combat, and that of Vinodol (1288) recognizes oath only. Serbian law, however, had full cognizance of ordeal, and the code of the emperor Stephen Dushan in the 14th cent. gave great prominence to it. Hot-water ordeal is held in such respect that a man convicted by means of it has no possibility of appeal or justification (tit. 64; Kucharski, *op. cit.* p. 186). This was the test for any charge against a commoner, but the oath was sufficient for a nobleman (tit. 78; *ib.* p. 189). A man charged with theft had to carry hot iron from the door of the church to the altar; this ordeal, formerly known as the *pravod sheljèzo*, is now designated by a word of Turkish origin, *mazīja*, and the hot-water ordeal (*na vodon*) is still practised in Serbia and Bosnia.

The ordeal is known in Russian law, but never plays a very important part. The earliest written monuments, the treaties between Russia and Greece of the 10th cent., show no sign of ordeals, but use only the oath; this may, however, be due to consideration for the Greeks, or to the lack of scope for such tests in treaties primarily commercial. The first Russian code, the *Russkaia Pravda* of Jaroslav in the 11th cent., reflects much of Scandinavian judicial ideas, but it is not until a 12th cent. revision of it that ordeals by iron and water appear (tit. 28; cf. J. Esneaux, *Hist. de Russie*, Paris, 1830, i. 181). The first mention of the judicial duel is in treaties of the 12th cent. between the princes of Novgorod and the Germans, and it does not appear as fully regulated until the late 15th cent., in the Decree of Pskov. Ivan III. attempted in his *Oulogenia* of 1497 to harmonize the old law with the new influences which had come in from the Mongols, and more especially from Byzantium; the result was that the judicial duel is secondary to oral and written testimony and to the oath as a means of proof, and is further robbed of its danger to life by being fought with a short club for sole weapon (cf. Rambaud, *Hist. de la Russie*, tr. L. B. Lang, London, 1879, i. 248). Judicial duel thus lessened in importance, but still persisted until the reign of Ivan the Terrible, when the new code of 1550, the *Soudebnik*, completed the transformation from the tolerant native customs to a criminal code of the harshest severity. The attitude of the Russian Church, influenced by the Greek clergy, favoured this change, and may be contrasted with the early favour shown to ordeal by the Roman Church, the most striking instance of which occurs in the 12th cent. and is reported by Helmold (*Chron. Slav.* i. 24; Leibniz, *Script.*, Hanover, 1710, ii. 608); when Bishop Geroldus converted the Slavs of Mecklenburg, he replaced their primitive belief in oath-taking by trees, stones, and fountain with the custom of bringing criminals to the priest for examination by red-hot iron or by the hot ploughshares.

LITERATURE.—A. Rambaud, *Hist. de la Russie*, Paris, 1878, tr. L. B. Lang, London, 1879; R. Dareste, *Hist. du droit*, Paris, 1889, chs. vii.-x.

M. E. SEATON.

ORDEAL (Teutonic).—Like most primitive peoples, the Teutons were adherents of the principles of the ordeal, and it seems possible to trace certain distinguishing characteristics of their mentality in the forms of ordeal particularly affected by them; thus the judicial duel was an attempt, by regularizing the blood-feud, to bring into play a rough and elementary kind of justice; so too the *corsned* of the Anglo-Saxons displays in the conditions of the test their shrewd, though perhaps only instinctive, common sense. It is doubtful whether the evidence on Teutonic ordeal throws any light on the two conflicting theories held on the origin of ordeal, the first and most generally accepted regarding it as an appeal to divine judgment, the second as 'an intrusion of magic into a purely legal idea' (cf. *MI* ii. 687, 690). If anything, the Teutonic evidence would appear to favour the religious origin, according to which divine aid is invoked in cases where man's knowledge is lacking, his judgment at fault, or his means of procuring reliable testimony limited. The use of inanimate objects in revealing the divine decision would be perfectly natural to people who had been familiarized by primitive belief and magic practices with the idea of supernormal qualities inherent in inanimate nature. As Hobhouse (*Morals in Evolution*[2], London, 1915, ch. iii. § 9, p. 116) suggests, the practice of the oath probably preceded that of the ordeal; but it did not carry conviction so forcibly, for its results were not immediately manifest; thus in early Scandinavian law the oath is called 'man's ordeal' in contradistinction to God's ordeal, 'and if a man first offer God's ordeal, he shall have no right afterwards to man's ordeal' (*Norges Gamle Love*, i. 389).

There is very little actual evidence for Teutonic ordeal in pre-Christian times. Classical authorities throw little light upon it; there is a cursory reference in Velleius Paterculus (*Hist. Rom.* ii. 118) to the regulation by justice of disputes which the Germans formerly decided by arms. Tacitus (*Germ.* 10) does indeed describe a single combat, but its conditions are so different from that of the true ordeal that it must be regarded as a means of determining augury rather than justice. We can, however, assume the familiarity of the Teutonic peoples with ordeal from several circumstances: first, the prevalence of similar forms of ordeal among various Indo-Germanic peoples,

which points to its being a general Indo-Germanic institution (cf. Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgesch.*[2] ii. 400). Certain customs and forms preserved in ordeals may indeed carry us back to great antiquity; F. W. Maitland (*Collected Papers*, Cambridge, 1911, ii. 448 f.) points out that the use of wooden weapons in certain judicial duels may indicate an origin before the Iron Age. It is very noteworthy that the names for the various ordeals in the different vernaculars are entirely free from any Christian significance. Again, this assumption is supported by the fact that one of the earliest extant Teutonic laws, the first text of the Salic Law, which was promulgated so soon after the introduction of Christianity among the Franks as to be practically unaffected by Christian belief, has two references to the *æneum*, or trial by boiling water, references so casual and so devoid of detail as to presuppose great familiarity with the circumstance (*Lex Salica*, i. 52, ed. J. M. Pardessus, Paris, 1840, pp. 30, 313). The early propagandists of Christianity among the Teutons did their best to put down ordeal, as against the spirit of Christian belief. Thus in the early 6th cent. Avitus, bishop of Vienne, remonstrated with King Gundobad on the importance assumed by the judicial duel in the Burgundian laws. In the 9th cent. Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, wrote in vigorous protest against all forms of ordeal, and against the judicial duel in particular (cf. *PL* civ. 113–126, 251, 254 B). Throughout the 9th and 10th centuries the ordeal was the subject of various condemnatory papal decrees; but the Church, unsuccessful in its early attempts, had been forced to adopt and adapt ordeal, and had done it so thoroughly that the lesser authorities proved reluctant to give it up, and disregarded the successive papal and episcopal enactments against it (cf. Lea, *Superstition and Force*[3], p. 355). The opposite point of view, that ordeals were not known to Germanic peoples, but were introduced by the Church, is upheld by Karl von Amira (Paul, *Grund. der germ. Phil.*[2] vol. iii. sect. ix. B. 7, pp. 218–220).

The forms of ordeal vary slightly from one Teutonic people to another, although the chief kinds seem to have been known to all. Those chiefly practised by the Scandinavians were the duel (*hólmganga*), the carrying of hot iron (*jarnburðr*), the walking on hot ploughshares (*af skra gangá*), and the passing under the turf-arch (*ganga undir jarðarmen*). The fullest account of wager by battle occurs in *Kormaks Saga*, 10, where the reference to the accompanying sacrifice of a steer and to the use of a ritual formula proves its religious significance, and the strictly regularized and safeguarded conditions of the fight testify to its legal validity (see DUELLING). Saxo (v. 153) gives one enactment of the so-called Law of Frothi: 'Any quarrel whatsoever should be decided by the sword'; but few of the many wagers by battle of which he speaks are strictly ordeals (see F. Y. Powell's Introd. to O. Elton's tr., London, 1894, p. 38 f.), many being merely those trials of strength in which the champions delighted. In the same way the alleged power of the berserks to bite steel, to swallow hot coals, and to go through fire (cf. Saxo, vii. 221) were probably confused in the popular mind with the corresponding ordeal-trials, although exhibited for no other purpose than proof of supernormal strength or endurance. The fight between Thór and Oláfr Tryggvasonr at Rauðsey may perhaps be regarded as a trial of strength, but also surely as a religious test, similar to Elijah's test between Baal and Jahweh (see *Saga Ólafs Konúngs Tryggvasonar*, 150 [*Fornmanna Sögur*, i.]).

The carrying of hot iron appears as a religious ordeal in the famous story of Bishop Poppo and King Haraldr Gormssonr of Denmark, whom he converted to Christianity. There are many discrepancies in the various versions of the tale (cf. J. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*[4], p. 576 f.), but one of the most trustworthy (Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburg.* ii. 33; *Mon. Germ. Script.* vii. 318) represents the heathens as demanding the sign ('cum barbari suo more signum quaererent'). Vigfusson, however, considers the ordeal by hot iron to have been introduced into Scandinavia from Germany with the advent of Christianity, and to have superseded the *hólmganga* and the *ganga undir jarðarmen* (R. Cleasby and G. Vigfusson, *Icelandic-English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1874, *s.v.* 'Bera' A. iii.). One interesting use of the ordeal by hot iron was to establish a claim to paternity, a use to which it was frequently put during the civil wars in Norway, in order to prove the pretensions of claimants to the throne; thus in *Sverris Saga*, 59 (*Fornm. Sögur*, viii.), Eirikr carries red-hot iron *sér til fadernis*, *i.e.* to prove his claim to be the son of King Sigurðr. Sometimes the test of endurance was further complicated by the obligation of hurling the hot iron into a trough placed at a set distance; the iron is variously spoken of as a bar (*jarnsló*) or as a kind of gauntlet ('ferrum . . . in modum chirothecae'). A variant form of the *judicium ferri candenti* was that of walking on hot ploughshares; but this is found only rarely in Scandinavia; it does occur, however, as a paternity test (*Saga Sigurðar Jórsalafara*, 47 [*Fornm. Sögur*, vii.]).

That form of the ordeal of boiling water which consisted in feeling for a stone in a kettle (*ketiltak*, *ketilfang*) was not practised in Sweden and Denmark, but in Norway it assumes importance as the legal variant for *jarnburðr* in the trial of women. There is a noteworthy traditional instance of it in the Poetic Edda (*Guðrunarkviða*): Guðrun, to clear herself of a shameful accusation, demands this ordeal, but asks King Atli to send for Saxi, lord of the Southmen, who understands the necessary ritual. This would seem to point to this form of ordeal not being Scandinavian in origin. In this version of the tale the stone is called *jarknasteinn*, properly a milk-white opal, a name which would seem to point to magic properties, for it is the word applied in *Völundarkviða*, 25, to the stones made by Völundr from the eyes of children. In Frisian law the ordeal of *keszelfang* was a last resort to convict the perjurer in a case where two opposing parties persisted in contradictory oaths on a conviction for theft (cf. *Asega Buch*, ed. T. D. Wiarda, Berlin and Stettin, 1805, p. 236).

The ordeal of throwing the accused into deep water (*judicium aquae frigidae*) is unknown in Scandinavian practice, although, as Grimm points out (*op. cit.* p. 586), some connexion may be traced with the sacrificial drowning at Upsala mentioned in Adam of Bremen (*Gesta Hammaburg.* iv. 26, Sch. 134; *M.G. Script.* vii. 379). The purely Scandinavian practice of creeping under a *jarðarmen*, or strip of turf detached from the ground, was not invariably a form of ordeal, but sometimes simply an infliction of disgrace (cf. 'jugum subire'); but it does occur as an ordeal in *Laxdœla Saga*, ch. 18. These forms of ordeal appear in all Teutonic countries with certain local variations and with the additions and deviations which ingenuity could suggest, or Christian practice could sanction. Thus Frisian law seems to be unique in recognizing an ordeal of twigs, a kind of drawing of lots, carried out with ecclesiastical ritual to discover a homicide (*Lex Frisionum*, 14. 1; *Mon. Germ. Leges*, iii. 631 ff.). Ordeals were early forbidden in Scandinavian countries; *hólmganga* was suppressed early in the 11th cent., although isolated instances of it occur later, and the vogue

revived in feudal times; ordeals in general were abolished in Norway in 1247 by Valdemar II.

In Old English usage the judicial duel was practically unknown, but curiously enough it became legally established in the very century in which it was abolished in Scandinavia (see DUELLING). The importance attached to ordeal is proved by the fact that in a treaty dating from the 10th cent., between the Anglo-Saxons and the Welsh, ordeals were appointed to settle all disputes between the two nations (*Ordinances of the Dunsetas*, 2; B. Thorpe, *Anc. Laws of England*, London, 1840, p. 150). Ordeals by hot water and hot iron were most frequent, and were strictly legalized and regulated by the laws of Edward, Æthelstan, and Æthelred. According to these enactments, ordeal was open to the freeman if he was unable to obtain the necessary number of compurgators for the oath (Æthelred, i. 1; Thorpe, p. 119). The serf was not given the choice of the oath, but forced to undergo the ordeal, unless his lord bought him off, and swore on his behalf (*ib.*); so too the coiner of false money (Æthelstan, i. 14; Thorpe, p. 88), or the freeman who by a former perjury had already forfeited the confidence of the community (Edward, 3; Thorpe, p. 69). In both water and iron ordeals an attempt was made, apparently peculiar to English law, to regulate the test, not only according to the nature of the offence, but also to the character of the offender. For a first offence the iron was of one pound weight, and the stone was hung to the depth of the wrist; for an offender whose character could not be vouched for by oath threefold ordeal was prescribed, in which the weight of iron was increased to three pounds, and the stone was hung to the depth of the elbow (Æthelred, i. 1; Thorpe, p. 119; Æthelstan, iv. 7; Thorpe, p. 96). Certain offences, such as incendiarism and murder, were proved by threefold ordeal only, but the accuser in this case had the choice of water ordeal or of iron ordeal (Æthelstan, iv. 6; Thorpe, p. 95). Like oaths, ordeals were not to be held on festivals and fasts (Edward and Guðrum, 9; Thorpe, p. 74); and in the ecclesiastical law the procedure both for the accused and for the officiating priest was fully described (Æthelstan, iv. 7; Thorpe, p. 96). Iron ordeal reappears in the laws of William the Conqueror and of Henry I. as an alternative to the duel in cases of dispute between individuals of French and English nationality (William I., iii. 12; Thorpe, p. 212; Henry I., lxxv. 6; Thorpe, p. 253). If Liebermann is correct in his contention that, in the Laws of Ine, 37 and 62 (Thorpe, pp. 54, 62), the word *ceape* should be emended to *ceace* ('kettle'), it would seem that the hot-water ordeal was prevalent in England at a much earlier date than is generally supposed (Liebermann, 'Kesselfang bei den Westsachsen im 7ten Jahrh.,' *SBAW*, 1896, ii. 829–835). References in the laws to water ordeal do not always make it clear whether the cold- or the hot-water ordeal is intended; but supplementary evidence can be gained from the rituals, which sometimes, by a reference such as that to the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea, make it clear that the cold-water ordeal is in question (cf. Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, vol. i. p. 404, § 20, vol. ii. pt. ii. *s.v.* 'Kaltwasser'). The late prevalence of this test in charges of witchcraft proves the tenacity of the idea of ordeal in the popular mind.

A form of ordeal which found particular favour in England was that of swallowing a morsel of bread or cheese (*judicium offae*); this was generally consecrated, but not always, and the lack of religious significance in the names given to the ordeal (*corsned*, 'trial-portion,' *nedbread*, 'forced bread') suggests that the test was practised in pre-Christian times. This ordeal should not be confused with the oath taken on the sacrament, which was a more definitely religious ceremony, and almost entirely confined to the clergy (cf. Liebermann, vol. ii. pt. ii., under 'Geweihter Bissen,' 'Abendmahlsprobe'). The ordeal of walking on hot ploughshares does not occur in Old English law; but there is the famous story, traditional, though not well authenticated, of Queen Emma, mother of Edward the Confessor, who thus cleared herself of an accusation of misconduct (J. Brompton, in R. Twysden, *Hist. Ang. Script.*, London, 1652, i. 942). The bier ordeal does not appear in Old English custom, although it is frequent in later practice as the conviction of a murderer. The ballad of 'Earl Richard' (Walter Scott, *Minstrelsy*[5], ii. 421) has one of the fullest of the many literary references to this belief that in the presence, or at the touch, of the murderer, the wounds of the dead body would 'open their congeal'd mouths and bleed afresh' (Shakespeare, *Richard III.*, I. ii.). A reference by James I. (*Dæmonology*, III. vi.) shows the persistence of this belief; and W. Henderson (*Folk-lore of the Northern Counties*, London, 1879, p. 57) traces to this ordeal the custom lately prevalent in Durham, that every visitor to see a dead body should touch it, even though there might be no suspicion of violence.

Evidence is clear that ordeals soon fell into disrepute with the Norman kings; William Rufus declared his incredulity of the iron ordeal, as Eadmer tells in horror (*Hist. Nov.* 102, Rolls Series). Henry II. permitted the water ordeal to clear a man of a specific charge, but he nevertheless took the precaution of banishing him if he were of ill-repute (*Ass. Clar.* c. 14). The almost complete disappearance of ordeals from the records after the reign of John testifies to the thoroughness with which England, for the time entirely submissive to the papacy, accepted the decree of the fourth Lateran Council in 1215, excluding the clergy from participation in ordeals.

Ordeal plays so large a part in the law and customs of the remaining Teutonic peoples, especially of the Franks, that it is impossible to do more here than give a short summary of its course, and touch on representative examples; the later instances are so entirely ruled by ecclesiastical procedure that there is little distinctively Teutonic about them (cf. Ducange, *Glossarium*, Niort, 1883–87, *s.vv.* 'aquæ judicium,' 'ferrum candens,' 'ordalium'). The Visigoths, more influenced by Roman custom, seem to have favoured torture rather than ordeal as a means of proof, to judge by the absence of ordeal from the earlier redactions of the *Lex Visigothorum*; but in a 7th cent. code, probably by King Egica, there is an ordinance for hot-water ordeal, interesting for its wide territorial scope, and for the proof which it gives of trust in the validity of this form of test (*Lex Visigothorum*, VI. i. 3.; *M.G. Leges*, 1893, p. 250).

The Langobard treatment of ordeal is interesting in its variety. The Laws of Rothair (A.D. 643) make no mention of ordeal other than the duel, and that only in case of obstinacy on the part of an offender (Rothair, 198; *M.G. Leges*, iv. 342).

Luitprand (A.D. 731) ordains the duel as a test in a charge for the murder of a freeman, but at the same time he shows his distrust of a method retained only because of its antiquity: 'Quia incerti sumus de judicio Dei, et multos audivimus per pugnam sine justitia causam suam perdere, sed propter consuetudinem gentis nostrae Langobardorum legem ipsam vetare non possumus' (Luitprand, 118; *M.G. Leges*, iv. 156). It is not until the Langobard submission to the Franks that element ordeals play any part in Langobard

laws, as a result of their important place in Frankish codes. The Franks soon after their conversion Christianized the element ordeals, one of which had already appeared in the Salic Law (see above, p. 531[a]), but the Church strove against the duel; the Burgundian code, however, persisted in giving special prominence to it, and in the 6th cent. it was again legally recognized. Charlemagne was a convinced upholder of ordeal, especially of the unilateral forms. He recognized the duel, but attempted to replace it by a new form of bilateral ordeal, that of the cross, in which both plaintiff and defendant stood motionless, with arms outstretched against a cross; whichever first moved or let fall his arms was judged guilty. This is obviously a Christian ordeal, but its heathen prototype is found in the *stapfsaken*, or asseveration, with right hands outstretched, described in *de Populi Leg.*, tit. 6 (*M.G. Leges*, iii. 465). The cross ordeal first appears in Frankish law under Pepin (A.D. 753), for a claim of a woman against her husband. In Charlemagne's laws for the Franks it is the test for theft and for disputes of boundaries (*M.G. Capit.* i. 129); for the Lombards he makes it the alternative to the duel (*M.G. Leges*, iv. 511, tit. 130), but for other charges, such as certain murder-charges, decrees the nine ploughshares (*ib.* p. 507, tit. 104). The cross ordeal persisted in Lombard law until forbidden by Lothair in the early 9th cent., 'ne Christi passio . . . cujuslibet temeritate contemptui habeatur' (*ib.* p. 556, tit. 93); Lothair also applied to the Lombards the Frankish decree of his father, Louis the Pious, annulling the cold-water ordeal (*ib.* p. 548, tit. 56; *M.G. Capit.* ii. 16).

In spite of this enlightened attitude, ordeal became so deeply rooted in the popular custom of the two following centuries as to be known in Canon Law as *purgatio vulgaris*. The Church itself relied upon it for the conviction of both clerical and lay offenders (cf. Lea, *op. cit.* pp. 356–363), and was unwilling to forgo a privilege at once so impressive and so lucrative; there was a growing tendency, however, to confine its use to the conviction of heretics, and this use of the iron ordeal was allowed even by the Lateran Council of 1215. In secular usage the practice of it tended to be confined to accusations of unchastity and of conjugal infidelity; thus Richardis, wife of Charles the Fat, and Kunigund, empress of Henry II., both underwent the ordeal of the nine ploughshares. Distrust in the efficacy of ordeal did, however, appear, in spite of this royal and ecclesiastical acknowledgment of it, and in spite of its vigorous defence, supported by Biblical warrant, by Hincmar of Rheims in the 9th century. This distrust found expression in many quarters (cf. Lea, *op. cit.* pp. 348–350), and affects a legal code in the Assize of Jerusalem, where ordeal was allowed only when the accused accepted it voluntarily. It is reflected in literature, both in the courtly epic of Gottfried von Strassburg, where Isolt escapes the conviction of iron ordeal by an oath literally exact, but intentionally deceptive (*Tristan*, i. 15731 ff., *Werke*, ed. F. H. von der Hagen, Breslau, 1823, i.), and in popular realistic poetry, as in the poem where a guilty husband openly practises trickery in the iron ordeal (cf. M. Haupt, *ZDA* viii. [1851] 89–95). Yet these references from German literature are not to be taken as proof of general disregard of ordeal; on the contrary, ordeal persists later in German codes than in those of any other Teutonic nation; thus provision for the duel appears in the *Schwabenspiegel* of the 13th cent. (tit. 340, 359, 360, ed. W. Wackernagel, Zürich, 1840); and for the duel, alternating with the water and iron ordeals, in the *Sachsenspiegel* of the 14th century (i. 39. iii. 21, ed. C. G. Homeyer, Berlin, 1827). In S. Germany forms of ordeal still occur in popular custom perhaps more persistently than in any other country, though often much weakened and disguised.

LITERATURE.—H. C. Lea, *Superstition and Force*[3], Philadelphia, 1878, pp. 240–368; J. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*[4], ed. Heusler and Hübner, Leipzig, 1899, vol. ii. ch. vii.; H. Paul, *Grund. der germ. Philologie*[2], Strassburg, 1900, vol. iii. sect. ix. B. 7, § 91 (by K. von Amira); H. Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*[2], Leipzig, 1892, ii. 399–419; J. Patetta, *Le Ordalie*, Turin, 1890; F. Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, Halle, 1903–12, vol. i. pp. 401–430, vol. ii. pt. ii., *s.vv.* 'Ordal,' 'Kaltwasser,' etc.

M. E. SEATON.

ORDER.—**1. Orderliness and its uses.**—In dealing with sets or collections that consist of individual objects—sets of objects such as the stars in the sky, the men who are members of a social group, or the articles of furniture that are present in a given room—we may proceed in either of two ways.

(1) The first is the purely empirical way, which we follow when we note each individual object by itself, and then consider its relations to the other objects which belong to the collection. Thus we may take note of various chairs in one room, that one is near this window, another close to that door, and so on. Again, we may notice that, at a given time, one star is visible in the east, another is prominent in the west, and that the north star stands in such and such relations to stars which belong to the constellation called the Great Bear. This method of studying the objects which make up a given collection is of great importance, but, unless it is supplemented, it leaves us without a knowledge of the orderliness of the objects and of the collection which we study.

(2) The second is a way dependent upon our power to discover that the objects of the collection which we have studied are subject to such laws that, when we have observed some of the facts with regard to those objects, we can infer from the knowledge of these facts what may prove to be a multitude of other facts to which the objects of the same collection are also subordinate. In so far as we can effectively draw such inferences, we are able to make the empirical knowledge which we first obtain, and which may be, so to speak, 'ruler over a few things,' into the source of a knowledge which also makes us 'rulers over many things.' That is, from the empirical knowledge which has for its object individual members of the collection which we are studying, we may be able to infer, through general laws known to us, a knowledge relating to other members of the same collection, and, on occasion, to a great many other such objects.

When a collection of objects has characters so subject to law that from a knowledge of some portion of the objects, their characters, and relations we are able to infer what are the characters and relations of at least some of the other objects, it has, in a highly general sense, the character of orderliness. The objects of this collection form in some sense an order, or what is also sometimes called an array. A closer examination shows that there are many different kinds of orderliness and order, some of which are much more important than others. But in the most general sense we may say that a collection of objects possesses order by virtue of the fact that, from a knowledge of what is true of some of its members we can infer in definite ways what is or will be true about the other objects of the collection, or about some portion of them. Order is important for us because, in the first place, by means of such properties belonging to collections we can and do economize the work both of our science and of our conduct in dealing with collections of objects which possess especially the more important kinds of order. In-

stead of dealing with all the details of a collection of objects, we deal with a portion of the facts, and then use our information to guide our behaviour in dealing with the rest, or with some portion of the objects.

The simplest instance of the value of order is furnished by the distinction between a confused or disorderly collection of men and an orderly array of individuals, such as is represented by soldiers drawn up in battle line, or by officials taking part in a public ceremony. If you look from a window upon a crowd of people in a park or in a market-place, and if they are not notably an ordered collection, you may make the general statement that the lack of order among them is exemplified by the fact that each individual is going his own way, so that, if you want to find out what he is doing or whither he is going, you must watch him for himself; his neighbour's doings may not be in any clearly observable relation to his own. What one is doing does not enable you to infer what others are doing. If, as in many a market-place or street, the people are in various ways imitating one another, and are engaged in common activities, this very fact introduces, as far as it goes, some sort of order into the group. The ebb and flow of the crowd in the market-place or street, if subject to observable laws at all, makes possible the inference that some of those present are leaders in the movements which go on, while others are followers and imitators, that some preside, incite or address the crowd, or offer their wares for sale, while others are followers, or buyers, or are led or influenced by leaders or by the vendors of wares. So far as such knowledge permits you to make valid inferences from the observed facts regarding certain individuals to the observable or predictable facts regarding others, the crowd in question is not a disorderly assembly, or a collection devoid of what may be regarded as its own sort of order. The uninitiated observer who looks down upon the floor of a Stock Exchange finds a general appearance of disorder, or of the lack of order, in the collection of people whom he at first observes. When he is better acquainted with the business going on, and with the way in which it is done, he is able to draw inferences with regard to some of the people and the modes of behaviour represented, while he learns to base his inferences upon what he observes about the people and the conduct that first attracted his attention. The observer gradually learns something about the laws followed by those who do business in the Stock Exchange, while, precisely as his knowledge grows, the people on the floor of the Stock Exchange appear to him more and more as an assemblage of persons having, and engaged in following, a more or less determinate order.

2. Law and order.—It will be observed that, in the sense which we here emphasize, order depends upon the presence of definable law, and varies with the laws which are in question. On the other hand, there is a difference between the lawfulness, or general subjection to law, which may belong to the real world, to our conduct, or to our thought, and that which we call 'order' for the purposes of the present discussion. By 'lawfulness' we mean a character which is generally viewed as belonging, not to individuals or collections of individuals, but to the general modes of behaviour, the general qualities, character, or relations which nature follows, which we regard as belonging to the real world, or which we discover when we contemplate the natural world, the metaphysically real world, or our world of thought or of conduct. But 'order' belongs to sets of individuals, to collections, to arrays of things, persons, deeds, or events. In other words, to use the term first prominently associated with the famous doctrine of Duns Scotus concerning the nature of individuals, order belongs to collections of 'hæcceities,' to groups of individuals, or of objects which are viewed as hæcceities; but laws and lawfulness in general especially belong to our science, thought, and modes of behaviour.

E.g., the planetary motions are subject to Kepler's laws, or to the Newtonian law of gravitation. But the solar system possesses, or is, an order, since there are some facts about planets moving in orbits external to the earth's orbit which can be inferred from this very fact. Thus from the fact that the orbit of Jupiter is related in a well-known way to the orbit of the earth, while the orbit of Venus lies between the orbit of the earth and the sun, we can infer that, on occasion, Jupiter and Venus, as viewed from the earth, appear to be nearly opposite each other, while Jupiter and Saturn, being so related to the earth that the earth's orbit lies between each of them and the sun, cannot appear to us as occupying positions in the sky which are opposite to each other. These simple facts can be inferred from our knowledge of the way in which the orbit of the earth is related to the orbit of these other planets. But such facts and inferences relate to the hæcceities, to the planets in question, and to their real or apparent relative positions as members of the order of the solar system.

In brief, a law of nature is an invariant mode of change which some process, or class of processes, exemplifies. Analogous definitions apply to laws and lawfulness wherever these are present in the ethical or the metaphysical world, or in any world, real or ideal, which is properly to be conceived as subject to invariant modes of change or behaviour. But an order is a set of hæcceities, or of individuals, such that, by virtue of laws to which these hæcceities or their general characters are subject, it is possible to draw the inferences exemplified above from some members of the order to other members of the same order.

The contrast between laws on the one hand and order on the other is easily seen in the ethical as well as in the natural realm. The moral law relates to principles and modes of conduct, and so explicitly to universals. The golden rule, the Kantian categorical imperative, Bentham's maxim regarding the choice of the greatest happiness, are all definitions of supposedly invariant modes of action, ideal types of behaviour, which the moral law counsels for various classes or sorts of moral agents. On the other hand, in a court of law plaintiff and defendant, together with their counsel and the judge, are individuals constituting a determinate legal order. They constitute such an order because, from the fact that we know that somebody, A, is plaintiff, while somebody, T, is judge, and somebody else, perhaps D, is counsel for the plaintiff, we can infer certain other facts, with regard to the functions, interests, duties, purposes, or perils of other actual or possible members of the same court, occupied with the same business.

3. The whole numbers. — One of the most familiar and important instances of order with which the exact sciences are acquainted is the order of the so-called 'whole numbers.' This order is made up of the first member of the order, and then the sequence of numbers represented by the terms three, four, and so on. It consists of an ideally endless sequence of terms whose properties are such that a vast number of assertions can be made with regard to the properties of numbers. These assertions are, ideally speaking, as infinite in their multiplicity as is the series of whole numbers itself. Yet, logically speaking, all the arithmetic of whole numbers can be deduced from the following simple propositions which relate to elementary properties of the order in question:

(1) There is a relation which may exist between two whole numbers, and which is called the 'relation of next successor to.' Thus four is the next successor to three, two is the next successor to one: and, in general, if n is a whole number, the next successor to n is the whole number called $n+1$.

(2) There is a whole number, and one only, which is not the next successor to any whole number. This, also called 'the first whole number,' may be conveniently represented by the symbol 0. The next successor to 0 is then called one; the next successor to one is called two, and so on.

(3) Given any number, n, then its next successor, $n+1$, is thereby uniquely determined, so that, if every whole number has a next successor, every whole number also has but one next successor.

(4) Every whole number, without exception, has a next successor.

(5) If any property whatever is such that it belongs to the first whole number, and if it is such that, if it belongs to any whole number, it belongs to the next successor of that whole number, then this property belongs to all the whole numbers.

From these principles it is easy to show that the series of whole numbers thus defined possesses the property of being what is called 'infinite,' *i.e.*, since every whole number has a next successor, there is no last whole number. In brief, the order of the whole numbers is such that it has a first member and no last, while every one of its members has a next successor, and while it is subject to the principle often called 'the law of mathematical induction'—

the law that permits the so-called 'reasoning from n to $n+1$, and so to all,' in case of orders which have the same properties as those of the whole numbers. Orders of this kind have been called by A. N. Whitehead and Bertrand Russell 'progressions.' They are of enormous importance for all the exact sciences and for the whole progress of the human mind. It will be observed that one can exemplify the order of the whole numbers by considering a very few, such as zero, one, two, three. When one thus becomes aware of the general laws to which the whole order is subject, one can deduce not merely countless theorems belonging to the arithmetic of the whole numbers, but countless properties exemplified by whole numbers not mentioned in the foregoing elementary example. The orderliness of the whole numbers and the properties both of the individual members and of possible groups of members thus become deducible from the principles just stated, and from whatever experience we have for knowing or for asserting that the order of the whole numbers is actually exemplified in the real or the ideal world. How important this knowledge of order may be we can realize if we remember how groups of individual objects or men can be arranged so as to correspond to some portion of the whole number series, while such an arrangement is useful in guiding conduct and reasoning in the most significant ways. The heads of a discourse, the stages of a plan of action, the officers or dignitaries of a given hierarchy or other numerically ordered array of individuals, the deeds of a life, the hours of the day, the days of the year, the watches turned out by a manufacturer, may be either arranged or labelled by a set of whole numbers. Such an arrangement is useful for the most manifold purposes, in planning, seeking, or using objects, or in bringing individual human beings into co-operation.

4. Further illustrations.—There are cases in the realms of science, art, and life in which we deal very extensively with laws and lawfulness without paying attention to the orders in which these laws find their concrete exemplification. Thus, while our account of any given instance of order always involves a recognition of certain laws to which the members of the order are subject, we can have elaborate exposition of theories which deal with laws and their consequences in general terms, while largely neglecting to emphasize those orders in which the laws get many highly important and concrete illustrations. Thus the science of mechanics deals with the laws of motion under conditions very often conceived as ideal; and, in so far, that science does not tell us about the natural order of the physical world. For astronomy the order of the solar system has a certain primary interest, at least from one mode of approach. Newton's *Principia* dealt in considerable part with the laws of bodies subject to gravitation, and, in so far, did not lay stress upon the order of the solar system, but upon the laws of planetary motion and of the motion of bodies in general.

On the other hand, where our discussions relate to general laws and do not primarily lay stress upon the concrete orders that we find existing in the real or ideal world, then, in so far as they are exact and well reasoned, they inevitably include a more or less extended description of systems of ideal objects — conceptual embodiments, so to speak, of the laws the logical or the rational principles of which we are making use. In this sense any exposition of the laws to which the natural or the moral world is subject inevitably includes a presentation of some ideally ordered system of conceptual entities, of numbers, of possible deeds, or of other objects, whose array illustrates those laws with which we are dealing. Once more, the instance of the whole numbers serves to illustrate what happens when we reason about the laws of nature, or of the ideal or moral world. If the watchmaker labels his watches with numbers that stand for the order in which they were turned out of the factory, he constructs an ordered system of hæcceities. This may be convenient for the process of finding lost watches, or of registering the purchase or the fortune of individual watches. On the other hand, if a man deals, as the arithmetician does, with the laws of whole numbers, he inevitably makes use of the ideal order of the whole numbers themselves. This order is constituted, not by the principles of the arithmetic of whole numbers cited above, but by the ideal hæcceities, called the whole numbers themselves. On the other hand, every study of a system of law, as it becomes explicit, involves the definition of an orderly system of ideal hæcceities, which exemplifies the laws in question. Thus the relations of law and order become more obvious and definite in our discussion. The maxim, 'Order is Heaven's first law,' gets at least one possible and fairly definite interpretation. Viewing heaven as a realm whose members are hæcceities that belong to a world which our experience does not at present at all adequately cover, we, in faith, or in hope, regard these hæcceities as having a certain array. This array will also exemplify justice, the true values which our human life was intended either to exemplify or, in heaven, to attain. The distinction between the law and the order will be perfectly clear, precisely in so far as the laws are understood, and in so far as, in the heavenly world, the order will be needed, since in heaven justice will exist, not merely as a principle, but as the concrete order of the 'just made perfect.' Possibly the law of heaven may be, as St. Paul maintained, the law of charity. But the order of heaven will then be the order of the concrete individuals whose spiritual unity, with one another and with their Lord, the Apostle so eloquently characterizes.

5. Series and the correlation of series.—The term 'series' has already been explained by the endless ideal series of the whole numbers; but there are many other series besides. We early become familiar with a new type of series when we study 'fractions,' better named 'rational numbers.' The rational numbers—*e.g.*, decimal fractions—form a series, in so far as we take account of the fact that two decimal fractions or other rational numbers which are equal to each other may be treated, for certain purposes, as if they were identical. Thus the fractions $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{5}{10}$, $\frac{50}{100}$, and the decimal fractions ·5, ·50, ·500, and so on, are all mutually equivalent. We may regard them, therefore, as all different representations of the same fractional value. If we confine our attention to those rational numbers called 'proper fractions,' *i.e.* those which lie between 0 and 1 in value, we may notice that the series of the proper fractions has the following character:

(1) When two proper fractions are distinct, *i.e.*, when they do not possess equivalent values, there is a relation existing between them which is very familiar and possesses decidedly important properties. This may be called 'the relation of greater and less,' *i.e.* in the case supposed one of the fractions is the greater, while the other is the less of the two.

(2) The relation of greater and less is not a mutual relation; as the logicians sometimes say, it is asymmetrical. If a proper fraction P is greater than a proper fraction Q, then Q is never greater than P, but stands to P in what we call the relation 'less than.' The relation 'less than,' like the relation 'greater than,' is an asymmetrical relation. Each of these relations is the inverse of the other, and is, in a way, opposed to it in 'sense,' or in what may also be regarded, from a certain point of view, as 'direction.'

(3) If we choose any two rational fractions, r and t, which are not equal to each other, then there is always to be found in the series of rational numbers a third rational number which is distinct both from r and from t. Let us call this third rational

number s. Now s may be, as the third member of this class, so chosen that s is greater than r and less than t. In this case we may say that 's lies between r and t in the series of rational fractions.'

(4) If we choose to regard 0, not as one of the rational numbers, but as lying before all the rational numbers, and forming the inferior one of the two extremes between which all the proper fractions lie, while 1 is the superior extreme, then, as we can readily see, there is no proper fraction which is the least of all the proper fractions. For a perfectly analogous reason the series of rational fractions has no greatest member, since, whatever proper fraction we choose, such as ·9999, we can always find a proper fraction which is greater than this chosen fraction, and which is nevertheless not equal to 1, so that it lies between the proper fraction which we just chose and 1.

(5) To sum up, the series of proper fractions possesses these properties: any two of its distinct members stand to each other either in a certain unsymmetrical relation of the first to the second or in the converse of this relation, so that of two proper fractions a determinate one is the greater, while the other is the less. Between any two rational fractions we can always find or determine a third which is greater than one of the pair and less than the other. There is no rational fraction which stands first in the series of proper fractions, and no rational number that stands last. The series of proper fractions has, in this sense, neither beginning nor end. Yet, if we choose, we can regard 0 and 1 as extremes so related to the entire series of the proper fractions that 0 precedes all of them, despite the fact that there is no first member in the series of proper fractions, while 1 follows all of them, despite the fact that there is no last member in the series.

(6) Last of all, we may mention a property of the 'greater-less' relation which is of cardinal importance for establishing and determining the characters which belong to the series of proper fractions. This property is expressed by saying that, if there are three proper fractions such that b is greater than a, while c is greater than b, then c is greater than a; *i.e.* the relation 'greater than' is not only asymmetrical, but is also what logicians call 'transitive'; it is a relation which passes over from pair to pair, or which follows what William James, in the closing chapter of his *Principles of Psychology* (London, 1901), calls 'the axiom of skipped intermediaries.'

The simple but highly abstract example of the series of proper fractions has, as we now see, characters which sharply distinguish it from the series of the whole numbers, in which there is a first although no last member. Corresponding to every member, n, there is its next successor, $n+1$. On the contrary, the series of proper fractions has no first and no last member, while none of its members has either a next predecessor or a next successor. Yet the two series have certain notable features in common. In each there is a relation, which we may call 'the relation of successor,' whose converse may be regarded as 'the relation of predecessor.' This relation, so long as it is viewed as between two members of a series which are not of equivalent value, rank, or place, is unsymmetrical and transitive. We can say that, given two proper fractions which are not mutually equivalent, one is a successor of the other, in the same way in which we may call one of them greater than the other; and, if we choose two whole numbers, so long as they are not equivalent whole numbers, one of them is, in the whole number series, a successor of the other, while the other is a predecessor of the one. Different as the two series of whole numbers and proper fractions are, they still possess common and relational characters, which make both of them series. This may be viewed as a general characteristic of all those series which, like the points on a straight line in ordinary geometry, the events in a story or in a man's life, the members of a file of soldiers, or the positions of a heavenly body as it seems to move from a point in the eastern horizon to a point where it disappears in the western horizon, are possessed of the character of being 'open series,' *i.e.* series which do not return into themselves, and which possess no repetitions of a member.

Open series are of enormous importance for the whole theory of order. The events of time, so far as these are known to us, form open series. No event recurs. In like manner, any physical process which follows, more or less definitely, the course of an open line, be it straight or curved, presents the features of an open series. The movements of a man, when he walks once over a road and does not return, or cross his own tracks at any point, form an open series. All our business, all our plans of life, all that makes our life a progress or the reverse, all that gives ethical significance to a personality and to its activities, are things depending upon the character of the open series. In the light of the foregoing instances, we may now give a definition of the order of an open series.

Let there be a set of objects, S. The objects may be physical or ideal, theoretically or practically significant—points, numbers, deeds, people, or whatever you will. Let the members of S be subject to the following general law:

If we choose any two members of S, there will be a relation which in some way has already been exemplified by the relation 'greater and less.' This relation will apply uniformly to whatever pair of the members of S is taken into consideration, with this sole proviso, that, if you call it 'the relation G,' and if you consider two members p and q of G, then a determinate one of these two members of S, *i.e.* either the member p or the member q, will stand in this asymmetrical and transitive relation G to the other member of the pair. Since, by hypothesis, the relation G is asymmetrical and transitive, if p stands in relation G to q, q will not stand in the relation G to p, but in the converse of this relation.

If all the members of S are subject to this general law, the members of S stand in the order of an open series, and actually constitute such a series. The two cases of the whole numbers and the proper fractions are instances of such a serial order.

In the form of a definition, this account of the order of an open series may be stated thus: by an 'open series' is meant a set, or collection, of objects, so that there exists, or is definable, some one relation, G, asymmetrical and transitive, such that whatever pair, p and q, of the members of the set be chosen, one, and of necessity only one, of them stands in the relation G to the other, while the other inevitably stands in the converse of the relation G to the first.

It is obvious that an open series conforms to our definition of what constitutes order. It is a set of objects. From some assertions regarding members of this set other assertions can be inferred. The series consists of individuals, while the asymmetrical and transitive relation, upon which each instance of a series depends, itself exemplifies a very general relational law. That the members of the series themselves illustrate this law makes it possible to infer from the relations of some of them certain relations belonging to others.

In the actual work of the sciences as well as in the formation, control, and use of serial orders, a large part is played by another set of relations, to which we must call attention in passing. In general we define various distinct series, if we have occasion to define any one series. Thus the series of the whole numbers is usually defined, not merely in the highly general and abstract manner just referred to, but more concretely, namely, in connexion with such a process as the counting of objects, or the numbering of watches, or, again, in connexion with the study of the laws of nature. The series of the proper fractions is both theoretically and practically used, not merely in dealing with abstract arithmetic, but in the processes of measurement. Concretely the proper fractions become useful to us when we are considering an ounce as a determinate subdivision of a pound, measurable by means of a certain proper fraction, or a foot as a determinate part of a yard. In other words, the abstract series of order, such as are exemplified by our proper fractions and our whole numbers, get their more concrete, and in general their more practical, significance when they are brought into relation with other series.

Now the operation of connecting a serial order like the whole numbers with an ordinary process like the counting of individual things is a special

instance of what logicians often call 'correlation of series.' A set of individual objects stand before me. I need, for various purposes, to count them, to know how many of them there are. I do this by using the series of whole numbers, treated, for the purposes of counting, as an order. I consider the concrete set of objects so that, by means of pointing, labelling, or some such process, I attach, in due order, each one of my whole numbers to the members of this collection, continuing until every one of the objects to be counted has been pointed at, or labelled, by one of my whole numbers. Then I regard the last one of the whole numbers of which I make use for this purpose as letting me know how many members the collection of objects which I have been counting contains.

When we are dealing not merely with collections which we can count, but with collections which we measure, we have frequent reason for correlating such series as those of the rational numbers with the various real quantities—with length, distance, weight, size, and so on. The operations upon which such correlations depend in many cases are of great complexity. Our present interest lies in the fact that by means of such processes we get our knowledge of the measurable facts of our natural world into order, and that we do so by correlating the observable or measurable series of lengths, distances, and other measurable objects, with our already known ideal and logically defined serial orders. By means of such correlations the ideal order of the abstract numbers—*e.g.*, of the whole numbers, of the rational numbers—comes to pervade, to dominate, or, as one may sometimes say, to infect, the at first less orderly or even apparently disordered world with which our experience has to deal. Order is thus correlated with the facts which the real world presents to our notice, and which experience presents to be operated upon by our processes of counting, measuring, or otherwise applying our ideal series, such as whole numbers or rational numbers, to the objects of our experience. Through such correlation our conduct gets an orderly organization, which constitutes one of the most general and important consequences of our scientific study of the world. Instead of dealing with a world which seems one of chance facts, we discover what appears to be a world well arrayed, or at any rate capable of being controlled by serially ordered, precisely defined modes of action. The discovery of the whole number series was one of the first advances of the human mind in the exact sciences. All our discovery of order in nature, and all the orderly serial arrangement of our lives, ideals, and social order have been influenced by the whole number series, ever since we learned how to think in terms of this number series. Thus man first discovers order in the form of series of ideal objects, which are, indeed, suggested to him by the real world, but which he learns to understand through such constructive and ideally orderly activities as those which counting and measuring represent. Thus, by means of correlation, man continually introduces order into his real world, and is stimulated by whatever he finds orderly in that world to an effort to increase his own power to construct and to understand orderly series and their correlation.

6. Order in the moral and social world.—The foregoing accounts of instances of order as we find them in the regions with which our theoretical science deals illustrate the fact that, in so far as we take account of order, we not only gain a theoretical control over our knowledge of facts, but prepare ourselves for forms of practical activity which are made possible through the recognition, the definition, the production, and the control of order. The rows, the series, the array of real and ideal objects with which our science deals acquire their importance for us in close connexion with two principal facts, which result from the very nature of order.

(1) In so far as we are dealing with a collection of objects which, when taken together, constitute an order, we at every point economize the processes of our knowledge, and consequently make it a more powerful instrument for grasping the facts of nature and the connexions of the universe; for it is of the very nature of an order that, from a knowledge of a part of the system which possesses it, we can infer what is true about other parts of the same order, and, upon occasion, about the whole of the order. The general concept of material order, and of the correlation of series, has shown us how, wherever series are known to us and can be systematically correlated, we can constantly make use of some of our knowledge about the facts with which we deal to infer properties without which the advance of our knowledge would be greatly impeded.

It is customary to suppose that the most important concept of the exact sciences is the concept of quantity. That it is the characteristic work of the intellect to be guided by the effort to describe the world in quantitative terms—this is a thesis which has played a large part both in the theory and in the criticism of the work of the human intellect. The well-known Bergsonian criticism of the office and limitations of the intellect is founded upon a tendency to interpret the work of the exact sciences as, in large part, an effort to define nature, as well as reality in general, in prevailingly quantitative terms, so that, from this point of view, the intellect primarily measures, weighs, or otherwise quantitatively defines its task and its material. But this way of viewing the tasks of the intellect is as unjust to the logic of the exact sciences as it is unable to define the actual range which the conception of order has in the guidance of our practical, and, above all, our ethical life.

The quantitative sciences are indeed of very great importance. But their importance is due to the fact that the quantities are subject to certain very interesting laws and types of order, which hold true for many other real and ideal systems besides those systems which the quantitative sciences study and which the arts of measurement make prominent. The science of mathematics is ill-defined as the science of quantity. On the other hand, what gives the quantitative sciences their mathematical importance is the fact that in the realm of quantities there are certain peculiarly interesting types of order present. But these quantitative types of order are not the only exact types of order. Modern mathematical science is interested in a vast number of order types, and of orderly structures in general, which are in their nature not quantitative, and which can be neither defined nor studied in terms of quantitative relations. Geometry, by virtue both of its original name and of a good deal of its actual history, appears to be, upon its face, the science that deals with space measurement—*e.g.*, with the measurement of lengths, areas, volumes, and similar objects. Bergson has been deceived by this aspect of it into calling our geometry 'a geometry of solids,' and into supposing that the pre-eminence which geometry has attained in our physical sciences, and which in consequence the concepts that depend on measurements have possessed in the development of all our philosophy, is due to the evolutionary accidents which have bound the human intellect to a dominant interest in the construction of solid bodies.

As a matter of fact, however, it is not an anti-intellectual tendency, but a profoundly logical

interest in the purely orderly, and in the primarily non-quantitative aspect of things, that has come to be expressed in what is technically called 'non-metrical geometry.' Such a geometry science possesses in the branches of mathematics which are called 'projective geometry' and 'descriptive geometry.' These can be very highly developed without making any use of the idea of measurable geometrical quantities. Their source lies not in our power to measure, to weigh, and muscularly or mechanically to manipulate solids, but, as F. A. Enriques of Bologna has shown, in our sense of sight, in our power to notice the orderly alignment of points and sets of points, and the orderly intersections of systems of lines, as such intersections appear in the field of vision. This non-metrical or ordinal geometry may, therefore, be called 'visual geometry.' In fact the eye gives us a certain knowledge of order, distinct from that which we get through our muscles, or through various operations of measurement and metrical comparisons. The ordinal properties of the field of vision have an importance which the logic of science has neglected until recently. It is the eye that, despite all its illusions of perspective, has shown to man, from very early in his career, the distinction between heaven and earth, and the order of the heavenly movements themselves. In this sense the eye has played a large part in man's development in the conception of order. Furthermore, it is the purely ordinal aspect of the series of whole numbers and of rational numbers that lies at the foundation of some of the most important conceptions and theories of arithmetical science. In sum, then, the essence of the exact sciences lies in the fact that they reveal, as well as use, order, while quantity and the realm of the quantitative furnish only a special instance of order, not the only instance, and in certain respects by no means the most theoretically fruitful instance.

(2) With these considerations in mind, we shall now be able to make a transition to the types and the nature of order which have the greatest interest in the moral world. As we have just seen, the order of the heavenly motions proved to be of great importance in giving men a conception of the kind of order that ought to prevail in a justly organized moral and social world. From the first, then, human conceptions of order have had as genuine a moral and social as a scientific and theoretical significance. The one great task of the intellect is to comprehend the orderly aspect of the real and of the ideal world. The conception of order lies, therefore, just as much at the basis of an effort to define our ideals of character and society as at the basis of arithmetic, geometry, or the quantitative sciences in general, or of those non-quantitative types of exact science which are now on their way to higher development. It is, therefore, not a matter of mere accident or of mere play on words that, if a man publishes a book called simply 'A Treatise on Order,' or 'The Doctrine of Order,' we cannot tell from the title whether it is a treatise on social problems or on logic and mathematics, whether it deals in the main with preserving an orderly social order against anarchy or with studying those unsymmetrical and transitive relations, those operations and correlations upon which the theories of arithmetical, geometrical, and logical order depend. The bridge that should connect our logic and mathematics with our social theories is still unfinished. The future must and will find such a bridge. Then exactness of thinking will become consistent with the idealizing of conduct; the realm of the Platonic ideas that are to guide man in his search for wisdom will be conceived, at least in part, in terms of an order which will not be 'ageometrical'—not foreign in type to the sort of order which the geometricians, especially in the non-metrical part of their work, have long had reason to study. It only remains now to mention some ethical and social relations among human beings which are of importance in enabling us to infer from known facts about given human individuals what the duties, offices, and social rights and positions of other individuals either are or may become.

Among the moral and social relations of human beings there are a number of dyadic relations well known to us as furnishing a basis for serial order, and as being useful in both the lesser and the greater matters of social life. Thus the relation of superior and inferior in cases where authority is concerned enables us to define serial order. If A commands B, and B commands C, and if orders can be transmitted from pair to pair, then, in general, or under more or less precisely definable conditions, the commands of A may pass, as we often say, indirectly, through his subordinate B to B's subordinate C. In such cases it may be as well for A to transmit his commands through B to C as to express his authority directly. How far such a series may extend and how many terms it may have will vary with the type of authority in question, with the range of its application, and so with the number of members who constitute the series. But, as far as the order goes, its essential characteristics are the same as those exemplified by a selected series of ordinal numbers, such as 3, 4, 5, 6. The usefulness of the idea of order is strictly analogous in the two cases. The significance of the series consisting of an officer and his subordinates, their subordinates, and so on, lies in the fact that, from a knowledge of some of the facts relating to the persons in question and to their authority, the relations of others of the facts can be deduced, and thus what is called an orderly mode of activity can be predetermined.

A relation decidedly different from that of authority, but of great practical importance, is that of some one who writes a letter, hands it to a messenger, who in his turn passes it over to some predetermined receiver of messages, while the process of indirect transmission is thus continued in an orderly way, until the letter reaches its destination. Such indirect but orderly transmission of messages may be as effective for purposes of communication as if the writer gave his letter to his correspondent without the use of intermediaries. Of such orderly transmission the conveyance of correspondence through the Post Office is a familiar example. What is essential to this sort of order is that, since from some facts you can, in an orderly system, deduce the existence of other facts, the whole undertaking of transmitting information, or other contents of letters, becomes definite, and, subject to the well-known fallibility of human conduct, predictable. The whole business world depends for the order of its transactions upon systems of organization which involve this serial order. Civilized man does most of his work through intermediaries. He pays a foreign creditor a debt by drawing upon his own local bank. He purchases in a distant part of the world by transmitting his orders through all sorts of indirect channels. What he needs to know in order to guide his actions reasonably is the same sort of thing as a student of non-metrical geometry has to recognize when he draws conclusions about an orderly array of points, or the arithmetician computes when he casts up sums of columns of figures; *i.e.*, the civilized man, like the arithmetician, uses in his business, as the mathematician uses in his computations, some order system. It is an order system because a knowledge of part of

the facts regarding its constitution enables us to reach a knowledge of other facts. In reaching this conclusion we use general principles. So far as these are exemplified by some system of individual men, of individual acts, and, in general, of hæcceities, that system is an order system. Its order has for us the value that hereby we are able to arrange our modes of conduct and to predict their outcome.

As in the mathematical, so in the moral and social systems, that form of order called 'serial order' is especially familiar and important. But, wherever the system with which we deal enables us to compute, with greater or less probability, some of its facts from others supposed to be given, we are dealing with an order system.

In general, we may say that, since it is essential to order that we should be able to draw conclusions which to us are novel from knowledge about the relations of certain facts given, the most familiar features of an order system will be those which have been illustrated by the transitivity of the various pairs of members belonging to a given series.

We may say that, if by the symbol $R\,(a\ b\ x\ y)$ I mean simply the assertion, 'The hæcceities, a, b, x, and y, stand in some relation which I call the relation R,' and if by the symbol $S\,(c\ d\ x\ y)$ I mean the assertion, 'The hæcceities, c, d, x, and y, stand in the relation S to one another,' and if I am able to conclude that, in the system of objects of which I am speaking, the assertion is true that the hæcceities, a, b, c, and d, stand to one another in the relation T, so that, using analogous symbols, I can write $T\,(a\ b\ c\ d)$, and if general laws of this sort are true of the whole system with which I am dealing, then that system is in some sense an ordered system, although the property of the relations upon which I lay stress is a relational property that permits some sort of elimination. Were the laws of this elimination sufficiently known and sufficiently general, they would permit definite knowledge and, on occasion, definite courses of action, which might rival in their orderliness the states of knowledge and courses of action which we have illustrated by the instances of the numbers and similar mathematical objects.

Such laws may be social. Were it the law of some social order that, if a, b, x, and y belong to the same social club in a great city, and if c, d, x, and y meet in the market-place of the city on a given day, as a fact a, b, c, and d will all bow to one another, and will all take off their hats, then that social order would be subject to a law which it might be worth while to know, and which would certainly give us a right to say that a, b, c, d, x, and y were, at any rate for the time in question, an orderly assemblage of persons. The order in question might not be of an externally peaceable sort. Thus we might suppose an assemblage of men subject to the law that, if a, b, x, and y fought side by side in the trenches, and if c, d, x, and y fought in opposed trenches, a, b, c, and d would, at the earliest opportunity, fraternize and cease fighting. This assemblage of men would be subject to a sort of order. The law characterizing this order might be stated in the form that, in some definable class of instances, the comrades of certain opponents would, at the earliest opportunity, fraternize. However strange the law, it would have some sort of importance if it could be stated and put into application in some determinate manner.

Now in social and ethical matters, quite as much as in mathematical and natural matters, wherever there are laws which permit such eliminations, there is some sort of order in the system characterized by the presence of such laws. To conceive a world in which there is such order is to conceive what makes possible the realization of those ethical ideals most characteristic of organized communities. If an organized and orderly community either exists or is in process of making, we can be loyal to it. For in such a community the individual can devote himself to activities whose fruit does not merely remain his own, but falls to the lot of the other hæcceities with whom he is bound by relational ties. Order, therefore, or at least possible order, is the condition upon which depends the existence of anything lovable about our social system. If each acts only as an individual, the mere fact that he happens to be benevolent does not render his benevolence other than capricious. Loyal activity, on the other hand, is always orderly, since it involves acting in ways that are determined not merely by personal desires, or by the interests of other individuals, but by the relations in which one stands to those other individuals. Paying one's debts is a loyal act, as far as it goes. But it is an act which has no meaning for me unless I can recognize the relation of debtor and creditor. If I am not loyal, I say, in substance, 'I will do this if I choose to do it.' If I am loyal, I say, 'I do this in case my relations to others in the community require me to do thus and thus.'

It is possible, no doubt, to recognize relations without possessing the richer spirit of loyalty. Barren intellectualism is as possible in ethics as in our view of reality. But the essence of loyalty is that from the value of our relations to some things —*e.g.*, to some individuals or hæcceities—we are able to discover something about the value of our relations to other things. Loyalty which can draw no conclusions, which cannot reason from one's interest in certain hæcceities and certain relations to some practically important inference about one's relation to other hæcceities and other social ties, remains blind and dumb, a mere sentiment, like the luxuriantly sentimental altruism of a Rousseau, sending his own infant children to the foundling hospital, or of a Shelley, lyrically delighting in the sacrifice

> 'Of one who gave an enemy
> His plank, then plunged aside to die'
> (*Prometheus Unbound*, act i.),

while he ruthlessly abandons Harriet Westbrook to commit suicide, 'when the lamp is shattered,' and 'the light in the dust lies dead.'

It is essential to loyalty to draw conclusions, to live in a moral and social world which is, at least in some respects, conceived as orderly. In this sense the idea of order lies at the basis both of the ideal and of the life of any community in which loyalty is possible.

7. Law, order, and negation.—Order, as we have said, is closely connected with law. Law is some aspect of our real or ideal world which permits us to draw inferences. It is fairly obvious that, when we know a law in terms at once general and exact, we are able, granted the suitable data, to draw a series of inferences; *i.e.*, if certain premisses logically warrant a certain conclusion, then, in general, this conclusion may be made the basis of further inferences, which indirectly follow, through the form of reasoning which the traditional text-books of logic call a 'sorites,' from the premisses with which we started. As, in a well-ordered commercial system which includes a series of banks or other agencies for the transmission of payments, one is permitted to pay one's debts more simply, and in a more convenient way, by paying one banker, who transmits some negotiable paper to another banker, and so on to the end of the series, so, wherever an orderly system of computation, rational investigation, or definite inference in serial order is possible, one reaches conclusions which may be important by means of intermediate steps of reasoning, by orderly change of premisses and conclusion. In the case of the reasoning process the series may be interwoven in the most complex manner. In the exact sciences they are so interwoven. The order in that case is not merely an order of a simply serial type. The total result of the interwoven systems of series of inferences whereof the exact sciences consist is the development of a richer and richer system of order. The results of an old investigation become the basis of a new inquiry. One branch of exact science becomes interlaced and combined with another. What is characteristic of the process is that, whatever forms of synthesis appear, inference is everywhere an ally and an instrument both in defining and in attaining at once the conception of order and the orderliness of the system with which one

deals. In consequence it is one of the laws of the more purely theoretical sciences that, whatever special motives determine their development, they constantly tend to produce a richer wealth of orderliness in our own system of ideas. Upon each new stage of orderly conceptions new forms of order and of orderly systems are based. Where the methods of the inductive sciences enable us to recognize that these mathematically definable types of order have their corresponding systems of facts in the real world, our theories, developed by the process of inference, become more and more widely applicable to our understanding nature, so that the world seems to us more and more orderly. In so far as, at any point of our mental development, we see ways of creating facts and systems of facts, social orders and systems of social orders, which correspond to the ideas which we have so far organized, our moral and social worlds tend to become more orderly.

In brief, our power to infer, in the world of theory and of practice, both accompanies and, where it is limited by our ignorance or lack of intelligence, in its turn limits our power to conceive ideal order and to understand the order of nature, and, finally, our power to give to our lives that orderliness which can win and hold our loyalty and render our life that of the spirit. And that is why the maxim, 'Let all things be done decently and in order,' is no mere expression of pedantry or formalism, but an ideal maxim, whose practical and religious significance finds its principal limitation in our ignorance or inability to give expression to our orderly ideals.

Order, then, is known to us through inference; *i.e.* the orderly is that which corresponds, in the real or the ideal world, to what we infer when we systematically draw conclusions from premisses. Therefore the understanding of the inmost nature of order logically depends upon understanding the relations on which our power to infer rests.

We may sum up with the observation that, if we had no exact idea of what inference is, we should have no exact idea of what order is, while our very idea of what inference is depends, in all cases where an inference relates to classes and to general law, upon our idea of what constitutes the negative of a defined class of objects or cases. Without negation there is no inference. Without inference there is no order, in the strictly logical sense of the word. The fundamentally significant position of the idea of negation in determining and controlling our idea of the orderliness of both the ideal and the real world, of both the natural and the spiritual order, becomes, in the light of all these considerations, as momentous as it is, in our ordinary popular views of this subject, neglected. To the article NEGATION we must, therefore, refer as furnishing some account of the logical basis upon which the idea of order depends. From this point of view, in fact, negation appears as one of the most significant of all the ideas that lie at the base of all the exact sciences. By virtue of the idea of negation we are able to define processes of inference—processes which, in their abstract form, the purely mathematical sciences illustrate, and which, in their natural expression, the laws of the physical world, as known to our inductive science, exemplify. Serial order is the simplest instance of that orderly arraying of facts, inferences, and laws upon which, on the theoretical side of its work, science depends; while, as we have seen, in the practical world, the arraying, the organizing, of individual and social life constantly illustrates, justifies, and renders spiritually precious this type of connexion, which makes our lives consecutive and progressive, instead of incoherent and broken.

Relations of the general type of 'correspondence' enrich and interweave the various serial orders which nature, as well as our ideas, life as well as theory, present to our knowledge. If order is only one aspect of the spiritual world, it is an indispensable aspect. Without it life would be a chaos, and the world a bad dream. Loyalty would have no cause, and human conduct no meaning.

When logically analyzed, order turns out to be something that would be inconceivable and incomprehensible to us unless we had the idea which is expressed by the term 'negation.' Thus it is that negation, which is always also something intensely positive, not only aids us in giving order to life, and in finding order in the world, but logically determines the very essence of order.

LITERATURE.—Hegel's *Logic*, both his briefer statement in his *Encyclopädie*[3], Heidelberg, 1830, and his much longer discussion in his *Larger Logic*, vols. iii.–v. in his collected *Werke*, Berlin, 1832–40, treats the idea of negation at length, but does not clearly see in what relations negation stands to order. The first really modern treatment of the conception of order is contained in Bertrand A. W. Russell, *Principles of Mathematics*, Cambridge, 1903. A much fuller discussion of various mathematical aspects of the concept of order appears in A. N. Whitehead and B. A. W. Russell, *Principia Mathematica*, 3 vols., Cambridge, 1910–13. A considerable number of modern treatises on geometry give an account of so much of the concept of order as is especially important for the understanding of projective geometry. J. Royce has a summary discussion entitled 'Principles of Logic,' in the *Encyclopædia of the Philosophical Sciences*, Eng. ed., London, 1913; here logic has been defined as 'the science of order,' and some of the considerations which are used in this article have been somewhat more technically stated in vol. i. pp. 67–120.

JOSIAH ROYCE.

ORDINAL. — See ORDINATION (Christian), PRAYER, BOOK OF COMMON.

ORDINATION (Christian).—By this term is meant the manner of admission of persons to ministerial office in the Christian Church. For methods of appointment (such as election or nomination) see LAITY; for the ordainer see MINISTRY (Early Christian). This article has to deal only with the liturgical side of the matter, *i.e.* with the ceremonial and forms used in admission to the ministry in the various Christian communities in the world in ancient and in modern times.

1. First six centuries in East and West.—(*a*) *Phraseology.*—It is necessary, before we discuss the customs of different ages and countries, to consider the words used for admission to the ministry. We find that, just as there was a considerable fluidity of nomenclature in the names of the ministerial offices in the earliest Christian period (see MINISTRY, § 2), so in the succeeding ages there was no fixed terminology for 'ordination.'

One of the most common forms of expression was to speak of 'appointing' ministers, and their 'appointment' (*καθιστάνειν* or *καθιστᾶν*, *κατάστασις*); so in Ac 6[3] of the Seven, in Tit 1[5] of presbyters, in He 5[1] 7[28] 8[3] of the Jewish high priest, in Clement of Rome (*Cor.* i. 42) of 'bishops' and deacons, in the 10th canon of the Council of Antioch *in Encæniis* (A.D. 341) of readers, subdeacons, and exorcists, in Eusebius, *HE* vii. 9 (*κατάστασις* used with, and as equivalent to, *χειροτονία*), in Athanasius (*Apol. c. Arian.* 11 f.), and elsewhere; and in the Church Orders this mode of expression is used of any order from bishops downwards, though at Antioch *in Encæn.* (as above) it is used of the minor orders in contrast to the word *χειροτονεῖν*, used of bishops, priests, and deacons (for the references in the Church Orders see A. J. Maclean, *Ancient Church Orders*, p. 78). We find the expressions 'to ordain,' 'ordination' (*χειροτονεῖν*, *χειροτονία*), especially but not exclusively of the three higher orders, as at Ancyra (can. 13; A.D. 314), Nicæa (can. 19; A.D. 325), Antioch (as above), Neocæsarea (can. 9; A.D. 314 or a little later), and frequently in the Church Orders; these words do not necessarily imply laying on of hands, and sometimes mean election (properly by a show of hands) or even appointment only; but they do not negative the laying on of hands. In Ac 14[23] this verb is used of 'appointing' presbyters by Paul and Barnabas, but there is no indication here that it means the act of 'ordination,' though we can scarcely doubt that the way in which they appointed presbyters was by such an act (see *DAC*, art. 'Ordination,' § 1). So in the *Didache*, 15 (*c.* A.D. 130?): 'appoint (*χειροτονήσατε*) therefore for yourselves bishops and deacons.' In the *Apostolic Canons* (*c.* A.D. 400), *χειροτονεῖν* signifies an ordination service over bishops, presbyters, deacons,

and the 'rest of the clerks' (κληρικοί; can. 1, 2). On the other hand, 'to lay on hands' (χειροθετεῖν) and 'laying on of hands' (χειροθεσία) are used, though less often, for ordination, especially when that ceremony is emphasized, while they are also frequently used for other impositions of hands, such as in confirmation, and even for benediction, when hands are stretched out over persons, as in the dismissal of catechumens in the liturgy (*Apost. Const.* vii. 39; *c.* A.D. 375); the verb is used with reference to ordination in the *Const. through Hipp.* 13 (Funk, *Didascalia et Const. Apost.* ii. 82) and apparently includes it in *Apost. Const.* iii. 10 (see Maclean, pp. 153–155). The instance in the *Constitutions through Hippolytus* is remarkable. In this work (probably an epitome of a first draft of *Apost. Const.* bk. viii.) χειροτονεῖν is used of ordinations generally, but of a reader it is expressly said οὐ χειροθετεῖται—*i.e.*, he is appointed by a form of ordination, but hands are not laid upon him. The substantive χειροθεσία is used in *Apost. Const.* ii. 32 of the gift of the Holy Spirit by our Lord to His ministers, in the 9th canon of Neocæsarea of the ordination of a presbyter (in the same canon χειροτονία is used in this sense, but the emphasis in the phrase where χειροθεσία occurs is on the laying on of hands), and in the 19th canon of Nicæa, which denies that deaconesses have been ordained—as they have not received any χειροθεσία they must be classed merely among the laity. We may note here, in anticipation, that in the present Orthodox Greek ordination services χειροθεσία is used for ordination of the minor orders (or perhaps only of subdeacons and deaconesses?; see below, § 16), χειροτονία for that of bishops, presbyters, and deacons (Littledale, *Offices of the Holy Eastern Church*, p. 266). In Sarapion's *Sacramentary* (*c.* A.D. 350) a double phrase is used: 'laying on of hands of the appointment of a bishop' (χειροθεσία καταστάσεως ἐπισκόπου, § 14), and similarly for the ordination of presbyters and deacons (§ 12 *f.*). For other instances of the above terms see *JThSt* i. 273 *f.* In Ac 20^{28} τίθημι is used of the Holy Ghost appointing 'bishops.'

Corresponding words in Latin are *ordinare, ordinatio* (Tert. *de Præscr.* 41), and *constituere* (often in Cyprian,[1] e.g. *Ep.* i. [lxv.] 1, iii. [lxiv.] 3, xxix. [xxiii.], lii. [xlviii.] 2, though these and similar words were often used of nomination to the ministry). The ordained person was said to be promoted (*promoveri* [Elvira, can. 80; *c.* A.D. 305], προχειρίζεσθαι [Nicæa, can. 10; *Apost. Can.* 82 (81)], προελθεῖν [*Apost. Const.* vi. 17, *var. lect.* παρελθεῖν], προάγεσθαι [Ancyra, can. 12; Nicæa, can. 1]), or to be 'blessed' (Orange, can. 23 [A.D. 441], where *benedictio levitæ*='ordination to the diaconate'), or 'consecrated' (Leo the Great, *Ep.* vi. [iv.] 6). These details of nomenclature are extremely important, as erroneous deductions have often been made from Patristic statements owing to a failure to distinguish the terms used. Further details, especially regarding later centuries, may be seen in Hatch's art. 'Ordination' in *DCA*, to which several additions are here made.

At a later date a difference was made in the West between 'consecration' of a bishop and the 'ordination' to other orders. But no such distinction is found in the earlier period or is known in the East at the present day.

(*b*) *Descriptions of early ordinations.* — In the whole of the early period ordinations to every grade were simple, consisting of prayer (usually a single prayer) and laying on of hands. At the most one or two other ceremonies were added. In the NT imposition of hands at ordination is mentioned in Ac 6^{6} (the Seven) and 1 Ti 4^{14}, 2 Ti 1^{6} (Timothy). It is not referred to in the case of the presbyters in Ac 14^{23} (though there need be little doubt that it was then used, for St. Luke does not mention all the details on every occasion); but we find it in 13^{3}, where, however, it is doubtful if 'ordination' proper is meant (see *DAC*, art. 'Ordination,' § 8). In 1 Ti 5^{22} it is mentioned, but here also it is doubtful if the writer is speaking of ordination. That ordinations in the NT were accompanied by prayer is seen from Ac 6^{6} 14^{23}; cf. also 1^{24} (Matthias's appointment) and 13^{3} (mission of Barnabas and Saul).

After the Apostolic Age we have no descriptions of ordinations till the 4th cent., but then they become plentiful. The Church Orders, even several of them which do not give the forms used in the eucharistic liturgy, give ordination prayers. Thus we have them in the *Canons of Hippolytus*, the *Ethiopic Church Order*, the *Testament of our Lord*, the *Apostolic Constitutions*, the *Constitutions through Hippolytus*, the appendices to the *Arabic Didascalia* and to the *Verona Latin Fragments of the Didascalia*, and some others. These are probably all of the 4th or beginning of the 5th century. Sarapion's *Sacramentary* also gives us a set of ordination prayers for the three highest orders, though it has no rubrics and no descriptions of the rite. In all these manuals laying on of hands is emphasized in the ordination of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, and in one or two of them in that of the minor orders. The usual rule with regard to the latter is that they do not have this ceremony; so expressly most of the Church Orders, and so a passage in Basil (*Ep. can. tertia*, ccxvii. 51), where a clear distinction is made between the clergy who are 'in orders' (ἐν βαθμῷ) and those 'in the ministry which is conferred without imposition of hands.' But in *Apost. Const.* viii. 19–22 subdeacons, readers, and even deaconesses receive it; so *Const. through Hipp.* 9–13, except in the case of readers (see above). In these books we sometimes read of the laying on of 'hands,' sometimes of 'a hand,' and sometimes in the same work we find both customs. No difference seems to have been made between them in the early period. There is one apparent exception to the universal practice of laying on hands at ordinations. In the *Apostolic Constitutions*, though it is mentioned in all other cases, even, as we have seen, of minor orders, it is not explicitly referred to in the ordination of a bishop. In this work (viii. 4) one of the bishops says the ordination prayer over the candidate for the episcopate, two others stand beside him, the other bishops and the presbyters pray in silence, and the deacons hold the book of the Gospels over the candidate's head.[1]

Considering the unanimity of all the parallel Church Orders and of Sarapion, and the fact that the *Apostolic Constitutions* have this ceremony for all other ordinations, pressing it where the other manuals forbid it (for the minor orders), it is unlikely that the writer of this work meant to exclude it at the ordination of a bishop. It is much more probable that he assumed it. The *Constitutions through Hippolytus* use the same language as the *Apostolic Constitutions*. Laying on of hands was not confined to the Catholic Church. In the Clementine literature Peter uses it in ordaining Clement (*Ep. of Clement*, 2, 19) and Zacchæus (*Clem. Hom.* iii. 72; *Clem. Recog.* iii. 66). In the last passage it is recorded that he also ordained twelve presbyters and four deacons. This literature is now usually ascribed, in its present form, to the 4th century.

In the ordination of a bishop there is a variety of usage as to the part taken by the assisting bishops. Sometimes one bishop, and sometimes all the bishops, lay on hands; sometimes one says the prayer (the usual practice), sometimes all do so. In the *Testament of our Lord* (i. 21) all the bishops, having first washed their hands (the presbyters standing beside them), lay on hands and say a declaration: 'We lay hands on the servant of God who hath been chosen in the Spirit, for the true and pious disposing of the Church,' etc.; and then one of their number, at their command, lays hands on him and says the prayer of ordination. After this the people cry thrice 'Axios' ('He is worthy') —a great feature of Greek ordinations in all ages— and give him the kiss of peace. The usage in the *Apostolic Constitutions* has been given above. But what do the two selected assistant bishops in that manual do? Nothing is said. They do not hold the Gospels over the candidate's head. Probably they, with the presiding bishop, lay on hands, and we may possibly conclude, in view of the direction to the other bishops not to pray aloud, that all the three joined audibly in the ordination prayer. In this work, after the prayer, 'one of the bishops' offers 'the sacrifice on the hands of him who has

[1] The numbers in square brackets are those of the *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*. Those in *PL* are lxvi., lxv., xxiv., xlix.

[1] The meaning of this ceremony seems to be that our Lord is acting through His ministers.

been ordained.' The meaning is not clear; but it probably refers to the custom (for which see below, § 3 (*c*)) of concelebration of the Eucharist by all the bishops, or all the presbyters, as the case may be. The new bishop is then enthroned by the other bishops, and receives the kiss of peace. After the lections from the Law and the Prophets and the Epistles and Acts and the Gospels, the new bishop salutes the Church and preaches. The liturgy then proceeds. In this work the people before the ordination are asked thrice if the elect is worthy, and three times they affirm that he is. In most of the early authorities (e.g., *Verona Fragments*, *Can. of Hipp.*, *Egyp.* and *Eth. Ch. Ord.*, and apparently *Apost. Const.*, and probably others) the new bishop celebrates the Eucharist.

The ordination prayer in the earliest Church Orders, the *Canons of Hippolytus*, the *Verona Fragments*, and the *Ethiopic Church Order*, is short and simple, and is in nearly identical words. The same may be said of the *Constitutions through Hippolytus*. These parallel forms are clearly all derived from a single original, each writer introducing slight variations. After praying for the Spirit to be given to the candidate for the episcopate, and asking that his life may be exemplary, the presiding bishop in the *Canons of Hippolytus* concludes:

'Receive his prayers and offerings which he shall offer to thee day and night, and may they be to thee a sweet savour. Give also to him, O Lord, the episcopate and a mild spirit, and power to forgive sins; and give him ability to loose all bonds of iniquity of demons and power to heal all diseases, and bruise Satan under his feet shortly, through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom be glory to thee, with him and the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever. Amen' (for the full prayer see Maclean, *Ancient Church Orders*, p. 75 f.).

This prayer is expanded in the *Testament of our Lord* and in the *Apostolic Constitutions*. The prayer in Sarapion (§ 14) is even shorter than that given above. This book is not one of the parallel Church Orders, and the prayers are quite independent of those there given, but the ordination forms are even simpler. That for a bishop asks for him the Spirit and that he may be a worthy shepherd.

It has usually been said (by the present writer also) that the prayer used in ordaining a presbyter was the same as that used in ordaining a bishop, except that the name of the office was changed. This is the statement in the *Canons of Hippolytus* (iv.; ed. Achelis, §§ 30–32), which also say that in the case of a presbyter enthronization is omitted, and in the *Egyptian Church Order* (Horner, *Statutes of the Apostles*, pp. 245, 307; Maclean, p. 70). But in the other parallel manuals and in Sarapion a separate, though equally simple, form is given for presbyters; and an apparently contradictory rubric in the *Ethiopian Church Order* and the *Verona Fragments* has led C. H. Turner (*JThSt* xvi. 542) to the not improbable conclusion that all that is meant in the two first-named authorities is that the first part of the ordination prayer for bishops is identical with that for presbyters. In several books the prayer for presbyters refers to the elders appointed by Moses (e.g., *Test. of our Lord*, i. 30). In *Apost. Const.* viii. 16, 'priestly duties' on behalf of the people are mentioned; in Sarapion, § 13, the function of reconciliation. The prayer in the last book is peculiar in not mentioning the office to which the person is ordained. In the ordination of presbyters in most of the Church Orders the presbyters join with the bishop in laying on hands (see MINISTRY, § 8).

The prayer for deacons in the Church Orders and in Sarapion is also very simple; it usually refers to St. Stephen and the Seven. The minor orders have still more simple forms.

It must be noticed that in the ordination of bishops and presbyters there is no trace of an imperative formula like 'Receive the Holy Ghost,' such as we find in the mediæval and modern books in the West.

(*c*) *Delivery of symbols of office.*—In later times this became a regular part of all the ordination ceremonies; but in the early period it is found only in connexion with the minor orders, for which, as a rule, imposition of hands is not used. In the *Canons of Hippolytus* the Gospels are given to a reader; in the *Testament of our Lord*, the *Ethiopic Church Order*, and the *Constitutions through Hippolytus* (not in the *Apostolic Constitutions*), 'a book'; in the *Egyptian Church Order* the 'Apostle,' *i.e.* the Pauline Epistles. For this feature in the *Gallican Statutes* see below (*e*).

(*d*) *Ordination in pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita.*—The author of the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, who wrote *c.* A.D. 480, perhaps in Edessa, deals in ch. v. with 'priestly consecration,' *i.e.* with the ordination of 'hierarchs' (bishops), priests (ἱερεῖς), and 'ministers' (λειτουργοί, deacons). At his ordination a deacon kneels on one knee, a presbyter on two—a piece of symbolism, borrowed and worked out by the E. Syrians and Maronites (see below, § 13 f.). All these ordinations consist of laying on of hands with prayer and the sign of the cross; the name of the candidate and the office conferred are proclaimed; in the consecration of a bishop the Gospels are held over his head, to show the fullness of his powers. The kiss of peace is mentioned: 'all of the clergy (τῶν ἱερατικῶν τάξεων) who are present greet him who is initiated' (τετελεσμένον). The account in pseudo-Dionysius is very like that in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, but the details are more precise. The absence of minor orders in this work is probably due to its pseudonymous form; a contemporary of the apostles is supposed to be speaking.

(*e*) *Ordination in the 'Gallican Statutes.'*—This is the convenient name given by J. Wordsworth (*Ministry of Grace*, p. 58) to the collection of regulations which used to be known as the canons of the Fourth Council of Carthage, but which have nothing to do with Africa. They are also called *Statuta Ecclesiæ Antiqua*. They appear to come from the south of Gaul, and may be dated *c.* A.D. 500 (for their contents see C. J. Hefele, *Hist. of the Church Councils*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1876, ii. 410 ff.). With reference to our subject they say that a bishop before ordination is to be examined as to the faith, and whether he does not disapprove marriage, or condemn second marriages or the eating of flesh; all the bishops are to be present, and the clergy and laity are to give their consent, and especially all is to be done with the authority of the metropolitan (§ 1). At the ordination two bishops are to hold the Gospels over the elect's head and neck; and, while one pronounces the blessing over him (*i.e.* says the prayer of ordination), all the other bishops lay their hands on his head (§ 2). This seems to be all that is done in ordaining a bishop. When a presbyter is ordained, the bishop lays his hand on his head, and all the presbyters present also lay their hands on his head (§ 3). When a deacon is ordained, the bishop who 'blesses' him (see above) alone lays his hand on his head (§ 4). The minor orders which are mentioned (§§ 5-10) are the subdeacon, acolyte, exorcist, reader, doorkeeper, and singer. These are not to be ordained with imposition of hands—so it is enacted explicitly with regard to the subdeacon, and the same thing would *a fortiori* hold good of the other offices named. The empty paten and chalice, water-cruet, plate (?), and napkin are given to a subdeacon; a candlestick with tapers to an acolyte; a book with exorcisms to an exorcist;

the codex from which he is to read to a reader; the keys of the church to a doorkeeper. These are ordained by the bishop. A singer, on the other hand, may be admitted by a presbyter without the previous knowledge of the bishop; the words of admission are given, and are remarkable as having remained to the present day: 'See that what thou singest, thou believe with the heart; and what thou believest with the heart, thou prove by thy works.' This formula, which is found in *Magdalen College Pontifical* (p. 59; see below, § 3) at the ordination of a singer, is still used in the Roman pontifical in ordaining a reader, and is adapted as the ordinary 'vestry prayer' in the Anglican communion, where there is a surpliced choir.

(*f*) *Early Roman ordinations.*—It is one of the misfortunes of the student of Christian origins that we know so little of Roman liturgical customs in the early ages. We know next to nothing of ordinations in Rome before the 6th century. But, if the common original of the parallel Church Orders be Roman, as is very probable—it may possibly be the work of Hippolytus—by comparing the forms in the earliest of these manuals, for which see above (*b*), and by retaining what is common to them all, striking out what is peculiar to one of them, we may provisionally arrive at the form of ordination (at least that of a bishop) which was in use in Rome early in the 3rd century (see Maclean, *Recent Discoveries illustrating Early Christian Life and Worship*[2], London, 1915, p. 109 f., for an attempt in this direction). When we come to the 6th cent., the *Leonine Sacramentary* (*c.* 550) gives us the customs in Rome before the reforms of Gregory the Great. It has ordination prayers for bishops, presbyters, and deacons, but not for any orders below these. The simplicity of the ordinations is their principal characteristic.

2. Intermediate period in the West.—For this period our chief authorities are the Roman *Ordines*, especially the *Ordo of St. Amand* (§ 7, giving directions for the ordination of presbyters and deacons), which Duchesne prints (*Christian Worship*, p. 475), and the *Ordo IV.* and *Ordo VIII.* of J. Mabillon (*PL* lxxviii.), which give directions for the ordination of all orders; the *Gelasian Sacramentary* (*c.* 700 [*PL* lxxiv., and ed. H. A. Wilson, Oxford, 1894]), which gives the Roman rite as modified by Gallican influence, but is chiefly Roman; and the *Missale Francorum* (*PL* lxxii.), which is a fragment of about the same date, 'generally Roman, but with some Gallican rubrics' (Wordsworth, *Ministry of Grace*, p. 74)—these two contain ordination prayers, etc.; Isidore, *de Officiis ecclesiasticis*, ii., which gives the prayers and rubrics of the Gallican rite.

(*a*) *Ordinations in Rome* (Duchesne, p. 352 ff.).—The ordination of bishops was always on a Sunday, during mass. After the gradual has been sung, the litany and Kyrie follow; the pope bids prayer and says two prayers, one a 'collect' concluding the litany, and the other a eucharistic prayer of ordination, beginning with the 'Sursum Corda.' The pope, bishops, and presbyters give the new bishop the kiss of peace and the mass proceeds. The lections are Mt 10^{1} 24^{42}, Mk 6^{6}, Lk 10^{1}, Jn 10^{12} 12^{24}, 1 Ti 3^{1}, Tit 1^{7} (F. E. Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, Oxford, 1881, p. 69). In this case the pope officiates alone and the other bishops do not take part, this being an exception to the general rule that a bishop must be ordained by at least three bishops. Presbyters and deacons are ordained on the Ember Saturday, having been presented to the people in the churches of Sta. Maria Maggiore and the Holy Apostles on the preceding Wednesday and Friday, when the people are called upon to make objections if they have any. The ordination takes place in the mass of the vigil, *i.e.* in the afternoon or evening. The candidates for the diaconate, vested in dalmatics, are presented to the pope before the Gospel by the archdeacon. After the litany the pope lays on hands and says two prayers (see above). The new deacons receive the kiss of peace from the pope and clergy. The candidates for the presbyterate, vested in chasubles, are then presented to the pope, and he says two prayers over them and gives them the kiss of peace. The lections for a deacon are 1 Ti 3^{8}, Jn 12^{24}, and for a presbyter Ezk 35^{2}, Mt 24^{42} (Warren, p. 69). The older Roman books give no ceremony for the ordination of exorcists, readers, and doorkeepers. The acolyte (holding a linen bag) and the subdeacon (holding an empty chalice) only received a blessing from the bishop at an ordinary mass; and even this was not before the 7th century.

(*b*) *Gallican ordinations* (Duchesne, p. 363).—A bishop is usually ordained in the cathedral of his see. He is presented on the day of the ordination to the people, who cry 'Dignus' ('He is worthy'). After a bidding there follows the consecration prayer (different from and longer than the Roman one), when two bishops hold the Gospels over the elect's head, and each bishop lays on hands. His hands are anointed, and a prayer is said. The lections are Mal 1^{6-11}, 1 Co 9^{7-12}, Lk 20^{45}–21^{4} (Warren, p. 69). The candidate for the presbyterate is presented to the people, who cry 'Dignus,' and the bishop lays on hands and says the prayer; the other presbyters also lay on hands. The bishop anoints the new presbyter's hands. The lections are Tit 1^{1-6}, Lk 12^{42-44}. The procedure in the case of the diaconate is the same except that the anointing is omitted. The lections are Ezk $44^{15ff.}$, 1 Ti 3^{8-13}, Lk 9^{57-62}. The minor orders receive their badges of office, for which see above § 1 (*e*), and a blessing and prayer are said. An address is made to subdeacons.

(*c*) *Fusion of the two rites and developments.*—From the 7th to the 9th cent. a process of fusion of the Roman and Gallican rites was going on. The consecration or 'eucharistic' prayers were joined, and the directions of the *Gallican Statutes* (above, § 1), which the later Gallican books reproduced, were prefixed as rubrics. The result of this arrangement of rubrics was that at a later date the laying on of hands was transferred to the first part of the service and took place in silence, instead of after or with the ordination prayer. A later feature was the introduction of the *porrectio instrumentorum*, or delivery of badges of office, to bishops, presbyters, and deacons as well as to the minor orders. To the bishop a ring and staff were given, to the presbyter a chalice and paten with the elements prepared for the mass, to the deacon the Gospel-book, with the charge to read the liturgical Gospel (the last was not before A.D. 1000 in the Roman rite). Unction of the head was also added, but afterwards dropped except in the case of a bishop (Frere, *Hist. of the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 354 f.).

(*d*) *The Celtic rite.*—There were some differences in the ordinations of the Celtic Church from those described above (see Warren, p. 68 ff.). A bishop was commonly consecrated by a single bishop. The lections were 1 P $1^{3.\ 13f.\ 23}$ $2^{1.\ 9}$, Ac $1^{15f.}$, 1 Ti $3^{1ff.}$, Mt 16^{16-18}. Both presbyters and deacons were anointed on the hands, and this is found in the Epistle of Gildas (*c.* 550), in Egbert's pontifical (early 8th cent.), and elsewhere; the anointing of deacons was peculiar to the Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Churches, the latter probably borrowing it from the former. The book of the Gospels was given to a deacon, and a stole to the presbyter.

These features are not found in the earlier Roman and Gallican rites.

3. Later Western pontificals.—We can now consider the results of the fusion of the Roman and Gallican rites as seen in the later pontificals. The Roman pontifical is still in use in the Roman communion. The pre-Reformation Anglican pontificals are as a rule difficult to obtain, but the Henry Bradshaw Society has published that of 'Magdalen College,' edited by H. A. Wilson, which gives the consecration of bishops and ordination of the other orders—for by this time the difference of nomenclature is well established in the West. This pontifical is perhaps from Hereford, or from Canterbury, and seems to be of the 12th century. Maskell has also published in his *Monumenta* the Lincoln (?) rite for consecrating or enthroning a bishop and ordaining clergy, with notes giving the chief differences of the Exeter rite. The pontificals vary a good deal in detail, and the following description is taken from the fullest of them.

(*a*) *Consecration of a bishop.*—The elect is presented to the archbishop by two bishops, is interrogated at length, and makes the oath of canonical obedience. The mass begins. After the collect there is an exhortation, bidding to prayer, and litany with special suffrage. Two bishops hold the Gospels over the elect and the other bishops lay on hands in silence; in some forms the archbishop says 'Receive the Holy Ghost.' The 'Veni Creator' (in some forms) and collect follow, and the first consecratory prayer (with 'Sursum Corda') is said. The elect is anointed on the head, and two consecratory prayers follow, the archbishop extending his right hand at the second (in some forms). He gives a sevenfold blessing, and anoints the new bishop's head and hands. The latter puts on gloves (so some forms) and is given the staff, ring, and mitre, with a blessing. The Gospel-book is (in some forms) given; and the mass continues, said by the archbishop. The formula 'Receive the Holy Ghost' is not universal, and does not occur in most English pontificals. That given by Maskell directs two bishops to hold the Gospels and the rest of them to touch the head with their hands, and the ordainer to say the 'Veni Creator'; but the formula is absent. The Exeter book alone among the English pontificals has it; it directs the consecrator and the assistant bishops to touch the elect's head with both their hands, and all to say 'Receive the Holy Ghost.' The Roman pontifical agrees with this. The enthronization is a separate ceremony, as the consecration did not usually take place in the new bishop's cathedral church (for this service see Maskell, iii. 281; Wilson, p. 77).

(*b*) *Ordinations to other orders.*[1]—Before the Epistle the minor orders and subdeacons are admitted with the giving of the badge of office and prayer, but without laying on of hands (so expressly, even in the case of subdeacons, the *Magdalen College Pontifical* [Wilson, p. 63]). After the Epistle and Tract the candidates for the diaconate and presbyterate are presented (in some forms all the candidates are presented at the beginning of the service). The deacons are then (in some forms) instructed, the bishop lays a hand on them in silence (at a later period he here says silently 'Receive the Holy Ghost'), bids prayers, says a collect, and then the consecratory prayer, vests the ordinands with a stole (on one shoulder), gives them the Gospels (in some forms), says a second bidding (not Sarum) and a second consecratory prayer (some forms) or else a blessing, and (in some forms) vests the new deacon in a dalmatic. The Gospel is then read by one of the newly-ordained deacons, and the presbyters are ordained (in some forms they are presented here). They are instructed (so some forms) and the bishop and presbyters lay on hands in silence; the bishop bids prayer and says a collect and the first consecratory prayer; he vests the ordinand in stole (over both shoulders) and chasuble, says a second bidding (not Sarum) and (in some forms) a second consecratory prayer; in some forms 'Veni Creator' is said; and the new presbyter is blessed and anointed on the hands. The bishop gives him the paten and chalice prepared for the Eucharist, saying, 'Receive power to offer the sacrifice to God, and to celebrate mass for the quick and dead, in the name of the Lord.' The mass proceeds, and (in some forms) there is another imposition of hands with 'Receive the Holy Ghost' after communion. The kiss of peace, blessing, exhortation (so some forms), and post-communion complete the service.

(*c*) *Concelebration.*—In the present Roman ritual the practice is preserved, at the ordination of presbyters, of the new presbyters celebrating the Eucharist with the bishop; and this may be a convenient place for referring to the custom. This was an ancient custom at every Eucharist, which has survived only at ordination. In the *Ordo Romanus Primus* (ed. E. G. C. F. Atchley, London, 1905, p. 148 f.), on festivals, the cardinal presbyters each hold in their hands a corporal and three loaves, and, standing round the altar with the pope, say the canon, and 'simultaneously consecrate the body and blood of the Lord.' A similar rule is found in the *Ordo of St. Amand* (Atchley, p. 158), where the bishops and presbyters hold two loaves in their hands and consecrate them when the pope is consecrating at the altar. This custom is also found in some of the Church Orders, where the presbyters lay hands on the eucharistic loaves at the offertory (*Test. of our Lord*, i. 23; *Can. of Hipp.* iii. [ed. Achelis, § 20]; *Egyp. Ch. Ord.* 31; *Eth. Ch. Ord.* 21, etc.). The last manual, in J. Ludolf's version (*Ad suam historiam Æthiopicam commentarius*, Frankfort-on-Main, 1691), directs the presbyters to say the eucharistic prayer with the bishop. The *Magdalen College Pontifical* (Wilson, p. 69) says: 'Let all who have been ordained [presbyters] bring the oblations to the hands of the bishop.' If the customs at Bourges, where the present writer lately witnessed an ordination, are general in the Roman communion, the new priests kneel behind the bishop, at some distance from the altar, and, taught by the ceremoniarius, say the canon of the mass with him, but do not hold a host in their hands.

(*d*) '*Matter*' *and* '*form.*'—It may be noticed from the descriptions which have been given that the 'matter' (imposition of hands) and 'form' (the consecratory prayer) are not necessarily synchronous. So in Ac 6^{6} $8^{15.\ 17}$ the prayer, at ordination and confirmation, precedes the laying on of hands.

(*e*) *The word* '*ordinal.*'—This is now commonly used to denote the book of ordination services. But there was no mediæval word to represent this. 'Pontifical' has a wider sense, being a collection of offices used by a bishop. In the Middle Ages an 'ordinal' meant a book of directions or of ceremonies.

4. Anglican post-Reformation ordinations.—The following is a description of the forms now in use, dating from 1662, and the chief changes made between the Reformation and that date will be noted in passing. There are now no minor orders

[1] In the Middle Ages the minor orders in the West were doorkeepers, readers, exorcists, acolytes. Subdeacons were reckoned with the higher orders.

recognized in the formularies of the Anglican communion.

(*a*) *Bishop.*—The consecration must take place on a Sunday or holy day after mattins (so 1662), during the Eucharist, which from 1662 has had a proper collect—before that the collect of the day was used—and a proper Epistle and Gospel. After the Nicene Creed there is a sermon (1662 only), and the elect, vested in his rochet (so 1662, while in 1549 [1550] he was vested in surplice and cope, and in 1552 no vestment was named), is presented to the archbishop by two bishops. Up to 1865 the oath of the king's supremacy was then taken, but now this and all subscriptions at ordinations are taken beforehand, except that the oath of canonical obedience to the archbishop is still taken by bishops at this point in the service. The archbishop bids prayers, and the litany with special suffrage is said, ended by a special collect, and followed by interrogations, exhortations, and blessing. The elect puts on the rest of his episcopal habit (1662), and the archbishop and bishops sing or say over him, by verses (so 1662), the 'Veni Creator.' The consecration prayer is said by the archbishop (but without 'Sursum Corda' as in the pontificals), and then he and all the bishops lay on hands, and the archbishop says, 'Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a bishop in the Church of God now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands,' and quotes 2 Ti $1^{6f.}$ (adapted). (The words 'for the office . . . hands' were inserted in 1662.) He gives him the Bible with an exhortation, and the Eucharist proceeds. In 1549 (not 1552) the Bible was put on the new bishop's neck, and at the words 'Be to the flock of Christ a shepherd' the archbishop gave him the pastoral staff. At all consecrations and ordinations the newly-ordained must communicate, and two special collects or post-communions precede the final blessing.

(*b*) *Presbyter.*—After mattins (1662) there is a sermon, and the archdeacon presents the candidates ('decently habited,' 1662). Objections are asked for, the bishop bids prayers, and the litany with special suffrage is said; and the Eucharist has a special collect (1662), which is one of the ordination prayers, and a special Epistle and Gospel. (Up to 1662 the 'Veni Creator' was said after the Gospel, and the candidates [in 1549, not 1552, vested in plain albs] were then presented, objections asked, and the special collect said; the collect of the day was used before the Epistle.) Then follow an exhortation and interrogations, bidding and silent prayer, 'Veni Creator,' and the second ordination prayer. The bishop and presbyters lay on hands and the bishop says 'Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a priest in the Church of God now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands,' and adds Jn 20^{23} and a single sentence of exhortation. (The words 'for the office . . . hands' were inserted in 1662.) The bishop gives the Bible (also, in 1549 but not in 1552, 'the chalice or cup with the bread') with a short formula, and the Eucharist proceeds. There is a curious rubric that 'all they that receive orders shall take [the Communion] together and remain in the same place where hands were laid upon them until such time as they have received the Communion.' This seems to be a relic of the custom of concelebration; see above, § 3 (*c*). It occurs only at the ordination of presbyters.

(*c*) *Deacon.*—After mattins (1662) and sermon, the archdeacon presents the candidates ('decently habited,' 1662; in 1549, not 1552, in plain albs) to the bishop, who asks for objections and bids prayers. The litany is said with a special suffrage. The Eucharist has a proper collect, which is the real ordination prayer (up to 1662 this was first said and then the Eucharist began and the collect of the day was used), and a proper Epistle. Then follow interrogations and exhortation, and the bishop lays on hands and says, 'Take thou authority to execute the office of a deacon in the Church of God committed unto thee: In the name,' etc. The New Testament is given and the new deacon reads the proper Gospel (in 1549 he puts on a tunicle, and both in 1549 and in 1552 he reads the Gospel of the day), and the Eucharist proceeds.

These forms are based on the pre-Reformation pontificals, with considerable simplifications; but, especially in the case of deacons, the ordination prayers have become somewhat displaced, and the comparatively modern imperative formulæ have been unduly magnified at the expense of the prayers. The interrogations and exhortation to priests are largely derived from Bucer (see below, § 8).

5. **Presbyterian ordinations.**—Directions as to ordination are given in *The Form of Presbyterial Church Government and of Ordination of Ministers* (see under Literature below), which was agreed upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster and approved by the Presbyterian General Assembly in Edinburgh, 1645. In this work ordination is directed to be always continued, and is stated to be 'the act of a presbytery'; 'every minister of the word is to be ordained by imposition of hands and prayer with fasting, by those preaching presbyters to whom it doth belong,' and 'the power of ordering the whole work of ordination is in the whole presbytery.' Directions are given for the candidate's examination by the presbytery, and for his preaching before the people and before the presbytery or ministers of the word acting as their deputies. The ordination is to be performed in the church which he is to serve, and on the day appointed for it a 'solemn fast shall be kept by the congregation.' At least three or four ministers of the presbytery are to attend. One of these is appointed to preach about the ministerial office and duty, and the preacher is to interrogate the candidate. The ministers then lay on hands and say a short prayer or blessing to this effect, though no exact form of words is given:

'Thankfully acknowledging the great mercy of God in sending Jesus Christ for the redemption of his people; and for his ascension to the right hand of God the Father, and thence pouring out his Spirit, and giving gifts to men, apostles, evangelists, prophets, pastors, and teachers; for the gathering and building up of his church; and for fitting and inclining this man to this great work [*here let them impose hands on his head*]; to entreat him to fit him with his Holy Spirit, to give him (whom in his name we thus set apart to this holy service) to fulfil the work of his ministry in all things, that he may both save himself, and his people committed to his charge.'

After the prayer the preacher exhorts the new minister and the people, and by another prayer commends him and his flock to the grace of God. A psalm is sung and the congregation is dismissed with a blessing.

The Church Service Society, founded in Scotland in 1865, has published, after several revisions, a book called *Euchologion, a Book of Common Order* (see under Literature below) in which forms of prayer, interrogations, and exhortations are given, the above outline being followed. In the ordination prayer the presiding presbyter lays both hands on the candidate's head, and each of the other presbyters lays on his right hand (p. 383). After the prayer the 'Gloria Patri' or other doxology is said, and the presbyters in turn give the new minister the right hand of fellowship (p. 384). The ordination prayer and the addresses in this book are taken in the main (see pp. 419, 431) from the *Provisional Liturgy of the American German Reformed Church*, 1859, and the interrogations from *Knox's Liturgy and Church of Scotland Prayers for Social and Family Worship* (1st ed.).

6. The Scandinavian rite. — i. SWEDEN. — The Swedish post-Reformation ordination services deserve special consideration, as they have some very peculiar features. They are described by G. M. Williams (*The Church of Sweden*, pp. 9–43), who gives most of the prayers in full. The ordinations are to the episcopate and the presbyterate; there are now no deacons in Sweden.

(*a*) *Bishop.*—According to the present rite (1881), the consecration must take place on a Sunday or holy day, in the cathedral church. The assistants, if bishops, stand inside, but, if priests, stand outside, the altar rail, all being vested in chasubles. They bring in the cope and other episcopal insignia. After an address there is a prayer (this is really the ordination prayer), and the notary reads the king's commission. Several lections, with an exhortation, are read. The elect says the Apostles' Creed and is interrogated. The archbishop says a formula, committing to him the bishop's office, and giving him the king's commission, also the pectoral cross and pastoral staff; meanwhile the choir sing an anthem consisting of a prayer to the Holy Ghost. The elect is vested in the cope, the assistants lay their hands on his head, and the archbishop says the Lord's Prayer. The mitre is put on, and a prayer and blessing conclude the service. Consecrations do not now take place, as in 1571, during the Eucharist. The chief peculiarities of this rite are the laying on of hands *after* the delivery of office, the displacement of the ordination prayer, the Lord's Prayer said at the laying on of hands, and the prominence given to the modern feature of delivering the office to the ordinand as compared with the ordination prayer. There have been several revisions since 1571; in that year an ordination prayer was said at the laying on of hands.

(*b*) *Presbyter.*—The present form (1894), the last of several revisions, follows the lines of a bishop's consecration, and many of the prayers and interrogations are the same, only the name of the office being altered. Most of the lections are different. Instead of the king's commission, the bishop gives the ordinand his *prestbref* ('letters of orders to the priesthood'), *before* the laying on of hands, and the ordinand is then vested in a chasuble. If more persons than one are ordained at one time, the Lord's Prayer is said over each separately. The word *prestembet* ('priesthood') is now used, as in 1871, while in some of the previous revisions *predicoembet* ('preacher's office') replaced it (see J. Wordsworth, *National Church of Sweden*, pp. 355–357).

ii. NORWAY.—Of Norwegian consecrations of bishops before the Reformation we have the following interesting account, given by Dr. Bang, the present bishop of Christiania:

'The archbishop came before the altar accompanied by his assistants. The ordinand presented himself before him with a bishop on each side. The introit and verse were sung; then, instead of Kyrie eleison, the archbishop began the Great Gloria ['Gloria in excelsis'?], whereupon the mass was interrupted and the ordination act begun. The ordainer took the Gospel-book and laid it first open, then closed, on the head of the ordinand, in which position it was held by the two assistant bishops. The archbishop then sprinkled the ordinand with holy water, laid his hand on his head, and repeated a long ordination prayer. . . . Thereafter he anointed his hands and head with suitable prayers and delivered him the pastoral staff, and put the episcopal ring on the fourth finger of his right hand. Vested with the episcopal insignia, he was now placed upon the episcopal throne during a long prayer, whereupon the consecration ended with a blessing upon the ordained bishop' (Williams, p. 30).

It would appear that the Scandinavian pontifical, like so many English ones, lacked the 'Accipe Spiritum sanctum.'

7. Moravian ordinations.—We are not here concerned with the disputed question of the ministerial succession in the Unitas Fratrum, or Moravian body, but only with the rite used by them in ordination.

Their first recorded ordination, in 1464, was noticeable because of their use of the lot, after the example of the appointment of the apostle Matthias (de Schweinitz, *Moravian Episcopate*, p. 10). But this was followed by an ordination; according to de Schweinitz, by an ordination (with prayer and imposition of hands) to the priesthood by the priests present in the synod then held, and afterwards by an ordination to the episcopate by two Waldensian bishops.[1] The use of the lot appears to have continued in the Moravian body, as it is mentioned as existing in A. G. Spangenberg's *Exposition of Christian Doctrine as taught in the . . . Unitas Fratrum*[2] (Eng. tr., Bath, 1796, § 257, pp. 450, 453).

In 1478 the Brethren stated to the Masters of Prague:

'In consecrating to the priesthood, we have no set form of words, but the election is according to prayer and the desire of the congregation, and then the ordination through laying on of hands' (J. Truhlar, *Manualnik Vacslava Korandy*, Prague, 1888, p. 35 f.).

The Brethren had the following offices: bishops, presbyters or seniors, ministers (deacons), acolytes; and to these offices they ordained successively; while in Waldensian ordinations priesthood and episcopate were conferred together, by a single act. In 1504 they told the Masters of Prague:

'We have priests who are properly ordained, as well in accordance with the divine institution (presbyterial ordination), as in accordance with that order which comes from men (episcopal ordination).' See de Schweinitz, p. 13; also p. 12 (2).

John Lasicky (Lasitius), in his *de Ecclesiastica Disciplina* (Amsterdam, 1660, but written *c.* A.D. 1570), describes the ordination of presbyters thus (ch. xv.):

There is an examination and presentation followed by silent prayer. The bishop with two or three presbyters lays on hands, the congregation meantime singing 'Veni Creator.' The bishop blesses and exhorts the new presbyter, and the people acclaim 'Amen' (this is equivalent to the 'Axios').

The ordination of bishops is similar. After the ordination follow the liturgy and a solemn giving of hands, and all the ministers partake of a repast together.

In the present *Liturgy and Hymns for the Use of the . . . Unitas Fratrum* (London, 1906) the following is given under the head of 'Ordinations':

'The service being opened by the singing of the hymn "Come Holy Ghost, come Lord our God," etc., or some other suitable verses, the bishop addresses the congregation . . . and candidate . . . after which he offers up a prayer, imploring the blessing of God upon the solemn transaction, and commending the candidate to his grace, that he may be endowed with power and unction of the Holy Ghost for preaching the word of God, administering the holy sacraments, and for the exercise of his office to the edification of the Church. The bishop then proceeds to ordain the candidate with imposition of hands, pronouncing the following or similar words: "I ordain (consecrate) thee NN. to be a deacon (presbyter, bishop) of the Church of the Unity of the Brethren, in the name," etc.' (He adds a blessing; silent prayer, a doxology, 'Amen,' 'Hallelujah,' a hymn, and 'the New Testament blessing' conclude the service. A note is added that at the consecration of bishops two or three bishops generally assist.)

8. German Reformed ordinations.—These do not call for particular remark. Lutheran forms may be seen in H. A. Daniel's *Codex Liturgicus* (4 vols., Leipzig, 1847–53, ii. 517 ff.). The present German 'Evangelical Church' consists of a fusion of the Lutheran and Calvinist communities. The Calvinists were, both in theory and in practice, strictly presbyterian in polity, while the Lutherans in theory were not so (as we see in the Swedish Church, which has more than one order); and for our purpose the draft 'Ordinal' of Bucer (a Lutheran) is of great interest. It was arranged so that it might be used either for those communities which had one order or for those which had more. The essential portions of it, with parallels from

[1] It is disputed, however, whether the former of these two ordinations actually took place.

the Anglican 'Ordinal' of 1549 (1550), may be seen in *CQR* xliv. [1897] 132 ff. The chief interest lies in the fact that Bucer's draft furnished the noble address in the English Prayer Book to the candidates for the presbyterate, and the basis of the interrogations, though most of his suggestions for other parts of the service were rejected by the Anglican Reformers.

9. The Græco-Russian rite. — The forms of ordination of the three higher orders in the Orthodox Eastern Church in the present day are given in Greek with an English translation in Littledale's *Offices of the Holy Eastern Church*. These ordinations take place in the course of the eucharistic liturgy; but it is noteworthy that the point at which they occur is not the same as in the West. In the Græco-Russian rite the bishop is ordained early in the service, the presbyter later on, and the deacon nearly at the end.

(*a*) *Bishop.*—The form given in Littledale (pp. 40, 158) is the oldest and shortest of the three forms found in the *Euchologion*. It is that here described. After the Trisagion, or hymn 'Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, have mercy upon us,' sung at the beginning of the *Missa Catechumenorum* (F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Oxford, 1896, p. 369), the candidate is presented by three bishops, and a declaration of election made, and the presiding bishop bids the prayers of the people. The Kyrie ('Lord have mercy') is said thrice. The open Gospels are laid on the candidate's head and neck by the presiding bishop, and the other bishops lay on hands with him (*συνεφαπτομένων*). The president says a short prayer secretly (*i.e.* in a low voice), naming the office of bishop, and praying for the strength of the Holy Spirit for the elect. The deacon's ectene ('litany') follows, with a special suffrage, and the president says secretly a short prayer, naming the function of offering sacrifice and oblations for all the people, and that of being a shepherd and teacher. The book of the Gospels is taken from the new bishop's neck and placed on the holy table. The president vests the new bishop with the pallium (*omophorion*) and says 'Axios,' and the clergy say the same. The kiss of peace is given by all the bishops, the newly-ordained takes his seat in the apse, and the liturgy proceeds. He offers the prayer for peace at the 'lection of the Apostle' (the liturgical Epistle; Brightman, p. 371). At the communion he first communicates himself and then communicates the president and the rest. This is a relic of the older custom in which the newly-ordained himself celebrates the liturgy after his ordination (above, § 1 (*b*)). In another form an elaborate profession of faith by the candidate is made, and the pastoral staff is given.

(*b*) *Presbyter* (Littledale, pp. 34, 153).—After the 'Cherubic Hymn,' *i.e.* after the Great Entrance (Brightman, pp. 377–379), the candidate is led up to the holy doors by two deacons. Then two priests lead him round the holy table (which stands out from the east wall of the church), singing the hymn 'Holy Martyrs, who valiantly contended and are crowned, intercede with the Lord that he may have mercy on our souls,' while the bishop sits on a throne before the holy table. The bishop rises and signs the candidate thrice on the head and bids the prayers of the people. The Kyrie is said thrice, and the candidate is again signed thrice with the sign of the cross. The bishop lays his hand on his head and says a prayer, naming the office. The principal priest says the deacon's ectene with special suffrage; and the bishop, holding his hand still on the candidate's head, says a prayer, naming the function of offering 'gifts and spiritual sacrifices' and that of renewing the people 'through the laver of regeneration.' He then raises the new presbyter and brings the back part of his stole to the front of the right side, saying 'Axios.'[1] The bishop vests him in the chasuble and again says 'Axios,' and the clergy and singers chant the same. The newly-ordained kisses the bishop and the presbyters, and stands with them and reads the contakion (short hymn). The liturgy proceeds, and at the epiclesis the new presbyter receives the holy bread (apparently a small particle of it) from the bishop, and holds it in his hands, afterwards returning it to the bishop.[2] At the communion the new priest is first communicated by the bishop, and he says the prayer behind the ambo (pulpit).

(*c*) *Deacon* (Littledale, pp. 28, 148). — After 'And the mercies' (the blessing which follows the Commemoration of the Quick and the Dead and precedes the Lord's Prayer; Brightman, p. 390) two deacons lead the candidate to the bema (sanctuary) and conduct him three times round the holy table, singing 'Holy Martyrs' (see above). The bishop signs him thrice on the head, and the maniple and girdle are taken from him. The bishop bids prayers, the Kyrie is said thrice, and the candidate is signed thrice. The bishop lays his right hand on his head and prays, naming the office, and referring to St. Stephen and the 'good degree' of 1 Ti 3^{13} (but not in the sense of promotion). The archdeacon says the ectene with a special suffrage, and the bishop says another prayer, holding his hand on the candidate's head. He puts the stole on his left shoulder and says 'Axios,' which is taken up by the clergy and singers. The bishop gives him the fan and says 'Axios,' and the deacons give him the kiss of peace; the new deacon, standing at the corner of the holy table, waves the fan above the holy gifts. The newly-ordained receives Holy Communion before the other deacons, and he says the remaining diaconal portion of the liturgy. (Deacons are more numerous in the East than in the West, and every church has at least one.)

(*d*) *Minor orders.*—The office for ordaining a deaconess (Littledale, p. 152) resembles that for a deacon; she receives the laying on of hands, and is vested with the diaconal stole. At the communion she partakes of the two species separately (unlike the ordinary lay people, who are communicated by intinction), and handles the chalice, and herself places it on the holy table. This office has been unused since the 12th cent. except for abbesses. The *Euchologion* gives other offices for minor orders: singers, readers, subdeacons—very simple and informal. To a singer a psalter is given, to a reader the book of the 'Apostle' (the liturgical Epistles). See Littledale, p. 266 f., for a description.

10. The Armenian rite.—The minor Eastern Churches have more elaborate ordination offices than the Græco-Russians. For a Latin translation of these offices see Denzinger, *Ritus Orientalium*, vol. ii.

(*a*) *Bishop* (Denzinger, ii. 356).—The ordination takes place on a Sunday, and occurs in the liturgy after the Trisagion ('Holy God,' etc.), which, as in the Greek rite, comes at the beginning of the *Missa Catechumenorum* (Brightman, p. 424). The clergy and people kiss the hand of the catholicos (patriarch) and receive his blessing. The elect is then presented and testified to. He is interrogated, and makes a profession of faith, in which

[1] The priest's stole, unlike the deacon's, is worn over both shoulders, and, in this Church, the ends are joined together so that it is of one piece.

[2] This seems to be a relic of concelebration, for which see above, § 3 (*c*); but Symeon of Thessalonica says that it is meant to show that it is the direct ministration of our Lord Himself which he has now taken upon him (Littledale, p. 272, note 28).

Eutyches is anathematized. The catholicos lays his hands on his head and says a short prayer; then he puts the episcopal pluviale on his shoulders and kisses him on the mouth. They proceed with the liturgy, and two bishops take the elect by the hand and lead him to the altar. The catholicos puts the open book of the Gospels (held by a bishop) on his shoulders and lays his right hand on his head, while Psalm 89 ('Misericordias Domini') is sung. The chief deacon makes a proclamation, and a bishop reads a certificate of election and of its confirmation. The catholicos announces the elect's name and the see to which he is called, and prays secretly for the Holy Spirit, while two bishops make proclamations (ectenes), bidding to prayer. He again lays on hands and prays. All the clergy proclaim the vocation of the elect to the episcopate (naming him), and the people answer 'Axios.' The catholicos proclaims the vocation and bids to prayer. A long prayer follows, and then the choir sing Psalm 132 ('Memento Domine'), and three lections and a Gospel are read. A bishop says an ectene and then the catholicos says a prayer; and he anoints the new bishop's head with a long prayer, and then his two thumbs; he gives him the pastoral staff and ring and the book of the Gospels. He receives the kiss of peace from the catholicos, the bishops, and all the clergy; the mitre is put on his head, but it is expressly said that gloves are not used. The liturgy is offered on behalf of the new bishop, the catholicos celebrating. At the communion the bishop communicates himself in either kind, and then he communicates the others. After the ordination the new bishop remains in the sanctuary (*i.e.* the precincts of the church) for forty days continuously. (In the case of a bishop's ordination Denzinger does not give the complete rite, but only a long description of it. It appears from the description that the assistant bishops do not lay on hands. The anointing in this rite is very significant; see below, § 16.)

(*b*) *Presbyter* (Denzinger, ii. 297, 306).—On the evening before the ordination there are long exhortations and interrogations. The ordination itself takes place (as does that of a deacon) at the same point of the liturgy as in the case of a bishop, before the lections. After psalms and hymns the ordinand is presented, and Psalms 25–27 ('Ad te Domine,' 'Judica,' 'Dominus illuminatio') are sung. The deacon's bidding and the Kyrie (thrice) follow, and the bishop lays his right hand on the candidate's head and prays. The new presbyter turns to the people, and his vocation to the presbyterate and his name are proclaimed; the people reply 'Axios.' The bishop lays on his right hand and announces his vocation; then, when he has bidden to prayer, the Kyrie is said twelve times. The bishop again lays on his right hand and prays. He arranges the stole round his neck, saying, 'Accept the yoke of our Lord Jesus Christ, for his yoke is sweet and his burden light.' They sing Psalm 132 ('Memento Domine'), and read for the prophetical lesson Ezk 3^{17-19}, Mal 2^{5-7}, Is 61^{1-6}, for the Epistle 1 P 5^{1-4}, 1 Ti 1^{12-17}, and for the Gospel Lk 4^{14-22}. They say the creed, and after the offertory the bishop sits in his throne and they sing Psalm 119 ('Beati immaculati')—apparently the whole psalm. An ectene with a special suffrage follows, concluded with a prayer by the bishop. He lays his right hand on the head of the new presbyter, who is then vested (prayers being said during the action), and anointed on forehead and two hands, and is given the chalice and paten containing the [reserved] sacrament as a sign that he can now celebrate the liturgy. At the end of the service (the authorities differ as to whether he communicates himself or whether the bishop communicates him) he receives the kiss of peace from 'the bishop and the other priests,' and a blessing. After the ordination he is to remain in the church forty days.

(*c*) *Deacon* (Denzinger, ii. 286).—After psalms and hymn the ordinand is presented to the bishop, and his name and vocation are proclaimed. The bishop lays on his right hand and prays. Psalm 119 (the whole psalm) is sung. The bishop again lays on his right hand and prays. His ordination is proclaimed, and the people say 'Axios.' The bishop lays his hands on his shoulders, then his right hand on his head, proclaims his ordination, and bids prayers and prays. The prophetical lessons are Pr 4^{1-9}, Jer 1^{1-10} $23^{5f.}$, Hos 14^{10}; then Ac 6^{2-7}; the Epistle is 1 Ti 3^{7-16}; and the Gospel Lk 10^{21-24}. After the creed and offertory and deacon's ectene the bishop lays on his right hand and prays. After a hymn and introit the new deacon is vested in the diaconal vestment and the bishop puts the stole on his right shoulder, and gives him the book of the Gospels and the thurible. The new deacon censes the altar thrice and receives the kiss of peace.

(*d*) *Minor orders* (Denzinger, ii. 274). — The ordination rites are preceded by an office for conferring the tonsure; the candidate's hair is cut in the form of a cross. There are offices for the ordination of doorkeepers, readers, exorcists, acolytes, subdeacons. To the doorkeeper the key of the church is given; he goes to the door and opens and shuts it. To the reader the book of the apostles and prophets is given. To the exorcist is given the ritual in which the exorcisms at baptism or the renunciations are written. To the acolyte are given a candlestick with burning lights and a cruet to hold the eucharistic wine.[1] The ordination of subdeacons is more elaborate; it contains laying on of hands with prayer preceded by the lections, Pr 4^{1-9}, Is 6^{1-10}, He 9^{1-15}, Mk 10^{13-16}; the new subdeacon is vested and the maniple is put on his left arm; the empty chalice and paten and other appointments for the liturgy are given to him.

11. **The Coptic rite.**—(*a*) *Bishop* (Denzinger, ii. 18, 28).—The clergy and people give their testimony to the elect by a written document. If he is a deacon, he is to be ordained presbyter before he is ordained bishop. The ordination to the episcopate is to be on a Sunday, during the liturgy, after a vigil has been held with psalmody and doxology and reading of the Gospel. When they have said 'the Only-begotten Son' in the liturgy (Brightman, p. 148), *i.e.* just before the *Missa Catechumenorum* begins, the patriarch (*archisacerdos*) receives and causes to be read the deed of election and the testimony. The archdeacon says a short exhortation, and the archbishop (patriarch) goes to the altar and offers incense. After the ectene, with Lord's Prayer and special suffrages, has been said, the people repeat the Kyrie fifty times, and the bishops lift up their hands and receive (or, in the Arabic, touch) the elect, and put their hands on his shoulders. A prayer by the patriarch over the elect, a short exhortation by the archdeacon, and another prayer by the patriarch, said facing the east, follow. The latter then lays his right hand on the elect, the bishops put their hands on his neck and shoulders, and the patriarch says the ordination prayer, and then, facing the east, another. Turning to the new bishop, he signs him and says, 'We call Bishop N. to the holy church of N.,' etc. The new bishop is vested and signed thrice, and another declaration of ordination is made; the people cry thrice 'Axios.' The archdeacon says an ectene and the patriarch prays.

[1] The Armenians alone among Easterns do not mix the chalice.

The new bishop is placed on the right of the altar, holding the Gospel in his bosom, and the liturgy, celebrated by the patriarch, proceeds. At the Gospel (Jn 20^{19-23}) the patriarch breathes in the face of the new bishop and says 'Axios,' and at v.[22] breathes on him again. The new bishop communicates *after* the other bishops; he makes the fraction with the patriarch (a relic of concelebration). When the patriarch communicates the new bishop, he breathes in his face and lays his right hand on his head, and every one cries thrice 'Axios: N. bishop of the city of N. and of this (?) province.' The sacerdotal στολή[1] is taken off the new bishop by the patriarch, who puts on him the black one.[2] It may here be remarked that in all these Eastern rites we find different versions in the various authorities. There is not in the same community any great conservatism of a particular form. In this case of Coptic episcopal ordinations there is another form given by Denzinger (ii. 28) from Renaudot. The differences are not material; but the Gospel (Jn $20^{19ff.}$) is read after the communion of the bishops; and the book of the Gospels is put over the head of the new bishop by the patriarch.

(*b*) *Presbyter* (Denzinger, ii. 11).—After testimony has been given to the candidate, he stands with stole (*orarium*) on one shoulder before the bishop, who offers a prayer with incense. The archdeacon makes an exhortation and the Kyrie is said thrice; the bishop prays and the Kyrie is again said thrice. Then the bishop turns to the candidate, lays on him his right hand, and says the ordination prayer, and then, facing the east, another. The bishop turns, signs the new presbyter on the forehead, and says, 'We call thee unto the holy Church of God, Amen.' The archdeacon announces his name and that of the church which he is to serve, and the bishop proclaims that he is called to be presbyter. He signs him three times, naming the Holy Trinity, vests him with the στολή (see above), says a prayer, and exhorts him. The new presbyter kisses the altar and the bishop and clergy, and he is communicated (with the reserved sacrament?). Hands (or a hand) are laid on him thrice and all say three times the 'Axios': 'N., presbyter of the holy catholic apostolic Church of the Christ-loving city of N., is worthy, in the peace of God, Amen.' (It is not said that the ordination is to take place during the liturgy.)

(*c*) *Deacon* (Denzinger, ii. 7).—The ordination is almost exactly in form the same as for a presbyter, though the prayers are not all the same. In each case the office is named. After the ordination the bishop places the zonarium (girdle), or in some copies the orarium (stole), on the left shoulder of the deacon. There is a short exhortation, the newly-ordained is communicated, and the bishop says, 'N., deacon of the holy Church of God, Amen.'

(*d*) *Minor orders* (Denzinger, ii. 2).—There are forms of ordination for a subdeacon and for a reader, very nearly as for a deacon, some of the prayers being the same; but a hand is not laid on them (so expressly). The bishop touches their temples. To the reader a book is given, and on the subdeacon a stole is placed. There is a short exhortation. Nothing is said of their receiving Holy Communion at ordination. A singer is ordained (Denzinger, ii. 63) by the bishop with three prayers, the kiss of peace, and the sign of the cross.

12. The W. Syrian (Jacobite) rite.—(*a*) *Bishop* (Denzinger, ii. 74).—After they have 'brought round the divine mysteries' (Brightman, p. 80?, or perhaps the end of the liturgy is meant), a mitre is put on the elect's head, and two bishops present him to the patriarch, who says a prayer. The elect makes a confession of faith, and the patriarch prays and salutes the people. The Pater Noster is said, and one of the bishops, naming the elect and his see, makes proclamation of his being called and bids prayers. The Kyrie is said thrice. The patriarch takes the two eucharistic elements and commingles them, saying a prayer. Then all the bishops hold the Gospels over the elect's head and the patriarch lays both hands on him, both the patriarch's hands and the Gospels being moved up and down thrice. The patriarch lays his right hand on the elect's head, moving his left hand round his head, while the bishops hold the Gospels over him in silence, and meantime the patriarch says two ordination prayers. He vests the new bishop and places him on the throne. They then lead him round thrice, the patriarch each time saying 'Axios.' The patriarch leads him down from his throne, and both he and the other bishops take the pastoral staff in their hands, and the new bishop receives it from them, and prays, after which the patriarch and bishops and clergy sing Ps 110^2 thrice, and leave the staff with the new bishop, who goes to the entrance of the sanctuary and signs the people with it in the form of a cross, and then returns it to the patriarch. (Denzinger does not give the text of the prayers at the ordination of a W. Syrian bishop, and the description is not very full; nothing is said of the communion of the new bishop, nor is the ceremony of commixture explained; but see below (*b*), and § 14.)

(*b*) *Presbyter* (Denzinger, ii. 71, 87).—The ordination takes place at the end of the liturgy (but see below). Psalms and prayers are said, and the lections (1 P 5^{1-12}, Tit 1^{1}–3^{8}, Jn 16^{31}–17^{12}) are read. The bishop gives the tonsure, cutting the candidate's hair in the form of a cross; the candidate is then brought to the sanctuary, wearing a stole deacon-wise. The archdeacon makes a proclamation and bids prayers. The Kyrie is said thrice. The bishop lays his hands on the consecrated elements and thrice stretches out his arms over them (apparently indicating that the strength and power are from our Lord); then he lays both hands on the candidate's head, and raises them thrice. He puts his right hand on his head, moving his left hand to and fro over his neck and face, and covers the candidate's head and face with the phaina (chasuble), while the deacons wave a fan. He says the ordination prayer, and then, again turning to the candidate, lays his right hand on his head and signs him with the sign of the cross between the eyes, saying, 'He is ordained in the holy Church of God.' The archdeacon proclaims his ordination, naming him and the place that he is to serve. The new priest returns to the altar and says a prayer. He is vested and given the thurible and receives the kiss of peace. The bishop then communicates him and bids him communicate the people.[1] If more persons than one are ordained at one time, the prayers are said in the plural.

(*c*) *Deacon* (Denzinger, ii. 67, 82).—The ordination is at the end of the liturgy. The ordinand kneels on one knee only, and the chief deacon makes a proclamation and bids to prayer. The bishop lays his hands on the consecrated elements and then on the candidate's head and carries out the same ceremony as in the case of a presbyter; he then says the ordination prayer. The rest

[1] This is perhaps the name of the whole set of vestments (see Brightman, p. 591), or a chasuble may be meant.

[2] The assumption is that the consecration takes place in the patriarchal church. The new bishop is enthroned in his own church later.

[1] This shows that the ordination takes place after the consecration of the elements, but before the communion of the people.

follows as above (but the prayers are not the same). The stole is put on the new deacon's shoulder, he receives the fan and censer, and then the kiss of peace, and he is communicated.

(*d*) *Minor orders* (Denzinger, ii. 66, 78).—Offices are given for the ordination of a reader and a subdeacon. The bishop touches their temples and prays. In the case of a subdeacon the bishop first touches the paten and chalice with his fingers (see above). A book is given to a reader, a stole to a subdeacon. The kiss of peace and communion are given to them. The form for a subdeacon is more elaborate than that for a reader.

13. The E. Syrian (Nestorian) rite.—(*a*) *Bishop* (Denzinger, ii. 238).—After a vigil the faithful assemble in the morning at the third hour; the patriarch or metropolitan and the bishops, having their mitres and staves, come to the sanctuary, and the elect stands before them in the middle. After prayers, anthems, and offering of incense the president takes the Gospel-book and puts it on the elect's back, the bishops on either side laying on their hands and holding them there till the prayer is finished; lections from the Gospels (Mt 16^{13-18}, Jn 21^{15-17}, Mt 16^{19}) are read while the elect is being ordained. The president prays thrice and lays his right hand on the elect, stretching forth his left hand as one who prays. After the prayer the archdeacon bids prayer for the newly-ordained, naming him and his see, saying a form of the 'Sursum Corda': 'Lift up your minds and ask of God mercy for N.,' etc. They answer, 'It is meet and right,' once if a bishop is being ordained, twice if a metropolitan, thrice if a patriarch. After another prayer they take the Gospels off the new bishop's back and the patriarch vests him in the ma'aphra (a sort of cope, taking the place of a chasuble) and mitre, and gives him a staff. The kiss of peace is given, the 'Anthem of the Sanctuary' (Brightman, p. 253) is sung, and the lections read. (This places the ordination before the Trisagion [Brightman, p. 255].)

(*b*) *Presbyter* (Denzinger, ii. 233).—The ordination takes place at the sanctuary door. The bishop gives the tonsure, cutting the ordinand's hair in the form of a cross, girds him, and puts his ma'aphra on the ordinand's left shoulder. Prayers and anthems follow, and the ordinand kneels on both knees, signifying that he receives two talents, while the bishop stretches his hands over his eyes, signifying that he is given power to invoke the Holy Ghost and to bless, and to beget spiritual children and to feed them with spiritual food (see above, § 1 (*d*)). The bishop places his right hand on the ordinand's head and says two ordination prayers secretly; he places the ma'aphra on his shoulder, and arranges the stole on his breast.[1] The bishop gives the new presbyter the Gospel-book, and announces his ordination, naming him. A 'canon' (anthem) is sung and the kiss of peace is given. If there is a liturgy, it now proceeds, and they say, 'Before the throne of God,' and begin the 'Anthem of the Sanctuary' (Brightman, p. 253; see above).

(*c*) *Deacon* (Denzinger, ii. 229).—The ordination is at the sanctuary door, and the tonsure is given. The ordinand kneels on one knee, to signify that he receives one talent only (see above). The bishop places his right hand on his head, extending his left hand as one who prays, and says two ordination prayers. He places the stole on the new deacon's left shoulder, gives him the book of the 'Apostle' (the liturgical Epistles), announces his ordination, naming him, and gives him the kiss of peace. The new deacon is led round to the right and left of the altar.[1] The ordination does not usually take place during the liturgy. Both presbyters and deacons at their ordination are gradually led up towards the holy table by the bishop, who says a prayer at each step (A. J. Maclean and W. H. Browne, *Catholicos of the East*, London, 1892, p. 201).

(*d*) *Minor orders* (Denzinger, ii. 227).—There are offices for the ordination of readers and subdeacons (but these are now obsolete among the Nestorians). After a short anthem there is laying on of hands (cf. the W. Syrians, above, § 12) and a short prayer. A stole is laid on the arms of a reader and a book of the lections is given him. When a subdeacon is ordained, the bishop receives back from him his reader's book and places a stole on his neck.

14. The Maronite rite.—This is somewhat more elaborate than in the other Eastern communions.

(*a*) *Bishop* (Denzinger, ii. 187).—The ordination must be on a Sunday. The patriarch vests the elect in cowl, alb, amice, and chasuble, and they lead him to the sanctuary, where the patriarch begins the liturgy. When it is ended, the ordination begins. The archdeacon says the ectene and the president prays. The archdeacon bids prayers, and the Kyrie is said thrice. A profession of faith is made by the elect and he is presented by two bishops. The president (who in this office is also called 'the bishop' or 'the shepherd') lays hands on the elect and prays, the bishops holding the Gospels over the president's hands. He thrice raises his hands, spreads his arms over the elect's head, and prays. He lays his hand on the consecrated elements and on the head of the elect twice, the archdeacon making a proclamation. The new bishop then holds two crosses, and they bring the chrism and the Gospel-book, and lead him thrice round the church, singing, the patriarch praying at the end of each procession. At the end of the second the bishops hold the Gospels over the new bishop's head, the deacons wave fans, and the president extends his arms under the Gospels over his head and prays. After the third procession the president takes from the new bishop the two crosses, and gives him the Gospels, shut, and prays; he receives back the Gospels and anoints his head with chrism thrice, and also his hands. Long prayers follow, and a deacon's ectene, and lections from He 4^{14}–5^{9} and Jn 10^{1-21} with an antiphon between; then the president washes his hands, the newly-ordained washes his head and hands, and another ectene follows. The bishop signs the new bishop and announces his ordination. They vest him in a chasuble and mitre and place him in his seat. The bishops and presbyters lift the seat thrice and cry 'Axios.' After a prayer the president leads the new bishop to the door of the sanctuary, commits to him the flock and the clergy, and admonishes him. Two prayers and the Pater Noster conclude the service.

(*b*) *Presbyter* (Denzinger, ii. 148).—The ordinand, vested as a deacon, kneels on both knees and is blessed and signed by the bishop. Prayers with archdeacon's bidding and with offering of incense follow, and the ordinand is presented by the archdeacon; the Kyrie is said thrice. The ordinand kneels on both knees, and the bishop lays his hand on his head and prays; he then places his hands on the host and chalice and thrice spreads out his arms. He lays his right hand on the ordinand's head, covers the latter's face with his chasuble, moves his left hand over his face and neck, and says the ordination prayers. He puts his hand on the elements and on the ordinand's head and again prays several times. He anoints the hands of the

[1] The E. Syrians, unlike the Greeks, have the same shape of stole for deacon and presbyter, but the former wears it on one shoulder, the latter on both shoulders.

[1] The E. Syrian altars stand against the east wall of the church, and do not stand out from it as those of the Greeks do.

new presbyter, and both he and the archdeacon proclaim the ordination, naming him, the archdeacon also naming the charge which he is to serve. The bishop vests him with girdle, amice, stole, and chasuble, and blesses him. Lections from 1 Co 12^{28}, 1 Ti 3^{1} 4^{11}, Tit 1^{5-9}, 1 Ti $4^{15.\ 14.\ 16}$, Jn 21^{15-22} follow, and then the ectene and prayer. The thurible is given, and they lead the new presbyter round, giving him the Gospels to carry, and they put the consecrated bread in the paten. Several prayers follow, the cross is laid on his head, the kiss of peace is given, and the new presbyter is bidden to cense the people. The bishop then intinges the host and the chalice and bids him communicate the people. A long exhortation concludes the service.

(*c*) *Deacon* (Denzinger, ii. 128).—The procedure is similar, though the prayers are different. The newly-ordained deacon (who has been kneeling on one knee only [see above, § 13]) is vested in tunic and stole and is given the 'Apostle' to read; the lection is 1 Ti 1^{1}–3^{13}.* He is given the thurible to go round the sanctuary; he is given the Apostle to go round the church, a hymn being sung meanwhile; the chalice and paten are put on his head. His ordination as deacon is proclaimed; and there is an exhortation.

(*d*) *Minor orders* (Denzinger, ii. 108).—There are offices for the ordination of singers, readers, and subdeacons. The bishop gives the tonsure to a singer, cutting his hair, and touches the temples in all three cases. The bishop takes the candidate by the right hand and prays; there is no laying on of hands on the singer or reader, but hands are held over the reader, and a hand (having been placed on the consecrated elements as above) is laid on the subdeacon. A psalter is given to the singer, tunic and stole to reader and subdeacon, the book of Isaiah to the reader, the water-cruet and the book of Acts to a subdeacon. These services for the ordination of minor orders are comparatively elaborate.

In concluding this review of Eastern ordinations we must remember two things: the details sometimes vary in different MSS; and there are, in addition to those described above, ordination rites for different offices, such as those of patriarchs, metropolitans, archdeacons, periodeutæ, chorepiscopi, so that it might sometimes seem as if these were 'orders' properly so called, and that one who had formerly been ordained as a presbyter was reordained as a periodeuta, and one who had formerly been ordained as a bishop was reordained as a patriarch. But the confusion is not so great as may appear, as (in theory at least) the ancient discipline ordinarily holds good in the East, especially in the more conservative minor Eastern Churches, that no bishop can be translated from one see to another; so that one who is elected to a patriarchate is ordinarily assumed to be not yet a bishop. And the E. Syrian *Sunhadhus* ('Book of Canon Law') makes it clear that periodeutæ and archdeacons are not distinct 'orders,' by saying that it is the duty of a diocesan bishop to 'ordain all readers, subdeacons, deacons, and presbyters, give a blessing to periodeutæ, and say a prayer over archdeacons' (Maclean-Browne, p. 182).

15. Times of ordination in East and West.—Bishops were usually ordained on a Sunday, both in the East and in the West. This ancient custom is found in the *Testament of our Lord* (i. 21), the *Egyptian Church Order* (§ 31), the *Ethiopic Church Order* (?, § 21), the *Apostolic Constitutions* (viii. 4), and in the canons attached to the *Older Didascalia* (*Verona Latin Fragments*, ed. Hauler, p. 103). It is implied by Leo the Great (see below), was in force in Rome in the intermediate period (above, § 2), and is explicitly stated in later Western pontificals (*e.g.*, Maskell, iii. 242; Wilson, p. 70); also explicitly in Eastern rites, as in the Armenian (above, § 10), Coptic (above, § 11), and Maronite (above, § 14). It is also found in the Anglican rite (above, § 4) and the Swedish (above, § 6), though in these two a holy day is also sanctioned for the purpose.

No limit is decreed in the East as to the occasions when the ordination of presbyters and deacons can take place; but in the West the four Ember seasons (*Quatuor tempora*) were chosen for the purpose. These fasting times (Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday at the four seasons of the year) were not instituted for ordinations, but it was afterwards found convenient to have ordinations at such times. In Rome they took place in the Saturday vigil mass (above, § 2 (*a*), and Duchesne, p. 353), and especially at the December Ember season. In this connexion we notice the strong injunction made by Leo the Great (*Ep.* ix. [xi.] 'ad Dioscurum') that priests and deacons should be ordained only on Sunday, which he emphatically says began on Saturday night. Ember seasons were not known for many centuries in Gallican countries (Duchesne, p. 368). The limitation of ordinations of presbyters and deacons to these occasions is still in force in the Roman and Anglican communions, and affords an opportunity to the people throughout the land to pray for the ordinands with a special intercession; but the rule is not an absolute one, and the bishop has a discretion.

16. Summary.—In reviewing the ordination rites which have been described above, we notice that for ordaining bishops, priests, and deacons there is an irreducible minimum which is common to them all—laying on of hands and prayer—for it is impossible to believe, with Hatch, that the episcopal ordination in the *Apostolic Constitutions* is a real exception to this. The extreme simplicity of the earliest rites continued for many centuries in both East and West, and it was only by slow degrees that they became more elaborate.

A conspicuous feature of ordinations in earlier and often in later times was the difference between those of the lower and of the three higher orders, laying on of hands being expressly confined to the latter, except in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (and in the *Constitutions through Hippolytus*), and except in the present Greek rite (in the case of subdeacons and deaconesses), the Armenian and Maronite (in the case of subdeacons), and the E. Syrian. In the Coptic and W. Syrian rites the bishop touches the temples of, but does not lay hands on, those admitted to minor orders. In the Maronite rite the bishop touches the temples of the orders under the rank of subdeacon. See § 1 (*b*).

It is practically the universal custom to name the office to which the person is ordained, in at least one of the ordination prayers. But the word 'presbyter' is absent from that for the second order in Sarapion, and the word 'deacon' from that for the third order in the *Canons of Hippolytus*, though the latter work refers to St. Stephen and to the διακονία of the ordinand.

One of the earliest ceremonies added at the ordination of a bishop was the holding of the Gospel-book over him. It is mentioned in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (viii. 4, when the deacons hold it, not, as in the other books, the assistant bishops); also in pseudo-Dionysius, the *Gallican Statutes* and other Gallican books, in the later Western pontificals (including the Norwegian), and in the Greek, Armenian, W. Syrian, E. Syrian, and Maronite rites. In the Coptic rite the new bishop holds the Gospel-book in his bosom, and, in some forms of it, it is held over him; but, at any rate at one time, this custom was observed in Alexandria only in the case of the ordination of a patri-

* This seems to be a mistake. Another MS has 1 Ti $3^{8-10.\ 12a}$.

arch (*DCA* i. 222). It is not found in the present Anglican and Swedish rites. And originally it was not in use in Rome, while in the 8th and 9th centuries it seems to have disappeared from Gaul, Germany, and Spain (*ib.*).

The custom of delivering the Gospel-book to the new bishop was not known in Rome before the 11th century (Morinus, *de Sacr. Ord.* iii. 23). It is in the present Roman pontifical; and so in Maskell (iii. 275); but not in that of Magdalen College (Wilson, p. 77). In the Anglican rite a Bible is given. The Gospels are given in the Armenian and Maronite rites; and the same thing seems to be implied in the Coptic rite.

Anointing at ordinations seems to have originated in the Gallican rite, perhaps in Britain, where we find it in the 6th century (Duchesne, p. 378). From the Gallican rite it passed to Rome, and it is perhaps because of the influence which Roman customs have had on the Armenians and Maronites that they alone of Easterns have it at the present day.

The vesting of the newly-ordained is very general, but it is not found in the earliest forms. Ordinarily it takes place immediately after ordination, but in the present Anglican rite (at the consecration of bishops) it comes before it. The giving of the insignia of office is confined to the minor orders in the earlier forms, and, when it was extended to the higher orders it became for a long time in the West the most prominent part of the rite.

In the later Western pontificals the fusion of the Gallican and Roman rites produced some dislocation. The displacement of the imposition of hands and the multiplication of ordination prayers were among the principal results of this fusion. In almost all Western rites, whether before or after the Reformation, the introduction of imperative or declaratory formulæ and the delivery of the insignia of office changed the centre of gravity of the office from a prayer to God to ordain to an act done by the ordainer. This is not the case in the East, though there the ordainer and also usually the archdeacon proclaim the ordination to the people (cf. pseudo-Dionysius, above, § 1 (*d*)). The Anglican use of Jn 20^{23} at the laying on of hands in the ordination of a presbyter is parallel to the reading of this passage as a lection at the ordination of a bishop in the Coptic rite.

In the East, and to a lesser extent in the West, the custom (found in the *Testament of our Lord* and the *Apostolic Constitutions*) of the people crying 'Axios' is one of the most prominent features in the service.

The only doctrinal development that calls for notice is found in the Western pre-Reformation pontificals. In these the function of offering sacrifice is greatly emphasized in the ordination of a presbyter. This is the case both in the ordination prayers and in the comparatively modern imperative formulæ.

LITERATURE.—i. *GENERAL.*—P. Morinus, *de Sacris Ecclesiæ Ordinationibus*, Paris, 1665, [2]Antwerp, 1695; C. Gore, *The Church and the Ministry*[5], London, 1902; E. Hatch, in *DCA*, artt. 'Ordinal,' 'Ordination'; A. W. Haddan, *ib.*, art. 'Bishop'; H. L. Pass, art. 'Ordinal,' in *The Prayer Book Dictionary*, London, 1912.

ii. *EARLY AND INTERMEDIATE PERIODS.*—J. Wordsworth, *Ministry of Grace*, London, 1901, *Bishop Sarapion's Prayer-Book*, do. 1899; L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship, its Origin and Evolution*, Eng. tr., do. 1903; A. J. Maclean, *The Ancient Church Orders*, Cambridge, 1910; J. Cooper and A. J. Maclean, *The Testament of our Lord*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1902; F. X. Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, 2 vols., Paderborn, 1905 (contains also the text of Sarapion and other documents); F. E. Brightman, 'The Sacramentary of Serapion of Thmuis,' in *JThSt* i. [1899–1900] 88 ff., 247 ff.; G. Horner, *The Statutes of the Apostles*, London, 1904 (Egyptian and Ethiopic texts and trr.); H. Achelis, 'Die Canones Hippolyti,' *TU* vi.[4] [Leipzig, 1891]; E. Hauler, *Didascaliæ Apostolorum Fragmenta Veronensia Latina*, Leipzig, 1900; J. Mabillon, *de Liturgia Gallicana*, Paris, 1685; C. L. Feltoe, *Sacramentarium Leonianum*, Cambridge, 1896; W. H. Frere, 'Early Ordination Services,' in *JThSt* xvii. [1915] 323.

iii. *LATER WESTERN PONTIFICALS.*—H. A. Wilson, *Pontifical of Magdalen College* (Henry Bradshaw Society), London, 1910; W. Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, 3 vols., do. 1846–47; also P. Morinus and H. L. Pass, as above, and W. H. Frere, as below.

iv. *ENGLISH PRAYER BOOK.*—F. E. Brightman, *The English Rite*, 2 vols., London, 1915; W. Keeling, *Liturgiæ Britannicæ*, do. 1842 (both of these give a conspectus of the various revisions of the Prayer Book); W. H. Frere, *A New Hist. of the Book of Common Prayer*[2], do. 1902 (based on F. Procter's *History*); J. Dowden, *Further Studies in the Prayer Book*, do. 1908, ch. xv.; and H. L. Pass, as above.

v. *PRESBYTERIAN.*—*The Confession of Faith*, to which is added *The Directory for the Publick Worship of God*, and *The Form of Presbyterial Church Government* (1645), Edinburgh, 1856, etc.; G. W. Sprott, *Euchologion, A Book of Common Order*, do. 1905.

vi. *SWEDISH.*—G. M. Williams, *The Church of Sweden and the Anglican Communion*, Milwaukee and London, 1910; J. Wordsworth, *The National Church of Sweden*, London, 1911.

vii. *MORAVIAN.*—E. de Schweinitz, *Hist. of the Unitas Fratrum*[2], Bethlehem, U.S.A., 1901, and *The Moravian Episcopate*, London, 1877; J. Müller, *Das Bischoftum der Brüder-Unität*, Herrnhut, 1889 (these works are by learned Moravian authors).

viii. *EASTERN ORDINATIONS.*—R. F. Littledale, *Offices from the Service-Books of the Holy Eastern Church*, London, 1863 (gives the Greek texts with English trr.); H. Denzinger, *Ritus Orientalium*, 2 vols., Wurzburg, 1863–64 (gives the rites of the minor Eastern Churches, with prolegomena); T. E. Dowling, *The Armenian Church*, London, 1910. Other works are mentioned in the course of the article.

A. J. MACLEAN.

ORDINATION (Jewish). — There are in the Hebrew language two words meaning 'ordination' —*s*[e]*mīkhāh* and *minnuy*. The latter was used for a few centuries only; the former goes back to Biblical precedent and has been retained to this day. It must be pointed out that the Jewish ordination does not partake of a sacerdotal or sacramental character; it is in the main an 'appointment,' yet not entirely devoid of spiritual significance. Behind this institution there lies a chapter of Jewish history which has not yet been sufficiently elucidated, viz. the appointment of judges, of those who would have to administer the law, both temporal and spiritual. It is a very obscure chapter, for it marks the division between State and Church, which could not have been sharp and decisive. The Jewish law is not a civil law in the ordinary sense of the term. The laws are not human decisions, but divine ordinances. To obey the law means to perform a religious act; to transgress the law means to commit a sin, which has to be expiated in a religious manner; hence the character of the judge could not be that of a mere civil authority. The indications in the Bible go a long way to prove that from the very beginning such a division was intended in the Mosaic legislation. The sacerdotal functions of the Temple belonged to a family; the priest was born into it; he could neither be ordained nor appointed.

The word used in the appointment of Aaron and of the Levites is not the same as that used in the appointment of Joshua and the Seventy Elders. In the former case Moses 'filled' their hands (Ex 28^{41} 29^{9}, Lv 21^{10}; AV and RV translate wrongly 'consecrate' instead of 'filling the hands') —no doubt, with those objects which they were to offer up in the Temple, flour or oil, or part of the sacrifice. Moreover, they were anointed; not so Joshua. Moses 'placed his hands' (Nu 27^{18}) (*sāmakh*) upon him in exactly the same way as the priest put his hand on the sacrifice (Lv 1^{4} etc.), or as the witnesses laid their hands upon the head of the guilty (Lv 24^{14}). In all these cases it meant a transfer of personal responsibility either in the exercise of authority or in the expiation of sin and guilt. There can be no question of a transmission of the spirit, as Joshua already had the spirit before Moses was ordered to place his hands upon him. It is not within the power of man to dispense

the grace of the spirit. Joseph is mentioned as the man upon whom there was the spirit of God (Gn 41[38]); he neither got it from Jacob nor handed it on to his children; and even in the tents of the Seventy Elders the spirit came to them not directly from Moses but as a spirit of prophecy from above, and ceased with them (Nu 11[25]). Joshua, moreover, was commanded distinctly (Nu 27[21]) to stand before Eleazar and to consult him by the Urim and Thummim in all matters of supreme importance. Joshua was clearly appointed the civil administrator of the law, the supreme judge, the king, for we shall see that the power of appointing judges rested with the king.

It is nowhere stated that these men were to be priests or Levites to the exclusion of Israelites. On the contrary, it was, no doubt, Israelites who acted as local magistrates in the various tribes (see below). True, in the highest tribunal which was in the centre of the divine worship the high priest acted as the supreme judge; thus the direction Dt 17[9] can best be explained in harmony with the Mosaic legislation. And probably this is also the best explanation of the passages in which the judges are called the *'elôhîm* (*e.g.*, Ex 22[8a]) and the judge who decided the case by the use of the Urim and Thummim the divine oracle. According to Dt 16[18-20], judges were appointed in every tribe. These were formed by the elders (see Dt 21[18-23]), who were called upon to decide in such cases as the rebellious son in the case of immorality, the dead body found outside the town and the murderer unknown, the case of Yibbum (Ruth), etc. These judges were regarded as the men upon whose authority one could rely (*sāmakh*), upon whom part of the responsibility for right and wrong had been devolved, just as in the case of the sacrificial animal, upon which part of the sin and responsibility of the people had been laid. We find nowhere that the blemishes which prevented the priest from acting in the Temple were a bar to the judge. Of course, the judges from Joshua to Saul were, in fact, the temporal rulers, the tribal kings who for the time being exercised authority over the rest by their military prowess and victory in battle.

Samuel, who acted in a double capacity as priest and king, went also in a circuit to judge Israel (1 S 7[16f.]), but, later, the people asked him to appoint a king over them who would rule them (1 S 8[5]). David appointed from among the Israelites and Levites 'officers and judges' (1 Ch 23[4] 26[29]). The author of the book of Chronicles states (2 Ch 19[5-7]) that Josaphat appointed judges in all the fenced cities of Judah, and (vv.[8-11]) established in Jerusalem a high court consisting of priests, Levites, and the heads of the houses of Israel. Here we have practically the composition of the high court as it developed in Jerusalem after the Exile. It was a tribunal whose members claimed the right to decide in all kinds of controversies, and to inflict punishments—even capital punishment; and, above all, they reserved to themselves the sole right of determining the Jewish calendar. They did not interfere except rarely in those ordinances which referred to the sacrifice and the service in the Temple, but, on the other hand, they claimed the right of being the representatives of the oral law; they were the living tradition which was applied authoritatively to the interpretation of the law for the daily necessities of life; they were the Pharisees, *i.e.* the authoritative interpreters of the law—hence their sway over the people; they were the *s'mūkhîm*, men not only appointed but worthy of being relied upon in all matters of interpretation and application of the divine ordinances of the law, for upon them that authority had been devolved—as they claimed—in historical succession. This was the result of a long process of evolution. The difficulty began immediately after the return from the Exile. The high priest became under Persian rule the virtual administrator and governor of the province; he was thus invested with the power of appointing officers and judges. Then a conflict must have arisen between the heads of the fathers' houses and the priestly caste. Each one probably claimed power and authority, and no doubt this led to the establishment of what is known as the Great Assembly, which was succeeded by the Sanhedrin (the Greek equivalent for the Hebrew assembly). The conflict must have been a keen one; and it evidently grew in strength and bitterness after the Maccabæan success, for then some of the high priests (Jannai and his successors) endeavoured to combine publicly the authority of the king with that of the high priest. Much more is meant by this than has hitherto been understood. It meant that the high priest was the sole authority in all matters of civil and criminal law in addition to the spiritual, or rather sacerdotal, functions which he alone could exercise in virtue of his Aaronite descent. In the long run the absolute power was wrested from his hand, and the laymen gained the victory. They retained the right of administration and interpretation of the law, and, above all, the sole authority in the regulation of the calendar. They claimed to be the true representatives of that tradition which Moses had given to the Seventy Elders in the wilderness. It is for this reason that in the chapters of the fathers (*Pirkê Âbhôth*) which contain the chain of the oral tradition no notice is taken of the high priests—with the sole exception of Simeon. The tradition is made to descend in a direct line from Moses to Joshua, from Joshua to the elders, from the elders to the prophets, from the prophets to the men of the Great Assembly, and so on, until it reached the patriarchs and the other heads of the Rabbinical schools. In the *Midrāsh Esfāh* the names of the Seventy Elders are given (*Yalḳūṭ Shim'ônî*, i. § 736). This list is more fully elaborated in the other chain of the tradition known as *Seder 'Olām*. Curiously enough, the Ḳaraites, who reject the oral tradition, have nevertheless preserved a similar chain, though in a modified form (*Dôd Mord'khai*). The Sanhedrin claimed to be the direct continuators of the authority which was vested by Moses in the Seventy Elders. It had reached them through the intermediary of the prophets. Zechariah and Malachi were counted among the first members of the men of the Great Assembly, who were the direct predecessors of the Sanhedrin. They appointed the local judges in various towns of Palestine, who derived their authority to decide in all matters, civil and criminal, direct from that of the Sanhedrin. The appointment, according to a vague tradition, took the form of the appointment of Joshua by Moses. The Nasi—*i.e.*, the Prince, the title given to the president of the Sanhedrin—alone or in conjunction with other members of this, the highest tribunal, placed his hands upon the candidate and proclaimed him worthy in the first place to be among those initiated into the secret of the computations of the calendar (*Sôd ha 'Ibbūr*) and to decide in all legal questions exclusive of those affecting the Temple. Even there the Sanhedrin claimed a certain jurisdiction in the matter of probing the purity of descent of a Kohen who came to participate in the service. They examined his documents and rejected him if they found them insufficient. It is not to be thought, however, that priests were excluded from this college; the members were chosen for their capabilities, whether they were Israelites, Levites, or Kohanim. The case recorded in the NT of the high priest Caiaphas (Mt 26[57]), etc., proves this

point. He, no doubt, was consulted in a matter which affected the spiritual worship and the service of the Temple. Other high priests may have had their seat in the Sanhedrin, and one of them—Rabbi Ishmael, the high priest—is always mentioned with great veneration. These new judges thus became the sharers in the authority which came down in direct succession. They became *s^{e}mūkhîm*, men of authority who were 'ordained,' *i.e.* 'appointed,' as men upon whom the people could 'rely.' They exercised certain spiritual functions, for Jewish life in all its forms depended upon their interpretation of the law. Things became pure or impure, allowed or forbidden, according to their declaration, sanction, or refusal. They declared the festivals; and even on a memorable occasion, when one of the great scholars, relying on his own calculation and observation of the moon, had drawn up a different calendar, he had to submit to the decision of the patriarch Gamaliel II. and his colleagues in power and keep the Day of Atonement on the day fixed by them (*Rōsh Hash.* 25*a*, *b*). The 'ordination,' or *s^{e}mīkhāh*, was one of the means by which the oral tradition preserved its authoritative character; for, so long as there were men who were the lawful heirs of the authority of the Sanhedrin, the Jewish law had its authoritative exponent. The point which has hitherto remained obscure, viz. the disuse of the *s^{e}mīkhāh*, as has been alleged, after the destruction of the Temple, will now become perfectly clear. The reason is obvious why the Roman Government punished with death any one who would continue this practice of *s^{e}mīkhāh*, *i.e.* ordain pupils to become Rabbis; for, as soon as the chain of *s^{e}mīkhāh* was broken, there was no longer any central authority great and respected enough to command universal obedience, to interpret the laws, and, above all, to fix the calendar; and, as soon as the people no longer knew when to keep their Sabbaths and their festivals or how to apply the law, their spiritual dissolution was near at hand. And it is easy to understand why Judah b. Baba (*Sanh.* 14*a*) exposed himself to die by the hand of the Romans whilst granting *s^{e}mīkhāh* to four pupils; he had thus re-established the legal authority for the oral law, and a proper succession for its interpretation.

The Roman rule did not tolerate any Jewish civil tribunal or any Jewish magistrates who would judge the people according to the Jewish law, and therefore the practical use of the *s^{e}mīkhāh* as a regular continuous institution on a large scale had to come to an end for a time after the war of Bar Kokhba (A.D. 130). But, when the civil local government of the Jews was re-established soon afterwards under the headship of one of the descendants of the house of David, or rather the house of Hillel, under the name of 'patriarch of the Jews,' the right of *s^{e}mīkhāh* was vested in the patriarchs, though there was no longer a real Sanhedrin with its autonomous jurisdiction and unquestioned authority on all matters of political and religious life. The new judges now appointed had, however, to decide, as before, not only what was right and wrong, but also what was religiously correct or incorrect. It was now a limited form of authority that was vested in the *s^{e}mīkhāh*, though it still carried with it the same spiritual authority. Any one who received the *s^{e}mīkhāh* received at the same time the right to decide with the others in the fixing of the calendar. But this right was centred in Palestine. No school, no head of a college in Babylon, could ever obtain it. It was jealously guarded as a privilege of the patriarchate in Palestine. When the great scholar from Babylon, R. Eleazar b. Pedath, came to Palestine, he considered it a very great honour to have obtained the *s^{e}mīkhāh* there (Jerus. *Rōsh Hash.* 58*b*; cf. *Sanh.* 18*c* and *B. K^{e}thūb.* 112*a*). But the name of this institution and the form of the appointment had been changed. It was no longer called *s^{e}mīkhāh* in Palestine, but *minnuy* (from the Aramaic word *mana*, Dn 1$^{5.\ 10}$). The old name had obviously an ominous ring about it in the ears of the Romans, and therefore the Jews of Palestine avoided using it. It was retained, however, in Babylon, and is still used. The laying on of hands was no longer practised (*B. Sanh.* 13*b*) either for the same reason as the name had been abandoned—not to arouse too much suspicion of the Romans—or possibly because the Church had adopted this practice for the purpose of ordaining priests. The laying of hands on the pupils (Ac 6^{6}) and on Saul and Barnabas (13^{3}) need not be taken as ordination, but merely as a form of blessing like that of the priests, and, at the same time, it may have been a symbol of authority, granting them the power to be judges who would declare the law in the community. Later this became the symbol of consecration for sacerdotal office, and this very likely was the reason why the practice was discontinued by the Jews. Shortly afterwards the right of the patriarch became limited, inasmuch as he could appoint only with the concurrence of the heads of the legal tribunal, *Bēth Dīn*—the judges of the Jewish court.

The constant persecution by the Roman and then by the Byzantine emperors pressed heavily on the Jews of Palestine, and thus it came about that one of the patriarchs, Hillel or Judah in the 4th or 5th cent.—the time has not yet been definitely decided—established a calendar upon the basis of mathematical calculation only. It was no longer to be made dependent on the real observation of the appearance of the new moon. On the other hand, the oral law had become codified and had been further enlarged and expounded by the great schools of Palestine and Babylon, all of which became the 'written' Mishnāh and Talmud. Thus the *s^{e}mīkhāh* lost its essential character of being the only legal authority for the calendar, and for the interpretation and declaration of the oral law.

With the extinction of the patriarchate the institution came practically to an end in Palestine. No Rabbi could henceforth be appointed either by 'nomination' or by 'ordination' and laying on of hands capable of exercising functions like those vested in the Sanhedrin and the patriarchate. In one form or another, and either in the name or by the hand of the college, the Rōsh Yeshibāh, or Gāôn, granted by 'nomination' or in the form of a written certificate a degree of qualification for the function of teacher and judge. Much that happened in Palestine during the first centuries of the Muhammadan conquest is wrapped in obscurity. Fragments from the Genizah in Cairo, however, give us a glimpse into some movements which must have taken place in the 9th and 10th centuries, when among others a certain Ben Meir endeavoured to resuscitate the ancient power of *s^{e}mīkhāh*, and claimed for himself and possibly for others in Palestine the right of again fixing the calendar by observation and, no doubt, of exercising such functions as formerly belonged to the holders of the *s^{e}mīkhāh*. Saadyah entered into long polemics with Ben Meir and his associates, but very little is known about this dispute except the fact mentioned above. Again, the re-establishment of the *s^{e}mīkhāh* became a burning question among the Jews of Palestine when Bê Rab in the year 1538 claimed for himself and his tribunal the right of resuscitating the ancient *s^{e}mīkhāh*. He based his claim on a statement of Maimonides which seemed to grant to the Rabbis of Palestine the right of re-establishing the *s^{e}mīkhāh* if they had all come together and had

unanimously decided upon it. Bê Rab, who lived in Safet, had evidently not paid sufficient attention to the susceptibilities of his colleagues in Jerusalem, the chief of whom was Levi aben Ḥabib; a controversy arose between them, and the attempt of Bê Rab was entirely frustrated. He emphatically denied the intention of touching the calendar or interfering with the criminal law, but declared that his aim was to create a spiritual centre for Judaism in Palestine, just as the patriarchate and the Sanhedrin had been before. There was another motive which may have prompted Bê Rab to this action—Messianic aspirations. The plan which afterwards matured under Don Joseph of Naxos, the favourite of Selim—to create, as it were, a small Jewish commonwealth in Galilee with its centre in Tiberias—may have prompted Bê Rab to this step, which was to be a preliminary step to the regathering of the Jews in the Holy Land.

The *s'mīkhāh*, shorn of its special character, is still a practice in the ordination of a Rabbi. It does not carry with it the same authority as it had in Palestine, but it is a necessary condition for the qualification of a Rabbi. When in the 12th cent. Judaism again suffered under the shock of the persecution which threatened to destroy the unity of Israel and to undermine the authority of the representatives of the law, R. Meir resuscitated the old practice in the manner and to the extent that it had been practised in the Diaspora. It was to be henceforth as a certificate for the holder, a kind of *venia docendi* which was granted to him by one who was a recognized authority himself and a holder of such a diploma. It was precisely the same as in olden times in so far as the authority of the giver guaranteed the qualifications of the recipient. No community would appoint a man to be the Rabbi—*i.e.* the judge in all matters legal and religious—who did not have the *s'mīkhāh*, for upon his decision alone many doubtful legal questions can be solved; he is responsible for the upholding of the written law in its entirety and for the carrying out of all the divine ordinances in conformity with the old tradition; he grants divorce; he decides all the questions of the ritual slaughter of animals; he declares the food fit or unfit for Jewish consumption; and in all questions of a legal character he is the authority upon whom the community relies. Thus the *s'mīkhāh*, or ordination, is still a valid principle in Judaism. It is now the token of qualification for eventual appointment as a Rabbi, who is then called *mūsmākh*. Among the Ashkenazic Jews the diploma is now called *Hātārath Hôrāāh venia docendi—i.e.* he has now the permission to declare the law—whilst the Sephardic Jews and the Jews of the East have retained the old name of *s'mīkhāh*.

It is of interest to note that among the titles of the priests and elders of the Samaritans there is also that of *sāmūkhāh*, the one who is worthy of being relied upon, a man of authority, and also he who has been appointed to high office. The appearance of this title among those of the Samaritans shows its great antiquity and its wider use in Palestine.

LITERATURE.—The chief sources are the 1st ch. in the Mishnāh of Sanhedrin and the two Talmudic treatises of that name, esp. Jerus. *Sanh.* 19*a*, *c*, and Bab. *Sanh.* 17*a*: Maimonides, (†1204), *Yād hā-ḥazākāh*; *Hilḵôth Sanhedrin*, i.–iv.; Asher b. Yeḥiel (1340), *Ṭûr Ḥôshen Mishpat*, chs. i., vii., viii., and Ḳaro's commentary to it, as well as *Shûlḥān 'Ārûkh*, same chapters; I. ben S. Lampronti, *Paḥad Iṣḥak*, *s.v.* 'Semikhah'; Levi aben Habib, *She'elôth u-Teshûbôth*, Venice, 1565; Bê Rab, *She'elôth u-Teshûbôth*, do. 1663, and M. Gaster's Cod. 931, fol. 3*a*–44*b*, containing under the heading 'Iggereth Hasmīkāh' the full correspondence of Bê Rab (the MS was copied in his lifetime); W. Bacher, *MGWJ* xxxviii. [1894] 122–127; A. Goldberg, *Morenu Titel*, Berlin, n.d.; M. Güdemann, *Gesch. des Erziehungswesens und der Kultur der abendländ. Juden*, Vienna, 1880–88; M. Gaster, *Rabbinical Degree*, London, 1900.

M. GASTER.

ORENDA.—*Orenda* is a word of Iroquoian origin, being an Anglicization of the Huron *iarenda* or *orenda*, which has cognates in the related dialects. The word signifies the inherent power or energy which every object, in some characteristic degree, possesses and exerts; and, indeed, it is not so far removed in meaning from our own looser use of the term 'energy,' regarded as potential or active and related in kind and degree to the object which it defines. That the meaning of the aboriginal word is more intimately psychical than ours—*orenda* being conceived as indissolubly bound up with desire and will—is but the natural reflexion of a more primitive stage of thought; but it is at least a fair question whether our own use of 'energy' does not covertly carry the same psychical connotation. 'Magic power' is the phrase most commonly employed by J. N. B. Hewitt in translating *orenda*; but 'magic,' as he points out, is derogatorily associated with superstition and supernaturalism, and is not, therefore, a fair rendering of the native conception.

'By primitive man all motions and activities were interpreted as manifestations of life and will. Things animate and things inanimate were comprised in one heterogeneous class, sharing a common nature. All things, therefore, were thought to have life and to exercise will, whose behests were accomplished through orenda—that is, through magic power, reputed to be inherent in all things' (Hewitt, *21 RBEW* [1903], p. 134).

In another connexion Hewitt gives a number of phrases illustrative of the use of the concept in Iroquoian tongues:

'When a hunter is successful in the chase, it is said, *wā'tharēñdogĕ'ñnī'*, he baffled, thwarted their *orenda*, i.e., the *orenda* of the quarry; but, conversely, should the huntsman return unsuccessful, it is said, *wā'thorēñdogĕ'ñnī'*, they (the game) have foiled, outmatched his *orenda*; . . . when the elements are gathering and a storm is brewing, it is said, *watrēñdóñnī'*, it (storm-maker) is making, preparing its *orenda*; and when the lowering storm-clouds appear to be ready, it is said, *iotrēñdóñnī'*, it has finished, has prepared, its *orenda*; these two expressions and their conjugational forms are equally applicable to an animal or bird that is angry or in a rage; . . . anything whose *orenda* is reputed or believed to have been instrumental in obtaining some good or in accomplishing some purpose is said "to possess *orenda*" (*iorēñdare'*), just as a wealthy person is said "to have money," that is, "an abundance of money"; and if these things or portions of them be chosen and kept against the time of their use, they become what are commonly called charms, amulets, fetishes, mascots, shields, or, if you please, "medicine"' (*Amer. Anthropologist*, new ser., iv. 38 *f.*).

Hewitt goes on to indicate the relationship of the exercise of *orenda* to willing and desiring and to singing—relations which he regards as of primary importance in the interpretation of the term, showing, as they do, its intimately psychical intention:

'*Roterēñnóñte'*, he is arrayed in his *orenda*, and *roterrēñndte'*, he has effused or put forth his *orenda*, are two expressions, sentence-words, which are said in reference to a man who is exerting his *orenda* for the accomplishment of some purpose, this is its primary signification; the first term, *roterēñnóñte'*, has come to mean, as a secondary usage, he is hoping for it, is expecting it, because it was the habit to put on one's *orenda* to obtain what is desired; now, the second sentence-word, *roterrēñndte'*, as a secondary meaning has come to signify, he is singing, is chanting, but literally, he is holding forth his *orenda*. Thus, singing was interpreted to signify that the singer, chanter, whether beast, bird, tree, wind, man, or what not, was putting forth his *orenda*, his mystic potence, to execute his will; hence, too, it comes that the shaman, when exerting his *orenda*, must sing, must chant, in imitation of the bodies of his environment. Let it be noted, too, that this is the only word signifying to sing, to chant, in the earlier speech of the Iroquoian peoples.'

Orenda is not applied to muscular strength or to any purely mechanical force, but only to invisible powers conceived as analogous to will and intelligence, although there is a curious suggestion of emanation, or efflux, about it, that seems to bring it within the range of what are sometimes spoken of as 'telepsychic powers.'

In the Onondaga version of the Iroquoian cosmology it is said of Sapling, the vegetation spirit, that so soon as he becomes old he is transformed again into a youth:

'Moreover, it is so that continuously the orenda immanent in his body—the orenda with which he suffuses his person, the

orenda which he projects or exhibits, through which he is possessed of force and potency—is ever full, undiminished, and all-sufficient; and, in the next place, nothing that is otkon or deadly, nor, in the next place, even the Great Destroyer, otkon in itself and faceless, has any effect on him, he being perfectly immune to its orenda; and, in the next place, there is nothing that can bar his way or veil his faculties' (*21 RBEW*, p. 219).

The word *otkon*, or *otgon*, which here appears as a name for hostile or malevolent *orenda*, is, says Hewitt (*Amer. Anth.*, new ser., iv. 37 n.), gradually displacing *orenda*, for the reason, he thinks, 'that the malignant and the destructive, rather than the benign, manifestations' of this power produce the more lasting impressions on the mind. It is possible that this word is related to the Huron *oqui* or *oki*, which D. G. Brinton (*The Myths of the New World*[3], Philadelphia, 1896, p. 64) regards as of Algonquian origin.

'The word *oqui*, and its plural *ondaqui*, signifies among them (*i.e.* the Hurons) some divinity; in a word, what they recognize as above human nature' (*Jesuit Relations*, ed. R. G. Thwaites, Cleveland, 1896–1901, v. 257).

The term *orenda* is, in fact, only one of a large group of terms, members of which are found in most, if not all, Indian languages, which have the same general meaning—invisible power or energy. Hewitt (*Amer. Anth.*, new ser., iv. 37 ff.) mentions the Siouan *wakan*, Algonquian *manitowi*, Shoshonean *pokunt*. W. Matthews ('Navaho Legends,' *Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society*, Boston and New York, 1897) describes the Navaho *digin* (p. 37). J. Swanton (*Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History*, viii. [1909] 13) says of the Haida *sgāna* that it is 'a word which my interpreters liked to render by "power",' applied to supernatural beings, shamans, etc. F. H. Cushing ('Zuñi Fetiches,' *2 RBEW* [1883], p. 9) describes the Zuñi conception, in essence equivalent to the Iroquoian. Apparently the Inca word *huaca* (Garcilasso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries*, London, 1871, II. iii.) is a S. American instance.

The whole group of terms designate the American equivalent of what is generally known to anthropologists by the Polynesian term *mana*. As applied to American Indian beliefs, *manitu* and *wakanda* (Algonquian and Siouan respectively) are much the most common in use. There is the difficulty, however, that *manitu* is very generally used for a spirit or deity, *i.e.* a kind of invisible personality, which is not at all the meaning of *orenda*—by which a spiritual attribute rather than entity (to employ a scholastic distinction) is designated. Something of the same objection extends to *wakan*, *wakanda*, which, although most commonly used in the attributive sense, is still also employed in a sort of personification of that power for which the white man has no better term than Great Spirit:

'The Wakonda addressed in tribal prayer and in the tribal religious ceremonies which pertain to the welfare of all the people is the Wakonda that is the permeating life of visible nature—an invisible life and power that reaches everywhere and everything, and can be appealed to by man to send him help. From this central idea of a permeating life comes, on the one hand, the application of the word *wakonda* to anything mysterious or inexplicable, be it an object or an occurrence; and, on the other hand, the belief that the peculiar gifts of an animate or inanimate form can be transferred to man. The means by which this transference takes place is mysterious and pertains to Wakonda but is not Wakonda. So the media—the shell, the pebble, the thunder, the animal, the mythic monster—may be spoken of as *wakondas*, but they are not regarded as *the* Wakonda' (Alice C. Fletcher, *27 RBEW* [1911], p. 599).

In view of this tendency to personify, which does not appear in the case of the Iroquoian *orenda*, there may be reason in adopting the latter term, as Hewitt urges, to designate the fundamental view of the world, as actuated by interplaying and invisible powers, which underlies all American Indian myth and religion (cf. art. NATURE [American]).

See further art. MANA.

LITERATURE.—See the sources cited throughout, especially J. N. B. Hewitt, 'Orenda and a Definition of Religion,' *American Anthropologist*, new ser., iv. [1902] 33–46.

H. B. ALEXANDER.

ORGANIC SELECTION.—This is a theory supplementary to Darwinism (*q.v.*) according to which the course of evolution by natural selection is guided by individual organic accommodations in lines coincident with themselves. The accommodations or adjustments made by individuals are conceived as affording a screen or protection, against elimination, to those variations with which they coincide in direction; these variations, thus screened, have a chance to accumulate themselves from generation to generation until they become of independent 'selection-value.'

This principle was announced independently in 1896 by three naturalists—C. Lloyd Morgan, H. F. Osborn, and J. Mark Baldwin, the last-named giving it its name and developing it in *Development and Evolution* (New York and London, 1902), in which the original papers of the other authorities as well as his own, and citations from others (E. B. Poulton, H. W. Conn, etc.), are reprinted.

The theory of evolution founded upon organic selection has received the name of the 'orthophasy theory' in opposition to the 'orthogenesis theory,' which assumes determinate variations properly so called. It is held to afford a valuable supplement to that based upon Darwinian selection, in various ways. Certain striking applications of it may be briefly stated (cf. the co-operative article on this topic in Baldwin's *DPhP*).

(1) If this view of the directive effect of individual accommodations is true, there is no further need of the Lamarckian principle of the 'inheritance of acquired characters,' since the 'direction' secured, although ultimately due to variation, is in lines coincident with the characters or modifications acquired in experience. The case for Lamarckism against Darwinism, as a theory of evolution, is therefore greatly weakened by the 'organic selection' theory, as is quite generally admitted.

(2) The theory finds an interesting application in the account of the origin of animal instinct. The instincts, according to it, are functions due to accumulated variations which have been screened and protected during their immature stages by individual habits of intelligent and conscious adjustment. Under this protection—in cases such as the theory of organic selection recognizes—these functions have developed on the organic side, while the intelligent adaptations associated with them, becoming less and less necessary, have finally been superseded entirely by the instinct. This gives the look of intelligence to the instincts—they have arisen as substitutes for intelligent action, by coincident variation. The Lamarckian theory of instinct developed by Spencer under the name of the 'lapsed intelligence' theory is thus completely replaced by the 'organic selection' theory.

(3) To psychologists and students of sociology and ethics certain bearings of the theory are of extreme interest. If conscious individual accommodations may have such a directive effect upon evolution, then a purposive or teleological factor is introduced into Darwinism. The course of organic evolution is no longer to be looked upon as haphazard, accidental, or fatalistic, but as proceeding in lines of progress marked out by intelligent adjustments. Consciousness, mind in general, becomes an efficient, though indirect, factor in biological evolution. And mental evolution takes the lead, in a sense; not, indeed, in the way of determining variation in certain directions, but in the way of controlling variation, and of securing the selection of functions and characters which subserve the purposes of mind.

Moreover, the special modes of accommodation found in co-operative life, social and moral, get

the same directive efficiency. The whole range of social and ethical group-activities reflects its values into the instinctive and other more plastic potencies of the individuals making up the group. The opposition beween Darwinian evolution and morality, signalized by Huxley, completely disappears.

(4) Philosophically considered, in view of these points, the Darwinian theory of evolution by natural selection is very materially recast. It is no longer a theory resting exclusively upon fortuitous congenital variations. For in many important instances it is not upon such variations, taken simply for themselves, that the preserving hand of selection falls, but upon those only which show their fitness to serve the ends of conscious adaptation and of mind. Selection falls upon the variations only because it falls first upon the entire living function in which the variations are included and protected. The function which survives, and with it the anatomical characters, are those which present the successful union and joint operation of endowment (present in the variation) and experience (present in the accommodation).

LITERATURE.—Besides the citations made above, the following works contain accounts and critical estimates of the theory of organic selection: C. Lloyd Morgan, *Habit and Instinct*, London, 1896, *Animal Behaviour*, do. 1900; L. H. Plate, *Das Selectionsprinzip und Probleme der Artbildung*[3], Leipzig, 1908; F. W. Headley, *The Problems of Evolution*, London, 1900; H. W. Conn, *The Method of Evolution*, New York, 1900; Y. Delage and M. Goldsmith, *Les Théories de l'évolution*, Paris, 1909; W. McDougall, *Body and Mind*, London, 1911; C. Lloyd Morgan and A. Weismann, in *Darwin and Modern Science*, ed. A. C. Seward, Cambridge, 1909; C. Groos, *The Play of Man*, Eng. tr., London, 1901; J. A. Thomson, *Darwinism and Human Life*, do. 1909; J. T. Gulick, *Evolution, Racial and Habitudinal*, Washington, 1905.

J. MARK BALDWIN.

ORGY.[1]—The practice of periodic relaxation of social restraints has been followed by the majority of peoples, and is the unconscious response to a real social need. The study of the orgy as a normal phenomenon throws light on the whole mechanism of society. Primitive 'bursts' and modern Bank Holiday 'mafficking' fulfil an identical purpose, and their conditions are identical, though more stringent in the case of early society.

Thus, of the Central Australians we are told that 'the life of a native is hedged in with arbitrary rules that must be obeyed, often at the peril of his life. To the casual onlooker the native may appear to live a perfectly free life; in reality he does nothing of the kind; indeed, very much the reverse.'[2]

We may here take exception to the epithet 'arbitrary'; there is little in any social organization to which it can be applied. It cannot, *e.g.*, be applied to the orgy itself, so far as this is indulged in by normal members of the society. The orgy is to the routine of ordinary life what the religious feast is to the fast. It supplies a rest and a change, but particularly an emotional and physical expansion and discharge of energy. Excess and dissipation are almost inevitably involved, but they are not in principle essential conditions. Nor, again, is the criminality which often appears. The functions in which this neuro-muscular discharge takes place are those belonging to the general muscular system—eating, drinking, and sex. The main psychological element, relief from restraint, is connected with others — the play-instinct, the pleasure of exhilaration and neuro-muscular excitement, and religious enthusiasm in many cases.

The economic conditions of savage life themselves suggest periodic excess. The savage hunter often practically fasts for days together. He is inured to this, and especially capable of gorging himself when he has killed his game. This capacity indeed is part of his survival value.[1]

In origin an unconscious social reaction, the orgy has clearly been thus understood in later ages and accepted.

'Having a function to fulfil in every orderly and laborious civilization built upon natural energies that are bound by more or less inevitable restraints,' it has been deliberately employed in great religious ages, the rule of abstinence being 'tempered by permission of occasional outbursts.'[2]

Possibly such regulation of excess and dissipation has assisted the general development of self-control. In some cases the orgy combines all possible forms of expression, in others it is specialized in a particular direction; *e.g.*, the dramatic element was conspicuous in the Feast of Fools, the idea of change and social inversion in the Roman Saturnalia, religious ecstasy in the Dionysiac orgy. The Hindu followers of the Śākta Tantras require at their feasts the 'five m's'—fish, flesh, wine, corn, and women. But even these Śāktists seem to omit dancing and to emphasize drinking; they 'drink, drink, and drink until they fall on the ground in utter helplessness.'[3] The Jews at Purim seem to have indulged in most forms of excess.[4]

Various dates lend themselves to the orgy. Such are the harvest festival and other agricultural occasions of celebration, the passage from the old to the new year, and other seasonal changes. In many such instances, as in the case of feasts of firstfruits, the sudden access of a supply of food and liquor inevitably encourages an outburst.

A few typical examples will illustrate the chief characteristics of the orgy.

At the Pondo festival of firstfruits 'the young people engage in games and dances, feats of strength and running. After these are over the whole community give themselves over to disorder, debauchery, and riot. In their . . . games they but did honour to the powers of nature, and now, as they eat and drink, the same powers are honoured in another form and by other rites. There is no one in authority to keep order, and every man does what seems good in his own eyes. . . . People are even permitted to abuse the chief to his face, an offence which at any other time would meet with summary vengeance and an unceremonious dispatch to join the ancestors.'[5] During the yam-harvest feast in Ashanti the grossest liberty prevails; 'neither theft, intrigue nor assault is punishable,' and 'each sex abandons itself to its passions.'[6]

The New Year feast of the Iroquois formed 'a kind of saturnalia. Men and women, variously disguised, went from wigwam to wigwam smashing and throwing down whatever they came across. It was a time of general license; the people were supposed to be out of their senses, and therefore not to be responsible for what they did.'[7]

The Hos of N. India 'have a strange notion that at this period [harvest festival] men and women are so overcharged with vicious propensities that it is absolutely necessary for the safety of the person to let off steam by allowing for a time full vent to the passions.'[8]

This shrewd description illustrates the safety-valve function of the orgy. After eating and beer-drinking people expand in other ways; the feast is 'a saturnale during which servants forget their duty to their masters, children their reverence for parents, men their respect for women, and women all notions of modesty, delicacy, and gentleness; they become raging bacchantes. . . . Sons and daughters revile their parents in gross language, and parents their children; men and women become almost like animals in the indulgence of their amorous propensities.'[9]

Of the Roman Saturnalia Frazer writes: 'Feasting and revelry and all the mad pursuit of pleasure are the features that seem to have especially marked this carnival of antiquity. . . . But no feature of the festival is more remarkable, nothing in it

---

[1] The Greek ὄργια meant primarily 'acts of ritual.' Then it was specially applied to 'secret' or 'mystic' cults, such as the Eleusinian μυστήρια and the Dionysiac ὠμοφαγία. From the Bacchanalia suppressed by Rome the term derived its modern meaning of 'feasting or revelry, especially such as is marked by excessive indulgence or licence' (*OED*).

[2] B. Spencer, *Native Tribes of the Northern Territory of Australia*, London, 1914, p. 342 f.

[1] Westermarck, *MI* ii. 290, with examples.

[2] H. Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, vi., *Sex in Relation to Society*, p. 218.

[3] Rājendralāla Mitrā, *Indo-Aryans*, London and Calcutta, 1881, i. 404 f.

[4] See Frazer, *GB*[3], pt. vi., *The Scapegoat*, London, 1913, p. 363 f.

[5] J. Macdonald, *Religion and Myth*, London, 1893, p. 136 f.

[6] Frazer, *GB*[3], pt. v., *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, London, 1912, ii. 62, quoting A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, do. 1887, p. 229 f., and T. E. Bowdich, *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee*, do. 1873, p. 226 f.

[7] Frazer, *GB*[3], pt. vi., *The Scapegoat*, p. 127.

[8] *Ib.* p. 136.

[9] E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1872, p. 196 f.

seems to have struck the ancients themselves more than the license granted to slaves at this time. . . . The slave might rail at his master, intoxicate himself like his betters, sit down at table with them. . . . Masters actually changed places with their slaves and waited on them at table.'[1]

The two days of the Jewish festival of Purim were designated as 'days of feasting and gladness, and of sending portions one to another, and gifts to the poor' (Est 9^{22}). 'Purim has been described as the Jewish Bacchanalia, . . . and everything is lawful which can contribute to the mirth and gaiety of the festival.' The Jew must drink 'until he cannot distinguish between the words "Cursed be Haman" and "Blessed be Mordecai."' During the two days of the feast the Jews, we are told, in the 17th cent. 'did nothing but feast and drink to repletion, play, dance, sing and make merry; in particular they disguised themselves, men and women exchanging clothes.'[2]

The Christian Church in early Europe seems to have adopted folk festivals of the Saturnalian type, especially on Shrove Tuesday and New Year's day. The dramatic element and freedom of movement were prominent at the former festival: 'Some go about naked without shame, some crawl on all fours, some on stilts, some imitate animals.'[3]

The Feast of Fools, or *Kalendæ*,[4] was an ecclesiastical orgy, conspicuous chiefly for inversion of rôle. 'Priests and clerics may be seen wearing masks and monstrous visages at the hours of office. They dance in the choir dressed as women. . . . They sing wanton songs. They eat black puddings at the horn of the altar while the celebrant is saying mass. They play at dice there. They cense with stinking smoke from the soles of old shoes. They run and leap through the church without a blush at their own shame. Finally they drive about the town and its theatres in shabby traps and carts, and rouse the laughter of their fellows and the bystanders in infamous performances with indecent gestures and verses scurrilous and unchaste.'[5] Chambers notes that the festival was confined to the inferior clergy, and infers it to be 'an ebullition of the natural lout beneath the cleric,' allowed as a 'reaction from the wonted restraint.' The inversion of status is especially marked by such offices as bishop, pope, and king—all examples of the mock authority common in folk-festivals.[6] The curious title of this orgy may be due merely to the fact that the clerics played the fool, but ancient Rome had a *stultorum feriæ* on Feb. 17, the title of which is also obscure.[7] The Dionysiac orgy was conspicuous for the prominence of women. Probably men dressed as women. Dancing and excessive physical exertion, drinking, and the eating of raw flesh and drinking of warm blood were features.[8] Among the Central Australians an exchange of wives at the end of the Engwura ceremonies may be regarded as an orgiastic element.[9]

Farnell regards the production of exhilaration in the Dionysiac orgy by means of dancing and drinking as not only religious exaltation but a means of acquiring supernatural energy for the working of vegetation-magic. This cannot be the primary object of the orgy.[10] Frazer, in view of its frequent connexion with expulsion of evils, observes:

'When a general riddance of evil and absolution from all sin is in immediate prospect, men are encouraged to give the rein to their passions, trusting that the coming ceremony will wipe out the score which they are running up so fast. On the other hand, when the ceremony has just taken place, men's minds are freed from the oppressive sense, under which they generally labour, of an atmosphere surcharged with devils; and in the first revulsion of joy they overleap the limits commonly imposed by custom and morality. When the ceremony takes place at harvest time, the elation of feeling which it excites is further stimulated by the state of physical wellbeing produced by an abundant supply of food.'

Again, in special reference to the Saturnalia of Italy, he remarks:

'What wonder then if the simple husbandman imagined that by cramming his belly, by swilling and guzzling just before he proceeded to sow his fields, he thereby imparted additional vigour to the seed?'[11]

These suggestions miss the main point of the problem of the orgy, which is quite satisfactorily explained by Ellis. They refer to secondary applications of a natural, self-regarding, human need. Nietzsche's Dionysiac theory and Aristotle's *κάθαρσις* are both suggestive in the psychology of the orgy.[1]

LITERATURE.—H. Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, vi., *Sex in Relation to Society*, Philadelphia, 1910, pp. 218–223.

A. E. CRAWLEY.

ORIENTALISM.—See SYNCRETISM.

ORIGEN.—See ALEXANDRIAN THEOLOGY.

ORIGINAL SIN. — I. *THE TRADITIONAL CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE.*—**1. Preparation in the Old Testament.** — Christian theology has identified original sin with a consequence of the Fall, and has described the sinfulness thus introduced into human life in terms of contrast with the original or unfallen state of man. The ecclesiastical doctrine of original sin, from the time of St. Paul, has been regarded as contained or implied in Gn 3, and therefore as having a foundation in OT theology. That some form of doctrine concerning original sin was exegetically derived from the Paradise story by Jewish writers before the Christian era is plain, as will presently be seen; but it seems no longer tenable that any such teaching was intended by the compiler of that narrative.

Gn 3 does not assert that any corruption or dislocation of human nature was occasioned by the sin of Adam and Eve; it does not mention any withdrawal of divine gifts such as before the Fall might have enabled man to remain morally innocent; it does not represent that Adam's posterity was involved in the consequences of his sin, except exclusion from the garden and from access to the tree of life, and liability to the physical ills of life. Further, no element of the conception of original sin seems to have been present to the Jahwist compiler's mind. Subsequent sins, such as Cain's, are in no way connected with Adam's; undiminished responsibility is attributed to the sinner of the second generation, evil is not predicted of human nature, sinfulness is not regarded as universal in Adam's posterity, and the general corruption which evoked the Flood is assigned, in the Jahwist history, to a different cause from the sin of the first parent. Lastly, the story of Paradise does not receive any doctrinal exposition in any of the books of the OT, and no connexion between the sinfulness of mankind and Adam's sin is ever hinted at in them.

But the OT testifies to the growth of several ideas which were afterwards embodied in the conception of inherited or original sin, and to a growth uninfluenced by any such conception. Sin is sometimes personified as a power external to man, in which we see exhibited the tendency, so disastrous in later theology, to conceive of sin in abstraction from the sinner, apart from whom it can have no existence. Man is credited with an evil imagination (*yēṣer*), though this imagination or disposition was not a result of the Fall. Sin is regarded as a state, as well as an isolated act. The universality of sinfulness is sometimes emphasized. Sin is occasionally spoken of as inherent in man from his birth, and in Ps 51 this inherent and inherited sinfulness is regarded as guilty. Facts and conceptions are thus recognized which were afterwards connected and explained by the idea of original sin derived from Adam; but in the OT itself the inherent and inherited sinfulness of mankind is not identified with a moral consequence of the first sin. Indeed, OT thought seems to preclude the possibility of such identification.

2. Development of thought in uncanonical Jewish literature. — Perhaps the earliest extant exegesis of the Fall-story is contained in Sir 25^{24}

[1] Frazer, *GB*³, pt. vi., *The Scapegoat*, p. 307. In an English hotel at the present day it is the custom at Christmas for the visitors and servants to change places. The custom seems to have originated spontaneously as an expression of fellow-feeling. This is an element of the orgy.

[2] *Ib.* p. 363. [3] Ellis, p. 219.

[4] See du Cange, *Glossarium mediæ et infimæ Latinitatis*, Niort, 1883–87, *s.v.*; there are several other terms.

[5] E. K. Chambers, *The Mediæval Stage*, Oxford, 1908, i. 294, translating a Latin letter of the 15th century.

[6] *Ib.* i. 326 ff. [7] *Ib.* i. 334, 355.

[8] *CGS* v. 159–166.

[9] Spencer-Gillen[s], p. 381; see Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, London, 1902, pp. 273, 479.

[10] *CGS* v. 164 ff.

[11] Frazer, *GB*³, pt. vi., *The Scapegoat*, pp. 225, 347.

[1] Ellis, p. 223 f.; *CGS* v. 237.

'From a woman was the beginning of sin; and because of her we all die.' That 'beginning' is to be interpreted here in a temporal, and not in a causal, sense is rendered overwhelmingly probable by the recovered Hebrew text and, more especially, by other passages of Sirach. In this case Ben Sira makes no advance upon OT teaching in connexion with original sin; but the latter part of the verse quoted above supplies evidence that in his day the way was being prepared for an interpretation of Gn 3 such as would lead to a doctrine of original sin.

The book of Wisdom affords new instances in Jewish thought of approach towards this doctrine —*e.g.*, in its teaching that sin and (spiritual) death were introduced into humanity from without, in speaking of Adam as 'the protoplast,' and in affirming the actuality of transmitted depravity (though this is local and derived from the Cainites, not universal and derived from Adam). The data for the doctrine are all present in this book; but they are unconnected, not generalized into a single conception. The last sentence will serve equally well to summarize the more elaborate teaching of Philo and of Alexandrian Judaism generally. But in an apocalyptic writing of the same period largely influenced by Hellenic thought, the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, original sin derived from Adam is plainly taught (see below).

(*a*) *Rabbinical literature.*—In this department of Jewish literature we find much said of the glory of the unfallen state of Adam, and something as to the cosmic effects of the Fall. But the privileges forfeited by Adam for the race are not the *dona superaddita* of later Christian theology. The idea of the evil inclination, the germ of which is met with early in the OT, is greatly elaborated; but this bias to evil seems never to have been regarded by Rabbis before the Christian era as a consequence of the first sin. A crude legend that Eve was polluted by Satan (or the serpent), and her taint transmitted to her posterity, occurs in several forms in Rabbinic writings; but it does not seem to have served the purpose of an explanation of the universal sinfulness of man. What is most remarkable, in connexion with the antecedents of St. Paul's teaching, is the apparent absence from this department of Jewish literature, until mediæval times, of any reference to the idea of all the race being included in Adam, or identified with Adam, when he sinned. Death, and various supernatural adornments of Adam's life at its beginning, are the only consequences of the Fall which early Rabbinism seems to recognize.

(*b*) *Jewish apocalyptic literature.*—If the groundwork of the *Book of Enoch* is the earliest extant specimen of pseudepigraphic literature, it points to a tendency, in the first beginnings of Jewish exegesis, to explain the sinfulness of mankind by reference not to the Fall story of Gn 3, but to the legend of the *'elôhîm* (or 'watchers,' as they are called in *Enoch*) contained in Gn 6^{1-4}. As we pass to later apocalypses, we find the emphasis increasingly shifted to Gn 4, and signs of confusion of these two distinct Biblical stories, which seems to have resulted in detaching the idea of the fall of the race from the setting in which it first grew up, and transplanting it to the history of the first temptation and the loss of Paradise. Thus the Fall-story came to be regarded as the explanation of much besides human death. In the A recension of *Slavonic Enoch*, or the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, the idea appears that mankind inherits from Adam, and as a consequence of his sin, moral infirmity of nature—a much more explicit doctrine of original sin than that taught by St. Paul. Possibly this teaching, which would be very unusual for an early Jewish book, is not really ancient. The *Apocalypse of Baruch*, which is more akin to Rabbinic literature than any of the pseudepigrapha, seems to regard the Fall as having brought upon the whole race liability to future punishment, and as thereby having affected the spiritual destiny of all men, while at the same time it asserts, with an emphasis which suggests a polemical intention, that ultimately each individual is 'the Adam of his own soul.' But for a difference of emphasis on these two different lines of doctrine, the teaching of pseudo-Baruch is similar to that of St. Paul. Similar again to the teaching of both these writers, and probably contemporary, is that of the *Apocalypse of Ezra* (2 Esdras of the Apocrypha). But, while pseudo-Baruch minimizes the effects of the Fall on man's moral state, pseudo-Ezra is full of the sense of human infirmity; his doctrine as to original sin, however, is so greatly qualified by the teaching as to the 'evil heart' (*yēṣer hara*), which follows Rabbinic lines, that he is led practically to repudiate original sin in the sense of inherent corruption, deriving human infirmity not by heredity from fallen Adam, but from 'the following of Adam' in indulging the evil impulse which was as much in Adam when he was created as in us when we were born.

We conclude, then, that Judaism, at the beginning of the Christian era, possessed two distinct conceptions of original sin. The one, presumably originating in the Alexandrian school, is stated in terms of the idea of inherited depravity or corruption, and is analogous to an important and characteristic factor of Augustine's doctrine. The other asserts, quite indefinitely, a connexion between Adam's sin and his posterity's liability to punishment, and offers no connecting link between them; if we possess analogy with any later form of the doctrine of original sin, it would seem to be the imputation theory. The passage from this form of the Jewish doctrine to the teaching of St. Paul involves but a slight step.

3. St. Paul's doctrine of original sin.—There is only one passage in his Epistles in which St. Paul deals explicitly with the connexion of human sinfulness with Adam's transgression, viz. Ro 5^{12-21}. This connexion is plainly affirmed; but no attempt is made to express how the connexion is to be conceived. It is easy to read into St. Paul's statement each of the later ecclesiastical theories as to the nature of this connexion, just because that statement is so indefinite and colourless as to be capable of accommodating them all; but none of them can safely be extracted, for the same reason, from the Apostle's vague language. The Apostle certainly teaches original sin—more or less after one manner in which it was current in the Jewish schools of his day; but in what form he conceived it it is perhaps for ever impossible for us to determine with certainty. He says that sin 'entered into the world by one man, and death through sin; and so death made its way to all men, because all sinned.' Exegesis of these words involves an answer to two distinct questions. (1) Does St. Paul mean that death passed to all because all sinned personally, or because all sinned when Adam sinned? The latter interpretation, it may be answered, is to be preferred, because otherwise the whole of the parallel between Adam and Christ, and therefore the whole argument of the context (in which reference to original sin is incidental), would be destroyed, and the force of the aorist tense ('all sinned') would be lost. (2) What did St. Paul conceive to be the mediating link between Adam's sin and the sin and death of his descendants? Is it simply God's appointment (cf. *Apocalypse of Baruch* and *Apocalypse of Ezra*); or the seminal existence in Adam of his

posterity (cf. He $7^{9f.}$); or their identity with, or inclusion in, Adam, in the sense of Augustine's 'realism'? The first two of these alternatives could each be naturally attributed to St. Paul, because we know that they were current at or near his day. It is also possible, however, to interpret St. Paul in terms of his own thought in other contexts, and to suggest that he refers the sins of all mankind to the first sin, not in the sense that all shared in that sin, but in a similar sense to that in which he speaks of believers as being crucified to the world, and having died to sin, when Christ died upon the Cross. Or, again, just as the believer's renewal is conceived by St. Paul as wrought in advance, though he did not suppose it actually to be so wrought, so also he may regard the consequences of Adam's sin as having been wrought simultaneously with it. But, whichever, if any, of these meanings were present to St. Paul's mind, the only certainty that we have is that he states none of them.

4. Development of the doctrine in the Patristic period and the Middle Ages.—We have seen that St. Paul taught a doctrine of original sin, and that he probably (perhaps we should say certainly) imbibed it, along with many other particular views, from his Jewish surroundings. But, when we pass on to consider the writings of the Fathers of the early Church, we find that they did not directly adopt St. Paul's teaching as the basis of their doctrine, nor borrow that presented in Jewish literature. They started afresh to elaborate a doctrine of original sin. The three chief pioneers, before Augustine, in this work were Irenæus, Origen, and Tertullian. And it may be pointed out that each of these Fathers derived his particular contribution to the fabric of future orthodox doctrine from his own reflexion on texts, philosophical tenets, or institutions, none of which had been a source of the similar conclusions previously reached by Jewish thought.

Justin Martyr was entirely uninfluenced by St. Paul's teaching on original sin, and practically repeated the doctrine characteristic of Rabbinical, rather than of later Jewish apocalyptic, literature. It is not until the Gnostic controversy had invested the general problem of evil with considerable importance for Christian thought that the doctrines of the original state and of the Fall began to receive definite shape in the Church. By the time of *Irenæus*, moreover, the Pauline Epistles had come to be accepted as Scripture, and therefore as a guide to doctrine, or a source thereof. Irenæus, however, did not set out from St. Paul's doctrine of original sin as a foundation already laid. It is in working out his idea of recapitulation, according to which Christ is the sum and the representative of restored humanity, that he begins to shape his teaching as to the Fall; and, had it not been for the requirements of the recapitulation-doctrine, it is probable that he would not have been inspired by the Epistle to the Romans to develop any teaching concerning original sin. The teaching which he supplies exhibits no real advance upon that of St. Paul. He merely emphasizes the idea that the Fall was the collective deed of the race, in virtue of the unity, in some undefined and perhaps mystical sense, of the race with Adam. On original sin as an inherent disease, or as the source of concupiscence, he is quite silent. In a recently recovered work of this Father (*Εἰς Ἐπίδειξιν τοῦ Ἀποστολοῦ κηρύγματος*, ed. by A. Harnack from the Armenian version, Leipzig, 1908), however, there occurs a somewhat curious doctrine of original sin, or of inherited sinfulness, especially associated with the descendants of Cain. God's curse on Cain is spoken of as handed down by natural heredity to his posterity. This teaching is, of course, different in important points from that which became general in the Church, and it was obviously adopted by Irenæus from Alexandrian Judaism. It is characteristic of Alexandrian Jewish literature to emphasize the gravity of Cain's sin, and the sinfulness of his descendants, and somewhat to minimize that of Adam; and it is in the book of Wisdom, as was seen above, that we find the first clear conception of hereditary sin. This work of Irenæus serves further to show that in his time the idea of inherited sinfulness was not as yet definitely coupled with that of Adam's fall.

Origen's name is generally associated with a theory of the source of inborn sinfulness which is incompatible with the ecclesiastical doctrine of original sin. This Father taught, especially in his earlier years, that the Biblical story of Paradise was an allegory describing the fall of all individual souls in a previous, celestial existence. According to this view, suggested by Plato's myth (*Phædrus*), original sin is not derived from the first forefather of the race, but is the result of individual free will. The guiltiness of inborn sin is thus secured at the expense of that racial solidarity upon which Irenæus, following St. Paul, had insisted. Naturally this theory never received general sanction in the Church. Quite another line of teaching, however, was adopted by Origen in his later years—a doctrine of inherited corruption, introduced by Adam's fall; and thus he became the precursor of Augustine.

It has been suggested with great probability that Origen's change of view was occasioned by his coming in contact, during his banishment from Alexandria, with the practice of infant baptism at Cæsarea. His writings of this period refer frequently to a stain of sin defiling every man, and requiring to be cleansed away in baptism. Thus it would seem that Origen developed his later teaching as to inborn sin in order to account for the ancient and wide-spread practice of infant baptism. The texts of Scripture which speak of universal and inborn uncleanness (*e.g.*, Job $14^{4f.}$, Ps 51^{5}), and the Hebrew ceremonial of purification, seem to have suggested to Origen the idea of an inborn taint; and, having become possessed of the idea, he proceeded to associate it with Adam's fall, though express association of the two ideas very rarely occurs in his writings. Of solidarity of the race with Adam, again, Origen offers a very definite conception. He borrows the idea of seminal existence from the Epistle to the Hebrews, and by means of it explains the unity of the race with its first parent in sin. Thus, without revealing any influence from Irenæus or Tertullian, Origen independently supplied the two main conceptions involved in the Augustinian doctrine of original sin.

The third early and independent pioneer in the elaboration of the doctrine was *Tertullian*. On the point of the mode of derivation of universal inborn sin from fallen Adam—a point as to which Irenæus is silent and to which Origen scarcely refers — Tertullian lays down full and definite teaching. He does so in terms of the traducianist doctrine of the origin of the soul, which he adopted from current Stoic philosophy and not from Scripture. This psychological tenet plays for Tertullian the same part as infant baptism played for Origen, and the recapitulation-doctrine for Irenæus. The conception that every human soul is a 'branch' of Adam's, reproducing its qualities, and therefore its corruption (which Tertullian considered to be in a state of actual sinfulness), readily lent itself to the formulation of a definite theory of original sin. The traducianist explanation of the propagation of original sin was not generally accepted by the

Church; but the results attained by its means were permanently retained.

From the time of Origen and Tertullian to that of Augustine the doctrine of original sin received no important development, save that, alongside of the view, emphasized by the two founders of the doctrine just mentioned, that original sin consists in a positive corruption of human nature (a view also advocated with varying degrees of clearness and emphasis by Gregory of Nazianzus, Gregory of Nyssa, Macarius of Egypt, Hilary of Poitiers, and Ambrose, and greatly developed by Augustine), we meet frequently with the supplementary conception of original sin as a loss of supernatural graces with which man was endowed at the first. This aspect of original sin, destined to become predominant in Scholastic theology, is presented by Irenæus (with great inconsistencies) and Athanasius, and, along with the more positive aspect, by some other Fathers, including Augustine. As has been shown above, it has no more Scriptural authority than the assertion that the Fall introduced positive derangement into man's nature. It originates apparently in the peculiar and baseless teaching of Tatian, that the communion of the Spirit was withdrawn from Adam (Tatian says nothing as to Adam's posterity) when he sinned, and in the distinction drawn first by Irenæus between the image of God (belonging to man's nature, and never lost) and the likeness of God (generally identified with supernatural endowments, the loss of which was due to the Fall). This is, of course, merely a piece of false exegesis, though upon it is based the whole superstructure of what has been regarded by many theologians, Anglican as well as Roman Catholic, as the most essential and most catholic element in the doctrine of the Fall and original sin. As to its 'catholicity,' there is no reason to believe that the conception of original sin as loss of *dona superaddita* was more general among the Fathers than that of original sin as a positive *vitium* or *corruptio* of human nature; and in respect of moral consequences it encounters even graver difficulties.

The development of the doctrine of original sin in the pre-Augustinian period having now been traced, it is necessary to call attention to such instances as may be found of Patristic teaching which deviated from that which was generally accepted. Though *Clement of Alexandria* was not unfamiliar with the writings of Irenæus, he seems not to have held any doctrine of original sin whatever, as distinct from a doctrine of the Fall. He vaguely identifies Adam with the race, or considers him as its representative; but Adam's sin was to this writer a type of human sin rather than the cause of human sinfulness. His exegesis of Ro 5 even repudiates the idea that death was a consequence of the Fall. Like most Eastern Fathers, Clement insists most strongly on the unimpaired free will of mankind. *Athanasius* too, in spite of his adoption of the view that the Fall occasioned the withdrawal of Adam's supernatural gifts, deviates from the generally received teaching of the Fathers in regarding the fall of mankind as having been gradually brought about, rather than as having been catastrophically effected by Adam. It is in the Antiochene school, however, that we find the most conspicuous instances of heterodox teaching concerning original sin. *Chrysostom* does not appear to have countenanced this doctrine in any form, or to have regarded natural concupiscence as of the nature of sin, while *Theodore of Mopsuestia* was practically a Pelagian, denying that baptism removed inherited sinfulness and also the practically universal belief that Adam's transgression was the cause of death.

It was the Pelagian controversy that obliged *Augustine* to make a more complete and systematic study of sin than had yet been undertaken in the Church. During the controversy, he was led to modify his earlier views, which were practically identical with those of the majority of Eastern and Western Fathers since Irenæus. He expressed the solidarity of the race with Adam sometimes in terms of Origen's idea of seminal existence in the first parent (*c. Julianum*, v. 12), and sometimes in terms of the realistic notion that Adam's personality, and not merely his nature, was shared by his posterity:

'Omnes enim fuimus in illo uno, quando omnes fuimus ille unus, qui per feminam lapsus est in peccatum. . . . Nondum erat nobis singillatim creata et distributa forma, in qua singuli viveremus; sed iam natura erat seminalis, ex qua propagaremur' (*de Civ. Dei*, xiii. 14).

In *de Vera Religione*, 51, he speaks of the sin which our nature committed (in Adam), which implies his adoption from Greek philosophy of the idea that universals of generic concepts exist apart from their individual or particular cases. Being, especially before the Pelagian controversy, a champion of free will, he admits Pelagius's premiss that there can be no sin without willing, but he falsely thought that he could secure our guilt for Adam's sin by incorporating our nature in Adam, whereas our wills would also require to be identical with Adam's, and consequently our personalities and individualities. Augustine was also inconsistent in regarding Adam as at the same time an individual and a generic idea.

Original sin, with Augustine, involved guilt. Hence the unbaptized, even unbaptized infants, incurred, and (he taught) would receive, damnation:

'Infans perditione punitur, quia pertinet ad massam perditionis' (*de Peccato Originali*, 31).

The most characteristic feature in Augustine's doctrine of original sin is his exaggeration of the effects upon human nature of Adam's fall. He taught that the depravity thus introduced was complete, so that fallen man is unable even to will what is good. To this belief was chiefly due his teaching concerning grace, and consequently his doctrine of predestination.

On passing from the Patristic to the Scholastic age, we find no important changes from the main trend of the teaching of the pre-Augustinian Fathers. Augustine's extreme views were left aside; doubtless they seemed to be provincial rather than catholic. *Aquinas* held that, on its positive side, original sin was a disordered condition (*vulneratio naturæ, dispositio inordinata*) consequent upon dissolution of the harmony in which original righteousness essentially consisted; while, on its negative side, it was loss of original righteousness or of superadded graces. Aquinas could not follow Augustine on several important points. He denied that natural goodness was forfeited at the Fall, that free will was more than impaired, that concupiscence is of the nature of sin proper. At the same time he emphasized the positive side of original sin more strongly than Anselm had done, who, while not denying the guiltiness of inborn sin in the infant, was dissatisfied with the view that original sin is strictly sin (*i.e.* personal sin), and compared it with deformity or misery. *Duns Scotus* represented a standpoint still more remote from Augustinianism than that of Aquinas. He held that the first sin—which he has a tendency to minimize—had not affected man's nature at all, but only his supernatural gifts. He more strongly emphasizes fallen man's freedom of will, and denies that original sin is to be identified with concupiscence, because concupiscence belongs to our unwounded nature. There is indeed little in common between Duns Scotus and Augustine,

in so far as Augustine differed from the Fathers who preceded him.

If the Thomist and Scotist views sum up the two main tendencies of Scholastic teaching in its maturity, *Abelard* may be mentioned as the most conspicuous representative of views markedly divergent from the general trend of mediæval doctrine. In some respects he is a precursor of Jeremy Taylor. He revolts somewhat at the idea of Adam's sin being so serious as to be an adequate cause of the condemnation of mankind. Appetite, he teaches, is natural and innocent, and the conflict between sense and reason is characteristic of man as God made him. If it be said that we sinned in Adam, 'sin' is used in an improper sense. For these and other particular views concerning original sin Abelard was censured by Bernard.

The Scholastic doctrine of original sin, more especially in the form which it received from Aquinas, became at the Council of Trent the official teaching of the Church of Rome. The decrees of that Council affirm that the Fall caused loss of original righteousness, infection of body and soul, thraldom to the devil, and liability to the wrath of God; that such original sin is transmitted by generation, not by imitation; that all which has the proper nature of sin, and all guilt of original sin, is removed in baptism; that concupiscence remains after baptism, but this, though called 'sin' by St. Paul, is not sin truly, but only metonymically.

The Anglican Article diverges from this doctrine in asserting that man is 'far gone from original righteousness,' and in apparently, though not explicitly, sanctioning the Pauline usage of 'sin' to describe concupiscence. In all other essential points it is in agreement with the doctrine of the Roman Church.

The various Protestant denominations which formulated their doctrine as to original sin in the 16th cent. inclined rather to the elements in Augustinianism which the Schoolmen rejected. It will not be necessary here to enter into points of difference between the Lutheran, Calvinist, and other symbols. Roughly speaking, these agree in asserting the depravity of human nature to be total, using the strongest and most extravagant language to describe the fallen state; and in explicitly affirming concupiscence to be of the nature of sin. The rest of their positive teaching, in so far as the broader and more important issues are concerned, is similar to that of the Roman and Anglican Churches.

5. The doctrine from the 16th to the 19th century.—The chief point of interest in theological thought concerning original sin since the detailed formulation given to the doctrine in the 16th cent. consists in the signs which have appeared from time to time of dissatisfaction with some element of its contents. One or two of the more important of these witnesses may be briefly alluded to here.

In the 17th cent. *Jeremy Taylor*, in his *Unum Necessarium, or the Doctrine and Practice of Repentance*, chs. vi. and vii., protests strongly against the extremer forms which this doctrine had taken. The sin of Adam, he argued, neither made us heirs of damnation nor rendered us naturally and necessarily vicious. He spurned the idea that unbaptized infants are damned, as inconsistent with the goodness of God; denied that the loss, at the Fall, of Adam's graces, in so far as they were indispensable to rectitude, was a punishment of mankind, on the ground that such a belief detracts from the divine justice; and rejected the teaching that the Fall introduced an inheritance of total depravity, as well as various methods by which the mediation of this depravity had been stated to be effected. Original sin, Taylor held, is not an inherent evil, not 'sin' at all in the strict, but only in a metonymical, sense; *i.e.*, it is the effect of one sin and the cause of many—a stain rather than sin. It consists in loss of supernatural endowments (as to the nature of which Scripture gives no information) and in an aggravation of our natural concupiscence.

S. T. Coleridge (*Aids to Reflection*, 'Aphorisms on Spiritual Religion,' x.) endorses Jeremy Taylor's protests, but criticizes the alternative interpretation of original sin which he offered. The assertion that to man, since the Fall, obedience was possible, though incomparably more difficult, he regards as inconsistent with the admission that sin is universal; hence Taylor has not succeeded in vindicating the divine justice, *i.e.* in explaining why the unoffending sons of Adam were sentenced to be born with so fearful a disproportion of their powers to their duties. The difficulty of reconciling the traditional doctrine of original sin with theodicy was thus beginning to be felt, and Coleridge himself can find relief from it only by adopting the view, opposed to Taylor's, that original sin is truly sin, *i.e.* personal or volitional. In order to advocate this view, he relies on the teaching of Kant (see below), but introduces a further obscurity into it by substituting for its individualism the notion that the Fall was the collective voluntary deed of humanity. Assuming that original sin is a fact, recognized by all religions, he indeed also, like Kant, asserts it to be a mystery for ever inscrutable. But, again following Kant, he teaches that moral evil can have its seat in the will alone. Original sin must therefore be the ground of evil in the will. It is a consequence, but not an effect, of Adam's sin. The first evil will in time is selected as 'the diagram,' and Adam means the race rather than the individual. The resort by Coleridge to conceptions so obscure, in order to escape the moral difficulties which the problem of original sin, as apprehended down to his time, presented, is a witness to the intractability of the problem as it had as yet been stated.

Another witness, even more interesting and striking, is supplied by the work of *Julius Müller* (*The Christian Doctrine of Sin*, 2 vols., tr. W. Urwick, Edinburgh, 1877–85), which contains a more exhaustive and able treatment of the theology of sin than had previously been written. Müller was led, perhaps reluctantly, to find the Augustinian, or any similar ecclesiastical, theory insufficient to solve the great antithesis which Kant had emphasized, between individual responsibility for sin and the fact that sin seems inborn and prior to sinful action. He therefore supplements it by resorting to a view which is apparently intermediate between Kant's theory of the timeless origin of sin and Origen's theory of an ante-natal origin. He postulates an individual fall, which he calls extra-temporal, but which is nevertheless prior to birth. This would seem to him to be the only possible solution—a last resort. That Kant, Coleridge, and Müller should all be driven in the same direction bespeaks that a solution of the problem was perhaps impossible, from their presuppositions, along any other lines; and yet all these thinkers, avowedly or not, only banish the problem to the realm of mystery. Müller's fundamental assumption is that there is in us already when moral consciousness dawns an abiding 'root of sin,' so that sin does not then originate in us, but rather 'steps forth.' Like Kant, he also endeavours to see the source of sin in the will abstracted from the appetitive factors of human nature. It will later be argued that it is in virtue of these two assumptions, both false,

that Müller's and similar attempts to explain the origin and universality of sin necessarily fail, and that with their abandonment satisfactory explanation is for the first time rendered possible.

II. *THE PROBLEM OF ORIGINAL SIN IN PHILOSOPHY.*—Modern philosophy first attacked the problem of evil in independence of ecclesiastical doctrine when *Spinoza* unfolded his pantheistic system. It is true that, in so far as he taught that evil is of negative character (privation or defect), Spinoza was in agreement with many of the Fathers, notably Augustine, who had adopted this view from ancient Greek philosophy and the Neo-Platonists, and had endeavoured to assimilate it with Christian theology. But Spinoza, in virtue of his intellectualism, identified evil with defect of knowledge, and, in virtue of his pantheism, with non-being. Evil, for him, was mere appearance, and the conception of it, he affirms, would be impossible if we saw things *sub specie æternitatis*. For Spinoza, then, inquiry into the problem of the origin of sin was superfluous.

Leibniz distinguished 'moral' evil from 'metaphysical' evil, or the necessary imperfection of all things finite. The latter alone he held to be necessary, and he did not regard it as the source of sin. But it is only lack of self-consistency that prevents Leibniz from denying, like Spinoza, that evil is real. Nor is it easy to find a place in Leibniz's philosophical system for the orthodox doctrine of original sin. He adopted this doctrine in a form similar to that developed by Tertullian, and regarded all souls as existing (germinally) in that of Adam. If he had been consistent, he would have been compelled to identify original sin with the imperfection of human nature as it was created.

The doctrine of original sin received its most serious treatment, at the hands of philosophy, from *Kant*, who, while rejecting Augustinianism, developed a remarkable theory of 'radical badness.' Kant set out from the Christian view that the ultimate seat of sin is in the will alone, and, taking this premiss more seriously than the Fathers of the Church had done, was compelled (like Origen in his earlier years) to seek for a purely individualistic explanation of inborn sinfulness. His overlooking of the fact that the will does not work *in vacuo*, or in abstraction from appetitive elements common to all mankind in virtue of heredity, led him both to exaggerate the volitional factor in sinful activity and to ignore the real solidarity of the race.

Another presupposition of Kant's doctrine of moral evil is the dualism of the phenomenal and the noumenal in man, which is a consequence of his general theory of knowledge. Sin, he teaches, is brought about when a man adopts the impulses of sense rather than the dictates of his reason into the 'maxims,' or subjective ruling principles, which his will appoints to itself for the exercise of its freedom. The subjective condition of the possibility of adopting evil maxims, however, is what especially needs to be accounted for. This cannot be due to any determining act in time; for the temporal, empirical world, according to Kant, is governed by necessity, whereas necessary moral evil is a contradiction in terms. It is therefore an innate propensity, in force before free activity is (sensibly) experienced. Its origin must be in our freedom—else it could not be called evil; and it must belong to the noumenal sphere, *i.e.* must be a timeless, 'intelligible,' act, which cannot be traced further without indefinite regress, and which, in the last resort, is quite inscrutable.

The 'intelligible act' and the division of man into the phenomenal and the noumenal are in themselves obscure conceptions, which, when worked out in the subsequent development of the Kantian teaching, proved futile. And other difficulties inhere in his doctrine of radical evil. In the first place, the evil maxim is one of those pieces of ingenious mental machinery of which Kant was so surpassingly inventive. It has no meaning for actual experience, and is superfluous. Further, it is difficult to conceive how the supersensible essence of man which gives him the categorical imperative could also give him the evil maxim. Similar difficulties might be multiplied; but it will be more profitable to inquire why it is that Kant's investigation of the origin of sin avows that it leads only to inscrutable mystery.

It is surprising that Kant should set out from the statement that sinfulness is absolutely universal among mankind, as if this were an *a priori* principle, whereas the universality of sin is but an empirical generalization—and not an exceptionless one—unless original sin be first proved on independent grounds to be a fact. The one side of the antithesis which it is his intention to resolve is therefore not an absolute or necessary truth, but an approximate generalization based on necessarily inadequate knowledge; it does not therefore require for its adequate explanation, as Kant seems to assume, to be derived with logical necessity from an universal or *a priori* principle. Kant's quest in supersensible realms is, in fact, from the outset unnecessary. That he failed to take the right road saves us from concluding the non-existence of the goal that he never reached.

Again, that there is an evil bias (in Kant's sense of the word 'evil') in us at birth is by no means an unchallengeable premiss. Kant must call our propensity evil if he is to enjoy the right to call it blamable; but he merely assumes—after the manner of uncritical common sense—that it is morally blamable, in order to deduce its volitional character. This is to argue the wrong way round. The propensities inborn in human nature are now known to be existent before will has emerged into actuality, much more before will is capable of *moral* choice. If we do not assume volition to exist until we empirically find it, and impute guilt only where we see volition, we avoid the necessity for resort to the supersensible; for the possibilities of the phenomenal have not been exhausted. Such are the radical errors in Kant's procedure. He assumes that conduct below the standard of moral perfection is blamable or guilty; consequently he has to prove such conduct to be volitional. To make it volitional he has to assume volition where experience tells us there is none, and morally evil propensity where as yet there cannot be any. Julius Müller arrived practically at the same negative result as Kant, because he too set out from some of the same presuppositions.

Hegel is another of the greater philosophers who have devoted considerable attention to the subject of original sin, though his references to it are scattered, and perhaps somewhat desultory. He regards the natural (unmoralized) state as inherently evil, because not morally good, or something which 'ought not to be'; and it is thus that he interprets the Christian doctrine of original sin. Original sin, in fact, is a defect of nature, and simply expresses the truth that the natural man is at first only potentially good. Of course, the Christian doctrine means much more than this; otherwise it would be well to substitute for 'original sin' some other name, wholly unsuggestive of strictly moral implications, and to declare roundly that 'original sin' is not sin.

Schleiermacher's tendency, in spirit though not in letter, is in this direction. He retains the term *Erbsünde* not at all in the old sense of inherited

corruption, but as simply expressing the universal sense of the need of redemption, or the influence on the individual of the actual sin of the human environment. Schleiermacher, practically for the first time since Pelagius, shifts the emphasis from physical to what is now called social heredity. The guilt of what he calls original sin attaches to an individual only in respect of his membership of a guilty race, and his making the common sinfulness his own. But this is merely to blur the line between inherited disposition and acquired habit.

Ritschl regarded Schleiermacher's treatment of original sin as sophistical. But he himself seems to have considered the social heredity of evil influences sufficient to take the place of physically inherited disharmony of nature as an explanation of the universality of sinfulness. And, indeed, several more recent attempts to explain and justify the doctrine of original sin reveal the same tendency. Social interaction, however, is insufficient to account for the general prevalence of moral evil. Something universally and unconditionally present in human nature is called for. Ritschl hints at this condition of practically universal sinfulness when he teaches that evil springs out of the merely natural impulses. But he made no attempt to lay the foundations of a psychologically accurate theory of sin, and, while recognizing the relevance of moral development to the question, ignores factors other than ignorance in his account of the origin and growth of sin.

It will appear from this brief sketch of the chief contributions from philosophy to the discussion of original sin that the ecclesiastical doctrine has received no support therefrom. It has not infrequently been repudiated by philosophers on account of inherent difficulties, and, when the conception has been retained, it has practically always been so completely transformed as scarcely to persist, except in name.

III. *ORIGINAL SIN IN RELATION TO RECENT THOUGHT; CRITICISM AND RECONSTRUCTION.*—Until quite recently the doctrine of original sin, in its traditional form, received almost unquestioned acknowledgment within the Church. Poets and men of the world have frequently voiced their agreement with theologians as to its truth. This is largely because original sin has been confounded with the general tendency of mankind towards actual sin, and a hypothetical cause of the universality of sin has been mistaken for the observed manifestations of sinful volition. Original sin is not a fact, however, but an inference, an alleged, conjectural, explanation of the facts. At the same time, there has seldom been wanting evidence of dissatisfaction with the theory in individuals here and there; and this recurrent dissatisfaction has been occasioned by the violence offered to the moral consciousness when called upon to attribute guilt to that for which the individual person is not responsible, or to reconcile the divine entailment of hereditary loss of moral endowments, or acquisition of spiritual fetters, with the divine justice.

At the present day, however, not only is original sin recognized not to be of the nature of observed fact, and sometimes felt to be an oppressive doctrine, but the various foundations on which it was supposed to be securely based have been severally called in question. It is seen to have no basis in Scripture save in an incidental analogy drawn by St. Paul, and it is known that he derived his conception of Adam and the Fall from free Jewish speculation. It is recognized that the doctrine of the unfallen state of man—the necessary presupposition of a doctrine of original sin occasioned by a 'fall'—is equally unscriptural, and due partly to the fancies of Jewish Haggadists and partly to erroneous Patristic exegesis. But more than this: evolutionary anthropological science has rendered belief in a primitive state of simple moral rectitude, and a general 'fall' therefrom, almost impossible; psychology and biology make acceptance of the idea that human nature could be deranged by an act of sin, or that such an effect, if caused, could be propagated by physical heredity, extremely difficult; and these sciences, guided by the theory of evolution, are able to supply an explanation of the presence in man of appetite and impulse which prompt the will to sin, and so remove all necessity to invoke a catastrophic fall in order to account for the world-wide prevalence of sin. Genetic psychology, once more, has established that man is (necessarily and normally) an impulsive before he is a volitional animal, and a volitional before he is a moral agent, and so furnishes knowledge which makes superfluous all conjectures as to 'a root of sin' in us at birth, or an innate sinfulness which, when moral consciousness awakes, 'steps forth.'

Thus modern science has supplied ideas and facts which suggest not only the manifold erroneousness of the traditional doctrine of original sin, but also the lines along which may be sought a substitute for the old conception, equally capable of explaining the facts which the idea of original sin was fashioned to explain, while free from its scientific, psychological, and ethical deficiencies. If Christian theology is to adhere consistently to the doctrine that sin proper is always volitional and intentional activity—and this is fundamental for Christian theology and ethics—then it must unreservedly allow that sin proper cannot be inherited. It must repudiate the correlation of guilt with original sin, and must admit that in adhering to the phrase 'original sin' it uses 'sin' in a metonymical sense; 'original sin' must mean merely the solicitations of the lower nature, conceived of proleptically as sin because they constitute its potentiality. It must further recognize that these solicitations do not imply withdrawal of any supernatural graces by which they were replaced or coerced, or any dislocation or corruption of human nature; that they are necessarily and normally inherent in that nature as such, in virtue of our animal ancestry; that they are 'stock tendencies,' morally neutral in respect of the good or the evil which the will may make out of them, and non-moral in virtue of their necessary presence and their non-volitional character at birth; that they are what the Schoolmen called *fomes peccati*, not sinful in themselves. What is original cannot be sin, and sin cannot be original. Yet it is precisely these neutral and non-moral conative elements, fixed by heredity in the human species without exception, that account for racial solidarity in sinfulness. It is they that are original, innate, and universal. Augustine substituted for them, in order to account for the universality of sinfulness, a corruption of nature and a fictitious sinning of each individual in, or with, Adam; Kant and Müller, overlooking their non-morality, saw in them signs of a mysterious root of sin present before birth, and so were led to abandon race-solidarity for individualism. But the view just indicated preserves the fact of racial solidarity while leaving room for the individual responsibility and guilt. Empirical science thus succeeds where *a priori* methods failed, and gives a natural explanation of the origin of sin where previous methods merely led to inscrutable mystery. And this view, in accounting for the origin of sin in both the race and the individual, explains the practical universality of sinfulness. For the inherited appetitive propensities, natural and necessary for the animal life of our non-human ancestry, are entrenched in every one of us before the moral consciousness dawns, and require incessant coercion

and voluntary direction throughout life. Here is the precondition of human morality, which is not provided by volition and conscience alone; and also the explanation of the familiar fact that, among human beings who have attained to complex moral life, none has absolutely avoided moral failure at some time and in some degree. *Ex uno omnes.*

Thus may be reconstructed the doctrine of original sin, its errors being discarded, and the vital truth which it sought to express being retained. If the reconstruction be sound, it will appear that there was more aimed at in the old ecclesiastical theory than can possibly be re-stated in terms of social heredity alone. From the time of Schleiermacher various attempts have been made to explain the universality and the propagation of sin in terms of the influence, after the dawn of moral consciousness in the individual, of the social environment. The most recent, and perhaps the most interesting, is that of J. Royce (*The Problem of Christianity*, i., New York, 1913). Original sin is exalted by him into one of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, and he uses the phrase to denote a moral burden from which the individual can never be saved apart from the Church. The moral self, Royce affirms, is bred through social conflict. The community relieves the first tension between individuals by its codes, thus evoking and educating moral consciousness and at the same time creating new tensions, and heightening self-will, which perhaps obeys, but with internal revolt. Cultivation breeds at the same time civilized conduct and conscious independence. Thus conscience is a product of spiritual warfare, and our knowledge of good and evil is inevitably tainted by its origin. The 'divided self' produced by social life in every individual is what should be meant by 'original sin'; it is a human necessity, inhering in the conditions of the development of self-consciousness.

Such emphasis on the influence of social life and the social conditions of moral consciousness is called for in any complete account of sin. But it needs to be supplemented by insistence on the factors derived through physical heredity, and which until lately Christian theology, from lack of the requisite empirical knowledge, was not in a position accurately to describe.

LITERATURE.—For history of Jewish and Patristic doctrine, F. R. Tennant, *The Sources of the Doctrines of the Fall and Original Sin*, Cambridge, 1903; R. Rüetschi, *Gesch. und Kritik der kirchl. Lehre von der ursprüngl. Vollkommenheit und vom Sündenfall*, Leyden, 1881; J. Turmel, *RHLR* vi. [1901]. Full references to original literature will be found in the first and last of these writings. For recent thought, critical and reconstructive, or conservative (in addition to works referred to in the art.), O. Pfleiderer, *Philosophy of Religion*, Eng. tr. of 2nd ed., London, 1886–88, iv. 34–38; F. R. Tennant, *The Origin and Propagation of Sin*[2], Cambridge, 1906; J. Orr, *Sin as a Problem of To-day*, London, 1910; F. J. Hall, *Evolution and the Fall*, New York and London, 1910; W. E. Orchard, *Modern Theories of Sin*, London, 1909.

F. R. TENNANT.

ORISSA (Orisā, Skr. Oḍra-deśa, 'the land of the Oḍra race').—**1. Name and statistics.**—The meaning of the term Oḍra is disputed. It is popularly derived from Skr. *oḍra*, the Chinese rose, which grows in its jungles; Lassen believes that the word means 'north country'; modern Hindus explain it as 'land of filth,' in allusion to the low estimation in which the country is held by Sanskrit writers and the modern belief in the stupidity of its people. Orissa is a division now forming part of the province of Bihār and Orissa, the result of changes of administrative areas which came into effect in 1912. Its area is now 8,238 sq. miles, and its population 4,188,109. Of this population 4,059,744 (96·93 per cent) are Hindus; 113,708 (2·72 per cent) Muhammadans; 5145 (·12 per cent) Christians; 8770 (·21 per cent) animists; 434 (·1 per cent) Buddhists; with 308 whose religion was not described. As usual, the majority of the animists seem to have been recorded as Hindus. The Hindu population is predominant in the alluvial tract between the sea and the Chotā Nāgpur plateau; the animists are mostly found in the hilly inland region.

2. Language.—The language of Orissa is known as Oṛiyā, Oḍrī, or Utkalī, the last term being derived from an old name of the division, Utkala-deśa, 'the glorious country,' or 'the outlying strip,' in reference to the Ganges valley. It is spoken by 95·96 per cent of the population. The earliest written example of it is found in an inscription of the 13th century A.D.

'Oṛiyā is handicapped by possessing an excessively awkward and cumbrous written character. This character is, in its basis, the same as Dēva-nāgarī [the script in which Hindī is written], but it is written by the local scribes with a stylus on a talipot palm leaf. The scratches are themselves legible, but in order to make them more plain, ink is rubbed over the surface of the leaf and fills up the furrows which form the letters. The palm leaf is exceptionally fragile, and any scratch in the direction of the grain tends to make it split. As a line of writing on a long narrow leaf is necessarily in the direction of the grain, this peculiarity prohibits the use of the straight top line which is a distinguishing peculiarity of the Dēva-nāgarī character. For this, the Oṛiyā scribe is compelled to substitute a series of curves, which almost surround each letter. It requires remarkably good eyes to read an Oṛiyā printed book, for the exigencies of the printing press compel the type to be small, and the greater part of each letter is this curve, which is the same in nearly all, while the real soul of the character, by which one is distinguished from another, is hidden in the centre, and is so minute, that it is often difficult to see. At first glance, an Oṛiyā book seems to be all curves, and it takes a second look to notice that there is something inside each.' Oṛiyā is sometimes called a dialect of Bengālī, but this is incorrect. 'It is a sister, not a daughter, and the mutual points of resemblance are due to the fact that they have a common origin in the ancient Māgadha Apabhraṃśa' (G. A. Grierson, *Census of India*, 1901, vol. i., 'India,' pt. i. p. 316 ff., vol. vi., 'Bengal,' pt. i. p. 321).

3. Religious history.—The earliest inhabitants were non-Aryan tribes like the Kandhs (*q.v.*) and Savaras. At the dawn of history Orissa formed part of the kingdom of Kalinga, which stretched from the mouths of the Ganges (*q.v.*) to those of the Godāvarī (*q.v.*). On the early history see J. Beames, *IA* i. [1871] 74 ff.

(*a*) *The Buddhist period.*—In the early Buddhist period it was invaded by the Yavanas, a tribe whose history is obscure. This name is often applied to the Ionian Greeks, and Hunter tries to prove that they were Græco-Bactrians. But in Orissa the word probably means no more than that they were, from the Hindu point of view, foreign barbarians. They entered Orissa from the north-west and probably brought Buddhism with them (J. Fergusson and J. Burgess, *The Cave Temples of India*, p. 60 f.; W. W. Hunter, *Orissa*, i. 207 ff.). In 261 B.C. the country was conquered by Aśoka (*q.v.*), and one of his edict pillars is found at Dhaulī about seven miles south of Bhuvanesvar in the Purī District (V. A. Smith, *Asoka, the Buddhist Emperor of India*[2], Oxford, 1909, pp. 131, 179 ff.). Buddhism remained the religion of the land, and the tooth relic was honoured there, intermittingly it may be by the kings, but certainly by the people, down to A.D. 322, when it was removed to Ceylon. Buddhism survived in an attenuated form under the last Yavana kings (328–474), when it was finally abolished by the Keśarī dynasty. The extensive series of Buddhist caves has been fully described by Fergusson-Burgess (p. 55 ff.; cf. Hunter, i. 180 ff.). Among those at Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri the finest is the Rānī kā Nūr, or Queen's Palace, which is inferior to the great *vihāras* of W. India, and owes its interest more to sculpture than to architecture. It was excavated in the 1st century A.D. The Buddhist pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang (Yuan Chwang; A.D. 629–645), visited Orissa. He calls the country U-cha, *i.e.* Oḍra.

'The people are uncivilised, tall of stature, and of a yellowish black complexion. Their words and language (*pronunciation*) differ from Central India. They love learning and apply themselves to it without intermission. Most of them believe in the law of Buddha. There are some hundred *saṅghārāmas* [monasteries], with 10,000 priests. They all study the Great Vehicle. There are 50 Dêva [Hindu] temples in which sectaries of all sorts make their abodes. The *stūpas*, to the number of ten or so, point out spots where Buddha preached. They were all founded by Aśôka-rāja' (S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, London, 1884, ii. 204 f.).

Buddhism has now practically disappeared, the only survivors of this faith being a small colony in the Baramba State, among a caste known as Sarāk, a term derived from Skr. *śrāvaka*, 'a hearer,' used by the Buddhists to designate the second class of monks, who mainly occupied monasteries, as distinguished from the Arhans, the highest class, who lived solitary lives as hermits, and the lowest class, the Bhikṣus, or mendicants, who supported themselves by begging (*Census of India*, 1901, vol. vi., 'Bengal,' pt. i. p. 427 f.). The Vaiṣṇava cultus at Jagannāth (*q.v.*) preserves clear survivals of Buddhism, and the same origin is attributed to the cult of Dharma which is current among Pods, Ḍoms, and other menial castes (*ib.* i. 157, 201).

(*b*) *Śaivism.*—On the downfall of Buddhism as the State religion, the cult of Śiva was established by the Keśarī, 'the long-haired' or 'lion' dynasty, at Bhuvanesvar about A.D. 500. This sacred city was built between that date and 657, and the cult-titles of Śiva established there were Maheśvara or Mahādeva, 'the great lord,' Bhuvaneśvara, 'lord of the earth,' Brahmeśvara, 'lord of lords.' From this period dates the introduction of the Brāhmans. The Keśarī dynasty is said to have imported 10,000 Brāhmans from Oudh, and to have settled them at Jājpur on the sacred river Vaitaranī. Jājpur is now desolate, having been destroyed by the Muhammadans, but an annual fair is still held in honour of the sacred river, and the site contains some fine images of Indrāṇī, consort of Indra, lord of the atmosphere, and of Varāhinī, consort of Varāha, the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu—immense monoliths dragged by an enormous expenditure of labour from the mountains of the Tributary States 100 miles distant (Hunter, i. 238 f., 265 f., 267, ii. App. 67).

(*c*) *Vaiṣṇavism.*—On the downfall of the Keśarī dynasty, which favoured the cult of Śiva, they were succeeded by the Chor Gangā dynasty of Kalinganagar. The latter were devoted Vaiṣṇavas, and under their auspices were erected the famous temple of Jagannāth at Purī and the Black Pagoda, built by Languliya Narasiṃha in A.D. 1238 at Konārak, a title meaning 'the *arka* (sun-god) at Kona' (*IGI* xv. 391 f.). Sun-worship also appears at Jājpur and other places, and the cult of fire at Santīśvara, 'lord of peace,' at the temple near Jājpur (Hunter, i. 286).

4. Hinduism, its present position.—Orissa is thus one of the most distinctively Hindu regions in India. The Brāhman community is numerous and influential. At Purī they are divided into two classes, Vaidik and Laukika. The Vaidiks, or priests learned in the Veda, are said to be descended from immigrants from the Ganges valley, who appeared in the 12th century A.D. They are divided into two groups: the Kulīna, who are notorious for their exaggerated polygamy, and the Śrotiya, or those learned in the scriptures. The second class, the Laukika, or 'worldly,' are supposed to represent the original Aryan settlers (Hunter, ii. App. i. 7, App. ii. 37 ff.).

5. Animism.—The animism of Orissa presents no distinctive features, and it has been already described (artt. BENGAL, DRAVIDIANS [North India], KANDH). The village godlings are, as a rule, feminine, and are known by the titles of Grāmdevatī or Ṭhakurāṇī. Each village has one of its own, and their status was officially recognized in the first regular land settlement, when a piece of land was left unassessed to provide for their worship (*Census of India*, 1901, vol. vi., 'Bengal,' pt. i. p. 260, note).

6. Islām and Christianity.—Neither Islām nor Christianity has as yet attained much success in the priest-ridden area.

'The missionaries have been the pioneers of popular education in Orissa, as indeed everywhere throughout Bengal. Their labours date' from 1822; 'and during this period they have not only made a small population of converts, but they have, by schools and printing-presses, introduced a new culture and a new literature into the District Capitals of Cattack and Balasor. The Cattack Mission has chiefly received its pastors from the Baptists of Derbyshire and Nottingham.' During recent famines they have supported a large number of orphans, whom they have trained to agriculture. Other missionary bodies are the American Free Will Baptists and the Roman Catholics (Hunter, ii. 141 ff.).

LITERATURE.—*IGI* xix. 248 ff.; W. W. Hunter, *Orissa*, London, 1872; Rājendralāla Mitra, *Antiquities of Orissa*, Calcutta, 1875–80; A. Sterling, *Orissa*, London, 1846; J. Fergusson and J. Burgess, *The Cave Temples of India*, London, 1880; E. A. Gait, *Census of India*, 1901, vol. vi., 'Bengal,' 1911, vol. i., 'India'; L. S. S. O'Malley, *Census of India*, 1911, vol. v., 'Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, and Sikkim.'

W. CROOKE.

ORMAZD.—Ormazd is the Parsi form of the name of the highest god of Mazdæism, the principle of good opposed to Ahriman (*q.v.*), the lord of the bad creation. This form, which has become the current one for non-specialists, is an adulteration of Pahlavi Auharmazd, coming from Avestan Persian Auramazda, while, in the oldest portion of the Avesta, the name is not yet felt as a compound and is generally Mazdāh or Mazdāh Ahura. Ahura is a title given not only to Mazdāh but occasionally to Mithra (*Yt.* x. 25, 69) and to Apām Napāt (*Ys.* ii. 5, i. 5, lxv. 12). It is, however, given with a special persistence to Mazdāh, and Ahura employed κατ' ἐξοχήν without further determination is always the supreme god, Mazdāh, as, in India, the great Asura is Varuna. In India the word *asura*, the equivalent of Ahura, is used for a deity in general and more especially for a god or a spirit endowed with a mysterious power (*maya*). As for Mazdāh, it is the Iranian form of Skr. *medhas*, 'science.' Etymologically, Ahura Mazdāh is thus 'the knowing one,' 'the omniscient,' or 'the wise Ahura,' a title sometimes given in the Vedas to Varuṇa (Rigveda, I. xxiv. 14: *asura pracheta*).

In the fully developed Mazdæan system of the Sasanian period Ormazd is the real god, being called in Pahlavi books 'the being *par excellence*, the One who was, who is, and who shall be, the pure intangible spirit, the spirit of spirits.'[1] He is omniscient and omnipotent, perfectly good, beneficent to all, benevolent and merciful. Being the spirit of light and of wisdom, he foresees the end of his struggle with Ahriman. The latter, on the contrary, being the spirit of darkness and ignorance, possesses only a knowledge of past events. He is rather a negative being, having the reverse of all the qualities possessed by Ormazd. He is the generator of all evil and evil beings which are opposed to Ormazd's creatures. Though he is to be finally conquered by Ormazd, he is no emanation from him and his being is the limitation of Ormazd, who, as an unavoidable consequence of dualist principles, cannot possess infinity. The *Bundahishn* tries to explain the rather curious relation in which the one stands to the other:

'Both spirits are limited and unlimited, for this supreme light is called infinite and there is a void between the two and thus the one is not contiguous to the other, and, secondly, both the spirits are limited as to their bodies' (*i.e.* the partial extension of their personality).[2]

[1] L. C. Casartelli, *La Philosophie religieuse du Mazdéisme sous les Sassanides*, vii. § 27.
[2] *Bundahishn*, i. 5.

Consequently, Ormazd has an aspect and a residence different from Ahriman's. He dwells in the eternal and endless light, while Ahriman lies in darkness so thick that the hand can grasp it.

The intricacies and the mass of contradictions into which dualism leads in its ultimate consequences have induced the religious philosophers of Sasanian times to look for some principle of unity above Ormazd and Ahriman. One of these attempts is characterized by the famous theory of the boundless time (*zervan akarana*), which was represented as having generated both Ormazd and Ahriman. Another school found in fate (*bakht*) a primordial principle. In spite of those efforts, the Mazdæan theology remained dualistic in form, though the very negative nature of Ahriman makes Ormazd practically play the part of a monotheistic god (see DUALISM [Iranian]).

The exalted conception of God in later Mazdæism, as well as the theory of dualism, is traceable to the Iranian religion of older times, as we find it both in the Avesta and in the Achæmenian inscriptions.

The *Gāthās*, the oldest and finest portion of the sacred book, which very likely date back to Zoroaster himself, tell us (*Ys.* xxx. 3 f.) that at the beginning of the world two spirits manifested themselves, one as the good one, the other as the evil one. They created the world animate and inanimate. Men have to make their choice between those spirits, and the wise know how to choose; not so the fools. At the end of things the former will triumph with the victory of the good spirit.

Mazdāh Ahura is for Zoroaster the god of the supreme law, the law of justice and truth (*asha*), who wants men to follow his path, practising good words, good thoughts, good deeds, rejecting the works of the mendacious spirit (*druj*) so that they can reach the kingdom (*xshathra*) of blessings (*adā*), which is the reward (*ishti*) of the just in this life and after. Mazdāh is spoken of in the most exalted terms:

'This I ask thee, tell me it in truth, O Lord, Who was the first originator and the father of Right? Who gave to the sun and the stars their path? Who made the moon to wax and to wane? All that, O God of Wisdom, I wish to know and other things, O Lord! Who gave a fundament to the earth and to the clouds, so that they would not fall? Who created water and plants? Who gave swiftness to clouds and wind? Who is the creator of the Good Spirit (Spenta Mainyu)? . . . O Lord, I ask thee, tell me in truth, Who is the artist who made light and darkness? Who is the artist who made sleep and watch? Who made morning, mid-day and night, that reminds the wise of their duties?'[1]

He is thus the *asura* of marvellous science and mysterious power, the knowing one, the seeing one. He appears in the *Gāthās*, above all, as the omniscient protector of morality. His strong personality has no material aspect, though he is essentially a god of light.

Auramazda, the great god of the Persian Great Kings, appears with a very exalted character also on the Achæmenian inscriptions. Darius gives himself out as an Auramazdæan, and in the name of his god he proclaims the truth of his statements. It is Auramazda who made Xerxes a king.[2] Auramazda is the 'great god' (*mathishta baganām*). He is all-powerful by his will (*vashna*), and it is he who makes the nations into slaves or tributaries of Darius.[3] He gives the victory in battle. He is the god who knows all and provides (§ 18) for all. He is the god 'who created these heavens, who created this earth, who created man, who created man's happiness.'[4]

Auramazda stands high above the other deities mentioned in the inscriptions, the *aniya baga̱āha*, 'minor gods,' also called 'gods of the clans.' Two gods, however, are spoken of in a more conspicuous way, and form with Auramazda a kind of a triad: Mithra, who is in close relation to the sun, and Anāhita, the goddess of the fertilizing waters.

Herodotus[1] does not mention Auramazda. He observes that the Persians have no images or shrines. They offer sacrifices on the highest peaks of the mountains to Zeus, calling the whole vault of the sky Zeus. They also sacrifice to sun, moon, earth, fire, water, and winds. In this the Greek historian, though he depicts a situation apparently very different from what we have in Mazdæism and in the Old Persian inscriptions, gives a very precious account of the Indo-European elemental cult, centring in Dyēus. He gives us thus to understand that the old Aryan beliefs had been preserved with a remarkable purity by the people of Īrān.

Though it would be exaggeration to say, as some have said,[2] that the gods of the Indo-European pantheon were indifferent to morality, since we find the Homeric Zeus, *e.g.*, protecting guests, faithfulness to oath, etc., we may safely assume that there is great contrast between the elemental gods of the sky, invoked on account of their might, and Ahura Mazdāh, who is essentially the guardian of morality. While Dyēus as the god of the sky is surrounded by gods who embody the forces of nature—moon, stars, wind, fire, earth, etc.—Ahura Mazdāh in the Zoroastrian system is at the head of a certain number of personified moral entities—Asha, 'justice,' 'truth'; Vohu Manah, 'good and religious mind'; Xshathra, 'the reign of the good'; Ārmaiti, 'piety,' 'wisdom'; Haurvatāt, 'prosperity'; Ameretāt, 'immortality'; Sraosha, 'obedience,' 'rule,' etc. They are often constituted into a group of seven, the heptad of the Amesha Spentas, 'holy immortal ones.'

The religious situation in the other branch of the Aryans, as it is described in the Vedas, shows striking similarities to the Iranian one. There the cult of the Indo-European elemental deities, of the heavenly ones, is at the basis of Vedic religion, where the power of the gods and their continuous action in and through natural phenomena provide us with an exuberant mythology, but, among the deities, the group of the Āditya occupies a very special position and stands eminently for the maintenance of the moral law, reproducing to a great extent the characteristics of the religion of Ahura Mazdāh.

Here also there is a triad. Instead of Mazdāh, Mithra, and Anāhita, we find Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman. The last member of the triad is different; instead of a goddess of fertilizing waters we have a beneficent and healing deity, essentially helpful to man, and invoked at times (Rigveda, I. cxli. 9) as the dispenser of beneficent waters. The identity of the first two members, on the other hand, is hardly questionable. In India as well as in Īrān the eye of Mitra is the sun, with which he is watching over the human tribes (*ib.* III. lix.). His activity is expressed by the verb *yat*, which is also used for the payment of debts (in Rigveda, II. ii. 4, he and Varuṇa are mentioned as the gods who make men pay their debts). He is the god of contracts and pledges. Those who do not abide by their pledged word are sinning against him, like the *mithrōdruj*, 'breakers of contract' in Īrān (*Yt.* x. 2, 45, etc.).

The original identity between Varuṇa and Mazdāh is also generally accepted. Varuṇa is the most exalted deity of the Veda. As it was the will of Mazdāh that had made Darius a king, it is Varuṇa's will or command (*vrata*, *dhāman*) that rules the world. He is the *dhṛtavrata*, he whose commands are firm and immutable. His will is often identified with the *ṛta*, the *asha* or *arta* of

[1] *Ys.* xliv. 3–5, [2] Xerx. *Pers.* c. § 3.
[3] *Bh.* § 7. [4] Dar. *N.R.A.* § 4.

[1] i. 131–140.
[2] *E.g.*, H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, p. 284.

the Iranians, which is the great law of the world, moral and material, the principle of all order, causing the sun to rise, rain to fall, rivers to flow, fire to come out of the rubbed sticks (*ṛtajan agni*), and imposing on man the moral obligations of justice, truth, and piety. If man be guilty of rebellion against the *ṛta*, he becomes loaded with the chains of Varuṇa and has to pray him to be released from his fetters and obtain the freedom of innocence (*aditi*).

'Śunahchepa, bound to three pillars, invokes thee, O Āditya, O Varuṇa, O king, release him . . . May our prayer and our sacrifice release us from thy wrath, of thee who art the king, wise Asura, release us from the chains of the sins which we have committed. May Varuṇa make loose my chain . . . may we then follow thy path and go to Aditi.'[1]

As Ahura Mazdāh is surrounded by a court of moral hypostases, so the wise Asura of India is the first in a group of personified religious abstractions—the Ādityas. Their number is not quite fixed, but in its oldest form the group was a heptad as in Īrān, and in both countries the seven-number appears to be a ready-made frame into which entities have been introduced out of a larger number, so as to fill up a group previously put at seven. In India, among those abstractions we find Bhaga, 'good lot,' Aṁsa, 'the share,' Daksha, 'ability,' etc. If they happen not to be the same as the Amesha Spentas, it is probably a mere chance, because the equivalents of the various religious hypostases of Īrān are to be found also in the Vedic mystic. Not only does *ṛta* correspond to *asha*, *arta*, but *aramati*, 'piety,' 'prayer,' is the equivalent of *ārmaiti*, 'piety,' 'wisdom,' *kṣatra* is the kingdom of Varuṇa as Xshathra Vairya is the realm of Mazdāh, *saurvatāti*, 'integrity' is Haurvatāṭ, while the conception of the good mind (Vohu Manah), though not found in the Vedas, seems to have belonged to the moral vocabulary of the ancient Indians, since one of these Vedic priests is called Vasumanas, 'he who possesses good mind.'

The original identity between Mazdāh-Mithra and the Amesha Spentas, on the one hand, and Varuṇa-Mitra and the Ādityas, on the other, can thus be established as regards their moral aspect, which is by far the most developed and the decidedly prominent character of those deities. Even in India the physical attributes of those gods are in the background, though they are associated with light more clearly still than in Īrān. Āditya in later Skr. has even become a name of the sun. The sun also is explicitly mentioned as being the eye of Mithra, and the connexion of Mithra with the sun in India as well as in Īrān does not seem to be doubtful.

As for Varuṇa, he is sometimes said to preside over night while Mithra is the god of the daylight. The Atharvaveda, which shows us the more material side of ancient Indian religion, says:

'God at night becomes Varuṇa, at dawn he rises up in the form of Mithra. All that Varuṇa has concealed during the night, Mithra discloses at dawn.'[2]

On account of such passages and of the reiterated statement of commentators that Mithra is for day and Varuṇa for night, Oldenberg thinks that, since Mithra's connexion with the sun is fairly evident, Varuṇa must at one time have been put in some relation to the moon. The material aspect of this god, practically forgotten in the Rigveda, in presence of his high moral character, has subsisted to a certain extent in the more or less gnostic or magical teaching about the gods, such as we find it in the Atharvaveda. In Īrān the moral aspect of the great Ahura Mazdāh is still more prominent. Some epithets seem to refer to a previous period when there was a connexion between Mazdāh and the night-sky:

'When Ahura Mazdāh who has put on his cloth, made by the spirits and adorned with stars, is there with Mithra and Rashnu and the Holy Armaiti who has neither end nor beginning' (*Yt.* xiii. 3).

In a hymn to the moon (*Yt.* vii. 3) it is said to be the abode of the Amesha Spentas, from which they bestow their blessings on the earth created by Mazdāh. The moon is repeatedly called the *ratu*, 'master,' 'patron,' of Asha, 'justice' (*Yt.* vii. 3, 4, 6).

Not only is the material aspect of Varuṇa-Mitra thus decidedly secondary to their moral activity, but even their names seem to refer to the latter. A. Meillet[1] has made it fairly probable that Mithra is the same word as Skr. *mitra*, 'friendship,' Av. *mithra*, 'contract,' and possibly Varuna is a derivative from the same root as *vrata*, 'ordinance,' the word regularly used for his indefectible commands. He is the god of divine will, the promulgator of the law of *ṛta*.

The moral aspect seems thus as old as the very names of those gods, and their situation in the Aryan pantheon, as moral gods with a somewhat dim connexion with sun and moon, is the more surprising, since the Indo-Europeans already possessed deities for sun and moon as for other natural elements—Sūryā, 'the sun,' Mās, 'the moon,' as well as in Greece Ἥλιος and Σελήνη. As a supreme god, the great Asura (Mazdāh or Varuṇa) is also in direct competition with Dyēus, the sky-god, who with the Persians of Herodotus as well as with other Indo-Europeans is the highest deity, while his name does not appear in Mazdæism and occupies only a very subordinate position, as Dyāus, in India. For the priestly and ruling classes Dyēus, in his quality of the bright supreme deity, has been absorbed by the wise Asura, the god of indefectible commands, and his surrounding of moral deities, Mitra, Aryaman, and the Ādityas or Amesha Spentas.

This situation seems so exclusive of any explanation through a natural development from the naturalistic religion of the Indo-Europeans that Oldenberg,[2] followed by O. Schrader,[3] has come to the conclusion that Mitra-Varuṇa and the seven Ādityas are sun and moon followed by the planets and are an acquisition from the Chaldæan astral religion. The prominence of the moon-god with Sumerians induces Oldenberg to believe in a specially strong Sumerian influence on Aryan religion.

Though many Indianists are reluctant to accept this theory, it has been made rather more probable by recent discoveries. In the remnants of the Hittite capital in Boghaz-Keui an inscription has been found in which the names of the Aryan gods, Mithra, (V)aruṇa, Indra, Nāsatya, are clearly mentioned along with the Hittite gods, sun (Shamash), moon (Sîn), and storm (Teshab). The identification of Varuna with a moon-god seems thus equally probable with the equivalence between a sun-god and Mithra, and a storm-god and Indra, who is essentially the storm-god of India. As for Nāsatya it is the epithet of the Ashvins, who are in close connexion with Indra, and the same as the Av. Nāoṅhaithya, an Ahrimanian spirit always mentioned in company with the *daēva* Indra. The existence of the Aryan moral gods in the 2nd millennium B.C. and the contact between Aryan and Semito-Hittite religion at that time are confirmed by the mention of Mithra on a Palestinian stele described by W. Max Müller[4] and by a list of Assyrian gods published by Vincent Scheil.[5] Among those gods we find Assara Mazaash (or Asura Mazdās, the old, pre-historic form of the name Ahura Mazdāh). Curiously enough, the name is immediately followed by the mention of

[1] Rigveda, I. xxiv. 10–15.
[2] Oldenberg, p. 191.
[1] *JA* x. x. [1903] 143.
[2] Pp. 185 ff., 194.
[3] *ERE* ii. 39.
[4] *OLZ* xv. [1912] 952.
[5] *RTr* xiv. [1893] 100.

the seven spirits of heaven (Ig.*gi*, 'the strong ones') and the seven spirits of earth (Anunaki). Now, it is to be observed that the Igigi and the Anunaki are supposed to concentrate all spirits which have power in the world just as the world has been apportioned to the Amesha Spentas in Mazdæism (Asha is for the fire, Armaiti for the earth, Xshathra for the metals, etc.). Moreover, the number seven, which seems to have no special meaning with Aryans, is for the Babylonians the conventional expression for a great number.

Not only does the Aryan heptad around the great Asura in this way receive an explanation, but we find in Assyrian religion the equivalents of the two Indian and Persian triads. Two triads are especially apparent in the Assyrian religious system. One unites Sin (moon), Shamash (sun), and Ishtar (goddess of fertility), and corresponds clearly to the Achæmenian triad, Auramazda, Mithra, and Anāhita. The Iranian goddess repeatedly identified with Aphrodite, *e.g.*, under the name of Ἀφροδίτη Ἀναΐτις, is the dispenser of the fertilizing waters of heaven. Another triad is mentioned in Sargon's palace—Sin, Shamash, Ramman. Ramman, an Assyrian deity, was originally a god of lightning and storm, so that the Assyrian triad, Sin, Shamash, Ramman, corresponds to the Hittite group, Sin, Shamash, Teshab. Now, Ramman is looked upon as the helper of mankind *par excellence*. The kingly name Ramman-nirari means 'Ramman is my helper.'[1] He is especially associated with Shamash, a god of justice, and, while Shamash, like Mithra, gives victory, he gives superabundance.[2] This makes him very near to Aryaman, 'the friend,' the beneficent, helping, healing deity of the Aryans, who bestows abundance by pouring water, and who forms the third member of the famous triad Varuṇa, Mitra, and Aryaman. The phonetic similarity between Ramman and Aryaman may be purely fortuitous, but may also be explainable by a folk-etymology.

It is thus by his moral side that Aryaman can be connected with Ramman. This applies also to Mithra and Shamash, Varuṇa and Sin. The central and essential activity of Mithra, as embodied in his name, is the protection of law and justice among men. He is the guardian of the great law of the world (*ṛta*) and more especially of good faith and oath, punishes pitilessly all crimes and delicts, but brings the good and the brave to victory on earth and to the abode of the blest after death. Shamash, who is mainly a sun-god with astral functions in Chaldæa, assumes in Assyria a much more decided moral character. He is for Ashurbanipal and Shalmanaser[3] the judge of the world who guides mankind aright, the lord of the law who judges according to unchangeable principles (cf. the *ṛta* of the Aryans). He sees the wickedness of the foes of the country and he helps to conquer them. He is the king in heaven, and his favour produces order and stability. He loosens the bonds of the imprisoned, like Varuna and Mithra. This character comes out especially in the hymns quoted by Jastrow:

> 'The law of mankind dost thou direct,
> Eternally just in the heavens art thou, . . .
> Thou knowest what is right, thou knowest what is wrong. . . .
> Oh Shamash! Supreme judge of heaven and earth art thou. . .
> O Shamash! on this day purify and cleanse the king . . .
> Release him from the ban.'[4]

As the god of law, he is accompanied by two divinized abstractions — Kettu, 'justice,' and Mēsharu, 'rectitude.' It cannot be a mere coincidence that Mithra in Īrān has likewise two satellites—Rashnu, 'justice,' and Sraosha, 'discipline,' 'rectitude' (*Yt.* xvi. 17, xiii. 3).[5] *Yt.* x. 41 says:

> 'Mithra strikes fear into them; Rashnu strikes a counter-fear into them; the holy Sraosha blows them away from every side.'

In the Behistān inscription (§ 63) Auramazda similarly declares that 'he has proceeded with Justice and Equity.' Not only is the correspondence very striking, but the very existence of such personified moral entities in Assyria is very suggestive in presence of the peculiar hypostases-system of India and Īrān.

The comparison which has proved so suggestive between Aryaman-Mithra and Ramman-Shamash can be applied to Varuṇa and Sin with no less interesting results. The moon-god enjoys a remarkably high prestige in the Assyro-Babylonian pantheon. The moon is, indeed, like the guide of the stars and planets, the overseer of the world at night. This was reconcilable with a high moral character. The planets became spirits subservient to his will. He is a king, a ruler of men and nature, producing stability and order, but he is also a judge who, like Varuna, loosens the fetters of the imprisoned. His light, like Varuna's, is the symbol of righteousness. He is a god of wisdom like Mazdāh. Like him also, he is a supreme god of morality, whose material side has become quite secondary. He is addressed in very lofty hymns in the same exalted tone as Varuṇa, and, what is most striking, he is celebrated above all as the god of strong commands, whose will is indefectible—which we have concluded to be the typical feature of Varuṇa, possibly expressed in his name.

> 'O lord, chief of the gods, who on earth and in heaven alone is exalted. . . .
> Strong chief . . . who, from the foundation of heaven till the zenith,
> Passes along in brilliancy (?), opening the door of heaven,
> Preparing the fate (?) of humanity. . .
> Lord, proclaiming the decisions of heaven and earth,
> Whose command is not set aside, . . .
> Thy strong command is proclaimed in heaven, and the Igigi prostrate themselves. . . .
> Thy strong command on high, like a storm in the darkness, passes along, and nourishment streams forth . . .
> Thy strong command produces right and proclaims justice to mankind. . . .'[1]

The rest of the hymn celebrates the commands of Sin, and it is very remarkable how the hymns, which after all are our most trustworthy testimonies about the gods, emphasize both for Sin and for Shamash that very central feature which the Vedic hymns are chanting for Varuṇa and Mithra. This makes it probable that the great Asura of India and Īrān, the protector of moral law, with his triad and his heptad of moral deities, has been introduced into the naturalistic pantheon of the Aryans, not on account of their material and astral side (the Aryans had already deities of that kind), but by reason of their moral value. They accordingly received names in connexion with that moral aspect.

It does not belong to our present task to locate with more or less precision the place where the contact between Assyrians or Hittites and Aryans took place. The discoveries of recent years leave a wide field open to possibilities. As Iranian art received its peculiar features through contact with the people of Northern Asia Minor and Assyria,[2] Aryan religion was under the influence of Hittite beliefs in Cappadocia. The Mittani kings entertained relations with the Harru, or Aryans, their king Artatama, and his aristocracy, the *marya*, 'men' (Arm. *mar*, 'a man').

The hypothesis of L. von Schroeder (*Arische Religion*, i., Leipzig, 1914, p. 314 ff.), that Varuna, Mithra, etc., are simply epithets of the Aryan sky-god, can be reconciled with the one given here, inasmuch as the epithets of the diurnal and nocturnal sky would not have developed into special deities if a syncretism had not taken place with Sin and

[1] M. Jastrow, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, Boston, 1898, p. 159.
[2] *Ib.* p. 237. [3] *Ib.* p. 210. [4] *Ib.* p. 300 f.
[5] H. Zimmern, *ERE* ii. 311.

[1] Jastrow, p. 303 f. [2] Cf. Perrot-Chipiez, v. 515, etc.

Shamash. The indebtedness of Aryans towards Semites in this important point of their religion must not lead us to minimize the part played by Zoroaster. The personality of the great god had not been sufficiently isolated from other deities and especially from Mithra. Zoroaster alone in his *Gāthās* has ignored Mithra, and retained around Mazdāh no deity but moral entities with a very shallow personality. Mazdāh for Zoroaster concentrates in himself all science, all virtue, all good. He is the supreme and constant object of man's hope and desire. The dualistic conception has prevented him from developing a complete monotheism, while the realistic though imaginative temperament of the Persians has dwelt in symbolism and has always ignored Indian mysticism, let alone Christian love of God.

LITERATURE.—J. Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta*, Paris, 1892–93, i. introd., *SBE* iv.[2] [1895] introd., *Ormazd et Ahriman*, Paris, 1877; C. P. Tiele, *Geschiedenis van den Godsdienst in de Oudheid*, Amsterdam, 1895–1901, ii.; C. de Harlez, *Avesta: Livre sacré des sectateurs de Zoroastre*, Paris, 1875, introd.; L. C. Casartelli, *La Philosophie religieuse du Mazdéisme sous les Sassanides*, Louvain, 1884; M. N. Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Theology*, New York, 1914; M. Haug, *Essays on the . . . Parsis*[4], London, 1907; A. V. W. Jackson, 'Die iran. Religion,' in *GIrP* ii. [1904] 612 ff.; H. Oldenberg, 'Die iran. Religion,' in *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, I. 3. i. [1906], *Die Religion des Veda*, Berlin, 1894; D. P. Sanjana, *Zarathushtra and Zarathushtrianism in the Avesta*, Leipzig, 1910; L. H. Mills, *Zaraθuštra, Philo, the Achæmenids, and Israel*, Chicago, 1906; J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, London, 1913.

A. J. CARNOY.

ORTHODOX EASTERN CHURCH.—See EASTERN CHURCH, GREEK ORTHODOX CHURCH, RUSSIAN CHURCH.

ORTHODOXY.—To be 'orthodox' is to hold or profess opinions which are regarded as in some sense 'right.' Ὀρθοδοξία is the character of a 'right-thinking' person, society, school of thought, or Church. Ἑτεροδοξία, an awkwardly formed yet useful derivative, is the character of thinking which is 'other' than right. Neither term attempts in itself to indicate what constitutes 'rightness,' and in practice there is a constant danger that the distinction between them may revert to the primitive difference on which Byron's wit fastened when he said: 'Orthodoxy is my doxy, Heterodoxy is another man's doxy.' Orthodoxy is thus very apt to denote nothing more than the accepted faith of a particular denomination regarded complacently from its own standpoint, heterodoxy being simply religious opinion at variance with it, a species of intellectual 'dissent' from ecclesiastically 'established' views. There are, indeed, as many types and standards of orthodoxy as there are distinctive denominations in the Church, and, for that matter, distinctive parties within any branch of the Church. Even when orthodoxy in a superdenominational sense is under review, it will be found that it is distinguished from heterodoxy by many considerations other than doctrinal. Its 'rightness' may rest upon traditional continuity, or upon the numerical strength of its devotees, or upon its real or supposed congruity with Holy Scripture. But at its lowest and narrowest, even when most intimately associated with prejudice, mere use and wont, or gross literalism, orthodoxy asserts a claim to credence and authority as the *truth*.

By the same instinct that has prompted schools of religious thought and ecclesiastical organizations to define with varying precision the doctrines or opinions which they have come to consider valid and right, and which they urge the world to accept as a sacred obligation, orthodoxies have also been evolved through intuition, speculation, and experience in such departments as law, morals, medicine, economics, æsthetics, literary criticism, and history. In each of these a species of dogma has established itself through controversy or through convention, and contributes strength and stability to the structure of human life and knowledge. Against the recognition of an orthodoxy in religion there ought to be no *a priori* prejudice, for analogy is all in its favour, so long as it is not suffered to become artificial, oppressive, or blindly hostile to correction.

Strictly speaking, orthodoxy in religion is concerned only with doctrine or belief, with the intellectual element in spiritual life. It is opinion raised to its highest power and dignity. But, since religion embraces feeling and activity as well as thought, orthodoxy becomes an inadequate criterion of its worth apart from right experience and right conduct. It ought to have for its correlatives such words as 'orthopathy' and 'orthopraxy,' the inward experience and the outward exercise of piety. True religion calls for soundness of heart and of will not less than of head. It is not to be forgotten, however, that the emphasis which has been laid so persistently upon orthodoxy in all the great world-systems of religion springs ultimately from a just perception that what a man thinks, believes, or knows is supremely determinative of his experience and conduct.

It is significant and interesting that the Greek or Eastern Church has elected to designate itself the Orthodox Church, thus adhering in its name to its ancient predilection for theological discussion, whereas the Latin or Western Church chooses above all to style itself the Catholic Church, adhering with equal fidelity to its imperial instincts. Different as the titles are, they are based upon essentially similar conditions. The Eastern Church is not more jealous on behalf of sound doctrine, as it conceives it, than is the Western. The Western Church is not more alive to the value of *semper, ubique*, and *ab omnibus* as tests of catholicity than is the Eastern. They are conserving the same interests, operating with the same ideas, though they approach the problem of substantiating the received faith from widely separate directions. To the Greek 'truth' or opinion was the fundamental. To the Roman 'law' and 'custom' were supremely sacred. But each in vindication of his own ultimate standard instinctively had recourse to the other's principles. Universal acceptance offers an irresistible presumption of a doctrine's truth. And, in like manner, the truth of a doctrine is the surest guarantee that it will prevail and prove itself catholic.

Is there a Christian orthodoxy in fact as well as in name or claim? If there is a religion, truly one in spite of all sectarian division, to which the name 'Christian' can properly be given, there must be a Christian orthodoxy, just as there must be a Christian ideal or standard of ethical duty, moral character, and spiritual experience. The difficulty is to locate and identify it. Is it the sum of all doctrines actually received and taught among those who name the name of Christ? Or is it the common doctrine present in all systems, received in all communions? The former seems hopelessly excessive, unless incompatible teachings are permitted to cancel each other. The latter seems painfully scanty, unless a very simple residuum of uncontroversial teaching is held to be sufficient for religious needs. The problem brings the investigator into the very heart of the most delicate and distressing of all Christian controversies—the discussion as to the validity, genuineness, and sufficiency of the claim of ecclesiastical organizations, doctrinal systems, ministries, and individuals to be Christian. If orthodoxy be defined as the Christian doctrine which has been received always, everywhere, and by all, it is at once obvious that no existing system in the world

can substantiate that claim, neither the fullest nor the barest, or else, alternatively, that in reckoning the always, the everywhere, and the all we must have been enabled by some legerdemain to eliminate the countless exceptions to the rule of faith which we have arbitrarily laid down, very much in the same fashion as the necessary unanimity was sometimes secured in ancient Ecumenical Councils for momentous decisions in matters of faith by coercing, intimidating, or excommunicating the recalcitrant minority. Yet the problem must be faced with resolution and courage, for, so far from being academic or abstract, it is in reality nothing else than the problem of Christian concord and Church reunion. What is Christianity? Who are true Christians? What constitutes a Christian? What are the marks by which we may recognize a true Church, the true Church? No Christian individual and no Christian church ought to be asked to belong to a communion which has not a satisfactory title to be considered Christian, but what kind of title is to be held sufficient? The history of the Christian Church, and a survey of the Christian world, afford instant proof that there is very much in Christendom which does not belong to Christ, and also suggest that there is not a little in the world outside the constituted Church which well deserves to be ranked with Christianity. Too seldom we have gone to our supreme authority in the Gospels for guidance in essaying the problem. When we despair of discovering any unifying principle of orthodoxy in the accredited Churches and systems with their unlimited diversity and discord, we have a right, and an obligation, to turn to such indications of the mind of Christ as the Gospels preserve. The faith which Simon Peter professed at Cæsarea Philippi was expressly accepted by Christ as true; its possession made Peter 'blessed'; it was not revealed to him by 'flesh and blood' but by the Father in heaven; it either was itself, or constituted him, a rock on which Christ was to build His Church beyond the reach of decay and death (Mt $16^{16ff.}$). Its profession was for the earliest age of the Church a passport to baptism. And in fact that faith is a common possession of every Christian communion and every Christian individual to this day. It remains a sound and sacred criterion of Christian profession, a criterion which is also searching and, when seriously applied, sufficient. That it is to be applied in a tolerant and charitable spirit and at the same time heart-searchingly seems to be implied in such sayings as those in which Christ refused to forbid the worker who healed in His name though not belonging to the apostolic circle—'he that is not against us is for us' (Mk 9^{40}, Lk 9^{50})—and extolled the child-spirit in the receiving of the kingdom of God (Mk 10^{15} and parallels), and bade His followers beware of false teachers in days to come:

'By their fruits ye shall know them. . . . Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven. . . . Every one therefore which heareth these words of mine, and doeth them, shall be likened unto a wise man, which built his house upon the rock. . . . And every one that heareth these words of mine, and doeth them not, shall be likened unto a foolish man, which built his house upon the sand' (Mt $7^{15\text{-}27}$).

It was foreign to the method and design of Christ to impose or to exact a precise system or scheme of faith. The abuses of set codes of law and doctrine were only too obvious in His day. For the same reasons that led Him to write out no tables of Christian observance and practice He refrained from exacting an orthodoxy with formulated tenets. In both spheres of Christian responsibility He preferred to bequeath a Spirit. Loyalty is more than obedience. Faith is more than conviction. To trust, to revere, and to love His person, to receive His own Spirit and to surrender one's life to its influence, is a surer guarantee of right-mindedness towards Him than any acceptance and profession of authorized opinions could ever be.

As a matter of fact, no Church in Christendom ventures or can afford to ignore those principles of sincerity and charity in the everyday economy of its own ecclesiastical life. Without exception a working latitude is assumed by the members in their relationship to official standards. In every Church the more superstitious believe more and the more sceptical accept less than dogma prescribes. There is endless variety in the measure of individual docility and credulity. No Church would arraign its members by the same standard of orthodoxy which it expects its clergy to maintain. Even in Churches which boast of their orthodoxy and make a fetish of their creed there is amazing diversity in the sense in which their doctrines are interpreted by parties, schools, and individuals within their acknowledged fellowship. In the Roman communion itself it is notorious that, though a modernist who publishes his opinions receives but a short shrift before excommunication, the modernist who keeps his counsel within his own private circle and performs the duties of his office faithfully and decorously has little to fear. And in all other Churches from Greek Orthodoxy to Quakerism room has had to be found for party differences which are at least as serious as those which separate two communions from each other. Examine the facts closely, and it becomes apparent that they rest upon no anarchical foundation. At bottom the explanation is that doctrine is but one among several tests of loyalty and bonds of fellowship. The Christian Church is everywhere and always in principle the communion of *saints*, not of identical believers. Men look for other intercourse within her bounds than the comparison of doctrinal notes. Orthodoxy enjoys no evident monopoly of the Christian spirit, of the Christian tone and accent, of the graces and virtues of the Christian life. Among both clergy and lay-folk, accordingly, it is recognized in all Churches that very different types of doctrine may live and work together under the shadow of a common rule of faith, united by a common devotion to the Church's Lord and the coming of His Kingdom. It was so among the Twelve first called. It is so among the NT writers. To the end of time it may well be so in the Church. Christian remains a greater name than Orthodox or Catholic. Ritual, doctrine, and government—these are the spheres in which denominational differences flourish and run riot. But not even when they are added up to form one sum do they become a definition of Christianity. The Christian spirit is not confined within their provinces. It may, indeed, thrive on a very limited portion of their territory as Rome gained spiritual prestige through the unwelcome shrinkage of her temporal kingdom. Grave matters though they are, they are ultimately open questions, matters for controversy and for compromise or toleration. Simplicity and complexity must learn to respect each other with regard to each of them. Behind them and above them are the ultimate tests of conformity to the will of God and the example of Christ in the outward life and in the secret heart. By comparison with these our ecclesiastical tests of orthodoxy and conformity appear poor and ineffectual indeed. It is to travesty and caricature the Divine Majesty to picture Him as deeply concerned about the particular denomination to which a human soul before the tribunal of His Son had belonged in life. The Salvation Army and the Society of Friends practise neither baptism nor the Lord's Supper, but no one will dare or care to

unchurch them who believes the rule 'ubi Spiritus ibi Ecclesia.' The Unitarian fellowship declines to profess the traditional doctrine of the Trinity, or to accept the doctrine of the deity of Jesus, but with Peter it hails Jesus as the Christ and recognizes in some sense His divinity, and its saints, scholars, philanthropists, and singers have not been cut off from the wellspring of inspiration. Partial it may be in its grasp of the verities and experiences on which any Church that aspires to be world-wide and popular must depend, but it is unmistakably Christian in its spirit and essential convictions, and has a distinctive service to render to Christendom as it is still constituted.

History suggests, accordingly, that, as ecclesiastical differentiation is not necessarily subversive of the religious unity which underlies the denominational variety of Christian life, but may be the divinely-appointed way to the permanent enrichment of Christian truth, worship, organization, so the apparently endless diversity of the doctrinal systems of Christendom is not necessarily destructive of the concept and ideal of orthodoxy. Varying systems teach us to look beyond the letter which divides and distracts to the spirit which may be the bond of unity and the common source of truth. They direct our thoughts beyond the merely or exclusively doctrinal tests of legitimacy in the household of faith. They prompt the thought that, as the vast empires of the future must be erected on an ever-widening foundation of provincial, linguistic, racial liberty and autonomy, so in the ecclesiastical future the orthodoxy which shall qualify for true membership in the Church on earth must be something at once more comprehensive and more simple than the great organizations hitherto have formulated for the purpose. The orthodoxy of a great communion is its fidelity to its *working* creed. The orthodoxy of the universal Church is, in like manner, its fidelity not to its formal or outward Confessions of Faith viewed as an aggregate, nor to any mechanically extracted essence or consensus of them, but to the living faith, personal and intellectual, devotional and practical, which each of the historic creeds and formularies is an effort to capture and enshrine in words. The Augustinian maxim, 'Securus iudicat orbis terrarum,' which meant so much for Newman and his school, is a sound and invaluable principle in religious apologetics, but it is a fond imagination that seeks to harness it to the exclusive service of any particular system, however imposing. Weight of numbers, length of time, width of diffusion do tell heavily in favour of any doctrine, worship, or organization that is on its trial. That is beyond question. But other things are needed. Truth is not always on the side of the big battalions, length of days is not immune from error. Nothing is more universally diffused than sin or superstition. Christianity itself not only remains but is still likely long to remain but one of a group of religions with millions for their following, and the *orbis terrarum* has not yet completed its judgment upon its orthodoxy, its soundness for all times, all tongues, and all climes. We base our assurance of its absoluteness and finality upon something deeper than its diffusion. So with orthodoxy, we are led to adopt a discriminating attitude towards its claims. We recognize the honourable nature of the principle which inspires its formulation and recognition. We appreciate the value of the evidence which even its excesses furnish to man's sense of the power for good and evil which organized common opinion commands in the Church as in the State. We see that conflicting orthodoxies may discredit one another's exclusive claims without invalidating the presumption that in religion there is a body of truth on which all men might agree, and without deterring truth-lovers from devoting their lives to the ardent quest for it. History does not suggest a kindly judgment upon the political, administrative, and mechanical methods which have been employed to secure the permanence of particular orthodoxies in their respective communions, for Truth is a spirit and can neither be encaged nor kept outside the bars, but the impulse to seek for a doctrine which shall hold good not for the individual merely but for all believers, a doctrine which can be received as from God because it is found to lead to God, a doctrine which has endured the tests of time and experience, has appealed to men of varying type, temper, and race, and contains within it the guarantee that it will last, is not only legitimate and honourable but vital to religion and to man.

See, further, AUTHORITY, CONFESSIONS, COUNCILS, CREEDS, HERESY, and INFALLIBILITY.

LITERATURE.—*PRE*[3], Schaff-Herzog, *CE*, and A. Vacant and E. Mangenot, *Dict. de théol. catholique*, Paris, 1899 ff., *s.v.*; general works on Creeds and Confessions by P. Schaff (*Hist. of the Creeds of Christendom*, London, 1877) and W. A. Curtis (*A Hist. of Creeds and Confessions of Faith in Christendom and Beyond*, Edinburgh, 1911); A. Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr., London, 1894–99; discussion of principles involved in W. Dunlop, *A Collection of Confessions of Faith, Catechisms, etc., of Publick Authority in the Church of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1719–20, i.; B. Pascal, *Thoughts on Religion*, Eng. tr., London, 1850; Philosophies of Religion by I. Kant (*Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft*, Königsberg, 1792), G. W. F. Hegel (Eng. tr., London, 1895), R. H. Lotze (Eng. tr.[3], do. 1903), H. Höffding (Eng. tr., do. 1906), J. Martineau (*A Study of Religion*[2], Oxford, 1889), and F. Harrison (*The Positive Evolution of Religion*, do. 1913); G. Tyrrell, *Christianity at the Cross-roads*, do. 1909; L. A. Sabatier, *Religions of Authority and the Religion of the Spirit*, Eng. tr., do. 1897; W. G. T. Shedd, *Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy*, New York, 1893; G. K. Chesterton, *Orthodoxy*, London, 1909 (a vivacious and frequently illuminating literary apology, anything but orthodox in type, on behalf of orthodoxy).

WILLIAM A. CURTIS.

OSSETIC RELIGION.—The Ossetes are a people of about 170,000 souls, dwelling half-way along the main range of the Caucasus; their country is about 80 miles from east to west and 50 miles from north to south; through it runs the only road across the mountains, the pass of Darial; accordingly, they alone of Caucasian peoples are found both north and south of the watershed; a few also are about Mozdok in the plain of the Terek. They speak an Iranian language which shows special features that also occur in the remains of the Iranian formerly spoken in the plains of S. Russia, viz. names found in great numbers in the inscriptions of Olbia, Tanais, and Panticapaeum, one or two names of Sarmatians preserved in literature, and certain river names: Danube, Dnêstr, Dnêpr, and Don all probably contain the Ossetic *don*, 'river.' It is therefore clear that the Ossetes reached their present position not from the main body of the Iranians to the south, separated from them by the Georgians and Armenians, but from the north; they are the descendants of the 'Osi' of Georgian Chronicles, the 'Yasy' of the Russians, both identified with the 'Alans,' themselves described as a branch of the Sarmatians. Their neighbours on the north are the tribes of Kabarda and now the Russians, on the east the Ingushes, Kists, Pshavs, and Khevsurs, on the south the Georgians, on the west the Balkartses, or mountain Tatars. The last are comparatively late comers, and the place names of their country show that it was formerly inhabited by Ossetes. There are two main dialects of Ossetic, Iron (the same word, it appears, as Īrān) and Digorian; the latter, spoken in the western district and the valley of the Urukh, is more archaic than Iron, which has spread over the greater part of the country. The Alans, or Ossetes, were more or less Christianized by Byzantine and Georgian missionaries, but one of them, Theodore, in the 13th cent. calls them Christians

in name only (*PG* cxl. 410, § 24). Soon after his time, under the influence of Tatar and Kabarda invasions, they superficially adopted Islām. During the past century the Russians have had a certain success in combating Islām among them; some, the more genuine Musalmāns, emigrated to Turkey, while many embraced Christianity, but they are said only to have attained to the ritual, not to the ethics or any full understanding of their new faith. Their religion consists, therefore, of the original paganism into which their former Christianity has been absorbed, covered with a surface layer of Muhammadanism now being displaced by Christianity; perhaps no Indo-European people outside India has preserved so much of primitive heathenism. This has, as it were, crystallized about the places and persons hallowed by the ancient missionaries, so that several of the powers worshipped bear the mutilated names of saints, and the most sacred spots are the sites of old churches or monasteries; no doubt many of these had been sacred long before the missionaries came.

The Ossetes reserve the name of God, Khutsau, for the supreme divinity, the 'God of Gods,' but, though often invoked in daily talk, he is regarded as too high and inaccessible to take part in human affairs. These are ruled by *dzwars*, saints or lesser powers—a *dzwar* (Georgian *dzhvari* = 'cross') is anything holy, a cross, a praying-place, a sanctuary, a falling star, and also one of these powers or saints—in whose train are angels, *izäd* (Avestic *yazata*) or *dawäg*, and every man has a guardian angel. The chief of these powers are: Watsilla (St. Elias), the lord of the thunder and also of crops; Wastyrdzhi (St. George), imagined as riding on a white horse, the protector of good folk and their cattle against thieves and wolves; Tutyr (St. Theodore of Tyre), lord of wolves, and to be appeased accordingly; Fälvära (SS. Florus and Laurus), the kindly lord of sheep; Ävsati, lord of wild creatures; Barastyr, lord of the under world, who meets the dead and sends them to *dzänät*, 'heaven,' or *zyndon*, 'hell,' according to their deserts; Kurdaläqon, the heavenly smith; Safa, guardian of the hearth; Donbyttyr, the water-bogey, with his daughters; Sau-dzwar, the black saint, lord of the forest; Rynybarduag, lord of murrain; Alardy, lord of smallpox; Khutsawy Dzwar, God's saint, guardian of marriage and giver of children; another with much the same province is Fyry-dzwar, the ram's saint, who had an idol in the shape of a ram at Dergavs. The women chiefly reverence Mady Mairäm, Mother Mary, who takes the form of a big stone outside each village. Every house has its *bynaty khītsau*, 'lord of the place'; a bride must ask his leave when departing from her old home and must do homage to that of her new house; so every village has its guardian angel. There are also patrons of robbers, of travellers, of the back, giving clothing, of the belly, giving food, and so on. It is remarkable that women are allowed to pronounce the name of Alardy only; other powers they must refer to by a periphrasis—*e.g.*, Wastyrdzhi is 'the men's saint.'

Sanctuaries as well as saints or powers are called *dzwars*; their sanctity is due to their being regarded as the dwelling-places of the personal *dzwars*. Some are regarded as holy by all the Ossetes—these are mostly Christian sites—others only by the villagers near them. By far the most important are Rekom, once a church dedicated to St. George, and Mykalygabyrte, which still contains the name of St. Nicolas. The former is full of miscellaneous offerings, horns, clay cups, glasses, beads, coins (which no one would dare to steal), and especially silver braid and cotton wool, once no doubt to serve as decoration and wicks for holy lamps, now thought of only as evidence to the *dzwar* that due prayers have been offered. There used to be a bell with a Georgian inscription recording its dedication by George Bagration; there were many of the name, so the date is uncertain. It at least points to Georgian foundation, and some families of the neighbouring village, Tzey, trace their descent from Georgian clergy. But other *dzwars* are more primitive—a cave, a grove, a tree, a dolmen, a stone, and the like. Special events may make a place become a *nwog dzwar*, 'new sanctuary.' A family might have a special *dzwar*. An ancestor of the Atait was cutting wood when he heard a voice say 'Cease.' He tried another tree and from it flowed milk and blood. So he took the log home as a wealth fetish, and from that time the family waxed rich. It was kept till 1876, and every year a ram, beer, and arak were offered to it.

Ossetian life is a round of many feasts and fasts, several of them Christian in origin. The year begins on the Friday following new moon in the winter month Basiltymai (Jan. 1 is St. Basil's day); next is Komakhsän, guarding the mouth, and Komdaräni, binding the mouth, corresponding to the beginning and end of Lent; then come Marti (March), Nikkola (St. Nicolas, May 9), Fälvära (Florus and Laurus, Aug. 18, does not quite fit); the other names, Amistol, Sosäni, Rukhän, Käfti, Géwärgoba, Tsäpporsé, are of native origin, except that Géwärgoba contains the name George.

Religious rites are divided into two main classes: *kuvd*, 'worship,' and *khist*, 'service of the dead.' Essential to all are *chīritä*, 'thin cakes'; there is usually a sacrifice as well, carried out by an old man who prays, ἀπάρχεται by singeing the hair, and makes a libation into the fire, and a young man who cuts the beast's throat in due fashion. When all have sat at their tables, the head of the household makes a long prayer and the others answer 'Amen' to it; at the end he throws some of the lungs wrapped in fat upon the fire. The next in age to him makes a short prayer and pours some arak into the fire. Food and drink being thus blessed, the feast begins. Women do not come in, but eat up the leavings.

The chief events of the year are: New Year and the fetching of the waters, about Epiphany; in between comes a sacrifice of a lamb to the house-spirit, part being buried inside the house; at this time of the year some people can ride to the world of the dead and bring back the seeds of good fortune; but, if they are tempted to bring back flowers or fruit, these cause epidemics. The dead shoot at the invaders, and these, if hit, die soon after their return.

Komakhsän, at carnival time, is the general feast of the dead: each household in which a death has occurred takes its part of the village and regales it with many sheep, much arak, and beer. After a laudation of the dead man there is a horse-race in his honour, and his arms and belongings are given away as prizes. Next follows a month or more of fasting in honour of Tutyr to make him keep in his wolves and spare the sheep. Another explanation is that Tshiristi ('Christ') gives a place in heaven only to those who have duly fasted; and they ask Barastyr to let their deserving ancestors enter heaven.

In the spring is a great festival to propitiate Alardy. Families join by twos, one sacrificing an ox, the other several sheep, and both providing enough beer and arak to last a month. Next comes the feast of St. Nicolas, one ox to every four families. In May comes Great God's day (*i.e.* Trinity Sunday) at the end of the ploughing; at this time the graves of the past year are covered with turf. This is followed by the women's service at the village *dzwar*; no man must be present except the sacrificer, and the object is to secure the

coming harvest. The next feast precedes the hay harvest; in each ward of the village an ox is sacrificed and a banquet held. At the beginning of the grain harvest each household has its own feast; the special prayer is that the year's grain shall be used for festivals and not for *khists*, or service of the dead. In August comes the festival to Fälvära for the preservation of the cattle. Then there is the harvest thanksgiving when the grain has been brought home and threshed. It is celebrated every Sunday for a whole month. Another festival marks the first ploughing for the winter corn; again the object is to secure a good crop. Next follows Khorybon, specially addressed to Watsilla. The prayer is that the harvest shall be as rich as when Watsilla sowed at Kurp (a very fertile spot) and Mairäm followed him holding the seed basket. There is also a wearing of clothes inside out and a dousing of a boy with small-beer, that the fields may give corresponding overplus. At the end of autumn is the maidens' vigil on account of Mady Mairäm. They receive pies of different sorts and divine what husbands they will have by what they find in the pies. The last sacrifice and feast of the year is in honour of Wastyrdzhi. Mention may be made of the peculiar Digorian feast of Fatzbadän; it lasts five days, during which there is even more eating and drinking than usual, and a stranger found within the house is compelled to stay through it.

The *khists* in honour of the dead are as numerous as the festivals of the *dzwars*. The chief, or *styr-khist*, over a dead man involves his family and more distant kinsfolk in a sacrifice of five or more oxen, fifty or more sheep, hundreds of gallons of beer (made in special cauldrons 6 ft. high, for the hire of which they pay a gallon of beer, a sheep, and other victuals), and thousands of *khist*-cakes. All the men of the settlement are invited, and after the feast there are races and archery with valuable prizes. The women have their turn, as every Friday for a year after a death the family must provide all victuals for a feast eaten by them at the cemetery. Besides the *styr-khist* there are nine others in the course of a year. Families in which several members die one after another may be absolutely ruined, as to honour each of them properly costs about £200.

The ceremonies in connexion with birth are mainly in honour of Mady Mairäm. Those of marriage have reference to her and still more to the house-spirit. The funeral ceremonies equip the dead man with all that he may want in the next world, and show clear traces that the wife and the horse must once have followed their lord thither, as was the custom of the Scyths and Sarmatians. For a year after the death the widow wears deep mourning and must sit up every night till cock-crow waiting her husband's return. As to the relation of soul to body, the Ossetes believe that the soul is quite independent; that on the fatal day the decree of death is made by six men (for a man) or four women (for a woman); that then the 'withdrawer of souls' appears to the dying man in the form of a wolf. After the soul is withdrawn from the body it flies above it until the burial, when it re-enters it in the grave, but at once leaves it and flies to the next world, where after judgment it resumes human shape. Souls grow old in the next world and have to be fed.

Musalmän influence upon the Ossetes is shown by their calling Muhammad the 'Son of the sun' (*Khori fyrt*), and by their ablutions and observance of Friday, Ramadan, and other holidays; but it does not seem to have sunk so deep as the Christian element, which is now being revived.

LITERATURE.—The best authority on the Ossetes is Vsevolod Miller, on whose *Osetinskie Etudy*, Moscow, 1881–87, the above has been based; cf. his *Die Sprache der Osseten*. Much material on their customs and beliefs is found in *Sbornik Svédénij o Kavkazskikh Gortsakh* ('Miscellany of Information on Caucasus Mountaineers'), Tiflis, 1871 ff., but there is very little in languages more accessible than Russian.

E. H. MINNS.

OSSIANIC CYCLE.—See FEINN CYCLE.

OSTRACISM.—Ostracism was the method employed in Athens for the greater part of a century for imposing a check upon the acquisition by any politician of too great power in the State. The name is explained by the form of voting adopted, according to which each voter wrote upon a potsherd (ὄστρακον) the name of the person to be proscribed. The normal procedure was as follows. Every year at the regular meeting of the assembly (κυρία ἐκκλησία) held in the sixth prytany (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.* 43. 5) a division was taken on the question whether the provisions relating to ostracism should be put in force. If the question was answered in the affirmative, a special assembly was called to meet in the Agora for the actual voting (Philochorus, frag. 79[b] [*FHG* i. 396]; Plutarch, *Aristid.* 7). The voters deposited in the urn set apart for their tribe the shell containing the name of the candidate chosen for expulsion. In order that a definite result might be attained it was necessary that at least 6000 votes should be recorded;[1] and, if this was not the case, the whole of the proceedings became abortive. If, on the other hand, the necessary number were present and voted, the nominee who obtained the largest vote was proclaimed by the public herald as subject to the penalties of ostracism. These involved removal for ten years to a fixed distance from Athens, or, in default, perpetual disfranchisement (ἀτιμία). The sentence must be carried out within ten days of the decree, but was subject to revocation by an extraordinary resolution. The exile was allowed the enjoyment of his property during his banishment, so long as he did not infringe the prescribed limits (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 22. 8; Philoch. and Plut. *locc. citt.*).

Ostracism was introduced by a law of Cleisthenes (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 22. 1) in the year 508–507 B.C., and lasted until the year 417 B.C.,[2] in which Hyperbolus was condemned. An unusual incident of the process on that occasion was that Hyperbolus himself had advocated a recourse to ostracism, but, owing to a temporary coalition of the parties headed by Nicias and Alcibiades, he became the victim of his own proposal (Plut. *Nic.* 11). It has been commonly asserted that ostracism fell into disuse because the vote condemning a worthless person like Hyperbolus was felt as the degradation of a punishment hitherto regarded as a distinction rather than as a disgrace (Plut. *loc. cit.*, quoting Plato Comicus, frag. 187 [i. 654 K.]). This account is accepted in substance by some modern historians (*e.g.*, Grote, vi. 378), but it is probable that Hyperbolus, who was murdered in 411 by the oligarchs at Samos (Thuc. viii. 73), although the accident of our tradition has left his reputation at the mercy of his unscrupulous opponents, was a more important person than his detractors admitted (Busolt, iii. 1260). Hence it is more likely that ostracism gradually passed out of use because it was felt to be no longer needful as a protection against the preponderating influence of any individual, while at the same time it had become subject to abuse by being employed in the interest

[1] Grote (*Hist. of Greece*, iv. 84 n.) favours the alternative view that the minimum applied to the number of votes given against any particular name. The Greek authorities bearing on the point appear to be inconsistent; but Plutarch's explicit statement is to be preferred to the abbreviated and perhaps corrupt text of the lexicographers.

[2] For the considerations which fix the date see G. Busolt, *Griech. Gesch.* iii. 1257.

of partisanship without any resulting advantage to the State.

It has been suggested that the law of ostracism was formally repealed during the archonship of Euclides (Lugebil, in *Jahrb. für klass. Philol.*, Suppl. iv. 170), and that it was superseded in practice by the γραφὴ παρανόμων, which, though it may have been earlier in existence as a means of correcting irregularities of the statute law, first became an important political weapon in the course of the 4th century (J. P. Mahaffy, in *Hermathena*, vii. [1881] 87 ff.).

The original purpose for which ostracism was instituted is clearly stated by Aristotle in more than one passage (*Pol.* iii. 13, 1284[a] 17, *Ath. Pol.* 22. 3), viz. the preservation of equality among the citizens by the removal of any one whose wealth or influence had become dangerously pre-eminent. The peril of such exaltation had been brought home to the Athenians by the history of the rise of Pisistratus; and it accords well with the professed object of the law that the first person who suffered under its provisions was Hipparchus, the son of Charmus, a kinsman of Pisistratus (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 22. 4). Not long afterwards Megacles, the son of Hippocrates and a nephew of Cleisthenes himself, was ostracized as an adherent of the Pisistratids (*ib.* 6); and the first person unconnected with the formerly reigning house who was punished solely in consequence of his eminence was Xanthippus, the father of Pericles (*ib.*). It very soon came about that ostracism ceased to be used for the welfare of the State, but was employed merely as an instrument of faction (Arist. *Pol.* iii. 13, 1284[b] 23) in order to suppress the leader of a political party, and leave his opponent free to pursue his own measures without hindrance, or even to inflict annoyance upon an adversary by securing the removal of his friends. Such were the conditions when Aristides was ostracized on the initiative of Themistocles (Plut. *Aristid.* 7, *Them.* 5), when the obnoxious opposition of Thucydides, the son of Melesias, to the policy of Pericles was similarly terminated (Plut. *Pericl.* 14), and when Damon the musician was banished on suspicion of being the secret adviser of Pericles[1] (*ib.* 4).

While most of the recent authorities conclude that the institution of ostracism was inspired by fear of the return of the Pisistratid dynasty, Grote (iv. 81–90) has argued that it was from the beginning a carefully devised scheme for preventing the dangers likely to arise from the excessive bitterness of party strife and inculcating in the new democracy a growing respect for constitutional permanence. The successful accomplishment of its purpose is proved by the absence of any attempt to overthrow the constitution during the interval between the reforms of Cleisthenes and the close of the Peloponnesian War; and the device itself was allowed to become obsolete when the security of the democracy showed that it was no longer needed. But Grote has probably exaggerated the political value of ostracism, and it is unlikely that Cleisthenes had wider aims than those attributed to him by Aristotle.

Ostracism was in force not only in Athens, but also in Argos (Arist. *Pol.* vii. [v.] 3, 1302[b] 18), Miletus, and Megara (schol. Aristoph. *Eq.* 855), although nothing is known of the details of its working in these States. At Syracuse also there was a similar institution known as 'petalism' (πεταλισμός) from the laurel leaf which was used instead of the potsherd to receive the name of the statesman designated for expulsion. Petalism is said to have been introduced at Syracuse in imitation of the Athenian law, but to have lasted for only a few years. The period of exile prescribed at Syracuse was five years instead of the Athenian ten (Diod. xi. 86 f.); but all our information on the subject rests on very unsatisfactory authority.

[1] On the question of the identity of this Damon with Damonides, also described as a political adviser of Pericles, see Sandys on Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 27. 4; U. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Aristoteles und Athen*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1893, i. 134.

LITERATURE.—C. Lugebil, 'Das Wesen und die historische Bedeutung des Ostrakismos in Athen,' in *Jahrb. für klass. Philologie*, Suppl. iv. [1861] 119–175; J. M. J. Valeton, 'De Ostracismo,' in *Mnemosyne*, xv. [1887] 33 ff., 129 ff., 337 ff., 357 ff., xvi. [1888] 1 f., 162 ff., 214 ff.; H. Hager, in Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Ant.*[3], London, 1890–91, i. 818 f.; G. Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, new ed., 12 vols., do. 1869–70, iv. 79–90; G. Busolt, *Griechische Geschichte*, ii.[2], Gotha, 1895, pp. 439–441; G. Gilbert, *Handbuch der griech. Staatsalterthümer*, i.[2], Leipzig, 1893, pp. 167 f., 346; K. F. Hermann and V. Thumser, *Lehrbuch der griech. Staatsaltertümer*[6], do. 1889–92, § 71, p. 405.

A. C. PEARSON.

OSTYAKS.—Three different tribes of N.W. Siberia are known under this name; the Ugrian (Ougrian) Ostyaks, the Samoyedic Ostyaks, and the Yenisei Ostyaks. The Ugrian Ostyaks live along the Ob, the Irtysh and its tributaries the Konda and the Vasyugan, in the Tobolsk Government, and in the Narimsk District of the Tomsk Government. Their number in 1897 was 17,221 (9012 males). The Samoyedic Ostyaks, or Ostyak-Samoyeds, live along the rivers Baikha, Tymsk, Karakonsk, Karasinsk, and Taz. Their number in 1897 was 5805 (2962 m.). The Yenisei Ostyaks live along the Yenisei from the village of Antitsiferova near Yeniseisk to the lower Kureika, a tributary of the Yenisei, and along the tributaries Stony Tunguska, Bakhta, Lower Tunguska, Kureika, and the little left tributary Yeloguya. They numbered in 1897 about 988 altogether (535 m.). From various local administrative and ecclesiastical papers we may suppose that the number of Ostyaks of Yenisei has since decreased.

The first two peoples, though of different stock, are linguistically as well as racially akin, both forming groups of Castrén's[1] Uralo-Altayan family of races, while the Yenisei Ostyaks are linguistically like none of the living tribes in Siberia, and were perhaps originally also unlike physically, but the admixture of Russian and other blood makes it difficult to define their physical type now.

The name 'Ostyak' has no linguistic affinity with any of the languages of the three peoples. The Ugrian Ostyaks are known also simply as Ostyaks, or as Ugra, Yugra; the Yenisei Ostyaks as Yeniseians, being the oldest inhabitants of the Yenisei of all the peoples now living along that river. The Ostyak-Samoyeds really form one group of the Samoyed tribes, and will be discussed in the art. SAMOYEDS.

Under the existing Russian administration all three nations and their clans are mixed, and artificially divided into *rody*, 'clans,' with territorial names; the more scientific books and educated travellers, however, will never confuse these tribes.

I. *UGRIAN OSTYAKS.* — 1. **Ethnology.** — The origin of the name Ostyak has been variously explained.

Novicki (1715)[2] naively suggests that it may be derived from the Russian *osti*, 'fish-bones,' for the Ostyaks, living chiefly on raw fish, leave heaps of fish-bones behind them after camping. His other derivation is from the Russian word *ostatki*, the remains of the only large nation of Ugra who once lived, as some authors say, in the middle of the present Russia, according to others, on both sides of the Urals. Wherever their original home was, it is certain that the Ostyaks in Europe have been nearly exterminated or merged into the neighbouring Zyryan, Vogul, and Samoyed tribes, and it is only in W. Siberia that they remain in comparative integrity.

One of the more probable explanations of the name is that deriving Ostyak from Asyakh, 'people of Ob,' the local name of the Ostyaks of the Ob in contradistinction to the Ostyaks of the Konda or other rivers and lakes, although the general name by which the Ostyaks as well as the Voguls call themselves is *mans* or *man's*; in older days they are supposed to have called themselves Aryakhi (*ar*, 'many'; *kho*, 'man').

The most probable derivation is from the Tatar word *oushtak*,

[1] *Nordische Reisen und Forschungen*, ii. 75, iv. ('Ethnologische Vorlesungen') 14 f.

[2] *Kratkoye opisanye o narodie ostyatskom*, ed. Mainoff, p. 28.

'barbarian,' by which the Tatars called all the tribes of the middle Yenisei and the Ob when they came to the Yenisei valley in the 13th century. It is they who are responsible for the classing of different tribes together under one name. In the old Novgorod annals of the 11th cent. the Ostyaks are known as Ugra, while their neighbours, the Samoyeds, are known under their present name. The entry for the year 1398 mentions the Voguls as distinct from but allied to the Ugra; the same nomenclature is to be found in 1483, when the Moscow military expedition conquered the lands of these tribes. The Russians have probably adopted the Tatar word Oushtak, which was perhaps already corrupted into Ostyak. The old name Ugra, Yögra (plur. Yögrajass), is still used by the Zyryans for their neighbours, the Ostyaks of the Urals. The Samoyeds call the Ostyaks Yaran, Yargai (*yara*, 'stranger'), which some people think is derived from *jögra*. Still more problematic is the derivation of Yurak from *ugra*, *jögra*. The Yurak, like the Ostyak-Samoyeds, form a group of Siberian Samoyeds, and their name may very well be derived from their word *yur* ('hundred').

The Finno-Ugrian tribes form four linguistic groups: (1) the Ugrian, to which at the present day the Voguls and the Ostyaks belong, and from which the Magyars branched off; (2) the Permian, to which the Votyaks, Permiaks, and Zyryans belong; (3) the Cheremiss and Mordvin; (4) the Western Finnic group, to which the Finlanders, Chud, Vess, Ests, and Lives belong; to this group may also be added the Laplanders.

Fischer[1] thinks that the Samoyeds and the Ugrian Ostyaks are the remnants of a once large nation of mid-Siberia, called Chud. This historical and rather vague name must not be confused with that of the Finnic tribe mentioned above, who inhabit N.E. Europe. According to Fischer, these ancient Chud were driven northward by Tatar and Kirghiz, migrating from the Sayan mountains to the banks of the Yenisei. But it seems fairly settled now that most of the so-called Chud remains in Siberia should be ascribed to the old Turkic and Turkicized tribes, and perhaps Strahlenberg[2] is more correct in thinking that the Ugrian Ostyaks at any rate, if not the Samoyeds also, are of Finnish parentage and have migrated from Lapland eastward and southward. The Finnic physical type is generally understood to be fair, reddish-haired, light-eyed, and long-headed, but, even if it were so originally, at the present moment the division of the Russian investigator Mainoff[3] of the Finnic tribes into dark-haired and fair-haired is the only one justified by the facts. The Ugrian Ostyaks would belong to the dark-haired section, and are, vaguely speaking, mesaticephalic or dolichocephalic, and the Mongoloid influence is less seen among them than among the Mordvins, although the Ugrian Ostyaks now live almost entirely in Asia and the Mordvins in Europe. The lack of a sufficient number of anthropometric data makes it difficult to define their type more closely than has been done by S. Shirokogorov.[4] He bases his generalization on the researches of Rudyenko, who places the Ostyaks according to their physical type between the Voguls and the Samoyeds.[5]

About a thousand years ago, when the Ostyak lands still stretched into E. Europe, though the eastern corner of Siberia was also occupied by them at that time, the Magyars went to the Danube valley, and are now known as Hungarians. In the middle provinces of Russia there are numerous place- and river-names of Ugrian origin, and it is probable that, while the Ostyaks had to give up their European dominions to the Russians, they concentrated in W. Siberia, fighting with the Samoyeds, who were then losing their southern Siberian dominions, for supremacy in the lands between the Ural and the Ob.

[1] *Sibirische Gesch.*, § 65, p. 120, § 67, p. 123, § 69, p. 129.
[2] *Das nord- und ostliche Teil von Europa und Asien*, pp. 36, 64.
[3] D. N. Anuchin, 'Ostyaki,' in Andreyevski, *Encyclopædia*, Petrograd, 1897, xxii. 368–370.
[4] *Zadachi Antropologii v Sibiri*, p. 23.
[5] Rudyenko has taken measurements of 127 Ostyaks; see his *Antropologicheskiya Izsledovanya Inorodtsev Syevyero-Zapadnoi Sibiri.*

These fights are vividly described in the old heroic epos of the Ostyaks, which has been specially studied by I. Patkanoff. Neither the Samoyeds nor the Ostyaks were exterminated as a result of the fighting. Some of the latter, such as the Narimsk Ostyaks, were merged into the Samoyed tribes, but the nucleus of the Ostyak nation still exists on the same lands as they have occupied for many centuries, and they still number about 17,221, while of the Voguls there are only 6500.

The heroic epos, *Tarnyn-ara* (*ara*, 'song'; Tarn, Taran, Tarin, an evil anthropomorphic power, bringing war, sickness, etc.), does not mention any fights with the Tatars, who subdued the whole valley of the Irtysh not earlier than the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th century. Nor does this epos mention the fights with the power who succeeded the Tatars in subduing the Ostyaks, namely the Muscovites. While the Ostyaks had already had to fight with the Novgorodians in the 11th cent., when the latter took possession of the White Sea, and made military expeditions against the Ugra, they were not conquered, and paid taxes only when these were exacted at the point of the Novgorodian sword, but in 1581 the Ugra did succumb to the Muscovites, and in 1586 the first Russian *ostrog*, or Cossack settlement, was built at the mouth of the Irtysh on pure Ostyak land. It was only after a long and hard struggle, however, and not until 41 Ostyak villages had been destroyed, that the Russians conquered them; later the Ostyaks helped the Russians in conquering other native tribes.

The Ostyaks live in three groups: the northern Ostyaks, in the northern Berezovsk District; the eastern Ostyaks, along the Surgut and the Vasugan as far as its tributary the Chayanka; and the south-western or Irtysh Ostyaks, in the northern part of the Tobolsk District, along the Ob, the Irtysh, and the Konda. The Surgut is said to be the purest of the Ostyak dialects.

2. **Material culture.**—The *Tarnyn-ara* gives the following picture of Ostyak life in pre-Tatar times. While their general material welfare has changed for the worse since then, yet the northern and eastern Ostyaks have not changed much in their material culture. The south-western Ostyaks are the most affected by Russian colonization, and in some places they give up their nomadic life, though they remain seasonal nomads; *i.e.*, they live in their wooden huts for the fishing season, and often for the hunting season as well. Very few of them take up agriculture. Syphilis and other diseases, and the abuse of vodka, are most prevalent among these Ostyaks.

The northern and eastern Ostyaks are wanderers, living in reindeer-skin tents, and occasionally in half-underground log-huts covered with snow. Their summer tents and domestic utensils are made of birch-bark. Their occupations are hunting, reindeer-breeding, and fishing; they also fish through the ice. In summer they eat raw fresh fish, in winter frozen fish. The bowels, heart, and liver of reindeer are eaten raw, still warm, after the killing of the reindeer; the rest of the meat is usually cooked. The sledges are made of driftwood, and joined by being sewn with skin thongs: the runners for winter are covered with reindeer-skin. The winter dress is made of reindeer-skin, or birds' skin, ornamented with furs of other animals; the summer dress is often of *nalim* (fish)-skin, or woven by women from the nettle plant (*Urtica*). The same material is used for mosquito nets. The Russian cotton shirt is very little known among the northern Ostyaks, but the south-western Ostyaks use more and more European cloth.

3. **Social customs.**—In the north the old custom of burying the dead in a canoe is still in practice. All the belongings of the dead man are laid in the grave. To show their sorrow, the relatives tear hair from their heads and throw it on the body; this will help the soul-life of the dead. Those in mourning go a couple of days with unwashed body and unkempt hair. The widow makes a wooden doll representing her husband, dresses it in his

clothes, and treats it as her husband for a year; then she buries it also.

A woman just before her confinement is separated from society, and lives for three weeks in a special tent which no man is allowed to enter. After her seclusion she is purified by jumping three times through the fire.

In olden days the Ostyaks used to tatu their bodies with red ochre or soot, with which they coloured their dress and even 'signed' Russian official papers. At the present day their 'signature,' like that of the other northern Siberians, is a drawing of a bow and arrow.

When a girl marries, a bride-price (*kalym*) is paid, and only when the whole of this has been received is the girl allowed to be taken by the bridegroom. When visiting his betrothed, the young man has to enter the tent with his face turned away, lest he should show his face to his parents-in-law, towards whom he has to observe various prohibitive restrictions (*e.g.*, he must avoid meeting his mother-in-law). The bride has to observe the same restrictions towards the bridegroom's family until her first child is born. Clan exogamy was until recently strictly kept, even though the clan was composed of people who were not blood-relations. Now that the south-western and many of the northern Ostyaks are nominal Christians, the marriage ceremonies are a combination of Christian and shamanist rites.

In comparison with the old war epic, *Tarnyn-ara*, the language of which is known to very few Ostyaks of to-day, the modern songs and tales seem very poor. Yet even now, especially under the influence of vodka, or of a particular kind of fungus, of which they eat seven, fourteen, or even twenty-one at once, in order to become intoxicated, the Ostyaks sing to the accompaniment of the 'swan' (Russian *lebied*, Ostyak *toron-iix*), or of the *dombra* (Russ.; Ostyak *nares-iix*). The latter is said by the Ostyaks to be their original instrument, and indeed the five reindeer-sinew strings of the *nares-iix* correspond to the five notes of the *Tarnyn-ara* melody. The Ostyaks of Konda call the *toron-iix* 'Ob music,' and say that this instrument, in the form of a swan, and with nine metal strings, came to them from certain of their Ob neighbours.

At the time of the *Tarnyn-ara* the Ostyaks were composed of many small sovereignties, each with a chief, living in a settlement, village, or perhaps small town. They were all united into a confederacy, with a chief (*yor*, *ur*, *urt*) over all the other chiefs. His subjects were known as *mygdat-yaks*, 'earth-people,' for they lived in half-underground dwellings; there were also slaves—*tey-ort*, 'man-slave,' and *tey-ney* or *ort-ney*, 'woman-slave.' The chief was identified with the hero (*urt*).

Their legends say that after the Russian conquests the Ostyak heroes were taken by the gods up to the sky, and there they live as holy men; the Ostyaks bring sacrifices to them even now.

4. Religion.—(*a*) *Gods and spirits.*—Many of the Ostyaks have since 1715 belonged officially to the Russian Orthodox Church, but this has not influenced their shamanist beliefs and practices to any great extent, and in the Berezov and Taz Districts they are even officially still classed as pagan.

The dualistic division of gods and spirits is very strongly marked. The chief gods are represented by anthropomorphic figures, or sometimes by stones of peculiar shape. These are seldom kept in their tents; there are special places for them, usually among the hills and mountains. Near these sanctuaries there is usually a shaman (medicine-man), who looks after the image of the god, whose special protection he enjoys while he is performing his shamanistic ceremonies. All the propitiatory ceremonies take the form of sacrifices to the gods, either of objects, especially of dresses, which are put on the figure one on the top of another, or sometimes of blood-sacrifices, consisting in the killing of animals and the smearing of the lips of the figure with their blood. Each god has his special sphere of influence.

There are three great gods common to all the Ostyaks—Yeman' gnyem, called by some Yega-tei-igenen, 'the old man from the mouth of the Ob'; the goose-god; and the god of the Konda.

The descriptions of 'the old man from the mouth of the Ob' are somewhat confused. Sometimes he is the god of all fish (according to the Ostyaks, all the fish in creation live in the Ob and its tributaries); every season the first catch of fish is sacrificed to him, and many other sacrifices of animals or various objects are placed on the spot where he lives, the cape at the mouth of the Ob which bears his name, in order to secure good weather and divert unfavourable winds. The god of river-fertility, he also shows the way to travellers in winter, for he keeps fires burning (*aurora borealis*) during the winter darkness. He does not, however, always inhabit the mouth of the Ob; every alternate three years he spends at the mouth of the Irtysh. Thus it seems that the Ostyaks, by moving him from place to place, hope to secure his patronage for both rivers. His figure is made of driftwood, with eyes of glass and breast of plated gold. He also has small metal horns. His first garment is of 'worms' skin,' above which he wears a large number of different dresses which have been offered to him as sacrifices. One detail suggests that this old man of the mouth of the Ob and the Irtysh may be derived from the hero who once lived among the Ostyaks, and whose deeds are recorded in their songs—he is always represented with a bow and arrows and a shield. The chief good god of the Voguls, Kors-Torum, and his son Yanykh-Torum, are never represented with weapons. Nobody may hunt or shoot near the place where the image of Yeman' gnyem is kept, or take water from the river near by, or pitch a tent in the neighbourhood, except the shaman who looks after the god.

The goose-god is the protector of all birds—*i.e.* the birds of the river Ob. His figure resembles a goose, and is made of copper and clothed with many sacrificial garments. He lives in the Byelogorsk hills near the Ob, and the shaman who looks after him also looks after the nest in which he lives, made of pieces of skin, fur, and cloth.

About the god of the Konda we know very little.

The chief destructive god is Tarn, god of war, sickness, bad weather, and everything destructive to life. This god is usually represented as a female; her full name is Ey-vet'ne kimtaran, 'double Tarn with one face.' She is also the personification of flames of fire. Of a man who has experienced great hardships the Ostyaks say that he has 'seen the face of Tarn.'

In the northern part of the mouth of the Ob, to the north of the abode of the good god, the protector of Ob, lives a dark under-world spirit sometimes called by the Vogul name Kul Odyr. The dark spirits dependent on him are known as *menkva* (Vogul).

Some of the heroes of the old Ostyak folk-songs are believed to have gone, after their death, to the sky, and to live there in the form of iron wolves (*kart yevra*), and, since the Ostyaks no longer make war for themselves, these heroes are now imagined as destroying the enemies of the Russians, the allies of the Ostyaks.

Besides these great gods, each Ostyak tent has a lesser family-god. Mystical properties are possessed by the swan and the goose among birds and

by the bear among animals, but by none more prominently than the bear. After a bear has been killed, his body is placed on the ground and the people dance round it, saying:

'We did not want to kill you, we are not to be blamed. The Russians have beaten the iron for the arrow-heads and the wing of the arrow we received from Eagle Father.'

(*b*) *The soul.*—The Ostyaks believe that man is composed of the body, its shadow, and its soul. After death the soul, with the characteristic individuality of the man, is reborn in some baby of the same clan, while the shadow goes to the under world, and there lives another life similar to the life that it lived on the earth.

(*c*) *Shamanism.*—The office of shaman is not necessarily hereditary. The shaman chooses a successor, male or female. When the spirits pass into the newly-chosen shaman, he has to suffer both physically and mentally. He is recognized as a shaman when he knows how to deal with the dark spirits. The shaman's costume is very similar to that of the Samoyedic shaman, and is made of reindeer-hide with many metallic jingles. At one point in his incantations the shaman must have his face covered with a piece of cloth. The drums of the Ostyak shamans differ from the type used by the other natives along the Yenisei in being round instead of oval.

II. *OSTYAKS OF THE YENISEI OR YENISEIANS.*—**1. Ethnology.**—According to Castrén,[1] the Yeniseians belong to the Indo-Chinese linguistic group, and their only relatives in Siberia were the not long extinct Arine, Kotte, and Assane. In physical type the Ostyaks of the Yenisei differ from their neighbours in the fact that none of the latter, namely the Tunguses, Ugrian Ostyaks, Samoyeds, and Yakuts, are so decadent or have such mixed blood in their veins, so that the latter tribes have a more characteristic racial type.

The Ostyaks of the Yenisei were from the 7th cent. under Turkic and Uigur influence; then came the Mongols in the 13th cent., while, since the beginning of the 17th, Russian influence has overridden all others. Hence it is no wonder that their present physical type is different from what it was in pre-Turkic times. It is supposed, though not proved, that they are descendants of the old Dinlin (Ting-ling) people who, together with the Usuni and the Khakas (Kirghiz), were, according to the Chinese annals (Radloff,[2] Bichurin[3]), of fair complexion, fair hair, and blue eyes. Of these three peoples we can trace so far only the Khakas, who in the 7th cent. took the name of Kirghiz, and came under the domination of the Turkic tribe Tiukiu (called by the Chinese Tchili, Dili, or Tele), whose language and script they adopted on the *pisanitsy* (pictographs), and later of the northern Uigur (called by the Chinese Kao-tche). In 970 the Khakas were strong enough to subdue the Uigur, but in the 13th cent. they could not stand against the Mongols. Yet the latter did not subdue them for any length of time, and, after fighting for about a quarter of a century against the Russians, whose conquests they could not check, most of them migrated to the other side of the Sayan mountains to the steppes of S. Mongolia. The rest were merged in the Turkic and Mongolic people of the Minusinsk country.

All this has been traced partly from Chinese annals and partly from the old Khakas *pisanitsy* from the Orkhon valley and the Minusinsk country, which have been deciphered by V. Thomsen and Radloff.[4] It may be supposed that the Dinlin tribe was similar to that of the Khakas-Kirghiz, but the link between them is missing. One of the clans of the Kyzyl 'Tatars'—Shin—is said to be of Yenisei-Ostyak origin.

The present Yeniseians have lighter hair than the dark brown or black hair of the Samoyeds, Ugrian Ostyaks, and Tunguses, and blue eyes are also found; but this must rather be ascribed to an admixture of Russian blood. The name by which they call themselves, according to Novicki,[1] is Tindigyet, according to Castrén,[2] Kanasket (derived probably either from the river Kan or from the river Ulukan), while V. I. Anuchin,[3] with whom the present writer's own observation agrees, says that they use for themselves the name Din ('people'). According to Radloff,[4] the still existing tribe of Koibal, living on the right side of the middle Abakan, or the greater part of them, are of Yeniseian (Yenisei-Ostyak) origin, while Kai Donner,[5] the student of the Samoyedic and Finnic languages, believes them to be Tatarized Samoyeds, who one hundred years ago spoke Samoyedic, like the nearly extinct Kamashints (Kamajenil), a few of whom still live in the Kansk District.

2. Material and social culture.—All the Ostyaks of the Yenisei live along the rivers, grouped into seven clans of unequal size, and are fishermen, usually working for one of the Russian traders. Their hunting and trapping also are limited to the area in the neighbourhood of the river. A small number of them possess reindeer, and consequently lead a really nomadic life; others have adopted a more settled mode of life, never, however, living long in one place. Demoralized, weak, unhealthy, fond of alcohol and tobacco, like all the natives, they are yet kind-hearted, and, as a rule, honest; they are, on the whole, the most hopelessly degenerate of all the tribes of the Yenisei region.

In their social life they have preserved very few of their old customs connected with birth, death, or marriage, although one of the old customs still enforced is that of avoidance of father- and mother-in-law. In their religion, on the other hand, although they are all officially reckoned as members of the Russian Orthodox Church, they have remained comparatively faithful to their old traditions.

3. Religion.—The gods of the Yeniseians may be grouped in two classes.

(*a*) *The benevolent gods.*—The highest kind god is Ess, whose duties are somewhat vaguely described, as is the people's relation to him. No one ever saw him, for he lives above the seventh sky. He does not take part in human affairs; only once a year, on the longest day of spring, he makes a review of the earth and the stars. The people celebrate this day with feasting, during which women dance an erotic dance. This celebration has no direct connexion with Ess as an anthropomorphic god, but, since the sky is also called Ess, it may be a ceremony connected with sky-worship, on his special day of the year.

Next to Ess they put Tomam (*am*, 'mother'). She lives among the rocks of the far south, and is very beautiful and kind. Every spring she ascends a high rock on the coast of the Yenisei and shakes her hands over the river; from her sleeves fall downy feathers, which change, while floating to the river, into geese, swans, and ducks; these fly northwards to the Yeniseians. She is the personification of the warm and fertile south.

Besides these two most important, there are some other less important deities. Such are the *eskyns*, the servants of Ess; in winter they keep a fire burning in the sky (*aurora borealis*), to see by its light what the bad goddess Khosadam is doing in her dark northern region. Some of the mythical

1 ii. 281, iv. 87. 2 *Aus Sibirien*, i. 123 f., 136.
3 *Sobranye svyedenii o narodakh obitayushchikh*, i. 443.
4 Thomsen, 'Déchiffrement des inscriptions de l'Orkhon et de l'Ienisei,' *Bull. Ac. Science*, Copenhagen, 1894, pp. 1–15, 'Inscriptions de l'Orkhon,' *Mémoires de la Soc. Finno-Ougrienne*, v. [Helsingfors, 1894] 17; Radloff, *Die alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei*, pp. 425–503.

1 P. 7. 2 ii. 281.
3 *Ochork shamanstva u Yenisseyskikh Ostyakov*, p. 37.
4 *Aus Sibirien*, i. 209.
5 In a private communication to the writer

persons, such as Alba, the hero defender of the country, who had to struggle with Khosadam for the sake of his nation, rise also to the dignity of deities who live in the three skies nearest to the earth. Alba is expected to return to the earth when the Yeniseians need him very much.

The other mythical person who is worshipped is Dokh, the greatest shaman of all time, and the law-maker. 'So said Dokh,' is the usual end of songs, legends, and proverbs. Dokh cannot return to the earth till his *ulvei*, the most important of his souls, is freed from the power of Khosadam by the hero Alba.[1]

(*b*) *Malevolent powers.*—The Yeniseians are, on the whole, more occupied with struggles against bad powers than with the worship of good ones. Chief of these bad spirits is Khosadam, who was once the wife of Ess, but left him, together with her servants, and went to live with the moon, Khyp (*i.e.* 'grandfather'). Ess punished her by throwing her down to the earth, where she now symbolizes cold, darkness, sterility, disease—everything bad that can happen to men. To punish the moon, Ess made him serve man, for whom he divides the time and also foretells the weather. Khosadam is personified as having decaying eyes, dishevelled hair, and animal paws; her servants, *kyns* or *selkyns*, are black birds with hooked beaks. Khosadam once lived in the southern Yenisei, but was driven to the north by the hero Alba, since her presence disturbed the peace of the Yeniseians. As the Yeniseians advanced northwards, pushed by some 'people from the mountains,' Alba drove Khosadam still further north to the 'dead island,' where no one can touch her; 'even a Russian cannot thaw her ice.'[2] No animals except fishes (which have no soul) are at her disposal.

Less evil but still mischievous is Dototam, who owns the mountains. In spite of the ending of the name, Dototam is a masculine being, personified by night-birds, who frighten people with their screaming, and have the bat as their best friend. As long as men do not look for his home Dototam is not harmful.

According to V. I. Anuchin,[3] the Ostyaks of the Yenisei believe also in spirits of the forest, and of water, and in the daughters of the latter; the conceptions of all these resemble the Russian conceptions of the owners of forest and water. These spirits were sent down to earth at the same time as Khosadam. Lityss, the spirit of the forest, has fur like a bear, and leaves tracks like a reindeer.

In every tent there is also the spirit protector of the household (*alalt*), who looks after the people at night when they are asleep. This *alalt* is friendly, but there are also *alalt* of wind, and of mice, who are harmful. As protection against these their figures are carved and thrown into the river.

(*c*) *The soul.* — Every man, according to the philosophy of the Yeniseians, has seven souls. All animals except fishes have one soul, and the bear has two, one an animal soul (*kontol*), the other the soul life possessed by men also (*ulvei*). Man gets most of his souls from his mother, who again acquires them in the course of eating plants and animals before the child is born. His chief soul, *ulvei*, he gets from outside after he is born. The *ulvei* is personified as a minute man, and its picture is always represented on a shaman's coat. Man's souls are situated in his head and heart, but the *ulvei* is outside the man, though near him. When the *ulvei* is sick, his condition reflects on the man, and the shaman has to find and cure the *ulvei*, and occasionally to fight to free it from the power of the bad spirits.

(*d*) *Death.*—When Khosadam eats the *ulvei*, the man dies. But Alba often appears and frightens Khosadam so much that her bowels are relaxed and all the souls are set free. A good shaman can achieve the same result. The souls are immortal. In olden days man also was immortal. It is owing to the dog that people die now.

'Long ago when the first old man died, people were weeping, so Ess sent to them a dog with the message that they must not be afraid, but must wrap the old man up in grass and put him up in a tree. But the dog cheated them, and told them to bury the dead man in the ground. Since then all men die, and the dog was punished by being left to live on the earth and eat human excrement'[1] (this is the habit of dogs in the north).

After the death of the man his souls go one after another to the seven underground caves, where are neither sun nor stars, and where in a river a special kind of fish lives, but where only one land-animal, the mammoth, lives. From there the souls return to the earth, entering animals or plants before returning to man. The *ulvei*, however, can go only to the bear. When the bear feels the moment of death approaching, he goes to his cousin, man, and asks him to free the *ulvei*. The man kills the bear, and then makes a little image of the man-bear which he places on some tree. By this act the soul of the bear is freed.

(*e*) *Burial*—At the present time the Ostyaks of the Yenisei bury their dead in accordance with the Russian Church regulations; *i.e.*, they dig the grave in the earth, and carry the dead man in a sleigh or in a canoe with his head turned to the front. But in olden days they used to cut a piece out of a tree, lay their dead in the cavity, and then force the piece back into its original position.

(*f*) *Animal-worship.*—Although the Ostyaks of the Yenisei live almost exclusively on fish, there is no rôle for fish, as there is none for insects, in their shamanistic conceptions. Of trees the birch is connected with shamanism, of flowers the red lily, concerning the origin of which there is the legend that it is a drop of the blood of the hero Alba, shed when he was coming from the north after a severe fight with Khosadam. Although there are no reptiles north of the Middle Tunguska, the serpent (*tikh*), which is the servant of Khosadam, is very often represented. The bat and the mole (*lya*) are also symbols of black magic. The eagle, the diver, the swan, the bear, the reindeer, and the red squirrel are symbols of white magic.

(*g*) *Idea of the universe.*—To the Ostyaks of the Yenisei the earth is flat, surrounded by seven seas; above it there are seven skies, and beneath seven underground worlds. All these have to be represented on the shaman's drum. Each of the skies has a fire burning—the sun—and also the moon. The Bear constellation is called Kay, *i.e.* 'elk.' The four stars of the constellation are the feet of the elk, the other three stars represent the hunters. The first star represents the Tunguses, the second the Ostyaks of the Yenisei, and the third the Russians. By means of this constellation the Ostyaks of the Yenisei divide the seasons of the year. Orion is called Seld, and is said to be the head of a reindeer which belonged to the hero Alba. Fire is still respected, though no longer worshipped; no dirt must be thrown into the fire, nor must it be touched with a knife.

(*h*) *The shaman.*—There may be distinguished two kinds of shamans, dark and light, the latter being the more numerous. The dark medicine-man, or woman, is called *nikkor*, or *banoket*, 'man from the ground.' The smith also is supposed to have a certain amount of supernatural black power. In the tent of the black shaman skins of the mole or the bat are always to be found hanging from the tent-pole. These people shamanize only during the dark nights. They can send a man a disease, but they can also, as well as the white shaman,

[1] V. I. Anuchin, p. 7. [2] *Ib.* p. 5. [3] *Ib.* p. 6.

[1] V. I. Anuchin, p. 12.

cure it, and foretell the future; but, while performing their magic ceremonies, they would address Khosadam as their mistress. Not very much is known about the way in which they are prepared for their office. The white shaman, or *senin* (feminine *senim*), receives the shamanistic power from father or mother. When they start their period of preparation, they are called *dadii*, 'chosen.' During the first year the shaman is called *khyny-senin*, 'little shaman.' For this period he possesses only the drum-stick as the instrument used during incantations. The next year he is called *senin*, and is given the ceremonial head-band and apron, and a new drum-stick. Later a drum is made for him. Most of the shamans are *senin* till the end of their lives; only exceptional shamans, who are now dying out, are *ka-senin*, and possess two drums.

The full shamanistic costume consists of boots, apron, a head-band or a crown, coat, gloves, drum with drum-stick, and staff, all of them prepared by other people, not by the shaman himself, and ornamented with symbolic figures.

The first symbol of the shaman's dignity, and one of the most important, is the drum-stick, called *khat-bull*, 'the feet of the drum,' or *donamas-bull*, 'the third leg.' Sometimes the Yeniseian shamans compare the drum-stick to a whip, and use it as such when riding on their imaginary travels. Sometimes it is used as well as the shaman's staff to fight the spirits with. The drum-stick is used not only for striking the drum, but also for foretelling the future, for which purpose the shaman's staff or the domestic god, or *alalt*, is also used. The drum-stick is used for curing sickness by rubbing it over the part affected. One side of it is covered with fur, the other is divided into black side (the earth) and red side (the sky), and on the margin of the two is a metal figure of a snake.

The head-band or crown, both called *sendady*, the apron (*kuti*), the coat (*kat* or *yelen*), as well as the boots and garters, have as one of the necessary ornaments figures of people and of the male and female sexual organs separately (*byss* and *luss*). The crown is made of a few plates of iron, a circular knife projects from the front of it, and reindeer horns from the top of it. The latter, which symbolize the speed with which the shamans move on their imaginary journeys, are to be seen also on the shaman's coat. The knife helps the shaman to cut his way through the clouds. The figures on the apron represent *din*, 'people,' whether in human form or only the sexual organs of both sexes; others are heroes and good spirits. In the middle of the apron there is a face of Dokh, the traditional great shaman, and above him two representations of the sun and moon. On the shaman's boots there are drawings of trees and stars just under the knee, showing how high the shaman can rise, leaving the stars on a level with his knees. As a symbol of the steadiness of the shaman's legs, long irons hang on the boots in the form of bears' and human bones. And, to strengthen his legs still more, these figures, while being made, are kept for a long time in a salted liquid. Then the shaman can easily walk in the stony underground mountains. The spirit of the wind is represented by a human figure, to symbolize the speed of the shaman's movements, and the image of an eagle's claw helps him to catch and destroy the evil spirits.

The drum (*khass* or *khasn*) is round in form, and on the upper side, which is covered with reindeer-hide, symbolic pictures are painted in red ochre, expressing the idea of the universe of this people. In the middle there is a picture of a shaman, the sun, and the moon, and from the shaman's head five rays branch out, on each of which a bird is sitting. This signifies the shaman's thoughts, winging their way forth with the speed of a bird's flight. Round these pictures there are dots indicating the seven seas, and on the lower part of the drum there is a prominent portion of the surface without figures. This indicates the hole in the earth, *bandakan*, through which the shaman communicates with the underground world. On the inner side of the drum metallic jingles represent the spirits which serve the shaman during his incantations. Every time the shaman receives a new drum the number of spirit symbols increases. The five iron bars across the drum, from which the images of the spirits are hung, are called *uunsin*, 'a place to sit on,' and the wooden handle of the drum, which is found on the inner side, in the middle, is protected by an iron bracelet called *khynsin*, to prevent the shaman's hand from coming into contact with the powerful spirits. To the wooden bar on both sides of the handle several metal figures of birds are attached; these are, first, the two-headed eagle (*dokhdady*) who taught the first shaman, Dokh, his shamanistic art; second, the swan, called 'white bird of the goddess Tomantikh,' who is at the service of Ees; the remaining three birds represent divers (*bit*), who are sent by the shaman as messengers to Khosadam. That is why the diver's cry is so plaintive, and why the divers come in such numbers when they hear the shamanistic ceremonies being performed. (The divers generally follow any human gathering, in expectation of the remnants of food that will be thrown away.) On the inner side of the drum frame more pictures are painted, of men, dogs, or reindeer, a *chum* (tent), and sundry domestic utensils.

It is considered a very bad omen for the shaman if the cover of the drum breaks during the ceremony: in ancient times the shaman had to be killed after such an occurrence; now he is supposed to lose his shamanistic power. After the shaman's death it is obligatory to make a hole in the cover of the drum.

Upon the shaman's staff (*tauks*) seven human faces are carved; sometimes the lower part of the stick has the shape of two feet. The shaman uses his staff while shamanizing, and, if he has no access to a drum, he can even shamanize with the staff and the drum-stick. The shaman's staff is made of iron, and, when iron is lacking, of wood. It is broken at his death and the upper part of it is placed upon his grave.

The shaman's coat, made out of reindeer-skin with the hair cut short, has a triangular form roughly resembling a bird's wing, and is open at the front. Only a great shaman has a coat, and he then usually has also an assistant. The symbolic figures on the coat are very much the same as on the apron, and as a matter of fact it is very seldom that both are used, and the apron is more frequently met with than the coat, since the coats have generally been confiscated by the Russian Orthodox priests. One of the most prominent figures is the eagle, having round his neck a circle representing the serpent. The serpent is the servant of the bad spirits, and, as the shaman must not address these bad spirits directly, he does so through the eagle, who asks the advice of the serpent. Different metallic figures on the coat again represent the universe. A metallic disk represents the earth, with seven holes meaning the seven seas. Another disk represents the Milky Way, called by the Yeniseians 'Alba's Way,' after their hero. Yet another disk represents the Bear constellation, called by the Yeniseians the 'Elk.' There is one representation of the shaman's sun, which assists him when he wanders in the underground regions, and another of our sun. At the tail of the coat hangs a little human figure which is the *ulvei*, the chief soul of the shaman. It is considered very unlucky to lose this figure. On both sides of the coat there are eight metal straps called 'ribs.' After the shaman's death the metal parts of the coat are kept by his successor, while the coat itself is hung on a pole at his grave.

The actual shamanistic performances are very similar in type among all the natives of N. Siberia (the Ostyaks of N. Siberia include the Ugrian Ostyaks and the Ostyaks of the Yenisei), and any one who has once seen a shamanistic ceremony and received an explanation of it can follow quite easily the ceremonies of a totally different tribe, even though ignorant of their language. With some variation and addition, there are several chief points which appear in all the ceremonies: the wandering of the shaman to the upper and lower worlds, his struggle or merely argument with the spirits upon whom the fate of the man for whom the ceremonies are being performed depends, the return of the shaman, and the communication to the man of the result of his interview with the spirits, sometimes also the foretelling of the future of various people present at the ceremony.

LITERATURE.—i. *UGRIAN OSTYAKS.*—**N. A. Abramoff**, 'Opisanye Bierozovskago Kraya,' *Bull. Imperial Geographical Society* (Russ.), xii. [1857] 327–415; **F. Bielyavski**, *Poyesdka k Ledovitomu Moryu* (Russ.), Moscow, 1833; **M. A. Castrén**, *Nordische Reisen und Forschungen*, Petrograd, 1853; **J. E. Fischer**, *Sibirische Gesch. von der Entdeckung Sibiriens bis auf die Eroberung dieses Landes durch die russischen Waffen*, do. 1768; **K. N. A. Kostroff**, *Narymskie Ostyaki* (Russ.), Tomsk, 1867; **N. V. Latkin**, 'Yeniseyskaya Gubernya' (*Bull. Siberian Sect. Imp. Geogr. Soc.* 1865), Petrograd, 1892; **V. Lyadoff**, 'Moye poslednieye putyeshestvie po nisovyu Obi' (Russ.), *Novoye Vremya*, do. 1894; **Gregori Novicki**, *Kratkoye opisanye o narodie ostyatskom* (Russ.), do. 1717, ed. V. N. Mainoff, do. 1884; **S. K. Patkanoff**, *Starodavnaya jiźń ostyakoff* (Russ.), do. 1891; **I. S. Polyakoff**, *Pisma i otchoty o putyeshestvii v dolinu reki Obi* (Russ.), do. 1877; **W. Radloff**, *Aus Sibirien*, Leipzig, 1884, *Die alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei*, Petrograd, 1894; **S. Rudyenko**, *Antropologicheskiya Izsledovanya Inorodtsev Syevyero-Zapadnoi Sibiri*, do. 1914; **S. Shirokogorov**, *Zadachi Antropologii v Sibiri*, do. 1915; **P. J. Strahlenberg**, *Das nord- und ostliche Teil von Europa und Asien*, Stockholm, 1730; **P. Infantyeff**, *Putyeshestvie v stranu Vogulov* (Russ.), Petrograd, 1910; **A. I. Yakobii**, *Ostyaki Sievernoy chasti Tobolskoi gubernii* (Russ.), Tobolsk, 1895; **Zayesjii**, *Bierega Obi i ikh ibitatieli* (Russ.), do. 1858.

ii. *OSTYAKS OF YENISEI.*—**V. I. Anuchin**, *Ochork shamanstva u Yenisseyskikh Ostyakov* (Russ.), Petrograd, 1914; **J. Bichurin**, *Sobranye svyedenii o narodakh obitayushchikh v Srednyei Azii* (Russ.), do. 1851; **Castrén**, *Nordische Reisen und Forschungen*; **Fischer**, *Sibirische Geschichte*; **N. Gondatti**, *Sledy yazychestva u inorodtsev Syevyero-Zapadnoy Sibirii* (Russ.), Moscow, 1888; **Kostroff**, 'Ochorki Turukhanskavo Kraya,' *Bull. Siberian Sect. Imp. Geogr. Soc.* iv. pt. i. [1857] 118–121; **M. Krivoshapkine**, 'Ob Ostyakakh, Tungusakh i prochiikh inorodtsakh,' *ib.* vi. pt. i. [1863] 39–86, *Yeniseyskii Okrug i yevo jisn* (Russ.), Petrograd, 1865; **Latkin**, 'Yeniseyskaya Gubernya'; **A. Mordvinoff**, 'Inorodtsy, Obitayushchie v Turukhanskom kraye,' *Bull. Imp. Geogr. Soc.* xxviii. pt. ii. [1860]; **V. V. Peredolski**, *Po Yeniseyu* (Russ.), Petrograd, 1908; **I. Pyestoff**, *Zapiski ob Yeniseyskoi Gubernii* (Russ.), Moscow, 1833; **W.**

Radloff, *Aus Sibirien*, and *Die alttürkischen Inschriften der Mongolei*; A. P. Stepanoff, *Yeniseyskaya Gubernya* (Russ.), Petrograd, 1835; Strahlenberg, *Das nord- und ostliche Teil von Europa und Asien*; P. I. Tretyakoff, *Turukhanskii Krai* (Russ.), Petrograd, 1871.

M. A. CZAPLICKA.

OUDH.—See UNITED PROVINCES.

OUT-CASTES (Indian).—1. The out-castes of the early Hindu period.—Caste, in the form which it exhibits at present, is an institution of comparatively recent origin (see art. CASTE, vol. iii. p. 234 f.). The true out-castes, therefore, as we now observe them in India, did not exist in the early Hindu period. But, as the Indo-Aryans consolidated their power in N. India, with the growth of Brāhman ascendancy, the theory of the personal purity of the dominant tribes came to be generally accepted. It was held that one region should be regarded as specially pure.

'That land created by the gods, which lies between the two divine rivers Sarasvatī and Dṛishadvatī, the (sages) call Brahmāvarta. The custom handed down in regular succession (since time immemorial) among the (four chief castes [*varṇa*]) and the mixed (races) of that country, is called the conduct of virtuous men' (*Laws of Manu*, ii. 17 f. [*SBE* xxv. (1886) 32]).

The races residing beyond this sacred pale were known to the Hindus by different titles.

(*a*) *The Mlechchha.*—First come the Mlechchha, or barbarians.

'That land where the black antelope naturally roams, one must know to be fit for the performance of sacrifices; (the tract) different from that (is) the country of the Mlechchhas (barbarians)' (*ib.* ii. 23).

There is uncertainty about the modern meaning of the word 'Mlechchha.' Manu contrasted Āryas with Mlechchhas, the latter living in a different country and speaking a different language. The land of the Āryas was the region between the Himālayas and the Vindhya mountains; outside this lay the country of the Mlechchha, or barbarians, *i.e.* mostly the aboriginal races.

'According to this definition, the Deccan was comprised in the Mlechchha country, but other writers, such as Vaśishṭha, imposed no such limitations. In classical works the natives of the west were called Mlechchhas, but not those to the east or north. The Chinese, Burmese and other eastern nations are never spoken of as Mlechchhas, but the Muhammadans are often so described. In modern Bengali the word "Mlechchha" is a term of abuse for those who do not adopt the rules of cleanliness (*āchāra*) of the Hindus. In other words, it has lost its geographical meaning and distinguishes Hindus on the basis of religious practice. It is still used as a designation for foreigners, but there appears to be some difference of opinion as to how far it should be applied to such races as the Chinese and Japanese. On the whole, the general view appears to be that the term is confined to the western nations. While those who go to Europe and America are liable to excommunication, voyages to China and Japan involve no such penalties' (*Census of India, 1911*, Bengal Report, i. 229 f.).

It may also be remarked that in the more recent law literature the term received a more liberal interpretation. It was provided that, if a Kṣatriya or other Hindu king defeated the Mlechchha and reduced them to the rank of Chaṇḍāla, that is to say, forced them to join the lowest grade of the Hindu social system, that country became fit for sacrifice (*Manubhāshiya*, ii. 23, in *IA* xli. [1912] 76). On the whole, the word 'Mlechchha' generally seems to connote speakers of the western languages, like the Καρῶν βαρβαροφώνων of Homer (*Il.* ii. 867).

(*b*) *The Dasyu.*—The second class of aliens was that of the dark-coloured indigenous races which resisted the advance of the Aryans. They were known as Dasyu, 'destroyers of the good,' Rākṣasa, or Asura, 'demons,' Anāsa, 'noseless.'

'The black complexion, ferocious aspect, barbarous habits, rude speech, and savage yells of the Dasyus, and the sudden and furtive attacks which, under the cover of the impenetrable woods, and the obscurity of night, they would make on the encampments of the Āryas, might naturally lead the latter to speak of them, in the highly figurative language of an imaginative people, in the first stages of civilisation, as ghosts or demons; or even to conceive of their hidden assailants as possessed of magical or superhuman powers, or as headed by devils' (J. Muir, *Orig. Sanskrit Texts*, ii. [1860] 409 f.).

Modern Hindu writers of the S. Indian school, who oppose the theory of Aryan ascendancy, regard the contrast between the Ārya and the Dāsa, or Dasyu, as a question of cult and not of race, Ārya meaning a worshipper of Indra and Agni, and Dāsa, or Dasyu, either demons opposed to Indra or people that worshipped these demons (P. T. Srinivas Iyengār, *Life in Ancient India in the Age of the Mantras*, Madras, 1912, p. 11 ff.).

(*c*) *The Śūdra and the Chaṇḍāla.*—When we come to the period of the law-books, we find that the Śūdra are subjected to various disabilities, and, in particular, are excluded from the right of *connubium* with the Āryas (*Laws of Manu*, iii. 13–19, and *passim*). Below the Śūdra, but holding a definite place in the Aryan community, are the Chaṇḍāla, objects of contempt and disgust. Manu regards the Chaṇḍāla as the offspring of a woman of high caste and a Śūdra (*ib.* x. 12, 16).

'A Chaṇḍāla, a village pig, a cock, a dog, a menstruating woman, and a eunuch must not look upon the Brāhmaṇas while they eat' (*ib.* iii. 239). 'The dwellings of Chaṇḍālas and Śvapachas ['dog-cooking,' 'dog-feeder'] shall be outside the village, they must be made Apapātras [those who use vessels from which no one else will eat], and their wealth (shall be) dogs and donkeys. Their dress (shall be) the garments of the dead, (they shall eat) their food from broken dishes, black iron (shall be) their ornaments, and they must always wander from place to place. A man who fulfils a religious duty shall not seek intercourse with them; their transactions (shall be) among themselves, and their marriages with their equals. Their food shall be given to them by others (than an Āryan giver) in a broken dish; at night they shall not walk about in villages and in towns. By day they may go about for the purpose of their work, distinguished by marks at the king's command, and they shall carry out the corpses (of persons) who have no relatives. . . . By the king's order they shall always execute the criminals, in accordance with the law, and they shall take for themselves the clothes, the beds, and the ornaments of (such) criminals' (*ib.* x. 51–56).

2. The modern out-castes.—The modern out-castes fall into two classes: (1) the menial, depressed tribes or castes, who occupy the degraded position which Manu assigns to the Chaṇḍāla, such as the Ḍom, Bhangī, or Chuhrā (*qq.v.*) of N. India, or the Pariah (*q.v.*) of Madras; and (2) those who for some offence against Hindu social regulations have been expelled from their tribe or caste by the sentence of caste tribunal, known in N. India as the council of five members (*pañchāyat*). The common phrase for such expulsion in N. India is *huqqah pānī band karnā*, implying that no member of the group will smoke with him, or take water from his hands. In other words, he is boycotted, no caste-man will hold intercourse with him, and—perhaps the most serious of all penalties, in a land where the marriage of children is a religious duty—he loses his rights of *connubium* and other caste privileges. The offences for which this penalty is prescribed vary in different parts of the country and among different castes and tribes, but the general system is the same throughout India.

In Bengal a man is permanently expelled from caste for grave offences—*e.g.*, if he knowingly and persistently partakes of food with, or drinks water from the hands of, or smokes with, a man of lower caste, or marries a woman of lower caste and refuses to put her away. This extreme penalty has even been imposed when a man has married a woman of his own caste without or against the consent of her relatives. Adultery and engaging in an occupation which is looked on as degrading are sometimes punished in this way. Temporary out-casting is ordered as a punishment for less serious offences, and a suspect is frequently out-casted until he clears himself from a charge of violation of caste usage (*Census of India, 1911*, Bengal Report, i. 467, and see also United Provinces and Oudh Report, i. 337 ff., Panjāb Report, i. 420 ff., Baroda Report, i. 251 ff.).

3. Restoration to caste privileges.—In the case of temporary expulsion, restoration to caste privileges is secured by abject submission to the caste council and by the infliction of various penalties.

In Bihār the offender has to undergo prescribed penances, such as going on a pilgrimage for an appointed period, bathing in the Ganges and swallowing some of its sand, living on alms for a prescribed time, remaining dumb for a certain time, fasting or eating only one meal in the day, swallowing a mixture of the

five products of the cow—cow-dung, cow's urine, milk, curds, and *ghī*, or clarified butter. Besides these punishments there are rites of expiation (*prāyaśchitta*), including sacrifice, worship of the gods, commonly of Satyanārāyaṇa, making a gift of a cow, a heifer, cash, and cloth to the family priest, feeding Brāhmans and presenting gifts to them, and giving a dinner to the caste-men (*Census of India, 1911*, Bengal Report, i. 461). In the case of the committal of one of the most serious offences, cow-killing, the offender has to measure his length on hands and knees along one bank of the Ganges, from the source to the sea, and to return in the same way along the other bank.

4. Pollution by the touch of out-castes.—The touch or even the shadow of an out-caste falling on a man of high caste causes pollution.

In N. India, when a Ḍom or a Bhangī is called as a witness in a court of justice, the spectators draw in their skirts to avoid contact with him, and careful Hindus bathe after shaking hands with a European. In parts of the Panjāb where the Hindu element is strong one of the unclean castes is not allowed to draw water from a public well used by high-caste Hindus. In such places Chuhrās and Chamārs have wells of their own. In other parts of the province a Hindu's water-vessel is supposed to be polluted if an out-caste happens to stand on the well platform, or if his bucket-rope is still touching the sides of the well (*Census of India, 1911*, Panjāb Report, i. 411 f.). This feeling is even stronger in S. India. The Nayādis, an out-caste tribe, pollute a Brāhman if they come within the distance of 300 ft. of him; he is obliged to bathe, to renew his sacred thread, and to drink the five products (*pañchagavyam*) of the cow; when these out-castes are passing by, they must announce their presence by shouting lest they cause pollution (L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, *The Cochin Tribes and Castes*, Madras, 1909, i. 57). The approach of an Ulladan within a distance of 64 ft. pollutes Brāhmans and other men of high caste; hence they are forbidden to use the public roads or enter bazaars (*ib.* i. 85). Vallans are obliged to announce their presence by shouting, and, if they visit a temple, they have to stand at a certain distance from the outer walls (*ib.* i. 260). In Bombay the touch or even the shadow of a Holeya or Canarese Pariah is thought to defile (*BG* xxiii. [1884] 214). In Khāndesh a Brāhman clerk will not let a Mahār touch his cart, nor will he take anything from his hands; if the Mahār presents a paper, he has to throw it on the ground; the clerk picks it up, and, when he returns it, he flings it to the Mahār, and will not hand it to him (*ib.* xii. [1880] 117).

Even castes of menial status have similar prejudices. The Pulayans, themselves a cause of pollution, have to bathe five times and let a drop of blood flow from a finger in order to purify themselves after touching a Pariah; and the Kuricchans, a low jungle tribe, are polluted by the approach of others of the same grade, and their women require water sanctified by a Brāhman in order to purify themselves (L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, i. 86; E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of S. India*, Madras, 1909, iv. 126). Out-castes retaliate even on Brāhmans. The Holeyas say that their quarter must undergo purification if a Brāhman enters it; otherwise ill will befall them. Pariahs also exclude Brāhmans, and, should one of them enter their ward, water mixed with cow-dung is flung over his head, and he is driven out; in former times, in Mysore, it is said that he was beaten to death (Thurston, ii. 336 f., vi. 88).

It is a mistake to believe that these out-castes are conscious of their own degradation.

All traditions represent the Pariahs as a caste which has come down in the world (*Census of India, 1901*, Madras Report, i. 172). Hence many of these tribes possess privileges which they tenaciously assert. 'On certain days [in Madras] they may enter temples which at other times they must not approach. There are several important ceremonial and social observances which they are always called to inaugurate or take some share in, and which, indeed, would be held incomplete and unlucky without them; and at particular seasons there is a festival much resembling the classic Saturnalia, in which, for the time, the relation of slaves and masters is inverted, and the former attack the latter with unstinted satire and abuse, and threaten to strike work unless confirmed in their privileges' (M. J. Walhouse, *JAI* iv. [1875] 371). The Pariahs and Pulayans of Cochin cherish the memory of their former greatness, and regard themselves as the original owners of the soil; in some temples the Holeyas have the right of entry on three days in the year; one of them sits beside the image of Śiva on his elephant and fans the idol during the annual procession; a Pariah annually performs the rite of the 'sacred marriage,' with Egathāl, the tutelary goddess of Madras, and ties the marriage badge round the neck of her image; Pariahs pull the idol cars at processions without causing any pollution, and they are employed to decide boundary disputes by walking along the line with pots of water on their heads (L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, i. 69; Thurston, ii. 332, vi. 83).

This association of out-castes with religious rites is based on the theory that they are autochthones, that they thus understand the proper modes of propitiating the local godlings, and hence in many parts of India they act as their priests. The same belief accounts for the fact that they are often called in to perform the rites of inauguration and investiture of a Rājā of high caste, as in the case of the Halbās of the Central Provinces (A. E. Nelson, *Raipur Gazetteer*, 1909, i. 102; cf. the customs of the Bhīl, *ERE* ii. 554 f.).

5. Measures of reform.—The attention of sympathetic Europeans has for a long time been attracted to the almost intolerable position of out-castes in India.

W. Ward remarks that the rules of the *Śāstras* or Hindu religious and social regulations regarding the Śūdras of Bengal 'are so unjust and inhuman, that every benevolent person must feel the greatest indignation at the Hindoo lawgivers, and rejoice that Providence has placed so great a portion of this people under the equitable laws of the British Government' (*A View of the History, Literature, and Religion of the Hindoos*[2], Serampore, 1818, i. 68). J. A. Dubois writes: 'In fact, these Pariahs are the born slaves of India; and had I to choose between the two sad fates of being a slave in one of our colonies or a Pariah here, I should undoubtedly prefer the former' (*Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*[3], Eng. tr., Oxford, 1906, p. 49).

Recent political agitation among the educated classes has aroused public attention to the problem of 'the untouchables,' as they are popularly called, and their position is logically regarded as incompatible with those theories of the freedom and equality of man which are in the air at present. A more practical reason has strengthened these considerations—the high-caste Hindu sees that many of them, in order to escape their degraded condition, have sought relief by adopting Christianity or Islām. A movement to ameliorate their condition has been recently started in W. India.

'The attitude of the educated section of the higher castes towards the despised classes has, within the decade, undergone a remarkable change. Theosophists, Brahmo Samajists, Arya Samajists, Prarthana Samajists, high class Hindus and Christian missionaries are all taking an active interest in their welfare. The work of the Depressed Class Mission in Bombay and other parts of Western India is progressing. The untouchables are being touched. The stigma is being removed. The first step has been taken, and there is no doubt that the movement now going on for their elevation is bound to succeed. In the Baroda State H. H. the Maharaja Sayajirao Gaekwad is a keen sympathiser with the lot of these poor people. Schools and Boarding Houses have been opened for their education. Dheds, Bhangis and Chamārs can now enter the precincts of Courts and Government Offices, like other castes, and even the public service is thrown open to them' (*Census of India, 1911*, Baroda Report, i. 262).

Up to the present this movement has not made much progress in N. and S. India. It has to encounter the confirmed prejudices of a most conservative priestly body, and, though it is probable that, the question once having been raised, their position may become less degraded than it is at present, it is premature to expect that the process of amelioration will be rapid.

LITERATURE.—This has been quoted in the article.

W. CROOKE.

OUTLAW.—The extent of the area throughout which the social feelings of early man are operative differs in different cases. In some instances they scarcely cross the threshold of his family-group, while in others they reach beyond the boundaries of his clan or even those of his tribe. To him the limits of the group, clan, or tribe seem to form the ring-fence of all possible social life, outside of which lies a world peopled by beings whom he fears and hates as his deadly enemies. Not only the welfare but the very existence of the community of which he is a member depends on the maintenance of the peace which subsists within it. This peace is safeguarded by custom, which is accepted without question and without explanation as the only rule of conduct; and custom is obeyed, in the first place, by reason of this acceptance, and, in the second place, by reason of the conviction that some supernatural power, force, or influence will bring disaster not only upon the man who disregards its bidding, but upon the community to which he belongs. It follows that whoever breaks the peace commits an offence which is at once secular and religious. Sometimes it is the former, sometimes it is the latter, element to which primitive notions regarding the essentials

of criminality assign more importance.[1] In both cases, however, the fate of such an evil-doer is the same. There is no place for him within the community which he has imperilled and polluted. He must be slain or expelled from the company of his fellows.

Frequently expulsion results not only in the civil, but in the actual, death of the outcast.

Among the Masai, if a man is convicted of a particular offence several times, and constitutes himself a public nuisance, he is proclaimed an outlaw, his property is confiscated, he is turned away with blows from every settlement or village, and, unless he can find friends in some stranger tribe, he must die of starvation.[2] A similar fate awaits the Zulu who has committed a premeditated murder;[3] and in early Arabia a man who had killed one of his kindred was either put to death by his own people or became an outlaw, forced to take refuge in an alien group.[4] In Albania the murderer's house is burned, his movables are confiscated, his immovables are made over to his victim's representatives, and he and his family must flee the country.[5] In the Nissan Islands criminals are expelled from the village or district to which they belong, and their houses and lands are forfeited;[6] the Seri Indians outlaw any of their members who are guilty of habitual idleness, of associating with aliens, or of failing in certain of the tests imposed upon would-be bridegrooms.[7] Among the Wyandots it is the duty of every tribesman to kill the outlaw; and the Bedâwin of Hadramaut permit the slaying of the man who has been banished, after an interval of three days.[8]

Sometimes a man will submit to outlawry rather than face the death which is the punishment of persistent disobedience to tribal custom,[9] or will himself renounce his clansman's rights and family ties in order to prosecute his vengeance the more readily.[10]

Sometimes an offender is outlawed for crimes committed upon persons other than the members of his group.

Thus, among the Barea and Kumâna the cattle-thief who robs a friendly tribesman, and refuses to make the reparation which the elders of his own tribe have demanded of him, is expelled by his fellows, his dwelling is broken up, his property is taken from him, and his friends and relatives must share in his fate.[11]

So, too, when the murderer of a member of a neighbouring tribe learns that an avenging expedition is on his track, if he takes to flight, he does so 'in the full knowledge of being ostracised for ever.'[12]

We find instances in which the kindred of a homicide escape responsibility for his crime by withdrawing their protection from him.[1]

Among the Circassians on the Kuban, the man-slayer for whom his clan refuse to pay compensation, and whom they abandon to the vengeance of his victim's representatives, must flee the country and wander a homeless fugitive (*abrak*), until he either makes his peace with the avengers or finds death at their hands.[2]

Elsewhere the same principle is applied to the case of the son for whom his father has paid many fines,[3] and to that of the spendthrift for whose debts each branch of the family is legally liable. He is, says W. Marsden,[4] sent forth as a deer to the woods, no longer to be considered as entitled to the privileges of society. It may be noted that to meet or have intercourse with an outlaw was regarded by the Babylonians as a sin.[5]

In the early Aryan community death was the only penalty; and, if the criminal could not be taken, he was expelled from it, to be treated like a wild beast, and, like a wild beast, to be hunted down and slain.[6] This conception ruled in Vedic[7] and Germanic[8] antiquity, and, in the opinion of Schrader, it underlies the *ἄτιμία*[9] of the Greeks, which originally signified the position of the man who could be slain without penalty or payment or compensation.[10] The case of the *homo sacer* was similar. Fallen under the wrath of the gods, whom he had offended by his crime, he was expelled from all human society; his goods were confiscated, and it was open to any one to slay him. He was not a mere enemy, and, as such, without rights. He was an abomination in the sight of gods and men, to be shunned like a leper, and to be cast out to herd with the wild beasts.[11]

In ancient Gaul refusal to submit to the judgments of the druids was punished with outlawry;[12]

[1] See art. Law (Primitive); and J. G. Frazer, *Psyche's Task, a Discourse concerning the Influence of Superstition on the Growth of Institutions*, London, 1909, p. 79 f., where the view is stated that the treatment of homicides was originally conceived as a purification; and that it was when that purification took the form of laying the manslayer under restraint, banishing him from the country, or putting him to death in order to appease the victim's ghost, that it became for all practical purposes indistinguishable from punishment.

[2] S. L. and H. Hinde, *The Last of the Masai*, London, 1901, p. 108.

[3] J. Macdonald, 'Manners, Customs, Superstitions, and Religions of South African Tribes,' *JAI* xx. [1891] 119.

[4] W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*[2], London, 1903, p. 25.

[5] R. Dareste, 'Les anciennes Coutumes albanaises,' *Nouvelle Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, iv. [1903] 491.

[6] F. Sorge, 'Die Nissan Inseln im Bismarck Archipel,' in S. R. Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse von eingeborenen Völkern in Afrika und Ozeanien*, Berlin, 1903, p. 419.

[7] W J McGee, 'The Seri Indians,' *17 RBEW* [1898], pt. i. p. 273*.

[8] E. Westermarck, *MI* i. 173, citing J. W. Powell, 'Wyandot Government,' *1 RBEW* [1881], p. 68, and A. von Wrede, *Reise in Hadhramaut*, ed. H. von Maltzan, Brunswick, 1870, p. 51.

[9] E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, 4 vols., Melbourne, 1886–87, i. 61 f.; Spencer-Gillen[a], p. 495.

[10] That is the case of the *kenaima*, among the Macusis and other tribes of British Guiana. He severs all ties of family and clan; and from the moment when he leaves his village it is the duty of every one to slay him (R. Schomburgk, *Reisen in Britisch Guiana in 1840–44*, Leipzig, 1847–48, i. 158, 323 ff.; E. F. im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, London, 1883, p. 329 ff.; W. H. Brett, *Indian Tribes of Guiana*, do. 1868, p. 357 f.).

[11] W. Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, Schaffhausen, 1864, p. 479.

[12] W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the N.W. Central Queensland Aborigines*, Brisbane and London, 1897, p. 140. It may be that by 'ostracised' Roth means no more than mere avoidance. Avoidance is a by no means infrequent punishment, and is in use, *e.g.*, among the Eskimos of Boothia Felix (John Ross, *Appendix to the Narr. of a Second Voyage in Search of a North-West Passage*, London, 1835, p. 11).

[1] See below as to outlawry among the Irish and Anglo-Saxons.

[2] Stahl, cited by E. Kulischer, 'Untersuchungen über das primitive Strafrecht,' *ZVRW* xvi. [1903] 423. See also, regarding Caucasian tribes, the authorities cited by A. H. Post, *Grundriss der ethnologischen Jurisprudenz*, Oldenburg and Leipzig, 1894–95, i. 352–354.

[3] A. Trollope, *S. Africa*, London, 1878, ii. 301 (Kaffirs).

[4] *The Hist. of Sumatra*, London, 1783, p. 207.

[5] See art. Ethics and Morality (Babylonian).

[6] O. Schrader, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, Strassburg, 1901, p. 835.

[7] H. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, Berlin, 1879, p. 185. From the same root as *parāvṛj*, the outcast of the Vedas, is formed a series of terms, among which is the English 'wretch,' which clearly indicates what was the impression of the lot of the outlaw made upon the mind of primitive man (Schrader, *loc. cit.*; cf. J. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*[3], Göttingen, 1881, p. 396 f.).

[8] See below.

[9] See art. Atimia.

[10] Schrader, *loc. cit.*; see also Crimes and Punishments (Greek), §§ 4, 6(5). B. W. Leist (*Græco-italische Rechtsgeschichte*, Jena, 1884, pp. 326 f., 331, 403) observes that the Greeks distinguished between *φόνος ἑκούσιος* and *φόνος ἀκούσιος*. In the former case, when the homicide had fled beyond the reach of the avenger, the community broke off all relations with him, as having brought pollution upon it and offended its gods. As in the case of the Roman *aquæ et ignis interdictio*, his flight was declared an *ἀειφυγία*, upon which followed the confiscation of his property. In the latter case he must absent himself from his country only until he has made his peace with the avenger and with the angry gods. See *GB*[3], pt. iii., *The Dying God*, London, 1911, p. 69 f.

[11] R. von Ihering, *Geist des römischen Rechts*, i.[4], Leipzig, 1878, p. 279 ff. This condition was the consequence not of all but of certain specified crimes—ill-treatment of parents, the betrayal of a client by his patron, and the ploughing up of ancient boundary-stones; and to these the later law added certain other offences. Ihering observes that banishment was not a punishment, but a means of escaping punishment which the Romans left open to the accused until judgment. The community, to free itself of all responsibility to the gods, must renounce all intercourse with the outcast. This was the meaning of the *aquæ et ignis interdictio*. It was not mere political banishment, but operated as a purification. Fire and water are the emblems of purity, and were employed in every act constituting or representing a religious union—*e.g.*, sacrifice, marriage, the making of a treaty, etc.—and they were denied to the criminals, not in order to signify a refusal of the necessities of life, but as symbols of the purity of the common life, which he would sully by his use (*ib.* p. 288). See also Crimes and Punishments (Roman).

[12] Cæsar, *de Bell. Gall.* vi. 13; see Crimes and Punishments (Celtic).

and in the laws of early Ireland the outlaw is defined, and the conditions are prescribed by compliance with which his family could be exonerated from his guilt, and subject to which he could be slain with impunity.[1]

Among the Germanic peoples outlawry in its oldest form may be described as expulsion from human society to keep company with the beasts of the forest. The outlaw was named 'the wolf' (*wargus*), and was to be treated as the wolf, the enemy of human kind. He could be slain by any one without penalty, and, frequently, a price was set upon his head.[2] But, unless caught red-handed, his life was safe until the close of the tribunal which had pronounced judgment upon him. He had thus an opportunity of escape. No one might give him food or shelter, and, according to the older law, his goods were confiscated, and his very memory was blotted out by the burning down of his dwelling.[3] Thus, in its earlier forms, outlawry included all punishments, while, in its later modifications, each punishment had its separate and independent place.[4] Even in the former case something was abated of the harshness of the law, either by the interposition of arbitrators or by voluntary submission to a punishment; and, when it became permissible to give to the outlaw the assistance necessary to enable him to quit the country, banishment gradually took the place of the heavier penalty. A milder form of outlawry consisted in a three years' banishment, upon his return from which the exile was restored to his place in the community. If, however, he did not pay the compensation to which he had been adjudged liable, or if he had committed a fresh breach of the peace during the term of his banishment, he fell under the rigours of the old law.[5] In later times expulsion of the evil-doer from the country was replaced by expulsion from the district ('Mark,' 'Gau') to which he belonged, while, under the influence of Christianity, not only did the Church introduce a form of expulsion, which a secular tribunal had no power to inflict, but secular was conjoined with ecclesiastical expulsion, and pilgrimage to holy places, where he could be cleansed of his guilt, was imposed upon the exile.[6] Gradually the older system yielded to a new order of things, under which almost all crimes could be atoned for by a money payment.[7]

It was provided by one of the laws of King Edward that the homicide's relatives should escape responsibility for his crime if they forsook him, refused to pay for him, and ever afterwards refused him food or drink.[8]

It is of interest to note that, until the law of Scotland was modified by statutes passed in 1649 and 1661,[1] the man who had been proclaimed rebel for a criminal offence could be slain by any one with impunity, and that his relatives were forbidden to 'ressett, supple, or manteine or do favors to "him," under pane of deid and confiscatioun of' their movable property.[2]

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works cited in the article, see artt. BANISHMENT and ETHICS AND MORALITY. As to the position of the outlaw in Northern antiquity, see *The Story of Grettir the Strong*, tr. from the Icelandic by Eiríkr Magnússon and William Morris, London, 1900, and the trr. by G. W. Dasent, entitled *The Saga of Burnt Njal*, Edinburgh, 1861, and *The Story of Gisli the Outlaw*, do. 1866.

P. J. HAMILTON-GRIERSON.

OVERSOUL.—'Oversoul' is Emerson's term for the absolute spiritual reality of the universe. The word in this sense was new with Emerson; the idea which he sought to express through it was almost as old as human thought. The early influences which brought Emerson to his doctrine of the oversoul, which in his twenty-fourth year he calls 'the Universal Mind' (*Journal*, ii. 217), were the writings of Coleridge, Wordsworth, Carlyle, and Goethe. Somewhat later he took up the study of Plato and Plotinus with intense enthusiasm. They had a profound influence on his development, and it was probably their doctrine of the soul that suggested to Emerson his term 'oversoul.'

Plotinus, following Plato's suggestion, in the *Timæus*, of a world-soul, presents as a central feature of his philosophy a vast, eternal, all-inclusive soul of the universe, which is at once both a one and a many. It is the unity in one of all the souls that are and of everything that can be called soul in the entire universe, visible and invisible. It is the overflow of the ineffable godhead, flooding out and coming to expression in the myriad forms of man and nature.

'The uncreated ground' of Meister Eckhart and 'the bottomless abyss' of Jacob Boehme also had a positive influence in the formation of Emerson's view of the oversoul, and still more important was the influence of German transcendental philosophy, especially as expounded by Fichte and Schelling.

'There is,' according to Fichte, 'one animating life, one living reason, of which all that seems to us to exist and live is but a modification, definition, variety and form' (*Grundzüge des gegenwärtigen Zeitalters*, Berlin, 1806, lect. ii.). 'One eternal energy separates itself into our consciousness, flows forth as the fountain of being, and remains even in its time-stream always one undivided energy' (*ib.* lect. iv.). 'One divine life wells up in our consciousness and appears in a world of infinite variety and change' (*Anweisung zum seligen Leben*, Berlin, 1806, lect. iv.).

With even less restraint and greater poetic exuberance, Schelling traced everything up to the absolute, the ground and matrix, both of finite mind and of external nature, which fit each to each like the two poles of a magnet. This absolute is the immense, brooding, organizing life, sleeping in the plant, dreaming in the animal, and waking into full consciousness in man, and revealing itself in ever-heightening forms first in an embryonic way in nature and then in conscious forms through history, art, and religion—a view which Coleridge interpreted in his *Eolian Harp*:

> 'And what if all of animated nature
> Be but organic harps diversely framed,
> That tremble into thought, as o'er them sweeps
> Plastic and vast, one intellectual breeze,
> At once the Soul of each, and God of all?' (44 ff.).

Emerson's doctrine of the oversoul runs through all his writings both in prose and in verse. It underlies his interpretation of nature, his conception of genius, his faith in man, and his unfailing assurance in the testimony of the soul. His most complete, though still highly poetic, interpretation is

[1] The provisions of the *Book of Aicill* (*Ancient Laws and Institutes of Ireland*, Dublin and London, 1865–79, iii. 381) regarding outlawry are quoted in art. CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS (Celtic). See also H. S. Maine, *The Early Hist. of Institutions*, new ed., London, 1890, p. 174; E. O'Curry, *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, ed. W. K. Sullivan, 3 vols., London, 1873, i. p. cxx.

[2] W. E. Wilda, *Das Strafrecht der Germanen*, Halle, 1842, p. 279 f.; Grimm, p. 733; K. Maurer, *Vorlesungen über altnordische Rechtsgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1910, v. 136 ff.; H. Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, do. 1887, i. 168. In Iceland the law sanctioned and favoured a sort of war of extermination against the outlaw. Whoever met him and could master him without danger to himself must either slay him or give him over to be slain. The community paid a price to the slayer or captor, and restored to its peace the outlaw who had slain three other wretches like himself (Wilda, p. 282 f.; cf. Maurer, i. 141, 143). The danger to society which results from neglect to take severe measures against those whom it has expelled is illustrated by the case of the Cocina Indians, who are neither a tribe nor a caste, but a band of outlaws, who live by robbing the other inhabitants of the Goajira Peninsula (F. A. A. Simons, 'An Exploration of the Goajira Peninsula,' *Proc. of the Royal Geographical Society*, vii. [1885] 787).

[3] Wilda, pp. 283–290.

[4] *Ib.* p. 296 f.; Brunner, i. 178.

[5] Wilda, pp. 297–301.

[6] Grimm, p. 737.

[7] Wilda, pp. 270, 320.

[8] *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, London, 1840, p. 105.

[1] 1649, c. 96; 1661, c. 217 (*The Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland*, ed. T. Thomson, Edinburgh, 1814–75, vi. pt. ii. p. 173, vii. 203).

[2] D. Hume, *Com. on the Law of Scotland respecting Crimes*[4], Edinburgh, 1844, i. 187 ff.; 1540, c. 14; 1592, c. 65 (*Acts of Parliaments of Scotland*, ii. 372, iii. 574).

given in his essay, *The Over-soul*, first published in 1841. In this essay the oversoul is called 'the Universal Mind,' 'Supreme Mind,' 'Spirit,' 'Deity,' 'the Eternal One,' 'that Unity within which every man's particular being is contained and made one with all other,' 'the common Heart,' 'the Soul of the whole,' 'the deep Power in which we live.' Like Fichte's 'absolute ego' and Schelling's 'absolute principle,' like 'the universal reason' of Coleridge and 'the infinite Divine Presence' of Wordsworth, the oversoul, in Emerson's view, is an immense spiritual environment of the soul, a vast background presence impinging on the inner border of every personal life, so that man is a veritable 'façade of a temple,' which opens inward into the infinite.

When this presence 'breathes through his [man's] intellect, it is genius; when it breathes through his will, it is virtue; when it flows through his affection, it is love' (*The Over-soul* [*Works*, ii. 255]). 'It arches over them like a temple, this unity of thought in which every heart beats with nobler sense of power and duty, and thinks and acts with unusual solemnity' (*ib.* p. 260).

He accounts for the genius of Michael Angelo and other artists in the well-known lines:

'The passive Master lent his hand
To the vast soul that o'er him planned'
(*The Problem*, l. 47 f. [*Works*, ix. 17]).

One universal sea of life surges into all individual inlets, 'as the water of the globe is all one sea, and, truly seen, its tide is one' (*Over-soul*, p. 276). 'The waters of the great deep have ingress and egress to the soul' (*The Intellect* [*Works*, ii. 319]), and its 'influx' makes men wise beyond their own private knowledge, and good beyond the narrow range of their human deeds—'the soul is superior to its knowledge, wiser than any of its works' (*Over-soul*, p. 271). Silence, the hush of all that is of the private and exclusive self, is essential to the inflow of the higher truth into the soul. A man must learn to 'listen greatly.'

'Silence is a solvent that destroys [limiting] personality, and gives us leave to be great and universal' (*Intellect*, p. 319).

According to Emerson's doctrine, there is no impenetrable wall, 'no screen or ceiling,' between the individual soul and the oversoul.

'There is no bar or wall in the soul, where man . . . ceases, and God . . . begins. The walls are taken away. We lie open on one side to the deeps of spiritual nature' (*Over-soul*, p. 255).

'Draw, if thou canst, the mystic line
Severing rightly his from thine,
Which is human, which divine'
(*Worship*, l. 21 ff. [*Works*, ix. 237]).

'Ineffable is the union of man and God in every act of the soul. . . . For ever and ever the influx of this better and universal self is new and unsearchable' (*Over-soul*, p. 274). 'Thoughts come into our minds by avenues which we never left open.' 'If he [man] have found his centre, the Deity will shine through him' (*ib.* p. 268 f.). Self-reliance is safe because it is soul-reliance, and soul-reliance is safe because it is a 'trust which carries God with it and so hath already the whole future in the bottom of the heart' (*ib.* p. 278).

Like his masters, Plato and Plotinus, and his German and English inspirers, Emerson thinks of this oversoul, this universal reason, as the interpenetrating life and power and intelligence in nature, which is 'the perennial miracle' of spirit. Nature is alive through the same oversoul which is in us. At the centre of nature, as at the centre of man's soul, one supreme mind is actively present, is showing its unvarying laws, and is weaving the web which partly conceals and partly reveals the hidden-working spirit. There is one common, penetrating pulse of nature and spirit—'the earth-beat, sea-beat, heart-beat, which makes the tune to which the sun rolls, and the globule of blood, and the sap of trees' (*Representative Men* [*Works*, iv. 135]).

Since Emerson's day there have been many interpretations of ultimate reality in terms of oversoul. William James concludes that 'continuous and conterminous' with our personal selves there is 'a wider Self through which saving experiences come' (*Varieties of Religious Experience*, pp. 508, 515). R. M. Bucke calls this ultimate reality 'cosmic consciousness,' and gives many illustrations of its influence (see his interesting book, *Cosmic Consciousness*). F. W. H. Myers worked out in much detail a doctrine of the subliminal self, from which, he holds, come inspirations, revelations, and a vast number of extraordinary experiences and manifestations (*Human Personality*). There are, furthermore, in contemporary thought, many popular varieties of oversoul doctrine.

LITERATURE.—Plato, *Timæus*; Plotinus, *Enneads* (Emerson read Thomas Taylor's tr., London, 1787); Eckhart, *Predigten*, ed. F. Pfeiffer, Stuttgart, 1857; *Works* of Jacob Behmen (Boehme) (Emerson read the so-called Law ed., in 4 vols., London, 1764–81); J. G. Fichte, *Popular Works*, Eng. tr.[4], 2 vols., London, 1889; F. W. J. Schelling, *Ideen zu einer Philosophie der Natur*, Leipzig, 1797, and *Von der Weltseele*, Hamburg, 1798; S. T. Coleridge, *Works*; W. Wordsworth, *Poems*; R. W. Emerson, *Complete Works*, Riverside ed., 12 vols., London, 1894–99, *Journals*, 10 vols., Boston, 1909–14; W. James, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, London, 1902; R. M. Bucke, *Cosmic Consciousness*, Philadelphia, 1905; F. W. H. Myers, *Human Personality and its Survival of Bodily Death*, 2 vols., London, 1903.

RUFUS M. JONES.

OXFORD MOVEMENT.—The name is given to the religious revival which began at Oxford in 1833. Its formal beginning is held to be a sermon on 'National Apostasy' preached in the University Church at Oxford on 14th July 1833 by John Keble. Later in July there was a meeting at Hadleigh in Suffolk, where H. J. Rose was rector, at which the only resident Oxford Fellow present was R. H. Froude; but far more important were the *Tracts for the Times by Members of the University of Oxford*, which began in September 1833, the first three Tracts being written by J. H. Newman. Keble, Froude, and Newman were all Fellows of Oriel College, though Keble had ceased to reside regularly in Oxford ten years before.

1. **Causes of the Movement.**—The immediate causes were the dangers threatening the English Church from four quarters.

(1) The most obvious danger, though the least serious, was political. The Established position of the English Church seemed threatened. In 1828 the Test and Corporation Acts, in 1829 the penal laws against Roman Catholics, had been repealed. In 1832 the great Reform Bill had become law, and the Whigs who had championed all these measures were in office supported by the emancipated Roman Catholics and the Dissenters. The Church as a whole had been allied to the Tories, and most observers imagined that the old order in the Church as well as in the State was doomed. In 1833 the Irish bishoprics were reduced from twenty to ten (the Church of Ireland was then Established); the Bill for their reduction was before the House of Lords when Keble preached his famous sermon; the interference with the Irish sees appeared an earnest of what might happen to the English in their turn. The opposition of the bishops and clergy to reform had made them singularly unpopular in the great towns. By the isolation of this cause the Movement can be made to appear almost wholly political, as a mere rally in favour of the Tory party, or of the old relations between Church and State

(2) A second danger was from what is called Erastianism (*q.v.*), though it was not the teaching of Erastus but of the English philosopher Thomas Hobbes—the view that the final authority in religious belief was neither the Bible nor the Church, but the State. Such a view was a commonplace of Whig thinkers, and since the action of the State at the Revolution of 1689, when six English bishops (including the archbishop of Canterbury) and one Irish bishop had been deprived, without any canonical sentence, the Church had inclined more and more in its prac-

tice in an Erastian direction. The strongest teaching against Erastianism came from the Nonjurors (*q.v.*), and it is significant that an edition of the works of Charles Leslie, one of the wisest and most learned of the Nonjurors, had been issued from the University Press, Oxford, in 1832. Keble in his sermon had spoken strongly against State tyranny over the Church, and a strong protest against such a relation of Church and State marked the Movement from its beginning. This view, while it made an appeal to the more spiritual of the Protestant Dissenters, was unlikely to commend the Movement to Whig ministers.

(3) The most vital and the most subtle danger was 'Liberalism.' This was the spirit which had burst out in the French Revolution, but was at work in 1833 in the universities of Germany, unknown to most Englishmen. H. J. Rose had called attention to it in sermons at Cambridge in 1825, when he was answered, strangely enough, by E. B. Pusey. In England in 1833 Liberalism was the view that education, civilization, and reason would cure the evils and sorrows of mankind. Religion, in this view, was apt to be regarded as 'the rubbish of superstition.' By Liberalism the followers of the Oxford Movement meant 'the tendencies of modern thought to destroy the basis of revealed religion, and ultimately of all that can be called religion at all' (Church, *Occasional Papers*, ii. 386; Liberalism is analyzed most carefully in H. S. Holland, *Personal Studies*, London, n.d., pp. 76–82, and by J. H. Newman, in the *Apologia pro Vita Sua*, Note A, 'Liberalism,' added to the 1865 and all subsequent editions).

(4) The fourth danger which in part evoked the Movement was the wide-spread ignorance of the principles for which the English Church stood. Thomas Sikes, rector of Guilsborough, foretold a few years before the Movement began that the general suppression of the truth of the doctrine of the Holy Catholic Church would 'have its reprisals.' The effects of these, he added, 'I even dread to contemplate, especially if it comes suddenly' (*Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, ii. 484). Certainly one object of the *Tracts for the Times* was 'to avert the danger of people becoming Romanists from ignorance of Church principles' (Church, *Oxford Movement*, p. 241), and the *Tracts* were directed to be advertised as 'Tracts . . . on the privileges of the Church and against Popery and Dissent.' This fact is further borne out by the Preface to Keble's sermon on 'National Apostasy.' The Movement had its origin in part in the anti-Roman feelings stirred by the Emancipation Act of 1829.

These were the immediate causes. There were others which reached further back, prominent among them the horror of the French Revolution which had caused men to look with more favour on the institutions of the past, the Romantic movement in literature headed by Sir Walter Scott, and the Latitudinarian teaching of the Oxford Noetics, whose arguments drove men to sound their position and so forced them to re-discover the foundations of the position claimed by the English Church—viz. the Fathers and the Councils and belief in the Holy Catholic Church. Yet another cause operating in the same direction was the teaching of Charles Lloyd (1784–1829), bishop of Oxford and Regius Professor of Divinity. As professor in 1825 the bishop gave a course of lectures to graduates on the sources of the Prayer Book, and showed its indebtedness to the Latin forms in the Roman service-books. According to an Oxford tradition, breviaries were brought from the Bodleian Library and shown to the bishop's class. Newman, Froude, and Pusey all attended these lectures, which set them to study sympathetically the devotions of the pre-Reformation and the primitive Church. William Palmer's *Origines Liturgicæ* (Oxford, 1832), which owed something to Lloyd, turned men's attention in the same direction. Lloyd's death in 1829 was a heavy loss, for, had he lived, he would undoubtedly have exercised great influence on the Movement. The distinction drawn by Newman, in Tract 90, between the practical and formal teaching of Rome he had learnt from Lloyd.

2. History.—The traditional position had always been held before the Oxford Movement by those who were called since Queen Anne's day 'the High Churchmen,' but it had been obscured by the Latitudinarianism of the previous century. It had suffered from its supposed connexion with Jacobitism; it was held to a man by the Nonjurors. It still had distinguished representatives in 1833, in the little knot of men whom successive archbishops of Canterbury (Manners-Sutton [1805–28] and Howley [1828–48]) had trusted, especially Hugh James Rose (1795–1838) and a devout layman Joshua Watson (1771–1855). To the energies of this group was due the founding of the National Society for the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Church of England in 1811 and the Church Building Society in 1817, and of a monthly Church review, *The British Magazine*, in 1832; and recent researches tend to show the latent strength of this body of Churchmanship, which, though not so prominent as the Evangelical school, in time helped to swell the force of the Oxford Movement. The *Tracts for the Times* roused Churchmen and rallied them to the old standards, and from 1833 until 1839 the Movement gained ground rapidly. This was due in part to the moral and intellectual attraction of its leaders. John Keble, 'the true and primary author of the Movement' (Newman, *Apologia*, p. 75, ed. Wilfrid Ward, p. 119), had made his reputation as a scholar at Oxford before he was twenty-one. In 1827 he had published, anonymously, *The Christian Year*, a volume of religious poetry which won immediate success. John Henry Newman was second only to Keble. The *Tracts for the Times* were his idea, and many of them were from his pen. His books, pamphlets, and, above all, his sermons, were among the most compelling forces on the side of the Movement. Richard Hurrell Froude, originally a pupil of Keble, brought him and Newman together. Froude died young, in 1836, but his ideas and influence as manifested in his diary and letters, printed after his death, had their effect on the revival. Edward Bouverie Pusey joined the Movement in 1834 with a Tract on 'Fasting' (*Tracts for the Times*, no. 18). His personal holiness and profound learning were to have an enormous influence on the later development of the Movement, after Newman had gone.

Pusey had been, like Keble, Newman, and Froude, a Fellow of Oriel, but became Regius Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christ Church in 1828. Each of these was a scholar, and each (save Pusey) had poetry in his veins; but, above all, each was a man of deep religious earnestness. Keble and Pusey had been brought up in the traditional High Church school; Froude had learnt that faith from Keble; Newman, originally an Evangelical and later inclined to 'Liberalism,' had become a High Churchman from Keble's teaching mediated through Froude.

From 1833 to 1843 Newman's influence was supreme in the Movement, and it was felt not merely through his published writings, but also through his sermons preached in St. Mary's, Oxford, of which he had been vicar since 1828. They have been described by various writers, by none more carefully than by John Campbell Shairp, himself a Presbyterian:

'After hearing those sermons you might come away still not believing the tenets peculiar to the High Church system; but you would be harder than most men, if you did not feel more than ever ashamed of coarseness, selfishness, worldliness, if you did not feel the things of faith brought closer to the soul' (*Studies in Poetry and Philosophy*, Edinburgh, 1868, p. 278).

Thus, 'while men were reading and talking about the Tracts, they were hearing the sermons,' and 'the sermons created a moral atmosphere, in which men judged the questions in debate' (Church, *Oxford Movement*, p. 130). The appeal of the Movement to Christian antiquity and to the great Anglican divines was given practical illustration by the *Library of the Fathers*, begun in 1838 under the joint editorship of Keble, Newman, and Pusey, and by the *Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology* in 1841, directed by a committee of which the same three leaders were members. The Movement from 1836 had a quarterly magazine, *The British Critic*, at first partly edited by Newman, who became sole editor in 1838. He resigned in 1841 and was succeeded by Thomas Mozley.

From 1833 to 1839 was the period of the Movement's great success. Recruits poured in: at Oxford among the younger men it numbered R. I. Wilberforce, Charles Marriott, R. W. Church, J. B. Mozley, Frederic Rogers (later Lord Blachford), Isaac Williams, and W. J. Copeland, each of whom has left a name behind him. But its swift success was a danger. It attracted minds of a different temper from those of the original followers, men who 'cut into it at an angle' and 'whose direction was unquestionably Romewards almost from the beginning' (Newman, *Apologia*, p. 278, ed. Ward, p. 260). Among them were distinguished names: William George Ward, once a follower of Arnold, F. W. Faber, Frederick Oakeley, J. B. Morris, and J. D. Dalgairns. This party gained control of *The British Critic* and forced Newman in the Romeward direction.

In 1839 he first felt a doubt as to the tenability of the Anglican position. Between July and November 1841 this doubt was increased by his study of the history of Arianism, the establishment in connexion with the Protestant State Church of Prussia of an Anglican bishopric in Jerusalem, and the storm of episcopal censure which burst upon him on account of his Tract no. 90, which he had published earlier in that year. The Tract was a comment upon certain passages in the XXXIX. Articles; it applied the strictly historical method to them and showed that much of their language was not directed against the formal teaching of the Roman Church. The honesty of the interpretation would hardly be questioned now, and even in that day old-fashioned High Churchmen such as W. F. Hook of Leeds, G. Moberly of Winchester, and William Palmer came forward in Newman's defence. But popular clamour was aroused, and the effect on Newman was immediate and disastrous. In 1842 he retired from Oxford to live in almost monastic seclusion at Littlemore. In September 1843 he resigned his benefice of St. Mary's and preached his last sermon as an Anglican (the famous 'Parting of Friends') at Littlemore on 25th September. A month later he retired into lay communion with the English Church and performed no more ministerial acts.

Meanwhile the opposition to the Movement had been growing. The Evangelicals had early in its course denounced it as being a return to superstition and popery, the Liberals under T. Arnold had attacked it fiercely on the same ground (see Arnold's art. in *The Edinburgh Review*, cxxvii. [1836]), and the Roman Catholics from another side disliked and denied its assertion of the Catholicity of the English Church. Protestant feeling had been aroused by the publication of the first two volumes of R. H. Froude's *Remains* (ed. Keble and Newman) in 1838 and by the title of Tract no. 80, 'On Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge,' which was 'a beautiful and suggestive' essay by Isaac Williams, written to check the habit of using the most sacred words and phrases at random in hortatory appeals. Tract no. 90, in 1841, added fuel to the flame. The Heads of Houses at Oxford who had at first regarded the Movement with 'contemptuous indifference' from 1841 adopted an attitude of bitter and passionate hostility, with the exception of M. J. Routh, President of Magdalen, then the most learned and venerable divine in England, who stood entirely apart from their proceedings.

In 1841 the Heads issued a decree condemning Tract 90 and branded it as dishonest. In 1843 a committee of them suspended Pusey from preaching in the University pulpit for two years for teaching in a sermon on the Holy Eucharist doctrine contrary to the Church of England. Pusey never knew the precise charge against his sermon or the ground upon which it was condemned. A like violence marked the utterances of some of the bishops. J. B. Sumner, then bishop of Chester, later archbishop of Canterbury, a devout Evangelical, in a charge of 1841 ascribed the Movement to the work of Satan, and other bishops followed suit (their utterances were carefully collected and arranged by W. S. Bricknell, in his *Judgment of the Bishops upon Tractarian Theology*, Oxford, 1845). The silencing of Newman and Pusey in Oxford gave the Romanizing wing an opportunity of coming to the front, and in 1844 W. G. Ward published his *Ideal of a Christian Church*, a book marked by great moral earnestness and containing some extremely shrewd and bitter criticism of the English Church; it assumed that only the Roman Church satisfied the conditions of what a Church should be.

The Heads of Houses at Oxford seized the chance thus given them. They secured the condemnation of the book by the University and Ward's degradation from his degrees; a proposal to censure Tract no. 90 was, however, vetoed by the Proctors. These events on 13th Feb. 1845 meant the downfall of the Movement in Oxford; the drift to Rome set in, and finally on 8th Oct. 1845 Newman was received into the Roman communion.

The Movement then entered upon its second stage, which was appropriately enough marked by the consecration of a new church (the anonymous gift of Pusey), St. Saviour's, in the slums of Leeds. The Movement had ceased to be an academic affair and now made its appeal to the people of the great towns. The Evangelicals in the 19th cent. had left these great populations apart, their own strongholds being chiefly in the inland watering-places such as Bath, Cheltenham, and Tunbridge Wells. The followers of the Movement began the mission work in East and Central London, where such outposts as St. Peter's, London Docks, and St. Alban's, Holborn, became in time famous. This earnest devotion to the masses in the towns was strong in R. H. Froude, who in 1833 had a 'Project for reviving Religion in great Towns' by means of colleges of unmarried priests, which he considered 'the cheapest possible way of providing effectively for the spiritual wants of a large population' (*Remains*, i. 322). Side by side with this attempt to evangelize the poor districts went the movement to raise the standard of worship, and to teach through the eye as well as through the ear. Both developments roused strong opposition, and from 1845, when riots began at Exeter because the surplice was used in the pulpit in place of the black gown, as the bishop had directed, until the infamous riots at St. George's-in-the-East which closed the series in 1860, mob violence was freely used.

Inevitably it failed, as it deserved to fail, and slowly the public worship of the English Church lost its coldness and dinginess and became more dignified and beautiful. Hymns came into more general use; the principal hymn-writers of this period were, with few exceptions, followers of the Movement. Among them were Henry W. Baker, William Bright, S. Baring-Gould, and John Mason Neale. Neale aided this development not only by his original compositions, but by his translations of the old Latin and Greek hymns—a work which had been begun tentatively by Bishop R. Heber (1783–1826) in the previous generation, but in which no one before or since has approached Neale. Music too, as a result of this side of the revival, returned to parish church services and attention was paid to choirs; many of the most popular English Church hymn-tunes owe their origin to the men of the Movement. J. B. Dykes, the much persecuted vicar of St. Oswald's, Durham, and Frederick Gore-Ouseley were both priests who had flung in their lot with it. W. H. Monk and John Stainer were devout lay musicians on the same side, while Richard Redhead and Thomas Helmore did much to restore the old plain-song to the Church's services.

While this revival of Church worship was proceeding, the teaching of the Movement met with fiercer attack. In 1850 the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration came before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the case of G. C. Gorham, whom the bishop of Exeter had refused to institute to a benefice. The Privy Council in 1851 decided that Gorham's doctrine (which was, in fact, peculiar to himself), though it appeared to deny the Prayer Book teaching, was not contrary to the Church of England. The result was a panic in which many clergymen and lay-folk went over to Rome, among them H. E. Manning, J. R. Hope [afterwards Hope-Scott], and, later, R. I. Wilberforce. Next followed an attack on the doctrine of the Real Presence of the Lord in the Holy Communion. For teaching this doctrine G. A. Denison was prosecuted in 1854, but his opponents failed to secure his condemnation in 1858, on a technical ground. Keble's treatise *On Eucharistical Adoration* (Oxford, 1857) and Pusey's two separate books on *The Real Presence* (1855 and 1857) were evoked by this attack. In 1870 the attack was renewed, the defendant being W. J. E. Bennett, vicar of Frome-Selwood. In 1872, however, the Privy Council decided in his favour. Still fiercer storms raged over the teaching and practice of private sacramental confession. Its use had naturally been revived as the Prayer Book was studied and the power of the sacramental system known in the individual life. Its practice at St. Saviour's, Leeds, was attacked in 1848, in 1858 Richard Temple West, later vicar of St. Mary Magdalene's, Paddington, was assailed for such teaching at Boyne Hill, and there were furious public agitations against the practice in 1873 and again in 1877; the effect of these was to bring the teaching before a wider circle than before. These last agitations were confined to newspaper articles, speeches, and pamphlets; no charge of false doctrine was ever brought against the much-abused clergy in any Church court.

The ceremonial revival, inaccurately but popularly called 'ritualism,' led to a series of suits in the law-courts which began in 1854 and only closed with the judgment in the case of Read *v.* the bishop of Lincoln in 1890. This revival was originally due to an early follower of the Movement and friend of Newman, J. R. Bloxam, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, a scholar and an antiquary. It was carried on by the Cambridge Camden Society, led by J. M. Neale and others, but with the growth of hostility to the Movement in the fifties it passed into less learned hands. The Churches began to be re-decorated, and the use of the Eucharistic vestments was revived, the stole being first used in 1837, the chasuble in 1841. The first lawsuit ended with a judgment in favour of the revival in 1857, later the Privy Council changed its mind, and, finally, on the tide of a No-popery agitation, Disraeli, then Prime Minister (assisted by A. C. Tait, archbishop of Canterbury), passed a Public Worship Regulation Act in 1874 'to put down Ritualism.' Under this Act five priests were imprisoned for various terms—a fact which rallied public opinion to the persecuted party—and the Act became a dead letter. The Church of St. Alban's, Holborn, and its vicar, A. H. Mackonochie, bore the brunt of this attack from 1867 to 1883, when Mackonochie was finally deprived of his benefice. He died four years later, worn out by his long persecution. A like fate had overtaken Dykes in 1876 after the merciless hostility of his diocesan C. Baring, bishop of Durham. The judgment of E. W. Benson, archbishop of Canterbury, in the case of the bishop of Lincoln in 1890 brought peace to the Church and practically decided the question in favour of the revivalists.

During these struggles—indeed, from the Gorham judgment in 1851—the fight had been directed against the principle of Erastianism. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council had, almost by inadvertence, as Lord Brougham declared, been made the supreme court of ecclesiastical appeal in 1833, when the old Church courts were reconstituted. It was a purely Parliamentary court, destitute of spiritual authority. Consequently, as this became realized, High Churchmen declined to plead before it or to obey its decisions. This led to the accusation of 'lawlessness,' but the moral authority of the protesters has in fact rendered the court and its decisions inoperative.[1]

3. Fruits of the Movement.—The spiritual force of the Movement showed itself further in its successful revival of the 'religious' or monastic life. Newman and Keble both sympathized with this development, but its guiding spirit was Pusey. The first sisterhood was founded in 1844, and every decade since then has witnessed the growth of the Movement, a revival without parallel in Christendom; and the great sisterhoods, with their works of charity, penitentiaries, homes, orphanages, and schools, are a marked feature in the life of the English Church, and would have seemed incredible to the Churchmen of one and two hundred years ago. Communities for men have grown more slowly, but the Society of St. John the Evangelist, Cowley, founded by Richard Meux Benson in 1866, is established in four continents, and the Community of the Resurrection and the Society of the Sacred Mission are deeply rooted and widely known. These are some of the fruits of the Movement of 1833. Other results are the zeal for Foreign Missions, which it shared with the Evangelicals, and the wholly changed conception of clerical and episcopal activity. Samuel Wilberforce, bishop successively of Oxford and Winchester, was 'the re-modeller' of the conception of a bishop's duties, and the high standard set by him owed most if not all of its features to the Movement of 1833. Among the rank and file of the clergy the Movement has done much to raise the general level of devotion. Retreats and Quiet Days, parochial Missions, and the like, if originally borrowed from the Church in France, owe their acclimatization to the Oxford Movement.

The first Tractarians re-introduced a type of

[1] Reference may be made to the *Report of Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline*, 1906, p. 67, § 363, which declared that 'the judgments of the Judicial Committee cannot practically be enforced.'

character which had been sadly lacking in the English clergy and laity for a century. They were marked by reserve, resolute self-discipline, unworldliness, shrinking from preferment, hatred of sham and pretence, and a grave distrust of the feelings. Their teaching and preaching exhibited the most tender personal devotion to the Lord Jesus Christ as to a living Friend. Generally speaking, religious men before the Oxford Movement 'spoke of our Lord in a more distant way, as one holding the central place rather in a dogmatic system than in the devout affections' (Shairp, p. 329). This personal devotion was particularly a mark of Keble and of Pusey, but it was reflected very clearly in their followers.

In one respect the Oxford Movement after 1845 showed that it had its right and left wings, both a conservative and a more liberal group; this was when it was confronted by the fresh discoveries of natural science, represented broadly by the term 'evolution,' and by the same methods applied in the department of Biblical criticism. The right or conservative wing was that of Pusey and Keble, the more liberal school that of the founders of the *Guardian* newspaper (in 1846), Church, J. B. Mozley, and Lord Blachford. They differed in their view of the sort of opposition to be offered to *Essays and Reviews* in 1860, and the work of the next generation of the liberal wing (who carried on in many respects the Newman tradition in the Movement) issued in *Lux Mundi*, an important volume of theological essays, published in 1889.

Apart from the more detailed results noticed here, the Oxford Movement from its beginning in 1833 has stood for the corporate as opposed to the individualistic principle. Thus, while it emphasized the almost forgotten or neglected truth of the Church, and so incurred the suspicion of attaching importance to the institutional rather than the mystical side of religion, its later followers were drawn to apply the doctrine in its fullness to society round them, and Christian socialism is no by-product of the revival, but a true application of its principles to social questions. The Christian Social Union was in fact founded by later followers of the Movement in 1889, though it secured the aid of Churchmen of other views. But gilds and religious societies have sprung from the Movement and its principles naturally and spontaneously. Broadly, too, the Movement has had a wider result. From the thinly-veiled deism of the Latitudinarian Churchmen of the 18th cent., with their Zwinglian view of the sacraments, the Oxford Movement has slowly and painfully brought back into the lives of English people a belief in the supernatural. When the Movement began, Englishmen as a whole were becoming more and more materialistic, less and less spiritual, distrusting enthusiasm and devotion; religion, when it was more than a cold and dry morality, tended to become mere emotionalism which was very apt to feed itself on phrases. The Oxford Movement with its passionate devotion, its appeal to Christian history and to authority, brought back the old conception of the Church, not as a mere human institution and a department of the State, but as the Body of Christ, with life-giving sacraments and a ministry reaching back through the Apostles to the Lord, a society which 'takes its origin not in the will of man, but in the will of the Lord Jesus Christ' (F. Temple, *Twelve Sermons preached at the Consecration of Truro Cathedral*, Truro, 1888, quoted in H. S. Holland, *God's City*, London, 1894, p. 20).

LITERATURE.—A brief bibliography will be found in *The Cambridge Hist. of English Literature*, xii. [1915] 453–463. The Movement itself may be studied in the following authorities.

i. *The Tracts for the Times*, London, 1833–41; *The Remains of Richard Hurrell Froude*, do. 1838–39; sermons and other works of J. Keble, E. B. Pusey, Charles Marriott, and Isaac Williams; *The British Critic*, 1836–43; the sermons and lectures, etc., of J. H. Newman before his secession; the treatises of R. I. Wilberforce and of Isaac Williams. These are characteristic productions of the Movement as a whole in its first stage; the works of R. W. Church, H. P. Liddon, W. Bright, and J. M. Neale illustrate the second stage; for the third the works of C. Gore, H. S. Holland, A. L. Moore, R. C. Moberly, W. C. E. Newbolt, Darwell Stone, J. N. Figgis, P. N. Waggett, A. Chandler, F. Weston, and B. W. Randolph give the best general view of its doctrinal and ethical teaching

ii. The history is chiefly to be found in numerous biographies, but books covering the period are: Church, *Oxford Movement 1833–1845*, London, 1892, and Newman, *Apologia pro Vita Sua*, ed. Wilfrid Ward, 'with differences of various edd. noted,' Oxford, 1914 (these are indispensable, but they carry the story only to 1845). Complete general histories are: P. Thureau-Dangin, *The English Catholic Revival in the XIXth Century*, Eng. tr., 2 vols., London, 1914; S. L. Ollard, *Short Hist. of the Oxford Movement*, do. 1915; S. Baring-Gould, *The Church Revival*, do. 1914. Other sketches of the Movement are contained in T. Mozley, *Reminiscences, chiefly of Oriel College and the Oxford Movement*, 2 vols., London, 1882; J. A Froude, *Short Studies on Great Subjects*, 4 vols., London and Bombay, 1903, iv.; F. Oakeley, *Hist. Notes on the Tractarian Movement (1833–1845)*, London, 1865. The biographies of the leaders are important, especially Liddon, *Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey*[4], 4 vols., London, 1894–98; *Letters and Correspondence of J. H. Newman*, ed. A. Mozley, 2 vols., do. 1891; J. T. Coleridge, *Memoir of John Keble*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1869; *Life and Letters of Dean Church*, ed. M. C. Church, London, 1894; Church, *Occasional Papers*, 2 vols., do. 1897; *Letters of J. B. Mozley, D.D.*, do. 1885; *Letters of J. M. Neale, D.D.*, ed. M. S. Lawson, do. 1910; J. O. Johnston, *Life and Letters of Liddon*, do. 1904; G. W. E. Russell, *Dr. Liddon*, do. 1905; *Letters on Church and Religion of W. E. Gladstone*, ed. D. C. Lathbury, 2 vols., do. 1910; *Letters of Frederic Lord Blachford*, ed. G. E. Marindin, do. 1896; Wilfrid Ward, *William George Ward and the Oxford Movement*, do. 1889; *Autobiography of Isaac Williams*, ed. G. Prevost, do. 1892; J. H. Pollen, *Narrative of Five Years at St. Saviour's, Leeds*, Oxford, 1851, and *Life* (by A. Pollen), London, 1912; William Palmer, *Narrative of Events connected with the Publication of Tracts for the Times*, Oxford, 1843, new ed. with additions, London, 1883; A. P. Perceval, *A Collection of Papers connected with the Theological Movement of 1833*, London, 1842; [M. Trench], *Charles Lowder: A Biography*, do. 1881; [E. A. Towle], *A. H. Mackonochie: A Memoir*, do. 1890; C. E. Osborne, *The Life of Father Dolling*, do. 1903; W. Crouch, *Bryan King, St. George's E.*, do. 1904; *Autobiography of Dean Gregory*, ed. W. H. Hutton, do. 1912; G. W. E. Russell, *Edward King, Sixtieth Bishop of Lincoln*, do. 1912, *St. Alban the Martyr, Holborn*, do. 1913; J. W. Burgon, *Lives of Twelve Good Men*, do. 1888; A. B. Donaldson, *Five Great Oxford Leaders*, do. 1900; and biographies in H. S. Holland, *Personal Studies*, do. 1905, and A. Cecil, *Six Oxford Thinkers*, do. 1909.

iii. Characteristic of the Movement were its novels and its poetry.

(*a*) *Novels*: those of Charlotte M. Yonge, Elizabeth M. Sewell, Francis Edward Paget, Harriet Mozley, J. M. Neale, W. Gresley, and A. D. Crake; also *From Oxford to Rome*, London, 1847, and *Rest in the Church*, do. 1848, anonymous, but in fact by F. E. S. Harris; J. H. Newman, *Loss and Gain*, do. 1848.

(*b*) *Poetry*: *Lyra Apostolica*, London, 1836, ed. H. C. Beeching, do. 1899, which shows the hopes and ideals which animated the leaders in the first days; J. Keble, *The Christian Year* (anon.), do. 1827, *Lyra Innocentium* (anon.), Oxford, 1846, both ed. with Introd. by Walter Lock, London, 1898–99; J. H. Newman, *Verses on Religious Subjects*, London, 1853, many of which are included in his *Verses on Various Occasions*, do. 1868; Isaac Williams, *The Cathedral*, Oxford, 1838, *Thoughts in Past Years*, do. 1838, [61852, *The Altar*, London, 1847, *The Baptistery*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1842–44, and others; F. W. Faber, *Poems* and *Hymns*, collected ed., London, 1914; J. M. Neale, *Collected Hymns, Sequences, and Carols*, do. 1914; Christina Rossetti, *Verses*, do. 1893, *New Poems*, do. 1896. The Oxford Movement from the literary point of view is discussed by W. H. Hutton, in *Cambridge Hist. of English Literature*, xii. ch. xii.

S. L. OLLARD.

P

PACIFISM.—See WAR.

PADMAPĀṆI.—Padmapāṇi (Tibetan, Phyag na pad ma), the *bodhisattva* or the god 'with a red lotus in the left hand,' is a name of Avalokiteśvara, who, as has been said, is more than an ordinary *bodhisattva*, who is in fact one of the chiefs of the Buddhist mediæval pantheon (see art. AVALOKITEŚVARA). Many forms of Avalokiteśvara are known from Indian and Tibetan sculptures, from Indian miniatures and Tibetan designs. It is always the same Avalokiteśvara, and the differences are chiefly iconographic, although different legends and speculations may be embodied in the different representations of the same god. From the iconographic point of view it is possible to distinguish the non-human forms, with four, six, twelve, or a thousand arms, from the human forms. Among the latter the figure with a lotus in the left hand is prominent; such a figure was likely to be called Padmapāṇi,[1] Abjapāṇi, Kamalahasta, Padmakara, or any name meaning 'lotus-handed.' Padmapāṇi is the most common. In the same way the figure with a thousand arms is a 'thousand-armed' (*sahasrabhuja*). The right hand sometimes holds a *kalaśa*, the consecration phial—an attribute of many *bodhisattvas*, possibly a symbol of their consecration as *kumāras*, royal princes in the spiritual kingdom of a *tathāgata*—sometimes a rosary (*akṣamālā*); sometimes it is in the attitude of giving (*varamudrā*). Moreover, Padmapāṇi is sometimes characterized by a fawn-skin on the left shoulder, and by an image of Amitābha—the reigning *tathāgata* of Sukhāvatī—in his head-dress. Amitābha is the *tathāgata*, Avalokiteśvara the *bodhisattva*, *par excellence*, Śākyamuni the *nirmitabuddha* (see PHILOSOPHY [Buddhist]) of the present age.

In Tibet, since 1439 (?) Avalokiteśvara-Padmapāṇi has been incarnated in the Dalai Lama—a *nirmitakāya* of secondary rank.

The name Padmapāṇi does not occur in the *Kāraṇḍavyūha*, the summary of Avalokiteśvara's *ἀριστεία*. But lotuses are conspicuous in this book. When Avalokiteśvara returned from his pilgrimage to Sukhāvatī, the western Buddha's field, he brought back and offered to Śākyamuni lotuses sent as a gift of homage by Amitābha (*imāni Amitābhena prahitāni* [pp. 18, 89]), and the representation of Avalokiteśvara 'with a lotus in hand' possibly originated from this story, or *vice versa*. However it may be, in the description of the diagram (*maṇḍala*) of the 'six-syllabled charm' (*ōṃ maṇipadme hūṃ*) we learn that Avalokiteśvara is to be represented with the lotus and the rosary (p. 74). If the name Padmapāṇi is wanting, synonyms are near at hand: in the *stotra* (hymn) uttered by the Devaputra Maheśvara (p. 89) Avalokiteśvara is styled Padmadhara, 'who bears a lotus'; Subhapadmahasta, 'who has in hand a pure lotus'; Padmapriya, 'friend of lotuses'; also Padmāsana, 'who sits upon a lotus,' and Padmaśrī, 'lotus glory' (cf. p. 11)—not to be confused with the Padmaśrī of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*. It is interesting to remark that Avalokiteśvara *is* Maheśvara (p. 90), and the fiend of Vajrapāṇi, who never entirely loses his demon character (p. 11).

[1] The same name is given to Brahmā, to the sun, and to Viṣṇu in the Lexicons (see O. Böhtlingk and R. Roth, *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, Petrograd, 1855–75), possibly owing to the Buddhist identification of these gods with Avalokiteśvara. 'Pad ma' can equal Viṣṇu, Avalokiteśvara.

There is some evidence that, in Tibet, the name Padmapāṇi vied with the name Avalokiteśvara. It seems that the *Maṇi bka bum* prefers the former (W. W. Rockhill, *The Land of the Lamas*, suppl. notes, ii., London, 1891; E. Schlagintweit, *Buddhism in Tibet*, Leipzig, 1863, tr. L. de Milloué, *AMG* iii. [1881] 54; L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet, or Lamaism*, London, 1895, p. 356).

LITERATURE.—See art. AVALOKITEŚVARA. For descriptions of Padmapāṇi (photographs) see H. H. Cole, *Preservation of National Monuments*, India, Yūsufsāi District, pl. xxv. (*ap.* Grünwedel, *Mythologie*, p. 22), a Gāndhāra sculpture identified by S. d'Oldenburg; A. Foucher, *Etude sur l'iconographie bouddhique de l'Inde* (*Bibl. de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes*, vol. xiii. pt. i.), Paris, 1899, p. 101 f.; A. Grünwedel, *Myth. des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei*, Leipzig, 1900, pp. 22, 27, 123, 138; Alice Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, Oxford, 1914. For literary documents, H. H. Wilson, *Works*, London, 1862–77, ii. 29 (a recension of the visit of Padmapāṇi to Amitābha); *Kāraṇḍavyūha*, Calcutta, 1873; H. J. von Klaproth, 'On the Charm Om manipadme hūm,' in *JA* vii. [1831] 192; C. F. Köppen, *Die lamaische Hierarchie und Kirche*, Berlin, 1908, ii. 59 (reprint).

L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

PADMASAṂBHAVA, or PADMĀKARA.—This Indian Buddhist missionary, priest, teacher, and saint of the 8th cent. A.D. is of the first importance in Tibetan Buddhism. For, although he is only incidentally referred to by previous writers, merely as the leader of a retrograde movement among the Lāmas, he is shown by the present writer to have been the founder of the order of the first Tibetan Buddhist monks, or Lāmas, as they are generally called. His nationality and training and the circumstances under which he was sent for by the pro-Buddhist king of Tibet, Khri-Srong De-btsan, the son of an ardent Buddhist Chinese princess, to establish an order of Buddhist monks in Tibet, have been indicated in art. LĀMAISM.

Previous to his arrival in Tibet (*c.* A.D. 747–748) there appear to have been no indigenous Buddhist monks in that country, though Tibet had been visited by occasional Indian and Chinese Buddhist monks since the epoch of King Srong-btsan (†A.D. 650), who had introduced from N. India or Khotan the so-called Tibetan script, and had procured the translation into its characters of some elementary treatises on Buddhism.[1] This universal tradition crediting Padmasaṁbhava with the founding of Lāmaism is also supported by the epigraphic evidence discovered by the writer in the two edict-pillars at Lhasa of the saint's patron, King Khri-Srong De-btsan, dated A.D. 783, or three years before the death of that sovereign. In these two edicts, as well as in a third, of the same date, although referring to religious matters, the word 'Lāma' does not occur; but the king states that 'by a blessing the orthodox religion was procured'[2]—this term, 'orthodox *or* inside religion,' is still the ordinary term applied to Buddhism, as opposed to the Bon or other faiths.

The first monastery in Tibet was built under his directions at Sam-yäs (*c.* A.D. 749), after the model, it is said, of the chief monastery of Mid-India, Nalanda, or, according to another account,

[1] In the great Scripture commentary, the *Bstan-'gyur Mdo*, vol. 124, are two grammatical works ascribed to his minister, Thonmi, whom he had sent to 'India' (but probably Khotan, which was then Indian in its civilization) to learn the language; also in vol. 123 a doctrinal treatise (*Sku-gzugs-kyi mts'an-nyid*) by 'The son of Anu,' an eponym of the same minister (W. W. Rockhill, *The Life of the Buddha*, London, 1892, p. 212), who is generally credited in the vernacular histories with having also translated the *Dhāraṇī* on the *Oṁ maṇi* formula, universal now throughout Tibet.

[2] L. A. Waddell, *JRAS*, 1909, p. 931 (*nangi-ch'os*='inside religion').

Udandapur[1] on the Ganges. It was placed under the abbotship of Śānta-rakṣita, his reputed brother-in-law, though it is doubtful whether Padmasaṁbhava was really uncelibate, and whether the tradition crediting him with a spouse is not the outcome of later Lāmas identifying him with Avalokita, and so conferring on him a female energy, the counterpart of Tāra (Ishtar), the Buddhist queen of heaven.

It is significant of the enthusiasm and skill imparted by Padmasaṁbhava and his deputy, the abbot, to their students that seven of the very first group of the newly-trained Tibetan monks achieved literary distinction,[2] and that most of them show by their scrupulously accurate work as translators of different books of the Indian Buddhist canon from Sanskrit into Tibetan that they had attained remarkable scholarly knowledge of both Sanskrit and Tibetan. Especially numerous are the translations by sKa-ba-bha-po dpal-brtsegs (who seems to be the same as dBah-dpal-baṅs) and Vairochana. Padmasaṁbhava had also twenty-five ritualistic pupils whose names are preserved.[3]

Regarding the character of his teaching, there is no certain evidence that it was of the flagrantly magical and necromantic type ascribed to him in the indigenous works on the subject, which are mostly late compositions of the 14th cent. onwards—when works of a similar nature were being issued by the Mahāyāna Buddhists in India ascribing precisely similar ritualistic spells to Buddha himself. From the high literary attainments of his contemporary pupils it seems probable that his teaching was more or less orthodox Indian Buddhism of the Mahāyāna type, and of the 'Middle Path School' (Madhyamaka), to which he reputedly belonged;[4] and that it afterwards became degraded in the hands of the converts from the indigenous shamanistic Bon religion. The book of spells ascribed to him is of exactly the same class as the *Paritta* or Pāli spells in general use among the southern Buddhists of Ceylon and Burma, and in regular ritualistic use by the Ceylonese Buddhists at the present day.[5]

He is the chief saint of 'The Old Sect' of Tibetan Buddhists, the red-capped Nyiṅ-ma, and, apotheosized, he receives equal worship with Śākyamuni himself, bearing indeed the title of 'The Second Buddha,' and represented as booted, capped, and clad in thick garments, like an ordinary Lāma of the present day.

LITERATURE.—This is quoted throughout the article.

L. A. WADDELL.

PALMISTRY.—Fortune-telling is a superstition which seems destined to survive permanently in the lower strata of even scientific civilizations. Among the ancient Romans it was part of the official religion and the executive procedure. Like gambling, it corresponds to a certain emotional need, the satisfaction of which may justify the existence of a harmless delusion. Of the pseudo-scientific methods of elucidating the past and predicting the future palmistry is the most widely spread. The modern gypsy retails a traditional lore which goes back to the earliest Indian culture.[6] The Chinese transferred the palmist's attention to the foot, and their curious interest in the compressed female foot has produced a pseudo-science of 'podoscopy.' The claims of palmistry are in a way a tribute to the human hand and its importance in evolution. The mind has developed *pari passu* with the hand, which as an organic machine is unrivalled.

Chirognomy professes to read the individual character on the assumption of a correlation between hand and brain; chiromancy claims also to predict the individual future. The general shape of the hand is the first classification; then the flexion-folds of skin (the 'lines') and the muscular projections (the 'mounts') are examined in connexion with the doctrine of signatures and the influence of the planets. Macalister remarks:

'That these purely mechanical arrangements have any psychic, occult or predictive meaning is a fantastic imagination, which seems to have a peculiar attraction for certain types of mind, and as there can be no fundamental hypothesis of correlation, its discussion does not lie within the province of reason.'[1]

But palmistry has to be reckoned with as one of the minor psychical factors.

The chief elements of palm-reading were codified by Hartlieb in 1475 (?), and later by d'Arpentigny in 1843.[2] D'Arpentigny's work is the basis of the modern literature. The individual palmist indulges his fancy and analogical powers, and as a rule is a shrewd judge of human nature.

The left hand, as being less deformed by work, is preferred for examination. Hands are placed by the French authors in seven classes: *main élémentaire* or *à grande paume*, *main nécessaire* or *en spatule*, *main artistique* or *conique*, *main utile* or *carrée*, *main philosophique* or *noueuse*, *main psychique* or *pointue*, and *main mixte*. The outstanding feature of the hand is the thumb. The line surrounding it is the line of life, probably the earliest of the palmist's definitions. Aristotle mentions the belief that a long line of life implies a long life.[3] If without sinuosities, the line stands for happiness. The first phalange of the thumb signifies will, the second logic; the ball is termed the mount of Venus, and on its features depends the individual's success or failure in love. The prominence at the base of the index finger is the mount of Jupiter, connoting pride; that of the middle finger is the mount of Saturn, connoting fatality; that of the third is the mount of Apollo, connoting fortune, art, or riches; that of the little finger is the mount of Mercury, connoting science or wit. On the heel of the hand, or the 'percussion,' are the mounts of Mars and of the moon, connoting respectively courage and cruelty, and imagination, fancy, or folly. A simple division of the facts of existence is into life, intellect, emotion, and luck; accordingly the palmist assigns to these the four main flexion-folds of the skin of the palm. Next to the line of life, which it joins beneath the index finger, is the line of head; above and parallel to it is the line of heart; straight up the centre of the hand is the line of fate, and parallel to it, towards the heel of the hand, is the line of fortune. From the origin of the line of life to the base of the little finger runs the line of health. The girdle of Venus is a curved line from the base of the little finger to that of the index. The lines across the wrist, two or more, are the 'bracelets,' *rascettes*, each signifying thirty years of life. The character of the planets controlling each digit is divided among the three phalanges; *e.g.*, the uppermost phalange of the index, referred to Jupiter, implies mysticism, the second intelligence, the lowest instinct.

LITERATURE.—A. Macalister, art. 'Palmistry,' in *EBr*[11]; J. Hartlieb, *Die Kunst Ciromantia*, Augsburg [1475?]; C. S. d'Arpentigny, *La Chirognomie*, Paris, 1843; A. Desbarolles, *Les Mystères de la main*, do. 1859; A. de Thèbes, *L'Enigme*

1 Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895, p. 266 f., also 'Buddha's Hermitage of Uren,' *JASB*, 1892, pp. 1–24.

2 The names of those novices who are called *sad-mi* (probably *sadhu*, 'pure-liver,' a title of Buddha) are dBah-dpal-dbaṅs, rTsaṅs-devendra, Branka Mutig, 'K'on Nagendra, Sagor Vairochana, rMa Ācārya rin-chén-mch'og, gLan-ka Tanana.

3 Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 31 f.

4 He received part of his teaching from Śrī Siṁha of Kashmīr, who was in turn a pupil of the Indian monk Gah-rab Vajra.

5 Cf. Waddell, 'The Dhāraṇī Cult in Buddhism,' in *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, ii. [1913] 155 f.

6 *SBE* xiv. [1882] 48.

1 A. Macalister, *EBr*[11] xx. 650.

2 J. Hartlieb, *Die Kunst Ciromantia*; C. S. d'Arpentigny, *La Chirognomie*.

3 *Hist. Anim.* i. 15; Pliny, *HN* xi. (114) 174; Juvenal, vi. 581.

de la main, do. 1900; M. Gaster, 'Hebrew Version of the "Secretum Secretorum,"' *JRAS*, Oct. 1907; A. R. Craig, *The Book of the Hand, according to the Systems of D'Arpentigny and Desbarolles, with some Account of the Gipsies*, London, 1867; H. A. Giles, 'Palmistry in China,' *Nineteenth Century*, lvi. [1904] 985–988.

A. E. CRAWLEY.

PALMYRENES.—**1. Introductory.**—Palmyra is the Greek name of the town called Tadmor by its Semitic inhabitants, and so called to the present day. Situated in the middle of the Syrian desert, more than two days' journey east of the cultivated lands, this city apparently owes its origin to an abundant spring which fertilizes the desert and gives birth to an oasis where the palm, olive, vine, and fig-tree flourish. However old it may be, it does not appear on the stage of history until the Græco-Roman period. At that time the inhabitants of Tadmor were Semites, already much imbued with Greek culture. Placed in the Hellenistic world between the two capitals of Syria—Antioch and Seleucia in Lower Mesopotamia—they were the traders of the northern desert, as the Nabatæans were between Damascus and Arabia. Like the Nabatæans (*q.v.*), they were Arabs who adopted the Aramæan language spoken from the time of the Persians by the ancient peoples that cultivated the soil of Syria. Greek was their second language. They borrowed some words of administration from the Romans. Since the razzia of the dictator Mark Antony (34 B.C.) they had been under the influence of Rome, which granted them the *jus italicum*. The first inscription dates from the year 9 B.C.; it is generally believed that the last one is from A.D. 271. It is therefore during this period that we must study the religion of the inhabitants of Palmyra. The national monuments are so abundant that we need not seek elsewhere for information which is not so trustworthy.

2. Inscriptions.—The inscriptions are mostly honorific. Along the huge colonnade which ran through Palmyra a great many statues had been placed on brackets attached to the pillars. A Palmyrene inscription, often accompanied by a corresponding Greek text, stated why the town, *i.e.* the senate and the people, had conferred the honour of a statue on such and such a person.

Naturally, religious data are more frequent in the inscriptions of dedication to this or that god, usually engraved on altars. In the burying-places each person is named, and more than one genealogy can be reconstructed; but these inscriptions do not give much information beyond divine names contained in certain proper names. On the other hand, very frequent, but very enigmatical, indications of a religious kind are found on small clay tablets to which the name of *tesseræ* has been given. Unlike the Nabatæans and the Aramæans of Egypt, the Palmyrenes refrained from engraving their names in order to commend themselves to the remembrance of the gods or the attention of the passers-by. The rocks of their country offered fewer temptations than those of Sinai or Petra; but they might have made use of their monuments as placards. That they have not done so[1] is a noteworthy characteristic of their moral life.

The necessary references for the inscriptions are found most conveniently in the works of M. Lidzbarski, the chief authority on Semitic epigraphy in Germany. We have specially in view the *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik* (Weimar, 1898)[2] and the *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik* (Giessen, 1900–12).[3] The great work of de Vogüé on *Syrie centrale* (Paris, 1866–77) is so far the most important collection of Palmyrene inscriptions. The *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* of Palmyra has not yet appeared; the editors have been waiting to get the latest revision of the inscriptions made on the spot by A. Jaussen and R. Savignac in July 1914.

[1] Two graffitti (de Vogüé, *Syrie centrale*, nos. 68 and 69), the only ones known, are in a tomb, and may therefore refer to the dead (Lidzbarski, *Nordsem. Epigraphik*, p. 169).

[2] Hereafter cited as *NE*. [3] Hereafter cited as *Eph*.

3. Gods.—It would be out of place to repeat here the characteristics that are common to all Semitic religions. We shall confine ourselves to the features peculiar to the Palmyrenes.

(*a*) The Palmyrenes are the only Semites who very often invoked a deity without addressing him otherwise than by extremely vague epithets. Other races substituted an epithet for the name of their god, but this epithet was always and very specially his; *e.g.*, Dusares is probably the lord of ash-Sharā (Dhu'-sh-Sharā), the real name remaining secret. The Palmyrene custom was quite different: with them the same attributes could be and, as a matter of fact, were applied to several deities. Many stelæ and altars are dedicated to him 'whose name be for ever blessed' (ברך שמה לעלמא), 'good,' 'good god' (טבא, אלהא טבא), 'compassionate' (רחמנא), 'who grants prayers' (תירא), 'rewarder' (שכרא), 'lord of the world.' The last title was interpreted as 'lord of eternity' by the present writer, but he now admits that Lidzbarski is right, who, following de Vogüé, has always preferred 'lord of the world,' since an inscription discovered by Puchstein gave the formula 'lord of all' (*Eph.* ii. 296); in this case 'totality' stands for 'the world' (מרא עלמא=מרא כל). These names raise several problems. It has been thought that the Palmyrene religion, addressing itself, without mentioning any proper name, to a good god, a merciful god, a rewarder, master of the world, was on the way towards monotheism. But it must be noticed that at the same time homage was being rendered to other gods, even to deified emperors, like the god Alexander (Alexander Severus [*NE*, p. 459]); and it is very probable that this monotheism, such as it was, was not the intrinsic development of the religious thought of the people of Tadmor. There were many Jews there, as is proved by the proper names. At that time they held rigorously to the law that they had prescribed for themselves not to pronounce the proper name of their god. They substituted for it several epithets, some of which are similar to the Palmyrene formulæ. Lidzbarski (*Eph.* i. 256 ff.), who unhesitatingly admits Jewish influence, has recalled 'Blessed be his glorious name for ever' (Ps 72^{19}; cf. Dn 2^{20} etc.). The capital of a small pillar found at Amwas in Palestine has on one side *εἷς θεός*, and on the other ברוך שמה לעולם, 'Blessed be his name for ever,' which is exactly the Palmyrene formula. The 'master of the world' does not figure in the Bible, but is found in the most ancient Rabbinical literature.

It must be admitted, therefore, that, either under the influence of Greek philosophy or under Jewish influence, the Palmyrenes had attained a high conception of the deity, compatible, in the ideas of antiquity, with polytheism. Is the supreme god an ancient god on the way towards universal rule or a new concept? Lidzbarski believed that the supreme god was Bêl. It is indeed certain, since the discovery of the American mission, that the huge chief temple of Palmyra was dedicated to Bêl. This name, pronounced Bêl, and consequently written בל (and not בעל, Ba'al), in Greek Βῆλος, is the ancient Bêl of Babylon. Because of his supreme rank, the Greeks called him Zeus. We could very well understand the Palmyrenes conferring on him the epithets mentioned above, but, as a matter of fact, we never come across them associated with the name of Bêl. It was said at one time that Arṣu and 'Azīzu were good rewarding gods, and that 'Azīzu especially was good and compassionate (*Eph.* i. 203); a Nabatæan at Palmyra calls his god Shaï-elqōm, 'a good rewarding god' (*ib.* i. 345). But—not to mention the last god, a stranger to Palmyra—neither Arṣu nor 'Azīzu was important enough there to be the master of the world.

Now this title is expressly given to a god of wide diffusion—Ba'al, or Ba'al-shāmîn. We have now four inscriptions containing his name. He is called 'lord of the world' (מרא עלמא) at Palmyra, A.D. 114 (de Vogüé, no. 73; *NE*, p. 474. 4), 'good and rewarding god' (אלהא טבא ושכרא) at Palmyra, A.D. 67 (*NE*, p. 473. 1), 'lord of the world,' at et-Tayibe, near Palmyra, A.D. 134 (*NE*, p. 477. 4), and lastly, in a Puchstein inscription of the Palmyra camp, 'great and compassionate' (מבא ורחמנא). The Greek text of et-Tayibe reads Διὶ μεγίστῳ κεραυνίῳ. Lidzbarski at first tried to prove that the Ba'al-shāmîn, or lord of the sky, had not appeared among the Semites until the time of the Persians, from whom they borrowed him (*Eph.* i. 243 ff.). But he is mentioned in an inscription of Esarhaddon for the Phœnician countries, and quite recently H. Pognon discovered him in an inscription of Żakir, dating from the 8th cent. B.C. (*Inscriptions sémitiques de la Syrie, de la Mésopotamie, et de la région de Mossoul*, Paris, 1907–08). Now Lidzbarski thinks that the Semites borrowed him from the Hittites. The present writer has himself admitted the identity of Ba'al-shāmîn with the Teshub of the Hittites, but at the same time (*Études sur les religions sémitiques*[2], p. 93 ff.) he has recognized him as the principal god of Syria, usually unnamed, if not as the great master or Ba'al, but known under the name of Hadad or Hadad Rammān, the thunder-god. This was a god of the Semites, who had no need to borrow elsewhere the notion of a sky-god—probably of the agricultural Semites especially, for the master of the sky and the thunder gave them the rain necessary for the fruitfulness of the soil. If the Palmyrenes did not know him in this aspect in the desert, they must have adopted him along with Aramæan civilization. In fact, as de Vogüé has always said, the inscriptions mean him rather than Bêl when they refer to the god by periphrases. We must bear in mind, however, the possibilities of syncretism, applying vague epithets to various gods that the worshipper knew in his heart. Perhaps the Palmyrenes also had given the first rank to a great deity, whom tradition does not mention by name, similar to the *summus deus* of the Roman world, whom the last pagans adopted to oppose to the one god of Christianity. The frequent occurrence of Ζεὺς ὕψιστος in Palmyra favours this hypothesis, which does not exclude Jewish influence.

(*b*) A second characteristic of the Palmyrene religion is its solar nature. The Romans were much struck by it, and believed that the great temple of Palmyra was dedicated to the sun. As is well known, Aurelian, the conqueror of Zenobia, conceived the project of uniting all the cults in the cult of the supreme god, the sun. This syncretism, which tried to absorb Mithra himself, was naturally applied to the god of Palmyra. He also ordered the temple to be rebuilt:

'Templum sane solis . . . ad eam formam volo, quae fuit reddi' (*Hist. Aug.* ii. 148 ff. [Aurelianus], ed. H. Peter, Leipzig, 1892).

We know that this temple was dedicated to Bêl (see above, § 3 (*a*)). One text speaks of the great basilica of the house of Bêl (בבסלקא רבתא די בת בל). It is quite natural that Aurelian, who was a great sun-worshipper, should have inclined in the direction of his tastes; but the Palmyrenes, who were themselves addicted to the worship of the sun, gave the same aspect to Bêl on the *tesserœ*, where the name of the god is accompanied by a small solar disk. It has been noticed also that this Bêl must be the Bêl-Marduk of Babylon, the god of the spring-time sun. It is, however, unquestionable that Bêl is a supreme god rather than a solar god. With the Greeks he is Zeus. On the bas-relief of Lammens, explained by Ronzevalle, the person called Belos below the figure is called Keraunos above, like Zeus the thunder-god (*Eph.* ii. 83, 310). The real sun-god of Palmyra is Malak-bêl (מלכבל). He is often mentioned after 'Agli-bôl, the moon-god, following the ancient custom of naming the moon before the sun. In one of the two Roman inscriptions—comparatively late, it is true (middle of 3rd cent. A.D.)—instead of 'to Malak-bêl and the gods of Tadmor' the Latin text says: 'Soli sanctissimo.' On this Lidzbarski has outlined a somewhat astonishing theology: Malak-bêl is 'the messenger of Bêl' (מלאך בל); then, as if the two ideas were necessarily connected, 'the visible manifestation, the revelation of Bêl' (*Eph.* i. 256 f.). This theory, which seems to be inspired by the 'angel of Jahweh' of the OT, rests on the form Malak, corresponding to מלאך, and proved by the transcriptions Μαλαχβῆλος, Malachi-belus, Malag-bel, Malag-belus. The argument would prove only that Malak-bêl is the angel of Bêl, but it does not follow that the messenger-gods are the visible manifestations of the god who sends them: Hermes, *e.g.*, is not a hypostasis of Zeus. Further, the form Malak may be a Palmyrene equivalent of the Hebrew Melek or of the Assyrian Maliku. The present writer has shown elsewhere that the Assyrian Maliku is connected with the Assyrian sun-god Shamash. His wife was called Malkatu (*Études*[2], p. 107), which cannot mean anything but 'queen.' Malak-bêl, therefore, is rather the king-Bêl, in whom the solar aspect of Bêl is more prominent than in Bêl, although no theological speculation has connected them as the essence of the sun and its perceptible manifestation. For practical purposes, Bêl was the supreme god, otherwise Ba'al-shāmîn and Malak-bêl the sun.[1]

There is one more sun-god, viz. Yarḥi-bôl (ירחבול). If we take Bêl for the Palmyrene form of the Canaanite Ba'al and the Babylonian Bêl, Yarḥi-bôl is another name compounded with Ba'al or Bêl. For a long time the word ירח, 'month,' has suggested a lunar deity, but the Lammens relief, with a rayed disk, makes it a solar god. A *tessera* of G. Schlumberger represents 'Agli-bôl with the crescent, and Yarḥi-bôl with the rayed disk (*Eph.* ii. 310). But the present writer is tempted to regard this merely as a result of the progress of the solar cult. Etymology must decide the original meaning. The two gods, who were often associated, were doubtless originally two aspects of the moon-god. 'Agli-bôl was the bull-lord (עגל), *i.e.* the lunar crescent, Yarḥi-bôl the lord of the months, to which the sun is a perfect stranger. Both are qualified by 'bull' (תורא) on a *tessera* published very recently (*Eph.* iii. 153). The bull is the special emblem of Hadad, the storm-god; but it is also the symbol of the moon, because of the horns of the crescent moon. There is no doubt that it was when the cult of the sun and the moon became general that Yarḥi-bôl became the sun. Another proof of this identification is the name Ἡλιόδωρος, the translation of ירחבול.

Lastly, the sun was worshipped at Palmyra under its common name 'sun' (שמש [*NE*, p. 474]) changed into a proper name, exactly as in Babylonia.

(*c*) The Palmyrenes would not be of Arab origin if they had not worshipped the morning star, which is also the evening star, the planet Venus. With the Southern Arabs it was the god Athtar, who became in Babylonia the goddess Ishtar. With the Palmyrenes the god appears to be double (like the goddess among the Babylonians), and both are masculine in form, Arṣu and 'Azîzu (ארצו, עזיו), 'good rewarding gods.' The bas-relief con-

[1] The distinction between Bêl and the sun is clear in Zosimus (i. 61), who says of Aurelian: Ἡλίου τε καὶ Βήλου καθιδρύσαι ἀγάλματα.

taining this inscription (*Eph.* i. 203) is difficult to interpret.

Clermont-Ganneau (*Recueil d'archéol. orient.* viii. 32 ff.) is of opinion that the scene has 'singular analogies with that of the adoration of the Magi. It may have been images of this kind that had not only an iconographic but also an iconological influence on the formation of the legend relating to Jesus, who like Azîzos, was also the *deus bonus puer phosphorus* of Christianity.'

This whole induction takes it for granted that the bas-relief represents the god; on the contrary, it is certain that it represents the giver of the stele. According to Lidzbarski's interpretation (*Eph.* i. 201), there are three persons sitting on the left—two men and a woman; the latter holds a naked child on her knee. On the right there stands a person, probably a man, who is perhaps playing a harp; then come a camel-driver and a person on horseback. There is no trace here of worship, and no reason why the child should be the *bonus puer phosphorus* or the morning star, since the dedication is made to the two spirits.

'Azîzu is elsewhere the morning star, who afterwards became al-'Uzzā, the female divinity known in the Qur'ān. A Greek writer, Bartholomew of Edessa, says that the morning star, *τὸ ἑωσφόρον ἄστρον*, was the merciful, compassionate god known by the Arabs before Muhammad (*PG* civ. 1385). This is a surprising confirmation of the Palmyrene text which calls 'Azîzu a 'good and compassionate god' (אלהא טבא ורחמנא). 'Azîzu was familiar to the Greeks under his name of Ἄζιζος (Julian, *Or.* iv. 150). His companion Arṣu is not so easy to trace. He is found much less frequently than 'Azîzu in the Palmyrene texts, but, on the other hand, he was known to the Nabatæans. He may be disguised under the name of Μόνιμος placed by the emperor Julian alongside of Ἄζιζος (*loc. cit.*). Lidzbarski very ingeniously identifies him with the god of the Arabs whom Herodotus (iii. 8) calls Ὀροτάλ. The phonetic resemblance would be effected with a reading Ὀροταν, which is quite near to the Arab form *ruḍan* (رضن), preceded by a prosthetic א (*Eph.* iii. 91). Moreover, Arṣu would be the real name of Dusares, the god of the Nabatæans. But this point might compromise the former one, for, according to Herodotus, Orotalt is Dionysos—which agrees quite well with Dusares, but not with Arṣu, if Arṣu is the companion of 'Azîzu. Perhaps their union is merely factitious, for the dedicator is a priest of 'Azîzu only. All that can be asserted is that Arṣu has remained in Palmyrene from the original Arab ground-work; but this also shows the poor esteem in which ancient cults were held, for Arṣu is met with only about twice.

(*d*) Another very clear, although negative, characteristic of the Palmyrene religion is the infrequency of worship rendered to female deities. The great Arab goddess found in Herodotus, Ilāt or Allāt, the feminine of the divine name *par excellence*, is mentioned only once (de Vogüé, no. 8), although she figures in many proper names, of which Wahballat is the most famous. The transcription Athenodorus proves that Allāt was identified with Athene. And it is Athene that figures under her Greek name in the bas-relief of Lammens. Unfortunately only the first two letters (C E) of the Semitic equivalent, also written in Greek under the figure of the goddess, are known. The word was completed by Ronzevalle as CEMIA, which is very probable. Later he proposed CEMIPωMEI, representing Semiramis, but this is much less likely.

We must also call attention to the absence of Ēl (אל), the primitive form of the god of the Semites, whom the Aramæans knew down to the 8th cent. B.C. as a separate deity. This want is a fresh proof of the lightness of the Palmyrene attachment to their ancient deities. Ēl is found in some rare theophoric Palmyrene names, and it is very frequent in this form in S. Arabia.

(*e*) We have still to mention Balti (בלתי), named on the *tessera* de Vogüé, no. 155, and Atargatis (עתרעתה) in de Vogüé, no. 3, which are Syrian names, and שורפא (*NE*, Lexicon), which is the Phœnician Satrapes.

The theophoric names lead to the conclusion that there was a certain cult of Ēl (אל), mentioned above, Bôl (בול), which must be the Palmyrene form of Ba'al, and which probably never was a proper divine name, Nebo (נבו), 'Athe (עתה), and 'Ashtor (עשתור), a Palmyrene form of Ishtar or Astarte (עשתרת). The name 'Athe was very important in Syria; its fusion with Athar in Atargatis made it impossible to know whether it was masculine or feminine. According to the Palmyrene name עתאם, 'Athe is a mother; Lidzbarski (*Eph.* ii. 303) is in favour of the female sex.

A Latin inscription (Mordtmann, 'Palmyrenisches,' p. 47) of a Palmyrene (Theimes = תימי) is dedicated: 'diis patriis Malacbel et Bebellahamon et Benefal et Manavat.'

Below the gods, but perhaps more highly esteemed than some of them, we must place the Gad of the sacred spring which gave existence to the oasis (לגדא די עינא בריכתא). Gad, in Greek Τύχη, or Fortune, was a spirit like that of a tribe (see below, § 4 (*b*) (i.)).

4. **Cult.**—(*a*) *Places of worship.*—No high places have been found in Palmyra, hidden in the mountain, like those of Petra. It must be remembered that Palmyra was a great, Hellenized city, surrounded by deserts scoured by caravans. Like all the ancient towns built under the Empire, the town was crossed by a huge avenue, which started from the great temple with a triumphal arch and ended beside the mountain in a small building, probably water-works. On the left were the theatre and the palace, on the right hot baths, a library, and a small temple—that of Ba'al-shāmîn.

The great temple, following the plan of every Semitic sanctuary, consisted of a large enclosure, containing the house of the god proper. From the outside this enclosure, a piece of ground 227 metres square, planted with trees, looked like a huge compact building, with rows of storeyed windows. On passing through the gate, one entered a large court, and then discovered that the outside walls simply served as supports for double porticoes, the columns of which, 474 in number, and 14 metres high, corresponded to a row of pilasters. In the centre was the *cella* of the god, a building of considerable dimensions.

The whole building was constructed according to the Corinthian method, adapted to the Semitic principle; *e.g.*, while in the Parthenon the huge temple containing the *cella* opens its porticoes on the side next the public, those of Palmyra were hidden behind a high wall, in conformity with the arrangement of the Temple in Jerusalem as it was built by Herod, but with much larger enclosures. Those of Palmyra are called 'the basilica of the temple of Bêl,' in a text which we have already mentioned (above, § 3 (*b*)). Another text calls this temple 'house of their gods' (Littmann, *Semitic Inscriptions*, p. 58 f.). It was therefore a sort of pantheon. It was built at the beginning of our era. The material of the temple was doubtless the same as everywhere else in the Semitic East. Attention should be called to a *ḥammana* (חמנא), which evidently corresponds to the *ḥammānîm* of the Bible (2 Ch 14^5 $34^{4.7}$, Ezk $6^{4.6}$). Rashi had explained this word as 'column of the sun'—a very plausible explanation, as the first *ḥammana* known by Palmyra was consecrated to the sun-god (*NE*, p. 474. 2). We now know of a second one at Ologesias. In this case the place of the column is mentioned, *i.e.* probably its base or its socle, and the roof of the *cella* which covered it (*Eph.* ii. 280 f.). These allowed of a certain amount of ornamentation (same inscription).

Other objects are mentioned in Greek—a libation-carrier and a censer of gold, a pillow for the sacred bed of the *temenos*, εἰς שדי . . . κλείνην (*Eph.* ii. 284). This sacred bed (ערשתא), placed in a niche (כפתא, in Greek *καμάρα* or *ψαλίς* [cf. *NE*, p. 477; Lagrange, *Études*², p. 508 f.]), or *arcosolium*, corresponded to the Roman *pulvinar* employed in the solemn *lectisternia*. There were, of course, altars (עלתא) and braziers (נסיב כנונא [*Eph.* ii. 301]). The altars were often dedicated to certain deities—practically forming columns for containing inscriptions.

(*b*) *Religious associations.*—The religious groups were of two kinds: (i.) natural groups, and (ii.) associations properly so called.

(i.) The cult of the *γένος*, or *gens*, existed among the Palmyrenes as clan- or tribe-worship. Certain devotees dedicated a *ḥammana* (see above, § 4 (*a*)) to the sun-god, the god of their family (אלה בית אבוהן). Probably each gens had its own particular god, a Gad (גד), which the Greeks assimilated with Fortune (Τύχη). Our authority for this statement is the inscription de Vogüé, no. 3, which is incomplete in Palmyrene, and translated into Greek as [Μαλα]χβήλῳ καὶ Τύχῃ θαιμεῖος. Although this nominative is very strange, it certainly represents a Palmyrene tribe. Perhaps it ought to be translated: 'To Malak-bêl and to the Gad of the Taymi,' or even 'To Malak-bêl, Gad of the Taymi.' The name Gaddi-bôl signifies 'My Gad is Bêl' (*Eph.* ii. 281); the Beni-Gaddibôl tribe may have had Bêl as their Gad. In this case the god of the tribe would be imposed on it by tradition.

Whatever we may make of this very obscure point, we see that the tribes commended themselves much more frequently to the great god Bêl. The formula in which they did so is really difficult to translate. But, if there are at times doubts as to the exact meaning of the word which unites Bêl and his worshippers,[1] there is no doubt that the Beni-Hela, the Beni-Hanefi, the Beni-Barsa'a, and the Beni-Taymi placed themselves under Bêl's protection just as particular individuals did. We read, *e.g.*, on a *tessera*: 'Bêl bless the Beni-Taymi' (*NE*, p. 488).

(ii.) Besides these natural groups, there were in Palmyra religious associations which might be described by the Greek word *θίασοι*. This institution is designated מרוחא, the meaning of which is not given in Lidzbarski's *Handbuch*. Clermont-Ganneau has shown that this word meant the religious feast, the merry banquet held by certain associations. Recently, as originally in the Bible and a Punic inscription, the word has been found among the Jews of Elephantine (*Eph.* iii. 120), at Petra (*ib.* p. 278), and at Palmyra. At Palmyra a religious college (מרוחא [בני], where בני is inserted by Clermont-Ganneau) dedicated an altar 'to 'Agli-bôl and to Malak-bêl, their gods.' It was therefore a *θίασος* consecrated to these gods, and it need not have been composed exclusively of priests, although there was a college of priests of 'Agli-bôl (*Eph.* iii. 300: כמרי עגלבול). It is the same with Bêl. The inscription Waddington 2606 *a* in Greek takes it for granted that the laity formed part of the association of the priests of Bêl. Two recently-discovered texts mention the post of director or chief of the sacred banquets (רבנות מרוחותא = *συμποσιαρχία*) of the priests of Bêl (*Eph.* ii. 281, 304)—in Greek, in the second case: *ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ συ[μποσία]ρχος ἱερέων μεγίστου θεοῦ Διὸς βή[λου]*. In these last two cases did the *θίασος* include laymen? Undoubtedly in certain circumstances the priests of Bêl formed a group by themselves. On a *tessera* three busts are accompanied by the inscription, 'the priests of the god Bêl' (*Eph.* ii. 320). We should say nowadays that they had been photographed in a group. These *tesseræ* are often connected with the worship of Bêl. Clermont-Ganneau says:

'For a long time I have been inclined to believe that among those numerous Palmyrene *tesseræ* which have come down to us, certain groups are connected with the religious associations and priestly colleges of Palmyra. They are a sort of token' (p. 23).

Lidzbarski is of the same opinion, and, as the inscriptions on the *θίασοι* mention the month of April, he conjectures that this was the time of the principal ceremony. Spring-time would suit Bêl very well (*Eph.* ii. 304).

There is nothing more to be said about the priesthood. The word אפכלא, which recurs in Babylon, probably denotes an official in the temple of 'Azīzu (*Eph.* i. 202).

5. Attitude towards the gods.—Of more importance than their exterior worship are the inner feelings of the Palmyrenes towards their gods. We have already seen that, like all ancient peoples, they had preserved the cult of the national gods (*θεοὶ πατρῶοι* or *πάτριοι*), the gods of Tadmor. Nevertheless they had reached the idea of a master of the world, good, a rewarder, compassionate, propitious. This conception of the goodness of the god is an admirable trait, and must have given birth to love for this god in their hearts. The inscriptions, however, give no indication of this feeling. The senate and the people render homage to two distinguished citizens, 'who feared the gods and loved their town' (דחלא אלהיא ורחימא מריההון). The Greek is *εὐσεβεῖς*, which we translate 'pious.' The predominating sentiment, therefore, was always the one which is at the foundation of the Semitic religions—fear. But there is no sign of this fear drawing forth vows from the Palmyrenes when in danger. At least the fulfilled vow, which occurs so often in Carthage, does not figure on the stelæ. They express merely the gratitude of the worshipper: 'because he has invoked him and he has replied' (de Vogüé, no. 5); 'because he has protected him on land and sea' (*ib.* 79). We therefore cannot speak of votive stelæ except in a very broad sense. Usually the person who dedicates a monument states that he entreated the gods for 'his life,' and adds sometimes one person, sometimes another—his sons, his brothers, etc. What is the meaning of 'life'? It would be tempting to translate 'for his safety,' meaning by that all temporal good expected from the gods, especially health. In an inscription dedicated 'to him whose name be blessed,' Διὶ ὑψίστῳ καὶ ἐπηκ[όῳ], 'life' is rendered in Greek by *ὑγεία*, 'health' (*Eph.* ii. 295). The Palmyrenes, therefore, looked to their gods for success in their enterprises and prosperity. In return they saw to it that the gods were honoured, and especially that the supreme god was blessed. They believed that their prayers were heard, and—what is more remarkable—they believed that the gods could publicly bear witness to those who were distinguished for their devotion to the city. At least this is stated of Yarḥi-bôl in a text dating from A.D. 242.

Julius Aurelius Zenobius rendered great services to the army, etc. 'It is of this that the god Yarḥi-bôl and Julius have borne witness' (*ὡς διὰ ταῦτα μαρτυρηθῆναι ὑπὸ θεοῦ Ἰαριβώλου καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰουλίου*). It no doubt refers to an oracle which had added its approbation to that of the leader of the army.

The guardian of the spring was also chosen by the same god (*ἐπιμελητὴς αἱρεθεὶς Ἐφκᾶς πηγῆς ὑπὸ Ἰαριβώλου τοῦ θεοῦ* [*CIG* 4502]).

The inscriptions do not imply that the Palmyrenes expected salvation in the future life from the gods. At most we may find an indication of this belief in the epithet 'rewarder' (שכרא). It probably corresponds to the Jewish belief that God gives a good reward (שכר מוב) to the just in the world to come (*Eph.* i. 202). But it would certainly be imprudent to build a theory on a word which may apply to the rewards of the present life, upon which the Jews also laid great stress.

6. The dead.—It is to the worship of their dead that we owe the greatest number of Palmyrene inscriptions. The funerary monuments were of two kinds. The most perfect type was undoubtedly the hypogees hollowed in the rock. Those who undertook this difficult work afterwards gave up one or more chambers as a perpetual grant. The dead were placed along the walls in recesses perpendicular to the walls. This is the ordinary Semitic practice. What is peculiar to Palmyra is the very high towers, containing dead bodies on

[1] As in the case of אגן, translated 'protect,' Lidzbarski proposes to translate 'Make to sit, O Bêl, at thy table' (*Eph.* ii. 320). But then what would אגן mean standing alone?

all the storeys, arranged as in a burial vault. They seem to have wished to imitate the Roman *columbaria*, adapted so as to preserve the dead instead of reducing them to ashes. Each compartment was closed by a stone, which is a bust of the dead person, with indications of his or her name, parents, date of death, and the inevitable 'Alas!' (תבל).

While Greek epitaphs sometimes express hopes, doubts, or even denials concerning the future life, the sepulchral inscriptions of the Palmyrenes are, like those of the Phœnicians and the Nabatæans, silent on this point. Evidently, like those peoples, they set great store on not being disturbed after death; although with less verbal insistence, they wish that their tomb may be 'a dwelling-place for ever.' But they do not tell us whether or not it is in view of an existence in the other world that they ask that their bodies may rest in peace. It is probably to the body merely—to the bones—that an inscription refers which mentions this rest (נפשא רניחת תמא, at Constanza in Rumania [*Eph.* iii. 30]). Desire for the preservation of the body led to the practice of embalming. Some mummies have been found at Palmyra (Simonsen, *Sculptures et inscriptions de Palmyre*, p. 63).

7. Ethics.—The Palmyrene inscriptions do not throw much light on Palmyrene ethics. The welfare of the city depended on its commerce, and particularly on the management of its caravans, and traders were encouraged. The famous tariff of Palmyra shows the amounts collected by the customs-house on the admission of merchandise. On the other hand, the heads of caravans regarded it as a point of honour to be faithful, for the people showed them gratitude by raising statues to them.

The status of women seems to have been higher than in Greek or Roman countries, as the story of Zenobia proves. Their queens, however, do not seem to have been, as a rule, so highly honoured as among the Nabatæans. In this matter, too, the Palmyrenes are far removed from the traditions of Arabia—before Muhammad. Nevertheless the present writer cannot believe, with Lidzbarski (*Eph.* ii. 271), that, contrary to what took place at the Hegira, women had been excluded from the inheritance of tombs. A woman is expressly called 'inheritor of the house and the funeral cave' (רשתא די ביתא ומערתא [*Eph.* ii. 275]).

A slave might be set free (בר חרי), but continued to belong to the house of his former master, now his patron; he mentions him, not his father, in his genealogy.

The Palmyrenes' excessive love for statues probably comes from the Greeks. It bears witness to an intense municipal life, and a great desire for glory.

We may say, however, that the basis of Palmyrene ethics is its connexion with religion.

LITERATURE.—C. Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'archéologie orientale*, Paris, 1888 ff.; M. J. Lagrange, *Études sur les religions sémitiques*[2], do. 1905; H. Lammens, *La Syrie et son importance géographique*, Louvain, 1904; M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, Weimar, 1898, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, 3 vols., Giessen, 1900–12; E. Littmann, *Semitic Inscriptions*, New York and London, 1904; J. H. Mordtmann, 'Palmyrenisches,' *MVG*, 1899, i.; H. Pognon, *Inscriptions sémitiques de la Syrie, de la Mésopotamie, et de la région de Mossoul*, Paris, 1907–08; D. Simonsen, *Sculptures et inscriptions de Palmyre*, do. 1889; M. de Vogüé, *L'Architecture civile et religieuse . . . dans la Syrie centrale*, 2 vols., do. 1866–77; *Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique*, Paris, (in the press); M. Sobernheim, 'Palmyren. Inschriften,' *MVG*, 1905, ii.

M. J. LAGRANGE.

PAMPEANS.—1. Origin and classification.—The problem of the Red Man is one of the yet hidden mysteries of the world. The history of the S. American continent, as well as that of C. and N. America, previous to the Columbian era is still to a very large extent shrouded by the same dense mists of obscurity as it was when Cortes and Pizarro landed on the coasts of Mexico and Peru respectively.

Whence came the various nations, what were the origins of the various civilizations, what the many migrations over hundreds of leagues of territory, what the many blendings of the various families, and whether the nations, the original inhabitants, were of one stock or have become one stock owing to countless ages of occupation, are questions which are still puzzling the scientists of both the Old and the New World.

It seems clear that the main strain in N., C., and S. America may be legitimately traced to one origin, but it must have been long before the Christian era that these first immigrants landed on the shores of what is known to us as the New World. Although they approach very closely to what we may call the Malay-Mongol type, the great movement by which the Americas were peopled must have taken place before either the Malay or the Mongol became a marked type; for all practical purposes we must regard the American Indians as now a distinct type.

As far as S. America is concerned, there are signs of four distinct migrations, and it is probable that the great bulk of the population came by way of the Pacific Coast, some from the north, some by way of the islands of the Pacific. Easter Island (*q.v.*), could we unveil its mysteries, might throw some light upon this subject. Probably the first comers were driven eastward and southward by succeeding waves, and a somewhat higher culture thus took possession of the western side. Countless blendings account for the midland peoples. There are Indian traditions and other evidences that at a period long anterior to the Incas, probably 1500 years, an ancient civilization possessing considerable culture existed in Peru and neighbouring regions. This civilization seems to have been upset by warlike migrations from the south and east, of hardier but more barbarous races. The fact that signs of very ancient human occupation are claimed to have been discovered in these regions does not necessarily prove that the present peoples derive their origin from any such pre-historic race. We cannot overlook the possibility of there having been a great cataclysm at some remote period which may have destroyed life there. Science may confine itself to proven facts, but such facts depend entirely upon the conclusiveness of the proofs, and the ablest scientists will readily admit that they are far from having complete knowledge in all its branches upon which to build. Few are privileged to live among and study a primitive people for half a generation. In many cases hasty conclusions are arrived at, almost willingly, because they support a theory; even Darwin erred in attributing cannibalism to the modern Fuegians. Their intelligence has been compared to the stationary instincts of animals;[1] but Yahgans with whom the present writer has lived in closest touch had very retentive memories and were not lacking in ordinary intelligence; they certainly believed in the presence of unfriendly spirits, as well as the ghosts of their dead. These ideas were purely native, and had no connexion with Christian or other training. Darwin draws a contrast between the taciturn, even morose, aborigines of S. America and the light-hearted, talkative Negroes. Although S. American tribes may not be as light-hearted and as talkative as the Negroes, it is unjust to assert, in the case at least of many of them, that they are taciturn or morose, except, perhaps, in the presence of strangers. The S. American Indians are very reserved in the presence of foreigners, but, once the latter are on

[1] A. H. Keane, *Central and South America*[2], London, 1909, vol. i. ch. ix.

perfectly good terms with them, they throw off this reserve and are in reality quite light-hearted and talkative, jokes and puns being a favourite mode of amusement among them.

At the present day many of the tribes that existed in early Spanish times have disappeared, and few Indians of Pampean or Patagonian race proper now survive.

The Indian tribes known by the Spaniards as Pampa Indians were undoubtedly closely allied to and part of the great Araucanian race, but, as these nomads were in the habit of travelling immense distances, even in comparatively modern times, it is highly probable that a large Carib element existed among them, and in the ages that have passed the peoples must have crossed freely from eastern plains to the Pacific sea-board and *vice versa*. Intercourse with Europeans and other modifying influences were exerted upon them by contact in time of war, and earlier they must have come into close touch with the Chaco peoples—a great part of the Taluhets were destroyed in wars with the Mocovies of the Chaco; nevertheless, in spite of such influences, the Pampeans are essentially a part of the Araucanian family, though those of Chile were influenced to some extent by the Incas.

There are two chief nations of Indians who inhabit the land on both sides of the Andes of Chile, the Moluches and the Puelches.[1] Two types of original man inhabit these regions down to the Straits of Magellan, the round-headed races comprising the Moluches, or Araucanians, and the Pampa Indians proper, and the long-headed people including the Patagonians, with the Tehuelches, Onas, and Yahgans; but the Patagonians became so mixed up with the round-headed Pampas that much in common is found among the tribes.

i. MOLUCHES.—The Moluches were known by the Spaniards as 'Aucaes' and 'Araucanos.' The word *araucanos* signifies 'wild,' 'untamed,' 'savage,' is used not only of men but also of animals, and is derived from their own name Moluche, from *molan*, 'to wage war,' and *che*, 'people.' The Moluches were divided into the Picunches, Pehuenches, and Huilliches; they held both the Pacific and the Atlantic slopes of the Andes.[2]

(*a*) The *Picunches*, or northern people, occupied the country from Coquimbo to San Jago of Chile. They were the most valiant and largest-bodied men of this race. Those who live to the east of the Cordillera, reaching somewhat lower than Mendoza, are called by those of the other side 'Puelches,' *puel* signifying 'east.'

(*b*) The *Pehuenches* border on the Picunches to the north and reach over against Valdivia to 35 S. latitude. They derive their name from the word *pehuen*, 'pine-tree,' because their country abounds with those trees.

These two nations were very numerous formerly, but were in great part destroyed by repeated wars with the Spaniards and the ravages of disease imported by the Europeans.

(*c*) The *Huilliches*, or southern people, reached from Valdivia to the Straits of Magellan, and were divided into four distinct tribes. They spoke a mixed form of Moluche, differing from the Picunches in using the letter *s* (the Picunches used *r* and *d* instead of *s*, and *t* instead of *ch*, as, e.g., *domo*, 'a woman,' *somo*, 'a woman'; *vuta*, 'great,' *vuche*, 'great').

ii. PUELCHES.—The Puelches (eastern people, because they live to the east of the Moluches) are divided into the *Taluhets*, *Diuihets*, *Chechehets*, and *Tehuelhets*. The termination *het*, taking the place of *che* in the Moluche, means 'people,' or 'people of the mountain.'

It is an interesting fact that the Towothli or Enimaga of the Pilcomayo use in some cases the same termination for 'people.' They call the Sanapana people north of the Paraguayan Chaco the Isonhet; these Sanapana Indians are the same as the Wana, and Indian tradition traces them back to the Chanca confederacy of ancient Peru. Can it be that the *het* in this case was also connected with the mountain people, and might this show any connexion with the ancient Peruvian legend that the pre-Inca dynasty was overthrown by a great invasion from the south?

Garcilasso de la Vega[3] claims that his people were Antarctic Indians.

[1] It is probable that a people bearing the name Puelche were distinct from the Araucanian Puelche, by whom they were ousted.

[2] See T. Falkner, *A Descr. of Patagonia and the adjoining Parts of S. America*.

[3] See Clements R. Markham, *The Incas of Peru*, London, 1910, p. 31.

2. Organization and civilization.—The Moluches and the Puelches are divided into a multitude of small tribes under their own chiefs, who, however, exercise comparatively little power, that power depending entirely upon the personal prowess and capacity of the holder for the time being. The chieftainship was generally hereditary, but during war-time various clans and even tribes would join together, and appoint their ablest man as war-chief, who for the time exercised almost absolute power. Their favourite time for attack was the early morning about the rising of the morning-star, but before attacking they were in the habit of sending out well-organized scouting-parties, who did their work with great skill and exactitude. These customs are identical with those at present existing among the wild tribes of the Chaco.[1]

The Pampean and Patagonian especially were from the earliest days of known history true nomads, always on the move from one place to another, and, as the old Jesuit chronicler remarks, 'neither age nor infirmity would prevent them satisfying their nomadic craving.'[2] Of civilization even in a rudimentary form we can find no distinct traces, and their religious ideas were always of a very primitive type. The history of the world, however, furnishes us with ample proof that a high type of religion, unless vigorously maintained, tends to degenerate, and even nations once highly civilized have sunk under unpropitious conditions to a very low level. From Indian traditions generally we cannot gather that there is any absolute proof that these people at some remote period had not been influenced by some higher race, but clear evidences cannot be produced.

3. Religion.—It is very difficult in these days to obtain accurate information on the primitive religious ideas of the Pampean peoples. Indians are given to absorbing traditions and religious ideas from strangers, especially of other Indian races, altering and accommodating them to suit their own views and ideas of life in general. We have therefore to depend a great deal upon the information handed down to us by early travellers and missionaries, whose lack of thorough knowledge of the Indian language and mode of thought, together with an almost unconscious tendency to read into their conception of spiritual things meanings which may not really be there, leads us to approach such testimony with great caution. On the other hand, the modern tendency is to explain away tradition and so to water down the religious ideas of primitive peoples that they may fit in the better with the scientific theories. Too frequently pseudo-scientific theory is first launched and then proofs to support it are carefully sought, and the tendency is to ignore or modify such Indian views as are obtained to fit in with the theory already launched.

So far as is known, the early Pampeans believed in two supreme beings, one good and the other evil. Among the Moluches the good spirit was termed Toquichen, 'the governor of the people,' the Taluhets and Diuihets called him Soychu, 'he who rules in the land of strong drink,' while the Tehuelhets named him Guayavacunne, 'lord of the dead.'

This somewhat resembles the belief of the Guarayos, who regard their great god as the kind grandfather of their people, believing that he lives in a far distant city, which the faithful Indian reaches after a long and perilous journey through spirit-land. In this city he provides the happy ones with an unlimited supply of the very finest *chicha*, or maize-beer. Their ideas of perfect bliss are to

[1] See W. B. Grubb, *An Unknown People in an Unknown Land*, London, 1911, ch. x.

[2] See Falkner, p. 109.

spend eternity with a number of heavenly wives and a perpetual drunken feast. The Pampeans believe that the good deity made the world, created the Indians in caves, gave them arms with which to hunt and fight, and then left them to shift for themselves. The Lenguas of the northern Chaco have a somewhat similar idea. With them the deity is symbolized by a beetle who created our first parents male and female, but left them to fight the battle against a previous and more powerful race of spiritual beings as best they might.[1] The Spaniards, or Whites, they believe to have been created likewise, but at a later date, and to them were given cattle. The Indians themselves might have had the use of these animals; only, being so frightened at the sight of such large animals and their formidable horns, they stopped up the mouth of the cave from which they were about to issue with great stones and left it to the more courageous Whites to permit their exit. The smaller animals, however, they allowed to come forth from the cave and multiply on the vast plains. The Guayaquil of Paraguay have a somewhat similar idea. But the Pampeans are convinced that the work of creation is not yet finished and that new animals and men may be forthcoming.

The evil spirit the Moluches call Huecuvoe, or Huecuvu, 'the wanderer without.' The Tehuelhets and Chechehets name him Atskannakanatz, and the Puelches Valichu. With him are a great number of demons wandering about the earth, and they are responsible for all the evil done. The wizards are supposed to have two of these demons as assistants who enable them to foretell future events and to know what is passing even at a distance, and to cure the sick by driving away the other demons who molest them. Wizards are supposed to become members of these demon bands after death. The Pampeans, feeling that the good spirit no longer cares for or aids them, devote their whole energies to warding off or appeasing the evil one by means of drums and gourds filled with small shells to make them rattle. The wizards have certain spells which they keep in painted hide bags. They feign fits, during which they are supposed to be struggling with the demon, and doubtless their faith in these matters, together with their great superstitious fear, produces real fits of hysteria in many of them. They hide in a corner of their huts or are shielded from the public gaze by a screen of hides, and, when the opportune moment is supposed to have arrived, announce to the people, by making peculiar noises, that the demon has been vanquished; they lead their tribesmen to believe that such noises proceed from the demon, who, now disappointed, is taking himself off to a safe distance. When they prophesy, they claim to be free from all blame should their prophecy prove to be false, maintaining that the lying information given is entirely the fault of the demon; but they demand their payment all the same. These wizards, however, do not always escape scathless, and, if their intervention, especially in the case of sickness, fails, violent hands are sometimes laid upon them. The wizards are of both sexes and are generally selected when young; the males are compelled to adopt the female costume and are not allowed to marry, although the females may. Wizards must lose their male sex and adopt the female character as far as possible.

In addition to the two leading spirits, there is an infinite number of minor evil spirits attached as familiars to the various clans and families.

The spirit-world is generally believed to be located under the earth in caves beneath hills and lakes. The fact of human remains being found does not of necessity prove the uninterrupted continuance of the race. Antediluvian man may have lived in these parts, and yet the present race may have come from quite another direction and be of a different type. These religious ideas are very common among the S. American tribes, nor are they unknown among other branches of the human race. The general idea of the spirit-world may have had its origin in the overthrow of the antediluvian world when the great deeps were broken up, the population was engulfed by great earthquakes, and large territories were submerged by new seas, lakes, etc.

Those who have lived for many years in close intercourse with these aboriginal peoples find numerous signs leading to the conclusion that in many cases their religious ideas have degenerated, and that formerly they had a clearer and more perfect grasp of things spiritual, and this in spite of the fact that the present-day idea seems invariably to be that these races, when first we came in contact with them, were gradually developing their religious sense.

It is recorded about 150 years ago, and probably continued to be the custom long after, that, on the death of an Indian, certain women were chosen to make a skeleton of his corpse by cutting out the interior organs, which they burned, and stripping off the flesh as far as possible, burying what was left until the bones were quite clean; this operation completed, the remains were removed to the burial-place of their ancestors. This custom was adhered to by the Moluches, Taluhets, Diuihets, Chechehets, and Tehuelhets, who were in the habit of placing the bones on a platform of canes or twigs, where they dried and whitened by exposure to the sun and rain. The Indians blacken their faces with soot, chanting in a mournful tone and striking the ground to frighten away the demons. It was the custom with many to place the remains with the face towards the west. This is generally supposed to have been simply symbolical of the spirit's winged flight to a setting sun, symbolizing the land of the dead. But, as with some tribes known to the writer, it may have indicated the place from which they originally came. The desire of the spirit would therefore be, while it left its earthly tabernacle with the bones of its immediate ancestors, to wing its way to the traditional land in which dwelt its more remote forefathers; if so, this would point to a connexion with lands which may have previously existed in the Pacific.

The Indians buried with the dead his horses, weapons, and other belongings—a custom widespread among primitive people. Widows were obliged to mourn for a year for their husbands. They abstained from washing their faces and hands and from eating flesh, remained as secluded as possible, and were not allowed to marry during the time of mourning on pain of death. The Tehuelhets and others generally kept the skeletons above ground in their burial-places. Most of their customs were similar to those practised by some of the indigenous Chaco tribes to-day. They have no temples or what might be justly called organized religious worship.

It appears that some venerated the eagle and foretold events by the flight of birds, and that on occasion and for some special reasons they made drinking-cups of skulls, and flutes from human bones (neighbouring tribes assert that this custom is in vogue among the Aii of the Chaco). It seems as if the spilling of soup and other food and drink upon the ground before partaking of it was an offering to the earth-mother, but it may have been derived from contact with ancient Incas.

[1] See Grubb, ch. xi.

LITERATURE.—D. G. Brinton, *The American Race*, New York, 1891; G. E. Church, *Aborigines of S. America*, London, 1912; T. Falkner, *A Description of Patagonia and the adjoining Parts*

of S. America, Hereford, 1774; C. R. Gallardo, *Los Onas*, Buenos Aires, 1911; A. F. Gardiner, *A Visit to the Indians on the Frontiers of Chili*, London, 1841; S. H. Lafone Quevedo, *Etnologia Argentina*, Buenos Aires, 1909; F. P. Moreno, *Viage á la Patagonia Austral*, do. 1879; A. d'Orbigny, *Voyages dans les deux Amériques*, Paris, 1836; F. F. Outes, *Los Querandies*, Buenos Aires, 1897; A. d'Ovalle, *Historica relatione del Regno di Cile*, Rome, 1646 (Eng. tr. in J. Pinkerton, *Collection of Voyages*, etc., London, 1808–14, xiv.); A. Pigafetta, *Primo viaggio intorno al globo sulla squadra del capit. Magaglianes, 1519–22*, Milan, 1800 (Eng. tr. in Pinkerton, xi.).

W. B. GRUBB.

PANCALISM. — 'Pancalism' is the name recently given to a point of view which goes back to Aristotle, from which 'the æsthetic mode of being real, apprehended in the contemplation of the beautiful, is all-comprehensive and absolute.' The word 'pancalism' summarizes the Greek motto τὸ καλὸν πᾶν.

Aristotle held that the true and the good, the supreme idea and the *summum bonum*, were united in the divine contemplation of the universe as a work of art. Kant found in the 'judgment of taste' (*Urtheilskraft*) a function by which the limitations of theoretical and practical reason were overcome in an intuition of harmony between nature, the world of truth, and freedom, the world of ends and values. Schelling explicitly taught that rationalism, founded on intellect, and voluntarism, founded on will, reached their synthesis in æstheticism, founded upon the activities and products of fine art (cf. Baldwin, *Genetic Theory of Reality*, New York and London, 1915, ch. ix. § 4, and ch. xiii. ff., from which both the term 'pancalism' and the definition given above are taken).

The detailed working out of the pancalistic point of view has awaited the modern researches in affective logic and the theory of the artistic imagination, the former due primarily to T. Ribot and the latter to T. Lipps. In view of the former, the experiences upon which the 'love' of Plato and the ecstasy of the Italian and German mystics rested have been taken out of the domain of mere individual feeling and given valid epistemological force. Feeling finds in the artistic or semblant imagination its instrument as organ of a genuine appreciation of the real. And in the outcome, in the work of art, the demand of the reason for the true and that of practice and morals for the good alike find their satisfaction in a synthesis of the self and its object —as intimated speculatively by each of the three thinkers Aristotle, Kant, and Schelling.

In such a view a third alternative takes an articulate form in modern philosophy. Feeling, so long despised by intellectualists and voluntarists alike, attains its true dignity as an organ of the apprehension of reality. The raptures of mysticism are explained and the claims of intuitionism are justified in the reasonable conclusions of the philosophy of art.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the citations made above see R. Adamson, *The Development of Modern Philosophy*, Edinburgh, 1903, i. 266 *f.*; A. T. Ormond, *The Foundations of Knowledge*, London and New York, 1900, pt. ii. p. 227 ff.; J. Mark Baldwin, *Thought and Things*, London, 1911, vol. iii. ch. xv.; W. D. Furry, *The Aesthetic Experience*, Baltimore, 1908; W. M. Urban, *Journ. of Philosophy*, xiii. [1916] 356 ff.; E. L. Schaub, *Philos. Review*, xxiv. [1916] 639; E. L. Hinman, *IJE* xxvi. [1916] 564 ff.

J. MARK BALDWIN.

PĀNCHĀLA. — Pānchāla is a term used in India to describe a group of five castes of artisans, formerly more closely connected with each other than they now are. According to J. T. Molesworth and G. and T. Candy, *Mahratti-English Dictionary* (Bombay, 1857), Pānchāl is a common term for five castes: Sonar (goldsmith), Sutar (carpenter), Lohar (blacksmith), Kansar (coppersmith), and Patharvat (stone-mason). The popular derivation of the term is *panch*, 'five,' and *al*, 'to melt,' because Pānchāls are said to melt the five metals—gold, silver, copper, brass, and zinc; but the more probable origin of the term is to be sought in the Panchālā tribe.

Pānchāls are found in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies and in the Mysore State. In Madras they are more commonly known as Kammālans. The numbers given in census enumerations are quite unreliable, as members of the Pānchāla community frequently describe themselves as belonging to one of the five castes mentioned above, instead of using the name Pānchāla. The origin of the term is a matter of much speculation. Pānchālas lay claim to the status of Brāhmans, and have some support for this claim in the rights and privileges which they commonly possess. It is not at all easy to decide whether a gild of artisans, working in the five materials, gold, iron, copper, wood, and stone, has in the past raised itself to Brāhmanic status, or whether, on the other hand, Brāhmans, having taken to work in these materials, contrary to the laws of Manu, have become an artisan caste while retaining their superior position. The fact that the skill required for working in metal, wood, or stone does not vary much would explain to some extent both an affinity between castes working in the different materials and the fact that a caste, abandoning literary pursuits for the handicrafts, could adopt all these methods of earning a living. It is on the whole more probable that the caste had its origin in a Brāhmanic group becoming artisans than in an industrial gild rising to the dignity of Brāhmanic rights and privileges. Indeed, the case seems to be a survival from the period in India when status ceased to be determined by occupation and became hereditary. The wealthy position of workers in precious metals may very probably have assisted the Pānchāls to uphold their claims to Brāhmanic status for a long period in face of the strong opposition evinced towards them by Brāhmans of a more orthodox calling. This was notably the case during the rule of the Peshwas, who did not deny to Sonars the right to style themselves Daivadnya Brāhmans.

Care is necessary to distinguish between Pānchāls properly so described and the distinct castes of Sonars, Sutars, Lohars, Kansars, and Patharvats, which in many cases have established a Pānchāla subdivision and show a tendency to adopt the traditions of the Pānchāla caste. They are entirely different in origin, and this is made clear by their remaining as five distinct endogamous groups, not possessing the close resemblance of Pānchāls to Brāhmans in rites and appearance. Pānchāls proper usually intermarry freely; but Thurston (*Castes and Tribes of S. India*, iii. 108) mentions that in certain towns the Sonar section no longer marry willingly with Lohars.

The Pānchāla caste has five *gotras*, or exogamous divisions, known as (1) Suparna Daivadnya, (2) Ababhuwana Tvaśta, (3) Prasthana Silpi, (4) Sanag Manuva, and (5) Sanatan Maya. These names are connected, as shown, with the five sons of Viśvakarma, the divine architect, *i.e.* Daivadnya, Tvaśta, Śilpi, Manuva, and Maya.

Pānchāls have the Brāhmanic *sanskars*, or sacraments, and perform their ceremonies according to the Vedic ritual. Frequent attempts were made in the days preceding British rule to deny them the right to these Brāhmanic privileges; but the decision of the *paṇdits*, or religious advisers, when referred to, was in their favour. They are followers of both Śiva and Viṣnu, and are even found wearing the *liṅgam* of the Liṅgāyats (*q.v.*). They have their own priests and do not call in Brāhmans to perform their religious ceremonies. They will not eat food cooked by Brāhmans, of whom they consider themselves at least the equals.

LITERATURE.—*BG* xv. [1883], xx. [1884], xxi. [1884], xxii. [1884], xxiii. [1884], xxiv. [1886]; *Journal of the Ethnological*

Society of London, new ser., i. [1869], iii. [1871]; **A. Steele**, *Law and Custom of Hindu Castes*, new ed., London, 1868; **F. Buchanan**, *Journey through Mysore, Canara, and Malabar*, do. 1807, i. 78, 251, ii. 270, 476; **B. L. Rice**, *Mysore and Coorg*, Bangalore, 1876–78, i. 243, iii. 211; **E. Thurston**, *Castes and Tribes of S. India*, Madras, 1909, iii. 108.

R. E. ENTHOVEN.

PANCHPIRIYĀ.—1. Introductory.—Panchpiriyā is a term applied to the worship of the Pāñchoñ Pīr, or 'five saints'—a form of belief very common among the lower Hindu castes in W. Bengal, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, and E. Panjāb. It seems to be a combination of various forms of animism characteristic of the lower strata of the population and Muhammadan saint-worship.

The Pāñch or Pañj Pīr, the 'five saints' of Islām, are, properly speaking, the five great saints of the Shī'ah sect—the Prophet Muhammad; his daughter Fātimah; 'Alī her husband, cousin-german and adopted son of the Prophet; and their sons, Ḥasan and Ḥusain, the two martyrs whose pitiful death is celebrated yearly by members of the Shī'ah sect during the first ten days of the Muharram festival (*DI*, p. 407 ff.). But this orthodox cult has little connexion with the Panchpiriyā beliefs, in which each worshipper or group of worshippers selects, according to individual taste, the saints whom he prefers as objects of reverence. Thus in the Panjāb the quintette sometimes consists of the saints Khwājah Quṭb-ud-dīn, Khwājah Mu'īn-ud-dīn Chishtī of Ajmer (*q.v.*), Shaikh Niẓām-ud-dīn Auliyā of Delhi, Naṣīr-ud-dīn Abu'l-khair, and Sulṭan Nasīr-ud-dīn Maḥmūd. A second list gives their names: Bahā'-ud-dīn Ẓakarīyā of Multān, Shāh Ruq'a-i-'ālam Ḥaẓrat of Lucknow, Shāh Shams-i-Tabrīz of Multān, Shaikh Jalāl Makhdūm Jahāniyā Jahāngasht of Uchchā, and Bābā Shaikh Farīd-ud-dīn Shakarganj of Pākpatan. In the United Provinces the group usually includes worthies of a much lower rank, one list giving Ghāzī Miyān, Aminā Satī, Bhairon, Buahnā, and Bandē, Aminā being a *satī*, or faithful wife who died on the pyre of her husband, and the three last deified worthies or malignant spirits propitiated by the lowest classes. Here, as in W. Bengal, the enumeration varies from district to district, according to the tastes of the worshippers or the local cults which have been absorbed into this form of worship.

Practically all the lists in the United Provinces and Bengal are headed by Ghāzī Miyān, who has some pretensions to be regarded as a historical personage. His history is found in the *Mirāt-i-Masūdī*, of which an abstract has been given by J. Dowson (H. M. Elliot, *Hist. of India*, London, 1869, ii. 513 ff.; cf. *NINQ* ii. 109).

Dowson calls the book 'a historical romance. In it fact and fiction are freely mingled, and the great actions and exploits of other men are appropriated, without scruple, to the hero of the tale.' The conqueror, Maḥmūd of Ghaznī (A.D. 997 or 998–1030), it is said, learning of an attack by the Hindu infidels on a division of his forces, sent his nephew, Sālār Sāhū, in command of a force to relieve them. After waging successful war upon the infidels, he was finally slain near Bahraich in Oudh (A.D. 1034).

It is one of the curious aspects of popular Hinduism that a Musalmān martyr, who waged unceasing war against Hindus and destroyed their temples, should become the head of a quintette of saints widely venerated by the lower orders of Hindus. Wise, remarking that in E. Bengal the *guru*, or spiritual preceptor, of the sect is the *mahant*, or provost, of the Nānakshāhī or Sikh order of devotees, suggests that the origin of the Panchpiriyā beliefs may be traced to Nānak (*q.v.*), the famous Sikh *guru*.

Nānak 'taught universal toleration, and insisted that not only were the essential doctrines of Hinduism and Muhammadanism analogous, but that the Supreme Being, adored as either Hari [Viṣṇu] or Allāh, was sought after by the devout of both creeds. It was natural that in such a tolerant sect eclectic teachers should spring up, selecting from the ritual of each religion whatever was likely to recommend itself to the vacillation of either party' (*Notes on the Races, Castes, and Trades of E. Bengal*, p. 18 f.).

There seems, however, to be little ground for associating the growth of the Panchpiriyā beliefs with the rise of Sikhism, because it prevails widely in parts of the country where Sikh influence is altogether wanting. It also seems probable that the cult was older than Sikhism itself. It is more reasonable to suppose that it supplies one of many examples of the eclectic character of popular Hinduism, particularly in its lower strata, where the worshipper is prepared to venerate any impersonation of the divine energy from which he hopes to obtain a favour, or by the neglect of which he imagines that he may be exposed to malign influences. In this spirit lower class Hindus will visit the tombs of Musalmān saints or even make offerings at the graves of Europeans, in the former case believing that the vicinity of the grave of the holy man exhales an influence which will be beneficial to them, in the latter dreading that the angry ghost of the powerful stranger, if not duly propitiated, may do them injury.

It does not seem necessary to connect the cult with that of the five Pāṇḍava heroes of the *Mahābhārata* epic in a special way, as some writers have suggested. In fact, in Hindu belief five is a perfect, holy number. Hence comes the respect paid to the *pañchāyat*, or the body which should properly consist of five arbitrators or assessors, the tribal or caste council of the group or locality, which deals with social affairs, such as marriage, divorce, violations of caste rules, and so forth. *Pañch jahān Parameśvar*, 'Where five agree, 'tis God's decree,' is a common proverb which expresses popular feeling. In the same way there are five great gods worshipped by the orthodox Hindus. The offerings presented to the gods are usually five or some multiple of that number; five unmarried girls or five married women whose husbands are alive bring good luck to the marriage rites, and so on. At the same time the cult of the five Pāṇḍava heroes extends from the Himālaya to Madras, and this was possibly one of the sources contributing to the Panchpiriyā beliefs (*PR*² i. 206).

The Panchpiriyā beliefs, then, appear to be the result of a fusion of Hinduism and Islām, and probably arose after the Muhammadan conquest had impressed upon the minds of the lower classes of Hindus the assurance that the saints worshipped by the newcomers must be powerful personages to whom the success of the invaders might reasonably be attributed. With these saints were naturally associated some of the myriad local deities and malign spirits which the menial classes of Hindus habitually worship. The result was the extraordinary amalgam of divine personages and dangerous spirits which we find in the various lists.

2. Local types of the cult.—(*a*) *Bengal.*—In W. Bengal the 'five saints' form one of the main objects of adoration, not only of Muhammadans, but also of Hindus of the lower grades. They are often worshipped as family deities, being represented by a small mound on a clay plinth erected in the north-west corner of one of the rooms of the house. On this is fixed a piece of iron, resembling in its shape the human hand, each finger symbolizing one of the quintette, with a piece of yellow cloth bound where the wrist should be.

'Every Wednesday the mound is washed, incense is burned before it and offerings of flowers are made. On special occasions sacrifices are offered, either of goats or cocks. Where the votary is a Hindu he often engages a Dafāli [one of the drummer caste] Fakir to perform the ceremony on his behalf. The Pānchpiriyā Hindus eat the flesh of goats killed by Muhammadan butchers in accordance with the forms prescribed by their religion and will not touch the flesh of animals which have been sacrificed before a Hindu god. They do not, how-

ever, neglect the worship of Hindu deities' (E. A. Gait, *Census of India, 1901*, vi., Bengal Report, pt. i. p. 185 f.).

(*b*) *United Provinces and Panjāb.*—Here the worship centres round Ghāzī Miyān. It is significant that in the popular accounts of his martyrdom there are references to his desire to rest on a spot in the battle-field where there was an image of the sun, much venerated by Hindus. Tradition asserts that, when he was buried, his head rested on this image, the worship of which he had devoted his life to destroy. The natural inference is that the cult succeeded to, or was possibly based on, that of some local solar deity. His special feast, again, is known as 'the marriage' (*byāh*) of the hero. He may thus be regarded as one of the class of divine youths, snatched away from life at the height of their strength and beauty, like Dūlhā Deo, the deified bridegroom of the forest tribes of Central India, and his 'marriage' may be one of a group of mimetic magical observances intended to promote fertility. The scene of his death is traditionally fixed at Satrikh in the Bārābankī District of Oudh. Here in the month of March a large annual fair is held in his honour, and similar observances take place at other localities such as Gorakhpur and Bhadohī in the Mirzapur District of the United Provinces, where cenotaphs have been erected. At his festivals a long spear or pole, crowned at the top with bushy hair, representing the head of the martyr, which, it is said, kept rolling on the ground long after it was severed from his body, is carried in procession. In the eyes of orthodox Muhammadans the observances naturally savour of idolatry. Sikandar Lodī (A.D. 1489–1510) prohibited the practice, and the Maulavis, or orthodox Muhammadan teachers, in the Panjāb at the present day discourage it. But the cult satisfies the animistic tendencies of the lower classes, both Hindu and Musalmān, and shows no sign of disappearance.

LITERATURE.—J. Wise, *Notes on the Races, Castes, and Trades of E. Bengal*, London, 1883, p. 17 ff.; W. Crooke, *PR*[2] ii. 205 ff.; E. A. Gait, *Census of India, 1901*, vi., Bengal Report, pt. i. pp. 180, 185; E. D. Maclagan, *Census of India, 1891*, Panjāb Report, pt. i. p. 198; Pandit Harikishan Kaul, *Census of India, 1911*, Panjāb Report, pt. i. p. 123. For the local legends of Ghāzī Miyān see *Oudh Gazetteer*, Lucknow, 1877, i. 111 ff.; W. H. Sleeman, *A Journey through Oudh*, London, 1858, i. 48. The Panchpiriyā ballads have been collected by R. Greeven, *NINQ* ii. [1892], reprinted in *The Heroes Five*, Allahābād, 1898. For the worship of Muhammadan saints in N. India see R. Temple, *The Legends of the Panjab*, Bombay, 1884–86; *NINQ* ii. 109, iii. [1893] 56, 185, v. [1895] 129. For the worship of Bālmīk see *Census of India, 1911*, Panjāb Report, pt. i. p. 131 ff.

W. CROOKE.

PANCOSMISM (*πᾶν*, neut. of *πᾶς*, 'the whole,' 'all' + *κόσμος*, the universe in its order or arrangement).—This term is of rare occurrence, because the theory denoted by it has seldom been held in the strict acceptation by any competent philosophical thinker; Czolbe (1819–73), in his first period, was a notable exception. It means that all being or reality consists exclusively of the physical universe existing under the conditions of space and time. As a rule, the view has been confused with one or other of the protean forms of pantheism (*q.v.*). Now, when examined closely, pantheism, considered metaphysically, presents but two legitimate standpoints. On the one hand, by participation, all phenomena in the universe share the nature of the absolute substance and, to the extent of this participation (which may be matter of degree), are real. On the other hand, the phenomena are transitory forms or appearances of the absolute substance and thus, in effect, illusions. Whether the doctrine of *metexis* or that of *mimesis* be accepted, the metaphysical problem of immanency presents itself. On the contrary, pancosmism implies the ejection of all metaphysical questions—there is no room for a transcendental factor.

'Pantheism and Pankosmism are but the ideal and real sides of the same thought. The pantheist is a metaphysician, the pankosmist a physicist' (A. M. Fairbairn, *Studies in the Philosophy of Religion and History*, London, 1876, p. 392).

In its strict acceptation, then, pancosmism asserts that the order of the universe is a self-sustained, self-acting arrangement, and that, in particular, no trace of purpose, such as the fact of consciousness would seem to indicate, is discernible. Thus, not merely are metaphysical problems extruded, but a specific solution of them is assumed dogmatically or uncritically. On this basis experience is to be 'explained' by reference to the 'veritable reality of extra-mental existences,' which, in turn, are to be treated after the manner necessitated by the practical requirements of natural scientific generalization.

The theory exemplifies a recurrent logical error, a common mark of unphilosophical thinking always, but especially in periods of reaction against dominant theological or 'spiritual' doctrines. Briefly, second intentions are either mistaken for or employed as if they were first intentions. That is to say, conceptual results of reflective thought are taken, *prima facie*, as direct percepts. Phrases like 'the universe' and 'natural law' (*e.g.*, Haeckel's 'law of substance') belong distinctively to mind. Any 'object' indicated by them is 'in' mind. But, according to pancosmism, such 'objects' precisely are out of all relation to mind. This fallacy is one among many consequences of a tendency rendered familiar by the premature generalizations of 'modern thought' so called, particularly on the biological side; for the vagueness inseparable from the sciences of organic nature rather than the mathematical exactness of the sciences of physical nature has favoured philosophical delusion. It originates in forgetfulness that the business of science is to offer descriptions of particular things—things whose existence is conditional upon the existence of other things. Thus, 'laws of nature' do not refer to nature as a whole, but to separate parts of it. To extend them to the 'universe' in its totality is quite unwarrantable. Much more is it unwarrantable to transfer descriptions of things, no matter what their cogency or accuracy, to the sphere of the ultimate and necessary—a main vice of pancosmism and allied theories. For this reason, then, the pancosmist hypothesis has failed to recommend itself to serious thinkers. As history shows, it is associated with deductions drawn from empirical observation, or presumed to be so drawn. These, in turn, when tinctured with the mysticism or even poetry which, by a curious paradox, seems to be compatible with materialism (*q.v.*), come to do duty as a theory of reality. Evidence, itself in need of thorough criticism, is treated as if it guaranteed an ultimate explanation of the universe. Critical analysis of the categories of space and time, in their relation to the category of change particularly, would serve to bare the vicious procedure at once.

LITERATURE.—See the bibliographies under MATERIALISM, MONISM, and PANTHEISM. References to pancosmism in philosophical literature are few and only sporadic. The best discussion of theories allied temperamentally with pancosmism is J. Ward, *Naturalism and Agnosticism*[4], London, 1915. See also H. Czolbe, *Neue Darstellung des Sensualismus*, Leipzig, 1855, *Die Entstehung des Selbstbewusstseins*, do. 1856; E. Montgomery, 'Is Pantheism the Legitimate Outcome of Modern Science?' *Journ. of Spec. Philosophy*, xix. [1885] 352 f.; C. W. C. Naden, *Induction and Deduction*, London, 1890, p. 155 f.; A. Seth, *Man's Place in the Cosmos*, do. 1897, p. 72 f.; W. Ostwald, *Vorlesungen über Naturphilosophie*[3], Leipzig, 1905, p. 70 ff., Eng. tr. *Natural Philosophy*, New York, 1910, p. 18 ff.; A. E. Taylor, *Elements of Metaphysics*, London, 1903, pp. 216 ff., 279 ff.; W. P. Montague, 'Consciousness a Form of Energy,' in *Essays Philosophical and Psychological in Honor of William James*, New York, 1908; J. T. Merz, *A Hist. of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, London, 1912, vol. iii. ch. vi.; R. W. Sellars, *Critical Realism*, Chicago, 1916.

R. M. WENLEY.

PANDHARPUR.—Pandharpur is a famous religious town and place of pilgrimage in the Sholāpur District of the Bombay Presidency,

Library of
PACIFIC BIBLE SEMINARY
4125 EAST ANAHEIM STREET
LONG BEACH, CALIFORNIA

situated on the right bank of the river Bhīma, a tributary of the Kistna; lat. 17° 41′ N., long. 75° 26′ E. The place derives its name from the cult of a deity now regarded as a form of Viṣṇu, variously called Pāṇḍurang, Paṇḍhari, Viṭṭhal, Viṭṭhalnāth, and Viṭhobā, whose noted temple near the centre of the holy part of the town is held in great reverence by Brāhmans.

Viṭhobā, according to Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl Indrajī (*BG* xx. 423), 'is a short form of Viṭṭhal bāvā, that is "Father" or "Dear" Viṭṭhal; Viṭṭhal does not appear to be a Sanskrit name, nor, though several attempts have been made, can the word be correctly traced to any Sanskrit root. The name is probably Kanarese.'

Others explain it to mean 'standing on a brick,' from the position of the image of the god (J. M. Mitchell, *Hinduism Past and Present*, p. 169; M. A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, vi. 23). It is more probable that the name is a corruption of Viṣṇupati, 'lord Viṣṇu,' through the local form Bistu or Biṭṭu. The present name Pāṇḍurang, usually interpreted to mean 'white-coloured,' is more probably a Sanskritized form of Pandaraga, 'belonging to Pandargē'—the old name of the place. From these facts Viṭhobā seems to be a local deity admitted into Hinduism as a form of Viṣṇu.

The date of the erection of the original temple, which has been repeatedly restored and extended, is unknown. It seems to have been erected under the Yādava dynasty of Devgirī, and to have been destroyed by the Muhammadans, as several figures are wilfully destroyed. According to local tradition, the image was several times removed to save it from desecration at the hands of the Muhammadans. It is about 3 ft. 9 ins. in height, and together with the base seems to be cut out of a single block of trap rock. It stands with arms akimbo and hands resting upon the hips, the left hand holding a conch-shell and the right a discus, the emblems of Viṣṇu. No other Vaiṣṇava temple in India seems to possess a similar image. It is served by a colony of Deśasth Brāhmans, including priests (*badvā*), ministrants, choristers, bathmen, singers, barbers, mace-bearers, and lamp-lighters. The service is performed five times during each day and night.

About 8 a.m. a priest humbly begs the god to wake; the door is opened, the food placed in the bed-chamber on the previous day is removed, and butter and sugar-candy are laid before the god. A torch made of muslin soaked in butter is waved before him from head to foot. Many votaries come to behold the god at this time. After this he is again fed, butter and sugar being placed in his mouth. Lights perfumed with camphor are again waved, the faded garlands are removed, and the feet of the image are washed first in milk and then in water. The service proper (*pūjā*) then begins. The image is unrobed and bathed, a sheet being held before the door while he is naked. After his bath he is wiped dry and dressed in new robes. His face is wiped and rubbed with scented oil until it shines. A turban is bound round his head and garlands of flowers are hung on his neck, while the barber holds a mirror before him. His feet are washed and rubbed with sandal; sandal paste is applied to his brow. After the morning service, about 3 p.m., the god is again dressed; the ministrant bathes and adorns him.

The days specially sacred to the gods are Wednesday and Saturday, unless these fall at the conjunction of sun and moon or ominous conjunctions of planets occur. As in the case with all Vaiṣṇavas, the 11th day of the month is a fast day. The chief fairs are in June to July and October to November, when immense crowds assemble from all parts of the Deccan and S. India. The other temples in the town are numerous, but not of special importance.

LITERATURE.—This art. is mainly based on the full account of the place, the temple, and its ritual by Pandit Bhagvānlāl Indrajī, in *BG* xx. [1884] 415 ff., and J. M. Mitchell, *Hinduism Past and Present*, London, 1885, p. 168 ff. On the local saint, Nāmdev, see M. A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Oxford, 1909, vi. 23, 34. On the anti-Brāhmanical influence of the Marhāṭā poet Tūkarām see M. M. Kunte, *Vicissitudes of Aryan Civilisation in India*, Bombay, 1880, pp. 464, 497.

W. CROOKE.

PANGENESIS.—The theory of pangenesis, though to some extent foreshadowed in the writings of Buffon, Spencer, and others, was originally put forward by Charles Darwin in 1867. By means of it he sought to connect together many different classes of biological facts with which his studies had brought him into close contact. It was a tentative explanation of phenomena so diverse as the general process of development, the regeneration of lost parts after injury, reversion in offspring to characters present in remote ancestors, the inherited effects of the use and disuse of organs, and graft-hybrids. For these and other phenomena of life Darwin attempted a general explanation in the theory which he termed 'pangenesis.' The tissues of plants and animals are composed of small microscopical units called cells, which increase by self-division. According to Darwin, this is not the sole mode of reproduction whereby these units increase in number. He supposed that they continually throw off minute particles, or gemmules, which permeate the whole system of the individual. Under suitable conditions these gemmules multiply by self-division and ultimately give rise to units similar to those from which they sprang. At the spot where the sexual elements are formed a special attraction is exerted on all the different kinds of gemmule from the body. Here they congregate and constitute the sexual elements. As the sexual cells themselves, especially those produced by the male, are often very small, it must be supposed that the gemmules are exceedingly minute, and quite invisible under the highest powers of the microscope. Fertilization means the union of two sets of gemmules, and subsequent development results in offspring bearing resemblances to the parents by whom these two sets were supplied. In this way is explained the general likeness between parents and offspring. A further supposition is that under certain circumstances gemmules may become dormant and remain so for many generations. Then, through unknown changes in the conditions, they may re-awaken into activity, and bring about the sudden reappearance of the character or characters to which their activities give rise. In this way is explained the phenomenon of reversion on the part of offspring to features which were found in some more or less remote ancestor.

The co-ordinated aggregation of the gemmules which serves to explain the process of normal development serves also to explain the remarkable phenomenon of the regeneration of lost parts, such as occurs when a limb of the lobster is lost or the tail severed from a lizard. The appropriate gemmules congregate at the point of injury and attract others to themselves, so that a complete set necessary for the re-formation of the lost part is eventually assembled.

Darwin also considered that the theory served to explain cases such as the development of an antenna in a crustacean in place of an eye, or the appearance of buds in unlikely places on a plant. Such teratological cases are due to the wrong gemmules having arrived first at the point of growth, and having attracted their own complement of gemmules instead of that necessary to complete the normal sequence.

Some of the phenomena which Darwin sought to explain by the theory of pangenesis have since been shown to be either of doubtful nature or susceptible of a totally different interpretation. The supposed inherited effect of the use and disuse of parts, in which Darwin believed strongly, is now generally discredited by biologists. Recent work, too, has shown that graft-hybrids are in reality made up of two distinct individuals, of

which one supplies certain tissues and the other one the rest. A graft-hybrid may consist of the body of one plant covered over by the skin of another. The resultant is more or less intermediate in appearance, but the cell-tissues of the two kinds remain distinct, and the compound plant breeds true to the member of the combination that supplies the cell-layer from which the germ-cells arise. Of such phenomena the theory of pangenesis offers no explanation.

From the outset Darwin's theory was subjected to much criticism. A few years after its promulgation Galton questioned its validity on experimental grounds. He argued that, if representatives of all the various gemmules given off by the body of an animal are collected into the sexual glands, as the theory demands, they must travel by the passage of the blood. Hence the blood must be full of them, and they must be capable of living in the blood for some time. If, therefore, the blood of one form were replaced by that of another, the offspring of animals with such transfused blood should show effects derived from the interchange of gemmules. Galton accordingly made blood-transfusion experiments between silver-grey rabbits and lops, and subsequently bred from both classes. In spite of the transfusion each class bred true, and in no case did the offspring exhibit any differences that might be set down to the operation. These experiments of Galton are supported by the case of the graft-hybrids mentioned above. A graft-hybrid, as has already been stated, consists of a permanent fusion between individual plants which may belong to different allied species, as, *e.g.*, between the tomato and the common weed *Solanum nigrum*. Nevertheless experiment has shown that the offspring of such compound plants belong entirely to one of the two forms of which the plant is made up. If the doctrine of pangenesis were true, and the gemmules of both forms were collected together in the sexual tissues, some effect would undoubtedly be looked for in the offspring. That no effect is produced certainly tells against the doctrine.

Nor does pangenesis receive any support from what is now known of cell-division. The science of cytology, largely concerned with the characters, origin, and growth of cells, has been revolutionized since Darwin wrote, and the ascertained phenomena lend no support to the view that new cells arise in any way other than by division of pre-existing cells.

Whatever its shortcomings, the theory of pangenesis probably contains one essential truth. The conception that the various characters exhibited by plant or animal depend for their manifestation upon definite units which are transferred unchanged from generation to generation is a conception which has been borne out by recent experimental work (see art. HEREDITY). It is a conception, too, which has formed an integral part of the more important theories of inheritance that have been put forward since Darwin's time, and to this extent pangenesis may be said to have formed the basis of modern heredity. In one respect, however, Darwin's theory differs fundamentally from those which succeeded it, viz. in the conception of the manner in which the somatoplasm is related to the germ-plasm. For Darwin there was no very sharp distinction between the two. At an early stage in development the sexual cells were non-existent as such, but were represented by innumerable gemmules scattered throughout the body. As development proceeded, representative gemmules from the various tissues became aggregated together in the sexual gland, ultimately giving rise to the reproductive tissue or germ-plasm. Sexual cells gave rise to body tissue and body tissue in its turn, through the formation of gemmules, gave rise to sexual cells. In the sequence of the generations there was a continual alternation between somatoplasm and germ-plasm, the connecting link between them being the gemmules. The theory involved the transportation of the gemmules from the fertilized ovum to the body tissues, and again from the body tissues to the fertilized ovum. Strong objections to this hypothetical transportation of gemmules were soon raised by Galton and others, and the idea was abandoned by Weismann and other successors of Darwin. Following Weismann, most biologists to-day draw a sharp distinction between germ-plasm and somatoplasm. The sexual elements continue to be germ-plasm after their fusion, but from this fused germ-plasm a portion is gradually set aside as development proceeds, is specialized as the body of the new individual, and functions as the carrier and protector of the remaining and unmodified germ-plasm. The body eventually dies; the germ-plasm carried by it alone retains the property of fusion with other germ-plasms to repeat the sequence. After each fusion of separate germ-plasms resulting from the union of two sexual cells a portion is sacrificed to ensure the continued activity of the rest. The germ-plasm goes on from fusion to fusion, from generation to generation, and at each generation is side-tracked a portion which becomes somatoplasm, which drifts thenceforward from the evolutionary current and ultimately perishes. The case for or against pangenesis rests largely upon what is termed the inheritance of 'acquired' characters, upon whether changes in the somatoplasm induced by changed conditions can be transmitted to the next generation through the medium of the germ-plasm. Darwin believed in such inheritance; Weismann did not. As time has gone on, the evidence has become more and more in favour of Weismann and consequently against the view of the relation between somatoplasm and germ-plasm which the theory of pangenesis implies. On the other hand, it is becoming more and more apparent that any explanation of the phenomena of heredity demands the conception of small particles whose presence in or absence from the germ-plasm decides the characters of the somatoplasm that arises from the germ-plasm (cf. art. HEREDITY). To this extent the theory of pangenesis contains an element of truth.

LITERATURE.—H. Spencer, *Principles of Biology*, London, 1864; C. Darwin, *The Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication*, do. 1868; F. Galton, 'Experiments in Pangenesis,' *PRS*, 1871; A. Weismann, *The Germ-Plasm*, tr. W. N. Parker and H. Rönnfeldt, London, 1893; E. Baur, *Einführung in die experimentelle Vererbungslehre*, Berlin, 1911.

R. C. PUNNETT.

PANJĀB AND NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE.—1. Pre-historical creeds.—It is difficult to say what the primitive religion of the Panjāb or north-west corner of India must have been, but easy to conjecture its general outlines. It was doubtless a form of nature-worship, combined with magic, whose object was to attain power over the material universe generally and in particular to get children, ensure good harvests, and destroy enemies or at least secure immunity from their onslaughts. A type of this primitive religion may have long survived the Vedic period in the *Bon chos*, or religion of the Tibetan Bonpos. The *Bon chos* was also called *Lha chos*, or 'spirit-cult,' and in the *gLing chos* of Ladākh we have probably the earliest type of it.[1]

The gods of the Bon religion were those of the red meadow (the earth), of the sun, of heaven, King Kesar and his mother Gog bzang lhamo.[2] But

[1] A. H. Francke, *Antiquities of Indian Tibet*, Calcutta, 1914, p. 21; cf. art. GLING CHOS, vol. viii. p. 75.

[2] Francke, pp. 2, 65.

at least as primitive were the *pho-lhā* and *mo-lhā*, or deities of the 'male and female principle.'[1] Sun-worship must have been important, as the cult was also called *gyung-drung-bon*, or the *swāstika-bon*.[2]

Human sacrifice was probably a leading feature of this primitive creed. Oaths at important treaties were made binding by human as well as animal sacrifices, new houses were consecrated by immuring human beings in their walls, and a person was killed when one was first inhabited.[3] A. H. Francke mentions a *lāma* in the Sutlej valley who had recently beheaded his father while asleep in order to render his new house habitable.[4] The old were apparently put to death—a custom toned down in modern times to a rule which relegates a father to a small house when his son marries, and a grandfather to a still smaller one.

The ibex was worshipped for fertility, and figures of it were often carved on rocks. Nowadays 'flour ibex' are offered by neighbours to the parents of a new-born child.[5] Kesar, áBruguma, and other pre-Buddhistic divinities are still invoked to grant children,[6] but it does not follow that this was their real or principal function in the *Bon chos*. The *swāstika* was already a symbol of the sun, and the *yonī* of the female principle.[7] The dead were buried, burned, exposed to the air, or cast into the waters, as might seem appropriate. Thus people who had died of dropsy were cast into a stream.[8] Even in recent times the people of Kanaur used to practise immersion of the dead in water (*ḍūbant*), eating (*bhakhant*), and cremation as well as burial.[9] Corpses were also cut into pieces and packed into clay pots.[10]

Spirits played a great part for good or ill. That of the Miru monastery was carried off even in Buddhist times to Hemis in a bundle of twigs.[11] When the country suffered from violent gales, the spirits of the wind were caught in pots and stored up in a *stūpa* which had already been built over the home of an evil spirit.[12]

2. Vitality of early beliefs.—J. G. Frazer has noted the unchanging character of the popular, real religious beliefs in India,[13] and has also pointed out how the confusion between magic and religion, so general among primitive peoples, was rife in ancient India[14] (see MAGIC [Indian], vol. viii. p. 292). But the 'spirit basis of belief and custom' is probably the key by which Indian magic is to be interpreted. However this may be, we find very little difference and no essential variations in the magical art of destroying an enemy by injuring his image to the accompaniment of appropriate spells, rites, or incantations as described in the Atharvaveda and that practised by modern Muhammadans in N. India.[15]

(*a*) *Sun-god.*—The cult of the sun-god is probably most widely conserved in the legend of Rājā Rasālu, in spite of R. C. Temple's efforts to find a historical basis for it.[16] No doubt many historical kings and heroes have been identified with Rasālu, but the principal episodes of his epic are stock incidents in sun-myths. Of these incidents some are found in Buddhist iconography; *e.g.*, his horse is born at the same hour as himself and he is the result of a miraculous conception, like the Buddha

[1] Francke, p. 21. [2] *Ib.* p. 96. [3] *Ib.* p. 21.
[4] *Ib.* p. 22. [5] *Ib.* pp. 96, 105. [6] *Ib.* p. 105.
[7] *Ib.* pp. 105, 107. [8] *Ib.* p. 23.
[9] Pandit Tīkā Rām Joshi, 'Ethnography of the Bashahr State,' *JASBe*, 1911, p. 536.
[10] Francke, pp. 65, 72, 74. [11] *Ib.* p. 65.
[12] *Ib.* p. 81.
[13] *GB*[3], pt. vi., *The Scapegoat*, London, 1913, p. 89.
[14] *Ib.* pt. i., *The Magic Art*, do. 1911, i. 228.
[15] *Ib.* i. 63 f., citing H. W. Magoun, 'The Asuri-Kalpa; a Witchcraft Practice of the Atharva-Veda,' *AJPh* x. [1889] 165–197, and Crooke, *PR* ii. 278 f.
[16] 'Rājā Rasālu,' in *Calcutta Review*, lxxix. [1884] 379 f., or *Selections from Calcutta Review*, ix. [1896] 187.

himself, and like the hero-god Gūga of later times.[1]

(*b*) *The headless horseman.*—Another cult, if it can be so termed, of extraordinary vitality in the Panjāb is that of the headless horseman.[2] The devoted warrior, champion, or devotee who sacrifices his head in fight or sacrifice for his country, his faith, or his honour is found in every creed and at every epoch of the history of the province. According to the Hindu *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Devi assumed ten incarnations in order to destroy the *rakṣasas*, or demons, and one of them was Chhinnamastakā the 'headless,' which she took upon her to destroy Nisumbha. She is the modern Chāmunda or Chaunda, and appears to be the type in which several modern cults are moulded.

A similar cult of a headless champion of the faith is that of the famous Ghāzi Sālār, or Ghāzī Miyān, the historical Sālār Masaud Ghāzī, nephew of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī who was killed in A.D. 1033. His headless body is buried at Bahrāich, and his shrine is a place of pilgrimage. He is worshipped in the Panjāb principally in the south-west (cf. above, p. 600).

Other cults of this type are those of Lakkhe Shāh Darwesh, who was killed in a great war in Multān, and whose headless trunk fought its way to Ambāla, which town he cursed so that to this day all the wells within its walls are brackish; the Sayyids of Sonepat, Mīrān Shāh and his sister's son Sayyid Kabīr; and the Binsirā, or 'headless' saint, of Pānīpat.

The Hindus of the modern Panjāb still preserve such cults. Thus the Bhandārī section of the Khattrīs reverence Bābā Chūda (? Chāmunda) of Baṭāla, and perform the ear-piercing ceremony of their sons at his shrine. He too fell fighting, after his head had been severed from his body, in the streets of the town, about 1730 (probably during Nādir Shāh's invasion in 1738), and he is revered as a god.

The Sikhs have several similar legends. The Sikh *misl*, or confederated regiment of the Shahīds (lit. 'martyrs,' a term borrowed from the Muhammadans), is sometimes said to be a *misl* of the Akālis, but other accounts ascribe its name to the heroic death of its founder who fought on horseback long after his head had been struck off in an attack on a Muhammadan governor. See, further, art. SHAHĪD.

3. The Vedic cults.—The Aryan invasions introduced the Vedic religion into the Panjāb, if, indeed, it did not take its rise in its plains. The Veda is not, however, a collection of popular poems, but a redaction of hymns composed in the main by a priestly class, and below or beside the Vedic cults the primitive creeds probably survived. Moreover, the Vedic theology was itself largely a worship of nature. It begins with the worship of things of heaven and ends with worship of those of earth. First come the sky-gods, the sun, also known as Savitar, the enlightener, and Bhaga, 'the bestower of blessings'; then Viṣṇu, the kindly god destined to become one of the Hindu triad. As Pūshan, god of agriculture, roads, and cattle, or Kapardin, 'he of the braided hair,' he is also regarded as forming a link between the Vedic gods and Śiva. Dyaus, the shining sky, and Varuṇa, the sky-god—still worshipped in Chamba as Bir Batāl or under the Muhammadan name of Khwājah Khizr[3]—complete the list. Second comes the god of mid-air, Indra, who gained his ascendancy on

[1] J. P. Vogel, 'A Græco-Buddhist Sculpture in the Lahore Museum,' *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, i. [Calcutta, 1912] 138.
[2] R. C. Temple, 'Folklore of the Headless Horseman in Northern India,' *Calcutta Review*, lxxvii. [1883] 158 f., or *Selections from Calcutta Review*, viii. [1896] 260 f.
[3] *Chamba Gazetteer*, Lahore, 1910, p. 191.

Indian soil, where agriculture depends on the periodical rains. As a war-god he leads the Kṣatriyas on earth as he fought in heaven against the demon that dispersed the rain-clouds. Last come the earth-born gods, Agnī, the fire-god, and Soma, the moon-plant (*Asclepias acida*), with intoxicating properties, later to be identified with the moon. Below these is the anthropomorphous Yāma, god of the nether world, whose heaven is guarded by two monstrous dogs. Thither are led the souls of the *pitṛs*, or sainted dead, who have constantly to be refreshed by the food-offerings of their descendants lest they lose their place in the abodes of the blessed. Hence arose the *śrāddha*, or periodical feast of the dead, which has had far-reaching effects on the development of the theory of sacrifice. The *pitṛs* themselves have also become godlings. This religion has never perished. It has been transformed out of all recognition, but its elements still survive.

4. Buddhism.—The Vedic period lasted from 1500 (or even earlier) down to 200 B.C., but the pretensions of its later developments led to at least two great protestant movements, Jainism and Buddhism. Neither originated in the Panjāb, yet both profoundly influenced its religious evolution. The earlier, Jainism, has left its monuments all over the Panjāb, and is still an organized creed within its borders, especially in the south-east. Buddhism, founded by the Buddha (*c.* 596–508 B.C.), not only became the State religion under Aśoka and his successors, but penetrated into the valleys which run up into the ranges on its western frontier, flourished especially in the Peshāwar valley, and spread all over the mountainous regions west and north of the Indus into modern Buner, Swāt, Dīr, and Chitrāl, over Kashmīr, over all the Himālayan region of the N.E. Panjāb, and into Tibet on its northern frontier. The petty modern State of Mandī (known to Tibetans as Zahor) was a seat of Buddhist learning, and its sacred lake of Rawālsar is still an object of Buddhist pilgrimage. But of the Himālayan cantons only Lahul, Upper Kanaur (in Bashahr State), and the Tibetan valley of Spiti are now at all Buddhist by creed, and the only true Buddhists are the pure Tibetans of the last-named valley.

The protestant movements against orthodox or Brāhmanical Hinduism have, however, often been renewed in other guises. From time to time religious revivals have taken the form of revolts against priestly pretensions or theological intricacies. Of all these movements that of the Sikhs, contemporary with the Reformation in Europe, was the most important and enduring (see art. SIKHS).

5. Zoroastrianism.—Such are the ingredients of which we have literary evidence, but many other elements enter into the composition of the Panjāb religions. Of these the Iranian is the most important and the most obscure. The connexion of the provinces, especially of the Indus valley, with Persia has often been very close from the days of Darius, son of Hystaspes (521–485 B.C.), onwards, though it was frequently interrupted. The Rāvi, a river of the central Panjāb, anciently called the Iravati (Skr. Airavati[1]), is etymologically identical with Haraqaiti, now the Helmand (Arghandāb) in Arachosia. Whether these names were brought into the Panjāb by Indo-Aryans formerly settled in E. Īrān, or by Iranians who penetrated into it after the Indo-Aryan invasions, it is impossible to say; but, judging from the history of later times, it is certain that the intercourse between India and Īrān was once much closer than it became subsequently, and Iranian influences may have been considerable.[1] Similarly, the sacred Sarasvatī, now a mere stream of the eastern Panjāb in the Jamnā valley, probably takes its name from the old designation of the Indus, though the descriptions given of it may refer to a time when it was a far greater river than it is now. Hillebrandt's theory that its name, too, was even applied to the Arghandāb[2] seems to be untenable. However this may be, the later Vedic period saw the Kurukshetra, or 'battle-field of the Kurus,' marked out in the Jamnā valley, between that river and the Sarasvatī or beyond it. Roughly speaking, it corresponded to the modern Sirhind,[3] or rather to the Mughal province of that name, but it extended further south than Cunningham would acknowledge.[4] Known also as the Dharmakṣetra, or 'holy land,' it was the country of the allied Kuru-Panchāla tribes, and within it the great *Brāhmaṇas* were undoubtedly composed. But the rest of the Panjāb, exposed to constant invasions from the north-west, rapidly fell away and was lost to orthodox Hinduism, Vedic and Brāhmanical, with the exception of the Himālayan area, where Brāhmanism has always held a strong footing. The Hinduism of the later Vedic and post-Vedic periods was elastic. It admitted not only Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas, but even men of the lowest castes, to Brāhmanhood, and was able and willing to receive foreigners into its fold. Thus, as D. R. Bhandarkar has shown,[5] Greeks (or at any rate Græco-Bactrians) became Hindu Vaiṣṇavas as well as Buddhists. Sakas, Abhīras, and Kushanas similarly entered both folds, and on the coins of the latter dynasty we find Hindu, Greek, and Iranian deities figured as well as the Buddha. Just as the Hūnas, or White Ephthalites, became one of the thirty-six genuine Rājpūt families, so they and their contemporaries, the Gūjars, became Hinduized. But some of these invaders brought with them Persian *magi*, who became Maga or Sākadvīpi Brāhmans; and the *Bhavishya Purāṇa* relates how Sāmba, son of Kṛṣna, suffering from white leprosy, was advised by the sage Nārada to build a temple to Sūrya, the sun-god, on the Chenāb. Thus was founded the great sun-temple at Multān (Sāmba-pura) which was destroyed in the Muhammadan invasions. To serve it ten Maga families had to be brought from Sākadvīpa. They are described as descended from Jarashasta (Zoroaster), and as belonging to the Mihira (a Sanskritized form of the Old Persian Mihr) *gotra*. But Mihirakula (a Sanskritized form of the Persian Mihrgul), son of the Hūṇa king Toramāna, was converted to the worship of Śiva, and founded a dynasty in Kashmīr, which was long a staunch patron of Brāhmanism. Traces of Zoroastrian fire-worship, however, still existed in the Panjāb down to the time of Tīmūr, as he mentions his destruction of temples dedicated to it[6] in the valley of the Jamnā.

6. Islām.—Side by side with these Hindu and Hinduized cults, Buddhism held its ground, at all events in a debased form, until the Muhammadan invasions. Beginning with inroads from Sind and the conquest of Multān in A.D. 712, Islām obtained a firm footing in the S.W. Panjāb before the rest of these provinces came under its influence, and the oldest Muhammadan shrines in the Panjāb are those at Uch Sharīf, now in Bahāwalpur, and other places in that State and the adjoining British territory. The later conquests of Muhammad of

[1] J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, London, 1901, p. 27. Its Vedic name was Parushni (A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, London, 1912, i. 499).

[1] It is not necessary to go as far as A. Hillebrandt and place the action of the sixth *maṇḍala* of the Rigveda in Arachosia.

[2] ii. 437. [3] Macdonell and Keith, i. 170.

[4] *Archæological Survey Report*, Simla, 1871, ii. 215 f.; cf. Rose, *IA* xxxii. [1903].

[5] *IA* xl. [1911] 13.

[6] H. M. Elliot, *Hist. of India*, London, 1867–77, iii. [1871] 431, 494. The gods Yazdān and Ahrimān are expressly said to be worshipped.

Ghor and Mahmūd of Ghaznī had singularly little effect on the religions of the Panjāb people as a whole. Though Delhi fell to the former in 1193, the Muhammadans under the Turk Sulṭāns were too fully employed in the conquest of Hindustan to force conversion on the province, and it was probably not until the Paṭhāns or Afghāns established themselves firmly in the tracts west of the Indus in the 15th cent. that Islām became the dominant creed, as it is now, in the N.W. Frontier Province and the W. Panjāb. Tradition still preserves memories of Aurangzīb's proselytizing zeal, but all the influences combined only succeeded in making the fertile tracts along the great rivers Muhammadan. The naturally barren uplands and the hills to the north and east of the Panjāb remained Hindu or became Sikh. The Kohistān, or mountain region north of the Indus, appears to have been slowly conquered or converted to Islām, and Kāfiristān (*q.v.*) remained primitively pagan down to the time of the late Amīr Abdurrahmān of Afghānistān, if, indeed, it can be said to have yet entirely lost its independence or its ancient faiths. Moreover, the Muhammadan conquest of Sind and Multān was largely effected by schismatics who were compelled or encouraged to find scope for their activities on the remoter frontiers of the Khalifate, rather than at the heart of its dominions. Heretical movements were thus potent from the inception of the Islāmic inroads, and to this cause may be ascribed the chequered history of its progress in the Panjāb. Ṣūfiistic ideas have always found a congenial soil on the frontiers of Islām, and among the Khojas and other followers of the Ismā'īlian doctrine some of the earliest protestants against its most rigidly orthodox system are still represented.

It is hardly open to question that many of the first Muhammadan shrines were founded on the sites of ancient Buddhist, Hindu, or Jain fanes. Uch itself was anciently known as Deogaṛh—a name which suggests a religious origin.[1]

Multān was the centre of sun-worship, and derives this, its latest Hindu name, from that of the idol and its shrine (*mūlasthāna*), which was one of vast wealth in pre-Islāmic days. In the Tochī valley the shrines affected by the Wazīr and other Paṭhān tribes preserve many traces of a nature-worship older than Buddhism or Hinduism. Thus at the *ziārat* of Mūsā Nikkā, who was the ancestor of all the Wazīrs, stand three trees; to embrace the first will give a man a wife, to climb the second will give him a horse, and to swing from the third a son.[2] In the Kurram valley, whose present masters, the Tūrīs, are staunch Shī'ites and probably modern immigrants from the eastward, the shrines of Muhammadan saints date from an earlier period and some of them must be ancient.[3] One of them is Lāla Gul, son of Burqa-posh, the 'veiled' Prophet. Lāla Gul is also known as the Yakh-posh, 'endurer of cold.' At some of these frontier shrines the devotee can obtain proficiency in music, while not far off the orthodox *mullās* may denounce music as equally immoral with dancing. Farther east, on the Indus, are some shrines of possibly even an older origin. From Uch Sharīf upwards the earliest Muhammadan propaganda spread in the valleys of the Indus and the Chenāb, and at such places as Multān, Sītpur, Taunsa Sharīf, Sakhī Sarwar, Leia, and many others, rites are in vogue or practices current which are not easily reconcilable with orthodox Islām. Sakhī Sarwar in particular represents the centre of an ancient cult of the earth and its fertility, and is the object of pilgrimage to the Sulṭāni sect.

In the Kohistān of the Indus valley, and in Buner, Swāt, Chitrāl, Gilgit, and other tracts, Islām established itself by slow degrees on the ruins of Buddhism and older cults. Tradition preserves the memory of an old Arab dynasty in Swāt, but the Afghān invasions refounded Muhammadanism in an intolerant form in the southern part of this region, Chitrāl and the smaller States to the north alone maintaining their older and less orthodox, but equally fanatical, form of that faith. In consequence few traces of Buddhism have survived; its monuments have been defaced, if not destroyed, and, though in its art Buddhist influences may still be seen, as at Darel, the popular religion is Islām with an undercurrent of primitive beliefs now to be classed as folk-lore. As a sample of the *mélanges* of fact and theory which this area presents, Ghulām Muhammad[1] may be cited. He describes the Shīns as professing Arab descent, but as being probably Jews, who came to the valleys of the Kohistān *via* Afghānistān from Persia or even Turkey. But the Shīns have the characteristic Hindu aversion to eating the flesh or milk (or even *ghī* made from the milk) of the cow, and eschew fowls and fish. The former language of the people was Sanskrit, and the dialect now in use is called Shīna. The basic element in the people is thus probably Indo-Aryan, and their festivals preserve many traces of Hindu beliefs.[2]

7. Guga.—The cult of Guga merits somewhat detailed notice.

Guga, or Gugga Chauhān (a Rājpūt tribe, the ancient Chandamāna), was king of Garh Dadner near Brindaban, and a son of Devī Chand and Bāchila his queen, the latter's sister Kāchila being wife of the king of Garh Mālwa. Both these queens were childless, but by performing *tapas* ('austerities') Bāchila won the regard of Yogī Gorakhnāth. He promised her the boon of a son, but Kāchila, hearing of the promise, forestalled her sister and was given two barleycorns by the Yogī. These she ate and in due course bore twin sons—Arjan and Surjan. When Bāchila visited the Yogī, he reproached her for coming to him again and, incensed at his words, she turned away. Although her hair had already turned grey, she practised *tapas* for twelve years more. Gorakhnāth then came to her again and, placing some ashes in her hand, bade her keep them, but she took umbrage at the form of his gift and threw them away. From them sprang Nurya and Gurya Siddhs, who worshipped Gorakhnāth. He then gave Bāchila a second handful of ashes, bidding her swallow them at home, but she did so on the spot and returned to her palace well advanced in pregnancy. Taunted by her husband with 'having got a bastard from the Yogīs and Gosains,' she set out for the house of her father, Rājā Kirpāl of Ajmer, but on the way her oxen stopped and refused to move. A voice from her womb bade her turn back or her child would not be born for twelve years. When the cart was turned round, the oxen went back to Garh Dadner, and she resumed her place in the palace, where her son, Guga, was born on the first Sunday in Māgh. When he was seven years old, his father abdicated and he became Rāṇā. Bāchila also had a daughter, Gugerī.

Guga, or Rāṇā Mundlīkh, as he was called, was betrothed to Surjila, a daughter of the Rājā of Bangāla, although she had already been promised to Bāsāk Nāg. Guga set out for Gaur Bangāla with an army of 900,000 men and 52 *bīrs*, or champions, including Kailū Bīr his *kotwāl* and Hanumān Bīr. Kailū Bīr, mounted on his steed Aganduāria, sprang across a river to spy out a hostile camp. Leaving his horse, he disguised himself as a Brāhman and met Kalihar Nāg, Bāsāk Nāg's chief officer, who told him of his master's intent to destroy Mundlīkh's army and Kailū Bīr himself. The latter bade Kalihar conceal his men in some long grass and ambush Mundlīkh's army as it advanced. Then he mounted his steed and made it prance. At the second kick its hoofs struck out sparks which set fire to the grass and destroyed the Nāg army. A third bound carried Kailū Bīr back over the river to Mundlīkh's army. Advancing to Bangāla, he was met by a sorceress commissioned by Surjila to bewitch

[1] *Bahāwalpur State Gazetteer*, Lahore, 1904, pp. 161, 385. But it may be named after its Hindu ruler, Deo Singh. Tradition ascribes one of its mounds (*uoha*, 'the height') to the mythical Rājā Hodi.

[2] Lal Shah, 'Notes on some Frontier Shrines,' *IA* xxxv. [1906] 124; *Nikkā* means a 'chief,' and is still used in that sense among certain Paṭhān tribes.

[3] *Ib.* p. 119 ff.

[1] *On the Festivals and Folk-lore of Gilgit* (Monographs A S. Bengal), Calcutta, 1905.

[2] *E.g.*, the Shino Bazono, or spring festival, is clearly the Basant Panchmi of the Panjāb (*ib.* p. 95). The moon is eclipsed by Grahn, a giant (p. 107). The worship of a goddess is still in vogue among the women; she is called Śri Bai (p. 108). Nāgī Suchami, another goddess, is still remembered, if not worshipped (p. 103).

him into losing all desire to return to Garh Dadner. She cast a garland of flowers round his neck, but Hanumān detected the spell and at his cry the garland broke and fell off. Thrice this occurred, and the third time the sorceress's nether garment also fell down, exposing her nakedness. She complained to Mundlīkh, who reproved Hanumān for behaving like a monkey. At this he took offence and returned to Garh Dadner, declaring that his master would be condemned to remain twelve years in Bangāla. After the marriage Mundlīkh was overcome with love for his wife, and his followers also came under a spell and were dispersed as servants or slaves all over Bengal for twelve years. Meanwhile disasters fell upon Garh Dadner. Arjan and Surjan regarded themselves as in a sense the sons of Bāchila, having been born in virtue of the boon promised to her, and as such entitled to a share in the kingdom. A wondrous calf, called Panch-kaliānī, was also born about this time in Dadner, and they also coveted its possession. So they invaded the kingdom and invited Mahmūd of Ghaznī to help them. It fell an easy prey, as all its warriors were absent, but Bāchila and her daughter Gugerī held out in the citadel. Looking from its ramparts and seeing the city in ruins, Bāchila called to Mundlīkh, but in vain. Then Gugerī entered his chamber and found all as he had left it. When she invoked his name, his sword flew to her hand, and, donning his head-dress, she sallied forth, attacked the enemy, and routed them single-handed. Then she bethought her of the champion Ajiapāl, who lived not far away, and sent him word to bring back Mundlīkh. He had been practising *tapas* for a long time, and had seen Mundlīkh in a dream fighting without his head. Accompanied by Narsingh Bir, Kālī Bir, and three other *bīrs*, he reached Bengal, and, disguised as mendicants, he and his companions went from door to door singing the songs of Garh Dadner. One day Mundlīkh heard them and insisted on seeing the singers. Recognizing Ajiapāl, he threw off the spell, freed his enthralled followers, and, accompanied by Surjila, returned to Dadner, where he resumed his throne. He is said to have fought thirteen battles with the Muhammadans, and in the last of them his neck was cut through by a *chakra*, or discus, hurled from above, but his head did not fall. Mounted on his steed Nīlarath, and attended by Ajiapāl, who recollected his vision, he fought on. It was believed that, if his head did not fall for two and a half *gharīs* (60 minutes, but two and a half is probably a euphemism for three, so 72 minutes may be meant), he would survive, but, when two *gharīs* had passed, four kites appeared and exclaimed at the sight of Mundlīkh fighting without his head. Hearing their words, he put up his hand to his turban and turned towards Ajiapāl. His head thus lost its balance and rolled off. He himself fell dead from his horse. This befell on the ninth day of the dark half of Bhādon, the Guganaumi, and during that month and for eight days after that date his *śrāddha* is observed every year at his shrines.

After his death Surjila refused to don a widow's garb, averring that every night he visited her and was alive. But once Gugerī was allowed to conceal herself in the room where Surjila awaited his coming. At midnight a horse's tramp was heard and, when Guga had dismounted, she slipped out and clasped his horse round the neck. In this position she remained and was carried for some distance when Guga rode off. At last he detected her presence and said that, having been seen by her, he could never return.

J. Hutchison, of the Chamba Mission, from whose MS notes the last paragraph above is taken, adds: 'The above version of the Gugga legend is current in the Chamba hills: and it is noteworthy that in it there is no mention of Gugga having become a Muhammadan or of his having held any intercourse with Muhammadans. It may therefore be assumed to represent the older versions of the legend. As to the historical facts underlying the legend, it seems not improbable that by Gugga is indicated one of the Rājpūt kings of the time of Muhammad of Ghor. The mention of Rai Pithora or Prithwīrāja, the last Hindu Rājā of Delhi, makes this probable. He reigned from A.D. 1170 to 1193. The name Mundlīkh was probably a title given to Rājpūt warriors who distinguished themselves in the wars of the time. There were five Rājās who bore this title among the Chudāsama princes of Girnār in Kāthiāwār, the first of whom joined Bhima deva of Guzerāt in the pursuit of Mahmūd of Ghaznī in A.D. 1023. From the Chauhān bards, his enemies, we learn that Jaya Chandra Rāthor, the last king of Kanauj (killed in A.D. 1194), also bore this title. He had taken a leading part in the wars with the Muhammadans, whom he repeatedly defeated and drove back across the Indus. But at last, enraged with Prithwīrāja of Delhi, he invited Muhammad of Ghor to invade the Panjāb, with the result that both Delhi and Kanauj were overthrown and the Muhammadans triumphed. Jai Chand was drowned in the Ganges in attempting to escape.'

This is, of course, pure legend. Guga probably typifies the devotion of the champion who sacrifices his life in battle and, like him, bears the title of Mundlīkh.

8. Hinduism.—Although Hinduism in the Panjāb was for centuries depressed under the Muslim domination, it never lost its vitality even in the plains, and in the Himālayas it flourished. In W. Panjāb it was at one time almost suppressed, but it was largely revived under the Mughals by Bairāgi Gosains.[1] All through the Muhammadan period Tilla, the Bālnāth of the Yogis, in the eastern Salt Range, preserved its character as a centre of Hindu pilgrimage and worship. The Kurukshetra never lost its sanctity, and Thānesar remained and still is the centre of a great yearly religious fair. But no great seat of religious teaching survived. Modern Hinduism in the Panjāb largely owes its revival to the Ārya Samāj (*q.v.*). The great sects of modern Hinduism are equally represented in the Panjāb, but Saivism appears to have been the first in the field, if the peculiar sanctity attaching to Kailās, the great Himālayan peak in the upper Sutlej, is proof of its antiquity in that tract. It is the home of Śiva. In Chamba State also the Gaddēran, or territory of the Gaddi tribe, is a Śiv-bhūmi, or land of Śiva. But this tribe's traditions make it a comparatively modern immigrant into its present seats, and the cult of Śiva cannot be said to be native to or even very ancient in the Himālayan area.

In the Panjāb Himālayas.—The processes by which the ancient faiths of the Panjāb—the Vedic religion, Buddhism, Jainism, and the popular forms of its animistic philosophy—gave birth to modern Hinduism differed in no way from those at work in the rest of India, and will not be described here. It will suffice to say that, though the Jains of the modern Panjāb are few in number, Jain ideas still subsist among the people.[2] Buddhism merged into Hinduism by easy stages, and in the Himālayan State of Chamba, in Kulu, and other Himālayan valleys, that *nāga*-worship which latter-day Buddhism revived or at least tolerated is still widespread.[3] Its ritual differs little from that of the worship of Devi. But the distinctive feature of Himālayan Hinduism is best preserved in the Simla Hills, which are split up into religious jurisdictions, analogous to but not identical with those of the secular or temporal kingdoms and feudatory States into which they are divided. It is possible that some of these territorial gods are of great antiquity, but, owing to the system which prevails of getting rid of an inefficient deity and replacing him by one more successful, it is improbable that many very ancient deities have survived to the present day. A type of such a deity is Jungā, with his twenty-two *ṭīkās*, or feudatory gods, who gives his name to the capital of the State now called Keonṭhal, near Simla.[4] When a temple is struck by lightning and burnt—as may easily happen to a wooden temple in the hills—its destruction is attributed to the new god, and the old one disappears, or at least his cult is abandoned.[5] In other cases he is reduced to a position of vassalage or becomes the new god's chief minister, champion, or servant. Another typical cult is that of the Ḍūms,[6] who are found at several centres either singly or as a pair of twin brethren. A third, the family of Marechh, is represented by seven members, each located at his own temple. The original Marechh was also named Dithu and came from the Mansarowar lake nearly 4000 years ago. The name Marechh is said to mean 'dirty' and to be due to the original worship of this deity, which consisted in burning the hair of the dead in *ghī*. A similar cult is that of Mūl Padoī, who appears under four names at as

[1] E. D. Maclagan, *Panjāb Census Report*, Calcutta, 1892, p. 127 f.

[2] Rose, *Panjāb Census Report*, Simla, 1902, p. 218. The aversion to a widower's re-marrying is on the whole strongest in the S.E. Panjāb, where Jain influence is greatest.

[3] Vogel, in *Chamba Gazetteer*, Lahore, 1904, p. 185 f.; see also pp. 176–189 for an account of these cults. The antiquity of *nāga*-worship may be gauged from the metamorphosis of the Vedic Indra into Indrū Nāg (*ib.* p. 188). For some other Devi cults see *Simla Hill States Gazetteer*, Lahore, 1904, under 'Keonṭhal State,' Appendix, p. viii, and *Sirmūr Gazetteer*, Lahore, 1904, pp. 45–48.

[4] Rose, in *IA* xxxvi. [1907] 33 ff., reprinted as Appendix to 'Keonṭhal State,' in *Simla Hill States Gazetteer*.

[5] *Ib.* p. iv. [6] *Ib.* 'Kumhārsain State,' p. 10 f.

many places. His original name was Mūl and he is only 1500 years old, but he is now generally called Padoī. In Malāna, an inaccessible valley in Kulu on the Tibet border (but not in direct contact with the Tibetan canton of Spiti), the cult of Jamlū has its centre, and the valley is governed by a theocratic republic.[1] Jamlū is probably the Hindu Jamdaggan, but one tale makes him Jaimal Khān, a Mughal general.

Nevertheless in the Panjāb Himālayas the cults of these primitive types are inextricably interwoven with the fabric of orthodox Hinduism, and tradition preserves some of the history of its advent into the hills. Thus the most interesting Vaiṣṇava cult in Bashahr State and other parts of the Sutlej valley is that of Pars Rām, whose apostles, the Parsrāmi Brāhmans, are said to have introduced the Bhūnda sacrifice, in which a low-caste Beḍa rides down a huge rope stretched 400 or 500 ft. down a ravine. This rite was subsequently adopted at any place where a Parsrāmi settled and even celebrated in honour of deities other than Pars Rām.[2] The State of Bashahr itself was founded by Pardhuman, a grandson of Śrī Kṛṣṇa, who came to marry the daughter of Rājā Banasur,[3] the 'demon' king, whose capital lay in Kamrū, in a remote canton of Kanaur on the upper Sutlej. Having killed the Rājā, Pardhuman usurped his kingdom, but the Rājā's three sons became *maheśras*, or village deities, and are still worshipped at picturesque temples in as many villages, while his daughter is the goddess Ukha at Nachār. But the State religion is centred in the temple of Bhīma Kālī at Sarāhan, to which one of the *maheśras* is now *wazīr*, or chief minister.[4]

9. Nature-worship.—Throughout the hills nature-worship may be described as dominating all other cults, indigenous or imported. Thus Kālī embodies *śakti*, the female principle, and the great majority of the hill people are Śāktas, or worshippers of it. The tops of hills are usually sacred to this goddess, but the Dhār Chūr, or Chūr Peak, is the abode of Shrīgul (probably Śrī Gurū), a manifestation of Śiva himself.[5] With his cult is connected that of Bijat, the lightning-god (whose sister Bijāī has a temple seven storeys high), and also that of Ghatriālī, another goddess sister to Bijat.[6]

But the worship of nature in all its aspects is not confined to the hills. It may with truth be said to be at any rate the basis of most of the popular cults in the plains also.

10. Proselytism.—Changes of religion in the Panjāb are not uncommon. Thus a Hindu, even a Brāhman, may become a Sikh, and many Khattrīs are adherents of that sect—which is natural enough, seeing that its founder was himself a Khattrī by caste. Islām claims many converts, but has made no marked progress since the time of Aurangzīb, who put pressure on the Hindus and constrained many to adopt his faith. Modern converts to Islām, Christianity, and Sikhism are largely drawn to those creeds by the prospects of social promotion which they offer, conversion freeing those of low caste or out-castes from the stigma which Hinduism affixes to them. Such converts may form new castes, like the Mazbi or Mazhabi[1] Sikhs, who were by origin Chūhṛās, or scavengers, outside the Hindu pale. Muhammadan converts hardly form new castes, but they are known as Nau-Muslim, 'new Muslims' or Din-dār, 'holders of the faith.' Khoja is a term applied to any man of Chūhṛā status converted to Islām, but it is also the term for a body of high-caste Khattrīs who were converted to Islām some centuries ago, and who now form a distinct caste, if such a term can be applied to a Muhammadan group. A curious type of 'conversion' is found in one or two tracts where Hindu tribes dwelling on a Muhammadan border-land take wives from their neighbours. The bride, by birth a Muslim, is made to enter the Hindu fold. Strange as it may appear, it is very usual for Hindus to affect Muhammadan saints, and many Hindus or so-called Sikhs affect the famous Sakhi Sarwar, while the Hindu Sunārs ('goldsmiths') are often devotees of the Āghā Khān of Bombay, the representative of the sect of the Assassins.[2] The most striking instance of this blending of Hinduism and Islām is found in the south-east of the Panjāb, in the Mewāt or Meo country.

The Meos are a Hindu people, made up of fragments of Rājpūt tribes, and they bear indifferently Hindu or Muhammadan personal names. The great saint of the Mewāt was born of Muhammadan parents, but bore the Hindu name of Lāl Dās He is associated in worship with the stream which bears the name of Chuhar Sidh, a legendary personage famous only as a vulgar miracle-monger. His life was spent in its neighbourhood, and, when its overflow formed a pool, a Lāl Dāsi *sādh*, or monk, was regarded as its natural custodian. But Lāl Dās's own teaching was singularly practical and free from self-glorification and superstition. He inculcated industry and condemned mendicancy. The *sādh* was to be fearless in speech. Spiritual courage was enjoined, and, though asceticism is praised, its absurd excesses are not recommended. Kindliness is justly claimed as an essential part of his system, but it was tempered by a just severity. He caused the death of a Mughal who had laid hands on another man's wife, and bade his successor-designate, who shrank from the responsibility of governing the infant sect, either accept the office or bury himself alive. While he performed miracles, he taught that fame and wonder-working would pass away like the wind, that purity and gentleness alone availed. He died about 1647, at the age of 107, if tradition speaks true.[3] Another saint, Charn Dās, also born in the Mewāt, founded a more orthodox Hindu sect and is buried at Delhi.[4] Wilson classes his followers as a Vaiṣṇava sect.

11. Christianity.—In such a tolerant *milieu* Christianity makes considerable progress, but its converts are nearly all drawn from the lower castes, who by adherence to Christianity or to Islām obtain release from the bondage of the Hindu caste system. The invincible eclecticism of India causes members of the higher castes to absorb Christianity, weld it into their own and other established creeds, and sometimes found a new comprehensive sect like that of the Chetrāmis, which teaches that Allāh is the Creator, Parmeshvar the Preserver, and Khudā the Destroyer, while holding to the doctrine of a Christian Trinity.[5]

LITERATURE.—This is given in the footnotes. See also D. C. J. Ibbetson, *Panjāb Census Report*, Calcutta, 1883, the part of which reprinted as *Panjāb Ethnography* contains his chapters on religion; E. D. Maclagan and Pandit Harikishan Kaul, *Panjāb Census Reports*, Calcutta, 1892 and 1913 respectively.

H. A. ROSE.

PANPSYCHISM.—Panpsychism is the doctrine that whatever exists is essentially soul or spirit—in the sense, however, not of a single or universal spirit, of which all thought and life are the 'appearance' or expression, but of distinct individual souls. Being a soul implies the power

[1] Rose, *Glossary of Panjāb Tribes and Castes*, Lahore, 1914, iii. 263 (*s.v.* 'Rā-deo').

[2] *Simla Hill States Gazetteer*, 'Bashahr State,' p. 30 *f.* For an account of the cult of Pars Rām in Sirmūr, where it is important and free from any trace of human sacrifice, see *Sirmūr State Gazetteer*, Lahore, 1904, p. 39 ff.

[3] *Simla Hill States Gazetteer*, 'Bashahr State,' pp. 5, 32. Banasur was also called Bavasa Deo, and a variant of the legend gives the present ruling family a Brāhman origin, one of two pilgrim brothers having been elected to succeed to the throne on the extinction of the old dynasty because he was the first to enter the temple of Bhīma Kālī at a given moment, while his elder brother became priest of the ruling family—an office still held by his descendants (p. 5).

[4] *Ib.* pp. 27, 16.

[5] *Sirmūr State Gazetteer*, p. 42 ff.

[6] *Ib.* p. 43 ff.

[1] Lit. 'faithful.'

[2] Converts to this cult are not confined to the goldsmith caste. They may be of any caste, are called Ismā'īlis, accept 'Alī as God, and yet appear to remain good Hindus.

[3] P. W. Powlett, 'The Saint of Mewāt,' *Calcutta Review*, lxviii. [1879] 104, or *Selections from Calcutta Review*, v. [1895] 441; also Powlett, *Gazetteer of Ulwur*, London, 1879, p. 53, and Rose, *Glossary*, iii. 24 ff.

[4] H. H Wilson, 'Hindoo Sects,' *Works*, i. (London, 1862) 178; Powlett, *Gazetteer of Ulwar*, p. 59 *f.*; Rose, *Glossary*, ii. 37 *f.*

[5] Rose, *Glossary*, ii. 157 *f.*

of representing or being aware of the world (*i.e.* other souls), the possibility of change, and the power of striving to resist change or to direct it towards expansion or development—presentation, affection, and conation. All material things, organized or unorganized, living or dead, are 'in reality' souls. The difficulty is to decide what is 'a thing.' This difficulty is obviated by the assumptions (1) that the universe is made up of discrete entities, that matter is not divisible *ad infinitum*, but that everywhere science in the last resort will come upon the atom, the individual; each such atom is 'animate'; (2) that, when atoms form groups which act independently upon other groups, it is a higher soul that gives unity and consistency—'thingness'—to the group; instances are the living cell, the animal, the 'world' (sun, planet, etc.). Hence we have a hierarchy of souls, from the simple to the complex, with increasing width of representation and intensity of feeling and of effort. The theory neither requires nor excludes the idea of a single dominant spirit, but most panpsychists do assume that there is one supreme in intelligence, love, and power, by which the activities of all others are co-ordinated to a definite end.

Leibniz (*q.v.*) is the classical panpsychist, but in some form or other the doctrine has prevailed throughout the whole history of philosophy, from the Greek Hylozoists down through G. Bruno and T. Campanella to G. T. Fechner, R. H. Lotze, William James, and H. Bergson.

LITERATURE.—G. W. Leibniz, *Monadology*, and *Principles of Nature and of Grace*, both tr. in R. Latta, *The Monadology and other Philosophical Writings*, Oxford, 1898; G. T. Fechner, *Nanna, oder über das Seelenleben der Pflanzen*[2], Hamburg, 1903, *Zend-Avesta*[2], do. 1901; R. H. Lotze, *Microcosmus*, Eng. tr., 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1885–86, *Metaphysics*, pt. ii. of *System of Philosophy*, Eng. tr., Oxford, 1884; William James, *A Pluralistic Universe*, London, 1909, *Some Problems of Philosophy*, do. 1911; H. Bergson, *Creative Evolution*, Eng. tr., do. 1911.

J. L. MCINTYRE.

PANTHEISM.

Introductory (A. E. GARVIE), p. 609.
Greek and Roman (FRANK THILLY), p. 613.
Hindu (A. S. GEDEN), p. 617.

PANTHEISM (Introductory).—**1. Definition.**—Pantheism, according to the etymology, is the view that all is God, and that God is all, but, since thought may move either from God to all or from all to God, it can assume two forms. If it begins with the religious belief or the philosophic faith in God as infinite and eternal reality, then the finite and temporal world is swallowed up in God, and pantheism becomes acosmism (*q.v.*), *i.e.* the world is an illusion in comparison with God as reality. If it begins with the scientific conception or the poetic vision of the world as unity, then God is lost in the world, and pantheism becomes pancosmism (*q.v.*). The first is theistic, and the second atheistic; for in the first, if inconsistently, there still survives as a rule a vague apprehension of God as theism conceives Him, and in the second the *θεός* becomes but a name for the unity of the world, the multiplicity of which alone is real for observation and imagination. A. M. Fairbairn is not quite just to the religious worth of the first type as compared with the second when he regards them as identical.

'Pantheism and Pankosmism are but the ideal and real sides of the same thought. The pantheist is a metaphysician, the pankosmist a physicist, and they are distinguished by what is but a verbal difference. In neither case can what occupies the place of Deity be an ethical and personal Being' (*Studies in the Philosophy of Religion and History*, London, 1876, p. 392).

The pantheist of the first type is usually more than a metaphysician, as he is often dominated by a religious rather than speculative interest; *e.g.*, how different are Spinoza and Haeckel! The one clothes an intense piety in an altogether too scanty philosophical garment; the other uses the word 'God' only as a fig-leaf to hide the nakedness of his materialistic monism.[1] We may dismiss the second type of pantheism as equivalent to naturalism (*q.v.*), and confine ourselves to the first.

2. Origin and emphasis.—The origin of this type of pantheism is either philosophical or religious. The pantheism of Hegel has its roots in the soil of the speculative intellect, the pantheism of Brāhmanism in the soil of the religious spirit. However philosophical in form Spinoza's pantheism is, yet its essence is religious; and the piety often breaks the bounds of the philosophy. According to the origin, so will the emphasis of the system lie on the transcendence or the immanence of God. While it is usual to distinguish monotheism (*q.v.*) from pantheism on the one hand, and deism (*q.v.*) on the other, because it combines the two attributes of immanence and transcendence which each of the others holds apart (pantheism asserting immanence and deism transcendence), this distinction is only theoretically valid. In some forms of religious pantheism the infinitude (*i.e.* the transcendence) and the absoluteness of God are so emphasized that the finite and relative world as known to man, while identified with God, obscures rather than manifests His reality, and He is so far other than it is that He is the inconceivable. *Brahman* is for the Indian thinker above all knowledge, and man must lose all consciousness of difference in a supra-conscious unity as the goal of the search for God. While Spinoza regards all things and persons as only modes of the two divine attributes of extension and thought, and so asserts immanence, yet he treats these attributes as not exhausting the divine nature, which, on the contrary, possesses an infinite number of attributes, and so he asserts the transcendence by God as He is of the world as we know it. It is in this emphasis on the transcendence by the inconceivable God of the known world that pantheism joins hands with mysticism (*q.v.*). The mystic claims the immanence of God in himself and strives to realize his identity with God, but, be it observed, not by plunging himself into the full tide of the world's life as one with God's, but rather by winging his lonely flight to the God who is above rather than in and through all. For

[1] Haeckel denies that his system is materialistic and defines his position as follows: 'On the contrary, we hold, with Goethe, that "matter cannot exist and be operative without spirit, nor spirit without matter." We adhere firmly to the pure unequivocal monism of Spinoza: matter, or indefinitely extended substance, and Spirit (or energy), or sensitive and thinking substance, are the two fundamental attributes, or principal properties, of the all-embracing divine essence of the world, the universal substance' (*The Riddle of the Universe*, tr. J. McCabe, London, 1903, p. 8).

This identifying of spirit with energy gives his system, in spite of his protestations, a materialistic character, and matter and mind in the working out of it are not left as parallel and distinct attributes of one substance, but are causally related. One difficulty of the system, Külpe points out, is that 'the terms energy and spirit or soul are used without distinction beside and for one another.' Another is that 'the soul life on the one hand is found in every kind of matter, on the other appears as a function of a particular kind of matter, the psychoplasm.' In asserting this causal relation between matter and energy, brain and thought, Haeckel contradicts his fundamental assumption of the two attributes of the one substance, and he is thus unjustified in his claim that his system is a pantheism like Spinoza's (see O. Külpe, *Die Philosophie der Gegenwart in Deutschland*, Leipzig, 1911, p. 42).

mysticism identity with God is an achievement rather than an actuality, and God is found away from rather than in the world. At its goal more than its starting-point mysticism is pantheistic, while its starting-point is rather emanationist. Spinoza's principle, 'Omnis determinatio est negatio,' is thoroughly mystical in raising God above all definition and even comprehension; and yet inconsistently for him the world consists of modes of divine attributes and so God should be known in it.[1]

3. Neo-Platonism.—It is at this point that the discussion of Neo-Platonism (*q.v.*) is most relevant. Can it truly be regarded as either philosophically or religiously pantheistic? It does not affirm the identity of God and the world, but that the world of sense is the lowest of a series of emanations from God, each possessing a lower degree of perfection, and God Himself is an absolute unity excluding all determinations and relations. This is clearly an inconsistent position, as God is related to the world as His emanation. God cannot be reached by thought; only in the subjective condition of ecstasy is the soul absorbed into divinity. Neo-Platonism is the typical mysticism; but can a system which does not identify God and the world, but relates the world to God as an emanation, be properly called pantheism? J. Allanson Picton, a modern representative of pantheism as religious, in expounding his faith, declares:

'I only wish to premise plainly that I am not concerned with any view of the world such as implies or admits that, whether by process of creation, or emanation, or self-division, or evolution, the oneness of the Eternal has ever been marred, or anything other than the being of God has been or can be produced' (*Pantheism: its Story and Significance*, London, 1905, p. 13).

If pantheism is the theory, as he maintains, 'that there is nothing but God,' Neo-Platonism, which allows reality to the series of emanations, is not pantheistic. For the same reason Picton denies the pantheism of the Christian mystics.

'Their favourite comparison of creature life to the ray of a candle is not really a Pantheistic conception; because to the true Pantheist the creature is not an emanation external to God, but a finite mode of infinite Being' (p. 15).

The distinction between creation as a free act of God and emanation as a necessary process, important as it is, does not justify our describing systems of emanationism as pantheistic so long as so great a distinction is made between God and the world which emanates from Him as is made by Neo-Platonism. If we describe them as pantheism, we should recognize that we are stretching the meaning of the word to include them.

4. Brāhmanism.—Most imposing of all the systems of pantheism which can claim a religious origin is the Brāhmanic in India. P. Deussen's account of Indian thought on the relation of God and the world is worth reproducing. He calls realism the view which regards matter as eternal, and independent of God, and God as only a world-fashioner (*δημιουργός*) if His existence is not altogether denied, as in the Sāṅkhya philosophy. According to theism as he defines it, 'God creates the universe out of nothing, and the latter then has a real existence independently of God' (this, it must be said in passing, is not a true or fair representation of theism as it is understood in Christian faith). His description of pantheism as found in the *Upaniṣads* must be fully given:

'God creates the universe by transforming himself into the universe. The latter confessedly has become God. Since it is real and also infinite, there is no room for God independently of the universe, but only within it. The terms God and universe become synonymous, and the idea of God is only retained in order not to break with tradition.' It is evident that Picton would not call this pantheism, and that it is rather to be called pancosmism. What is generally regarded as the typical Indian pantheism is, however, described under the title of idealism. 'God alone and nothing besides him is real. The universe as regards its extension in space and bodily consistence is in truth not real; it is mere illusion, as used to be said, mere appearance, as we say to-day. This appearance is not God as in pantheism, but the reflection of God, and is an aberration from the divine essence. Not as though God were to be sought on the other side of the universe, for he is not at all in space; nor as though he were before or after, for he is not at all in time; nor as though he were the cause of the universe, for the law of causality has no application here. Rather, to the extent to which the universe is regarded as real, God is without reality. That he is real, nay the sole reality, we perceive only so far as we succeed in shaking ourselves free theoretically and practically from this entire world of appearance' (*The Philosophy of the Upanishads*, tr. A. S. Geden, Edinburgh, 1909, p. 160 f.; cf. also a similar discussion at p. 237 f.). A briefer definition of the prevalent doctrine of the *Upaniṣads*, which, he says, 'may conveniently be described as pantheism,' is given at p. 405: 'The universe is real, and yet the ātman remains the sole reality, for the ātman is the universe.'

What Deussen calls 'pantheism' emphasizes immanence as it identifies God and universe; what he calls 'idealism' is pantheism of the type which, while identifying God and reality, yet so distinguishes the world as appearance from reality (acosmism) that God as He is transcends the world as known, and thus cannot be known in or through the world, but remains incomprehensible, undefined. This Indian pantheism was a movement of religious thought away from the popular polytheism; and yet here as elsewhere pantheism was ever ready to compromise with polytheism.

'The anthropomorphic form of the gods, especially the multiplicity of the gods with their imperfections, awakens criticism, which springs out of moral demands and advanced thinking. A many-coloured and manifold world of gods is resolved into the all-working power, which stands behind the worship' (T. Steinmann, *RGG* iv. [1912] 1121 f.).

Brahman becomes the sole reality, and yet a place is found for the multitude of gods as manifestations of *Brahman*. An instance of this compromise is the Hindu trinity, or the Trimurti.

'Brahman [neuter], the Absolute, manifests himself in three persons of equal rank—Brahma, the creator, Vishnu, the preserver, and Çiva, the destroyer. Kalidasa sings:

"In those Three Persons the one God was shown—
Each first in place, each last—not one alone;
Of Çiva, Vishnu, Brahma, each may be
First, second, third, among the Blessed Three"'
(G. F. Moore, *Hist. of Religions*, Edinburgh, 1914, i. 344).

Into this scheme of thought the popular heroes Kṛṣṇa and Rāma are fitted as incarnations (*avatāras*) of Viṣṇu. All the gods may even be represented as such incarnations. Pantheism thus becomes the speculative justification of polytheism. See, further, PANTHEISM (Hindu).

5. Egypt.—This relation is found in other religions also, although reached in another way. Syncretism (*q.v.*) in Egypt leads to pantheism.

'Let the gods once lose the individual character that keeps them separate from each other, and it is possible for one god, who grows strong and great enough, to swallow up all the rest, till they appear only as his forms. . . . The god who did most in the way of swallowing up the rest was Ra, the great sun-god of Thebes. The Litany of Ra (*Records of the Past*, viii. 105) represents that god as eternal and self-begotten, and sings in seventy-five successive verses seventy-five forms which he assumes; they are the forms of the gods and of all the great elements and parts of the world' (A. Menzies, *Hist. of Religion*, London, 1895, p. 145 f.).

[1] 'In a word,' says Schwegler, summing up the discussion of this point, 'the two attributes are but empirically derived determinations that are incommensurate besides with the nature of substance. Substance stands behind them as the absolute infinite which cannot be comprehended in any such special notions. The attributes explain not what substance really is; and in its regard consequently appear contingent. Spinoza fails to supply any principle of union between the notion of absolute substance and the particular manner in which it manifests itself in the two attributes' (*Hist. of Philosophy*, tr. and ed. J. H. Stirling, Edinburgh, 1879, p. 171 f.).

In this aspect of it Spinoza's pantheism may be shown to have affinities with Spencer's agnosticism (*q.v.*). Although epigrams are perilous, one may venture to say that Spinoza knows either too much of the substance or too little of the attributes. If the only attributes known to us are extension and thought or the finite modes of things and persons, how does Spinoza know that there is an infinitude of attributes? With all his parade of reasoning on the lines of mathematical demonstration, it is not by his logic that he gets the conception of God which gives his teaching such religious influence as it possesses. The 'God-intoxicated man' did not get his inspiration from his system; that has its source in a piety of which the philosophy gives quite an inadequate interpretation.

A similar movement took place in regard to Isis (*q.v.*). In the mysteries of Isis, as described by Apuleius (*Met.* xi.), 'Isis is all the goddesses,' but at a later initiation she gives place to Osiris as supreme god.[1]

6. **Babylonia.**—The Babylonian texts sometimes represent the many gods as only names of Marduk; but behind this liturgical self-glorification there is no speculative thought deserving the title of pantheism.

7. **Zoroastrianism.**—One school of Zoroastrian thinkers, the Zervanites, placed before and above Ormazd and Ahriman a first principle, space or time; but this speculation had no religious influence.

8. **China.**—A Chinese thinker Chu Hi (A.D. 1130–1200) developed a theory of the universe resembling Stoic pantheism (see Moore, i. 45 f.).

9. **Greece.**—When we turn to Greece, we find a pantheism which had religious roots, and yet for the most part bore philosophical fruits. The earliest Greek thinkers found the explanation in a material principle—Thales in water or moisture, Anaximenes in air, but Anaximander in τὸ ἄπειρον, the undifferentiated primal matter. More abstract conceptions are advanced by the Pythagoreans (number), Eleatics (being), and Heraclitus (becoming). It is the Eleatic school that is of special interest for our purpose. Xenophanes thought that there could be only one god, and that he was one with the world. This view is expressed in the phrase ἓν καὶ πᾶν. Of him Aristotle says:

Ξενοφάνης δὲ πρῶτος . . . εἰς τὸν ὅλον οὐρανὸν ἀποβλέψας τὸ ἓν εἶναί φησι τὸν θεόν (*Met.* I. v. 986b 24).

Parmenides no less taught the unity of all. Xenophanes was a critic of the prevalent anthropomorphism; he pointed out not only that all peoples pictured the gods in likeness of men, but even that they ascribed to them national or individual traits. The Thracians thought of them as red-haired, the Ethiopians as black; had the oxen and asses gods, they would represent them like themselves. His attitude to the prevalent polytheism was tolerant; but in Greece there was not the close connexion of pantheism with polytheism. Heraclitus also reduced the universe to a primal divine fire. Here pantheism comes in close contact with naturalism. Stoicism developed this conception. According to Diog. Laert. vii. 139, the Stoics taught τὸν ὅλον κόσμον ζῷον ὄντα καὶ ἔμψυχον καὶ λογικόν and οὐσίαν δὲ θεοῦ Ζήνων μέν φησι τὸν ὅλον κόσμον (148). The world is the σῶμα, and God the πνεῦμα. Plutarch explains this relation as follows:

'It is one and the same being which presents itself now as individual unity (God), now as divided multiplicity (world)' (*de Stoic.* 41).

And Cicero testifies that 'Cleanthes ipsum mundum deum dicit esse' (*de Nat. Deor.* i. 14). It may be pointed out, however, that, while the identity of God and the world is affirmed, a distinction is recognized: the world is the multiplicity or body, but God is the unity or spirit. This type of pantheism would lie between the religious pantheism which so emphasizes the transcendence of God as to regard the world as illusion (*māya* [*q.v.*]) and the philosophical pantheism which so emphasizes immanence as absolutely to identify God and world. There is a divine mystery behind all, and yet a divine manifestation in all. It should be noted as a third type; it is so far religious as to make some distinction between God and world; it is so far philosophical as to think of God as identical with the world. It touches closely the type of thought, to which the pantheistic name should not be given, which represents the world as an emanation of God. The history of pantheism shows that it is not so clear-cut a system as at first we might be led to assume that it would prove to be. See, further, PANTHEISM (Greek and Roman).

10. **Scholasticism.** — Under the influence of pseudo-Dionysius, John Scotus Erigena shows a pantheistic tendency. The language is, however, not quite consistent; for he affirms, on the one hand, that God is the essence of all things, and, on the other, that God is the totality of things.

'In Deo enim immutabiliter et essentialiter sunt omnia, et ipse est divisio et collectio universalis creaturae' (*de Div. Nat.* iii. 1).

This, according to Rudolf Eisler (*Wörterbuch der philosophischen Begriffe und Ausdrücke*, Berlin, 1899, p. 556), is equivalent to the other statement,

'Deum in omnibus esse, *i.e.* essentiam omnium subsistere' (i. 72).

This does not necessarily mean quite the same as his description of God as the *universitas* (ii. 2). He surely departs from pantheism altogether in this statement:

'Nam et creatura in Deo est subsistens, et Deus in creatura mirabili et ineffabili modo creatur, seipsum manifestans' (iii. 17).

Pantheism does not and cannot consistently speak of the creature. An exact anticipation of Spinoza's system is ascribed by Albertus Magnus to David of Dinant:

'Ponit . . . talem conclusionem, sic dicens; Manifestum est unam solam substantiam esse, non tantum omnium corporum sed etiam omnium animarum, et hanc nihil aliud esse quam ipsum Deum, quia substantia, de qua sunt corpora, dicitur hyle, substantia vero, de qua omnes sunt animae, dicitur ratio vel mens, Manifestum est igitur Deum esse substantium omnium corporum et omnium animarum. Patet igitur, quod Deus et hyle et mens una sola substantia est' (*ap.* Eisler, p. 556).

11. In spite of the deism of Islām, the system of Averroës has a pantheistic tinge, and the Ṣūfī mysticism also tends to pantheism; even in Judaism in the speculation of the Ḳabbālā is this influence felt. While mediæval mysticism showed the same tendency, it is not in the strict sense of the term pantheism.

12. **Bruno, Spinoza, etc.**—The revived interest in nature at the Renaissance issued in Giordano Bruno (*q.v.*) in an explicit pantheism.

'God is everywhere, and whole in all, as a voice is heard in all parts of the hall' (*Dela Causa*, dial. ii.). 'Accordingly you see how all things are a Universe, and the Universe is in all things, we in it, it in us, and thus all issues in a complete unity' (dial. v.).

He warns us against a common misunderstanding of pantheism, the distribution of God throughout the universe.

God is 'whole in all and whole in every part, so that we speak of parts in the Infinite, not of parts of the Infinite.'

He approaches acosmism in declaring that these parts are only passing appearances of the One. But the distinction of God as unity from the world as multiplicity already noted reappears.

'The one highest Being in whom capacity and reality are unseparated, which in an absolute way can be all and is all that it can be, is as not unfolded a Single, Immeasurable, Endless, which embraces all being; as unfolded on the contrary is it in the sensibly perceived bodies' (dial. v.).

As Spinoza is treated separately in another article, his system need not at this stage be discussed. What needs to be said about him in the general treatment of pantheism has already been said. J. Toland, in his book *Socinianism truly Stated* (1705), openly avowed himself a 'pantheist' (the first use of the term). In 1720 he published a book with the title *Pantheisticon*. According to Eucken, his opponent Fay was the first to use the term 'pantheism' (1709). E. Benoist, in his *Mélanges* (Delft, 1712, pp. 252–265), uses both terms *panthéiste* and *panthéisme*. In the 18th cent. orthodox controversialists treated pantheism as no better than atheism (see *OED* vii. 430).

13. **German philosophy.**—At the beginning of the 19th cent. there was a reaction from the deistic tendency of orthodox and heretical thought alike. Schleiermacher (*q.v.*), who revived Christian theology, and set it on the path which it followed in

[1] According to Plutarch (*de Is. et Osir.* ix.), a temple of Isis bears the inscription, 'I am all that hath been, is, or shall be; and no mortal hath lifted my veil.'

that age, considered that it was a matter of indifference to piety whether God was conceived personally or impersonally, and speculatively he was a pantheist.

'Each single being is as such a definite form of the Being of the Absolute Identity, but not its very Being, which is only in the Totality' (*Werke*, Berlin, 1834–64, I. iv. 131).

This speculative Spinozism was modified, however, by his inheritance of Moravian piety, although his theology was affected by it. While the position of Kant was deistic, the idealist philosophy which was after him developed in Germany had a distinctly pantheistic character.

'The idealist systems of a Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, make the whole content of existence the nature of the Divine (Absolute)' (Eisler, p. 557).

Fichte regards God as 'a moral order immanent in and also transcendent of the world.' Schelling's indifference to the ideal and the real recalls the God above all determination of Brāhmanism, Neo-Platonism, and Spinozism, and resembles von Hartmann's 'the Unconscious.' Of these systems the most important and interesting is Hegel's. For the static deity of Spinoza or substance he substitutes the dynamic deity or spirit. Spirit he conceives as reason, as a logical process. Accordingly his pantheism has been described as 'panlogism' (*πᾶν λόγος*). A modern disciple of Spinoza insists on the static view of God:

'The processes called evolution, though everywhere operative, affect, each of them, only parts of the infinite whole of things; and experience cannot possibly afford any justification for supposing that they affect the Universe itself' (Picton, p. 12).

Hegel (*q.v.*) with speculative daring takes the dynamic view and presents to us, on what seems the more probable interpretation of his system, an evolving God. That he has taken up the idea of evolution into his interpretation of the world is his merit as a philosopher; that he has treated that evolution from too exclusively intellectual a standpoint is his defect.

'That he apprehends the world as development, in which reason is the ground, law, and object of all becoming, this is Hegel's strength: his weakness is that he apprehends this development only as an ideal, logical one, which accordingly is to be built up by pure notional dialectic' (O. Pfleiderer, *Philosophy of Religion*, tr. A. Menzies, London, 1887, ii. 79 f.).

It is impossible in this article to discuss the question whether Hegel's system is or is not pantheism, an identification of God and the world or not. Does he or does he not identify the human apprehension, the cosmic manifestation, and the divine reality in his Absolute? Is the world's evolution a logical process? And is this logical process God's coming to self-consciousness? Hegel claimed to be a sound Lutheran, and maintained the consistency of his philosophy with the Christian doctrine of God, but the system itself appears pantheistic. For Hegel the world-process was logical; in it reason was manifested, and purpose fulfilled. The challenge and contradiction of the philosophy which affirmed that the real is the rational (panlogism) is the affirmation that the real is irrational (a blind will, panthelism [*πᾶν + ἐθέλω*]) in Schopenhauer's pessimism, which has affinity with the Indian conception of *karma* (*q.v.*).

14. Pantheism and panentheism. — Since the beginning of the 19th cent. the divine immanence in the world has been emphasized. Instead of a creation by a series of divine acts at the very beginning, men think of a gradual evolution not yet completed, in which God is continuously active.

'If, then, the history of man be the continuation of the record of creation, it follows that the creative energy has not ceased to operate, and that its character, qualities, tendencies, modes of working and relation to the forms developed, can be better studied here than in the field of nature. This position is fundamental to our argument, and follows from the parallel between the immanence of God in nature and in man. He dwells in both and He works through both, though always in methods agreeable to the medium employed. What is energy in nature is reason and will in man, but they are no less ours that they are inspired by Him, and no less His that they appear in us as conscious and voluntary activities' (A. M. Fairbairn, *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion*, London, 1902, p. 171 f.).

A position such as this is not pantheistic. It might be called 'panentheism' (*πᾶν ἐν θεῷ*), the name which C. Krause gave to his system, in which God is a unity enclosing the world, but superior to it. In one place Plotinus corrects pantheism by panentheism:

'The perfect Being consists of all beings, rather it embraces in itself all beings' (*Enn.* VI. vi. 7).

The term might also be applied to the teaching of Malebranche:

'Toutes les créatures, mêmes les plus matérielles et les plus terrestres, sont en Dieu quoique d'une manière toute spirituelle' (*Rech.* ii. 5; see Eisler, p. 555 f.).

Lotze (*q.v.*), in his doctrine of causality, lays himself open to the charge of pantheism; but his most valuable discussion of personality in God and man rebuts the charge. To regard natural forces as the finite exercise of infinite power, or natural laws as the finite expression of infinite wisdom, is only to assert such a dependence of the world on God and such an immanence of God in the world as are consistent with Christian theism. To emphasize immanence, so long as transcendence is recognized, is not to be regarded as an acceptance of pantheism. We must not call pantheism the sense which poets have had of God's presence in nature—*e.g.*, Wordsworth's *Lines composed a few Miles above Tintern Abbey*:

'And I have felt
A presence that disturbs me with the joy
Of elevated thoughts; a sense sublime
Of something far more deeply interfused,
Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
And the round ocean and the living air,
And the blue sky, and in the mind of man;
A motion and a spirit, that impels
All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
And rolls through all things.'

Tennyson's *The Higher Pantheism* is misnamed, as the poet's exhortation to personal communion with God shows:

'Speak to Him thou for He hears, and Spirit with Spirit can meet,
Closer is He than breathing, and nearer than hands and feet.'

A pantheist could not speak thus. Yet a vivid sense of God in nature may lead to a poetic pantheism.

15. Modern pantheism.—Before offering some criticism on pantheism as a mode of religious faith or philosophical thought, there are a few questions about it which a modern exponent, J. A. Picton, may be allowed to answer.

'If Pantheism affirms God to be All in All, it does not follow that Pantheism must hold a man, or a tree, or a tiger to be God.' While God is the whole, no part by itself can be regarded as God, but as part of the whole it can be nothing else. For pantheism, 'so far from tolerating any doubt as to the being of God, denies that there is anything else.' God is not, however, merely the sum of things. 'That Unity is not merely the aggregate of all the finite objects which we observe or infer, but is a living whole, expressing itself in infinite variety' (p. 10). It has already been noted that he refuses to regard as properly pantheistic every theory of emanation of the world from God; and maintains that evolution can be true only of the parts, not of the whole. From the point of view of pantheism, 'all change, evolution, progress, retrogression, sin, pain, or any other good or evil is local, finite, partial; while the infinite co-ordination of such infinitesimal movements makes one eternal peace' (p. 33). Avowing himself a disciple of Spinoza, of whom he says that he 'was the first Pantheist who was also a prophet, in the sense of speaking out the divine voice of the infinite Universe to its human constituent parts' (p. 56 f.), he suggests a modification of Spinoza's pantheism, which would purge it of all the leaven of materialism, which gives Haeckel the pretext for claiming to be also a Spinozist. 'The whole trend of philosophy during the nineteenth century was towards a view of Extension itself as a mode of Thought, and therefore toward the absorption of one of Spinoza's theoretical divine attributes in the other' (p. 63). The All, as known to us, might then be conceived as thought. For the pantheistic tendencies of modern thought Picton finds two reasons: (1) 'Science has made unthinkable the old-world conception of a three-storeyed Universe, constructed by an artificer God, who suddenly awoke from an eternity of idleness to make Heaven, Earth, and Hell' (p. 86). Here Picton stoops to a rhetorical device unworthy of a thinker. He first caricatures what he then rejects. Modern theism can meet modern

science on more equal terms than this statement allows. (2) But faith protests against materialism as the conclusion of science: 'All the hints given us by science of the ultimate oneness of all things, converge in the faith that All is God, and God is All' (p. 88). In opposition to the theist's view that religion and morality must be a personal relation to a personal God, the caricature of which on p. 91 need not be quoted, he asserts that pantheism 'regards obedience and devotion to God as the ultimate and most inspiring application of that principle of the loyalty of the part to the whole which runs through all morality' (p. 91), and yet the illustrations which he gives of that loyalty are all in the personal relations of family, school, club, municipality, and nationality, although he gives a show of reason to his argument by making the object of loyalty or devotion the abstraction 'the law of the whole.' This modern pantheist is as tolerant as was the ancient pantheism of polytheism and idolatry. 'If we can attain to that intellectual love of God in which Spinoza was absorbed, we have no quarrel with any mode of sincere devotion. Pious Catholic, Protestant, Vedantist, Mohammedan—all, by the implicit, though unrecognised necessities of their faith, worship the same God as ourselves' (p. 92 f.). But actually and practically the explicit creed or code makes a very great difference in religion and morality.

16. **Criticism.**—Pantheism is so impressed with the vastness of the universe that it rejects any explanation of its origin, whether by necessary emanation from or by free creation by God; it simply cuts the Gordian knot by identifying God and world. It is so impressed by the infinitude and absoluteness of God that it not only rejects the extreme anthropomorphism of popular religion, but even refuses to consider seriously such an argument as Lotze's for the personality of God as not contradictory of, but even harmonious with, the attributes of infinitude and absoluteness. It is at these two points that it must be speculatively met. If God is not to be absorbed in the world (pancosmism), or the world in God (acosmism), such a difference of world and God must be recognized as demands some explanation of their relation. Whether the explanation that theism offers is or is not adequate, it at least faces a problem which pantheism simply shirks. Common thought and life assume, and cannot but assume, the difference which pantheism merely ignores. To deny personality to God as pantheism does is to offer to thought and life not a higher object of worship and service, but a lower, a sub-personal unity or whole, even if described as living. Should pantheism, following Picton's modification of Spinoza, speak of that unity or whole as infinite thought, can thought be conceived without the subject thinking? We can now think of personality without the anthropomorphism of popular religion; and so pantheism, in opposing itself to anthropomorphism, is avoiding the real issue for modern thinking.

Practically pantheism refuses to regard morality and religion as the relation of the 'I' of man to the 'Thou' of God, and substitutes for it that of the part to the whole. Accordingly its ideal is not self-realization of the 'I' in distinction from, and yet in relation to, the 'Thou,' but the self-losing of the part in the whole, which may of course be represented as the self-recovery, since the whole is, as it were, the essence of the part. As an escape from the egoistic and the egocentric standpoint, pantheism has a relative value for morality and religion; but self-realization in distinction from, and yet in the relation of dependence on, communion with and submission to God is neither egoistic nor egocentric. Pantheism so identifies the part with the whole, and so subjects the part to the whole, that the human personality loses its sense of freedom and assurance of immortality. Contemplation tends to take the place of action, and a quietistic disposition is encouraged. As the distinction between right and wrong becomes relative, the nerve of moral effort and conflict is severed; and the belief in and hope of progress are lessened, if not altogether lost. The sense of sin, the feeling of penitence, and the effort of amendment become, and must become, to the consistent pantheistic thinker illusive. As there is no necessity for, so there is no reality in, the Christian redemption for a thorough-going pantheist: Christ's work for man must be dismissed as mythology. Does what pantheism offers to the moral conscience and religious consciousness compensate for what it takes away, and must take away, if consistent? This question the writer leaves the reader of this article to answer for himself. There is much pantheism which is not consistent—a tendency rather than a system; and it has some value as a corrective of a crude anthropomorphism, or hard deism, and as an emphasis, if exaggerated, on God's affinity with and immanence in man, on the truth that in Him we live and move and have our being, for we also are His offspring.

LITERATURE.—Besides the books referred to throughout the article, and those given under POLYTHEISM, etc., the standard Histories of Philosophy or of religions and works of Christian apologetics may be consulted; and the following works may be added from Picton's bibliography: *SBE* i. [1893]; J. Allanson Picton, *Christian Pantheism*, London, 1878, *The Religion of the Universe*, do. 1904; P. H. Hugenholtz, *Ethisch Pantheisme*, Amsterdam, 1903 (not translated). T. Steinmann (*RGG* iv. [1912] 1125) also recommends W. Dilthey, 'Der entwicklungsgeschichtl. Pantheismus,' in *AGPh* xiii. [1900] 307–360, 445–482; H. Scholz, 'Der Pantheismus in seinem Verhältnis zum Gottesglauben des Christentums,' *PJB* cxli. [1910] 439–464; M. Scheibe, 'Pantheismus und Persönlichkeit Gottes,' *Protestantische Monatshefte*, xvi. [1912] 361–373.

A. E. GARVIE.

PANTHEISM (Greek and Roman).—The definitions of pantheism generally agree in identifying God with the world: God and the universe are one and inseparable; all is God and God is all; nature and God are identical. So far as the terms go, such statements are acceptable, emphasizing, as they do, the oneness and the divineness of reality. Everything, however, depends upon the meaning of the notion of God employed in these definitions, and on this point authorities differ. Recent naturalistic systems like Haeckel's, which call themselves pantheistic, conceive of God as the universal substance which obeys the physical law of energy, and the ancient naturalistic philosopher Strato is frequently characterized as a pantheist, although his God is, in Cicero's words, 'without sense and form.'[1] To call the world God in such cases is, however, as Schopenhauer justly declares, merely to increase the language with a superfluous synonym for the word 'God.' If we mean by deity nothing more than the ultimate independent substance, whatever may be its nature, then every monistic theory of the universe is pantheistic, and we should have to include materialistic monism among the pantheistic systems. This we are not ready to do in the following account. Nor shall we consider as pantheistic those world-views which reduce deity to the sum of all things, even when these things are regarded as having each its separate psychic life: panpsychism is not necessarily pantheism, although it often accompanies it and may be a preparation for it. By pantheism we mean that doctrine which conceives of reality as one in essence and form, and thinks of this unity as somehow rational and divine. Hence, according to this teaching, God is an entity not separate from the world and remote from it, but in it and of it—immanent, not transcendent; everything partakes of the nature of God. The particular objects and individuals have no absolute existence of their own, but are either modes of the universal substance or parts of the divine whole. Moreover, all things arise from God by necessity; they follow inevitably from His infinite being.

The development of pantheistic theories goes hand in hand with the development of monism, which springs from the intellectual craving for unity; with the development of the notion of law and order in the world; and with the evolution of the conception of mind. We find the monistic

[1] *de Nat. Deor.* i. 13, 35.

idea consciously realized and the notion of uniformity at least dimly recognized among the Greek physicists or physiologers of the 6th and early 5th century B.C. Here, therefore, we may look for the beginnings of, or perhaps it would be better to say preparations for, pantheism: all things spring from an original stuff which is vaguely conceived as alive or animated (hylozoism). All that we know of the teaching of the Milesian **Thales** is that he called this primary substance water. But the fact that Ætius later understood him to mean that the god in all things is the divine energy of water shows the pantheistic possibilities of this simple theory. Pantheistic tendencies become more pronounced in **Anaximander**, the fellow-townsman of Thales, whose principle, the ἄπειρον, is the one boundless uncreated and indestructible being. It is indeterminate, and yet everything specific, every quality, lies embedded in it and is differentiated from it only to be merged again in its infinite source. Aristotle tells us that Anaximander's ἄπειρον embraces everything and rules everything, and that it is divine. Whether Anaximander himself taught the divinity of his principle or it is merely inferred by Aristotle we cannot say, but that such a conclusion could have been drawn at all is evidence of the pantheistic possibilities of the view. We find similar tendencies in **Anaximenes of Miletus**. All things are transformations of the primary substance, air, which is hylozoistically conceived: air is an ensouled matter.

'Just as our soul which is air holds us together (συγκρατεῖ), so it is breath (πνεῦμα) and air that encompasses the whole world (περιέχει)' (*Plac.* i. 3 f., *Dox.* 278 [Ritter and Preller, *Hist. philosophiæ Græcæ*[7], p. 20]).

A later follower of Anaximenes, **Diogenes of Apollonia**, a contemporary of Anaxagoras, who lived at a time when the notion of mind had been made somewhat more definite in Greek thought, carries the idea of his teacher still further in the direction of pantheism:

'Air is the being in which reason dwells, which guides and rules all things, for it lies in its nature to extend everywhere and to be in everything' (*Simpl. phys.* 33r. 152, 21 D [Ritter and Preller, p. 174]).

The thinkers whom we have been considering centred their attention upon the problem of substance; the **Pythagoreans** began to speculate upon the problem of form, law, and order, and sought the explanation of things in their numerical and geometrical relations; for them numbers constitute the essence of things and the cause of all the harmonies in the world. Numbers are odd and even, *i.e.* limited and unlimited; hence the universe is a harmony of the limited and unlimited. And, since unity is the product of the odd and even numbers, it would have been easy to infer that the universe is comprehended in unity. The notions of unity and order are suggestive of pantheism, and it is not surprising that this philosophy should have been developed into pantheism in the 1st cent. B.C., after Stoic pantheism had become popular in the Roman world. Some of the Neo-Pythagoreans derived all numbers from the universal *monas* and, under the influence of Platonism, identified them with the Platonic ideas.

The traces of pantheistic speculation appear in still more marked form in the younger contemporary of Pythagoras, **Xenophanes of Elea**, who approaches the world-problem from the religious side. God is for him the changeless and imperishable, timeless being, and is conceived as a unity endowed with intelligence: 'the whole of him sees, the whole of him thinks, the whole of him hears,' and He rules all things by the power of His mind. Aristotle informs us that he taught the unity of the all and called this unity God. He evidently looked upon the world of plurality and change as the manifestation of the changeless God, without becoming aware of any contradiction in his thought. **Parmenides**, the pupil of Xenophanes, develops the theory of his teacher in metaphysical form, omitting, as A. Fischer has said,[1] the theological flourishes. Being is for him one, timeless, unchangeable, indestructible, always the same. Like the God of his predecessor, the being of Parmenides is intelligent: thought and being are identical. Since there can be neither change nor differentiation in being, the world of plurality and change is but an illusion, a mere appearance, a world of falsehood. We have in this teaching of Parmenides a static pantheism, which, however, fails to account for our world of experience, the world of plurality and change. The name of pantheism is frequently denied to it on the ground that being does not manifest itself in the world of change, that nature or the phenomenal order is not exhausted in God. This would be a valid objection to including this doctrine among the pantheistic systems had not Parmenides ruled out the entire sense-world as mere appearance.

According to Parmenides, motion, change, becoming, are unthinkable and therefore cannot be real. It is for this reason that he does not know what to do with our world of experience and treats it as an illusion. **Heraclitus** (*q.v.*), on the other hand, finds in change and becoming the very essence of reality: all things are fundamentally forms of one and the same (hylozoistic) principle, the ever-living fire. There can be no world without change: everything is transformed into its opposite; fire becomes air, water, earth, and then passes upwards again through the same stages and returns to fire. Reality is a union of opposites, and war is the father of all things. Moreover, the fire-principle acts according to law and measure; it is therefore a rational principle (λόγος)—rational in the sense that law is immanent in the cosmic order. Everything happens according to the λόγος, according to the law of opposites; λόγος and fate or necessity (εἱμαρμένη) are identical. It is rational also in the sense of guiding the universe; it is the wisdom steering all things through all things. This philosophy is a well-developed dynamic pantheism: the universe is the expression of an all-pervading active reason; indeed, it is the universal reason in ceaseless action. It is true that Heraclitus did not describe the fire-λόγος as acting with conscious deliberation, but neither did he conceive it merely as objective reason, as the indwelling law or order of the universe, as some interpreters hold. The pre-Socratics had not reached a clear-cut conception of mind—they were too much interested in the external side of reality for that—but it is reasonable to suppose that all except the materialistic atomists placed in nature something akin to the human soul, and that Heraclitus as well as the Eleatics recognized the logical aspect of mind as of primary importance in the universe. The particular human soul, too, is a part of the universal fire-λόγος, according to our pantheist; indeed, it is a spark of the divine fire itself and remains in constant living touch with it. If this is so, all men ought to know the truth and act in accordance with it. Heraclitus, however, does not draw the full consequences of his pantheism here: according to him, the individual persists in his subjective opinions (ἰδία φρόνησις); men do not know the eternal λόγος; it is in them, but they do not see it; nor do they order their conduct in conformity to it. Yet, if everything real is rational, how does it happen that man alone can oppose the λόγος or the law of the world? It has been suggested that Heraclitus introduced

[1] 'Die Grundlehren der vorsokratischen Philosophie,' in *Grosse Denker*, i., Leipzig, 1911, p. 42.

the notion of free will at this point, as did nearly all the later pantheists—in utter disregard of the logic of their systems. There is, however, no evidence of such a teaching or that he was at all aware of any inconsistency in his thinking here.

The notion of a universal mind (*νοῦς*) acting with deliberation and design appears in the teaching of **Anaxagoras** (*q.v.*), an elder contemporary of Socrates. Mind is ruler over all; it holds sway over the whole revolving universe; it knows all things and it regulates all things. Anaxagoras, however, is not a pantheist, but teaches a vague dualism; his countless substances or elements of specific quality are distinct from mind, the nature of which seems to be immaterial, but is not clearly defined. Moreover, as the beginner of the world-process, his *νοῦς* is transcendent. It is true that mind is also present in the world, in organic forms, and even in minerals, and therefore immanent, but it is always brought in as the cause of motion only where mechanical explanations do not avail.

In **Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle,** who dominated Greek thought during the latter part of the 5th and the whole of the 4th cent. B.C., the conception of mind as a principle different from matter is sharply defined, and philosophy enters upon its dualistic stage. There are, however, lines of thought in the Platonic theory which easily lend themselves to pantheistic interpretation and were later turned to pantheistic account by the Neo-Platonists. Thus, Plato speaks of nature as *ἔμφρων*, of the world as *ζῷον ἔμψυχον ἔννουν τε*, and calls the world a blessed God. Or God is the supreme Idea which embraces all the others in itself, the Unity which comprehends in itself the true essences of things. Since each idea is a unity which comprehends the many in itself, and all ideas are comprehended in the supreme idea of the Good, as the species are contained in the genus, the world is a manifestation of the Good, of the divine purpose, of beauty, truth, and goodness. The ideas are conceived by Plato as active, forming forces of nature, hence as purposive or final causes. In spite of these pantheistic leanings, however, the Platonic system remains dualistic: opposed to mind stands an obstreperous element, non-being (*μὴ ὄν*), whether it be conceived as space or as matter.

Basing itself upon the philosophy of Heraclitus and aided by Platonic-Aristotelian conceptions, **Stoicism** worked out a thoroughgoing system of pantheism, a system that has influenced nearly all the pantheistic philosophies which have appeared in the Western world since its birth at the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. According to it, God and nature are one; the world is the manifestation of the universal λόγος. Λόγος *τῆς φύσεως* or *κοινὸς τῆς φύσεως* λόγος and *κοινὴ φύσις* are one and the same. The universe is the evolution of the λόγος; this is the 'germinative reason' of things (λόγος *σπερματικός*). With Heraclitus the Stoics regard this λόγος as fire or breath and therefore material; but it is an intelligent, purposeful matter. The Stoic substance is spirit and matter in absolute union; it is spiritual matter or material spirit; reason is not a property of the corporeal. This teaching is no more materialistic than is the Spinozistic view that thought and extension are different attributes or aspects of the one substance. God is *σῶμα νοερόν, πῦρ νοερόν, πνεῦμα νοερόν*. Nor is the doctrine dualistic, even though the λόγος is said to fashion matter (*ὕλη*), and God is called the soul of the world (*ἡ τοῦ ὅλου ψυχή*). It is monistic: both the soul and the body of God are the same in principle; all the elements in the world are transformations of the original divine fire, even that part of matter which seems devoid of all life and motion. From the fire-λόγος everything has evolved and to it everything will again return, only to be produced again in all its details (*παλιγγενεσία*) time without end. The so-called passive stuff, too, is divine, even though only in a lower degree. The term 'God,' it is true, is sometimes applied only to the primary substance with its qualities or to the active principle as opposed to the passive, but that is because the Stoics looked upon fire or æther as the purest phase of deity, the more remote transformations or emanations of the divine fire being less divine. For the same reason they often called the ruling part of the universe (*τὸ ἡγεμονικόν*) God and placed it in heaven. It is also true that the later Roman Stoics, more deeply interested in ethics than in metaphysics, sometimes identify God with the soul of the world (the universe, says Seneca,[1] consists of matter *and* God), but in doing this they are weakening, if not abandoning, the old Stoic doctrine.

The universal fire-λόγος contains within itself the rational germs which act in inorganic things and in plants, animals, and man; they take the place of the Aristotelian forms and are the final or purposive causes of the particular things. Everything in the world is determined, subject to necessity or fate (*εἱμαρμένη*). Yet this necessity is not blind; it is the law of the λόγος, rational; and everything is arranged by Providence for the best, God being the Father of all, beneficent and kind. Hence physical evil is not evil at all, but helps to realize the divine purpose; the Stoics offer a complete theodicy. The human soul, like everything else, is a part of the divine λόγος; indeed, it is a spark of the divine fire. If man, too, falls under the law of necessity, as he must according to the logic of the system, then God and not man is responsible for moral evil. This conclusion, however, the Stoics were not always willing to draw, holding that the soul is free and that the realization of the ethical good depends on ourselves. We have the power over our judgments and impulses (indeed, our passions are reducible to judgments); we are self-determining and can free ourselves from the contingencies of life. In other words, the Stoics, while teaching determinism in their metaphysics, make an exception in favour of man in their ethics; they are reluctant to deny the autonomy of the human will. Their philosophy is therefore not consistently pantheistic: the human individual is not a link in the universal chain of causality.

Stoicism, which was itself a synthesis of many Greek systems, exercised a great influence upon all the schools of philosophy that continued in the Græco-Roman world after the golden age of thought. Indeed, a kind of eclecticism arose which represented an amalgamation, and often a mere conglomeration, of Platonic, Peripatetic, Pythagorean, and Stoic elements and led to a sad confusion of philosophical conceptions and to a misunderstanding of the great schools. A shining example of such confused thinking is furnished by **Antiochus,** the teacher of Cicero; according to him, the teachings of the Academy, the Lyceum, and the Stoa are all pantheistic. The unknown author of the Peripatetic treatise *περὶ κόσμου* fuses the transcendent *νοῦς* of Aristotle with the immanent God of the Stoics, holding that the *νοῦς* is separate from the world, but that his power, like the Stoic λόγος, pervades the universe. Here we have an anticipation of the hypostatic λόγος which appears in the later Jewish-Greek and Neo-Platonic systems; but the doctrine is neither clearly developed nor consistently carried out. The writer vacillates between transcendence and

[1] *Epp.* lxv. 23.

immanence; sometimes God and His power are separate; sometimes God is the all-pervading principle. Theism and pantheism are here contending for the mastery. We find a similar conflict and a similar tendency to compromise between theism and pantheism in all the philosophies of the centuries immediately preceding and following the birth of Christ.

The **Jewish-Greek philosophy of Alexandria** makes the λόγος-idea the centre of its teaching and develops it along theosophical lines. It is a kind of Jewish scholasticism, combining Greek thought and the theology of the OT, making copious use of allegorical interpretations, after the manner of the Stoics, in order to harmonize philosophy and religion. **Aristobulus**, a Peripatetic Jew who lived in the reign of Ptolemy Philometor (181–145 B.C.), lays the foundation of this theology by fusing Peripatetic and Stoic elements in such a way as to make them square with Jewish ideas. He inclines to Stoic pantheism, but cannot give up the transcendent Jewish God. The power of God (δύναμις τοῦ θεοῦ) is placed between God and the world; the divine wisdom is also introduced, but whether as a property of God or as a separate hypostasis is not made clear. The creative word of God, another Jewish idea, is likewise brought in. Not unlike the teachings of Aristobulus are those of the pseudo-Solomon's book of Wisdom, in which a modified pantheism is taught. We discover in all these works the same vacillation between the pantheistic doctrine of immanence and the theistic doctrine of transcendence which we noticed above. The influence of Stoicism prevented these thinkers from conceiving the universe as not sharing in deity, while the Jewish notion of the exalted God, supported by Aristotle's theism, would not let them bring God down from heaven and place Him in the world. God is therefore separated from nature, but the chasm is bridged by intermediate entities—λόγος, wisdom, power.

Philo, the Alexandrian Jew (born *c.* 25 B.C.), attempts a complete synthesis of pagan philosophy and orthodox Judaism. Platonic and Stoic conceptions preponderate in his system, but they are regarded, in the Jewish fashion, as derived from the OT. Influenced by Stoic thought, Philo sometimes softens the doctrine of the transcendent God (according to which the absolutely perfect, changeless, and inconceivable being cannot come in contact with an imperfect and changing world), and speaks in the pantheistic strain. Without divine action the universe could not be what it is, nor could it continue in existence; hence God must be the all-pervading being, comprehending the world in Himself. For the most part, however, Philo is unwilling to let his pure God be contaminated by contact with the impure world. Moreover, pantheism makes God responsible for evil—a view which the Jewish thinker likewise hesitates to accept. Here the λόγος-doctrine, with which his predecessors had been experimenting, offers itself as a means of reconciling the Jewish doctrine of transcendence with the Stoic doctrine of immanence. God's power of thought, of creating ideas, is substantialized and made a separate organ; the λόγος is the unity of archetypes, ἰδέα ἰδεῶν, the intelligible pattern of the sense-world. The divine ideas or thoughts of God (λόγοι), which have their place in the λόγος, fashion and preserve the world; the world is therefore a copy of the divine reason and pervaded throughout by divine reason. Philo, however, is vacillating in his conception of the relation of the λόγος to God; sometimes the λόγος is conceived as separate from God, sometimes as identical with Him. God is called ψυχὴ τῶν ὅλων, or νοῦς τῶν ὅλων, in true pantheistic fashion; then, again, the λόγος is a living active unity of ideas, created by God but working outside of God; and functions are ascribed to it which are not in keeping with the nature of the deity. He also tells us that God is beyond the world and outside of His work, but that He has filled the world with Himself, *i.e.* by means of His power which He has stretched to the outermost limits of the world, and that thus He has woven everything into a beautiful harmony. The λόγος is sometimes also identified with the Jewish creative word of God, by which Philo means reason as well as speech, here making use of the Stoic distinction between the λόγος ἐνδιάθετος and the λόγος προφορικός. The Jewish doctrine of wisdom is likewise connected with the λόγος-teaching; indeed, wisdom is identified with λόγος. The λόγος is also called the servant, messenger, and interpreter of God, the image or shadow of God, the son of God, the oldest or the first-born son of God, the universe being νεώτερος.

All these doctrines have a pantheistic ring and might easily be fashioned into a pantheistic system, were it not for the fact that Philo also teaches the pre-existence of matter.

Another Stoic note in the Philonic world-view is the doctrine of necessity (εἱμαρμένη), an exception, however, being made in favour of man, who is free from necessity. No effort is made to reconcile the doctrine of human freedom with this teaching, or with the view that the human understanding is an emanation of the divine mind or a kind of extension from it, or with the view of man's original bent for matter, which is a fetter of the soul and the cause of sin, or with the view that virtue depends upon man's participation in the divine λόγος. We find a similar inconsistency in the Stoic system, and again in Neo-Platonism.

Philo's philosophy culminates in a religious mysticism: God is beyond all knowledge; hence, in order to reach Him, man must transcend both the world of sense and the λόγος, lose his individuality in a state of ecstasy, and become merged in the divine Being.

Philo's philosophy may be regarded as the forerunner of **Neo-Platonism** (*q.v.*); indeed, the latter might be described as a development and systematization of the thoughts of the Jewish thinker. It exhibits the same tendency to eclecticism: Platonic, Aristotelian, Stoic, and Neo-Pythagorean teachings are used and fashioned into a great philosophic edifice—the last of which Greek culture can boast. Other precursors are the Pythagorean Platonists—Plutarch, Maximus, Apuleius, Galen, Celsus, and Numenius. These thinkers, like the early Alexandrians, oscillate between the doctrine of transcendence and the doctrine of immanence; they make concessions to pantheism, but the thought of the absolute, indivisible, and changeless being keeps them from completely identifying God and world. **Plotinus**, the chief figure in the Neo-Platonic school, conceives God as the absolute unity, of which nothing can be predicated: He is higher than being, thought, goodness, beauty, and activity. And yet, in spite of the exalted nature of his absolute, Plotinus derives the world of plurality and change from Him: He is the fountain-head of everything that is; out of the fullness of His being flows the world, proceeding by gradual stages or degrees of worthiness until matter—the lowest of His emanations and the principle of evil—is reached. God is too pure and exalted to soil His being by contact with the world, but the νοῦς, which is both thought and being, is His copy and product, receiving from the absolute the power of creation. This νοῦς produces the ideas or the κόσμος νοητός—an ideal unity in diversity, embracing everything in itself as the whole comprehends the parts or the genus the species, even to the ideas of individual things. Only the evil is not

included among the ideas of the νοῦς. The νοῦς has a yearning for the transcendent—it contemplates God; but it has also an earthward bent and so creates a world-soul, or λόγος; or, rather, the world-soul flows from it as it itself flows from the transcendent God. The λόγος is a copy of the νοῦς; its contents, the λόγοι, received from the ideas contained in the νοῦς, are copies of these ideas. The world-soul, or λόγος, contemplates the νοῦς above it; it contemplates itself; and it contemplates that which is below it. It reflects and deliberates, possesses life and motion (ἐξ ἑαυτῆς κινουμένη), and produces the visible universe. Matter proceeds from the world-soul; it is as such absolute privation, ὕλη, formless, without quality. Through the λόγοι the λόγος forms or fashions matter, matter really never being without form. Every particular body consists of matter and has its own particular λόγος in it, which does not act mechanically upon matter, but through the concept—organically, one might say. Nevertheless, the λόγοι do not act consciously and with deliberation. It is these active λόγοι that constitute the essential elements of the seed and account for the differences among the various organisms. We have here a teleological explanation of organic life which goes back to the Stoic λόγοι σπερματικοί and Aristotle's forms. The λόγοι are copies of the ideas in the νοῦς; the νοῦς is a copy or emanation of God; hence the ultimate source of order and harmony is God.

It follows that the entire universe is fashioned and sustained by the all-pervading λόγος and is under the governance of reason; everywhere the world reveals traces of the beautiful and the good, which have their source in the νοῦς and ultimately in God. Hence matter cannot be altogether evil, as Plotinus held; indeed, it turns out to be evil only in the sense that it is an obstruction to the pure ideas, that it is the cause of plurality and imperfection. It is hard to see how it can be evil at all when we remember that matter is an emanation from God, that the λόγος is predisposed to it, that the λόγος fashions it according to the beautiful and good ideas of the intelligible order, that in the visible harmony everything—even the seeming evil—is in place. God is really responsible for the physical evil in the world, as the Stoics had taught. But Plotinus refuses to burden Him with the responsibility for moral evil or to explain it away; this he attributes to man's free will. His freedom, however, is only an intelligible freedom, each individual having chosen his particular character in a pre-existent state. We have here a similar difficulty to that which confronted us in the systems of the Stoics and of Philo. The causal nexus is broken by man's power to choose his own character; an element seems to be introduced into the universe over which the divine λόγος has no control.

The Stoics, basing themselves on Heraclitus, offered the first clearly developed system of dynamic pantheism in Greek thought, while Plotinus made the most thoroughgoing attempt to reconcile pantheism with theism. In spite of the transcendence of the Neo-Platonic God, the world proceeds from Him; the νοῦς springs from Him; the λόγος springs from the νοῦς, and expresses itself in the visible garment of matter, which is itself a remote product of God. Nature is impregnated with the divine ideas, with the ideal forces which have their ultimate source in the absolutely good being. But God does not exhaust Himself in His product, according to Plotinus; He loses nothing by giving birth to a world. Plotinus's teaching here resembles the German philosopher Krause's 'panentheism' (cf. above, p. 612), in which, however, God is a self-conscious and free personality—a conception which was foreign to the thought of the Greeks or at any rate not clearly defined and consistently carried out by any one of their thinkers. And yet it must not be forgotten that even the Stoics attributed something like personality to God when they identified Him with providence (πρόνοια), and that Plotinus himself conceived God not as an irrational being, but as a superrational being.

LITERATURE.—See the standard Histories of Philosophy by Hegel (tr. E. S. Haldane and F. H. Simson, 3 vols., London, 1892–96), J. E. Erdmann[3] (tr. W. S. Hough, 3 vols., do. 1892–93), F. Ueberweg[10] (ed. K. Praechter, Berlin, 1914, pt. i.), W. Windelband (tr. J. H. Tufts[2], New York, 1901); also the Histories of Greek Philosophy by H. Ritter (tr. A. J. W. Morrison, 4 vols., Oxford, 1838–46), E. Zeller (tr. S. F. Alleyne, O. J. Reichel, and others, 9 vols., London, 1876 ff.), A. Schwegler[3] (Freiburg, 1886), W. Windelband (tr. H. E. Cushman, New York, 1899), T. Gomperz (tr. L. Magnus and G. G. Berry, 4 vols., London, 1901–12), P. Deussen (Leipzig, 1911), J. Burnet[2] (London, 1908), A. W. Benn[2] (do. 1915), A. Döring (2 vols., Leipzig, 1903); R. Adamson (*The Development of Greek Philosophy*, London, 1908); see also 'Allgemeine Gesch. der Philosophie'[2], in *Kultur der Gegenwart*, i. 5 [1913]; R. Eucken, *Die Lebensanschauungen der grossen Denker*, Eng. tr., *The Problem of Human Life*, London, 1909; Rudolf Eisler, *Philosophen-Lexikon*, Berlin, 1912.

Special works are: H. Schwarz, *Der Gottesgedanke in der Gesch. der Philosophie*, Leipzig, 1913; E. Caird, *The Evolution of Theology in the Greek Philosophers*, 2 vols., Glasgow, 1904; F. M. Cornford, *From Religion to Philosophy*, London, 1912; Robert Eisler, *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt*, 2 vols., Munich, 1910; A. B. Krische, *Die theolog. Lehren der griech. Denker*, Göttingen, 1840; M. Heinze, *Die Lehre vom Logos in der griech. Philosophie*, Oldenburg, 1872 (a very valuable work); A. Aall, *Gesch. der Logosidee*, 2 pts., Leipzig, 1896–99; W. Dilthey, 'Der entwicklungsgeschichtl. Pantheismus nach seinem geschichtl. Zusammenhang mit den älteren pantheist. Systemen,' *AGPh* xiii. [1900] 307–360, 445–482; R. D. Hicks, *Stoic and Epicurean*, London, 1910; E. V. Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*, Cambridge, 1911; F. Bussell, *Marcus Aurelius and the Later Stoics*, Edinburgh, 1910; R. Hirzel, *Untersuchungen zu Cicero's philosophischen Schriften*, 3 pts., Leipzig, 1877–83; A. Schmekel, *Die Philosophie der mittleren Stoa*, Berlin, 1892; A. Bonhöffer, *Epiktet und die Stoa*, Stuttgart, 1890; F. Susemihl, *Gesch. der griech. Litteratur in der Alexandrinerzeit*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1891–92; P. Wendland, *Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur*, Tübingen, 1912; J. Drummond, *Philo Judæus*, 2 vols., London, 1888; F. C. Conybeare, *Philo about the Contemplative Life*, Oxford, 1895; O. Pfleiderer, *The Philosophy of Religion on the Basis of History*, Eng. tr., 4 vols., London, 1886–88; H. von Arnim, *Quellenstudien zu Philo*, Berlin, 1888; G. Falter, *Philon und Plotin*, Giessen, 1906; A. Harnack, 'Neoplatonism,' in *EBr*[9]; C. Bigg, *Neoplatonism*, London, 1895, *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria*, Oxford, 1913; T. Whittaker, *The Neo-Platonists*, Cambridge, 1901; E. Vacherot, *Hist. critique de l'école d'Alexandrie*, 3 vols., Paris, 1846–51; C. H. Kirchner, *Die Philosophie des Plotin*, Halle, 1854.

For special monographs on particular philosophers consult the excellent bibliographies in F. Ueberweg, *Grundriss der Gesch. der Philosophie*[10], i., Berlin, 1914; collections of fragments by F. W. Mullach (Paris, 1867), H. Ritter and L. Preller (7th ed., Gotha, 1886–88, 9th ed. 1914), H. Diels[2] (Berlin, 1908; contains also Germ. trr.); English translations of fragments: A. Fairbanks, *The First Philosophers of Greece*, London, 1898; C. M. Bakewell, *Source Book in Ancient Philosophy*, New York, 1907 (from which several translations used in this article have been taken). See also H. Jackson, *Texts to illustrate the Hist. of Philosophy from Thales to Aristotle*, New York, 1901. See also the bibliography appended to art. IMMANENCE.

FRANK THILLY.

PANTHEISM (Hindu).—**1. Introductory.**—It has frequently been affirmed, by none more emphatically than by A. Barth, who has done so much for the elucidation of Indian thought, that the tone and tendency of Indian conviction and belief are as a whole pantheistic. It may fairly be questioned, however, whether any wide generalization upon the set of the many cross-currents of Indian thinking is justified. With at least equal truth the assertion might be made that India reasons upon theistic presumptions, and that her favourite philosophy reaches idealistic conclusions. Under other skies and in other lands it might appear difficult to induce harmonious working of principles and theories so diverse. In the Indian mind they coalesce, or, if the figure be preferred, occupy different compartments without impairing the unity of the whole. The Indian merchant or peasant is a philosopher, who is generally ready to

give a reason for the faith that is in him, and always eager for a debate thereon. In most instances his views of God and the universe will be found to be pantheistic, dominated in the ultimate issue by idealistic traditions and teaching. But he is far too practical to allow these to modify or impair the sagacity and determination with which he takes his part in the competition of daily life. Religiously he is an earnest theist, and usually a monotheist, if the term be allowed to cover a creed which recognizes in all the gods manifestations of the one and only God. Historically and in the past in India a monotheism of this character has been hardly distinguishable from a rich and riotous polytheism. More recently Christian and other influences have strengthened the ideal element. The pantheistic tendency, however, maintains its position, and as an undercurrent continues to exercise an influence upon the outlook and life as a whole which is little if at all impaired.

Indian pantheism, moreover, originated in different conceptions, and aimed at satisfying different types and preconceptions of thought from the European. Historically also it has run a different course. Perhaps the identity of name has led to an exaggerated conception of the strength of the influence which pantheistic ideas have exercised upon the outlook and character of the Indian peoples. In reality, for all practical purposes, it has been slight. Except in the case of a few mystics, pantheism has never been the most forceful motive of action or belief; nor is it at all likely to strengthen its hold in the future.

Within the limits of an article it is not possible to do more than give the briefest survey of Indian pantheistic doctrine, as exhibited in the earliest and succeeding strata of the literature, and of its importance for the creed and life of the people themselves. In its main stream the development is not difficult to trace, but the ramifications and cross-currents are often obscure in their direction and source. A few words will serve to indicate the general tendencies and conclusions which experience and the evidence appear to justify.

2. **The Vedic period.**—In the hymns of the Rigveda a pantheistic strain of thought is discernible from the beginning, but becomes most marked in the tenth and latest book. The rude and superficial polytheism of the popular faith failed to content the more earnest thinkers among the poets; and the response which in some instances at least was given to the search for a more satisfying creed was in the direction of unifying all gods, all existences, into one. Agni especially was the centre of this assimilating movement. The essence of fire appeared to pervade all things, and to give them warmth and being; when Agni withdrew himself, the life also vanished. All the gods accordingly are identified with Agni, and Agni himself is all the gods.[1] In not a few of the hymns a knowledge of the inner reality of things appears to be the goal of the poet's thought and desire. Three general conceptions or theories of the constitution of the universe are present to the minds of the writers—monotheism, polytheism, and pantheism—and of these the pantheistic view ultimately overshadows and controls the others. Speculative inquiry with regard to the reality that may be supposed to underlie all phenomena is answered in a pantheistic sense. *Ka* ('who?') is not only a name for the unknown, but an indication of the direction which thought is prepared to take. Other suggestive titles for the source or universal principle that comprehends all, and from which the all originates, are *tat*, 'this,' *hiraṇyagarbha*, 'the golden germ,' *nārāyaṇa*, 'the primitive man,' *virāj*, 'the shining *or* illustrious one.' In the ultimate systematization these were all merged in the one *Brahman*. Within the limits of the Rigveda the tendency to pantheism culminates in the hymn to the Unknown God (x. cxxi.). In the hymns, however, there are expressed pantheistic strivings and imaginings rather than a formal and definite system.

3. **Upaniṣads.**—The culminating point of Indian speculation was reached in the thought of the *Upaniṣads*, and in the system of the Vedānta founded on them. That system assumed finally a pantheistic shape, and, thus formulated, secured the assent and conviction of the great majority of the Indian people. Having failed to establish in intelligible form the mystical and metaphysical doctrine of the *ātman*, the thinkers of the *Upaniṣads* fell back upon a modified pantheism. The universe was the created work of *Brahman*, who (or which) then took possession of it as pervading principle or soul (*ātman*). The postulate of the sole reality of *Brahman* or the *ātman* remained, however, inviolable—one only without a second; and pantheistic speculation therefore regarded the universe as immanent as it were in God, not conversely God immanent in the universe. The doctrine thus formulated was in direct succession with the thought of the *Brāhmaṇas* and the Rigveda. In the latter the framework of presumption and belief is still essentially solar; the human spirit becomes united with the spirit of the sun. The theorizings of the *Brāhmaṇas*, dull and matter-of-fact as these treatises are on the practical and ritualistic side, are freer and more far-reaching, but remain true to the same presuppositions. In the *Upaniṣads* and the Vedānta the endeavour to frame acceptable conclusions came to full fruition. The solution offered, however, was based essentially upon a compromise, the reconciliation of distinct and conflicting lines of thought, of which the idealistic did in fact predominate over the other. The universe was asserted to be fundamentally and altogether unreal, and to have no existence apart from *Brahman*, who is all and in all. The pantheistic strain of thought, therefore, of India is of a type differing from the European, and has sometimes been described as 'idealistic' pantheism. The latter does not assume the presence of God in the universe, informing all, but definitely affirms that the universe does not in reality exist at all, for God alone is. So abstract a theory, and one so far removed from the postulates of ordinary life, remained probably for some considerable time the property of the more metaphysically inclined among Indian thinkers and teachers. It was only slowly and gradually that it took possession of the mind and thought of the people as a whole.[1]

4. **Epic period.**—In the *Mahābhārata* and the epic literature generally the substratum of thought and belief which the writers presuppose, and on which they fall back, is pantheistic, after the manner of the *Upaniṣads*. The divine actors and heroes, however—Kṛṣṇa in the *Mahābhārata* and Rāma in the *Rāmāyaṇa*—are the objects of an intense theistic reverence and devotion; and the cross-currents of popular theism and philosophic pantheism run deep and strong. In general, in the thought and exposition of the poems as a whole the former appears to be in retreat before the vigour and persistence of pantheistic ideas. The theism, however, whether or not it is really the older stratum in this literature, is in no danger of dissolution. The conflict is most apparent in the episode of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, where the dignity and authority of the divine Kṛṣna have attracted to his person a fervour of monotheistic worship

[1] Rigveda, v. iii. 1; cf. the similar statement concerning Aditi (i. lxxxix. 10).

[1] See, further, art. UPANIṢADS.

unequalled elsewhere in the history of India. Yet even here the interwoven strands of pantheism are so intrusive and continuous that the nature of the primitive basis upon which the poem has been built up is still regarded by scholars as doubtful. Unquestionably, however, in the epic period pantheism as a reasoned explanation of the constitution of the universe is gaining ground and commending itself to the thought and acceptance of the people.

5. Brāhmanism and the Vedānta.—Hence it is in what is known as Brāhmanism and the philosophic Vedānta that the stronghold of pantheistic thought in India is to be found. And it is a tribute to the energy and conviction of its adherents that their doctrine has so entirely taken possession of the Indian mind. The process of the extension of a teaching, from the point of view of the ordinary man both recondite and unnatural, was certainly gradual and prolonged. Equally certainly in any realized or intelligible sense it was a possession of the philosophers alone. By others it was accepted and professed as a constructive interpretation of themselves and of the phenomenal universe, which they held in theory but made no attempt to bring into relation to daily life, and of the significance of which in most instances they had little real appreciation. Nevertheless there lies behind the speculative doctrine a strength of conviction, which has driven it through the inertia of the minds of the common people, and has made it philosophically the dominant belief of all classes. Barth's assertion is then justified that 'India is radically pantheistic.' It would nevertheless be equally correct to affirm that India is radically mystical or radically theistic. All three statements are true, but need qualification. The pantheism of India is of an essentially mystical and visionary type, and lends itself to dreamy aspirations, far removed from the hard and uncompromising theorizings of the West. If carried to a logical conclusion, it finds itself in conflict both with the practical necessities of life and with ancient theistic beliefs. It compromises with both, and succeeds in living in harmony with habits and deep-seated convictions which to minds differently constituted from the Indian would appear to be fatal to its existence.[1]

6. Sectarian faiths.—India's popular religious systems, on the other hand, are essentially theistic in character, and contribute little to the significance or thought of pantheism. This is true for the most part of the two greatest of these faiths, Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism, which in their varied forms share between them the allegiance of the great majority of the people. Their philosophy, however, and doctrine of the nature of the universe (cosmology) they have borrowed or adapted from the speculative conclusions of the *Upaniṣads*. The Vaiṣṇavite is a professed Vedāntist, and holds the latter doctrine with its pantheistic implications as a sort of metaphysical counterpoise to the living theistic faith with which his religious craving is met and satisfied. The Śaivite is usually, in name at least, a follower of the Sāṅkhyan philosophy of the universe and of life. In practice, however, his theoretic belief is largely overborne by pantheistic tendencies. In a broad sense it is true of both Vaiṣṇavite and Śaivite that they are theist and pantheist in one, but that in the urgency of daily life the latter creed is, with rare exceptions, subservient to the former. Whatever his theory may be, the Indian regulates his conduct by the desire to propitiate the gods and to receive help from them, not by a pantheistic doctrine which confuses his personality and merges him in the great unknown.

[1] See art. VEDĀNTA.

The mystical and devotional Śaivism of the south of India is essentially opposed to the Vedānta, but is nevertheless permeated to a considerable extent by pantheistic conceptions. These would seem, again, to represent an encroachment upon an original monotheism, successfully effected, in part at least, by virtue of a claim to offer to the thoughtful mind a higher and more exalted degree of religious attainment, of which the ordinary man was supposed to be incapable. It was right for him to content himself with an external worship and a rudely conceived personal god. Early Śaivism appears to have been altogether monotheistic; but the emotional Śaivite literature of the south, the religious hymns and lyrics of the Tamil bards, which are certainly for the most part if not entirely of comparatively recent date, although they lay claim to the authority of ancient names, is pantheistic in tone and in spirit, and probably owes something to the influence of Ṣūfiistic thought. In its more recent history at least, the tendency of this form of Śaivism has been towards a pantheistic philosophy; and, while never ceasing to profess a theistic creed, it has been in the Deccan among the most powerful agencies in spreading and recommending a mystical and vaguely defined pantheism.

7. Reformed sects.—Of the reformed faiths of the north also, the Brāhma Samāj and others, it may be asserted that, while in creed and profession they have maintained a monotheistic belief which is affirmed to be the true original faith of India, they have been unable altogether to discard mystical ideas, or to reject conceptions of worship in which the pantheistic strain, so characteristic of India, is readily discerned. They have thrown themselves effectively and for the most part whole-heartedly into practical and social work, which, especially by the Ārya Samāj, has been admirably conceived and carried out on the lines of European example; and speculation of a metaphysical nature has not been to any great extent within their province. Doctrinally their influence has been conservative; and the practical issues of religion and life have generally occupied much more of their attention than the speculative or mystical.

8. Pantheism and ethics.—Nor has it been true generally in India that pantheism has opposed itself to the claims of ethics, even in the form or forms in which the moral scheme is understood in the West. The fatalistic doctrines to which Indian thinking and life, in common with the greater part of the East, have been responsive are, of course, inconsistent with ethical principles in any real sense. Pantheistic conceptions, however, have in India accommodated themselves to morals, except in the extreme but logically justified forms in which they have exhibited themselves in some of the Yogin and kindred sects of both north and south, and in some of the higher Brāhman castes. With these men definitions and principles that are ultimately pantheistic have been made the support and justification of unmoral practice. The majority of the people, however, accept the theory on philosophic grounds, but make no attempt to bring it into any sort of harmony with their moral behaviour or allow it to control their ethical habit or belief. The ruling thought and inclination of a people by nature intensely religious is to seek intercourse with a personal God, to enlist His interest and good-will on their behalf, and to satisfy what they conceive to be His moral demand. The abstract pantheism which they profess is for the most part entirely without effect on daily conduct and life.

9. Summary.—Historically, therefore, Indian pantheism as a philosophic and religious principle is based upon two conceptions—that of the *ātman*, the soul or spirit, the sole reality on which all

lepend and in which they subsist, and the gical thought of the Creator, immanent in iverse which He has fashioned. In the influence of these, and their ultimate more satisfactory accommodation to one another, is to be found the real key to Indian thinking, and upon them is made to rest the foundation of Indian constructive theory with regard to the universe and God. In some directions, as in the final views of the *Upaniṣads*, these principles have been thought out to their ultimate conclusions with a remorseless logic that has never been surpassed; but from these conclusions even the thinkers of the *Upaniṣads* fell back upon a more tolerable and practical theory of life, and the majority of those who received their teaching made little if any endeavour to reduce it to practice. As an abstract and philosophic belief, however, the theory gained a strong and permanent hold upon a people naturally inclined to metaphysical speculation.

LITERATURE.—The general Histories of Indian thought and literature by A. Barth (*The Religions of India*, Eng. tr., London, 1882), E. W. Hopkins (*The Religions of India*, do. 1896), and others, discuss the subject incidentally. The artt. on pantheism in the encyclopædias are for the most part brief and offer little of interest. For the original sources see esp. *SBE* i. [1900], xv. [1900] (*Upaniṣads*), xxxiv. [1890], xxxviii. [1896], xlviii. [1904] (*Vedānta-Sūtras*), viii. [1898] (*Bhagavad-Gītā*). Cf. Max Müller, *The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, London, 1899; P. Deussen, *The Philosophy of the Upanishads*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1906; R. W. Frazer, *Indian Thought Past and Present*, London, 1915, ch. iv. f.; artt. HINDUISM, VEDĀNTA, UPANIṢADS. For the Śaiva-Siddhānta doctrines of the south of India see, further, Frazer, pp. 219 ff., 257 ff.; H. W. Schomerus, *Der Çaiva-Siddhānta*, Leipzig, 1912; and art. DRAVIDIANS, vol. v. p. 23 ff.

A. S. GEDEN.

PAPACY.—1. The papacy is theologically the formal completion of the hierarchical conception of Christianity; politically it is the survival of the Roman conception of universal sovereignty. The world on which Christianity entered was Roman; the world-religion which was to leaven it was necessarily cast in the mould and bore the stamp of Rome. First this religion projected the idea of empire into the other world; then, as it were, going back upon itself, it attempted to realize the projection in this. The result was the imposing structure of Roman Catholicism, culminating in the papacy; only so is it formally and actually complete.

2. The hierarchy developed out of the earlier charismatic ministry, (1) when, with the diffusion of Christianity, the spiritual gifts of the first age disappeared; (2) when the breakdown of the belief in the Parousia reacted on the enthusiasm of believers; (3) in self-defence, when heresy and moral relaxation threatened the unity and life of the community; nor (4) can such causes as the ambition of the official class and the infiltration of pagan culture and ideas be overlooked. The 2nd and 3rd centuries of our era, which witnessed the Church's struggle with the various forms of Gnosticism, witnessed also the rise and growth of the hierarchy:

'In defending itself against Gnosticism the Christianity of the primitive age was transformed into the Catholicism of the next' (R. Sohm, *Outlines of Church History*, p. 31).

3. Up to a certain point the process of institutionalizing was common to Eastern and Western Christendom; but, from the first, causes were at work which in the one case arrested and in the other promoted its fuller development. The Eastern Churches have never either in theory or in fact recognized the papacy; in the West the papacy has absorbed into itself all other ecclesiastical institutions, and has become the Church. The Greek mind, even in its decadence, retained its distinctive qualities—curiosity, love of speculation, subtlety. These qualities found an ample, if a barren, field in theology, which has been described as the 'last great offspring of the Hellenic spirit' (Sohm, p. 50). 'The East enacted creeds, the West discipline' (Milman, *Latin Christianity*, i. 72). And on the latter head the Greek mind was recalcitrant; to this day it conceives the unity of the Church as resting not on hierarchical considerations—these it relegates to the department of canon law rather than to that of dogma—but on the doctrine of the communion of saints. And the temper of the race was, and is, democratic—intolerant of the assumption of superiority, take what shape it may. Its ideal was the small city-State, civil or ecclesiastical. Byzantine Cæsarism was a foreign importation, a yoke resting on force and tempered by assassination. The conception of authority embodied in Rome, imperial or papal, is Western, and alien to the Greek mind.

4. The West was frankly unspeculative; it had neither interest in nor the faculty of dealing with ideas. It construed dogma as law and belief as obedience; and the Church, in which this conception had taken shape, was the one living force in a world of decay. Hence its deep root in the European mind. Its mysterious claims and the magic of the name of the traditional seat of empire inspired even the barbarians with awe. 'Tu regere imperio populos'—this was the task of Rome, Christian as well as pagan; the world-empire was the foundation of and is the key to the world-Church.

'From every cause, either of a civil or of an ecclesiastical nature, it was easy to foresee that Rome must enjoy the respect, and would soon claim the obedience, of the provinces,' says Gibbon (*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. J. B. Bury, London, 1901–06, ii. 45);

and Hobbes has concentrated the history of Latin Christendom into an epigrammatic sentence:

'If a man consider the originall of this great Ecclesiasticall Dominion, he will easily perceive that the Papacy is no other than the Ghost of the deceased Romane Empire, sitting crowned upon the grave thereof. For so did the Papacy start up on a Sudden out of the Ruines of that Heathen Power' (*Leviathan*, ch. 47, ed. W. G. Pogson Smith, Oxford, 1909, p. 544).

Like other human institutions, it was the creature of circumstances; nor is there anything in either its earlier or its later developments which, given a knowledge of these circumstances, need surprise us. The sufficient reason of the papacy is 'Roma caput mundi'—the imperial tradition of Rome.

5. The exegetical and historical questions of which the papacy is the centre are best approached by regarding the alleged evidence not as the cause but as the effect of the institution, as an afterthought—the object of which was to account for an existing state of things. It is on these lines that Roman Catholic writers explain the forged Decretals; and, up to a certain point, the argument must be allowed. The Decretals consolidated and extended the power of the popes, but did not establish it; rather it is only on the hypothesis of its existence that they can be explained. The Petrine texts, and the undoubted prominence of the Roman community in the 2nd cent., have been useful weapons in the hands of controversialists. But the papacy rests on other foundations. Neither the texts nor the facts gave rise to the Roman primacy; rather it was the primacy that gave rise, if not to the texts, at least to their interpretation—to the facts, and to the perspective in which the facts are seen.

6. The earliest sources are theologically colourless. Clement bases the intervention of the Roman community, from which the bishop had not yet emerged, in the Corinthian troubles, not on any special prerogative of Rome, but on the suggestion of the Spirit—an obviously primitive touch; and Ignatius accounts for the consideration enjoyed by this Church by its good works and its local prestige. Before the end of the 2nd cent. a disposition to emphasize this consideration shows

itself; the Petrine legend appears. Neither the disposition nor the legend made its way without opposition; but each was part of a larger movement which fell in with the needs and temper of the age. In numbers and wealth the Roman community soon took the first place. At the time of the Decian persecution it had more than 20,000 members; and through its constitution, which had developed on hierarchical lines, it rivalled the State as a social power. The monarchical episcopate was now in the ascendant. Its apostolic origin and obligation once recognized, the metropolitanate and patriarchate were stages on the road to a higher unity; the papacy was the logical completion of the theory and the inevitable goal.

7. While secondary, however, as sources, the Petrine texts and the Petrine tradition have played a part in the history of Christian beliefs and institutions the importance of which it would be difficult to overstate. The tradition is older than the texts, to which it probably gave rise; but both have made for the legal and ecclesiastical, as opposed to the religious, element in Christianity. From an early date Peter was taken as the representative of this element, because it was desired to oppose an original 'central party' to the larger, more spiritual Paulinism, and because Peter's outstanding personality made him the most conspicuous among the immediate followers of Christ. This tradition gathered content and volume till all proportion was lost, and everything else in religion, even religion itself, became subordinate to it; in the Middle Ages we find it the primary fact in Christendom and the central doctrine of the Church. The development was continuous and consistent—system has from the first been the strength of Ultramontane theology; and the doctrine was brought to formal completeness by the definition of papal infallibility at the Vatican Council of 1870. Imposing as the structure is, its foundations are inadequate; Peter's prominence in the Gospel narrative is an insufficient ground for the belief in a personal or official privilege bestowed upon him by Christ. It can be accounted for by circumstances, by temperament, by the easy intercourse of friends. And that this is the true explanation is indicated by the absence of anything like one-man rule in the Christian community after the Ascension. Paul was beyond question the foremost figure in the Apostolic period:

'If there was any primacy at this time, it was the primacy not of Peter, but of Paul' (J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, London, 1889–90, pt. i. vol. ii. p. 490).

It is conceivable that, had things taken another course, 'a caliphate in the family of Jesus' might have been established. As it was, Peter was a middle term between Pauline and Palestinian Christianity: the former, left to itself, might well have become a theosophy; the latter would almost certainly have narrowed into a sect. And with the disappearance of the Apostles a new age set in. They left no successors; and Peter was no exception to the rule.

8. The ministry of the first age was charismatic and universal; there was no clerical class. As the numbers of the community increased, specialization was inevitable; but the rise of an order of professional clergy was the most momentous change that has ever taken place in the Church. The attempt to account for it by the direct appointment of Christ was natural; traces of this attempt are to be found in what has been described as 'the most important book ever written, the Gospel according to Matthew' (B. W. Bacon, *The Making of the NT*, London, 1912, p. 145). This may be called the anti-Pauline Gospel; the issue is between a closed Palestinian tradition — modified, indeed, from its extreme Jewish form, but still a tradition—and the onward moving sweep and swing of Pauline thought. The confession of Peter (Mt $16^{15f.}$) occurs, though in a simpler form, in the two other Synoptic Gospels; but the famous gloss (vv.$^{17-19}$) is found in Matthew alone. That this, even if we retain the passage as it stands, will not bear the interpretation put upon it is matter of fact rather than of opinion. It is inconceivable that a saying of Christ so central as the mediæval theory of the papacy makes this should have been left unrecorded by three out of the four evangelists; that it should have been omitted by two (one of them the Petrine evangelist Mark) of the three who narrate the incident out of which it is said to have arisen; and that no reference should have been made to it by any other NT writer, in particular by Paul. Paul's references to the Twelve are those of a man with a grievance; he goes out of his way to proclaim his independence of them, and in particular of Peter (Gal 2^{11-21}). The hostile note is unmistakable; the Tübingen school had more to say for itself on this head than its immediate successors allow. It is probable that the passage is an interpolation made in the interests of the rapidly developing official ministry, the origin of which it was desired to throw back into the first age. In any case it is clear that the papacy has its roots not in Scripture, but in history; it is history that must pass judgment on its claims. And the historian will ask, not Does the Petrine tradition justify the papacy? but How was it that people came to believe that it did?

9. The answer is that, shadowy as this Petrine tradition was, it was opposed by no rival. This could not be said of the earlier titles to pre-eminence advanced by Rome. Was Rome, as Tertullian urged, one of a group of apostolic churches? There were other apostolic churches. Was it the seat of a patriarchate? So were Alexandria and Antioch. Was it the metropolis of the world? When Constantine transferred the seat of empire to the East, Byzantium claimed this prerogative. And it was not till then that the Petrine legend was accentuated, and the prerogative of Rome placed on a singular and incommunicable foundation — the succession of the Christian Dioscuri, Peter and Paul. It is one of the ironies of history that it is in a Gnostic source —the pseudo-Clementine *Homilies* — that this tradition is found in its most explicit form. Thus was the organization of the world-Church, modelled, in fact, upon that of the world-State, referred to a divine sanction. The detail was filled in later; and the broad lines of the fabric stand to this day. The diocese represents the *civitas*; the archiepiscopal province the Roman *provincia*; and the Catholic Church under the absolute rule of the pope, the vice-gerent of God, the empire under the *Divus Cæsar*.

'In its old age,' says Sohm (p. 47), 'the Roman Empire bequeathed its constitution to the young Church. . . . It was its last great legacy to the future.'

It was also its most important; for in the Church it rose from the grave to a new and more enduring life.

10. The advance of this organized Church system was not unchequered: in Montanism and other separatist movements the old spiritual liberty resisted the new ecclesiastical law. But, in doing so, it became fanaticism and licence. The Roman conception of Christianity had no serious competitor; and the highest social and religious forces then at work in the world were on its side. The circumstances of the time hastened its development, both by removing possible rivals and by emphasizing the need of stability—of fixed institutions

and beliefs. The walls of the world were falling. Africa was overrun; a torrent of barbaric invasion threatened the Eastern Churches; the West was the prey of rude tribes whose training was the condition of the survival of civilization; the secret of the power of the Roman bishop was the fact that he embodied the best spirit of the age. The story of Attila retiring, overawed by Leo the Great, is legend, but true legend. The papacy represented those forces, not of religion only, but of reason and social order, to which men, cultured and uncultured, recognize their subjection; the pope was heir by default of the Cæsars, and could not escape their function of rule. The national Churches which came into being north of the Alps became rapidly and acutely secularized, while Celtic Christianity, admirable as a pioneer force, was capable only of group organization and unable either to found or to compete with a world-polity. The panegyric of the papacy, familiar in Catholic apologetic, is not without foundation; but it errs when it is transferred from a period of history to history as a whole. Were it limited to the age lying between the fall of the old civilization and the birth of the new, it would be justified. The popes could not save the old world; but they could and did prevent the forces of barbarism from laying waste the ground out of which the new world was in due time to arise. Hence the debt of gratitude which civilization owes to the papacy. It was our pedagogue; and it was assuredly lighter than darkness, if it was darker than light.

11. The memory of the Roman empire haunted the mediæval world. In the darkest age man remembered that there had once been such things as law, knowledge, and civilization. Remnants of the old order had survived among the provincials. Was it possible that the august fabric as a whole should be revived? To effect such a revival the co-operation of the secular and the spiritual power, both in sufficient strength, was needed; and, when, in 800, Charles the Great received the imperial crown from Leo III., the occasion and the man arrived. 'Ab omnibus constitutus est Imperator Romanorum'; the empire was re-born.

12. Great, however, as the idea was, the structure contained from the first the seeds of dissolution. Each of the concurrent powers claimed the supremacy; but, from the nature of the case, neither could either effectually or permanently retain it. It was impossible either for the spiritual power to acknowledge subjection to the temporal or for the temporal to abdicate in favour of the spiritual; they were, and remained, two. Nor was either, as it professed to be, universal. There were kingdoms beyond the empire; there were Christian communities outside the Church. The facts were larger than the frame; and an age of conflict opened. A strong pope was necessarily the enemy of a strong emperor, and a strong emperor of a strong pope. Charles the Great was as truly supreme head of the Church as Henry Tudor; but the older Erastianism was on the larger scale: the control claimed by Henry over a local and national Church was exercised by Charles over the Church as a whole. All the great creations of the Middle Ages—the empire, the Church, scholasticism, feudalism — bear this stamp of universality; hence the dream of unity which to this day haunts Latin religion and the Latin world. It could not—it is probable that it never can—be realized. The mind of the time was dualistic, and could not escape from the charmed circle. An Erigena was suspect; his time was not yet. A more pedestrian philosophy was to provide a speculative foundation for the idealisms, the aspirations, and the ethics of the age.

13. The Carlovingian empire did not survive its founder; and on its fall the shadowy but imposing inheritance of universal power fell a second time to the papacy. It at once seduced and strengthened; it misled, but it inspired. Fear of the encroachments of the civil ruler, the desire to place the Church above the vicissitudes of secular governments, in conjunction with the invariable tendency of authority to extend its jurisdiction, led to a notable advance of the Roman claims. The germs of this development were already in existence—the dispensing power, the right to confer privilege and exemption, and to act as universal metropolitan and court of appeal. The wish to place these and similar prerogatives beyond question gave rise to an elaborate series of fabrications and forgeries which, in an uncritical age, silenced objections and were admitted as evidence. They began in the 6th cent. with the *Liber Pontificalis*, and continued with the Decretals of the pseudo-Isidore and Gratian to the end of the Middle Ages. The memorable change of front by which, on the transference of the seat of empire to the East, the Roman bishop met the pretensions put forward by the new patriarch of Constantinople led, in particular, to a deliberate and wholesale falsification of ecclesiastical literature. The endeavour to represent the claims advanced by later popes as already asserted and admitted in earlier times poisoned the sources; suppressions were made, interpolations inserted, documents forged. Hence the obscurity in which much of the history of the papacy is involved. It must be remembered, however, that the advocates of the papal claims were not the first and have not been the last Churchmen to pursue pious ends by dubious means. From an early date theologians have been unable to resist the temptation to exploit popular credulity and pass counterfeit coin for true. The so-called Athanasian Creed and the famous text of the Three Witnesses (1 Jn 5^7) are evidence of the power of a false tradition over more enlightened Churches and in more critical days.

14. The purpose of the Decretals was twofold: to exempt the clergy from the secular courts, setting up spiritual over against the civil and criminal tribunals in every country, and to establish the immediate jurisdiction of the pope over the whole Church. Thus the easily abused power of the metropolitans, which excited the jealousy of Rome, was broken; and, as the patriarchates were extinct, Rome remained the only source of authority. Nicholas I. (858–867) challenged Hincmar, Lothair, and Photius with equal vigour —in the West with success; but in the East the smouldering rivalries of generations burst into flame. The Western and Eastern Churches were finally separated; the seamless robe was torn.

15. The period which followed the fall of the Carlovingians was one of decline for the papacy; internal corruption undermined what external attack had failed to destroy. Before the century closed it had become the prey of local faction; its deliverance came from a foreign and secular power, that of the German Ottonides, who had succeeded to the diminished but still mighty inheritance of Charles the Great. The structure of the mediæval State was loose; the feudal system had shifted and divided the basis of sovereignty. The aim of Otho I. was to strengthen it, and to establish his own power by the elevation of that of the Church. He placed more reliance on his spiritual than on his temporal vassals, and did not foresee that, once conscious of their strength, they might prove more formidable enemies to the empire than the disorganized forces of the feudal lords. Under Henry III. (1039–56) the empire reached its high-water mark; four popes owed their elevation to him; the pontiffs

were elected in Germany and imposed on Rome. But the particularist tendencies of feudalism combined with the needs of the time and the traditional policy of the Roman Church to hinder this state of things from becoming permanent. Had the papacy not been reformed by the emperor—and only the emperor could have reformed it—it would have fallen under the weight of its own vices. But no sooner was it restored to vigour than it turned upon its preserver, upon whom it waged a parricidal war.

16. This forward ecclesiastical movement was powerfully seconded by the reform of Cluny, with which a wave of enthusiasm such as had not been seen since the first ages invaded the Church. From the first Western monasticism had avoided the follies and the fanaticism of Eastern. The monk of the West was neither a *faqīr*, like the Syrian pillar-saints, nor a dervish, like the illiterate hordes who swarmed from the Thebaid into Alexandria with riot and destruction in their train. The Benedictine Order, in particular, was a hive of busy workers, sending out a succession of tillers of the soil and pioneers of industry, of scholars and artists, of saints and rulers of men. But decline set in. The primary purpose of the religious life was lost sight of; the setting overlaid the gem. The reform of Cluny over-reached itself; but it met both a religious and a temperamental need of the time. It expressed the dualism of Western thought in its crudest form: spirit and flesh, the supernatural and the natural, the religious and the secular, were sharply contrasted; it was not only that they never met—they diverged. It was impossible to extirpate the lower element; but it was possible, it was believed, to subdue it; the means were asceticism in the interior, and sacerdotal absolutism in the exterior, sphere. The Cluniac movement was a turning-point in the history of the papacy. Till then circumstances had played the greater part in its development, now the prominent factor was design; till then it had been, on the whole, an element of progress, now it became one of reaction; till then there had been no persistent spiritual force behind its growth, now such a force was supplied by the ascetic idea. This was reinforced by the dream of the theocracy. In the secular as in the religious province the pope was king of kings and lord of lords. Asceticism was a protest against much that was ignoble; the theocracy was often an assertion of law against lawless violence and of right against might. This is why both commanded the support of many excellent men. Celibacy was better than promiscuous licence; one distant pontiff was to be preferred to a hundred lesser but no less tyrannous popes nearer home. Unhappily, in neither case was the ideal even approached. Laxity made its way into the most austere communities. The wrong way to meet the evils of the time, the way of law, had been chosen; not so can spiritual forces be guided or controlled.

17. In the person of Gregory VII. (1073–85) the monasticism of Cluny reached its highest point. 'I have loved justice and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile,' were his last words. It would be truer to say that ambition and unscrupulousness over-reach themselves, and that they that take the sword shall perish by the sword. For the moment the forces at his disposal broke the loose fabric of the empire. But their success was partial and passing; the claims of the Hildebrandine papacy remained in the illusive category of claims. But they captured the religious aspirations of the age. Mediæval pietism was, on a larger scale and under more favourable conditions, what the Romanticism of the post-revolution period was—a protest against the secular spirit. As such, each had its justification; but each was exploited by the Church and the clergy for their own ends. In the 12th cent. the Church and the world were fused into one, the Church being the predominant factor. Each suffered in the process; and, though in each there was an undercurrent, it ran too far below the surface waters to be easily perceived. The movement culminated in the Crusades. These wars of religion present points of contact with the *jihād* of Islām; they display the same chivalry, the same fanaticism, the same subservience of spiritual forces to secular ends. But, if they served to fix the yoke of papal rule on Western Christendom, they served also to forge the weapon by which this rule was in the end overthrown. For they gave occasion to the rivalries in which the sentiment of nationality had its origin; and they opened up the forgotten East in which Greek civilization lay buried, but from which, in the shape of the Renaissance, it was to rise.

18. Meanwhile, however, the adroitness of the popes and the mystical tendencies of the time, which the popes were quick to use for their own purposes, combined to exalt the papacy. It bore no rival near the throne.

'Jacobus frater Domini . . . Petro non solum universam Ecclesiam sed totum reliquit saeculum gubernandum' (Innocent III., *Epistola ad Acerbum* [in Mirbt, *Quellen zur Gesch. des Papsttums*, p. 130]).

There were two swords, the spiritual and the temporal:

'Uterque est in potestate ecclesiae spiritualis scilicet et materialis; sed is quidem pro ecclesia, illa vero ab ecclesia exercendus; ille sacerdotis, is manu regum et militum, sed ad nutum et patientiam sacerdotis' (Bonifice VIII., *Unam Sanctam* [in Mirbt, p. 140]).

The whole was a strange medley of good and evil. The mystic fervour of a Bernard, the seraphic fire of a Francis of Assisi—both subserved the one end. The papacy has never wanted saints, and they have always bulked large in its foreground; but it is not by saints that the springs of its action have been manipulated.

19. The 13th cent. witnessed the victory of the papacy and of the forces which it controlled over the Hohenstauffen dynasty. It witnessed also a stirring of the life force of Europe. The age was still mediæval; but it could no longer be described as dark. Everywhere there was stir and movement; the day was at hand. The pope, it was felt, had grown in power and influence at the expense of the Church. The episcopate had become weakened by his immediate and universal jurisdiction; the mendicant orders formed an international force at his disposal—an inner Church within the Church. The allegiance of the bishops, often great officers of State in their respective countries, was divided; and it was not to Rome that the balance inclined. Now that its power had become omnipotence, the papacy, once a guiding and organizing force, had become a factor of disintegration. The Curia was a *sentina gentium*; Simon Magus, it was said, had replaced Peter in Peter's see. When the lofty theocracy planned by Hildebrand degenerated into a secular dominion exercised by worldly men for worldly ends, the conscience of mankind revolted. The ideal sovereign of Dante's *De Monarchia* is Henry of Luxemburg; to the spiritual Franciscans the Church was Babylon and the pope Antichrist; before the invective of Oliva and Gerard of Parma that of the Reformers pales. These impassioned protests took legal shape in the *Defensio Pacis* of Marsilio of Padua, and speculative in the nominalism of William of Ockham. The Great Schism emphasized the contrast between idea and fact. The Councils of Constance and Basel attempted to find a remedy. But conciliarism meant anarchy; men of affairs like Æneas Silvius (Pius II.) fell back in despair

upon the papacy, not as good, but as the lesser evil, since, after all, in one fashion or another the government of the Church had to be carried on. No one respected it; the mediæval dream of universal sovereignty had broken down. But it was, relatively and provisionally, a necessity of the situation; it divided Europe less than any alternative that could be proposed. And for another half century the crumbling structure hung together till with Luther the final shock came. It was final in this sense, that the Reformation once for all abolished both the theory and the fact of the mediæval papacy. Philip II. or Louis XIV. would have made as short work of the pretensions of an Innocent III. or a Boniface VIII. as any Protestant sovereign; the supremacy in temporal matters claimed by modern popes is disguised and indirect. The sphere of the Church's *magisterium* is now restricted to faith and morals—though the casuist would be a poor one who could not bring a controverted question, in whatever order, under one or other head. But the mediæval papacy took with a high hand what the modern takes surreptitiously: the latter frames syllogisms — sophistical ones, but still syllogisms; the former laid down and enforced law.

20. Compelled by the growth of the secular State-system, and still more by that of the secular consciousness, to abandon the visionary conception of a theocratic world-monarchy, the papacy fell back upon its position as an Italian principality. This became the key to its policy, the aim of which was the material extension and the political predominance of the Papal State. If the pope could control Italy, directly or indirectly, the rivalries of the powers, aided by the prestige of the Church, would do the rest.

'Was it not profoundly significant,' says Ranke (*Hist. of the Popes*, i. 54), 'that a pope should himself resolve to demolish the ancient basilica of St. Peter . . . and determine to erect a temple, planned after those of antiquity, on its site?'

It was the opening of a new order; the old had passed away. A notable lowering of aim and outlook accompanied it: an Innocent III. would have regarded the vices of Alexander VI. and the triumphs of Julius II. with equal disdain. The Renaissance afforded a diversion which fitted in both with the political designs and with the artistic tastes of the popes of the period, who were princes rather than pontiffs; but it was prematurely crushed by what F. X. Kraus calls 'die brutale Hispanisierung Italiens.'

'Hier fliesst die Quelle des trüben Wassers, welche sich über das Land ausgosz, und hier ist der eigentliche Ausgangspunkt des modernen Dissidiums zwischen Papsttum und Italien' (*Cavour*, Mainz, 1902, p. 6).

As regarded Spain and France, the papacy lay between hammer and anvil. The choice fell on Spain; but the Spaniard was a hard master, and remained for generations the evil genius of Rome. For the Roman temper is not that of the enthusiast; it has a certain ease and lightness of touch. While Spain was the Prussia of the 16th cent.—fanatical, pedantic, heavy of hand—Spanish religion had the seriousness which Italian lacked. But the Spanish God was a Moloch; the fire without was kindled by the fire within. It was Spain that inspired the Counter-Reformation, and furnished its weapons of predilection—the rack, the stake, the cord.

21. The Reformation was a spiritual rather than an intellectual movement; it was the greatest moral and religious emancipation that the world has yet seen, or perhaps will ever see. It overthrew false gods—the false conscience of asceticism, and the false authority of the priesthood. Men's fetters were broken; what use they would make of their liberty they only could decide. The watchword of the counteracting movement was repression, its aim the re-establishment of the captivity of mankind. Open scandals were discouraged; the Rome of the Counter-Reformation was outwardly decorous; the Council of Trent strengthened authority; what had been opinion became dogma; questions which had been open were closed. In the beginning there had been a desire on both sides—a desire of which Charles V. was representative—to avoid schism; the break-up of the historical Church was a misfortune to be avoided at all costs. Now policy and passion dictated another attitude; the object was not to comprehend, but to exclude. The Jesuits gave a veneer of scholarship to the movement; but it was a thin veneer. Petavius, who came a century later (1583–1652), was their one man of real learning.

22. The Inquisition (*q.v.*) was reorganized, the Index (*q.v.*, 1571) established. 'Sica destricta in omnes scriptores' was the judgment of Aonio Paleario, a contemporary. A net of falsehood was thrown over antiquity: the works even of Catholic writers were freely 'edited':

'Ita quidem ut in posterum non liceat affirmare ex lectione istorum auctorum quid illi senserint, sed quaenam sit sententia Curiae Romanae, quae omnia depravavit . . . denique possumus certe statuere non dari librum integrum aut non fucatum' (Friedrich, *Gesch. des vatikanischen Konzils*, i. 17).

Orthodoxy itself was suspect; Baronius and Bellarmine worked in chains. The period has been variously estimated. Such a life as that of Philip Neri, the 'Apostle of Rome,' shows that genuine spiritual work was done. But this good man was in no way representative of the religious world of the time; neither its temper nor its methods were his. More typical figures were Ignatius Loyola and Charles Borromeo—men of the letter, of rule, of organization, of the ecclesiastical machine. This was the element on which reliance was placed. The external was emphasized; even the better men of the reaction took it for granted that the interior accompanied, or would accompany, it; spirit was ignored. The Inquisition was the distinctive creation of the period.

It was 'peculiarly the weapon and peculiarly the work of the Popes. . . . It is the principal thing with which the papacy is identified,' says Lord Acton, 'and by which it must be judged.' Its principle, he holds, 'is murderous, and a man's opinion of the papacy is regulated and determined by his opinion about religious assassination' (*Letters of Lord Acton to Mary Gladstone*, ed. H. Paul, London, 1913, p. 147 f.).

Acton conceived the content of morality as less changing than in fact it is. We judge of actions by their relation not to an absolute standard, but to the best morality of their time. This, however, will not affect our judgment of the popes of this or any other age. For a divine teacher stands, as such, outside the category of relativity. Nor did either the best or even the average morality of the time sanction their cruelties.

23. This moral declension must be taken in connexion with the sectionalism of the post-Reformation Church. Pre- and post-Reformation Catholicism differ fundamentally. The former, in the West at least, was the Church; the latter is one of the Churches—one of the fragments into which the imposing structure of mediæval Christianity was shattered in the 16th cent.; and there is all the difference in the world between the two things. The mediæval Church contained many and conflicting elements in a state of imperfect equilibrium. At the Reformation the freer and more active escaped, those that were left entering into new combinations and taking on new forms. Post-Reformation Catholicism is Latin, not European; and, as the Latinizing process has become more acute, even the remains of the older freedom have been extruded: Jansenism, Gallicanism, Febronianism, in our own time Modernism—the iron uniformity of Rome has crushed them out, and they have disappeared. The continuity between

the Catholicism of the 13th cent. and that of the 20th is exterior—a thing of ritual, polity, and formula; the spiritual kinship of the great figures of the Middle Ages follows other and larger lines.

24. By 1630 the Counter-Reformation had spent itself; the papacy could reckon up its gains. These were considerable; not a little of the soil on which the Reformed doctrines had fallen was stony ground. Northern, or non-Romance, Europe was from the first Protestant; Southern, or Romance, Catholic; but there had been a debatable land between the two. In the middle of the 16th cent. this was to a great extent Protestant; early in the 17th it had been regained for the popes. This success was due partly to the superstition, more to the indifference, of the nations concerned, partly to the zeal and ability of the Jesuits, most of all to the persistent and ruthless persecution adopted as a policy by Church and State—the spiritual and the civil powers working in close alliance for a common end. But Catholicism was unable to extract the full profit from its victories; other motives, other interests, other combinations, came into play. In 1631 the two great Roman Catholic powers were in league with Protestants: Urban VIII.'s opposition to Gustavus Adolphus was lukewarm; Innocent XI. was the enemy of the House of Bourbon, and looked with at least mixed feelings on the English Revolution of 1688. The popes were secular princes, and concerned with the balance of power. Policy masqueraded in the cast-off clothes of religion; the world influenced the Church more than the Church the world.

25. The middle years of the 18th cent. witnessed a certain lowering of the temperature; the reasonableness, not to say the rationalism, of the age filtered into the Church. It was the age of Muratori, of Febronius, of Scipio de' Ricci. Benedict XIV. (1740–58) and Clement XIV. (1769–75) were moderate rulers and enlightened pontiffs; and, though in Clement XIII. and Pius VI. the tide set in another direction, it is probable that, but for the French Revolution, an era of at least comparative conciliation would have begun. But violence breeds violence: with the Legitimist restoration which followed the fall of Napoleon a new era of the papacy, one of definite political and religious reaction, set in. De Maistre was its prophet, Lamennais its orator, Pius IX. its pope.

26. Pius VII. was personally moderate, and his minister Consalvi shared his temper. But, after the Restoration, the influence of the bigoted Pacca prevailed; and the next three popes were tools of Bourbon and Hapsburg absolutism, enemies of civil and religious liberty under every form. The *Mirari vos* of Gregory XVI. gave no uncertain sounds:

'Ex hoc putidissimo indifferentismi fonte absurda illa fluit ac erronea sententia seu potius deliramentum, asserendam esse ac vindicandam cuilibet libertatem conscientiae.'

The note of the modern papacy is here. This reaction reached its climax in Pius IX. (1846–78), under whom the temporal power disappeared. Its disappearance marked the end of an old and the beginning of a new order. The papacy was left free to develop itself as an ecclesiastical institution unhampered by the territorial considerations which limit secular sovereignty, however small its scale; and it is significant that the same year 1870 witnessed at once the definition of papal infallibility and the Italian occupation of Rome. Politically, the pope was influenced by stronger men than himself, in particular by Antonelli; but, on the religious side, his epileptic tendency was the key to the pontificate, during which the reputation of the Church and the papacy sank to its lowest ebb.

27. His theological aspirations were, however, more successful than his political. The triumph of Ultramontanism was complete, though those who looked below the surface of things saw clearly enough that it was evanescent. What was gained in intension was lost in extension; but the centralizing and acute Romanizing of Catholicism was attained. It was no longer safe to express the Febronian or Gallican principles so commonly held, even in high places, in the preceding century. A series of condemnations directed against independent writers, culminating in a sharp attack on the historical school of Munich, warned thought off the territory of religion and its ill-defined hinterland. Local usages were suppressed, and Italian ritual and devotions introduced into the Cisalpine countries; from the shape of an arch to the cut of a vestment conformity to Roman usage was enforced. But under this surface of uniformity the ground was shifting; a conflict between the Church and the historical conscience of Europe was preparing, in which the latter, defeated for the moment, retired to sharpen its weapons and to plan a more dangerous and radical assault.

28. Resistance from within was crushed by sheer terrorism. The thought of being called to account by the Roman tribunals haunted Newman like an evil dream. It meant, he believed, his death. 'Others,' he wrote, 'have been killed before me' (W. Ward, *Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman*, London, 1912, i. 588). For, over and above the moral power of Rome over a timorous conscience, its administrative pressure is enormous; and the increasing separation between Church and State in the modern world enables this pressure to be persistently and ruthlessly applied. By a stroke of the pen a layman can be deprived of the use of the sacraments, a priest of his functions, a bishop of the special 'faculties' without which the administration of his diocese is impossible. There is a curious ingratitude in the attitude taken by the popes to what they call the Revolution; for only under the conditions brought about by this movement could their present despotism exist. Not for a moment would it have been tolerated by the old legitimist monarchies; these were 'in all causes and over all persons whether ecclesiastical or civil within their dominions supreme' (Bidding Prayer).

29. The most important acts of the pontificate, because, being dogmatic, they bound the Church to permanent and interior assent, were the definition of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin (1854), the Syllabus (1864), and the Vatican definition of papal infallibility (1870). The first was rhetoric crystallized into dogma; the second was a declaration of war against modern society; the third was the formal completion of the theory of the papacy, the last stone of a fabric on which the labours of generations had been spent. The first met with little opposition; devotion silenced controversy. The second divided the Church into two opposing camps; and, while reason was on the Liberal, consistency was on the Ultramontane side. The logic of the ideas embodied in the Syllabus was beyond question; and these ideas were contained in premisses which the Liberal Catholics either admitted or were not prepared to dispute. The wisest and best men in the Church were on their side; but their attempts to explain away the papal pronouncements were thin, and left an impression of insincerity. The plea, *e.g.*, that the document referred to an abstract and non-existent state of things cannot be taken seriously; the Syllabus was put forward as 'complectens praecipuos nostrae aetatis errores.' A later theory maintained that papal utterances of this sort, though dogmatic in form, are disciplinary in substance, and call for exterior submission rather than interior assent. They express, *i.e.*, the existing opinion of the governing body, and are to

a great extent matter of policy; in time they will in all probability be tacitly, if not avowedly, withdrawn. This theory gives a correct account of what, in many cases, actually happens; but its value is historical, not theological. It is impossible to reconcile it either with the terms of the documents or with any intelligible view of the authority of the pope or of the Church.

30. Both the name and, in its modern sense, the idea of infallibility were foreign to the primitive Church. In the first days believers spoke as they were moved by the Spirit, whose power attested the genuineness of their utterances. As time went on, the *charisma veritatis* was held to reside in the office-holders, and, after the rise of the monarchical episcopate, in the bishop, rather than in the community as a whole. Usage tends to harden into ritual, and opinion into dogma; the predominant position early acquired by the Roman Church caused a peculiar weight to be attached to its decisions, in matters both of discipline and of faith. The infallibility of the Roman bishop stood in close connexion with his supremacy; from the notion of a final court of appeal in matters of doctrine it was an easy step to that of the inerrancy of this court. The key to the controversy between the two schools which divided the Vatican Council was that they looked at the question from radically different points of view. To the one papal infallibility was an evident, almost a self-evident, theological conclusion; to the other it was in palpable contradiction with historical fact. The dispute, therefore, resolved itself into one concerning the relation of theology to history, and involved controversies unforeseen, far-reaching, and even now but partially solved. The position of the Munich divines was not always consistent. While refusing to consider the papacy and the Church as convertible terms, they admitted that the former rested on divine appointment. 'The Church from the first was founded upon it; and the Head of the Church ordained its type in the person of Peter.' This admission was their weak point. To the rising critical school, in and outside of Germany, it seemed unwarranted, while the Ultramontanes, stronger in logic than in history, argued that the notions of supremacy and infallibility were contained in that of the primacy, and that, being necessary to make it effective, they had been realized more and more clearly in the Church's consciousness as time went on. The forgeries, which they could not deny, had but stereotyped existing usage; and the plausible, if fallacious, argument that at least till the 16th cent. every considerable reform of the Church had been associated with an advance of the authority of Rome was on their side. See, further, art. INFALLIBILITY, vol. vii. p. 256.

31. The position of the minority bishops was difficult. They were men of greater distinction than their opponents; they had on their side the goodwill of their respective governments and the sympathies of the educated class. But, if history was with them, logic was against them. If Rome was what the current Catholic teaching, which they admitted and by which they were bound, made her, the proposed dogma followed. Again, whatever weight they carried as individuals, as a party they had neither discipline nor cohesion. Some were timid and half-hearted; others were open to the influence and intimidation which the Vatican had at its disposal, and used unscrupulously. Pius IX. had become the object of a more than Byzantine cultus. His flatterers adapted the Breviary hymns in his honour, substituting his name for that of the Deity; Louis Veuillot classed him as an object of devotion with the Virgin and the consecrated Host ('Quirinus,' *Letters from Rome*, Eng. tr., London, 1870, p. 14). On the other hand, Gratry denounced the dominant 'école d'erreur et de mensonge' (F. Nielsen, *The Hist. of the Papacy in the xixth Century*, Eng. tr., London, 1906, ii. 334); Montalembert spoke of 'the idol in the Vatican' (*ib.*); Newman stigmatized the party identified with the *Univers* and the *Civiltà* as 'an aggressive and insolent faction,' and declared that, 'if it is God's Will that the Pope's Infallibility should be defined, then it is His blessed Will to throw back the times and moments of that triumph He has destined for His Kingdom' (Ward, *Life*, ii. 288 f.). But the opposition collapsed with the definition. Hefele frankly acknowledged himself unable to endure the consequences of resistance; Hohenlohe argued that, while a formula could be explained away or might become obsolete, an act of schism was irreparable, and of two evils chose what seemed to him the less (*Memoir of Prince Hohenlohe*, Eng. tr., London, 1906, ii. 10, 16, 49). It was by such reasonings as these that theologians reluctantly reconciled themselves to what had taken place. The weakness of the position had translated itself into weakness of moral fibre; 'inopportunism' was not inspiring, and did not inspire. To the world, even the Catholic world, at large the quarrel seemed one of the sacristy. The professionalizing of religion had been fatal to its actuality, and removed it from the cognizance and interest of the ordinary man. But, in the improbable event of a theological revision of the definition, it is probable that canonists would find a sufficient reason for holding the acts of the Council null and void in the pressure, moral and even material, exerted by the Vatican over its proceedings. The Council was not free.

32. The weapon forged in 1870 has not so far been used in the manner feared by some and hoped by others. No further positive definitions have been made, and no indisputably infallible pronouncements put forth by the Holy See. Rome has taught rather as if it were infallible than infallibly, though its dogmatic utterances have been more frequent and more detailed than before. When, however, it is asked whether these utterances are or are not infallible, it must be remembered that there are other ways of teaching infallibly than that laid down by the Vatican Council. In opening a new channel for infallibility the bishops did not block up those already existing; these remain as they were before. And, in connexion with such questions, *e.g.*, as those raised by the Pontifical Acts of 1907, if the pope can speak infallibly and does not, it is difficult to reconcile this taciturn infallibility with the function of a divine teacher, while, if he cannot, both the old and the new infallibility—*i.e.* that existing before 1870 and that defined by the Council—are useless and illusory, names not things. There can be no doubt that, whatever Cisalpine theologians may object to the view, Rome regards such pronouncements as infallible; and that, given the premisses, Rome is right.

33. Leo XIII. (1878–1903) started with this great advantage: he succeeded Pius IX. He was no less impregnated with the Roman spirit; by temperament he was even more imperious; but he was a wise, a wary, and a strong man. From the first he made this felt. Caricaturists had represented Pius IX. as a querulous, scolding old woman. No one—and the fact is significant—ever represented Leo XIII. in this way; the personality of the pope imposed itself and carried weight. For a man of his years and calling, he possessed in an exceptional degree the instinct for fact. He was of the old order, and democracy was temperamentally uncongenial to him; but in his encyclicals on the

labour question, as in the encouragement given to the *Sillon* in France and the *Democrazia Cristiana* in Italy, he recognized and made advances to democracy. The critical movement lay beyond his personal horizon, but he would not condemn Modernism; he can scarcely have loved the French Republic, but only a few days before his death he assured the French ambassador that nothing, nothing (he repeated it emphatically), should make him break with France.

34. He could not change the course of events or direct their development on other than their own lines. But he made the best where others before and after him made the worst of the situation; he arrested the forces that made for dissolution; he encouraged the higher and repressed the lower elements in the vast and complex society with which he had to deal. He left the Church respected. Under his predecessor it had been, under his successor it was to become, a negligible quantity. While Leo lived, it was a power to be reckoned with, not only politically—that it must be for long under whatever government—but in thought and life. It attracted not only the static elements of the body politic, men—of whom Brunetière was a type—who valued unity and action more than speculation, but not a few of the progressives; it was thought possible to graft the methods and conclusions of modern science upon the venerable traditions of Catholicism, and so to make the centuries one. These aspirations took shape in Modernism (*q.v.*)—an attempt to naturalize criticism, scientific history, and the philosophy of spirit in the Church. It overlooked the distinctive feature of Catholicism—*i.e.* the peculiar development of the notion of authority embodied in the papacy, and the consequent relation of the Roman Church to the modern mind movement, which is that of a residuum left behind when the freer and saner elements of life have broken away. Were Catholicism to lose this character, it would no longer appeal to the social and cultural levels to which it is now so uniquely adapted; its sufficient reason would be gone. Leo XIII. saw this as clearly as his successor; but he saw what his successor did not see—that a Church incapable of movement or adaptation must be left behind by the advancing world, and that Modernism was a development of the human spirit which it was equally impossible for the papacy either to encourage or to suppress. He temporized, trusting to events, to the weight of custom, and to the preponderance of the fixed over the volatile elements in ecclesiastical Christianity—which perhaps was the wisest thing that a pope could do.

35. Pius X. (1903–14) was a man of another type. A peasant by birth, a country priest by training, he possessed at once the virtues and the defects of his order—its simplicity and its narrowness, its piety and its guile. Imposed by the Austrian veto on the Conclave, he was the pope of a reaction, which, like most reactions, carried those concerned in it very much farther than they wished or intended. The temper of Rome is not fanatical. Rather it is that of the permanent staff of a great public department. The men who compose the Curia are officials—cautious, painstaking, unimaginative. They distrusted Modernism, but they would have met it with other weapons than the *Lamentabili* and the encyclical *Pascendi*; they resented the policy of the French Republic, but they would not have lost France. Their disapproval of the pope and of his advisers was undisguised; and Benedict XV. (1914) is not only by temperament and by training unlike his predecessor; he was chosen with the express intention on the part of the electors of ensuring a pontificate which should be the antithesis of the last. His distinctive virtue, it has been said, is silence. It is a relative virtue. For these are times when speech is called for; in the crisis of a world's history the infallible cannot with impunity be dumb. In the technical province of theology it may be otherwise; he may be silent because he has nothing to say. It is not to be expected that the acts of his predecessor will be reversed or his policy disavowed. But there will probably be less friction, things will be done with greater intelligence and decorum; Roman rather than Spanish methods will prevail. The laws by which the situation is governed are invariable. But they will now work normally. Their operation was abnormally stimulated under Pius X.

36. The history of the Roman Commonwealth is reproduced with singular fidelity in that of the Roman Church. In each we see a body of men strong rather than either intelligent or spiritually minded, indifferent to ideas, bent on material ends, prudent, tenacious, capable of the sacrifice of a present to a future good, and of private to public interest, rising first to prominence, then to domination, and founding a universal State. In each religion was employed as an instrument of policy. Its sanctions were not wanting to the empire; the imperial city and the Cæsars received divine honours; the Church covered secular designs under the disguise of piety; her aims, her weapons, were material; her wisdom was that of this world. Here, as there, decline followed close upon maturity. Some secret poison, it seemed, entered into the system. The governing class, on which the institution as a whole depended, lost the qualities of an oligarchy. Its tenacity became stubbornness, its distaste for ideas ignorance and ineptitude, its caution craft. And the world changed. New forces came into play; new elements made their appearance in society; success called for other qualities—intelligence, quickness, adaptability—than those which had been demanded in the past. The centre of gravity shifted from the empire to the new nations, and from the Church to the Churches. In each case the older body lingered, *informe, ingens*—in that of the Church it still lingers, and may linger long. But it lingers as a survival of a past world in a new order. Slowly detrition works upon it; slowly disintegration advances and cohesion decreases. It may disappear in the short agony of revolution; it may perish, more probably, in the long process of secular decay. In either case its destiny is the same.

> 'Venit summa dies et ineluctabile tempus
> Dardaniae: fuimus Troes: fuit Ilium, et ingens
> Gloria Teucrorum' (Verg. *Æn.* ii. 324 ff.).

37. The Latin genius has great qualities—form, order, unity; but they are discounted by one radical incapacity — the incapacity for dealing with ideas. It conceives belief and religion in general primarily as regulation or enactment; its attitude to dogma is that of the State to law. 'Ecclesia non judicat de internis': 'I do not ask you what you think; but you must obey.' This position is not, indeed, that of the pietist or of the theologian; but it is that of official Rome. And it is probable that the inevitable loosening of the dogmatic principle among Latin Christians will be brought about less by criticism—for which they have in general neither aptitude, equipment, nor inclination—than by the relaxation of the political and governmental tendencies of the Church under the pressure of the rising democracy, by the conception of the Church as spirit taking the place of that of the Church as law.

38. Meanwhile the papacy remains the most complete and consistent expression of the mediæval outlook on life. Hence its unfailing attraction to

the mediæval mind, where this survives, as it does on a larger scale than we suppose, among men and women of to-day. For it is possible to live in a period without being of it; the modern mind is exceptional even in the modern age. To how many the conceptions on which the life of our time is based — evidence, sequence, causality — are strange and unintelligible! The scientific foundation is wanting; they live fragmentarily, and, as it were, piecemeal, in a connected world. This accounts for the strange reversions to type, the fantastic religious and moral aberrations, differing little in form and less in substance from those of the Lower Empire, which crop up from time to time among us; much more for a reaction, passing indeed but, for the time being, noticeable, in favour of an institution so closely bound up with the past, so intimately associated with religion, founded on so long an experience and so close an observation of human nature as the papacy.

39. Round the dome of the Vatican basilica, where, it is believed, all that is mortal of the Prince of the Apostles rests, the words stand in golden letters, 'TU ES PETRUS ET SUPER HANC PETRAM AEDIFICABO ECCLESIAM MEAM.' It is not without significance that the title-deeds of the greatest of the Christian Churches should rest on a doubtful tradition, an uncertain relic, and words which in all probability were not spoken by Christ. So in human affairs truth and falsehood are mingled; so the colours of good and evil are mixed. But the connexion of religion with external things, however close, is accidental. They pass; it remains. The papacy is a fragment of the Middle Ages surviving in a later generation; and this is its refutation. For life is a stream; and, in religion as elsewhere, a return to the past is impossible; the past is a stage in the process that has been definitely left behind. Those who urge that this applies not only to Catholicism but to Christianity may be met with Richard Rothe's summing up of Church history (*Ausgewählte Schriften*, new ed., Halle, 1900, p. 137): 'Das Christentum ist das Allerveränderlichste; das ist sein besonderer Ruhm.' The papacy has, Christianity has not, arrested and excluded change.

LITERATURE.—C. Mirbt, *Quellen zur Gesch. des Papsttums und des römischen Katholizismus*, Tübingen, 1901; H. Denzinger, *Enchiridion Symbolorum*[11], Freiburg im Br., 1911; H. H. Milman, *Hist. of Latin Christianity; including that of the Popes to the Pontificate of Nicolas V.*, London, 1854-55; J. J. I. von Döllinger, *La Papauté: son origine au moyen âge et son développement jusqu'en 1870*, Fr. tr., Paris, 1904; J. Friedrich, *Gesch. des vatikanischen Konzils*, 3 vols., Bonn, 1877-87; B. Labanca, *Il Papato: studio storico-scientifico*, Turin, 1905; L. von Ranke, *Hist. of the Popes during the last Four Centuries*, Eng. tr., 3 vols., London, 1908; P. von Hoensbroech, *Das Papsttum in seiner sozialkulturellen Wirksamkeit*[5], Leipzig, 1905-07; R. Sohm, *Kirchenrecht*, i., do. 1892, *Outlines of Church History*, Eng. tr., London, 1895.

ALFRED FAWKES.

PAPUANS.—It is generally accepted that the term 'Papuan' is derived from the Moluccan word *papúa* ('frizzly' or 'curly'), the word being used by the Moluccans to designate people with ulotrichous hair. Outside of Africa this type of hair is found among the Negritos, and among the inhabitants of New Guinea, the neighbouring islands, and Melanesia. Excluding the Negritos, we may regard the ulotrichi to have been the first inhabitants of western Oceania together with Australia and Tasmania, but other stocks have entered into this area and more or less hybridized the population, perhaps with the sole exception of Tasmania. The languages of New Guinea (which is sometimes termed Papua) fall into two groups—the more ancient and mostly un-related Papuan languages, and the Austronesian languages which belong to the great Austric linguistic family. The most primitive of these closely related languages are the Melanesian languages, which are spoken in Melanesia and various parts of New Guinea, where, from other evidence, we can confidently assert that they are intrusive. The culture of the Papuan-speaking inhabitants of New Guinea is on the whole of lower grade than that of the Melanesian-speaking peoples. We may therefore take it for granted that, as a rule, the Papuan-speaking peoples more nearly represent the original stock, but they need not necessarily be assumed to be of pure 'Papuan' stock. Melanesian-speaking peoples may, in the same way, be regarded as of mixed origin. For the religion of the Papuan-speaking peoples of New Guinea see NEW GUINEA.

LITERATURE.—A. C. Haddon, 'Note antropologiche sui Papua occidentali della Nuova Guinea Inglese,' *Rivista di Antropologia*, xx. [1916]; C. G. Seligmann, 'A Classification of the Natives of British New Guinea,' *JRAI* xxxix. [1909] 246-268.

A. C. HADDON.

PARABLE (Introductory and Biblical).—**1. Definition and general use.**—The word 'parable' (παραβολή, from παραβάλλειν, 'to place alongside of') implies comparison, the placing of one thing alongside of another. As a figure of speech it is the assertion of similarity (in some respect) between an object or conception and some concrete object, action, or scene. When comparison is very simple —*e.g.*, 'that man is like a lion'—it is called a simile. In a simile the likeness is openly asserted (by 'as' or 'like,' etc.). When the word denoting the comparison is omitted, the figure is called a metaphor—*e.g.*, 'that man is a lion.' Metaphor is more complete when the subject as well as the predicate is metaphor (*e.g.*, Nah 2^{11}). A sustained metaphor, *i.e.* an extended statement in which the significant terms all stand for something else, is an allegory. In this case the hearer or reader must make the proper substitutions in order to get its meaning. A simile may also be extended in various ways. Proverbs frequently imply comparison, often explicitly (*e.g.*, Pr 10^{26}), more often, probably, implicitly. The concrete picture suggested in the proverb is mentally compared with the thought expressed, making it more real or impressive. Or the simile may be expanded into a story. If the action, in addition to being imagined, is unreal (animals conversing, etc.), it is usually called a fable. If the action is possible—if we can say that it might have happened—the story is usually called a parable. Usage in regard to these terms is not, however, strictly uniform. Parable is, etymologically, the generic term, and was so used in the LXX and consequently in the Gospels (see below).

In practice the distinction between simile and metaphor is easily disregarded (*e.g.*, Dt 33^{20}), and it is very common for metaphor and plain speech to interchange in the same statement (*e.g.*, Nah 2^{13}). Fable and parable, when told to apply to particular circumstances, often fall just short of being allegories, because the metaphorical meaning of the terms used is so plainly indicated. The famous fable of Stesichorus (Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, ii. 20) is a case in point. While it is useful and necessary to distinguish between simile and metaphor and to construct rhetorical rules against mixing figures, it is over-refinement to hold that, because an explanation of a simple simile is useless, therefore an explanation of an extended simile (the parable) is not to be allowed, although in the case of metaphor and allegory it is quite proper. In actual practice such rules are more often disregarded than known or obeyed. The use of simile and metaphor in all hortatory and argumentative discourse is so common and necessary as to need no remark. While the proverb, fable, parable, and allegory are especially adapted to moral and religious instruction, they hold a recognized place in world literature. Aristotle discusses example, parable,

and fable as κοιναὶ πίστεις, 'means of persuasion' (*Rhet.* ii. 20). Cicero recognizes allegory, and Quintilian praises speech in which similitudes, allegories, and metaphors (*translationes*) are mingled (see the reff. in La Grange, *RB* xviii. [1909] 202 f.). The book of Proverbs, Æsop's *Fables*, Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, and Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* are conspicuous examples of the universal use of this general type of discourse. Of the parable the one acknowledged master is Jesus of Nazareth, although Rabbinical tradition assigns that place to Hillel (*c.* 20 B.C.–A.D. 20).

2. The parable as used by Jesus.—The Gospel record of Jesus' teaching shows that He made an abundant, and in some respects remarkable, use of the parable (in the broad sense of the term). In doing this, however, He was not employing a new or only rarely used method involving a radical departure from the practices common to the Jewish schools of His day. Jesus was a Jew. His audience was composed almost exclusively of Jews. His and their culture was mainly, if not solely, that of Palestinian Judaism. It should be self-evident, therefore, that any conclusive study of Jesus' use of the parable must be based upon a knowledge of its use in contemporary Judaism and not upon the rules or practice of classical writers or authorities on rhetoric such as Aristotle, Quintilian, etc., with whose views there is not the slightest probability that Jesus had any acquaintance. The almost total neglect of this all-important principle on the part of Jülicher constitutes the very serious defect in his learned and suggestive work, the most influential of modern discussions of the subject.

i. HEBREW AND JEWISH USE.—(*a*) *The 'concrete' character of Hebrew and Jewish modes of expression.*—Every reader of the OT or of the later Jewish literature knows how rarely abstract terms are employed. The language is almost always figurative, and the terms concrete. Semitic discourse, as illustrated by the Hebrew and Jewish literature, abounds in suggestive or figurative use of the ordinary words for common objects. The concrete term suggests the more general or abstract idea. Argument is carried on by a succession of concrete pictures. There is frequent use of rhetorical questions. Personification is easy. Discourse developed in an orderly, logical fashion is almost unknown. To a Western mind, or judged by Greek standards, all this is rhetorically faulty, but evidently it was not so to the Semitic mind. The vivid, almost conversational, style of Semitic discourse easily allowed for 'mixed figures' to an extent intolerable to our standards.

(*b*) *The OT māshāl.*—The antecedent of the NT parable was undoubtedly the OT *māshāl*, usually rendered 'proverb.' The Heb. מָשָׁל expresses the idea of comparison, likeness, similitude (see F. H. W. Gesenius and F. Buhl, *Hebräisches und chaldäisches Handwörterbuch*, Leipzig, 1899; or F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon of OT*, Oxford, 1915, *s.v.*). The concrete act implied is the same as that of the Gr. παραβολή (the placing of one thing alongside of another, the concrete image or picture placed alongside of an idea).

In OT usage *māshāl* designates (1) a by-word (*e.g.*, Dt 28^{37}, 1 K 9^{7}); (2) a popular proverbial saying (*e.g.*, 1 S 10^{12}, Ezk $12^{22ff.}$); (3) a type of prophetic utterance, such as Balaam's oracles (Nu 23 and 24, or Is $14^{4ff.}$; cf Mic 2^{4}, where 'lamentation' is a parallel term, or Hab 2^{6}; 'taunt' or 'satire' and 'riddle' are parallel terms); (4) poetic composition (*e.g.*, Nu $21^{27ff.}$, Ps $49^{4ff.}$ $78^{2ff.}$; cf. Job 27^{1} 29^{1}); (5) sentences of wisdom such as abound in the book of Proverbs; the fundamental form of these is the couplet, but in chs. 1–9 and in the latter part of the book a more extended application of the form occurs; (6) a similitude or parable (Ezk $17^{1-10.\ 22-24}$). In this case *ḥîdā* (חִידָה), 'riddle' or 'enigma,' is used conjointly with *māshāl*, probably to indicate that the parable needed explanation. In the light of this passage the omission of any special designation for Jotham's fable (Jg $9^{7ff.}$), Nathan's parable (2 S 12^{1-6}), the parable in 2 S 14^{5-7}, or that in Ec $9^{14.\ 15}$ seems only accidental. *Māshāl* would be the proper term in such cases. Evidently *māshāl* was the generic term, designating various ways of making use of the fundamental principle of comparison which is always (explicitly or implicitly) involved. The frequent association of *māshāl* with *ḥîdā* ('riddle') shows that the *māshāl* was not always perfectly clear or easy of interpretation (cf. Pr 1^{6}). Long study, mental discipline, and close application were necessary in order to grasp the full significance of a *māshāl*. The cases cited also show that the framer of a *māshāl*, or parable, did not hesitate about furnishing its explanation. In every case but one of the parables cited above the explanation or application is pointed out. Finally, it is evident that the theoretical distinction between parable or fable and allegory was a matter of little concern, if indeed known. Jotham's fable, Nathan's parable, Isaiah's vineyard *shîr* (Is $5^{1ff.}$), Ezekiel's parable-riddle—all have allegorical aspects. To employ a rhetorical form only in the strictest or purest manner was a rule unknown, apparently, to the OT speakers or writers.

(*c*) *The use of the parable in the apocryphal, apocalyptic, and early Rabbinical literature.*—In the extant apocryphal and apocalyptic literature (dating *c.* 200 B.C.–A.D. 100) the *māshāl* is well represented in Ecclesiasticus, which is modelled largely on Proverbs. Incidentally, the original Hebrew of this work, with its frequent anticipations of the later Rabbinical Hebrew, seems to indicate that the cultivation of this form of 'wisdom' was being continued by the *ṣōphĕrîm* (the early 'scribes') and their successors, the Rabbis of the NT period (note the suggestive words in $39^{2f.}$ and cf. Wis 8^{8}). Since the *māshāl* in general and the parable in particular belong more naturally to oral than to written discourse, it is not surprising that the bulk of the apocryphal and apocalyptic literature, except Ecclesiasticus, consisting of books whose contents are anything but representative of oral instruction, conversation, or oratory, presents very few examples of the parable. 2 Es $4^{12ff.}$ $9^{38ff.}$ are interesting exceptions. The so-called parables or similitudes of *Eth. Enoch* (chs. 37–71) are hardly such in any real sense.

On the other hand, in the early Rabbinical literature, which, like the Gospels, represents oral instruction and discussion, the use of simile or comparison for purposes of illustration, proof, or otherwise is, as might be expected, very common. The number of similitudes and parables preserved in the Talmud as spoken by the Rabbis of the period approximately contemporary with the NT is much larger than is commonly supposed. Only recently have the Rabbinic parables been made the subject of scientific investigation. But sufficient has been done by Bugge, La Grange, and especially Fiebig to make it certain that hereafter the exegesis of the parables of Jesus must be based upon and start from a knowledge of the significance and use of the parable in the Rabbinical schools. The examples collected by Fiebig include similitudes, parables proper, fables, and partial allegories, as is the case with the Gospels. The use of the *māshāl* was so common that the full formula for introducing one, such as 'I will speak unto you a *māshāl* (אמשל לך משל); unto what is the matter like? Unto—' was often abbreviated to a mere phrase, 'A parable (*māshāl*); like—,' or

even to the mere particle *l*ᵉ ('to,' *i.e.* 'like unto'). The Rabbis were oblivious to the distinction between similitude, or parable, and metaphor, or allegory. In many Rabbinical parables parable and allegory are blended. The Rabbis also frequently, possibly usually, made the application or explained the meaning of their parables (as did the OT speakers and also Jesus, according to the Gospels). In this connexion it should be noted that in Rabbinic parables certain frequently-used terms had a well-understood metaphorical meaning—*e.g.*, king = God, servants or workmen = men, feast = the future blessedness, etc. (cf. Fiebig, *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu*, p. 231 f.). Parables were commonly used by the Rabbis to explain OT texts. In general they were intended to illustrate or to make the meaning clear, but in many cases they were in themselves somewhat enigmatic and needed explanation. Very frequently Rabbinic parables are somewhat artificial, *i.e.* the pictures are not drawn from simple, actual, and common experience, but are artificially constructed and lack naturalness. They smack of the schoolroom rather than of the open air or of the experiences of everyday life. Finally, the Rabbinical parables often show the effects of transmission through oral tradition before being committed to writing. Variations as to form, substance, and circumstances are sometimes so great as almost to result in two parables instead of one.

ii. JESUS' OWN USE.—(*a*) *Extent and variety.*—In the Gospels the Gr. term παραβολή connotes (1) a popular proverb (*e.g.*, Lk 4^{23}); (2) a simile somewhat extended (*e.g.*, Mk $3^{23ff.}$); (3) a teaching stated enigmatically (*e.g.*, Mk 7^{15-17}; cf. Mt 15^{11-15}, Lk 6^{39}); (4) a story or parable commonly so called (*e.g.*, Mt 13^{3}, and often). Some of these are so perfectly complete that they can be taken out of their context and stand alone without altering a word (*e.g.*, Lk 7^{41-42a}, or 15^{11b-32}). In other cases only a slight change would give the story perfect independence (*e.g.*, Lk $15^{4ff.}$ or Mk $4^{31f.}$). In many cases the brief similitudes (2) might easily have been made into stories, but Jesus did not develop them to that extent.

There can be no doubt that παραβολή in our Greek Gospels represents (through the influence of the LXX) the Heb. *māshāl* or the Aramaic *mathlā* in the speech familiar to and used by Jesus. Its use for several forms of illustrative discourse was in perfect accord with Palestinian-Jewish usage.

The number of Jesus' sayings (in the Synoptics) that should be considered παραβολαί is variously estimated.

Jülicher's list comprises 53, which he divides into three classes: (*a*) *Gleichnisse* ('similitudes'), 28; (*b*) *Parabeln*, 21; and (*c*) *Beispielerzählungen* ('example-stories'), 4. Examples of class (*a*) are Mt 11^{16-19} or Mk 4^{21}, and to class (*c*) he gives Lk 10^{29-37} 18^{9-14} 12^{16-21} and 16^{19-31}. Bugge counts 71, divided into two classes: (*a*) *Parabelembleme* (short parabolic utterances), 36; and (*b*) *Parabeln*, 35. In addition he distinguishes 16 'paradoxes,' which he rightly considers a form of *māshāl* (*e.g.*, Mt $5^{29.30}$, Lk 14^{26}, etc.). Fiebig makes four classes: (*a*) short proverbial sayings (*e.g.*, Lk 4^{23}); (*b*) allegories (*e.g.*, Mk $12^{1ff.}$); (*c*) pure similitudes (*Gleichnisse—e.g.*, Mk $13^{28f.}$); and (*d*) a mixed form (allegory and similitude) which rests upon familiar metaphor. This class includes most of the parables commonly so called. Fiebig gives no enumeration. The widespread but less accurate enumeration of between 30 and 40 restricts the parable largely to the story form. Trench's list comprises 30.

In general Jesus used the parable in the same way as did the Rabbis, and what has been noted above as characteristic of their usage is, in the main, illustrative of His. With respect to all that was purely formal or technical in this matter, He was not original, but simply worked along very familiar lines. On the other hand, so far as our evidence goes, no Jewish Rabbi ever equalled Jesus in skill with the parable. The naturalness, the lucidity, and the aptness of His parables place them in a class by themselves—the perfect examples of their kind.

(*b*) *The problem as to Jesus' parables.*—Do the evangelists give us an accurate report regarding this matter? According to the Gospels, Jesus' parables were often but thinly veiled allegories; they were frequently explained by Him, and so as to indicate that they might contain several distinct teachings; they were not always clear, but sometimes purposely enigmatic; and, finally, in choosing to use parables, Jesus at times purposely veiled the naked truth from His hearers (cf. Mk 4^{10-12}). Jülicher, adopting Aristotle's definition of a parable, that it is primarily a 'proof' and must be clear, has subjected the Gospels to a severe criticism with the result that their testimony is rejected as contrary to Jesus' mind and practice. He claims that in Jesus' actual use of them the parables were always clear, needed and received no extended explanation (*Deutung*), contained no allegorical element, and, in particular, the view stated in Mk 4^{10-12} is the evangelist's, not that of Jesus. While Jülicher's view is admitted by many liberal critics to need some modification, it represents the generally prevalent 'critical' position. Lack of space forbids any extended discussion of this theory. Suffice it to say that the remarkably close agreement between the evangelists' representation of Jesus' use of the parable and that now known to have been the familiar and ordinary Rabbinic usage makes strongly for the credibility of the Gospel statements. In fact, Jülicher's theory is against all historical probability; it is simply impossible. Mk 4^{10-12} (and parallels) is admittedly a difficult passage, but it cannot be explained away as an invention of the evangelist (whose own view was really different; cf. Mk $4^{33f.}$). It rests on sound tradition and is limited to the parables of 'the mystery of the kingdom.' It expresses Jesus' consciousness that His message of the Kingdom would not be understood, as was indicated long before in the experience of Isaiah.

(*c*) *The general purpose.*—Bugge suggests that Jesus told His parables in some cases as illustrations, in others as proving an argument. In general this is satisfactory, but, whether illustrative or argumentative, there was frequently a distinctively didactic purpose, so that the parable contained a positive teaching. Jülicher claims that a parable has properly but one idea—it must illustrate but one thought; its figures are parts of one picture which represents but one truth. This really useful rule, which operates to do away with the abuse of the parables through excessive allegorizing, is, however, contrary both to the well-known use of the parable in Jewish circles and to the Gospel report of Jesus' own interpretation of His parables (*e.g.*, Mt $13^{18ff.}$). While it is true that the main purpose of a parable is to convey one general idea, subordinate ideas may easily be suggested. The fact is, the purpose of each parable must be ascertained by itself, without the application of theoretical rhetorical principles, with which Jesus had no concern. The old question, whether the parables may be used as sources for doctrine, should then be answered affirmatively, but the interpretation should avoid all allegorical excess and should not go beyond the limits imposed by the *māshāl* itself and its legitimate use in the OT and early Judaism.

LITERATURE.—An exhaustive survey of nearly all the literature (ancient and modern, down to 1897) on Jesus' parables is given by A. Jülicher, *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu*², Tübingen, 1910 (at present the most comprehensive treatment of the whole subject). To this may be added: *HDB* and *DCG*, *s.v.*; C. A. Bugge, *Die Haupt-Parabeln Jesu*, Giessen, 1903, i. (a thoughtful and searching criticism of Jülicher's position); G. H. Hubbard, *The Teachings of Jesus in Parables*, Boston, 1906; C. Koch, *Gleichnisse Jesu*, Gütersloh, 1910; H. Weinel, *Die Gleichnisse Jesu*³, Leipzig, 1910 (a brief popular discussion

defending Jülicher's main position); P. La Grange, in *RB* xviii. [1909] 198–212, 342–367, xix. [1910] 5–35 (a comprehensive and judicious criticism of the position of Jülicher and Loisy); P. Fiebig, *Altjüdische Gleichnisse und die Gleichnisse Jesu*, Tübingen, 1904, *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu im Lichte der rabbinischen Gleichnisse des NT Zeitalters*, do. 1912 (a collection of Rabbinic parables together with a severe criticism of Jülicher and a defence of the genuineness of Jesus' parables against Arthur Drews); L. E. Browne, *The Parables of the Gospels in the Light of Modern Criticism* (Hulsean Prize Essay, 1912), Cambridge, 1913 (an able and helpful discussion); G. Murray, *Jesus and His Parables*, Edinburgh, 1914.

EDWARD E. NOURSE.

PARABLE (Ethnic).—The parable as such is not found in the lower culture, but analogies to it are not uncommon. Among the folk-tales of savages are many in which animals or inanimate things act and talk exactly like human beings. In this large class of tales no moral is drawn, but it was quite easy for such stories to become moral apologues with reference to human life and its conduct. Stories describing the wisdom of one animal or the folly of another were made to serve as warnings to men and women, the moral being either implied or expressed. Examples of this are found in many groups of savage *Märchen*—Hottentot, Zulu, American Indian, etc. In others some other moral is taught—*e.g.*, kindness and the danger of ingratitude, as in some versions of the Puss in Boots story.[1] Other examples of savage stories told of human beings may quite probably have been told with some moral purpose. Indeed, many savage tales may have had no other purpose primarily. Examples of this might be found in stories of broken tabus and of the punishment involved to the tabu-breaker. They supported a custom and pointed a warning—'See what happened to So-and-so!'[2]

Many *Märchen* thus are or may become moral apologues or a kind of parable. Following the savage beast-stories into higher levels of culture, we find that, as in Buddhism, they have become actual parables, even 'literal incidents of sacred history.'[3] The Buddhist *Jātakas* (lit. previous births of Buddha, but also stories about these) compose a sacred volume in which earlier Indian beast-stories have become moral tales of incidents in Buddha's previous existences—*e.g.*, as an animal.[4] These parabolic stories became so real to his followers that relics of these beast-existences survive. Other great collections of similar moral apologues, unconnected, however, with a theory of rebirth, are found in Indian collections—*e.g.*, that of the *Pañchatantra*[5]—or in other Oriental or Arabic groups. In Europe similar collections are those of the Greek Æsop and the Roman Phædrus, and in later times the mediæval collections, bestiaries, and beast-epics.

T. Benfey traced all such Western tales to Buddhist sources. Later writers have shown that they might have wandered westwards from India in pre-Buddhist, perhaps even prehistoric, days, and there is always a possibility that many of them sprang from existing European beast-*Märchen*. No question is more debatable than the origin and transmission of popular tales.

Examples of the moral apologue are found in Jotham's story of the trees and their king in Jg $9^{7ff.}$ and in Jehoash's story of the thistle and the cedar (2 K 14^{9}).

Strictly speaking, the apologue has for its characters animals or inanimate things acting as if they were human. The parable deals mainly with human characters, and the moral or spiritual lesson is drawn from their words or actions. It has thus in itself a probability in reality which the apologue has not, and the narrative of an actual incident might easily become a parable. It was natural enough, however, for both apologue and parable to be commonly used by peoples fond of illustration, of 'truth embodied in a tale.' They show the power of a story, for moral teaching is always of more effect when thus illustrated, as preachers, ancient and modern, know well. Herodotus (i. 141) describes how Cyrus told the parabolic story of the piper and the fish to the suppliant Ionians and Æolians. Buddhism has always been fond of parables or similes, and many of these were used by Gautama himself. He taught by parables, 'for men of good understanding will generally readily enough catch the meaning of what is taught under the shape of a parable.'[1] This is exemplified by the case of a blind man who denies the existence of things seen by others. The physician traces his blindness to former sinful actions, and, when he heals the man, the latter admits his mistake but learns that he is far from being wise. This illustrates spiritual blindness regarding the true law. The effect of Buddha's preaching is depicted by a variety of parabolic similes; *e.g.*, the falling of rotten-stalked fruits when a tree is shaken, while those full of sap and strongly attached remain fixed, illustrates the wrong or right reception of the law.[2] The Buddhist life is parabolically described. As an acrobat clears the ground before he shows his tricks, so good conduct is the basis of all good qualities.[3] *Karma* is illustrated by the parable of various seeds producing all sorts of fruits.[4] A parable resembling that of the Sower is found in the *Saṁyutta Nikāya* (xlii. 7). Generally Buddhist parables draw their lessons from incidents of agricultural life, from the life of kings, or from the stories of animals or plants.

An interesting parable is that of the king who rewarded his warriors in various ways, at last giving to the most deserving his crown jewel. So Buddha rewards those who struggle for him, keeping the gift of omniscience to the last.[5]

Buddha's disciples are said to have gained his forgiveness by quoting to him the parables which he himself had taught.[6]

Some have traced the source of Christ's parabolic teaching to the Buddhist use of parables,[7] but, in view of the fact that parables might arise anywhere and already existed on Jewish soil, while the alleged resemblances, even in the case of the Parable of the Sower, are never too close, this is unlikely.

Taoist teachers also made use of parables or parabolic stories. Kwang-tze represents the opposition between Taoism and knowledge by the story of the rulers of the southern and northern oceans who wished to reward the ruler of chaos by equipping him with an equal number of orifices to those of man, since he possessed but one. The result was his death and passing away. So the nameless simplicity of the Tāo passes away before knowledge. Other instances are found here and there in Taoist writings.[8] Confucius also used parables, and is said to have illustrated the idea that where the will is not diverted from its object the spirit is concentrated by the story of a hunchback catching cicadas by means of intense application.[9]

Several parables occur in the Qur'ān, where it is said that 'God strikes out parables for men that haply they may be mindful.'[10] Some of these, however, are more of the nature of similes. Somewhat nearer the true parable, though in an inverted sense, is the teaching that those who expend wealth in God's way are like a grain which produces seven ears, in each of which are a hundred

[1] E. S. Hartland, *Mythology and Folktales*, London, 1900, p. 9; MacCulloch, *CF*, p. 225 ff.
[2] *CF*, p. 336.
[3] Tylor, *PC*[3] i. 414.
[4] The *Jātakas* have been ed. by V. Fausböll and tr. by T. W. Rhys Davids, 7 vols., London, 1877–91; see also the ed. by E. B. Cowell, 6 vols., Cambridge, 1895–1907.
[5] Ed. and tr. into German by T. Benfey, Leipzig, 1859.

[1] *Saddharma Puṇḍarika*, v. 44.
[2] *Questions of King Milinda*, iv. 7 ff.
[3] *Ib.* ii. 1. 9.
[4] *Ib.* iii. 4. 1 f.
[5] *Saddharma Puṇḍarika*, xiii. 44.
[6] *Milinda*, iv. 4. 46.
[7] E. Havet, *Le Christianisme et ses origines*, 4 vols., Paris, 1872–84, iv. 53 f.; R. Seydel, *Das Evangelium von Jesu in seinen Verhältnissen zu Buddha-Sage und Buddha-Lehre*, Leipzig, 1882, p. 223 ff.
[8] *SBE* xxxix. [1891] 30.
[9] *Ib.* xl. [1891] 14.
[10] Qur'ān, xiv. 30, 46; cf. xiii. 15.

grains. Those who expend it, craving the goodwill of God because of their generosity, are like a hill garden on which heavy showers fall so that it brings forth twofold.

'If no shower falls, the dew doth, and God on what ye do doth look.'[1]

See also the preceding art. and art. FICTION.

LITERATURE.—Besides the works mentioned in the article see W. A. Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions: their Migrations and Transformations*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1887; G. A. van den Bergh van Eysinga, *Indische Einflüsse auf evangelische Erzählungen*[2], Göttingen, 1909; P. Fiebig, *Altjüdische Gleichnisse und die Gleichnisse Jesu*, Tübingen, 1904; *SBE* I., Index vol. [1910], *s.v.* 'Parable.' J. A. MACCULLOCH.

PARADISE.—See BLEST, ABODE OF THE.

PARADOX.—Analysis of the connotation of this term brings us into contact with some of the main conditions affecting human beliefs—ethical, religious, and scientific. A paradox is a statement or proposition which on the face of it is (*a*) apparently self-contradictory, or (*b*) apparently incredible or absurd, or at least marvellous, because contrary to common sense in some wider or narrower sense, or (especially) because contrary to 'generally received belief' on the subject in question. In all these usages the implication is not necessarily that the 'paradoxical' proposition is true—'true though it sounds false' (J. R. Seeley, *Introd. to Political Science*, London, 1896, p. 3)—but that the proposition is not necessarily false because of its 'paradoxical' character. Many times in the history of human thought a bold and happy paradox has been able to overthrow an old and accredited but erroneous belief, and in the course of time has become a universally accepted truth—'sometime a paradox, but now the time gives it proof' (*Hamlet*, III. i. 115). In this sense Hobbes defined a paradox as 'an opinion not yet generally received.'[2]

As a rhetorical figure, a paradox is a device for illuminating as with a sudden flash a neglected aspect of the subject or for clinching an argument with a memorable phrase. Some of the most instructive examples in literature occur in the NT;[3] it is sufficient to refer to Mt 5^{39} 10^{39} 18^{9}, Jn 12^{24}, 2 Co $6^{9.10}$. On the other hand, ethical and spiritual principles may become paradoxes of perpetual freshness because, while admitted as theoretically or ideally valid, they are never acted upon.

(*a*) A paradox, as an apparent self-contradiction, may have almost any degree of significance and value, from a mere statement of antithetical or conflicting qualities conjoined in the same instance up to a statement involving one or more of the ultimate 'antinomies' of human thought. At the former extreme stands such a merely suggestive statement as that of Leslie Stephen, 'While no man sets a higher value on truthfulness . . . than Johnson, no man could care less for the foundations of speculative truth' (*Hist. of English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*[2], London, 1881, ii. 375), or that of J. S. Mill, 'The conscious ability to do without happiness gives the best prospect of realising such happiness as is attainable' (*Utilitarianism*[12], London, 1895, p. 23). At the other extreme we find that in certain ultimate problems we may have an apparent logical contradiction between two accepted principles or between conclusions drawn rightly from premisses which have equal claim to objective validity.[4] The solution of such an antinomy, if solution is possible, consists in the discovery of a still more fundamental principle embracing and harmonizing the truths involved in the original antithetical propositions, which therefore are shown to have been one-sided and partial statements (cf. art. MEAN). The solution of the Kantian antinomies consists in showing that they are due to the tendency to view as absolutely true of things-in-themselves principles which apply only to phenomena.[5]

(*b*) By 'generally received belief' we mean the body of belief on a given subject held in a particular country or a particular age, or even by most men, always and everywhere. A. de Morgan (*A Budget of Paradoxes*, London, 1872, p. 4 ff.) observes that in every age of the world there has been an established system opposed from time to time by isolated and dissentient reformers. The established system has sometimes fallen slowly and gradually; it has been either upset by the rising influence of some one man or sapped by gradual change of opinion in the many. It must be admitted, however, as R. Whately (*Rhetoric*[7], London, 1846, pt. i. ch. iii. § 2) pointed out, that the fact of an opinion being 'generally received' implies a pre-occupation of the ground which must hold good until sufficient reason is adduced against it. To this extent there is a presumption against anything 'paradoxical.' The burden of proof lies with him who maintains it; an unsupported paradox can claim no attention. 'If a paradox is false, it should be censured on *that* ground, not for being *new*; if true, it is the more important for being a truth not generally admitted' (*ib.* p. 115). The history of science is partly the history of paradoxes becoming commonplaces—*e.g.*, the motion of the earth, the possibility of the antipodes, the pressure of the atmosphere (as against the dogma, 'Nature abhors a vacuum'), the circulation of the blood, the facts of hypnotism, the electrical phenomena produced by Galvani's experiments. Contemporary science is enlarging indefinitely its conception of natural possibility; and hitherto unsuspected and unknown phenomena have emerged in regions of reality which might have been supposed exhaustively explored—*e.g.*, the constituent gases of the atmosphere. Hence extreme caution is needed in deciding whether an alleged phenomenon hitherto unknown is possible or not. We have then 'paradoxes' which, notwithstanding their opposition to prevalent opinions, or even because of that opposition, express truths more or less important. But we have also paradoxical opinions, false or at least doubtful, imagined by their advocates in order to separate themselves from the rest of men, through vanity, ignorance, or a spirit of contradiction. Many of the 'paradoxes' put forward in the history of mathematics, pure and applied, and discussed by de Morgan (*op. cit.*), are of the latter kind.

Philosophers have for long disowned the authority of popular beliefs, even when wearing the imposing name of common sense. The significance of Plato's allegory of the cave[1] has a perpetual relevance from the point of view of speculative reason; the ideals which seem, at the best, unreal are the fundamental realities; and the 'hard facts,' *when nothing else is seen*, are of the nature of illusion. The source of the paradoxical character which speculative philosophy presents has its origin, in part, in the opposition between unity and multiplicity. Reason aspires to unity, and seeks to unify the obvious multiplicity and variety of the facts of experience, which none the less persist in their mutual differences and oppositions. The satisfaction of this speculative impulse requires more than analysis of the given facts; it requires their co-ordination under a type of higher unity given by pure reason. Involved in this is another source of paradox both in philosophical and in religious thought. For finite thinkers the interpretation of experience, and its rational unification, lead in certain cases to antinomies (see above) due to the conflict of partial truths whose reconciling principle is not yet discerned. Those who embrace both sides of the apparent contradiction are sometimes nearer the whole truth than those who sacrifice comprehensiveness to a one-sided consistency.

Truth may be—perhaps even in the end must be—paradoxical; but not every paradox is true. A healthy intellect may welcome and defend a paradox, not because it is contrary to current opinion, but because in spite of that it reveals an aspect of truth.

LITERATURE.—See references given in the course of the article.

S. H. MELLONE.

PARAGUAY.—The Indians of Paraguay are of heterogeneous stock, by far the most important element being the Guarani tribes of the Tupi-Guarani family. Most of these tribes have long been nominally Christianized, and it is only by research into the customs of the more remote peoples of the Chaco region, such as the Lengua, that any information can be gleaned regarding aboriginal religion. An important addition to our knowledge of the customs of the Indian tribes in times past is Dobrizhoffer's *Account of the Abipones*, which was written in Latin in 1784 and translated into English by a daughter of Samuel Taylor Coleridge in 1822.

[1] Qur'ān, ii. 263 ff.

[2] *Liberty, Necessity, and Chance* (*English Works*, ed. W. Molesworth London, 1839–45, v. 304).

[3] Cf. *DCG* ii. 319, art. 'Paradox.'

[4] Cf. J. M. Baldwin, *DPhP*[2], art. 'Antinomy.'

[5] Cf. Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, 'Transcendental Dialectic,' bk. ii. ch. 2; E. Caird, *The Critical Philosophy of Kant*, Glasgow, 1889, ii. 40 ff.

[1] *Rep.* 515–517.

Since then contributions regarding native religion have been scanty.

1. **Cosmogony.**—The Guarani anciently held that in the beginning all nations were separately created 'just as they are now' and distributed in their present territories. When all other peoples had been formed, it occurred to the creator to make a Guarani man and woman, and, as he had already given away all the earth to the other nations, he ordered the *carcara* bird to tell them that for his part he was sorry that he had no more land to distribute, and commanded that the Guarani should always wander through the territory of other nations, killing all adult men, and adopting the women and children to augment their number. The Lengua of the Chaco believe that the creator is symbolized by a beetle which first made the material universe and then sent out from its hole in the earth a race of powerful supernatural beings who for a time ruled the universe. Afterwards he formed man and woman, who were sent into the world joined together like the Siamese twins. These were persecuted by their powerful predecessors, and appealed to the creative beetle to free them from their tyranny. He separated them and gave them power to propagate their species so that they might become numerous enough to withstand their enemies. The supernatural beings shortly afterwards became disembodied and constitute the race of spirits which torments mankind. After granting the request of the first progenitors of the race, the creative insect withdrew and left them to their own devices. It is remarkable that the Lengua Indians (who are cognate with the Guarani) should regard the beetle as the creative agency, as did the Egyptians, who employed it as the symbol of Rā, the creative god. The fact that this insect dwells in the earth and throws up excoriations of soil may account for the Paraguayan myth. The Lengua draw figures of the beetle on their gourds, as well as those of the *kilyikhama*, or evil agencies, of whom they live in constant fear.

2. **The hereafter.**—The Lengua Indians regard the soul as immortal. To them the hereafter (*pischischi*) is merely a shadowy extension of this life—a continuation of the present in a disembodied condition, which they consider will be dull and featureless. But they also believe that physical pain as well as physical pleasure will be absent from it. The shade of the departed (*aphangak*) closely resembles the man while alive. The clan and tribal life continue after death. On awaking to post-mortem conditions, the soul is dumbfounded, and for a month or so wanders about its village, until the funeral feast is held, after which it passes to the realms of the dead. As among other savages, the personal belongings and even the animals of the deceased are destroyed at his death, in order that they may prove useful to him in the after life. Certain of the Lengua Indians—and those the more intelligent—believe that the souls of the departed pass over in a north-westerly direction to what they term 'the cities of the dead.' Those cities are described as of large size with brick-built houses and regular streets. W. Barbrooke Grubb thinks that this points to an ancient Peruvian Incan connexion. Other Indians seem to hold the view that the dead inhabit a subterranean country—a view usually associated with or evolved from ideas connected with the custom of interment.

3. **The kilyikhama.**—There are various classes of *kilyikhama*, or evil spirits. There is a white *kilyikhama* who is supposed to be seen sailing over the waters of the river Chaco, and who is, perhaps, the most malignant of all. To protect themselves against him, the Indians wear a special head-dress made of the feathers of a rare bird. A thieving spirit is regarded with some contempt. Hunting and agricultural *kilyikhamas* naturally exist and must be placated. Perhaps the most terrific form is that met with in forests, of a gigantic height and ghastly leanness, and with eyeballs flaming like firebrands. To meet him is supposed to herald instant death. The great desire of a *kilyikhama*, according to the natives, is to obtain possession of a human body into which he can materialize. For a further account of Guarani beliefs see art. BRAZIL.

LITERATURE.—M. Dobrizhoffer, *Account of the Abipones, an Equestrian People of Paraguay*, tr. Sara Coleridge, 3 vols., London, 1822; W. B. Grubb, *Among the Indians of the Paraguayan Chaco*, do. 1904, *An Unknown People in an Unknown Land*, do. 1913.

LEWIS SPENCE.

PARASITISM.—When an organism lives in or on another of a different kind, derives its subsistence from the living material, digested food, secretions, or other products of its host, is inextricably bound up with its host or hosts in the continuance of its life, and is rather injurious than beneficial in its influence, we call it a parasite. Parasitism is a relation of dependence—always nutritive, often more—between the parasite and the host, but the inter-relation takes so many forms that absolutely precise definition is impossible, and it is not easy to separate off parasitism from other vital associations. A living creature habitually growing on a plant is called an epiphyte; it is not a parasite unless it gets its food in whole or in part from its bearer, as dodder and mistletoe do. A living creature growing on an animal is called epizoic, like a barnacle on a whale; it is not a parasite unless it gets its food in whole or in part from its bearer, as is the case with many 'fish-lice' that are borne about by fishes. Symbiosis is a mutually beneficial internal partnership between two organisms of different kinds, such as is illustrated by the unicellular Algæ which live within Radiolarians, some polyps, and a few worms. Commensalism is a mutually beneficial external partnership between two organisms of different kinds, such as is illustrated by some hermit-crabs which are always accompanied by sea-anemones. As parasites are occasionally of some use to their hosts, the difficulty of rigidly separating parasitism from symbiosis and commensalism is obvious. The unborn mammalian offspring within the womb of the mother is sometimes spoken of as though it were a parasite, but this is an unfortunate usage. Apart from the fact that the concept of parasitism is clearer when it is not applied to creatures of the same flesh and blood, it is the normal function of the mother to nourish and foster her unborn offspring; she is adapted to it as no host ever is to its parasite; and, though the offspring is often a severe drain on the mother, there is good reason to believe that the benefit is not altogether one-sided.

It is not the purpose of this article to enter into a general discussion of parasitism, but rather to suggest how it may be seen in its proper perspective in our outlook on animate nature. First of all, however, a number of general facts must be briefly stated.

(1) Most animals and most of the higher plants have their parasites, but some types, such as omnivorous animals, are much more abundantly parasitized than others. The dog has over forty parasites, and both man and the pig have more. One of the European oaks harbours no fewer than ninety-nine different kinds of gall-flies. In many cases the association of parasite and host is very specific, that is to say, many a parasite is known to occur in only one definite kind of host, and many hosts are unsusceptible to parasites not very

different from those which they harbour. There are, however, some very cosmopolitan parasites that occur in many hosts.

(2) While the number of different kinds of parasites is enormous, there are evidently some types of organization which are not compatible with a parasitic mode of life. Thus among backboned animals the only parasites are the hags (Myxinoids), and they are not thoroughgoing. There are very few parasitic Molluscs or Cœlenterates, and there are no parasitic Echinoderms. Similarly, in the vegetable kingdom the great majority of parasites are members of the class of Fungi and relatively few are flowering plants.

(3) There are many grades of parasites, from superficial ectoparasites, which often retain great activity, to intimate endoparasites, which sometimes become almost part of their host. There are partial parasites, which retain independence during a portion of their life, and total parasites, which pass from host to host and are never free.

(4) Corresponding to the degree of the parasitism is the degeneration of the parasite, which is sometimes witnessed in the individual lifetime—*e.g.*, in many crustaceans where the young stages are free-living—and is sometimes inferred by comparing the parasite with related types. The retrogression affects especially the nervous, sensory, muscular, and alimentary systems. The reproductive system is often highly developed, and the multiplication very prolific, which may be associated with the fact that the parasite is often living without much exertion, with abundance of stimulating food at its disposal, and also with the fact that the chances of death are often enormous. The life-histories are frequently intricate and full of risks, and those types which varied in the direction of prolific reproduction have survived. In a number of cases, such as the liver-fluke and some tapeworms, there is self-fertilization, or autogamy, which is of very rare occurrence among animals.

(5) Thoroughgoing parasites are often very effectively adapted to the conditions of their life. Thus a tapeworm in the intestine of its host absorbs food by the whole surface of its body; it has muscular adhesive suckers and sometimes attaching hooks; it can thrive with a minimum of oxygen; it has a mysterious 'anti-body' which preserves it from being digested by its host; and it is exceedingly prolific.

(6) The effect of the parasite on the host is of course very varied. It may be quite trivial or even slightly beneficial; it may mean the disablement and death of the host. Some parasitic worms give off toxic substances and some give rise to serious disturbance by straying from their usual habitat—*e.g.*, by getting into the vermiform appendix. Of an unusual type is the life-history of the sturdy-worm of the sheep, which develops in the brain and spinal cord; and still more remarkable are those parasitic crustaceans, such as Sacculina, which infest crabs and destroy the reproductive organs. The constitution of the castrated male crab is profoundly changed towards the female type, a small ovary may develop, the shape of the abdomen approximates to that of the female, and the protruding parasite is actually guarded by its bearer as if it were a bunch of eggs. In general it may be said that, unless the host be weakly and the parasites become very numerous, the effect of the parasite upon the host is relatively unimportant, partly because of the defensive adaptability of the living organism, and partly because very aggressive parasites have probably eliminated themselves from time to time by killing their hosts, which it is not the parasites' interest to do. Occasionally there are striking structural reactions of the host in response to the stimulus of the parasites. Thus galls grow round about many parasites and sometimes restrict their injuriousness, and some kinds of pearls of fine quality are deposited in various bivalve molluscs around the larvæ of parasitic flukes and tapeworms.

(7) We are inclined to place by themselves cases like virulent bacteria (*e.g.*, the plague bacillus) and virulent Protozoa (*e.g.*, the trypanosome of sleeping-sickness), which are rapidly fatal when transferred to a new kind of host, such as man, which has no constitutional defences against them. These microbes are not in any special way adapted to parasitic life; they might as well be called predatory. Similarly, it does not seem to us that parasitism is well illustrated by cases like that of the ichneumon-larvæ which destroy so many caterpillars. The larvæ develop from eggs which the mother ichneumon-fly has laid in the caterpillar; they feed on the tissues of the caterpillar and pass into a new phase of life after they have killed their host. It does not seem to matter much whether a caterpillar is devoured from the inside or from the outside, and the ichneumon-larvæ are as much beasts of prey as parasites. In any case, such instances illustrate the difficulty already referred to of defining off parasitism in a hard and fast way from some of the other vital inter-organismal associations. Massart and Vandervelde, in their essay on *Parasitism, Organic and Social*, have distinguished nutritive, exploitary or predatory, and mimetic parasitism, and this exceedingly wide conception of the inter-relation has enabled them to suggest a series of very interesting parallels between parasitism in the realm of organisms and in human society. The ideal is plainly the replacement of parasitism by symbiosis.

The number of parasites is legion, and parasitism, though not usually obtrusive, is a common fact of life. To many minds it seems an ugly blot on the fine script of nature, and its repulsiveness must be considered. To begin with, we must see parasitism in its most general setting.

(*a*) In many cases, probably, it is initiated as one of the responses which living creatures make to environing limitations and difficulties. Individual organisms hard beset may try to survive within a larger organism which has swallowed them, or may discover in their searchings what is to them simply a new world—inside or upon the surface of another organism. When a parasitic relationship has been thoroughly established, it is no longer part of the struggle for existence, but the endeavours which led to its being initiated and perfected were; and, though the parasitism may be spoken of as an evasion of the struggle for existence, it cannot be separated off from any other condition of safety and abundance which organisms may secure.

(*b*) We have already referred to the difficulty of drawing a dividing line between some parasites and some symbions, and parasitism must be looked upon as an expression of the wide-spread tendency in animate nature to establish inter-relations between organisms, to link lives together, to weave a web of life. It may sometimes be repulsive, but it is to be seen as part of a complex systematization or correlation that has been evolved in the course of ages and is of great importance in the process of natural selection.

(*c*) A third general fact is that parasites often play a part as eliminative agents, and may work towards conservation as well as wastefully. When a parasite enters or attacks a new kind of host—neither being in any way accustomed to the other—one of three things may happen: the parasite may die, being, for instance, digested, as often

happens with small nematode worms which are swallowed by man in carelessly prepared or imperfectly cooked food; or the host may die, having no adaptive resistance to the intruder, as is very likely to happen when man is infected by the trypanosome of sleeping-sickness and is out of reach of medical aid; or the parasite and the host may establish a viable inter-relation. On the one hand, there is often wasteful elimination of newcomers who come within the range of a parasite which does not do much harm to its wonted hosts, as when horses and cattle enter the tsetse fly belt in Africa and are killed off by the disease called 'nagana,' or when an old population of men or animals has introduced into its midst a parasite to which they are physiologically non-resistant: witness the dire effects of the introduction of some microbic diseases, such as syphilis, among uncivilized peoples. On the other hand, parasites exert another kind of eliminating influence which is apt to be overlooked, namely that they often kill off weakly individuals among their wonted hosts. It must be clearly understood that in an enormous number of cases the parasites do not greatly prejudice their hosts—a *modus vivendi* has been established. The thousands of nematode worms in the food-canal of many a healthy grouse seem to be unimportant. But, if the host be of a weakly constitution or enfeebled by lack of food, the parasites hitherto trivial may get the upper hand and bring about the death of the host. In some cases, we submit, this sifting will tend to conserve racial health. Thus grouse-disease may be the nemesis of an antecedent toleration of weakly birds. Similarly it should be noticed that an exaggerated parasitic infestation not infrequently occurring on or in organisms of which man has taken charge may be due to the removal of the cultivated plants or domesticated animals from localities where their parasites find some natural check, or may be the result of overfeeding, over-crowding, and the like. Thus, to give one example, a scale insect of trees may be rare in natural conditions and very common under cultivation, the close setting of the trees favouring its increase. But this is man's affair, not nature's.

Certain less important considerations may be briefly stated.

(*d*) Some parasites are in part beneficial, and approximate to symbions. Thus there are beautiful infusorians in the stomach of herbivores like horse and cow, which seem to help in the breaking down of the food. Many external parasites assist in keeping the surface of the body clean.

(*e*) In not a few cases—*e.g.*, among crustaceans—the parasitism is connected with the continuance of the race, for it is confined to the mother-animals, the males and young females being free-living.

(*f*) While many parasites exhibit degeneration and simply lie or float in the food afforded by the host, there are many others, such as trypanosomes in the blood, which live an exceedingly active life, exerting themselves as much as many a free-living creature. Moreover, the frequently passive adult stage may be preceded by a very energetic free-living juvenile stage.

(*g*) The moral and æsthetic repulsion to a parasitic mode of life is in part justified by the fact that the parasite may cease to do anything for itself, may become a passively absorbent mass of tissue, may lose by degeneration all that makes life worth living (nervous, sensory, and muscular functions), and may become positively ugly. But it should be remembered that there is reason to be repelled by the extremes in other modes of life—*e.g.*, by animals which kill much more than they can eat; that parasites are not always sluggish or degenerate; and that their host is not to them what it is to us, but must often be simply a vast moving territory which admits of convenient exploitation.

LITERATURE.—J. Massart and E. Vandervelde, *Parasitism, Organic and Social*, Eng. tr., London, 1895; P. J. van Beneden, *Animal Parasites and Messmates*[2], Eng. tr., do. 1876; R. Leuckart, *Parasites of Man*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1886; M. Braun, *Animal Parasites of Man*, Eng. tr., London, 1906; M. Braun and M. Luhe, *Handbook of Practical Parasitology*, Eng. tr., do. 1910; E. Brumpt, *Précis de parasitologie*, Paris, 1910; J. Arthur Thomson, *The Wonder of Life*, London, 1914.

J. ARTHUR THOMSON.

PĀRASNĀTH.—Pārasnāth is the name of a hill and sacred place of Jain pilgrimage, situated in the Hazāribāgh District of Chotā Nāgpur in the province of Bihār and Orissa; lat. 23° 58′ N.; long. 86° 8′ E. The mountain consists of a central narrow ridge, with many rocky peaks, irregular in shape, but assuming the general configuration of a crescent, rising abruptly to the height of 4480 feet. It is one of the sacred places (*tīrtha*) of the Jains, known to them as Sameta Śikhara, 'conjoined peak,' and ranking with their other sacred places, Śatruñjaya, Girnār, Chandrapurī, and Pāwā. Here twenty of the Jinas are said to have attained *nirvāṇa*. It takes its name from Pārśvanātha, the 23rd *tīrthakara*, and was doubtless, according to the custom of the Jains, selected by them as one of their holy places on account of its isolated situation, which commended itself to the retiring habits of the sect, and the beauty of the scenery.

When we ascend about three miles from Madhuban, a sudden turn in the road brings the Jain temples into view.

'Seen from this point, three tiers of temples rise one above the other, showing some fifteen shining white domes, each surmounted by bright brass pinnacles, and in the case of the Śvetāmbara [the white-robed section] temples, by red and yellow flags. The whole forms a dazzling white mass of masonry, set against the huge bulk of Pārasnāth dark in shadow' (Risley, in *Statistical Account of Bengal*, xvi. 219).

There are three important temples, each consisting of an inner and an outer quadrangle, the outer built like a cloister with cells for pilgrims and outhouses. Over the gate of the inner quadrangle is a musicians' gallery, where flutes and drums are played at daybreak, 8 a.m., noon, and sunset. The rest of the inner enclosure is occupied by various shrines with foliated domes, containing images of the *tīrthakaras*. On the summit of these domes the Śvetāmbara sect erect a pole with a short cross-bar, surmounted by three brass knobs, and also fly a red or yellow flag to indicate that Pārśvanātha is at home. No such symbol is used by the Digambara, or 'sky-clad,' section. In recent times no European has been allowed to enter the temples; but a visitor who examined them in 1827 found the image of Pārśvanātha to represent the saint sitting naked in the attitude of meditation, his head shielded by the snake which is his special emblem. The whole mountain is covered with other shrines, which the pilgrim, at some risk to life and limb, must visit. This rite is followed by adoration at the temple of Pārśvanātha, and by the circuit (*pradakṣina*) of the holy site, involving a journey of about 30 miles.

LITERATURE.—H. H. Risley, in *Statistical Account of Bengal*, London, 1877, xvi. 207 ff., in which older authorities are quoted; J. D. Hooker, *Himalayan Journals*, do. 1891, p. 12 ff.; F. B. Bradley-Birt, *Chota Nagpore*, do. 1903, p. 137 ff.; *IGI* xix. 409.

W. CROOKE.

PARDON.—See FORGIVENESS.

PARENTS.—See CHILDREN, ABANDONMENT, OLD AGE, FAMILY.

PARIAH.—Pariah, properly Paraiyan, is the name of a low caste in S. India which has obtained some celebrity owing to its being considered typical

of the depressed castes in India. The mistaken use of the term 'Pariah' as being applicable to the whole body of the lowest castes, or even to out-castes, became generally known in Europe through P. Sonnerat's *Voyage* (Paris, 1782), G. T. F. Raynal's *Hist. des établissemens et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes* (Geneva, 1780), and other French works of the last quarter of the 18th century. The natives of India never designate the low castes of other parts of the country as Pariahs, nor are the Paraiyans of the present day in Madras regarded as the lowest of the low. They constitute the great agricultural labourer caste of the Tamil country, their number amounting to 2,448,295, according to the last census (1911); and they are not lacking in natural intelligence, as is shown by the fact that most of the domestic servants of Europeans in the Madras Presidency are recruited from this caste. It is from their coming into contact with Europeans more habitually than any similar caste that the name Pariah has been held to apply to low castes in general; but there are several castes in the Tamil country lower than Pariahs—*e.g.*, the caste of shoemakers. Moreover, all traditions represent the Pariahs or Paraiyans as a caste which has come down in the world, and they have retained some old privileges. Thus the lower village offices are, in the majority of Madras villages, held by persons of the Paraiyan caste. At the annual festival of the goddess of the Black Town of Madras a Paraiyan is chosen to represent the bridegroom of the goddess. The Paraiyans seem to be of Dravidian origin, and their name is derived (according to R. Caldwell, *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*[2], London, 1895) from the Tamil word *parai*, 'a drum,' the Paraiyans being the class which furnishes the drummers, especially at festivals. Paraiyans bury their dead; they do not burn them like most other Hindus.

In the times of native rule in S. India the Pariahs used to be treated with great harshness. J. A. Dubois (in India from 1792 to 1823) observes that the Pariahs 'are looked upon as slaves by other castes. . . . Hardly anywhere are they allowed to cultivate the soil for their own benefit, but are obliged to hire themselves out to the other castes, who in return for a minimum wage exact the hardest tasks from them. Furthermore, their masters may beat them at pleasure. . . . They live in hopeless poverty, and the greater number lack sufficient means to procure even the coarsest clothing. They go about almost naked, or at best clothed in the most hideous rags. . . . The contempt and aversion with which the other castes—and particularly the Brahmins—regard these unfortunate people are carried to such an excess that in many places their presence, or even their footprints, are considered sufficient to defile the whole neighbourhood. They are forbidden to cross a street in which Brahmins are living. . . . Any one who has been touched, whether inadvertently or purposely, by a Pariah is defiled by that single act, and may hold no communication with any person whatsoever until he has been purified by bathing. . . . It would be contamination to eat with any members of this class; to touch food prepared by them, or even to drink water which they have drawn; to use an earthen vessel which they have held in their hands; to set foot inside one of their houses, or to allow them to enter houses other than their own' (*Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*[3], pp. 49–51). Though the use of the name Pariah is confined to the Tamil country in S. India, the depressed castes whose touch causes pollution are, no doubt, a highly characteristic feature of the caste system all over India. Thus in Kashmīr the Meghs, Doms, and other low castes are still compelled as of old to reside out of the village. They have wells of their own, and must make a sign when they happen to meet Hindus of high caste, or entirely shun their presence. In the N.W. Provinces a number of castes, such as the Dhobi, or washerman caste, the Rangrez, or dyer caste, and the Raysaz, or painter caste, are considered untouchable—*i.e.*, if a member of one of the castes included in this group touches a man of high caste, the latter is bound to wash himself. The depressed races of Gujarāt used to wear a horn as their distinguishing mark. In the ancient caste system of Manu the most degraded out-castes were men called Chandālas. They were not allowed to live in villages and towns or to have any fixed abode. They could possess no other wealth than dogs and donkeys, the two most despicable animals, and had to eat their food from broken dishes, and to wear the garments of the dead. Their transactions had to be among themselves only, and their marriages with their equals. The execution of criminals was assigned to them as their special function, and they were to be distinguished by marks at the king's command, such as branding on the forehead, so as to be recognizable from a distance. At the present day the name Chandāl is throughout India used only in abuse, and is not acknowledged by any caste as its peculiar designation. There exists, however, in Eastern Bengal a non-Aryan caste, engaged for the most part in boating and cultivation, who are generally called Chandāls. At village festivals the Chandāl is obliged to put off his shoes before he sits down in the assembly, and the ordinary washermen and barbers decline to serve him. The Śūdras, the serfs of Indian antiquity, were also a depressed race, of alien origin probably, and are still excluded from the privilege of wearing the sacred thread of the higher castes; but they were at least allowed to enter the outer circles of the Aryan system, and include many highly respectable castes nowadays.

LITERATURE.—H. Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, ed. W. Crooke, London, 1903, *Census of India, 1911*, Madras Report, N.W. Provinces Report, and General Report; J. A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*[3], tr. H. K. Beauchamp, Oxford, 1906; H. H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, 2 vols., Calcutta, 1891; *The Laws of Manu*, tr. G. Bühler, in *SBE* xxv. [1886].

J. JOLLY.

PAROUSIA.—Parousia is the transliteration of a Greek noun (*παρουσία*) which has become a technical term in Christian eschatology (*ERE* v. 383[a]) for the second coming or the return of Jesus Christ. The Greek word meant both 'arrival' and 'presence,' and in the papyri it denotes especially the visit of an official or a monarch.[1] In neither sense does it occur in the Greek Bible as a religious term; even the later Jewish writings hardly ever use it of God or of Messiah, preferring *ἐπισκοπή* when they had occasion to speak of the Second Coming for judgment. The primitive Christians avoided *ἐπισκοπή*.[2] It occurs as a later variant in the eschatological text of 1 P 5[6] (the allusion in 1 P 2[12] is probably not eschatological), but *παρουσία* was the favourite term for the reappearance of Christ at the end. Paul uses it once (2 Th 2[9]) even of the appearance of Christ's supernatural rival—so fixed had the eschatological sense of the word become (cf. the epistle of the churches of Lyons and Vienne [Eus. *HE* v. 1. 5]). Yet it is absent from the pages of the most eschatological book in the NT, the Apocalypse of John, and it

[1] Cf. G. Milligan, *St. Paul's Epistles to the Thessalonians*, London, 1908, pp. 145–148.

[2] As a rule. There were exceptions, however; Polykrates (Eus. *HE* v. 24), *e.g.*, writes that Melito of Sardis lies 'waiting for the visitation from heaven' (*τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἐπισκοπήν*), possibly with a slight play on the term *ἐπίσκοπον*. He has just used *παρουσία* in the same eschatological sense.

appears within the Gospels only in Matthew's version of the small apocalypse (Mt 24[3. 27. 37. 39]), where it denotes the final catastrophe at the return of the Son of Man. Paul's employment of it (cf. *ERE* v. 386) appears to have popularized it in the Christian vocabulary, however. The term ἔλευσις never flourished in this connexion (cf. Iren. i. 10; *Acta Thomæ*, 28); παρουσία became more and more the technical religious word for the Second Coming.

The early Christian use of the Second Coming differed from the Jewish in two respects: it was applied to Christ, not to God,[1] and it was 'second' as opposed to the 'first' coming at the Incarnation, whereas for Judaism the 'first' coming meant the creation of the world.[2] On the lips of the Greek-speaking Christians in the primitive Church παρουσία was almost exclusively applied to the return of Christ in glory, in order to complete the Messianic work and usher in the Final Judgment. But by the time of Ignatius (cf. *Phil.* 9) it was being used of the first coming[3] of the Lord at the Incarnation (cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 5, etc.), and half a century later Justin Martyr explicitly mentions the two Parousias, in the past and in the future (*Dial.* 14, 40, 49, *Apol.* i. 52, etc.). The more general sense of παρουσία, as equivalent to the presence of God in life, was not forgotten, however, and the twofold sense of the term from this point of view may be illustrated from the 2nd (3rd ?) cent. *Epistle to Diognetus* (7):

'He [God] will send him [Christ] in judgment, *and who shall endure his presence* [a reminiscence of Mal 3[2]]? . . . You see them [Christians] thrown to the wild beasts, that they may deny their Lord, and yet not overcome. Do you not see that the more of them are punished, as many others abound? This does not look like human work; it is God's power, proofs of His presence.'

Here the eschatological sense of παρουσία is at once followed by the usage of the term as an equivalent for the divine presence; God's presence is visibly shown in the heroic endurance of the martyrs, and the end is to bring a judgment which is Christ's παρουσία, or visitation.

The latter conviction was enshrined in the creeds and confessions, but its influence on life varied. History shows how the relative position of the eschatological hope (cf. *ERE* v. 387 ff.), which either receded or assumed special prominence from time to time, helped to accentuate the present or the future aspect of the divine Parousia in the theology of the later Church. The influence of the Fourth Gospel, accelerated by the emphasis upon the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist or in the heart of the individual believer, laid stress upon the conception of the Parousia as the immanent presence of the divine being; both the sacramental and the mystical phases of doctrine, which often combine, forwarded this tendency. On the other hand, from Montanism (*q.v.*) onwards (cf. *ERE* v. 317 ff.), throughout the history of the Church there has been a succession of more or less eccentric (cf. *ERE* i. 177[a], iii. 781) outbursts of the eschatological belief in an imminent Parousia of Christ, which have generally fixed the end within their own generation,[4] arguing as a rule from Biblical passages (see ESCHATOLOGY, § 15), literally interpreted.[5]

[1] The unusual expression in 2 P 3[12] (*τὴν παρουσίαν τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμέρας*) is not an exception.

[2] Cf. *Slav. En.* xxxii. 1, where God says to Adam as he is expelled from paradise: 'Earth thou art and into the earth whence I take thee thou shalt go, and I will not ruin thee, but send thee whence I took thee. Then I can again take thee at my second coming.'

[3] Origen, in *de Princip.* iv. 6, uses ἡ Ἰησοῦ ἐπιδημία.

[4] It used to be thought that mediæval Europe was shaken by terror at the approach of the year 1000 A.D., as though the end of the world were at hand. The so-called evidence for this idea has been completely disproved (cf. R. Flint, *The Philosophy of History*, Edinburgh, 1893, i. 101).

[5] In *The Ministry of Grace* (London, 1901), p. 2, J. Wordsworth declares that one of the delights offered by the study of Church History is 'delight in the vision which it opens to us of the second coming of the Lord, and of His reign in truth and peace.'

An eloquent, daring expression of this faith will be found in George Gilfillan's peroration to his *Bards of the Bible* (3 Edinburgh, 1852, p. 336 f.), where he declares that the immediate advent of Christ, God's Son, is the only hope for the preservation of the Bible, God's Word. 'We are fast approaching the position of the Grecians on the plains of Troy. Our enemies are pressing us hard on the field, or from the Ida of the ideal philosophy throwing out incessant volleys. There are discussions, distrust, disaffection among ourselves. Our standard still floats intact, but our standard-bearers are fainting. Meanwhile our Achilles is retired from us. But just as when the Grecian distress deepened to its darkest, when Patroclus the "forerunner" had fallen, when men and gods had driven them to the very verge of the sea, Achilles knew his time was come, started up, sent before him his terrible voice, and his more terrible eye, and turned straightway the tide of battle; so do we expect that our increasing dangers and multiplying foes, that the thousand-fold might that seems rushing on us, is a token that aid is coming, and that *our* Achilles shall "no more be silent but speak out," shall lift his "bow, his thunder, his almighty arm"—"shall take unto him his great power and reign."'

The term naturally enters even into modern religious speculations which attempt to reconcile the Biblical language of the eschatological sections in the NT with the course of history and the present situation. These (cf. the literature quoted in *HDB* iii. 674–680; S. D. F. Salmond, *The Christian Doctrine of Immortality*[4], Edinburgh, 1901, p. 244 f.) either define the Parousia as having occurred at Pentecost or the fall of Jerusalem or identify it not with any event in the past or the future, but with the general dispensation of the divine presence among men.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the references in the article, the following studies may be noted: W. P. Lyon, in J. Kitto's *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*[3], Edinburgh, 1870, i. 75–77; H. T. Grierson, in *ExpT* xix. [1907] 165 f.; F. W. Worsley, *The Apocalypse of Jesus*, London, 1912, pp. 142–157; J. Agar Beet, *The Last Things*, do. 1913; J. Davidson, *The Second Coming*, do. 1913; R. W. B. Moore, *The Nearness of our Lord's Return*, do. 1913; G. E. Hill, *Apocalyptic Problems*, do. 1916.

JAMES MOFFATT.

PARRICIDE.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.

PARSIISM IN JUDAISM.—The relation between Parsiism and Judaism has been the subject of investigation and acute controversy for at least fifty years. The date of compilation of the most important Avesta documents is more uncertain than that assumed by so-called higher criticism for the documents of the Bible. Much depends upon this aspect of dates; for, if it can be shown, as is the conviction of the present writer, that the Jewish records are much older than the Avestan or Mazdæan documents, especially those containing similar practices and beliefs, then there can be no longer a question of Persian influence on the Judaism of the Bible, and that of the post-Biblical period, till long after the final dispersion, could still be the object of investigation. On these points scholars are most sharply divided. Yet it is obvious that from the time of Cyrus down to Alexander, when the Achæmenian kings ruled over Palestine, nothing positive is known of the existence of Zoroastrianism and its doctrines and practices. And, even if that form of Zoroastrianism had already been evolved which we find in the time of the Arsacids (Parthians), more is required than a mere exercise of suzerain distant power so to influence the faith of the people as to introduce new conceptions of life and death, a new eschatology, and even new laws of purity and defilement in daily life, especially when one nation possessed a sacred book and the others had none as yet. Such changes are the result of long, intimate intercourse between the followers of different religions, during which sufficient appreciation has been gained of the merits of such doctrines as to allow the one religious body access to the inner

sanctuary of the life of the other. Nothing of the kind has happened in Palestine. No Persian followers of Zoroastrianism lived in compact masses in Palestine, nor is there any trace of intimate intercourse between the Jewish doctors and the Persian *mobeds*. The reverse, however, has happened in Persia and Media. The whole ancient Babylonian empire was honeycombed with Jewish settlements. They spread from the northern frontier of Palestine to the northern frontier of India and possibly beyond, as far as China. They lived there for centuries together, before and during the Achæmenian period, down to the end of the Sasanian period and the Arab conquest—down to this very day. The possibilities are much greater, therefore, that Jewish influences which permeated the inhabitants of these countries should have contributed to the evolution of the new faith propounded by Zoroaster. It is erroneous to imagine that the Jews did not develop an intense missionary activity among the nations with which they came into contact. The reverse is the case. They also lived in compact masses and preserved the knowledge of Hebrew, and still more of the Aramaic tongue, down to the 10th cent. and later. The question of the date of the Avesta, however, has still to be settled. The legend of the burning by Alexander of the Zoroastrian sacred books stands in contrast with the fact that Alexander burned neither the sacred books of the Jews and Samaritans nor those of the Tyrians or the Egyptians. The collection and piecing together of the old fragments in the time of the Arsacids may refer to the literary collection of the *Gāthās* and the publication of the Avesta by the Magi, the priests and the exclusive exponents of the new faith. As Darmesteter has shown in his introduction to the Avesta (*SBE* iv.[2] [1895] p. lvii ff.), undoubted traces of the Pentateuch in form and contents are to be seen in the Avesta.

Not even after that period (*i.e.* from the middle of the 3rd cent. to the destruction of the Temple) has there been so intimate a *convivium*, or even a political unity, between the Palestinian and the Parthian kingdoms as to allow for intense influence of Zoroastrianism on the Jews of Palestine. The Jews were separated even more than before from the kingdom across the Euphrates. They gravitated towards Egypt. The only country in which Jews were brought into close contact with Zoroastrianism, in a geographical sense, was ancient Babylon with its teeming Jewish population; but it would be a mistake to imagine that the Jews of Babylon exercised any appreciable influence upon the shaping of the Jewish beliefs and practices which had their centre in Palestine and found expression in the literature of the time. The affinities between the two, however, as well as the possible relation between Parsiism and the post-Biblical and Talmudic literature, would still be worth examining.

The extent of the Aramaic influence is best seen in that extraordinary bilingual Pahlavi literature in which the text is written in Aramaic and read in Persian. No doubt those who wrote it first read it also in the language in which it was written, viz. Aramaic, but then it was read by the Persian Magi in the language of the Avesta. The predominant influence, therefore, in Babylon was that of the Aramaic-speaking population, among them the Jews.

Three periods have to be distinguished in which Parsiism might have influenced Judaism and *vice versa*, viz. Achæmenian, Arsacid, and Sasanian, corresponding roughly to the Biblical, post-Biblical, and Talmudic periods. In these, references will have to be made to the eschatology, angelology, and demonology. Before entering upon this investigation, it is necessary to establish a fact of fundamental importance. The views and beliefs found scattered through the post-Biblical literature do not form any essential part of Judaism, nor have they any dogmatic value, except the mere vague mention of the existence of angels, immortality and resurrection, and punishment and guilt, as abstract theories only, without any detail or any concrete shape and form. These are Midrashim—legendary embellishments of no binding character. The descriptions, *e.g.*, of a heavenly hierarchy or of the divisions of Gehinnom are left to individual believers, just like so many other eschatological legends found in the Rabbinical literature. Judaism as a faith lays no stress upon them. They are part of the religious folk-lore and no more. But even among this Midrashic matter we must seek for traces of Parsi theories which may have influenced the Judaism of Palestine in the first place.

(1) *Achæmenian.*—As already remarked, the existence of the Parsi dualistic faith with its celestial hierarchy, its hell, the *drujs* and *divs*, and all the other ceremonial, lustral and sacrificial details, worship of fire, etc., cannot be traced positively as far back as the Achæmenian rule and the time of Cyrus and Darius. No trace of this teaching can be found explicitly in the books of the OT (the allusion in Is 45^7 to God as creator of light and darkness cannot be strained to express a view polemical to Zoroastrian dualism; it rests purely on the beginning of Genesis). Nor have traces of immortality been found corresponding to those of Zoroastrianism. This belief in immortality in Judaism has not yet been sufficiently elucidated (see below).

We can now follow up a systematic development of angelology and divine hierarchy in Ezk $1^{ff.}$, and especially in Dn 8^{16} 9^{21} $10^{13\text{-}21}$ $12^{ff.}$, to which may be added 1 K 22^{19}, Is $6^{ff.}$, Ps 89^6 103^{20}. None of these shows the slightest similarity to the Zoroastrian hierarchy, to the Amesha Spentas (which are mere shadows), or even to the Fravashis—all probably ancient natural gods reduced to ghosts, whilst the angel in the Jewish literature is conceived as a concrete being. In the introduction to Job Satan differs fundamentally from the Zoroastrian Angra Mainyu with his hosts of *drujs* and his hell. The attempts made to find in Proverbs and the Psalter reflexes of Zoroastrian influence and the theory of creative 'Wisdom'[1] have been shown not to be well-founded.

(2) *Arsacid.*—More important is the period of the Arsacids from *c.* 260 B.C. to A.D. 260, the period of the Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha, as well as the NT writings. During this whole period of close on 500 years, except for a few years of Parthian domination, the Jews of Palestine had practically no communication with the Parthian kingdom and with the Zoroastrian fire-worshippers. Yet the Jewish literature contains a fully-developed angelology, demonology, and eschatology. There are, no doubt, various points of contact, especially in the last-named, with Parsiism, but a careful examination reveals the fact that the similarity is only in general principles and beliefs, and, if we descend to details, the differences are as numerous as they are profound. Tobit shows exactly how different the product is under Zoroastrian influence. This book was written in the Parthian kingdom, among the ten tribes. Rhagæ, the centre of that worship, is mentioned; the danger which Tobit incurs when burying the dead is understood only when one remembers the Zoroastrian horror of burial. The angel Raphael acts like a Fravashi, but his name is a typological and symbolical Hebrew name. The demon who possesses Sarah is Ashmedai,

[1] T. K. Cheyne, in *Semitic Studies in Memory of Dr. A. Kohut*, p. 111 ff.

not Angra Mainyu, a simple *div*, Aēshmadaeva.[1] There is no further reference to any of these incidents in the other apocryphal and pseudepigraphical literature. The heavens through which Enoch, Moses, Baruch, and Isaiah pass as well as that of the heavenly halls, Hekaloth, differ in every detail from the Zoroastrian heaven, and not one of the Amesha Spentas or Fravashis is mentioned by name. All the names are pure Hebrew.

The heavenly economy is built up on a different basis. It is the astrological, with the fundamental principle of seven—seven heavens, seven angels, seven planets.

Herein lies the key to the explanation of the relation between Judaism and Parsiism, especially at the time when Babylonian beliefs and traditions were still all-powerful. The Babylonian system of mythology has, unfortunately, not been preserved in the cuneiform literature as a definite system. Everything seems to be in a fluid state, and the true relation between the manifold divinities is rather vague and subject to local influences. Out of the mass of gods, however, a heavenly hierarchy could easily have become crystallized under the prevalent astrological influences. Some of the ancient minor gods could have been turned into no less vague Amesha Spentas to correspond to the more pronounced Jewish angels. It is Judaism that works up the Babylonian material and makes it acceptable in a more concrete form to the founders and shapers of Zoroastrianism also. This agrees with the tradition recorded in the Rabbinical writings (Jer. *Rōsh Hashānāh*, i. 4; *Gen. Rabbāh*, 48), that the names, not the principle, of the angels had been brought from Babylon and not from Persia. Even Metatron, who has been compared with Mithra, cannot be identified with the latter either philologically or functionally. There is no resemblance whatever to Mithra in the position assigned to Metatron in Jewish mysticism, where he is the substitute for Enoch. The direct mediator between God and man, he stands near the throne of God, and it is therefore likely that we have here a hybrid combination of the name Mithra with a Greek work like *μεταθρόνος*, due to popular etymology; in any case he is neither the counterpart of Mithra nor derived from him.

The demonology of the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha is still farther away from that of the Avesta. Satan is not like Angra Mainyu in any detail. There is no real dualism to be found—no conscious rebellious and antagonistic power opposed directly and independently to the other power, almost equal in strength, which will have to be broken at the end of days to ensure the final decisive victory of the good over the evil principle. This point must be retained, for it is the only really characteristic principle of Parsiism, although it is not at all improbable, as H. Gunkel,[2] W. Bousset,[3] and others have shown, that it goes back to the ancient Babylonian dragon myth, which, as such, and not in the Zoroastrian form, reappears in some allusions in the OT, especially the dragon in Revelation. The dualistic conception appears more pronounced in the Gnostic, and more definite still in the Manichæan doctrines. But not a trace of it can be found in the ancient Jewish literature of the period under consideration. The Jewish demonology resembles the Babylonian more closely. The names of evil spirits are Shiddim and Lilith. There is no opposition to God, only the desire of hurting man because of his innate wickedness and because of sin. Satan is originally an angel who has fallen from heaven, and the evil spirits are also angels who have followed their leader. Pride caused their downfall—a rash act of disobedience—and nowhere are they considered as in real opposition to God. In the NT teaching the power of Satan is broken by the Messiah.

In the Jewish eschatology the fundamental principle is the immortality of the soul and then the economy of the world. Various references in the OT show that the belief in the life of the soul after its departure from this world was known from ancient times. The references to Sheol, however shadowy they may be, suffice to prove it. The researches of N. Söderblom[1] and E. Böklen[2] have shown how slight the similarity is between Parsiism and Judaism even in those points where the greatest affinity apparently exists. Except for a few details, which may have been taken over directly by one from the other, in all important points there is profound divergence of view. The very nature of a hell inhabited by *drujs*—a cold, dark abode without hope of salvation—differs in every detail from the Jewish popular conception of a hell filled with fire and brimstone; and the divisions of hell, the names of the evil spirits, etc., have no similarity. Here the present writer ventures to point not only to Babylonian beliefs, which seem to be the direct source for the Zoroastrian hell in the Avestan writings, and to some extent for the old Jewish conceptions of Sheol, but also to what has not hitherto been considered in that connexion, viz. the fully-developed Egyptian eschatology with its beliefs in life after death, accompanying gods (or spirits, or angels), the judgment of the soul after death, and the final decision as to salvation and perdition. It was this fatal decision that every worshipper of Osiris wished to escape, and this is the ultimate source of so many ceremonies and practices, and even religious movements—the desire to avoid complete annihilation after death and to obtain guarantees in this life of everlasting salvation, the salvation after death from hell and destruction, from punishment and purgatory, which is the secret teaching of many Greek mysteries, Orphic, Ophite, etc. (see G. Anrich, *Das antike Mysterienwesen*, Göttingen, 1893; W. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, do. 1907).

How much of this is Jewish, how much Egyptian, how much can be traced to Thracian W. Asiatic traditions anterior to Parsiism, has not yet been decided, though the investigations are moving in that direction. Mention may be made here also of the Sibylline literature akin to the Jewish Apocalyptic and yet independent of Zoroastrian influences. It is remarkable, however, that these notions appear in Judæa after Alexander, and practically for the first time in the apocryphal literature shortly before the Christian era. There is now one factor, the importance of which cannot be gainsaid, which the present writer is able to add, as he believes, more fully, for the first time—the Samaritan angelology, demonology, and eschatology. The information hitherto has been so scanty that it is not to be wondered at that scholars from A. Reland downwards have gone totally astray on the subject. By the aid of the material in the present writer's possession, it can be stated that the Samaritans and Jews agree most closely in all essentials. The Samaritans believe in angels, even mentioning some by name: at the birth of Moses angels surround the place and sing hymns, very much as the angels did at the birth of Jesus; Balaam worships seven angels who preside over the phenomena of nature, like the

[1] If the form 'Ashmedai' is the primitive form, then we have here a late form, just as it occurs in the Talmud, or this late form may be due to a late copyist.

[2] *Israel und Babylonien*, Göttingen, 1903.

[3] *Rel. des Judentums*[2], Berlin, 1906.

[1] *La Vie future d'après le Mazdéisme.*

[2] *Die Verwandtschaft der jüdisch-christl. mit der parsisch. Eschatologie.*

angels in Enoch; the angels meet Moses before his death. The Samaritans know also of the evil influences of wizards and demons (*shēdîm* of the Pentateuch).

Still more interesting is their eschatology. Gaster's Codd. 872 and 1156, especially the latter, contain an elaborate description of the fate of the soul after death, of paradise and Gehinnom, of the joys of the former and the fire and brimstone in the latter, of the resurrection of the dead, of the Day of Judgment, of punishment and reward, and of the advent of the Taheb (Messiah), who plays as colourless a part as the Messiah in the *Test. of Twelve Patriarchs* and in the *Apoc. Baruch*. We are moving here in the same atmosphere as were the contemporaries of the Second Temple and the beginnings of Christianity. The source of these beliefs must be sought in Palestine and in the beliefs then shared by Jews, Samaritans, and Judaizing mystics. At that time there was no connexion between the Jews in Palestine and the Parthian kingdom, and it cannot be emphasized too strongly that the body of practices and beliefs which Jews and Samaritans held in common are very ancient. They go back to a primitive common source. Neither Jew nor Samaritan has borrowed consciously from the other. Egyptian and other heathen mysteries may have contributed to fashion older beliefs of a Judæo-Babylonian origin. We are dealing, of course, primarily with those beliefs which are held by all the Jews. Local influences have produced some particular beliefs and practices, but these cannot be put down as Jewish in the wider sense of the word. This refers especially to the third or Sasanian period, when there was close contact in Babylon between Jews and the Zendiks, or Magi, as they were then called.

(3) *Sasanian.* — Zoroastrianism, as soon as it became the State religion and enjoyed the special support of the kings, became as intolerant as every victorious Church has been. The Parthian kings were very tolerant. Greek and Mithraic cults flourished side by side with Jewish worship and Buddhist faith. Not so the first Sasanian king, Ardashir, who succeeded in ousting the Parthians and founded a new dynasty thoroughly and fanatically devoted to Zoroastrianism. A period of persecution began against the numerous Jewish population in Babylon, to be followed soon by a similar fanatical outbreak against Christians and Manichæans — in fact, against every heterodox worship. The relation, however, became gradually less strained until the Arab conquest put an end to Zoroastrianism. Traces of the conflict and of the relaxation of persecution are found in the Talmud.[1]

Friendly relations existed between Shabur (Saporas) the king and Jewish sages like Samuel, and during that period many old Persian (Pahlavi) words entered the popular language of the Jews in Babylon.[2] In the popular development of angelology and demonology some traits borrowed from Zoroastrianism have been added to the more primitive conceptions of the angels and demons, of their attributes of good and evil. Ashmedai becomes the king, and Lilith the queen, of the male and female demons. Many legends connected with life and death have been more embellished in conformity with Zoroastrian popular beliefs, but nothing fundamental has been added to those notions found in older literature, and even here it is difficult to distinguish how much of it is originally Babylonian or known to us only from the Zoroastrian counterpart. Extreme views have been expressed by O. H. Schorr[1] on the dependence of Talmudic practices, but most of them have since been discarded and the rest greatly modified by the researches of Kohut, Darmesteter, and others. What influence Zoroastrian literature may have had on Jewish legendary literature, such as the Targum of Esther, and other Haggadic stories, like the Nimrod legend, must be the subject of special investigations on the part of students. Possibly through Gnostic mediation, a more marked dualism is noticeable in those mystical ideas which found their fullest expression in the Zoharistic literature (see ZÔHAR). On the religious side, however, with but few exceptions, the Jews preserved their original independence. Though willing to adopt and assimilate collateral details and embellish their primitive creations with elements borrowed from elsewhere, they did not owe anything vital to Parsiism and Zoroastrianism. Indeed, the contrary can be asserted with more plausibility. Principles which are common to the whole of Jewry, held also by the Samaritan and found in the oldest Apocrypha, may have been communicated to the nascent faith of Zoroaster and have contributed to lift the latter to the higher position of a modified monotheism, far above the polytheism of India and Babylon or Greece and Egypt. The historical and geographical evidence points in that direction.

See also JEWS IN ZOROASTRIANISM.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the Avesta, Fr. and Eng. tr. by J. Darmesteter, and the other Pahlavi texts translated principally by E. W. West and M. Haug, *SBE* v. [1880], xviii. [1882], xxiv. [1885], xxxvii. [1892], xlvii. [1897], the following are the most important publications bearing on the relation between Parsiism and Judaism: A. Kohut, *Über die jüdische Angelologie und Dämonologie in ihrer Abhängigkeit vom Parsismus*, Leipzig, 1866 (see bibliography of his Persian writings on Parsiism in the Kohut Memorial Volume, also 'Memoir of Dr. Alexander Kohut's Literary Activity,' by his son, in *Proceedings of the Fourth Biennial Convention of the Jewish Theological Seminary Association*, New York, 1894, reprinted in *Tributes to the Memory of Rev. Dr. Alexander Kohut*, do. 1894, pp. 49–64); T. K. Cheyne, 'Book of Psalms, its Origin, and its Relation to Zoroastrianism,' in *Semitic Studies in Memory of Rev. Dr. Alexander Kohut*, Berlin, 1897; N. Söderblom, *Les Fravashis*, Paris, 1899; E. Stave, *Über den Einfluss des Parsismus auf das Judentum*, Haarlem, 1898; M. Flügel, *The Zend-Avesta and Eastern Religions*, Baltimore, 1898; N. Söderblom, *La Vie future d'après le Mazdéisme*, Angers, 1901; E. Böklen, *Die Verwandtschaft der jüdisch-christlichen mit der parsischen Eschatologie*, Göttingen, 1902; F. Cumont, *The Mysteries of Mithra*, tr. T. J. McCormack, Chicago, 1903; L. H. Mills, *Zarathushtra and the Greeks*, do. 1905, *Zarathushtra, Philo, the Achæmenids and Israel*, do. 1906, *Avesta Eschatology compared with the Books of Daniel and Revelation*, do. 1908; M. N. Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Theology*, New York, 1914.

M. GASTER.

PARSIS.—'Parsi' is derived from *Pars*, which is identified with the modern *Fars*, one of the provinces of the ancient *Pársa*, the *Persis* of the Greeks. It is the name under which the Persian Zoroastrians, who landed on the shores of Gujarât in the 8th cent. A.D., are known. No trace is left of the different bodies of Persian settlers who are supposed to have come to other parts of India. The refugees were successively called by European travellers *Parseos, Perseos, Persees, Parsees, Parsis*, etc. The Parsis are still found in Gujarât (Bombay Presidency), and the largest population is in the city of Bombay.

I. *STATISTICS.*—It is extremely difficult to form an approximate notion of the number of the Parsi population under the different rulers of Gujarât—Hindus, Muhammadans, Portuguese, Marâthâs. The numbers of the first immigrants are totally unknown, and the later estimates of European travellers, based on personal or second-hand evidence, are most uncertain, so that there is no need to record them. From the history of the refugees themselves we can derive more useful information. When they landed in India, it is probable that they were not very numerous; for, if they had been,

[1] See H. Graetz, *Gesch. der Juden*, Leipzig, 1866–78, iv. 291 f., Eng. tr., London, 1891–92, ii. 529 ff.
[2] See *Aruk. Hashalem*, ed. A. Kohut, Vienna, 1878–92, *passim*.

[1] *He-Ḥaluṣ*, i.–iii., Lemberg, 1852–56, iv., Breslau, 1859.

seeing that they came from Hormuz and Kâthiâwâr by sea, it would have required a large fleet to convey them. But, being of a prolific race, they increased rapidly, and, after spreading into villages, they settled in larger localities, and at last in the great town of Surat, the emporium of the East in the 18th century. A new start was made with the beginning of the 19th century, when they deserted Surat, being attracted by Bombay, the centre of European commercial activity. Bombay is at present the headquarters of the community.

The censuses taken by order of the British Government are, in fact, the only reliable documents for the 19th century. The *Account-book of the Parsi Panchayet*, Bombay, A.Y. 1281–82, A.D. 1912 (Gujarâtî), gives most accurate statistics of the Parsi population. It contains the results of those different censuses and such available information as it has been possible to collect in foreign countries (see Appendix, pp. i–xviii).

According to the last census (1911), the number of Parsis in India, including Aden, the Andaman Islands and Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, China, and Japan amounted to 100,499, of whom 80,980 belonged to the Bombay Presidency (*Account-book*, App. pp. i, xvii f.). The distribution of the population is as follows:

I. British Provinces.

Localities.	Males.	Females.	Total.
1. Ajmer-Merwârâ	134	128	262
2. Andaman and Nicobar	...	...	...
3. Assam	5	...	5
4. Baluchistân	93	73	166
5. Bengal	402	208	610
6. Behâr and Orissa	25	10	35
including Behâr	15	8	23
,, Orissa	...	...	...
,, Chotâ Nâgpur	10	2	12
7. Bombay Presidency	41,470	39,510	80,980
including Bombay Zillas	39,943	38,242	78,185
,, Sind	1,259	1,152	2,411
,, Aden	268	116	384
8. Burma	195	105	300
9. Central Provinces and Berâr	1,031	697	1,728
including Central Provinces	710	487	1,197
,, Berâr	321	210	531
10. Coorg	16	18	34
11. Madras	249	239	488
12. N.-W. Provinces	41	8	49
13. Panjâb	376	250	626
14. United Provinces	504	368	872
including Agra	394	295	689
,, Oudh	110	93	183
Total	44,541	41,614	86,155

II. Native States and Agencies.

15. Assam (Manipur)	...	...	...
16. Baluchistân	3	1	4
17. Baroda	3,420	4,535	7,955
18. Bengal	1	...	1
19. Behâr and Orissa	...	...	...
20. Bombay	1,333	1,252	2,585
21. Central India Agency	689	641	1,330
22. Central Provinces	21	8	29
23. Hyderâbâd	822	707	1,529
24. Kashmîr	22	9	31
25. Madras	4	2	6
26. Mysore	55	46	101
27. N.-W. Provinces Agencies and tribal areas	...	...	...
28. Panjâb	20	7	27
29. Râjputâna	191	151	342
30. Sikkim	1	...	1
31. United Provinces	...	...	...
Total	6,582	7,359	13,941

III.

Localities.	Males.	Females.	Total.
Ceylon	108	75	183
Straits Settlements	12	2	14
China	132	23	177[1]
Japan	20	4	29[2]
Total	272	104	403[3]
Total for whole of India	51,123	48,978	160,096
Total for other countries	272	104	403
Total Parsi population	51,395	49,077	100,499

The above is completed by another exhaustive table (see App. pp. i–xviii), in which the Parsi population of the towns contained in the above localities is given. The largest total is in Bombay, numbering 50,931 Parsis (26,764 males, 24,167 females [p. xvi—see the census of the Bombay Parsis, according to the wards or districts]); then comes Surat, with its small community of 5458 souls (2404 m., 3054 f.); and, in the Baroda State, which comprises 7955 Parsis (3420 m., 4535 f.), Nausari with its 4221 Parsis (1630 m., 2591 f.). The trustees of the Parsi Panchâyat have given in the Appendices of their *Account-books* of 1900–01 and 1913 the result of the different censuses 1811, 1816, 1829, 1849, 1864, 1872, 1881, 1891, either from the *Pârsî Prakâsh* of B. B. Patell or from information derived from various sources, official and private.

Since the middle of the 18th cent. the Parsis have been divided into two religious sects, Shahenshâhîs, or Rasmis, and Qadîmîs. The former adhere to the era accepted by their forefathers, the first emigrants from Khorâsân, whereas the latter have adopted the old Persian year observed by the present-day Zoroastrians in Persia.

In 1872 there were in Bombay 40,809 Shahenshâhîs and 3282 Qadîmîs, and in the Bombay Presidency and the whole of India[4] 29,838 Shahenshâhîs and 1770 Qadîmîs, forming a total of 70,647 Shahenshâhîs and 5052 Qadîmîs. In 1881 there were in Bombay 43,292 Shahenshâhîs and 5305 Qadîmîs, and in the Bombay Presidency and the whole of India 24,001 Shahenshâhîs and 548 Qadîmîs, forming a total of 67,293 Shahenshâhîs and 5853 Qadîmîs. But the distinction is not of great importance, and the figures are not sufficiently comprehensive to be worth publishing, so that we need not investigate this point. A census of the two sects was made in the Baroda State in 1911, and of the total of 7955 Parsis the Shahenshâhîs number 7778, and the Qadîmîs number 177.

II. *Ethnography.*—The Parsis, as a race, have preserved some of the qualities of their ancestors, the Persians, but have undergone changes, due to climate, food, and surroundings. Early travellers always noted them as different from the other natives. The men, in general, are described as well-proportioned; their stature, says Mandelslo (*Voyages*, p. 186), is not among the tallest, but their complexion is fairer than that of the other Indosthans, and their women are far fairer and handsomer than the natives and the Muhammadans. La Boullaye le Gouz (*Voyages*, p. 189) insists on the whiteness of the complexion of the Parsis, while Stavorinus (*Voyages*, ii. 495 f.) finds it little different from that of the Spaniards. Fryer (*E. India and Persia*, ii. 115, letter iv. ch. vi.;

[1] Including 22 children. [2] Including 5 children.
[3] Including 27 children. [4] Exclusive of Bombay.

cf. i. 294, letter iii. ch. iii.) had already given to it the epithet of 'straw-colour.' According to Stavorinus, the women, fairer even than the men, had a slender figure, large black eyes, and finely-arched ebony eyebrows, placed at some distance from the eyes, as if to enhance their beauty. Their forehead was high, their nose slightly aquiline, their mouth small with shining teeth, their breast well shaped, and their gait easy. Forbes (*Oriental Memoirs*[2], i. 112) says that the Parsis are a comely race, athletic and well formed. He praises the beauty of their women, but deplores the precocious and almost masculine stoutness which disfigures them after the age of twenty. The travellers add that the Parsis abstained from marrying outside of their community in order to preserve their purity of blood. Nowadays their characteristics are easily summed up as follows: 'They are, in feature, in the main, of a high-Aryan type, somewhat intermixed, perhaps after a very long residence in India, and somewhat blunted and thickened as compared to the sharper and more chiselled northern faces; but still there is generally the prominence of feature which we might expect from an extraction originally Persian' (M. Justice Campbell, *JASBe*, supplementary number, vol. xxxv. pt. ii. [1866], 'Ethnology of India,' p. 140).

III. *History.*—The sole document that we possess on the events of the early history of the Parsis and their arrival in India is the *Kissah-i-Sanjân* ('History *or* Story of Sanjân'), a Persian book written in verse in A.Y. 969 (A.D. 1600). The author is one Bahman Kaikobad of Nausari. He says that he wrote the book on the authority of older traditions and accounts, and of what he had heard from his elders (see E. B. Eastwick, *JRASBo* i. [1842] 167–191; and J. J. Modi, 'A few Events in the Early History of the Parsis and their Dates,' in *Zarthosti*, i. [1273 A.Y.], ii. [1274 A.Y.]). The first MSS of the *Kissah-i-Sanjân* were brought to Europe by Anquetil du Perron, who gave an account of them in his *Zend-Avesta*, vol. i. pt. ii. pp. xxxiv–xxxv, and a *résumé* in the 'Disc. prél.' pp. cccxviii–cccxxiii.

The *Kissah* starts with the loss of the sovereignty of Yazdagird. On the fall and death of the king (A.D. 651) a number of Zoroastrians 'abandoned their houses and gardens and palaces for the sake of their religion, and lived in Kohistan for one hundred years.' There they also became 'anxious for their religion,' and went to the city of Hormuz (A.D. 751), where they resided for fifteen years; but, being harassed by the Darvands (the Arabs), they left for India. They landed on the shores of Kâthiâwâr, at Div (A.D. 766). After a stay of nineteen years they sailed for Gujarât, and reached Sanjân (A.D. 785). The local ruler (Jâi Râná or Jâdi Râná) allowed them to settle and found a colony of their own, with liberty to follow their religion, on condition that they would adopt the language and customs of the country. After a time (A.D. 790) they obtained permission to build a fire-temple (*Âtash-bahrâm*). Three hundred years after this event (A.D. 1090) the Parsis began to disperse in different directions, and went to Vânkâner, Broach, Variav, Ankleswar, Cambay, and Nausari.

Four hundred years after this dispersion the Muhammadans invaded the land, and Sanjân fell into the hands of Alaf Khan, a general of Sultan Mahmud Bigarah. The Parsis, after having assisted the Hindus in the defence of Sanjân, in which they lost many of their followers, fled with the sacred fire to the adjoining mountain of Bârhût, and took refuge there (1490). We know very little of the life of the Parsis during the centuries which elapsed after their arrival in India. The *Kissah* shows that they were active, hard workers, and had brought industries with them from Khorâsân. They seem to have been contented, and were apparently Hinduized, having become intermingled with the surrounding populations, whose dress, language, and social customs they assumed, simply forming a new caste among the numerous family sections of the Hindus.

The Parsis were divided into two classes: the *behdîns*, or laymen, and the *athornans*, or priests.

1. **Laymen** (*behdîns*).—At the end of the 15th cent. the *Kissah* mentions the name of a layman, Châng âh Asâ, of Nausari, who, as far as is known, was the first rich man of the community, and who was appointed *desai*, *i.e.* farmer of large territories, a position which was held henceforth by Parsi families under the successive Muhammadan and Marâthâ governments (see Pallonji Burjorji Desai, *Hist. of the Naosari Desais*, Bombay, 1887 [Gujarâtî]). He was a pious man, and leader, or *dâvar*, of the community. He renewed and spread the true religion, and gave to the needy Parsis the sacred shirt and girdle, the symbols of their faith, by which they were distinguished. He brought to Nausari the sacred fire which had been transferred from the Bârhût mountain to Bansdah, and caused a building to be built at Nausari (1516) for its installation. He sent emissaries to Persia in order to refer doubtful religious and social questions to the opinion of the learned Irani priests—a custom which prevailed till the 18th century. Nausari at the end of the 16th cent. was a prosperous place among the 31 *mahâls* of the *sarkar* of Surat, being 19th in point of area as well as in point of the revenue that it brought to the State. Its area was 17,353 *bighas*, and its revenue 297,720 *dâms* (about £740). It was noted for 'a manufactory of perfumed oil found nowhere else' (*Âîn-i-Akbarî*, ed. H. Blochmann, Calcutta, 1873, vol. i. p. 498, l. 13, col. 1, tr. H. S. Jarrett, ii. 257).

The Parsis in Gujarât were engaged in agricultural pursuits; most of them were farmers and also toddy-drawers. They appear at Surat as early as the 15th century. They are known there by European travellers as carpenters, cabinet-makers, ship-builders, and, lastly, brokers to the European factories. From that time dates the true era of Parsi prosperity and importance. In the 18th cent. the Parsi community at Surat was flourishing. The old wards inhabited by them still bear testimony that they were numerous (see M. Edalji Burjorji Patel, *Hist. of Surat*, Bombay, 1890 [Gujarâtî]). Forbes (i. 110) gives an approximate total of the population at the beginning of the 19th cent., stating it at 20,000 families. Several Parsis enjoyed honour and influence at the court of Delhi, and some of them received grants of land, *khilats* (dress of honour), and other marks of distinction. They were the first to venture to China and Burma and to open branches and firms there. The famines which desolated Gujarât and the commercial decline at Surat were the sources of the increase in the Parsi population of Bombay. The Parsis had settled there even under the Portuguese rule (17th cent.), and, after the arrival of the English, they seem to have been associated with the fortunes of the latter; so much so that it can be said without exaggeration that Bombay owes much of her present greatness to the industry and enterprising spirit of the Parsis (see S. M. Edwardes, *Census of India, 1901*, vol. x., 'Bombay [Town and Island],' pt. iv., 'History'). White marble statues in the squares and public halls perpetuate the memory of some of the leading men of the community. The Parsis gradually increased in number and importance, and their co-religionists of the Mofussil came to them for support. The

same had happened in the case of Surat, whither the surrounding populations had flocked in fear of the inroads of the Marâthâs and Pindâris.

At the beginning of the 19th cent. they were rich and influential, and were praised for their honesty and benevolence. An example of the best type of Parsi merchant-prince was Jamshedji Jijibhai of Nausari, who in 1842 received the honour of knighthood, and in 1857 was raised to the dignity of Baronet of the United Kingdom—a title which had never before been conferred upon any native of India. Later other members of the community were similarly honoured by the British Government: Sir D. M. Petit, Sir K. J. Readymoney, Sir M. M. Bhownaggree, M.P., and others. The late Jamshedji N. Tata represented the mingling of the old energetic spirit of the ancient Parsis and the new methods of commercial and industrial enterprise.

In 1852 Briggs (*The Parsis*, p. 25) could truly say that 'the bent of the Parsi community was purely commercial'; but a great change was to take place. The Parsis were the first among the natives to avail themselves of Western education. At first they attended the schools conducted in Bombay by Eurasians, but gradually a large section frequented those established by the Government, such as the Elphinstone Institution, and aimed at university degrees. The first schools for the exclusive benefit of the community founded by Sir Jamshedji Jijibhai (Parsi Benevolent Institution) were opened in Bombay in 1849. He had bitterly resented 'the hopeless ignorance' in which the Parsi children were permitted to grow up, and had invested the sum of 300,000 rupees for the carrying out of a scheme to relieve and educate his co-religionists, men and women. At the dawn of the 20th cent. the intellectual status of the Parsis is eloquently witnessed to by figures.

If we take the term 'educated' as designating one who can read and write in one language, we find that in 1901 the number of educated Parsis in the Bombay Presidency, including the Native States, was 51,000 out of 78,552, while in 1911 it was 60,005 out of 83,565, which gives an increase of 34·5 per cent in favour of education in the last decade (*Account-book*, 1901, App. p. 14, 1912, App. p. xii). Now a study of the statistics dealing with the literacy of the leading religions of the Presidency in 1891 and 1901 discloses the following movement, which can be summarized: number of literates per 1000—Parsis, 650; Christians, 292; Jains, 269; Hindus, 59; Muhammadans, 41 (*Census of India, 1901*, vol. ix. pt. i. p. 128). Christians and Parsis in the first instance are rivals for the first place in the literary contest, but the former are easily outdistanced by the Parsis when it comes to be a question of the proportion of literates to the total population.

Of the Parsis in the Baroda State 4946 persons are literate, of whom 2367 are males and 2579 females. The illiterates are numerically fewer than the literates—a state of things not to be met with in any other religion. They number 3009 persons, 1053 males and 1956 females; *i.e.*, the illiterates are 60·8 per cent of the literates. In no other religion, again, is the proportion of female literates so large; almost one-third of the literate females in the State are Parsis (*ib.* 'Report of Baroda State,' pt. ii. p. 38). Female education is, of course, in great favour among the Parsis, and some Parsi women have B.A., M.A., B.Sc., LL.B., and M.D. degrees.

By this system of education the Parsis were soon fitted for entering such professions as medicine, law, and engineering, as also for Government employments and political life. They have secured seats in the corporations, in legislative and vice-regal councils, and even in Parliament. The first Indian returned to the House of Commons was a Parsi, Dadabhai Naorozji (1892). In the Native States the Parsis are usefully employed as *diwans* (ministers) and officials. The same Dadabhai Naorozji was the first Parsi *diwan* appointed to a Native State, the Baroda State (1874).

The change in the social customs has been no less remarkable. Through contact with the English, European life and habits gradually took the place among the higher classes of the Hindu customs which had been adopted by the first settlers. A split ensued, and the community was divided into two classes—the orthodox party, steeped in pure social conservatism, causing a confusion between their own religious prescriptions and the ways of their new countrymen, and the liberal party, bent on introducing the Western spirit. Associations and newspapers were started on both sides. The history of social reform among the Parsis has yet to be written. The materials are contained in the *Reports* of those associations and papers—among the latter, the *Rast Goftar*, which, for half a century, fought in favour of social reform. All the changes advocated in its columns by the spirited editor, K. N. Kabraji, have been realized. The results—every one can see them in the actual *modus vivendi* of the Parsis—are due to the energetic efforts of men like Naorozji Furdunji, Sorabji Shapurji Bengali, Dadabhai Naorozji, Behramji K. Ghandhi, K. N. Kabraji, K. N. Cama, K. R. Cama, and others. The same spirit had incited the Parsis to support the Hindu reformers, and it was a Parsi, B. M. Malabari, who took the lead in the great campaign in favour of the abolition of infant-marriages, and was successful enough to have the Age of Consent Act promulgated in 1891, which is expected to put an end to them.

In the field of literary activity the Parsis are equally distinguished. An absolute command of English has taken the place of 'the mediocrity of the English tongue' noticed by H. Lord (*Religion of the Persees*, London, 1630, Introd. p. ii) in the 17th century. A study of figures shows that in 1901 the number of literates in English in the Bombay Presidency was 163,000, of whom the Parsis numbered 20,252. Comparing the proportions of the various religions, we have for literates in English per 1000 of the population: Parsis, 258; Christians, 209; Jains, 9; Hindus, 4; Muhammadans, 2. Thus one Parsi out of every four (of every three in 1911) is able to read and write the English language (*Census of India, 1901*, vol. ix., 'Bombay,' pt. i., 'Report,' p. 134).

Gujarâtî, which the Parsis, in common with the Hindus of Gujarât, may be said to have implanted in Bombay, is still the familiar, domestic, and commercial language of the community, and is taught in their own schools. The Gujarâtî local press is mostly in the hands of the Parsis; it was a Parsi, Furdunji Murzbanji, who started the first native paper in the Bombay Presidency (1822), the second in the whole of India. We may mention, as a remarkable speaker and debater, the Hon. Sir P. Mehta, and, as an eminent publicist and journalist, and also a powerful English writer and Gujarâtî poet, the reformer B. M. Malabari, proprietor and editor of the now defunct *Indian Spectator* and *Voice of India*, and of the magazine *East and West*.

(*a*) *Panchâyat.*—The Parsis adopted for their internal government the system of the Panchâyat, which commits to a certain number of leading men the management of the affairs of the community. European travellers always noticed that they submitted their differences to the elders of their own nation, and never applied to the judges of the ruling Power (Mandelslo, p. 184). Anquetil

du Perron gives few particulars regarding the civil organization of the community. He simply states that the headman was called *dâvar*, and that the power of the *dastûr dastûrân* was above all spiritual and only nominal. But Stavorinus, in a very accurate account of the social life of the Surat Parsis in the 18th cent., explains how the chiefs were entrusted with the settling of quarrels without going to law. Robbery, murder, and other crimes were punished by the *nawab*, or governor, of the town; but the latter was obliged to be careful, the Parsi population being numerous and powerful, almost independent in their wards (bk. i. ch. xxviii. p. 362). A single glance at these old quarters is a good illustration of Stavorinus's account. If the Parsis boasted of a low proportion of crime, this must be attributed to the fact that no stranger was allowed to penetrate into their premises, and no one could control the accuracy of this assertion, inasmuch as the executions through poison, cudgel, or drowning were always kept secret.

The historian of the Parsi Panchâyat has to grope in the dark. There are gaps and mysterious periods due to lack of materials. The first mention of a meeting of a Panchâyat held in 1642 at Nausari is to be found in *Pârsî Prakâsh*, p. 14. As regards Surat, the records of the Panchâyat are lost, if anything like written accounts ever existed. The headman was named *dâvar* (in Persian, from Pahlavi *dâto-bar*, 'bearer of justice'). [The family of the *dâvar* of Surat still exists. The numerous *firmans* and *parwanas* issued to them by the Mogul emperor and *nawabs* are unfortunately destroyed; but there remain sufficient proofs to establish the identity of that family, recognized by the British Government.] The *dâvar* possessed plenary jurisdiction over the Parsis, and could inflict any punishment except death. As with the Hindus, excommunication, which deprived the out-caste of any intercourse with his co-religionists, of any share in the religious ceremonies, was a terrible weapon in the hands of the elders. The meetings were held in open courts in the house of the *dâvar*; there was no limit to the number of Parsis who were permitted to attend; the *dâvar*, after consulting the leading men, pronounced judgment. The sentence was carried out by the corpse-bearers (*nasâsâlâr*); as there was no prison, the culprit was confined in the *nasâkhâna*, a place where biers are kept.

It seems that before and during 'the divided rule' the *dâvar* had support from the English and the people of their factory; but, as the British rule gained ground and supplanted that of the *nawab*, by a strange irony of fate the rights and prestige of the *dâvar* declined. The power of imprisonment was declared incompatible with some Government regulations; and so with corporal punishment, which had to make way before another regulation. But in many cases—in civil matters—the courts used to transfer them to the cognizance of the *dâvar*, who is always styled Modi. This Hindu surname ('supplier of provisions') was due to the help given by the *dâvar* to the British factory staff in their struggles with the Portuguese and the Muhammadans, and even with the people of the Dutch factories.

It seems that the Bombay Parsi Panchâyat was constituted as early as the coming of the English to the island in the 17th cent., and till 1778 its power was strong; but at that time a contest arose about the custom of 'beating' the delinquent 'with a shoe'—a punishment which till then had met with no opposition. A petition to the Government was drawn up asking for full permission to resort to it. The request was granted; it was the first time that the Government gave to the power of the Panchâyat a regular sanction, which, later on, was renewed. In 1786–87 the regulations invested the Bombay Panchâyat, formed of its elected members, with full powers to promote the welfare of the community, as is the custom among the natives, subject to the British rule. This continued till 1818, when a meeting at the Dadyseth fire-temple elected 18 members (12 laymen, 6 priests), and made useful reforms. The laws and regulations enacted by the Panchâyat were called *bundobusts* ('agreements'), and, though signed by only some of the members, were binding on the whole community. Any sort of affair was submitted to and discussed by the Panchâyat: the salary of the priests, the expenses of funeral and marriage parties, the evils and consequences of infant-marriage, private quarrels in houses, cases of divorce, bigamy, etc. As regards the morality of the women, they were particularly strict. They took care that the Parsi women should not be seen at dusk alone in the streets or the country, that they should not mix with Hindu and Muhammadan religious ceremonies, or attend their shrines and *durgahs*; travellers, in fact, testify that it was extremely difficult to seduce a Zoroastrian; and the Parsis can boast that, up to the present time, very few Parsi women have anywhere been reckoned among the victims of vice and debauchery.

The power of the Bombay Panchâyat, like that of the Surat Panchâyat, gradually decreased as the rule of the English became stronger, and also on account of a slight spirit of favouritism which prevailed and blunted the sense of justice. In 1823 there was a sort of dislocation, and in 1836 a firm and detailed letter from a strong-minded and impulsive man, Framji Kavasji Banaji, depicted the former high standing and the wane of the Panchâyat. Schism commenced. In 1838 the members made a new attempt to recover their authority, and asked for a formal investiture by the Government Council; but it had no effect. The Parsis having neither codes nor written customs of their own, like the Hindus, the time had come when a new organization was needed. The Parsi Law Association, established in 1855, took in hand the pioneering work of investigating the old texts and actual requirements. The English authorities co-operated in the work, which ended in 1865 with the passing of the Parsi Marriage and Divorce Act and Parsi Succession Act, followed by the establishment of the Parsi Matrimonial Courts. Henceforth the Panchâyat was deprived of its authority—cases being decided by the English courts, litigations settled by the new enactments—but it did not disappear. The members became trustees of a charitable association. The chairman is regarded as the headman of the community, and has no other influence than that which belongs to a philanthropic and cultured gentleman. The funds are managed by the trustees, who, since 1841, have even the custody, though not the direct administration, of those of Surat. The money is destined to minister to the wants of destitute Parsi families, to maintain schools, fire-temples, and *dakhmas*, to provide for the expenses of the *gâhânbârs* and other religious feasts. In the territory of the Gaekwar of Baroda disputes regarding marriages are still settled by the local councils. At Nausari the council, or *anjuman*, is composed of the high priest, or *dastûr*, and the leading priestly families of the *desais* as chief members, and other people of mark as members.

(*b*) *Social customs.*—The social customs of the Parsis have been more or less accurately described by European travellers (see Literature below). Anquetil du Perron has given an account of them

(*Zend-Avesta*, ii. 527–591), which is useful both as showing the conservatism of the Parsis and as offering a comparison with their new *modus vivendi*. Later the Parsis made their customs known and explained them to non-Zoroastrians.

(*c*) *Dress.*—According to Herodotus (i. 135), no nation so readily adopted foreign customs as the Persians, who assumed the dress of the Medes, considering it superior to their own. This faculty of adopting foreign dress is still one of the characteristics of the Parsis of India. On their arrival in Gujarât, one of the conditions imposed on them by the local ruler was that the women were to discard their national dress and assume the Hindu fashions. 'The next condition,' says the *Kissah-i-Sanjân*, 'regards the dress of women, which must resemble that of the women of this land. . . . These weapons and this armour must be laid aside and discontinued. . . .' To European travellers the Parsis were distinguished from the surrounding populations only by the *sudrah* and *kusti* (sacred shirt and girdle) (Mandelslo, p. 183). In the 18th cent. Anquetil du Perron found them at Surat intermingled with the Banians, and wearing the same dress, turban, and tunic as the people of that caste, but adding to the *sudrah* and *kusti* the *penom* (*padân*), a sort of veil which the Parsi priests and laymen had to wear, the priests always, the laymen on special occasions, such as reciting prayers or taking meals—a custom now totally discarded by the laity. The Parsis are still faithful to the Banian dress, and have introduced few changes in it; the men wear the *angarakha*, but, instead of the Hindu *dhoti*, large trousers, and on their head they put a dark turban (*pagri*) worn over a skull cap. At funeral and wedding parties they array themselves in a large cotton double-breasted coat (*jama*), with a muslin waistband (*pichori*), very becoming and distinguished-looking. The use of European leather shoes instead of curved slippers has been gradually adopted. The women wear the Banian *sari*, and cover their heads with a thin white cloth (*mathabana*) tied behind the chignon, according to the religious injunction which forbids a Zoroastrian to have his head uncovered by day or night. The *mathabana* is cast off by almost all the young generation. We must notice that the archaic style still prevails in the Mofussil (out of Bombay), and that many Western refinements have been introduced among the Parsi women, and again that any change in the old ways has created a regular battle in the newspapers of the orthodox and liberal classes—the names of the women who put aside the *mathabana* or adopted English shoes are still remembered. Parsis, when in Europe or America, generally dress like Europeans; and their wives and daughters are beginning to give up their *sari* and Hindu finery, which is quite out of place in colder climates.

(*d*) *Ceremonies.*—The chief ceremonial occasions in a Parsi family are pregnancy, birth, sacred cord-girding, marriage, and death. They are all fully treated under separate headings; see BIRTH (Parsi), INITIATION (Parsi), MARRIAGE (Iranian), and DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Parsi).

2. Priests (*athornans*).—The priests play a prominent part in the history of the community. According to the *Kissah-i-Sanjân*, the exiles had been guided by *dastûrs* in all their peregrinations. There seem to have been several priestly families, though the Parsi tradition ascribes to the priests in India a common origin. The priests followed the *behdîns* in their various settlements in Gujarât. In 1142 Kamdin Zarthost came from Sanjân to Nausari, and in 1215 the sons of the same Kamdin, Rana and Movad, summoned a priest of Sanjân, Hom Bahmanyar, who brought with him his son Fredun; the latter had three sons, who divided the work and the fees, and thus, with the two sons of the first comer, Kamin, formed the five *pols* (families) of Nausari. Later the name of *bhagarias* ('dividers') was given to the priests of the five *pols*, because they divided the work and the fees. In the 13th cent., according to a Persian poem written by Dastûr Shapurjî Sanjâna (18th cent.), the *Kissah-i Zartushtiân-i Hindustân*, the Parsi population of Gujarât was divided into five *panthaks*, or spheres of influence and ecclesiastical office and jurisdiction, from Sanjân in the south to Cambay in the north, including Nausari, Broach, and the villages of the Surat District (Godâvrêh) (1290). The records of the communities are not well preserved. Those of Cambay and the Godâvrêh are apparently lost; at Broach they have been dispersed on account of a lawsuit, which is much to be regretted, for Broach was formerly a seat of Zoroastrian knowledge and faith (see *A Genealogical Remembrancer of the Broach Dastur Family*, Bombay, 1878 [Gujarâtî]). Nausari can boast of its records, and from the *vahis* (registers) and *fihrists* (lists) much light can be obtained on the priestly class (see Ervad R. J. Dastûr Meherjirana, *The Genealogy of the Bhagarsath Section of the Parsee Priests*, Nausari, A.Y. 1268, A.D. 1899 [Gujarâtî]). The history of Nausari is interesting: it shows how troubles and disputes arose among the priestly class, and how the presence of the Sanjâna priests who accompanied the *âtash-bahrâm* on its removal from Bansdah, by Châṅgâh Asâ, was the cause of a rivalry which ended in murders. The Sanjâna priests were even obliged finally to remove to Udwada with the sacred fire, after two escapes to Bulsar and to Surat, to avoid the raids of the Mahrattas (M. S. M. Desai, *Hist. of Nausari*, Nausari, 1897 [Gujarâtî]). Several religious controversies disturbed the community at Surat; two of these turned upon whether the legs of a corpse should be stretched or folded, and whether the face of the deceased should or should not be covered with a cloth (*padân*). These questions have not yet been settled. The third dispute was about the proper reckoning of the year, which ended in the split of the Parsis into Shahenshâhîs and Qadîmîs. It had its origin in the discovery made first by a *mobed* named Jâmâsp Vilâyâtî, who came to Surat from Persia in 1721, and then by Jamshid, who came from Persia in 1736, of the difference of one month between the Persian and Indian Zoroastrians in the matter of their *rôz-mâh* reckoning (calendar). It is called the *Kabîsâh* controversy. The town of Broach was the scene of deadly riots (1783) (see Dastûr Aspandyârjî Kâmdînjî, *The Historical Account of the Ancient Leap Year of the Parsis*, 1826 [Gujarâtî], and K. R. Cama, *The Yezdzardi Tarikh*, 1870 [Gujarâtî]). The feud between the two sects is almost settled, and the old passions are not likely to be aroused again; but still the Shahenshâhîs and Qadîmîs continue to have their separate temples and priests; and, if the Parsis do not do away with the difference, this is simply because 'the change would create so much confusion in the dates of old events and records that they prefer to do as they have hitherto done' (Karaka, *Hist. of the Parsis*, i. 113 f.). Ill-feelings have completely abated, and intermarriage takes place between families belonging to the two sects.

For the organization and special functions of the priesthood see separate art. PRIEST (Iranian).

IV. *MODERN PARSIISM.*—1. Religion.—Modern Parsiism is considered as the transmitter of the tenets of Zoroastrianism, as it was understood and practised at the time of the Sasanian princes, themselves the restorers of the antique Mazdæan creed (see SASANIANS and ZOROASTER).

After the destruction of the Persian empire the religion of the great prophet of Irân was enveloped in oblivion for centuries. The faithful in Persia had to submit to the hardships of a foreign and intolerant rule (see GABARS); in Gujarât they were lost among the Hindu populations, and in both countries they were considered by the European travellers who came into contact with them as a down-trodden people, supposed still to possess some remnants of the teachings of Zoroaster. The Western scholars who took an interest in the religion and philosophy of the Iranians had only the classical authors for reference. The large work of B. Brisson, *de Regio Persarum principatu libri tres*, Paris, 1590, is the best compilation from that point of view. H. Lord, chaplain to the British factory at Surat, had the privilege of conversing with a *mobed*, and was able to give a more or less accurate account of the religion of the Parsis (17th cent.). Fragments of their sacred books, *Vendîdâd*, *Yasna*, *Vîsparad*, brought to Europe, soon excited the curiosity of the learned few who cared for such study, but these remained undeciphered, and their language a complete enigma. The last work before the Avesta was made known to Europe and translated was T. Hyde's exhaustive history, *Veterum Persarum et Parthorum et Medorum religionis Historia* (Oxford, 1700). The conquest of the Avesta was due to a Frenchman, Anquetil du Perron, who brought a copy of the precious MSS to the Bibliothèque du Roi on 15th March 1762 (see account of the discovery of the Avesta in art. AVESTA, vol. ii. p. 271 f.). Henceforward Parsis and Parsiism made their reappearance, as it were, in the modern world, and reassumed their position as a people and a religion. As regards Anquetil du Perron's stay at Surat, it left no trace. The community was totally ignorant of the consequences of the sale of a few MSS to a poor wayfarer. The Parsis continued to keep aloof from the non-Zoroastrians, even from men like R. C. Rask (1820) and N. L. Westergaard (1841). At last the *dastûrs* were obliged to come forward and to disclose the precious treasure of their faith on account of the attempts at conversion made by the missionary John Wilson (1839). From that time the leading principles of Parsiism were openly discussed by Parsi priests even in scientific meetings and congresses. The catechisms are easily obtained by non-Zoroastrians (see J. J. Modi, *Catechism of Zoroastrian Religion*, Bombay, 1911).

Parsiism has a claim to rank among the great religions of the world, for the reason that we find in it the essence of any dogma, *i.e.* immutability in the union of the dogma itself and the liturgical prescriptions—a union that still exists in spite of the vicissitudes that it has experienced. Its most striking feature is its traditional character. In fact, it is almost incredible that a community lost among foreign sects should have been able to preserve the integrity of its creed, without holding councils or synods, simply grouped round the living symbol of its faith, hidden in the recesses of humble sanctuaries, its priests chanting hymns in a language which could not be understood, and the bulk of the faithful steeped in religious routine.

After the renewal of the intercourse with Persia (15th cent.) a regular infiltration of Pahlavi literature made its way to Gujarât through emissaries, and a certain activity reigned in the priestly class and the elders or leaders of the *anjumans*. The *Rivâyats*, *i.e.* the collections of questions and answers, are most precious and eloquent. They are in some measure the mouth-piece of the indigenous Parsi religion, and show that the interest turned exclusively on ritualism or discipline, never on dogmas.

Darmesteter says that modern Parsiism is partly derived from the essential ideas expressed in the *Gâthâs*, according to that sentence of Neriosangh Dhaval, that 'all the laws and deeds contained in Avesta were revealed to Zoroaster in the *gâthâs*' (*Zend-Avesta*, Paris, 1892–93, i. [=*AMG* xxi.], Introd. vii. 'The Gâthâs,' p. cv). The enumeration of 'the laws and deeds' would carry us too far; we have simply to point out the leading beliefs of the Parsis; they are: (*a*) revelation, (*b*) monotheism, (*c*) immortality of the soul, (*d*) future life, and (*e*) resurrection of the dead.

(*a*) *Revelation; sacred books.*—Zoroastrianism is a religion based on the revelation of the deity, Ahura Mazda, to men, through the medium of the holy Zarathushtra Spitama, the son of Pourushaspa, of the royal family of the Peshdâdian kings. He unites in himself the threefold character of philosopher, poet, and prophet. He is elevated to the rank of *aokhtonâmano yazata*, *i.e.* one whose name is mentioned among the worshipful beings—a distinction never conferred upon another man throughout the Avesta (see ZOROASTER).

Zarathushtra's life, date, and mission are the subject of much controversy among scholars. The data are derived not only from the pure Zoroastrian tradition, but also from Armenian and Muhammadan authors. According to A. V. Williams Jackson, following to some extent the Parsi tradition: (1) Zoroaster was a perfectly historical personage, belonging to the Median tribe of the Magi; (2) he flourished about the middle of the 7th cent. B.C., and died in 583 B.C.; (3) he was a native of Western Persia (Atropatene or Media) and went to Bactria (Balkh), where he succeeded in converting King Gushtasp; (4) the *Gâthâs* are the oldest portion of the Avesta, and are to be considered as the real substance of Zoroaster's preaching at Balkh; (5) the religion of Zoroaster spread from Bactria throughout Persia, and became dominant in Pars under the late Achæmenians; but it is impossible to fix the date of its introduction or of its adoption by the people or rulers of Pars.

Outside of the Avesta, the Parsis derive their information about Zoroaster from Pahlavi books and from a Persian poem of the 13th cent., the *Zartusht-nâmah* (see Anquetil du Perron, vol. i. pt. ii. pp. 1–70, 'Vie de Zoroastre'; E. B. Eastwick, *Parsi Religion*, Bombay, 1843, pp. 417 ff., 477 ff.; J. Menant, *Zoroastre: Essai sur la philosophie religieuse de la Perse*[2], Paris, 1857; F. Rosenberg, *Le Livre de Zoroastre*, Petrograd, 1904; E. W. West, *SBE* xlvii. [1897], Introd. pp. xx–xxiv). It seems to have been written, according to the author, after Pahlavi books. In fact, some fragments of old MSS handed down to us contain glimpses of the history of the prophet; two of the old *nasks* of the Avesta apparently referred to Zarathushtra.

For the Parsi traditions regarding the Avesta see art. AVESTA. The books now in possession of the Parsis are: the *Vendîdâd*, the *Yasna*, the *Visparad*, and the *Khorda-Avesta*. The same are to be found in the hands of the Gabars in Persia.

For the Avesta and Pahlavi literature see artt. AVESTA and LITERATURE (Pahlavi).

There exists also an exhaustive Gujarâtî and Persian literature, which was developed as the community felt the need of having translations or transcriptions of their sacred books, and also of communicating with the brethren of Persia. This is also treated in art. LITERATURE (Pahlavi).

(*b*) *Monotheism.*—The Parsis claim to be monotheists. Is that monotheism of theirs in keeping with the old texts or the beliefs current under the Sasanians, when the primitive teaching of the

prophet was disfigured by the numerous sects which undermined Zoroastrianism? We do not know which doctrines were brought to India by the refugees. To whatever sect they belonged, the modern Parsi very properly claims the appellation of *mazda yasnô*, 'worshipper of Mazda,' and believes in one God. That God has all power, all knowledge; He is Ahura, the Lord, Mazda, the All-Wise. His body is the Infinite Light; His abode the Supreme Heaven.

Ahura Mazda, besides having many other attributes, is spoken of in the *Gâthâs* as having chief attributes personified as the Ameshâ-spentâs (the holy immortals). Including Ahura Mazda, there are seven Ameshâ-spentâs: Ahura Mazda, the living wise or all-giving Lord; Vohu Manô, the good-mind; Asa-vahista, the best order or the excellent holiness; Kshathra Vairya, the absolute power; Spenta-Armaiti, the beneficent piety; Haurvatât, the wholeness; Amêrêtât, the immortality. The last six abstract notions have sometimes been considered as archangels, or celestial beings, at the head of whom Ahura Mazda is placed. It is the same with the *yazatas*, genii or natural deities or existences to whom men pay homage. Ahura Mazda is the first of the heavenly *yazatas*; Zarathushtra, the first of the earthly *yazatas*. The explanation of this hierarchy is extremely difficult, and includes the real essence of Zoroastrianism on which scholars and *dastûrs* do not agree. Ahura Mazda created two spirits: good comes from the spirit Spenta Mainyu; evil comes from a destructive spirit, Angra Mainyu or Ahriman.

Zoroastrianism has been considered by Muhammadan and Christian authors as the perfect expression of religious dualism, and scholars have by turns accepted or rejected the doctrine of duality. The modern Parsis absolutely deny that their Prophet Zarathushtra preached dualism, and they try to restore to Ahura Mazda the character of unity and eternity of which misunderstood dualism deprives him. We need not enter into the discussion here, as the subject is fully dealt with in art. DUALISM (Iranian).

The Parsis, pure monotheists as they claim to be, indignantly repudiate the appellation of 'fire-worshippers,' with which they have been branded for ages. Travellers in India always recorded their reverence for fire, and gave them the name of *âtash-parastan*. The Parsis are not fire-worshippers; they are the worshippers of God only. Such is the answer made by Parsi children, according to their catechisms. Fire, of course, plays a conspicuous part in the ceremonies of the Parsis. It claims homage from the modern Parsis as it did from the ancient Iranians. It is seen on the Achæmenian sculptures and on the Sasanian coins, and is still kept in the Indian *dar-i-mihr*, as Strabo (*Hist.* xv.) describes it: 'in sacred places, fed with barkless pieces of wood,' etc. And Pausanias (v. xxvii. 3) places it 'in a room . . . where a priest repairs to put dry wood upon the altar, the tiara on his head, singing sacred hymns . . . from a book in a language utterly unintelligible.' The modern Parsis offer the explanation that, if the Iranians regarded fire as the symbol of divinity, and as such worthy of respect and reverence, they never professed themselves to be worshippers of fire. Zoroaster, in his *Gâthâs*, speaks of fire as a bright and powerful creation of Ahura Mazda, and prefers it as a symbol of divinity to idols or other objects; but nowhere does he enjoin the worship of fire.

(*c*) *Immortality of the soul.*—Man is represented as a compound of physical and psychological parts. His nature is double—material and spiritual, body and soul. His spiritual parts are immortal, and were created before his material parts. Of his spiritual parts the principal is the *urvan*, the soul, with its faculties, and the *fravashi*, a notion perhaps of post-Zoroastrian belief. The *urvan*, or the soul, is responsible, and, according to its acts, receives reward or punishment. On the morning of the fourth day after death the *urvan* enters into the spiritual world, and never returns to the material world. There is no trace of metempsychosis. As regards *fravashi*, it is a peculiar inner power of *urvan*—a most interesting notion, and very much like the Platonic *ἰδέαι*. The *fravashi* of the holy soul is honoured as a holy spirit, and its help is invoked as a sort of guardian-spirit of the soul. The soul is endowed, during its earthly career, with such helps as may enable it to fight against the evil influence of Ahriman. These helps are knowledge, wisdom, sense, thought, speech, the religious conscience, revealed religion, etc. It cannot look for any other help; there is no vicarious salvation in Parsiism. Cf. art. FRAVASHI.

(*d*) *Future life.*—Such a struggle deserves a reward. The Parsis, according to the Zoroastrian creed, believe in a life to come. The Avesta writings of the *Hâṭôxt Nask*, the 19th chapter of the *Vendîdâd*, and the Pahlavi books *Dînâ-î-Maînôg-î-Xraṭ* and *Artâ-î-Virâf Nâmak* treat of the fate of the soul after death. Even in the *Gâthâs* we find general hints about it. The soul of the virtuous crosses the Chinvat bridge, and is admitted into the house of purity and eternal light and song (*garô demâna*), where it enjoys the company of holy souls. The soul of the wicked goes to the house of impurity and darkness, reproached by its conscience, bemoans its state, and utters cries of lamentation. The state of reward or punishment is to continue till *Frashô-kereti* or *Farshogard*, *i.e.* the renovation of the world, when the whole creation is to start afresh. The notion of the immortality of the soul and a future life, distinctly expressed in the *Gâthâs*, pervades the whole of the later Avesta literature, and is entirely accepted by the Parsis. See, further, BLEST, ABODE OF THE (Persian).

(*e*) *Resurrection of the dead.*—The resurrection, or *Ristâkhêz*, will take place at the end of the present cycle; then will come the last of the Saoshyants (see ZOROASTER), who will consummate the work of purifying and regenerating the world and removing all evil effects of the work of Ahriman. All the souls of the wicked will be brought out from hell, and will be purified through the supreme ordeal; the souls of the righteous, too, will rise, and they also will pass through the *Ristâkhêz* and be submitted to the same trial; but the flames will not burn them—they will cross them as a sea of milk. Henceforth the world will enter upon a new cycle, free from all evil and misery, ever young and rejoicing. All souls will be furnished with new bodies, and will commence a life of ineffable bliss. Hell itself will be purified. The Parsi theories of the resurrection, the last judgment, and the fate of Ahriman are found in the *Bundahishn*.

2. Ethics.—'The Zoroastrian religion,' as has been pointed out by Darmesteter (*Parsiism*, p. 11 f.), 'was a religion of life in the noblest sense of the word; it brought two things of which the old Aryan religions, in the midst of which it rose, had no idea, or only a dim apperception; those two things were *moral* and *hope*'; so that 'the Zoroastrian faith not only gives its follower a moral rule through life; not only directs his heart, his tongue, his hand, teaching him *good thought*, *good word*, and *good deed*; but it tells him that the good will prevail at last if he does his duty; that a son of the prophet Saoshyant will come and open the eternal reign of Ormazd, and exterminate the evil from the world. The poorest, the meanest

Zorcastrian in the world knows that he is born a soldier of Saoshyant, and that Ormazd will conquer through him.' The development of activity —free and voluntary—introduces a quite modern factor into Parsiism, and enables it to stand on a level with the contemporary systems of philosophy through the triumph of effort. One is even justified in wondering how Zoroastrianism arrived at the low ebb which caused the final success of the Arabs and Islām; but, in studying attentively that portion of history, we see that it can be fully explained by the fact that, having become a State religion, it perished miserably, stifled by the priesthood and weakened by the struggles among the sects. In any case, as it appeals at the present day to a small number of followers, it divests itself of any sacerdotal or sectarian character in order to speak only to the reason of the individual. Zoroastrianism—become Parsiism—appears to us, above all, a system of moral philosophy, and it is in that direction that it will probably develop more and more. Though the Pahlavi writers have handed down copious materials on Zoroastrian ethics, no special treatise has ever summed them up. Strange to say, the sublime precepts of morality enjoined by the Zoroastrian religion have never been codified. According to the sacred books, all morality is divided into three great classes: *humata*, good thoughts; *hûkhta*, good words; *huvarshta*, good deeds. Similarly, there are three categories of immorality: *duzhmata*, evil thoughts; *duzhukhta*, evil words; and *duzhvarshta*, evil deeds. All good thoughts, words, and works are done with wisdom. All evil thoughts, words, and works are done without wisdom. All good thoughts, words, and works lead to paradise. All evil thoughts, words, and works lead to hell. To all good thoughts, words, and works (belongs) paradise. So (is it) manifest to the pure. Of all Zoroastrian virtues, the first, holiness, or *asha*—a very comprehensive term—embraces all sorts of purity, truthfulness, and beneficence. The *ashem vohû*, the prayer-formula that every Zoroastrian learns, teaches that 'Holiness is the best good and happiness; happiness to Him who is the Holy one for the sake of the best Holiness.' Cf. art. ETHICS AND MORALITY (Parsi).

The list of Zoroastrian virtues would be too long to reproduce here. Most of them are common to the great religions of the world—Buddhism, Judaism, Christianity; but some of them have, so to speak, expanded in the modern development of Parsiism. Charity, for example, formerly restricted to the Zoroastrian brethren, is now extended to every caste, race, and religion. Again, as a deviation from certain ideas, the modern Parsis repulse converts, and seem to have totally forgotten that it was through preaching and proselytism that their religion was established, and that the admission of the adherents of a false religion to the true religion was allowed. The question of investing non-Zoroastrians with *sudrah* and *kusti* was a pressing one, and was settled lately; the community as a body is averse to proselytism. The Parsis do not admit conversions to Christianity, and Parsi converts are very few. Moreover, the Parsis have never sacrificed themselves for their religious ideas; they may have suffered, from the storming of their old centre Sanjân, the ordinary evils of war, and under the Portuguese from the strict regulations of the Damaun and Bassein authorities; but their faith was never at stake in India. Hence they have no occasion to boast of their modern views of toleration, when they enjoy equality of protection under an enlightened Government. Those views are quite opposed to the spirit of the Sasanian kings, who were ardent persecutors of alien worships. For them there was only one good religion. All others, especially those of the Jews, Manichæans, and Christians, were attacked. Any communication with unbelievers was a cause of impurity; to eat with them was sinful. The same view is found in the *Rivâyats*, and, among the modern Parsis, the adherents of old customs clung to it as late as the early fifties. At that time the prejudice was still so strong that even men like Sir Jamshedji Jijibhai declined to dine with the Governor of Bombay.

It is a most important fact that the Parsis, since their arrival in India, may have submitted to some Hindu customs in order to please the Rana of Sanjân; but they never felt the moral or religious influence of Hinduism. Whatever common origin the two branches of the Aryan family may have, each has separately achieved its own evolution. The Parsis borrowed neither the fasts of asceticism nor the ecstasy of mysticism—both opposed to pure Zoroastrianism. Indian philosophy also they ignored. The great Brāhmanical schools were not meant for alien races, and not open to the Persian refugees, who, even at Nausari, did not attempt to start a school of their own. Now, in contact with European thought, active, living, communicative as it is, what will become of the community? Neither the Roman Catholic saints nor the religious reformers of Christianity will gain influence over the Parsi youths; but Darwin, Huxley, Stuart Mill, Comte, may perhaps do so, and the future of Parsi ethics and philosophy depends on the way in which they are understood and adapted. See art. PHILOSOPHY (Iranian).

3. Liturgy: worship and ceremonies.—(*a*) *Temples.*—The Parsi temples for a long time did not differ in outward appearance from the better-class houses. Now the fronts of some of them, at Udvada and Bombay, are decorated in the neo-Persepolitan style. The word for temple is *dar-i-mihr*, 'door *or* palace of Mithra.' In India they are commonly called *âgyârîs* (from *âg*, the Sanskrit *agni*, 'fire'). They are of three grades, *âtash-dâdgâh*, *âtash-âdarân*, *âtash-bahrâm*, according to the quality of the fire kept in them. (1) The *âtash-dâdgâh* may be touched both by priests and by laymen, never by non-Zoroastrians. It is the ordinary fire preserved in a fire-temple, or even in the houses of Zoroastrians, and used in sacred ceremonies; (2) the *âtash-âdarân* may not be touched by any one but priests; its consecration requires great ceremonies; the utmost care is taken in watching it and keeping it perpetually burning; (3) the *âtash-bahrâm* is the highest of all; its consecration entails heavy expenses and a long series of ritual—for a year or more. The sacred fire is constantly watched by priests who have undergone the highest purifications. Its extinction would be regarded by the Parsis as a calamity. Non-Zoroastrians are not admitted into the *dar-i-mihr*. The chief feature of the temples is the absence of statues or representations of divinities. The temple is divided into two parts: the *âdarân*, or place for fire, and the *izishn-gâh*, in which the ceremonies are recited. (i.) *Âdarân.* In a small domed room the fire is kept burning in a silver or copper-brass urn resting on a stone stool, or *âdôsht*, with a metallic tray hanging from the dome (*tâj*); five times a day (at each watch, or *gâh*) a priest, his mouth covered with a *padân*, or piece of cloth, to prevent the effluvia from defiling it, cleans the room, washes the stool, arranges the cinders, and puts fresh sandal or other wood on the fire. The ceremony is called *bôi dêvi.* (ii.) *Izishn-gâh.* This is a large quadrangular room, divided by *pâvis* (small channels), and is used for the celebration of the ceremonies. There is space enough for a stone stool (*âdôsht*) for

the censer, or *âfergânî*, a stone platform (*urvis* or *âlât-gâh*) on which are laid the implements of ritual, a seat for the officiating priest, and the *kundi* for the purified water.

Devout Parsis generally go to the fire-temple every day, or at least on the days of the month consecrated to fire; but, at certain times, all the community go and offer sandal-wood and money, and say prayers. According to the belief of the ancient Persians, however, it is not necessary to pray to God in a temple. Nature, in its grandeur, was considered the proper temple, and Parsis still continue to pray on the beach or facing the sun. There are eight *âtash-bahrâms* in India (the first was founded at Sanjân by the refugees in the 8th cent.; it was finally brought to Udvada in 1742, where it still exists), and 133 *âgyârîs* (see the list of fire-temples in India published by B. B. Patell in *Gujarât Parsis*, Appendix i. pp. 65–69).

(*b*) *Ritual.*—The Zoroastrian worship consists in the recitation of fragments of the sacred books, either simply or accompanied with the performance of the ritual. Generally, every one prays by himself, but on some occasions the whole community gather at the fire-temple.

The number of ceremonies celebrated during the era when the religion was most flourishing has diminished. Nowadays the chief are the *Yasna* (which includes the *Gâthâs*), the *Visparad*, the *Vendîdâd*, the *Rapithawin*, the *Gâhânbârs*, the *Srôsh Darûn* or *Bâj*, the *Afrîngân*, the *Gîtî-khirîd*, the *Zindeh-Ravân*, the *Hômâst*. The ritual has been carefully preserved; the liturgical explanations regarding the *Yasna*, for example, are written on the old MSS themselves; precious fragments of ancient treatises of the Sasanian period connected with ritualism have come down to the present time (see *Nîrangistân*, *Vajarkard*, etc.).

The apparatus of ritual for the *Yasna* are: *barsom* (*q.v.*), a bundle of from five to thirty-five metallic wires, tied into a string of date-leaf, *evanghin*; *mâhrû*, stand for the *barsom*; *hâvan*, mortar; *tasht*, metallic saucer with nine holes in the middle; cups and dishes.

The offerings consist of the juice of the *haoma* (*hôm*) plant, sacred bread (*dârûns*), *ghî* (clarified butter), holy water, dry fragrant wood, *êsm bôê*, etc.

In the time of the Avesta some of the liturgical ceremonies demanded the presence of ten priests (*Visp.* iii. 1; *Vend.* v. 57, vii. 17); at the present day two priests only are required: the chief reciter (*zôti*) and the minister (*râspî*), who fills the place of the other absent priests. Some of the liturgical prayers must be recited, the ritual performed, and the accessaries conducted by priests who have to submit to great purifications; other prayers may be recited by all priests, even by laymen, as, for example, the *Yashts*, which are not accompanied by any ritual, though it is possible that they were formerly recited on the tops of mountains or high ground. Some suppose that the description of the worship of the Iranians by Herodotus refers to *Yashts*. To all appearance these offices are relics of the ancient Sasanian worship, and the conglomeration of the *Yasna*, according to Darmesteter's suggestion (*AMG* xxi. ch. i. p. lxxxviii) after Mas'udi, was formed at the time of Ardashir Babakan, and has undergone no change.

The daily obligations of the orthodox Parsi are numerous: the untying and retying of the sacred girdle (*kusti*) on the sacred shirt (*sudrah*) is performed several times after the washing of the hands, face, and feet with pure water, and is called *pâdyâb*. The custom of saying grace before and after meals still subsists.

(*c*) *Purificatory laws.*—The purificatory laws play a conspicuous part in the life of the conservative Parsi, as every material impurity has to be removed if he desires to be a good Zoroastrian. There are four purifications for the use of both priests and laymen, men and women: (1) the *pâdyâb*, which consists in washing with water the arms and hands up to the elbows, the feet up to the ankles, and the face; (2) the *ghosel*, a washing with *gômez* (cow's urine); (3) the *barashnûm*, a long and painful cleansing which, together with the subsequent retreat, lasts nine days. The ritual is found in *Vendîdâd*, ix. The *si-shoe* is a diminutive of it.

From his birth to the day of his death, when he has become a prey to the *drûj nasu*, and is himself a source of contagion, the Parsi has to fight against defilement; he has to avoid it, and also to avoid defiling others.

A state of perfect purity is indispensable to the priest before entering the *izishn-gâh* for the celebration of the *Yasna* and *Vendîdâd*; he is called *yaozdathragar mobed* ('*mobed* in state of purity'), and also *barashnûm-wâlâ*. Not only has the priest to undergo purifications, but the implements of worship and the water used during the ceremonies have to be made pure. *Gômez* is employed in minor purifications; *nîrang-din*, bull's urine, made pure according to the ceremonial law, is indispensable in the higher ceremonies, and its preparation is most minute.

The purificatory laws are, in fact, the bases of the Parsi liturgy, and, as Anquetil du Perron (ii. 544) says, 'if the purifying materials are not well cleaned, there is no purification, no purifier, no priest, no Parsi! . . .' so that, though the reformers have, after a fight with the orthodox party, objected to the daily use of *gômez*, the *nîrang-din* is not discarded. Cf. PURIFICATION (Iranian).

4. Feasts and festivals.—The Parsis have some religious feasts of a very peculiar character, for which see separate art. FESTIVALS AND FASTS (Parsi).

LITERATURE.—I. *EARLY TRAVELLERS.*—Friar Jordanus, 'The Wonders of the East,' tr. from the Latin original as published in Paris in 1839 in the *Recueil de voyages et de mémoires* of the Society of Geography, by Henry Yule, London, 1863, p. 21; J. de Barros, *Da Asia, dos feitos, que os Portuguezes fizeram no descubrimento, e conquista das mares e terras do Oriente*, Lisbon, 1777, I. bk. viii. ch. ix.; T. Herbert, *Travels in Africa and Asia the Great*, London, 1654, pp. 55–59, 107; E. Terry, in *Purchas, His Pilgrimes in Five Bookes*, pt. ii., do. 1625, 'A Relation of a Voyage to the Easterne India: observed by Edward Terry,' § iv. p. 1479; H. Lord, 'Discovery of the Banians and Parsees,' in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, do. 1808–14, vii. 557–572; J. A. von Mandelslo, *Voyages de Perse aux Indes orientales*, tr. A. de Wicquefort, Leyden, 1717, pp. 179–186; F. de la Boullaye le Gouz, *Les Voyages et observations du Sieur*, Paris, 1653, ch. xix.f. pp. 187–190; P. F. Vicenzo Maria, *Il viaggio all' Indie Orientali*, Venice, 1683, ch. ii. p. 250; J. Fryer, *A New Account of East India and Persia in Eight Letters, being Nine Years' Travels, begun 1672 and finished 1681*, London, 1698, pp. 67, 117, 197; J. Ovington, *Voyage to Suratt, 1689*, do. 1696; F. Valentijn, *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indiën*, Dordrecht and Amsterdam, 1724–26, vol. iv. pt. ii. p. 153; Anquetil du Perron, *Zend-Avesta*, Paris, 1771, pt. i. 'Discours préliminaire'; J. S. Stavorinus, *Voyages to the East Indies*, tr. S. H. Wilcocke, London, 1798, ii. 494–498, 504 f., iii. 1 f., 5; C. Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie et en d'autres pays circonvoisins*, Amsterdam, 1776–80, ii. 36–40; J. Forbes, *Oriental Memoirs*[2], London, 1834, vol. i. ch. vi. pp. 78–83.

II. *HISTORY.*—Bomanji Byramji Patell, *Pârsi Prakâsh, being a Record of important Events in the Growth of the Parsi Community in Western India*, Bombay, 1878–88 (Gujarâtî), series ii., 1891; H. G. Briggs, *The Parsis or Modern Zerdusthians*, Bombay, 1852; Dosabhai Framji, *The Parsees, their History, Manners, Customs, and Religion*, London, 1858; Dosabhai Framji Karaka, *History of the Parsis*, 2 vols., do., 1884; D. Menant, *Les Parsis*, 'Histoire des communautés zoroastriennes de l'Inde' (*AMG* vii.), Paris, 1898; B. B. Patell, *BG* ix. pt. ii. [1899], 183, 254, and a reprint, *The Gujarât Parsis from their Earliest Settlement to the Present Time*, Bombay, 1898, *Parsee Villages in the Sanjan and Surat Districts in the Zoroastrian Calendar for 1251 Yezd.*, pp. 54–63 (Gujarâtî).

III. *RELIGION.*—Anquetil du Perron, *Zend-Avesta*, 'Usages civils et religieux des Parses,' pp. 527–591, and 'Système théo-

logique, cérémoniel et moral,' pp. 592–618; J. Wilson, *Parsee Religion, as contained in the Zend-Avesta*, etc., Bombay, 1843; M. Haug, *Essays on the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis*[2], London, 1878; J. Darmesteter, *Parsiism—its Place in History*, a Lecture delivered at Bombay, 2nd Feb. 1887; S. Laing, *A Modern Zoroastrian*[2], London, 1888; J. J. Modi, *The Religious System of the Parsis*, Bombay, 1885; S. D. Bharucha, *A Brief Sketch of the Zoroastrian Religion and Customs*, do. 1893. D. MENANT.

PARTHENOGENESIS.—Parthenogenesis is the development of an egg-cell which has not been fertilized. It is of frequent occurrence (1) in many of the lower crustaceans, such as the brine-shrimp Artemia, the large freshwater Apus, and some water-fleas—*e.g.*, Daphnia, Moina, Cypris, and Candona; (2) in some insects, notably among the gall-wasps (Cynipidæ), in certain species of which males have not been found, and among saw-flies (Tenthredinidæ); and (3) in most of the rotifers or wheel-animalcules. In most rotifers parthenogenesis is the rule; in some cases males have never been found. In most of the cases of parthenogenesis among crustaceans and insects males are absent for months or years, but reappear at intervals. Among plants there are few examples of normal parthenogenesis in the strict sense, for we cannot include cases, like many of the lower fungi, where the whole sexual reproduction is degenerate. An undoubted parthenogenesis obtains in Chara crinita, one of the water-stoneworts. For in N. Europe only the female plants are represented. It should be noted that there is no reason whatever to associate the dominance of parthenogenesis with any loss of racial vigour. A hundred successive parthenogenetic generations have been carefully observed in the case of Daphnia, and there was no suggestion of any degeneration. In a few cases the occurrence of variation in parthenogenesis has been demonstrated.

It may be useful to distinguish several different grades of parthenogenesis. (*a*) What may be called *pathological* parthenogenesis is illustrated when the egg-cell, say, of a hen, exhibits without fertilization a number of divisions. In none of these cases has the development been known to go far. (*b*) The term *casual* parthenogenesis may be applied to cases where the occurrence is observed as a rare exception—*e.g.*, in silk-moths. It occasionally happens that worker-ants, not normally reproductive at all, produce ova which develop parthenogenetically. Since the discovery of what is called 'artificial parthenogenesis' (see below) these instances of pathological and occasional parthenogenesis have become more intelligible. (*c*) *Partial* parthenogenesis is well illustrated by hive-bees. The queen receives from the drone a store of male elements or spermatozoa, and it rests with her, in laying the eggs, to fertilize them or not. Those eggs that are fertilized from the store of spermatozoa develop into workers or queens (according to the nurture); those that are not fertilized develop into drones. The same is true of some other Hymenoptera, such as ants. (*d*) The term *seasonal* parthenogenesis may be applied to cases like greenflies or Aphides, where one parthenogenetic generation succeeds another all through the summer, but males reappear in the autumn and fertilization occurs. This is also illustrated by some of the water-fleas. (*e*) The term *juvenile* parthenogenesis may be applied to some curious cases (*e.g.*, in the midge Miastor) where larval forms exhibit precocious reproductivity without any fertilization. It becomes difficult, however, to draw a line between such cases and multiplication by means of spores, such as is seen in the larval stages of the liver-fluke and in many plants. Spores are specialized reproductive cells which develop without fertilization; they are familiar to every one on the fronds of ferns. The formation of spores is a primitive mode of reproduction, but the parthenogenetic development of ova is probably in all cases secondary and derivative—a relapse from the normal spermic development. None the less it seems to work well in certain kinds of organisms and in certain conditions of life.

It may be asked whether egg-cells which normally develop without being fertilized are in any way different from ordinary ova. But the answer is not at present very clear. In some cases (ants, bees, and wasps) the ova go through the ordinary process of maturation, involving a reduction of the number of nuclear rods or chromosomes to half the normal number. In some other cases (rotifers, some water-fleas, and green-flies) there is no reduction when the conditions of life are favourable, though there may be when they are unpropitious.

Of great interest and importance is the establishment of the fact that in a variety of cases the ovum may be artificially induced to develop parthenogenetically. The demonstration of this has been mainly due to Jacques Loeb and Yves Delage. If the unfertilized eggs of a sea-urchin be left for a couple of hours in sea-water the composition of which has been altered (*e.g.*, by adding magnesium chloride), and be then restored to ordinary sea-water, many of them develop into normal larvæ. A mixture that Delage found to be very effective for sea-urchin ova consisted of 300 c.cm. of sea-water, 700 c.cm. of an isotonic solution of saccharose, 15 centigrams of tannin dissolved in distilled water, and 3 c.cm. of normal ammoniacal solution. It works equally well if the volume of the sea-water or of the saccharose be doubled. The ova were left for an hour in the mixture, then washed several times, and then placed in sea-water, where they soon developed. In a few cases fully-formed sea-urchins have been reared. There are two points of special importance: first, that the artificial parthenogenesis has been induced in a great variety of types (*e.g.*, sea-urchin, starfish, marine worm, mollusc, fish, and even amphibian); and, second, that the artificial stimuli effectively used are very varied—chemical, physical, and mechanical. Artificial parthenogenesis has been induced by altering the chemical composition of the water by adding or removing certain salts, or by altering the concentration by adding salt and sugar, or by subjecting the ova to various influences, such as superabundance of carbon dioxide, vapour of chloroform, ether, benzol and toluol, the presence of butyric acid, blood, serum, and extracts of foreign cells, or by exposing the ova to electric currents or to mechanical stimulation. Frog's eggs pricked with a needle and washed with blood may proceed to develop rapidly and normally. In a few cases the parthenogenetic development has been successfully carried beyond the completion of the tadpole metamorphosis. The effective stimuli, such as have been enumerated above, differ for different kinds of eggs, and even for eggs of the same kind at different stages of ripeness. There is probably some common factor in all the effective stimuli, but what it is remains uncertain.

It is too soon to make more than a tentative statement as to what happens in artificial parthenogenesis. According to some, the artificial changes in the medium do not in themselves directly induce segmentation, but modify the intimate constitution of the egg in such a way that, when it is returned to its natural medium, it becomes auto-parthenogenetic. According to Loeb, the physico-chemical agency induces the formation of a 'fertilization membrane' by a change in the surface of the egg comparable to that which follows the entrance of a spermatozoon. The first step is a cytolysis or partial solution of the cortical layer of the ovum, perhaps a liquefaction of fatty substances in the cellular emulsion. The result is the formation of the 'stabilizing envelope' or 'fertilization membrane.' But the appearance of this membrane seems to lead to an acceleration of the oxidations

going on in the egg; the egg is activated, and segmentation begins. But this may simply lead to disintegration, if there is not also a corrective factor, and it has been possible to devise experimental conditions that induce activation only and others that induce activation and stable development. Thus the presence of a fatty acid, such as butyric, may bring about membrane-formation and the activation of the egg, while the presence of a hypertonic solution (*i.e.* with increased osmotic pressure) may serve as the essential corrective. The life of the activated egg may also be saved by putting it after the membrane-formation for about three hours into sea-water practically free from oxygen or containing a trace of potassium cyanide. In either way the over-active oxidations in the egg may be suppressed. If the eggs are thereafter transferred into ordinary sea-water containing free oxygen, they often develop normally. Similarly, pricking the ovum of frog or toad with a platinum needle and the entrance of some blood corpuscles may serve to activate, while the return to the normal medium may serve as the necessary counteractive of disintegration.

One must not conclude that the rôle of the complex living spermatozoon is exhaustively replaced by the chemico-physical agencies referred to, for normal fertilization implies more than activation and a regulation of the subsequent cleavage. It implies a mingling of the heritable qualities of the two parents. What the experiments show is that the ovum is quite complete in itself, that certain factors involved in what the spermatozoon effects may be artificially mimicked, and that perfectly normal larvæ may be reared from various unfertilized eggs which are not known ever to develop parthenogenetically in natural conditions. The remarkable facts that have come to light since 1899 show that one cannot set limits to the possibility of the occurrence of parthenogenesis. Some of the experimental conditions which are effective in inducing parthenogenetic development might find a parallel in natural conditions. As yet, no instance of either artificial or natural parthenogenesis has been observed in the animal kingdom above the level of amphibians.

LITERATURE.—J. Loeb, *Artificial Parthenogenesis and Fertilisation*, Chicago, 1913, *The Mechanistic Conception of Life: Biological Essays*, do. 1912; P. Geddes and J. Arthur Thomson, *The Evolution of Sex*, revised ed., London, 1901, and *Sex*, do. 1914; J. Arthur Thomson, *Heredity*[2], do. 1912.

J. ARTHUR THOMSON.

PARTHIANS.—1. The country.—The position of Parthia was south and a little east of the Caspian Sea. It was bounded on the north by Hyrcania and the Turanian desert, on the south by the great salt desert of central Īrān, on the east by Ariana, and on the west by Media. Roughly, it corresponded with the northern part of Khorāsān. The name of the country, Parthia, is regarded as having been derived from that of its south-west province, Parthyene.

2. The people.—The Parthians were an Iranian tribe named in the inscriptions of Darius *Parthava*, called by the Greeks Παρθυαῖοι. Justin (xli.) describes them as Scythian exiles, their name being explained as meaning 'refugee' in that language. It is doubtful whether any of the stories as to the origin of the Parthians are trustworthy. Moses of Chorene calls them descendants of Abraham by Keturah, whilst Strabo and others regard them as Scythians sent by Sesostris from Scythia when he returned from that country. The first authentic information concerning them, however, is that of Darius, who represents them as inhabiting the tract with which they have always been associated. It is therefore probable that they were added to the Persian empire by Cyrus, the conqueror of Babylon, about 550 B.C. Herodotus (iii. 93) speaks of them as belonging to the 16th division, or satrapy, of Darius, and as paying, with the Chorasmians, Sogdians, and Areians, a tribute of 300 talents of silver.

3. History.—However faithful the Parthians may have been to their overlord in the years preceding the accession of Darius Hystaspes, there seems to be no doubt that, while he was at Babylon, they revolted, with other tribes or nationalities, in favour of one of the pretenders with whom he had to contend. Their sympathies were evidently with Phraortes the Mede, and in this they had the support of Hyrcania. As Darius's father, Hystaspes, was the general who defeated the allied rebel armies there, it seems probable that they were in the province which he governed. The first battle took place in Vispauzatis (Hyspaostisa), in Parthia, but, notwithstanding the success which Darius claims for his father on that occasion, it is clear that he had not troops enough, and reinforcements had to be sent from Persia. The second battle, in which Hystaspes was entirely victorious, took place near the city of Patigrabana, also in Parthia. In the war of Xerxes against the Greeks the Parthians were in the same division as the Bactrians, and were commanded by Artabazos (Herod. vii. 66). To all appearance they remained faithful to Persia to the end, serving in the army at Arbela against Alexander, to whom, however, they made but a feeble resistance when he passed through their country on his way to Bactria.

4. Rise to power.—Very scanty materials for the early history of the Parthian kingdom exist, and only fabulous legends concerning it are given by Arrian in his *Parthica* (Photius, cod. 68; Syncellus, p. 539 f.). Here Arsaces, the founder of the great Parthian dynasty, with his brother Tiridates, originates in the royal house of the Achæmenians. The young Tiridates having been insulted by the prefect Agathocles or Pherecles, the brothers, with five companions (like the seven Persian supporters of Darius), slay him, and Arsaces mounts the throne. There is nothing improbable in all this, but the statement that Arsaces died after two years and was succeeded by Tiridates seems impossible, in view of the fact that the former reigned about 37 years. Arsaces I. maintained himself not only in Parthia, but also in Hyrcania, though constantly threatened by Diodotus of Bactria (Justin, xli. 4). Arsaces is said to have fled, about 238 B.C., to the nomadic tribe of the Aspasiacæ, owing to the march of Seleucus II. eastwards (Strabo, xi. 513). A rebellion in Syria, however, soon compelled Seleucus to retire, and Arsaces returned victorious to Parthia. According to Justin (xli. 4), the day of this victory was celebrated as that of Parthian independence. Arsaces was proclaimed king at Asaak (Kuchan in the upper Atrec valley) and founded Dara in Apavarktikine, now Kelat, farther to the east. His son, Arsaces II., was attacked by Antiochus III. (the Great) in 209 B.C., and certain Parthian and Hyrcanian towns were captured by him. The successor of Arsaces II., Priapatius (Justin), ruled 15 years (190–175 B.C.), and Phraates, who followed on the throne (175–170 B.C.), subjugated the Mardi in the Elburz. This ruler, notwithstanding that he had many sons, left his throne (following an old Elamite custom) to his brother, Mithridates I. (170–138 B.C.). Having subdued the Medes, the Elymeans, the Persians, and the Bactrians, Mithridates extended his conquests in India beyond those of Alexander, subjugated Syria, and added Babylonia (see § 9) and Mesopotamia to his empire, which now had the Ganges as its eastern and the Euphrates as its western boundary. Among other great rulers of Parthia may be mentioned Phraates II. (138–127 B.C.), who defeated Antiochus Sidetes,

but was himself slain in a battle with the Scythians who had helped Antiochus; and Phraates III. (70–57 B.C.), who supported the younger Tigranes of Armenia against his father, and re-obtained possession of Mesopotamia in consequence. He was murdered about 57 B.C. by his two sons. The dynasty of Arsaces lasted until A.D. 229, when it was ended by the native Sasanian dynasty of Persia, under Artaxerxes I., son of its founder.

5. **Character.**—An active mountainous race, the Parthians were very warlike and courageous. They early learned the value of accurate shooting, and attained renown as archers, owing to their skill with the bow on horseback. Their fame as horsemen was for this same reason equally great. Even whilst going at full speed, they discharged their arrows with such precision that they could prevent an enemy from following them in their flight. The cavalry formed the strength of the Parthian army; as for the infantry, this was composed mainly of slaves who had been bought and trained for military service.

6. **Civilization and language.**—It is doubtful whether the Parthians were of Scythian origin or not (§ 2), but it is known that certain Scythian nomads became the ruling race in the State. Extensive landed property was given to them, and they formed the king's council, which appointed the successor. These Scythians, however, ultimately became, as was to be expected, one with the Parthian nation. Such an amalgamation was rendered all the easier because of the likeness of their language, for Parthian was looked upon as a mixture of Scythian and Median (according to E. Meyer = Iranian). Being, however, 'philhellenes' and altogether under the influence of Greek art and civilization, the kings, on their coins, and probably also in official documents, used the Greek language, so that no specimens of ancient Parthian have come down to us. That their language should have been the original of that strange jargon, Pahlavi, as contended by some (Meyer regards the word as a corruption of *Parthava*, 'Parthian'), is in the highest degree improbable. The tongue which, mingled with Pahlavi, made it a 'jargon' was not Greek, but Aramæan. The Iranian element of Pahlavi was Persian.

7. **Religion.**—As the early history of the Parthians is practically unknown, the religion which they professed is still a hidden detail. The Scythian element in the country is said to have adopted the religion of Zoroaster, and this probably became its official creed—an 'everlasting fire' was maintained in the royal town of Asaak.

8. **Personal characteristics.**—The Parthian coins show, on the obverse, the king's head in profile. He is bearded, and his hair, combed down on to his forehead, is confined by a fillet. The later kings have tiaras and shorter beards than the earlier. On the reverse of some of the coins is a representation of a soldier seated. He is beardless, and wears a hat with a brim, tight-fitting breeches, and a short cloak. In his outstretched hand he holds the national weapon, the bow. This apparently gives the costume of their renowned archer-cavalry.

9. **The Parthians in the late Babylonian inscriptions.**—There is hardly any doubt that more information concerning the Parthians will come to light from excavations and explorations in the nearer East. Several large Babylonian tablets, giving very minute details of the history of the Arsacidean period, are preserved in the British Museum. So far, however, the distinguishing names of the individual kings of the dynasty are rarely obtainable from this source, as they all bear the dynastic appellation *Aršakaa* or *Aršakam*, *i.e.* Arsaces.

One of these tablets states that the Babylonians of Seleucia on the Tigris opposed Antiochus, and refers to a conflict with the Elamites, led, apparently, by a general named Parsû. Antiochus fled with a few soldiers. Another fragment refers to the people having fled from certain plunderers (*Arbâya*, 'Arabs'), who then infested the country. Later on (seemingly) fighting took place between the Babylonians (people and leaders) and 'the son of the king and his army.' After a gap an announcement follows in which (the king of Parthia?) refers to some one (who belonged [?] to Artabanus, his brother) having been killed. He fought with (the enemy) and effected a great slaughter, and those who saved themselves by flight (including the son of the king) were pursued into the mountain-fastnesses. The 'Arabs' thereupon began plundering again, as in former days, but the writer notes that Arsaces (*Aršakaa*), the king, proceeded in that month 'into the remote cities of the land of Gutium' (Media), to make battle. It may, from this, be conjectured that the ordered rule of the Parthians was a welcome relief from the anarchy which seems previously to have prevailed in some of the lands which they conquered. As Artabanus was brother of Arsaces VI. (Mithridates I., 170–138 B.C.), some or all of the above details probably refer to his reign.

The Babylonian inscriptions of the Parthian period were written with the object of furnishing astrological data for historical forecasts. In addition to these, tablets of the nature of contracts have also been found. Their dates generally combine the Greek equivalent era with that of the Arsacidæ. As far as can be judged from the records handed down, the national life of Babylonia, as well as the religious institutions, went on much the same as during the reigns of their own kings, and it is probable that the same liberal rule prevailed in all the provinces under Parthian sway.

LITERATURE.—G. Rawlinson, *The Sixth Great Oriental Monarchy: Parthia*, London, 1873; A. von Gutschmid, *Gesch. Irans und seiner Nachbarländer von Alexander dem Grossen bis zum Untergange der Arsaciden*, Tübingen, 1888; Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography*, London, 1872, *s.v.* 'Parthia'; Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, do. 1880, *s.v.* 'Arsaces,' etc. (very detailed); *HDB*, *s.v.* 'Parthians'; *EBr*[11], *s.vv.* 'Parthians,' 'Arsaces,' 'Phraates,' 'Mithridates,' 'Orodes,' 'Gotarzes,' 'Pacorus,' etc.

T. G. PINCHES.

PASCAL.—Blaise Pascal was born at Clermont-Ferrand on 19th June 1623, and died in Paris on 17th Aug. 1662. His father, Étienne Pascal, was president of the Court of Aids at Clermont when Blaise was born. The earliest anecdote told of the child recounts that, when he was a year old, he was cured by magical means of an illness which was supposed to have been superinduced by a witch. In 1626 Pascal's mother, *née* Antoinette Bégon, died; in 1631 his father, with his family, consisting of Blaise, Gilberte (born in 1620, afterwards married to M. Périer), and Jacqueline (born in 1625, afterwards Sœur de Sainte Euphémie in Port-Royal), moved to Paris in order to devote himself to the education of his son, whose precociousness was remarkable. There he fell into disgrace with Richelieu for having protested against an administrative reduction of the *rentes* of the hôtel-de-ville, some of which he had purchased. Being, however, restored to favour, he was appointed intendant of Rouen by the cardinal in 1639. After nine years' residence in Rouen there followed a stay of two years in Clermont, and in 1650 the Pascal family returned to Paris. Shortly afterwards Jacqueline joined Port-Royal (she was professed on 5th June 1653)—Gilberte had already married Périer—and Étienne, the father, died in Sept. 1651.

Such is the bare outline of the history of the family in which Pascal was brought up, and, as we shall see, what little light it throws on the origin or development of the genius which illuminates it comes from the father and the sister Jacqueline. We are, nevertheless, forced, perhaps not without advantage, to rely for an estimate of Pascal's place in history mainly on the events of his own life as illustrated by his literary remains. And that place will be found to be determined by three principal factors: his aptitude for mathematics, his writings on religion, and his psychology.

1. His mathematical aptitude.—Pascal's sister, Madame Périer, is our authority for the statement that, the study of geometry being withheld from him by his father, he was found one day by the latter with the figures of the first 32 propositions of the first book of Euclid worked out independently, and this while still a boy. He was now encouraged to study mathematics and was admitted to the weekly meetings of a small body of scientists who formed the nucleus of the future Royal Academy of Sciences. When only sixteen years old, he drew up a treatise on conic sections under six heads, entitled (1) 'Generatio coni sectionum tangentium et secantium,' (2) 'De hexagrammate mystico et conico,' (3) 'De quatuor tangentibus et rectis punctæ tactuum jungentibus, unde rectarum harmonice sectarum et diametrorum proprietates oriuntur,' (4) 'De proportionibus segmentorum secantium et tangentium,' (5) 'De tractionibus conicis,' (6) 'De loco solido.' This treatise was found among Pascal's papers after his death and was communicated to Leibniz, who, in 1676, urged its instant publication on account of its importance and originality. A *résumé*, however, of its results had been published by Pascal himself in 1640. The keystone of his theory was what he called the mystic hexagram, as to which he proved that the intersections of the three pairs of opposite sides of a hexagon inscribed in a conic are collinear. From this he deduced more than 400 corollaries.

While assisting his father in the collection of taxes at Rouen, Pascal found that long and tedious calculations were frequently necessary. His impatient spirit and fertile brain hit accordingly on the idea of making a machine which should automatically work out these troublesome arithmetical problems. He was so hampered by difficulties in the manipulation of the necessary material that, though he conceived the idea in 1643, it being, as he said, 'the effort of a man of twenty years old,' he did not secure the royal privilege for it till 1649, and it was not till 1652 that he was able to show that final form of his machine which is now deposited in the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers.

From pure mathematics Pascal now turned to physics, after this excursion into mechanics. In the 17th cent. the dispute whether Nature abhorred a vacuum or not was unsettled. An intermolecular vacuum was admitted on both sides, but it was doubtful if any other kind of vacuum were possible in Nature. Descartes affirmed such a vacuum impossible and inconceivable. The atomists affirmed the contrary. The experiments of Torricelli (1608–47) under the inspiration of Galileo had resulted in the proof of the weight of the air and in the record of this fact in the barometer (the 'Torricellian vacuum') which was manufactured in 1643. Pascal interested himself in the subject, and in 1647 published his *Nouvelles expériences sur le vide*, followed by experiments in the next year in the Puy-de-Dôme and in Paris to determine whether the weight of the air was identical at all heights above sea-level.

'If,' as he said, 'it is found that the height of the quick-silver is less at the top than at the bottom of the mountain, we must necessarily conclude that the weight or pressure of the air is the sole cause, and not any horror of a vacuum, since it is quite certain that there is more air at the bottom than at the top, for nobody could hold that nature abhors a vacuum more at the foot than at the top of the mountain' (*Œuvres*, iii. 265).

It is not too much to say that modern physics dates from the conclusions of Pascal come to in 1648. He broke with reluctance, he tells us, from the dogmas of the schools.

'From the first of these principles, that nature has an invincible horror of a vacuum, I have passed to the second, that she has a horror but not an invincible horror, and lastly, from that to a third belief that nature has no horror of a vacuum at all' (*ib.* ii. 371).

Pure mathematics still held Pascal, however, as is shown by his exercises on the cycloid, which date from 1658. Roberval had defined the area of the curve and the volume described by its revolution round its axis and round its base. Pascal then determined the segments of the area and the volumes as well as their centres of gravity, and, under the pseudonym of Dettonville, invited the leading mathematicians of the day to contend for a prize for the solution of such problems. Though Wallis of Oxford and others sent in essays, the proposal came to nothing, and Pascal finally published his own conclusions. These give Pascal high rank among the professors of the infinitesimal and differential calculus. It is worthy of note that, while engaged on this laborious work, Pascal was continuously under bodily suffering, and that his ideas on the properties of the cycloid came to him while sleepless through violent toothache.

It is not possible to fix precisely the date of another work of Pascal's which was concerned with the theory of probabilities. In that period of his life which preceded his 'second conversion' and followed the death of his father, he was familiar with sundry young men of fashion such as the Duc de Roannez and the Chevalier de Méré, and out of their experience of the gaming table rose a desire that he should treat mathematically the laws of chance. On this ensued a correspondence of Pascal with Fermat (see I. Todhunter, *Hist. of the Mathematical Theory of Probability*, Cambridge, 1865, pp. 7–21), but Pascal, though he seems to have contemplated a larger work, printed in 1654 only a fragment on the arithmetical triangle, which, however, was not published till 1665.

2. Writings on religion.—Though Pascal occupies an honourable place among the leaders of mathematical thought, he will always be most widely known for his writings on religion, especially the *Pensées* and, above all, the *Provinciales*. To appreciate these duly, however, we must first understand the ground and consequence of Pascal's religious outlook.

The first factor, in order of time, which falls to be considered is the atmosphere of the home of Pascal's early days. It might be too severe to think of it as darkened by any Puritanical gloom. The words, 'We only think of Aristotle and Plato as clad in the philosopher's toga. But they were good fellows and like the rest they laughed with their friends' (*Pensées*, no. 55 [vol. i. p. 150]), seem to describe accurately the two sides of Étienne Pascal's home. It was the home at once of a Stoic philosopher, a grave man of affairs, and a cultured man of the world to whom a wise gaiety was not unknown. Moreover, the greater part of Blaise Pascal's life was spent in Paris, and the nine years spent in the capital of Normandy—a province where culture was specially developed—were dignified by the friendship of the illustrious Corneille. In any case, whether in Paris or in Rouen, Pascal was thrown into a society whose polish and refinement would effectually open to him whatever joys the 'morale des honnêtes gens' might give.

On the other hand, Pascal's father was of an aristocratic Stoicism, with strong views about the education of his family and belief in his power to supply it. He had his 'system,' and this demanded the study of languages and literature before that of mathematics. It also insisted that the pupil should take nothing for granted, but in all things abandon prejudice and think for himself. This enables us to understand partly why Pascal stood forth in all that he did as original, whether as discoverer or inventor or as the champion of religion. But at the last it is to the imperious genius of Pascal himself that we must attribute

that character of masterfulness, self-assuredness, and readiness to follow the argument whithersoever it might lead which we find in all that he set his hand to.

Two authors have been singled out as having contributed beyond others to the development of Pascal's mind—Epictetus and Montaigne—and not only because of the 'entretien sur Epictète et Montaigne' held by him with Isaac Lemaistre de Saci soon after his entrance into Port-Royal. There Pascal maintained against his friendly opponent that those two authors were neither dangerous nor useless. Of Epictetus he said:

'Behold the light of this great spirit who has so well known the duty of man. I dare to say that he would deserve to be worshipped if he had known equally well his impotence, since one must be God to teach man both. Also, as he was earth and ashes, after having so well understood what we ought to do, see how he loses himself in the presumption of what we can' ('Entretien de Pascal avec M. Saci,' *Œuvres*, iv. 35).

For man to count on himself is to Pascal the sign 'd'une superbe diabolique' (*ib.* iv. 36), and it was this, he said, that led Epictetus to believe that the soul is part of the divine substance, and that pain and death are not evils. Instinctively Pascal felt that the humility of Epictetus (though it might be the humility of Jean Jacques Rousseau) was not the humility of the Christian.

If Epictetus attracted Pascal by his insistence that man was but an actor in a comedy whose length depended on the will of the Master, it was Montaigne among the critics of 'le moi haïssable' who most deeply affected him. And he did this because of a certain affinity of scepticism which drew the bold intellect of Pascal irresistibly to the mocking humanist who went to Mass because Cicero bade him go. Sainte-Beuve has finely said that Montaigne can be studied in the bosom of Pascal.

'He was for him at certain times the fox of the Spartan boy concealed under his cloak. Pascal was frequently laid hold of by him, bitten and devoured. In vain he overthrows and rejects him; the wily one returns. He is disturbed by him, he quotes and transcribes him. . . . We might sum it all up in saying that Pascal in all his life and work has only done and only wanted to do two things: to fight to the death the Jesuits in the *Provinciales*, to ruin and annihilate Montaigne in the *Pensées*' (*Port-Royal*, ii. 387 f.).

But Pascal could neither be content with the sceptical indifference of Montaigne nor do more than justice to the rational Stoicism of Epictetus. On the other hand, he was still less attracted by sceptical Epicureanism, if only because its ultimate moral effect is a general relaxation of the will to good. He was sufficiently conscious of man's unworthiness to draw upon himself the appellation of 'ce sublime misanthrope' (Voltaire, *Lettres philosoph.* xxv.). He testifies to his sense of man's weakness apart from grace when he says that 'man is neither angel nor beast, and the evil is that he who would make the angel makes the beast' (*Pensées*, no. 358 [ii. 271]). Again, though a bold, keen, and original thinker, he was deeply convinced of the limitations of reason and of human culture in general. This conviction led him to say that 'to mock at philosophy is true philosophy,' that 'true eloquence mocks at eloquence, true morality at morality; that is to say, that the morality of judgment mocks at the morality of feeling, for this is under no rule' (*ib.* no. 4 [i. 17]). He sees clearly enough that philosophy can do something, but that it cannot do all. A higher principle is required to carry on the work of philosophy, and he finds this in faith. Pascal saw that 'there are reasons which transcend our reason'; that, though 'all our dignity consists in thought,' yet that that thought is folly; man's thought never attains to satisfaction, for 'nature confounds the sceptics and reason the dogmatists.' Even from this misery of a nature hopelessly divided against itself Pascal draws the consolation that, though 'to know one's self miserable is misery indeed, yet this misery is a mark of our greatness since we are conscious of it. It is the misery of a grand Seigneur, of a dispossessed King' (*ib.* no. 398 [ii. 303]). Pascal's indomitable spirit preserved him from all pessimism of the heart. He refused to rest in impotence as the last word about man. Impotent though in himself he might be, yet he was not left to himself. With him and above him was God, and the bridge by which God was reached was called faith. The radical contradictions in man's nature did not for him point to religious indifference, or to a 'religion de coutume,' but they drove him to that religion which promised to show how they could be got rid of or be reconciled.

In Jan. 1646 Étienne Pascal fell on the ice and dislocated his thigh. Then followed a period of retirement, during which he and his family studied works by Jansenius, Arnauld, and Saint Cyran, from which resulted what is called the 'first conversion' of Pascal, the nature of the Port-Royal appeal and its effect on him being somewhat similar to those of the *Serious Call* on Dr. Johnson. This did not lead him to surrender his scientific interests, for in the same year he was engaged on his researches on the question of a vacuum referred to above. Meanwhile his sister Jacqueline, with his sympathy, was being drawn towards Port Royal, though she did not take the vows till 5th June 1653. At the same time (1647) Pascal was attending sermons preached by Antoine Singlin, confessor to Port-Royal. There ensued a period of worldliness broken by the death of his father on 24th Sept. 1651. Soon after he wrote his short *Discours sur les passions de l'amour*. Much has been made of a carriage accident which happened as Pascal was being driven over the Pont de Neuilly, when the horses ran away, and two out of the four (or six?) fell into the Seine. Whether this had anything to do with Pascal's second and definite conversion is doubtful. What is certain is that towards the end of 1653 he was the recipient of an extraordinary spiritual illumination by which he was raised above all the interests that had before occupied him, or, to be more accurate, was enabled for the rest of his life to approach them as merely affording materials for heavenly contemplation. This ecstasy is dated 23rd Nov. (1653 or) 1654, and an enigmatic record of it was found in two copies, one of parchment and one of paper, stitched up in his doublet after his death. It ran:

'The year of grace 1654,
Monday 23rd November, day of St. Clement,
pope and martyr, and others of the martyrologium;
Eve of St. Chrysogonus, martyr, and others,
from about ten at night
to half past twelve.

FIRE.

God of Abraham, God of Isaac, God of Jacob,
Not of philosophers and savants.
Certainty, joy, certainty, feeling, peace, joy.
God of *Jesus Christ*.
My God and thy God (Joh. 20[17])
Thy God shall be my God (Ruth).
Forgetfulness of the world, and of everything save *God*.
He is only found by the ways taught
In the Gospel. *Greatness* of the human soul.
Righteous Father, the world has not
Known thee, but I have known thee (Joh. 17).
Joy, joy, joy, and tears of joy.
I have separated myself from it.
Dereliquerunt me fontem.
My God, wilt thou leave me?
That I may not be separated from thee eternally.
This is life eternal that they may know thee
The only true God and him whom thou hast sent,
Jesus Christ.

JESUS CHRIST.

I have separated myself from it, I have renounced it, crucified it
That I may not be separated from him for ever.
He is only to be kept by the ways taught
In the Gospel.

Renunciation Total and Sweet.
Total submission to Jesus Christ and to my director.
Eternally in joy for one day of trial on earth.
Non obliviscar sermones tuos. Amen.'

Of the two copies of this memorial (sometimes perversely called 'amulet') the paper copy in Pascal's own handwriting seems to be a rough draft for the other, which in the present form is a *copie figurée* made by Louis Périer from the now lost parchment. Along its left side is written at right angles to the text:

'Here is the *copie figurée* of a parchment found after the death of Mr. Pascal, my uncle, written by his hand and sewn in the lining of his doublet—Périer L., Priest and Canon of the Cathedral Church of Clermont.'

This memorial is a decisive landmark in the history of Pascal, and serves to mark the transfer of his interest from the worldly life and the life of reason to the religious and ascetic mode of living. He had received the call of the living God, and all things else henceforth were to his taste but Dead Sea apples. He had before tried what reason and custom—*i.e.*, what the conscious mind (*l'esprit*) and the unconscious—could do. By custom he means those blind, automatic forces which are stronger than all merely conscious activities, and it is this that he had in mind when he gave the advice that we should follow what the converted do, 'for in doing what they believed in, in taking holy water, hearing Mass, etc., you will naturally come to believe and you will stupefy yourself (et vous abêtira)' (*Pensées*, no. 252 [ii. 185]), where *abêtir* means only that the mind will enjoy the immediacy of feeling of the lower animals undisturbed by ideal constructions of the intellect. Now, Pascal has learned what can be done by a new and higher power—inspiration. Before, he would have said that the heart is creative in us; now, he discovers that it is God Himself who immediately acts in us and through us. The direct result of the experience of this presence and power of God in him was the decision to join the Port-Royal recluses, which he did in Jan. 1655. There he found the solitude and ascetic mode of living which had now become necessary to him, and there, too, he found himself amid kindred spirits. He did not, however, definitely enrol himself as a member of the community, and did not consider himself as really belonging to it. To use a familiar distinction, he was an adherent rather than a member of Port-Royal, and he often left the lay convent to live for a time in Paris.

On Friday, 24th March 1656, an event occurred at Port-Royal which had a remarkable effect on the now prepared mind of Pascal—the miracle of the holy thorn.

An abbé, Roi de la Porterie, had lent from his private chapel to the convent of Port-Royal of Paris a thorn from the holy crown of our Saviour. The relic was placed for adoration in the middle of the choir. Among the worshippers came Marguerite Périer, the ten-year-old niece of Pascal, who was suffering from an ulcer of the eye which had affected the bone of the nose. When her turn came, she applied the thorn to her eye and prayed that it might be cured. It was cured, and the cure was proved to be complete. Other miracles of healing took place, and the holy thorn refused to do cures outside Port-Royal.

So much was Pascal impressed that he took for his emblem an eye surrounded by a crown of thorns with the motto: 'Scio cui credidi.' And the certitude which he now felt could hardly be increased by the remarkable conversion of Charlotte Gouffier de Roannez, sister of his old friend, the Duc de Roannez. Pascal became for a time her director, and in that capacity wrote her a series of letters of which only a few fragments remain. Mlle. de Roannez was received into Port-Royal in July 1657, and as long as Pascal lived she resisted all efforts to get her back to the world. Afterwards, however, she left Port-Royal, married the Duc de la Feuillade, and died in 1683 after having for twelve years repented her apostasy.

Les Provinciales.—But a far more important work was begun by Pascal before Mlle. de Roannez demanded his care. In 1656 he began the series of attacks on the Jesuits on which his literary fame chiefly rests. The outer history of the *Provincial Letters* belongs to the history of Port-Royal (see JANSENISM); we are concerned here only with Pascal's contribution to it.

On 14th Jan. 1656 Arnauld was condemned by a packed court of the Sorbonne for false doctrine on the point of sufficient as distinct from effectual grace. Port-Royal appealed to another court—the court of the public—and Pascal was chosen as their advocate. He was no theologian and had little taste for theological subtleties. On the other hand, he felt deeply the gravity of all that affected morality, and with a sure instinct he struck at the weak point in the armoury of the enemies of his Jansenist friends—the system of casuistry of the Jesuits. He wrote in the name of an imaginary man of position, Louis de Montalte, to a friend living in the country who was figured as desirous of knowing what was the meaning of the disputes going on in the Sorbonne. The first of these *Petites Lettres*, as they were commonly called, appeared on 23rd Jan. 1656, and the eighteenth and last is dated 24th March 1657. In the first three Letters he was content to stand on the defensive and discuss with his own peculiar irony the questions of sufficient and effectual grace and of proximate power. Thus he made play with the distinction between words and the ideas for which words stand, and inquired how grace could be sufficient and not effectual in fact. Was not this as good as saying that grace is at once sufficient and insufficient? Pascal illustrates the condition of the Church by comparing it to a man who is left half-dead by robbers, and sends for three physicians. The first, on seeing him, declares his wounds mortal and God alone able to cure him. The second flatters him and assures him that he has sufficient strength to get home. The third, after examining him, agrees with the second and combines with the second to chase away the first. On this the sufferer turns to the third doctor, who tells him that he has sufficient strength for the journey because he has legs, and legs are the instrument made for walking. 'But,' inquires the sick man, 'have I strength enough to use them?' 'Certainly not,' says the doctor, 'and you will not walk unless God gives you supernatural strength.' 'Then you are not of the same opinion as your colleague as to my real condition,' and the doctor admits that he is not. It would be difficult to put more concisely the hollowness of the league formed by the Dominicans and Jesuits against the Jansenists. Similarly, Pascal, in discussing the meaning of 'proximate power,' asks whether a man would have the proximate power of crossing a river if he had a boat and oars and whatever might be necessary, or whether a man with eyes had the proximate power of seeing in the dark. On being told that a man with the power of sight and in the daylight had this proximate power, he inquires whether the righteous have always the proximate power of keeping the Commandments of God, and is told that they have, but that they might not have effectual grace to enable them to pray to God for that purpose. It came to this, then, that the righteous have the proximate power when the phrase is abstracted from all meaning; that the phrase had no authority from the Scriptures, councils, or popes, but that, it being adopted by the majority of the court, Arnauld must adopt it also or be pronounced heretical.

In his fourth Letter, which opens like a Catiline

oration ('There is nothing like the Jesuits') Pascal turns his guns with a magnificent offensive on the Jesuits, but contents himself in this Letter with drawing on his Jesuit interlocutor the consequences of his assertion that 'an action cannot be considered sinful if God does not give us, before we commit it, knowledge of its evil and an inspiration which stirs us up to avoid it.'

In his fifth Letter Pascal addresses himself to an examination of what it was that the Jesuits actually taught, and attacks the basis of their system, which he finds in their underlying determination to substitute their own dominion for the dominion of God. From this followed as a practical corollary that, as the average man is incapable of a high degree of saintliness, religion must be made easy for him. And this the Jesuits carried out by their doctrine of probabilism. On this doctrine and the practical use made of the 'direction of the intention' Pascal pours out the vials of his scorn and derision in this and the next five Letters.

On the day when the fifth *Provincial* appeared (20th March 1656) the recluses of Port-Royal were obliged to disperse as a consequence of Arnauld's condemnation. Four days later occurred the miracle of the holy thorn—a matter of rejoicing to the Jansenists, of confusion to the Jesuits. Pascal in particular was rejoiced, for God had Himself plainly spoken. Moreover, the recluses were allowed to return to Port-Royal, and Pascal continued his assaults till 2nd Aug., when the tenth Letter appeared.

After this he drops the fiction of the provincial friend and addresses himself explicitly to the 'reverend Jesuit fathers,' in the eleventh onward to the eighteenth Letter. Nor was he to be turned from his purpose of attacking the moral maxims of the Society of Jesus by the appearance of Alexander VII.'s bull of 16th Oct. 1656, which condemned the famous five propositions alleged to be extracted from the *Augustinus* of Jansenius. This appeared a fortnight after the publication of the thirteenth Letter. The seventeenth and eighteenth Letters are addressed to François Annat (a Latinized form of his original name Canard), a provincial of his order, and for sixteen years confessor to Louis XIV. Pascal writes to him as the representative of the French Jesuits.

It is not surprising that in so heated a controversy as the *Provincial Letters* aroused Pascal should have been charged with heresy, inaccurate quotation, ridiculing sacred things, attributing to the Jesuit Society as a whole the eccentric opinions of obscure members, and appealing to pruriency. But the only charge which is even plausibly serious is that he spoke falsely when he declared that he was not of Port-Royal. In the seventeenth Letter he refers his opponents to his previous Letters, in which he had declared that 'he was alone' and that he was 'not of Port-Royal.' The passages to which he refers are in the twelfth and sixteenth Letters. In the former he is alluding to the impostures of the Jesuits, and he says:

> 'Indeed, fathers, you are more suspect in this matter than I; for it is not likely that being alone as I am, without power and without any human support against so powerful a body, being sustained only by truth and sincerity I should have exposed myself to lose all in exposing myself to be convicted of imposture.'

And in the sixteenth Letter, in rebutting the accusation of being a heretic of Port-Royal, he says:

> 'I know, fathers, the merit of those pious solitaries who have retired thither and how much the Church owes to their edifying and solid labours. I know their piety and their lights; for although I have never been admitted to their establishment (eu établissement avec eux), as you would fain believe without knowing who I am, yet I have unbroken acquaintance with some of them, and I honour the virtue of them all.'

As a matter of fact, Port-Royal was a home of recluses, and Pascal was not one of them. Some of the *Provincials*, indeed, were written at the Roi David Inn, where Pascal frequently lodged under the name of M. de Mons, so that Pascal's assertions on this head are abundantly justified.

On the merits of the dispute it is enough to say that Pascal was a champion of the genuine morality of the gospel which is founded on a life that is indeterminate, and, therefore, not *as such* patient of formulation in treatises of casuistry. Love, while it remains love, meets each case as it arises and decides by its own intuitions. The weakness of the Jesuits' position lay in the very success of their logic. Having begun by legalizing, *i.e.* externalizing, the freedom which is at the heart of all morality, they were driven farther and farther from life into the intellectual analysis of propositions. Nor was it of any avail for them to plead that much of what they taught they had inherited, or that every man is forced from time to time to distinguish, qualify, or even explain away a precept of ethics. Their original sin was not that they invented, but that they perfected, a casuistry which was a substitute for life and love —not their living and ever-changing expression. Since Pascal's tremendous indictment of ecclesiastical ethics, that science has passed more and more into lay hands, and Pascal may be said to have done for morality what Luther did for religion—freed it from the perversities of experts and made it the business of everybody.

The Pensées.—In attacking the Jesuits Pascal conceived that he was attacking men inside the Church who were driving out Beelzebub to enthrone Lucifer. But he was also concerned with another set of free-thinkers who were outside the Church, and wielded a great influence, especially on the educated classes and on society. To bring these back to a saving knowledge of God through faith was his second principal desire as a Christian, and he determined to write a constructive plea against atheism. In preparation for this he studied diligently the Scriptures, the Fathers, and especially St. Augustine, and in particular an anti-Jewish polemic of the 13th cent., the *Pugio fidei* of Raimond Martin, which had been discovered by François Bousquet and reprinted in Paris in 1651 with notes by Joseph de Voisin. He also re-read and annotated Epictetus and Montaigne, especially the latter. Accordingly, he laid before some of his friends at Port-Royal about 1658, in a discourse lasting two or three hours, the aim and plan of his proposed treatise. They were delighted with what they heard, but Pascal's love of perfection caused delay in the elaboration of his thesis, and death supervened before he had set himself to the labour of writing his *Apologia* of the Christian religion. After his death a considerable body of rough notes was found, which were developed by different hands and in different forms into the famous *Pensées*. Some guidance in the arranging of these notes was derived from the recollections of Étienne Périer, Filleau de la Chaise, and Mme. Périer of Pascal's sketch of his *Apologia*.

Pascal died in 1662, and it was not till 1669 that Port-Royal put forth the first edition of his *Pensées*, with a preface by his nephew, Étienne Périer. Their text, however, was incomplete and was in some respects 'edited,' as to some extent was the edition of Condorcet in 1776, and of Bossut in 1779. The subsequent editions of P. Faugère (1844), A. Molinier (1877), G. Michaut (1896–99), and L. Brunschvicg (1897) have succeeded in elucidating the text. But no finality has been, or perhaps ever will be, reached in determining the order of the fragments. The Port-Royal editions were content to arrange them according to their

subject-matter. The result of this procedure was often to join discordant and to separate concordant notes. Molinier's plan was to group fragments which seemed determined by the line of the *Apologia* and to relegate the remainder to an appendix as illustrative notes. Michaut preferred to reproduce the MSS with critical notes by Brunschvicg. This method has the inestimable advantage of letting us into the mind of Pascal, and of allowing us to see him at work, jotting down his thoughts, erasing, adding, and giving alternative readings.

The thoroughness with which the *Apology* would have been treated appears clearly from the pains which Pascal took to lay down its appropriate method. He rejects for his purpose the 'geometrical' method as incompetent to touch the heart, and he insists that the eloquence of the heart is superior to rhetoric. It is the heart that has to be touched—the human heart which is at once infinite and empty. How then to escape from this ever-present sense of failure and discord? Justice, as we find it, is a matter determined by the boundaries of rivers and mountains; morality, whether in its Stoic or in its sceptical form, is uncertain. Reason argues well, but depends on principles beyond reason. Dogmatism and pyrrhonism are each unable to carry us more than a short way. Man, then, as a being conscious of great powers and needs which he can neither get rid of nor satisfy, must have recourse to something above himself. God alone can help him; religion must do what philosophy and science are unable to do.

From this Pascal goes on to survey the religions of the world, and ends by referring us to that religion which began with Judaism and is consummated in Jesus Christ. In Him the contradictions of human nature are reconciled, and with Him we are united by love, and then we are able to see things from the inside, instead of travelling on the outside by the way of reason through the ever-present contradictions of natural life.

'All the law is contained in Jesus Christ and Adam' (*Pensées*, no. 523 [ii. 418]). Therefore it is that 'the only religion which runs counter alike to nature, to common-sense and to pleasure is after all the only one which has always held its own' (*ib.* no. 604 [iii. 41]).

3. The psychology of Pascal.—So rich and complex a character as Pascal's was certain to draw on it, not only the hatred of those to whom his ideals were abhorrent, but also the misunderstanding which comes from the partial views taken by lesser intelligences. To the rationalism of the 18th cent. the claim to superiority made by Pascal for faith was particularly obnoxious. Leibniz regretted that Pascal's scientific genius was obscured by his prejudices for the Roman religion. To Voltaire he was a sublime madman born a century too soon, and his inspirations were but 'aegri somnia.' Condorcet, as a true Encyclopædist, regarded him as a tool of superstition, and a writer in 1846, L. F. Lélut, reached the highest point of absurdity in a work entitled *L'Amulette de Pascal, pour servir à l'histoire des hallucinations.* Even the story of the Pont de Neuilly, of which Voltaire (following Boileau) made so much, is of doubtful authenticity, and is not found in the accounts of Pascal's conversion given by Jacqueline and Mme. Périer.

Nor is there any good ground for Victor Cousin's theory (1830) of the scepticism of Pascal, according to which his faith was an unbelief only half-conquered. That in one sense Pascal was a sceptic is undoubted. He at one time found fault with the philosophy of Descartes as 'being useless, uncertain, and troublesome—nay, as ridiculous' (*Pensées*, no. 79 [i. 98]). Yet he often quotes Montaigne and apparently identifies himself with his cynical maxims. He writes that 'all men naturally hate one another,' and 'men are necessarily such fools that it would be folly of another kind not to be a fool' (*ib.* no. 414 [ii. 313]). But such intellectual or moral scepticism occupies only a corner of Pascal's ample mind, as is shown by such passages as the following:

'It is necessary to have three qualities, those of the pyrrhonist, of the geometrician and of the humble Christian. These unite with and attemper one another, so that we doubt when we should, we aim at certainty when we should, and we submit when we should' (*Œuvres*, iv. 53; cf. *Pensées*, no. 245 [ii. 179]).

'Two excesses—to exclude reason, to admit reason alone (*Pensées*, no. 253 [i. 186]).

'Faith tells us what the senses do not tell us, but not the contrary of what they see: it is above and not in opposition to them' (*ib.* no. 265 [ii. 195]).

He is quite ready to accept Montaigne's triumphant proof of the insufficiency of reason to explain the whole man, and is yet ready to maintain also that reason within its limits is trustworthy. But the certainty which neither the senses nor conscious thought supply is not unattainable by man if he will but submit himself to God and trust to the 'reasons of the heart' which are given by inspiration. Here he parts company with Montaigne, who would have had man acquiesce as an 'Epicuri de grege porcus' in his helplessness, whereas Pascal would bid him rise out of his rational helplessness into the higher region of faith.

Too much stress has been laid by his critics on Pascal's life-long ill-health as a proof of an unbalanced nature. The 'amulet' is quoted as proof that he suffered from hallucinations—he who two years afterwards began that series of powerful and solidly reasoned Letters which have made him immortal. In fact there is nothing to surprise our psychology in his famous vision. It bears every mark of being the natural climax of an acute mental struggle to find solid ground for belief in man's natural greatness on which to find refuge from his vileness and impotence. As is usual, the solution was *given*, and was accompanied by what is also customary after such effort, a state of super-excited feelings which may seem almost to certify to the subject the genuineness of the revelation. The only word in the whole 'memorial' which might perhaps cause doubt is the one which has a line all to itself, the word FIRE; and yet illumination as an accompaniment of conversion has been remarked on frequently from the case of St. Paul onwards. But Lélut, of the Salpêtrière, will have it that Pascal's autopsy showed softening of the brain, while P. Just-Navarre, of the Lyons Academy, pronounces for tuberculosis. It would seem, however, on the whole sounder to rely on what appears to be good medical testimony, according to which Pascal's sufferings were due to atony and disorders of the alimentary canal, affecting to some extent the whole nervous system, including the brain. There is nothing, however, to show that Pascal's brain was affected to a degree sufficient to cloud his mind or disable his judgment, unless, indeed, we are to declare all thoroughgoing asceticism, such as that of Suso and that of Pascal's iron barbed belt, to be marks of incipient insanity. His writings remain, and their testimony is incontestable to the soundness and unimpaired strength of his mind. As man, as scientist, and as Christian his place is among the heroes of mankind.

LITERATURE.—The *Provincials* have been translated into every civilized language. A convenient ed. in French is that of John de Soyres, *The Provincial Letters of Pascal*, Cambridge, 1880. The *Pensées* also (as is noted in the text) have gone through many editions. Of those mentioned the *Pensées de Blaise Pascal* by Léon Brunschvicg, 3 vols., in the series of 'Les Grands Ecrivains de la France,' Paris, 1904, will supply a comprehensive study; the references in the text are to this edition. Of complete works the best ed. is in the same series, *Œuvres de Blaise Pascal*, 11 vols., do. 1904–14.

Other works which may be found useful are: E. Boutroux,

Pascal, Paris, 1900, tr. Ellen Margaret Creak, Manchester, 1902; F. Strowski, *Pascal et son temps*, 3 vols., Paris, 1907–08; R. F. A. Sully-Prudhomme, *La vraie Religion selon Pascal*, do. 1905; J. Tulloch, *Pascal*, in 'Foreign Classics for English Readers,' Edinburgh, 1888; E. Jovy, *Pascal inédit: Notes pathologiques sur Pascal et son entourage*, Vitry-le-François, 1912; C. A. Sainte-Beuve, *Port-Royal*, 5 vols., Paris, 1840–59, vols. iii. and iv.; art. in *Edinburgh Review*, lxxxv. [1847] 178 ff.; art. in *Quarterly Review*, ccvii. [1906] 526 ff.; H. F. Stewart, *The Holiness of Pascal*, Cambridge, 1915.

W. F. COBB.

PASSIBILITY AND IMPASSIBILITY.—

We may begin with a definition of passion from Baldwin's *DPhP*, *s.v.*:

'Generally passion is the condition of being acted upon, of being affected, receptive.'

In Christian theology the question of passibility and impassibility, or, in other words, according to the above definition, of the capacity or incapacity of being acted upon, comes up in the first place with regard to God Himself, and secondly with reference to the incarnate Christ. In so far as action is associated with change, the question referred to is closely connected with the other question of God's mutability or immutability.

The Biblical idea of God is religious, not philosophical, and as such is, especially in the OT, frankly anthropomorphic. Hence God is represented as both mutable and passible (Gn 6^{6}, Is 63^{9}, Hos $11^{8f.}$). Even in the NT, though a certain contact with the atmosphere of Hellenistic culture has led to the absence of the same vivid anthropomorphisms, we are yet far from a philosophic doctrine of God's immutability, not to say His impassibility. It is noteworthy that C. Hodge (*Systematic Theology*, London and Edinburgh, 1872, i. 390) takes only one proof text for the divine immutability from the NT, viz. Ja 1^{17}. On the other hand, the fundamental NT doctrine of God's Fatherhood suggests the very reverse of His impassibility. We have, moreover, a fresh point of contact established between God and passibility in so far as the man Jesus Christ is regarded as the incarnation of God (He 1^{1-3}, Jn 1^{1-18}). That passibility is ascribed to Him needs no proof; the whole gospel story is evidence. Moreover, the largest part of it is concerned with His passion and death. It may, however, be observed that one of the books in the NT which go furthest in stating a metaphysical doctrine of Christ's divinity also lays peculiar stress on Christ's passible nature (He $2^{9f.\ 14.\ 17f.}$ 4^{15} $5^{7f.}$).

Such, then, was the original position of the Christian religion with regard to the passibility of God and Christ. Christianity, however, in passing into the world of Græco-Roman culture, necessarily came into contact with the idea of God as elaborated by Greek philosophy. One of the chief features of this idea was the conception of the divine immutability and impassibility. The protest against the anthropomorphisms of religion goes back as far as Xenophanes. It is strongly developed by both Plato and Aristotle.

Plato explains that the gods 'are exalted above pleasure and pain, and are untouched of all evils: he opposes in moral indignation the opinion that they can be propitiated, or rather corrupted, by prayers and sacrifices' (E. Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen*[4], Leipzig, 1876–1909, II. i. 929).

Aristotle, the great Greek theist, is yet stronger in his inculcation of similar views.

'The Deity stands, according to Aristotle, in lonely self-contemplation outside the world: it is for man the object of admiration and reverence, the knowledge of it is the highest task for his intellect, in it lies the aim towards which he with all finite beings strives, whose perfection calls forth his love; but so little as he can expect love in return from it, so little does he experience also from it in general any operation, which is distinct from that of the order of nature, and his intellect is the only thing through which he stands in immediate contact with it' (*ib.* II. ii. 791; cf. Eng. tr., *Aristotle and the Earlier Peripatetics*, London, 1897, ii. 329 f.).

It is no wonder, consequently, that the contact of Christianity with the Greek philosophical tradition should have produced difficulties with regard to the passibility or impassibility of God and Christ. Gnosticism, which Harnack has called the acute Hellenization of Christianity, was led to Docetic views of the Person of Christ. Either His humanity was regarded as merely apparitional (Satornil, the Valentinians), or else there was held to be no real union between the heavenly Christ and the man Jesus (Basilides). In opposition to such views, Ignatius, on the other hand, dwells on the paradox of the Incarnation. Christ is 'the Impassible, who was passible for our sakes' (*ad Polyc.* iii. 2). So also Irenæus says that in the Incarnation the impassible became passible (*adv. Hær.* III. xvi. 6).

An attempt to carry through the religious idea of God, in opposition to all Greek philosophy, was the Patripassianism of the 2nd century. Noetus said that Christ Himself was the Father, and that the Father Himself was born and suffered. He maintained that there was only one God, impassible and invisible when He does not suffer and die, passible and visible when He suffers and dies (F. Loofs, *Dogmengeschichte*[4], Halle, 1906, p. 185).

Tertullian, on the other hand, the great opponent of Patripassianism, was inclined to distribute impassibility and passibility between the Father on the one hand and the Logos on the other.

'Whatever attributes therefore you require as worthy of God, must be found in the Father, who is invisible and unapproachable, and placid, and (so to speak) the God of the philosophers; whereas those qualities which you censure as unworthy must be supposed to be in the Son, who has been seen, and heard, and encountered, the Witness and Servant of the Father, uniting in Himself man and God' (*adv. Marc.* ii. 27).

The concluding words of this quotation might lead us to suppose that Tertullian has in mind only the incarnate Logos, but the previous context shows that he is thinking of the pre-incarnate Logos also. To the same effect he says with regard to certain OT narratives (Gn 3^{8} 7^{16} 18^{8}, Ex 3^{2}, etc.):

'These things would not have been believed of the Son of God, if they had not been written: perhaps they are not to be believed of the Father, even though written' (*adv. Prax.* 16).

It was a further development of the same idea when Arius taught that the Logos was by nature a creature, and as such *τρεπτός*. At Nicæa, however (A.D. 325), the doctrine that the Logos was created, or *τρεπτός*, or *ἀλλοιωτός*, was condemned. Henceforward the orthodox doctrine ascribed all passibility of every kind only to the human nature in Christ. The reality of Christ's human sufferings was a matter of faith inasmuch as redemption was connected with them. Nevertheless, as the sufferings of the Logos, they were held to have been voluntarily assumed, along with all other human conditions.

Thus Cyril of Alexandria 'considered that the Logos in becoming man by a voluntary act, gave to physical laws a certain dominion over Himself: took humanity, on the understanding that its laws, conditions, or measures, were to be respected. In this very act of voluntary self-subjection to the laws of humanity did the kenosis consist. By this principle Cyril explained the facts of birth, growth in stature, and experience of sinless infirmities, such as hunger, thirst, sleep, weariness, etc., in the earthly history of the Saviour' (A. B. Bruce, *The Humiliation of Christ*, Edinburgh, 1876, p. 70).

From this view it was only a short step back to Docetism, from which Cyril was by no means free, inasmuch as he held the kenosis to be real only in the physical, not in the intellectual and moral, spheres (*ib.* p. 71 f.). The Latin theologian, Hilary of Poictiers, had before Cyril gone even farther in the direction of Docetism, holding that the human nature of Christ can undergo work and pain of body only because Christ has subjected Himself to them; His human nature can suffer pains as little as air can be transpierced (*de Trin.* x. 23). It has been said that there is in the orthodox doctrine of the Person of Christ, inasmuch as it makes His humanity impersonal, an incorrigible tendency to Docetism; it must, however, be observed that this

tendency was not according to the intention of the doctrine.

We may fitly sum up this historical series by referring to the classical treatment by Thomas Aquinas of the divine impassibility and the passibility of Christ in His humanity. God Himself is absolutely impassible. There is in Him no potentiality; as Aristotle teaches, He is pure act.

'God, therefore, to whom potentiality does not belong, is immutable. It can also be concluded that God is immutable "as regards the several species of mutation, as, for instance, He cannot be increased or diminished, or altered, or generated, or corrupted. . . . Moreover, He cannot be conquered, or suffer violence," for these only belong to one who can be moved' (*Summa c. Gentiles*, ii. 25).

As regards Christ, Thomas teaches (*Summa Theol.* III. xiv. 1) that it was convenient that the body assumed by the Lord God should be subject to human infirmities and defects, for three reasons: (1) that Christ might be able to bear the penalty of sin, (2) that men might believe in the truth of the Incarnation, (3) that Christ might be an example to us in bearing bravely the passions and defects of human nature. Further, Thomas teaches (III. xv. 4) that Christ's soul also, as the 'form' of His body, suffered in His bodily sufferings; it also suffered in a way proper to itself, that being a mark of human nature.

Modern theology, beginning from the human Christ as the revealer of God, instead of from a philosophical conception of deity, has shown in some of its most distinguished representatives a tendency to return to the idea of the divine passibility. Thus A. M. Fairbairn finds a passibility in God to be implied in Christ's representation of Him as Father. He says:

'Theology has no falser idea than that of the impassibility of God. If He is capable of sorrow, He is capable of suffering; and were He without the capacity for either, He would be without any feeling of the evil of sin or the misery of man. The very truth that came by Jesus Christ may be said to be summed up in the passibility of God. But to be passible is to be capable of sacrifice; and in the presence of sin the capability could not but become the reality. To confine the idea of sacrifice to the Son is to be unjust to His representation of the Father. There is a sense in which the Patripassian theory is right; the Father did suffer, though it was not as the Son that He suffered, but in modes distinct and different. . . . The humiliation of the Son involved the visible passion and death, but the surrender by the Father involved the sorrow that was the invisible sacrifice' (*The Place of Christ in Modern Theology*[5], London, 1893, p. 483 f.).

It may finally be observed that philosophy itself has in modern times shown an important movement towards a doctrine of God which admits an element of passibility in His being. The beginning of this movement is associated above all with C. H. Weisse, who distinctly represents his philosophy as rising out of the heart of the Christian religion (*Philosophie des Christenthums*, Leipzig, 1855–62). The greatest modern representative of the tendency is, however, Weisse's disciple, H. Lotze, who teaches that God is not to be thought of simply as an eternal truth, not even a truth not merely valid, but conscious of itself.

'We have a direct feeling of the wide difference there is between this personification of a thought and living personality; not only do we find art tedious when it expects us to admire allegorical statues of Justice or of Love, but even speculation rouses our opposition forthwith, when it offers to us some self-cognisant Principle of Identity, or some self-conscious Idea of Good, as completely expressing personality. Either of these is obviously lacking in an essential condition of all true reality in the capacity of *suffering*' (*Microcosmus*, Eng. tr.[4], Edinburgh, 1894, ii. 682).

The Infinite Being must therefore be thought of as eternally possessing in its infinite life that which corresponds to the non-ego in a finite personality.

'When we characterize the inner life of the Personal God, the current of His thoughts, His feelings, and His will, as everlasting and without beginning, as having never known rest, and having never been roused to movement from some state of quiescence, we call upon imagination to perform a task no other and no greater than that which is required from it by every materialistic or pantheistic view' (*ib.* ii. 684 f.).

The ideas of this school of philosophy have not been without an echo in theology. R. Rothe, in his *Theologische Ethik*[2] (Wittenberg, 1867–71), developed a doctrine of God very similar to that of Weisse, while A. Ritschl has definitely attached himself to the teaching of Lotze in order to justify the religious view of God derived from the revelation made in Christ (*The Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation*, iii., Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1900, p. 228 ff.).

LITERATURE.—This has been sufficiently indicated throughout the article. ROBERT S. FRANKS.

PASSIVE RESISTANCE.—See RESISTANCE.

PASSIVITY.—J. S. Mill has said:

'Christian morality (so-called) has all the characters of a reaction; it is, in great part, a protest against Paganism. Its ideal is negative rather than positive; passive rather than active; Innocence rather than Nobleness; Abstinence from Evil rather than energetic Pursuit of Good. . . . It is essentially a doctrine of passive obedience' (*On Liberty*, London, 1859, p. 29).

This passage is perhaps typical; it embodies a very common misconception touching the true genius of Christ's religion. The promised gift of Christ was 'life more abundantly' (Jn 10^{10}), and the aim and scope of the gospel are the heightening of life—the lifting of human nature to nobler levels of thought and conduct than it could attain in its unassisted strength, the supplying of new motives and new springs of action. Thus Christianity brings an element of intensity into the ordinary pursuits and activities of men (Ro 12^{11}, Eph $6^{6f.}$, Col 3^{23}). It is essentially a religion of heroisms, of ventures of faith. Men of violence take the Kingdom by force (Mt 11^{12}).

Yet the capacity of man to use his strength for the achievement of this moral and spiritual victory is a divine endowment and has its origin in a divine act. The life of union with God in Christ, which is the sole principle of moral fruitfulness and power, is regarded by the NT writers as a mystical or sacramental fact before it becomes a moral fact. In other words, it depends on the divine action, yet is realized in human nature through the persistent effort of the personal will. We have to 'work out' our own salvation, even while 'it is God which worketh in us both to will and to work, for his good pleasure' (Ph $2^{12f.}$).

As a *mystical* fact, redemption implies a mighty exertion of divine power, of which mankind is the passive subject. The heathen world lay in its helplessness and misery, 'dead in trespasses and sins' (Eph 2^{1}), tossed to and fro by every gust of wayward passion, carried away to 'dumb idols, howsoever it might be led' (1 Co 12^{2}), when God Himself intervened and put forth the fullness of His redemptive might. This is the theme of such passages as Eph 2^{1-10}, Col 1^{13} $2^{13ff.}$. The same thought lies behind St. Paul's massive argument in Ro 5. It is implied in our Lord's teaching recorded in Mt 12^{29} (= Lk $11^{21f.}$).[1] The moral helplessness of man leaves him utterly dependent on the grace and power of God. As Chrysostom says (on μετέστησεν in Col 1^{13}): τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὅλον τοῦ μεταθέντος ἦν, οὐ τοῦ μετελθόντος. Redemption is in the first instance wholly and solely the act of God. And even the consummation of redemption—its completeness—implies the exertion of power by God Himself. He is all, the creature nothing. This is implied in the NT thought of the divine indwelling. To be united to God is to be possessed by God, indwelt by Him, sustained and securely upheld by Him (Jn $10^{28f.}$).

This, then, is one side or aspect of the life of union with God. In St. Paul, however, the pre-

[1] σκῦλα in this passage (Lk 11^{22}) may be taken to mean 'human souls,' as by Bernard, *de Error. Abœlardi*, vi. 16: 'Utinam ego inveniar in his spoliis, quibus spoliatae sunt contrariae potestates, traductus et ipse in possessionem Domini!'; cf. Chrys. *in Matth.* hom. xli. 447 D.

sentation of this mystical side of theology is compatible with assertions, not less emphatic, of the *moral* aspect of the new life—its dependence on the persevering exertion of man's will, the cleaving of human personality to God. We look to God for all that is needed to sustain the life of the soul as of the body; we are wholly 'in the hand of God,' but, as Augustine says, 'ut permaneas in manu artificis, bona voluntas facit' (*in Ps* 39 [40][27]). There are means of grace of which an energetic and persistent use is necessary if the life of union with God is to be sustained. So the gospel inculcates 'the religious view of the will.' It is the will to which Christ always appeals; the will is a man's self. It has been said that to Christ what is most valuable and vital is what the man does for himself (cf. H. Latham, *Pastor Pastorum*, Cambridge, 1890, p. 6). Nevertheless, the fact implied in the words of He 6[1], ἐπὶ τὴν τελειότητα φερώμεθα, remains fundamentally true. Progress in the life of grace depends upon a continuous self-surrender to a divine influence; the yielding up of self to be 'filled with all the fulness of God' (Eph 3[19]).

A question thus arises as to the true meaning and importance of passivity in man's spiritual life. The idea and, to some extent, the word play a prominent part in the writings of the Quietists. Molinos in the 16th cent., Madame Guyon and Archbishop Fénelon in the 17th cent., lay much stress on the quietness or passivity needed to enable God to work His will freely in the soul of the Christian. The doctrine of Molinos (1640–97, see MOLINISM) was rapidly distorted by his immediate followers, and tended to encourage a dangerous and even immoral apathy. Since Christian perfection (*q.v.*) consisted in the utmost possible passivity of soul, all human co-operation in the work of salvation was futile and valueless. It was easy to draw the further inference that all things that might 'happen' to the body, even bodily sins, were indifferent and could not affect the state of the soul. Thus, the doctrine of moral responsibility and even the place of repentance in the Christian life were apt to be undermined. Fénelon (1651–1715) was fully aware of the tendencies of Molinism, and in the defence of his book, *The Maxims of the Saints*, he endeavours to reconcile the doctrine of passivity with the free action of the will.

'Tous les Chrétiens,' he says, 'sont appelés à la passivité, mais ils ne seront pas tous appelés à la contemplation passive. . . . Être passif n'est autre chose que retrancher l'activité, c'est-à-dire les actes inquiets et empressés de l'intérêt propre.'[1]

What Fénelon feared was anything like the intrusion of self-love into the religious life. The disinterested love of God, indifference to self and freedom from self-love—these would, he thought, be best secured by a 'passive obedience' to the impulses of divine grace. Fénelon is perhaps open to the criticism that he lays too little stress on the duties of active love and of personal co-operation with grace. There are passages of this type in his letters, insisting on the need of 'a will supple in God's hand, neither asking nor refusing anything; accepting all He sends unreservedly and never seeking what He refuses under any pretext whatever.'[2] But, on the whole, the state of soul which he commends is one of tranquil and serene submission to the leadings of grace—a state of dependence on God which excludes restless anxiety, scrupulousness, and self-love. He stops short of the extravagance of that type of mysticism of which the only prayer is 'Thy will be done,' and the only virtue an unbounded 'passivity' which is virtually indistinguishable from complete spiritual 'indolence and nothingness'[1] (see QUIETISM).

It is natural in this connexion to mention the leading principle of Quaker worship, viz. the duty of waiting patiently upon God and listening for the inward voice of the Holy Spirit. This duty of passivity follows from the doctrine of the inward light, and the consequent rejection of all symbols and external forms in worship.

'As to the outward signification [of worship] in prayers, praises and preaching, we ought not to do it where and when we will, but where and when we are moved thereunto by the secret inspiration of His Spirit in our hearts' (*Apology for the Quakers*, ed. 1869, prop. xv.).

On this point see further artt. QUIETISM, FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF.

In the life of practical religion the duty of passivity may be said to imply two things: (1) the duty of *submissiveness*, or passive endurance under the pressure of the hostility and hatred of the world. The virtues of patience and long-suffering (*qq.v.*) are a constant theme of the NT writers. They are commended repeatedly as the Christian's way of sharing the experience and following the example of our Lord. Indeed, one of the cardinal virtues of the Christian character is a patience which is practically identical with fortitude (cf. Aug. *de Mor. Eccl.* 40–43, *de Patientia*, 2). But it is noticeable that 'patience' in the gospel is transfigured. It becomes itself the highest exhibition of victorious strength. The humiliation of Christ, *e.g.*, is a display not of weakness but of strength. It exhibits the triumph of an unswerving will under the utmost pressure of trial. He was 'crucified through weakness,' but His cross was the scene of a mighty victory over the powers of evil (Col 2[14f.]), of a redemptive work accomplished under circumstances of inconceivable difficulty and pain. Thus, Hilary maintains that even the sufferings of Christ were triumphs of love and power (*de Trin.* x. 48), and Chrysostom that the Passion was itself an action, 'for through His sufferings He wrought that mighty and wondrous work of bringing death to naught' (*Hom. in Act.* i. 3). In the same way the submission of Christians to the hostility of an evil world, the 'world-resisting' element in character viewed on its passive side, is in itself a display of supernatural might (Col 1[11]). Passiveness is the spirit which recognizes that suffering is an indispensable law of the spiritual life, is that which must be—is God's agent in the heightening and purifying of character. At the same time we must be careful to guard the distinction between Christian quietude, which checks the instinct of revenge for a personal injury, and Christian resentment, which avenges wrong done to another or to the community. The Christian may renounce his own rights, but not his brother's; and the absence of moral resentment, in presence of oppression or lawless wrong-doing which tramples on the rights of others, is a sinful defect in character. In a larger sphere the law of Christian meekness (*q.v.*) is sometimes supposed to exclude the authoritative resistance of evil by law or by armed force (see Tolstoi, *The Kingdom of God is within you*, London, 1894); but St. Paul, who forbids private revenge (Ro 12[19]), also insists that the duty of rulers and States is to act as avengers 'to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil' (Ro 13[4]). In other words, the very end of organized government is resistance to evil. Mere passivity on the part of a nation whose just rights and liberties were imperilled would mean the abdication of its true place and function. According to the doctrine of the NT, the ruler is God's minister, and his office is exactly that of exercising retributive and coercive power (see

[1] *Œuvres*, ii. 365, quoted by Viscount St. Cyres, *François de Fénelon*, London, 1901. p. 112, note.

[2] Letter on 'Christian Perfection,' in Fénelon's *Spiritual Letters: to Men*, Eng. tr., London, 1880, p. 247.

[1] The phrase 'holy indolence and nothingness' is used by Molinos (see St. Cyres, p. 109).

Martineau, *National Duties*, London, 1903, serm. v.).

(2) On the other hand, we may think of passivity as the attitude of *receptivity* which lies at the foundation of all growth in grace—that quiet expectancy of soul, that calm abiding in Christ which is the necessary condition of moral fruitfulness (Jn $15^{1ff.}$). This receptiveness of spirit is akin to the teachableness of mind which Christ requires in His disciples, and which He commends by pointing to the little child as the true type of the inheritor of His Kingdom (Mt 18^{3}). Entrance into the Kingdom means, before all else, the sense of insufficiency, trustful self-surrender, openness to divine influence and divine leading. From this point of view passivity is identical with meekness.

'To be a Christian is not merely to be a believer in Christian doctrine or a doer of Christian duty, but to adopt the receptive attitude of one who lives not by his own power, but by that of the grace or free gift of the Spirit of God . . . the receptive attitude which looks up to Another, for the protection and guidance of life; which lives in conscious dependence upon Another' (J. R. Illingworth, *Reason and Revelation*, London, 1902, p. 212 f.).

'Nor is Christian personality attained, through effort, by those who, but for effort, had it not. There is indeed Christian effort. And there is imitation of Christ. But these are rather the necessary outcome, than the producing cause, of the Spirit of Christ. It is by His initiation rather than ours, and by the acts of His power rather than ours, that we were first brought into relation with Him, and that His Spirit is progressively imparted to us. . . . Essentially we are throughout receivers, not workers. The Pentecostal Spirit is bestowed in grace, bestowed on faith, bestowed through sacraments, anyway bestowed, not earned' (R. C. Moberly, *Atonement and Personality*, London, 1901, p. 320 f.).

In religion, then, as in the study of nature, Wordsworth's maxim holds good,

> 'We can feed this mind of ours
> In a wise passiveness'
> (*Expostulation and Reply*, 23 f.).

For all progress in insight, all growth in character, a certain calmness, meditativeness, and passivity of the soul are necessary; 'a heart,' in Wordsworth's phrase, 'that watches and receives.' Our human destiny is fulfilled, not merely by the putting forth of effort in sheer reliance on our own unaided strength. This was the delusion of Pelagianism. It is fulfilled as much by bearing as by doing; by being acted upon not less than by acting; by patience not less than by effort; by yielding ourselves to God not less than by seizing opportunities; in a word, by cultivating that temper of mind which, before it says, 'Lo, I come to do thy will,' breathes the petition, 'Be it unto me according to thy word' (see J. H. Skrine, *Saints and Worthies*, London, 1901, no. 10, 'Ancilla Domini').

LITERATURE.—H. Martensen, *Christian Ethics (General)*, Edinburgh, 1873, §§ 85-88, 107-110; the works of F. de Fénelon, St. François de Sâles, Mme. Guyon, Molinos, and other mystical writers may be consulted. See, further, literature at art. MYSTICISM.

R. L. OTTLEY.

PASSOVER.—See FESTIVALS AND FASTS (Hebrew).

PASTORAL PEOPLES.—1. Scope and definition of term; position of pastoral peoples in primitive economics.—A typical pastoral tribe, such as the patriarchal Israelites of the OT, is one whose mode of life is entirely dependent upon and conditioned by the possession of flocks and herds of domesticated animals—oxen, sheep, goats, and horses—or, in particular areas, of such specialized animals as the camel, reindeer, or yak. In such a tribe these are not only the principal means of subsistence; they are also the chief or only form of wealth; upon them the position and dignity of the individual depend; they provide him with food and clothing; their acquisition, care, and well-being are the occupation of his life; and they or their products are the medium of exchange by which he obtains from peoples of different culture such commodities not produced by his own people as he may require.

Considered schematically, the pastoral life marks an advance both psychologically and socially in the history of man. By the acquisition of flocks and herds of domesticated animals the shepherd and the herdsman have advanced beyond the day-to-day existence of the huntsman. Notwithstanding the intellectual alertness and ingenuity required from the individual who depends upon his skill in capturing his prey, the possession of a permanent source of livelihood gives the pastoral tribe as a social unit the advantage in opportunities for development and for advancement in solidarity. On the other hand, the constant care of the cattle and the more or less impermanent character of pastoral settlements due to the constant search for pasture place pastoral peoples at a disadvantage relatively to the peoples of settled agricultural habits. The latter are also less exposed to disaster from excessive or exceptional meteorological variations. Consequently, tribes which are pastoral in the strict sense make comparatively slight advance in material culture. There is an absence of specialization in the production of the simple utensils and implements which meet their needs, and any extension of interest in material culture by contact with outside influences is met by barter rather than by internal adaptation of productive powers. It may be noted, however, that this applies only to strictly pastoral tribes, many agricultural tribes being also cattle-keepers on a large scale. On the other hand, a few pastoral peoples practise agriculture as a secondary occupation usually entrusted to the women, the needs of the herds still determining the nomad life of the tribe, while others have in subjection under them a population whose special function is an industry or agriculture—*e.g.*, the Gallas, Somalis, Masai, and other pastoral peoples of E. Africa, among whom despised peoples act as agriculturists, hunters, and smiths.

2. The pastoral life and the influence of environment.—In few types of the human community is the influence of environment so susceptible of analysis as in that of the pastoral tribe. The needs of the animals being paramount, such a community can develop only in a district where climate and soil combine to produce ample food-stuffs at all seasons of the year without the necessity of too rapid transit from one feeding-ground to another. Exception to this rule is found in the case of the horse and the camel. The one by its speed, the other by its constitution, is able to overcome the difficulty of distance, and consequently pastorals who depend upon these animals can occupy desert areas, migrating from one oasis to another. The Arab populations occupying the fringes of the Arabian desert and the W. Sahara are cases in point. Apart from these cases, however, what is practically a continuous pasturage is required. Such regions are to be found in the tropics, where the equatorial forest land gives place to the grass lands, as, *e.g.*, in Africa north and south of the equatorial region, and on mountain plateaux like those of W. and C. Asia, on the higher lands of the mountain valleys, or of the river valleys at the edge of the plateaux where altitude makes the land unsuitable for agriculture, or on the steppes of the temperate, and the tundras of the colder, latitudes. In these areas the strictly seasonal character of the vegetation is responsible for the nomadic life of the inhabitants. In the tropics the advance of the season burns off the grass with the increasing heat, necessitating movement either north or south, according to the situation as regards the equator, or to relatively higher ground where springs and grass are to be found in rifts in

the hills. In mountainous regions the melting of the snows with the advancing season opens up the higher valleys with their rich grass, and the cattle and sheep follow the snow-line as it recedes. Owing to the seasonal character of the vegetation and the absence of water without more elaborate irrigation than is available, these lands are not suited to agriculture, at any rate on the primitive scale.

The absence of pastoral tribes from America, except where this mode of life was undoubtedly due to civilized influence through the introduction of European animals, shows that it is necessary that a region, even if, from geographical considerations, suitable for pastoral purposes, should provide animals adaptable to domestication, before pastoral tribes can develop their particular form of organization and culture.

3. Distribution.—In tracing the distribution of pastoral tribes on the lines suggested by the influence of geographical environment, two disturbing factors have to be taken into account. (1) Outside influence, especially the introduction of European civilization, has a modifying effect. In S. Africa both the Hottentots and the Bantu were at one time extensive breeders of cattle. The more or less constant migrations of the Bantu peoples before the advent of the European as settler and ruler were possibly due to pastoral habits, or an earlier mode of life, but, at present, notwithstanding the continued importance of cattle, economically and socially, as the chief form of wealth, the restriction of the natives of S. Africa to locations and the introduction of the mining industry have made them, with the possible exception of the Bechuana, sedentary cattle-keeping agriculturists. Further, the introduction of the ox-drawn plough, acting through the tabu on oxen for women, has tended to transfer agriculture from the women, in whose entire charge it formerly was, to the men, whose duties previously were confined to the care of the cattle. On the other hand, slow development may leave under pastoral conditions land suitable for agriculture. Much of the area in the Russian empire now under pasture may come under cultivation with the increase of the resources available for its development. In S. Africa the Boers remained in the main a pastoral people owing to lack of economic pressure to induce them to put their land to more profitable uses.

(2) In some cases disturbance in economic equilibrium by an epidemic among the cattle or persistent raiding by more powerful neighbours may produce an entire change in the mode of life. The Masai of the Laikipia plateau, whose cattle were visited by an epidemic about 1890, and who were themselves subject to constant attacks by the Masai of German E. Africa, were forced by their loss of stock—a loss from which they never recovered—to abandon pastoral life and to become agriculturists (see C. Eliot, *ap.* A. C. Hollis, *The Masai*, Oxford, 1905, p. xiv). In C. Asia there are traces of the reverse process, in the course of which agriculture gave place to the nomad. The evidence of abandoned settlements and of the irrigation works in the Turfan depression has been interpreted as an indication that a prosperous agricultural and industrial community in this district, owing to climatic changes and a consequent reduction in the amount of water available, was at some period overwhelmed by marauding tribes of pastoral Mongols from the neighbouring hills. Owing to the continued desiccation these were in turn forced to withdraw, leaving the land again open for agricultural settlement. At the present day no Mongol nomads live within 150 miles of this depression (E. Huntington, *The Pulse of Asia*, p. 312 f.).

The pastoral mode of life might be described as being a marginal type for two reasons: (*a*) it is imposed upon the inhabitants of lands occupying a marginal position in relation to cultivability, whether these are found on the edge of agricultural land, on the fringes of a desert, or at the snow-line of a hill-country; and (*b*), as these areas are for the most part those of climatic extremes of heat or cold, sometimes of both, the conditions which make the pastoral life possible at all are so nicely balanced that any meteorological change to still greater extremes, whether of heat, cold, drought, or moisture, is liable to upset the equilibrium and to drive the people further afield or compel them to modify their mode of life fundamentally. Study of the climatic conditions of C. Asia shows that the great racial migrations and conquests which have originated in this region have depended ultimately upon more or less serious changes in precipitation leading to a decrease in the pasture-land available as a source of livelihood for nomad tribes.

Regions which offer such conditions extend over a fairly well defined area. Speaking broadly, they run in a belt stretching from N.W. Africa, across the north of that continent, except the lower Nile valley, down the E. African plateau into German E. Africa (about lat. 7° N.). In the Euro-Asiatic continent they lie along the steppe-lands of the Russian empire, the mountain valleys and highlands of the Balkans and Asia Minor, the elevated plateaux and basins of C. Asia, including, to the south, Afghānistān, Baluchistān, Tibet, and possibly at one time Kashmīr, though, owing to slight changes in climatic conditions, it is now an agricultural country, and extending to the north-eastern edge of the Asiatic mainland.

The relative distribution of the pastoral peoples by whom these areas are occupied is broadly as follows. In Africa they fall into four main groups. (*a*) In the north-west and north, on the fringes of the Sahara desert, and in the highlands of the coastal region flanking the cultivable valleys of Mauretania and the Tripolitaine, where live agricultural and industrial Berber populations, Kabyles, and others, are nomad tribes. These are either Tuareg, Arabized Berbers who have become pastorals, and are grouped in confederacies such as the Beni M'zab, Askars, and others, or Arab tribes, more or less mixed in blood, descended from the invaders of the 11th century. (*b*) That part of the Sūdān which lies west of the Nile, moderately fertile in the south, but decreasing in fertility towards the north till it shades off into the Bayuda steppe and the Libyan desert, is the home of the 'Sūdānese Arabs,' negroid tribes containing varying and in some cases considerable admixture of Negro blood, but predominantly Arab in culture. It is a level country dotted with hills, in which the earlier Negro population has been able to maintain itself in the south but has been absorbed in the north. The most powerful tribes in the northern parts of this area are the Kababish and Kawahla, who, where the country is sufficiently fertile to support a sedentary population, use the lands of this population as their grazing ground. Further south the camel gives place to the ox in the country of the cattle-owning Baqqara. The Fulah, who now range from Senegambia to Lake Chad and were at one time pastorals in the full sense, as a modified negroid type, probably had their origin in some part of the Sūdān. (*c*) East of the Nile extending to the Red Sea are the Hamitic Beja tribes, of which the chief divisions are the Hadendoa, the Bisharin, and the Beni Amer, the two first-named speaking a Hamitic, the last a Semitic language. (*d*) The fourth group of pastorals consists of the Nilotic tribes and those closely related

groups of peoples for whom the name of 'half-Hamitic' has been suggested. It includes the Shilluk, Nuer, Bari, and Dinkas, and such tribes as the Turkana, Suk, Nandi, Latuka, and Masai, the Bahima, and the Banyoro, some agricultural, some pastoral, who inhabit the plateau lands of E. Africa and Uganda and extend into German E. Africa as far as about lat. 7° N. The Nilotic tribes are sedentary and have a highly organized and centralized social system, and would perhaps be more correctly described as farmers owning large herds than as true pastorals. The same applies to the Bantu, many of whom, like the Akamba and the Bantu tribes of S. Africa, are great breeders of cattle. But, notwithstanding the value and importance which they attach to the cattle, their mode of life now belongs to the agricultural rather than the pastoral type, although at the time of their migrations they may have conformed to the latter. The Hottentots, on the other hand, were a pastoral people when first they came into contact with Europeans. It is in Asia, however, especially on the central plateau, along the axial ridge, and at the edge of the northern plains where they begin to slope down from the highlands to the north, that conditions have been most conducive to the development of the pastoral life. The history of this region, so far as it has been possible to disentangle it from obscure and scanty records, has been one of almost constant tribal and racial migration, apparently brought about by climatic changes which by long-continued drought rendered the normal seasonal migrations from plains to hills inadequate to meet the requirements of flocks and herds. Evidence of these movements is to be seen in the incursions of Asiatic peoples into Europe, of which the present inhabitants of the Balkans, the Finns, and the Lapps are survivals, and in the Arab invasions of Africa. In Asia itself the extensions of Semitic influence, which so profoundly affected the history of W. Asia, and the Tatar and Mongol conquests were due to a similar cause.

The geographical distribution of pastoral peoples in Asia may perhaps best be considered in relation to their principal racial groups. The Mongols proper of the east fall into three groups: (1) the Kalmuks of Dzungaria, Kashgar, and Astrakhan; (2) the Sharras inhabiting the fringe of the Gobi desert, Kokonor, and the Ala-shan and Inshan heights; and (3) the Buriats of Lake Baikal. In the N. Mongolic group are the Tunguses, who inhabit the Amur basin and most of E. Siberia. These peoples on the coastal area and in the river basin are hunters, fishers, and agriculturists, but in the Amur valley they follow pastoral occupations. The Turki or western division of the Mongolo-Tatars were at one time a widely-spread group of pastorals, now represented by the Turks in Europe (no longer pastorals), the Yuruks, and the Anatolian Turks in Asia Minor, and by the Yakuts of the Lena basin in S.W. Siberia, who, as is shown by their traditions, were at one time a horse-breeding people inhabiting wide, open plains (Keane, *The World's Peoples*, pp. 156 ff., 172 ff.). In the Turfan basin the Turki were followed by the Uigurs, and near them were the Ughuz, now represented by the Uzbegs of Russian Turkestan, the Turkomans of W. Turkestan, and the Osmanli in Asia Minor. In the Pamir region the Kara Kirghiz and the Kirghiz Kazaks (Cossacks), inhabiting the greater part of W. Siberia and extending from Lake Balkash to the Lower Volga, belong to the group, as do the W. Turkomans, who combined with their pastoral pursuits raids upon the Persian caravans. In Tibet, belonging to the Indo-Chinese group, are the Tanguts, a nomad predatory tribe of the north-east borderland, and the Dru-pa, a peaceful pastoral semi-nomadic tribe of the central highlands. In S. India are the Todas, who inhabit the plateau of the Nilgiri hills. Another important group is that of the Ugro-Finns descended from proto-Finns who migrated from the Irtish and Obi to the Urals, whence they dispersed to form the Samoyed, Ostyak, Votyak, and Cheremiss tribes of W. Siberia and Russia, the Lapps of N. Scandinavia, and the Volga Finns, Bulgars, Avars, Magyars, Baltic Finns, Letts, and Livonians. The Semitic peoples, who spread over Arabia, Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia, were pastoral nomads when first they appear in history. A trace of this is seen in the word *âlu* = 'city,' originally = 'tent' (Keane, p. 324). Many, as, *e.g.*, the Jews, have long settled down to agriculture, but the modern representatives of the Ishmaelites, the Arabs proper of N. Arabia and the Sinaitic desert, still preserve much of their primitive pastoral habits, customs, and beliefs.

In the central area of the continent horses, oxen, goats, sheep (the fat-tailed variety), and camels are the means of subsistence of the pastoral peoples. In the north, on the tundras of Siberia, where grass gives way to reindeer-moss, they depend upon the reindeer. Among the reindeer peoples a distinction must be made, however, between those who are truly pastoral, such as the Lapps, Samoyeds, Votyaks, and others, among whom the reindeer is a domesticated animal, and those, like the Chukchis and Koryaks, who keep large herds of untamed reindeer, which they use for purposes of trade, and of which they eat the flesh but do not use the milk. A third class, which includes some of the Tungus tribes, owing to political restriction by the Russian Government, live in a much impoverished condition, and, their reindeer being insufficient in number to support them, they are compelled to eke out their existence by hunting, fishing, and trading.

4. Material culture.—The conditions imposed by the mode of life of nomadic pastoral tribes, which arise out of the necessity for more or less constant movement to provide food for their stock and to find a new site for the camp owing to the fouling of the ground in the pens and near the dwelling-place, have had a marked effect upon their material culture. In this respect the line of development has avoided anything fragile, such as pottery, and anything heavy and bulky, or at least not readily reducible to a size and weight suitable for transport. Further, the fact that wealth consists almost exclusively in cattle leaves little opportunity for ostentation, except in personal ornament, while the preoccupation of the men with their cattle and their attitude towards manual labour have precluded any substantial progress in the material arts.

(*a*) *Habitation.*—The dwelling is a striking example of the subordination of material and structure to the requirements of mobility. It must be of such a character as to be readily dismantled and packed to form a load for one or more of the beasts of burden, whether horse, camel, mule, donkey, or ox. The typical dwelling of a nomad pastoral people is the tent.

Among the Arabs its traditional form is rectangular; in C. Asia it is round and conical. It is usually built on a light framework, fastened by ropes of camel-hair, wool, or leather thongs, according to the material afforded by the stock, and its covering may be of linen, skins, felt, or woollen cloths, according to circumstances. The Kirghiz tent is very simple in form and has no partition. It is made of woollen cloths stretched on a light frame of willow poles, fastened together, as indicated, without the use of metal. Outside it is covered with large felts protected by a number of rush mats. In the centre of the top is a round hole for the egress of the smoke, protected against inclement weather by a felt cap manipulated by a string which hangs near the doorway (Huntington, p. 111). The Yuruks of Asia Minor use similar tents of black goat's hair. The tent in use among the Tatars is slightly more elaborate, having an

interior division providing two compartments, one of which is devoted to the women and their culinary operations (E. R. Huc, *Travels in Tartary, Thibet, and China*, Chicago, 1898, i. 47). The early Yakuts carried their tents with them, but left the frame-work for the next comer (W. G. Sumner, 'The Yakuts,' *JAI* xxxi. [1901] 70). The tents of the Si-Fan of Tibet were hexagonal, the black linen covering being stretched on a frame-work of ropes attached to poles some little distance from the tent proper. A more permanent character was given to them by the erection around each group of tents of a wall 4 to 5 ft. high. The tendency to permanence suggested by this practice was not strong; the tribes abandoned their settlements at the slightest provocation, taking the larger stones of the walls with them (Huc, ii. 48). The small group of huts which form the Toda village is also surrounded by a wall (W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, London, 1906, p. 24).

In the Anglo-Egyptian Sūdān among Bisharin, Hadendoa, and Beni Amer tribes, in which it is customary at certain seasons of the year for groups to split up in order that the men may drive the camels to suitable feeding-grounds, while the women and boys remain behind to pasture the cattle up and down the country, the character of the dwelling varies with the duration of the stay which it is proposed to make at any one place. If it is to be a few days only, the tent may consist of only three or four mats, or may be a mere shelter of dried euphorbia boughs set in a ring, with a domed roof, a shelter of similar character being provided for the young sheep and goats (C. G. Seligmann, 'Some Aspects of the Hamitic Problem in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan,' *JRAI* xliii. [1913] 597). A shelter of boughs is also used at certain seasons by the Kurds and the Yuruks instead of their goat-skin tents. The Yuruk shelter has the peculiarity that the doorway is so low as only to permit entrance on hands and knees (Keane, p. 176). The Masai, though never staying very long in one place, also adapt their dwellings to the length of sojourn offered by the pasture. The more substantial form of dwelling is a long low structure of poles and grass containing several compartments; but, when in the course of its wanderings a tribe makes a stay at a pasturage which affords insufficient provision for any length of time, a temporary habitation of poles and skins is set up (Hollis, p. 292). The Suk, on the other hand, practically live in the open air. The young unmarried men sleep on the ground wrapped in skins, while the married men sleep under rude shelters consisting of a few sticks with a little grass kept down by a covering of cow-dung over which a skin is flung in wet weather (M. W. H. Beech, *The Suk: their Language and Folk-lore*, Oxford, 1911, p. 7).

The temporary character of the dwelling or its ready adaptation for transport is not, however, essential to mobility. Where the character of the land or its occupation by agricultural peoples restricts the area available for grazing, occupation of the various pastures becomes a more or less regular seasonal routine. Settlements may then be permanent, but only in occasional occupation at certain seasons of the year. The population migrates from one ground to another as the year advances.

Such is the procedure among many of the Kurdish tribes of the Armenian table-lands. They live in villages from October to February, migrate to higher ground and live in their tents from March to June, and in the hot season live in bowers of green wood, returning to their villages in the autumn (M. Sykes, 'The Kurdish Tribes of the Ottoman Empire,' *JRAI* xxxviii. [1908] 454). The Toda villages consist of permanent huts, half-barrel shaped structures of wood surrounded by a wall. These are dotted here and there on the plateaux of the Nilgiri hills. Each community, usually one family, has several villages to which the cattle and those concerned with them migrate at different seasons of the year. It follows that, though all the villages are occupied in the course of the year, not all are inhabited at one time (Rivers, p. 36 f.). The Dinkas, on the other hand, are an example of a cattle-keeping people which, possibly influenced by agricultural conditions, is sedentary and has dwellings of a permanent character. The family groups of huts are scattered over the country in farmsteads, but for grazing purposes the cattle of a whole district are herded together (G. Schweinfurth, *Heart of Africa*, Eng. tr., London, 1873–74, i.[2] 159 f.).

(*b*) *Industrial arts.*—It has already been indicated that the conditions of pastoral life, coupled with the attitude of the male members of the community towards manual labour, are not conducive to progress in the industrial arts; they are left to the women, or their products are obtained by barter from neighbouring peoples.

Clothing naturally varies in quantity according to climate. Except when contact with European civilization has introduced other fabrics, the community depends upon the produce of its cattle or flocks. The heavy garments of C. Asia necessary to resist the cold are of skin, leather, or felt, and the scanty attire of the Masai and other tribes of E. Africa is entirely of leather or skin. In the raid which follows the election of a chief the Masai wear a cotton cloth called 'the vow.' Before the introduction of American cotton fabrics this was made of skins (Hollis, p. 301). The Suk dress is mostly goat-skin, but the men's capes are sometimes of leopard's skin (Beech, p. 12). The making of these garments as well as the preparation of the material usually falls upon the women. Among the Kirghizes the women prepare the skin, leather, or felt, and cut out and sew the garments,[1] including the high skin boots and the typical conical black felt caps. They also make screens, boxes, bags, and other receptacles of leather, and weave gaily-coloured rugs and screens. The leather articles and the gorgeous robes and head-dresses of the women are also embroidered with considerable skill in bright colours, of which they are very fond (Huntington, p. 111). The Si-Fan weave a coarse linen used for clothing and tents. Among the Fur of the Sūdān the chief industry of the men is the weaving of cotton cloth, which is used as currency (Keane, p. 104). These people, however, are stock-breeders and keepers rather than pastorals, and the field operations are undertaken by women and slaves. The Baban Kurds are also expert weavers and tent-makers.

(*c*) *Utensils, etc.*—The domestic utensils of pastoral tribes are not numerous. Pottery is not made as a rule. The usual receptacles for liquids are gourds, calabashes, baskets (in Africa), and vessels of wood, such as the hollowed trunk of a tree, and of skin or leather.

Although the Masai women, possibly owing to outside influence, can make pots, as a rule pottery, if in use by pastoral peoples, is imported. The pastoral Suk obtain pottery from the agricultural Suk; the Todas, who use bamboo receptacles of native manufacture for their milking-vessels, obtain the earthenware vessels used for churns from the neighbouring Kotas. For cups and platters they use leaves (Rivers, p. 50 ff.). Among the Kirghizes the milking-vessels are of wood, but water is sometimes stored in earthen pots.

(*d*) *Weapons.*—The same disinclination to engage in industrial occupations is apparent even in such an important matter as the making of weapons.

None of the pastoral tribes of E. Africa make their own weapons. Among both Somalis and Masai there are special tribes (Tumalods and El Kunono respectively) who do the smiths' work. These peoples are not allowed to intermarry with the pastorals, and no free Somali would enter a smithy or shake hands with a smith, while a Masai would not take a sword or other weapon from the hand of a smith without first wiping his hand. The Todas have no weapons, although they retain the use of the bow and arrow and club for their ceremonies. Their only implements are axes and knives, which they obtain from the Kotas.

(*e*) *Food.*—The original diet of all pastoral tribes was no doubt derived entirely, or mainly, from their flocks and herds. This is in many instances still the case, and where modifications have taken place there are proofs of the earlier practice.

The Bedawib of the Sūdān do not cultivate at all; they live on milk and flesh, and it is said that, if they were given grain, they would not eat it (Seligmann, p. 599). Among the C. Asiatic groups of peoples, who in this as in other matters show much uniformity, milk, curds, and cheese are the staple of diet, kermiss (curdled milk, especially mares' milk) in particular being held in high esteem. Bread is very scarce, in most districts almost unknown (Huntington, p. 117 f.). The fat-tailed sheep, of which the tail is esteemed the greatest delicacy, oxen, and the yak are also eaten. The Kirghizes consider a young colt a great delicacy, and Yakut tradition clearly indicates that the horse was eaten at the time when it was their chief stock animal (Sumner, p. 68). In E. Africa cattle disease has greatly reduced the size of the Masai herds, and it is not now possible for the tribes to eat the meat of their cattle to any great extent. They live on what they significantly call 'savage food'—maize, bananas, rice, etc. Meat is eaten, though usually under restriction. Women, children, and old men (whose usual diet is milk) are allowed to eat meat only when a beast dies or a sacrifice has been made at a funeral or other ceremonial. The warriors are allowed to slaughter cattle for food, but not in the kraal. At least once in two months cattle are driven into the wood and slaughtered and eaten there. The Masai never eat the flesh of a wild animal or bird (Hollis, p. 317 ff.). The Suk, on the other hand, eat any kind of wild animal except beasts of prey and the flesh of a certain kind of wild pig. Their staple diet, however, is a porridge of millet; but that this is an innovation on their original custom is suggested by the fact that any one who chews raw millet cannot drink milk for seven days (Beech, p. 9). All the tribes of their region are very fond of raw blood, which they draw in a peculiar manner from the neck of the living animal and mix with milk. This fondness for blood is also found among the Asiatic peoples. It is probably to be attributed to the desire for salt in the diet. The diet of the Todas consists of milk, butter-milk, *ghī*, grains, rice, and sugar, but there is a tradition among them that at one time they lived on roots, herbs, fruits and honey (Rivers, p. 580). The pastorals of Tibet are nomi-

[1] The principal outer garment of the Kirghizes is a long quilted cotton gown with long sleeves serving the purpose of gloves, of which the material is, of course, imported (see Huntington, p. 114)

nally Buddhists, but all supplement the diet of milk, butter, barley-meal, and fruit imposed by their religion by the flesh of game, yak, and mutton. They are also very fond of blood, and the children are fed on a diet of cheese, butter, and blood (Keane, p. 190).

(*f*) *Agriculture.*—As has been stated, pastoral tribes do not invariably subsist on the produce of their flocks and herds alone, and among many a large amount of cereals is consumed. Nomadic pastorals do not take readily to agriculture even when they have the opportunity. The Arab proverb, 'The ploughshare and shame entered hand in hand into the family,' is typical of their attitude (Keane, p. 321 f.). Among the Kurds, it is true, some tribes have settled down to a semi-sedentary life, part of which is given up to the care of crops, while others—*e.g.*, the Baban Kurds, who are extensive agriculturists and wine-growers—employ outside labour. This has commended itself to other and more primitive peoples, and it is usual to find living in the midst of the pastorals of E. Africa not only the smiths and craftsmen already mentioned but also agriculturists, either of a different race or a branch of the same race much impoverished. The Masai of the Laikipia plateau are an example of a people who have taken to agriculture since the loss of their cattle. The Suk, on the other hand, regard themselves as being a prosperous offshoot of the agricultural Suk, whose aim is to prosper sufficiently to secure cattle and join their more highly esteemed pastoral neighbours. The Todas, who are not flesh-eaters, obtain the grain which forms a large part of their diet from the Badagas, whom they regard as a subject race (Rivers, p. 580). The influence of civilization is, however, perceptible in some cases. Around Suakim and in the neighbourhood of Sinkat the strongest and most advanced divisions of the Amara and Hadendoa, who have long been subject to foreign influence, practise cultivation (Seligmann, p. 599).

5. **Psychology.**—In their mental characters pastoral tribes present considerable uniformity, which is reflected both in moral qualities and in their social institutions. Their normal attitude towards manual labour, which is sometimes, possibly with justice, attributed to laziness, is in many cases only one side of an aristocratic temper which finds expression in their relations with neighbouring tribes whose mode of life may differ from their own. Not only is there a sharp line of cleavage between the African pastoral tribes and the adjacent agricultural and industrial populations, but the former arrogate to themselves the position of a superior people. The Bahima of Enkole regard the Bahera, by whom all the agricultural and industrial work of the community is performed, as their serfs. To call a man a Dorobo, a member of the people among them who live by hunting, is, among the Masai, a term of grave reproach, while they hold that in the beginning of the world they were given the right over all cattle (Hollis, pp. 317, 269). The nomad Arab of Mauretania despises the Kabyle and other tribes engaged in agriculture or other forms of industry (Keane, p. 321 f.), and among the Asiatic peoples the same attitude prevails—*e.g.*, in the pastoral Kurds towards the sedentary agricultural tribes. 'To be a nomad is considered noble' (Sykes, p. 455). The Zeibeks of the Misoghis highlands, like the Masai, believe that all the cattle in the world are theirs by right (Keane, p. 176). This attitude, together with the intrepidity, spirit of freedom, enterprise, and self-reliance of the pastorals, has endowed them with an aggressive character which, among the more primitive, has found expression in constant raids and intertribal wars. Before their subjection to British rule the Masai were constantly engaged in raiding and cattle-lifting. Where greater mobility was secured by the use of the horse, in the management of which the horse-keeping pastorals excel, the more aggressive tribes were able to extend the radius of their operations and conduct them in an organized manner. The great trade-routes of Asia were infested by brigands—Kurds, Turkomans, Tatars, and Mongols—who swooped down on and plundered the caravans and then retired to their mountain fastnesses with their booty. This restless spirit not only resulted in the great racial migrations of the early ages, but, where exploited and utilized by leaders of ability and ambition, found its full expression in the great Tatar, Mongol, and Turki conquests which extended over Asia, and of which the effects were and are still felt in Europe. On the other hand, to the individual the pastoral generally shows an upright, courteous, and kindly disposition; Arab hospitality is proverbial, but not singular, and even a Masai, notwithstanding the doubtful reputation of the people, was bound under penalty of being cursed by members of the tribe of like age with himself to receive and entertain a stranger of his own class (Hollis, p. 288). The duty of hospitality was laid upon the pastoral peoples to some extent by self-interest, the scattered population and the necessity for distant travel, whether in search of strayed stock or for other reasons, making it desirable that shelter and food should be offered to all comers in hope of a return in kind. In C. Asia this assistance was extended to providing fresh beasts for the continuation of a journey (Huntington, p. 122).

Nomadic life and the primitive plan of the dwelling have also had their effect in other directions, notably in the modification of the Muhammadan attitude towards women. Among the Yuruks of Asia Minor the women go unveiled and salute the wayfarer on the road (Keane, p. 176). Where the tent has no dividing partition, as among the Kirghizes, it is obviously impossible to keep up the custom of seclusion; and frequent absences of the men with their flocks not only lay greater responsibility on the women left behind to look after the homestead, but also give them a strong voice in the affairs of the community and greater freedom in the duty of entertaining any travelling stranger (Huntington, p. 128 f.). In other cases, especially in E. Africa, the inferior position of women among pastorals is as general as it is among neighbouring agricultural tribes.

Not only are animals prized and consequently cared for as a source of wealth, but considerable affection is shown to them. The African pastorals especially are extremely fond of their cattle. They give them pet names and sometimes go into mourning for them, and cases have occurred in which a man has committed suicide through grief at the death of a favourite beast. The preoccupation of the Suk with their cattle is indicated by the fact that the whole of their language revolves round them; when an adjective is used without a substantive, 'cow' is naturally understood; and they have a special name for every variety of cow, expressing colour, shape, type, special malformations of horns, and the like (Beech, p. 8).

6. **Sociology.**—Among pastoral tribes the social unit is, as a rule, small and consists of the family group, over which the head is absolute ruler. Several groups may be combined to form a tribal unit. The Kurdish tribes sometimes consist of as many as 2000 families, but for economic purposes the unit is the family. The more plentiful and accessible the cattle-feed, the smaller and more elastic will be the organization. In N. Kordofan, where conditions of life are difficult owing to the scarcity of water and the seasonal character of the vegetation, the unit is comparatively large, social organization is more rigid, and migration takes place in a strictly regulated manner towards a

definite objective. Where pasture and water are plentiful, as in the provinces between the Nile and the Red Sea, the units are smaller, consisting at most of three or four tents, and migration takes the form of a more or less haphazard wandering in search of pasture wherever it may be found (Seligmann, pp. 597, 627). In the case of the Yakuts, now a much impoverished people, the unit consists of four or five people, who require as a minimum fifteen head of cattle for their subsistence. It has been conjectured, however, from the custom which admits as a matter of right all neighbours to partake of the food at any ceremonial family feast, that at one time, when the Yakuts in their earlier home were horse-breeders, the social unit consisted of a larger number, large enough, in fact, to eat a horse at one sitting. This would make for superior mobility by obviating the necessity for carrying the unconsumed portions of the carcass. The conditions of horse-herding must also have required a larger unit (Sumner, p. 68). Among the Suk, at a feast held as a means of preventing the approach of an epidemic, the bullock which is sacrificed must be consumed at one sitting (Beech, p. 9). Among the Todas each village is the property of one family, and the Dinka village is supposed to consist of one family. In the latter case, should the numbers be too small, several families may combine, but then each family has its separate quarters (H. O'Sullivan, 'Dinka Laws and Customs,' *JRAI* xl. [1910] 177). Among the Suk several adjacent villages may enter into a loose form of allegiance to a village headman of wealth, influence, or wisdom, who is known as an 'adviser' (Beech, p. 6). The Suk have no chiefs, nor are they under the control of medicine-men as are the Masai, Turkana, and other allied tribes of this region, among whom this functionary virtually usurps the power of chief. The institution of the 'adviser,' however, is a step towards attaining a position corresponding to that of the 'elder' in these tribes. But even in these cases, notwithstanding their advisory functions, the elders and chiefs have little real power, which for practical purposes rests with the warrior class and the medicine-men. This predominance of the younger men in a pastoral tribe may be paralleled among the Yakuts, where a man or woman past the prime is neglected and loses all influence and respect (Sumner, p. 76).

Not only does the pastoral mode of life act directly on the size of the group, but it determines the character of its internal organization. A mode of life which is based upon more or less continual movement demands a more systematic control than either hunting, in which co-ordination of action is intermittent, or a sedentary occupation such as agriculture or industry in its primitive forms. Consequently pastoral tribes are usually organized upon a strict patriarchal and patrilineal basis, although in many cases, as among the Nilotic and Hamitic groups, they show evidence of having at one time been matrilineal. The head of the family is the absolute ruler, the supreme judge, and the owner of the stock and other possessions of the group. The value of the individual member is recognized in the exaction of the bride-price, and in some cases in the practice of Labanism. Among the Hadendoa, Amara, and related tribes the husband must reside with the bride's people for a time and the first child must be born among them (Seligmann, p. 650). The bride-price takes the form of stock, and among the Masai father-in-law and mother-in-law are known as the 'receiver of a bullock' and the 'receiver of a sheep' respectively, from the custom of presenting these animals to them during the betrothal and marriage ceremonies. Relatives of the Masai bridegroom present a beast to the bride, and henceforth giver and receiver address one another invariably by the name of the beast with the prefix *pa-*. Blood-brotherhood is contracted by the ceremonial eating of bullock's flesh dipped in the blood of the parties concerned (Hollis, pp. 302 f., 322; see also his 'Note on the Masai System of Relationship,' *JRAI* xl. 477 f.). Cattle are an important element in the judicial system, fines or compensation for murder and other crimes taking this form. Any one guilty of assault among the Suk must provide the injured party with sheep for food until he recovers (Beech, p. 30). The Masai may disregard a small theft, but never the theft of cattle. At the making of peace the sides exchange a cow (Hollis, pp. 310, 322). Among the Fur all contracts are carried out in cattle, although the usual currency is cotton cloth (Keane, p. 104).

Pastoral tribes, with few exceptions, are polygamous, and this custom is closely connected with cattle-keeping in more than one way. Not only is it affected by the bride-price, the number of wives depending upon a man's ability to provide the requisite cattle for the bride-price, as well as upon his means of supporting his wives, but the care of the cattle may demand a plurality of homesteads. Among the Yakuts, *e.g.*, a wealthy man may have his cattle in scattered herds, and, before monogamy was introduced under the influence of Christianity, it was customary for each herd to be under the care of one wife (Sumner, p. 94). The Chukchis also herd their reindeer in divisions, over each of which a wife presides.

Private property in cattle is fully recognized, and it is usual for each group, in some cases each individual, to brand his cattle. The Kordofan tribes have an elaborate system of brands for their camels, and among E. African tribes the oxen, cows, and goats all have their ears clipped in a distinctive fashion, indicating both tribal and individual ownership (Hollis, p. 290). The Bahima of Ankole, however, do not recognize absolute private ownership of cattle. All the cattle belong to the king; the chiefs are responsible for the well-being of the cattle in their respective districts; the individual owner may eat a limited number of his cattle, may use them for the bride-price, or may exercise a certain freedom in selling or exchanging them within the nation, but he may not sell to any one outside; cattle taken in war also belong to the king (J. Roscoe, 'The Bahima . . . of Enkole,' *JRAI* xxxvii. [1907] 95).

Land is usually common property, but, as a rule, each group has its recognized limits for grazing. In the more fertile parts of the Sūdān these tend to be ignored, but in more barren regions trespass is a frequent cause of tribal fights. Among the Yakuts private property hardly exists, and even the house tends to be regarded as common property (Sumner, p. 70).

7. Religious beliefs.—Among the pastorals of both Africa and Asia Islām and Buddhism have to a great extent overwhelmed primitive beliefs. These survive, however, in the form of superstitions and practices to propitiate evil spirits. The Tuaregs, *e.g.*, believe in *jinns* who live under the desert and cause camels to sink in the soft sand by pulling down their feet (Keane, p. 323). In N. and C. Asia, the home of shamanism, Muhammadanism, Buddhism, and Christianity have had little more than a superficial effect, and shamans and shamanistic beliefs continue to exert considerable influence. The pastorals of E. Africa for the most part agree in recognizing a supreme deity whose home is the sky, and it has been suggested that this belief represents a survival of a religious system in which the rain-god, a deity of obvious importance to both pastoral and agricultural

peoples, was the chief element (Seligmann, p. 664 f.). It follows that the religious practices and beliefs which are more specifically characteristic of pastoral peoples are, as a rule, of a subsidiary character. It may be noted, however, that among the Todas the conception of the gods is vague and shadowy, and their religion has become almost completely absorbed in the ritual of the dairy. There is, however, no indication of the worship of the sacred cattle.

The object of the religious and magical practices peculiar to pastoral peoples is to secure the health, fertility, and productive power of herds and flocks. Their character suggests that some degree of sanctity is generally recognized both in the stock and in its products, and that any breach of this sanctity by the performance of forbidden actions would react on the animals to their detriment.

A significant instance is the attitude of the Masai, and to some extent of the Suk, to grass. 'Cattle feed on grass, and the Masai love grass on this account.' The women fasten grass on their clothes when they pray for rain. If a warrior beats a boy on the grazing-ground, he must stop if the boy tears up a handful of grass. Grass held in the hand is a sign of a desire for peace. When warriors return from a raid, girls sprinkle milk from a small gourd covered with grass over those who have killed an enemy. When they move from one kraal to another, grass is tied on their gourds (Hollis, p. 289 f.). If the Suk, on a hostile raid, meet a man with grass on his head, he must not be killed, and, if when they enter a kraal a woman succeeds in sprinkling milk on them, no one in that kraal can be killed (Beech, p. 25).

Among the En-Jemusi, a tribe more or less closely associated with the Suk, if there is a dispute as to stolen property, the parties to the quarrel drink the blood of a goat (drawn from the neck) mixed with milk. The one who swears falsely will die. The same penalty for false witness follows if the dispute concerns cattle. Blood is drawn from the cattle in question and thrown at accuser and accused (Beech, p. 28 f.).

The highly elaborate ritual of the Toda dairy, with its grades of priests strictly segregated from the people and its regulations for milking, collecting, and dealing with the milk, is undoubtedly based on a belief in the sacred character of milk and desire to preserve it from pollution by the profane. The Todas are not alone in regarding milk as of special sanctity. Both in E. Africa and in the Sūdān many precautions are observed in dealing with it.

It is usual for milk to be milked only into certain kinds of vessels, commonly gourds, basket vessels, sometimes vessels of skin, never pots of clay or the modern tin vessel. The milker should not himself taste the milk first, but should give some, if only a few drops, to a bystander or to all the bystanders. Among the Bahima a boy who has been set aside to drink the milk of a dedicated cow may not drink or eat anything else (Roscoe, p. 111). The Hadendoa will not cook milk, and in this the Bahima and some other tribes agree. Some, however, cook it by dropping hot stones into it, possibly a ceremonial method of some antiquity. Special regulations may affect the milker. Among the Dinkas cows should be milked by a boy or girl before puberty; a man may in case of necessity milk a cow, but this is not desirable. The Herero never wash their cooking vessels, but leave them to be licked by their dogs. If they washed them, the cows would run dry (Keane, p. 138). The Suk drive their cattle to salt licks once a month, but the cows would run dry if this were done at a time when the moon was not visible (Beech, p. 9). Most African tribes avoid bringing milk and meat as food into contact—an interval of 24 hours at least should elapse; a Suk who chews raw millet must abstain from milk for seven days, while a Nandi who eats a forbidden animal must abstain from milk for four months. The Bahima are more strict and will not eat even vegetables and milk together. Great care is taken that women who approach or touch the cattle should be ceremonially pure. No menstruous woman must milk or even touch the cattle. The Bedawib say that, if a woman in this condition drank milk, both she and the cow from which the milk was drawn would become sterile (Seligmann, p. 655). These regulations do not appear to extend to pregnancy (for detailed references to regulations affecting milk among the pastorals of Africa and the Sūdān see Seligmann, p. 654 ff.).

Among some Bantu peoples women are not allowed to touch cattle at all, and it may be that this was the original attitude of all pastoral peoples and has only been gradually relaxed, in some cases possibly owing to lack of adequate labour. The Artega, Ashraf, and Ḥasa allow only men to milk camels and sheep and despise the Arab Zebediya, recent immigrants from Arabia, because they allow their women to milk. These tribes have few cattle. Generally in the S. Beja country cattle are not held in much esteem. No Artega man would milk a cow. It is probable, therefore, that cattle have been only recently introduced (*ib.* p. 655). Among the Asiatic tribes there is little evidence of any great disability of women in connexion with stock. Among the Khalkas, a horse-keeping people of the Sharras, not only milking but the care of the stock at foaling time devolved upon the women. The Todas, however, are stringent in regulating the contact of women with cattle. The paths over which the sacred herds pass are tabu to women; women are allowed to approach the dairy only by a certain path and at a stated hour when they come to fetch butter-milk. The floor of the Toda hut is divided into two parts marked by the hole in which rice is pounded. In the front part the churning is done, and with this part of the house women have nothing to do. Further, the characteristic women's implements—the broom and rice-pounders and sifters—have to be removed from the village when the priest (*wursol*) sleeps there, and the women take these implements with them when they leave the village at the time when the sacred herds pass through (Rivers, pp. 27, 29, 585).

Reference has already been made to the sacrifice and eating, after a death, of cattle and sheep belonging to the deceased. Among the Yakuts a beast was killed in order to accompany the soul of its former owner after death. The Bahima, after the death of a king or queen, continued to pay them a tribute of cattle.

The body of the dead king, after being washed in milk, was wrapped in the skin of a cow which had been killed by having its neck twisted. It was then taken to Ussanzi, and after a certain number of days was said to have become pregnant and brought forth a lion cub. This incarnation of the king was kept by the priests and then turned into the forest, cattle being provided for it from time to time. The lions of this forest were never killed. A similar custom obtained in the case of queens, but they became leopards, while princes and princesses became snakes (Roscoe, p. 101 f.).

Among the Suk a very special relationship exists between men and cattle.

Every warrior must have a *kamar*, an ox with one horn pointing backward and one forward, or he is made the subject of taunts. When the warriors start on a raiding expedition, the *kamar* are brought together, bedecked with feathers, and sent to the river where warriors collect. The warriors dance around, clap their hands, and shout the war-cry to excite the faint-hearted. A captured *kamar* is a great prize, and is slaughtered and eaten at once (Beech, p. 8).

LITERATURE.—A. H. Keane, *The World's Peoples*, London, 1908; A. C. Haddon, *The Races of Man and their Distribution*, do., n.d.; E. Huntington, *The Pulse of Asia*, do. 1907; J. L. Myres, *The Dawn of History*, do., n.d. [1911]; F. Ratzel, *Hist. of Mankind*, Eng. tr., do. 1896–98; J. J. E. Reclus, *The Earth and its Inhabitants*, Eng. tr., do. 1905–08; L. T. Hobhouse, G. C. Wheeler, and M. Ginsberg, *The Material Culture and Social Institutions of the Simpler Peoples*, do. 1915

E. N. FALLAIZE.

PATAGONIANS.—1. General description.—The Patagonians inhabit the extreme south of S. America, between the Atlantic Ocean and the advanced foot-hills on the east side of the Andes, from 41° or 42° S. lat. to the Strait of Magellan; a section of them have even spread beyond the Strait, and, under the name of Ona or Aona, occupy the eastern part of the large island of Tierra del Fuego. The real name of the Patagonians—the one most frequently used by themselves—is Aoniken, which is very like the word Aona. The name Patagonians was given them by Magellan, the first European who saw the natives at Port San Julian. According to some etymologies,

this word comes from the Spanish *patagones* ('large feet'); but modern explorers, like Spegazzini and Ramon Lista, think that it is a combination of two words: *patak* ('hundred')—a name given to the Patagonians by their former Quichua rulers—and a native word *Aoniken*. The Patak-Aoniken, contracted to Patagons, would therefore mean a hundred (an administrative division imposed by the Quichua) of the natives (who call themselves Aoniken). The name Tehuelches, by which the Patagonians are also known, comes from the Araucanians, their eastern neighbours. Some writers call them Tshon or Tsoneka (derived from Aoniken?).

Scattered over an immense area, including the provinces of Santa Cruz and Chubut, half or three-quarters of the province of Rio Negro in the Argentine Republic, and some territories in the south of Chile, the Patagonians were at one time very numerous. About 1828 d'Orbigny estimates them at 8000 or 10,000; but in 1869–70 Musters reckons only 1500. In 1892 Ramon Lista calculates that they are scarcely 500 (not counting the Ona), distributed among the four following localities: in the province of Santa Cruz, the valley of Coy Inlet and at Karpenk-aïki on the Rio Chico; in the province of Chubut, on the banks of the river Senguerr; and near the Laguna Blanca lake, to the north of Punta Arenas, on Chilean territory. More recently, in 1900, H. H. Prichard speaks of five encampments including altogether 'a few hundreds of individuals.' But it must not be imagined that so many Patagonians have completely disappeared: a great many of them (especially in the province of Rio Negro) live among their neighbours—Araucanians on the west, and Puelches and Whites (colonists and Gauchos) on the north; they bear the names of those ethnic groups, which are, as a rule, more civilized than they. Mixtures of these races—*e.g.*, between Patagonians and Argentine colonists, all speaking Spanish—are also very numerous.

The first travellers who explored Patagonia gave most exaggerated reports of the stature of the natives, describing them as positively gigantic. Later estimates and some measurements—unfortunately very few—enable us to state that, although the Patagonians were very tall (average probably about 6 ft.), they were no more so than several other races of the world—*e.g.*, Scots, Serbs, Nilotic Negroes, the Sara of the Shari-Chad district. They are, as a rule, very robust and muscular; they have long faces, straight or aquiline noses, reddish-yellow skin, and smooth, straight hair. They are hospitable, very good to their children, of a calm disposition, and rather inclined to sadness. They are very taciturn and seldom laugh. Under the influence of alcohol, however, they become irritable and quarrelsome, and many of their feasts, which are accompanied by libations, end in sanguinary battles.

The language of the Patagonians and the Ona, like that of almost all the natives of America, is agglutinative in structure and polysynthetic; phonetically it is characterized by the abundance of its guttural sounds. In contrast with what is found in the majority of S. American races, the Patagonians have a highly developed system of numeration: they count up to 100 and even 1000. But this system has been borrowed from the Quichua, for the Ona, who have never been in contact with the Quichua, cannot count beyond three.

As a rule, the Ona represent at the present time what the Patagonians were before the introduction of the horse among them, *i.e.* before the first half of the 17th century. They are nomad hunters, armed with slings and bows and arrows. Clothed in guanaco-skins, they move from place to place in search of game; their only shelters are huts of branches, and sometimes they simply lie down on the ground, squeezed close together, and covered on the wind side with some guanaco skins. Since the introduction of the horse the Patagonians have improved their material life, although they have remained nomad hunters; they have given up the bow and arrow, and have adopted the *bollas* as their chief weapon.

The *bollas* consists of three round stones attached to three strings, which are knotted together at the other end. They swing these *bollas* round their heads and then throw them, while pursuing the hunted animal on horseback. The animal—generally the guanaco or the ostrich—is strangled by one of the strings of the *bollas* winding round its neck.

The Patagonians live in large tents (*kau*), composed of three rows of posts, diminishing in height from front to rear, and covered with guanaco-skins. They have learned from the Araucanians how to make ornaments of silver and to weave cloth. In place of the primitive tinder-box (two pieces of pyrites, which were struck against each other), still in use among the Ona, the Patagonians have for a long time used the European tinder-box and matches. They even have a musical instrument—the *koolo*; it is a small bow, one end of which is held in the mouth and the other in the left hand, while with the right hand the player strikes the string with a bone (the humerus of the condor) in which there are several holes. The sound of this instrument is weak; it imitates the wind or the gallop of horses. The tambourine is a Spanish importation; it is used to accompany their only dance, called the 'ostrich dance,' in which the men imitate the movements of that bird, while the women, seated in a circle round the dancers, make music and beat time with their hands.

The Patagonians are skilled in the preparation of guanaco-skins, which they sell to the Argentine traders. They also manufacture the saddles and harness for their horses; these are ornamented with silver and are often their most valuable possession. The dress of the men is almost the same as that of the women: a long mantle of guanaco-hide, a band of leather or wool confining their hair like a crown, and sometimes boots made from the skin of any animal. The Patagonians paint their bodies with red, black, or white according to circumstances, and practise tatuing, with very simple figures—parallel lines, triangles, circles, etc.

2. God and spirits.—Our information regarding the religion of the Patagonians is neither abundant nor very accurate. According to the evidence of Viedma, who wrote about 1781, the Patagonians of that time believed in two supernatural entities, the one good, who governs the celestial regions and has no power over men, the other sometimes good, sometimes wicked, who takes an active interest in human actions. Further, each family-group had its patron, its tutelary god, with whom men came into contact through the intermediation of a kind of shaman. Outès, one of the best ethnologists of the Argentine, suggested the idea that this was a survival of the clan-totemism which prevailed among the primitive Patagonians. He bases the idea on the evidence of Falkner, a contemporary of Viedma, who says that each family-group of the Patagonians regarded itself as belonging to a species of animal—ostrich, puma, guanaco, etc. He also sees the confirmation of these ideas in certain myths, which tell, *e.g.*, of the war between two clans in consequence of the fact that the members of one of the clans had eaten the flesh of the ostrich (a totemic animal); but this may have been simply a dispute concerning an encroachment on a hunting-ground. Moreover, even towards the end of the 18th cent. the Patagonians

believed in the existence of zoomorphic beings, who dwelt in caverns near lakes and hills, and who created men, gave them weapons—slings, bows and arrows—and taught them how to use them.

A century later, about 1885, Ramon Lista gives a description of the religious ideas of the Patagonians which shows some resemblance to the foregoing. The supreme being is called El-lal; he is a strong spirit, clever, and kind; he is the creator of the world and of the Patagonians. After having cleared the world of the wild animals which infested it, he taught men the secrets of obtaining fire and of building a shelter for themselves. The myths relating to El-lal were still well known to the old men of the end of the 19th century. The following is a résumé of them:

El-lal came into the world in a strange way. His father Nosjthej (a kind of Saturn), wishing to devour him, had snatched him from his mother's womb. He owed his rescue to the intervention of the *terguerr*, a rodent animal, which carried him away to its cave; this his father tried in vain to enter. From the mother's horrible wound, inflicted by her husband, sprang a river of crystal-clear water, which still exists in the neighbourhood of Teckel, near the sources of the river Senguerr. After having learned from the famous rodent the properties of different plants and the directions of the mountain-paths, El-lal himself invented the bow and arrow, and with these weapons began the struggle against the wild animals—puma, fox, condor—and conquered them all. But the father returned. Forgetting the past, El-lal taught him how to manipulate the bow and the sling, and joyfully showed him the trophies of the chase—tortoise shells, condors' wings, etc. Nosjthej took up his abode in the cave and soon acted as master of it. Faithful to his fierce instincts, he wanted to kill his son; he followed him across the Andes, but, when on the point of reaching him, he saw a dense forest arise between him and his son. El-lal was saved; he descended to the plain, which meanwhile had become peopled with men. Among them was a giant, Goshy-e, who devoured children; El-lal tried to fight him, but he was invulnerable; the arrows broke against his body. Then El-lal transformed himself into a gad-fly, entered the giant's stomach, and wounded him fatally with his sting. It was not until he had accomplished all those feats, and had proved himself a clever huntsman, that El-lal thought of marrying.[1] He asked the hand of the daughter of the sun, but she did not think him worthy of her and escaped from him by a subterfuge. Disenchanted, El-lal decided to leave the earth, where, he considered, his mission was at an end, since men, who had in the meantime appeared in the plain and in the mountain-valleys, had learned from him the use of fire, weapons, etc. Borne on the wings of a swan across the ocean towards the east, he found eternal rest in the verdant islands which rose among the waves at the places where the arrows shot by him had fallen on the surface of the waters.

The myth of El-lal shows the condition of the Patagonians in pre-historic times and their struggles with their conquerors, and gives a glimpse into religious thought in evolution.

Alongside of this superior creative being, who, as soon as his work was accomplished, went to rest and had no more to do with human affairs, the Patagonians believe in the spirit of good who protects men, especially in cases of illness; and in the spirit of evil, represented by several invisible beings gifted with supernatural powers. One of these is Maïpe, always associated with the darkness of night, the violent wind of the desert, and other phenomena that trouble the minds of primitive men; another is Keron-kenken, a monster who devours newly-born children and drinks the tears of their broken-hearted mothers. The name *keren* is often given to all wicked spirits. The word *wallishen* or *gualicho*, which we find used by certain writers to denote an evil spirit, is of Araucanian origin.

3. Sacrifices, witchcraft, and disease.—As was said above, each Patagonian family used to have a special shaman, who had charge of the religious ceremonies, and who went for this purpose to the summit of a hill near the encampment. At the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th cent. these ceremonies took place in the shaman's tent. At the present day they seem to be abandoned, but the shamans still exist. Their special duty is to cure the sick.

After having exhausted the meagre resources of his medical art—*e.g.*, lotions of cold water, blood-letting, and massage—the shaman has recourse to the great methods: he sings incantations beside the invalid, then proceeds to suck the part of the body through which he intends to extract the spirit who is causing the illness. He then shows the relatives who surround the patient this spirit in the form of an arrow, an insect, etc. The sacrifice of an animal, usually a mare, is also practised to cure invalids. All the relatives and friends of the sick man meet near the camp, to which the youths and boys lead the mare to be sacrificed. Some men of the clan fall upon it, and the most skilled of them strikes the fatal blow in the chest with a very sharp knife; he then extracts the heart, and, holding it in his hand, walks several times round the animal, which dies in convulsions. Its flesh is then divided among those present and consumed on the spot. The head and hoofs are fixed to a pole painted with yellow ochre, which is planted on the top of a neighbouring hill by a group of horsemen.

The profession of shaman is hereditary, and may be exercised by either men or women. Female shamans are even more numerous than male. It is a profession in which certain risks are run, for, if the patient treated by the shaman dies, the shaman himself is often put to death.

Shamans are also sorcerers. Usually they are taciturn, suspicious persons, who keep aloof from the rest of the people. Their magic power resides in some small rough perforated stones, which are handed from father or mother to son and are jealously guarded, for their loss entails the loss of the shamans' magic power. The Patagonians believe that the smallest particle detached from the body—nails, hair, and even the rags of their clothes—may become transformed into an evil spirit, possessing magical power; they therefore burn these things as quickly as possible. Sorcery is called *shoik'n*, and every man can practise it, though to a less degree than the shaman. Thus they sometimes try to cure an illness without the help of the shaman; the whole family gather round the invalid and shout and yell fiercely; then some of the men go out on horseback and pursue to a great distance the spirit which has left the body. Sometimes they send the invalid out on horseback, quite naked, in intense cold, for, according to the Patagonians, the best remedy for all ills is great noise and great cold (Prichard, *Through the Heart of Patagonia*, p. 86 f.).

4. Burial customs.—The Patagonians seem to believe in a kind of transmigration of the soul. Their custom of burying the dead in a squatting position, resembling that of the fœtus in the mother's womb, would perhaps not be a sufficient proof of this statement, if there were not others. But it is a well-known fact that the Patagonians bury with the corpse or burn on the tomb not only food, but also most of the things—weapons, utensils, clothes, etc.—that belonged to the dead man. In ancient times they even immolated his favourite horses. Nowadays they are satisfied with burying the harness, which they unearth after a year has passed. All these customs show that they wish to supply the dead with all that is necessary for continuing life in a new form. Moreover, Viedma categorically states that the Patagonians of his time were persuaded that the soul of an old man passes into the body of a young member of his family, and, if the latter dies before the age of the man whose soul he possesses, the soul remains united to the body until the expiry of the number of years necessary to reach the age of the first possessor of the soul. The dead man has to cross a mysterious ocean (Jono) to reach 'the other side,' where he leads a life similar to that which he had led on earth, except that the guanacos there are more abundant and hunting is more successful. He remains there until he becomes deified and disappears into celestial space, where there is neither suffering nor sorrow. The Patagonians believe in another soul, a kind of 'double' or ghost, which

[1] This is the case with the young Patagonians to the present day.

continues to live after the man's death and prowls about the abode of his relatives. The fear inspired by these ghosts is so great that the Patagonians must not pronounce the name of the dead man, lest they should attract the attention of the 'double.' This is sometimes the cause of changes in the Tehuelche language; *e.g.*, not long ago fat was called *ham* in that language, but, when a Patagonian who had this word as a proper name was on the point of death, his relatives and friends replaced the name by *golosjku*; nowadays *ham* is forgotten. The dead are usually buried under a heap of stones, sometimes painted red (*tchenke*). At the present time the bones are exhumed after a certain period (a custom borrowed from the Araucanians) to be painted red.

5. Marriage customs.—Marriage is endogamous; but even at the end of the 18th cent. chiefs had to take their wives from another tribe (Viedma). This was probably a survival of primitive exogamy. Marriage does not require any religious ceremony. In early times, however, the shaman recited some invocations and gave advice to the newly-wedded pair. The basis of marriage is the purchase of the woman from her parents. Perhaps the scarcity of women explains the long maintenance of this custom. It is said that there are three men for every woman among the Patagonians, probably on account of the hard conditions of life for the woman, on whom devolves a number of laborious tasks—the setting up and taking down of the tents, the gathering of berries and roots, preparation of food, weaving, etc. A marriage takes place as follows:

After acquiring renown as a skilled huntsman, the young man goes to the tent of his future wife's parents and makes his proposal, mentioning the number of horses or pieces of silver that he offers for her. Usually he offers two horses to each of the future wife's brothers. If the parents accept this 'gift,' the matter is settled; they then give presents to the suitor in exchange. Next day the newly-wedded couple take up their abode in a tent which they build with the relatives on both sides, and there they receive and entertain their friends. The whole affair ends in a great feast, with dancing and immoderate use of *ldama* (brandy). On that day dogs are not allowed to touch food—not even the leavings of the feast.

Polygamy is allowed, but seldom practised. In former times chiefs had as many as twelve wives. After the death of the husband, when the period of mourning is over, the wife, especially if she is no longer young, may cohabit with any man of her tribe for any length of time. We must not conclude from this that the morals of Patagonian women are loose, for young girls are virtuous as a rule, and adultery is rare among the married.

The birth of a child is celebrated with feasting and dancing. It is also accompanied by the following ceremony:

The child is placed for a moment in the inside of an animal which has just been sacrificed by being slit from head to tail and having its entrails removed. They believe that by means of this operation the child will become a good horseman (Prichard, p. 96). The child is then measured, and on the following day the whole encampment knows how many *horres* (a native measure equal to the length of the hand) he is in height.

6. Social organization.—The immediate members of a family all live in the same tent (*kau*); but each couple is separated from the others in the tent by curtains of skins. They have food in common. Property is individual, and is transmitted from father to son. If there is no son, the inheritance goes to the nearest relatives—first to the women, then to the men. Consanguinity is recognized to the fourth generation.

The Patagonians have no chiefs of the ordinary kind, although they recognize the superiority of certain men who are richer, more eloquent, or more skilful huntsmen than the others. The powers of the chiefs in former times were more extensive: they conducted warlike expeditions, and acted as supreme judges in disputes between people of the same encampment. Nowadays they act as intermediaries between the Whites and their compatriots on various occasions; they also conduct collective hunts—battues organized by several bands of hunters accompanied by their half-wild dogs.

The Patagonians possess slaves, usually women, whom they have captured, after victorious battles, as a result of incursions on neighbouring territories. Hence we come across Fuegian slaves in their tents (Spegazzini, *Anales de la sociedad cientifica Argentina*, xvii. 236).

LITERATURE.—T. Falkner, *Description of Patagonia*, Hereford, 1774; F. de Viedma, *Descripcion de la costa meridional . . . patagonica*, in P. de Angelis, *Collecion de obras y documentos . . . Rio de la Plata*, Buenos Aires, 1836–40, v.; G. C. Musters, *At Home with the Patagonians*, London, 1871; C. Spegazzini, 'Costumbres de los Patagones,' *Anales de la sociedad cientifica Argentina*, xvii. [Buenos Aires, 1884] 221 ff.; Ramon Lista, *Viaje al pais de los Onas*, do. 1887; P. A. Segers, 'Habitos y costumbres de los indios Aonas (Onas),' *Boletin del Instituto geografico Argentino*, xii. [1891] 56 ff.; Lista, *Los Indios Tehuelches*, Buenos Aires, 1894; H. H. Prichard, *Through the Heart of Patagonia*, London, 1902; F. Outès, 'La edad de la piedra en Patagonia,' *Anales del Museo nacional de Buenos-Aires*, iii. v. [1905] 203; Lehmann-Nietsche, 'El grupo linguistico Tshon,' *Revista del Museo de La Plata*, xii. [1913] 217.

J. DENIKER.

PATALIPUTRA.—See PATNA.

PATAÑJALI.—Patañjali is regarded in India as the founder of the Yoga system. Since, however, Patañjali, who is celebrated also as a grammarian, lived in the 2nd cent. B.C., and the doctrines of the Yoga, both theoretical and practical, can be shown to have existed in India several hundreds of years earlier, this tradition must be understood to imply merely that Patañjali in the *Yogasūtras* for the first time gave literary form to the Yoga doctrines. The scanty information that we possess on the life of Patañjali is full of legends and contradictions.

LITERATURE.—Rājendralāla Mitra, *Yoga Aphorisms*, Calcutta, 1883, Pref. p. lxvi ff.; F. Max Müller, *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, London, 1899, pp. 156 f., 410 ff.

R. GARBE.

PATARINI (also Paterini, Patrini, Patharistæ, Patarelli).—This is the name by which the Cathari, or Albigenses (*q.v.*), were frequently designated in the 13th and 14th centuries, but, after that time, it was more vaguely employed to denote heretics in general. The etymology of the term has been much disputed (see C. Schmidt, *Histoire et doctrine des Cathares*, Paris, 1848–49, ii. 278–279). Its earliest use, as applied to the Cathari, is perhaps that in a canon of the Lateran Council of 1178, where it occurs, along with Publicani (*q.v.*), as an alternative designation for Cathari (C. de Vic and J. Vaissette, *Hist. générale de Languedoc*, Paris, 1872–90, vi.[2] 86; see also 222). The best authenticated etymology associates the term with the Pataria in Milan, a democratic party in that city, in the 11th cent., whom their aristocratic rivals contemptuously designated as Paterini,' or 'ragamuffins'; 'eisque paupertatem improperantes Paterinos, id est pannosos vocabant' (Bonizo, in *PL* cl. 825); cf. 'les Gueux' in the Low Countries in the 16th century. The Paterins largely followed the teaching of Ariald, the fanatical denouncer of a married clergy in the 11th century. As the Cathari also decried marriage on the part of ecclesiastics, and, partly on account of their poverty and still more, perhaps, from their desire to escape observation in their assemblies for worship, also sought out obscure localities, their defamers naturally availed themselves of these features to transfer to them the epithet which had formerly been applied to the followers of Ariald, while the quarter in which they resided also became known as Pataria, and in more recent times as Contrada de' Patari.

J. BASS MULLINGER.

PATETS.—See CREEDS AND ARTICLES (Parsi), EXPIATION AND ATONEMENT (Parsi).

PATH (of the gods or of the soul).—The word 'path' and its synonyms, it is obvious, lend themselves readily to specifically religious and ethical applications; but the most highly developed technical employment of this nature is found in the literatures of India and of Persia.

1. **India.**—In the *Rigveda* and the *Atharvaveda* the word 'path' (Skr. *panthā-*, *pathi-*, *path-*; *adhvan-*; *gātu-*, and derivatives) has the usual literal meanings as applied to ways on earth and to the courses of the heavenly bodies either as such or as deities, and figurative meanings such as the way unto sleep and the path of man's life. In addition, it has two main religious significations: (*a*) the path of the gods, and (*b*) the path of the fathers.

(*a*) *The path of the gods* is the way between the world of the gods and the world of men; it was created and is kept in repair by the fire-sacrifice with the drinking of the *soma*-juice, and by the devout thought or meditation of the pious worshippers. Even more definitely, this path or these paths (for there is no consistency in the number) are said to have been first made by Atharvan, the mythical first fire-priest, through his institution and practice of the fire-sacrifice, though at other times other ancient seers, and the gods Bṛhaspati, Agni, Indra, and Soma, are severally called 'path-makers.' Agni, the fire, both as physical fire and as god of the fire, is termed the 'knower of the ways,' for by them he comes down to earth to the sacrifice and kindles the holy fuel, and by them he hastens back to heaven to invite the gods to come down to earth to the sacrifice, where they may sit on the *kuśa*-grass round the holy fire. With or without this formal invitation of Agni, the gods (Indra, Varuṇa, Aryaman, Savitṛ, Pūṣan, Aramati, the *aśvins*, the *maruts*, the *ṛbhus*, etc., are mentioned in this connexion) come down by these paths to the sacrifice, where they vicariously, through the priest, enjoy the drinking of the *soma*. Elsewhere Agni is spoken of as bringing to the gods by the paths the viands and the *soma*-drink, or other offerings; by them either the *aśvins* or the eagle conveys to Indra the *soma*; by them, before the sacrifice, the prayers ascend to Agni and Indra; the *soma* is appealed to, to put them into fit condition for the ascent of a new song of praise and petition. This is the path of *amṛta*, or immortality, by which the *ṛbhus*, after drinking the *soma*, were able to attain places among the gods; it was by songs, however, that the *angirases* built their way to immortality. But death is warned to keep away from this path that the gods tread. At other times as well as at the time of the sacrifice the gods come to the earth by these paths, which extend from the seat of the highest god, far beyond the vision of man; yet man is thought of as wandering along the path of the gods, during the sacrifice, though arrival at the abode of the gods is felt to be beyond attainment. These paths are characterized as bathed in light, straight, ancient, dustless, easy to go, thornless, god-trodden.

(*b*) *The path of the fathers*, or *pitṛs* (the spirits of the ancestors), is the path leading from the world of the living to the world of the dead. It was originally discovered by Yama, the first of men to die, and hence is called 'the path of Yama.' Others followed in his path, and made their way to the abode of the dead, so that it is occasionally called 'the path of the ancient ones.' This path is dark, fearful, frightful, forward-going, descending; Agni, in his manifestation as the fire which consumes the corpse, is directed to go this way and not upon the god-trodden path. As the soul of the dead man makes his way to his new abode, he must pass the 'two dogs of Saramā,' the sun and the moon, which are represented now as guarding the path and driving away the wolf, and now as dangerous obstacles to the passage of the soul. Pūṣan is implored to protect this road. Those who have gone this path cannot come back—a Vedic idea, uttered before the origin of the belief in metempsychosis; but, though they cannot return to resume life in this world, still the *pitṛs* may return by this path for a brief space to partake of the offerings at the sacrifices which are made to the souls of the dead.

The path of the *pitṛs* is not infrequently confused with the path of the gods, and is described as made by the ancient seers or by the *pitṛs*, and extending to heaven or to the lofty sky, bringing us into association with day and light, with sun and moon.

In the *Upaniṣads* there are four different ways or paths for the soul after death: (1) the soul arrives at its new home at once after death, without intervening travel or experiences; (2) the soul returns into the universe; (3) the soul travels on the way of the fathers, through murk and night, in the days of the waning moon, to the moon as the place of the dead; (4) the soul goes by the path of the gods to the regions of light, whence there is no return; this last is for those who have earned their final release from the trammels of the fleshly body, and go to the sun as final abode, nevermore to be reincarnated.

Certain other specialized uses of the word 'path' in the Vedic texts deserve mention.

(*c*) *The path of the soma-juice.*—When the plant *soma* is pressed for the extraction of the juice to be used in the ritual, the juice is spoken of as flowing through the sieve into the pail by a splendid path, or by straightest paths, which it makes for itself, dustless, hundredfold or thousandfold; it flows, trickles, hastens, or rushes roaring along them; the streams of the juice cover the path as by a wagon. The mode of expression is the effect of the exaggerated Hindu imagery, tending here as elsewhere to predicate the most exalted attributes for that which is being glorified.

(*d*) *The path of ṛta, or righteousness*, is a term which may be applied to any path, literal or figurative, which is not inconsistent with good morality. While at times used almost as we may use 'the path of right conduct,' it is both a vaguer and a more inclusive term, sometimes synonymous with the path of the gods, sometimes with the conduct of the sacrifice, sometimes with proper behaviour, and is used even of the course of the waters which Indra released (see below (*f*)). By following the path of *ṛta* man passes unscathed through evil or through sorrow and suffering.

The *aryāṣṭāṅgamārga* (Pāli, *ariyō aṭṭhaṅgikō maggō*), or 'noble eightfold path,' of Buddhism is a somewhat similar idea to this, and is the way pointed out by Buddha for escape from the misery of existence, consisting of right views, right thoughts, right words, right actions, right living, right exertion, right recollection, right meditations.

(*e*) *The path to fortune, to welfare, to power, to the winning of riches*, etc., is constantly mentioned in the Vedas; and Indra, Viṣṇu, Agni, Soma, Pūṣan, Bhaga, the dawn, the *aśvins*, the *maruts*, the *ṛbhus*, etc., are implored to prepare it for men, or to lead men to it. This path is not sharply distinguished from the path of *ṛta*, nor from the path of the gods, but at times they merge into one another.

(*f*) *The path of the waters.*—Indra is said to have slain the dragon or demon which restrained the

waters, and then, by bursting open the clouds, or the mountains, in which the waters were confined, to have set them free to run in their paths over the earth. Less often it is Varuṇa who builds the paths by which the waters flow to the sea. The myth is, of course, derived from the phenomenon of seasonal droughts and rains in India.

2. Persia.—In the religion of Zoroaster the word 'path' (Avestan *pantay-, path-, patha-*) has much the same development as in the Veda. In the oldest Zoroastrian texts, the *Gāthās* of the Avesta, we find the path of *asha* (identical etymologically with Skr. *ṛta*), or righteousness, which is straight, profitable, and easily traversable, and leads the faithful follower of the religion to paradise (*garō demāna*, 'the home of song'). This path is revealed to the pious by Ahura Mazdāh and his archangels; it is spoken of also as the 'path of Vohu Manah' ('good thought,' one of the Avestan archangels), founded by Ahura Mazdāh and Asha (personified as an archangel), and taught by Asha; it is the path to Asha; it is the path of the religion, or of the right teaching.

The picture of the journey of the soul upon this path is given in some detail in the later writings of the religion.

For three days after death the soul hovers near the body, but on the morning of the fourth day flies away, wafted by a fragrant breeze or suffocated by a stinking wind, according to his deserts. Presently he is met by a beautiful maiden or by a frightful hag, who also typify his previous life and religion. He arrives finally at the tribunal of the judges, Mithra, Sraosha, and Rashnu, and his good deeds are weighed against his bad deeds. If the good deeds prevail, he sets out across the bridge of the Chinvat, or 'divider,' which passes across the abyss of hell to heaven, and he finds the bridge broad and easy to ascend, until he arrives in paradise. But the soul whose evil deeds outweigh his good deeds finds the bridge growing narrower and narrower and more difficult to mount, until he plunges off and down into hell for his everlasting punishment.

3. General.—In other lands there is hardly the same definite use of specific words in these specialized meanings, though every religion naturally has its own version or versions of the way traversed by the soul after death; among the American Indians, *e.g.*, the soul is generally represented as travelling to the westward, supplied with provisions, and as reaching the land of his spirit-ancestors after passing successfully some obstacle.

LITERATURE.—1. The passages of the *Rigveda* and *Atharvaveda* may be traced by H. Grassmann's *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda*, Leipzig, 1873, and W. D. Whitney's 'Index Verborum to the Atharva-Veda,' in *JAOS* xii. [1881] (both of which are complete word-concordances), under the appropriate words. See also R. G. Kent, 'The Vedic Path of the Gods and the Roman Pontifex,' in *Classical Philology*, viii. [1913] 318–326; and esp. H. Oldenberg, *Die Lehre der Upanishaden und die Anfänge des Buddhismus*, Göttingen, 1915, pp. 106 f., 145, 344 f. On the 'two dogs of Saramā' see M. Bloomfield, *Cerberus the Dog of Hades*, Chicago and London, 1905.

2. The Gāthic passages are *Yasna*, xxxi. 9, xxxiii. 5, xxxiv. 12, xliii. 3, xlvi. 4, l. 4, li. 13, 16, liii. 2; other passages may be traced by means of C. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, Strassburg, 1906, pp. 843, 847 f. The journey of the soul is described, with references to the sources, by A. V. Williams Jackson, 'Die iranische Religion,' §§ 82–84, in W. Geiger and E. Kuhn, *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, do. 1895-1904, ii. 684 f.

3. See E. B. Tylor, *PC*[5], London, 1913, i. 348–350, 359 f.; A. L. Kroeber, 'Indian Myths of South Central California,' in the *Univ. of California Publications: American Archæology and Ethnology*, vol. iv. no. 4 [1906–07], p. 217; F. G. Speck, 'Notes on Chickasaw Ethnology and Folk-Lore,' in *JAFL* xx. [1907] 58.

R. G. KENT.

PAṬHĀNS.—See AFGHANISTAN.

PAṬICCA-SAMUPPĀDA.—Paṭicca-samuppāda ('causally continuous' or 'collective uprising') is the name of a central doctrine in early Buddhism and in all Theravāda Buddhism. It is also called the Nidāna ('basis' or 'ground,' *i.e.* cause) doctrine, or the Paccayākāra ('related conditions'), and is referred to in the Pāli *Suttas* as Ariya-Nāya ('the noble [or Ariyan=Buddhist] method *or* system'). The first, second, and fourth names are canonical, but the third occurs only as a (late) title in the third and more recent section, the *Abhidhamma-Piṭaka*. European Indianists call the doctrine 'causal genesis,' 'dependent origination,' or 'theory of the twelve causes.'

The doctrine so designated is a formulated series of terms (1) expressing the interrelated or mutually dependent order obtaining throughout the sphere of sentient phenomena in the life of creatures, (2) considered from the point of view of sentience. In other words, it states that the salient features of sentient life reveal an order of mutually dependent occurrences, throwing off, as they evolve, an ever-recurring outcrop of painful feeling.

This is the burden of the formula stated and applied in detail. But there is also a concise and abstract version of the formula, in which the application to sentient phenomena is eliminated, and which is therefore nothing less than a formula of causation in general. Sometimes this universal statement is prefixed to the fuller formula; sometimes it represents it in brief; once or twice it is used independently. It runs: 'This being present, that becomes (or happens); from the arising of this, that arises. This being absent, that does not become; from the cessation of this, that ceases.'

In the Pāli only one and the same demonstrative adjective, 'this' (*idaṃ*), is used, and not the pair 'this, that' (*idaṃ, asu*). But this should not lead the reader to see in the formula a set of merely identical propositions. Pāli diction does not distinguish between two terms in our way; but the context invariably shows that there are two terms and not one.

This abstract version does not occur in either the *Sutta* or the *Vinaya* Buddha-legend; nevertheless in certain *Suttas* the Buddha is represented as teaching it, and also as calling it *Dhamma*, and Ariyan method (*Majjhima*, ii. 32; *Saṃyutta*, v. 388; *Aṅguttara*, v. 184). It is used in discussions with persons of education, lay and religious, but is obviously not suited to the theme of a saviour of his fellow-men wrestling in thought how to find a way of escape for the world, nor to the language of deep religious emotion and romance in which that theme is embodied, and through which the *Mahāpadāna*, or 'sublime legend,' appealed so widely and powerfully to all sorts and conditions of men.

The applied and expanded formula is also termed *Dhamma* and identified with it (*Majjhima*, i. 191). It constitutes, in fact, an expansion of the second and third of the so-called 'four Ariyan truths *or* facts' put forward in the Buddha's first sermon, and considered as the nucleus of his teaching, viz. the truth as to the genesis or cause of ill, and the truth as to the cessation or suspension of the cause of ill. As expressing a cosmic truth, it was considered as valid eternally and from eternity, independently of the advent of a Tathāgata (or Buddha), not to mention any action by a deity. As a truth that became buried and forgotten for ages at a time, under mythologies and theologies, the function of a Buddha was to re-discover and revive it.

'Whether Tathāgatas arise or not, this elemental datum (*dhātu*) stands as the establishing of things as effects . . . as the cause of this and that. Concerning this . . . a Tathāgata becomes enlightened and penetrates it . . . and he declares . . . makes it manifest, and behold! he saith' (here follows the formula in detail). 'Thus these stable, constant, immutable elements are each called a causal term (*paṭicca-samuppāda*)' (*Saṃyutta*, ii. 25. 3; cf. *Kathāvatthu*, vi. 2, tr. in *Points of Controversy*, London, 1915, pp. 187, 387).

Hence this re-discovery plays a great part in the Buddha-legend—the creed as to the process by which each Buddha in turn grasps the principle governing the series of terms as a fundamental truth of sentient life.

The oldest account of the re-discovery of the causal order in its application to the facts of sentient life is probably that contained in the *Mahā-*

padāna of the *Dīgha-Nikāya* (ii. 1; tr. T. W. and C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, ii. 1). The scene is the shade beneath a tree famed thereafter as the Bodhi- (or Bo-) tree ('tree of enlightenment'). Hither, after years of unsatisfying study under teachers, and of independent self-inflicted austerities, equally sterile (*Majjhima*, i. 163–167, 242–249), the Buddha-about-to-be comes, not faint and emaciated, but in restored health, to grapple, not with systems or abstractions, but with the order and tendency of sentient facts as they appear to him. The fact of ageing, or decay and disease, the fact of death insurmountable by any sentient being whatever in earth or heaven—because inseparable from the essence of life itself—and a passionate pity for all sentient life in helpless subjugation to their sway still hold his thoughts:

'And for this suffering no one knows of any way of escape, even from decay and death. O, when shall a way of escape from this suffering be made known? . . .

Then to him it occurred: "What now being present, is decay-and-dying also present? Conditioned by what is decay-and-dying?" Then to him thinking as to means arose penetration of insight: "Where birth is present, decay-and-dying come to be; decay-and-dying are conditioned by birth"' (*Dialogues*, ii. 23 *f.*).

The thinker is now started on the method of his argument, and the exposition of how, by conditioned sequence, sentient life proceeds on its doomed career from one birth to another is given in the same terms. The formula for each linked stage gives more concise expression than the fuller text of the legend. It is couched, not in propositions, but in a string of qualified terms, as follows:

'Conditioned-by-birth, decay-death (with its accompaniment of pain and sorrow). Conditioned-by-becoming, birth. Conditioned-by-attachment, becoming. Conditioned-by-natural desires (or cravings), attachment. Conditioned-by-feeling, natural desires. Conditioned-by-contact, feeling. Conditioned-by-sense, contact. Conditioned-by-composite organism, sense. Conditioned-by-consciousness, the composite organism.'

(This is the formula of ten 'bases' only, and in backward order, or the order of re-discovery, as given in this ancient legend or creed, the thinker pushing his way from consequent to antecedent.)

'Then to the Bodhisat this occurred: "Consciousness turns back from the composite organism; it goes not beyond it."'

(In other words, we encounter, *in sentience*, no new fact to adduce. As a man's composite organism—mind and body—dissolves at death, the resultant consciousness of his last mental force springs up in a new embryo, human, bestial, infernal, or celestial. And the result of that embryo so informed is a composite organism, or *nāma-rūpa*. Hence the mutual conditioning of these two terms, as in the case of seed-fruit-seed, egg-hen-egg.)

'"Only thus can one be born, grow old, die, fall (from one sphere), spring up (in another), namely, conditioned-by-composite organism, consciousness. Conditioned-by-consciousness, composite organism. Conditioned-by-composite organism, sense. Conditioned-by-sense, contact. Conditioned-by-contact, feeling. Conditioned-by-feeling, natural desire. Conditioned-by-natural-desire, attachment. Conditioned-by-attachment, becoming. Conditioned-by-becoming, birth. Conditioned-by-birth, decay-and-dying, with sorrow and suffering. Such is the coming to be of this entire body of ill."'

'"Coming to be! coming to be! (*samudayo*)"—at that thought there arose to the Bodhisat a vision into things not called before to mind, and knowledge arose, and insight and wisdom and light. Then to him it occurred: "What now being absent, is decay-and-dying also absent; by the ceasing of what does decay-and-dying also cease?" Then to him thinking as to means arose penetration of insight: "Where birth is absent, decay-and-dying is absent; when birth ceases, decay-and-dying ceases. . . . Where becoming, etc., . . . [and so on to] consciousness ceases." Then to him this occurred: "Lo! I have won to this, the intuition-way to enlightenment, namely, that from the composite organism ceasing, consciousness ceases, and conversely; that from the composite organism ceasing, sense ceases. . . . Such is the ceasing of this entire body of ill. Ceasing! Ceasing!" At that thought there arose to him a vision into things not called before to mind, and knowledge arose, and insight and wisdom and light. And thereafter he dwelt in the discernment of the rising and passing away of the five attachment groups (of the composite organism). Such is the material group, such the mental groups, such is their coming to be, such is their ceasing. And for him, abiding in that discernment, not long was it before his heart, void of attachment, was set free from the Intoxicants (of sense-desires, of renewed life, of wrong views, of ignorance).'

This is the version of the legend giving the fullest context. But it lacks the eleventh and twelfth links, or, taking the formula in its usual or forward or time-order, the first and second links. These two complete the traditional or doctrinaire presentment of the formula, and appear also in the other canonical versions of the legend. These occur in the *Samyutta-Nikāya*, ii. 5 (or fourth *Sutta* of the *Nidāna-Saṃyutta*), where the narrative is also generalized as experience of all Buddhas, and in the *Vinaya*, *Mahāvagga*, 1st section (cf. *Vinaya Texts* [*SBE* xiii. (1881)], i. 73 f.). In the latter account the exposition of the doctrine is given, not as being re-discovered, but as being meditated upon after enlightenment was won, and as constituting, so to speak, the spoils of victory. The account as compared with the other two is referred to Gotama Buddha only, and is relatively curt, as if, when the rules of the order were being completely 'edited,' this doctrinally important portion was inserted with the other legends prefacing the books of rules, as a memorandum. Internal evidence is thus rather against its being the oldest version.

The two links in question, taking the order of re-discovery as in the *Saṃyutta* narrative, are: 'Conditioned-by-consciousness, actions. Conditioned-by-actions, ignorance.' These may or may not be an addendum for the sake of completeness. Theravāda exegesis sees in them a linking up with the previous life or lives of the sentient subject, just as, at the other end, the next life is outlined by the other two extremes. We thus get:

Previous life.	ignorance . . .	Present life.	consciousness . . .	Future life.	birth (in
	actions (transmitting results).		to . . . becoming.		earth or heavens, etc.)
					decay-and-dying.

Thus enlarged and envisaged, the scheme becomes more interesting in perspective than if the past and future of the three lives had been represented as groups of terms identical with those of the present life. It was open to the compilers so to represent it. But the table as compiled shows a greater preoccupation with the working of causation than if there had been offered mere repetition. In the central group we have the working out of the process of sentience, culminating in the central links—sense, feeling, desire—and representing a fresh ebullition, a new source of causal force reaching on into the next birth. There its resultant is renewed sentience, eventually again to be darkened by the inevitable disease-decay-death. But the present is also itself a resultant—a centre of effects in sentience due to causes in the past. Simplifying that past, the compilers presented it in abstract as causal only. The causes are generalized as two: the limited and imperfect knowledge which is called ignorance (*a-vijjā*)—ignorance of how the life of sense-desires makes in the long run for *dukkha*, 'ill'; and activities of deed, word, and thought, conditioned by that ignorance, and constituting the *karma*-forces which result in the sentient effects of the next (*i.e.* the present) life.

It is very necessary for the reader to keep in mind this view of the two past-life terms as a simplified, abstract aspect. Western critics, ignoring the Theravāda tradition, have speculated on how 'ignorance' (*i.e.* knowledge of a sort, just as cold is, scientifically, heat of a sort) can be the primal source (!) of these sentient phenomena.

'Ignorance,' wrote Buddhaghoṣa, 'is here chosen only as a starting-point for the exposition, not because it is itself causeless' (*Visuddhi-Magga*, xvii.).

Another difficulty, met by the commentators, is the distinction between 'becoming' (*bhava*) and 'birth.' They explain 'becoming' under two aspects: (*a*) when it conditions birth, the fruition or results of past actions is meant (*kammabhava*); (*b*) in the phrase, 'becoming is conditioned by

attachment,' the general result in future life is meant (*upapatti-bhava*) (cf. Aung, *Compendium of Philosophy*, p. 262). Thus 'grasping leads to becoming,' *i.e.* (*b*) to renewed life (*a*) through the working of action's results.

The Theravāda tradition has, unlike the Mahāyānist schools, consistently kept the Paticca-samuppāda to the fore in its teaching, and has held as authoritative, in exegesis of the doctrine, the dissertation contained in Buddhaghoṣa's *Visuddhi-Magga*, xvii. Hence a few notes from that dissertation are here added.

Buddhaghoṣa, whose erudition was built upon the traditional culture of his age, often refers to the doctrine by the post-canonical name *bhava-chakka*, 'wheel of becoming.' He is throughout emphatic as to the formula being no mere enumeration of a series, but a doctrine of certain states conditioning the one the other—in other words, a scientific doctrine of causation in sentient phenomena. There were views current that the formula was only a list of happenings (*uppādamattaṃ*), and he insists at length on the full significance of the old *Sutta*-title, *paṭicca*, 'because of,' 'on account of,' and *samuppādo*, as well as on the word *paccayā*, rendered above 'conditioned by.' These terms expressed a procedure (*pavatta*) of conditions uprising, contrasting with the views of those who denied causation, who advocated chance or irregular causation (*visama-hetu*) (on these cf. the *Adhicca-samuppannika's* [=*akāraṇa-samuppannika*, 'believers in things arisen without a cause'] of *Dīgha-Nikāya*, i. 30) or who believed in overruling disposers. *Paccaya*, 'condition,' he defines, after the fashion of mediæval commentators, as '*paṭicca etasmā eti ti paccayo*.' Condition means 'on account of, from that, it makes go' (*pacc-* is *paṭi* before *ay*, the causative of *i*, 'to go'). Now, he goes on:

'The essential feature in "condition" is furtherance [or 'aid,' *upa-kāraka*].[1] Thus: is there anything the persistence, or the arising of which is a furtherance, that thing is a condition of what is aided. Condition, cause [*hetu*], reason [*kāraṇa*, lit. 'causing-to-make'], basis, ground [*nidāna*], and such terms are one in meaning, diverse in form.'

The shortened abstract form he does not take into account in this chapter, but in his commentaries on it, when it occurs, both with and without the fuller formula, in the *Majjhima* and *Samyutta-Nikāyas*, he refers to it as the Paccayākāra, or method of conditions, namely, that 'given the condition, the fruit (consequent) comes to pass.'

Whether the formula in its detailed form and the doctrine of causation applied to sentient phenomena were entirely and originally Buddhist or were annexed from pre-existing systems is a matter of controversy. The difficulty in deciding lies largely in the uncertainty as to which systems, as expounded in the earliest records preserved of them, are pre-Buddhistic. There are fragments of the linked form of exposition, used in the formula, surviving in the aphorisms known as Yoga and Sānkhya *sūtras*, but, whereas these *sūtras* are reputed to be ancient, the compilation of them in commentarial works is, as regards the Buddhist canon, relatively quite modern. No originality, however, is claimed either by Buddhists or by European exponents for the *method*—a method which may have its roots away back in the primitive folk-lore of our race. In the *sūtras* the emphasis on the natural law of cause and effect in sentient phenomena remains practically sterile; it was the work of Buddhism, whether it anticipated or annexed, to render insight into natural laws a fruitful religious doctrine. Theories of first causes and *primum mobile* reach back, in Indian Vedas, far beyond the date of Thales of the Levant. But, if we compare the primitive notions of cause itself, anthropomorphically conceived as akin to a fiat of will, or to a manual effort, with the earliest Buddhist resolution of cause into necessary antecedent conditions, each ancillary to a 'fruit,' or consequent coming to be, if we remember that this conception of causation was substituted, in the process bringing about sentience, for chance or divine fiat, and viewed as natural law which man might modify by adapting his actions thereto, it may then be that the force of the words, 'arose a vision into things not called before to mind,' may cause to arise for the historian of human ideas a vision not less interesting.

[1] See art. Relation (Buddhist).

Literature. — *Dialogues of the Buddha*, tr. T. W. and C. A. F. Rhys Davids, London, 1910, ii. 23–61; H. C. Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, Cambridge, Mass., 1900, pp. 168–179; C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, London, 1912, ch. iv.; H. Oldenberg, *Buddha*[6], Stuttgart, 1914, div. II. ch. ii., where references to controversial literature are given; L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Théorie des douze causes*, Ghent, 1913, giving Sanskrit and Tibetan literature on the subject; P. Oltramare, *La Formule bouddhique des douze causes*, Geneva, 1909; P. Masson-Oursel, 'Théorie bouddhique des douze conditions,' *RHR* lxxi. [1915] 30 ff. The two last named do not give the view of the Theravāda tradition, followed in this article. That view is best set out by S. Z. Aung, in *A Compendium of Philosophy*, London, 1910, pp. 259–264, note on Paccaya and Paṭicca-Samuppāda.

C. A. F. Rhys Davids.

PATIENCE.—Patience, the *βασιλὶς τῶν ἀρετῶν*, as Chrysostom calls it, is a distinctly Christian virtue. In each of the great religious systems of history we find that which is related more or less closely to it, and a study of these reveals that contribution to the religious thought of the world which must be assigned to Christianity. In the East patience is near akin to the *ἀπάθεια* which played so prominent a part in the Stoic conception of life. It consists of complete indifference to circumstance induced by mental discipline; it ignores both pleasure and pain. Later expositions of this virtue approximate to that power to endure which is indicated in the Latin word *patientia*, and which is prominent in popular and superficial ideas of patience. The Yoga system of Patañjali finds its modern exponents in the *faqīrs* who endure privations and self-inflicted torture sometimes of quite revolting forms. This, it is evident, is mere passivity (*q.v.*), and, when accepted in order to acquire merit, so far from creating nobility of character, it has a distinctly selfish and degrading relation. The Greek idea seems rather inclined to the side of courage. In the *Theætetus* (177 B) Plato speaks of *ἀνδρικῶς ὑπομεῖναι* ('patience' = *ὑπομονή*) as the true antithesis to *ἀνάνδρως φεύγειν*. This is a great advance upon both the *ἀπάθεια* of the Stoic and the passivity of the Indian Yogi. But it is not until we come to Christian teaching that we see how patience can be a positive and ennobling force in human life and character. In turning to Christian teachers we are met at once with the definition given by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* ii. 18), *ἐπιστήμη ἐμμενετέων καὶ οὐκ ἐμμενετέων*, 'the knowledge of the things which we may bear, and of the things which we may not bear.' Cocceius, on Ja 1[12], quoted by Trench (*Synonyms of the NT*[8], London, 1876, p. 190 f.), comes nearer still to the true Christian conception of the word. He says:

'Ὑπομονή versatur in contemtu bonorum hujus mundi, et in forti susceptione afflictionum cum gratiarum actione; imprimis autem in constantiâ fidei et caritatis, ut neutro modo quassari aut labefactari se patiatur, aut impediri quominus opus suum et laborem suum efficiat.'

It is in this 'constantia fidei et caritatis' that we come upon the germinal truth which has so developed in the thought of the Christian Church as to result in that fuller connotation of patience which is our heritage. There are two ideas which go to make up the complete conception, and, most markedly, they are both shown in the beautiful Greek name for the virtue. Ὑπομονή suggests in its two component parts the submission which

accepts the will of God and the waiting which rests upon both faith and hope. As against the indifference of the Stoics, the NT lays stress upon hope (*q.v.*) as the quality of true patience. St. Paul speaks of a patience which through the medium of 'experience' or 'probation' (δοκιμή) issues in hope (Ro 5[4] ἡ δὲ ὑπομονὴ δοκιμήν, ἡ δὲ δοκιμὴ ἐλπίδα). But perhaps the most striking passage in this connexion is that which we find in 1 Th 1[3], where St. Paul speaks of hope as the characteristic quality (for this is the true interpretation of the genitive) of patience, μνημονεύοντες τῆς ὑπομονῆς τῆς ἐλπίδος. As against the mere passivity of the Hindu, on the other hand, St. Paul places 'steady persistence in a life-work of good' (Sanday and Headlam, on καθ' ὑπομονὴν ἔργου ἀγαθοῦ, Ro 2[7] [*The Epistle to the Romans*[5], *ICC*, Edinburgh, 1902, p. 53]), and the element of hope or expectation is supplied in δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν ζητοῦσι of the same passage. For endurance may be dogged, peevish, or cynical; it will in such case fail to be formative of Christian character. It even becomes destructive by the familiar law which says 'corruptio optimi pessima.' But Christian patience is both positive and effective of good in character, for it is by patience that man wins his life (Lk 21[19]).

There is no true patience apart from that submission of spirit which gladly accepts the will of God, and which waits on in sure and certain hope that life 'means intensely and means good.'

It is a travesty of Patience that describes her as 'sitting on a monument smiling at grief.' She is found in no selfish isolation; there is no artificiality of joy upon her face. She comes down into all the pain and sorrow of life; she looks with steadfast eyes at all the hideousness of evil; but she is strong, for she rests upon the unfailing love of a divine Person. It is when the love of God comes into human courage and endurance that His life becomes a part of our human experience, and human pain becomes illumined and beautified as it throws into relief the 'far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.' The type of such patience was found in our Lord Himself (2 Th 3[5]), and it is through such patience that man is 'made perfect by the things which he suffers.'

LITERATURE.—There is no special work on the subject, but references abound in homiletical literature, such as John Smith, *Select Discourses*[4], Cambridge, 1859, p. 426f.; J. T. Jacob, *Christ the Indweller*, London, 1902, ch. xi. See also J. McCosh, *The Emotions*, London, 1880, p. 131; and H. F. Amiel, *Journal*, Eng. tr., do. 1889, p. 116.

W. W. HOLDSWORTH.

PĀTIMOKKHA.—This is the name for a collection of 227 rules to be observed by members of the Buddhist order of mendicants. A few of them relate to matters that may, in a sense, be called ethical. But the rules themselves are not at all ethical. They determine only what steps are to be taken in each case by the order; and the cases are matters of the restrictions as to dress, food, clothing, medicine, etiquette, manners, and so on, to be observed by the members. In four cases out of the 227 the punishment, if it can be called punishment, is exclusion from the order. In all the other cases it is merely suspension for a period of time.

There had been other orders before the Buddhist order was founded, and no doubt some of the rules were based upon rules already existing in those. There is nothing exclusively Buddhist about any one of them. On the other hand, each of the different orders had, no doubt, some rules which the others had not. It would be very interesting if we could ascertain whether any, and if so which, of the 227 rules were followed by the Buddhist order alone. But this is not yet possible. The Jain order is older; but the rules observed in it before the Buddha's time, even if they are still extant, are not published. We have also a few rules laid down in the priestly law-books as obligatory on Brāhman mendicants (*bhikkhus*). These are, however, extant only in law-books centuries later than the period in question. And, though the rules were probably in force before the date of the law-books, it is not possible to say whether or not they were valid in the Buddha's time. Such evidence as is available tends to show that they were not.[1] And it is most probable that the particular rules in question were meant to be supplied to individuals as such, not to members of an order or community. The very fact of the small number of rules that it was considered advisable to record shows how slight was the importance attached by the compilers of these law manuals to the matter of the organization of a religious order.

In the absence of detailed knowledge of the rules of other previously existing Indian orders, European writers have so far assumed a similarity between the Buddhist order and the European orders more familiar to them that they have applied to the Buddhist community the technical terms in use in Europe. These organizations are really very different—as different, in fact, as any two such orders could possibly be. To give a few instances only: the Buddhist order in India had no monasteries, no establishments hidden behind walls and inaccessible to the public, presided over by an abbot or superior; there was no hierarchy at all, no authority to which the members of the order had to submit, no power in any one member of the order over any other member, and no vow of obedience; at meetings of the chapter the senior member present, reckoning not by age but by the date on which he had been admitted into the order, took the chair; the decisions were by vote of the majority, and the votes of all members, whatever their seniority, were equal; no member of the order was a priest who could in any way intervene between any god and any man, or offer any sacrifice, or declare any forgiveness of sin, or give absolution; no one of the 227 rules inculcates any creed or dogma or demands any sort of belief; any member of the order could give up his association with it whenever he liked; there is a special set of rules regulating the manner in which he could do so,[2] but he could also leave the order, without any formality, simply by putting on a layman's dress;[3] this was no empty form of words, it was (and is) constantly done. To translate the word *bhikkhu* by 'priest' or 'monk' is therefore a *suggestio falsi* in respect of one or more of these matters, all of them of the first importance. The word means, literally, mendicant, but not mendicant in our sense of the word. With us the word is associated with the false pretences, the lies, and the trickery habitually used by mendicants to trade upon the sentimentality of the kind-hearted. And, while there doubtless have been periods when some members of the order may have laid themselves open to some such imputation, yet to charge all the members, at all times, with mendicancy is neither fair nor correct. Quite a number of the rules of the *Pātimokkha* are especially designed to prevent even the very appearance of evil in this respect.

A further misconception should here be noticed. The rules of the *Pātimokkha* are not a list of sins. No such conception as that of the European notion of sin enters even remotely into the Buddhist view of life. The rules of the *Pātimokkha* are mainly economic; they regulate the behaviour of members of an order to one another in respect of clothes, dwellings, furniture, etc., held in common. They

[1] The evidence is collected in Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i. 212–220.
[2] *Sutta Vibhaṅga* (*Vin.* iii.), i. 8. 2ff.
[3] *E.g.*, *Vinaya Texts*, i. 275.

were originally established in accordance with the customs of the time. As the customs changed, or as convenience dictated, the rules were changed. A number of such changes even in the very earliest time have been pointed out in the introductions to H. Oldenberg's edition of the *Vinaya*, and to his and the present writer's translation of the *Vinaya Texts*. These changes have also gone on in later times, until to-day a large majority of the rules have become obsolete. Notwithstanding this, the 227 rules have been recited every fortnight by the followers of the ancient tradition from the Buddha's time until to-day. The institution of this ceremony is recorded in the *Sutta Vibhaṅga*.[1]

There had been observed from ancient times a festival on new and full moon days. The orders older than the rise of Buddhism had kept up this observance, utilizing the recurring sacred days for the exposition of their doctrines. The early Buddhists followed this precedent; and once in every fortnight on the sacred day, called the *uposatha* day, the order met in its various districts in chapter, and all the rules were recited. There has been considerable difference of opinion as to the exact date of the month on which this ceremony should be held. The Buddhists have disputed on the point as frequently (though without violence) as Christians have on the date of Easter. And they still differ. There is, indeed, a certain ambiguity in the oldest wording of the rule on the point;[2] and we know too little about the actual practice as followed in India in the early days of Buddhism to be able to reach a conclusion as to which of the later schools was right in its contention.

The word *pātimokkha* occurs in one of the rules —the 73rd *pāchittiya*—and also in the introductory phrase to be used at the monthly recitation of the rules.[3] It would seem, therefore, to be older than the rules themselves. The manner in which the word is used in the old passage first enjoining the recitation of it upon the *bhikkhus*[4] confirms this supposition. We need not, therefore, be surprised to find that the early Buddhists ascribed the institution, not of the *uposatha* ceremony, but of the *Pātimokkha* itself, to a date long antecedent to that of the Buddha.[5] If that be correct, the word *pātimokkha* must have been current in Kosala when Buddhism arose, and, to be more exact, no doubt among the members of the previous orders. What it means exactly and what is its derivation are both uncertain. The Old Commentary (on which see below) explains it as follows:

Pātimokkham. This is the beginning, it is the face (*mukham*), it is the principal (*pamukham*) of good qualities. Therefore it is called *Pātimokkham.*

This as a piece of edifying exegesis is to the point, and it has the advantage of that sort of pun fashionable in ancient folklore and exegesis. India can claim no monopoly in this department of primitive literary art. Some fine specimens of it might be culled from the classic and sacred books most admired in Europe. It was supremely indifferent to accuracy. And to take it *au grand sérieux* as scientific etymology is not only to miss the point, but to forget the somewhat important fact that scientific etymology was not yet born. When the Buddhists, centuries afterwards, began to write in Sanskrit, they (evidently not understanding the word) Sanskritized it by *prātimokṣa*,[6] apparently supposing that it had something to do with *mokṣa* (*q.v.*). This is of course impossible. To have complied with the economic regulations of an order is a very different thing from having attained to the mental state deemed, in that order, to be ideal. *Mokṣa* would mean from the Buddhist point of view the latter, not the former. In Buddhism at least, though it did not use the technical term *mokṣa*, the regulations of the *Pātimokkha* were quite subsidiary. A man might have observed them all his life, and yet not have even entered upon the first stage of the path towards *arahant*-ship or *nirvāṇa* (the Buddhist *mokṣa*).[1] In some one of the pre-Buddhistic orders *pātimokkha* may possibly have had some such sense—'disburdenment,' *e.g.*, or 'repudiation,'[2] or 'obligation.'[3] In the Buddhist canon *pātimokkha* is used, quite frankly and simply, in the sense of 'code'—code of rules for members of their order; thus in the constantly repeated phrase *Pātimokkha - samvara - samvuto*, 'restrained according to the restraint of the code';[4] or, again, in *ubhayāni Pātimokkhāni*, 'both the codes' (the one for men, the other for women).[5]

The *Pātimokkha* is not one of the books in the Buddhist canon. This is not because it is later, but because it is older, than the canon. And every word of it, though not as a continuous book, is contained in the canon, in the book entitled *Sutta Vibhaṅga*, 'Exposition of the Suttas' (the word 'Suttas' meaning, in this title, the 227 rules above referred to). First there was the code itself, handed down by memory. Then there arose a word-for-word commentary on each of the 227 rules; we call this the Old Commentary. Then both these were encased in a new commentary with supplementary chapters. It is this third edition, so to speak, that we have in the extant canon.[6]

It is in the supplementary chapters that we find evidence of those changes referred to above. One is of especial importance for the question of the *Pātimokkha*. The rules are arranged in seven sections corresponding very roughly to the degree of weight attached to their observance. At the end of each section, on the *uposatha* day, at the time of recitation, the reciter goes on:

'Venerable sirs, the ninety-two rules [here comes the name of the rules in the particular section] have been recited. In respect of them I ask the venerable ones, "Are you pure in this matter?" A second time I ask, "Are you pure in this matter?" A third time I ask, "Are you pure in this matter?"' [There follows an interval of time.]

'The venerable ones are pure herein. Therefore do they keep silence. Thus I understand.'[7]

It is evident that the original intention was that any brother who had been guilty of a breach of any of the regulations laid down in the section recited—*e.g.*, that the legs of his chair or bed had exceeded eight inches in height (*pāchittiya* 87), or that he had left his chair or stool lying about in a hut occupied in common (*pāchittiya* 15)—should then and there acknowledge that he had broken the regulation in that respect.

But in one of the supplementary chapters (the *Khandakas*)[8] it is expressly laid down that this shall not be done. The brother who feels himself guilty shall acknowledge the fact beforehand. And, if he recollects only on the *uposatha* day itself that he has broken a rule, still he is to go (we are informed in another chapter, the *Uposatha Khandaka*)[9] to a fellow-member and say: 'I have committed, friend, such and such an offence; I confess that offence.' Let the other say: 'Do you

[1] In bk. ii. the *Uposatha Khandaka*, tr. in Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg, *Vinaya Texts*, i. 239 ff.
[2] Cf. *Vin.* i. 102 with 104. [3] See *Vinaya Texts*, i. 1.
[4] *Vin.* i. 102, tr. in *Vinaya Texts*, i. 241 f.
[5] *Dīgha*, ii. 46–49. The verse there given, containing the word *pātimokkha*, is included in the *Dhammapada* anthology as verse 185.
[6] See, *e.g.*, *Mahāvastu*, iii. 51. 17.

[1] See the passages collected by Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i. 2, 63.
[2] See Oldenberg, *Buddha*[6], Berlin, 1914, p. 381.
[3] *Prati-muc*, in pre-Buddhistic works, means 'to bind on.'
[4] *Dīgha*, iii. 77, 267, 285; *Majjhima*, i. 33, iii. 11.
[5] *Aṅguttara*, ii. 14; cf. *Vin.* i. 65 and *Aṅg.* iv. 140, v. 80, 201.
[6] See the masterly discussion of this history by Oldenberg in the introd. to his ed. of the text.
[7] Rhys Davids and Oldenberg, *Vinaya Texts*, i. 5 f.
[8] *Chullavagga*, ix. 2; tr. in *Vinaya Texts*, iii. 306.
[9] *Ib.* i. 282.

see it?' 'Yes, I see it.' 'Refrain from it in future.'[1]

The members discovered, no doubt, that any such interruption of the proceedings as was involved in a confession at the meeting was inconvenient; that it distracted the attention of the other members from the main object of the recitation; and that it might lead, if several such cases arose, to a very serious prolongation of the formal meeting of the chapter. So the practice was changed. The offending member had to 'disburden' his conscience before the ceremony took place. And in any case the recitation of the *Pātimokkha* was never interrupted in any way. This is still the case in Ceylon and Burma. But the old formula, appealing to the members present to speak, is still part of the recitation.

The subsequent history of the *Pātimokkha* in India is very obscure. It is probable that it was preserved and recited regularly by all the differing early schools of Buddhism. Afterwards, when, some six or seven centuries after the birth of the Buddha, there arose Buddhists who abandoned the use of Pāli, and adopted Sanskrit, it is probable that they abandoned also the use of the *Pātimokkha*. But we do not really know. It is not used, so far as we have any evidence, by any of the numerous sects in China or Japan who follow the doctrines of one or the other of these later Indian schools. The fragmentary remarks of Burnouf[2] are sufficient only to point out the lines on which a future investigation of this problem may be made.

LITERATURE.—E. Burnouf, *Introd. à l'hist. du Bouddhisme indien*, Paris, 1844; H. Oldenberg, *The Vinaya Piṭaka*, London, 1879–83; T. W. Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg, *Vinaya Texts* (*SBE*), Oxford, 1881–85; T. W. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha* (*SBB*), do. 1889–1910; *Dīgha Nikāya*, ed. T. W. Rhys Davids and J. E. Carpenter (*PTS*), do. 1890–1913; *Dhammapada*, ed. Suriyagoḍa Thera (*PTS*), do. 1914; *Mahāvastu*, ed. E. Senart, Paris, 1882–97.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

PATNA (PĀṬALIPUTRA).—Patna is the capital of the modern province of Bihār, the ancient Magadha (*q.v.*), in Gangetic India, and stands on the right bank of the Ganges in lat. 25° 26′ N., long. 85° 21′ E. It owes its historical and religious importance chiefly to the fact that it was the capital of Aśoka, the first emperor of India, and the great propagator of Buddhism in 273–232 B.C. (see AŚOKA). It was at that time known as Pātaliputta, the source of the Greek corrupt form Pali-bothra, as it was named in the records of Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador of Alexander's successor, Seleucus Nikator, to the court of Aśoka's grandfather Chandragupta, the Sandrakottos of the Greeks.[3] It was only in process of being built in the last year of Buddha's life (*c.* 482 B.C.), according to an incidental reference in the itinerary of Buddha's last journey in the Buddhist canon. The city continued to be the capital under the same name during the greater part of the reign of the imperial Gupta dynasty from the 4th to the 6th century A.D.

The traditional etymology of the name from the Aśokan period onwards is the rather fanciful one of 'the son of the *pāṭali*-tree,' *i.e.* 'the trumpet-flower tree' (*Bignonia suaveolens*); and a legend therewith states that there was on the site a tree of that species sacred to a goddess. No special sacred character now attaches to this shrub. In the opinion of the present writer, the name probably meant 'son of Patala,' a famous ancient seaport near the mouth of the Indus from which the bulk of Alexander's troops sailed on their return journey from India. This presumes that a colony of Aryans from Patala settled in this part of Gangetic India and transferred to their new port the cherished name of the far-distant old one. There is considerable evidence in support of this conjecture which cannot be detailed here. It was also called 'the city of flowers' (Kusum-puri and Pushpa). The modern name Patna is the English form of the vernacular Patana, 'a city,' in the sense of '*the* city,' or capital.

So magnificent were the buildings of the ancient city in cyclopean carved stones that the early traditions ascribed its erection to giants. These traditions are recorded by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims, Fa-Hian and Hiuen Tsiang, who visited the city and its monuments in the 5th and 7th centuries A.D.[1] The city was also known in the 1st cent. B.C., for Diodorus Siculus says:

'Hercules was the founder of no small number of cities, the most renowned and greatest of which he called Palibothra' (*Hist.* ii. 39).

But after the 7th cent. A.D. the site of this famous city was so completely forgotten that, when, towards the end of the 18th cent., European inquirers began to try to unearth the past history of India, none of the learned Brāhmans could give any clue to its whereabouts. The geographical details in the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims' routes clearly showed that the lost city must have been situated at or near the modern Patna. When the staff of the Government Archæological Survey were deputed to search for it, they reported:

'Modern Patna consequently does not stand on the site of old Pāṭaliputra, but very close to it, *the old city having occupied what is now the bed of the Ganges. . . . All or almost all traces of the ancient city must long since have been swept away by the Ganges.*'[2]

This continued to be the opinion of local British officials at Patna until 1892. In that year the present writer, impressed with the importance of recovering the lost site for early Indian history and especially for Buddhism, of which this city was the greatest stronghold, took advantage of a short visit to Patna to explore that neighbourhood, with the Chinese pilgrims' narratives in hand as a guide. As a result he found that not only was the ancient site not washed away, but most of the leading landmarks of Aśoka's palaces, monasteries, and other monuments remained so obvious that they could be located without much difficulty, and several pieces of Aśokan sculptures were found on the surface. Exploratory incisions then revealed the presence of several of the well-known Aśokan monoliths, and also one of the huge sculptured stones which had excited the admiration of the Greeks and early Chinese visitors, in the form of a colossal capital in quasi-Persepolitan style, which proved to be one of the earliest sculptures yet found in India.[3] But this and the other remains were so deeply overlaid by the alluvial deposits of the Ganges valley that they were all buried to the extent of 14 ft. or more beneath the surface, rendering excavation impossible on the

[1] He is to squat on his heels over against the *bhikkhu* to whom he is confessing. Now, 'in front of,' 'over against' would in post-Buddhistic Sanskrit be *pati-mukha*. If this word could be traced in pre-Buddhistic times, it would be possible to suggest a derivation of *pātimokkha* (from this practice) in the sense of 'confession,' viz. that which pertains to crouching in front of another *bhikkhu* (cf. *upaniṣad*, that which pertains to sitting down towards, hence 'a secret doctrine').

[2] *Introduction*, p. 300 ff.

[3] The identity of Sandrakottos with Chandragupta was first shown by W. Jones (*Asiatick Researches*, iv. [1795] 11); and Wilford noticed that the form used by Athenæus was even closer, namely Sandrakoptus (*ib.* v. [1796] 262). The Androkottus of Plutarch is the same person.

[1] *Records of Buddhistic Kingdoms* (Fa-Hian), ed. J. Legge, Oxford, 1886, p. 77 *f.*; S. Beal, *Si-yu-ki*, London, 1884, i. p. lv f. (Fa-Hian), ii. 83 f. (Hiuen Tsiang); T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, do. 1904–05, ii. 87–100.

[2] *Arch. Survey of India Report*, viii. [1878] 24.

[3] A 'Persian' or Persepolitan influence was remarked over half a century ago by James Fergusson, by A. Grünwedel in 1893 (*Buddhistische Kunst in Indien*, Berlin, 1893, pp. 14–17), and by James Kennedy in 1898 (*JRAS*, 1898, p. 284 f.), as noticeable in the details of the capitals of the Aśokan pillars and in small pilasters of the same age found in several parts of India. Another fine Persepolitan capital was found at Benares in 1914.

score of expense. Through the enlightened liberality of Mr. Tata, a Parsi merchant, the Indian Government has been able to undertake during the past three years systematic excavation of the sites thus indicated, and D. B. Spooner of the Archæological Survey has already recovered structural remains of stone buildings on a vast scale. One of these is a replica of the throne-room of Darius Hystaspes, the celebrated 'Hall of a Hundred Columns' at Persepolis.

The discovery of the existence of such intimate Persian art-influence at the heart of Aśoka's empire, confirming the evidence of the colossal capital cited above, is of great importance, as indicating unsuspected sources for Indian civilization and to some extent for Buddhism. For Aśoka was the greatest propagator of Buddhism, without whose active patronage that religion probably would not have survived. Before Aśoka's time there is no independent evidence for the existence of Buddhism. Adopting that faith himself, he made it the State religion of his empire, and he zealously lavished all the resources and wealth of his vast empire in building and endowing monasteries and covering the countries with monuments to mark sites alleged to have been visited by Buddha, or containing relics; these visible traces of Śākyamuni were distributed by Aśoka over India within great towers. Pāṭaliputra was the centre of all Aśoka's active religious propaganda; here was held the so-called 'Third Buddhist Council' during Aśoka's reign, and from here that ardent emperor sent swarms of Buddhist missionaries all over India and beyond its frontiers to propagate the new faith of his adoption. There is a presumption that Aśoka's Buddhism was more developed than that of Buddha's day, while it differs in many important essentials from that of the Buddhist Pāli canon, the earliest book of which was not compiled, as the present writer has shown, before the 2nd cent. B.C.[1] It is significant, therefore, to find the presence of Persian influence at Aśoka's headquarters in such unsuspected strength.

On the strength of that great building of Aśokan age which is virtually a replica of the famous Persepolitan palace-hall, Spooner propounds the theory that the authors, who were presumably of Aśoka's dynasty, were really Persian or Parsi in nationality and Zoroastrian in religion; and he proposes to call the era of the Mauryas (Aśoka's dynastic title) the 'Zoroastrian' period of Indian history. In support of this hypothesis he recalls the conjecture of Bühler that, although no monumental evidence has been found to substantiate the claim of Darius Hystaspes to suzerainty over India, it is not impossible that the northern script used by Aśoka in his northern edicts was introduced by the Syrian clerks of that Achæmenian conqueror. F. W. Thomas has also shown that the Mathura lion-sculpture requires for its interpretation a reference to the façade on Darius's tomb. J. Marshall, the present director of the Indian Archæological Survey, finds from the excavations at Benares that Aśoka presumably employed Græco-Persian masons there. And Darius made use of rocks and pillars for ethico-religious inscriptions some centuries before Aśoka. Spooner disbelieves in any Greek influence having contributed to the Indian civilization of the early Mauryan period; for, had it been operative in Chandragupta's reign, it would doubtless have been referred to, he thinks, by Megasthenes the ambassador, who described the customs at Patna as if they had nothing in common with the Grecian. For Chandragupta the evidence, he thinks, points to Persia only. It will require, however, further new and more positive material-proofs before this theory can be definitely accepted; and doubtless fresh evidence and inscriptions will be forthcoming from the excavations now in progress. Darius's claim to the possession of 'India' as a 'province' has never been regarded as implying more than the temporary possession probably of the Indus valley only, of which even there is no inscriptional evidence.

Pāṭaliputra was also a Jain centre in the days of Aśoka, who is claimed by the Jains as one of their patrons. While Buddhism has been extinct there for over six centuries, Jainism is still active, and in one of the picturesque many-turreted white-washed temples of that cult the inscription dated in the year corresponding to 1848 of our era was discovered by the present writer in which was preserved the ancient name in the form of Pāṭalīpura, 'the city of Pāṭalī.'

LITERATURE.—D. B. Spooner, 'The Zoroastrian Period of Indian History,' *JRAS*, 1915, pp. 63 f., 405 f.; L. A. Waddell, *Discovery of the Lost Site of Pataliputra, the Palibothra of the Greeks*, Calcutta, 1892, *Report on the Excavations of Pataliputra (Patna)*, do. 1903. The other references are given in the footnotes.

L. A. WADDELL.

PATRIOTISM.—Patriotism is the sentiment in which consciousness of nationality normally expresses itself. The qualification of the word 'normally' is required; it sometimes happens that a person is conscious of himself as belonging to a nation against his will. This is shown by the absence of any desire in him either to identify himself with the life of his countrymen or to bring their life into accordance with his ideals. Patriotism may be shown in either of these desires. A man may complain much of his people, but show his unity with them by labouring to improve them; it is never, indeed, so much by indiscriminate admiration as by unfailing attachment that the genuine patriot may be known. Persons, however, who are unwilling to be nationally what they know they are, who have a clear consciousness of nationality without a set of the will to develop it further, who may, indeed, be called anti-patriots, are obviously abnormal. They are abnormal, because the development of national consciousness takes place by means of just that set of the will to identify self with the national life the absence of which is the mark of the anti-patriot. It may happen that there are, or have been in the nation's history, circumstances favourable to the development of this self-contradictory type. It goes with the cultivation of the servile will in the weaker members of a subjugated or struggling nation. One of its most repulsive manifestations is the attitude of snobbery, as towards the race-type of the dominant foreign State, with which every class of such a nation may become infected. Anti-patriotism thus defined must, of course, be distinguished from the mere absence of national sentiment in undeveloped members of the nation, and still more from opposition to it in alien persons associated with the community politically or otherwise. Every nation, whether prosperous or the reverse, has many of the two last types within its borders.

Patriotism, then, may be precisely defined as consciousness of nationality together with the will to realize such nationality further. It is essentially an active force in a man's mind, whether it spends itself on the development of thoughts, feelings, or deeds. Each man's individuality in this respect colours his character as patriot. Moreover, the racial type of each nation colours the prevailing type of patriotism in her children. All patriots are idealists, imaginative, sentimental, and practical more or less, but many are characterized by one or other of these qualities in dominance over the other two. Racial character with its average tendencies is here involved. The Latin races are

[1] *Asiatic Review*, new ser., vii. [1916] 339 f.

more imaginative, the German more sentimental; and perhaps the truest thing to say about that mixed European race, often erroneously called Anglo-Saxon, which attains to its maximum of mixture in the United States, is that, not being conspicuously imaginative or conspicuously sentimental in its patriotism, it is extraordinarily successful in realizing its type and extending its borders as a matter of fact. It may be that the strongest kind of capacity for acting together is apt to be developed as a national quality side by side with a habit of subordinating individual imagination and sentiment to executive needs so energetically as to check the growth of romantic patriotism. The very practical man pretends to himself—at least in quiet prosperous times—that it is absurd. This pose, however, used to be more common than it is to-day.

Since patriotism is the normal expression of nationality, its analysis is, for the most part, contained in the analysis of nationality already set forth (above, p. 191 ff.). A nation is a community of persons profoundly conscious of organic unity and bent on the preservation of that unity. It becomes a self-conscious nation—a nation in the more perfect sense—when it is also bent on the preservation and development of its own type. Throughout, but especially in the later stage, the association of the race with the land plays a large part in the consciousness of nationality. Attachment to the home-land and attachment to the home-race are a twin birth and grow together, however they may differ in strength. The beauty of the home-land, its sweet familiarity, its historic associations, its glamour and indefinable charm, supply natural images in which the opening mind enshrines its vague generalized instincts of racial attachment. The home-land is the concrete thing chosen in the natural course as symbol of that dimly conceived ideal, the home-race, a nation. So patriotic songs are sung and patriotic speeches made to the father-land or mother-land as fancy chooses, or—tenderest of all, and with deeper truth, as in the passionate love-song of Irish penal times—to the dear young girl, oppressed it may be but ever fair, the immortal sweetheart of the race. It is an interesting point, worthy of some note, that, whereas all lands have something of this influence upon their people, in some it has played a much larger part than in others. Probably the most favourable combination is a land of soft and varied natural beauty, in which an early settlement has been made by a race of accurate observation, lively imagination, and literary gift. Such a land, so inhabited, becomes clothed over and over with story and legend at every point; historical tradition clings with the persistence of truth and good memory to different places; the race is aware of itself and of its history localized in detail. All new settlers who come after inherit the tradition; it has them in a solution out of which crystallizes a nation passionately attached to its land.

Three grades of national life have been distinguished (see NATIONALITY), and each is reflected in the kind of patriotism corresponding to it. The complexity of a modern society is heightened by the co-existence in it of patriots in every grade. The national life as a whole may be lived by those in the highest grade, consciously set on the realization of their own ideals in the minds and characters of all its members; yet there will be found among these members many whose national sense is of the crudest primitive type. Thus we have, in the first place, the quiet, patient, unreflective worker, who takes his world as he finds it, 'is no politician,' but clings to his own people and his own country as against all foreigners and the allurements of other climes. The force of this instinctive adhesion to our own is, in almost all of us, tremendous: it is perhaps the chief element in the patriotism of most. Next to the mere instinctive, we have the crude political patriot: he is conscious of his nation chiefly as a political State among other States, each State being conceived as a group of persons bound to stand loyally by one another in case of dispute. 'My country right or wrong' suffices to him for the patriot's creed. He has little idea of a national character to be maintained or an inner national life to be developed. In his worst form he is a hard competitive nationalist with a lively conception of the national life as a continual getting the better of other nations. He appears, however, more normally in several less developed and more humane forms—*e.g.*, as the responsible militant patriot of the warrior class and as the irresponsible war-promoter who takes no risk himself. In questions of international commerce he tends to be anti-foreign, even more than pro-native, in his sympathies. These antipathies run away with him altogether, of course, in case of a war in which the national enemy is engaged, even if not the native country itself.

The higher patriotism in any person may or may not be free from association with instincts of hostility to other races; but it is characterized by such a centring of interest in the spiritual life of the nation as must tend to make these instincts inoperative, at least in times of peace. In times of national danger, no doubt, the primitive instincts would assert themselves in force. At other times they are submerged beneath peaceful manifestations of the civic spirit at home and reasonable humanitarian sentiment towards the foreigner. The patriot of the developed type is, however, something more than a public-spirited citizen. An alien who feels himself to be an alien can, nevertheless, be a pattern of civic virtue by the exercise of the human qualities which bind him to his fellow-men. A good patriot at home will probably be a good citizen in any foreign community to which he attaches himself, because the moral nature required in both cases is the same and the practice which flows from it not dissimilar. But the patriot in the home community has, in his consciousness of organic unity with his people, a source of happiness, energy, and understanding which is of surpassing value both to him and to it. The national history, the national literature, the national institutions, the language, customs, manners—all are his own; he helps to make them, he has been made by them, attachment to the type of them is deep in his nature, and his desire for their perfection has the passion of personal love. There is always, therefore, a certain waste of human energy when the services of a good citizen are transferred from the home to the foreign sphere. As regards persons of mediocre or deficient public spirit, it is obvious that the special stimulus of national sentiment is almost necessary to make them realize their citizenship sufficiently.

The centre of consciousness in the higher patriotism is awareness of, affection for, and determination to cherish the national type, guarding it from decay within even more anxiously than from attack without. In a nation threatened with political extinction there will be a jealous zeal for the national language, literature, and traditions, with anxiety as to the education of the young accordingly. In a prosperous nation, on the other hand, high patriotism will direct itself rather to the development of intellectual and spiritual life in all forms, to the neutralization of luxury, the redress of excessive inequalities, and the whole vast work of internal reform in the complex body politic. For, it should be noted, increase of prosperity goes with increase of complexity, and,

apart from counteraction on the part of the reformer, this carries increase of luxury, poverty, and desperate helplessness in its train. In either case there is no lack of matter for the labour and interest of the patriot in home affairs. The real political distinction in this respect is between the patriot, on the one hand, and the seekers after self or class interest, on the other.

In foreign affairs the higher patriot is concerned to maintain the honour of his nation in the sense in which he realizes it as having a national character to maintain. His ideas of policy will, therefore, vary according to his ideal of national character as between nations. This involves the whole question of international morality, but to the ordinary citizen it does not seem very complex. Courage is the primitive element in national honour. Good faith is almost, if not quite, as primitive, but in actual weight of estimation has too often lagged a long way behind; it is also a virtue the possession or non-possession of which admits of a good deal of argument either way. The advance is great and difficult from an ideal based on much courage and some good faith to one in which justice is conceived as an essential of international virtue. Nevertheless, there has always been something corresponding to it in the ideas of fair play between tribes or nations of which there is evidence at a very early stage. The developed conception is, however, much more than this. It is the product of personal reason and personal sympathy as applied to other national communities. In so far as the human race is making moral progress at all, there is, from generation to generation, an increase in ability to see and be moved by things as the others most nearly concerned in them see and are moved. No human need or sentiment can be excluded from its operation, nor can any limit be placed to keep outside of it the races distant from us in type, habit, and blood. The Golden Rule that men should do unto others as they would that others, in like case, should do unto them is no rule of external discipline imposed on a humanity alien to it, but springs out of the depths of human nature itself. The more a man is man, the more certainly is he an organ of reason and sympathy, and so, the more men as a whole, and the leading races especially, become man-like, the more firmly does the Christian ideal of justice dominate them in all things, including their sense of what is due from the members of one nation to those of another. Hence for the patriot, intent on the maintenance of the national character as the expression of what his nation unanimously ought to be, the honour of his country means that her conduct among the nations shall be free from taint of aggressive greed, inordinate love of power, disregard of nationality in others, as well as from sins of individual cruelty, bad faith, and cowardice.

Thus there are patriots and patriots in every advanced political community; and, under democratic government, settled distinctions of party and of sections within parties are accordingly apt to arise, though disguised, confused, and, to some extent, counteracted by the historical causes out of which the original distinctions of party sprang. The two chief grounds of patriotic variety to be borne in mind are (1) the development of the idea of internal reform as the healthy life of the nation within itself, and (2) the transformation of the ideal of national honour with the growth of reason and sympathy in relation to it.

The higher patriotism, as has been pointed out, is not dependent on the political condition called national independence. A nation, if it has reached the stage of national determination to preserve itself, may exist as a nation scattered through a number of alien political communities. The most striking example is that of the Jews with their marvellous vitality of race and type. Their early history is in this respect even more remarkable than that of Christian times. Empire after empire rose and fell. Of the conquering races hardly a trace is left. The Hebrew people, subject in turn to Egypt, Assyria, Babylon, Persia, Greece, and Rome, has survived them all, and has, moreover, maintained for hundreds of years a deep national unity with no loss of type in the face of a hostile dominant Christendom. The means has been simple enough—steady persistence in religion, customs, literature, and language, the things which pertain to the innermost manifestations of the common life. The binding force of a great literature should be specially noticed. The founders of the literary movement in Hezekiah's time and the leaders of the literary renaissance among the exiles in Babylon undoubtedly did more for the preservation of a nation—apart from higher aims and subtler problems—than has ever been achieved by States and armaments. It is, of course, another question whether it is a good thing that a strong nation should remain permanently without a national country and a political State.

Another familiar example is interesting. The individuality preserved by the three smaller nations within the United Kingdom turns upon a sense of national distinctness in history, literature, traditional ideals, and racial ways of thought. Round all these a sentiment grows up which may be the minor or the major or the exclusive patriotism as compared with the sentiment towards the United Kingdom as a whole. The Irish demand for Home Rule within the Kingdom is the expression of this sentiment on its political side. The remarkable movement, however, of the Gaelic League in Ireland, Great Britain, and the United States is essentially national in the non-political sense. Its aim is to maintain and develop the national consciousness through knowledge of Irish history, literature, music, and art, and by study of the Irish language with the valuable literature which it contains. The practical claim advanced by it is, as in the similar case of Wales, that the humanities used in the education of Irish persons should be, in the first place, though by no means exclusively, Irish. The genuinely non-political character of the movement is shown by the adherence to it of many who take the anti-popular view in politics. In the United States, moreover, there is no question of Irish national existence except in the more subtle inner sense.

In all movements for the revival or development of national literature as national we see the patriotic sentiment asserting itself in this subtle sense. Such movements occur in the history of all nations. They are of the same nature psychologically as the individual's claim to that sincerity of self-expression in his work which, as Carlyle says, is the merit of originality. A group of young poets or artists thus stirred by a common national sense inspiring them, and in the presence of an established literature which does not express the native spirit, will, either of purpose or without it, create a literary revival on national lines. Great outbursts of fresh literary genius are apt to occur in this way.

LITERATURE.—See Literature at art. NATIONALITY.

S. BRYANT.

PATRIPASSIANISM.—See MONARCHIANISM.

PAUL.—1. Sources.—This account of Paul proceeds on sources of two kinds: (1) his own letters, nine of which may now be regarded as genuine, viz. 1 and 2 Thessalonians, Galatians,

1 and 2 Corinthians, Romans, Philippians, Colossians, Philemon (Ephesians and the Pastoral Epistles contain much that Paul might say, but mixed with elements certainly later); and (2) the Acts of the Apostles. This perplexing work was written partly from good sources, but cannot be used without thorough criticism. The speeches in it are the work of the editor and represent what might be heard in various quarters in his day, and various theories which must be accounted for are spread over the work.

The 'We'-pieces (16[10-17] 20[5-15] 21[1-18] 27[1]–28[16]) and the narrative of Paul's arrest, appeal to Cæsar, and journey to Rome are in the main to be relied on. The book as a whole belongs to the end of the 1st century. The uncertainty resting on the subject, from the frequent and serious disagreement of the letters with the history of Paul himself as related by his biographer, is now yielding to a large extent to the light shed by the study of ancient religions: he is not so nebulous that he and all his works must be pronounced unreal, as the 'modern' Dutch school, with its followers in other countries, declared; it is possible to put together a fairly adequate account of Paul, his writings, and his teaching.

2. Outlook and early training.—Paul is made to declare himself (Ac 21[39]) to be a Jew of Tarsus in Cilicia; that explains in this passage his being able to speak Greek. His phrase (Ph 3[5]), 'a Hebrew of the Hebrews,' need not imply that his parents spoke Aramaic, though that may have been the case; Paul himself uses Aramaic words, and is said (Ac 21[40]) to have addressed his audience at Jerusalem in that tongue. He belonged at any rate to the Diaspora, and we may now point out what that implied in his religious experience.

The Jews living in Greek cities had a different outlook on the world from those in Palestine; they were not oppressed, but held for the most part a good position; the Gentiles around them respected them on account of their pure religion, and many of them frequented the synagogue and strengthened it by their wealth and character. The Jews in such towns were in a manner missionaries to the Gentiles, and all the considerations that are still weighed in missionary circles as to the attraction of the true religion for those outside, and as to the hindrances which kept them from joining it, would be discussed among them and made familiar to the sharp wits among their children. Paul could not fail to learn at Tarsus what Gentile religion was, how much of natural goodness lived in heathen minds, how they were led (1 Co 12[2]) to follow dumb idols which could not satisfy them, and, more, how Jewish practices hindered the spread of Jewish religion, what an incubus the Law was to missionary effort, how the demand of circumcision was a special barrier.

Paul was not of the class of operatives; the two franchises which he possessed show this sufficiently. His citizenship of Tarsus implies that his father (to go no farther back) was enrolled in the tribe, or φυλή, of Jews in that city and had some part at least in the public affairs of the town; his Roman citizenship, which he had from his birth (Ac 22[28]) and which entitled him to carry his case to the emperor (25[11] 26[32]), proves that his father, perhaps his grandfather, held that rank, being recognized by one Roman potentate or another as loyal and trustworthy. As Roman citizen Paul would have a Roman name, and in the family a Jewish one; hence 'Saul who is also called Paul' of Ac 13[9]. There can be no doubt that he was educated first at home in Tarsus, and that, if he proceeded to Jerusalem to sit at the feet of Gamaliel, it was later, when the language had been learned and all the life of a Greek town made thoroughly familiar to the boy. The language of the Epistles is the ordinary Greek then spoken throughout the empire; the Scripture quoted is, with one or two exceptions, the Septuagint, which was read in the Greek synagogue; the method of composition is not that of the rabbis of Palestine but that of the preachers and savers of souls of Stoicism and Cynicism. Paul does not call himself a rabbi; he calls himself a preacher, a steward of the word, a father of his churches.

His expressions in Ph 3[4-6] show him to have been the child of a very strict Jewish home. He would be well exercised in the Greek Bible; he would be taken to the synagogue when he was old enough and made acquainted with the history and the hopes and destiny of Israel; he would see Gentiles sitting beside Jews at the religious exercises and would learn to regard them with a liberal eye, while still remembering that his own people were called out of the Gentiles and in many ways distinguished from them. He would hear Stoic and Cynic doctrine preached at the street corners and would pick up their tricks of rhetoric. There was also a university at Tarsus—not on the scale of Athens or Alexandria, yet a notable seat of Stoic doctrine—in which men of world-wide reputation maintained a blend of physics and ethics. He would not attend the university; for him there was a different learning from that taught there; but he would pick up a tincture of what was taught and valued there and pervaded the whole spirit of the city. He would take note of the religious rites of heathenism, not only the stated official worship of the city, but also the irregular sporadic outbursts of a more popular religion which drew people in processions out to the country and kept them there until their god, who had died, rose again and changed their mood from sorrow to joy. The principal god of Tarsus, Sandan, was a figure of this type of dying and reviving deity. In his native city also Paul might learn to distinguish deities of two kinds or ranks—the deity who dwelt aloft and, without being very active, ruled all things, and the more familiar being, the working god, who gave himself for those who believed in him and to whom they addressed their prayers (cf. 1 Co 8[4f.]). There are many traces of the Gentile atmosphere in which Paul's early days were spent. Of a Jewish training at Jerusalem it is harder to find traces in his works. The national pride and consciousness of superiority which mark them strongly were to be found in the Jews of the Dispersion as well as at Jerusalem, and of rabbinic method there is little trace in Paul. Did he go to Jerusalem to be under a famous teacher? In his own works he does not speak of it; he could 'advance in Judaism beyond many contemporaries, and surpass them in zeal for the traditions of the fathers' (Gal 1[14]) at Tarsus as well as at Jerusalem; his persecuting of the Church, too, might be done in either region.

3. Persecution of Christians.—Whether or not he sat at the feet of Gamaliel, Paul left Tarsus early in life and gave himself with his whole energy to the work of persecuting the sect of Christians which was spreading in Syria (Gal 1[13. 23], 1 Co 15[9]). He turned his back on the career which Tarsus no doubt offered him, that he should tread in the footsteps of his father and become a leader of the Jews in his native city, in order to persecute the Christians. How he was brought to take up this work we do not know. The evidence of the Epistles forbids us to believe that he had any personal acquaintance with Jesus. 2 Co 5[16] speaks of unworthy views of the Messiah which Paul might or might not have held, but which he now refuses to entertain. And the knowledge which the Epistles show of Jesus is too scanty to serve as evidence that Paul knew Jesus or was in

Jerusalem at the time of the Crucifixion. On the other hand, the spread of the belief in Jesus might well appear dangerous to one passionately devoted to the Law and regarding it as the one heaven-appointed means of salvation. If a Messiah established His authority, that of the Law must come to an end. In Ro 10^4 Paul declares that this has happened; it may be believed that at an earlier time he saw that it might happen, and felt the great bulwark of his faith, the foundation of all Jewish religion, to be in danger. This was true of any Messiah; and a crucified Messiah was an offence which a true Jew could not get over; he says so later (1 Co 1^{23}), and he knew it from his own experience. No wonder that, being what he was, in earnest about religion with his whole soul, he threw himself with the utmost energy into the task of persecuting the followers of Jesus. If he was at Jerusalem at the time of the death of Stephen, his convictions which would lead him to taking a hand in that murder might be accounted for.

The high-priest had no power to order the arrest and the bringing to Jerusalem of people in distant towns; and this part of the story in Acts cannot be accepted. But we have Paul's own authority for it (Gal 1^{17}) that he came to Damascus as a persecutor and left it as a Christian; and we may take it that those whom he came there to molest were not of the Hebrew, but of the Greek part of the Church who had fled from Jerusalem at the persecution which arose about Stephen. He must have proceeded against them in the regular way, laying information against them before the synagogue and asking for their punishment. He had no vote to give against them either at Jerusalem or at Damascus. In his persecutions, which may have been carried on not only at Damascus but elsewhere, he would certainly come to know something about Jesus, and would learn some of His words and the general story of His life, as these followers knew it, and His resurrection and expected coming to judgment, as they believed in these articles of their faith.

4. Conversion.—With regard to the conversion of Paul, the three narratives of the event in Ac 9, 22, and 26 contradict each other in details, as is to be expected in the versions of a narrative orally transmitted, but the variations are not in the interest of any tendency, and the three versions of the story may be traceable to one which Paul himself may have communicated to friends, with whom he could not but talk on the subject. Other intimations are found in the Epistles. It pleased God to reveal His Son in him (Gal $1^{15f.}$), *i.e.* to make him know Jesus in His true nature as God's Son, not only as the preacher and wonder-worker of Galilee, and not only as the Jewish Messiah, but as a Divine Being, in whom God pleased to make Himself known to man, as one of the same nature with Himself, and carrying out in an intimate way His purpose for mankind. From the context of this passage, 'that I might preach him among the Gentiles' (1^{16}), it appears that this revelation had a universal scope; the Person revealed to Paul was of interest not to the Jews only, but to the Gentiles as well. In other passages it is intimated that Paul considered the Lord Jesus to have appeared to him as a risen and a glorious Being. In 1 Co 15^{5-8} he places his vision of Christ in the same line with those that the older apostles had had; it was the last vision of the kind to take place, but it was not different from the rest. 1 Co 9^1, 'Am I not an apostle? have I not seen Jesus the Lord?' is to the same effect. In 2 Co 4^6 he describes the experience through which he came, evidently that of the same event, as the sudden and irresistible shining within him of a bright light comparable to the first shining of light on the world, and flashing upon him the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ. The irresistibleness of the communication appears also in the phrases in Ph 3^{12}, where he speaks of having been 'laid hold of' by Jesus Christ. In this passage too he speaks of all the advantages that he had at a former period, and how he cast them all away, 'like dung,' in order to win Christ and be found in Him. Taking together all these passages from the Epistles, we have a picture not unlike that of the stories in Acts, of an instantaneous and utter change brought about by a luminous appearance which was held to be Christ Himself. Considering Paul's lifelong susceptibility to visions and ecstasies (Gal 2^2, 2 Co 12^{1-9} 5^{13}, Ac $16^{9f.}$), it seems vain to speculate as to what actually took place outside of Damascus. That there was suggestion of what he held that he saw is plain; those whom he had persecuted based their belief in the risen Christ on the visions of their fellow-believers; Paul too had beliefs as to the form of heavenly beings—their luminous quality, their spiritual substance—which prepared him for what was coming. A touch, and all things passed away with him and all things were made new.

Some great scholars have constructed out of this vision of Paul the whole of his beliefs as set before us in the great Epistles. Here it will be sufficient briefly to indicate the beliefs which his vision at once fixed for him, whatever additions might be made to them afterwards. He saw Christ as a Divine Being, radiant, all-powerful, with full knowledge of the secrets of the heart, not merely as a Jewish Messiah. This implied that God had raised Him from the dead, so that the Cross was no longer a stumbling-block, since God had taken the part of the Crucified One and exalted Him beyond the reach of death and accident to dwell with Himself and share His power and glory. He was therefore a Being who concerned not only the Jews as their Messiah, but all men; He was a deity; He was the Son of God, and all could be called to know and worship Him. And His crucifixion was not only an incident of His past career, but an attribute of His person for ever; He was always and for all men Christ crucified and Christ raised from the dead. And Christ, thus conceived, was singularly fitted to be an object of faith to the Gentiles. The living and effective cults which Paul knew from his boyhood at Tarsus were much occupied with divine beings who had died and had risen again, who were, in fact, for ever dying, for ever rising again, to the joy of their worshippers. The faith which Paul's vision enabled him to preach was in form one more cult of this nature, though in its ethical contents it infinitely transcended all the others, carrying with it, as it did, all the strict morals and all the glorious faith and hope of Jewish theism.

Paul was therefore warranted in regarding the revelation of the Son of God which had been given to him as being at the same time a call to him to preach Christ to the Gentiles (Gal 1^{16}). Perhaps he was not the first to preach Christ to them; there was, about the same time as Paul was at Damascus, preaching to the Hellenists (Ac 11^{20}; RV 'to the Greeks'; but the reading 'Grecians' is better supported, and, standing as it does in opposition to Jews, it must mean uncircumcised persons; see Westcott and Hort, *The NT in Greek*, Camb. and London, 1881, note), and the mixed church at Antioch (the first of which we read) was not founded by Paul. We cannot tell what views were held of the nature and position of Christ by those other preachers of Him to the Gentiles, but in the case of Paul this all lies clear before us. It was his new knowledge of Jesus as Son of God that qualified him to call the Gentiles to the Christian fold. He called them to believe in a Divine Being who not only had died, but had died for them, to effect their deliverance from the ills that oppressed them (Gal 1^4), who had left His heavenly glory, and in the counsel of the Father had come down to the earth in order to bear the trials that weighed on them, that they through His suffering might be saved and made free. It may not be correct to see the whole of Paul's doctrine present *in nuce* in his vision; much may have developed at a later time; especially his teaching about the Law and faith belongs to the conflict of which the Galatian Epistle tells us. But his doctrine of the person of Christ and the object of His sufferings is explained to us only by his vision, and Paul must be considered to have received it in the revelation of the Son of God which was then made to him. It was his warrant for preaching to the Gentiles, and this implies that he did so at once and constantly afterwards.

5. Sojourn in Arabia.—The next part of the narrative must be taken from Gal 1. The story of this period in Acts places Paul in a different light from that of his own Epistle and shows him as an obedient and willing subordinate of the Jerusalem leaders. Paul's own account is directed to prove how little he came in contact with them

or was indebted to them for any teaching or doctrine. After his vision, Paul tells us, he did not act in what might be thought the natural way for a new convert bent on being a teacher of the faith; he did not go at once to the centre of Christian teaching to get himself instructed and directed to the part of the field that he was to occupy. The phrase, 'I conferred not with flesh and blood' (v.[16]), must not be taken too absolutely. Some one must have baptized him and introduced him to the brethren, and the story of Ananias may be accepted in the main. Acts, however, does not mention Arabia, where Paul says (v.[17]) he was for three years, and, the foregoing verse compels us to suppose, as a missionary to the Arabs. At Damascus he could not at once preach; even when he came back after such an interval, it was an impossible place for him. In Acts it is the Jews, in 2 Co 11[32] it is the representative of Aretas, by whom his safety was threatened, so that he had to make a precipitate retreat.

A date is here found for the history of Paul, as the imperial coinage ceases at Damascus in A.D. 33–34, so that Paul's escape from the ethnarch of Aretas would not occur before that date, and his conversion would be three years earlier. His visit to Jerusalem is attributed by Loisy to the unsuccessful nature of his mission to the Arabs, and to the desire to connect himself with the mother church, so that he might not run in vain. This is merely a conjecture. The visit was a private one, to make acquaintance with Peter, whom he recognizes as the principal person in the Jerusalem community. Besides Peter, he saw James, the brother of the Lord, who joined the community in its earliest days and naturally had great influence in it. He is called an 'apostle'—a title which was not confined to the Twelve. He represented the most Jewish position within the Church, and could not be expected to favour the mission to the Gentiles. He is not said to have objected to it at this time, but the two heads made little of Paul; he belonged to Stephen's way of thinking, of which the persecution had rid the Church some years before. He was not publicly introduced to the church, and was so much in the background that he could say that the members of the church did not know him by sight. His visit, he seems to indicate, was too short to admit of a course of instruction, and he made no application to the apostles to define his duties or assign to him a sphere. His apostleship was not in these respects 'of man or by man.' His field obviously was not to be at Jerusalem, where Peter and James were at the head; but, on the other hand, nothing of an unfriendly nature occurred, and he was free to carry on a mission elsewhere.

Of the story in Ac 9[26-30] it will be true that Barnabas was his friend at Jerusalem, and Acts and Galatians agree that from there he went to Syria and Cilicia — Syria the district where Barnabas had influence, and Cilicia his own province—and in these regions he worked as a missionary of Christ (Gal 1[21], Ac 15[23-25]) in touch, more or less, with Barnabas. In that part of the world he remained for a decennium.

6. Visits to Jerusalem.—The question of Paul's visits to Jerusalem has here to be faced. There are three statements in the NT that he visited Jerusalem in company with Barnabas, starting from Syria. In Gal 2 and in Ac 15 the purpose of the visit is to get the question settled as to how much of the Jewish Law was to be binding on Gentile members of the Church. It is impossible to think that they went to Jerusalem twice to get this question settled; and, if the two stories relate to the same event, then Paul's account of it is manifestly to be preferred to that of Acts, even if there be in the latter certain elements which belong to history. As to the date of the journey, the two accounts agree that it was made when Paul had been carrying on missionary work for some time in Syria and Cilicia, and before he engaged in such work in other provinces (cf. Gal 1[21] with 2[1f.], and Ac 15[23. 30. 35]). The journey, then, is to be placed before the travels in Pisidia and Lycaonia, which are detailed in Ac 13 and 14; and these two chapters are to be regarded as misplaced. They come after the report of a journey of Paul and Barnabas from Antioch to Jerusalem (11[27-30]), which is just in the right place for a journey about Jewish observances, though the object of it is otherwise stated. The result, then, is that the three accounts of a journey to Jerusalem all refer to the same historical event.

There is another datum, bearing on the story of Ac 12 and involving important consequences for the history of Paul, which may be best spoken of here. If the statement reported by Philip of Side in the 5th cent. to have been made by Papias in the second book of his *Exposition of the Oracles of the Lord* is accepted (Georgios the Monk in the 9th cent. tells us the same, and the statement of Papias is strongly confirmed by Syriac Church Calendars), that John the Divine and James his brother were slain by Jews, James and John must be believed to have suffered martyrdom together, as Mark suggests that they did (10[39]), and as the Syrian Calendars assume as fact. The martyrdom of James is reported in Acts, and that of John will have taken place at the same time and not been mentioned, for reasons into which we need not here inquire.

But Paul met John at Jerusalem on his visit (Gal 2[9]); the visit therefore was before John's death, which took place shortly before the death of Herod, who is known to have died in A.D. 44. Paul's dating of it agrees with this; he says that it was after the lapse of fourteen years, and we know that the date of that event was A.D. 30. Ac 11 places it quite in the right position.

There are few facts to fill up the space of ten years between the two visits to Jerusalem. If the statement of Acts about the period stood alone, we should be led to think that Paul was sent straight to Tarsus after his first visit (9[30]), and stayed there till Barnabas brought him to Antioch a year or so before the second. But in Gal 1[21] he speaks of himself in this period as preaching in Syria and Cilicia, which would imply free movement; and in Ro 15[19] he speaks as having had a career as a preacher which began at Jerusalem and extended to Illyria. He would be at this time in the current of the mission to the Hellenists, which is spoken of (Ac 11[19f.]) and with which Barnabas was fully in sympathy. He would be one of the juniors among the missionaries; Ac 13[1] gives a list of the prophets and teachers at Antioch, in which Barnabas has the first place and Paul the last. Views would be opening at this time as to the new lands which might be visited; the work to which Barnabas and Paul were called may have been already present to their minds.

The second visit to Jerusalem was occasioned, Paul says, by a revelation—to whom he does not say. Certain persons of less liberal views had been visiting Antioch, spying on the liberty which prevailed there, which Peter liked at first, till he felt upon him the eye of those who came from James. Paul went with Barnabas, who was the head of the party, and took with him Titus, an uncircumcised Christian; Titus was not compelled to be circumcised; the demand made previously at Antioch, and now again (if Acts is to be believed) at Jerusalem, was not approved of by the church at Jerusalem.

No objection was raised to the gospel that Paul preached among the Gentiles, though based on such different experiences; if there was anything wrong about it, they were to tell him; no new limitations were laid on him or, he might have said, on Barnabas; but, when Galatians was written, Paul was already separated from Barnabas, and so speaks of himself alone. In spite of the differences, in both teaching and practice, between the churches of Syria and Cilicia and the church at Jerusalem, each was recognized as essential to the Church, and no schism took place. It was agreed that, as Judaism had its scattered members throughout the cities of the empire, many of them Gentiles, all recognizing Jerusalem as the centre, and all contributing to keep up the Temple and the sacrifices, so it should be also with the new Israel. This was what the new agreement came to. The success of Paul and his friends in Gentile lands could not be denied; the great church of the uncircumcised was a plain fact and had to be recognized; but the financial link was to remain, as in the case of the Jewish religion and its Temple; the Gentile churches were to assist the finances of the brethren at Jerusalem. Paul says nothing of what is so prominent in Acts—the regulations laid down at Jerusalem as to the extent of observance of the Jewish Law on the part of the Gentile Christians. And he not only does not mention here any such feature of his visit to Jerusalem; he mentions it nowhere in his Epistles, not even in discussing with the Corinthians the use by Christians of meat offered to idols, and we are driven to conclude that no such conditions as Acts speaks of were laid down for Paul's acceptance. They were very likely laid down on another occasion, for some particular church or set of churches; the wide-ranging controversy which has recently sprung up about them does not concern the history of Paul.

Thus we see that a new combination had so early come to pass, and was accepted by the old apostles of Jewish and Gentile believers, who agreed to regard what had formerly separated them as of no moment compared with the faith of Christ which united them. It had come about quietly, and the result which the Jewish mission to the Gentiles had arrived at, but failed to secure, stood accomplished. The signs and watchwords of this union ring through the Epistles. Paul was not the first nor the only agent in bringing this change about, but he, more than any one else, realized the principles on which it was based, and the conflict to secure and establish it fell mainly to him.

Those on the Jewish side had a good deal to suffer from the change; we have a good example of this in Peter. A generous man, but easily frightened in dangerous circumstances, he gave his full approval to the continuance of the Gentile churches as they were, Jew and Gentile sitting at the same table and eating the Eucharist together; and he showed his approval by himself sitting at such a table. But he was not strong enough to shake off the influence of James, brought to bear on him through his emissaries, and he withdrew from the common table, taking his fellow-Jews and even Barnabas with him. Thus they did what they could to make the Gentile members think that the new communion of Jew and Gentile in Christ was a mistake and should be given up, and that the Jewish standard of living should still be upheld. The speech of Paul which follows is meant for the Galatians rather than for Peter. It may be doubted whether Paul had so thoroughly matured his doctrine of justification by faith at the time of the Antioch incident as he here makes it appear, or whether Peter had then arrived at the conviction, with which he is credited, of the total insufficiency of the Law for salvation. The doctrine of the Thessalonian Epistles, written a few years before Galatians, is much less developed on this point, and it is probable that Paul's teaching at this part of his career was not yet so angular. The Jewish attack on him had not yet taken place, and we must think that, with Barnabas and other missionaries with whom he was associated, he preached at this time as he did at Thessalonica, without arguments from the OT or attacks on the Jewish Law, warning the Gentiles of the coming judgment and pointing to Christ as the Saviour from its terrors, dwelling on the requirements of the Christian life in various relations, and seeking to build up out of the Gentiles whom he had awakened a people who should be ready to meet the Lord at His appearing.

7. First missionary journey.—We come now to the detailed history of the missions in which Paul was engaged. The next fixed date in his history, the coming of Gallio to the province of Achaia, will be discussed when we deal with that part of the narrative. Gallio arrived in A.D. 51, and Paul had been there eighteen months before that; he came to Corinth therefore in the early part of the year 50. This gives a space of six years after the Jerusalem meeting, which we saw was in A.D. 44. In this period we have the incident with Peter at Antioch; then a space of time, which is undefined, at Antioch before Barnabas and Paul set out on their missionary tour in the interior of Asia Minor; then, after that tour, another period, also undetermined, at Antioch; and then the second journey, with Silas, over the same ground across the Ægean to Macedonia and as far as Corinth. Broadly speaking, the chronology is satisfactory. The detail is well worked out by C. H. Turner, *HDB*, *s.v.* 'Chronology.'

A point lying at the threshold of the history of Paul's missionary work is his relations to the Jewish synagogue, and the position given to him in Acts, of turning his back on the synagogue to devote himself to the Gentiles. If he felt himself, as he often declares, to be the apostle of the Gentiles, and if the Jerusalem apostles, as he tells us, recognized him in that character, then why should he address himself to the Jews at all; and, if he went to them, is it possible that he turned his back on them, as is repeatedly stated in Acts ($13^{46f.}$ 18^{6} 28^{25-28}), with the declaration that it is owing to their obstinate unbelief that he does so?

Two facts are to be noted as bearing on this question.

(1) Paul probably did not create the missionary procedure that he followed, but inherited it. Barnabas was an older missionary than he, and so were others of whom it is told us (Ac 11^{20}) that at Antioch they carried on a mission to Hellenists (this is a better supported reading than 'Greeks' [see above, § 4]). Paul was initiated at Antioch into the procedure of a mission that he did not found, and his first journey was in company with Barnabas. The Hellenists, or Greek-speaking Jews, who were sought at Antioch were to be found in the synagogues there, and could, if necessary, be called out of the synagogue to meet by themselves elsewhere, as by Paul at Corinth (Ac 18^{7}) and at Ephesus (19^{9}). The missionaries were all Jews, full of the new light which in Christ shone on the Jewish hope, and they naturally carried the tidings of it first to the synagogue in the hope that their fellow-Jews would open their hearts to it. This was the natural procedure, and Paul kept it.

(2) The synagogue did, as a fact of history, turn away from the gospel, Paul himself seeing on many occasions the evidences of this separation, which was to him most grievous. He never gave up the hope that Israel would accept the gospel, and, though he does not call himself debtor to the Jews, as he is to Greeks and barbarians (Ro 1^{14}), he no doubt did for them all that he could, even though he felt himself less and less a Jew as life went on.

The author of Acts looks on the question of the Jews and their rejection of the gospel from another point of view. That rejection is, when he writes, an accomplished fact, and he gives an account of how it came about and how Paul was unable to prevent it. The explanation that he gives may be compared with that given, not by Luke indeed, but by Mark and Matthew, in connexion with the teaching of Christ in parables. The passing of the gospel from the Jews to the Gentiles is according to a divine decree, and is announced in OT prophecy. And Paul is made to declare on several occasions that it is so. Paul's own view of the situation was very different; he believed that Israel turned away from the gospel in order that the Gentiles might accept it, and that, when the

fullness of the Gentiles had come in, Israel would come in too (Ro 11).

We see, then, that Paul's procedure in going first to the synagogue in every new place to which he came arose naturally out of the circumstances, and that the speeches put in his mouth in Acts, explaining his turning from the Jews to the Gentiles with his message, belong to the editor of Acts, not to Paul, whose thoughts on the subject were very different. When we come to the narrative of Paul's missions in Ac 13 f., it contributes little to our knowledge of his person. Barnabas is often named before Paul, and this has led to the hypothesis of a Barnabas-source, which the editor here used. One does not look for much originality in a young missionary travelling with an older one. On the other hand, if Barnabas is the Zeus of the party, Paul is the Hermes—the chief speaker; it is he who is tried at Lystra. His change of name is explained; instead of Saul he is henceforth called Paul; that also was his name before (see § 2). That his name is first mentioned in connexion with the interview with the pro-consul of Cyprus, Sergius Paulus, may not have much significance; the missionary, now a traveller, not in the East but in lands more immediately connected with Rome, has a Roman name.

Paul takes the lead in dealing with the magician Barjesus or Elymas or Eloimas, who has attached himself to the pro-consul, and he shows himself not inferior to Peter in dealing with such a character (cf. Ac 8^{14-24}), inflicting on him a temporary blindness, like that from which he had himself suffered before Damascus (Ac $9^{8f.}$). Such were the signs and portents expected of an apostle (Ac 5^{1-11}, 1 Co 5^{3-5}; cf. 2 Co 12^{12} etc.).

It cannot be said that the speeches placed in Paul's mouth in these two chapters reveal much of his character. The first is delivered in the synagogue at Antioch in Pisidia, in a scene which exhibits well the nature of the audience to be found in such a building and, according to Acts, the normal course of the missions in such circumstances. The audience is a twofold one; Paul addresses first (Ac 13^{16}) the men of Israel, *i.e.* the born Jews who formed the backbone of the synagogue, and then 'those who feared God,' *i.e.* the Gentile adherents. Paul knew from his youth the situation that had to be faced. But the sermon is wanting in anything distinctively Pauline, and closely resembles in its arguments that of Peter in Ac 2, being mainly a proof of the resurrection of Jesus from the experience of those who accompanied Him from Galilee to Jerusalem and who saw the visions of Him after the Crucifixion. The Pauline touch attempted ($13^{38ff.}$) is not very happy; the Jews and the Gentile adherents are assured that he who believes in Jesus is justified from all from which they could not be justified by the Law of Moses, which implies that the Law of Moses did possess some power to justify, but that it required to be supplemented by faith in Christ—a doctrine radically different from Paul's, who to the Galatians (Gal 3) and the Corinthians (2 Co 2) held up the crucified Christ as the Being in whom they should believe and to whom alone they were to look for justification. (On the representation of Paul as turning his back on the Jews and making their unbelief his excuse for devoting himself to the Gentiles see above.)

The sermon at Lystra is for heathens, and forms a prelude to the speech at Athens (Ac $17^{22ff.}$). Such theistic arguments must have been common in Jewish missions to Gentiles, and in Christian polemics they occur frequently; here, however, we have rather the lesson from God's kindness in making the world so suitable for man's needs; in Ro 1 Paul argues God's power and divinity and worthiness to be served and worshipped.

The whole narrative of this journey produces an impression of reality, and the elders who are elected in each city need not be premature; something of the kind was needed if churches were to continue. The geographical and political details are correct (see W. M. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*[5], London, 1895, and *The Cities of St. Paul*, do. 1907). The apostles act with great courage and determination; driven from one city, they go straight to another and go through the same processes; their message has to be carried everywhere, and nothing can stop them. Many of the hardships and dangers which Paul enumerates in 2 Co $11^{23ff.}$ may have been met with at this time. Persecution proceeds mainly from the Jews, who follow him from one city to another, as Paul himself had formerly followed the Christians; they work on Greek women and on the Gentile population generally; and sometimes the magistrates are induced to lend a hand in the work of persecuting. The result is that a number of churches of the new kind are founded, and that Paul and Barnabas return to Antioch with a good account of the blessing which has rested on their labours (Ac $14^{26f.}$).

8. Second missionary journey.—Omitting in this place the account of the Jerusalem meeting which is in the wrong place in Acts and is full of difficulty and unreality, we come to another story at Antioch (15^{36}) which appears to be taken from a different source; Paul invites Barnabas to revisit the brethren in every city where they have preached; they agree to do so, but disagree about their travelling companions, Barnabas wishing to take Mark, and Paul declaring that he will take any one rather than that person who deserted them on their former journey. Paul chooses Silas as his adjutant—a man of consideration in the mother church, but evidently with liberal sentiments. Barnabas takes the former route through Cyprus with Mark, while Paul goes through Syria and Cilicia, his old mission-field, and is said to have arrived at Derbe and Lystra also, as if he had not intended to visit these towns. Nor is anything said of his former stay in them. Evidently another hand furnished the account of the journey. It is a marked feature of the narrative that nothing is said of Peter's visit to Antioch, and that the breach with Barnabas appears to be a personal matter and not a difference of principle, as in Gal 2.

In his journey with Silas Paul acts with more freedom; his companion is a Jew, but Paul is distinctly the leading mind of the party. His first recorded action at this point, however, appears at first sight reactionary. He finds Timothy at Lystra, a young believer, his mother being a Christian Jewess and his father a Greek, who had an excellent reputation both at Lystra and at Iconium. Paul wishes to have him as his companion along with Silas, and with that view thinks it necessary to have him circumcised. Is Timothy introduced as a foil to Titus, who, Paul tells us (Gal 2^{3}), was not compelled to be circumcised? And was Paul's act inconsistent with his principles as stated to the Galatians (Gal $5^{2ff.}$)? It is not necessary to think either of these things. Paul is feeling his way to his later position, but in the meantime he has a Jew as his associate and he looks forward to standing in many a synagogue. This he could not do with a man in his company who was known to be the son of a heathen father and himself uncircumcised. This would have scandalized the Jews wherever he went (cf. the incident of Trophimus [Ac $21^{28f.}$]), and Paul could not afford to do so.

As we saw it to be unlikely that Paul ever was a party to such an agreement with the Jerusalem pillars as Ac 15 speaks of, we must regard it as equally unlikely that he carried the decrees with him and handed them to the believers in each town that he visited.

The following verses ($16^{6f.}$) are important for their bearing on the Galatians question, and also for what they reveal to us of the plans of travel with which Paul set out on this journey. As for the first point, we have the statement that, after visiting Lystra and Derbe (and also Iconium), the party traversed the Phrygian and Galatic land. This at once makes it impossible to regard the churches of these cities as belonging in the geography of the writer of Acts to the Galatic land. W. M. Ramsay has expended a great deal of learning and ingenuity in the attempt to prove the S. Galatian theory, that these are the churches addressed in the Epistle. But the verdict of antiquity is against his contention, as are the words of the text before us, which says that it was after touching at the cities of Lycaonia and Pisidia that Paul entered Galatia. The Galatæ proper, the descendants of the Gauls who entered Asia Minor in 286 B.C., dwelt farther to the north, and after visiting these cities one had to pass through Phrygia to reach them. It is true that the towns of N. Galatia were less considerable than those of Lycaonia; still there were towns. And Acts recognizes that Paul did visit parts of Asia Minor of which little is known. After leaving Antioch for Ephesus (18^{23}), he is again said to have visited the Galatic land and Phrygia (confirming all the disciples in these regions), in a different order this time, and (19^{1}) he is said to have passed through the 'upper parts' before he came to Ephesus. There is accordingly room in the narrative, and room in the chronology, for visits to the N Galatians.

Ac 16^{6} gives the reason why Paul visited Galatia on the journey with Silas. It was not his original intention to do so; he wished after Derbe and Lystra and Iconium to go to 'Asia,' *i.e.* the region in which Ephesus was, on the shores of the Ægean. This plan might appear to him, when he first conceived it, to be a bold one; the number of Jews at Ephesus was

very large, and the town was in communication by road and by sea with every part of the world. But the missionaries were prevented by the Holy Ghost from preaching the word in Asia. In which of the party the will of the Holy Ghost declared itself we are not told, nor whether the divine voice coincided with any positive obstacle. The route was changed and the party went northwards as far as the latitude of Mysia, their idea being now to enter Bithynia on the southern shore of the Euxine. But this plan also was disapproved of by the Spirit, which clearly declared itself and could not be disobeyed (v.[7]). The only thing left was to make for the coast, not as at Ephesus, where one was still among a multitude of Jews, but at a point where Europe was close at hand and everything spoke of a purely Gentile mission. This part of the journey is reported in a very different way from that which comes afterwards in Europe, and, we must presume, by one who did not make it along with Paul; but what we seem to apprehend in the enigmatic sentences is a desire on Paul's part, which he identified with the principle inspiring him, to press forward to see what could be done in new lands. The conviction was no doubt already stirring within him to which in his Epistles he gives such forcible expression, that the world of the Gentiles was his province, and the desire to traverse the whole of it before the Master should descend from the skies. He must not build on another man's foundation. He tells the Corinthians that he feels bound to spread the gospel even beyond Corinth (2 Co 10[14-16]). He tells the Romans that he has often proposed to come to them, but has always been prevented (Ro 1[13]), that the desire has been with him for many years to come to them, when he travels to Spain (Ro 15[23f.]). This desire may have been in his mind, at least in germ, since he left Antioch, no longer as a junior missionary travelling with a senior, but as the leader of a party and free to choose his own route, debtor now not to the Jews, but to Greeks and barbarians (Ro 1[14]).

9. The gospel in Europe.—From the point of the crossing into Europe we feel that we are on more solid historical ground. Here we come to a piece of the journal that one of his companions kept, and of which four fragments are preserved in Acts. It happened to the author of Acts, as to other historians of antiquity, that he found his work made easier by a document drawn up at the time by a companion of his hero, which gave a bare sketch of the marked features of the hero's career to be filled in afterwards. This document, which announces itself where the narrative is in the first person plural, and may also underlie other portions of Acts, was for the most part a bald précis of routes and dates, but sometimes tells an interesting story of the journey, or even broadens out into a connected narrative. The writer shows little perception of Paul's great character or of the features of his thought which were to work so powerfully in the world in after times, and he seems to have known nothing of any of the Epistles or of the attacks and persecutions that called them forth. His name is hidden from us; there are fewer difficulties about Luke than about any other of Paul's companions, but about him too there are difficulties. The author of Acts uses this work as he used the Gospel of Mark for the Third Gospel, with the utmost skill, bringing it into his own style and his own vocabulary (see J. C. Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ*, Oxford, 1909, and A. Harnack, *Luke the Physician*, Eng. tr., London, 1907, for the proof of this). For the skeleton which he provided of Paul's route, chronology, and work, from the time of his entering Europe, no thanks are too great.

The party had a fair wind to carry them over to Europe, and were only one night on board their vessel. In Europe their programme is the same as in Asia. A party of Jews, they announce themselves in every town where they arrive to the Jewish synagogue, if there is one; and in several of the Macedonian towns they are warmly received and succeed in founding a church with which Paul remains long afterwards on terms of intimacy and affection. He desires to visit them again (1 Th 2[17f.]); he does visit them again (Ac 20[1-6]); he sends trusted friends to encourage them and to bring him reports of them; they on their side take a warm interest in him, send contributions to help him with his expenses (Ph 4[15-18]), and back him up with material aid and by sending delegates to help in his charitable schemes (2 Co 8 f.).

The letters which he wrote to the Macedonian churches are more charming than any others; these churches were not torn by controversy or scandal, nor did they ask a multitude of questions; they were happy in their attachment to Christ and His apostle, and willing to be led in the path of duty. These Macedonian Gentile Christians (they were nearly all Gentiles) were the right material to make Christian churches—free from intellectual conceit, earnest, simple-minded, yet capable of great enthusiasm and ready for practical sacrifices. From the time of his arrival in Europe light is shed on the Apostle's history from his own Epistles as well as from the Acts; we hear from himself what he preached in this and that place, how his message was received, what he had to congratulate himself on about his converts, and what obstacles he met.

Acts gives a satisfactory account of the external incidents of the journey. Paul followed the great Egnatian road, the highway from Asia to Rome, and we may conjecture that Rome was already in his eye. In Ro 1[13] he tells us that he had often, before he wrote that great Epistle, cherished the intention of going there, and been prevented from doing so. His going to Athens and Corinth may have been outside of his original plan. He stayed at Philippi and at Thessalonica, where there were colonies of Jews; at Amphipolis and Apollonia he did not linger; they may have had no synagogue. At Philippi there seems to have been only a small number of Jews, and the Jews were not popular; Paul had to suffer for the unpopularity of his countrymen. The only person named of those who adhered to him is Lydia, a lady with a business in expensive goods and occupying a large house, a Gentile adherent of the humble Jewish community which held its meetings at the riverside. The Jews do not appear to have made any trouble; and Lydia pressed the whole party of the missionaries to stay in her house. The trouble which arose at Philippi was due to Paul's interference with an industry connected with heathenism. A girl who believed herself to be possessed by a spirit (and was perhaps a ventriloquist) which enabled her to answer inquiries made to her noticed Paul coming and going between the town and the place of prayer, and had a glimmer of the meaning of the movement that he carried on; and, in the exercise of her calling, took to shouting it out after the party. A Gentile could speak of the most high God and of the way of salvation as well as a Jew. Paul treated her as possessed and pronounced the Christian exorcism on the spirit that haunted her, and she immediately lost faith in herself (Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 216) and ceased to utter any more oracles. Her enraged owners at once brought the missionaries before the magistrates, accusing them of preaching an illicit doctrine. They were Jews and the accusers were Romans; Jews must not be allowed to introduce strange religious practices in a Roman population. The crime thus charged against the apostles seems to be the same as that at Thessalonica (Ac 17[7]), of setting up another divine monarch in competition with the emperor—a charge often brought against the Christians afterwards when they refused to burn incense to the image of the emperor as Lord, and said that they had another Lord, Jesus Christ (see G. A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, pp. 353–363). The magistrates acted at once and ordered a beating and imprisonment. The story of the escape from prison is to a large extent credible (cf. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 220 f.); the jailer's question is just what he would ask if he believed what the possessed girl said about the apostles. Codex D ascribes the sudden resolution of the magistrates in the morning to release Paul and Silas to their having heard about the earthquake. But they might feel that they had acted hastily. They had not heard the accused in their own defence, and had made no proper inquiry as to their status. Paul, always master of his situation, showed them how wrong they had been, but could not refuse to leave the town. For the impression that the ill-treatment made on his mind see 1 Th 2[2, 15]. But a work had been done at Philippi from which he was to have much satisfaction; a church of Gentiles had been founded, which never forgot him.

10. Paul's earliest Epistle.—At Thessalonica there was also a synagogue, and Paul is said to have preached there for three weeks. The first Epistle suggests a longer stay.

We follow Acts in the narrative of the external facts of the mission in this place now, in a new way, so famous. Paul was here to find persecution at the hands of Jews, already so well known to him in Asia Minor. His work in the synagogue met at first with some success; a limited number of Jews were converted, a larger number of Greek 'God-fearers,' and many of the leading women of the place. Of the Gentiles who came straight from heathenism to Christianity (1 Th 1[9]) there is no mention in Acts. The flourishing work ended

abruptly. The Jews, enraged at the acceptance by so many leading Gentile supporters of a doctrine that they profoundly distrusted, collected a number of idlers in the street and stirred up a tumult as they well knew how. As they could not lay hold of the missionaries to place them before the town meeting (Thessalonica was a Greek town with its own magistrates), they seized Jason (the name is Greek, but was borne by many Jews), their host, and some other believers (cf. Ro 16^{21}) and took them to the magistrates, to whom they represented the Christian movement as a political crime, a disorderly treason against the emperor, which had been engineered, they said, all over the world, and was now brought to Thessalonica. The magistrates took up the charge, but refused to help the work of persecution; all that they did was to take bail of Jason and the other persons accused. But the apostles could not remain in the place; their converts sent them away by night to Berœa, which was not on the Egnatian road. Paul's route may have been deflected by this adventure. At Berœa the apostles were well received in the synagogue, the members of which were set on a course of study of the books of the OT to satisfy themselves that the message brought them had a foundation in these venerable writings. There were Jews who believed and 'not a few Greek women of distinction and men.' But the persecution of Thessalonica came after them to Berœa, using the same procedure and making it impossible for Paul at least to remain there. Silas and Timothy stayed, but Paul was conducted by some of his converts as far as Athens, whether by sea or by land is doubtful, the convoying party taking back a message to Silas and Timothy to follow him as soon as possible.

The First Epistle to the Thessalonians (the earliest Christian writing) was written in the name of Paul and Silas and Timothy, united again at Corinth after various journeyings (1 Th $3^{1f.}$ ^{6}, Ac 18^{5}). Timothy had joined Paul at Athens, but had been dispatched again to Thessalonica before the reunion of the party at Corinth. The Thessalonian church was composed as a whole of Gentiles who came straight from the service of idols to the gospel (1 Th 1^{9}). These Gentiles felt Paul's summons irresistible and threw themselves with enthusiasm into the service of the living God, arrested by the tidings that the Divine Judgment was on the point of taking place, and by the hope that those who believed in Jesus Christ would find Him a Saviour from the judgment and the destruction of that awful hour. Christ was to descend from heaven; His coming would be sudden, and those who sought to be saved by Him must keep themselves prepared, since all depended on their being ready for Him when He came. The Spirit which had come to them must be diligently fostered and obeyed; they must be full of faith, of hope, and of active charity. They must be prepared for persecution, of which they had already had some experience; they must aim at the strictest purity and the most irreproachable conduct. Only in that way could they make sure of the bright prospect that shone on them and enable the Apostle to look forward to presenting them as his glory and joy to the Saviour when He came. At Thessalonica for the first time we make acquaintance with Paul as a craftsman, refusing to take advantage of the convention according to which the apostles of the Christian community were entitled to be supported by the churches. The rule is broken in favour of the Philippians (Ph 4^{15}), who send him help at Thessalonica at least twice, but with this exception it is stoutly upheld in Greece (2 Co 11^{7-10}). No one is to charge either him or his followers with being without a sound financial basis. He seems to have sat at his bench or at his loom (it is impossible to say which) talking to all who came, and urging them individually to keep themselves ready for the coming of the Saviour and free from all reproach in the eyes of a hostile world. He was a nurse to the converts, encouraging and comforting them and guiding their halting steps in the practices of the Christian life; he was a pattern to them of all that they had to do, and he finds much good to say of their enthusiasm and constancy.

11. The speech at Athens. — Timothy did at last join Paul at Athens, and was sent by him back to Thessalonica (1 Th $3^{1f.}$), where he himself was forbidden to appear (3^{8-11}). Silas also joined him before 1 Thessalonians was dispatched (1^{1}); according to Ac 18^{5}, they both rejoined him at Corinth. The letter, written when Paul was no longer at Athens, is in the name of all the three. It is when both his associates are absent that he encounters the philosophers at Athens, and before the Areopagus, the highest court and one specially attending to the affairs of religion, delivers the famous speech of Ac 17, which it is our duty to examine. According to E. Norden, whose most interesting book, *Agnostos Theos* (Leipzig, 1913), places every feature of the story and the speech in a clear light as to its relation to the general religious movement of that age, there is little that can be regarded as belonging authentically to Paul either in the situation or in the speech. The inscription of an altar is often used in Greek antiquity as the text of a philosophical or religious discussion or address. Athens is praised for its religiousness by Apollonius (Philostratus, vi. 3) as by Paul, and for a similar reason, that altars are erected there to unknown gods. This striking similarity of expression is taken by Norden to establish a literary relation between Apollonius and Acts; Apollonius is a travelling missionary whose aim it is to draw men away from idolatry and fix their thoughts on the true God; he also visited Athens; though the date of his visit cannot be fixed, it would certainly fall before the writing of Acts. The type of the speech bears analogies also with other religious utterances of that day. It is in line with other appeals to the heathen to open their minds to the true knowledge of God and to forsake idolatry. Norden places before us a speech from Poimandres to this effect, an *Ode of Solomon*, a piece of the *Preaching of Peter*, and a piece of the *Preaching of Barnabas*, and contends that the speech to the Areopagus is an address placed in Paul's mouth such as was customary in that age in the mouth of the missionary of monotheism, whether Jew, Greek, or Christian. In all these appeals Stoical notions appear—that God is not in need of anything, that God is not to be worshipped in the way of sacrifice, that God's goodness and care of man are evident in the works of creation, in the provision made to supply the wants of His creatures, and in His creation of man with such a nature that he should feel constrained to seek after his Maker. The blending of Jewish with Stoic thought was singularly effective in this whole argument, and meets us in all the philosophical and religious thought of the period (cf. Ro 1, Ac 14). But what of the inscription that Paul is said to have seen at Athens, 'to the Unknown God'? Philostratus speaks of altars at Athens to 'unknown gods' in the plural. Pausanias attests a similar inscription in the neighbourhood of Athens, and Jerome thinks that the inscription to which Paul refers was not in the words that he gives, but 'to the gods of Asia and Europe and Africa, gods unknown and foreign.' The inscription in the singular is found only in this passage in Acts. The unknown God spoken of is not simply the God of Judaism. That being was spoken of in the Greek and Roman philosophical circles not as unknown, but as mysterious, unrepresented, ἄδηλος. In Gnostic writings the unknown God is frequently addressed as the highest being of the various systems. The term was well-known in the time of Paul, though it did not appear as the inscription of an altar.

If Norden is right in this, the writer of Acts supplied the inscription as a text for Paul's address, which consists largely of the sentiments of Stoicism and is furnished with a quotation from a Stoic poet. The idea of a trial is not very closely adhered to, though a charge is mentioned, similar to that brought against Socrates, that he introduced new deities. These are Jesus and Resurrection, which in Acts is Paul's main doctrine. Paul does not mention any charge, but delivers himself, as other missionaries did, of a discourse against idolatry, and ends with a Christian conclusion on the Judgment and the Messiah. The speech is kept admirably in the required tone and setting,

as are all the speeches in Acts. Yet only a small success is claimed for Paul in this city of dilettantes and idlers. Only a few converts were made, and the Apostle went, after an unsatisfactory visit, to a very different scene of labour—the busy harbour town of Corinth, where also (this may have been in his thoughts) there was abundant opportunity of travelling to Rome, and the call of the metropolis grew in insistence.

12. Hostility of the Jews.—We have come to the point at which Paul's own letters begin to shed abundant light on his history. Those to Thessalonica were written from Corinth in his early days there, and afford important suggestions as to what he felt his position to be at this time. As we saw above, 1 Thessalonians gives a satisfactory account of his missionary aims and practice; but it also affords hints as to his inner history which are not to be neglected. Up to this time he had stayed only a short time in any one place, and the reason was that the hostility of the Jews everywhere broke out against him and compelled his removal. In the following part of his career he spent years instead of weeks with a newly-founded church, detaching himself early from the synagogue and devoting himself in some other building to his work in a community composed chiefly of Gentiles. The reason of this change is not far to seek. In 1 Th 2^{14-16}, a passage which many scholars have regarded with suspicion as being alien to Paul's temper and probably an interpolation, but which can be amply justified on historical grounds, Paul considers the inveterate hostility with which the Jews regard and treat him. The Jews, who killed the Lord Jesus and the prophets, have also persecuted him and forced him away from what he was trying to do for the Gentiles. They do not wish him to preach to the Gentiles; they do not wish the Gentiles to be saved. It all proves the contrariness of their nature; they are contrary to all men. It proves that they are filling up their cup, and that the day of vengeance must soon come for them, since they set themselves to oppose the clear will of God for the salvation of the Gentiles.

The hatred of the Jews for Paul was one of the most powerful, external, determining causes bearing on his history. It had already deflected his journey and made it impossible for him to go back, at least meanwhile, to Thessalonica, though Silas and Timothy were still free to go there; and, as Acts shows, it was to pursue him to the end. What was the cause of their seeing in him their arch-enemy? The accusations which they brought against him to the magistrates at Thessalonica and Corinth do not make this clear. It was not as an insurrectionary against the Roman power that they hated him, though that charge was made against him, as it had been against Christ. Nor was it that he preached Jesus as the Messiah; his fellow-missionaries did that too. Nor was it in the first place that he drew away from them the rich and influential adherents of their synagogues, though that was no doubt a bitter experience for them. They bore him a special personal hatred; and the reason why they did so is revealed to us afterwards when we come to his last visit to Jerusalem. They saw in him the enemy of their Law, who was seeking to draw the Jews away from their national observances, bidding them give up circumcising their children and abjure the religious practices of Judaism (Ac $21^{21.\ 28}$ 24^{14} 25^{8}). This is what underlies the charge (Ac $17^{6f.}$) in which Paul already bears the character, reported about him from synagogue to synagogue, of a deliberately subversive and dangerous teacher. We do not now inquire how much of this was true; the consequences to Paul of its being made were very serious and made it difficult for him to carry on his mission as before. He began his work both at Corinth and at Ephesus in the Jewish synagogue, but he was inevitably thrust more and more into the arms of the Gentiles, who heard him readily and with whom he felt himself at home. He was confirmed in his apostleship to them; his absences from the East grew longer. As his own nation thrust him away from them, and his work among the Gentiles was full of interest, he must have felt himself less and less a Jew. When he counts up in Ro 1^{14} his obligations to his fellowmen, it is of the Gentiles that he thinks; he is debtor to Gentiles of every class, but he does not say that he is debtor to the Jews.

13. Order of the Epistles.—We may here say a word as to the order of the Epistles which are chiefly to direct us in the rest of this article. 1 Corinthians was written from Ephesus in the spring of the year 54, after Paul had been there nearly two years and three months, besides making a journey to the East and very likely other journeys.

Now, 1 Corinthians has a subject in common with Galatians, 2 Corinthians, and Romans—a practical subject which it appears unlikely that Paul would leave in suspense for a number of years, viz. the collection that he instituted in Galatia, Macedonia, and Greece on behalf of the poor saints at Jerusalem. In Galatians he intimates that he is bound to do something of this kind. He does not in that Epistle suggest the practical steps that the Galatians are to take in that direction, but in 1 Corinthians he tells us that he has made the suggestion in Galatia which he now makes at Corinth. In 2 Corinthians there is much more on the subject, and Romans is written when he is just about to start for Jerusalem, carrying the money with him. Galatians appears to have been written before 2 Corinthians. In both the Apostle deals with attacks made on him and with designs made on his church in his absence; of these attacks there is little evidence in 1 Corinthians, and it seems reasonable to think that Galatians was written between the two Corinthian Epistles; the doctrine of all three is closely similar. In Romans that doctrine is set forth in a more developed and calmer statement. We go on to look at the history as set before us in these Epistles and in the relevant statements in Acts.

14. The Corinthian Epistles.—Acts 18 shows us Paul at Corinth, with its predominantly Greek population, its tendency to talk, its love of poetry, its quick-witted application of principles even to extremes, its susceptibility to religious impressions. He lives with a Jewish family who follow the same trade as he does, and he goes, as he scarcely could do otherwise, to the synagogue to make a beginning. He has some success at first, but on the arrival of Silas and Timothy he comes to closer quarters with the Jews, and a breach soon takes place, Paul forsaking the synagogue as his place for preaching, and opening another locale close to it in the house of Titus Justus, a 'God-fearer.' His preaching goes on for eighteen months, till a new proconsul arrives at Corinth, before whom the Jews accuse him of preaching an illicit religion. Gallio sees that no crime is charged against Paul, that the dispute is entirely one of the Jewish religion, and declines to interfere, considering the matter, quite rightly, outside his jurisdiction.

The First Epistle to the Corinthians was written four years after the foundation of the church and gives few details of its outward circumstances, being entirely occupied with questions which had newly arisen. A few facts of the early days of the foundation do, however, appear. Paul came to Corinth somewhat depressed, but with a definite idea in his mind of what he had to preach to such a community and of the standards that he had to put before them. Among the first things that he stated to them were the great facts about Christ

(1 Co 15): that He died for our sins according to the Scriptures, that He was buried, and that He was raised up on the third day, according to the Scriptures. This shows Paul's method; he took his stand on the books of the Old Covenant, and brought forward the texts which showed the death of Christ for our sins, and His resurrection, to have been foretold in these old writings. The faith of Christ is not a thing of yesterday; it is the continuation and the culminating point of the dealings of God with man which began in Abraham and were continued in the prophets. So far is the faith of Christ from being merely a mystery-religion—one in which the suggestive acts done were everything—that it was from the first a religion of a book, based on the promises of God, to be found in its main features in the prophets. This is the secret of what appears at first sight to be Paul's immense self-confidence. It is the momentum of the OT religion that carries him forward; it is the system of God's promises, of the prophetic declarations that he administers, in a career that nothing can withstand. If the Apostle is asked what is his principal doctrine, his answer is ready; he came to Corinth determined 'to know nothing but Jesus Christ and him crucified' (2[2])—to preach Jesus as the Messiah, as all the apostles did, but a Messiah crucified, who, by a supreme act of love, gives Himself up for the salvation of men and now calls on them to take advantage of the surrender made for them. This is the way of salvation that Paul placed before the Corinthians, knowing well that it had no philosophy to recommend it, and that Jews must regard it with prompt aversion. God, however, had chosen this way to save men, and it had virtue in it; the divine purpose was accomplished in it in spite of every objection and of the absence of rhetoric on the part of the preacher. No show of wisdom or ornament of words was wanted when this weapon was employed. It was a power of God, a miracle, and the use of it was promptly followed by miraculous effects on the hearers; the Spirit at once came to them, with His gifts.

Paul no doubt appeared to those who heard him at Corinth as one of the company of those who at this time were bringing Eastern religions to the West, and proclaiming not only a Supreme Deity but a Deity of the second rank as well, a being who had died and risen again. The Apostle's preaching, however, was immediately successful. Once separated from the numbing influence of the synagogue, and placed on its own independent basis, the church quickly realized itself and became conscious of its powers. It numbered few persons of distinction; but among the few names preserved of the first believers are those of people in good station. Aquila and Priscilla are especially to be mentioned; Crispus had been a head of the synagogue and was baptized by Paul's own hands (1[14]) along with his family (Ac 18[8]), as also were Gaius, a prominent Christian (Ro 16[23]), and Stephanas, whose house was the firstfruits of Achaia (1 Co 16[15]). Erastus, the town-chamberlain, may be added (Ro 16[23]). Most of the members were of the class of shop-keepers and artisans, whose income varied from week to week. Paul, it is true, says that more might be expected of them financially than of the brethren of Macedonia (2 Co 8 f.). Most were Greeks, but there were also Jews among them, and slaves too in their number. And, as the church was composed of very different elements, it developed what appear to us to be strange freaks of opinion and conduct. Of any settled constitution there is little trace. Baptism is into the name of Christ; any one apparently could administer it. The Lord's Supper, as the Corinthians at first took it, was equally formless. It resembled the common meal of a Greek club, each member bringing to it his own provisions. It is held, indeed, by C. F. G. Heinrici[1] that the Greek club provided the form on which the Greek churches were at first constituted, and it seems very natural that a body that was a revolt from the synagogue should avail itself of the easy and flexible arrangements usual in the country. Office-bearers do not appear in the Corinthian Epistles. The nearest approach to them is in the case of Stephanas and his household, whose services to the church are held up by the Apostle as entitling them to consideration and influence in it (1 Co 16[15]). The church is a pure democracy with the Apostle, its father, founder, planter, above it and connecting it in an informal way with other churches. When any serious question arises, it is to him that they turn, there being no constituted authority short of him. Every matter is brought to him; when absent, he is still watching them and informed about them by many a chance comer or messenger, writing to them and receiving letters from them. (For the occasion that called forth the Second Epistle see § 18.)

15. Third missionary journey.—Paul remained at Corinth for some time after the attack on him before Gallio and then set sail for Syria, in the company of Aquila and Priscilla; we are not told on what errand this journey was undertaken. Ephesus, where he landed, was the capital of that Asia where he had formerly desired to preach (Ac 16[6]). This time the desire was gratified, but nothing is told us except that in the synagogue, where he began his work, he was asked to return and said he would do so. Of the further journey to Syria also little is heard. Jerusalem is not spoken of, though it may be inferred from the phrase 'he went up' (Ac 18[22]), nor is any object for going there; and Codex D says at 19[1] that he wished to go to Jerusalem but was specially prevented by the Spirit from doing so. He landed at Cæsarea and stayed, after a visit to Jerusalem (if there was one), some time at Antioch, from which city he set out, probably in spring, on the return journey, passing through the Galatian country and Phrygia, which are mentioned in a different order from that in ch. 16, where the same journey was made before. He is also said (19[1]) to have traversed 'the upper regions' before arriving at Ephesus again. The writer of Acts has not much information about this journey; there is room for the surmise of those who hold the N. Galatian theory, that it may have included the second visit to the churches of Galatia (Gal 4[13]).

After Paul's return to Ephesus from the East he went to the synagogue again and continued preaching there for three months (Ac 19[8]). The accustomed Jewish hostility was longer in breaking out here than in other places, but break forth it did; 'the way'—the new plan of cultivating the Gentiles without asking them to live as Jews—aroused here also bitter animosity, which was expressed even to the heathen crowds in the street. Paul therefore 'separated the disciples,' as he had done at Corinth, and gave daily lectures in the school of Tyrannus (Cod. D adds, 'from the fifth to the tenth hour,' *i.e.* after the hours of business). The anecdotes of Ephesus which follow in Acts need not detain us; Paul claims (2 Co 12[12]) that the signs of an apostle are not wanting in his ministry, and there is humour in the overthrow of the heathen exorcists who try to use the name of Christ as an instrument, and in the ruin of Ephesian magic and the burning of the magical books that takes place in the great stronghold of magic in contact with the gospel (Ac 19[13-19]).

When the soul-shaking experiences at Ephesus took place, to which reference is made in both the Corinthian Epistles, cannot be made out. Paul 'fought with beasts at Ephesus' (1 Co 15[32]). Were this to be taken literally, he could scarcely have been alive afterwards to speak of it. In 2 Co 1[8-11] he speaks of a situation in which he despaired of life and was compelled to set his trust in God who raises the dead. Acts contains nothing to justify these phrases. In the story of the tumult about the silver images of Diana (19[23ff.]) Paul is dissuaded by his friends, the Asiarchs, from going to the theatre and facing the mob; and the end of 1 Cor. is written in a calm atmosphere, and by one who is able to determine his movements a long way ahead. Timothy is to be sent back to him at Ephesus. And the perilous passage of which he speaks must have been behind him when he wrote 1 Cor., which was written at the same time as the dispatch of Timothy, but was not carried by him, for it gives instructions as to his reception.

16. New Judaizing opposition.—The dispatch of the first Epistle did not make an end of the troubles in the Corinthian church, but the new troubles were different from the old. From Ephesus Paul paid a second visit to Corinth (2 Co 13[1f.]), which did not end happily; it was followed by another letter, described in 2 Co 2 and 7, and said to have been written with tears. Trouble sprang up for the Apostle at this period in another part of his missionary field. It was a trouble that was bound to come; the false brethren, of whom Paul speaks in connexion with the Jerusalem meeting, found their opportunity in the mixed churches; of these there were now more, and the desire to make mischief in them had not ceased. The Apostle now came to be confronted with adversaries who were not Jews but Christian believers; but they believed in Christ as the Messiah of the Jews, who had been a Jew, and

[1] *Erklärung der Korintherbriefe*, Berlin, 1880–87.

they wished the Law to continue in honour. They desired the promises to be confined to Abraham's children, and one was not in their eyes fully a child of Abraham without circumcision and observance of the religious customs of the Jews; they would not eat with Gentiles; they required that the Gentile who became a Christian should become a Jew at the same time. On these terms the Christian mission would have been condemned, like the Jewish mission which preceded it, to perpetual sterility. They went great lengths in their controversy; at Ephesus we read of their denouncing Paul to the Gentiles, as if it were better not to be a Christian at all than to be a Christian on his terms.

In Ac $17^{6f.}$ 18^{13} we have the character represented to us that Paul had in the eyes of the Jews, in Ac 21^{21} the character that he bore in the eyes of the Jewish Christians a year or two later. The persecution which he had to endure from the Jewish Christians was as hard to bear as that of the Jews, and has left a distinct trace on his writings. They could not beat him or stone him, but they had access to his churches and could poison the minds of his converts against him and could urge them to desert him. As a fact, they did belittle his authority, his work, his preaching—both the style and the substance of it—his personal appearance, his motives. They denied his apostleship, which, it is true, rested on no formal nomination by other apostles; they said that he set himself up as an apostle and had no right to do so. They did not directly controvert his teaching, not even his Christology, so much as place in competition with it their own simpler doctrine, which had no Cross in it and called for practical obedience to an ancient system rather than a mere faith and receptiveness.

This aversion to Paul must have been growing since the time of his mission at Antioch, and it broke out in serious attempts in two of his churches about the same time. A number of indications combine to lead us to regard the Galatian and the second Corinthian Epistles as written almost at the same time. In both the collection is urged; Gal $6^{6.\ 10}$ urges liberality to Christian teachers, but goes on to urge liberality to all one's fellow-Christians. And, if Gal 4^{13} is to be taken in its natural sense, 'I preached to you the former time,' *i.e.* on the earlier of two occasions of his preaching to them, and not, as Kirsopp Lake proposes,[1] on only one former occasion, then the Epistle must come after the visit to Galatia of Ac 18^{23}, and belong to the residence at Ephesus. In both Epistles we hear of 'another gospel' which is preached by intruders; in both the two Covenants are contrasted with each other, one making for freedom, the other (evidently that favoured by the intruders) for servitude. Of the agents of this invasion the Corinthian Epistle gives the clearer picture. The intruders at Corinth are men who pride themselves, as Paul himself does, on their pure Jewish lineage; yet they are good speakers to a Greek audience. They belong therefore, it seems probable, like Paul himself, to the Diaspora, and have laid themselves out, as he has, for a mission to the Greeks. There is no reason to think that they came from Jerusalem or were countenanced by the apostles there. There is plenty of evidence that the Jews of the Diaspora were as narrow and bigoted as those of Palestine, and the Diaspora Christians could show on occasion the same character.

17. The Epistle to the Galatians.—The beginning of the Epistle to the Galatians is austere. Paul's apostleship is impugned and he writes himself down in his opening words as apostle by special divine arrangement, 'not of man nor through man but by revelation of Jesus Christ.' The writer then goes into a historical statement to show how independent he is of any human authority. It was not man that instructed him, but God that revealed His Son in him; he kept away from Jerusalem for three years after his conversion; neither the apostles nor the churches of Judæa were much concerned with him at that time.[2] His visit to Jerusalem after fourteen years (this must be dating from his conversion) made no important change in his methods or his position. He appeared there to plead for the freedom of the Gentile churches, and his plea was successful. No objection was made to Paul's doctrine when he stated it, and no additional burden or observances were imposed upon him. Each side recognized the other as borne forward by God in its mission, and the right hand of fellowship was exchanged on the understanding that the work should go on as before, James, Peter, and John going to the Jews, Paul to the Gentiles, with the link between the two provinces of the Church, that the Gentiles should do something for the poor at Jerusalem, as the Diaspora had always sent gifts to the Temple. Paul's independence of the older apostles was also signally shown on the occasion of Peter's visit to Antioch, when he withdrew from the common meals where Jew and Gentile sat together, not because he thought them wrong, but in order to stand well with the people at Jerusalem. The speech which Paul says he addressed to Peter before all the members at Antioch, broadening out into a moving statement of his own personal ground of hope, is very difficult if we attempt connexion of each verse with that preceding it; in this Epistle in general the expression is far from adequate to the rushing fullness of thought.

The Apostle reminds the Galatians that their Christian life began with Christ crucified, whom Paul in his preaching held up clear before them (3^{1}). It was from that exhibition that the Spirit came to them, and now they are on the point of turning from the Spirit to the flesh, to trifling observances, to the keeping of a code of laws, to seeking their salvation in them! The Law had no power to give life; it was a constraint imposed on sinful mankind until the day should come when the promise should be given to those who believed. In baptism the Galatians have 'put on Christ,' who has made them free from the Law, made them God's children and heirs, placed them in a region where the difference between Jew and Gentile disappears; and they are all one, the true seed of Abraham, in actual possession of the promise made to them.

From a masterly appeal on the ground of the history of religion the Apostle passes to a moving personal appeal on the ground of what he remembers of the Galatians and they of him. How kind was their treatment of him at his first visit! How they treated the illness which then o[illegible]took him (what it was we know not), not with disgust, but with the most affectionate solicitude to find something that would help him! They cannot feel for those who are now courting them as they did for him; they are aiming at nothing but a personal triumph; he wishes to win them wholly for Christ, that the form of Christ may be fully produced in them. Seeing that Christ has freed us for freedom, what have the Galatians to do? No summary of this passage is possible; it is a passionate outburst taking up one feature after another of the situation and dealing with each in trenchant words. It was scarcely true that circumcision obliged one to keep the whole Law. Paul himself, it is true, had felt the whole weight of the obligation. Nor was it quite true that to be justified by the Law was to fall away from grace. The Pauline Christian did look for the hope of righteousness, in the spirit and from faith, without any thought of contributing to it by any performance of his own. Freedom from the Law did not imply, as opponents said, that a man might do anything he liked. The Spirit must be the ruling principle in life; the individual has power to make it so, and then he will not feel the pressure of the Law. With 6^{11} the Apostle begins to bring the letter to a close. He contrasts the motives of their new leaders, should they prove so, with his own. The new leaders will be able to point to this person and to that and say, 'A Gentile, circumcised, and he owes it to me!' Paul's boast is different. He looks not to small personal triumphs, but to the great world-triumph of the Cross in which he too is taken up into his right position. Looking to it, he forgets the great debate of circumcision, and thinks only of the new creation that the Cross has brought. This is his canon, his great rule, enunciated thrice in his Epistles—Gal 5^{6} 6^{15}, and 1 Co 7^{19}. Those who think thus are to him the true Israel. The 'marks of the Lord Jesus,' to which Paul appeals in conclusion to guard himself against further troubles, might be spoken of in analogy to the marks of a god borne by his votaries, or of a master by his slave; but the phrase is intelligible without this.

18. Troubles at Corinth.—Of the Galatians we hear no more in the NT, and what was the effect of the letter to them we can only surmise. Paul's thoughts at Ephesus were in another direction. He was proposing a journey to Macedonia and Greece, then to Jerusalem, and then to Rome, and was in correspondence with Corinth on this subject (Ac

[1] *The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, p. 263 f.

[2] A. Loisy suggests (*L'Epitre aux Galates*) that the three years in Arabia were spent in preaching to the Arabs, and that the mission was not successful; we know nothing about that period of his life.

19[21], 2 Co 1[15ff.]). He thought now of the sea-route to Greece, then of the land; the Corinthians thought that he changed his mind too easily. He ultimately chose the northern route through Macedonia; but something had to be done before he could present himself. He had paid a visit to Corinth which had turned out very unpleasant for him; he had been grossly insulted or injured by a member of the church there (2 Co 2[5-11]). He could not go to Corinth till the church made some expression of regret for the treatment which he had suffered and had dealt with the offender. To secure this, Titus was sent with a letter which Paul says he wrote with tears. Can this refer to 1 Corinthians? It evidently was not composed in a tearful mood. Or can 2 Co 10–13 be meant? It also is scarcely in such a key. It is the opinion of most scholars that the letter written with tears is lost. Titus was to present this letter and to return to Paul with the account of its reception, so that Paul might know with what confidence he could present himself at Corinth, and he was to hurry on the financial business as to the collection (2 Co 1[23] 7[6-16] 8[6ff.]).

To judge from 2 Cor., Paul set out for Greece weighed down by anxiety about Corinth. Acts gives a different impression, connecting the departure from Ephesus with the trade disturbances engineered by Demetrius. Paul was face to face with death at Ephesus, but some time earlier, in fact before writing 1 Cor.; and in the Demetrius story Paul's life is not in danger. The story in 2 Cor. places us on firm ground when it tells us that his anxiety about Corinth was banished only when he met Titus and received his favourable report. The letter had been well received; the Corinthians were loyal (2 Co 7[5-16]). On this follows the great burst of praise and exultation for the triumphs of the gospel which God brings about through him, and the alternation of mood from humiliation and depression to the highest triumph and joy returns again and again in the Epistle and may be regarded as its characteristic movement.

The principal question that criticism has to consider about 2 Cor. is whether there are two Epistles in it, or three, or only one. The theory now predominant in Britain is that chs. 10–13 are to be taken as an Epistle by itself which has lost its beginning, and that chs. 1–9 are part of another Epistle, the end of which is wanting. In Germany, the birthplace of this theory, it is all but extinct, while in Britain some of the arguments by which it was at first supported are no longer relied on. The transition at 10[1] is certainly abrupt, but there are in Paul other such transitions which are not held to warrant the conclusion that we are passing to a different work of the Apostle (cf. Ph 3[1]). The passage 6[14]–7[1] is also taken by many commentators to be a late addition to the Epistle, but here too the reasons for that opinion are in course of fading away; the piece certainly interrupts the sense of the passage, but the Apostle is likely to have put it there himself; a later hand would have been more careful. The Epistle can be fairly well understood as it stands, as Marcion read it, and as all the ancient authorities have it; there is no MS evidence whatever to the contrary. Thus read, the Epistle opens on a theme which is pursued to the end, viz. an approaching visit of the Apostle to Corinth. The questions of his credentials and of the forthcoming collections having been dealt with, Paul makes an attack upon the intruding preachers who deal in another gospel than the true one, which is his; their claims are set formally over against his own; he has been weak, but will now, though it is a foolish thing to do, draw up the account on both sides. In point of pure Jewish lineage he is on a level with them. Yet they give a better address in Greek than he (11[6]), which shows where they come from. Their afflictions for the gospel are not to be compared with his, which he sets forth in full detail, ending with all the cares that he has to bear for his various churches; he feels with every weak brother in them all; his heart is set on fire with every offence with which they meet. His visions and revelations have been of a distinguished order; he has been carried to paradise and has heard unspeakable words; but along with this he has had very painful experiences which keep him from boasting of his spiritual distinctions—the thorn in the flesh, the messenger of Satan to buffet him, lest he should grow too great in his own eyes. That he was not an epileptic is clearly shown by A. Seeligmüller, *War Paulus Epileptiker?*, Leipzig, 1910 (see also Ramsay, *The Teaching of Paul*, p. 306 ff.). This experience was the crowning expression of the conviction which we find so often in his writings, that strength always comes to him from a higher source out of his many humiliations and depressions—'When I am weak, then am I strong.' The Epistle ends with words of hearty encouragement and affectionate greeting, and the writer appends the salutation, or it may be called the benediction, invoking on his converts the grace or kindness of Christ, the love of God, the communion of the Holy Spirit, which are the sum of all his teaching.

19. Epistle to the Philippians.—The Epistle to the Philippians, though generally treated as belonging to the captivity of Paul at Rome, is thought to have its place and time fixed by 1[13], where the 'palace' (*πραιτώριον*) is taken to be the barracks of the imperial prætorian guard at Rome, and by 4[22], where 'Cæsar's household' is also taken to imply the neighbourhood of the imperial family. In Lightfoot's commentary the arguments for these positions are fully stated. The great accumulation of inscriptions in recent times has seriously weakened these arguments; any building is called 'prætorian' in which an official might dwell even for a short time, the term being applied even to private houses; or the term might designate the persons connected with a court of justice, 'a judicial authority with its assistants and subalterns.' 'Cæsar's household,' again, was a term used of any collection of slaves of the emperor, and these were to be found anywhere in the empire. Neither term limits us at all to Rome. The Apostle often suffered imprisonment, as he tells us in 2 Co 11[23]. There are substantial reasons in the contents of the Epistle why we should think of some other captivity than that at Rome. To place it in the Roman captivity would bring it close to the Colossian Epistle, which deals in doctrine of quite a different stamp. It has been suggested that the captivity was at Ephesus, and the many journeys and messages spoken of would agree with this.

The Epistle to the Philippians is very affectionate and gentle, and doctrine is introduced only for purposes of edification. It is called for by a simple incident: the Philippians have sent Paul a present by the hands of Epaphroditus, who fell ill beside Paul and was now sent back to his friends at Philippi (4[18] 2[25ff.]). The first part of the Epistle is about Paul's position in his imprisonment. He is looking death in the face and taking the view that it will at once unite him to Christ, not, as in 1 Th 4 or 1 Co 15, that the union with Christ will take place only at the Parousia. He no doubt had a way of reconciling the two views in his own mind (cf. 2 Co 5[1-9]). In the great Christological passage, Ph 2[5-11], his view of the history of Christ's person appears more clearly than anywhere else, and He seems to be contrasted with other great spiritual beings, one of whom did 'think equality with God a thing to grasp at,' and who had great names, which His great name, Jesus Christ Lord, given Him by God after His earthly career, cast into the shade. There are adversaries, both without the church, Jews, the thought of whom leads the Apostle to restate his claims (3[1-11]), and within (3[17-21]). The grateful acknowledgment of the Philippians' present concludes the Epistle: he does not need it; he has learned to be without wants, yet is thankful for it, as for former attentions at Thessalonica and at Corinth (see also § 22).

There is no direct information as to the effect produced by 2 Cor.; in that the Epistle is not singular. Acts tells us (20[2]) that the journey there spoken of through Macedonia was accomplished, and that Paul stayed three months in Greece; but nothing is said of his thoughts or of his correspondence. It passes over the time when, if all indications do not deceive us, Paul wrote his great Epistle to the Romans, without mentioning that Epistle or that church, and goes on to tell of his journey to the East.

20. Epistle to the Romans.—There is almost complete historical certainty that Romans was written, as we have it, during the three months' stay in Greece mentioned in Ac 20[2]. The critical difficulties in the way are not very serious. They are the omission of *ἐν Ῥώμῃ* in some early MSS at 1[7. 15]; the various conclusions which the piece appears to have after 14[23] and at the end of the work; and the alleged likelihood that ch. 16 was addressed to Ephesus rather than to Rome. To this may be added the disjointed arrangement of certain chapters which look like old essays on this and that topic, loosely put together.

The omission of ἐν Ῥώμῃ in ch. 1 was known to Origen, and suggests that the Epistle existed early in a form from which the geographical indications had been removed, making the Epistle a general one like Ephesians. As for the various conclusions, there is a good deal of evidence that Marcion cut out the last two chapters, and this procedure may have led, in the transmission of the text, to the insertion of the conclusion after 14^{23}. But 15 is certainly continuous with 14, and contains nothing that Paul may not have written.

Ch. 16, which Renan considers to have been addressed to Ephesus rather than to Rome, has been ably defended, from a study of the names that it contains, by Lightfoot and other Bible scholars as possibly addressed to Rome. The whole question of the integrity of the Epistle is thoroughly discussed in the introduction of W. Sanday and A. C. Headlam's great commentary on *Romans*[5] (*ICC*, Edinburgh, 1902).

In Romans we find the Apostle writing to a church that he himself had not founded; in $1^{8\text{-}15}$ and $15^{22\text{-}32}$ he describes his position towards that church. He regards it as in his sphere of missionary labour, has thought of it much, and has often wished to visit it, though he has been often prevented. Now he sees a near prospect of carrying out his wish. He is on the point of travelling to Jerusalem, to carry there what has been collected for the poor saints. The Romans are to pray that he may be delivered from the dangers which he clearly sees will threaten him there; and after that duty is discharged he will come with joy to profit by their sympathy, perhaps to do something for them. He is to go to Spain, and will see them on the way. This explains to some extent the difference between Romans and the Epistles that we already have had from him. These were all to churches that he knew, and were occupied with questions which arose in them, with advice, encouragement, often with painful controversy. That controversy is now past, and he is not intimately acquainted with the domestic matters of the Roman church. The discussions in this Epistle are therefore impersonal and general; he can discuss the great matters which interest all Christians alike; he is now at liberty to do so. His tone is serene and open; we gain the impression that he has reached 'a season of calm weather,' that he feels his position assured and can forget asperities and set forth the truths of the gospel which he has attained through many a struggle, as if there were no doubt about them now. He wishes the Christians at Rome to understand clearly where he stands, and we have the same arguments as in Gal. and Cor., varied with new arguments and with new quotations from the Jewish books, and rising at times to great power and eloquence. We have the same historical proof that God's new mode of saving men is by faith, not by works; the same definition of the place of the Law in God's dealings with man, only that in Romans we have the psychological proof of ch. 7, that the Law does so act as to multiply transgressions, and does not act as a schoolmaster for Christ. The brief statement in 1 Co 15^{22}, 'as in Adam all died, so in Christ shall all be made alive,' swells in Romans to a massive section, chs. 5 and 6 showing how much more to be expected it is that grace and forgiveness should increase than that sin and condemnation should; and the action of the Spirit in the inner Christian life, touched on in all the earlier Epistles, is the main theme of Ro 8. The blessedness of the Christian salvation is movingly set forth, both in ch. 6 and in ch. 8, each of which forms the climax of a profound ascending argument; and the triumph of the Christian over all the unseen powers which rule over this world and threaten to crush them sums up all that the earlier letters contain as to those shadowy foes of human welfare.

With ch. 9 the Apostle enters on a theme comparatively new, how the unbelief of the Jews in the Christian gospel is to be accounted for and reconciled with the divine promises. Various solutions are propounded to this dark riddle, the obvious one that the believing Gentiles are now to be regarded as the seed of Abraham, whom God has preferred to the Jews, and the harsh one that God is entitled to have mercy on whom He will, as the potter has power over the clay. The Apostle's argument is that the unbelief of Israel is brought about by an act of God and has a definite intention—viz. that, while the Jews thus hold back, the fullness of the Gentiles may enter. When this has happened, then the salvation of Israel will take place. The object of their being shut up into unbelief is that God may have mercy on all, and the whole discussion closes with a great doxology to God for His unsearchable wisdom. Chs. 12–14 are the practical working out of the principles stated in ch. 6, that the Christian is not to continue in sin, but to yield his members instruments of righteousness for sanctification. A fuller catalogue of Christian duties is given than Paul has hitherto attempted; the duty to the State is not forgotten, nor the proper limits to be placed on social enjoyment, while the rules for the use of indifferent things and as to the regard to be paid to the weak brother in one's attitude towards them, are to the same effect as in 1 Co 8. The last chapters of Romans have already been spoken of.

21. Arrest and imprisonment.—The rest of the story of Paul, after the writing of Romans, is to be found in Ac 20^{3}–28. The plot on the part of the Jews which made Paul alter the route of his journey eastward was probably to have him assassinated on a vessel carrying pilgrims for Jerusalem, or on another ship on which he was likely to travel. The route through Macedonia avoided that danger; the party appear to have chartered a vessel for themselves for the coasting voyage to Patara or Myra. The narrative appears trustworthy for its facts, to the end of the book. The speeches are skilfully conceived for the various situations; the views of the writer appear in the repeated assertion of the Apostle that his preaching the Resurrection was the cause of his persecution by the Jews (23^{6} 26^{7}), which does not agree with 21^{21}. The Gentiles who were his fellow-travellers no doubt wondered to see him defray the considerable expense of a sacrifice for the four men with a vow, which both showed him now to be in easy circumstances and proved him still a Jew in spite of all that he had said against the Law, and minded to do more rather than less than the Law required of the faithful child of Abraham. The charitable mission which brought him to Jerusalem is mentioned only once in a late speech (24^{17}); it did nothing to placate the Jews, as he had prayed that it might (Ro 15^{31}); they plotted again and again to kill him, and forced him to regard the Roman magistrates with whom he came in contact as his true defenders and the powerful guarantee of the growth of the infant religion. The account of the trials before Felix and Festus is said by Mommsen to be, in spite of editorial touches, quite in accordance with Roman legal form, and he says that in this report alone is a case of appeal to the emperor placed before us in living reality. In the story of the voyage and shipwreck the Apostle appears as a skilled navigator and a man of sufficient courage to continue to hope for himself in a desperate predicament, and to sustain the spirits of the whole ship's company. When he reaches Italy, the brethren are ready to welcome him, though we hear nothing of the great Epistle of three years before; and the fact of his imprisonment is stated. But, before the statement on this subject is concluded, Paul's attitude towards the Jews, as it has been repeatedly declared in Acts, is finally made plain. Two interviews take place with the leading Jews at Rome, the soldier to whom he was chained standing by Paul's side; and the negotiations are summed up by him in the words of Isaiah ($6^{9f.}$), in which the hardening and the rejection of Israel are prophesied. The gospel is for the Gentiles; they will hear it. Acts concludes with the statement, which may be implicitly believed, that Paul remained two complete years in his own lodging or inn, and that all had free access to him. The editor sums up the subject of the preaching of this period in his own way (cf. 1^{3} 19^{8} 20^{25}). What happened at the end of these two years we are not told. The persecution of Nero was in A.D. 64, and Paul may have fallen a victim to it. Those who ascribe to Paul some of the later and shorter Epistles know what he was doing in this period, and see him at a later time escaped from Rome and carrying on a renewed missionary activity. It seems certain at least that the author of Acts knew no sequel to the statement with which he closes his book.

22. Genuineness of remaining Epistles.—In the silence of Acts as to the subsequent fortunes of Paul we are left to gather what we can from the remaining Epistles which bear his name, viz. Philippians, Colossians, Ephesians, Philemon, 1 and 2 Timothy, and Titus. But, before they can be used as evidence, the preliminary question of their genuineness has to be settled. It is outside

the scope of this article to discuss in detail the critical questions involved; but it may be said in general that a place can be found in the known life of the Apostle for the first four. They are all Epistles of the Captivity, and, while it is possible to assign them to the Cæsarean imprisonment, during which Paul cannot be supposed to have been altogether idle with his pen, they may with greater probability be referred to the two years' imprisonment at Rome (Ac $28^{30f.}$). Of these, Philippians and Philemon are all but universally accepted; Colossians by a considerable number; Ephesians by fewer. The Pastoral Epistles to Timothy and Titus are in a different category; they fall outside the period covered by Acts; they presuppose Paul's release from the Roman imprisonment, and, at least in their present form, are to be regarded as having least claim to be the work of the Apostle.[1]

23. **Epistles of the Captivity.**—The situation implied in these Epistles is consistent with that described in Ac $28^{30f.}$. Paul is a prisoner, but not entirely cut off from intercourse with the outside world. His friends have liberty of access to him; they can visit him; they bring reports and carry letters. Names already known to us from Acts recur in the salutations (Aristarchus, who is a 'fellow-prisoner,' Luke, Mark, Timothy, Tychicus); others are new (Jesus Justus, Demas, Onesimus). Paul in prison has still the care of the churches; his authority is recognized even in places that he has not visited.

(*a*) *The Epistle to the Philippians* is included in the former part of this article (§ 19), where the reasons are given for placing it in the earlier imprisonment at Cæsarea. The reasons, however, are not conclusive. Granting that doctrinally Philippians stands nearer to Romans than to Colossians, it does not follow that the three Epistles stand to each other in the same relative position as regards date of composition. The circumstances of Colosse were peculiar; the heresy which made its appearance there did not touch Philippi; the two churches were far apart, and the absence of doctrinal similarity need occasion no difficulty. The references in Ph 1^{13} 4^{22} are most naturally understood of Rome. Philippians is written in a tranquil spirit. The Apostle is already reconciled to the irksome interruption of his missionary activity and recognizes that there are compensations (1^{12-18}). He has not given up hope of being released, but he is prepared for death (1^{20-26}).

(*b*) *Epistles to Philemon and Colossians.*—The Epistles to Philemon and to the Colossians are very closely connected. The situation is the same; the greetings are from the same persons; and the two Epistles are linked together by the statement in Col 4^{9} that Onesimus, who is the subject of the letter to Philemon, is being sent to Colosse in the company of Tychicus, who is the bearer of the Colossian Epistle.

Philemon is a charming little private letter to a Christian at Colosse, pleading with him to receive kindly his slave Onesimus, who, after running away from his master, had in some way come under Paul's influence at Rome and had embraced the Christian faith. The Epistle contains no specific statement of doctrine; its value lies in the sidelight which it casts on the Apostle's personality and the bearing of Christianity on the social conditions of the time. Slavery is not condemned; Onesimus is sent back to his master; but the new spirit of Christian brotherhood (v.[16]) has already gone far to change the relationship of master and slave, and to prepare the way at least for a social order in which slavery will be impossible (v.[21]). As in Philippians, Paul expresses a hope that he will be released (v.[22]).

The Epistle to the Colossians, like that to the Romans, is addressed to a church that was not founded by Paul, though individuals in it may have owed their conversion to him. He knows the Colossian church only by report (1^{4}), but he is greatly interested in it; he has friends with him in his captivity belonging to that part of Asia, of whom Epaphras is one (4^{12}); and he has friends there to whom he can send greetings. He also knows of the church at Laodicea, and has written a letter to it which he wishes the Colossians to read in exchange for the one he is sending to them.[1] The occasion of his writing to the church at Colosse is the appearance there of a new form of teaching which Paul recognizes to be subversive of the sovereignty of Christ and His sufficiency as Saviour. It is not defined, but seems to have been of a semi-Gnostic character, having its roots in the popular religions of Phrygia, but exhibiting Jewish elements also ($2^{11.\ 16}$). At an earlier period Paul appears to have had a presentiment of the danger to which the churches in Asia were exposed from this quarter (Ac 20^{17-35}), and recent report has confirmed his fears. The worst feature of the new doctrine is the worship of the *στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου*, best understood as cosmic angels, occupying the position of intermediaries between the supreme deity and humanity, and presented in a mystery. Paul's way of dealing with this heresy is to exalt Christ to the utmost, above all 'thrones, dominions, principalities and powers' (Col $1^{15f.}$ $2^{10.\ 15}$), as the Head of creation, containing in Himself the whole fullness of God and all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, and as having by His Cross brought a sufficient and universal reconciliation of all things in heaven and in earth. To the mystery into which the false teachers would initiate the Colossian Christians by their philosophy and ascetic practices Paul opposes the true mystery of Christ ($1^{26f.}$), into union with whom they have been brought, in whom they are already complete, and by whom they are delivered from moral evil. Throughout the Epistle characteristically Pauline doctrine is repeated. Christ has made peace through the blood of His Cross (1^{20} 2^{14}); Christians are buried with Him in baptism, and also rise with Him, and will appear with Him in glory (2^{12} $3^{1.\ 3f.}$); the true circumcision is that not made with hands (2^{11}); and there is neither Greek nor Jew in Him (3^{11}).

(*c*) *Epistle to the Ephesians.*—When the genuineness of Colossians is accepted, it becomes difficult not to accept that of the kindred Epistle to the Ephesians. The two are connected by the identity of much of the matter. The order of presentation is not the same, but most of the phrases used in Colossians are to be found also in the other Epistle, and the phenomena of likeness and difference can be accounted for on the supposition that the two Epistles were written about the same time, when the Apostle's mind was full of the same ideas. Ephesians does not, however, reflect so clear a situation as Colossians; there is less to lay hold of; and the name of Tychicus is the only one mentioned alongside that of Paul. It is certainly a difficulty that, in writing to a church with which Paul had so long and so familiar intercourse, there should be an entire absence of reminiscence and personal greetings, and that the whole Epistle should be written in a manner so impersonal and detached. The expressions, 'I heard of your

[1] The Pauline authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews, disputed from early times, is now for the most part abandoned. It has been ascribed in turn to each of the great figures associated in Acts with Paul or Timothy (He 13^{23}), to Luke, Barnabas, Silas, Apollos, and Priscilla; but the truth of the question still remains where Origen left it, as being known to God alone.

[1] The Laodicean letter has not been preserved; the so-called 'ad Laodicenses' is a later forgery.

faith' (1[15]), 'if ye have heard of the dispensation given unto me' (3[2]), sound strange on the lips of one who has spent such a long time at Ephesus. This difficulty is lessened if the supposition is accepted that Ephesians is a general Epistle intended to be circulated among a number of churches of which Ephesus was one—a supposition supported by the omission of the words *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ* by the best textual authorities. Was the Epistle to the Laodiceans (Col 4[16]) another copy of the same letter? The theory of a circular letter does not remove all the objections based on the style; and the references to 'the holy apostles and prophets' (3[5]; cf. 2[20]) look like the 'water-marks of a later age' (J. Moffatt, *Introd. to Lit. of NT*, p. 386). Ephesians, unlike Colossians, does not directly combat false teaching; but stress is laid on the exaltation of Christ and His superiority to all other spiritual beings. The great theme is the union in Christ of Jew and Gentile (1[9f.] 2[14-22] 3[3-12]).

24. The Pastoral Epistles.—While it is possible to find a place for the Epistles of the Captivity within the two years of the Roman imprisonment (Ac 28[30]), it is otherwise in the case of the Pastoral Epistles. They form a closely connected group, marked off from all the rest by differences of language, aim, and historical situation. It is impossible to believe that they were composed during the time that Paul was writing the other Epistles; they must at least be later than all the rest, and, if genuine, they presuppose Paul's release and subsequent missionary activity. 1 Tim. implies that Paul has been at Ephesus, where he has left Timothy, himself proceeding to Macedonia (1[3]), and he has hopes of returning to Ephesus (3[14] 4[13]). According to 2 Tim., Paul has been at Troas, Corinth, and Miletus (4[13. 20]). At present he is a prisoner (1[8. 16]), and apparently at Rome (1[17]). He has made a 'first defence' (4[16]). He has none of his friends beside him save Luke (4[11]), though others are associated with him in sending greetings (4[21]). Some have forsaken him (1[15] 4[11]), others have been sent by him on various missions (4[10. 12]). Timothy is urged to come to him before winter and to bring Mark (4[9. 11. 21]). The Epistle to Titus implies that Paul has been in Crete and has left Titus there to regulate church affairs. The letter is carried apparently by Zenas and Apollos, who are travelling to Crete and beyond (3[13]); and Paul asks Titus to meet him at Nicopolis, where he intends to pass the winter, as soon as he can send either Artemas or Tychicus to relieve him. Attempts have been made to fit these historical notices into the known life of Paul, but unsuccessfully, and this quite apart from the difficulties connected with the marked divergencies of language and doctrine exhibited by the Pastorals as compared with the earlier Epistles. Accordingly, the defenders of the Pauline authorship are obliged to postulate for the Apostle a period of freedom after the Roman imprisonment, during which he visited Ephesus, Macedonia, Epirus, and Crete, followed by a second imprisonment and martyrdom. The evidence for this, apart from that of the Pastorals such as it is, is very scanty. Clement of Rome, in a highly rhetorical passage, after saying that Paul suffered bonds seven times, says that, 'having taught the whole world righteousness, and having gone to the limit of the West (*ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως*), and having borne witness before rulers (*μαρτυρήσας ἐπὶ τῶν ἡγουμένων*), thus was he released from the world and went to the holy place.'[1] The 'limit of the West' may mean either Rome or Spain, according to the standpoint of the speaker; but the way in which the arrival in the West and the *μαρτυρία* are connected with his release from the world suggests one locality for all three events, viz. Rome. The Muratorian Canon speaks of Paul 'setting out from the city to Spain'; but there is nowhere else any mention of such a journey, or any evidence that the hope expressed in Ro 15[24] was ever fulfilled. To the statements of the romancing *Acts of Peter* and *Paul* no importance can be attached.

[1] *Ep. ad Cor.* 5.

25. The martyrdom of Paul.—It has been urged that the abrupt ending of the book of Acts implies that Paul was released at the end of the two years. But, if that was the case, it is strange that the writer did not, even in a few sentences, add what would have been a fine climax for his book and a strong apology for Christianity in the Roman empire, viz. Paul's triumph over his adversaries in Rome. If Luke knew of Paul's further activity, his silence remains a mystery. There is no reason to believe that he meant to write a third book for Theophilus.

The close of Paul's life, therefore, like its beginning, is enveloped in obscurity. That he suffered martyrdom at Rome there can be no doubt. That it was by beheading, and that the place of execution was three miles outside the city on the Ostian Way, is the consistent tradition of the Roman Church. The date will lie between A.D. 64 and 67, most probably nearer the former than the latter limit.

LITERATURE.—Full bibliographies are given in *HDB*, *DCG*, *DAC*, *EBi*, *PRE*[3], and other Biblical dictionaries and encyclopædias. The following is a selection from earlier works that are still worth consulting, with a somewhat fuller list of more recent books (see also the bibliographies in the NT Introductions and in the commentaries on the separate Epistles):

i. *LIFE AND WORK.*—A. Neander, *Hist. of the Planting and Training of the Church*, Eng. tr., 2 vols., London, 1851; F. C. Baur, *Paulus*[2], 2 vols., Leipzig, 1866–67, Eng. tr., London, 1873–75; M. Krenkel, *Paulus der Apostel der Heiden*, Leipzig, 1869; E. Renan, *Saint Paul* (forming vol. iii. of *Hist. des origines du Christianisme*), Paris, 1869, Eng. tr., London, 1869; T. Lewin, *The Life and Epistles of St. Paul*[5], 2 vols., London, 1890; W. J. Conybeare and J. S. Howson, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, 2 vols., new ed., do. 1877; F. W. Farrar, *The Life and Work of St. Paul*, 2 vols., do. 1879; G. V. Lechler, *The Apostolic and Post-Apostolic Times*, Eng. tr., 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1886; E. Schürer, *A Hist. of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, Eng. tr., 5 vols., do. 1886–90 (a tr. of the 2nd German ed.; a 3rd German ed. was published at Leipzig in 1901); A. Hausrath, *A Hist. of the NT Times: the Time of the Apostles*, Eng. tr., 4 vols., London, 1895; W. M. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, do. 1895; A. C. McGiffert, *A Hist. of Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, Edinburgh, 1897; C. von Weizsäcker, *The Apostolic Age of the Christian Church*, Eng. tr., i.[2], London, 1897; O. Cone, *Paul, the Man, the Missionary, and the Teacher*, do. 1898; C. Clemen, *Paulus: sein Leben und Wirken*, Giessen, 1904; B. W. Bacon, *The Story of St. Paul*, London, 1905; R. J. Knowling, *The Testimony of St. Paul to Christ*, do. 1905; W. M. Ramsay, *Pauline and other Studies*, do. 1906; A. Sabatier, *The Apostle Paul*[6], Eng. tr., do. 1906; H. Weinel, *St. Paul: the Man and his Work*, Eng. tr., do. 1906; W. M. Ramsay, *The Cities of St. Paul*, do. 1907; W. Wrede, *Paul*, Eng. tr., do. 1907; E. de W. Burton, *A Handbook of the Life of the Apostle Paul*[5], Chicago, 1909; T. Mommsen, *The Provinces of the Roman Empire*, Eng. tr., 2 vols., London, 1909 (a reprint, with corrections, of W. P. Dickson's tr. of the fifth vol. of the *Hist. of Rome*, London, 1886); A. E. Garvie, *Life and Teaching of St. Paul*, do. 1910; J. Drummond, *Paul: his Life and Teaching*, do. 1911; G. A. Deissmann, *St. Paul: a Study in Social and Religious History*, Eng. tr., do. 1912; A. Schweitzer, *Paul and his Interpreters*, Eng. tr., do. 1912; A. C. Headlam, *St. Paul and Christianity*, do. 1913; Maurice Jones, *The NT in the Twentieth Century*, do. 1914; C. G. Montefiore, *Judaism and St. Paul*, do. 1914; R. H. Strachan, *The Individuality of Saint Paul*, do. 1916.

ii. *WRITINGS.*—R. J. Knowling, *The Witness of the Epistles*, London, 1892; J. B. Lightfoot, *Dissertations on the Apostolic Age*, do. 1892; B. Jowett, *The Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians, Galatians, and Romans*[3], do. 1894; G. G. Findlay, *The Epistles of Paul the Apostle*, do. 1895; G. B. Stevens, *The Messages of Paul*, do. 1900; J. Moffatt, *The Historical NT*[2], Edinburgh, 1901; F. H. Chase, *The Credibility of the Book of the Acts of the Apostles*, London, 1902; T. H. Stokoe, *Life and Letters of St. Paul*, pt. ii., Oxford, 1902; R. D. Shaw, *The Pauline Epistles*, Edinburgh, 1903; E. Vischer, *Die Paulusbriefe*, Halle, 1904; T. Nägeli, *Der Wortschatz des Apostels Paulus*, Göttingen, 1905; D. Völter, *Paulus und seine Briefe*, Strassburg, 1905; H. von Soden, *Hist. of Early Christian Literature*, London, 1906; A. S. Way, *The Letters of St. Paul*, do. 1906; W. P. Du Bose, *The Gospel according to Saint Paul*, New York, 1907; E. Jacquier,

Hist. of the Books of the NT: i. *St. Paul and his Epistles*, Eng. tr., London, 1907; R. Scott, *The Pauline Epistles*, Edinburgh, 1909; T. Zahn, *Introd. to the NT*, Eng. tr., i., do. 1909; Kirsopp Lake, *The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, London, 1911; J. Moffatt, *An Introd. to the Literature of the NT*, Edinburgh, 1911.

iii. THEOLOGY AND ETHICS.—L. Usteri, *Die Entwickelung des paulinischen Lehrbegriffs*[6], Zürich, 1851; A. Ritschl, *Die Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche*[2], Bonn, 1857; E. Reuss, *Hist. de la théologie chrétienne au siècle apostolique*[3], 2 vols., Paris, 1864, Eng. tr., London, 1872–74; C. Holsten, *Zum Evangelium des Paulus und des Petrus*, Rostock, 1868; O. Pfleiderer, *Der Paulinismus*, Leipzig, 1873, Eng. tr., 2 vols., London, 1877; E. Ménégoz, *Le Péché et la Rédemption d'après saint Paul*, Paris, 1882; G. B. Stevens, *The Pauline Theology*, London, 1892; C. C. Everett, *The Gospel of Paul*, Boston, 1893; A. B. Bruce, *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, Edinburgh, 1894; F. J. A. Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, Cambridge, 1894, *The Christian Ecclesia*, London, 1897; P. Feine, *Das gesetzfreie Evangelium des Paulus*, Leipzig, 1899; H. St. J. Thackeray, *The Relation of St. Paul to contemporary Jewish Thought*, London, 1900; W. E. Ball, *St. Paul and Roman Law*, Edinburgh, 1901; P. Feine, *Jesus Christus und Paulus*, Leipzig, 1902; M. Goguel, *L'Apôtre Paul et Jésus-Christ*, Paris, 1904; H. A. A. Kennedy, *St. Paul's Conception of the Last Things*, London, 1904; W. E. Chadwick, *The Social Teaching of St. Paul*, Cambridge, 1906, *The Pastoral Teaching of St. Paul*, Edinburgh, 1908; A. B. D. Alexander, *The Ethics of St. Paul*, Glasgow, 1910; J. Moffatt, *Paul and Paulinism*, London, 1910; P. Gardner, *The Religious Experience of Saint Paul*, do. 1911; A. E. Garvie, *Studies of Paul and his Gospel*, do. 1911; H. L. Goudge, *The Mind of St. Paul*, do. 1911; S. N. Rostron, *The Christology of St. Paul*, do. 1912; H. A. A. Kennedy, *St. Paul and the Mystery-Religions*, do. 1913; W. M. Ramsay, *The Teaching of Paul in Terms of the Present Day*, do. 1913.

ALLAN MENZIES.
WILLIAM EDIE.

PAULICIANS. — The Paulicians, of whom Gibbon says that they shook the East and enlightened the West,[1] were an anti-Catholic sect which originated in the 7th cent. (possibly earlier), experienced many alternations of imperial favour and ruthless persecution, remained influential till the 12th cent., and is not without descendants in Eastern Europe to-day. Making its appearance first on the eastern borders of the empire, and having its natural home in Armenia, Mesopotamia, and N. Syria, it spread, partly through propaganda and partly through the transplantation of its votaries, westwards through Asia Minor, then into Eastern Europe to establish new centres in the Balkan Peninsula. The specific opinions which have been ascribed to it include a dualistic conception of the government, if not of the origin, of the world, an Adoptianist doctrine of the Person of Christ, a vehement and stubborn rejection of Mariolatry and the worship of saints and images, a similar rejection of sacramental symbolism, and a special emphasis on adult baptism as the only valid form. The basis of these opinions is found in a concentration on Scripture as the sole and sufficient authority to the exclusion of tradition and the 'teaching of the Church.' In view of these commonly accepted characteristics of Paulicianism, both its history and its tenets have naturally been subjects of heated controversy. The Paulicians have been celebrated uncritically as early Protestants against 'Catholic' abuses, or they have been condemned unheard as deadly heretics. A just and critical estimate will be arrived at only when all such presuppositions have been laid aside, and when to the Greek sources, on which alone until lately historians have relied, have been added the Armenian, and, further, when the literary relations between the Greek sources have been thoroughly sifted and established.

1. Sources.—It cannot be said that this task has yet been accomplished, but it is plain that considerable caution must be used in handling those sources from which most information as to the early history of the sect has hitherto been drawn. These are Photius, in his four books *Against the Manichæans*, and what purports to be his contemporary, Petrus Siculus, *History of the Manichæans*. As to the first, C. Krumbacher[1] notes that his work presents a problem not yet fully solved. The second book of this work, in which Manichæan and Paulician doctrines are controverted, does not correspond to what the close of the first book would lead us to expect, and the two parts of the first book itself have no constructive relation to one another (1–9, 10–27), while they contain much repetition and not a little mutual divergence. As to Petrus Siculus, who reproduces the contents of Photius almost verbatim, Mkrttschian has shown that he is dependent upon Photius, and also that the personal narrative of a sojourn in Tephrike, which provides a setting for the argument, presents a tissue of improbabilities. 'Petrus Siculus' is, in fact, a tract against Paulicians, written at a time when they were already active in Bulgaria, thrown into the form of a pseudo-historical writing — a fact which is not obscurely suggested in the opening words.[2] But Photius is not itself original, for it is pretty clear that the document bearing the name of Petrus Hegumenus, which was edited by Gieseler in 1849, is not, as Gieseler supposed, a copy from Photius or Siculus, but, as Mkrttschian has shown (p. 9 f.), the source from which both Photius and Siculus and also Georgius Monachus have drawn their information. The situation was further complicated, or possibly simplified, through the publication in 1896 of a document which is incorporated in the MS of Georgius Monachus in the Library of the Escorial, and probably represents the earliest source of the material common to all the foregoing; it adds to the common material one important paragraph, and also a fully detailed method of confuting the Paulicians which throws further light upon their views. This document (*Codex Scorialensis*), with the valuable commentary of its editor, J. Friedrich, must in future take the first place among the Greek authorities.

The Armenian sources, with one possible exception, proceed, as do the Greek, from hostile writers who are more anxious to overwhelm their Paulician opponents than to give an account either of their opinions or of their history. The possible exception is *The Key of Truth*, which was discovered by F. C. Conybeare, translated from the Armenian, and edited by him in 1898, with an exhaustive introduction and valuable appendices.[3]

The Key of Truth, now preserved in the archives of the Holy Synod at Etchmiadzin, was found in 1897 in the possession of a group of 'Paulician' or 'new Manichæan' families in the Russian Caucasus. It bears a subscription to the effect that it was 'written' in 1782, meaning, according to Conybeare, that it was copied then, the work itself being of much older date, belonging indeed (apart from the catechism at the end, which is later) to the 10th cent., and probably incorporating material that is considerably older still. It is a manual of 'Thondrakian' or Paulician teaching and practice, mutilated unfortunately by the removal of almost a quarter of its leaves, and these among the most important, as they must have contained the Paulician criticism of Catholic doctrine and practice, and probably also an exposition of Paulician Christology. Conybeare, in his introduction, exhibits 'the detailed agreement of *The Key of Truth* on the one hand with the Armenian writers of the tenth and eleventh centuries, and on the other hand with the Greek notices of an earlier date,' and he concludes that this is 'proof enough that in it we have recovered an early and authoritative exposition of Paulician tenets' (p. xliv). It is no valid objection to this position (though one of Conybeare's critics has called it 'the clearest sign' of a late date) that the writer shows 'entire dependence upon the New Testament both for his doctrines and for his representation of what he calls the Universal and Apostolic Church.'[4] For it is plain from the Greek authori-

[1] See *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ch. liv.

[1] *Gesch. der byzantinischen Literatur*, Munich, 1897, p. 75; see also Friedrich, *SMA*, 1896, p. 86 f., and Mkrttschian, *Die Paulicianer*, p. 8.

[2] Πέτρου Σικελιώτου ἱστορία . . . προσωποποιηθεῖσα ὡς πρὸς τὸν Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον Βουλγαρίας.

[3] Important reviews in *The Guardian*, 12th Oct. 1898, p. 1591 f. (replies and rejoinders, *ib.*, 19th Oct., 26th Oct., 16th Nov., pp. 1637, 1676, 1793); *The Critical Review*, viii. [1898] 383 (by J. V. Bartlet); *ThLZ* xxv. [1900] 304 (by E. Preuschen); *Theol. Jahresbericht*, xviii. [1899] 232.

[4] *The Guardian*, 12th Oct. 1898, p. 1592.

ties[1] that precisely this sole dependence on the NT was recognized as a characteristic of the Paulicians. Conybeare conjectures that the author may have been Smbat (*i.e.* Sindbad) Bagratuni, the founder of one of the Armenian dynasties and one of the creative forces of the Paulician Church.

2. Doctrine.—The Greek authorities from *Cod. Scor.* downwards are practically unanimous in classifying the Paulicians as 'Manichæans,' and the description has generally been accepted by historians. It is, however, very doubtful whether the classification is not at least misleading. Controversialists of the 7th and following centuries were only too ready to use the term 'Manichæan' quite uncritically as an opprobrious description of almost any sect which deviated from orthodoxy. Photius, *e.g.*, charges the Western Church with practical surrender to Manichæism because of its doctrine of the double procession of the Spirit, and the Bulgarian bishop Clement on the same ground charges the Westerns roundly with the same heresy.[2] There is no doubt that the term was loosely applied to cover various gradations of dualistic theory ranging from a dualism which is absolute and non-Christian to that which is found within the NT itself. And the Paulicians themselves neither claimed nor admitted any connexion with Mani and his teaching. On the contrary, it is plainly stated in the Greek sources that they anathematized Manes, and also 'Paul and John,' sons of a Manichæan woman, in whom the Greeks see the founders of the sect. This is confirmed by Gregory Magistros, the chief Armenian authority (in *The Key of Truth*, pp. 142, 147). The latest investigators (Mkrttschian, Friedrich, Conybeare) are disposed to set aside the elaborations of the charge of Manichæism as the natural development of a mistaken classification, and connect the Paulicians with either the Marcionites (Mkrttschian) or the Adoptianists (Conybeare), or with no well-marked earlier form of heretical teaching (Friedrich).

The presence and importance of an Adoptianist element in the Paulician system have been forcibly maintained by Conybeare on the evidence of *The Key*. But it does not depend on that alone. In that part of *Cod. Scor.* which has not been excerpted by the subsequent chroniclers (ed. Friedrich, xix.–xxii.) the Paulician view of the Incarnation is clearly indicated. According to *Scor.* xix., God out of love to men commanded an angel to go down to earth and be born of a woman, and on this angel He bestowed the title of Son. The same assertion is repeated and expanded in the instructions for controverting the heresy which follow.[3] With this accords the teaching of *The Key*, where the Baptism is definitely marked as the beginning of the Sonship:

'It was then he became chief of beings heavenly and earthly, then he became the light of the world, . . . then he was filled with the Godhead' (p. 75).

Everything of importance that is authoritatively reported by the Paulicians grows naturally out of this Christology, the rejection of the worship of the Virgin with the denial that she was *θεοτόκος* (*Scor.* vii. 15), the keeping of a feast of the Baptism, followed by a forty days' fast, the insistence on adult baptism as the only valid form of the rite ('church and church ordinances they utterly reject—its baptism,' etc. [Aristaces, *ap.* Conybeare, p. 140]), and the equating of the 'elect' with Christ according to the formula of the Spanish Adoptianists, 'Et ille Christus et nos Christi.' They were further said to 'blaspheme both the Eucharist and the Cross,' but it would appear that they gave a spiritual interpretation to both, finding the Eucharist in the words of Christ and the Cross in Christ Himself (*Scor.* viii. 1). This is consistent with the general principle that the function of Christ was to save men by instructing them, while the charge on which the Greek authorities dwell with horror, that the leaders of the Paulicians offered themselves for adoration as Christs, probably arose from a misunderstood exaggeration of the sanctity of the *πνευματικοί* as members of the Body of Christ. They rejected the Catholic priesthood and hierarchy, and with special emphasis image-worship and the monastic life. Their own clergy were known as *συνέκδημοι* (cf. Ac 19^{29}), and there was no distinction in dress or in habits between them and the rest of the sect (*Scor.* xiv.).

In all these matters they made their appeal exclusively to Scripture, which they were in the habit of describing as *τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ ὁ ἀπόστολος*. Interpreting this to refer to the Gospel of Luke and the Epistles of Paul alone, Mkrttschian (taking up a suggestion made by Gibbon and by Neander) finds in it a proof that the Paulicians derived from the Marcionites. But Friedrich has shown (pp. 93–98) that there is no good ground for so limiting the Paulician canon (though they probably rejected the Epistles of Peter[1] and the Acts of the Apostles), and that Paulicianism has nothing in common with Marcionism beyond a general emphasis on dualism. With all these material divergences from orthodox faith and practice, the Paulicians claimed to be the true Catholic Church, 'holy, universal and apostolic,' emphasizing therein the internal quality against institutional continuity.[2]

3. History.—The earliest extant reference to the Paulicians by name occurs in A.D. 719, when John of Otzun, catholicos of Armenia, warns the orthodox against mixing with the sect 'of obscene men who are called Paulicians' (Conybeare, p. 152; Mkrttschian, p. 62). The name itself is commonly understood to point to some connexion, real or alleged, between the sect and some Paul, who was influential either in its founding or in its reformation. And this eponymous Paul has been variously identified with the apostle Paul (so pseudo-Photius, *PG* cii. 109), with an unknown Paul, belonging to Samosata, brother of John, who, according to the first paragraph of *Cod. Scor.*, learnt the Manichæan heresy from his mother Callinike, and propagated it in Armenia, and finally with Paul of Samosata himself, as was asserted by Gregory Magistros:

'Here then you see the Paulicians, who got their poison from Paul of Samosata.'

The last is the filiation which has commended itself to Conybeare (*Key*, p. cv). But the report of the Paulician view itself given in *Cod. Scor.* ii. is probably to be preferred to the theory advanced in section i., viz. that the founder of the sect was Constantine Silvanus.[3] The form of the word 'Paulician,' as Mkrttschian has pointed out (p. 63), indicates a name not claimed by the sect but imposed upon them by their opponents, the suffix *-ic* or *-ik* in Armenian having the force of a depreciatory diminutive. It is probable that, in the absence of any specific name, this was bestowed upon them either because of an assumed connexion between their teaching and that of Paul of Samosata or because, as *Cod. Scor.* infers, the name of the apostle was constantly on their lips.[4] The same authority states definitely that they repudi-

[1] *E.g.*, *Cod. Scor.* ii.: *μὴ δεῖν ἑτέραν βίβλον τὴν οἱανοῦν ἀναγινώσκειν εἰ μὴ τὸ εὐαγγέλιον καὶ τὸν ἀπόστολον.*

[2] Photius, *de S. Spir. Mystagogia* (*PG* cii. 315); Clement, ed. F. Miklosich, p. 13, *ap.* Friedrich, p. 92.

[3] *Cod. Scor.*, ed. Friedrich, p. 76: *εἶτα φὴς ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦ Ὀκταβίου Καίσαρος . . . γενέσθαι χάριτι ἢ ἀμοιβῇ τῶν πόρων καὶ τοῦ τελέσαι τὴν ἐντολὴν τὸν Χριστὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ.*

[1] On the question of the Paulician attitude to Peter there is discrepancy between *Cod. Scor.* (ed. Friedrich, p. 78: *ὁ σοὶ τῷ μιαρῷ ἀποτρόπαιος Πέτρος*) and *The Key* (pp. 92, 93; cf. cxxx).

[2] *The Key*, pp. 73, 80, 87, etc.; Greg. Mag., *ap.* Conybeare, p. 147; cf. Nerses (*c.* 1160) (*ib.* p. 155): 'dicentes, Ecclesia non est illa, quae ab hominibus aedificata est, sed nos tantum.'

[3] *Cod. Scor.* ii.: *τοῦτον οὖν ἔχουσιν ἀρχηγὸν τῶν διδασκάλων αὐτῶν, οὐχὶ τὸν Παῦλον. οὗτος γὰρ αὐτοῖς παρέδωκε τὰς αἱρέσεις αὐτοῦ.*

[4] *Ib.* xx.: *ὁ ἀπόστολος Παῦλος ὃν ἐπὶ στόματος φέρεις.*

ated Paul, the son of Callinike, together with John his brother and Manes (iii.).

This Constantine, for whom a probable date is *c.* 640 (though Friedrich, p. 111, puts it two centuries earlier), left no writings of his own, but sought to concentrate attention on 'the gospel and the apostle,' maintaining that men ought not to read any other book whatever besides these (*Cod. Scor.* ii.). His propaganda met with success among 'the Armenians' (*ib.* i.), where the township of Phanarea-Episparis became the headquarters of the sect. The Greek authorities record the names of six leaders who succeeded him, each of whom adopted the name of one of St. Paul's companions, and also the names of the centres where they established churches (Cibossa, Mananalis, Argæum, Mopsuestia, and Cynochoritæ), to each of which they gave the name of a Pauline field of labour. The outline which is given by the Escorial document may be supplemented from such later writers as pseudo-Photius and Petrus Siculus. According to these, Constantine Silvanus, after twenty-seven years of leadership, was stoned to death by order of an envoy sent by the emperor Constantine Pogonatus (668–685). The like fate, however, befell the persecutor, who, having been converted, succeeded his victim in the leadership of the sect. The sons of Paul, who followed, strove for the succession, and one of them, Gegnesius, summoned to Constantinople, was able to give an account of his views that satisfied the patriarch. Under Baanes the sect suffered through a lowering of the moral standard, but it was restored under Sergius Tychicus, whose labours, extending over thirty years, qualified him to be regarded as the reformer or even second founder of the Paulicians. Quotations from his Epistles are found in Petrus Siculus.

'I have run from East to West, and from North to South, preaching the Gospel of Christ until my knees were weary' (p. 36).

The charge specially levelled against Sergius is that of inordinate exaltation of himself, as 'the porter, and the good shepherd and the leader of the body of Christ, and the light of the house of God,' to the point of identifying himself with the Holy Spirit and offering himself to be worshipped. But even his opponents admitted the purity of his character and the sincerity of his beneficence (*ib.* p. 44), and the charge, like others of a similar character, may have grown out of a misunderstanding of an emphasized doctrine of the Church as the Body of Christ.

Probably under the influence of Sergius, the Paulicians increased greatly in numbers and importance. They were found chiefly among the hardy mountain peoples of the Taurus, and, alike as defenders of the empire and as objects of imperial persecution, they showed the greatest stubbornness and courage. By one emperor (Constantine Copronymus [741–775], himself probably a Paulician) they were protected and invited to settle in Thrace; by Nicephorus (802–811) they were employed in the protection of the empire on its eastern frontier; by Michael and Leo V. they were ruthlessly persecuted. But the Paulicians were too numerous, too warlike, and too well-organized to be dragooned into orthodoxy. They resisted, revolted, and even retaliated by raiding Asia Minor from their mountain fastnesses. After twenty years of comparative tranquillity they were exposed to still more violent persecution under Theodora (842–857), which under Basil developed into a war of extermination (see Krumbacher, p. 1075). The Paulicians were driven into the arms of the Saracens, and with some assistance from them, under the leadership of an able ruler Chrysocheir, they not only successfully resisted the imperial forces, but forced them back and pillaged Asia Minor up to its western shores. Their success, however, was shortlived. Chrysocheir was defeated and murdered; his chief stronghold, Tephrike, was taken and destroyed; his followers were decimated and dispersed.

Though their political organization thus came to an end, the Paulicians continued to exist in scattered communities in Armenia, in Asia Minor, and especially in the Balkan Peninsula, to which considerable bodies of them had been transplanted. In Armenia they again experienced revival and expansion under Smbat (middle of 9th cent.), who, according to Conybeare, may have been the author of *The Key of Truth*. From the town of Thondrak, where he had his headquarters, his followers received the name of 'Thondrakians.' Another branch from the same root is probably to be found in the sect known as 'Athingani' referred to by Theophanes (*Chronographia*, 413), and yet another in the 'Selikians.' The biographer of the patriarch Methodius claims for him the credit of having converted to orthodoxy one Selix and his followers, who held 'Manichæan' opinions—opinions which in detail correspond with those charged against the Paulicians in *Cod. Scor.*[1]

A second deportation of Paulicians on a large scale from Armenia to Thrace was carried out by John Tzimiskes (970), and, while the Latin crusaders found the sect in Syria in the 11th cent., Lady Mary Wortley Montagu found them in the neighbourhood of Philippopolis in the 18th. In Europe they developed into or amalgamated with the Bogomils (*q.v.*), and their views and influence were propagated throughout the Middle Ages by various anti-Catholic sects — *e.g.*, Cathari, Albigenses—whose filiation with the Paulicians is probable, though difficult to trace. Their name, like 'Manichæan,' became in turn a generic description for any of these movements which opposed the developments of Catholic hierarchy and doctrine. This makes it impossible to decide whether the 'Popelicani,' the 'Piphles' of Flanders, or the 'Publicani' who were condemned and branded at Oxford in 1160 (because 'they detested Holy Baptism, the Eucharist and marriage')[2] were directly descended from the Paulicians or bore their name as a term of reproach.

The Paulicians are best understood as a section in that continuous stream of anti-Catholic and anti-hierarchical thought and life which runs parallel with the stream of 'orthodox' doctrine and organization practically throughout the history of the Church.[3] Often dwindling and almost disappearing in the obscurity of movements which had no significance for history, it swelled from time to time to a volume and importance which compelled the attention even of unsympathetic historians. The initial impulse of such reaction and of successive renewals of its force was probably practical rather than intellectual—an effort after a 'purer,' simpler, and more democratic form of Christianity, one which appealed from tradition and the ecclesiastics to Scripture and the Spirit. The Paulicians have the notes common to nearly all the forms of this reaction—the appeal to Scripture, the criticism of Catholic clergy in their lives, and of Catholic sacraments in the Catholic interpretation of them, and the emphasis on the pneumatic character and functions of all believers. If *The Key of Truth* be accepted as evidence of the opinions held by the Paulicians in the Middle Ages, they were Adoptianist in their Christology; in-

[1] *PG* cxl. 284; see Friedrich, p. 82; Bonwetsch, *PRE*[3] xv. 53: 'die Selikianer . . . waren offenbar Paulicianer'; Krumbacher, p. 987.

[2] Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina*, pp. xxix and xlvii, quoting Radulphus de Coggeshall, *Chron. Anglic.*; Evans thinks that they were Bogomils.

[3] Krumbacher, p. 970: the Paulicians 'setzten einer verweltlichen Reichsorthodoxie ein echt apostolisches Bibelchristentum entgegen.

sisted on three sacraments and three only, viz. repentance, baptism, and the Body and Blood of Christ; declared infant baptism invalid, laying great stress on the necessity of following the example of Christ in being baptized at the age of thirty; denied the perpetual virginity of Mary; and rejected the doctrines of Purgatory and the intercession of saints, and the use of pictures, crosses, and incense. In the obscure and singular teaching about the Eucharist which we find in the catechism (Conybeare, p. 124) there is probably an underlying survival of the early (? primitive) conception of the actual oneness of the Church with Christ, in consequence of which the self-offering of the Church is the equivalent or the re-presentation of the offering of Christ. They incurred the danger to which all such movements are exposed in cutting themselves off from creed and learning as well as from tradition, laying themselves open to the infection of non-Christian ideas in the atmosphere around them. The spread and the tenacity of the Paulician system were due in the first place to the racial characteristics of those who formed the nucleus of its adherents, and, further, to elements of simplicity in its teaching combined with directness in the moral demand which it made which have always made a strong appeal to the popular mind.

LITERATURE.—i. *GREEK SOURCES.*—The Escorial MS of the *Chronicon of Georgius Monachus*, fol. 164 ff., ed. J. Friedrich, in *SMA*, 1896, pp. 70–81; Photius, *adv. Recentiores Manichæos*, i.–iv.; Georgius Monachus, ed. É. de Muralt, Petrograd, 1853; Petrus Siculus, *Hist. Manichæorum qui Pauliciani dicuntur*, ed. J. C. L. Gieseler, Göttingen, 1846; Petrus Hegumenus, *περὶ Παυλικιανῶν τῶν καὶ Μανιχαίων*, ed. Gieseler, do. 1849; Euthymius Zigabenus, *Panoplia*, xxiv. (*PG* cxxx. 1189 ff.).

ii. *ARMENIAN SOURCES.*—Gregory of Narek, 'Letter to the Abbot of Kdjav,' *c.* 987; Aristaces of Lastivert, 'Concerning the Evil Heresy of the Thondraki,' ending at 1071 (ch. xxii. of his *Hist. of Armenia*, Venice, 1844); Gregory Magistros, two letters, *c.* 1055; Nerses (catholicos of Armenia, 1165), *Ep.* i. (trr. of these four in Conybeare's *Key of Truth*, appendixes i.–iii., and v.); *The Key of Truth*, text ed. with introd. by F. C. Conybeare, Oxford, 1898.

iii. *MODERN.*—E. Gibbon, *Hist. of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. J. B. Bury, London, 1896–1900, vol. vi. ch. liv. appendix 6; J. A. W. Neander, *Hist. of the Chr. Rel. and Church*, Eng. tr., do. 1850–52, v. 337–370; Gieseler, *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, Hamburg, 1829, pp. 79–124; J. J. I. von Döllinger, *Beiträge zur Sektengesch. des Mittelalters*, Munich, 1890, pp. 1–31; Karapet Ter-Mkrttschian, *Die Paulicianer*, Leipzig, 1893, and in *ZKG* xvi. [1895] 253–276; Friedrich, in *SMA*, 1896, pp. 67–111; A. J. Evans, *Through Bosnia and Herzegovina on Foot*, London, 1876; *PRE*[3], *s.vv.* 'Paulicianer' (G. N. Bonwetsch), 'Neumanichäer' (O. Zöckler).

C. A. SCOTT.

PAUPERISM.—See POVERTY.

PAWNEE.—Strictly speaking, the Pawnee were not a single tribe but a confederacy of four minor tribes, held together by two forces: (1) belief in a common cult, and (2) a governing council in which all the minor tribes were officially represented.

1. Name.—The term 'Pawnee' belongs to the nickname class. It is probably derived from *pariki*, 'horn,' and referred to the manner in which the people adjusted the scalp-lock; the braid of hair was stiffened with a mixture of paint and fat so that it could be made to stand erect and be curved like a horn.

2. Language.—The Pawnee language belongs to the Caddoan linguistic stock, and the people call themselves *Charhiks-i-charhiks*, 'men of men.'

3. History and organization.—The first recorded meeting of the Pawnee with the white race was during Coronado's expedition of 1541, when it was joined by a native, who, it is now thought, was probably a Pawnee. The Spaniards jestingly named this man 'Turk.' It was he who induced the expedition to follow him out on the plains of W. Kansas in a search for gold. At that time the Pawnee were living in the vicinity of the river Platte in the present State of Nebraska. They remained in that region until 1876, when they ceded their right of occupancy on the land to the United States Government and moved to a reservation in the northern part of the present State of Oklahoma. Later, under the Severalty Act of 1887, every Pawnee man, woman, and child was allotted an individual portion of land within the reservation, given a trust-patent, and made subject to the laws of the State. At the present time, through the influence of missionary work and changed environments, the ancient customs, vocations, and religious rites of the Pawnee are rapidly disappearing, and they will soon be forgotten.

The minor tribes of the Pawnee confederacy were organized similarly to the confederacy itself. Each tribe was made up of a number of kinship groups, or villages, each village being officially represented in the tribal council. Each village had its shrine and attendant rites in charge of a hereditary keeper.

4. Cosmological beliefs; rites and ceremonies.—The Pawnee shared the common belief of the Plains Indians of the United States concerning nature and its relation to man, as well as the general anthropomorphic view of the dual forces of sky and earth (see PLAINS INDIANS). Among the Pawnee the latter aspect was elaborated in a peculiar manner and exercised a controlling influence on their religious beliefs expressed in their rites, vocations, and social organization.

The Skidi, one of the four minor tribes of the Pawnee confederacy, seem to have held to their ancient rites more tenaciously than the others, and to have offered greater resistance to the influence of the white race; we may use them, therefore, to show an ancient Pawnee type.

The Skidi tribe was composed of thirteen villages, each having its portable shrine ('bundle') with ceremonies consisting of ritualistic movements, recitations, and songs that referred to the sacred symbolic articles within the shrine. The shrine, it was believed, had been bestowed upon the village by a particular star, which gave its name to the shrine and became the name of the village. If the village received another name, it referred to some incident connected with the shrine or was descriptive of the place where the village was located. The villages of the Skidi were placed in a certain order: four villages formed a central group, as if placed at the corners of a great square; at the western end of an imaginary line running through the centre of the square was the village that had the shrine of the star of the west, or evening star; at the opposite end of this imaginary line was the village that had the shrine of the star of the east, or morning star. Round the six villages thus grouped were placed the other seven villages of the Skidi, each one in a position corresponding to that occupied by the star that gave the shrine to the village; consequently, to the Skidi their villages on the earth reflected the picture of their stars in the heavens.

The order and the teachings of the ceremonies connected with these shrines predicate a duality throughout nature. The heavens were divided; the east was regarded as male, the west as female, and the stars partook of the sex attributed to the region where they were. Again, the stars of the six leading villages were in pairs; the masculine star at the north-east corner of the great central square was mate to the feminine star at the south-west corner; the masculine star at the south-east corner was mate to the feminine star at the north-west corner; the feminine evening star, in the west, was the mysterious mate of the masculine morning star, in the east. Detailed explanation of this singular interlacing of the parts of the heavens and the influence thus exerted upon tribal welfare

is not necessary here. Speaking generally, the shrines and ceremonies of the four central villages pertained to tribal vocations—hunting, planting, harvesting, the installation of war-leaders, the conferring of honours on warriors. The shrine and ceremonies of the evening star and the shrine of the morning star had nothing to do with secular affairs, unless the people fell into sudden and dire distress; they dealt with cosmic forces, with man's dependence upon the supernatural for life, food, and happiness.

The ceremonies of the various shrines took place in a yearly sequence and followed a definite order, with certain changes, so that a full circuit was made every four years. The general movement of the yearly sequence was from west to east. The ceremonies of the shrine of the star of the west always led, and a part of this rite was repeated so as to form the opening of all the other ceremonies, making them, as was explained, branches of that shrine. The rites of the shrine of the star of the west were long and elaborate; in them was recounted the advent of the human race, together with the assignment of vocations; to the man belonged the duty of being the provider and the protector of the family; to the woman was shown a vision of a garden, where life-giving plants grew —'the corn was there'—this vision and its song forecasting the woman's duty to be the conserver of the life of the family. To this teaching of the obligations laid upon the sexes was added the inauguration of rites by which the people were to be continually reminded of their dependence upon Tirawa.

The time for the beginning of the yearly sequence of ceremonies was determined by a natural phenomenon. As soon as the sound of rolling thunder was heard after the 'silent sleep of winter,' the keepers of the shrines of the different villages rushed to the keeper of the shrine of the star of the west to tell him that the people were alert and ready to respond to the summons of Tirawa and to begin their ceremonial appeal to that power for protection and for the gifts of life. The rites began with the ceremonies of the shrine of the star of the west, and culminated in the ceremonies of the shrine of the star of the east, which included a human sacrifice, typifying the conjunction of the west and the east, the above and the below, thus ensuring the productivity and the perpetuation of all forms of life.

This ceremony affords the only instance of human sacrifice among the native tribes living within the limits of the United States. It bears a resemblance, in some of its details, to the sacrificial rites of the Aztecs, and it may be a trace of a former influence exercised upon the Pawnee when living in their earlier, southern home.

The victim was a captive. After being set apart for sacrifice, she was well fed and cared for, given a name, meaning 'belonging to the morning star,' and treated as sacred. Her fate was kept secret from her. At the ceremony she was led to a sort of short ladder and, while her feet rested on a rung, her ankles were tied to the upright posts by consecrated thongs, and her arms extended above her head and tied at the wrists to the posts in the same manner as her ankles. At the appointed time a priest shot the fatal arrow and the heart was cut out of the body and burned. All weapons and implements were passed through the consecrating smoke, and the ashes strewn on the fields. Thus were success and abundance secured to the people and the conservation of life everywhere.

If the other tribes of the Pawnee confederacy ever practised this rite, it had been lost as the tribes moved northward and came under other influences. The Chaui, one of the four Pawnee tribes, protested against its practice, but without avail.

In 1817 a Comanche girl was taken captive by the Skidi and dedicated to the morning star. A young Chaui warrior, named Pitalesharu, conceived the daring plan of rescuing the victim. He dashed into the midst of the assembled throng, cut the consecrated thongs from the hands and feet of the girl, mounted with her on his fleet horse, rode to where another horse was awaiting him, and hurried with her to her father's tribe. The Skidi were dumbfounded by the act; but, when Pitalesharu returned to his home soon after, no one challenged his deed. The recounting of this brave action led to other attempts at rescue, not all of which were successful, but the rite has been obsolete for over eighty years.

The Pawnee sequence of ceremonies reveals how the native mind tried to explain to itself the means necessary to the perpetuation of living forms and man's duty in assuring their stability. The modern mind has become so accustomed to regard all phenomena as controlled by natural laws that the Pawnee explanation seems far-fetched and inconclusive. A thoughtful study of these ceremonies shows the working of the native mind, and opens up a broad vista in the mental history of the human race, revealing how abstract ideas struggled for expression through symbolism, and that among these efforts was the personification of those unseen forces that are ever bringing about new life and growth, with its incident changes. Our own and all other languages bear witness to this early form of expression. Following similar lines, a supposed truth was promulgated and taught through its dramatization. The realistic Pawnee drama representing the joining of the two potent forces supposed to be dominant in the west and in the east should not conceal from us the earnest and even reverent teaching, hidden beneath the repellent act of human sacrifice, that man cannot be exempt from co-operating with the order established for the benefit of all the people by Tirawa.

The Pawnee shared with other tribes living within the drainage of the Mississippi River in the observance of a religious and intertribal ceremony having for its purpose the establishment of peaceful relations between unrelated groups of people. Fragments of objects belonging to this ceremony have been found in the caves of Kentucky and in ancient burial sites, bearing witness to the antiquity of the rite and to its observance over a wide area and among tribes belonging to different linguistic stocks. J. Marquette witnessed the ceremony among an Algonquian tribe, and, when about to descend the Mississippi in 1672, he was given one of the peculiarly decorated pipes belonging to this rite by a friendly tribe, and the reverent respect shown this sacred object enabled him to journey in safety down the unknown river.

During the latter part of last century the present writer was fortunate enough to secure a complete version of this rite from an old priest of the Chaui tribe of the Pawnee confederacy, which has been published under the title 'The Hako.' The ceremony, being intertribal, was not the exclusive property of any one tribe. The writer has witnessed it among four tribes, not all of one linguistic stock. Its ritualistic songs and teaching are of a high order and touch the most advanced thought of the native race.

The rites of the Pawnee are replete with symbolism and contain much that is poetic in character and ethical in teaching. Quite distinct from these rites were the practices of the secret societies, which were concerned with occult powers, charms, and devices to work one's will on others. Some of these societies were noted for their skill in tricks by sleight of hand, performed apparently without any means for concealment.

5. **Medicine.**—The Pawnee were noted for their successful treatment of wounds; instances of their skill have been recorded by various travellers when passing through their country. Disease was frequently treated by herbs and other simple remedies, although the appeal to occult powers was not uncommon.

6. Ethics.—The general ethics of the Pawnee are those common to the other tribes of the Plains. Hospitality was enjoined as something never to be avoided. Literal truthfulness was inculcated and was very generally observed. Honesty was demanded and practised. Murder was severely punished. The duty of the chiefs was to preserve social order, adjust grievances, effect restitutions if property was disturbed, and secure tranquillity within the tribe. A family was accountable for the action of any of its members, and had to pay the penalty of wrongdoing and defend in case of attack. A sense of justice was observable in the tribal government and family life. Warfare was regulated according to tribal custom, and honours were won only through personal bravery; the men were apt to fight to the finish and not ask or give quarter. They were capable of friendship and generosity and practised both, but they were high-spirited and brooked no insult. The Pawnee have never been at war with the United States, and have faithfully and courageously served the United States army as scouts during periods of Indian hostilities.

LITERATURE.—J. B. Dunbar, 'The Pawnee Indians,' *Mag. of Amer. Hist.* iv. and v. [1880]; G. B. Grinnell, *Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk-Tales*, London, 1893; G. A. Dorsey, 'Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee,' *Mem. Amer. Folk-lore Soc.* viii. [1904], *Pawnee Mythology*, Washington, 1906; G. P. Winship, 'The Coronado Expedition,' *14 RBEW* [1896], pt. i. p. 339 ff.; A. C. Fletcher, 'The Hako: a Pawnee Ceremony,' *22 RBEW* [1904], pt. ii., 'Pawnee Star Cult,' *Amer. Anthropologist*, new ser., iv. [1902], 'Pawnee Folk Lore,' *JAFL* xvii. [1904].

ALICE C. FLETCHER.

PEACE.—In proclaiming peace as the highest good and as an actual present possibility for man, the gospel at once transcends the limits of ancient thought and fulfils the visions of the OT. For that which is a dream, a promise, an aspiration in the OT is a gift and actual possession in the religion of the NT. The ancients indulged in sentimental dreams of an age of universal peace, a *pacatus orbis*, which seemed to be brought within reach by the establishment of the empire. The *Pax Romana* was not, indeed, merely a dream of enthusiasts. It represented an ideal; it was an element in the settled policy of the imperial government, and it became a factor in the extension of Christianity. The prophets of Israel, again, had spoken of peace as a characteristic blessing of the Messianic age; but it was the gospel that first set peace before men as a blessing to be 'sought and ensued' (1 P 3^{11} = Ps 34^{14}), and made the peaceful temper an essential feature in the Christlike character (Mt 5^{9}, Mk 9^{50}). The 'blessing of peace' is implied in the very name of the city, 'new Jerusalem,' the establishment of which is the end of the ways of God:

'Nam et ipsius civitatis [Dei] mysticum nomen, id est Hierusalem, . . . visio pacis interpretatur' (Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, xix. 11).

The work wrought by Christ for man's redemption is summed up in the single phrase, 'He is our peace' (Eph 2^{14}); His gospel was a 'gospel of peace' (Eph 6^{15}); His parting gift to His disciples was peace (Jn 14^{27}); the God whom He revealed bears in the NT the characteristic title 'the God of peace' (Ro 15^{33} etc.). The ultimate blessing which Christianity promises is peace (He 4^{9}).[1]

1. The nature of the peace proclaimed and promised by Christ.—(1) This peace is *bound up with Jesus Christ* and with the issues of His redemptive work (Jn 16^{33}). It is the outcome of all that He wrought and suffered for man's salvation; it is bound up with the mystery of His passion and with the glory that followed. The peace of the Christian arises from the consciousness that Christ has won a victory over the world and over all that mars or hinders the spiritual well-being of man (Ro 5^{1}).

(2) This peace is also *the gift of God* (Ro 15^{13}, 2 Th 3^{16}) and is attainable in this life ('in via,' as Aquinas says). We must, however, distinguish between that perfect peace which consists in the unhindered fruition of the chief good—the vision of God hereafter—and that imperfect state of peace which is possible in this life, *i.e.* a relative freedom from outward hindrances and disturbances—a relative freedom from the importunity of conflicting impulses and desires. In any case, however, the statement of Aquinas is true:

'Sine gratia gratum faciente non potest esse vera pax' (*Summa*, II. ii. qu. xxix. art. 3).[1]

(3) Peace regarded as a personal endowment, a blessing vouchsafed to the individual soul, implies a *condition of inward wholeness*, soundness, or well-being[2] which depends upon the acceptance of the gospel, regarded as a law of life and an explanation of the universe. A petition in the Liturgy of St. James implies that peace is synonymous with salvation:

Ὑπὲρ τῆς ἄνωθεν εἰρήνης καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν τοῦ Κυρίου δεηθῶμεν (F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Oxford, 1896, p. 36).

This blessing of peace includes such elements as the following: (*a*) freedom from personal anxiety, care, and foreboding in respect of the future. The truth of the nearness and providence of God was set by Jesus in the very forefront of His message (Mt 6^{25-34}, Lk 12^{22-32}; cf. Ph 4^{6}, 1 P 5^{7}). In Christ the love of God was made manifest, His discriminating tenderness and watchful care for the individual, His power to control or overrule all things in furtherance of His purpose of grace (Ro $8^{32.35}$). Care is, indeed, represented by Christ as one of the great enemies of the soul, as a conspicuous sign of faithlessness, and even a cause of ruin to the soul (cf. A. Harnack, *What is Christianity?*, Eng. tr.[3], 1904, p. 87 f.). (*b*) Deliverance from perplexity of mind—intellectual repose, the temper which St. Paul describes by the phrase 'peace in believing' (Ro 15^{13}). In the light of the cross and the empty tomb of Christ the enigmas of life no longer seem insoluble, the anomalies no longer inexplicable. Christ's victory over sin and death, and the exaltation of human nature in Him to the throne of God, are a pledge that the promised destiny of man will ultimately be fulfilled (He 2^{5-16}); the sorrows of humanity are not vain and purposeless; the apparent victory of evil and the failure of good causes are not final and irreversible. There is hope of redemption for the creation which 'groans and travails in pain together until now' (Ro $8^{22f.}$; cf. B. F. Westcott, *Christus Consummator*, London, 1886, no. ii.). (*c*) The satisfaction of affection In every age the changes and chances of human life and the instability of human affection drive man to echo Augustine's cry:

'Inquietum est cor nostrum, donec requiescat in te' (*Conf.* I. 1).

'Peace,' says Aquinas, 'implies two things: first, that we should not be disturbed by external things; second, that our desires should find rest in One' (*Summa*, II. i. qu. lxx. art. 3).

For peace is the perfection of joy, and the supreme joy is the fruition of God. It is in this respect that the Christian conception of peace stands farthest removed from the 'tranquillity' commended by the Stoic. For peace implies, not the mere negative absence of disturbing desires and passions nor even merely the masterful control of them, but chiefly the right direction of them. The Stoic ideal was ἀταραξία or ἀπάθεια, a soul emptied

[1] Aquinas, *Summa*, II. i. qu. c. art. 5, ad 2: 'Inter omnia futura beneficia . . . praecipuum et finale erat quies mentis in Deo, vel in praesenti per gratiam, vel in futuro per gloriam; quae etiam figurabatur per observantiam sabbati.'

[1] Ct. Hor. *Ep.* I. xviii. 111 f.:

'Sed satis est orare Jovem, quae donat et aufert:
Det vitam, det opes, aequum mi animum ipse parabo.'

[2] See the Lexicons, *s.v.* שָׁלוֹם.

of passion and desire.[1] The Christian peace is a positive principle; it is the effect and reward of a love which has found its only true and enduring object, and has so 'overcome all inner unrest' (cf. Gal 5^{17}) because it rests in God. So Augustine bears witness:

'Sero te amavi, pulchritudo tam antiqua et tam nova! sero te amavi! . . . Gustavi, et esurio, et sitio. Tetigisti me, et exarsi in pacem tuam. Cum inhaesero tibi ex omni me, nusquam erit mihi dolor et labor; et viva erit vita mea, tota plena te' (*Conf.* x. 27 f.).

(*d*) The restfulness of a surrendered will. The misery of the heathen world was largely the consequence of that aimlessness which the Bible calls 'vanity.' The Gentiles walked *ἐν ματαιότητι τοῦ νοὸς αὐτῶν* (Eph 4^{17})—no faculty being directed aright, no unifying principle controlling the life of thought, action, or desire. We may contrast this restless state of mind with that which Dante describes:

'Frate, la nostra volontà quieta
Virtù di carità, che fa volerne
Sol quel ch'avemo, e d'altro non ci asseta.

. . . . . .

E la sua volontate è nostra pace;
Ella è quel mare al qual tutto si move
Ciò ch'ella crea, e che natura face'
(*Parad.* iii. 70-72, 85-87).

In the same spirit Irenæus had written: 'Subjectio Dei requietio est aeterna' (*Hær.* IV. xxxix. 4); and T. Wilson's book, *Maxims of Piety and Morality* (Oxford, 1870), opens with the words 'In Deo quies' (cf. maxim 615). (*e*) The chief ingredient, however, in that 'peace with God' (Ro 5^{1}) which is also the 'peace of God' is a quiet conscience—pardoned, cleansed, and reconciled to God. When the complaint, 'There is no rest in my bones by reason of my sin' (Ps 38^{3}), yields to the certainty of forgiveness through the blood of Christ (Eph 1^{7}, 1 Jn 1^{7}), the soul is at peace and 'turns again' to its rest (cf. Jerome, on Ps 116).

The peace, then, that the gospel promises is a blessing which Christ has won through His sufferings and Himself imparts to man. It is the fruit of redemption. It is synonymous with the Kingdom of Heaven within us. So Augustine says of the peacemakers:

'Pacifici autem in semetipsis sunt, qui omnes animi sui motus componentes et subjicientes rationi, id est menti et spiritui, carnalesque concupiscentias habentes edomitas, fiunt regnum Dei' (*de Serm. Dom. in monte*, i. 2 (9)).

Peace is no negative absence of disturbance.

Rather 'it is the highest and most strenuous action of the soul, but an entirely harmonious action, in which all our powers and affections are blended in a beautiful proportion, and sustain and perfect one another. It is more than silence after storms. It is as the concord of all melodious sounds. . . . It is a conscious harmony with God and the creation [cf. Job $5^{23 f.}$], an alliance of love with all beings, a sympathy with all that is pure and happy, a surrender of every separate will and interest, a participation of the spirit and life of the universe, an entire concord of purpose with its Infinite Original. This is peace, and the true happiness of man' (W. E. Channing, 'Remarks on the Character and Writings of Fénelon,' in *Works*, London, 1884, p. 416 f.).

Further, 'the fruit of the Spirit is . . . peace' (Gal 5^{22}). It follows that peace in the heart of the individual Christian issues directly in peacefulness of temper—that habit of self-restraint which is the safeguard of peace between a man and his neighbour. This peaceful temper is in fact enjoined as a duty (Mk 9^{50}, Ro 14^{19}, Ph 2^{15}, 2 Ti 2^{22}, He 12^{14}). It is the spirit of love working for the well-being of the community—reconciling opposites, inspiring forbearance, making due allowance for inevitable contrarieties of temperament and conflicts of opinion,[1] overcoming evil with good. The teaching of our Lord Himself and of St. Paul (Ro 12^{18}) implies that other virtues besides those of peace find a scope in the life of any human community. There are occasions when conflict and resistance to evil are inevitable, not only in international relationships, but also in ordinary social intercourse and even in matters of faith and religion. The peaceful temper, however, is that which is ever on the watch against the personal or national vanities and jealousies which endanger peace; against the spirit of faction (*ἐριθεία*), inordinate notions of personal importance, the implacable temper, the absence of the sense of humour and of the sense of proportion, which usually engender and perpetuate strife (see Gal 5^{20-26}, Ph 2^{2-4}, Eph $4^{31 f.}$, Col 3^{13-15}, Ja 4^{1}). And in the seventh Beatitude (Mt 5^{9}) our Lord pronounces a benediction on the self-restraint which makes for peace. Cf. Bernard, *Serm. de Divers.* xvi. 3 (*Opera*, i. 2350 D):

'Quia sociale animal sumus, ex his quae in nobis sunt, ad ea quae circa nos sunt transeamus; ut, si fieri potest, quod ex nobis est, pacem habeamus cum omnibus hominibus. Haec enim est lex naturalis societatis, ut omnia quaecumque nobis fieri nolumus, aliis non faciamus. . . . Sicut ergo debemus sanitatem corpori, puritatem cordi; sic et fratri pacem.'

2. Peace between nations. — This is not the place for any discussion of the principles involved in the Christian sanction of war (see J. B. Mozley, *Univ. Sermons*, London, 1876, no. 5; J. Martineau, *National Duties*, do. 1903, serm. 5 and 6); but we may usefully recall the observation of Augustine that, even when they wage war, men are aiming at peace (*de Civ. Dei*, xix. 12), and, while war itself in the modern world has been more and more completely brought under the control of international law, it has also yielded in a measure to the practice of arbitration. In this region also the Christian spirit is a force that makes for international unity and concord.

'We can check in ourselves and in others every temper which makes for war, all ungenerous judgments, all presumptuous claims, all promptings of self-assertion, the noxious growths of isolation and arrogance and passion' (Westcott on 'International Concord,' in *Lessons from Work*, p. 338; cf. Church, *The Message of Peace*, p. 21 f.).

See, further, artt. ARBITRATION, WAR.

LITERATURE.—Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, xix. 11-13; Aquinas, *Summa*, II. ii. qu. xxix.; John Smith, *Select Discourses*, London, 1660, ch. vi., 'The Excellency and Nobleness of True Religion,' pp. 412-423; H. P. Liddon, *Easter in St. Paul's*, do. 1885, ii. 1 ff.; R. W. Church, *The Message of Peace*, do. 1895, serm. i., *Cathedral and University Sermons*, do. 1892, serm. xi.; Phillips Brooks, *The Law of Growth*, do. 1902, serm. xiii.; B. F. Westcott, *Lessons from Work*, do. 1901, p. 327 ff.; G. Salmon, *Cathedral and University Sermons*, do. 1900, serm. xvii. (this sermon, like Liddon's, deals with the meaning and history of our Lord's salutation in Jn 20^{19}); J. B. Mayor, *The Epistle of St. Jude and the Second Epistle of St. Peter*, do. 1907, pp. 183-187; W. P. Du Bose, *The Gospel in the Gospels*, New York and London, 1906, pp. 114-117.

R. L. OTTLEY.

PECULIAR PEOPLE.—1. The term.—The Latin word *peculium* (from *pecus*, 'cattle') meant a person's private purse, what was especially or exclusively one's own. Jerome used this word and its adjective *peculiaris* to translate many, though not all, of the Biblical passages which refer in the OT to Israel as a chosen people (Heb. *'am s'gullāh*) and in the NT to the Church of Christ as God's new Israel (see especially Ex 19^{5}, Dt 7^{6} 14^{2} 26^{18}, Ps 135^{4}, Tit 2^{14}, 1 P 2^{9}). Tindale, in his translation of the NT in 1526, put into current use the English phrase 'a peculiar people,' which has ever since been a familiar term. The Revisers changed the phrase 'a peculiar people,' in Tit 2^{14} and 1 P 2^{9}, into the words 'a people for his own possession.' The English Revisers of the OT inclined towards the retention of 'a peculiar people' ('a peculiar treasure' in Ex 19^{5}), while the American Revisers

[1] Cf. Cic. *Tusc. Quæst.* iv. 17: 'Ergo is, quisquis est, qui moderatione et constantia quietus animo est, sibique ipse placatus, ut nec tabescat molestiis, nec frangatur timore, nec sitienter quid expetens ardeat desiderio, nec alacritate futili gestiens deliquescat, is est sapiens, quem quaerimus, is est beatus . . . His [perturbationibus] vacuus animus perfecte atque absolute beatos efficit.' Cf. Aquinas, *Summa*, II. i. qu. v. art. 2, ad 3: 'Nulli beato deest aliquod bonum desiderandum, cum habeat ipsum bonum infinitum, quod est bonum omnis boni.'

[1] *Summa*, II. ii. qu. xxix. art. 3, ad 2: 'Nihil prohibet aliquos charitatem habentes in opinionibus dissentire. Nec hoc repugnat paci,' etc.

Library of
PACIFIC BIBLE SEMINARY
4835 EAST ANAHEIM ST.
LONG BEACH, CALIFORNIA

used the phrases 'a people for his own possession' and 'mine own possession.' The word 'peculiar' in present-day popular usage refers to something distinctive in character, uncommon, singular, odd, or strange, and for that reason the American Revisers avoided it.

2. The Hebrew ideal.—The original idea in the mind of the OT writers was that the Lord had chosen Israel out of all the peoples of the earth to be His very own possession, His precious treasure, and to be, in a special exalted sense, the instrument of His inscrutable purposes. Israel was, in the Deuteronomic passages, 'peculiar' only in the sense that it belonged to God as His possession in a way unparalleled by any other nation. But after the return from the Exile the Deuteronomic ideal steadily grew into a fixed idea that the Jewish nation was to be 'peculiar' in a double sense—(1) God's elect, and (2) a people distinctly marked off and separated from all other peoples by special badges and special tokens of favour. The efforts of the spiritual leaders of the nation to resist the encroachments of Hellenic culture after the conquests of Alexander did much to give this national ideal its special content, and in its most highly developed form we have the Pharisaic ideal of 'a peculiar people.' This ideal embodied the following distinct points of belief: (1) the true Israel was God's one treasure in the whole world, His precious jewel, the apple of His eye; for their sake all other peoples existed; (2) those who constituted this 'true Israel' alone were heirs of salvation and alone would inherit the Kingdom of Heaven; (3) in order to ensure the consummation of this divine event, God in His ineffable mercy had given them His holy word, His law, to be their sure guide; this was the supreme mark of His favour to them, for apart from it as the instrument of grace no one could be saved, *i.e.* could inherit the Kingdom; (4) special badges or tokens of their peculiar relation to God and of their separation from the rest of the world had been divinely conferred upon them. Foremost among these badges was the mark of circumcision. The holy sabbath was another mysterious mark of their peculiar relation to God. The sacred temple, with its holy of holies and its divinely ordained priests, was another, and eventually in their minds the possession of the holy land of Palestine was thought of as another badge of special favour.

3. Greek and Gnostic societies.—It was, however, not only among the Hebrews in pre-Christian times that the idea of 'a peculiar people' found place. The Pythagorean society, originally founded in Magna Græcia by Pythagoras (born *c.* 575 B.C.), was also a heroic attempt to prepare 'a peculiar people.' It was a religious fraternity which cultivated asceticism for the moral life and mathematics for the mental, which believed itself to be in possession of special divine secrets, leading to the deliverance of the soul, and which had an elaborate system of sacred badges separating it from the common world. The 'Orphic circles' were other attempts among many that might be mentioned to prepare 'a peculiar people,' possessed of a special way of deliverance from the evils of this world. The Gnostic sects in the 2nd and 3rd centuries were again all possessed of the idea that they were 'peculiar peoples.'

4. Primitive Church usage.—The early Christians felt themselves, even more emphatically than had the inner circle of the Jewish nation, to be 'a peculiar people.' Two NT writers explicitly adopted the Jewish ideal as the ideal for the Church of Christ, who, the Epistle to Titus (2^{14}) says, 'gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people' (RV 'a people for his own possession'). And the First Epistle of Peter takes over *en bloc* the ancient Jewish claim and transfers it to the new Church (1 P 2^{4-7}). But it is not only in sporadic texts that this idea of 'a peculiar people' appears. It is embedded in the very structure of the primitive Church. Its members, its 'saints,' are 'chosen' out of the world; they are given special 'gifts'; they only know 'the way of life,' and are the 'saved'; they are God's people; they live a 'new' life; they possess an access to God which others do not have; and they have their special marks and badges which make them separate from the world and in the modern sense 'peculiar.' As the Roman Catholic Church came into being, with the slow unfolding of history, it again put forward, in the most emphatic fashion, the claim to contain in its fold God's own exclusive people. Out of all the world it was *elect*. It possessed, and it alone, the miraculous means of grace. It had the only true and efficacious priesthood. It alone held the key to the invisible Kingdom of the future, and only through its mediation could any soul be saved. All and more than all that any pious Jew had claimed for his holy nation the Roman Catholic believer claimed for his peculiarly divine Church—'extra ecclesiam nulla salus.'

5. Pre-Reformation sects.—Each of the pre-Reformation sects which showed an anti-ecclesiastical bias took over to itself the claim, which the Church made, to be God's own special instrument. In one age the Montanists, with their immediate possession of the Holy Spirit, were 'the peculiar people.' In another age the Waldenses, by their stricter moral life and by their assumption of unbroken connexion with apostolic Christianity, claimed to be 'the peculiar people' of the Lord, as did later also 'the spiritual Franciscans.' The mystics, too, of the 14th cent., though not explicitly separatists, believed intensely that they were God's 'peculiar people,' and that they by the secret 'inner way' had found an absolute union with Him denied to all others.

6. Post-Reformation sects.—With the Reformation the idea of 'the peculiar people' remained a dominating concept. All the reformed State, or established, churches were built round the absolute idea that this particular church was the Church, exclusively God's own and the only means of salvation. Its dogma constituted the truth; its sacraments were alone efficacious; its ministry was the only authoritative ministry. So, too, all the dissenting sects came forward with a similar claim. Every Protestant denomination has claimed at least in its beginning to have possession of a special means of grace, and has believed itself to be in a peculiar way an instrument of the Lord for ministering salvation to men. No other modern denomination has perhaps made its claim to be 'a peculiar people' so explicit as did the Society of Friends in the 18th and early 19th centuries. Friends, from their first origin in the mid-17th cent., believed that they were divinely chosen, inspired, enlightened, equipped, and guided to be 'the restorers of apostolic Christianity.' They expected that the inward light which they had re-discovered as the basis of religion would in time be accepted as the principle of authority of world Christianity (see Thomas Hancock, *The Peculium*, London, 1859). As this hope faded, the Quaker leaders of the 18th cent. set themselves to the task of perfecting the Society of Friends as 'a holy Zion of the Lord,' a faithful 'remnant' in the midst of the world, 'a peculiar people,' apart not only from the world but also from all other forms of Christianity as well, and *elected* especially to be God's people in a crooked and perverse generation. They believed that they alone were

'apostolic' and that a special mission had been given to them. Like the members of the Jewish model nation, they made much of their distinguishing marks: a special garb, a special form of address (the 'thee' and 'thou'), a special group of 'testimonies,' refusal to pay tithes, refusal to fight or take life for any reason, refusal to take an oath, refusal to remove the hat before a magistrate or in a public place, the maintenance of free gospel ministry and of a special form of marriage. The faithful Friend of this period gloried in these badges of a peculiar faith, not for their own sake, but because he believed that through separation from all other peoples and through 'testimonies' which cost suffering and sacrifice God could best form and perfect the people of His own possession, which, in His wisdom, they were to be. The Quaker *Journals* of the hundred years from 1750 to 1850 are full of interesting concrete material for an appreciation of what this strange ideal of 'a peculiar people' once vividly meant.

7. **Other uses of the name.**—The word 'Peculiars' was often used in the early period of the Oxford Movement as a nickname for the members of the 'Evangelical' party. E. S. Purcell, in his *Life of Cardinal Manning* (London, 1895), refers to 'Puseyites and Peculiars,' and London is said, in H. P. Liddon's *Life of E. B. Pusey* (London, 1893), to be overrun with 'peculiarism.'

A small sect which appeared in London in 1838 was called 'Plumstead Peculiars.' The members of this sect refused to use medical aid for the relief or cure of disease, and put their entire trust in the divine power and in prayer. They were called indiscriminately 'Faith Healers' or 'Peculiars.'

LITERATURE.—There are no special works on the subject. Cf. *HDB*, *s.v.* 'Peculiar'; *EBi*, *s.v.* 'Peculiar Treasure, Peculiar People'; *JE*, *s.v.* 'Chosen People.'

RUFUS M. JONES.

PEEVISHNESS.—There are two forms of excess in that emotional tendency which, whether as a natural disposition or as an acquired habit, is variously spoken of as irascibility, irritability, temper, anger, etc. One form is commonly described as 'quick temper,' that is, a tendency to sudden explosions of angry passion, which for the most part suddenly subside. The other, known as 'peevishness' or 'fretfulness,' is a chronic irritability which may not in general burst into violent expression, but is readily provoked by any trivial annoyance. On its physical side peevishness may often be traced to hyperæsthesia, a morbid excess of sensibility which makes every nervous stimulation, even the most ordinary sensible impression, exceed the limit of healthy agreeable excitement. In such cases moral culture calls for a physical culture which may reinstate the sensibility in normal vigour. But, from whatever cause peevishness may arise, moral neglect may leave the natural excess of sensibility free play to develop into a tyrannous habit of the moral life. Then it creates the common illusion of irritable temperament. Instead of charging himself with the fault of his irritation, the irritated man throws the blame of it upon any other who may be associated with it in the most incidental way. It is thus that peevishness often becomes a formidable impediment to the growth of sympathy and the gentler virtues, while it offers a fruitful soil for all types of malice. See, further, art. ANGER.

LITERATURE.—All the great works on psychology give more or less adequate analyses of the various forms of anger, but an unusually exhaustive treatment of the subject is given in A. Bain, *The Emotions and the Will*[3], London, 1880. On the ethical as well as the psychological aspect of the subject a prominent place has always been assigned to Seneca's monograph, *de Ira*, in ancient literature, and, in modern, to J. Butler's sermons 'Upon Resentment' and 'Upon Forgiveness of Injuries,' *Works*, ed. W. E. Gladstone, Oxford, 1896, ii. 136-167.

J. CLARK MURRAY.

PELAGIANISM AND SEMI-PELAGIANISM.—1. Introductory.—(*a*) *Its fundamental interest.*—Few of the controversies which distracted the early Church are so full of perennial interest as that which raged round the teaching of the British monk Pelagius. The principles at issue were of more than purely Christian interest, for they were concerned with the very elements of human character and raised fundamental problems as to the nature of man's ethical and religious relation to the divine which are of lasting and world-wide significance. The controversy did not itself create the two great types of thought which in its course were ranged in sharp antithesis; rather it was the occasion of the first open clash within the Christian Church of two irreconcilable tendencies, which had not only long existed side by side both within and without Christendom, but are destined to reassert themselves periodically throughout the subsequent development of moral and religious theory. For at bottom the controversy was concerned with the age-long problem of free will and determinism, and its dramatic interest consists in the opposition which always asserts itself between an essentially rational and naturalistic morality and the profoundest convictions of a vital and first-hand religious experience. In the study of no other controversy can we learn so much about the connexion and the distinction between morality and religion.

(*b*) *Its place in the development of dogma.*—As was but natural in the development of a religion which had its origin and centre in a definite historical personality, Christianity in its effort to realize and define the contents of its tradition was concerned first with the objective side of its doctrine, the nature of God and of the person of Jesus Christ. So long as men's thoughts were primarily exercised by theological and Christological problems, questions concerning the more subjective and anthropological side of Christian teaching remained in the background. Concerning human nature and its relation to God the Church had instinctively maintained from the first that man had free will and was accountable for his actions, that human nature was corrupted and in a fallen and evil state, and that for its restoration and salvation the assistance of God, afforded through Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit, was an absolute necessity. But, while none of these propositions had been seriously called in question, no attempt to weld them into a coherent system of doctrine had as yet received formal authorization from the Church, and teachers and schools of thought differed considerably as to the stress which they laid upon them; on the whole it may be said that Eastern theologians had been chiefly interested in affirming the freedom of the will, while those of the West had emphasized the necessity for divine assistance, or 'grace.' As to the sinfulness of human nature as it actually existed, there was little room for doubt, but various theories had been propounded by teachers of repute as to the origin and working of this general corruption and its connexion with what Scripture related concerning the 'fall' of Adam.

(*c*) *Its relation to Nestorianism.*—Such was the general condition of Christian thought on these matters towards the close of the 4th cent.; the Arian controversy had worked itself out; the dogma of the Holy Trinity had just been reaffirmed at the Council of Constantinople (381), which had also marked the first stage of the Christological controversies by condemning Apollinarianism. The completeness of the human nature of the Incarnate having thus been asserted, its relation to the divine Logos was already engaging the interest of theologians, and notably of the famous Antiochene

expositor, Theodore of Mopsuestia. It is obvious that theories concerning the relation of the humanity of Christ to His divinity must have an intimate bearing on theories concerning the relation of humanity in general to God; and it is here that we find the ground of the close connexion between Nestorianism, of which Theodore was undoubtedly the father, and Pelagianism, which has also been derived from his paternity.[1] If 'the thought that Christ possessed a free will was the lode-star' of Antiochene theology,[2] the thought that every man possessed a free will was the lode-star of the Pelagian. The progress of the controversies revealed so many affinities between the two systems that they may well be regarded as constituting together a great consistent scheme of thought, of which the Eastern (Nestorian) expression was mainly speculative and theological, and the Western (Pelagian) mainly practical and moral. It has been justly said that 'the Nestorian Christ is the fitting saviour of the Pelagian man,' and it was no accident that the Church condemned both systems together at the Council of Ephesus in 431.[3]

The Pelagian controversy proper was fought out between the years 411 and 418, the Council of Ephesus merely giving official sanction to a judgment which had been for all practical purposes complete and final thirteen years earlier. But difficult problems arising out of the condemnation of Pelagianism remained unsolved, and these constituted the subject of the long-drawn-out Semi-Pelagian controversies, which found an ecclesiastical settlement only at the Council of Orange in 529. Though the whole process of thought from 411 to 529 is closely connected, it will be best to trace separately the history of the Pelagian controversy and to appreciate the issues involved, before passing on to give an account of Semi-Pelagianism.

2. The course of the Pelagian controversy.—(*a*) *Pelagianism in Rome* (*c. 400–409*).—At some time in the episcopate of Anastasius (398-402), if not earlier, there had arrived in Rome a British monk of mature age named Pelagius. Of his former life we know little: his character shows no signs of having passed through any serious moral crisis in its development. We have it on the authority of his bitterest opponent, Orosius, that he was of too humble origin to have had a liberal education; we have no evidence that he had ever studied in the East;[4] but before he became famous as a heretic he had shown himself possessed of sufficient ability and learning to write three books of unquestioned orthodoxy upon the Trinity, which were recognized as useful text-books for students. He was a layman and never sought orders. Among his friends he numbered Paulinus of Nola,[5] and also one Rufinus, a Syrian,[6] who first introduced him, so Mercator informs us, to the characteristic tenets of Antiochene theology.

Appalled by the lax morality of the great mass of nominal Christians in Rome, he set himself to rouse them to a sense of their responsibility to God for their actions. He was already held in great honour in Rome for his rigorous and ascetic life,[7] but he used his influence cautiously and quietly, avoiding public controversy, from which he was averse. He prepared a book of *Eulogiæ*, or extracts from Scripture selected to emphasize the strength and freedom of the will, and especially set himself to counteract what he considered the enervating effects of Augustine's *Confessions*, which, written about 400, were soon after widely read in Rome. Augustine's famous prayer, 'Da quod jubes, et jube quod vis,' particularly aroused his anger, as conducing to a passive and listless frame of mind.[1] Pelagius preached the need of moral effort and the sufficiency of man's natural free will to achieve its duty without relying on supernatural grace; from this he was led on to call in question any idea of inherited sinfulness which might serve as an excuse for moral slackness. He circulated privately a commentary on St. Paul's Epistles, in which, in the guise of objections raised by critics of current teaching, he indirectly set forth his own chief tenets.

Associated with him was another layman, Cœlestius, a keen-witted dialectician, who had practised at the Roman bar, but under the influence of Pelagius had given up his worldly career to become a monk. In character this outspoken young man was a great contrast to his elderly and cautious master: an agitator 'incredibili loquacitate,' as Augustine tells us, his method was 'fortiter scandalizare'; he quickly attracted attention and was regarded by many as the real leader of the movement.[2]

(*b*) *In Africa* (*411–412*).—Alaric's invasion led the two friends to leave Rome in 409 and to travel by way of Sicily to Africa, where they arrived in 411. Pelagius did not come into personal contact with Augustine,[3] though the latter, busied as he then was with the settlement of the Donatist schism, remembers that he was disturbed by rumours of his teaching about the baptism of infants. Pelagius, however, soon after set out for Palestine. But Cœlestius stayed behind and applied for ordination as a presbyter at Carthage; his candidature was opposed in 412 by Paulinus, a deacon of Milan, on the ground of false doctrine, at a synod presided over by Bishop Aurelius. The *libellus*, or formal indictment, attributed to Cœlestius seven heretical propositions:

(1) Adam was created mortal and would have died whether he had sinned or not; (2) Adam's sin injured himself only, and not the human race; (3) children at birth are in that state in which Adam was before his sin; (4) the whole human race does not die through Adam's death and transgression, nor does the whole human race rise through Christ's resurrection; (5) the law sends men to the Kingdom of Heaven just as the gospel does; (6) even before Christ's coming there were men without sin; (7) man can be without sin, and keep God's commandments easily if he will.

Cœlestius refused to condemn these propositions: he claimed that he had heard Catholic presbyters deny the transmission of sin, which ought to be treated as an open question; moreover, since he did not deny that infants need baptism to be redeemed, he was no heretic. The synod nevertheless excommunicated him. He thereupon wrote his *Libellus brevissimus*, explaining that in his view infants were in no wise baptized for any remission of sin, but received actual benefit through baptism and a share in Christ's redemption; unbaptized infants forfeited 'eternal life,' but were admitted into 'the Kingdom of Heaven.' This tract occasioned Augustine's first anti-Pelagian treatise, *de Peccatorum meritis et remissione* (412), notable as containing the first use of *originale peccatum*, that 'infelicitous phrase' which was to play so prominent a part in the controversy. Cœlestius left for Ephesus, where he was ordained presbyter, and thence proceeded to Constantinople.

[1] By Marius Mercator, *Commonitorium adv. Hæresim Pelagii* (*Liber Sub-Notantium in Verba Juliani*, præf. i., in *PL* xlviii. 109).

[2] Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, iv. 165; cf. v. 170, note.

[3] Yet there was a marked contrast between the Pelagian conception of grace and Theodore's; the latter came closer to Augustine, in so far as he regarded it as an inward inspiration.

[4] Chronology forbids us to identify him with a Pelagius mentioned by Chrysostom (*Ep.* 4).

[5] Aug. *Ep.* 186.

[6] To be distinguished from Rufinus of Aquileia.

[7] He spent 'a very long time there' (Aug. *de Pecc. Orig.* 24; cf. *de Gest. Pelag.* 46).

[1] *De Dono Persev.* 53.

[2] Cf. Aug. *de Pecc. Orig.* 13, for a contrast between the methods of Cœlestius and Pelagius.

[3] *De Gest. Pelag.* 46.

(*c*) *In Palestine* (*411–415*).—Meanwhile Pelagius had settled quietly in Palestine. But his friendship with Bishop John of Jerusalem, combined with reports of his teaching, attracted the unfavourable notice of Jerome, who wrote against him his letter to Ctesiphon[1] and his *Dialogus adversus Pelagianos*, styled by Harnack[2] 'a model of irrational polemics.' Pelagius replied with his *de Natura*, but his cause was considerably damaged by the circulation of Cœlestius's rash *Libellus*. The arrival in Palestine in 415 of a devoted disciple of Augustine, the hot-headed Spanish priest Orosius, brought matters to a climax. He brought a letter from Augustine to Jerome, and was invited to attend a synod of Jerusalem clergy convened by Bishop John to consider the Pelagian difficulty. He there related what the Carthaginian synod had done with Cœlestius, and read aloud a letter from Augustine to the Sicilian Hilarius on the possibility of human sinlessness and the need of divine grace. Pelagius was thereupon introduced to the meeting; he evaded the charges brought against him, and, when pressed, cried 'Anathema to him who teaches that man can become sinless without God's aid'; but the crucial question, as to whether by 'God's aid' Pelagius meant merely the example and teaching of Christ accepted by man's natural free will or a direct inward working of God on the spirit 'transcending both natural capacities and opportunities of moral instruction,'[3] was not discussed. John knew no Latin and Pelagius no Greek, and the synod, failing to grasp the true significance of the dispute, agreed to the suggestion of Orosius that the matter, being of Western origin, should be referred to Bishop Innocent of Rome.

(*d*) *The Synod of Diospolis* (*415*).—Before the end of the year, however, Pelagius found himself once more face to face with Western accusers before an Eastern court. Two Gallic bishops, Heros of Arles and Lazarus of Aix, expelled from their own sees for obscure reasons and sojourning in Palestine, brought a formal accusation against Pelagius and Cœlestius before a synod of fourteen bishops which met at Diospolis (Lydda) in Dec. 415 under the metropolitan of Palestine, Eulogius of Cæsarea. Illness prevented the accusers from appearing in person, and Pelagius made skilful use of his opportunity: the *Libellus*, drawn up in Latin, was translated by sections; Pelagius ingeniously contrived satisfactory explanations of most of the phrases complained of, and disowned the rest; he denied responsibility for certain opinions attributed to Cœlestius, and professed himself ready to condemn them 'according to the judgment of the Holy Church' and to anathematize every one who held or had held them, though he protested that the dispute did not concern matters of dogma.[4] The synod not unnaturally declared him innocent; but it is clear that he 'stole his acquittal' by prevarications as faithless to his friend as they were dishonourable to himself; and, however cunningly he may have subsequently explained away his denial of other Pelagian tenets, he cannot escape from the fact that he denied a proposition which both previously and subsequently was cardinal for his system—'that God's grace is given in proportion to our deserts, to such as are worthy.'[5] Jerome was furious at the decision of the 'miserable synod,'[6] but Augustine judged it more fairly when he explained it as acquitting not the heresy but the man who denied the heresy. Nevertheless, the Synod of Diospolis proved clearly that 'the Eastern church had not embraced in its entirety the doctrine of grace as formulated by Augustine in the West, and that, provided free will and grace were recognized as joint factors in the production of human goodness, it was not anxious to define by precise distinctions the exact limits of each agency.'[1] The Easterns also probably sympathized with Pelagius's own unwillingness to extend the sphere of authoritative dogma.[2]

(*e*) *In the West* (*415–418*).—Pelagius and his friends immediately made all possible use of their success. News of the acquittal was promptly spread abroad, especially in the West, whither carefully edited accounts of the synod were dispatched. Pelagius answered Jerome with four books, *de Libero Arbitrio*, showing clearly that by 'grace' he still meant the natural influence of Christ's teaching, helping men 'more easily' to obey the divine commands, and that he still held that 'we are procreated as without virtue, so without vice'—which shows the value that was to be set on his protestations at Diospolis.[3]

Augustine realized that its ecclesiastical triumph was the moral defeat of the Pelagian cause.[4] The African bishops, nothing daunted, reaffirmed most emphatically their previous condemnation at two largely-attended synods which met in Carthage and Milan in 416. Both synods sent letters to Pope Innocent, desiring to secure the support of the Apostolic See to reinforce their own decisions. Augustine, Aurelius, and three other bishops further wrote to the pope a personal letter urging him to examine carefully Pelagius's teaching. All these letters[5] contain careful explanations of the issues at stake, which are represented as essential to the entire Christian position as the Church had received it: it was not only that Pelagian teaching made the practice of infant baptism superfluous, but it made the whole redemptive work of the Saviour Himself unnecessary; if human nature be indeed what the Pelagians say it is, it must be capable of working out its own salvation unassisted, depending solely on 'the results of its original creation'; no need therefore for any divine deliverer, to afford supernatural assistance to men's inward wills, no need for any grace or means of grace. The letters were accompanied by an earlier treatise of Pelagius (?), *de Natura*, together with Augustine's reply, *de Natura et Gratia*, composed in 415.

Innocent consulted his clergy and replied in Jan. 417,[6] in a sense wholly favourable to the Africans, asserting man's continual dependence on God's inward grace not only at baptism but throughout life; in Pelagius's treatise he found nothing that pleased him, but he refrained from commenting on the action of the Synod of Diospolis until he should receive an authentic account of its proceedings. A few weeks afterwards he died. His successor was a Greek, Zosimus, and hardly had he been installed when Cœlestius, recently expelled from Constantinople, appeared in Rome, to appeal against both this recent indignity and his earlier condemnation in Carthage. Zosimus's interests were Eastern, and he had probably but little understanding of the real issues of this Western controversy. Cœlestius secured a hearing, at which it was evident that he still continued to deny 'transmitted' or 'original' sin; but he avoided either condemning his own tenets or hearing them condemned. Zosimus wrote to the Africans, asserting that Cœlestius had abundantly indicated the soundness of his faith, and that those who still desired to impugn it must appear in Rome

1 *Ep.* 133 (132). 2 v. 178.
3 Cf. Bright, *Age of the Fathers*, ii. 178.
4 *De Gest. Pelag.* 57 f. 'Anathematizo quasi stultos, non quasi haereticos, siquidem non est dogma' (*ib.* 16).
5 Cf. Aug. *de Gest. Pelag.* 30 (xiv.) and 40 (xvii.).
6 *Ep.* 143. 2.

1 *DCB*, *s.v.* 'Pelagius,' iv. 287.
2 Cf. Harnack, v. 169, note 3, 179, note 4.
3 His *de Natura* appeared about the same time.
4 'Ibi omnino cecidit haeresis vestra' (see Bright, ii. 189).
5 Aug. *Ep.* 175, 177. 6 *Ib.* 181–184.

within two months or else give up all doubts on the subject. Shortly afterwards he received under cover of a letter of commendation from Praylus, the new bishop of Jerusalem, a statement of faith from Pelagius. This is a treatise of 'luminous orthodoxy' as regards the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation, but on the real points at issue artfully vague: all men had free will, all had need of help from God,[1] but as to the nature of this help nothing was said; the statement concluded deferentially: Pelagius was ready to receive correction from him 'who held the faith and see of Peter.' Zosimus rehearsed it to his admiring ecclesiastics and wrote once more to the African bishops, declaring that the statement of Pelagius had cleared him of all suspicion, and sternly rebuking them for their hasty and uncharitable credulity in admitting unfounded charges against men of 'perfect orthodoxy' ('absolutae fidei').

Meanwhile Augustine had received the official minutes of the Synod of Diospolis, and immediately wrote his *de Gestis Pelagii*, comparing them with Pelagius's misrepresentations of what had taken place. Upon the reception of Zosimus's letters the African bishops, assembled in a great synod of over 200 members, indignantly determined to stand by their condemnation of both Pelagius and Cœlestius, and to uphold Pope Innocent's sentence against them, until they should explicitly acknowledge that 'God's grace aids us through Jesus Christ, not only to know but to do what is right, in every single act, so that without grace we cannot have, think, speak or do anything that pertains to true and holy religion.'

This firm and diplomatic action aroused Zosimus to the need of caution; with much grandiloquence as to the prerogatives of Peter he replied (21st March, 418) that he had not come to a final decision or given entire credence to Cœlestius; the case stood where it was when he last wrote. But the cause was decided both in Italy and in Africa without further consideration for Zosimus: the emperor Honorius on 30th April issued an edict to Palladius, the prætorian prefect, denouncing Pelagius's opinions as contrary to the Catholic law, exiling the two leaders of his heresy, and permitting the persecution of their followers; and on 1st May (two days after Zosimus's pitiable letter reached Africa) a great council of the African Church in Carthage, without reference to any doctrinal pronouncements of Roman bishops, anathematized Pelagianism in a series of nine uncompromising canons.[2] No direct connexion between these practically simultaneous imperial and ecclesiastical actions can be proved; the former was possibly due to Italian opposition to Pelagianism emanating from Milan;[3] Augustine, however, expressed his hearty approval.

Zosimus effected a complete change of front; there is some ambiguity as to dates, and it remains doubtful whether he contrived his *volte face* before or after the promulgation of the imperial edict, which in any case shows no signs of having been affected by the remarkable *Epistula Tractoria* issued by the pope. In this memorable document Zosimus condemns Pelagius, Cœlestius, and their opinions, and affirms the doctrines for which the Africans contended, with an explicitness equalled only by that with which he had but a few months previously acquitted the heretics and rebuked their accusers. The incident has more than a merely historical interest, in view of the claims of his successors in the see to infallibility. Zosimus acted throughout in his official capacity, and the matter was doctrinally of the greatest importance.

The subsequent history of the controversy may be briefly stated: Zosimus required subscription to his letter as a test of orthodoxy; eighteen Italian bishops refused, of whom one, Julian, the youthful prelate of Eclanum, was to prove himself the ablest advocate of a cause already lost; Pelagius himself disappeared from view; Cœlestius was banished from Italy; Julian, with a group of sympathizers, betook himself to Theodore of Mopsuestia, and later joined Cœlestius in Constantinople, when in 429 the patriarch Nestorius interceded for them with Pope Cœlestine, to his own hurt no less than theirs, for Rome thought the worse of Nestorius for consorting with Pelagians, and the East thought the worse of the Pelagians for consorting with Nestorius; and so it came about that at the third general council at Ephesus in 431 the 'Pelagians and Cœlestians' as well as the Nestorians were finally condemned.[1]

3. Appreciation of the principles at issue.—(*a*) *Julian and Augustine.*—The real theologian of Pelagianism was Julian of Eclanum, who, conscious though he was that he was the champion of a lost cause, continued systematically to work out his principles with admirable completeness. Pelagius and Cœlestius had been primarily concerned to arouse men's wills to worthier moral effort; they were missioners rather than theologians, with a practical object in view, to induce men to practise monastic asceticism. But Julian was no ascetic; his ideal of conduct was essentially naturalistic; as a man of the world he frankly admired the moderate and reasonable self-control inculcated by philosophers, and above all desired clear and rational thinking about God and morality. Harnack fitly describes him as 'the first, and up to the sixteenth century, the unsurpassed, unabashed representative of a self-satisfied Christianity.'[2] His theology adds nothing in principle to that of Pelagius and Cœlestius, but he expresses with greater force and lucidity their chief contentions. He maintained a vigorous and voluminous controversy with Augustine, who always treated him with respect, and often answered him sentence by sentence. It is possible, therefore, to reconstruct his system fairly accurately from Augustine's works. The two men were diametrically opposed both as to the form and as to the matter of their theology. As to form, Julian was a rationalist, Augustine an authoritarian; Julian denied that authority could strengthen what reason proves: 'we ought to weigh and not count opinions';[3] Augustine, as a result of the experiences which led up to his conversion, was profoundly conscious that he had received the very gospel itself on the authority of the Church,[4] after reason had led him through countless aberrations. Julian claimed to have the philosophic few on his side, and despised as a blind rabble the majority which he could not deny sided with Augustine. And the content of his theology was as essentially the gospel of free will as that of Augustine was the gospel of irresistible grace.

(*b*) *The Pelagian system summarized.* — The Pelagian system as presented by him may be summarized as follows:[5]

(1) God is above all just; therefore everything that He creates is essentially good, and cannot be in its nature convertible;

[1] 'Liberum sic confitemur arbitrium, ut dicamus nos indigere dei semper auxilio' (Pelagius's Confession of Faith, given in full in Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln*[3], p. 288).

[2] Cf. Harnack, v. 185. The canons anathematize those, among others, who derive death from natural necessity, who deny the presence of original sin in children, who assign any form of salvation to infants dying unbaptized, and who do not see in grace the indispensable condition of virtue.

[3] So Harnack suggests (v. 185, note 7).

[1] Cf. the synodal letter of Pope Cœlestine, confirming their condemnation by Rome (C. J. von Hefele, *Hist. of the Church Councils*, Eng. tr., 5 vols., Edinburgh, 1894–96, iii. 69; G. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima Collectio*, Florence, 1759, iv. 1330–1338).

[2] v. 171.

[3] Aug. *c. Julian.* ii. 35.

[4] *C. Epist. Manich.* 5.

[5] Cf. Harnack, v. 191–203.

consequently human nature remains indestructibly good, and so there can be no such thing as a sinful nature, or 'natural' (*i.e.* 'original') sin.

(2) The chief glories of man's constitution are his reason and his free will; the latter is an absolute and indefectible freedom of choice ('mera capacitas [possibilitas] utriusque'[1]), which momentarily determines itself and remains unimpaired by previous choices. Sin is choosing that which is contrary to what reason tells us is righteous; every man is at every moment of his career perfectly free to avoid choosing it ('Liberum arbitrium et post peccata tam plenum est quam fuit ante peccata'[2]). By virtue of this free will man is rendered independent of God.[3]

(3) The desires of the flesh are not as such evil, seeing they are part of God's creation; therefore sin consists not in desire (*libido*) itself as such, but in its excess, which is due solely to the free choice of each individual will. Marriage is not *per se* in any way sinful.

(4) Every man created by birth is in precisely the same condition morally as Adam was before he sinned, *i.e.* endowed inalienably by divine grace (*gratia*) with 'natural holiness' (=reason and free will). These are sufficient to enable men to remain sinless; hence there can be (and Pelagius asserted that there had been) sinless men.

(5) Adam sinned through free will; his descendants also sin through free will; neither in his case nor in theirs is physical death a consequence of sin, but spiritual death (damnation) is; this is in no sense inherited from Adam, but is acquired by each man through his own sins.

(6) The idea of inherited sin (*tradux peccati, peccatum originis*) and of inherited guilt is both unthinkable and blasphemous, for not only is it inconsistent with the notion of sin, which implies the exercise of free will, but it also suggests that God's good creation has become radically evil, and that He either unjustly regards as sinful natures which have not yet themselves committed sin or else is responsible for creating evil natures. The only difference between the condition of children born now and that of Adam before the Fall is one not of nature but of environment: the former are born into a society in which evil customs and habits prevail.[4]

(7) By divine grace or aid (*gratia, adjutorium*) is meant either man's natural constitution ('the grace of creation'), by virtue of which some heathen have been perfect men, as good in every respect as perfect Jews or perfect Christians, or the law of God (an *augmentum beneficiorum Dei*) by which He has revealed to man what he ought to do, to aid man's reason darkened by sin, or else the grace of Christ, which, no less than the law, is essentially enlightenment and teaching (*illuminatio et doctrina*), working through Christ's own example, through His authoritative assurance of forgiveness to all who are baptized, and through the dogmas and mysteries of the Church. Grace, of whatever kind, is emphatically not an inward power enabling the will, for 'homo libero arbitrio emancipatus a Deo'; it is rather something external, which the will may grasp if it chooses to. Law and gospel are alike in operation, and men can enter the Kingdom of Heaven as well through the one as through the other.

(8) Grace is given according to men's merits; it would not be consistent with God's justice to give it to sinners.

(*c*) *Criticism of the system.*—Such in brief outline was the system which the Church rejected as a mischievous innovation, endangering the very essentials of the Christian religion.

How far was it an innovation?[5] In temper and spirit it was undoubtedly in marked contrast with the instinctive religious attitude reflected in every writing of the NT and in the traditional piety of the Catholic Church. Its whole conception of human nature and of virtue was more akin to Stoicism than to the gospel; but for some of its propositions it would be difficult to find definite refutations in the writings of many of the earlier Church Fathers of repute, and the system which Augustine opposed to it may in some important respects be as justly accused of innovation. Pelagianism may be defined as Christian Stoicism, and as such it is probably to this day the undefined theology of the great majority of 'plain men,' especially perhaps in the busy, competitive conditions of modern Western civilization. 'God helps those who help themselves' is a favourite proverb of the English, and expresses in rough and ready form the Pelagian doctrine of grace.

But, if it be true that genuine Christian ethics are superior to all others 'not so much through the presence or absence of particular articles, as through a view of life which substitutes submission for independence, humility for self-content,'[1] then 'Christian Stoicism' is a contradiction in terms, and Pelagianism is more pagan than Christian. Yet we must remember that Pelagianism does assert that the possibility of human righteousness and perfection originates in 'the grace of creation,' that bounty of God which endowed men with 'free will,' and so it is not fair to say that it makes righteousness a matter of human merit entirely independent of God. In practice, however, it issued in a frame of mind which set God and man over against each other as independent parties, and tended to reduce religion to the levels of merit and reward and to make of morality simply a question of copying good or bad examples.

Certain individual propositions of the Pelagian system the subsequent development of Christian thought has tended to confirm; its unwillingness to consign unbaptized infants to perdition, its readiness to recognize the possibility of good and Christlike characters being found outside the direct influences of the gospel and the Church, its insistence that the natural desires and functions of the body are in themselves in no way evil, its recognition of the fact that physical death cannot be regarded simply and solely as a lamentable outcome of human sin, but is an inevitable (and indeed beneficent) element in the general process of nature, are all points on which later thought and wider experience cannot but recognize that the Pelagians were nearer the truth than their opponents.

On the other hand, the whole Pelagian psychology of the will must be judged superficial and inadequate; its conception of sin is 'atomistic'; it ignores the phenomena of habit, and treats the growth of character as a mere succession of wholly independent and uncorrelated decisions of an abstract faculty of choice which remains quite unaffected by its choosing; it leaves the whole problem of the nature of personality unexplored, and so fails entirely to explain the possibility of temptation, and above all the reality of man's responsibility for his actions, the very thing that it set out to maintain. It is essentially self-contradictory, for, by treating personality as a bare series of states of mind, it leaves us in the last resort sceptical as to the reality and persistence of that very will the indestructible freedom of which is of the very essence of its contentions.

(*d*) *Augustine's doctrine of sin and grace.*—The ground of the difference between the Pelagians and Augustine is to be found in their views of the actual condition of human nature: the former thought of it as still morally sound, the latter as utterly corrupt; the former held that the faculty of choice remained unimpaired, and that men could be good if they wished, the latter insisted that the will itself was perverted and depraved at its very root, and incapable in its own strength of choosing and doing even what it knew to be good; and there can be little doubt that, with all his over-statements, Augustine was truer not only to the traditions of Christianity, but to the facts of human experience. It is when we come to consider the theory by which Augustine sought to explain the fact of this universal perversion of the will that we find that not only modern thinkers, but his predecessors among the theologians of the

[1] Pelagius taught a *possibilitas boni* as distinguished from the *possibilitas utriusque* of Julian (*de Grat. Christi*, 5, *Op. Imp.* i. 78-81).

[2] *Op. Imp.* i. 91.

[3] *Ib.* i. 78: 'Libertas arbitrii, qua a Deo emancipatus homo est.'

[4] For infant baptism Julian had no real rationale; he accepted it as implying a certain consecration of the infant, with a reference to his future sins. Children dying unbaptized did not forfeit 'eternal life,' though they would fail to enter its fullest blessedness, the 'Kingdom of Heaven.'

[5] For a full consideration of the previous development of the doctrine of original sin see art. ORIGINAL SIN and F. R. Tennant, *The Sources of the Doctrines of the Fall and Original Sin.*

[1] Cf. H. Kelly, *Hist. of the Church of Christ*, London, 1901-02, ii. 296.

Church, are far from unanimous in his support. It is not merely that Augustine is the originator of the famous term 'original sin' (*peccatum originis*), or that this term is infelicitous, in so far as by 'sin' we mean an evil for which the individual who 'sins' is himself responsible, in a manner in which he cannot possibly be for anything which he simply inherits; nor is it that for the Scriptural foundation of his theory he relies on an indefensible Latin rendering of the Greek of St. Paul;[1] it is not merely that in his explanation of the universality of human sinfulness he asserts that the nature with which an infant finds itself endowed at birth is a perverted nature, inclined to sin, and that this perverted inclination—no less real because merely potential—is due to heredity, for others before Augustine had taught this, though with less lucidity;[2] it is that Augustine is obsessed with the idea that this inherited sinfulness consists chiefly and almost entirely in that very 'concupiscence' by which the race is propagated and increased. Such is the form in which Augustine presented his theory of original sin to Julian, and Julian naturally accused him of Manichæism. The idea was not in itself novel, it was a commonplace of Gnostic heresy; what was novel was its presence at the heart of a system which claimed to be Catholic and orthodox. Augustine, indeed, explained in reply that he did not regard marriage in itself as sin, but insisted that as things actually are it is invariably attended with passions which have the nature of sinfulness and that this is due to the radical corruption of all human nature; the general impression made by his arguments is that he himself is convinced that both in its origin and in its subsequent propagation the sinfulness now inherent in human nature manifests itself principally in this connexion.[3] There can be no doubt that Augustine's personal history coloured his presentation of the character of inherited sinfulness, which practically, if not theoretically, involved him in Manichæan dualism. His contention had wide-spread and lasting influence in the development of monastic asceticism, which from his day till the Reformation was to be both officially and popularly regarded as the highest ideal of Christian conduct.

Yet it is clear that this conception of the nature of 'original sin' is not essential to the idea of an 'inherited sinfulness' as such; and, if there are weighty reasons for rejecting Augustine's theory of concupiscence, there are weightier ones for supporting his doctrine of original sin—reasons which can be adduced not only from the earlier traditions of the Church, but from the general study of human nature; and, as J. B. Mozley has pointed out, not only has it been maintained by orthodox theologians, but it is asserted by 'worldly philosophers and poets.'[1] Spirits so contrasted as Kant[2] and Shelley[3] can be quoted in its support, and it is the common assumption of the thought of plain men about themselves. For who would dare say that the will of any human being was at any stage of its moral development all that it ought to be? Even those who maintain the doctrine of man's 'perfectibility' here on earth hold that it consists in the elimination of previous imperfection. And, if the will of man be thus universally perverted, what other explanation of its perversion will satisfy the facts except that which says that it is innate? The thought of the present day, fascinated with the spectacle of the marvellous ascent and progress of mankind from crude beginnings towards all that makes for a richer civilization, is indeed apt to express itself impatiently on the doctrine of the Fall; but the experience of the present day is at one with that of previous ages as to the universal prevalence of opportunities missed, of faculties misused, and of that fatal facility with which even the greatest and best of men fall short of their ideals. 'The good that I would I do not: but the evil which I would not, that I do' (Ro 7^{19}) is still the cry of candid self-criticism. How this 'radical evil' originated who shall confidently say? But that it is woven into the very texture of that human nature which every child inherits at its birth who will deny? The modern investigation of heredity leads us to understand more clearly than was possible for the men of the 5th Christian century the intricate solidarity of mankind, and to perceive how

> 'In the fatal sequence of this world
> An evil thought may soil our children's blood.'[4]

It was precisely the presence of this formidable perversion of the will at work throughout the mass of humanity that led Augustine to call it *massa perditionis*,[5] and to believe that God could be in any way responsible for or satisfied with such a state of things was rank blasphemy. Human nature as such—as it actually exists—is deserving of His displeasure: to the human race as a universal entity guilt attaches, and every particular individual sharing human nature shares in its guilt; he is born in sin, his very origin is tainted, and it is not merely a matter of legal status before the bar of divine perfection, but a matter of positive wrongness of life. The 'results of the original creation' of human nature have been so weakened and degraded that it is helpless of itself to help itself, from the very nature of the case. Hence the whole Pelagian conception of grace is hopelessly inadequate to describe what man needs if he is to escape from himself as he actually is to that perfection for which he was made. It is not enough that in Christ the ideal be displayed with all imaginable distinctness; man may see it, and may love it, but remains powerless to realize it; what

[1] Aug. *c. duas Ep. Pelag.* iv. 4, where Ro 5^{12}, ἐφ' ᾧ πάντες ἥμαρτον, is translated 'in quo omnes peccaverunt,' an impossible rendering. Ro $5^{12\text{-}21}$ is the Scriptural *locus classicus* for the doctrine of original sin; but a strict exegesis, though it shows that St. Paul certainly deduced the universal prevalence of death from the effect of the sin of man's common ancestor Adam, does not show that he clearly stated any inheritance of sinful tendency from Adam, though it may be held that his argument implies this. Cf. W. Sanday and A. C. Headlam, *ICC*, 'Ep. to the Romans,'[5] Edinburgh, 1902, pp. 130–147; Tennant, *The Fall and Original Sin*, ch. xi.; J. F. Bethune-Baker, *An Introd. to the Early Hist. of Chr. Doctrine*, London, 1903, p. 309, note 2.

[2] Notably Tertullian (*vitium originis, tradux peccati*), Cyprian, Ambrose in the West, and in the East Origen (in his later works) and the Cappadocians. Irenæus, Athanasius, and Cyril of Jerusalem recognize the universality of sin and the fallen state of the race as a whole, without definitely teaching inherited sinfulness; the Antiochenes, including even John Chrysostom, can be quoted as opposing this conception. None of his predecessors insisted on the utter depravity and corruption of human nature so strongly as Augustine (see Tennant, pp. 273–345).

[3] Cf. his own statement of the purpose of his *de Nuptiis et concupiscentia* (i. 1): 'to distinguish between the evil of carnal concupiscence, from which man who is born therefrom contracts original sin, and the good of marriage.'

[1] *Lectures and other Theological Papers*, London, 1883, pp. 148–162.

[2] 'The perfect accordance of the will with the moral law is holiness, a perfection of which no natural being in the sensible world is capable at any moment of his existence' (*Crit. of Pract. Reason*, tr. T. K. Abbott[6], London, 1909, bk. ii. ch. ii. § 4, p. 218); Kant, while rejecting the traditional conception of 'original sin,' insisted on a 'radical badness' innate in human nature (cf. *Religion within the Limits of Pure Reason*, pt. i., tr. T. K. Abbott[6], London, 1909, ii. 335 f., iii. 339).

[3] *Prometheus*, act i. opening speech, act ii. sc. 4; and cf. Byron, *Childe Harold*, canto iv. 126.

[4] Tennyson, *The Ancient Sage*. On the vexed question of the origin of the soul—which has obviously a very direct bearing on the subject of 'original sin'—Augustine maintained an attitude of uncertainty, between 'Traducianism,' to which he rather inclines, not unnaturally, and 'Creationism,' which was the general assumption of the Pelagians; see his letter to Optatus (*Ep.* 202 *bis*), and his four books to Vincentius Victor (*de Anima et eius origine*). Augustine had appealed in vain to Jerome for his views on the subject (*Ep.* 166).

[5] *De Pecc. Orig.* 31, *de Corrept. et Grat.* 7.

he needs is a transforming force within, at the very root of his personality, directly strengthening his will, not only putting into his mind good desires, but enabling him to bring them to good effect. And it was just such an inward transforming force that Augustine, like Paul before him, had experienced. He knew it not as issuing out of his own natural will, but as entering into it from beyond; and in his experience it was derived solely from that spiritual contact with Christ which had led him at last in spite of himself to feel it at its fullest within the fellowship of the Catholic Church.

Such were the convictions of Augustine, and, so long as Christian religious experience remains confident of the activity of a grace such as that which made all the difference to him, so long will the Christian Church reject Pelagianism.

4. The transition to Semi-Pelagianism. — (*a*) *Incipient criticism of Augustine.*—The Church, however, proved readier to reject Pelagianism than to accept in its entirety the system which Augustine constructed to oppose it. It recognized instinctively that Augustine's description of individual religious experience, with its unequivocal derivation of all human goodness from divine grace, was what Christian piety demanded; but, when he proceeded to elevate 'the necessary self-criticism of the advanced Christian into a doctrine, which should form the sole standard by which to judge the whole sphere of God's dealings with men,'[1] it hesitated to accept his conclusions. For Augustine's basal conviction that he had been converted and saved in spite of himself by a divine love that overwhelmed all opposition and forced him to surrender led him to assert that God's grace was irresistible, and that the human will was simply passive in the working out of its salvation. He recognized indeed a 'free will' in men, in that he held that there remained in them, perverted though they were, a faculty of choosing, itself 'poised in indifference,' a mere capacity for either part;[2] but he regarded this not as the core of personality, but merely as an instrument of which the personality makes use, a good personality using it well, an evil badly.[3] It is not the instrument but its user that has been changed and corrupted by the Fall. The user's power of controlling his faculty of choice is what Augustine really means by 'will'; and this 'will,' he believed, could be a good will only through the operation of the irresistible grace of God;[4] consequently the all too obvious fact that some men are being moulded by grace into Christian perfection, while others are not, was only to be accounted for in the last resort by postulating a divine choice and predestination, in the absolute and inscrutable exercise of which God extends His sovereign and irresistible grace to some, but withholds it from others.

The implications of this doctrine were as great a stumbling-block to Christian piety as were the tenets of the Pelagians, and before Augustine's death this aspect of his teaching caused many searchings of heart. Criticism first became articulate in the monasteries; at Hadrumetum the monks began to question the use of good works or of reprimanding the sinful, seeing that free will, if what Augustine taught were true, was unreal. Augustine replied in 426 or 427 with two treatises, *de Gratia et Libero Arbitrio* and *de Correptione et Gratia*, in which he endeavoured to maintain the reality of free choice and the moral effectiveness of rebuke, along with the sovereignty of gratuitous grace; both free choice and rebuke, he argued, were means employed by grace for its redemptive purposes, and therefore as means included under God's predestination of the end; the text 'God willeth that all men should be saved' (1 Ti 2[4]) he explained by interpreting 'all men' as 'all sorts of men.'

Shortly afterwards there appeared in Carthage itself the contention which was soon to be recognized as the characteristic tenet of what its opponents later came to call 'Semi-Pelagianism.' One Vitalis was accused of teaching that the first beginning of faith was due not to the grace of God, but to man's own free choice; in other respects he was, apparently, no Pelagian. Augustine addressed to him a weighty letter (*Ep.* 217), but the same proposition was destined to call forth a fuller refutation from the great doctor before his death. Two of his most devoted disciples, the laymen Hilary and Prosper (of Riez in Provence), wrote to tell him of the state of theology in S. Gaul, especially among the monks of Marseilles, under the presidency of their founder, the well-known teacher John Cassian, formerly a deacon of John Chrysostom.

(*b*) *John Cassian's doctrine of grace.* — John Cassian held Augustine in great veneration; he believed in original sin and in the universal need of grace, as Augustine did; on these crucial matters he was no Pelagian. But he held:[1]

(1) That the first movement of faith by which man grasps grace and profits by it is the effort of man's native capacity unaided; (2) that grace is not irresistible; man can of his own free choice reject, just as he can accept, it, though, unless he accepts it, he remains powerless to be or do good; (3) that God offers His grace freely to all men, and genuinely and literally wills all men to be saved; that all men do not profit by grace is due solely to their own rejection of it; (4) that, consequently, God's predestination, of which Scripture certainly speaks, is grounded on His foreknowledge of those who would accept or reject His grace, not on any arbitrary selection of His sovereign choice.

Cassian opposed Augustine's teaching on election and irresistible grace as tending to fatalism and dangerous to morality. It is clear that his protest had little in common with Pelagianism proper; Cassian himself had indeed been nurtured in Eastern rather than Western theology; but the principles which he formulated were also maintained by men such as Hilary of Arles, whose thought was built up with characteristically Augustinian ideas. The whole movement was occasioned by Augustine's teaching, and is not unjustly described by Harnack as 'popular Catholicism made more definite and profound by Augustine's doctrines.'[2]

The weak spot in the theory was its unwillingness to allow that even in the first movement of the soul towards faith the prime mover is God; Christian instinct, no less than Christian logic, insists that for this, very often its hardest task, the will needs and finds divine assistance no less than in the effort to continue faithful, and Christian piety recognizes as the outstanding element of its experience the grace of God presiding at its very inception.

It is not surprising that Augustine would have none of it; just before his death he composed a work in two parts to refute his Gallic critics, *de Predestinatione Sanctorum* and *de Dono Perseverantiæ* (428–429). The writings add little of force or clarity to what he had already written; they contain the interesting confession that he had himself earlier held the views which he now rejects,[3] while they deal adequately enough with the illogical nature of Semi-Pelagianism, in that, while it insists on the need of 'co-operating' grace, it denies the need of 'prevenient' or 'origin-

[1] Harnack, v. 249.
[2] *De Pecc. Meritis*, ii. 30, *e. duas Pelag. Ep.* i. 5, 7.
[3] *De Gratia Christi*, 4 f.
[4] Cf. his famous distinction between the 'posse non peccare' of natural free will, and the 'non posse peccare' of the free will assisted by supernatural grace (*de Corrept. et Gratia*, 33 [xii.]).

[1] Cassian's teaching is formulated in his *Collationes Patrum*, xiii.; cf. Harnack, v. 248, note 2.
[2] v. 245, note 3.
[3] *De Dono Persev.* 55.

ating' grace. They do not soften the rigours of his own theory of the irresistibility of grace, and of the absoluteness of God's predestination. Still busy with his 'unfinished work' in refutation of Julian, Augustine died on 28th Aug. 430.

(*c*) *The controversy after Augustine's death.*—Prosper continued the campaign against the monks of Gaul, but without convincing them, although he allowed that Augustine spoke 'too harshly,' and distinguished between 'predestination' as to salvation and 'prescience' as to reprobation. He was supported by a letter from Pope Cœlestine, insisting on the need of prevenient grace, and containing a panegyric of Augustine, yet the opposition did not languish, and among the critics of predestinarianism with whom Prosper tried to deal was a certain Vincent, not without reason identified by many scholars with the famous Vincent of Lerins, author of the *Commonitorium*. This writer cannot be accused of maintaining the characteristic 'Semi-Pelagian' theory as to grace; he concentrated his criticism on the inferences which were to be drawn from a strict application of Augustine's theory of predestination and irresistible grace; here, throughout the controversy, was the real rock of offence, and we may well believe that, 'if grace had not been called irresistible, Semi-Pelagianism might never have been heard of.'[1]

The controversy was continued for close on a century. About 450 two remarkable anonymous writers made their contribution to it, the conciliatory Augustinian author of the *de Vocatione Gentium* and the bitter anti-predestinarian author of the *Prædestinatus*, a cruel parody of Augustinianism. Semi-Pelagianism held its own in S. Gaul, and found its most influential champion in Faustus, bishop of Riez and formerly abbot of Lerins, a great patron of monasticism. Around his opinions the controversy revived; he insisted that original sin and free will were not mutually exclusive; that the latter, though weakened, was yet able always to co-operate with grace, which, indeed, he thought of mainly as external aid, concentrated in the doctrine and ordinances of the Church; he taught a rudimentary doctrine of merit, which was by now becoming one of the implicit conceptions of theology. He was every whit as strong in his support of original sin as he was in his antipathy to predestination.

Faustus's teaching came, after his death (*c.* 500), to the notice of the authorities at Rome, and of certain African bishops living exiled in Sardinia; one of these, Fulgentius of Ruspe, wrote replies to Faustus, upholding Augustinianism out and out, and in 520 Pope Hormisdas, while declining officially to condemn Faustus's writings, declared that the doctrines of the Roman Church as to sin and grace could be seen from the writings of Augustine.

(*d*) *The Synod of Orange* (*529*).—In S. Gaul the Semi-Pelagian party still maintained itself, but the ablest and most respected bishop of the times, Cæsarius of Arles, though himself a pupil of the monks of Lerins, spoke out as a vigorous champion of Augustine.[2] Under his presidency an important synod assembled at Orange in 529,[3] composed not only of clergy but of laity; 25 canons were promulgated, and these were subsequently invested with more than local importance by the official approval accorded them by Pope Boniface II., which has caused them to be accepted by Latin orthodoxy as embodying its final decisions on the subject.[4]

[1] Bright, *Age of the Fathers*, ii. 400.

[2] His most important work was the *de Gratia et Libero Arbitrio*, now lost.

[3] Known officially as the Second Synod at Orange, Arausicana Secunda (see Hefele, iv. sect. 242).

[4] Boniface's confirmation is in a letter wrongly dated 'Jan. 25. 530,' but written in Nov. or Dec. of that year.

The canons were based on selections made for the use of the synod by Pope Felix IV. from the writings of Augustine and Prosper. They emphatically exclude Semi-Pelagianism, in so far as they repeatedly insist on the need of prevenient grace.

E.g., 'The grace of God is not granted in response to prayer, but itself causes prayer to be offered for it' (3); 'that we may be cleansed from sin, God does not wait upon, but prepares, our will' (4); 'the beginning of faith is not due to us, but to God' (5); 'undeserved grace precedes meritorious works . . . Grace is not nature' (21); 'to love God is the gift of God' (25).

But no less significant is the absence of any definition of grace as irresistible, and of all reference to predestination and election, except an anathema against any, 'if any there were,' who should maintain a predestination to evil.[1]

The Fathers of Orange cannot be held to have solved the problems of free will and determinism, but theirs is at least the credit of excluding from the traditions of Christian orthodoxy a demoralizing fatalism which did violence to men's most sacred instincts concerning the justice and all-embracing love of God, while the dictates of piety and humility were generously obeyed in their clear insistence on the supremacy of grace. The definite though modified Augustinianism of Orange became the accepted theology of Western Christendom as to sin and grace; history has proved that it can be combined all too easily with those tendencies which developed the mediæval doctrines of merit and good works and produced a type of religion which, for all the difference in its external expression, was for all practical purposes Pelagian rather than Augustinian in its effects, in that it sought to earn by acts of piety that grace which in theory it professed was freely given.

5. Conclusion.—Predestinarianism, like Pelagianism, dies hard; if the 'common-sense logic' of the latter still satisfies the 'plain man' so far as he concerns himself with such things, the profounder and more imposing coherence of the former has continued to attract ardent supporters, more especially in times of religious and intellectual stress. After an acute recrudescence in the Carlovingian renaissance of the 9th cent., when Gottschalk's crude Augustinianism was combated by Rabanus and Hincmar (848–853), the controversy was quiescent for centuries. The Schoolmen were content to systematize the doctrine of grace on the basis of a recognized 'mystery'; it was enough for faith that 'God "knew" how efficaciously to incline the will, without infringing on its liberty.'[2] But in the turmoil of the 16th cent. the great problem of grace once more became vital: for Luther, and overwhelmingly for Calvin, predestination emerged as a foundation principle, while the Roman Catholic Church was faced with the difficulties raised by the systems of Molinos, Baius, and Jansen. In England the conflict between Calvinist and Arminian became more than academic, and in the great Evangelical Revival of the 18th cent. proved real enough to cause the separation between Wesley and Whitefield. In the 19th cent. the amazing progress of natural science seemed for a while to ensure the triumph of determinism, and suggested to the theologians affected by it strange combinations of a naturalistic conception of 'grace' with an equally naturalistic idea of predetermining 'Providence'; but Pelagius and Augustine were not thus easily to be reconciled. Meanwhile evolutionary systems of ethics and theology, no less than the scientific study of religion itself by the anthropologist, the historian, and the psychologist, are necessitating a radical reconsideration of those traditional conceptions of sin and grace and free will which were the lingua franca of the

[1] A further synod at Valence in 529 or 530 served only to reiterate the conclusions reached at Orange

[2] Cf. *ERE* vi. 369b.

earlier controversies. Yet the problem which the study of the Pelagian controversies raises remains the same, and its solution must continue to be of the most vital interest to morality and religion; for it is concerned with the discovery of an ultimate synthesis between three basal and undying convictions—the responsibility of the individual, the solidarity of the race, and the supremacy of God.

See also artt. AUGUSTINE, BAPTISM, CALVIN, FREE WILL, GRACE, ORIGINAL SIN, PERFECTION, PREDESTINATION.

LITERATURE.—The extant writings of Pelagius, included in Jerome's works, viz. *Expositiones in Ep. Pauli, Epist. ad Demetr.*, and *Libellus Fidei ad Innocent.*; various Pelagian Confessions of Faith collected in A. Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln*[3], Breslau, 1897, pp. 288–293; the Anti-Pelagian treatises of Augustine (collected and translated in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, 1st ser., vol. v., New York, 1887), with a valuable introduction by B. B. Warfield; W. Bright, *Introd. to Select Anti-Pelagian Treatises of Augustine*, Oxford, 1880, *Age of the Fathers*, London, 1903, vol. ii. ch. xxxiii. f.; Marius Mercator, *Opera*, pars i. in *PL* xlviii.; A. Brückner, 'Julian von Eclanum,' in *TU* xv. 3 [1897]; G. P. Fisher, *Hist. of Christian Doctrine*, Edinburgh, 1896, pp. 183–197; A. Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr., 7 vols., London, 1894–99, v.; F. J. Hall, *Evolution and the Fall*, New York, 1910; J. B. Mozley, *Augustinian Doctrine of Predestination*[2], London, 1878, ch. iii.; F. R. Tennant, *The Origin and Propagation of Sin*[2], Cambridge, 1906, *The Sources of the Doctrines of the Fall and Original Sin*, do. 1903; G. F. Wiggers, *Versuch einer pragmatischen Darstellung des Augustinismus und Pelagianismus*, Hamburg, 1821–33.

R. G. PARSONS.

PENANCE (Roman Catholic). — Penance designates (1) a sacrament of the Roman Catholic Church, (2) a punishment inflicted for sins committed, and, more particularly, (3) an ecclesiastical or canonical punishment.

The most satisfactory method of investigating the nature and character of penance, as understood and practised in the Church, is to follow its historical development from its origin.

The very idea of the religion of Christ is that of a redemption from sin, through the sufferings of Jesus, the salutary effects of whose vicarious expiation are imparted to each individual soul at its conversion to the faith, as accompanied and evidenced by baptism and admission into the Church. As a consequence, some uncertainty in doctrine and practice was bound to result as to the attitude which the Church should observe towards those who, once regenerated through baptism, fell into sin again and applied for reconciliation.

In the Roman Catholic view the emphatic statement of Jesus bestowing on His apostles without any restriction authority to forgive sins (Mt 16^{19} 18^{18}, Jn 20^{21-23}) left no doubt in the minds of the early Christians as to the general power vested in the Church to forgive all manner of sins. Such is at least the Roman Catholic belief reasserted in the decree *Lamentabili* (3rd July 1907), in which are condemned two modernistic propositions (46, 47) which assert that 'in the primitive Church there was no idea of the reconciliation of the Christian sinner by the authority of the Church,' and that, 'even after it came to be recognized as an institution of the Church, it was not called by the name of sacrament.'

Nevertheless in the earliest times there were three kinds of crimes considered so atrocious that they were punished by perpetual excommunication: idolatry, homicide, and adultery or fornication. This did not imply that such sins were considered unforgivable, but merely that the Church did not want to assume the responsibility of pronouncing on them, leaving them to be settled between the conscience of the sinner and God Himself. Very early, however, it came to be realized that such a rigorous attitude was more detrimental than beneficial, and already the *Pastor* of Hermas (*c.* 140–154) contains assurances of forgiveness for all sins except blasphemy of the Name and betrayal of the brethren (*Sim.* ix. 19). Hermas clearly expresses at the same time that the forgiveness which he announces is in the nature of a unique concession, to be had once only and for the time being, and that those who sin afterwards will be unworthy of the grace, for 'there is but one repentance for the servants of God' (*Mand.* iv. i. 8) —a restriction which Roman Catholic authors understand of public reconciliation only.

Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* ii. 13), Denys of Corinth (in Eus. *HE* iv. 23), and the *Didache* of the Apostles do not seem to admit of so many restrictions, and Tertullian (*de Pœn.* v.–xi.) distinguishes two kinds of penance, one as a preparation to baptism and the other to obtain forgiveness of some grievous sin after baptism. In his 'peremptory edict' Pope Callistus (218–222) declares: 'I forgive the sins both of adultery and fornication to those who have done penance'—whereupon Tertullian, now become a Montanist, protests in his *de Pudicitia* against Callistus's error, that the Church could forgive all sins, and likewise takes Hermas to task for favouring the pardon of adulterers. Much rigour was still exhibited in practice; in most cases reconciliation was deferred to the moment of death, and Cyprian (*Ep.* lv. [li.] 21) expressly alludes to the 'ancient bishops' who kept adulterers for ever excluded from the Church. It seems, however, that forgiveness was everywhere granted to the sinners who had obtained the intercession of the martyrs in the shape of a *Libellus pacis*, although Cyprian at Carthage refused to recognize such an indulgence. In Spain, as late as 300, the Council of Elvira pronounced perpetual exclusion against the idolaters.

But the old time rigour began gradually to be mitigated at the example and lead of the Church of Rome. Pope Cornelius (251–253) extends forgiveness to the *lapsi* of the persecution, and reconciliation is denied only to those who have deferred asking for it until at the point of death. Against the concessions of Callistus and Cornelius, Hippolytus and Novatian (condemned in a Synod of Rome in 251) formed schisms, the latter originating a sect which lasted two centuries (see NOVATIANISTS). Yet Cyprian (*de Lapsis* [251]), while rebuking the *lapsi*, exhorts them to penance; for the 'forgiveness granted by the priests is acceptable to God.'

1. **Public penance.**—Public penance, which was necessary for the re-admission of the sinner within the pale of the Christian community, was preceded by a confession (ἐξομολόγησις), public or private, according to the cases (Origen, *Hom. in Lev.* ii. 4 [*PG* xii. 418]; Augustine, *Sermo* cli.; Tertullian, *de Pœn.* ix.). The confession was followed by penitential practices exercised under the supervision of the proper authority, who was in the West the bishop, and in the East a special penitentiary appointed by the bishop.

The nature of those penitential exercises varied; according to Tertullian (*de Pœn.*), they consisted in prayer, fasting, prostration at the feet of the priests of the Church, dressing in sackcloth and rags, lying in ashes, using the plainest food and drink for the sole purpose of sustaining life, and harsh treatment of the body.

In the East, according to Gregory Thaumaturgus (263) and Basil (*Ep.* cxcix. 22, ccxvii. 56), a classification of penitents into four groups was observed: the ἀκροώμενοι, assimilated to the catechumens, and excluded from all participation in the mysteries; the ὑποπίπτοντες, or γόνυ κλίνοντες, who were permitted to attend the services kneeling; and the συστάντες, who attended the services, but were debarred from communion; each of those groups had its special place assigned in the Church; the fourth class was added later, the προσκλαίοντες,

who remained outside the Church door. These distinctions seem to have been ignored in the West, where all penitents were assimilated to the catechumens. The whole penitential process was closed by a solemn function held on Holy Thursday, when, after a consultation (*concilium*) of the bishop and the clergy, the penitents received a solemn absolution from the bishop or even, in case of necessity, from a deacon (Cyprian, *Ep.* xviii.); this fact showed that such reconciliation was understood to be 'in foro externo' only, and not sacramental, although some writers hold the opposite view.

At the point of death such reconciliation, at that period, was never refused even for the most grievous sins, although sometimes communion was even then denied to apostates (cf. Leo I. [442], *Ep.* cviii. 4 [*PL* liv. 1012 f.]; also Cœlestine [428], *Ep.* iv., 'To the bishops of Vienne and Narbonne,' 2; and Nicæa [325], can. 13; Arles [314], can. 22).

Public penance could be permitted only once, as is evident from Hermas, Tertullian, Origen (*Hom. in Lev.* xv. 2), and Ambrose (*de Pœn.* ii. 10 [95]), the reason being, according to Augustine, 'lest the remedy become common' (*Ep.* cliii. 'ad Maced.' 7). The principle was renewed as late as 589 by the Council of Toledo.

The primitive discipline was severe, even extreme in some cases (Innocent, *Ep.* vi. 2 [405]), but was gradually mitigated through the subsequent period and throughout the Middle Ages. In 390 a public scandal in Constantinople induced the patriarch Nectarius to suppress the charge of penitentiary, which was followed by the abolition of public penance throughout the East. The practice was kept up in the West, but not extended to the newly-converted peoples like the Anglo-Saxons. Among those, as well as in the Eastern Church, the exomologesis is henceforth always secret.

From contemporary documents we see that the career of penance was inaugurated by the imposition of the hands and the bestowal of a hair shirt. The penitent must shave his head, wear mourning, abstain from the management of business, lawsuits, and military service, and practise perpetual continence (if married, only with the consent of his consort). Clerics guilty of a capital crime had formerly been subjected to the same penance as laymen; in the 4th cent. the custom was established of deposing them without excommunication, thereby reducing them to the lay communion (*Can. Apost.* 25). In the Roman (not, however, in the Gallican) Church they were not allowed to submit to public penance.

In the West public confession was finally suppressed by ordinance of Pope Leo I. († 461; *Ep.* clxviii. 2); but public penance was maintained.

During the contemporary period the texts of the Fathers became both numerous and explicit in the assertion of the power existing in the Church to forgive all sins; Augustine (*de Agon. Christ.* xxxi.) states that 'the Church of God has power to forgive all sins'; Ambrose († 392), rebuking the Novatians (*de Pœn.* I. ii. 6, II. ii. 12), claims for the priests of the Church the authority 'to pardon without any exception'; Pacian of Barcelona († 390) maintained that the forgiving of sins done by the priest is 'the doing of God's own power' (*ad Sympron.* [*PL* xiii. 1057]). In the East St. Cyril of Alexandria († 447; *in Joan.* xii., on 20^{23} [*PG* lxxiv. 722]), Chrysostom († 407; *de Sacerdot.* iii. 5 f.), and Athanasius († 373; *Frag. c. Novat.* [*PG* xxvi. 1315]) inculcate the same notion. The idea of transmission of the power of forgiving sins is clearly expressed in the *Canons of Hippolytus* (xvii.) and the *Apostolic Constitutions* (viii. 5 [*PG* i. 1073]).

2. Penitential books.—The period which witnesses the gradual diminution of public penance and its supersession by the private exomologesis is also characterized by the appearance and diffusion, in both the Eastern and the Western Church, mostly from the 7th cent., of the Penitentials, or penitential books, which held sway in the practice and administration of penance until the codification known under the name of the *Decree of Gratian* (1140), and the rise of the Scholastic theology which superseded them.

Those books, the nucleus of which was the penitential canons laid down by councils and bishops, were compilations of regulations and decisions intended to guide the confessors in the practice and administration of penance. While granting the part that they played in educating the barbarian races in Ireland, England, and Frankland, we must admit that they represented no real progress, but a growing complication of the penitential discipline, and grew so numerous, sometimes conflicting and often tending to a relaxation of moral rules, that they caused in the 9th cent. a sort of reaction and hostile revulsion. Some of them had been published with the sanction of the Church and followed the ancient canonical decrees and the statutes of St. Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, and others; others were merely private works which found wide circulation, while some called for reprehension and condemnation at the hands of the ecclesiastical authorities.

Among the most important of the Penitentials may be mentioned, in the East, those of John the Faster and John the Monk, in the West the *Liber de Pœnitentia* of St. Columbanus († 615), partly based on the earlier 'canons of St. Patrick' and of St. Finian († 552), and the Penitentials of St. David († 544) and Gildas († 583). The work of St. Columbanus had considerable influence on the Continent. The *Penitentiale* of Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury († 690), was of great authority in the Anglo-Saxon Church and throughout the West during the next four centuries. The Penitential of St. Cummian (8th cent.) and the *Liber Pœnitentium* of Rabanus Maurus (841) also exercised considerable influence at the time. There is no proof, so far, that there existed any real papal Penitential.

It is interesting to gather from those books some definite notions as to the rules and practice of penance throughout the period in the Celtic and Saxon Churches in England. In two so-called 'Synods of St. Patrick' it is prescribed that he who commits any of the capital sins shall perform a year's penance for each offence, at the end of which he shall come with witnesses to be absolved by the priests, and 'let penance be short, rather than long, and tempered with relaxation' (D. Wilkins, *Concilia*, London, 1737, i. 3 f.). In the Irish Church the confessor was called *anmchara*, 'soul's friend' (*animae carus*).

The *Leabhar Breac* states that 'the soul is healed by confession and declaration of the sins, with sorrow, and by the prayers of the Church, and a determination henceforth to observe the laws . . . because Christ left to His Apostles and Church, to the end of the world, the power of loosing and binding.'

The necessity of confession before communion is expressly recommended (can. xxx.) in the Penitential of St. Columbanus, and the practice of public penance is also regulated in detail in the Penitentials. In the Anglo-Saxon Church penance was called *behreowsung*, the confessor was the *scrift*, confession the *scrift spraec*, the parish the *scrift scire*, and the Penitential the *scrift boc*. In the Penitential of Theodore it is stated that 'there is no public penance in this province'; that not the deacon but the bishop shall impose penance on the laymen; and that, while communion should be deferred to the end of the penance, it may be allowed after a year or six months. The Peniten-

tial of Egbert of York († 266) says that the bishop shall not refuse confession to those who desire it, though they be guilty of many sins (Wilkins, i. 126). For stealing Cummian prescribes that a layman shall do one year of penance, a cleric two, a subdeacon three, a deacon four, a priest five, a bishop six. For murder or perjury penance lasted from three to twelve years according to the rank of the penitent. For perjury over the gospel or holy relics Egbert enjoins seven or eleven years of penance. Usury was punished by three years, infanticide by fifteen, idolatry by ten; for violations of the sixth commandment from three to fifteen years were enjoined, and from three to twenty-five years for incest. During that period, or a specified portion of the time, the penitent was to fast on bread and water, or, if unable, to recite daily a certain number of psalms; he was, moreover, to scourge himself or perform some other penitential exercise as determined by the confessor.

During the period which extends to the end of the 11th cent. the penitential discipline was steadily mitigated, and public penance was inflicted only for public sins. On the other hand, the number of sins to be publicly expiated was notably increased, while public penance was not merely offered but enjoined and imposed by means of ecclesiastical censures and often enforced by recourse to the 'secular arm.' It took the form of fasting, exile, distant pilgrimages, scourging, claustration, etc. The Synod of Worms (868) removed the prohibition for penitents to live in the state of marriage.

The habit had been gradually introduced to redeem with alms, after the fashion of the Teutonic *Wergeld*, the various penalties. The Penitentials, from the 8th cent., enumerate the sins considered equivalent to the fasts or other austerities which the penitent could not observe. The first authentic instance of the partial redemption of public penance occurs at the Synod of Tribur (895); but soon abuses crept in, and the Council of Rouen (1048) forbade arbitrary changes in the pecuniary compensation required.

On the other hand, excommunication had grown into a general interdiction from all intercourse with the Christian world. The interdict, extended to entire districts for the first time in the 9th cent. (Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.* viii. 31, ix. 15), and consisting in the suspension of all religious functions within the territory affected, is now being applied to considerable regions (Limoges, 1031); at the same time it is rendered less rigorous and absolute, private reception of baptism and of the last rites and even private celebration of the services being permitted.

In the Middle Ages the practice of redeeming penance had become general. A penitent would be excused from the prescribed works of penance at the cost, *e.g.*, of equipping a soldier for the crusade, of building a bridge or a road, etc. The consequent diminution of the practice and spirit of personal penance resulted in the Church imposing at the Fourth Council of Lateran, on all the faithful without exception, the obligation to confess, at least once a year, to an authorized priest during Easter time, and to fulfil the penance enjoined by him. As a consequence, in the 14th cent. general public penance practically disappears, and in the 16th cent. it occurs only exceptionally.

3. The Scholastic doctrine.—The rise of the Scholastic philosophy, with its sustained effort to organize the Catholic beliefs and practices into a systematic doctrinal whole on the basis of the Aristotelian philosophy, resulted in an interpretation of the subject of penance which was received without opposition. It is to-day held by all Roman Catholics. As, however, the subsequent rise of the Protestant Reformation with its doctrine of justification by faith alone brought into question all the theological development of the past ages, three centuries afterwards the Church saw herself forced to re-state her own beliefs and practices in answer to the new doctrine. She did this by practically defining as her own at Trent (1551) the principal conclusions of the Scholastic doctors, the definitive expression of which is found principally in the works of Thomas Aquinas, especially in the *Summa Theol.* III. qu. 84–90, supplem. qu. 1–28; and in *Sent.* IV., dist. xvii., xviii., xix. To avoid repetitions, we shall, therefore, while giving a summary of the Scholastic doctrine, indicate in parenthesis the sessions and canons of the councils which raised each individual conclusion to the dignity of a dogma of the Catholic faith.

Penance is a virtue, more probably a special virtue. It was at all times necessary for the remission of sins (Trent, sess. xiv. can. 1). In the Christian dispensation sins committed after baptism are actually and judicially forgiven by the Church in virtue of the power of the keys in a rite which is truly a sacrament of the new law, and based on the words of Christ in Jn 20^{21-23}:

> 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose soever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven unto them; whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained' (*ib.*).

Like all conceivable things in this material world, that sacrament has its matter or quasi-matter (Florence, 1439; Trent, xiv. 2), consisting of the three acts of the penitent—contrition, confession, and satisfaction—and its form, the absolution (*q.v.*). The effect of that sacrament is deliverance from sin (Florence; Trent, *loc. cit.*), which implies remission of the guilt and the eternal punishment due to sin, but requires satisfaction for the temporal punishment into which it is commuted (Trent, xiv. 3). That sacrament is distinct from baptism (*ib.* 2), against the Protestant contention that it was at most a statement and declaration of the forgiveness already obtained once for all, through faith alone. While the sacrament is indispensable for the remission of mortal sins, it is not for that of venial sins which can be forgiven otherwise, but which are rightly declared in confession (Leo X., in the bull *Exsurge* against Luther's contention [H. Denzinger, *Enchiridion*[11], Freiburg, 1911, no. 753]). The only minister of that sacrament is the priest and not the laity (Martin V., against Wyclif and Hus, 1418, in bull *Inter cunctas* [Denzinger, 670]; Leo X., against Luther in bull *Exsurge* [*ib.* 753]; Trent, xiv. 6). The valid administration of that sacrament requires a double power (or 'key'), that of order, conferred in the sacerdotal ordination, and that of jurisdiction over the faithful, dependent on the delegation of the ecclesiastical authority, so that absolution pronounced by those not having ordinary or delegated jurisdiction was invalid and of no effect (Trent, xiv. 7). The ecclesiastical authority may limit or restrict the exercise of the said delegated jurisdiction over the faithful by reservation of cases, except at the point of death.

Being a sacrament, penance can have no effect on the unbaptized; on the baptized themselves it can have no effect of reconciliation unless accompanied by repentance. Of this there are two kinds: perfect contrition and imperfect contrition, or attrition (Trent, xiv. 4); the former is a repentance consisting in the hatred of sin as an offence to God, the latter is based on the fear of everlasting punishment. Even perfect contrition, while in itself sufficient to reconcile the soul with God, cannot do so without the actual reception of the sacrament, or, in case of impossibility, 'apart from the desire of the sacrament which it includes'

(*ib.*). In line with this canon is the condemnation in 1571 by Pius V. of the proposition of Baius, that, except in case of martyrdom or necessity, perfect contrition does not remit sin without the actual reception of the sacrament (Denzinger, 724), and of the proposition of Peter Martinez of Osma (by Sixtus IV. in 1479) that mortal sins are blotted out by contrition alone without reference to the power of the keys.

Imperfect contrition, while in itself insufficient to reconcile the soul with God, becomes so in the sacrament by virtue of the absolution, but never without it, even in case of necessity.

The sacrament of penance is not an institution the use of which is left to the option of the penitent; it is as necessary to baptized sinners for salvation as is baptism to those who have not yet been regenerated (Trent, xiv. 2); for confession, or the declaration of one's sins specifically and in detail (*ib.* 5), is indispensable for the remission of sins. There is no necessity for such confession to be public rather than private or auricular; private confession is sufficient in all cases; for public confession is neither of divine institution nor commanded of God (*ib.*). To obtain forgiveness it is therefore indispensable to confess at least all mortal sins, and none can be forgiven separately, so that the wilful concealment of a single mortal sin is a sacrilege that invalidates the entire confession; grievous sins inadvertently omitted must be accused in the next confession (*ib.* 8). The same sins can be appropriately confessed over again, each new accusation, in the view of Aquinas, resulting in a diminution of the temporal punishment due to sin.

Inviolable secrecy (except by express permission of the penitent), even at the cost of life or honour, is enjoined on the priest and on any one, interpreter or the like, who has in any manner become informed of the contents of a confession (4th Council of Lateran, ch. xxi.; Denzinger, 438). The penalty of deposition, confinement, and perpetual penance is pronounced on any transgressing confessor, be the revelation direct or indirect, and neither the care of public safety nor that of securing the fulfilment of legal justice, nor any cause whatsoever, excuses from that strict obligation. It is not even permitted to make use of any knowledge so obtained (decree of the Holy Office, 18th Nov. 1602).

Sacramental confession 'by divine right necessary and established' is not therefore a human invention devised by the Fathers of the Lateran; they only prescribed 'that the precept of confessing at least once a year should be complied with by all and every one when they reach the age of discretion' (Lateran, ch. 21).

Sins forgiven by absolution, while pardoned as to the guilt and the everlasting punishment due to them, must nevertheless be expiated by satisfaction for the temporal punishment which they leave after them; this obligation is fulfilled by the sacramental penance imposed by the priest, as well as by private good works, prayers, alms, fasting, works of merit, indulgences (*q.v.*), etc. Accordingly, the Council of Trent (cans. 12 and 15) expressly condemned the Protestant doctrine that the entire punishment due to sin is always forgiven with the guilt, and that it is a fiction to say that there remains to be paid a temporal penalty; for 'of all of the parts of penance, satisfaction was constantly recommended to the people by our Fathers.'

Such is, in succinct outline, the doctrine of the sacrament of penance, as elaborated by the Schoolmen and adopted by the Council of Trent. It had been in quiet possession of the whole Church for 300 years, on the admission of Calvin, before the doctrine of justification by (fiduciary) faith alone was proclaimed by the Reformers. For supplementary information on the subject of the various parts of the sacrament see the special articles on ABSOLUTION, EXPIATION AND ATONEMENT (Christian), INDULGENCES, etc. We may, however, give here a somewhat more complete account of its most characteristic feature, viz. confession.

4. **Confession.** — Confession is considered by Roman Catholics (cf. Trent, *loc. cit.*) as of divine institution. That it should be a logical consequence of the interpretation of Jn $20^{22f.}$, in the sense defined by Trent, is admitted even by such unsympathetic historians as Lea (*Hist. of Auricular Confession*, i. 181 f.), since no judge can authoritatively loose or bind without a knowledge of the case, so that general confession without a detailed statement of sins would not answer the idea. The practice of confessing one's sins is already inculcated in Ja 5^{16} and 1 Jn 1^{9}, and has therefore its foundation in the NT. An examination of the various texts of the Fathers which we have mentioned above will show that they understood the power of penance as distinct from that of conferring baptism, the latter being conceived and described as a spiritual rebirth, the former as a second plank after shipwreck.

The *Didachè* commands individual confession in the congregation (iv. 14, xiv. 1). Irenæus (130–204) mentions the fact that some sinners 'perform their exomologesis openly also' (*adv. Hær.* I. xiii. 7 [*PG* vii. 591]), and Clement of Rome says: 'It is better for a man to confess his sins, than to harden his heart' (*ad Cor.* I. li. 3). Origen († 254) says: 'If they accuse themselves and confess, they at the same time vomit the sin and cast off every cause of disease' (*Hom. ii. in Ps. xxxvii.* 6 [*PG* xii. 1386]). Cyprian recommends mercy to the sinner 'because in hell there is no confession and exomologesis cannot be made there' (*Ep.* li. [lv.] 'ad Antonian.' 29), and he praises those 'who confess in sorrow and simplicity to the priests of God' (*de Lapsis*, xxviii.).

Lactantius († 330) states: 'that is the true Church in which there is confession or penance' (*Div. Inst.* iv. 30). Exhortations to confession are found in Augustine (*in Ps. lxvi.* 6), in Jerome, in his sermon on penance, and in Ambrose (*de Pœn.* I. ii. 7), and Basil (*Reg. brev. tract.* 229) refers to the priests as the only fit recipients of the avowal of the penitents.

The idea of confessing to God alone, afterwards revived by the Protestants, is swept aside by Augustine (*Sermo* cccxcii. 3 [*PL* xxxix. 1711]: 'Was it for nothing that the keys were given to the Church?'

Leo the Great (440–461), who has often been credited with the institution of the practice, calls it an apostolic rule (*Ep.* clxviii., cviii. [*PL* liv. 1210, 1011]). It is, moreover, to be noticed that Gregory the Great († 604, *in I. Reg.* iii. 13 [*PL* lxxix. 207]) expressly refers to it as a well-established practice. According to Lea (i. 228), the decree of the Lateran made of the necessity of confession a new article of faith; this, however, is contradicted expressly by the Council of Trent, and by the practice of the Oriental Church, which separated from the Western as early as the 10th cent., and in which the practice of confession is both habitual and obligatory. The only doctor of the Middle Ages who does not pronounce decisively for the necessity of confession is Gratian (*Decret.* II. 'de Pœn.' dist. i. [*PL* clxxxvii. 1519–63]); with the other doctors the only question is about the origin and sanction of the obligation and the value of the Scriptural texts. That question is settled definitely by Aquinas (*c. Gentes*, iv. 72). He also interprets the decree of the Lateran as meaning that the obligation of confessing mortal sins urges, not as soon as possible after sinning (Albertus Magnus), but only during Easter time.

Such are some of the principal authorities on which the Roman Catholics base their doctrine and practice and which induced the Council of Trent to define penance as a dogma of the Church.

For the convenient and public regular exercise of penance there have been introduced, not earlier than the 16th cent., among the furniture of the Roman Catholic churches confessionals, either movable or immovable (sometimes pieces of real artistic value in woodwork). They consist essentially of seats or stalls affording a central lodge with a seat for the confessor and kneeling accommodation at the sides for the penitents, with the view and purpose of securing enough publicity and, at the same time, enough privacy for both safeguard and convenience. The canonical regu-

lations insist that they must be established 'in loco patenti' and provided with a wooden or metal partition or crate between the seat of the confessor and that of the penitents.

Their use is practically enjoined everywhere, except in the case of necessity, when hearing the confessions at least of women; and, if there may still be found churches where they are not in use, and where, *e.g.*, confessions are heard at the communion railing, these conditions must be considered as irregular and uncanonical.

With the proclamation of the principle of justification through faith alone, consisting in the external imputation of the merits of Christ, it followed as a logical consequence that justification, once obtained, was certain (according to Calvin, for the predestined alone); equal in all, and inamissible except by loss of faith (for Luther, and not even by that for Calvin); so, therefore, there could be no real wiping off of sin by any sanctifying grace as taught by the Schoolmen, nor any sacrament of penance, nor, consequently, any necessity for confession.

The Lutherans, accordingly, soon dropped the obligation of private confession altogether, through various ordinances, as in 1657 in Saxony and in Brandenburg in 1698, although the private practice was not prohibited. Since the beginning of the 19th cent. it has been somewhat revived among orthodox Lutherans.

In England the Wesleyans have Church discipline, and so had, as is well known, the Calvinistic and Presbyterian bodies, but no confession, while the Salvation Army practises and recommends public confession. The Anglicans do not prescribe auricular confession; they merely advise it, when necessary to satisfy one's conscience, and to the sick if they feel their conscience troubled. The Oxford Movement revived it to a considerable extent, and Pusey in 1878 published an adapted translation of J. J. Gaume's *Manual for Confessors*; moreover, efforts were made in 1873 to obtain from convocation the licensing of confessors, but without success; for the view 'that post-baptismal sin of a grave sort can receive forgiveness in no other way [than through confession] . . . cannot be found within the covers of the English Prayer-Book' (W. O. Burrows, *s.v.* 'Confession,' in *EBr*[11] vi. 904[b]).

When one recalls the severities of the public penance of bygone ages and contrasts with them the comparative insignificance of the sacramental penance usually inflicted nowadays, one cannot help wondering how such an extraordinary mitigation can harmonize with the theory and practice of the past. It must be remembered, however, that, if the sacramental penance has been immensely lightened, the purpose of that leniency is 'not to repel' the sinner, since repentance here on earth is much more essential than satisfaction, and since all 'unpaid debts,' in the Roman Catholic belief, will be fully discharged in the life hereafter in the purifying flames of purgatory.

LITERATURE.—I. *ROMAN CATHOLIC.*—(*a*) *General.*—*CE*, *s.vv.* 'Penance' and 'Penitential Canons'; J. Pohle, *Lehrbuch der Dogmatik*, iii.[2], Paderborn, 1906; J. M. A. Vacant, *Dict. de Théologie catholique*, Paris, 1899 ff., *s.vv.* 'Absolution,' 'Confession'; E. C. Richardson, *Periodical Articles on Religion, 1890–99*, New York, 1907, *s.vv.* 'Absolution,' 'Confession,' 'Penance.'

(*b*) *Doctrine.*—St. Thomas; R. F. R. Bellarmine, *de Pœnitentia*, I. i. f.; C. R. Billuart, *de Pœnitentia*, i.; N. P. S. Wiseman, *Lectures on the Principal Doctrines and Practices of the Catholic Church*[2], do. 1844, lect. x.; A. Nampon, *Catholic Doctrine as defined by the Council of Trent*, Philadelphia, 1869; L. Billot, *de Eccles. Sacram.*, Rome, 1893–95, ii.; J. Wilhelm and T. B. Scannell, *Manual of Catholic Theology*, London, 1898–99, ii.; M. J. Scheeben and L. Atzberger, *Handbuch der kathol. Dogmatik*, iv., Freiburg, 1903.

(*c*) *Historical.*—D. Petau, *de Pœn. vet.*, Paris, 1624; J. Morin, *Comment. hist. de disciplina Pœn.*, do. 1651; M. C. Chardon, *Hist. des sacrements*, do. 1745, in Migne, *Cursus Theol.*, Paris, 1840–45, xx.; F. Frank, *Die Bussdisciplin der Kirche*, Mainz, 1868; F. Probst, *Sakramente*, Tübingen, 1872; F. X. Funk, *Kirchengeschichtliche Abhandlungen und Untersuchungen*, i., Paderborn, 1897; H. J. Schmitz, *Die Bussbücher*, i., Mainz, 1883, ii., Düsseldorf, 1898; F. W. H. Wasserschleben (non-Catholic), *Die Bussordnungen*, Halle, 1851; J. Gartmeier, *Die Beichtpflicht*, Ratisbon, 1905; G. Rauschen, *Eucharistie und Busssakrament*, Freiburg, 1908; E. Vacandard, 'Le Pouvoir des clefs,' in *Rev. du clergé franç.*, 1898–99, 1908; P. Batiffol, *Études d'Hist. et de théol. positive*, 1st ser.[4], Paris, 1906; G. Esser, various artt. in *Katholik*, 1907–08; Stufler, in *ZKT* xxx. [1906]–xxxiii. [1909]; M. J. O'Donnell, 'The Seal of Confession,' in *Irish Theol. Quart.* v. [1910] 36 ff.; J. E. Graham, in *Am. Cath. Quart. Rev.* xxxiv. [1909]; Brat, *Les Livres pénitentiaux*, Brignais, 1910; L. Delplace, 'Hist. of Auricular Confession,' in *Am. Eccles. Rev.*, 1899; J. Schwane, *Dogmengeschichte*[2], Freiburg, 1895.

II. *NON-ROMAN CATHOLIC.*—H. C. Lea, *Hist. of Auricular Confession*, London, 1896, i. ii. (must be read in connexion with P. H. Casey's Notes [do. 1899] and A. L. Boudinhon's comments in *RHLR* ii. [1897]–iii. [1898]); E. B. Pusey, *Entire Absolution of the Penitent*, Oxford, 1846, *Advice*, etc., do. 1878; T. T. Carter, *The Doctrine of Confession*[3], London, 1885; F. Sieffert, *Die neuesten theol. Forschungen*, Berlin, 1896; A. Harnack, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*[3], Freiburg, 1894–97, i.; T. W. Drury, *Confession and Absolution*, London, 1904; F. Loofs, *Leitfaden zum Studium der Dogmengeschichte*[4], Halle, 1906; H. B. Swete, in *JThSt* iv. [1903] 321 ff.

E. L. VAN BECELAERE.

PENANCE (Anglican).—The words *pœnitentia* and *μετάνοια* are both used in each of three distinct senses: (1) the emotion or sentiment of penitence; (2) the penance, penalty, or course of humiliation assigned or undertaken; (3) the institution, ordinance, or sacrament of penance. This article is mainly concerned with penance as an institution, ordinance of grace, or sacrament of the Christian Church.

The commission of our Lord to the Apostles on which the practice of penance is based is recorded in Jn 20[21-23]. The Lord breathed on them, and said:

'Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained.'

This commission might be applied in two ways (Cyril Alex. *in loco*): by baptism, for those who were not yet members of the Christian Church; and by penance, for the children of the Church who had sinned and fallen from grace. Penance, which is here under consideration, has to do only with baptized Christians who have sinned after baptism.

In the history of the Church there have been extraordinary variations alike in the scope and in the methods of penance. As regards scope, there may be contrasted the prevalent conviction in the 2nd and 3rd centuries that the Church could not reconcile in this life offenders in the three capital sins of apostasy, adultery, and bloodshed; and the teaching of St. Pacian of Barcelona at the end of the 4th cent. that it was for these three capital forms of offence and only for these that penance was needed (*Parœnesis ad Pœnitentiam*). As regards methods, the publicity of the course of penance or humiliation in the early centuries may be contrasted with the privacy of later methods as already shown in the practice of the priest penitentiary at Constantinople in the 5th cent., but not universal in the West till 1000 years of Christianity had passed. A brief survey of this varied history will be the best exposition of the subject.

In the apostolic period St. Paul exercises the commission of retaining in the case of the incestuous Corinthian. He does so with some circumstance.

'For I verily, being absent in body but present in spirit, have already, as though I were present, judged him that hath so wrought this thing, in the name of our Lord Jesus, ye being gathered together, and my spirit, with the power of our Lord Jesus, to deliver such a one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus' (1 Co 5[3-5]).

St. Paul also exercises the commission of remit

ting, whether the person forgiven is the incestuous Corinthian or another offender:

'For what I also have forgiven, if I have forgiven anything, for your sakes have I forgiven it in the person of Christ' (2 Co 2^{10}).

The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews appears already to take the rigorist view as regards apostates:

'It is impossible to renew them again unto repentance' (μετάνοιαν) (He 6^{6}).

The story of St. John and the robber shows the Apostle ready to reconcile a bandit guilty of repeated bloodshed (Clem. Alex. *Quis dives salvetur?*, 42).

In the sub-apostolic period the first authority to notice is Hermas. In the *Shepherd* Hermas, addressing the angel of penitence (the Shepherd), says:

'I have heard, Sir, from certain teachers that there is no other μετάνοια, but that when we went down into the water, and received remission of our former sins' (*Mand.* iv. 3). The angel replies: 'Thou hast well heard for so it is.'

The attitude taken up is that normally there is no remission of capital sins after baptism in this life. But the message to be given is that, under the exceptional circumstances of (*a*) an impending persecution, and (*b*) the approaching end of the age, one μετάνοια after baptism may be admitted, except in the case of the more wilful apostates. This is the inception of the Church rule that only one penance after baptism might be admitted.

In the period A.D. 150–250 the principal writers —Clement of Alexandria, Hippolytus, Tertullian, and Origen—all favour rigorism. Clement holds with Hermas that the normal situation is to admit only the penitence preceding baptism, but that after baptism penance may be admitted once for sins not properly wilful (*Strom.* ii. 13). In Rome Hippolytus strongly condemns the new policy of Callistus which throws open the gate of reconciliation to offenders in the matter of purity (*Refut.* ix. 7). In Carthage Tertullian, now a Montanist, makes an attack on the same policy in his *de Pudicitia*. Origen, who may be taken as representative at once of the Churches of Syria and of Egypt, is similarly severe.

He writes of those who 'overstep the bounds of the priestly dignity in assuming to condone idolatry, and to commit adulteries and fornication' (*de Orat.* 28).

Such sins to Origen are sins incurable (ἀνίατα).

While the great writers are thus at one in the rigorist attitude, there was evidently at the same time a body of opinion which made for leniency or mercy. One bishop who showed the lenient temper was Dionysius of Corinth (*c.* A.D. 171; Eus. *HE* iv. 23). The outstanding champion of the present mercy of the Lord to the penitent offender in fleshly sin was Callistus, bishop of Rome. He admitted such offenders to reconciliation after due penance performed; and his action carried with it the mind of the Church for all future ages. The next class of capital offenders to be admitted to reconciliation was that of the apostates. It was after the Decian persecution (A.D. 250) that the question became urgent. The First Council of Carthage under Cyprian (251) ruled (*a*) that *libellatici* might in approved cases be restored after considerable penance, and (*b*) that *sacrificati* might be restored on the approach of death. The Second Council of Carthage under Cyprian (252), in view of the impending persecution under Gallus II., agreed to reconcile without delay all the penitent lapsed. At Antioch in the same year a council under Demetrianus appears to have united the East in the same policy of mercy. At Alexandria the case of Serapion shows St. Dionysius ready to restore on the approach of death (Eus. *HE* vi. 44). The homicide also was in time admitted to reconciliation before death. The Council of Ancyra (314) regulates the penances for these offenders (canons 22, 23). Finally, the Council of Nicæa (325) ruled by canon 13 for all capital sins that reconciliation was open to penitent offenders before death.

Meanwhile the procedure of penance had been developed in much detail. The *de Pœnitentia* of Tertullian (ch. 9) shows a discipline in use in Carthage, and evidently also at Rome, which included (1) a sordid garb, sackcloth and ashes; (2) dietary restrictions; (3) public lamentation; (4) prostration before the presbyters; and (5) kneeling before the faithful. This course of ordered public humiliation was styled *exomologesis*. There must have been a confession of offence in words in connexion with this exomologesis; but there is no evidence of any public confession in detail. Half a century later, again in Carthage, the system of procedure is spoken of by St. Cyprian as *ordo* (*Ep.* 11), as *ordo disciplinæ* (*Ep.* 9), as *disciplina Domini* (*Ep.* 11). It was admissible in the ordinary course 'in minoribus peccatis' (*Ep.* 9), such sins being minor as compared with the capital sins of apostasy and bloodshed, though probably including sins of impurity. It involved (*a*) *pœnitentia*, (*b*) exomologesis, and (*c*) the imposition of the hands of the bishop and clergy (*Ep.* 9) for the admission of the persons to communion. Confession was not made publicly, but 'apud sacerdotes,' the word *sacerdos* being at this time used of bishops only (*de Lapsis*, 28).

A few years after the Decian persecution a great missionary bishop of Pontus, St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, organized in his diocese (τὸν ἐνθάδε τύπον) a system of penitential discipline by grades (*Canonica Epistola*, can. 5). Five grades are commonly enumerated: (1) mourners (ἡ πρόσκλαυσις), (2) hearers (ἡ ἀκρόασις), (3) fallers (ἡ ὑπόπτωσις), (4) bystanders (ἡ σύστασις), and (5) the restored to communion (ἡ μέθεξις τῶν ἁγιασμάτων) (can. 11). Of these, two are not grades of penitents. The mourners are supplicants for penance, who are as yet altogether outside the Church. The final grade of restored communion is the grade of those whose penance is done. The grades which are in fact grades of penitents are those of hearers, fallers, and bystanders. The distinction of hearers and fallers may have already been in use for catechumens (Origen, *c. Cels.* iii. 51; *Council of Neo-Cæsarea*, can. 5), the provision thus made for catechumens being now utilized for penitents. The grade of bystanders seems to have been created to meet the case of advanced penitents.

The system of graded penance spread from Pontus to the neighbouring provinces of the Asian peninsula, and finds recognition in the canons of Nicæa. But it was not in force in Antioch, in Rome, or, indeed, anywhere outside of the Asian provinces. As introduced by Gregory, the terms of penance in each grade for particular sins are not yet fixed. In the *Canonical Epistles* of St. Basil a customary scale of terms of penance is shown in force. Some of the terms are of great length. Thus penance for thirty years is imposed for certain sins of impurity (can. 7). The discretion of the bishop, however, tempered this severity in practice (can. 74).

The conversion of the empire would make the application of this severe system impracticable except in limited areas. Thus, in Antioch, of 200,000 inhabitants in the time of St. Chrysostom 100,000 were Christians. St. Chrysostom repudiates the Asian system as an 'intolerable publication' (*de Incomprehensibili Dei Natura*, hom. 5). Similarly its long terms of penance have in his judgment no hidden virtue. Five days of contrition are worth years of wooden penalty (*de Beato Philogonio*, 4). The distinctive teaching of St. Chrysostom is that penance may take many forms,

and that they all reach up to heaven. Thus (1) confession, (2) contrition, (3) humility, (4) almsgiving, (5) prayer, and (6) forgiveness of others are all efficacious for the forgiveness of our sins (*de Diabolo Tentatore*, hom. 2, *de Pœnitentia*, hom. 2, *In Ep. ii. ad Corinthios*, hom. 4). In an enumeration employed after his advancement to Constantinople he specifies as one such means 'recourse without reserve to the priests' (τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἔχειν οἰκείως), where the word οἰκείως appears to signify intimate or confidential intercourse. It may be noted that this was after the abolition of the priest penitentiary by Nectarius (*In Epistolam ad Hebræos*, hom. 3).

According to Socrates (*HE* v. 19), it was following on the Decian persecution that priests penitentiary came to be appointed in various churches. Up to this time the ministry of penance had been mainly in the hands of the bishops. Now a priest is empowered to hear the confessions of penitents, to assign their penances, and to give absolution. All this is seen in operation in the scandalous case related by Socrates (*HE* v. 19) and Sozomen (*HE* vii. 16), which led to the suppression of the priest penitentiary in Constantinople by Nectarius in 391. It is to be noted of the administration of the penitentiaries that not only was the confession private, but the penance and the reconciliation were also withdrawn from publicity.

These features, taken with the ministry of the priest in reconciliation, show already in use all the characteristics of the private system which in the West was not adopted till several centuries had passed. The ready acceptance of the action of Nectarius would seem to indicate that in Constantinople in 391 the penitentiary was already only a survival. From this time recourse to penance in ordinary cases was left to the conscience of the person. The words of Chrysostom imply that, though there was henceforth no penitentiary, recourse might be had to any priest.

In Rome, and in the West generally, the use of penance developed on different lines. From the days of Marcellus (A.D. 308–309) there were in Rome 25 priests of the titles of the city, and their functions included the administration of penance (*Liber Pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, Paris, 1886, i. 164). They had much in common with the priest penitentiary of the East. The priest heard the confession of the offender; he admitted him to the status of the penitent; he assigned him his penance, which included both private exercises and public humiliations; and he indicated a definite duration for such penance (St. Innocent I., *Ep.* 25, 'ad Decentium'). It was, however, the bishop who on the Thursday before Easter gave effect to the judgment of the priest, and reconciled the penitent in a public function of much solemnity (*ib.*; *The Gelasian Sacramentary*, ed. H. A. Wilson, Oxford, 1874, p. xxxviii).

The distinctive features of the Roman usage were employed throughout the West for centuries to come. The confession was private, as, indeed, always and everywhere except in the case of bishops of Campania and Samnium condemned by St. Leo (*Ep.* 167. 2). But the penance was publicly performed, the penitents having their place assigned at the solemnization of the liturgy; and not only was the penance public, but the reconciliation also was a public and solemn function. The officiant in the reconciliation was throughout the West the bishop.

To the Western practice a necessary exception had to be made in the case of persons in peril of death: the works of penance had to be dispensed with, the absolution was given in the sick-room, and the minister was not commonly the bishop, but a priest. The difficulties attending public penance in time of health had the effect that comparatively few persons came under it. Some sought it voluntarily, and on some it was imposed by authority. But the general tendency was to put off penance till death was in sight (St. Cæsarius of Arles, *Sermo* 256, in App. to St. Augustine, *PL* xxxix. 2217). It thus came about over the whole of Western Christendom that people became familiar with a system in which not only the confession, but also the penance and the absolution, were privately exercised, and in which the ministrant was a priest.

Meanwhile in the Celtic churches of the British Isles there had sprung up a procedure widely differing from the public penance of the Continental churches. It found its inception in the Celtic monastic system, which had peculiar features. The Irish monastery was a community at once of monks, students, and penitents, under the rule of an abbat, who was within the monastery supreme. The penitential books, or schedules of penances, which were first issued from these monasteries, contemplate private performance without counterpart in the public liturgy, and reconciliation by admission to communion on the completion of the penance. There is no provision for a public and solemn reconciliation, nor any recourse to the bishop. Passing over the earliest fragmentary documents, we come to the *Penitential of St. Finian* (*c.* A.D. 550), which shows this system at work (F. W. H. Wasserschleben, *Die Bussordnungen der abendländischen Kirche*, Halle, 1851, p. 109); and the *Penitential of Columbanus*, which is largely based on Finian, is a further development of it which, through the monasteries of the foundation of Columbanus, introduced the system on the continent of Europe (*ib.* p. 355).

Archbishop Theodore states that in the English churches of his time there was no public penance (*Pœnit.* i. 13). The British churches had never practised it; and it appears that the Continental missions had not introduced it. Theodore, himself of Eastern origin, frankly accepts the private procedure which he finds in use; and in the *Penitential* he puts forth an ordered system of penances superior to any penitential yet produced. The *Penitential of Theodore* is stated to contain the archbishop's replies to a series of questions addressed to him, mainly by the priest Eoda, who framed his questions from a Celtic penitential ('ex Scotorum libello') in his hands.

The significance of all these penitential books, alike the Celtic and that of Theodore, is that they are handbooks of the priest in the administration of the Celtic or private system of penance. On the continent of Europe the normal minister of reconciliation was the bishop, whose public and solemn service of reconciliation was held on the *Cœna Domini*. Under the system accepted by Theodore for the whole of England there was nothing of all this. Not only was the confession private as elsewhere, but the penance and the reconciliation were private too, and the minister was not the bishop, but a priest.

The gradual extension of this system over the whole of Western Christendom may be traced in the following centuries. That an impulse of the kind should spread from the north southwards may appear *prima facie* unlikely; and scholars like Bishop Schmitz have been at much pains to show a Roman origin for the Penitentials (H. J. Schmitz, *Die Bussbücher und die Bussdisciplin der Kirche*, i., Mainz, 1883, ii., Düsseldorf, 1898). The evidence to the contrary is, however, hardly to be refuted. It will be found at length in O. D. Watkins, *A History of Penance* (in the press). The beginnings of the private system on the Continent came from the monasteries of Celtic type which,

starting with the foundations of Columbanus, were extraordinarily multiplied in the Frankish lands in the 7th century. The penitential books of these houses were extensively copied and also variously adapted, and Penitentials now came into wider use in the hands of priests outside. The so-called *Pœnitentiale Romanum* is a penitential mainly of Celtic origin, to which are appended two Roman offices of the public system. When the *Penitential of Theodore* was later on introduced from England, it obtained a great vogue, and was copied or modified as suited those who used it. Thus a variety of Penitentials based upon Theodore, but compiled in the Frankish lands, were now introduced. Next to be noted is the wide-spread influence of the English missionaries in the Germanic countries. Such were St. Boniface, or Winfried of Crediton, the apostle of Germany; St. Willibald, bishop of Eichstädt; St. Willehad, bishop of Bremen; St. Willibrord, archbishop of Utrecht. All these represented and gave extension to the English system of penance. Not less important is the influence of Alcuin and his little band of English scholars, who from the palace school of Aachen, or later from St. Martin's abbey at Tours, are strong supporters of the English system. The times of Charles the Great show the conflict of the two systems in the dioceses. Everywhere on the Continent the public system survives. The confession is private, but public penance is imposed in an ordered course which assigns to the penitents their place in the solemnization of the public liturgy, and the reconciliation is in every diocese an annual solemn office which takes place on the Thursday before Easter, or *Cœna Domini*, and of which the bishop is the ministrant. By the side of this has grown up in the various monasteries the new system in which not only the confession, but also the penance and the reconciliation, are private, and the ministrant is a priest. The penances imposed by the penitential books tend to be much less exacting than those of the ancient public system. In the 9th cent. there comes an angry clash of the two systems. The reform councils of Charlemagne in 813 show it in course. The Council of Châlons holds that penances should be based upon (1) canons, (2) Scripture, and (3) custom, 'the books which they call penitentials being repudiated and altogether banished.' The Council of Tours, noting the variety of penances in use, recommends that the imperial assembly about to meet at Aachen shall indicate which of the penitentials is to be preferred. A little later the Council of Paris (829) rules that the bishops should 'diligently make enquiry for these same faulty documents, and should deliver them when found to the flames, so that in future unskilled priests should not by their means deceive men.' Such was the conflict of the two systems in the first half of the 9th century. But the triumph of the private system was only a matter of time and extension. So far, indeed, it was unknown in the southern lands. In Lombardy outside Bobbio and in the Italy of the popes the public system ruled. So, too, in S. Gaul, and in what remained to Christendom of Spain. But by the time of Gratian (*c.* 1150) the private system is in general use even in Italy, though not of obligation. Putting forward the question whether confession of sin to a priest is required, or whether contrition and secret satisfaction without oral confession will attain forgiveness, Gratian cites a long array of 89 authorities pronouncing on either side, and sums up that both opinions are well supported (*Decretum*, II., causa xxxiii. qu. 3). It is, however, only three-quarters of a century later than this that at the Fourth Council of the Lateran (1215) the edict goes forth to the whole of Western Christendom that every Christian who has attained discretion must confess his sins at least once in every year.

Attention has now to be given to the growth of the practice of recurring or habitual confession. Penance proper, in the sense of an ordinance or sacrament for the remission of sin, is concerned only with such capital or mortal offences as have placed the sinner in a condition of sin or death from which he needs to be rescued by sacramental grace. It is to be expected that such grave sin, if it occurs at all in the case of a Christian after baptism, will be exceptional; and in the early centuries penance was admitted only once in the lifetime. In the 4th and 5th centuries this was the rule throughout the West, as at an earlier period it had been also in the East. As late as the Third Council of Toledo (589) the prohibition of a second penance is re-affirmed for Spain. While, however, in the earlier ages the mind of the Church was against the admission of repeated penance, there had grown up in the monastic societies the practice of recurring confession of offence as a habit of the devout life (Cassian, *de Cœn. Inst.* iv. 9; St. Benedict of Nursia, *Regula*, 7). This was not the penance of the Church. It did not contemplate in ordinary cases the sacramental forgiveness of mortal offence. In the rule given by Donatus, bishop of Besançon, to the nuns of Jousamoutier (592–651) confession is to be made to the abbess ('matri spirituali nihil occultetur'). The first notice of the extension to the lay people of the practice of confession as a habit of the devout life comes from these islands. In the *Dialogue* of Egbert, archbishop of York (between 732 and 736), the following statement is made:

'Since the times of pope Vitalian and Theodore archbishop of Canterbury a custom has obtained in the Church of the English, and has come to be held as having the force of law, that not only the clergy in monasteries, but also the laymen with their wives and families should betake themselves to their confessors' (Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, iii. 413).

This was to be in the twelve days before Christmas. It will be understood that under the private system of penance the old prohibitions against repetition no longer maintained their ground. Confession could be admitted as often as priest and penitent were agreed in admitting it. Such confession should not ordinarily be concerned with mortal offence; and, when it was not so concerned, even though the words of absolution were employed, it was not in the strict sense to be regarded as an exercise of the sacrament of penance. It was a practice of the devout life. But, if grave sin had in fact been committed, the priest was prepared to exercise the commission of forgiveness, and his absolution was understood to convey the grace of the Church ordinance or sacrament of penance. The spread of the private system of penance on the continent of Europe has already been adverted to. With it followed the practice of recurring confession. In the period 950–1215 the private system is found to strengthen its hold of the regions north of the Alps, and also to enter into possession of the southern lands. The partial use of it becomes a general use. Its voluntary character gives place to a sense of obligation, though without positive enactment. And this sense of duty has come to bear not only on the soul conscious of deadly offence, and in need of the loosing of the Lord; it is becoming a recognized duty for every adult Christian to confess again and again at intervals, the interval which by ecclesiastical custom should not be exceeded being the year from Easter to Easter. At last in the Fourth Council of the Lateran (1215) all this is embodied in a definite decree for the whole of Western Christendom:

'Every *fidelis* of either sex shall after the attainment of years of discretion confess his sins with all fidelity to his own priest at least once in the year.'

It was soon found necessary to relax this rule as to the requirement that the confession of the *fidelis* must be made to 'his own priest'; but the requirement of an annual confession from every *fidelis* is still the rule of the Roman Catholic Church.

In England at the Reformation the position taken up was very much that of the Church of Constantinople after the action of Nectarius in suppressing the priest penitentiary. The use of confession was left to the conscience of the Christian, and he was free to make his confession to any priest whom he might choose. The prerogative of the priest is affirmed without hesitation. The formula of the ordination of a priest has the words:

'Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven: and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained.'

In the exhortation to be read on notice of Holy Communion the final paragraph runs:

'And because it is requisite, that no man should come to the holy Communion, but with a full trust in God's mercy, and with a quiet conscience: therefore if there be any of you, who by this means cannot quiet his own conscience herein, but requireth further comfort or counsel, let him come to me, or to some other discreet and learned Minister of God's Word, and open his grief; that by the ministry of God's holy Word he may receive the benefit of absolution, together with ghostly counsel and advice, to the quieting of his conscience, and avoiding of all scruple and doubtfulness.'

The form of absolution after private confession given in the Order for the Visitation of the Sick is one of the forms partly precatory, partly declaratory, which had come into use from the 13th century.

'Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to his Church to absolve all sinners who truly repent and believe in him, of his great mercy forgive thee thine offences: And by his authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins. In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.'

On a point of much dispute in the Reformation period no pronouncement is made. It is not ruled whether a person guilty of mortal offence *ought* to have his conscience troubled till he has betaken himself to the penance of the Church. This point, which St. Augustine in the early years of the 5th cent. would answer in the stricter sense (*Sermo* 392), and which is shown by Gratian as variously answered through the centuries in his long catena of citations, is in fact dealt with by the Church of England as Nectarius had dealt with it in Constantinople. The matter is left to the conscience of the offender. In other words, if he approaches the Holy Communion, he does so at his own risk. But the Church does not bar his access. In the history of the Church of England after the Reformation confession to a priest with a view to absolution was for three centuries not greatly used, though it may be said that it never fell entirely out of use. Since the Oxford Movement there has been a considerable use of such confession.

Confession.—It has been repeatedly stated for centuries that in early times confessions were made publicly. The statement is already found in Sozomen (*HE* vii. 16), who regards such public confession as supplying the reason for the introduction of the priest penitentiary. Sozomen wrote about 200 years after the period to which he refers. He speaks of such confession as made *ἐν θεάτρῳ*—the phrase of St. Chrysostom. St. Chrysostom had in view the public penance of the Asian churches; and it is to the confusion of this exomologesis with verbal confession that the long series of misunderstandings must be mainly attributed. To later writers the very word 'exomologesis' ('confession forth') seemed to imply that a confession in words was at least part of this public exercise. But by the time of Tertullian's *de Pœnitentia* (c. A.D. 198) exomologesis was already even in the Latin churches the technical word for the public course of penance; and it cannot be shown that a detailed confession in words was ever part of this. The references to actual confessions are to confessions privately made. Origen (*in Lev.* hom. 2) speaks of the sinner 'who does not shrink from showing his sin to the priest of the Lord' (*sacerdoti* in the Latin of Rufinus—not necessarily a bishop). In Cyprian's environment confessions are 'apud sacerdotes,' *sacerdos* here meaning a bishop. St. Basil (*Ep. Can.* ii. 34) states that the admitted practice in the case of 'adulteresses who had made confession through piety or whose sin was otherwise proved' was to permit the penance to be commenced in the grade of bystanders, so that the offence should not become matter of public knowledge. St. Gregory of Nyssa (*Ep. Can.* 6 [*PG* xlv. 233]) deals with the case of secret theft when the offender has confessed to the priest (*δι' ἐξαγορεύσεως τὸ πλημμέλημα αὐτοῦ τῷ ἱερεῖ φανερώσας*). St. Innocent I. (*Ep.* xxv. 10) says that it is the office of the priest to attend to the confession of the penitent. In Africa St. Augustine states that those doing public penance must have committed grave offences, as adultery, homicide, or sacrilege, from which it may be inferred that more was unknown to him (*Sermo* 252). There is one exception. St. Leo Magnus, writing to the bishops of Campania, Samnium, and Picenum, states (*Ep.* 168) that he has heard of the practice by some in those districts of public confession. He rules that it must be brought to an end:

'I mean that in the matter of the penance which is demanded of the faithful there should be no public recitation of the nature of particular sins, such profession being written in a statement (*libellus*). For it suffices that the accusation of conscience be indicated to the priests (*sacerdotibus*) alone in secret confession.'

With Leo *sacerdos* is not confined to bishops.

From this time onwards, so far as is known, confessions have always been private whether they were made (1) as a preliminary to public penance and episcopal absolution, (2) on the sick-bed, or (3) in connexion with the system of private penance and absolution by a priest. When, under the private system of penance, confession to a priest became largely used, some preparation for this ministry on the part of the clergy was seen to be called for. Thus in the 9th cent. it is repeatedly laid down that the clergy should be prepared to distinguish the eight principal vices (*e.g.*, Council of Rheims, A.D. 813)—an enumeration which had come down from Cassian. An early directory for the penitent is that of Othmar, abbat of St. Gall (A.D. 759). This is published in Wasserschleben, p. 437.

Absolution.—The absolution of the penitent has in history been conveyed externally in four modes, used separately or in combination: (1) by the laying on of hands, (2) by precatory forms of words, (3) by declaratory forms of words, and (4) by admission to communion.

(1) The laying on of hands by the bishop was used (c. A.D. 260) in the Syrian Church of the *Didascalia* (ch. 10 [tr. from the Syriac by Margaret Dunlop Gibson, London, 1903]), and is found in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (ii. 41), reproducing the *Didascalia*. No other evidence is forthcoming of its use for absolution in the churches of the East. In the churches of the Asian provinces, while there was an elaborate ceremonial for the imposition of hands upon penitents in the course of the liturgy (Council of Laodicea, can. 19), there is no indication of the use of such imposition or of any other outward symbol or expression for the purpose of effecting reconciliation. Nor has any mention been found of the laying on of hands for absolution at Antioch or at Constantinople. In

the West the African churches employed the laying on of hands for absolution in a public and solemn function alike in the times of St. Cyprian and in those of St. Augustine. In S. Gaul the first Council of Orange (A.D. 441) knows of a 'reconciliatory imposition of the hand' which should be given in a public function, after the fulfilment of penance, to a penitent who had already been admitted to communion in time of sickness. The usage of Rome is not easily determined. There is repeated evidence of some imposition of hands in the course of penance, and also of the employment of such imposition in the reconciliation of heretics, but there is no mention found of the imposition of hands as used in the public and solemn reconciliation of ordinary penitents by the bishop on the Thursday before Easter.

(2) The verbal expression of absolution or reconciliation was in the early centuries usually made in the form of prayer. No verbal absolution in any form but that of prayer is known to have been preserved. The reconciliatory prayers employed in Rome are given in the *Gelasian Sacramentary*. In the Eastern churches the supplicatory forms of absolution have been retained to modern times (J. Goar, *Euchologion*, Paris, 1647, p. 666).

(3) No indicative form of absolution as 'Ego te absolvo' is known to have come down from the early centuries. It cannot, however, be certainly affirmed that no such form was ever used. St. Ambrose writes:

'For neither do they remit sins in their own name, but in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. They ask, the Godhead grants: the service is human, but the munificence is of supernal power' (*de Spiritu Sancto*, iii. 18).

The asking is the prayer of remission; but, if the clergy remitted sins in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, it is difficult to see how this could be done except in some form of direct pronouncement. The description given by St. Ambrose would apply exactly to the composite forms of absolution—half prayer and half pronouncement—which have been generally used since the first half of the 13th century. St. Thomas Aquinas, in his 22nd *Opusculum*—a short treatise addressed to the master-general of the Dominicans on the subject of the form of absolution, in which he defends and indeed requires the indicative form—mentions the statement made by some of those with whom he is arguing that only thirty years had passed since all used the precatory form beginning 'Absolutionem et remissionem.' St. Thomas does not deny this, but merely notes that none could speak for all. It may be understood that precatory forms were in general use in W. Europe till about the middle of the 13th century.

(4) It was not in every case that any formal expression of absolution found place before the admission of the person to communion. Thus in Egypt the viaticum was sent to the dying Serapion by means of a messenger lad. Serapion thereupon proceeded to make his communion. Dionysius of Alexandria, the bishop, remarks that Serapion had been kept alive till he was absolved (ἕως λυθῇ [Eusebius, *HE* vi. 44]). How was the absolution conveyed? Certainly not by imposition of hands, or by a prayer of reconciliation said over him by the priest, or by any pronouncement of absolution in his presence. Serapion's was the extreme case of a lapsed person who had been debarred from communion till death should be imminent. When at last he is absolved, the procedure in fact adopted is simply admission to communion. Again, when in the 13th canon of the Nicene Council it is ruled that on the approach of death all persons in penance may be admitted to communion, there is no suggestion of formal absolution before such communion. Again, in the Asian provinces penances were severe and prolonged; but, when the penance was fulfilled, the person was to 'proceed to communion,' to 'partake of the sacred things,' to undertake 'the communion of the good' (St. Gregory of Nyssa, *Ep. Can.* [*PG* xlv. 229. 232]). The impression conveyed is that, when the person had fulfilled his penance, he simply stood no longer bound. Communion was open to him. The same may have been originally the practice of the Irish monasteries (cf. *Pœnitentiale Vinniai*, § 6: 'altario reconciliatur,' §§ 15, 21, 35: 'jungatur altario,' § 14: 'restituatur altario,' § 53: 'intrandum ad altare' [Wasserschleben, p. 108 ff.]).

It should, however, be stated with all clearness that nowhere and at no time in the history of the Church has the Holy Eucharist been regarded as the actual means of absolution. It was not open to any person who had not found forgiveness to approach Communion in order that the Holy Eucharist, coming into touch with the unabsolved sinner, might thereby absolve him. Of the cleansing power of the Eucharist to wash the forgiven sinner 'more and more,' of the yearning that so 'our sinful bodies may be made clean by His Body, and our souls washed through His most precious Blood,' the Church is ever conscious. For the unreconciled is the warning that 'the danger is great if we receive the same unworthily. For then we are guilty of the Body and Blood of Christ our Saviour; we eat and drink our own damnation, not considering the Lord's Body' (*English Prayer Book*).

LITERATURE. — See list under PENANCE (Roman Catholic). J. Morin, *Comment. hist. de disciplina Pœnitentiæ*, Paris, 1651, a monument of learning, remains the most complete treatise on the subject; N. Marshall, *The Penitential Discipline of the Primitive Church for the first four hundred Years after Christ*, London, 1714, interesting as representing the Anglican position in the time of Queen Anne, is largely indebted to Morin (reprint in Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology, Oxford, 1844); P. Batiffol, 'Les Origines de la pénitence,' in *Études d'histoire et de théologie positive*, i., Paris, 1902, pp. 45–222, is an excellent presentation of modern historical results. On exomologesis see E. B. Pusey, note L in the Tertullian vol. of the Library of the Fathers, London, 1884, p. 377. On the penitentials, F. W. H. Wasserschleben and H. J. Schmitz as in Literature of preceding art.; for English and British penitentials, A. W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, 3 vols., Oxford, 1869–78; for St Columbanus, A. Malnory, *Quid Luxovienses monachi discipuli sancti Columbani ad regulam monasteriorum atque ad communem Ecclesiæ profectum contulerint*, Paris, 1894. For Anglican practice, E. B. Pusey, *Advice on Hearing Confession (adapted from J. J. Gaume), with Preface embodying English Authorities on Confession*[2], Oxford, 1877–80; O. D. Watkins, *A Hist. of Penance*, now in the press, is a series of studies of primary authorities, of which a full collection will be found printed in the original languages.

OSCAR D. WATKINS.

PENITENCE.—Penitence is a sorrow for sin as an offence against God, and involves a purpose of amendment. A regret for sin not based on its intrinsic sinful character, viz. its offensiveness towards God, would not be penitence; and a regret not involving the purpose of amendment, or a resolve of amendment without hatred of sin, would not be penitence. On the other hand, a purpose of expiation or satisfaction does not seem to be of the essence of true penitence, except in so far as such satisfaction is inseparable from the process of amendment itself. Thus, a murderer may sincerely repent for homicide, be firmly resolved not to commit it again, and yet endeavour to evade the punishment if he can.

Accordingly, the common Protestant view of penance or repentance for sins is that, as a conversion of a soul to God, it involves, by the mercy of God, complete forgiveness both of sin and of the penalty due to sin, without the necessity of works of penance or expiation, for which the satisfaction of Christ is considered fully sufficient.

In the Roman Catholic doctrine penitence is considered a distinct virtue or disposition of the

soul. The Council of Trent (1551) defines (sess. xiv. can. 1) that it was at all times before Christ necessary for the remission of grievous sins, and that in the Christian dispensation sins committed after baptism are actually and judicially forgiven by the Church, in virtue of the power of the keys, through a rite which is truly a sacrament of the New Law, and based on the words of Christ (Jn 20^{21-23}):

'Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose soever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven unto them; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained.'

Cf. PENANCE. E. L. VAN BECELAERE.

PENTECOST.—See FESTIVALS AND FASTS (Christian).

PERCEPTION.—Simple as perception may appear as set forth in a psychological system, yet in the history of speculation its discussion has raised the deepest questions in philosophy. We need not recall the answers to the question of the possibility of knowledge, on the supposition that mind and matter were separated by the whole diameter of being. It would mean writing a history of philosophy—at all events from the time of Descartes. It would mean writing the story of Scottish philosophy, and an account of the Scottish answers to Hume, especially the answer of Reid. For these answers relate to the question, What do I perceive? What is the object before me when I perceive? Is it always a state of my consciousness, an idea, which is not external to me, but only somehow related to an external reality? Materialism, idealism, and realism give their answers to the question each in its own way.

Science in its speculative moods has been busy with the question. Those who approach it from without, and are mainly concerned with the natural and physiological processes which precede and influence the act of perception, seek to show that perception is conditioned by the constitution of the whole world. The simplest act of perception, they say, involves for sight all the properties of the ether and all the laws of optics; and for hearing they indicate what are the laws of sound, and how these condition the act of hearing. After showing the conditions imposed by the constitution of the external world on the process which issues in perception, they proceed to investigate and describe the conditions imposed by what may be called the physiological procedure of the body. This usually describes the sense-organs, the afferent and efferent nerves, and the connexions of the surface of the body with the central nervous system and the brain. It is not usually contended that the subject is conscious of the strains and stresses of the nervous system or of the movements in the brain which accompany sensation and perception. But it is often implied that consciousness results from and is conditioned by those nervous movements. On the whole, it may be said that, taking into consideration the material conditions imposed by the external world and those imposed by the constitution of the sense-organs, the outcome is to regard consciousness as an effect, and an effect to be explained by the convergence of physical and physiological antecedents to the possibility of having a sensation. It may be admitted that sensation is impossible apart from these physical and physiological conditions. Sight needs both the etherial vibrations which we call light and the nervous system with all its complications. But, while these are necessary conditions of vision, vision itself implies something more.

It is necessary to make another preliminary remark. After we have studied, as far as we may, the external conditions of the possibility of sensation and the physiological processes which issue in having a sensation, it is necessary to look at sensation as a conscious experience of the subject. This is another inquiry, to be conducted under other conditions and with other modes of investigation. The machinery that we use is introspection, and the method is by the interrogation of consciousness. Introspection has its difficulties. There is the difficulty arising from the swift movement of states of consciousness and the fact that, when we fix attention on a state, it has already passed into the background. Each movement has its content, and it is difficult to arrest its progress without changing it. Indeed, it is a question whether we can fix our attention on a state of consciousness without influencing that state in some way. This difficulty has been discussed by F. H. Bradley:

'We all, when our attention is directed to our extremities or to some internal organ, may become aware of sensations which previously we did not notice. And with regard to these sensations there may be a doubt whether they were actually there before, or have on the other hand been made by our attending. And though this question may seem simple, it really is difficult. Can we directly compare attention's object with something to which we do not at all attend? To answer in the affirmative appears not easy. Can we then recall what we have not noticed, and, now attending to this, compare it with some other object? If reproduction necessarily depended on attention, any such process would seem impossible. But, since in any case this view of reproduction must be rejected as erroneous, we may reply confidently that the above comparison is a thing which actually happens. Still asserting the possibility and the general principle, we have not removed all doubt as to the special fact. For how do I know in a given case that my present attending has not vitally transformed the result? Am I to postulate that in principle attention does not and cannot alter its object? Such an assumption, so far as I can see, could hardly be justified. Certainly, apart from such an assumption, we may argue that any effect of attention requires time, and that hence, if the sensation appears as soon as we attend, the sensation must have preceded. And this inference is strengthened when we are able to pass thus repeatedly and with the same result from inattention to its opposite. Still, at its strongest, an argument of this kind seems far from conclusive. And in any case I cannot think that no more than this is the actual ground of our confidence when we refuse to believe that attention has made the thing that we feel. I agree that in some cases we recollect our state before attention supervened, though such a recollection in most cases, I should say, is absent. And, again usually, and if you please always, we have the persisting after-sensation or after-feeling of our previous condition. But, all this being admitted, the question as to the actual ground of our confidence remains. In order to compare our previous state we *ex hypothesi* are now forced to attend to it, and there is a doubt, whether we can assume generally that attention does not alter. We have therefore to ask whether we are in a maze with no legitimate exit, and whether such a result, if accepted, does not throw doubt on the whole subject [of immediate experience]' (*Essays on Truth and Reality*, Oxford, 1914, pp. 161–163).

Whether there has been a time in the history of life in which immediate experience was possible is a question not easily determined; it is also impossible to say that there will be a time in which immediacy is altogether transcended. For life has never been a matter of pure feeling or immediacy, and for the most developed human intelligence the immediacy of feeling is a fact that is never transcended. Perception is something different from feeling and from sensation. It is at least the cognition or the recognition of something related to the feeling in some way or other. It is an activity of the subject, in which it seeks to determine and interpret, or at least to recognize something in sensation which is more than the sensation.

At this stage it is expedient to deal with a new term—'presentation'—which seems to avoid the difficulty elaborated by Bradley regarding the intervention of attention and the result of that intervention. This word plays a great part in the psychology of Ward and Stout.

'All that variety of mental facts which we speak of as sensations, perceptions, images, intuitions, concepts, notions, have two characteristics in common:—(1) they admit of being more or less attended to, and (2) can be reproduced and associated together. It is here proposed to use the term presentation to connote such a mental fact, and as the best English equivalent

for what Locke meant by idea and what Kant and Herbart called a Vorstellung.

A presentation has then a twofold relation,—first, directly to the subject, and secondly, to other presentations. By the first is meant the fact that the presentation is attended to, that the subject is more or less conscious of it: it is "in his mind" or presented. As presented to a subject a presentation might with advantage be called an object, or perhaps a psychical object, to distinguish it from what are called objects apart from presentation, *i.e.*, conceived as independent of any particular subject. Locke, as we have seen, did so call it; still, to avoid possible confusion, it may turn out best to dispense with the frequent use of object in this sense. But on one account, at least, it is desirable not to lose sight altogether of this which is after all the stricter as well as the older signification of object, namely, because it enables us to express definitely, without implicating any ontological theory, what we have so far seen reason to think is the fundamental fact in psychology. Instead of depending mainly on that vague and treacherous word "consciousness," or committing ourselves to the position that ideas are modifications of a certain mental substance and identical with the subject to which they are presented, we may leave all this on one side, and say that ideas are objects, and the relation of objects to subjects—that whereby the one is object and the other subject—is presentation' (J. Ward, art. 'Psychology,' in *EBr*[9] xx. 41).

It is well to have a term to fulfil the useful function described. We carry with us the fact that presentations admit of being more or less attended to. But, as we read on, we find:

'As to the subjective relation of objects, the relation of presentation itself, we have merely to note that on the side of the subject it implies what, for want of a better word, may be called *attention*, extending the denotation of this term so as to include even what we ordinarily call inattention.'

This adds to the difficulties expressed by Bradley as to the effect of attention on that to which we attend. If we extend the meaning of attention to include inattention, what becomes of the rôle which attention plays, according to Ward, in our mental experience? The relation of a presentation to a subject is the fact that it is attended to, he says, but then it appears that it is still a presentation, even if it is not attended to. If the meaning of attention is extended to include inattention, then it is wholly indistinguishable from consciousness—that 'vague and treacherous word' on which Ward refuses to depend. Presentation in the language of Ward seems to mean anything of which the subject is aware, whether attended to or not.

On the other hand, Stout, while keeping the term 'presentation,' uses it in a sense and according to a definition of his own. He writes:

'I have endeavoured to bring out clearly the special nature and function of Presentation. It will be seen that I do not here follow Dr. Ward in his comprehensive use of this word as covering "whatever is the object of the understanding when a man thinks." I cannot do this because the term is the only convenient one which I can find for a certain special kind of object, possessing a distinctive character and function of the utmost importance. . . . It is convenient to have a common name to cover all the varieties of immediate experience which have an objective character. We may agree to call all immediate experiences which are primarily objective "Presentations"' (*Manual of Psychology*[3], London, 1913, pp. v, 10 f.).

The term, whether in the sense of Ward or in the more limited sense of Stout, enables them to set forth a large part of our experience without any attempt to delineate that side of experience which involves the activity of the subject, and without forcing them at that early stage to grapple with the difficulties of subjective experience. When they come to deal with cognitive process, whether perceptual or conceptual, they have the advantage of all that they have formulated under the name of 'presentations.' Presentations are largely treated as if they went by themselves, and under that treatment hardly anything is said about the subject for which the presentations are. It may be that for purposes of exposition psychologists are compelled to isolate certain problems, to treat them as if they were in fact isolated, and to try to solve them with the means which they have in hand at the stage at which they have arrived in their exposition. But, when we look at the solution, we find that they have, unconsciously perhaps, assumed the resources of the mind, and brought in for use all the higher categories which they have not yet reached.

We submit that the function ascribed to presentations is one which they are unfitted to discharge. Presentations are retained, associated, and reproduced not from any virtue in themselves, but because these are the ways which the mind has of arranging its experiences or of recognizing ways in which order has to be won.

We have made this caveat because it seems of importance in relation to the question of perception with which we more immediately deal. Here, too, we have to complain of the way in which problems are isolated by psychologists. Perception is treated in isolation, and its processes as if it was a process by itself. 'Conceptions without perceptions are empty, and perceptions without conceptions are blind.' It may be well to have this oft-quoted maxim in the words of Kant himself, 'Gedanken ohne Inhalt sind leer, Anschauungen ohne Begriffe sind blind' (*Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, original ed., Riga, 1781, p. 51, in *Gesammelte Schriften*, Berlin, 1900–13, I. iv. 48). The maxim has been translated by Max Müller as follows: 'Thoughts without contents are empty, and intuitions without concepts are blind.' *Anschauungen*, here translated 'intuitions,' is translated by almost all English commentators 'perceptions.' It is so used by Edward Caird in his great work on Kant, and by John Watson (*The Philosophy of Kant Explained*, Glasgow, 1908), who invariably translates it by 'perceptions.' Thus, when describing Kant's 'Axiomen der Anschauung,' he writes:

'These fundamental judgments, or principles of understanding, he classifies as (1) axioms of perception, (2) anticipations of observation, (3) analogies of experience, and (4) postulates of empirical thought' (p. 179).

It is to be observed that Watson translates *Anschauung* by 'perception,' and *Wahrnehmung* by 'observation.' Now, *Wahrnehmung* is the usual word for 'perception' and is mostly used so in German philosophical literature; *e.g.*, in F. Kirchner's *Wörterbuch der philosophischen Grundbegriffe* (Leipzig, 1911), *s.v.* 'Wahrnehmung,' it is written:

'Im wesentlichen deckt sich also der Begriff der Wahrnehmung mit dem der Anschauung. Will man beide unterscheiden, so kann dies mit Wundt so geschehen, dass man bei dem Ausdruck Wahrnehmung mehr die Auffassung des Gegenstandes nach seiner wirklichen Beschaffenheit, bei dem Ausdruck Anschauung dagegen vorzugweise die dabei vorhandene Tätigkeit unseres Bewusstseines im Auge hat' (p. 1085).

Something like this distinction must have been in the mind of Kant when he wrote 'Axiomen der Anschauung' and 'Anticipationen der Wahrnehmung,' the latter of which Watson renders 'anticipations of observation.' It is not a happy rendering. There is no doubt that Kant's language lays stress on the activity of the mind when he deliberately and consistently uses the word which Max Müller translates 'intuition.' We may use the translation 'perception,' if we remember that stress is laid on the activity of the mind in perceiving.

Kant nowhere formally dealt with perception in itself, nor did he give an account of it from the psychological or metaphysical point of view. In fact, the reference to *Anschauung* in the 'Transcendental Æsthetic' is not consistent with that in the 'Transcendental Analytic.'

According to Kant, the process from perception to knowledge is possible because of our continued consciousness in time. It is governed by certain principles and determined in certain ways.

'These principles depend upon the part played by space and time in all our perception, and the manner in which we employ time and space in piecing together our discontinuous perceptions. Now, obviously it is quite possible to hold this position without having thought out what is implied in being present to the mind in perception. This is what Kant did. He describes perception in different and inconsistent ways. The reason for this incon-

sistency is that Kant is not concerned with the nature of perception, but with the relation of what is immediately perceived to what is not but may be immediately perceived, and he therefore never worked out any consistent account of perception. He sometimes talks of perception reaching objects directly, and refutes the view that we perceive only what is in our mind. . . . But usually he takes the ordinary idealist view that we do not perceive things, but affections produced in us by things. Owing to this inconsistency, Kant constantly seems to be stating very much more than he has any right to. This is specially true in all that he says about knowledge being confined to phenomena and not extending to things in themselves. When he talks of our knowing only phenomena, he sometimes seems to mean that we know objects, things in themselves, only in part, in so far as they appear to us. That would make the distinction between the phenomenon and the thing in itself a distinction between the same thing imperfectly and perfectly understood. He sometimes, and this is the more usual view, seems to mean that we are aware of appearances, entities separate and distinguishable from the objects which produce them in our minds. But if we work out in any of Kant's arguments the point of his appeal to the fact that knowledge is only of phenomena, we shall find that in every case the difference between a subjective idealist and a realist view of perception, of what "being present to the mind" means, is irrelevant, and that his argument holds on either theory' (A. D. Lindsay, *The Philosophy of Immanuel Kant*, London, 1913, p. 43 f.).

As we are not concerned with the main argument of the Kantian philosophy, but only with perception, we may accept Lindsay's statement as sufficient. Yet it must be said that Kant's treatment of perception is not satisfactory. At one time perception seems to be purely passive, as when he says:

'Our knowledge springs from two fundamental sources of our soul; the first receives representations (receptivity of impressions), the second is the power of knowing an object by these representations (spontaneity of concepts). By the first an object is *given* us, by the second the object is *thought*, in relation to that representation which is a mere determination of the soul. Intuition, therefore, and concepts constitute the elements of all our knowledge, so that neither concepts without an intuition corresponding to them, nor intuition without concepts can yield any real knowledge' (*Critique of Pure Reason*, tr. F. Max Müller, London, 1881, p. 44).

Immediately Kant is met with the difficulty of showing that representations which are passively received can become elements in the activity which makes knowledge. Generally he so separates the understanding from the perceptive experience that he has great difficulty in finding any point of contact between them. But, as he goes on, we find that he is constrained to discover a very close connexion, though only at the cost of attributing an intellectual activity of a sort to perception. In the 'Transcendental Analytic' he seeks to connect the working of the understanding with perception. This he accomplishes through the synthetic power of imagination.

He begins with the phenomenon, 'which, if connected with consciousness, is called *perception*. Without its relation to an at least possible consciousness, the phenomenon could never become to us an object of knowledge. It would therefore be nothing to us; and because it has no objective reality in itself, but exists only in its being known, it would be nothing altogether. As every phenomenon contains a manifold, and different perceptions are found in the mind singly and scattered, a connection of them is necessary, such as they cannot have in the senses by themselves. There exists therefore in us an active power for the synthesis of the manifold which we call imagination, and the function of which as applied to perceptions I call *apprehension*. This imagination is meant to change the manifold of intuition into an image; it must therefore first receive the impressions by its own activity, which I call to *apprehend*' (*ib.* p. 105 f.).

This is not the only place in which Kant emphasizes the activity of the mind in relation to perceptions. But, if there is an activity of thought manifest in sensuous perception—and Kant's account of what is meant by 'apprehension' is decisive in this relation—then perception cannot be the merely passive process on which he lays so much stress in the foregoing quotation. Perception and thought cannot be two wholly distinct activities of consciousness. Passive perception is meaningless, and, if perception be an activity, it cannot be shut out from thought in the way postulated by Kant.

The present writer's contention is that perception is an activity, that it is part of the cognitive process, and is at least the active reaction of the mind against what has been presented to it. Nor can we refuse to the perceptual activity of the mind the help of those categories which appear in all their activity at a further stage of the evolution of knowledge. It is not at all certain that what is presented to us as given is a manifold. Sensuous presentations are sifted in the act of being presented. They are not a 'big buzzing confusion'; they are so far ordered in the very presentation of them. It is not necessary to enter on a description of the senses from the physiological side. All that we need here is to mention that it is an ordered sensibility that is described. The relation of light to vision, the relation of atmospheric vibrations to hearing, and the relation of odours to smelling do not give one the impression that he is reading of a mere manifold, into which order is to be introduced by the categories of the understanding. The eye may be said to select out of the external universe those manifestations to which it is adapted. The same may be said of all the other senses. Kant, it must be said in fairness, does not dwell on this aspect of the inquiry. He is concerned with the problem of how the universality and the necessity which are essential for a valid judgment can be introduced into our sensations and perceptions. From the fact that he has denied to perception the power of apodictic judgment, and from his doctrine that a concept is necessary for a universal judgment, we conclude that he has forgotten that in the given there is already a principle which consciousness does not make, but only recognizes. He has with fullness discussed the question of the way in which we effect necessary synthesis in sense-perceptions. He deals with such propositions as 'The room is warm,' 'Sugar is sweet,' and insists that these are only references to the same subject, and only to the actual state of the subject at the moment. They are not judgments of experience; they are only judgments of sense-perception. When he deals with sense-perceptions which are to have universal validity, he introduces the additional fact that they are referred not only to the same subject but also to one another. But, if they are referred to one another, there are plainly recognized elements which do not depend on the mere sensibility or the idiosyncrasy of the subject, but are common to all subjects. Kant, however, always insists on the view that judgment proper belongs to the understanding alone, and that necessity and universality do not belong to sense; it is the characteristic of the understanding.

Perception, therefore, is more than Kant allows to it. It is already intelligent, active, and synthetic. And the relation between perception and conception has to be considered afresh and on their merits. Take the view of Herbert Spencer, which is also that of Höffding:

'In all cases we have found that Perception is an establishment of specific relations among states of consciousness; and is thus distinguished from the establishment of these states of consciousness themselves. When apprehending a sensation the mind is occupied with a single subjective affection, which it classes as such or such; but when apprehending the external something producing it, the mind is occupied with the relations between that affection and others, either past or present, which it classes with like relations' (Spencer, *The Principles of Psychology*[3], London, 1890, ii. 251).

Clearly in this passage, and, indeed, in his whole treatment of perception, Spencer attributes to perception functions which, according to Kant, belong to the understanding alone. We may also quote Höffding on this important point:

'The complex nature of perception affords an important contribution to the determination of the relation between sensuous perception and thought. Since perception rests on a process which may be described as involuntary comparison, it manifests itself as an activity of thought, by means of which we appropriate what is given in the sensation, incorporate the sensation into the content of our consciousness. If, then, an activity of thought is manifested in sensuous perception, it is evident that sensuous perception and thought cannot be two

wholly distinct activities of consciousness. There is no such thing as absolutely passive sensuous perception. What is received into consciousness is at once worked up in accordance with the laws of consciousness' (*Outlines of Psychology*, Eng. tr., London, 1891, p. 130).

It may be well, at this stage, to assert boldly that the cognitive process is one from beginning to end. It is no more possible to divide it into separate phases than it is to partition off the mind into separate faculties. It may be valuable to distinguish various stages of it, and indicate what seem to be points of departure, but these distinctions are not to be pressed as if they were absolute. For a rational being perception is not possible without thought, and the first act of cognition achieved by the infant mind involves thinking, and thinking of the same kind as is manifested in grasping the formula of the law of gravitation. Thus we are unable to follow in the steps of James or Stout when they deal with the perceptive process as if it could go along without the guiding power of thought. James quotes with approval the following definition of perception from Sully's *Outlines*:

'Perception may be defined as that process by which the mind "supplements a sense-impression by an accompaniment or escort of revived sensations, the whole aggregate of actual and revived sensations being solidified or 'integrated' into the form of a percept, that is, an apparently immediate apprehension or cognition of an object now present in a particular locality or region of space"' (*Principles of Psychology*, London, 1905, ii. 79).

Or, as James says in his usual picturesque and incisive fashion, and in italics, 'Every perception is an acquired perception.' Every percept is so far built up by the mind itself, in accordance with its own nature and disposition. Thus a presentation, if we call it so, is an object of which the subject is aware, but, whether it is a percept or a concept, it has been constituted as an object by the activity of the mind. In other words, we utterly disagree with the view that speaks of presentations as if they can exist for the mind without representations. Sully's definition and James's maxim alike involve the fact that presentations imply representations, that cognition even in its most elementary form implies recognition.

With Stout let us take it that 'perceptual intelligence, in its pure form, is exclusively concerned with the guidance and control of motor activity in relation to an immediately present situation and to its acquired meaning as conveyed by implicit ideas inseparably coalescing with actual sensations. Thus, the perceptual consciousness cannot deal with past, future, and absent objects except in the act of dealing with what is given to it here and now. In the pursuit of ends it is circumscribed by the necessity of always working forward step by step from the actually given situation through a series of others until the goal is reached. It is limited in a way comparable to actual motion; just as in actual motion we cannot transport ourselves from one place to another except by passing through the series of intermediate places, so in perceptual process we cannot transport ourselves in thought into the future except through an immediate series of presents' (p. 365).

Stout has limited his description of perceptual intelligence by postulating that it is 'in its pure form.' He seems to find the realization of that pure form in the picture of the kitten at play. He grants that perceptions 'form series having a certain unity and continuity similar to trains of ideas or trains of thought.' But all these are dominated by the present situation, and continue to be so dominated, for apparently in the perceptual process we never get beyond the present situation. But one asks, How is the present situation constituted? Confessedly it is a complex situation, for it has an acquired meaning as conveyed by implicit ideas. That is curious in a situation which cannot deal with past, future, and absent objects except in the act of dealing with them here and now. What of the acquired meaning? Is there no consciousness of how that meaning arose? Stout describes an impossible situation. It is not possible so to delimit the perceptual attitude as to confine it to a present situation. Even if we grant that it is possible in merely animal intelligence, it is out of the question in beings who are implicitly rational from the beginning of their existence. The presence of rationality transforms all intelligence, such as intelligence in beings who are irrational through and through, and to isolate perceptive intelligence from thought in general is an illegitimate procedure. It does not help us to limit perceptual intelligence to a situation described as present, for it has elements which are not present in what is actually in the situation, and the perceptive intelligence is aware of them.

Perception has in it all the characteristics which belong to intellectual activity at its highest. Organized perception succinctly describes all the activity of the intelligence. Instead of dividing the substance of mental action into successive planes or grades of sensibility and understanding, it would be more to the purpose to recognize in percipience an implicit mental activity which has only to be made explicit in order to give us all that we need to know regarding the procedure of the mind in the acquisition of knowledge. If every perception is acquired, and if the process of acquisition is as prolonged and as complex as psychologists describe, how are we to shut off from the process of modification and growth of percepts that process of evolution which is subsequently described as conception? May not conception be an element in the formation of a percept? Psychologists do not limit the perceptual process to a description of the simple reaction of the mind against a sensation. Nor do they limit it to what is actually present to the mind in that reaction. For they postulate retentiveness and reproduction, and they also prove that attention is involved. As is observed by Stout, 'attention is always in some manner expectant or prospective' (p. 367). If attention is an element in our appreciation of the present situation, then the present situation is not altogether present, nor can the past be shut out from the present situation, for there are the phenomena of retentiveness and reproduction to be taken into account. What Stout has given with the one hand he seems to take away with the other.

If we work out any situation which is the object of perception, we find it inextricably connected with the past and the future. Ought we not to extend the meaning of perception to make it correspond to the facts? Looking at the facts, we find that there is no presentation which is not also a representation, and no cognition which is not also a recognition. We cannot find an object which is not complex, and which is not an object until somehow it is differentiated and discriminated from other objects. It is vain to seek to make distinctions the aim of which is to shut out all reference to those principles which we set forth explicitly when we have so far completed the analysis of the mental processes. For the principles which have come to clear consciousness through analysis are there in every act of knowledge, and we simply delude ourselves by calling them by names which seem to involve less than the whole action of the mind, and yet do involve all that action. It is not possible to keep, as Stout seems to try to do, the action of thought at the perceptual level, for at every step of the description the power of thought is present, intrusive, and active.

We may observe here that the ordinary use of language is against such a limitation as is presented in these treatises of psychology. We may take two illustrations of the meaning of the word 'perceive' from the AV of the Bible. We need not refer to the fact that the word 'perceive' is the translation of two different Greek words, for our purpose is simply to illustrate the usage of the English language.

'Sir, I perceive that thou art a prophet' (Jn 4^{19}), says the woman of Samaria, and the perception was the outcome of the whole previous conversation, and of all that she had learned and understood of the character and function of a prophet. It is a conclusion drawn from a long process of thought and reflexion, and she puts it as a 'perception.' Was she wrong, from a psychological point of view? If so, she errs in good company. The other Scripture passage we take from the speech of Peter to Cornelius: 'Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons' (Ac 10^{34}). But this perception was the result of a long and complicated process of persuasion through which Peter was led to overcome many prejudices, and to make a new departure of the greatest significance to himself and others. We need not detail the steps by which Peter was led to this conclusion. The significant thing is that he can call the conclusion to a long and complicated series of experiences by the name 'perception.' In this we plead that he was psychologically correct. It is consistent with ordinary experience. And a perception may be the justifiable outcome of an experience in which all the factors of intelligence have been obviously at work.

We quote an instance from another writer, which illustrates another aspect of the problem. Hort, speaking of the Western Text of the NT and of its rejection by many critics, says:

'This all but universal rejection is doubtless partly owing to the persistent influence of a whimsical theory of the last century, which, ignoring all Non-Latin Western documentary evidence except the handful of extant bilingual uncials, maintained that the Western Greek text owed its peculiarities to translation from the Latin; partly to an imperfect apprehension of the antiquity and extension of the Western text as revealed by patristic quotations and by versions. Yet, even with the aid of a true perception of the facts of Ante-Nicene textual history, it would have been strange if this text as a whole had found much favour' (B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, *The NT in the Original Greek*, Cambridge and London, 1881–82, ii., 'Introduction,' p. 120).

We quote the passage simply for its use of the word 'perception.' It is good English. Is it also good psychology? Is Hort justified in his use of the word 'perception' to describe the result of a long process of observation of the manifold facts and phenomena of MSS, versions, Patristic quotations, and so on? It is as complex a series of facts as ever was presented to the human mind, and yet Hort called the outcome of it all a 'perception.' If he is justified, then we may rightly call the outcome of all experience in any sphere a 'perception'—all our investigations, all our conceptions, all our generalizations, may go to form a perception.

If this is psychologically justifiable, as well as consonant with the usage of the English language, it will be necessary to revise our psychology. It will be necessary to look at perception as a final term, recapitulative of a long process of experience in which all the resources of the mind have been at work. At present, mainly under the influence of Kant, percepts are regarded as raw material waiting to be gathered up into a unity by means of rules brought to bear on them by the understanding. This view is partial and has some justification, in so far as percepts have to be organized and brought under rule. But what is the source of the rule? Are we to pass into a country foreign to the perceptual powers and wait for a rule to be given by something outside of the perceptual process? Is not the rule given already in the very description of the perceptual process? At all events, the perceptual process cannot be described without the rules which are supposed to be brought to it by the higher faculty.

It is to be observed that there is no recognition in our text-books of psychology of the reverse process, which issues in a perception as the outcome of a long experience. And this is a real experience, familiar in every department of human activity. It is indeed a commonplace of literature. Experience does attain to a prophetic strain and culminates in insight into a situation of the most complex order. Illustrations of the fact abound, and are so obvious that they hardly need be mentioned. It may be useful, however, to refer to the part which language plays in the evolution of the mind of a child. It has been contended by some (*e.g.*, J. T. Merz, *Religion and Science*, Edinburgh, 1915) that the first impression on the mind of a child is made through persons. This, at all events, is true, that a child begins very early to speak and to understand speech. This fact must have a great influence on our view of perception; for crude perception, if there ever is such a thing, is certainly modified by it. All language is abstract, and one part of the education of a child is to attach meanings more or less definite to the words that he has learned—to find concrete illustrations of them. This is true of the ordinary intercourse in a family; it is still more so when the child begins to read, and to use language more abstract than that used in the family. In fact, a great part of the education of a man is to translate out of the books that he has read into the language of common life the words that he happens to come across. General ideas are only pale ghosts until they are touched with the vividness of a perception. As the knowledge of the mind grows, and the words become more technical and more abstract, the necessity of translation into perceptions becomes more urgent. But, as knowledge grows, so the perceptions grow until a man learns to perceive a whole situation as the immediate thing to be grasped by the mind in an intuition or a perception, as the case may be, for from this point of view perception and intuition mean the same thing. We can never be sure that we have grasped the essential meaning of a situation until we have gathered it into a perception which enables us to come to a decision or to take appropriate action.

Instances of the way in which the whole experience of a lifetime may be gathered into a view of the situation present at a given moment that will enable a man to make a decision adequate to the circumstances, and fit to initiate or to terminate a course of action, are of everyday occurrence. Whatever a man's trade, occupation, or profession may be, his success in it will depend on how much of his experience he may be able to gather up in view of a situation with which he has to deal.

From Schopenhauer, who, whatever we may think of his philosophy in general or of his personal attitude towards life, has flashes of insight and apprehension worthy of all admiration, we learn something which we cannot find in any other thinker:

'Strictly speaking, all thinking, *i.e.* combining of abstract conceptions, has at the most the *recollections* of earlier perceptions for its material, and this only indirectly, as far as it constitutes the foundation of all conceptions. Real knowledge, on the contrary, that is, immediate knowledge, is perception alone, new, fresh perception itself. Now the concepts which the reason has framed and the memory has preserved cannot all be present to consciousness at once, but only a very small number of them at a time. On the other hand, the energy with which we apprehend what is present in perception, in which really all that is essential in all things generally is virtually contained and represented, is apprehended, fills the consciousness in one moment with its whole power. Upon this depends the infinite superiority of genius to learning; they stand to each other as the text of an ancient classic to its commentary. All truth and all wisdom really lies ultimately in perception. But this unfortunately can neither be retained nor communicated. The *objective* conditions of such communication can certainly be presented to others purified and illustrated through plastic and pictorial art, and even much more directly through poetry; but it depends so much upon *subjective* conditions, which are not at the command of every one, and of no one at all times, nay, indeed, in the higher degrees of perfection, are only the gift of the favoured few' (*The World as Will and Idea*, tr. R. B. Haldane and J. Kemp, London, 1883–86, ii. 247 f.).

Again, a little later on, he says:

'*Perception* is not only the *source* of all knowledge, but is itself knowledge *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, is the only unconditionally true, genuine knowledge completely worthy of the name. For it alone imparts *insight* properly so called, it alone is actually assimilated by man, passes into his nature, and can with full reason be called his; while the conceptions merely cling to him. In the fourth book we see indeed that true virtue proceeds from knowledge of perception or intuitive knowledge; for only those actions which are directly called forth by this, and therefore are performed purely from the impulse of our own nature, are properly symptoms of our true and unalterable character; not so those which, resulting from reflection and its dogmas, are

often extorted from the character, and therefore have no unalterable ground in us. But *wisdom* also, the true view of life, the correct eye, and the searching judgment, proceeds from the way in which the man apprehends the perceptible world, but not from his mere abstract knowledge, that is, not from abstract conceptions. The basis or ultimate content of every science consists not in proofs, nor in what is proved, but in the unproved foundations of the proofs, which can finally be apprehended only through perception. So also the basis of the true wisdom and real insight of each man does not consist in conceptions and in abstract rational knowledge, but in what is perceived, and in the degree of acuteness, accuracy and profundity with which he has apprehended it' (p. 252).

Schopenhauer's doctrine of perception is helpful, but must be amended in two respects: (1) in relation to his contention that perception is personal only and incommunicable; and (2) there is no recognition of what we regard as true and essential, namely the fact that conceptions, and abstract reasoning generally, may add to the contents, extent, and validity of a perception. Schopenhauer says:

'If perceptions were communicable, that would be a communication worth the trouble: but at last every one must remain in his own skin and skull, and no one can help another. To enrich the conception from perception is the unceasing endeavour of poetry and philosophy' (p. 248).

In this Schopenhauer approaches very near to a contradiction in terms. He asserts that perceptions are incommunicable, and yet adds that poetry and philosophy are striving unceasingly to enrich conceptions from perception. Are philosophy and poetry incommunicable? Are not poets and philosophers incessantly striving to communicate their perceptions to their readers? Are they unsuccessful in this endeavour? Let the popularity of poets—the popular appreciation of poets from Homer downwards—give the answer. The man in the street may not be able to see the poet's vision in all its splendour, but he sees something of it, sufficient at least to discern that the poet has had a vision, and by diligence he also may have some share in it. For all humanity is in every man, and all the gains of humanity may become his portion. But the second assumption is, after all, the more important. Our contention is that, as perceptions enrich conceptions, so conceptions may enrich perceptions. We are aware that the possibility of this has been ignored altogether by most thinkers on this subject, and yet we believe that it is true. Here again illustrations abound in every department of human activity. Let us select one which may be regarded as typical.

Before me is a picture of the Forth Bridge. I have a clear perception of its form, and I see that it is stretched across the Firth at a sufficient height to allow ships to pass beneath it. I see also that it is of sufficient strength to bear all the trains which need to cross it on their way from south to north or from north to south. I can also see how much it shortens the railway journey, and how greatly it facilitates traffic. These thoughts arise within me as I look at the bridge, and all are part of its meaning to me. That is the perception which the bridge presents to an ordinary traveller. But the perception of the bridge varies with the experience and culture of the traveller; it may mean much or little, but it does mean something for everybody. Every one sees that it is something which can afford communication from one shore to another, and every one understands something of its usefulness. But the range of the perception varies with the culture of the individual, and the perception will grow from more to more according to the particular interest, knowledge, and experience which the spectator carries with him towards the mere appearance, which is the same for every one. There the bridge stands, stretching from shore to shore, and across it trains speed night and day. It has some meaning for all, but to each the meaning is greater or less according to the number of concepts which he can pack into the perception.

Let us lay aside for the moment the perception of the bridge as it appears to the ordinary traveller, and consider how it became what it is. The outcome of the whole process of its becoming is that it stands there visible to the eye, and men can perceive it. But before it became a visible and tangible fact it was present to the mind of some man, or men, as a hope and an aspiration. The hope was to complete the bridge and to afford a shorter and easier way for traffic to be carried. But the purpose needed realization, and the engineer set himself to design the bridge. He had to study profoundly all that mathematics and mechanics could tell him of curves, strains, wind-pressure, climatic conditions, the allowance for expansion, if the bridge was to be made of steel, and also the height to which it must be raised in order to leave a fair sea-way and to afford an easy gradient for trains to ascend from the level of the neighbouring land. Then he had to calculate the strength of material, and the mathematical form of the curves which would give at once the greatest strength and the greatest economy of material. A thousand other qualifications were also necessary, but we have enumerated a sufficient number to explain our meaning. The engineer had the benefit of all the experience of engineers since engineering began, and that has been condensed for him into books and formulæ. He had his own experience also, and he had to use them all if his work was to be successfully done. This is our point—all the experience of engineers, all the experience of this particular engineer, all the formulæ of mathematics, all the achievements of physics, and all the conceptions available for this purpose have to be used to produce the design of the bridge, and to condense it into a perception, which may become a picture for the eyes of the ordinary man. All these conceptions have been constrained into the service of the perception. Nor is this perception incommunicable, as Schopenhauer asserts. The plans and specifications are drawn out and are set before the contractors. There are drawings of the most specific and detailed order; there are specifications dealing with every part of the bridge; and the contractors must master these before they offer to construct the bridge. The work of the engineer is communicated to the contractor. What the engineer has condensed into the picture of the bridge in his design the contractor must translate into the material of which the bridge is to be built. Thus the perception of the bridge can be communicated, and it can be realized. We do not see any reason why we should not call the thought that we have of the bridge a perception (it has all the marks of a perception) and the knowledge which we have of it, or rather the knowledge which the engineer had of it, when his design was complete.

Direct, immediate knowledge of a situation may be the outcome of long meditation, of endeavours which have employed all the resources of science, all the powers of reflexion, and even all the powers of thought, in order to understand all the forces and characters which have entered into the situation and made it what it is. Not until we have thus defined the situation can we be said to have it under our control and be in a position to form a resolution and pass it into action.

But in truth this power of gathering up into a present whole the experience of a life and bringing it to bear on any given situation is one which is characteristic of every master of men—admiral, general, or political leader. If he is unable to see a situation, or if he is unable to avail himself of his knowledge and experience, if he cannot focus them all into a living whole and perceive them as present, he will break down at the moment when a decision has to be made, and action which ought to be inevitable will become vague, indefinite, and confused. This power is, so far, present in every man, and the perceptions of every successful man may be seen to be of gradual growth and of growing intensity. There is no difference in kind between the perceptions of one man and those of another; the difference lies in the power which a man acquires of utilizing his experience and of focusing it into a perception which is the necessary presupposition of intelligent action.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works named in the article the following may be consulted: R. Adamson, *The Development of Modern Philosophy*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1903; J. M. Baldwin, *Develop ment and Evolution*, New York, 1902; B. P. Bowne, *Introd. to Psychological Theory*, do. 1886; E. Caird, *A Critical Account of the Philosophy of Kant*, Glasgow, 1877; William Hamilton, *Discussions on Philosophy, etc.*, Edinburgh, 1853 (particularly the article on 'Philosophy of Perception,' pp. 39-117), 'On the various Theories of Perception,' Dissertation C, in *The Works of Thomas Reid*², Edinburgh, 1849, p. 816 f.; L. T. Hobhouse, *Development and Purpose*, London, 1913; G. T. Ladd, *Philosophy of Knowledge*, New York, 1897; S. S. Laurie, *Synthetica*, 2 vols., London, 1906; W. McDougall, *Body and Mind*, do. 1911; D. C. Mackintosh, *The Problem of Knowledge*, do. 1916; E. Wallace, *Aristotle's Psychology*, Cambridge, 1882; J. H. Stirling, *Text-Book to Kant*, Edinburgh, 1881.

JAMES IVERACH.

PERFECTI (or Boni Homines).—The Perfecti were the pastors or teachers of the Cathari, or Albigenses, who, in recognition of the spiritual perfection to which they were supposed to have attained by virtue of their approved practice of the ascetic doctrine of the sect, had been admitted to the number of the 'Consolati,' *i.e.* those who had received the *Consolamentum* (see ALBIGENSES). They were also generally distinguished by their

superior learning and intimate knowledge of the Scriptures, which they studied in a different version from the Vulgate. George Carleton, bishop of Chichester, as late as 1626 refers to what he characterizes as 'the Pharisaical prides and dreams of the Cathari and *Perfectionists*' (*An Examination*, London, 1626, p. 135). The Perfecti, generally speaking, abstained from intercourse with mixed society and often passed several days together in complete isolation from the world, but, when called upon to defend their peculiar tenets against the Catholics, exhibited the utmost readiness to meet their antagonists in a formal disputation. An early instance of this occurs in the year 1165, in connexion with the Council of Lombers in the diocese of Albi (Mansi, *Concilia*, Venice, 1759–98, Paris, 1901 ff., xxii. 157; C. de Vic and J. Vaissette, *Hist. générale de Languedoc*, Paris, 1872–90, iii. 4, vi. 3–5; C. Schmidt, *Hist. et doctrine des Cathares*, do. 1848–49, ii. ch. iii.).

J. BASS MULLINGER.

PERFECTION (Buddhist).—Broadly speaking, perfection relates either to the nature or state of a given unit of thought or to achievement by such a unit. In the light of mankind's imperfect and fluid knowledge, evolving or degenerating in its ideals, the former meaning is usually expressed either in negative terms or in terms of bare superlativeness. Thus the Buddhist books also speak of a perfect nature or state as *an-uttara*, 'beyondless,' or as *parama*, *sammā*, 'supreme,' or *brahma*, *seṭṭha*, 'best,' or *agga*, 'the highest.'

'So Kassapa . . . ere long attained to that supreme goal of the religious life (*anuttaraṃ brahmachariyapariyosānaṃ*)' (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, i. 240; cf. *Sutta-Nipāta* [*SBE* x.[2] (1898)] 15, rendered 'highest perfection of a religious life']).

'One that is pure, perfect (*paramaṃ*) and sane, I see . . .
. . . . . .
Who here below hath known the best as best (*paramaṃ*)'
(*Sutta-Nipāta*, 788, 87 [in tr. 86]).

This perfect or ideal state was spoken of by the negative term *ni-bbāna* (*nirvāṇa*), or extinction (interpreted by commentators as 'going away from')—extinction referring to the elimination of all sinful qualities and painful conditions. Since the latter were wholly and permanently expugnable only with the extinction of life itself, earthly or heavenly, the permanently perfect state was incompatible with life. But, since thought and language are limited by life, the perfect state was both inconceivable and inexpressible. Hence no Buddhist tries to describe any such state, but confines himself (1) to maintaining the aspiration to such a supreme goal both during life and at final death (*sa-upādisesa-anupādisesaṃ nibbānaṃ*), and (2) to depicting in positive terms the former, or relative, *nibbāna* attainable in this life, despite its brevity and hindrances, by the perfected man, or *arahant*.

In the characteristics ascribed to the perfected man or woman two salient features may be noted: (1) in no religion is the perfection of the saint as something won and realized during life so emphatically conceded and insisted upon as it is in early Buddhism; (2) but it is a perfection of achievement, the completion of a strenuous career, the attainment of an end. It is akin to the τέλειος of the utterance in Matthew's Gospel (5[48]): 'Be ye perfect,' 'Be ye such as have attained a τέλος, an end.' It is true that, in the Buddhist canon, groups of qualities, intellectually and ethically desirable, are predicated of the *arahant*. The *Sutta-Nipāta*, *e.g.*, and the *Psalms of the Brethren* (*Theragāthā*) abound with such descriptions. But the staple formularized description of *arahant*-ship and the *arahant*, repeated throughout the *Suttas*, is a rosary of epithets relating to an end accomplished, a goal won, a task finished, a *summum bonum* secured. The *arahant* is he 'who has destroyed the intoxicants (*āsavas*), has lived the life, has done the task, has laid down the burden, has won the good supreme, has broken away the fetter of becoming, is emancipated through perfect knowledge.'[1] To be perfect was to round off the line of life by maturing certain potentialities in it, and thus to attain a certain attitude regarding it. To this line of life there had been no beginning—beginnings are anthropomorphic conceptions, to a Buddhist mere conventional notions—but there might, in one way only, be an ending. This was in the maturity, the fruition, the dying out, as a living unit, of the 'fulfilled' life of the *arahant*. Beyond that dying out neither thought nor language could follow any further development:

'In whom th' intoxicants are driėd up,
Whose range is in the Void and the Unmarked
And Liberty:—as flight of birds in air
So hard is it to track the trail of him'
(*Psalms of the Brethren*, 92).

It is in the terms 'fulfilled,' 'fulfilment' (*paripuṇṇa*, *pāripūrī*), and 'maturity' (*paripakka*)[2] that Buddhist thought comes nearest to the Latin term 'perfected.' The figure of the rounded orb of the moon is frequently used to illustrate the former notion. Puṇṇa and Puṇṇā were personal names, and sister Puṇṇā is admonished:

'Fill up, Puṇṇā (*Puṇṇe! pūrassu*) the orb of holy life,
E'en as on fifteenth day the full-orbed moon.
Fill full the perfect knowledge (*paripuṇṇā paññā*) of the Path'
(*Psalms of the Sisters*, 3).

Again:

'Lo! I am he whose purpose is fulfilled (*paripuṇṇa-saṃkappo*)
And rounded as the moon on fifteenth day'
(*Psalms of the Brethren*, 546).

Arahant (*ar[a]hat*) means, it is true, neither 'perfect' nor 'saint,' but 'he who is worthy' (from the root *arh*). But it was the beneficent example and influence of perfected lives that made such subjects the worthy and 'perfect field' (*anuttaraṃ khettaṃ*), wherein the faithful should sow their homage and fostering care.

So organically conceived was this maturity of the perfected that it was judged heterodox to suppose that they could revert to immature stages (*Kathāvatthu*, i. 2, tr. in *Points of Controversy*, *PTS*, London, 1915, p. 64 f.).

The fulfilled quest of the *arahant* is well brought out by the scriptures cited (*ib.*) to support this verdict.

'Not twice they fare who reach the further shore . . .
. . . . . .
For whom no work on self is still unwrought . . .
. . . . . .
. . . there is no building up again,
Nor yet remaineth aught for him to do.'

This absolute completeness of achievement along a certain line of effort came to be confused with competence in general. Thus in *Points of Controversy*, ii. 2–4, xxi. 3, it is asked whether, in worldly matters, such as finding his way in a new district, or in arts and crafts, the *arahant* may not show less knowledge, more doubt, than others, whether also, if he overcomes ignorance as the last barrier at the threshold of *arahant*-ship, he is to rank as omniscient.

The specific nescience there and then overcome was lack of that perfect insight into the relation between life and suffering, cause and effect, summarized as the 'four true things'—the 'one thing needful' for the earnest Buddhist. His quest of this insight was held to have led him clear of the nine 'fetters' in succession, of soul-theory, doubt, belief in rite- and rule-efficacy, clear of all residual desires of sense, enmity, desire for prolonged life in any lower or higher spheres, conceit, and distraction.

[1] See, *e.g.*, the writer's index vol. to *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, London, 1904, pp. vii, 12.

[2] Cf. *Saṃyutta Nikāya*, v. 35, 103 f., 200 f., iv. 105; *Aṅguttara Nikāya*, iv. 314 f., 356 f., etc.

Then, as the mists of ignorance rolled away, there burst on him the supernal clarity of vision that revealed the lonely pinnacle on which he stood—the climax of a life to which there had been no first birth, but of which there was to be, here and now, the last end.

'And glad is he, for he hath won the top (*agga-patto pamodati*).

Whose hath all his training perfected (*paripuṇṇa*),
And cannot fall away, who hath insight
Supreme, and doth behold the fading out,
The end of births—lo! him I call a seer,
"Last-body-bearer," and "abandoner
Of all illusions," "crossed-beyond-decay"'
(*Iti-vuttaka*, 90, 46).

To become perfected, in this sense of completed achievement, was for the earnest disciple the positive motive or spring of religious life, complementary to, and supervening on, the negative motive of escape from *dukkha*, or misery. Conviction of his liability at all times to suffering spurred him to turn from worldly interests; the realization of a perfection, a goal or fruition to be attained, gradually replaced that *vim a tergo* (cf. *Points of Controversy*, p. 230 f.).

LITERATURE.—See the sources quoted throughout.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

PERFECTION (Christian).—I. *NT CONCEPTION.*—Some phase of the idea and ideal of perfection has a place in the Christian thought of every generation. The term itself, however perverted in the history of fanatical sects, is of too frequent occurrence in the NT to be overlooked. It stands for a conception of the completeness and blessedness of Christian experience which has attracted the wistful desire of orthodox and sectarian alike. As Christian it is to be distinguished from the metaphysical perfection of speculative thought and from the ideal or *summum bonum* of philosophical or naturalistic ethics. Its more direct lineage is discernible in the OT. But from that conception also it is differentiated by definite characteristics —*e.g.*, by being evangelical rather than legal, positive rather than negative (Mt $7^{12.\ 21.\ 24}$, Jn 14^{15-23} etc.); by taking account of inward disposition as well as of outward act (Mt $5^{22.\ 28f.}$, Jn $3^{3.\ 6}$ etc.); and especially by setting forth the perfect love of God and man as the fulfilling and fulfilment of the divine law, thus raising the righteousness of the law to its highest power in the perfection of obedience through faith and love (Mt 5^{43-48}, Ro 13^{10}, Ja 2^{8}, 1 Jn $3^{18.\ 23}$ etc.). It is also distinguished in Christian thought from holiness (*q.v.*) and from sanctification (*q.v.*) as a question of degree, or as the specific from the generic. Many Christians who urge the possibility of holiness plead the impossibility of perfection.

The essential significance of 'perfect' (τέλειος) in the NT is that of an ideal relation of the Christian to the divine end, or τέλος, in regard to his character and service. But, as this ideal is progressively realized, every τέλος, both in revelation and in experience, is also an ἀρχή—a beginning. Hence 'perfect' is a relative term. Christian perfection is never identical with absolute perfection. That belongs to God only (Lk 18^{19}). In the measure of the human that is perfect which is complete in all its parts and powers, which possesses all that is necessary to the integrity of its nature, and reaches its divinely designed end. Thus, as a possibility and an obligation, Christian perfection signifies the full cluster and maturity of the specifically Christian graces which give the Christian character its completeness for life and service within the conditions of its earthly environment. The NT term 'perfect,' itself general and abstract, only materializes its meaning in organic relation to its context. This varies according to the immediate conception of the nature of the divine law which reveals the ideal end for the perfect man in any particular age or circumstance.

'The τέλειος is one who has attained his moral *end*, that for which he was intended, namely, to be a man in Christ' (R. C. Trench, *Synonyms of the NT*[8], London, 1876, p. 74).

It is of primary importance to bear in mind that the context in which 'perfect' occurs in the NT varies very considerably (cf. Mt 5^{48}, 1 Co 13^{10} 2^{6}, He 7^{19} 12^{23}). There is a perfection, possible and obligatory, recognized as crowning each stage of the Christian life. (1) At the beginning of Christian discipleship there is the perfection that constitutes a perfect conversion: 'If thou wouldest be perfect, go, sell that thou hast . . . and come follow me' (Mt 19^{21}). This perfection refers to the completion of a preparatory state, which is initial to a discipline for further perfection more truly Christlike. (2) The estate of justification has its perfection in a redemption perfect as regards evangelical status and privilege: 'For by one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified' (He 10^{14}). (3) A perfection attaches to the state of obedient faith which 'knows the things which are freely given to us of God,' 'Howbeit we speak wisdom among the perfect' (1 Co 2^{6}; cf. Ritschl, *Justification and Reconciliation*[3], p. 647). (4) A perfection attends the religious status marked by the attainment of the end of a ritual of privilege (He 7^{19} 9^{9} 10^{1}), or the perfection for leadership and official ministry reached through long discipline (He 2^{10} 7^{11} 9^{11}). (5) There is a perfection realized only in the consummation of another order of life—'the spirits of just men made perfect' (He 12^{23})—and with this may be associated that perfection of eternal spiritual progress anticipated in the words, 'When that which is perfect is come, that which is in part shall be done away' (1 Co 13^{10}).

But the sense in which 'perfect' is usually understood in Christian thought has reference to that ethical and spiritual completeness of Christian character which crowns the faith and discipline of the religious life. In this sense Jesus used it in what may be regarded as the great charter for the Christian ideal: 'Ye therefore shall be perfect [imperatival future], as your heavenly Father is perfect' (Mt 5^{48}). He states perfection in ethical, not in legal, ritual, or eschatological terms; it consists in moral likeness to God, in perfect sonship to the perfect Father; it is a quality of character, an ethical achievement resulting in the 'Christianizing of the Christian,' rather than a privilege of Christian status or imputation. This is the ideal towards which all NT teaching looks and moves. It is stated most fully in the profound and daring petitions of the apostolic prayers for Christian believers (Eph 1^{16-19} 3^{14-19}, Col 1^{9-11}, 1 Th 5^{23}, 2 Co 13^{9}). These find their all-comprehending unity in a supreme exposition of the law of love; they unfold an ideal of ethical and spiritual excellence that cannot be surpassed: 'May your spirit and soul and body be preserved entire, without blame at the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ' (1 Th 5^{23}), that ye may 'know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge, that ye may be filled unto all the fulness of God' (Eph 3^{19}). The aspiration of the Christian soul can go no further. No limit is set to Christian privilege. The main question before which faith and practice have halted throughout the Christian centuries is whether St. Paul here prays for such perfection as a spiritual blessing obtainable in the present life. He appears, however, to have anticipated this natural hesitation and forestalled it in the doxology that follows one of these prayers: 'Now unto him that is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us,' etc. (Eph 3^{20}), and in the sure note of confi-

dence that closes the other: 'Faithful is he that calleth you, who will also do it' (1 Th 5^{24}). These passages indicate the possibility of a state of Christian experience that can be described as 'unblameable in holiness' (1 Th 3^{13}), in which in this life Christians may stand hallowed through and through (ὁλοτελεῖς), in every part of their nature (ὁλόκληρον), subsisting by grace in a spiritual condition able to bear the scrutiny of their Lord's presence without rebuke. It is to this achievement that the fidelity of God to His purpose in calling men to be Christians is pledged. The obligation, moreover, to be 'sincere and void of offence unto the day of Christ; being filled with the fruits of righteousness' (Ph 1^{10}) rests upon all Christians and is not regarded in the apostolic ideal as a 'counsel of perfection' for a privileged few; for the acknowledged end of the apostles' labour was 'admonishing every man and teaching every man in all wisdom, that we may present every man perfect in Christ' (Col 1^{28}), 'always striving for you in his prayers, that ye may stand perfect and fully assured in all the will of God' (4^{12}).

(*a*) The closer definition of Christian perfection is almost invariably stated in the NT in terms of love. The injunction, 'Become ye imitators of God, as beloved children; and walk in love' (Eph $5^{1f.}$), which compresses the ideal of perfection into a phrase echoing Mt 5^{48}, arose from the contemplation of God's tireless tenderness in merciful dealing with the evil and the good, the just and the unjust. God's perfection is perfect love; man's is in being like Him. Love with all the heart and soul and mind is the last sign of the perfect (Mt 22^{37-40}); for every relationship, human and divine, 'love is the bond of perfectness' (Col 3^{14}), and 'he that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him. Herein is our love made perfect. . . . There is no fear in love; but perfect love casteth out fear' (1 Jn $4^{16ff.}$). The boldest and most beautiful interpretation of Christian perfection in sacred literature is St. Paul's great hymn to love in 1 Co 13 (cf. also 2 P 1^{4-7}, Ja 1^{25}); for, 'if we love one another, God abideth in us, and his love is perfected in us' (1 Jn 4^{12}). Obedience to 'the royal law according to the scripture,' 'the perfect law, the law of liberty,' 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself' (Ja 1^{25} 2^{8}), becomes the vanishing point of every prophecy, precept, promise, and privilege in the NT; for on this 'hangeth the whole law, and the prophets' (Mt 22^{40}). Such love is the harmonious expression and completion of the whole human personality—mind, will, and feeling—not of feeling alone (1 Th 5^{23}). But this love is always set forth as dependent upon the recognition and reception of 'the love which God hath in us' (1 Jn 4^{16}); 'We love, because he first loved us' (4^{19}). God's love towards us is first 'perfected in us' (4^{12}), 'emptied forth in our hearts through the Holy Ghost which was given unto us' (Ro 5^{5}), in order that, by 'the expulsive power of a new affection,' 'fear that hath punishment' may be cast out, and the soul energized in all its activities Godward and manward by a human love made perfect through the divine. Only thus may we 'have boldness in the day of judgement; because as he is, even so are we in this world' (1 Jn 4^{17}).

(*b*) Hence Christian perfection is constantly declared to be wrought by the grace of God through Christ who dwells in our hearts by faith, 'to the end that, . . . being rooted and grounded in love,' we 'may be strong to apprehend with all the saints what is the breadth and length and height and depth, and to know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge,' that we 'may be filled unto all the fulness of God' (Eph $3^{17ff.}$), 'being confident of this very thing, that he which began a good work in you will perfect it until the day of Jesus Christ' (Ph 1^{6}; cf. He 13^{21}, Ph 2^{13}). This peculiar quality of perfection as Christian is basal in the NT teaching: 'perfect in Christ' (Col 1^{28}); 'for in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily, and in him ye are made full' ($2^{9f.}$; cf. 1 Co 1^{30}); it is realizable only in Christ, and this in every aspect of its origin, progress, and end. Something in His life and death is regarded as essential to its inception and hope: 'The law made nothing perfect' (He 7^{19}); 'For by one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified' (10^{14}); the ethical discipline by which perfection is attained finds its centre and sanction in Him: 'Having been made perfect, he became unto all them that obey him the author of eternal salvation' (He 5^{9}; cf. 12^{2}). Moreover, He is Himself the only perfect man—the complete type to which all human perfection must conform; we are 'foreordained to be conformed to the image of his Son, that he might be the firstborn among many brethren' (Ro 8^{29}), so that 'the perfecting of the saints' tarries 'till we all attain . . . unto a fullgrown man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ' (Eph 4^{13}; cf. v.^{32} 5^{1}, Ph 2^{5}).

(*c*) Nevertheless, perfection is considered to be dependent upon the effort of man in co-operating with the grace of God: 'But whoso keepeth his word, in him verily hath the love of God been perfected' (1 Jn 2^{5}): 'If we love one another, God abideth in us, and his love is perfected in us' (4^{12}; cf. Ph 2^{12}, 2 Co 7^{1}, Ja 5^{8}). In order to be Christian, perfection must also be the perfection of the pure intent, the single eye (1 Co 10^{31}, 1 P 4^{11}, Mt 6^{33}), of the entire renunciation of self (Lk 14^{33}), the complete discipline of the tongue (Ja 2^{12}), as well as the full cluster of the fruits of the Spirit (Gal $5^{22f.}$).

(*d*) The lofty ideal of Christian perfection thus presented in the NT raises two questions of great importance and of equal difficulty, which have been the chief grounds of controversy in the history of the doctrine within the Church. To these the NT gives no categorical answer; such answers as are available, while valuable as far as they go, are at best equivocal or inferential. (*a*) Does Christian perfection imply a state of sinlessness? The Johannine writer asserts plainly concerning the children of God: 'Whosoever abideth in him sinneth not. . . . Whosoever is begotten of God doeth no sin, because his seed abideth in him; and he cannot sin, because he is begotten of God' (1 Jn $3^{6.\ 9}$). And yet the same writer asserts with equal plainness: 'If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. If we confess our sins, he is faithful and righteous to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness. If we say that we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us' ($1^{8ff.}$). It is obvious that these assertions present an exceedingly difficult exegetical problem. Taken at their face value, they are contradictory. Considered in the light of the doctrine of perfection, they depend much for their meaning upon the significance attached to the common term 'sin,' and upon the nature of the qualifying words chosen to express its closer definition. Some relief has been sought in distinctions between sin as outward or indwelling, voluntary or involuntary, momentary or habitual. The issue is too fine for discussion here. Cogent reasons for regarding Christian perfection in the NT as the destruction of all sin are given by John Fletcher ('Essay on Christian Perfection,' *Works*, v. 40–50), and for the opposite view by P. T. Forsyth (*Christian Perfection*[2], pp. 1–49). Commentaries (*in loc.*) should also be consulted. But, whichever view is adopted, there can be little doubt that Christian perfection is regarded in Scripture as compatible with infirmity of knowledge and with other natural and inevitable human limitations consistent with

the persistence to the end of life of a state of ethical and spiritual probation (Jn 17^{15}, Ro $8^{10.\ 23}$, 1 Co 15^{46} 9^{27}, 1 Jn 2^{1}). This implies a constant need of the grace of the atoning work of Christ (1 Jn 1^{7}) and the continued possibility of further progress in spiritual attainment (Ph $3^{10\text{-}16}$).

(*β*) Is the attainment of Christian perfection possible in the present life? The answer to this depends largely upon that given to the previous question. While it is extremely doubtful whether any specific NT passage gives an answer in the affirmative, it may fairly be said that the general tenor of the NT teaching forbids a negative reply. This may be gathered from the passages already quoted in this exposition. But it must be acknowledged that the use made of these for this end frequently depends upon whether their exposition proceeds upon lines determined by antecedent Calvinistic or Arminian tendencies. Moreover, it should be noticed that the great ethical and spiritual experiences that constitute finality in the Christian life are mostly presented in timeless relations in the NT. Nevertheless the obligation to regard perfection as the attainable goal of the Christian estate is undeniable (Mt $5^{43\text{-}48}$, 2 Co 7^{1}, Ph 3^{15}, He 6^{1}). The privilege, possibility, and promise of reaching this blessedness are not, however, declared chiefly in definite textual statements; they are too deep for words. What the NT here reveals is not so much a doctrine as a consciousness—and a consciousness of indescribable wealth and power—that He who hath begun a good work in us will also perfect it. In this vital and vitalizing consciousness the expectation of Christian perfection lived, moved, and had its being in the Apostolic Church.

II. *HISTORICAL.*—Each of the main theological systems has preserved, in the form of doctrine, experience, or tradition, one or other of the aspects of Christian perfection presented in the NT; but there is no consecutive history of the doctrine. It will be more satisfactory, therefore, to consider the types of theory exhibited than to attempt any chronological arrangement of the material available.

1. Patristic.—This type appears in fragments mostly continuing the strain of thought and phraseology of the NT; Christian perfection is the perfection of love achieving through grace the righteousness of faith.

'By love were all the elect of God made perfect. . . . Those who have been perfected in love through the grace of God attain to the place of the godly. . . . Blessed were we, dearly beloved, if we should be doing the commandments of God in concord of love. . . . Blessed is the man to whom the Lord shall impute no sin, neither is guile in his mouth' (Clement of Rome, *ad Cor.* 49 *f.*).

Speaking of faith, hope, and love, Polycarp writes: 'If any man be in these, he has fulfilled the law of righteousness, for he that hath love is far from all sin' (*ad Phil.* 3).

Ignatius repeats this testimony: 'Faith is the beginning of life and love the end; and the two being found in unity are God, while all things else follow in their train unto true nobility. No man professing faith sinneth, and no man possessing love hateth' (*ad Eph.* 14). 'Seeing ye are perfect, let your counsels also be perfect; for, if ye desire to do well, God is ready to grant the means' (*ad Smyrn.* 11).

Irenæus understands that the apostle Paul 'declares that those are "the perfect" who present unto the Lord body, soul and spirit without offence; who not only have the Holy Spirit abiding in them, but also preserve faultless their souls and bodies, keeping their fidelity to God, and maintaining righteous dealings with their neighbours' (*adv. Hær.* v. vi. 1; cf. also *Didache*, i., vi., x., xvi.).

Clement of Alexandria, influenced by Gnostic tendencies, illustrates how early the wavering faith of Christian thinkers was drawn in two ways respecting Christian perfection: 'A man may be perfected, whether as godly, or as patient, or in chastity, or in labours, or as a martyr, or in knowledge. But to be perfected in all these together I know not if this may be said of any who is yet man, save only of Him who put on humanity for us' (*Strom.* iv. 21). Yet he writes again: 'It is a thing impossible that man should be perfect as God is perfect; but it is the Father's will that we, living according to the Gospel in blameless or unfailing obedience, should become perfect' (*ib.* vii. 14).

Jerome may serve to illustrate a later phase of Patristic thought when Pelagian views of perfection found currency: 'We maintain also that, considering our time, place and bodily weakness, we can avoid sinning, if we will, as long as our mind is bent upon it, and the string of our harp is not slackened by any wilful fault' (*Dial. against the Pelagians*, iii. 4).

2. Methodist.—This type is considered at this stage because (*a*) the doctrine of Christian perfection is pre-eminently the distinctive doctrine of this community, which at present constitutes the largest Protestant Church; (*b*) it presents the fullest and most definitely articulated statement of the doctrine, and claims to be a direct continuation in modern times of the apostolic teaching; (*c*) it is claimed by J. A. Faulkner, of the Drew Theological Seminary, that 'the Methodists were the first Christians who officially, and as a united body, without deviation, and with the power of a church behind them to make it effective, taught the NT doctrine of Christian perfection' (O. A. Curtis, *The Christian Faith*, p. 525); they also embodied it in their standards and expounded and defended it as 'the grand depositum which God has lodged with the people called Methodists, and for the sake of propagating this chiefly He appeared to have raised us up' (J. Wesley, *Letters*, 15th Sept., 26th Nov. 1790); (*d*) it is claimed that the state of Christian perfection has been attained and enjoyed in living experience. The doctrine is stated in 'A Plain Account of Christian Perfection, as believed and taught by the Reverend Mr. John Wesley, from the Year 1725 to the Year 1777,' and 'Brief Thoughts on Christian Perfection' (*The Works of the Rev. John Wesley*, London, 1840, xi. 351–428). The spiritual values of the doctrine find their highest expression in *The Methodist Hymn Book*, particularly in the unique section 'For Believers seeking for Full Redemption.' W. B. Pope (*A Compendium of Christian Theology*[2], iii. 27–100) gives a careful dogmatic and historical review of the doctrine. From the days of the Holy Club at Oxford (1730) the Wesleys persistently sought perfection. Their earliest conceptions of it were mystical and ascetic, but intensely ethical. The influence of these characteristics remained even when, after their conversion, their conception of perfection had become strictly evangelical; their theory progressed from a preparatory ethical discipline, whose elements were but imperfectly understood, to a clearly apprehended and, as they profoundly believed, Scriptural conviction of the privilege open to every Christian believer of being perfected in the love of God and man, and of being wholly delivered from indwelling sin. The doctrine formed the natural sequel to the joyous assurance of acceptance with God that was the seal of justifying faith; Christian perfection was the further seal of the Holy Spirit set upon the earnest striving of the regenerate will accompanied by a faith working by love; such faith made this blessing its direct object, received it as a gift of grace, and retained it by the obedience of faith which became fruitful and effective through an abiding union with the crucified and risen Redeemer. Indeed, the doctrine of a complete deliverance from all sin was regarded as the logical and experimental outcome of the proclamation of a free, full, present salvation as the gift of grace to every penitent sinner. The exposition of the doctrine is marked by reasonableness and moderation, by great frankness and spiritual daring. Definitions often state what it is not. The main features of the Methodist doctrine are as follows: (1) it is not absolute, nor Adamic, nor angelic perfection, nor is any one 'infallible while he remains in the body' (Wesley, *Works*, xi. 400); nor is it a perfection of justification (p. 424); it is not legal, yet it is relative to a given law—the law of love; hence (2) it is perfect love:

'By perfection I mean the humble, gentle, patient love of God and our neighbour, ruling our tempers, words and actions'

(p. 428). 'Pure love reigning alone in the heart and life—this is the whole of Scriptural perfection' (p. 385). 'There is nothing higher in religion; there is, in effect, nothing else' (p. 413).

(3) Perfect love is the one law stated in the gospel to which we are now subject in the Christian dispensation; this is not a mitigated law, but a higher law than that contained in ordinances; it is the only law possible for us to obey and by which we can be judged. Because it is the royal law, the law of Christ, obedience to it constitutes Christian perfection in the Methodist sense (cf. p. 399). This is the plain doctrine found in varying words throughout John Wesley's writings (cf. *Journal*, 27th Aug. 1768). While mystical and ascetic teachers of perfection, who make love its essence, have seldom related it to the ethical obedience of faith, he boldly declares that the righteousness of the law is fulfilled in those in whom faith working by love is reckoned for perfection. Hence, as his critics admit (cf. C. Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, iii. 258), there is no tolerance of antinomianism in Wesley's doctrine. Moreover, 'this law of faith working by love is plainly different from the law of works' (Wesley, *Works*, xi. 400). Only in obedience to the law of love can Wesley's doctrine be regarded as (4) sinless perfection. He writes:

'I do not contend for the term "sinless," though I do not object against it' (p. 428). 'Is it sinless? It is not worth while to contend for a term. It is salvation from sin' (p. 424).

Yet in answer to the question, Does being made perfect in love imply that all inward sin is taken away?, he says:

'Undoubtedly; or how can we be said to be saved from all our uncleannesses?' (p. 371 f.; cf. p. 360 ff.).

'The Methodist doctrine is the only one that has consistently and boldly maintained the destruction of the carnal mind, or the inbred sin of our fallen nature' (Pope, iii. 97). It goes further than certain mystics and the Pietists of the school of Spener in asserting that the newness of life imparted by perfect love depends for its full exercise upon a perfect death to sin.

'The combination of the two elements, the negative annihilation of the principle of sin and the positive effusion of perfect love is, it may be said, peculiar to Methodist theology as such' (*ib.*; cf. also A. Lowrey, *Possibilities of Grace*, New York, 1884; R. S. Foster, *Christian Purity*).

Nevertheless Wesley frankly admits that, while those who are perfected in love are freed from all unholy tempers, pride, anger, self-will, and sinful desires, they are not free from mistakes, infirmities of judgment, involuntary negligences, and ignorances. These, however, though they are indeed deviations from the perfect law, are not, strictly speaking, sins. He recognizes the difficulty of accurately discriminating between sinful and sinless faults (cf. xi. 381), but nothing is sin properly speaking save 'a voluntary transgression of a known law.'

'I believe there is no such perfection in this life as excludes these involuntary transgressions which I apprehend to be naturally consequent on the ignorance and mistakes inseparable from mortality. Therefore "sinless perfection" is a phrase I never use, lest I should seem to contradict myself. I believe a person filled with the love of God is still liable to these involuntary transgressions. Such transgressions you may call sins, if you please; I do not, for the reasons above mentioned' (xi. 380; cf. also p. 368).

Still such faults, though not properly sins, cannot bear the rigour of God's justice, and therefore 'the best of men need Christ as their Priest, their Atonement, their Advocate with the Father; not only as the continuance of their every blessing depends on His death and intercession, but on account of their coming short of the law of love. For every man living does so. . . . The most perfect may properly for themselves, as well as for their brethren, say, "Forgive us our trespasses." . . . For want of duly considering this, some deny that they need the atonement of Christ. Indeed, exceeding few; I do not remember to have found five of them in England. Of the two I would sooner give up perfection; but we need not give up either one or the other. The perfection I hold, "love rejoicing evermore, praying without ceasing, and in everything giving thanks," is well consistent with it; if any hold a perfection which is not, they must look to it' (xi. 401; cf. p. 379).

(5) Perfection is received instantaneously by faith.

'As to the manner. I believe this perfection is always wrought in the soul by a simple act of faith; consequently in an instant. But I believe a gradual work, both preceding and following that instant' (xi. 428). 'But God does not, will not, give that faith unless we seek it with all diligence in the way which He hath ordained,' namely 'in vigorous, universal obedience, in a zealous keeping of all the commandments, in watchfulness and painfulness, in denying ourselves, and taking up our cross daily; as well as in earnest prayer and fasting, and a close attendance on all the ordinances of God' (p. 386). 'Yet these are not necessary in the same sense or same degree as faith . . . they are remotely necessary; faith is immediately and directly necessary' (vi. 50).

(6) Perfection is possible in this life. Wesley frequently urges this, but admits that it is a rare experience, though 'several persons have enjoyed the blessing without interruption for many years.' 'I know many that love God with all their heart' (xi. 402; cf. pp. 393, 389, iii. 96–100). His mature judgment was:

'As to the time. I believe this instant generally is the instant of death, the moment before the soul leaves the body. But I believe it may be ten, twenty, or forty years before. I believe it is usually many years after justification; but that it may be within five years or five months after it, I know no conclusive argument to the contrary' (xi. 429; cf. p. 373). Yet, as it is given instantaneously, in one moment, 'we are to expect it, not at death, but every moment; now is the accepted time' (p. 367; cf. p. 378 f.). Still 'I believe that in the case of most they gradually die to sin and grow in grace, till at, or perhaps a little before, death God perfects them in love, but not all; sometimes He "cuts short His work"; He does the work of many years in a few weeks, perhaps in a week, a day, an hour' (p. 406); 'so that one may affirm the work is gradual, another, it is instantaneous, without any manner of contradiction' (p. 407). 'But those who are perfect can undoubtedly grow in grace, and that not only while they are in the body, but to all eternity' (p. 409).

(7) *Assurance and profession.*—Wesley applied his doctrine of assurance to the attainment of Christian perfection as he did to the clear consciousness of justification. The Spirit of God bore witness to the reality and certainty of each of these spiritual states. This witness and the 'marks' in experience of a total death to sin and an entire renewal in the love and image of God were essential to the human confidence that the state of perfection had been reached (pp. 385 f., 404). This interior evidence was not always equally clear; it was susceptible of intermission and of increasing degrees of certainty (p. 403). As to the profession of Christian perfection, his statements are characterized by great caution and a sane reserve; he is at pains to admonish professors against the presumption of pride and the perils of enthusiasm, yet he favours a humble confession of enjoyment of the blessing to the glory of God.

'Be particularly careful in speaking of yourself; you may not indeed deny the work of God; but speak of it when you are called thereto, in the most inoffensive manner possible. . . . Indeed, you need give it no general name; neither perfection, sanctification, the second blessing, nor the having attained. Rather speak of the particulars which God hath wrought for you. You may say, "At such a time I felt a change which I am not able to express; and since that time, I have not felt pride, or self-will, or anger, or unbelief; nor anything but a fulness of love to God and all mankind"' (xi. 417; cf. pp. 382, 390).

It seems doubtful whether Wesley himself ever professed to have reached this state (for the opposite view cf. Curtis, p. 374 ff.). Later Methodists have been extremely shy of profession.

'As employed by the individual Christian concerning himself, perfection is a term more appropriate to his aspiration than his professed attainment' (W. B. Pope, *A Higher Catechism of Theology*, London, 1883, p. 275). 'There is no consciousness more unconscious of self than that of perfect holiness and love' (Pope, *Comp. of Chr. Theol.*[2] iii. 56).

(8) *Amissibility.*—Wesley's later judgment, contrary to some of his earlier statements, was that Christian perfection as a state of grace might be lost by unfaithfulness; it was never beyond the reach and reality of temptation.

'I do not include an impossibility of falling from it, either in part or in whole. Therefore I retract several expressions in our Hymns, which partly express, partly imply such an im-

possibility' (xi. 428) 'We are surrounded with instances of those who lately experienced all that I mean by perfection. They had both the fruit of the Spirit, and the witness; but they have now lost both' (p. 409 f.; cf. pp. 402, 425, also *Journal*, 25th July 1774, and *Letters*, 27th Jan. and 12th Feb. 1767).

3. Arminian.—Methodist doctrine generally was Arminian in type, and its doctrine of Christian perfection found a starting-point in the teaching of the Remonstrant divines. The early Arminians wrote much on this doctrine; it was a consequent of their primary theological principles; but their views lacked clear definition. It was exhibited rather in its opposition to the Roman doctrine of works of supererogation and the Calvinist tendencies to antinomianism than as the clear obligation and privilege of evangelical religion. For the views of Arminius himself, who died early (1609), which are less sharply defined than those of his followers, see *Works of Arminius*, tr. J. Nichols, London, 1825–29, i. 608, ii. 408. Charged with Pelagian tendencies because he asserted that it was possible for the regenerate perfectly to keep God's precepts, he repudiated the Pelagian position by basing this possibility wholly upon the grace of God, and therein claimed affinity with the teaching of Augustine. His followers dwelt upon a perfection of three degrees: (1) that of beginners; (2) that of proficients—the perfection of unimpeded progress in the regenerate life; and (3) that of the truly perfect—the perfection of an established maturity of grace in which the sinful habit is subdued. Of the last stage little is positively taught concerning its limitations, means, or certitude. Episcopius says:

'The commandments of God may be kept with what He regards as a perfect fulfilment, in the supreme love which the Gospel requires according to the covenant of grace, and in the utmost exertion of human strength assisted by Divine help. This consummation includes two things, (1) A perfection proportioned to the powers of each individual; (2) A pursuit of always higher perfection' (*ap.* Pope, *Comp. of Chr. Theol.*[2] iii. 84; cf. Hodge, iii. 253). P. van Limborch describes it as 'perfect, in being correspondent to the provisions and terms of the Divine covenant. It is not sinless or an absolutely perfect obedience, but such as consists in a sincere love of piety, absolutely excluding every habit of sin' (*Institutiones Theologiæ Christianæ*[4], Amsterdam, 1715, pp. 658a, 659b, 661a [tr. W. Jones, London, 1702]).

Similar positions were regarded sympathetically by the Cambridge Platonists; their exposition and enforcement of Christian perfection formed a transition stage between the Arminian doctrine and its more definite and evangelical development in Methodism. It was natural that the Arminian type as elaborated and deepened by Methodism should be met antagonistically by the type of thought characteristic of Calvinism.

4. Lutheran and Calvinistic.—In general this offers a direct negative to most of the positive claims regarding Christian perfection: perfection is never realized in the present life; in no case is sin entirely subdued; the most advanced believer daily needs to pray for the forgiveness of sins to which guilt attaches. It is admitted that a direct obligation lies upon the Christian to be 'perfect even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect'; that the gospel provision for Christian perfection is all-sufficient; that a perfection involving ultimately a complete deliverance from all sin is the sure promise of God in Christ. The essential question, however, is whether this promise of perfection is intended by God to be fulfilled in this life, and whether cases are known in which the promise has been actually fulfilled.

Whilst 'all admit that God can render His people perfect before death as well as after it, . . . the answer given to these questions by the Church universal is in the negative' (Hodge, iii. 246).

The grounds for this view are: (i.) the spirituality of the divine law with the absoluteness and immutability of its demands; for it condemns as sinful any want of conformity to the standard of absolute perfection as exhibited in the Bible; (ii.) the express declaration of Scripture that all men are sinners—and this not in the sense that all men have sinned and all are guilty, but that all men have sin constantly clinging to them;[1] (iii.) passages of Scripture which describe the reality of the conflict between the flesh and the spirit—*e.g.*, the fragment of Paul's autobiography in Ro 7, the confession of persistent imperfection (Ph 3^{12-14}), the lusting of flesh and spirit in Christian living (Gal 5^{16-26}); (iv.) the unceasing testimony of Christian experience, corporate and personal, in the confession of sin and the prayer for forgiveness.

A Christian 'never is in a state which satisfies his own conviction of what he ought to be. He may call his deficiencies infirmities, weaknesses, and errors, and may refuse to call them sins. But this does not alter the case. Whatever they are called, it is admitted that they need God's pardoning mercy' (Hodge, iii. 250). 'Nothing which the law does not condemn can need expiation. If these transgressions, therefore, need atonement, they are sins in the sight of God' (*ib.* p. 255).

The one sense in which Christian perfection is acknowledged in the standards of the Reformation—Lutheran and Reformed, and particularly in modern Calvinism—is perfection by imputation. This assumes that his status as perfect as well as his status as justified is for the Christian believer completed in Christ, and applied to him as a free gift in the covenant of grace. His perfection is the imputed righteousness of Christ. Col 2^{10}, 1 Co 1^{30}, and He 10^{14} are quoted in support. It is the perfection of Another reckoned to the elect believer, 'given to them for whom it is appointed' (cf. *Conf. Aug.* xxvii.; Calvin, *Inst.* III. xxii. 2, IV. i, 17, viii. 12; art. 'Vollkommenheit,' in *PRE*[3] xx. 733 ff.). A modified form of this view appears to be taken by Forsyth (*Christian Perfection*[2], chs. i. and ii.). Perfection thus tends to become a subject for dogmatics rather than ethics in the Christian system; for moral character is not transferable. In the keen controversy on Christian perfection at the time of the Evangelical Revival the Calvinistic arguments were met by John Fletcher, vicar of Madeley, himself not only an authoritative exponent of the Methodist position, but a beautiful example of its grace. His *Last Check to Antinomianism* (London, 1787), written in reply to a polemical pamphlet, *A Creed for Arminians and Perfectionists*, by Richard Hill, Fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge, seeks to show the Scriptural character of the Methodist doctrine, and that it was sanctioned by the best theological writers (*Works*, iv. 406–v. 226). Whilst the doctrine of the Wesleys has been generally condemned by the Churches, it is not difficult to establish sympathetic relations between it and the higher spiritual aspiration and teaching of the Church of England, of which the Wesleys and Fletcher were clergymen.

5. Anglican.—Here the strong desire for comprehension in doctrine and devotion made room in the articles and offices of the Book of Common Prayer for both Calvinistic and Arminian tendencies. The former tendency is seen chiefly in the doctrinal colouring of the articles, the latter in the devotional wealth of the liturgies of the Church. The Arminian positions were favoured by High Churchmen of the Nonjuror type. The Wesleys came by ancestry from that stock, and strong spiritual sympathy with its traditions deeply influenced their teaching. In this atmosphere their doctrine of Christian perfection was born, and its development was nourished by these traditions. John Wesley declares that the doctrine of Christian perfection, which he held until the close of his life, was essentially identical in principle with that

[1] Luther is quoted as saying: 'The sins of a Christian are for his good; and if he had no sin, he would not be so well off, neither would prayer flow so well' (K. H. Bogatzky, *Golden Treasury*, London, 1773, p. 328).

which he preached in a University sermon, in St. Mary's, Oxford, on 1st Jan. 1733, five years before his evangelical conversion; he also traces its starting-point to the reading of Jeremy Taylor's *Rule and Exercises of Holy Living and Holy Dying*; he acknowledges the influence of à Kempis upon it, and expresses his great indebtedness to the writings on Christian perfection of the fearless Nonjuror, William Law (*Works*, xi. 351 ff.). He considered that the type of Christian perfection which he expounded was in harmony with the spiritual ideals and devotional formularies of the English Church; it was not forbidden by her articles and was sanctioned by the language of her offices, collects, and homilies.[1] Fletcher shows how 'this vein of godly desire after Christian perfection runs through her daily services' (iv. 436–453). Attention may be called to the confirmation of the view that (i.) Christian perfection consists in perfect love; the words of the collect in the ante-communion service, 'Cleanse the thoughts of our hearts by the inspiration of thy Holy Spirit, that we may perfectly love thee, and worthily magnify thy holy Name, through Christ our Lord'—in themselves stating a doctrine of Christian perfection satisfying every evangelical claim—find echo in other collects and exposition in certain of the homilies (*e.g.*, the collect for Quinquagesima, the homily on 'Charity,' and 'for Good Friday'); Wesley quotes Archbishop Usher as confirming his conception of being perfect:

'To have a heart so all-flaming with the love of God, as continually to offer up every thought, word, and work, as a spiritual sacrifice, acceptable to God through Christ' (*Works*, xi. 369).

(ii.) Christian perfection implies cleansing from all actual and inbred sin; this is a burden of desire and expectation in several parts of the liturgy; *e.g.*, in the ancient liturgical creed of the Church, the 'Te Deum': 'Vouchsafe, O Lord, to keep us this day without sin'; it is the refrain of many of the collects (cf. those for the Circumcision, the first Sunday after Easter, the first, ninth, eighteenth, nineteenth Sundays after Trinity, Innocents' day, St. Luke's day, etc.); the baptismal office definitely contemplates and desires a death to all inbred sin, that the baptized 'may crucify the old man, and utterly abolish the whole body of sin'; the proper preface for Christmas day in the communion office regards the end of the Incarnation as 'without spot of sin, to make us clean from all sin'; lest these should be regarded as aspirations for the unattainable, the faith of the Church is directed to God who is 'wont to give more than we desire or deserve' (twelfth Sunday after Trinity).

6. Earlier views.—Behind Protestant theories of Christian perfection lay the influential systems of philosophical and psychological theology—Gnostic, Pelagian, Augustinian—which never wholly pass out of sight. Each of these had its doctrine of perfection.

(*a*) *Gnostic.*—Influenced both by Platonic and by Stoic philosophy, the Gnostic regarded perfection as the prerogative of the 'spiritual'—those redeemed from the bondage of matter and the flesh—for it was assumed that sin was an inseparable association of matter. Consequently a metaphysical perfection took the place of the ethical and evangelical privilege of the NT; it was attained by way of knowledge possessed only by the initiated, and as a gift independent of the exercise of faith and the ethical grace of love; it was an esoteric state entered through theosophic insight and had no living connexion with Christ through obedience to His perfect law of love (cf. Clem. Alex. *Pæd.* i. 6).

[1] 'The power of the Church of England lay not so much in its formal theology as in its liturgy' (A. V. G. Allen, *The Continuity of Christian Thought*, London, 1884, p. 324).

(*b*) *Pelagian.*—Perfection here was the crown of natural processes — the supreme effort of the inherent power of the human will; God required nothing unattainable by the exercise of native faculties succoured by natural means of grace; perfection was in the wise adjustment of the human organism to its appointed environment; no inherent tendency to evil interfered with complete obedience to the divine law; education was the means and instrument of perfection; the revelation and example of Jesus, together with favourable circumstances, were aids of the highest order to its achievement; by their means a self-disciplined spirit might, and in some cases did, attain, without the specific help of the grace of the Holy Spirit, to the perfection of character which satisfied the merciful Judge of mankind; the same merciful regard covered the inevitable faults of imperfect adjustment; the grace of God was original in human nature, and perfection was its instinctive quest and attainable goal; grace merely enabled the recipient to reach it more easily. Hence the Johannine saying, 'If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves,' is, for such as 'attain,' the hyperbolism of humility, and the petition of the Lord's Prayer, 'Forgive us our trespasses,' is a corporate confession used only as expressing the desire and need of others (cf. Pelagius, *ap.* Augustine, *de Perf. Justif.* 2 f., 6). Obviously perfection of this type is naturalistic rather than distinctively Christian; it was on this account condemned at the Council of Carthage (A.D. 418).

(*c*) *Augustinian.*—Excessive dread of Pelagianism fettered the mind of Augustine, its great antagonist, in his judgment as to the possibility of attaining Christian perfection. Hesitation in accepting the full implications of his doctrine of grace is a marked feature of his teaching. Perfection is possible; for divine grace is irresistible; the human will might be so constrained by the divine that perfect concurrence with the good and acceptable and perfect will of God would be effected. Moreover, he connects such a concurrence directly with perfect love—a supreme delight in God which overcomes every opposite tendency. It may not be asserted that God cannot so make Himself present to the soul that, the old nature being entirely abolished ('tota penitus vetustate consumpta' [*de Spir. et Lit.* xxxvi. 66]), a life should be lived in this world such as will be lived in the eternal contemplation of Him in the world to come. But, in the inscrutable wisdom of the divine sovereignty, God has restrained His grace so that no soul may reach perfection on earth:

'Et ideo ejus perfectionem etiam in hac vita esse possibilem, negare non possumus, quia omnia possibilia sunt Deo, sive quae facit sola sua voluntate, sive quae co-operantibus creaturae suae voluntatibus a se fieri posse constituit. Ac per hoc quicquid eorum non facit, sine exemplo est quidem in ejus operibus factis; sed apud Deum et in ejus virtute habet causam qua fieri possit, et in ejus sapientia quare non factum sit' (*ib.* v. 7).

In a word, Augustine dismisses the hope of perfection in this life, while acknowledging that it is possible, because the will of God permits and appoints that sin should persist in the most perfect Christians as essential to true humility; this view harmonizes with his theory that sin is a defect that in the divine scheme works a greater good. Hence all saints confess themselves sinners, though he hesitates about including the Blessed Virgin.

These earlier views entered as determining factors into the conceptions of perfection prevalent in Roman Catholic teaching and practice. From Gnostic sources came the ascetic tendencies, Pelagianism contributed the element of human ability which lay in the doctrine of merit, while the doctrine of concupiscence and the power of sacramental grace are closely allied with Augustinianism.

7. Ascetic and Roman.—(*a*) *Asceticism* in some

form has been a popular and persistent variant for perfection in Christian history (cf. Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*[3], i. 238 f.). For its self-discipline apostolic authority is claimed (cf. 1 Ti 4[7], Ac 24[16]). Perfection is possible only as the fruit of long, lone vigilance, ever-deepening humility, and ceaseless self-mortification. Macarius of Egypt († 391) is a typical exponent.

Perfection is to burn with 'ardent and inextinguishable love to the Lord' (*Hom.* x. 2), to reach perfect freedom and purity, 'the perfect cleansing from sin, and freedom from base passions, and the attainment of the highest reach of virtue, that is, the sanctification of the heart, which takes place through the indwelling of the Divine and perfect Spirit of God in perfect joy' (*Hom.* ii. 2). But, while 'every one of us must attain blessedness through the gift of the Holy Spirit, he may in faith and love and the struggle of the determination of his free will reach a perfect degree of virtue, that so he may both by grace and by righteousness win eternal life' (*de Perfect. in Spir.* ii. 1; cf. *Hom.* xix.).

Stress is laid upon the co-ordination of human merit and divine grace, in winning perfection; this is a tendency of ascetic writers generally. A further typical movement regards concupiscence as remaining in the soul for its discipline in humility, even when desire for the extirpation of sin had become a ruling passion. Hence Christian perfection never becomes more than aspiration and approximation in religious experience. Macarius confesses:

'Never have I seen a Christian man perfect and entirely free. . . . I myself may have reached that point sometimes, but have learned still that no man is perfect' (*Hom.* viii. 5).

It is common testimony that the perfect destruction of sin in the heart lies beyond human experience—*e.g.*, Nilus († *c.* 440), a typical representative of Greek asceticism (*de Temper.* ii., *de Octo Vitiis*), Marcus Eremita, a 5th cent. Egyptian hermit (*de Temper.* 27), Maximus Confessor († 662; *Cent.* iv. 'de Charitate,' *Cent.* iii. 46, 79), and especially Cassian († *c.* 450; *Conferences, passim*). Reference should here be made to the association of Christian perfection with the obligations of a 'religious' vocation; it was not the calling of the many, but of the few; it implied 'counsels of perfection'—chastity, poverty, and obedience—which only the elect could receive. The resultant idea of a two-fold standard of perfection, which arose in the early history of the Church (cf. *Didache*; Cyprian, *de Opere et Eleemos.*; Ambrose, *de Officiis Cler.*, etc.), deepened into a fundamental principle in the ascetic quest for perfection.

'The Church resolutely declared war on all these attempts to elevate evangelical perfection as an inflexible law for all, and overthrew her opponents. She pressed on in her world-wide mission and appeased her conscience by allowing a two-fold mortality within her bounds' (Harnack, ii. 123; cf. a discussion of 'The Two Lives,' in C. Bigg, *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria*[2], Oxford, 1913, pp. 46, 115–122; E. Hatch, *The Influence of Greek Ideas*, London, 1890, p. 164 ff.).

This doctrine lay at the root of the mediæval theory of Christian perfection. Thomas Aquinas, adopting the distinction in the Christian life between 'beginners, progressing, and perfect,' held that the highest perfection attainable by the 'beginners' and those 'progressing' is that which excludes mortal sins, which oppose the love of God, and all that hinders the soul from turning wholly to God. Ascetic practices were the means, though only the means, of true perfection (*Summa*, II. ii. 184).

(*b*) *Roman Catholicism.*—In practice this was ascetic; only the discipline of the monastic life secured an ordering of temporal circumstances sufficiently favourable for its pursuit. In doctrine the most important stress lies upon the recognition of the distinction between mortal and venial sin. This distinction depends, in turn, upon the conception held of the nature, scope, and obligation of the moral law to which those enjoying the Christian estate are amenable. Consequently the possibility of perfection in this life was favoured by Franciscans, Jesuits, and Molinists, and deprecated by Dominicans and Jansenists, the last-named modifying the doctrine in the spirit of Augustine and modern Calvinism. Indeed, interpretations of Christian perfection conforming more or less closely to most of the theories mentioned in this article may be traced in the history of Roman Catholic thought. Perfection, exhibited in the sanctity which has received the Church's seal in canonization, reveals considerable variety in specific doctrine and practice. Attention here must be confined to sanctioned dogmatic standards and to their approved exponents. These make a clear distinction between 'Christian' and 'religious' perfection. The former is attainable by 'seculars'; the latter is the privilege of the devout who bind themselves to obey the 'counsels of perfection' which are the means and instrument of attaining the higher state.

(α) '*Christian*' *perfection.*—The Council of Trent determined that to those infused with the grace conveyed in baptism, by which all of the nature of sin is removed from the soul, perfect obedience is possible; nothing need hinder their full conformity to the divine law; they may avoid all sin; good works performed in this state of grace are perfect from taint of sin:

'Si quis in quolibet bono opere justum saltem venialiter peccare dixerit . . . anathema esto' (*Canon and Decrees of Council of Trent*, sess. vi. cap. 25).

But this law, to which the regenerate may, and often do, render perfect obedience, must be specifically defined; it is not the absolute moral law, but the law so modified as to be accommodated to the fallen estate of men—'pro hujus vitae statu'; it is to be distinguished from the perfect law of love. Only the law in its accommodated form is binding upon all; justice cannot demand more from man in his present state; this relaxed law may be and ought to be obeyed. When this obedience is accomplished, the Christian man is perfect. But this perfection does not imply the highest degree of moral excellence. An obedience beyond the demands of the law may be offered; this, however, is a work of supererogation and constitutes the merit of the saints. Perfection, therefore, in the Roman sense is perfect justification rather than a further and distinctive Christian experience; it is compatible not only with the absence of beatitude, but also with the presence of human miseries and rebellious passions. Those who attain it are not free from venial sins; these may be committed without prejudice to their perfect state; for such are only condemned by the highest law of love; indeed, these defects are not properly sins, judged by the law to which obligation is now due, for they do not forfeit grace; they are rather signs of concupiscence—the remains of original sin, tendencies that are not removed by baptism, but for which the perfect are no longer accountable. On the ethical qualities of venial sins the Council of Trent did not dwell. The expositions of Bellarmine and, later, of J. A. Möhler should be consulted.

'The defect of charity, for instance, our not performing good works with as much fervour as we shall exhibit in heaven, is indeed a defect, but not a fault, and is not sin. Whence indeed our charity, although imperfect in comparison with the charity of the Blessed, yet may absolutely be called perfect. . . . If the precepts of God were impossible they would oblige no man, and therefore would not be precepts' (Bellarmine, *de Justificatione*, lv. 10 [*Disputationes*, Paris, 1608, iv. 933b]).

Möhler indicates that this position is still held:

'In modern times some men have endeavoured to come to the aid of the old orthodox Lutheran doctrine by assuring us that the moral law proposes to men an ideal standard, which, like everything ideal, necessarily remains unattained. If such really be the case with the moral law, then he who comes not up to it, can as little incur responsibility as an epic poet for not equalling Homer's Iliad' (*Symbolism*, Eng. tr., London, 1894, sect. xxiii. p. 172; cf. also sect. xxi.).

(β) '*Religious*' *perfection.*—Obedience to the law of love may 'by the will of God and His gratuitous

liberality' achieve the merit of a state rising above the law; the saints are more than perfect. Nevertheless even within them the *fomes peccati* remains; there is no provision for destruction of sinful desire, and therefore no guarantee of the soul's final ethical perfection; even purgatorial discipline removes only the stain, not the principle, of sin. Further, both ability and disposition to seek perfection are the gift of grace conveyed only sacramentally. Yet 'Christian' and 'religious' perfection spring from and are sustained and tested by the act, pursuit, and practice of charity. Suarez explains the necessity of charity in three ways: (i.) essentially, because the essence of union with God consists in charity; (ii.) principally, because it has the chief share in the process of perfection; (iii.) entirely, because all other virtues necessarily accompany charity and are ordained by it to the supreme end. Faith and hope are prerequisites for perfection, but they do not constitute it; for in heaven, where perfection is complete and absolute, faith and hope no longer remain. The other virtues belong to perfection in a secondary and accidental manner, because charity cannot exist without them, but they without charity do not unite the soul supernaturally to God (*de Statu Perfectionis*, I. iii.; cf. also H. R. Buckler, *The Perfection of Man by Charity*[2], p. 68 ff.).

8. **Mystical.**—Tendencies towards this type were associated with the several theories of Christian perfection already mentioned and pervaded almost every stage of their expression. These have common religious characteristics, which should be carefully traced in the rapidly growing literature dealing with mystical religion in general (see MYSTICISM). Their chief feature is that perfection is realized in the entire detachment from the creature and in perfect union with the absolute Creator, the all-perfect All. Conceptions of this type of perfection originated mostly in the pantheistic systems of the East (see PERFECTION [Buddhist]). They came to permeate the atmosphere of Christian thought largely as the result of the doctrines of Neo-Platonism (*q.v.*), which overflowed into the ways of mediæval religion, quickening a wistful desire to seek perfection in identification with the nameless, uncreated Essence of whom no attribute can be predicated. They tended towards the exclusion or suppression of the religious and ethical consciousness of the individual, and therefore to the confusion of the distinction between God and the creature. Neglecting the historical processes of the Christian redemption through the Incarnate Word, the mystical views of perfection in the Church have often lost any essentially Christian features that they claimed to possess. *E.g.*, the German phases of mystical perfection leaned decidedly towards pantheism, the French and Italian issued in Quietism, and the Spanish ran into a type of antinomian Illuminism (cf. Pope, *Comp. of Chr. Theol.*[2] iii. 77). In each the method of attaining perfection may be comprehended within the three stages of the mystical way—the way of purification, of illumination, and of union (cf. Bigg, *Christian Platonists*; W. R. Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, London, 1899; R. M. Jones, *Studies in Mystical Religion*; E. Underhill, *Mysticism*[3], do. 1912, and *The Mystic Way*, do. 1913; F. von Hügel, *The Mystical Element of Religion*, Eng. tr., do. 1908; W. K. Fleming, *Mysticism in Christianity*, do. 1913). The more distinctively Christian type of mystical perfection may be illustrated by the teaching of the Society of Friends (*q.v.*), which holds a mediating position between the opinions tending to antinomian indifference and those associated with ascetic discipline. The Quaker view is evangelical: conformity with the law of God in the obedience of good works is not possible to man in his own strength and of his own will.

'Yet we believe that such works as naturally proceed from this spiritual birth and formation of Christ in us are pure and holy, even as the root from whence they come; and therefore God accepts them. . . . Wherefore their judgment is false and against the truth who say that the holiest works of the saints are defiled and sinful in the sight of God' (R. Barclay, *Apology*[13], Manchester, 1869 [1st ed. 1678], prop. vii. 3). 'In whom this pure and holy birth is fully brought forth, the body of death and sin comes to be crucified and removed; and their hearts united and subjected to the truth; so as not to obey any suggestions or temptations of the Evil One, and to be free from actual sinning and transgressing the law of God, and in that respect perfect. Yet doth this perfection still admit of a growth; and there remaineth always in some part a possibility of sinning, where the mind doth not most diligently and watchfully attend unto the Lord' (*ib.* prop. viii.).

9. **Fanatical.**—Most theories of Christian perfection have suffered from the teaching or practice of extremists whose exaggeration or caricature of leading features has issued in foolish or hurtful excesses. Historically these have mainly been associated with claims for abnormal effusions of the Holy Spirit deeper and richer than the experiences of His descent at Pentecost. Montanism (*q.v.*) in the 2nd cent. favoured the assumption that the Paraclete was not given to the apostles, but was reserved for a third dispensation. This fuller gift of the Holy Ghost, of which Montanus declared himself the prophet, raised its recipients to a higher perfection, such as elevated them to the rank of *spiritales* or πνευματικοί, whereas before they were merely ψυχικοί, or 'carnal.'

'They will say that the Paraclete has revealed greater things through Montanus than Christ revealed through the Gospel' (pseudo-Tertullian, *de Præscr.* 52 [*PL* ii. 91]).

Perfection was possible, but only to those who had received this ecstatic gift of the Holy Spirit. The boast of a plenary, but exclusive, outpouring of the Holy Spirit has appeared also in several fanatical sects which have claimed perfection in mediæval and modern times. On this ground the Novatianists (*q.v.*) of the 3rd cent. and some of the Catharists (see ALBIGENSES) of the 12th and 13th appropriated to themselves the term τέλειοι, or Perfecti (*q.v.*), in contradistinction from the general body of Credentes, or believers, who were depreciated as persons to whom had been vouchsafed only the ordinary gift of the Spirit in the grace of regeneration (cf. Harnack, ii. 121; and Reinerus, 'Liber contra Waldenses,' in *Bibl. Max.* xxv. [1677] 266, 269). Frequently those who have thus appropriated the term 'perfect' exclusively to themselves have assumed in teaching and practice that their spiritual privileges and prerogatives have lifted them to a state beyond the obligations of the moral law. This unethical perfection has been illustrated not only by the Fraticelli, the Brethren of the Free Spirit in the Middle Ages, the Anabaptists at the Reformation, and certain fanatical Perfectionists of the Puritan period, but also in recent times, chiefly in America, by Bible Communists, Free Lovers, and other fanatical sects (cf. J. H. Noyes, *Salvation from Sin the End of Faith*, Oneida, 1869, *The Perfectionist*, Putney, Vermont, 1843–46, and *Hist. of American Socialisms*, Philadelphia, 1870; W. Hepworth Dixon, *New America*, London, 1867; C. Nordhoff, *Communistic Societies of the United States*, do. 1875). While, however, in no serious degree depreciating the ethical values inseparable from Christian perfection, some of its evangelical advocates also regard it as consisting in a new and distinct dispensation of the Spirit. The gift of the Spirit for perfection in sanctification and service of love is distinguishable in kind from and superadded to that received already by the regenerate rather than a richer degree of His grace previously bestowed. In this sense Christian perfection is frequently referred to as the 'second blessing' (cf. A. Mahan, *The Baptism of the Holy*

Ghost; also the literature of the Pentecostal League, and, in criticism, Forsyth, p. 7). Although this teaching has doctrinal affinities with the characteristic principle of Montanism, it would be unfair to class it with fanatical types.

10. Present-day tendencies.—Most of these are simply heirs of the past whose inheritance is modified by eclectic or syncretistic methods characteristic of modern doctrinal teaching and ethical systems. But some fresh features emerge, particularly as a result of a renewed social emphasis in the conception of religious idealism.

(*a*) The more recent interpretations of Christian perfection in regard to the individual have been much influenced by psychological and ethical principles underlying the theology of the Oberlin school—an American type of teaching in affinity with the Pelagian or Semi-Pelagian theories of human nature (cf. A. Mahan, *The Scripture Doctrine of Christian Perfection*; C. G. Finney, *Systematic Theology*; J. H. Fairchild, *Moral Philosophy* and *Elements of Theology*, Oberlin, 1892).

According to this school, perfection is 'a full and perfect discharge of our entire duty, of all existing obligations to God, and all other beings' (Mahan, *Christian Perfection*, p. 7). 'Nothing more nor less can possibly be perfection or entire sanctification than obedience to the law. . . . Nothing can possibly be perfection in any being short of this: nor can there possibly be anything above it' (Finney, *Oberlin Evangelist*, ii. [1840] 1).

The perfect law of God consists in disinterested benevolence; happiness is the only ultimate good; the highest virtue is that which seeks voluntarily the well-being or blessedness of the whole sentient universe including God. But the principle of love, the only virtue, resides in the will. Good will is the *summum bonum*; all responsible character pertains to the will in its voluntary attitude and action; this action of the moral agent is free; hence moral obligation is limited by the agent's power; sin is a voluntary failure to meet obligation, and nothing else is sin; anything which lies beyond the range of voluntary action is not a matter of immediate obligation, and can be neither holiness nor sin. Consequently, when a man's generic choice or purpose is at any moment to promote the happiness of the universe, he is perfect; the sincere man is the perfect man. But the law does not assume that our powers are in a perfect state, as if we had never sinned; the service required is regulated by our ability and condition. The principle of perfect obedience is our own natural ability, though divine grace may of sovereign choice aid our effort at every point through the Holy Spirit. Nevertheless a free moral agent must be able to be and to do all that the law can justly demand.

'It is a first truth of reason that moral obligation implies the possession of every kind of ability which is required to render the required act possible' (Finney, *Sermons*, New York, 1839, vol. iv. no. 18).

As God, therefore, expects from every man, at any given moment, only the best that he can do with his impaired faculties, perfection is simply doing one's best. In other words, perfection is in full consecration, in an entirely surrendered will. This may be regarded as a sinless state, because nothing outside the will—no motive or tendency to evil resident in the nature of man as such—is sinful; feeling, *e.g.*, has no moral character. Hence perfection resides in free volition alone, not in the complete personality; it is wholly relative and subjective also—a goodness limited by present ability, which marks the boundary of present responsibility. The moral law has been superseded by the law of faith. Thus the life of faith is the perfect life, and, when perfectly maintained, excludes the presence and power of sin. Moreover, this gift of faith which makes perfect is a distinct bestowment of the Holy Spirit—a 'second blessing' following the primary gift of faith (cf. 'Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed?' [Ac 19^2], and Mahan, *The Baptism of the Holy Ghost*, p. 34 ff.). The prevailing teaching among those who to-day advocate the possibility in the present world of a perfect Christian life is to regard it as thus realized, *i.e.* in an entire surrender of the will to God, issuing in the power and joy of full consecration to His service and in the sustained habit of the life of faith. What is known as the Keswick school may be considered here as typical.

This 'sets before men a life of faith and victory, of peace and rest as the rightful heritage of the child of God, into which he may step not by the laborious ascent of some "Scala Sancta," not by long prayers and laborious effort, but by a deliberate and decisive act of faith' (C. F. Harford, *The Keswick Convention*, London, 1907, p. 5 f.).

The 'Scriptural possibilities of faith in the daily life of a Christian,' particularly in attaining 'victory over all known sin' in distinction from the eradication of inbred sinfulness of nature, which is characteristic of the Keswick movement, applies also as their main feature to similar modern movements in America and in Europe generally.

(*b*) The difficulties emphasized by the modern mind in respect of current views of individual Christian perfection are such as relate to (*a*) the extent to which the Scriptural support claimed for the doctrine can be acknowledged in face of the scientific method of using Scriptural proofs now considered essential in Biblical theology (cf. Curtis, p. 385); (*β*) the fact that they generally assume an original ethical and spiritual perfection of the human race rather than accept the evolutionary view of the persistent progress of the race towards a goal of perfection never yet attained; (*γ*) the degree to which the sharp distinctions made between actual and original, voluntary and involuntary, sin are admissible, and how far the whole problem of human nature and sin is modified by the acceptance of modern views regarding the relation of man to his animal ancestry, the doctrine of divine immanence, the evidence adduced by the psychology of religion, and the social implications of personality; and (*δ*) the strong desire of the modern mind to state the ideal of moral and spiritual perfection in terms of practical ethics rather than in the doctrinal values of theology and metaphysics (cf. Ritschl, pp. 171, 333 f.).

(*c*) The defects frequently exhibited in practice by most theories of Christian perfection have been an exaggerated individualism and a preference for the unsocial habit of life; separateness has often entered as an essential constituent into their ideals. The present-day authority of social obligations and the recognition of the principle of solidarity in ethical and spiritual relations encourage the interpretation of Christian perfection in terms harmonious with the inseparable connexion of personal religion with the social organism. The conception of the Kingdom of God is now set in the forefront of theological thought. Frequently obscured in earlier Protestant conceptions of perfection, it is at present the all-comprehending theological ideal of finality. The individual and the community cannot be severed in thought. Perfect personality can be realized only in perfect fellowship. This clearer insight into the social nature of personality, characteristic of modern psychology, contributes a distinctive feature to the modern view of perfection. The tenor of NT teaching is that the perfection of the individual Christian is not something apart from his relation to the Christian community, but is realized in it and through it.[1] Perfection as the end of personal religion can never be divorced from the coming of the Kingdom; for the Christian

[1] Cf. the use of *καταρτίζω* (a medical term) to denote Christian perfection in the NT as the setting of each man in his right moral relation to the social whole—the body of Christ (Eph 4^{12}, He 13^{21}, Gal 6^1, 1 P 5^{10}, 2 Co 13^9).

ideal of perfection is a social order constituted by an organized body of individuals standing in definite religious relations to one another as well as to God. Hence Christian perfection excludes all forms of ethical idealism which state the goal of human perfection in terms of the relation of the individual soul to God. The Christian's relation to his fellows is not simply a means to an end; it does not fall away as a transition stage when perfection is ultimately attained, so that his relation to God alone remains. 'That is the mystic ideal, but it is not Christian' (W. Adams Brown, *Christian Theology in Outline*, p. 194). In Christian perfection 'the relation of man to his fellows remains as an integral element in his relation to God now and forever' (*ib.*). Christian perfection, therefore, is not individual or social alone, but the full self-realization of the individual in society; the perfection of these is reciprocal; Christlikeness is their common goal; only the complete attainment of this characteristic achieves the ideal of Christian perfection. Moreover, its attainment is obviously synonymous with entering into the life of perfect love, which is the social bond of perfectness. The law of the Kingdom of God is as the nature of God; it is holy love; this also constitutes the fellowship of the life eternal, and, as he who dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, he who loveth God loveth his brother also (cf. 1 Jn $4^{12\text{-}21}$). Such an interpretation of Christian perfection obviously goes much beyond the meaning which Ritschl attributes to it when he uses the term in harmony with the Augsburg Confession merely in the sense of life in the Kingdom of God lived in the conscious assurance of God's fatherly providence and personal reconciliation 'together with humility and the moral activity proper to one's vocation,' and in the spirit of prayer (p. 647; cf. *Augsburg Conf.* xx. 24, xxvii. 49). If, then, the modern exponent of Christian perfection means by it not simply 'that victory over deliberate and wilful sin which ought to characterize the normal Christian experience,' but also mastery over 'the subtler forms of selfishness from which God would set us free,' and such complete subordination of self to God in each new social situation in life as characterized the experience of Jesus, the question recurs to him as to the older advocates of perfection: Is it possible? Can we, within the limits set by our finiteness, our individuality, and environment, live in the spirit of submissive trust, complete obedience, and self-sacrificing love which exhibited His perfection on earth?

'To answer this in the negative would be to set a gulf between Jesus and other men which would not only imperil the genuineness of his humanity, but would render impossible of accomplishment the end for which he gave his life' (W. Adams Brown, p. 415).

A similar reply constitutes the main point of an able plea for co-ordinating the eschatological perfecting of the Kingdom of God on earth with the perfected faith and love of the personal Christian life presented by A. G. Hogg, *Christ's Message of the Kingdom* (cf. also R. Mackintosh, *Christianity and Sin*, London, 1913, pp. 202–205). Nevertheless the modern tendency to bind up the attainment of individual perfection with the realization of the social ideal of the Kingdom of God demands as its complement faith in that unbroken continuity of spiritual life which is characteristic of the gospel of the Kingdom and constitutes the Christian hope of immortality.

LITERATURE.—The Histories of Doctrine do not treat of Christian perfection; **A. Harnack**, *Hist. of Dogma*[3], Eng. tr., London, 1894–99, i. 238 f., ii. 121–123, and **G. P. Fisher**, *Hist. of Christian Doctrine*[2], Edinburgh, 1896, pp. 392, 417, make slight reference to it.

i. *ROMAN CATHOLIC:* **A. Rodriguez**, *The Practice of Christian and Religious Perfection*, Dublin, 1861; **St. Francis de Sales**, *Treatise on the Love of God*, do. 1860; **H. R. Buckler**, *The Perfection of Man by Charity*[2], London, 1894; **A. Devine**, *A Manual of Ascetical Theology*, do. 1902; **W. Humphrey**, *Elements of Religious Life*, do. 1905; **A. Vermeersch**, *De religiosis institutis et personis tractatus canonico moralis*, Rome, 1907; **F. W. Faber**, *Growth in Holiness*, London, 1854; *CE*, *s.v.* 'Perfection,' xi. 665 f.

ii. *ANGLICAN:* **Jeremy Taylor**, *Holy Living*, London, 1650, *Holy Dying*, do. 1651; **W. Law**, *A Treatise of Christian Perfection*, do. 1726; **E. H. Browne**, *Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles*[4], do. 1858, pp. 346–354; **E. M. Goulburn**, *The Pursuit of Holiness*, do. 1869; **H. C. G. Moule**, *Thoughts on Christian Sanctity*, do. 1885, *Need and Fulness* (Keswick Library), do. 1895, *Holiness by Faith: a Manual of Keswick Teaching*, do. 1906; **H. W. Webb-Peploe**, *Calls to Holiness*, do. 1900; **E. H. Askwith**, *The Christian Conception of Holiness*, do. 1900.

iii. *QUAKER:* **I. Penington**, *Collected Works*, London, 1681; **R. Barclay**, *An Apology for the True Christian Divinity* (Latin), Amsterdam, 1676, Eng. tr., Aberdeen, 1678, and later edd.; **D. Clark**, *The Offices of the Holy Spirit*, London, 1878; **J. S. Rowntree**, *The Society of Friends: its Faith and Practice*, London, 1901; **R. M. Jones**, *Studies in Mystical Religion*, do. 1908.

iv. *CALVINISTIC:* **J. Owen**, 'The Nature . . . of Indwelling Sin,' *Works*, London and Edinburgh, 1850–55, vi. 153 f.; **T. Goodwin**, 'Of Gospel Holiness in Heart and Life,' *Works*, do. 1861–66, vii. 129 f.; **C. Hodge**, *Systematic Theology*, London, 1873, iii. 245–258, 'Criticism on Finney's Theology,' *Princeton Review*, xviii. [1847].

v. *METHODIST:* **J. Wesley**, 'A Plain Account of Christian Perfection' (*Works*[4], London, 1840, xi. 366–446), *Sermons*, xliii., lxxvi., cxx. (*ib.* vi., vii.), *Journal*, 24th July 1762, 14th May 1765, 27th Aug. 1768, 26th June 1769 (*ib.* iii.), *Letters*, 5th April 1758, 7th July 1761, 15th Sept. 1762, 12th May 1763, 21st Feb. 1771 (*ib.* xii.); *Minutes of Conference*, 1774, 1775; **J. Fletcher**, 'Essay on Christian Perfection,' etc. (*Works*, London, 1837, iv. 406–v. 226); **R. Watson**, *Theological Institutes*, do. 1823, ii. ch. xxix.; **W. B. Pope**, *A Compendium of Christian Theology*[2], do. 1879, iii. 28–147 (the best historical summary of Christian perfection); **O. A. Curtis**, *The Christian Faith*, do. 1905, pp. 371–393; **J. A. Beet**, *Holiness, Symbolic and Real*, do. 1910, also 'Christian Perfection,' *Exp*, 5th ser., v. [1897] 30–41, 134–145, 211–222; **T. Cook**, *NT Holiness*, London, 1903; **W. Bates**, *Spiritual Perfection Unfolded*, do. 1848; **R. S. Foster**, *Christian Purity*, New York, 1851; **G. Peck**, *Scripture Doctrine of Christian Perfection*, do. 1842; **J. A. Wood**, *Perfect Love*, Boston, 1862, *Purity and Maturity*, London, 1876; **D. Steele**, *Love Enthroned: Essays on Evangelical Perfection*, New York, 1875, *Defence of Christian Perfection*, do. 1899; **S. A. Franklin**, *Critical View of Wesleyan Perfection*, Cincinnati, 1867, 'Wesley and Christian Perfection,' in *Quarterly Review of Meth. Episc. Church South*, new ser., xiii. [1892] 386–405; **G. G. Findlay**, 'Sanctification according to Christ,' *Exp*, 6th ser., iv. [1901] 1–15.

vi. *OBERLIN:* **C. G. Finney**, *Systematic Theology*, 2 vols., Oberlin, 1846, London, 1851, *The Enduement of Power*, published together with **A. Mahan**, *The Baptism of the Holy Ghost*, London, 1872; **A. Mahan**, *The Scripture Doctrine of Christian Perfection*, Boston, 1839; **J. Morgan**, *Acceptable Holiness*, Oberlin, 1875, *The Gift of the Holy Ghost*, do. 1875; **J. H. Fairchild**, *Moral Philosophy*, New York, 1869, 'The Doctrine of Sanctification,' in *Congregational Quarterly*, xviii. [1876]; *The Oberlin Quarterly Review*, Oberlin, 1845–49; *The Oberlin Evangelist*, do. 1839–62.

vii. *GENERAL:* **H. Witsius**, *De Œconomia Fœderum Dei cum hominibus*[2], Utrecht, 1693, lib. iii. cap. 12, § 124, Eng. tr., *The Economy of the Covenants between God and Man*, 2 vols., London, 1822; **J. T. Crane**, *Holiness, the Birthright of all God's Children*, New York, 1874; **Alvah Hovey**, *The Doctrine of the Higher Christian Life*, Boston, 1876; **T. C. Upham**, *Principles of the Interior or Hidden Life*[8], New York, 1875; **W. E. Boardman**, *The Higher Christian Life*, London, 1883; **P. T. Forsyth**, *Christian Perfection*[2], do. 1910; **A. Ritschl**, *The Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation*[2], Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1902, pp. 170 f., 646 f.; **W. Adams Brown**, *Christian Theology in Outline*, do. 1907, pp. 192–197, 412–423; **A. G. Hogg**, *Christ's Message of the Kingdom*, do. 1912; **G. T. Ladd**, *What may I hope?*, London, 1916, ch. vi., 'The Hope of Moral Perfection,' pp. 161–201; **R. H. Coats**, *Types of English Piety*, Edinburgh, 1912; **E. J. Wolf**, 'Perfection and the Perfect,' in *Homiletic Review*, xxvi. [1893] 364–367; **O. Holtzheuer**, 'Von der christl. Vollkommenheit,' in *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, xxviii. [1899]; art. 'Vollkommenheit,' in *PRE*[3]; **F. Loofs**, *Leitfaden zum Studium der Dogmengeschichte*, Halle, 1906, pp. 314, 537 f., 632, 642; *Exp*, 4th ser., ix. [1894] 319; *HDB*, *DCG*, Schaff-Herzog, etc., *s.v.*; **C. R. Erdmann**, 'Modern Spiritual Movements,' in *Bibl. and Theol. Studies*, New York, 1912; **J. H. Tuckwell**, *Religion and Reality*, London, 1915.

FREDERIC PLATT.

PERFECTIONIST COMMUNITY OF ONEIDA.—See COMMUNISTIC SOCIETIES OF AMERICA.

PERFUMES.—

The use of perfumes may have first been suggested to man by the scent of flowers and of various vegetable substances, while some animal substances had also a fragrant odour—civet, musk, castor, and ambergris. The prepara

tion of them attained great perfection in early times in Egypt and Arabia, and the East generally has always been famed for the manufacture and use of perfumes. Without detailing the processes of manufacture, it is sufficient to say that they were obtained easily from gums and resins exuding from trees, by pouring boiling fat or oil over odoriferous substances, by distillation, intincture, or infusion of flower-petals, leaves, woods, barks, seeds, and the rind of fruits, as well as from the animal substances mentioned.

While a generally recognized distinction between pleasant and disagreeable odours can be made, and while classifications of the various kinds of odours have been attempted,[1] it is certain that savages can endure and apparently enjoy odours which revolt civilized men. There is a varying perception of and liking for odours both among different races and among different individuals.

1. Flowers.—Odoriferous flowers are worn by some savage races—*e.g.*, the natives of Torres Straits and the Polynesians.[2] They were also worn by members of higher races—Nahuas, Mayas, Chinese women, Tibetans,[3] Hindus (see art. FLOWERS), ancient Egyptians, Greeks, Romans (see art. CROWN [Greek and Roman]), and modern Europeans. Hence, as flowers were pleasing to men for their fragrance, they were used ritually, as part of the offerings to the dead and to spirits and gods.

The Polynesians presented flowers to the embalmed body of the dead.[4] Flowers and sweet-scented gums were included among the sacrifices of the ancient Peruvians.[5] The Egyptians made daily offerings of flowers on the altars in the cult of Aten, as well as in other cults, either loosely or made into bouquets, garlands, and wreaths, while the mummy was also adorned with flowers.[6] Flowers were placed in the graves of Babylonian women and girls, and offered to the gods.[7] In the rituals of the Northern Dravidians of India the offering of flowers has a conspicuous place, and in Hindu cult one of the stages of adoration includes a floral gift to the gods, while in the *Institutes of Viṣṇu* (lxvi. 5 ff.) an odourless or evil-smelling flower is forbidden as an offering, but one with a sweet smell is approved. This has passed into the ritual of Tibetan Buddhism, in which flowers for decking the hair of the god are offered, but the offering of flowers in Buddhism is general and dates from early times.[8] In India the *Bhagavad-Gītā* speaks of offering flowers with devotion, and Kṛṣṇa is himself said to wear celestial flowers (ix. 17, 32). In the domestic rites of Shintō vases of flowers invariably stand on the 'god-shelf' or shrine.[9] The Aztecs offered flowers on graves during the four years in which souls were passing their preparatory stages in heaven.[10] Flowers were also offered in ancient Ægean cult, and the sacrificers in Greek and Roman rituals wore or carried garlands; victim and altar were also thus adorned. Flowers were offered to the gods or placed as chaplets on their heads.[11] Among Muhammadans sweet basil or other flowers are placed on tombs during the two great *'Ids*, or festivals of the year.[12] The early Christians retained the pagan custom of strewing flowers on graves,[13] and the decking of altars and churches with flowers has been customary for many centuries.

2. Anointing with perfumes.—The practice of rubbing fat or oil on the skin was extensively followed among savages, as an ordinary or ceremonial custom. The substances used were often fragrant, though by no means always so. The practice was also followed by higher peoples—Egyptians, Greeks, Romans—either to render the limbs supple or for hygienic reasons, the fat or oils used being often perfumed with the products of various plants.

This custom became so luxurious and the substances used so costly that laws were passed against the sale or use of them both in Greece and in Rome. Still the custom increased, both native perfumes and fragrant oils and those of Egypt and the East being used in anointing the hair and body, and in other ways. Many of these were costly, and a street in Capua consisted of shops devoted to their sale. The peoples of Egypt and India made similar use of perfumed oils, ointments (made of strong-scented woods and herbs pounded and mixed with oil), scents, and powders. Among the Hebrews anointing with fragrant oils and unguents was customary (cf. Ca 3^6), the method used in making the latter being to mix the fragrant ingredients in boiling oil or fat. Fragrant substances were strewn on beds, placed among the clothing, or carried in bags or boxes (Pr 7^{17}, Ps 45^8, Ca 1^{13}, Is 3^{20}). Among the more civilized peoples of ancient America similar customs existed. Zapotec women mixed liquid amber with their pigments, and, when these were rubbed on the body, they emitted perfume. The people of Tehuantepec washed their bodies and clothes in water scented with the root of an aromatic plant. Among the Mosquitos a bride was washed and perfumed during three days. The Mayas carried sweet-smelling barks, herbs, and flowers for the sake of their odour, and used perfumes in the toilet.[1] Perfumed water for anointing or washing the body is also used in the East, and forms part of the offering to the gods for their use.[2] In Egypt images of the gods were anointed with fragrant ointments by the king or priest, and the mummy was ritually anointed.[3] In Polynesia petals and leaflets of fragrant flowers were fastened to the stalk of the coco-nut leaf which was anointed with scented oil and placed in each ear or in the native bonnet. Body and hair were smeared with fragrant oil, as were also the images of the gods.[4] The use of fragrant oils in Hindu cult is illustrated by the fact that Kṛṣṇa is said to have 'an anointment of celestial perfumes.'[5]

Divine beings and places are often said to possess a fragrant odour (see INCENSE, § 2).

3. Embalming.—The use of fragrant substances in connexion with embalming or other death ritual found its greatest vogue in ancient Egypt, and has been described under DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Egyptian). But it is found elsewhere either to aid in the preservation of the body or as a seemly action towards the dead.

In Polynesia the eviscerated body was filled with cloth saturated with perfumed oils.[6] The Aztecs washed the body with aromatic water and sometimes used embalming with aromatic substances.[7] Homer describes the washing and anointing with rich oil and unguents nine years old of the body of Patroclus,[8] and a similar custom was followed in later times. Anointing the corpse with oil and perfumes was usual among the Romans. Flowers and burning incense were also placed in the chamber where the dead lay. Among the Hebrews and later Jews anointing and wrapping the body in fragrant ointments, perfumes, and spices was usual (2 Ch 16^{14}, Mk 16^1, Lk 23^{56}, Jn 19^{39}; cf. $12^{3.7}$). 'Burning' for the dead—probably the burning of aromatic spices—is referred to in 2 Ch 16^{14} 21^{19}, Jer 34^5. Muhammadans, after washing the body, sprinkle it with rose-water, and with water mixed with pounded camphor and leaves of the lotus-tree.[9]

4. Perfumes in social observances.—The burning of aromatic woods in houses for the sake of their fragrance was common in Greece in Homeric times. Hippocrates is said to have delivered Athens from plague by burning such wood in the streets and hanging up packets of perfumed flowers. At banquets, after the first course was finished, perfumes and garlands were distributed to the guests. In ancient Mexico the royal palace was perfumed with the odour from numerous censers in which spices and perfumes were burned, and at banquets among the Nahuas guests were given reeds filled with aromatic herbs, which were burned to diffuse fragrance, the smoke being inhaled. Tobacco mixed with liquid amber and aromatic herbs was also burned.[10] In Eastern countries—*e.g.*, in Egypt—ambergris, benzoin, aloes-wood, or other substances are burned on braziers in houses, especially at feasts, and the beard and moustache are perfumed with civet, or rose-water is sprinkled on the guests. Perfumes

1 O. Stoll, *Das Geschlechtsleben in der Völkerpsychologie*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 804 f.
2 A. C. Haddon, *JAI* xix. [1890] 369; W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*[2], London, 1831, i. 135.
3 *NR* ii. 256, 734; J. Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese*, London, 1866, ii. 375; L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet*, do. 1895, p. 425.
4 Ellis, i. 401.
5 W. H. Prescott, *Hist. of the Conquest of Peru*, London, 1890, p. 50.
6 E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, London, 1904, ii. 80; J. G. Wilkinson, *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, do. 1878, iii. 417; H. M. Tirard, *The Book of the Dead*, do. 1910, p. 14; *ERE* v. 239[a].
7 G. Maspero, *The Dawn of Civilization*, Eng. tr., London, 1894, pp. 681, 686.
8 See DRAVIDIANS, BENGAL, *passim*; Waddell, p. 424 f.
9 G. F. Moore, *Hist. of Religions*, Edinburgh, 1914, i. 112.
10 *NR* ii. 618.
11 ÆGEAN RELIGION, vol. i. p. 146[a]; CROWN (Greek and Roman), vol. iv. p. 342 f.
12 E. W. Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, London, 1883, p. 23 f.
13 J. Bingham, *Origines Ecclesiasticæ*, London, 1825–29, vii. 352.

1 *NR* i. 651, 654, 730, ii. 734.
2 Waddell, p. 424 f.
3 Wilkinson, iii. 419, 429.
4 Ellis, i. 135, 301, 351.
5 *Bhagavad-Gītā*, xi. 17.
6 Ellis, i. 401.
7 *NR* ii. 603.
8 *Il.* xviii. 345 f.
9 Lane, *Arab. Society*, p. 259, *Modern Egyptians*, London, 1846, iii. 154.
10 *NR* ii. 161, 287.

are sprinkled on the persons composing a wedding procession, and their use is very common, especially among women.[1]

5. Perfumes in ritual use.—Thus used in daily life, perfumes were naturally employed in the worship of the gods and spirits and also in magic. The burning of substances agreeable to the smell in the cult of the gods has already been considered under INCENSE. Here we shall discuss their use apart from such an offering. As already seen (§ 3), the images of gods were sometimes anointed. But offerings of perfumes in various other forms were made.

The Aztecs offered reeds of perfume on the graves of the dead during the four years' period already referred to.[2] In ancient Egypt oils and fragrant ointment were offered to the gods in large quantities, as many as 'a thousand boxes of ointment' being mentioned.[3] Perfume vases were sometimes made of turquoise, as in the mysteries of Osiris at Denderah.[4] Flasks of fragrant oil, perfume, and unguents were buried with the mummy for his use in the other world. Previous to burial the dead man was anointed, perfumed, and crowned with flowers, perfumes being supposed to give him the vigour of renewed life, and as many as seven different kinds were used. The ceremony concluded with a prayer in which the perfume of Horus was desired to place itself on the dead man that he might receive virtue from the god. The ceremony of purification by incense consisted of presenting five grains of incense to mouth, eye, and hand.[5] In Babylonia fragrant herbs, oils, and incense were offered to the gods, and bottles of perfume were placed in the tombs of women as part of the grave-goods.[6] The fragrant substances which were used as incense by the Greeks were also offered to the gods without being burned, and aromatic cakes were presented as a separate rite in the cult of various divinities.[7] An essential part of Hindu worship is the offering of perfumed water for washing the body of the god, as well as sandal-wood, saffron, and *holi* powder. The *Institutes of Viṣṇu* (lxvi. 2) say that the householder must not make an oblation with any other fragrant substance than sandal, musk, or fragrant wood of the odoriferous *devadāru*-tree, or camphor, or saffron, or the wood of the *gātiphala*-tree. Sandal-wood paste is also used as an offering. In the funeral rites perfumes and flowers are set out for the dead man, and during the *śraddha* the gods are honoured with fragrant garlands and sweet odours. In Tibetan worship perfumes (*gandhe*) form one of the 'five sensuous qualities' offered on the altar.[8] In ancient Persia there are frequent references to the perfume of the wood-billets used in the sacred fire. 'I offer the wood-billets with the perfume for thy propitiation, the Fire's'; 'this wood and perfume, even thine, O Fire.' The ground was sprinkled with water and perfumes in the *barashnum* ceremony, or nine nights' purification.[9] In China the great sacrifice of the Kau dynasty began with libations of fragrant millet spirits to attract the divinities or spirits worshipped and to secure their presence at the rite. A vase contained the spirit, in which fragrant herbs were infused, and 'the fragrance partaking of the nature of the receding influence penetrates to the deep springs below.'[10]

In magical ceremonies perfumes have their part to play.

Thus in Muhammadan methods of consulting the future the burning of perfumes is used, perhaps by way of affecting the vision. The diviner is said to obtain 'the services of the Sheytán . . . by the burning of perfumes.'[11]

Fumigations by burning either pleasant or, more usually, obnoxious substances are common, especially to drive away evil spirits. See art. INCENSE, § 2, and *ERE* iii. 437, 445, vii. 250[b].

LITERATURE.—Pliny, *HN* xiii.; Petrus Servius, *de Odoribus*; O. Schrader, *Reallexikon*, Strassburg, 1901, *s.vv.* 'Aromata,' 'Narde,' 'Galbanum,' etc.; R. Sigismund, *Die Aromata in ihrer Bedeutung für Religion . . . des Alterthums*, Leipzig, 1884; Theophrastus, *de Odoribus*; H. Zwaardemaker, *Die Physiologie des Geruchs*, Leipzig, 1895. See also ANOINTING, FLOWERS, INCENSE.

J. A. MACCULLOCH.

PERIPATETICS.—

The Peripatetics were the followers of Aristotle, the name probably being derived from the fact that he at one time lectured in a shady walk (*περίπατος*) of the Lyceum, for his school is loosely styled at one time the Lyceum and at another the Peripatos. The history of the school falls into three periods: (1) that of the earlier Peripatetics to the death of Strato (322–270 B.C.); (2) the long decline from Strato to Andronicus (270–70 B.C.); (3) the last three centuries (*c.* 70 B.C.–A.D. 230), when Andronicus and his successors devoted their energies mainly to editing and commenting on the Aristotelian writings.

1. Earlier Peripatetics.—Scientific research and original thought are to be sought only in the first period, while the impulse given by Aristotle to his immediate circle was still a living force. Their starting-point was of course their master's mature system, which has been elsewhere dealt with (see ARISTOTLE). A few leading tenets, however, may be recapitulated here. Viewed on one side, the system is empirical realism. Particulars exist, but genera and species are abstractions. The natural world is eternal in its present order and works out its own salvation like a physician prescribing for himself. The leading thought is an orderly process of determination, or (if the term could be freed from modern associations) development, envisaged as motion. On the other hand, to Aristotle, the pupil of Plato, knowledge is impossible through sense alone. If the concrete particular claims reality, it is the universal that is the object of knowledge. We must go behind facts to the laws and causes which they presuppose: from motion we necessarily infer a prime mover, from the natural world a transcendent deity whose eternal life is self-thinking thought. So, too, in man creative reason enters from without (*θύραθεν*), pure and impassive, free from states or emotions (*πάθη*), such as love, hate, memory, and discursive thinking, which form the texture of individual life. Many difficulties remain unsolved, for as to the relation of God to Nature, of the rational soul in man to the divine reason, or, indeed, of particular to universal, nothing is stated explicitly in the writings of the Stagirite. There is no doubt that his pupils drank deep of their master's spirit and from the first endeavoured to carry on his work by fresh researches in philosophy and science. While content as a rule to amplify and expound with few innovations, they came gradually to show unmistakable signs of a leaning to naturalism. From this tendency Eudemus of Rhodes, a favourite pupil, to whom Aristotle is said to have submitted the text of his *Metaphysics*, was wholly free. Besides courses on physics, ethics, and the categories based upon corresponding Aristotelian treatises, he wrote a history of arithmetic, a history of astronomy, and a history of geometry. Of the last-named work Proclus has preserved a summary, and it is also cited by Simplicius and Eutocius in a way which proves it to have been for centuries the standard work on the subject. In his treatise on ethics (for we have no hesitation in ascribing at least four books of the *Eudemian Ethics* to him), while following Aristotle in all the main positions, he yet displays a certain freedom and independence. He connects human action, which is successful without being due to the intellectual virtue of prudence, with a natural uprightness of will and inclination, a gift from God who is the source of movement in the world. Indeed, prudence itself (*φρόνησις*), being a rational quality, must ultimately be referred to God. Still more striking is his identification of the ethical end with the contemplation and knowledge of God. Hence he can formulate the standard of conduct by saying that everything is a good in proportion as it promotes, or an evil in proportion as it hinders, the know-

[1] Lane, *Arab. Society*, p. 157, *Modern Egyptians*, i. 186, 217, 248.
[2] *NR* ii. 618. [3] Wilkinson, iii. 416 *f.*
[4] Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, London, 1911, ii. 40.
[5] Tirard, p. 31 *f.*
[6] M. Jastrow, *Rel. of Babylonia and Assyria*, Boston, 1898, p. 661; Maspero, p. 686.
[7] L. F. A. Maury, *Hist. des religions de la Grèce antique*, Paris, 1857–59, ii. 116 f.
[8] Waddell, pp. 394, 424.
[9] *Yasna*, iii. 2, 21, iv. 1, vii. 21, xxii. 20 (*SBE* xxxi. [1887] 208 ff.); *Vendîdâd*, ix. (*SBE* iv. [1895] 122 ff.).
[10] *Shih King*, ode i. (*SBE* iii. [1879] 304, note 2); *Li Ki*, ix. 1. 2 ff., iii. 16 *f.* (*SBE* xxvii. [1885] 417 ff., 443 ff.).
[11] Lane, *Arab. Society*, p. 85.

ledge of God. This defines right conduct more exactly than Aristotle's mean.

It was not, however, Eudemus, but **Theophrastus of Lesbian Eresos**, who succeeded Aristotle in the headship of the school, which he held for over thirty eventful years (322–288 B.C.), during which the two new schools of Stoics and Epicureans sprang up. His numerous works served to develop his master's doctrine, increasing its utility as completely as possible on every side. In logic, it is true, he refused to admit that all contraries fall under the same genus and denied that every assertion of possibility implies the opposite possibility. Further, he added to the four moods which Aristotle had assigned to the first figure of the syllogism five new ones out of which the fourth figure was afterwards constructed. Along with Eudemus he introduced the theory of hypothetical and disjunctive syllogisms. His metaphysical problems (*ἀπορίαι*), which have come down to us in a series of excerpts, prove that he possessed an acute and subtle intellect and unusual skill in discerning all kinds of objections.

E.g., how, he asks, is the supra-sensible object of first philosophy related to the sensible things with which physics deals? How is a common bond between them possible? The higher principle necessary for the solution of this problem can be found only in God. Thus we are led to a cause of motion acting as an object of desire, the precise doctrine of Aristotle (*Met.* xii. 6 f.). But, continues Theophrastus, if there be only one moving cause, why have not all the spheres the same movement? If several, how are their movements harmonized? Why are there many spheres, and why should they desire motion rather than rest? Does not desire (*ἔφεσις*) presuppose a soul, and therefore motion? Are motion and desire accidental or essential attributes of the heavenly spheres? Another set of objections turns on the necessity of deducing not merely some but all reality from first principles. Can design be attributed to everything, however insignificant? Or, if not, how far does order extend in the world, and why does it cease at that point (cf. Arist. *Met.* xii. 10 *ad init.*)? New difficulties surround the conceptions of rest and matter. Is matter endowed with potential reality while non-existent, or does it exist, though void of determinate form? And so forth, as a consideration of knowledge in its varying degrees or again of the chain of causation or the assumption of design in nature raises at each turn its peculiar perplexities.

But we get no hint of any departure from his master's system and are forced to conclude that the purpose of this elaboration of conceivable objections, like that of Aristotle in *Met.* iii., is purely didactic. But it is in physics rather than in logic or metaphysics that Theophrastus shines. As a historian of science he won by his *Physical Opinions* even greater fame than Eudemus by his *Geometry*. This great work, of which only a priceless fragment has been preserved, was the storehouse from which generation after generation drew information in the form of summaries, epitomes, and excerpts respecting the speculation of the past until we trace its last diluted perversions in the Christian writers Epiphanius and Hermias. His two extant botanical treatises, *Historiæ Plantarum* and *de Causis Plantarum*, afford a striking proof of his attainments as a naturalist, of his powers of observation, and of his wise caution in using the testimony of informants. The two treatises so far superseded previous works that later critics even deny that Aristotle ever wrote on the subject, though he certainly does refer to a treatise of his own as already written in *Hist. An.* v. 1, 539ª 20, *de Gen. An.* i. 23, 731ª 29. The eternity of the world in its present order was of course hotly controverted by the Stoics, and the acuteness of Bernays has brought to light from Philo, *de Incorruptibilitate Mundi*, some of the arguments used by Theophrastus and Zeno respectively. The same scholar has also drawn from Porphyry, *de Abstinentia* (*περὶ ἀποχῆς ἐμψύχων*), a defence of vegetarianism which undoubtedly comes from Theophrastus and embodies his views on animal-sacrifice. On the nature of life and the human soul he shows some degree of independence. Thus, while agreeing that the lower activities of the soul should be referred to the body (even as to imagination he doubted whether it was not irrational), he differs when he comes to the activity of thought, which he does not hesitate to describe as physical motion. If so, the soul is no longer an unmoved cause of bodily movements. On the relation of the passive to the active reason he unfolds as usual a series of most acute and formidable difficulties, but here again there is no hint of reconstruction, and it seems probable that he quieted his scruples by assuming that various terms, when applied to reason (active, passive, potence, act, form, matter, and evolution or development), bear a different sense from their ordinary acceptation. Yet we are also told that he regarded the souls as well as the bodies of all animals as made up of like elements (*ἀδιάφοροι*) — sensations, desires, passions, and reasonings—though in some (namely, man) these elements attain a higher perfection. In ethics he was a true follower of Aristotle and refused any concessions to the Stoic doctrine that virtue alone was sufficient for happiness. Indeed, he emphasized the utility and importance of external goods as means and indispensable instruments of virtuous activity in a manner which has led him to be accused, most unjustly, of differing from his master on this head. For the rest, the *Characters* sufficiently attest his study and assimilation of the Aristotelian account of the virtues as well as the keenness of his observation.

Aristoxenus of Tarentum and **Dicæarchus of Messene** were Peripatetics of the first generation who attained a high reputation, the former as an authority on music, the latter as a writer on politics. Aristoxenus, who had been a Pythagorean, revived the theory combated in the *Phædo*, that the soul is a blending or adjustment (*ἁρμονία*) of bodily elements, and Dicæarchus not only agreed with him in this but argued against the immortality of the soul. This open breach with the master's teaching (see *de Anima* i. 4) is significant. **Strato of Lampsacus** followed Theophrastus, and was head of the school from 288 to 270 B.C. His predilection for physics gained him the title of 'the physicist,' and under him a transformation of the system was attempted. He made natural forces suffice for the evolution of the world, thus dispensing altogether with the hypothesis of a transcendent deity. How he carried out his assumption in detail we do not know, except that he was no convert to the atomism which Epicurus had again brought into fashion. On the contrary, he took properties (*δυνάμεις*), corporeal forces, heat and cold, as his elements, like Empedocles and Zeno the Stoic, with whom Plutarch classes him. It is true that, instead of dividing bodies into light and heavy, Strato as well as Epicurus made all bodies heavy: they press towards the centre, and this pressure explains an occasional upward movement. From Simplicius, *in Physica*, iv. 9 (693. 13 ff., Diels), Strato seems to have argued that without empty interstices the passage of light or heat or any other corporeal property through air, water, or body in general would be inexplicable. Yet he is also cited by Simplicius as refuting the accepted arguments for the existence of empty space (*ib.* 663. 4 ff., Diels). He rejected Aristotle's definition of time as counting of motion (*ἀριθμὸς κινήσεως*), remarking that time and motion are continuous and cannot therefore be counted like discontinuous quantities. Time is continually beginning and ending, whereas parts of number exist simultaneously. Why, again, should not the 'measure of earlier and later' apply as much to rest as to motion? By his own definition (*τὸ ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι ποσόν*) he seeks to distinguish between time (duration of events) and the events which are

in time (*ib.* 789. 34, Diels). As regards motion, again, he confirmed the assumption of its acceleration by simple observation of falling bodies. We have more information respecting his psychological innovations. He sharply criticized the doctrine of ἀνάμνησις in Plato's *Phædo*: Why can there be no knowledge without demonstration? Why can you not play the flute without practice and without instruction (Olympiodorus, 126. 31)? Other Platonic arguments are also rejected. Strato demands that in considering the soul we must adhere to the same conditions as when we are dealing with what is corporeal: if the body needs a substratum, so also does the soul. Following Theophrastus, he defined all mental activity, thought and perception alike, as movement. We cannot think without a sense-image, Aristotle had said (*de An.* iii. 7), and Strato went further by denying any separation between sense and reason. On the other hand, sensation is conditioned by thought, since often when we are thinking of something else we do not attend to impressions of sense. Here he struck out a new path, propounding views on sensation which even now are deserving of respect. Reason or consciousness, which, like the Stoics, he called the ruling power (τὸ ἡγεμονικόν), alone had feeling (ἀναίσθητα γὰρ τὰ λοιπὰ πλὴν τοῦ ἡγεμονικοῦ [Plut. *Utrum An. an Corp. sit libido*, frag. i. 4. 2, p. 697]). In the central organ, then, objective bodily change is converted into subjective feeling, the rest of the frame, even the sense-organs, having only the capacity of receiving an impression. When we believe ourselves to feel a pain in the part affected, this is merely the same delusion as when we think we hear sounds at a distance outside us. The carrier of the impression and its intermediary with the central organ (which he placed between the eyebrows) is a current of breath or 'spirit' (πνεῦμα). If this connexion be broken, we never feel the pain or whatever else the impression was. Aristotle had only spoken of the impression travelling from the periphery to the centre, but Strato also called attention to the fact that the impression is reflected from the centre back to the periphery or the outside world. These positions seem to require that reason should not be confined to man but extended to other animals and that all activities should be held to cease at death.

If, however, we wish to obtain a just view of the early Peripatetics and their scientific activities, there is additional evidence which should not be overlooked. Various portions of the Aristotelian *Corpus* as it has come down to us are proved by internal evidence to be the work of his pupils. Such are the treatises *de Motu Animalium*, *de Coloribus*, *de Audibilibus*, *de Plantis*, and *Mechanica*. In the *Organon* the *Postprædicamenta* (*Categ.* 10 ff.) are a later addition. The second book of the *Metaphysics* was ascribed to Pasicles, the nephew of Eudemus. A collection of *Problems*, relating to a variety of subjects and arranged in 38 books, is of very unequal merit. This collection, undoubtedly the work of numerous authors, has been compared to papers read before some learned academy or the Royal Society. The short tract *de Lineis Insecabilibus* is of great interest to the mathematician, while that entitled incorrectly *de Xenophane, Zenone, Gorgia* is an example of the class of writing called hypomnematic, analogous to memoirs read before the historical department of an academy. Here also it may be mentioned that two most important discoveries, one of the nerves by Herophilus and Erasistratus, one of the electric properties of amber by Theophrastus, fall within the period considered, but bore no fruit at the time. So much error still clung to the 'science' of the ancient world. The taste for antiquarian research produced, besides the histories of science mentioned above, the Menonian work on the progress of medicine (Ἰατρικὰ Μενόνεια), brought to light in 1891.

2. **The decline.**—The school which had staggered on for a time as best it could under the load bequeathed by its founder seems after the death of Strato to have come to a dead stop. The headship passed successively to **Lyco of Troas** and **Aristo of Ceos**, both eminent for their style, and to **Critolaus**, who in 155 B.C. accompanied Carneades and Diogenes on the famous embassy which incidentally introduced philosophy to the unphilosophic Romans. After them **Diodorus of Tyre** and **Erymneus** were heads. Other Peripatetics of eminence were **Hieronymus of Rhodes**, who adopted the conception of painlessness, not pleasure, for his *summum bonum*; **Prytanis**, a trusted agent of Antigonus Doson in State affairs; **Phormio**, who had the audacity to lecture to Hannibal on the art of war; **Heraclides Lembus**; **Agatharchides**, the historian; and **Antisthenes of Rhodes**. Of all these it is safe to say that they did not rise above mediocrity. For two hundred years there was no Peripatetic who was a thinker of note or even capable of carrying on the scientific researches of his predecessors. In the Alexandrian age, it is true, the various sciences had grown more and more independent of philosophy, but still this school trained no Eratosthenes, no Archimedes. Among its scholarchs it boasts no name to rival a Chrysippus, a Carneades, or a Posidonius. Instead of science or metaphysics its professors cultivated rhetoric and devoted themselves to grammatical, historical, and literary studies, not excluding popular ethics. Thus **Sotion** wrote a valuable history of philosophy, and **Hermippus** and **Satyrus** collections of biographies (Βίοι) no less important. The school remained one of the chief centres of the learning of the time and in ethics taught a moderate doctrine, opposing to Stoic apathy a sane indulgence of emotion (μετριοπάθεια) and assigning to goods of body and intellect or to external advantages generally a due place beside virtue in the scheme of an ideal life (see Stob. *Ecl. Eth.* vii. 13–26 [pp. 242–334, Heeren; p. 116. 19 ff., Wachsmuth]), an epitome which justifies and explains many references of Cicero and later writers. The *Magna Moralia* in the *Corpus Aristotelicum* is a tolerably faithful summary of what the master and Eudemus had written, whereas the *de Virtutibus et Vitiis*, sometimes attributed to Andronicus of Rhodes, betrays signs of eclecticism, a tendency which invaded all schools in the 1st cent. B.C. The spirit of compromise, coming after the weariness of endless polemics, had produced indifference as to the distinctive doctrines of conflicting sects. It must have been in the air when the spurious work *de Mundo* was written and published in Aristotle's name with a dedication to Alexander prefixed. Its date is certainly after Posidonius, for it combines a large admixture of Stoicism in the form in which he cast it with the genuine tenets of Aristotle.

3. **The later Peripatetics.**—Strabo (xiii. 608 f.), in his well-known story of the fortunes of Aristotle's library buried in a cellar at Scepsis, distinctly connects the barrenness of the school under the successors of Theophrastus with the loss of these autograph rolls. This cannot be, for even Strabo would not have maintained that the Aristotelian writings remained all this time unpublished; but indirectly the recovery of the originals by Apellico of Teos, who conveyed them to Athens, brought about a momentous change in the aims and studies of the later Peripatetics. Henceforth the task of editing, expounding, and commenting upon the Aristotelian writings absorbed their best energies. Authority circumscribed, where it did not altogether check,

original speculation. In the middle of the 1st cent. B.C. **Andronicus of Rhodes** was the head of the school, the tenth after the founder. When Sulla brought the library of Apellico to Rome, Andronicus and a grammarian named Tyrannio obtained access to it, arranged the works of Aristotle anew, and did their best to render the edition of them which they caused to be made as correct as possible. It is all but certain that our MSS derive from this edition. From this start Andronicus went on to write commentaries on the *Physics*, *Ethics*, and *Categories*. The impulse thus given to the study, criticism, and exegesis of the founder's works was shared by other members of the school, pupils and contemporaries of Andronicus. Among them may be mentioned **Boethus of Sidon**, Strabo's instructor in philosophy, who thought that the student of Aristotle should begin with physics and not (as Andronicus held) with logic; **Aristo of Alexandria**, a convert from the contemporary Academy of Antiochus; **Eudorus of Alexandria**, who wrote on the *Metaphysics* and the *Categories*; **Nicolaus of Damascus**, the contemporary and fellow-student of Herod the Great, for whom he compiled a universal history in 144 books; and **Xenarchus of Cilician Seleucia**, who controverted Aristotle's assumption of a fifth element (*αἰθήρ*)—a remarkable proof of philosophic independence at this epoch. So, too, we are told that Boethus denied that the universal is by nature prior to the particular, and by substance in the strict sense (*πρώτη οὐσία*) he understood not form but only matter or at best the concrete thing made up of form and matter. In the time of Nero **Alexander of Ægæ** commented upon the *Categories* and *de Cælo*. In the 2nd cent. A.D. **Adrastus of Aphrodisias** in Caria wrote a work on the arrangement of the Aristotelian writings, while **Aspasius** was the author of an extant commentary on the *Ethics* and of other commentaries, now lost, on *Physics*, *Metaphysics*, and *de Interpretatione*. **Aristocles of Messene** wrote a complete history of philosophy. His fame was eclipsed by his pupil, **Alexander Aphrodisiensis**, who became head of the school in the reign of Septimius Severus (A.D. 195–211); he dedicated his *de Fato* to that emperor and Caracalla (A.D. 198). Besides Aristocles, Herminus and Sosigenes had been his instructors and he soon won such distinction that the surname of *ὁ ἐξηγητής*, the expositor *par excellence*, was bestowed upon him. His numerous writings included treatises, still extant, entitled *de Anima*, *de Fato*, *de Mixtione*, and *Quæstiones* (*ἀπορίαι καὶ λύσεις*), as well as the various commentaries on which his fame chiefly rests. That on the *Metaphysics* is the most valuable of what has come down to us, though five books of it alone have retained their original form. His works were a rich mine for later commentators who, like Themistius and Simplicius, name him only when they dissent from him, and pass over their huge obligation to him in silence. He was respected by Plotinus, who mentioned him in his Canon, while Syrianus, another Neo-Platonist, borrowed largely from him. Alexander, however, stood aloof from the mystical tendency of the age which swept away Plotinus and his successors, and, except Aristocles, he scarcely names any of his contemporaries. In spite of a dry scholastic formalism and divergence in detail, he really wished to follow Aristotle and defend his doctrine, not to set up philosophical principles of his own. He shows his independence when he holds, with Boethus, that the individual is prior to the universal not only for us but also in itself. Even the deity must be regarded as individual substance. He denies the reality of time. Form is everywhere inseparable from matter and reason is bound up with the other faculties in indissoluble unity. At first it exists in man as a disposition or capacity merely (*νοῦς ὑλικὸς καὶ φυσικός*) and is afterwards developed into actual intelligence (*νοῦς ἐπίκτητος*). This transition is effected by active reason (*νοῦς ποιητικός*), which is no part of the human soul but simply the divine reason acting upon it. The influence of God upon Nature is reduced as far as possible to a mechanical process, a diffusion of force to the first heaven and thence through the different spheres to the earth at the centre, each receiving less the farther it is removed from the source. This identification of *νοῦς* in man with the divine reason involves the denial of individual immortality, although the eternity of one immortal impersonal reason is still tenable. Shortly after Alexander the Peripatetics were absorbed, like all their contemporaries, in the Neo-Platonist school, but the work of exposition and commenting went on briskly for the next three centuries under Porphyry, Iamblichus, Themistius, Dexippus, Syrianus, Ammonius, Simplicius, and Philoponus. Thence it passed to the Arabian philosophers and lastly to the mediæval scholastics. Thus it comes about that Alexander's version of Aristotle was followed in due course by those of Averroes and Aquinas.

LITERATURE. — *Eudemi Rhodii Ethica*, ed. F. Susemihl, Leipzig, 1884 (the best text), ed. A. T. H. Fritzsche, Ratisbon, 1851, tr. J. Solomon, Oxford, 1915; *Eudemi Rhodii Peripatetici Fragmenta*, ed. L. Spengel, Berlin, 1865 and 1870; Theophrastus, ed. F. Wimmer in the Didot series, Paris, 1866, in the Teubner series, Leipzig, 1854–62, *Characters*, tr. R. C. Jebb, London, 1870 (new ed. by J. E. Sandys, do. 1909); F. G. A. Mullach, *Fragmenta Philosophorum Græcorum*, Paris, 1881, iii. 206–578 (contains Aristocles, Eudemus, and Andronicus); for Alexander Aphrodisiensis, Aspasius, and the Neo-Platonic commentators, the Berlin Academy's edd. *Commentaria in Aristotelem Græca*, 1882–1909, and *Supplementum Aristotelicum*, 1885–1903; J. Bernays, *Theophrastos' Schrift über Frömmigkeit*, Berlin, 1866, *Über die unter Philon's Werken stehende Schrift über die Unzerstörbarkeit des Weltalls*, 2 pts., do. 1876–83; H. Diels, *Doxographici Græci*, Berlin, 1879, *Simplicii in Physica Commentaria*, do. 1882 (a trustworthy text of fragments of Eudemus and Strato); *Anonymi Londiniensis ex Aristotelis Iatricis Menoniis et aliis medicis eclogæ*, 1893; H. Poppelreuter, *Zur Psychologie des Aristoteles, Theophrast, Strato*, Leipzig, 1892; H. Usener, *Analecta Theophrastea*, Bonn, 1858. The Oxford tr. of Aristotle's works includes the spurious treatises—*e.g.*, *de Lineis Insecabilibus* (H. H. Joachim, 1908), *de Motu Animalium* (A. S. L. Farquharson, 1912), *de Coloribus*, *de Audibilibus*, *Physiognomonica* (T. Loveday and E. S. Forster, 1913), *de Mundo* (E. S. Forster, 1915). For an extended bibliography E. Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen*[3], Leipzig, 1869–81, and F. Ueberweg, *Grundriss der Gesch. der Philosophie*[8], Berlin, 1894–97, should be consulted.

R. D. HICKS.

PERJURY.—See OATH.

PERSECUTION.

Christian—
Early Church (H. M. GWATKIN), p. 742.
Roman Catholic (A. FAWKES), p. 749.
Modern (W. T. WHITLEY), p. 755.
Indian (A. S. GEDEN), p. 762.
Jewish.—See ANTI-SEMITISM.
Muhammadan (T. W. ARNOLD), p. 765.
Zoroastrian.—See MISSIONS (Zoroastrian).

PERSECUTION (Early Church).—**1. Introductory.** — Persecution consists in making an offence of certain religious beliefs, or of their natural expression in speech, writing, or religious observances. The word may be loosely used of mob violence, which is sometimes encouraged or connived at by the authorities; but on the whole it is better to take account only of legal action. The sanction may be either positive, in the form of definite penalties, or negative, consisting of dis-

abilities; and it may be imposed only on overt acts, or it may extend to words, or even make inquisition into unspoken thoughts.

Persecution is sometimes defended on principle, on the ground that misbelief is of itself offensive to God and abominable, or that it is a moral pestilence which must not be allowed to infect the faithful. More commonly, however, political reasons are given, as that the heretics are enemies of the State, that the existence of heresy imperils its unity, or that certain doctrines or practices are contrary to its welfare and good order. As there may sometimes be more or less of truth in some of these charges, there may also be some doubt of the exact point where political precaution passes into religious persecution. The principle seems to be that punishment of religious belief is always persecution, and that interference with religious action is also persecution, except so far as it can be justified by real public danger or by gross and public scandal or disorder; also that it is not to be presumed without evidence that the guilt of an individual is shared by others who hold the same religious beliefs.

But the principle is not always of easy application. Take the case of a public speaker. He may be using insult instead of argument, inciting to disorder, or preaching immorality, while his opponents may be endeavouring to suppress by violence opinions differing from their own. At what precise point must the duty of protecting free speech give place to that of preventing scandal and violence? Circumstances will vary; but a wise government will not act till that point has clearly been passed. Again, if the government does well to suppress widow-burning in India and polygamy in Britain, the reason is not simply that the government declares them crimes, for any government might treat the most innocent religious observances as an intolerable outrage on the feelings of orthodox persons, but that these particular practices are considered abominations by the civilized world, not simply by the immediate opponents of the sects inculpated in them.

All this was not thought out in ancient times, or in modern times till fairly recently; and even now it is hard to say how far the professed principles of toleration are fully understood even in the most civilized countries. Ancient society was essentially intolerant. Israel and Persia had gods whom they believed to be lords of all the earth, so that others were not merely gods of their enemies, but enemies of their gods. So the Jews spoke of them as shames, dungs, nothings, or abominations, and were commanded[1] to destroy their altars, images, etc., while the Persians, when they came to Greece, rifled the statues of the gods and burned their temples, and utterly destroyed the shrines of the local deities. The Greek looked with horror and amazement on these 'shameless' outrages.[2] Deeply religious as he was, zeal for the gods was not his inspiration. Unpopular opinions might be dangerous, as Anaxagoras and Socrates experienced, but even Antiochus Epiphanes contended rather for Greek civilization than for Greek religion.

As Rome was more strongly organized than Athens, so Roman religion was stronger than Greek. Its strength was not intrinsic. Its gods were formless *numina*, of whom nobody cared to know anything but the proper formula of prayer to the particular god required, and there is little trace of hearty worship, except in the ancient rustic festivals. Nor had it a strong hierarchy, for it was a layman's religion, and the punishment of offences came straight from the magistrate. The change to a clerical religion, rather than the adoption of Christianity, is the greatest change that it has undergone from Numa's time to our own. Nor had it any definite creed, and least of all was it a teacher of morality. The State, the philosophers, the Eastern worships, might be schools of virtue; the old Roman religion was not. Its strength was that it formed part of the discipline of the State. No man was required to believe in the gods, but no man was allowed to refuse 'the Roman ceremonies,' as the emperor Valerian calls them.[1] And not only were these ceremonies fixed in detail, but they referred only to a definite list of gods formally recognized by the State. The law is laid down by the Twelve Tables:

'Nemo privatim habessit deos, neve novos sive advenas nisi publice adscitos privatim colunto.'

And this law was never deliberately ignored till well on in the time of the empire. True, pagan Rome admitted new gods as freely as papal Rome manufactures saints; but they had to be admitted before they could lawfully be worshipped. First came Greek gods in the time of the Tarquins, then the Magna Mater (205 B.C.), and Rome made a practice of worshipping the gods of the conquered peoples, and even boasted that she had won the dominion of the world by bringing into her vast pantheon all the gods of all the peoples of the world.

There was one exception: the Jews were licensed nonconformists. Unpopular and politically dangerous as they were, the operations of Titus were war rather than persecution; and, if so, the only real persecution was under Hadrian after the war of Bar Cochba, when for a short time (135–138) Rabbis were burned along with the rolls of the law. In general, however, Judaism was officially respected as an old national religion, and it could safely be left alone when it ceased to be missionary. There was not much more persecution, except of Christians, under the heathen empire. The druids of Gaul were not persecuted, though some of their practices were forbidden and Tiberius put to death a Roman knight for using a druidical charm. Nor were the Manichæans molested till the edict of Diocletian in 297.

The Christians were first of all unpopular. Their monotheism was barbarous, their 'moroseness' offensive, their secrecy suspicious. They would have nothing to do with the public amusements, and their own secret rites were a cover for the foulest abominations. Worst of all, they were very Jesuits for slipping into houses and perverting their inmates. There was a real bitterness in the family divisions which they caused, and a real panic was often created by the uncertainty as to who was Christian and who was not. They were already unpopular in Nero's time, and scandal imputed to them the foulest orgies; and thenceforward is a long record of mob violence. The riots at Lyons under Marcus and at Alexandria in Philip's time are fair samples, even if they were worse than usual. But in course of time there were no more riots. The last of which we read were under Gallus (251–253), and the later persecutions were purely official. When the Christians became better known, they were found to be decent neighbours, with a few Quakerish scruples, and in ordinary times Christians and heathens lived peaceably together, as they did at Eumeneia till the massacre of Diocletian's time.

The Christians were at first a Jewish sect, and as such the Roman government protected them through the greater part of the Apostolic Age. Gallio and Festus refused to decide 'questions of their law.'[2] But, when the Apostolic Conference decided that Christians need not become Jews,

[1] Dt $12^{2f.}$. [2] Æsch. *Persæ*, 805–816.

[1] *Acta Proc. S. Cypriani.* [2] Ac 18^{15} 25^{19}.

and Paul taught that they must not become Jews, they ceased to be a sect of a national religion, and sank to the position of an unlawful cult (*religio non licita*). This, however, was perceived only in course of time; but Titus, in 70, was aware[1] that Christians were not Jews, and the difference must have been clear to the next generation. It could not be more than affected ignorance if Christianity in high places was described as 'Jewish superstition.'[2]

Once the difference was recognized, the Christians became in many ways obnoxious to the law. In the first place, they formed unlawful societies (*hetæriæ, collegia illicita*), and of such societies the empire was always jealous. Next, these societies practised a new and unlawful worship (*religio nova et illicita*), for the Galilæan was neither a national god nor recognized by public authority; and they were also secret societies, and lay under suspicion of magic (*religio malefica*), for which the punishment of burning prescribed by the *Lex Cornelia* was never mitigated by the emperors. Worse than this, they refused the ceremonies which the State required, and reviled its gods. If the Jews would not endure Cæsar's image in the Temple, the Christians were ready to pull down Jupiter's from the Capitol. Hence arose a double charge—of atheism and treason. Atheism, however, was not what we mean by atheism; it meant a denial of the gods of the State. But the real god of the State was the emperor, who was more terrible to his blasphemers than any of the gods. As Tertullian says, 'men forswear themselves more willingly by all the gods than by Cæsar's genius.'[3] The Christian might occasionally be called on to worship the gods, but he was far more commonly brought before an image of the emperor and commanded to offer incense. He came into court as a suspected person, and the readiest test was to make him clear himself by sacrifice, incense, or the oath by Cæsar's genius. If he refused, he was guilty of treason (*majestas*, in the form of *impietas circa principes*), and committed his crime in open court, so that he could be sent straight to execution.

This was the full process, used chiefly for Roman citizens; and even this left a considerable discretion to the magistrate. He might encourage accusations, or he might refuse to receive them, or nullify the usual test of loyalty by allowing the accused to swear by Cæsar's safety—an oath which the Christians were willing to take. His discretion was still freer in the more usual case of *cognitio*, or summary jurisdiction. The Christians were an unlawful society, and might be punished like brigands or any other disturbers of the peace. Then the only question would be whether the accused was a Christian. If he confessed it, he might be executed or tortured either by way of punishment or to make him renounce it.

The number of the persecutions is indefinite. The traditional figure is ten. Orosius counts Nero, Domitian, Trajan, Marcus, Severus, Maximin, Decius, Valerian, Aurelian, Diocletian. But this number is too high for general persecutions, too low for local. Aurelian hardly reached an actual persecution, and (given a Neronian date of the Apocalypse) there is no reason to suppose that Domitian's action extended to the provinces. Others spread farther, but of general persecution known to have been actively carried on throughout the empire we cannot safely count any but those of Decius and Diocletian, and perhaps Valerian. On the other hand, local persecutions were continually breaking out. A governor might be hostile, and almost any accident might start the cry, 'Christianos ad leonem!' Private malice and trade jealousy would come in, though in the 3rd cent. Christians and friendly heathens could make things unpleasant for an informer. But of fanaticism—genuine enthusiasm for the gods—there is hardly a trace. The priests were not zealous persecutors. They were commonly magnates, like the Asiarchs who warned Paul to keep away from the theatre,[1] and cared more for the dignity of their office than for vindicating the honour of the gods. If a story makes them the prime movers of persecution, it may almost be summarily set aside as a legend. Thus there might be a fierce persecution in one province and perfect quiet in the next. It would therefore be very unsafe to assume that the accounts which have come down to us represent anything like the whole of the persecution which went on. For instance, scores at least must have perished in Bithynia in 112; yet no Christian writer seems to know anything of the matter, except from Pliny's letter.[2] There may have been any number of similar local persecutions which have left no trace behind.

2. **History.**—As to the persecutions themselves, we do not need a formal history of them. Our business is not to count up their illustrious victims, or to detail their shames and horrors, but to trace from reign to reign the changes in the character of persecution made by successive emperors in accordance with changes in the state of the empire and the trend of heathen and Christian opinion. For a long time it is almost incidental. Christians are put to death when they turn up in court, and sometimes they are brought into court by mobs, but on the whole the officials are not very zealous in searching for them. The empire is seriously alarmed only by the conversions in high society at the end of the 2nd cent., and by the rapid growth and consolidation of the churches in the 3rd. So from Severus onward we see a series of laws against special classes of Christians or necessaries of Christian worship. There is more or less peace in the first half of the 3rd cent., when the Syrian emperors were willing to tolerate, and again in the second, when the Illyrian emperors were too busy to persecute, with a ten years' interval of active persecution. Thus Decius and Valerian link up Severus and Maximin (Thrax) before them with Diocletian and Maximin (Daza) after them, and the whole history becomes a mighty drama, leading up in ordered sequence to the last great struggle (303–313) which left Christianity the religion of the future.

(*a*) *The 2nd century.*—After the great fire in Rome (July, 64) *Nero* had to recover the favour of the populace. As the Christians were already odious, they were the most convenient victims. First, individuals were charged with arson, and confessions were obtained by the usual tortures. These implicated a large number of others, and the charge of arson was gradually changed for one of 'hatred of mankind,' by which Tacitus[3] means disaffection to the empire and to society generally. The evidence of this would be the practice of magic and secret crimes; but it cannot have been long before the avowal of Christianity was taken summarily as a confession of the abominations ascribed to the Christians, and an administrative order was made against Christians as such. The victims were worried by dogs, or crucified, or burned as lights for the performances in Nero's gardens, with Nero himself in a jockey's dress mixing with the crowd or driving a chariot. The worst of the matter in the eyes of Roman society was that disgust at these vulgar theatricals led to some commiseration for miscreants who richly deserved their punishment.[4]

[1] Tacitus, *ap.* Sulpicius Severus, *Chron.* ii. 30.
[2] Dio Cass. lxvii. 14. [3] *Apol.* 28.

[1] Ac 19[31]. [2] *Ep.* xcvi. [xcvii.], 'de Christianis.'
[3] *Ann.* xv. 44. [4] *Ib.*

There must have been many victims, but we can name for certain only two—the two great apostles. Clement of Rome[1] significantly joins the names of Peter and Paul, and Caius[2] refers to their tombs on the Vatican and the Ostian Way, while Dionysius of Corinth[3] (*c.* 170) says that they suffered martyrdom at the same time. As regards Peter, the date is not clear. As he does not seem to have come to Rome till late, perhaps not till the persecution was in full course, we can hardly account for the impression which his work made without putting his death considerably later, or even among the occasional executions which went on after Nero's fall (June, 68).

Did the persecution extend to the provinces? The 1st Epistle of Peter is full of allusions to persecution; and, even if the Babylon from which it is dated means Rome, its address to Christians of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia shows that they were sufferers. If the Apocalypse is of Neronian date, as to the present writer it seems to be, we find patience at Ephesus, tribulation at Smyrna, Antipas a martyr at Pergamus, the saints slain with the axe for refusing to worship the emperor, and Rome drunk with their blood.

Vespasian cannot have been friendly to the Christians, and there may have been executions in his time, though none is recorded, but there is no serious evidence that he troubled himself much about them. The next active persecutor was *Domitian* (81–96) towards the end of his reign. His action differed widely from that of Nero. Domitian was always jealous, and had now come to a pass when he kept his power only by a series of sudden blows, striking down one suspected person after another. He was never so dangerous as when he seemed most friendly. As the Christians were many in the palace, they were likely to attract his notice, and, as he was a religious man in the heathen sense and a restorer of religion, they would get their full share of his attentions. There must have been a number of victims, for Clement looks back on 'the sudden and repeated calamities which befel us';[4] but they seem to have been (at least in general) persons of importance. When the grandsons of Jude the Lord's brother were brought before him and he found that they were only humble farmers, he scornfully dismissed them. The only victims known to us by name are his niece Domitilla, who was exiled to Pandateria, and her husband Flavius Clemens, Domitian's cousin and colleague in the consulship of 95, whom he put to death as soon as he was out of office. Domitilla was certainly a Christian, and we may safely read as Christianity the charges against her husband of atheism and Jewish practices, and of contemptible inactivity. To these we may perhaps add Glabrio; but there is no sign of wholesale execution as in Nero's time, and we have no reason to suppose that the persecution extended to the provinces, unless the Apocalypse be assigned to a Domitianic date.

The curtain rises again in *Trajan's* time, about 112. Christians were brought before the younger Pliny, then governor of Bithynia. Without troubling himself about any particular charges, he simply asked them whether they were Christians, and sent straight to execution those who persistently avowed it, of course reserving Roman citizens for trial at Rome. Whatever their worship might be, obstinacy and unbending perversity deserved punishment. Pliny has no doubt at all that Christianity is worthy of death, apart from the crimes ascribed to the Christians. Difficulties arose only when further anonymous charges were laid before him, implicating numbers of all ranks in town and country. Some of those cleared themselves by proper worship of the gods and the emperor's image, and by further cursing Christ. Others admitted the offence, but said that they had given it up for three, ten, or even twenty years, and were quite ready now to worship the gods in proper form. They did not seem to have committed any crimes beyond their unlawful worship, and the examination of two deaconesses by torture elicited nothing further. No abominations came to light; only a perverse and arrogant superstition. So Pliny hastened to consult the emperor. Was it good to go on punishing as many Christians as might be found? Might not youth or sex or frank abandonment of Christianity be allowed to mitigate an offence not complicated by further crime? In any case a milder policy might be worth trial, especially in view of the numbers implicated.

Trajan replies that Pliny must use his discretion. The Christians are not to be sought out, but must be punished if accused and convicted; but anonymous accusations are not to be received; and any one who says that he is no longer a Christian, and proves it by worshipping our gods, must be pardoned.

The Christian is here acquitted of abominable charges; but he is none the less a criminal, though he need not be noticed till some accuser brings him into court. Trajan's chief care is to protect the heathen who went wrong in past years and is now in danger from informers. But the Christian incidentally gets some protection too. If his life does not cease to be at the mercy of an informer, the informer is forced to come forward publicly; and the heathens themselves in ordinary times had no great liking for this business. Tertullian is not far wrong when he says that Trajan 'partly frustrated' the persecution.[1]

Hadrian (117–138) carried Trajan's policy a step further. When informers renewed their activity in Asia (*c.* 124), he instructed the proconsul Minucius Fundanus that accusers must prove some crime in open court, and not try to force a conviction by prayers or clamours. The case was to be tried summarily (*cognitio*) and the offender punished as he deserved; but Fundanus was to take great care that, if the charge proved to be vexatious, the accuser was severely punished (*suppliciis severioribus*). Hadrian, like Trajan, was thinking chiefly of protecting good heathens from false charges; but, like Trajan, he gave incidentally some shelter to the Christians. As Trajan forbade Pliny to receive anonymous charges, so Hadrian forbade Fundanus to listen to mobs. The accuser must come forward in open court; if he made good his charge, he was a marked man; if he failed, severe punishment awaited him. This placed the Christians in the most favourable position which they had yet reached; but it was by no means one of tolerable security. If the rescript was strictly enforced, they were still almost at the mercy of any one who ventured to accuse them; and, if it was not, the mobs would have their victims, and hostile governors could encourage accusations.

Titus Antoninus Pius (138–161) merely continued the policy of Trajan and Hadrian; but, as his reign marks a senatorial reaction, the administration of the law was more hostile to the Christians, and the number of martyrs seems greater. But there is no change of general policy till we come to *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus* (161–180). As a conscientious Stoic, and as a zealous observer of the ceremonies, Marcus had a double dislike of the Christians. He must have known a good deal more of them than he tells us, for his only reference to them is a contemptuous phrase about the

[1] *ad Cor.* 5.
[2] *Ap.* Eus. *HE* II. xxv. 6.
[3] *Ib.* II. xxv. 8.
[4] *ad Cor.* 1.

[1] *Apol.* 5.

bravado (ψιλὴ παράταξις) of the martyrs.[1] So the administration became more hostile than ever, and now the Christians were sought out for punishment. Thus the persecution at Lyons and Vienne in 177 began with lawless outrages, was taken up in form by the magistrates and sanctioned by the emperor, and ended with insults to the dead which are rare in Roman history.

So far Tertullian was not entirely wrong in his theory—the fond belief of many Christians—that only bad emperors persecuted them. Nero and Domitian were certainly bad, while the good emperors Trajan and Hadrian were made out to be more friendly than they really were. The policy of Marcus was a difficulty, and Tertullian gets over it by telling the story of the Thundering Legion—how the prayers of a Christian legion obtained rain for the army in its great distress in Germany, and thereupon Marcus stopped the persecution.[2] In point of fact, he never relaxed it, and it only died out gradually in the early years of his unworthy son *Commodus* (180–192). Now Commodus had neither his father's philosophy nor his father's regard for Roman religion. So far as his beast-fights left him leisure for religion, his devotions went to Serapis rather than to Jupiter; and he was further much influenced by his 'devout concubine' Marcia, who was friendly to the Christians. So after a while they had peace for the rest of his reign—excepting only the occasional executions which never ceased till the time of Constantine.

(*b*) *The Oriental emperors* (*193–249*).—With *Septimius Severus* (193–211) we enter on the 3rd cent., and with it comes a new phase of persecution. Christianity does not cease to be a crime by what we may call the common law of the empire; and under this there is always some persecution, and often a good deal. It was not without cause that Tertullian wrote his *Apology* in 197, or remonstrated with the proconsul Scapula some years later for burning the Christians instead of beheading them. But now the emperors began to supplement the common law by special enactments against converts or clergy, against Christian worship, or against officials who were Christians. Severus himself was no fanatic for the gods of Rome. His belief was rather given to the stars, and he was influenced by his Syrian empress Julia Domna, who was interested in Eastern worships. So for a time he was almost friendly, and even went out of his way to protect people of high rank whom he knew to be Christians. It was not till 202 that he took alarm at the growth of un-Roman worships among the ruling classes. If Christians of high rank were not many, there had always been some since the days of Pomponia Græcina and Flavius Clemens. Ignatius had influential friends who might possibly have saved him from the beasts; the Pomponii, and perhaps the Acilii Glabriones, were Christians in the 2nd cent., and in the time of Commodus the senator Apollonius. Christianity had always been strong among the lower officials of the palace, and it was now spreading rapidly in the highest circles. It was time to check that growth, and Severus forbade conversion to Christianity—the confession before men in baptism without which no man could be more than a friendly heathen. Hence the distinctive feature of his persecution is that, alike at Carthage and at Alexandria, the stress of it fell on converts like Perpetua and Herais. It was not that older Christians escaped, but that converts were singled out as they had never been singled out before.

The persecution died out after the great emperor was gone (211), and there was 'peace' for more than thirty years. We catch glimpses of local troubles, but many Christian circles almost forgot that persecution might return. *Caracalla* and *Macrinus* (211–218) were busy with the army, but *El Gabal* (218–222) was a genuinely religious emperor, a fanatic of the foul worships of Syria. He was one who sought first the kingdom of Baal, and strove to bring all the gods of the empire into subordination to the Baal of Emesa. The one thing that connects him with the Christians is his remark that they ought to transfer their worship to the temple of the sun-god. This may have been meant for a friendly invitation; but it was as well for the Christians that El Gabal never got further.

His cousin *Severus Alexander* (222–235) sent back the black stone to Emesa, and settled down into what we may call a 'liberal eclecticism.' Christianity could no longer be ignored as Marcus had ignored it, and as some of the literary circles managed to ignore it long after Constantine's time. Alexander felt something of its attraction. A statue of Christ adorned his private chapel, along with the statues of Orpheus, Abraham, Apollonius, and the deified emperors. He commended the Christian custom of *probati seniores*, and adjudged a piece of waste ground to the Christians rather than the cooks, on the ground that any worship whatever of a god was better than a cook-shop.

With *Maximin* (235–238) we come to a short interval of persecution, though we hear of no executions. So rude a soldier may have had no deliberate policy beyond dislike of Alexander's friends; yet he began a new policy of aiming at the officials of the churches. Hitherto they had run no greater risk than others, except in so far as they were likely to be better known than others. Henceforth they were deliberately singled out for attack by Maximin and his successors.

Passing over the obscure reign of *Gordian* (238–244), we come to *Philip* (244–249), the last of the Syrian emperors. Philip was rumoured to be a Christian, and, though this is certainly false, we may take it that he was as friendly as Alexander.

(*c*) *The interval of persecution* (*249–258*).—Christianity had now reached the steps of the throne, and a Christian Cæsar was no longer an impossible idea. The literary victory had long since been won, for no heathen writer after Tacitus (Plotinus excepted) will for a moment compare with the Christians, and the political triumph might seem not far off. Yet the hardest of the struggle was still to come. The Syrian emperors had not been a success, and there was now a reaction to old Roman ideals, and therefore against the Christians, who seemed the worst of traitors to the good old customs of their ancestors.

The reaction was heralded in Philip's time by savage riots at Alexandria, and the new emperor *Decius* (249–251) began his reign in full determination to stamp out Christianity. Hitherto persecution had been generally local, but now an edict was issued requiring all persons to sacrifice—all persons, for women and boys were not spared. This was systematic and thorough work, and produced more apostates than even the later persecution. At first the object was to avoid martyrs; so some of the earlier victims (not bishops) were set free after all tortures had been exhausted on them; afterwards they were left to die of famine in prison. Thus the Decian persecution resumed Maximin's attack on the bishops, and assailed Christians with a definite policy throughout the empire. But it does not seem to have had much popular support, for it ceased as soon as Decius left Rome for the army in the autumn of 250, and a few riots under his successor *Gallus* (251–253) were the last outbreaks of the old mob violence.

[1] *Comm.* xi. 3. See also art. MARCUS AURELIUS ANTONINUS, vol. viii. p. 410 f.
[2] *Apol.* 5.

Valerian (253–258) was an old senator, and a model of Roman virtue like Decius. But he was still more soldier than senator, and began his reign with marked favour to the Christians. It was not till 257 that he turned against them. The change was ascribed to the influence of his general Macrianus; but there was much to which Macrianus might appeal. In the midst of calamities which threatened ruin to the empire and civilization the Christians stood aloof, and some of them were half inclined to welcome Goths and Persians as avengers of the saints. Apart from this treasonous isolation, the growth of the episcopate was forming an *imperium in imperio* which might have alarmed the most tolerant of heathen sovereigns. Valerian's first rescript (257) is lost, but it followed the lines of Decius in ordering all persons to conform to 'the Roman ceremonies,' and in striking at the bishops. But there were two important changes. For the first time the penalty was not death—only banishment even for great bishops like Dionysius and Cyprian—and for the first time the Christians were expressly forbidden to hold assemblies or to enter the catacombs.

Xystus of Rome replied with a defiance, in the solemn transference (29th June, 258) of the remains of the two great apostles from the Vatican and the Ostian Way to the forbidden catacombs. Thereupon Valerian issued a second rescript.[1] The clergy were to be executed forthwith; senators, *egregii viri*, and knights were to lose their rank and property, and their lives too if they still persisted in Christianity; the great ladies were to be deprived of property and banished; *Cæsariani* (almost certainly 'Cæsar's household,' the lower officials) who were or ever had been Christians were to lose their property and to be sent in chains into slavery. This is a new development. The penalty of death is limited (so far as the rescript goes) to clergy and persons of rank, and non-official Christians escape unpunished. The idea is to destroy the Christian corporations and root out Christianity from the higher classes, leaving it a floating superstition among the vulgar.

(*d*) *The long peace* (*260–303*).—Valerian perished in the East, and his son *Gallienus* (258–268) cancelled the rescripts, and more than cancelled them, by a public edict. This is lost; but we have the rescript which enforced it in Egypt in 261. It is addressed 'To the bishops,' and the restitution, first of places of worship, then of burial-places, can have been made only to the Christian corporations. Here at last was practical toleration; and, if the common law of the empire was not repealed, there seemed little reason to fear that it would ever again be seriously enforced.

The empire sank to its lowest in the days of Gallienus, and the great soldiers who reigned after him were fully occupied with its restoration. Only *Aurelian* (270–275) had any dealings with the Christians. Unfriendly as he was—perhaps only his death prevented active persecution—he had to deal with them as lawful corporations. When a council deposed Paul of Samosata from the see of Antioch, he refused to give up the church property, and the bishops appealed to the emperor. Aurelian decided that it belonged to that bishop who was in communion with the bishops of Rome and Italy. Later ages might have demurred to this 'very reasonable decision'[2] of a heathen emperor; but the fact remains that, if a church is not put outside the law, questions of property must necessarily be decided by the State; and this means that the State must necessarily determine for itself what it will recognize as orthodoxy.

(*e*) *The Great Persecution* (*303–313*).—It was a work of nearly thirty years, from the election of Claudius to the peace with Persia (268–297), to restore some tolerable order in the empire, and for more than forty (260–303) the Christians had peace, broken only by the threats of Aurelian and an occasional military execution, due sometimes to the brutality of a heathen officer, sometimes to the fanaticism of a Christian soldier. So they flourished as they never had flourished before, built stately churches, and overflowed the palace. *Diocletian's* chamberlains were Christians, and his wife and daughter were supposed to be Christians. So, when he took up the sword of persecution, he had a harder task before him than Decius or Valerian, and it was nearly twenty years before he made up his mind to undertake it. As Diocletian was a man of serious religion, and that religion was of the old Roman type, he must always have been hostile to the Christians, even if he was genuinely attached to individuals. But he was too wise to attack hastily their great and strongly organized corporations, even after he was freed from his worst troubles by the peace with Persia in 297. There was no want of incitement, for Maximian and Galerius hated the Christians, and the court was full of soothsayers and philosophers. About 300, when Diocletian was in the East, the sacrifice one day was a failure—which the chief *haruspex* ascribed to the presence of profane persons. Diocletian at once ordered all persons in the palace to sacrifice on pain of scourging and disgrace, and all soldiers similarly to be dismissed from the service. But this, however ominous, was only a burst of superstitious terror, and seems to have been very imperfectly carried out. Christians continued to hold high office, and it was not till the winter of 302–303 that Diocletian decided to persecute in earnest. Lactantius[1] reports that he was worried into it by Galerius, who was no doubt importunate; but Diocletian was a statesman, and never adopted the ruthless policy of Galerius.

The first edict[2] (24th Feb. 303) ordered all churches to be destroyed and the Scriptures to be burned. Officials were to lose all civil rights, and *Cæsariani* (*οἱ ἐν οἰκετίαις*) to be reduced to slavery. This is a careful revision of the rescript of Valerian. The clergy are not summarily executed, nor the great ladies exiled, nor *Cæsariani* who had ceased to be Christians reduced to slavery. On the other hand, the churches are not only closed, but destroyed, and there is a new clause for the burning of the Scriptures. Hadrian had burned the rolls of the law, Diocletian himself the books of the Manichæans in 297, and now the same measure is dealt to the Christians. Destroy their books, stop their meetings, and root them out of the public service; they will soon be put down, and that without bloodshed.

Then came disturbances and two fires in the palace, which of course were attributed to the Christians. The government was in a panic, and put down the riots in Turkish style. To this period probably belong the great massacre at Eumeneia and the wholesale burnings mentioned by Lactantius[3] and Eusebius.[4] A second edict ordered the imprisonment of all Christian clergy, but still no bloodshed. When things quieted down, Diocletian issued (about Nov.) a third edict as an act of grace. It allowed the imprisoned clergy to go free if they sacrificed, but it also allowed the use of torture to compel them. Those who refused remained in prison, some till the end of the persecution, like Donatus, who was tortured nine times in the interval.

This is as far as Diocletian himself went; and it will be noted that no man could lose his life under these edicts, unless it were for refusing to

[1] Cyprian, *Ep.* 80. [2] Eus. *HE* VII. xxx. 19.

[1] *De Mort. Pers.* 10 *f.* [2] Eus. *HE* VIII. ii.
[3] *De Mort. Pers.* 15. [4] *HE* VIII. xi.

give up the books. There were to be no martyrs, though the punishment of Christians who committed any further offence (such as a saucy answer in court) was atrocious. Then, while Diocletian was laid aside by fourteen months of illness, *Maximian* in Rome (April, 304) issued a fourth edict, commanding all persons without exception in their respective cities to offer sacrifice. This was a new policy. Diocletian had aimed skilful blows at the churches, the books, the clergy; Maximian's only idea was to force on every private Christian a plain choice between sacrifice and death.

Cruelty overreached itself, as usual. The heathens themselves were shocked at the horrible scenes which followed. They voted the persecution 'vulgar, and very much overdone,'[1] and at Alexandria they ended by hiding Christians in their houses.[2] Even the Roman mob which howled for blood when the fourth edict came out was glad to see it abolished a couple of years later. Thus the persecution was very far from being steadily carried out for ten years throughout the empire. In Gaul and Britain *Constantius* pulled down a few churches, but did nothing more. Maximian was zealous enough in Italy, but his son *Maxentius* (no friend of the Christians) found in 307 that he could gain popularity by stopping the persecution. Even *Galerius*, who controlled the lands from the Hadriatic to the Taurus, grew slack in course of time, and turned to more innocent occupations. But for ten long years (303–313) the full fury of the persecution fell on Egypt and Syria, which came under *Maximin Daza* after Diocletian's abdication in 305. Daza was as cruel as his uncle Galerius, even more malicious, and much more shrewd. By 308 he came to the conclusion that public burnings were better avoided, and of his clemency issued a fifth edict, that the Christians were to have the left leg disabled and the right eye cut out and seared, and so to be sent to slavery in the mines, where further cruelty could be used without attracting too much notice. Once thirty-nine were put to death in one day. But public executions did not cease, for the fourth edict was renewed, though they grew rarer, and the last of the recorded Palestinian martyrs was given to the beasts on 3rd March 310.

Of the number of the victims we can only say that it must have been large. Some statements of Lactantius and Eusebius may be too sweeping, though we have seen one of the worst of them—the wholesale burnings—confirmed by the independent evidence of the inscriptions at Eumeneia; but it would be very uncritical to suppose that they have recorded anything like the whole number of martyrs. We know very little of what was going on except in Palestine, and even there we do not seem to have full information. Meanwhile the inscriptions and other incidental hints leave no reasonable doubt that the general impression of murderous ferocity given by Eusebius and Lactantius is substantially true. But the horrors enacted in open court are a very small part of the mischiefs of persecution. We must take account of imprisonments and hardships from which even death is sometimes a relief, and of the sufferings of those who live in fear of death or yield to fear of death. Worse than this is the brutalizing of the persecutors, and worst of all the demoralization of the persecuted. The strong grow hard, the weak despair, church government is thrown into confusion, and every discord is inflamed to fever heat. There is no more odious chapter of Church history than the inquest which the survivors of the persecution hold upon their fallen brethren.

[1] Eus. *Mart. Pal.* ix. 3.
[2] Athanasius, *Hist. Arianorum*, 64, p. 302.

(*f*) *The Edicts of Toleration.*—The deliverance was near. Galerius was stricken with a mortal sickness, and issued the first Edict of Toleration in April 311.

He tells us how he had formerly endeavoured to bring back the Christians to the old laws and discipline of the Romans, for they had been foolish and self-willed enough to forsake the institutes of perhaps their own ancestors, and were making themselves laws at their own pleasure and gathering congregations from various peoples. 'When, therefore, we commanded them to return to the institutes of the ancients, some had to be overcome by hardship, while others were utterly ruined in resistance, and there was the further evil that, while they would not worship our gods, they could not worship their own. So we extend to them our usual clemency, that Christians may exist again and hold assemblies, provided they do nothing contrary to the discipline. Particular instructions for our officials will follow. And for this indulgence the Christians will make the prayers of loyal subjects to their god.'

Let us put this intensely heathen thought in other words.

We never quarrelled with the Christians for worshipping their God; we quarrelled with them for not worshipping our gods also; and our endeavour to compel them was well meant. But we forgot that our persecution made it impossible for them to worship their own God; and in this we did him wrong. We still regret their undutiful conduct; but, even so, it is better to let them worship their God in their own way than to prevent him from being worshipped at all.

This is quite straightforward, and, from the heathen point of view, quite true. Galerius is confessing a serious mistake, and frankly asking the prayers of the Christians. He is not now unfriendly, and the further instructions to officials are not likely to have contained 'many hard conditions.' Christianity is now definitely recognized as a *religio licita*, with all the rights therein implicit.

After the death of Galerius there were four emperors. *Constantine* had Gaul and Britain, *Maxentius* governed Italy and Africa, *Licinius* ruled from the frontiers of Italy to the Black Sea, while the Asiatic provinces and Egypt fell to *Maximin*. So the natural alliance was of Constantine and Licinius against Maxentius and Maximin; and this corresponded to the religious position. All four, of course, were heathens, but Constantine favoured the Christians, while Maximin was a bitter enemy; and, though neither of the others had been persecutors, Maxentius, standing for Rome and the senate, was hostile, while Licinius leaned the other way.

As Maximin could not entirely disregard the edict of Galerius, he issued it as a mere instruction to the officials that they need not go further in the matter. This was not toleration; and, though it stopped the persecution for the moment, Maximin resumed on a new plan less than six months later. Brute slaughter having failed, executions were limited to men of note, and a more subtle policy was adopted for the rest. The municipalities were stirred up to petition for the expulsion of Christians from their cities. Then the strong organization of the Church was copied, and a pagan hierarchy was established with regular services to confront the Christian. It remained to give education a polemical turn by ordering that a slanderous forgery called *Acts of Pilate* should be diligently taught and studied in the schools. These were skilful measures, and they were new; and Maximin must have the credit of them.

Meanwhile, after the defeat of Maxentius at Saxa Rubra (28th Oct. 312), Constantine and Licinius met at Milan (Jan. 313) and issued an edict which is a landmark in history. The original is lost, but Licinius recites the substance of it a few months later.

They say that they had long given liberty in religion to all men, but the rescript (of Maximin) issued in pursuance of this edict (of Galerius) had encumbered it with so many detailed conditions that it was practically useless. Then Licinius goes on to say that all these conditions are utterly abolished, so that every one who desires to observe the Christian religion may do so without trouble or annoyance. The same liberty of confession

and of worship is extended to other religions, so that every one may freely practise the worship which he personally prefers. Churches formerly belonging to the Christians shall be restored without delay to the corporation of the Christians, present owners to be compensated from imperial bounty. So also all other possessions which belonged of right to the Christians.

Maximin was in a difficulty now that he had lost his ally, and felt that he must keep the Christians quiet while he made his attack on Licinius. So before the end of 312 he issued another rescript to his prefect Sabinus. It is a strange document, alternately justifying the persecution and apologizing for it, and actually denying that there had ever been any persecution since 305. He showed little of his usual cleverness if he fancied that the Christians could be conciliated by such a mystification as this. But, when the attack had failed, and Maximin was not only expelled from Europe but driven behind Mount Taurus, he had no choice but a real reconciliation with the Christians; and this time there was no fooling. He issued a public edict to all his subjects.

Its purport is that under pretence of the edict of Diocletian forbidding assemblies of the Christians many spoliations and oppressions had been perpetrated by the officials. 'When these abuses (so painful to all good rulers) came to our knowledge, we sent out letters (the rescript to Sabinus) that, if any one wished to follow such a nation or worship, he might do so without hindrance. But even now we cannot help seeing that some of our judges have mistaken our meaning, so that our subjects hesitate to use the liberty we have granted them. In order then to remove all doubt, we publish this decree, that it may be plain to all, that such as wish to follow this sect and worship are at liberty to do so—namely, to adopt and practise this religion. They are also allowed to build Lord's Houses; and, if houses or lands belonging to the Christians have been confiscated by our treasury or by the cities, they shall be restored to them.'

There are lies enough here, but Maximin is quite straightforward, now that he has no choice. He died very soon after, however (*c.* June, 313), and his death closes the age of persecution. The Christians suffered some vexation from Licinius (before 323) and a good deal from Julian (361–363), but these fall outside our limits, and it must be noted that neither Licinius nor Julian repealed the Edict of Milan, so that the Christians experienced in their time rather a hostile administration than direct persecution.

Comparing the three Edicts of Toleration, we find them agreed in frank allowance of Christian worship. But Galerius allows it on the heathen principle that every god is entitled to the worship of his own people, while Maximin states no principle at all. Only Constantine and Licinius lay down the new principle that every man is entitled to choose his own religion and to practise it in his own way. True, neither of them carried it out consistently; but the principle was declared, the omnipotent State for the first time recognized a reserved domain of conscience, and there was a good deal of toleration in the age which followed. It died out with Theodoric the Ostrogoth, to reappear only in William the Silent.

LITERATURE.—H. Achelis, *Das Christentum in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*, Leipzig, 1912; B. Aubé, *Hist. des persécutions de l'Eglise jusqu'à la fin des Antonins*, Paris, 1875, *L'Eglise et l'Etat dans la seconde moitié du IIIme siècle*, do. 1886; E. W. Benson, *Cyprian: his Life, his Times, his Work*, London, 1897; C. Bigg, *The Origins of Christianity*, Oxford, 1909; A. W. W. Dale, *The Synod of Elvira*, London, 1882; G. A. Deissmann, *Politike*, Tübingen, 1902; S. Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, London, 1904; L. Duchesne, *Hist. ancienne de l'Eglise*, 3 vols., Paris, 1906-10, Eng. tr., 2 vols., London, 1909–12; C. F. Arnold, *Die neronische Christenverfolgung*, Leipzig, 1888, *Studien zur Gesch. der plinianischen Christenverfolgung*, Königsberg, 1888; O. von Gebhardt, *Acta Martyrum Selecta*, Berlin, 1902; J. A. F. Gregg, *The Decian Persecution*, Edinburgh and London, 1897; H. M. Gwatkin, *Early Church History*, 2 vols., London, 1912, 'Chronological Questions connected with the Persecution of Diocletian,' *Eng. Hist. Rev.* xiii. [1898] 499 ff.; E. G. Hardy, *Christianity and the Roman Government*, London, 1894; A. Harnack, *Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur bis Eusebius*, Leipzig, 1897–1904, *Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*, Eng. tr., London, 1904–05, *Militia Christi*, Tübingen, 1905; B. W. Henderson, *The Life and Principate of the Emperor Nero*, London, 1903; H. Hülle, *Toleranzerlasse röm. Kaiser*, Berlin, 1895; G. Krüger, *Das Altertum* (=*Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, i.), Tübingen, 1911; P. de Labriolle, *La Crise montaniste*, 2 vols., Paris, 1913; R. A. Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, London, 1892; J. B. Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, pt. ii., 'Ignatius and Polycarp,' do. 1889, pt. i., 'Clement,' do. 1890; A. J. Mason, *The Persecution of Diocletian*, Cambridge, 1876; W. Möller, *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*², ed. H. von Schubert, Tübingen, 1902; T. Mommsen, *The Provinces of the Roman Empire*, Eng. tr., London, 1909; C. J. Neumann, *Der römische Staat und die allgemeine Kirche*, Leipzig, 1890 (vol. ii. not publ.); J. Orr, *Neglected Factors in the Study of the Early Progress of Christianity*, London, 1899; W. M. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*⁸, do. 1904, *The Letters to the Seven Churches*, do. 1904, *St. Paul the Traveller*⁷, do. 1908; E. Renan, *L'Antéchrist*, Paris, 1873, Eng. tr., London, n.d.; J. A. Robinson, 'The Passion of S. Perpetua,' *TS* i. ii. [Cambridge, 1891]; T. Ruinart, *Acta primorum martyrum sincera*, Paris, 1689; H. Schiller, *Gesch. der römischen Kaiserzeit*, Gotha, 1883–87; G. Schoenaich, *Die Christenverfolgung des Kaisers Decius*, Jauer, 1907; E. Schürer, *HJP*, Edinburgh, 1890 ff.; B. Violet, 'Die palästinischen Märtyrer des Eusebius von Cäsarea,' *TU* xiv. [Leipzig, 1896]; B. F. Westcott, *The Two Empires*, London, 1909; H. B. Workman, *Persecution in the Early Church*, do. 1906.

H. M. GWATKIN.

PERSECUTION (Roman Catholic).—**1. Conditions and causes.**—The conditions which gave rise to religious persecution lie far back in and even beyond history. It would be too much to say that they are extinct; but they have to so great a degree ceased to be operative that it is only by an effort of imagination that we can throw ourselves back into them and realize what their force once was. Cohesion was the first need of primitive societies; it was more important that the group should cohere than that it should progress. Innovation, therefore, was put down with a strong hand: it introduced disunion and dissipated energy—the argument is not unknown in our own time. The earliest religions, like the earliest civilizations, were tribal and local; the deity could be worshipped only by his tribesmen and on the tribal soil (1 S 26[19]). And their demands were ceremonial, not ethical or dogmatic; religion resolved itself into the observance of a traditional ritual which was refused by few. In cases of revolt—such as the mutilation of the Hermæ at Athens in 415 B.C.—the penalty was sharp. But such cases were exceptional, and on a small, *i.e.* a civic or class, scale.

The Roman empire was tolerant of customary usage. The rulers knew how to make this usage subserve their policy, and, with regard to religion in particular, to employ and even exploit it for secular ends. The cosmopolitanism of the Stoics, which conceived mankind as a unity, accentuated the social bond. Like Positivism, it subordinated the individual to the community. The emperors who were most under Stoic influences were the most hostile to Christianity, which they regarded as a violation of both natural and established order. Judaism, separatist as its tendencies were, had an ancient nationality behind it; the Church was of yesterday, yet Tertullian's rhetoric is scarcely an exaggeration—it had leavened the world. The conception of the supreme and all-inclusive State survived in the Christian empire. The genius of Constantine discerned in the hierarchy of the 4th cent. a unique instrument for the unification of the nations and for the realization of the ruler's political aims. The unity of the Church was the keystone of the unity of the empire and of society; the Trinitarian and Christological controversies of the period were engineered by secular politicians for secular ends. Heresy was the equivalent of what a later age styled 'incivism'; the sporadic persecutions of the past gave way to a settled policy of repression. Constantine, a cool calculator rather than a fanatic, destroyed the images of the gods; Theodosius excluded worshippers from the temples and forbade sacrifice;

Justinian closed the schools of Athens; the shadow of the coming night of the Middle Ages fell upon the world.

Scarcely second to the tradition of the empire in its bearing on the development of intolerance was the authoritative position assumed by the Hebrew Scriptures in the Church. From the beginning the OT had been a stumbling-block. The conceptions of comparative religion and scientific history were unknown; and to Gentile converts much of its content was meaningless and offensive—the barbarous record of a barbarous tribe and age. Marcion and the Gnostics were the outcome of this sense of contrast. They simplified the situation by throwing the OT and the OT God, or Demiurge, overboard; and thus, though they involved themselves in difficulties of another order, they lightened the ship. But, as Græco-Roman civilization declined, the opposition between the Hebrew records and the actual conditions of life was felt less acutely; and by the end of the 2nd cent. the terminology common to Jewish and pagan worship, hitherto studiously avoided by Christian writers, had become naturalized among them; we read of 'temples, altars, sacrifices, and priests. Originally metaphor, the rhetoric hardened imperceptibly into dogma; the climate changed. This lowering of the temperature did not take place without opposition. But the externalizing process was too consonant with the circumstances and temper of the age to miscarry; the belief in the divine right of the hierarchy and in the duty of imposing submission to it by force—a belief destined to deluge Europe with blood for centuries—was taken over from Hebrew antiquity by the Christian world. The downfall of the empire gave impetus to the movement. The times were rude; a darkness that might be felt descended on the nations; the method of the Church was violence, not persuasion; her rule rested on the two swords of the Apostle rather than on the Cross of Christ. It may be urged that the difference did not go beyond that which separates applied from pure science; it will not be denied that the fall from primitive standards was great.

This fall was brought about by the transformation of primitive Christianity into Catholicism, of the little company of enthusiastic believers into the mixed multitude of a world-Church. Its causes were: (1) what seemed the increasing need of authority in the Christian community; (2) the natural conservatism of the official class; (3) the superstition of the multitude, which feared the indiscriminate vengeance of the outraged deities; (4) the policy of the magistrate, which regarded religious unity as the guarantee of public order; (5) the appeal to OT precedent; and (6), above all, the belief in the exclusiveness of salvation, which was to be had, it was held, only in the Church.

(1) In the dawn of Christianity relapse, or, in general, post-baptismal sin, was not contemplated. The venial faults inseparable from human frailty were met by the instinctive resipiscence of the offender, by the reception of the Eucharist, or by alms and prayer; and, when graver transgressions appeared, they were dealt with either by what was believed to be supernatural intervention (Ac 5) or by the mysterious delivery 'unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh' (1 Co 5^5, 1 Ti 1^{20}). Later, when the age of marvels had ceased, the treatment of offenders, and especially of the lapsed, became a problem. The good sense of the community solved it on lines which, while in themselves reasonable and moderate, increased the growing power of the official ministry. Mt 18^{17}—with which may be taken 2 Jn^{10} and Tit 3^{10}—indicates what we may suppose to have been the primitive practice; but, in proportion as society became Christian, this discipline ceased to be purely spiritual; it passed over into the temporal sphere. The Edict of Constantine (325) makes the possession of the writings of Arius a capital offence; and that of the Three Emperors (380) denounces heretics as 'divina primum vindicta, post etiam motus nostri, quam ex caelesti arbitrio sumpserimus, ultione plectendos.'

(2) An official class is instinctively conservative, and slow to admit reform. This is so in every department of life, and the Church is no exception. Material inducements co-operate with professional jealousy—'they which wait at the altar are partakers with the altar' (1 Co 9^{13}); and the *esprit de corps* of a privileged class is strong. 'No salvation without the Church' is an abstract proposition; the concrete equivalent, which is seldom far distant, is 'No salvation without the priest.' That higher motives were also at work need not be questioned; the springs of conduct are various. But men do not easily destroy that by which they live.

(3) The populace is and has always been an incalculable element. Its intelligence is low, its knowledge small, its self-control weak; it is easily moved by superstition, by suggestion, by passion, and, above all, by fear. Under Nero the mob of Rome was roused by sheer terror against the Christians; that of Paris in 1792 against the aristocrats; that of Constantinople in our own time against the Armenians; and the distinctive psychology of the Middle Ages, with its emotionalism and its unique openness to suggestion, made the crowd an easy prey not only to designing persons who worked upon its susceptibilities for their own purposes but to its own unreasoning fears. The popularity of the Inquisition has been overstated, but there is reason to think that it was not generally condemned by popular feeling. Heresy was regarded as a danger to the community, and the heretic as a public enemy to be restrained for the public good.

(4) The conception of the State elaborated by Roman law, while it led those who held it to an extreme suspicion of corporations as infringing on its own sovereignty and self-sufficiency—a private society was, as such, an *imperium in imperio*—led them also to be content with an external homage on the part of the citizens to the State gods. The Christian empire was more exacting: it demanded interior conformity to the State worship and interior assent to the State creed. This demand, made professedly in the interests of orthodoxy, was in fact dictated by regard for the public peace. It is difficult to put ourselves in the place of the Byzantine Cæsars. But we are mistaken if we set them down as fanatics; they were for the most part skilful and unscrupulous men of affairs. To us the quarrels of the school and the sacristy which inflamed the dregs of Constantinople and of Alexandria are meaningless. But the thoughts of men vary:

> 'A latent and almost invisible spark still lurked among the embers of controversy: by the breath of prejudice and passion, it was quickly kindled to a mighty flame, and the verbal disputes of the Oriental sects have shaken the pillars of the church and state' (E. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. J. B. Bury, London, 1901–08, v^2. 106).

And mental climates change slowly. From the impartial standpoint of the magistrate, concerned in the first place for the maintenance of order, there was little to choose between Catholic and heretic, papist and Protestant. The Reformation, beneficent in so many respects, was a leaven of civil dissension. All were for supremacy, none for toleration; nor was freedom of conscience, as we now understand it, possible till the keen air of rationalism had cooled the ardours of religious zeal.

(5) The Church was heir by default of the Syna-

gogue; and the inheritance of the OT was a condition of her fulfilment of her mission. But these sacred books steeled the heart of the persecutor; they sharpened his sword and kindled his unholy fires. They were an obstacle to moral and intellectual progress, because, as they were understood and could not but be understood at this period, they stereotyped and canonized the ideas and customs of a semi-civilized age. They contained, indeed, their own criticism: 'The times of this ignorance God overlooked' (Ac 17[30]). But till yesterday the theologian would have been suspect who attempted to explain them in this way.

(6) The belief in exclusive salvation covered less specious motives with the ægis of piety; under its shelter they worked unsuspected and undisturbed. To this day religious intolerance finds its firmest foundation in the belief that there is no salvation outside the Church. Where this belief is sincerely held, intolerance haunts it as its shadow, though circumstances may determine its method and its degree. In the eyes of the theocratic hierarchy heresy is rebellion, and rebellion of a peculiarly heinous character, being directly against God. The conviction that all who do not accept a particular creed will perish everlastingly, and that God punishes a theological error as if it were the most atrocious of crimes, has two results. (*a*) It lowers the standard of veracity. If a slight departure from truth—the suppression of an inconvenient fact, the manufacture of testimony, the suggestion or assertion of falsehood, the manipulation of documents or sources—will save souls, promote the cause of religion, and further the highest interests of mankind, the temptation is too great for human nature, and the most fervent are the first to fall. Here is the origin of the Donation of Constantine, of the Isidorian Decretals, of the accumulation of forgeries and fictions which plays so great a part in the history of religion. (*b*) It leads naturally and inevitably to persecution. Zealots are slow to admit the axiom 'Deorum injuriae deis curae'; another maxim, 'Compelle intrare' (Lk 14[23]) comes in. It becomes a duty to impose orthodoxy, seeing that men's eternal destiny depends on their professing it; and to hinder error from spreading, because error is the death of the soul. Heretics are more mischievous than ordinary criminals; and to rid the earth of them is a just, beneficent, and necessary work. Their virtues, such as they are, are no defence. 'Splendida vitia' the Fathers of the Church characterized them; an echo of what was once the universal belief of Christians survives in the Anglican Article XIII., which declares of works done before justification that 'we doubt not that they have the nature of sin.'

The earliest Christian apologists urged the rights of conscience. Every sect, when it is in a minority, clamours for toleration; and the language of circumstance is easily confused with that of principle. The Christians of the first two centuries, if not always persecuted, were always liable to persecution; they advanced, naturally enough, the plea of conscience, and argued for the futility of compulsion as a means of ensuring belief. Tertullian's words, which suggest the philosophy of the 18th cent., might have come from Locke:

'Humani juris et naturalis potestatis est unicuique quod putaverit colere; nec alii obest aut prodest alterius religio. Sed nec religionis est cogere religionem, quae sponte suscipi debet, non vi: cum et hostiae ab animo libenti expostulentur. Ita etsi nos compuleritis ad sacrificandum, nihil praestabitis diis vestris: ab invitis enim sacrificia non desiderabunt, nisi si contentiosi sunt; contentiosus autem deus non est' (*ad Scapulam*, ii.).

So also Lactantius:

'Religio sola est, in qua libertas domicilium conlocavit. Res est enim praeter caeteras voluntaria, nec imponi cuiquam necessitas potest, ut colat quod non vult. Potest aliquis forsitan simulare; non potest velle' (*Epitome Div. Inst.* liv.).

And again:

'Defendenda religio est non occidendo sed moriendo, non saevitia sed patientia, non scelere sed fide. . . . Nihil est enim tam voluntarium quam religio, in qua si animus sacrificantis aversus est, jam sublata, jam nulla est' (*Div. Inst.* v. 20).

It would be unjust to question the sincerity of such protestations; the content of the legal and dogmatic conceptions destined to take shape in ecclesiastical Christianity was as yet implicit. But the martyrs died for conscience rather than for liberty of conscience; the notion of religion as a fixed quantity incapable of variation—a *depositum* (1 Ti 6[20] Vulg.)—led inevitably to its defence, where the State could be enlisted in its service, by the civil sword. 'Quae pejor mors animae quam libertas erroris?' asked Augustine (*Ep.* cv. 10 [PL xxxiii. 400]); in such subject-matter no risks could be run. As time went on, both belief and practice were systematized; and in this process of systematizing the papacy, the greatest systematizing force that the world has known, played a decisive part. But from Constantine to Philip II., and from St. Augustine to Torquemada, the succession is unbroken. At every step of the blood-stained way the advance was necessitated by the logic both of thought and of things. Only when men were sick of slaughter did it dawn upon them that they had taken the wrong turning, and that, till the road had been retraced, those who followed it found themselves in every generation farther astray.

The theological motive of persecution was a conception of religion common to the Christianity of the time and held by orthodox and heterodox alike. This is shown by the fierce intolerance of the heretical sects—in particular of the Arians, who planted in Spain the seeds of that bigotry which found its first fruit in the execution of Priscillian (385) and its most recent in that of Francesco Ferrer (1909). It was in self-defence that Athanasius, Gregory Nazianzen, and Hilary argued for that 'dulcissima libertas' which the last-named (*ad Constantium*, ii. 4 f.) declares to be the one remedy for religious strife. Salvian (430) writes of the heretics of his time:

'Errant, sed bono animo errant, non odio, sed affectu Dei, honorare se Dominum atque amare credentes. . . . Qualiter pro hoc ipso falsae opinionis errore in die judicii puniendi sint, nullus potest scire nisi judex' (*de Gubernatione Dei*, v. 2).

Policy, however, was stronger than piety, logic than philosophy. Scarcely had the Edict of Milan (313), which relieved the Christians from persecution by recognizing Christianity as a *religio licita*, been published when the drift of the new age declared itself. The best and wisest men in the empire—a Symmachus, a Themistius—protested:

'Non uno itinere perveniri potest ad tam grande secretum' (Symmachus, *Relationes*, iii. [*Ep.* x. 3], in *MGH*, 'Auctores antiquissimi,' vi. 1 [Berlin, 1883], p. 282).

No nobler words ever came from a religious teacher, but protest was in vain. Constantine, whose motive was political in each case, exiled first Arius and then Athanasius, under the pretext—not, it must be confessed, an unreasonable one—of danger to the public peace. His successors, with few exceptions, followed his example, enforcing conformity to the various standards of popular orthodoxy. The more mysterious the tenet, the more embittered, it seemed, was the controversy; at the Council of Chalcedon 'an invisible line was drawn between the heresy of Apollinaris and the faith of St. Cyril'; and it was declared by 500 bishops that its decrees might lawfully be enforced 'even with blood.'

2. History.—The most authoritative name in the black record of intolerance is that of the great Augustine. Both for good and for evil his influence over Christianity has been more powerful

than that of any one man between St. Paul and Luther; few have more emphatically asserted the inwardness of religion; yet, paradox as it is, few have done more to fasten the fetters of ecclesiastical and dogmatic system upon mankind than he. As long as the Donatists had the upper hand in Africa, he stood for the rights of conscience; when the position was reversed, and the balance of material force was with Catholicism, he changed his ground.

'Mea primitus sententia non erat nisi neminem ad unitatem Christi esse cogendum; verbo esse agendum, disputatione pugnandum, ratione vincendum, ne fictos catholicos haberemus, quos apertos haereticos noveramus. Sed haec opinio mea, non contradicentium verbis, sed demonstrantium superabatur exemplis. Nam primo mihi opponebatur civitas mea quae cum tota esset in parte Donati, ad unitatem catholicam timore legum imperialium conversa est; quam nunc videmus ita hujus vestrae animositatis perniciem detestari, ut in ea nunquam fuisse credatur' (*Ep.* xciii. 17).

He proceeds to lay down as a general principle, 'multis profuit prius timore vel dolore cogi, ut postea possent doceri,' and to compare the laws against heretics to the restraint imposed upon lunatics or persons suffering under delirium, who would otherwise destroy themselves and others. The exegesis of the time permitted the 'Compelle intrare' of the parable to be used as an argument for coercion; it was in the premisses, not in the conclusion, that the fallacy lay. His teaching has been summarized by J. C. Bluntschli as follows:

'When error prevails, it is right to invoke liberty of conscience; but when, on the contrary, truth predominates, it is proper to use coercion' (*Allgem. Staatsrecht*[6], Stuttgart, 1885, vi. 391);

and by Macaulay thus in his essay on Sir James Mackintosh:

'I am in the right, and you are in the wrong. When you are the stronger, you ought to tolerate me; for it is your duty to tolerate truth. But when I am the stronger, I shall persecute you; for it is my duty to persecute error' (*Critical and Historical Essays*, London, 1870, p. 336).

This is the dilemma presented in every age to the mixed State by Catholicism. Logically it is insoluble; and practically in certain states of society it has made Catholic disabilities inevitable. It could be escaped only when the presuppositions on which it is based had ceased to carry conviction. We can afford to-day to smile at them; our ancestors could not.

Meanwhile the enactments of Theodosius II. and Valentinian III., which punished the slightest deviation from the received orthodoxy as a *crimen publicum*, gave the Augustinian theory the force of law, and laid the foundation of the Inquisition (*q.v.*); Europe went back into darkness for more than a thousand years.

The Code of Justinian (529) collects, co-ordinates, and completes all previous enactments against heretics, schismatics, apostates, blasphemers, pagans, and Jews; and Isidore of Seville (636) imposes on the ruler the duty of repressing error in religion. The barbarian invaders of the empire brought with them from their native wilds a high conception of personal liberty. This acted as a check upon the imperial legislation, the use made of which in the earlier Middle Ages was moderate. 'Religionem imponere non possumus, quia nemo cogitur ut credat invitus,' was the answer of Theodoricus when the Jews of Genoa asked permission to rebuild their synagogue; and Cassiodorus (480) puts into the mouth of the Gothic king Theodatus the fine words, 'Cum divinitas patiatur diversas religiones esse, nos unam non audemus imponere' (*Variæ*, x. 26). But the evil root was there; it needed only a favourable season to put forth its fatal growth.

'Entre temps avait commencé la série des meurtres juridiques pour délit d'opinion' (S. Reinach, *Orpheus*, Paris, 1909, p. 383).

The moderation of a Gregory the Great was due to circumstances rather than to principle; paganism was extinct, heresy infrequent—the Latin mind was not speculative, and the ecclesiastical beliefs and institutions of the period met its needs.

The close of the 10th cent. brought the dawn of a new age. Oriental infiltrations disturbed the slumbers of Western orthodoxy; the wide-spread corruption of the clergy was felt to be intolerable; the Crusades enlarged the horizon and also stirred the passions of Europe. The embers of sectarian hatred were kindled, as in modern anti-Semitism, by the prosperity of the Jews and Saracens; cupidity inflamed religious zeal.

'L'église ne fut pas si tyrannique pour le plaisir de l'être, mais parce qu'elle avait ses finances à ménager' (*ib.* p. 427).

And on this head there was little to choose between the spiritual and the secular power. Here, as there, the economic motive, if unavowed, was invariable; it lit the brand of the inquisitor; it sharpened the axe of kings. The end in view was submission rather than orthodoxy:

'Disobedience to the Church was sufficient; resistance to its claims was heresy, punishable here and hereafter with all the penalties of the temporal and spiritual swords' (H. C. Lea, *Hist. of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, iii. 189).

Of the bloody crusade against the Stedingers (1229–36) a contemporary writes:

'Principalior causa fuit inobedientia, quae scelere idololatriae non est inferior' (*ib.* note).

The duty of inquiring into offences whether against faith or morals was originally part of the episcopal office. But episcopal zeal was fitful. The Capitularies of Charles the Great instruct the bishops 'to make the visitation of their dioceses, to teach truth, to correct morals, to ensure the orthodoxy of the clergy, and, on the Saxon border, to prohibit the celebration of Pagan rites.' Charles the Bald (844) adds the injunction 'ut populi errata *inquirant* et corrigant.' But this inquiry was superficial; the warrior prelates of the period had little interest in the subtleties of theology, and were not extreme to mark what was amiss in morals. An emergency beyond the powers of the local hierarchy was at hand. Languedoc was an oasis of civilization in a desert of barbarism; and with civilization had come expansion of thought. Intercourse with the Spanish Moors was frequent and easy; Greek travellers and traders had naturalized the speculations of the East on Western soil. The clergy were held in general contempt; the papacy had lost credit and authority; the menace to the Catholic theocracy was imminent and extreme. From this period dates the technical use of the terms 'Inquisition' and 'Inquisitor.' From an episcopal the Inquisition became a papal tribunal. Innocent III. commissioned certain Cistercians to exercise legatine powers in the suspected territories: the result was that carnival of sheer wickedness of which Milman writes:

'Never in the history of man were the great eternal principles of justice, the faith of treaties, and common humanity so trampled under foot as in the Albigensian war' (*Hist. of Latin Christianity*[4], London, 1872, v. 426).

Arnauld of Citeaux, writing to Innocent, thus describes the sack of Béziers:

'Nostri non parcentes ordini, sexui, vel aetati, fere viginti millia hominum in ore gladii peremerunt; factaque hominum strage permaxima spoliata est tota civitas et succensa, ultione divina in eam mirabiliter saeviente' (see Lea, i. 154).

Cæsarius of Heisterbach adds that, when the invaders drew back, fearing that certain of their own faction might be involved in the common massacre, the legate urged them on to finish the bloody work.

'Caedite eos: novit enim Dominus qui sunt ejus; sicque innumerabiles occisi sunt in civitate ista' (*Dialogus Miraculorum*, v. 21).

By the middle of the 13th cent. the Inquisition had fallen into the hands of the newly-founded Dominican order, the appeal being only to Rome. This pontifical Inquisition was even more merciless and more atrocious than its better known Spanish counterpart (see INQUISITION and OFFICE, THE

HOLY). It sent to the flames Albigenses, Waldenses, Spiritual Franciscans, Hussites, and so-called sorcerers by the thousand; it was the instrument of political intrigue and of private vengeance; terror and desolation followed in its train. And it was as hypocritical as it was cruel and corrupt. Joseph de Maistre has the effrontery to plead that it shed no blood. No, it left the last penalty to the magistrates, who incurred excommunication if they refused or delayed to inflict it. The form of death by burning was introduced in 1231, indulgences being granted to those who contributed fuel. 'O sancta simplicitas!', said Hus, when a countrywoman threw her faggot on his pyre.

Its procedure was, if possible, more odious than its penalties. The *Directorium Inquisitorum* of Nicolas Eymerich (Rome, 1585) gives a detailed account of the methods employed—the spy system, delation, secrecy, torture, the union in one person of judge and accuser, the hindrances put in the way of the victim's defence, the direct interest of the tribunal in a condemnation which secured the confiscation of the property of the accused. This procedure exercised a corrupting influence on the criminal jurisprudence of the Continent which has not been wholly exorcized even in our own day. Lea, the historian of the Inquisition, writes:

'Of all the curses which . . . [it] brought in its train this, perhaps, was the greatest—that, until the closing years of the eighteenth century, throughout the greater part of Europe, the inquisitorial process, as developed for the destruction of heresy, became the customary method of dealing with all who were under accusation' (i. 560).

England escaped the contagion: its laws reflect the lay, not the clerical, mind.

A relative toleration was extended to Jews—partly from historical, more from economic motives: financial necessity set bounds to religious zeal. And pagans were technically exempt from ecclesiastical jurisdiction, though the exemption was less real than nominal, few, if any, pagans being found where it prevailed. In each case two conflicting theories lay side by side unreconciled. Neither Jews nor pagans, being unbaptized, were subjects of the Church; yet, on the other hand, 'Compelle intrare' applied with no less force to aliens without than to wanderers from within. The inconsistency was solved in practice. The arm of the Church was long, and neither Jew nor pagan who came within its reach had reason to boast that his lot was more tolerable than that of the heretic, though the latter was its more legitimate prey.

In the Middle Ages, as at other times, an undercurrent of rationality ran under the tide of ignorance and fanaticism. In his *Defensor Pacis* (1324) Marsilius of Padua repudiates the dominant OT, or theocratic, interpretation of Christianity.

'Moysi legem Deus tradidit observandam in statu vitae praesentis, ad contentiones humanas dirimendas, praecepta talium specialiter continentem; et ad hoc proportionaliter se habentem humanae legis quantum ad aliquam sui partem. Verum hujusmodi praecepta in Evangelica lege non tradidit Christus, sed tradita vel tradenda supposuit in humanis legibus, quae observari et principantibus secundum eas omnem animam humanam obedire praecipit, in his saltem quod non adversaretur legi salutis' (ii. 215; cf. Milman, vii. 406).

The gospel, he says, is the only authoritative law of Christianity; it gives no coercive power or secular jurisdiction to pope, bishop, or priest. The Church is the whole assembly of the faithful. With regard to the clergy, the question is not what power was possessed by Christ, but what He conferred on the apostles, what descended from them to the bishops and presbyters, what He forbade them to assume, what is meant by the power of the keys. The clergy, then, have no coercive power over heretics, Jews, or infidels. Judgment on them is by Christ alone, and in the other world, though they may be punished by the temporal ruler if they offend against the civil law. He remarks acutely that the observance of the divine precepts is by no means invariably enforced by the human legislator, and draws the conclusion that the heretic is punished because he transgresses not divine but human law.

It is a short step from this to the reflexion that liberty of conscience is not properly open to any restrictions except such as are imposed in the interests of public order and for the safety of the State.

Such speculations, however, were for the few; the many were not ripe for radical solutions; they took, as their custom is, the middle way. The popular mind is liable, generally under the pressure of fear, to sudden accesses of fanaticism; but, at least in the later Middle Ages, while accepting the principle that the heretic was an offender, it resented the execution of the laws against heresy where this execution was exceptionally cruel or on a large scale. Our own attitude to capital punishment is not dissimilar. We acquiesce in the death penalty in extreme cases; but with the proviso, 'odiosa restringenda sunt.' We are ready to find reasons for not inflicting it, and we should resent its being indiscriminately or lightly applied. This temper gained ground, though slowly; and its growth explains the discredit into which, except in Spain, the Inquisition had fallen in the 16th century. This discredit was a condition of the Reformation. Had the Reformers found themselves opposed by the resistless forces disposed of by Innocent III. and Simon de Montfort, the movement would in all probability have gone down in blood and fire.

In Spain, where the unity of the monarchy was of recent date, patriotism and zeal for Catholicism went hand in hand. Three main causes led to the hold obtained by the Inquisition over the Peninsula: (1) the distrust with which the forced converts from Judaism and Muhammadanism were generally regarded; (2) the desire to strengthen the monarchy against separatist tendencies; (3) rapacity—the victims were rich, and the confiscations on a large scale. The tribunal began its work in 1481. Before the year was out, 298 victims had been burned in Seville; and the Jesuit Mariana computes the victims in the two dioceses of Seville and Cadiz at 2000. Llorente gives a total of some 32,000 (Reinach, writing in 1906, more than trebles the figures) sent to the flames between 1481 and 1809, when the last heretics suffered, a Jew being burned and a Quaker hanged. But the executions represent a fraction only of the injury inflicted on the nation. Jews, Moors, and Moriscos, or Christianized Moors, were banished to the number of about 3,000,000; and, as they were the most prosperous and intelligent members of the community, the loss to trade, industry, and agriculture was incalculable; in seventy years the population sank from 10,000,000 to 6,000,000. Spain, once the rival of France and Britain, fell to the rank of a power of the third class.

Both in Madrid and in Rome the Inquisition struck high. An archbishop of Toledo died under a capital sentence, the last Catholic archbishop of Canterbury, Pole—'Carnifex et Flagellum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ'—under a charge of heresy. And it had the courage of its opinions. The condemnation of Galileo,

'reo d'aver veduto
La terra volgersi intorno al sole,'

placed the Church in a dilemma from which she suffers to this day. Either the condemnation was infallible, in which case infallibility is shattered, or it was fallible, in which case (for it was not till 1835 that the Copernican teaching was tolerated) for more than 200 years Catholics were bound to give interior assent to what was untrue. A recent apologist urges that one error is an insufficient ground for questioning the competence of so august a tribunal as the Inquisition. He adds, however:

'Malgré tout les "gens de peu de foi" dont parle l'Evangile—et ils sont nombreux—craignent encore instinctivement que ce qui est arrivé une fois ne se renouvelle. Et cette frayeur, cette tentation de doute, qu'on le veuille ou non, est une conséquence

lointaine et durable de la condamnation de Galilée' (E. Vacandard, *Etudes de critique*, 1st ser., Paris, 1906, p. 386).

The historian will hesitate to endorse Vacandard's praise of the 'prudence bien connue des congrégations romaines.' The Inquisition has been as impotent for good as it has been potent for evil.

'It introduced a system of jurisprudence which infected the criminal law of all the lands subjected to its influence, and rendered the administration of penal justice a cruel mockery for centuries. It furnished the Holy See with a powerful weapon in aid of political aggrandizement, it tempted secular sovereigns to imitate the example, and it prostituted the name of religion to the vilest temporal ends. It stimulated the morbid sensitiveness to doctrinal aberrations until the most trifling dissidence was capable of rousing insane fury, and of convulsing Europe from end to end. On the other hand, when atheism became fashionable in high places, its thunders were mute. Energetic only in evil, when its powers might have been used on the side of virtue, it held its hand' (Lea, iii. 650).

3. Modern attitude.—When the question of the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church of to-day towards persecution is raised, a distinction must be made. The members of this Church, being men, are involved in the human movement; and, as this is humanitarian, it is natural that they should resent the charge of intolerance, and endeavour to shift the inconvenient burden from the Church to mediæval society and the mediæval State. So argue not only popular writers, but scholars such as Hergenröther (*Catholic Church and Christian State*, Eng. tr., London, 1876, essays xvi. and xvii.). But the Church is precluded by her principles from taking this position: the Decree *Lamentabili*, 1907 (prop. 53 f.), excludes the notion of development or process from religion; and, as the Church stands or falls with the papacy, so the papacy stands or falls with the principle of persecution. The Syllabus of 1864 condemns the proposition, 'Ecclesia vim inferendi potestatem non habet'; and Leo X. condemned among the errors of Luther the proposition, 'Haereticos comburi est contra voluntatem Spiritus'—from which, says Hergenröther, with a certain *naïveté*, 'it only follows that it is not contrary to the spirit of Christianity to punish heretics with death by fire' (ii. 309). In the words of Lord Acton,

'The Inquisition is peculiarly the weapon and peculiarly the work of the Popes. It stands out from all those things in which they co-operated, followed, or assented as the distinctive feature of papal Rome. It was set up, renewed, and perfected by a long series of acts emanating from the supreme authority in the Church. No other institution, no doctrine, no ceremony is so distinctly the creation of the papacy, except the Dispensing powers. It is the principal thing with which the papacy is identified, and by which it must be judged.

The principle of the Inquisition is murderous, and a man's opinion of the papacy is regulated and determined by his opinion about religious assassination.

If he honestly looks on it as an abomination, he can only accept the Primacy with a drawback, with precaution, suspicion, and aversion for its acts.

If he accepts the Primacy with confidence, admiration, unconditional obedience, he must have made terms with murder' (*Letters to Mary Gladstone*, ed. H. Paul, London, 1913, p. 147 f.).

The greatest names of the Counter-Reformation are not free from this stain; the hands of its saints are red with blood. And to argue that these men acted in accordance with their principles and the principles of their religion, as no doubt they did, only throws the difficulty farther back.

The catena of authorities is unbroken. Pius V. and Gregory XIII. were privy to conspiracies against the life of Elizabeth, and Gregory applauded the massacre of St. Bartholomew; Clement VIII. denounced the Edict of Nantes; Innocent X. the Peace of Westphalia; Pius VII. protested against the freedom of conscience clauses in the Bavarian Constitution of 1800 and the French Charter of 1814. In the Encyclical *Mirari vos* (1832) Gregory XVI. proclaims:

'Ex hoc putidissimo indifferentismi fonte, absurda illa fluit ac erronea sententia, seu potius deliramentum, asserendam esse ac vindicandam cuilibet libertatem conscientiae';

and the ideas of Leo XIII., though expressed in milder form, do not emerge from the iron circle of necessity in which the Catholic theory of revelation and the doctrine of exclusive salvation compel the received teaching to move. The good faith of the popes—even the popes of the Albigensian Crusade and the Counter-Reformation—need not be questioned; they thought to do God service, by stake, axe, and cord. But, says P. von Hoensbroech (*Das Papsttum in seiner sozial-kulturellen Wirksamkeit*, Leipzig, 1906–07, p. 180), there can be no more conclusive disproof of the divine origin of the papacy than the good faith of the popes in their age-long work of blood.

It is probably safe to say that the Church will never again be able to reduce these principles to practice. The world's tide runs strongly in the opposite direction; and, this being so, the question of what would be her policy under circumstances which are in fact excluded does not arise. But domestic tyranny is more than a possibility. The saner and more moderate elements in Roman Catholicism have suffered, even in our own time, under the tyranny of the hierarchy; and the Church is, and will be for long, so important a social and political factor in European life that this cannot be a matter of indifference either to the civil power or to the community at large. A sect may administer its own affairs unchecked—'de minimis non curat praetor'—but a Church which is a world force cannot be entrusted with unlimited autonomy; the pre-Revolution absolutisms, taught by long experience, saw this more clearly than the new democracies of to-day. Ruffini (*Religious Liberty*, ch. xxi.) gives the modern State the alternatives of separation—as in the United States and in France since the abolition of the concordat of 1801—or what he calls 'jurisdictionalism,' under which, as in England, and in France before 1906, the Church of the majority, while enjoying certain official privileges, is kept under a certain State control. If the former is better adapted to communities in which no religious body possesses a decided preponderance in numbers or influence, there is much to be said for the latter, where the majority of the citizens belong to one communion and profess, or at least accept, one creed. Here 'a free Church in a free State' may be a doubtful benefit: majorities need restraint; and the conscience of the community as a whole is more to be trusted than that of any section of it, clerical or lay. Where the control of the community is absent or ineffective, the clerical caste, experience shows, magnifies its office unduly. The clergy are good servants, but bad masters; the wisest ruler is he who distrusts ecclesiastical liberties most profoundly, and proclaims the sovereign as 'in all causes and over all persons whether ecclesiastical or civil within these his dominions supreme.' But it is less to external circumstances or political arrangements than to the slow growth of the reason and conscience of mankind that we may look for the solution of the problems—many of which, it will be admitted, are still open—which an older world than ours cut by the sword of persecution. The unity of religion, as in general of all that falls under the head of spirit, is a unity not of content, but of idea, of direction, of movement.

LITERATURE.—H. C. Lea, *Hist. of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, New York and London, 1908–11, *The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies*, New York, 1908; F. Ruffini, *Religious Liberty*, Eng. tr., London, 1912; J. B. Bury, *A Hist. of Freedom of Thought*, do. 1913; W. Paley, *The Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy*, do. 1785; J. Locke, *Letters on Toleration*, do. 1689–92; W. Warburton, *Alliance between Church and State*, do. 1736

ALFRED FAWKES.

PERSECUTION (Modern Christian).—At the close of the 15th cent. Christendom was at a low ebb, geographically and numerically. The once flourishing churches of the Far East had been almost destroyed by the Mongols, those of the Near East subjugated by the Turks. But the northern States of Scandinavia and Britain were in communion with Rome, the kings of France had adjusted their quarrel with the popes, and the Holy Roman Empire seemed again a reality when the vast possessions of Spain were under the same ruler. Western Christendom was compact, united in doctrine and in organization. The Fifth Lateran Council sat without realizing that the whole system was undermined, and that within eight months of its rising the match would be lit.

Two theories which led to persecution as a duty held the field. The one was that a body of truths existed, some still latent, some explicitly stated in dogmas, necessary and vital; so vital that, unless a man accepted them, he would without doubt perish everlastingly. The other was that Christendom formed a single body, with a spiritual arm and a secular; when the former had done its best to reclaim an erring member and had failed, the latter must punish.[1] There was room for discussion as to the precise inter-relation of the two arms, but there was no room to doubt the duty of suppressing every book and person challenging received truth.

The characteristic of the last four centuries is that these theories have been emphatically traversed, that their corollary of persecution has been repudiated, that a counter-theory is now widely held, asserting the soul's direct responsibility to God and the freedom of conscience from the dominion of man. Thus the history of persecution in this period will show it regarded (1) as a religious duty, (2) as a political expedient, (3) as a political blunder, and (4) as a sin against God.

1. A religious duty.—For centuries it had been seen that it was needful not to wait for outward manifestation of error, but to probe into possible sources, and for this purpose there had been many forms of the Inquisition (*q.v.*). As episcopal independence had lessened, diocesan inquisitors had become unimportant, and the Roman Curia had its own agents. Thanks to the zeal of the Spaniard Dominic, the Black Friars were usually the papal inquisitors. In the 16th cent. others came to the front, but, however agents and methods varied, the theories and policy of the Curia remained, with only natural growth.

Hadrian VI. had served an apprenticeship as inquisitor in Aragon before he became pope.

He brought to Rome 'the Spanish idea of rigorous discipline within the church and merciless intolerance toward insubordination of every kind. The Inquisition, if he could have had his way, would have been established wherever heresy lifted up its head.'[2]

Spain, indeed, had worked out a most effective form of Inquisition, as will be seen; after experience with it Caraffa reorganized the papal Inquisition on its lines. Thus in 1542 a special Congregation of the Holy Office was founded in Rome. Six cardinals—their number was afterwards increased to thirteen—were empowered to arrest and imprison all suspected heretics, and to try all cases of heresy, on both sides of the Alps. They might institute minor tribunals, and thus create a world-wide organization. Within the papal States there was no conflict with civil authorities, and the inquisitors began at once; by negotiation with Italian princes they soon acted more widely; but most rulers declined to admit their jurisdiction, and preferred to deal with heresy by other machinery. The Congregation was quite successful in Italy; eight or nine Protestant congregations were dispersed, and persecution ceased because uniformity was restored.

The Holy Office saw that to deal only with man was futile, and it systematized the censorship of books (see OFFICE, THE HOLY). Caraffa, now Pope Paul IV., drew up an 'Index Librorum Prohibitorum,' which forbade the use of any book from any one of 61 printers, or written by any one of a much longer list of authors, including even Erasmus. This was so drastic that it was discussed at Trent, and a commission framed ten rules to be observed in revising it; the Tridentine Index came out under Pius IV. in 1564. The work proved so great that Pius V. created a special Congregation of the Index (see INDEX).

Spain furnished Rome with another great agency; Ignatius Loyola brought his military ideas to the service of the Church, and the Jesuits (*q.v.*) soon surpassed the Dominicans in zeal and ability. An early instance of their success may be given from Upper Austria, where most of the nobles had accepted Lutheranism.[1]

Ferdinand gave the Jesuits permission to settle in Vienna, and in a few years they had rejuvenated the universities. In 1592 one of their pupils was made vicar-general of Styria; under instructions from Clement VII., and with the aid of Ferdinand given contrary to his guarantees, the entire Protestant population was forcibly converted or expelled within 24 years.

The Jesuits were the soul of the Counter-Reformation; their methods in Bohemia were of the same type, and equally successful; the Anabaptists were driven into Hungary at a month's notice; the Moravian Church was almost obliterated, and the name of John Hus passed into oblivion.

To trace the activities of these two Congregations and of the Jesuits were needless; their principles are unchanged. Even such mystics as the Spaniard Molinos and the French Fénelon were condemned, and the Jansenist movement was stopped. But, when Jesuit influence became paramount in Rome, the papal assertions deserve record.

Bible societies were in 1816 termed by Pius VII. a 'fiendish instrument for the undermining of the foundation of religion.'[2] Leo XII. said ten years later:

'Every one separated from the Roman Catholic Church, however unblamable in other respects his life may be, because of this sole offence, that he is sundered from the unity of Christ, has no part in eternal life; God's wrath hangs over him.'[3]

Pius VIII. began his pontificate by denouncing liberty of conscience. Gregory XVI. in 1832, considering the Belgian declaration in favour of religious liberty, pronounced this a mere 'deliramentum.' Pius IX. in 1864 codified many papal principles in his *Syllabus of Errors*:

Error 21 is: 'The Church has not the power of defining dogmatically that the religion of the Catholic Church is the only true religion'; error 24 is: 'The Church has not the power of availing herself of force, nor any temporal power direct or indirect'; error 78 is: 'In certain Catholic countries it is rightly provided by law that immigrants thither shall enjoy public exercise of their own religion.'[4]

Six years later the Vatican Council acknowledged that the authority of the Roman pontiff is immune from error; and in 1878 Leo XIII. declared that the utterances of the *Syllabus* are clothed with that authority. Modernism is denounced; modernists are excommunicated. Pius X. reorganized the Roman Curia into eleven congregations, of which the Holy Office is first and the Index seventh, and they are closely related.

The former, says Benedetto Ojetti, 'judges heresy, and the offences that lead to suspicion of heresy; it applies the canonical punishments incurred by heretics, schismatics, and the like. In this the Holy Office differs from all the other congregations.'[5]

[1] See *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 3rd ser., v. [1911] 63.
[2] A. H. Newman, *A Manual of Church History*, Philadelphia, 1903, ii. 353.

[1] Newman, ii. 384. [2] *Ib.* ii. 446. [3] *Ib.* ii. 448 f.
[4] *Acta Sanctæ Sedis*, Rome, 1865; Newman, ii. 507.
[5] *CE* xiii. 138a.

And it is the only congregation of which there is no other president than the pope himself.

The Jesuits, thanks especially to J. P. Roothaan and P. J. Beckx, have won almost complete control of the Curial thought, policy, and machinery. One illustration of summary action may suffice.

Henri Lasserre translated the Gospels into French, and published the version in 1887 with the imprimatur of the archbishop of Paris and the approval of the pope. On 19th Dec. the Congregation of the Index forbade it to be published, and ordered all copies to be surrendered; next day the pope approved this decree, without comment or explanation, in the most solemn form.

Joseph Blötzer[1] justifies such action on the grounds that religious belief is 'something objective, the gift of God, and therefore outside the realm of free private judgment'; that the Church is 'a society . . . whose first and most important duty must naturally be to retain unsullied this original deposit of faith.' James Bridge[2] states that, 'though the Church exercises that right [of coercing all Christians] for the most part by spiritual sanctions, she has never relinquished the right to use other means.' To a Roman Catholic such action is not technically 'persecution'—this can be inflicted only on the Church, not by the Church; it is simply the lawful and necessary exercise of discipline.

Hitherto we have dealt only with proceedings initiated or approved by the court of Rome, where its responsibility is not denied. Its principles may now be considered as applied by the Hapsburgs in Spain and the Netherlands.

(*a*) *Spain.*—Ferdinand and Isabella obtained a bull in 1478 empowering them to establish a royal inquisition to investigate the genuineness of the religion of the 'New Christians' of Jewish descent; the scope of this was soon enlarged to enable those of Muslim descent to be dealt with also. Under Torquemada the Holy Office was allowed to frame its own rules. Soon it became independent of the bishops, entitled to call in the aid of all civil authorities, able to disobey even the pope. Thirty-two years after its foundation an inscription was placed on its headquarters at Seville to the effect that about 1000 people had been burned, and about 20,000 had been condemned to penances. In 1609 Philip III. was persuaded to banish all the Moriscos, or Christians descended from the Muslim Moors; the measure was carried out so thoroughly that more than 2,000,000 are supposed to have been exiled. Thenceforward the Inquisition turned its energies in other directions. It spread throughout all the Spanish possessions, except where special arrangements were made, as in Naples, Sicily, and the Netherlands. Thus all the New World allotted to Spain by the Roman See was under its jurisdiction, and any native who relapsed from Christianity to his ancestral faith was at its mercy.

More dubious were the rights of the Inquisition over foreigners, and an illustration may be given which displays the normal procedure, without any sensational features.[3]

Hugh Wingfield of Rotherham, with five other soldiers from the 'Gabriel,' was captured in the ordinary course of war during 1592, and was put in the royal prison of Teneriffe. The promoter fiscal of the Holy Office appeared before the inquisitor, denouncing him as a pirate, heretic, and apostate; a *prima facie* case was established, and he was removed to the cells of the Inquisition. These were so far from being places of torment that the prisoners used to open them after dark and spend the evening together. Within a week Wingfield was examined, and he acknowledged that he had 'never heard Mass, as it is not said, but only the service used by the Protestants of England; and that this is the religion instituted by Calvin.'[4] Further, he declared that he could not abandon a religion that he knew, and promise to follow one that he did not know; but he desired to know the truth. After instruction for a fortnight, he acknowledged that the new religion of his country was bad, that in her and all her opinions lay the soul's perdition, and he asked to be received into the Holy Catholic Church. He was then taught the prayers; as he fell ill, he was taken to hospital and nursed; in June 1593 he was released on parole. This he broke, and escaped, and it is recorded sadly that this usually happened. The incident elicited orders from Seville not to deal with such cases, but to take proceedings against foreigners only when they offended against the faith within the dominions of the Spanish crown, or while the ships were anchored in the ports. The local inquisitor disobeyed these orders, and on 21st Dec. 1597 some of Wingfield's companions were among eleven Englishmen dealt with at a public *auto de fé* by imprisonment, confiscation of goods, etc.

The Spanish Inquisition came to be detested by orthodox Spaniards.[1] A young priest named Padron was admitted about 1790 to discussions with Protestant ministers at the house of George Washington in Philadelphia (the date and place are highly significant). Being asked how he could defend a Church that had invented the Inquisition, he attacked the Spanish Inquisition, declaring it to be the work not of the Church, but of the royal power, and to be contrary to the spirit of the gospel. Franklin invited him to preach this publicly, which he did in the Roman Catholic church of Philadelphia. The sermon was translated into English, and repeated by a parish priest to an enormous audience. Padron then toured the States with the same theory. Such was the story told by Padron in 1813, when he was deputy from the Canaries to the Cortes of Cadiz, met to discuss the suppression of the Inquisition. He denounced it there as a spurious growth, a clog upon the Church, an insult to Spanish loyalty to Catholicism, and a usurpation of episcopal authority. Such attention did his speech attract that it was translated by the English admiral and published.[2]

Meanwhile Joseph Bonaparte, who had suppressed the Inquisition in 1808, turned over the archives to Llorente, its former secretary, that its history might be written. The results were published in Paris, 1815–17, much to the subsequent discomfort of the author. His accuracy was challenged but never disproved, and an English abridgment appeared in 1826. Meanwhile Ferdinand VII. had restored the Inquisition, but it was again abolished in 1820.

The theory propounded by Padron was elaborated and defended by Joseph de Maistre, a Savoyard whose works include a treatise on the Spanish Inquisition, and a book entitled *The Pope; considered in his Relation with the Church, Temporal Sovereignties*, etc.[3] The latter work, originally published in 1815, is a classic for Ultramontanes, and the modern starting-point of the development culminating with the Vatican Council. His theory has the great advantage for orthodox Roman Catholics that they can lay the blame of the excesses of the Inquisition on royal shoulders, not on papal. To American readers they can protest:

'The authority of the Inquisition began and ended with the crown. . . . When I denounce the cruelties of the Inquisition, I am not standing aloof from the Church, but I am treading in her footsteps. Bloodshed and persecution form no part of the creed of the Catholic Church.'[4]

It is further possible to praise the pope for 'preventing the Spanish Government from establishing its Inquisition in Naples or Milan, which then belonged to Spain, so great was his abhorrence of its cruelties.'[5] This appears to imply that the Inquisition in Calabria was not the Spanish, but the papal, as T. M. Lindsay also implies; so that the treatment of the Waldenses at Cosenza from 1555 to 1561 was the work of the Holy Office more directly.

'They were exterminated by sword, by hurling from the summits of cliffs, by prolonged confinement in deadly prisons,

[1] *CE* viii. 26[a]. [2] *Ib.* xi. 703[a].
[3] 'English Merchants and the Spanish Inquisition in the Canaries,' *Royal Hist. Soc.*, 1912, pp. 33–52.
[4] *Ib.* p. 41.

[1] 'English Merchants and the Spanish Inquisition in the Canaries,' *Royal Hist. Soc.*, 1912, p. xi.
[2] British Museum, 4071. b. 37. [3] Eng. tr., London, 1850.
[4] James Cardinal Gibbons, *The Faith of our Fathers*, Baltimore, 1893, pp. 293, 285.
[5] *Ib.* p. 296.

at the stake, in the mines, in the Spanish galleys. One hundred elderly women were first tortured and then slaughtered at Montalto. The survivors among the women and children were sold into slavery.'[1]

It is regrettable that the sword was used for the effusion of blood, for 'the Popes denounced and laboured hard to abolish its sanguinary features,' says Gibbons.[2] On the whole theory of de Maistre, be it noted that the Spanish Inquisition was based on a papal bull, and was enlarged by a papal brief of 1571, that popes heard appeals from the Inquisition, exempted whole classes from its scope, and intervened often in its doings. As in 1816 torture had been abolished in all the tribunals of the Inquisition, it is hard to see why the popes had not exercised their authority, which had availed to suppress Templars and Jesuits, to curb the Spanish Inquisition.

(*b*) *The Netherlands.*—Motley has told in detail how Charles V. and his son Philip of Spain dealt with the Low Countries. In April 1522 Charles appointed Van den Hulst as inquisitor-general, and by brief in June next year Hadrian VI. commissioned him to act concurrently with the episcopal inquisitors. Emperor and pope acted most harmoniously, Clement VII. and Paul III. confirming the successive heads, Charles issuing their instructions. Philip confirmed these instructions before he had been a month on the throne, besides appointing fourteen new bishops, each with two special inquisitors. It was asked why the Spanish Inquisition was not introduced, and Philip explained to his half-sister, 'L'Inquisition des Pays-Bas est plus impitoyable que celle d'Espagne.'[3] A few illustrations of his statement may be given; details will be found in T. J. van Braght, *Het Bloedigh Tooneel*, Dort, 1660, Eng. tr., Lancaster, Pa., 1837; and Gerrit Brandt, *Historie der Reformatie*, Amsterdam, 1677, Eng. tr., London, 1720–23.

The town-clerk of Antwerp was obliged to stand on a platform, to retract certain opinions said to be set forth in a preface that he had written, and to burn the book; he was then imprisoned and banished. Jan Walen of Krommeniesdijke and two friends were bound to stakes with chains, and, a fire being laid round them, they were slowly roasted to death. This form of capital punishment was reserved for Anabaptist men, the women being drowned. When the Anabaptists tried to emigrate, five vessels on which they were sailing were sunk with all on board; the others were taken back, and the heads of the leaders were exposed on poles. After eight years of this the Anabaptists began to defend themselves, and the fall of Münster was the signal for a special edict against them. Men who made converts were to be burnt to death; men who were re-baptized but recanted were to be slain with the sword, women were 'only to be buried alive.'[4]

The papal-imperial Inquisition of the Netherlands must not be confounded with the ancient episcopal Inquisition, nor with the secular Council of Tumults created by Alva in 1567. This dealt not with heretics, but with traitors;[5] treason was defined so as to include signing petitions against the Inquisition and tolerating field-preaching. By this time there were other heretics than Anabaptists, and these were more defiant. Alva wrote to the king saying that early one Ash Wednesday he had arrested 1500 in bed, and adding, 'I have ordered all of them to be executed.' Before long there was an insurrection, which did not, and does not, seem to be regarded with such horror as the defence of Münster. By 1607 the Spaniards had to own themselves beaten so far that the northern provinces were treated as independent. From that day the Netherlands has been the home of religious freedom, where the new theory assailing the foundations of persecution took shape and whence it was spread abroad.

[1] T. M. Lindsay, *History of the Reformation*, Edinburgh, 1907, ii. 601 f.
[2] P. 296.
[3] J. L. Motley, *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, new ed., London, 1878, pp. 168–174.
[4] Lindsay, ii. 285.
[5] *Ib.* ii. 256.

2. A political expedient.—In the cases considered thus far the impelling motive was religious, the emphasis being laid on the peril to the soul. But persecution has often sprung from another motive—the desire to unify and consolidate the State. This may be illustrated from the history of Germany, England, New England, Russia, France, and Portugal.

(*a*) *Germany.*—The precedent was set here by the Elector of Saxony in 1528, when he sent Melanchthon and other visitors round his domains with instructions to deprive nonconforming priests and to banish dissenting laymen.

'For the prevention of mischievous tumult and other inconveniences, we will suffer neither sect nor separation in our territory.'[1]

Three years later Melanchthon considered the fate of Mantz, drowned at Zurich by the Zwinglians, and he wrote to Myconius that the Anabaptists were diabolical and not to be tolerated; their leaders everywhere ought to suffer the utmost punishment.[2] He and Zwingli based their views on the political need of unity, for no Anabaptist had given sign of active resistance. The policy was crystallized into the maxim for Germany, 'Cujus regio, illius et religio.' This was applied against Lutherans in 1731, when some 300 representatives assembled in Salzburg to consider the danger in which they stood. They entered into a salt-covenant to hold fast to the evangelical faith. This was treated as rebellion; soldiers were quartered on all evangelical families; and on 31st October all were ordered to be banished because of the covenant. Most went to Lithuania, and a few to Georgia in America, which was founded for their benefit by Oglethorpe.

(*b*) *England.*—The Tudors laid stress upon uniformity, which was almost unknown before, as they believed that it was necessary to make and keep England great. Henry VII. applied the method in secular departments, his son in ecclesiastical affairs. A dramatic exhibition was given when on 30th July 1540 six preachers were drawn from the Tower of London to Smithfield, where three were burned for heresy and three were hanged and quartered for treason in denying Henry's supremacy over the Church. Three Acts of Uniformity were passed under Edward and Elizabeth; similar enactments were frequent for half a century after 1640. Ejectments of clergy who failed to change quickly enough were common till the reign of William and Mary. Persecution was most violent under Mary Tudor and Elizabeth. The former acted on the advice of Spaniards, and doubtless from religious motives. S. R. Gardiner[3] reckons that in three years 277 persons were burned to death for their religion. Elizabeth reverted to her father's ideal, and aimed at a united England; as she sought a *via media*, she had to deal with two parties. The Roman Catholics, who reckon 253 martyrs from Cardinal Fisher in 1535 to Archbishop Plunket in 1681, claim 189 in the reign of Elizabeth, who must be allowed the benefit of the plea of her father and Alva, that these men were executed for treason; and, further, that most of them came to England knowing the law and intending to defy it; that the pope had by bull deposed her and absolved all persons from allegiance; that most of the accused could be pardoned on taking the oath of allegiance. On the other side, Dutch Anabaptists were burned; English Separatists were hanged, imprisoned, fined, or banished. The legislation of 1593 typifies the Tudor position. Popish recusants were confined to a circle of five miles round their birth-place. The balancing Act

[1] C. Beard, *The Reformation in its Relation to Modern Thought* [*HL*, 1883], London, 1883, p. 177.
[2] *Ib.* p. 180, quoting *Corp. Ref.* ii. 549.
[3] *Student's History of England*, London, 1892, p. 427.

against Protestants decreed that any person refusing to come to his parish church had the option of forfeiting all his property and going abroad permanently or of being executed. Under this Act six Baptists were condemned to death as late as 1664; it was to avert the scandal of such an execution that Bunyan was illegally detained in prison for twelve years.

The distinction between spiritual and secular was retained. An ecclesiastical court only excommunicated, but, if an accused person did not make his peace within forty days, the fact was signified to Chancery, whence a writ went to the sheriff to arrest and imprison until the ecclesiastical court was satisfied. The last case of burning for heresy occurred in the reign of James I., and it gave such scandal that no later writ of *significavit* is extant. From that time the High Commissions became the favourite courts. Penalties now seldom amounted to death. Roman Catholics were either fined £20 a month or, if that did not affect them seriously, deprived of two-thirds of their lands. For Protestants prison and branding were preferred. Dorothy Trask died in 1645 after having been fifteen years in jail for the crime of regarding Saturday as the Sabbath.

The period 1640–60 must be separately studied. After that the reign of Charles II. showed the intensified difficulty of the situation, which again was met by violent persecution, always under the forms of law. Charles had the task of trying to restore unity, when Dissenters plotted with Holland and Roman Catholics with France, when the navy yard struck if the new Conventicle Act was enforced, and Parliament voted no money till it was carried out. The jails were crowded: in December 1661 there were 289 Baptists in Newgate alone; a year later there were 214 Baptists and Quakers. Even in 1672, on the intercession of a Quaker who had assisted his escape from England twenty years before, Charles found 491 men to deliver from prison, whose sole offence was peaceable worship outside the parish churches. Fearing that his crown was in danger if the persecution continued, the king issued a declaration of indulgence, and licensed 4215 dissenting teachers or houses. Next year, on financial threats from Parliament, he withdrew the declaration. As it was supposed to have been prompted by favour to the Roman Catholics, popular fury turned towards them, and a series of judicial murders took place on the initiative of some perjurers. Then the see-saw dipped on the other side; more ministers died in jail; and after the abortive invasion of Monmouth the progress of Jeffreys gave rise to a new Western martyrology.

Peace was restored to England only by the compromise of 1689, which conceded a limited freedom of worship at the cost of civil disability. Since then persecution has been either sporadic or illegal, or of the privative kind which confines franchise, office, and emoluments to certain favoured classes.

(*c*) *New England.*—Much less known is the action of the Pilgrim Fathers. In 1650 they passed a law forbidding people to meet on the Lord's Day from house to house in Plymouth.[1] On 2nd October nine men and women were presented for so doing. There was no suggestion of any riot; they were worshipping quietly. Governor William Bradford, who signed that law, had four years before described the early experience of himself and his friends, keeping 'their meetings every Sabbath in one place or another, exercising the worship of God among themselves.'[2] He must have had a very strong sense of the need of keeping his little colony homogeneous. Under his successor the Pilgrims used the stocks, the cage, the jail; they fined, confiscated, whipped, banished, till the Restoration ended their scandalous doings.[1] When such things were done in the green tree of Plymouth, the state of affairs may be readily imagined in the dry tree of Boston. There the persecution culminated in hanging four Quakers on the common early in 1660. But the Puritans at least were thoroughly consistent, and acted from loftier motives. With them the desire for a unified territory was accessory to a genuinely religious feeling, as with Calvin, whose conduct in the case of Servetus had set them the example.

(*d*) *Russia.*—In few lands is there such close blending between Church and State as in Russia. It arises out of the circumstances in which Muscovy achieved independence. The clergy did much to promote the organization by which the rule of the Muslim Mongols was ended, and the invasion of the Roman Catholic Poles was repelled. Before the 15th cent. ended, a grandson of the Kaisar at Constantinople had as Tsar transplanted the Byzantine traditions to Moscow, whose archbishop he caused to be recognized by the four Eastern patriarchs as a fifth colleague. The royal house soon died out, and a grand national assembly chose a son of the patriarch to be Tsar. In the middle of the 17th cent. the patriarch Nikon instituted many reforms with the support of the Tsar and of all the bishops but one, who was deposed, flogged, and kept in prison till he died mad. The laity and many clergy resisted; persecution led to civil war. In 1667 Nikon was deposed by an ecclesiastical council, but the schism continued; even to-day, after constant oppression, the Old Believers are supposed to number 12,000,000. Peter the Great averted the risks arising from future pretensions of any patriarch by abolishing the office and instituting a holy governing synod, composed chiefly of bishops nominated by himself, and presided over by himself or a lay deputy—very like a Tudor High Commission with Thomas Cromwell at its head. This change was enforced by more persecution, and a new rebellion was subdued.

Two generations later Catherine II. took over all the capital of ecclesiastical property, paying the clergy and monks regular salaries; it was a good precedent for the French National Assembly, though the Ecclesiastical Commission of 1836 applied the principle in England only to the bishops. But Catherine's extension of boundary brought under her sceptre Lutherans of the Baltic and Roman Catholics of Poland, so that the homogeneous province of 1600 has swollen to a heterogeneous empire, with new ecclesiastical problems. To-day in a population of 125,000,000 there are 14,000,000 Muslims and 5,000,000 Jews, the persecution of whom is not here dealt with; in the Christian population Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Old Believers, and Armenians are large factors, though altogether they are not a quarter of the number of the State Church. In theory there is a general toleration; in practice there is nothing of the kind.[2] Propaganda is forbidden; at the best of times a minister of a sect can be registered only for one building and one congregation, while police frequently attend to watch. Prison, flogging, removal to the Caucasus or Siberia, and exile are the constant experience of such ministers, and also of many lay Dissenters.

(*e*) *France.*—The religious wars of the 16th cent. resulted in the Edict of Nantes securing a certain privileged position of toleration to the Huguenots

[1] *Journal of the Friends' Hist. Soc.* xiii. [1916] 37.
[2] Bradford MS, folio 31; printed by E. Arber, *The Story of the Pilgrim Fathers*, London, 1897, p. 70.

[1] *Journal of the Friends' Hist. Soc.* xiii. [1916] 37.
[2] R. S. Latimer, *Under Three Tsars: Liberty of Conscience in Russia*, London, 1909.

(*q.v.*). Louis XIV. could not brook such division, and, prompted by others with different motives from his, he set to work to unify his realm. Bitter persecution led up to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, the expulsion of all ministers, and the most strenuous measures for the conformity of the laity. The reaction came with the French Revolution a century later, but the proclamation of 'liberty, equality, and fraternity' on 14th July 1789 proved illusory. The National Assembly adopted Catherine's plan with ecclesiastical property, and went farther. The monastic orders were abolished, and a new civil constitution was framed for the Church. Of 136 bishops only four took the oaths, and 79 new prelates had to be found; the parish clergy resisted, and 600 are said to have been massacred at Avignon alone. The Legislative Assembly was anti-Christian. It ordered Paris to be cleared of priests, and three weeks later 300 clergy were massacred in prison, thus ushering in the Reign of Terror. This culminated in November 1793, when Christianity was formally abolished, and the existence of God was denied.

(*f*) *Portugal.*—This country affords an earlier case when a great Roman Catholic corporation suffered persecution. In 1750 the kingdom was under clerical influence, especially that of the Society of Jesus.[1] A series of economic reforms, the organization of trading companies, and the development of the colonies brought the State and the Jesuits into sharp collision. If Richelieu would not tolerate an ecclesiastical *imperium in imperio*, no more would Pombal. In 1759 the Society was expelled from all the Portuguese dominions, and its funds were sequestered. In extenuation of this action, it may be pointed out that the governments of France and Spain, also staunchly Roman Catholic, felt obliged to take similar steps eight years later, that the pope refused to permit the Spanish Jesuits to land in Italy, that even the Austrians withdrew support, and that the next pope suppressed the whole order for ever. He set in the forefront of his reasons that the Jesuits ruined souls by their quarrels and their compromises with heathen usages. The bull has never been withdrawn. Another pope, equally infallible, reconstituted the order, which silently re-established itself in Portugal, and was a second time expelled in 1834, and a third time in 1910. On neither occasion was any action taken against the Roman Catholic hierarchy and parochial organization or against public worship. The State has thrice been obliged to defend itself against a powerful international organization, whose character was declared by the papacy to be bad. Roman Catholicism is still the religion of Portugal. The constitution both permits the Protestant religion and lays it down that no one can be persecuted for religious reasons so long as he respects the religion of the State and commits no offence against public morals. Nor is this a dead letter; a priest who in 1904 caused a Protestant worker to be assaulted and robbed was sent to prison for 35 days.

3. **A political blunder.**—When different religious parties were more evenly balanced, the rulers sometimes saw that the only chance of internal peace was a wide toleration, and that persecution would be a mistake. An early example is found in Poland, where, to avert civil war, Calvinists and Lutherans were tolerated from 1552, and Mennonites were invited by the king to come and settle, with the promise of religious freedom. On his death a compact of Warsaw during the interregnum assured on 28th Jan. 1573 absolute religious liberty to all 'dissenters from the religion.' So also in the Netherlands, where William of Orange, himself successively Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, had to insist that there must be mutual concessions as the price of bare existence in the face of Spanish troops. He carried his point first in 1576 with a Pacification of Ghent and again in the Union of Utrecht.

Rulers were assisted to see their way to this, by the wide acceptance of a new political theory originated by Calvin,[1] published in his *Institutes*, and thus spread over the whole Western world. It reached English readers first in the *Politike Power* of Bishop John Ponet, 1556:

'Men ought not to obeie their superiour that shall commaunde them to doo anything against Goddes Word. . . . Princes abusing their office may be deposed by the body of the whole congregacion or commonwealth.'

Five years later all could read Calvin's closing words:

'If they [the three estates in everie realme] winke at kinges wilfully raging over and treading down the poor communaltie . . . they deceitfully betray the libertie of the people, whereof they know themselves to bee appointed protectors by the ordinance of God.'[2]

Acting on Knox's exposition of this theory, the Scots deposed the queen regent in 1559, and the parliament ratified the Revolution on that ground. Beza's *Droit des magistrats* (1573) and Philippe de Mornay's *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos* (1579) gave full scope to the theory; and in 1581 the Estates of the Netherlands solemnly deposed Philip, justifying the act in their declaration of independence.

The Italian jurist Hierom Zanchius, teaching in Germany, added to Aquinas's doctrine of passive resistance the obligation to active resistance.

'If for the sake of religion you oppose yourself to the king, you oppose yourself not to power but to tyranny, and unless you do so oppose yourself, you act contrary to divine and human law.'[3]

The doctrine was repeated at Heidelberg by the German David Pareus:

'Inferior magistrates may justly, even by arms, defend the commonwealth and church or religion against a superior magistrate.'[4]

His book had the honour of being burned by James I., who blinded himself to the fact that most of his thinking subjects accepted this theory.

These books were chiefly political, many by lawyers and statesmen; they were widely circulated and translated. England demanded new editions after 1640, and the dogma that persecution for the sake of religion justifies armed resistance and deposition led again to appropriate action. And, whereas the Continental thinkers were from the upper ranks, it was a representative council of the army which in August 1647 drew out sixteen proposals as the basis of a treaty with the king. One proposed to abolish all coercive power in ecclesiastical officers, another to repeal the Uniformity and Conventicle Acts, a third to make the recent Covenant voluntary rather than obligatory. Two months later a body of democrats presented to this council a manifesto styled 'the Agreement of the People,' which they considered and amended. After an interlude of a second war the army presented it formally to the House of Commons in January 1648–49.

The ninth clause deals with religion, and provides 'that, to the public profession so held forth, none be compelled by penalties or otherwise; . . . that such as profess faith in God by Jesus Christ, however differing in judgment from the doctrine, worship, or discipline publicly set forth, as aforesaid, shall not be restrained from, but shall be protected in, the profession of their faith and exercise of religion, according to their consciences, in any place except such as shall be set apart for the public worship.'[5]

[1] A. Weld, *The Suppression of the Society of Jesus in the Portuguese Dominions*, London, 1877.

[1] H. D. Foster, 'The Political Theory of Calvinists before the Puritan Emigration to America,' in *Amer. Hist. Rev.* xxi. [1916] 481.

[2] *Institutes*, IV. xx. 31 (Norton's tr.).

[3] *Op. Theol.*, Heidelberg, 1613, iv. 799.

[4] *Com. on Romans*, Heidelberg, 1617, p. 1059.

[5] Gardiner, p. 370.

This document is the careful definition of 'the Good Old Cause' for which the army declared itself to have fought. In the Instrument of Government (16th Dec. 1653), defining the constitution under which the Commonwealth was governed, the above provisions were incorporated word for word.

The nation was by no means ripe for such ideas, and the six years of the Protectors did not educate it as the forty-five years of Elizabeth had done. Moreover, from the beginning Cromwell was recreant. When he confined recusants within their radius of five miles, he was only continuing Elizabeth's plan, and availing himself of a special exception in the Instrument. When he heavily fined prelatists who rebelled, he again applied Elizabeth's plan, and might say that rebels came off lightly with only fines. But he forbade ejected ministers to teach in schools, and set new precedents of persecution destined to be used against his supporters. And he turned on them also; orders went to Scotland to see that no Baptist should teach in a school or hold any office of trust. Faithless to his own express announcement a few years earlier that the State regarded efficiency and not opinions, Cromwell did the very thing that he had forbidden Crawford to do, and weeded the army of Baptist officers. Before his death he was persecuting many parties, and was fiercely denounced by the leaders of 1647, some of whom republished the Calvinist doctrine in the pamphlet *Killing no Murder*, in May 1657. After his death 'the Good Old Cause' revived, but its leaders were in a minority, and, with the restoration of the Presbyterians to power in 1659, persecution was both legalized and practised freely for a generation.

The literary campaign continued, dealing with the political aspects of the matter; and it called forth writers of very different types. Sidney and Locke were of the Christian school; the essay *Concerning Toleration* was drafted at Oxford during the cruelties of 1666, but was completed and was first published most appropriately in Holland.[1] Almost immediately Parliament accepted the view that persecution had failed to secure unity and was a political blunder. The Toleration Act was passed in 1689. The Rainbow Club of the Huguenots discussed the matter, and P. Bayle's *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (4 vols., Rotterdam, 1697) leavened Continental thought. Voltaire, after an English sojourn of 1726–29, returned to ring the changes for half a century on the motto 'Ecrasez l'infâme!' 'Down with persecution!' The deists and the unitarians took up the cause. It found champions such as Mill, Buckle, and Lecky. A statement from an agnostic standpoint was republished in 1893 by Leslie Stephen in his essay on 'poisonous opinions.'[2]

4. A sin against God.—There was a momentary glimpse of this view by Luther at Worms, but he soon lost sight of it; and the familiar confessions of the Reformation admit the right of the civil authority to coerce in matters of religion. Specially noteworthy is the general unanimity of Calvinist theologians in affirming not only the absolute independence of the spiritual courts in matters spiritual, but also 'the duty of the civil authorities to carry out their spiritual sentences to their appointed civil consequences.'[3] Against such a doctrine the continuous, direct, and elaborate Biblical indictment of persecution begins with Englishmen, enjoying the actual liberty secured at Amsterdam by the wisdom of William in the teeth of the Calvinist ministers.

[1] *Epistola de Tolerantia*, Gouda, 1689.
[2] *An Agnostic's Apology and other Essays*, London, 1893, 'Toleration,' p. 242 ff.
[3] *ERE* iii. 862[6].

A group of exiles from Gainsborough set down twenty short propositions in 1609, one stating that excommunicated persons are not to be avoided in what pertains to civil affairs. This was soon complemented by this statement:

'The magistrate is not by vertue of his office to meddle with religion, or matters of conscience, to force and compell men to this or that form of religion, or doctrine; but to leaue Christian religion free, to euery mans conscience . . . for Christ onelie is the king, and lawgiuer of the church and conscience.'[1]

In 1614 a citizen of London residing in Holland presented to King James a small book called *Religions Peace: or a plea for liberty of conscience. Wherein is contained certain reasons against persecution for religion.* Next year appeared another little work, *Objections answered by way of dialogue, wherein is proved . . . that no man ought to be persecuted for his religion, so he testifie his allegeance by the oath appointed by law.* In 1620 another pamphlet came from the same group, *A most humble supplication of many of the king's majesty's loyal subjects . . . who are persecuted only for differing in religion, etc.* Eight editions appeared of these three works, quite apart from antiquarian reprints.[2]

The next assertion of the principle of liberty was made, not against the Stuarts, but against refugees from them who reproduced their policy on Calvin's principles. Anne Hutchinson arrived in Boston in 1634, was refused admission as a member of John Cotton's church, and so began a conventicle in her home. As Cotton tried to stop it, Roger Williams copied out some extracts from the 1620 book and sent them to him, initiating a war of pamphlets. The Company formally forbade new churches to organize without consent of the officers and of the elders in existing churches; whereupon the elections turned on this prohibition. The sitting governor was defeated, and Henry Vane, the champion of freedom, was chosen; but with 1637 the persecutors returned to power. They secured their victory by expelling Mrs. Hutchinson, Williams, and many other opponents. Others left in disgust, some going to Connecticut, but Vane to England, where he continued his championship against the Scots commissioners in the Westminster Assembly, breaking with Cromwell in 1650 largely on the same issue, and being imprisoned by him in 1656 because he protested against the Protector's persecution of the Episcopalian clergy.

Meanwhile the victorious ministers and elders on Massachusetts Bay followed up many refugees, and tried to assert authority over the Island of Rhodes. Williams was sent to London to secure exemption from the Company's jurisdiction. There he published in 1644 a long criticism dedicated to Parliament and entitled, *The Bloudy Tenent of Persecution, for Cause of Conscience, discussed.* This is a standard work, examining the question on a Biblical basis. It led to a long debate in New England.

Old England also was roused to the question. Christopher Blackwood proclaimed that compulsion of conscience was a pillar of Antichrist. Seven London Calvinistic Baptist churches, issuing a confession of faith, were equally clear, and, as the confession was keenly criticized, they revised it, and dedicated it to Parliament, which was about to enforce uniformity. They declared that they would willingly submit to all civil laws, but could not submit to some ecclesiastical laws; therefore they would accept the consequences in persecution.

One of the signatories took stronger ground next year, propounding 50 questions to the Assembly of Divines on the subject of compulsion. Obtaining no answer, he expanded them into a book on the

[1] John Smyth, *Works*, Cambridge, 1915, ii. 682–684, 748.
[2] *Tracts on Liberty of Conscience and Persecution* (Hanserd Knollys Society), London, 1846.

necessity of toleration, with a long title defying the Assembly and Parliament. This he printed and published without the censor's imprimatur.[1] The same year Rhode Island codified the laws passed hitherto without legal authority. On 10th May 1647, summing up what had been already stated and acted upon for nine years, the four towns enacted under their charter that 'all men may walk as their consciences persuade them, every one in the name of his God.'[2]

Two years later Lord Baltimore, Roman Catholic proprietor of the colony of Maryland, sanctioned a Toleration Act which drew the line only at two points: reproachful words against the Virgin Mary were punishable with fine, whipping, and banishment; denial of the Godhead of any of the three persons of the Trinity entailed confiscation of goods and death. This law, however, was repealed five years later after a revolution, when the Puritans from Virginia obtained the upper hand; they banned 'popery, prelacy, and licentiousness of opinion.'[3] The policy and practice of Rhode Island remained unchanged. Jews were welcomed as settlers, and enjoyed the right of public worship as early as 1658. Five years later a charter was obtained from Charles, with a provision that 'no person within said colony at any time hereafter shall be in any wise molested, punished, disquieted or called in question for any differences of opinion in matters of religion.'[4] Thus the theories adopted and expounded by Englishmen fifty years earlier had won their way to permanent embodiment under the auspices of the same religious communion. Freedom was won, and was not used selfishly to enslave others, but was held for all as a trust from God.

5. The antithesis in practice.—Issues were now fairly joined, and the results exhibited. Persecution was either a duty to God or a sin against God. The results in a few countries may be glanced at.

The Provincial Congress of Massachusetts on 9th Dec. 1774 resolved in words 'that the establishment of civil and religious liberty to each denomination is the sincere wish of this congress';[5] but no deeds followed. In August 1789 a committee of the Baptist churches in Virginia memorialized Washington, and next month the first amendment to the draft constitution of the United States declared that Congress should 'make no law respecting any establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press.'[6] In 1832 even Massachusetts, the earliest and the latest home of intolerance and persecution, gave up the relics of the union of one favoured Church with the State.

Progress was slower in England. Money penalties were exacted regularly in the city of London till a legal decision of 1767. Tithes are even yet payable throughout Great Britain to the Established Churches. Freedom of the press came almost by an oversight, not because of Milton's *Areopagitica*. Persecution under legal forms continued till after the Napoleonic wars, when, at the cost of acquiescing in large money grants to the Church of England, Dissenters obtained the repeal of the Conventicle Act; the Test and Corporation Acts also disappeared in 1828. Only within living memory have the grammar-schools and universities in England been opened again to all, or offices been made technically available. Still there is a social boycott in many respects; in some towns no one need hope for the mayoralty, whatever eminent services he may have rendered, unless he will be at least an Occasional Conformist.

Latin America was long governed by men imbued with Roman Catholic ideals. After the political revolts last century the opposition was headed by men largely indifferent to religion, if not actively hostile. A typical case is Mexico; the issues were clearly stated, and literally fought out between 1857 and 1867. The *Plan de Tacubaya* upheld the special rights of the Roman Catholic Church, Roman Catholicism as the sole religion, and censorship of the press. The liberals fought for freedom of religion, freedom of the press, nationalization of Church property, and abolition of special tribunals for ecclesiastics. They won, but the temper of the clericals remains. In 1887 the *Defensa Catolica* declared that 'true charity consists in opposing one's neighbour, in injuring him in his material interests, in insulting him and in taking his life, always supposing that it is done for love of God.'[1] This is not empty talk. At Atzala in 1876 a Protestant church was set on fire during service, and, as the worshippers came out, they were hewn down by a fanatical mob. Even in 1898, at Irapuato, a Protestant girl was dragged to the public square and threatened with burning.

Some other States have not yet reached the Mexican position even in theory. The fourth article of the Peruvian Constitution declares that 'the nation professes the apostolic Roman Catholic religion; the State protects it, and does not permit the public worship of any other.'[2] The penalty is no longer death, but there are severe disabilities. In practice every one doing Protestant work must be prepared to risk his life. In 1909 a colporteur was mobbed at Dores do Turvo in Brazil, the priest calling on the people to burn him. In Paraguay a priest stirred up the people to kill the heretic if he did not leave, and he was restrained only on an appeal to the government. Nor are such incidents peculiar to the other side of the world. Tales like these are constantly being reported as to Roman Catholic priests on the Continent. In the diocese of Trier a worker finds a priest walking beside him all day and every day, warning the people; in Styria, Italy, and Brittany workers are boycotted, food is refused, and any one who heeds them is threatened with eviction; mobs are raised against them in Carniola and Posen; they are arrested illegally in Lemberg, Spain, and Portugal. So strong is Roman Catholic influence in these countries that protection can seldom be obtained, redress hardly ever. Such conduct is the logical issue of the Roman Catholic theory. Under necessity a Roman Catholic may indeed abstain from molesting a heretic; only, as one of themselves states it, 'if expedient, he would imprison you, fine you, possibly he might even hang you. But be assured of one thing, he would never tolerate you for the sake of the "glorious principles" of civil and religious liberty.'[3]

Against such dangers the counter-measures of Portugal in 1910 have already been noted. Very similar measures had been constitutionally taken by France between 1901 and 1905. Religious orders were forbidden to teach in school; then they were dissolved; Napoleon's concordat with the Vatican was formally abrogated; liberty of conscience and

1 Robert Walsh, *An Appeal from the Judgments of Great Britain respecting the U.S.*, Philadelphia, 1819, pp. 429–435.
2 *Records of the Colony, etc.*, 10 vols., Providence, 1856–65.
3 Gibbons, p. 275.
4 *The Charters of . . . Maryland . . . Rhode Island, etc.*, 1766, Original, Patent Roll, 15 Charles II. pt. 15, no. 3, at the Public Record Office.
5 T. F. Curtis, *The Progress of Baptist Principles*, Boston, 1855, p. 54 f.
6 *Ib.* p. 56.

1 H. W. Brown, *Latin America*, New York, 1901, p. 247. The whole book is relevant.
2 *Ib.* pp. 148, 173; see also Geraldine Guinness, *Peru*, London, 1909, p. 77.
3 H. W. Brown, p. 247. The incidents in this paragraph are in the reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society for 1909 and 1909.

the free practice of public worship were guaranteed to all.

But, when a State finds itself confronted by a great international organization like the Roman Catholic Church, powerful enough to defeat Bismarck in fourteen years and make him come to Canossa despite his defiance, then even ordinary legislation seems sometimes insufficient. It is no small tribute to the insight of the Rhode Islanders that in 1638 they drew the line between freedom of worship, assured to all, and the franchise, granted only to those who upheld that principle as fundamental. They were careful to have the distinction made again in their charter of 1663, which guarantees absolute religious liberty to all settlers, whether freemen or not. And substantially the same point is made in the Constitution of 1789; freedom of worship is promised to all, but no one can become a citizen of the United States without acceding to that constitution which promises it. Americans discern that an unlimited toleration risks suicide; those who would persecute, had they the power, are not admitted to power. Roman Catholics therefore try to minimize their principles in the United States. Gibbons has a chapter glorifying civil and religious liberty, which opens thus:

'A man enjoys religious liberty when he possesses the free right of worshipping God according to the dictates of a right conscience, and of practising a form of religion most in accordance with his duties to God. . . . The Catholic Church has always been the zealous promoter of religious and civil liberty.'[1]

But two years later the pope declared:

'That kind of civilization which conflicts with the doctrine and laws of Holy Church is nothing but a worthless imitation and a meaningless name.'[2]

He blamed severely every State which grants 'equal rights to every creed, so that public order may not be disturbed by any particular form of religious belief.' In his encyclical on catholicity in the United States it gave him pleasure to acknowledge that this was exactly the state of affairs there. In another on allegiance to the French Republic in 1892 he declared that the separation of State and Church was equivalent to the separation of human legislation from Christian and divine legislation, an absurdity. Writing on the chief duties of Christians as citizens, he stigmatized it as an act of consummate wickedness to ignore the rights of the Church under pretext of keeping the civil law; in contrast he required 'complete submission and obedience of will to the Church and to the Roman Pontiff as to God Himself.'

American statesmen realize the issues. One vice-president wrote:

'The immigrant . . . must learn that we exact full religious toleration and the complete separation of Church and State.'[3]

Grover Cleveland declared at his inauguration:

'He who takes the oath to-day to preserve, protect and defend the constitution of the United States, only assumes the solemn obligation which every patriotic citizen . . . should share with him.'[4]

No Roman Catholic has ever been faced with the conscientious problem involved in taking that oath, but every alien who desires naturalization shares the obligation to the extent of swearing to support the constitution. An official message of another president states plainly that against all who come to war upon free speech, a free press, free thought, free schools, the free and unmolested right of religious liberty and worship, the gates must be promptly and tightly closed.[5]

Such utterances of statesmen are based only on political grounds of expediency. It is well to recur to the fundamental religious differences.

'The true Church,' says Joseph Poble of Breslau, 'can tolerate no strange Churches beside herself. . . . She regards dogmatic intolerance not alone as her incontestable right, but also as a sacred duty.'[1]

G. H. Joyce states that 'the right of the Church to invoke the aid of the civil power to execute her sentences is expressly asserted by Boniface VIII.' This, he adds, is theologically certain, but practically impossible at present.[2]

The counter-theory was lucidly expressed more than 300 years ago by Leonard Busher:

'It is sin for kings and governors to destroy their subjects for difference of religion, at the persuasion of their bishops.'[3]

LITERATURE.—This is indicated in the article.

W. T. WHITLEY.

PERSECUTION (Indian).—In the indigenous literature of India, whether Vedic or classical Sanskrit or of more recent date, there is little that would suggest the existence of a state of religious persecution. References are abundant to the rivalry of creeds and systems, giving evidence of conflicting beliefs and the worship of many gods, whose spheres and authority are not always reconcilable. Previous, however, to the irruption of Muhammadanism, whose fierce and intolerant character is reflected in its records, Indian literature shows little trace of religious differences composing themselves by other than peaceful means. This result is perhaps to be anticipated on the basis of two considerations at least. (1) On the one hand are the nature and contents of the literature itself, wanting as it is for the most part in the historical element. The motive power of the persecution may be religious bigotry or zeal, but its conduct and execution are within the domain of history, and, where the records fail, deeds of persecution may also pass unnoticed. Moreover, the early literature is the creation of Brāhman writers, and has been preserved almost entirely in the hands of the dominant caste, and gives expression to their point of view. They would be little likely perhaps to record deeds of violence and wrong done to others whom they regarded as inferiors, especially where religious prejudice entered into the account. Such acts would either be unheeded, as in the natural order of things, or be as speedily as possible consigned to oblivion, as occasion not for boasting but for silence. That the latter argument does not in all instances hold good the example of Muhammadan historians serves to prove.

(2) Indians also, like all Orientals, are naturally tolerant of variant belief. Differences appeal to them ordinarily as basis for discussion and controversy, not for violent repression; and the victory at which they aim is dialectic, and relies upon argument and persuasion, not upon brute force. It is only under the influence of excitement, as at the great festivals, or of pressure from without that they endeavour to put down religious differences with a strong hand, and to enlist authority and the social order in the service of creed and the rights and privileges of an established faith. In this respect the change in Indian feeling and practice within the last half century has been most marked (see below). Under such circumstances all Orientals are liable to passions of frenzy, which exhibits itself in deeds that have little relation to the ordinary rules of conduct and life.

Although the early and successive invasions of the Aryans brought into the Panjāb and N. India a cult differing from and superior to the crude animism of the aboriginal tribes of Dravidian or other origin, in the course of which the latter were either destroyed or more usually became the bondmen and slaves of their conquerors, there is

[1] P. xvii.
[2] *Great Encyclical Letters of Leo XIII.*, New York, 1902, pp. 12, 121, 323 f., 261, 185–193.
[3] T. Roosevelt, *American Ideals and other Essays*, New York and London, 1897, p. 68.
[4] *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, viii. 301.
[5] *Ib.* x. 14–16.

[1] *CE* xiv. 766. [2] *CE* xii. 266.
[3] *Tracts on Liberty of Conscience*, p. 41.

no indication of religious animosity or persecution. If the *Atharvaveda*, as is probable, gives expression to the thought and religious habit of these primitive peoples, the contact inspired contempt and abhorrence in the minds of the ruling caste, but the ultimate issue was stringent non-intercourse, not forceful repression of distasteful opinions and practices. A broad and simple animism, whether of a more or less advanced character, is indeed little likely to persecute in the name of religion. Neither are its convictions sufficiently deep and strong, nor are they differentiated in sufficiently marked a degree from the beliefs and usages of the surrounding animistic tribes of lower culture. It is the higher religions, with more definite conceptions and securely held creeds, that deliberately adopt a policy of compulsion towards those whose cherished beliefs differ from their own.

There is therefore little or no real evidence of persecution in India even on a limited and local scale prior to the advent of Islām. In the Hindu law-books and elsewhere references are to be found to atheists and heretics, but they hardly convey the impression of an active intolerance, nor do they enjoin repression or interference in any way with heterodox custom or belief. The high-born Snātaka, *e.g.*, is not to honour heretics, even by a greeting.[1] On the other hand, he is not to dispute with them.[2] Elsewhere atheism is declared to be a minor offence, involving loss of caste.[3] The Brāhmana who is an atheist is unworthy to partake of the oblations to the gods and ancestral spirits;[4] and a kingdom where these prevail or hold rule is speedily ruined;[5] in such a land the Snātaka should not dwell.[6] Perhaps the nearest approach to a suggestion of persecution is where the king is enjoined to banish heretics together with gamblers and others from his realm.[7] There is little indication of ill-feeling, much of the claim to or consciousness of superiority, so familiar in later times. The contact also of ancient Hinduism with the daughter or separatist forms of faith, Buddhism, Jainism, and others, cannot be shown to have been generally, or except accidentally and under unwonted conditions, associated with violence. Orthodox Hinduism has usually been a kindly parent to the numerous rival or reformed sects which have originated from within its broad and tolerant creed during the course of its long history; and most of these after a brief and troubled career have returned into the communion of the faith or church from which they sprang. The mutual relations have been characterized by dispute and controversy, but rarely by active measures of repression, unless these have been provoked by aggressive conduct on the part of the heterodox teachers or communities themselves. Its missionary work also in the days when Hinduism was an expanding force was accomplished, as far as we know, by peaceable means, not by compulsion.

This is essentially true of the relations and intercourse between Hinduism and its greatest rival in India, Buddhism. The causes and history of the disappearance of the latter from Indian soil are obscure. There is no real evidence, however, that it was hastened by persecution from the side of Hinduism. Natural and perhaps inevitable decay, on the one hand, a revival and rekindling of the national faith, on the other, contributed to a result which was consummated by the destructive and persecuting zeal of the Muhammadan invader. The witness of the Chinese pilgrims, especially of Hiuen Tsiang in the earlier part of the 7th cent., is the most instructive in this respect. Their testimony to the wide-spread influence and very numerous adherents of both faiths in India is unequivocal; but the decline in the numbers and prestige of the Buddhist schools in the experience of the later traveller in comparison with the increasing ascendancy of Hinduism is marked. The rivalry of the two faiths, however, was maintained by keen discussion and argument, and the victories won were victories of persuasion, not of authority and force. It is possible, perhaps probable, that sporadic instances occurred of the use of persecuting methods to secure the downfall of a despised or dangerous heresy or heretical teacher. These were of local and transient importance, and do not invalidate the general rule and practice; and, apart from vague tradition, there are no instances on record where the evidence is sufficient to command assent. In the 9th cent. the great constructive teacher and dialectician Śankarāchārya, in the course of his extended travels in the north of India, is said on occasion to have used his influence and success in controversy for the forcible silencing of his adversaries; and of an earlier thinker and philosopher, Kumārila-bhatta, there is a tradition preserved that he promoted a persecution of the Buddhists. It is doubtful whether in either case the tradition has any firmer basis than the natural desire of later times to glorify the zeal and ascendancy of a famous teacher. A more normal and typical example of the relations between the sects is certainly afforded by Hiuen Tsiang's account of the great assembly convened at Allahābād by the emperor Harshavardhana (A.D. 643), when friendly discussions took place between the leaders of the different sects and statues were erected on successive days of the festival in honour of the supreme divinities of the several faiths represented.

With the coming of Muhammadanism all was changed; and the various religious faiths, which hitherto had existed amicably side by side, bent and suffered together before the torrent of fanaticism and lust of conquest that swept over the land. Islām made no distinction between the differing forms of belief and creed that it encountered on its onward march. The adherents of all alike were infidels and idolaters, whose conversion by forcible means, if others failed, was a religious obligation; and death was the penalty of refusing to accept the creed of the conqueror. When the early waves of invasion had spent themselves, and fanatic zeal and hatred ceased to be stimulated by the experience of actual warfare against the infidel, there was a gradual relaxation of the tension. Except when a revival of persecution took place under the influence or at the instigation of a stern and fanatic ruler like Aurangzīb, the mutual antipathy of conqueror and conquered learned to accommodate itself to the necessities of a common life. And only at the religious festivals or when the people were carried away by extraordinary excitement was there any manifestation of angry feeling or recrudescence of persecuting zeal. It remained true, however, that, in spite of a not inconsiderable degree of reciprocal borrowing of tenet and observance, the fanatic spirit was and is always present, though latent, and an apparently trivial circumstance may at any time precipitate an outbreak. In the early centuries of conflict and persecution Buddhism seems to have suffered most and very many of its adherents were put to death. Thus the final blow to a faith already decadent, and in process apparently of passing away, was administered by Muhammadan persecuting zeal. The cessation of the more active forms of repression came too late to save the Buddhist faith for India. It lives in Bengal and elsewhere only in the permanent mark which it has left on Hindu usage and belief, and in the borrowed figures and names of Hindu gods.

[1] Manu, iv. 30. [2] *Ib.* 139. [3] *Ib.* xi. 67.
[4] *Ib.* iii. 150. [5] *Ib.* viii. 22. [6] *Ib.* iv. 61.
[7] *Ib.* ix. 225.

Towards Hinduism the attitude of the conquerors ultimately became changed. To crush and eradicate the Hindu faith proved impossible. Violent persecutions and massacres were ineffective to bring about an alteration either in the spirit or in the passive endurance of an entire people. Very many, however, suffered death for their religion in many parts of India; and the desolation caused, even if the numbers of the slain have been exaggerated in the somewhat boastful records of the Musalmāns themselves, extended over wide areas, and was with difficulty repaired in the course of centuries. More peaceable relations were brought about when the governing race found its need of the assistance of Hindu ministers and officers of State to control the country and to gather in the revenue. Muhammadan usage and law proved to be inapplicable, and could neither be enforced nor made fruitful of good results in the presence of immemorial prescriptive right and custom tenaciously held. Native administrators, judges, and collectors provided the necessary intermediaries; and the asperity of religious prejudice and dislike on either side was softened by mutual intercourse and the felt need of mutual aid. Thus the two creeds learned to live together for the most part in peace, the dominant faith out of self-interest abandoning its weapon of violence and persecution, and the leaders of the subject peoples lending their aid in the establishment of order and the maintenance of civil right. Fanatical manifestations of the dormant spirit with their accompaniment of strife and murder were never entirely checked. On both sides, however, men of influence were found sufficiently wise and strong to see the evil and discourage the use of force against religious belief. The occasional rioting and outrage which harassed and hindered the growth of tolerance and mutual understanding were due to special religious excitement or the sinister promptings of self-interested and bigoted men. With the extension of inter-communication and with a wider sympathy and knowledge such dissensions will become more rare, and will finally altogether cease. It is probable that the influence of wise and far-seeing leaders of both parties is already sufficiently strong to frustrate other than merely local expression of the persecuting spirit and the lust to destroy.

It is remarkable that the Muhammadan aggression, which completed the ruin of the Buddhist faith upon Indian soil and its expulsion from India, although it took full effect upon the kindred community of the Jains, left the latter with greatly impaired vigour and diminished numbers, but in possession of a religious life and organization which have endured to the present day. Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson, in her recent book,[1] makes the interesting suggestion that the Jain survival and the effective if passive resistance which the community offered to the creed and power of the conqueror were due in part at least to the provision made by them for the participation of the laity in the recognized order and life of the church. Official Buddhism took cognizance only of the monastic rule and estate, and found no place for those who did not feel themselves called upon to assume the monastic vow, or to undertake the duties and share the privileges and hopes of the monk. Jainism recognized and made legal the position of the layman in the ecclesiastical scheme equally with the monk, and thus entered into the national life and secured such a hold upon the affections of the people that it survived the onslaught when less firmly founded Buddhism was overthrown.

Perhaps the most striking example in India of the effect of a cruel persecution in consolidating and defining the religious life of a community is that of the Sikhs in the Panjāb. Originating in the 15th cent. in a protest against Hindu laxity in morals and idolatry in worship, they found themselves ultimately brought into conflict with the dominant power of the Mughal emperors, and were forced in self-defence to take up arms to maintain their existence and religious liberty. With definite and fixed convictions which they had learned partly from Islām itself and partly from a reformed and purified Hinduism, they were confronted with the alternative of acceptance of the formula and creed of the ruling faith or destruction. They refused to submit to either, but endeavoured rather to maintain their freedom and rights with the sword. The persecution which ensued had the effect of welding a community and organization in its origin purely religious into a militant order and a nation of soldiers, tenacious of military right and norm no less than of creed and faith, who proved their prowess later against the British themselves and in warfare in many lands.

Thus Islām is responsible for the introduction into India of the conception of persecution for the faith, and of its application in the most terrible form of fire and slaughter. When these methods proved ineffective to break the spirit of Hinduism or destroy a national religion, a practical truce was made, due in part to the discovered need for mutual help and support, and the two faiths learned to live more or less amicably together and to tolerate differences of belief and observance. The history of the other great monotheistic religion which found its way to India was altogether different. Christianity in India has never been in a position to persecute, even had the will been present. A weak and scattered minority of the population, insignificant in numbers, the Christians were of necessity apologetic in attitude, and their complete civil and political aloofness left them no choice but to profess and practise toleration of all alien faiths. That this was consonant with their wishes and ideals, and in harmony with their truest interests, is, of course, correct. Nevertheless the aggressive spirit and action of the new religion, and its denunciation of popular religious customs and festivals when these were contrary to true morals and purity of worship, provoked a counter persecution, which in many instances was carried out with the utmost concentration of bitterness and dislike. Moreover, the Indian Christian from the lower castes, whence the great majority of the converts were derived, learned to assert his rights, and refused to render that abject deference to the Brāhman priest or high-caste landowner which for centuries these men had been accustomed to exact. His principles also, the conception of duty with which he had been imbued, and the obligations of his faith, if realized and consistently discharged, forbade him to rest satisfied with freedom to worship God in his own way, but urged him to press upon others with all the force and insistence at his command the acceptance of his own creed and submission to all the rules which his code of faith and morality affirmed. Thus in two respects especially the Indian convert to Christianity found himself in conflict with the usages and beliefs of the people among whom he lived: he refused to recognize the gods whom they reverenced, but claimed, on the other hand, to have learned the better way of worship of the one true God; and in regard to social relations it was impracticable for him to take part in a family and village life which in nearly all its ramifications was so intimately associated with idolatrous conceptions and practices, or to share the burdens, financial or other, which custom required of the community. His new status, moreover, entailed various civil and legal disabilities, especially in

[1] *The Heart of Jainism*, Oxford, 1915.

regard to marriage and to funeral ceremonies; and these were generally found to press upon him most heavily in the Native States, where the legal code had not yet been advanced to the degree of religious tolerance and strict impartiality enforced in the parts of the empire directly administered by the Crown. These disabilities were the result of loss of caste. The Christian convert was *ipso facto* out-casted, and thereby became unable to fulfil the duties and obligations which were or seemed to be essential to the maintenance of the fabric of Hindu society. In all these instances the initiative in persecution and in a social boycott which entailed very serious consequences and was frequently accompanied by violence was taken by the Hindu leaders themselves. The Muhammadans as a rule stood aloof, and regarded the movement towards Christianity with indifference; they at least took no overt part in opposition or persecution, unless a co-religionist were involved, when the vitality and strength of the old fanatic spirit quickly reasserted themselves. Thus the rôle of the religious persecutor seemed, curiously enough, to have been transferred from the hands of the one community to the other. The Hindu actively resented his neighbour's change of faith, and exerted all the power which custom or a defective law or administration put into his hands to make the convert feel the weight of his resentment. The Musalmān was more in sympathy with the Christian standpoint and belief, and saw no need for forcible intervention or repression, unless the prestige of his own creed or the loyalty of a member of his own faith seemed to be endangered.

Most of the records of this persecuting movement, which is practically co-extensive with the entire Indian peninsula, are contained in the published literature and reports of the Christian missionary societies. The experience of every missionary includes instances of attempts to deprive native Christians of village rights, of unjust oppression and eviction by high-caste Hindu landlords, of fictitious charges in the law-courts sustained on ingeniously concocted evidence and sworn to by false oaths, and of violence and cruelty employed towards young converts to induce them to recant. Where these attempts are successful, restoration to caste and Hindu society is gained only by way of degrading ceremonies.[1] In the principal towns the force of public opinion is already sufficiently strong and enlightened to discountenance such methods. In the country districts, however, remote from European influence, where ancient prejudice and custom reign supreme, and where Christianity has endeavoured to obtain a footing, incidents of this character are of common occurrence. In part at least the persecuting action of the dominant religion is prompted by the instinct of self-preservation. The Christian faith is aggressive; and a true instinct warns the loyal adherent of Hinduism that between his own system and creed and the new religion which lays claim to universal acceptance no compromise is possible. A similar claim had been made, it is true, in the past by Islām, and supported with even greater insistence and vehemence. But Islām was too powerful to be resisted, and the persecuted Hindu suffered for the most part in silence and resignation. Christianity, weak in numbers and social prestige, lay open to reprisals, and it seemed that religious animosity might with impunity gratify itself in the oppression of its adherents. Moreover, the rapidly growing influence and popularity of the latter faith did appear to threaten Hinduism with disaster. But the persecuting spirit is not natural to the Hindu, nor in accord with the precepts of his faith. In all probability, however, it will be only by degrees, and coincidently with the spread of enlightenment and the growth of a better understanding and public spirit, that a barrier will be raised against open manifestations of fear and dislike. The ancient fanatical and persecuting tendencies of Muhammadanism may then wake again in the presence of a powerful and progressive rival, and a new chapter in the strangely one-sided history of Indian persecution be written. For the present the Indian Christian is the only sufferer from the spirit which he has himself by his attitude and convictions of necessity evoked in the ancient Indian faiths.

[1] A Śūdra community in the Deccan has, within the last few months (1916), led the way in a formal declaration that no one of their members shall be penalized or in any way made to suffer for becoming a Christian, or be debarred from re-entrance into caste and the full exercise of caste rights should he return to the Hindu faith.

LITERATURE.—The Muhammadan historians themselves furnish the evidence for the relations of victorious Islām to the subjected Indian peoples. For the rest the relevant literature is to be found almost exclusively in the reports, etc., of the missionary societies. See also Julius Richter, *A Hist. of Missions in India*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh and London, 1908.

A. S. GEDEN.

PERSECUTION (Muhammadan). — The theory of the Muslim State draws a clear distinction between the true believers who accept Islām and the protected communities (*ahl al-dhimma, dhimmī*) who follow other faiths. This twofold division is employed in the following article.

1. Muhammadans.—The early Arab conquerors appear to have been satisfied with a formal acceptance of Islām and to have made no inquisition into private opinions; but, as their empire became more firmly established and sectarian divisions made their appearance, the bitterness of controversy evoked a fanatical spirit, and open hostilities broke out between the adherents of differing theological opinions; and, as these often denied the validity of established authority, the history of Muhammadan sectarianism became largely political in character, and in some cases, especially in those of heresies arising within the boundaries of the old Persian empire, represented a revolt against Arab domination. The vicissitudes of such movements thus belong rather to political history, and the conflict of the ruling power with the Khawārij (*q.v.*), the various 'Alīd factions, etc., can hardly be described as persecution. The effort to suppress religious opinion as such, apart from political opinion, would seem to have begun with the persecution of the Mu'tazilah. Hishām (724–743) put to death Ghaylān al-Dimashqī for maintaining the doctrine of the freedom of the will; first his hands and feet were cut off, and, when he continued to inveigh against his persecutors, his tongue was cut out (Ṭabarī, *Annals*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leyden, 1879–1901, ii. 1733; Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Murtadā, *Al-Mu'tazilah*, Leipzig, 1902, pp. 15–17). The same *khalīfah* ordered the execution of Ja'd b. Dirham for teaching that the Qur'ān was created (Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, ed. C. J. Tornberg, Leyden, 1851–76, v. 196 f.). Hārūn (786–809) sought to check freedom of theological speculation by throwing into prison the Mutakallims, or scholastic theologians (Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, p. 32). But the first systematic inquisition into heresy was the *miḥnah* ('test') instituted by Ma'mūn in 833 for the conviction of those who denied the doctrine of the creation of the Qur'ān. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and other learned theologians were subjected to cruel sufferings to induce them to give assent to the doctrines accepted by the *khalīfah*. Ma'mūn defended his position in a letter to the governor of Baghdād (Ṭabarī, iii. 1117), by maintaining that God expects a ruler whom He has entrusted with the care of His servants to instruct his subjects in the way of salvation, define for them the limits of their faith,

remove their doubts and explain their difficulties, and bring back to the truth those who have gone astray. This persecution of those who denied the creation of the Qur'ān was continued by his successors until 848, when Mutawakkil forbade the holding of this doctrine on pain of death, and the Mu'tazilah in their turn became the victims of the persecution of the State; in 1029 Qādir-billāh summoned all the *'ulamā* to his palace and made them sign a confession of faith, especially condemning Mu'tazilite doctrines. A rigorous persecution was also carried on against the Zindīqs (or crypto-Manichæans), who appear to have been numerous in cultivated circles under the early 'Abbāsids (Al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, p. 338, gives a list of them). Mahdī crucified a number of them in the city of Aleppo in 780 (Ṭabarī, iii. 499), and during the last two years of his reign instituted an inquisition in Baghdād and other towns, under the direction of 'Umar al-Kalwādhī, who hunted down many victims (*ib.* 519–522, 588); his successor, Hādī, continued the persecution during his brief reign of thirteen months (*ib.* 548 f.).

As the political power of the 'Abbāsids declined, the fanaticism of the *'ulamā* appears to have increased. Abū Ḥanīfah († 767) had already declared that death was the penalty for the Muslim who apostatized from the faith as taught by Muḥammad, and later theologians spread the net wider, demanding the blood of any Muslim who denied the prophetic mission of Muḥammad or even doubted a single letter of the Qur'ān, or maintained that God did not speak with Moses ('Iyāḍ, *al-Shifā*, Cairo, 1272, ii. 259 f., 337). Under Mutawakkil (847–861) the orthodox *'ulamā* had the support of the government in the persecution of every form of heresy, as well as the sympathy of the fanatical mob; in his reign a certain Ibn 'Āṣim, accused of reviling the companions of the Prophet, was scourged with 500 stripes and left in the sun until he died, his body being afterwards thrown into the Tigris (Ṭabarī, iii. 1424 ff.); he also put to death a man named Maḥmūd b. al-Faraj, who claimed to be a prophet and maintained that the angel Gabriel had revealed to him a Qur'ān (*ib.* 1349). But, apart from such individual cases of heresy, the zeal of Mutawakkil was directed against whole sects, such as the Shī'ahs, whom he persecuted throughout his reign; he destroyed the graves of 'Alī and Ḥusain, and forbade pilgrimage to their site.

This persecution is typical of the treatment that Shī'ahs have from time to time had to suffer at the hands of a Sunnī government (for a summary of such persecutions see Hammer, *Gesch. des osmanischen Reiches*, i. 706–708). In 1029 Qādir-billāh drove the Shī'ahs out of the mosques and installed Sunnī preachers in their place, and put Shī'ahs to death for heresy on several occasions in his reign. Two centuries later Musta'ṣim instituted another persecution against them. The general recognition by Shī'ah theologians of *taqiyyah* (lit. 'fear,' 'foresight'), *i.e.* concealment of a man's real beliefs through fear of the consequences of an open profession of faith, and their approval of such a practice, are evidence of the dread which the Shī'ahs had of being persecuted by the Sunnīs (I. Goldziher, 'Das Prinzip der Taḳijja im Islam,' *ZDMG* lx. [1906] 219–222). Ibn al-Muṭahhar al-Ḥillī, a Shī'ah controversialist († 1326), maintains that in most periods the Shī'ahs have hidden themselves 'in the corner of *taqiyyah*' in terror of the rulers of their time (Goldziher, *Beiträge zur Literaturgesch. der Śī'a*, Vienna, 1874, p. 469). But the most appalling persecution of the Shī'ahs was that organized by Sulṭān Salīm I., who made a search for them throughout the Turkish dominions, and had 40,000 either massacred or imprisoned for life (Hammer, i. 709; de la Jonquière, *Hist. de l'empire ottoman*, i. 139).

After their triumph over the Mu'tazilah the followers of al-Ash'arī (*q.v.*) had themselves to suffer persecution. In 1046 the Seljūq *sulṭān* Ṭughril Beg was persuaded by his *wazīr*, Abū Naṣr Manṣūr al-Kundurī, to forbid the Ash'arites to preach in the mosques or to teach their distinctive doctrines; many learned men of this sect fled from the *sulṭān's* dominions, but some were captured and imprisoned (Schreiner, *ZDMG* lii. 488).

The orthodox reaction of the 11th cent. fostered a spirit that was as dangerous to philosophers as to heterodox theologians. Mu'tadid (in 892) had forbidden the sale of all philosophical books, and Qādir-billāh (in 1018) issued an edict against all free-thinkers and heretics (A. von Kremer, *Culturgesch. des Orients*, Vienna, 1875–77, ii. 465 f.). Under the Almohads in Spain a storm of persecution burst upon the philosophers, particularly in the reign of Ya'qūb al-Manṣūr (1184–99), who banished Ibn Rushd from Cordova.

Several of the Ṣūfī mystics under Muhammadan rule suffered martyrdom under the charge of heterodoxy. Ḥallāj was cruelly put to death in 922, after having been scourged with a thousand stripes and having his hands and feet cut off (E. G. Browne, *A Literary Hist. of Persia*, London, 1902–06, i. 430). Abu'l-Qāsim al-Qushayrī, the author of an important treatise on Ṣūfiism, was imprisoned during the persecution under Ṭughril Beg (1046). Shihāb al-Dīn Yaḥyā al-Suhrawardī, reputed to be the most learned man of his time, was imprisoned and then strangled by order of Malik al-Ẓāhir, son of Saladin, in 1191, though this prince had at first extended to him his patronage; but the orthodox clergy in Aleppo succeeded in convicting him of heresy (A. von Kremer, *Gesch. der herrschenden Ideen des Islams*, Leipzig, 1868, p. 89 ff.). The founder of one of the Ṣūfī sects, the Ḥurūfīs, Faẓl-ullāh Tabrīzī, was put to death by Mīrān Shāh, son of Tīmūr, in 1393; one of his disciples, the Turkish poet, Nasīmī, was condemned to be flayed alive in 820 (1417–18), having been found guilty of blasphemy by the *'ulamā* of Aleppo, and a few years later some Ḥurūfīs were burnt alive in Adrianople (E. J. W. Gibb, *Hist. of Ottoman Poetry*, London, 1900–09, i. 346, 381–383, 387).

It is not possible here to give an account of the numerous individuals put to death for heresy—*e.g.*, Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Shalmaghānī, who taught the transmigration of the soul and was considered by his followers to be an incarnation of the divine, and other false prophets (Schreiner, p. 472 f.)—nor of the many claimants to be the promised Mahdī (*q.v.*) at various periods of Muhammadan history (for instances of such persons put to death in Turkey see Hammer, i. 798, ii. 594, 639, iii. 172; J. Darmesteter, *Le Mahdi*, Paris, 1885).

2. Protected communities.—(*a*) *Christians.*—The Qur'ān, and the prescriptions of Muslim jurists based upon it and the practice of the Prophet, granted to the followers of other faiths a certain measure of freedom of religious life and practice; but Muhammadan history is full of examples of persecution, especially of the various Christian sects. One of the earliest instances[1] of such persecution is that of the Banū Taghlib. The members of this Arab tribe who remained Christian had been treated with special consideration and allowed to pay tribute in such a form as to make them appear as equals of the converted Arabs and not as a subject people. But it seems to have irked the Muslims that any members of one

[1] The expulsion of the Christians of Najrān by 'Umar I appears to have been prompted by purely political considerations (L. Cætani, *Annali dell Islām*, Milan, 1905–14, iv. 353 ff.; H. Lammens, *Le Califat de Yazīd Ier*, Beirut, 1913, p. 351 ff.).

of the great Arab tribes should continue to stand aloof from what had become the national faith of the Arab people, and tradition attributes to 'Alī the expression of a savage wish to put all the males of the tribe to death and enslave the rest of the population (Cætani, iv. 228). Even the tolerant 'Umar is said to have ordered Ziyād b. Hudayr to deal roughly with them (Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, p. 69), and Walīd put Sham'alah, the chief of the tribe, to death because he refused to accept Islām (*JA* IX. iv. [1894] 438 f.).

With this exception the Christians enjoyed an ample toleration under the early Umayyads, but severe measures began to be taken against them by 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Azīz, induced either by zeal for his own faith or out of umbrage for the failure of the assault on Constantinople in 717. He decreed that no Christians should be appointed as magistrates or allowed to ride on saddles; that, if a Muhammadan killed a Christian, the penalty should be not death, but a fine; that Christians should not be allowed to bear witness against Muslims in the courts;[1] nor were they to uplift their voices in prayer; at the same time he abolished the tax levied on houses, land-rents, etc., for the benefit of churches and monasteries, ordered all crosses in public places to be pulled down or effaced, and forbade the Christians to wear silk or fine linen (Michael the Elder, *Chronique*, ii. 489; Abū Yūsuf, p. 73; Theophanes, in *PG* cviii. 808).

But hatred of the Christians appears first to have taken a popular form under the theocratic rule of the 'Abbāsids, who looked upon the State as a religious community and themselves as invested with spiritual as well as temporal power. To the later period of this dynasty belongs the compilation of the so-called Pact of 'Umar, which was often appealed to when restrictive measures were imposed upon the *dhimmīs*; in accordance with this document, no new churches were to be built, and no proselytism attempted; outward respect was to be shown to the Muslims, and their dress, etc., was not to be imitated; the Christians were not to ride on saddles, bear arms, display their crosses on the churches or in the streets, or celebrate religious worship in a loud voice; a distinctive dress, particularly a girdle round the waist, was to be worn, and so on (Gottheil, in *OT and Semitic Studies in Memory of William Rainey Harper*, ii. 382–384, where references are given to the various versions of this document). These regulations certainly did not exist in the time of the ruler whose name they bear, nor were they put into force rigidly or consistently; they represent the more intolerant practice of a later age, and some outburst of fanaticism was generally needed for any demand to be made for their application. In a period of persecution even more vexatious measures were sometimes enforced, as in the reign of Mutawakkil (in 850 and 854), who ordered the *dhimmīs* to affix wooden images of devils to their houses, to distinguish them from the houses of the Muslims; their graves were to be levelled with the ground; their children were not to be taught in Muslim schools, nor by any Muslim teacher; as well as the girdle, they were to wear yellow scarves, and have two patches of cloth, each of a different colour, sewn on the back and front of their dress; they were to ride only on mules and asses, with wooden stirrups, etc. (Ṭabarī, iii. 1389 f., 1419).

In such periods of persecution there was generally some destruction of churches, especially of such as had been erected since the Muslim conquest. Walīd (705–715) appears to have been one of the first *khalīfahs* to order churches to be pulled down (Michael the Elder, ii. 481); but under the 'Abbāsids such instances became more common, beginning with Hārūn (Ṭabarī, iii. 712) and culminating in the violent persecution set on foot by Mutawakkil (847–861). Numerous instances are found scattered throughout the pages of Christian and Muslim historians; but for no country do we find so long a series as for Egypt, beginning with the 2nd cent. of the Hijrah down to the troubled days of Mamluk rule (*Hist. of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria*, ed. B. Evetts, Paris, 1904 f.; Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, Bulāq, 1853, ii. 492–500).

Forcible conversion to Islām was frequently the accompaniment of such persecution. One of the earliest instances was that of the Christian Arabs of the tribe of the Banū Tanūkh in the reign of Mahdī (775–785); seeing a number of them who lived near Aleppo and learning that they were Christians, he angrily ordered them to accept Islām; under compulsion they complied, to the number of 5000, but one of them suffered martyrdom rather than apostatize (Gregorius Abulpharagius, *Chronicon Syriacum*, ed. P. J. Bruns and G. G. Kirsch, Leipzig, 1789, p. 134 f.). A long series of such compulsory conversions might be given from the history of various parts of the Muhammadan world; as the power of Muhammadan governments declined, so such compulsion tended to assume a character of greater ferocity; *e.g.*, during the persecution of the Christians of Crete in 1670, 15,000 Christian boys are said to have been circumcised in a single day, and most of them died in consequence (A. D. Kyriakos, *Gesch. der orientalischen Kirchen, 1453–1898*, Leipzig, 1902, p. 12).

The death penalty for apostasy (see APOSTASY [Muhammadan]) was often imposed in a cruel manner, in the case of Christians who had promised to become Muhammadans in a moment of weakness or despondency, or even in jest, or under the influence of drink, or through some misunderstanding (Dozy, *Hist. des Musulmans d'Espagne*, ii. 51; de la Jonquière, i. 34; M. Febure, *Teatro della Turchia*, Venice, 1684, p. 39 f.). The boy-martyr, Elias, was held to have become a Muslim merely because he had thrown away his girdle when dancing to amuse his master's guests, and was put to death because he refused to abjure the Christian faith (F. Combefis, *Christi martyrum lecta trias*, Paris, 1666, pp. 156–192).

The persecution of the Christians was sometimes connected with economic conditions—*e.g.*, jealousy of the prosperity and wealth of individual Christians (E. Renaudot, *Hist. Patriarcharum Alexandrinorum Jacobitarum*, Paris, 1713, pp. 432, 607; Nāṣir-i-Khusrau, *Safar-nāmah*, ed. C. Schefer, Paris, 1881, p. 155 f.; Maqrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ii. 498; Shedd, *Islam and the Oriental Churches*, pp. 117 ff., 247 f.), or resentment at the fact that high offices of state were given to non-Muslims (Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam*[2], pp. 63 f., 107). From the earliest days of the Arab conquests the new rulers had found it impossible to carry on the complicated machinery of government without the assistance of the trained officials of the old régime, and, in spite of frequent protests, non-Muslims have been similarly employed up to modern times. But, in deference to popular clamour or the protests of theologians, such non-Muslim employees of the State have from time to time been driven from their posts. Manṣur (754–775) removed all *dhimmīs* from the administration, and several of the later 'Abbāsids issued decrees to the same effect, as also the Mamluk *sulṭāns* of Egypt (*ib.* p. 75 f.). Such administrative changes were generally accompanied by much suffering for the Christians.

[1] Dionysius of Tell Maḥrē (*Chronique syriaque*, ed. J. B. Chabot, Paris, 1896, p. 18) attributes this regulation to the son of 'Umar, Yazīd II. (720–724), who decreed that the testimony of a Syrian should not be accepted against that of an Arab.

In some cases (but these the less frequent) the persecution originated in a decree of the Muhammadan government; in others it was stirred up by the fanaticism of the mob (Shedd, pp. 244–246) or the bigotry of the *'ulamā*. Some of the later Muslim theologians went so far as to ascribe to the Prophet forged traditions, expressly contradicted by his own conduct and by his authentic utterances; *e.g.*, an Egyptian jurist of the 14th cent. puts forward as sayings of the Prophet the following intolerant principles:

'No church shall be built in a Muslim land, nor shall those that have fallen in ruins be repaired,' and 'No churches (are to be permitted) in Islam' (*JA* IV. xviii. [1851] 513).

Similarly, they sometimes attempted in vain to force the hands of the government that protected the tolerated communities; *e.g.*, a theologian of the 18th cent., after enumerating the enormities of the Christians, exclaims:

'The 'ulamā consider this state of things; they weep and groan in silence, while the rulers who have the power of checking these criminal abuses only shut their eyes to them' (*ib.* xix. [1852] 109).

It is not possible here to give in detail the annals of the sufferings of the Christians under Muhammadan rule, but certain epochs may be referred to as signalized by special severity of persecution. One of these was the period of the conversion of the Mongol princes to Islām; the Muhammadans remembered their sufferings during the Crusades and the overbearing conduct of the Christians after the destruction of 'Abbāsid rule by the Mongols in 1258; *e.g.*, when the city of Damascus surrendered to Hūlāgū in 1260, the Christians destroyed the mosques in the neighbourhood of their churches, made the Muslims bow to the cross carried in procession, and sprinkled with holy water the clothes of the Muslims and the doors of the mosques that were spared (H. H. Howorth, *Hist. of the Mongols*, London, 1876–88, i. 210). Such behaviour stirred up a resentment that led to terrible reprisals when the reins of power again passed into Muslim hands. Consequently we find that, as the Mongol princes adopted Islām, the condition of the Christians under their rule tended to grow worse; *e.g.*, the conversion of Ghāzān, the Ilkhān, in 1295 was marked by a cruel persecution of the Christians (*ib.* iii. 396–398).

In the Turkish dominions the various revolutionary movements among the subject races, which began early in the 19th cent. with the struggle for Greek independence, were largely stimulated by a feeling of exasperation at the religious repression from which they suffered under the corrupt Turkish administration of the time, and the reprisals and the administrative measures taken by the ruling power were acerbated by religious fanaticism, and often took the form of religious persecution, as in Serbia, Bulgaria, and Armenia (see Parliamentary Papers on the conditions of Christians in Turkey from 1854 onwards).

(*b*) *Jews.*—Despite the opposition of the Jews to the mission of Muḥammad and the severe references to them in the Qur'ān (ii. 70–73, v. 64–69, etc.), their condition under Muhammadan rule appears to have been generally more tolerable than that of the Christians. But in periods of persecution they ran the risk of sharing the sufferings of the other *dhimmīs*; the restrictive regulations of the Pact of 'Umar were applicable also to them. Along with the Christians they were victims of the bigotry of Mutawakkil and Ḥākim.

In Spain they were tolerated until the arrival of the Almoravids, when Yūsuf b. Tāshfīn threatened to compel the Jews of Lucena to become Muhammadans, but was persuaded by rich gifts to let them retain their old faith (Dozy, iv. 254 f.). The Almohad 'Abd al-Mu'min, after his capture of Morocco in 1146, gave the Jews the choice between Islām and death, but was afterwards persuaded to let those who wished to remain Jews go into exile; he promulgated a similar edict and destroyed the synagogues in all the cities of N. Africa conquered by the Almohads, and, when he extended his dominion over Spain, meted out the same treatment to the Jews there (Graetz, iii. 367 f.).

In Persia the Jews had enjoyed a brief prosperity under the Mongol Arghūn (1284–91). On his death the Muhammadans wreaked their vengeance upon the Jews for the humiliations which they had suffered from the Mongol conquerors (*ib.* iii. 672); and, when Arghūn's son, Ghāzān, was converted to Islām, the Jews suffered as much as the Christians (see above). They were persecuted also in the reigns of Shāh 'Abbās (†1629) and his great-grandson, 'Abbās II. (†1667), and under the rule of the Afghan conquerors (1722–29). Persecutions occurred also during the 19th cent., in Hamadan (1892), Kirmanshah (1896), and Tihran (1897).

In N. Africa they had to suffer arbitrary treatment and frequent persecution from the barbarous Moorish population (*ib.* iv. 417). Mulai Yazīd, in 1790, ordered their houses to be pillaged (*REJ* xxxvii. [1898] 120; Budgett Meakin, *The Moors*, London, 1902, pp. 431 f., 451 ff.). In 1840 a fierce persecution broke out in Damascus, as the result of the Jews being accused of a ritual murder, and spread into a number of towns of Syria and Turkey (Graetz, v. 677 f.).

(*c*) Among the religions that were tolerated as having been mentioned in the Qur'ān (ii. 59, v. 73) was that of the Ṣābians; but they too were exposed to persecution: at the beginning of the reign of Mahdī, in 775, the great temple at Edessa in which they met for religious worship was destroyed, and many Arabs practising Ṣābiism were put to death (*JA* VIII. xix. [1892] 84).

Although the Zoroastrians are not expressly mentioned in the Qur'ān, the Muslim legists included them among the *dhimmīs*, and granted them the same degree of toleration (*q.v.*). Persecution seems to have been rare up to the close of the 'Abbāsid period; but they fell upon evil days in the 18th cent., under the rule of the degenerate descendants of Shāh 'Abbās (who had himself been generally tolerant to his non-Muslim subjects), and many of the Zoroastrians of Ispahan were forced to embrace Islām (Corneille Le Bruyn, *Voyages*, Paris, 1725, v. 170 f.); those of Kirman and Yazd who welcomed the Afghan invaders suffered cruel reprisals when the Afghans were expelled from Persia in 1730. Fresh troubles befell them under Nādir Shāh, and in the terrible sack of Kirman in 1794 by Āgā Muḥammad Khān (the founder of the present dynasty) their quarter of the city was entirely destroyed. By the 19th cent. the condition of the Zoroastrians in Persia was very low, and they were almost exclusively confined to Yazd and its neighbourhood. The extortionate manner in which the *jizyah* was collected led to great suffering, and some Zoroastrians apostatized to save themselves from torture, until this tax was abolished in 1882 (D. F. Karaka, *Hist. of the Parsis*, London, 1884, i. 55 ff.; D. Menant, 'Les Zoroastriens de Perse,' *RMM* iii. [1907] 205 ff., 421 ff.; and art. GABARS). In 1888 the Zoroastrians were still subjected to many petty annoyances: they had to wear a yellow raiment to distinguish them from true believers;

'they are not permitted to wear socks, or to wind their turbans tightly and neatly, or to ride a horse; and if, when riding even a donkey, they should chance to meet a Musulman, they must dismount while he passes, and that without regard to his age or rank' (E. G. Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians*, London, 1893, p. 370 ff.).

There were some other non-Muslim religious

bodies, numerically of less importance, who suffered persecution on account of their faith. The Yazīdīs of Mesopotamia were subjected to a series of persecutions during the 19th cent. with the object of compelling them to conform to the faith of their Turkish rulers (O. H. Parry, *Six Months in a Syrian Monastery*, London, 1895, pp. 256 ff., 358; J. Menant, *Les Yézidis*, Paris, 1892, p. 164 ff.; *Al-Mashriq*, ii. [1899] 834 f.). For the persecution of the Bābīs, Druses, and Manichæans, see artt. BĀB, SECTS (Christian), MANICHÆANS.

The severe condemnation of idolatry in the Qur'ān (iv. 115–120, xxi. 98–100, lxvi. 9, etc.) seems to make it impossible for any Muslim ruler to grant toleration to idol-worshippers, and Ma'mūn once stated very clearly that idolaters must choose between the acceptance of Islām or one of the religions recognized by the Qur'ān and death (Al-Nadīm, p. 320); and it was a commonly accepted principle that war should be waged against the people of the Book until they paid *jizyah*, but against idolaters until they accepted Islām (Yaḥyā b. Ādam, *Kitāb al-kharāj*, ed. T. W. Juynboll, Leyden, 1896, p. 12). Consequently the heathen races that have come under Muhammadan rule have generally suffered harsh treatment, and, even when political policy has prompted a more considerate treatment of their religious observances, they have been constantly exposed to outbursts of fanaticism.

The political and social disabilities from which the non-Muslims suffered were directly connected with the fact that their creed was different from that of their rulers, and, when the Muhammadan government was weak or corrupt, religious intolerance found easy victims. When money was to be extorted, the *dhimmī* had the least power of resistance, and justice could be denied him, since his evidence was not accepted in a Muslim court of law. Some fanatical theologians interpreted in a brutal spirit the last word of the verse in the Qur'ān (ix. 29):

'Fight against such of those to whom the Scripture has been given, as believe not in God nor in the last day, nor declare unlawful what God and His apostle have declared unlawful, nor profess the religion of the truth, until they pay jizyah out of hand, being humbled.'

The *dhimmī* must be kept standing a long time when he comes to pay the *jizyah*, he must bend his head and back low, and the Muslim official who receives it must seize him by the beard and strike him on both cheeks, so that his humiliation may be complete. This contemptuous attitude towards the non-Muslim reaches its culmination in the offensive burial permits which were issued in the 18th and 19th centuries when a Christian died (Denton, *The Christians of Turkey*, p. 117; H. C. Lukach, *The City of Dancing Dervishes*, London, 1914, p. 181; G. B. Chirkov, *Dva Lyubopytnych arabskich dokumenta k istorii vnutrennyago byta vostočnych christian*, Moscow, 1900, p. 2).

The non-Muslim has thus run the risk of being exposed to a constant series of petty annoyances, reminding him of his inferior status, at the hands of unjust officials and vicious persons of all kinds, throughout most periods of Muhammadan history, though organized persecution by the government has been rare (see art. TOLERATION [Muslim]).

LITERATURE.—No separate work has been devoted to the subject of Muhammadan persecution; the facts are to be found scattered throughout the annals of Muhammadan historians (*e.g.*, Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Athīr, etc.) and the Christian historians who have lived under Muhammadan rule (*e.g.*, Barhebræus, Eutychius, Mārī b. Sulaymān, Severus, etc.). The following works may also be consulted: Abū Yūsuf, *Kitāb al-Kharāj*, Cairo, 1302 A.H.; Al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel, Leipzig, 1871; Michael the Elder, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, 4 vols., ed. J. B. Chabot, Paris, 1900–10; Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Murtaḍā, *Al-Mu'tazilah: being an Extract from the Kitāb al-milal wa' l-niḥal*, ed. T. W. Arnold, Leipzig, 1902; 'Iyāḍ b. Mūsā al-Yaḥṣūbī, *Al-Shifā fi ta'rif ḥuqūq al-muṣṭafā*, Cairo, 1272; M. Belin, 'Fetoua relatif à la condition des Zimmis' (tr. from Arab., in *JA* IV. xviii. [1851] 418 ff.); W. M. Patton, *Aḥmed ibn Ḥanbal and the Miḥna*, Leyden, 1897; R. J. H. Gottheil, 'Dhimmis and Moslems in Egypt,' *OT and Semitic Studies in Memory of William Rainey Harper*, Chicago, 1908, ii.; R. P. A. Dozy, *Hist. des Musulmans d'Espagne*, Leyden, 1861; J. von Hammer, *Gesch. des osmanischen Reiches*[2], 4 vols., Pesth, 1834–35; A. de la Jonquière, *Hist. de l'empire ottoman*, Paris, 1914; T. W. Arnold, *The Preaching of Islam*[2], London, 1913; M. Schreiner, 'Beiträge zur Gesch. der theologischen Bewegungen in Islam,' *ZDMG* lii. [1898] 463 ff.; H. Graetz, *Hist. of the Jews*, 5 vols., London, 1891–92; C. H. Churchill, *The Druzes and the Maronites under the Turkish Rule from 1840 to 1860*, do. 1862; W. Denton, *The Christians of Turkey*, do. 1876; Malcolm McColl, *The Eastern Question*, do. 1877; W. A. Shedd, *Islam and the Oriental Churches*, Philadelphia, 1904; Mikā'īl Mashāqa, *Mashhad al-'iyān bi ḥawādith Sūriyā wa Lubnān*, Cairo, 1908; A. Fortescue, *The Orthodox Eastern Church*, London, 1907, p. 233 ff., *The Lesser Eastern Churches*, do. 1913; Martin Hartmann, *Die islamische Verfassung und Verwaltung* (*Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, I. ii. 1), Leipzig, 1911, p. 55.

T. W. ARNOLD.

PERSEVERANCE.—The subject of perseverance may be treated either (1) from the doctrinal point of view as an element in a system of theology, for which a basis may be sought in the teaching of Scripture confirmed by reason and experience; or (2) from the practical and ethical point of view, as a virtue to be striven after by the Christian, the ethical conditions of which may be inquired into and set forth.

1. Doctrinal.—From the doctrinal point of view, the assertion of the perseverance of the saints is the affirmation that those who who have become once truly regenerate, or united to Christ by genuine faith, 'can neither totally nor finally fall away from the state of grace; but shall certainly persevere therein to the end, and be eternally saved' (*Westminster Confession*, ch. xvii.; *Larger Catechism*, 79; cf. *Canons of Synod of Dort*, ch. v. can. 3). This is a characteristic doctrine of the Augustinian and Calvinistic theology, flowing logically as it does from the Augustinian and Calvinistic conception of the salvation of sinners as due to unconditional election and irresistible divine grace. This doctrine is rejected by the Roman Catholic Church, which teaches the possibility of a man once justified falling away from grace.

'If any one maintain that a man once justified cannot lose grace and therefore that he who falls and sins never was truly justified, let him be accursed' (Council of Trent, sess. vi. ch. xv. can. 23).

Similarly, the Arminians and the Lutherans teach that those who were once justified and regenerated may, by neglecting grace and grieving the Holy Spirit, fall into such sins as are inconsistent with true justifying faith, and, continuing and dying in the same, may finally fall into perdition (*Confession of the Remonstrants*, xi. 7; *Formula Concordiæ*, p. 705). In support of the doctrine of the certain final perseverance of the saints various passages of Scripture are adduced:

Jn 10^{27-29} 'My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me: and I give unto them eternal life; and they shall never perish, and no one shall snatch them out of my hand. My Father, which hath given them unto me, is greater than all; and no one is able to snatch them out of the Father's hand'; Ro 8^{35-39} 'Who shall separate us from the love of Christ,' etc.; 11^{29} 'The gifts and the calling of God are without repentance'; Ph 1^{6} 'Being confident of this very thing, that he which began a good work in you will perfect it until the day of Jesus Christ.'

The doctrine is inferred also from the nature of regeneration and renewal as a work of divine grace. All those passages of Scripture which lay emphasis on the working of the Holy Spirit, or on divine grace, as the cause to which the spiritual life in individual human persons, alike in its beginning and in its progressive continuance, is due, seem to lead logically to the doctrine of certain final perseverance as guaranteed by the steadfastness of the Spirit's working and the victorious power of divine grace (*e.g.*, Eph $1^{13f.}$ 2^{8}, 1 P 1^{23}, Jn $14^{16f.}$, 2 Co $1^{21f.}$ etc.).

If the beginning of Christian life in the indi

vidual is due solely to unconditional divine election (Ac 13[48], Ro 8[30]) and its continuance is due entirely to the inward working of the Holy Spirit (Ph 2[13]), then it stands to reason that perseverance unto the end is certain in the case of all who have become regenerate, because no room seems to be left for any possible falling away or any failure to attain. But the responsibility of the individual for the development of his character and the issue of his life seems also to be done away with on this conception of the matter. The free exercise of will power by the individual as a morally responsible agent seems to be ignored or left out of account.

So argue the Romanists, Arminians, and others, who are so anxious to safeguard human freedom as a factor in determining the issues of life for individuals that they feel constrained, not only to deny unconditional election and irresistible grace as the determining factors in regeneration and conversion, but also to leave room for a possible final falling away from grace, through subsequent perversity, of those who were once justified and regenerated. They are wont to charge those who advocate the doctrine of the certain final perseverance of the saints with thereby fostering a dangerous and unwarrantable sense of security in Christians, in place of that 'fear and trembling' with which it becomes them to 'work out their salvation' as persons liable to fall away and therefore needing to exercise continual watchfulness (Ph 2[12]). Besides the exhortations to diligence (such as 2 P 1[10]) and the warnings of danger in case of carelessness (such as Rev 3[2], 1 Co 10[12]) addressed in the Scriptures to believers, apparently implying the possibility of their falling away from grace, those who reject the doctrine of certain final perseverance are wont to quote such passages as Lk 14[30], Mt 13[20f.], Jn 15[6], 2 P 2[20f.], and especially He 6[4-6] 10[26f.], in favour of their view, and to point to experience as furnishing examples of those who once were professing Christian believers but have fallen away into unbelief or ungodliness (Jn 17[12], 2 Ti 4[10], Rev 2[4]). The issue in dispute, in so far as it is of a psychological character, turns on the question whether a man's will, in order to be and to remain free, must always remain unstable or uncertain as to its choices; or whether it is possible that the human will may become established in goodness without ceasing to be free, so that its free choice of good will become a certainty. The will of God is conceived of as free, yet as invariably choosing with certainty the right and the good and rejecting the evil. If the will of man can, in any way, attain to a similar stability in goodness, while still remaining free, the certainty of his final perseverance is assured; so that certainty of final perseverance is not inconsistent in idea with the retention of freedom of will. It is psychologically possible. The question then comes to be whether, and by what means, a man's will may become permanently established in goodness in this life, so as to guarantee his final perseverance.

Calvinists affirm that this is effected when the individual becomes truly united to Christ through freely yielding to the Spirit's gracious influence in regeneration and conversion; for thereby the individual becomes a member of Christ's Body, linked to Him by a vital bond of union, and the whole power of Christ and of the Spirit becomes pledged to ensure his perseverance (1 Co 6[17]). The remnants of indwelling sin in the believer may lead to temporary lapses or backslidings; but the dominion of sin over that individual has been finally broken (Ro 6[14]), and his ultimate perseverance in choice of right is assured. This seems theoretically sound and conclusive. But, in practice, an overweening confidence or a careless security is excluded by two considerations of a practical kind. (*a*) Even if final perseverance is assured through God's working in us, care and watchfulness are needed to prevent temporary lapses or backslidings, which are deplorable and hurtful to the soul. Many exhortations to watchfulness and prayer and earnest moral effort addressed in Scripture to believers may be taken as counteractive warnings against such lapses and backslidings to which Christians are liable (*e.g.*, Mt 24[42] 25[13] 26[41], Ph 2[12f.] etc.). (*b*) Further, the conditions of true regeneration and union with God through Christ are such that it is possible for individuals to be self-deceived as to their true standing, and to assume a security which is not warranted by their real condition. Hence the need for the exhortation given to professing Christians to 'give diligence to make your calling and election sure' (2 P 1[10]). The falling away of some who at one time had a place among professing Christians is explained in various passages of Scripture as due to the fact that, notwithstanding the fair appearance of spiritual life in the sight of their fellow-men, they were from the beginning without that real power of godliness which comes from vital union with Christ (1 Jn 2[19], Rev 3[1]). Where 'regeneration' is minimized or robbed of its true ethical significance and transformed into something of a magical or mechanical nature effected through an external rite, it is easy to understand why the possibility of the 'regenerate' falling away should have to be insisted on as borne witness to by experience. The possibility of men being self-deceived as to their real standing, through being content with what is merely formal and ritual or external, and failing to realize the high ethical and spiritual significance of regeneration and all that it implies, should serve to counteract any danger of a too easy security in connexion with a doctrine of final perseverance.

In view of these possibilities of self-deception, as well as the possibilities of deplorable and hurtful temporary backslidings on the part of the truly regenerate, the apostolic exhortations and warnings addressed to professing believers are not without justification, even though the doctrine of the certain final perseverance of the truly regenerate be a sound doctrine. Even such solemn warnings as we find in He 6[4-6] 10[26] (which furnish the strongest Scriptural support of those who contend for the amissibility of grace and deny the doctrine of certain final perseverance) may be interpreted as needful warnings addressed to a concrete practical situation and not necessarily involving any theological implication inconsistent with a doctrine which seems to be well founded in Scripture and in reason, and from which many humble Christians have derived comfort and help in fighting the good fight of faith. The doctrine of the certain final perseverance of those whose wills become established in goodness through freely yielding to the Holy Spirit's gracious influence in regeneration and renewal is usually held in conjunction with the Calvinistic doctrines of particular and unconditional election and the irresistibility of divine grace in conversion. It may, however, be held by those who reject these other doctrines as unethical and inconsistent with human freedom and responsibility. Thus Martensen, though he accepted the Lutheran position on most points of doctrine, professes his adherence to the Reformed, in opposition to the Lutheran, doctrine on this question of final perseverance (*Christian Dogmatics*, § 235). It is in the free act of yielding to the drawings of the Spirit and the influences of divine grace in regeneration and renewal, which leads up to the gradual establishing of the will in goodness, that place is found for human responsibility and for human

freedom as an important factor in determining the issues of life (Mt 23^{37}, Jn 5^{40}, Ro 2^{4}).

2. Ethical.—Regarded from the more purely practical point of view as a virtue or grace to be aimed at by earnest moral endeavour, perseverance is a duty to which Christian believers are urged in Scripture by many and varied considerations. Thus our standing as sons of God, together with the assured hope of being like Christ when He appears, is adduced by St. John as a stimulus to the Christian to 'purify himself, even as he is pure' (1 Jn 3^{3}). St. Peter also adduces the believer's position as 'purified' in soul by 'obedience to the truth' through the Spirit as a reason why we should 'love one another with a pure heart fervently' (1 P 1^{22}). St. Paul, too, frequently bases his exhortations to believers to perseverance in holy living on a consideration of the believer's position as justified by faith and in union with Christ (Ro $6^{6\text{-}11}$ $12^{1\text{f.}}$ $13^{8.\ 10\text{f.},\ 14}$ etc.), while he urges the consideration that 'God is working in us' to ensure the success of our efforts, not as a reason for sloth or easy security, but rather as a stimulus and incentive to earnest moral endeavour (Ph $2^{12\text{f.}}$).

The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews also makes strong appeal to those to whom he writes, because of their past experiences of gospel grace and privilege, and the indications which they have shown of true spiritual life, to 'shew the same diligence unto the fulness of hope even to the end' (6^{11}), while he enforces his appeal by a solemn warning as to the danger of those who fall away after having gone a certain length and gained some experience of the influences of prevenient grace ($6^{4\text{-}6}$; cf. 1 Co 10^{12}). Earnest moral endeavour, therefore, grounded in faith, and stimulated by hope and love, is one of the ethical conditions of perseverance unto the end, viewed as a Christian virtue. But it is not the sole or main condition. Indeed, moral struggle and effort are apt sometimes to beget a spirit of independence and self-reliance which is alien to the true spirit of the Christian life. For that is essentially a life of conscious dependence on a power greater than ourselves which is working for us and in us—the power of God as manifested in the crucified and risen Christ, and in the Holy Spirit who applies the Christian redemption to us. Hence the main ethical condition of perseverance as a Christian grace is represented in Scripture as being 'abiding in Christ' through steadfast and continuous exercise of the will in faith and self-surrender (Jn $15^{4\text{ff.}}$). Or, inasmuch as the function of the Holy Spirit is to take of the things of Christ and show them unto us (Jn $16^{13\text{f.}}$), the main condition of perseverance in holy living is represented as being a continuous yielding of ourselves in believing self-surrender to the motions and promptings of the Holy Spirit given to us by God as an 'earnest' of our salvation (2 Co 5^{5}, Ro 8^{14}). Perseverance in holiness may call for moral effort and striving, but it is not the effort of self-reliant independence or self-sufficiency, but rather the effort to keep ourselves in touch with Christ through faith (Ph 3^{10}, Gal 2^{20}), to 'walk in the Spirit' (Gal 5^{16}) and allow ourselves to be 'led by the Spirit' (Ro 8^{14}). The main condition of perseverance as a Christian virtue is indicated by St. Paul in 2 Co 3^{18}:

'We all, with unveiled face reflecting as a mirror the glory of the Lord, are transformed into the same image from glory to glory, even as from the Lord the Spirit.'

With a view to thus keeping themselves in the 'fellowship' of Christ (Ph 3^{10}) and in 'the love of God' (Jude ^{21}), and so making their 'calling and election sure' (2 P 1^{10}) and securing their perseverance unto the end, believers are exhorted to make a diligent use of the means of grace—the Word (Eph 6^{17}), the sacraments (1 Co 11^{28}), and prayer (Eph 6^{18})—and not to forsake the assembling of themselves together for common worship (He 10^{25}). Thus abiding in Christ, and having Him abiding in them through constant faith and watchfulness and willing self-surrender to the Holy Spirit's leadings, believers are enabled to bring forth the fruit of the Spirit and are 'guarded by the power of God through faith unto a salvation ready to be revealed in the last time' (1 P 1^{5}).

LITERATURE.—*Westminster Confession of Faith*, ch. xvii. §1 f.; *Canons of Synod of Dort*, ch. v. can. 3; Council of Trent, sess. vi. chs. 13, 15, can. 23; *Confession of the Remonstrants*, xi. 7; *Formula Concordiæ*, pp. 591, 705; *Apol. Aug. Conf.*, pp. 71, 86; Augustine, *de Correptione et Gratia*, 8; Bellarmine, *de Amiss. Gratiæ*, sess. xiv. ch. 5; Calvin, *Institutes*, bk. ii. ch. iii. 11–14; F. Turretin, *Opera*, Edinburgh, 1847, loc. xv. qu. xvi.; H. Martensen, *Christian Dogmatics*, Eng. tr., do. 1866, § 235; J. J. van Oosterzee, *Christian Dogmatics*, Eng. tr.[4], London, 1886, sect. 121.

D. S. ADAM.

PERSIA.—See ACHÆMENIANS, AVESTA, GABARS, IRANIANS, PARSIS, SASANIANS, ZOROASTER.

PERSONAL IDEALISM.—See PLURALISM.

PERSONALISM.—1. History and definition.—The earliest suggestion of the relationship between personality and nature was made by Anaxagoras, whose 'thought-stuff' was conceived as the self-moving purposive force in natural phenomena. Aristotle laid the foundation for personalism by affirming self-consciousness as the highest being, but Hellenism generally considered personality limiting and not to be predicated of the supreme being. Augustine first held fast to the experience which personality has of itself as its highest principle. The uniqueness and individuality of the human soul or the inner experience were to him vital to any true theory of God and the world. Descartes found in personality alone the basis of union between thought and thing. Up to this point personality had been considered in the light of fundamental truth rather than of fundamental reality.

The idea of personality as the foundation of knowledge was further developed by Berkeley, Leibniz, Kant, Fichte, Hegel, and Lotze. They agree that the immediateness of self-consciousness is the starting-point of philosophy. In this sense Eucken, Howison, Bergson, James, F. C. S. Schiller, Ward, Royce, and others of the modern school may be called personalists.

From the metaphysical point of view, we may distinguish between those personalists of pluralistic turn to whom the ultimate reality is a system of related selves and those of monistic temper to whom the ultimate reality is a single person which differentiates itself into the many personalities and objects of the world. Neither of these types of thought leads to a consistent personalism. The latter tends towards pantheism, and the former leaves us in an impossible pluralism.

Personalism, in the proper sense of the term, asserts a system of selves related through a supreme personality. It conceives of the supreme person as existing in and through the concrete continuous exercise of his personality, thinking, willing, and sustaining all things. This personality, far from being subject to analysis, is the ultimate fact which alone makes the world as a whole intelligible. Lotze affirmed personality of the divine being, but neglected to carry out the implication to its deeper theistic conclusions. Renouvier, who first employed the term 'personalism,' thought it necessary to escape pantheism by assigning the world of being to a single primary creative act. Bowne, however, insisted upon a supreme personality creatively present in the on-going of the world.

Personalism in this stricter sense is closely allied

with the thought of Augustine, and accords with the Christian demand for a personal relationship of man to the infinite world-ground which is a person.

Personalism may then be defined as that system of philosophy which views personality as the active ground of the world, and as containing in the mystery of its own unique being the key to all the antinomies of metaphysics. It is the latest form of theism and has been most completely worked out in the writings of the American philosopher, Borden Parker Bowne. It occupies a mediating position between pure empiricism and pure idealism, and is to be judged by its definition of reality, its doctrine of knowledge, and its conception of space and time.

2. **The personalistic definition of reality.**—The real is that which can act or be acted upon. The materialist, assuming that the seat of reality is in the atom, negates the validity of all mental processes. He is faced by the double problem of how the atom can produce mistaken perceptions and how it is possible to account for reflective knowledge. Pure idealism, approaching the question from the opposite direction, encounters difficulty with the problem of evil. If all that we see is the manifestation of the divine, whence comes evil in the world?

The personalistic interpretation of reality is designed to meet these difficulties. The world of things is not a mere succession of phenomena, but depends upon the causal activity of a divine personality. The mutual relations and interactions of the world spring from the unity of the supreme will. The mind grasps a true world because both thinker and thing are included in the one creative harmony. This truth is foreshadowed in the experience of causal efficiency by the human personality.

Out of this definition of reality flows the personalistic definition of being. Being is neither abstract supreme idea nor unknowable substance lying behind phenomena. Being is implied in the capacity for intelligent causal action, or in the capacity for being acted upon. All that exists is the result or manifestation of a supreme, active, purposive intelligence which creates and sustains the world of lesser intelligences and things. It has no meaning apart from this purpose which is its ground. Mind can understand the movement of matter because both proceed from the same source. The mind grasps the meaning of the world because it owns kinship with the intelligence which creates the world. It is itself purposive, self-directive, and causal within the world-order. By this definition personalism escapes the pantheistic conclusions of absolutism and the mechanical determinism of empiricism.

Personalism is saved from the vagueness of most forms of idealism by its pragmatic requirements. *E.g.*, the purposive causal intelligence is not taken as pure abstraction existing independently of the world. As the very essence of human personality lies in its self-directive freedom and causal efficiency, so these qualities are affirmed of the divine personality. The divine being exists in, and not apart from, his activity.

If the question is raised how, on such an assumption, we escape the dilemma of a fore-ordered universe, or a fatal dualism raised by man's freedom to do evil, it may be replied that human freedom is a part of the divine purpose within certain limits allotted to man. If it be asked what then becomes of the divine purpose and foreknowledge when man acts contrary to the will of God, it may be answered that foreknowledge does not include those individual facts which lie within the range of human action, but applies rather to that larger purpose, the development of character, which would be impossible apart from freedom. It may well be that from the eternal view-point an eventual world of voluntary righteousness is of vaster importance than a world of involuntary sinlessness. The thing desired seems to be a growing moral personality in man like that which exists in God. Personality, then, which we must believe to be the supreme treasure of the eternal consciousness, is likewise the supreme gift and task of man.

3. **The personalistic definition of thought.**—Thought is that form of mental activity the aim of which is knowledge or truth. Its fundamental conditions are an enduring self-conscious thinker, the possibility of common understanding of terms used, and a sure correspondence between the thinker, the thought, and the thing.

Continuing the thought of the mediating character of personalism, let us apply the definition of knowledge. Empiricism endeavours to trace mental images to movement in nerve-cells. But, when the perception of roughness has been traced from the resistance of matter to the cells of the brain, we are forced to explain how the shocking of nerve-cells becomes an idea of roughness. It is no answer to assume a 'double face' to nervous action; for then each nerve-cell must be endowed with all the magic powers of brain and personality. The only way to bridge the gap is to assume an enduring personality which interprets the nervous shock as roughness in the object. Were the movement of nerve-cells to cover the whole process, there would be no place for error, for one man's sensation of the fundamental reality would be as good as another's. But empiricism meets its greatest difficulty in the problem of reflective knowledge. If we try to think of nerve-shocks stored in the cells of the brain to be called forth by sensation or association, we are forced to explain how reflective knowledge can be more than a hodge-podge of sensational memories. What power is present to produce a new result in reflective knowledge? Would a physical mixing of the cells of old sensations produce reflective knowledge? If, on the other hand, there be a self-identifying personality interpreting impressions according to a growing knowledge, misled often, but coming by repeated experience to enlarging conceptions, we have the crucible in which matter and mentality may come together.

This interpretation is also far removed from the view of the absolutist to whom the fundamental in thought is an abstract divine idea. To the personalist knowledge exists only in the concrete. Thought is not the mere replica of the divine idea. It is a self-realized result of individual action and freedom. It may be tinged with error or ignorance, but its distortion cannot be laid to the charge of the supreme thinker.

How may we know that there is a reality corresponding to our knowledge? We succeed only as we assume that the world of things and persons is created and upheld by a purposive intelligence. In this supreme personality, source of thinker and thing, lies the final unity.

4. **Personalism and other philosophical problems.**—(*a*) *Space and time.*—Until the days of Kant space and time had been generally conceived as fundamental realities existing independently of all intelligence. It was Kant who set them forth as merely the forms under which the thinking mind relates the world of things and events to itself and to each other. Personalism agrees with Kant in his view of the subjective nature of space and time, but goes on to assert an objective validity as well. I may say that time and space are only the forms under which I think, but are they peculiar to me? If purely subjective, as Kant taught, there is no way of granting them

general validity and no assurance that our calendars or geographies will agree. Both time and space must be given objective validity to free them from the disjunctive caprice of the individual and make possible a world united in space and time relations. The forms of time and space gain a validity universal for intelligent beings through a supreme personal intelligence who creates and upholds all.

(*b*) *Causality.*—With materialism the mind can never grasp the real thing, but only its phenomena. Hence, in dealing with causality materialism is for ever hiding its processes under a figure of speech. Reality is shifted from mass to molecule, from molecule to atom, from atom to æon, from æon to electron, and always that which is invisible. Out of these imagined actions and reactions all causation is said to spring.

Idealism sweeps this whole world of phenomena into subjectivity. But by subjective we may mean either one of two things. We may mean that which is peculiar to the individual alone or that which is true for intelligence anywhere and which has no existence apart from it. Failure to make this distinction is fatal to idealism. Unless it is made, the system of experience becomes the fiction of the individual.

In describing causality personalism makes a distinction between phenomenal and efficient causality. Phenomenal causality has reference to the true order or succession of events. We name this succession 'cause and effect.' We say that the effect can be traced to its cause, which is correct enough for practical purposes; if we speak of efficient causation, it is not adequate. Retracing from effect to cause in the phenomenal world, we are committed to the infinite regress. Moreover, we have a closed system, as all effects are potentially present always. There is no place for the new. We are finally forced back upon the assertion of the unknowable. We might be satisfied with this affirmation of nescience, did not two considerations arise to disturb us: (1) that the human spirit revolts against such a conclusion, and (2) that our own experience of personality gives an example of efficient, uncaused causality. Human laws are founded upon this fact. The human personality is not the prey of driving molecules and brain-storms. In the recesses of personality lies the possibility of starting new successions of cause and effect. If, then, we are to have efficient causation, we must find it not in unthinking atoms, nor in their combination, nor in impersonal laws of succession, but, rather, bound up with the purpose and intelligence of a personality.

Phenomenal causation is the succession of appearances common to all. We can mark the preexistences and successions which hold universally in the world of experience, and we can formulate their laws without granting them causal efficiency or assuming anything concerning their metaphysical ground. Efficient causation, on the other hand, deals not with the order of succession but with the ground of being itself.

Causal explanation must be in terms of personality or it must vanish altogether. Any world-ground capable of real causation, not itself involved in the atomic flux, must be both personal and intelligent.

(*c*) *Change and identity.*—With materialism change is impossible. What we call change is a re-arrangement of atoms. Even thought can be no more than that. We have a static universe with its prescribed number of atoms, and all possibilities lie in their permutations and combinations. With absolutism change is a mere appearance. In the ultimate reality, the divine thought, all is static.

Entertaining a lively sense of this problem, Bergson posits duration as the abiding element in change. Change can mean something only to that which retains its identity through all changes. But abstract terms have no way of relating events. This can be done only by an abiding personality. If, then, the human personality is to locate itself in the universe or to image that which survives the passing world of events, it is driven to affirm a supreme enduring personality, in which the world and all lesser personalities find a common unity.

(*d*) *Unity and plurality.*—Driven by criticism to acknowledge the dualism that exists between thought and thing, and with no basis of mediation, some minds are turning to the affirmation of pluralism (*q.v.*). But a disjunctive universe is as much an impossibility for thought as a world predetermined by a divine idea. The pluralist cannot make his world disjunctive enough to be consistent. Unless he preserves a certain amount of unity—the unity of a mind able to grasp the fleeting events of time and the baffling appearance of change—knowledge is meaningless.

Personalism affirms that the only real unity of which we are directly aware is the unity of the free and conscious self. The self survives the passing events of experience, relates them to itself under the forms of time and space, and makes itself the centre of its changing world. That there is any higher unity is due to the fact that one is not alone, but is surrounded by a world of self-conscious intelligences, themselves comprehended in synthesis by a supreme personal intelligence. Through self-conscious and self-acting personality alone can the world be brought into substantial unity.

Thus are we rid of the conflict between mind and matter, noumena and phenomena, and the disjointed world of pluralism. This is done also without resort to an idealism which, though grand in conception, is death to the maintenance of freedom.

LITERATURE.—B. P. Bowne, *Personalism*, Boston, 1908, *Philosophy of Theism*, New York, 1887, *Metaphysics*, do. 1898, *Theory of Thought and Knowledge*, do. 1897, *Kant and Spencer*, Boston and London, 1912; R. T. Flewelling, *Personalism and the Problems of Philosophy*, New York, 1915; C. Renouvier, *Le Personnalisme*, Paris, 1902; F. L. Strickland, *Foundations of Christian Belief*, New York, 1915; J. W. Buckham, *Personality and the Christian Ideal*, Boston, 1909.

R. T. FLEWELLING.

PERSONALITY.—What is a self, and how are we conscious of it? The words 'self' and 'person' may be taken as equivalent, and, as 'personality' is a more familiar term than 'selfness,' we may put our question in this form, What is personality, and how do we know it?

The quality of personality is known to me because I have perception—in the strict sense of the word—of one being which possesses the quality, namely, myself. The view that I perceive myself is not a very common one, especially in recent philosophic thought, but a discussion of it is absolutely essential for the comprehension of the nature of spirit.

In this article the word 'perception' is used to denote that species of awareness which we have of the existent—awareness being a mental state which is not a belief, though it is knowledge. It is of great importance to be clear as to what is meant by 'awareness' and 'perception.' The present writer uses both terms in the manner introduced by B. Russell, and explained by him in his paper on *Knowledge by Acquaintance and Knowledge by Description.*

> I am aware of an object, or am acquainted with an object—the phrases are used as synonymous—when 'I have a direct cognitive relation to that object. . . . In fact, I think the relation of subject and object which I call acquaintance is simply the converse of the relation of object and subject which constitutes presentation. That is, to say that S has acquaintance with O is essentially the same thing as to say that O is

presented to S. . . . When we ask what are the kinds of objects with which we are acquainted, the first and most obvious example is *sense-data*.' When I see a colour or hear a noise, I have direct acquaintance with the colour or the noise. We are also acquainted, in introspection, with 'objects in various cognitive and conative relations to ourselves. When I see the sun, it often happens that I am aware of my seeing the sun, in addition to being aware of the sun, and when I desire food, it often happens that I am aware of my desire for food. . . . The awarenesses we have considered so far have all been awarenesses of particular existents, and might all in a larger sense be called sense-data. For, from the point of view of theory of knowledge, introspective knowledge is exactly on a level with knowledge derived from sight or hearing. But, in addition to awareness of the above kind of objects, which may be called awareness of *particulars*, we have also what may be called awareness of *universals*. . . . Not only are we aware of particular yellows, but if we have seen a sufficient number of yellows and have sufficient intelligence, we are aware of the universal *yellow*; this universal is the subject in such judgments as "yellow differs from blue" or "yellow resembles blue less than green does." And the universal yellow is the predicate in such judgments as "this is yellow," when "this" is a particular sense-datum. And universal relations, too, are objects of awarenesses; up and down, before and after, resemblance, desire, awareness itself, and so on, would seem to be all of them objects of which we can be aware.'[1]

This, then, is what 'awareness' means. By 'perception' is meant the awareness of what Russell calls 'particulars,' or sense-data in a large sense. All of these are substances. And we can, of course, be aware of them only when they exist. Perception, therefore, is always awareness of the existent. But awareness which is not perception need not be of the existent. If I know what any simple characteristic means, I am aware of it. But my awareness, *e.g.*, of yellow, does not prove that there is any existent thing which has the characteristic of yellow.

Perception, however, is not limited to the perception of substances. There is, indeed, no perception except when a substance is perceived, but, along with the substance, we are able to perceive some particular characteristic of the substance. This is proved by the fact that we make judgments, which no one would assert were in all cases incorrect, that a substance has certain characteristics, for which our only evidence is our awareness. And, since the judgment is that a particular existent substance has the characteristic, the awareness on which it is based must be perception. Since the characteristics of the existent themselves exist, the best definition of perception will be that it is awareness of the existent.

What existent things do we perceive? It is clear that I do not perceive physical objects (as opposed to sense-data) or other people's minds. My only ground for believing in them is by an inference from the sense-data which I do perceive. This does not mean that every belief in them is a deliberate and conscious inference from a premiss about sense-data. On the contrary, I often judge that there is a table in the room, or that I have met a friend, without making any judgment whatever that I have perceived any sense-data. But, although my judgment that there is a table in the room is not an inference from sense-data, it will not be a judgment which I have any right to make unless I have experienced sense-data such that the existence of the table in the room could be legitimately inferred from them. And, if any doubt is thrown, by myself or others, upon the correctness of my judgment as to the table, the only way in which it can be justified is by an inference from sense-data.[2]

[1] Russell, pp. 1–4. The present writer cannot accept, without some reservation, the account of what objects it is that we are aware of by introspection, but this does not affect the meaning of awareness.

[2] In the same way the only way of justifying my belief that another person exists will be by an inference from sense-data which (except for a Berkleian) will lead first to a belief in his body (or a reality appearing as his body) and then to himself. Of course the sense-data which are the basis of such an inference need not be as closely connected with the object inferred as to be a case of what is commonly called seeing, touching, etc., the object itself. I never saw the Andes or the death of Cæsar, but my belief in them is an inference from visual sense-data in reading books about them.

We do perceive, then, sense-data (using this word in the larger sense, to include our perception of mental events by introspection). We do not perceive physical objects or other people's minds. But one question still remains. Does each of us perceive himself?

The present writer believes that this is the case. The reasons which have led him to this view were suggested by a passage in Russell's paper already quoted above.[1]

I am certainly aware of certain characteristics—*e.g.*, the characteristic of equality. I know, then, the proposition, 'I am aware of equality.' If I know this proposition, I must know each constituent of it. I must therefore know 'I.' Whatever we know must be known by acquaintance or by description. If, therefore, 'I' cannot be known by description, it must be known by acquaintance, and I must be aware of it.

Now, how can 'I' be described in this case? The description must be an exclusive description, *i.e.* one which applies to nothing but 'I,' since I do not know what 'I' means unless I know enough about it to distinguish it from everything else. I am aware, as already said, of equality, and I am aware, by introspection, that there is an awareness of equality. Can I, by means of these, describe 'I' as that which is aware of equality? But it is obvious that this is not an exclusive description of 'I,' for it could not be that unless it were certain that I was the only person who ever possessed awareness of equality. It is obvious that this is not certain, and that it is possible that some one else besides me was, is, or will be aware of equality. (In point of fact, I have overwhelming empirical evidence for the conclusion that some other persons *are* aware of equality.) Thus we cannot get an exclusive description of 'I' in this way.

It may be thought that an exclusive description could be reached by going a step further. I am not only aware, it may be said, that there is an awareness of equality, but I am also aware that there is *this* awareness of equality, the particular mental act which is my awareness of equality here and now. Now, if 'I' were described as that which is aware of *this* awareness of equality, should we not have reached an exclusive description? For no one else, it may be argued, could be aware of *this* awareness of equality except 'I' myself who have it. Of course, in order that this may be an exclusive description of 'I,' I must know what I mean by *this* awareness of equality. But this would be a case of knowledge by awareness. This awareness of equality would be a sense-datum, of which we could be aware by introspection, since no one denies that sense-data can be known by awareness. Thus, it is said, we can dispense with the necessity for awareness of self, and hold that the only awareness of the existent—the only perception—is of sense-data.

This argument, as has been seen, has, as one of its steps, the assertion that no one can be aware of an awareness of equality except the person who has that awareness. To this point we shall return later. But first we must point out that, even if this step were correct, the argument would not be valid.

The judgment which we are now considering is the judgment, 'I am aware of *this* awareness.' Now this is not merely a judgment that some person, however identified, is aware of the awareness. It also asserts that the person who is aware of the awareness is the person who is making the

[1] Russell did not, however, work out his contention in detail which was not essential for the main design of his paper.

judgment. And how can I be entitled to assert this identity if 'I' can be known only by description? In that case I am aware of this awareness, and of making a judgment, and I may be entitled to conclude that there is some one who is aware of the awareness, and that some one is making the judgment, since both awarenesses and judgments require persons to make them. And it may be the case that 'the person who is aware of this awareness' is an exclusive description of the person to whom it applies. But how do I know that the person thus described is the person who makes the judgment? If I am not aware of my self, the only thing I know about the person who makes the judgment is just the description, 'the person who makes this judgment.' And, granting that this is an exclusive description, I am still not entitled to say, '*I* am aware of this awareness,' unless I know that the two exclusive descriptions apply to the same person. If the person is known only by these descriptions, or by other descriptions, it does not seem to me possible to know anything of the sort. Thus, if 'I' can be known only by description, it seems impossible that we can know that I am aware of this awareness, or of anything else, since the judgment, 'I am aware of X,' always means that the person who is aware of X is also the person who is making the judgment.

On the other hand, if I do perceive my self, there is no difficulty in justifying either the judgment, 'I am aware of this awareness,' or the judgment, 'I am aware of equality.' There is no need now to find an exclusive description of 'I,' because I am aware of it, *i.e.* know it by acquaintance, and therefore do not require to know it by description. And I can now justify the assertion, implied in the use of 'I,' that the person who is aware (whether of *this* awareness or of equality) is the person who makes the judgment. For in perceiving my self I perceive also, as was said above, some of the characteristics of my self. And, if I perceive it to have the character of being aware, of equality, or of an awareness, and also perceive it to have the characteristic of making this judgment, I am justified in holding that it is the same person who is aware and who makes the judgment.[1]

We have thus good reason to assert that I can perceive my self—*i.e.*, if I can know my self at all. For it would be impossible for any one who believed that the self could be known to deny the truth of some proposition which takes the form 'I am aware of X.' And we have seen that such propositions cannot be justifiably accepted unless I can be aware of—*i.e.* perceive—my self.

Thus the attempt to describe the self which is aware of equality by its identity with the self which is aware of *this* awareness of equality has broken down, even if we grant the premiss which it assured—that 'that which is aware of *this* awareness of equality' is an exclusive description of the substance to which it applies. But we must now examine into the truth of this premiss, for, although the argument would not hold even if it were valid, the question of its validity is important in itself.

It is very commonly held that it is impossible for any person to be aware of any mental state except the person who has the state, and, therefore, that only one person can be aware of it. With regard to awareness which is not perception, it is universally admitted that more than one person can be aware of the same thing. It is only by awareness that we can know what any simple characteristic means—since, being simple, it cannot be defined—and the meaning of compound characteristics depends on the meaning of simple characteristics. If, therefore, two people could not be aware of the same simple characteristic, it would be impossible for one person ever to communicate his thoughts to another.

Opinions differ with regard to sense-data in the narrower sense of the word — excluding those admittedly gained by introspection, and including only those which come, or appear to come, from the external senses. Some thinkers regard them as such that two people can perceive the same sense-datum. Others, however, hold that each sense-datum can be perceived only by one person, although sense-data perceived by different people may be caused by the same object and may justify inferences as to the existence of that object.

But that which falls wholly within a mind is usually denied to be perceptible by any mind except that in which it falls, whether it be a state of the mind, a relation between two states of the mind, or a relation between the mind and one of its own states. Thus those thinkers who hold, as some do, that sense-data in the narrower sense are states of the mind are invariably to be found among those who hold that each sense-datum can be perceived only by one person—who is, of course, the person of whom they are states. And, in the case of the remainder of sense-data in the wider sense—those which are admittedly mental, and reached by introspection — it is generally held, or, rather, tacitly assumed, that they can have no other percipient than the mind within which they fall. Among these, of course, are all awarenesses.

Now it does not seem that we are justified in asserting this as an absolute necessity. No doubt it is the case that I do not perceive any state of mind of any person but myself. I have good reason to believe that none of the persons whom I know, or who have recorded their experience in any way which is accessible to me, has ever perceived the states of mind of any other person than himself. Nor have I any reason to believe that any other self in the universe has done so. But the fact that there is no reason to suppose that it does happen is very far from being a proof that it could not happen. Is there any reason for supposing that it could not happen? Even if it is asserted that we have no reason to suppose that any self does perceive anything but its own states (a view which involves that sense-data in the narrower sense are states of the self), there is no impossibility in its doing so. That relative isolation of a self (of course it is not complete isolation) which would prevent it from entering into a relation of perception with anything outside itself need not be essential to the self because it is true of it throughout our experience. If, on the other hand, sense-data in the narrower sense are not parts of the self, then I can perceive something which is outside me, which is one step towards perceiving what is inside another self. The fact that in our experience this second step is never taken does not prove that it is impossible.

It must be remembered that, if A should perceive a state of B's, that would not make it a state of A's or any less exclusively a state of B's. To have a state and to perceive it are two utterly different things. In our present experience, as we have just said, no one does the second who does not do the first. But the first often occurs without the second. I often have a state, even a conscious state, without being aware of that state,[1] and this does not

[1] It may possibly be said that the awareness is never simultaneous with the judgment asserting the awareness. The present writer would be inclined to doubt this. But at any rate it is clear that the judgment can succeed the awareness very rapidly, and in that case we are probably justified in asserting that the self which is aware and the self which judges the awareness are the same self. This point will be discussed later.

[1] If this were not so, every conscious state would start an infinite series of perceptions, since a perception is itself a state,

make it any the less my state. Since the two are so distinct, A might perceive a state of B's, which perhaps B himself did not perceive, and yet it would be B's state and not A's. Confusion on this point has had a good deal to do with the prevailing belief that one self cannot perceive a state of another self.

It is, therefore, not intrinsically impossible that one self should be aware of a state of another self (or that more than one self should be so), and, as a self can be aware of its own state, it is not intrinsically impossible that two selves should be aware of the same awareness. We cannot, therefore, be certain that 'the person who is aware of *this* awareness' is an exclusive description of a person of whom it is true. And, if 'I' can be known only by means of this description, I cannot be certain who 'I' is, and cannot be certain that I know the meaning of the proposition, 'I am aware of *this* awareness,' or of the proposition, 'I am aware of equality' (since the 'I' in the latter was to be described by means of the former). But it is certain that I know the meaning of these propositions, and it is certain that I am certain of their truth. Thus, for a second reason, the attempt to show that 'I' can be known by description in this manner has broken down.

An attempt might be made to know 'I' by description which would not be liable to the second objection. For it might be said—and truly—that, while it is not impossible for more than one self to be aware of a particular awareness, it is impossible for more than one self to *have* the same particular awareness. If I am aware of X, it is not impossible that you, as well as I, should be aware of my awareness of X, but it is impossible that my particular awareness of X should also be your awareness of X, or anybody else's, since what is a state—*i.e.* a part—of one self can in no case be a state of another self.

This view the present writer believes to be correct. It has been denied, both on the ground that my awareness of X is not a part of me and on the ground that two selves might possibly have a common part. But it is not necessary to decide these points here, as it can be shown that, even if the view is correct and no two selves can have the same awareness, it will still be impossible to know 'I' by description.

The attempt to know it by description on this basis would be as follows. If we start from 'I am aware of equality,' and wish to describe the 'I,' we must proceed to the further proposition, 'I have *this* acquaintance with equality,' which will always be true if the other is. Then the 'I' in the latter proposition can be described as the self which has *this* acquaintance with equality. This description cannot apply to more than one thing, and is therefore an exclusive description of it. And the thing so described is the 'I' in both propositions. And in this way we do avoid the second objection. But our new attempt is still open to the first objection—that it involves that two descriptions apply to the same self, and that we have no right to make this assumption. For, when I assert the proposition, 'I have this awareness,' it means that the self who has this awareness is the same as the self who asserts the proposition. Now, I can only describe the one—if it is to be described at all—as the self which has this awareness, and the second as the self which makes this judgment. Both of these are exclusive descriptions. (Of course, by 'this judgment' is meant the psychical fact of judgment, not the proposition which is asserted.) and I should have to be again aware of that, and so on. We know that this is not the case. We do not very often perceive a perception, and perception of a perception of a perception scarcely ever happens except when we are engaged on epistemological or psychological investigation.

But I have no reason to suppose that they refer to the same self, and therefore I am not entitled to say, 'I have this awareness,' or, consequently, 'I am aware of equality.'

If, on the other hand, I am aware of my self, I am entitled to say, 'I have this awareness,' because I am aware of my self with the two characteristics of having the awareness and of making the judgment. Once more, then, we are brought back to the conclusion that, if I am entitled to make any assertion about my awareness of anything, I must be aware of my self.

Nor is this all. The same line of argument will show that, unless 'I' is known by awareness, I am not justified in making *any* statement about my self, whether it deals with awareness or not. If I start with the proposition, 'I am angry,' and then, on the same principle as before, describe 'I' as that which has *this* state of anger, my assertion will involve the assertion that it is the same self which has this state of anger and which is making this proposition. And, if 'I' can be known only by description, there is no reason to hold that it is the same self which both has the state and makes the assertion.

It is not, of course, impossible for us to have good reasons for believing that two descriptions both apply to some substance which we know only by description. I know other people only by description, but I may have good reason to believe of my friend X that he is both a socialist and a post-impressionist. But the case now before us is not analogous to this. My beliefs about X depend for their correctness on the correctness of various inferences from sense-data of which I am aware—perhaps auditory sense-data which I hear, and which I infer to be due to his desire to communicate his opinions to me. But, when I judge that I am angry, the conclusion that it is I who am angry is not an inference from my awareness of a state of anger whose characteristics are such that it can only belong to a particular person. I am as directly certain that it is I who am angry as I am that the state of anger exists. And, if 'I' is not known by awareness, the only alternative is that 'I' should be described as that which is involved in the simple fact of the existence of the state of anger—the only element in the proposition of which, on this hypothesis, we are aware. That is, it must be described simply as the self which has this state of anger. And in this description there is nothing from which we can legitimately conclude that this is the same self as that which makes the assertion.

Our conclusion, then, is that, if 'I' can be known at all, it must be known by awareness, and that, if it cannot be known by awareness, we are not justified in asserting any proposition in which the term 'I' occurs. Unless we take this extremely sceptical alternative, we must admit that 'I' is known by awareness.

It may be asked why this result has not been accepted by so many—perhaps most—recent philosophers. The explanation may be partly that they saw that 'the self which has this state' is an exclusive description of a self, when this state is known by awareness, and that they did not see the further point that this description gave us no ground to identify the self which has the state with the self making the assertion, and that this identity is implied in the use of 'I.' But probably the chief reason is that they looked for the awareness of the self in the wrong way. They tried to find a consciousness of self which had the same *positive* evidence for being an awareness as is found in an awareness of equality or in an awareness of some particular sense-datum. And this attempt failed. For the 'I' is much more elusive

than the other realities of which we are aware. It is divided into parts which are not themselves selves (unlike the parts of sense-data, which, if perceptible, are also sense-data); and of these parts we can be aware, and generally are, or can be, when we are aware of the 'I.' It is easy, therefore, to suppose that it is only the parts—the actual states—of which we are aware, while the 'I' is known only by description, and the belief in it can be justified only by inference from the states. This view also gains plausibility from the fact that 'I' has no content except parts of this sort. For it is natural, though erroneous, to argue that, if all the parts of the 'I' can be perceived separately, it is impossible to perceive the 'I' as a whole except by perceiving all those parts. And, of course, in perceiving the 'I' we do not perceive all its parts.

Thus, if we merely inspect our experience, the awareness of the 'I' is far from obvious. The only way of making it obvious is that suggested by Russell and employed in this article. We must take propositions containing the 'I,' and, to test the view that 'I' is known by description, endeavour to replace 'I' with its description. Only then does the impossibility of knowing 'I' except by awareness become clear.

Our conclusion is that 'I' must be known by awareness, if it is to be known at all. The alternative remains that it is not known at all, and that no statements which contain 'I' as a constituent are justifiable.

Of those philosophies which, without falling into complete scepticism, deny the reality of the self the two most important are Hume's and Bradley's. Hume (*Treatise of Human Nature*, I. iv. 6, ed. T. H. Green and T. H. Grose, 2 vols., London, 1909, i. 533 ff.) seems to take the view that we must be aware of the self if we know it at all, since he contents himself with proving to his own satisfaction that we can have no 'impression' of it, and does not discuss the possibility that I might have a 'compound idea' of it, as I have of the death of Cæsar, which I did not see. He offers two arguments against the possibility of an impression of the self. The first is that the impression, if there were one, must be the same throughout life.

'But there is no impression constant and invariable. Pain and pleasure, grief and joy, passions and sensations succeed each other, and never all exist at the same time. It cannot, therefore, be from any of these impressions, or from any other, that the idea of self is deriv'd; and consequently there is no such idea.'

In answer to this we may say, in the first place, that it is not necessary that the impression should be the same throughout life. If I had it for a minute, it would be enough ground to believe in the self then. Whether there was any reason to suppose that the same self existed before and afterwards would be a matter for further argument. But, whether it did or did not, a self that lasted for a minute would still be a self. As for the passage quoted, no one would deny that no impression of 'pain and pleasure, grief and joy, passions and sensations' could be an impression of the self. But to conclude at once, as he does, that no other impression can be an impression of self is entirely unjustified.

His grounds for making this illegitimate step are probably the fact that, if there is a self, it has parts, all of which are pains, pleasures, griefs, joys, passions, sensations, or something else which is not a self, and his supposition that, in that case, there can be no impression of the self which is not an aggregate of these. And this becomes explicit in his second argument.

Mankind, he says, 'are nothing but a bundle or collection of different perceptions, which succeed each other with an inconceivable rapidity, and are in a perpetual flux and movement.'

Without accepting the detail of this, we may agree that all the content of a self falls within various mental states, not selves, and that—at any rate, within certain limits—these change while the self remains the same self. But it does not follow from this that the self is not an existent reality, any more than it follows that a college is not an existent reality, because it is made up of men who are not colleges, and who join and leave the college while it remains the same college.

Moreover, Hume's attempt to account for the arrangement of the mental states without accepting the reality of the self, when looked at more closely, seems to involve the very reality that it was meant to exclude. For what is meant by saying that the perceptions which exist form different 'bundles or collections'? It does not mean that those which form the same bundle are connected in space with one another more closely than they are with those in other bundles, for Hume does not regard the perceptions as being in space. Nor can it be that they are connected more closely in time, or by resemblance. For, if there is really a bundle wherever there is, on the ordinary theory, a self, then similar and simultaneous perceptions are found in different bundles, and dissimilar and non-simultaneous sensations in the same bundle. It seems impossible to avoid the conclusion that the contents of each bundle must be determined to be parts of that bundle by their relation to, or inclusion in, some reality which is not any one of the contents, nor the aggregate of these taken as a plurality, but is something as ultimate as, say, one of the contents. If we reach this, we have reached the self.

It is not necessary to consider in detail all the stages in Bradley's searching and brilliant analysis of the various possible meanings of the self, on which he founds his conclusion that the self is not absolutely real. It is clear that, if the view which we have taken is to be refuted in consequence of any of his criticisms, it will be by those which he offers in respect of the sixth sense of the word which he discusses—that in which the self is a subject which becomes an object (*Appearance and Reality*[2], London, 1908, ch. ix.). For the self which, as we have decided, each of us knows by awareness as his 'I' is, as we saw, that which is the subject which perceives and judges. We do not say that it is only that, that it does nothing else. On the contrary, it is that which loves when my judgment, 'I love,' is true, and which is angry when my judgment, 'I am angry,' is true. But it is also that which is the subject in all knowledge. If Bradley has succeeded in disproving the reality of a self which is the subject of knowledge, he has disproved our conclusion. But, if he has not done this, he has not weakened our conclusion at all, since none of the other senses of self which he discusses is such that its validity is involved in the validity of self in our sense.

The self, Bradley says, is a concrete group. With this we may agree, since Bradley apparently means by it only that there is a plurality of parts in the self. He then points out that most, if not all, of the content of the self can become an object, and from this he concludes that very little, if any, of the content of the self can belong to it essentially. His view is that what becomes an object becomes *ipso facto* part of the not-self, and that what is not-self cannot be the self, or part of it. If Bradley is right in holding that whatever becomes an object must be removed from the self, then it is clear that no self can know its own existence. For no self could know its own existence without being an object of knowledge to itself, and a self cannot be its own object if the object *ipso facto* ceases to be self. Thus not only must we abandon

the view that I know my self by awareness—which we had found reason to think was the only way in which I could know myself—but, more generally, all knowledge of my self by my self is directly shown to be impossible.

But what reason is there for holding that a self cannot be its own object, remaining all the time the self which has the object? There appears to be no reason whatever The presumption is certainly that it can be its own object, for, if it could not, I could never know my self (whether by awareness or by description), and consequently could never know any proposition in which 'I' occurs. Now, there are propositions in which 'I' occurs which I do assert, and which are *prima facie* true. The present writer can see no ground why this presumption should be rejected. It cannot be denied that there are certain relations in which a substance can stand to itself, and what is there in the case of the relation of knowledge which should make us reject the *prima facie* view that this is one of them? So far from that being the case, the more we contemplate our experience, the more reason we find for holding that it is impossible to reject knowledge of self. If we are right in this, Bradley's objection to the reality of the self, in the sense in which we have taken self, falls to the ground.

I am, then, aware of my own self. We now pass to a question of considerable importance—the relation of the self to time, or to that real series which appears as a time-series. It is a common view that the definition of substance should include permanence in time, or, at least, persistence through a certain amount of time.[1] But it is better to adopt a different definition, by which that which existed at a single and indivisible point of time would also be a substance. With regard to selves, the view that nothing is a self unless it is persistent through time is still stronger. Indeed, many refutations of the reality of selves confine themselves to showing, or attempting to show, that a self, defined in whatever way is being criticized, could not persist for the period covered by the life of a human body.

What can we say, on our theory, as to the persistence of the self? I know my self by awareness, and I can therefore be certain only of those of its characteristics of which I am aware, or which are involved in those of which I am aware. Am I aware of the persistence of my self through time? It seems to me that I am. For awareness lasts through the specious present. At any point of time, then, I may perceive my self at that point of time, and also my self at any previous point of time within the limits of a specious present. And if, between these points, I begin or cease to perceive something else, I shall, if I attend to the relation between the two perceptions, be aware of my self as persisting while other things change, and so as persisting in time.[2]

This period of time is, of course, very short relatively to the life of a human body. Have we any reason to suppose that the self which we perceive through a specious present persists itself through any longer time? It has been held by some writers that, for past periods which are earlier than any part of the specious present, but yet relatively near, our memory gives us absolute certainty that the things which we remember did occur. If that is the case—it is not necessary for us to discuss whether it is or not—I can have absolute certainty that I existed at a time which falls within the limits where memory is absolutely trustworthy. If, at the present moment, I remember that I was aware of myself in the past, then the 'I' who now remembers and the 'I' who was then aware must be the same 'I,' unless the memory is erroneous—which it cannot be, by the hypothesis, within these limits—and therefore the same 'I' must have persisted from the moment of the remembered awareness to the moment of the remembrance.

Beyond this, there is no *certainty* of the persistence of self. If, outside the limits of certain memory, I remember that I did or was certain things in the past, that professed memory may be deceptive in two ways. It may, in the ordinary sense, be false, as when, in a dream, I remember that I committed a murder ten years ago. In the second place, even if the events which I now remember did happen to some one in my body, I may be in error in thinking that *I* experienced them. There may then have been another self related to my body, whose experience I now know and mistakenly judge to have been my own. The latter alternative is not at all probable, but it is not impossible. But, although there is no absolute certainty that my present self has lasted longer than the specious present and the short preceding period of certain memory—if there is such a period—yet there may be very good reason for holding that it is extremely probable that it has done so. There is very little reason to doubt that the feelings with which I now remember that I saw Benares really did occur more than twenty years ago, and the self which experienced them was the same one which is now remembering them. And there is very little reason to doubt that the same 'I' of which I am now aware did have various experiences ever since the birth of my present body, although I have no memory whatever of most of them. On similar grounds there is very little reason to doubt that, unless my body dies within the next week, the 'I' of which I am now aware will still exist at the end of this week.

The grounds on which we come to such conclusions will, of course, be empirical. But the results which we have reached as to the nature of the self, and as to my absolute certainty of my own existence within certain temporal limits, will have an important bearing on the validity of the conclusions as to further persistence. For, when objections have been offered to the common-sense view that each self — at any rate under usual circumstances—persists through the whole life of a living body, they have generally been made on the ground either that we do not know what the self is which is said to persist or that its persistence is incompatible with the changes in the 'bundle' of mental events. But we are now able to say that by the self we mean something of which the 'I' of which I am aware is an example. And so the question of any self existing to-day, whether it existed twenty years ago, is a perfectly definite question, whatever may be held about the true answer. We are also now able to say that, within the specious present, we are aware of a self which remains the same while changes occur among the mental events.

We have thus justified the statement at the beginning of this article. The quality of being a person is known to me because I perceive one being which possesses the quality, namely, myself. To be a person is a quality which I perceive in 'I,' when I perceive 'I,' and which I do not perceive in anything else which I do perceive, though I believe,

[1] For the sake of brevity, 'time' is used as an equivalent to 'time, or that real series which appears as a time-series,' whenever the context removes any danger of ambiguity.

[2] It does not, of course, follow that a thing begins or ceases to exist because I begin or cease to perceive it, but at any rate the perceptions will begin and cease. Since the perceptions are parts of the self, it follows that the same self can contain parts which exist at different times. It is also obvious that it can contain parts which exist simultaneously. If I know that I am angry, my self contains simultaneously a state of anger and a state of awareness (of the anger). Again, I am sometimes aware that I am both hot and happy.

rightly or wrongly, that it is possessed by other substances which I do not perceive. But is it a compound of various other qualities, or is it simple and indefinable? It would appear that it is the latter. There is a quality of personality, which, like redness, is made known to us by our perception of substances which have it, and, like redness, is simple and indefinable.

What is the relation of consciousness to personality? When we say that a self is conscious, we mean that it is conscious of something, *i.e.* it knows something. It would be a difficult question to decide whether the possession of personality necessarily involved the possession of consciousness, and, if so, whether a self had to be conscious at all times when it was a self, or whether its personality could continue during intervals when it had not consciousness.

A self-conscious self is one which knows itself, which, by our previous results, involves that it is aware of itself. Must a self be self-conscious? It has been maintained that it must be so. Sometimes it is said that consciousness is essential to the self, and that no being could be conscious unless it were self-conscious. Sometimes it is admitted that a being might be conscious without being self-conscious, but then, it is said, it ought not to be called a self. The present writer disagrees with both these views. It seems to him quite possible for a being to be conscious without being self-conscious. It is true that the only conscious being of whom I am ever aware is necessarily self-conscious, since it is myself. But I am not always self-conscious when I am conscious. Memory gives me positive reason to believe in states when I am not aware of myself at all—not states that are either abnormal, on the one hand, or mystic, on the other, nor states in which in any sense I am not a self, or am less a self than at other times, but a perfectly normal and frequent state in which I am conscious of other objects and am not conscious of myself, because my attention does not happen to be turned that way. I seem to remember such states. And, even if I did not remember them, it would still be perfectly possible that there should be such states, though there might be no reason for supposing that there were. And there is no reason why there should not be beings who are always in the condition in which I am sometimes, of being conscious without being self-conscious.

In answer to such considerations as these, it is sometimes said that self-consciousness is always found when consciousness is found, but that the self-consciousness is so faint that it escapes observation when we try to describe the experience which we remember. If there were any impossibility in the existence of consciousness without self-consciousness, it is doubtless to this hypothesis that we should be driven. But there seems no reason whatever why I should not be conscious of something else without being conscious of myself, and therefore no reason why we should conclude to the existence of this faint self-consciousness, of which, by the hypothesis, we can have no direct evidence.

Again, it is said that there is always implicit or potential self-consciousness. By this is meant that a conscious self could always be self-conscious if circumstances turned its attention to itself, instead of away from itself, that there is no intrinsic impossibility of self-consciousness. This is doubtless the case with me, and selves like me, at the times when we are not self-conscious. But it does not alter the fact that, at those times, we are just as really not self-conscious as at other times we are really self-conscious. Why should there not be beings who were conscious but whose nature was such that they could never be self-conscious?

It has also been maintained, as we said above, that, even if there could be beings who were conscious without being self-conscious, the name of self should be reserved for those who are self-conscious. This usage, it seems, would not be so convenient as the one which we have adopted. To call a conscious being a self only when it was self-conscious would involve that each of us would gain and lose the right to the name many times a day. It would be less inconvenient if the name of self were given to those conscious beings which are ever self-conscious, even at the times when they were not so. But there is a more serious difficulty. We are invited to define personality as being conscious of self. And consciousness of self is a complex characteristic which can be defined only when it is known what we mean by a self. Therefore, if self means the same on the two occasions when it enters into the statement, 'a self is that which is self-conscious,' we have a circular and unmeaning definition of selfness. But, if we avoid this by self not meaning the same on each occasion, it is obvious that we are using the word in a very inconvenient manner. On the whole, therefore, it seems better to say that selfness does not involve self-consciousness.

We have now determined what is meant by self, and how it is that we have the characteristic of personality. Spirituality may be defined as the quality of having substantial content all of which is the content of one or more selves. From this it follows that all selves are spiritual substances, but that they are not the only spiritual substances. Parts of selves, such as thoughts and volitions, or the parts of thoughts and volitions, would be spiritual. And so would groups of selves, whether those groups are important, such as a nation, or trivial, such as a bridge-party, or purely arbitrary, such as the group made up of Louis XIV., Sir Nathaniel Wraxall, and Sir Isaac Newton. (So, also, we may note for the sake of completeness, would be a group made up of some selves and some parts of selves. But this has no practical importance.) These are all spiritual substances, but they would not all be called spirits, since usage confines the phrase '*a* spirit' to what is also called a self.

It would sometimes be maintained that our definition of spirit is too narrow. Whatever falls within the substantial content of any self, it would be said, is certainly spiritual, but spirit also includes content which is not part of any self. There is, or may be, knowledge, volition, emotion—in a word, experience—which does not fall within any self, and is not the experience of any self, and all this, it would be said, falls within spirit.

It might perhaps be admitted that, if there were such non-personal experience, it would have a good claim to be called spiritual. But the present writer submits that it is impossible that there should be. This is not a question about names. The assertion is that we mean the same thing by the names 'knowledge,' 'volition,' and 'experience' as is meant by the advocates of this view, and that we mean the same thing by the term 'self.' (At any rate, any slight difference that there might be in the meanings of the words would not account for the difference of opinion about impersonal experience.) The assertion is that there cannot be experience which is not experienced by a self because it seems evident, not as part of the meaning of the terms, but as a synthetic truth about experience. This truth is ultimate. It cannot be defended against attacks, but it seems beyond doubt. The more clearly we realize the nature of experience, or of knowledge, volition, and emotion, the more clearly, it is submitted, does it appear that any of them are impossible except as the experience of a self.

Nor are we led to doubt this conclusion by finding that it leads us into any difficulties. For nothing that we know suggests to us in the least the existence of impersonal experience. We never perceive it, since each of us perceives only himself and his own sense-data—and none of the facts that we do perceive is better explained on the hypothesis that there is non-personal experience than on the hypothesis that there is not.

All substantial content of spirit, then, must fall within some self. But now another point arises. Can any substantial content fall within more than one self? In that case either one self would form part of another or two selves would overlap, having a part common to both. Is this possible? It seems impossible that any part should be common to two or more selves. When I contemplate, to begin with, what is meant by an act of knowledge, a volition, or any other part of my experience, it seems as impossible to me that such a state should belong to more than one self as it is that it should not belong to a self at all. It may be said that this still leaves open the possibility that there should be parts of a self of which that self is not and cannot be aware—which are, in the ordinary phrase, unconscious parts of the self—and that these may be common to more than one self, though conscious parts could not be.

It is doubtful whether this view, that unconscious parts can be common to two selves though conscious parts cannot, has ever been maintained. Whenever it has been held that two selves could have a common part, it has always been held that one self could be part of another. And, since all selves are always held to have some conscious parts, this would involve that some conscious parts were parts of two selves. But, whether the view has been maintained or not, it seems false. From the nature of the case I cannot observe an unconscious state of a self, and all that I could know about it would be that it was a state of a self, and an unconscious state. But this is enough. For, when I consider what is meant by a self, it seems to me clear that a self is something which cannot have a part in common with another self. The peculiar unity which a self has puts it into a relation with its parts which is such that a part could not have it to two selves. Or, to put it the other way round, any relation which a substance could have to two wholes, of each of which it is a part, cannot be the relation of the state of a self to the self.

Since selves persist through time, each self is divided into parts persisting through the parts of the self's persistence. (And these parts it would have, even if we were wrong in our view that acts, of knowledge, volition, and the like, are parts of the self who knows and wills.) It seems equally impossible that any part in this dimension should be common to two or more selves.

The impossibility of any part of any self belonging also to any other self is, we may say, an ultimate truth, and cannot be proved. But it can be indirectly supported by discussing various ways in which it has been said that it is possible that one part should belong to more than one self. In the first place, it is often said that one self (and so the parts of it) can be part of another, if the included self is a manifestation of the inclusive self. This view has always been popular, because one of the chief grounds for wishing to show that one self can be part of another has been to make it possible for man to be part of God. For various religious motives many people have been anxious that a personal God—a God who is a self—should be the whole of what exists, or the whole in which all spiritual life falls. And, if man is to be part of God, it is a natural and attractive view to regard man as manifesting God's nature. If a self could be part of another on condition of its being its manifestation, it would cover those cases in which people are generally most desirous to show that one self is part of another. Now, it is no doubt true that a self can manifest the nature of a whole of which it is a part. Thus we may say that Dante manifested the nature of the society of the Middle Ages, and that Chatham manifested the nature of England. But England and the society of the Middle Ages are not selves. Again, one self can manifest the nature of another. Thus a theist, who was not a pantheist, might say of a good man that he manifested the nature of God. But the manifestant is not part of the self whose nature he manifests. It seems that in many cases in which it is said that one self can be part of another the assertion is based on a confusion about manifestation. It is said that the inclusion can take place, if the included self manifests the other. And, because a self can be conceived to manifest the nature of a whole of which it is a part, and can be conceived to manifest the nature of another self, it is confusedly held that it can be conceived to manifest the nature of something which is *both* a whole of which it is a part and another self. But this, of course, is an illogical inference.

In the second place, it is suggested that, if a self A perceived a self B, and all its parts, and had other contents besides those perceptions, then B would be a part of A, and the parts of B would also be parts of A. This suggestion also applies chiefly to the inclusion of man in God. For we know of no case where a man can perceive another man, or his parts, and it is generally said (though, as said above, probably erroneously) that this would be impossible. But in the case of God it is often thought that this limitation need not apply. It is possible, no doubt, that B and its parts might be perceived by A, whether A was God or not. But this will not make B and its parts into parts of A. B perceives its own parts, or some of them, but the relation of having them as parts and the relation of perceiving them are quite different relations, and, if A should have the second, it does not follow that it will have the first. The confusion is probably due to the fact that, in our ordinary experience, no one perceives the part of a self except the self of which it is a part, and it is therefore mistakenly assumed that anything which did perceive it must be a self of which it is a part.

These considerations diminish any doubt which might fall on the truth of our position that the inclusion in selves of other selves or their parts is impossible. If it really is an ultimate truth, it may be said, why have so many thinkers believed that it is not true at all? But any force that there might be in this objection is diminished when we see that many of the people who asserted that the inclusion was not impossible had confused it with one of various other things which are quite possible, but are not the inclusion in question.

It is sometimes asserted, not only that such an inclusion is possible, but that we have empirical evidence that it does occur in those comparatively rare instances usually known as cases of 'multiple personality.' The most striking of these, and the one best adapted to prove the contention, if any of them could do so, is the case recorded by Morton Prince in his well-known work, *The Dissociation of a Personality* (New York, 1906). It does not seem to the present writer that any of the most interesting facts recorded in this book, or any other facts of the same class of which he has read, are incompatible with the view that only one self is, in each case, concerned with all the events happening in connexion with any one body, the characters, and the events remembered by that

self, suffering rapid oscillations, due to causes not completely ascertained. That such oscillations do take place has been certain since the time of the first man who became quarrelsome or maudlin when drunk, and reverted to his ordinary character when sober. The oscillations in such a case as we are now considering differ in degree, no doubt, from those seen in every-day life, but they introduce no qualitative difference.

Whether all the facts recorded of multiple personality can be explained in this way is a question into which we cannot now enter. But, if there were any of such a nature as to be incompatible with the theory that a single self was concerned in them, they would necessarily be of such a nature as to be compatible with the theory that they were caused by two selves, neither of them including the other, or any part of the other, which happened to be connected with the same body—a connexion which we do not come across in any other part of our experience, but which has no intrinsic impossibility.[1] Thus any fact of multiple personality, whether the divergence of personality were slight or great, could be accounted for without requiring the hypothesis of inclusion, and no doubt can arise from these facts as to the correctness of our view that the impossibility of the hypothesis of inclusion is an ultimate truth.

Since such inclusion is an impossibility, it follows that, unless I am the whole universe, the universe cannot be a self. For I am aware of myself as a self, and, if I am not the whole universe, I am part of it. And the whole of which a self is part cannot be a self. This result is the same whether, of that part of the universe which is not me, all, some, or none consists of other selves.

LITERATURE.—See the authorities cited throughout.

J. ELLIS MCTAGGART.

PERSONIFICATION.

Introductory and Primitive (G. FOUCART), p. 781.
American.—See NATURE (American).
Egyptian (A. H. GARDINER), p. 787.
Greek (E. A. GARDNER), p. 792.
Indian.—See NATURE (Hindu).
Roman (J. B. CARTER), p. 794.
Semitic (W. H. BENNETT), p. 800.

PERSONIFICATION (Introductory and Primitive).—Personification may be defined as the act of attributing a living, conscious, and active personality to inanimate natural objects (from the smallest object to complete portions of the physical world, and even the whole world itself), to forces and phenomena, to manufactured objects, or to abstract ideas and words.

There are two great difficulties in studying a subject like personification: (1) to discover the exact significance to primitive man (or, failing him, uncivilized man) of what we call 'personality'; and (2) to reconstruct, as far as possible, the psychological mechanism behind the process of personification. The first of these problems need not be treated here (see LIFE AND DEATH [Primitive], PERSONALITY). With regard to the second, there are so many examples of personification collected by modern bibliography that our only practicable plan here seems to be to arrange the facts roughly in classes and, noting as we go along the partial explanations that they suggest, try to come to a general conclusion. The examples in each class are so numerous that only a few can be mentioned. For further details see the literature at the end of the article.

I. *CLASSIFICATION.* — 1. **Inanimate natural objects.**—The forces of nature and portions of the physical world (as primitive man imagines them) everywhere form the most important subdivision of the first class of personifications. It is impossible to draw up a complete list of all the varieties in use among the extinct primitive religions, and of those of which present-day uncivilized races give us a poor and distorted idea. But we may present a list in which the order followed is that corresponding, roughly, to the principal divisions of the universe as conceived by the most typical of those religions.

First there are the elements themselves, or, rather, what primitive man imagines to be the principal elements forming this universe. Water, fire, and earth we find universally conceived as persons. But this generalization presupposes an effort of fairly far advanced synthetic conception. A rougher or more childish subdivision is usual, the more elementary naturism generally resulting in the following classes:

(*a*) The sky, or (much more frequently) the different skies or portions of the world that is conceived as above the earth and separated from it by the world of air. These are sometimes superimposed regions and sometimes real separate worlds. For the process of personifications of this class see art. SKY-GODS.

(*b*) The intermediary space between the sky, conceived as a solid world, and the terrestrial world is formed by air or airs. See art. AIR AND GODS OF THE AIR.

(*c*) The terrestrial waters form one of the commonest classes of personification. The sea or the different seas (*e.g.*, the ocean of Dahomey, the glacial sea of the Eskimos, the Ouajit Oïrit of the Egyptians) are wide-spread types. These personified waters are quite different from the waters of lakes and rivers (see below, I. 2 (*c*)). They are maritime waters. A point to be noticed is the general predominance of a special personification for the water which forms the boundary of the inhabited world—*e.g.*, the old Ὠκεανός of Homeric Greece. In most cases it serves to connect the mass of terrestrial waters with those held up by the sky or those of the 'abyss' on which the earth rests. This notion throws light on primitive cosmogony, and on the primordial water of so many mythologies, from which every thing and every personified spirit, even the Supreme Being, came forth in the beginning (cf. art. WATER-GODS).

(*d*) The personified earth (not as an element, but as an expanse) has a place in most ancient myths; it appears at the very dawn of cosmogony in its creator rôle. Almost all the religions which reached the stage of outlining a world-history show the earth in this rôle, either alone or, more frequently, with the co-operation of the personified sky (see SKY-GODS). Usually the earth is conceived as female and consequently as a mother (cf. EARTH-GODS), but in exceptional cases (*e.g.*, in Egypt) it is personified as a man. He engenders, and the rôle of giving birth to the world is reserved for a female sky. The necessary concourse of the two elements is identical; but the maternal rôle of the sky shows a more philosophic idea of origins.

[1] No great difficulty is represented by the fact that, on this theory, one self would sometimes 'remember' what had happened to the other. Two such selves would have an important and unusual connexion, in the occupation of the same body, which might well be sufficient to account for this.

(*e*) Quite distinct from the person of the earth are the chthonic personifications of the under world. They correspond to various conceptions among primitive peoples, and concern not the superficial living layer of the soil, but a region quite different from the earth, about whose structure and extent races have had very different ideas (see DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD, STATE OF THE DEAD). It is sometimes regarded as a single division, sometimes as a series of divisions of the organized world. For these underground regions see UNDER WORLD.

(*f*) At the foundation of the series of personifications created by naturism we find the 'abyss,' or the primordial mass, usually imagined as liquid. In some cosmogonies it is the oldest of all persons, before the sky and the earth, which are only its emanations or persons sprung from it (see SKY-GODS)—*e.g.*, the Egyptian *nun* and the Sumero-Chaldæan abyss in advanced religions, and 'the waters' of the Bushongo and of the myths of S. Africa at the earlier stage.

Such a series of personifications is the product of an advanced naturism. It presupposes a complete view of the supposed subdivisions of the world, and, consequently, quite a power of generalization. We may therefore reasonably suppose that it is far from representing the primitive stage of the personification of nature. Much more ancient, to all appearance, are the fragmentary personifications found in every part of the universe. Before the sky was personified as the one universal sky, man personified separately, and as so many distinct entities, the different parts of the firmament, the various regions of the different skies (not to mention their inhabitants [see below, I. 2 (*a*)]); he imagined and personified the 'lower sky,' the 'upper sky' (as still seen in the Pyramid Texts at a much later date), the sunset sky and that of the sunrise, the 'skies of the horizons,' etc.; in the same way the spaces of the air were divided into quarters and domains, each of which was a person. As for the waters which sleep or roll on the surface of our planet, the enumeration of their personifications would be endless—springs, fountains, brooks, streams, rivers, ponds, lakes, marshes, etc. Their characteristic traits also suggested other personifications, viz. cascades, torrents, rapids, and cataracts. It should be noticed that the pre-historic religions of the valley of the Nile and those which we find to-day on the Black Continent or in Polynesia point towards the same conclusion: it is in springs and especially in remarkable irregularities of surface (rapids, cataracts, etc.) that the most ancient personifications of water seem to occur; *i.e.*, the notion of force or energy superseded that of expanse. The phenomena peculiar to an aquatic region, like Morbihan in Brittany or the lagoons on the west coast of Africa (cf. R. E. Dennett, *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*, London, 1906, and *Nigerian Studies*, do. 1910), reveal a similar mechanism for the particular cases.

The same infinite variety of persons is found for the solid element. The whole book of Nature is included, from the great peaks and high mountain-summits and the promontories and headlands on the coast to isolated rocks, from forests to isolated clusters of trees, from the great Arctic iceberg to isolated islands of ice.

The personifications of the chthonian domain have less numerous manifestations: grottoes, caverns, and especially passages supposed to be entrances to the other world. The *akir* and *amentit* of ancient Egypt have their equivalents in many a semi-civilized race in Africa at the present day, just as the various 'passages' in the subterranean domains of ancient Chaldæa or of Homeric Greece have theirs in the remains of uncivilized religions.

2. Natural forces and phenomena.—The long list of personifications of physical nature shows us a constantly-recurring fact: among the objects most frequently personified we always find in the first rank those which attract man's attention either by their characteristic, exceptional, or abnormal appearance or by their apparent activity and its direct effects on man for good or ill. And if, as is probable, the understanding of the first causes and of the general manifestations of physical phenomena is beyond the intellectual power of primitive man, we again reach the hypothesis that personification originated not in the great divisions of the material universe, but in its very small fragments or portions when they seem to attract attention by an exceptional activity or power. It is therefore by isolated things, or small portions of space, of the earth or of the waters, and especially by manifestations of their energy apparent to the senses, harmful or beneficent, that personification must have arisen. This seems to be proved by an examination of the various personified natural forces, which we shall class, for convenience' sake, in the same purely artificial order as before.

(*a*) Thus, in the domain of the celestial we find personified alongside of regions of the heavens having no apparent rôle, like the Milky Way, all bodies whose movements and courses attract attention, and especially those whose activity seems to influence terrestrial phenomena or the state of human beings. This process of personification seems anterior to real deification and to any astrological system (see SUN, MOON, AND STARS). The personification of the solar or lunar eclipse as a hostile monster is a universal religious phenomenon and is everywhere of first importance. As a general rule we notice the pre-eminence of comets over fixed stars in their normal aspect, that of planets over the constellations, and that of the moon over the sun (generally found among uncivilized races). Here we get fresh light on the origins of personification. We also see the importance attached to the personified thunder-bolt, lightning-flash, or thunder-peal, as to all fragments of meteorites and fire-balls, and especially to the rainbow, to which so many primitive religions give an important place among sacred personifications. It is only at the second stage of religious evolution (*e.g.*, in N. Africa, in Nigeria, among the Gallas, among the Hereros, in Ethiopia, and in Egypt—to mention only the African region) that these manifestations of the world above are connected with the personal activity of the sky-god; they become his voice, his appearance, or his material fragments (cf., *e.g.*, the thunder-god or the ram-god of Dahomey).

(*b*) In the personification of air phenomena we find the same state of affairs, sometimes with more definiteness. Æolus in classical mythology and the Chaldæan Demon of the South Wind are only two among many survivals of a great number of persons who, before being gods or spirits, in the proper sense of the word, were the 'animation' (see ANIMISM) of the most violent and remarkable phenomena of the air. The north winds of the savages in northern regions, the tempests of the Ainus, the winds of the whole of pre-Columban America, the storms, great rains, hurricanes, cyclones, and water-spouts of so many savage races throughout the world did not become real gods until a much later stage (China, Kandhs, Melanesia, New Zealand, W. and S. Africa). Later still they became the attributes or the manifestations of great gods. But that is not to say that they were always directly personified for their own sakes. A careful examination of cases shows that these activities are usually connected with a fixed and

visible point of the material world; it is with a peak, a summit, an iceberg, or a headland that the gusts of wind, storms, and hurricanes are connected (*e.g.*, Lake Tanganyika and Lake Victoria Nyanza, the Cameroon summits and the Ruwenzori mountains), and not with the spirit dwelling on these peaks or headlands, but, on closer examination, with the personified peaks or headlands. The problem is more difficult in personifications of phenomena such as the *aurora borealis* among races of cold countries, the St. Elmo fire, and the zodiacal light; and great caution is necessary here.

(*c*) But the region of 'persons' of the water (torrents, rapids, cascades, cataracts, etc.) shows the same facts (see above, I. 1 (*c*)), as do also the chthonian manifestations. Points where earthquakes are frequent, the volcanoes of Kilimanjaro in Africa and those of Mexico, Fujiyama in Japan, and the Icelandic geysers were personified for their own sakes, and as distinct persons, from the very fact of their activity, before becoming simply the habitat of a spirit or a god who shows his particular energy through them.

This review of the inanimate physical world and its chief manifestations of power seems to lead to the conclusion that personification (without considering yet whether it proceeds from pure animism or from a kind of dynamism) originated in man's encounter with a series of objects, and in phenomena attributed to those objects, and supposed to be endowed with will and intelligence, or at least passions, and consequently forming a personality, as primitive man understands it. But this explanation is only partial, and, as a matter of fact, the process of formation of the personality is much more complex. The naturistic world is only one part of the domain of personification.

In the very undeveloped stages of non-civilized societies we find a complete group of personifications which apparently cannot be explained in this simple way. Such an abstraction as time, *e.g.*, seems *a priori* likely to escape personification, in the concrete sense of the word (the only acceptable sense in the case of primitive or non-civilized man). But we find that this personification is of general occurrence, in pre-Columban America (*e.g.*, Aztecs and Mayas) as well as in proto-historic Africa (the Nile Valley) or non-civilized Africa (Yorubas, Ashantis, Dahomans, etc.), where the 'persons' of the chief seasons or divisions of the meteorological year, of the type of the American Nipumukhe and the Pipunikhe, the Egyptian *ṭaru*, etc., play an important part. And these are real personifications, not rôles or 'appearances' assumed by the spirits or gods, of whom these divisions of time would be simple emanations.

The problem thus becomes very complex. At first there may have been the conception of persons whose activity shows itself in a group of regular phenomena, classified by the human mind under such simple terms as 'months,' 'seasons,' etc. From this a generalization would take place in time and space of those more humble personifications which we find in the forms of personifications of germination and maturity, of the return in spring of certain vegetable or cereal species, or more commonly in the form of the 'grain-spirit' or the spirit of the crops or harvest. These minute personifications, arising partly from animism and partly from dynamism (see below, I. 4), would proceed, as in the cases mentioned above, by more and more extensive generalizations up to an elaborate series of phenomena considered in their complete evolution. But the explanation becomes very doubtful in a case of personification of larger divisions of time, such as the year (cf. PERSONIFICATION [Egyptian]), cycle, period, etc. The stellar explanation is not sufficient, for it is evident that these 'persons' have a real existence, independent of the stars and the celestial movements to which they ultimately adapted themselves.

Taking time-divisions in descending order, we find personifications of the divisions of the season; of the month and its subdivisions into four weeks or shorter periods; then of the day and its parts, hours or their equivalents. The complicated systems of the non-civilized Far East, of Central America, and of W. Africa show independent (and sometimes ingenious) types of these groups of personifications. But here we must notice: (1) the purely conventional and artificial character of many of them, and (2) their dependence, real though often difficult to prove, on spirits or deities; these pseudo-persons are in reality dependences or 'virtues' of deities or spirits far oftener than entities with an existence of their own.

A similar reservation must be made with regard to the divisions of space, not the natural divisions which are enumerated above (I. 2 (*a*)), but the symmetrical ones invented by the half-knowledge of savage races or those of a proto-historic stage—*e.g.*, the four cardinal points of the compass, or 'celestial houses' personified. Careful inquiry shows that, in the cases studied up to the present, these divisions are always 'functions' of some spirit or deity. It may be held, on the contrary, that the spirit or god assumed the personifications, or that he was originally subordinate and became detached from them. But closer examination shows that, as a general rule, he is anterior to them. The personifications, then, always slightly artificial, depend on the god from the very beginning, and not the god on them.

3. Manufactured objects.—We now reach a new set of personifications, which cannot be entirely explained by dynamism any more than by direct animism—artificial divisions of the earth made by man himself, or inanimate things which man has produced or shaped with his own hands. The most characteristic examples of the former are the personified State, province, or domain; of the latter the personified human constructions (city, town, village, fortress, isolated buildings, and, most naturally, temple or chapel). Another important group of 'persons' is the vast crowd of objects worked on or manufactured by man, from the gathered sheaf of grain or bunch of plants to implements, weapons, machines, and instruments of all kinds. The most remarkable group of personifications of this type consists of constructions such as bridges, or cult-objects such as tabernacles, altars, etc. (cf., *e.g.*, artt. ALTAR, BRIDGE), in which the distinct personality is clearly seen. We must reserve the examination of the mechanism controlling the formation of this class in the meantime; the following groups may help to explain it.

4. Abstract ideas.—Perhaps we may find new light in another class of personifications, which seem at first sight to proceed from a kind of animism grammatically applied by human language to pure abstractions. The personification of good or evil forces and of harmful qualities or powers, such as will, force, justice, order (*e.g.*, the Egyptian Mā'et), health, illness, death—in a word, abstractions—is a religious phenomenon not only of universal occurrence but also of the greatest antiquity. Although our data have been enriched by hundreds of excellent new examples since the facts and arguments of Max Müller and E. B. Tylor were advanced, the theory itself does not seem to have made corresponding progress. It is wise to regard as a kind of 'disease of language' a great many personifications, which in any case do not appear to be primitive—*e.g.*, functions or functional qualities of an intellectual kind (calculation, architecture; *e.g.*, the Safkhet-'abui of Egypt) or of a physical kind (hunting, fishing)—and to consider many of these personified activities or characters as detached *âperat*, so to speak, of certain demons, spirits, or gods, with whom they are constantly associated in all religions; and, lastly, we must reject as artificial and purely conventional all that is comprised to-day under the very vague name of 'allegory'—vices, virtues, arts, sciences, commerce, industry, etc.—as these are late inventions to which a real personality has never been seriously accorded outside of rhetoric or poetry.

But, even after these eliminations, there remains an imposing number of abstract persons who defy any single interpretation. Is time, considered *in abstracto*, a person? The Greek Χρόνος points to an affirmative. Space and Destiny figure as personalities in more than a hundred religions, from the most humble to the classical systems of antiquity, and not only distinct from all the divine persons, but often superior to them or hostile towards them. Matter (Egyp. *nun*) exists in several non-civilized systems. Neither pure and simple animism nor animism working through language can explain these abstract entities satisfactorily.

Some light, however, is thrown on them by the present-day religions of some savage races. If, *e.g.*, we look at the personification of the idea of disease, we find that abstract generalization is beyond the conception of primitive man. There are diseases, but not disease in the abstract. Every affection or pain is either the definite work of a spirit or demon or a definite person. The wealth of amulets, fetishes, and attempts at images (painted, carved, and sculptured) establishes this fact beyond all doubt. Now, fetishism proceeds from dynamism as much as from animism; *e.g.*, in W. Africa malaria, sleeping sickness, abscesses, gastric derangements, and smallpox have special representations or separate fetishes and form persons having no connexion with each other. Similarly, Oro, the Dahoman disease-god, is originally the personification not of disease in general, but of internal bodily pain (probably lumbar or intercostal pain). There were as many real personifications as there were localized diseases and pangs, including hunger and thirst, which are real beings. It is only at a much more advanced stage that we find the personification of disease or pain in general; and still later (needless to say) that of beings such as Evil, etc. We may say that such fictions as Death holding in her hand Anxiety, Pain, and Misery (*e.g.*, the Hel of N. European myths) are purely literary and belong to the period of the creation of myth and folklore.

Here also we apparently come to the same conclusion as in the case of the cosmographic and cosmogonic personalities: the earliest personifications were not inclusive or general, but myriads of small personalities born from objects, events, or fragmentary experiences. More thorough research into the metaphysics of the non-civilized will probably lead to the same conclusions for personalities such as Force, Health, Knowledge, etc. The religious texts of proto-historic and pre-historic Egypt are valuable here as the only written evidence of primitive thought. From them we see that there was not one physical force, but several; more than one kind of health and productiveness; twenty kinds of 'knowledge'—of deceit, of 'cleverness,' of 'magical powers,' etc.—and not one Knowledge. And everywhere the tendency of primitive personification to form separate entities reappears.

This leads us to the very important personification of death. There is hardly a single race among whom Death, under the most diverse forms, has not been a person and had its place in myth. We need not consider the stage during which it is a purely allegorical figure, as in classical and modern literature. Death personified, and a real person, is found almost everywhere. Are we to think that it also is a later generalization, and that originally there were ten or twenty different kinds of death, forming as many personalities? The nature of death among the various races (see DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD) seems to lead to a different conclusion. To primitive man death is not annihilation, but a rupture of several elements, all more or less perishable, but each keeping, at the moment of what is called death, its own separate life, capable of being prolonged. Death is therefore not a state, but an energy or an act. It is always the act of a person, every kind of death being the result of the evil activity of one of these persons. Death is thus an effect, a consequence, and yet it has become, at the same time, a single personality like each of the other personified energies.

We find in many religions a Death with its kingdom, a Death with its court, ministers, and army; and this at first gives the idea of a power as ancient and as distinctly personal as the oldest gods and spirits. But the Death of so many myths and religious literatures does not belong to primitive soil. The study of African, shamanist, or Australian death shows that the earliest stage had no conception of the huge formidable figures created later by the great semi-civilized mythologies of Polynesia and S. America, the learned religions of the classical world, or the systems of N. Europe. It is even doubtful whether the Death of pre-Columban Mexico is a distinct personification; it is more probably an attribute, a force belonging to a deity, as is the case with the supreme god of a region of Black Africa. And it should be noted here that ancient Egypt (which kept so closely to the ideas of non-civilized races in many respects) is not acquainted with a personified Death; the monster Tiat is not death, but the destruction which consumes ghosts.

It has seldom been remarked that death has always been personified, while life has not been personified to the same extent. There are few indications so valuable as this fact in reaching by synthesis the conception of death that prevailed among primitive men. Life was not the opposite of death. When death became a personification, it was by the ordinary process of personifying acts and energies. But life defies definition by the savage mind; it seems to be neither a state nor an energy, but, in the majority of the cases examined, a thing inseparable from various fragments of matter, and, consequently, impossible to personify separately. We can only mention this peculiarity in passing; it is common among non-civilized peoples, and may lead to important results in the study of primitive psychology.

II. *CONCLUSIONS AS TO ORIGINS AND PROCESS.*—1. **Personification forms.**—However incomplete our enumeration of the various kinds of personifications may be, its first result is to show the (perhaps preponderating) importance of the notion of force. But how was this notion expressed? The material forms given by man to the various personifications supply important elements for the consideration of the origin and nature of personification. And, while the material classification of so many hundreds of persons is difficult, the bibliography at our disposal gives a sufficient number of distinct types for the various religions.

(1) The first category comprises anthropomorphic forms. The sex of these personifications is determined sometimes by the material objects which are their corporeal essence, sometimes by their activities, and sometimes by language. The Sun, man or woman, the Moon, of male or female sex, the Stars, of different sexes, the Father- or Mother-Earth, are examples which might be supplemented throughout the whole of the cosmographic series examined above (I. 2 (*a*)).

(2) Animal forms (apart from the difficult questions of zoolatry and totemism [*q.v.*]) constitute the second of the great classes. The ram-thunderbolt, the serpent-rainbow, the dragon-tornado, the dragon-eclipse, the white-bear-tempest, are among hundreds of examples. As a general rule, animal figures seem to be the form preferred for personifications of awe-inspiring energies, rapid action, and terrible aspect. 'Mixed' forms, *i.e.* half-animal and half-human, do not seem ever to be direct formations, but result from the union of two or more personalities originally distinct.

(3) Lastly, monstrous or fantastic forms, of strange or horrible aspect (*e.g.*, the South Wind in

the Chaldæan religion), for very simple psychological reasons, are reserved for wicked personifications. An examination of the chief forms of persons of this category, as represented in the iconography of N. Europe, Polynesia, Africa, and pre-Columban America, yields abundant facts in support of this.

But do these three forms (anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, and monstrous) represent the really primitive way of expressing personalities? An affirmative answer amounts to admitting that idolatry preceded fetishism. The study of the crudest forms of personification among savages shows a different mechanism, which at the same time gives us a closer view of the manner in which a great many of these personalities are elaborated.

Of course, we must eliminate all the personifications introduced by a later age—the purely poetical, allegorical, conventional, or grammatical — as artificial and without foundation. They are often simple pictographic devices, if we may say so, implying no real belief in a positively existing person. We shall also omit the various personalities that are merely hypostases (see below, II. 4) of deities of superior rank. They are simply linguistic or pictographic means of expression and not truly primitive.

In the first place, then, the process of pure and simple animism, as Tylor defines it (*PC*[3] i. 425), and the psychological mechanism by which Keane (*Man, Past and Present*, pp. 279 f., 421, 502 f.) explains anthropomorphism (*q.v.*) are contradicted by an increasing array of facts, and it would be most incorrect to assume here (as has been so improperly done in many other problems) that the mentality of the savage is the same as that of the child. Pure and simple animism is perhaps reconcilable, strictly speaking, with the statement that in naturist personifications the spirit is independent of the object or thing which it personifies (the system of inflexions of the Bantu languages is a striking example of this conception); but it clashes with the personifications of acts, forces, and energies. If it connects them with specifically distinct spirits or gods, it at the same time destroys the real existence of these personifications. If it allows them to exist, it cannot explain, in the majority of cases, either their characteristics or their material appearance. It is undoubtedly true that for primitive man everything lives, and that there is no such thing as an inanimate object. Everything has an *anima* (or several), and each thing manifests by its real or imagined activity the existence of a conscious voluntary principle endowed with instincts, feelings, and passions. But what do we find to be the favourite material means employed to express or fix these personalities and make them real? As a rule the forms have no direct connexion with the forms that we should expect to result from the beliefs attached to the personalities. Theriomorphism or zoomorphism, *e.g.*, is proved to be the result of most complicated processes (as is usually the case among savages, because they cannot see the simple, the general, or the synthetic); it is manifestly the product of ultra-conventional, symbolical conceptions, as far removed from the real nature of the personality which they express as, *e.g.*, the Christian representation of the dove is from the theological idea of the nature of the Holy Spirit. The most common and most ancient practice of uncivilized races was to translate and incarnate their personifications in aniconic objects.

The great number of personifications of plants, fruits, stones, pebbles, animal or vegetable debris, and especially the fantastic combinations of them made by the hand of man, are indications of vital importance. It is well known that even in the fetishes with human or animal form (real semi-idols) the force or virtue—in a word, the soul or the person of the fetish—does not depend on the form or the characteristics of the puppet of wood (or any other material), but on the collection of bones, feathers, hairs, nails, leaves, grasses, or other substances that cover it or are fixed in its head, on its back, or in front of it. Now these medleys are not magically connected with the spirits or demons of the beings from whom they proceed; it is an entirely different personality that is named and fixed in the fetish by such collections. The relation, therefore, is not animistic. It may be objected that the fetish itself is not a person, but the momentary shelter, the abode, of a person. But even this objection (supposing it to be true for all so-called fetishes, which is far from being the case) would tend to confirm the dynamist character of the origin of personification in the instances examined so far.

2. Symbolical representations. — We shall examine briefly the methods of the dynamist expression of personifications. They are extremely varied. Sometimes primitive man proceeds by allusion to the supposed affinities of the entity to be personified with the whole class of substances the separate members of which produce part of the energies belonging to it; this is the origin of fetishes. Sometimes he proceeds in the same way, but by antinomy or antiphrasis. Sometimes he employs the animal or vegetable forms, simple or complex, by means of which the person usually manifests one of his activities (this process is quite different from direct animistic representation of the ordinary habitat of a personality; that has to do with animism properly so called, zoolatry, dendrolatry, and, later, idolatry). In other circumstances he proceeds by symbolism or sympathetic magic, representing the objects whose virtues or characteristics most resemble those of the personalities which he wishes to express (cf., *e.g.*, J. Henry, *L'Ame d'un peuple africain: les Bambara*, Paris, 1909, p. 212 ff.). Sometimes there are allusions (very difficult for us to understand) to the virtues expressed by colours, personifying some superior force, or by lines, strokes, or geometrical combinations, or by stones whose clearness, brilliancy, and texture are the material expression of the qualities of the personality. Easier to understand are the processes which express the conception of the personality in lifelike representations, by association of ideas, the effect for the cause, or *vice versa*—*e.g.*, the effects of inundation, fire, death, or disease—by material allusions or by symbolical parallels, by means of objects that suggest to the mind their first causes or, on the other hand, their results; examples are the personification of thunder by fragments of stone or meteorites (which later become the basis of litholatry), the use of horns to personify strength, and of all kinds of brilliant objects to personify light, etc., or the representation (in Dahomey) of a pole painted blue, with red dots, to personify smallpox (because the body of a black-skinned person suffering from this disease assumes that appearance). In the anthropomorphic class the different personalities of the various pains and physical ills (including hunger and thirst) are translated by the representation of the result of their energy—a man with a twisted neck to personify wryneck, a man as thin as a skeleton to personify consumption, etc. This class is unlimited and includes all kinds of expressions of good and bad personifications. It leads, by extension, to the representation of the personality by the figure of a being who, in character or powers, comes nearest the activity imagined in the personality represented — an important process, as it is the origin of fully half

of the zoomorphic or theriomorphic figures. A still more curious development is the materializing of the personification in the representation of an object which produces effects similar to those produced by the personality to be expressed; the stick, the sword of hard wood, the arrow, the lance, the stone axe, and the imitation of lightning are the most remarkable examples of this class. It has had a most important result, in the much later idea of placing these representations in the hands, on the head, or on the body of images with human features, in order to complete, by gesture or attitude, the manifest expression of the activity displayed, and it has contributed in large measure to anthropomorphism and idolatry.

3. Personification of energy.—These examples are perhaps sufficient to throw a little light on the difficult question of the origins of personification. The originating elements are many, and there is every appearance that all have been active separately and from the very beginning. It cannot be denied that pure and simple animism was first responsible for a large number of the persons believed to exist in the physical world of rocks, mountains, waters, winds, etc.—in a word, of nature broken up into thousands of objects. Direct animism also explains the personality given to the products manufactured by man. The need of concrete images of words, even the most abstract, the need of giving them, so to speak, flesh and bones and visible attributes, was also the source of a number of personifications, and for this grammatical animism the views of Tylor, correcting the exaggerations of Max Müller, are an excellent scientific basis.

But, besides these forms, and at the same time, another feeling led primitive man to personification. Neither the *mana* nor the *orenda* of recent theories seems to define it exactly, any more than the 'feelings of immensity' or of 'incoercible force' of F. B. Jevons's ingenious theory (*Introd. to the Study of Comparative Religion*, p. 114 ff.). Conceptions so strongly synthetic are beyond the mentality of the savage. If we may make an attempt at a more correct explanation, primitive man seems to have confusedly guessed the existence of an impersonal force, united to matter, distinct and different from spirits, demons, or gods, whose existence and activities he also recognized. He never attempted to define this force theoretically; he did not even try to conceive it in its unity any more than he could, in the case of matter itself, do anything but perceive some of its fragments or aspects. But here and there he discerned its manifestations, either in duration (*e.g.*, the seasons) or in space (*e.g.*, the celestial regions or quarters of the sky), or in both at once (*e.g.*, germination), or, lastly, in the encounters with invisible forces which he experienced. Whenever he discerned these more or less fragmentary manifestations, he detached them from the mass of the inaccessible and the unknown, and by this very act he created a personification. It became detached from the whole with the same ease which in developed religions gives so many multiple souls, essences, or attributes to one and the same god.

4. Personification and syncretism.—This capacity of breaking up into different personifications a single force confusedly surmised (but never seen) justifies one of the most noteworthy characteristics of the evolution of the savage's notion of personality.

Such personalities were naturally, and by previous definition, deprived of all moral character. They had, for good or ill, only the qualities which best explained the physical manifestations whose activity had led man to imagine as first causes of such activity the existence of certain persons. Now, this is something entirely different from anthropomorphism — though many writers (*e.g.*, Jevons) have imagined it to be so originally—viz. that man proceeded by first imagining beings like himself, and then endowing them with passions and manifestations of energy similar to his own. Certainly, when primitive man, in order to define the appearance of these personifications, tried to realize their desires, appetites, instincts, passions, and beneficent or harmful emanations (benevolence, anger, pity, resentment), he had no other resource in his thought, still less in his spoken thought, than to use as models the images and words which he used of himself. We often do the same when our poor terminology forces us to say 'God hears,' 'God sees,' He 'understands,' He 'is grieved,' or He 'pardons,' or even when we say that He 'knows.'

A discussion on this point would be useless, as it is merely a question of terminology. At bottom the process of ascribing a character to a certain personality has resulted chiefly from the supposed experience and the knowledge claimed of its material manifestations, by observing the most characteristic phenomena of the life of nature—its winds, its waters, its various aspects, and its apparent convulsions. These are the essential characteristics of all these personifications; and the inevitable consequence was that they must have been originally totally indifferent to the human being. They were neither friendly nor hostile to him (these words are devoid of meaning to primitive man). They lived and showed their powers in the direction which satisfied their aptitudes and needs. Where man felt their activity to be helpful or harmful, they were in the end classified as good or bad. But this process was very slow, for the effects of the activity of those persons on the human being determined the relations of reverence and fear, and suggested inveigling them long before men thought of loving or hating them. Such relations, aiming at self-protection or utility, were neither hostile nor friendly; they were utilitarian. They were not measured by the theoretic power of the personæ, but by the frequency of the relations with man. A far-off and quasi-inactive personification, like the sky, *e.g.*, may be among many uncivilized races the most ancient, powerful, and remarkable of personifications, while at the same time it is the one with which they are least concerned, and to which they pay only the most meagre of reverential or propitiatory rites.

This simple formation of the characters of personifications from observation explains syncretism—in a way which at first sight is almost paradoxical—much more easily than it could be explained if the question of moral qualities had to play a part. As a matter of fact, the conferring on a certain personification *par excellence* of a separate definite activity, then later of a permanent activity (equally definite), has given rise to specifically functional personifications. But, in proportion as the complexity of an activity of nature was better understood by man, he detached from the first personification separate new personalities, corresponding to the separate new forces which he understood. But such a mechanism, by its very facility, must just as easily work in the opposite direction. For at the same time the advance of thought and research on the principle of causality was constantly connecting with each other successions of activities at first believed to be separate, so that, alongside of the continual multiplication of personifications by more complete knowledge of the complexities of life, there was found in the world a gradual (and not less continuous) uniting

of personifications originally separate. Thus new persons constantly appeared, and the former ones at the same time gradually merged into each other, by the play of the multiple souls of a single being or by the theory of 'aspects' or that of hypostases of one and the same person. In this incessant double process a sort of primitive syncretism tended to evolve. Sprung at one and the same time from the various animisms and from what, for want of a better name, we must call dynamism, primitive personification, having reached this point, enters the sphere of semi-civilized and advanced religions (for which see the following comparative articles).

LITERATURE.—J. G. Frazer, *GB*[3], London, 1907–13; Goblet d'Alviella, *Croyances, rites, institutions*, 3 vols., Paris, 1911, *Origin and Growth of the Conception of God* (*HL*), London, 1892; Herbert Spencer, *The Principles of Sociology*, 3 vols., do. 1893–96; F. B. Jevons, *An Introduction to the Study of Comparative Religion*, New York, 1908; L. H. Jordan, *Comparative Religion: its Adjuncts and Allies*, London, 1915; A. H. Keane, *Man, Past and Present*, Cambridge, 1899; A. Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, 2 vols., London, 1899; A. Le Roy, *La Religion des primitifs*, Paris, 1909; Max Müller, *Nouvelles Etudes de mythologie*, do. 1898; S. Reinach, *Cultes, mythes et religions*, 4 vols., do. 1905–12, Eng. tr., London, 1912; F. Ratzel, *The Hist. of Mankind*, Eng. tr., 3 vols., London, 1896–98; W. Schmidt, 'Origine de l'idée de Dieu,' in *Anthropos*, iii. [1908]; E. B. Tylor, *PC*[3], 2 vols., London, 1891.

GEORGE FOUCART.

PERSONIFICATION (Egyptian).—**1. Scope of the article.**[1]—In this article it is intended to deal only with those deities which can reasonably be called 'personifications'; and these are deities of which we have reason to believe that they were suggested more by inward reflexion than by observation of external things—deities, in fact, in which the conceptual or thought element looms larger than that of sense or perception. The distinction is an artificial one, for the act of deification obviously implies a highly conceptual view of the thing deified; the sun, *e.g.*, though an object of perception, could not have become a god except through certain qualities of power and the like attributed to it. The value of the term 'personifications' as a means of classifying our facts is that it enables us to attack the problem of god-making at its nearer and more easily explorable pole. Starting with gods of a highly abstract character like Ḥike', 'magic,' we thence pass on to more concrete deities—*e.g.*, personified geographical terms like Amentet, 'the west.' At the borderline of our subject are certain psychical entities like Bai, 'soul,' Khaibet, 'shadow,' and symbolic deities like Shesmu, the god of the 'oil-press' and 'wine-press,' and Meskhenet, the goddess of the 'birthplace.' Beyond the border we find it convenient to place nature-gods, animal-gods, fetishes, and all classes of gods whose names immediately evoke the image of particular objects or phenomena in the visible world.

The propriety of including symbolic gods under this head might be questioned on the ground that their names, unlike those of other personifications, do not correspond to the precise thing that it is intended to personify, but symbolize it by a generalized concrete object intimately connected with it, to which personality is attributed. Thus Shesmu is the god who presides over vintnery and the production of oils, but his name does not signify these activities, but means the 'press' used in connexion with them. From the Egyptological point of view, however, it would be inadvisable to separate this category of deities from those which can more justly be called personifications; Meskhenet, 'birthplace,' *e.g.*, is usually found associated with Shay, 'fate,' or Renenet, 'nursing.'

The ground to be covered in this article has been demarcated in reference to the psychological notions of perception and conception, but we might equally well have defined personifications in terms of 'things' and 'names.' The Egyptians seem themselves to have regarded the matter in that light, for the following words are put into the mouth of the god Ḥike': 'I am *that name* which the Sole Lord created, when as yet there were no two things upon the earth' (P. Lacau, *Textes religieux égyptiens*, Paris, 1910, no. 78, line 5 f.).

[1] The writer is deeply indebted to Dr. A. Wolf for valuable criticism and advice in the use of terms.

2. Personification and language.—Language is full of metaphor from personal life, and, since the meaning of every name is coloured by the predicates and epithets used in connexion with it, a sort of animatism is involved in all speech, as, indeed, it is in all thought. But, when the Egyptian says that a fire 'gives' warmth, or that right 'brings' its venture safe to port, it is hardly correct to cite this as sufficient evidence of personification; the speaker may have been utterly unaware that his expressions implied the attribution of personality either to fire or to right. A second Egyptian, on the other hand, in the moment of pronouncing the same phrases, may have had a dim mental image of fire and right as persons, in which case personification of a rudimentary and momentary kind would undoubtedly be involved. Language, then, using personal metaphors, does not necessarily attribute personality, though it provides a fertile soil out of which a more real because more conscious and permanent personification springs up almost inevitably.

3. Causes of personification.—(*a*) *Analogy.*—We are not here seeking the origin of the earliest gods, and are therefore entitled to start our inquiry at a point of time when the Egyptians already possessed a multiplicity of deities. It seems obvious that in such an atmosphere new deities would be created with the utmost ease, if only to sustain the character and style of a mythological passage. When it was related that the sun-god Rē' emerged upon a lily from the primeval waters, called Niu or Nūnu, it became almost inevitable that those waters should be spoken of as engendering Rē', and the repetition and variation of the same theme would soon convert Niu or Nūnu into a fully-fledged deity, whom Rē' addressed as 'my father,' and who was accounted 'the eldest god.' In quite different contexts analogy and close association might work very similar results: thus in one Theban tomb the 'lifetime' (*'aḥ'e*) of the deceased owner and the 'false door' (*'ab'e*), where offerings were laid before him, are exceptionally co-ordinated with 'his soul,' 'his fate,' and other entities both here and elsewhere considered divine; and in the next sentence all the substantives thus co-ordinated are referred to as 'these gods' (N. de G. Davies and A. H. Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhēt*, London, 1915, p. 99 f.). This is an instructive instance of the way in which gods were artificially multiplied.

(*b*) *Pictorial art.*—A second highly important cause of personification was the wide extension given to painting and sculpture as a means of recording ideas and facts. The inability of pictorial representation, as such, to meet all the exigencies of expression imposed by thought and language early led to its bifurcation into the two separate branches of illustrative art and hieroglyphic writing (*Journal of Egyp. Archæology*, ii. [1915] 71–75). These two branches pursued their development *pari passu* and in constant combination with one another, and it not seldom happened that one of them encroached upon the domain of its fellow. There can be little doubt that the actual step involved in personification was often due to an encroachment of this kind; sculpture encouraged personification by usurping the function of writing and by attempting to express pictorially things which in reality rather called for expression in language or writing; *e.g.*, a frequent theme in the adornment of early tombs was the bringing to the deceased of funerary supplies by his country estates; the latter, however, could hardly be depicted otherwise than by allegorical methods; the word for 'estate' (*nē'et*) being feminine, it was natural to represent the list of contributing estates as a procession of women with offerings in their hands. The adoption of the pictorial medium may

thus have been the accidental means by which the image of a personal agent became perpetuated in the minds of the Egyptian in connexion with names of things that had hitherto evoked no very definite or tangible images. In the early temples this procedure was extended. The obvious analogy between the fruitfulness of the provinces and the fertility of the Nile was seized upon by the artists, who depicted the provinces in the image of the Nile-god, giving to them, as to him, the head of a male deity but the milk-laden breasts of a mother. Nor did this artificial multiplication of gods end here; material prosperity could almost equally well be attributed to such abstract causes as 'riches,' 'peace,' or 'health,' or else to general conceptions like 'seed,' 'summer,' or 'creative command'; all of these might accordingly be represented in human shape, their sex being determined by the grammatical gender of their names. It is noteworthy that these wholly artificial beings are apt to be associated in the sculptures with deities of a far less dubious character—a fact which could not fail to assist the legitimation of their existence; by this are meant a readiness to consider them on the same footing as the old, universally-recognized gods, and an absence of any feeling that they were mere inventions of the mind, not to be taken seriously.

For some early and typical representations of this kind see L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs S'aḥu-rē'*, Leipzig, 1913, vol. ii. plates 20, 29, 30, with the comments by K. Sethe, pp. 99 f., 108 f.

(*c*) *Writing.* — Egyptian hieroglyphic writing, being born in the fashion described above (*b*), never succeeded in purging itself entirely of its original pictorial elements. These survived, in particular, in the class of signs known as 'determinatives,' which are simply picture-signs placed after phonetically written words in such a way as to determine or suggest their meaning. All written names of gods are followed by the sign , representing an ordinary male deity, or else by , the falcon-god Horus, the type of the gods, upon a standard such as was carried in religious processions; the latter was the earlier method. Goddesses similarly were indicated by the presence of the sign , for which is sometimes substituted either one of the two determinatives of male deities or else the image of the typical serpent-goddess, Buto, . Now this very habit of writing, together with the fact that only few words were allowed to dispense with determinatives, would naturally tend to bring the question of personification or non-personification actively into the field of consciousness. For Egyptologists the presence or absence of such determinatives is the most natural test: when, *e.g.*, we find the word 'life' with this clear meaning and determined with a sign of divinity, then we can hardly refuse to speak of it as personified.

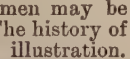
(*d*) *The fundamental cause.*—The causes of personification considered hitherto are, however, contributory rather than fundamental. At the root of all god-making lies a respectful attitude of mind towards certain phenomena, physical or mental, arising from a consciousness that they are sources of power difficult to control, yet necessarily to be reckoned with. It is in connexion with either the practical or the intellectual interests of mankind that this respectful attitude of mind manifests itself, and a broad survey of the concepts personified will show that they represent either facts that have a direct bearing upon human welfare or notions that appeared essential to a mythological interpretation of the world. Of course personification did not always necessarily follow immediately upon the realization of the importance of a conception; it is a definite, more or less conscious step taken at a given moment. Psychologically considered, personification appears to be the reaction against the vagueness and consequent elusiveness of conceptions as compared with perceptions—in other words, the tendency, upon realizing the forceful, influential nature of a phenomenon, to form a mental picture of it more vivid and therefore more in accordance with its supposed importance. The method in which this was done will be explained below; meanwhile it must be said that, looking beyond this general statement, we cannot really account for the selection of the concepts personified except as due to chance, *i.e.* to causes too complex to be summed up in one general formula. Certain points, however, stand out clearly. There is sometimes an alternative to personification: attributes deemed of importance may attain to a sort of personal reality by being made characteristic of one or other of the great gods. Thus Thōth became the god of learning, Ptah the god of handiwork, Min the god of procreation. Personification and attribution may co-exist; *e.g.*, Mā'et, the goddess 'right,' is found beside Ptah, 'the lord of right' (*neb mā'et*). Affiliation often serves as a means of reconciling the two; the sun-god Rē' had a clearly-marked ethical aspect, and in consequence Mā'et was described as his daughter. A point of a different kind worth noticing is that, on the whole, the personification of evil things was avoided in Egypt; Sond, 'fear,' is one of the rare exceptions. This reluctance to attribute power and importance to what is bad speaks volumes for the optimistic outlook of the Egyptians.

4. Personification and visualized form. — All personification, by definition, involves a certain change of appearance, visual or other. Let us consider what happens when the sky is personified, though strictly this example lies beyond the scope of the present article. Language and thought being unable to escape from the human analogy, it follows that the more 'meaning' the sky acquires, *i.e.* the more numerous the attributes and functions ascribed to it, the less able will the perceived physical reality be to do justice to the augmented conception as a whole. Clearly the deliberate positing of a personal agent in place of or beside the perceived reality will provide a much better peg upon which to hang the previous and subsequent conceptual accretions, and will allow of the expression of these in much more vivid, because more personal, language. The visual sense being by far the most important of the senses, personification usually manifests itself in a visual form, whether this be actually externalized (sculpture or painting) or merely implied by verbal imagery. Sometimes one word is kept for the physical reality, like *pet*, 'sky,' while an old synonym is employed for the personified concept, like Nut, the heaven-goddess. In the visual forms that personifications assume the specific characteristics of the things personified tend to be indicated: the Nile-god has the swelling breasts of a mother and a body covered with wavy lines suggesting water; Nut, the heaven-goddess, forms an arch with her body, supporting herself with hands and feet above the recumbent earth-god, Geb; the 'external manifestation,' *bai*, is a bird with human face, the bird-like appearance apparently being intended to symbolize the ease with which the *bai* could ascend to heaven and take a place among the stars; the *ka*, or 'character,' being nothing more than the

spiritual image of a man, follows the changes of his growth, the *ka* of the child being a child, and the *ka* of the grown man being a grown man. Elsewhere cruder methods are used for representing the specific character of a personification: Sōkhet, the marsh-goddess, is sometimes shown with a plantation of reeds and flowers placed upon her human head; Mā'et, 'right' ( ), wears the feather which for some unknown reason is the symbol of right; Sia', 'understanding,' either has his name written in hieroglyphs over him or else has the characteristic phonetic sign in the written word *sia'* actually touching his head. Personification, curiously enough, does not always demand that the deities which it forms should be depicted outwardly in the form of a person; all that is demanded is that there shall be some concrete and easily visualized rallying-point round which the attributes of personality can group themselves. The harvest-goddess Ernūtet is represented either as a woman with the head of a cobra or as completely a cobra; this is doubtless because that snake was so frequently found among the ripe corn. The names of certain personifications may suggest concrete symbols of this kind (symbolic gods); thus Shesmu, the god of the wine-press and of the oil-press, really personifies the making of wine and oil, which is symbolized under this mental image; the picture of the wine-press occurs incidentally in the hieroglyphic writing of his name, and it is doubtless mere accident that the god himself was not pictorially represented in that form.

5. Degrees of personification. — In its most rudimentary form personification was, for the Egyptians, little more than a natural mode of emphasis, analogous to our use of capital letters in writing. But between this embryonic form of deification and the most fully developed personifications almost every stage of growth can be observed and exemplified, until at last there is no distinction between them and the principal gods of the pantheon. Indeed, the main interest in the study of personifications is the prominence which it gives to the fact that the vast majority of gods[1] differ from them not in kind but only in degree, that their characteristics are not those of real persons, as the language of the older school of mythologists would often seem to imply, but that, since they are merely concepts decked out in the semblance and trappings of real persons, their individuality is at all times of a very precarious, unstable, and indefinite kind. Their gradual acquisition of substance and externality can nowhere better be seen than in the evolution of a personified abstraction. The metaphors of language, as we have seen (§ **2**), give the primary impulse; but it is to sculpture and, in a less degree, to ideographic writing (§ **3** (*b*) (*c*)) that is largely due the definite creation of a personality that is visualized with some clearness and even with a certain measure of consistency (§ **4**). Around this nucleus the theologians and the myth-makers weave their tissue of legends and adulatory epithets, each new tale and each new title adding to the appearance of objective reality, making the personification more lifelike. At last men may be prevailed upon even to worship it. The history of Ḥīke', 'magic,' may serve us as an illustration. Originally perhaps a mere descriptive term predicated of individual acts of a certain mysterious quality, it first becomes a collective term for a number of such acts, and then a designation of the particular quality that they possess in common.[1] As such Ḥīke' is described in the Pyramid Texts as speaking threats against unfriendly gods. Thanks to exaggerated verbal imagery of this kind, Ḥīke' is next found in the Vth dynasty, depicted upon a temple wall as a male deity at the head of a procession of personified districts. This development marks his definite entrance into the pantheon; henceforth it is easier to describe the functions of magic in reference rather to the vividly remembered image made familiar in sculpture than to the remote and somewhat elusive concept, and mythical traits now tend to be invented which have but little relation to the observed facts that gave rise to the word 'magic.' The process, we must be careful to observe, is one not of substitution, but of differentiation; the old general term *ḥīke'* continues to exist and have its uses, but side by side with it is the conception of a god Ḥīke', which comes into play when the mind, so to speak, is differently attuned, when the imaginative, emotional tendencies are being given more rein. In a Middle Kingdom text Ḥīke' figures as a deity created by the sun-god Rē'-Atum 'when as yet no two things existed'; and from his activity as deputy of the sun-god sprang all living things. The fantastic idea now gained currency that dead men might become reincarnate in the likeness of so potent a divinity, and spells having this end in view were invented. Next Ḥīke' is found escorting Rē' through the nether world, as he sails by night underground from west to east; in the temple of Luxor we behold him in attendance at the birth of a new Pharaoh. Lastly, in Græco-Roman times, he is discovered at Esneh as the son of the god Khnūm and the goddess Nebuu, actually receiving a cult under the name of Ḥīke'-pe-khrōd, 'magic-the-child'; here doubtless his image, visible and tangible and as living as any god can ever become, was preserved in its own shrine and attended by his own priestly servants. It is not maintained, of course, that Ḥīke' ever took a place among the highest gods of Egypt, but in the end he appears to be hardly at all more spurious than the best of them.

On Ḥīke' see an article by the present writer in *PSBA* xxxvii. [1915] 253–262, also *ib.* xxxviii. [1916] 129.

6. Instability of personifications. — (*a*) *Instability of visual form.*—There was very little stability as regards the outward forms of personifications; nor were human shapes necessarily prior to animal or other shapes. The goddess of the harvest, Ernūtet, was a cobra-goddess from the start. A good instance of a god with secondary and variable animal shapes is Shay, 'fate,' who in his earliest occurrences—*e.g.*, in the papyrus of Ani (ed. E. A. W. Budge, London, 1913, vol. i. pl. 3)—is human-headed. Later, and perhaps through assimilation to the creator-god, Khnūm, he is represented as a goat (Budge, *Greenfield Papyrus*, London, 1912, pl. 108); and later still the writing of his name shows him to have been imagined in the form of a serpent, or else in the semblance of the animal of Seth (see G. Möller, *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind*, Leipzig, 1913, p. 54, no. 370). Symbols can likewise be secondary. The spelling of the god  , Sekhem, 'power,' in the Pyramid Texts shows that he was not at that time invariably considered to manifest himself in the outward appearance of a sceptre (a word for sceptre is *sḫm*); but in the temple of Abydos we see sculptured upon the walls a sceptre accompanied by the words 'Thōth, *sḫm* of the gods,'

[1] Some gods, of course, were really persons. The Pharaoh was a god, and a certain number of human beings, both kings and private persons, were deified after their death. See art. Heroes and Hero-worship (Egyptian).

[1] This is mere hypothesis; see below, § 8, *ad finem*.

where *sḫm*, 'sceptre-power,' is the abstraction 'power' visualized in the form of a sceptre, imbued with personality, and finally identified with Thōth.

For references to *sḫm* see W. Spiegelberg, in *RTAP* xxviii. [1906] 164.

(*b*) *Singularity and multiplicity.*—The very individuality of personifications was of a dubious quality. We have just seen that Sekhem, 'power,' could be merged into Thōth and so lose its identity and independent existence. Some different examples of a similar variability must now be quoted. Meskhenet, goddess of the birthplace, at some moments appears with a single, distinct personality of her own, as a deity accompanying the other divinities of birth (Khnūm, Ḥeqet, etc.) from childbed to childbed, there determining the length of life decreed for the new-born babe. Elsewhere, however, we gather that every man possesses his own Meskhenet (Davies-Gardiner, *loc. cit.*); according to Abydene tradition, there were four goddesses of the name (R. Lepsius, *Todtenbuch der Ägypter*, Leipzig, 1842, ch. cxlii.), who were sometimes identified with Tefēnet, Nut, Isis, and Nephthys respectively (*e.g.*, Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iv. 82a). So too we have Sia', the god of understanding, but elsewhere we read of the personified understanding of every god (K. Sethe, *Die altägyp. Pyramidentexte*, Leipzig, 1908, no. 411).[1] Even old-established gods might multiply their personalities in a similar way. Khnūm, *e.g.*, not only acquires a new and separate personality for every new locality in which he was worshipped, but he is also on rare occasions named as a private creator-god of whom every man might possess an example of his own (Davies-Gardiner, pp. 99, 113). In short, the world of deities reflects, on the one hand, the unity, on the other hand, the infinite variability, displayed in the mental world; it can differentiate and identify in the same manner as thought can distinguish and compare. No rule can be set up as to whether a god will first manifest himself as a unique or as a multiple being: in the case of Khnūm we can hardly doubt that Khnūm, absolute, preceded 'his (particular) Khnūm.' On the other hand, personified *ka*, 'character,' clearly started as a general term, innately deified and varying with each individual possessor of a *ka*; nor is it until the New Kingdom, and then only very rarely indeed, that Ka is found as an absolute, single deity, equivalent almost to our 'Providence' and apt to be equated with the Nile as the fount of all well-being. About the same time it became usual to attribute to the sun-god Rē' and to his descendant the Pharaoh a stereotyped list of fourteen *kas*, or attributes, each of which had its own specific nature and name, such as 'power' or 'brilliancy.' They are often depicted, together with a series of female counterparts, in the late temples.

The hitherto unrecognized meaning 'Providence' for Ka (*e.g.*, J. F. Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, Paris, 1835, pl. 254; H. Brugsch and J. Dümichen, *Recueil des monuments égyptiens*, Leipzig, 1862–85, iii. 92) is due to the same order of ideas as that which connected the *ka* with *shay*, 'fate,' Gr. ψαίς or Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων (see W. Spiegelberg, in *ZÄ* xlix. [1911] 126). For the fourteen *kas* of Rē' see *PSBA* xxxviii. 83–89, 94 f.

Singular personifications were viewed under two aspects: (1) as forces acting at the moment in which they are spoken of, and (2) as historical characters whose existence lay in a far distant past. To these is sometimes implicitly added a third and future aspect—*e.g.*, when we find the hope expressed that a dead man may assume shape as some personified being like Ḥike' (§ 5).

7. **Personification and cult.**—There is no inherent reason why personifications even of abstract ideas should not become the objects of a cult, but as a matter of fact few of the deities dealt with in this article were ever honoured in that way. The one really important exception is the *ka*, the personified character or individuality of a man; this was supposed to cleave eternally to the tomb after the death of its owner, and from the earliest times both kings and their subjects possessed 'servants of the *ka*,' or '*ka*-priests,' who administered to their cult. Of Renenet and Meskhenet (§ 9 (*a*) 5, (*l*) 1) we read in the XVIIIth dynasty that offerings were made to them among other gods at Speos Artemidos (Sethe, *Urkunden des ägyp. Altertums*, Leipzig, 1906, iv. 389). Ḥike', as we have seen, was in Greek times worshipped at Esneh (§ 5). Sesha't, the goddess of writing, seems to have had a cult even in the earliest periods. When, however, priests of Mā'et and Ḥike' are mentioned in Old Kingdom tombs, it must not be at once concluded that those deities possessed temples and an organized cult of their own; it is clear from the contexts that the holders of these titles were always judges or doctors respectively, and it may well have been merely the exercise of these secular functions that constituted the ritual of their priesthood.

8. **Personifications and epithets.**—We now return to a subject touched upon already in § 3 (*d*). In the light of the last paragraphs personifications now appear as conceptions inflated with a new and spurious mode of being, which they enjoy, so to speak, in their own right, not by virtue of a parasitic existence as attributes or epithets. The most perfect examples are infinitives personified, like 'Ōnekh, 'life,' 'Aut-yeb, 'elation of heart,' 'joy,' for the infinitives are by their very nature abstract and withdrawn from the actual objects, here living creatures and joyful beings, from which they derive their essential characteristics. In Egyptian texts, however, a technical difficulty prevents us from recognizing such personifications as easily as we could wish; no vowels being written, it is seldom possible to discriminate personified infinitives from other personified parts of speech. Hence it is usually necessary to examine the context very carefully in order to decide whether an apparent personification is really such or is an epithet. Epithets may be participles, adjectives, or common nouns, or may be paraphrased by expressions like 'lord of right' instanced above (§ 3 (*d*)). The important feature of epithets is that they serve to qualify, not the idea inherent in themselves, like personifications, but deities whose existence is quite independent of them, resting upon wholly different postulates. Thus, when we come across the god Sḫm, the question arises whether this means 'power' in the abstract or 'the powerful one,' referring allusively to Osiris or to some other god. This the context alone can settle.

The above statement must not be read to mean that all personified abstractions are in the infinitive. On the contrary, Egyptian, like other languages, often conveys the idea of the abstract through the concrete; *e.g.*, the name of the goddess Mā'et, 'right,' is probably a feminine particle, 'she *or* that which is direct,' Gr. τὸ δίκαιον, the Egyptian language expressing a neuter sense by means of the feminine gender. Why 'writing' should have been personified as a goddess and not as a god is obscure; the name Sesha't possibly, but not certainly, means 'she who writes.' Ḥike', 'magic,' is a substantive personified; but whether the nominal formation involved in this name is one appropriate to common nouns or to abstractions is beyond our knowledge. On symbols see above, § 4.

9. **The more important personifications.**—Completeness is here out of the question, and the following enumeration is intended merely to give some idea of the field covered, and of the various degrees reached by personification in different cases. The vocalization of the names is usually quite hypothetic, and the classification makes no pretence to have a scientific principle.

(*a*) *Life, death, fate, etc.*—(1) 'Ōnekh, 'life,' depicted as a Nile-god (J. E. Gautier and G. Jéquier, *Fouilles de Licht*, Cairo, 1902, p. 25, XIIth dynasty). He is also named on the Turin altar (*TSBA* iii. [1874] 112), a monument of quite late date, not of the VIth dynasty, as sometimes supposed. Elsewhere he appears with head of *crux ansata* and body and limbs of a man, carrying a divine banner (*e.g.*, A. St. G. Caulfeild, *The Temple*

[1] Hereafter quoted as *Pyr.*

of the Kings at Abydos, London, 1902, pl. 14, XIXth dynasty); this is a mere decorative device.

(2) Mout, 'death,' only once in a poetical passage of late date; see art. LIFE AND DEATH (Egyptian), § 4.

(3) Sonb, 'health,' as Nile-god (Gautier, *loc. cit.*); in an incantation where parts of the body are identified with various duties, 'thy intestines are health' (A. Erman, 'Zaubersprüche für Mutter und Kind,' verso, 5, 4, in *ABAW*, 1901); see also *Pyr.* 1190.

(4) Shay, 'fate,' Gr. *ψαίς* and *Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων*, in one place described as *ὁ μέγας δαίμων ὁ φωννοχθονίος* (see Möller, *loc. cit.*, and, for his various visualized forms, § 4). For the *shay* of individuals see Davies-Gardiner, *loc. cit.*; 'his *shay*' is later sometimes substituted for 'his *ka*.'

(5) Renenet, 'nursing,' personified as a woman; to be carefully distinguished from Ernūtet (*l* (3)); often coupled with Shay (*a* (4)) or with Meskhenet (*l* (1)); at Edfu identified with Sesha't, the goddess of writing (Lepsius, iv. 41*c*). For the *renenet* of individuals see Davies-Gardiner, *loc. cit.*; for her cult, above, § 7.

See also 'Ah'e, 'lifetime' (§ 3 (*a*)); Meskhenet, 'birthplace' (below, *l* (1)); and, for the creator-god Khnūm, § 6 (*b*)).

(*b*) *Attributes of living beings.*—(1) Ma'a', 'seeing,' and (2) Sōzem, 'hearing,' in late times depicted as male deities; there was also a combined deity Ma'a'-Sōzem, 'seeing-hearing.' Cf. *PSBA* xxxviii. 85, n. 13.

(3) Ḥu, 'commanding utterance,' and (4) Sia', 'understanding,' two personified abstractions of considerable importance (see *PSBA* xxxviii. 43–54, 83–95). They are represented as male deities in the train of the sun-god, who created them by an act of self-mutilation. According to one fable, it is to them that the universe owes its existence—a Memphite variant of the tale makes out Ptaḥ to be the cosmic god, from whom emanated Horus as 'tongue' and Thōth as 'heart,' *i.e.* intellect. Among the fourteen *kas*, or attributes, of Rē' Ḥu, as an active agency to whom material prosperity can be ascribed, is coupled with Zefa', 'plenty,' whence Ḥu has often been misunderstood to signify 'food' or 'taste.' When associated with Zefa', and rarely, too, when associated with Sia', Ḥu is one of a pair of Nile-gods; but Sia', as the more passive attribute of the two, is seldom regarded as a source of material prosperity and only once is found named among the *kas* of Rē'. Ḥu and Sia' are two of the chief attributes of royalty, and as such are often associated with Mā'et. Lastly, Ḥu seems to have been one name of the Sphinx—the image in which the power of Pharaoh and that of the sun-god Atum often found expression.

(5) Sekhem, 'power' (see above, §§ 6 (*b*), 8).

(6) User, 'influence,' and (7) Nakht, 'victory,' are names of two of the fourteen *kas* of Rē'.

(8) 'Aut-yeb, 'elation of heart,' 'joy,' as a woman (Borchardt, pl. 30, Vth dynasty); also on the late Turin altar (*TSBA* iii. 112).

(9) Ḥab, 'sport' or 'festivity,' as son of Sōkhet, 'country' (*j* (3)) (*Pyr.* 555).

(10) Sond, 'fear,' depicted in human shape on the sarcophagus of Sethos I., but with lion's head on later monuments (R. V. Lanzone, *Dizionario di mitologia egizia*, Turin, 1884, p. 1079*t.*; *RTAP* xxv. [1903] 30). At the festival of Osiris his image occupied one of the thirty-four illuminated boats used in the ceremonies (*RTAP* iv. [1883] 28).

(*c*) *Attributes of living persons and their actions.*—(1) Ḥike', 'magic' (see above, § 5). He is also named as one of the fourteen *kas* of Rē'.

(2) Mā'et, 'right,' the most frequently mentioned of all personifications. Her name appears to mean 'that which is straight or direct' (Lat. *rectum*), whether ethically ('right') or intellectually ('truth'); this suggests that the conception of her may have been born in the law-courts, where both aspects come into play at the same time. Sometimes we find the goddess conceived of as double (Mā'ty, 'the two rights' [already in *Pyr.* 317]), perhaps in allusion to the rival claims of two litigants. Mā'et is figured as a goddess, either sitting or standing, with a feather on her head. In mythology she is the daughter of Rē' and closely related, probably as spouse, to Thōth, the god of regularity, law, and learning. There are no clear indications that she possessed a real cult in early times (see above, § 7). On Mā'et see A. Wiedemann, in *AMG* x. 561 ff.; Lanzone, pp. 276–280; H. Brugsch, *Religion und Mythologie der alten Ägypter*, Leipzig, 1890, pp. 477–482; Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, London, 1904, i. 416–421.

(3) Sesha't, the goddess of writing. Her name may mean 'she who writes' or 'she who paints' (the verb has both senses), but she was more often referred to by the epithet Safkhet-'abui, 'she who puts off the two horns.' This epithet would appear to hint that she was originally a cow-goddess, who had taken to a less bovine occupation; but her identity with Isis-Hathor, though well attested for late times, is not proved for the Old Kingdom. If such were her real origin, she could hardly rank as a personification in the sense of this article. Sesha't possessed priests of her own at a very early date, and appears to have been associated with Thōth at Hermopolis Magna, though for this the evidence is not very early. She was the goddess of painting as well as of writing, and presided over the ceremonies connected with the planning of temples and other buildings. She was represented reed in hand and usually sitting. She wears a skin and has on her head a kind of rosette with seven or five rays (*sḫt* can mean 'seven'), above which and separated from which is seen what may be interpreted as the horns rejected by the goddess; the combined head ornament is perhaps a mere *rebus* for the name Safkhet-'abui. See the very detailed art. 'Seschat' by G. Roeder, in Pauly-Wissowa.

(*d*) *Attributes of the external world.*—(1) Ḥetpeṯ, 'peace,' depicted as a woman (Borchardt, ii. pl. 30, Vth dynasty).

(2) Zefa', 'plenty,' depicted as a Nile-deity (*ib.* pls. 25, 29, Vth dynasty; Gautier, p. 24, XIIth dynasty; E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, London, 1901, iv. 110, XVIIIth dynasty); in all three cases together with Ḥu, 'commanding utterance' (above, *b* (3)). Ḥu and Zefa' occur later also as two of the fourteen *kas* of Rē' (see above, § 6 (*b*), *ad fin.*). For Zefa' as a Nile-god associated with Ḥa'py, 'the Nile,' see Gautier, p. 34.

(*e*) *Attributes peculiar to the sun-god.*—Among the fourteen *kas* of Rē' enumerated in late times are (1) Khu, 'glory,' (2) Pesd, 'shining,' and (3) Teḥen, 'sparkling' (§ 6 (*b*), *ad fin.*).

(*f*) *Names connected with generation and growth.*—(1) Muyt, 'seed,' of human beings and animals, depicted as a woman (Borchardt, pl. 29, Vth dynasty).

(2) Nekhbet, 'budding,' depicted as a woman (*ib.* pl. 30; mentioned also *Pyr.* 4, 1451).

See also the gods of birth above (*a* (4) (5)) and below (*l* (1)).

(*g*) *Products, natural or artificial.*—(1) Nepri, 'corn' (*Pyr.* 1065), frequently depicted as a Nile-god (Borchardt, pls. 25, 26, 30, Vth dynasty; Gautier, p. 34, XIIth dynasty), and named as the patron of harvests (*e.g.*, *ZÄ* xxxiv. [1896] 46; *PSBA* xviii. [1896] 202); fabled to be the son of Ernūtet, the harvest-goddess (*l* (3)), and born on the first day in the summer or harvest season (Brugsch, *Recueil des monuments*, i. 67); sometimes identified with Osiris; a spell to enable a dead man to become reincarnate in his image is occasionally found (Lacau, no. 58). A goddess Neprit sometimes takes the place of the god Nepri (see G. Maspero, *Hist. ancienne des peuples d'Orient*, Paris, 1894, i. 81, n. 2, where further references are given).

(2) Noub, 'gold,' occurs as a goddess from the Middle Kingdom onwards. Presumably she must have originated as a separate personification; in our existing sources, however, she is always found identified with Hathor, the goddess of beauty, dance, and ornament (see T. Devéria, *Mémoires et fragments*, Paris, 1896, i. 1–25).

(3) Tayt, 'clothing,' a goddess often named as the maker or giver of clothing or the bandages for mummification (*e.g.*, *Pyr.* 56, 737, 738, 741; *PSBA* xviii. [1896] 202; *RTAP* xxxiii. [1911] 92). The name, which also appears in the more fully developed form Taytet (*Pyr.* 56, 2094), seems to be derived from a word meaning 'garment' (*RTAP* xxxii. [1910] 84) or in a more special sense 'awning' (Budge, *Book of the Dead*, London, 1898, i. [text] 206).

(4) Dua'-wēr, 'the great morning-god,' is depicted in human form (Borchardt, pl. 19). His name is written with the symbol , and Sethe has shown (text *ad loc.*, p. 97) that he is nothing more or less than the royal beard personified. In the Pyramid Texts (1329, 1428, 2042) his name is associated not only with the act of shaving but also with other incidents in the morning toilette—*e.g.*, face-washing—and the royal barber appears to have been called 'priest of Dua'-wēr.'

(*h*) *Cosmic and similar deities.*—Over this topic we shall pass lightly, omitting all reference to the air-god Shu, since our object is to deal rather with the later and more artificial gods whose beginnings are not completely shrouded in darkness.

(1) Kaku, 'darkness' (male), and (2) Kaket, 'darkness' (female), are a pair out of four pairs of frog- and snake-headed divinities that play a part in the cosmogonical legend of Hermopolis Magna (Khmūnu, 'eight-town'), where there suddenly emerged from the primeval waters a hill upon which lay the solar egg. The names of the other pairs were: (3) Nūnu and (4) Nūnet, 'the primeval waters,' (5) Ḥehu and (6) Ḥehut, 'space' (?), and (7) Niu and (8) Niut, 'negation' (variants Gōreḥ and Gorḥet, 'quiescence'). Some violence has been done to these conceptions by the attempt to make them square with the early Greek cosmogonical ideas; nor has sufficient attention been paid to their negative character, from which point of view they appear to be aspects of a primitive, undifferentiated chaos. Offerings were made to these eight gods at Speos Artemidos in the XVIIIth dynasty (see Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv. 389). For detailed discussions of these gods see Lepsius, 'Über die Götter der vier Elemente,' in *ABAW*, 1856; Brugsch, *Religion*, pp. 123–146; Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, i. 282 ff.

(9) Ikhekhu, 'dusk,' is occasionally personified—*e.g.*, *Pyr.* 751.

Here a purely mythological goddess must be mentioned, as she illustrates in a striking manner the lengths that the Egyptians were prepared to go in their artificial manufacture of deities. As cosmogonic god Atūm was originally wifeless, and legend states that he created the first pair of gods (Shu and Tefēnet) by an obscene action of his hand (*Pyr.* 1248). In the Middle Kingdom a goddess (10) Zaitef, 'his hand,' was invented as wife of Atūm; she was perhaps a passing fancy of the priests of Lycopolis, and she is merely named for the purpose of providing Atūm with a spouse (*Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale*, x. [Cairo, 1912] 159).

(*i*) *Conceptions of time.*—Only direct personifications of spaces of time are here considered. The months (Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, ii. 292 f.), the decans (*ib.* p. 309 f.), and the hours (*ib.* pp. 300–302) had tutelary gods of their own, some of whom were deities familiar in other connexions, while others seem to be names of particular stars. We also read of 'the 365 gods and goddesses,' clearly the deities of the days; but there seems to be no deity 'day,' 'month,' or 'hour,' though the goddess Unuet has been claimed (*Sphinx*, iv. [1901] 4 f.) for the last

(1) Ronpet, 'year,' represented as a goddess on whose head is seen the shoot , the hieroglyphic symbol for 'year'; not of very early occurrence, for the Turin altar (*TSBA* iii. 112) is late, and not early, as Wiedemann (*PSBA* xxxvi. 203) supposes. This goddess of the year is usually found identified with Isis, Hathor, or Sothis (see Brugsch, *Thesaurus inscriptionum ægyptiacarum*, Leipzig, 1883, pp. 215–230).

(2) Rôkeh, 'burning,' name of the hot period of the year, covering the seventh and eighth months. These are named the 'great burning' and the 'little burning,' respectively, deities depicted in the Ramesseum with human heads, and with hippopotamus heads at Edfu (see E. Meyer, 'Nachträge zur ägyp. Chronologie,' in *ABAW*, 1907, p. 16).

Of the three seasons (3) 'Akhet, 'inundation,' (4) Prôet, 'spring' (our winter), and (5) Shômu, 'summer' (the harvest-season), the first two are figured as goddesses and the last as a Nile-god in sculptures of the Old Kingdom (*ZÄ* xxxviii. [1900] 107) and later (Meir, unpublished, XIIth dynasty; Brugsch, *Recueil*, vi. 180, Ptolemaic), in agreement with the grammatical gender of their names; but sometimes all three are represented as Nile-gods (Brugsch, *Geographische Inschriften altägyp. Denkmäler*, Leipzig, 1857–60, iii. pl. 4; above, § 3 (*b*)). Shômu, 'summer,' as more fertile than the other seasons, is the one most often represented (*e.g.*, Gautier, p. 25, XIIth dynasty).

(*j*) *Geographical terms*, merging into nature-gods, which are excluded from this article (see NATURE [Egyptian]).

(1) Ti-meḥu, 'Lower Egypt,' and (2) Shema', 'Upper Egypt,' very frequently depicted as Nile-gods (*e.g.*, Borchardt, pls. 24, 29, 30, Vth dynasty; Gautier, pp. 24, 25, 33, XIIth dynasty; Brugsch, *Recueil*, vi. 129, 131, 134, etc., Græco-Roman period).

(3) Sôkhet, 'country,' a goddess with the hieroglyph for field upon her head, often seen among the nome-gods shown bringing offerings in procession (§ 3 (*b*)) (*e.g.*, Brugsch, *Recueil*, vi. 129, 132, Græco-Roman period). In earlier times she is usually named in connexion with scenes of fowling in the marshes (P. E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, ii., London, 1894, p. 24), and fowling is called her 'craft' (Borchardt, p. 88). She is already mentioned in *Pyr.* 555, where Ḥab, 'sport' (*b* (9)), is called her 'son.'

(4) Ḥa, an early god whose name is written with the desert-sign upon a standard , and in whom it is tempting to see a personification of the desert; in this case *ḥa'* would be an obsolete word for 'desert.' The alternative is to regard the desert as merely an attribute or possession of this god, whose origin then might be quite different. Ḥa was worshipped in the Xoite nome; for the evidence bearing upon him, together with some theories that cannot here be discussed, see Newberry, in *Annals of Archæology*, Liverpool, 1908, i. 24–29. A deity whose name is written similarly, and who from his association with Ḥa'py, Ḥu, Ka', and the nome-gods must personify the desert, is named (Brugsch, *Recueil*, iii. 92, XIXth dynasty).

(5) Amentet, 'the west,' a goddess on whose head is seen , the symbol for 'west' (*e.g.*, Borchardt, pls. 1, 29, Vth dynasty; Davies-Gardiner, pls. 10, 27, XVIIIth dynasty; and often). The dead being by preference buried in the west, she early becomes the goddess of the necropolis, and as such is named or depicted as welcoming or protecting the dead, as she does for the sun. She is very frequently identified with Hathor. Plutarch (*de Is. et Osir.* 29) gives Ἀμένθης as the name of the place whither the souls of the dead pass, and his fanciful etymology, 'he who gives and takes,' implies that he believed the corresponding personification to be a male deity, like the Greek Hades.

(6) Yebtet, 'the east,' a goddess with , the sign for 'east,' on her head (Davies-Gardiner, pl. 27, XVIIIth dynasty).

(7) Waz-wēr, 'the great-green,' *i.e.* the sea, depicted like a Nile-god (Borchardt, pl. 30, Vth dynasty; Gautier, p. 24, XIIth dynasty; Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, v. 128, XVIIIth dynasty).

(8) Ḥa'py, 'the Nile,' is too ancient and important a god to be dealt with here.

It is hardly necessary to illustrate in detail the personifications of nomes, towns, and villages, which are frequent both in the temples and in the tombs. The existing nome-lists are enumerated by G. Steindorff in *ASG* xxvii. [1909] 864–868; admirable statues of certain nomes as deities, male or female, were found by G. Reisner in the pyramid-temple of Mycerinus (see Maspero, *Essais sur l'art égyptien*, Paris, 1912, pp. 27, 29, 31, IVth dynasty).

(*k*) *Psychical entities.*—These are by their very nature multiple, that is to say, deemed to be as numerous as the individuals to whom they belong, though they may also sometimes, like Ka, 'Providence' (§ 6 (*b*) *ad fin.*), become single and universal. For a popular account see A. Wiedemann, *The Ancient Egyptian Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul*, Eng. tr., London, 1895. Here only two of the principal kinds of 'soul' will be dealt with, since the present writer dissents from the ordinarily accepted views.

(1) The *ka* is usually explained either as the 'double' (Maspero) or as the 'genius' belonging to a man or a god; for the discussions that have arisen over this question see the literature quoted in Davies-Gardiner, p. 99, n. 7, and *RTAP* xxxvii. [1915] 78. The view here favoured is that enounced by H. Brugsch (*Hieroglyphisch-demot. Wörterbuch*, supplement, Leipzig, 1882, p. 1230), according to which the *ka* is a man's individual 'character'—the sum of his attributes. Not only gods but also men are sometimes named as possessing a plurality of *kas*, their 'attributes' then being meant. These two renderings are naturally too modern and too specific to cover the whole meaning of the term, and in certain contexts it may be better translated 'psychic self,' 'nature,' 'genius,' 'double,' or even 'master'; the best course of all is to retain the original word. The objection to the renderings 'double' and 'genius' is that they lay excessive stress on aspects of the *ka* which are connected less with the conception which is personified than with the bare fact of personification and its consequences. For the visualized form of the *ka* see § 4, and for its cult § 7. The prominence of the sepulchral aspect of the *ka* was perhaps due to the belief in the changeability, after death, of the other principal constituents of a man's personality; for, while his 'incarnation' or 'external manifestation,' namely (2) the *bai*, might assume various new forms, his *ka*, *i.e.* his individuality (with which his name was very nearly identical), remained constant, and was believed to persist in the tomb. The *bai* could, by definition, assume many shapes; as a volatile, visible being, capable of ascending to the heavens, its most ordinary form was that of a human-headed bird. Rē' possessed seven *bai*, but no man appears to have had more than one at a time. Naturally, the *bai* received no cult, as its essential characteristic was that of a 'living' thing, able to look after itself. On the *ka* see, further, above, § 6 (*b*). In connexion with the ritual of the dead it is exceedingly important to bear in mind that this was based on the belief that the man himself continued to live after his physical death; it is he, and not his *ka*, who is primarily the recipient of the funereal sacrifices. The speculations which hypostatized the *ka* and the *bai* may, for all we know, be as old as the funerary ritual itself; the latter, however, is comprehensible without it, for it arises, not from any intellectual self-analysis, but simply from the passionate refusal to acknowledge the possibility of death. See art. LIFE AND DEATH (Egyptian).

(*l*) *Symbolic gods* (see § 1).—(1) Meskhenet, 'birthplace,' the name of the brick or pair of bricks upon which women crouched in giving birth, was personified under the form of a goddess with the sign (bicornate uterus?) on her head. In the texts she is coupled with Khnûm or Renenet (*a* (5)), and can be either single or multiple (§ 6 (*b*)); we read of 'thy Meskhenet' already in *Pyr.* 1183 (see W. Spiegelberg, *Aegyptologische Randglossen zum Alten Testament*, Strassburg, 1904, pp. 19–25).

(2) Shesmu, 'press,' whether for the making of oil or for the making of wine; the word is determined by the ideographic sign of the press (*e.g.*, *Pyr.* 402). As god of wine he appears already in *Pyr.* 1552: 'Shesmu comes to thee with liquid (?) wine.' For Shesmu as the god who prepares the ointments and oils for embalming see the references given by Möller, p. 80, n. 50; *RTAP* xxxvii. 76. Shesmu must be carefully distinguished from the god Shesmety and the goddess Shesmetet—forms of Horus and Sekhmet respectively—who derive their names from the land Shesmet, perhaps the region of Kosseir (Sethe, in Borchardt, p. 82).

(3) Ernûtet, 'cobra,' in later times exclusively the goddess of the harvest, 'lady of the granary' or 'lady of sustenance,' who gave her name to the ninth (later eighth) month Pharmuthi (see Lanzone, pp. 472–477, where, however, there is some confusion with Renenet (*a* (5)); see, too, under *g* (1) above). The earliest references to Ernûtet (*Pyr.* 302 and Erman, 'Hymnen an das Diadem,' in *SBAW*, 1911, col. 7, l. 4) appear to have no reference to the goddess's function in connexion with the harvest; she is there apparently identified rather with the snake-goddess upon the brow of the Pharaoh. If this be her original nature, then she cannot be considered as essentially a symbolic deity on the same footing as Meskhenet or Shesmu.

LITERATURE.—This has been given in the body of the article.

ALAN H. GARDINER.

PERSONIFICATION (Greek).—**1. Introductory.**—The habit of assigning a conscious and active personality to all kinds of natural objects, and even to abstract ideas, seems to be almost universal at a certain stage of human development. The tendency is nowhere, perhaps, more prevalent than among the Greeks, whose intensely anthropomorphic imagination here finds full scope. The word 'personification,' in its narrower sense, is often used to imply a more or less artificial and allegorical invention, such as Apelles' picture of Calumny with her attendants Ignorance, Suspicion, and the rest, or figures such as Peace and Britannia in a modern cartoon; and some even of the earlier Greek personifications may be of similar nature. But it is convenient to use the word here in a wider sense, as referring also to persons who have acquired a definite religious or mythological char-

acter, without, however, losing the direct significance of their names.

2. Classes of personifications.—Personifications may be conveniently divided into three classes: they may be (*a*) of natural objects, localities, etc., (*b*) of collective bodies, such as cities or peoples, or (*c*) of abstract ideas, such as Fear, Strife, Justice, etc.

(*a*) *Natural objects.*—The sun-god (Helios) and the moon-goddess (Selene) are hardly to be regarded as impersonations, since they have a definite mythological character in some regions; but there is a general tendency in Greece for their mythological and religious side to be merged in Apollo and Artemis, while Helios and Selene come to be mere personifications of the sun and moon, often used in art to give a cosmic setting to a scene—as in the east pediment of the Parthenon. A good example is offered by the Blacas vase in the British Museum, where sunrise is depicted by Helios rising out of the sea in his chariot, preceded by Eos (the dawn, Aurora), while Selene rides away on her horse, and the stars, in the form of boys, dive into the sea.

A similar conception occurs in the personification of times and seasons—Day and Night with her children, Death and Sleep; and the hours or seasons (Ὧραι [see HORÆ]). Later artificial inventions of the Hellenistic age were the Year (Eniautos) as a man and a Four-year Cycle (Penteteris) as a woman. Chronos, too (Time), sometimes confused with Kronos, and Æon were included in some Orphic beliefs later developed by the Gnostics. It is doubtless the result of Greek influence that in Christian times the days of the week come to be personified, especially Ἁγία Παρασκευή and Ἁγία Κυριακή (St. Friday and St. Sunday), who are represented as richly draped female figures. On later mosaics personifications of the seasons of the year, with their distinctive attributes, are a favourite subject.

Personifications of place are commoner than those of time. Earth (Ge or Gaia), in early times a distinct goddess and the mother of the giants, becomes later a merely allegorical figure or personification. Ocean, as distinguished from various sea-gods, has virtually no mythological character, though Homer calls him the origin of the gods; he appears on the François vase, and on the Pergamene altar. On the Tower of the Winds at Athens the eight winds merely serve to indicate the quarters of the sky. Earlier we find winds personified as winged figures; but none of them, except Boreas, acquires any mythological standing. The clouds in Aristophanes' play are evidently a meteorological personification; the name of Nephele (Cloud) occurs as that of a mythical character also. In the case of rivers, again, we find two distinct usages. River-gods in early times are important and efficient deities; but figures of rivers come frequently to be used as mere allegorical representations of localities. This was the case, according to Pausanias (v. x. 7), on the east pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, where the recumbent figures of the Alpheus and Cladeus define the boundaries of the Altis at Olympia; the Kephisus (or Ilissus) of the west pediment of the Parthenon offers another similar example; but both identifications have been disputed. Later we often find figures of rivers, such as the Nile with his sixteen cubits playing around him as little children. Similar personifications are common in later art, mountains, springs, meadows, etc., being represented by human figures, often in the form of nymphs. Nymphs or personifications of places are sometimes more individual in locality, when they represent well-known places such as Nemea; and the eponymous hero or heroine of any place or district is in a certain sense an impersonation, as in the case of Ægina or Corinthos. In some instances the eponymous hero or heroine was really an earlier god or goddess; *e.g.*, Cyrene has a relation to her city more like that of Athene to Athens. But other representatives of cities and peoples fall rather into class (*b*), collective personifications.

(*b*) *Collective bodies.*—This class differs from class (*a*) mainly in the fact that, even when the personification is local in character, the people rather than the actual locality is typified. The Demos of Rhegium, a dignified bearded figure, appears as a personification of the people of the city on its coins early in the 5th cent. B.C., and about the same time the coins of Tarentum represent the Demos of that city 'who is conceived in the likeness of Taras the founder of Tarentum, and so is figured as a youth.'[1] Similar personifications of the Demos of cities are not uncommon in later art; another example of the hero as representing the people is offered by the figure of Corinthos already quoted on a bronze mirror;[2] he appears seated, while a standing female figure, the colony Leucas, places a wreath on his head. The Demos (of Athens) is introduced as a character in the *Knights* of Aristophanes, and was doubtless represented as a typical citizen. Boule, the Senate, appears as a draped female figure on an Attic relief, and similar representations are very common on late coins. The reliefs heading treaties or decrees often contain figures representing the people concerned; but these are sometimes the deities of the cities; *e.g.*, Athens and Samos are represented by Athene and Hera. In later times a city or country is commonly personified in the form of a female figure, often wearing a mural crown. Sometimes the personification takes a more definite form as the Fortune of the city (Τύχη πόλεως); the best known example is the figure of Antioch by the sculptor Eutychides, made at the time of the foundation of the city about 300 B.C.; this is said to have been worshipped with divine honours in the district. The figure of Megalopolis, in a group with Zeus and Artemis in that city, is also a clear instance of personification. It was by Cephisodotus and Xenophon; unfortunately it is not certain whether the Cephisodotus was the elder, of the early 4th cent., or the later, the son of Praxiteles; it cannot be earlier than 370 B.C. Figures of Hellas and of Salamis appeared on the screens of the throne of Zeus at Olympia (*c.* 430 B.C.). Similarly, Hellas and Asia are seen among gods and other allegorical figures on the well-known vase at Naples, representing Darius preparing for his war with Greece. Perhaps the most extreme example of such a personification is the (habited) Earth (Οἰκουμένη), on the relief of the Apotheosis of Homer in the British Museum, representing 'ecumenical' assent—a conception very far removed from that of Earth (Ge or Gaia) on early monuments. Ætolia, as a warrior-maiden or Amazon, with one breast exposed, appears seated on coins of the Ætolian league; and this or similar figures suggested the type of the goddess Roma on coins. The statuary type of this goddess was based upon that of Athene, which, as we have noticed, was used sometimes as a personification of her chosen city Athens.

(*c*) *Abstract ideas.*—The third class of personifications is very miscellaneous in character, but is not easy to subdivide either chronologically or by subjects. A distinction might be drawn between such as actually have a place in worship and ritual and such as are merely creations of a poetical or artistic imagination; but among the Greeks we

[1] P. Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, Cambridge, 1883, p. 101.
[2] *Monuments grecs*, i. [Paris, 1873] pl. 3.

find many in the former class which we should rather expect to belong to the latter only. Thus in Athens there were altars to Eleos, Aidos, Pheme, and Horme (Pity, Shame, Rumour, and Impulse); in Sparta were sanctuaries of Gelos (Laughter) and of Phobos (Fear). Again, Cephisodotus's statue of Peace (Eirene) nursing the infant Wealth (Plutos) looks like a transparent allegory, yet both divinities had a share in the State worship of Athens. At the other end of the scale are such deities as Eros (Love) and Nike (Victory), though these are by no means of the same nature. Eros, in some places, notably at Thespiæ, was a primitive and independent god; elsewhere he was worshipped mainly with his mother Aphrodite. In these cases, apart from the direct significance of his name, he can hardly be called a personification. But he has practically no mythical character or personality in early times, though in the Hellenistic age tales about him become common; the best known is that in which he is joined with another allegorical personification, Psyche (the soul). This, however, belongs to the region of romantic invention rather than genuine mythology (see LOVE [Greek], I. 3). Nike, on the other hand, has hardly any place in myth, and, when she is worshipped, it is usually as a particular form of another divinity—*e.g.*, Athene Nike in Athens. Several similar personifications occur in apposition to the names of deities, almost as epithets—*e.g.*, (Athene) Pronoia, (Artemis) Eukleia, (Artemis) Eupraxia, (Aphrodite) Euploia; most of these also occur independently. Tyche (Fortune) was in many places worshipped, apart from her impersonation of certain cities mentioned above (*b*), as a great goddess, sometimes in the form of Ἀγαθὴ Τύχη. A common class of personifications are those that occur as companions of Aphrodite or of Dionysos. These are common on artistic representations. With Aphrodite, besides Eros, we also find Himeros (Desire) and Pothos (Yearning for the absent), Peitho (Persuasion), who has a more distinct mythical personality, Eunomia, Harmonia, Paidia, Eudaimonia, etc. Dionysos is accompanied by several of these, as by Dithyrambos, Tragedia, Komos (Revel Rout), Methe (Drunkenness), and even Kraipale (its after effects). Telete seems to be a personification of the mysteries. Ethical personifications are found not only in worship—*e.g.*, Dike, Dikaiosyne (Justice)—but also in literature and art. In early art Dike smites Adikia, her opposite, in the form of a hideous woman; the symbolism continued into the Christian virtues and corresponding vices. Eris (Strife) plays an important part in early myth, as also does Ate, in the belief 'quem deus vult perdere, prius dementat.' A similar rôle in the drama and in art derived from it is played by Lyssa and Oistros (Madness). Nemesis, also, may in certain cases be regarded as a personification, though at Rhamnus she had a temple where her cult as a goddess was primitive. A well-known Homeric passage (*Il.* ix. 502) describes the Λιταί (Prayers) as daughters of Zeus, who halt after the steps of Ate. Ἀραί also (Curses) are often personified; but in this case they tend to be identified with the Eumenides, or Furies, and so to pass from personification to definite mythical personality. Kratos and Bia, Strength and Violence, who fetter Prometheus in Æschylus's play, have their place in systematic genealogy. Even in the case of personifications which appear to be mere inventions of the poet's or artist's imagination we often find some reference to accepted worship or belief. Perhaps the clearest instance of such invention is to be found in a picture like Apelles' Calumny, already mentioned, or a relief such as the Apotheosis of Homer. Here the allegorical figures include the Iliad and Odyssey, Myth, History, Poetry, Tragedy, Comedy, Nature, Virtue, Memory, Faith, Wisdom, Time, and the World. Another example, of earlier date, is seen in the dedication of Micythos at Olympia, where, besides various gods, were Agon (Contest) with ἁλτῆρες, or jumping-weights, and Ἐκεχειρία (the Sacred Truce of Olympia) crowning Iphitus, the founder of the games; this group was set up early in the 5th cent. B.C. Logos (the Word) and Sophia (Wisdom) are prominent in the mingled Hellenistic and Oriental philosophy which finds expression in apocalyptic writings, and, through their influence, in some forms of early Christianity.

3. **Conclusion.**—These instances are necessarily somewhat miscellaneous; but they suffice to show the manifold developments of personification in Greece. It is by no means surprising to find the tendency so common in the literature and art of a people endowed with so intensely anthropomorphic an imagination as the Greeks. But, considering the highly developed and systematized polytheism of their religion, the existence and recognition in State worship of so many personifications of places, of communities, of physical or mental conditions, and of moral qualities call for some comment. There even seems at first sight some resemblance to the many *numina* that preside over every action in the Roman *Indigitamenta* (*q.v.*); but there is, on the other hand, the essential distinction that the Greek personifications are thought of as in human form, and have attributed to them a human character. It has been noted how some of them come to be closely associated with the chief gods or goddesses, sometimes as companions or attendants, sometimes, so to speak, as incarnations or manifestations. In this way they found their place in the polytheistic system. Moreover, the anthropomorphic imagination of the Greeks filled every region of earth and sea, rivers and springs, mountains and trees, with beings of human form, Nereids or nymphs or river-gods. These were not originally personifications; but the belief in their existence facilitated the creation of imaginary beings of a similar character to personify the various ideas that have been enumerated. And, in later times, as a belief in the actual existence of these supernatural beings waned, it became easier to invent personifications of all sorts, and to give free scope to a poetical and artistic imagination. Such later examples in Greece are not essentially different from those which we find in more recent literature and art. But the earlier personifications are of a different nature, and arise from the same anthropomorphic tendency that gave so clear and personal a character to the chief Olympian gods.

LITERATURE.—H. Steuding, 'Lokalpersonifikationen,' and L. Deubner, 'Personifikationen,' in Roscher; P. Gardner, 'Countries and Cities in ancient Art,' in *JHS* ix. [1888] 47 ff.

E. A. GARDNER.

PERSONIFICATION (Roman).—Personification is a psychological process which plays an important part in the development of religious concepts. In a general sense it is the process of conceiving of inanimate and even unmaterial and abstract objects as possessed of life and soul. This primitive form of personification, which might be called 'vivification,' lies at the base of that early religious stage known as animism. As animism passes over into anthropomorphism, so vivification develops into personification, as we are accustomed to think of it; but the change is quantitative rather than qualitative, and the power which in pre-historic times endows *janus*, the physical door, with a heavenly counterpart Janus, the spirit of the door, and the power which develops Janus, the spirit of the door, into Janus, the two-faced bearded god, are one and the same. It is simply a question of development. Owing to

certain tendencies in the psychological constitution of the ancient Roman, personification plays an especially important part in Roman religion. In fact an intimate study of personification is perhaps the best means of obtaining in this latter day a fruitful idea of the essence of ancient Roman religion. It is almost the only road through the thickets of conventionalism and formality which have always hidden the heart of Roman religion from the vision of the moderns.

The earliest concept of the divine among the Romans was in the nature of a function; they believed in divine powers, *numina*, unseen, unknown, unnamed. These powers were possessed of life and soul, and were thus in the primitive sense personified. Gradually out of the thick mist of cosmic forces the Romans began to see gods as men walking, and they straightway equipped these gods made in the fashion of men with all the functions and attributes which had originally belonged to the unknown *numina*. Each god, therefore, had many powers and attributes, and these were expressed by what were called *cognomina*, adjectival (more rarely nominal) addenda to the name itself (on these early *cognomina* cf. J. B. Carter, *De deorum Romanorum cognominibus quæstiones selectæ*, Leipzig, 1898). Thus Jupiter as the patron god of freedom was called Jupiter Liber, and as the god of victory Jupiter Victor. The Roman genius from the very beginning was characterized not so much by imagination as by the power of abstract thought. This was characterized in its turn by an extraordinary ability to transfer the abstract into the concrete and back again. The Roman mind found one of its favourite employments in sending ideas, like free balloons, into the void of abstract, and then making them captive and concrete by attaching them to earth again. But there was also a great continuous fermentation in the realm of the gods. The Romans took a pre-eminently practical interest in their gods in spite of the fact that gradually the anthropomorphic concept had won the day; they cared for their gods not so much for what they were as for what they did; hence the adjective attached to the god, describing the function, was so much emphasized, and the god relatively so neglected, that the adjective or noun often took the primary place and in many cases eventually broke off from the god and set up an independent existence of its own (*e.g.*, Portunus as originally Janus Portunus, Mercurius as originally Hermes Mercurius, Diespiter as originally Jupiter Diespiter). In certain cases, however, the Roman mind, with its extraordinarily keen development of the philosophical-philological sense, realizing that the adjective was the expression of an abstract idea, changed it into an abstract noun and, personifying the noun, worshipped it as an independent deity.

In all this material, attempts at chronological determination meet with great difficulty. We can only say that certain abstracts seem to go back to pre-historic times, and among these is undoubtedly the goddess **Fides**. She seems to be the earliest illustration of the process just described. Jupiter as the god of oaths and fealty became very early known as Diovis (or Dius) Fidius (Ζεὺς Πίστιος), and out of the adjective Fidius by constant accentuation came the goddess Fides, who is said to have had her own cult even in the mythical regal period and her own sanctuary on the Capitoline in the immediate neighbourhood of the chapel of Jupiter Lapis (the patron deity of international good faith). This much at least is certain, that in 254 or 250 B.C. a temple was dedicated to her on the Capitoline by Atilius Calatinus.

FIDES.—On the oldest sanctuary cf. Dion. Hal. ii. 75; on the temple dedicated by Calatinus, which was restored in 115 B.C. by M. Æmilius Scaurus, Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* II. xxiii. 61, *de Off.* III. xxix. 114; cf. *de Leg.* II. xi. 28; apocryphal temple, Fest. p. 269. 8; festival of Fides, 1st Oct., *Fast. Arv. Amit Paul.*; peculiar ritual, Livy, I. xxii. 4; Serv. *Æn.* i. 292, viii. 636; Hor. *Carm.* I. xxxv. 21 f.; military records in her temple, *CIL* iii. 916. 10; dedicatory inscriptions, comparatively rare, *ib.* ii. 4497, vi. 148=xiv. 5, ix. 5422, 5845, 5848, x. 3775, 5903; *Eph. Ep.* iv. 79; head of Fides on republican coins; also frequent on imperial coins.

Apparently younger, but still of very great age, are two other personifications, **Libertas** and **Victoria**; like Fides, they both grew out of Jupiter. Jupiter Liber was originally the god of plenty rather than of freedom, but the word *liber* gradually changed its meaning and came finally to express individual freedom and to stand by itself as Libertas. Probably the goddess goes back to the very beginning of the republic, even though our earliest date is the second half of the 3rd cent. B.C., when Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (consul, 238) dedicated a temple to her on the Aventine.

In similar fashion Jupiter Victor seems to go back at least to the early republican times, and has his place in the ritual of the Arvales immediately after the Capitoline triad. As early as 295 B.C. Q. Fabius Maximus vowed him a temple. As for Victoria, we do not know when she began her independent existence, but she has a temple dedicated to her in 294 B.C. on the Clivius Victoriæ on the Palatine—a temple which ninety years later served as the first home for the Magna Mater on her arrival in Rome. With the coming of the empire the importance of the worship of Victoria was immensely increased. Each rival claimant for the supreme power thought of her in personal relation to himself, so that the goddess became the 'Victory of Cæsar,' or the 'Victory of Vespasian,' etc. Here imperial coins give ample testimony. Finally, the statue which Augustus had caused to be erected in the senate-house in 29 B.C. became the symbol of all that was old and conservative in the religion of the Romans, and the last battles of official paganism against Christianity were fought under its shadow.

LIBERTAS.—On the temple, Paul. p. 121: 'Libertatis templum in Aventino fuerat constructum'; dedicated by Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, Livy, XXIV. xvi. 19; festival, 13th April, cf. Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 623 f.; sanctuary on the site of Cicero's house, erected by Clodius, Dio Cass. XXXVIII. xvii. 6; Plut. *Cic.* 33; Cic. *de Domo*, 108 ff., 131; cf. *de Leg.* ii. 42; in 46 B.C. Julius Cæsar decreed a temple, Dio Cass. XLIII. xliv. 1; statue in the Forum under Tiberius, *ib.* LVIII. xii. 5; Libertas Restituta and Libertas Publica.

VICTORIA.—On the temple on the Palatine, Livy, X. xxxiii. 9; cf. XXIX. xiv. 13; Fest. 262; *Notitia* and *Curiosum*, 10th region; near the temple was a chapel of Victoria Virgo dedicated by M. Porcius Cato in 193 B.C., Livy, XXXV. ix. 6; on the statue in the senate-house, Dio Cass. LI. xxii. 1 f.; *Fast. Maff.*; on the rôle of this statue in the closing years of paganism cf. Ambrose, *Ep.* I. xvii. 18, xviii. 32, lvii. 4–6; Symn. *Rel.* iii. 4; many inscriptions from the empire (see indices to *CIL*); represented on the so-called 'Victoriati' of the republic, and frequently on imperial coins.

Somewhat similarly the cult of Mars seems to have given birth to the closely connected pair of abstracts, **Honos** and **Virtus**. Here, however, we are not able to trace the process with any degree of accuracy, but the connexion is undoubted. Their most important temple was outside the Porta Capena in the immediate neighbourhood of the temple of Mars, and they were so identified with Mars that, *e.g.*, in referring to the starting-point of the parade of the knights, writers refer indifferently to the Mars temple or to the temple of Honos. This temple of Honos was vowed by Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus in 233 B.C., and later dedicated. It was subsequently restored by M. Claudius Marcellus, who wished at the same time to change it into a temple of Honos and Virtus, but the pontiffs objected on technical grounds. He was able, however, to compromise matters by adding a separate temple for Virtus,

which was dedicated by his son in 205 B.C. The two temples were famous for their art collections. Later these two goddesses enjoyed special favour at the hands of Pompey, who gave them shrines at the top of his stone theatre.

HONOS and *VIRTUS*.—On the temple outside the Porta Capena, Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* II. xxiii. 61; Livy, XXVII. xxv. 7 ff., XXIX. xi. 13; cf. Val. Max. I. i. 8; Plut. *Marc.* 28, *de Fort. Rom.* 5, p. 318 E; restoration under Vespasian, Pliny, *HN* XXXV. 120; references to the parade of the knights, Dion. Hal. VI. xiii.; Victor, *de Vir. ill.* xxxii. 3; on the art treasures in the temple, Livy, XXV. xl. 2, XXVI. xxxii. 4; Cic. *Verr.* iv. 121; Ascon. p. 11 (Kiessling); Pliny, *HN* XXXV. 120; another temple outside the Porta Collina, Cic. *de Leg.* II. xxiii. 58; cf. *CIL* vi. 3692; still another temple, built by C. Marius, Fest. p. 344; *CIL* i.^{2} p. 195, xviii. 16; shrines in Pompey's theatre, *Fast. Amit.*, 12th Aug.; shrine of Virtus founded by Scipio Numantinus, Plut. *de Fort. Rom.* 5, p. 318 D; temple of Honos at Puteoli (105 B.C.), *CIL* x. 1781; Collegium Honoris et Virtutis at Narbo, *ib.* xii. 4371; Collegium Virtutis at Nepet, *ib.* xi. 3205; games at Tarracina, *ib.* x. 8260; numerous inscriptions from all parts of the empire, both singly and together, on republican and imperial coins.

It is important to notice that this ability to emphasize a specific side of a deity's activity, by changing the adjective into an abstract noun and making an independent deity of it, was not confined to the earlier and more child-like period of Roman religion, but was still present at the close of the republic. Here we have the following remarkable instance. Sulla's belief in his own fortune and his fondness for the cult of Venus caused him to worship Venus Felix; when Pompey came to power, he in turn preferred Venus Victrix, but he avoided offending Venus Felix by worshipping Venus Victrix and Felicitas; finally Julius Cæsar chose to honour Venus Genetrix, but he joined to her Victoria and Felicitas. In this case we are not justified in saying that **Felicitas** came into being as the result of the breaking off of the cognomen Felix from Venus, for she existed long before this time, having received a temple in the Velabrum at the hands of L. Licinius Lucullus in 146 B.C. Her real prominence began with Sulla, who called himself Sulla Felix. Pompey's temple to Felicitas was connected, as we have seen, with one to Venus Victrix on the top of his stone theatre, and a similar combination occurred on the Capitoline. Julius Cæsar influenced M. Æmilius Lepidus to build a temple to Felicitas on the site of the old senate-house, the Curia Hostilia. Under the empire Felicitas was much sought after and was a special favourite of Augustus, and under Tiberius the senate caused a statue of Felicitas to be erected at Tiberius's birthplace, Fundi. In all the subsequent empire she was invoked in behalf of the emperor, both in public and in private.

FELICITAS.—On the temple in the Velabrum, Strabo, VIII. vi. 23, p. 381; Dio Cass. frags. lxxv. 2 (Müller), xliii. 21; cf. Suet. *Cæs.* 37; shrine in Pompey's theatre, *Fast. Urbin.*, *CIL* i.^{2} p. 339; shrine on the Capitol, *Fast. Ant.*, 1st July and 9th Oct.; temple on the site of the Curia Hostilia, Dio Cass. XLIV. v. 1 *f.*: on the connexion with Augustus, *Cum. Fer.*, *CIL* x. 8375, 15th April; *Fast. Præn.*, 17th Jan.; cf. Mommsen, *CIL* i.^{2} p. 308; statue at Fundi, Suet. *Tib.* 5; frequent sacrifices by the Arvales, cf. G. Henzen, *Acta Arvalium quæ supersunt*, Berlin, 1874, pp. 71 *f.*, 74, 84 *f.*, 168.

Thus far we have discussed six abstracts—Fides, Libertas, Victoria, Honos, Virtus, and Felicitas. We have dealt with them first because they illustrate the close connexion of abstract deities and adjectival cognomina. All six go well back into the republic, and certainly one of them (Fides) goes back into the kingdom. In addition to these six, there are thirteen other abstracts which arose certainly before the 2nd cent. B.C., and eight seem to go back into the kingdom.

Of these eight, Ops and Salus occupy a peculiar position. The very great antiquity of **Ops** is guaranteed by her old cognomen, Consiva, connecting her with the old Roman god Consus, in whose control lay the blessing on the harvest. The existence of Ops is thus proved for the earliest stratum of Roman religion, but Wissowa makes the suggestion that Ops may be there, to be sure, but not as an abstract deity. This point of view the present writer considers incorrect, and merely the result of reading into primitive conditions our sharp distinction between abstract and concrete. Ops as the guardian of plenty and Ops as the idea of plenty—the essence, and so the essential abstract quality of plenty—would be scarcely distinguishable in a world where all inanimate things had life and soul, and soul consisted in the exercise of functions always practical and yet often abstract. In the old calendar Ops had two festivals—the *Opiconsivia* of 25th August and the *Opalia* of 19th December. In those days she had no special sanctuary of her own, but the sacrifice took place in the chapel in the Regia, accessible only to the pontifex maximus and the Vestal virgins. In fact she was such a secret and retired goddess that the legend soon arose that she was the mysterious guardian of the city of Rome, whose name no man dared to betray. Later she received two temples—one on the Capitoline (first mentioned 186 B.C.) and one in the Forum, probably the temple dedicated between 123 and 114 B.C. by the pontifex L. Cæcilius Metellus Dalmaticus. On 10th Aug. A.D. 7 an altar to Ops was dedicated in the Vicus Jugarius. Ops had a temple at Prænestе; as Ops Augusta she appears on the coin of Antoninus Pius, and as Ops Divina on the coins of Pertinax.

OPS.—Relation to Consus, Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* vi. 21; Fest. p. 186; Macrob. III. ix. 4; sacrifice in the Regia, Varro and Fest. *locc. citt.*; *Fast. Arv.*, 25th Aug.; on the secret name, Macrob. *loc. cit.*; temple on the Capitoline, cf. H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, Berlin, 1871–1907, vol. i. pt. ii. p. 43; *Fast. Vall.*, 25th Aug.; the matrons met at this temple for the Ludi Sæculares of Augustus, *Eph. Ep.* viii. 254; the Arvales met here on 7th Dec. A.D. 80, *CIL* vi. 2059. 11; another temple to Ops, as Ops Opifera, dedicated by Metellus Dalmaticus, Pliny, *HN* xi. 174; sacrifice on the Volcanalia, 23rd Aug., *Fast. Arval.*; altar of Ops Augustus in Vicus Jugarius, *Fast. Amit.*; temple at Prænestе, *CIL* xiv. 3007.

Salus, like Ops, belongs also to the oldest period, and the proof is similar, the presence of Salus Semonia proving that Salus is the counterpart and companion of the old god 'Semo Sancus dius Fidius.' It is probably no accident, therefore, that dedicatory inscriptions to Semo Sancus have been found on that part of the Quirinal which was commonly called Collis Salutaris, with the Porta Salutaris. Her cult is therefore much older than her temple, founded in 302 B.C. by the dictator C. Junius Bubulcus. This old Roman goddess was doubtless the Salus Publica, the Commonweal, and is to be kept quite distinct from the later identification of Salus with the Greek goddess Hygeia. The old Salus was preserved even into the latest times as the 'Salus publica populi Romani Quiritium' in connexion with emperor-worship, or as Salus Augusta in the same connexion.

SALUS.—Salus Semonia, Macrob. I. xvi. 8; cf. *Arch.-epigr. Mitt. Oesterr.* xv. [1892] 77 ff.; 'Salutes pocolom,' *CIL* i. 49, from Horta; votive inscription in the grove of Pisaurum, *ib.* i. 179; old altar at Prænestе, *ib.* xiv. 2392, with very ancient *lex aræ*; temple on the Quirinal, Livy, IX. xliii. 25, x. i. 9; dedication day, 5th Aug., *Fast. Vall.*; temple founded by Nero after the conspiracy of Piso, Tac. *Ann.* xv. 74; temple at Ferentinum, *ib.* xv. 53; cf. *CIL* x. 5821; many inscriptions from provincial cities; found on both republican and imperial coins.

Two more abstracts, **Fas** and **Fines**, the concept of righteousness and the deification of the boundary-line, can lay claim to a venerable age because they are invoked in one of the formulæ of the ancient priesthood of the Fetiales, who gave to the Roman world the primitive concept of international law.

FAS and *FINES*.—Livy, I. xxxii. 6: 'audi Jupiter, inquit, audite Fines—cuiuscumque gentis sunt, nominat—audiat Fas!'; cf. the soldier's dedication from Vinxtbach near Brohl: 'Finibu(s) et Genio loci et I. O. M.,' *CI Rhen.* 649.

Much more difficult to understand is the story of the next two abstracts, Fors Fortuna and Fortuna. They are unquestionably connected, and they are both associated in legend with the name of Servius Tullius.

Fors Fortuna had an old shrine on the right bank of the Tiber in Trastevere. Later, in 293 B.C., the consul Sp. Carvilius vowed a sanctuary to Fors Fortuna; the older sanctuary was situated at the first milestone of the Via Portuensis and the second one at the sixth milestone. Both had a festival on 24th June, in which the lower classes took special part (notice the coincidence of date with the modern popular festival of San Giovanni). Fors Fortuna seems to have been at first an agricultural goddess, the personification of the attendance on chance which characterizes a farmer's life. Gradually the special agricultural relation was forgotten, and she became in general the goddess of blind uncontrollable chance. It is probably in this more general sense that the third temple in Trastevere—that of Tiberius in the gardens of Cæsar—is to be understood.

FORS FORTUNA.—Old temple in Trastevere, Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* vi. 17; Dion. Hal. iv. xxvii. 7; Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 783 f.; Carvilius's temple, Livy, x. xlvi. 14; cf. Mommsen, *CIL* i.² p. 320; on the festival of 24th June, *Fast. Amit.*; Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 775 f.; cf. Cic. *de Fin.* v. 70; Varro, *ap.* Non., pp. 144, 425; votive inscriptions found at the sixth milestone, *CIL* vi. 167–169; on Tiberius's temple, Tac. *Ann.* ii. 41 (Dio Cass. xlii. 26, wrongly sets the temple in 47 B.C.); cf. Plut. *Brut.* 20, *de Fort. Rom.* 5, p. 319 A; 'Schola Fortis Fortunæ' from Veii, J. C. von Orelli, *Inscr. Lat.*, Zürich, 1828–56, iii. 5791; altar at Aquileia, *CIL* v. 8219; dedication by a soldier 'numini Fortis Fortune,' *ib.* vi. 170.

Akin to and yet distinct from Fors Fortuna is the goddess **Fortuna**, who seems to have gone through very much the same development, beginning as an agricultural goddess and developing into the representative of the general concept of chance in the world. Her oldest temple stood in the Forum Boarium and was associated with Servius Tullius. Her cult in later times grew to extraordinary proportions, and her functions were specialized and emphasized in a multitude of cognomina. For fuller details the reader is referred to art. FORTUNE (Roman); J. B. Carter, *De deorum Romanorum cognominibus*, and, 'The Cognomina of the Goddess Fortuna,' *Trans. of the Amer. Phil. Assoc.* xxxi. [1900] 60 f.

FORTUNA.—Three temples to Fortuna in the general sense, without special adjectives: (1) in the Forum Boarium, Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 569 ff.; Dion. Hal. iv. xxvii. 7; Val. Max. i. viii. 11; Pliny, *HN* xxxvi. 163; (2) in the region of the Circus Maximus, *Notitia*, 11th region; (3) 'ad lacum Aretis,' *CIL* vi. 9664.

The following are the more important cult-titles: ἀποτρόπαιος, sanctuary ascribed to Servius Tullius, Plut. *Quæst. Rom.* 74, p. 281 E; *augusta*, frequent dedications and sanctuaries; also frequently on imperial coins; *balnearis*, *CIL* ii. 2701, 2763; Fronto, *de Orat. S.* 157 (Naber); cf. also *balneorum*, *CIL* vi. 182; *barbata*, Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, iv. 11, vi. 1; Tertull. *ad Nat.* ii. 11; *bona*, inscriptions and imperial coins; *brevis*, sanctuary ascribed to Servius Tullius, Plut. *Quæst. Rom.* 74, p. 281 D; *conservatrix*, *CIL* iii. 1938, vii. 211, 954, iii. 4289, 4558; *dubia*, Bas. Capitol., 13th region, 'vico Fortunae dubiae'; *dux*, A.D. 214, sacrifice by the Arvales, *CIL* vi. 2103 b. 7 f.; cf. *CIL* ix. 2194: on imperial coins; *equestris*, temple near the theatre of Marcellus, vowed in 180 B.C. by Q. Fulvius Flaccus, Livy, xl. xl. 10, xliv. 9; dedicated 173 B.C., Livy, xlii. x. 5; Vitruv. iii. iii. 2; Obseq. 113; temple at Antium, Tac. *Ann.* iii. 71; εὐέλπις, sanctuary attributed to Servius Tullius, Plut. *Quæst. Rom.* 74, p. 281 E; altar, Plut. *de Fort. Rom.* 10, p. 323 A; *felix*, on imperial coins; *huiusce diei*, a temple in the Campus Martius, dedication day, 30th July, *Fast. Allif.*; cf. *Fast. Pinc.*; cf. Plut. *Mar.* 26; possibly another temple on the Palatine, Bas. Capitol., 10th region; *mala*, altar on the Esquiline, Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* iii. xxv. 63, *de Leg.* ii. xi. 28; Pliny, *HN* ii. 16; *mammosa*, Bas. Capitol., 12th region, 'vico Fortunae mammosae'; *manens*, coins of Commodus; *memor*, *CIL* vi. 190; *muliebris*, sanctuary at the fourth milestone of the Via Latina, Val. Max. i. viii. 4; Fest. p. 242; Dion. Hal. viii. lvi. 4; Serv. *Æn.* iv. 19; Tertull. *de Monog.* 17; on coins of Faustina: *obsequens*, sanctuary attributed to Servius Tullius, Plut. *Quæst. Rom.* 74, p. 281 E, *de Fort. Rom.* 10, p. 322 F.; Bas. Capitol., 1st region, 'vico Fortunae obsequentis'; *CIL* vi. 191; from Como, *ib.* v. 5247; from Cora, *ib.* x. 6509=i. 1153; on coins of Antoninus Pius; *opifera*, dedication from Tibur, Orelli, 1753; πάντων, temple by Trajan, dedication day, 1st Jan., Lyd. *de Mens.* iv. 7, p. 70. 14 (Wünsch); *præsens*, *CIL* vi. 181b; *primigenia*, temple on the Quirinal, dedication day, 13th Nov., *Fast. Arval.*; temple on the Capitoline, ascribed to Servius Tullius, Plut. *de Fort. Rom.* 10, p. 322 F; also dedicatory inscriptions from Rome, *CIL* vi. 192–195, 3681; and from Ravenna, *ib.* xi. 1, 1415 (?); *privata* (ἰδία), sanctuary on the Palatine, Plut. *de Fort. Rom.* 10, p. 322 F, *Quæst. Rom.* 74, p. 281 E; *publica*, temple on the Quirinal, dedication day, 5th April, *Fast. Præn.*; Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 375 f.; cf. Dio Cass. xlii. xxvi. 3; *CIL* ix. 1543, x. 1558; *publica populi Romani Quiritium primigenia*, temple on the Quirinal, vowed 204 B.C. by P. Sempronius Tuditanus, Livy, xxix. xxxvi. 8; dedicated 194 B.C., *ib.* xxxiv. liii. 5, dedication day, 25th May, *Fast. Cær.*; Ovid, *Fasti*, v. 729 f.; dedicatory inscription from Britain, *CIL* vii. 702; on republican and imperial coins; *redux*, dedication of an altar near the Porta Capena in 19 B.C. on the return of Augustus from the East, Dio Cass. liv. x. 3; *Mon. Anc. Gr.* vi. 7 ff.; celebration on 12th Oct., *Fast. Amit.*; regular dedication day, 15th Dec., *Cum. Fer.*; Domitian built a temple in the Campus Martius, Mart. viii. lxv. 1 f.; for sacrifice by the Arvales, cf. Henzen, pp. 86, 122, 124; on imperial coins; *respiciens* (ἐπιστρεφομένη), temple, Dio Cass. xlii. xxvi. 4; Plut. *de Fort. Rom.* 10, p. 323 A, *Quæst. Rom.* 74, p. 281 E; Bas. Capitol., 10th region, 'vico Fortunae respicient(is)'; cf. *Curios.* and *Notit.*; *salutaris*, *CIL* vi. 184, 201 f., iii. 3315; *stabilis*, dedication from Veleia in Noricum, *ib.* iii. 5156a; *virginalis*, Arnob. ii. 67; *virgo* (παρθένος), sanctuary, Plut. *Quæst. Rom.* 74, p. 281 E, *de Fort. Rom.* 10, p. 322 F; cf. Varro, *ap.* Non., p. 189; *virilis*, sanctuary ascribed to Servius Tullius, Plut. *Quæst. Rom.* 74, p. 281 E; *Fast. Præn.*, 1st April; Plut. *de Fort. Rom.* 10, p. 323 A; *viscata* (?) (ἰξευτρία), Plut. *Quæst. Rom.* 74, p. 281 E, *de Fort. Rom.* 10, p. 322 F.

Closely connected with Fortuna is **Bonus Eventus**, a sort of masculine parallel to Felicitas. He seems originally to have been a deity of agriculture, in whose power lay the success or failure of the crop. Hence he is included by Varro in his famous list of the twelve deities of the farmer. But his scope soon broadened and became general, and it is in the general sense that he is the recipient of many inscriptions from the provinces. These inscriptions indicate the private worship of individuals rather than a State cult. But a State cult must also have existed, because Bonus Eventus had a temple in the Campus Martius. The head of the god with inscription occurs on denarii of Cæsar's time, and frequently on coins of the empire. The statues of the god represented him somewhat in the type of Triptolemos, as a youth making libation at an altar, and holding in his left hand stalks of wheat or a cornucopia. It is interesting to note that the statue in the symbolism harks back to the primitive agricultural side of his nature.

BONUS EVENTUS.—On the early agricultural character cf. the prayer in Cato, *de Agric.* 141: 'cum divis volentibus quodque bene eveniat, . . . uti tu fruges grandire beneque evenire siris'; Varr. *de Re Rust.* i. 6; provincial inscriptions, *CIL* ii. 1471, 2412, 3095, 4612, iii. 1128, 6223, suppl. 8244, v. 3218, 4208, vii. 77, 97, 425, viii. suppl. 16366, 17213, ix. 1560, xi. 622; *CI Rhen.* 983, 1034; Roman inscription, *CIL* vi. 144, 795; temple in Campus Martius, Amm. Marc. xxix. vi. 19; on the statue, Pliny, *HN* xxxiv. 77, xxxvi. 23, and cf. O. Marucchi, *Bull. Arch. Com.* vi. [1878] 205 ff.

There follow three abstracts, which give every appearance of being very old cults, though we have no definite date. **Iuventas** had a little chapel in the *cella* of Minerva, in the old Capitoline temple of Jupiter. For every boy who came to man's estate and assumed the *toga virilis* a tax was paid into the treasury of Iuventas, while at the same time an offering was brought to Jupiter Optimus Maximus. She was the goddess of incipient manhood, the 'dea novorum togatorum,' patroness of those who had put on the toga for the first time. What was true of all young men was pre-eminently true of the emperor; hence Iuventas Augusta and the special imperial festivals in this connexion. This was the old Roman Iuventas, quite distinct, though often difficult to distinguish, from the Greek Hebe, who was present in Rome at least in the time of the Second Punic War and took part in the *lectisternium* of 218 B.C. It was Iuventas, the Greek goddess, to whom M. Livius Salinator vowed in the battle of Sena (207 B.C.) a temple, which was dedicated at the Circus Maximus by C. Licinius Lucullus in 191 B.C.

IUVENTAS.—Chapel in the Capitoline temple, Dion. Hal. iii. lxix.; Pliny, *HN* xxxv. 108; cf. Livy, v. liv. 7; Flor. *Epit.* i. i. 7 f.; Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, iv. 23; tax for all *novi togati*, attributed to Servius Tullius, Dion. Hal. iv. xv. 5; cf. Paul. p. 104; Cic. *ad Att.* i. xviii. 3; *supplicatio* on 19th Oct., anniversary of the days when Augustus put on the *toga*, *Cum. Fer.* *CIL* x. 8375.

On Iuventas-Hebe: temple by M. Livius Salinator, Livy, xxxvi. xxxvi. 5; Dio Cass. liv. xix. 7; *Mon. Anc.* iv. 8; Pliny, *HN*

xxix. 57; *lectisternium* of 218, Livy, xxi. lxii. 9; occasional provincial dedications to Iuventas.

It is open to question whether **Pudicitia** formed a part of the State religion during the republic; she certainly did during the empire, and was worshipped by private persons during the republic. Under the name of Pudicitia Plebeia she had an old chapel in the Vicus Longus, in connexion with which there arose a legend of the cult of Pudicitia Patricia in the Forum Boarium. It is, however, extremely doubtful whether Pudicitia Patricia ever existed. Pudicitia was the special protectress of the purity of married life, and was worshipped therefore only by married women living in first wedlock (*matronæ univiriæ*), or by widows who had married but once. During the empire she naturally became the patroness of the empresses, from Plotina onwards.

PUDICITIA.—Pudicitia Plebeia, Livy, x. xxiii. 6 ff.; cf. Juv. vi. 308; Prop. II. ii. 25; the legend of Pudicitia Patricia, Livy, x. xxiii. 3; Fest. p. 242; *Matronæ univiriæ*, Livy, x. xxiii. 9; for connexion with Plotina see her coins with altar and inscription 'ara Pudic(itiae)'; dedication of a statue of Pudicitia Augusta in a temple of the Dea Cælestis in Karpis (Africa) by a 'flaminica divae Plotinae,' *CIL* viii. 993; comparison of Pudicitia and Livia, Val. Max. vi. 1.

Quies is another goddess whose official worship seems to have begun under the empire, but who had a private cult during the republic. We hear of a sanctuary outside the city on the Via Labicana. After they had abdicated, Diocletian and Maximian caused medals to be struck with the inscription 'Quies Augustorum.'

QUIES.—Livy, IV. xli. 8: 'iam consul via Labicana ad fanum Quietis erat'; Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, iv. 16: 'Quietem, cum aedem haberet extra portam Collinam, publice illam suscipere noluerunt,' seems to rest on a misunderstanding of the passage in Livy; on the coins cf. J. H. von Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum veterum*, Vienna, 1792–98, viii. 14.

Another group of abstracts which go back well into the republic consists of Concordia, Spes, and Pietas.

Concordia has an interesting and important history. She makes her first appearance in our records in the year 367 B.C., when the dictator, M. Furius Camillus, founded a temple at the northern end of the Forum in celebration of the cessation of strife between patricians and plebeians. In 121 B.C., at the close of the tumults connected with the Gracchi, L. Opimius restored the temple. On 16th Jan. A.D. 10 Tiberius dedicated this temple anew, under the name of Concordia Augusta; and about this time Livia dedicated a shrine to the goddess in the newly-built Porticus Livia on the Esquiline. In 218 B.C., in connexion with a military revolt in Gaul, the prætor, L. Manlius, vowed a temple to Concordia, which was erected on the Capitoline and dedicated 5th Feb. 216 B.C. Near the main Concord temple in the Forum a small chapel to Concord had been erected nearly a century before (304 B.C.) by the ædile, Cn. Flavius, in gratitude for the ending of the quarrels which the censorship of Appius Claudius had called forth. In 164 B.C. the censor, Q. Marcius Philippus, erected a statue of the goddess in the hope that by her favour his censorship might be a peaceful contrast to the stormy times preceding. At the beginning of the fateful year 44 B.C., when it looked as though civil war had ceased, the senate decreed to build in Cæsar's honour a temple of Concordia Nova. In 10 B.C. Augustus erected an altar to Concordia, and ornamented it with a statue. In A.D. 16, after the suicide of Scribonius Libo, the senate gave thank-offerings to Concordia. Nero sought her favour, and under him Concordia appears in the list of deities to whom the Arvales make sacrifice. From this time onwards Concordia Augusta or Concordia Augustorum figures frequently on imperial coins. Finally, Concordia is the recipient of dedicatory inscriptions in many parts of the empire, connecting her with collegia, municipalities, provinces, armies, etc.

CONCORDIA.—Camillus's temple, Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 637 ff.; Plut. *Cam.* 42; restoration by Opimius, Plut. *C. Gracchus*, 17; Appian, *de Bell. Civ.* i. 26; Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, iii. 25; rededication by Tiberius, *Fast. Præn.*, *CIL* i.² p. 308; Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 645 ff.; Dio Cass. LV. viii. 2, LVI. xxv. 1; Livia's chapel, Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 637; Manlius's temple, Livy, XXII. xxiii, 7, XXIII. xxi. 7; *Fast. Præn.*, *CIL* i.² p. 309; Flavius's chapel, Livy, IX. xlvi. 6; Pliny, *HN* xxiii. 19; Philippus's statue, Cic. *de Dom.* 130 f., 136 f.; temple in Cæsar's honour, Dio Cass. XLIV. iv. 5; altar by Augustus, *ib.* LIV. xxxv. 2; Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 881 f.; senate's thank-offering (A.D. 16), Tac. *Ann.* ii. 32; Nero and the Arvales, *CIL* vi. 2039. 10, 2041. 17, 2041. 31, 2042. 6; sacristans of the Concordia temple, *ib.* vi. 2204 f., 8703; altar in Syracuse, Livy, XXIV. xxii. 1; temple in Gales, *CIL* viii. 757; statue in Cora, *ib.* i. 1154 = x. 6508; dedication from Casinum, *ib.* x. 5159; frequent dedications to Concordia Augusta or Concordia Augustorum; noticeable are the Concordiales Augustales of Patavium, *ib.* v. 268; on coins of both republic and empire.

Possibly the cult of **Spes** goes well back into the republic. An indication of this would seem to be the existence of a region called 'ad spem veterem,' outside the city near the later Porta Labicana. The earliest temple, vowed by A. Atilius Calatinus during the battles of the First Punic War, with its dedication day, 1st Aug., stood in the Forum Holitorium. This temple was destroyed by fire in 31 B.C., and dedicated anew by Germanicus in A.D. 17. In addition, we have a reference to the existence of a 'templum Spei novum' in the seventh region. There was a special festival to Spes and Iuventas on the anniversary of the day when Augustus put on the *toga virilis*. In A.D. 63, when Nero and Poppæa returned to Rome from Antium, Spes appears in the list of the goddesses to whom the Arvales make sacrifice. This Spes Augusta occurs frequently in inscriptions and on coins, also as Spes Populi Romani and Spes Publica. See, further, art. HOPE (Greek and Roman).

SPES.—'Ad spem veterem,' Livy, II. ii. 2; Dion. Hal. IX. xxiv. 4; cf. Frontin. *de Aq.* v. 19 ff., 65; *CIL* xv. 5929; temple in Forum Holitorium, Cic. *de Leg.* II. xi. 28; Tac. *Ann.* ii. 49; Dio Cass. L. x. 3; Livy, XXI. lxii. 4, XXV. vii. 6; *Fast. Vall.* to 1st Aug.; the *templum novum*, in the supplement to *Notitia*, 7th region; festival to Spes and Iuventas, *Cum. Fer.*, *CIL* x. 8375; sacrifices by Arvales, *CIL* vi. 2043. 2, 10; temple at Ostia, *ib.* xiv. 375. 32 f.; priestess at Gabii, *ib.* xiv. 2804; 'cultores Spei Augustae,' in Antium, *ib.* x. 6645; cult at Aricia, *ib.* xiv. 2158; at Capua, *ib.* x. 3775; statue with inscription, *ib.* vi. 757; cf. T. Schreiber, *Villa Ludovisi*, Leipzig, 1880, no. 292; *simulacra* are mentioned, *CIL* xiv. 2853, 2867, ix. 4663, x. 8295.

Pietas is, strictly speaking, the ideal of the relationship between parents and children. Judging from the great emphasis laid upon the sacredness of this relationship among the Romans, it seems highly probable that Pietas existed in private worship from very early times. In 191 B.C., at the battle of Thermopylæ against Antiochus, the consul, M'. Acilius Glabrio, vowed her a temple. Ten years later his son, also M'. Acilius Glabrio, carried out this vow and dedicated the temple of Pietas in the Forum Holitorium. We do not know what incident in the battle gave rise to the vow—possibly, as Wissowa suggests (*Religion und Kultus der Römer*², p. 331), an incident similar to that between P. Cornelius Scipio and his son, Scipio Africanus Major, at the battle of Ticinus. In the absence of facts, legend copies a Greek model, telling of a daughter who by the milk of her breast had nourished her mother in prison. The only connexion with the temple was, however, that the prison had formerly stood on the same site. This temple gave place in 44 B.C. to the theatre of Marcellus. Another temple of Pietas, with its dedication day 1st Dec., was situated near the Circus Flaminius. On the coins of M. Antonius (41 B.C.) and also on those of the empire Pietas is represented accompanied by a stork. This is probably a reference to the cult statue of one of these two temples. In the course of the empire the sharp edge of the meaning of Pietas was worn off, and she came to mean the general harmonious

relationship between the members of the imperial family. Cf. art. FILIAL PIETY, vol. vi. p. 18[a].

PIETAS.—On Acilius Glabrio's temple, Livy, XL. xxxiv. 4 ff.; cf. Val. Max. II. v. 1; destroyed by the coming of the theatre of Marcellus, Dio Cass. xliii. 49; Pliny, *HN* vii. 121; temple in the Circus Flaminius, *Fast. Amit.*, 1st Dec., *CIL* i.[2] p. 335; Obseq. 54 (114); Cic. *de Div.* i. 98; on the coins of M. Antonius, E. Babelon, *Monn. Consul.*, Paris, 1885, i. 173 f.; altar vowed by senate on account of the illness of Livia, Tac. *Ann.* iii. 64; dedicated by Claudius, A.D. 43, *CIL* vi. 562; Pietas Augusta (or Augustorum) on imperial coins from Antoninus Pius and Faustina on; dedication from Rome, *ib.* vi. 563; a 'pontifex perpetuus domus Augustae' (in Bætica), *ib.* ii. 1663.

Mens occupies a peculiar and rather interesting place in our list of abstracts. We have seen Roman abstracts influenced by Greek ideas, as, *e.g.*, in the case of Iuventas-Hebe, but we have not met as yet an abstract which arose entirely through Greek influence. This is the case with Mens. In 217 B.C., after the terrible defeat at Lake Trasimenus, the Romans, in addition to other propitiatory acts, vowed two temples, one to the Venus of Mount Eryx in Sicily and the other to Mens. These temples were built close together on the Capitoline, and were dedicated in 215 B.C. One hundred years later M. Æmilius Scaurus restored the temple of Mens. Mens was introduced into Rome at the command of the Sibylline oracles, and this, entirely apart from her close connexion with the Greek goddess, Aphrodite of Mount Eryx, is sufficient proof of Greek origin. A goddess, Bona Mens, occurs on the coins of Pæstum, and we have several inscriptions from Central and Southern Italy to Magistri Bonæ Mentis. The Bona Mens was what was lacking at Trasimenus, and, interpreted in this sense, she would be the equivalent of Σωφροσύνη.

MENS.—The Capitoline temple, Livy, XXII. lx. 10, x. 10, XXIII. xxxi. 9; Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 241 ff.; Lact. *Div. Inst.* I. xx. 13; restoration by Scaurus, Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* II. xiii. 61; Plut. *de Fort. Rom.* 5, p. 318 E; later dedication day, 8th June, Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 241 ff.; *Fast. Venus.*, *Fast. Maff.*; Mens Bona at Pæstum, *CIL* x. 472; at Cora, *ib.* x. 6512–6514; at Cales, *ib.* x. 4636; at Puteoli, *ib.* x. 1550; at Tibur, *ib.* xiv. 3564; at Alba Fucens, *ib.* ix. 3910 f.; inscriptions by private persons: Luna, *ib.* xi. 1327; Aquileia, *Arch.-epig. Mitt. Oesterr.* xix. [1896] 206; Lugdunum, *CIL* xiii. 1673.

Beginning with Julius Cæsar and extending through the empire, we have a large and apparently constantly increasing number of abstracts; but here, as always, we must take account of our general inability to date inscriptions within a century, and of the probability that in many cases the goddess in question may have existed long before, and these by chance may be our first references. Let us consider the more important of these deities in alphabetical order.

Æquitas.—We meet with her first in an archaic inscription from Vulci, 'Accetiai pocolom'; her statue is dedicated to Fortuna Primigenia at Præneste; Arnobius (iv. 1) mentions her as a goddess; and she occurs on coins from Galba to Maximianus Hercules.

Æternitas.—Her name and a picture of her temple occur on the coins of Augustus and Tiberius. Æternitas Imperii soon became the official form, and Nero performed special games 'pro aeternitate imperii.' Thus in A.D. 66, after the discovery of the conspiracy of Piso, the Arvales sacrificed to her.

Annona.—The personification of the crops, along with Ceres as the giver of them, and sometimes without her, occurs on coins from Nero onwards. She has a dedicatory inscription from Rome, 'Annonae Sanctae,' and possibly two others, one from Spain and one from Ostia.

Clementia is the personification of mercy and pardon as illustrated in the emperor. She received a temple in honour of Cæsar in 44 B.C., and later an altar in honour of Tiberius; in A.D. 39 a regular yearly sacrifice was decreed in honour of Caligula, and in A.D. 66, when Nero was kind to Tiridates, the Arvales sacrificed to her. On imperial coins she appears as Clementia Augusta, and later as Clementia Temporum, the only form from Gallienus onwards.

Copia is, Wissowa thinks (p. 332), merely the personification of the *copia* of *cornu copiæ*, and he denies her existence in actual worship; but an inscription from Avignon, and the fact that two Roman deities, one at Thurii (193 B.C.) and one at Lugdunum (43 B.C.), were named Copia, seem to point clearly to a real cult.

Disciplina is at least as old as Hadrian. She occurs on the coins of Hadrian (as Disciplina Augusta) and in inscriptions from Africa and Britain.

Fecunditas appears first in A.D. 63, when the senate ordered a temple to be built in her honour, in gratitude for the successful delivery of Poppæa in childbirth. Probably at the same time the Arvales made sacrifice to her. The name and the representation of the goddess are found on coins beginning with the older Faustina. She is represented as carrying a child in one arm and a sceptre in the other, and sometimes as carrying a child in each arm. Under the name of Fecunditas Temporum, she appears on the coins of Barbia Orbiana and Otacilia.

Gloria is the recipient of a dedicatory inscription from Numidia; she appears as Gloria Exercitus on medallions of Constantius II. and Constantine II., and as simply Gloria on many imperial coins.

Indulgentia seems to come into existence under Hadrian; Marcus Aurelius dedicated a temple to her; she was the recipient of a chapel with a bronze statue in Cirta, Africa; and she appears frequently on imperial coins, usually as Indulgentia Augusta.

Iustitia, as Iustitia Augusta, received a statue in Rome on 8th Jan., A.D. 13; we have mention also in Rome of a 'sacerdos Iustitiae,' a dedicatory inscription from Ancona, and a reference to a statue from Æquiculi.

Pax, a blessing which can best be appreciated after a long period of war, appears on the denarii of L. Æmilius Buca in the year of Cæsar's death. After this premature appearance she disappears again, to return under Augustus, when her cult was definitely established. In 13 B.C., when Augustus returned from his expedition to Spain and Gaul, the senate decreed an altar to Pax, which was dedicated on 30th Jan., 9 B.C. In the meantime (10 B.C.) Augustus himself had dedicated altars to Pax Augusta, Salus Publica, and Concordia. Under Caligula the Arvales sacrificed to Pax on the anniversary of the dedication day of the Ara Pacis; and in A.D. 66, when Nero closed the temple of Janus, they made an offering to her. Finally, under the Flavian emperors the great Templum Pacis in Vespasian's Forum was built.

Providentia goes through an interesting development, beginning probably as early as the Augustan age. She is the personification of the foresight of the emperor himself, by means of which perils and disasters are fortunately avoided. Offerings were made to her after the fall of Sejanus, after the murder of Agrippina, after the discovery of the conspiracy of Piso, and after Galba had assured a successor to the throne. Gradually, however, the concept shifted, and Providentia began to be thought of as the protecting power of the gods. It is to Providentia thus thought of that the Arvales sacrificed in A.D. 183 for the health of Commodus. The same Providentia Deorum occurs at intervals on coins from the time of Hadrian onwards.

Securitas, as Augusta, Publica, or Temporum, is the deification of the abiding sense of peace and

security. On 10th Jan., A.D. 69, the Arvales sacrificed to her because Galba, in adopting Piso Licinianus, seemed to guarantee the security of the empire; on another occasion the people of Prænestе dedicated an altar to her; and we have an inscription from Cirta, in Africa, recording the erection of a statue. She is, of course, frequent on coins.

Tutela, the goddess who unites in herself all the ideas and concepts of protection, seems to belong to the empire, but to have come into existence in a fashion similar to that in which the oldest abstracts were made. Thus she bears a splendid testimony to the absolute conservatism of all the religious processes of ancient Rome. In a word, she seems to have grown up out of the idea of the *genius loci*—the 'deus in cuius tutela hic locus est'—the *deus tutelæ*, or *genius tutelæ*. Finally, Tutela broke off and became an independent deity, and a rival of the *genius*. The Tutela Augusta thus is equivalent to the Genius Augusti, and is often preferred by the empresses. In the closing years of paganism we meet with Tutela in household worship, in connexion with the *lares*, as a sort of female *genius*.

Valetudo belongs to the circle of Salus. The name appears in republican times on the denarii of M'. Acilius Glabrio, in connexion with a representation of Hygeia (Salus is on the obverse of the same coin). She is also the recipient of several dedicatory inscriptions from the provinces.

ÆQUITAS.—Vulci, *CIL* i. 43; Prænestе, *ib.* xiv. 2860; Arnob. iv. 1.

ÆTERNITAS.—On the coins of Augustus and Tiberius cf. H. Cohen, *Médailles impériales*[2], Paris, 1880–92; on the phrase 'æternitas imperii,' *CIL* vi. 2064. 45, 2065, 2067. 40; cf. Pliny, *Ep. ad Trai.* 59, 83; Nero's games, Suet. *Nero*, ii.; sacrifice of A.D. 66, *CIL* vi. 2044. i. 6.

ANNONA.—Rome, *CIL* vi. 22; Spain, *ib.* ii. 4976. 1; Ostia, *ib.* xiv. 45.

CLEMENTIA.—Temple (44 B.C.), Plut. *Cæs.* 57; Appian, *de Bell. Civ.* ii. 106; Dio Cass. xliv. vi. 4; altar for Tiberius, Tac. *Ann.* iv. 74; yearly sacrifice for Caligula, Dio Cass. lix. xvi. 10; sacrifice of A.D. 66, *CIL* vi. 2044. 1.

COPIA.—On the *cornu copiæ*, Plaut. *Pseud.* 671, 676; Hor. *Carm. Sæc.* 60, *Epist.* i. xii. 28; inscription from Avignon, *CIL* xii. 1023; for Thurii cf. B. V. Head, *Hist. Numorum*, new ed., Oxford, 1911, p. 88.

DISCIPLINA.—Eckhel, vi. 503; *CIL* viii. 9832, 10657, vii. 895.

FECUNDITAS.—The temple of A.D. 63, Tac. *Ann.* xv. 23; cf. Henzen, p. 85; for the coins cf. Cohen[2], nos. 205 (Faustine Mère), 93–105 (Faustine jeune), 18–26 (Lucille), 17 (Crispine), 34–45 (Julie Domne), 39–46 (Salonine), 8 (Orbiane), 18 (Otacilie).

GLORIA.—*CIL* viii. 6949: 'Gloriae Aug. Sacrum'; W. Fröhner, *Méd. de l'emp. rom.*, Paris, 1878, p. 361; Cohen[2], nos. 131, 132 (Constantin II. le Jeune).

INDULGENTIA.—Possible connexion with Hadrian, *CIL* viii. 8813 f.; temple of Marcus Aurelius, Dio Cass. lxxi. xxxiv. 3; inscription from Cirta, *CIL* viii. 7095; for the coins cf. Eckhel, vii. 183, 190, 204.

IUSTITIA.—The statue of A.D. 13, *Fast. Præn.*; 'sacerdos Iustitiae,' *CIL* vi. 2250; Ancona, *ib.* ix. 5890; Æquiculi, *ib.* ix. 4133; the altar from Capua (*ib.* x. 3812) dedicated to 'Justitiae, Nemesi, Fatis' belongs to Greek and not Roman religion.

PAX.—Denarii of Æmilius Buca, Babelon, ii. 23; on Augustus cf. in general the Augustan poetry, Tibull. i. x. 45; Hor. *Carm. Sæc.* 57; on the Ara Pacis, *CIL* I.[2] p. 320; *Fast. Amit.*, 4th July; cf. *Fast. Ant.*; *Fast Præn.*, 30th Jan.; cf. *Fast Cær.*; *Mon. Ancyr.* ii. 37 ff.; Dio Cass. liv. xxv. 3; Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 709 ff.; on Augustus's dedication (10 B.C.), Dio Cass. liv. xxxv. 2; Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 881 f.; sacrifice under Caligula, *CIL* vi. 2028 b. 8–10; A.D. 66, *ib.* vi. 2044. i. 12; cf. Henzen, pp. 78, 82; Vespasian's temple, Dio Cass. lxvi. xv. 1; Suet. *Vesp.* 9.

PROVIDENTIA.—Coin of Augustus with altar and inscription, Eckhel, vi. 12, 128; an 'ara Providentiae Augustae' in the *Acta Frat. Arval.*, *CIL* vi. 2028 d. 15, 2033. 5, under Caligula and Claudius; Sejanus, H. Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. selectæ*, Berlin, 1892 ff., i., nos. 157, 158; Agrippina, etc.; cf. *Acta Frat. Arval.*, *CIL* vi. 2042 a. 14, 2044 i. A, 2051 i. 29; Trajan, *ib.* x. 6310; the Severi, *ib.* iii. 1439; Providentiæ Augustæ, *ib.* v. 1871, viii. 841; offering for Commodus, *ib.* vi. 2099, iii. 18; on Providentia Deorum cf. Eckhel, vi. 507; Pliny, *Paneg.* 10.

SECURITAS.—Securitas Publica, Tac. *Agr.* 3; Arval sacrifice (A.D. 69), *CIL* vi. 2051; Prænestе, *ib.* xiv. 2899; Cirta, *ib.* viii. 7095. 98; Securitas Perpetua from Viminacium (Servia), *Oest. Jahreshefte*, iv. [1901], Beiblatt, p. 115.

TUTELA.—Henzen, p. 146: 'deus in cuius tutela hic locus est'; *CIL* ii. 3021, 3377, 4092: 'deus tutelae'; *ib.* ii. 2991: 'genius tutelae'; *ib.* iii. 4445, vi. 216: 'Tutela huius loci'; cf. *ib.* vi. 777, and Petron. lvii. 105; 'Tutela Tarraconensis,' *CIL* ii 4091; 'Tutela domus Rupilianae,' *ib.* v. 3304; 'Tutela Candidiana,' *ib.* vi. 776; Tutela alone, *ib.* ii. 2538, 3031, 3226, 4090, v. 4982, vi. 774 *f.*; on Tutela Augusta cf. *CIL* iii. 3349, 4056, v. 4982; Tutela in late household worship, Hieron. *in Esai.* 57; cf. relief, *Annali d. inst.* [1866], Taf. K. 4.

VALETUDO.—Dedication from Noricum, *CIL* iii. 5149; from Lecce, *ib.* ix. 3812 f.; from Mauretania, *ib.* viii. 9610; on republican coins.

There are nine abstracts which seem all to have been the recipients of a cult, for in each case we have either a dedicatory inscription or a reference to an altar. For most of them we have only one reference, but of course this state of affairs is doubtless largely accidental. They are as follows: **Amicitia**, to whom in A.D. 28 an altar was erected in honour of Tiberius; **Civitas** (dedicatory inscription from Rome); **Dies Bonus** (dedicatory inscription from Cæsarea in Mauretania); **Fama** (dedicatory inscription from Cologne), Fama Augusta from Bætica; **Maiestas** (dedicatory inscriptions from Rome and from Halicarnassus); **Natio**, said to have been worshipped in the region of Ardea; **Sanctitas** (dedicatory inscription from Antiana [Pannonia Inferior]); **Ultio** (altar under Tiberius in A.D. 20); **Vis** (dedicatory inscription from Aquileia).

Finally, there are several abstracts which occur only on coins or in the poets, and regarding which we are justified in being very sceptical as to the actual existence of a cult: **Abundantia**, on coins from Elagabalus to Valerius Maximus; **Constantia**, on the coins of Claudius and his mother Antonia; **Hilaritas**, on imperial coins, also as 'Hilaritas Augusta, populi Romani, temporum'; **Iucunditas** Augusta, on a coin of Alexander Severus; **Lætitia**, on imperial coins, also as Lætitia Augusti, Augustæ, Augustorum, Fundata, Publica, Temporum; **Liberalitas**, on imperial coins, also as Liberalitas Augusta; **Moderatio**, on imperial coins; **Patientia**, on coins of Hadrian; **Tranquillitas**, on imperial coins, also as Tranquillitas Aug., Augg., Beata Tranquillitas; **Ubertas**, on imperial coins, also as Ubertas Sacculi.

In connexion with personification an interesting piece of work remains to be done, namely a study of the various pictorial types, with special attention to the language of symbolism. The basal concept is practically always the same (except in the case of Spes and Virtus), a draped female figure, but the variations in attributes and their permutations and combinations suffice to indicate a multitude of distinct deities. This language of symbolism, which was spoken fairly consistently at least until the time of Hadrian, merits diligent study, and such an investigation will throw much additional light on the history of personification among the Romans.

Literature.—On the general subject cf. W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Ideas of Deity*, London, 1914; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, Munich, 1902, [2]1912. These are both most reliable. L. Deubner's art. in Roscher, iii. 2. 2068 ff., needs considerable correction, but contains much valuable material. For individual abstracts consult the separate artt. in Daremberg-Saglio, Pauly-Wissowa, and Roscher. R. Engelhard, *De personificationibus quæ in poesi atque arte Romanorum inveniuntur*, Göttingen, 1881, is of no value.

Jesse Benedict Carter.

PERSONIFICATION (Semitic).—**1. Primitive form.**—Animism, the primitive form of religious personification, underlies the Semitic religions. W. Robertson Smith (*Rel. Sem.*[2], pp. 54, 86 f., 131, 134) is explicit on this point.

> Among the Semites, as elsewhere, primitive man 'feels himself to be environed by innumerable dangers which he does not understand, and so personifies as invisible or mysterious enemies of more than human power' (p. 54).

Such men ascribe to all material objects a life akin to their own; an unseen life is supposed to inhabit the heavenly bodies (sun, moon, stars) and natural objects upon earth (animals, trees, stones, wells,

brooks). Thus, these sacred objects come to be thought of as living beings, persons—in other words, they are personified. This process was not confined to objects; it is also found in connexion with forces and activities—*e.g.*, winds and diseases.

'Wherever the spontaneous life of nature was manifested in an emphatic way, the ancient Semite saw something supernatural' (*ib.* p. 134).

All this, however, is instinctive and unconscious, and so to be distinguished from the deliberate, elaborate personification of later Semitic theology.

(*a*) *Babylonia and Assyria.*—This primitive form of personification was doubtless found in the early stages of Babylonian religion. Thus A. H. Sayce:

'Deep down in the very core of Babylonian religion lay a belief in what Professor Tylor has called animism. It belonged to the Sumerian element in the faith of the people, and, as we shall see, was never really assimilated by the Semitic settlers.' Sayce, therefore, does not regard this primitive personification as an original element in Babylonian religion—a view not generally held and by no means certain. We need not, however, discuss the point, for, as Sayce says: 'In spite of Semitic influences and official attempts to explain it away, it was never eradicated from the popular creed, and it left a permanent impress upon the folk-lore and superstitions of the nation' (*The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, Edinburgh, 1902, p. 276).

Traces of it abound in Babylonian and Assyrian remains. Many of the innumerable demons are personifications of diseases, winds, etc. — *e.g.*, Namtar, the demon of plague, and Ashakku, the demon of wasting disease (M. Jastrow, *Rel. of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 260).

(*b*) *Syria and Palestine.*—There was much in common between the primitive ideas of the Aramæans, Canaanites, Israelites, and other inhabitants of Syria. Probably our evidence for Israel is wholly derived from a period subsequent to the settlement in Canaan; it is especially difficult to decide which elements of the popular religion are characteristic of Israel and which are borrowed from the Canaanites, but we need not discuss the problem here. What Israel appropriated of this kind was congenial to its religious temper and in accordance with the principles of its primitive faith. The natural objects which we find sacred in Israel had doubtless been sacred earlier to the Canaanites, but Israel had known such while it was still a group of nomad tribes. Among these are the wells, trees, and stones associated with the patriarchs, and the pillars, stone *maṣṣēbhāh* and wooden *ăshērāh*, erected at the sanctuaries, notably Jachin and Boaz that stood before Solomon's temple (1 K 7^{21}). A typical instance is the *maṣṣēbhāh* at Bethel, associated with Jacob (Gn 28^{22}). Originally the stone itself is the house of God (*Bēth Ĕlōhîm*); the spirit, the *genius loci*, actually dwelt in the stone, was the stone personified. So, again, Robertson Smith:

'The old Hebrew fables of trees that speak and act like human beings [Jg $9^{8ff.}$, 2 K 14^{9}] have their original source in the savage personification of vegetable species' (p. 133).

This ascription of personal qualities to natural objects easily passed to a somewhat higher stage in which spirits were thought of as embodiments of the life supposed to dwell in natural objects and phenomena—the spirit as distinguished from the stone in which it dwelt.

(*c*) *Arabia.*—Similar forms of thought can be traced in the remains of pre-Muhammadan Arabia, and still survive in the East.

2. Later developments.—So far we have been speaking of the naive personification of primitive peoples, but by a gradual transition it becomes more conscious and elaborate. We need not commit ourselves to the complicated theories of Winckler, Zimmern, Jeremias, etc., as to the wholesale dependence of the developed religion of Babylonia and Assyria on astronomy, but there can be no question that these systems are largely dependent on the personification of heavenly bodies and phenomena, of natural objects, processes, and forces. Such personification in some cases originated in the primitive animism; in others it may have been suggested by it. Note, *e.g.*, the fact that the animals that furnish names and imaginary outlines for the constellations of the zodiac appear in mythology as monsters in the train of Tiamāt, the dragon of the abyss. The personifications connected with the greater deities probably represent a more advanced stage of thought.

Tammūz is 'the personification of agricultural activity' (Jastrow, p. 58). Shamash was 'the personification of the sun *par excellence* and the sun as a whole' (p. 68). Ea was the personification of wisdom. Anu, 'from being merely the personification of the heavens, . . . is raised to the still higher dignity of symbolizing, as Jensen puts it, the abstract principle of which both the heavens and earth are emanations' (p. 155*f.*) —obviously not a primitive idea.

Such examples might be multiplied almost indefinitely.

3. Eponymous ancestors, etc.—There is also another species of personification, according to which a deity or legendary hero originates through the personification of a city, tribe, or nation. Possibly the Assyrian deity Ashur is an example of this.

According to Jastrow (p. 195), 'one is bound to confess that the evidence does not warrant us in regarding Ashur as anything but the patron of the city of Ashur. Nowhere do we find any allusion from which we are justified in concluding that he originally represented some elemental power or phenomenon.'

Others, however, regard Ashur as a form of the name of an ancient deity, after whom the city was named. In any case, this kind of personification was common among the Israelites and Arabs, and, indeed, among primitive nations generally. A frequent example is the setting forth of the political, racial, and geographical relations of peoples in the form of genealogies of persons. Gn 10 is a striking illustration; the geographical contiguity, and possibly also the political connexion of Ethiopia, Egypt, and Canaan, are indicated by speaking of them as 'brothers.' In the same way, the narratives of the patriarchs are largely tribal history in the form of accounts of persons; it is impossible now to say how far this method has been carried. According to some, Israel and the Twelve Patriarchs are 'eponymous ancestors.' How this method was understood by the ancients is doubtful. Skinner writes:

'When a writer speaks of Lydians, Lybians, Philistines, etc., as "sons" of Egypt . . . it is difficult to think . . . that he believed the Lydians to be descended from a man named "Lydians" . . . ; and we may begin to suspect that the whole system of eponyms is a conventional symbolism which was as transparent to its authors as it is to us. That, however, would be a hasty and probably mistaken inference. . . . On the whole it is safer to assume that, in the mind of the genealogist, they [the names] stand for real individuals, from whom the different nations were believed to be descended' (*ICC*, 'Genesis,' Edinburgh, 1910, p. 190).

It is not, however, safe to lay down any general rule; there are instances where it is clear that the writing of tribal history in the form of personal narrative is a mere convention. For instance, when Jg 1^{3} states that 'Judah said unto Simeon his brother,' it is clear, both from the context and from the chronology, that the writer cannot mean that the ancient patriarch Judah said to the ancient patriarch Simeon (see also the present writer [*Chronicles*, London, 1894, p. 876] on 1 Ch $7^{20ff.}$). Possibly Skinner's words are specially applicable to genealogies.

4. Influence on theology, etc.—It is important to recognize that personification, being closely connected with anthropomorphism and anthropopathism, has exercised great influence on both popular religion and official theology. This being a matter where language largely controls thought, the relations between persons and other personal qualities and activities have been automatically transferred to the deities, to their relations with one another,

Library of
PACIFIC BIBLE SEMINARY
8235 EAST ANAHEIM STREET
LONG BEACH, CALIFORNIA

and to their relations with their worshippers, individual and collective. The various Semitic gods have their wives; the Babylonian Nebo is the son of Merodach. The more important the deities, the more various are the relationships ascribed to them: the Babylonian Ishtar is the daughter, sometimes of Sin, sometimes of Anu; according to Jeremias (*OT in the Light of the Anc. East*, Eng. tr., i. 127), Ishtar is variously the bride, wife, mother, or sister of Tammūz, besides having other lovers. Relationships arise out of political changes; when two cities are connected by conquest, alliance, or amalgamation, the god of the one may become the master, husband, or father of the other. Similar relationships arise between eponymous ancestors: thus, when the tribe of Joseph was divided into Ephraim and Manasseh, Joseph was said to be the father of Ephraim and Manasseh. Similarly, the deity is said to be the father, mother, or husband of the people. So Jahweh is the father (Hos 11^1), or the husband (2^{16}), of Israel.

5. Personification of divine attributes.—Again, there is the personification in Jewish literature of the attributes, activities, and manifestations of God, and perhaps even of abstract qualities. In the later books there is doubtless pure literary personification, consciously used as a figure of speech and nothing more (see below on 'Wisdom,' etc.). But figures are apt to be popularly understood in a literal instead of a literary sense, and what is merely personified to the man of culture is a person to people generally. The most notable examples are the spirit of Jahweh, the Word, and Wisdom.

The ideas connected with the spirit (*rūaḥ*) of Jahweh would be partly determined by the fact that *rūaḥ* in the concrete meant 'breath' and also 'wind,' and that man had a *rūaḥ* both in the sense of 'breath' and in that of 'principle of life,' etc. These facts would make for understanding the spirit of Jahweh as an emanation or manifestation or even a part of Jahweh. But other passages speak of the spirit of Jahweh in terms commonly used of persons; in the early literature it 'rushes' or 'leaps' upon men; in Gn 1^2 the spirit of Elohim broods over the waters as a mother-bird over her young. In Is 48^{16} RV we have: 'The Lord Jahweh hath sent me, and his spirit,' which is sometimes understood as AV, 'The Lord God, and his spirit, hath sent me'; but both text and meaning are doubtful. On such passages Piepenbring writes:

> 'It is evident that in these passages the spirit and the word of God are personified, but that these personifications must be placed on the same level with others of the same kind' (*Theol. of the OT*, Eng. tr., p. 251).

The OT passages just referred to dealing with the Word are numerous—*e.g.*, Ps 33^6: 'By the word of the Lord were the heavens made.' The advance of the Word, through personification, to the status of a person belongs chiefly to post-Biblical Jewish literature, in which the Jewish idea is influenced and ultimately dominated by the Logos of Greek philosophy. Thus in the Targum of Onḳelos the action of God is frequently ascribed to the Word (*mēmrā*); *e.g.*, Ex 19^{17}, Moses at Sinai brought forth the people to meet the Word of God. Again in Philo the Logos is 'Son of God,' 'God,' 'high priest,' 'archetypal man' (B. F. Westcott, *Gospel of St. John*, London, 1908, p. xxxiv). But in these matters Philo, Jew though he was, was the disciple of Plato rather than of the Rabbis.

In the OT and the Apocrypha the tendency to personify is most strongly marked in connexion with Wisdom, *Ḥokhmāh*, Sophia (Job 28, Pr 8, Wis, *passim*, Sir 24, Bar $3^{9\text{-}37}$). In some of these passages Wisdom seems to be spoken of as a person (cf. Marti, *Gesch. der isr. Religion*, p. 328, with special reference to Wis $7^{25ff.}$), as 'Hypostase' representing the aggregate of the divine attributes (cf. also Pr 8^{30}, where Wisdom is made to say of the time when Jahweh created the world: 'Then I was by him, as a master workman'). Similarly, in the *Secrets of Enoch*, xxx. 8, Wisdom is commanded to create man. The identification of Wisdom with the Tôrāh (Sir 19^{20} etc.) exemplifies a tendency to personify the law which is more marked in later Judaism. Thus W. O. E. Oesterley:

> 'The idea of imputing personality to the *Torah* . . . receives actual expression in *Shemoth Rabba*, c. 29, where it says that the *Torah* stands before the Holy One and intercedes for Israel' (*Jewish Doctrine of Mediation*, London, 1910, p. 69).

In some directions the process upon which we have touched reached its climax in the Chalcedonian doctrine of the Trinity; and, in a very different way, in the Gnostic systems, with their æons, Sophia, Nous, etc.; and the Jewish counterpart of Gnosticism, the Ḳabbālā, with its *sᵉfîrôth*, or emanations, Wisdom, Intelligence, etc.

6. Various examples.—In view of the elasticity of the idea of personification and its frequent use as a literary figure, it would be easy to multiply further examples, but it may be sufficient to mention a few which possess special interest.

We note first various terms for God or for activities or attributes of God which are sometimes spoken of in a quasi-personal fashion: 'the glory of Jahweh' (Ezk 10^4); 'the divine name' (Ex 23^{21}); 'the divine presence,' lit. 'face,' *pānîm* (Ex 33^{14}). In the Rabbinical literature we find 'the Name' (*shᵉmâ'*), 'the Place' (*māqôm*), and 'Heaven' (*shāmayîm*). In this connexion we may also mention the *shᵉkhînāh* and the *bāth qôl*. *Shᵉkhînāh*, 'dwelling,' as an abstract noun, is used with great latitude; it is sometimes the radiant manifestation of God in the concrete 'dwelling,' the Tabernacle, *mishkān*, but it is by no means confined to this usage.

> It 'is sometimes practically equivalent to Memra, λόγος, but we may distinguish between them by regarding the one as the medium of a *passive*, the other of an *active*, manifestation: the one as creative, the other as "overshadowing" or indwelling' (C. Taylor, *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*², Cambridge, 1897, p. 44).

The *bāth qôl*, 'the daughter of the voice,' is a name for a species of oracular utterance, supposed to be heard by men:

> 'Every day Bath Qol goes forth from Mt. Horeb, and makes proclamation and says, Woe to the creatures for contempt of Torah' (*Pirqê Âbhôth*, vi. 2).

The voice from heaven in Mk 1^{11} would have been described by the Rabbis as *bāth qôl* (cf. 'Daughter of Zion,' for the city and its inhabitants [Is 1^8 etc.]).

The 'angel of the Lord' (*mal'ākh Jahweh*) may possibly be regarded as in some sense a personification of a manifestation of Jahweh; perhaps, too, at some stages of thought, angels and demons, together with the Muhammadan *jinns*, may have been, or been regarded as, personifications of natural objects or forces, like the *numina* of primitive religion whom they replaced. Satan, at any rate, has at times become the personification of the powers of evil, and this view does not seem foreign to some aspects of Semitic thought.

The suggestion is sometimes made that Aaron (*Aharôn*) is simply the personification of the Ark (*Ârôn*), and this is not impossible.

A curious example of personification is found among the Falashas, or Abyssinian Jews; they worship the Sabbath as a goddess.

A beautiful example of purely literary personification is Ps $85^{10f.}$:

> 'Mercy and truth are met together;
> Righteousness and peace have kissed each other.
> Truth springeth out of the earth;
> And righteousness hath looked down from heaven.'

Literature.—Morris Jastrow, *The Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria*, London, 1915, pp. 190–236, *Hebrew and Babylonian*

Traditions, do. 1914, pp. 26–32, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, Boston, 1898, pp. 46–144, *The Study of Religion*, London, 1901, pp. 101–108; A. Jeremias, *The OT in the Light of the Ancient East*, Eng. tr., do. 1911, pp. 1–141, *KAT*[3], pp. 343–487; K. Marti, *Gesch. der isr. Religion*, Strassburg, 1907, pp. 26–32, 101–105, 146–179, 264–270, 332–336; H. Meinhold, *Die Weisheit Israels*, Leipzig, 1908; C. Piepenbring, *Theol. of the OT*, Eng. tr., New York, 1893, pp. 137–146, 247–262; O. Pfleiderer, *Philosophy and Development of Religion*, Edinburgh, 1894, i. 102–136; W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*[2], London, 1894, pp. 28–212; B. Stade, *Bibl. Theol. des AT*, Tübingen, 1908, pp. 92–102, 178–190; *HDB*, *s.vv.* 'Holy Spirit,' 'Logos,' 'Wisdom'; *PRE*[3], *s.vv.* 'Geist, heiliger,' 'Weisheit,' 'Wort Gottes.'

W. H. BENNETT.

PERU.—Our knowledge of the religion and mythology of Peru is gleaned chiefly from the writings of its Spanish conquerors, in whose records we are confronted with a bewildering array of religious types—animism, stone-worship, totemism, and fetishism appearing singly and simultaneously in different areas. A pantheon more or less developed exists side by side with these, and, if certain writers are to be believed, even monotheism and agnosticism made some headway in Incan times.

If it be admitted that the first four classes alluded to all fall to be included under the head of animism, then we may say that at the period of its destruction Incan religion had succeeded in evolving a pantheon possessing at least several anthropomorphic figures from an animism which still flourished side by side with it. This circumstance should render Peruvian religion a study of profound interest to students of comparative religion, as it exhibits a phase of peculiar value to the student. Moreover, there is perhaps no mythology in which compound myths exhibiting definite religious strata are so well exemplified.

At the time of the Spanish conquest Incan animism had reached the agricultural stage. The food compact with the crop-gods was not so well marked as in the case of ancient Mexico, but, although human sacrifice was rare, it is a mistake to consider it as altogether absent from Peruvian ritual. It is only reasonable to suppose that totemism, some relics of which remained, had preceded this agricultural cult, but there is perhaps no progressional existence of type in early religion, and two types may exist side by side and even overlap. Be that as it may, we are informed by Garcilasso de la Vega[1] that in 'the idolatry of the first age' each district, family, village, and house possessed its own god, each different from the others, and that these were generally material objects, such as herbs, plants, trees, mountains, caves, precipices, large stones, small pebbles of different colours, and animals—jaguar, puma, bear, ape, fox, lynx, and cougar. The list includes examples of fetishistic, animistic, and totemistic worship, the first of which certainly survived until late times. Caves and precipices were worshipped as *paccariscas*, or places of origin, plants as the homes of animistic spirits, stones as fetish objects, and animals as totemic eponyms.

All things sacred were known to the Peruvians as ***huaca***. The most common visible objects of veneration among the agricultural portion of the population were the *ccompas*, or gods of the irrigation channels to be found in every maize-field. The *ccompa* was sacrificed to at the planting of the seed and earnestly invoked during the growth of the plant, and no type of pagan worship was extirpated with greater difficulty. Others called *huancas* were situated in each plantation and were carved out of stone to represent a gigantic cornstalk, which was placed there for the purpose of encouraging the plant to grow to the greatest possible size. 'Maize-mothers' were known as *saramama*, 'potato-mothers' as *acsumama*, and 'cocoa-mothers' as *cocamama*. These remained mere rustic fetishes and did not blossom into anthropomorphic gods of vegetation.

This arrestment was probably due to the fact that throughout Peru there existed a definite conception of a universal spirit of animated things (Pachacamac) and the close association of this conception with those of a creator-god (Pacharurac) and a ruling or directing god (Pachayachachic).

The Pachacamac was the great spirit from whom proceeded the lesser spirits of animistic type who inhabited the various vegetable plants, whilst his consort Pachamama was supposed to have originated all those who haunted larger physical objects such as mountains and rivers. Pachacamac came to be identified with the creative agency (Pacharurac) from the circumstance that the function of both was regarded as the bestowal of the breath of life. He was represented in the *ccoricancha*, or temple, at Cuzco by a stone statue in the form of a man, and his evolution into the form Pachayachachic, in the late Incan period, may safely be ascribed to the growth and stability of Incan rule. Indeed, Inca Pachacutic built for the new god a separate shrine at Cuzco, known as the Inisuarcancha, in which he is said by Molina to have placed a golden statue of the universal deity, thus, perhaps, attempting to further a monotheistic ideal. Older forms died hard. Viracocha, a deity representative of water and its powers of fertilization, was sometimes identified with Pachayachachic, and is perhaps anterior in origin to the cult of Pachacamac, as was Con, or Cun, the thunder-god of the Collao. Fish deities were also prominent in the coastal districts.

Sun-worship.—It remains only to mention sun-worship in a sketch of a religion which has already been dealt with in art. ANDEANS. The name 'Inca' means 'people of the sun.' They gave the sun an anthropomorphic shape, but did not derive racial or royal descent from him, calling themselves 'children of the sun' *honoris causa*; and it was only at a comparatively recent date that this connexion with the sun was embodied in a religious form, having probably been introduced by the great-grandfather of the Apu-Ccapac-Inca, who ruled at the conquest. The figure at Cuzco representing the sun was attired in the robes of a monarch, and a special ritual was attached to its worship. The warrior class practised a private and esoteric worship of the sun, totally distinct from the popular form, the idol which they adored being called Huaina-Punchau, 'the young sun,' representing an infant a year old moulded in solid gold.

LITERATURE.—See literature at art. ANDEANS.

LEWIS SPENCE.

PESSIMISM AND OPTIMISM. — These rival interpretations of existence have one circumstance in common: both are designated by superlatives; and the loose employment of the terms in ordinary phraseology renders it needful to point this out. To justify their use in a philosophical sense it is not enough that a given view of things should dwell by preference on their more forbidding or more engaging aspect respectively. The terms are more strictly opposed than this, and each is to be understood in its literal sense. For pessimistic theory this is the worst of worlds; if it were to be a world, it could not have borne to be worse than it is. Some rudiments of order and well-being Schopenhauer himself will allow to it, since otherwise it could not cohere or continue in existence at all. But, so much being granted, the contention is that its irrationality, misery, and worthlessness could not be more than they are. And optimism also expresses itself in the same unqualified way, maintaining that all is for the best in this best of all possible worlds.

[1] *Historia general del Peru*, Lisbon, 1617, bk. i. ch. ix.

The facts on which the former of these views rests are many and undeniable. Whatever a maturer reflexion may suggest, man and his environment do not, superficially regarded, seem to be well fitted to each other. By the essential conditions of his existence man is subjected to hindrance and disappointment, to suffering, decay, and death, and necessarily his awakening consciousness is painfully arrested by such experiences. An anxious and resentful attitude to life may be said to be the natural reaction of the mind's first contact with reality, and spiritual growth thereafter to signify, at least temporarily, a deepening sense of the unsatisfying nature of the world, its instability, its evanescence, and the inconsideration which it manifests for ends humanly felt to be desirable. Hence not only the elegiac note which pervades so much of the world's most moving literature, but also the strain of world-weariness present in the thinking of every people which has risen above the most elementary level of culture. Every age supplies its instances, more especially among the poets, from Homer, who, for all his healthy-mindedness, can find it in his heart to say that 'there is nothing more wretched than man of all things that breathe and are' (*Il.* xvii. 446 f.), and Sophocles, from whom is wrung the cry that 'not to be born is the most to be desired; but, having seen the light, the next best is to go whence one came as soon as may be' (*Œd. Col.* 1225 f.), to our more passionate modern singers of the pitiless sway of wrong and pain and death. And yet such utterances may be expressive merely of a subjective attitude or mood which is transcended in a larger view. The writer, while not fundamentally rebellious, may derive a pensive satisfaction from the indulgence of morbid feeling, and may even find life worth living while he displays before the world the pageant of his bleeding heart. Or, again, his seeming despair may bring otherwise its more express correction with it. The Hebrew teaching on life, *e.g.*, owing to the intensity of the religious belief present throughout, is in the main of a finely robust and hopeful temper, yet in one signal instance it betrays a different character. Koheleth takes rank as one of the classics of the literature of reflective melancholy; nowhere are the bewilderment, dismay, and exhaustion of human nature, baffled by the contradictions of its lot, realized more poignantly. Nevertheless, there is no sign of spiritual collapse in the book. The conclusion reached does not suggest either the despairing or the immoral mind. On the contrary, the ground-tone of the writer's view is furnished by the spiritual tradition which he has inherited. His faith, though semi-paralyzed, holds out, and at least a working solution of the world-riddle is arrived at: if man do not ask too much from life, a sober degree of worthiness may be found in it still. And ultimately his chastened trust in existence expresses itself thus: 'Fear God, and keep his commandments, for this is the whole duty of man; for God will bring every work and every secret thing into judgment, whether it be good or whether it be evil.'

For the most part, then, the instinctive sense of the incongruity between the spirit and its environment, together with the depression of feeling thus occasioned, does not in point of fact give rise to the sceptical view of life, but is, consciously or unconsciously, taken up into a more comprehensive estimate of things. Where, however, this is not the case, the result is pessimism, the doctrine that existence is fundamentally and essentially evil. The theory is found both in Eastern and in Western thought. Optimism, on the other hand, in the proper sense of the term, belongs to one special period in the development of the latter only. It will be convenient to deal with the various phases of each in the order of their historical appearance.

1. **Buddhist pessimism.**—In its earliest form pessimism appears, singularly enough, as the characteristic and determinative feature of a popular religion. As a doctrine of redemption Buddhism starts from a comprehensive assertion of the evil and pain inherent in human existence. Life is misery, misery undiluted and unrelieved, from which there is no deliverance so long as personal consciousness persists. This grievous condition is not accounted for by anything external to life itself. It cannot be construed as penal, nor is it consequential upon anything else. Human agents, it is true, may themselves, in some degree, add to its burdensomeness; as, similarly, they may lighten it. But in the main it is life itself that is at fault. Its radical conditions do not permit of happiness, and, if its sorrow is to be cured, these must first be altogether altered or removed.

Little is to be said for the suggestion that would trace this belief to an experience of accumulated distress which had during long ages oppressed the Indian mind, and finally generated so despairing a conviction. Historical evidence is entirely lacking; and, besides, so deeply considered an attitude to existence could scarcely be the outcome of accidental circumstances. Its roots are to be found in that monistic tendency of thought which made its appearance so early, and which is expressed in the *Upaniṣads* with so rigorous finality. If only the *ātman* (*q.v.*) is real, it follows that existence otherwise must be illusory and evil. In the language of the Vedānta philosophy it is *avam*, 'emptiness,' 'vanity'; it is *māyā*, 'mirage.' To think otherwise is the supreme error and the source of all further error and sin. On the other hand, to realize this truth is wisdom and salvation. He is a fool who takes the reflexion for the substance, and expends himself on objects essentially shadowy and deceptive. The instructed man knows better. How the world around him came into quasi-existence, indeed, he comprehends no more than another: it is a spectral projection, a shadow cast by the sole divinity, an evil dream which even so is powerless to disturb the blissful repose in which Brahman is wrapped eternally. Yet the wise man is at least aware of its unsubstantial and evanescent character, and, being disillusioned, may cherish the hope of ultimate escape from the meshes of its infinite deception into the unbroken peace of the one-and-all whence he came.

Now from such a doctrine the pessimistic judgment upon life is a direct, if not a necessary, inference. The pantheism which once and again has emerged in the history of European thought has tended for the most part to the enrichment and glorifying of existence. Identifying God with the world, it has greatly quickened the instinctive sense of the wonder and beauty of nature and added a new sacredness to life in its meanest forms. But the Hindu mind—not in all its phases, but prevailingly—solved the problem of the one and the many in the more strictly logical or acosmistic fashion. For it the world is pure appearance; it is unreal, phantasmal, wholly lacking in validity and value. The creation, or rather the emanation into being, of nature and man is the fundamental mystery and catastrophe. As making up the varied, ever-perishing scene that offers itself to perception, they must be conceived to be in a state of diremption from that to which they properly belong or in which they inhere. And while, accordingly, essential deep distraction is seated at the heart of the world, pervading its members in every part, this rises into consciousness in man, in whom the phenomenal world pronounces judgment upon itself as altogether worthless and wrong.

It is important to note that to the speculative ideas involved here early Buddhism was professedly indifferent. In the eyes of Gautama, as would appear, all dogmas of the thinkers were vain: for himself he sought only a practical *askesis* by the adoption of which the soul might effect its emancipation from life's ills. Nevertheless, the ultimate presuppositions from which his doctrine is derived are unmistakable; and further, just in so far as he departs from these does its pessimistic character become still more pronounced and thoroughgoing. Thus from the metaphysic of the past he discards entirely that idea of an absolute reality of the world, the inner core or substance of all phenomena, which, indeterminate though it was, had seemed to offer the mind something positive to rest in, and retains only the correlative thought of the instability and evanescence of the finite. The original illumination which broke upon him under the *bo*-tree already betrays this: 'Coming to pass, coming to pass—at that thought there arose in me a vision into things not called before to mind' (*Dīgha-Nikāya*, ii. 1); and to the same effect is the saying which tradition reports to have been his last, and which summarizes all his teaching: 'That which came into being dissolves into non-being again; work out your own salvation' (*SBE* xi. [1900] 114). That is, the apprehension of the impermanence of things is fundamental in the system. It is indeed the sole philosophical principle on which it is all built up. If earlier reflexion had asserted the being that is behind all becoming, the Buddhistic doctrine maintains that the only reality of being is becoming—no sooner has anything begun to be than it has begun to lapse into non-being again. Hence its insistence on the weary round of birth, old age, and death which all life treads perennially. In other words, life is change; mere change or process unqualified, aimless, and endless. Again, if Gautama ignores the conception of man as properly a portion or spark of the infinite, pure spirit therefore, unconditioned and free, and achieving his destiny only in returning to the central fire or focus of being whence he came, all the more does he lay stress upon the view (which also belongs to the psychology of the *Upaniṣads*) that, as the subject of a time-and-space experience, he is 'wholly made up of desire,' with the corollary that peace is to be attained only through its extirpation. This, indeed, is cardinal with Gautama. The 'four excellent truths' are little more than an elaboration of the position, setting forth with the usual Oriental cumbrousness of phrasing that all experience whatsoever, including as it does an element of appetition always, is of the nature of suffering; conscious life is a restless striving, an insatiable thirst or craving, the sole remedy for which lies in 'letting desire go, expelling it, separating oneself from it, giving it no room.' And in one further particular the positive yet free relation of Buddhist teaching to the past, as also the enhanced gloom attaching to it thereby, deserves to be noted. As incorporated in a system otherwise so spiritual and rarefied, the transmigration idea in Hinduism is clearly a survival from a ruder time, its retention probably representing the attempt to do some sort of justice to those indestructible convictions of personal identity and moral retribution which a self-consistent pantheism would contradict too violently. But in the Buddhist doctrine even this accommodation to ordinary human instinct is still further attenuated and reduced. The notion of the self having been surrendered, no use can any longer be made of a conception which suggests, in however illusory a manner, a continuous substrate of consciousness passing on from life to life; that of the transmission of the ethical result or outcome of experience takes its place; and the prospect that opens before the individual is that of an infinite succession of lives, each determined in character, according to the laws of an inherent necessity, by the quality of the deeds done in the preceding, until the *karma* (*q.v.*) involved is exhausted, and with the breaking of the chain of existences liberation from the burden of being is achieved.

Of the three conceptions just referred to it might be hard to say which is the most fitted to suggest a despairing estimate of life. Plainly there is a close affinity between each and the other two, and together they yield a view of existence the most essentially sad and sceptical that has ever been accepted by mankind. It is true that the Buddhist scheme contains elements of spiritual value and attractiveness, and without these its power and vogue must have been unintelligible. The desires of average human nature are so largely foolish and hurtful that no well-considered method that aims at their repression could fail to rid experience of many ills. In particular, it was nothing less than a moral discovery of the first order that led Gautama to substitute for the senseless austerities of Brāhmanism a regimen of internal purification and self-discipline as the 'path that leads to the extinction of desire.' The ethical is the universally human, and doubtless it was in virtue of the emphasis which it laid on the excellence of the ethical element in experience, especially in certain of its most gracious and winning forms, and on the accessibility of these to the lowest Śūdra in the land, that the doctrine achieved its astonishing success at the first and has since proved capable, in versions however adulterated, of satisfying the needs of so large a portion of the race. That in the effort to reach his ideal a real measure of happiness is also open to the Buddhist disciple cannot be denied. The way to *arhat*-ship is always pleasant, in the sense that at every step pain is more completely left behind; there are lives to be passed through, especially in one or other of the seven heavens recognized by the system, as the individual fulfils his appointed course, which are full of happy experiences; and *nirvāṇa*, that 'gain which no other gain surpasses,' is hailed from afar as a joy beyond compare. Yet all this cannot conceal the essentially negative character of the conception of existence involved. In truth, it is not, as will be seen later, peculiar to Buddhism to seek to combine a relative optimism with a philosophy of being which is profoundly unbelieving and hopeless. It remains that life is desire, and desire is pain, and only where both are at an end is the craving of the soul at rest. On these terms literally no definable good is left to be the object of pursuit. Condemnation has been passed upon all. Even the morally good is not good absolutely; ultimately it also proves a hindrance, since in its most passive forms a tincture of desire is apparent and life and individuality still assert themselves. Only with their cessation is the goal attained. Of the resultant state, *nirvāṇa* (*q.v.*), all that is really predicable is that it is devoid of those elements of experience which give life content and significance. The last thread which bound the soul to the world of activity and change has been destroyed; and, if it is at peace, the meaning is that it has made good its escape into a region or condition from which consciousness itself has disappeared and where being and non-being are indistinguishable.

So subtle and profound, then, is this Oriental pessimist philosophy. It is a dogmatic pessimism, not so much basing itself upon an inductive survey of experience and a comparison of its pleasures and pains as concluding from its inherent nature that all its conditions are out of joint, and that the

outcome, so long as it shall last, can be only suffering and frustration. The modern version of the creed, being conceived in another milieu, presents necessarily somewhat different features. Nevertheless, in essentials the two do not vary greatly. In certain cardinal features the resemblance is almost startling.

2. The optimism of Leibniz.—European pessimism is preceded historically by its opposite. Optimistic theory represents a phase of 17th and 18th cent. thought, and is found in two main forms. On the Continent its classical exponent is Leibniz, and to him its definition as a doctrine is due. In England it appears in a more diffused shape, characterizing the attitude and spirit especially of the Deistic school and finding a more casual expression in various writers of the age. By Leibniz himself, however, it is not always set forth in the same manner, nor would it be fair to gather his views from the *Théodicée* alone. That treatise, originally composed for the edification of Queen Sophia Charlotte of Prussia in 1710, is essentially popular in character and cannot be rightly understood unless in conjunction with his more expressly philosophical writings. In this connexion the *Système nouveau de la nature et de la communication des substances* (1695), the *Monadologie*, and the *Principes de la nature et de la grâce fondés en raison* (both published in 1714) require to be taken into account.

Leibniz's was essentially a catholic mind, and it has been truly said that harmony is the dominant idea of his philosophy. In early life he had been fascinated by the mechanical doctrines of the current Cartesianism; later he learned from his study of Plato to regard final causes as no mere human imagination projected on things, but as objectively founded; and, in effect, his effort is to combine the ætiological and teleological aspects of existence in a unified scheme. Its formal starting-point is a criticism of Spinoza's notion of substance. Leibniz agrees with Spinoza in regarding substance as that which is independent of all else, so that its characters must be determinable from itself alone; but there agreement between the two thinkers ends. In Leibniz's view the conception of existence as essentially one is a pure abstraction and no more helpful for the understanding of the world than is the atomic hypothesis of Cartesian science itself. Reality is a manifold. It is constituted of particulars or unities of being, each of which is substantial as being independent of the rest and intelligible through its own inner nature, and from each, indeed, could it be understood rightly, the whole of existence might be construed. Further, each is active. For the real is not, as Spinoza taught, essentially passive. Substance, on the contrary, denotes capability of action, and the monads, to use Leibniz's technical term, are centres of living force in which being and work are one. They are to be construed on the analogy of that one among them of which we have the best and most intimate knowledge, namely, human personality, and must be conceived as being all more or less both perceptive and active. These ultimate constituents of things, in short, are so many points of view from which the world may be regarded or so many special forms in which it is mirrored or expressed. And, seeing that, although thus independent of one another, 'having no windows through which aught might come in or go out,' the monads nevertheless make up a coherent whole, it follows that a superior principle of combination must needs have brought this to pass. In the organic unity of experience a 'pre-established harmony' stands revealed; or, in other words, in the constitution of the world as a system of elements connected by physical laws, together with the fact that all individuals agree in the main in the representation which they form of it, there is already implied the existence of a power of wisdom and goodness on which all depend and in which the various perfections of the creatures are present in an eminent degree. How their relation to this principle is to be understood is nowhere clearly said. If the monads are, indeed, 'simple substances' in the sense described, how can they proceed from a creative power, whose beneficent purposes they are to observe? And if, on the other hand, they are emanations from His being rather, 'the continual out-flashings (*fulgurations*) of His divinity from moment to moment' (*Monadologie*, § 4), do they not at once relapse into mere appearance, as on Spinoza's view? That Leibniz understood himself to have avoided the pantheistic conclusion is plain: he expressly repudiates the doctrine of an *anima mundi* as incompatible with the freedom and worth of the individual. But the ambiguity remains one of the outstanding difficulties of the Leibnizian system, only veiled by a profuse employment of theological language not conducive to speculative clearness.

For present purposes, however, it is more necessary to observe the tendency to self-realization which he finds characterizing existence everywhere. This pertains not only to all actual forms of being, but to those also which never emerge out of the region of mere possibility. Since possibility, in all its infinite variety, is not just nothing, it must be credited with a degree of being, or at least with a *nisus* in that direction. In the case of necessary truths, indeed, the sole test of whose objectivity is the absence of contradiction, to be possible ensures existence; but with contingent truths it is otherwise. The ground of their reality lies elsewhere. The concrete fact or event being finite does not explain itself, and can just as little furnish a true or ultimate explanation of anything else. In itself it may be reckoned arbitrary, and, abstractly considered, it and its opposite are equally possible. But they are not equally possible in conjunction, or 'compossible.' An actual world composed of a multitude of diverse elements must be the result of a selection made among all the conceivable configurations of being according to the law of sufficient reason; or, to express the matter in religious terms, among the infinite number of possible worlds eternally embraced within the divine thought the actual existing world represents that one which has been chosen by the divine will, and brought into being by the divine power, as the most fitting and best ('le plus convenable'). Hence, though the existence of the world constituted as we find it cannot be shown to be a metaphysical necessity, yet not only its non-existence but also its being constituted otherwise is morally unthinkable. God necessarily wills in accordance with His wisdom and goodness; and the universe which we know, though but one of an infinite number conceivable, is nevertheless that one among them which could not but be.

One further feature must be taken account of in order to reach a right understanding of Leibniz's unqualified faith in existence. The monads, it is obvious, differ qualitatively from each other, and especially in respect of their fundamental characteristic, the clearness or obscurity of their perceptions. Highest of all among them are those which are termed minds (*esprits*), although whether, on the general principles of his philosophy, Leibniz is entitled to consider this type of monad generically distinct from every other is more than doubtful. Nevertheless, they are consistently so regarded, no doubt in view of those ethical interests of the individual which he is everywhere so anxious to conserve. To them is ascribed the power of con-

sciously apprehending not merely the world but also the Power whence the world has sprung, so that, if souls in general are living mirrors or images of the universe of created things, human minds are also 'images of the Deity or Author of Nature Himself,' capable of knowing the system of the universe and to some extent of imitating it through spiritual creations and activities of all sorts, each mind being 'a small divinity in its own sphere.' To God, therefore, intelligible natures are related, not as the parts of a machine to its inventor (as is the case with the other constituents of creation), but as subjects to a monarch, or, rather, as children to a parent who seeks to reproduce in them his own perfection. To this under His guidance all things minister. Just as efficient and final causes are found to imply each other, so does there appear a perfect harmony between the physical and moral orders. Nature itself 'leads to grace, and grace by the use it makes of nature brings it to perfection' (*Principes*, § 15). In fine, existence in its deepest interpretation is a City of God, under whose perfect government, as at once architect of the mechanical universe and moral lawgiver and king, good and evil conduct are rewarded with unfailing if not immediate justice, and not merely the advantage of the whole but the absolute well-being of the individual also is secured infallibly. Human shortsightedness, it is true, must often mar the vision.

But 'if,' to quote the conclusion of the *Monadologie*, 'we could sufficiently understand the order of the universe, we should find that it exceeds all the desires of the wisest men, and that it is impossible to make it better than it is, not only as a whole and in general but also for ourselves in particular, if we are attached, as we ought to be, to the Author of all, not only as to the architect and efficient cause of our being, but as to our master and to the final cause which ought to be the whole aim of our will, and which can alone make our happiness' (tr. Latta, p. 271).

There is here, it will be understood, no desire to ignore or minimize the known evils of the world. On the contrary, evil is held to be inevitable. Thus, God alone finds the reason for His existence within Himself, and contains an independent fullness or perfection of being; the created world, consisting of a vast congeries of elements differing in respect of the adequacy with which they express the totality of existence and all inherently craving an ever fuller expression of it, involves imperfection—evil in this sense—in its warp and woof. And this in truth, urges Leibniz, is the whole significance of the conception. Evil is nothing positive or real, nor is there, properly speaking, a principle of evil any more than of cold or darkness. It is a defect or a negation. Such perfection as the creatures exhibit in themselves and in their conduct comes directly from God; their imperfection is merely privative. Even moral evil partakes of this character. The activities of the monads result from their perceptions, and it is because these perceptions are so often at fault that the former go astray. It is not ignorance alone, then, but (moral) error and malice also that 'formally consist in privation': the creature in causing sin is 'une cause déficiente'; while, as for the physical evils with which the world doubtless abounds, they are the necessary penal consequence of sin under a divine government which everywhere makes nature subservient to righteousness, although to our limited vision the immediate connexion of the two may not be always apparent. Evil, that is, as a thing reprehensible in itself and casting a reflexion upon either the power or the goodness of the Creator, disappears. In any case there is a vast overplus of happiness in the world; and, for the rest, the 'evil' to be found in it is justified. Certainly, the non-existence of a creaturely world is conceivable, as involving no self-contradiction; on the other hand, it would contradict the necessity which an infinite power of wisdom and goodness is under of expressing itself in a world reflecting its own perfections. But of such a world limitation or imperfection is a necessary feature, and that evil in this sense should be eliminated therefrom is inherently impossible. All that can be legitimately asked is that it should be controlled by the good and made to serve its ends, and that the case indeed stands thus there can be no doubt at all. The law of the sufficient reason itself ensures it, and experience 'ordinarily' furnishes confirmation. Evil, in short, is a necessary ingredient in the actual goodness of the world, as the sweet becomes insipid without an admixture of the bitter and discords are necessary to richest harmonies. The existing combination of things is best. Remove any most sinister evil visible in it, and it would no longer be the world which, all things considered, is the most desirable. It might have contained no Judas, but how then should the Saviour have died? In other words, the world is a progressive achievement, in which an element of necessary limitation is always present, and from it the utmost to be expected is that the divine power will at no point suffer real defeat, but will everywhere overcome evil with good.

3. **Deism.**—To a dogmatic optimism of this kind speculative thought in England has no parallel to show, nor would it be easy to trace there any distinctively Leibnizian influence at work. Nevertheless, contemporary English rationalism exhibits broad affinities with the corresponding Continental tendency, and both alike find the optimistic attitude and temper congenial. In both an unhesitating confidence is placed in human reason; the Cartesian test of logical clearness is erected into a supreme standard of truth, at the expense, as a later age would say, of those deeper intuitions of the soul to which alone final reality is revealed; philosophy is treated with scholastic assurance as the handmaid of religion; and the ultimate truths, whether of the one or of the other—really they are identical—are held for a body of doctrines logically demonstrable. On these terms scant justice is likely to be done to those elements in experience which threaten the reasonableness of the universal scheme, and just this is found to be a prevailing feature in the thinking, whether theological or non-theological, of the age. Deism (*q.v.*) entertains the most complacent views of existence. Of that characteristic phenomenon of the Illumination a crude apriorism may be said to be the foundation. Subsequent writers had learned from Locke to be distrustful of innate ideas, but no more than Locke himself had they attained to a consistent experientialism. No conception is more characteristic of their thinking than that of an all-comprehending harmony in existence which (they will admit) an imperfect experience could never of itself furnish, but for which they claim that it is at least illustrated by experience everywhere. So Shaftesbury speaks throughout of a 'coherent scheme of things,' this 'mighty union' or 'consistent fabric,' whose orderliness is 'abundantly confirmed' by all that we see 'in every rank and order of beings to the remotest spheres,' apparent defects or irregularities being the necessary accompaniments of phenomena which are only parts of a greater whole and disappearing in a larger view, which in its present state, however, the human mind may not always be able to take. Bolingbroke and others follow him here, and detailed support is furnished for the affirmation of the beneficence of nature by the natural theologians, such as Derham and Ray, who handle the argument from final causes in the most naively anthropomorphic manner. So, too, as regards human

nature: the microcosm reflects the symmetry of the macrocosm. Failure to maintain internal harmony, indeed, is a serious and frequent fact; the passions break loose and play havoc with the soul's health and peace. But this represents no schism within the soul itself; it is due to ignorance, which enlightenment will remove. The disorder, then, which we witness, whether in the physical or in the moral world, is in neither case anything positive. In the one it is an illusion arising from our incomplete understanding of what is so vastly beyond us—

> 'All Nature is but Art, unknown to thee;
> All Chance, Direction which thou canst not see'
> (Pope, *Essay on Man*, ep. i. 1. 289 *f.*).

And in the other a better understanding of our own being would enable us to avoid that disproportionate indulgence of its various impulses which inevitably entails the hurt and ruin of the whole. Essentially, then, whatever is is right.

> 'The gen'ral Order, since the whole began,
> Is kept in Nature, and is kept in Man' (*ib.* 171 *f.*).

Ultimately, the position is scarcely distinguishable from Spinoza's own. Through its doctrine of God as revealed exclusively and sufficiently in nature deism inevitably leaned in this direction; and in Pope's shallow and pretentious piece the creed of the time once for all assumes that semi-mystical, but essentially naturalistic, form in which the ills of life are pantheistically explained away.

4. Transition to modern pessimism.—English deism, however, in the nature of the case proved to be a transient phase of thought. It was in no sense a constructive movement, but represents a traditional orthodoxy with all its more vitalizing truths eliminated; and the century which gave it birth saw also its disappearance. Various circumstances conspired to bring about this result. After all, the watchword of rationalism was a zeal for knowledge ('Sapere aude'), and, as the investigation of nature took a wider range, phenomena disclosed themselves on every side to which the current apologetics were altogether inadequate. The eudæmonism, also, which characterizes in some sort the ethic of all the contemporary schools, orthodox and free-thinking alike, provoked its inevitable reaction, and a deeper analysis of human nature, illustrated in one phase by the cynicism of Mandeville and Swift and in another by the profound seriousness of Butler and William Law, brought to light features of moral experience which could not be ignored. Nor must the historic Lisbon earthquake of 1755 be forgotten—a catastrophe which gave so rude a shock to the easy-going geniality of the age and left its mark upon the thinking of many of its foremost minds—

> 'Tout est bien, dites-vous, et tout est nécessaire.
> Quoi! l'univers entier, sans ce gouffre infernal,
> Sans engloutir Lisbonne, eût-il été plus mal?'
> (Voltaire, *Poëme sur le Désastre de Lisbonne*).

But above all is to be reckoned here the influence of **David Hume** (*q.v.*). Against his searching inquiry into the validity of human knowledge the philosophy of the day was powerless, nor from this quarter was any justification forthcoming of the actual ills of life as his dispassionate scrutiny laid them bare. With the *Treatise of Human Nature* and the *Dialogues* a chapter in the history of European thought and feeling about existence definitely closes. The famous 'four evils' passage is fatal to all such vindication as could then be offered for a reasoned contentment with the order of the world. Another explanation, furnished perhaps from the side of 'revelation,' Hume himself professed to be ready to accept, but to the human mind 'unaided' the world-problem was insoluble. We have no line by which to measure it. In the main experience teaches that it does not work to the production of happiness, and for the rest we must hold our judgment in suspense. It is 'a riddle, an enigma, an inexplicable mystery.'

5. The pessimism of Schopenhauer.—It is to this British scepticism that the pessimistic doctrine of later times is, at least indirectly, due. To the Kantian criticism of experience Schopenhauer owed his emancipation from the 'wickedness' of the Leibnizian representation of the world as fair and good, and, when he says this, he refers, of course, to the metaphysical presuppositions on which the representation rests. In the period of his 'dogmatic slumber' Kant had himself leaned in that direction (see the essay on *Optimism* of 1795). In its more characteristic phase also his philosophy had undertaken to preserve for man an apprehension of ultimate truth sufficient to justify faith and hope; and later the Hegelian endeavour had been so to develop the doctrine of the *Critique* that thought is constitutive of experience as to claim for existence a completely rational character and for 'evil' a necessary place in the evolution of the Idea. Nevertheless, the withdrawal of reality from the grasp of reason remains the corner-stone of the critical system, and to this feature of it Schopenhauer attaches himself resolutely. Already in his early *Fourfold Root of the Principle of Sufficient Reason* (1813) he had maintained that the intelligence, in all its various activity, is inadequate to the attainment of ultimate truth, and in his classic treatise the severance of the two is carried out rigidly. The inner substance of things is hidden from us. We never perceive reality, but only appearance. Space, time, causality itself, belong to the phenomenal region, and to apply such categories—or any others—to the thing-in-itself is to impose upon the matter of knowledge a form which is foreign to it and to distort it fatally. Thus 'life and dreams are leaves of the same book.' The veil of *māyā*—Schopenhauer is fond of the Indian terms—blinds the eyes of mortals, deceiving them with an illusory representation of existence which is no other than a mirage. And yet, it is added, if we will be content with that which is not properly knowledge but rather supra-rational intuition, a certain sense of the very truth of things is not inaccessible to us after all. We are 'let into the citadel by trickery.' In immediate feeling, namely, we realize our innermost self as will, and, could we know other things with a like directness, we should be constrained to conceive them similarly. Not that such a notion can adequately represent the absolute nature of the world. Will suggests causation, and causation is merely subjective. As predicated of the totality of existence, will must be taken for a general concept, construed through its highest species. But, in default of a better—and force, energy, and the like are far less satisfactory—we may legitimately apply it to the determination of the substance of things, and sum up the world accordingly in the formula 'Idea and Will'; *i.e.* *my* idea, together with the One-and-All of infinite, endless, aimless activity and desire.

Thus Schopenhauer solves the problem which Kant gave up. If it be said that this is not will as commonly understood, the objection cannot be gainsaid. Yet Schopenhauer's system hinges upon its being conceived in just this character. Reality has no part or lot in reason. Intelligibility belongs to the phenomenal alone. The ultimate is 'absolutely groundless'; apprehensible, if at all, by means of this inner volitional faculty through which it most intimately reveals itself; and interpretable, therefore, as an indeterminate craving, a blind, insatiable striving, or hunger for being, which surges up unceasingly in us and in all things, and which we and they truly are. And with this

the essentially deceptive and worthless nature of life is at once given. True, the appearance of a spiritual consciousness, able to pass such a judgment on that which gave it birth, is nowhere accounted for. Admittedly it has enkindled itself in the human brain in a manner quite inexplicable. Here, indeed, is the true 'fall' of man, which has been followed by more than all the unhappy consequences of the Biblical story. With its emergence the entire illusion of existence necessarily arises. Once for all change and multiplicity have arrived, the *principium individuationis* has begun to weave its endless spell, and in the shadowy panorama thus evoked Schopenhauer, curiously enough, recognizes the working of reason freely. For nature's immanent teleology, *e.g.*, he has a frank and appreciative eye. The unity of the will as thing-in-itself secures that the parts of the world shall be thus inter-related, and in particular expresses itself in those successive grades of being which constitute an ordered series culminating in man. Yet this rational quality attaches merely to the shimmering illusion which we take for the world of time and space; behind it reality retains its inherent character, essentially contrary to intelligence, a-logical. The fact is apparent in man, in whom the will's self-objectification is complete and the secret of the world is declared—man whose doom it is to furnish the final illustration of the will's intrinsically nugatory character and to toil and yearn in a shadow-world of mere appearance after that which for ever eludes him.

What function, then, is to be assigned to human intelligence in the economy of things? Schopenhauer's reply is twofold. On the one hand, it serves to discover the sorrowful truth as to the essential character of experience. In the dawn of experience we are deluded by the fancy that existence is desirable and good, but from a belief so shallow the development of reason delivers us. To its wide-opened eye life presents a scene of meaningless monotonous labour, pursued to-day as yesterday and accomplishing mere disappointment and weariness. Not the most favoured can be designated happy; life swings between the poles of desire experienced and desire attained, *i.e.* between the pain of empty craving and the still more unendurable pain of satiety and ennui, and the bitterest complaints of a Byron or a Leopardi are justified. Nay, psychology demonstrates how well-grounded these are by showing that of the two emotional elements of which our life is made up only pain, not pleasure, is positive. Of pleasure we are aware only in the moment of its gratification; it dies in the birth, and its place is taken by want or yearning. From the nature of the case, accordingly, man is the victim of an undying ache, his pleasures are the alms thrown to the beggar, keeping him alive to-day that his misery may be prolonged till to-morrow. On the other hand, the intelligence which thus lays bare life's inward character avails likewise, in a true degree, to afford deliverance from its restless torture. Once awake to the illusory character of the world and of the satisfactions which it offers, the soul may make shift to effect its escape from the whole *māyā* world, and this it achieves, in the case of the more highly gifted natures, in æsthetic contemplation and enjoyment. The universality of the object with which art confronts the mind opens a way of salvation. In admiration of the beautiful in its ideal forms personal feeling, prejudice, and desire disappear; the individual, losing his individuality, becomes pure subject of knowledge, 'will-less, painless, timeless'—subject and object are one. And with this comes emancipation. Reason, no longer the servant of the will, devising means for the fulfilment of its impulses and furnishing ever renewed illustration of the wretchedness attending the futile task, has become its vanquisher. The gnawing of desire is allayed. The wheel of Ixion stands still. The nature, if not in bliss, is at peace.

And yet this, happily, does not exhaust the power of reason to effect the soul's release from the misery of which it has rendered it aware. The way of æsthetic appreciation is, as Schopenhauer acknowledges, for the few; and even so it conducts them only to a momentary halting-place in the tread-mill round of experience, the satisfaction which it yields being always the more brief in proportion to its purity. But in morality, a passive and ascetic morality, a more catholic and abiding redemption is attainable. Human nature, indeed, is of itself a mass of egoistic impulses, and the ordinary virtues are only more or less refined forms of selfishness. Nevertheless, all human egos, by right of a common origin, have a latent sense of kinship, and this may be developed and expanded by reflexion. Of a *summum bonum* in the light of which to order life there can on this system be no word at all. Yet metaphysically man is a moral being; on the phenomenal side of his nature subject to necessity and a creature of mere greeds and whims, he is, more truly understood, a part of the great totality of existence, free as constituted properly of will, and fulfilling himself in sympathy, self-sacrifice, and love. The ultimate issue is self-denial in the form of denial of the will to live, and at this point religion comes in to confirm and make finally effective the moralist's teaching. Condemning the world wholly and insisting on the necessity of re-birth, it delivers man finally from his selfhood and unites him with that from which he came. In its fullness such a consummation, it must be allowed, only beckons him from afar. Nor can its very character be truly descried by us. To speak of it with the saints under the denomination of ecstasy, trance, illumination, and the like, is to feed the mind with one last illusion: how name an experience from which the whole conditions of intelligent apprehension, including the distinction of subject and object itself, have been removed? The soul has reached *nirvāṇa*, a state to be described only by negatives. It is the region of 'the relative nothing.' And accordingly, as its author acknowledges, this philosophy closes in a universal nihilism.

'If we have recognised the inmost nature of the world as will and all its phenomena as only the objectivity of will . . . we have no desire to evade the consequence that with the will's denial and surrender all those phenomena vanish. That constant struggle and effort, without end and without reason, at all the grades of objectivity, in which and through which the world consists; the multifarious forms succeeding each other in gradation; the whole manifestation of the will; and, finally, the universal forms of this manifestation, time and space, together with its last fundamental form, subject and object—all are abolished. No will; no idea, no world' (*Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, Eng. tr., i. 530 f.).

6. Hartmann.—Fatal as are the metaphysical flaws in the view now sketched, one merit at least must be allowed to it. To Schopenhauer belongs the credit of a resolute attempt to replace the unknown thing-in-itself of the Kantian philosophy by a principle positively revealed in experience, and, had he construed the Will which sustains and informs the world on any tolerable analogy with that of whose working we are aware in ourselves, he might have ranked as one of the founders of that ethical idealism which in modern days has been found the best speculative support to faith. His refusal, however, to concede to this last ground of the world any share in reason necessitated the sceptical conclusion, and proved, indeed, too violent a contradiction to be maintained. On these terms how account, *e.g.*, for the organic

teleology of nature, of which Schopenhauer himself makes so much? Or for those typical forms of things in the contemplation of which he finds for the soul a respite from its unrest? Or for the emergence of reason upon the scene at all? As though, observes Hartmann, the only thought in the universe had arrived there by chance! For himself, most convinced of pessimists as he is, Hartmann sees the clear traces of intelligence at work everywhere. No natural theologian has ransacked the world more thoroughly to discover fresh illustrations of it. In nature, animate and inanimate, instances, he urges, abound; in man himself also, alike on the physical and on the spiritual side of his being; and in the human world of language, custom, polity, and religion which he has slowly built up around him. Above all does the order pervading the world betray itself in history, which for Hartmann is no mere spectacle of meaningless change, but an impressive march of events, not unhindered, yet sure, to a definite goal. Yet reason in all this, it is maintained, does not work self-consciously, but rather after the manner of instinct. In its conscious form in man it proclaims itself a faulty and feeble instrument for the attaining of its ends; in the world—and in the subconscious region of human experience also—it is unaware of its own procedure, and operates the more infallibly on that account. At the heart of existence, in short, is a great Unconscious, which, as universal immanent providence, unwearyingly, without error or hesitation, fashions all phenomena and guides all issues to their predetermined end.

The Leibnizian flavour of such a view seems tolerably pronounced, and indeed Hartmann cordially adopts the position that of all worlds this is the best—could a better have lain in the omniscient Unconscious, it would have come to pass instead of the present one. Much of his ethic, too, is couched in the same paradoxical strain. The ascetic solution of the moral problem has no more contemptuous critic. From Schopenhauer's premisses certain of his disciples had drawn the conclusion that virginity and suicide alone opened a way of escape from life's ills, to which Schopenhauer's reply had been that the denial of the will to live must include the refusal not only of its sorrows but of its joys. Hartmann, however, teaches a more robust doctrine. He would reconcile men with life, and bids them lose themselves in the service of the whole. To make the ends of the Unconscious his own is the individual's all-comprehending duty, and for the toil and sacrifice required of him he is to find support and impulse in mystical communion with the supreme power whose servant he is. Hartmann is very much in earnest about these views, as his various writings on ethics and religion show, and aims professedly at nothing less than the engendering of the resolution to lead a truly divine life, in which each finite task of the earthly course shall be transfigured in the divine light (see the *Phänomenologie*, Berlin, 1879, *passim*).

Nevertheless, although the best that is possible, the world is not on that account necessarily good, and on the basis thus laid down Hartmann endeavours to rest a demonstration, more sweeping than Schopenhauer's own, that life is an essentially undesirable thing. The proof is partly experiential. Happiness is that for which all things strive. Nothing 'so affects the world-essence in its inmost core,' nor is anything else discoverable which could be regarded as a final end. But happiness remains for ever beyond us. Pleasure, it is true, is a positive element in feeling, and only a shallow psychology could have led Schopenhauer to make the contrary assertion. Yet, when the pleasures and pains of life are summed and compared, the latter predominate vastly. The individual's life on earth is a prolonged disappointment; its fairest flowers and fruits wither as he plucks them. Equally illusory is the notion that satisfaction is attainable in the hereafter, since experience, so long as it remains conceivable at all, always retains this deceptive character. Nor does devotion to the cause of the world avail to bring true contentment, the world itself being doomed to ever-increasing suffering. True, the world advances, but with its advancement come the multiplication of its pains and an enhanced sensitiveness to them. Evolution, therefore, is no cure. We must forward, yet here is our curse. And, if in the acceptance of the end of the Unconscious lies a destiny indeed to be coveted by us, this is because the Unconscious, in His unswerving guidance of the world, is aiming at no positive consummation of its age-long labour, but rather at its redemption from all effort and desire and the infinite frustration to which these necessarily lead.

Just this, Hartmann argues, is the case, and, in support of the dismal estimate of life to which a survey of its facts has led, he adds a metaphysic of his own. Alike in Eastern and in Western pessimism, it will have been observed, the root of the world's sorrow had hitherto been found in the existence of the individual; only with his disappearance may this be healed. And probably this thought is always implied in the pessimistic doctrine. But Hartmann gives it a turn of his own. Individuation for him also is an unsolved problem; the creation of a world of finite things can only be rated a wholly inexplicable blunder. But at least the Unconscious 'foresaw' the possibility of its redemption. Within His nature are embraced both idea and will; in other words, He is all-wise as well as all-powerful, and guides the world which blind will has originated with a skill which never fails. In particular, He brings consciousness upon the scene with a view to the world's salvation. How it is accomplished is again mysterious: the self-contained peace of the Unconscious is interrupted by an idea which 'falls upon it as from the skies.' But with this the critical step has been taken. The more consciousness deepens and expands, the clearer and more commanding becomes the discovery of life's essentially evil and futile character, and with the progress of intelligence and the evolution of mankind the conviction may be expected to spread and take possession of all men, until by a common act of will the race decrees its own extinction, and along with that the disappearance of the world-system of which man is the consummation. So existence should relapse into the Unconscious again. What the unconscious idea never could have attained, to wit, the emancipation of the will, together with the entire creaturely world to which it has given rise, from its unblessed condition, consciousness, when developed to the full, either in humanity or in a race of supermen who will succeed us in this planet, shall have secured, 'hurling back' in this way the total volition of the world into nothingness, so that the world-process ends without a residuum left from which to set out once more. Thus pessimism is reconciled with optimism. This *is* the best world possible—such a world, namely, as attains salvation, not one whose torture is perpetuated for ever.

7. Critical remarks.—It is not possible to examine separately the various doctrines sketched above; in so far as they represent divers types of philosophical theory their detailed criticism falls beyond the scope of this article, and Leibniz's theistic apologia is dealt with elsewhere (see art. THEODICY). There need be no hesitation, however, in asserting that the metaphysic on which the pessimist

view is founded is an impossible one. No coherent account of things can be erected on the presupposition of their inherent irrationality. All that can be meant is that, in the world as known to us, there is much that baffles intelligence and which we never succeed in bringing into line with our desires, and so much may be admitted freely without accepting the pessimistic conclusion. Indeed, neither inference, the optimistic as little as the pessimistic, is capable of being sustained. It is a mere extravagance of speculation to contend that this is either the best or the worst of conceivable worlds. How shall the human mind, which is but one of its innumerable constituents, rise to a point of view from which to judge the universe as a whole and relatively to anything else? The standard by which to try its worth must necessarily be furnished from within itself; nor may we go further than to say that, tested so, existence is, on the balance perhaps, desirable or the reverse. It must be acknowledged, further, that in the judgment which asserts this there is always a subjective element, with regard to which nothing more can be said. It is a value-judgment, and values can only be asserted, not proved. In the controversy as to the goodness of the world, that is, there comes a point at which discussion is closed. If that which to one disputant is good to the other is merely evil, what can further argument avail? It is always possible to deny the worth of that which the world generally has agreed to hold most worthy, and to consider it to be the aim of all praiseworthy effort to arrest the wheels of progress and to empty life of desire. And to such a contention what answer can be given? Unless, indeed, that the light is sweet and it is a pleasant thing to behold the sun, and that it is just by those interests and ideals which the pessimist despises that men live and in them is the life of the spirit.

At the same time, two general remarks may be offered with regard to this whole mode of appraising existence. It will have been noticed that the standard applied throughout has been broadly the eudæmonistic one. On both sides it has been assumed that the supremely desirable thing is happiness. The universe is to be judged by the measure in which it lends itself to its production, and all that remains is to interrogate experience as to this and register the finding reached. But this in itself would seem an impossible task. It may be prosecuted so far, indeed, and the result may not improbably be to furnish the pessimist philosophy with a partial justification. It is at least well to be confronted with the facts of existence, and to the more searching examination of nature and humanity by later times it is due that the flimsy geniality of the deistic mood can never return again. Yet it must always be beyond us to cast up the sum of the pleasures and pains of the universe and weigh them against each other; and in our own human case the inherent futility of the attempt to estimate in this way the worth of life becomes more than ever apparent. Here these elements of emotional experience prove extraordinarily elusive, and even dissolve into one another in the most baffling manner. From pain itself a singular satisfaction is not seldom derived. Effort and labour, hardship and danger, self-abnegation, martyrdom, and death are what prove able most of all to summon forth men's energies and to yield them what they crave, plainly implying that pleasurable feeling is at most only one element in the object of desire. In truth, the pessimist's inventory of life's disadvantages and drawbacks is manifestly at fault. Experience candidly examined discloses compensations of which he fails to take account, and, above all this, that the possession of a 'good will' infinitely outweighs, and is altogether incomparable with, the indubitable ills to which he points.

That it should leave no room for the recognition of such a factor in experience, or, in other words, for the appearance of free ethical personality in the world, is a further and final defect in the pessimist view of things. Such a creed is necessarily monistic, and monism is incompatible with all those interests in the light of which alone existence can be rightly judged. It is indifferent whether, as in the case of the doctrines adverted to, the monism be of a spiritualistic order or take the shape of that scientific naturalism which is perhaps still more widely accountable for the despairing strain to be detected in modern thought and literature. In either case the essence of the world permits of no disintegration of its unity, and individuality, human or other, has no reality or rights at all. As against all such metaphysical perversity the soul must ever assert her own supremacy. Free intelligent personality is the highest form of being accessible to us. In it alone is a medium furnished through which to construe the cosmic process, and only when viewed in relation to its perfecting does that process become intelligible or even tolerable. Even so it may be impossible to say why human nature should be fashioned thus—why the whole creation should groan and travail in pain together in order to the manifestation of the sons of God. It is enough that that supreme result is being achieved. Amid the world's evanescence, unreliability, and manifold suffering the production of moral character goes steadily forward, the soul being, as Boehme says, 'bruised and pressed and set to endure much, yet is it the servant in God's vineyard which prepareth the precious wine of righteousness to be drunk in His Kingdom.' Nor is it known what righteousness is unless it be acknowledged that no age-long, heaviest cost should be too great a purchase-price to pay for its realization.

LITERATURE.—For Buddhist pessimism see ASCETICISM (Buddhist), BUDDHA, and literature there referred to, esp. H. Oldenberg, *Buddha*, Berlin, 1881, Eng. tr., London, 1882. Leibniz's optimistic doctrine appears in his philosophical writings generally, of which there are many edd. (the latest by C. J. Gerhardt, *Die philos. Schriften von G. W. Leibniz*, Berlin, 1875–90). The *Monadologie*, with certain shorter pieces, has been translated by R. Latta (Oxford, 1898), who adds a useful exposition and notes. English optimism is most clearly defined in Lord Shaftesbury, *Characteristics*, London, 1711, and Lord Bolingbroke, *Collected Works*, do. 1753–54, and is treated in all histories of philosophical and religious thought dealing with the period (*e.g.*, G. V. Lechler, *Gesch. des englischen Deismus*, Stuttgart, 1841, and Leslie Stephen, *Hist. of English Thought in the 18th Century*, London, 1876). The classics of modern European pessimism are A. Schopenhauer, *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*, Leipzig, 1819, [3]1859, Eng. tr. by R. B. Haldane and J. Kemp, London, 1883–86, and C. R. E. von Hartmann, *Philosophie des Unbewussten*, Berlin, 1868, [9]1882, Eng. tr. by W. C. Coupland, London, 1884. Histories of Philosophy and of the Philosophy of Religion devote more or less space to the subject, and monographs on special aspects of it are numerous. Among them may be mentioned J. Sully, *Pessimism, a History and a Criticism*, London, 1877; E. M. Caro, *Le Pessimisme au 19ième siècle*, Paris, 1878; E. Dühring, *Der Werth des Lebens*, Breslau, 1865; W. Gass, *Optimismus und Pessimismus*, Berlin, 1876; J. Volkelt, *Das Unbewusste und der Pessimismus*, do. 1873; A. Dorner, *Pessimismus, Nietzsche und Naturalismus, mit besonderer Beziehung auf die Religion*, Leipzig, 1911. See also artt. GOOD AND EVIL and THEODICY.

ALEX. MARTIN.

PESSIMISM (Indian).—**1. Types of pessimism.**—Three types may be distinguished: environmental, temperamental, and philosophical. The first is due to the hardships of one's surroundings, the trying nature of the climate, etc.; the second to the tendency, temperamentally, to look upon the dark side of things; and the third to one's philosophy of life. Three kinds of pressure, then, may weigh down the human spirit and make its mood and outlook pessimistic. Moreover, men may be pessimistic concerning either the life which is or the life which is to come, or concerning both.

The most hopeless pessimism is when neither this world nor the next is regarded as of any value, when 'vanity of vanity' is written upon all that is. Such is the pessimism of the Chārvākas, the Indian analogue of the Cyrenaics.

2. Causes of Indian pessimism.—As to the fact of Indian pessimism there is no doubt; Indian literature is a sufficient proof. But as regards its cause or causes there is much doubt and discussion. Some scholars hold that the cause is environmental.

'India herself, through her climate, her nature, and her economic conditions, furnishes reasonable ground for pessimism' (Bloomfield, *Religion of the Veda*, p. 264).

'When we come . . . to consider the imaginative and intellectual faculties, the influence of environment is no less important. The great majority of the population inhabits the plains. . . . Nature here displays herself in her more ruthless moods—torrential rains at one season, scorching heat in another, hailstorms or earthquakes, outbreaks of disease the dangers of which are intensified by the neglect of sanitary precautions habitual to the people. Congestion of population in many parts involves a struggle for bare existence which begins with childhood and ends only with the grave. This condition of things encourages a pessimistic mode of belief, an apathetic submission to the spirits, mostly malignant, which are believed to control human life. A powerful priesthood and the bondage of caste repress originality of thought and freedom of action. Hence comes the habitual melancholy of the people of the plains which strikes every observer' (W. Crooke, *Natives of Northern India*, p. 14 f.).

There is some foundation, too, for holding that, as the fusion of the invading Achæans and Dorians with the Minoans of the Mediterranean may have helped to mould the artistic temperament of the Greeks, so the fusion of the invading Aryans with the aboriginal Dravidians may have helped to produce a melancholy temperament. It is certainly true that the history of the Indian Aryans from the beginning of the Vedic age down to the great *Upaniṣads* may be characterized as a movement from optimism to pessimism. And there were other changes scarcely less significant. Phallic worship is scorned in the *Rigveda* (VII. xxi. 5, X. xcix. 3), but later it becomes common. There is no clear trace of transmigration in the *Rigveda*, but by the time of the *Upaniṣads* it is a fundamental article of faith. These changes in mood and worship and doctrine require explanation. The climate and life of India may have gradually affected the temper of the invading Aryans without appreciably diminishing their powers of thought.[1] Some facts of modern India strengthen this possibility: Kipling's *Kim* is a picture (quite true to life in particular instances) of a European lad born in India who so felt the lure of Eastern ways that he became the disciple of a wandering Tibetan monk. The Anglo-Indian population are especially open to such influences and not infrequently dabble in the magic practices of India. In their case not only the influence of environment but also that of blood seems to tell. But Indian pessimism presents itself not primarily as a feeling of world-weariness due to the pressure of an untoward environment, nor as a temperamental tendency to look upon the dark side of things, but rather as an articulated system of thought, the product of Indian metaphysical speculation. Such is the opinion of Oldenberg and Barth, and in fact of most scholars. But such speculation may have had its roots in a trying environment or in a bias towards pessimism due to a melancholy temperament.

3. Psychology of Indian pessimism.—There are three antitheses which are significant for pessimism: (*a*) false knowledge, or illusion, *versus* true knowledge, or reality; (*b*) unpleasant feeling, or suffering, *versus* pleasant feeling, or bliss; and (*c*) wrong volition, or evil, *versus* right volition, or good. The intellectual and the emotional antitheses alone have significance in Hindu thought. Bondage is due to nescience (*avidyā*), and nescience manifests itself in suffering. In other words, what on its intellectual side is false knowledge is on its emotional side suffering. Such is the teaching of virtually all the six systems of Indian philosophy. The same connexion between the intellectual and the emotional is indicated in the famous definition of Brahman as reality, thought, and bliss (*sachchidānanda*). The third antithesis, the ethical, is the one emphasized in Hebrew and Christian thought. The doctrine of personality, which is the doctrine of the will, has received scant justice in India. Of the three directions of mental function—cognition, feeling, and willing—the Indian systems of philosophy have to do with cognition and feeling, with the first predominantly, with the second to a less extent, but with volition hardly at all. Volition, the crown of the whole mental process, is largely left out. Hence Indian mental life, being divorced to a considerable extent from healthy volition, has been marked by extravagant thinking and morbid feeling. Volition, while having its roots in knowing and feeling, should react upon them in the way of criticism. Only a strong volitional life, whether individual or national, can prevent thought from being erratic and feeling from being morbid. Now, according to Indian thought, bondage is defined as false thinking and unpleasant feeling, but not (except perhaps in the case of Buddhism) as wrong willing. That is, bondage is defined in intellectual and emotional, but not in ethical, terms. Herein lies the great difference between Indian and Hebrew thought. In harmony with the emphasis in India on knowing and feeling is the fact that Indian thought is in general rationalistic and Indian life not infrequently hedonistic. The poles of Indian experience seem to be the rationalistic calm of the ascetic philosopher, on the one hand, and the hedonistic excess of the wealthy prince, on the other. The pessimism of the ascetic philosopher is due to his feeling of the worthlessness of the phenomenal world as contrasted with the changeless bliss of the *ātman*; that of the wealthy prince, to the feeling of satiety and disgust due to unbridled excess. Bhartṛhari's *Śatakas* are a good illustration of the latter. The failure of the Indian mind rightly to estimate the importance of volition may be due partly to the influence of climate. In reference, further, to the relation between knowing and feeling, it is well known that cognition usually precedes feeling, and feeling colours cognition. We see a picture and admire it. We hear a discord and loathe it. But sometimes even prior to cognition there is present a great mass of feeling, whether pleasant or unpleasant, which furnishes the atmosphere in which, so to speak, cognition does its work. Nothing can easily make a man pessimistic who looks at things through the atmosphere constituted by a pleasant feeling tone; and, on the other hand, nothing can easily make a man optimistic who looks at things through the atmosphere of an unpleasant feeling tone. What has apparently taken place in India is this. Cognition, having to do with uncomfortable environmental conditions, has been accompanied by unpleasant feeling; and, on the other hand, a melancholy temperament, possibly the fruit of the fusion of Aryan and Dravidian in India, has been the medium through which the Hindu people have looked at the facts of life. Neither thinking nor feeling has been tested and controlled by willing. The result is that in India we have a reasoned

[1] 'Die Trennung der Inder von den Iraniern war für die nach Südosten ziehenden der Verzicht oder der letzte abschliessende Schritt zum Verzicht auf die Theilnahme an dem grossen Wettkampf der Völker gewesen, in welchem die gesunde Männlichkeit der westlichen Nationen herangereift ist. In der üppigen Stille ihres neuen Heimathlandes haben jene Arier, die Brüder der vornehmsten Nationen Europas, *mit der dunkeln Urbevölkerung Indiens sich vermischend*, immer mehr die Characterzüge des Hinduthums in sich entwickelt' (Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, p. 2).

pessimism, which apparently has its outward source in an untoward environment and its inner source in a melancholy temperament, the thought which elaborated the pessimistic view of life never having been adequately challenged and tested by the activities of the volitional life. The provisional result, then, is that Indian pessimism is at once environmental, temperamental, and speculative. Of course, this is all very tentative and hypothetical.

4. Pessimism as related to the great Brāhmanical doctrines. — Indian pessimism can be understood only as it is related to the great doctrines of Brahman, *karma*, and transmigration —in other words, only as it is set in the context of Indian thought. Thus Bloomfield (p. 212) refers to 'the twin factors of metempsychosis and pessimism' as the doctrinal differentia of any truly Hindu system.

(*a*) *Brahman and pessimism.*—The watchword of the *advaita* doctrine of Śaṅkarāchārya is identity. The great confession of faith is *ekaṃ evādvitīyaṃ*, 'one only without a second,' and the personal assurance of the emancipated soul is *aham Brahma*, 'I am Brahman.' The theory is that, as soon as I am able to realize this identity, then the whole machinery of multiplicity, of *karma* and transmigration, falls away, and there is nothing left but Brahman, the 'one only without a second,' and 'I am Brahman.' Brahman is declared to be 'reality, thought, and bliss,' and the way of realizing one's identity with this supreme reality is the way of knowledge. This way is theoretically open to all, some time or other, in the course of the process of rebirth—the way into the highest reality, thought, and bliss. Why, then, should not the doctrine of Brahman be regarded as a splendid optimism, a message of good tidings for every soul? It seems to hold out to every one the hope of ultimate union with Brahman — certainly a magnificent goal. Why, then, is pessimism connected with such a splendid conception? One reason may be suggested. The indefinable Brahman, being impersonal and without action, cannot be conceived as a source of comfort and help for needy mortals. He (or it) may be thought of as the sum of all perfections, but the glorious Brahman, perfect in reality, thought, and bliss, is not a god of grace, but only an ultimate reality posited in such a way as to suggest overwhelmingly the worthlessness of the phenomenal world.

'The glorification of the Âtman becomes involuntarily an ever increasingly bitter criticism of this world' (Oldenberg, *Buddha: his Life, his Doctrine, his Order*, Eng. tr., London, 1882, p. 42).

How different might it have been, had the ethical and gracious Varuṇa been the 'one only without a second' in a true theistic devotion on the part of the Indian people! Then, in spite of an unhappy climate and possibly a melancholy temperament, the religious life of the Indian people might have been radiant with hope.

(*b*) *Pessimism as related to karma and transmigration.*—The psychological explanation of the origin of the doctrine of *karma* (*q.v.*) is not difficult. It is the experience of all that in the case of moral merit or demerit there are numerous illustrations of the truth of the saying that 'whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap.' Such facts of experience furnish the starting-point for speculation. That which is true in general of ethical action in this life is extended in several directions, so as to cover not only moral action, but also all action without exception, and not only the deeds done in this life, but also the deeds done in past and future lives.

The twin doctrines of *karma* and transmigration first appear definitely in the *Upaniṣads*. There is no clear trace of either in the hymns of the *Rigveda*. It was only when the personal gods of the *Rigveda* had become merged more or less completely into the pantheistic and impersonal *one* and *all* of the *Upaniṣads* that the doctrine of an automatic principle of retribution arose. The passing of the Vedic gods left a place for *karma*. *Karma* is the theory of recompense, and transmigration states how the decrees of *karma* are carried out. Now it is highly significant that *karma* and transmigration and a pessimistic view of life arose together in India. Some hold that *karma* is the cause of Indian pessimism. Whether this is so or not, it is by virtue of *karma*, the creative effect of deeds, that, according to Hindu belief, the soul is bound for ever to the round of phenomenal existence, unless some means of release is found. This dreary round of repeated births and deaths constitutes for Hindu thought the tragedy of life. Phenomenal existence is miserable existence, and the two doctrines which govern phenomenal existence are *karma* and transmigration. They are both linked up naturally, then, with a pessimistic view of life. It is true that *karma* and transmigration are, intellectually considered, impressive doctrines. For every soul the 'one far off divine event' is emancipation from the bondage of repeated births and deaths and union with Brahman. The formula is simple: every man the arbiter of his own destiny, and salvation virtually an eternal process. Why should not this profound conception lend itself to an optimistic view of life? One reason may be this: the whole burden of the achievement of emancipation rests upon man, and man knows himself to be needy, sinful, helpless—in fact, too weak to carry such a burden. Hence the prospect of emancipation recedes into the far distant future, and the ordinary Hindu hardly dares to hope for release before he has passed through countless births. Thus he is chained to the phenomenal, and the phenomenal is illusory and sorrowful, and 'hope deferred maketh the heart sick.'

5. Effects of Indian pessimism.—The doctrine of the illusory and worthless character of the world has had its effect upon the mind and life of India. Thought and feeling are consonant with the worthlessness of the world, but volition means adjustment to a real world; and, if great deeds are to be done, the present world must be regarded as real and worthful. This is the explanation of the statement of Macdonell that early India wrote no history, because it never made any.

'The Brahmans . . . had early embraced the doctrine that all action and existence are a positive evil, and could therefore have felt but little inclination to chronicle historical events' (*Hist. of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 11).

Still another effect of the theory of the worthlessness of the world is seen in the tremend
hold which the ascetic life has always h
the people of India. The worthle
world and the evil of activity lo
renunciation of the world an
Again, as Bloomfield poi
in all Hindu thought *n*
race, no theory of h
We may find a ref
tion of the anci
the four *yuga*
is placed in
thing to lo
to, the
ward f
and th
withe
is em
look
6
pes

ated. There are many things which tend to break its force. No one can be a pessimist (except in theory) when life is joyous and hopeful; and the people of India have, on the whole, their share of the natural joys of life. Then, too, all theistic and devotional movements tend to be optimistic,[1] such as the various *bhakti* movements and the theisms of modern India—*e.g.*, Islām, Sikhism, Christianity, the Brāhma Samāj, the Ārya Samāj, etc. In the case of the Ārya Samāj the pessimistic influence of the doctrines of *karma* and transmigration is more or less counteracted by the acceptance of theism. It is the same in the case of Islām, where the belief in fate is robbed to a considerable extent of its sting by a belief in Allāh, the author of fate. In creating an appreciation for things belonging to this world, such as good government, freedom, equality, education, social reform, good bank deposits, etc., the British Government has exercised very great influence. The effect of Christian missions has been equally conspicuous in helping to produce an attitude of optimism.

7. **Chronology of Indian pessimism.**—One of the most striking contrasts in the history of thought is that between the optimism of the Vedic age and the pessimism which gradually settled down like a pall upon the spirit of India and finally obtained its creedal statement in Buddha's doctrine of suffering. The Rigvedic age was an age of appreciation of the good things of life, and of strenuous effort to secure them. The interesting thing is that the growing appreciation of the value of the present life, now observable in India, marks a kind of return to the spirit of the *Rigveda*.

Thus there are three stages in the history of Indian pessimism: (*a*) from optimism to pessimism, the movement extending from the *Rigveda* to the great *Upaniṣads* (*c.* 1400–800 B.C.); (*b*) pessimism attaining in the 5th cent. B.C. its climax in Buddha's four noble truths (800 B.C.–A.D. 1800); (*c*) from pessimism to optimism, the British Government and Christian missions (A.D. 1800 to the present time).

LITERATURE. — M. Bloomfield, *The Religion of the Veda*, New York, 1908; A. Barth, *The Religions of India*, tr. J. Wood, London, 1882; E. W. Hopkins, *The Religions of India*, do. 1896; G. F. Moore, *Hist. of Religions*, i., Edinburgh, 1914; J. N. Farquhar, *The Crown of Hinduism*, London and New York, 1913, *Modern Religious Movements in India*, New York, 1915; W. Crooke, *Natives of Northern India*, London, 1907; H. H. Risley, *The People of India*[2], ed. W. Crooke, do. 1915; A. A. Macdonell, *A Hist. of Sanskrit Literature*, do. 1905; L. von Schroeder, *Indiens Literatur und Cultur*, Leipzig, 1887; H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, Berlin, 1894; Max Müller, *The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, London, 1899; P. Deussen, *Sechzig Upanishad's des Veda*, Leipzig, 1897, *The System of the Vedānta*, tr. C. Johnston, Chicago, 1912; R. Garbe, *Die Sāṃkhya-Philosophie*, Leipzig, 1894; N. Macnicol, *Indian Theism*, London and Edinburgh, 1915; Mrs. Sinclair-Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, do. 1915; H. D. Griswold, *The God Varuna in the Rig-Veda*, Ithaca, 1910.

H. D. GRISWOLD.

...TE EGLISE (ANTICONCORDA-

...When on the point of concluding the ... French Government (see artt. ...NISM), Pope Pius VII. re... ...hops who had fled the ...within ten days. The ... Sept. 1801, and on ...*sti Domini*, Pius ... and bishoprics ...ace of them. ...igned as the ...to do so. ..., issued ...stated ...plying ..., pos... ...which, ...khya ...J. F.

however, far from placing him above the canons, was a special reason why he should observe them and cause others to do the like. They added that the bishops are by divine right leaders in the Church; that their connexion with their own Church can be broken only by death, by a legal judgment in conformity with the discipline of the Church, or by a voluntary and canonical resignation; that, speaking for themselves, they had always during their exile cared for their dioceses; and that the new concordat was in their judgment more likely to destroy than to benefit religion. Several other bishops agreed to this memorial. Next, 38 bishops in conference in London addressed a canonical remonstrance to Pius VII. on 6th April 1803. This document is not merely a work of learning and eloquence, but an important official utterance, in which these prelates, appealing to Scripture and tradition, develop the principles set out in the memorial of 1801. These bishops, then, continued to administer their dioceses through priests who shared their convictions in regard to the concordat. It is these 'Anticoncordataires' who were henceforth called the Petite Eglise.

The members of the Petite Eglise, and especially the priests, were subjected to many persecutions and annoyances from the government, both under Napoleon I. and under Louis XVIII. and Charles X. Gradually the clergy of the Petite Eglise diminished in number. It is remarkable that the bishops ordained no priests, believing perhaps that the concordat would not last long. The last survivor of these prelates, Alexandre de Chémines, bishop of Blois, even refused to ordain some candidates who were presented to him, because they held Jansenist opinions. Some groups in the Petite Eglise were imbued with the latter ideas, while others were extremely opposed to them.

After 1830, when the clergy were reduced to the bishop of Blois (de Chémines) and some priests, the question arose whether, in view of the fact that the pre-concordat bishops were dead, the bishops of the concordat ought not to be regarded as lawful. A negative answer was arrived at, on the principle that, the apostolic succession having been broken, the effects of the rupture were enduring. The decisions of ancient councils were also appealed to. One of these, held at Benevento in 1087 by Pope Victor III., had decreed as follows:

> 'The sacraments of penance and communion are to be received only at the hands of a Catholic priest; if none such is to be found, it is better to remain without communion and to receive it invisibly from our Lord.'

And this soon became the state of the members of the Petite Eglise. By death and defections their numbers gradually diminished, so that towards the end of the 19th cent. there remained no more than a few groups in France, and one in the Belgian diocese of Malins.

The largest group is that of Deux-Sèvres and La Vendée. This has more than 3000 members, and is growing. Its centre is a hamlet of Plainelière, a commune of Courlay (Deux-Sèvres). Here there is a large church where laymen sing the offices in Latin, according to the ancient liturgy of Paris, and read instructions in French. Every Sunday 600 or 700 worshippers, and on high festivals as many as 2000, attend service.

The congregation of Lyons has also a place of worship where divine service is held in French, according to the ancient liturgy of Lyons. This group, although greatly reduced, still has some hundreds of members at Lyons and in the neighbourhood. In 1869, when the Vatican Council was sitting, these two congregations petitioned Rome for the recognition of the pre-concordat bishops, as the condition of their own return to the Roman obedience; but the attempt failed; and the

Council, by declaring the pope to be immediately the bishop of each diocese, laid down a principle the direct contrary of that by which the opponents of the concordat had been guided.

The congregations of the Charollais (Saône-et-Loire) and of Fareins (Ain) contain about 300 persons each; those of the Isère and the Hautes-Alpes contain each scarcely 30 persons; that of the neighbourhood of Fougères (Ille-et-Vilaine) is reduced to a few persons; that of Massat (Ariège) is almost extinct; and the congregation at Mont-Saint-Jean (Sarthe) has joined the Church of the concordat, with the exception of a few old people.

The members of these groups read privately in their own homes, in French, the offices of the Church, generally according to the ancient liturgy of Lyons, and, in addition, the Holy Scriptures and works of piety. Each house has a private chapel, jealously screened from vulgar eyes. It is, indeed, a tradition among the Anticoncordataires, except those of Deux-Sèvres and La Vendée, that their religious practices must be veiled in mystery. This is no doubt a consequence of the persecutions which they had to endure in the first half of the 19th century.

With all of them the only sacrament administered is baptism. This is given by a member of the community chosen for the purpose. The same member conducts funerals, reciting the ancient liturgical prayers of the Church, and also presides at marriages. Children are taught the ancient diocesan catechism by their own parents, who also prepare them for a first (spiritual) communion. They all strictly observe the old festivals abolished by the concordat, as well as the days of fasting and abstinence, according to the usage of the ancient Church. Some of them have desired the re-establishment of the ecclesiastical ministry, but the greater number appear not to feel the want of it, and seem almost to regard their present condition as the normal one.

The members of the Petite Eglise lead an industrious, simple, and peaceable life, which wins the respect of their neighbours. Their morality is generally high. They number in France at the present time over 4000 individuals.

LITERATURE.—*Mémoire des évêques français résidant à Londres*, and *Traduction des Réclamations canoniques* (reprints), Lyons, 1898; *Controverse pacifique sur les principales questions qui divisent et troublent l'Eglise gallicane, par un membre de l'Eglise gallicane*, 2 vols., London, 1802; R. F. X. Beaunier, *Des Rétractations*, Vendôme, 1838; L. Séché, *Les Derniers Jansénistes*, 3 vols., Paris, 1891; J. E. B. Drochon, *La Petite Eglise*, do. 1894; J. Bricaud, *La Petite Eglise anticoncordataire*, do. 1906.

GEORGES VOLET.

PEYOTE RITE.—'Peyote' is the name of a small cactus plant (the *Anhalonium* or *Lophophora* of systematists), found along the lower Rio Grande and southward in Mexico. It resembles a radish in size and shape, only the top being visible above the ground. The white blossom is later superseded by a tuft of white down, which is sliced and dried into the so-called 'button,' which alone is eaten north of the Mexican boundary, while south of it the entire plant is sliced, dried, and used in decoction. The peyote must not be confounded with the mescal or maguey cactus.

Much more widely diffused nowadays than the peyote plant is the peyote cult, which has spread northward so as to reach the Kiowa, Comanche, Arapaho, Cheyenne, Pawnee, Omaha, Winnebago, and Oglala Dakota. Among the Winnebago it has caused a schism, the peyote-worshippers being sharply distinguished from and even hostile to the believers in the traditional Winnebago religion. The feature that is naturally shared by all the tribes mentioned is the eating of the peyote button, which produces a distinctive sensation of spiritual exaltation. The Arapaho form of the ceremony may be described as fairly typical.

The ceremony is held in an ordinary lodge at night. One man acts as leader, moulding the rite according to a dream or a vision experienced during some previous performance. In this way individual modifications are introduced though the essential features persist. The number of participants varies; thus, on one occasion there were only three devotees, while on another there were about a dozen, including some Cheyenne visitors. The worshippers enter the lodge after dark and begin by eating four buttons each, the average number for each individual throughout the night being twelve, with a maximum of thirty or forty. The time is spent singing round a small fire, between which and the rear a simple sort of altar is made on the ground. Only one participant sings at a time, to the accompaniment of a gourd rattle shaken by himself and a drum beaten by his neighbour. After four songs the instruments are passed to the next performer, and thus each has his turn. The songs refer to the peyote, the birds regarded as its messengers, and the night, but towards morning they turn to the morning star and the end it brings to the performance. The worshippers eat, leave the tent, and spend the day reclining together in a comfortable spot, with occasional singing and rattling but no drumming. During this day new songs, suggested by the nocturnal experiences, are often composed. At noon a meal is served, at which a single spoon must be used by the entire company. At dark the meeting breaks up. The proceeding is regarded as an occasion of peace and good-will, and possibly for this reason knives and other sharp instruments are barred from the ceremonial lodge. The objects used in the cult have a peculiar decorative character—*e.g.*, yellow is the predominant colour, the feathers used being those of the yellow-hammer and other species of woodpeckers.

The peyote rite has been of special interest to ethnologists because it has spread in so recent a period that the conditions of its diffusion have sometimes come under their direct observation. It has thus been possible to note in this instance the circumstances favouring the assimilation of a new religious practice, the influence of religious leaders, the conflict and harmonization of new and old conceptions. All this has been most suggestive as to the rise and spread of ceremonialism generally. On the whole, it appears that even the bolder ceremonial innovators cannot lift themselves by their bootstraps, but automatically conform to certain pre-existing ceremonial routines current among their people. Thus, a recent Arapaho modification of the peyote cult adapts the rite to a new purpose, that of curing the sick; but the processes adopted are those which the Arapaho ordinarily employ in the treatment of patients. Similarly, the Winnebago have not only adopted the peyote cult but incorporated with it various Christian doctrines and practices; nevertheless the organization of the ceremony conforms closely to the ancient ceremonial system of the tribe. A cult, in other words, may indeed be borrowed, but in the borrowing it is almost invariably cast into a different mould, that of the borrowers.

LITERATURE.—J. Mooney, 'Calendar Hist. of the Kiowa Indians,' *17 RBEW* [1898], pp. 237–239; C. Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico*, New York, 1902, i. 357 ff.; A. L. Kroeber, *The Arapaho*, do. 1907, iv. 398–410; P. Radin, 'A Sketch of the Peyote Cult of the Winnebago: a Study in Borrowing,' *Journal of Religious Psychology*, iii. [1914] 1–22; A. Skinner, *Societies of the Iowa, Kansa, and Ponca Indians*, New York, 1915, pp. 724–728; W. E. Safford, 'An Aztec Narcotic,' *Journal of Heredity*, vi. [1915] 291–311.

R. H. LOWIE.

PHALLISM.—Phallism may be defined as the worship of the reproductive powers of nature symbolized by the organs of sex. A very large share of the worship of relatively primitive and even advanced societies has been claimed for a cult which appears to us, in a high state of civilization, to be strange and repulsive. And all sorts of figures, whether engraved or plastic, have been pressed into the service of the theory as more or less disguised sexual symbols. It is obvious that the mere fact that a cult is remote from our ideas of worship, that it is repugnant to our manners, and that the objects of adoration seem to us to have no element of divinity is no reason for denying its existence or its real importance as a social bond; so many and so various, often so grotesque

and cruel, have been the modes in which human beings have conceived and approached the higher powers.

Worship may be said to be the ritual presentation of offerings supposed to be specially grateful to the divinity, or object of adoration, accompanied by obeisances and other acts designed to express humility and subservience, and usually by the utterance of sacred formulæ — praises, prayers, thanks, or narrative. It is the suitable honouring of a power from which good or evil has been received and may be expected or dreaded in the future. It is addressed not only to what we should call gods or spirits, but to any object which the worshipper may consider to be, or to represent, a power which he has reason to fear, to which he is indebted, or from which he may hope for favours.

In India 'the soldier worships his sword, the cultivator his plough, the moneylender his ledger' (H. H. Risley, *People of India*[2], London, 1915, p. 235; cf. J. A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*[3], Oxford, 1906, p. 568). Among the Ewhe of what was German Togoland the weaver worships his loom, the smith his anvil (J. Spieth, *Die Ewe-stämme*, Berlin, 1906, pp. 309, 443). In ancient Greece 'the sceptre of Hephaestus was worshipt in Lebadea. . . . A legend tells how Aeneas set up a spear in the market-place, and bade the people worship it' (W. H. D. Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, Cambridge, 1902, p. 375).

In these cases the object worshipped seems not to be regarded as a symbol, or as the outward and visible form of any indwelling divinity, but to be honoured for its own sake. The rite is more or less simple. Where it is addressed to any higher power it is analogous in framework, though it may be more splendid and elaborate.

Worship is thus an expression of religion. For religion no satisfactory definition has yet been propounded; no form of words hitherto invented will in all circumstances distinguish it from magic. But for our purpose we may regard religion, in accordance with common usage, as concerned with the relations between men in general, or a tribe or family, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, higher powers which, so far as they are personal, are endowed with free will, and are to be approached with reverence, with offerings, and with prayers which they may or may not grant. Such powers, though frequently capricious and cruel, are amenable to appeal. They are held to prescribe rules of conduct which, beginning in the lower culture as ritual, tend more and more as civilization advances to shed their ritual character and become truly ethical. Magic, on the contrary, conveys the notion of power, however acquired, wielded by the magician as his own, and not as that of a higher being. The co-operation of higher beings, when necessary, is obtained by spell. Compliance with the call is then not dependent on their goodwill; it is compulsory. The tendency of religion is social, of magic anti-social. The one is usually open, public, recognized, and approved by society, and tends to strengthen social bonds. The other is apt to be used for private ends of malice or gain, is usually secret, forbidden, disruptive. This definition, however, cannot be insisted on as a mathematical formula. In practice it is found that no religion is free from magical practices, and that magic often appropriates and adapts the ceremonies of religion. In the higher religions—Christianity and Muhammadanism—it has appeared as an anti-religion, having its own divinities and worship in pronounced hostility to the dominant cult. Indeed, in the form of 'black magic'—*i.e.* magic hostile to members of the same community—it is everywhere reprobated and repressed (see the present writer's *Ritual and Belief*, London, 1914, p. 66 ff.).

1. **Symbols.**—Men everywhere have desired and attempted to imitate in art any interesting object, and to represent in a visible and tangible form ideas either imagined or drawn directly from external nature or from daily intercourse with their kind. It is natural that, when their power over their materials had so far advanced as to delineate even roughly the human form, any member or attribute on which it was intended to fix attention should be exaggerated. This tendency, applied for the purpose of satire, is the essence of the art of caricature. In religious matters it has given to an Indian idol its multiplicity of heads and hands—a clumsy symbol of power that has been taken over and even exaggerated by Tibetan Buddhism—and has produced the Ephesian 'many-breasted Artemis.' The same tendency has emphasized the sexual organs of various divinities in many parts of the world, such as, in ancient times, the images of Priapus, and the Hermæ set up at the boundaries of a territory or of private property. Priapic or ithyphallic figures are, in fact, common to the lower culture. They are found wherever man has attempted to sculpture the human form, whether to represent deities proper or the dead. The size of the phallus in many cases has no special intention, beyond that of expressing the sex represented, and may arise from want of skill on the part of the uncivilized artist. In some instances the intention is declared (though with more than doubtful truth) by the natives to be simply that of causing ridicule and amusement, as a caricature does (K. de Zwaan, *Die Heilkunde der Niasser*, Hague, 1913, p. 65). In general, it has beyond dispute a deeper significance; the exaggerated organs are intended to represent for cultual purposes the powers of reproduction, paternity, fertility, the powers that multiply the people and provide abundance of cattle and crops and all other things necessary for prosperity. Priapus was worshipped as a god of fertility, giving increase of flocks, watching over gardens and fruit-trees, bedewing them with friendly showers, and caring for the bees (Pausanias, IX. xxxi. 2; Vergil, *Ecl.* vii. 34, 26, *Georg.* iv. 110 ff.). He was reckoned the son of Aphrodite. His worship was a late introduction into Greece, perhaps from Lampsacus on the Hellespont, where, according to Pausanias, he was esteemed above all the gods. When it penetrated to Rome, he was identified with Mutunus, an indigenous phallic god; and his statues, in the shape of Hermæ, represented him as bearing fruit and a sickle or cornucopia. The ancient Teutonic deity Frey, or Fricco, was the giver of abundance, presiding over rain, sunshine, and the fruits of the earth. Adam of Bremen, speaking of Upsala, says that he dispensed peace and enjoyment to mortal men, that his image was represented with a very large phallus, and that at marriages sacrifices were offered to him (*Descriptio insularum Aquilonis*, 26, quoted in J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, tr. J. S. Stallybrass, London, 1880–88, pp. 212, 1354).

In the E. Indian Archipelago ithyphallic statues are frequently found. Among the Nuforese of New Guinea there is in every village a house that serves the double purpose of a temple of ancestors and the sleeping-place of the youths and unmarried men. From the description of that at Dorei we learn that the posts on which it is supported are adorned with human figures, or with those of crocodiles, snakes, and fishes. All alike are said to represent ancestors, whose respective names they bear. Both the male and female figures have exaggerated pudenda. Moreover, on the eastern and western sides of the building, and outside it, are two pairs of rude wooden statues, each pair representing a man and a woman in the conjugal act. Beside the pair on the western side is the image of a child lying on its back. Other parts of the building also are adorned with suggestive carvings

(G. A. Wilken, *Verspreide Geschriften*, Hague, 1912, iii. 213 f.). The people of Nias, an island off the coast of Sumatra, are in the habit of representing their *adu*, or supernatural beings, by means of wooden images. In many of these the male sex is emphasized in the usual way. When a man dies, such an image is carved in his honour, and is called an *adu zatua*. Offerings are made to it; and the Niasese are accustomed to implore it for a numerous offspring. When a child is born, a thank-offering is presented. Before the dwellings of chiefs and persons of rank stones are erected in honour of deceased members of the family. They are called *gowe salawa*, and are sometimes in human form, sometimes in that of a phallus. The Battak of Sumatra pray to the images of their long-dead ancestors for offspring. These images are ithyphallic. Among the Bare'e-Toradja in Celebes buildings described as temples for the souls of those who have fallen in war also contain ithyphallic figures, and in almost every temple of importance female breasts and genital parts of both sexes have been found represented on the supporting columns. In the village temple of Langgadopi sexual intercourse was represented by the union of the detached organs. The natives, it is true, declared that such figures had no meaning save to delight the eyes. But they were accompanied by images of crocodiles, the symbol of bravery; and bravery and fecundity are the highest of savage virtues, ensuring as they do the continuance of the stock and the prosperity of the community (de Zwaan, pp. 18, 62 ff., citing Adriani and Kruijt, *De Bare'e-sprekende Toradjas*, Hague, 1912). We can have little doubt therefore that all these cases are associated with a cult of fecundity under phallic symbols. This is made very clear in the case of the festival of Upu-lero (see below, p. 822 f.) as it is celebrated in the Babar Archipelago.

An emblem of the generative and creative force of the sun, in whose honour the feast is held, is erected, in the form of a standard flying a pennant of white cotton, almost 5 ft. long. The pennant is cut in the form of a man bearing, fastened to it, a stuffed phallus and testicles—an apt suggestion of the orgies enacted below (*AE* viii. [1895] 134).

Throughout the Slave Coast of W. Africa the worship of a divinity named Legba or Elegba is prevalent.

Among the Ewhe his image 'is made of red clay, and rudely represents the human figure, generally male, rarely female, and always entirely nude. It is always represented as squatting down and looking at the organ of generation, which is enormously disproportionate. . . . When female, the figure is provided with long pointed breasts, and the other necessary adjuncts' (A. B. Ellis, *Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast*, London, 1890, p. 41 f.). Among the neighbouring Yoruba the (masculine) image of Legba 'is found in front of almost every house, protected by a small hut roofed with palm-leaves.' 'He is supposed always to carry a short knotted club, which, originally intended to be a rude representation of the *phallus*, has, partly through want of skill on the part of the modellers of the images, and partly through the growing belief in Elegba's malevolence, come to be regarded as a weapon of offence.' Ellis further notes: 'In the case of Priapus we find a similar connection between the phallus and a cudgel. See Catullus, xx., "The Garden God"' (*Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, London, 1894, p 65).

Certain of the Shintō gods of Japan are ithyphallic. They are represented in wood and stone, and are the object of offerings and worship (W. G. Aston, *Shinto*, London, 1905, pp. 71, 188 ff.). Whether similar deities were honoured by the ancient Gauls we do not know. It is certain that in the Middle Ages, and since, in various parts of France and Belgium, ithyphallic saints have been worshipped for the purpose of obtaining offspring or curing impotence and sexual disease. Perhaps the most famous of these was St. Foutin (whose name is variously spelt), by tradition the first bishop of Lyons. His cult was wide-spread in the south of France. When, in 1585, the Protestants took the town of Embrun, they found among the sacred relics of the principal church an object said to be his phallus. Its extremity was reddened by the libations of wine offered to it by women in need of his help. Further north a similar divinity was honoured in the diocese of Bourges under the name of Guerlichon or Grelichon, at Brest under the name of Guignolet, and (without enumerating others) there was one said to be called Ters, whose figure appeared over the gateway to the church of St. Walburga, in the Rue des Pêcheurs at Antwerp (J. A. Dulaure, *Des Divinités génératrices*, Paris, 1905, p. 204 f., ch. xii.; E. S. Hartland, *Primitive Paternity*, 2 vols., London, 1909–10, i. 63; both citing various authorities). In Italy at Trani during the Carnival a priapian figure called *il santo membro* used to be paraded through the town (Dulaure, p. 219). On Trendle Hill, just above the village of Cerne Abbas in Dorset, an ancient figure known as the Cerne giant, 180 ft. long, is cut in the turf. It is represented as flourishing a club in the right hand (cf. the club of Legba). It is nude, with very distinct and exaggerated sexual organs. Like the White Horse of Berkshire and other effigies cut in the turf of the chalk hills in the south of England, it used to be cleaned and put in order every seven years. This custom exhibits the importance attached to it by the villagers, and seems to point to a religious origin.

Naturally it is less easy to represent the female figure with a corresponding exaggeration. At Ephesus Artemis as the female principle of fertility, the All-mother, was represented with many breasts. The Yoruba on the Slave Coast of W. Africa have a goddess in the form of a pregnant woman, who is invoked against barrenness and difficult labours. She is probably identical with Odudua, the earth-mother, generally depicted as a seated mother holding a child—a common emblem of such a divinity. She is the patroness of love, and many stories are told of her adventures and amours. On the doors of her temples, as well as on those of her male counterpart Obatala, the phallus and *kteis* (the female emblem) in contact are often carved (H. H. Ploss, *Das Weib*, Leipzig, 1891, i. 439, citing, without a reference, Bastian; Ellis, *Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, p. 41 f.). Female figures, however, with the organ of sex exaggerated are by no means unknown in various parts of the world.

On the Congo, *e.g.*, 'in the forests between Manyanga and Stanley Pool it is not rare to come upon a little rustic temple, made of palm-fronds and poles, within which male and female figures, nearly or quite life size, may be seen, with disproportionate genital organs, the figures being intended to represent the male and female principle. Around these carved and painted statues [previously described in similar terms by the author quoted, p. 154] are many offerings of plates, knives and cloth; and frequently also the phallic symbol may be seen dangling from the rafters. There is not the slightest suspicion of obscenity in all this; and any one qualifying this worship of the generative power as obscene does so hastily and ignorantly. It is a solemn mystery to the Congo native, a force but dimly understood; and like all mysterious natural manifestations, . . . it is a power that must be propitiated and persuaded to his good' (H. H. Johnston, *The River Congo*, London, 1884, p. 405; *JAI* xiii. [1883–84] 473). We are, indeed, expressly told not only that this worship 'is not associated with any rites that might be called particularly obscene,' but also that 'on the coast, where manners and morals are particularly corrupt, the phallus cult is no longer met with' (Johnston, *loc. cit.*).

Nor are such female effigies confined to the pagan natives of tropical wilds. They were frequently carved on churches in the Middle Ages. Many have been preserved until recently in Ireland, as, *e.g.*, on a doorway of Cloyne Cathedral, Co. Cork. The Royal Irish Academy in Dublin possesses a very good specimen removed from a church. They are known to Irish antiquaries by the name of Sheila-na-gig. Most of them, however, have now been destroyed under ecclesiastical influence. On this side St. George's Channel they are very rare. One remains as a figure in a corbel-table around the beautiful little Norman church at

Kilpeck, in Herefordshire, close to the Welsh border. There is said to be another in Cornwall.

But the representation of the detached organs of both sexes, often called, from their common designation in India, the *liṅgam* and *yoni*, is very widely distributed. Several examples have already been incidentally mentioned.

Pausanias observes that at Cyllene 'the image of Hermes, which the people of the place revere exceedingly, is nothing but the male organ of generation erect on a pedestal' (VI. xxvi. 3).

Similar objects were from remote times common in Italy. Down into the Middle Ages ceremonies appear to have been performed in connexion with them. Ecclesiastical legislation prescribes a penance of bread and water during three Lents for any one who shall perform incantations to the phallus ('praecantaverit ad fascinum'), or indeed any spells (*præcantationes*) save the Creed (*symbolum sanctum*) or the Lord's Prayer (anon., *Essay on the Worship of the Generative Powers*, appended to R. Payne Knight, *Le Culte de Priape*, Luxembourg, 1866 [original Eng. ed. 1786], p. 121, citing *Judicia sacerdotalia de criminibus*, vii. 35). This legislation was repeated by councils and synods to the end of the 14th century. Ex-voto stones at Roman settlements and forts in England and Scotland have been dug up, bearing phallic figures (*ib.* p. 117).

At Isernia, in the Abruzzi, Saints Cosmas and Damian, usually invoked for all sorts of diseases, and being in the official calendar represented more decently than the French saints just mentioned, found their medical practice concentrated almost entirely on the gratification of the feminine desire for lovers or for children.

At their feast on 17th Sept. their relics were carried in procession. The fair which was held on the occasion was attended by people from all the villages round. Maidens, married women, widows, and *donne di piacere* wore each a distinctive dress. Objects in wax representing the parts affected and for which relief was desired were sold at the fair, and were afterwards kissed and reverently presented, together with an offering, in the vestibule of the church. Inside the church the suppliant who suffered from any ill presented himself or herself to a priest at the high altar and then and there uncovered the part of the body afflicted, which the priest anointed ceremonially with consecrated 'oil of Saint Cosmas.' Although the waxen effigies offered for sale represented various members and organs of the body, little trade was done in anything but phalli. Women were the chief suppliants; and in effect the whole proceeding centred in sexual matters. The ceremonies continued to be performed until the year 1780, when, the attention of the Government having been called to them, they were summarily stopped (letter from Sir William Hamilton to Sir Joseph Banks, enclosing and commenting on a letter from an Italian correspondent, prefixed to Payne Knight's book; the illustration of the votive effigies shows most realistic figures).

It would seem that votive offerings like those of Isernia were not unknown in antiquity; for Payne Knight (pl. iii.) figures a gem from the Townley Collection portraying a scene which is unmistakable. Nor is it only at Isernia that such votive offerings have been known in later times. Models in wax of either sex were offered to St. Foutin at Varailles in Provence in the 16th century. They were suspended from the ceiling of his chapel, and were so numerous that when the wind stirred them they struck against one another, to the disturbance of the devotions of the faithful (Dulaure, p. 205; anon., *Essay*, in Payne Knight, p. 132; both citing *Journal d'Henri III. Confession de Sanci*, v. i. 22, and the notes of Le Duchat on the chapter in question).

Cakes in phallic form were among the sacred objects carried about in Greece at the Thesmophoria, and in the λίκνον, or basket of first-fruits, at the Orphic rite of the Liknophoria, as well as at marriages. They were included in the mystic food partaken of by the women at the Haloa. They were, there can be little doubt, part of the *sacra* presented to the μύστης in the Eleusinian mysteries (J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*[2], Cambridge, 1908, pp. 122, 518, 522, 530 ff., 148, 151, 154, 157; cf. Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* ii.). At Syracuse, on the day of the Thesmophoria, cakes of sesame and honey representing the female sex, and thence called μύλλοι, were carried about and offered to the goddesses—probably Demeter and Kore (Athenæus, xiv. 56; Farnell, *CGS* iii. 99, and the authorities there cited). The Romans made cakes or loaves in the form of either sex (Martial, iv. 69, ix. 3); and similar cakes are said to be still, or to have been within comparatively recent times, made in various parts of France, doubtless on certain festival occasions (Dulaure, p. 195; cf. F. Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, Heilbronn, 1879, p. 438). Cakes shaped like the female breast were borne by the chorus of women who followed the bride and sang her praise at a wedding in Sparta (Athenæus, xiv. 54).

On the posts of the houses raised in honour of fallen warriors by the Bare'e-Toradja in Celebes representations of women's breasts and sexual organs are found. The case of the village temple at Langgadopi, where the organs of both sexes were shown in the act of union, is probably not singular (de Zwaan, p. 63). In S. Celebes a favourite object of worship is Karaeng lowe (a name signifying 'great lord'), who is not regarded as a god in our sense of the word, but as a powerful spirit. He is figured usually under the form of *liṅgam* and *yoni*, though there is at least one example of his image in ithyphallic form and made of gold. It has been supposed that he is no other than the Hindu god Siva, imported by way of Java; but this is very doubtful. Incense and candles are burned before him; and he is served by special priestesses, called *pinati*. Once a year a great feast is celebrated in his honour at Gantarang keke, at the first full moon after the end of the fast of Ramadan. Karaeng lowe dispenses good and evil fortune. Life and death are said to be in his disposal. The sick seeking restoration to health, the would-be mother seeking a child, the trader seeking fortune, the gambler luck, the farmer a good harvest, all turn to Karaeng lowe with vows that he may grant their wishes. Nor will they willingly anger him by neglecting to fulfil their vows, lest he should manifest his wrath by sending disease or misfortune upon them (A. C. Kruijt, *Animisme in den indischen Archipel*, Hague, 1906, p. 500; Wilken, iii. 263). He is thus not merely the giver of increase, but a being who holds a general power of good and evil, luck and unluck. And the fact that the name of Karaeng lowe is also applied to the regalia or palladia of a kingdom is possibly significant of the genetic connexions of a mighty, though subordinate, divinity. An ithyphallic god with similarly extensive attributes was formerly worshipped by the Ulisiwa, one of the two tribes of Ambon and Uliasa. It was called Butu-Ulisiwa, 'the phallus of the Ulisiwa,' and was represented by an idol 7 ft. high. Despite the efforts of the Dutch Government at repression of idolatry, it was cherished by the people, as the cause of the fruitfulness of their women and the bestower of good fortune at sea and victory over their enemies, until in 1656 it was discovered in the inaccessible hiding-place to which their pious care had transferred it (Wilken, iii. 236).

Fetishes in phallic form are in use among the Bayanzi, on the eastern bank of the Kwilu in the Congo basin. They are made of clay moulded on wooden cores and adorned with feathers. Female emblems, but of more conventional shape, were also found by E. Torday. Both male and female emblems are propitiated by the sacrifice of a cock. Kola is chewed, and the juice expectorated over them. Torday seems to have witnessed the cere-

mony by a chief, whose prayers were usually for the fertility of his wives and slaves (*JRAI* xxxvii. [1907] 141).

Such fetishes (whose shape, however, is not delineated) were found by Grenfell among the E. Bakongo, of which we are told 'not that the representations of the generative powers, male or female, were worshipped, but that these rude images were the abiding-place of a spirit-force which, if rightly propitiated, would promote fruitful intercourse between men and women' (Johnston, *George Grenfell and the Congo*, London, 1908, ii. 638 n.). In Dahomey, among the true negroes, 'every street from Whydah to the capital is adorned with the symbol, and the old ones are not removed' (H. M. Westropp, and C. S. Wake, *Ancient Symbol Worship*[2], New York, 1875, p. 46, quoting Burton). East and west from Dahomey along the Slave Coast 'the phallus is seen everywhere, in front of houses, in the streets and public places, sometimes alone, but more frequently in connection with the image of Legba, to whom the organ is sacred, and whose principal attribute is the exciting of sexual desires.' Both the Ewhe and the Yoruba 'attribute sexual desires to possession by the god'; and he removes barrenness. The knotted club which among the Yoruba is placed in the hand of his image has already been referred to (Ellis, *Ewe*, pp. 41, 44, *Yoruba*, p. 65; cf. the club of the giant of Cerne Abbas, above, p. 817[b]).

In the old Shintō religion of Japan the use of the detached phallus was frequent. It was set up everywhere along the roadsides (Aston, p. 71 f.; cf. NATURE [Japanese], II. 7).

In identifying phallic symbols other than realistic representations, however, the greatest circumspection is required. All sorts of objects have been claimed as phallic by writers whose imagination outpaces proof. Some actual or fancied resemblance has been too often deemed adequate evidence, without showing the beliefs attached to the object, or the rites performed in relation to it. We may begin with some emblems the meaning of which is not in doubt. Around the Mediterranean Sea in antiquity the fig (perhaps from its shape, whether compared with the male organ or the womb, or, like the pomegranate or the fir-cone, from the number of its seeds) was a favourite emblem of fecundity; and artificial phalli were often formed of fig-tree wood.

'The peach is in China and Japan the acknowledged representative of the *kteis*, as the pestle and the mushroom are of the phallus' (Aston, p. 189).

Aston also notes that, though the meaning has now been forgotten, the Japanese term *wo-bashira* ('male pillar'), from its shape, is applied to the terminal post of the railing of a bridge, or of the balustrade of a staircase; and that the same term is applied to the end-tooth of a comb. In India the *liṅgam* is a common cultual object. It is the emblem of the great god Śiva, and is usually represented united with the *yoni* as 'a smooth round black stone, apparently rising out of another stone, formed like an elongated saucer, though in reality sculptured from one block of basalt' (E. Sellon, *Mem. Anthrop. Soc.* i. [1865] 327). Such a representation is a mere conventional symbol, no more than remotely recalling the creative and reproductive attributes of the god, and can awaken no erotic thoughts in the worshipper's mind. Miniature copies of this emblem are worn by devotees in their hair or round the arm or neck. The followers of Viṣṇu paint on their foreheads the *namam*, or emblem of the god, consisting of three lines, a perpendicular line in the centre and an oblique converging line on either side, sometimes abbreviated to a single red perpendicular line, and sometimes figured as a trident. The *namam* is the sign of the female sex (Dubois, p. 112). The Hindus themselves seem early to have felt the need of explaining the *liṅgam* as the emblem of Śiva. To this end a not very creditable story of the god is related in various places of the *Purāṇas* (*ib.* p. 629).

Throughout the northern and eastern shores of the Levant and its islands and neighbouring countries in ancient times a usual sacred symbol was a pillar or pole, called in the Bible respectively *maṣṣēbhāh* and *ăshĕrāh*. These objects do not appear to have been peculiar to any one deity, but to have been an ordinary divine emblem. Originally in all probability a rude stone, or the unshaped trunk of a tree, they were developed in course of time with increasing mastery over materials into conical forms, into obelisks, columns, or masts, and further adorned with sculptures, painting, and draperies. From this aniconic form the Greeks and Romans evolved the statue, the intermediate form of which—a head and bust descending to a merely squared base—is familiar in the representation of many divinities, especially Hermæ and boundary-stones. It has been contended that these pillars and poles are phalli. In aid of the contention are the express words of the author of the *de Dea Syria* (xvi.), who so describes the obelisks or columns in the vestibule of the temple of the goddess at Hierapolis. He adds that they bear the inscription: 'I, Dionysus, dedicated these phalli to Hera, my stepmother.' This only proves that under Greek influence later times identified the objects as phalli, and ascribed their erection to a god in whom they recognized the son of Semele, himself a late adoption into the Greek pantheon. It cannot prove (though it satisfied the author of the treatise) by whom, or with what intention, they were erected. In fact, all the evidence obtainable goes to show that these obelisks or poles were erected indifferently in connexion with the worship of any deity, whether conceived as male or female, not excluding even Jahweh Himself (*EBi*, *s.vv.*; art. MAṢṢĒBHĀH, vol. viii. p. 487 f.; cf. Robertson Smith, *Rel. Sem.*[2], London, 1894, p. 188 f.). In the same way our own maypoles have been called phallic emblems upon the slenderest grounds. There is evidence that megalithic monuments, whether shaped by art or not, or even natural rocks and other objects of a suggestive form, have been taken for phalli, or at least thought to have procreative power. But the application to them of the phallic idea is not necessarily primitive. Ancient it may be and sometimes undoubtedly is. It is more likely to be a specific outgrowth of a vague and general sanctity and power once ascribed to them, which has developed all the more fully, since every other attribute of divinity has been lost, and worship in the strict sense of the word has been diverted in other directions. Their frequently gigantic size and the mystery, nameless awe, and surmise that hung about them after their original purpose had been forgotten would be potent aids to such a development.

One emblem of wide currency appears fairly certain. A mode of producing fire early adopted, and widely prevalent even yet among savage races, is that of the drill. Fire is made by rapidly rotating a stick of hard wood upright upon a piece of softer wood lying on the ground and held firmly in its position by the foot. The action is so suggestive, and the result is so analogous to life and so mysterious, that it need not be wondered at that the two sticks have been usually called the male and female sticks respectively, and that their use has almost universally received a sexual interpretation. As the author of the anonymous *Essay* already quoted points out, the use of the fire-drill long survived in W. Europe, where it was applied for the purpose of obtaining need-fire (*q.v.*), as a protection for cattle on the occasion of an epidemic, or for lighting the midsummer and other fires. Need-fire was prohibited by that name in the Capitularies of Karloman, king of the Franks, along with other pagan rites (anon., *Essay*, in Payne Knight, p. 153). It is still used by many peoples when sacred fire is necessary for ritual purposes.

In Egypt the monuments yield many priapic

figures. Osiris as the principle of life is often thus represented. The well-known story told by Plutarch (*de Is. et Osir.*) of the search by Isis for her husband's missing member, when after his murder and the cutting up of his body by Typhon she had collected all the rest, is the mythological form in which the reverence for his phallus is accounted for. Not being able to find it, she caused a wooden surrogate to be made. But, beyond the realistic representations of the phallus, it has been suggested that the Egyptian *tau* cross (like the similarly shaped hammer of Thor) and the symbol known as the *crux ansata* are emblems of the same object. Of this there is no direct or cogent proof. The cross in various forms is a widely distributed symbol in both Eastern and Western hemispheres. It has been claimed to be everywhere phallic; but real evidence in support of the claim is, generally speaking, still to seek. On the other hand, it is the simplest symbol that can be found, and may be (and doubtless has been) made to do duty for many purposes. Likewise the crescent moon, the horse-shoe, and other such figures have been insistently presented as emblems of the corresponding female organ, usually with as little justice. It is true that many things in nature and in art do lend themselves by form or use to such an interpretation, and probably have been sporadically and occasionally accepted. He who is preoccupied with the subject will see phallic emblems everywhere. But a wise scepticism will insist on proof, not merely of sporadic and obscene, but of serious and cultual, or at least magical, employment.

2. Ceremonies.—Phallic ceremonies are very numerous. Some of them have already been incidentally referred to.

The population of Mārwār in Rājputāna fear a *bhūt*, or malignant spirit, called Nathurām. 'This Nathurām is said to have been a scamp from some part of the North-Western Provinces [now called the United Provinces] who settled in Mārwār and seduced many Marwari ladies, until he was detected and put to death. Then he became a malignant ghost, and began to torment wives and children; and now his spirit can be appeased only by the most obscene songs and gestures performed by the Marwari women. . . . No household can be without an image of Nathurām,' which is vaguely described as nude and 'of a monstrous and disgusting appearance.' 'On the night the bride first visits her husband an image of Nathurām is placed beside her couch. Barren women and those whose children do not live look to Nathurām for deliverance from their troubles' (*NINQ* iii. [1893] 92). He is, in short, as Crooke observes, 'a phallic fetish.' Nor is he by any means the only one in India. Among others, in Dhārwār women of the Ambig caste carry about an image called Jokamār, 'whose private parts are three times as large as the rest of his body,' and sing his praises in front of each house, getting in return small presents (*BG* xxii. [1884] 183 f.). In Upper Burma at the New Year feast 'an indecent figure' is paraded, and obscene antics are indulged in all along the route (*Gazetteer Upper Burma*, i. pt. ii. [1901], p. 440; the present writer is indebted to Mr. Crooke for these two references). At Roman marriages the bride was required to sit upon the image of Priapus (Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, vii. 24; Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* i. 20). If we may trust an allusion by Arnobius (*adv. Gentes*, iv. 7), women already married sometimes performed the same rite. In India about Pondicherry, in Canara, and the neighbourhood of Goa, brides are reported actually to sacrifice their virginity to a similar idol of Śiva (Dulaure, p. 86, citing Duquesne, *Voyage dans l'Inde*, ii.; Liebrecht, *Volkskunde*, pp. 397, 511, citing Linschoten and Barbosa). On the island of Java, at Batavia, an old and useless cannon, lying in a field, was regarded by the natives as a divinity in phallic form, and daily worshipped with offerings of rice and fruit, miniature sunshades, and coppers. It was held to cure sterility in women, for which purpose it was necessary to sit astride on it for some time. Women might be seen—sometimes two at once—dressed in their best and adorned with flowers, doing this at any period of the day. For years the priests encouraged the practice, to their own pecuniary benefit, until at length the cannon was removed by the Dutch Government (*JAI* vi. [1876-77] 359).

It is clear that practices like these are intended to secure offspring. They are a magical proceeding to obtain fecundity. And it is not unnatural that they should develop into a more effectual proceeding, in which the god is represented by his priest. There is no record of such an evolution in Rome; we may be quite sure that the Christian Fathers would have seized upon it with pious alacrity as a weapon against the heathen if they could have done so. But in India the practice is not unknown. The most famous example is that of the temple of Jagannāth in Orissa (Dubois, p. 602; cf. F. Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, London, 1891, p. 305). Elsewhere in India it is enough to subject a barren wife to the embraces of any chance stranger (often more than one), in pursuance of a vow to that effect. The occasion is usually that of some religious festival (Dubois, p. 596; *TES*, new ser., vii. [1869] 264).

In the *Jātaka* we are told how the righteous king Okkāka, in despair because his favourite wife Sīlavatī was childless, sent her, magnificently arrayed, out into the streets on a certain day, as a religious act. There she was met by the great god Sakka, disguised as a Brāhman. With a touch of his thumb he rendered her pregnant of the future Bodhisattva (*Jātaka*, ed. E. B. Cowell, 6 vols., Cambridge, 1895–1907, v. 141).

This story probably gives us the clue to the meaning of a practice described by Herodotus and Strabo as taking place at the temple of Mylitta, in Babylon. Every Babylonian woman was required once in her life to prostitute herself there to the first stranger who threw a silver coin into her lap (Herod. i. 199; Strabo, xvi. 1. 20). A stranger was a person of unknown powers; he might even be, as in the tale from the *Jātaka*, a god in disguise. From this quasi-supernatural character generally attributed to him in the lower culture it would follow that intercourse with him might be productive of blessings. The greatest of blessings to women is fecundity. If, as is probable, the rite was a sacrifice of virginity at puberty, the woman was thus consecrated for married life, with its special duty of bearing and rearing offspring. A similar rite, it would seem, was practised in many other places, as far west as the Troad. It has been confounded with two other customs of the voluptuous East. One is that of dedicating girls at the temple of a divinity of fertility as prostitutes, whose gains went to the support of the worship and the priests. This seems, *e.g.*, to have been a feature of the cult of the Armenian goddess Anaitis (Strabo, xi. 14. 16). There are indications that it was not unknown even in worship of Jahweh. It is still largely practised in India, and is preceded by a solemn ceremony in which the new recruit to the service of the deity is 'married' to him (authorities numerous; see Dubois, pp. 310, 584; A. M. T. Jackson and R. E. Enthoven, *FL Notes*, ii. (Konkan), Mazgaon, Bombay, 1915, p. 74; *Ethnog. Survey of Mysore*, Bangalore, 1906, ii. 8 [Holeya caste]). The other custom was that by which a girl earned her dowry by prostitution. This is said to have been followed in Lydia, on the island of Cyprus, and elsewhere. It was not a religious practice, but was perhaps a survival of the social arrangements of ruder races. Girls among many of such races are before marriage accorded complete liberty, of which they take full advantage, ultimately wedding one or other of their lovers (the subject has been recently fully discussed; see artt. PROSTITUTION; *GB*[3], pt. iv., *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, London, 1914, i. 37 n., 57 ff., 70 ff.; W. M. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, Oxford, 1895, pp. 94, 115, 135; L. R. Farnell, *Greece and Babylon*, Edinburgh, 1911, p. 268 ff.; F. Cumont, *Les Religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*, Paris, 1907, pp. 143, 286; *MI* ii. 444; E. S. Hartland, *Ritual and Belief*, p. 266 ff.).

The priapic deity of the Slave Coast, Legba, has, like some of the Eastern gods just referred to, women called his 'wives,' who are dedicated to his service, and give themselves indiscriminately to his worshippers at the time of the celebration of his mysteries. The excesses committed on these occasions are, we are told, 'of a nature which does not admit of any description.' 'At the commencement of the ceremony the priests cause the worshippers to drink a mystic draught, containing powerful aphrodisiacs. The mysteries invariably take place at night, and usually in the "bush," at some little distance from human habitations' (Ellis, *Ewe*, p. 44; cf. A. J. N. Tremearne, *The*

Tailed Head-hunters of Nigeria, London, 1912, p. 205). Indeed, the god is held to cause erotic dreams by consorting in his own person, either in male or in female form, with women or men during their sleep. His sacrifices are 'cocks, dogs and he-goats, chosen on account of their amorous propensities; but on very important occasions a human victim is offered' (Ellis, *Yoruba*, pp. 67, 66). When implored to remove barrenness, 'a sacrifice is offered, and the worshipper anoints the organ of the figure with palm-oil, in order that the required fertility may be attained.' On festival occasions the phallus is borne aloft in procession with great pomp, 'fastened to the end of a long pole. The worshippers dance and sing round it, and the image is waved to and fro, and pointed towards the young girls, amidst the laughter and acclamations of the spectators. Sometimes the phallus is concealed by a short skirt, or petticoat, which a man causes to fly up by pulling a string' (Ellis, *Ewe*, p. 44; cf. *Yoruba*, p. 65).

An officer of the French marine reports having witnessed, in 1787, a festival in the kingdom of Congo, when masked men executed a pantomime, carrying an enormous priapic figure worked by means of a spring (Dulaure, p. 41, citing L. de Grandpré, *Voyage à la côte occidentale d'Afrique*, i. 118). Higher up on the river Congo, between Isangila and Manyanga, there is a species of worship reminding us of the cult of Cybele in Greece. Its ministers are eunuchs, and it is intimately connected with a reverence for the moon. 'When the new moon appears, dances are performed by the eunuchs, who sacrifice a white fowl—which must always be male—in its honour. The bird is thrown up into the air and torn to pieces as it falls to earth. I was told that in former days a human victim was offered up on these occasions, but that in later times a white fowl had been substituted' (Johnston, *River Congo*, p. 409). Further details on this cult, which is said to be 'a vague phallic worship,' are much to be desired, in order to arrive at an accurate estimate of its extent and meaning. It would seem, however, to be an orgiastic cult, similar in some respects to that of Attis.

Further north, among the Ekoi of Nigeria, there is a *juju* named Eja, whose festival, celebrated at the time of new yams, is the chief festival of the year. Amaury Talbot, who inquired into it a few years ago, compares it to 'the old Adonis-Attis-Osiris worship.' He says: 'The ecstatic frenzy of the dancers, the trances into which some of them fall, and the jealousy with which all strangers are excluded, show that this ceremony holds a very special significance.' The cult is supposed to produce plentiful harvests, and 'also to protect human beings, farms and cattle from damage by lightning and thunderbolt.' It is said to have been brought from the interior of the continent, and to have been held every two years. To ensure the continued efficacy of the *juju*, however, sacrifices must be offered every two years. For this celebration 'medicine' is necessary—presumably to doctor the worshippers, a very common practice in Africa. Of the medicine the most essential ingredient is the sexual organ of a human being slain for the purpose, or by the act of removing the organ. The Ekoi prefer a female victim. But the rite is known elsewhere; and in the neighbouring Cameroons men are also sacrificed. Eja being a *juju* of fertility, it should be added that one of the chief ceremonies at the festival is the offering of firstfruits; and until it comes round neither *fu-fu* (yams and other things beaten up into a paste) nor fresh yams may be eaten (P. Amaury Talbot, *In the Shadow of the Bush*, London, 1912, pp. 74–78). The character of the cult leads to the suspicion that it culminates in sexual intercourse; but Talbot reports no evidence of this.

There seem to have been more than one god of fertility in ancient Egypt. This is not to be wondered at. The religion, like the State, was an amalgam. The gods of the petty States absorbed into the kingdom were similarly absorbed into the pantheon. Either they were recognized as identical with those of the State-religion, or, maintaining an independent existence, they became the special divinities of certain nomes. The chief god, in later times at all events, was Osiris, who, whatever else he may have been, was a god of vegetation, a god of creative energy who renewed the life of all living things. To this his myth, his pictorial representations, and his ritual unmistakably point. In all these his phallus was emphasized. Herodotus relates (ii. 48) that on his festival priapian images were carried about the villages by the women. They were each about a cubit in height, with a phallus almost as large as the rest of the figure, and worked by strings. We may assume that the antics performed with them by the bearers were substantially the same as those on the Slave Coast and in the Congo. Osiris was identified by the Greeks with their own divinity Dionysus, a god of similar character, to whom similar rites were performed. These were probably Osirian mysteries; there certainly were mysteries connected with the worship of Dionysus. In the latter, as well as in his worship outside them, the phallus was carried about and prominently exhibited (Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* ii.; Arnobius, *adv. Gentes*, v. 28, 39). Dionysus was not indigenous to Greek soil. He was an intrusive deity, probably from Thrace, whose cult was accepted in Greece only after considerable opposition. His worship was celebrated at the festivals by men and women with orgiastic rites, in the course of which victims offered in sacrifice were torn in pieces and devoured raw, and the devotees indulged in sexual intercourse. The excitement, heightened by cries, wild dancing, and draughts of wine, was credited to possession by the god himself. Under cover of darkness (for night was the season when the performances culminated) all sorts of excesses were committed. Whatever was done in this mad rout, the votaresses acting under the inspiration of the god were held not to have sacrificed their modesty (Euripides, *Bacchæ, passim*). Such a cult, it is obvious, was of barbaric origin. In this connexion it must be remembered that the Greeks had themselves emerged from a low state of civilization, and still retained many and startling survivals of that condition. The savage orgies introduced from Thrace and elsewhere found willing and powerful allies in the barbarous elements yet struggling in the midst of a growing culture. Thus reinforced, their victory was inevitable, whatever the better minds thought of them. They held the immense advantage that they provided an outlet for religious excitement, largely wanting in the more staid and regulated worship of Greece. The memory of the conflict passed away into the region of myth, whence it continued to exercise an influence, by no means negligible, in favour of the cult on the superstitious of all classes. It is probable, however, that contact with Greek thought and institutions refined and softened the ritual, purging it of its grosser elements.

A performance much modified, but containing some genuine hints of the barbarous archaic ritual, still takes place in the neighbourhood of Viza, the old Bizye, the capital of the Thracian kings.

Christians of the Greek Church are the actors. It is performed on the Monday of the last week of Carnival. Two καλογέροι play the chief parts, disguised with head-dresses made each of an entire goat-skin without the horns, but stuffed with hay and falling down over the face, thus forming a mask, with holes cut for the eyes and mouth. One of them carries a mock-bow, the other (the principal personage) wields a wooden phallus. Two boys dressed as girls are called κορίτσια, or in some of the villages νύφες ('brides'). There are also κατσίβελοι, or gypsies, among the performers. Another man personates an old woman, called the Babo (cf. Baubo), carrying a doll (λικνίτης) in a basket on her arm. This part in some places is taken by one of the κατσίβελοι, who is dressed as a woman. Another of these gypsies, with the assistance of his wife, forges a ploughshare. The play includes the pursuit and marriage by the chief καλογέρος of a κορίτσι. He is subsequently shot by his male companion, and mourned by his bride and other actors. The preliminaries of burial are gone through; but he suddenly jumps up and comes to life again. The rites of the Greek Church are parodied both in the marriage and in the funeral. A house-to-house collection by the καλογέροι, dancing with the κορίτσια, begins the masquerade, while on the straw-heaps in front of the houses the κατσίβελος and his wife carry out from time to time an obscene pantomime. After the ploughshare is supposed to be finished, ploughing is represented. The plough is drawn contrary to the course of the sun round the village square. When the play was witnessed by R. M. Dawkins in 1906 at Haghios Georghios, two of the κορίτσια were harnessed to the plough. They were led by one of the καλογέροι; the other καλογέρος was at the plough-tail. In front marched the κατσίβελος and his wife with long rods; but after the second circuit of the square they were themselves harnessed to the plough. A man scattering seed followed, amid cries of 'May wheat be ten piastres the bushel! Rye five piastres the bushel! Barley three piastres the bushel! Amen, O God, that the poor may eat! Yea, O God, that poor folk be filled!' The evening was spent in feasting on the presents collected during the day (*JHS* xxvi. [1906] 191 ff.).

It can hardly be denied that in this carnival custom we have the survival of an archaic agricultural ritual. Its object evidently is to obtain a plenteous harvest and probably increase of men

and cattle. Of the orgies of which we read in the Dionysiac cult the remains are here decayed, but unmistakable. Dawkins points out that the καλογέροι wear padded backs and that the κατσίβελοι bear wands suggesting that the victim was originally beaten. The slayer even yet pretends to flay the slain καλογέρος. And Dawkins conjectures with probability that the latter represents the Thracian Dionysus, and that the part was once taken by a human victim put to death in downright earnest.

Compared with the Dionysiac rites, those of the Thesmophoria were from our point of view innocent. The Thesmophoria were celebrated by women alone, in honour of Demeter and Kore, in the autumnal month of Pyanepsion. Swine were offered in sacrifice. Phalli and snakes made of dough were carried about and dedicated to the goddesses, together with fir-cones as emblems of fertility and the remains of the sacrificed swine, by being thrown into the μέγαρα, or underground vaults appropriate to them as earth-goddesses. Men being excluded, there was no sexual indulgence; but there was flyting—coarse and indecent chaff—between the participants. This ribaldry was part of the ceremonies; it was prophylactic, or intended 'to stimulate the fertilizing powers of the earth and the human frame.' Such was indeed the object of the entire ritual. Primarily agricultural, it was connected with the autumnal sowing. And its limitation to women probably relates back to that earliest stage of agriculture when the labour was done entirely by women. But, as elsewhere, the idea of vegetable fecundity was inseparably mixed up with that of human beings. The fasting and abstinence from sexual relations required on the part of the celebrants doubtless were directed to this double end (*CGS* iii. ch. ii.; J. E. Harrison, p. 120 ff.).

Less important than the Thesmophoria were the Haloa—like the former, an Attic festival. Their centre was at Eleusis. The festival, we are told, was held on the threshing-floor; and it seems to have been an autumnal celebration which had been displaced to mid-winter. Originally in all probability dedicated to the goddesses Demeter and Kore, as symbolizing the fruits of the earth, it has been conjectured that its displacement was due to the intrusion of Dionysus, who received divine honours together with the goddesses on the occasion. However this may be, men played very little part in it. The offerings were bloodless, therefore consisting of vegetable products, and were presented by the priestess. The sacred symbols of both sexes were handled, the priestesses secretly whispered into the ears of the women present (the men were absent) words that might not be uttered aloud; and the women themselves indulged in jests and flyting similar, it would seem, to those of the Thesmophoria. The feast culminated in a banquet set out by the archons, but partaken of by the female celebrants alone. The banquet included cakes shaped like the symbols of sex (Harrison, p. 145 ff.; *CGS* iii. 45 ff.). At Greek marriages the rite of carrying the phallus in the λίκνον, with other emblems of reproduction and plenty, was doubtless a charm to produce these results.

The Eleusinian mysteries were deeply penetrated by Dionysiac influence; and disgraceful things are said to have been done at them, as the Christian Fathers do not fail to remind their opponents. The most recent researches of scholars, however, have failed to discover, among the fragmentary hints supplied by ancient writers, any certain evidence of practices grosser than those of the Thesmophoria and the Haloa. In the worship of the Great Mother, introduced from Phrygia, and certain other foreign cults the sexual idea was prominent, though in the case of Cybele the orgies seem to have taken an ascetic and unnatural development. Aphrodite was one of such alien goddesses; and her cult, in some places at all events, was of a most voluptuous description. But we need not here follow the matter into detail.

In Rome Tutunus or Mutunus, otherwise Fascinus, later identified with the foreign god Priapus, was a very ancient divinity. He was represented under the form of a phallus. His office, it was said, was to avert evil and evil spirits; to this we shall return below. Another god, Liber, was held to preside over fertility, including the cultivation of the vine and the increase of all fruits of the field, as well as of animals. He was worshipped in connexion with Ceres and Libera, feminine deities having a similar office, and, like Tutunus, was represented as a phallus. An indigenous Italian divinity, in course of time he was identified with Bacchus. St. Augustine hints at licentious rites, and quotes Varro as an authority for the celebration of his cult at cross-roads. At his festival his image was mounted on a car and carried round the cross-roads in the country, and thence into the city. At Lavinium the feast lasted for a month, during which a kind of Saturnalia prevailed. The image was then brought through the forum into the temple of the god, and the most honourable matron placed a wreath upon it before the assembled people (Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, vii. 21). Libera was identified with Venus, and represented in the temple by the image of the female organ. The excesses of the Bacchanalia at length compelled the senate to suppress them in Rome (*ib.* vi. 9).

Sexual excesses on such occasions were, no doubt, like those of the archaic Dionysiac worship in Greece, of a ritual character. Rites of this kind betray their origin in savagery. It is probable that they were unknown to few of the European peoples of antiquity; but we have little or no evidence of the fact outside the Balkan Peninsula and Italy. Throughout mediæval Europe the various spring festivals seem to have been similar. Of some we have definite evidence to this effect. Of others it is only a matter of inference from the remains in modern times. History affords no account of their origin; they dated back to 'a time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary'; and such a time was one of barbarism. They were joyous, mirthful occasions, on which young men and women took a prominent part, mingled and paired off. Though these feasts and merrymakings may not have been always directly connected with agriculture, they were celebrated with the effervescence and abandon of renewed life and enjoyment, when all nature was reviving from its wintry death; and they commemorated, if they did not promote, that revival. There can be little doubt that they culminated in orgies generally recognized and tacitly permitted (W. Mannhardt, *Baumkultus*, Berlin, 1875, ch. v.). This was, indeed, one of the charges brought by the English Puritans against the May-day festivals (anon., *Essay*, in Payne Knight, p. 153, quoting P. Stubbes, *Anatomie of Abuses*, London, 1583).

Analogous customs are still or were lately in existence in the south-western islands of the E. Indian Archipelago.

The inhabitants of the islands of Leti, Moa, and Lakor pay divine honours to Upulero, Grandfather Sun, and Upunusa, Grandmother Earth. They are two spirits residing in the sun and earth respectively. Every year at the easterly monsoon the *nunu*-tree (a species of *Ficus*) changes its leaves. It is then that Grandfather Sun comes down to fertilize Grandmother Earth. For this purpose he descends into the sacred *nunu* of the village-community; and under this tree a great feast is held. The organization of the feast is a weighty matter of State; for it lasts a whole month. Pigs are contributed by the members of the community according to their ability, to be

slain in honour of Upulero, and afterwards eaten by the partakers of the feast. Thrice in varying terms during the feast the village priest calls upon Upulero to come and eat and drink; the pork and the chickens, the cooked rice and the drink, are ready. In return he is asked to give all good things to his expectant children, and to increase the number of the nobles and of the people. He is besought for ivory and gold, he is prayed to fill the fishing-boats, the paddy-baskets, the sago-vessels, to multiply the goats and pigs, to give food and drink, and to cause children to be safely brought into the world. Dances of various kinds (among which one is danced by women alone, and another—the *pisang*-dance, emblem of the *liñgam*—by men alone) are performed to the accompaniment of drums that hardly cease day or night. The people await with expectation the coming of Upulero to fertilize Upunusa, and share in his enjoyment. Formerly at least, while the feast lasted the men and women had unrestricted access to one another (J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige Rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, Hague, 1886, p. 372).

Every year when the *sāl*-tree is in blossom the Orāons of Bengal celebrate the marriage of the earth-goddess with Dharme, the sun-god (see ORĀONS, § 6).

But not every licentious rite can be accurately described as phallic worship. Many are purely magical.

Among the Nāga tribes of Manipur a month after the paddy is sown, and again before the firstfruits are cut by the village priest, a *genna*, or general tabu, accompanied by a festival, is held, when a 'tug of war' takes place, the women and girls pulling against the men and boys. The object of this is said to be to take the omens for the future of the crop. More probably it is intended to assure its future. The rite is attended by considerable licence (T. C. Hodson, *Nāga Tribes of Manipur*, London, 1911, p. 168).

The licence attending puberty ceremonies in various parts of the world is often great. It is sometimes ceremonial, as among the newly-made adults on emerging from the rites in many Bantu tribes. Even in such cases it cannot be called religious without an abuse of terms. It is rather a first assertion of adult life, a testing of new conditions, physical and social, at the most a magical proceeding to ensure fertility. Some sexual rites are prophylactic in intention, and will be considered later.

The ancient Nicaraguans, in whose ordinary life sexual relations were fairly strict, were reported to hold a yearly festival at which women were permitted to give themselves up to any men they chose (J. G. Müller, *Amer. Urreligionen*, Basel, 1867, p. 663). A hint is given by Dumont in the 18th cent. of a similar practice at the harvest festival of the Natchez, in Louisiana. This, however, seems to have been confined to the youth of both sexes, and may have been no more than an example of the ordinary courting customs (quoted by J. R. Swanton, *43 Bull. BE*, 1911, p. 121). In both cases details which would have enabled us to judge of the meaning of the festival are lacking.

The tribes of the N. American Plains, at any rate, had ceremonies, known as the Sun-dance, which were definitely religious. They were lengthy and elaborate, extending over eight days. We possess an excellent account of them by G. A. Dorsey. He witnessed them on more than one occasion.

The Sun-dance is performed by the Arapaho in accordance with a vow made by a member of the tribe at some crisis of his life. The entire community joins in the performance. A great lodge is built, every portion of which with its accessaries is symbolic. One of the chief functionaries is the Lodge-maker, and another is his official 'grandfather,' called the Transferrer. At a certain point of the performance the Lodge-maker's wife and the Transferrer leave together the Rabbit-tipi, a lodge where the secret preparations are made for the dance. Deliberately, solemnly, and in ritual order they prepare for this duty. Each is clad in a single robe, all other clothing being removed. While a sacred song is sung and intense emotion prevails in the lodge, they pass out by a sunwise circuit over the fumes of rising incense and proceed to a spot a short distance away. It is midnight. After a few moments' prayer, in which they both emphasize the fact that they are about to do that which had been commanded at the time of the origin of the ceremony, and that what they are about to do is in keeping with the wish of their Father, the woman throws her covering on the ground and lies down on her back. The Transferrer, standing by her side, prays and offers her body to Man-above, the Grandfather, the Four-Old-Men, and various minor gods. It is difficult to suppose, after this preface, that actual intercourse did not follow in former times; and it is to be gathered from the statement of one of the priests that in fact it took place. But it is averred that it is now prohibited—that abstention is necessary, else 'the connexion does not benefit the people'; although it is admitted that 'the temptation is great.' During the act of intercourse, whether real or only symbolical, the Transferrer places in the woman's mouth a piece of root, which he has brought from the tipi, and which represents the seed or food given by the All-Powerful (Man-above). On her return to the tipi she transfers it to her husband's mouth directly from her own. Re-entering the tipi, she says, addressing him, 'I have returned, having performed the holy act which was commanded'; whereupon he and the other dancers thank her and pray for her success. The rite is repeated on the second night following with similar formalities. It is a dramatic representation in intimate relation with the myths of the tribe. The Transferrer represents Man-above, while the woman represents the mother of the tribe. 'The issue of their connexion is believed to be the birth of the people hereafter, or an increase in population. It is also a plea to all protective powers for their aid and care.' Thus it has a potent influence on the well-being of the people (*Field Columbian Mus. Pub.*, Anthrop. iv. [1903] 173, 101). We are told by another authority that 'at the sun-dance an old man, crying out to the entire camp-circle, told the young people to amuse themselves; he told the women to consent if they were approached by a young man, for this was their opportunity'; and he deprecated jealousy on the part of husbands. The old women, moreover, at such dances encouraged the girls to licence (A. L. Kroeber, *Bull. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.* xviii. [1902] 15). The Cheyenne had an analogous rite at the Sun-dance (G. A. Dorsey, *Field Columbian Mus. Pub.*, Anthrop. ix. [1905] 130). It was also comprised in some other of the sacred ceremonies of the Arapaho and other tribes—perhaps taken over from the Sun-dance (Kroeber, pp. 193, 200, 226; *Anthrop. Papers, Am. Mus. Nat. Hist.* i. [1908] 244).

On the other hand, the Buffalo-dance of the Mandans can only be designated as magical. Its object was to obtain a plentiful supply of buffaloes, the mainstay of Indian economy. It was part of a great annual religious celebration, including solemn prayers and offerings to the 'Great Spirit' and other supernatural powers, and the young men's puberty ordeal of abstinence and tortures.

The entire series lasted for four days, during which the Buffalo-dance by eight men, disguised in buffalo-skins and horns, and imitating in their movements a herd of the animals, was repeatedly performed. On the last day, while they are thus dancing, there enters to them a grotesque and horrible personage, naked and covered with black paint of charcoal and grease, who, careering about, scatters terror and dismay among the spectators. He is provided with a wooden phallus of colossal dimensions, and a buffalo's tail. At first he pursues the women, but is ritually foiled by the intervention of the master of the ceremonies, armed with the sacred medicine-pipe. After repeated onsets of this kind he turns his attention to the eight buffalo-dancers and enacts with four of them as cows the part of a rutting bull. This appears to exhaust him. The women and children, then no longer afraid of him, crowd around and hustle him, the women dancing up to him and challenging him with lascivious attitudes. He is thus driven away, the phallus being ultimately wrested by one of the women from his body (to which it was affixed by a thong) and carried in triumph into the village. There from the roof of the medicine-lodge 'she harangued the multitude for some time, claiming that she held the power of creation and of life and death over them, that she was the father of all the buffaloes, and that she could make them come or stay away as she pleased.' This gives the clue to the real meaning of the weird figure, whom Catlin, in describing the scene, takes to be 'the Evil Spirit.' Having possessed herself of his distinguishing implement, she temporarily assumed his character, she claimed his power, she became 'the Father of all the Buffaloes.' In that capacity she stopped the dance and ordered the tortures to be commenced in the medicine-lodge. In exchange for her trophy she received from the master of the ceremonies the handsomest dress in the tribe, and was appointed to 'the envied position of conductress of the Feast of the Buffaloes, to be given that night' (G. Catlin, *N. Amer. Indians*, new ed., London, 1876, i. letter xxii. and *folium reservatum*).

In this extraordinary scene we clearly have a pantomimic representation of a magical nature; for to its strict observance the Mandans attribute the coming of buffaloes to supply them with food during the season. The performance was, in short, believed to ensure the multiplication of the animals so necessary to the life of the tribe. Catlin, preoccupied with the dance and with the horrors of the medicine-lodge, says nothing of a scene during the same festival witnessed by Lewis and Clark some thirty years earlier. Various young married men offered the use of their respective wives to certain elders in place of a doll which

the latter were about to embrace, and regarded their acceptance as a great honour (M. Lewis and W. Clark, *Exped. to the Source of the Missouri*, reprint, London, 1905, i. 210). The account does not fully elucidate the intention of this rite. It is treated as if it were the only rite of importance at the feast. But the writer was not himself an eye-witness; he writes from the report of companions. We may conjecture that its object was similar to that of the Babylonian and Indian customs already mentioned. Such an object in the mind of a savage would not be inappropriate to the Buffalo-dance. Indeed, the proceedings of the women at the corresponding feast among the Hidatsa recall to another writer the women at the temple of Mylitta (Dorsey, *11 RBEW* [1889–90], p. 505, citing Maximilian, Prince of Wied). More obscure is the meaning of the medicine-dance, celebrated by a Mandan desirous of doing honour to his 'medicine' or fetish. A dance by the young unmarried women was part of the ceremonies, in the course of which they challenged and received in public the embraces of the youths (Lewis and Clark, i. 211).

It is thus apparent that what we call licentious rites are by no means always to be described as worship. They are ritual performances, but probably in the vast majority of cases they are intended to serve what may more properly be called magical purposes. Mimicry, either of the procedure or of the result to be attained, is one of the most widely adopted of the processes of magic. It has been fully expounded and abundantly illustrated by Frazer in *The Golden Bough*. Worship, however, has been so widely mixed with magic, especially in the lower culture, that it is not at all times easy to distinguish them. And, where magic relies to any extent, as it often does, on the assistance of supernatural beings, mimicry may be interpreted as an acted prayer, intended to make clear to the being whose aid is sought exactly what services are required. It is especially noteworthy that licentious rites are frequent (if a stronger word may not be used) at agricultural festivals. Nor is it overstating the facts to say that such rites are most fully developed and practised by a settled agricultural community. At agricultural festivals the gladness for the opening spring or the gathered harvest finds overflowing expression, the hopes, the aspirations for future increase of men, cattle, and fruits of the earth are uttered in a crescendo of acts as well as words; dancing and alcohol powerfully contribute to an excitement of growing intensity; and worship becomes an orgy.

Indeed, a recent investigation of the aboriginal tribes of Mexico goes farther, and attributes literally and physically the continuance of the Tarahumares to their agricultural festivals.

The national drink of the tribe is *tesvino*, an intoxicating liquor made from Indian corn. It is 'an integral part of the Tarahumare religion. It is used at all its celebrations, dances, and ceremonies.' At the festivals food and drink are offered to the gods, speeches are made, and dances performed. 'While the dancing and singing, sacrificing and speechmaking are going on, the people behave with decorous solemnity and formality. The ceremonies are never interrupted by unseemly conduct; everybody deports himself with grave sobriety, and refrains from loud talking and laughing, and from making any disrespectful noise. But after the gods have been given their share, the people go in, no less energetically, for enjoying themselves.' It is, in fact, the avowed aim and intention of everybody to get drunk; and the drinking ends in a sexual debauch. 'Under the influence of the liquor, men and women rapidly lose that bashfulness and modesty which in ordinary life are such characteristic traits of their deportment. . . . Aside from social and religious considerations, the drinking of tesvino is a vital factor in the national life of the tribe. Incredible as it may sound, yet, after prolonged and careful research into this interesting psychological problem, I do not hesitate to state that in the ordinary course of his existence the uncivilised Tarahumare is too bashful and modest to enforce his matrimonial rights and privileges; and that by means of tesvino chiefly the race is kept alive and increasing. It is especially at the feasts connected with the agricultural work that sexual promiscuity takes place' (C. Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico*, 2 vols., London, 1903, i. 253, 350 ff.).

But sexual indulgence in a ritual form occurs on other occasions.

Thus at the time of the blossoming of the rice, and for the purpose of increasing the yield, in some districts of Java, the owner of the rice-field and his wife run round it naked, and then and there unite in conjugal embraces (Wilken, iii. 41). Among the Pipiles of Central America, after four days' abstinence, the husband and wife on the night before planting indulged their passions to the fullest extent. This was 'enjoined . . . by the priests as a religious duty, in default of which it was not lawful to sow the seed.' 'Certain persons are even said to have been appointed to perform the sexual act at the very moment when the first seeds were deposited in the ground' (*GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, ii. 98). On the other hand, on the islands of Ambon and Uliase, in order to promote the fertility of the cloves, if a poor crop be threatened, the man goes to the plantation by night, alone and naked, and there simulates coition with one of the trees, crying out 'More cloves!' (Wilken, iii. 45).

These performances are unaided by festival stimulus. They are an obvious application of mimetic magic to agricultural purposes, or are intended, as Wilken suggests, to excite the sexual passions attributed to the growing crops regarded as living things, and so to promote their fecundity (iii. 175). In Java, at the ingathering of the rice, bundles of ears are tied up to represent a bridal pair; and the harvest is carried out with the ceremonies of a marriage (*ib.* 41; cf. 175).

The Egyptian procession of women in honour of Osiris, to which reference has already been made, seems to have been at least tinged with worship. As described by Herodotus, it was led by a flute-player; and the women followed, singing the praises of the god. They carried priapian figures, worked by means of strings. We may suspect from this description that in origin it was a magical rite, which had grown up independent of strictly cultual associations. The influence of such associations may have purified it of its grosser features; for the historian gives us no hint of sexual licence on the occasion. In India, where Śiva is worshipped under the form of the *lingam*, the idol has a purely conventional shape, and is not of itself suggestive of sexual ideas. Śiva seems to have been a non-Aryan deity, adopted subsequently to Vedic times into the Hindu pantheon. There he has obtained a highly exalted position. His worship has spread more or less throughout India. The Śaivas do not connect his symbol with eroticism; indeed, an erotic tendency is markedly absent from his ascetic cult (art. HINDUISM, vol. vi. p. 701; cf. Sellon, *Mem. Anthrop. Soc.* i. 327), though it is said that certain sectaries among the worshippers of Viṣṇu, by whom the female emblem is honoured as the manifestation of the power or energy of the god in female form, and the Vamacharis, who worship the female counterpart of Śiva, at times indulge in an orgiastic *puja*, comparable to the worst things recorded or imagined of Eskimo feasts or the nocturnal revels of mediæval witches (Dubois, p. 286; *Census of India, 1911*, Report, xvi. 76). These rites may be survivals of an aboriginal practice; they may, on the other hand, be an abuse of comparatively modern date. In this connexion it is not unimportant to mention the fact to which Crooke calls attention, namely, that, if phallic practices—and indeed phallic worship in general—be a non-Aryan cult, it was by no means universal among the aboriginal races of India.

Whatever be the case of the Vaiṣṇavite and Vamachari practices, phallic rites, as we have seen, were an ancient institution in Rome; but the worst excesses seem to have arisen after the importation of foreign deities, and perhaps as part of the depravation of manners among certain classes of the population at a time of increasing luxury

and leisure. The Roman god Fascinus was served by the Vestal Virgins as priestesses (*HN* xxviii. 7), whose rule of chastity was proverbially strict. The rites of the Bona Dea probably had relation to the promotion of fecundity of the earth and of women, as part of the general prosperity. They were celebrated by women alone; and, though we gather that they were more or less orgiastic, it was only after the admission of men in the early days of the empire that disorders resulted (L. Preller, *Röm. Mythologie*[3], 2 vols., Berlin, 1881–83, i. 403). We must, however, be on our guard against supposing that all the Roman rites in honour of fertility were originally what we call innocent. We have little or no direct evidence on the subject. But we cannot be far wrong in thinking that, not only in Rome but throughout Italy, the festivals of Liber and the Saturnalia (held at the completion of the sowing) conformed to similar festivals elsewhere in including sexual relations, which were, in origin at all events, magical in their object. Attention has been already called to the probably similar character of the May-day and other celebrations of mediæval Europe.

Reference has also been made to megalithic monuments. Evidence of their use as phallic representations is particularly abundant in France and the neighbouring countries. On many of these stones, as well as on certain natural rocks, women desirous of children or of being married rub themselves. Sometimes the husbands take part in the ceremony. Nor is it confined to stones and rocks: trees of suggestive appearance or statues of saints and other objects are equally resorted to for this and similar practices, and are doubtless equally effective. Menhirs, indeed, are frequently the centre of rites, such as dancing, singing, and kissing, which can be nothing else but survivals of religious observances. Some of them have been surmounted by a cross, and thus (possibly, too, with other rites) consecrated to Christianity. The legends that have gathered round consecrated and unconsecrated alike bear witness to their pagan origin, and to the enduring devotion of the peasantry, which has here and there conquered the aversion of their spiritual guides and compelled a compromise with the old heathenism. The population was converted only by slow degrees to a higher religion. The ancient sanctity of these objects, the potency once ascribed to them, would linger on, though with decreasing influence. Their shape would alone remain to fix the speculations of generations that had forgotten the religious beliefs and the plenitude of the rites of their forefathers. Round that shape the vague remains of those primitive beliefs would crystallize and be expressed in tale and superstition, sometimes thinly overlaid by Christianity, but more often sturdily independent of it. Elsewhere in Europe and the surrounding islands, and in many other parts of the world, analogous rites for the cure of sterility are, or have been, performed. They frequently exhibit a mixture of magic and religion profoundly interesting to the student of anthropology (Hartland, *Primitive Paternity*, i. 124 ff., and the authorities there referred to). The illustration of the subject belongs to the consideration of sympathetic magic rather than to the present inquiry. It is enough to observe in this place that it is but one application of a wide-spread notion that contact with something to which sacredness or power is for any reason attributed will result in conferring an appropriate benefit. Where in the progress of civilization the practice of endeavouring to secure fertility in this manner has been abandoned, survivals in jest or proverb are often found. Thus at Cerne Abbas, if an unmarried girl becomes pregnant, the current expression is, 'She has been sitting on the giant.' In the same way, in Provence, a girl was said to have offered her virgin robe to St. Foutin (anon., *Essay*, in Payne Knight, p. 134).

Another magical proceeding is the employment of phallic figures as amulets. It was well known in classical antiquity, and many such amulets for personal wear, especially from Italy, are still extant. The priapic form of boundary-stones is probably due to a belief in its prophylactic value. This form, or perhaps the god whom it represented and embodied, was held to have power to avert evils of various kinds, as well as to ensure fertility. Negatively considered, indeed, to ensure fertility is to avert evil. An emblem of fertilizing power, the phallus was the foe of sterility, of death, and of all the ills that flesh is heir to. It protected fields and vineyards alike against birds and human thieves and the subtler influences that withheld the fruit or spoiled the crops. It was sculptured on the walls of buildings, as at Alatri, near Rome, where it is still to be seen, but where, by a revulsion of custom, it has long been a semi-religious practice for the inhabitants to go out *en masse* to mutilate the figures on Easter Monday (A. J. C. Hare and St. C. Baddeley, *Days near Rome*[4], London, 1906, p. 140). Yet the same inhabitants doubtless commonly carry it as a talisman on their own persons. The emblem has also been found scratched on Roman buildings in Britain. The continued belief in its apotropæic power seems to account for its appearance on the doorways of the cathedral at Toulouse and other churches in France (anon., *Essay*, in Payne Knight, p. 124) and a corresponding belief for the Sheila-na-gig in these islands. The same reason possibly accounts for the 'pillars pers axnelessness' which Clement of Alexandria (*Protrept.* iv.) twits the heathen with setting upon their houses and guarding with scrupulous care. The passage as it stands appears to extend to other images and mythological pictures; but we must perhaps make allowance for the author's puritanical bias and controversial purpose and for his rhetoric. So the phalli reported to have been brought away by those who were initiated into the mysteries of Aphrodite at Cyprus were probably amulets securing the protection of the deity (*ib.* ii.; Arnobius, *adv. Gentes*, v. 19). Small medals in lead bearing phallic representations have been found in the Seine; they seem to be identifiable as amulets (anon., *Essay*, in Payne Knight, p. 137).

The furniture of ancient tombs frequently includes phalli—perhaps to ward off evil from the dead (a striking example from Egypt is mentioned in Dulaure, p. 43). Large stones of phallic shape have repeatedly been found in graves of the Viking age, in Norway, both on the numerous fiords and inland. Some of them are preserved in the museum at Christiania. Their exact purpose is unknown; but it has been conjectured that they were in fact phalli, and were intended to serve a similar purpose to that of the smaller objects in the Mediterranean area (the writer is indebted for this information to the late Dr. Henry Colley March, who had examined the stones and discussed their intention with the curator of the museum). On the other hand, it may be that they are to be classed with the 'pillars of white stone' frequently set up on barrows in Scandinavia, which were probably connected with ancestor-worship, and may have been, as their shape suggests, phalli (Goblet d'Alviella, *The Migration of Symbols*, Eng. tr., London, 1894, p. 107).

The phallus broke through witchcrafts. Against the evil eye it was potent. Therefore victorious generals had the image of Fascinus before their cars in their triumphal processions in Rome. From

the use of the symbol at Rome the god Fascinus probably acquired that name, and the word *fascinum* ('enchantment,' 'witchcraft') became an ordinary word for the phallus. Even to-day, in Italy and other Mediterranean countries, the figure of a phallus is among the commonest amulets worn by men, women, and children, though often disguised as a closed fist, with the thumb protruding between the first and second fingers. In this form it is called the *fico*, or 'fig'; and the action of forming the *fico* is a customary prophylactic improvised against a suddenly suspected witchcraft, such as an assault of the evil eye (*q.v.*). In Minahassa (Celebes) the same gesture is made. It is not only a defence from, but also a defiance of, the evil eye. By an extension of the idea it becomes a defiance of a human opponent in a quarrel; on the island of Ambon, when men are quarrelling, one of them will uncover his sexual organ as a challenge to the other (Wilken, iii. 318) —probably, with its innuendo of magic, all the more deadly. In India a tiny plate of gold, called the *tali*, shaped like the leaf of the Indian fig-tree, and representing the phallus, is tied about a woman's neck at her marriage. When, in the 18th cent., Roman Catholic missionaries endeavoured to substitute the cross, they met with such resistance among their converts that they were forced to a compromise: the *tali* was still permitted to be worn, but a cross was engraved upon it (Dulaure, p. 81, citing Sonnerat). On the island of Nias the centre of the panels composing the walls of a house is filled with a sort of rosette; but very often the rosette is replaced by a phallus, more or less disguised but still recognizable. When an epidemic is on hand, [illegible] out in a *kampong* (whence our word 'compound'—or enclosed family settlement, grotesque and hideous figures are set up at the entrances to neighbouring *kampongs* to frighten away the evil spirit causing the sickness. Often these figures are adorned with extraordinarily large organs of sex. In the northern district of the island the sexual organs forming part of the image of the *adu* (which, as we have seen, is ithyphallic) are avowedly emphasized to frighten away the hostile spirits, rather than as a symbol of fecundity or an amulet against the evil eye (de Zwaan, pp. 66, 64).

These purposes, however, are not incompatible with one another.

Just as the phallus came in the ancient world to have a much extended significance, in Japan, from representing the generative or procreative power, 'it has become the symbol of the more abstract conception of lusty animal life, the foe to death and disease. Hence its use as a magical prophylactic appliance. In Shinto this latter principle is much the more prominent. It is embodied in the name Sahe no kami, which means "preventive deities." The application of this epithet is clear from the circumstance that in a *norito* [liturgical prayer] they are invoked for protection against the "unfriendly and savage beings of the Root Country," that is to say Yomi or Hades. These by no means imaginary personages . . . represent, or rather are identical with, diseases and other evils associated with death and the grave. Epidemic and contagious diseases are specially intended. Hence the Sahe no kami are also called Yakushin, or "Pestilence Deities," meaning the Gods who ward off pestilence, a phrase wrongly taken in later times to signify the Gods who produce pestilence' (Aston, p. 187).

We have seen that the peach is in Japan the representative of the *kteis*. In conformity with this symbolism peach-wood staves were used in the demon-expelling ceremony on the last day of the year. At the festival in honour of the Sahe no kami, or phallic deities, held at the first full moon of the year, boys used to go about striking the younger women with potsticks employed in the making of gruel on the occasion. This was held to ensure fertility. The sticks were of willow, whittled near the top into a mass of adherent shavings; and it is suggested with probability that they had a phallic significance (Aston, p. 189 f.). The Ainu, the Arunta of Central Australia, and other peoples, it is true, use similar wands in their sacred ceremonies apparently without any phallic meaning. The practice at the Japanese festival, however, coincides with that of the Luperci, who pursued and struck women with thongs of goat-skin for a fertilizing purpose. It resembles also that of striking women and girls with willow- or birch-twigs at various modern European festivals. About Roding in the Upper Palatinate the bride is thus struck as she walks up from the church-door to her seat at the marriage service (Hartland, *Prim. Paternity*, i. 103, citing authorities). It is reasonably clear that in all these cases the intention is to promote fertility. This intention is quite certain if we compare with these rites one reported from the Konkan, Bombay Presidency, India.

We are told that the Konkan villagers on the day of an eclipse 'strike barren trees with a pestle, in order that they may bear fruit and flowers. A barren woman is also beaten with the same motive.' Presumably it is meant that the woman is beaten with the same instrument as the trees. The pestle is obviously regarded as a phallus (Jackson-Enthoven, *FL Notes*, ii. 9, recording a report by the schoolmaster, at Kalse, Ratnāgiri).

Phalli were used with ritual significance by the heathen Norsemen. An ancient poem in dialogue still exists in which is delineated a ceremony apparently performed in the family of a *karl*, or peasant-farmer.

The goodman himself, his wife, son, and daughter, and the thrall and bondmaid take the phallus in turn, each repeating an appropriate stave or spell, and handing it on to the next. Three guests, however, are present; and one of them, unknown to the goodman, is the king, St. Olaf. When it comes to his turn, he seizes the object and casts it to the dog, to the no small consternation of the goodwife. With the family's recognition of him the poem breaks off abruptly (G. Vigfusson and F. Y. Powell, *Corpus Poet. Boreale*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1883, ii. 380).

Such objects seem to be included in those denounced in the Scandinavian Church law under the name of *blœti*, 'hallowed thing' or 'talisman' (*ib.* i. 408). Their precise use is, however, uncertain.

The origin of the wide-spread custom of circumcision and of the related mutilations of the sexual organs, both male and female, has often been discussed (see art. CIRCUMCISION), and needs no more than a passing notice here. These rites are unquestionable evidence of the preoccupation of the savage mind with sexual matters. Whatever other motives may have contributed to their institution, there can be no doubt that they are above all a preparation for adult life—that is to say, for the sexual life—and are intended to facilitate the procreation of children. This was, of course, in normal cases quite needless; but the practice had regard not merely to individual convenience and comfort, but also to the wider interests of society. As a social act, it is found connected with religion in very rudimentary grades of civilization. In the lower culture generally it is performed on a number of patients at the same time, at or near adolescence, and avowedly as an initiation into adult life. Instruction in their future duties, and in fact the whole moral code of the tribe, but especially in relation to sexual matters, and in the religious traditions and sanctions which form the tribal belief, is commonly an important part of the proceedings. The religious element, to be sure, in this definite form is not invariably found; but, where the practice survives into a more advanced stage, a distinctly religious motive is usually imputed.

Among the Ewhe and Yoruba of the Slave Coast it seems to be an act of sacrifice to Elegba (Ellis, *Ewe*, p. 43, *Yoruba*, p. 66). A similar rite was enacted by the Totonacs of E. Mexico on presentation of the infant boy in the temple on the twenty-eighth or twenty-ninth day after birth; and Acosta states generally of Mexico (perhaps meaning the city and dominant tribe of the country) that the mother brought the child to the priest in the temple, and that he made a small cut in the ear and in the prepuce (H. H. Ploss, *Das Kind*[2], Leipzig, 1884, i.

356 f.). But the accounts do not clearly show the extent of the operation. Among the Hebrews it certainly was a religious ceremony; moreover, the importance attached to the male organ was such that oaths were taken upon it, and that admittance to the national religious privileges was debarred to those who were not circumcised, and to those whose organs, on the other hand, were not perfect in every other respect. Among the Muhammadans (as probably among the ancient Arabs) circumcision is likewise a religious rite. In Arabia at the present day it is performed at a festival, formerly, there can be little doubt, of a licentious character, and probably a survival of the spring festival in which the ancient Semitic mother-goddess was honoured (G. A. Barton, *A Sketch of Semitic Origins*, New York, 1902, pp. 99, 110). Circumcision takes place among Muhammadans at an early age, and it is not now, whatever it may have been in 'the times of ignorance,' in strictness a puberty rite. But it may be noted that puberty rites are very commonly the occasion of licentious outbursts and miscellaneous sexual commerce.

3. General considerations.—The various practices, then, commonly and collectively known as phallic worship are a congeries of rites partly cultual and partly magical. While many of them are easily distinguishable into these two classes, many, on the other hand, are on the border-line between cult and magic. Religion and magic alike originate in the emotional nature of mankind, rather than in the reasoning faculties; and only in the highest civilizations, if completely even there, are they separated.

In savage and barbaric stages of culture sexual matters are discussed with more openness than with us. They are taken more as a matter of course. The literature of every country discloses how long this habit may persist into the higher civilization. Greater or less laxity of sexual morality, despite individual jealousies, is likely to be an accompaniment of this freedom of speech. It is notorious, in fact, among a large number of peoples. Races, to be sure, differ in this respect. Some are comparatively cold; among others erotic passion is a prominent characteristic, impelling them to continual gratification and change of object. That it should frequently be encouraged and consecrated by religion is only what we might anticipate. Thus it comes about that religious festivals—prepared for by days or weeks of anxious observances, fasting, and asceticism, during which the emotions are gradually excited and wrought to a high tension—culminate in a recoil of wild indulgence of the pent-up passions. The community comes together in general assembly on such occasions. The social instincts are gratified, and the imagination and the feelings are stimulated, by the dances and other ceremonies performed and witnessed in common. All the physical needs, all the desires previously repressed, are satisfied; and, since sexual impulses are as crude and almost as powerful in primitive humanity as the craving for food, their unrestrained indulgence is parallel with the unlimited eating and drinking on these occasions. This consecration of outbursts of debauchery by religion, when once it has taken place, preserves them for long periods as a physical and social pleasure and, more, as a religious duty, amid the changes of culture and growing refinement of manners.

While a dispassionate view of religion refuses to identify it with sexual and amatory passion (see art. FEMALE PRINCIPLE), these are, notwithstanding, intimately related. Emotion, once excited in any direction, is often either diverted into another or carries with it in its vehemence objects not at first contemplated—nay, even fills and overflows all the channels of life. The very strength of sexual passion, upon which the continuance of the race depends, renders it peculiarly liable to attract and unite with religious emotion. That it has done this in all historical ages is shown not merely by phallic practices and the use of phallic emblems such as we have considered, but equally by the sensual or the ascetic excesses into which religious fanaticism almost everywhere falls. The crazy votaries of the Mother of the Gods, who in her honour deprived themselves of their manhood, were the subjects of sexual obsession no less than the worshippers of Anaitis or Elegba. Vowed celibacy, whether solitary or in communities, of all religions is preoccupied with the sexual idea. It leads to nauseous developments, like those of St. Teresa or St. Catharine of Siena; or human nature gives way under the strain to unregulated physical satisfaction of the very passions which it has endeavoured to suppress. Through intense erotic passion in its higher manifestations, as through intense religious passion, there runs a rich vein of mysticism. The religious devotee and the lover are alike impelled to union with the object of devotion—union which is envisaged as more than corporeal, loftier, more intimate, merging the being in that which is so eagerly adored. All others are renounced, contemned. In religion, where the object is by the nature of the case incapable of possession, of appropriation, the worshipper has no means of complete satisfaction of his passion. Especially where the object is conceived as of the opposite sex, his passion in extreme cases becomes monomania. Even where it falls short of that, it often drives him to extravagances and fantastic surrogates for the satisfaction which is denied him. The lives of ancient hermits, the annals of the cloister, as well as the history of many a Christian sect, bear abundant witness to the evil; and Christianity has had no monopoly of it.

Save in a few instances, however, such as the worship of Cybele, the eroto-religious fervour in paganism exhausts itself in occasional orgies. In the intervals the worshippers are sane; the intoxication past, they resume their normal selves. Usually intermittent outbreaks are sufficient to satisfy the human craving for excitement. When sexual passion is crude and easily expended on other objects, and when the religious ideal is child-like and undeveloped, so that the divinity is imagined as quite apart from humanity and without any intimate sympathies with the individual worshipper, but rather as the ruler of a tribe or community, sexual passion does not morbidly and continuously project itself into the religious sphere. The periodical religious orgies afford ample scope for the gratification of the sexual instinct beyond the normal indulgence. In that stage sexual and religious mysticism asks no more than the belief that the orgies are an imitation, a dramatic representation, of the divine procedure, or an assistance to it—in either case a religious duty—and a social enjoyment crowned with the privilege of sharing it in some sense with the god.

For illustrations of the stage in question we may refer to the festivals in honour of Grandfather Sun and Grandmother Earth in various E. Indian islands and to the Sun-dance of the tribes of the N. American Plains. The worship of the old Semitic mother-goddess and of the cognate divinities of S.W. Asia seems to have been not dissimilar. To this type we may probably also refer the ancient Thracian worship of Dionysus. When by a missionary movement he entered Greece, his cult became more individual; it was raised to a higher plane and refined; Orphic influences and speculations, originating perhaps in Crete, gave it a new tone and content.

The divinity associated with these periodical orgies, as soon as he has assumed definite characteristics, is found to be one among whose attributes fertility is prominent. To him the mild and genial sunshine, the rains and revival of nature, all the conditions of the fruitfulness of earth, the increase of food, and the multiplication of the people are

ascribed. His worship is directed to obtain these blessings, without which life is impossible. The rites are not confined to prayer and sacrifice, as to a strictly personal being. What we call magic mingles with these and rivals them in potency. It is, in fact, an essential part of the performance. The social gatherings and the rites are no doubt far older than the divinity, far older than any practical aim beyond that of pleasure and gratification. They were in their rude beginnings an expression of the emotions of the community before the divine personality was dimly imagined. His worship and symbols have grown out of them. The process was probably unconscious. Many generations may have elapsed before a motive less vague than social enjoyment was evolved for the periodical reunions. But, when man's curiosity about himself and his surroundings led him to discover the connexion of sexual passion with the mystery of birth, then the dance, the rhythmical cries, and the sexual indulgence practised in the assemblies of the group would be fitted with a deeper meaning. They would be held to arouse the emotions and kindle the appetites of the animals and the crops, more or less personalized and interpreted in human terms, or to act as spells directly on them; or they would become appeals to, and perchance a species of co-operation with, the higher powers conceived as ruling the course of nature. Social amusement would thus be transfigured into obligation, and the welfare of the community would be held to be dependent on its punctual observance.

A cult like this is apt to become specially developed in a population dependent for the supply of food and other necessaries and comforts of life on some form of agriculture, though not, as we have seen, exclusively confined to these. Its rites relate to the immediate needs of the community. Their symbols are drawn from those needs. The festivals are held at periods when the chief labours of the year are about to be undertaken or are just completed—before sowing, in the interval between sowing and harvest, and after the crops have been gathered in. These are the times when the collective emotions are liveliest and the pause in the collective labours gives opportunity for feeling the awakening influences of the spring, the anxiety for the success of the operations of the year, or the satisfaction, gladness, and sense of security of the results. It is no wonder that they overflow in words and actions repressed (it may be sternly) at other times, and regarded with disgust by a civilization that has risen above such coarse and brutal exhibitions. For what an experienced observer says, describing the harvest festival in Borneo, is of wide application:

'The whole festival is a celebration or cult of the principle of fertility and vitality—that of the women no less than that of the *padi*' (C. Hose and W. McDougall, *Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, 2 vols., London, 1912, i. 112).

Some of these festivals took the form of a sacred marriage—a marriage, *i.e.*, of the god and goddess of fertility, such as the marriage of the sun-god and earth-goddess celebrated by the Orāons and in the E. Indian Archipelago.

'At Calah,' once the capital of Assyria, 'the marriage of the god Nabu appears to have been annually celebrated on the third of the month Iyyar or Airu, which corresponded to May' (*GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, ii. 130). The marriage of Zeus and Hera was performed annually in various parts of Greece. In India, in the Salem district of the Madras Presidency, the Malayālis, a Tamil tribe, celebrate the marriage of their tribal god, Sarvarāyam, with the goddess of the Cauvery river. This union is supposed to fertilize the cultivated lands of the tribe (*FL* xxii. [1911] 229). Among the Bambara of the Niger basin in W. Africa the male and female idols are believed to couple at the time of the annual sacrifices offered before the rainy season (J. Henry, *L'Âme d'un peuple africain: Les Bambara*, Münster, 1910, p. 151). Frazer suggests that the King and Queen of the May at European spring festivals are relics of a similar ceremony. In this connexion it is interesting to note that at the Holi festival, a peasant celebration of a similar character, in Gujārāt, a mock-marriage is performed between 'two poor stupid persons' dressed as bride and bridegroom (Jackson-Enthoven, *FL Notes*, 'Gujarat,' Mazgaon, Bombay, 1914, p. 158). Whether Frazer's conjecture be correct or not—and it is not unfeasible—we frequently find in such ceremonies the part of the goddess played by a mortal woman. In Athens Dionysus was married every year to the queen, the wife of the king archon. Probably the annual spring festival in Scandinavia, when the image of Frey was drawn round the country in a waggon, accompanied by his young priestess, who was called the god's wife, was a similar rite (Grimm, *Teut. Myth.* i. 213; *GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, ii. 143). The Blackfeet of N. America are said to have married the sun every year to the moon, represented by a maiden or a woman who had had only one husband. The Algonquins married their nets to two young girls of six or seven years of age (thus securing that they were virgins); and the Hurons adopted the custom from them (*GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, ii. 146 f.). These are evidently rites to secure fertility and plenty. As might be expected, the consummation of the divine union often comes to be enacted. It was so in the case of Dionysus in Athens; 'but whether the part of the god was played by a man or an image we do not know' (*ib.* p. 136). Among the Orāons the priest and his wife represent the divine personages. Jagannāth's bride is put into the god's bed, and a Brāhman is said to join her there, to play the god's part.

A further stage is reached when the god is provided with a permanent wife or wives.

The ancient Egyptian queen was held to be wedded to the god Ammon, who approached her in the likeness of her earthly consort, the Pharaoh, as Uther Pendragon approached Igrayne and the hero Astrabakus the wife of Ariston, king of Sparta. Similarly, in Babylon a woman was kept in the lofty temple of Bel as his wife. 'The Indians of a village in Peru have been known to marry a beautiful girl, about fourteen years of age, to a stone shaped like a human being, which they regarded as a god (*huaca*). All the villagers took part in the marriage ceremony, which lasted three days, and was attended with much revelry. The girl thereafter remained a virgin and sacrificed to the idol for the people. They shewed her the uttermost reverence and deemed her divine' (*ib.* p. 146).

In such cases the provision of a wife was probably looked upon as an ordinary duty to the god, who was thought of in anthropomorphic terms. Such wife frequently became his priestess. And the relation between the god and his wife may not always have been the direct cause of fertility or other blessings to the worshippers, though doubtless the neglect to provide a wife would have aroused the divine resentment.

In India, where prostitutes are attached to a temple, they are first married to the god. The Kaikōlans, a caste of Tamil weavers, deem it right that at least one girl in every family should be dedicated to the temple service. At Coimbatore the marriage ceremony is performed before the idol, presumably Śiva. A Brāhman ties the *tali* upon her; and at night the god is represented by a sword, which is laid by her side before any one else is allowed to approach her. So realistically is the relation between the god and the girl conceived that at her death the idol, as her husband, has to observe the customary death-pollution; consequently no *puja* is performed in the temple until her body has been disposed of (E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of S. India*, Madras, 1909, iii. 37 ff.). A ceremony widely practised in India is that of marrying Viṣṇu to a *tulsi*-plant, or of marrying an *asvattha*-plant to a *margosa*-plant, and so forth. This is performed by husbands and wives to obtain offspring (*Census of India, 1911*, Report, vii. 63, xvi. 176, xxi. 89).

Generally, when from various causes a pantheon develops, the individual divinities become more or less specialized, and the patronage of sexual love and human fecundity is often severed from that of the multiplication of flocks and herds and the seeds of the field. This has been the case with the Negro divinity Legba. In Greece the imported goddess Aphrodite tended in the same way to become the goddess of beauty and human love, obscuring the wider functions that she originally exercised and in many places continued to share with other divinities. In such cases the licentious rites are often emphasized and turned to uses involving more than a disregard—a conscious defiance—of all moral regulations. Societies deeply penetrated with this cancer are on the way to dissolution.

But a much more legitimate motive dictates recourse to these divinities. The desire for offspring, so vital to the species, is deeply imprinted in every normal individual. It is, indeed, limited by the necessity for finding room and subsistence. Where

this condition presses on the community, as among very low races and peoples hemmed in by geographical or political obstacles, it is counteracted by infanticide; but elsewhere it impels to reproduction. Women as well as men, and even more than men, wish for children. Nowhere is the wish more in evidence than among patrilineal peoples, where women are held in esteem according as they are, or are not, blessed with children, and it is a reproach to a married woman to be childless. So strong is the desire for offspring that a man often cares not who has begotten the children reckoned to him. He will marry a woman who has proved her capacity for childbearing, in order to obtain not only the children she may hereafter bear, but those she has already borne. He will subject his wife to other men's embraces with perfect indifference, so long as the children resulting become his, or even for the purpose of thus acquiring children. In such a community, it need hardly be said, the issue of adultery—*i.e.* the wife's connexion with a man unlicensed by the husband—is usually claimed by the latter, though he may dissolve the marriage or punish the wife even with death. Here, then, resort to divinities of fecundity to procure offspring is natural and, granted their ability to bestow it, reasonable. Wherever the desire for children is strong, such resort is witnessed in custom and told in story. Ancestor-worship lends itself to the practice. An ancestor who founded or continued the family is interested in its permanence. If he be possessed of power, which his worship presumes, he will, when properly approached, exercise that power to grant increase to his seed. It is, therefore, not without significance that his image should be, as in some cases we have seen it to be, represented in ithyphallic form.

The rites employed to attain the object are, as we have learned, very various. Vows, prayers, and offerings to the god are things of course. When he is in phallic form, he is embraced; and for this purpose many objects are deemed phalli that were not so intended. A human representative may play the part of the god. Mere contact with a sacred object is often sufficient. Phallic amulets are everywhere in request. They may be placed in or about the dwelling, or, more likely, are worn on the person, so as to secure continuous contact. Special kinds of food, or food prepared with special rites, may be prescribed, or the drinking of, or bathing in, various liquids (Hartland, *Prim. Paternity*, i. ch. ii. f.). These and other methods are mainly magical, and often have little or nothing directly to do with worship in the strict acceptation of the term. In either case recourse is had to the mysterious—a region in which worship, magic, and medicine are as yet hardly distinguished.

Examples have already been given of the sexual act in relation to agricultural rites. At festivals the object of sexual licence, in the promotion of general fertility, the revival of nature, and the germination of the fruits of the earth, is sometimes obscured by the social character of the occasion. This is not the case where conjugal relations are ordained for the express purpose of assisting the growth of crops. But the magical influence of the sexual act is deemed powerful over a much wider sphere. Many ceremonies must be performed only by virgins, or by persons who have abstained for a period from intercourse with the opposite sex, and who are consequently held to be in a state of ritual purity.

Contrary to this, the Akamba require the head of the village and his wife to cohabit on the second and fourth nights of their preliminary occupation of the new site, when the village is removed (C. W. Hobley, *Ethnology of A-Kamba and other E. African Tribes*, Cambridge, 1910, p. 58)—probably a rite intended to lead to all sorts of good luck. Among the same people the father and mother must cohabit two days after their child's circumcision; otherwise the father cannot go and drink beer at the feast, and the child's wound will not readily heal (*ib.* p. 69). In the month of January the Bechuana hold a general assembly of all adult males, on a day fixed by the chief, at the great kraal of the tribe. Certain ceremonies, apparently of a purificatory nature, are performed; and they are repeated by each man upon his own family at home. That night every man ritually sleeps with his chief wife. If he is away from home and unable to return, the year will probably be a year of calamity for him, and his chances of surviving it are slight. When he returns, he cannot cohabit with his wife until after the next year's ceremony. The danger rests not only upon him, but also upon her, if the ceremonial cohabitation be omitted. She may, however, call in the assistance of another man, in case of her husband's absence; and she is perfectly free from blame in so doing; but the husband is under a grave interdict until an elaborate ceremony has been performed over him by the medicine-man (*JAI* xxxv. [1905] 311). Nor is a sexual rite of this kind confined to the Bantu race. It is difficult to say whether the Todas of the Nilgiri Hills are, like the Bantu and their congeners the true Negroes, specially libidinous. It is certain that their sexual morality is very low, and that there is no word for adultery in their language; the evidence, indeed, points to a total absence of the concept of adultery, despite the fact that there are recognized husbands and wives. The Todas are composed of two non-exogamous divisions—the Tartharol and the Teivaliol. The *ti* is the most sacred institution known to them. It comprises a herd of buffaloes with a number of dairies and grazing districts tended by dairy-man priests. These dairies belong exclusively to one or other Tarthar clan, but the *palol*, or priest, must be a Teivali. He must be celibate. If he holds office continuously for eighteen years, he performs ceremonial intercourse completely naked on an appointed day with a Tarthar woman, chosen by himself and brought for the purpose into a neighbouring wood. Intercourse during the day-time is ordinarily accounted immoral, but it does not seem to disqualify him for his priestly duties. That the act has some ritual value seems clear, from the very fact that it is directly contrary to the moral and religious usages, but it is not known exactly what its value is (W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, London, 1906, pp. 529, 83, 103).

When a sexual act which infringes the accepted morality has no ritual value, it is often held to produce evil results on the weather or the harvest, blighting the crops and causing sterility of women and of cattle, and other misfortunes (Frazer, *Psyche's Task*[2], London, 1913, p. 44 ff.; *GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, ii. 107 ff.). So much importance is attached in the lower culture to the act of sexual union.

Whatever may be the exact import of the Toda rite, the apotropæic intention of the rites just previously cited is manifest. The same is to be said of a certain Australian rite.

When the Kurnai of Gippsland saw the *aurora Australis*, 'they thought it to be *Mungan's* fire, which might burn them up. The old men then told them to exchange wives for the day, and the *Bret* (the dried hand of one of their dead kinsfolk) was swung backwards and forwards with cries of "Send it away"' (A. W. Howitt, *Native Tribes of S.-E. Australia*, London, 1904, p. 277). These are obviously magical proceedings to avert the danger.

In the course of this article we have referred to several dances and other ceremonies in which the actors who were charged with the priapic performances were masked. Possibly our own Jack-in-the Green is a survival of such a figure. In these cases the personages represented appear to be spirits of fertility, and their actions to be intended to bring about by sympathetic magic the impregnation of nature, the reproduction of men and beasts and fruits of the earth.

The καλογέροι in the modern Thracian performance are disguised with goat-skins. In the Mandan dance the performers are buffaloes. Among the Karayas of Brazil, who live largely by fishing, a man is reported on such an occasion to have been masked as a dolphin with a gigantic phallus (*Anthropos*, vii. [1912] 208, citing P. Ehrenreich, *Beiträge zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens*, Berlin, 1891, p. 35).

In each case the supernatural being represented takes the shape of the creature whose multiplication is of the greatest importance to the community. In this way he embodies the reproductive power and process in general.

Such presentations are not confined to seasonal festivals and rites at the opening or close of agricultural or hunting labours. Perhaps the last connexion in which we should look for them is that of death rites. In various parts of the world,

however, the sexual act is associated with the customs observed on the occasion of a death. It is very commonly tabued for a certain period either to the relatives or to the entire neighbourhood. But sometimes ceremonial cohabitation is enjoined.

When a man dies among the Akamba, his father and mother, if living, must on the third day have conjugal relations, prior to their ritual purification and to the resumption of normal relations by the other men and women of the village (Hobley, p. 67). A missionary, describing a mourning ceremony which he had witnessed among the Baronga about Delagoa Bay, tells us that at a certain stage an elderly woman came forward singing licentious songs and mimicking the coitus amid the plaudits of the assembled women; and 'another old woman of at least seventy years of age followed her, and running with a mincing gait through the place, was uttering words of the same kind.' Junod's comment is interesting: the period of mourning, he says, is a marginal period, according to van Gennep's significant terminology, between two normal periods of social existence; 'and these phases of life are marked for the Bantu by this strange contrast—prohibition of sexual intercourse and a shameless overflowing of impure words and gesticulations.' The final rites purificatory of the death-pollution include ritual coition between the respective husbands and wives, after which ordinary life is renewed (H. A. Junod, *The Life of a S. African Tribe*, 2 vols., Neuchâtel, 1912–13, i. 160, 152–156). On the Aaru Islands it is customary to exhume the corpse after a certain period, sometimes as long as three years, and to clean and prepare the bones for their permanent deposit in a cave. Until this is done the widow wears mourning garb and may not leave the house. The decayed corpse is brought down to the beach. The inhabitants of the village are there assembled. All the mourning clothes of men and women, together with the corpse, are burned. The men carry a wooden phallus, the women a *kteis*. Singing all sorts of obscene songs, they leap round the flames like demoniacs, thrusting the phallus into the *kteis* and imitating the movements of copulation. The object of this is said to be to incite the widow to cohabitation, or to intimate to her in a forcible manner that she is now at liberty to marry again (Riedel, p. 268). Beyond this, however, it is probable that the ceremony is a formal resumption of the normal life of the village and a spell to stimulate reproduction. On the Upper Aiary, in Brazil, a German explorer witnessed a few years ago a mourning dance by masked figures representing spirits, who attacked and stormed the dwelling of the deceased to the no small terror of the women and children. Ultimately the wild scene ended in laughter; and there followed dances by masqueraders disguised as various animals. In one of these all the performers took part. They were provided with disproportionately large phalli, with which they mimicked the act of copulation—a proceeding regarded by both the actors and the spectators in a thoroughly serious fashion. The explorer concludes that it was intended to produce fertility in human beings, animals, and plants alike, in the whole settlement—'an idea,' he says, 'full of deep moral import and quite free from indecency in our sense' (T. Koch-Grünberg, *Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1909–10, i. 133 ff.).

Thus the sexual organs as the great instruments of reproduction are the enemies of sterility and death; and as such they are exhibited and employed, actually or by symbol—that is to say, magically — to counteract the depredations of mortality. For the same reason they are regarded as having prophylactic virtue against all sorts of evil influences. The destructive attacks of evil spirits and the more insidious blasting power of the evil eye are alike subdued by them. This general prophylactic virtue accounts for the common use of priapic figures and ithyphallic statues, whether of gods or of ancestors. Much more than the specific gift of offspring or of abundant harvests was expected of the personages thus represented, whether gods or ancestors. They were often tutelary divinities, warding off all kinds of evils. Here we have, there can be little doubt, an explanation of many rites in various parts of the world to be performed naked.

Pliny tells us that in his time it was believed that storms could be diverted and driven away by a woman simply uncovering herself (*HN* xxviii. 23). In order to secure his seed against the depredations of birds, in some of the Saxon settlements in Transylvania the farmer is recommended to go to the field before sunrise and, stripping naked, walk round the crop, ending by repeating a Paternoster. Then, dressing again, he must kindle some sulphur-fumes, take an ear of corn in his mouth, and return straightway to the house without speaking to anybody. Elsewhere it is the farmer's wife who performs the ceremony, holding a candle in her hand. Against smut or damage by hail she also walks naked round the field by night at the first full moon after sowing (H. von Wlislocki, *Volksglaube der Siebenb. Sachsen*, Berlin, 1893, pp. 127, 129). Among the Tsûl tribe in Morocco, when rain is wanted, women go to a retired place where they cannot be seen by men, and play, completely naked, a certain game of ball with wooden ladles. The game itself has a magical effect here and elsewhere; but its virtue is emphasized by the nakedness of the players (E. Westermarck, *Ceremonies and Beliefs in Morocco*, Helsingfors, 1913, p. 121). In the Trichinopoly district of S. India, 'when the tanks and rivers threaten to breach their banks, men stand naked on the bund and beat their drums; and if too much rain falls naked men point firebrands at the sky. Their nudity is supposed to shock the powers that bring the rain, and arrest their farther progress' (*ib.* p. 130 n., quoting Thurston, *Omens and Superstitions of Southern India*, London, 1912, p. 309). The Oraons and Mundas of the Chotâ Nagpur plateau perform the yearly ceremony of driving away from the village the evil spirits that cause cattle disease. It takes place at night. All the young unmarried men (who, because unmarried, are presumed to be virgin and therefore possessed of 'greater soul-power than married men') are the performers. They are naked, and with sticks in their hands, bellowing like cows, and breaking to pieces the earthen pots which they find in front of the houses, they chase the demon, represented for the nonce by the village cattle-herds, across the boundary to the next village (*JRAI* xliv. [1914] 344). In Russia the peasant girls, clad only in their shifts, with loose hair and barefooted, ward off the cholera from their village by dragging a plough round it at midnight (an example is recorded in *Daily Chronicle*, 3rd July 1905). Here the one remaining garment left to the girls appears to be a modern concession to decency. In the same way it seems probable that originally the Luperci in Rome ran round the base of the Palatine stark naked, to perform the *lustratio* of the city. Throughout the E. Indies a woman who dies in childbirth is the object of great dread. She becomes a powerful and malicious spirit. She misleads wayfarers, she attacks pregnant women and those in childbed, she seduces and emasculates men. Special precautions are taken against her. In the Philippines a Tagala husband whose wife is in travail mounts on the roof of his hut with his sword, shield, and spear, completely naked or with only a loin-cloth, while sundry friends surround the hut below similarly accoutred. They rage, they lunge, they hew the air, holding that by this fury and their nakedness they will frighten the *patianak*, as this malignant ghost is there called, and drive her away. Wayfarers who have lost the right path, believing that their misfortune is due to the *patianak*, 'strip themselves and uncover their genital organs, whereby the *patianak* is terrified and no longer in a condition to lead them astray' (Wilken, iii. 319). It has been suggested that the *patianak* has a more than ordinary fear of the phallus, because that was the cause of her pregnancy and therefore in the long run of her death. The inference does not seem necessary. The relation to the catastrophe, which the *patianak*, like all ghosts of persons dying violent deaths, so bitterly resents, may have laid stress in popular belief on the terrifying power of the phallus, though there is no direct evidence of this. It is enough that she is a hostile spirit, a spirit of sterility and destruction; against such the phallus is a defence and a countervailing power.

There are, of course, many rites performed in a state of nudity, for which other reasons may be assigned. It is not intended here to suggest that all cases of ritual nudity are to be accounted for by the apotropæic power of the sexual organs, which is manifested in the foregoing illustrations.

To define the geographical limits of phallic symbols and ceremonies is not possible in the present state of our knowledge. Their range is wide. They owe their inception to emotions which are the necessary outcome of the animal part of our nature. The probability is, therefore, that they are well-nigh universal in the lower planes of culture, even where they have not hitherto been recorded. And they are long preserved in spite of the growing refinement of the general advance of civilization. In some cases this is due to the fact that they have become interwoven with a definite religion. In other cases they are an atavistic reversion generated by intense religious emotion. More often they persist in the shape of spells and amulets. Magic, like religion, deals with the fears, the hopes, and the desires of mankind. Religion, becoming more and more sublime, leaves the baser elements of which it has been purged to magic, which, on the other hand, becomes more and more degraded. The worship of the sexual organs, or of deities or nature-powers under their form, is, so far as our information goes, an uncommon phenomenon. Prominence of sexual attributes in an object of worship from whom fertility and plenty are expected by the worshipper is more frequent, whether that object be conceived as god or as ancestor. In such a case phallic rites may or may not be part of the cult, but perhaps are hardly ever unmixed with

magic. Magic, indeed, is the predominant element in phallic rites; in the vast majority of such rites all trace of worship strictly so called is wanting. When magic becomes an outlaw from society, as it does in the higher cultures, one of the chief means by which it maintains its existence is the ministry to sexual impulses. Love-spells and philtres are a large portion of its stock-in-trade; rites and amulets to obtain children are hardly less in request in many communities. These spells, rites, and amulets are generally phallic, and often obscene and repulsive. Their consideration belongs rather to magic and witchcraft than to phallic worship, and it has been possible to give only very few illustrations here.

Wide-spread, however, as are the practices with which this article is concerned, and intimately as they are related to some of the deepest emotions, it is worth while to remind ourselves that they form a portion only of the history of religion. The caution is the more necessary since the subject exercises such fascination upon some minds as to have given occasion to the taunt that no one who studies it remains sane. Concentration of attention is apt to cause any subject to assume an importance which it may not in itself deserve. The sexual element is indigenous in human nature. But it is only one element, and its direct influence on religion may be exaggerated. There are many departments of life, and a variety of human interests, desires, and aspirations, represented by cults in which the sexual element has normally little or no share; and they increase with the progress of civilization and the intellectual expansion of mankind. Religious conservatism may preserve the sexual element for a time in a cult inherited from savagery. In the higher religions it lingers chiefly in the negative form of asceticism, rising at times into delusion and monomania, or in other equally abnormal manifestations of fanaticism.

LITERATURE.—The literature of the subject is voluminous. Some of the most important works have been indicated throughout the article. In addition to them the following may be consulted: Clifford Howard, *Sex Worship*[4], Chicago, 1902; J. G. R. Forlong, *Rivers of Life*, 2 vols., with separate chart, London, 1883.

Among various German works there is an art. by F. Maurer, in *Globus*, xcii. [1907] 256, entitled 'Der Phallusdienst bei den Israeliten und Babyloniern.' It contains a good summary of what is known or alleged relating to phallic worship among the ancient Babylonians and Israelites.

E. S. HARTLAND.

PHARISEES.—Some difficult problems arise in connexion with the earlier history of Pharisaism which cannot be said yet to have been definitely solved. An attempt will be made in this article to give some indication of these and of the important discussions that have been devoted to their elucidation within recent years. See also art. SADDUCEES.

1. Origin and name.—As an active movement Pharisaism emerged from the Maccabæan conflict with surrounding heathenism, and became quiescent only after the annihilation of the Jewish national life in the reign of Hadrian; that is to say, its activity extended over a period of nearly three centuries, from the reign of John Hyrcanus (135–105 B.C.) to A.D. 135. The Pharisees already appear in the reign of Hyrcanus as a powerfully organized party (Josephus, *Ant.* XIII. x. 5–7), and no doubt were in existence even earlier (*ib.* v. 9). Their general aim was to continue and make effective the work which the earlier teachers of the Law had begun, viz. the application of the Tôrāh to the practical affairs of everyday life. But Pharisaism, though dominantly legalistic in character, was more than mere legalism. As Elbogen[1] has pointed out,

'The Pharisees are usually described as the party of narrow legalistic tendencies, and it is forgotten how strenuously they laboured against the Hellenizing movement for the maintenance of *monotheism*; it is forgotten that they built up *religious individualism* and purely *spiritual worship*; that it was through them more especially that *belief in a future life* was deepened; and that they carried on a powerful *mission* (propaganda). They are represented as merely the guardians of the Pentateuch, and the fact is overlooked that they no less esteemed the Prophets and Hagiographa, and were not less careful to make it their duty, in the weekly expositions of the Scriptures [in the Synagogues], to preach to the people the *truths and hopes of religion* out of these books.'

In the famous passage of Josephus referred to above the rupture between the Pharisees, already a powerful party, and the governing authority, represented by the ruler, is placed by Josephus in the reign of John Hyrcanus. According to the story, the breach grew out of an incident at a banquet given by the ruler, when a Pharisee was indiscreet enough to suggest that the ruler should divest himself of the high-priestly functions and content himself with the civil government. When pressed to give a reason, the Pharisee is said to have mentioned a rumour (which was in reality baseless) that the mother of Hyrcanus had been a captive.[1] The result was an open rupture, and Hyrcanus is alleged to have withdrawn from the Pharisaic party, of which he had been hitherto a zealous member. In the Talmud, however (*T. B. Qiddūshin*, 66*a*), the story is referred to Alexander Jannai (Jannæus), who reigned 104–78 B.C., and this is probably its correct setting. The reign of Hyrcanus, as Josephus himself says, was peaceful and happy, while that of Alexander Jannai was characterized by war and bloodshed, and also by violent conflicts with the Pharisees. As Israel Friedländer says,[2]

'The whole story points clearly to the unfortunate conditions as they existed in the time of Jannai and, when looked at in this light, the Talmudic account, though curtailed in some parts, receives its proper historical setting such as we would seek in vain in the version of Josephus.'

We may conclude, then, that the Pharisees first appear as an influential party under that name in the reign of John Hyrcanus; that the latter ruler favoured them throughout his long and prosperous reign, and was under their influence; and that the breach between the party and the ruler took place in the reign of 'King' Alexander Jannæus. We need not follow the later fortunes of the party in detail, their persecution under Jannæus and triumph under his widow, Queen Salome Alexandra (reigned 78–69 B.C.). For a long time they continued to exercise great political power, not always, perhaps, wisely. The separation of the high-priesthood from the kingship may be traced to their influence. In the so-called *Psalms of Solomon* the impression produced by the terrible events that followed the break up of the Hasmonæan dynasty and the intervention of the Romans under Pompey, who massacred thousands of the Jews in Jerusalem, is reflected in a Pharisaic writer. The psalmist evidently regards the bloody chastisement which the Jews had to endure at this time as proceeding from the hand of God. It was the punishment inflicted on the people for having acquiesced in the usurpation by the Hasmonæans of the royal dignity which had been reserved for the Messianic prince of the House of David. The Jewish scholar Moritz Friedländer, in his stimulating and suggestive work, *Die religiösen Bewegungen innerhalb des Judentums im Zeitalter Jesu* (Berlin, 1905), takes a very unfavourable view of the Pharisees of this period and later down to the time of the destruction of Jerusalem (A.D. 70), regarding them as

[1] *Die Religionsanschauungen der Pharisäer*, p. 2. The italics are Elbogen's.

[1] This would be a legal disqualification for the high-priesthood.

[2] 'The Rupture between Alexander Jannai and the Pharisees,' in *JQR*, new ser., iv. [1913–14] 444. The whole article is important.

a narrow legalistic party, who were corrupted by being mixed up with politics. This is hardly just to the party as a whole. Doubtless there was an extreme element, represented later by the Zealots, who took an active, and sometimes sinister, part in political movements. But there also existed a large section who were truer to the ideals of their spiritual ancestors the Ḥasîdîm, or 'pious,' who were primarily interested in the maintenance and furtherance of religion as they understood it, and, so long as those interests were not menaced by the political régime, were content to leave politics alone.

The explanation of the name 'Pharisees' is a difficult and unsolved problem. The Hebrew form of the name, *pĕrûshîm*, apparently means 'separatists,' and, if originally given, as seems probable, by opponents, may have been intended to brand the party as disloyal, those who separated themselves from loyal obedience to the king. Or it may have originally meant 'the expelled' or 'dismissed,' viz. from the Sanhedrin. It seems probable that a division did take place in the Sanhedrin by which it became finally separated into two groups or parties, the Sadducees (=the priestly group) and the Pharisees (=the lay members of that body representing the popular party). Later the Pharisees, accepting the name, seem to have given it a different meaning, viz. those who separated themselves from the wicked Sadducees.[1] Kohler[2] explains the name as meaning '"one who separates himself," or keeps away from persons or things impure, in order to attain the degree of holiness and righteousness required in those who would commune with God.' He cites in support of this explanation the term *pĕrîshuth*, which means 'abstinence' or pious self-restraint. But, on the face of it, this meaning has all the appearance of being secondary, and it is to be noted that the Rabbinical literature itself uses the term *pĕrûshîn* in the sense of 'seceders.'[3] Another and most ingenious explanation is that proposed by Leszynsky in his work on the Sadducees.[4] Leszynsky argues that the Pharisees were in no sense a 'separatist' party, as is commonly assumed, but arose from the ranks of the people as the champions of popular religious custom. So far from separating themselves from ordinary life and affairs, they flung themselves with fierce energy into these. Against them were arrayed the Sadducees, opposing to their oral tradition the written Tôrāh. The opposition, of course, affected only certain specific points, but on these the Pharisees did not hesitate to exalt their own tradition, even when this was in apparent conflict with the written word of the Law. Leszynsky explains the name 'Pharisee' as connoting originally 'expounder' or 'interpreter' rather than 'separatist.'[5] It is supposed that the party came to be called 'expounders' or 'interpreters' (*pĕrûshîm*) as the result of a long dispute. For a long time controversy raged within the Pharisaic party on the issue whether the oral tradition should be adjusted to, and find its justification in, the written Law. At first the section of the Pharisees opposed to this policy triumphed; but after the time of Simeon ben Shetaḥ (flourished before and after 78 B.C.) the policy of linking up the oral tradition with Scripture prevailed. Leszynsky finds support for this view in an obscure passage of the Mishnāh (*Ḥag.* ii. 2) which he explains in an ingenious manner of his own. The name 'Pharisee,' according to this view, means 'interpreter' (of Scripture) in the interests of the oral traditional Law. It did not originally denote the whole party who championed the oral Law, but only a section of it. Their original name was 'Ḥasîdîm,'[1] but in time, when the new policy prevailed, the name 'Pharisees' naturally attached itself to the whole party. A not inconsiderable difficulty attaching to Leszynsky's theory is that the form of the word *pĕrûshîm*, which is passive, does not lend itself easily to the meaning 'interpreters.' On the whole, the explanation proposed by Lauterbach, that the name='seceders' or 'expelled' (viz. from the priestly Sanhedrin), is most probable. It suits admirably the historical circumstances of the time when the Pharisees first emerge into prominence as an active and influential party. According to Lauterbach, the original name of the Pharisees for themselves was 'the wise of Israel' (חַכְמֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל).[2] Another name, used by the Pharisees among themselves, was *ḥābēr*, 'colleague' or 'fellow-member.' This connoted membership of a close association, or *ḥăbūrāh*, to which only those were admitted who 'in the presence of three members, pledged themselves to the strict observance of Levitical purity, to the avoidance of closer association with the 'Am ha-Areẓ [*i.e.* those living outside the standards of the Law], to the scrupulous payment of tithes and other imposts due to the priest, the Levite, and the poor, and to a conscientious regard for vows and for other people's property.'[3] But it is doubtful how far, if at all, such an organization existed in Palestine before A.D. 70.

2. Antecedents and development.—It has already been pointed out that the Pharisees carried on, and made effective, the work which the earlier teachers of the Law had begun, the application of the Tôrāh to the practical affairs of everyday life. This earlier class of teachers of the Law went by the name of 'the Sōfĕrîm,' being so called because they taught the people out of 'the book of the Law' (*Sēfer ha-tôrāh*). Their teaching was based directly on the simple and plain text of the Law, no doubt with a certain amount of interpretation and explanation, but all of the simplest character. The period of the Sōfĕrîm came to an end with Simon the Just (the first of that name), about 300–270 B.C.[4] It therefore ceased just about the time when Greek influence had begun powerfully to affect Jewish communal life in Palestine, and new conditions had begun to grow up in the life of the people.

The period during which the Sōfĕrîm controlled the religious teaching and exercised supreme authority in regulating the religious affairs of the community thus covered the Persian period and the transition period that followed. During this time the circumstances of the Jewish community in Palestine underwent no great changes.

'The Book of the Law accepted from Ezra by these early founders and organizers, with the few simple interpretations given to it by the Soferim, was therefore sufficient for almost all the needs of the community throughout the entire Persian period.'[5]

---

[1] Cf. Lauterbach, in *Studies in Jewish Literature in Honour of Kohler*, p. 196.

[2] Art. 'Pharisees,' in *JE* ix. 661[a].

[3] Cf. *T. B. Pes.* 70*b*, where 'the argument of *seceders*' is referred to, *i.e.* those who have left the college and established a school of their own.

[4] *Pharisäer und Sadduzäer.*

[5] The term פָּרַשׁ is constantly used in the Rabbinical literature in the sense of 'explain' or 'make explicit' (cf. פֵּרוּשׁ, 'explanation'). Just as פָּרַשׁ=דָּרַשׁ and פֵּרוּשׁ=דְּרָשׁ, מְדֻרָשׁ, so פְּרוּשִׁים= דְּרָשָׁנִים (*i.e.* 'interpreters'), according to Leszynsky.

[1] The Ḥasîdîm ('Assidæans') appear as an organized party in the early Maccabæan period. They are mentioned in 1 Mac. as strict observers of the law (2[42]), and abstainers from things unclean (1[62f.]). Possibly these Ḥasîdîm are referred to in some late Psalms (*e.g.* 149).

[2] Cf. also the constantly recurring expression in the early Rabbinical literature תַּלְמִידֵי חֲכָמִים, 'the disciples of the wise.'

[3] Kohler, in *JE* ix. 661 (citing *Dem.* ii. 3).

[4] In *Pirqe Abhôth*, i. 2, he is designated as being 'of the last survivors of the men of the Great Synagogue,' *i.e.* he belonged to the last of the Sōfĕrîm.

[5] Lauterbach, in *JQR*, new ser., vi. 34.

No doubt slight changes did develop in the inner life of the community, and these were reflected in new religious customs. But, as Lauterbach rightly points out,[1]

'All these necessary modifications and even the few new laws [required] the Soferim could easily read into the written Law by means of interpretation, or even embody the same in the Book by means of some slight indications in the text itself. Thus they found in the Book of the Law all the teachings they required.

The Soferim were able to do this because they were also the actual scribes whose business it was to prepare copies of the Book of the Law. If they desired to teach a certain law, custom, or practice, because they considered it as part of the religious teachings, although it could not be found in, or interpreted into, the Book of the Law, they would cause it to be indicated by some slight change in the text. . . . They did not hesitate to do so, because they did not in any way change the law as they understood it. The changes and corrections which they allowed themselves to make in the text were of such a nature that they did not affect the meaning of the passage, but merely gave to it an additional meaning, thus suggesting the law or custom which they desired to teach. In this manner they succeeded in grafting upon the written Law all these newly developed laws and customs which they considered genuinely Jewish.'

Simon the Just, the last of the Sōfĕrîm († not later than 270 B.C.), was himself high-priest, and no doubt the body of teachers of which he was the head was mainly priestly in character and *personnel*. But after his death the activity of these teachers as an authoritative body seems to have largely ceased.

'Even the authority of the High-priest was undermined. . . . Laymen arose who had as much influence among the people and with the government as the High-priest, and they became leaders.'[2]

The old control over popular religious custom by the high-priest and the body of teachers under him—which had been possible while the community was stable and (to a large extent) self-contained—was no longer possible. New customs and practices gradually arose for which there were no precedents in the old tradition, or in the text of the Law itself, and gradually established themselves among the people. Still the need was felt for maintaining the authority of the Law and tradition, and so there arose a body of lay teachers, who privately devoted themselves to the study of the Law, which now became 'a matter of private piety, and as such . . . was not limited to the priests.'[3] No doubt there were faithful priests who assisted this movement. Thus for some 70 or 80 years—from about 270 to 190 B.C.—there seems to have been a break in authoritative teaching. The text of the Law and the study of it were preserved during this interval by the piety of individual teachers, both priests and laymen. About 190 B.C., or a few years earlier or later, it is probable that this state of things was brought to an end by the organization of the Sanhedrin, an authoritative body consisting of priests and lay teachers, which was able to regulate officially the religious affairs of the people. It was their task to harmonize the laws of the fathers with the life of their own times; and this task had become exceptionally difficult because the new religious customs that had grown up among the people had now (owing to lapse of time) come to be regarded by them as traditional, and meanwhile, also, the text of the Law had become rigidly fixed—it was no longer possible to introduce slight verbal modifications, as the earlier Sōfĕrîm had done. How was the problem to be solved? It was apparently in connexion with the issues raised by this difficulty that that division took place in the Sanhedrin which later led to the secession (or dismissal) from that body of those who came to be called 'Pharisees,' *i.e.*, as explained above, 'seceders.' Before this critical state of affairs was reached, a long period of discussion and controversy seems to have ensued. The priestly, at that time the most powerful, element in the Sanhedrin wished to maintain the sacred and obligatory character of the written Tôrāh, as apart from the new religious customs. According to Lauterbach, they wished to give authoritative recognition to the latter by special decrees, issued and modified from time to time, to suit varying circumstances, by priestly authority in accordance with Dt 17^{8-13}. These decrees were not to be put on a level with the sacred text of the written Law, but were to be regarded as authoritative so long as they remained in force. On the other hand, the Ḥasîdîm, or members of the 'pious' party, largely represented by the lay teachers, in the Sanhedrin would not accept this solution. They were unwilling to recognize any such extension of purely priestly authority, and contended that their own authority as teachers was equal to that of the priests, and that all authorized religious custom must be based directly upon the Law or its equivalent.

'Acknowledging the Law of the fathers to be the sole authority, these lay teachers now had to find all the decisions and rules necessary for the practical life of their time contained or implied in the Law. They also had to devise methods for connecting with the Law all those new decisions and customs which were now universally observed by the people, thus making them appear as part of the laws of the fathers.'[1]

Two methods, according to Lauterbach, were adopted to secure this result. One was to extend, by means of new exegetical methods, the system of Midrāsh, *i.e.* to deduce from the letter of the Law itself justification for particular rules and customs. This method was, as a matter of fact, adopted on a large scale and developed by the Pharisaic teachers, and has given birth to a vast hermeneutical literature. The methods used were, as is well known, highly artificial and complex.

'The other method was to enlarge the definition of the term "Law of the Fathers," so as to mean more than merely the written Book of the Law with all its possible interpretations. In other words, it meant a declaration of the belief that not all the laws of the fathers were handed down in the written words of the Book, but that some religious laws of the fathers were transmitted orally, independently of any connexion with the Book.'[2]

This 'oral Law' (תּוֹרָה שֶׁבְּעַל פֶּה), which later, in an expanded form, was embodied in the official Mishnāh, was regarded as coeval and of equal authority with the written Tôrāh. Thus, according to Lauterbach, the oral Law is a figment invented by the Pharisees to lend authority to popular religious customs which had become established. However this may be, Lauterbach's reconstruction, sketched above, gives the best explanation that has yet been proposed to account for the somewhat complicated facts.[3] It accounts for the separation of the Pharisees from the Sadducees (in the earlier Sanhedrin), and for their emergence as distinct and bitterly opposed parties at the time when their party names first emerge into the light of history; it also makes plain how this divergence had been prepared for by previous events and by the religious situation that had in consequence arisen.

3. Aims and religious position.—The age-long conflict between the Sadducees and the Pharisees was the most important factor in the development of Judaism. The Pharisees, as we have seen, were the champions of the oral Law which at first was quite independent of the written Tôrāh, and was deeply entrenched in old popular custom and usage. On the other hand, the Sadducees mainly represented the old conservative positions of the priesthood, and inherited the tradition of the older scribism. The 'scribe,' as he is depicted in Sirach (*c.* 190 B.C.), is a judge and man of affairs, a cultivated student of 'wisdom,' well acquainted, of course, with the contents of the written Law, and

[1] Lauterbach, in *JQR*, new ser., vi. 34, 36.
[2] *Ib.* p. 37. [3] *Ib.* p. 43.

[1] Lauterbach, in *JQR*, new ser., vi. 57 f. [2] *Ib.* p. 58.
[3] It has not been possible to state fully the arguments which support these views. They can be read in the articles already cited.

a frequenter of the courts of kings. He belongs to the leisured, aristocratic class, and is poles asunder from the typical Pharisee and teacher of the Law, who was drawn from the ranks of the people. It was in the reaction against Hellenism that Tôrāh-study, among the people and in the sense explained above, was born. The public reading and exposition of it in the synagogues probably dates only from the Maccabæan period. Both parties were compelled now to devote themselves to Tôrāh-study in the new and exacting way demanded by the times, the Sadducees because, on their view, the Law was the only valid standard for fixing juristic and religious practice, and the Pharisees because it was necessary for them to adjust their oral tradition, as far as possible, to the written word. The first result of Pharisaic activity in this direction was the development of a remarkably rich and subtle exegesis. A further result was the evolution of new laws by exegetical methods.[1]

The Pharisees were thus essentially a democratic party in the sense that they were themselves mainly drawn from the people and safeguarded the religious rights and privileges of the laity as against the aristocratic and exclusive priesthood. The reaction against the Hellenizing movement was largely strengthened by their work in succession to that of the earlier Ḥasîdîm; they democratized religion by making the Scriptures the possession of the people, and expounding these in the weekly assemblages of the Synagogue. In marked contrast with those of the Sadducees, their judgments in questions of law were, as is well known, of a mild and compassionate character. When it is realized how they spent their energies without stint in the work of instructing the people in the Tôrāh, and in bringing religion to bear upon popular life, their enormous influence with the people generally, to which Josephus testifies, is explained.

Josephus says that the Pharisees led the people, compelling even the priestly aristocracy to yield to them. 'Practically nothing was done by them [the Sadducees]; for whenever they attain office they follow—albeit unwillingly and of compulsion—what the Pharisees say, because otherwise they would not be endured by the people' (*Ant.* XVIII. i. 4).

In manifold ways the influence of the Pharisees made itself felt upon the religious life and institutions of the people. The observance of the Sabbath and holy days was invested with special sanctity in the home. As at the sacrifices in the Temple, wine was used in honour of the day. 'Remember the Sabbath Day to keep it holy' was interpreted: 'Remember it over the wine,' and was embodied in the ceremony of *qîddûsh*, 'sanctification.'[2] They made the observance of these days popular, and succeeded in imparting to them a character of domestic joy. Whereas by the conservative priesthood such occasions were regarded mainly as Temple festivals, the Pharisees strove to bring them into the common life of the people. Their influence on the Temple services was also of a democratic character. They introduced the recitation of daily prayers beside the sacrifices (*Tamid*, v. 1), and founded the institution of the *Ma'ămādoth*, *i.e.* the deputation of lay Israelites which was present in the Temple at the daily sacrifice.[3] They also proclaimed the doctrine that the priests were but the deputies of the people (cf. Mishnāh, *Yômā*, i.).

'While the Sadducean priesthood,' says Kohler, 'regarded the Temple as its domain and took it to be the privilege of the high priest to offer the daily burnt offering from his own treasury, the Pharisees demanded that it be furnished from the Temple treasury, which contained the contributions of the people.'[1]

Further, they secured Temple sanction for certain popular customs which were not enjoined in the Law. Such was the great festival of the water-drawing at the Feast of Tabernacles, when a libation of water was brought in procession from the Pool of Siloam to the Temple and solemnly poured on the altar. It was, perhaps, originally regarded as symbolical of rain. During the feast, which lasted seven days, the libation of water was made each day at the time of the morning sacrifice, and it is to this custom that Christ implicitly refers in Jn 7^{37} 'If any man thirst, let him come unto me, and drink.' This was one of the most popular of Temple ceremonies, and the Mishnāh referring to it and its accompaniments says:

'*He* who has not seen the joy of the water-drawing has *never seen joy in his life.*'

The Pharisaic institution of the *tĕfillîn*, or phylacteries, on the head and arm seems to have been devised as a counterpart of the high-priest's diadem and breast-plate, and to have been regarded as a consecration of head and arm; and in the same way the *mĕzûzāh*, or door-post symbol, was regarded as symbolizing the consecration of the home. Both observances were, of course, derived from the text of Scripture (Dt $6^{8f.}$ $11^{18f.}$), and doubtless originally had talismanic associations; but these were, to a large extent, forgotten. The Pharisees strove to make their symbolism really religious. They also infused new and more specifically religious ideas into the observance of the old traditional festivals and solemnities. One of the most significant of these was their doctrine regarding the Day of Atonement. They boldly transferred the atoning power from the high-priest to the day itself, so that atonement might be effected apart from sacrifice and priest. The one indispensable condition was true repentance, on the necessity of which the Rabbinic literature lays the utmost stress. Similarly the New Year Festival (*Rōsh ha-shānāh*) became the annual Day of Judgment; and the Feast of Weeks, or Pentecost (originally a purely agricultural festival), became the Festival of Revelation, or the Giving of the Law. They also improved the status of women, relaxing the rigour of the old laws of purification, and, by the institution of the marriage-document (or settlement), protected the woman against arbitrary divorce. Their general aim, apparently, was to invest the woman in the home with as much dignity as possible. In consequence they enjoyed, as Josephus tells us, great popularity with the Jewish women (*Ant.* XVII. ii. 4). Among their other great achievements they fixed the canon of Scripture, built up the Synagogue service and liturgy, and established a system of religious instruction by means of elementary schools, supplemented by the Synagogue.

The enormous influence of the Pharisaic party on the religious life of the Jewish people in Palestine is thus clear; and it undoubtedly operated in the time of Jesus and the apostles. In the Synagogue and outside the Temple it was supreme. Even within the Temple it made itself seriously felt. Apparently, however, the Pharisees did not secure full control of the Temple ritual till the two decades that preceded the destruction in A.D. 70 (*c.* A.D. 50–70). Thus in the time of Jesus the Temple services were still mainly conducted in accordance with the old priestly traditions (though

[1] The thirteen exegetical principles of R. Ishmael (developed from an earlier nucleus attributed to Hillel) are set forth in S. Singer's Hebrew-English *Authorised Daily Prayer Book*, London, 1914, p. 13. They are explained and illustrated in M. Mielziner, *Introd. to the Talmud*, Cincinnati, 1894.

[2] For a description of this ceremony see W. O. E. Oesterley and G. H. Box, *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*[2], London, 1911, p. 376 ff.

[3] Only a deputation was present in the Temple. The other members of the 'course' on duty who had been left behind in the towns and country districts assembled in the local synagogues (at the time when the sacrifice was being offered in the Temple) and engaged in prayer and the reading of Scripture (see *Ta'ănith*, iv. 2, and cf. Schürer, *HJP* iii. 275 f.).

[1] *JE* ix. 662[a].

not, as we have seen, entirely). Both the Sanhedrin and the Temple were still dominated by the priestly aristocracy. This comes out very clearly in the details of the trial of Jesus, as narrated in the Gospels. The procedure adopted violated the canons of the criminal law accepted by the Pharisees, and embodied in the Mishnāh.[1] It is clear enough from the Gospels, indeed, that the chief actors in the tragedy were the members of the high-priestly party.

The Pharisaic ideal was the exact opposite of what is understood by 'progress' in the modern world. While in modern life the tendency is to secularize ever more and more all departments of human activity, the Pharisees consistently strove to bring life more and more under the dominion of religious observance. But observance—ceremonial—was valued mainly because of its educational worth. By carefully formed habits, by the ceremonial of religious observance, religious ideas could be impressed upon the people's mind and heart. But the outward was, at any rate ideally, subordinated to the inward. Thus in the prescriptions that occur in the Mishnāh and Tôseftā regarding prayer the necessity of conscious direction of the thoughts to the objects of the prayer (*kawwānāh*) is insisted upon. Nor is it clear that the Pharisees put all the requirements of religious observance on exactly the same level, and made no distinctions. The essential marks of their piety are well summed up in a Talmudic passage as follows:

'Three distinguishing characteristics mark the people of Israel—compassion, humility, and the practice of benevolence (acts of kindness).'[2]

The three purely religious duties which were most emphasized have been combined in a phrase which has become a commonplace in Pharisaic (Rabbinical) literature: 'penitence, prayer, and charity' (תשובה ותפלה וצדקה); these 'avert the evil doom.' 'Charity' (צדקה) is one of the 'good works'—a *miṣvah* in fact—which are a prominent feature in Pharisaic piety.

4. The Pharisees in the NT.—It must not be supposed that Pharisaism, during its active period, was all of one type. It was, as a matter of fact, sharply divided into opposing sections or 'schools.' Probably these divisions are not exhausted by the opposing schools of Hillel and Shammai. There were doubtless apocalyptical Pharisees, as well as others who strove to relegate apocalyptic to the background. Before A.D. 70 Pharisaism of various shades was struggling for supremacy. The later Rabbinism has absorbed its spirit, but breathes a serener atmosphere. It is less polemic in character, and doubtless had itself been to some extent influenced by the elements which opposed the earlier Pharisaism. Among these, as we have seen, one of the most important was the party (or parties) of the Sadducees. But it is necessary also to remember the presence of warring schools among the Pharisees themselves, if we are to estimate the NT evidence rightly. There was certainly an extreme and fanatical section, to be found, it would appear, among the school of Shammai (though not embracing all Shammaites), which was open to the charge of formalism and hypocrisy. Pharisees of this type were severe and exacting in their requirements, and bitterly narrow and exclusive. It seems probable that it was against this section that the polemic in the Gospels was primarily directed. Jesus denounced this hypocritical section of the Pharisees. The Talmud[3] also denounces them. But on the other side were the mild and peace-loving disciples of Hillel.

A brief examination of one of the Gospel accounts will serve to illustrate what has been said. That Jesus came into conflict with the scribes and Pharisees is attested very clearly in the oldest tradition of the Synoptic Gospels. Two specific instances of points of conflict of great importance are given, viz. the question of vows (a son by pronouncing the word *qorban* being permitted to relieve himself of the duty of helping a parent [Mk 7^{6-13}]), and a question of ritual purification, the obligation, viz., to wash the hands before meals (Mk 7^{1-5}). To the historicity of both these accounts strong objection has been raised on the Jewish side, it being alleged that the Pharisees could never have tolerated such a breach of the moral law as neglect of duty to parents on the ground of tradition; and, further, that the laws of purification did not apply to the ordinary layman in daily life at all, but only on the rare occasions when he visited the Temple.[1] Otherwise they were obligatory only on the priests.

It is not possible to discuss these points fully here. But something may be said on the question of the ritual hand-washing. It is noticeable that the rebuke by Jesus of the Pharisees as described in Mk 7 is directed against a hypocritical section (v.[6], 'you hypocrites'). These are represented by 'certain of the scribes which had come from Jerusalem,' *i.e.* probably a deputation of the Shammaite party. The Shammaites were aggressive and exacting, and their influence up to the time of the catastrophe of A.D. 70 seems to have been in the ascendant. Later the milder party of Hillel triumphed, and the oral Law, embodied in the Mishnāh, was revised in accordance with Hillelite views. It is probable that in the time of Jesus the question of ritual hand-washing was a party one, and that Jesus Himself strongly opposed the Shammaite view. In fact, the impression is almost irresistible that the denunciations of the Pharisees occurring in the Gospels are directed primarily against a Shammaite section, and that the incident described in Mk 7 is an episode in the controversy between Jesus and the Shammaites. In confirmation of what has been said of the party-character of the point at the time presupposed in the Gospel account, it is interesting to note that, according to the Talmud (*T. B. Shabbāth*, 14*b*), the duty of ritual hand-washing formed one of the 'eighteen articles' which the Shammaites forced with such violence on the Sanhedrin in the stormy years that immediately preceded the conflict with Rome in A.D. 66–70.[2]

The great danger inherent in a legalistic religion is undoubtedly that of formalism, externalism, unreality; and this defect unquestionably manifested itself in certain phases of Pharisaism. But the Pharisaic religion never failed to produce genuine examples of profound piety, while its positive achievements in the domain of religious institutions were astonishing.

Pharisaism was essentially legalistic in character. To the Pharisee the Law and its prescriptions were the supreme embodiment of the divine Will and divine revelation. No doubt Pharisaism by its exegetical methods succeeded in adapting the Law to the requirements of living conditions. But the adaptation and modification were legalistic in character. They multiplied precepts and rules. Jesus, on the other hand, while maintaining the divine character of the Law, and even asserting its

[1] See esp. the tractate *Sanhedrin*.

[2] *T. B. Yebhāmôth*, 79*a*.

[3] In the well-known passage in *T. J. Bᵉrāk.* ix. 14*b*, which classifies Pharisees into seven classes, five of which suggest faults (including grave hypocrisy).

[1] Cf. A. Büchler, *Der galiläische 'Am-ha-'Areṣ des zweiten Jahrhunderts*, Vienna, 1906, p. 131 ff.

[2] For a full discussion of both questions see the writer's art. 'Recent Literature on the Pharisees and Sadducees,' in *RThPh* iv. [1908] 139 ff. That the neglect by Jesus' disciples of the practice of ritual hand-washing was not a departure from general lay usage may be inferred from the Gospel account itself. No protest was raised against it, apparently, till a deputation of scribes from Jerusalem arrived on the scene; and what they objected to was that a teacher—a Rabbi—should permit his disciples to neglect the rite.

text against the developments of Pharisaic tradition, adopted a prophetic rather than a legalistic attitude to the Law itself. The Pharisaic attitude, while not deficient in inward strength and religious conviction, was bound to be somewhat unsympathetic to those who remained outside the Law's pale. A Jewish scholar has said:

'Only in regard to intercourse with the unclean and "unwashed" multitude, with the 'am ha-aretz ['people of the land'], the publican, and the sinner, did Jesus differ widely from the Pharisees.'[1]

This difference, however, is really fundamental. Such a transcending of the letter of the Law involved ultimately its supersession. In Palestine the hostility of the Pharisaic party, as a whole, seems first to have been aroused only when a section of the Christian sect became avowedly and explicitly antinomian in the person of Stephen; and even then the hostility was not extended to those Christians who wished to remain loyal to the Law.

5. The significance of Pharisaism in the history of Judaism.—As we have seen, Pharisaism was the dominant factor in the development of orthodox Judaism, which assumed a more or less permanent form in the Rabbinical system. Its relations with other parties during the two centuries before A.D. 70 were also of vital importance. What exactly the relation of Pharisaism was to the earlier apocalyptic it is difficult to say. The two types of thought and circles, though distinct and emphasizing the one the Law, and the other eschatological hopes, were not necessarily opposed, and were doubtless often combined in greater or less degree. It is significant that the Pharisees took over from the apocalyptists and made a firm position of orthodox Judaism the doctrine of the future life; they also admitted the apocalyptic book of Daniel into the canon. On the other hand, there was a certain anti-apocalyptic bias in Pharisaism, which showed itself later (*c.* A.D. 100) in the rejection of the apocalyptic literature of the earlier Judaism. In fact, Pharisaism was far from other-worldly in its outlook. Its main interest was to bring the sanctions of religion into *this* life. This tendency also appears in its Messianic doctrine, which it has impressed on all parts of the Synagogue liturgy. Its Messiah is not the transcendental and heavenly figure of some of the apocalyptists, but a purely human son of David. Pharisaism was the most vital factor in the development of the Judaism of the Talmud. But Rabbinic Judaism, in the form which it assumed from the 2nd cent. A.D., is not a mere deposit of Pharisaism. It is really a synthesis of the earlier Pharisaism and some of the elements that were in conflict with it. The final product was something richer and more serene than the struggling and confused elements, as they appeared before the process of fusion was complete.

It may be claimed, with some justice, that by Pharisaism 'the element of evolution and progress was injected into the Law. . . . It was due to this progressive tendency of the Pharisees that their interpretation of Judaism continued to develop and remained an ever living force in Jewry.'[2] Certainly the Pharisees erected a structure which has proved its strength by withstanding the shocks of time, and by its survival, so far as it has survived, in the Jewries of to-day.

LITERATURE.—For the literature generally see Schürer, *GVJ*[4], p. 447 ff.; important recent monographs by I. Elbogen, *Die Religionsanschauungen der Pharisäer mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Begriffe Gott und Mensch*, Berlin, 1904; M. Friedländer, *Die religiösen Bewegungen innerhalb des Judentums im Zeitalter Jesu*, do. 1905; D. Chwolson, *Das letzte Passamahl Christi und der Tag seines Todes, nebst einem Anhang: das Verhältniss der Pharisäer, Sadducäer und der Juden überhaupt zu Jesus Christus nach den mit Hilfe rabbinischer Quellen erlauterten Berichten der Synoptiker*, new ed., Leipzig, 1908; R. Travers Herford, *Pharisaism: its Aim and its Method*, London, 1912; R. Leszynsky, *Pharisäer und Sadduzäer*, Frankfort, 1912; J. Z. Lauterbach, 'The Sadducees and Pharisees,' in *Studies in Jewish Literature in Honour of Prof. K. Kohler*, London, 1913, and three artt. entitled 'Midrash and Mishnah,' in *JQR*, new ser., v. [1914-15] 503 ff., vi. [1915–16] 23 ff., 303 ff.

G. H. Box.

PHILADELPHIANS. — The Philadelphians were a little group of mystics, in London, Holland, and Germany, who flourished from 1693 to 1703. Dr. John Pordage (1607–81), one of the Cambridge Platonists, and the author of *Theologia Mystica*, followed a temporary fashion and drew together several readers of Jacob Boehme. The Commissioners of Berkshire therefore ejected him from the rectory of Bradfield before the end of 1654, on charges of blasphemy, necromancy, and scandal in his life; at the Restoration, however, he re-entered. In this circle of followers of Boehme was Jane Lead (1623–1704), a widow of good family, who in 1670 began to experience divine openings and revelations, so that she, a living medium, taught by God's eternal virgin wisdom, superseded the dead Boehme. Soon 'The Philadelphian Society for the Advancement of Piety and Divine Philosophy' was organized, apparently on a microscopic scale. Nothing was written till 1681, when Mrs. Lead issued a little tract, *The Heavenly Cloud now Breaking*, followed in two years by a larger work, *The Revelation of Revelations*. This was published through Sowle, the Quaker bookseller—an obvious sign of a spiritual kinship. Francis Lee of Oxford (1661–1719) heard of the movement at Leyden, where he was studying medicine; he sought out Mrs. Lead on his return, became her adopted son, and, in accordance with a revelation, married her daughter. Soon he headed the movement, introducing Mrs. Lead to kindred spirits abroad, so that a sister society arose in Holland. He urged Mrs. Lead to write, and he himself edited the *Theosophical Transactions* of the society, which began to appear in 1697.

Mrs. Lead broke new ground in 1694 with another pamphlet, *The Enochian Walks with God*, in which she announced a fresh stage of revelation superseding her former deliverances, and declared that it was possible after spiritual death, and resurrection by the aid of the cherubim, to hold direct communion with departed saints as well as with Christ. Next year appeared *The Wonders of God's Creation manifested in the Variety of Eight Worlds*, of which she was only the 'subordinate author,' and in which, on divine authority, it was revealed that there are eight worlds, the visible universe being lowest, and four being sinless — Paradise, Zion, New Jerusalem, and Eternity, the source of all. In 1695 appeared *The Laws of Paradise*, or the Ten Commandments spiritualized. The fourth was interpreted as meaning that there was to be no reasoning but implicit belief in the revelation, and no working for a living but acceptance of whatever was provided, while the seventh forbade all conference on religion with any one but Jane Lead. In 1696, when the society was at its zenith, she began *A Fountain of Gardens*, which contains her recollections in old age of her spiritual experiences till 1686. This work extended to four volumes, the subsequent instalments appearing in 1696, 1700, and 1701. Two little tracts, *The Tree of Faith* and *The Ark of Faith* (London, 1696), described the flying ark navigated by the apostle John, which gathered the saints fit for transmutation. Mrs. Lead's first *Message to the Philadelphian Society*, also published in 1696, explained the seven churches and the seven sons of Jesse, and showed that Christ rejected Episcopalians, Presbyterians,

[1] Kohler, *JE* ix. 665[b].
[2] Lauterbach, in *Studies in Jewish Literature in Honour of Kohler*, p. 198.

Independents, Baptists, Fifth-Monarchists, and Rome, choosing only the Philadelphian Society as free from all forms. The *Message* also enjoined organization, and repeated that to work for a living was wrong; the kings of the earth would send tribute. This bid for publicity won adherents, but attracted hostile comment and brought forth rivals, so that it was necessary to advertise what were the authentic works of Mrs. Lead. Monthly *Memoirs* were published, beginning in 1697.

A formal meeting was held at Westmorland House, when the society agreed not to separate from outward ecclesiastical connexions, but to superadd their own meetings. This was the custom of the religious societies then so familiar, out of which grew the Wesleyans later on; it was Spener's *ecclesiola in ecclesia*. In this way the growth of a German branch was facilitated; but it was contrary to the revelation to Mrs. Lead, and marks the repudiation of her sole claims. Another constitution, describing the order of worship, enjoined the reading of Scripture, silent meditation, and prophecy; it forbade argument or the stating of doubts in meeting; it was explicit that all members were equal, and that women must be modest if they took part. A pamphlet controversy led to explanations that the discipline of the society was borrowed from the Church of England and the Friends; that Scripture was accepted as the touchstone of alleged revelations, which cannot supersede or add to Scripture, but can only interpret it; that in case of conflict of alleged revelations the common sense of the society judged the genuineness and validity.

The revolt against Mrs. Lead and her son-in-law Lee was disastrous; the *Memoirs* ceased to appear, and the third *Message* shifted ground, declaring that the seven churches were now Jews, Romans, Greeks, Ethiops, Lutherans, French Reformed, and Vaudois. Two more works by the foundress of the society were published, *The Wars of David* (London, 1700) and *A Living Funeral Testimony* (do. 1702), but the movement was doomed. A confession is said to have been issued in 1703, but the government suppressed the meetings of the society, and no protest was published. The Dutch section formally severed connexion, and the English section collapsed with the death of Jane Lead in 1704. She had been quite consistent in her refusal to work, and her needs had been met by an annuity from Baron Kniphausen. The German connexion had introduced the society to the practical work of Francke at Halle, an account of which appeared in the *Memoirs*. It has been claimed that Lee persuaded Hoare and Nelson to acclimatize that work as the charity schools, but the claim is too high, for these were begun by Presbyterians in Southwark as early as 1687.

LITERATURE.—Sources are named in the article. See also *Sechs mystische Tractätlein*, Amsterdam, 1696, pp. 413–423, which contains the autobiography of Mrs. Lead; *Biographie der Jane Lead*, Strassburg, 1807; *Zeitschr. für hist. Theologie*, 1865, pp. 171–290; *British Quarterly Review*, 1873, p. 181 ff.; M. D. Conway, in *The Open Court*, vii. [1893] 3751 ff.; A. Rüegg, in *PRE*[3] xi. 326 ff.; R. M. Jones, *Spiritual Reformers in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, London, 1914. The correspondence of Lee and Dodwell in Christopher Walton's anonymous *Notes and Materials for an Adequate Biography of William Law* (privately printed, 1854) may also be consulted. An ed. of the *Wars of David*, published in 1816, has many notes, extracts, and criticisms.

W. T. WHITLEY.

PHILANTHROPY.—1. Introduction.—Philanthropy is defined in *OED* as 'the disposition or active effort to promote the happiness and well-being of one's fellow-men.' It is closely akin to charity (*q.v.*), and may be regarded as charity grown up; *i.e.*, the impulse to help the needy, which may be but a casual and superficial emotion, develops in some minds into a settled disposition and a steady life effort. The typical philanthropist is a prosperous person who gives up a large share of his life to the work of improving the lot of his fellow-creatures. While charity concerns itself in the main with the present needs of individuals, philanthropy looks further, to the future as well as to the present, and seeks to elevate human life on a larger scale. It is specially characteristic of those societies that are called 'individualistic,' *i.e.*, in which ideals of personal liberty make a strong appeal to the average person. Where the rights of the community over the individual are powerfully felt, as in the ancient Greek cities or in modern Germany, there is less call for philanthropy; it is to the community, organized in the State, rather than to wealthy individuals that men naturally look for the redressing of human wrongs. Further, philanthropy is usually the product of religious faith, and it is therefore affected by the kind of religion that prevails in a community. It is much more characteristic of Christian than of pagan societies, and of Protestant than of Roman Catholic or Orthodox. The reason doubtless is that Protestant societies are usually the more individualistic: where the Church idea is strong, and the sense of personal liberty weak, it is to the Church rather than to individuals that people turn for succour and support.

Philanthropy, then, is the outcome of the charitable impulse, when disciplined by reflective thought, in a strongly individualized society; but philanthropy, in its turn, under the criticism of reason, tends to merge itself in something larger still. The efforts to cope with social evils put forth by individuals, either alone or in voluntary association, are often found to fail; and it is seen that to be effective they must be undertaken by the community. The object is now sought to be attained through changes in the law and improved administration of the forces of society. The philanthropist becomes the reformer.

2. History.—A full outline of the history of the world's philanthropy cannot be attempted here; but we may illustrate a few of its features. It is in the Christian communities of the West, and particularly in the English-speaking countries, that philanthropy has been most highly developed; but it has long existed in the East also, quite apart from Christianity.

(*a*) *Chinese.*—In China, through the teachings especially of Confucius and Mencius, the virtue of benevolence has been recognized from very early times. They taught that the State exists for the promotion of human happiness; but neither central nor local authorities appear to have done much actively in this direction. There has, however, been much private benevolence, especially during the last two centuries; but this is scarcely noticed in the Chinese histories, which have been written in the main as chronicles of the doings of kings and emperors. Orphans and abandoned children have been cared for, and endeavours made from time to time to put a stop to the practice of desertion. Hospitals and alms-houses have been established. There is a Chinese poor law, which is stated to be on paper admirable but in practice almost a dead-letter, since no funds are provided by the State, apart from the land-tax, the proceeds of which, even under an honest magistracy, are usually required to meet the costs of local administration. In most of the Chinese cities there is a large amount of philanthropic work initiated and controlled by the people apart from, but not in antagonism to, the government; and these local charities are co-ordinated by institutions like the 'Hall of United Benevolence' at Shanghai, which dates from 1805. Some of these are using modern and enlightened methods; how far this is due to a growing acquaintance with Western life, through

the work of missionaries and others, it is not easy to judge.

A native writer says:

'Chinese philanthropy has reached the stage of systematization and institutionalism, and of adequate relief; but not that of the scientific prevention of destitution. . . . But the scientific stage is bound to be reached' (Yu-Yue Tsu, *The Spirit of Chinese Philanthropy*).

This may be true of some parts; in many others it certainly cannot be said that 'relief is adequate.' Beggars, lepers, blind and insane persons, often fail to obtain needed succour, either through the clans or the merchant gilds, which are supposed to care for their members.

That there is a fine philanthropic spirit at work among the Chinese people is clear from their success in putting down the use of opium, and also from the rapid progress of the movement for freeing women from the pernicious practice of foot-binding.

(*b*) *Indian.*—In regard to India, it is perhaps unnecessary to add to what has already been said under the head of CHARITY, ALMSGIVING (Buddhist) and (Hindu).

(*c*) *Greek.*—Among the Greeks philanthropy occupied but a minor place, whether in practice or in ethical theory. It was always assumed that the bulk of the hard manual work of the community would be done by slaves, whose fundamental needs were of course provided for; and, if distress came upon the citizens, the Greek mind naturally turned to the city-State, rather than to wealthy individuals, as the organ through which the trouble should be met. In the place of philanthropists we find legislators and statesmen like Solon and Cleisthenes, whose reforms were designed to lift up the poorer citizens and release them from their burdens. We hear, indeed, of rich citizens in Athens fitting out at their own charge vessels for the navy, and helping their poorer neighbours by portioning their daughters and sisters; yet Aristotle in his *Politics* (vi. 5, 1320$^{a\,b}$) commends foreign examples of benevolence, implying that this was not a conspicuous virtue among his fellow-Athenians. What he desired was no ill-considered or spasmodic charity:

'The chief service rendered by Aristotle was to show that unless the purpose of civil and social life was carefully considered and clearly understood by those who desired to improve the conditions, no change for the better could result from individual or associated action' (C. S. Loch, *Charity and Social Life*, p. 34).

Thus the benevolence which he desiderates is the philanthropic rather than the merely charitable spirit.

(*d*) *Roman.*—What has been said about the Greeks applies in large measure also to the Romans. Philanthropy was not a characteristic Roman virtue, yet it burned with a very pure flame in the breast of Tiberius Gracchus, when he saw great estates in Tuscany cultivated by slaves and barbarians, while Roman citizens were idle and starving; and it drove him to reform of the land laws. His reforms and those of his brother Caius, for which they gave their lives, were in a measure successful; but the *lex frumentaria* of Caius, which gave to Roman citizens the right to purchase corn from the public stores at about half-price, began the demoralization of the Roman *plebs*. This illustrates one of the dangers of philanthropy, even when it takes the form of social legislation. Apparent success at the time may be achieved at the cost of grievous trouble in the future. The process of demoralization went on until the greater part of the Roman populace were enabled to live in idleness, depending on the *annona*, or free distribution of corn at the public charge; and no philanthropist could untie the fatal knot—for the Roman citizen was a voter, and thereby master of the situation. He would support any one who would offer him plenty of *panem et circenses*.

Under the empire the Stoic faith, which fitted so well the ideal Roman character, drew some of the leading minds towards a wider recognition of the worth of manhood: 'homo sacra res homini,' wrote Seneca (*Ep.* xv. 3). This broadening of the sense of human brotherhood had its outcome in a distinct development of the philanthropic spirit. Hospitals of some kind, probably private infirmaries, appeared in the 1st cent. A.D.; and, with the desire to encourage the growth of population, several of the emperors formed endowments (known as *alimenta*) for the support of selected children of poor parents, entrusting their administration to local municipalities, and encouraging others to do likewise (see, further, CHARITY, ALMSGIVING [Roman]).

(*e*) *Jewish.*—Among the Jews the duty of kindness to the poor, the widows, and the fatherless was constantly enforced as a thing pleasing to God. But the nearest approach to anything that can be called philanthropy is perhaps to be found in the earlier prophets, who (from the time of Elijah's fearless denunciation of Ahab for his injustice to Naboth) pleaded the cause of the poor against their oppressors. The special contribution of the Jewish spirit (mainly through the prophets) was its insistence on the practice of justice and love as a vital element in religion: what Jahweh required of men was 'to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God' (Mic 6^{8}).

After the Exile the rise of the Synagogue was accompanied by the gradual development of a system of organized charity, for which the Jews are still remarkable. It is not surprising, after the treatment which they have received at the hands of Christians, that except to their own people most Jews are not much inclined to liberality.

(*f*) *Early Christian.*—It was through the ethical teachings of the prophets that a section of the human race was prepared for the coming of Christ, that the spiritual senses of a few were so trained and developed as to be able to appreciate and welcome the manifestation of divine and human love which Christ brought. It is this that makes philanthropy peculiarly a Christian product. Christianity broadened and deepened the spirit of love to man, as nothing else in human history has ever done.

The early Church felt that its Master had revealed both God and man: God as perfect love, stooping to unimaginable depths of humiliation for man's sake, and man, always and everywhere, gifted with the capacity to appreciate and respond to that love. Every man became a brother 'for whom Christ died.' Jesus, by His example even more than by His words, had broadened the bonds of brotherhood to encircle all mankind; He ate with publicans and sinners, disclosed His deepest teaching to sinful women, and taught that our 'neighbour' is the alien and the heretic if they need our help, that a kind act done to one of the least of His brethren is done to Him, that men are called to be 'perfect' by sharing the universal love of the Father of all. Love to man as man, the sense of universal brotherhood, the intuition of the oneness of humanity, became for the first time a guiding principle for ordinary men and women.

What Christ made of His followers is seen most clearly in the career of His great apostle, St. Paul, whose noble hymn in praise of love in 1 Co 13 rings true because he lived it out himself. His whole life after his conversion was one of philanthropy in its best and truest sense—self-dedication to the highest good of men. The early Church was a community of 'inspired' men and

women—inspired, above all, with a new experience and power of love. 'We know that we have passed out of death into life, because we love' (1 Jn 3^{14}). The new order of relations lifted all human life to a higher level; it gradually made slavery impossible, raised the position of women nearer to equality with men, and led many of the most spiritually-minded Christians, during at least the first two centuries, to refuse to fight in the Roman armies, because they felt that all men were their brothers. Its most conspicuous triumph was won in the amphitheatre, where it put a stop to the gladiatorial games, thus countering the fiercest passion of the ancient world.

But the picture has its flaws. After the first glow had passed away, influences unfavourable to philanthropy began to make themselves felt. One of these was the absorption of the Church in the tasks of defining its creed and settling its organization. Another was the ascetic spirit, which is essentially self-regarding, and which tended to displace the spirit of love. A third was the notion, taken over from Jewish teachers, that almsgiving is a discipline good for the soul, which was so emphasized as to empty charitable deeds of all love, by making them a penance, whose main value was to the giver in the next world rather than to the recipient in this. And so the 'dark ages' do not shine when we search them for philanthropy. The idea that poverty was a divine ordinance—a fixed condition, to be relieved but not removed—robbed the almsgiving of the monasteries to a large extent of a really philanthropic purpose. Yet the spread of public 'hospitals' from the 4th cent. onwards—institutions founded for the help of the sick, the poor, the aged, and the orphans, sometimes with ecclesiastical money and sometimes by private benefactions, but always controlled by the Church—shows the presence of real solicitude for suffering humanity. The ransoming of captives, pagan as well as Christian, was largely practised, some of the bishops even, when their own wealth did not suffice, using the costly plate of their churches for the purpose. Great ecclesiastics frequently, at no little personal risk, interceded with barbarian invaders on behalf of humanity; St. Ambrose compelled Theodosius the emperor to do penance for his massacre of the Thessalonians. And all through the Middle Ages the Church strove, fitfully perhaps and with only partial success, to regulate commerce and industry in the interests of justice and human welfare. The philanthropic spirit is shown in the Christian society, even when we cannot single out the individual philanthropist.

(*g*) *Modern.*—Modern philanthropy, strictly so called, begins with the Reformation, and is exemplified most in the countries of N. Europe and America, where the Reformation took deepest root. In England the dissolution of the monasteries destroyed the whole organization of society so far as the relief of the destitute was concerned, just at a time when their numbers were increasing fast; and the Elizabethan poor laws mark the failure of private philanthropy to rise to the need. The outbreak of strange sects during the Commonwealth period included schemes of social regeneration, like that of the 'Diggers,' led by Everard and Winstanley, but more important was the rise of the Quakers, just in the middle of the 17th century. Their belief in the 'Light of God in every man' gave them a fresh intuition of human brotherhood, and sent them forth as sober apostles of love and justice among men. William Penn's colony of Pennsylvania was a great philanthropic achievement, specially remarkable, first as an experiment in entire freedom of conscience, and secondly for its security from attack by the Indians, who, as long as the Colonial Government followed Penn's example of treating them justly, remained its warm friends and supporters. For seventy years the colony was free from attack by the Indians, though unguarded by fort or soldier. Then the 'Holy Experiment' came to an end, at the opening of the Seven Years' War in 1756. Positive orders were received from the British Government to arm the colony in defence against the French, and this drove the Quakers from power.

Remarkable among Quaker philanthropists was John Bellers (1654–1725), who is described by Karl Marx as 'a veritable phenomenon in the history of Political Economy' (*Das Kapital*, Hamburg, 1872–94, i.^{2} 515). He worked out with much shrewdness a scheme for Colleges of Industry, which afterwards influenced Robert Owen. The later Quakers became pioneers in various crusades, notably those against slavery, for the reform of prisons, for the humane treatment of lunatics, and for popular education; and all through its history the society has striven against war.

'There is no great work of humanity and mercy in which the Quakers have not had their share, and which finally is not rooted in that which Fox recognised as the power of the "Seed of God"' (P. Wernle, Introd. to Germ. ed. of George Fox's *Journal*, Tübingen, 1908).

The close of the 17th cent. and the early years of the 18th marked a new departure in philanthropy: the beginning of 'societies' for carrying on religious and philanthropic work with money jointly provided. Among these were the 'Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge' (1698), the 'Society for the Propagation of the Gospel' (1701), and other missionary bodies. Several of the larger London and provincial hospitals date from this time, though St. Bartholomew's and St. Thomas's are much older. Guy's was founded in 1724, Westminster in 1734, and Winchester, the earliest provincial hospital, in 1736. In this particular matter England was behind several of the continental countries, particularly Holland.

From the 18th cent. onwards the formation of philanthropic societies has continually gone forward with all sorts of objects, among which we may mention as typical the printing and distribution of the Scriptures, popular education, the aftercare of prisoners, the prevention of crime by reformatories and industrial schools, the advocacy of temperance, the prevention of cruelty to children and animals, and the spreading of the principles of international peace.

3. Philanthropy and the State.—In most of the fields of philanthropic activity it is not possible to separate by any rigid demarcation the spheres of private and of State responsibility; there has been a constant tendency for work that is attempted by private persons or associations to be eventually undertaken by the State. The most conspicuous example of this is public education, which every one now recognizes to be a legitimate concern of the whole community. This tendency arises mainly from the discovery that private effort rarely accomplishes what is needed—whether through deficient or capricious financial support or because in some cases a power of compulsion is required which only the State can supply. Strong arguments can be adduced, on grounds of efficiency, for the State management, at the national charge, of hospitals, asylums, and the like—just as the government, in Germany and England, has undertaken the task of insuring its poorer members against sickness and old age. The task of philanthropists, in the present day, often is to get the community to shoulder its responsibilities for the weaker members of society; hence, as was said above, philanthropy becomes merged in social reform.

The special case of the reform of prisons, and of

penal administration generally, illustrates well the relation between philanthropy and the State. In the 17th cent. the State took no responsibility for the management of prisons or for the support of prisoners; its task was done when, having convicted them of crime or debt, it handed them over to the jailer for a certain term of safe keeping, leaving him to get out of them or their friends what he could. The investigations of John Howard, which began in 1773, led him at once to advocate changes in the law—payment of salaries to jailers, abolition of fees, cleansing of prisons, classification of prisoners, separation of the sexes, and so forth. Some temporary improvement resulted; yet in 1813, when Elizabeth Fry began her visits to Newgate, the condition of many prisons was as bad as ever. Since that time it has been increasingly recognized, at least in Europe and America, that society itself has a duty to the law-breaker, and that, if it neglects that duty and simply contents itself with punishing him, in most cases he comes out of prison a greater danger to society than before he went in. Hence the demand that prisons shall be made, so far as possible, not merely deterrent but reformatory; that the criminal, after leaving prison, shall be given the chance of a fresh start in life, and shall be upheld and guided by those who have his good at heart; and that similar methods shall be employed with unhardened offenders, instead of sending them to prison at all. Experiments in the use of probation and conditional liberation on parole, under the care of special officers, have been made more freely and successfully in America than in Europe, but both are being cautiously introduced in England. Private philanthropy is not displaced, but is absorbed and directed. The State makes large use of the philanthropic earnestness of individuals, as probation officers and the like; but, unless the philanthropic spirit also animates the administrators of the law, the result is largely failure. The supreme need is the change of the bad will into the good will, and the development of character; and these are things that may be achieved by personal influence, but hardly ever by machinery, however perfect.

This opens up a large question—too large for more than mention here. If the State is compelled, even in its own interests, to care for the lives of those who break the law—to seek to find them suitable employment, and so forth—how can it rightly leave, to sink or swim in the surging sea of competition, the great majority who keep the law? Must not the process end logically in a guarantee that the State will find employment for all? The difficulties that attend such a guarantee have often been pointed out by economists, and we cannot here pursue the matter further. But this we may certainly say: that the State must seek not only to repress crime but to remove those elements in the life of the community that cause and encourage crime; and that in doing this it will continually need the help and guidance of philanthropists.

In various fields of social work there are advantages in experiments being made by private philanthropists before the State steps in. Even if their work is not fully efficient, premature State action may often turn out to have been misguided, and may do more harm than good. If, *e.g.*, all the reformatories for boys had been managed by the State in the days when manacles and armed guards were thought essential for order and discipline, it is very doubtful whether, in spite of more adequate equipment, a military machine of that kind would have achieved even the moderate success which, with all their drawbacks, has been attained by the privately managed reformatories. It is, as has been said above, only through the free play of personal influence that personality can be rightly developed.

4. Extra-national philanthropy.—A word may be added regarding philanthropic action by individuals or societies for the benefit of humanity outside their own country. The great missionary enterprise must be considered here; apart from it nearly all such benefit is necessarily sought through the agency of the State. The anti-slavery agitation is the greatest of these philanthropic movements. In this case the work of philanthropists has been mainly directed to securing the necessary changes in law, and to bringing continual pressure to bear on the government to secure, as far as possible, justice and right treatment for weaker peoples. The exploitation of the resources of the tropical regions of the earth by European and American capital opens up continual dangers of forced labour and other abuses akin to slavery, of which the Congo and Putumayo atrocities have been the most widely known; and there will long be a place for such philanthropy as that of the 'Anti-Slavery and Aborigines Protection Society.' Other movements that may be mentioned in this connexion are those for restricting the sale of intoxicating liquor among native races, and for the abolition of the Indian opium trade with China, which is now, happily, almost a thing of the past. In these cases the work of philanthropists has been to enlighten the public and to quicken the demand for legislation and effective government administration.

5. War.—The most pressing of all social problems at the present time is that of war, and for long years to come an urgent task for philanthropists and reformers will be to replace the spirit of national egoism by the desire to deal justly with all, and, as the outcome of this desire, to discover means by which mutual trust among nations may be established, and disputes may be prevented from giving rise to war. In this great task statesmen and philanthropists will need one another's help.

At the present day the alternative 'philanthropy or the State' has been transcended, and the problem is to find how the two lines of activity may best support each other.

LITERATURE.—B. Kirkman Gray, *A Hist. of English Philanthropy from the Dissolution of the Monasteries to the Taking of the First Census*, London, 1905, *Philanthropy and the State*, do. 1908; C. S. Loch, *Charity and Social Life*, do. 1910; Yu-Yue Tsu, *The Spirit of Chinese Philanthropy*, New York and London, 1912; Joshua Rowntree, *Social Service: its Place in the Society of Friends*, London, 1913.

EDWARD GRUBB.

PHILIPPINES.—See INDONESIANS, MALAY ARCHIPELAGO, MALAY PENINSULA, NEGRILLOS AND NEGRITOS.

PHILISTINES.—The Philistines (Heb. פְּלִשְׁתִּים; Gr. Φυλιστιείμ, Ἀλλόφυλοι [LXX], Παλαιστινοί [Josephus]) were a warlike people, established on the coast of Palestine, and at the zenith of their power during the early years of the Hebrew settlement.

1. Origin, name, and history.—We have but little material for a history of the Philistines outside the literature of the Hebrews, who, being their bitterest and most resentful enemies, paint them in the blackest colours. Criticism has therefore to be applied to the statements there contained.

Of the origin of this people the Hebrews had a vague tradition that they came from a place called Caphtor. The 'Casluhim (whence went forth the Philistines) and Caphtorim' are enumerated among the children of Mizraim, son of Ham, in a passage of the Table of Nations (Gn $10^{6.\ 13.\ 14}$) attributed to the Jahwistic writer. The words in parentheses are probably a misplaced gloss, which ought to

follow 'Caphtorim.' Am 9^7 speaks of the Philistines having been brought from Caphtor; Jer 47^4 refers to them as the remnant of Caphtor, calling the place by a word (*'i*) which implies that it was on the sea-coast, if not an actual island. Dt 2^{23} speaks of the Caphtorim, which came out of Caphtor, having destroyed the villagers of the neighbourhood of Gaza, and established themselves in their land—a geographical indication which equates the Caphtorim with the Philistines.

Besides the name Caphtorim, we find others in Hebrew literature that have every appearance of referring to the same people or, at least, to clans or other tribal subdivisions of them. Chief of these is כְּרֵתִי, 'Cherēthites' (1 S 30^{14}, Ezk 25^{16}, Zeph 2^5). In the Ezekiel passage the Philistines and the Cherēthites are spoken of together. Elsewhere the Cherēthites are alluded to as part of the bodyguard of the early Hebrew kings, coupled with the name פְּלֵתִי, 'Pelēthites,' of which the only reasonable explanation that has been suggested is that it is a modification of the name of the Philistines used for the sake of the assonance. This royal bodyguard is thrice alluded to as the Carians (כָּרִי), namely, in 2 S 20^{23} [RVm], 2 K $11^{4.\ 19}$—a fact probably something more than a mere accident.

The question of the origin of the Philistines is thus bound up with that of the identification of Caphtor. There is a place referred to on Egyptian monuments by the name *kftiw, kftyw*, first mentioned in inscriptions of the XVIIIth dynasty, which it is natural to compare with the Hebrew name. In the *Hymn to Amon*, under the guise of which Thutmose III. vaunts his mighty deeds, he speaks of smiting the west-land and causing terror to the lands of Keftiu and Asi. In the annalistic inscription on the walls of the temple of Karnak we read of ships of Keftiu, showing that it is a place on the sea-coast, like the Caphtor of Jeremiah. More important than these, we find in the tombs of the officials, notably in that of Rekhmara, vizier of Thutmose III., wall-paintings representing messengers from Keftiu and other places bearing tribute to the Pharaoh. This tribute, which *inter alia* takes the form of artistic vases of precious materials, we are now in a position to identify as belonging to the contemporary Minoan civilization, which had its centre in Crete. On this ground it has become generally recognized that Keftiu is to be identified either with Crete itself or with one of the neighbouring countries which enjoyed the benefits of the Minoan civilization. The obvious similarity of the Hebrew Cherēthites with 'Cretans' has long been recognized, even from before the days of scientific archæological investigation, and has prepared the way for the general acceptance of this identification.

It may be said that the identification is so far certain that other identifications that have been suggested are rendered obsolete—such, *e.g.*, as the attempts made by various writers to find Caphtor in the Delta, or to prove for the Philistines a Semitic origin. On the other hand, there are still some difficulties not yet solved, chief of which is the origin of the *r* in the Hebrew name Caphtor, which does not appear in its apparent Egyptian equivalent Keftiu. Another difficulty is that Keftiu early disappears from Egyptian record, to be revived by would-be archæologists under the Ptolemys, whereas the name is preserved by the Hebrews after the Egyptians appear to have forgotten it. To explain these points we must await further discovery.

Towards the end of the troubled 14th–12th centuries B.C., a period of great unrest in the E. Mediterranean, we begin to find mention of an indefinite number of small tribes who make their appearance in Egyptian records. These tribes bear names easily identified with places and peoples in Asia Minor and the neighbouring islands. Thus the Tell el-Amarna letters tell us of the Lukku (Lycians), Shardanu (Sardians), and Danunu (Danaoi?). Ramessu II., in the great battle of Kadesh (1333 B.C.) against the Hittites, had to meet the first two of the above-mentioned peoples, who were leagued with his enemies, as well as the Dardanu (from Dardanus in the Troad), Masa (Mysians), Mawuna (Mæonians, but the reading is uncertain), Pidasa (people of Pedasus in Caria), and Kelekesh (Cilicians). Merneptah (1300 B.C.) was opposed by the Lukku and Shardanu in league with the Libyans, as well as the Ekwesh (Achæans), Turisha (people of Troas), and Shekelesh (Sagalassians). And, lastly, in the inscriptions in the temple of Medinet Habu, built by Ramessu III. to commemorate his great victory over the allied tribes who came to invade Egypt, we hear once more of the Shardanu, Danunu, and Shekelesh, as well as of the Pulasati (Philistines), Zakkala, and Washasha (the last-named have not been satisfactorily identified). This is the first certain appearance of the Philistines, as such, in history, and is of great importance, as it gives us an explanation of their sudden appearance on the coast of Palestine.

The inscriptions in the temple record that in the eighth year of Ramessu III., the last great warrior-king of Egypt (*c.* 1192 B.C.), the north was disturbed, and bands of marauders, driven from their homes by troubles, began to raid the east and south, seeking a new dwelling. They flowed over the land of the Hittites, Syria, and Palestine, while at the same time a parallel expedition was advancing by sea, over Cyprus. Egypt was their goal; but Ramessu was ready for them, and in the inscriptions and engraved cartoons on the wall of his temple he describes his successful operations against them—notably the great sea-fight, the first event of the kind of which any pictorial record remains. Driven back from Egypt, the invaders established themselves on the Palestinian coast-line about the same time as (probably shortly after) the arrival of the Hebrews in the Hinterland by the desert route.

It is true, the book of Genesis (chs. 20, 21, 26) records certain events in which Abraham and Isaac are brought into contact with one Abimelech, king of the Philistines. In criticizing this cycle of tales we must bear in mind that the main incident is repeated in ch. 12, where, however, the king of Egypt takes the place of the Philistine king. The use of the word 'Philistine' in these stories is an anachronism, and none of the attempts that have been made to evade this fact is successful. Abimelech is a Semitic chieftain, and he is called a Philistine because his territory was in the region which was actually 'the land of the Philistines' at the time when the stories were first written down in their present form. The popular story-teller, who is responsible for them as we have them, was not troubled by the question of how far back in time the Philistine occupation may or may not have extended. Similar criticisms are applicable to the casual references to the Philistines in Ex 13^{17} 23^{31}.

Passing over the very obscure story of Shamgar (Jg 3^{31} 5^6) and the reference to Philistine oppression (Jg 10^7), we find the first record of the inevitable collision between the Philistines and Hebrews in the epic of Samson. This remarkable series of stories weaves round the person of a single ideal hero the incidents of a guerilla border-warfare. They show the complete domination of the Philistines over the Hebrews, and the internal disunion of the Hebrew clans; for Samson's chief danger is not so much the prowess of his Philistine

enemies as the treachery of his own kinsfolk; the men of Judah would betray him, and he at last is delivered over by his Hebrew wife Delilah—for there is no evidence in support of the popular view that she was a Philistine.

Under the pressure of the Philistine domination the Hebrew tribes gradually became welded into one, and slowly and with many reverses succeeded in ultimately ridding themselves of the domination of the uncircumcised. The first campaign was disastrous for the Hebrews; the Ark was lost at Aphek (1 S 4); but an outbreak of bubonic plague caused the Philistines, in superstitious fear of the Hebrew deity who had plagued the Egyptians, to return it. A more successful engagement, in which the Philistines were discomfited by a great thunderstorm, is recorded in ch. 7. An index of the growing sense of tribal unity—the result of this Philistine pressure—is the Hebrew demand for a king which now began to be expressed. As soon as Saul was elected, his son Jonathan slew the Philistine governor of Geba; the Philistines came up against the Israelites to quell the revolt and met their rebellious serfs at Michmash, where, but for Jonathan, they would have crushed them. In a later battle, at Ephes-dammim (1 S 17, 2 S 23^9, 1 Ch 11^{13}), David first distinguished himself, though the Goliath story is probably here out of place. Notwithstanding these Israelite victories, and the occasional raids carried out by David, the end of Saul's reign saw the Philistines as strong as ever. After Saul's death David reigned as king over the southern tribes at Hebron, doubtless under Philistine vassalage, while Ish-Baal, Saul's son, ruled in the north, presumably in the same subject condition. The assassination of Ish-Baal opened the way for David to add his rival's kingdom to his own, capturing the citadel of Jerusalem that had hitherto stood as a non-Hebrew wedge dividing the two groups of Hebrew tribes. Fearing that David would become too strong, the Philistines came up against him; but vainly. Three battles are recorded as having taken place in David's reign—one at Baal-Perazim (2 S 5^{17-21}), one at Geba (2 S 5^{22-25}), and one at some unknown place, possibly Gath (2 S 8^1), in which the power of the Philistine people was broken beyond recovery, as is shown by the remarkable fact that they made no effort to recover their lost power during the troubles that darkened the end of David's reign. Nor did they take any conspicuous advantage of the internecine dissensions between Judah and Israel. In fact, they practically drop out of history after the reign of David, and are principally referred to as composing the bodyguard of the king (Cherēthites and Pelēthites, or Carians, as in the passages already cited) or the guards of the Temple (Ezk 44^7, Zeph $1^{8f.}$). Almost the only sign of rallying is a temporary revival under Ahaz (2 Ch 28^{18}), suppressed by Hezekiah (2 K 18^8).

The annals of the Assyrian kings from Hadad-Nirari III. (812–783) down to Assurbanipal (began to reign 668) give us a few further details of conquest, and of feeble attempts at revolt promptly and ferociously suppressed. It is noteworthy that nearly all the persons mentioned in these documents in connexion with the Philistine cities have Semitic names, the only exception being a king of Ekron of the time of Esarhaddon (681–668), by name Ikausu, evidently the old Philistine name Achish. According to Neh 13^{23-24}, the 'speech of Ashdod' still lingered at the time of the return from the captivities.

2. Land.—Jos 13^2 limits the Philistine territory to the strip of coast-line from Ekron down to the Shihôr (the modern Wadi el-Arîsh, on the Egyptian frontier), lying between the sea and the foot-hills of the Judæan mountains. At the greatest extension of their power, however, they must have held a much wider territory. The Golénischeff Papyrus shows us the Zakkala, probably near kinsmen of the Philistines, established at Dor, just south of Mount Carmel; and yet farther north the Phœnicians display peculiarities which distinguish them from all other Semites (absence of circumcision and a cultivation of maritime enterprise) and which are probably due to the influence of this people. The Philistines at the beginning of Saul's reign have governors at Gibeah and at Geba, near Jerusalem, and at the end of it are able to set up their trophy at Beth-Shan—which, if it is really the modern Beisan, implies a command of the whole plain of Esdraelon.[1] The command of the sea-coast gave them enormous commercial advantages, especially when we remember that the chief trade-route — from Egypt to Mesopotamia — passed through their territory, and that one of their chief cities (Gaza) was the natural market-place for the Arabian trade. The maritime plain possesses, moreover, natural fertility far beyond the greater part of the Hinterland; the Shunammite sojourned during the seven years' famine in the land of the Philistines (2 K 8^2).

3. Organization.—In their political organization the Philistines show peculiarities that distinguish them from all the Semitic tribes to which the OT introduces us. These are governed by kings or chiefs, absolute despots within the limits of the tribes over which they are set. The Philistines, on the other hand, have no king over the whole nation (the Abimelech of Genesis is the *exceptio probans regulam*), but are governed by a council or oligarchy of lords called by the technical term *ṣeren*, plur. *ṣerānīm*, each of them dominant in one of the five metropolitan cities Gaza (Ghuzzeh), Ashdod (Esdud), Ashkelon (Askalun), Gath (probably Tell eṣ-Ṣāfi), and Ekron (commonly identified with 'Akir), but acting in concert for the common good of the nation. The king of Gath seems to have been, at least in the time of David's exile there, in the position of *primus inter pares*, but his colleagues can, and do, overrule his decisions when they consider them undesirable. The people, too, enjoy much more freedom than the slave-subjects of the ordinary Eastern despot. They dare to 'summon' their lords, when the presence of the Ark leads (as they suppose) to the outbreak of plague, to decide what should be done; and even in the time of the Assyrians we read how the Ekronites deposed and imprisoned their lord, Padi, because he persisted in the unpopular course of submission to Assyria. All this indicates an essentially un-Semitic instinct for liberty which we might well look for in the descendants of those who in the Bronze Age developed the great Cretan civilization.

The nearest parallel to this system of government is to be found in Etruria, where the *lucumones* seem (so far as the materials at our disposal permit us to judge) to have been remarkably similar in their office and functions to the Philistine *ṣerānīm*. It is one of several links which connect the Philistines and the Etruscans together, and which suggest that they are divergent branches of the same stock or of closely related stocks.

That their military forces were well organized is shown clearly by the Medinet Habu sculptures and by the frequent Biblical references to their war-equipment, especially their chariots (Jg 1^{19}, 1 S 13^5). In 1 S 29^2 we read of 'hundreds and thousands'—possibly an indication of some kind of regimental or legionary division of their armies.

[1] A place otherwise unknown, called 'Shen,' appears in 1 S 7^{12}. This is nearer the Philistine territory as usually defined, and might possibly be the Beth-Shan in question.

Of their domestic life nothing is known; but Samson could see and fall in love with his Timnathite wife; and (on the occasion of the death of the hero) the temple at Gaza contained men and women mingling freely together. These facts, so far as they go, indicate that women were not so jealously secluded as in a Semitic community.

4. **Language.**—Their language is almost totally unknown. The word *ṣeren*, above quoted, is the only common noun that we certainly possess; its apparent relation with the Gr. *τύραννος*, a word of unknown etymology, has often been pointed out. Otherwise we have nothing but (1) an unintelligible magical formula, said to be Keftian, in an Egyptian papyrus — which, supplying the missing vowels, would be something like *senutiukapuwaimantirek*[1] —and (2) a number of proper names. An Egyptian school-exercise tablet, now in the British Museum, gives us the following as 'Keftian' names: Ašaḫurau, Nasuy, Akašou (=Achish), Adinai, Pinaruta, Rusa, and Beneṣasira. The OT names a number of Philistines, but of these only Phicol, Achish, and Maoch seem to bear non-Semitic names. Sisera, king of Harosheth, may perhaps have been of the Zakkala tribe; the name has some similarity, on the one side to Beneṣasira just quoted, and on the other to Badyra, king of Dor, in the Golénischeff Papyrus. Of the kings mentioned on the Assyrian tablets only one (Ikausu = Achish) bears a non-Semitic name.

5. **Religion.**—We read of several deities associated with the Philistines. According to Is 2^6, they were celebrated (like the Etruscans) for a skill in soothsaying. An ancient oracle of a god Baalzebub (*q.v.*) at Ekron was worked by them, and consulted on occasion even by Israelites (2 K 1^2). The Semitic name of the god shows, however, that this was not a Philistine foundation, but that, when they became masters of Ekron, they took over what was probably its most lucrative industry. Another deity is called by the Semitic name Ashtoreth (*q.v.*); but, though in name the Philistine goddess is equated to the great Semitic goddess, the assimilation was probably not complete. An inscription exists at Delos, on an altar dedicated by an Ashkelonite, naming as the tutelary deities Zeus, Astarte of Palestine, and Aphrodite Urania, who is mentioned by Herodotus (i. 105) as a deity specially worshipped in Ashkelon. Lucian (*de Dea Syria*, 14) also shows us the two goddesses as kept apart—one of them in human form, the other with the tail of a fish, like a mermaid. The latter was also called Derketo, or Atargatis; and Diodorus Siculus (ii. 4) tells us a legend of her which links her with the Cretan Britomartis, in whom we may see the prototype of the Philistine goddess.

The head of the Philistine pantheon was Dagon (*q.v.*), a god who had temples at Gaza and at Ashdod. In the latter temple was an image of the god (1 S 5^{1-5}). There is really no evidence that, like Atargatis, he had a fish-tail, though this is currently believed; it probably rests on a false etymology of the name (Heb. דָּג, 'fish'). But Dagon (or Dagan) is not an exclusively Semitic god. He existed in Palestine before the coming of the Philistines, as is shown by the name Dagantakala in the Tell el-Amarna letters, and by the occurrence of the place-name Beth-Dagan in an inscription of Ramessu III.; it also occurs not infrequently in Babylonian monuments. The name of the Etruscan culture-hero Tages suggests the possibility that, as in the case of Atargatis-Aphrodite, the Philistines brought with them a god having a name similar to Dagon, and confused the two together. This explains why a comparatively obscure Semitic deity should have attained such an importance among the *Ἀλλόφυλοι*. Dagon continued to be worshipped under his own name down to the time of the Maccabees (1 Mac $10^{83f.}$), and even in the 4th cent. A.D. he was not forgotten, for there can be little doubt that Marna (='Our Lord'), the great god of Gaza at that time, was Dagon. The destruction of the temple of Marna is the central incident of that most remarkable little work, the Life of Bishop Porphyrius of Gaza by the deacon Marcus. From this narrative we learn that human sacrifices had been offered to the god (*PG* lxv. 1240).

6. **Culture.**—The chief interest of the Philistines and the cognate tribes lies in this, that their history bridges the gap between the ancient civilization of the Bronze Age and the later civilization of the Iron Age. The two hundred years of overlap between the Bronze and the Iron Ages was a period of turmoil and confusion respecting the history of which very little is known. The Philistines and the Zakkala in the east, and the Turisha in the west, carried the Bronze Age traditions across this troubled time, to form the basis of new civilizations. How far they actually developed the iron trade is a question which we have insufficient materials to discuss; they have even been claimed as the inventors of the art of the smith (*ZE* xxxix. [1907] 334). And it is not impossible that they had a share in the evolution of the alphabet, the cornerstone of modern civilization.

LITERATURE.—F. Hitzig, *Urgeschichte und Mythologie der Philistäer*, Leipzig, 1845; K. B. Stark, *Gaza und die philistäische Küste*, Jena, 1852; A. Noordtzij, *De Filistijnen, hun afkomst en geschiedenis*, Kampen, 1905; M. A. Meyer, *Hist. of the City of Gaza*, New York, 1907. In the present writer's Schweich Lectures on *The Philistines: their Hist. and Civilisation*, London, 1913, an endeavour has been made to collect an exhaustive account of the facts known concerning this people, and a large number of references to books, papers, etc., will there be found, which need not be repeated here.

R. A. S. MACALISTER.

PHILO BYBLIUS.—Philo Byblius (Herennius) received his surname, Byblius, from the fact that he was born at Byblus (Gebal of the OT, modern Jebail), a city on the Phœnician coast north of Beirūt. According to Suidas (*s.v.* *Φίλων Βύβλιος*), he was born in the reign of Nero (A.D. 54–68). Suidas states also that at the age of 78 in the 220th olympiad he assumed the name of his patron, Herennius Severus. By earlier historians this Herennius Severus was identified with L. Catilius Severus, who was consul in Rome in A.D. 119, and Philo's birth was dated A.D. 42, but the researches of B. Niese (*De Stephani Byzantii auctoribus*, Kiel, 1873, p. 26 ff.) have made it probable that Herennius Severus was consul in A.D. 141 and that Philo was born in A.D. 64. The figures for the olympiad are then incorrect. Although born in Phœnicia, he wrote in Greek, and attained eminence as a philologian, grammarian, and historian. Suidas calls him *γραμματικός*. In the reign of Hadrian (117–138) he was sent to Rome as an ambassador from the Phœnician cities, and succeeded in obtaining for Tyre the rank of 'metropolis' (Suidas, *s.v.* *Παῦλος Τύριος*). He remained in Rome and won the friendship of the consul Herennius Severus, from whom he received his surname of Herennius (Suidas, *s.v.* *Φίλων Βύβλιος*; Origen, *c. Celsum*, i. 15). Hermippus of Beirūt was a pupil of Philo, and was introduced by him to Herennius (Suidas, *s.v.* *Ἑρμιππος*).

The names of the following works of Philo are known: (1) *Concerning the Reign of Hadrian* (Suidas, *s.v.* *Φίλων Βύβλιος*). This work is lost, and no fragments survive in other authors. (2) *Marvellous History*, in 3 books, mentioned by Philo himself in a passage preserved by Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* I. ix. 32. (3) *Concerning Cities and the Illustrious Men which each of them has produced*, 30 books (Suidas, *loc. cit.*). Extracts from this have been preserved by Stephen of Byzantium in his geographical dictionary *Ethnika*. It was epitomized by Serenus (Suidas

[1] Of course we have no guarantee that this is really 'Keftian'; the Egyptian scribe may possibly use the word to denote something to him meaningless, just as we sometimes use the jocular expression 'double Dutch.'

s.v. Σερῆνος), and extracts from this epitome have been preserved by the *Etymologicum Magnum*. (4) *Concerning the Acquisition and Selection of Books*, 12 books (Suidas, *s.v.* Φίλων Βύβλιος). The ninth book apparently was entitled 'Concerning Physicians.' It is cited by Stephen of Byzantium, *s.vv.* Κύπτος and Δυρράχιον. The treatise *Concerning Things worth Knowing* (*Etym. Mag. s.v.* γέρανος) was perhaps part of the same work. (5) *Concerning the Language of the Romans* (*Etym. Mag. s.v.* ἀλτήρ). (6) *The Choice of Words* (*Etym. Mag. s.v.* ἀβολήτωρ, ἄϊστος, ἄτμητος). (7) *Epigrams*, 4 books (Eudocia, *s.v.* Φίλων Βύβλιος). (8) By far the most important of Philo's works was his *Phœnician History*, 8 books (Porphyry, *de Abstin.* ii. 56), or 9 books (Eus. *Præp. Evang.* I. ix. 31d). This purported to be a translation of the *Phœnician History* of Sanchuniathon. Extensive extracts from it are given by Eusebius (*Præp. Evang.* I. ix f.). It is cited also by Origen, *c. Celsum*, I. 16, p. 334 (Ben.), by Johannes Lydus, *de Mens.*, ed. C. B. Hase, Paris, 1823, p. 274, and by Stephen of Byzantium, *s.v.* Νίσιβις (see SANCHUNIATHON). All the fragments of Philo have been collected by C. Müller, *FHG* iii. 560–576.

LITERATURE.—Art. 'Philon von Byblos,' in J. S. Ersch and J. G. Gruber, *Allgemeine Encyclopädie*, Leipzig, 1847, pp. 427–435; art. 'Philo Herennius,' in *EBr*[11] xxi. 413; C. Wachsmuth, *Einleitung in das Studium der alten Geschichte*, Leipzig, 1895, p. 406; E. Schürer, *GJV*[3] i. 71f., iii. 463; and especially the copious literature on SANCHUNIATHON.

LEWIS BAYLES PATON.

PHILO JUDÆUS.—See ALEXANDRIAN THEOLOGY.

PHILOSOPHY.

Primitive (H. B. ALEXANDER), p. 844.
Buddhist (L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN), p. 846.
Celtic.—See CELTS, DRUIDS.
Chinese (A. FORKE), p. 853.
Egyptian (A. H. GARDINER), p. 857.
Greek (P. SHOREY), p. 859.
Indian.—See MĪMAṂSĀ, NYĀYA, SĀṄKHYA, VAIŚEṢIKA, VEDĀNTA, YOGA, MATERIALISM (Indian), etc.
Iranian (L. C. CASARTELLI), p. 865.
Japanese (M. ANESAKI), p. 869.
Jewish (H. MALTER), p. 873.
Muslim (T. J. DE BOER), p. 877.
Roman (P. SHOREY), p. 883.
Scottish.—See SCOTTISH PHILOSOPHY.

PHILOSOPHY (Primitive). — Philosophy has many definitions, not a few of which would render such a phrase as 'primitive philosophy' contrary to sense; for they consider philosophy as a product of sophistication, consciously critical in character, the last and ripest fruit of studied experience. Certainly this is a just description of the thought of the great historical schools of Europe; but there is, none the less, a sense in which the word 'philosophy' can be justly applied not only to the stream of sophisticated reflexion which was born with Thales, but also to the more naive, but not less genuine, reflexion with which even the least traditioned of men consider the world about them. As inclusive of this unsophisticated thought, philosophy may be defined as the process and expression of rational reflexion upon experience—a definition which will be found applicable to the speculations of the sophisticated and the primitive man alike.

To be sure, 'system,' the very mark of sophistication, is not to be found in primitive thinking, except here and there by implication; but 'system' is by no means synonymous with 'rationality.' Further, that subdivision into fields or sciences which is the prime token of systemic philosophies is also wanting, though there is a sense in which we may speak of the ethics, psychology, and ontology, and even of the logic and epistemology, of the pre-critical period—viz. from the point of view of an observer who has made and learned the use of these distinctions, and now sees them in embryo in the speculations of men not yet conscious of them.

In the present article (which can no more than indicate a point of view) the various 'leads' of primitive speculation in the directions of the several sciences will be briefly sketched.

1. Method.—Consciously developed method is, of course, not found in unconsciously developed thinking, yet the main elements of all rational method—reasoning on the principles of identity and causality, the use of number, and the evaluation of sense-perception—are presented with a kind of elemental perspicuity that makes the study of primitive thinking at once fascinating and instructive.

A main and interesting characteristic of this thinking is its suspicion of sensation. Few things are to the primitive man merely what they appear to the senses; the realities of things are their powers, and these powers are rarely measured in physical terms. There is, indeed, a profound analogy between a savage's conception of natural bodies and that of physical science: in each case the reality of the object is defined by the sum of its forces, never by its ostensible form; sense-perception is a guide to experience, but not a test of true being.

From this first fact follows the search of the savage after causes, which he is ever seeking to divine. His two great formulæ, 'post hoc ergo propter hoc' and 'similia similibus,' are in substance the same as the laws of causality and of identity; all that is needed to give them logical validity is quantification—the syllogism and the method of trial and error.

Of the weaknesses of primitive thinking the most important is the feeble use of number and mathematical relations generally. Nearly all peoples have some conception of number, both ordinal and cardinal, but their applications of this knowledge are most limited. The oldest of the sciences, that of the calendar, is certainly everywhere somewhat developed, and among barbaric peoples leads to important metaphysical theories; but, apart from this, the application of number-concepts to any body of facts is rare, and without such applications the perspective of science is impossible.

A second weakness is paucity of analogies. Human instincts and desires seem to form the primary group of analogies for savage reasoning, in line with the savage's fundamentally activistic interpretation of the 'life of nature,' as we still call it. Along with this comes the immense group of analogies based upon the body and its functions: 'This corn is my heart, and it shall be to my people as milk from my breasts,' says the earth-goddess in a Sia myth (M. C. Stevenson, 'The Sia,' *11 RBEW* [1894], p. 39); and in primitive myth and rites generally it will be found that the head, the heart, the tongue, and the nutritive and sexual functions are the great fountains of similitude by which the world about man is brought within the scope of his understanding. This is no deep derogation, for the modern attraction and repulsion hark back to the primitive love and hate, while energy itself gets its common intelligibility from the human will; only the purifications of mathematics sublimate the human metaphor which is at the core of all science.

There are, of course, differences in the philosophical gift among primitive races and tribes, and between individuals of savage groups, as among civilized people. The Polynesian and the American Indian are clearly more speculative than are the black tribes of Africa. In N. America it is comparatively easy

to single out certain peoples with a marked gift for speculation —the Pawnee, the Navaho, the Bellacoola—and a tendency towards the systematization of thought. James Mooney (*14 RBEW* [1896], pt. ii. p. 775 f.) gives an interesting contrast of the philosophical and the practical types, from two associated tribes. 'The Cheyenne and Arapaho, although for generations associated in the most intimate manner, are of very different characters. In religious matters it may be said briefly that the Arapaho are devotees and prophets, continually seeing signs and wonders, while the Cheyenne are more skeptical. In talking with Tall Bull, one of the Cheyenne delegates and then captain of the Indian police, he said that before leaving they had asked Wovoka [the ghost-dance prophet] to give them some proof of his supernatural powers. Accordingly he had ranged them in front of him, seated on the ground, he sitting facing them, with his sombrero between and his eagle feathers in his hand. Then with a quick movement he had put his hand into the empty hat and drawn out from it "something black." Tall Bull would not admit that anything more had happened, and did not seem to be very profoundly impressed by the occurrence, saying that he thought there were medicine-men of equal capacity among the Cheyenne. In talking soon afterward with Black Coyote, one of the Arapaho delegates and also a police officer, the same incident came up, but with a very different sequel. Black Coyote told how they had seated themselves on the ground in front of Wovoka, as described by Tall Bull, and went on to tell how the messiah had waved his feathers over his hat, and then, when he withdrew his hand, Black Coyote looked into the hat and there "saw the whole world."' It is worthy of remark in passing that maps or charts which show 'the whole world' are not infrequent among the N. Americans, their purpose being, as a rule, to show the 'way' by which the spirit may descend to the powers of the nether, or ascend to the powers of the upper, realm. Such maps are surely in the method of scientific cosmology.

2. Theory of man. — The primitive thinker measures the world about him in terms of his own mind and body: its conduct is actuated by desires and motives such as his, and its physical unities are set by his own bodily dimensions—finger, palm, hand, foot, and pace are all measures still in use, and the decimal system itself is but the mathematical apotheosis of our ten-digited hands. But this *homo mensura* standardization of experience becomes retroactive: when man measures the world in terms of himself, even unconsciously he is already analyzing his own being; he makes the panorama of nature his mirror and reflexion, and so comes eventually to self-revelation. Further, he expands his own nature in assimilating environment to it, and thus finds his inner self not only reflected in the outer world, but coloured by it.

Psychology is a science whose roots run very deep. In reading his motives into nature man has begun already the classification of his powers, and gradually this classification, unconsciously impressed on his mind, becomes assumed as his natural image. Doubtless the first distinction made is that of the 'life' from the body: the life represents feeling and conduct, the body mere form; and, as to savage man forms are always suspect, it is the life that is conceived to be the prime reality. But the life is not incorporeal; it is always associated with some bodily manifestation, of which the most common and elementary is the blood, the blood of life: 'But flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall ye not eat' (Gn 9^4). Many American aborigines believe that potent or sacred stones, if broken, will bleed, as a broken body bleeds. After the blood, the breath is the most universal symbol of vital reality: 'And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground, and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul' (Gn 2^7). The belief in a 'breath-body' or 'wind' life is nearly universal, attested, of course, by the outstanding fact that so many words for soul—*nephesh*, *psyche*, *pneuma*, *spiritus*, *anima*—rest their meaning on this metaphor. After blood and breath, the body's heat and its shadow—*flammula*, *umbra*, *simulacrum*—are the commonest images of its separable life.

Psychology is begun with this distinction of the active from the passive in man's being, of soul from body. The fact of death is certainly potent in enforcing the distinction; and the antiquity of burial attests the depth of this impression. But deeper even than death is that consciousness of the active and impulsive power which man feels in himself and hence imagines in the raging winds and rushing waters of an unquiet world of nature.

With this first distinction made, others become easy. It is no uncommon thing, therefore, to find among primitives theories of man's constitution rivalling the Egyptian in complexity; mummy, genius, bird-soul, heart, form, shadow, soul, strength, and name represent an Egyptian dissection of the personality of the deceased, but the American prophet Keokuk taught his followers to pray for the heart, heart and flesh, life, name, and family souls; the Haida have two names for the embodied and one for the discarnate soul, while mind and ghost are still other entities; and the Iroquois distinguish mind, soul, ghost, life, brain, and strength—a classification which surely constitutes respectable psychology. The further discrimination, not of parts but of faculties, is well begun when bodily organs, especially the heart and the liver, are made seats or symbols of passion and appetite, memory and thought—a symbolism which the speech of civilization still retains (see artt. LIFE AND DEATH, SOUL, SPIRITUALISM).

3. Theory of the world.—Even Xenophon still speaks contemptuously of 'the thing the Sophists call "the world"' (*Memorabilia*, I. i. 11), and it is hardly to be wondered at that few primitive men attain Sophistic familiarity with the concept. The idea of a cosmos or a universe is a late achievement of reflexion; nevertheless, a conception of what might properly be called a 'world-house,' or perhaps the 'stage of life,' comes into definition far anterior to sophistication. Cosmology and cosmogony are both very primitive in origin; and in truth it may be fairly affirmed that the most advanced philosophies are as subordinate to cosmology as is the most primitive mythology; cosmology is the parent of ontology, and it is altogether probable that the 'scientific' cosmologies of to-day will appear to some future age as visionary as do the mythic world-views of the past to us.

Cosmology is essentially an effort to define the world of space. Its natural and nearly universal first form is of a world-tent or domed house, a circular plane surmounted by a hemispherical roof. But, since the imagination does not stop with the visible, a heaven above the firmament and a hollow beneath the earth are conceived, and may be multiplied into a series of heavens and hells, thus framing a storeyed universe. The plane dimension of the middle earth is itself divided. Man is a four-square animal; and, corresponding with his structure, the place of the rising sun becomes 'the before,' the south is 'the right,' the north 'the left,' the west 'the behind'; and so the four cardinals are established.

'The earliest orientation in space among Indo-Germanic peoples arose from the fact that man turned his face to the rising sun and thereupon designated the East as "the before," the West as "the behind," the South as "the right," the north as "the left"' (O. Schrader, *Indogermanische Altertumskunde*, Strassburg, 1901, p. 371). Evidence from Semitic tongues indicates the early prevalence of a like system, while in America there is an almost universal cult of the quarters implying the same conception; with the Zuñi, who have this cult highly developed, the east is always 'the before' (M. C. Stevenson, 'The Zuñi Indians,' *23 RBEW* [1904], p. 63). Determination of the four quarters necessarily involves the fixation of a middle place, or *pou sto*; hence the number of sacred cities which form 'the navel of the world'—Delphi, Delhi, Peking, Cuzco, Zuñi, and doubtless many others.

But the conceptual completion of the frame of the world is only a step to its endowment with moral values. The sky, as the source of light and warmth, becomes the giver of life, strength, goodness, and righteousness; personified, it is the Heavenly Father of all things. The earth, as the

bringer forth of life and nourishment, becomes the Great Mother, spouse of the lord of heaven; while within her dark body are concealed the pre-natal and post-mortem powers of the unborn and the buried—the beginnings and the ends of fate. The dark under world, too, is the source of all that is noxious and deadly, and hence the permanent abode of things evil. This is the primitive symbolism, but it still colours our thought and forms the very substance of our expression in the whole realm of moral philosophy.

Two types of human experience stand as the foundations of cosmogony. One is the sexual procreation of life. When the heaven is conceived as a father and the earth as a mother, the procreation of life from this primordial pair is the most natural of myths, its philosophic residuum being represented by the theory of cosmic evolution, and indeed by every vitalistic interpretation of nature. Again—the second type—the origins of the world are sought on the analogy of manufacture. A primal being is conceived who finds or gives off a substance from which creation is modelled or constructed. This—the rarer form in primitive speculation—is the prototype of mechanistic philosophies of nature; it represents, too, the type of theistic and transcendentalist philosophies, just as the image of the procreative pair stands for the philosophic doctrines of pantheism and immanence. Wide-spread, too, is the occurrence of a bi-sexed creator, signifying, perhaps, the earliest compromise between the eternally conflicting conceptions of the one of being and the many of becoming.

Of the first type of cosmogony Hesiod's *Theogony* is the outstanding example; and it is not unfair to assume that the prevalence of this conception accounts in no small measure for the characteristic evolutionism of Greek philosophy. The Hebrew Genesis illustrates the second form; and the third is perhaps best known in the Chinese doctrine of heaven and earth as proceeding from the T'ien, the father-mother of the world. An American example, analogous to the Chinese, is presented by the Zuñi: 'Awonawilona [He-She] conceived within himself and thought outward in space, whereby mists of increase, steams potent of growth, were evolved and uplifted. Thus, by means of his innate knowledge, the All-container made himself in person and form of the Sun whom we hold to be our father and who thus came to exist and appear' (F. H. Cushing, 'Outlines of Zuñi Creation Myths,' *13 RBEW* [1896], p. 379). A second version (M. C. Stevenson, 'The Zuñi Indians,' *23 RBEW*, p. 23) reads: 'With the breath from his heart Awonawilona created clouds and the great waters of the world.' A Pima myth shows extraordinary powers of conceptualization for a primitive people: 'In the beginning there was nothing where now are earth, sun, moon, stars, and all that we see. Ages long the darkness was gathering, until it formed a great mass in which developed the spirit of Earth Doctor, who, like the fluffy wisp of cotton that floats upon the wind, drifted to and fro without support or place to fix himself. Conscious of his power, he determined to try to build an abiding place, so he took from his breast a little dust and flattened it into a cake. Then he thought within himself, "Come forth, some kind of plant," and there appeared the creosote bush' (Frank Russell, 'The Pima Indians,' *26 RBEW* [1908], p. 206). The story goes on with an account of the creation of the heavenly bodies and earth's inhabitants, and contains the interesting suggestion of antipodes in the account of the departure of a part of earth's inhabitants, through a hole in its centre, to dwell on its nether side. Here we are almost in the realm of Milesian cosmology.

Cosmogony gives us the drama of creation; there is but one further step to complete the conception of the world in time. When to theogonic æons legendary and historic periods are annexed, the conception of ages of the world is attained; and, as most men find their present case sorry and dark, a future and golden regeneration is anticipated. Thus the acts of the cosmic drama are complete, though its measures remain to be set. They become set through the science of the stars. The stars are men's first vision of order, cosmos; and with the discovery of their orderly movements and periodical synchronizations they become, and the whole heaven becomes, the great wheel of destiny which measures out the slow repetitions of the world's recurrent drama. Nearly every people with any astronomy reaches this conception of a self-repeating universe, passing through cyclic creations and destructions, whose terms are star-measured. That fate is interbound with this cosmic movement is but the inevitable inference of a being such as man, who cannot (and perhaps ought not to) see the world that contains him except as reflecting his moral nature. But, with such a conception reached, we are far on the way to the nebular hypothesis or the not less histrionic cycles of the Hegelian absolute idea (see artt. AGES OF THE WORLD, COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY).

4. Theory of conduct.—Our ideas of conduct are inferred from our conception both of man's nature and of the world's nature. The more primitive folk are, the more instinctive and habitual is their action; but there are probably no men who are utterly without some sense of the wherefore of action, and hence unacquainted with speculative morality. Religion might almost be said to represent man's sense of a world-sanction for his own ideals of conduct; certainly this is in some degree the explanation of the intimate union of religion and ethics, and again of the religious and ethical cast which every philosophy assumes. Customary morality explains the great mass of action in every grade of culture; but moral speculation—which to some extent is found everywhere—is the true source of our interest in morals.

Moral philosophy, as has been indicated, is outwardly imaged in cosmology and cosmogony; the light of heaven represents knowledge, justice, and goodness; the changeless stars represent remorseless destiny. But this outward image, just because it is beyond the control of man, becomes an object of reverence, a system of religious sanctions, rather than a problem for the will. That problem is set primarily by men's needs, especially by the great need of conforming human desire to its possible satisfactions. The recognition of this, far more than the blindness of custom and tradition, is the real source of that conservatism for which primitive people are noted; their conservative clinging to the ways of the fathers is a product, not of habit, but of intention, whose warrant is the justification which nature gives in giving life itself.

'We observe our old customs,' said an aged Greenlander to Knud Rasmussen (*The People of the Polar North*, London, 1908, p. 124), 'in order to hold the world up, for the powers must not be offended. We observe our customs, in order to hold each other up; we are afraid of the great Evil. . . . Men are so helpless in face of illness. The people here do penance, because the dead are strong in their vital sap, and boundless in their might.'

The same sentiment was expressed by a Hopi priest to J. W. Fewkes:

'We cling to the rites of our ancestors because they have been pronounced good by those who know. We erect our altars, sing our traditional songs, and celebrate our sacred dances for rain that our corn may germinate and yield abundant harvest' (*Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution*, 1895, p. 698 f.).

Garcilasso says of his fellow Peruvians:

'It was an inviolable law among them never to alter the mode or custom of their province, no matter what example should come from elsewhere. . . . Hence the Indians, rigid in the following of their ancient customs, were astonished to see the Spaniards change almost every year their manner of living, and they attributed this inconstancy to an excess of pride and presumption' (*Hist. des Incas*, Paris, 1830, v. ix.).

Here surely we are already in sight of Heraclitus and the beginnings of Greek ethics:

'Those who speak with understanding hold fast to what is common to all, as a city holds to its law—aye, and more strongly, for all human laws are fed by one law divine, which prevails where it will, and suffices for all, and surpasses all' (frag. 114, in H. Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, I.², Berlin, 1906, p. 78).

See artt. ETHICS AND MORALITY.

LITERATURE.—See the literature under artt. referred to throughout the article.

H. B. ALEXANDER.

PHILOSOPHY (Buddhist).—1. Introduction: position of philosophy in Buddhism.—Philosophical inquiry was not a purely scientific matter in India. The knowledge of the nature of things was aimed

at, not for its own sake, but for a practical purpose. It was regarded as a factor in the great work of deliverance from transmigration. In Vedantism it is *the* factor of deliverance, for the very fact of knowing the true nature of the individual self—identical with the universal self—is deliverance. The position of philosophy in Buddhism is different.

At the beginning, at least, metaphysical knowledge was not an essential part of the Buddhist discipline. The True Law was a practical training and nothing more. In short, deliverance from suffering belongs to the saints; sanctity is deliverance from desire; deliverance from desire is to be reached by the life of a monk (*brahmacharya*), by a moderate asceticism coupled with meditations that foster distaste for pleasure; these meditations—on universal impermanence and decay, on death, on loathsomeness (*aśubha*)—are only the realization of the *vanitas vanitatum* of Solomon, a pessimistic view of life and of the world, but not a philosophical system. Sometimes, when questioned on the doctrine of *karma*, Śākyamuni answers: 'My doctrine is: "Do good actions, avoid evil ones"'—an uncompromisingly ethical standpoint, or, so to speak, a 'pure moralism.' Śākyamuni is not agnostic. The so-called 'agnostic texts' (see artt. AGNOSTICISM and NIRVĀṆA) emphasize this characteristic of Buddhism, or rather—as there are many Buddhisms—reveal a Buddhism which is freed from any metaphysical surmise, which even strongly forbids any curiosity concerning the nature of soul and the state of a saint after death. According to these texts, such metaphysical questions, important as they seem to us and undoubtedly seemed to many Buddhists—to the compilers of the Scripture themselves—have no more to do with sanctity than purely cosmological problems and mundane science (*lokāyata*) in general.

A slightly different attitude is illustrated by some texts which we might style 'pragmatist,' texts according to which Śākyamuni purposely answered the philosophical questions in conflicting terms: he spoke sometimes as a believer in permanence (*śāśvata*), sometimes in favour of annihilation (*uchchheda*). The standpoint of the Master is that the training that leads to sanctity does not require truth, but useful statements, statements suited to the various dispositions of the hearers and to the general and conflicting instincts of humanity. In order to crush desire, a man must believe in succession that there is a soul and that there is no soul.

Evidence is not lacking that the teaching of Śākyamuni himself was agnosticism coupled with pragmatism; but it would be rash to make any assertion on this point. So far scholars are concerned, not with Śākyamuni's own teaching, but with the leading ideas embodied in the Scriptures.

And it is fairly evident that, from the earliest time, most probably from the beginning, Buddhism adopted[1] or worked out a philosophy which may be summarized as negation of the existence of a soul (technically, in Sanskrit Buddhism, *pudgalanairātmya*) together with the hypothesis of a composite self (*skandhavāda*). This philosophy is a translation, in terms of metaphysics, of the ideas of impermanence and insubstantiality which, from the point of view of agnosticism, were to remain the topics of moral and emotional meditation. We may state here again that the *māna* to which many *suttas* object is self-love, estimation of the self as good, better, best, bad, worse, worst, not the actual notion of self; that the notions of impermanence and insubstantiality which are essential to the religious training are the conviction of the evanescence of beauty, strength, and life, not the theory of the composite and momentary character of things. But, notwithstanding the 'moralism' of certain monks and possibly of the Master, the historical circumstances being given, metaphysics could not be avoided. Some metaphysics is an essential feature of Buddhism; for it is admitted by all Buddhists that desire cannot be crushed, that desirable things cannot lose their attractiveness, so long as we admit that there is an 'ego' and a 'mine.'

Buddhists denied the Ego and, in consequence, had to exercise themselves to give an explanation of life and transmigration in terms of impermanence and selflessness. Buddhist philosophy was born, and developed a coherent system of 'phenomenalism' (the doctrine of the *Abhidharmas*). Phenomenalism, by a natural evolution, gave rise to various forms of nihilism or voidness (*śūnyatā*, so-called nihilism, or Madhyamaka; idealism, or Vijñānavāda).

These new doctrines are logically constructed and claim to be justified from the scientific point of view; but their maintainers believe that they are no less useful than true. Their usefulness is perhaps the best proof of their truth. The best reason that a Buddhist has for professing nihilism is that there cannot be real religious life (*bhikṣutā*), sanctity, or deliverance from desire as long as one admits the reality of phenomena (*Bodhicharyāvatāra*, ix. 40). The schools had not forgotten the Master's lesson of pragmatism.

2. Hīnayāna or Abhidharma philosophy (pudgalanairātmya or phenomenalism).—The first philosophy of Buddhism, the philosophy of the Hīnayāna ('Little Vehicle'), may be shortly described as phenomenalism: non-existence of a substance or an individual (*pudgalanairātmya*), absolute existence of the *dharmas*—small and brief realities which, grouped as causes and effects, create the pseudo-individuals.

This philosophy was at first far from perfect. It is the result of a long inquiry.

From the doctrinal point of view, it would perhaps be convenient to contrast (1) the unsystematic views that are expressed in the *sūtras* (Suttantas) and which may be described as 'a theory of the *skandhas*' (*skandhavāda*, a fictitious name), with (2) the developed system which is embodied in the *Abhidharmas* of the Sarvāstivādins (Sanskrit books, school of the Vaibhāṣikas, *Abhidharmakośa*) and which is discernible in extra-canonic Pāli works (Milinda, Buddhaghosa, Abhidhammasaṃgaha); this system is properly called Abhidharma.

From the historical point of view, there are strong objections to such a division. The fully grown phenomenalism is the legitimate offspring of the principles forcibly expressed in the oldest canonical books. No new idea has been discovered, but philosophers see more clearly what they mean; that is nearly all. Here we shall merely call attention to the chief topics of interest.

(*a*) At first no effort was made to work out a comprehensive and systematic exposition of the ontological or psychological principles; these principles were mere surmises and postulates rather than doctrines; they had not been studied enough to be fully understood; they lacked precision and remained, therefore, to some extent contradictory.

There is no self (*ātman*), person (*pudgala*), living being (*sattva*), or principle of life (*jīva*)—a flat negative not only of an unchangeable self as recognized by the Brāhmanic philosophies, but also of the substantial principle that the popular philosophy considers as a transmigrating entity, a soul different from the body. Man is a complex, composed of five *skandhas*—the material element, *rūpa*, or body, and four intellectual elements, *saṃjñā*, *vedanā*, *saṃskāras*, *vijñāna*. The ego, or 'man,' is described in terms of its constitutive elements, and is compared to a chariot which lacks personality because it is composed. That is a 'static' point of view. In this compound the position of the intellectual elements is a subordinate one; they are given as a resultant of the material

[1] We cannot deal here with the indebtedness of Buddhism to Sāṅkhya and Yoga philosophies. See SĀṄKHYA, YOGA.

elements, viz. the organs: 'The colour blue being given and the organ of the eye being also given, there arises a visual cognition (a blue image).' That is 'sensationalism.' The intellectual cognitions (abstract ideas, judgments) are worked out by mind, which is a material organ too.

(*b*) The obvious and necessary conclusion of this psychology would be the negation of survival. But, as a matter of fact, Buddhists flatly deny the heretical theory of annihilation, destruction at death (*uchchheda*). Individual or personal permanence and responsibility through successive existences in the long journey of transmigration are strongly insisted on (see artt. DEATH [Buddhist], KARMA).

(*c*) A conciliation between the negation of a soul or self, capable of survival, and the negation of annihilation is to be found in a 'dynamic' conception of self. Such a conception was brought about by the study of impermanence (*anityatva*) and causality (*pratītyasamutpāda*).

(1) '*Impermanence*' is, in some texts, almost a synonym of 'suffering' and 'selflessness.' Existence is suffering because joy does not last; body and mind are impermanent, and therefore are not a self, do not depend upon a self. But from the idea of impermanence issues the idea of momentariness, which leads to far-reaching conclusions. Impermanence, when predicated of things in general, does not mean momentariness. There is origination (*utpāda*), duration (*sthiti*), change or old age (*anyathābhāva, jarā*), and destruction (*nirodha*) of impermanent things in general. But the momentary character of a flame—the flame of a lamp is only a succession of flames, each of which lasts only an instant—and of thought (*chitta*) was recognized very soon:

'That, O monks, which is called mind, thought, cognition, keeps up an incessant round by day and by night, of perishing as one thing and springing up as another' (*Majjhima*, i. 256);

whereas the body may last for a hundred years and more.[1] When once the notion of momentariness was reached, it inevitably made its way and took the place of the notion of impermanence. Now momentariness is quite naturally associated with causality. Momentariness and causality converge in continuity.

(2) *Causality.* — Buddhists first examined the cause of suffering (rebirth and death again) and expressed their views in the second truth: 'Suffering originates from desire.' They later expressed the principle of causality in the formula known as *pratītyasamutpāda*, 'dependent origination,' a formula which seems to have been originally only a commentary on the second Truth (cf. *Suttanipāta*), and which, according to the scholastic interpretation, presents a summary of three successive existences of a man (cf. art. PAṬICCA-SAMUPPĀDA). It is given in the Scripture as an ontological and psychological theory. It is said to open a middle way between the two wrong ideas (or heresies) of permanence of the living being through consecutive existences and annihilation at death: the man who is reborn is not the dead man, but he is not different from this man; because he originates from this man. Coupled with the dogma of momentariness, the dogma of causality leads to the conclusion that the ego is not a static compound like a chariot, but a series (*saṃtāna*)—a living series of causes and effects. Everything, even material lifeless objects, will be understood as the series of its successive moments of existence. The series does not exist in itself; it is made up of small momentary entities, called *dharmas*. There is no thinker, but only thoughts; no feeler, but only feelings; *dhyāna* partly consists in discerning the successive ideas that present themselves without any reference to the ego as thinking.[1]

'That only exists which is momentary' (*yat sat tat kṣaṇikam*). What is permanent—*e.g.*, space, *nirvāṇa*—does not exist, is a mere name, a mere negation (*abhāva*).

(*d*) An obvious conclusion to be drawn, and one which was early drawn, from the theory of dependent origination is that the origination of cognition has not been scientifically explained in the *sūtras* (see above, p. 848[a]). A distinction is to be made between the cause (*hetu*) and the conditions (*pratyaya*). The flame of a lamp is apparently burning during three watches; but it is only a succession of flames. Each of these momentary flames (to put it otherwise, each moment in the existence of this flame that is burning during three watches) has for conditions the oil, the wick, and so on; but its cause is the preceding flame (or the preceding moment in the existence of the flame). To apply this theory to the causation of a cognition, a visual cognition is conditioned by the eye and the exterior object (the colour blue); but it is caused by the preceding cognition. The series of thoughts (*chittasaṃtāna*) goes on uninterruptedly through the successive existences; the death-consciousness is continued in a conception-consciousness (see art. DEATH [Buddhist]).

Pudgalavāda.—A small place must be given to the 'heretical theory of a self—a theory which is much abused in the *sūtras* as well as in the treatises, both Sanskrit and Pāli, but which, nevertheless, was supported by the powerful sects of the Saṃmitiyas. There is a *sūtra*, the '*sūtra* of the bearer of the burden,' which states that the *pudgala* exists independently of the *skandhas*; that it 'shoulders' the *skandhas*, new *skandhas* at every birth, till it lays down the *skandhas*, *i.e.* obtains liberation. The explanation of the Saṃmitīya school is that the *pudgala* is neither identical with nor different from the *skandhas*; that it is 'not to be expressed' (*anabhilāpya*), that nevertheless it exists and transmigrates. There are in the Scriptures passages where the relations of the feeling with the feeler, and so on, are expressed in the same terms; and the position of the Saṃmitīyas is not an impossible one. But in the light of other passages which state that there is no feeler, no eater, but only feelings, foods, we must admit that the Scripture, on the whole, favours the opinion of the schools who deny altogether the existence of a *pudgala*. We know the partisans of the *pudgala* only from the criticism of the 'orthodox' scholars, both Sanskrit and Pāli.

3. Mahāyāna philosophy. — (*a*) *Śūnyatāvāda* (*Madhyamaka system*). — (1) The real nature of things (*dharmatā, bhūtatathatā*, or, shortly, *tathatā*) is their being produced by causes and their being productive of effects (*pratītyasamutpannatā*). The Abhidhārmikas have stated this fact well. But they fail to see that what is produced by causes does not exist in itself, is without 'own nature' (*niḥsvabhāvatā*), is insubstantial or void (*śūnya*). Voidness (*śūnyatā*) is neither a principle immanent in things nor is it nothingness. On the contrary, it is the character of what exists, of the *dharmas*. Things are void because they are originated; voidness = origination, void = originated. Existence (*saṃsāra*) is an intricate succession of momentary things, or *dharmas*, which have not in themselves any *raison d'être*, and which cannot exist substantially by the power of their causes; for these causes are *dharmas* of the same nature, which do not exist in themselves. As it is said, 'From *dharmas* like a magical show (*māyopama*) arise *dharmas* like a magical show.' We should say, 'From contingent phenomena arise contingent phenomena.'

(2) Such is the common view of the Mādhyamikas. But there are many texts which would lead us much further: (*a*) the simile of the monk suffering from ophthalmia, who sees in his almsbowl hairs which do not exist, while a healthy monk sees these hairs as they are, *i.e.* does not see them; in the same way a saint who is free from illusion or nescience (*avidyā*) does not see the *dharmas*:

[1] Cf. *Visuddhimagga*, viii., *ap.* H. C. Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, Cambridge, Mass., 1900, p. 252, and *Mahāniddesa*, p. 117. See art. IDENTITY (Buddhist).

[1] C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Psychology*, London, 1914, p. 98.

the correct knowledge—the knowledge of a Buddha—is a non-knowledge; (*β*) the criticism to which the notions of cause, of knowledge, of motion, etc., are submitted; by the four-branched syllogism it is shown clearly that a thing is not born either from itself or from another, or from both, or without cause. The consequence is that production is logically impossible; production does not support inquiry (*vichārāsaha*); therefore there is no production. Again, thought cannot know itself and cannot know another; and so on. Truth is silence.

(3) *The two truths.*—Phenomenalism is a psychological interpretation of life and consciousness in terms of 'negation of the individual' (*pudgalanairātmya*): life is a series of momentary phenomena originating in dependence one upon another. The Mādhyamika does not reject this doctrine, but claims to explain what phenomenalism really means—to point out its metaphysical aspect. He says that phenomena are only appearances, or, from the subjective point of view, experiences. Phenomenalism is the 'experimental' or 'erroneous' truth (*vyavahāra, saṃvṛtisatya*); nihilism or voidness, negation of the reality of the *dharmas* (*dharmanairātmya*), is the metaphysical or absolute truth (*paramārtha*).

But everything happens as if things were composed of real and substantial *dharmas*; the illusion that we have of the happening of the phenomena is due to the very causes that, according to the phenomenalist, give birth to the phenomena. The Path of old remains safe (see art. NIHILISM [Buddhist] and below).

(*b*) *Vijñānavāda.*—It is difficult to give an account of the system of the idealists, Vijñānavāda, more exactly Vijñānamātravāda, Vijñāptimātravāda, Chittamātravāda, 'theory that there is nothing except cognition or thought,' also Svasaṃvedanavāda or Svasaṃvittivāda, 'theory of self-consciousness.' The philosophers of this system have worked out quite subtle notions, and, moreover, we know from Tibetan authorities that they were divided into many branches and disagreed on important points. These Tibetan authorities are far from clear, while the original treatises, the larger number of which exist only in Tibetan and Chinese translations, have not yet been studied. Sanskrit, Brāhman, and Jain summaries do not touch the points in question. Therefore we must be satisfied with a general outline of the system—an outline which cannot be taken as definite.[1]

(1) Some hypotheses may be offered on the origin of the idealist system.

(*a*) The phrase *manomaya* in the first stanza of the *Dhammapada*, 'All that happens (*dharma*) is the result of thought (*manas*), is made up of thought (*manomaya*),' does not mean 'consisting of thought,' but 'caused by thought, by mental action' (just as the *manomaya* body of the *bodhisattva* is not a spiritual body, but a body created by thought [see art. BODHISATTVA]). That is not technically idealism, but leads to idealism. It was admitted that the new physico-psychical organism which continues after the death of a man is 'created' in the matrix by the 'rebirth consciousness,' itself a product or a sub-product of a mental action; moreover, pleasant and unpleasant sensations during life are chiefly the reward of action (*vipākaphala*, 'fruit of ripening of action'), while the exterior causes of these sensations depend on action as 'fruit of mastery' (*adhipatiphala*); we should style them 'the delegates of the power of action,' just like the tormentors and the trees with swords for leaves in hell. It follows that the existence of exterior objects may be looked upon as a cumbrous hypothesis (see Vasubandhu's *Viṃśakakārikā*).

(*β*) On the other hand, the Sautrāntikas (a branch of the later Hīnayāna) had studied the character and origin of knowledge. In opposition to the Vaibhāṣikas (=Ābhidhārmikas) and to the Mādhyamikas, they maintained that a thought can think itself, that thought has self-consciousness (*svasaṃvitti*), for, though the end of a finger cannot touch itself, a lamp illuminates itself and another (*Bodhicharyāvatāra*, ix. 15); further, that the form of representations is given by the mind. This idealist theory of knowledge is compatible with realism; the Vijñānavādins, heirs of the Sautrāntikas, built upon it an idealist metaphysical system.

(*γ*) This system owes much to the Śūnyatāvāda (nihilism); in fact, it is a branch of nihilism; it differs from the numerous systems of idealism recorded in the history of philosophy both Indian and non-Indian. It is not satisfied with the negation of the exterior object; it denies the self, an individual generator of thoughts, as all Buddhists do; it applies a thorough criticism to the individual thoughts themselves. It maintains that the only *dharmas* (=things) are thoughts (idealism), and that these *dharmas* are not substantial (*dharmanairātmya*); that they are void. The voidness of the idealists differs from the voidness of the Mādhyamikas, the properly so-called nihilists. For the latter, voidness is the characteristic in things of being produced, while, from the critical point of view, no production is possible.

According to the idealists, 'for voidness to be a justifiable position, we must have, first, existence of that which is void, and, second, non-existence of that in virtue of the absence of which it is void,' *i.e.* existence of a receptacle, non-existence of a content, 'but, if neither exists, how can there be voidness? We wrongly superimpose the notion of a serpent on a rope: the rope exists, the serpent does not exist, the rope is void of serpent. In the same way, such "notes" or characters as form, etc., are commonly attributed to the things: the denotable properties do not exist, but the substrate of the designations exists' (*Bodhisattvabhūmi*, fol. 29^{b} f.).

The 'notes' wrongly attributed to the things are both what is called *jñeya*, 'knowable,' and *jñāna*, 'cognition'; the thing is an 'undenotable something.'

(2) To realize what the idealists understood by 'knowable,' 'cognition,' and 'undenotable something,' we have to study the three natures (below, *β*) to which the simile of a dream (below, *α*) is an easy introduction.

(*α*) The visions of a dream are independent of any thing 'to be seen.' The elephants which a dreaming monk sees entering his cell do not exist,

[1] Sources: i. Vijñānavāda *sūtras* and treatises.—(1) *Laṅkāvatāra*, partly ed. in Buddhist Text Society of India, Calcutta, 1902; (2) *Abhisamayālaṃkārāloka*, Cambridge Add., 1629, frag. in *JA* i. [1913] 598; (3) *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, Camb. Add., 1702; summary in *Muséon*, vi. [1905] 38, vii. [1906] 213, xii. [1911] 155; (4) *Sūtrālaṃkāra*, ed. S. Lévi, Paris, 1911; (5–7) Vasubandhu's *Viṃśakakārikā*, ed. and tr. *Muséon*, xiii. [1912], 53; *Triṃśakakārikā*, *Trisvabhāvamideśa*, *Tanjur*, *Mdo*, lviii.; (8) Aśvaghoṣa's *Mahāyānaśraddhotpāda*, tr. from Chinese by D. T. Suzuki, *Awakening of Faith in the Mahāyāna*, Chicago, 1900; (9) Dignāga, *Nyāyabindu*, with Dharmottara's comm. and an anonymous *ṭippaṇi*, ed. T. Scherbatskoi, *Bibl. Budd.* viii. and xi., Petrograd, 1904 and 1909; with Vinītadeva's comm., *Bibl. Indica*, Calcutta, 1908; (10) *Subhāṣitasaṃgraha*, ed. C. Bendall, *Muséon*, iv. [1903] 375.

ii. Mādhyamika treatises.—(1) *Madhyamakāvatāra*, ed. *Bibl. Buddh.* ix., Petrograd, 1912, Fr. tr. *Muséon*, viii. ff. [1907 ff.]; (2) *Bodhicharyāvatāra*, *Bibl. Indica*, Calcutta, 1901 ff.; (3) *Madhyamakavṛtti*, *Bibl. Buddh.* iv., Petrograd, 1913.

iii. Tibetan treatises.—*E.g.*, Mañjughoṣahāsavajra's *Siddhānta*, summary in W. Wassilieff, *Der Buddhismus*, Petrograd, 1860.

iv. Non-Buddhist treatises.—(1) *The Sarva Darśana Saṃgraha*, tr. E. B. Cowell and A. E. Gough, London, 1882, ch. ii., *Muséon*, ii. [1901] 177; (2) *Saḍdarśanasaṃgraha*, ed. L. Suali, *Bibl. Indica*, Calcutta, 1905 ff.; (3) *Vedānta sūtras*, ii. 2, 28 (G. Thibaut, *SBE* xxxiv. [1890]); (4) *Nyāyasūtras*, iv. 2; (5) *Praśastapāda*, Benares, 1895, p. 114.

v. European sources.—**T. Scherbatskoi**, Теорія познанія въ Индіи, Petrograd, 1902, Теорія познанія и логика, do. 1903; **L. de la Vallée Poussin**, 'Note sur les trois corps,' *Muséon*, xiv. [1913] 257, 'Note sur les cent Dharmas,' *ib.* vi. [1905] 191; **D. T. Suzuki**, *Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism* London, 1907 (useful information, but questionable views).

or, rather, do not exist as elephants. As far as it is a 'thing to be known' (*jñeya*), a 'thing to be grasped' (*grāhya*) or 'to be named' (*abhidheya*), the thing seen during sleep does not exist; it is only a product of the mind, a mental phenomenon wrongly made objective, the very 'form of elephant' (*ākṛti*) taken by a thought under the influence of the 'impression' (*vāsanā*) left by a visual knowledge.

Now what about the idea that the dreamer has of an elephant—the idea which he considers as a visual knowledge (*jñāna*), which 'grasps' (*grāhaka*) an elephant? This knowledge is in fact the same mental phenomenon, the same form of elephant taken by a thought. During sleep the visual knowledge that grasps an elephant, the mental knowledge that ascertains the qualities of this elephant and names it, cannot have more reality than the elephant itself. There is no knowledge (*jñāna*), since there is no knowable (*jñeya*).

The simile of a dream will help us to realize the nature of things. First, there is no matter (*rūpa*); there is nothing outside (*bahis, bāhya*) the thought (*chitta*) and the corollaries of thought (*chaitta*, pleasure, etc.); rather, outside thoughts, for there is not a thinking unity but only series (*saṃtati, saṃtāna*) of thoughts; so many series of thoughts, so many living beings (*sattva*).

(*β*) Secondly, every thought, except the thoughts of a Buddha, is to be looked upon from three points of view; technically it possesses a threefold nature or character (*svabhāva, lakṣaṇa*)—imagined nature (*parikalpita*), dependent or caused nature (*paratantra*), and absolute or metaphysical nature (*pariniṣpanna*).

i. *Parikalpita.*—A thought—*i.e.* an 'actual' or 'conscious' (*pravṛtti*) thought (see below)—presents itself as exterior to itself, as does, in a dream, the notion of elephant; it presents itself as an object of cognition, a knowable (*jñeya*). The wrongly objectived objects of cognition are said to be threefold: body and the organs (*deha, āyatana*), the things (*artha, viṣaya*) to be known by these organs (*rūpāyatana . . . mana-āyatana*), and place (*pratiṣṭhā, pada*), the material universe (as a whole, *bhājanaloka*).[1] Inversely, thought appears as cognition (*jñāna*): (1) as visual cognition of a blue object; (2) as auditive cognition . . .; (6) as mental cognition of the qualities of an object (the first *manovijñāna* of the Vijñānavādin list); (7) as an ego which knows (the second *manovijñāna=ahaṃdṛṣṭi=kliṣṭam manas*).

In short, thought presents itself to itself as object (*grāhya*) and, at the same time, becomes cognition (*grāhaka*) of this object. The notions of being, non-being, essence, difference, number, etc. —in a word, what the Western philosophers style categories — originate from this opposition or duality (*dvaya*). Now this duality, which is the characteristic of every state of consciousness (*pravṛttivijñāna*), is real; our thoughts are really taking the double aspect of object and subject; this twofold nature of our thoughts is not an imaginary nature. As a matter of fact, we think dually. But this duality results from the fact that we consider as exterior and existing in themselves the so-called objects which are only forms of the thought, in the same way as a dreamer believes in the reality of the dream-elephants and thinks that he has a visual knowledge of elephants. This duality has no metaphysical *raison d'être*; it is worked out or elaborated by imagination (*parikalpa, vikalpa*), which imposes on thought the categories of object and subject, together with the categories of being, essence, etc.

[1] *Laṅkāvatāra*, p. 78; *Madhyamakāvatāra*, vi. 93; *Sūtrālaṃkāra*, xi. 40.

Therefore thoughts (*chitta*), *i.e.* things, in so far as they are in opposition as object and subject, are said to be imagined (*parikalpita*).

ii. *Paratantrasvabhāva.*—We are now concerned with the question whence thoughts derive their origin, according to what law they appear in succession and in duality. Thoughts are not produced by exterior objects, as the old realist school believed: 'The colour blue being given and the organ of eye being also given . . . there arises an image of blue.' Nor are they produced by a self, as the idealist Vedānta would suggest. Nor are they autonomous (*svatantra*). They are dependent one upon another (*paratantra*); they are produced one from another.

Paratantra is almost synonymous with *pratītyasamutpanna*, 'originated in dependence'; but there are conspicuous differences between the classical *pratītyasamutpāda*, 'dependent origination,' and the causation which we are studying (sometimes styled 'subtle origination'), and these differences justify the use of a new phrase. The problem is somewhat obscure; but the present writer hopes that the following is a fair solution.

All the Buddhist philosophers—maintainers of the doctrine of *karman*—had to admit that thoughts, although momentary, do not perish altogether, but originate new thoughts, sometimes after a long interval of time (see art. KARMA, *niṣyandaphala* and *avijñapti*). As long as they believed in the existence of matter (*rūpa*) and considered man as a physico-psychical complex, it was not difficult for them to explain the interdependence of thoughts. The six classes of cognitions (sense cognitions, eye, etc., and mental cognitions) had a material support and exterior excitants, and it was possible to explain all the psychological facts, including memory, with these six cognitions. But the idealists had to work out a system of psychology without the hypothesis of any material element. They say that the cognitions acknowledged by the realist schools, visual . . . mental cognitions, create 'seeds' (*bīja*) which will ripen in due time, without any interference except for the power of the *bodhisattvas*, into new visual . . . mental cognitions. Now these seeds are not a part of the visual . . . mental cognitions which arise in succession between the sowing and the ripening of the seeds; *e.g.*, the cognition of blue which will emerge to-morrow in a certain 'series of cognitions' named 'I' depends on yesterday's cognition of blue, but its seed is not to be found in any of the cognitions of which I am conscious to-day. Therefore we must add to the sixfold cognition of the primitive psychology—to the sixfold cognition to be named 'actual cognition,' 'active cognition,' or 'state of consciousness' (*pravṛttivijñāna*)—another group of cognitions which the modern philosopher would style 'unconscious' or 'subliminal images'; these are the seed of actual cognitions; they are created by actual cognitions; beside and below the actual cognitions, they flow as a series of momentary subliminal images which proceed owing to an uninterrupted self-reproduction; this series bears the old supply of seeds, is enlarged by the sowing of new seeds, and will stop when the seeds have borne their fruit and no new seed is sown. It is known as *ālayavijñāna* or *ādānavijñāna*, 'store cognition,' 'receptacle cognition.'[1]

iii. *Pariniṣpannasvabhāva.*—Thoughts are to be considered from a third point of view. The knowable (*jñeya*) does not exist as such, since it is only a subjective idea, an image, a thought that constitutes itself as an object. On the other hand, the fact that thought cognizes, *i.e.* recognizes itself as visual cognition, as mental cognition, as subject

[1] See the writer's 'Note sur les cent Dharmas,' *Muséon*, vi. 191.

of cognition, depends on the fact that it constitutes itself as an object. There is cognition because there is a knowable; there is designation because there is an image, *i.e.* an objectived designation. The two groups of terms, *jñeya-grāhya-abhidheya* and *jñāna-grāhaka-abhidhāna*, stand together, and, as the first is mistaken, the second too is mistaken. The duality object-subject is accidental to the thought, for it is produced by misconception or imagination (*parikalpa* or *vikalpa*).

In order to know what thought is metaphysically—what thought is in itself—we have to ignore, to put aside, duality. Freed from duality, thought is beyond the range of words; it eludes denotation, it is undenotable (*anabhilāpya*); no character (*viśeṣa*) can be predicated of it; it can only be said to exist (*bhavaty eva*). It is therefore defined as *vastumātra*, 'simply thing,' 'pure thing,' or a 'something' ('chose sans plus,' 'chose tout court'), or as *chittamātra*, 'simply thought,' 'pure thought,' since 'thing' and 'thought' are interchangeable notions.

In a Buddha imagination has come to an end. The thought of a Buddha—a non-cognition—is practically what all thoughts are metaphysically. To use a metaphorical phrase, our thoughts are soiled by cognitions which produce passions (*jñeyāvaraṇa, kleśāvaraṇa*); we have to purify them (*vyavadāna*).[1]

To sum up, a thought—*e.g.* an image of blue—is *imagined* in so far as it is both the object blue which we believe we see and a cognition of blue. It is *dependent* because it is produced by a preceding image of blue. It is a *something* of which nothing may be predicated from the metaphysical point of view, a substance which is accidentally, owing to an eternal illusion, constituting itself as object and subject.

4. Later philosophies: theism, pantheism (doctrines of immanence).—The phrase 'Buddhist pantheism,' like the phrase 'Christian atheism,' associates notions that are conflicting. But, if we are to consider Buddhism not as a doctrine but as a historical fact, there must be a place for the non-Buddhistic philosophical views that developed in Buddhism—the more so because such views not only are dressed in Buddhistic garb, but are to some extent the natural evolution of truly Buddhistic theories.

There was in Mahāyāna an essential antinomy between the experimental and the absolute truth.[2] While the learned schools carried to their ultimate consequences the philosophical principles of the old creed and worked out systems of dialectical or idealist nihilism, a Buddhist religion has grown: Buddhas and *bodhisattvas* were universally looked upon as gods, almost eternal beings, providences. The learned schools admitted the quasi-divinity of the Buddhas, and the necessity of devotion and charity, as constituting the practical or experimental truth (*saṃvṛtisatya*); but they maintained that the true religious life had to combine the practice of this truth with the meditation of voidness: voidness is the absolute truth (*paramārthasatya*). There cannot be true religious life (*brahmacharya, bhikṣutā, bodhicharyā*), there cannot be deliverance, as long as the faithful do not know that Buddhas are mere names; the enlightened devotee adores celestial persons whom he knows to be pure phantasms; the enlightened giver pities beings while knowing that they do not exist (Vajrachchhedikā). Such a position can be saved only by sleight of hand, by sophistical and highly conventional contrivances (see art. NIHILISM [Buddhist]). As a matter of fact, a time comes when it is necessary to make a choice between the two truths: to keep the absolute truth, and practise accordingly silence and apathy, or to admit the experimental truth as 'true' and have recourse to an ontology in accordance with it.

The chief factor in the development of theistic and pantheistic ideas in Buddhism has probably been the Brāhman and Hindu *milieu*, the influence of the learned monism (Vedānta), and the yet more powerful influence of the popular and Tāntric Śaivism. While theism (the worship of Amitābha) is very old, it is in the so-called Buddhist Tāntric literature (*mantranaya, vajrayāna*) that we find, together with a mass of theurgic practices, unmistakable affirmations of a system of immanence. Buddhist saints and deities, by an insensible progress or owing to a rapid naturalization, had come to be conceived under the familiar shape of the Hindu gods. But we are here concerned with the doctrinal aspects of the historical evolution and adulteration of Buddhism. Our problem is to elucidate by what doctrinal and verbal development the orthodox nihilism and idealism were apt to be reversed and turned into pantheism.

On the whole, we clearly see how Buddhist monism arose. The post-Vedic inquiry for being, permanent being, real being, had a legitimate conclusion in the absolute monism (*advaita*) of Śaṃkara. Brahman is, but its true description is *neti neti*, 'it is not so, it is not so.' There is no relation possible between it and limited beings; *i.e.* no limited being exists. 'Ontologism' in its last phase is nihilism, for the *ens realissimum* is void. Inversely, the Buddhist theory of a becoming without being is apt to be reversed into monism. As regards details many conjectures may be made, some likely to be more or less justified.

(*a*) *The Mādhyamika tenets.*—From an absolute point of view (*paramārthatas*), there is no difference (*nānābhāva*) among things and among the characters of things. Things are void (*śūnya*), like the daughter of a barren woman; characters are void, like the beauty of this unreal daughter. Things are void because there is no real origination of things—if no origination, no destruction, an eternal inexistence. There is no difference between existence (*saṃsāra*) and *nirvāṇa*: 'Not being produced (*anutpanna*), not being destroyed, things are from the beginning quiescent (*ādiśānta*); they are really, naturally (*prakṛtyā*) in *nirvāṇa* (*parinirvṛta*).' The Vedāntists (Śaṃkara's school) sometimes use the same phrases to explain the nature of particular things;[1] they borrowed these phrases from the Buddhists; possibly they borrowed also the doctrine of the non-existence of particular things; while the Buddhists—some Buddhists—went so far as to recognize in the *bhūta-tathatā* or *tathatā*, 'real nature of things,' or *dharmadhātu* or *bhūtakoṭi*, so many synonyms of voidness,[2] a sort of 'void Brahman.'

(*b*) *Vijñānavāda; ontology.*—Genuine Vijñānavāda (works of Aśvaghoṣa, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu) is truly Buddhist, since it maintains the momentariness (*kṣaṇikatva*) and the dependent origination (*paratantratva*) of every thought. Nevertheless it is dangerously akin to Vedānta; the Tāntrik school has interpreted it as a monism, and many modern scholars do so too.

The *ālayavijñāna* is somewhat like a soul, and we know from Tibetan authorities that the maintainers of the Hīnayāna strongly objected to this 'new' *vijñāna*. It is a series of 'subliminal images'—a store of seeds that give birth to actual cognitions (*pravṛtti vijñāna*);[3] it may be looked

[1] On the Vijñānavādin theory of purification see L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Théorie des douze causes*, Ghent and London, 1913, p. 65.

[2] Many of the Buddhist tenets were lacking in consistency. The idea of *nirvāṇa, e.g.*, an 'unqualified deliverance,' was apt to be understood as immortal happiness or as annihilation.

[1] See sources in *JRAS*, new ser., xlii. [1910] 817 ff.

[2] See *Muséon*, xii. [1911] 252.

[3] Cf. Buddhaghosa's *bhavaṅga* (S. Z. Aung and C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *Compendium of Philosophy*, London, 1910, p. 265).

upon as a thinking entity which manifests itself in a succession of thoughts.

On the other hand, to say that the true or metaphysical nature of things is thought, an uncharacterized thought 'which only is,' or, in the Vedāntic phrase, 'which is not so, which is not so' (*neti neti*); that this pure thought is defiled by nescience (*avidyā*) and all the passions that follow nescience; that, owing to defilement, it takes the aspects of knowable and knowledge and generates the whole of the particular cognitions; that it is apt to purify itself (*vyavadāna*) by an inverse process[1]—that is pure Vedānta of Śaṃkara's school.

Yamunāchārya, in his *Siddhitraya*, compares the doctrine of Dharmakīrti, the avowed Buddhist (*prakaṭa bauddha*): 'Although the pure intelligence is free from differences, it is characterized (or imagined), owing to erroneous views, as multiple: as knowable, knower and knowledge'—with Saṃkara's view: 'The pure reality is not the cause of the development [of names and forms], because it ceases not to be [what it is, *i.e.* it remains pure]: therefore it is Illusion which is the mother of this distinction, knower and knowable.' Yamunāchārya concludes that Saṃkara is a Buddhist in disguise. Vijñānabhikṣu holds the same opinion for the same reason.[2]

The thought of a Tathāgata is undefiled, purified thought; the thought of a *pṛthagjana*—a man who has not 'seen' the Truths—and of any living being except the Tathāgata is defiled, unpurified thought; but for the defilement, the thought of a *pṛthagjana* is the thought of a Tathāgata.

This doctrine is embodied in the theory of the embryo of a Tathāgata (*tathāgatagarbha*), which is explained as follows in the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*:

'There is an embryo of a Tathāgata, genuinely radiant and pure, endowed with the thirty-two marks, present in every living being, but, like a gem covered by dirt, covered by the corporeal forms, sensation, etc. (*skandha, āyatana, dhātu*), defiled by the wrong notions produced by lust, hatred and delusion; nevertheless permanent, firm, blessed, everlasting.'[3]

The compilers of the *Laṅkāvatāra* are careful to state that the dogma of the *tathāgatagarbha* is not to be understood in a heretical sense, that it is not like the theory of a universal and permanent soul (*ātman*), that it has been preached in order to introduce the heretics who believe in a soul into the Buddhist doctrine of soullessness (*nairātmya*); that the *tathāgatagarbha* really means voidness, *bhūtakoṭi, nirvāṇa*. But is it not a strange method of converting the Vedāntists, to teach them Vedāntism in Buddhistic garb? Granted that the true meaning of the *tathāgatagarbha* is that every creature is an embryo of Tathāgata, *i.e.* a future Buddha, there may be doubt as to its obvious meaning.

(*c*) *The three bodies of a Tathāgata.*—Like Vijñānavādin ontology (the three natures and the 'pure thought'), with which it has strong analogies, the Vijñānavādin Buddhology has also been understood in a pantheist sense. This Buddhology, the origins of which can be traced in the Hīnayāna *Abhidharma* and mythology, is explained in the dogma of the three bodies of a Tathāgata (*trikāya*). We shall deal (1) with the orthodox, or Vijñānavādin, conception of the bodies, and (2) with the pantheist, or Tāntric, evolution of this conception.

(1) Notwithstanding its mythological and devotional features, the Mahāyānist Buddhology is not in conflict with the phenomenalist and nihilist principles of Buddhism. Like the *Abhidharma* Buddhology, it is not a theism, but only a hagiology, and a phenomenalist or nihilistic hagiology.

A Tathāgata, like any other living being, is an insubstantial compound and series of *dharmas*. (*α*) Among these *dharmas* there is a large number of thoughts or intellectual *dharmas* which are only to be found in Tathāgatas: supramundane (*lokottara*) knowledges, *i.e.* knowledges that are turned towards *nirvāṇa* (*kṣayajñāna, anutpādajñāna, aśaikṣī samyagdṛṣṭi*); the Tathāgata would disappear into *nirvāṇa*, but he chooses to keep his mundane *dharmas*—omniscience of every mundane thing, all-embracing and all-powerful compassion. (*β*) Moreover, a Tathāgata has a 'body'; *i.e.* some material (*rūpin*) *dharmas* are a constituent part of the compound which we call a Tathāgata. (*γ*) Lastly, he is able to create, in order to save beings, magical appearances—'doubles' of his body.

The phrase *dharmakāya*, which originally designated (i.) the whole of the Scriptures, and (ii.) Buddha as law or Scripture incarnate, came (in *Abhidharma*) to be used to designate the collection of the spiritual *dharmas* owing to the presence of which a pseudo-individual is named Buddha. Every Buddha possesses the same supramundane *dharmas*; while Buddhas differ in merit, in duration of life, etc., they are endowed with the same *dharmakāya*. In the same way monks (*bhikṣus*), while differing one from another in many respects, possess (*i.e.* have as a constituent part of their pseudo-individuality) the same set of *dharmas*, called *bhikṣutā*, 'that which makes a *bhikṣu* a *bhikṣu*' (morality, the *saṃvara*, or vows of a *bhikṣu*, etc.).

The material elements in a Buddha were, from of old, styled *rūpakāya*, 'material body.' Mythological Mahāyānism styles them *sambhogakāya*, 'glorious *or* blessed body,' or *vipākakāya*, 'body of ripening.' The body of a Buddha is glorious, endowed with the thirty-two marks, enthroned in paradises where it is adored by celestial *bodhisattvas*. The so-called 'material body' of the man named Śākyamuni was not what we should call, in our phraseology, a 'body,' but only a magical double of the glorious body of a certain Buddha. Side by side with Śākyamuni there is an infinite number of such doubles, some Buddha-like (as Śākyamuni), some endowed with every sort of appearance. These magical creations are styled *nirmāṇakāyas*, 'contrived,' 'created,' or 'magical bodies.'

To sum up: a Buddha is a saint in whom we can, with the scalpel of dialectic, distinguish what Europeans call a 'soul'—a set of sublime *dharmas*, some of which are beneficial to himself (*svārtha—e.g.*, wisdom, meditations turned to *nirvāṇa*), some of which are beneficial to others (*parārtha—e.g.*, compassion and power corresponding to this compassion)—and a 'body,' the fruit of his merits and former vows (*praṇidhāna*), which sanctifies and ripens the blessed, while a number of magical appearances convert and save ordinary beings.

(2) An interpretation of the three bodies in terms of monism and immanence was very easy.

(*α*) The *dharmakāya—i.e.* this set of *dharmas* that are the special *dharmas* of a Tathāgata—is realized in all the Tathāgatas. A Platonist would say that the Tathāgatas are so many copies of the *dharmakāya*, that the *dharmakāya* is an eternal essence which manifests itself in the Tathāgatas.

(*β*) The *sambhogakāya* depends on the *dharmakāya*, as it is the fruit of the merit accumulated (*puṇyasambhāra*) by the future Buddha, this merit being in close relations with the accumulation of knowledge (*jñānasambhāra*) which results in the *dharmakāya*. As a matter of fact, the *sambhoga-*

[1] We know from Tibetan authorities that the Vijñānavādins disagreed as to the defilement: some held it to be real; some taught that it is illusory (cf. *advaita* and *viśiṣṭādvaita, māyā* and *vivartavāda*).

[2] See L. de la Vallée Poussin, 'Vedānta and Buddhism,' *JRAS*, new ser., xlii. 129–140; *Siddhitraya*, Chowkhamba Sanskrit series, no. 36, p. 19; Vijñānabhikṣu's *Sāṃkhyapravachana-bhaṣya* (i. 22), ed. and tr. R. Garbe, Cambridge, Mass., 1895, index, *s.vv.* 'Vijñānavāda,' 'Prachannabauddha'; T. Aufrecht, *Cat. Oxoniensis*, Oxford, 1859, p. 14; Vasudev Anant Sukhtankar, *The Teaching of Vedānta according to Rāmanuja*, Vienna, 1908.

[3] *Laṅkāvatāra*, ed. Buddhist Text Soc. of India, Calcutta, 1902, p. 80; a correct quotation of the passage in *Muséon*, xii. 251; see *JRAS*, new ser., xxxviii. [1906] 954.

kāya is described in the Tāntras[1] as 'effluent from the *dharmadhātu*' (*°niṣyanda*), *i.e.* an 'emanation of the *dharmakāya*.'

(γ) The set of *dharmas* which characterize *bodhisattvas* as *bodhisattvas* and their visible bodies are, in the same way, imperfect copies of the bodies of a Buddha. The same process may be applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to every being. The *sambhogakāya* is described as the universal matrix, 'the place of origin of all beings' (*utpattisthāna*).[2]

Several scholars, among them D. T. Suzuki (pp. 61, 73, 231, 245, 255, 261), maintain that such an interpretation was the interpretation of the chiefs of the Vijñānavādin school, Aśvaghoṣa, Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, and they quote *sūtras* (Avataṃsaka) which are supposed to embody it. The present writer believes that the only texts which are clear to this effect are Tāntric texts. But it would be a mistake to underestimate their value, as there are evidences of the antiquity of the pantheistic or theistic views (see art. DOCETISM [Buddhist]).

As observed above, the *tathāgatagarbha* and the 'pure thought' are very like an immanent undefiled *dharmakāya*. Asaṅga states that there is not an Ādibuddha (see art. ĀDIBUDDHA), a primordial and eternal Buddha; every Buddha has been for a time a 'future Buddha' (*bodhisattva*) and, before becoming a future Buddha, was from the beginning an ordinary being. If Buddha is styled *svayambhū*, 'who exists by himself,' the meaning is that he has acquired, by himself, Buddhahood. But the refutation of the theory of a Buddha *per se* proves that such a theist theory had partisans. As a matter of fact, in the *Mahābherī* (Wassilieff, p. 112) the Buddha is possessed of a pure self, of a permanent bliss, not of *nirvāṇa*.

For the theists, Buddha would be a Brāhmanic god. His *dharmakāya* (Amitābha) is a counterpart of Brahmā; his *sambhogakāya* (Amitāyus) corresponds to Viṣṇu or to the celestial Kṛṣṇa; his magical apparitions (Śākyamuni, etc.) correspond to the *avatārs*.

Tāntrism (*mantranaya, vajrayāna*) is thoroughly immanentist and Śaivist. It is fond of Mādhyamika formulas, and states, at every opportunity, that things are void. But voidness is the *ens realissimum*, is *ātman*, or *brahman*, and this *ātman* is styled Vajrasattva, a Bhagavat united to a Bhagavatī (=*śakti*). *Mantras* (formulas) and *vidhis* (rites) of different classes, especially erotic *vidhis*, quickly transform the devotee into Vajrasattva, or rather 'exteriorize' the Vajrasattva-nature that is immanent in every being, just as, in Mahāyāna, the practice of the 'perfect virtues' (*pāramitās*) develops the 'germ of a Buddha.'

Side by side with the doctrine of immanence, which is chiefly Tāntric, there are several forms of theism (monotheism and polylatry) coupled with doctrines of emanation. They may be styled Brāhmanic or Paurānic (Svayambhū-purāṇa, Kāraṇḍavyūha, Maṇi bka bum, etc.). Buddha is identified with Brahmā; the 'magical bodies' with which he was credited in orthodox Mahāyāna are now living beings, born from the rays emitted from his body.

LITERATURE.—This is given throughout the article. See also P. Oltramare, *Les Variations de l'ontologie bouddhique: du phénoménisme au monisme*, Paris, 1916.

L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

PHILOSOPHY (Chinese).—Although in philosophy the Chinese cannot vie with the great nations of thinkers—the Greeks, the Hindus, or the Germans—they may well be placed on a level with the Romans, and they surpass the Semitic peoples—the Arabs, Hebrews, and Persians. The Japanese are their disciples. We must bear in mind that they produced their philosophy almost entirely independently of alien influence. The Chinese always took more interest in practical questions concerning the life and welfare of individuals and society than in purely theoretical ones, and in consequence developed fairly complete systems of ethics, whereas they did not advance far in metaphysics. Tradition, authority, and veneration of antiquity were so many chains and fetters impeding the flight of their speculative genius. They trusted too much in the wisdom of sages and worthies and too little in their own mental powers. Satisfied with the knowledge of their predecessors, which they did not dare to challenge, they imagined themselves to be in possession of the whole truth, and never thought of the many problems evolved in the West.

In the history of Chinese philosophy we can distinguish two distinct periods—ancient and modern—separated by an interval of stagnation. The former extends from remote antiquity to the 1st cent. of our era, comprising the Chow and the greater part of the Han dynasty; the latter begins in the 11th cent. and is known as the Sung philosophy, for it originated under the Sung dynasty and was carried on to the Ming epoch, when it stopped in the beginning of the 16th century. No further progress was made after the Sung philosophy had been more or less recognized as the official philosophy. Westerners are better informed on ancient Chinese philosophy than on the modern development of Chinese thought.

We find the first traces of philosophical speculations in the *Shu King*, especially in the chapter entitled 'Hung-fan.' The legendary emperor Yü is believed to have received it from heaven, and in 1122 B.C. the prince of Chi presented it to the founder of the Chow dynasty, Wu-wang. The language of this old document is very archaic, and it may well date from such an early time. During the 12th cent. B.C. the Chinese had already reached a certain height of civilization, and it is not surprising that the highest questions of human life should have presented themselves to their minds. The 'Hung-fan' deals with the five elements, the primary agencies of the universe, natural phenomena supposed to be connected with human fate, chronology based on the observation of the stars, the virtues and duties of the ruler, the various functions of government, and the different kinds of happiness and misfortune. In the short aphorisms of this treatise we have the germs of the later philosophy of nature, ethics, and political philosophy.

Another source of primitive Chinese philosophy is the *Yi King*, the chief text-book of divination, consisting of a series of hexagrams which have been explained in a fanciful way so as to yield a great variety of oracles. But it must be remembered that the passage usually quoted as containing the first reference to the cosmic dual forces, *yin* and *yang*, occurs in a late commentary ascribed to Tse-sse, the grandson of Confucius, not in the text. Nevertheless, it is probable that the dualistic theory of the *yin* and the *yang* was known before Confucius, at least its fundamental outlines. The dual forces precede the five elements, which are evolved from them. The *yang* is regarded as the bright, male, active, generative essence, the *yin* as the dark, female, passive, and receptive one. *Yang* is embodied in heaven and the celestial bodies, *yin* in earth with all her products. There is an interaction of both in thunder and lightning, in wind and rain, heat and cold, in the courses of the sun and the moon.

In ancient Chinese philosophy we have two distinct and opposed schools of thought, the one practical, realistic, and agnostic, the other idealistic and transcendental—Confucianism and Taoism. There are besides quite a number of independent philosophers, who hold views agreeing

[1] *Nāmasaṃgīti*, v. 79. [2] *Ib.* v. 60.

with neither the one nor the other of these schools, and whom we may denote as 'heterodox.' The preponderance of Confucianism is, however, so marked that, from a Chinese point of view, only Confucianism would be considered as orthodox philosophy, and Taoism would be heterodox. Foreigners do not accord this pre-eminence to Confucianism, and hold that both schools of thought have contributed equally to the formation of the Chinese mind.

1. **Confucianism.**—Confucianism may be called a philosophy or a religion, although it just lacks that part of religion which in our opinion is essential—metaphysics. Its founder, Confucius (551–479 B.C.), is neither a great philosopher nor a theorist in ethics, but a practical moralist who has impressed his countrymen by his personal character no less than by his common sense. He did not wish to propound new and original ideas, but to propagate those of the ancients, for whom he felt the greatest reverence, holding that his contemporaries had degenerated from the ideal state of civilization in primitive times. For this purpose he edited the old books supposed to contain the noble thoughts of former sages, which thus became the classical works of Chinese literature. As a teacher he inculcated practical wisdom, philosophizing with his disciples on all questions concerning the moral conduct of the individual and the good government of the State. His disciples took note of his characteristic utterances, which subsequently were published as the *Lun-yü*, or the *Confucian Analects*, and are our chief source of his teachings. He limits himself to ethics, refraining from all metaphysical speculations, in which he does not take the slightest interest. We do not know his reasons for this; he may have thought such speculations useless or transcending the human intellect. As regards popular beliefs and customs, he shows a benevolent neutrality. He advises his adherents to follow the old usages, sacrificing to the spirits and the souls of the departed as though they were present, and he believes in a superior being, whom he calls Heaven, and a just fate, but he positively declines to speak on supernatural things. It is not correct, therefore, to make Confucius responsible for the worship of nature—the old popular religion of China—and to call all these superstitious practices Confucianism. Confucius is merely concerned with ethical problems, as also is his follower, Mencius, and is utterly indifferent to all higher speculations, philosophical as well as religious.

The Confucian ethics are eudæmonistic, for Confucius holds that by good actions one acquires happiness, whereas bad actions rouse the ire of heaven and bring down punishment on the guilty. In this respect he is a convinced optimist, in spite of all the unfortunate experiences which he underwent during his life. Man is in possession of a moral sense sometimes obscured by his passions, but he may overcome these by intelligence. Virtue is the *summum bonum* and the source of all happiness. It may be learned by study and self-culture. Every one should strive to become a *chün-tse*, a superior man who possesses the five cardinal virtues and all the accomplishments of a perfect gentleman. These five virtues are: benevolence, justice, decency, wisdom, and truthfulness. The cornerstone of Confucian ethics is filial piety (*q.v.*)—the love which children owe to their parents even beyond the grave, and on which is based ancestor-worship (*q.v.*). In close relation to this virtue is respect of seniors. Courage and loyalty to one's sovereign are likewise reputed virtues. For the sovereign, the parents, and the teacher one may eventually be obliged to sacrifice one's life. The five relations regulate the duties between the different classes, which are: ruler and subject, father and son, older and younger brother, husband and wife, friend and friend. As a general principle applicable to all relations, Confucius established the Golden Rule: 'What you do not want done to yourself do not do to others' (*Anal.* xv. 23). That Confucius was not a narrow-minded nationalist may be gathered from his saying that 'All men between the four seas are brethren.' In politics Confucius advocates an enlightened despotism. Recent efforts of young Chinese to represent him as sponsor for republicanism have failed. The possibility of such an institution as democracy was not even thought of in his time. Confucius would have seen in it a subversion of all true relations. The prince has to work for the welfare of his people and to lead them to virtue by his good example. His subjects have to serve him and obey his commands. Government is not their business, but must be left to their ruler, who is appointed by heaven, and to his ministers. In strong contrast to Taoism, Confucius lays great emphasis on culture and study; even virtue can be learned.

In the *Great Learning*, a short ethico-political treatise ascribed to Tse-sse, the grandson of the sage, the self-culture of the individual has to start from an insight into the nature of things, followed by a study of ancient customs and literature. The individual thus having become cultivated, his whole family imitates him, and, when all clans and families are well ordered, the State is well governed. The ultimate aim is universal peace among all the nations.

The third classical text of Confucianism is the *Doctrine of the Mean*. The author, Tse-sse, first takes a somewhat higher flight, which in its wording at least savours a little of Taoism, describing the equilibrium of mind in its original state before its passions have been stirred. The rest of the book is in the less pretentious style of the *Analects*. See also artt. CONFUCIAN RELIGION, CONFUCIUS.

As Socrates found a Plato and Christ a Paul who explained and further developed the teachings of their masters, so Confucius found in Mencius (372–289 B.C.), the second sage, as he was called afterwards, his ablest exponent. In longer dialogues he defends Confucianism against the objections raised against it, with great dialectical skill and in a brilliant style, strongly contrasting by its vividness with the self-control and dispassionateness of his master. Mencius is a greater philosopher, a more profound thinker, and a better theorist than Confucius. He tries to deduct from general principles the conceptions which Confucius takes as given or self-evident. So he derives the four cardinal virtues—benevolence, justice, decency, and wisdom—from the feelings of compassion, shame, reverence, right and wrong. These virtues are innate in man, but he must preserve them by constant practice. Human nature is the gift of heaven, and therefore originally good, but it can be corrupted. Mencius himself originated a theory of passion-nature, dealing with human passions. His political views were much more democratic than those of Confucius. He ranked the sovereign below the people, and even admitted that a bad ruler might be assassinated by a 'minister of heaven.' See, further, art. MENCIUS.

With Mencius Confucianism was practically completed. Later Confucianists of the Han period, like Tung Chung-shu, Lu Chia, Chia I, Pan Ku, and Yang Hsiung, did not carry it much farther. For many centuries the question of the goodness or badness of human nature was hotly debated.

Hsün K'uang of the 3rd cent. B.C. held that the nature of man at his birth is evil, and that virtue is artificial, not natural. Otherwise he laid the

chief stress on the ceremonial side of Confucianism. He was of a practical and unimaginative turn of mind. Before Mencius was, so to speak, discovered by Chu Hsi, and raised to the rank of a sage, Hsün K'uang was on a level with Mencius in public estimation.

The philosopher Kao-tse, a contemporary of Mencius who quotes him, held that there is no difference between good and bad. Tung Chung-shu (2nd cent. B.C.) and Yang Hsiung (53 B.C.–A.D. 18) both assert that human nature is partly good and partly bad, and that the development in either direction depends upon environment.

2. Taoism.—Between Taoism and Confucianism there is the greatest possible contrast; they are, as it were, two different worlds. Whereas Confucianism teaches a practical morality, insisting on the different virtues, assigning to man his position in the family and the State, regulating his life in his diverse spheres by strict rules, and eschewing all speculations on the essence of things, Taoism turns away from this busy world, evincing a distinct ascetic tendency and endeavouring to grasp the primary cause of existence by intuition and mysticism. Hence it is not proper to maintain that both systems logically run together. A Confucianist may believe in the old philosophy of nature already in existence before the two schools were established, but this agreement does not remove the fundamental differences between the two rival philosophies, just as an idealist does not become a materialist by accepting the natural sciences based on materialistic principles. The Taoist writers themselves show their antagonism to the Confucian doctrine by their violent attacks on Confucius.

The Taoists claim the legendary emperor Huang-ti as the first advocate of their dogmas, and they often couple his name with that of Lao-tse. No sayings of Huang-ti are recorded, but it is not impossible that Taoist thought existed before Lao-tse, the founder of Taoism. Lao-tse is supposed to have been born in 604 B.C., so he would have preceded Confucius by half a century. The genuineness of his work, the *Tao-teh-king*, has been called in question by some sinologists, but on insufficient grounds. Many scholars regard Lao-tse's book as the most wonderful production of the Chinese mind; others hold that its value has been greatly exaggerated. Judgments will vary according as the critics themselves lean to pantheism and mysticism or are sober-minded and matter-of-fact. At all events the book seems to have a fascinating influence, which is shown by the fact that we have about fifteen or more translations, and they have not yet stopped. The best translations are those of Julien, Chalmers, von Strauss, and Legge.

Lao-tse's system is pure pantheism and mysticism, and is fully treated under the title MYSTICISM (Chinese).

The fundamental thoughts of Lao-tse were developed by later Taoist writers. The oldest of them is Lieh-tse, who lived in the 5th century. His existence has been denied by some sinologists, but it is well established by utterances of many ancient authors and by his work, which is much too original to be a later forgery. Lieh-tse is concerned with the philosophy of nature, and his doctrine has been characterized as naturalism. He regards nature as an eternal circle of growing and decaying caused by an occult force. Life and death alternate, but there is no absolute annihilation, no beginning and no end. Lieh-tse was aware of the so-called antinomies of time and space, and in contradistinction to Kant he holds that infinity alone is possible. All living beings, being created from the same primordial substance, are nearly related, and there is no fundamental difference between man and animals. In a somewhat fantastical theory on the descent of man Lieh-tse gives a list of all our animal ancestors. He assumes an intuitive knowledge, independent of the senses, but the highest knowledge of *Tao* cannot be expressed by words. Through a concentration of will-power and a mystical community with *Tao* one may obtain magical forces, transcend the natural laws, and become an immortal.

Whereas Lieh-tse is chiefly interested in the philosophy of nature, Chuang-tse (3rd cent.) deals with the philosophy of mind. His writings are a mixture of mysticism and doubt, of seriousness and humour. He is as much a poet as a philosopher, a most ingenious thinker, more idealistic and abstruse than Lieh-tse, and consequently much harder to understand. According to Chuang-tse, our common judgments are wrong. A wise man discards all the contrasts based on sense-perception, even the difference between the perceiving subject and the perceived object. The ego and the world are one and the same. All contrasts are blended in *Tao*. This is what Chuang-tse calls the 'identity of contraries'—a theory scientifically developed in Schelling's philosophy of identity. If by mystical intuition the sage becomes one with *Tao*, he sees that a difference between subject and object does not exist. He severs himself from his own self and becomes a passive vessel of *Tao*, the mirror of the eternal. Knowing that *Tao* alone has real existence, he looks upon life as an empty semblance, as the phantasmagoria of a wild dream.

Han-fei-tse (3rd cent.) tried to utilize Taoist principles for the theory of government and the management of State affairs. His ideal is an irresponsible despotism. The ruler is not to act himself; he may enjoy the *wu-wei*, but he must have responsible organs to mete out rewards and punishments.

The work which goes under the name of Huai-nan-tse (2nd cent. B.C.), but perhaps was composed by Taoist adepts in his service, deals with the activities of the primary force and natural phenomena, and is our oldest source on Taoist cosmogony, astrology, and alchemy. In later Taoism these sciences are cultivated chiefly, and purely philosophic disquisitions are not much appreciated.

3. Heterodox philosophers.—During the latter part of the Chow dynasty there existed in China a very active literary spirit and many more schools of thought than Confucianism and Taoism, which alone survived and supplanted all the others. Of most of these heterodox philosophers only scanty remains are preserved, and it is difficult to know what their teachings really were.

Yang Chu (4th cent. B.C.) founded a school of pessimism and egoism. His bitterness is the result of the miseries of life, which in his opinion by far outweigh its charms. This world, where the virtuous are unhappy and the wicked thrive, cannot be governed by any higher ethical principle. Man should not strive for unattainable ethical ideals, thus losing the little enjoyment left him, but should live in accordance with his nature, making the best of his poor existence. He may help his fellow-creatures, but not to the excess of self-sacrifice, since his own sufferings are already hard enough. Yang Chu teaches the Horatian 'Carpe diem,' but, like Epicurus, deprecates all excesses and advises moderation and equanimity.

Mê Ti (4th and 5th cent. B.C.) was the counterpart of Yang Chu, an extreme altruist and optimist. He admitted the evils of the world, but held that their root was the want of love and sympathy for one's neighbours. Universal love

and self-sacrifice would cause all the calamities to disappear and re-organize society. Mê Ti attacks aggressive wars with the same arguments as are used by the pacifists of our time. The argumentation throughout his work, which has come down to us, is logical and well to the point. Owing to this doctrine of universal love, Mê Ti has been designated 'the Christ of China.' Like Yang Chu, he was vigorously condemned by Mencius, who feared that this doctrine would loosen the family ties, Confucianism according more love and sympathy to blood-relations than to strangers. Mê Ti favours equality of all citizens, and shows socialistic tendencies. He objects to luxury and extravagance, especially as often shown in funerals, and recommends economy. Rejecting the theory of a predetermined fate, he has a strong faith in the just rule of gods and spirits rewarding good actions and punishing bad. The school of Mê Ti split into three branches, but we do not know anything more about them.

Another school of thought that flourished between the 6th and 4th centuries B.C. was that of the dialecticians, or logicians, if we may use this term. The Chinese never have developed a complete science of logic, but we find some germs from which it might have been evolved. Yin Wên-tse (4th cent. B.C.) made some investigations on the parts of speech and their logical functions. With the dialecticians (*ming-chia*) the Chinese class the sophists (*pien-shih*). They are famous for their love of argument and for their strange sayings or paradoxes, which, however, hide deep truths. The earliest seems to be Têng Hsi (6th cent. B.C.), whose paradoxes do not differ much from those of the Taoists. He professes a peculiar theory of knowledge: instead of using one's own senses, one ought to see with the world-eye, to hear with the world-ear, and to think with the world-intellect—*i.e.*, a mystical knowledge should be acquired by a complete identification of one's self with *Tao*, or the absolute.

The sophist Hui Shih (4th cent.) is known to us from Chuang-tse, who frequently disputed with him and speaks of him with great respect. Hui Shih must have been a prolific writer: his works are said to have filled several carts; it is the more to be regretted that a number of paradoxes recorded by Chuang-tse are all that we know of his work. From these aphorisms it appears that Hui Shih denies the reality of time and space, and attempts to dissolve all contraries. His starting-point, however, is not *Tao*, but the infinitely small and the infinitely great, from which Zeno and many other idealistic philosophers have tried to disprove the reality of our world.

We can form a fairly good idea of how Chinese sophists would argue from the few chapters of Kung-sun Lung (3rd cent. B.C.) which are still extant. In question and answer, thesis and antithesis, he proves that a white horse is no horse. His treatise on the 'hard and white' touches an important question of the theory of knowledge. He holds that the qualities of things, such as hard and white, have only an intermittent existence. When not perceived by us, they are in abeyance, they separate, or hide.

The last great thinker of the early epoch of Chinese philosophy is Wang Ch'ung (A.D. 27–97), who far surpasses Confucius and Mencius as a metaphysician. He regards himself as a Confucianist, but the Chinese usually take him for an eclectic, and we shall not be far wrong in calling him the greatest Chinese sceptical philosopher. He shows his scepticism and brilliant critical genius in exposing the errors and superstitions of his countrymen. His own philosophy is a kind of materialistic monism akin to that of Epicurus and Lucretius. In his system the *yin* and *yang* are material substances, as water and fire. Their movements are spontaneous, subject to certain laws, but there is no intelligence, no superior being holding the universe in his sway. The *yin* forms the human body, the *yang* the soul. At death they are scattered again. The human soul is no more immortal than that of animals. Many reasons are given against the belief in immortality. Nevertheless, Wang Ch'ung believes in ghosts and demons as an effluence of the fiery *yang* fluid, and in other portents and omens produced in a natural way. He still clings to fate and predestination, but he has materialized fate, regarding it as a quantity of the original heavenly fluid with which man is imbued at his birth. Wang Ch'ung is much more critical and scientific than other Chinese philosophers, and, as far as possible, bases his arguments on experience.

From the time of Wang Ch'ung Chinese philosophy was in a state of torpor for nearly a millennium. Some philosophical books were written, but the writers contented themselves chiefly with expanding and commenting upon older works. It was the age of commentators, devoid of new and original ideas. Independent thought was smothered by the authority of Confucianism, which passed for the acme of wisdom, and which nobody dared to oppose. At last a new impetus was given to mental philosophy in the 11th cent. A.D. by the Sung philosophers.

4. Sung philosophy.—Chou Lien-ch'i (1017–73) was the first to revive the study of the philosophy of nature. Taking the commentaries of the *Yi King* as a basis, he wrote a very short monograph on the primary cause or the first principle, *t'ai-chi*, from which *yin* and *yang* were evolved, which produced the universe. Chou Lien-ch'i's ethics are quite Confucian, whence this whole school has been denoted as Neo-Confucianism. Chang Ming-tao and the two brothers, Ch'êng Hao and Ch'êng I, followed in the same line of thought, but were eclipsed by a pupil of Ch'êng Hao, Chu Hsi (1130–1200), the most illustrious of the Sung philosophers.

Chu Hsi began his work as a commentator. His commentaries on the four classics are excellent, and enjoy almost as much fame as the old texts themselves. His annotations on the writings of his four predecessors became the nucleus of his own metaphysical productions. He did not make a systematic digest of his system, but his disciples were in the habit of noting down the conversations that they had with their master, and Chu Hsi himself wrote innumerable letters to his friends and pupils, in which he discusses philosophical questions, replying to their inquiries, setting doubts at rest, or refuting objections. From these notes and letters we gather the impression that there was an active philosophical life in China during the Sung dynasty similar to that of the Greek philosophical schools. It was only after the death of Chu Hsi that all these notes and letters were collected and published. In 1713 all the philosophical writings of Chu Hsi were revised and systematically arranged by order of the Manchu emperor K'ang Hsi.

Chu Hsi's philosophy is dualistic and has been compared with Cartesianism. He supposes two fundamental principles, matter (*ch'i*) and reason (*li*), of which the latter takes precedence. They were already united in the primary cause or the absolute, from which the *yin* and *yang* and the whole universe were evolved. Wang Ch'ung knows but one materialistic principle; Chu Hsi acknowledges a spiritualistic one too. It produces life and the human mind, at least its superior part, intelligence. Death causes a dissolution of

the body and the mind, the one returning to earth, the other to heaven, whence they came. Immortality is out of the question.

This philosophy is known by the name *hsing-li*, 'human nature and reason.' It found so many adherents that in 1415 the third emperor of the Ming dynasty could make a collection of the principal writings of this character—a systematic digest embracing the works of 120 scholars. It is a complete philosophical encyclopædia with the following sections: cosmogony, spiritual powers, metaphysics, first principles, sages, literati, education, philosophers, successive generations, principles of rule, principles of government, poetry, and literature. This somewhat unwieldy compilation was revised in the 18th cent. by an imperial commission and abridged. The new publication may be regarded as a handbook of the official philosophy of China. It is Confucianism as interpreted by Chu Hsi and supplemented with metaphysics, in which the original system was deficient.

5. Opposition to the Sung philosophy.—The authority of Chu Hsi did not remain unchallenged. His opponents averred that he had misunderstood and misinterpreted the Confucian classics. Lu Chiu-yüan (1140–92) opposed him on the ground that Chu Hsi had exaggerated the importance of education from without and mere learning, and that the rectification of the heart was the chief thing. Self-cultivation and subjective education were alone essential. It must be admitted that Chu Hsi's highly-developed metaphysical system is alien to primitive Confucianism, which is only ethical.

The dispute went on, some scholars taking the side of Chu Hsi, others opposing him, others again endeavouring to reconcile the two conflicting views. Among all the antagonists of Chu Hsi, Wang Yang-ming (A.D. 1472–1528) is the most successful. He holds that the great learning of Chu Hsi is of no use, that he merely explains the words of the classical texts, but misses the meaning. His own purely idealistic philosophy is founded on the original nature of man as described in the *Doctrine of the Mean*. He vindicates for man a sort of intuitive faculty which may be obscured temporarily by passions, but is always there. It is the source of all knowledge, for it creates the external things and thus resembles the absolute of modern philosophy.

Both Chu Hsi and Wang Yang-ming were acquainted with Buddhist thought and to some extent were influenced by it. Their writings are much studied in Japan, where they became the heads of two rival schools of philosophy.

With Wang Yang-ming the productivity of Chinese philosophy again ceases, and it is passing once more through an ebb-tide at present. Signs of another renaissance, however, are not wanting. In recent years the Chinese have become interested in European philosophy, and it is to be expected that the many new ideas derived from this source will prove to them a stimulus to original research.

LITERATURE.—W. Grube, 'Die chinesische Philosophie,' in *Die Kultur der Gegenwart, Allgemeine Gesch. der Philosophie*, ed. P. Hinneberg, Berlin, 1909, pp. 78–99; D. T. Suzuki, *A Brief Hist. of Early Chinese Philosophy*, London, 1914; J. Legge, *The Yi-king*, *SBE* xvi. [1882], *The Chinese Classics*, Oxford, 1893, vols. i.–iii.; S. Couvreur, *Seu Chou: les Quatre Livres*, Ho-Kien-fu, 1895–97; E. Faber, *The Doctrines of Confucius*, tr. von Möllendorff, Hongkong, 1875; R. Dvořák, *Confucius und seine Lehre*, Münster, 1895; Faber, *Der Lehrbegriff des chinesischen Philosophen Mencius*, Elberfeld, 1877; S. Julien, *Lao Tseu Tao Te king; le livre de la voie et de la vertu*, Paris, 1841; J. Chalmers, *The Speculations of the old Philosopher*, London, 1868; V. von Strauss, *Lao-tse's Tao-te-king*, Leipzig, 1870; Legge, *The Texts of Taoism*, *SBE* xxxix. [1891], xl. [1891]; Dvořák, *Lao-tsi und seine Lehre*, Münster, 1903; Faber, *Sämmtliche Werke des Philosophen Licius*, Elberfeld, 1877; L. Giles, *Taoist Teachings from the Book of Lieh Tzŭ* ('Wisdom of the East' Series), London, 1912; H. A. Giles, *Chuang Tzŭ: Mystic, Moralist, and Social Reformer*, do. 1889; Faber, *Die Lehre des Philosophen Micius*, Elberfeld, 1877; A. David, *Le Philosophe Méh Ti*, London, 1907; A. Forke, 'Yang Chu the Epicurean in his Relation to Lieh Tse the Pantheist,' *Journ. of Peking Oriental Society*, iii. [1893]; David, *Les Théories individualistes dans la philosophie chinoise (Yang-Tchou)*, Paris, 1909; H. Cranmer-Byng and A. Forke, *Yang Chu's Garden of Pleasure* ('Wisdom of the East' Series), London, 1912; Forke, 'The Chinese Sophists,' *JRAS*, China Branch, xxxiv. [1901–02], *Lun-Heng*, pt. i., 'Philosophical Essays of Wang Ch'ung,' Berlin, 1907, pt. ii., 'Miscellaneous Essays of Wang Ch'ung,' do. 1911; C. von der Gabelentz, *Thai-Kih-Thu des Tscheu-Tsi Tafel des Urprinzipes*, Dresden, 1876; S. Le Gall, *Tschou-Hi: sa doctrine, son influence (Variétés sinologiques*, no. 6), Shanghai, 1894; C. de Harlez, *L'Ecole philosophique moderne de la Chine ou système de la nature*, (Sing-li), Brussels, 1890; F. G. Henke, 'A Study in the Life and Philosophy of Wang Yang Ming,' *JRAS*, China Branch, xliv. [1913].

A. FORKE.

PHILOSOPHY (Egyptian).—1. The tradition.—The Greek writers, from Homer and Herodotus downwards, are almost unanimous in their praise of the wisdom of the Egyptians, thereby perpetuating a firmly-rooted opinion of which far earlier testimony may be found in the Hebrew literature. At first, it is true, this wisdom is of a very ill-defined quality; in the book of Kings (1 K 4^{30}) it means proverbial lore, while to Homer (*Od.* iv. 229–232) it signifies skill in medicine. In later times, however, it becomes increasingly clear that what is meant is not merely mental attainments of a superficial and practical kind, but the possession of profound philosophical views. We have the authority of such writers as Diodorus, Plutarch, and Strabo for the fact that eminent Hellenic philosophers and statesmen like Solon, Thales, Pythagoras, Democritus of Abdera, and Plato sat at the feet of Egyptian priestly teachers, some of whose names have been handed down (conveniently collected in G. Parthey's ed. of Plutarch, *de Iside et Osiride*, Berlin, 1850, pp. 182–186); and in the works of Plutarch and Iamblichus we find many philosophical explanations that are attributed to the priests of Heliopolis, Thebes, and Sais.

2. The native evidence.—The study of the hieroglyphic literature cannot fail to dissipate completely this cherished illusion concerning the profundity of the Egyptian philosophy, though it must not be denied that the surviving evidence is exceedingly scanty and one-sided. To take an instance from a quite different sphere, it is known for certain that the Egyptians codified their laws; and yet not one scrap of a law-book has come down to us. Why, then, it may be asked, is it not justifiable to suppose that the Egyptians did possess profound philosophical systems, of which the written record, if ever there was any, is now lost? This supposition, it may not unreasonably be argued, is required to explain the Greek tradition.

No hypothesis of this kind is likely to win much support from hieroglyphic students, for, judged by Greek standards, the texts which we possess cannot conceivably be placed on any very high level. Most scholars would agree with the verdict that the Egyptians show no real love of truth, no desire to probe into the inner nature of things. Their minds were otherwise oriented: a highly gifted people, exhibiting talent in almost every direction, their bent was towards material prosperity and artistic enjoyment; contemplation and thought for their own sake—necessities to the peoples of Greece and India—were alien to the temperament of the Egyptians. Plato once liberates himself from the prevailing tradition to say, with much truth, that love of knowledge was the characteristic of the Hellenes, while the characteristic of the Phœnicians and Egyptians was the love of wealth (*Rep.* iv. 436).

This generalization, of course, is merely comparative; the Egyptians possessed a didactic

literature, which no doubt satisfied the same kind of need in Egypt as the works of the Greek philosophers and scientific men did in Greece; but it never rises above the immediate requirements of everyday life. There is nothing earlier than the Middle Kingdom; but from that period onward we possess books of maxims and counsels addressed by aged Pharaohs to their successors (*The Instruction of Amenemmes, The Instruction of Akhthoi*), advice to magistrates about to take office (*The Installation of the Vizier Rekhmerē*), more general books of precepts (*The Instruction of Ptahhotpe, The Maxims of Any*), praise of the scribe's vocation, based on disparaging descriptions of other professions, books on medicine and mathematics, and lists of words classified according to sense. There are poems of sceptical tendency, dwelling on the brevity of life, and exhorting men to eat and drink, for they must soon die; and poems of opposite tendency, exalting death and the west, where deliverance from suffering may be found. One class of composition bears a superficial resemblance to the Platonic dialogues: a short narrative introduces a certain situation, the problem of which is then treated in rhetorical speeches. Among these are the conversation between a misanthrope and his soul on the value of life, the reflexions of a robbed peasant on human injustice, and the admonishments addressed by a sage to a lax king reigning over a ruined Egypt. None of these writings inspires us with a very great respect for Egyptian profundity of thought, though they display a certain practical perspicacity and worldly wisdom. Above all, they have often considerable poetical merit. In a word, they are to be compared with the Wisdom literature of the Hebrews, though they cannot be said to rise to the same heights of grandeur and spirituality.

The religious literature of Egypt shows a stronger leaning to speculation than the secular works, due to a confusion of contradictory myths and attributions which must have been intolerable to the more learned priests. Cosmogony has the same purpose as philosophy—an explanation of the universe; and in Egypt it might, under more favourable circumstances, have resulted in true philosophy. We have one exceptional inscription from Memphis, the late copy of a very early document, in which Ptah appears as All-creator: out of him arose Horus as 'heart' or 'understanding' and Thōth as 'tongue' or 'speech'; and from the interaction of these two, explained in some detail and with some subtlety, all things came into existence. This account has been recently shown to be only the variant of the old Heliopolitan dogma that received Atūm, the sun-god, as the Creator, aided by Ḥu, 'commanding utterance,' and Sia', 'understanding'—deities who were emanations of himself (see art. PERSONIFICATION [Egyptian], 9 (*b*) 3 f.). Again, sporadic passages in the texts identify Osiris with water or vegetation, Seth with evil, Rē with light, and so forth; these rationalizations might, in more systematic hands, have become stepping-stones towards a philosophy like that of earlier Ionia.

About the year 1375 B.C. a religious revolution took place which completely contradicts all that has been said above concerning the Egyptian temperament, and which, unless the baseless theory that it was due to foreign influence prove true, can only be ascribed to the individual genius of a very exceptional man. Akhnaton, as he called himself later, was the son of Amenophis III., one of the most powerful of the Pharaohs, and of Queen Tiyi, the daughter of a priest; his portraits represent him with an abnormally-shaped head on a deformed, emaciated body, whence some have imagined that he may have been an epileptic. Already in the time of Amenophis III. we can detect a growing reverence for the sun as a celestial body, distinct from the traditional sun-god Rē-Atūm of Heliopolis; nor is it impossible, as J. H. Breasted has suggested, that the extension of the Egyptian rule both in Syria and in Nubia may have made felt the need of such a universal, omnipotent deity. Be this as it may, the propagation of the new cult was due to the fervour of the young king Akhnaton; not long after the beginning of his reign he broke completely away from the faith of his forefathers, forbade the worship of any other god than Aton, the solar disk, changed his name from Amenophis to Akhnaton ('pleasing to the Aton'), and moved his capital from Thebes, the town of the hated but powerful deity Amūn, to a new site near the modern village of Amarna in Middle Egypt. The suppression of all other gods thus created an exclusive monotheism, but the new religion was far more than the mere exaltation of the old sun-god in the place of a complex pantheon. Though temple-worship and certain externals of the old rituals persisted, the anthropomorphic form of the god was replaced by a mere symbol representing the ball of the sun spreading its rays, which are furnished with hands, in all directions; in the magnificent hymns addressed to the Aton all mythological traits are given up, and deep emphasis is laid on the life-giving attributes of light and warmth, to which all creation and all existence are ascribed. The intellectual character of the new faith is indicated by the name Sbōye, 'the doctrine'; never, perhaps, in the world's history, except in the French Revolution, has so radical an attempt been made to enthrone a philosophy in the place of religion. But the time was far from ripe, and 'the doctrine' barely survived its author; a generation later Theban Amūn is again all-powerful, and Egyptian religion has reverted to its traditional groove.

The Ramessid dynasties show no new rationalistic developments; the Theban priesthood grows steadily in power, and theology appears to submerge all secular interests. About 1100 B.C. the high priests of Amūn wrest the temporal power from the feeble hands of the Pharaohs, and under their weak rule is prepared a series of foreign invasions. At last Egypt becomes united again under a dynasty from Sais (XXVIth dynasty, 663–525 B.C.); this is a period of revival, when the art, the religion, and the political organization of the Old Kingdom are consciously copied, with little or no sign of innovation. Then comes the period of the Persian rule, followed by a momentary flickering up of the old native culture; after which Egypt passes under the sway of Alexander and his successors, when new intellectual influences are brought to bear on her.

Thus there was little scope, in the last centuries of Pharaonic rule, for the development of more truly philosophical standpoints. On the other hand, there are ample traces of a growing mystical tendency, due no doubt to the desperate difficulty felt by the exponents of so irrational a religion in keeping a hold on the popular faith. Enigmatic writing, increased symbolism, and the recrudescence of early animal cults are symptoms of the times; all these must have tended to enhance the awe with which the priests were regarded.

3. Explanation of the tradition.—The Greek tradition as to the wisdom of the Egyptians has its roots in the very real cultural achievements of that people in early times, coupled with the glamour of a high antiquity. Though our authorities for the facts may not be very trustworthy, it is quite possible that a number of Greek men of note went to Egypt and studied there. They could hardly fail to learn much, but what they

learned was less philosophy than the materials out of which philosophies could be constructed. The Egyptian religion, in particular, commanded the admiration of the Greeks, who mistook its crudities for disguised truths and its contradictions for paradoxes expressive of a deeper harmony. The wisdom of the Egyptians was mainly the wisdom of the Greeks read into the Egyptian myths. It has been truly remarked that, when the eclectic Plutarch discusses the character of the Egyptian gods, this agrees miraculously with the philosophy of Plutarch, and, when it is the Neo-Platonic writer Iamblichus, his account accords strangely with the philosophic outlook of Iamblichus. It is highly probable that the best-educated Egyptian priests of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods were imbued with Greek ideas, and imported these into the interpretation of their inherited religion. Thus Manetho (*q.v.*), who wrote a book in Greek about Egyptian religion (the Ἱερὰ Βίβλος), was, according to Plutarch (*de Is. et Osir.* 28), actually consulted by the first Ptolemy about matters connected with the introduction of the new god Sarapis. The introduction of this god was clearly an astute political move, an attempt to weld together Greek and Egyptian in a common worship; the outward appearance of Sarapis was entrusted to the skill of the celebrated Athenian sculptor Bryaxis, and similarly, it would appear, the determination of his spiritual characteristics was settled in co-operation by Manetho and Timotheos, a Eumolpid of Eleusis. About 300 years later the sacred scribe Chaerēmon, an Egyptian, became the tutor of Nero; he wrote much on Egyptian topics, and is known to have been a Stoic.

The evidence that philosophy ever became, even in the Græco-Roman period, a characteristic attainment of the Egyptian priests is very slight. Clement of Alexandria, quoting from an apparently trustworthy source, quotes 42 books of Hermes, which, he says, were absolutely necessary to the training of the priests, and comprise 'all the philosophy of the Egyptians' (*Strom.* bk. vi. ch. iv.); among these are hymns and rituals, astrological, medical, and scientific books, and also works relating to the laws and the gods; there is nothing to indicate that they differed in their intellectual level from the books that have come down to us from this time in hieratic and demotic. In the temple of Edfu an inventory of the library is written upon the walls (see H. Brugsch, *Aegyptologie*, Leipzig, 1897, pp. 156–158), and proves even more disillusioning; most of the books named are magical treatises, together with a few rituals, catalogues, and astronomical books. The temple walls at this period are covered with masses of inscriptions, hymns, mythological matter, lists of places, lists of festivals, lists of temple property—nothing indicating a departure from earlier custom; indeed, the language of many of the texts suggests that they are transcriptions or adaptations of books dating from the New Kingdom.

4. Conclusion.—The depreciatory view of Egyptian intellectual achievement taken in this article has been imposed by the exaggerations of Greek tradition and the unfounded claims which modern occultism has based upon it. But for these, the luxury of a more sympathetic appreciation might have been permitted us. The proper standards of comparison are Babylonia and early Syria; here Egypt can hold her own. It is true that Babylon displays more method, more accuracy, more purely intellectual preoccupation; but she lacks the poetry and the artistic genius of ancient Egypt, and, in the sphere of religion, she has no such momentous event to record as the reform of Akhnaton.

LITERATURE.—For the tradition and criticism of it see W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten*, Leipzig, 1908, ii. 209–238; F. Cumont, *Les Religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*[2], Paris, 1909, ch. iv. For the native literature, besides more general works, see esp. J. H. Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, New York, 1912.

ALAN H. GARDINER.

PHILOSOPHY (Greek).—The drift of the pre-Socratic philosophies of nature was towards rationalism, positivism, and the mechanical explanation of the universe. They sought to replace anthropomorphic gods by material causes. They asked, as Grote would put it, not 'Who rains?' but, 'What is the cause of the precipitation of moisture?' The principle, 'Naught can come from or return to naught,' rigidly applied, excluded direct divine intervention. And the physician Hippocrates speaks in the spirit of this early 'positivism' when he objects to the term 'sacred malady' on the ground that all diseases are equally 'divine.' The open avowal of agnosticism or atheism, however, was reserved for the more forward disciples of the age of the 'sophistic enlightenment.' The chief pre-Socratics seem to have left room for the gods in their mechanical constructions, or at least to have 'accommodated' their language to popular religion. The saying, 'All things are full of gods,' is attributed to Thales (Aristotle, *de Anima*, 411[a] 8; cf. Plato, *Laws*, 899 B), and Cicero (*de Nat. Deor.* i. 25), doubtless wrongly, ascribes to him the doctrine that God is the mind which fashions the world out of water. Cicero and the doxographers, indeed, make gods of the first principles of all the pre-Socratics. For them the successive worlds that issue from Anaximander's infinite are gods, and likewise the *aer* of Anaximenes, the fiery *corona* of Parmenides, and the reason (*νοῦς*) of Anaxagoras.

The name of **Pythagoras** (*q.v.*) is for us a mere symbol, standing in its higher interpretation for the ideas of immortality, metempsychosis, and the systematic, ascetic cultivation within the soul of an order, harmony, and purity, corresponding to the like qualities in nature and God, while to the populace it signifies mysticism, thaumaturgy, and the survival of primitive prescriptions and tabus in respect of food, dress, and the conduct of life. We know little or nothing of pre-Platonic Pythagoreanism beyond the allusions in Heraclitus and Xenophanes, and the undeniable influence of Pythagorean ideas upon Plato. But the subject has been hopelessly confused by the forged literature and tradition that attribute to Pythagoras himself all Platonic developments of possible Pythagorean suggestions.

The philosophic poet and satirist **Xenophanes** of Colophon is the first to assail popular anthropomorphism directly (J. Freudenthal, *Ueber die Theologie des Xenophanes*, Breslau, 1886). He will hear nothing of the mythological 'fictions of former men,' which are no fit theme of rational discourse:

> 'If horses and oxen had hands to carve and paint, they would represent their gods in equine or bovine shapes' (Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*[3], i. 60). 'Homer and Hesiod have attributed to the gods all acts that are a disgrace and reproach among men—to steal, to commit adultery, and deceive one another' (*ib.* p. 59 f.).

With seeming verbal inconsistency he proclaims 'one god supreme among gods and men,' whom he describes in language that wavers between monotheism and pantheism. This deity may be variously conceived as the world, the unity of 'being,' or a monotheistic idealization of Zeus. Strictly speaking, it is impossible to reconcile, either in Xenophanes or in his successor **Parmenides**, the Eleatic pantheism and abstract monism with the retention of mythological language or the recognition of gods. But Parmenides' poem, like

Shelley's *Queen Mab*, begins with an imaginative flight through space under the guidance of a goddess. He speaks of love as first-born of the gods (cf. Hesiod), places at the centre a daemon who governs or guides all things, and, according to Cicero, gives the name of 'God' to the *corona* of fire that girds the heavens (*de Nat. Deor.* i. 11). See, further, IONIC PHILOSOPHY, vol. vii. p. 417 f.

The pregnant rhetoric of **Heraclitus** (*q.v.*) stimulates the modern imagination to the most varied interpretations. The third book of his work on nature is said by Diogenes Laertius to have dealt with 'theology.' He celebrates the eternal process, law or reason (λόγος). He describes God in pantheistic Emersonian antitheses as the identity of contraries (Diels[3], i. 90 ff., frag. 67). He contrasts the relativity and weakness of man with the divine to which all things are always fair and good (*ib.* frag. 102). He personifies eternity (*αἰών*) as a child playing at draughts with the world (*ib.* 52). He declares that the eternal wisdom is willing and unwilling to be called by the name of Zeus (*ib.* 32). Sprung from a priestly family and depositing his book in the temple of Artemis, he speaks with respect of the Delphic Apollo (*ib.* 93) and the Sibyl, whose enigmatic style resembles his own (*ib.* 92). But, without attacking anthropomorphism in the uncompromising spirit of Xenophanes, he fiercely denounces the ceremonial purification of sin by the blood of victims (*ib.* 5), and the orgiastic rites of the new Asiatic Dionysiac cults (*ib.* 15). And he expresses infinite scorn for the false teachers Hesiod, Pythagoras, Xenophanes, and Hecatæus (*ib.* 40, 57).

Empedocles (*q.v.*), as a philosophic poet, deified the four elements, the cosmic forces love and strife, and many other personified abstractions. His chief divinity seems to be the Sphæros, or globular unity of the elements, from which all things are evolved, and which the Neo-Platonists accepted as a symbol of the absolute One. Some fine lines on the spiritual nature of the godhead, however, are referred by our sources to Apollo (Diels[3], i. 274, frag. 134). In his character of medicine-man, hierophant, and Pythagorean mystic, he taught doctrines of thaumaturgy, metempsychosis, and ceremonial purification, the compatibility of which with his philosophic system cannot be made out from the fragments.

The atomic philosophy of **Democritus** (*q.v.*) leaves no place for the concrete supernatural, and his explanation of the origin of religion in misunderstood allegory or in primitive man's fear of the thunder and the storm (Diels[3], ii. 30, frag. 75 f.) presupposes the unreality of the popular gods. Conventional references in the ethical fragments to God and the divine and to the love of the gods for just men are of no significance (*ib.* frags. 175, 217). More difficult to understand is the doctrine attributed to him of daemons or real aerial beings, beneficent and maleficent, long-lived but not immortal, from whom emanate images that penetrate the minds of men (*ib.* frag. 166). 'Telepathy' could as easily be explained by the atoms then as it can by the analogy of wireless telegraphy to-day. And it may be that Democritus, unable to reject the evidence for supernatural visions and prophetic dreams, invented this way of reconciling them with the atomic physics and psychology. Lucian (*Philopseudes*, 32), however, praises Democritus as the thinker whose adamantine faith in natural law rejects *a priori* the possibility of supernatural apparitions. And it is extremely probable that our authorities have given a superstitious colouring to some purely psychological theory of casual combinations of atoms finding their way into the mind. The interpretation of the prayer 'to meet with propitious visions' is doubtful. In any case Democritus' daemons must not be confounded with the Epicurean gods who inhabit the interspaces of the worlds.

In contrast to these 'random speakers,' Aristotle (*Met.* 984[b] 15) praises as the first sober utterance the proclamation of **Anaxagoras** (*q.v.*) that *νοῦς*, or reason, originally set in motion and reduced to order the indefinite homogeneity of chaos. But he concurs with Plato (*Phædo*, 98 f.) in the criticism that Anaxagoras failed to deduce the teleological applications of this principle and continued to explain all things by mere mechanism. In spite of this, attempts have been made to refer directly or indirectly to Anaxagoras the arguments from design attributed to Socrates in Xenophon's *Memorabilia* (F. Dümmler, *Akademika*, Giessen, 1889, sect. vi.). However this may be, the Athenian jurors who voted for the exile or death of Pericles' philosophic friend saw in him the representative of atheistic science which dethroned Helios and Selene and pronounced the sun merely a red-hot stone. And Plato, both in the *Apology* (26 D) and in the *Laws* (967 C), makes regrettable concessions to this prejudice.

In the loss of the writings of the sophists, we cannot reconstruct in detail the history of the 5th cent. enlightenment. But from Euripides, Aristophanes, Thucydides, and Plato it is amply apparent that all the ideas and tendencies of what we call an 'age of transition' were present.

The national and local festivals, cults, shrines, and oracles, the religion of the dead, and the worship of heroes still retained their hold upon the people. The immense place occupied by these things in the history of Herodotus may be held to indicate that the crisis of the Persian wars temporarily stimulated the popular faith in the supernatural. But the mythology of Homer and Hesiod was no longer credible to educated men. It offended the developed ethical sense of the pious. It had never really met the needs of personal and emotional religion. In response to this need the 6th cent. had witnessed, side by side with the development of philosophic rationalism in Ionia, a revival or new birth of mysticism and enthusiasm associated with the names of Orpheus, Musæus, and Pythagoras, and the union in the Eleusinian mysteries of the worship of Demeter and Dionysus (cf. J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to Greek Religion*, p. 646 ff.). Modern critics style this movement a recrudescence of superstition or a spiritual awakening according as they are swayed by distaste for its irrational accompaniments or by sympathy for the underlying conceptions of salvation from sin, reconciliation with God through dramatized and emotional forms of worship, and faith in the revelation of a judgment after death.

The criticism of its fragmentary and doubtfully authentic literary remains must be left to the philological specialist (see Diels[3], ii. 163 ff.; E. Abel, *Orphica*, Leipzig, 1885; E. W. Maas, *Orpheus*, Munich, 1895; Rohde, *Psyche*; Harrison, *Prolegomena*[2], p. 455 ff.).

The great extant poets of the first half of the 5th cent. are neither philosophical rationalists nor corybantic revivalists; they are conservative reformers. Their endeavour is to preserve and purify the essential spirit of reverence and religion rather than either to encourage or satirize superstition, or to display their ingenuity in the attack or the defence of the mythological letter. This is the temper of Pindar, Æschylus, Sophocles, and Simonides, whom Gomperz (*Greek Thinkers*, Eng. tr., ii. 13) therefore calls 'trimmers' and Matthew Arnold 'prophets of the imaginative reason.' In the next generation, more consciously and philosophically, this is the temper of Plato.

Meanwhile the 'enlightenment' proceeds, de

veloping every shade of critical and sceptical opinion. The chorus of Æschylus' *Agamemnon* (370) barely alludes to one who denied that the 'gods deigned to regard those by whom the sanctities of holy things were trodden under foot,' and the confident free-thinking of Sophocles' Jocasta seems to heighten, if not to motivate, the dramatic irony of the *dénouement*. But the disputatious personages of Euripides have all received the new education and, with little regard to dramatic verisimilitude or unity of æsthetic and religious impression, they bandy like shuttlecocks all the ideas which the philosophers, the mystics, or the sophists had put in circulation (P. Décharme, *Euripide et l'esprit de son théâtre*, Paris, 1893; A. W. Verrall, *Euripides the Rationalist*, Cambridge, 1895).

It is superfluous to demonstrate, after Grote, that the sophists (*q.v.*) were not a school of professed atheists, or that they often used conventional and edifying language about the gods. It is enough to observe that the general effect of their teaching was to unsettle the old bases of moral and religious conviction, while putting nothing in their place (Plato, *Rep.* 538 f.).

This was the practical outcome both of their philosophy of relativity and of a higher education devoted wholly to rhetoric and the plausible exploitation of opinion (H. von Arnim, *Dio*, Berlin, 1893–96, Introd.). In recognizing this fact and the reaction which it provoked in Plato, we need not apologize for their persecution by Athenian orthodoxy, or deny that their writings, if we possessed them, might reveal the elements of a constructive treatment of ethics and law on a purely scientific and positive basis. In fact, we have only fragments, titles, and conjectures. A treatise of Protagoras began with the words: 'Of the gods I cannot know that they are or that they are not' (Diels[3], ii. 229). Tradition adds that the book was burned and the author exiled; and a fragment of Euripides' *Palamedes*, sometimes uncritically referred to Socrates, has been plausibly interpreted as an allusion to Protagoras (Gomperz, i. 440). In the Platonic dialogue which bears his name, however, Protagoras represents justice as the gift of Zeus to mankind, and says that man by reason of his divine kinship is the only animal who knows and worships gods. From this Gomperz (i. 449) infers that he doubted not the existence of the gods, but the alleged proofs of it. Similarly Prodicus, who speaks with edification of the gods in the apologue of the *Choice of Hercules*, attributed to him by Xenophon, is credited with a purely rationalistic theory of the origin of religion. Men personified and deified all that helped and hindered them (Diels[3], ii. 274). From this it is but a step to the doctrine of Critias expounded in a fragment of the *Sisyphus* (Diels[3], ii. 320). Religion is the invention of a prudent statesman who, perceiving that law restrains men only from open wrongdoing, devised the idea of gods who know our inmost thoughts and purposes. And in a similar vein a chorus of Euripides, while expressing scant faith in miracles, adds:

'But dreadful myths are conducive to the worship of the gods' (*Electra*, 743 f.).

'The younger wits teach,' says Plato, in effect (*Laws*, 889), 'that religion, ethics and law are late products of convention and do not belong to the nature of things.'

Law so analyzed ceases to coerce. The history of Thucydides exhibits naked human nature demoralized by war and pestilence and incoercible by any restraints human or divine. The intellectualism of the author views with cold contempt all appeals from the calculus of political forces to invisible and ideal realities. Or at any rate he represents this hard positivism as the prevailing temper of the age, and so prepares us to understand the intensity of the reaction in Plato (see P. Shorey, 'Implicit Ethics and Psychology of Thucydides,' *Trans. of the American Philological Association*, 1893).

Of the religion of Socrates (*q.v.*) we know nothing except that he was condemned to die for corrupting the youth and introducing new gods, that he acknowledged the guidance of a familiar divine voice or inward monitor, and that by the testimony of Xenophon and Plato he worshipped the gods according to the law of the city and approved the consultation of the oracles in matters beyond the scope of human foresight. Xenophon's account is coloured by his apologetic purpose, and attributes to Socrates his own favourite beliefs and somewhat old-fashioned religiosity. The δαιμόνιον is a positive private oracle available for the practical concerns of friends, and not, as in Plato, the negative check of an inner spiritual tact. Socrates not only repudiates, as he does in the Platonic *Apology*, special doctrines of Anaxagoras, but holds that prying into the secrets of nature is offensive to the gods. And he elaborates the evidences of design in the cosmos and in the body of man, in discourses the details of which Xenophon may have transcribed from some follower of Anaxagoras or Diogenes of Apollonia (*Mem.* i. 4, iv. 3).

To the cheerful, conventional, and somewhat vague piety and the mainly ethical religion of Socrates, exhibited in his earlier dialogues, Plato (*q.v.*) adds as the years go on an ever-deepening aversion to the irreverent and irreligious spirit of the age. The feeling culminates in the formal refutation of materialistic atheism set forth in the tenth book of the *Laws*:

Religion is an essential bulwark of law and morality; no one who possesses a sound and vital faith in the gods can voluntarily sin. The conscious sinner must either deny their existence or their providence or believe that the divine justice can be corrupted by sacrifice or prayer. Atheism, however, is not always the offspring of licentiousness. It is in Athens the product of old books (886 C ff.) that teach false conceptions of the gods, or of new philosophies of nature that affirm that matter is the primal reality and that morality, law, and religion are not nature but art—secondary conventions of man. The argument from design is not in itself sufficient to refute this form of scepticism (886 A). It must be met by a demonstration that the first causes of motion, soul and the functions of soul, are necessarily prior in the order of nature to matter and its qualities. This principle established, we may remind the sceptic that atheism, a malady incident to pert youth, has never retained its hold on any man through life. Doubts as to the moral government of the world are to be cured by reflexion on our own insignificance and the small part of the total order which we behold. And the minute providence and unswerving justice of God may be deduced from the very idea of the divinity.

These pages contain the germs of all future theodicies, Stoic and Christian, from Cleanthes to Malebranche, Leibniz, Shaftesbury, and Pope. The honest sceptic who remains unconvinced by these arguments is confined five years in the House of Reformation and required to submit to instruction for the 'salvation of his soul.' If then still recalcitrant, he is put to death. This boutade is hardly to be taken seriously, though it has greatly agitated modern liberal Platonists such as Grote, Mill, and Gomperz. More significant is Plato's deliberate affirmation that the doctrine that the gods may be bribed by worship is worse than atheism. In the *Republic*, where the existence of the gods is assumed, the mythological religion of Homer is purified by theological canons to which all poets and teachers must conform: God is good and the author of good only (379 C; cf. Cleanthes' *Hymn*). God is unchanging and never deceives (380 f.). Plato will accept any 'accommodation' to popular religion that does not compromise essential ethical truth. In both the *Republic* (427) and the *Laws* (738 B–C) it is assumed that his city will have a polytheistic cult with temples, precincts, ritual, festivals, and hero-worship of good men

approved by Delphi. He himself speaks of the Hesiodic gods with thinly veiled irony in the *Timæus* (40 f.), and in the *Phædrus* (246 C) pronounces the very notion of an immortal animal a figment of the imagination. It is not true, as matter-of-fact interpreters affirm, that he believed in the literal divinity of the sun and the moon. He insists only that this universal frame, of which their ordered motions are so conspicuous a part, is not without an author:

'Either the soul which moves the sun . . . resides within the circular and visible body . . . or the soul provides herself with an external body . . . or thirdly she guides the sun by some wonderful power. . . . And this soul of the sun . . . whether taking the sun about in a chariot . . . or acting from without, or in whatever way, ought by every man to be deemed a god' (*Laws*, 898 E–899).

From this the Neo-Platonists easily deduced three solar divinities. But the plain meaning is that Plato would rather leave the people their naive faith in Helios and his chariot than have them imbibe virtual atheism from Anaxagoras' teaching that the sun is merely a red-hot stone. His temper is that of Matthew Arnold telling us that, 'compared with Professor Clifford, Messrs. Moody and Sankey are masters of the philosophy of history' (*God and the Bible*, London, 1894, p. x). His religion, if not the 'religion of all sensible men,' is that of all cultured latitudinarians from Plutarch to Schleiermacher and Matthew Arnold himself. He is not a dogmatic monotheist only because his 'accommodations' are to Greek polytheism and not to historical Christianity. He employs theistic language in the fluid rhetorical manner of Seneca and Emerson. His God is in ethics the transcendental sanction of morality, and in cosmogony the limited deity of Mill's posthumous essays—a demiurgic principle of order and harmony contending with recalcitrant 'necessity.' It is customary, however, to connect Plato's theology more closely with his metaphysics than is here done. God is identified with the idea of good or with the One (see Shorey, 'The Idea of Good in Plato's Republic,' *University of Chicago Studies in Classical Philology*, i. 188, n. 2; T. Whittaker, *The Neo-Platonists*, Cambridge, 1901, p. 37). The goodness of God is the first canon of theology, and the Demiurgus transforms chaos to cosmos out of his ungrudging goodness (*Tim.* 29 E; Boethius, *Cons. Phil.* i. 8: 'insita summi forma boni'). It is entirely possible, then, that in mystical or emotional passages the 'good' in Plato may be intended to suggest God. But the idea of good has a definite logical meaning for ethics and politics (see SUMMUM BONUM), and it is confounding two different lines of thought to identify it with God. So of the One. The absolute metaphysical unity of the *Parmenides* resembles both the supreme god and the pure being of the ideas in that it is ineffable and admits no predicates unless it be 'existence.' But the identification of this One with Plato's God in Neo-Platonic speculation is wholly uncritical. To metaphysics also belongs the 'problem' of evil. God being the author of good only, evil must be derived from metaphysical (*Theæt.* 176 A) or from physical necessity (*Tim.* 48). The *Politicus* describes mythical cycles in which the world is guided alternately by God and, in reverse motion, by innate desire (272 E). A passage of the *Laws* (896 E) admits the Manichæan conception of an evil world-soul side by side with the good, and this is accepted by Plutarch as the authentic teaching of Plato. The freedom of the will is treated by Plato ethically, not metaphysically or theologically. 'Virtue is free' (*Rep.* 617 E), but vice is involuntary (see *AJPs* x. [1889] 77). For the purposes of legislation he is a determinist (*Laws*, 861–864 C). Immortality is a rational hope (see Shorey, *The Unity of Plato's Thought*, Chicago, 1903, p. 41). The eschatological myths of the *Gorgias*, *Phædo*, and *Republic* serve to confirm the hope and as supplementary sanctions of ethics (J. A. Stewart, *The Myths of Plato*, London, 1905). Immortality is 'proved' in the *Phædo* and *Republic* by supersubtle dialectic and in the *Phædrus* by the same argument that establishes the existence of the gods in the *Laws*—the priority of soul as the first cause of motion. The doctrine of daemons—first appearing in Hesiod, and elaborated by Xenocrates, Plutarch, the Christian Fathers, and the Neo-Platonists—is for Plato a mythological fancy (*Symp.* 202 E). Lastly, the ever-recurrent gloss that the ideas are thoughts of God is merely a plausible evasion of the difficulty of recognizing more than one form of absolute being, and a convenient syncretistic device for reconciling Plato with Aristotle.

That Aristotle (*q.v.*), like Shakespeare, recognized religion as a great fact, and that he paid formal respect to the established cult, hardly need be said (Décharme, p. 233; Zeller, *Aristotle*, Eng. tr., London, 1897, ii. 334 n.). His lost dialogues, composed under Plato's influence, dealt with the immortality of the soul (*Eudemus*) and the truths of natural religion. The origin of the belief in gods was traced to the phenomena of dreams and enthusiasm, and the argument from design was illustrated in a brilliant passage quoted by Cicero (*de Nat. Deor.* ii. 37). In the extant writings, however, there is little of Plato's unction, and nothing of Plato's fervent preoccupation with the reform of religion and its defence against the scepticism of the age. Personal immortality is nowhere affirmed (Zeller, ii. 133 f.), and, while the universal belief of mankind from of old is accepted as confirmation of abstract theism (*de Cælo*, I. iii. 6, ii. 12, *Met.* 1074^{b}), the 'rest,' he says almost in the tone of Critias, 'is mythical addition for the persuasion of the multitude and as a useful aid to the laws.' Aristotle's own 'scientific theism' (Zeller, i. 399) is an inference from his theory of the soul, his metaphysics, and his theory of the heavens. The key to his philosophy is the recognition of the irreconcilable conflict in his thought between empirical postulates and Platonic principles. The psychology of the logical works and of the *Parva Naturalia* is inductive and sensationalistic. Both the conceptual major premisses and the highest regulative 'principles' of syllogizing are derived by (a perhaps unconscious) induction from the impressions and memory-images of sense. The highest reason (*νοῦς*) is in fact practically identical with this faculty of generalizing induction peculiar to man. The *de Anima* rests the possibility of a separable soul (not the mere entelechy of an organic body) on the existence of a thought that is not thus dependent on sense, or on images derived from sense. As the analysis proceeds, this problematical thought is hunted from chamber to chamber of the subdivided soul, and finally takes refuge with the active intellect, which in the very act of thinking converts the passive intellect or potentiality of ideas into the direct contemplation of them. We may still ask whether the active intellect is anything more than a paraphrase for 'man thinking' and whether images of sense are not still the indispensable matter of the passive and, by consequence, of the active intellect. But, whatever our interpretation of the third book of the *de Anima*, there emerges from it the vague notion of a separable pure activity of thought, whether personal or pantheistic. So in the metaphysical theory of the universal. The empiric Aristotle rejected the Platonic ideas *in toto*: the universal does not exist before the particular, but in it, and is drawn thence by the inductive *νοῦς*. This suffices for logic and ethics. But Aristotle is unable or unwilling to apply this anti-Platonic

view consistently to the ultimate problems of metaphysics. The name 'first essences' (substances), no longer reserved for individual things, is now sometimes applied to abstract ideas. The universal, the abstract, the 'first essence,' is the 'form,' or actualization, the union of which with matter or potentiality is the particular. A doctrine of associationist nominalism might conceivably be stated in this terminology. But the scorned Platonism takes its revenge, and leads Aristotle in his search for the absolute to postulate a form divorced from matter—an actuality correlative to no potentiality. We need not ask whether this actuality belongs to certain ideas only or to all universals taken as pure abstract essences. We have at any rate the problematical conception of the absolute and unrelated existence of ideas, forms, or thoughts. Lastly, in his theory of the world Aristotle postulated an eternal finite order in opposition to the infinite series and the cosmic evolutions of the pre-Socratics. He is sometimes called an evolutionist. But this is a misconception or an equivocation. Every individual thing, institution, and art-form is indeed for him the highest development contained in its germ. But the germ itself is a product not of evolution, but of an antecedent perfected individual. His mind was closed to any conception of development which presented the picture of a different world from that which he had constructed. The chain of causation is limited by a finite space and a fixed eternal order. Within this order all changes are confined to the region below the moon, and are caused by the great revolution of the heaven and the obliquity of the ecliptic. The cause of these is the first and ultimate cause. Operating eternally and unweariedly, it cannot be material. It is pure actuality unmixed with potentiality. The convergence of these three lines of thought in the idea of God is indicated and assumed rather than explicitly stated in the *Ethics* and *Metaphysics*. God is pure thought and pure activity. His bliss from everlasting is the happiness of the thinker in the rare moments of highest contemplation (*Met.* 1072^{b}, *Eth. Nic.* 1178^{b}). The content of this thought is Himself — the pure essences of the thoughts that constitute Him. There is nothing else that He could think without derogation and subordination of the thinker to the purpose of his thought (*Met.* 1074^{b} 34). The universe is a harmonious whole, and, as Homer says, 'the rule of many is not good. Let one be ruler' (*ib.* 1076^{a} 4). The mode of God's operation on the world may be illustrated by love (*ib.* 1072^{b} 3). The beloved object moves, though unmoved itself, by the power of desire in the lover. God is the prime mover because He is the *primum amabile*. He is, in Dante's phrase, 'L'amor che move il sole e l'altre stelle' (*Paradiso*, xxxiii. 145). This is Aristotle's theism. Neo-Platonic syncretism identified it with Platonism by the interpretation that the Platonic ideas are the thoughts of God. To trace its further influence on mystic and speculative theology would exceed our limits. Nor can we do more than glance at the difficulties that it presents (Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* i. 13). What is the relation of God, who moves the outer heavens, to the independent motor principles assumed to explain the movements of the planets? What ground is there beyond the system-building instinct for identifying the first cause of physical movement with the active intellect of the *de Anima*, or that with the 'first essences' of the ideas? Is God ignorant of particulars? Aristotle implies that He does not love man as man loves Him—the disproportion is too great (*Eth. Nic.* 1138^{b} 35). If His operation ceases with the rotation of the heavens, how can benevolent design be attributed to Him or to nature? But to ask these questions is to confine all metaphysical theology within the limits set by the empirical understanding.

The post-Aristotelian philosophies are of more significance for the diffusion than for the origination of ideas. In the age of Epicurus and Menander the mythological religion of the city-State retained so little vitality that the populace of Athens could lodge a Demetrios in the Parthenon and welcome him to the city with a hymn that contrasted his present divinity with the dubious gods who dwell afar or heed us not. There remained for the populace foreign superstitions, mysteries, and coterie cults (P. Foucart, *Des Associations religieuses chez les Grecs*, Paris, 1873), and for the educated class moral philosophy, vague poetic religiosity, or scepticism. The comparison of Alexander to Bacchus, who also conquered India, and the various apotheoses of his successors provoked a formulation of scepticism which is of slight philosophic, but of considerable historical, significance. About the middle of the 3rd cent. Euhemerus published his tale of the island of Panchaia, and the 'sacred inscription' there discovered in which Zeus and all the house of Kronos are revealed as mortal kings deified by the gratitude or fears of their subjects. Euhemerus may have been, as Gruppe suggests, a mere romancing precursor of Lucian. But Euhemerism became for Greek sceptics, their Roman disciples (Ennius translated the book), the Christian Fathers, and the rationalizing philology of the 18th cent. a favourite 'key to all mythologies.' A second school of scepticism was the New Academy, which provided a convenient formula for noble Roman augurs who punctiliously performed every ceremony of the cult that made Rome great, but dismissed the dogmatic affirmations of natural theology with a smile (Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* i. 22). But in the popular estimate the great school of irreligion was the Epicurean. The extant fragments of Epicurus manifest little of the passionate hatred of superstition which animates his Roman disciple, Lucretius. Yet it is perhaps implied in the reiterated affirmation that the only use of physics is to free us from the terrors of false religion. These terrors could not have been very real if we may accept Cicero's assertion that no old woman any longer feared the mythological hell from which the Epicureans promise to deliver us (*Tusc. Quæst.* i. 21). Cicero also makes merry with the ingenious theory of fainéant gods possessing a *quasi-corpus* and inhabiting the *intermundia* (*de Nat. Deor.* i. 26). And it is probable that few Epicureans took it seriously, though some found it a convenient defence against the charge of atheism, while to others it provided a refuge for the idealizing imagination and an object for the natural instinct of worship. Real impiety, they said, consists not in rejecting the gods of the vulgar, but in thinking unworthily of the divine. True and disinterested worship could be paid only to the gods of Epicurus,

> 'who haunt
> The lucid interspace of world and world,—
> . . . . . .
> Nor sound of human sorrow mounts to mar
> Their sacred everlasting calm'
>
> (Tennyson, *Lucretius*).

And thus they too composed formal treatises 'on piety' (Gomperz, *Philodemus περὶ εὐσεβείας*, Leipzig, 1886). But for all later antiquity the Epicureans, as opposed to the Stoics and Platonists, remained the great irreligious school of philosophy. If they did not reject the existence, they denied the providence, of the gods, which for emotional and practical religion amounted to the same thing. Lucian's Platonists, Stoics, and Pythagoreans treat them as pariahs, and his religious charlatans incite the populace against the atheists, the Christians, and the Epicureans.

Stoicism (*q.v.*) in the course of its secular development became all things to all men. The pantheistic world-god, the artisan fire working in the veins of all creation, could be virtually identified with the Platonic soul of the world, or could be described in the language of purest monotheism. The allegorical method whereby the gods of the mythology could be interpreted as parts, aspects, or functions of 'Zeus' or 'nature' veiled prudent accommodations, contented genuine, if not very perspicacious, orthodoxy, and gratified the permanent instinct of ingenious exegesis. Personal immortality, while not strictly compatible with the theory, was not explicitly denied. A temporary survival was sometimes conceded to great souls until the expiration of the cycle and the reabsorption of all things in the fiery world-god. This enabled Stoic writers of consolations (as, *e.g.*, Seneca) to portray the future bliss of the liberated soul as vividly as their Platonic rivals. The designation of the fiery world-god as Zeus, Providence, Destiny, Nature, the λόγος, made every topic of religious rhetoric or philosophic theodicies available to the long series of Stoic authors from Zeno to Cornutus who wrote on religion or on 'the nature of the gods.' In addition to this, Stoicism was an ethical religion tinged with 'cosmic emotion.' It became the expression of an absolute faith in divine providence and manly resignation to the order of nature that, however fatalistic in expression, never paralyzed the will. Of this ethical gospel the chief texts still vital for edification are the *Hymn* of Cleanthes (translated as a psalm in W. Pater's *Plato and Platonism*, London, p. 42), the *Letters* of Seneca, the diatribes of Epictetus, and the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius, which have been hyperbolically praised as the absolute religion—that which results from the sole fact of a high human consciousness face to face with the world (Renan, *Marc-Aurèle*, Paris, 1885, p. 272). But in these later developments Stoicism was already tinged with Platonism; and, with the revival of Greek literature in the second half of the 1st cent., Platonism tended more and more to become the religion of all educated men who did not adopt Christianity. This Platonizing religion has three forms.

(1) In the later Stoics it is the gospel of Socrates as set forth in the *Gorgias*, *Apology*, *Crito*, and *Phædo*. The only certain good is the virtuous will. There is no terror for the wise man in the roar of the mob or the threats of the tyrant. For he is strong in the faith that Anytus and Meletus may kill him, but cannot harm him (*Apol.* 30 C). He is by definition a rational animal, and can obey no other principle in his soul but the voice of reason. Though he has good hope of immortality, he does not require that assurance to live and die secure in the conviction that the gods will permit 'no harm to come to a good man here or there.' These and similar Socratic sayings constantly quoted by Epictetus are the chief texts of all his preaching. The life of Socrates, he tells us, is proposed to us as a pattern, and in temptation or doubt we need ask only: What would Socrates have done?

(2) The more literary and avowed Platonists, of whom Plutarch, Dio Chrysostom, and Maximus of Tyre are the types, harp less insistently on these chief notes, and are more broadly interested in the Platonic philosophy as a whole—its refutation of materialism, its demonstration of the fundamentals of natural religion, its tolerance of all cults, its idealization of all symbols that can be dissociated from immoral suggestions. Plutarch toys with mysticism and allegory and his doctrine of daemons, but his personal religion is that of the broad church literary man who believes in God, hopes for immortality, and, whether in the Roman empire or in the parliament of religions, deems it more edifying to dwell on the underlying unity of the religious spirit than with a Lucian or an Ingersoll on the incredibility of the mythological letter. And this, if we read between the lines, is the religion of Dio's discourse on the first idea of God, and of Maximus of Tyre's discussion of the lawfulness of image-worship.

(3) To a third type of mind the mystical and metaphysical side of Plato appeals most strongly. Beginning with the Neo-Pythagorean revival (see NEO-PYTHAGOREANISM), this form of Platonism developed until as Neo-Platonism (*q.v.*) it became the chief philosophy and religion of paganism in its final struggle with Christianity. Historically it is a form of Platonism; psychologically it is the expression of at least three permanent instincts and tendencies of the human mind: (*a*) thaumaturgy and the lower mysticism; (*b*) the higher mysticism and the delight in symbolism, allegory, and the ingenious exposition of sacred texts; (*c*) the dialectical analysis of the ultimate ontological presuppositions of religion.

(*a*) Superstition and miracle-mongering remain the same in every age and still conjure with the names of Plato and Pythagoras. We cannot stop to discuss the forged literature of Neo-Pythagoreanism or to describe the miracles of Apollonius of Tyana (*q.v.*), of the charlatans satirized by Lucian, and of the degenerate successors of Plotinus. It is to be noted, however, that the higher mysticism of the best writers was less infected with concrete superstition than we should infer from their language.

(*b*) The allegorical interpretation of sacred texts was a literary form common to the Stoics, Philo Judæus, and the Platonists, and by them transmitted to the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. It is incompatible with sound philological criticism, but not necessarily with sane and elevated morality or severe and ingenious dialectic. It is essentially the same whether applied to the text of Homer, the OT, or Plato; and the patient reader will find that in Philo, Plutarch, and Plotinus it is merely the fantastic garb of a Platonizing natural religion, associated with acute metaphysical speculations and accommodations to the symbols of historic paganism. To set forth Philo's doctrine of the λόγος, Plutarch's theory of the daemons and the evil world-soul, and the trinity of Plotinus exceeds our scope (see ALEXANDRIAN THEOLOGY, LOGOS, PLUTARCH, NEO-PLATONISM). One thought derived from the *Timæus* dominates Neo-Platonic theology. It is the idea that the ineffable supreme God delegated the work of creation (or a part of it) to His inferior ministers. In later developments these divinities in turn are elevated above contact with 'base matter' by a similar delegation to beings below them. Creation is further conceived as a timeless overflow and emanation of the plenitude of being, as the going forth of one that 'remains' (*μένει*, *μονή*), as the radiance of a light that loses nothing by communicating itself. The application of these ideas by the allegorical method to the divinities of the Greek pantheon and the abstractions of Platonic metaphysics yields the various orders and hierarchies of gods, daemons, and angels multiplied by the piety and ingenuity of successive generations of Gnostics and Platonists. And in the lower plane of the 'surnaturel particulier' the worship of these deities suggested or veiled theurgy and miracle-mongering. How far the successors of Plotinus yielded to this weakness is a difficult question. There are traces of it in Iamblichus, the emperor Julian, and Proclus. But the stories told by Eunapius are to be received with caution.

Even in his account the students are always clamouring for a miracle, while the professors evade the test. Julian combated Christianity as the irreconcilable enemy of the mythology that had created Greek art and literature and the cult that had built up the empire of Rome. Their interpretation as allegories of Neo-Platonic philosophemes satisfied his heart and his imagination. But the rhetoric of his discourses on Apollo and the Mother of the Gods is perhaps no more to be taken literally than that of Renan's prayer to Athene on the Acropolis.

(*c*) However this may be, the more philosophic Neo-Platonists continued to speculate on the relations of the unknown God to the highest terms of Platonism—the Demiurgus, the One, the Good. Greek subtlety easily proved that these and all terms of human speech connote limitations and relations that cannot properly be predicated of the ultimate and absolute. God can be described only in negations, which, however, are to be understood in a honorific and not in a privative sense. As Thomas Browne puts it, 'Nothing can be said hyperbolically of God' (*Christian Morals*, pt. iii. sect. 2 [*Works*, ed. C. Sayle, London, 1904–07, iii. 483]; cf. Plato, *Rep.* 509). The outcome of this line of speculation is Damascius's doctrine of the unknowable, which differs only in its superior subtlety and consistency from that of Herbert Spencer. The predicate of unity, at least, he exclaims, is never denied by Plato. But even unity is in human speech a relative idea, and, as the *Parmenides* shows, transforms itself into multiplicity under close inspection. We cannot name or define God at all. We are conscious only of a travail of soul—ὠδίς (cf. *Rep.* 490 B). This is the end of Greek philosophy.

LITERATURE. — E. Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen*, 5 vols., Leipzig, 1876–1909; T. Gomperz, *Greek Thinkers*, Eng. tr., 4 vols., London, 1901–12; J. Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*[2], do. 1908; A. B. Krische, *Die theologischen Lehren der griechischen Denker*, Göttingen, 1840; L. Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*[4], Berlin, 1884; L. Campbell, *Religion in Greek Literature*, London, 1898; E. Rohde, *Psyche*[2], 2 vols., Freiburg, 1898; P. Décharme, *La Critique des traditions religieuses chez les Grecs*, Paris, 1904; J. Girard, *Le Sentiment religieux en Grèce*[3], do. 1887; E. Caird, *The Evolution of Theology in the Greek Philosophers*, 2 vols., Glasgow, 1904; J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, Cambridge, 1903; O. Gruppe, *Die griechische Culte und Mythen*, Leipzig, 1887; J. Oakesmith, *The Religion of Plutarch*, London, 1902; C. C. J. Webb, *Studies in the Hist. of Natural Theology*, Oxford, 1915. Zeller and Gomperz give abundant references to the more special literature of Greek philosophy. All pre-Platonic texts are now most conveniently consulted in H. Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*[3], Berlin, 1912. See also the articles on mythological and religious subjects in Daremberg-Saglio, Pauly-Wissowa, and Roscher.

PAUL SHOREY.

PHILOSOPHY (Iranian).—It has been asserted by more than one competent scholar that Buddhism is not, strictly speaking, a religion, but a philosophy. Conversely, it may be maintained with still greater reason that Mazdeism, or the national cult of the ancient Iranian people and their descendants, is not a philosophy, but a religion. To put it otherwise, the Mazdean system, at least in its earlier forms, is a pure theology, which interests itself not at all with philosophical speculation. This has been well put by the most recent Parsi writer, M. N. Dhalla:

'The religious system of Zoroaster is theological rather than philosophical. . . . Philosophy attempts to give a rational solution, based on human observation and experimentation, of various problems, which religion claims to solve on the authority of prophetic revelation. . . . Religion has fixed canons, binding traditions. Its tendency is to put a lasting stamp on the doctrines for all times. It rests upon the teachings of a prophet, and nourishes them as an unchangeable heritage. Philosophy, on the other hand, progresses with the times, and ever encourages fresh inquiry. It always revolts from every kind of dogmatic teaching. . . . The utilitarian genius of the Persians led them to disparage metaphysical speculation as a vain attempt at the impracticable. Religion should be such that its ideals can be applied to our workaday world. Its teachings should be applicable to the exigencies of daily life. . . . This is the characteristic of Zoroastrianism through its very simplicity' (*Zoroastrian Theology*, pp. 856–359).

These sentences express excellently the very genius both of the Mazdean faith and of the Iranian habit of mind. The ancient Iranian thinkers seem not to have troubled their minds at all with such problems of being or knowledge as underlie the Indian concepts of *māyā*, *karma*, *ātmān*, *saṁsāra* ('metempsychosis'), *nirvāṇa*, and the like. Indeed, few things are more surprising than the direct opposition which exists between the mental attitudes of the two most closely connected of all the members of the great Indo-European family—the Indian and the Iranian. The former, as is well known, is distinguished among all other peoples by its ineradicable love of metaphysical speculation, its groping after and brooding over the most abstruse problems of being, of knowledge, of psychology, as well as by its endless multiplication of philosophical schools; for, as Dhalla observes, 'there are as many philosophies as there are philosophers,' and 'these come and go, and with them the cradle of the speculative thought is ever swinging to and fro' (p. 357). The inevitable tendency of the Indian philosophizing is towards pantheism or monism, on the intellectual side, and towards pessimism, on the moral side. The Iranian tendency is the very opposite. Against the Indian pessimism we must set the irrepressible optimism of the Iranian mind. To the Indian thinker existence itself is an evil, and all his spiritual philosophy is directed towards deliverance from an endless series of re-births by a final cessation of all conscious personal existence, or even of existence itself. The Iranian looks for the full enjoyment of an active life here and a still happier continuance of life, conscious and intelligent, beyond the tomb. Against Indian pantheism is set the monotheism of the Mazdean system, tempered as it is in a peculiar way by a dualistic tendency (see DUALISM [Iranian]).

1. **Earlier times.**—In the Avesta itself, whether in its older or in its more recent strata, it is difficult to lay hold of anything that may be strictly called philosophical speculation, if by philosophy we understand, according to the definition of one authority, 'the science of the principles of being and of knowledge.' The Avestan system is presented frankly as a revelation from a supreme intellect to the human mind and heart. In the *Gāthās*, indeed, there are broodings and speculative questions concerning fundamental verities and moral problems. But they are all referred for solution, as in the ninth *Gāthā*, to the divine giver of revelation ('This I ask thee, tell me truly, Ahura' [*Yasna*, xliii. 1]).

(*a*) *Being.*—As regards the problem of being, the Avestan teaching is simplicity itself. Ahura Mazda is the one supreme eternal being, the creator of both worlds, the world of spirit and the world of matter. It is not necessary to dwell upon this first dualism of 'the two worlds,' but mention must be made of that other dualism which, at least in the later stages of Avestan development, so curiously modifies the characteristic monotheism of the Mazdean belief—the problem of the origin of evil. In the art. DUALISM (Iranian) the present writer has already set forth what seems the only tenable view of Zoroastrian dualism, and, although modern Parsis and even several Western scholars vehemently deny that Mazdeism is dualistic, he finds that the high priest, M. N. Dhalla, so often quoted, is at one with him in his interpretation of the theology in both the Avestan and the later periods. Dhalla writes:

'The arch-fiend who disputes the kingdom on earth with the Holy Spirit, Spenta Mainyu, or with Ahura Mazda, who intro-

duces discord and death in the world, who strives to thwart the purposes of God, is Angra Mainyu, or the Evil Spirit. *He does not owe his existence to the Good Spirit.* He is independent. *Consequently he is co-eval and co-existent, if not co-eternal* with the godhead' (p. 48).[1]

Moreover, this rival spirit has one distinct attribute of divinity in that he also is a creator. Not only moral and physical evils of all kinds, but also evil beings, whether demons (*daēvas*) or noxious animals (*xrafstras*), are his creatures. This dualistic teaching is the Mazdean solution of the perennial problem of the origin of evil. It has ever been one of the difficulties of reconciling the Avestan religious system with that of the Achæmenid kings, as preserved in their inscriptions, that there is apparently in the latter no mention of a dualistic creation or creator. Auramazda holds precisely the position of his namesake in the Avesta, *i.e.* that of supreme deity, creating and ruling all his creation by his free will (*vasnā*). Latterly, however, J. H. Moulton (*Early Zoroastrianism*, London, 1913) has suggested, not without plausibility, that the Angra Mainyu of the sacred books actually appears in the inscriptions under the term Drauga, meaning literally 'the Lie,' perhaps personified.

(*b*) *Asha.*—There is one transcendental concept in Mazdeism which suggests analogy with an Indian one—that of Asha (Old Pers. Arta), most frequently personified as the genius Asha, one of the Amesha Spentas, or archangels of Ahura Mazda's court. There is no doubt that we have here a concept which Dhalla rightly calls 'basic' in the system, and which corresponds even etymologically with the Sanskrit *ṛta*, or, again, is akin to *dharma*, *i.e.* the 'right order' both in the physical and in the moral universe—whether or not conceived as independent of the divine will it is difficult to determine. In the Avesta, whether as an abstract or as a personified name, Asha is almost exclusively conceived in the moral sense, as 'righteousness,' 'holiness,' the 'justice' of both the OT and the NT.

(*c*) *Fravashis.*—The only other Avestan concept which gives rise to some degree of direct philosophical speculation, especially in the later writings, is that of the mysterious *fravashis* (*q.v.*). These enigmatical beings have played a widely diversified part in the Zoroastrian system, and one which has constantly varied at different periods. As we find them, at least in the post-Gāthic period, they are something very different from the other spiritual beings of Ahura Mazda's celestial court. Whatever be their origin, whether originally conceived as spirits of the dead, or from whatever other source, there is little doubt that in the Later Avestan system they were conceived as celestial archetypes and antetypes of all good beings, somewhat after the style of the Platonic *ἰδέαι*.

'The Fravashis constitute a world of homonyms of the earthly creations, and they have lived as conscious beings in the empyrean with Ahura Mazda from all eternity. The multifarious objects of this world are so many terrestrial duplicates of these celestial originals. The Fravashis constitute the internal essence of things, as opposed to the contingent and accidental. Earthly creations are so many imperfect copies of these perfect types. The Fravashis are not mere abstractions of thought, but have objective existence and work as spiritual entities in heaven, like the angels and archangels, until they come down to this earth voluntarily, as we may infer through later statements in the Pahlavi texts. They migrate to this world, and are immanent in the particular bodies that come into being after their divine images. Everything that bears the hall-mark of belonging to the good creation has its Fravashi. Every object which has a name, common or proper, is endowed with a Fravashi. Ahura Mazda, the father of all existence, has his Fravashi, and so have the Amesha Spentas and the Yazatas. Even the sky, waters, earth, plants, animals, and all objects of the kingdom of goodness, are not without their special Fravashis. Thus beginning from the supreme godhead down to the tiniest shrub growing in the wilderness, every object has this divine element implanted in it. It is only Angra Mainyu and the demons, who are evil by nature, that are without it' (Dhalla, p. 143 f.). Moreover, 'when a child is born its Fravashi that has existed from all eternity now comes down to this earth as the higher double of the child's soul' (p. 144).

The latter concept strangely recalls one of the curious conceits of Maeterlinck in *The Blue Bird*.

(*d*) *Daēna.*—The last-quoted teaching forms the bridge by which to pass over from what we may term the ontology to the psychology of the Avestan teaching. Indeed, in so far as psychology is concerned with the analysis of the component elements of the non-material part of the human compound, Iranian thought seems to have been much addicted to such analysis at all epochs. As W. Geiger puts it, the psychology of the Avesta cannot be called either simple or primitive, but presupposes a certain amount of philosophical speculation.

'It is based upon the observation that man's spiritual activity expresses itself in manifold ways and that hence there exist in man a multiplicity of forces, each of which has its individual limited sphere of action. Moreover [this doctrine] is a specific product of the Iranian mind and scarcely admits any fundamental connexion with pre-existing conceptions and doctrines' (*Ostīrānische Kultur im Altertum*, p. 298).

In the Avesta we find four or five such spiritual powers referred to. Of one of these, the enigmatical *fravashi*, we have spoken above. A scarcely less enigmatical term is that of *daēna*. In one sense this term indicates 'religion,' specifically the true faith, the Mazdean faith, like the Persian and Arabic *dīn*. But, in another and quite different sense, it is one of the human faculties, and is generally translated by modern scholars as 'conscience' (Moulton, 'self'). It has this peculiarity, which it shares with the *fravashi*, that it would appear to be, if not pre-existent, at least to some extent independent of the individual soul, and to live on after the dissolution of death. Moreover, as Moulton points out, perhaps a crucial difference between the two elements lies in the fact that the bad man as well as the good man has a *daēna*.

'The conception was probably suggested to Zarathushtra by his own philosophic analysis of man's personality: if he knew of the fravashi, apart from its connexion with ancestor-spirits, he presumably used another word to emphasize the fact that each man had his own individual responsibility, and an immortal *ego* within him which would pass on to weal or woe. The fravashi was too much entangled with mythology to suit him, and he had no use for a system which would not apply to all men' (Moulton, p. 264).

Geiger, on the other hand, looks upon the *daēna* as a kind of divine force, existing eternally, which cannot be affected in any way by the sins of man or by his death, though still able to exercise an influence on the soul after death. In a well-known allegory, perhaps the most beautiful passage in the Avesta, the *daēna* is presented in a manner somewhat reminiscent of the Indian *karma*.

The soul (*urvan*), wandering for three days after death, on the third day meets (in the case of the just soul) a wondrously beautiful maiden, stately, robust, and graceful, who in reply to his question declares, 'I am thine own good thoughts, words, and deeds, thy *daēna*'; and, when he asks her, 'Who hath made thee so great and fair?', the damsel replies that it is the man's own good life, his good thoughts, words, and deeds that have made her grow in greatness and beauty; and then proceeds to lead him into the celestial abode. The wicked soul similarly wanders for three days, but we do not find it meeting its *daēna*, at least in the Avestan texts, though in the later Pahlavi traditions a hideous old hag is represented as replacing the beauteous maiden described above. Possibly the latter conception has been excogitated subsequently for the sake of symmetry, as it does not appear at all in harmony with the original conception of the *daēna* (see *Vendīdād*, xix. 26–34, and *Yasht*, xxii.).

(*e*) *Urvan, baodah, and ahū.*—Apart from the two powers or faculties so far described, we have the *urvan*, which seems to correspond specifically to our English word 'soul' (Dhalla, 'the ego proper, the real I-ness' [p. 144]). It is a moral power, by which man exercises his free choice

[1] Italics are the present writer's. On p. 86 Dhalla speaks of the 'highly developed type of dualism of the Younger Avestan period.'

between good and evil; it shares with the following element his responsibility, and so must undergo judgment and consequent reward or punishment after death. The *baodah* appears to indicate 'consciousness,' or perhaps 'intelligence,' and shares the responsibility of the *urvan*. Lastly, the *ahū* in its most general sense seems to mean 'life' or 'vital force' (or again 'nature'), which apparently comes into being with the body and perishes with it, and thus ranks as the lowest among spiritual faculties (see Geiger, p. 299 f.).

(*f*) *Man.*—The ethical conception of man in the Mazdean system through all epochs is clear and simple. Placed by the creative act of a supreme power in a universe in which exist both good and evil, whether in the moral or in the physical order, man has the power of choice—as we should say, free will—and according as he chooses and works in this life for the one or the other of these opposing forces he will have his reward or punishment, his happiness or misery, in the heaven of Ahura Mazda or in the hell of Angra Mainyu, in the former case at least, for all eternity. But here we touch upon a purely theological topic which need not be further pursued.

2. Later times.—During the post-Avestan times variously known as the mediæval, patristic, or Pahlavi epoch—or, to be more definite, the Sasanian and post-Sasanian periods—a considerable amount of philosophical speculation appears in Zoroastrian literature. This is only natural, for it is well-known that Greek philosophers played no inconsiderable part at the royal court of Persia. Hence Greek speculation must to some extent have leavened the Iranian mind, and, indeed, we have many traces of this in the religious literature of the epoch. We have, moreover, direct evidence of it in the Syriac writings of Paul the Persian, who flourished at the court of the greatest of the Sasanid kings, Khosrau Anosheravan (more commonly known as Chosroes the Great, A.D. 531–578).

'There are some,' Paul writes, 'who believe in only one God; others claim that he is not the only God; some teach that he possesses contrary qualities; others say that he does not possess them; some admit that he is omnipotent; others deny that he has power over everything. Some believe that the world and everything therein have been created; others think that all things are not created. And there are some who maintain that the world has been made *ex nihilo*; according to others (God) has drawn it from a ὕλη (pre-existing matter)' (Paulus Persa, *Logica*, fol. 56 [*ap.* J. P. N. Land, *Anecdota Syriaca*, iv., Leyden, 1870]).

It might be suspected that in this passage, amidst general remarks on philosophical theories, Paul was speaking of the various doctrines scattered over the world, especially as he was a Christian and had studied the Greek philosophers in the schools of Nisibis or Jondishāpūr. But it must be remembered that the writer is directly addressing King Khosrau and quoting details which must have been familiar to him. It is therefore more probable that the author is describing opinions current in his time in the bosom of the Mazdean religion itself, and the existence of numerous schools of thought at the time is also manifest from the *Maīnōg-ī-Xraṭ* (i. 17). But, apart from Greek influences, this diversity of doctrine is a necessary consequence of the Zoroastrian dualism itself. This dogma, as we have seen, teaches the existence of an evil principle, distinct from and independent of the good principle—*i.e.* God, as we should say. Now this conception of the co-existence of two eternal principles, distinct from each other and possessing independent powers, is as repugnant to the human mind as polytheism itself. Sooner or later the mind will push its theories further until it finds repose in an original unity of principle. If this is generally true, how much more so for the Iranian mind, so passionately fond of systematization? Different schools had recourse to different means of evading the difficulty. Some found the solution in a pre-existing indifferent and immutable being, from whom are derived both the good and the evil principles—a source of being, rather than a personal being, an eternal, divine source, an *Urgottheit*, as Spiegel calls it. This is Zrvan Akarana, 'Unlimited Time,' not infrequently confounded with destiny or fate. It is he who has begotten both Aūharmazd and Ahriman. This system is therefore monotheistic. Other philosophers maintain that the primeval principle is Aūharmazd himself, and attribute to him the two spirits, one good, the other evil. In this hypothesis God 'possesses contrary qualities,' according to the expression of Paul the Persian. As regards the Pahlavi writings, we seem to find in the *Dīnkarṭ* a real monotheism, possibly developed under Christian or Jewish influences; on the contrary, in the *Maīnōg-ī-Xraṭ* destiny and eternity play a preponderating part. Finally, in the *'Ulamā-i-Islām*, a small treatise of much later date, it is said that some consider Ahriman as a reprobate angel, but we do not know that this Christian idea can be traced to Sasanian times. Generally speaking, it is not easy to distinguish time (Zrvan) from destiny. The Armenian writer Eznik, a contemporary of the Sasanids in the 5th cent., writes:

'When there was as yet nothing, say the Magi, neither heaven nor earth, there existed a certain Zervan, whose name, when translated, signifies Fortune or Glory' (tr. *ap.* J. A. Gatteyrias, *L'Arménie et les Arméniens*, Paris, 1882, p. 40).

Here Zrvan and destiny (Bakht) seem to be identical, as Theodore of Mopsuestia also affirms (Ζαρουὰμ . . . ὃν καὶ Τυχὴν καλεῖ [ὁ Ζαράδης], *ap.* Photius, *Bibliotheca*, ed. Berlin, 1824–25, p. 63). The *Maīnōg-ī-Xraṭ*, as just said, develops this doctrine of eternity and destiny. Sometimes, however, they are separated.

'The affairs of the world all proceed through Destiny and Time and through the supreme decree of the self-existing Eternity, the king and lord of Long Time' (xxvii. 10).

Elsewhere it is said of Zrvan Akarana:

'He is imperishable and immortal; he is without grief, without hunger, without thirst, without affliction, ever living, sempiternal, whom no one can stay, nor remove his control from his affairs' (viii. 9).

Again:

'Destiny is that which is supreme over every person and over all things' (xxvii. 11).

One is tempted to believe that this Zrvan was considered by certain sects, not as the eternal source of all being, including Aūharmazd himself, but as a vast chaos, an infinite pre-existing matter, the ὕλη of Paul the Persian, 'out of which Aūharmazd has formed all his creatures.' In these speculations we seem to hear an echo of some of the Indian philosophical schools. That the idea of this primeval principle was mingled with that of destiny need not astonish us. Destiny plays a prominent part in all Oriental religions, all more or less inclined towards fatalism, and its effect is everywhere to disturb the idea of divinity. The notion of an inevitable *fatum*, a blind power which is even above the will of the gods, is not reconcilable with that of a true supreme being, especially like that of the Mazdean religion. But we must not expect to find too much consistency in these theories, because in that case we should have to exclude dualism itself. Nor can we be surprised to find this power, vague, mysterious, and shapeless, confounded with that other equally intangible and misty entity, Zrvan. The transition from one to the other is quite natural. From another point of view, that of the Avesta, which we also meet in Sasanian times in the *Bundahishn*, this infinite time is neither the source nor the creature of Aūharmazd, but rather one of his co-eternal attributes, for he is spoken of as 'endowed with boundless time' (*damān-i-akaṇārak-homand* [i. 3]). There is also a concept, which already appears in the Avesta as Thwasha (or infinite space), to which

likewise the idea of destiny seems to have been attached, and which appears to be identical with the Pahlavi *spihr*, indicating the celestial sphere and even used in the *Maīnōg-ī-Xraṭ* to signify destiny, just like the modern Persian word.

It is somewhat surprising to find that not only Eznik, but also—if we may believe another Armenian historian—the celebrated official edict of the prime minister of Yazdagird II. affirms that Zrvan existed before heaven and earth and begot two sons, the good and the evil spirits. If this edict is authentic, we must suppose that Zervanism had assumed the proportions of almost a State religion. Parsi writers, however, do not accept the testimony of the Armenian writers, though Dhalla adds:

'Be this as it may, it is certain that a sect of the Zarvanites, who evidently aimed at resolving the Zoroastrian dualism into monotheism by the apotheosis of Time, did flourish for a long time in Iran. Shahristani, who wrote in the early part of the twelfth century, attests . . . that he met the followers of this sect in his day' (p. 205).

The same writer points out that in several of the Pahlavi writings time and fate are indissolubly linked together:

'The movements of the heavens regulate Fate, and the planets and constellations are the arbiters of man's fortune. The good and evil stars determine man's lot, which is linked with the course of the stars' (p. 205 f.).

Among the various divergent philosophical schools of the period to which we are referring, two stand out conspicuously, because they are known by the names of their founders, who have ever been regarded by orthodox Zoroastrians as heresiarchs. The more famous of these was Mani, or Manai, who suffered death in A.D. 276, and whose eclectic system, based on materials drawn from Mazdeism, Buddhism, Christianity, and Gnosticism, was destined to play such an extraordinary part throughout the Roman Empire and even within Christianity itself, under the name of Manichæism. The other heterodox philosopher was Mazdak († 528), whose system was social and economic rather than metaphysical, and amounted to pure communism. See artt. MANICHÆISM and MAZDAK.

There is abundant material in the various books of the Pahlavi period for a study of the divergent schools of philosophic thought during the golden age of Zoroastrian faith. We may here condense a few of the principal notions. The *Dīnkarṭ*, in particular, frequently seems to develop a system of its own, especially on the side of cosmology. According to this, being (*yehevūnishn*)[1] is the foundation of all creatures. From this indifferent foundation animated beings are formed in three stages: (1) the four elements, which are the basis of all matter; (2) a sort of vitality given to a mixture of these elements, which are organized in the form of bodies, and thus become living, though mortal; and (3) the spiritual parts, the *fravāhar* and the soul; these are added by the power of the creator, and so the human or animal compound is formed. This compound lasts till its dissolution by death, when the material portion, or body, dies by separation from the spiritual parts, the existence of which still continues.

Passing over the various theories concerning what we should now call 'natural science'—astronomy, meteorology, geology, botany, and zoology—as not strictly falling within our subject, we must say a word or two on some curious notions concerning anthropology. It is first laid down that man rules over the rest of the world (*Dīnk.* ii. 77. 2), and was the last of the creations of Aūharmazd. He was, in fact, the work of the sixth epoch of the creation (*Bund.* i. 28). Aūharmazd formed Gāyōmart, a solitary male being, from the earth. He being eventually put to death by the evil spirit, Ahriman, there was after a time produced from his semen, which had been absorbed by the earth, a double plant (*rivās*) having but one stem, and this plant, passing from vegetable to human form, became a male and female couple known as Māshya and Māshyōi, 'the reasoning faculty which is the soul (*nīsmo mano aīt rūbān*) spiritually entering into them' (*Bund.* xv. 5). The subsequent history of the primeval pair, their fall and progeny, so singularly like the account in Genesis, must not detain us here. Suffice it to say that the principal points that stand out in the whole legend seem to be (i.) the original unity of the race, (ii.) the mortal nature of man, (iii.) his original innocence, (iv.) his fall by the influence of the evil spirit, and (v.) his successive progress in the arts of life.

[1] Or *yehevūn*; see the curious diagram reproduced in art. DUALISM (Iranian).

Psychological analysis is very greatly developed during the Sasanian and subsequent epochs. The spiritual part of man is the subject of predilection of the Pahlavi treatises. Lists of the spiritual faculties or powers are very frequent, but the number of them varies in quite a remarkable manner. Mention is made of three, four, five, six, eleven, or even more. These lists are exceedingly varied and, strangely enough, sometimes include what we should consider material elements, such as the senses, or speech and action. The longest list is that of the *Dīnkarṭ*, in which we find enumerated wisdom, development, knowledge, discernment, faith, and belief, reasoning, sense, intelligence, etc. From a general review of the various treatises, we may conclude (i.) that these philosophers were very fond of making psychological distinctions as to the spiritual elements of the human compound; (ii.) that they had no very fixed principles in their divisions—which thus vary greatly and often overlap; and (iii.) that the terms cited, though we may try to translate them by identical terms in our language, have probably not always the same sense in every treatise or in every passage.

One or two of these terms require special consideration. The faculties properly called intellectual are the *khart*, *vīr*, and *hōsh*. *Khart* is divine wisdom, and is spoken of as the being who holds his place next to God, and with whom the whole of the *Maīnōg-ī-Xraṭ* ('The Spirit of Wisdom') is occupied. But *khart* is also a human faculty and is specifically said to be of two kinds—innate intelligence (*asno khart*) and acquired intelligence (*gōshansrūt khart*). The innate intelligence is 'the root of knowledge'; the acquired intelligence 'commences in the marrow of the finger'—*i.e.* from experience of the material world—and then settles in the heart. Innate intelligence expresses outwardly what exists in the interior of man; acquired intelligence communicates to the interior that which is outside. All our sources agree in representing the *vīr* as the faculty of reason, or deduction. *Hōsh* is generally associated with *vīr*. It is perhaps the memory, or else prudence, practical good sense (like the modern Persian *hōsh*), which would explain the fact that it makes man the possessor of strength. It is also said that no one can buy *vīr* and *hōsh* at any price. Among other non-material elements we ought also to record *bōī* or *bōd*, in which we meet again the Avestan *baodah*, apparently self-consciousness, by which a man knows himself, but, according to one source (*Shāyast lā-Shāyast*, xii. 5), this element on the death of man passes to the nearest fire, then to the stars, to the moon, and finally to the sun. Elsewhere this faculty, the soul (*revān*), and the *fravāhar* remain together after death to meet reward or punishment. Not so the *jān*, or vital force, which apparently perishes with the dissolution of the body. In *dīno* we find scarcely altered the Avestan *daēna* in both its senses. A word which in the Pahlavi characters can be read either as *aīū* or as *akho* is more embarrassing. In the former reading it corresponds with the same word in Avestan and perhaps means 'nature.' *Akho*, however, is a mysterious power which recalls the δαίμων of Socrates, because it has to warn both body and soul to act virtuously and avoid evil. The *fravāhar* or *frōhar*, is of course the Avestan *fravashi*, but it has descended much lower in the scale of dignity. Thus in the *Dīnkarṭ* (iii. 123) its duty is to purify the air in the body by means of fire and thus to maintain life (probably the animal heat); while in the post-Sasanian *Saddar Būndahishn* it has become a mere principle of digestion.

It is somewhat surprising that, although the whole system of Zoroastrian ethics rests upon man's free will, we do not find in these Pahlavi texts lists

a specific term which may be translated 'free will.' The doctrine, however, is plainly expressed. It is said in the *Dīnkarṭ* that man is distinguished from other creatures in this that he is master of his wishes (*kām khūtāi*) and that for this reason he is termed in the Avesta 'lord of the material world.' It is also said that 'except God, the only master is man.'

The fatalist doctrine that every man has his star (*star*), which he is bound to obey, is found only in the *Maīnōg-ī-Xraṭ*, to whose tendencies we have already referred.

The eschatology of Mazdeism, whether as regards the individual soul, its judgment, and future happiness or misery, or as regards the end of the world, the final resurrection of the dead, the ἀποκατάστασις, or ultimate regeneration of all things by the great fire and the river of molten metal, belongs to the theology rather than to the philosophy, and need not detain us here.

3. Modern times.—We are indebted to Dhalla for a great deal of interesting information concerning the developments of Mazdeism in later centuries, much of which has not before been known by Western scholars. Of course the works entitled the *Desatir* and the *Dabistān* have long been known and even translated. The latter, written in India in the 17th cent., is founded on the former, and recalls the existence of some fourteen sects.

'We meet with some attempts in them to explain the primordial principle from which creation came into being, and we have some sort of crude metaphysics grafted on physics. . . . Others still preach a strict monism, and assume that the world of phenomena was caused by illusion' (Dhalla, p. 312).

Here we have already the Indian *māyā*; and other sects had taken over the doctrine of metempsychosis as well as the belief in asceticism and rigorous austerities. Mysticism also, with its esoteric doctrines, claimed its devotees, and Parsi mystics composed treatises in the Persian language (see Dhalla for a complete account of all these extraordinary developments, so entirely opposed to the real spirit and teachings of Zoroastrianism). We must conclude with Dhalla that all these strange movements were the direct outcome of the Hindu Yogism, with which the Parsis had been brought into contact during their centuries of residence in India as exiles from their fatherland.

One result of the introduction of Western scholarship to the Parsi mind has been, as we learn from Dhalla, the growth of *theosophism* among a certain number of Indian Zoroastrians. The chapter devoted to this subject is probably in one sense the most interesting in the book, as it gives information not found elsewhere. The movement, we are told, began in the early eighties of last century. Its adepts profess to invest Zoroastrianism with a philosophical garb and to construct for it a scientific basis. They reject philological methods of interpreting the sacred texts and attribute occult significance to the Avestan prayers, however unintelligible. Strangely enough, these theosophists claim to be the champions of orthodoxy, though both their doctrines (such as that of metempsychosis and of the primeval impersonal principle Zrvan Akarana) and their practices (such as asceticism and celibacy, 'held to be the primal virtue') are singularly at variance with the whole spirit of the Mazdean religion. Dhalla augurs nothing but disaster to the Parsi community from any considerable growth of this fantastic theosophism in its midst.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the ordinary versions of and commentaries on the Avesta: E. W. West, *Pahlavi Texts*, in *SBE* v. [1880], xviii. [1882], xxiv. [1885], xxxvii. [1892], xlvii. [1897]; W. Geiger, *Ostīrānische Kultur im Altertum*, Erlangen, 1882; F. Spiegel, *Erānische Alterthumskunde*, Leipzig, 1871–78, ii.; J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, London, 1913; M. N. Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Theology from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, New York, 1914; L. C. Casartelli, *La Philosophie religieuse du Mazdéisme sous les Sassanides*, Louvain, 1884, tr. Firoz Jamaspji, *The Philosophy of the Mazdayasnian Religion under the Sassanids*, Bombay, 1889.

L. C. CASARTELLI.

PHILOSOPHY (Japanese). — **1. Mythology and philosophy.**—Mythology everywhere precedes philosophy, but the latter is often an outgrowth of the former. The Japanese people came under the influence of an elaborate philosophical system before they had emerged out of naive mythological thought on the world and human life, which made an independent development of their own philosophy impossible. We need not inquire whether they could otherwise have developed a philosophy out of their inherited thought alone, whether or not they were by nature a philosophical people. Philosophy, properly so called, began in Japan in the turn of the 6th and 7th centuries, when Buddhism was introduced and a dialectic analysis of human knowledge stimulated its thinkers. But this Buddhist philosophy hardly touched the mythical ideas of the spontaneous generation of the world, of the production of many things by the generative acts of the primeval couple, of the origin of death, etc. These mythological traditions found a more congenial partner in Chinese cosmology, which found its way into Japan in the early centuries of the Christian era, and which taught the two cosmic principles (*yin* and *yang*), the five physical elements (wood, fire, earth, metal, and water), and the orderly circulation of these principles and elements in the formation of things, in the seasons of the year, in human life, etc. The combination of Japanese mythology and Chinese cosmology was, especially since the 9th cent., rather an addition to the methods of divination than anything to be called philosophy. Yet, since Confucianism played a great part in the political and institutional life of the Japanese, the combination produced a certain system of political theory and its associate ethics. The chief stress was laid on the monarchic principle of the State constitution, which was based on the divine origin of the ruling family—the Japanese counterpart of the Confucian theory of the heavenly sanction bestowed upon the sovereign. The authority and dignity of the ruler, according to this theory, were a consummation of his patriarchal dignity, and the relation between sovereign and subjects was that between father and children, in an enlarged sense. Loyalty was thus a manifestation or a higher form of filial piety; and other virtues, such as benevolence, justice, propriety, wisdom, and faithfulness, were regarded more as civic than as personal virtues. This ethico-political theory played an important part in Japanese ethics throughout its history.

In the later years, especially in the 14th and 15th centuries, an age of eclecticism, the combination of Japanese mythology (called Shintō) and Chinese cosmology embraced Buddhism and Taoism to a certain extent, and enlarged its scope to an ethico-political philosophy based on the idealistic philosophy of the latter systems. The Buddhist philosophy of the oneness of the individual and the cosmic soul was combined with the Chinese parallelisms between the individual life and the cosmic vitality. The most noteworthy representative of this eclectic tendency was Ichijō Kanera (1402–81), who tried to establish a system of Shintō philosophy and ethics by harmonizing it with all other systems then prevailing in Japan. The sole principle ruling the universe was, according to him, nothing but the primeval essence of our own soul, which, in spite of its changeable manifestations, was co-eval with the all-embracing divinity. Although Kanera did not explicitly teach a doctrine of emanation, he explained all existences of the world through analogies between mental and

material phenomena and by ethical and psychological interpretations of physical elements and occurrences.

To take one instance, the three insignia of the throne—the mirror, the jewel, and the sword—were explained as symbolizing the virtues of veracity, benevolence, and justice, which were manifested in heaven as sun, moon, and stars, and on earth as fire, water, and metal. The life of an individual as well as of a nation, especially of the Japanese nation, was, or ought to be, an embodiment of these virtues in consonance with the qualities and powers manifested by those material elements and celestial phenomena. Naturally, various theories were adduced to support these analogies, in which Buddhism played the greatest part in metaphysics, Taoism in physics, Confucianism and Shintō in ethics.

This is a typical specimen of Shintō speculation on cosmological and ethical problems, and the eclecticism continued to exert its influence until the revivalist Shintōists of the 18th cent. attempted to exclude alien ingredients and to explain the ancient myths along the lines of a Euhemeristic historicism.

2. Buddhist philosophy.—Philosophical thought, properly so named, was started by the Sanron[1] branch of Buddhism, which was based on the Mādhyamika system of Nāgārjuna. The philosophy of Nāgārjuna consisted in dialectically analyzing every finite concept into a thesis and its antithesis, in showing their incompatibility, and in reducing the concept to an illusion, when taken by itself alone. The culmination of the dialectic process, and therefore the aim of the philosophy, amounted to realizing in a spiritual illumination the absolute which transcended, and at the same time embraced, all finite conception and things.

This system of transcendental idealism opened a way to philosophical thought in Japan and helped to awaken the most enlightened minds of the 7th cent. to the vanity of naive realism.[2] Although this idealism did not exercise a wide influence at the time, it laid the foundation of the Buddhist thought of all coming ages, and, to a certain degree, of the Japanese habit of looking at things 'beyond their appearances,' as manifested in art and poetry.

The philosophical system which brought to Japan more systematic, and more or less realistic, ideas about philosophical problems was the Yuishiki (Skr. Vijñāti-mātrā) school of Buddhism, initiated by Vasubandhu in India and elaborated by Yuan-Chwang in China. The system, in its ultimate basis and goal, was an idealism teaching that the ultimate reality consists in the innermost soul[3] of each individual, and this was identified with the cosmic soul. But, it was taught, the soul has in itself an inexhaustible store of the 'seeds' (*bīja*), which may be called 'vitalons' on the analogy of 'electrons.' By the innate virtues of the vitalons the innermost soul manifests itself in the soul-activities of the lower grades, seven in number, as well as in the external phenomena which are nothing but projections of the soul-activities. Thus we have before us a kind of emanation theory, in which cosmology and physics were always closely interrelated with psychology, allied to a system of mystic contemplation. The latter had in view the practical purpose of arriving at the innermost essence of the soul by penetrating the entanglement of mental and physical phenomena.

[1] Sanron meant the 'Three Śāstras,' because the system was founded on the *Mādhyamika-śāstra*, *Śata-śāstra*, and *Dvādaśa-dvāra-śāstra* of Nāgārjuna. For the first of these see Max Walleser, *Die mittlere Lehre des Nāgārjuna*, Heidelberg, 1911; S. Yamakami, *Systems of Buddhistic Thought*, Calcutta, 1912, ch. v.

[2] The most prominent of them was Prince-regent Shōtoku, for whom see A. Lloyd, *The Creed of Half Japan*, London, 1911, ch. xviii.; M. Anesaki, *Religious and Moral Development of the Japanese* (in preparation), pt. ii.

[3] Called the *ālāya*, or 'store,' soul. For this and other points see artt. Asaṅga, Vasubandhu; S. Lévi, *Mahāyāna-Sūtrālamkāra*, Paris, 1907–11; Yamakami, ch. vi.

Thus the physical and psychological analyses were intended in the Yuishiki philosophy to be the means of getting through the phenomenal world; and yet studies on these subjects induced this school of philosophy to dwell much on minute details of the physical and mental processes, with the result that the system manifested realistic traits more than any other branch of Buddhism. In other words, things (*dharma*) were classified under five categories: (1) the soul, or mind-essence (*chitta*); (2) the mental functions (*chitta-vṛtti*); (3) the material phenomena (*rūpa*); (4) the relationships arising out of neither mind nor matter alone (*viprasamyukta-dharma*), such as attainment (of a new acquisition by the mind), universality, vitality, annihilation; (5) the unborn and unchangeable (*asaṅkṛta-dharma*), the state of the ultimate universality. We shall not enter further into the minute classifications of these categories, but the designations alone show how the system deserved its other title Hossō (Skr. Dharma-lakṣana), *i.e.* the treatment of the 'signs of things,' including physics, psychology, ethics, and religious philosophy.

As the foundation of these speculations and discussions, the Hossō system emphasized the importance of logic and epistemology, called together Hetu-vidyā, the 'science of the ground.' The origin of this system of Indian logic is traced to Akshapāda, believed to have lived before Buddha, but it was further systematized by the Buddhist philosopher Dignāga, who is said to have lived in Andhrā in the 6th cent A.D. The logical system was further elaborated in China and Japan, and flourished in the latter for many centuries from the 8th, being cultivated even by the court nobles. The nature of the whole system may be seen from its general divisions: (1) the theories of concepts and propositions, both intuitive and inferential; (2) a system of syllogism, consisting of three or five propositions; (3) the theories of fallacies, inherent in one of the three main propositions. This system of logic attained its utmost subtlety in Japan.

Closely connected with the logical theories is the part of grammar treating of the eight cases (in Sanskrit, but applied to Japanese) and the formation of compounds (six in kind). Although Japanese philosophers did little to develop their original theories or systems in these respects, they succeeded in applying them to their own language, and in greatly elaborating them according to its possibilities. Indeed, it was the adoption of the Indian system of logic and grammar that made the philosophical thought of the Japanese possible, and overcame, to a great extent, the defects of their language as to precise expression of philosophical thought.

When the Hossō school had laid the foundations of Buddhist philosophy in Japan, another system akin to Hegelianism was introduced there, in the beginning of the 9th century. It was a system of Buddhist idealism attempting to explain the different forms of Buddhism as the tactful steps of Buddha's educative method (*upāya - kauśalya*) adapted to the various needs and capabilities of his disciples. The system is known by the name Tendai (Chinese, Tien-t'ai), because it was formulated by Chi-i (536–597) of Mount Tien-t'ai, in the province of Chekiang.[1] The man who introduced it into Japan and made use of it for unifying Japanese Buddhism under its banner was Saichō (767–822).[2] In Saichō's thought, again, we see little originality; his work consisted in translating the idealistic system of the Chinese philosopher into religious practice, and the Tendai philosophy

[1] Cf. J. Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*[2], London, 1893, ch. viii.

[2] Lloyd, pp. 228–235; Anesaki, pt. iii.

pragmatized, so to speak, ruled Buddhist thought in Japan throughout centuries, parallel with another school of pantheistic mysticism, Shingon (see below).

The philosophy of the Tendai school is founded essentially on the same basis as that of the Sanron school, and amounts to denying reality to a finite conception, or thing, taken by itself. But it is further urged that reality in the full sense consists neither in an abstract vacuity nor in a phenomenal actuality alone, but in the synthesis of both—the doctrine of the Middle Path. In other words, reality means a concrete being seen under the aspect of the universal, or a universal seen in a concrete existence. To realize this truth of reality, first in meditation, and then in moral and religious life, is the kernel of the Buddhist religion.[1]

Now the Tendai philosophy of religion proceeds, upon this basic conception of the world, to explain the various branches of Buddhism as the stages of the necessary development of thought, which were taken into account by Buddha in leading his followers to the ultimate truth of reality. The first stage, to speak in a general way, was to instruct the people in the lawful order (*dharmatā*) of existence, and therefore in the realistic traits of the Hīnayāna and the Hossō schools. Then the necessity of breaking down the exclusive adherence to actualities was shown in the teaching of vacuity (*śūnyatā*), as expounded at length in the Prajñā texts. The higher synthesis of these two extremes was carried out in the sermons of the *Lotus of the True Law* ([*q.v.*] *Sad-dharma-puṇḍarīka*), given during the last eight years of Buddha's ministry, according to Buddhist legend, and Chi-i claimed to have based his system on the teachings of that book. Chi-i distinguished five stages in Buddha's educative process and eight kinds of doctrines therein expounded, and he further elucidated these stages and doctrines as the successive steps in Buddha's instructions as well as the gradual development of spiritual enlightenment in individual psychology. But the gist of this religious philosophy was the consideration of the thesis, antithesis, and synthesis which, as stated above, were applied to all philosophical theses and to the instructions in moral and religious life. Thus, after all, we have here a splendid counterpart of the Hegelian idealism, and the contribution of the Japanese mind to the system consisted in applying this synthetic idealism to practical life. In this respect Japanese Buddhism produced not a few men of more or less originality, not only in religion and morals, but also in the arts and poetry; but this belongs to religious history rather than to the consideration of philosophy.

The pantheistic mysticism known as the Shingon (Skr. Mantra) school was promulgated by Kūkai (774–835), a younger contemporary and great rival of Saichō.[2] The philosophy of Shingon was a significant combination of materialism and idealism, viewing the universe as the very body of the Buddha Great Illuminator (Mahā-Vairochana) vitalized by his soul. The five material elements, together with one 'mental' element, consciousness, are enlivened by the soul consisting of the ninefold stages or strata[3] of soul-activities. And in every one of these material existences, even in dust or sand, and in every one of our thoughts and utterances, is embodied the all-pervading vitality of the universe. This was a mystic consummation of the cosmological, physical, and psychological speculations elaborated in India, Central Asia, China, and Japan; and its religious practice consisted in the mystic acts of prayers and rituals. In this respect Kūkai simply imported what he found in China, but the grand scale of his world-view may be seen in his theory of the ten stages of spiritual development, in which he surpassed the achievements of his predecessors.

Kūkai's scheme arranged the various systems and ideas in a series of spiritual development, tracing the gradual illumination of the individual soul from beast-like stupidity up to the full realization, chiefly through mystic practices, of the cosmic life of the Great Illuminator. Not only the various branches of Buddhism but also Hinduism, Confucianism, and Taoism, were included in the scales of the progressive development which culminated in the mystic pantheism of Shingon. Here we shall simply enumerate the ten stages: (1) the stage of the soul, living and dying like a beast absorbed in the thoughts of food and sex—common men without religion; (2) the state of the soul like a stupid child scrupulously sticking to moral rules and social conventions—Confucianism; (3) the state of the soul like an infant living without fear, being nursed in the mother's bosom, *i.e.* in the belief in the heavenly life—Brāhmanism; (4) the state of the soul which is convinced of the sole reality of the five constituents (*skandhas*) of existence and the non-entity of self—Hīnayāna; (5) the state of the soul which, having realized the evil of existence, has eradicated its root, *karma*, and attained an absolute tranquillity—the enlightenment of the Pratyekabuddha (*q.v.*); (6) the state of the soul awake to the oneness of existence and proceeding to the illumination in the truth of the illusoriness of external existence—the Yuishiki, or Vijñāti-mātrā, school; (7) the state of the soul fully enlightened as to the ultimate reality which transcends all relativities—the Sanron, or Mādhyamika, school; (8) the state of the soul in which the all-embracing sole way of reality is grasped, the reality universal and eternal identified with our own soul—the Tendai school; (9) the state of the soul freely moving in the world of living force, which is neither a chaotic mass nor a static entity, but exhibits its whole vitality even in a particle—the Kegon school, based on the book *Avatamsaka* (Chin. *Hwa-yen-king*); (10) the state of the soul which has fully grasped the glories of cosmic mysteries and lives the life of the cosmic Lord even in an individual body—the Shingon mysticism.

The complete embodiment of cosmic mysteries in the individual life is more a matter of religious mysticism than of philosophical speculation; but we have to note that the mystic ritualism of Shingon had in its background, or rather as its systematic expression, this view of a vast spiritual development going on in the individual soul as well as in the cosmic life. The final aim of every finite existence, according to this view, was participation in the full life of the cosmic Lord and attainment by this means of complete mastery over the cosmic mysteries.

The Shingon mysticism was, in fact, a culmination of Buddhist philosophical thought, which tried to unite in a harmonious whole not only the different schools of Buddhism, but also all other religions and philosophies with which it came into contact. What the Tendai school regarded as the steps in Buddha's educative method was modified by the Shingon system to mean the successive stages of spiritual development, guided and illumined by Buddha's wisdom and mercy. Thus the general trend of thought in these philosophical systems was idealistic in their philosophical foundation and pantheistic in their religious bearing.

[1] Cf. the appendix to M. Anesaki, *Nichiren*, Harvard University Press, 1916; Yamakami, ch. viii.

[2] For Kūkai and Shingon mysticism cf. Lloyd, pp. 235–240; Anesaki, *Buddhist Art in its Relation to Buddhist Ideals*, Boston, 1915, ch. ii.

[3] One higher stage, called *amala*, 'purity-consciousness,' is added to the eighth, the *ālāya* (for which see art. Asaṅga).

3. Confucian philosophy.—In the early stage of its influence in Japan Confucianism was a system of civic morality and social institutions, and left the field of philosophic thought to Buddhism, never attempting to rival it. But the characteristic feature of Buddhism—its linking of ethics and metaphysics through psychological self-introspection—made more and more impression upon Chinese Confucianists, and resulted in the Sing-li school of the 12th cent., represented chiefly by Chu-Hsi (Jap. Shu-shi).

Sing means literally 'nature,' the universal nature of all existences identified with the ultimate principle of cosmic existence; and in this sense *sing* is identical with *li*, 'reason' or 'universal principle,' like the Stoic λόγος. Besides this, the Sing-li school postulated the existence of another principle called *K'i*, literally 'air,' which meant the particularizing and vitalizing principle—the source of concrete physical existence. Thus the antithesis between *li* and *K'i* may roughly be characterized as a dualism of the metaphysical and spiritual on one side and the physical and concrete on the other. The Sing-li school emphasized in its metaphysics the all-pervading rule of *li* as the wisdom and will of heaven, while in physics it elaborated the theory of the differentiation out of *K'i* of mental and physical conditions, which were pervaded by the positive and negative principles (*yin* and *yang*) and composed of the five material elements.

Though the chief interest of the school was in ethics, its thinkers had to face the problem of psychologically examining human nature as reflecting the heavenly reason, on the one hand, and as being disturbed by physical conditions, on the other. The intricate problems of human nature were treated along psychological lines—*e.g.*, the relation between the fundamental nature of the mind and its emotional agitations, the difference of temperaments caused by the preponderance of the various elements in the physical life, the close link existing between control of moral will and intellectual investigation into the nature of things, etc. These discussions were directed towards moral problems and applied to the methods of mental culture and control. This system of metaphysics and ethics was introduced into Japan in the 14th cent., but was cultivated chiefly by Buddhist monks, until it was adopted as the orthodox teaching of the State by the dictatorial government in the beginning of the 17th cent. and took the upper classes under its sway. The story of how the orthodox teachings of the Shu-shi philosophy moulded the moral life of the ruling classes is an important chapter in the moral history of the Japanese, but cannot be treated here.[1] We may, however, point out an important feature of the Sing-li school in Japan: it emphasized the virtues of sincerity and obedience perhaps more than benevolence and justice, the cardinal virtues of the original Confucianism. This was a consequence of the Shu-shi ethics adapted to the needs of the time, when the Japanese nation was ruled by a strong military government and enjoyed a peace lasting over two centuries. Sincerity, thus emphasized, verged on religious devotion—a pious obedience towards the heavenly reason as well as towards social order. This was a characteristic point of Japanese Confucianism, distinguishing it from the same system in its native land; and, in fact, some Japanese Confucianists of the 18th cent. organized a Shintō-Confucian cult.

A system of ethical teaching thus dictated by the government and emphasizing obedience inevitably aroused reaction from men of ability and originality. One of the reactions was the 'Old Learning' (Jap. Ko-gaku-ha), which claimed to purge Confucianism from later admixtures and proposed a more dynamic view of the world and life. Speaking in general, the result was a monistic philosophy identifying *K'i* with *li*, *i.e.* attributing the concrete vitalizing force to the very nature of the cosmic principle. In this system the partition between metaphysics and physics was partly abolished, and likewise the antithesis between the universal nature and the actual life. Every thing is a direct manifestation of the universal vitality, and what the Shu-shiists call the 'reason' or intelligence is nothing but the reign of law to be detected in the processes of the cosmic and individual life. The ethical consequence of this monistic philosophy was that not obedience but an actual realization of the universal life in the individual was the virtue of human life—a self-realization in which the individual embodies the all-comprehensive vitality of the universe. The cardinal virtues are, therefore, benevolence and justice, the virtues which represent the love and law of the cosmic existence in the individual and social life. In short, the 'Old Learning' school was, in spite of its claim and title, a product of Japanese genius, which cared not so much for metaphysical abstractions as for the realities of life. In its teaching we see a close tie between metaphysics and ethics, to the exclusion to a large extent of physical theories and psychological subtleties.

The second of the heterodox schools consisted of the followers of Wang Yang-ming (Jap. Ō-Yōmei), the intuitionist of the 16th century. This school identified conscience, when unstained and fully alive, with the primeval conscience of the universe. The main distinction of the school was that it abandoned all theoretical subtleties and aimed at realizing the primeval conscience in the individual life, first in intuitive insight and spiritual drill, and then in actual life. This feature had its best manifestation in the moral attainment of a select few, who also favoured democratic ideas and practices. The Yōmei school was eminent and efficacious in its practical effects more than in philosophic thought as such.

4. Review and present conditions.—Viewed as a whole, the philosophic thought of the Japanese never manifested originality, but was always influenced by the philosophical systems of the Asiatic continent. Yet the impression made and the modifications wrought by the Japanese upon these imported systems cannot be overlooked. Pragmatic application and attempts at unifying those systems characterized the history of Japanese thought, and it bore its best fruits in religious and moral life rather than in theoretical elaborations.

The change in philosophy going on at present is chiefly due to Japan's contact with Western civilization. Auguste Comte and J. S. Mill were the first European philosophers introduced, in the seventies of the 19th cent., soon after the reform of 1868, and some Confucianists found in Comte's positivism an ally of their own ethical and social theories. Herbert Spencer followed, and the sway of agnosticism lasted during the eighties. The English philosopher exerted his influence in dispelling, more or less, mystic or religious ideas handed down among the Japanese, but a peculiar point in his influence was that his agnosticism was brought by some Buddhists into connexion with the Buddhist transcendentalism of the Sanron school. This was due to the fact that the Unknowable of Spencer showed kinship to the overcoming, in Sanron, of all finite conceptions in

[1] See Anesaki, *Religious and Moral Development of the Japanese*, pt. v. On Confucianism in Japan in general see R. C. Armstrong, *Light from the East*, Toronto, 1914, and its review by Anesaki in the *Harvard Theological Review*, viii. [1915] 563–571.

the search for the ultimate reality. This alliance is also found in Lafcadio Hearn's[1] appreciation of Buddhism through his Spencerian agnosticism, though independently from the Japanese thinkers. While agnosticism was prevailing, Hegel was gradually introduced, and soon some young Buddhists realized the kinship between Hegel's metaphysical dialectic and the Tendai philosophy of Buddhism. This discovery, in conjunction with various other circumstances, gave a strong impetus to the revival of Buddhist philosophy during the later years of the eighties. Since then nearly every one of the European philosophers has found his exponents in Japan, and the philosophical thought of modern Japan is in a melting-pot of Oriental and Occidental philosophies. Nearly twenty chairs of philosophy and philosophical sciences in Japanese universities represent all possible combinations of these philosophies. Although it may be premature to speak of any definite tendencies or predominant features, we may perhaps safely say that all these streams of Western thought are being correlated with either Buddhist idealism or Confucian positivism.

LITERATURE.—This is cited throughout the article.

M. ANESAKI.

PHILOSOPHY (Jewish).—Jewish philosophy may aptly be designated as the conscious attempt of Jewish thinkers to reconcile the teachings of Judaism with the results of their studies in the fields of the secular sciences. The literary products of the Jews in this line of thought are not the continuation of either the Bible or the Talmud, nor do they represent a spontaneous manifestation of the Jewish mode of thinking, as was the case with the philosophy of the ancient Greeks; they are the outgrowth of foreign influences which were fundamentally antagonistic to the religious spirit of Judaism. A people begins to philosophize only when, for one reason or another, it becomes suspicious of the value and truth of its inherited ideas and national beliefs. The Jews of ancient times, with the exception perhaps of some individuals, of whom, however, we have no sufficient records to warrant conclusions, never entertained any doubt as to the truth and the ethical worth of their religious teachings. Looking upon the Bible as a sacred book, the contents of which were revealed or inspired by God Himself, they felt themselves in the possession of all truth, and it did not occur to them that they were in need of some new system of metaphysics which would reveal to them verities not contained in their religious documents. It was only when the Jews came in contact with other nations, first with the Greeks and then with their disciples, the Arabs, that some of their scholars, who in their quest for knowledge had ventured beyond the boundaries of their own national literature, began to notice the discrepancies between what they had hitherto considered as eternal verities and the new truth which was heralded with so much clearness and certainty in the works of foreign philosophy. This realization of a conflict of ideas is already reflected in the book of Ecclesiastes, whose author, however, makes no attempt at any philosophic reconciliation of the opposing views.

The first Jewish author of prominence who tried to harmonize the Jewish and the Greek world-conception was Philo of Alexandria (*c.* 20 B.C.–A.D. 50). Starting out from the point of view of a pious observant Jew, such as he was, that the Law of Moses is the source and standard of all truth, religious and philosophic, and being at the same time an enthusiastic devotee of Greek thought, Philo set himself the task of proving that Judaism and Hellenism not only are not antagonistic, but actually teach the same divine truth, though each in a different form. In order to achieve his purpose he, on the one hand, resorted to an elaborate and often fantastic system of allegorization of the Bible, whereby the text could be made to mean anything desired, and, on the other hand, selected from the various writings of the philosophers those views which in his opinion could be best adapted to the teachings of the Bible. Philo, though far from being a mere compiler, is thus to be classed with the philosophic eclectics. The doctrines of Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, the Stoics, and others were all made to contribute to his system, the main purpose of which was, as already noted, the defence and justification of the Jewish religion (see C. Siegfried, *Philo von Alexandria*, Jena, 1875, p. 137 ff.; James Drummond, *Philo Judæus*, London, 1888, i. 257 ff.). Philo's influence on the later development of Jewish philosophy was comparatively small (cf. Siegfried, pp. 299–302), but was an important factor in the construction of the Christian dogma by the Church Fathers. See, further, ALEXANDRIAN THEOLOGY, § 2.

In the literature of the Jews that originated during the nine centuries following upon the short Hellenistic period very little is found that can be designated as philosophy. The only work of a speculative nature is the semi-mystic Hebrew treatise known under the name of *Sefer Yeṣirah* ('Book of Creation'), which was ascribed to the Mishnic teacher 'Aḳiba (2nd cent.) and even to the patriarch Abraham, but is no doubt a product of the Saboraic or the earlier Geonic period (5th–7th cent.). Apart from some philological paragraphs dealing with the Hebrew language, the treatise is a speculative attempt to solve the mysteries of God and nature in short sentences which are partly very obscure. The number-symbolism of the Neo-Pythagorean school and some Gnostic ideas are the most conspicuous elements of the book, which exercised an immense influence on later Jewish literature, particularly the Ḳabbālā (*g.v.*). It appeared in several hundred editions, was frequently translated into Latin and all the leading European languages, and was variously commented upon by the most prominent Jewish and also Christian authors (see for the literature *JE* xii. 606; M. Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Übersetzungen*, Berlin, 1893, p. 395, n. 181).

With the general advancement and scientific progress which mark the 9th cent. in the history of Islām a new period of literary activity and productivity was inaugurated also among the Jews living under Islāmitic rule. Among the various secular sciences then cultivated philosophy, too, was given careful attention. The numerous Jewish philosophic writers who represent this period (which lasted about four centuries) are properly classified according to the prevalence in their works of the doctrines and ideas which they adopted from one or the other of the three main divisions of contemporaneous Muhammadan philosophers. The latter are usually grouped as Mutakallimūn, Neo-Platonists, and Aristotelians, or Peripatetics, the three schools following one another in chronological succession, although we meet with adherents of the Kalām, *e.g.*, also during the period of the Peripatetics. The Jewish philosophers who looked upon the Arabs as literary models naturally adopted with the external literary form and method also the essential contents of the Arabic philosophy of their time—that is, in so far as the latter was found to be compatible with the principal tenets of Judaism. We find, therefore, the same three philosophic divisions among the Jews as among the Arabs. Often, however, religious

[1] Lafcadio Hearn, *Japan: an Attempt at Interpretation*, New York, 1904, pp. 229–250.

scruples prevented individual thinkers from abandoning themselves entirely to the influence of the school to which, in the main, they belonged. In such events they would adopt single doctrines from some other system of thought, graft them upon their own, and thus obtain the chief result aimed at, namely, the harmonization of reason and belief, of philosophy and religion. With a few exceptions, Jewish philosophers are accordingly, as are indeed most of the mediæval Muhammadan and Christian philosophers, more or less eclectics. Their writings, nearly all composed in Arabic, but some preserved only in early Hebrew or Latin translations, cannot be properly understood without a sufficient knowledge of the kindred Arabic literature upon which they drew (see PHILOSOPHY [Muslim]). It would be a mistake, however, to think that owing to these facts Jewish philosophy is but a repetition or slight modification of that of the Arabs. For, as we have seen, the Jewish mind, when it made acquaintance with philosophy, whether Greek or Arabic, was not a *tabula rasa* capable of accepting anything that offered itself for acceptance, but, on the contrary, had been fully indoctrinated with a system of religion involving, if we may say so, a philosophy of its own which was totally different from the one that now presented itself. A thorough revision of the entire stock of their religious ideas as well as deep penetration into the real meaning of Græco-Arabic metaphysics was required in order to make possible a mental readjustment and a complete blending of the two heterogeneous elements. The Jewish thinkers succeeded fairly well in this task of combining the secular and the sacred, the human and the divine, and by this combination gave to Greek (especially Peripatetic) philosophy, as taken over from the Arabs, a distinct religious character, transforming the whole into a system of ethics and theology. From a scientific point of view, all this activity may have been uncritical and wrong, but, as a stage in the development and manifestation of human thought, it was of no less importance and originality than the philosophy of the Muhammadan theologians and Christian scholastics, which likewise culminated in the attempt to reconcile pagan thought with the tenets of their respective religions. It should also be noted that there were some Jewish thinkers who did not enter upon the field of philosophy with a view of harmonizing it with their religious belief, but tried to settle the problems without considering the consequences from the point of view of religion.

An author of this type was Isaac b. Solomon Israëli of Ḳairawān, N. Africa († 953, as is reported, at the age of over 100 years), the first known Jewish philosophic writer of the Arabic period, and recognized as the greatest physician of the Middle Ages, mediæval Christian authors referring to him as 'eximius monarcha medicinae.' As a philosopher, Israëli cannot be rated very high; he was altogether an eclectic, taking his material from any source with which he happened to be acquainted; hence he cannot be classed with any of the three groups mentioned before, although on the whole he inclines more towards Neo-Platonic ideas. Israëli deserves recognition, however, for having first introduced the study of philosophy among the Oriental Jews of his time. His influence on the development of Jewish philosophy was very small, but Christian scholastics, like Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and others, made prolific use of his writings (see Steinschneider, *Arabische Literatur der Juden*, Frankfort, 1902, § 28; J. Guttmann, *Die philosophischen Lehren des Isaak ben Salomon Israeli*, Münster, 1911, esp. p. 17 ff.).

1. The Jewish Mutakallimūn.—The earliest Jewish writer who is known to have followed the philosophy of the Kalām is David b. Merwān ibn al-Muḳammaṣ (*JQR* xv. [1903] 682) of Raḳḳa, Mesopotamia, who flourished towards the end of the 9th and the beginning of the 10th cent. and is the first Jewish author to mention Aristotle by name (*ib.* xvii. [1905] 357). He wrote a philosophic work under the title *Ishrûn Maḳâla* ('Twenty Chapters'), dealing with the various philosophical and theological problems current in those days. Fifteen chapters of the work were not long ago discovered in the Petrograd Library, while some portions of it were embodied in a Hebrew translation in the work of an author of the 12th cent. (Steinschneider, *Arab. Lit.*, § 25, p. 338 f.; Schreiner, *Der Kalâm*, p. 22 f.; *JE* iv. 466).

Of far greater importance for the history of Jewish philosophy is the famous Gâôn Sa'adya b. Joseph al-Fayyûmi (892–942), who is generally recognized as the inaugurator of a new epoch in all branches of Jewish learning, and who was actually the creator of mediæval Jewish philosophy. While in general following the method and the ideas of the Mutakallimūn, he shows himself in many essential points an independent thinker, who paved the way for the work of harmonizing reason and religion. It is impossible here even to mention the problems discussed in his very numerous writings, especially in his main philosophic work, *The Book of Philosophic Doctrines and Religious Beliefs*, which was much read in the Hebrew translation (*Emūnōt we Dē'ōt*) of Judah ibn Tibbōn (1186). The Arabic original was published by S. Landauer (Leyden, 1880). See art. SA'ADYA and literature there cited; cf. also H. Malter, *Life and Works of Saadia Gaon*, in the press; Steinschneider, *Arab. Lit.*, § 31; Guttmann, *Die Religionsphilosophie des Saadia*, Göttingen, 1882; Schreiner, pp. 5–22.

Among the Jewish followers of the Kalām shortly after the time of Sa'adya (*c.* 950) special mention is made by a prominent Muhammadan author of one Abu-l-Hayr (ابو الخير) Dāūd ibn Mūsāǧ (diminutive of Mūsā), who defended the doctrines of the Kalām in learned meetings of Muhammadan Peripatetics in Baghdād and Baṣra (see Goldziher, *REJ* xlvii. [1894] 41–46).

Sa'adya was taken as a model also by the Geônîm Samuel b. Ḥofni († 1034) and his son-in-law Hai († 1038), both very influential scholars (see Schreiner, *MGWJ* xxxv. [1886] 314 ff.), as also by their contemporary Nissim b. Jacob, head of the learned community of Ḳairawān, who in his *Clavis* (*Maftēaḥ*, ed. J. Goldenthal, Vienna, 1847), as well as in other writings (Goldziher, *REJ* xlvii. 179–186; Steinschneider, *Arab. Lit.*, § 59), frequently set forth various doctrines of the Mutakallimūn.

An anonymous Arabic treatise in Hebrew characters dealing, as far as the recently discovered fragment goes, with the question of the divine attributes likewise represents the school of the Mutakallimūn. As supposed by Goldziher, who edited the fragment (*Harkavy-Festschrift*, Petrograd, 1908, pp. 95–114), the author lived also in the period under consideration (11th century).

In this connexion mention must be made of a distinct group of Jewish Mutakallimūn—the sect known under the name of Ḳaraites (*q.v.*). Having broken away from the solid ground of traditional Judaism with its Haggadic theology, which formed a strong barrier against heretic tendencies, they were thrown into a state of religious confusion which inclined them to be blown about by any wind of theological doctrine that happened to be prevailing in their days. The Ḳaraites, especially

those of the 11th and the 12th centuries, therefore adopted the philosophy of the contemporaneous Kalām in its entirety, so that some of their works might 'almost as well have been written by a Muhammadan author' (Steinschneider, *Übersetzungen*, p. 453). The most prominent of the Ḳaraite philosophic writers are: Abu Jūsuf Ja'ḳūb al Ḳirḳisānī (*c.* 930 [*ib.* p. 451 ff., and *Arab. Lit.*, § 43]); Joseph b. Abraham ha-Kohen, known under the euphemy al-Baṣīr (Hebrew 'ha-Roëh,' 'the seeing') because of his blindness, the most important Ḳaraite philosopher of the 11th cent. (P. F. Frankl, *Ein mutazilitischer Kalām*, etc., Vienna, 1872; Steinschneider, *Übersetzungen*, §§ 265–270, and *Arab. Lit.*, § 50; Schreiner, *Der Kalâm*, pp. 27–32); Jeshū'a b. Jehudah (11th cent. [Steinschneider, *Arab. Lit.*, § 51; Schreiner, *Studien über Jeschua ben Jehuda*, Berlin, 1900, who gives a full presentation of Jeshū'a's philosophy]). To these Ḳaraite philosophers may be added the famous author of a Ḳaraite encyclopædia (*Eshkōl ha-Kōfer*), Judah Hadassi of Constantinople (Schreiner, *Der Kalâm*, p. 33 f.), and the Bible exegete Aaron b. Joseph of Constantinople (*ib.* p. 57; cf. Kohler, *JE* i. 14), both of the 13th century.

2. The Jewish Neo-Platonists.—In the works of Isaac Israëli (mentioned above) we find for the first time a decided influence of the Neo-Platonic school, but the real representatives of Neo-Platonism among the Jews did not appear until over a century later in Spain. Of these the first and foremost author is undoubtedly the famous poet Solomon ibn Gabirol of Malaga, who, up to 1846, when Solomon Munk discovered his identity, was known as a Christian scholastic under the corrupt name of Avicebron. His main philosophic work, *The Fountain of Life*, which is preserved only in a Latin translation of the 12th cent. (C. Bäumker, *Avencebrolis Fons Vitæ*, Münster, 1895) and in the Hebrew extracts made from the Arabic original by Shem Ṭob Palquera (13th cent.), has exercised the greatest influence on the development of Neo-Platonism in the Christian Middle Ages. Ibn Gabirol shows himself entirely independent of Jewish religious dogma, treating the philosophic problems without any theological bias. His work was therefore attacked by some of his successors and had comparatively little influence on Jewish thought. See, further, art. IBN GABIROL.

To the 11th cent. belongs in all probability also the anonymous Arabic work *Ma'âni al-nafs* ('Essence of the Soul'), whose author is entirely under the influence of the Neo-Platonists, especially the so-called 'Sincere Friends' (اخوان الصفاء), a fraternity of humanitarian philosophers who had established themselves at Basra during the second half of the 10th cent. (cf. Goldziher, in *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, i. 5, p. 309 f.). The work was published by Goldziher (*Kitâb m'âni al-nafs*, Berlin, 1907), who gave also a thorough analysis of its contents.

During the first half of the 12th cent. Jewish Neo-Platonism is represented by the astronomer and mathematician Abraham b. Ḥiyya of Barcelona in his ethical work, *Meditation of the Soul* (*Hegyōn ha-Nefesh*, Leipzig, 1860; cf. *JE* i. 108–110), and by the poet Moses ibn Ezra of Granada († 1139), in his *Garden* (حديقة), of which only fragments are preserved (see Steinschneider, *Arab. Lit.*, p. 150, no. 3).

Moses ibn Ezra's prominent contemporary, the philosopher Joseph ibn Ṣaddīḳ (or Ṣiddīḳ) of Cordova († 1149), in his *Microcosm*, preserved only in a Hebrew translation (*Olām Ḳaṭān*, ed. S. Horovitz, Breslau, 1903), likewise propagates Neo-Platonic ideas (cf. M. Doctor, *Die Philosophie des Josef ibn Zaddik*, Münster, 1895; Schreiner, *Der Kalâm*, p. 27 ff.; Kaufmann, *Attributenlehre*, pp. 255–337; Horovitz, *Die Psychologie*, pp. 147–207), as does also the famous Bible exegete Abraham ibn Ezra of Toledo († 1167) in his numerous Bible commentaries and independent works (M. Friedländer, *Essays on the Writings of Abraham ibn Ezra*, London, 1877; for his relation to the Kalām see Schreiner, *Der Kalâm*, pp. 35–41).

Altogether in the spirit of Muhammadan Neo-Platonism is the philosophic work *Bustān al-'Uḳūl* ('Garden of Intellects'), in seven chapters, by Nathanael al-Fayyūmi of Yemen (12th cent.), published with an English translation and notes by David Levine, New York, 1908 (Steinschneider, *Arab. Lit.*, § 147).

In the very popular ethical work, *Duties of the Heart*, by Baḥya ibn Paḳūda of Saragossa, which in the Hebrew translation (*Ḥōbōt ha-Lebābōt*) of Judah ibn Tibbon (1167) has gone through about 50 editions, and has been translated into several European languages, Neo-Platonic and Ṣūfi doctrines are frequently met with, though the author shows a marked inclination towards the Kalām (see Kaufmann, 'Die Theologie des Bachja ibn Pakuda,' in *Gesammelte Schriften*, ii., and especially Schreiner, *Der Kalâm*, p. 25). The Arabic original under the title *Al-hidâja' ilâ farâ' id al-qulûb* has been edited with a learned introduction by A. S. Yahuda (Leyden, 1912).

Apart from the authors of independent works here enumerated, there were several others who, through translation into Hebrew of non-Jewish Neo-Platonic writings, have largely contributed to the spread and popularization of Neo-Platonic doctrines. In some instances the works in question have been preserved in the Hebrew translation only, as, *e.g.*, the pseudo-Empedoclean treatise on *The Five Substances*, edited by D. Kaufmann in *Studien über Salomon ibn Gabirol*, Budapest, 1899.

Through the influence of this literature various doctrines of Neo-Platonic origin gained entrance into Hebrew Bible commentaries and other works of later authors, who were not always aware of the real origin of their ideas. The main stream of Neo-Platonic ideas, however, emptied into the wide sea of mediæval Jewish mysticism, the Ḳabbālā (*q.v.*).

3. The Jewish Aristotelians.—The philosophy of Aristotle reached the Arabs and the Jews only after having undergone considerable changes. Aristotle's early interpreters, especially Porphyry, took great liberties in reading into the text certain ideas which were foreign to Aristotle's system. In the following centuries a number of pseudo-Aristotelian writings came into existence, the doctrines of which would have been vigorously repudiated by the great Stagirite. The lack of historical criticism, however, which was common to those ages, made the Arabs as well as the Jews believe in the genuineness of these writings. Obvious contradictions of the system of Aristotle were represented as later views of the philosopher, or difficulties were smoothed over in some other artificial way. Thus a combination of Aristotelian, Neo-Pythagorean, and Neo-Platonic doctrines was attributed to Aristotle, the influence of which makes itself felt even among the keenest and stanchest Peripatetics.

The first Jewish writer to refer to Aristotle by name is the above-mentioned David al-Muḳammaṣ (Steinschneider, *JQR* xvii. [1905] 357), while his younger contemporary, the Gāôn Sa'adya (892–942), though never mentioning Aristotle by name, at times adopts some of his philosophic theories, and at others assails him bitterly. By this time, then,

al-Kindī, al-Fārābī, and other Arabs had made the name of Aristotle familiar to Jewish thinkers, but, as Kalām and Neo-Platonism were predominant among the Arabs, the Jews, too, were held under their influence, and for nearly two centuries no representative of Peripateticism appeared among them. The famous poet Judah Halevi (*q.v.*) of Toledo († 1140) shows thorough acquaintance with the philosophy of Aristotle in his apologetic work known under the title *Kuzari* (*Chazarī*), which is a philosophic dialogue between a Hebrew scholar and the king of the Chazars, and which was translated into Latin and the leading European languages (Steinschneider, *Arab. Lit.*, § 103). Being likewise a strong opponent of philosophy, he cannot be counted among the Jewish Aristotelians. It was not until about the second half of the 12th cent. that a real champion of Aristotelian philosophy appeared in Abraham ibn Dāūd of Toledo († *c.* 1180). In a work called *The Sublime Faith* he made the first attempt at reconciliation of Judaism with the doctrines of Peripatetic philosophy. Ibn Dāūd's chief interest was the problem of free will *versus* predestination. He also discusses at some length the problem of *creatio ex nihilo*. Here he deviates from the Aristotelian assumption of the eternality of matter, adopting instead with certain reservations a theory similar to the Neo-Platonic doctrine of emanation. Neo-Platonic ideas find expression also in some other parts of the essentially Aristotelian work (see Guttmann, *Die Religionsphilosophie des Abraham ibn Daud*, Göttingen, 1879; Horovitz, *Die Psychologie*, p. 211 ff.).

Of much greater consequence was Moses b. Maimūn, commonly called Maimonides ([*q.v.*] 1135–1204), the greatest Jewish philosopher of the Middle Ages. Like Ibn Dāūd, whom he frequently follows, he started out with the conviction that reason, being a gift of God, cannot possibly conflict with true religion, which emanates from the same source. Aristotle is to Maimonides 'the prince of philosophers' whose theories he opposes to those of the Mutakallimūn. In his main philosophic work, *The Guide of the Perplexed*, he tries to demonstrate the identity of Aristotle's teachings with those of Judaism. The apparent contradiction between Aristotle and the Bible is due only to a too literal interpretation of the latter. A large portion of the work is therefore devoted to explaining away the anthropomorphisms of the Scriptures. In connexion therewith he discusses the divine attributes. Maimonides does not admit any positive attributes in the description of God, except those referring to God's actions. God's essence can be described only negatively. The last chapters of the first part offer a history of the Kalām and a trenchant criticism of its methods and teachings, which until recent times was the most important source of our knowledge about the Kalām. The main philosophic problems, as *creatio ex nihilo*, unity and incorporeality of God, and the nature of prophecy, are admirably treated in the second part of the *Guide*, while the third is devoted to questions of a more theological character, such as the origin of evil (theodicy), the extent of divine providence, which, contrary to the opinion of Aristotle, Maimonides holds, embraces all human individuals, and, finally, the meaning and purpose of the revealed law, which is treated in much detail. Maimonides identifies religion, as expressed in the divine precepts of the Pentateuch, with ethics, and tries to show that the precepts, if properly understood, have a moral purpose.

The main results of his philosophic investigations were formulated by Maimonides in short paragraphs at the beginning of his famous code, called *Mishneh Tôrāh*. Peripatetic philosophy of Aristotle thus appears here as an integral part of a code of Jewish law. See, further, art. MAIMONIDES.

Of the immediate pupils of Maimonides special mention is to be made of Joseph ibn 'Aḳnin († Aleppo, 1226), to whom Maimonides dedicated his *Guide*. He is the author of several philosophic treatises, some of which were published (see Steinschneider, *Arab. Lit.*, § 170; J. L. Magnes, *A Treatise as to Necessary Existence*, etc., Berlin, 1904; W. Bacher, *Sepher Musar*, do. 1910).

Maimonides' works exercised great influence on Christian scholastics, especially Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, and others (Kaufmann, *Gesammelte Schriften*, ii. 152 ff.). Among the Jews many of his doctrines were strongly opposed as incompatible with traditional Judaism. This opposition led to a wide-spread internal strife and to a decline of philosophic studies within the ranks of Jewry (see H. Graetz, *Hist. of the Jews*, Eng. tr., London, 1891–92, iii. 522–545, 623 ff.). The numerous philosophic writers of the 13th cent. merely repeated the ideas of previous authors. Some of them, however, displayed great literary ability and industry as translators of foreign works into Hebrew (Steinschneider, *Übersetzungen*, pp. 42–500), as compilers of general encyclopædias (*ib.* pp. 1–42), or as commentators on the works of others. Among these writers mention should be made of the Provençal Shem Ṭob Palquera (1225–90), a profound scholar and keen literary critic (Malter, *JQR*, new ser., i. [1910–11] 151–181, 451–501); the Italian physician Hillel b. Samuel (1220–90), translator into Hebrew of several works, among them the pseudo-Aristotelian *Liber de Causis*, from Latin, and author of an independent philosophic work (*Tagmule ha-Nefesh*, Lyck, 1874; see Steinschneider's letter in the introd. to this work); Isaac Albalag of S. France, an unreserved follower of Aristotle, with some leaning, however, towards the Ḳabbālā (H. Auerbach, *Isaak Albalag*, Breslau, 1906); Joseph ibn Caspi of Argentière (1340), the most prolific writer of that period (see E. Renan and A. Neubauer, in *Hist. littéraire de la France*, Paris, 1893, xxxi. 477–547), and his contemporary, the poet Jedaiah Penini of Béziers, whose *Examen Mundi*, an ethical work in a highly poetical Hebrew style, was one of the most popular books of the Middle Ages. It was translated into Latin and most of the modern languages (Eng. by T. Goodman, London, 1806), and very frequently published with various commentaries (Renan-Neubauer, pp. 359–402).

During the first half of the 14th cent. Jewish Peripateticism once more came into great repute through Levi b. Gershon ([*q.v.*] Gersonides, Magister Leo Hebræus, † *c.* 1344) of Bagnols, after Maimonides the keenest and the most consistent Jewish Aristotelian of the Middle Ages. Levi is the author of numerous philosophic commentaries on books of the Bible and on the works of Averroes as well as of a comprehensive independent work called *Milḥamôth 'Adônai* ('Battles of the Lord'), which established his fame (Renan-Neubauer, pp. 586–644; Kellermann, *Die Kämpfe Gottes*, Berlin, 1914; cf. Husik, *JQR* vii. [1917]).

Of great interest for the history of philosophy are the works of Moses Narboni of Narbonne († *c.* 1362), surnamed Maître Vidal Bellsom (Belhomme). Like Gersonides, he was an ardent exponent of Peripatetic - Averroistic philosophy. He wrote valuable commentaries on the works of Avicenna, Ghazālī, Ibn Ṭufail, Averroes, and Maimonides (*Guide*), as well as several independent works on philosophic subjects (Renan-Neubauer, pp. 666–681).

A philosopher of great originality was Ḥasdai Crescas of Barcelona and Saragossa (1340–1410), author of a profound work entitled *Or 'Adônai*

('Light of God'). Ḥasdai marks a decided turn in the history of Jewish philosophy. Far from continuing the Peripatetic doctrines of Maimonides and Gersonides, he, like Ghazālī among the Arabs, tried to demolish the whole structure of the philosophers' world-conception, showing the inadequacy of reason to establish the truth, which, he claims, can be obtained only on the firm basis of revealed religion. Ḥasdai's work exercised great influence on Spinoza, many essential points in the latter's system having been taken from the former (M. Joel, *Don Chasdai Creskas' religionsphilosophische Lehren*, Breslau, 1866, *Zur Genesis der Lehre Spinoza's*, do. 1871; J. Wolfsohn, *Der Einfluss Gazâli's auf Chisdai Crescas*, Frankfort, 1905).

The Ḳaraite Jews of the period under consideration also produced a philosopher of prominence in the person of Aaron b. Elijah of Nicomedia, Asia Minor, whose *Tree of Life* (finished in 1346) compares fairly with the *Guide* of Maimonides, after which it was modelled (see F. Delitzsch, *Ahron ben Elia's . . . System der Religionsphilosophie*, Leipzig, 1841; Schreiner, *Der Kalâm*, p. 57 ff.).

Towards the end of the 14th cent. Profiat Duran (Spain), commentator of Maimonides' *Guide* and author of several other works, arrests attention as a man of philosophic learning and critical acumen (S. Gronemann, *De Profiatii Durani Vita ac Studiis*, Breslau, 1869). He is greatly excelled by his namesake, Simon Duran of Majorca (1361–1444), a man of keen intellect and vast Jewish and secular learning, who wrote numerous works, among them one of an encyclopædic character, in which he shows perfect familiarity with the problems of philosophy and all the sciences of the Middle Ages (see Guttmann, *MGWJ* lii. [1908] 41–72, liii. [1909] 46–79, 199–228).

The best known philosophic writer of the 15th cent. is Joseph Albo († *c.* 1444), a pupil of Ḥasdai Crescas. He is the author of the very popular book, *'Iḳḳarim* ('Principles'), which is characteristic of the change that took place within the ranks of the Jewish thinkers during the 15th cent. (see A. Tänzer, *Die Religionsphilosophie Joseph Albo's*, Frankfort, 1896). Partly owing to the sharp criticism of Ḥasdai, Peripateticism had gradually given place to doctrines which were more in keeping with the spirit of Judaism. Among the writers of this period worthy of mention are Joseph b. Shem Ṭob and his son Shem Ṭob, both in Spain, the former a very independent writer and critic, the latter a strict follower of Maimonides and commentator of his *Guide* (see Guttmann, *MGWJ* lvii. [1913] 177 ff.); Abraham Bibago of Huesca († *c.* 1490), author of commentaries on Averroes and of *The Path of Faith*, a valuable philosophic presentation and defence of the Jewish religion (Steinschneider, *Übersetzungen*, § 38, p. 168); Judah Messer Leon of Mantua, author of several works, among them a compendium of logic and a commentary on Aristotle's *Ethics* (Husik, *Judah Messer Leon's Commentary on the 'Vetus Logica,'* Leyden, 1906); Elijah del Medigo of Crete (1450–93), the famous professor of philosophy at the universities of Padua and other Italian cities, author of *Behinat ha-Dat* ('Investigation of Religion') and of several commentaries in elegant Latin on works of Aristotle and Averroes, some written at the request of his pupil and friend, Count Pico de Mirandola (Steinschneider, *Übersetzungen*, p. 973); Isaac Arama of Zamora († 1494), author of the very popular philosophic homiletical *Offering of Isaac*, part of which was translated into Latin and made the subject of an academic dissertation by Anton J. von der Hardt (1729; see Steinschneider, *Übersetzungen*, p. 214 f.; *Zeitschr. für hebr. Bibliographie*, iii. [1899] 17, no. 209; *JE* ii. 66); the Catalonian Abraham Shalom († 1492), translator of Albertus Magnus's *Philosophia Pauperum* and of a treatise by Marsilius Ingenus, and author of the learned work *Neweh Shalom* (Steinschneider, *Übersetzungen*, pp. 465, 469); Don Isaac Abravanel (1437–1508), treasurer of Alfonso v. of Portugal, the most prolific writer of that period, author of voluminous Bible commentaries and other works, which were much studied and highly esteemed also by Christian scholars (Guttmann, *Die religionsphilosophischen Lehren des Isaac Abravanel*, Breslau, 1915); Judah Abravanel (son of the preceding), called Leo Hebræus, a Neo-Platonist of the Italian Renaissance period, who has made himself famous as a philosopher by his work *Dialoghi di amore*, which went through many editions in the Italian original and in various translations (Munk, *Mélanges*, pp. 522–528; B. Zimmels, *Leo Hebræus*, Leipzig, 1886, *Leone Hebreo Neue Studien*, Vienna, 1892).

With the expulsion of the Jews from Spain (1492) the centre of Jewish mediæval secular civilization was destroyed. A considerable number of Hebrew authors were busy writing on religious philosophic subjects also during the following centuries, especially in Italy, where many of the Spanish exiles had settled, but none of their writings can be considered as an original contribution to Jewish philosophy. The Jewish philosophers of great prominence that still appeared on the scene, such as Baruch Spinoza, Moses Mendelssohn, and others of more recent times, were not the continuators of what is known as 'Jewish' philosophy, and are, therefore, not to be discussed here. They belong to the history of philosophy in general.

In summing up it may be said that, while on the whole the Jews as philosophers play only a secondary rôle, 'they indisputably share with the Arabs the merit of having preserved and propagated the science of philosophy during the centuries of barbarism, and of having exercised for a certain period a civilizing influence on the European world' (Munk, *Mélanges*, p. 511).

LITERATURE.—Works on individual authors having been referred to in the text, we quote here only works that deal with Jewish philosophy in general: W. Bacher, *Die Bibelexegese der jüdischen Religionsphilosophen des Mittelalters vor Maimûni*, Strassburg, 1892 (cf. his *Bibelexegese Moses Maimûni's*, do. 1896); S. Bernfeld, *Da'at Elohim*, Warsaw, 1897; P. Bloch, *Die jüdische Religionsphilosophie*, in Winter and Wünsche, *Die jüdische Litteratur*, Berlin, 1897, ii. 699–794, also separately; M. Eisler, *Vorlesungen über die jüdischen Philosophen des Mittelalters*, 3 vols., Vienna, 1870–83; I. Goldziher, in *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, i. [1913] 301–337; S. Horovitz, *Die Psychologie bei den jüdischen Religionsphilosophen des Mittelalters*, 4 vols., Breslau, 1898–1912; I. Husik, *A Hist. of Mediæval Jewish Philosophy*, New York, 1916; D. Kaufmann, *Gesch. der Attributenlehre in der jüdischen Religionsphilosophie des Mittelalters*, Gotha, 1877; P. J. Muller, *De godsleer der middeleeuwsche Joden*, Groningen, 1898; S. Munk, *Mélanges de philosophie juive et arabe*, 2 vols., Paris, 1857–59 (cf. B. Beer, *Philosophie und philosophische Schriftsteller der Juden*, Leipzig, 1852); D. Neumark, *Gesch. der jüdischen Philosophie des Mittelalters*, Berlin, 1907–10; M. Schreiner, *Der Kalâm in der jüdischen Literatur*, do. 1895; J. Spiegler, *Gesch. der Philosophie des Judenthums*, Leipzig, 1891.

HENRY MALTER.

PHILOSOPHY (Muslim).—1. The earliest attitude of Islām to reflective thought.—The heathen period of Arabian history, 'the time of ignorance' (*jāhilīya*), came to an end when Muḥammad received his divine revelation from the hands of the archangel Gabriel. The Qur'ān contains everything that man needs to know. In point of fact, however, it supplies but scanty materials for the philosophical spirit; and of such materials already in existence it was the wisdom of Luqmān alone (cf. Qur'ān, xxxi.)—a body of religious and practical ethics that might be compared to the book of Proverbs—that found admission into the bible of Islām. Had Muḥammad known of philosophers in the Greek sense of the term, he would doubtless have doomed them, as he doomed the poets, to the

Fire. The Tradition ascribes to him the characteristic saying, 'The devil is found upon the way of the solitary,' and philosophers are, as a rule, solitary men. As time, however, reconciles all opposites, the Prophet, according to the Tradition, likewise said that the first thing created by God was knowledge (*'ilm*) or reason (*'aql*). His son-in-law, 'Alī, the fourth *khalīfah*, who was regarded by many heretics of a later age as the first Arabian philosopher properly so called, is reported to have said, 'Philosophy is the lost sheep of the faithful; take it up again, even if from the infidel.' Further, the Socratic maxim 'Know thyself'—in a somewhat mystical or pantheistic sense—was put into the mouth both of the Prophet himself and of his son-in-law.

To the mind of Muḥammad Allāh was preeminently the Powerful, the Wise. Primarily, indeed, he is the Powerful, who can do all things, and does as he wills, and it is rather in a secondary sense that he is the Wise—an attribute that here properly means 'all-knowing,' for primitive thought dwells more upon the compass than upon the content or the mode of knowledge. Allāh's wisdom might, in fact, be characterized as shrewdness or sagacity. Just as the merchants of Mecca enter their transactions in their books, so Allāh notes down the deeds of men; he is quick at calculation; he is something of a schemer. His 99 beautiful names or attributes do not include reason. We need not wonder, therefore, that his *rasūl* should speak as time and circumstances demand, or according to the changing moods of his own soul.

2. Islām in contact with Hellenistic and Christian thought. — A change ensued when Islām, in the first century of its existence, spread to Syria, Persia, and Egypt, and came into touch with the Hellenistic and Christian culture of these lands. To begin with, it had to come to terms with Christian theology. The Christians whom the Muslims had subjugated were far above their new masters in the dialectic art, and the sons and grandsons of the latter became the pupils of the subject peoples. The polemical and apologetic activities of the Christians brought to view certain naive inconsistencies and defects in the religious law and the Tradition of Islām. The problems of theological metaphysics which above all others gave occasion to disputes and so led to the formulation of doctrines and systems were as follows: (*a*) divine righteousness and man's freedom and responsibility; (*b*) the eternity of God's word; (*c*) the unity of God and His attributes; and (*d*) the relation of God to man and to the world.

In the discussion of these problems, more particularly during the first three centuries of Muslim development, political faction played a part sometimes of decisive, sometimes of merely secondary, importance. We cannot enter into this here; the attendant disputes concern us only in so far as they led to the development of logical or dialectic methods (see art. KALĀM, vol. vii. p. 637 ff.) and prepared the way for the progress of philosophic thinking.

The results of the conflict between the Mu'tazilite Kalām and the Kalām ranking as orthodox in Sunnite Islām may be summarized as follows. The Christian doctrine of human freedom (*a*) was rejected, as was also a doctrine that had been developed in various ways under philosophical influences, viz. that the attributes of God are not to be differentiated at all, or are to be differentiated only in the slightest degree, from the unity of His being (*c*). On the other hand, the doctrine (*b*) of the eternity of the divine word (the Logos) was applied to the Qur'ān and became a Muslim dogma; while, finally, the relation of God to the world and to man (*d*) received various interpretations of either a rationalistic or a mystical type.

The more rationalistic explanation predominates in the orthodox Kalām of the early centuries, just as it does in the Qur'ān. It starts from the view that the world is the work of Allāh, and that man is his slave. It accordingly makes little inquiry regarding natural causes or human motives, and refers all that takes place in the world and in the soul to the omnipotent and inscrutable will of God. Every change is therefore something absolutely new. There is no causal connexion, no continuous procreation, in the world; every occurrence is a fresh act of creation. A peculiar modification of the atomistic philosophy on these lines was adopted by orthodox Islām (cf. art. ATOMIC THEORY, vol. ii. p. 202 f.).

Among many Muslim sects, however, and especially in the Shī'ah, and in all schools of Ṣūfiite mysticism, the divine is brought into closer relations with man and the world, or, conversely, men and the world are deified.[1] Like the Greek and Arabic Neo-Platonists, these sects adopted a thought expressed in the *Theætetus* (176 B), viz. that the great object of our reflexion is to become as like God as is possible for man. By a mystical overstraining of this idea the desiderated 'likeness' (*ὁμοίωσις θεῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν*) is sometimes conceived as complete unification. For the most part, however, the idea is expressed in a more cautious form; thus, under the influence of Christianity, man was regarded as the image of God, and from this point of view it was asserted that one who knows himself knows also his Lord. Servile obedience, moreover, gives place to love, and the devout servant becomes a fellow-worker with God. In minds of an ecstatic cast, however, an extravagant mysticism tends ever to pass into a pantheism for which the human ego becomes God and the world an empty show (cf. art. ḤALLAJ, vol. vi. p. 480 ff.). The merit of having been the first to reconcile the rationalistic or scholastic trend of thought with the mystical in a fashion that proved satisfactory to the Islām of subsequent times belongs to al-Ghazālī (cf. art. ETHICS [Muslim], vol. v. p. 508 f.). In reality both tendencies were at one in the view that it is Allāh who *works* all in all, while a more extreme form of mysticism added that he *is* all in all.

3. Early influence of philosophy upon Mu'tazilite thinkers.—The extent to which the Mu'tazilite thinkers of Baṣra, even by the 9th cent. A.D., had allowed their teaching to be influenced by philosophy is best seen in the writings of al-Naẓẓām († A.D. 845) and his pupil al-Jāḥiẓ († A.D. 869).

According to al-Naẓẓām, man has in virtue of his reason the capacity of knowing that God exists. God, in His essential nature, is not will, but knowledge. Nor is He able to do all things; on the contrary, He can do only what is good, *i.e.* what He knows is best for His servants. From the goodness of God's character, moreover, it follows that He could not have created the world better than it actually is. Creation is to be regarded as, in its divine aspect, a single act by which all things were brought into being simultaneously; in other words, one thing is contained in another, and the whole variety of existing things—minerals, plants, animals, men—are in the process of time evolved from their original state of latency (*kumūn*). Thus, *e.g.*, all the generations of mankind were potentially existent in Adam, the first man. This doctrine of creation as a single act stands in direct opposition to the view that God creates all things afresh every moment, as was taught in the atomistic Kalām.

Al-Naẓẓām likewise maintains that, while God,

[1] In what degrees this mystical phase was conditioned by native asceticism and by Persian and Indian influences need not be discussed here.

by the necessity of His nature, wills and does what accords with His wisdom and goodness, and while nature can work only in conformity with the constitution given to it at the creation, the human soul, with its freedom of volition and action, stands midway between the two. The human body and its physical activities are certainly subject to natural law, but the soul, which resides in the body as in a vessel, or interpenetrates it in every part and so makes it an instrument, is free. Somewhat obscurely al-Naẓẓām speaks of the soul as the real and veritable man; it would seem that here certain Pythagorean-Platonic and Stoic elements were mingled together in his thought; and we are reminded also of Qusṭā b. Lūqā's speculations regarding the soul and the life-spirit (πνεῦμα, Arab. *rūḥ*), which owe much to the influence of Galen.

Al-Naẓẓām, in his theory of the material world, stands opposed to the atomistic view. He maintains the continuity, or rather the complete interpenetration, of all material things (the Stoic κρᾶσις δι' ὅλων ?). This accords admirably with his doctrine of involution (*kumūn*; see above), according to which every thing is contained in every other. The so-called atom, he holds, is infinitely divisible. Then, with a view to explaining how infinitely divisible spaces can be traversed, he advances his fantastic doctrine of the 'spring' or 'leap' (*ṭafra*).

Al-Jāḥiẓ, the pupil of al-Naẓẓām, while he devoted himself more to literature than to philosophy, yet played an important part in the diffusion of philosophic culture in Islām. What is usually ascribed to him in the way of philosophical doctrine may be traced almost wholly to his teacher, as, *e.g.*, his theory that God, having once created the world, cannot annihilate it again, that the only real activity of man consists in the inward exercise of his will, etc. His most effective work is probably found in his compilations in the philosophy of nature, in which he cites not only Pythagoras, Plato, Democritus, and Aristotle, but also Hermes and Zoroaster, Jeremiah and John the Baptist. Like al-Naẓẓām, al-Jāḥiẓ belongs to the older school of philosophical thought in Islām—the school which Arabian tradition traces back to Empedocles, Anaxagoras, and other pre-Socratic or even mythical thinkers.

4. Influences of an older emanational and redemptive metaphysic.—It is a widely prevalent tradition in Arabic literature that the earliest philosophy, which was traced back to Hermes, Agathos Daimon, Asklepios, Pythagoras, Thales, Solon, Empedocles, Balīnūs (Apollonius of Tyana), and others, found its way from Alexandria through Antioch and Ḥarrān to the countries lying farther east. In this movement an important rôle was, as it seems, played by the Ṣābians of Ḥarrān (cf. art. ḤARRANIANS, vol. vi. p. 519 f.). During the Muslim period Ḥarrān was for centuries the centre of a Hellenistic community which combined certain elements of the ancient Babylonian astral religion with the Hermetic γνῶσις. The knowledge of divine mysteries was said to have been conveyed to them by the primitive revelation given to the Uranians, especially Hermes and Agathos Daimon, who were identified with the prophets Seth and Enoch (Arab. Idrīs). This revelation, or philosophy of enlightenment, consists in a graduated system of emanation, the principal stages being—with some variation in the order—(1) God, or the First Cause, (2) reason, (3) the soul, (4) matter, and (5) nature. These proceed successively from one another, and each higher stage, even after its emergence from the antecedent one, still continues to influence the lower. The highest being is usually conceived as light, and the action of the higher upon the lower is represented as being mediated by light. This metaphysic of light likewise may have been compounded from speculations of Hellenistic philosophy and Persian religion. Connected with it at every point is a species of mathematics that plays fancifully with letters and numbers, as also astrology, alchemy, and magic, or the science of talismans. Nevertheless, the leading idea—the thought that stands at the centre of all these speculative exercises—is that of the salvation of the soul, which longs to escape from the evil (or, at least, imperfect), sensuous, and material world to its original source; and it is upon the path of asceticism and meditation that the soul seeks re-union with the spiritual or divine world.

Among the adherents of this philosophy of revelation and redemption, as also among the extreme mystics, a spirit of eclecticism and syncretism was largely prevalent. Among all peoples and in all religions and philosophies these thinkers found one and the same truth—the same divine light—though in various gradations of purity. Even those who externally gave their adhesion to Islām did not regard that religion as the highest and final revelation. The anthropomorphic and crudely sensuous language of the Qur'ān was interpreted allegorically without the slightest misgiving, for to these thinkers truth lay solely in the inner sense.

Elements of this philosophy of revelation, combined with Persian and Indian wisdom, are even yet more popular in the East than the systems formed more or less on Neo-Platonic models by the so-called Aristotelians of Islām. Directly or indirectly, the intellectual life of Islām had been permanently influenced by Pythagoras and Plato long before it opened the door to the thought of Aristotle.

5. The introduction of the Aristotelian philosophy.—Not only among the Ṣābians of Ḥarrān, but also in the Christian schools and monasteries of Syria, as well as in the medical school instituted by Khosrau I. in Yundai-Sābūr, a beginning had been made with the study of Greek writings and the translation of Greek scientific and philosophical works into Syriac, even before the Muslim conquest. Besides the works of Hippocrates and Galen, a large number of mathematical and astronomical writings, and at length nearly all the works of Aristotle, were thus translated. This work of translation was greatly encouraged by the Abbāsid *khalīfahs* Manṣūr and Hārūn al-Rashīd, and especially Ma'mūn. Most of the translators were Syrian Christians, though Jews, Ṣābians belonging to Ḥarrān, and now and again Muslims (*e.g.*, al-Kindi) did their part. By profession they were generally physicians, their great aim being, of course, to promote their own special study. From the 4th to the 8th cent. the Greek books were translated into Syriac; from the 8th to the 10th, into Arabic, either from Syriac versions or directly from the original. Probably the more eminent Arabian translators of the 9th cent., such as Qusṭā b. Lūqā (*c.* 835; a Christian of Ba'labak), Thābit b. Qurra (a Ṣābian resident in Ḥarrān; †901), and especially the Christian physician Ḥunain b. Isḥāq (809–873) and his pupils, worked in part directly from the Greek. From the end of the 9th cent. the work of translation was confined almost entirely to Aristotelian or pseudo-Aristotelian writings, with their paraphrases and commentaries.

Neither the natural philosophers nor the theologians received the works of Aristotle without opposition. Till well on in the 9th cent., when the Hermetic γνῶσις or the Pythagorean-Platonic wisdom was still in the ascendant, Aristotle was known almost solely as a logician (*ṣāḥib al-manṭiq*)

—a fact the most convincing proof of which is found in the work of the celebrated physician Rāzī († A.D. 923 or 932). The physical, and even more the metaphysical, teachings of the Stagirite met at first with vigorous resistance. This was especially the case with his doctrine that the world was eternal, *i.e.* without beginning—a view probably at first identified with a doctrine widely current in the East, viz. that of the Dahrites.[1] It was but natural that theologians of different schools, as, *e.g.*, the Shī'ite Hishām b. al-Ḥaqam (a contemporary of Naẓẓām), the Mu'tazilite Abū Hāshim of Baṣra († 933), and the orthodox al-Ash'arī (873–935), should issue polemical pamphlets against the encroaching philosophy. These writers often found support in the arguments of Aristotle's Christian commentator, Johannes Philoponos (Yaḥyā the grammarian), whose writings were well known in the East.

On the other hand, al-Kindī and al-Fārābī, the first so-called 'philosophers,' or Peripatetics, in Islām, following the example of the Neo-Platonists, sought to demonstrate the essential harmony of Plato and Aristotle. This task was greatly facilitated by the fact that the Arabic translations included numerous pseudo-Aristotelian writings some or all of which they regarded as authentic. Among these pseudographs were the so-called *Theologia Aristotelis* (an abstract of the *Enneads* of Plotinus), the *Liber de Causis* (an abstract of the Στοιχείωσις θεολογική of Proclus), the *Book of the Apple* (a Hermetic imitation of Plato's *Phædo*), the *Secretum Secretorum*, etc. Even in a later and more critical age, as the *Politics* of Aristotle was still unknown in Islām, a great mass of Platonic material from the *Republic* and the *Laws* was incorporated (*e.g.*, by Ibn Rushd) with the Aristotelian philosophy.

The line of more or less Platonizing Aristotelians in Islām begins with Ja'qūb b. Isḥāq al-Kindī († after 870). As the earliest Muslim philosopher of Arabian descent—previous thinkers having been Syrians or Persians, and, later, Turks, Berbers, etc.—al-Kindī is styled 'the philosopher of the Arabs.' In theological matters he belonged to the Mu'tazilite school. One great article of his teaching was the righteousness of God, and he also laid stress upon the unity (*i.e.* the absence of properties) of the divine nature. Doctrines common to various religions, and especially the general belief of mankind in a Creator who reveals himself in prophecy, al-Kindī recognized as expressing the truths of reason. His philosophical syncretism enabled him to descry everywhere traces of a divine truth which flows in various channels from a single source.

Al-Kindī was known to mediæval Christendom mainly as an astrologer and a student of medicine. In the East, however, his significance rests upon his having been one of the first to engage in a thoroughgoing study of Aristotle's works. It was owing to that study, as perhaps also to his sound understanding, that he could so strongly inveigh against alchemy and various forms of the belief in miracles. It was also of importance for the development of philosophy in Islām that, with the support of Alexander of Aphrodisias's commentary on the *de Anima* of Aristotle, he introduced the doctrine of a manifold νοῦς (Arab. *'aql*). Here he distinguished four types of reason, viz. (*a*) the ever actual or active *'aql*—the source or essence of all spiritual entities in the world, and thus probably equivalent to God and the pure spirits who direct the celestial spheres;[2] (*b*) the *'aql* as the constitution or potentiality of the human soul; (*c*) the *aql* as those properties or faculties of the soul of which she can at every moment avail herself; and (*d*) the *'aql* in the state of outward manifestation. The passage from (*b*) to (*c*), *i.e.* the development of the potential into the habitual reason, is usually regarded as effected by the prime, ever active reason. This doctrine of *'aql*, somewhat modified as time went on, is found also in the greater philosophers of Islām (cf. artt. FĀRĀBI, vol. v. p. 757 ff., AVICENNA, vol. ii. p. 272 ff., AVERROES, vol. ii. p. 262 ff.).

[1] Cf. artt. 'Dahr,' 'Dahrīya,' in *EI* i. 894 f.

[2] The term *'aql fa'āl* was, after al-Kindī's time, applied principally to the spirit emanating from the lowest heavenly (*i.e.* the lunar) sphere.

6. Difference between the older and the newer type of thought.—The difference between the older philosophical movement, with its Neo-Pythagorean and Neo-Platonizing tendencies, and the logico-metaphysical school of the Aristotelians receives its most apposite illustration from a comparison of the encyclopædic system which the Iḫwān al-Ṣafā ('The Faithful of Baṣra'), about the middle of the 10th cent., imposed upon the data of their knowledge with the classification of the sciences found in al-Fārābī († A.D. 950). The Faithful of Baṣra arranged the 52 treatises composing their philosophical encyclopædia as follows:

i. The first part comprises the propædeutic sciences: first (in conformity with the precedent of the Platonic school) mathematics, and then logic. Mathematics they divided into (1) arithmetic, (2) geometry, (3) astronomy, or rather astrology, (4) geography, (5) music, and (6) the doctrine of arithmetical and geometrical proportion (with much trifling). In all these six treatises the great object is to rouse the soul from 'foolish slumber and careless sleep,' and to lead it from the sensuous to what lies beyond—the spiritual. The transition to logic is made in the next three treatises, viz. (7) on the theoretical sciences, (8) on the practical sciences, and (9) on the various customs or characteristics of mankind. Logic, again, in conformity with earlier tradition, deals with (10) the *Isagoge* (of Porphyry), (11) the (Aristotelian) categories, (12) περὶ ἑρμηνείας, (13) the *Prior Analytics*, and (14) the *Posterior Analytics*.

ii. The second section treats of the science of nature on its physical side, but, as the Iḫwān regarded the physical as of little value, their theme here—not only for purposes of edification, but quite directly—was often the soul itself. This section consists of seventeen treatises (nos. 15–31), viz. (15) elucidation of the fundamental conceptions—matter and form, space, time, and motion, (16) the heavens and the earth, (17) genesis and dissolution, (18) meteorology, (19) mineralogy, (20) nature in general, (21) botany, (22) zoology, (23) the structure of the human body, (24) sense perception, (25) development of the human embryo under the influence of the heavenly bodies, (26) man as a microcosm, (27) the development of individual souls, (28) the faculty of cognition, (29) the contemplation of death and life, (30) pleasure and pain, (31) the diverse languages of the nations.

iii. The subject of the third part is the spiritual world—the soul (*nafs*) and the reason (*'aql*)—which is dealt with in ten treatises (nos. 32–41), as follows: (32) spiritual principles according to Pythagoras, (33) spiritual principles according to the Iḫwān al-Ṣafā, (34) the world as man on a large scale, (35) thought and its object, (36) theory of the spheres, the genesis and dissolution of the world, (37) the soul's love and longing for God, (38) resurrection (in a spiritual sense), (39) the kinds of motion, (40) causes and the caused, and (41) definitions and descriptions of things. The leading thought of all these treatises is that the spiritual is the essence and cause of the physical, and that the soul, which stands midway between reason (*'aql*) and nature (*ṭabī'a*), yearns for its primal source.

iv. The fourth section deals with the supreme, divine world, the world of divine law (*nāmūs*=νόμος), and contains eleven treatises (nos. 42–52), viz. (42) the various religions and philosophies (their common object being the welfare of the soul), (43) the way to God, (44) the Iḫwān al-Ṣafā's profession of faith in the immortality of the soul, (45) the life of the Iḫwān al-Ṣafā in loyal fellowship for mutual aid, (46) faith, (47) the divine law (*nāmūs*), or prophetic revelation (interpreted allegorically, of course), (48) homily and exhortation, (49) the practice of the spiritual life, (50) communal life (in the State and other associations), (51) the order of the world, (52) miracles and the magic arts, angels and demons.

Al-Fārābī, in his *Enumeration of the Sciences*, arranges the material in a somewhat different order, thus:

i. The science of language, in seven parts, discusses (1) the word, (2) the sentence, (3, 4) the rules of their formation and construction, (5, 6) correct speech and writing, and (7) the technique of verse.

ii. Logic, which is closely associated with linguistic science, is divided into eight parts, corresponding to the six books of the *Organon* (*The Categories*, *Interpretation*, *First and Second Analytics*, *Topics*, *Sophistical Arguments*), together with (7 the *Rhetoric* and (8) the *Poetics* of Aristotle. While rhetoric

and poetics belong, on their technical side, to linguistics, they are here treated under logic as the theory of representing and imitating the real. According to this view, which came to have great importance in the East, the sequence of the subjects—topics, sophistics, rhetoric, poetics—forms a descending scale of the probable or the false which gradually declines from the high level of certain and demonstrative knowledge dealt with in the *Analytics*.

iii. Mathematical science consists of seven divisions, as follows: (1) arithmetic, (2) geometry, (3) theory of perspective, (4) astronomy, (5) music, (6) theory of measure and weight, and (7) technique.

iv. Natural science is divided into eight parts, viz. (1) doctrine of the principles of all material things (φυσικὴ ἀκρόασις), (2) the earth and the sky, (3) genesis and dissolution, (4, 5) meteorology, (6) mineralogy, (7) botany, (8) zoology, with which is conjoined psychology (as a natural science).

v. Metaphysics, or (likewise in Aristotle's terminology) theology, has the following three provinces: (1) the doctrine of the existent in general, together with its accidents, (2) the principles of the special sciences (logic, mathematics, physics), and (3) the doctrine of purely spiritual beings and their gradation, with God as the highest stage.

vi. Politics.—In this section, as the Aristotelian writings on practical philosophy were not as yet translated, or were translated only in part, there is a considerable representation of Platonic elements, though al-Fārābī seems to have been acquainted with the *Nicomachean Ethics*.

vii. Legislative science, *i.e.* the science of faith and of religious duty.

Such agreement as is found between the classification of the Iḫwān al-Ṣafā and that of al-Fārābī is due to the introductory treatises of Ammonius and Johannes Philoponus. Characteristic differences, however, appear both in the arrangement and in the exposition; as regards the former, the foregoing outline will enable the reader to compare the two systems, while, as regards the latter, it is impossible here to go more fully into detail. The material distinction may be briefly expressed by saying that the longing of the soul, which, according to the Iḫwān, aspires to return to its celestial source, gives place in Fārābī to a more tranquil and broader contemplation of all things in the light of reason.

7. Muslim philosophy in the West.—The progress of Muslim culture in the West—in N. Africa, Spain, and Sicily—was in many respects a duplicate of the Oriental development. What Irāq and the city of Baghdād passed through in the 9th cent. was in the 10th repeated in Andalusia and its capital, Cordova. Conditions in the West, however, were of a more simple kind; gradations of culture were fewer; and Spain, true to its orthodox bent both before and after the Muslim invasion, was only superficially influenced by any of the sects and factions of the East. Nevertheless, some of the main currents of Muslim thought made their way to the West. As a result of pilgrimages to Mecca, and even more of scientific journeys extending as far as E. Persia, Andalusians became acquainted with the science and philosophy of the East, and those who travelled brought home books. Oriental scholars, again, frequently moved westwards in order to find employment. In the first half of the 9th cent. Abū Bakr Faraj b. Salam, a physician of literary attainments belonging to Cordova, made a journey of the kind indicated to Irāq, and, *e.g.*, attended the lectures of al-Jāḥiẓ in Baṣra. On his return to his native city he disseminated there the writings and the theology of that Mu'tazilite teacher, and also the first germs of Greek philosophy.

Somewhat later in the 9th cent. the Neo-Pythagorean philosophy found its way into Spain under the mask of Ṣūfiite and Bātinite (see below, § 8) mysticism. It purported to rest upon the authority of Empedocles. Its chief representatives here were Muḥammad b. Masarra, a Muslim of Spanish descent, and the Jewish thinker Ibn Gabirol (*q.v.*).

Ibn Masarra, who was born in Cordova in 883 and died in 931, and whose father had studied Mu'tazilite and mystical theology in the East, lived the life of a devout ascetic. He eventually retired, with his pupils, to the solitude of the mountains, and was on this account styled al-Jabalī. In his place of retreat he instructed his pupils in the Mu'tazilite doctrine of freedom combined with a form of esoteric wisdom, this being in reality the emanation theory of the pseudo-Empedocles. From God, the One, the original principle—he held—proceed all things, each stage deriving from the antecedent one in the following order: (1) first or spiritual matter; (2) reason; (3) the soul; (4) nature or second matter, which forms the substrate of all finite existence in the physical world. Of God Himself, exalted as He is above all predicates, nothing can be said; He is unknowable. He reveals Himself, however, in His emanations; the first emanation, *i.e.* the spiritual matter from which all spiritual and material things proceed, is symbolically named 'the throne of God.' God, moreover, is so exalted above all things that He has no knowledge of these emanations. His emanations, however, are cognized by reason—by that which arises out of the primal matter; and from reason, again, is derived the soul, which, while bound to the physical, yet seeks to deliver itself from it by asceticism and so to rise to the high plane of the spirit. It was at first only in the West that Ibn Masarra succeeded in forming a body of adherents, but the fact that his ideas were adopted by Ibn al-'Arabī (1165–1240), Islām's greatest mystic, made them eventually the common property of the Muslim world.

Towards the end of the 11th cent. the philosophical writings of al-Fārābī and the medical teachings of Ibn Sīnā became known in the West, and the first of the Western Muslims to apply himself actively to their lines of thought was Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. al-Ṣā'igh b. Bājja, who, born in Saragossa, lived in Seville and Grenada, and died at the court of the Almoravids in Fez in 1138. This Ibn Bājja, with al-Fārābī as his model, composed elucidations of the Aristotelian and other philosophical writings. He felt very keenly the isolated position of the philosopher in the world at that day—a fact reflected in the title of his ethical work, *The Guidance of the Solitary*. The ideal of self-culture portrayed in that book was embodied by his disciple Ibn Ṭufail (*q.v.*) in the figure of 'Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān,' and his doctrine that the human intellect attains to a general (*i.e.* not individual) immortality by union with the intellect of the lunar sphere was further developed by Ibn Rushd (cf. art. AVERROES, esp. p. 264); this found a place in the literature of mediæval Christianity as the bugaboo of philosophical heresy.

8. The reconciliation of philosophy with religion.—One of the main problems of Muslim philosophy was naturally the definition of its relation to religion, as presented in the Qur'ān and the Tradition. Many theologians, more or less conscious of this problem, were already working towards its solution by spiritualizing the letter of the law, having taken over from Hellenism the allegorical method of interpreting sacred writings. Those who applied this method in thoroughgoing fashion were called Bātinites (adherents of the 'inner sense' [*bāṭin*, 'interior,' 'inside']); and the endless variety of attempts to harmonize their own speculations with the word of God and of His Prophet developed at length into sheer contempt of the external word. Extreme mystics, rationalists, and free-thinkers all came in this way to the same results. Another theory common to them all was that the inner sense of the word—the truth—was revealed to only a few, whether by divine enlightenment (mystics) or by one's own reflexion (rationalists and free-thinkers).

Now, in the main, the Muslim Aristotelians agreed with this view. They propounded, however, a mediating theory, expressing the matter less crudely and with finer gradations of meaning. With the aid of scholastic distinctions, they tried to show that the different modes of expression used by theologians and philosophers respectively were but varying phases of the one changeless truth. They did not claim that the truth was confined to their philosophy alone, but they held that that philosophy was the highest form of truth attainable by man. It is in the light of this hypothesis that we are to interpret the philosophic endeavours to rationalize the doctrine of prophetic

revelation. Al-Kindī himself had defended prophecy *i.e.* had sought to show that it was in harmony with reason; at all events, like the Mu'tazilite theologians generally, he regarded the contemplation of revealed truth as a religious duty. Such was also the view of al-Fārābī and Avicenna. Al-Fārābī, in particular, even identifies the philosopher and the prophet. Taking Plato's ideal of the king-philosopher, he furnishes it with various traits of the Stoic sage in such wise that the faithful Muslim, in reading al-Fārābī's works, might well substitute the name of Muḥammad himself. Prophecy is here made intelligible by means of the *'aql* theory, the doctrine of the *νοῦς*. As Plato had set forth in the *Republic*, human beings vary greatly in their intellectual endowments, and the majority require a guide; it is only the most gifted of men, in fact, whom the superhuman *νοῦς* (the *intellectus agens* = *'aql fa'āl*) enables to receive and assimilate the truth, and so to impart it to others in a form that varies with the stage of their mental development.

We may discern here not only the resemblance but also the difference between the so-called Aristotelians and the other schools of thought in Islām. The mystics, too, had all their theory of grades—a doctrine of the several stages to be successively traversed on the way to God. The stages are variously enumerated—as many as eight, or even more, being given—and variously described by different thinkers; and few men reach the highest. In similar fashion the Iḫwān al-Ṣafā distinguish four grades of initiation within their society, these corresponding to the stages of divine emanation.

The principle of the philosophical theory of stages in the narrower sense, however, is made to rest upon distinctions in mental endowment, and here there is no transition from one stage to another. In al-Fārābī the doctrine still rather follows the psychological scheme of Plato's *Republic*, while in Averroes it leans more to the outward form of the Aristotelian logic. Each distinguishes three grades of intellectual capacity. In al-Fārābī they correspond respectively to (1) sense-perception, (2) ideation, or perception, which operates with remembered (mentally perceived) images, and (3) pure reason, or the capacity for thought. In few men is the last of these (potentially) present in such measure that by union with the active intellect (the spirit of the lunar sphere) it can rise to actual reason. It is on this highest plane that the philosopher and the prophet join hands. The philosopher, however, receives or wins the truth in a pure form, and in that form, too, he utters it for those who are able to comprehend it; while the prophet, receiving it in figures and similitudes, likewise makes use of these in order to accommodate his thought to human conception; in this way, too, he becomes a guide to those who either cannot rise at all or can rise only with difficulty above sensuous perception. We find similar views in the writings of Avicenna and Maimonides, and in the romance of Ibn Ṭufail.

Averroes deals with this theory of the harmony of philosophy and religion in a special work. He holds that there is no ground for conflict between reason and faith, since the doctrines of religion are simply symbolical expressions of philosophic truth. That our scientific and philosophical modes of expression might likewise be of a symbolical character seems never to have entered the mind of this Aristotelian thinker; he was satisfied that in Aristotle *par excellence* he had found the pure truth. Aristotle, in his *Metaphysics* (1004^{c} 15 ff.), had said, however, that the Sophists and the dialecticians deal with the same object as the philosophers, although in a different way. The knowledge professed by the Sophists was at best fictitious, and even the probability of the dialectician—dependent as it is upon generally recognized principles—fell below the philosophical plane of apodictic certainty. Now Averroes finds in these statements the doctrine of the three stages. The sophistico-rhetorical mode of argumentation is successful with the multitude; the procedure of the dialecticians finds favour with the more cultured classes, and especially the theologians (*mutakallimūn*); finally, the thoroughgoing apodictic method of the philosophers—the heritage of the few—presents the truth in its pure and consummate form. Thus, to take a concrete instance, the simple-minded believer of the lower class will say, 'God is in heaven.' The man of trained dialectic, again, knowing that God must not be represented as a physical entity in space, will read that statement as meaning that God is exalted above all that is earthly and human, and will say, 'God is everywhere, and not merely in heaven.' But, if the omnipresence of God be taken in a physical and spatial sense, that formula too is liable to be apprehended wrongly, and accordingly the philosopher more adequately expresses the purely spiritual nature of God when he asserts that God is nowhere but in Himself; in fact, rather than say that God is in space he might more justly say that space and matter are in Him.

This example suffices to show us that in the view of Averroes the three stages or forms of knowledge have a common basis in one fundamental principle, viz. that there is a God. He believes that the existence of God is a fact to be recognized by every man, God being either figured more or less sensuously or conceived in a purely spiritual way, according to the grade of one's intellectual capacity. To deny the existence of God is forbidden, and such denial should be punished. But the blurring of intellectual distinctions is also an evil thing: the uneducated must not venture to engage in allegorical interpretation, nor shall the philosopher seek to popularize his higher intelligence of things. Hence Averroes censures al-Ghazālī for having diffused philosophy too widely through his popular writings. The masses should believe in conformity with the text of the Book; the theologians must not read more into the Book than is compatible with the Arabic language and diction; absolute liberty of thought is the exclusive prerogative of philosophic genius. Thus the Peripatetic movement of Muslim philosophy ends in what may be called an aristocratic rationalism.

9. The influence of Muslim philosophy.—The development of philosophy in Islām was of importance, in the first instance, to the Muslim peoples themselves. Its influence made itself felt in all branches of science and general culture, though chiefly, no doubt, in the study of theology—a study which still maintains an outstanding place in Islām. In the theological sphere we can trace various currents of thought. In general, it may be said that the mystics of all periods have imported many Neo-Pythagorean and Neo-Platonic elements into their systems, while thinkers of a more rationalistic type owe much to the teachings of Aristotle in the form given them by Avicenna. Avicenna ranks in the East as the prince of philosophy, and, in the conflict regarding the influence of philosophy upon theology, the watchword for centuries has been 'For or against Ibn Sīnā.'

The right of applying philosophical or logical methods to the treatment of theological problems in philosophical discussions is not generally contested. The theologians, in their works dealing with the Kalām (*q.v.*), usually begin with a section discussing questions in the logic of language and the theory of knowledge, and then, in the body of

the work, set forth their scheme of speculative theology.

From the time of al-Ash'arī (*q.v.*) a moderate and partly mediating orthodoxy has succeeded in coming to terms with speculation on theological problems. To the rigid orthodoxy that clung uncompromisingly to the letter of the law al-Ash'arī made the following rejoinders: (1) the Prophet did not condemn those who speculate; (2) the Prophet was cognizant of the speculative problems, and the Qur'ān and the Tradition have furnished us with the principles of their solution; (3) his not having dealt with them singly is to be explained on the ground that in his time they had not yet emerged—otherwise he would, of course, have spoken definitely regarding them. The second of these rejoinders furnishes a vindication of the more or less liberal modes of interpretation to which the Qur'ān and the Tradition were subjected in the subsequent period. It is impossible here, however, to deal more fully with the process of theological development in Islām; much useful material will be found in the works of M. Horten.

Secondly, the influence of Muslim philosophy was in some measure augmented when at length, more particularly by means of Latin translations, it came to be known in Western Christendom. The best-known translators during the 12th cent. are Johannes Hispanus and Gerard of Cremona; and the work was prosecuted by other students in the century following. Likewise many Jews took part in the process of mediation. The various mutations of Arabic learning were all shared in, either actively or receptively, by the Oriental Jews (cf. PHILOSOPHY [Jewish]); and at length Maimonides ([*q.v.*] 1135–1204), working under the influence of al-Fārābī and Avicenna, made an attempt to harmonize Aristotle with the OT. In this endeavour he availed himself of the device of interpreting the sacred text allegorically and restricting the scope of Aristotle's teaching to this world, while maintaining that everything of a supramundane nature is known only by divine revelation.

Such was also the view of the Christian scholars and theologians of the West. Their knowledge of the world, including a great deal of astrology, alchemy, etc., was borrowed very largely from the Arabs, while at first they gave a ready welcome to everything of a Neo-Platonic cast. The most permanent of the Oriental factors in the West, however, were Avicenna's medical teachings and the Aristotelian tradition from al-Kindī to Averroes. In that tradition the Scholastics found abundant incentives to philosophical discussion, and to it they also owed in part their abandonment of the Neo-Platonic ontology for the purer form of Aristotelianism represented by Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas in the 13th century. It was therefore upon good grounds that Dante placed Avicenna and Averroes among the great figures of classical antiquity in the forecourt of hell.

LITERATURE.—i. *GENERAL.*—S. Munk, *Mélanges de philosophie juive et arabe*, 2 vols., Paris, 1857–59; T. J. de Boer, *Gesch. der Philosophie im Islam*, Stuttgart, 1901, tr. E. R. Jones, London, 1903; D. B. Macdonald, *The Development of Muslim Theology, Jurisprudence, and Constitutional Theory*, New York, 1903; I. Goldziher, 'Die islamische und die jüdische Philosophie' (in *Kultur der Gegenwart*, i. 5, Leipzig, 1909).

ii. *SPECIAL.*—Of the numerous monographs dealing with the various phases discussed in the paragraphs we can mention only a few:

1. and 2. D. S. Margoliouth, *The Early Development of Mohammedanism* (*HL*, 2nd ser., 1913), London, 1914 (cf. lect. vii. 'The Philosophical Supplement'); C. H. Becker, 'Christliche Polemik und islamische Dogmenbildung,' *ZA* xxvi. [1911] 175 ff.; R. A. Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, London, 1914; Carra de Vaux, *Gazāli*, Paris, 1902.

3. Cf. M. Horten, *Die philosophischen Systeme der spekulativen Theologen im Islam*, Bonn, 1912, pp. 189 ff., 320 ff.

4. Cf. T. J. de Boer, 'Urānī,' in *ZA* xxvii. [1912] 8 ff.

5. M. Steinschneider, *Die arab. Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen* (*Beiheft zum Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, xii.), Leipzig, 1893; T. J. de Boer, 'Zu Kindi und seiner Schule,' *AGPh* xiii. [1899] 153 ff.

6. Cf., besides the writings of the Iḫwān al-Ṣafā (various Arab. edd.; Germ. tr. F. Dieterici, Leipzig, 1865–79), esp. L. Baur, 'Dominicus Gundissalinus de divisione philosophiae,' *Beiträge zur Gesch. der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, iv. 2–3 [1903].

7. M. Asin Palacios, *Abenmasarra y su Escuela; Orígenes de la Filosofía hispano-musulmana*, Madrid, 1914.

8. M. Steinschneider, *Al-Farabi; des arab. Philosophen Leben und Schriften*, Petrograd, 1869; Carra de Vaux, *Avicenne*, Paris, 1900; L.-G. Lévy, *Maïmonide*, do. 1911; E. Renan, *Averroès et l'Averroïsme*[3], do. 1882; L. Gauthier, *La Théorie d'Ibn Rochd sur les rapports de la religion et de la philosophie*, do. 1909.

9. M. Horten, *Die philosophischen Ansichten von Rāzi und Tusi*, Bonn, 1910, *Die philosophischen Probleme der spekulativen Theologie im Islam*, do. 1912. A considerable amount of material relating to the influence of Muslim philosophy on mediæval Christian thought will be found here and there throughout *Beiträge zur Gesch. der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, ed. C. Baeumker and G. von Hertling, Münster, 1891 ff. (still being issued), in which (iii. 2 [1908]) will also be found C. Baeumker, 'Witelo, ein Philosoph und Naturforscher des XIII Jahrhunderts'—specially important for its excursuses on the metaphysics of light and the proofs for the existence of God in Christian and Muslim philosophy.

T. J. DE BOER.

PHILOSOPHY (Roman).—1. **Introductory.**—The Romans made no claim to originality in philosophy. Here, even more than in other fields, the work of Roman literature was mediation (*Vermittlung*). From this point of view, however, it is impossible to exaggerate the significance of such names as Lucretius, Cicero, and Seneca, not to speak of Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius, who wrote in Greek. It is from Lucretius that the modern world received not only the system of Epicurus and the atomic cosmogony of Democritus, but something of the spirit of the pre-Socratic nature philosophy.

Cicero taught the history of older Greek philosophy and the controversies of the post-Aristotelian schools not only to his contemporaries and the Christian Fathers, but for many centuries after the Renaissance to all modern Europe (see the excellent, though incomplete, history of Cicero's influence in T. Zielinski, *Cicero im Wandel der Jahrhunderte*[3], Leipzig, 1912, pp. 89 ff., 211 ff.; there is a convenient English résumé of Zielinski[2] in *English Literature and the Classics*, Oxford, 1911).

Seneca transmits to the modern world the ethical religion of later Greek philosophy, the precepts that would make invincible the heart that conned them, the half-Christian sentiments of a Stoicism more than half Platonized.

When the Roman tardily turned his attention to Greek literature, it was, Horace tells us (*Epist.* II. i. 161 ff.), to ask what profit there might be in the Attic stage. Horace does not here mention philosophy, the refuge and religion of his later years (*ib.* I. i. 25).

But the dramas most frequently adapted to the Roman stage, those of Euripides and the New Comedy, were, as Cicero says of his own orations (*de Nat. Deor.* i. 3), stuffed with philosophic sentences (J. S. Reid, *Academica*, London, 1885, p. 9), which conveyed to an intellectually young people the criticism of life, ethics, and religion of a sophisticated and weary civilization (*ib.*, Introd. p. 20, note 1; T. Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome*, bk. iii. ch. xiv.; W. Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, London, 1911, pp. 348, 264, 319, *Roman Ideas of Deity*, do. 1914, pp. 30, 101; J. B. Carter, *Religion of Numa*, do. 1906, pp. 64, 122 f.). This completed the disintegration of the Roman religious instinct, which was already sadly confused by the progressive assimilation of the old Roman deities to the Greek mythology.

'Atque haec quidem ejusmodi ex vetere Graeciae fama collecta sunt: quibus intelligis resistendum esse, ne perturbentur religiones' (Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* iii. 23. 60).

Ennius, the Roman Homer (Fowler, *Rel. Exper.*, p. 351), translates Euhemerus (see EUHEMERISM).

adapts with Roman illustrations Euripides' diatribes against priestcraft and augury (Cic. *de Div.* i. 58), and sums up for the populace in three racy lines the Epicurean doctrine that the gods are careless and the traitorous doubts of the moral government of the world long since formulated by Thrasymachus (H. Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*[3], Berlin, 1912, frag. 8) and eloquently repudiated in the theodicy of Plato (*Laws*, 905 B; cf. Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* iii. 32, *de Div.* i. 88):

> 'Gods there are, I've always said it, and that will always be my view;
> But they little reck, I reckon, of what we race of mortals do,
> For if they did the good would flourish, the bad would perish, which is not true.'

Many such quasi-philosophic and critical utterances occur in Plautus (Fowler, *Rel. Exper.*, p. 352; F. Leo, *Plautinische Forschungen*[2], Berlin, 1912, pp. 129–131; Ranke, *Periplecomenus*, Marburg Dissertation, 1900) and in the fragments of early Latin tragedy (Reid, Introd. p. 20, n. 1). The beginnings of more direct study of Greek philosophy are known mainly from the allusions in Cicero (*Tusc.* iv. 6, *Acad.* i. 5), Seneca (*Ep.* c.), Quintilian (*Inst. Orat.* x. i. 123), and Aulus Gellius (vi. [vii.] 14, xv. 11).

The famous embassy to Rome in 155 of the three representative Greek philosophers—Carneades the Academic, Diogenes the Stoic, and Critolaus the Peripatetic—is the obbligato introduction to the history of Roman philosophy, and has often been brilliantly, if somewhat conjecturally, described (see C. Martha, *Etudes morales sur l'antiquité*, Paris, 1883, p. 61 f., 'Le Philosophe Carnéade à Rome'; A. W. Benn, *The Greek Philosophers*[2], London, 1914, ch. xii. sect. i.).

Cicero himself can name no Roman student of Greek philosophy prior to Lælius and Scipio (*Tusc.* iv. 5), though he sometimes alludes to Pythagoreanism in Italy (*ib.* iv. 1 f.).

The culture of the 'Scipionic circle,' and its possible indebtedness to Polybius and the Achæan exiles, we must dismiss with a reference (Mommsen, bk. iv. ch. xii.; P. Wendland, *Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur*, Tübingen, 1912, pp. 34, 58; J. B. Bury, *The Ancient Greek Historians*, London, 1909, p. 191; Fowler, *Rel. Exper.*, p. 363 f.; Cic. *de Fin.* ii. 8; Polyb. xxiii. 10). Elsewhere Cicero admits that sceptical readers have doubted the erudition in Greek philosophy displayed by the interlocutors in his dialogues, and defends himself lamely (Reid, on *Acad. Prior.* ii. 2). It is not likely that any Roman, except Cicero himself, and possibly the learned Varro or Brutus, could have delivered the systematic expositions which Cicero puts into the mouths of his personages. But the general truth of Cicero's idealized representation of this Roman culture remains.

In the 1st cent. B.C. the educated Roman nobility did often maintain in their households Greek scholars who might be philosophers (see A. Hillscher, in Fleckeisen's *Jahrbücher für class. Philol.*, suppl. xviii. [1891–92] 353–444; Cic. *Brutus*, 90, 97, *de Or.* i. 22, *de Fin.* iv. 26, v. 3, 25). In their youth, or later en route to Asia, they heard at Athens (*de Or.* i. 18, *de Fin.* v. 1) or Rhodes (*de Or.* i. 17) lectures from which they acquired, if not expert knowledge, a sufficient conception of the attitude towards life and experience represented by the three chief post-Aristotelian schools—the Stoics, the Epicureans, and the Academic sceptics. They knew the names and personalities of the leading representatives of these schools and took an amused interest in their controversies (*Acad. Prior.* II. iv. 11 f., *de Or.* i. 11, 18 f., *de Leg.* i. 20). Their villas sometimes contained libraries in which a scholar could find almost any treatise that he happened to need (*de Fin.* iii. 2 f., *Topica*, i., *ad Att.* iv. 10). They sometimes professed personal allegiance to the Epicurean, the Academic, the Stoic, or the Peripatetic school as the case might be (*de Nat. Deor.* i. 6). This often meant little more than the assumption of a playful partisanship (*de Fin.* v. 3, 26, *Acad. Post.* I. iv. 14, *de Leg.* I. vii. 21). It was sometimes, as in the case of Cicero's friend, the Epicurean Atticus, the expression of a temperament and an attitude (G. Boissier, *Cicéron et ses amis*, Paris, 1888, p. 137).

In a Cato and in a Brutus it was thought to be a religion and a rule of life:

> 'Neque disputandi causa, ut magna pars, sed ita vivendi' (Cic. *Murena*, 30, of Cato); 'Scias eum sentire, quae dicit (Quintil. x. i. 123, of Brutus).

And it is customary in this connexion to affirm a profound affinity between the Stoic philosophy and the old Roman virtue (Fowler, *Rel. Exper.*, p. 362; E. V. Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*, Cambridge, 1911, ch. v., is an excellent history of the 'Stoic sect in Rome'; *per contra*, F. W. Bussell, *Marcus Aurelius and the Later Stoics*, Edinburgh, 1910, p. 185, says: 'The Stoic school nearly spoilt the noblest of the Romans').

Cicero's complacent portrayal of this philosophic culture of the Roman nobility suggests Burke's and Matthew Arnold's idealization of the similar culture of the English nobility of the 18th century. Whatever the precise historical facts, it is in some such setting and against some such historical background as this that we must view the two great extant monuments of that culture—Lucretius's poem on the nature of things and Cicero's philosophical dialogues. In asserting his own essential priority, Cicero laments that the earliest Roman expositions of Greek philosophy were the cheap and superficial popularizations of Epicureanism by a certain Amafinius and his followers (*Tusc.* iv. 3, 6). This recalls the deprecation by old-fashioned college presidents of the diffusion of cheap Voltairism in America by Ethan Allen's *Reason the only Oracle of Man* (New York, 1784), and Paine's *Age of Reason* (London, 1795). But what chiefly offends Cicero is not the irreligion of popular Epicureanism, but its crudity. Epicurus and, with rare exceptions, the Epicureans were hostile to the encyclopædic liberal culture that was Cicero's life-long religion (*de Fin.* i. 5, 7, 21, iii. 12, *Acad.* i. 2, *de Nat. Deor.* i. 22, 26, ii. 18 f., 29). Their writings lack the literary charm, the mastery of dialectic and rhetoric, the conception of man as a social and political animal, the wealth of historic illustration, that attracted him in the disciples of Plato and the 'great and copious' Peripatetics (*de Leg.* iii. 6, *Orator*, 3, *Brutus*, 31, *de Fin.* ii. 23 f., iv. 3, 9, v. 3). The Stoic system and terminology as a subject of study command the respect even of their opponents (*de Fin.* iii. 1). But any educated man can get up the entire Epicurean philosophy in a few days (*ib.* i. 5, 8: 'perdiscere ludus').

So Macaulay marvels that the 'silliest and meanest of all systems of moral and natural philosophy' inspired in Lucretius the finest poem in the Latin language. Cicero does not raise this question, or indeed mention Lucretius at all, except once in the much discussed letter to his brother Quintus. But the coincidences of diction in the exposition of the Epicurean philosophy are too numerous and precise to be due solely to the use of common sources. The parallels collected by Martha (*Mélanges de littérature ancienne*, Paris, 1896, pp. 157–177) are only a small proportion of those that an attentive reader will discover. For Lucretius as a whole see art. LUCRETIUS and the well-known book of J. Masson, *Lucretius, Epicurean and Poet* (2 vols., London, 1907–09). We can only glance at

a few of the traits that differentiate him from Epicurus. He is a true poet and transmits to the modern world the spirit not of Epicurus *on Nature*, but of the pre-Socratics and Plato's *Timæus*. He 'denied divinely the divine'; and Aphrodite, Phaethon, the fauns, and the cult of the great Mother of the Gods are more real and vivid in his negations than in any hymn of their worshippers. His atheism speaks the language of the deity answering Job out of the whirlwind; and the expression of his honest doubt always preserves that high seriousness the lack of which makes the petulant boutades of Euripides so disconcerting to the lovers of Æschylus and Sophocles, so unedifying to the disciples of Plato. In him Epicurus's placid repudiation of superstition is transformed into a passionate conviction that historical or institutional religion has been a curse to humanity. This distinction, often overlooked, has never been explained. It may be conjecturally attributed to something in the poet's own temperament or experience, or perhaps to the religious experience of the Roman people during and after the Hannibalic wars (Carter, p. 144; cf. G. Murray, *Four Stages of Greek Religion*, New York, 1912, p. 53).

We may perhaps find further confirmation of his sincerity of feeling in the fact that Lucretius never redeemed his promise (v. 155) to lead his

> 'Memmius in a train
> Of flowery clauses onward to the proof
> That gods there are, and deathless'
> (Tennyson, *Lucretius*).

The positive theology of the Epicureans was certainly chimerical, and their opponents plausibly pronounced it insincere (Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen*, III. i.[3], Berlin, 1880, p. 399). The speakers in Cicero refuse to take seriously the *fainéant* gods who have a *quasi-corpus* and a *quasi-sanguis* (*de Nat. Deor.* i. 26), and take refuge from the cosmic turbulence in 'the lucid interspace of world and world' (*de Div.* ii. 17), where they entertain their infinite leisure with conversation in Greek.

The populace, the false prophets, the mystic or religious philosophers, and the intelligent essayists of later antiquity were agreed in regarding Epicureanism as virtual atheism (Posidonius, in Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* i. 44; cf. iii. 1).

Lucretius has little to say—perhaps there was not much to be said—of the practical aspects of the Epicurean ethics. Satire of Roman luxury and ennui, the praises of sober, sweet, simple Epicurean life, deprecation of the mad race of ambition and the pursuit of wealth, the gospel of renunciation and acquiescence in the law of death—death 'that is more peaceful than any sleep'—that is about all.

2. Cicero.—Cicero was obviously not a professional scholar. But his knowledge of Greek philosophy was extensive, if not always critical. Greek was for him a living language, and he had heard lectures on Greek philosophy, read books about it, and debated the points of controversy between later schools throughout his life (see Reid, Introd. pp. 1–9; J. B. Mayor, *de Natura Deorum*, Cambridge, 1880–85, i. p. xxxv, and, for an unfavourable view of Cicero's work, iii. p. xiv). The substance of his chief philosophic treatises he could at any time have written out of his head (*de Fin.* i. 5; not, of course, the 'History of Philosophy' in *de Nat. Deor.* i. 10 ff., for which he had no Diels or Zeller to copy). In the actual composition he freely adapted, translated, paraphrased, or epitomized whatever suited his purpose in the writings of Panætius, Posidonius, Clitomachus, Diogenes of Babylonia, Antipater of Tyre, Antiochus, and Philo. Like many of his modern censors, he often took his quotations at second hand. But it is quite idle to deny that he read Plato, Aristotle, Theophrastus, Crantor, Dicæarchus, and others of the older philosophers, and could consult and quote them independently when he chose. He sometimes speaks of himself as a translator and sometimes protests that he does not follow his authorities slavishly. The determination of his precise procedure in any given case is a problem that philology can neither solve nor renounce (see the Introductions to Reid, *Academica*, and Mayor, *de Nat. Deor.*; R. Hirzel, *Untersuchungen zur Cicero's philosoph. Schriften*, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1877–83; and the more recent literature in Hans Uri, *Cicero und die epikur. Phil.*, Munich, 1914). He achieved his design of illuminating by Latin letters every topic of (recent) Greek philosophy (*de Div.* ii. 2, *Acad. Post.* I. i. 3). And, in the loss of the Greek 'sources,' this hastily composed philosophical library remains one of the world's chief storehouses of ideas and suggestions and of the great commonplaces of ethics and natural religion. It is no impairment of the value of his writings or disparagement of his intelligence that he did not invent a system of his own, or swear superstitious adherence to the words of any one of his teachers (Boissier, p. 340). The philosophy of the post-Aristotelian schools centred in two or three large topics of controversy still under debate—the criterion of truth, the absoluteness and autonomy of the moral law, the identification of 'virtue' with happiness, and the reality of natural religion and its accommodation to institutional and historic religion. Towards all these questions Cicero's attitude was that of not a few of the best minds of the 18th and 19th centuries. The Stoics maintained that certain states of consciousness are infallible witnesses to their own truth. Cicero held with the New Academy that probability is the limit of our knowledge and the guide of life (*Tusc.* i. 9, v. 11, *Acad.*, *passim*; *de Offic.* iii. 4 *in fine*). This is still a perfectly rational position in relation to all absolute systems, and was in Cicero's as in Plato's day an entirely reasonable view of physical science also (*Acad. Prior.* ii. 39; Plato, *Tim.* 29 B, C). The Stoics insisted that nothing is good except the virtuous will, and that virtue alone ensures not only a happy, but also the happiest possible, life. Cicero admired this fine moral gesture and the ingenious elaboration of terminology that justified it (*de Fin.* iii. 22). He would like to believe it:

> 'Ego vero volo in virtute vim esse quam maximam' (*ib.* v. 26).

He is not sure that he can find any valid sanction for the moral life without it. But in other moods he doubts its conformity to common sense or its confirmation by experience, and sees in it only the pedantic and paradoxical elaboration of truths better stated by Plato (*de Fin.* iv. 11 f.). Virtue on the rack is still happiness perhaps. But why say the highest possible happiness? Would it not be a little happier without the pain? It is our modern problem of the sanction. Unless you go the whole length of paradox, how find a logical sanction for the extreme case of entire self-sacrifice? Cicero's waverings and self-contradictions on this point find their precise parallels in the literature of the modern utilitarian debate from Mill and Grote to Leslie Stephen, and in the associated discussions of the main thesis of Plato's *Republic*. He prefers the Stoic position to the Epicurean of course, and even to the laxity of Theophrastus on the happy life (*ib.* v. 5), and perhaps to the Aristotelian over-emphasis of external 'goods' (*ib.* v. 25). But he does not prefer it to the finer tact of Plato's expression of the same ideas (*Acad.* iv. [*Lucullus*] 44, *de Fin.* iv. 24, *Tusc.* v. 12). And he fears that it may

prove to be only a magnificent rhetorical defiance to experience and human nature:

'Dicuntur ista, Cato, magnifice' (*de Fin.* iii. 3), 'repugnante natura' (*ib.* iv. 20).

He had probably often debated the question with Brutus and Cato, and a large part of bk. iv. of the *de Finibus* reads more like the reflexion of these discussions than the copy of a Greek treatise, for which it is generally taken. The alleged contradiction between bk. v. of the *Tusculans* and bk. iv. of the *de Finibus* practically disappears on a careful consideration of the respective contexts (*Tusc.* v. 11; cf. *de Leg.* i. 20: 'Probe quidem sentis, si re ac non verbis dissident,' *de Offic.* iii. 7: 'Mihi utrumvis satis est: et quum hoc tum illud probabilius videtur').

Space fails for the study of the *de Natura Deorum* and the *de Divinatione* as storehouses of material for the history of the post-Aristotelian philosophies of religion. The 'noble eclectic deism' which Cicero transmitted to the Renaissance and the 17th and 18th centuries is summed up in a concluding paragraph of the *de Divinatione*, which says in effect:

'We ought to conserve religion without encouraging superstition. The wise man will respect and maintain the religious rites and institutions of his ancestors and he will keep his personal faith in a supreme and eternal nature to be reverenced and admired by man as the author of the beauty and order of the world' (ii. 72).

Those who read between the lines could find mingled with this edifying doctrine many suggestions of the statesman's or the policeman's view of the utility of religion (*de Rep.* and *de Leg., passim*, *de Leg.* i. 7, ii. 7, *de Nat. Deor.* i. 27; cf. A. Collins, *ap.* Zielinski, *Cicero im Wandel*, p. 223; *de Nat. Deor.* ii. and iii.) and hints of economies and reserves (*de Nat. Deor.* i. 22, *de Div.* ii. 12, 'sed soli sumus,' *de Leg.* i. 13) and of accommodation (the word, *de Nat. Deor.* i. 15 [41]) legitimate or illegitimate to popular and institutional religion (*ib.* i. 28, iii. 15 f., 23; Warde Fowler, *Roman Ideas of Deity*, p. 54). The Platonizing Dream of Scipio and bk. v. of the *Tusculans* have been the chief channels by which the Platonic hope of immortality was transmitted to the Middle Age and the modern literature of natural religion. The *de Finibus* deals with the theory of ethics (see art. SUMMUM BONUM). The *Tusculans* are, like Seneca's *Epistles*, the practical application of the religion of Greek philosophy (*Tusc.* v. 2: 'O vitae philosophia dux,' etc.; cf. Seneca, *Ep.* 90, both conjectured to be derived from Posidonius's *Protrepticus*) to conduct and spiritual guidance. They exhibit the philosopher as physician of the soul (*Tusc.* i. 49, iii. 1), healing the perturbations, diseases, or passions of the mind, and combating the fear of death and pain and other 'accidental evils,' or maintaining the Stoic thesis of the all-sufficiency of virtue for the happy life. The *de Officiis*, based in the main probably on the *περὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος* of Panætius, is a practical treatise on the ethics not of the ideal sage but of fallible men. It became in turn the model of St. Ambrose's Christian ethics, and, until the rise of the 19th cent. 'science' of evolutionary ethics, it remained for such readers as Locke, Hume, Voltaire, and Frederick the Great almost the definitive treatment of the subject. The wide-spread opinion that Cicero in the *de Officiis* seriously compromises the ethical ideal is a vague impression left in the minds of hasty readers by his discussion of the Stoic casuistry of *caveat emptor* and similar questions (*de Offic.* iii. 12 ff.). In nearly every case Cicero himself rejects the casuistic compromise, the 'capitulations of conscience' which even John Stuart Mill attributes to him (*de Offic.* iii. 13 *in fine*; Mill, *Three Essays on Religion*[3], London, 1885, p. 107). Apart from a few possibly prejudiced political and historical judgments, the derogations of the *de Officiis* from absolute, ideal, Platonic, or Christian ethics are rare and doubtful. On the authority of Panætius, Cicero justifies the advocate in maintaining a merely plausible case (ii. 14). He twice permits himself the un-Platonic expression that a good man will harm no one 'nisi lacessitus iniuria' (i. 7, iii. 19), for which Lactantius and Ambrose rebuke him. He once incautiously generalizes a sound principle of legal equity in the unqualified statement that promises need not be kept 'si plus tibi noceant, quam illi prosint, cui promiseris' (i. 10). That is about all. The tripartite scheme of the *de Officiis* distinguishes the topics of the right (*honestum*), the useful (*utile*), and the (apparent) conflict of the two. The admission of a real conflict, Cicero insists, would destroy ethics altogether, which must rest on the Socratic-Platonic postulate of their identity (ii. 3, iii. 3). The elaboration, for which Cicero himself apologizes (ii. 6), of Chesterfieldian prudential morality in bk. ii. is natural in a father addressing his son and not inappropriate to the literary kind which is allied to the 'parænetic discourse' (see art. ISOCRATES). Transcendental and ascetic ethics are treated in the *Tusculans*, which are essentially akin to the literature of 'consolations.' These and similar distinctions, which cannot be developed here, are indispensable to the discriminating criticism of the *de Finibus*, the *de Officiis*, and the *Tusculans*. The *honestum* of *de Officiis*, i. divides into the four Platonic cardinal virtues. Emphasis is laid on their derivation from 'nature,' the primary instincts, and the social nature of man. The *ius gentium* is sometimes equated with nature (iii. 5: 'natura, id est, jure gentium'). Beneficence as a social virtue is placed side by side with justice. And there are many other divergences from Plato and Aristotle due to the elaboration of ethical terminology in the discussions of the schools, the accumulation of political and social experience, and the imperfect equivalence of Greek and Latin ethical terms. Much industry that might have cleared up all these complexities has been wasted on the conjectural philology of Cicero's lost sources.

Cicero boasts that his philosophical treatises had inspired many emulators of his example. Two only require mention here: Brutus, with whom he evidently had often debated the Stoic ethics (Boissier, p. 320), and Varro, for whose vast erudition he felt a certain awe. Varro (Zeller, III. i.[3] 669) apparently accepted the eclectic compromise of Antiochus between the New Academy and Stoicism. Whatever his private creed, his chief literary interest in Greek philosophy was its service to his interpretation of Roman religion and antiquity. We know him mainly through the Christian Fathers, who sought in him illustrations of the absurdity of the pagan religion.

3. Roman philosophy after Cicero. — Roman philosophy acquired few if any new ideas after Cicero. An exhaustive monograph would study the not inconsiderable traces of Epicureanism and Stoicism in the poets Horace, Vergil, Lucan, Juvenal, and Persius (C. Martha, *Les Moralistes sous l'empire romain*, Paris, 1865, p. 100 ff., 'Perse'; Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*, ch. xvi., merely glances at the topic), the relation of the 'science' of Seneca and Pliny to their Greek sources, and the Latin reflexion of incipient Neo-Platonism in Apuleius. But, broadly speaking, post-Ciceronian philosophy merely amplified that conception of the philosopher as physician of the soul and director of conscience which we have already met in Cicero's *Tusculans*. This, with some admixture of asceticism and Pythagoreanism, was the philosophy of the

school of the Sextii to which Seneca alludes with grateful enthusiasm. And this is the chief function and content of philosophy for Seneca himself (Zeller, III. i.[3] 696 ff.).

This ethical culture religion of moral philosophy in the literature of the Græco-Roman empire is of enormous human, though of slight scientific, interest. There are few shades of modern moral sentiment which the ethical culture of to-day cannot find already eloquently expressed in Seneca, Plutarch, Epictetus, Musonius, Dio Chrysostomus, Maximus of Tyre, or Marcus Aurelius—to mention only the best-known names. And under the combined influence of Platonism and cosmopolitan humanitarianism this pagan preaching sometimes approximates so closely to distinctively Christian sentiment as to provoke perpetual renewals of the hypothesis of its direct indebtedness to Christianity (Zeller, III. i.[3] 714; Wendland, p. 95, with bibliography; Boissier, *La Religion romaine*[4], Paris, 1892, vol. ii. ch. v., 'Sénèque et St. Paul'; C. R. Haines, *Marcus Aurelius*, in Loeb Classical Library, 1916, p. 383). It would be futile to try to summarize this literature in a paragraph. It is better to refer the reader to the articles on the authors named and to the many readable and accessible studies of the subjects (W. E. H. Lecky, *Hist. of European Morals*[9], London, 1890, ch. ii.; Boissier and Martha, *opp. citt.*; L. Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte Roms*[8], Leipzig, 1910, III. iv., 'Die religiösen Zustände,' v., 'Die Philosophie als Erzieherin zur Sittlichkeit'; E. Renan, *Marc-Aurèle*[3], Paris, 1882, ch. iii.; W. Pater, *Marius the Epicurean*, London, 1888, ch. xv.; T. R. Glover, *The Conflict of Religions in the early Roman Empire*, do. 1909, chs. ii. f., vii.; R. D. Hicks, *Stoic and Epicurean*, do. 1910, ch. iv.; Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*, chs. v., xiii.–xvi.; J. Oakesmith, *The Religion of Plutarch*, do. 1902; O. Gréard, *De la Morale de Plutarque*[2], Paris, 1874). The theology associated with this gospel of Greek moral philosophy may be described indifferently as natural religion or 'morality touched with emotion.' Matthew Arnold's sharp distinction between the two meant little to Cicero, Plutarch, Seneca, and Marcus Aurelius, who, though, like Plato, they would affirm the autonomy of ethics, were, like Plato, willing to supplement it with the sanctions of natural religion. Discriminating scholarship finds distinctions in the extent and character of their accommodation to popular religion, but no such contrasts as that which Glover discovers between the essential rationalism of Seneca and the superstition, as he deems it, of Plutarch:

> 'The ancient world rejected Seneca, as we have seen, and chose Plutarch' (*Conflict of Religions*, p. 111)—an exaggerated, not to say a false, antithesis.

Nor ought we to catalogue the entire ethical and religious literature of these centuries under the undiscriminating rubrics, 'orientalism,' 'recrudescence of superstition,' and 'failure of nerve.' There was doubtless a drift towards superstition in the populace, in third-rate writers, and finally in the later Greek literature of Neo-Platonism. The decline of ancient science and scholarship left these tendencies without a check:

> 'If the old civilization had not been on the wane, if a supply of instructed, critical, cool, indifferent minds had continued,' etc. (M. Arnold, preface to *God and the Bible*, London, 1884, p. xvi, after Renan).

And the accommodations of the Stoics and the coquetries of the Platonists with mysticism may be thought to have encouraged them. But in the better writers, down to and including Plotinus, neither the accommodations nor the half-serious literary mysticism went farther in concession to the 'concrete supernatural' than many of the most respectable and respected writers of the last fifty years have done.[1] It is only from the avowed standpoint of a Velleius (Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* i. 8: 'fidenter . . . ut solent isti'), a Lucian, or a Haeckel that modern criticism is justified in deprecating the supernaturalism, the superstition, the failure of nerve of the Græco-Roman ethical teachers of the first two centuries. The later Greek literature of Neo-Platonism is an independent question and does not concern us here.

LITERATURE.—See the works mentioned throughout.

PAUL SHOREY.

PHŒNICIANS.—Phœnicia lay at the eastern end of the Mediterranean and extended from the Nahr-el-Kabir to Mt. Carmel. It included the maritime plain and the adjacent portions of Jebel Nuṣariyeh, Mt. Lebanon, and the highlands of Galilee. Its chief cities in the order from north to south were Arvad (Arados), Ṣimir (Simyra), Arḳa, Gebal (Byblus), Birutu (Berytus, Beirut), Ṣidon, Ṣarephath (Sarepta), Ṣur (Tyre), Ḳana, Akzib, and Maḥalliba. The name is derived from the Gr. *Φοῖνιξ*, which means first 'purple' and then the land that produces purple. It is found as early as Homer (*Il.* xxiii. 743 f., *Od.* xiii. 272, xiv. 288 ff., xv. 415 ff.). The natives named themselves Tyrians, Gebalites, etc., after their individual towns, which were originally independent; or called themselves Sidonians from Sidon, the principal city. Thus Ḥiram, king of Tyre, calls himself 'king of the Sidonians' (*CIS* i. 5), and on coins of the Greek period Tyre is called 'mother of the Sidonians' (E. Babelon, *Cat. des monnaies grecques: les Rois de Syrie*, etc., Paris, 1890, i. 86). This is the usual name for the Phœnicians in the OT (Jg 10^{12} 18^{7}, 1 K $11^{1.\,5.\,33}$ 16^{31}, 2 K 23^{13}) and also in Homer (*Il.* vi. 290, *Od.* iv. 618, xiii. 285, xv. 118).

The Phœnicians also called themselves by the broader racial name of Canaanites, as we know from coins of Laodicea (Babelon, i. 84, 162, 172). We have also the testimony of Herodian and of Stephen of Byzantium that the ancient name of Phœnicia was Χνᾶ, which corresponds to a shorter form כנח (Kinaḥḥi in the Amarna letters) over against כנען (Kinaḥni in the Amarna letters). Philo Byblius (in Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* i. 10, ed. E. H. Gifford, Oxford, 1903) names as the ancestor of the Phœnicians Chna, who had his name changed to Phœnix (39d); and in I. Bekker, *Anecdota Græca*, Berlin, 1814–21, iii. 1181, Chnas is the father of Phœnix, whence the Phœnicians are called Ochna (=חכנע). Augustine states that the Phœnician colonists in N. Africa called themselves Canaanites (*Exp. Epist. Rom.* 13). The OT frequently calls the Phœnicians Canaanites (Gn $10^{15.\,19}$, Nu 13^{29}, Jos 5^{1} 13^{3-6}, Jg $1^{31\text{f.}}$, 2 S $24^{6\text{f.}}$, Is 23^{11}, Ob ^{20}, Zeph 2^{5}; cf. Mt 15^{22}, Mk 7^{26}). In the OT Canaan (Zeph 1^{11}, Ezk 16^{29} 17^{4}) or Canaanite (Zec 14^{21}, Job 40^{30}, Pr 31^{24}) is the standing term for 'merchant,' but in the early days trade was wholly in the hands of the Phœnicians.

With this testimony in regard to the racial affinities of the Phœnicians their language agrees. It is identical with the proper names and Canaanite glosses in the Amarna letters (see J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln*, Leipzig, 1907–15, ii. 1545 ff.), and differs only as a dialect from Moabite and Hebrew, which Is 19^{18} calls 'the language of Canaan.' In civilization and in religion also the Phœnicians and the Canaanites were one people. Accordingly, we must regard the Phœnicians as a branch of the Semitic race which under the names

[1] This caveat is intended not as a criticism of the indispensable book of Franz Cumont (*The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, Chicago, 1911) or the brilliant sketch in Murray (ch. iv., 'The Failure of Nerve'), but in deprecation of the impression which the present generation of readers will receive from the exclusive emphasis of this aspect of the religious life and thought of the Græco-Roman empire.

of Amorites and Canaanites settled in Palestine about 2500 B.C.

A. *PERIOD BEFORE THE HEBREW CONQUEST (2500–1200 B.C.).*—During this period the Phœnicians were undistinguishable from the other Canaanites. Accordingly, the account of the religion of the Canaanites (*ERE* iii. 176–188) is at the same time an account of the first period of the Phœnician religion.

B. *PERIOD FROM THE HEBREW CONQUEST TO THE BEGINNING OF GREEK INFLUENCE (1200–400 B.C.).*—The sources for this period are scanty compared with those for the preceding and the following periods. They consist of two native inscriptions, that of Limassol and that of Hassan-bey-li; theophorous personal names in the Assyrian records, in the OT, and in Menander's list of the kings of Tyre; and a few statements of the Assyrian annals and the OT in regard to the gods of the Sidonians.

The inscription of 'the servant of Ḥirōm, king of the Sidonians,' on fragments of a bronze bowl found at Limassol in Cyprus (*CIS* i. 5) is commonly regarded as belonging to the reign of Ḥirōm I., the contemporary of David and Solomon (*c.* 960 B.C.). This is the view of Lidzbarski (*Handbuch der nordsem. Epigraphik*, pp. 118, 176); but Von Landau (*Beiträge zur Alterthumskunde des Orients*, i., Leipzig, 1893) and E. Meyer (*EBi*, col. 3753) think that the king mentioned was Ḥirōm II. (*c.* 740 B.C.). In either case this is the oldest known Phœnician inscription. It is a dedication to Ba'al Lebanon (*ERE* ii. 287[b]). The name Ḥirōm (Gr. Εἴρωμος) is an abbreviation of Aḥi-rōm, 'brother is high' (=Heb. Ḥi-rām; *ā* in Heb. is regularly represented by *ō* in Phœn.). This name is a witness to the continued use of the primitive Semitic divine title Aḥ (*ERE* iii. 179, § 6; cf. i. 387, § 1). Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. v. 3) quotes from the Greek translation of the annals of Tyre made by Menander of Ephesus (see C. Wachsmuth, *Einleit. in das Studium der alten Geschichte*, Leipzig, 1895, p. 404 f.) the information that the father of Ḥirōm I. was Abibalos=Abi-ba'l, 'father is *ba'al*,' which contains the divine title Ab (*ERE* iii. 179, § 5) as well as the title Ba'l (*ERE* iii. 179, § 2). Of Ḥirōm Menander says that he built temples for Herakles (=Melkart, *ERE* ii. 293) and for Astarte (='Ashtart, *ERE* ii. 117, § 5), and that he dedicated a golden pillar to Zeus (=Ba'l-Shamim, *ERE* ii. 288, § 8). He also instituted the festival of the awakening of Melḳart. A wise man who flourished in his reign was Abdēmounos (read Abdēsmounos)='Abd-Eshmun, 'servant of Eshmun' (see below, p. 892, § 33).

The successor of Ḥirōm, according to Menander, in Josephus (*c. Apion.* i. 18, ed. B. Niese, Berlin, 1889, v. 21), was Balbazeros (or Baleazeros)=Ba'l-'azōr, 'the *ba'al* has helped.' His son was Abdastartos='Abd-'Ashtart, 'servant of 'Ashtart.' He was dethroned by Methousastartos=Methu-'Ashtart, 'man of 'Ashtart,' the son of Leastartos =Le-'Ashtart, 'belonging to 'Ashtart.' His successor was Astharumos (or Aserumos)=אסרדם, 'Osiris is high' (see below, C. i. 65; cf. *ERE* iii. 184 f.). He was slain by his brother Phelles=פלס (*CIS* i. 40. 1, 356. 2 f.), an abbreviation of Ba'l-pelles, 'the *ba'al* has levelled the way' (J. and H. Derenbourg, 'Insc. ph. du temple de Seti à Abydos,' *RAssyr* i. [1885] 81–101, no. 24). He in his turn was slain by Eithōbalos, the priest of Astarte=Ittoba'l, 'with him is the *ba'al*.' He is the same as Ethba'al, king of the Sidonians (1 K 16[31]). His daughter Jezebel (=איזבל; see below, p. 890), the wife of Aḥab, introduced the cult of Melḳart, the *ba'al* of Tyre, into Israel; and from the narrative of the book of Kings we gain some information about his worship (*ERE* ii. 292[a], 293). His son was Balezōros=Ba'l-'azōr, 'the *ba'al* has helped.' He was succeeded by Mettenos =Metten, Heb. מִתְּנֶן (2 K 11[18]), an abbreviation of Metten-ba'l, 'gift of the *ba'al*' (*CIS* i. 261. 3, 303. 1, 406. 4, and often). His successor was Pygmalion, in whose reign Carthage was founded. On Pygmalion see below, p. 893, § 49.

Here the list of Menander closes, but for the period immediately following we have a number of theophorous names of Phœnician kings mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions. In 854 B.C. Shalmaneser III. names Matinu-ba'li = Matten-ba'l, 'gift of the *ba'al*,' king of Arvad (*KB* i. 172. 93; cf. ii. 20. 60) and Adunu-ba'li=Adon-ba'l (*ERE* iii. 179, § 8), king of Shiana=the Sinite of Gn 10[17]. On Ba'li-ra'si=Ba'l-rosh, '*ba'al* of the promontory,' in Shalmaneser III., see *ERE* ii. 287, § 4. Tiglath-pileser IV. in 738 B.C. mentions Ḥirōm II., king of Tyre, and Sibittibi'li, 'seven is *ba'al*' (*ERE* iii. 184, § 8), king of Gebal (*KB* ii. 30. 51; cf. 20. 57). On Ba'al-Zephon in Tiglathpileser IV. see *ERE* ii. 288, § 8. In 725 B.C. Shalmaneser V. attacked Elulaios=Elu-eli (Heb. אֱלוּלַי), 'El is my god,' king of Sidon, as we know from Menander, in Josephus (*Ant.* IX. xiv. 2). In the inscriptions of Sennacherib he appears as Luli (*KB* ii. 90. 35). On the divine name El see *ERE* iii. 178, C. 1. In 701 Sennacherib mentions Tuba'lu = Itto-ba'l, Eth-ba'al, 'with him is the *ba'al*,' king of Sidon; Minḥimmu = Mēnaḥēm, 'comforter,' an abbreviation of a theophorous name such as Ba'al-menaḥem (*CIS* i. 55. 1, 57. 2, 87. 3; 2 K 15[14]), king of Samsimuruna; Abdili'ti = 'Abd-ēlōt, 'servant of the goddess' (*i.e.* 'Ashtart), king of Arvad (*CIS* i. 243. 3, 244. 4; *ERE* ii. 115, § 1); Urumilki, 'light is my king' (*ERE* iii. 181, § 8), king of Gebal (*KB* ii. 90. 48–50). In 676 B.C. Esarhaddon names Abdimilkutti = 'Abd-milkōt, 'servant of the queen' (*i.e.* 'Ashtart; *ERE* vii. 433, § 4), king of Sidon (*KB* ii. 124. 15). He also mentions Ba'lu=Ba'l, king of Tyre; Milkiashapa =Milkasaph, 'the king has gathered' (*ERE* iii. 179, § 7), king of Gebal; Matanba'al=Metten-ba'l, 'gift of the *ba'al*,' king of Arvad; Abibaal=Abi-ba'l, 'father is *ba'al*,' king of Samsimuruna (*KB* ii. 148. 13–17). Ashurbanipal names the same persons mentioned by his father and also Yaḥimilki =ירחמלכי, 'my king makes live,' son of Ba'l, king of Tyre (*KB* ii. 168. 58); Yakinlu=Yakin-el, 'El causes to be,' king of Arvad (*KB* ii. 170. 63); and the following ten sons of Yakin-el: Aziba'al= 'Azzi-ba'l, 'my strength is the *ba'al*'; Abiba'al, 'father is the *ba'al*'; Adunibaal, 'my lord is the *ba'al*'; Sapaṭibaal=Shopheṭi-ba'al, 'my judge is the *ba'al*'; Pudibaal, 'the *ba'al* has redeemed'; Ba'alyashubu, 'the *ba'al* returns'; Ba'alḥanunu, 'the *ba'al* is gracious'; Ba'almaluku, 'the *ba'al* is king'; Abimilki (Abimelech), 'the father is king'; Aḥimilki (Aḥimelech), 'the brother is king' (*KB* ii. 172. 82–84). On Melḳart, Ba'l-Malki, Ba'l-Shamim, Eshmun and Ba'l-Ṣaphon, and the gods of Tyre mentioned in the treaty of Esarhaddon with Ba'al, king of Tyre, see *ERE* ii. 293[a]; and on 'Ashtart in the same treaty see *ERE* ii. 115[a].

The Phœnician inscription found at Hassan-bey-li near Zenjirli in N. Syria (*SBAW*, 1895, p. 122; H. Winckler, *Altor. Forsch.*, Leipzig, 1896, iv. 305) stands next in age to the inscription of Ḥirōm, king of the Sidonians, referred to above. Its allusion to 'the king of Assyria' shows that it is older than the fall of Nineveh (606 B.C.). It mentions בעל־שמם ואלנם, 'Ba'l-shamim and the gods' (*ERE* ii. 288, § 8), ורמן, 'and Ramman' (*ERE* iii. 183, § 2).

'Ashtart, 'the goddess of the Sidonians,' is mentioned in 1 K 11[5. 33], 2 K 23[13].

In the Neo-Babylonian period Josephus again

quotes from Menander a list of kings (*c. Apion.* i. 21). He says that Nebuchadrezzar besieged Ithobalos = Ethba'al II. His successor was Ba'l II. Then came a series of judges: Eknibalos = (H)ēkinniba'l, 'the *ba'al* caused me to be' (cf. Yakin-el above), the son of Baslēchos (or Balsachos) = Ba'l-Sakkun (?), 'Sakkun is the *ba'al*'; Chelbēs = כלבי־אם, 'dog of Isis' (cf. עבדאם; *CIS* i. 50. 1, 'servant of Isis')—interesting as the first appearance of the Egyptian goddess Isis (*ERE* iii. 184 f.); son of Abdaios, apparently = 'Abd-Yahu (Obadiah), 'servant of Jahweh' (Abdaios is the transliteration of Obadiah in the Greek version according to Q; other recensions read Abdeios; on Jahweh among the Canaanites see *ERE* iii. 183, § 17); Abbaros (Lat. Abalus) = Ab-ba'l, 'father is *ba'al*'; Muttunos = Metten-(ba'l), 'gift (of *ba'al*)'; and Gerastratos = Ger-'Ashtart, 'sojourner of 'Ashtart' (frequent in Phœnician inscriptions), sons of Abdēlimos = 'Abd-ēlīm, 'servant of the gods.' They were followed by a king, Balatoros = Ba'l-'aṭōr, 'the *ba'al* has crowned.' Then came Merbalos = Marba'l, 'the *ba'al* is lord'; and after him Eirōmos = Ḥirōm III., under whom Babylon fell before the arms of Cyrus (539 B.C.).

During the period of Assyrian and Babylonian rule the Phœnicians must have felt the influence of the Assyro-Babylonian religion. This is shown by survivals in the next period (see below, p. 893, § 53 ff.).

During the earlier part of the period of Persian rule we have no information in regard to the later Phœnician religion. No trace of the Persian religion appears in the later Phœnician religion, so that we may assume that it exerted no influence upon Phœnicia during this period.

Our sources, meagre as they are, for the period from the Hebrew conquest down to 400 B.C. show that the Phœnician religion remained practically the same as it had been during the previous period. Nearly all the old gods are mentioned, and no new ones appear, except Isis and Osiris.

C. *PERIOD OF GREEK INFLUENCE (FROM 400 B.C. ONWARDS).*—As sources for this period we have a considerable body of inscriptions from Phœnicia and from the Phœnician colonies in Cyprus, Carthage, etc. The oldest of these date from the end of the Persian period (*c.* 400 B.C.). The majority come from the Greek period (333 B.C. onwards). The inscription of Yeḥaw-milk of Gebal (*CIS* i. 1) belongs to the end of the 5th or the beginning of the 4th century. Those of Tabnit of Sidon (Lidzbarski, p. 417) and of Eshmun-'azōr (*CIS* i. 3) are assigned by some to the end of the 5th, by others to the end of the 4th century. All the other inscriptions found in Phœnicia belong to the Greek period. The Cyprian inscriptions date mainly from the end of the 5th and the 4th century. The Delos inscription (*CIS* i. 114) is from the 4th century. The older inscriptions from Carthage, Sardinia, and other Phœnician colonies in the west belong to the period before the Roman conquest (146 B.C.). The Neo-Punic inscriptions belong to the Roman period, and have frequently Latin translations that are useful for determining the pronunciation of the personal names. These inscriptions contain names of gods, theophorous personal names, and some information in regard to religious beliefs and rites. In many respects the Phœnician religion was preserved in a more primitive form in Carthage than in the homeland, where it was subjected to Greek influence.

Two Phœnicians, Mochos and Sanchuniathon, are reported by classical authors to have written accounts of the Phœnician religion. Mochos of Sidon is named along with Sanchuniathon by Athenæus (iii. 126A), and with Sanchuniathon is said by Strabo (XVI. ii. 24) to have lived before the Trojan war (cf. Jos. *Ant.* I. iii. 9). He wrote a cosmogony of Sidon, which was translated into Greek by Eudemus, a pupil of Aristotle, from whom a fragment was borrowed by Damascius (*Quæst. de Primis Principiis*, 125, ed. J. Kopp, Frankfort, 1826, p. 385). It is also said to have been translated by Lætus at the end of the 1st cent. B.C. (Tatian, *adv. Græcos*, 37 = Clem. Alex. *Strom.* I. xxi. 114). Our only knowledge of this cosmogony is from the fragment in Damascius. Another much more extended cosmogony, that of Gebal, is said to have been composed by Sanchuniathon (= Sakkun - yathōn), and to have been translated by Philo of Byblus (Gebal), from whom it is quoted by Eusebius. On the contents and historical character of this document see the artt. PHILO BYBLIUS and SANCHUNIATHON. It is probable in the case both of Mochos and of Sanchuniathon that genuine Phœnician records are preserved by the Greek writers, although the names attached to them may be apocryphal.

Besides these native historians we have as sources the incidental references to the Phœnician religion in Greek and in Latin authors, particularly Herodotus, Lucian (*de Dea Syria*), Origen, Jerome, Theodoret, Tertullian, and Augustine.

From these sources it appears that the characteristic of the period from 400 B.C. onwards was ever-increasing Greek influence upon the Phœnician religion. Even in the Persian period Greek civilization began to invade Phœnicia. King Straton (= 'Abd-'Ashtart?) of Sidon maintained a thoroughly Greek court. He established a Sidonian colony in Athens which has left a number of Phœnician inscriptions, and permitted Athenian merchants to settle at Sidon. He joined with the Athenian embassy to Artaxerxes II. in 367 B.C. (Athenæus, xii. 531; Ælian, *Var. Hist.* vii. 2). The anthropoid sarcophagi from Sidon of the later Persian period show strong Greek influence, and the splendid monuments known as 'the Alexander sarcophagus' and 'the sarcophagus of the mourners,' which belong to the end of the 4th cent., are masterpieces of Greek art (see O. Hamdy-Bey and T. Reinach, *La Nécropole royale de Sidon*, Paris, 1892–97). After the battle of Issus in 333 B.C. the Phœnician cities submitted to Alexander, except the island of Tyre, which was captured by constructing a mole from the mainland. It then became a Macedonian fortress, and from this time onwards the Hellenizing of Phœnicia went on apace. The bilingual inscriptions and Philo Byblius show us that the Greek gods were identified with the old Phœnician deities, and in the classical writers the Phœnician gods are habitually called by their Greek or Latin equivalents. Close relations with the Greek dynasty of the Ptolemys in Egypt encouraged also the adoption of new elements from the Egyptian religion in addition to those that had already been borrowed in the days of the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties (*ERE* iii. 184). This period, accordingly, is one of unlimited religious syncretism.

i. THE PANTHEON.—(*a*) *General titles.*—1. **El.**—The generic name for 'god' in Phœnician, as in the other Semitic languages, is אל, *ēl* (for this and for the following names of gods see the alphabetically arranged Phœnician vocabulary of Lidzbarski, pp. 204–388, where references are given to all the occurrences of the names in the inscriptions: see also *ERE* iii. 178 ff.).

In the inscriptions this word is never used as a personal name like Heb. *El*, but is always generic like *ba'l*. It was the favourite title of the chief god of Gebal, just as *ba'l* was the title of the god of Sidon. What his real name was, if he had any, is unknown. Hence *ēl* is found as an element in personal names chiefly in inscriptions from Gebal—*e.g.*, El-amon, 'Amon is god,' or 'the god is faithful'; El-barik, 'the god has blessed'; El-ḥanōn, 'the god is gracious'; El-pa'ōl, 'the god has done'; El-rōm, 'the god is high'; Na'ōm-el, 'the god is good'; 'En-el,

'eye of the god'; Tamōk-el, 'the god has supported.' Philo Byblius (in Eus. *Præp. Evang.*, ed. Gifford, i. 10, 36c, 37b) says that Ēlos (the El of Gebal) is Kronos, that he founded the city of Gebal (37a), that he gave Gebal to the goddess Baaltis (= the *ba'alat* of Gebal), and Berytus to Poseidon (= Ba'l-Bērūt) (38d). He had four eyes, two open and two closed; four wings, two spread and two folded; and two feathers (like the Egyptian gods) upon his head. This figure seems to be represented on certain Phœnician seals (M. de Vogüé, *Mélanges d'archéologie orientale*, Paris, 1895, p. 109). On the myth of the El of Gebal see SANCHUNIATHON, C. 2.

Other towns called their chief god *ēl*, as we know from the Punic name El-'am, 'the god is uncle' (*CIS* i. 147. 6); Mettenel, 'gift of the god'; and numerous place-names in Palestine compounded with *ēl*. Philo also knows another *ēl* besides that of Gebal (38a). The Greeks were unable to distinguish between these various *els*, and therefore assumed one god Ēlos whom they identified with Kronos. Through Greek influence the idea of one god El was gradually developed by the Phœnicians.

The plur. of *ēl* is *ēlīm*, which occurs in numerous inscriptions and in the personal names 'Abd-ēlīm, 'servant of the gods'; Kelb-ēlīm, 'dog of the gods'; and Metten-ēlīm, 'gift of the gods.' A favourite honorific title in Carthage is מקם אלם, 'establisher of the gods.' Philo (37b) says that the allies of Elos were called Eloim. This Hebrew form cannot come from either Sanchuniathon or Philo, but must be a modification by Eusebius or a Christian transcriber.

2. Ēlōt.—The fem. form corresponding to *ēl* is *ēlōt*, 'goddess,' which is used as a title of 'Ashtart (cf. Arab. al-Lāt). It occurs also in the fem. name Ḫōt-lōt, 'sister of the goddess.'

3. Allōn.—Another name for 'god' is *allōn*, which in Hebrew means 'holy tree.' It occurs in the personal names Yeḥaw-allōn, 'may the god cause to live'; and Aḥ-allōn, 'the god is a brother.' The plur. is *allōnim* and fem. *allōnoth* (cf. *alonim ualonuth*, Plautus, *Pœn.* v. i. 1).

(*b*) *Celestial gods.*—**4. Shamim**, 'heaven,' occurs in the name [Sa]mēmroumos, 'heaven high' (Philo, 34d); also the name of a district in Sidon (C. C. Torrey, in *JAOS* xxiii. [1902] 162). More commonly we meet Ba'l-Shamim, 'owner of the sky' (*ERE* ii. 288b, 293a). Philo (34c) calls him 'Beelsamēn [the Aram. form!], which in Phœnician means lord of heaven, but in Greek Zeus.' In the same passage he incorrectly identifies him with the sun. In 36b he calls him Ouranos. In the treaty of Hannibal with Philip of Macedon he is called Zeus (Polybius, vii. 9).

5. Zebul, 'dwelling,' or Ba'l-zebul, 'owner of the dwelling,' *i.e.* the abode of the sky, seems to be an alternative name for the foregoing. It occurs in the fem. name Shem-Zebul, 'name of the dwelling' (Lidzbarski, p. 420. 3), and in the fem. name Ba'l-azbul (cf. Askun for Sakkun), 'dwelling is owner' (*CIS* i. 158. 1 f.); also probably in I-Zebel, the Tyrian queen of Aḥab, where *i* cannot mean 'not' any more than in I-Tanit (*CIS* i. 542. 3), or I-Ṣaphon (Lidzbarski, p. 214), or the Heb. name I-kabod (*ERE* ii. 287a, 289a, and art. BAALZEBUB).

6. Ṣaphon, 'north,' or Ba'al-ṣaphon, 'owner of the north,' in Bod-Ṣaphon, 'member of Ṣaphon'; Abd-Ṣaphon, 'servant of Ṣaphon'; I-Ṣaphon and perhaps Ṣaphon-ba'l, 'Ṣaphon is the *ba'al*' (see *ERE* ii. 288, § 8, 293b).

7. Shaḥar, 'dawn,' in 'Abd-Shaḥar, 'servant of the dawn,' and Shaḥar-ba'l, 'dawn is the *ba'al*' (cf. the Heb. name Aḥi-Shaḥar, 'dawn is a brother').

8. Ur, 'light,' in Ūr-milk, 'light is king' (*CIS* i. 1. 1; see *ERE* iii. 181, § 8).

9. Shemesh, 'the sun,' in Adon-Shemesh, 'Shemesh is lord'; 'Abd-Shemesh, 'servant of Shemesh'; and in the place-names Shemesh, on coins of Boccus III., and Meḳōm-Shemesh, 'place of Shemesh,' on Mauretanian coins (see *ERE* iii. 180, § 1). Philo (34c) says that the sun was worshipped by the first parents of the Phœnicians.

10. Yeraḥ, 'the moon,' in 'Abd-Yeraḥ, 'servant of the moon' (see *ERE* iii. 180, § 2). In view of the fact that Phœnician personal names are nearly always theophorous, Ḥodesh, 'new moon,' in Ben-ḥodesh is probably to be regarded as a god, in spite of the Greek translation *νουμήνιος* (*CIS* i. 117. 1).

11. Star-worship.—*Mazzol*, 'constellation,' 'sign of zodiac,' 'fate,' occurs in the phrase מזל נעם, 'good fortune' (*CIS* i. 95. 8). The same word occurs in Assyrian, Hebrew, and Aramaic. In 2 K 23[5] we read of those who sacrificed to Ba'al(-Shamim), to the sun, to the moon, to the constellations (*mazzālôth*), and to all the host of heaven. The identification of 'Ashtart with the planet Venus is also implied by Philo in 38c (see *ERE* ii. 116b), and of El with the planet Saturn in 40c.

12. Adōd (= Adad, or Hadad), the storm-god, does not happen to be mentioned in the inscriptions, but Philo (38c) knows him as Adōdos, king of the gods, who ruled the land with 'Ashtart and Ba'al-Tamar (see *ERE* iii. 180, § 4).

13. Resheph, the lightning, appears as Reshephḫeṣ, 'Resheph of the arrow' (*CIS* i. 10. 3, 4); Resheph-Mukol, 'Resheph of the city of Mukol in Cyprus' (*ib.* 89. 3); Resheph-*'-l-ḥ-y-t-s* (in the Cyprian transcription *a-lo-si-o-ta-i* = Alashia, 'Cyprus,' in the Amarna letters?; *Tamassus inscr.* 2. 4 f.); Resheph-Elit (name of a city); also in the personal names 'Abd-Resheph, 'servant of Resheph' (*CIS* i. 93. 4); and Resheph-yaton, 'Resheph has given' (*ib.* 44. 2, 88. 2, 4, 6). A variant form of the same name is Arsheph (*ib.* 251. 2), occurring also in the personal name 'Abd-Arsheph (*ib.* 393. 3), 'servant of Arsheph.' He probably appears also in the name of the Palestinian town Arsuf (= Apollonia). In the bilingual inscriptions just cited he is equated with Apollo. Hence Philo probably means him by Apollo, the brother of El-Kronos and Belos-Zeus (38a). He also is probably meant by Apollo in the treaty of Hannibal (Polyb. vii. 9). Reṣeph in Melḳart-Reṣeph (M. A. Levy, *Siegeln und Gemmen*, p. 18) is possibly only a variant of Resheph (see *ERE* iii. 180, § 5).

(*c*) *Terrestrial gods.*—**14.** ארץ = Heb. *ereṣ*, 'the earth.' Philo calls her Gē, the sister-wife of Ouranos (36b). She is mentioned also in the treaty of Hannibal (Polyb. vii. 9). It is possible that ארש in עבר־ארש and other Punic names is only a variant of the same.

15. The ba'als.—Not only the earth in general but every important object upon the earth was animated by a divinity. The generic name for these nature-spirits was *ba'l* = Heb. *ba'al*, 'owner.' There were *ba'als* of water, *ba'als* of trees, *ba'als* of mountains, *ba'als* of holy stones and of their surrounding sanctuaries, and *ba'als* of places (see art. BAAL, vol. ii., particularly pp. 293 f. and 297, where the Ba'al cult in Phœnicia and the Phœnician colonies is discussed; also *ERE* iii. 179, § 2). Philo alludes to these when he says that the first men consecrated the productions of the earth and regarded them as gods (34b).

16. Dagon.—One of the most important of the *ba'als* was Dagon, or Ba'l-dagon, which Philo (36c) correctly translates 'corn' = Heb. *dāgān* (see DAGON).

17. Sacred animals. — Philo (41a) asserts that 'Tauthos (Thōth) himself regarded the nature of the dragon and of serpents as divine. . . . For which reason this animal has been adopted in temples and in mystic rites. . . . It is immortal, and is self-consumed, as is stated before; for this animal does not die by a natural death, but only if struck by a violent blow. The Phœnicians call it "Good Daemon."' In 42b he says: 'Having built temples, they consecrated in the shrines the primary elements represented by serpents, and in their honour celebrated festivals, and sacrifices, and mystic rites, regarding them as the greatest gods, and rulers of the universe.' Hawk-worship is also mentioned by Philo (41c, 42a). The cult of horses may be indicated by the name 'Abd-susim, 'servant of the horses'? (*CIS* i. 46. 1, 49, 53, 93. 3). 2 K 23[11] speaks of the horses dedicated to the sun, and the Hebrew names Sûsā, Sûsi, and Ḥaṣar-sûsim seem to indicate a totemic cult of this animal. The winged horse is a Carthaginian religious emblem. Akbor, 'mouse,' is one of the commonest Phœnician personal names. It appears also as a Hebrew personal name. Is 66[17] speaks of people who sanctify themselves and purify themselves to go into the gardens to eat swine's flesh, and the abomination, and the mouse. In Lv 11[41] the term 'abomination' includes mice and similar small creeping animals, and in Ezk 8[10] we find these as objects of worship

One can hardly escape the conclusion that the mouse, like the serpent, had demonic qualities for the Canaanites, and that this is the reason why it was 'unclean' for the Hebrews. The swine was sacrificed once a year in the worship of the Cyprian 'Ashtart (Lydus, *de Mensibus*, ed. I. Bekker, Bonn, 1837, p. 80), and the sacrifice of a sow is depicted in a rock sculpture (E. Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, pl. 31), but ordinarily it was not eaten (Lucian, *de Dea Syria*, 54; Athenæus, iii. 49; W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*[2], p. 290 f.). This shows that it was a sacred animal, as originally among the Hebrews (cf. the priestly clan of Ḥezir, 'the swine' [1 Ch 24[15], Neh 10[21]]). The sanctity of the dog is indicated by a statement of Justin (xix. 1) that Darius commanded the Carthaginians not to sacrifice men and not to eat the flesh of dogs, the latter being evidently a sacramental rite (cf. the Hebrew clan of Caleb, 'the dog'). On the sanctity of the dove in connexion with the cult of 'Ashtart see *ERE* ii. 117[b], 165[b]. On the cult of animals in ancient Canaan see *ERE* ii. 286, § 3.

(*d*) *Tribal gods.*—Powers presiding over tribes, clans, or families were called by names expressing kinship or authority, which described them as owners of men in the same way as *ba'l* described them as owners of things. In the primitive matriarchal stage of social organization the chief tribal gods were feminine. When subsequently the family assumed the polyandrous form, a male 'father-uncle' was worshipped alongside of the mother-goddess. When finally the patriarchal family was introduced, the tribal god began to be called 'father.' The Phœnicians stood upon the patriarchal stage of development, but survivals of more primitive conceptions linger in their personal names.

18. Em, 'mother.'—In *CIS* i. 177 a goddess אמא is invoked along with בעלת הדרת, 'mistress of the cella' (*ERE* ii. 288, § 6). Which goddess is meant we do not know. In *CIS* i. 380 we meet 'the mother, the mistress of Pne-ba'l.' She is identical with Tanit of Pne-ba'l, who is named in many inscriptions (see below, 31). We find also 'mother of the *ăshērāh*' (*CIS* i. 13, read האשרת instead of האורת). This must be 'Ashtart, who is frequently identified with her symbol, the *ăshērāh* (*ERE* iii. 186, § 2). Evidently the title 'mother' could be applied to any goddess. It occurs also in the fem. personal name Em-'Ashtart, 'Ashtart is a mother.'

19. 'Amm, 'father-uncle,' the designation of the tribal god in the polyandrous period, still survives in Eli-'am, 'the god is father-uncle' (*CIS* i. 147. 6; see *ERE* i. 387 f., iii. 179, § 3).

20. Ab, 'father,' as a divine title is common in personal names—*e.g.*, Ab-ba'l and Abi-ba'l, 'father is *ba'al*' (used for both men and women); אבן־בעל, 'our father is *ba'al*'?; 'Ab-ḥalol, 'father has begotten'?; Ab-milk, 'father is king'; Ab-ḳōm, 'father has risen' (see *ERE* iii. 179, § 5).

21. Aḥ, 'brother,' occurs in Aḥî-nadōb, 'brother is generous'; and Aḥî-allōn, 'brother is god.' Frequently the word is abbreviated to Ḥî, as in Ḥî-rōm, 'brother is high,' Ḥî-milk, 'brother is king.' In the name Ḥi-milkōt (Lat. Himilco) we cannot translate 'the queen is a brother,' nor 'brother of the queen,' since in every other case in Phœnician and in the Semitic languages in general Aḥ in personal names is a divine title (see G. B. Gray, *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names*, London, 1896, p. 75 f.). Possibly in this isolated case Ḥî=חי, 'life,' and the name is to be translated 'life of Milkot' (cf. the Heb. name Ḥi-el, 'life of El,' and the Phœn. Mari-ḥi). On the other hand, (*a*)*ḥot*, 'sister,' is used exclusively in fem. names, and is not a divine title, but expresses the relation of the worshipper to the god (see below, p. 895[a]). On these names of relationship as divine titles see the literature under 'Amm, and also *ERE* iii. 179, § 6.

22. Adon, 'master,' is used in Hebrew and Phœnician for the owner of a slave. It describes the god as a proprietor of a person, just as *ba'al* describes him as a proprietor of a place. In the dedicatory inscriptions and in the personal names the term is applied to nearly every god and goddess of the pantheon. This shows that, like the foregoing terms, it is not an individual name, but a title. Every town could have its *adon* as well as its *el* or its *ba'al* (see *ERE* iii. 179, § 8).

The most famous of the Adonim was the Adon of Gebal, the consort of 'Ashtart, the *ba'alat* of Gebal, whose cult was transplanted to Paphos in Cyprus along with that of the Gebalite 'Ashtart. For the Greeks his title became a true proper name, Adonis. The real name of this 'lord' is uncertain. Several of the classical writers identify him with the Bab. Tammuz—*e.g.*, Jerome, *Ep.* lviii. 3, and *Comment.* on Ezk 8[14]; Cyril of Alexandria, *Comment.* on Hos 4[15]; Melito, in W. Cureton, *Spicilegium Syriacum*, London, 1855, p. 44. This view is favoured by the facts that Ezk 8[14] speaks of 'women weeping for Tammuz' in the Temple in Jerusalem, and that Is 17[10] speaks of 'planting shoots of the Pleasant One [a title of the Adon of Gebal], and stocking [gardens] with scions for a foreign god' (a rite of Adon-worship). These passages seem to identify Tammuz and Adon. The difficulty with this evidence is that it is late. The Adon of Gebal may easily have been identified with Tammuz in the Assyrian or the Neo-Babylonian period, although his Canaanite name may have been different; or he may have had no name at all. Tammuz has not yet been found in the early Canaanite period. Adonis was also identified with Osiris (Plutarch, *de Is. et Osir.* 15; Lucian, *de Dea Syria*, 7; Apollodorus, ii. 1. 3); but this does not prove that Osiris was his original name, since Osiris appears as a distinct deity in the Phœnician pantheon. Philo mentions neither Adon nor Tammuz, but connects the myth of Adonis with 'Elyun, 'the high,' which was evidently another title of Adonis.

In character Adonis was a personification of the spring verdure that withered in the dry heat of summer. He was the Canaanite variant of a deity that, under the names of Dumuzi among the Sumerians, Tammuz among the Babylonians and Assyrians, 'Ate, or Attis, among the Syrians and peoples of Asia Minor, and Osiris among the Egyptians, was worshipped from the earliest times. His death occurred in the month of Tammuz (June–July), and his resurrection in December–January, when vegetation once more flourished after the early winter rains. According to the Babylonian myth, he was the child (later the husband) of Ishtar; and, when he died, she descended to Sheol to bring him up (see *ERE* vii. 430, §§ a, 4, and art. Tammuz). In the Phœnician version of the myth, as preserved by Greek writers, Adonis was a beautiful boy who was loved by Aphrodite ('Ashtart). In order to keep him for herself, Aphrodite placed him in a chest and gave him into the keeping of Proserpine (=Allatu, the Babylonian goddess of Sheol). Proserpine fell in love with the child and refused to surrender him. Zeus thereupon decreed that Adonis should stay half of the year with Proserpine in the under world and half of the year with Aphrodite in the upper world. According to the local Gebalite form of the myth, Adonis was slain annually by a wild boar while he was hunting at Apheca (the modern Afḳa) in Mt. Lebanon, and the discoloration of the waters of the Adonis river (Nahr Ibrahim) was due to his blood (see Philo Byblius, 36b; Lucian, *de Dea Syria*, 6 f.; Apollodorus, iii. 14. 4; Bion, *Idyl.* i.; Ovid, *Metam.* x. 503 ff.). A rock relief representing the death of Adonis still exists at Ghineh in the valley of the Adonis river (Renan, pl. xxxvi.; A. Jeremias, *Das AT im Lichte des alten Orients*, Leipzig, 1906, p. 90).

The cult of Adonis consisted in bewailing his death round a bier on which was placed an image of the dead god, which was then deposited in a tomb, and remained there until, six months later, his resurrection was celebrated. Another interesting rite was the planting of Adonis gardens. These were pots, or baskets, filled with shallow earth, in which the seeds of quickly-growing plants were sown and tended by the women for eight days. The plants were allowed to wither at the time of the death of Adonis, and were carried out along with small images of the god and cast into the water. This custom seems to be referred to in Is 17[10]. It is a witness to the primitive character of Adonis as a vegetation-god (on Adonis see *GB*[3], pt. iv., *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, London, 1907; W. W. Baudissin, *Adonis und Esmun*, with copious bibliography).

23. Mar, 'master,' synonymous with Adon, appears in Mar-barik, 'the master has blessed'; Mari-ḥi 'my master lives'; Mar-sammik, 'the master has sustained'; 'Abd-Marnai, 'servant of our master.' Marna is the name under which the chief god of Gaza (Dagon?) was worshipped (see *ERE* iv. 387[b]). A Tyrian lamp (*CIS* i. 111) bears the dedication *θεῷ* Βεελμάρι, 'to the god Ba'l-Mari.'

24. Milk, 'king'=Heb. Melek (Moloch), is one of the commonest Phœnician divine names.

It occurs in Adon-Milk, 'the king is master'; Ohel-Milk, 'tent of the king'; Aḥot-Milk, 'sister of the king'; Ur-Milk, 'light is king'; Bod-Milk, 'limb of the king'; Ger-Milk, 'client of the king'; Ḥan-Milk, 'the king is gracious'; Ḥi-Milk, 'the king is a brother'; Ḥot-Milk, 'sister of the king'; Yada'-Milk, 'the king knows'; Yeḥaw-Milk, 'may the king cause to live'; Yaton-Milk, 'the king has given'; Miḳne-Milk, 'possession of the king'; 'Abd-Milk, 'servant of the king'; 'Az-Milk, 'the king is strong'; Ṣadoḳ-Milk, 'the king is righteous.' This also is not an individual name, but the title of many different tribal gods (see *ERE* i. 390 f., iii. 179).

25. Melḳart.—The most conspicuous of the Phœnician Milkim was Melḳart = Milk-ḳart, 'king of the city,' the chief god of Tyre.

This compound becomes practically an individual name, and is used in forming other proper names—*e.g.*, Amot-Melḳart, 'handmaid of M.'; Eshmun-Melḳart; Bod-Melḳart, 'limb of M.'; Ger-Melḳart, 'client of M.'; Ḥan-Melḳart, 'M. is gracious'; Ḥot-Melḳart, 'sister of M.'; Kabod-Melḳart, 'M. is honourable'; Mot-Melḳart, 'handmaid of M.'; 'Abd-Melḳart, 'servant of M.'; Ṣid-Melḳart; Rosh-Melḳart, 'head of M.'; Melḳart-ḥallis, 'M. has saved'; Melḳart-ḥan, 'M. is gracious'; Melḳart-ḥanno, 'M. has favoured him'; Melḳart-mashol, 'M. has ruled'; Melḳart-Reṣeph; Melḳart-shama', 'M. has heard.'

Apart from compounding in personal names, Melḳart is often mentioned in the inscriptions both in the east and in the west (Lidzbarski, p. 311). In the bilinguals he is equated with Herakles Archēgetēs. Philo (38[a]) calls him Melcathros, the son of Demarous (Ba'l-Tamar), who is also called Herakles. Polybius in the treaty of Hannibal (vii. 9) calls him Herakles. This identification was the one commonly accepted in Phœnicia and throughout the Greek world (on the cult of this god see *ERE* ii. 292 f.). A feast of 'the awakening of Melḳart' was kept annually at Tyre (Menander, in Jos. *c. Apion.* i. 18).

26. Milkot, 'queen,' is a title for goddesses. It is used absolutely in *CIS* 198. 4, and in the personal names Aḥot-Milkot, or Ḥot-Milkot, 'sister of Milkot'; Ḥi-Milkot, 'life of Milkot'; Mot-Milkot, 'handmaid of Milkot'; Na'om-Milkot, 'Milkot is good'; 'Abd-Milkot, 'servant of Milkot.' This designates no particular divinity, but is used as a title of 'Ashtart, 'Anath, Tanit, or any other goddess.

27. 'Elyun ('Ελιοῦν), 'high,' is mentioned as the father of all the gods by Philo (36a), who translates the name by Ὕψιστος.

He 'died in an encounter with wild beasts, and was deified, and his children offered to him libations and sacrifices' (36b).

This identifies him with the Adonis of Gebal. The name seems to occur also in Pygmalion = Pu'me-'Elyon (see above, p. 888[b]). The element עלן in Punic names is commonly interpreted as a mistake for אלן—*e.g.*, אח־עלן, 'brother is god'—but it is possible that it represents this title (see *ERE* iii. 180, § 13).

28. Adir, 'mighty,' seems to be a divine name in the place-name Rosh-Adir, 'head of the mighty one'; also in Adir-ba'l (Lat. Adherbal), 'Adir is owner,' and Adir-milk, 'Adir is king.' The same name appears apparently in Adrammelek, the son of Sennacherib (2 K 19[37]; cf. 17[31]; see also *ERE* iii. 180, § 11).

(*e*) *Departmental gods.*—These were deities who presided over various sections of the life of their people. In distinction from the gods just mentioned, who were called by general titles, these had individual names.

29. 'Ashtart, the goddess of love and of reproduction (see 'Ashtart, and *ERE* iii. 182, § 1).

30. 'Anath, the goddess of war, appears in the Idalion inscription (7), in 'Anath-ḥan, ''Anath is gracious,' and in the inscription on a helmet, בענת, 'with the help of 'Anath' (Lidzbarski, p. 172b; see *ERE* iii. 182, § 2). In the bilinguals and in Philo (36d, 38d) she is identified with Athene.

31. Tanit (conventional pronunciation; the vowels are unknown) appears in a Sidonian inscription from Athens (*CIS* i. 116. 1) in 'Abd-Tanit, 'servant of Tanit' (cf. 501. 4). Here she is identified with Artemis. In Carthage she appears in an immense number of inscriptions as 'the lady Tanit of Pne-ba'l.' Some historians have tried to find a mystical meaning in the name 'Tanit of the face of Ba'al,' but Pne-ba'l is probably only a place (cf. Penuel) where there was a famous sanctuary of the goddess. Perhaps she is represented by Hera in the treaty of Hannibal (Polyb. vii. 9). She appears also in Bod-Tanit, 'limb of Tanit'; 'Abd-Tanit, 'servant of Tanit'; Ṣid-Tanit, and I-Tanit (see P. Berger, 'Tanit pene-baal,' *JA* VII. ix. [1877] 147–160). The origin of the name and the functions of the goddess are unknown. Perhaps she was only a local form of 'Ashtart. She is not found in ancient Canaan.

32. Edom (אדם), 'maker,' seems to be a god in Edom-yaton, 'Edom has given,' and 'Abd-Edom (= Heb. Obed-Edom), 'servant of Edom' (see *ERE* iii. 182, § 3).

33. Eshmun, the god of healing = Asklēpios, appears alone and in a great number of Phœnician and Punic personal names as אשמן (Lidzbarski, p. 229). This is transliterated into Greek as Esmun, Asmun, and Usmun. These forms imply that the original pronunciation was Ashmun.

As to the etymology of the name, the current opinion is that it is derived from the root *shaman*, 'to be fat.' It is then an elative, meaning 'the very fat one.' What a god of this sort should have to do with health is hard to see, and the etymology is more than questionable. A number of Phœnician gods have names ending in *un* or *on*—*e.g.*, Allon, Eshmun, Sakkun, 'Elyun, Ṣidon, Shalmun. This fact suggests that the *n* in Eshmun is not radical, but is a masc. ending. Moreover, the prefixing of the vowel *a* is common in Phœnician; cf. Arsheph and Resheph, Askun and Sakkun, Azbul and Zebul. This makes it probable that *a* in Ashmun is prosthetic, and that the root is *sh-m*. If this be so, then Eshmun is only a variant of Shem, 'name,' which is widely attested as a title of deity among the Semites (see *ERE* iii. 180, § 12). It is interesting to note that, although Shem appears as a divine title in the Canaanite period, it disappears in the later period, evidently because its place is taken by Eshmun. The fem. counterpart of Eshmun is Ashima, the goddess of Hamath (2 K 17[30]), who appears also as Ashima-Bethel, the consort of Jahweh, in the Assuān papyri. The series Shem (undifferentiated), Eshmun (masc.), and Ashima(t) (fem.) exactly corresponds to the series *el* (divinity), *allon* (male god), *elot* (goddess). In this case Eshmun was originally only a title, like so many other Phœnician divine names (see Lidzbarski, 'Der Name des Gottes Esmun,' *Ephemeris für sem. Epigraphik*, iii. [1912] 260).

At least two kings of Sidon in the late Persian or the Greek period bore the name Eshmun-'azor, 'Eshmun has helped.' Eshmun-'azor II. relates that he and his mother built a temple for Eshmun (*CIS* i. 3. 17). In 1900 the site of a great temple near Sidon was excavated, and a number of inscriptions were found in which Bod-'Ashtart states that he built this temple for Eshmun his god (see Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris*, ii. [1903] 49; C. C. Torrey, *JAOS* xxiii. [1902] 156; F. C. Eiselen, *Sidon*, p. 143 ff.). It was probably the temple begun by Eshmun-'azor. Two fragments of votive inscriptions from this temple also contain the name of the god (*MVG* ix. [1905] 34, 39 f., note). The worship of Eshmun in Cyprus is attested by the compound deity Eshmun-Melḳart and by proper names, and in Carthage by the compound deity Eshmun-'Ashtart and proper names. A temple of Eshmun in Carthage seems to be mentioned in *CIS* i. 252. 4 f. In Sardinia he appears in a trilingual inscription as the equivalent of Asklēpios-Æscolapius (*CIS* i. 143. 1). Philo (37d, 39c) knows Asklēpios as the eighth son of Ṣuduḳ, which suggests that he derived Eshmun from שמן, 'eight.' He states also that he was the brother of the Cabeiri, which seems to connect him with Berytus (cf. 38d).

In all the bilingual inscriptions and in many statements of classical writers Eshmun is identified with Asklēpios, and this is maintained with a consistency that is not found in the identifications of other Phœnician gods. This shows that Eshmun as a god of healing must have possessed such marked resemblance to Asklēpios that he could not be equated with any other Greek deity. The inscriptions themselves yield no information in regard to the healing character of the god, except that the trilingual mentioned above says of Eshmun, 'He heard his voice and healed him.' None of the objects discovered in the temple of Eshmun at Sidon suggests that he was a healer. Several of his temples were near mineral springs, and these may have been connected with the curing of diseases. The title מאוח, Μυρρη, applied to the god in the Sardinian trilingual, is of uncertain meaning. Philo (36a) says:

'From Ṣuduḳ came the Dioscuri, or Cabeiri, or Corybantes, or Samothraces. . . . From them have sprung others who discovered herbs, and the healing of venomous bites, and charms.'

This brings Eshmun into a remote connexion with medicine through the descendants of his brothers,

the Cabeiri. The proper names compounded with Eshmun contain the familiar predicates that are applied to all the gods, but no special terms that connect him with the art of healing. Still, in spite of this lack of direct evidence, there is no reason to doubt that the character of Eshmun is correctly indicated by his identification with Asklēpios (see Baudissin, *Adonis und Esmun*, with full bibliography for Eshmun, p. xvii f.).

34. **Gad**, 'fortune,' is found in Ba'l-Gad, 'Gad is owner' (*CIS* i. 107), Gad-na'om (Lat. Giddeneme), 'Gad is good,' and the synonymous Na'om-Gad (see *ERE* iii. 182, § 6).

35. **Dayyog**, 'fisher.'—Philo (35b) names Halieus, 'fisher,' with his brother Agreus (=Ṣid), 'hunter.' He seems to represent a Phœnician name similar to Heb. Dayyāg, 'fisher.'

36. **Do'm**, in Do'm-ḥanno, 'Do'm has favoured him'; Do'm-ṣalliḥ, 'Do'm has prospered'; and Do'm-milk. In the Greek parallel he appears as Δομ.

37. **Ḥarōsh**, 'smith'=Chrusor, 'goldsmith,' or Hephaistos (see SANCHUNIATHON, C. 2 (2)).

38. **Y-'-l** (יאל) is the name of a god in *CIS* i. 132. 4, 5, 7, and in the personal name Y-'-l-pa'ol, 'Y-'-l has made.' It occurs also apparently in Iolaos in the treaty of Hannibal (Polyb. vii. 9). The origin and character of the god are unknown. Perhaps יאל=יעל, 'profit.'

39. **The Kabbirim**, or Cabeiri, *i.e.* כבירים, 'the mighty,' according to Philo (36a), were the children of Ṣuḍuḳ, and first invented a ship. They were the same as the Dioscuri, or Corybantes, or Samothraces. See KABEIROI.

40. **Muth** (מות), 'death.'—Philo (38d) calls him the son of Kronos and Rhea, and says that the Phœnicians call him Thanatos, 'death,' and Pluto (see *ERE* iii. 182, § 10).

41. **Melliḥ** (=Heb. מַלָּח, 'sailor') was evidently a patron-god of fishermen and sailors.

'He invented the hook, and bait, and line, and raft, and was the first of all men to make a voyage. Wherefore they reverenced him as a god after his death, and he was also called Zeus Meilichios' (Philo, 35c).

42. **Meni**, 'fate,' is not mentioned in any of the inscriptions, but seems to be meant by Eimarmene, 'fate,' in Philo (37c) (see SANCHUNIATHON, C. 3 (15)).

43. **Miskar** (מסכר; Lat. Mescar, Misicir, etc.) appears in Ger-Miskar, 'client of Miskar,' Ḥator-Miskar (a compound with the Egyptian goddess Ḥathor), 'Abd-Miskar, 'servant of Miskar.' Nothing further is known about this divinity (see Cooke, *N. Sem. Inscr.* 42).

44. **M-'-n-k** (מענך) appears only in the Neo-Punic masc. name M-'-n-k-ba'l, 'M-'-n-k is owner.'

45. **Mishor** (מישר), 'justice,' is named by Philo (36a) as Misor, 'straight' (see SANCHUNIATHON, C. 2 (6)).

46. **Sankun**, in Sanchun-iathon (=Sankun-yaton), 'Sankun has given,' is generally written, with assimilation of the *n*, Sakkun. He appears in Sakkun-yaton, Ger-Sakkun, 'client of Sakkun,' and 'Abd-Sakkun, 'servant of Sakkun'; also in the form Askun (*CIS* i. 118). The meaning of his name and his functions are unknown.

47. **'Ēsau** (עשו), 'maker' (or 'subduer'?), appears in Ousōos of Philo (35a):

'He first invented a covering for the body from skins of wild beasts which he was strong enough to capture. And when furious rains and winds occurred, the trees in Tyre were rubbed against each other and caught fire and burned down the wood that was there. And Ousōos took a tree, and, having stripped off the branches, was the first who ventured to embark on the sea; and he consecrated two pillars to fire and wind, and worshipped them and poured libations of blood upon them from the wild beasts which he took in hunting. But when Hupsouranios and Ousōos were dead, those who were left, we says, consecrated staves to them, and year by year worshipped their pillars and kept festivals in their honour.'

He is evidently a patron-god of hunters. His name probably appears also in Ushu, or Palætyrus (Sennacherib, 'Taylor Cylinder,' col. ii. line 40; see *ERE* iii. 183, § 12).

48. **'Ate** (see SANCHUNIATHON, C. 3 (16)).

49. **Pu'me** (פעם) appears as a deity in the names עבר־פעם (*CIS* i. 112, c 1, c 2), 'servant of Pu'me,' נעם־פעם, 'Pu'me is good' (J. Euting, *Sammlung der carthagischen Inschriften*, Strassburg, 1883, p. 263. 2), in Latin inscriptions *Namphame*, *Nampame*, etc. (*CIL* viii. 1030[b]), פחת־פעי, 'handmaid of Pu'me,' עבר־פעי, 'servant of Pu'me,' and פעי־יתן, 'Pu'me has given.' Here belongs also Pygmalion in the list of kings of Tyre as given by Josephus (*c. Apion.* i. 18). An amulet discovered in a Carthaginian grave by Delattre and published by P. Berger (*CAIBL* iv. xxii. [1894] 453–458) contains the dedication לעשתרת לפנמלין, 'to 'Ashtart, to Pygmalion.' Here Pygmalion is a deity. In spite of the archaic writing, the form seems to be written back into Phœnician letters from the Greek or Latin. The original is apparently פעם־עלין, Pu'me-'Elyun The letter ע is often represented in Greek by γ—*e.g.*, Atargatis for עתרעתה. On 'Elyun cf. *ERE* iii. 180, § 13. This, then, is one of the numerous Phœnician compound deities (see below, 81, and P. Berger, 'Le Mythe de Pygmalion et le dieu Pygmée,' in *CAIBL* iv. viii. [1880] 60–68).

50. **Ṣid**, 'the hunter' (see *ERE* iii. 183, § 14).

51. **Ṣuḍuḳ**, 'righteousness,' is mentioned by Philo (36a, 37d, 39c) as the brother of Misor, 'justice' (see above, 45). He married one of the Titanides, or Artemides, the daughters of El and Astarte. He had seven sons, the Cabeiri, and Asklēpios, or Eshmun (see *ERE* iii. 183, § 15).

52. **Sadidos** (=Heb. Shaddai?) is mentioned by Philo (37b) as a son of El (=Kronos), whom he slew with the sword. He seems to appear also in 'Abd-Shaddai, 'servant of Shaddai,' and Gad (read Ger)-Shaddai, 'client of Shaddai.'

(*f*) *Babylonian and Assyrian gods.*—53. **Nergal.**—An inscription of the Sidonian colony in Athens (*CIS* i. 119; *CIA* ii. 119) states that the tomb of Asephat, daughter of Eshmunshillem, the Sidonian, was built by Yaton-bêl, son of Eshmunshilleḥ, chief priest of Nergal. Here the Babylonian god Nergal is worshipped by a Phœnician family even in far-away Athens (*ERE* iii. 184, § 7).

54. **Bêl.**—Bêl in Yaton-bêl is the Babylonian form of the name rather than the Phœnician *ba'l*, as in numerous other Phœnician names (Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, p. 236). On the cult of the Babylonian Bêl see *ERE* ii. 290, § 2, 295, § 6.

55. **Bêltis.**—The form Bêltis for the *ba'alat* of Gebal (*ERE* ii. 117[b]) in classical writers shows the influence of the Babylonian Bêltu (construct Bêlit; see *ERE* ii. 296 f.).

56. **Ishtar.**—The connexion of 'Ashtart with a star by Philo Byblius and others also shows the influence of Babylonian astral religion (*ERE* ii. 116[b], vii. 432, § 13). The spelling of the proper name נרעשתרת instead of נרעשתרת (*CIS* i. 87. 6 f.) suggests the Babylonian Ishtar rather than the Phœnician 'Ashtart (see *ERE* vii. 433, § 4).

57. **Tammuz.**—The cult of the Adon (Adonis) of Gebal was strongly modified by the Babylonian cult of Tammuz (see TAMMUZ).

58. **Ashur.**—The name אשר־שלח in *CIS* i. 65. 1 f. is commonly interpreted as a mistake for אסר־שלח, 'Osiris has sent,' but it is quite possible that it contains the Assyrian god Ashur.

59. **Ninib.**—The identification of El=Kronos=Saturn with the planet Saturn by Philo (40c) also points to influence by the Babylonian god Ninib (see *ERE* iii. 183, § 3).

60. **Shalman** appears in the Sidon inscription 4.2. This is the Assyrian form of the name rather than the Canaanite (see *ERE* iii. 183, § 16).

61. **Nebo** is perhaps found in נבי־אלו (*CIS* i. 102d). Whether these Babylonian influences date from

the Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods or go back to the old Babylonian period is difficult to determine (*ERE* iii. 183 (*e*)).

(*g*) *Egyptian gods.*—62. **Bast.**—In the form אבסת, with prosthetic א, Bast appears in the names עבד־אבסת, 'Abd-Bast, 'servant of Bast,' and פעל־אבסת, Pa'ol-Bast, 'Bast has made' (see *ERE* v. 245).

63. **Amon** appears perhaps in אל־אמן, 'Amon is god,' and in ניעמן, 'Neiṭ-Amon' (see *ERE* iii. 184[b], § 5, v. 247).

64. **Isis** (אס) occurs in the name 'Abd-Is, 'servant of Isis,' and perhaps in סבס=Seb-Isis; perhaps also in אש־עשתרת, 'Isis-'Ashtart,' and אשתנת, 'Isis-Tanit' (see *ERE* v. 246).

65. **Osiris** (אסר) is found in the names Osir-badil, 'Osir is terrible (?)'; Osir-gan, 'Osir has defended (?)'; Osir-shamor, 'Osir has guarded'; Amot-Osir, 'handmaid of Osir'; Milk-Osir, 'Osir is king'; 'Abd-Osir, 'servant of Osir.' Possibly Philo means Osiris by Eisirios (39d), the inventor of the three letters, the brother of Chna (Canaan) (see *ERE* v. 246, § 38).

66. **Ḥathor** (חתר) appears in the inscriptions only in the compound deity Ḥathor-Miskar (*CIS* i. 253. 4, 254. 3 f.). As early as the XIXth dynasty she was identified with 'Ashtart both by the Egyptians and by the Canaanites (see *ERE* iii. 182, § 1, 184, § 1, v. 247 (1), viii. 182[a]). The stele of Yeḥaw-Milk represents the *ba'alat* of Gebal in pure Egyptian style, like the goddess Ḥathor, with the horned disk on her head (see Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. of Art in Phœnicia*, i. 69).

67. **Ḥorus** (חר) is named in *CIS* i. 46. 1; and by Derenbourg, 3a (see *ERE* v. 247[a]).

68. **Neiṭ** appears probably in the compound deity ניעמן=Neiṭ-Amon (see *ERE* v. 247[b]).

69. **Seb** is found in the personal name 'Abd-Seb-Is, עבדסבס='servant of Seb-Isis' (see *ERE* v. 248[b]).

70. **Ptaḥ** (פתח) occurs in 'Abd-Ptaḥ, 'servant of Ptaḥ' (*CIS* I. iii. 1; see *ERE* v. 249[a]).

71. **Khnum** (קנאם) occurs in several inscriptions (Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, p. 363; see *ERE* v. 245[b]).

72. **Thōth** is not mentioned in the inscriptions, but was evidently a popular god because of the amount of information that Philo has to give about him. In 31d Philo says that the Egyptians call him Thōúth, the Alexandrians Thōth, and the Greeks Hermes. He first invented writing, and his history was the beginning of the work of Sanchuniathon. He was the adviser of El in his war against his father Ba'l-Shamim, and devised magical charms by which he succeeded (36d). Here he is called by the Alexandrian name of Hermes Trismegistos. He invented the letters of the alphabet by imitating the forms of the gods, and devised the insignia of royalty for El (39a). El gave him the land of Egypt (39b; see *ERE* v. 246[a], vi. 380[b]).

In all these cases it is an open question whether these gods found their way into Phœnicia at the time of the Ptolemaic dominion or were adopted in the period of Old Egyptian rule of the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties (see *ERE* iii. 184 (*f*)).

(*h*) *Compound deities.*—A peculiar feature of the Phœnician religion is the compounding of two divinities to form a new god, who then develops his or her individual traits. Analogies are found in 'Ashtar-Chemosh in the Mesha inscription, Atargatis (='Attar-'Ate), and such Hebrew forms as El-Shaddai and Jahweh-Elohim.

73. **Eshmun-'Ashtart** (*CIS* i. 245. 3 f.).

74. **Eshmun-Melḳart** (*ib.* 16. 23–28).

75. **Ba'l-Addir**, in Bal-Addiris, who was worshipped at Sigus in Numidia (*CIL* viii. 5279, suppl. 19121–19123).

76. **Gad-'Ate** (*CIS* i. 93. 3).

77. **Milk-Osir** (Molech-Osiris; *ib.* 123b. 1f.).

78. **Milk-Ba'l** (*ib.* 123a. 1f., 147. 1f., 194. 1, 380. 1).

79. **Milk-'Ashtart** (*ib.* 8. 1, 250. 3, *Ma'sub Inscr.* 2f.).

80. **Melḳart-Reṣeph** (=Resheph) (Levy, *Siegeln*, p. 18).

81. **Pu'me-'Elyon** (Pygmalion) (see above, 49).

82. **Ṣid-Melḳart** (*CIS* i. 256. 3f.).

83. **Ṣid-Tanit** (*ib.* 247. 5, 248. 4, 249. 4 f.).

In the cases where a male and a female deity are combined one is probably the consort of the other. Where two male deities are united, they are probably identified with one another.

ii. THE MYTHS OF THE GODS.—On the cosmogonies and theogonies preserved by Mochos and Sanchuniathon see art. SANCHUNIATHON.

iii. THE CONCEPTION OF THE GODS.—The way in which the Phœnicians regarded their deities is known to us almost exclusively from the predicates that they apply to them in personal names. Most of these express the supremacy and authority of the gods.

The titles *ba'l*, 'owner,' *adon*, 'master,' *mar*, 'lord,' *milk*, 'king,' *milkot*, 'queen,' and *'elyun*, 'high,' have been discussed already. Titles of kinship such as *em*, 'mother,' *'amm*, 'father-uncle,' *ab*, 'father,' and *aḥ*, 'brother' (see above), bring the gods nearer to men and describe them as friendly powers. As among all the Semites, the predicate קדש (Heb. *ḳādhōsh*, 'holy') is frequently applied to the gods (Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, p. 361). The original meaning of this word is 'set apart' or 'tabu.' It describes the gods as charged with a mysterious energy that made it dangerous for men to come into contact with them, and that communicated itself to the objects in which they resided, the phenomena in which they manifested themselves, and the persons whom they possessed. This primitive meaning, rather than the late Hebrew ethical one, obtains in Phœnicia. Other predicates that express the divine transcendence are *rom*, 'high,' in Ab-rom, El-rom, Ba'l-rom, Rom-Ba'l, and Milk-rom, *kabod*, 'glorious,' in Kabod-Melḳart, *'oz*, 'strong,' in 'Oz-Ba'l and 'Oz-Milk.

In regard to the powers of the gods the predicates affirm that they know (ירע), in Yado'-Milk; that they hear (שמע), in Shamo'-Ba'l and Melḳart-shamo'. In regard to their character many personal names state that they are good (נעם)—*e.g.*, Na'om-El, Na'om-Gad, Gad-na'om, Na'om-Milkot, Na'om-Pu'me. In relation to men the predicates say that the god has created (בנה), in Bano-Ba'l; that she has made, in עשתא (a hypocoristicon of a name beginning with 'Ashtart); that he has wrought (פעל), in Ba'l-pa'ol, El-pa'ol, and Pa'ol-Eshmun; that he causes to live (יחו, an apoc. impf. 3rd sing. Piel from חוא), in Yeḥaw-Allon, Yeḥaw-Ba'l, Yeḥaw-Milk: that he has given (a child) (יתן), in Yaton-Adon, Eshmun-yaton, Yaton-Ba'l, Ba'l-yaton (Lat. Baliatho and Baliahon), Yaton-Milk, Milk-yaton, Sakkun-yaton (Sanchuniathon), 'Ashtart-yaton, Pu'me-yaton, Yaton-Ṣid, Ṣid-yaton, and Resheph-yaton. Because children have thus been given by these various gods, they bear names compounded with *metten*, 'gift'—*e.g.*, Metten-El, Metten-Elim, Metten-Ba'l—or with *miḳne*, 'possession,' as in Miḳne-Milk. The gods appear as the apportioners of human destiny in Eshmun-ḥallik, 'Eshmun has assigned,' Eshmun-ya'od, 'Eshmun has appointed,' and Ba'l-shillek, 'Ba'l has cast' (Lat. Balsillec). The name Yamlik-Ba'l (Jamblichus) affirms that Ba'l has made king.

A great number of names describe the gods as helpers of mankind. Thus the god has arisen (קם), in Ab-ḳom; he has judged (שפט), in Shaphoṭ-Ba'l and Ba'l-Shaphoṭ; he has redeemed (פרה), in Ba'l-pado; he has saved (חלץ Pi.), in Eshmun-ḥalliṣ, Ḥalliṣ-Ba'l, Ba'l-ḥalliṣ, Milk-ḥalliṣ, and Melḳart-ḥalliṣ; he has delivered (פלט), in Adon-palliṭ; he has helped (עזר), in Eshmun-'azor, Ba'l-'azor, 'Azor-Ba'l, 'Ashtart-'azor; he is gracious (חנן), in El-ḥannon, Ba'l-ḥanno, Ḥanni-Ba'l, Ḥanon-Ba'l, Do'm-ḥanno, Ḥan-Melḳart, Melḳart-ḥanno, Melḳart-ḥan, Ḥan-Milk, and Ḥan-Ṣid; he has blessed (ברך Pi.), in El-barik, Barik-Ba'l (Lat. Baricbal), Mar-barik; he has sustained (סמך), in Mar-samok; he has carried (עמס), in Eshmun-'amos; he has guarded (שמר), in Osir-shamor, Eshmun-shamor, and Shamor-Ba'l; he has protected (צפן), in Ṣaphon-Ba'l; he has prospered (צלח, Pi.), in Eshmun-ṣalliḥ, Do'm-ṣalliḥ, and Ba'l-ṣalliḥ; he has rewarded (שלם, Pi.), in Eshmun-shallim and Ba'l-shallim; he has smoothed the way (פלס, Pi.), in Ba'l-pallis. The curious title of אהל, 'tent,' or 'shelter,' appears in Ohel-Ba'l and Ohel-Milk. These titles show a lofty conception of the character and the activity of the gods.

iv. THE RELATION OF MEN TO THE GODS.—Corresponding to the fact that the gods were called mostly by names of authority is the fact

that men described themselves usually (1) as the slave (*'abd*) of some god.

Thus we meet 'Abd-A-b-s-t (Bast), 'Abd-Adon, 'Abd-Elim, 'Abd-Isis, 'Abd-Osir, 'Abd-Eshmun, 'Abd-Ba'l, 'Abd-Ba'lot, 'Abd-Hammon, 'Abd-Yeraḥ, 'Abd-Milk, 'Abd-Milkot, 'Abd-Melḳart, 'Abd-Miskar, 'Abd-Marna, 'Abd-Seb-Isi, 'Abd-Susim, 'Abd-'Azos, 'Abd-'Ashtart, 'Abd-Pu'me, 'Abd-Ptaḥ, 'Abd-Ṣid, 'Abd-Ṣaphon, 'Abd-Resheph, 'Abd-Shaddai, 'Abd-Shaḥar, 'Abd-Shemesh, 'Abd-Tanit. The corresponding fem. form is *amot* (אמת), 'female slave,' which is often abbreviated to *mot*. Thus we find Amot-Osir, Amot-Ba'l (Lat. Amobbali), Amot-Milkot, Amot-Melḳart, Amot-'Ashtart, Mot-Milkot, Mot-Melḳart. Another name of submission was *kelb*, 'dog,' 'hierodule.' This appears in the name Kelb-Elim, and in the hypocoristicon Kelba. A similar name was *ger* (גר), 'client.' This appears in Ger-Ba'l, Ger-hekal, ('client of the temple'), Ger-Milk, Ger-Melḳart, Ger-Miskar, Ger-Sakkun, Ger-'Ashtart, Ger-Ṣid, Ger-Shaddai, and in the hypocoristicon Gera. Similar in meaning probably was *bod*, 'member' (of the family ?), which appears in Bod-Eshmun, Bod-Ba'l, Bod-Milk, Bod-Melḳart, Bod-'Ashtart, Bod-Ṣaphon, and Bod-Tanit.

(2) *Ben*, 'son.'—Much less often do worshippers call themselves by names of kinship to the gods. *Ben*, 'son,' occurs in Ben-Ur, Ben-'Ate (?), Ben-Ba'l (?), Ben-Ḥodesh, and Ben-Melek.

(3) *Bot*, 'daughter,' is found in Bot-Ba'l, Bot-Na'om, and Bot-Shelem.

(4) *Aḥot*, 'sister.'—Women are also called 'sister' of a god, although the term 'brother' is apparently applied only to deities; *e.g.*, we have Aḥot-Milkot, Aḥot-Melḳart, and abbreviated Ḥot-Milk (Lat. Otmilc), Ḥot-Lot (=Aḥot-Elot), Ḥot-Milkot, and Ḥot-Melḳart.

v. PLACES OF WORSHIP.—1. **High places.**—The location of a sanctuary was determined by the presence of a sacred natural object, such as a spring, holy tree, etc., in which dwelt a *ba'al*. This was fenced off from the surrounding territory by a wall or a line of stones. The Canaanite and Hebrew name for such a *temenos*—*bama*, 'high place'—does not happen to occur in the inscriptions, but was doubtless in use. Remains of open-air high places are still found in Phœnicia and in the colonies (see *ERE* iii. 185). Tacitus (*Hist.* ii. 78) informs us that, when Vespasian consulted the oracle on Mt. Carmel, he found neither statue nor temple, but only a much venerated altar (cf. Suetonius, *Vesp.* 5).

2. **Temples.**—In the larger towns permanent structures were erected over or around the sacred object, which served to protect it, to shelter the priests, and to guard the treasures that were deposited in the sanctuary. Such temples were known as *bet* (בת), 'house' (Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, p. 235), or *hekal* (היכל), 'temple' (a loan word from the Sumerian *e-gal*, 'great house'), which appears in the personal name Ger-hekal, 'client of the temple.' Another common name is *miḳdash*, 'sanctuary' (*ib.* p. 361). The holy of holies where the god dwelt was called *ḥeder* or *ḥedrot*. All these names are used in Hebrew (see *ERE* iii. 185).

No remains of temples earlier than the late Persian period have come down to us. The majority are of the Greek and Roman periods. The oldest of these temples was the one built by Bod-'Ashtart at Sidon, which was excavated by T. Macridy-Bey and H. Winckler in 1903 (see F. von Landau, in *MVG* ix. [1905] 5, x. [1906] 1; and T. Macridy-Bey, in *RB* xii. [1903] 69–77, xiii. [1904] 390–403). A number of other temples of the Greek and Roman periods were investigated by Renan (*Mission de Phénicie*). The temples of Cyprus are described by L. P. di Cesnola, *Cyprus: its ancient Cities, Tombs, and Temples*; and many of the monuments are reproduced in *A Descriptive Atlas of the Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities* (see also M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*). Coins of Phœnicia and of Cyprus give rude representations of temples that aid in reconstructing their architectural features. A number of fine ruins of the Roman period are still to be seen in the Lebanon—*e.g.*, at Brummana (see Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*[4], Leipzig, 1906, p. 283), at Niḥa near Zaḥleh (*ib.* p. 292), and at Afka at the source of the river Adonis (*ib.*, p. 336). The last is the famous temple of 'Ashtart described by Lucian, where the death of Adonis was annually bewailed. Near Neba' el-Lebn is a remarkable ruin known as Ḳal'at Fukra. It stands in a hollow among jagged pinnacles of rock that must have been a haunt of some ancient *ba'al*.

From these remains it appears that the earliest departure from the primitive high place was a monolithic structure such as the *ma'abed*, 'temple,' at Amrith (Renan, *Mission*, pp. 63–68). This is constructed of three upright stones that rest on the solid rock and a monolithic roof. It served as a shelter for the cult-object. The style of architecture suggests Egyptian influence. The next step was to construct a platform about the tabernacle and enclose it with a portico. This is the stage depicted on coins of Byblus, where we see the fetish-stone of the god in its shrine surrounded by a large court and portico (Perrot-Chipiez, i. 61; cf. the similar coin from Cyprus, p. 276). Finally, a roofed building was added on one side of the court (see the coin of Byblus mentioned above). Some idea of what an old Phœnician temple was like may be gained from the description of Solomon's temple (1 K 5–7), since this was built by Phœnician workmen. The later temples all show the Greek style.

3. **Maṣṣēbhôth.**—Standing stones which served as dwelling-places for the deity were the central objects in all the sanctuaries. They were called either *maṣṣēbhôth* (=מצבה) or *naṣib* (=Arab. *nuṣb*) (see Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, p. 325). Philo (35b) says that two pillars were consecrated by Ousōos (the eponym of Palætyrus), and that other pillars were consecrated to Samim-rom and Ousōos (see *ERE* ii. 117, § 4, iii. 186, § 1, viii. 487). A common Phœnician name for a variety of the *maṣṣēbhôth* was *ḥammon*=Heb. חמן (see *ERE* ii. 287, § 5). These are probably mentioned by Philo (32b) as the inscribed *ammouneis* from which Sanchuniathon derived his records; also in the name Amunos (35d). Such *ḥammonim* are depicted in *CIS* i. pl. viii. Fetish-stones were called *beth-el*, 'house of a god,' by the Phœnicians, as by the Hebrews. Philo (36c) speaks of a god Baitulos, the son of Ba'l-Shamim, and the brother of El, Dagon, and Atlas. The same deification of the holy stone is found in the god Beth-el of the Assuān papyri, and is analogous to the deification of the *ăshērāh* (see *ERE* ii. 288[a]).

4. **Ashērîm.**—Wooden posts that served as dwelling-places for deities, particularly for the goddess 'Ashtart, were as common among the Phœnicians as among the Canaanites and the Hebrews. The word probably occurs in the *Ma'sub Inscription*, 4, "'Ashtart in the *ăshērāh*.' A clay figure from Cyprus represents a goddess sitting within the trunk of a tree (Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, i. 171). Such poles are depicted on the stelæ from Carthage. They are mentioned by Philo (35b) along with the *maṣṣēbhôth* (see *ERE* iii. 186, § 2).

5. **Images.**—In the oldest sanctuaries the standing stones were the only emblems of the gods, and these lasted down to the latest times in some of the temples. With the advance of civilization, however, images were developed out of the primitive fetishes. They are implied by Philo's description of 'Ashtart (38c) and of El (39a). The images that have survived show strong Egyptian influence in the artistic treatment. 'Ashtart is represented with the attributes of Ḥathor, or else as a nude female holding a dove. Ba'l-ḥammon is represented with ram's horns (see *ERE* iii. 186,

§ 4; and Perrot-Chipiez, i. 65–79, ii. 9 f.). The θεοὶ οἱ συστρατευόμενοι mentioned in the treaty of Hannibal (Polyb. vii. 9) must have been some sort of images or standards representing the gods that were carried along with the army.

6. Altars.—These are often mentioned in the inscriptions (Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, p. 265). For illustrations of the altars that have been discovered see Perrot-Chipiez, i. 261, 315 f.

vi. Temple ministrants.—1. Priests.—These are called *kōhănîm*, the same name as in Hebrew (Lidzbarski, *Handbuch*, p. 294). The chief priest is known as *rab-kōhănîm* (*CIS* i. 119. 2) or *rab kōhēn* (*ib.* 224. 3). A priestess is mentioned (*ib.* 3. 15). Philo also speaks of priests (32b) (see *ERE* iii. 187, § 10).

2. Prophets. — The word *ṣophe*, 'seer,' or 'diviner,' appears in *CIS* i. 124. 6. The word חויעם seems to mean 'gazer with the eyes,' *i.e.* 'seer,' and חוה means 'augury.' The ecstatic prophets of the Tyrian Ba'al and of the *ăshērāh* are familiar to us from 1 K 18. Philo also (39c) speaks of 'prophets who celebrated the orgies and inaugurated the mysteries' (see *ERE* iii. 188, § 11).

3. Servants.—The inscriptions speak of מרכם, *i.e.* probably guardians of the מרכת, or 'sanctuary' (*CIS* i. 86 A. 5, 10). These seem to have corresponded to the Levites among the Hebrews. There were also *gerim*, 'clients,' who were attached to the temples as artisans and labourers in all sorts of capacities (see above, iv. (1)). We meet also barbers (גלב), who shaved hair and beards for those who had offered them in fulfilment of vows, and a number of other temple attendants whose precise functions are unknown.

4. Hierodules. — *Ḳĕdēshîm* and *ḳĕdēshôth*, *i.e.* male and female prostitutes, devoted to the service of 'Ashtart at her temples, were as common among the Phœnicians as among the Canaanites and the Hebrews (see *ERE* ii. 116[a], vii. 430, § 4; and art. Hierodouloi). Male hierodules were called *kelb*, 'dog,' the word used in Dt 23[18]. In *CIS* 52. 1 a certain man called Ger, 'client,' has a son called Kelba.

vii. Offerings to the gods.—1. Animal sacrifices.—These are known to us with considerable detail from tariffs of payment for sacrifices found at Marseilles (*CIS* i. 165) and at Carthage (*CIS* i. 166, 167). These are so similar to the Hebrew legislation that they might almost be extracts from the book of Leviticus. They enumerate the *zebaḥ*, 'slaughter,' the *kalîl*, 'whole burnt offering,' the *shelem*, 'peace offering,' and the *minḥāh*, 'meal offering'—all of which are found in the OT. The sin offering and the guilt offering are not named, but this is not surprising, since they make their first appearance among the Hebrews in Ezekiel and in the post-Exilic Priestly Code. The technique of the sacrificial ritual does not differ much from that of the Hebrew. The explanation of this fact is, of course, that the Hebrews borrowed the sacrificial rites of the Canaanites after their settlement in Canaan. The animals offered by the Phœnicians, as by the Hebrews, were mainly domestic; but wild animals, such as the deer, wild birds, and game of various sorts were offered also. The priests received certain parts of the sacrifice as their perquisites, and the rest of the flesh was consumed by the worshippers in a sacrificial meal. The sacrifice of wild beasts is mentioned by Philo (35b), who says that Ousōos poured upon the pillars that he had set up libations of blood of the wild beasts that he had taken in hunting (see *ERE* iii. 187, § 1).

2. Sacrifice of the first-born.—This sort of sacrifice existed among the Semites from remote antiquity (see *ERE* i. 390 f., ii. 117, § 4, iii. 187, § 2, vi. 862 ff.). Its existence among the Phœnicians is proved by the myth of El (Kronos) as recorded by Philo.

In 38d he says that 'on the occurrence of a pestilence and mortality Kronos offered his only-begotten son as a whole burnt-offering to his father Ouranos' (Ba'l-Shamim). In 40c he says: 'It was the custom of the ancients in great crises of danger for the rulers of a city or nation, in order to avert the common ruin, to give up the most beloved of their children for sacrifice as a ransom to the avenging daemons; and those who were thus given up were sacrificed with mystic rites. Kronos, then, whom the Phœnicians call Elus, who was king of the country, and subsequently, after his decease, was deified as the star Saturn, had by a nymph of the country named Anobret an only begotten son, whom they on this account called Iedud (Heb. יָחִיד), the only-begotten being still so called among the Phœnicians; and when very great dangers from war had beset the country, he arrayed his son in royal apparel, and prepared an altar, and sacrificed him.' The same passage is repeated in 156d. This shows that the sacrifice of the first-born was by no means a universal custom, as among the primitive Semites and Canaanites, but that the rite was performed only in times of special danger, as in the case of Mesha, king of Moab (2 K 3[27]). Ordinarily, as among the later Hebrews, the sacrifice was commuted with the sacrifice of an animal (Ex 34[20]).

The testimony of the classical writers is unanimous and unquestionable that the Phœnicians alone among civilized nations maintained the primitive custom of child-sacrifice. Plutarch (*de Superst.* 13) says that 'the Carthaginians used to sacrifice their own children, and those who had no offspring of their own used to buy children from the poor and slaughter them, as if they were lambs or birds. The mother stood by unmoved, without a groan; if she groaned or wept, she lost the price, but the child was sacrificed none the less. The whole space in front of the image was full of the din of flute-players and drummers, so that the sound of the wailing might not be heard.' To escape the necessity of sacrificing their own children, wealthy Carthaginian parents were accustomed to adopt slaves, and to bring them up as their own offspring in order that they might be substituted; but in times of special peril no such redemption was permitted. In 310 B.C., when Agathocles had defeated the Carthaginians and was besieging their city, 200 boys of the noblest families and 300 volunteers were placed in the arms of the heated brazen image of Kronos (El), and fell into the fiery pit below (Diod. Sic. xx. 14). It is questionable whether this description of the image of Kronos is not a variant of the myth of Talos, the brazen giant made by Hephaistos, who guarded the island of Crete. It rests solely upon the authority of Kleitarchos. It is the origin of the mediæval Jewish accounts of the Biblical Molech, which have found their way into so many Christian books of reference (see G. F. Moore, *JBL* xvi [1897] 161). For further allusions to this practice see Porphyry, *de Abstin.* ii. 56; Quintus Curtius, iv. 15; Eusebius, *Orat. Const.* xiii. 7; the Platonic *Minos*, 315 C; Kleitarchos, in the scholia to Plato's *Republic*, i. 337 A; Tertullian, *Apol.* 9.

3. Human sacrifice other than that of the first-born is attested by Diodorus (xx. 65), who relates that, after the victory of the Carthaginians over Agathocles in 307 B.C., 'they slew the prisoners upon the altar before the holy tent.' This corresponds to the *herem*, 'ban,' in the OT. In times of peril the head of the State might offer himself as a voluntary sacrifice. This was done by Hamilcar, and was planned by Juba, king of Numidia (see *ERE* iii. 187, § 3).

4. Firstlings and firstfruits.—The principle was established among the Phœnicians, as among the Hebrews, that the first-born of animals, the choicest of the crops, and the best of all that was acquired by individuals or by the State belonged to the gods. The word קרמת, which probably means 'firstlings,' occurs in *CIS* i. 165. 12, 166. 3, 7. ראשת, 'firstfruits,' 'choicest,' is found in *CIS* i. 5.

5. Libations.—Philo (34b, 36b) mentions drink-offerings and libations. The materials of which these were made, according to the inscriptions, were milk, fat, oil, and wine.

6. Incense is mentioned under the names of לבנת (*CIS* i. 166. B. 6) and קשרת (*ib.* 166. 3, 6, 334. 3 f.) (see *ERE* iii. 187, § 5).

7. Circumcision. — This is implied for the Canaanites and Phœnicians in the OT by the fact that they are never called 'uncircumcised,' as are the Philistines. Herodotus (ii. 104) states that the Phœnicians and Syrians were circumcised, and that they learned this custom from Egypt. Philo (38d) traces the rite back to the god El, who circumcised himself and his allies.

8. Emasculation is not ascribed to the Phœnicians by any ancient writer, but is perhaps implied

in the myth narrated by Philo (38b) of the emasculation of Ba'al-Shamim by his son El (see *ERE* ii. 167).

9. Prostitution. — The *kĕdēshôth*, or temple harlots, have been referred to above (vi. 4). Besides these, virgins and married women were required to sacrifice their chastity on certain occasions in honour of 'Ashtart. This is asserted by Lucian, *de Dea Syria*, 6; Herod. i. 199; Justin, xviii. 5; Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* ii.; Athenæus, xii. 11 (see *ERE* vi. 674, § 3).

10. Vows (נדר, as in Heb.) were made by individuals for recovery from disease or for the obtaining of blessings for themselves or their families. They consisted in the promise to dedicate a particular thing if the petition were granted. Usually the promise was of some sort of sacrifice; but in some cases objects were vowed for the use of the sanctuary, such as bowls, lamps, altars, statues, and most often *ḥammonim*, or stelæ, which have been found in great numbers at Carthage. On these objects it was customary to place the name of the god, of the dedicator, and sometimes of the object dedicated, together with a statement of the reason why it was presented. To these dedicatory inscriptions we owe most of our knowledge of the Phœnician language.

viii. THE CULT OF THE DEAD.—The inscriptions show that the Phœnician idea of the future life was identical with that of the pre-Exilic Hebrews. The soul continued to exist after death, but it led an unsubstantial and worthless existence. As in the OT, the dead were the *rephaim*, 'shades' (*CIS* i. 3. 8; *Tabnit Inscr.* 8). Death was only a calamity. Thus Eshmun-'azor says: 'I have been seized before my time, the son of a (short) number of days.' The spirit of the dead maintained a close connexion with its corpse, and therefore the utmost importance was attached to proper burial and to the preservation of the tomb inviolate. The tomb was the בית עלם, 'the eternal house' (*CIS* i. 124. 1; cf. Ec 12^5). The inscriptions declare that no treasures are buried with the dead, and launch terrible curses upon those who shall disturb their resting-place.

It was the duty of survivors to attend to the proper burial of the deceased. Kings such as Eshmun-'azor and Tabnit were placed in sarcophagi brought from Egypt. People of lower rank were buried in anthropoid sarcophagi of native workmanship that display the influence of Greek art. The poor were interred in wooden coffins, or were merely wrapped in cloths (see Hamdy-Bey and Reinach, and *CIS* i. pl. ii.). In the anthropoid sarcophagi the opening of the ear was sometimes carried through the stone cover as if to allow the dead to hear the prayers that were addressed to them. The sarcophagi were placed in subterranean tombs hewn out of the solid rock. These were reached either by a vertical shaft or by a flight of steps (see Perrot-Chipiez, i. 149 f.). On the surface of the ground above the tomb a pillar was set up that served as a place of manifestation for the spirit, just as similar stones served as dwelling-places for the gods, and that was called by the same name *maṣṣēbhôth* (in Palmyrene it is called *nefesh*, 'spirit'). On this stone an inscription was often placed that described it as the property of the deceased, and gave the name of the person who had erected it. Here doubtless offerings and libations were brought in honour of the dead. Out of this simple stone in later times more elaborate sepulchral monuments were developed.

LITERATURE.—F. C. Movers, *Die Phönizier*, 3 vols., Berlin, 1841–56; J. Kenrick, *Phœnicia*, London, 1855; M. A. Levy, *Phönizische Studien*, Leipzig, 1856–64; E. Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, Paris, 1865–74; Levy, *Phönizisches Wörterbuch*, Breslau, 1864, *Siegeln und Gemmen*, do. 1869; P. Schröder, *Die phönizische Sprache*, Halle, 1869; W. W. Baudissin *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1876–78; L. P. di Cesnola, *Cyprus: its ancient Cities, Tombs, and Temples*, London, 1877; O. Meltzer, *Gesch. der Karthager*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1879–96; *CIS* i. 'Inscriptiones Phœniciæ,' Paris, 1881–98; C. P. Tiele, 'La Religion des Phéniciens,' *RHR* iii. [1881] 167–217; Renan, 'Des Noms théophores apocopés dans les anciennes langues sémitiques,' *REJ* v. [1882] 161–177; *A Descriptive Atlas of the Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities*, 3 vols., Boston, 1885–93; G. Perrot and C. Chipiez, *Hist. de l'art dans l'antiquité*, iii. 'Phénicie, Cypre, Asie-Mineure,' Paris, 1885, Eng. tr., *Hist. of Art in Phœnicia and its Dependencies*, 2 vols., London, 1885; A. von Gutschmid and A. Socin, art. 'Phœnicia,' in *EBr*^{9}; F. Baethgen, *Beiträge zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, Berlin, 1888; R. Pietschmann, *Gesch. der Phönizier*, do. 1889; G. Rawlinson, *Hist. of Phœnicia*, London, 1889; A. Bloch, *Phœnicisches Glossar*, Berlin, 1890; Rawlinson, *The Story of Phœnicia*, London, 1893; M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, die Bibel und Homer*, Berlin, 1893, Eng. tr., London, 1893; Tiele, *Gesch. der Religion im Alterthum*, i., Gotha, 1896; H. Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, v. 'Zur phönicisch-karthagischen Geschichte,' Leipzig, 1897, pp. 421–462; M. Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der nordsemitischen Epigraphik*, Weimar, 1898; G. W. Thatcher, art. 'Phœnicia,' in *HDB*; Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*, i.–iii., Giessen, 1900–15; W. von Landau, 'Die Phönizier,' in *Der alte Orient*, ii. [1901]; E. Meyer, art. 'Phœnicia,' in *EBi*; V. Bérard, *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée*, 2 vols., Paris, 1902–03; G. A. Cooke, *A Textbook of North-Semitic Inscriptions*, Oxford, 1903; C. Bruston, *Études phéniciennes*, Paris, 1904; Von Landau, 'Die Bedeutung der Phönizier im Völkerleben,' in *Ex Oriente Lux*, i. [1905] 159–202, 'Die phönizischen Inschriften,' in *Der alte Orient*, viii. [1907] 3; F. C. Eiselen, *Sidon, A Study in Oriental History*, New York, 1907; W. R. Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*^{2}, London, 1907; W. W. Baudissin, *Adonis und Esmun*, Leipzig, 1911; G. A. Cooke, art. 'Phœnicia,' in *EBr*^{11}; Baudissin, 'Die Quellen für eine Darstellung der Religion der Phönizier und der Aramäer,' in *ARW* xvi. [1913] 389–422; J. L. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus*, New York, 1914; W. B. Fleming, *The Hist. of Tyre*, New York, 1915.

See also the literature under 'ASHTART, BAAL, CANAAN, DAGON.

LEWIS BAYLES PATON.

PHRENOLOGY. — **1. History.** — Phrenology, like hypnotism, has suffered in reputation from the abuses that occurred in its name. Beginning with both scientific and humanitarian aims, it came into the hands of quacks and charlatans, was rejected by the medical faculty, to whom its first appeal was made, and finally, after a brief triumph in Great Britain, fell into utter disrepute, although it has never ceased to have some serious individual adherents. Its founders were Drs. Gall and Spurzheim. F. J. Gall (born 1758) studied at Strassburg and Vienna, where he practised as a physician for some years. Early in life—from his ninth year, according to his report—his attention had been attracted by the differences in mental powers between himself and others, and he had noticed that those who were very successful in learning by heart had large and prominent eyes; from this he formed the idea that mental capacities have certain external marks or signs in the shape or other features of the head. In studying physiology he became convinced that the skull took its shape from the brain, and he assumed accordingly that the external signs in question came from the special development of different portions or regions of the brain. Hence we should be able to determine, by inspection of the head, the mental capacities and moral dispositions of the individual. In 1791 his first publication appeared in Vienna—*Medico-philosophical Enquiries into Nature and Art in Health and Disease.* Only the first two chapters, however, were published. In 1798 a notice of his investigations into the shape of the head in its relation to the faculties appeared in the *Deutscher Merkur* for December, being a letter to Baron Retzer. From 1796 he was lecturing in Vienna, and some of his hearers published accounts of his system. In 1802 the Austrian Government prevented his further lecturing by means of a general regulation prohibiting private lectures without special permission. This permission Gall did not ask for. Meanwhile J. G. Spurzheim (born 1776) attended one of Gall's courses in 1800,

and, after completing his medical studies in 1804, became associated with Gall in his work, and continued with him until 1813, when they separated. There is no doubt that it was to Spurzheim that the great if temporary success of phrenology, towards the end of the first quarter of last century, was due. Gall died in 1828 and Spurzheim in 1832. The latter travelled with Gall through Germany, where they inspected prisons and indicated the characters of the prisoners with great success, to Holland, and to France, where they strove with Cuvier and the doctors, and were at length prohibited from lecturing; Spurzheim also visited England and Scotland, France again, and then America, where he died. One of his demonstrations in Edinburgh in 1816 was attended by George Combe (born 1788), who was attracted by a bitter criticism of the new science that had appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* for June 1815. The demonstration tended to alter his opinion, and he attended the next course of lectures, became a sympathetic student of phrenology, and, finding that his own observation confirmed its truth, became its staunch supporter. Unjust criticisms of phrenology led him to accept the invitation of the editor of the *Literary and Statistical Magazine for Scotland*, who offered a free discussion of its merits. He wrote four papers in its defence, which were afterwards published as *Essays on Phrenology; or an Inquiry into the Principles and Utility of the Systems of Drs. Gall and Spurzheim, and into the Objections made against it* (Edinburgh, 1819). Largely through his efforts a Phrenological Society was started in Edinburgh in 1820, of which he was president, and a *Phrenological Journal* was published by this society from 1823 onwards. Many other societies arose in different parts of the British Isles, in the colonies, and in America, in one of the universities of which a professorship of phrenology was even established. Combe published numerous works, of which the best-known was *The Constitution of Man* (Edinburgh, 1828). It attracted Richard Cobden, who was instrumental in forming one of the societies in Manchester, 1835 (see J. Morley, *Life of Richard Cobden*, new ed., London, 1910, ch. iv.). Several well-known scientists in Britain, as in other countries, defended phrenology—including Dr. J. Elliotson and Archbishop Whately—while more recently Alfred Russel Wallace has spoken in its favour. But its opponents were far more numerous and persistent. One of the strongest defences of the system was that in the *Foreign Quarterly Review* (vol. ii. [1828] no. 3). The *Phrenological Journal* came to an end in 1847, after 20 volumes had been published. Combe died in 1858.

The name 'phrenology' is due to Spurzheim, but was made popular by Combe's adoption of it. Gall's studies had been called 'craniology' or 'cranioscopy.' The change of name is important as indicating that emphasis was to be laid in the new science upon the mental and moral aspects rather than upon the purely physical; unfortunately, it became synonymous in this country and elsewhere with the art of 'reading bumps,' which is quite a caricature of its original intention. Gall had naturally taken notice in the first instance of outstanding personalities, capacities, or peculiarities of disposition, and had sought to connect these with exceptionally large or prominent portions of the head; or, on the other hand, noticing prominent features in heads, had tried to connect these with striking characteristics of the individuals; moreover, in demonstrations, and especially in public demonstrations, it was only the prominent portions of the skull or cast or head that could be brought to the attention; hence perhaps the unfortunate association in question.

2. Theory.—The theory may be stated somewhat as follows. Individuals differ mentally as well as physically from each other; their characters, intellectual and moral, are largely independent of their environment and education, and are more or less constant and uniform; education may repress the manifestation and therefore hinder the development of powers, but it cannot originate new ones. Such differences, therefore, are natural or congenital; they are transmitted from parent to child; there are family and national similarities in mental character, as there are family and national similarities in face and in other physical structure. In the same way, different animal species show different mental powers, which are inherent in all the members of each species. The young differ from the old, and there is a regular progression in the development and decay of the mental powers from birth to death. These mental powers are exercised in the first instance through the brain, which is their physical condition. But the brain is not a single organ, uniform throughout, or capable of conducting *any* mental operation in any of its parts. It consists of a number of distinct and separate organs, each of which has some specific mental function which it subserves, and which depends for its energy and its development upon the relative size and vigour of the organ in question. Three problems are thus before the phrenologist: to divide the intellectual and moral character into its separate powers or faculties; to mark off the separate organs in the brain, or rather on the external skull of the living man; to connect each faculty with its corresponding organ in the brain and its corresponding protuberance or portion of the skull. Spurzheim laid down the principles according to which a faculty is regarded as natural and primitive: if it exists in one species of animals and not in another; if it varies in the two sexes of the same species; if it is prominent or deficient as compared with the other powers of the same individual; if it appears or disappears earlier or later in life than other faculties; if it is active or at rest separately from other powers; if it is inherited by children from parents; if it shows health or disease in its exercise apart from the other faculties. A faculty is 'a specific power of feeling in a certain way, or of forming ideas of a certain kind'—the power being distinct from the feelings or the ideas which are thus produced or formed; it is independent of the will; one faculty cannot manifest the same feelings or form the same ideas as another; each has some definite relation to the objects of the external world; each may be excited from without by these objects, but also from within. The faculties are either propensities, which are both animal and human, such as 'amativeness' and the 'love of offspring,' or sentiments, some of which are peculiar to man, or, finally, intellectual powers, perceptive and reflective. On the other hand, such terms as 'sensation,' 'memory,' and 'imagination' do not correspond to 'faculties' in the phrenologist's sense, but are merely general names for the products of the different faculties either singly or in combination. The connexion between a faculty and its physical organ was determined, as already indicated, by a study of the living heads, of the skulls, of casts from the heads, or of pictures and sculptures of men distinguished beyond their fellows in some specific ability; practice increased skill in noticing the differences in the shape of the head and in the proportionate size of its different parts; heads of animals, of striking mental characteristics, as ferocity, cunning, timidity, etc., were compared with those of man;

differences of skull in the two sexes were compared with the supposed mental differences; the heads of the insane, of the mentally defective, of criminals, etc., were studied and again compared with their peculiar mental or moral aberrations or defects. The results were verified, as far as possible, by reading the heads of unknown individuals, finding how far their actual characteristics coincided with those inferred by the phrenologist from their heads. It was this practice that led to the ridicule and ultimately to the contempt and neglect under which phrenology fell; yet it had a perfectly practical and useful aim. Apart from the verification of the organs, it was hoped by this means to be able to forecast the vocation for which a child was best adapted; to indicate the lines along which a child's education would most successfully proceed, the dangers to which its character was liable, the treatment by which criminals or the insane might best be brought back to humane and normal courses; and even the beginnings of eugenics are to be found in the phrenological writings—life-partners are to be selected on its principles. The objections brought against the new doctrine were from various standpoints — anatomical, philosophical, and theological; it was objected that the brain is homogeneous throughout, that there is no evidence that it is the organ of mind, that the size and shape of the brain cannot be argued from that of the head, that great injuries have occurred to the brain without corresponding effect upon the mental powers, that the shape of the head is artificially altered in many savage tribes without affecting the intelligence; that the mind or consciousness is a unity, and cannot consist of separate faculties, or that it is a *tabula rasa* on which impressions are made through the senses and associated together into ideas and thoughts without any innate powers; that there is nothing to fix the number of the faculties, and, indeed, that phrenologists disagree as to their number; that, if phrenology were accepted as true, it would destroy religion, remove responsibility from man, and reduce mind to a purely material process. Gall and Spurzheim were able to show the possibility of studying the structure of the brain, and of proving that differences actually exist in its different parts; in particular, they pointed out the true condition of the brain in hydrocephalous subjects; they were the first to admit that the inner and outer plates of the skull are not parallel throughout, but they showed that this deviation amounts to not more than one or two-tenths of an inch, whereas the difference in heads is from one to two inches; and in general they proved that the shape of the skull is certainly determined by the prior growth of the brain. As to the argument from the effect of injuries or loss of substance of the brain upon the mind, and the striking cases reported by Sir Everard Home from Haller and others, they pointed out that this argument would apply equally against any theory as to the brain functions, that the observations were not always accurately made, and that in describing the resultant effects upon the character only vague general terms were used, such as 'intelligence,' whereas some quite limited and specific ability might disappear or be reduced in its activity without the *general* intelligence being appreciably affected. Analogy with other organs and organisms suggests that each part of the brain has a separate function; the brain becomes more complicated in animals in proportion to their place in the scale of intelligence—insects, fish, birds, mammals, and, highest among them, man; the same is true of individuals in the human race; the different parts of the brain do not grow simultaneously, but in succession; each appears as its faculty appears; and both organ and faculty are developed when they are necessary for our existence; intense application of the mind fatigues not the whole brain but only some part of it, for a change of work or occupation brings rest; the states of sleep, dreaming, somnambulism, and the like can be explained only on the assumption that the organs of the brain are different in activity and in position. With regard to the philosophical objections, it was pointed out that the same arguments will apply to *life*, which is also a unity, but acts differently in different circumstances, and through different organs; that, in any case, phrenology takes no concern with the ultimate nature of mind or of body, but deals merely with facts of observation and experience, whose truth will not be affected by the truth or falsity of idealism or any other philosophy. This answers the objections from theology also. Phrenology will give us knowledge of ourselves and others, of our characters and tendencies; this will lead to higher morality, not to lower; by preventing the manifestation of bad tendencies, their development will be hindered, and corresponding encouragement may be given to the good. The vices and defects, the virtues and talents, of each particular race can be learned, the former suppressed, the latter cultivated; and a rational treatment of insanity may be adopted, etc. Popular belief has always favoured the idea that persons differ in their natural tendencies—one covetous, another cruel, another kind, another proud; that one has a talent for music, another for mechanics, another for painting, and another for poetry; that these tendencies cannot be changed by an effort of will; that a genius for music cannot be acquired by study or practice; that there is a natural growth in the powers and a certain order in their development with which we cannot interfere without danger; and that no obstacle will prevent a genius from showing and from cultivating his superior powers. At the same time it was admitted that the division of the faculties, being founded upon observation alone, could not be regarded as finally settled; still less was it certain that the particular organs adopted by Gall and Spurzheim were really those of the faculties in question. It cannot be said, however, that the phrenologists were fortunate in their choice of faculties as the primitive ones in human nature, nor are the results of their observations with regard to the position of the organs in the brain in the least degree satisfactory. The following is Spurzheim's latest arrangement of the powers of the mind, with the numbers of their corresponding organs:

AFFECTIVE.—i. *Propensities*: (desire to live), (alimentiveness), (1) destructiveness, (2) amativeness, (3) philoprogenitiveness, (4) adhesiveness, (5) inhabitiveness, (6) combativeness, (7) secretiveness, (8) acquisitiveness, (9) constructiveness; ii. *Sentiments*: (10) cautiousness, (11) approbativeness, (12) self-esteem, (13) benevolence, (14) reverence, (15) firmness, (16) conscientiousness, (17) hope, (18) marvellousness, (19) ideality, (20) mirthfulness, (21) imitation.

INTELLECTUAL.—i. *Perceptive*: (22) individuality, (23) configuration, (24) size, (25) weight and resistance, (26) colour, (27) locality, (28) order, (29) number, (30) eventuality, (31) time, (32) tune, (33) language; ii. *Reflective*: (34) comparison, (35) causality.

Of this classification it may be said (1) that it is quite inadequate for the complexity of the case; experimental psychology is only at the beginning of the real analysis of mental phenomena; while there is no doubt that there are certain innate powers of the mind, it is quite uncertain at present which of the functions actually manifested by the mind of man are primitive and simple; even the apprehension of colour or of form is probably a very complex process. (2) We are only at the beginning also of a scientific effort to measure and therefore to compare the manifestations of these

different powers in different individuals, so as to have some real knowledge of the extent to which one individual differs from another. (3) We are only beginning to know what are really the changes in the behaviour of individuals that occur after brain injury or disease; or, again, the differences in behaviour between the child born with defective brain and the normal child, etc. (4) A similar limitation obtains in our knowledge of the capacities of different races, sexes, ages. (5) The hundred years that have passed since Spurzheim demonstrated in Edinburgh have not brought anatomists much nearer to an understanding upon the limits of the different areas or regions in the brain; while it is almost universally admitted that there are separate regions, which are intimately connected with different mental phenomena, still it seems improbable that such regions have hard and fast boundaries; a part of one may under compulsion take over the work of another; the destruction of a comparatively large part of an area does not involve the total disappearance of any mental capacity; and in particular the true nature of these regions seems to be that all are connecting systems between sense-organs, on the one hand, and muscles, glands, and viscera, on the other, rather than initiating sources of special activity. (6) Finally, there is even yet no sort of agreement as to how the different portions or areas of the brain are connected with the mental powers (see also art. BRAIN AND MIND).

LITERATURE.—F. J. Gall and J. G. Spurzheim, *Anatomie et physiologie du système nerveux en général, et du cerveau en particulier*, 4 vols., Paris, 1810–19; J. G. Spurzheim, *Observations sur la folie, ou sur les dérangemens des fonctions morales et intellectuelles de l'homme*, do. 1817, Eng. tr., London, 1817, *Observations sur la phrænologie, ou la connaissance de l'homme moral et intellectuel*, Paris, 1818, *Essai philosophique sur la nature morale et intellectuelle de l'homme*, do. 1820, *Essai sur les principes élémentaires de l'éducation*, do. 1822, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1821; F. J. Gall, *Sur les Fonctions du cerveau*, 6 vols., Paris, 1822–25, tr. W. Lewis, London, 1835; Spurzheim, *The Physiognomical System of Drs. Gall and Spurzheim*[2], London, 1815, *Phrenology in Connexion with the Study of Physiognomy*, pt. I., 'Characters,' do. 1826, *The Anatomy of the Brain*, tr. R. Willis, do. 1826, *Phrenology, or the Doctrine of the Mind, and of the Relation between its Manifestations and the Body*, do. 1825, *Outlines of Phrenology*[2] (revised from 4th American ed., Boston, 1836), Glasgow, 1844, *Examinations of the Objections made in Britain against the Doctrines of Gall and Spurzheim*, Edinburgh, 1817, *Phrenology, or the Doctrine of the Mental Phenomena* (revised from 2nd American ed., Boston, 1833), Introd. by C. Elder, Philadelphia, 1908; G. Combe, *Essays on Phrenology*, Edinburgh, 1819, *Elements of Phrenology*, do. 1824, [9]1862, *A System of Phrenology*, do. 1825, [5]1853; *Edinburgh Review*, xxv. [1815] 227 ff., xliv. [1826] 253 ff.; *Foreign Quarterly Review*, vol. ii. [1828] no. 3; *Phrenological Journal*, 20 vols., 1823–47; B. Holländer, *The Revival of Phrenology; the Mental Functions of the Brain*, London, 1901, *Scientific Phrenology*, do. 1902; J. W. Taylor, *Applied Psychology*, do. 1912; G. Blondel, *La Psycho-physiologie de Gall; ses idées directrices*, Paris, 1914; A. R. Wallace, *The Wonderful Century*[2], London, 1903.

J. LEWIS MCINTYRE.

PHRYGIANS.—1. The religion of the Phrygians as old Anatolian.—It is impossible to write any sketch of Phrygian religion without continual reference to the history and ethnology of the Phrygian people. These subjects are still under discussion, and opinion differs; but it is not possible here to discuss the differences. The present writer will merely describe his own views and the historical assumptions on which they are based. It is assumed that certain European tribes entered Asia Minor across the Dardanelles earlier than 1000 B.C., and spread eastwards and southwards. Gradually the eastern branch called Phryges, or Briges,[1] occupied the country which was called after them Phrygia. We trace their history by scanty references in the ancient historians, by archæological remains, and by inscriptions, the sources being all very inadequate. The Phrygians took possession of a country which already enjoyed a civilization distinctly superior to that of the invaders; but the latter seem to have imposed their language on the country, just as the Gauls did in Galatia, when they conquered it in the 3rd century B.C. The Phrygians, however, like the Gauls, adopted the religion of the country in which they settled, and, though this religion was often called Phrygian, it was really much older than the Phrygian conquest. It represents a prevalent type of religion, which was very widely spread over the countries adjoining the Ægean lands and the south coast of the Black Sea. This widespread type may be called Anatolian, pre-Hellenic, or Pelasgian. It presents close analogies to certain Syrian cults, and the Mosaic Law presupposes the existence of an older cult of the same general type.

[1] On forms and derivatives of the name used in Phrygia see Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, ii. 382, 616.

2. Influence exerted by the Phrygians on the older Anatolian religion.—It must be supposed that the conquering European race exercised some influence over the old religion, but it is not easy to distinguish the elements which belonged to the different peoples. On one point alone comparative certainty can be attained. As mentioned below (§§ 13, 18), the goddess in the older religion was the most important person in the divine family, but in the subsequent history of Phrygia there are many cases in which the god is apparently dominant. There must have occurred a change, and the probability is that this change was due to the natural relation between conquerors and conquered. In war superior force is exercised by the male sex. It is true that, according to legend, the old Anatolian or Phrygian religion used the services of armed priestesses, who were called Amazons, and Greek art delights to picture the conflict between armies of Greek men and Amazons. To the Greek artist this conflict became symbolical of the great conflict between civilization and barbarism, between Europe and Asia, between good and evil. There is no reason to think that Greek soldiers ever came actually into conflict with a force of Amazons, but the explanation of this artistic form must lie in the fact that the Greeks were aware of the existence of such warriors, at least in the past, and that they pictured the European Phrygian conquerors as being in a sense kindred to themselves, at the early time when they were engaged in the war against the Anatolian system with its armed priestesses.

The Phrygian conquest of the country was achieved by men, and they inevitably tended to put a god rather than a goddess in the position of dominance, and to picture the contest as a fight between men and women. Hence in the *Iliad*, iii. 187, Priam alludes to the battles which he had fought as an ally of the Phrygians against the Amazons on the banks of the Sangarios in the heart of the country which was afterwards known as Phrygia. An allusion so early as this cannot be set down as mere legend; it must have some historical basis such as has been described, and it implies also an approximate date. Homer associated this conflict with a comparatively late stage in the history of that city of Troy which was captured and demolished about 1184 B.C. The last king of that city had in early youth taken part in those battles, which implies that the Trojan race was closely akin to the Phrygians, and was allied with them in their conquests towards the east. It is, however, remarkable, and yet perfectly explicable, that the war between Greeks and Trojans in the old age of this last king should have been regarded in the later historical view as a stage of the conflict between Europe and Asia, for mythology is never logical or self-consistent, and the Phrygians are sometimes considered as Europeans fighting against Asiatics,

but at other times, after being settled for generations on the Trojan coast, came to be regarded by Europeans as typical of Asia; and similarly the branch which settled in Phrygia became rapidly identified with their new country, and ranked as an Asiatic stock in their relations with European Greeks. In this, as in almost all similar cases, there is the strongest tendency for the conquering people to adopt, at least in part, the religion of the conquered, because the belief lies deep in human nature that the local gods must be able and powerful to protect or to harm all human beings that are settled in their country (2 K 17^{25-28}). It was therefore necessary for the Phrygian conquerors of Troy and of Phrygia to pay court to the gods of the land, and there is no way of paying court to a deity except by worshipping him as such.

Yet the conquerors, who must have consisted largely of men, generally married the women of the country. But, while they married them, they did not regard them as superior in rank or dignity. They were taking the women of a conquered race, and it was inevitable that they should regard themselves as the superior, conquering caste, who were conferring honour on a certain part of the subject population by marriage.

3. Mysteries in the Phrygian religion.—Now the character of pagan religion always reflects the social and economic circumstances of the people who profess it, and the result appeared in the aspect which was imparted to the religion of this more or less mixed Phrygo-Anatolian race. A god generally appears as the superior and dominant figure, at least in outward show, in the most typical Phrygian cities. The coins are struck in the name of a god at least as often as in that of a goddess, and the foundation legends often speak of a god. On the other hand, in the cities to which the Phrygian domination never spread, or where there is reason to think that it was weaker, the goddess remains the more outstanding and characteristic figure. In all cities alike, however, Phrygian and non-Phrygian, of inner Asia Minor the religion remained fundamentally as it was before. This result was attained through the mysteries (*q.v.*), in which the real character of the religion was displayed to the initiated. The religion was not shown in its entirety to every person; only those who fulfilled certain tests, or performed certain preparatory rites, were admitted to see its true nature. A good example of this fact is revealed in the Phrygian city which is generally called Antioch of Pisidia, and which was one of the great religious centres of Phrygia. On the coins and in the inscriptions the god Mēn Askaēnos is the ruling figure. He appears in them as the hereditary deity (*πάτριος θεός*).[1] Strabo[2] speaks of the two centres of Phrygian religion near Antioch as being seats of the god Mēn, not of any goddess. No form of the native goddess is mentioned by Strabo as known at Antioch; and she appears far less frequently on the coins. One of those two sanctuaries was discovered in 1911. It stands on the top of a mountain, 5000 ft. above the sea and 1300 ft. above the city, from which it is distant about four miles by a steep and difficult path. In and around the great sanctuary there were found numberless dedications to the god Mēn, but not one single dedication to the goddess. There was a small chapel of the goddess in one corner of the great sanctuary, if we may judge from the discovery of several statuettes representing Cybele or Artemis. It is apparent that in outward show, just as Strabo says, the sanctuary was obtrusively and pre-eminently that of the god, while the goddess was relegated to a small chapel in a corner. There were also at least two small temples dedicated to a goddess, one of the Cybele type, and another of the Aphrodite type, outside the sanctuary, on the summit of the same mountain, forming part of a large complex of buildings of various kinds, which composed the Hieron. In none of these small temples was any dedication to the goddess found, but there were statuettes representing her. It is very evident that in outward aspect the Hieron as a whole was characterized to the public as the seat of a god, and that the goddess had quite a secondary place.

On the other hand, when a building which seems to have been the hall of initiation, close to the central and great sanctuary and evidently standing in close relation with it, was excavated, it became apparent that the ceremonies which were there celebrated were the old Phrygian or Anatolian ritual of a goddess, and not the novel ritual of a god, although (*c.* A.D. 300) the throne of a god was added to the scene. Now those rites which were celebrated in the Phrygian mysteries are described by all ancient authorities as the rites of a goddess, viz. of the Phrygian mother—a goddess who was the impersonation of the earth, as the great mother of all life, who gives birth to all things, and receives back to herself all things at death. Demosthenes describes those rites as celebrated mainly by a priestess.[1] The priestess was the chief figure in the ritual, while a man was the assistant of the priestess. The man acted as the teacher of the ritual; he recited from the books the words of the sacred formulæ; he helped those who were being initiated to go through the ritual; he taught them the proper words to use, and showed them how to perform the rites in orderly succession.

In the Hellenic religion, which developed through various external and internal influences out of the pre-Hellenic, Pelasgian, or Anatolian type, many cases are observable in which a prophetic centre was apparently under the presidency of a god, and the prophecy appeared as the expression of his soul or his knowledge. This is especially the case with the god Apollo, a purely Hellenic idea, in whom the highest tendencies of Hellenism were manifested to the world. To take two great centres of Apolline teaching, Klaros on the Asiatic side of the Ægean and Delphi on the European side—at Klaros we know that mysteries were celebrated, and even the scanty allusions to their ritual show that they were fundamentally of the Phrygian or Anatolian type;[2] at Delphi, as Æschylus expressly says,[3] the deity who presided was originally the earth-goddess; she was succeeded by Themis, who is merely a moralized expression of the same divine idea; only in the third place did Apollo come in to replace the successive goddess-ideals in the presidency of this prophetic centre; a woman was always the medium through whom he expressed himself; and in popular statement this prophetess Pythia is mentioned as the source of revelation almost as frequently as 'the god' himself.

4. God and priest.—In the rite which Demosthenes describes[4] the man acting as priest was the director of the ritual, while the woman as priestess was the centre and head of the religion; and all the evidence, scanty though it be, tends to show

[1] M. M. Hardie (Mrs. Hasluck), in *JHS* xxxi. [1912] 111 f.; J. G. C. Anderson, *JRS* iii. [1913] 68 f.; Ramsay, in *BSA* xviii. 3 xii. 557, 577.

[1] The description is given by Demosthenes, *de Corona*, 259 f., where he inveighs against Æschines. The mother of Æschines was a wandering priestess of the Phrygian goddess, who carried the rites about Attica, and the son acted as her assistant and ministering priest.

[2] Makridi, in *Wiener Jahreshefte*, 1905, p. 155 f., 1912, p. 86 f.; also *BCH*, 1906, p. 349, 1915, p. 33 f.

[3] *Eum.* 1 ff.

[4] G. Foucart, *Assoc. rel. chez les Grecs*, p. 67.

Library
PACIFIC BIBLE SEMINARY
1836 EAST ANAHEIM STREET

that this is one instance of a general principle. The god is represented by the priest in this religion; he teaches mankind what are the proper rites and words with which they should approach the divine power. The god was himself the first priest, and all subsequent priests are considered as successively taking his place, wearing his dress, bearing his name, and filling his part in the religion. In a sense it is true to say that the goddess is the chief figure. It is she who is the source of all life and the giver of all good things to mankind, while the god is a sort of accident in her life. But this is not the whole truth. The god is in practice the most important figure in the natural relations between the deity and human beings, because he shows, partly by example and partly by teaching, the ritual through which alone man can appeal to the goddess, who is the ultimate embodiment of the divine power. It was therefore quite easy to lay emphasis on the functions of the god, without really altering the character or ritual of the religion. The divine life was in a sense a reflexion of the life of society, or, rather, a model for human life.

Further, this human life was not regarded simply as the relation between individuals or as the picture of a single family. The family is regarded in the religion as the unit in the social organism; and the divine life, as shown in the relations of the god and the goddess, sets forth for the good of men the foundation on which society rests, viz. the mystic marriage of the god and the goddess as the symbol and pattern of earthly marriage. The gods in their mutual relation form the model which human life in society must reproduce. The gods have taught men, and are always teaching men, what they ought to do in their relations to one another and to the deity.

5. The holy marriage.—The theory has been advanced, and seems to the present writer fundamental in the subject, that the holy marriage as celebrated in the mysteries was intended to convey the full teaching about the perfect completion of human life; and the marriage ceremony of the old Phrygian or Anatolian religion consisted in the performance by the pair who were married on earth of precisely the same ceremony as took place at the holy marriage in the mysteries. There is also good reason to think that the marriage ceremony was performed at the sanctuary. One of the rites was that the pair drank from a common cup, and this rite passed into the Greek ceremony of marriage as it is still celebrated down to the present day under Christian forms. At the common meal which formed part of the religious ceremonial constituting the bond to hold together any association in ancient life the crowning rite consisted in drinking from the common cup, and the same was the case in the celebration of the mysteries. Each *μύστης* had in turn to say, 'I have drunk from the holy vessel' (*κύμβαλον*). But in the celebration of the marriage it was only the married pair who drank from the same cup; they alone were united in this social bond; all others present at the marriage feast drank from their own separate cups. Such was the character of the ceremony which was performed in Athens on the second day of the Anthesteria. At that festival the marriage of Dionysos was celebrated, and the fact that all the celebrants drank from separate cups on this occasion marked out the ceremony so distinctively that the name 'Cups' was given to the second day of the festival. Seen from this point of view, the mysteries presented a picture of the nature of civilized society and a contrast between the rude savagery of human life without the divine guidance and the higher civilization which came through that divine example. One of the formulæ that were repeated in the mysteries by the person who was being initiated consisted of four words: 'I escaped evil; I found better.'[1] It is mentioned that the same formula was repeated as part of the ritual of marriage in Athens, and the divine marriage must be taken to be typical of the old form surviving from pre-Hellenic times. The identity of the formula in the two cases implies the marked similarity of the ritual in both.

6. Two stages in the mystic initiation.—Judging from the arrangements of the Hall of Mysteries at Pisidian Antioch, where was an old, wealthy, and powerful religious centre, there seem to have been two stages in the mystic ritual (just as there were at Eleusis).[2] But there is no reason to think that the two stages were celebrated at different seasons (as at Eleusis); on the contrary, they seem to have succeeded one another practically without any interval. The first stage was called initiation (*μύησις*); the second stage was called by a name as yet unknown, but the verb denoting the act was *ἐμβατεύειν*, 'to enter' or 'to set foot upon,' and the idea expressed in this stage of the ritual seems to have been the entrance on a new life; possibly the noun *ἐμβάτευσις* may have been a technical term; but no term has as yet been discovered in actual use. The phrase used in the inscriptions at the temple at Klaros near Colophon (where similar mysteries were celebrated) is 'those who had been initiated entered on' (the new stage), and it is certain that at Klaros the stages followed immediately after one another. Those mysteries might be celebrated at any season, like a church service, and were not restricted to a single occasion in the year.[3] Similarly at Antioch the arrangements of the hall seem to imply that the *μύστης* passed through the first stage on one side of the hall, and thereafter entered through a sort of gateway in the middle of the hall after purification into the immediate presence of the god, and then began a new series of rites before the throne on which the god was supposed to be sitting; but we may imagine that the high-priest sat on the throne which is dedicated to the god by an inscription of late date. The rites described by Demosthenes took place probably as the first moment of the ritual in this second stage before the face of the god. In the first stage there had taken place an act which is described as the 'reception of the mystic things and words,' and the *μύστης* who had passed through this first stage (*παραλαβὼν τὰ μυστήρια*) immediately was free to enter into the presence of the god, and pass through the second stage of the ritual. The ceremonial of the higher grade symbolized the approach of man to the presence of the god, and its subject was the identification of the initiated person with the god, and the promise was probably given to him in the ritual words, 'Happy and blessed, thou shalt be god instead of mortal.'[4] This identification of the human being with the divine life is the proper goal of human life. That goal was attained at death, as is shown in many epitaphs, for the dead man returns to the mother who bore him. But the same goal was attained as the result and perfection of the initiatory ritual. In the mystic rites at Antioch the culmination lay in the enactment of the perfect scene of human life—the fundamental rite on which society rests, viz. the mystic marriage of the god and the

[1] *ἔφυγον κακόν· εὗρον ἄμεινον.* The same formula was used in the marriage ritual (see § 8).

[2] See Ramsay, in *BSA* xviii. 37 ff., and *HDB* v. 127ᵃ, 129ᵇ.

[3] Envoys sent by cities and States were initiated, evidently at a special service for their convenience. They usually brought a chorus with them (Ramsay, *The Teaching of Paul*, p. 289).

[4] *θεὸς ἔσσεαι ἀντὶ βροτοιο*, known only in the so-called Orphic funeral formulæ (most recently in J. E. Harrison's *Prolegomena*, Cambridge, Appendix); we take them to be closely connected with the mysteries.

goddess as the warrant and guarantee of earthly marriage.[1]

7. The choice between good and evil.—The question presents itself whether the two stages of the divine life were shown in the mysteries as two steps in a development from the worse to the better or in the form of a choice between good and evil. If the answer to this question could be made with certainty in favour of the former opinion, it would be extremely important; but there is no positive evidence to support that view; and all analogy is distinctly in favour of the other opinion, that there was simply presented in the religious ritual a choice between two alternatives, one good, the other evil. Such a choice is frequently presented in ancient religion and in ancient moral teaching. It appears in advanced Hellenic literature in the form of the *Choice of Heracles*; but that is only a literary apologue, elaborating in moral form a choice which, according to religion, is always being presented to mankind. In this religious choice there is not merely a presentation of the alternatives; there is also always the advice and counsel given by the gods to men to prefer good rather than evil and life rather than death. A fundamental idea in the religion is that good and life are aspects or names of one fact, and similarly evil and death of the opposite. The probability therefore is that in the drama of the mysteries the gods of the divine family are represented as choosing between the two courses—good and evil, or life and death—and that the divine choice is the model for human nature to follow. Accordingly, the formula which we have rendered, 'I escaped evil; I found better,' which seems to suggest in that translation the idea of development, is more correctly to be rendered, 'I rejected or avoided evil; I found better,' so as to suggest that the formula is an expression of choice between alternatives both equally open at the same time. Further, the formula is certainly an example of parataxis and really implies, 'I rejected the evil, because the opportunity of better was presented to me.' The idea that men are always placed in a position to choose between good or life and evil or death, and that religion exemplifies and teaches the preference of life rather than death, lies at the basis of the Anatolian religion, which in all departments of conduct shows men what they should do, in agriculture, in household economy, in hygiene, etc. So it is the basis of the Hebrew teaching, 'The fear of Jehovah is the chief part of knowledge; but the foolish despise wisdom and instruction' (Pr 1^7 9^{10} 15^{33}, Ps 111^{10}, Ec 12^{13}); Moses said to the people, 'I have set before thee life and good, and death and evil, the blessing and the curse; choose life' (Dt $30^{15.\ 19}$): and the same is expressed in the beginning of human history (Gn 2 and 3), for in the garden that was in the land of Eden there were two trees, the tree of life and the tree of knowledge (which immediately produced death); the instruction given to the man and the woman who lived in the garden was that they must not eat the fruit of the tree of death; but after they did so they were sent forth from the garden, lest they should have access to the tree of life and eat and live, and the angel with the flame of a sword was placed on guard to prevent approach to the tree of life. In this account we have the expression in primitive thought of the idea that from the beginning of human existence the choice between good or life and evil or death has constantly been presented to mankind, and the divine advice has always been given in the most positive form of absolute prohibition, to avoid the act which will 'bring death into the world.'

If the point of view taken in this article is correct, there would probably be presented to the *μύστης* in the first stage of the mystic ritual the choice between good and evil, and, when he chose rightly and in the proper mystic words, he was admitted on the second stage.

8. The divine teaching.—The 'holy marriage' of goddess and god is only one example of the general principle that the gods are always teaching and advising men what to do and how to behave. There was indeed no formal teaching in the way of discourse or theoretical instruction. There was only (1) the teaching by example in the divinely instituted ritual, and (2) the occasional advice by signs and omens, chiefly those seen in the air, which needed interpretation and application to the individual case. The theoretical basis of the ritual is expressed, *e.g.*, in a relief found in E. Lydia on the Phrygian frontier. This relief is arranged in two zones; in the upper zone the god is represented as performing on an altar the same act of ritual as the priest is performing on an altar in the lower zone.[1] Every act of religion on earth has its counterpart in the performance of the same rite on a higher level in the divine life; and so the marriage celebrated on earth between the man and the woman has its counterpart in the marriage that is always taking place above between the god and the goddess. The teaching lies in the example and model which the divine powers set forth to all their worshippers. But earthly marriage is not merely a relationship between two human beings; it is a rite which concerns the entire society to which they belong. On this rite and on the family relationship organized society is built up. The unit of civilized society is not the individual, but the family. Accordingly we find it recorded that, according to Greek religion, the married pair celebrate the sacred marriage in honour of the god and goddess.

9. Relation of the conquerors to the ancient priesthood.—We have no information about this relation in the case of the old Phrygian conquerors, and we can only speculate with regard to it from the analogy of two later cases. (1) When the Gauls conquered and settled in that part of the old Phrygian country which afterwards was called Galatia, they soon adopted the religion of the country which they had won. Not merely was it necessary for them (as stated above) to worship the gods of the country where they now dwelt; they had also to face the problem of governing the people whom they had conquered. They could not and did not try to exterminate an entire race; all that they could do was to take a portion of the land for themselves, and to employ the conquered race as a subject caste which should till the land for the new owners of the great estates. The conquering caste, then, must govern the subject population according to some method or other. With the ancient views about religion and its fundamental importance as the governing principle in any organized society, the method of governing must be through the use of the already existing forms of religion. Hitherto the priests of the great religious centres had been the rulers of the god's land. The simple and easy way for the Gauls to rule the old inhabitants was to become the priests, and to fulfil the same religious forms and duties as the Phrygian priests had fulfilled. We know from an inscription that at Pessinus the conquering Gauls took only half the places in the priestly college. What was the exact situation at other great religious centres is unknown, but this may be taken as exemplifying the general principle. The chiefs of the new conquering caste allied themselves with, or even wholly displaced, the priests of the old colleges and centres; in con-

[1] *BSA* xviii. 37 *f.*

[1] Ramsay, *Letters to the Seven Churches*, p. 63.

junction with or instead of the ancient ruling priestly families, they administered the government of the mass of the population.[1]

(2) When the emperor Augustus, by the will of the deceased Amyntas, last king of Galatia, came into possession of Pisidian Antioch and the whole territory attached to it, he put an end to the old ruling dynasty or families, in which the priesthood was hereditary, and himself became owner of all the land of the god. His procurator, who represented him in the district and managed his interests for him, was priest in his place, and therefore lord over the cultivators of the estate. This lordship over the cultivators was not applicable to the free citizens of the Græco-Roman cities, and in this way a highly complicated situation arose, according to which the priest-procurator was in the city only an official of the emperor, while on the estates he was the embodiment in human form of the distant god-emperor. Something of the same kind must have existed under the Greek kings in many parts of W. Asia. Those kings were identified with the god, and regarded as the embodiment in human form of the god on earth. This convenient religious fiction was utilized practically as a means of governing the country. It gave to the god-king or the god-emperor the sanction of religious awe, and this obedience to the emperor took the place of loyalty to the empire. The same fiction was widely practised throughout the Græco-Roman world; but we know more about the details only in the case of the Roman empire, because the evidence is clear that in every district and in every city of the Eastern world the emperor was supposed in the cult to be identified with the chief god of the district, and even free citizens, though not actually the serfs on the soil of such estates, yet regarded the emperor as the present god, on whose power they were dependent for defence, and to whom they owed the peace and prosperity of the whole empire. In the 4th cent. those formerly free cultivators became real serfs, because the law regarded the owner of the soil as having a right to their labour.

The same principle that underlies these later historical cases may be applied to the Phrygian conquest of the old Anatolian population of the country which afterwards was called Phrygia; but the details are not yet discovered.

10. **Varying accounts of the character of the mystic ritual.**—In the fact that the mystic ritual presents a choice and a contrast between good and evil, between violence and order, and that it places human life under the guidance of religion, lies the explanation of some serious difficulties which are presented by the records about the mysteries. Christian writers describe them as presenting a series of incidents of violence, deceit, and horror. The question has been much debated whether this account is correct. The answer would seem to be that it is perfectly correct so far as it goes, but it was not the object of the Christian writers to give a complete picture of the mysteries or to inquire into the possible truths and ideas that might be suggested by those rites. Their method was simply to show that from the contemplation of such hideous incidents presented in the form of a sort of drama there must result evil to those who contemplated the spectacle. Their object was to contrast the horrors and abominations which were presented to the initiated with the order, simplicity, and beauty of the Christian ceremony. It must always be remembered that they were replying to the misrepresentations of their own ritual which were current among their opponents, and their purpose was to paint in lurid but necessarily true colours the hateful character of the pagan ritual and the evils that must result from it, while they maintained and described the beauty and purity of their own ritual. They were not antiquaries; it was sufficient for them to point to the horrors which formed a real part of that ritual. False statement or even exaggeration would have been fatal to their purpose. We must therefore accept as correct all the details in the picture that they give, remembering that that picture needs to be looked at from a certain point of view; and we must also remember that the mysteries were intended to exhibit the placing of human life on a higher level through the influence of religion and the example set in the divine life. The use of the formula, 'I escaped evil; I found better' (§§ 5, 8), proves beyond dispute that some such idea formed the fundamental truth underlying the religion presented in the mysteries, and the further fact that the same formula was repeated in the marriage ceremony proves also that the social 'better' which those who chose in accordance with the divine precept found lay in the institution of true marriage. These facts make it clear that we can and ought to accept as true also the opinions expressed by Plato and Isocrates and other Greek philosophers and thinkers that the mysteries shown at Eleusis were an educative and elevating influence in life; and, if it is true, as we must also admit, that part of the ritual of the mysteries was of extremely repulsive character, it follows inevitably that a strong contrast (or even possibly a process of development) in moral and social relations formed the real subject of the mystic ceremony. Thus in one stage of the mysteries the birth of the godson (or daughter, as the case might be) originated from an act of violence and fraud, and in the other stage the holy marriage was set forth as the rule and basis of society. In both cases the scene was fully presented to the eyes of the initiated; and the details of violence or fraud, as enacted in the divine drama of life, furnished full justification for the attack of Christian assailants; but the apology was that religion should speak straight out, concealing nothing, and that it shows the naked truth to devout eyes. In the process of degeneration to which the Anatolian religion was exposed the ugliest and most repellent parts of the mystery were emphasized and made more prominent. The effect was seen in respect of both sexes. The devout, both women and men, felt bound to live the life of the goddess and the god in every act and every detail. Hence originated the custom of ritual prostitution, in which women voluntarily imitated the fate of the goddess; and this custom was carried out in a series of ingenious perversions and developments which constitute the most abominable and socially degrading side of the Anatolian religion. Similar in origin, and carried out with the same ingenious perversion, was the strange and remarkable rite of self-mutilation among men, which constituted the supreme sign of devotion to the goddess, and which was performed from time to time by devotees at, or even standing upon, her altar. In modern time certain sects of dervishes practise extraordinary rites of mutilation or of personal wounds, which seem to be perhaps an expression of the extremest asceticism (though it is difficult to make any assertion with regard to the original nature of their ritual of self-devotion). But the Phrygian rite seems clearly to stand in close relation to a common part of their economic ritual. It was known that mutilation was prescribed in the divine ritual as a necessary part of the treatment of domesticated animals, and that involuntary self-mutilation also formed a noteworthy fact in the life of the bee; and there were doubtless other analogies,[1] some well-founded and

[1] *HDB* ii. 83[b] note.

[1] *HDB* v. 116[a], 128.

some purely fanciful, which seemed to establish the divine origin and character of the rite, so that the devotee who consecrated himself to the observance in the most perfect degree of the religion of the land practised this extremest act on himself, knowing that the god had set the example (as the *ἱερὸς λόγος* declares) by performing it on himself and thus consecrating it for his human followers.

11. Other examples of the analogy between the divine life as shown in the mysteries and human life.—It would also appear that the purificatory ceremonies which formed part of the mysteries were practically identical with some of the marriage rites, and this identity further confirms the close similarity between the rites in the two cases.

A formula which was uttered by the initiated person at a certain stage in the ritual of the mysteries was, 'A kid I have fallen into the milk.'[1] It is generally recognized that the kid is the mystic form of Dionysos as the god-son in the divine nature. In these words the *μύστης* expressed the same meaning as the goddess of the world of death uttered to the dead when they came before her already initiated and pure, 'Thou hast become god instead of mortal.' In both the idea is that death is the entrance on life. The initiated dead come back to the goddess from whom they originated. Life comes from her and death also, and the two facts of life and death are different aspects of one idea. The formula about the kid declares that the initiated person has assumed the divine form as Dionysos. Each *μύστης* in death is merged in, or finds his perfection and completion in, the personality of the god with whom he is identified.[2] The formula under discussion evidently belongs to the religion of a pastoral people, and places us on the great central plain of Phrygia and Lycaonia, where a god called Zeus Galaktinos or Galaktios is mentioned in inscriptions. The variation in the form of the adjective and its non-Greek character show that it is an attempt to express in Greek an epithet of the god which had the same meaning in the Phrygian or Anatolian ritual. We are reminded of the instruction which was three times impressed upon the Israelites in the Mosaic Law, 'Thou shalt not seethe a kid in his mother's milk.' Comparing the two expressions, we must infer that W. Robertson Smith's suggested explanation of the Hebrew commandment is correct. This commandment has formed the subject of much controversy, and Robertson Smith[3] interpreted it as forbidding the performance by the Hebrews of a rite which belonged to a forbidden religion. J. G. Frazer[4] objects that there is no proof of the existence of any such rite, but the formula now under discussion, as taken from the mysteries, seems to allude to symbolism derived from a rite of this kind. The *μύστης* is now Dionysos; he becomes a god through entering the gate of death, and symbolically in pastoral religion the death is expressed in this form of words; and the words were the prelude to a rite having the religious form which is forbidden by the Mosaic Law. The rite of the kid goes back to a pastoral religion, which has been united in the fully formed mysteries with an agricultural religion.

12. Progressive assimilation of mysteries through the Græco-Roman world.—By the Christian apologists the mysteries are generally described as practically a single uniform institution at all mystic seats. Now there can be no doubt that the mysteries as celebrated in different regions were originally distinct and showed different rites, although there was a generic similarity. The Eleusinian mysteries were originally different in character from the Phrygian, for the Eleusinian mysteries were the drama of a purely agricultural religion, whereas the Phrygian were not. It has therefore been maintained that the Christian writers who neglect this difference are really misrepresenting the character of this religious institution by mixing up in a single picture details which belong to diverse religions. But the objection is not valid, for there was a marked tendency in the history of Greek and Græco-Asiatic religions to assimilate to each other the various mysteries; and the assimilation was effected by incorporating in each ceremonies and rites taken from the others. Thus the picture presented by the Christian apologists must be accepted as reasonably accurate in details, though incomplete. On this there is agreement.

13. The ultimate supreme deity and the mediator.—The goddess was the fountain and source of human life. The principles on which that life must be lived emanated from her. The god is instrumental in making those principles known to men; they are made known in practice, not theoretically. The god does what he teaches; he is the worker who by his toil shows principles in operation. This idea, that there is an intermediary in carrying the knowledge of divine truth to the world of men, appears in many forms which are in the last resort almost identical expressions of the same fact. There is a supreme divine power, the source of all truth and all good, and there is an intermediary divine power; and these two divine personages are in the Phrygian religion conceived usually as the goddess who is the mother and the god who is her son or priest or paramour or companion; in these various ways of expressing the relation lay the seeds of much evil in the divine drama as presented in the mysteries. Yet these envisagements as female and male are not universal in early Anatolian or Greek religion. In the first place, as we have already shown, the goddess is often displaced, at least in outward show, by a male embodiment; in this case the two personages are the supreme god and an assistant or ministering god. When names were given to these embodiments of the divine power, the most characteristic were Zeus and Hermes. The embodiment in two persons was necessary to the complete presentation of the divine action (as, *e.g.*, in the striking story recorded in Ac 14^{7-15}). It has already been explained (§ 2) how the variation between the presentation of the supreme divine power as male and as female is to be explained. In the second place, while the ministering god is almost invariably presented as male and especially under the name Hermes, there is one striking exception in the *Iliad*, where for certain purposes the goddess Iris is presented as the messenger of the father of the gods. Iris—the rainbow—seemed in certain points of view to be the line of communication by which divine truth was introduced to the world, and this thought is elaborated into the picture of Iris in the *Iliad* (though never in the *Odyssey*). A similar thought appears in the book of Genesis, where the bow is set in the cloud as a symbol of the covenant which is concluded between the supreme God and His people.

14. The ritual expressed the self-protecting instinct of collective society.—The ancient Anatolian religion originated from the self-defending and self-protecting instinct in early society. The instinct and tendency expressed itself through the voice of prophets, and assumed the form of a series

[1] The formula occurs several times on gold tablets found in graves of Italy and Crete, which stand in close relation to the Orphic mysteries; see App. to J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena*, and bibliography there.

[2] This conception of the nature of death is more fully treated below.

[3] *OTJC*, p. 438, *Religion of the Semites*[2], London, 1894, p. 221.

[4] *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor*, Oxford, 1907, p. 154.

of regulations for the better organization and management of society, mainly in its economic aspect. But it is useless to make rules for an ignorant people, unless there is some powerful sanction for these rules enforcing their observance by the dread of punishment. The rules, therefore, being the expression of the divine interest in the welfare of human society, took the form of religious law; and they were obeyed because the power of the goddess was offended by violation and ready to punish it. Thus, *e.g.*, it is urgently necessary for the welfare of a primitive society, which practises agriculture and lives by its results, that proper times and seasons and methods should be strictly observed. It is not, however, safe to expect that a simple and uneducated population, which is only learning the importance of these things by experience, will observe strictly the rules of sound method; men are lazy, slow to learn, and ready to procrastinate; but, when the rules are embodied in the form of a ritual by which divine protection and help are to be gained, then they enforce themselves, for violation brings punishment by suffering. The gods live in the life of nature; the times and seasons are crises in that life, and the due observance of the ritual brings its reward in the gifts which the gods are always tendering to the use of man. Similarly in respect of domestic economy, or the wise conduct of the family life, or the proper management of domesticated animals, all the rules come from the divine power and are enforced by that power because they are expressed as the ritual or religion. To go into this in detail is impossible here, for it requires elaborate treatment, and it depends on only scanty evidence. It remains really the simple orderly statement of the facts so far as known, but yet only a hypothesis.

In a region where agriculture is the main business of the population the religion is agricultural, and the episodes in the divine life as exhibited in the ritual are the stages in the farmer's year.

So, *e.g.*, 'Demeter, that bright goddess, lay in loving union with the hero Iasios in a thrice-ploughed fallow-field in the fertile land of Crete, and bare goodly Ploutos' (Hesiod, *Theog.* 968 *f.*; *Odyssey*, v. 125 *f.*).[1]

The marriage of the goddess-mother to the heroized envisagement of the race takes place in the rich field newly opened after long preparation, and her son is Wealth. The rule of times and conduct, as fixed by divine power and revealed in practice to men by the god as priest and head of the ritual, brings in orderly course prosperity, happiness, and life; but, if violated or neglected, it causes suffering and death.

Similarly in a country where flocks and herds constituted the chief source of livelihood the religion was pastoral and the god was the god of milk, who granted the produce on which the life of the people depended. As it happens, we have practically no records of this type of religion, with the exception of the titles 'Galaktios' and 'Galaktinos' applied to the supreme deity. A pastoral people is, as a rule, rude and uneducated, and there therefore remain hardly any memorials of their ritual or even of their life. It is, however, certain that the great plains around the salt lake Tatta were always a pastoral country, in which, *e.g.*, Amyntas, the last king of Galatia, possessed more than 300 flocks.[2] There can be no doubt that these flocks were very large, as we may judge from the immense size of some of the flocks which shepherds lead about over the plains at the present day. We can understand how the principles of attending to the welfare of domesticated animals were consecrated in a series of rites fixed according to the seasons of the year.[1]

The sacred character of useful domesticated animals was a device for the benefit of men, and it seems probable that the arts of domestication of animals may have in some degree originated on the great Anatolian plateau,[2] where conditions are exceedingly favourable, and where indubitably a high degree of skill was reached. Valuable breeds were artificially produced by intelligent cross-breeding. Of these the Angora goat still survives, and the secret of its breeding is carefully treasured and concealed. The present writer is unable to accept the view advocated by some distinguished German writers that the Angora goat was introduced from Central Asia and is a naturally distinct species. There is some authority for believing that the secret of preserving the fine character of the wool of the Angora goat lies in a system of breeding. Strabo mentions other fine breeds—*e.g.*, the Colossian sheep with its glossy violet-coloured fleece, and the glossy black-fleeced sheep of Laodicea. These have entirely disappeared, and the reason is that the breeds, being artificial, were through carelessness and ignorance allowed to degenerate.[3]

The worship of the Ephesian goddess Artemis seems to have been closely related to the practice of bee-keeping. The goddess was the queen bee, and it is noteworthy that in the religion of Anatolia the sex of this supreme official among the bees was correctly known, and its life-history was properly understood, whereas Aristotle and the Greeks generally thought that the queen bee was a male and called it *ἐσσήν* or *βασιλεύς*. The image of the goddess has only the slightest resemblance to a human body, but in outline is roughly similar to the body of a bee. As the queen bee she is indicated literally as the great mother of all life in the community. The facts of nature pointed out the queen bee as the natural analogue to the goddess. She is attended by a body who are called Essenes, bearing the same name as the male bees or drones who do no work, while another body of her followers are the Melissæ, the female working bees, in whom the sexual character is undeveloped. These two bodies of followers, the male and the female, constitute the priests and priestesses of the goddess.[4]

An example of the self-protective character of the religious law which ruled the conduct of primitive Anatolian society is found in the conduct of social life. The idea is that the divine power must be localized at each point where the safety of the family or of society is involved. In the construction of the house, where a pillar or column is an important structural member, it is regarded as sacred and as a home of the divine power, in order to impress on all persons the respect with which it must be treated; and this sacredness leads to the institution of a ritual by which the religious awe is impressed on all minds.[5] The roads which led from town to town were placed under divine protection by sacred pillars (in which the divine power finds its home) along their course. These stones were sometimes made useful to human needs as measures of distance, and thus became mile-stones. Under the Roman empire mile-stones were dedicated to the god-emperor. In modern Mediterranean countries the shrines of Christian character which are found at important points,

[1] The statement is identical in the two poets, which shows that it expresses the religious myth (*ἱερὸς λόγος*). Hesiod alone specifies Crete, Homer alone the resulting death of Iasion (Iasios). The latter fact is essential in the *ἱερὸς λόγος*.

[2] Strabo, xii. 6, p. 568.

[1] Ramsay, *Impressions of Turkey*, London, 1897, p. 272 *f.*

[2] Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i. p. xv.

[3] On this subject see Ramsay, *Impressions of Turkey* p. 272 *ff.*

[4] *HDB* v. 117[a].

[5] The male bee perishes after consorting with her, like Iasion

especially at meeting-places of roads, originated in this feeling that the divine guardianship has to be impressed upon all persons at all important points in social life. In the city the streets are similarly placed under the same protection, and, as the number of the people who pass along the streets by day and by night is very much greater, the symbols (usually Hermæ) of the presence of the divine power are very much more frequent. The permanence and health of society depend largely on the safety and cleanliness of the streets, and these purposes are ensured by the presence of so many pillars or altars or representations of a god. In the presence of God cleanliness and purity are exacted. No one is free to come into the presence of God unless he is pure both physically and morally. By insisting upon requirements like these the salvation and health of society were attained. The clearest and most explicit declaration of this principle is contained in the Mosaic Law (see Dt 23^{14}): 'Jehovah thy God walketh in the midst of thy camp, to deliver thee, and to give up thine enemies before thee; therefore shall thy camp be holy, that he may not see an unclean thing in thee, and turn away from thee.'

When the right conduct of people in society was hindered by some catastrophe or some serious change in external conditions, then serious dangers resulted. At the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, *e.g.*, the entire population of Attica was crowded within the walls of Athens. There was not room for them to live according to religious law and custom. The ordinary rules of life were inevitably neglected. The presence of the god could not prove a sufficient restraint, and the result was speedily evident in a terrible plague through which (as popular religion believed) the divine power punished the violation of the laws which God had laid down for human conduct.

The religion of the Phrygians, therefore, must be regarded as springing from a simple enough type of religious feeling which was widely spread throughout the Ægean lands and the great peninsula of Asia Minor. This religion shows marked similarity to certain cults which are characteristic of Syria, and some of the best illustrations expressed in brief and clear terms are found in the Mosaic Law. The sacred Law of the Hebrews evidently was adapted to a state of society similar in certain ways to the social conditions implied in the Anatolian religion. This religion in its original character was one of ideas rather than of ritual; that is to say, we can envisage it at a stage early enough to see the ideas which are expressed in the ritual. All of this religion is in origin an expression of ideas and principles designed for man's good.

15. The religion of organized society and the family religion.—Obviously the religion of the mysteries is a religion of an organized society adapted to the conservation of social welfare by enforcing upon all members of the social organism such conduct as is to the benefit of the entire society to which they belong. The individual and even the family are secondary to the society. But behind and beneath this there lies another stratum of religion on which the life of the family is founded. In religion of that older type the guiding principle was not to subordinate the interest of the family to that of the social organism: it was directed to the purpose of conserving the family as an organism complete in itself; the family must not be suffered to come to an end; in life the father works for the sake of the children, in order that they may continue as a family; after death he is still able to aid in conserving it through the right conduct of survivors. In this primitive religion there is no thought of or provision about work for the purely selfish advantage of the individual. Work is done for certain ideals, not perhaps understood clearly by the individual worker, but impressed upon him by some guiding power. So far as an individual looks merely to selfish advantage, he is not driven to work for the distant future benefit of children or children's children. But religion impresses upon him the importance of the family and the duty of working for it, and moulds his mind into conformity with this salutary purpose; and, while his intellect does not fully grasp the principle, yet his natural emotions lead him to guard and work for his children, at least while they are young. With these two motives in co-operation, an immensely strong force is brought to work on the conduct of the individual. Religious custom in the Ægean lands was in its origin the wise guidance of nature.

16. Family cult of the dead members.—The way in which religion guarded the permanence of the family was through the idea that the living members have much to gain from, and serious duties to fulfil towards, the other members of the family who have died. The dead ancestor or parent continues to live as a deity. He is strong to help his family so long as his family give him strength to help them. It is in the mutual relation of each party to the other that the strength of both lies. The dead help the living, provided that the living help the dead. God helps man, but man must co-operate with God. In the modern superstition of Asia Minor, as it appears under Turkish forms, the divine influence which expressed itself at many places all over the land is called 'ancestor' or 'father' (Turkish *dede*), in so far as it is associated with any personality at all. There is no other word in the colloquial language of the uneducated peasant to express his recognition of a vague divine power except this term taken from the family religion. The idea is primitive and fundamental; the dead man becomes god, going back to the goddess-mother who bore him. This idea might develop, and in some minds did develop, along the line of an Oriental pantheism—that the dead is merged in the impersonal divine power; but the typical development was in W. Asia and Greece—that the dead becomes a god, personal and individual.

In the later stratum of the Phrygian religion as a device of social organization there is effected a sort of identification of the family ancestor and god with the god who guards and preserves society. In that later stage or stratum of religion names for the gods came into existence (as Herodotus relates),[1] and the possession of a name indicates growth in the personality of the divine conception, which begins by being simply 'the god,' 'the goddess,' 'the mother,' or 'the father,' and develops into a personal conception moulded only too closely on human personality. The divine prototype in heaven is similar to the human antitype on earth.

Epitaphs belonging to the Roman period give some information about the fashion in which the ordinary uneducated or slightly educated peasantry of Anatolia conceived the relation between the living man and the dead man who has become god. The making of the tomb to a dead person is at the same time the discharge of a vow to the god. The dedication to the dead person is also a dedication to a certain envisagement of the divine nature, whether indefinitely as 'the god' or anthropomorphically as a divine person possessing an individual name and character and local relations. Since the dead person is regarded as identified with the god, he or she is so described in some epitaphs.

[1] At first the Pelasgians had no names for the gods; most of the names came from Egypt, and the oracle ordered the Pelasgians to use them (Herod. ii. 52).

The dead is the god, and the grave-stone is the altar on which this god is worshipped.[1]

It is a custom which has persisted throughout every period of Anatolian history and under every religious external form that it requires a grave to impart consecration to a shrine or a locality. This idea is as powerful still under Muhammadan influence as it was in the earliest traceable period of Anatolian history. There are throughout the country innumerable localities which are at present regarded as sacred, sometimes because they are seats of ancient society and sites of dead cities, sometimes as being places where the divine power manifests itself in some striking natural phenomenon. In almost all those places there is a grave of some *dede*, or ancestor, and a sort of worship is maintained in irregular fashion at the shrine. People seek here the cure of diseases and make vows and prayers, and tie a rag from their own clothing on a tree. The sufferer and the unfortunate come here for help. Those who are healthy and prosperous do not need to have recourse to such a way of invoking the divine help and protection. The whole custom is antipathetic to the spirit and the teaching of Muhammadanism, but it rules the conduct of the people, as an imperishable survival of an old religious view, engrained in the popular mind. It is evident that in the earliest Phrygian religion a grave was the means of ensuring the divine presence at a particular spot.[2] The shrine of a deity was also marked by a grave, and thus shared in the awe arising from both the older and the more developed type of religion. Wherever there was a need for consecration, so that a certain locality should be preserved for general safety or advantage, a grave intimated the presence of a god and warned off violators or intruders. This custom stands evidently in close relation to the worship of ancestors and to the family religion. It is a device to extend the protection of the deified ancestor beyond the circle of the family for the benefit of others.

17. Two strata in the Anatolian religion.—We must therefore regard the Anatolian religion as having come into existence in two different periods from two different causes. The older stratum is the family religion, *i.e.* a certain group of rites holding the family together in the performance of common religious duties; for, according to ancient religious ideas, no unity and no social body could have a common existence except through the performance in common of certain religious duties. The later stratum was the religion of an organized society, knit together for the common advantage.

18. The divine power as the mother.—In both the older and the later stratum the conception of the existence of the gods as a divine family having certain relations with each other necessarily existed. Especially the conception of the goddess as the mother lay at the basis of the family religion. While it is evident that there was a certain growth in the conception of the divine family between the older and the later religious stratum, it is not easy to distinguish the elements which belong to each period; but in the beginning the goddess-mother must have been the principal figure, for the family exists in virtue of the mother. In old Anatolian custom, as is agreed by the great majority of scholars, the human family kept its continuity through the idea that the influence of the mother was the determining power. To this old custom the name 'matriarchate' is commonly applied in English, but the name is not correct, and the German term *Mutterrecht* is more suitable to the real character of that early family system. It was not the case that the mother was the ruler, but it was the case apparently that right, law, inheritance, and descent were reckoned in terms of the mother and not of the father,[1] and that influence and freedom of life were a birthright of the women. The introduction into Phrygia of the developed Hellenic religion was unfavourable to the continuance of this early idea of the family; and all those legal and social relations came to be reckoned in terms of the father rather than the mother, as we see in the Græco-Roman period. Yet still the ordinary custom of the land continued in the old habit of assigning prominence to the female element: women magistrates appear frequently in the records of many cities in Phrygia and Anatolia generally, and women are mentioned as performing public duties much more freely than was the case in Greece. Even among the Phrygian Jews—though Jewish feeling was always extremely hostile to the prominence of women—one finds examples of Jewesses not merely filling magistracies in the towns, but actually holding the position of chief of the synagogue (ἀρχισυνάγωγος); and this religious fact can hardly be explained otherwise than as due to the influence of the custom of the country on them.[2]

19. Persistence of the conception of the divine mother.—The deep-seated tendency of the people to look for a conception of the divine nature in a feminine personality was a strong influence on early Christian system. The people sought for something in the new religion to satisfy their craving for such a female element in the divine nature. In all probability the first form of the Thekla-legend as it was composed by a presbyter of Asia, not later than the third quarter of the 2nd cent., was an expression of this craving; but the Orthodox Church, while condemning the presbyter who gave literary form to the legend, took over the figure of St. Thekla and modified the legend so as to make it harmless from the ecclesiastical point of view. Yet there still remain in the tale slight traces of the idea that in Thekla the rights of women find a heroine; and the women who sat as spectators in the amphitheatre where she was exposed to wild beasts regarded her as their champion and appealed to God on her behalf, throwing spices and balsam towards her. It is because of this quality in St. Thekla, as a sort of heroized impersonation of Anatolian custom and ideals, that she gained for herself such an important place in the hagiography and the ritual of the Eastern Church.

The Anatolian custom, however, aspired towards a fuller expression of its nature, and this was found at last in the idea of the 'Mother of God.' It was at Ephesus, the city of the goddess, that the earliest proof is found of an established cult of the Virgin Mary as the Mother of God; and in the Council held at Ephesus in A.D. 431 this cult was definitely established as a feature of the Orthodox ritual, while Nestorius was condemned because he held that the title 'Mother of God' ought not to be applied to the Virgin, who was only the 'Mother of Christ.'[3] The Council assembled at Ephesus 'in the most holy church, which is called Maria' (a title apparently popular rather than official); and there can be no doubt that it was the force of popular feeling that imposed on the Orthodox Church this recognition of the Mother of God. There is prefixed to the Acts of the Council of Ephesus a sermon delivered in A.D. 429 by Proclus, bishop of Cyzicus, which

[1] Ramsay, *Studies in the Hist. and Art of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, London, 1906, pp. 271–278.
[2] *Ib.*

[1] For the important bearing on inheritance see John Fraser, *ib.*, pp. 147–151.
[2] Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, ii. 649 f.
[3] Ramsay, *Pauline and Other Studies*, pp. 125–159.

expresses in Christian form the popular idea. The subject of this sermon is 'to celebrate the glorification of the race of women': for 'the glory of the female' is due to her 'who was in due time Mother and Virgin': 'earth and sea do honour to the Virgin.' It seems impossible to mistake or to deny the meaning implied in this and much similar enthusiastic language. The Anatolian religious feeling craved for some clearer and more definite expression than it could find in Christian rites and language of the honour, the influence, the inevitableness in the world of the female element in its double aspect of purity and motherhood. 'Purity is the material,' but purity that is perfected in maternity. The Virgin, the Mother, the purity of motherhood, was to the popular Anatolian religious sentiment the indispensable crown of the religious idea.

Muhammadan religion, on the other hand, with its stern hostility towards this point of view, was not affected by it in Anatolia. Muhammadanism probably originated from the seed sown in the mind of Muhammad by Christian refugees who had been expelled as heretics from the Orthodox empire, because they were opposed to the worship of the 'Mother of God' and had fled into Arabia. Springing from such seed, which grew up amid Semitic surroundings hostile to the prominence of women, Muhammadanism has always assigned an extremely humble place to the feminine element in society and religion, and it extirpated the old ideals of feminine place and duty from the popular mind in Phrygia. Islām was unable to extirpate so deep-seated a feeling, and had to satisfy it in other ways; and some light is thrown on the nature of the ancient religion by observing how this was achieved. It was partly done through the orders of dervishes with their ritual and enthusiasm,[1] and in recent years the personality of the Prophet himself has come to exercise a profound influence over a large number of devotees, especially among the Arab-speaking peoples, but also among part of the population of Anatolia.

'The Moslem's devotion to his Prophet, his admiration and enthusiasm, nay, his personal love for him, are intense realities. . . . Sometimes he points simply to "the fact of Mohammed," he feels a personal relationship to him, he is conscious of a personal gratitude for the ineffable services he rendered.'[2]

Another writer says:

'The devout Mohammedan is never so enthusiastic as when he calls on his Prophet. . . . Hymns to the Prophet are sung most enthusiastically on the birthday of Mohammed and on the day of his Ascension. . . . Pious men and women are never so full of devotion as on these occasions. Their whole nature is stirred up and their whole heart goes out in worship and adoration when these hymns are sung.'[3]

One line of a popular hymn runs thus:

'In every flower and in every plant the light of Mohammed is visible.'[4]

Sectarian Muslims cherish the same feelings towards some other heroes, especially Ali, Hasan, and Husain, etc.

Two lines of a hymn addressed to one of those heroes reads:[5]

'Thou removest sorrow, thou takest away pain, thou forgivest sin, thou didst restore the widow's son to life, thou didst transform a robber into a saint.'[6]

Prayers and hymns like these form a ritual, which is usually held at night and continued to early morning; and, as another writer says,

'So it has come about that Mohammed is often practically deified, however contrary to exact Islam and to the Prophet's own declaration such an apotheosis may be.'[7]

[1] The dervishes are an excrescence on Islām.
[2] W. H. T. Gairdner, in *Vital Forces of Christianity and Islam*, Oxford, 1915, p. 18.
[3] Siraju'd Din, *ib.*, p. 167 *f.* [4] *Ib.*
[5] The quotations are from *Vital Forces of Christianity and Islam*, pp. 18, 167 *f.*, 230: the writers are W. H. T. Gairdner, Siraju'd Din, and D. B. Macdonald.
[6] *Ib.*
[7] D. B. Macdonald, *ib.*, p. 230 (the book should be read as a whole).

In rites and words like these impassioned religious feeling appears which is similar in tone and words to that which is expressed by Bishop Proclus in the sermon quoted above. The life and joy of nature is expressed now to the Muslim mind in the person of Muhammad. In the Orthodox Church of the 5th cent. and later it was expressed in the Mother of God, 'the sole bridge by which God passes to man.' The idea is the same in both, 'Purity is the material,' but in the Muslim form it is wholly disconnected with any relation to sex. Muhammad is the intercessor between God and man, and the only intercessor. But there is a price to pay for the narrowing of the scope of this idea, which results in the Muslim position of women, and in the growing dissatisfaction of many Muslims with the position that their religion assigns to women, almost excluding them from the higher departments of life. The Mariolatry of the Orthodox Church was an attempt to express in form comprehensible to an uneducated populace an idea which was latent in Christianity, but which seemed to be not clearly enough expressed to the vulgar mind. It was the purification and Christianization of the mother-worship of the old Anatolian religion. The enthusiastic devotion with which the mother-goddess was served expressed itself in forms often indeed repulsive, but corresponding to the strongest and deepest feelings of human nature.

20. Outstanding characteristics and social effects.—In this old Phrygian or Anatolian religion certain characteristics especially arrest attention.

(*a*) *The land is divine property.*—There is no pretence that land is national; human ownership cannot exist in any form, when the Earth herself is the supreme goddess; the divine nature cannot be the property of men. Accordingly, the land is the deity's, just as the people on it are her slaves. In this principle is found a guarantee for what practically amounts to possession by the cultivator as distinguished from ownership and dominion; and the implication of the principle becomes clear when one looks at the parallel case of the freedom of the individual. The individual is necessarily free in all human relations, in so far as he is the slave of the god; the slave of the god cannot be the slave of a human owner; and the commonest form of enfranchisement of slaves throughout the Greek world lay in the purchase of the slave by the god. According to human law, the slave could not possess any property; all that he earned was the property of his owner and master; but, if the slave earned anything, he could safeguard it by giving it to the god, who kept it for him; and in process of time, as the money accumulated, the god purchased the slave from his human master, and thus enfranchised him. The god in this way came to act as banker and money-lender on a large scale; the temple held money in trust not only for slaves but for free citizens; and it lent to landowners and probably also to States. Similarly, when the land is owned by the god, it in practice is held on the tenure of cultivation. He who used the land was, practically speaking, its temporary owner; for he could sell the possession but not the *dominium*. The modern Turkish law in Asia Minor recognizes something of this principle, for it contains the enactment that land which has not been used by an owner for a certain short term of years ceases to be his property, and lapses to the common good; and the same law is very favourable to the acquisition of waste land by any one who undertakes to cultivate it, and whose ownership lasts only while he is actually using it.

In this way the divine ownership of the soil was a substitute for, and even better than, peasant

proprietorship. The man who made use of the land and worked it knew that no person could interfere with his right to use the land. This security of tenure by the actual cultivators was the main cause of the improvement of the land and the gradual subjugation of the soil for the benefit of their families. They gathered up the stones, and piled them. They stored up the water that fell from heaven—the gift of the god—or they brought water[1] a great distance in artificial channels from some bountiful fountain which also they recognized to be the gift of the god. They planted trees which would not begin to be useful until a number of years had elapsed. Under the divine guidance they planted and improved the crops. Thus gradually they transformed the Mediterranean lands from their natural rather sterile condition into a great series of gardens that ring round the central sea.[2] With war and conquest began the system of great estates belonging to owners from a ruling caste, and of cultivators attached to the soil with growing strictness.[3]

(*b*) *The influence of the goddess a guarantee of peace.*—The divine life is at once the reflexion of human life and the model or ensample for human conduct, and the influence of women tended towards a state of international peace, whereas war among the nations inevitably tends to diminish the importance of women and to increase that of the male sex. The general character of the Anatolian religion is adapted towards peace, and presupposes a state of peace as its basis. It makes use of the earth and its products, plants and animals, for the benefit of mankind, but the usefulness depends upon security of tenure. As soon as uncertainty begins whether the family of the cultivator will enjoy the fruits of his toil, he ceases to be disposed in the same degree towards cultivation. The influence of habit and the chance that he may gather the fruits lead him to continue his attention to the soil for a time, but, in proportion as uncertainty of enjoyment increases, his attention to the soil is lessened.

(*c*) The goddess is the revealer of principles and the teacher of ideals to her worshippers through her prophets. Through her influence domestic, economic, and international law are gradually established. The god in the divine family is the worker. He imparts to men the knowledge of the right way to approach the divine pair through the establishment of a ritual which he performs as the first priest, and which men imitate from him. He is the first cultivator of the soil, because cultivation of the soil is the putting into practice of the principles which are revealed, and which constitute the ritual of agricultural religion. It is the same with every department and every form of human life; the god exemplifies by his practice the way of carrying into action the principles which come from the goddess.[4]

Certain principles of international law were observed in early warfare. The goddess, who lived in peace and through peace, was striving to mitigate the sufferings and the tears of that state of war to which her ritual was opposed. There was in Hellenized Greece a sacred month during which war was suspended, in order that the combatants should be free to celebrate the sacred festival of the summer and should be able to travel safely back and forward between their homes and the scene of the festival. There can be no doubt that the custom goes back to a very early time, and that it was a means to ensure a safe time for the gathering or the sowing of the crop—two supreme duties of the ritual marked by festivals and rites, impressive and sacred. Thus were limits set to the excesses of war. The water supply should not be interfered with, because the life of the earth depended in the Mediterranean world on the proper distribution of the water. The year's harvest, in so far as it was secured by a year's labour, might be destroyed, and thus the enemy might be vexed and overcome through scarcity and high prices, but the fruit trees were not allowed to be destroyed, because to recreate them is a matter of many years' growth, and their destruction would imply too serious an interference with the ritual of the divine command. This law of war is expressed in Rev 6[6] 'A measure of wheat for a shilling, and three measures of barley for a shilling; but the oil and the wine thou shalt not touch.'[1]

(*d*) Another characteristic of the Anatolian religion which specially impressed the Greek mind was the strong hold which it had on its servants and the enthusiastic devotion with which they were affected by it. This was due partly to mere difference of temperament: the people of Anatolia were nearer the Asiatic than the European type; and in Asia religion, as a rule, has had stronger hold of its people than in Europe (though from this we may except the Turkish races, who are usually too insensitive to be much dominated by religious enthusiasm). But the effect of the Anatolian religion on its people was due partly to its nature. It touched closely the greatest facts of ordinary life, as connected with the family, with a simple type of society, with the food supply, with the returning seasons and duties of the year. The people could not but feel that their life was staked on the observance of the ritual duties which an agricultural or pastoral religion imposed upon them. The custom of mutilation already referred to was the most striking example of this fact, and it was of such a character as to impress strongly the Greek mind by its absolute contradiction to some of the deepest feelings of the Greek nature. The religion of the mother-goddess was essentially one of enthusiasm and strong emotion.

(*e*) The old Anatolian cult is essentially a religion of ideas, and the ritual comes into existence for the sake of embodying ideas in the form of acts and ceremonies, which are a method of appealing to God, as kindly and all-powerful, to benefit His creatures. We have here to deal with what is in its essence and original character a religion, and not a system of magical rites whose object is to compel the deity to act according to the desires and caprices of a worshipper possessed of the requisite knowledge. Such is the true character of the Anatolian worship. Yet the general principle on which it is based, viz. that there are certain fixed acts and verbal formulæ through which the deity ought to be approached and to which the deity will certainly respond, is one that lends itself readily to be perverted into magic. The principle is a necessary part of the religion, in which is involved that the whole system of domestic, agricultural, pastoral, and national economy must be fixed, and that the desired result will certainly ensue if the system of acts and rites is followed

[1] Is 5[2] 58[11].

[2] Ramsay, *Luke the Physician and other Studies in the Hist. of Religion*, pp. 179, 191, 195–197.

[3] The change of free peasants into *coloni adscripti glebæ* was accomplished when Roman law formally recognized the right of the landlord to the labour of the cultivators (A.D. 415). A big step in this change was made when Augustus recognized that all persons had a proper home (ἰδία) and must return to it periodically (Lk 2[2]); the same principle was known in 118 B.C., and explicitly stated by Roman prefects of Egypt (*e.g.*, A.D. 154) (Ramsay, *Bearing of Recent Researches on Trustworthiness of NT*, pp. 259–272, quoting from Rostowzew, *Stud. zur Gesch. des röm. Kolonates*, p. 305, and Zulueta, in *Oxford Essays* [Vinogradoff], 1909, p. 42).

[4] See preceding note: also the influence of the writer's Gifford Lectures, Edinburgh, 1916–17, pervades (*a*) and (*b*).

[1] Ramsay, *Cities of St. Paul*, p. 431; cf. Dt 28; less definite in Persian rules (see E. L. Hicks and G. F. Hill, *Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, Oxford, 1901, p. 20).

out with perfect accuracy. This is easily perverted into the magical idea that the performance of certain acts gives to the performer a hold on, and power over, the deity. But this magical perversion is a stage in the degeneration of the religion, and not essential to it. It is not the case that the religion originates out of the magic, but that the magic is a perversion of the religion (though certainly this perversion began very early).

LITERATURE.—G. and A. Körte, *Gordion*, Berlin, 1904 (places the Phrygian immigration later than we do); W. M. Ramsay, *A Historical Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians*, London, 1899, *The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia*, do. 1904, 'Religion of Greece and Asia Minor,' in *HDB* v. 109–156, *The Teaching of Paul in Terms of the Present Day*, London, 1913, pp. 285–306, *Pauline and other Studies in Early Christian History*, do. 1906, pp. 125–188, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, Oxford, 1895–97, i. 159ff., 275ff., 'Sketches in the Religious Antiquities of Asia Minor,' *BSA* xviii. [1911–12], *Luke the Physician, and other Studies in the Hist. of Religion*, London, 1908, pp. 103–139, 169–215; J. Keil and A. von Premerstein, *Bericht über erste, zweite, und dritte Reise in Lydien*, in *Denkschriften der kaiserl. Akad. in Wien*, Phil. hist Kl. LIII. ii. [1908], LIV. ii. [1911], LVII. i. [1914]; K. Buresch, *Aus Lydien: Epigraphisch-geograph. Reisefrüchte*, Leipzig, 1898; H. Hepding, *Attis*, Giessen, 1903; artt. in Roscher, Pauly-Wissowa, and similar works.

W. M. RAMSAY.

Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics

EDITED BY

JAMES HASTINGS

WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF

JOHN A. SELBIE, M.A., D.D.

PROFESSOR OF OLD TESTAMENT LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE IN THE UNITED FREE CHURCH COLLEGE, ABERDEEN

AND

LOUIS H. GRAY, M.A., Ph.D.

SOMETIME FELLOW IN INDO-IRANIAN LANGUAGES IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK

VOLUME X

PICTS—SACRAMENTS

NEW YORK
CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS
1928

Encyclopædia
of
Religion and Ethics

ENCYCLOPÆDIA

OF

RELIGION AND ETHICS

P

PICTS.—The Picts and all connected with them—name, race, customs, and language—have long constituted a problem upon which the most contrary views have been held, and which cannot yet be said to be completely solved.

1. Name.—The word 'Picts' has been commonly derived from Lat. *picti*, 'painted men,' but it is now generally admitted that the Latin word is the form of a native name which may or may not have referred to the Pictish (and Celtic) custom of painting and tatuing the skin. The Romans used a word which resembled the native name, and which described this custom of theirs.

The native name is connected with that of the Pictones, or Pictavi, of Gaul,[1] whose town was Pictavi (Poictiers), and the name Pictones is sometimes applied to the Picts of Scotland in Irish and Scottish Chronicles.[2] The Latin name must have been commonly used in Roman Britain, and became, in Anglo-Saxon, Peohtas. As the diphthong in Poictiers corresponds to an earlier *e*, found in Ptolemy's Πηκτόνιον Ἄκρον on the coast of Poitou, Rhys conjectured that the name was Pectones rather than Pictones. The Welsh forms Peithwyr, 'Pict men,' and Peitheu must be derived from Pect (cf. Scots Pecht, A.S. Peohtas, Norse Petta). An Irish (Goidelic) equivalent, with the usual transmutation of *p* and *c*, may be *cecht*, which may give the numerous place-names with 'keith' in Scotland.[3] What the native name meant is uncertain, but an equivalent is thought to exist in Irish *cicht*, 'engraver,' or 'carver' (or, according to Rhys, 'slaughterer' or 'mighty warrior'), this meaning perhaps being influenced by the Pictish tatuing custom. Nicholson derives Picti from an Indo-European stem *peik-*, 'tatu.'[4]

Another native name has the Goidelic form Cruithni, from Qretani, the name of Picts in Ireland and Scotland, and derived from *cruth*, 'form,' 'figure'; an Irish writer, Duald MacFirbis, explains it as meaning the people who painted the forms (*crotha*) of beasts, birds, and fishes on faces and bodies. Rhys and Stokes refer it to *cruithneachd*, 'wheat,' or 'that which is reaped *or* cut.' Hence it would still suggest the supposed meaning of Picti. The corresponding Brythonic name was Pretani, in old Welsh Priten, later Prydyn (*pryd*, 'form'). Prydyn means Scotland, the Pictland of the north, while Ynys Prydain, 'Isle of the Picts,' was the name for the whole of Britain, and thus must have originated at a time when the whole island belonged to the Prydyn, or Picts.[1] This, then, accounts for the early Greek name Πρεττανικαὶ Νῆσοι, 'the Pictish Isles.'

Rhys considers that Goidelic invaders of Britain called it by some such name as Inis Cruithne (from Qretani), 'Island of the Picts'—a non-Celtic race to whom the whole island had once belonged, according to him. On the arrival of the Brythons they changed this to Ynys Prydain.[2] Macbain, on the other hand, maintains that the Cruithne, Prydyn, or Picts were themselves the Celtic inhabitants of Britain, about 300 B.C., and gave their name to it.[3]

2. Classical notices.—Cæsar writes that the interior of Britain is inhabited by those said traditionally to have been born in the island itself, and the sea-coast by those who had crossed over from the Belgæ. The latter cultivated the land; most of the interior tribes did not, but lived on flesh and milk and were clad in skins. All the Britons dyed themselves with woad. Ten and even twelve of them had wives in common, brothers with brothers, fathers with sons; the children were held to be offspring of him who first espoused the virgin.[4]

Does the last statement refer to all the Britons or only to the interior tribes? Zimmer holds that the reference to 'all the Britons' is a parenthesis, and that the account of the interior tribes is resumed with this statement as to marriage. The interior tribes were presumably Picts, possibly Goidels; Cæsar's account of their promiscuity is probably worthless (§ 5 (*b*)).[5]

Cæsar knew nothing of the tribes to the north, who were certainly Pictish. His 'interior tribes' may have been Picts or Goidels, though the Goidels are thought by some to have first come to Britain from Ireland from the 2nd cent. onwards. If the Picts were a Celtic people, there must also have been aboriginal tribes separate from or mingled with them.

The northern tribes first came into notice during the time of Agricola's invasion. Tacitus calls them collectively Caledonii, and in his opinion their red hair and large limbs pointed to a Germanic origin. Some of their tribes fought from

1 Cæsar, *de Bell. Gall.* iii. 11.
2 W. F. Skene, *Chronicles of the Picts*, p. 76; J. Rhys, *Celtic Britain*[4], p. 311.
3 Rhys, 'National Names of the Aborigines of the British Isles,' *The Scottish Review*, xviii. [1891] 126 f.
4 E. W. B. Nicholson, *Keltic Researches*, p. 8.

1 Rhys and D. Brynmor-Jones, *The Welsh People*, p. 76; J. Loth, *Les Mabinogion*[2], Paris, 1913, i. 273.
2 *The Welsh People*, p. 79, *Scottish Review*, xviii. 134 f.
3 A. Macbain, *An Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language*[2], *s.v.* 'Britain,' ed. W. F. Skene, *The Highlanders of Scotland*[2], Excursus, p. 384.
4 v. 12, 14.
5 H. Zimmer, 'Pictish Matriarchy,' in *Leabhar nan Gleann*, ed. G. Henderson, p. 22.

LIBRARY OF PACIFIC BIBLE SEMINARY

chariots, like the southern Britons. They had tribal assemblies, ratified with sacred rites. Calgacus, their leader against the Romans, speaks of their harvests—which points to cultivated lands; and of their wives and children, without any reference to promiscuity. Tacitus makes no reference to the custom of painting their bodies.[1] On the whole, his Caledonians seem to differ but little from the southern tribes akin to the Gauls. Ptolemy[2] next describes the various inhabitants of Britain according to tribal groups.

South of the Forth and the Clyde were the Otadini and Gadeni on the east, and on the west the Selgovæ, Novantæ, and Damnonii, the last extending to near the Tay. On the east coast, north of the Tay, were the Venicones and Tæxali; west of these were the Vacomagi, then the Caledonii and Epidii. Along the west coast were the Cerones, Creones, Carnonacæ, and Carini, separated from the Caledonii by the Decantæ. To the north were the Lugi, Smertæ, and Cornavii.

Ptolemy's tribes to the north of the Forth and the Tay correspond to Tacitus's Caledonii, the name of the largest group with whom the Romans came in contact having been given to all the tribes. These may be regarded as Picts, since their position corresponds to that of the Picts described by Bede.[3] Possibly some of the tribes south of the estuaries (Selgovæ, Novantæ) may also have been Pictish. By *c.* 208 the tribes had apparently united into two groups, for Dio Cassius speaks of the two nations of the Caledonii and Maiatai into which the names of the others were merged.[4] The Maiatai lived in the flattish region north of the northern Roman wall, and perhaps derived their name from *magh*, 'a plain.' They dwelt in that part of Scotland which, according to Ptolemy, had been occupied by the northern portion of the Damnonii. Dio says that these tribes neglected agriculture, but had cattle, and lived on milk, the produce of the chase, and fruits, but never ate fish. They had horses and chariots, and fought with shield, sword, spear, and dagger (? a dirk). They had community of women, and their progeny were reared as the joint offspring of each small community. They had a certain food a small piece of which sufficed a man for several days. They would also run into morasses up to the neck and live there several days without eating.[5] According to Herodian, they punctured (tatued) their bodies in the forms of animals, and went naked, the better to show the ornamentation.[6]

Eumenius, who first mentions the Picts by name, says that Constantius Chlorus in A.D. 306 defeated the Caledonii and other Picts.[7] The tribes are again summed up comprehensively as Picts in the notices of the invasion of Roman Britain between the walls by them and the Scoti from Ireland or Wales in A.D. 360, and in 364 when Picts, Scots, Saxons, and Atecotti invaded Roman Britain from different directions. When Theodosius came to the rescue, the Picts are described as consisting of two divisions, Dicaledonæ and Verturiones, doubtless the equivalents of the Caledonii and Maiatai.[8]

Rhys has shown that Verturiones is the Latin form of a Celtic word which appears later as the name of the Pictish district of 'the men of Fortrenn' (Strathearn and Menteith). Fortrenn is probably the gen. of Fortriu or Foirtriu, which again is found in Fothreve (Kinross and Clackmannan). On the whole, this corresponds to the region of the Maiatai. Dicaledonæ suggests the people of the two Caledonias—the regions divided by the lochs from Inverness to Fort William.[9] Cf. Ptolemy's name for the ocean to the west of Scotland, Δουνκαληδόνιος.

Claudian says that Theodosius drove the Picts into their own region of Thule; the Scots retired to Ireland, the Saxons to the Orkneys, while he drafted the Atecotti into the Roman army.[1] Picts and Scots returned to the attack in A.D. 387 and in later years, when the Romans had finally left Britain. The Picts, however, did not continue to hold the land south of the Forth and the Tay, except partially in the district known as Manaw or Manann, where, later, Picts, Scots, Saxons, and Brythons mingled, and possibly in Galloway, where they may have been indigenous.

Manaw or Manann included the western part of Midlothian, Linlithgow, part of Stirlingshire (where the name survives in Slamannan), and apparently Clackmannan, which also preserves the name. The part south of the Forth was known to the Welsh as Manaw of the Gododin (=Ptolemy's Votadini), to distinguish it from the Isle of Man or Manaw.[2]

Rhys regards the invading Scotti from Ireland who joined the Picts from A.D. 360 onwards as themselves Pictish, mixed with Celtic Goidels. They were the Cruithni of Ulster or Dál-n Araide. Their name is cognate with Welsh *ysgwthr*, a cutting, carving, or sculpture—hence the men who were scarred or tatued. This name may have been given them by the Brythonic Celts, and Latinized as Scotti. The later Scots who settled in Argyllshire came from another Irish Pictish district, Dalriada, which name they gave to their new habitat.[3] Zimmer also regards the Scotti and Atecotti as non-Aryan people of Ireland, conquered by the Irish Celts.[4] Macbain regards the Scotti as Goidels, and their name as Goidelic='tatued men,' Gael. *sgath*, 'to lop off,' O. Ir. *scothaim*. 'It was their own name for themselves.'[5] Skene also regards them as distinct from the Picts, and their region of Dalriada in Ireland as one of their earliest settlements among the Ulster Picts.[6]

The Atecotti were a non-Celtic folk, the Picts of Galloway, Bede's Niduari, and possibly Ptolemy's Novantæ and Selgovæ. Their name means 'the old *or* ancient race.' This is Rhys's opinion.[7] Skene regarded them as a people from Ireland settled in Dalriada, but later considered them as inhabiting the district between the Roman walls.[8]

After the settlement of the Scots in Dalriada, which they took from the Picts early in the 6th cent.,[9] and the Saxon invasions the Picts or Caledonians occupied all Scotland north of the Firths of Forth and Tay,[10] except the region of Argyllshire and, later, the W. Isles. They partially occupied the district of Manaw, and were perhaps also found in Galloway. The remainder of southern Scotland was occupied by Brythons and Saxons.[11]

3. Traditions about the Picts.—In accordance with a tendency in mediæval Celtic legends to connect races, tribes, or heroes with classical or Biblical personages and regions, the Picts were derived from Scythia. The Welsh tradition, as found in the *Brut* of Layamon, represents the Picts as coming from Scythia with their king Roderic to Alban (Scotland), where they were defeated and Roderic was slain. Their conquerors, the Britons, gave them a district in Ireland (Caithness, according to Layamon), but refused them their daughters in marriage. Hence they obtained women of the Gwdyl (Goidels) from Ireland. Their descendants are the Scots or the Gwydyl Ffichti (=Goidelic Picts), who now through these women speak Ireland's speech.[12]

The Irish tradition is found in three forms. In one of these the children of Gleoin (Gelonus), son of Ercol (Hercules), took possession of the Orkneys. Thence they were dispersed, but Cruithne seized the north of Britain, and his seven sons—Caith, Ce, Cirig, Fib, Fidach, Fotla, and Fortrenn—divided the land into as many parts. Five others

[1] viii. 26; cf. Jerome, *adv. Jovian.* ii. 7, for the Atecotti in Gaul.
[2] Skene, *Chronicles*, pp. lxxxi, cvii, cxv; Rhys, *Celtic Britain*[4], p. 155.
[3] *Celt. Britain*[4], pp. 94, 240, 243 ff., 270 f., *Welsh People*, p. 101.
[4] Zimmer, p. 26.
[5] Excursus, in Skene's *Highlanders*[2], p. 385.
[6] Skene, *Celtic Scotland*[2], i. 137 f., 193 f., *Highlanders*[2], p. 10 f., *Chronicles*, p. cix f.
[7] Rhys, *Celtic Britain*[4], pp. 91, 94, 113, 222, 235, 240, 281, *Welsh People*, p. 102; Bede, *Life of St. Cuthbert*, 11. For the Niduari see also Skene, *Celtic Scotland*[2], i. 133.
[8] *Highlanders*[2], p. 10, *Celtic Scotland*[2], i. 99, 102.
[9] Cf. Bede, *HE* i. 1. 8; Skene, *Chronicles*, p. cviii.
[10] Cf. Bede, *HE* iv. 26, for the Forth as the southern boundary.
[11] Cf. Nennius, *Hist. Brit.* 2; Bede, *HE* iii. 6; cf. i. 7 f., v. 23
[12] Skene, *Chronicles*, pp. 122 f., 155 f.; cf. Rhys, *Celtic Britain*[4] p. 242, for 'Gwydyl Ffichti.'

[1] *Agric.* 11 f., 27, 31.
[2] *Geog.* ii. 3.
[3] *HE* iii. 4.
[4] lxxv. 5.
[5] *Ib.* lxxv. 5, lxxvi. 12.
[6] iii. 14.
[7] *Panegyricus Constantino*, 7.
[8] Ammianus Marcellinus, xx. 1, xxvi. 4, xxvii. 8, 9.
[9] *Celtic Britain*[4], pp. 95, 162, 322, *Welsh People*, pp. 12, 102.

of the Cruithneach went to France, and there founded Pictavis. Thence they came to Erin, but were driven forth.[1] In the second form of the tradition the Cruithneach, children of Gleoin, came from Thrace. After building Pictavis, they came to Ireland, and helped Crimthann, king of Leinster, to expel the Tuatha Fidhba. Drostan, their Druid, ordered that the wounded should bathe in the milk of seven score white cows, and the poison of the weapons would not hurt them. They now gained power in Ireland, but Heremon drove them out, giving them as wives the widows of the men drowned when the Milesians came to Ireland. They now acquired Alban (Scotland). Some, however, remained in Ireland. Spells, charms, and omens are attributed to them. The metrical version of this legend says that they acquired their name 'Picti' from tatuing their fair skins, and that on being given wives they swore that from the mother should descend the right to the sovereignty.[2] A third account says that Cruithnechan went over from the sons of Mile (in Ireland) to the Britons of Fortrenn to fight the Saxons, and remained there. Wives were obtained from Ireland, Cruithnechan swearing by heaven, earth, sun, and moon that the regal succession should always be on the mother's side.[3]

The preface to the 10th cent. Pictish Chronicle says that the Picts are so called from *picto corpore*, because they are marked with various figures made by iron points with pigments. The Scots are so called because they come from Scythia, or because they are descended from Scotta, queen of the Scots, Pharaoh's daughter. They came to Ireland in the fourth age of the world, the Britons having come to Britain in the third age. The people of Scythia have white hair—hence they are called Albani—and from them the Picts and Scots originate. Cruidne, father of the Picts dwelling in this island, reigned 100 years, and had seven sons—Fib, Fidach, Floclaid, Fortrenn, Got, Ce, and Circinn.[4]

Gildas, who appears to regard the region north of the Forth and the Tay as an island, mentions the Picts as a 'transmarine' people who, with the Scots, invaded Roman Britain. They came from the north-north-east ('ab aquilone'), the Scots from the west-north-west ('a circio'). When they were ultimately driven from the region between the walls, they settled in the north of the island.[5] Nennius brings the Picts from the Orkneys, whence they occupied a third of Britain up to his own day.[6] Bede brings them from Scythia to Ireland, whence the Scots directed them to Britain (where they inhabited the northern part, the Britons being in possession of the southern), giving them wives on condition that, when any difficulty should arise, they should choose a king from the female royal race rather than the male—a custom observed among the Picts 'to this day.'[7]

The origin of the Picts from Scythia or Thrace is purely mythical, and the stories of how they obtained wives may be regarded as equally so—an ætiological myth to account for the Pictish succession. The Goidelic name for the Picts being Cruithne, an eponymous Cruithne was regarded as their ancestor, while the seven districts into which Scottish Pictavia or Cruithentuaith was divided supplied names to most if not all of his mythical sons—Fib: Fife and Fothreve; Fortrenn: Fortrenn (Strathearn and Menteith); Fodla: Atholl (Athfoitle) and Gowrie; Circenn: Maghcircin = Mearns and Angus; Cait: Caithness (Cathenesia). Fidach and Ce have no nominal equivalents.

The regions unaccounted for are Mar and Buchan, and Moray, Argyll being included in Dalriada. The legend must therefore have arisen after the occupation of Dalriada by the Scots.

The fact that there were Cruithni, or Picts, both in Ireland and in Scotland may account for the varying traditions of their coming first to Ireland or first to Scotland. One tradition says that both Irish and Scottish Cruithni were governed by the same kings to the number of thirty.[1]

4. Who were the Picts?—Rhys regards the Picts as the non-Aryan (Ivernian) aborigines, dispossessed by the incoming Goidels, whose language they adopted, although they greatly outnumbered them. The Goidels were, however, profoundly modified by them in language, race, and customs. Having driven the Ivernians before them, they later made common cause with them against the invading Brythons. Hence there was an amalgamation of the Goidelic and Ivernian elements, and 'the term Goidelic should strictly be confined to the mixed population of Aryan and non-Aryan language in possession of the country when the Brythons arrived.'[2] Before Pictish, or Ivernian, died out, it was 'loaded with words borrowed from Celtic'—Goidelic and Brythonic—but it also modified Celtic vocabulary and continued the syntax of its own speech.[3] Zimmer also regards the northern Celts as having become Goidelic in speech at an early period, while the southern Picts adopted Brythonic speech.[4]

The traces of alleged Pictish (non-Celtic) speech are scanty, but Rhys professed to find them in the Ogam inscriptions of the north, and at first equated it with Basque—an opinion afterwards abandoned. But he still adhered to the theory of its non-Aryan character, and continued to challenge the upholders of the Picts as Celtic to prove that the punctuated Ogam inscription at Lunasting in Shetland is Celtic: 'Ttocuhettsahehhtmnnn-hccvvevv-nehhtonn.' The challenge seems a safe one, for, as Lang says, it is 'not merely non-Aryan, but non-human! or not correctly deciphered.'[5]

Rhys also finds non-Aryan traces in Celtic nomenclature, and, assuming totemism to be non-Aryan, argues as to its existence from names like MacCon, 'Hound's son'—the name of a legendary prince whose rule extended from Ireland to Britain. Hence 'MacCon may, perhaps, be regarded as representing the whole non-Celtic race of these islands.' Totemism, however, may have been Aryan, and a personal name is not evidence of *clan* totemism. He also argues for the non-Aryan character of the Picts from their custom of succession through the mother, traces of which he also finds in the names and relationships of Irish and Welsh mythology.[6] Zimmer accepts the Pictish succession through the female line, as well as the classical references to promiscuity in the Celtic region, and incest incidents in Irish saga, as pointing to non-Aryan marriage relations. In the case of the sagas, the Celtic invaders of Ireland being in a minority, the aboriginal customs would not be changed at once, and have left their impress in legends.[7]

Skene's whole theory of the history of the Picts is connected with his opinion that there were two divisions of them, eventually distinguished as northern and southern Picts. This is based on Bede's statement that the northern Picts were separated from those of the south by 'steep and

1 Irish additions to Nennius (Skene, *Chronicles*, p. 23 f.).
2 *Ib.* pp. 32, 40. 3 *Ib.* p. 45.
4 *Ib.* p. 3 f. This is perhaps derived from the *Origines* of Isidore of Seville, ix. 2. 103, who gives 'Scoti' for 'Picti' in explaining the origin of the name from tatuing.
5 *de Excidio Britanniæ*, i. 11, 19.
6 i. 10 f. 7 *HE* i. 1, 7.

1 'Tract on the Picts,' Skene, *Chronicles*, p. 320.
2 C. H. Read, *Guide to the Antiq. of the Bronze Age, Brit. Museum*, London, 1904, p. 22.
3 Rhys, *Celtic Britain*[4], pp. 263 f., 268 f., 276, *Welsh People*, pp. 13 f., 19.
4 P. 11.
5 *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scotland*, xxvii. [1892] 263 ff., xxxii. [1898] 324 ff.; A. Lang, *Hist. of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1900, i. 493. For an attempted translation see Nicholson, p. 71 f.
6 Rhys, *Celtic Britain*[4], p. 266 ff., *Welsh People*, pp. 16 ff 36 ff., 66 ff.
7 Zimmer, p. 28 ff.

rugged mountains,'[1] but such a distinction as Skene asserted is probably fallacious. His 'northern Picts' were Gaelic in race and language; the 'southern Picts' were also Gaelic, but, the Damnonii between the Forth and the Tay, who 'belonged to the Cornish variety of the British race,' having been incorporated with them, they introduced a British (Cornish) element into their language. The Damnonii are the Britons of Fortrenn.[2]

Skene's arguments for the Picts as Goidelic in race and language may be summarized as follows. (*a*) The Welsh designation for the Picts, Gwydyl Ffichti, shows that, since all Goidels were called Gwydyl by the Welsh, the Picts were thus assigned to that race. The term, however, is not an early one, nor is Ffichti the regular rendering of Picti in Welsh.[3] (*b*) St. Columba's occasional but not constant use of an interpreter while preaching to Picts was necessary because the difference between Pictish and Irish resembled that between Breton or Cornish and Welsh, which are not always mutually intelligible. The difference may none the less rather have resembled that between Irish and Welsh. (*c*) Gaelic was spoken in Galloway at a late day, and in the 12th cent. Richard of Hexham and Reginald of Durham called the Gallwegians Picts.[4] As to this it should be noted that there was an early Brythonic element in Galloway, but the district had been overrun by Goidels, which accounts for the predominance of Gaelic there. The name Picts may have been given to them by those English writers on account of the peculiarity of their language. (*d*) Many Pictish personal names in the lists of kings are of Irish form; others show a mixture of Brythonic, Gaelic, and Teutonic. The last is accounted for by the sway of the Angles over the Picts in certain districts; the Brythonic element came from the 'Britons of Fortrenn' (the Damnonii), who spoke a dialect akin to Cornish. (*e*) When the place-names are studied according to strict rule, the *generic terms* show no Cymric element in the districts occupied by the Picts. Thus 'Pen' does not occur north of Forth and Clyde. (*f*) Legend attributes a Goidelic speech to the Picts, acquired by them from the Irish women whom they married.[5] This, however, only suggests that the Picts once spoke some other language, or perhaps some other Celtic dialect.

Nicholson is also of opinion that Pictish was a language virtually identical with Irish. He holds, however, that the loss of Indo-European *p* was comparatively late in Goidelic dialects—Pictavian, Sequanian, Belgic, Menapian, proto-Irish, and proto-Pictish—but that *p* was lost in literary or old Irish. *P* in Celtic speech is therefore not always a mutated *qu* or *b*, but may be original and a sign of Goidelic occupation. Insular Pictish, like Pictavian in Gaul, was a Goidelic dialect with *p* preserved to historic times. Highland Gaelic is descended from Pictish, not from the Irish speech of the Dalriadic Scots, who did not conquer the Picts. The word 'Pict' is derived from a root *peik-*, 'tatu,' with I E *p* preserved. He also holds that the Belgi were Goidels, and are found not only in Gaul and Britain, but also in Ireland. They are the Fir Bolgs of Irish legend, and, with the Fir Domnann (=the Damnonii) and Fir Galéoin (Picts), were Goidels who preserved *p*. The Kymry or Brythons of other writers—Gaulish, Welsh, Cornish, and Breton—were the first Celtic arrivals in Britain. Then came the Goidels, who drove the Kymry into the interior in pre-Roman times, where later Cæsar found them.[6] If, however, this order of occupation—the opposite of that usually accepted—is true, it is difficult to account for the presence of Goidelic Picts in Scotland, where presumably the Kymry would have retired before them.

Whatever may be said of these views, it is certain that neither Skene nor Nicholson sufficiently faces the fact that, rightly or wrongly, the early notices of the Picts regard them as differing from the Scots in origin, language (dialect), and the matter of the kingship.

[1] Bede, *HE* iii. 4. [2] *Celtic Scotland*[2], i. 231.
[3] Cf. Macbain, in Skene's *Highlanders*[2], p. 403; Rhys, *Celtic Britain*[4], p. 242.
[4] Skene maintains that the language of Gildas shows that Picts remained in the region between the walls after the last incursion, and that Bede's Niduarian Picts=Picts of Galloway (*Chronicles*, p. cviii, *Celtic Scotland*[2], i. 133).
[5] See Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, i. ch. 7 ff., *Celtic Scotland*[2], i. 194 ff.
[6] Nicholson, *Keltic Researches*, p. 110 f.

Some writers are of opinion that no Goidel occupied British soil except from Ireland. Macbain regards the Picts, the Caledonii of Tacitus, the Pretanoi of Pytheas, as the first Celtic incomers to Britain, *c.* 600 B.C. They were 'a Celtic-speaking people, whose language differed both from Brittonic and Gadelic, but at the same time only differed dialectically from the Gaulish and Brittonic tongues.' Their language, unlike Goidelic, was of the *p* class of Celtic speech, and they were driven west and north by the incoming Belgi. They were thus Cæsar's aborigines of the interior.

Macbain shows that Skene's philological arguments for Pictish =Goidelic are defective. Bede speaks of the various dialects or languages spoken in Britain—those of the Angles, Britons, Picts, Scots, and Latins. Pictish was thus different from both Brythonic and Gaelic. Again, the Cruithni of Ulster were Pictish incomers from Scotland who had become Gaelic-speaking. The Irish looked upon them as a people different from themselves. The classical names from the Pictish area are mainly Celtic, and a third of them are nearer Brythonic than Gadelic. The lists of Pictish kings are 'decidedly British in phonetics.' Place-names in the Pictish region, excluding the Isles, Caithness, and Sutherland, which are largely Norse, show a veneer of Gaelic, since the Scots imposed their language as well as their rule on the Picts, but they are 'very different from names on Gadelic ground—Ireland and Dalriada.' 'The prefixes *aber* and *pet*, unknown to Gadelic, are found from Sutherland to the Forth.' The former is often superseded by Gaelic *inver*, the latter by *baile*.[1] Skene regarded *aber*, *inbher*, and *cumber* or *cymmer* as originally common to both branches of the Celtic language, retained in some dialects, obsolete in others;[2] but it is surely significant that *aber* does not occur in Argyll (Dalriada).

Other Celtic scholars, Windisch[3] and Stokes, also regard Pictish as Brythonic rather than Goidelic. Stokes, after collecting and examining all the known Pictish words down to the period of the Irish annalists, comes to the following conclusion:

'The foregoing list of names and words contains much that is still obscure; but on the whole it shows that Pictish, so far as regards its vocabulary, is an Indo-European and especially Celtic speech. Its phonetics, so far as we can ascertain them, resemble those of Welsh rather than of Irish.'[4]

D'Arbois de Jubainville identifies the Cruithni of Irish legend, who fought against the Fir Fidga, with the Brigantes, a British tribe located by Ptolemy also in the south-east of Ireland. Their Druid Trostan has a name akin to that of the Arthurian Tristan. The Fir Fidga are the Manapii, a tribe identical with the Belgic Menapii. The Brigantes, inhabitants of Britain (Prydyn), were called Cruithni=Pritanicos, by the Irish.[5]

Where philological experts are so much divided on the question of language, it is clear that it cannot be regarded as settled. If, however, the Picts were a non-Celtic race, they could not have remained so unmixed with their Celtic conquerors as Rhys's theory demands. And, again, granting that they were Celtic—Goidelic or Brythonic—such incoming Celts must have been numerically small compared with existing aboriginal tribes, which would again imply a mixture of races. Whatever the Picts were, it appears certain that they either adopted or retained Celtic speech.

5. Pictish customs.—(*a*) *Painting and tatuing.*—Cæsar says that all the Britons dyed themselves with woad;[6] and Herodian says of the northern tribes (the Picts) that they tatued themselves with coloured designs and figures of animals of all kinds, and did not wear clothing, in order that these might be seen.[7] The custom is also ascribed to them by Duald MacFirbis as an explanation of

[1] Macbain, in Skene's *Highlanders*[2], p. 389 ff., *Trans. of the Gaelic Soc. of Inverness*, xi. [1884-85] 267 ff.
[2] *Celtic Scotland*[2], i. 222.
[3] 'Keltische Sprachen,' in Ersch and Grüber, *Allgemeine Encyklopädie*.
[4] 'Linguistic Value of the Irish Annals,' *Trans. of the Philological Society*, iii. [1888-90] 392.
[5] H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Les Celtes*, Paris, 1904, pp. 25 66; cf. *Les Druides*, do. 1906, p. 37.
[6] *de Bell. Gall.* v. 14; cf. Pliny, *HN* xxii. 1.
[7] Herodian, iii. 14. 8.

their name: a Cruithneach, or Pict, is one who takes the forms, or *cruths*, of beasts, birds, and fishes on his face and body. This probably represents a tradition in Ireland. Far earlier Isidore of Seville explains the name Scotti as derived from their custom of tatuing, and this explanation of the name Picti is given in the Pictish Chronicle (see § 3). Tatuing may have been common to all Celtic tribes at one time, and Claudian personifies Britain as a woman with tatued cheeks.[1] Faces depicted on Gaulish coins have marks on them which appear to be tatu marks.[2] Probably no great distinction need be drawn between painting and tatuing. Among other peoples these customs are ornamental, are used to produce a frightful appearance, or have totemistic significance. Herodian and Cæsar associate the British custom with the first two of these respectively, but they were not likely to connect it with totemism if that existed in Britain. There is no reason to believe that tatuing was peculiar to the Picts among British tribes.

(*b*) *Descent through women.*—The community of women ascribed by Cæsar to all the British tribes (or, according to Zimmer, to those of the interior), by Dio to the Caledonians, by Strabo to the Irish (along with incest), and by the interpolator of Solinus to the people of Thule (Shetland), and, in the Hebrides, to the king, who was not allowed to possess a wife, but borrowed such women as he wanted, is regarded by Rhys[3] and Zimmer[4] as a non-Aryan practice among people in Scotland and Ireland who were not Celts, *i.e.* the Picts, and as explaining the peculiar Pictish law of succession through women. Macbain also regards this succession as non-Aryan, but adopted by the Picts (Celts) from the aborigines whom they conquered.[5] It is, however, most unlikely that the Picts, whether Celtic or not, who had advanced beyond savagery and whose general customs differed but little from those of known Celtic tribes, had such absolute community of women as these classical writers describe. We may regard it (1) as fabulous, since it is difficult to see how a society based on the matriarchate could indulge in such promiscuity as Cæsar's words denote, or (2) as a mistaken interpretation of marriage customs with which the Romans were unfamiliar. Nor need we suppose with Zimmer that promiscuity and incest incidents in Irish sagas are necessarily non-Aryan customs surviving after the Celtic conquest. They have parallels in all mythologies and all societies. As to the Pictish succession with which these customs are said to be connected, we find from the lists of Pictish kings that brothers by the same mother succeeded each other—'not an unusual feature in male succession'[6]—but no son succeeded his father, who was sometimes a foreigner. When brothers failed, the succession went to a sister's son or to the nearest male relative on the female side. This explains Bede's statement cited above (§ 3). Bede does not make the succession through women absolute; succession through males took place up to a certain point. All this has been explained as an instance of the matriarchate, and therefore non-Aryan. Lang, however, notes that words exist in Greek denoting kinship on the mother's side.[7] It has also perhaps been assumed too hastily that the evidence points to the matriarchate. In northern Welsh law, when a woman married a stranger, her son had a right to the inheritance of her father, because 'the stranger, entering the family, brought to it strength, and the nephew, son of the stranger, became the continuator of the grandfather, in some sort his son.'[1] In Ireland by special favour right of inheritance was given to a daughter's or sister's son born of a stranger. Accordingly, d'Arbois de Jubainville explains Bede's statement by the astonishment caused to Anglo-Saxons by the law of inheritance allowed by Celtic custom in the case of sons of daughters in concurrence with their cousins, sons of sons. The Picts had not a law of inheritance differing from that of the Irish or Welsh, and the facts do not require to be explained by the matriarchate.[2] Already, too, the importance of the sister's son is seen in ancient Celtic history, where, in 400 B.C., King Ambicatus placed each of his sister's sons at the head of an army, the one conquering Bohemia, the other N. Italy.[3] D'Arbois de Jubainville's explanation, however, hardly covers the anomalies of the list of Pictish kings, if that is to be regarded as in any way authentic. In Irish and Welsh sagas, where divine groups are called after the mother, or where gods and heroes have often a matronymic, while the father's name is omitted, we may have something analogous to the Pictish succession — some custom perhaps akin to the matriarchate.[4] But this is so deeply embedded in Celtic myth that we can hardly imagine that it is all borrowed from hypothetical non-Celtic custom, as Rhys maintained.[5]

6. Religion of the Picts.—Neither the classical observers nor the biographers of saints who laboured among the Pictish tribes discuss the native religion. As far as the latter are concerned, Ailred in his Life of St. Ninian speaks of the southern Picts worshipping deaf and dumb idols[6]—a vague statement. Adamnan speaks of the northern Picts as possessing Druids who extolled their own gods as more powerful than the God of the Christians.[7] Their magical acts resemble those ascribed to Irish Druids, and Adamnan does not appear to know any difference between Pictish and Celtic Druids. He refers to the fountain which St. Columba found in Pictland, 'famous among this heathen people and worshipped as a god.' The saint blessed it and caused 'the demons' to depart from it for ever.[8] The cult of wells was common among the Celts and is almost universal. If the Picts were a Celtic folk, their religion may be estimated from what is known of Celtic religion elsewhere (see art. CELTS). Bede says that the southern Picts, *i.e.* those tribes dwelling in the region immediately north of the Forth, were converted to Christianity by St. Ninian.[9] This must have been about the beginning of the 5th century. The tribes beyond these, the so-called northern Picts, were converted by St. Columba and his followers. Columba encountered the Druids of King Brude at Inverness, and preached to and baptized the king and many of his people in the latter half of the 6th century.[10]

7. Later history of the Picts.—The history of the Picts from the 7th cent. to the time of Kenneth MacAlpin is one of internecine feuds, strife with the Scots of Dalriada and with the Angles. The usual view has been that eventually Kenneth MacAlpin, king of the Dalriadic Scots, overcame

1 *In i. Cons. Stilich.* ii. 247 f.; cf. his reference to the tatued figures fading from the cheek of the dying Pict.
2 Nicholson, p. 150, and in *Zeitschr. für celtische Philologie*, iii. [1900] 332.
3 *Celtic Britain*[4], p. 56. 4 P. 27.
5 Excursus, Skene's *Highlanders*[2], p. 401.
6 Skene, *Celtic Scotland*[2], i. 233. 7 *Hist. of Scotland*, i. 4.

1 D'Arbois de Jubainville, *La Famille celtique*, Paris, 1905, p. 70.
2 *Ib.* p. 69; cf. art. INHERITANCE (Celtic), vol. vii. p. 299[a].
3 Livy, v. 34.
4 J. A. MacCulloch, *The Religion of the Ancient Celts*, Edinburgh, 1911, p. 222.
5 Rhys and Brynmor-Jones, *Welsh People*, pp. 15, 86 f.
6 Ailred, *Life of S. Ninian* ('Historians of Scotland' series v.), Edinburgh, 1874, p. 15.
7 Adamnan, *Life of S. Columba* ('Historians of Scotland' series, vi.), Edinburgh, 1874, bk. i. ch. 27, bk. ii. chs. 33, 35.
8 *Ib.* bk. ii. ch. 11.
9 Bede, *HE* iii. 4; cf. Ailred, *loc. cit.*
10 Bede, *HE* iii. 4; Adamnan, *passim*.

the Picts, and ruled over them as king of the Scots, or, according to the 10th cent. Pictish Chronicle, extirpated them—an obviously absurd statement. But Skene, following Pinkerton to some extent, maintained that Aengus MacFergus, the Pictish king from 731 to 761, defeated the Scots and took Dalriada, which now became a Pictish province. In 832 Alpin, of Scottish race by paternal descent, but, as his name shows, a Pict by maternal descent, as king of the Scots fought the Picts and was defeated. His son Kenneth eventually obtained the throne of the Pictish kingdom. This was not the result of a foreign invasion. The events are rather to be regarded as a war of succession; Alpin and Kenneth had a claim through maternal descent to the throne and were supported in that by a party among the Picts and by the remains of the Scots of Dalriada. The Picts, a Gaelic-speaking people like the Scots, were not conquered, and suffered no change of language. There was a more or less silent revolution, a mere matter of succession according to Pictish law, and the modern Highlanders represent the older Picts.[1] Nicholson urges similar views, and points to the unsubstantial nature of the evidence for a Scottish conquest of the Picts (the fact that Alpin and Kenneth are names borne previously by Pictish, never by Dalriadic, kings), to the improbability of the Pictish nation being conquered by their Scottish subjects, as well as to the fact that the Annals still describe Kenneth and his successors as 'rex Pictorum.' Thus the position is somewhat analogous to the change which set James VI., a Scottish king, on the English throne. There was no conquest of the English in this case or of the Picts in the other case.[2] These views have been strongly combated by Macbain, who insists that the documents are not rightly handled, and that a wrong value is put upon some of them. He shows, *e.g.*, that, though Aengus conquered Dalriada, the Annals insert this significant note, 'wane of Aengus's kingdom.' Yet the conquest of the Picts cannot be clearly explained from our present materials. There had been dynastic wars—attempts to break the Pictish rule of succession. The Scots were aggressive, and superior in culture, and eventually their Gaelic speech both in Pictland and in Strathclyde 'wiped out the original Pictish and British.'[3]

The problem involved here is entirely one of evidence drawn from obscure documents and of probability, while the view adopted of the original Pictish tongue, Brythonic or Goidelic, must necessarily affect the results. Whatever theory is followed, it is certain that there must be a large Pictish admixture among the Scottish people in the region north of the Forth.

8. The Picts in folk-tradition.—With the disuse of their name in connexion with actual peoples, the 'Picts' or 'Pechts' came to be associated in folk-tradition with megalithic remains and large buildings and with myths of their origin. From being a historic folk, they became a mysterious people, more or less supernatural, and usually considered as of small stature.

'Pecht' in Shetland is synonymous with 'dwarf';[4] in Aberdeenshire 'picht' means 'a small person,' and in the south of Scotland the 'peghs' are regarded as dwarfs, 'unco wee bodies, but terrible strong'—their immense strength being necessary on any theory of their having been able to move easily the large stones of archæological remains, etc., attributed to them. Hence D. MacRitchie regards the Picts as a former dwarf race in Scotland, equivalent to the fairies of popular belief[1] (see art. FAIRY, § 6). That the Picts were not a small race is proved by what Tacitus says of the Caledonii, nor is there the slightest scrap of historical evidence for the theory. The so-called 'Picts' houses' or 'earth houses'—low underground passages terminating in one or more chambers—need not indicate that they were constructed or used by people of small stature. Their position necessitated a constricted height, they were probably store-houses or hiding-places like those described by Tacitus (*Germ.* 16) among the Germans of his day, and not regular dwelling-places, since they are generally associated with remains of surface dwellings. Scattered over the Pictish area in Scotland, and perhaps of post-Roman date, they may quite likely have been constructed by the Picts, in which case the tradition of their origin would be authentic.

Generally speaking, however, the tradition which ascribes all mysterious or large structures to the Picts (*e.g.*, Glasgow Cathedral) is analogous to wide-spread traditions elsewhere in which the origin of megaliths and colossal remains is ascribed to fairies, dwarfs, giants, the devil, Cyclops, etc.

LITERATURE.—The classical sources have been referred to in the article; the post-classical sources are collected in W. F. Skene, *Chronicles of the Picts, Chronicles of the Scots, and other Early Memorials of Scottish History*, Edinburgh, 1867. See also Bede, *HE*; Nennius, *Historia Britonum*, Irish version, ed. J. H. Todd, Dublin, 1848. The older authorities are mainly: G. Chalmers, *Caledonia*, 3 vols., London, 1807–24; T. Innes, *Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of the North of Britain or Scotland*, 2 vols., do. 1729, new ed. in 'The Historians of Scotland' series, viii., Edinburgh, 1879; J. Pinkerton, *An Enquiry into the Hist. of Scotland preceding Malcolm III.*, new ed., 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1814, *Dissertation on the Origin and Progress of the Scythians or Goths*, London 1787. More modern works are: J. Loth, 'Les Pictes d'après les travaux récents,' *Annales de Bretagne*, vi. [1891] 111 ff., A. Macbain, *An Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language*[2], Stirling, 1911, Excursus and notes in Skene, *The Highlanders of Scotland*[2], do. 1902, papers in *Trans. of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*; E. W. B. Nicholson, *Keltic Researches*, London, 1904; J. Rhys, *Celtic Britain*[4], do. 1908, 'The Inscriptions and Language of the Northern Picts,' *Proc. of the Soc. of Antiquaries of Scotland*, xxvii. [1892] 263 ff., 'A Revised Account of the Inscriptions of the Northern Picts,' *ib.* xxxii. [1898] 324; J. Rhys and D. Brynmor-Jones, *The Welsh People*, London, 1900; W. F. Skene, *Chronicles* (see above), *The Four Ancient Books of Wales*, Edinburgh, 1868, *The Highlanders of Scotland*[2], Stirling, 1902, *Celtic Scotland*[2], 3 vols., Edinburgh, 1886; W. Stokes, 'Linguistic Value of the Irish Annals,' *Trans. of the Philological Society*, iii. [1888–90] 392 ff., 'Urkeltischer Sprachschatz,' in vol. ii. of F. C. A. Fick's *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogerman. Sprachen*, Göttingen, 1890–1909; W. O. E. Windisch, 'Keltische Sprachen,' in Ersch and Grüber's *Encyklopädie*; H. Zimmer, 'Das Mutterrecht der Pikten,' *Zeitschr. der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, xv. [1894] 209 f., tr. in *Leabhar nan Gleann*, ed. G. Henderson, Edinburgh, 1898.

J. A. MACCULLOCH.

PIETISM.—1. Use of the term.—(1) Pietism is used in a general sense to indicate a religious attitude of devotional feeling; (2) by Heppe, Ritschl, and others, the term is extended to cover all similar tendencies during the past three centuries; (3) the Roman Catholic 'pietists' are the brethren and sisters of the pious and Christian schools founded by Nicholas Barre, in 1578, for the instruction of girls and boys.

As a proper name, however, the term belongs to the movement which arose under Spener towards the close of the 17th century. Like the term 'Methodist,' it was originally bestowed in contempt.

2. The religious life of Germany at the rise of the movement.—The close of the Thirty Years' War in 1648 left German Protestantism in an impoverished condition. The Lutheran Church was ruled from without by the civil governments of the various States, and from within by theologians as autocratic as the papacy. Both civil and theological rule tend more to vigilance over doctrine than to care for Christian character. The result was that, whilst orthodoxy was never more outwardly alive, it was never more inwardly lifeless. The clergy had not entirely forgotten their functions, it is true, but they were obsessed with the belief that, if there were sound doctrine, as a necessary consequence all else would be right. Luther had placed the seat of faith in the heart, but emphasis had now shifted to the intellect.

[1] *Celtic Scotland*[2], i. 275 ff. [2] Nicholson, p. 80 ff.
[3] Macbain, Excursus, in Skene's *Highlanders*[2], pp. 387 f., 402, *Trans. of the Gaelic Soc. of Inverness*, xxi. [1896–97], art. 'Picts,' in Chambers's *Encyclopædia*, London, 1891, viii. 167 f.
[4] See an amusing instance of this in Lockhart's *Life of Sir Walter Scott*, ch. 29, and Scott's *Pirate*, note 1.

[1] *The Testimony of Tradition*, London, 1890.

It was held, accordingly, that, if intellectual knowledge (*illuminatio*) were correctly imparted, it would assuredly direct the will aright. Luther had placed the Bible above dogma. The order was now reversed, and a creed-bound Church neglected the Bible in home, school, university, and service. Theological controversy was both frequent and acrimonious. Lay rights were subordinated to pastoral prerogatives. Matters were somewhat better in the Reformed Church, and its presbyterian form of government gave a larger place to the laity; but even here the taint of legalism and the spirit of self-righteousness were only too often in evidence.

Upon this clouded sky Pietism arose, bringing a clearer and purer light. Beginning modestly in an attempt to improve the religious life of Frankfort, it spread rapidly through Middle and N. Germany. Among the forerunners of the spirit rather than the system of Pietism may be numbered Jakob Boehme (*q.v.*) the mystic, Johann Arndt, and Theophilus Grossgebauer, but the history of Pietism proper is almost entirely bound up with the life, work, and personality of the two great leaders who together and successively gave it inspiration and guided its course, namely P. J. Spener and A. H. Francke. Within the span of their lives may be measured the rise, the growth, and at least the beginning of the decline of Pietism. To sketch their biographies is therefore, in the main, to recount the history of the Pietistic movement.

3. History of the movement; lives of Spener and Francke.—(*a*) *Philipp Jakob Spener*, 'the father of Pietism,' was born at Rappoltsweiler, Alsace, in 1635. Trained under the influence of a devout godmother, he was impressed early in life by reading Arndt's *Vom wahren Christenthum* (Brunswick, 1606–09). Whilst a student at Strassburg, he found his 'father in Christ' in Johann Schmid. Taking his master's degree by a disputation against Hobbes's philosophy, he continued his studies at Basel, Geneva, Stuttgart, and Tübingen. At Geneva the influence of A. Leger and Jean de Labadie, the ex-Jesuit, combined with the piety, mysticism, and strict discipline of the place to shape his character. At Tübingen he read Grossgebauer's *Wächterstimme aus dem verwüsteten Zion* (Frankfort, 1661). In 1663 he became preacher at Strassburg, and lectured on philology and history. In 1666 he removed to Frankfort as chief Lutheran pastor. Here in 1670, developing an idea which he had previously tried at Strassburg, Spener instituted his famous 'Collegia Pietatis,' first in his own house, and subsequently in the church. His aim was to promote fellowship and Bible study; his means were catechizing, lecturing, and discussion. The name, and, according to Ritschl, the idea of such gatherings originated in Holland, where the 'Collegiants' met 'in collegia' for worship; but this has scarcely been proved. The attempt, inspired by good motives, was imitated, however, and in less capable hands, often indeed in the absence of all leadership, the Collegia gained a name for promoting heresies, fanaticism, and even graver abuses. Spener finally suppressed the meetings. Some were continued despite this, and mostly became separatist communities which seriously injured the good name of Pietism.

In 1675 Spener's *Pia Desideria* appeared in Frankfort. In it he advocated (1) earnest Bible study conducted in 'ecclesiolæ in ecclesia'; (2) a lay share in Church government, as the proper consequence of the Christian doctrine of the priesthood of believers; (3) that knowledge of Christianity is practical, not theoretical, and shown in charity, forgiveness, and devotion; (4) that, rather than denouncing their errors, sympathetic treatment should be given to unbelievers, to win them, if possible, to truth; (5) that theological training should be reorganized, and emphasis laid on devotion rather than on doctrine; and (6) that preaching should be more practical and less rhetorical. Spener followed up his contentions in *Das geistliche Priesterthum* (Frankfort, 1677) and *Allgemeine Gottesgelehrtheit* (do. 1680). In spite of the opposition of the orthodox, Spener's influence increased, and in 1686 he became court chaplain at Dresden. Here he offended the elector by rebuking his vices, but refused to resign his post. The Saxon court met the difficulty by obtaining for him the rectorship of St. Nicholas, Berlin, with the title Consistorial Inspector. Here, in a court where the tendency was rationalistic, Spener's true piety was honoured and appreciated.

In 1694 the University of Halle was founded, and Spener assisted in nominating the professors. Spener's coadjutor in the affairs of Halle was Christian Thomasius (1655–1728), the jurist and publicist. Thomasius is an interesting figure. A disciple of Hugo Grotius and Samuel Pufendorf, he had been professor of Natural Law at Leipzig. His views were provocative. He attacked traditional methods in law and theology alike, advocated toleration for all, even for such outlaws as witches and atheists, and advised mixed marriages between Lutheran and Calvinist. Denounced from the pulpits and forbidden to write or lecture, Thomasius had to flee to Berlin to escape arrest. Here he received a welcome, and, taking part in the formation of Halle University, became its rector and professor of Law. In regard to ecclesiastical matters, Thomasius contended that a sharp distinction must be made between that which is inward and that which is external in religion. Questions of piety and of doctrine are inward. The State should therefore leave them alone. In the external matters of worship and Church life, however, the State may rightly interfere, if necessary, to promote the general wellbeing of the country and to maintain peace and order. Thus rendering to Cæsar and to God the things which were respectively theirs, Thomasius reconciled his own broad sympathies with his position as a State servant. Personally he was in the main orthodox, holding that revealed religion was necessary for salvation. Though never a Pietist, and indeed not of the Pietist temperament, Thomasius is interesting as an example of the broader tendencies of his age. He maintained cordial relations with Spener, though in later life he parted from Francke. It is obvious, however, that he had much in common with Pietism's spirit of toleration and its undoctrinal bent, and his work at Halle binds his name indissolubly with the Pietistic movement.

Meanwhile Spener's influence was creating jealousy. The theological faculties of Wittenberg and Leipzig attacked him bitterly, the former censuring in 1695 no fewer than 264 errors laid to his charge. This thunderbolt fell harmlessly, however, and Spener reiterated his position in his *Theologische Bedenken* (Halle, 1700–02). His influence maintained itself, and the Pietistic movement continued to flourish. In 1705 Spener died in Berlin.

Spener's was a quiet, well-balanced mind. Himself a profound Bible student and a charitable practical man of devotion, he united Luther's stress upon Scripture with the insistence which the Reformed Church laid upon conduct. Strictly speaking, he was neither mystic nor quietist. He was not a separatist, nor did he desire that Pietism should become a separatist movement. Ritschl indeed declares that he was not truly a Pietist,

because he did not share in the more pronounced developments of Pietism, such as insistence upon a conscious crisis as necessary in the process of salvation, and a complete breach with the world. If this is an extreme statement, it is none the less true that, except for his insistence on the need for regeneration before a man should teach theology, and a belief that the restoration of the Jews and the fall of the papacy would precede the final victory of Christianity, there was little to distinguish Spener's views from the orthodox Lutheran creed of his day.

(*b*) *August Hermann Francke*, the second great leader of Pietism, was born at Lübeck in 1663. Losing his father at an early age, Francke owed his religious training to a godly mother. He studied at Erfurt and Kiel, where he first met Pietistic influences in the person of Christian Kortholt. He proceeded to Leipzig, where he became an accomplished Hebrew and Greek scholar, graduating in 1685. Here, with Paul Anton and Johann Caspar Schade, he founded the Collegium Philobiblicum to enable graduates to study the Scriptures together, both philologically and practically—a venture of which Spener expressed approval. Francke subsequently visited Spener, and, ultimately returning to Leipzig, lectured to crowded audiences. Opposition, however, soon arose, and Francke's Bible College was suppressed and his lectures forbidden. He thereupon withdrew to a pastorate at Erfurt, but a similar outburst of opposition caused the civil authorities to expel him at forty-eight hours' notice on the charge of forming a new sect. Three months later, at the end of 1691, Spener secured for him the unsalaried chair of Greek and Oriental Languages at Halle (where his colleagues were Anton, Joachim Lange, and Joachim Justus Breithaupt) and a pastorate at Glaucha. Here Francke remained for thirty-six years until his death in 1727, exchanging, in 1698, his former position for the chair of Theology.

Francke was a man of real gifts, eloquent, learned, saintly, and industrious (for his remarkable philanthropic work see below). It is said that, as a token of the respect which his character evoked, the whole town followed his body to the graveside. As a writer Francke was less able than Spener, but, besides controversial pamphlets, he left several works for students and some books of devotion.

With the death of Francke the activities of Pietism waned. Its main power was wielded in N. and Middle Germany, but it exercised some influence throughout Europe, and especially in Switzerland. Frederick I. supported the movement, decreeing in 1729 that all who desired appointments in Prussia must study two years at Halle. Frederick II. was unsympathetic, however, and Valentin Ernst Löscher of Dresden headed an opposing movement. While Pietism withstood this in the main successfully, by the middle of the 18th cent. its force was largely spent, although the violence of the opposition weakened contemporaneously with the decline of Pietism. During the period of rationalism which followed Pietism was quiescent, but its spirit, at least, subsequently revived, and, in better fellowship with orthodoxy, is not yet dead in German evangelical Church life.

A more moderate form of Pietism, centring in Würtemberg, flourished longer. Its leader was the famous Johann Albrecht Bengel (1687–1752), together with Friedrich Christoph Oetinger (1702–82) and others. Schaff compares the Würtemberg Pietists in their relation to Lutheranism with the early Methodists and Anglicanism. They aspired to be a movement within the Church, holding prayer-meetings, conducted by lay leaders (*Stundenhalter*), but attending church service and the sacraments. Unlike the Methodists, however, they did not entirely break away, the main body tending to become more churchly without being strict Lutherans. Some communities, like those of Kornthal and Wilhelmsdorf, seceded, following the tendency of so many Pietistic centres to become separatist.

The reaction against rationalism under Baroness von Krüdener was inspired by Pietistic influences, as was the party led by Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg which flourished at the close of the Napoleonic wars. It was mainly distinguished by its opposition to the scientific study of theology. But these were after-effects. The direct influence of Pietism ceased by the middle of the 18th century.

4. General principles of Pietism; its strength and weakness.—Spener's basis was experience. Without attacking doctrine, he relegated it to a minor place, emphasizing the will rather than knowledge, and insisting that justification by faith must be by a faith supported by works, such as repentance, conversion, and a changed life. A certain Puritan strain was manifested in the Pietist's condemnation of theatres, dancing, and such pursuits (adiaphora), and in the insistence that the regenerate alone were fitted to teach theology—a point which, somewhat strangely, gave great offence. Some Pietists indulged in millenarian speculation; many dabbled in mysticism; but, in the main, Pietism is justly to be called a movement of revaluation, which tried to attach to regeneration and sanctification as accomplished facts a higher value than to justification by faith as an approved theory. Pietism has been described as the last fruit of the heart-religion originated in the Franciscan movement; and also as the last great surge of the waves of the Reformation, and the final form of its Protestantism. Neither description is strictly accurate. 'Heart-religion' did not start with the Franciscans or end with Pietism; nor are the waves of the Reformation spent. Pietism was the reaction of the spirit against the letter. It sprang up in protest against the formalism of its day. But it represents a permanent spirit, for, just as tyranny provokes rebellion, and licentiousness creates a Puritan reaction, so will formalism always call up some form of Pietism.

The opposition to Pietism, as the lives of Spener and Francke reveal, was violent. It took the form of controversial literature, such as *Imago Pietismi* (1691), floods of pamphlets, heresy charges, and processes in the civil courts. Its first ground was doctrinal. The contemporary opponents of Pietism seized upon its antidoctrinal, or at least undoctrinal, character, alleging that it impoverished the doctrine of justification by faith by laying stress upon the subjective rather than the objective aspect of faith. They declared that Pietism was indifferent to the importance of correct knowledge in religion, and thus uprooted all sound theology. The Pietist stress upon the will offended the orthodox, who regarded the work of the Holy Spirit in conversion to be primarily in the illumination of the understanding, whereas the Pietists regarded it as consisting rather in the stimulation of the will. The later critics, however, chiefly bring charges of another character, mainly of fanaticism, though others see in the movement a retrograde tendency to Catholicism. It is suggested that the subsequent deterioration of Pietism was involved in its own principles. Its insistence upon new birth, separation from the world, and acute repentance is alleged to have led to exaggeration and frequent fanaticism. It is said to have indulged in wild prophecies, mysteries, bloody sweats, the formation

of independent communities, some fanatical like the millenarians, others criminal. A long list of unsavoury scandals can be collected, and men, like Gottfried Arnold (1666–1714), who began as Pietists and ended as fanatical mystics are quoted as examples. It is said that registers were kept for souls, and idle people supported themselves by uttering the shibboleth of Pietism, whilst others committed suicide in religious mania. Such criticism, however, defeats its own ends. It represents the Pietism of Spener and Francke as little as gluttony and drunkenness represent the philosophy of Epicurus. Pietism must be judged in the form in which it was presented by the actual leaders of the movement, not in the excesses to which it degenerated apart from their control. In this statement, however, the main weakness of Pietism is revealed. It was the lack of central control. Unlike Wesley, Spener allowed the movement that he initiated to develop unorganized and largely undisciplined. He let liberty become licence, and it led to degeneration. Spener judged that organization had killed spirituality in the Lutheran Church, but among the Pietists the lack of organization led to the same result. There were other causes. Pietism proclaimed a gospel of individual rather than universal salvation. It tended to leave the Church and the world as evil and to seek purity in isolation. There was also opposition, and subsequently the undermining influence of the rationalistic movement. But the chief cause of the decay of Pietism was none the less the false individualism which left every Pietist community free to direct its own destinies in its own way. The decay of Pietism came when it had worn down opposition; and the influence of rationalism, though hostile, is least potent of all against spiritual movements. One can but conclude that the prime cause of the ultimate failure of Pietism to maintain itself lay in the fatal error of believing that spirituality needs no organization.

5. The results of Pietism.—(*a*) *In the Church.*—Though the critics of Pietism allege that the *ecclesiolæ in ecclesia* weakened Church organization and led to separatism, there is little doubt that Pietism tended in the main to restore vitality to the Church. It showed afresh the importance of religious experience; it revealed the religious value of feeling and of practical Bible study; it vindicated lay rights. It led to some improvement in the conduct of worship and a better liturgy. It gave a fresh impetus to hymnology and religious poetry. Paul Gerhardt's hymns proved an inspiration to the Pietists, and stimulated their own production. Spener and Francke both wrote hymns, though Spener's are poor and Francke's few. Better known are those of J. A. Freylinghausen; whilst among the hymn-writers influenced more or less by Pietism may be counted W. C. Dessler, B. Schmolck, J. J. Schütz, and G. Tersteegen. Although the Pietistic movement died out without effecting the thorough renewal of the life of the Church which it aimed at securing, its indirect influence tended to restore a truer conception of religion and a more intelligent form of worship, and the legacy which it left became the joint property of many subsequent forms of evangelical revival.

(*b*) *Philanthropy.*—Perhaps the most enduring result of Pietism was the fresh impetus which it gave to philanthropic work. Francke established the famous Halle schools in 1795, and the foundation still exists. The work began modestly with a ragged school in his own house. Two years later a special building was taken, which had grown at the time of Francke's death to a large institution, supporting nearly 150 orphans, and educating between 2000 and 3000 poor children, for the most part gratuitously. The system of education was both religious and technical. It embraced natural science, physical exercises, various trades, and the German tongue. One by one were established a printing press, hospital, library, farm, brewery, and laboratory. A teachers' training college was also added and a Bible Society under Karl Hildebrand von Canstein. The best side of Pietism is illustrated in the Halle orphanage—a work which gained for it the support of those to whom its purely religious propaganda did not appeal.

Pietism was also a pioneer in foreign missionary activities. Frederick IV. of Denmark, acting under the influence of Julius Lütkens, the court preacher, who was a friend of Spener and Francke, sent men to Halle for training, and asked Francke to find missionaries to Danish E. Indian possessions. In 1704 a mission was thus established at Tranquebar, and the Danish-Halle mission received the congratulations of George I. of England. The Moravian missionary movement also owes much of its strength to the Pietist strain in its ancestry.

(*c*) *Other movements.*—The Moravians (*q.v.*) may be regarded as indirectly an offshoot of Pietism. Zinzendorf was Spener's godson and a pupil in the Halle schools. From Pietism he learned not only the missionary fervour which characterized the Moravian community, but the emphasis on vital religion also. Through the Moravians the Pietist influence came down to Schleiermacher (*q.v.*), and is found in the insistence which his philosophy lays upon feeling. The Lutheran stress upon knowledge, changed by Spener to emphasis upon will, becomes in Schleiermacher a doctrine of feeling, and in this sense also, despite Ritschl's anti-Pietistic strictures, the Ritschlian theology has its Pietistic strain. Indirectly linked with Pietism by means of Moravianism is the Methodist revival under John Wesley (see art. METHODISM).

By a strange contradiction, the *Aufklärung*, which represented the antithesis of Pietism's religious views, was in some part prepared by the Pietistic movement. In the first place, the individualism of Pietism, which attracted the robust common sense of Thomasius, prepared for the individualism of 'the Enlightenment' (*q.v.*), and, in addition, the reduction of emphasis upon doctrine provided an atmosphere of greater freedom. It is noteworthy that Johann Salomo Semler, who was one of the forerunners of theological rationalism, came from Halle, where he was professor in 1752.

Through these channels the stream of Pietism ran down to the sea and lost itself. If now the watercourse is dry, at least it may be said that the flow was not in vain. Outwardly the record of Pietism is that of a movement which spent itself, but those who take a wider view will see that it was not lost as an influence when it ceased to have an independent course as a movement. The spirit of Pietism survived its body, and still lives in every form of intensive and devotional religious life.

LITERATURE.—A. Tholuck, *Das kirchliche Leben des 17ten Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1862, *Gesch. des Rationalismus*, pt. i., do. 1865; H. Schmid, *Gesch. des Pietismus*, Nördlingen, 1868; A. Ritschl, *Gesch. des Pietismus*, 3 vols., Bonn, 1880–86; E. Sachsse, *Ursprung und Wesen des Pietismus*, Wiesbaden, 1884; W. Hübener, *Der Pietismus geschichtlich und dogmatisch beleuchtet*, Zwickau, 1901; P. Grünberg, *Philipp Jakob Spener*, Göttingen, 1893; J. Jungst, *Pietisten*, Tübingen, 1906; J. M. Carré, *Le Piétisme de Halle* (reprint from *La Revue de Synthèse historique*, lxxxi. [1913]), Abbeville, 1913; I. A. Dorner, *Hist. of Protestant Theology*, Eng. tr., 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1871; W. Gass, *Gesch. der protestantischen Dogmatik*, 4 vols., Berlin, 1854–67; A. C. McGiffert, *Protestant Thought before Kant*, London, 1911; H. von Schubert, *Outlines of Church History*, Eng. tr., do. 1907; *PRE*[3] and *RGG*, *s.v.* 'Pietismus.'

E. S. WATERHOUSE.

PILGRIMAGE.

Arabian and Muhammadan (T. W. JUYNBOLL), p. 10.
Babylonian (T. G. PINCHES), p. 12.
Buddhist (A. S. GEDEN), p. 13.
Christian (L. D. AGATE), p. 18.
Hebrew and Jewish (W. POPPER), p. 23.
Indian (W. CROOKE), p. 24.
Japanese (M. ANESAKI), p. 27.

PILGRIMAGE (Arabian and Muhammadan).—**1. Pilgrimages in early Arabia.**—A religious feast like that annually celebrated by the heathen Arabs in the neighbourhood of Meccah was called *ḥajj*. This word (like Heb. חג; see, *e.g.*, Ex 10^9 12^{14}, Dt 16^{10}) designated a periodical feast at any sacred place, to which the worshippers on that occasion made a pilgrimage. Probably there were various holy places in Arabia, where such a *ḥajj* took place. Epiphanius, *e.g.*, mentions the word Ἀγγαθαλβαειθ (*i.e.* 'the *ḥajj* to the holy temple') as being the Arabic name of a month in N. Arabia. We may suppose that 'the' holy temple to which this pilgrimage was made was a local sanctuary in that country, and not the distant Ka'bah at Meccah (cf. J. Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidentums*[2], p. 85).

Only the great *ḥajj*, celebrated annually by various Arabic tribes at the holy mountains of 'Arafah and at adjacent places, in the sacred month of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah, has survived the ancient paganism, since Muhammad incorporated these ceremonies in a somewhat modified form into his own religion. The feast took place at the end of the year (see Wellhausen, p. 94 ff.) and had originally, we may suppose, a magical character. Its purpose in early times must have been to get a happy new year with plenty of rain and sunshine, prosperity, and abundance of cattle and corn. Great fires were lit at 'Arafah and Muzdalifah, probably to induce the sun to shine in the new year. Water was poured on the ground as a charm against drought (hence, probably, the 8th of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah was called 'the day of *tarwiyah*,' *i.e.* 'the day of moistening [the ground]'). Perhaps the throwing of stones at certain places in Minā, a relic of the primitive heathenism, was originally a symbol of throwing away the sins of the past year, and in this way a sort of charm against punishment and misfortune. Other theories, however, are defended by V. Chauvin ('Le Jet des pierres au pèlerinage de la Mecque,' *Ann. de l'Acad. royale d'archéol. de Belgique*, v. iv. [1902] 272–300; cf. M. T. Houtsma, 'Het skopelisme en het steenwerpen te Mina,' *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Kon. Acad. van Wetenschappen*, IV. vi. [1894] 194–217) and many others. The excessive hurry and noise which characterized the run from 'Arafah to Muzdalifah and from Muzdalifah to Minā seem originally to have had some magical meaning. The three days at Minā (11th–13th of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah) were 'days of eating, drinking, and sensual enjoyments,' according to Muslim tradition; fasting during that time was even forbidden—evidently as a symbol of the abundance that was hoped for in the following year.

Every pilgrim entered upon a special state of sacredness (*iḥrām*) during the *ḥajj*. In this state certain things, allowable at other times, were forbidden. The *muḥrim* (*i.e.* he who was in the state of *iḥrām*) was not allowed, *e.g.*, to cut his hair or nails or to shave his head. His whole body had to be left uncovered, though he might wear two pieces of white cloth (the so-called *ridā* and *izār*). We can hardly doubt that the real purpose of the various obligations of abstinence imposed on the *muḥrim* (cf. the Hebrew Nazirite) was originally to bring the pilgrim into a state of magical power and to strengthen the magical influence of the *ḥajj* ritual.

It must be observed, however, that in the time of Muhammad the original meaning of the old ceremonies was long forgotten. Indeed, the feast had no longer much religious, but rather a commercial, importance for the contemporaries of the Prophet, since during the *ḥajj* Meccah and the neighbouring market-places were visited by the Arabic tribes, even from distant countries. Every one could travel and trade then without fear, on account of the general truce between the tribes during the sacred months.

Pilgrimages were also made in early Arabia to the Ka'bah, the old heathen temple at Meccah. The most sacred spot of this sanctuary was the eastern corner in which the venerated Black Stone was fixed, opposite the holy well of Zemzem. It was especially in the sacred month of Rajab (the 7th month of the year) that the Ka'bah was visited by pilgrims, who made circuits round the building and sacrificed first-born camels and sheep. Meccah was surrounded by a *ḥaram* (sacred territory), the boundary of which was marked by stones. He who entered this sacred territory assumed the state of *iḥrām*, and would then pay a religious visit to the Ka'bah. The worshipping of the Meccan sanctuary was called *'umrah* (*i.e.* cultus, cultivation of the sacred building) and, as it seems, was not connected with the annual *ḥajj* of 'Arafah.

2. Incorporation of ḥajj and 'umrah into Islām by Muhammad.—Muhammad had seen the *ḥajj* since his youth. When he began to preach, he had no reason for enjoining the old Arabic rites as a religious duty on his followers. For in the revealed books of the Jews and Christians no divine prescripts were given as to the *ḥajj* feast. After the *hijrah*, however, as Muhammad had persuaded himself that the Jews and Christians had changed the true sense of their sacred books, he concluded that the Ka'bah and the ritual connected with this 'house of God' had belonged originally to the true religion, and were founded according to the will of Allāh by Ibrāhīm (Abraham), the great prophet of the Jews and Christians as well as of the Arabs. As a consequence of this theory, the pilgrimage to Meccah now became a religious duty for the Muslims at Medīnah, in the second year after the *hijrah*. Several verses of the Qur'ān, all relating to the Ka'bah and the ceremonies which must be performed there, were now revealed (see, *e.g.*, ii. 185–199, iii. 89 ff., xxii. 25 ff.).

But the unbelieving inhabitants of Meccah refused to admit the Muslims into the sacred city, and it was not till A.H. 6 that Muhammad tried to go with his followers to Meccah. The first attempt failed. As soon as the Meccans heard that the Muslims were approaching, they prepared themselves for stern resistance. The two parties met at Ḥudaibiyah, on the frontier of the sacred territory. Negotiations were opened there, and it was settled that the Muslims should return to Medīnah, but should be allowed to celebrate their feast in Meccah the next year. According to this treaty, the Prophet came in A.H. 7 with many of his followers to Meccah, and made the so-called *'umrat al-qadhā* (*i.e.* 'the *'umrah* whereby was performed at last what was neglected till

this time,' or perhaps 'the *'umrah* of the treaty').

Since Meccah was conquered by Muhammad in A.H. 8, many Muslims joined in the *ḥajj*, at first along with the unbelieving Arabs and without the Prophet himself. But, in A.H. 8, Qur'ān ix. 1 ff. and 28 were revealed. In these verses Allāh declared that all treaties between the Muslims and unbelievers must be revoked, and that nobody who was not a true Muslim might approach Meccah or the *ḥajj*. Alī ibn Abī Tālib (afterwards the fourth *khalīfah*) was sent to Meccah by the Prophet to promulgate this revelation among the pilgrims assembled at the *ḥajj* of that year.

Thus, in A.H. 10, all unbelievers were excluded from the feast, and now the Prophet came from Medīnah to Meccah in order to partake himself in the *ḥajj* and to reform the old heathen ceremonies into a good Muslim service. All later Muslims have conformed to the example set by the Prophet at this pilgrimage—the so-called *ḥajjat al-wadā'* (*i.e.* 'the farewell *ḥajj*,' because it took place in the year before his death).

3. Muslim pilgrimages (ḥajj, 'umrah, and ziyārah).—The various ceremonies of the Meccan pilgrimage have often been described, not only by Muslim authors, but also by Europeans who have witnessed them. Moreover, the Muslim law-books contain full details about all that a pilgrim has to do during the days of the *ḥajj*. The pilgrimage to Meccah is called in Muslim law one of the five 'pillars' of Islām. It is a religious duty for every Muslim 'who is able to make the journey to Meccah' (Qur'ān, iii. 91)—for women as well as for men. In a few cases believers are exempted from this duty—*e.g.*, if they have not sufficient means to pay their expenses or to provide for the support of their households till their return, or if the journey to Meccah is peculiarly dangerous on account of war or epidemic; also a woman ought not to go unless accompanied by her husband or a near relative.

At the present day most of the pilgrims arrive in the holy city from Jiddah, where they are landed by the steamers of various countries. Those who travel overland come with one of the caravans to Meccah. The two best known caravans in modern times are the Syrian, which comes from Damascus, and the Egyptian, which starts from Cairo. Each has a so-called *maḥmal*, *i.e.* a camel with a richly-ornamented saddle such as distinguished Arabic women used to ride upon. The *maḥmal* was a sort of banner in Arabia. In ancient times several *maḥmals* often appeared at the *ḥajj*, every independent *sulṭān* or *emīr* sending his own caravan to the *ḥajj* with a *maḥmal* as a visible mark of his high dignity (see C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, i. 29, 83 ff., 105). This custom was held in honour by the Turkish *sulṭāns*, who even continued to send the Egyptian as well as the Syrian caravan with a *maḥmal*, though they had become *khalīfahs* of the whole Muslim territory.

In the holy city pilgrims usually begin by performing the ceremonies of the *'umrah*, the so-called 'little pilgrimage' to the Meccan sanctuaries. Almost every pilgrim requires the assistance and information of a Meccan guide (*dalīl*, *muṭawwif*, or *shaikh*) to instruct him in the ritual and teach him to recite the prescribed sacred formulæ. The Muslim *'umrah* consists mainly of the four following ceremonies:

(1) Before entering the *ḥaram* of Meccah, the pilgrims must assume the state of *iḥrām*, abstaining thereafter from worldly affairs and devoting themselves entirely to religious duties. The inhabitants of Meccah, when performing an *'umrah*, must go out of the *ḥaram*. They assume the state of *iḥrām* on the frontier (usually at Tan'im, which is therefore often called 'Umrah).

(2) The pilgrim then proceeds to the *ṭawāf* (the circuit of the Ka'bah). He begins at the Black Stone in the eastern corner of the Ka'bah, and walks round the temple seven times. When passing the eastern corner, he must kiss the Black Stone. If the crowd is so great that he cannot get near enough to do this, he must touch it with his hand or with a stick or must look towards it.

(3) The next ceremony is the *sa'y* (the running or circuiting) between Ṣafā and Marwah, two sacred places in the immediate neighbourhood of the great mosque of Meccah. Ṣafā and Marwah must once have been hills, which were held in reverence by the Meccans. In later times the soil of Meccah has risen considerably and at the present day Ṣafā and Marwah hardly show above the surrounding houses. A revelation (Qur'ān, ii. 153) has confirmed the sacred character of these places. Starting from Ṣafā, the pilgrim runs seven times between the two sanctuaries, in a prescribed manner, moving his shoulders.

(4) At last, arriving at Marwah, he goes to the barber there, who shaves his head and thereby ends the state of *iḥrām*. Originally the ritual shaving of the head must have been a sign that a sacrifice or other religious act was performed.

The *'umrah* can be performed at any time and as often as the individual Muslim likes. The inhabitants of Meccah usually do it in the month of Ramaḍān because this is the special month for religious acts.

Before the beginning of the *ḥajj*, on the 7th of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah, a *khaṭīb* ('preacher'), usually the *qāḍī* of Meccah, gives an address in the great mosque at Meccah to remind the pilgrims of the ritual of the following days. Next day (8th of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah) most of the pilgrims enter upon the state of *iḥrām* for the *ḥajj*, and depart from Meccah to 'Arafah, which can be reached in about four hours by camel. According to the law-books, it is best to pass the night in Munā (formerly Minā), about half-way between Meccah and 'Arafah, but usually the great majority of the pilgrims go directly to the plain of 'Arafah. There the *wuḳūf* takes place on the 9th of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah. The Muslim *wuḳūf* is simply the staying or standing in the plain of 'Arafah for the prescribed time (just after mid-day till a little after sunset). This ceremony is also a 'pillar' of the Muslim *ḥajj*. There are no special rules for the *wuḳūf* in the law-books. The pilgrims are only waiting there. Wellhausen thinks that this ceremony was of more importance in pagan times, and was perhaps a general sacrifice for all the pilgrims.

After sunset the *ifāḍhah* begins (*i.e.* the running from 'Arafah to Muzdalifah, half-way between 'Arafah and Munā)—according to the old heathen usage, with great hurry and noise. The pilgrims pass the second night in Muzdalifah, and many of them are present at the second *wuḳūf* there in the early morning. Before sunrise the journey to Munā must be continued.

In Munā the great offering-feast is celebrated on the 10th of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah. This day is therefore called the *yaum an-naḥr* ('the day of slaughtering'). The sacrifice is preceded by the ceremony of throwing seven pebbles to the *jamrah al-'Akabah* (*i.e.* the heap of pebbles close to the mountain-road) at Munā; to-day this place is marked by a sort of buttress of rude masonry about 8 ft. high by 2½ ft. broad. The Muslims say that this ceremony has been performed since the time of Ibrāhīm because the devil (Shaitān) tried to seduce him on this spot. Before throwing each of the seven pebbles, the pilgrim must say: 'In the name of God, Allāh is almighty!'

The sacrifice at Munā, strictly speaking, concludes the *ḥajj*, and the pilgrim may then shave his head. But, before returning to the ordinary profane state, he should go to Meccah and make the *ṭawāf* round the Ka'bah, followed by a *sa'y* between Ṣafā and Marwah, if he has not already performed this ceremony on his first arrival at Meccah. It is, however, not necessary to perform the *ṭawāf* and *sa'y* on the 10th of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah, though it is a meritorious act. It may be done also on one of the following days.

The remaining days, the 11th, 12th, and 13th of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah, are called the three days of the *tashrīq*. The original sense of this word is uncertain (cf. T. W. Juynboll, 'Über die Bedeutung des Wortes Taschrīḳ,' *ZA* xxvii. [1912] 1–7). It is commonly explained by later Muslims as the drying of the flesh of the victims in the sun. The pilgrims should spend these days at Munā, eating, drinking, and making merry. Moreover, they must again throw seven pebbles each day at each of the three *jimār* ('heaps of pebbles') at Munā. The law, however, allows a return from Munā to Meccah on the second day, and many pilgrims avail themselves of this privilege. Having finished the *ḥajj*, the pilgrim, before leaving Meccah, should perform a farewell *ṭawāf* round the Ka'bah.

Other pilgrimages, which are not expressly prescribed by Muslim law (*e.g.*, pilgrimages to the tombs of saints in various countries) are generally called *ziyārah* ('visit') by the Muslims. The *ziyārah* to the tomb of the Prophet at Medīnah is regarded as a religious act from which many blessings accrue. Most of the pilgrims visit it before or after the *ḥajj*.

LITERATURE.—C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Mekkaansche feest*, Leyden, 1880, 'Über meine Reise nach Mekka,' *Verhandl. der Gesellsch. für Erdkunde zu Berlin*, xiv. [1887] 138 ff., *Mekka*, 2 vols., The Hague, 1888–89 (with Bilderatlas), *Bilder aus Mekka*, Leyden, 1889, 'Notes sur le mouvement du pèlerinage de la Mecque,' *RMM* xv. [1911] 397–413; J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*[2], Berlin, 1897, pp. 68–101; T. W. Juynboll, *Handbuch des islāmischen Gesetzes*, Leyden, 1910, pp. 134–158; Ali Bey el-Abbasi (Badia y Leblich), *Travels*, Eng. tr., 2 vols., London, 1816; J. L. Burckhardt, *Travels in Arabia*, 2 vols., do. 1829; R. F. Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah*, do. 1855–56, ii.; J. F. T. Keane, *Six Months in Meccah*, do. 1881; C. M. Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, Cambridge, 1888, i.; H. von Maltzahn, *Meine Wallfahrt nach Mekka*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1865; H. Kazem Zadeh, 'Relation d'un pèlerinage à la Mecque en 1910–1911,' *RMM* xix. [1912] 144–227; C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti, *Voyages d' Ibn-Batoutah; texte arabe, accompagné d'une traduction*, Paris, 1853–59, i. 299–404; Al-Batanūnī, *Al-Riḥlah al-Ḥijāziyah*, Cairo, 1911 (with many interesting photographs).

T. W. JUYNBOLL.

PILGRIMAGE (Babylonian).—By this word most people understand a journey to a holy place or shrine, either in the pilgrim's native land or abroad. The object of a pilgrimage is to obtain some benefit, material, moral, or spiritual, which the sanctity of the chosen spot is thought to confer. It is true that pilgrimage may be undertaken because such a journey is regarded as meritorious, but the idea of the acquisition of divine favour, either directly or through a saint, is seldom absent. All kinds of benefits may be asked in return for the labour and travail, from the healing of a bodily infirmity to the gift of everlasting life.

1. Frequency of pilgrimages.—Though pilgrimages were probably not among the means of grace recognized by the Assyro-Babylonians, they were far from rare. The making of a journey, either for business or for pleasure, must have furnished, in many instances, an opportunity for acquiring the merit or the benefit which a pilgrimage conferred. In such a case the advantages connected therewith would be merely a matter of chance, due to the seizing of the opportunity, for the Babylonians and Assyrians were much addicted to the observance of omens, and those connected with a visit to a place would naturally attract attention and lead to the decision to profit thereby. Several fragments of a tablet, or a series of tablets, dealing with the advantages to be gained from tours of this kind exist, and are of some interest in those cases where the lines are complete. The following are examples of the benefits promised:

'If he go to Laban, he will build a house' (word-play, *labānu* meaning 'to make bricks'). 'If he go to the house (temple) of the Seven (*ilu Imina-bi*, the divine Seven), he will attain perfection (*išallim*)' (due to seven being the number of perfection).

'If he go to the city Nippur, grief of a day, peace of a year' (Nippur was the renowned shrine, first of Enlil, the older Bēl, afterwards of the god En-urta). 'If he go to Tindir (Babylon), trouble of a day, peace of a year' (there is no need to mention the importance of Babylon as a holy centre). 'If he go to Namma, and swim in the divine river (*ilu Nâru*), he will exercise power, his days will be long' (Namma [Nammu] is probably another name of the Euphrates, which was apparently a holy river like the Ganges; in the above extract Namma, which was one of the names of the river-god, was also the name of a town). 'If he go to Sirpur [probably for *Sirpurla* = Lagaš], he will be plundered' (perhaps we have to read *Sirgul*, the modern Zerghul, in which case the pun may have been by comparison with *širqu*, 'theft').

Omens of this nature were numerous, but so far comparatively few have been found.

2. Stories of visits to holy places.—Records of pilgrimages are, for several reasons, few in Assyro-Babylonian literature. It does not seem probable that pilgrimages, unconnected with other business, were often undertaken. In addition to this, it was the custom among the Babylonians, and probably among the Assyrians as well, to send their deities from place to place, in order that they might receive the homage of the faithful; and journeys to worship them, or to obtain the advantages which a pilgrimage brought, were not so much needed. The most noteworthy instance of a pilgrimage is the great journey of Gilgameš, king of Erech, to the abode of Ut-napištim, the Babylonian Noah, who had been placed by the god whom he worshipped in 'a remote place at the mouths of the rivers.' Among the benefits sought by the hero was the gift of knowing how he might attain immortality. In this case, as the Babylonian patriarch could not be brought to Gilgameš, Gilgameš had to go to him (see *ERE* ii. 315[b]–316[a], vi. 643). The descent of Ištar into Hades to bring forth Tammuz, her husband, can hardly be regarded as a pilgrimage in the true sense of the term, as no devotional or spiritual benefit was sought. Different, again, is the legend of Etanna, who tried to visit Ištar in heaven, mounting thither on the back of an eagle. The aerial journey was undertaken to invoke the goddess's favour on behalf of the hero's expected child, but apparently failed because he feared to mount so high (see *ERE* ii. 315[a], vi. 644).

3. Travelling in general.—Babylonian tablets of from *c.* 2300 to 2000 B.C. testify to a considerable intercourse by road between the various towns of S. Babylonia and Elam. These record the transport of provisions, principally drink (probably herb-beer), food, and oil, which were sent to various cities, generally such as were considered sacred on account of their shrines and fanes. Among the places most commonly mentioned are Ur, Nippur, Susa, Anšan (the old capital of Elam), Adamdun (probably in the same district), Kimaš, U-uru-a, Šabu[m], and Ḫuḫunuri. The persons mentioned in connexion with these consignments are messengers, 'couriers,' and officials who may be classed as 'retainers.' All these seem to have journeyed from the temples of the cities where they lived, on behalf of their employers, though some at least went on their own account. Noteworthy is a statement of a tablet in a private collection, in which one of the persons mentioned is the king's son:

'30 *qa* of drink, 30 *qa* of food, ½ *gin* of oil,
Šu-dada.
10 *qa* of fine drink, 10 *qa* of food, 10 *gin* of oil,
Sur-Ninsun, the son of the king.'

That journeys are intended is shown by those lists in which the consignments are described as having been either 'within the city' or 'for the road':

'60 *qa* of royal drink,
60 *qa* of food,
1 *qa* of sesame-oil,
Abum-šallum, viceroy of Šabu[m].
2 *qa* of drink, 2 *qa* of food.

2 *gin* of oil within the city,
1 *gur* of herb-beer, 5 *qa* of food for the road,
Maš, the "retainer."
They have taken (the above) to Sabu^{m}.'

Similar entries follow these. The date is 'Month of the Festival of Tammuz.'

As there is no reference to viceroy Abu^{m}-šallu^{m}'s provisions 'for the road,' he may have been coming to Lagaš, where the tablet was found. Maš, on the other hand, required provisions, as he was going to Sabu^{m}.[1]

4. Vicarious pilgrimages.—In some cases these tablets may record vicarious pilgrimages, made at the request of people who, unable or unwilling to leave their homes, sent others to represent them, and possibly to make offerings on their behalf. In all probability these journeys were in parties or caravans.

5. Later instances.—One of the most interesting visits to a holy place is that of Shalmaneser II. to Babylon, as recorded on the Bronze Gates of Balawat discovered by Hormuzd Rassam. This king relates that, after leaving Marduk-šum-iddina, king of Babylon (851 B.C.), he found 'the fulness of his heart,' and Merodach commanded him to go to Babylon and Cuthah, where the king caused offerings to be made. At Ê-sagila (the temple of Belus in Babylon) he directed the ceremonies and more offerings were made. Afterwards Shalmaneser 'took the road' to Borsippa, and made offerings to Nebo. Entering Ê-zida (the temple of Nebo at Borsippa), he caused the rites to be conducted reverently, and offered plentifully 'great oxen and fat sheep.' At both Babylon and Borsippa he made drink-offerings, and there were feasts, with food and wine. The result of all this devotion was that the gods regarded Shalmaneser, though an alien king, with joy, and heard his prayer. Two hundred years later (*c.* 650 B.C.), King Aššur-bani-âpli went to Arbela to supplicate the goddess of war, Ištar of Arbela, for her divine help against the Elamites.

6. Pilgrimages in a private capacity.—These are not always certain — they may have been simply ordinary acts of worship. Thus Meissner's rendering of *ûlki* (from *âlâku*, 'to go') as 'my duty'—'I am firm in my duty at Ê-zida with regard to my father'—makes the possibility that Bêl-uḫḫu (?) went on a pilgrimage to the temple of Nebo to pray for his father very doubtful. Nevertheless he did visit the temple on his father's behalf:

'The son of the temple [Nebo, the god worshipped there], when I had prayed with regard to thee, set the time for success as being until the 4th day.'

This grace applied not only to his father Kunâ, but also to all his people. In no. 865 of R. F. Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters* (London, 1902) the writers' statement that 'he [the king] entered Babylon—he kissed the ground before Merodach and Zêr-panîtu^{m}' (*i.e.* in the temple of Belus) likewise implies at least a turning aside to perform a religious duty. But more to the point, apparently, is the following (from Babylon):

'Letter from Marduk-ibni to Šišku, my brother. May Merodach and Zêr-panîtu^{m} promise the prosperity and the preservation of my brother. Behold, Iddina-Bêl has gone up with me to Sûnu—we made an offering there with Nergal-iddina, his brother. I am looking after your interests.'

Here, again, we have (to all appearance) the combination of business with religious duties.

7. The legend of the 'Mother of Sin.'—This is a bilingual record in which, after describing the misfortunes of the 'royal maid,' as the 'sinful mother' is called, the text, in a fresh paragraph, continues:

'Come, let us go to him, let us go to him!
As for me, to his city, let us go to him!
To the city, to the wonders, let us go to him!

To the city, to the city, to Babylon's foundation,
At the command Ištar gave,
The maid Ama-namtaga (the Mother of Sin) passed through the dust.'

Here follows a long account of Ištar's punishments, from which it would appear that not only did the 'sinful mother' make a pilgrimage to the holy places Kullab, Erech's foundation, Zazabu's foundation, Hursag-kalama at Kis, and Ê-tur-kalama ('the house of the world's repose'), but she had also to do penance and submit to Ištar's punishments, performed by her servants and ministers. The record is unfortunately incomplete, but it is probable that the deity referred to by the pronoun was Tammuz, Ištar's spouse, whom the 'sinful mother' had offended in some way.

Though the records are apparently scanty and doubtful, the journeys which pilgrimages imply were far from uncommon in Assyria and Babylonia, as the fragments referring to the benefit to be gained from visits to sacred places seem to show.

LITERATURE.—M. Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, Giessen, 1905 ff., i. 73, 94; T. G. Pinches, *The Amherst Tablets*, i., London, 1908, nos. 70–72, 74, 76, 77, 115, 120, etc., *The Babylonian Tablets of the Berens Collection*, do. 1915, nos. 16, 79–81, 84, 85, 91, 92, etc.; *RP*, 2nd ser., iv. [1890] 77–79; P. Jensen, 'Assyrisch-babylon. Mythen und Epen,' *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, iv. [Berlin, 1900] 116 ff.

T. G. PINCHES.

PILGRIMAGE (Buddhist).—In the earliest order and scheme of Buddhist monastic life, if the sacred books of the Tripiṭaka may be taken to reflect faithfully and in general the teaching of the Founder, there was no recognition of the duty or advantage of pilgrimage, and no sanction given to the practice. Gautama Buddha neither forbade nor enjoined his followers to imitate that which Hindu example must already have made sufficiently familiar—the journeyings to near or distant shrines for spiritual benefit and to render homage. It was impossible that with his views and teaching with regard to the future life he should have allowed the existence or recognized the validity of a habit founded upon the belief in the continuity and permanence of existence after death. The slight evidence available, however, indicates that very soon after the *parinirvāṇa*, and probably in connexion with the distribution of the relics and the building of memorial *stūpas* over them, the practice arose among the adherents and friends of the Buddha of visiting the places thus consecrated by the presence of the earthly remains of their honoured teacher and guide. From this it was an easy step to a practice of pilgrimage which endeavoured at one and the same time to secure personal advantage from a visit to the shrine and to honour the saint whose name and fame were there commemorated. Whatever its origin, the habit of pilgrimage is and for many centuries has been wide-spread in Buddhism, not only in the Mahāyāna school, where it is most prevalent, but also in the Hīnayāna of the south.

1. Origin.—It appears probable therefore that Buddhist usage in this respect is, in the first instance at least, imitative of Hindu practice, and grew up independently of any direct command. It is perhaps not without significance also that the Pāli form of the Sanskrit word for pilgrimage (*pravrajyā*, Pāli *pabbajjā*, lit. 'a going forth,' 'retirement from the world') should be the technical term for admission or 'ordination' to the first grade of the Buddhist monkhood. The pilgrim (*pravrajita*, *pravrājaka*, Pāli *pabbajita*) is defined in the *Dhammapada* as one who has abandoned

[1] As an illustration of these journeys in connexion with temples, that in which the priests (of Sippar), *c.* 1850 B.C., give a ½ shekel of silver to buy grain for a journey may, perhaps, be quoted (A. Ungnad, *Hammurabi's Gesetz*, Leipzig, 1909, no. 481, in vol. iii. p. 134). The amount was the gift of the chief singer (*nâru rabû*).

the world (x. i. 89); and in an earlier verse (i. 75) it is declared that the heedless pilgrim, so far from securing good, only scatters more widely the dust of his (unsubdued) passions. In these and other passages of the early literature there is no direct mention of any aim or purpose other than that of retirement from the world to assume the rank and status of a member of the Saṅgha. There was certainly, however, in the writer's mind the practice, wide-spread and familiar in his time, of a wandering ascetic life which was not entirely aimless, but contemplated visits to sacred temples or shrines as the profitable and meritorious end of its often toilsome and prolonged journeyings.

In all probability also the injunction laid upon Buddhist monks to adopt a wandering mode of existence without settled home or habitation contributed to the facility with which they adopted the Hindu practice of pilgrimage to the sacred places associated with their religious history and faith.[1] Only in the season of the rains, in Vassa, were they prohibited from travelling about, lest injury should be done to living creatures (*Mahāvagga*, iii.). At all other periods of the year the Buddhist monk was to be 'homeless,' possessed of no stated or fixed residence; and a habit or passion for wandering taken up as a religious duty by men to whom the idea of pilgrimage was not unfamiliar, and among a people whose nomadic mode of existence lay probably not many centuries in the past, readily developed into the practice of travel for a religious purpose to a formal and definite destination. The institution of Vassa, with its prohibition of travel, would necessarily place difficulties in the way of continuous or lengthy pilgrimages to distant shrines. In practice, however, the difficulty does not seem to have been felt. The early books and narratives, especially of the Chinese pilgrims, record prolonged journeyings in which there is no reference to interruption or delay caused by the observance of rules for retirement in the season of the rains.

In the later Buddhist literature of both the Northern and the Southern schools references to pilgrimage and the sacred places whither the pilgrims resort are not infrequent. In the *Buddha Charita* the statement recurs that purification from sin may be attained by dwelling or bathing at sacred places;[2] and these holy centres of pilgrimage are ladders to heaven.[3] The extravagant assertion is even ventured that the Buddha himself created millions of ascetics,[4] whose wanderings are more or less indefinite pilgrimages from shrine to shrine. Holy streams and *tīrthas* are recognized in the earliest homes of Buddhism, in part no doubt derived from Hindu custom, but partly associated with Buddhist history and religious origins.[5] Elsewhere right-minded and pious Buddhists are said to have their places of pilgrimage;[6] it is a pious duty to build *chaityas* (Pāli *cetiya*) in honour of Buddhas,[7] where their relics are preserved, and miracles are wrought in the presence of the assembled worshippers.[8]

In the later Mahāyāna literature therefore, and in writings of the Southern school that have come under the influence of this type of thought, the Buddha himself is represented as declaring the sacred character of shrines and other places associated with the lives of holy men and inculcating the virtue and duty of pilgrimage thereto.[1] It is hardly probable that this feature of his teaching is original. It bears rather the impress of a later practice, introduced from ancient Hindu usage, and in harmony with the natural desire to maintain communion with and do honour to the dead; and is part of the esoteric and mystical teaching which, according to Mahāyānist belief and assertion, was formulated by Gautama during the later years of his life. There is no real evidence in support of this; and in regard to the doctrine of the life after death and kindred ideas, or those which imply the possibility of relations between the living and the dead and the individual consciousness and capacity for good or evil of the latter, it is unlikely that the direct and limited teaching of his mature life, in which he refused to be drawn into discussion or to make affirmation concerning aught beyond this present world, was later exchanged for positive doctrine and directions based upon entirely different views. The uncertainty of date of the several works and strata of the Buddhist literature must not be overlooked. The Pāli Tripiṭaka does appear, however, to make good in most respects at least its claim to represent most faithfully the convictions and doctrine which Gautama set forth to his disciples.

2. Indian places of pilgrimage.—It is probable that the earliest centres of pilgrimage were the places most closely associated with the life and teaching of the Founder. Four of these, viz. Kapilavastu, Kuśanagara, Buddh Gayā, and Benares, were pre-eminent, and for centuries continued to be the goal to which the steps of Buddhist pilgrims were turned; two of them are venerated and resorted to by numerous Buddhist worshippers at the present day, who bring offerings from the most distant lands. Testimony to the reverential regard in which these and many other places were held is found especially in the writings of the Chinese pilgrims. In the Lumbinī Grove at Kapilavastu (*q.v.*) was the birth-place of Gautama Buddha. Buried in the dense *tarai* districts of S. Nepāl, the lost site of the town was re-discovered in the year 1895, and identified by a pillar and inscription recording the visit of the emperor Aśoka. As a centre of pilgrimage it has for a long time been inaccessible and is so at the present time, and thus awakens little interest in Buddhists themselves. Kuśanagara (*q.v.*) also, the scene of the death of the Buddha, was visited by the same Chinese monks, to pay their homage at the sacred site. According to their testimony, Kuśanagara lay at no great distance east of Kapilavastu. The exact site, however, has not been identified.

The two remaining places that shared in all probability with the traditional scenes of Gautama's birth and *parinirvāṇa* the veneration of the earliest Buddhists, and which have maintained to the present day their popularity and sacred character with thousands of Buddhist pilgrims from all parts of the Buddhist world, are Buddh Gayā, six or seven miles south of Gayā (*q.v.*) in W. Bengal, where, seated under the Bo-tree in deep meditation, Gautama attained insight and the bliss of perfect knowledge; and Benares (*q.v.*), probably the most ancient sacred city in the world, the scene of the first deliverance of his message, when in the Deer-Park (Isipatana), in his first sermon addressed to the five ascetics in whose company he had previously practised fruitless austerities, he 'set in motion the wheel of the law,' and founded 'the highest kingdom of truth.'[2] These places possess an equal sanctity in the eyes of Hindus, and they are sought out by multitudes of pilgrim worshippers of both religions.

[1] Cf. *Mahāvagga*, i. 11. 1: 'Go ye, O Bhikkhus, wander for the gain of the many, for the welfare of the many, out of compassion for the world, for the good, for the gain, and for the welfare of gods and men.' Then follow directions to preach, and the promise that he will himself preach the doctrine.

[2] *Buddha Charita*, ii. 37; the thought and even the phraseology are of Hindu conception and origin.

[3] *Ib.* vii. 40.

[4] *Ib.* xvii. 24 f.

[5] *Ib.* x. 2, xv. 78. Those who bathe and offer their worship in the holy river and reverence the *chaitya* of the three stones become great-souled *bodhisattvas*, and obtain *nirvāṇa*.

[6] *Mahā-Parinibbāna-Sutta*, v. 16 f.

[7] *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, v. 27 f.

[8] *Milinda-pañha*, iv. viii. 51 f.; cf. *Buddha Charita*, xv. 62 ff.

[1] Cf. *Mahā-Parinibbāna-Sutta*, v. 16–22: 'There are four places which the believing man should visit with feelings of reverence and awe, . . . the place at which the believing man can say, "Here the Tathāgata was born," . . . "Here the Tathāgata attained to the supreme and perfect insight," . . . "Here was the kingdom of righteousness set on foot by the Tathāgata," . . . "Here the Tathāgata passed finally away in that utter passing away which leaves nothing whatever to remain behind." . . . And there will come to such spots believers, brethren and sisters of the order, or devout men and devout women, . . . and they who shall die while they, with believing heart, are journeying on such pilgrimage shall be reborn after death, when the body shall dissolve, in the happy realms of heaven.'

[2] *Mahāvagga*, i. 6. 30.

After the death of the Buddha the relics of his body were collected from the funeral pyre, and divided into eight portions. These were distributed to the various claimants for their possession, and over them memorial *stūpas* were erected for their preservation. The places thus made sacred became centres of pilgrimage, which attracted devout worshippers from far and near, and were visited among others by the Chinese monks in the course of their travels through N. India.

3. **Historical visits.**—(*a*) *Aśoka.*—The earliest historical reference to pilgrimage undertaken with a religious motive is contained in the edicts of the Buddhist emperor Aśoka (*q.v.*) in the 3rd cent. before our era. In the midst of his zealous care for the welfare of his subjects he found time and opportunity for extensive journeyings to the sacred places of the Buddhist faith within his dominions. Besides confirming and propagating the faith by his edicts and missions he erected at these places numerous *stūpas* containing sacred relics, repairing others which had fallen into neglect or decay. For their maintenance also he provided revenues, and himself, according to the tradition, undertook the care and sustenance of 64,000 monks. The limit of his pilgrim travels northward was the ruined site of Kapilavastu; and here, in addition to the erection of a commemorative pillar with inscription, he repaired or rebuilt a *stūpa* in memory of Kanakamuni (*q.v.*), one of Gautama's predecessors of a bygone age. This enlargement or repair he is said to have accomplished for the second time. In any case his experience and action are sufficient proof of the existence in his day, and for a considerable time previously, of sacred buildings associated with the life and deeds of holy leaders and teachers of old, which had already become centres or goals of pilgrimage. Certainly the *stūpa* of Kanakamuni was not a solitary instance of a commemorative erection, where offerings were presented and homage paid. There were many others, at least in the sacred country of Buddhist origins, and probably elsewhere. The words and acts of Aśoka clearly indicate that in his day merit was considered to attach to visits to these spots, and the names and memory of those in whose honour the *stūpas* had been raised were regarded with veneration. The date and circumstances of his visit therefore and the motives that prompted it justify the conclusion that sacred pilgrimage became a recognized observance of the Buddhist faith not long after the death of its Founder.

(*b*) *Fā-Hian.*—Both Kapilavastu and the scene of Gautama's death at Kuśanagara were visited by the Chinese pilgrim Fā-Hian and others in the 5th and following centuries. The former site Fā-Hian describes as already deserted in his day, inhabited only by a few monks and some poor families; and it has remained ever since in the same state of desolation. In the course of his pilgrimage Fā-Hian visited all the important Buddhist shrines and cities in the north of India; thence he travelled to Ceylon, and paid his homage to the sacred relics there, including the tooth of the Buddha preserved in the island. Everywhere in India he found numerous monasteries with many learned and pious monks; and at the sacred places there were great companies of Buddhist pilgrims, intent on showing honour to the dead and winning merit by their self-sacrificing endeavour.

(*c*) *Hiuen Tsiang.* — The most important and celebrated Chinese traveller and pilgrim was Hiuen Tsiang (Yuan Chwang [*q.v.*]), who followed Fā-Hian at an interval of rather more than two centuries. His name and fame still survive in Central Asia, where his memory is revered as that of a wonder-working teacher and saint. His travels extended over sixteen years from A.D. 629 to 645. In these laborious journeys he covered a considerably wider area in India itself than his predecessor, but he did not visit Ceylon. He appears, moreover, to have been more interested in the present condition of Buddhism, in its doctrine, practice, and literature, than in its relics or holy places of pilgrimage, and to have been more impressed by its vitality and influence, and by the conflicts of the schools, than by the crowds of pilgrims. He visited all the great centres of the Buddhist faith, and makes frequent reference to the revival of Brāhmanism, which even in Buddh Gayā had to a considerable extent supplanted its rival.

At Buddh Gayā also Hiuen Tsiang describes the great temple built by Aśoka, 160 ft. or more in height, of eleven storeys, each of which bore golden statues of the Buddha. Probably this building was erected on the site of a more ancient monument that soon after the death of the Buddha was placed there to commemorate the spot on which he attained emancipation and perfect wisdom. The ancient building has been many times reconstructed and restored, and the pyramidal temple with its many images that now occupies the site is rarely without its pilgrim visitors from distant Buddhist countries, who present their prayers and offerings at its sacred shrines. It is surrounded by numerous *stūpas*, ancient and modern, and is as attractive and sacred a spot to Hindu devotees as to those of the Buddhist faith.

The distinctive feature of the enclosure is the ancient Bo-tree, the sacred *pīpal* (*Ficus religiosa*), under the shadow of an ancestor of which in this place the Buddha established his seat. There are several *pīpal*-trees surrounding the temple, most of them not improbably descended from the original Bo-tree. The pilgrims lay their offerings and pour their libations of oil and scents at the foot of the oldest, which they regard as the identical tree of Gautama, and affix gold-leaf to the stem, and to the low stone steps by which it is surrounded.[1] It is in his account of the Bo-tree that Hiuen Tsiang records the tradition of the Buddha walking on the water.

Second only to Buddh Gayā in its sacred associations is Sārnāth (*q.v.*), three or four miles north of Benares. It is believed to be the site of the Deer-Park (Isipatana, Skr. *ṛṣipatana*) where Gautama delivered his first address to the Hindu ascetics. The ancient *stūpa* on the site is probably the same as was seen by Hiuen Tsiang in the 7th century. Fā-Hian also found a monument existing there at the time of his visit. Recent excavations at Sārnāth, conducted by the Government of India, have resulted in the discovery of numerous *stūpas*, shrines, and sculptured stones of different epochs, including two pillars erected by the emperor Aśoka and many figures of the Buddha. Evidence also has been found of the existence of monastic buildings and settlements of monks at least as early as the 4th and 5th centuries of our era. The pilgrim history of the site is long and extensive, and if its record could be recovered would be of the greatest interest.[2]

4. **Other pilgrim resorts in N. India.**—A mere enumeration of the local centres of pilgrimage in N. India would not be to much profit, and a description of them all is not possible here. The narratives of the Chinese monks who travelled in India are full of notices of the sacred places where the pilgrims congregated from near and far, to

[1] See art. GAYĀ, vol. vi. p. 181 ff., and Monier-Williams, *Buddhism*, pp. 390–401.

[2] See art. BENARES, vol. ii. p. 468; Monier-Williams, p. 401 ff.; E. B. Havell, *Benares, the Sacred City*, London, 1905.

worship the relics of the saints and to pay homage at their shrines. The impression gained is that such centres of pilgrimage were much more numerous in the early centuries than at the present day, and they were naturally more densely thronged at a time when India was to so large an extent Buddhist in faith. At or near Pāṭaliputra (Patna [*q.v.*]), his capital city, Aśoka built the first of the 84 *stūpas* which he is said to have erected over relics of the Buddha, and the town is described as containing monasteries and hospitals with thousands of Buddhist monks and pilgrims. According to Fā-Hian, at Śrāvastī, the ancient capital of Oudh, identified with the extensive ruins at Sāhet Māhet in the Gonda District,[1] the first sandal-wood image of Gautama was erected; and there also stood the convent or monastery of Jetavana, an early gift by a rich merchant to the community, sanctified by the frequent presence and preaching of the Master. Later, in the time of Hiuen Tsiang, the town and monasteries were deserted and ruined. Some of the most sacred sites and pilgrim resorts were to be found at Rājagṛha (see COUNCILS [Buddhist], vol. iv. p. 182), the first metropolis of Buddhism, as it has been called, where monasteries and *stūpas* were most numerous, and where some of the ashes of Gautama's body were enshrined. Vaiśālī (*ib.* p. 183), the scene of the second Buddhist Council, Nālanda (*q.v.*), the famed university town, Ayodhyā, most holy ground to Buddhists and Hindus alike, where the Buddha is believed to have preached for many years, and numerous other places were renowned centres of pilgrim resort during the period of Buddhist ascendancy in India. Few of these have retained their attraction for Buddhist pilgrims at the present day. In the farther north-west, near Peshāwar, much interest was aroused among Buddhists a few years ago by the identification of the relic mound raised by the king Kaniṣka (*q.v.*) on the spot where four hundred years before the Buddha had stood and prophesied of his coming and reign. A few fragments of bone were discovered within a relic casket, which were generally accepted as authentic remains of Gautama himself. They were transported with much ceremony to Burma, and have been preserved in a monastery at Mandalay.

5. Pilgrim movement beyond India.—Within the more recent centuries the stream of Buddhist pilgrimage has been to a large extent diverted from India, and the sanctuaries of the country have passed into other hands or fallen into oblivion and ruin. Buddh Gayā alone has maintained its supremacy and attraction, and is still the centre and most holy place to which the heart and eyes of the Buddhist pilgrim turn with faith and affection. Outside the country of its birth the two great lands of Southern Buddhism, Ceylon and Burma, compete to draw visitors to their sacred shrines. There is constant movement and interchange between countries so closely united in sympathy and religious belief.

(*a*) *Ceylon.*—In Ceylon the Temple of the Buddha's Tooth at Kandy is unique in its claims on the reverence and devotion of the pilgrim. Small and unimposing as the building is, compared with the great temples of Japan, it enshrines a relic of the Buddha, recognized and honoured by all his followers of every land. The Tooth is preserved in an inner chamber of the temple, resting on a golden lotus-flower within nine caskets of gold, and is exhibited by the priests to pilgrims and visitors. The original tooth is said to have been taken to Kalinga from the funeral pyre of Gautama, and to have been kept in the temple at Purī for a period of about eight hundred years. Later it was transferred to Ceylon and S. India and again to Ceylon, where it is said to have been burnt by the Portuguese in order to divert the people from idolatrous worship. The priests at Kandy maintain that the true relic was concealed, and an imitation substitute given over to the Portuguese rulers and destroyed by them. The existing bone is not a human tooth, and probably not of human origin (see art. KANDY, vol. vii. p. 651 f.).

There are numerous temples and *vihāras* in Ceylon with their congregations of monks and worshippers, but the most celebrated and frequented place of pilgrimage is Adam's Peak (*q.v.*), with its sacred foot-print (*śrī-pāda*) in the rock at the summit. The worship of foot-prints is universal in the East; Muhammadans, Hindus, Jains, and others take part in this veneration, and the practice is certainly of very early date, foot-prints of the Buddha being found on the sculptured stones at Bharhut and Sāñchi as well as in various other places in India, and also in Siam, Tibet, Burma, and elsewhere. The hole or mark in the rock on Adam's Peak is the most sacred of all, and is visited by pilgrims of many faiths. Hindus believe it to be the foot-print of Śiva, Christians of St. Thomas on his apostolic journey of evangelization to the island, Muhammadans of Adam or, according to others, of Alī. The pilgrims of Buddhist faith, however, greatly predominate in numbers.

(*b*) *Burma.*—Except in these two centres, the spirit and practice of pilgrimage are little effective in Ceylon. It is otherwise in Burma, the rival home and stronghold of Southern Buddhism. The pilgrim habit plays a much larger part in the life of the people, but, in entire accordance with their character, is undertaken less seriously, and is more a matter of sociability and holiday-making than of religious obligation or the discharge of religious duty. The custom, however, of more or less formal attendance at sacred shrines and fulfilment of the appropriate rites and engagements of the sacred seasons is universal; and the monks themselves connive at and even take part in the merriment and relaxation which follow upon the satisfaction of the claims of religion. The most important and celebrated of all is the Shwe Dagon pagoda at Rangoon, where crowds of pilgrims from Japan, China, and Korea jostle with worshippers from Ceylon and Siam and the more numerous natives of the country. On the various platforms of the temple are hundreds of images of the Buddha, gilded or in stone, and the summit of the building rises to the height of St. Paul's Cathedral and is crowned with the *tī*, the sacred symbol of the Buddhist faith. There are here preserved, according to the traditional belief, eight hairs of Gautama, and various relics also of the three preceding Buddhas, including the staff of Kaśyapa and the robe of Kanakamuni.

Burma is full of *dāgabas* (pagodas), many of them deserted and in ruins, but others centres of attraction to a greater or less distance throughout the surrounding country, and at the festival seasons full of a rich and varied pilgrim life. Perhaps the most renowned next to the Rangoon pagoda are those at Pegu and Prome. Within the walls of the ancient capital of Pagan are the remains of nearly a thousand such buildings; and at Mandalay itself are many *dāgabas* and temples unrivalled in their beauty and perennial fame. In the courtyard or precincts of most of these buildings is a sacred foot-print of the Buddha, which in the case of the more famous and accessible of them is rarely without its offering of fruit or flowers.

[1] The identification was made by A. Cunningham, and has been confirmed by recent discoveries.

(*c*) *China.*—Chinese Buddhism in general has been considerably affected and modified by the native Taoist beliefs of the country; and the pilgrim customs and practice of China are in most instances, as regards both their observances and their sacred centres of pilgrimage, the survivals of earlier Taoist usage. The most sacred shrines where the pilgrims congregate are in origin antecedent to the introduction of Buddhism, in the same way as in the Near East Christian sanctuaries have been taken over and converted into Muhammadan places of worship. The hermits also, whose spirit and aspirations are in all lands closely akin to those of the itinerant pilgrims, have in China adopted the haunts and homes of their Taoist forerunners. The most holy and frequented centres of pilgrimage are the four mountain shrines of Omishan in the west in the province of Szechwan, Putoshan in the east on a sacred island in the Chusan archipelago, Wutaishan in the north in the province of Shansi, and Chiuhuashan in Nganhwei in the centre near the Yangtze river. The most popular and celebrated of these is perhaps the first named, Mount Omi, where the temples on the summit of the mountain are dedicated to Pu-hsien, the *bodhisattva* Samantabhadra, an ancient bronze image of whom in one of the largest monasteries, seated on an elephant, is believed to date from the 7th century.[1] The monks of Putoshan are a sincere and religious folk who welcome yearly to their island home thousands of pilgrim-worshippers, who cross from the mainland to pay their homage at the shrines dedicated to Kwanyin, the goddess of mercy. The sanctuary on the Yangtze is the least regarded of the four, and in the Taiping rebellion many of its temples were sacked and destroyed. In the temples of Wutaishan the presiding deity and object of worship is Wenshu, the *bodhisattva* Mañjuśrī; situated near the Mongol border, the shrines are as much frequented by Mongol worshippers as by Chinese, and Tibetan emblems and practices are numerous.

There are many other centres of pilgrimage throughout China, often of more than local reputation; and the pilgrims journey for long distances, making offerings and burning incense at the shrines by the way. For the most part they travel in companies, in this respect following the example of the early travellers to India. Solitary ascetics, however, are not uncommon, whose journeying is a perpetual self-inflicted penance. The most celebrated monasteries are in the province of Chekiang, the stronghold of Buddhism in China. It is probably true that in every direction the hold of the ancient faith is slowly weakening, and the practice of pilgrimage is likely to fall gradually into desuetude with the extension of modern systems of education and the decay of Buddhist temples and rites.[2]

(*d*) *Tibet.*—In Tibet the most important centres of pilgrimage, where the sacred temples and shrines are to be found, are at Lhasa, the capital of the country, and at Tashi-hlunpo, the residence of the Tashi or Pañchen Lāma. The latter bears the higher repute for sanctity, for the office and functions of the Dalai Lāma at Lhasa have been to so great an extent intermingled and contaminated with political duties and intrigue that the sacredness of his person as an object of reverence has to a certain extent suffered eclipse. His misfortunes and exile during the last few years can hardly have raised his reputation in the eyes of his countrymen. Pilgrims, however, from all countries where Lāmaism holds sway turn their steps to the capital in great numbers to worship the incarnate Buddha, and to pay their devotions at the numerous sacred shrines. The quiet of Tashi-hlunpo, the 'Mount of Glory,' is undisturbed by the movements of politics, and the great temple and surrounding districts are favourite places of retirement for those who have finally renounced the world and its cares. The person and character of the present Tashi Lāma, who, as an incarnation of the *bodhisattva* Amitābha, receives the worship of all Tibetans, have made a most favourable impression on all Europeans who have come into contact with him.

Tibet is the most priest-ridden country in the world; and of its 3000 or more monasteries none is without its pilgrim visitants, the number of whom varies according to the reputation and accessibility of the temple-shrine. Itinerating bands of Lāmas also of Tibetan and Mongolian race are to be met with outside the country itself, in Central Asia and on the borders of India. Urga in N. Mongolia, the residence of the third Grand Lāma, known as the Bogdo or 'Saint' Lāma, is perhaps the most sacred place in the eyes of the Mongols. The Lāma himself, however, bears an evil reputation for worldliness and immorality. Mongol pilgrims come to worship at his feet and attend the festivals. There are numerous other centres of Lāmaist devotion in Mongolia and China, and the Grand Lāma at Peking is recognized and reverenced throughout all the countries where a Buddhism of this type prevails.

(*e*) *Korea and Siam.*—Neither Korea nor Siam, the two chief homes of the Buddhist faith other than those to which reference has already been made, adds materially to the history and records of Buddhist pilgrimage. Korean pilgrims in no great numbers make their way to the sacred places of Mongolia, N. China, and Tibet; but their native land contains no sanctuary of wide repute which attracts the worshipper from afar. In Siam, although the monasteries and temples are thronged at the many and popular festivals, and reverence is paid by all at the shrines, the festive seasons are occasions for friendly intercourse and conviviality, and there is little, as far as can be judged, of the true pilgrim spirit. Nor do Siamese monks make a habit of journeying overseas to the sacred shrines of other lands, although they may be found occasionally at Rangoon, and in the past at least have visited and exercised much influence on the Buddhist thought and observance of Ceylon.

6. Summary.—A brief summary, therefore, of pilgrim usage and wont in Buddhism would describe it as an almost universal practice, held in the highest esteem, which in all probability was adopted soon after the death of Gautama Buddha, the principal motive being reverence for his person and for the places where the relics of his cremated body were believed to have been preserved. To a certain extent also, which it is impossible exactly to estimate, his disciples were influenced by a more or less conscious desire to follow on the lines of ancient Hindu custom. With the earlier Hindu practice of pilgrimage they were familiar; and they seem to have wished to break as little as possible with ancestral usage. Whether the Buddha himself by his word enjoined or sanctioned the habit the uncertainty as to the dates and history of the written records makes it impracticable to decide. It is hardly probable or quite in harmony with what is known of his character and teaching to suppose that he did. If, however, the contention of the Mahāyāna school is justified that in his later life he taught a mystical and esoteric doctrine entirely different from that of his earlier years as expounded in the Pāli canonical books,

[1] See A. J. Little, *Mount Omi and Beyond*, London, 1901, p. 63 ff.

[2] For the pilgrim practice of Japan see art. PILGRIMAGE (Japanese).

then the injunctions and regulations as to pilgrimage and sacred places also may have a similar origin, and may have been framed and announced by Gautama himself, possibly as a concession to the Hindu prepossessions of his followers. The custom was certainly taken up and eagerly followed immediately after his death, and has been ever since a marked feature of popular Buddhism in the East. Nor to any appreciable extent does the practice seem to have lost its hold upon the faith and affection of the Buddhist peoples to the present day.

LITERATURE.—M. Monier-Williams, *Buddhism*, London, 1889; H. Hackmann, *Buddhism as a Religion*, Eng. tr., do. 1910; H. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, Strassburg, 1896; K. J. Saunders, *Story of Buddhism*, Oxford, 1916; R. S. Copleston, *Buddhism in Magadha and Ceylon*[2], London, 1908; R. Spence Hardy, *Manual of Budhism*[2], do. 1880; Shway Yoe (J. G. Scott), *The Burman, His Life and Notions*[3], do. 1910; J. Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*[2], do. 1893; Marshall Broomhall, *The Chinese Empire*, do. n.d. [1907]; L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet, or Lāmaism*, do. 1895, and *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, do. 1905; see also artt. ASCETICISM (Buddhist), IMAGES AND IDOLS (Buddhist), MAHĀYĀNA, MONASTICISM (Buddhist), and on the several countries.

A. S. GEDEN.

PILGRIMAGE (Christian).—1. Introductory.—Pilgrimage played a very prominent part in religious life in the Christian Church, particularly in the Middle Ages. The fact that it has so largely disappeared from the religious life of England to-day is apt to conceal its importance in the past and in the countries where it is still in vogue even in the present. A pilgrimage is a journey undertaken to visit sacred places, such as the scenes of our Lord's earthly life in Palestine, the 'threshold of the Apostles' at Rome, or the shrines of saints and martyrs. There were many motives at work; it might be to fulfil a vow or as an act of penance. In some cases it is difficult to say whether a given journey is a pilgrimage or not. The mere use of the word *peregrinatio* in a mediæval source can hardly decide the question. It can be considered better historically and geographically, though the purely religious and psychological sides must always be remembered. The latter are better left over and studied in connexion with the effects of the practice and its place in the history of religion.

Peregrinatio and its cognates in classical Latin refer simply to wandering, and so *peregrinus* was just a stranger. In ecclesiastical terminology a 'pilgrim' was one who went to visit sacred places while his ordinary occupation, whether he was clerk or layman, was something different, whereas a 'palmer' was one who spent his whole life in thus journeying from place to place. Dante gives a rather fanciful explanation of the terms:

'Pilgrim' may be understood 'in the wide sense, in so far as whoever is outside his fatherland is a pilgrim; in the narrow sense none is called a pilgrim save him who is journeying towards the sanctuary of St. James or is returning from it. . . . Chiamansi *Peregrini* in quanto vanno alla casa di Galizia, però che la sepoltura di santo Jacopo fu più lontana dalla sua patria, che d'alcuno altro Apostolo'—they are called *palmieri* because they bring back palm-branches and *romei* as they journey to Rome.[1]

2. Palestine.—It was natural that men should wish to tread again the paths trodden by the Saviour, though the first generations of Christians did not seem to feel this as strongly as their successors. From the 3rd cent. certainly the sacred places were visited. The pilgrimages of Firmilian, bishop of Cæsarea, and a bishop Alexander from Cappadocia are mentioned by Jerome and Origen respectively. When the empress Helena visited Jerusalem and discovered what was supposed to be the true Cross, pilgrims flocked thither and the stream was ever on the increase. Many records of such journeys and also numerous itineraries have been preserved. 'The Bordeaux pilgrim' visited Jerusalem in 333. The record of this man is the earliest now extant of a Christian pilgrimage, and is very important as showing the condition of the holy places and the traditions growing up round them at the time. On his way thither he travelled from Bordeaux, south of the Garonne, through Toulouse, Narbonne, Arles, up the valley of the Rhone to Valence, then by way of Milan, Verona, Aquileia, Mitrowitza, Sophia, and Constantinople, through Bithynia, to Tarsus, Alexandretta, Antioch, Tripoli, Beirut, Sidon, Tyre, Acre, Ptolemais, Cæsarea Palestina, then by Jezreel, Bethshean, and Shechem to Jerusalem. He did not, however, visit Galilee. Many Christians have felt far greater attraction to the scene of our Lord's passion and resurrection than to those of His earthly ministry.[1]

Paula, a friend of St. Jerome, went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and she corresponded with him about it.[2] The teaching of St. Jerome much increased the popularity of the movement. Another famous pilgrim in early times was Etheria (Egeria or Echeria),[3] the author of the *Peregrinatio Silviæ*, or *Peregrinatio Echeriæ*, put by critics in either the 4th or the 6th century. From the 5th cent. onward the number of pilgrims steadily grew, and, though the journey was a long and arduous one, many thousands were willing to undertake it. Pilgrims came from all parts, and not least numerous or important were those from the British Isles — representatives alike of Roman, Celtic, and Anglo-Saxon Christianity in Britain, such as St. Cathaldus (bishop of Taranto, about 680) and Willibald (bishop of Eichstätt, 741).[4] The ardent wishes of Christians to see Jerusalem and the hardships which they were sometimes obliged to suffer are of the greatest importance for secular as well as ecclesiastical history, for they were among the causes which contributed to the Crusades. When Saracen rulers were tolerant, Christians had little to fear, but in times of persecution the difficulties of the journey were further increased, and thus eventually the crusading spirit was generated (see art. CRUSADES, I. 3). No doubt motives of political conquest and worldly ambition entered into the Crusades as well as into the practice of pilgrimage. Meanwhile pilgrimage gave rise to the great military orders. While the Hospitallers cared for pilgrims after their arrival in Jerusalem, the Templars protected them on the way from Antioch thither (a hospital which had first been founded by Charles the Great was destroyed in 1010 and another was built).

St. Jerome, though he believed strongly in pilgrimage, nevertheless wrote:

'Et de Hierosolymis et de Britannia aequaliter patet auia coelestis: "Regnum enim Dei intra vos est." Antonius, cuncta Aegypti, et Mesopotamiae, Ponti, Cappadociae, et Armeniae examina Monachorum non videre Hierosolymam: et patet illis absque hac urbe paradisi janua. Beatus Hilarion, cum Palaestinus esset, et in Palaestina viveret, uno tantum die vidit Hierosolymam, ut nec contemnere loca sancta propter viciniam, nec rursus Dominum loco claudere videretur.'[5]

St. Gregory of Nyssa wrote a special letter *de iis qui adeunt Jerosolyma* (*PG* xlvi. 1010 ff.).

The adventures of British pilgrims have a special interest, and almost every Welsh or Irish saint went on pilgrimage.

[1] *La Vita Nuova*, xli.; Dante also refers to pilgrims in *Paradiso*, i. 51, xxxi. 43.

[1] *Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem*, '*The Bordeaux Pilgrim*' (A.D. 333), tr. Aubrey Stewart and annotated C. W. Wilson, Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, London, 1887.

[2] Jerome, *The Pilgrimage of the Holy Paula*, tr. Stewart and ann. Wilson, Pal. Pilg. Text Soc., London, 1885.

[3] *The Pilgrimage of S. Silvia of Aquitania to the Holy Places*, tr. and ed. J. H. Bernard, with an appendix by C. W. Wilson, Pal. Pilg. Text Soc., London, 1891.

[4] G. Hartwell Jones, *Celtic Britain and the Pilgrim Movement*, p. 192.

[5] *Ep.* lviii. '**ad Paulinum**,' quoted in J. Usher, *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*, London, 1687, p. 109

From the 13th cent. pilgrimages to the Holy Land, though still frequent, were less numerous than those to Rome. Despite the difficulties of the journey, William Wye, Fellow of Eton, visited Compostella (see below, 11) in 1456 and travelled thence to Palestine in 1458 and again in 1462. From his MSS Wynkyn de Worde, the disciple of Caxton, compiled his *Informacion for Pylgrymes into the Holy Land* (printed in 1498, 1515, and 1524). The pilgrimages from England to the Holy Land went on continuously to Reformation times. Sir Richard de Guildforde and John Whitby, prior of Guisborough, went to Palestine, embarking at Rye, in 1506; and in 1517 Sir Richard Torkyngton, rector of Mulberton, Norfolk, visited Jerusalem.[1]

From all the countries of Europe pilgrims travelled to the Holy City. It was natural that most should come from those countries which had taken part in the Crusades, but they came also from elsewhere. Russian pilgrimages commenced soon after the country was converted, about A.D. 1000.

'In 1022 allusion is made in the Life of St. Theodosius of Kiev to Russian pilgrims in Palestine; the first known name is that of St. Varlaam, abbot of the Laura of Kiev, who visited Jerusalem in 1062.'[2]

The earliest extant record is that of Daniel, an abbot whose identity is not certain. He spent Easter of 1107 in Jerusalem. His work shows devout feeling; and, though a Greek priest, he was friendly to the Latin clergy. He travelled by way of Constantinople, Abydos, Tenedos, Mitylene, Chios, Ephesus, Samos, Patmos, Rhodes, Patara, Cyprus, thence crossing the sea to Jaffa and Jerusalem.[3] He saw the miracle of the holy fire (see below, 17) and visited the Virgin's tomb—the traditional scene of the Assumption. Though Italy had so many places sacred to the Christian, particularly the Eternal City, Italian pilgrims came in large numbers to visit Palestine. Venice sent her convoys, and the citizens of Lombardy visited Venice on the way. Among the earliest Italian pilgrims to Palestine was St. Antonio Piacenza, who went to Jerusalem in 570 and wrote *de Locis sanctis quæ perambulavit Antoninus martyr.* Pantaleone, a citizen of Amalfi, went to Palestine about 1065, and a pilgrim hostel was established by him in Jerusalem. In 1219 St. Francis of Assisi went on pilgrimage. In the 14th and 15th centuries pilgrimages became far more numerous. Roberto da Sanseverino set out from Milan in 1458. In 1486 Fra Girolamo Castiglione (or de Castellione), a native of Milan, went to Palestine and thence to Arabia and Egypt. The Cavalier Santo Brasca went to Jerusalem in 1480. He wrote an account of his journey, and his information may have stimulated Canon Pietro Casola, a member of a noble Milanese family, who undertook a pilgrimage in 1494. Casola travelled *via* Milan, Brescia, Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Venice, Ragusa, Corfu, Navarino, Candia, Rhodes, and Cyprus to Jaffa, and thence to Jerusalem. His account is quite interesting reading and has recently been made accessible to English readers.[4] The pilgrim traffic was so great that it had to be officially regulated, and, considering the discomforts of travelling at that time, it is remarkable that so large a number were willing to face the risks.

'Hans von Mergenthal, who accompanied Duke Albert of Saxony to the Holy Land in 1476, recounts that the sleeping place allotted to each pilgrim was so narrow, that the passengers almost lay one on the other, tormented by the great heat, by swarms of insects, and even by great rats which raced over their bodies in the dark. If a luckless pilgrim succeeded in dozing in spite of the general discomfort, he was soon awakened by the stamping of the animals penned up on deck, or by the talking, singing and shouting of his neighbours. Most of those who fell sick died. "God be gracious to them!"'[1]

In the 16th cent. the number of Italian pilgrimages continued to fall off, though they never entirely ceased.

3. Rome.—Next after Jerusalem, Rome was the city which drew the largest number of pilgrims. The causes which contributed to the rise of the papacy made Rome a pilgrim resort; more especially the tombs of St. Peter and St. Paul exalted it into the goal whither Roman Catholics flocked. One centre of interest was the catacombs. At first used as burial-places, they afterwards became sacred places, hallowed by the bones of martyrs and visited by thousands of pilgrims (see art. CATACOMBS). These came from Britain both before and after the English conquest (King Ina of Wessex founded an English school for Saxon pilgrims and scholars in Rome in 727), and Irish and Welsh saints were among the most indefatigable in their pious journeyings.[2] Archbishop Usher observes:

'Britanni hisce temporibus Romam, Hierosolymam, et Syriam invisere soliti.'[3]

So St. Bridget journeyed to Rome as a pilgrim; likewise Findan of Leinster in 847 to fulfil a vow.[4] Several Celtic saints, having performed their pilgrimage, settled permanently on the Continent, sometimes obtaining bishoprics. Ninian visited Rome during the pontificate of Pope Damasus (366–384), who had given all Christian pilgrims access to the catacombs.

As time went on, the intercourse between Britain and the Continent became more intimate, so that there was a continual stream of pilgrims to Rome, especially after the failure of the Crusades; the difficulties of travelling, pestilence, and other causes had checked the number of those who went to the Holy Land. The papal jubilee proclaimed by Boniface VIII. in 1300 with its special indulgences drew more than 20,000 pilgrims to Rome. Again at the jubilee of 1450 under Nicholas V. thousands of visitors assembled. In the English College at Rome from 100 to 200 pilgrims were provided with hospitality every year in post-Reformation times. Pilgrims have never ceased to visit Rome; the large number of churches and relics have been continuous sources of attraction.[5]

4. England.—The pilgrimages, however, which left the deepest mark on Britain as elsewhere in Europe were, perhaps, not those to distant lands, however holy, but those to sacred spots nearer home. There were several famous shrines in England not only of national but of world-wide fame, and many others which were prominent in religious life, although not often visited by strangers from a distance. Earliest among British shrines was Glastonbury. When first it became famous is unknown. It was a place renowned in Celtic tradition, and therefore it had become sacred before the advent of Christianity in England, and probably even before the time of Christ. It was very likely on the site of a Celtic temple. Perhaps the particular form of heathen worship there celebrated was the cult of the dead (see artt. BLEST, ABODE OF THE [Celtic] and GRAIL, THE HOLY). There was a Celtic settlement of pre-Roman date

[1] S. Heath, *Pilgrim Life in the Middle Ages*, p. 160.
[2] *The Pilgrimage of the Russian Abbot Daniel in the Holy Land, 1106–1107 A.D.*, ann. C. W. Wilson, Pal. Pilg. Text Soc., London, 1888.
[3] *Ib.*
[4] *Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1494*, tr. and ed. M. M. Newett.

[1] *Casola's Pilgrimage*, Introd. p. 91.
[2] But how far all the stories of pilgrimage are historical is not certain: see F. E. Warren, in *Cambridge Medieval History*, ii., Cambridge, 1913, ch. xvi., 'Conversion of the Celts,' p. 499.
[3] *Brit. Eccles. Antiq.*, Index Chronologicus, A.D. 888.
[4] Hartwell Jones, p. 191.
[5] See Sivry-Champagnac, *Dictionnaire des Pèlerinages*, ii. 519–831.

near by, which has recently been excavated.[1] Various legends grew up to account for its fame. In the Glastonbury Chronicle under 1259 there was this entry:

'Anno ab Incarnatione XLIII. discipuli sanctorum Philippi et Jacobi Apostolorum venerunt in Britanniam; a quibus primum Oratorium in insula Avalloniae.'

King Ina of Wessex founded a monastery at Glastonbury, then went to Rome on pilgrimage and died there.[2] Dunstan was abbot of Glastonbury; it grew in fame and importance, and became associated with many saints and heroes—St. Joseph of Arimathea and St. Patrick, King Arthur and Guinevere; and its monks gathered together a wonderful collection of relics—portions of the Crown of Thorns, the True Cross, and the Holy Sepulchre, and bones of St. John the Baptist, St. Peter, and St. Paul. Its fame outlasted the Middle Ages, and a miracle was believed to have been performed there in 1751.[3]

After Glastonbury in historical sequence, though in the later Middle Ages of even greater fame as a pilgrim resort, was the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket at Canterbury. His murder in 1170 profoundly shocked the whole of Europe, and crowds of pilgrims soon began to visit the spots made sacred by his life and death. His shrine became ever more splendid, and boasted many famous jewels, including the 'Regale' of France. The Jubilee of 1470 brought 100,000 pilgrims to Canterbury. Many of these would be from foreign countries. The pilgrims went first to the transept of the martyrdom in the Cathedral.

'Before the wooden altar the pilgrims knelt, and its guardian priest exhibited to them the various relics confided to his especial charge. But the one which surpassed all others was the rusty fragment of Le Bret's sword, which was presented to each in turn to be kissed. The foreign pilgrims, by a natural mistake, inferred from the sight of the sword that the martyr had suffered death by beheading.'[4]

Then the pilgrims went to the choir and saw the general relics, about 400 in number, then to St. Andrew's Tower, and, last of all, to the shrine itself. It had a wooden covering which, till lifted, concealed the gold, silver, and jewels with which it was encrusted. Among foreign pilgrims Leo von Rotzmital was sent on an embassy to England in 1446. Two accounts of his adventures were written, one in Bohemian, preserved in a Latin translation, the other in German. He went and saw the sights usually shown to pilgrims. He and his companions visited the shrine.

'Ibi vidimus sepulchrum et caput ipsius. Sepulchrum ex puro auro conflatum est, et gemmis adornatum, tamque magnificis donariis ditatum, ut par ei nesciam. Inter alias res preciosas spectatur in eo et carbunculus gemma, qui noctu splendere solet, dimidi ovi gallinacei magnitudine.'[5]

The German account relates:

'Da zeiget man uns das schwert, damit man jm den kopf abgeschlagen hat. Da weiset man auch ein merklich stuck des heiligen creuzes, auch der nägel einen und den rechten arm des lieben herrn Ritter sant Görgen und etlich dorn in einer mostranzen von der dürnen kron.'[6]

The Canterbury pilgrimage is remembered among those who take little interest in ecclesiastical history because of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. The journey from the Tabard Inn at Southwark was one of the three ways by which Canterbury was regularly approached by pilgrims. In 1513 a visit was paid to it by Colet and Erasmus; the wealth displayed and the superstition encouraged roused the feeling in Colet which was soon to break forth in him and others in the Protestant Reformation. Erasmus was more reserved and quiet in his strictures, less prone to depart from Catholic practice and tradition.[1] The last Jubilee at the shrine was that of 1520. The reverence shown to the memory of St. Thomas à Becket was annoying to Henry VIII., and in 1538 the shrine was destroyed by royal command.

Next in importance in mediæval England was the shrine of Our Lady at Walsingham in Norfolk. The special relic that attracted pilgrims here was a small phial reputed to contain a few drops of her milk. This shrine was likewise destroyed at the Reformation. A poem written in 1595 (of uncertain authorship) laments the desolation which had overtaken the scene of the piety of former ages. It concludes:

'Sin is where Our Lady sat,
Heaven is turned to Hell,
Satan sits where Our Lord did sway,
Walsingham, oh! farewell.'[2]

Other famous places of pilgrimage in mediæval England were Durham (for the shrine of St. Cuthbert), Lichfield, Bury St. Edmunds, and Peterborough. A special feature of English pilgrimage was its anti-royalist character—to revere as a saint one who had been condemned as a traitor.[3]

5. **Wales.**—All the Celtic parts of Britain were specially rich in shrines, just as their inhabitants went as diligently as any to Rome and the Holy Land. The chief Welsh shrine was the Holy Well of St. Winifred in Flintshire.

'It is a significant circumstance that the only road through Wales from north to south started at Holywell and ended at St. David's, both conspicuous pilgrim resorts in the Ages of Faith.'[4]

A monastery was founded at Holywell in 1119, which was destroyed at the Dissolution. The history of the shrine is important as showing the connexion of pilgrimage with sacred wells. When any well became famous, and its waters were reported to have either medicinal or miraculous qualities, it soon became a place of pilgrimage. This has been so not in Catholic Christianity alone but in the whole history of religion.

6. **Scotland.**—The earliest Scottish shrine to which pilgrims resorted was Whithorn ('Candida Casa'). The church there was built by St. Ninian in memory of St. Martin of Tours about 397. Ninian himself was buried there in 432, and the place was renowned among the Irish and among the Welsh of Strathclyde. Like Walsingham, it was popular as a place of royal pilgrimage. Another Scottish shrine was that of St. Mary of the Rock at St. Andrews. This has now been swept away by the sea. It was on the rock at the foot of the cliff on which the Cathedral now stands. Other Scottish places were Dunblane (for the relics of St. Mordoc), Dunfermline (for the shrine of St. Margaret), St. Margaret's Chapel at Edinburgh Castle, St. Nicholas' Chapel, Leith, St. Kentigern's Chapel on Loch Lomond, and St. Mungo's Chapel at Culross.

7. **Ireland.**—Pilgrimage has been for centuries a dominant feature of Irish religious life, for among the Celtic peoples every hill and well and stream has its own tutelary god or spirit or fairy. Christianity only reconsecrated many places sacred already in Celtic (possibly even in pre-Celtic) times; and, despite spasmodic efforts made by Protestant governments to repress them, Irish pilgrimage has gone on with no real interruption from the Reformation until the present day.

Most famous of Irish shrines was St. Patrick's Purgatory on Lough Derg in Donegal. In the lake there is an island round which various legends grew. It was said that a knight, Owain,

[1] F. J. Haverfield, in *Cambridge Medieval History*, i., Cambridge, 1911, ch. xiii. (A), 'Roman Britain,' p. 376.
[2] Asser, *Life of King Alfred; with the Annals of St. Neots*, ed. W. H. Stevenson, Oxford, 1904, sub anno 726.
[3] Hartwell Jones, pp. 274–284.
[4] Stanley, *Historical Memorials of Canterbury*[11], p. 217 f.
[5] *Ib.* Appendix, note B, p. 256. [6] *Ib.* p. 258.

[1] See Erasmus, *Pilgrimages to S. Mary of Walsingham and S. Thomas of Canterbury*, tr. J. G. Nichols[2].
[2] This poem is quoted in Erasmus, Appendix.
[3] J. J. Jusserand, *Les Anglais au moyen âge: la Vie nomade d'Angleterre au xive siècle*, tr. L. Toulmin Smith, *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages*, pp. 339–343.
[4] Hartwell Jones, p. 407.

descended to Purgatory from there and came back to this present life.

'This pilgrimage has been ascribed to insatiable greed and wilful deception on the part of monks, who fostered it with an eye to their own advantage; but the matter cannot be so summarily dismissed. The usage lies, doubtless, in the deep-rooted beliefs of the pre-historic period, and is a reflex of the old Druidic doctrines colouring Christianity. . . . The origin of the pilgrimage must be therefore sought, partly in the geological features of the island (suggestive to the credulous in Ireland, as in other European countries, of an entrance into the Nether Regions) and partly in a native pre-Christian mythology, the implicit belief in the existence of spirits of woodland and water, and the supposed communication carried on between them and mortals.'[1]

The connexion with St. Patrick is probably legendary, but it enhanced the glory of the place. Abuses and superstitions grew apace, and in 1497 the pilgrimage was 'abolished' by Pope Alexander VI. The Privy Council ordered its suppression in 1632, and in the second year of Queen Anne it was again prohibited.

'And whereas the superstitions of Popery are greatly increased and upheld, by the pretended sanctity of places, especially of a Place called St. Patrick's Purgatory in the County of Donegaul and of Wells to which Pilgrimages are made, by vast numbers at certain seasons. . . . Be it further enacted that all such meetings and assemblies shall be deemed and adjudged Riots and unlawful Assemblies.'[2]

A fine of ten shillings was to be imposed if the offender refused to be publicly whipped. But suppression was of little avail, and the pilgrimage has continued under ecclesiastical supervision until our own day. Pilgrimage thither is now observed in the Roman Catholic Church as a penitential exercise, and 'it seems the only pilgrimage of modern times conducted like those of the Middle Ages' (*CE* xii. 95). Other places of pilgrimage in Ireland were Downpatrick in Co. Down (sacred to St. Patrick, St. Bridget, and St. Columba), St. John's Well in Meath, and Cranfield in the parish of Drummaul, Co. Antrim.

8. **France.**—Among famous French mediæval shrines was Chartres:

'Avant que le christianisme eût été prêché dans les Gaules, les druides étaient dans l'usage de s'assembler tous les ans aux environs de Chartres. On prétend qu'ils avaient en ce lieu un sanctuaire révéré. C'était, dit-on, une grotte, où ils honoraient une statue qui représentait une femme assise, tenant sur elle un enfant, et l'autel portait cette inscription *Virgini pariturœ*. Lors de la prédication de l'Evangile on bâtit sur cette grotte une église, vers le milieu du IIIe siècle, au plus tard.'[3]

Chartres therefore, like Glastonbury and St. Patrick's Purgatory, seems to have been the scene of an ancient Celtic cult. The wooden statue of the Virgin was destroyed at the Revolution.

Among modern French shrines the chief is Lourdes (*q.v.*). Others are La Salette in Dauphiny and Liesse.

9. **Switzerland.**—Of Swiss shrines the most important is Einsiedeln. There was a monastic community there in the 9th century. It is in the canton of Schwyz, became famous as a centre of pilgrimage in the 10th cent., and has continued to be so until the present time, despite the preaching of Zwingli in the 16th cent.[4] and the destruction of the monastery in 1798 by the French invaders. The yearly pilgrims are now more than 150,000.

10. **Italy.**—Besides Rome itself numerous other Italian cities were pilgrim resorts, though none attained special pre-eminence except perhaps Assisi, because of its connexion with St. Francis and in a lesser degree with St. Clare. Siena was associated with St. Catharine; and Venice, with its splendid basilica of St. Mark, was often visited on the way to the Holy Land. See also art. LORETO.

11. **Spain.**—Foremost of the shrines of Spain was that of St. James, or Santiago di Compostella, which attained a fame in the Middle Ages greater than that of almost any other city save Rome. It is said that St. James appeared there in a vision in 816, and that his remains were discovered there. The shrine became associated in legend with Charles the Great, but it was not till the 12th cent. that the foundations of its greatness were really laid. Not only Spaniards but pilgrims from all over Europe worshipped there, especially those from Wales and Ireland. In Welsh bardic literature there are many allusions to Compostella.[1] A Latin hymn to St. James has been finely translated by George Borrow.[2] The pilgrimage flourished till the 14th, but considerably diminished from the 18th century.[3]

12. **Germany.**—Chief among German places of pilgrimage was Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle), the mediæval capital of Germany, which possessed numerous relics. The most important were the white robe in which the Virgin was clothed in the stable at Bethlehem, the swaddling clothes of the infant Christ, the linen cloth in which the body of John the Baptist was wrapped after his execution, and that in which our Lord was crucified; there were many lesser relics besides. The pilgrimage to Aix has continued till the present time. In 1881 there were 158,968 pilgrims. Another mediæval city renowned for its pilgrimage was Trier (Trèves), which possessed the seamless holy coat worn by our Lord before His crucifixion. Cologne was famous as containing relics of the three kings, traditionally called Gaspard, Melchior, and Balthasar.

13. **The Syrian Church.**—The pilgrimages so far considered have all been either of the West of Europe or else in Palestine itself. But beyond the frontier of the Roman Empire the Syrian Church grew and flourished, though on lines in some ways different from those of the Græco-Roman world. Pilgrimage was made by Syrian Christians at a date earlier than by those of the West. Noh, bishop of Adiabene (163–179), had been taken as a child by his parents to Jerusalem on what may fairly be called a pilgrimage.[4] Pilgrims continued to visit Jerusalem; the subject, however, is still involved in some obscurity.[5]

In 858 a Nestorian synod considered the subject:

Canon ix. declares that no new monasteries shall be built without the knowledge of the bishop of the diocese; if one were built and the bishop knew, he would give it a revenue sufficient for its upkeep and for hospitality to pilgrims. Canon xv. proclaims that the faithful ought to give their offerings and perform their vows for the remission of their sins in the places where they live, and not wander far afield. Why should they go to distant places? It is a puerile habit which gives satisfaction to the senses but not to the soul. If any of the faithful, after having visited the churches and convents of their own country, desire to visit those that are further away, not with the idea that God will there favour them more, but to give some part of their goods to the head of the convent, they are not to be hindered. But, if they wander about as people who have lost their God, not knowing where they will find Him or where He will hear them, they are sick souls in need of health and should be led to the doctrine of perfection.[6]

This shows that the abuses of pilgrimage were quite obvious at this time, and they must have been widely spread to have called down ecclesiastical censure in these terms. Gregory Bar-Hebræus, bishop of Guba (probably Bear Omshash, north-east of the Gulf of Akaba) and primate of the East († 1286), quotes from a letter of one John Bar-Finchoje to a monastic friend describing the

1 Hartwell Jones, p. 39 f.
2 John Richards, *The Great Folly, Superstition, and Idolatry of Pilgrimages in Ireland, especially of that of St. Patrick's Purgatory*, Dublin, 1727, p. 45; see also Hewson, *A Description of St. Patrick's Purgatory in Lough Derg and an Account of the Pilgrims' Business there*, do. 1727.
3 Sivry-Champagnac, i. 452.
4 The Council of Zürich abolished the Whit-Monday procession to Einsiedeln in 1524 (Kidd, *Documents Illustrative of the Continental Reformation*, p. 441).

1 Hartwell Jones, pp. 255–261.
2 *The Bible in Spain*, London, 1843, ch. xxvii.
3 Sivry-Champagnac, i. 490–493.
4 *Sources syriaques*, ed. A. Mingana, Leipzig [1908], p. 89.
5 *Ib.* p. 132, n. 1.
6 J. B. Chabot, *Synodicon orientale: Recueil des synodes nestoriens*, Paris, 1903, pp. 408, 441.

pilgrimage to the Holy City and what was to be seen and done there.[1]

14. The Reformation.—Changes so wide in the religious life of Europe as those which came to pass in the 16th cent. were bound to leave their mark not only on the Protestant countries, but within the bounds of Catholicism as well. Much purging of abuses took place at the Counter-Reformation; and, while in some countries Protestantism lost its first conquest, with the advancing tide of Catholicism not everything that had been destroyed was built up. Under Mary Tudor, *e.g.*, no attempt was made to restore the shrine of Becket in Canterbury Cathedral. The Continental Reformation brought with it the abolition of pilgrimage. Thus, in the programme of reforms of the bishop of Pomesania in 1525, art. 4 declares:

'Henceforward there shall be no pilgrimage nor wanderings to holy places, since they aid no man's salvation.'[2]

In Sweden the Lutheran Synod of Örebro in 1529 decreed:

'Peregrinationes ad loca sancta quanta fieri possit moderatione removebuntur,'

showing that, as in other things, Lutheranism dealt more gently with Catholicism than did Calvinism.[3] Calvin in the prefatory letter to Francis I. (23rd Aug. 1536) of his *Christianæ Religionis Institutio*, wrote:

'Cur ergo tanta saevitia et acerbitate pro missa, purgatorio peregrinationibus, et id genus nugis belligerantur, ut sine eorum explicatissima, ut ita dicam, fide salvam fore pietatem negent, cum tamen nihil eorum a verbo Dei esse probent?'[4]

The Edict of Reformation of Bern for the Pays de Vaud (24th Dec. 1536) declared in art. 17:

Bénitions.—'Nous avons aussi ordonné que toutes bénitions de voyage et pèlerinages soient ôtées, et que nul soit si hardi d'aller en iceux sous peine, l'homme de dix florins, la femme de cinq florins.'[5]

The Council of Trent (1563; sess. XXV.) condemned those who affirmed that 'places dedicated to the memories of saints are vainly visited.'

15. Royal pilgrimage.—Throughout the Middle Ages pilgrimage was a constant observance among kings and princes; to show honour to the saints of their country was a natural thing, and sometimes a king went in penitence, as did Henry II. to the shrine of Becket, after the murder of the archbishop. The Scottish kings continually went to Whithorn. Margaret, daughter of Christian I. of Denmark, wife of James III. and mother of James IV. of Scotland, went thither after the birth of her son in 1473, though her journey has been described as a 'pleasant outing rather than a penitential exercise.'[6] James IV. himself went there several times, as also did James V., though not so often as his father. James IV. visited also Whitekirk in E. Lothian, where in 1430 James I. had built a house for the reception of pilgrims.

Some interest attaches to the pilgrimage of one who later became a king: Henry, Earl of Derby (afterwards Henry IV.), visited Prussia and then went on to the Holy Land. He travelled by way of Dantzig, Frankfort-on-Oder, Prague, Vienna, Treviso, Venice, Corfu, Rhodes, Jaffa, Ramah, and Jerusalem, returning through Rhodes, Cos, Corfu, Ragusa, Venice, Treviso, Pavia, Vicenza, Verona, and Milan.[7]

16. The effects of pilgrimage.—It is quite clear that a custom so wide-spread must have left its effect not simply on the religion but on the entire life of the world. It helped, as has been seen, to produce the Crusades; it drew far afield men who would otherwise have been content to stay in their own country, and gave them a knowledge of distant lands. The countries of Europe had, by means of the pilgrims, far more intercourse with each other in the Middle Ages, not only in religion, but also in commerce, literature, and art. The economic effect of pilgrimage was also considerable. Though many cities already famous became pilgrim resorts, in some cases towns or villages hitherto obscure became, by virtue of a shrine or the relics of a saint, places of national, perhaps even of world-wide, fame. These facts, however, must never obscure the essential religious importance of pilgrimage (it is wrong, *e.g.*, to put as one of the chief 'effects' of the custom the fame of the *Canterbury Tales*; that the pilgrimage to Canterbury afforded the occasion for some of the most famous English poetry is after all only incidental).

In post-Reformation times in Catholic countries pilgrimage has often been undertaken for the sake of cures such as those (some of which are genuine) wrought at Lourdes.

17. The place of pilgrimage in the history of religion.—It has already been noted that pilgrimage is not confined to Catholic Christianity, and also that pre-Christian shrines were consecrated to Christ and to His saints. This fact is of importance for the comparative study of religions, and, like other facts in that science, should be neither minimized nor wrongly emphasized. How far, all over the world, Christian and pre-Christian customs and rites were interwoven is not yet known for certain. As S. A. Cook says in a letter,

'The visit to the grave of the more or less deified hero, the annual meeting on the occasion of initiation or other ceremonial, the periodical festivals at which different towns or clans assembled—all these represent universal ideas.'

Some observances of Christian pilgrimage have close analogies elsewhere—*e.g.*, the miracle of the sacred fire at Jerusalem.[1] Glastonbury, St. Patrick's Purgatory, and Chartres (see above, 4, 7, 8) are instances of pagan holy places being consecrated to Christian pilgrimage.

The pilgrim with his staff, his broad flat-crowned hat, and his mussel-shell or other badge, has now disappeared, but thousands still go every year on pilgrimage. Shall we dismiss it as a mere superstition? It is something more than, although it is akin to, the sentiment that has made it the supreme desire of many whose relatives have fallen in action to visit their graves when the war is over. The underlying idea, conscious or unconscious, is that definite sanctity attaches to certain places because of what has happened there, as though some of the personal magnetism of the person who had lived or died there still survived and could communicate itself to the visitor. A similar idea would explain a so-called 'ghost,' not as the actual spirit of a dead person surviving after his bodily death in a given spot associated with him in lifetime, but rather as an impress or influence left by him still capable of affecting those who come to the place. Thus the study of pilgrimage leads us into psychic and psychological problems the solution of which is still beyond our range.

LITERATURE.—i. *WORKS OF REFERENCE.*—Artt. in *EBr*[11] (A. Hauck); *DCA* (W. E. Scudamore); *CE* (Bede Jarrett); *OED*; Schaff-Herzog (J. F. Driscoll); L. de Sivry and J. B. J. Champagnac, *Dictionnaire des Pèlerinages*, Paris, 1851, forming vols. 43 and 44 of *Encyclopédie Théologique*, ser. I., ed. J. P. Migne.

ii. *ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.*—Of much interest are the publica-

[1] J. S. Assemanus, *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Rome, 1719–28, ii. 343.

[2] Kidd, p. 189.

[3] *Ib.* p. 233.

[4] *Ib.* p. 533.

[5] *Ib.* p. 558.

[6] James Balfour Paul, 'Royal Pilgrimages in Scotland,' in *Trans. of Scottish Ecclesiological Soc.* I. [Aberdeen, 1905] 147–155.

[7] *Expeditions to Prussia and the Holy Land made by Henry, Earl of Derby (afterwards King Henry IV.), in 1390–1 and 1392–3, being the Accounts kept by his Treasurer*, ed. L. Toulmin Smith, Camden Society, London, 1894.

[1] See for this *GB*[3], pt. vii., *Balder the Beautiful*, London, 1913, i. 20, 131; *The Pilgrimage of the Russian Abbot Daniel in the Holy Land*; T. Tobler, *Golgotha*, St. Gall, 1851, pp. 460–483; Fulcher de Chartres, *Gesta Peregrinantium Francorum* (in John Bongarsius, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, Hanover, 1611, i. 407); Curzon, *Visits to the Monasteries of the Levant*, p. 145 f.; also *ERE* v. 846.

tions of the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society. The records of many pilgrimages, several of which are referred to in this art., have been translated and annotated. The information is especially full on pilgrim routes and on the topography of Palestine, but not on the pilgrims themselves.

iii. *GENERAL.*—*Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1494*, tr. and ed. M. M. Newett, Manchester, 1907 (with full introd. giving much information about mediæval Italian pilgrimages to the Holy Land); Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*; L. Conrady, *Vier rheinische Palaestina-Pilgerschriften der XIV., XV., XVI. Jahrhunderten*, Wiesbaden, 1882; R. Curzon, *Visits to the Monasteries of the Levant*, new ed., London, 1897; L. Depont, *Pèlerinages*, Paris, 1902; Desiderius Erasmus, *Pilgrimages to S. Mary of Walsingham and S. Thomas of Canterbury*, tr. and ed. J. G. Nichols[2], London, 1875; S. Graham, *With the Russian Pilgrims to Jerusalem*, do. 1913; G. Hartwell Jones, *Celtic Britain and the Pilgrim Movement*, Hon. Soc. of Cymmrodorion, do. 1912 (gives a mass of information about Celtic and other pilgrimages); S. Heath, *Pilgrim Life in the Middle Ages*, do. 1911; *MGH* xv. 80 ff. (biography of Willibald, 8th cent. bishop of Eichstätt); J. J. Jusserand, *Les Anglais au moyen âge: la Vie nomade et les routes d'Angleterre au xive siècle*, Paris, 1884, tr. L. Toulmin Smith, *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages (XIVth cent.)*[2], London, 1889; B. J. Kidd, *Documents Illustrative of the Continental Reformation*, Oxford, 1911; R. R. Madden, *Shrines and Sepulchres of the Old and New World*, 2 vols., London, 1851; J. Marx, *Das Wallfahren in der katholischen Kirche*, Trèves, 1842; R. Röhricht, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem heiligen Lande*, new ed., Innsbruck, 1900; G. B. de Rossi, *Roma sotterranea*, Rome, 1864 (for catacombs); *Sarum Missal*, ed. J. Wickham Legg, Oxford, 1916, pp. 405, 451 (pilgrim mass, prayers, and blessing); A. P. Stanley, *Historical Memorials of Canterbury*[11], London, 1912 (several interesting documents relating to the shrine of Becket in the Appendix).

L. D. AGATE.

PILGRIMAGE (Hebrew and Jewish).—The origin of the Hebrew pilgrimage is to be sought in the early Semitic life. To the primitive religious conception the deity was not ubiquitous, but was localized—by the nomads within the confines of a sacred district, frequently an oasis, by agriculturists in the sanctuary of a village or town. The performance of certain religious duties, therefore, normally involved a journey of greater or less length, which in time increased as the renown of particular sacred places, and the advantages for trading offered by a larger concourse of people, led to the further centralization of worship. Economy of time and effort, also, reduced the visits to a limited number at regularly recurring periods, to which was postponed the payment of vows replacing intervening religious duties. There thus was instituted the annual family or clan pilgrimage, as pictured in 1 S 1[3]. At times a lengthier pilgrimage into strange territory resulted in a protracted stay as a *gēr*, or even in permanent settlement; Abraham is the archetype of the pilgrim immigrant, and perhaps in Dt 26[5] *'ōbhēd* (AV 'ready to perish') contains the ideas of the Arabic root *'abada*, 'strange,' 'long from home,' 'permanent dweller.' Moreover, every traveller into strange territory was in a sense a pilgrim, a prospective visitor to the local shrine; hence, apparently, the right of sanctuary, of protection, was extended to cover the entire journey within the tribal territory—a supposition which may in part explain the sacred character of the primitive Semitic institution of hospitality (*q.v.*). At all events, the journey itself became an essential part of the religious celebration, assuming a quasi-sacred character—in itself a meritorious act.

The development of the pilgrimage of the clan into one of larger groups was due in part to the advantages of combination when the journey was long and led into strange territory; and this development was hastened when the period of pilgrimage was made to coincide with that of nomadic or, especially, with agricultural festivals. The Hebrew term *ḥagh* denotes both the pilgrimage journey and the festival ceremonies at the shrine; but which of these two ideas is the original denotation is uncertain. The concept 'encircle,' which seems common to various triliteral extensions of the biliteral root *ḥ–g*, may be seen both in the dance and in the circumambulation which concludes the pilgrim journey; nevertheless, if in Arabic *ḥajj* originally did not denote the circumambulation of the Meccan shrine but only the visit to 'Arafah (J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, Berlin, 1897, pp. 79–84)—*i.e.* a visit, from the standpoint of Quraish, to a strange shrine under protection from the tribal adherents of that shrine—an original meaning 'pilgrimage,' 'recourse to a place of refuge,' should be preferred (cf. the roots *ḥajâ* and *ḥaja'a*).

The origin of the Hebrew *ḥagh* as involving a nomadic journey seems discernible in some of the regulations for the Hebrew festival celebrations, especially the Passover (though the latter is associated in the Pentateuch with an agricultural epoch and with traditions of a definite historic departure from Egypt). A three days' journey into the desert is made antecedent to the first Passover celebration; and the extension of the celebration of the festivals in general over an entire week is in part a reminiscence of the journey period (cf. the pilgrimage month of the Arabs). But especially the eating of unleavened bread (the nomad's usual bread), the roasting of the lamb whole (in nomad fashion), and the start by night (as frequently in the case of desert caravans) offer the setting for a dramatic revival of the ancient desert life and wanderings; therein sanctity and religious significance are attached to archaism, in the same manner as in the regulation for the building of an altar of dirt or unhewn stones (Ex 20). The pilgrimage of Tabernacles is a similar religious-dramatic revival of tent life (Hos 12[10] reads 'tents' for the 'booths' of Lv 23[42]; cf. also 2 Ch 7[10], if the phrase 'into their tents' is to be understood literally here).

The pilgrimage had also a political importance. The close association in a common purpose of large numbers of people from different tribes and communities afforded the basis for the development of a more permanent national unity, and played a part no less in ancient pan-Hebraism than in modern pan-Islāmism. In the Pentateuchal legislation which purposed the centralization of worship in Jerusalem the attempt is clear to increase the spirit of unity by bringing all males together in pilgrimage to one shrine at three different periods of the year (the festivals of Passover, Weeks, and Booths). That this legislation, however, reflects actual conditions—that all the male inhabitants of Palestine simultaneously left their homes three times every year to make what for some would have been an extended journey—seems improbable; and the special emphasis laid upon the Passover in certain passages (Nu 9[13]) or upon the Feast of Tabernacles in others (1 K 8[65]), shows perhaps that one or the other was in reality the pilgrimage period at different epochs in the national life, or (more likely) for different clans or families at the same epoch. Jeroboam testified to the political value of the pilgrimage in his attempt to counteract its unifying force by changing the place and time of it (1 K 13[27], with which cf. the reported action of Walīd ibn 'Abd al-Mālik in promoting the pilgrimage to a certain mosque in Jerusalem as against the Ka'bah, or that of the papal monarchy in diverting the pilgrimage to Rome).

After the building of the Second Temple in Jerusalem the Holy City was without rival as the objective of Jewish pilgrimage. Jews journeyed thither from Mesopotamia, and the journey itself became an even more important factor than before, often involving considerable hardship and danger; the old laws of hospitality to the pilgrim became correspondingly broader, and the inhabitants of Jerusalem took special measures to accommodate

visitors in the city as well as along the roads leading thereto.

But after the destruction of the Second Temple conditions changed; though there was still an annual celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles (on the Mount of Olives), with the cessation of sacrifice the pilgrimage, too, ceased to be an obligatory act. It assumed in general a personal and emotional character and lost much of its former joyousness. Pilgrims to the site of the Temple now came principally to mourn and to pray for the restoration of Zion, and they were not always welcomed by the non-Jewish population of the land. Conditions improved under Muhammadan rule; and in the 9th cent. many Karaites in particular made the pilgrimage. During the Crusades the pilgrimage seems to have ceased again; but with Saladin it was resumed,[1] and recovered something of its ancient joyous character. In many cases the desire to visit Jerusalem was coupled with the purpose of living and being buried on holy ground, and the pilgrimage thus became a pious immigration; as early as the 11th cent., indeed, a fully organized Jewish community existed at Ramlah; and there was a marked influx of Jews from Spain somewhat later, and from other parts of Europe in the 15th and 16th centuries. Earlier than this impulse from persecution there is found as a secondary cause of pilgrimage the general purpose of travel (as in the case of Judah Halevi and Ibn Ezra), the frequency of which is evidenced by a special travellers' prayer in the Jewish ritual.

At the same time Jerusalem again had its rivals as the object of pilgrimage. In Egypt there was a famous synagogue at Dumūh (modern Ṭammūh), near Cairo, to which Jewish families journeyed to celebrate the Feast of Weeks. But in Muhammadan countries the multiplication of shrines was due to the development especially of another type of pilgrimage—that to the tombs of pious men, of saints and reputed miracle-workers. Though evidence of the belief in the supernatural power of tombs may perhaps be found in 2 K 13[21], and such a belief among certain classes of Jews may have persisted along with other beliefs in miracles, the custom of visiting graves in order to pray and ask for divine intervention seems to have been borrowed by Jews from their Oriental neighbours; at any rate such a *ziyārah* (lit. 'visit') is sometimes made by Muhammadans and Jews to the graves of the same Biblical heroes. By the Oriental Jews themselves no distinction in reverence is made between the supposed tombs of Biblical characters and those of later saints. Palestine has many tombs of local, and several of more than local, veneration. To the supposed tomb of Zebulun at Sidon, *e.g.*, pilgrims come from all parts of Palestine, and also to that of Rabbi Meir (*q.v.*) at Tiberias. That of Simeon ben Yōḥai at Merom near Safed has long been visited by Jews even from Persia and Africa; indeed, in the 16th cent. Safed rivalled Jerusalem, especially as a place for permanent settlement, for it offered hospitality such as neither the Muhammadans nor the Jews of the Holy City any longer extended.

Outside of Palestine pilgrimages are made to several tombs in Kurdistān (*e.g.*, that of Nahum near Mosul), in Mesopotamia (*e.g.*, that of Ezra near Bassorah and that of Ezekiel near Babylon), and in Persia (that of Mordecai and Esther at Hamadan). In Algeria and Morocco are several tombs of Jewish worthies of local renown, and these, too, are sometimes visited by Muhammadans and Jews together. In Europe only Galicia, Volhynia, and parts of Poland have their pilgrim shrines, though the travelling instinct as such has sometimes found expression in a sort of pilgrimage to various famous synagogues, such as at Prague, for purposes of prayer; and the wandering student, journeying far to sit at the feet of renowned rabbis, was a familiar figure until the 19th cent. in Germany and still later in Poland and Hungary.

In some cases the tomb-pilgrimages take place at fixed annual dates which, especially in Palestine, often coincide with the various festivals of the Jewish calendar; in other cases they take place at the pleasure of the individual. In Muhammadan countries a relationship with the older Semitic pilgrimage is seen in the joyous festival character which the celebration assumes, even beside the tomb.

LITERATURE.—J. D. Michaelis, *Das mosaische Recht*, Frankfort, 1771–75, iv. 114; W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*[2], London, 1894, pp. 103, 236, 258; E. Renan, *Hist. of the People of Israel*, Eng. tr., do. 1881–91, i. 30, 46; G. A. Barton, *A Sketch of Semitic Origins*, New York, 1902, pp. 108, 281; H. Graetz, *Hist. of the Jews*, Eng. tr., Philadelphia, 1894, iii. 440, iv. 73; I. Abrahams, *Book of Delight*, do. 1912, pp. 127–145; S. Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, 2nd ser., London, 1908, p. 205; *JE*, *s.vv.* 'Pilgrimage,' 'Tombs.'

WILLIAM PÓPPER.

PILGRIMAGE (Indian).—**1. Origin.**—Pilgrimage in India is the result of the animistic basis of the popular beliefs, reflected in the higher forms of Hinduism and even in the local developments of Islām. Nothing strikes a new-comer to the country more than the crowds of pilgrims travelling by road or rail towards some holy river, the local abode of some god or godling, the tomb of some saint or martyr.

'It seems not unlikely that the virtue of a pilgrimage arises mainly from the sacred character attaching to the place itself and not so much from the desire to honour the deity whose shrine it is. If this is so, the feeling which prompts the undertaking of the journey is not a very great advance on the primitive reverence for certain places as the abodes of spirits' (R. V. Russell, *Census of India*, 1911, vol. xiii., Central Provinces Report, pt. i. p. 91).

To this may be added the fact that water, by the analogy of the removal of physical impurities, is a potent agent in the removal of sin. Thus, in many sacred places there are pools dedicated to the god Rāma, which take his name, not because he is worshipped there, but because he bathed in this place when he wished to free himself from the sin of having killed the demon Rāvaṇa, who is held to have been a Brāhman. The germ of the idea of pilgrimage is found in the words of Indra to Hariśchandra:

'There is no happiness for him who does not travel; living in the society of men, the best man often becomes a sinner; for Indra is the friend of the traveller. Therefore wander' (*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, vii. 15).

But, though in the *Rigveda* the animistic worship of rivers appears, pilgrimage, in its modern sense, is not referred to, and even in the *Brāhmaṇas*, while a particular sanctity attaches to river fords (*tīrtha*) and certain privileged regions, like the banks of the Sarasvatī, there is no knowledge either of pilgrimages or of holy places (A. Barth, *Religions of India*, Eng. tr., London, 1882, p. 62). Even Manu (*Laws*, viii. 92) regards visits to the Ganges or to Kurukshetra as comparatively unimportant.

Gautama, however, declares that 'all mountains, all rivers, holy lakes, places of pilgrimage, the dwellings of *ṛṣis*, cow-pens, and temples of the gods are places which destroy sin' (xix. 14 [*SBE* ii. (1879) 276]).

The origin of the modern practice may be traced to the revival of Brāhmanism and its absorption of local cults. Every place where a local spirit was propitiated or worshipped soon came under the control of a body of local priests, interested in attracting visitors because their offerings formed their means of livelihood.

2. Places of Hindu pilgrimage.—The number of places to which pilgrims resort is enormous. In

[1] In the 13th cent., *e.g.*, there is recorded the visit of 300 rabbis from Spain and France.

the following list the more important holy places are classified according to their geographical position and the deities mainly worshipped, it being understood that many places combine the cults of more than one deity:

(*a*) *Places.*—**Bengal**: Barābar, Gayā, Deogarh, Kālighāṭ, Kāmākhyā, Sāgar Island, Tarakeśwar; Bihār and Orissa: Pārasnāth, Puri-Jagannāth; Panjāb: Dera Nānak, Jwālamukhī, Katās, Kurukshetra, Takht-i-Sulaimān; United Provinces of Agra and Oudh: Allāhābād, Badarināth, Batesar, Benares, Bindhāchal, Brindāban, Chitrakūṭ, Debipātan, Deoprayāg, Gangotrī, Garhmukhteśar, Hardwār, Jamnotrī, Kedārnāth, Mahāban; Bombay: Alandī, Bechrājī, Chāṇḍod, Dwārkā, Jejurī, Nāsik, Pālitāna, Pandharpur, Shetrunjā; Madras: Bābā Badan, Bhavānī, Chidambaram, Comorin, Conjeeveram, Gokarn, Rāmeśwaram, Seringapatam, Śrirangam, Tirupatī; Central Provinces: Māndhāta; Balūchistān, Hinglāj; Rājputānā and Central India: Ābu, Ajmer, Amarkantak, Barwānī, Nāthdwāra, Pushkar, Rakhabh Dev.

(*b*) *Cults.*—Brahmā: Pushkar; Viṣṇu: Badarināth, Gayā, Hardwār, Nāthdwāra, Pandharpur, Puri-Jagannāth, Tirupatī; Kṛṣṇa: Mathurā, Gokul, Brindāban, Mahāban, Dwārkā; Śiva, the twelve great *liṅgas*: Somnāth in Kāthiāwār, Mahākāla at Ujjain, Omkāra in the Narbadā, Trayambak near Nāsik, Nāganāth in the Nizām's Dominions, Vaidyanāth in the Deccan, Bhīmaśankar on the river Bhīma, Kedāreśwar in the Himālaya, Viśvanāth at Benares, Mallikārjuna in the Karnātik, and Rāmeśwar at the extreme south of the peninsula; other places sacred to Śiva are Bakreśwar, Barābar, Chidambaram, Deogarh, Gokarn, Hardwār, Jejurī, Katās, Kedārnāth, Tarakeśwar; various forms of the mother-goddess, Kālī, Durgā, Devī, etc.: Arasū, Ambā Bhavānī, Bindhāchal, Comorin, Devipātan, Hinglāj, Jwālamukhī, Kālighāt, Kāmakhyā; sacred rivers: Allāhābād, Amarkantak, Bāgheśwar, Batesar, Bhavānī, Chāṇḍod, Deoprayāg, Gangotrī, Garhmukhteśar, Jamnotrī, Nāsik, Sāgar Island. The chief places visited by Buddhists are: Bodh Gayā, Kuśinagara, Potala, Sarnāth; by Jains: Barwānī, Girnār, Pālitānā, Rakhabh Dev, Shetrunjā. Worshippers of Rāma and Sītā visit Ayodhya, Chitrakūṭ, Nāsik, and Sītākuṇḍ. The heroes of the *Mahābhārata* are venerated at Kurukshetra and Thāneśar. The cult of the dead is performed at Benares, Hardwār, Gayā, and Siddhpur. In the number of sacred places few regions rival the Himālaya, and, in particular, Kaśmīr. The latter is a country where there is not a space as large as a grain of sesamum seed without a *tīrtha*—a place of pilgrimage (Kalhaṇa, *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, ed. M. A. Stein, London, 1900, ii. 367, 376; *Ain-i-Akbarī*, tr. H. S. Jarrett, ii. 354 ff.).

3. Pilgrimage among the Buddhists.—The great monasteries, *stūpas*, and *dāgabas* erected over the relics of Buddha, many of which had disappeared, have been unearthed by the Archæological Survey. Bodh Gayā, where Buddha gained his title, and where the *bodhi*-tree beneath which he sat became an object of veneration, still commands respect among Buddhist pilgrims from Burma and farther east. In 1905 the Tāshi Lāma of Tibet visited the ruins at Sarnāth, near Benares burned vast quantities of butter and incense, and scattered flowers. At the close of the rite of adoration the Tāshi Lāma was transfigured and the other Lāmas worshipped him (*The Times*, 20th Dec. 1905). Next to the Tree of Wisdom at Bodh Gayā, the sites regarded as most holy are the scene of Buddha's death at Kuśinagara (*q.v.*), the eight great *chaityas* which enshrined his relics, Mt. Potala in S. India, Sthambala in the north, and the *guru's* Fairy-land in Udyāna to the west. The Indian sites are seldom visited by Lāmas and Tibetans on account of the great distance and the expense of the journey. Probably for the sake of convenience and economy, they have transferred the site of Buddha's death from Kuśinagara to a place known as Sālkuśa in Assam (L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895, p. 305 ff.).

4. Places of Jain pilgrimage.—The Jains, probably on account of the retiring character of the cult and the desire to avoid pollution from animal slaughter, selected as their sacred sites places far from the abodes of men, like Mt. Ābū in Rājputānā, Pālitāna and Girnār in Kāthiāwār, Samet Sikhar or Pārasnāth in Bengal. The southern Jains have special places of pilgrimage at Padmāvati in Mysore and Guneśwar in S. Kānara (*BG* xxii. [1884] 118).

5. Holy places shared by different religions.—Some places are shared by the followers of more than one religion. Hindus and Muhammadans both visit the ledge below the Takht-i-Sulaimān, from which King Solomon is said to have taken his last view of India before he carried off his dusky bride (T. H. Holdich, *The Indian Borderland*, London, 1901, p. 73 f.; cf. *ERE* vi. 709).

6. Pilgrimages by the ascetic orders.—Some of the most extended pilgrimages are those performed by Gośāins, Sannyāsis, and other ascetics.

Jonathan Duncan (*Asiatic Researches*, v. [1799] 37 ff.) gives an interesting narrative of the pilgrimages performed by Prānpuri Sannyāsi, an Ūrdhvabāhu, i.e. one whose arms had become rigid by being constantly held over his head (M. Monier-Williams, *Brāhmanism and Hindūism*[4], London, 1891, p. 88). He journeyed to all the chief Indian shrines, Kābul, Bamiān, Baku on the Caspian Sea, Astrakan and Moscow, through Persia and Bokhara, and thence across the Himālaya to the source of the Ganges at Gangotrī. Then he went to Nepāl and the sacred lake Mānasarovar and Lhāsa, whence he returned to India bearing dispatches to Warren Hastings, who gave him a rent-free estate. When this account was written, he was still in the habit of making excursions to Nepāl and to other parts of India.

Ascetics often wear symbols of such journeys, a white conch-shell denoting a journey to Rāmeśwar in the south, iron, brass, or copper armlets indicating pilgrimages to Paśupatināth, Kedārnāth, and Badarināth in the Himālaya.

7. River pilgrimages.—The favourite form of Indian pilgrimage is to shrines on the banks of the great rivers, like the Ganges, Jumnā, Narbadā, or Godāvarī. The Indus and the Brahmāputra are too far from the Holy Land of the Hindus to have acquired special sanctity. The great rivers, though places on their banks have been occupied by the votaries of special deities, are unsectarian, and any Hindu, whatever his rank may be, may bathe, provided he avoids causing pollution to high-caste worshippers. The places at which these rivers rise, like Gangotrī, Jamnotrī, or Amarkantak, and sites on their upper waters, like Nāsik or Hardwār, are sacred. Even more highly regarded are the junctions (*sangam*) of two or more holy rivers, like the meeting of the Ganges, Jumnā, and the mythical Sarasvatī at Allāhābād, known to Hindus as Prayāga, 'the place of sacrifice' *par excellence*; Bāgheśwar, Deoprayāg, and other junctions higher up the stream; and Sāgar Island, where the river joins the sea. Such places are often dedicated to the worship of Śiva, a god of fertility. Bathing in these holy places cleanses both body and soul, and brings the pilgrim into communion with the benign water-spirits and with the honoured dead whose ashes have been consigned to the waters.

8. Rules of pilgrimage.—The dates and hours at which bathing is auspicious are fixed by the local priests, and depend on various considerations connected with the local cultus. Thus, at Allāhābād the chief bathing fair is held on the new moon of the month Māgh (Jan.–Feb.), at Hardwār at the beginning of the Hindu solar year. At both these places specially important assemblies occur every twelfth year when the planet Jupiter enters the sign of Aquarius (Kumbha), such fairs being known as the Kumbh Melā (for the importance of the side-real revolution of Jupiter, which is completed in 11 years, 314·92 days, as affecting religious observances, see *GB*[3], pt. iii.; *The Dying God*, London, 1911, p. 49). From ancient times bathing during eclipses has been a means of expelling the evil spirits which are abroad at this time. According to tradition, the Yādavas bathed at Somnāth during an eclipse.

An important rite performed at sacred places is the circumambulation of the sacred object in the course of the sun, keeping the right shoulder towards it (*pradakṣiṇā*). Sometimes, as at Benares (*ERE* ii. 467), there is a holy road surrounding the sacred area along which the pilgrims march. Sometimes, as at Mathurā, where the sites associated with the life of Kṛṣṇa are spread over a considerable space, they are visited in rotation under

the direction of a Brāhman, who usually recites at each holy place the local religious guide-book (*mahātmyā*), which embodies the religious lore. These Brāhman guides form a special class, often notorious for roguery and rapacity, like those known as Gangāputra, 'sons of the Ganges,' the Chaubē of Mathurā, the Gayāwāl of Gayā, the Prayāgwāl of Allāhābād (Crooke, *TC*, Calcutta, 1896, ii. 387 ff.; *BG* ix. pt. i. [1901]; Kalhaṇa, Introd. i. 20). These men usually keep lodging-houses for entertainment of guests, tout for pilgrims, and keep books which record for many years the arrival of persons of particular castes or families. There is an elaborate system of touting for pilgrims to Jagannāth (W. W. Hunter, *Orissa*, London, 1872, i. 140).

When the holy place is, like Hardwār, Benares, Gayā, or Siddhpur, associated with the cult of the dead, the ashes of relatives, which have been preserved until this opportunity, are consigned to the water, and the mind rites (*śrāddha*) are performed. It is an interesting development that since the introduction of the Government parcel-post the ashes are often sent by it to a Brāhman competent to perform the rites, without the attendance of the relatives being required.

In the case of serious sin a special rite of atonement (*prāyaścitta*) is performed during the pilgrimage. The hair of the penitent, which is supposed to hold his sins, is cut off, only a single tuft being left on the crown of the head. He bathes in ten different ways, each with the use of an appropriate text, dresses in clean clothes, worships the deity, and, while the Brāhman performs the fire sacrifice (*homa*), presents ten kinds of gifts, the last being the 'shadow'gift, a cup of melted butter in which he has beheld the reflexion of his own face. He then says to the priest: 'This penance of mine must be rendered valid by you,' to which the reply is made: 'It is rendered valid.' If a sinner should die leaving this rite unperformed, it is the duty of his successor to perform it; if it be neglected, father and son descend to hell (A. K. Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, London, 1878, p. 631 f.).

9. Austerities practised by pilgrims. — Besides the suffering caused by long journeys in ox-carts over ill-kept roads, the crowding in railway carriages, the inconveniences of camping on the river bank, and the bad accommodation in the pilgrim lodging-houses, special austerities are undergone. One form of penance for grievous sin is the measuring of the length of the pilgrim's body by successive prostrations on the ground as he journeys to the sacred place. Waddell notes this as a Buddhist practice at Lhāsa, where some zealots traverse the Circular Road in this way—a distance of about 6 miles, the number of prostrations being over 40,000; in some cases the hands of the pilgrims are protected by padded wooden clogs, the soles of which are studded with hob-nails (*Lhasa and its Mysteries*[3], London, 1906, pp. 364, 375).

According to the historian Rashīdu-dīn (H. M. Elliot, *Hist. of India*, London, 1867–77, i. 67), at Somnāth 'many of the more deluded devotees, in performance of their vows, pass the last stage crawling along the ground upon their sides; some approach walking upon their ankles, and never touch the ground with the soles of their feet, others go before the idol upon their heads' (for similar customs at Pandharpur see *BG* xx. [1884] 470).

On several occasions the emperor Akbar, in imitation of the Hindu practice, walked on foot from Agra to Ajmer to visit the shrine of the saint Mu'īnu-d-dīn Chishtī (Elliot, v. 328).

The original custom of branding the pilgrim with the sacred symbol of the god as a proof that he had performed the pilgrimage is now often superseded by a mark made with moistened clay. But in S. India, among the Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas and Mādhavas, the visitor to the monastery (*matha*) is branded on both shoulders (E. Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in S. India*, Madras, 1906, p. 403 f.). The practice of piercing the cheeks and tongue with a silver needle when going on pilgrimage is more common in S. than in N. India (*ib.* p. 402 f., *Castes and Tribes of S. India*, Madras, 1909, v. 399). Occasionally in S. India pilgrims keep a handkerchief tied over their mouths to show that they are subject to a vow of silence during the pilgrimage, or they wear a mouth-lock, a silver band over the mouth, with a skewer piercing both cheeks (Thurston, *Castes and Tribes*, v. 399). Abū al-Faḍl says of Nagarkot in the Panjāb:

'Pilgrims from distant parts visit it and obtain their desires. Strange it is that in order that their prayers may be favourably heard, they cut out their tongues: with some it grows again on the spot, with others after one or two days. Although the medical faculty allow the possibility of growth in the tongue, yet in so short a space of time it is sufficiently amazing' (*Ain-i-Akbari*, tr. H. S. Jarrett, ii. 313).

On the sacrifice of joints of the fingers at certain Indian shrines see *GB*[3], pt. iii., *The Dying God*, p. 219 f. At the pilgrimage to the temple of Śāsta in Travancore the Aiyappans (for in these pilgrimages the worshippers call themselves by the name of the god) have to undergo a preliminary course of 41 days' scanty diet and sexual abstinence (*Census of India*, 1901, vol. xxvi., Travancore Report, pt. i. p. 98).

10. Muhammadan pilgrimages.—It does not fall within the scope of this article to describe the pilgrimage (*ḥajj*) to Mecca, Medīna, or Kerbela, that to Mecca having succeeded the old pagan spring feast (W. R. Smith, *Lectures and Essays*, London, 1912, p. 546). In India the number of tombs of saints (*pīr*, *auliyā*) or martyrs of the faith (*shahīd*) is legion, and they attract large bodies of pilgrims.

For N. India see A. O'Brien, 'The Muhammadan Saints of the W. Panjab,' *JAI* xli. [1911] 509 ff.; W. R. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, London, 1895, p. 286 ff.; Malik Muhammad Dīn, *Bahawalpur State Gazetteer*, Lahore, 1904, p. 159 ff.; *Census of India*, 1911, vol. xiii., N.W. Frontier Province Report, p. 87 f.; for Balūchistān, *FL* xiii. [1902] 259 ff.; for S. India, S. H. Bilgrami and C. Willmott, *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of the Nizam's Dominions*, Bombay, 1883–84, ii. 571 ff.; *BG* ix. pt. i. [1901] 360.

Such monuments abound in the vicinity of Muhammadan capital cities, like Delhi, Āgra, Lahore, or Lucknow, and they are visited by low-class Hindus as well as by Muhammadans. Some shrines, like those of Mu'īnu-d-dīn Chishtī at Ajmer, the martyr Ghāzī Miyāṅ at Bahrāich and Gorakhpur, and Shāh Madār of Makanpur, vie with Hindu holy places in attracting both Hindu and Muhammadan pilgrims. But the erection of tombs, and still more the superstitious veneration of them, is opposed to the laws of orthodox Islām, and Wahhābīs—the puritans of Islām—prohibit visits to them. The practice now so common among Muhammadans of visiting such places is clearly derived from the practices of the Hindus, and the rites performed differ little from Hindu and Buddhist custom. The pilgrims circumambulate the building in the course of the sun, crush into the tomb chamber to imbibe the breath of the saint which is supposed to survive round his remains, or, as a special privilege to be gained by payment of a fee, they are allowed to observe or even to touch clothes which are supposed to have been worn by the saint or martyr—his turban in particular, or some other article which may have belonged to him. Many of these shrines are potent in the cure of disease, and at some—*e.g.*, at the tomb of Hanwant Nāik at Sāngamner in the Ahmadnagar District—wooden legs or arms are offered to secure relief (*BG* xvii. [1884] 737). Many of the Panjāb shrines are efficacious in the cure of leprosy and other diseases (*Census of India*, 1911, vol. xiv., Panjab Report, pt. i. p. 385 f.).

11. Opposition to tomb-worship among some Hindu sects.—Some modern sects which aim at restoring the primitive usages of Hinduism have protested against the worship of tombs and relics, and even against pilgrimage.

The Ārya Samāj (*q.v.*) discourages the practice of bathing in holy rivers, of pilgrimage, of the use of beads and sectarial marks, of gifts to worthless

mendicants, and of all the many rites of modern Hinduism (H. A. Rose, *A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and N.W. Frontier Province*, Lahore, 1911–14, ii. 231). The Sikh *guru* Nānak (*q.v.*) said:

'Religion consisteth not in wandering to tombs or places of cremation, or sitting in attitudes of contemplation' (M. A. Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Oxford, 1909, i. 60).

Guru Amar Dās endeavoured to prevent Sikhs from visiting Hardwār, Benares, and other places of Hindu pilgrimage (*ib.* ii. 87). But this rule is now generally disregarded, and Hardwār in particular is visited by crowds of Sikh pilgrims. Guru Govind Singh opposed the worship of saints like Guggā and Sakhī Sarwar, as well as visits to Muhammadan cemeteries and places of cremation (*ib.* v. 158). But Nānak visited the tomb of Shaikh Farīd at Ajodhan, and modern Sikhs frequent Ambela and Kartarpur (*ib.* i. 84, iii. 26). Veneration of the Sikh saints, or *bhagats*, prevails widely (*ib.* vi. 1 ff.). One of the leading principles of the Lingāyat sect in S. India is that between God and His worshipper no mediator is required, and that sacrifices, penances, pilgrimages, and fasts are unnecessary (*BG* xxii. [1884] 105; *Census of India*, 1901, vol. xxiv., Mysore Report, pt. i. p. 533).

12. **Social aspect of pilgrimages.**—The desire for change, the relief of the dull everyday life of the village, is an incentive to pilgrimage often stronger than religious enthusiasm. Hence women, who see little of the outer world, lose no opportunity of making these journeys. Trade is carried on at all the great religious fairs, where cattle, horses, elephants, and camels are readily bought and sold, and where women purchase their annual stock of necessaries and trifles. This movement of the people on pilgrimage has done something to relieve the parochialism of village life; the possibility of meeting an out-caste in a crowded railway carriage weakens caste restrictions, while the need of food from uncertain sources diminishes some of the precautions which the Hindu by the rules of his caste is compelled to adopt. The improvement of communication by road and rail has certainly increased the numbers of pilgrims. But Brāhmans and other managers of sacred places assert that their profits have not increased with the larger crowds. The tendency now is naturally to visit the most sacred places, while those of less religious importance are neglected. The pilgrim makes a shorter visit, and the reaction against the influence of Brāhmans tends to reduce the amount of his benefactions. The chief danger from pilgrimages is the risk of the spread of epidemic disease, and on some occasions in recent years cholera seems to have spread into Central Asia and even into E. Europe and the Mediterranean area by contagion from pilgrims visiting Hardwār and other sacred places in N. India. The burden imposed on the executive and sanitary officials in managing crowds of excited peasants, ignorant of the elementary rules of sanitation, has become increasingly arduous.

LITERATURE.—There is no monograph on the subject of Hindu and Muhammadan pilgrimage. A full list of places of pilgrimage will be found in *IGI*, Index, *s.v.* 'Pilgrimages'; for Hindu pilgrimages see W. Ward, *A View of the History, Literature, and Mythology of the Hindoos*[2], Serampore, 1818, ii. 324 ff., and elsewhere; W. J. Wilkins, *Modern Hinduism*, London, 1887, p. 240 ff.; for an interesting popular sketch see W. H. Sleeman, *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*, Oxford, 1916, p. 585 ff.; for Madras, J. E. Padfield, *The Hindu at Home*, Madras, 1896, p. 174 ff.; for Muhammadan and Hindu pilgrimages in N. India see Abū al-Fadhl, *Ain-i-Akbarī*, tr. H. S. Jarrett, Calcutta, 1873–94, iii. 303 ff.; J. A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*[3], Oxford, 1906, p. 597 ff.

W. CROOKE.

PILGRIMAGE (Japanese).—The practice of religious pilgrimage in Japan may be traced back to the 8th cent., when the Buddhist missionaries opened mountain passes and consecrated some of the peaks to be places of worship (see art. MISSIONS [Buddhist], vol. viii. p. 704). In the course of the 9th and 10th centuries groups of mountaineering priests gradually established definite series of pilgrim itinerancies. Legend has it that an emperor (reigned 984–985), in the distress occasioned by the death of his consort, left his palace and paid a visit, wearing monastic robes, to the thirty-three sanctuaries dedicated to Kwannon (Skr. Avalokiteśvara) in the central provinces. However this may be, we know that at the end of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th cent. frequent pilgrimages were made by the court nobles to Buddhist and Shintō temples (on the same itinerancies), and that the pilgrimage to the thirty-three sanctuaries of Kwannon was, from the 15th cent., one of the most popular. In the former case the pilgrimage was combined with pleasure, and rhyming meetings were often held in front of the sanctuaries. In the latter case the pilgrimage was undertaken as an act of penance and accomplished by stiff climbing, for the majority of the thirty-three sanctuaries stood, and still stand, on hills or precipices—in accordance with the conception that the deity Kwannon looks down with compassion from on high upon the human world.

The pilgrim-bands to the thirty-three Kwannon sanctuaries consisted usually of a few persons, often a family, parents and children; they wore white robes, on which they received stamps of the various sanctuaries, and, while marching, they chanted hymns supposed to have been revealed by the respective deities of the places. At the places of pilgrimage acts of penance were performed, such as fasting, bathing in water-falls, and sleepless prayer. On the way the pilgrims subsisted on alms, and, when they died, they were tenderly buried by the villagers, these acts of protection to the pilgrims being considered of similar merit with the pilgrimage itself. The same may be said of all other religious pilgrimages, and that was the reason why, even in the ages of warfare and disturbance in the 15th and 16th centuries, the practice of pilgrimage came more and more into vogue, stimulated as it was by the sense of misery and by many distressing experiences. In these centuries, and more decidedly after the restoration of peace and order at the beginning of the 17th, the places of pilgrimage were multiplied enormously, being arranged in groups of from six to eighty-eight in number. Most of these were Buddhist sanctuaries dedicated to certain deities or connected with the life incidents of Buddhist saints. The distribution of the places in one group was various—sometimes limited to a certain locality, sometimes scattered over a wide area. Besides the places arranged in series there were several isolated ones, to which the pilgrims, in company or individually, paid a visit after long tiresome journeys.

A noteworthy feature in some of these pilgrimages was that they were practised as a kind of initiatory ceremony introducing young people to religious mysteries when they were entering adult life. Most pilgrimages of this kind were mountaineering trips over dales and precipices, paying homage at the sanctuaries erected here and there, and finally worshipping the chief deity enshrined on the summit. The pilgrims were guided by trained leaders, who were mostly regular mountaineering priests, and who directed the ceremonies. The most famous of the mountains visited were Kimpu-sen in Yamato, Ontaké in Shinano,[1] a group of three peaks in the north-east, the well-known Fuji, etc. Besides these and other Buddhist-Shintō sanctuaries there were several purely Buddhist or Shintō centres of pilgrimage, one of

1 Percival Lowell, *Occult Japan*, Boston, 1895, a book chiefly based on the author's observations on Ontaké.

the most prominent being the temple of Isé dedicated to the sun-goddess. Every spring groups of pilgrims composed of young men and women made a journey of many days to it and paid homage to the supreme deity of Shintō. This pilgrimage to Isé had nothing austere in it, but was merely a pleasure trip. Yet sometimes a form of maniac frenzy took possession of many of the young people, who started on the journey without any money or provisions but were well provided for by alms. This pilgrimage and many others have, in the peaceful times since the 17th cent., more and more assumed the character of pleasure trips.

Besides the regular religious pilgrimages there was in Japan a curious kind of pilgrimage connected with poetry and romance. The classical poetry of Japan, dating chiefly from the four centuries from the 9th to the 12th, sang of places eminent for natural beauty (in many cases the poets did not compose their poems on the spots). In the course of time these places became the classical names for the respective excellences, such as Yoshino for the cherry-blossom, Sarashina for the moonlight in autumn, Fuji for snow, etc. The visit of poets to these places was called the pilgrimage to see the *uta-makura*, literally, 'the pillows of poetry'—the basis or source of poetic inspiration—and it was conducted with a certain amount of religious zeal or piety, as a cult of the beauty of nature. There was also a pilgrimage of romantic interest which consisted in paying visits to the places described in epic or romantic stories. In this case the pilgrims, whether individuals or parties, knew well enough that the stories were fictions, and yet they wandered among the mountains and forests and along the sea-coasts and streams mentioned in the stories, in order to keep alive their interest in the stories and heroes. This pilgrimage was less religious than the lyric pilgrimage, although some itinerant monks performed religious services on various spots in memory of the heroes or heroines who were said to have died there, as if their souls were still hovering about. Both of these pilgrimages have grown in fashion since the 17th cent. and have become more and more mere pleasure trips.

Another modification of pilgrimage was the wandering in search of one's enemy for the sake of revenge, for vendetta has been regarded, since the 14th cent., but more definitely since the 17th, as the duty of the son or brother of a murdered person. In this case the man aiming at revenge dressed himself as a pilgrim, and was, indeed, a true pilgrim, in so far as he naturally worshipped in various sanctuaries on his way and prayed for a speedy discovery of the enemy. The disguise of a pilgrim was also adopted by political or military spies, in this case serving a totally ulterior purpose.

Finally, we may add that pilgrimages, whether of an austere religious character or combined with pleasure, are much in vogue even to-day,[1] and that many pilgrims can be seen in the country districts marching along in the costumes that have been customary for pilgrims for centuries.

LITERATURE.—Besides works mentioned in article, see B. H. Chamberlain, *Things Japanese*,[5] London, 1905; *Encyclopædia Japonica* (Japanese), Tokyo, 1911, *s.v.* 'Junrei.'

M. ANESAKI.

PILGRIM FATHERS.—The Pilgrim Fathers movement is one of the most cherished memories of British and American Christianity. It has (1) a religious, and (2) a political significance. As a religious movement, it rested on the supremacy of Jesus Christ in His own Church and the sufficiency of the Bible for all the purposes of Church rule and guidance, and it did much to restore these elements of a living religion to their proper place in the Christian life of England. The experiment then made of relying solely on the constructive and regulative power of the gospel in building a Church has been of great value. It has had an influence far beyond the limits of the Churches which inherit directly the Pilgrim tradition. The political importance of the movement lies in the fact that it was a conspicuous experiment in democracy conditioned by religious motives and restraints, so that democracy is seen at its best. C. Borgeaud (*Rise of Modern Democracy in Old and New England*, Eng. tr., London, 1894) has shown how the parent stem of democratic constitutions in England and in the United States is to be found in the Church covenants of Independent Churches—the line of descent being, in England, through the 'Agreement of the People' (1647) to the theory of the Social Contract, and the Settlement of 1688, in America, through the contract first made in the cabin of the Mayflower to the constitutions of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island, and so to the constitution of the United States itself (see esp. Borgeaud, pp. 104–116, for summary of argument of the book).

1. **Name.**—The name 'Pilgrim Fathers' belongs properly to the company of exiles for conscience' sake who founded the settlement of New Plymouth, Massachusetts. The word 'pilgrim' is not used in the ecclesiastical sense of a visitor to a shrine, but in the original meaning as a wanderer in distant lands. It became familiar to the members of the Separatist Churches owing to their compulsory migrations from England to Holland and from place to place there. It was first used about the time when plans were discussed for leaving Leyden, and may be traced to the description in the Epistle to the Hebrews (11[13-15]) of those who 'seek a better country' as 'strangers and pilgrims on the earth.' The classic passage is in Bradford's *Hist. of Plymouth Plantation* (*Coll. of Mass. Hist. Soc.*), p. 59:

> 'And ye time being come that they must departe, they were accompanied with most of their brethren out of ye citie, unto a towne sundrie miles of, called Delfes-Haven, wher the ship lay ready to receive them. So they lefte ye goodly and pleasante citie, which had been their resting place near 12 years: but they knew they were *pilgrimes*, and looked not much on those things, but lift up their eyes to ye heavens, their dearest cuntrie, and quieted their spirits.'

It is important to distinguish the Separatist Pilgrims from the colonists who founded the commonwealth of Massachusetts, with which their settlement was afterwards incorporated. The Separatist was the product of gathered churches formed on a basis of spiritual affinity and the acceptance of regulative Christian principle. The distinguishing features of the colony are found chiefly in the religious ideals which inspired the Pilgrims, the association of their religion with a democratic civil government, the character of the men who formed the settlement, and the social structure of a colony cemented by religious feeling and principle.

2. **Origin.**—The impulse which formed Separatist Churches came through zealous Puritan preachers, such as Richard Bernard, Thomas Toller and Robert Gifford, who did not themselves become Separatists. Applying the principles learned from these men, a more resolute company in Gainsborough, Scrooby, and Austerfield formed communities of worshippers who bound themselves by 'express vocal' covenant 'as the Lord's free people, to walk together in all His ways, made known, or to be made known to them, according to their best endeavour, whatsoever it should cost them, the Lord assisting them' (quoted by John Brown, in *Early Independents*, p. 103; for other covenants see John Cotton, *The Way of the Churches of Christ in New England*, London, 1645, quoted in Borgeaud, p. 82; and for the covenant of Salem

[1] Cf. E. F. Calthrop, 'Pilgrimage in Tokyo,' in *Proceedings of Japan Society* (*London*).

see Mather, *Magnalia*, i. 18, quoted in Brown, *Pilgrim Fathers of New England*, p. 286). Their aim was to constitute a Church on the lines of the NT, and they separated from the Church by law established, because (1) 'the profane and ungodly multitude' was admitted to communion; (2) the 'various ecclesiastical offices and callings, courts and canons were unlawful and unchristian, and had no warrant in the Word of God'; and (3) the Church was 'in subjection unto an antichristian and ungodly government, clean contrary to the institution of our Saviour Christ' (Harl. MSS 360, fol. 70, quoted in Brown, p. 85).

For about ten years from 1590 there was one church formed on these principles worshipping in Gainsborough. When its numbers increased and the members from the surrounding district found the distance too great, a second church was formed at Scrooby, meeting in the house of William Brewster, an ancient manor-house which had once belonged to the archbishops of York. The pastor was Richard Clyfton, formerly a Puritan rector of Babworth in Lincolnshire, 'a grave and reverend preacher, who by his paines and diligens had done much good, and under God had been a means of ye conversion of many' (Bradford, p. 10).

3. Leading personalities.—*Robert Browne* (1550–1633).—See art. BROWNISM.

Barrowe, Greenwood, and Penry.—In 1592–93 Henry Barrowe (Clare Hall, Cambridge, 1570, Gray's Inn, 1576), a converted barrister, John Greenwood, a Cambridge graduate (Corpus, 1581), and John Penry (b. 1559, executed 1593), a Welshman and Cambridge graduate (Peterhouse, 1580), were put to death for refusing to abjure Brownist principles at the bidding of Archbishop Whitgift. The Conventicle Act of 1593 provided that persons above the age of sixteen who refused to repair to church as by law established, or attended a conventicle, should be imprisoned, and, if they failed to conform in three months, should be banished from the realm. If they returned, they should be hanged. That act led to the migration to Amsterdam and Leyden, and eventually to Massachusetts. Barrowe left his property to the church of which he had been a member, and with the help of his legacy most of the members were able to emigrate to Holland in 1593. They settled first at Kampen and then at Naarden on the Zuyder Zee, where they were so needy that the magistrates voted a small sum of money for their relief. In 1595 they were settled at Amsterdam.

Francis Johnson (1562–1618).—The pastor of the 'Ancient Church' in London—by 'ancient' the Brownists meant 'primitive'—was Francis Johnson, formerly a Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge (1584, M.A. 1585), and a popular Puritan preacher. He was expelled from the university, and imprisoned, for a sermon preached at St. Mary's, maintaining Presbyterianism to be of divine right, liberated on the petition of 68 members of the university, and allowed to emigrate to Middelburg (1589–92), where he became pastor of a Puritan church. His conversion to Separatist principles was due to a book by Barrowe and Greenwood sent out in 1591 from the Fleet prison, named *A Plaine Refutation of M. Giffard's Booke, intituled A short Treatise gainst the Donatistes of England.* Johnson was authorized by the magistrates of Dort, where the book was printed, to confiscate the whole impression. He publicly burned all but two copies. Taking up one of these 'to see their errors,' he was convinced by its argument, gave up his pastorate, and visited Barrowe in prison. He then joined the Separatist Church in London and became its pastor. When his flock emigrated, he was left behind in prison, and it was not until 1597 that he rejoined them and resumed the pastorate. He had meanwhile made a voyage in the Hopewell to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, but was obliged to return to Amsterdam owing to the misfortunes that overtook his ship.

Johnson's autocratic temper led to some unfortunate disputes in the church of which he was pastor, the more discreditable that they were largely personal, concerned with his wife's dress and the criticisms of his brother George. Johnson aimed at intra-congregational Presbyterianism, maintaining that 'a body of simple church members, aggregated without Elders, had no power except to elect Elders. It could not even ordain them. It could not excommunicate an erring and unrepentant member' (H. M. Dexter, *Congregationalism of the last Three Hundred Years*, p. 326).

Henry Ainsworth (1571–1623) became a scholar of Caius College, Cambridge, in 1587. In 1593 we find him serving as a bookseller's porter in Amsterdam and a professed Brownist. He was a man of sensitive, scholarly temperament, and played an important part in the history of the church at Amsterdam, where for a time he held the office of teacher under Francis Johnson. No fewer than 23 treatises came from his pen between 1598 and 1641 (see Dexter, p. 346), of which perhaps the best known are the *Counterpoyson* and the *Apologie or Defence of such true Christians as are commonly (but unjustly) called Brownists; against such Imputations as are laid upon them by the Heads and Doctors of the University of Oxford*, which he, jointly with Francis Johnson, prepared for presentation to James I. and afterwards published in 1604 (*ib.* pp. 306–309). He was a man of wide and accurate learning, especially eminent as an Orientalist and commentator on the OT. Beginning in 1616, he published annually a book of annotations on the five books of Moses, the Psalms, and the Song of Solomon, which were greatly admired by the Hebrew scholars in the university of Leyden:

> 'They thought he had not his better for the Hebrew tongue in the University, nor scarce in Europe' (quoted in Mackennal, *English Separatists*, p. 209).

He gave up the allegorizing method of exegesis which was then general, in favour of the more modern method. His commentaries were thought worthy of republication in Edinburgh as late as 1843. Many unverifiable stories are told of Ainsworth in Amsterdam, illustrating his poverty, piety, learning, and Christian conviction. He was chosen pastor of the church at Amsterdam during the absence of Francis Johnson in Newfoundland and later, when Johnson's autocratic rule had made unity impossible, Ainsworth withdrew. The dispute began with a discussion on the power of excommunication, in which Ainsworth maintained against Johnson, that the power belonged to the congregation as a whole and was not to be used by the elders and officers alone. In 1610 Ainsworth and thirty others who shared his views formed a third Congregational church in Amsterdam.

D. Neal's story of Ainsworth's death is as follows:

> 'It is reported, that having found a diamond of very great value in the streets of Amsterdam, he advertised it in print, and when the owner, who was a Jew, came to demand it, he offered him any acknowledgment he would desire; but Ainsworth, though poor, would accept of nothing but a conference with some of his rabbies upon the prophecies of the Old Testament relating to the Messias, which the other promised; but not having interest enough to obtain it, and Ainsworth being resolute, it is thought he was poisoned' (*Hist. of the Puritans*, London, 1837, i. 421).

John Robinson (1576–1625) entered Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in 1592 and became Fellow in 1599. For four following years he appears to have been a lecturer or preacher in Norwich, where he was 'worthily reverenced of all the city for the grace of God in him' (Ainsworth,

Counterpoyson). He records his own unwillingness to break with the Puritan ministry:

'Had not the truth been in my heart as a burning fire shut up in my bones, Jer. xx. 9, I had never broken those bonds of flesh and blood' (*Works*, ed. R. Ashton, London, 1851, ii. 52).

In 1603 or 1604 he was suspended for his disregard of conformity, and united himself to the church at Gainsborough. He accompanied the members of the Scrooby church to Amsterdam, expecting to join with the church already established there. They found that church troubled by dissensions about its own discipline, and decided to go on to Leyden. In the Amsterdam discussion Robinson sided with Ainsworth against John Smith, Thomas Helwys, and Francis Johnson, who were Presbyterianizing the internal government of the church. Robinson published a moderate and able statement of the Congregational position, rejecting all sectarian names and maintaining simply its justification as an original Christian type. In Leyden Robinson was admitted to the university in Sept. 1615, where he attended lectures by Episcopius and Polyander. An attempt has been made on very slight grounds to discredit the account of a debate between Robinson and Episcopius, in which Robinson defended Calvinism against the famous Arminian. Bradford's account of the debate (p. 21) is partisan, but obviously reliable, and the debate accounts for the position which Robinson holds in the Dutch records of the Pilgrim church. From this time the Independents in Leyden were known as 'Robinsonians.' A debate with Episcopius on a theological subject had all the ardours of a political contest, for the Remonstrants, who were Arminians, followed John of Barneveldt, who wanted an Erastian National Church and was in favour of the unpopular truce with Spain. The Contra-Remonstrants, who were Calvinists, were on the side of Prince Maurice—in favour of a free Church in a free State, and bent on continuing war against Spain.

Robinson's published writings are the most authoritative, balanced, scholarly, and positive statement of Separatist principles that we have. They combine the claim for liberty of worship with catholicity of feeling and belief. He debates counsels of peace, considers dissuasions against Separation, discusses reasons against it, confutes errors alleged to be held by Separatists, and deals with the nature of Christian fellowship. His teachings may be said to have leavened all Churches with the idea that spiritual affinity is the basis of Christian fellowship. In 1617 he joined with Brewster, who was associated with him as elder of the church in Leyden, in presenting 'seven articles' to the Privy Council, detailing the ecclesiastical position of the Pilgrims, in order to satisfy the Lords of the Council that they were proper persons to settle in Virginia. From that time till the actual migration in the Mayflower (1620) he was a leader in the correspondence with Sir Edwin Sandys and the negotiations with the Merchant Adventurers. It was in Robinson's clear mind that the reasons against settlement in Holland first took definite form. The Pilgrims cherished loyal attachment to the British crown and wished to live under it; their children were being drawn into service as soldiers and sailors under the Dutch government; the difficulty of earning a respectable living in Holland prevented other Englishmen from joining them, and they had 'a great hope and inward zeal of laying some good foundation or at least to make some way thereunto for ye propagating and advancing the gospel of the Kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of earth; yea, though they should be but even as stepping-stones unto others for ye performing of so great a work' (Bradford, p. 24).

The facts as to Robinson's famous address to the departing Pilgrims are as follow.

That address appears first in a brief narrative attached to Edward Winslow's *Hypocrisie Unmasked*, published in 1646, *i.e.* 26 years after the time when it was spoken. Winslow says: Robinson 'used these expressions or to the same purpose' (*A Brief Narration*, p. 98). Bradford, in his *History of Plymouth Plantation*, makes no quotation from this address, nor does Morton mention it in his *New England's Memoriale*, published in 1669. Cotton Mather, writing in 1702 (*Magnalia Christi Americana*), turns the address into the first person, and changes 'ere long' into 'quickly.' It seems probable that the address embodies the substance of a sermon preached on Ezr 8^{21}, mentioned by Bradford as following a day of solemn humiliation. Bradford says that 'he spent a good part of the day profitably and suitable to their present occasion' (p. 59). Dexter (pp. 407–409) thinks that the famous words, 'He was very confident the Lord had more truth and light yet to breake forth out of his holy Word,' refer to polity, and not to doctrine. He defends this interpretation on the ground that this alone explains Winslow's quotation in a pamphlet defending the Plymouth settlers from Separatist exclusiveness. The attempt to discredit the address as being beyond Robinson's powers, as shown in his other writings, is one of the extravagances of historical criticism. It is more within Robinson's scope than that of any others of the Pilgrims or founders of New Plymouth. The fact that the speech was duly recorded when it became of special value to the needs of the colony is in the line of experience in matters ecclesiastical and political. Such records are sometimes verbally, and almost always substantially, accurate.

With regard to the Church of England, Robinson was classed as a Semi-Separatist, Semist, or Independent, because he 'approved of communion with the Church of England, in the hearing of the word and prayer (though not in sacraments and discipline)' (John Shaw's MS *Advice to his Son*, 1664, quoted in *DNB*, art. 'Robinson, John'). He also approved of 'private communion' with godly members of the Church of England, and he preached the lawfulness of attending Anglican services as early as July 1617. He left a MS on the *Lawfulness of Hearing of the Ministers in the Church of England*, which was found in his study after his death and published in 1634. Robert Baillie (1599–1662), the Presbyterian, writes that Robinson was 'the most learned, polished, and modest spirit that ever that sect [Independents] enjoyed' (*A Dissuasive from the Errors of the Time*, London, 1645, p. 17). The English government prevented Robinson from joining the Pilgrims in the Mayflower owing to his authoritative influence with them, and, before the embargo was withdrawn, Robinson died (1st March 1625), after an illness of eight days. In 1891 the National Council of Congregational Churches of the United States affixed a memorial on the outside wall of the Pieterskerk in the Klokstieg opposite the site of Robinson's house in Leyden.

William Bradford (1590–1657) is the historian of the Pilgrim colony. He was born at Austerfield, in Yorkshire, and became a friend of William Brewster, who was 23 years his senior. He joined the Brownists in 1606, followed the Scrooby exiles to Amsterdam in 1607, and accompanied them to Leyden in 1609. He is entered in the books there as a fustian-weaver. He was one of the signatories of the letter from Leyden to Carver and Cushman in England in June 1620. In the same year he sailed in the Mayflower, and unfortunately, while he was on an exploring expedition, he lost his first wife, Dorothy May (of Wisbech, Cambridgeshire), by drowning, while the ship lay in Cape Cod harbour. Chosen governor of New Plymouth in 1621, he was re-elected every year (with exceptions at his own request) for twelve years till he 'by importunity got off' (*Hist. of Plymouth Plantation*, p. 307). He had literary and methodical habits which make his record of the doings of the Pilgrims of great value. His history of the passengers in the Mayflower, with personal notes, is priceless to the American genealogist. He left in MS a full *History of Plymouth Plantation*, which lay unidentified for many years in Lambeth Palace library, till it was recognized by Joseph Hunter,

and published by the Massachusetts Historical Society. Bradford began his history, which he modestly calls 'these scribbled writings,' in 1630 'and so pieced up at times of leisure afterward' (p. 6). The last sentence was written in 1650, when the narrative stops abruptly without any formal ending.

Miles (*or Myles*) *Standish* (1584–1656) was the soldier of the Pilgrim movement. He came of a Lancashire family, the Standishes of Standish, and had served in the Netherlands before 1602. Longfellow, who has popularized in verse the story of his courtship, says that he could trace his pedigree plainly back to Hugh Standish of Duxbury Hall in Lancashire, England, and that he was heir to vast estates, of which he was basely defrauded. Duxbury Hall is between Wigan and Chorley, lying off the highway, and it is true that a page in the registers of the parish church for 1584, the supposed year of Myles Standish's birth, shows signs of having been tampered with. He became friendly with the exiles in Leyden, and, though probably not a member of the church, he went with the Pilgrims as a military protector. He was chosen military captain of the colony, and did much to secure its safety by his rapid and skilful measures of defence against the Indians. The estates of Duxbury, New England, where he died in 1656, are still the property of his descendants. His force of character and romantic career have made him a favourite with poets and novelists.

Edward Winslow (1595–1655) of Droitwich was, according to Hutchinson, 'of a very reputable family and of a very active genius' (quoted in *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers*, p. 269). He happened to pass through Leyden on his travels, and was so impressed with what he saw of the life of the Christian brotherhood there that he identified himself with them, and eventually went with the emigrants in 1620. Twenty-five years later he wrote:

'I persuade myself never people upon earth lived more lovingly together and parted more sweetly than we the Church at Leyden did; parting not rashly in a distracted humour, but upon joint and serious deliberation, often seeking the mind of God by fasting and prayer, whose gracious presence was not only found with us, but His blessing upon us from that time until now' (Young, *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers*, p. 380).

His name stands third among the signers of the compact on board the Mayflower. He was in England as agent for the colony in 1623–24, and for Plymouth and the Massachusetts settlement in 1635. In 1646 he was chosen to rebut in England the charges against the colonists of religious intolerance and persecution. He died at sea on an expedition against the Spaniards in the W. Indies.

Other eminent men among the Pilgrims were:

John Carver (1575–1621), an English Puritan, who, having been chosen deacon in the church at Leyden, sailed in the Mayflower, and was made first governor of New Plymouth.

Thomas Brewer, a wealthy Puritan from Kent, who established himself as a printer in Leyden. Persecution followed him thither, and drove him to join the Pilgrims, where he was associated with William Brewster in printing and publishing several important documents.

Robert Cushman, who was closely associated with Carver in the business arrangements of the new colony. He accompanied the Pilgrims as far as Plymouth, England, but remained in England to act as their agent. In 1621 he was in the new colony.

4. The Pilgrim company in Leyden.—The piety of New England descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers has moved them to investigate every record of the sojourn of the exiled Pilgrim colony in Holland. A list of the Pilgrim company in Leyden, compiled by H. M. and M. Dexter and published in their *England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, contains 584 names, including children. The majority of these were men and women in the common walks of life. Between 7th Nov. 1598 and 4th Jan. 1617, the names of 118 Englishmen occur in the marringe records of Amsterdam.

Of these 102 have recorded their occupations: 38 are fustian-workers, six are tailors, four are glovers, three are masons, and two are classed in each of the following trades: bombazine-finishers, button-makers, chandlers, cutters, damask-weavers, embroiderers, hodmen, schoolmasters, smiths, trunk-makers, and turners. Besides these, 28 trades or professions are represented by one barber, carpenter, cobbler, compositor, cooper, draper, engraver, fireman, furrier, goldsmith, hat-dresser, ligature-worker, mercer, minister, painter, pewterer, physician, printer, sailors' barber, seaman, sheath-maker, silk-ribbon-weaver, smith's journeyman, Spanish-chair-maker, sword-cutter, tobacco-pipe-maker, turner in ivory, and wood-sawyer.

These are typical of the whole company, apart from the leaders. They were people of good sense, native intelligence, solid habits of industry, frugality, and self-reliance, and with some education in the primary sense. They were not trained by the experience of high commerce to take large risks, nor by the owning of land to the duties of rule and government. The eminent qualities needed to explain their great venture are a regnant conscience and a wide apprehension of the presence and will of God, making everything else second to the supreme endeavour to get God's will done on earth as in heaven; and these are the qualities which come out in their later history in New England. With the increasing complexity of social life, they found it difficult to agree on methods of determining the will of God in their circumstances, and this led to an increasing reliance on democratic methods and measures.

5. The Pilgrim migration. — The Separatist church existed for eight or nine years in Leyden, marked chiefly by the sustaining and conciliatory ministry of John Robinson. But it was not possible for its members to remain there. Their children began to drift into the habits and customs of the young Hollanders, and the elders realized that the next generation would probably have lost distinctive character. They had no identity of interest with the country in which they were living, and, above all, they realized that Holland offered no scope for their providential calling. They believed that it was their lot to lay the foundations of a Church and to advance the Kingdom of God in some remote part of the world. It was not enough to have 'freedom to worship God.' Their principles were constructive, and they wanted a fair field for their exercise. Robinson and Brewster privately discussed the idea of removal to America —New England or Virginia. It was then made public, and, after much discussion between enthusiastic optimists and fearful pessimists, the enthusiasts carried the day. The period of negotiations for starting a colony in New England was protracted and dreary, extending from 1617 to the sailing of the Mayflower in 1620. The usual method of launching a colony was for a company to secure a patent—or charter—from the king. The Pilgrims applied to the London Virginia Company, which numbered among its councillors Brewster's friend, Sir Edwin Sandys. But the company was torn by dissensions; and the Pilgrims' agents, John Carver and Robert Cushman, found it almost impossible to get their business through. More than once negotiations were on the point of being dropped. The church had hoped to have the right of liberty of religion granted to them and confirmed under the king's seal; but the king refused this, although he promised not to molest them if they were peaceable. When, on 19th June 1619, a patent was at last granted by the London Virginia Company and confirmed under

the company's seal, it was found that no financial help was forthcoming, for the company was penniless. At one point the problem of securing help seemed so hopeless that the church entered into treaty with some Dutch merchants who were willing to transport them to the Hudson river and to provide them with cattle if they came under the Dutch government. In this extremity help came from one Thomas Weston, a London merchant, who visited the church in Leyden. He and some Merchant Adventurers, who were his friends, had taken out a patent from the Virginia Company in the name of John Pierce, and offered to advance money to supplement what the Pilgrims had and to supply them with shipping. Articles of agreement were drawn up in London, but afterwards altered in favour of the Adventurers—much to the confusion of Cushman, who had to accept what he could get lest he should lose their help altogether. At last, as the summer of 1620 threatened to pass with nothing done, a great effort was made to speed preparations, and two ships were got ready—the Speedwell, a pinnace of 60 tons, bought and fitted in Holland, and the Mayflower, a vessel of 180 tons, hired and fitted in London.

The departure from Leyden, which is immortalized in poetic and pictorial art, is the departure of the Speedwell from Delfshaven. A day of humiliation was appointed by the Leyden church. John Robinson gave the farewell address from the text Ezr 8^{21}: 'Then I proclaimed a fast there by the river Ahava, that we might afflict ourselves before our God, to seek of him a right way for us, and for our little ones, and for all our substance.' It was on this occasion that he used the words afterwards recorded by Winslow. A small majority of the church had decided to stay behind, and by agreement the pastor was to stay with the majority. They accompanied the rest to Delfshaven, and committed them affectionately to the care of Almighty God. The Speedwell arrived at Southampton on 5th August, and was there met by the Mayflower, which had sailed from London with the rest of the company.

Difficulties still awaited them. There were financial difficulties with Weston, as the body of Pilgrims refused to sign the altered articles, and he refused to give them money that they had expected. They had to part with their stock of butter to clear their debts in Southampton. When the two ships at last got away, it was found that the Speedwell was leaky. She had been overmasted and had strained her timbers. The ships put back to Plymouth, where the Barbican quay which they used is still pointed out. The Mayflower took on board the most effective part of the Speedwell's company and the latter ship was then dismissed. Among those who remained (about eighteen in all) was Cushman, who despaired of the voyage, but later recovered courage and joined the colony, where he did good service. After a voyage of nine weeks in a crowded vessel, which encountered the usual autumn storms of the Atlantic, the Pilgrims were overjoyed to sight land on 19th November. They recognized the headland as Cape Cod. Passengers and officers consulted together and decided to sail southward towards the Hudson river in the direction of the land secured by their patent. But the ship was entangled in dangerous shoals and currents, the wind failed them, and they made back to Cape Cod. The change in their destination brought with it some dangers. The Virginia Company had no rights in New England. Their patent, therefore, had no authority and could confer none. To avoid the risks of disorder under these altered circumstances, the adult males were called into the cabin of the Mayflower and all signed the memorable compact which became the basis of the constitution of the colony:

'In ye name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwritten, the loyall subjects of our dread soveraigne Lord, King James, by ye grace of God, of Great Britaine, France and Ireland King, defender of ye faith, etc., haveing undertaken, for ye glorie of God and advancemente of ye Christian faith, and honour of our King and countrie, a voyage to plant ye first colonie in ye Northerne parts of Virginia, doe by these presents solemnly and mutualy in ye presence of God, and of one another, covenant and combine our selves togeather into a civill body politick, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of ye ends aforesaid; and by vertue hearof to enacte, constitute and frame such just and equall lawes, ordinances, acts, constitutions and offices from time to time, as shall be thought most meete and convenient for ye generall good of ye Colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In Witnes wherof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cap-Codd ye 11 of November, in ye year of ye raigne of our soveraigne lord, King James of England, France and Ireland ye eighteenth, and of Scotland ye fiftie-fourth, Ano. Dom. 1620' (Brown, p. 201 f.).

Then follow forty-one names—the most notable list of names in the history of New England.

The landing of the Pilgrims by Plymouth Rock, as they called the solitary rock which marks the sandy shore, ended one series of troubles. The problems that they had now to meet were those of a new settlement, wresting at first a bare living from nature in a severe climate and surrounded by watchful enemies. That the faith and courage of the little community were sufficient to meet and overcome these difficulties was largely due to the severe school of experience through which they had already passed successfully.

6. **The Plymouth colony, Massachusetts.**—As with most communities starting on a religious basis, the methods of the Pilgrim colony were at first communistic. The capital for starting the colony had been advanced by the Merchant Adventurers—a commercial undertaking, whose profits were to be derived from the sale of beaver-skins, timber, etc., collected and sent over by the colonists. The Plymouth settlement agreed that all the profits of trade and labour were to be held in common till the end of seven years, and no individual enterprise could be started by the planters for their own benefit. The land-system was completely communistic, all the land being the property of the community and all the labour expended on it being for the common good. The people were conscientious and public-spirited, full of sympathy and mutual helpfulness, but, in spite of this, their honest effort at communism broke down. Men disliked the fact that their wives had to work for other men, and complained that, as they could not command the labour of their own servants, the servants that they had brought with them were a burden without corresponding compensation. In the spring of the third year each man was given a small plot of corn-growing land for himself. The allotment was only for present use, not for inheritance; but the value of the additional incentive was at once felt. The men worked harder, and women and children went willingly to work on their own piece of land.

The following summary of the economic system of Plymouth Plantation is supplied by C. W. Eliot:

The Pilgrims were plain, labouring people who all worked with their hands and expected to get their living as 'planters. They made their living by farming, fishing, hunting, and practising the elementary trades of a new settlement. . . . They sailed from England under articles of agreement which were to govern the proceedings of a (joint-)stock company, the shares of which were held by two classes of persons, one called 'adventurers' and the other 'planters.' The adventurers merely put capital into the outfitting of the expedition. The planters were persons who crossed the ocean and were to bear the hardships and labours of the expedition. The planters might or might not put capital into the venture. Some did acquire shares in the joint-stock company as adventurers by putting in money or money's worth in goods: but the greater part did not hold shares except as planters. Every planter aged sixteen years and upwards received on going a single share in the stock company rated at ten pounds. A planter who carried

with him his wife and children or servants was allowed a share in the company for every person sixteen years old and upwards and for every two children between ten and sixteen years old. Every child under ten who went in the ship was to receive in the ultimate division of the holdings of the company fifty acres of unmanured land. All the planters were to be fed and clothed out of the common stock and goods of the company. Each planter was to work four days in each week for the company, and two for himself and family. At the end of seven years each planter, head of a family or a group, should own the house and garden land occupied by him and his. The undertaking entered into on these terms was a strong case of co-operation and co-operative management for a short term of years, with acquisition by every head of a family, at the end of that short term, of a house and garden (*The Road toward Peace*, p. 169 f.).

For the protection of the colony, every able-bodied citizen was expected to bear arms. Every youth learnt the use of the simple weapons which were then available for the chase and for war. The Pilgrims started the New England muster and military system, prototype of the admirable military organization of republican Switzerland (*ib.* p. 174).

In the fourth year the communal system was still further abandoned. A piece of land was granted in perpetuity to each family in the proportion of one acre to every person, as near to the town as might be. Gradually room had to be made for the encouragement of enterprise in the collection of furs. In 1626 the Merchant Adventurers sold their rights in the plantation to Isaac Allerton and some associates for £1800. All 'heads of families and able young men of the colony' then became partners. The land and cattle were divided, and each received by lot twenty acres of land. Bradford, Allerton, Standish, Winslow, Brewster, and three others accepted responsibility for the debts of the colony, and hired the trade of the whole community for a term of years to enable them to discharge the debts. The community then definitely broke with its communistic tradition and entered on that capitalistic phase of social organization which is still an outstanding feature of American life.

A reply to critics.—The charge most frequently levelled against the Pilgrim colony is that of illiberality. It is urged that they adopted the very methods which had driven them out of England. John Lyford, who had been sent out by the London Merchants as a clergyman, was sent home for trying to set up the ritual of the Church of England, though his offence was confined to occasional use of the Prayer Book. They persecuted Roger Williams and drove him out to become the founder of Rhode Island. They severely repressed the Quakers, and they were guilty of the confusion of Church and State functions against which they had protested in England.

The reply to this charge is twofold. (1) In the early days of the colony it existed in the midst of enemies. Its Brownist reputation exposed it to constant criticism both from England and from other colonies on the Atlantic seaboard. Its very existence depended on maintaining the purity of its own communion and its solidarity in the face of hostility. Bradford's conduct towards Roger Williams was personally merciful and considerate. He regarded him as a man 'godly and zealous . . . but very unsettled in judgemente' (p. 310), and this was true. Williams was allowed to go to Rhode Island, which was within the Plymouth patent. In each case of so-called persecution other elements were involved besides those of religious opinion. Action was taken on the ground of civil order rather than religion. The colony could not afford to be hospitable to divergences of conduct which would break up its solidarity. Measures of caution even carried to the point of excess were preferable, in the interests of public policy, to taking risks which might jeopardize the main witness and even the existence of the colony.

(2) Another line of reply is that Plymouth, in virtue of its democratic method, contained the remedy for its own mistakes. The argument for democratic liberalism is not that it will always be right, but that, when it goes wrong, it can right itself. An authoritative autocratic government is necessarily dogmatic, and, having gone wrong in a matter of judgment or policy, generally makes the wrong worse by using force to make the wrong appear right. Thus it goes from bad to worse and hastens to a catastrophe. A democratic government may make as many mistakes as an autocratic government, but the mistake, once discovered, is easily repudiated and remedied by a change of leaders and of policy. The appeal in democracy is always to some principle of reason and justice within the minds of the people, and the democratic method is the surest way of allowing that principle to assert itself. The Plymouth colony was responsible for acts that in the modern judgment, though not in its own, were illiberal, but it was never illiberal in principle. It worked out in its own way a distinction between civil and religious policy, and ultimately established a much greater freedom of individual opinion than England has yet achieved. It led the way towards the discovery that in order to live peaceably and helpfully beside each other it is only necessary that men should cherish the same ideals of public liberty, public justice, and co-operative management.

The Pilgrim colony—Plymouth—existed as a separate State only from 1620 to 1691, when it was incorporated with Massachusetts. By far the most important part of its history is included in the years before 1660. During the years 1620–60 it was under the leadership of such men as Bradford, Standish, and Brewster, and its influence was due to the precedents laid down by these outstanding personalities. For more than thirty years Plymouth was fortunate in enjoying the benefits of democracy without its drawbacks. The disadvantages of popular rule are well known: it tends to be unstable; it lacks authority; it encourages place-seeking and popularity-hunting, and sets a premium on self-advertisement. From all these Plymouth was saved by the massive character of its first leader, Bradford. He held office without salary, and so stimulated public spirit. He promoted unity in the colonial government by maintaining the pre-eminence of Plymouth and by supervising the growing townships. He gave stability to the government by preventing it from going to extremes, and he introduced social and philanthropic reforms so far in advance of the general custom in England that many have attributed them to his sojourn in Leyden, when he may have reaped the benefits of centuries of Dutch experience. So consistently was Bradford elected to the post of governor that the colony is perhaps best pictured as a large family over which this wise leader presided with paternal authority. With the exception of about five years, when at his request Winslow or Prince held office, Bradford was governor from 1621 till his death in 1657.

During his long period of office the characteristic features of the Pilgrim spirit in public affairs had time to get well established, such as local self-government based on the primary or township meeting, elective unpaid officials, State registration of births, deaths, and marriages, the registration of land transfers, State schools and pensions. The foundation of Harvard University was begun in 1636 by John Harvard, a citizen of Massachusetts, a 'godly gentleman and a lover of learning who gave one half of his estate, it being in all about one thousand seven hundred pounds, towards the erecting of a college, and all his library' (*Chron. of the Pilgrim Fathers*, p. 142). His foundation was made effective by gifts from New England towns which gave them a voice in the administration of its affairs. The public hand of the State added

the rest (Hunter, *Collections*, i. 242). The importance of those methods lies not in their local value, but in their having created a type that was imitated far and wide as settlements multiplied and colonization spread over the hinterland behind Plymouth.

7. **Survivals of Pilgrim influence.** — Heroic figures in the dawn of a nation's history constitute one of its most precious assets. Such figures are the Pilgrim settlers as they stand out against the background of battle with nature and unsympathetic governments, inspired only by great principles and a great religion. Americans have learned to treasure the memory of the men of the Pilgrim migration, and both directly and indirectly the influence of these men may be traced in the national ideals. At Plymouth in Massachusetts an obelisk commemorates the landing of the Pilgrims. The original rock on which they landed is enclosed to prevent curio-hunters from carrying away mementos. Articles of furniture belonging to the Pilgrims are preserved in a special museum. The names and genealogies of the Mayflower families are carefully preserved. A society of Americans in England is known as 'the Pilgrims,' and it has recently co-operated in the erection of a beautiful minaret at Southampton marking the spot from which the Pilgrims sailed. In the Pilgrim clubs, such as that of Philadelphia, which hold an annual dinner, diminutive models of the Mayflower are distributed to the guests; and the heroic virtues of the Pilgrims still appear in post-prandial perorations. The religious significance of the Pilgrim migration gives way on such occasions to their importance as national founders and pioneers.

More significant are such institutions as Thanksgiving Day—26th Nov.—which commemorates a turning-point in the experience of the first settlers. In October of each year the President of the United States issues a proclamation recalling occasions for special thanksgiving and recognizing providential guidance in the events of the year. The governor of each State issues a proclamation for his own State with the same general object. The people are invited to spend a day of thanksgiving on the date mentioned. Either on this day or, more commonly, on the preceding evening public and united services are held, at which an address is given on the religious significance of some public event. This is probably one of the most genuine illustrations of national religion in any country, and its general observance is the more notable as there is no Established Church in any State. It is an adequate illustration of the observance of national religion without an Established Church. 'Forefathers' Day,' which celebrates the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, is also observed annually on 22nd Dec., though 21st Dec. (new style) more accurately represents the date of the event.

The Pilgrim colony of Plymouth exercised an influence out of proportion to its numbers on New England States with which it was incorporated, and that influence was specially marked in the direction of (1) *self-government*. The tradition of the other colonies, such as Massachusetts, had more of the old-world reliance on authority, tradition, and force. The Pilgrim colony had been founded on the basis of self-government, and, although everything was done in the king's name, it was both in principle and in effect left to evolve its destiny from its own resources. It is to the relative success of these experiments that America owes its unbounded faith in the adequacy of democracy for the guidance of the affairs of a nation.

(2) Although the Pilgrims were compelled to defend themselves by the use of arms, their principles were *peace* principles. Their first effort was to live at peace with their neighbours. If other white men had not disturbed their relations with the Indians, they might have continued free from the disturbances of war. They never left peace for war willingly and without regret. This original bias in favour of peace methods has grown stronger with the history of the States, and has left its mark in the fact that America had at the beginning of the present century the smallest army in proportion to its population of any nation in the world. Its long frontier with Canada had known no fort and only one ship of war for a century. American influence in Europe is thrown consistently on the side of peace. The peace treaties of President Woodrow Wilson's Democratic Government are the most careful and ingenious instrument yet devised by any nation for the settlement of disputes without resort to the final arbitrament of war.

(3) The special genius of the American people is a singular combination of *practical philanthropy and commercial shrewdness*. It is weak on the side of governmental co-ordination, strong on the side of individual initiative and personal development. It regards education up to the university standard as a right of the American born, and relies on education as the principal method of producing national unity and patriotism. It has profound confidence in its own standards of value, and is generously active in promoting philanthropy and Christian missions. It is strongly averse to class distinction, and accepts alien immigration so long as the immigrants conform to American standards of citizenship. In spite of numerous personal eccentricities, the general standards of morality are Puritan. The relations of the sexes are natural and healthy, and a 'New England conscience' is a synonym for an exact moral rectitude that produces a high level of personal character. It would be fanciful to trace all these characteristics to one origin, but undoubtedly they have flourished in America owing to the fact that Separatist Puritanism was hospitable to those features of human progress and hostile to the opposing influences. Democracy in America is not quite so triumphant over all the evils of the Old World as some of its advocates have claimed, but it has encountered so many difficulties in its course with success that it has reasonable confidence that it will be found adequate in meeting the remainder.

LITERATURE.—i. *REPRINTS OF ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.—Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers*, with introd. by John Masefield ('Everyman's Library'), London, 1910, contains Nathaniel Morton's *New England's Memorial* and supplement, Robert Cushman's *Discourse*, John Smith's *New England's Trials*, and Edward Winslow's *Relation* and *Brief Narration* (all except *New England's Trials* reprinted from the edd. of the Boston Congregational Board of Publication); William Bradford's journal, *The Hist. of Plymouth Plantation*, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, 1856 (ed. V. Paget, *Bradford's Hist of the Plymouth Settlement*, London, 1909); William Brewster, *Letter Book*, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, 1794; G. Mourt, *Relation*, with introd. and notes by H. M. Dexter, do. 1865; S. Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Glasgow, 1905–07, vol. xix., with abridgments of Winslow's *Relation* and *Good News from New England*; John Winthrop, *Journal, Hist. of New England, 1630–49*, ed. J. K. Hosmer, New York, 1908; William Wood, *New England's Prospect* (1634), ed. C. Dean, Boston, 1865; Edward Arber, *Story of the Pilgrim Fathers as told by Themselves, their Friends and their Enemies*, London, Boston, and New York, 1897; Oliver Cromwell's *Soldiers' Bible*, facsimile, ed. E. Calamy, London, 1894; Robert Browne, *A New Year's Guift*, Congregational Historical Society, do. 1904.

ii. *COLLECTIONS OF ORIGINAL PAPERS.*—Publications of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, 1792; A. Young, *Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth, 1602–1625*, do. 1841; J. Hunter, *Collections concerning the Early Hist. of the Founders of New Plymouth*, London, 1849; P. Force, *Tracts and other Papers relating principally to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in N. America*. Washington, 1836–47, ii.

iii. *MODERN HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS.*—J. Waddington, *Congregational History*, London, 1869–80, ii.; Williston Walker, *The Creeds and Platforms of Congregationalism*, New York 1893; *Early Independents*, ed. A. Mackennal, London, 1893,

Champlin Burrage, *The Early English Dissenters, 1550–1641*, Cambridge, 1912 (an original piece of work with some fresh material, but not always balanced in judgment); H. M. Dexter, *The Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years as seen in its Literature* (Lectures at Andover, 1876–79), New York and London, 1880; H. M. and M. Dexter, *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims*, do. 1906 (both these books contain a mass of information on facts and literature); L. Bacon, *The Genesis of the New England Churches*, London, 1874; H. W. Clark, *Hist. of English Nonconformity*, do. 1911 (an attempt to show that the history of Free Churches is inspired by one idea, principle, or spirit, viz. the subordination of organization to life); Winnifred Cockshott, *The Pilgrim Fathers: Their Church and Colony*, do. 1909 (an eminently readable historical narrative specially useful for the relations of the Pilgrim colony to its environment in America); John Brown, *The Pilgrim Fathers of New England and their Puritan Successors*, do. 1895 (a standard history based on original research); Charles William Eliot, 'The Pilgrims' Ideals, A Free Church in a Free State in 1620,' in *The Road toward Peace*, Boston and New York, 1915 (valuable for description of the social economy of the Pilgrim colony); E. Dowden, *Puritan and Anglican*, London, 1900; R. Browne, *A Treatise of Reformation without tarying for anie*, Middelburg, 1582, reprinted by the Congregational Hist. Society, London, 1903; A. Mackennal, *The Story of the English Separatists*, do. 1893; J. A. Doyle, *The English in America*, 'The Puritan Colonies,' do. 1887; Charles Wyllys Elliott, *A General Hist. of New England*, New York, 1889; J. A. Goodwin, *The Pilgrim Republic: A Historical Review of the Colony of New Plymouth*, Boston, 1888.

D. MACFADYEN.

PILLARS.—See POLES AND POSTS, STONES.

PINDAR.—1. Life.—Pindar, the greatest lyric poet of Greece, was born at the village of Kynoskephalai near Thebes in Bœotia in (522 or) 518 B.C. The date of his death is not certainly known, but *Pyth.* viii. is assigned to the year 446 B.C. As his earliest poem, *Pyth.* x., belongs to 498 B.C., his poetical activity covers a period of more than half a century of the most stirring epoch of Greek history.

The ancient lives of Pindar, which are full of the usual type of legend attaching to the youth of genius, have little or no independent value. His family was of aristocratic blood, claiming descent from the Aigeidai (*Pyth.* v. 75 f.: ἵκοντο Θήρανδε φῶτες Αἰγείδαι, ἐμοὶ πατέρες); his father's name is variously given in the ancient lives as Daiphantos, Pagondas, Skopelinos, his mother's as Kleodike or Myrto. In the course of his poetic career he was brought into intimate relations with the ruling families of Greece proper, as well as of Macedonia, Sicily, and Kyrene in Egypt. He appears to have had a specially close connexion with Delphi, where in the temple of Apollo, according to Pausanias,

ἀνάκειται οὐ πόρρω τῆς ἑστίας θρόνος Πινδάρου· σιδήρου μέν ἐστιν ὁ θρόνος, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ φασιν ὁπότε ἀφίκοιτο ἐς Δελφοὺς, καθέζεσθαί τε τὸν Πίνδαρον καὶ ᾄδειν ὁπόσα τῶν ὑμάτων ἐς Ἀπόλλωνά ἐστιν (x. xxiv. 6).

He is said to have died in Argos. His tomb in the hippodrome at Thebes is mentioned by Pausanias (IX. xxiii. 2).

Arrian (*Anab.* I. ix. 10) and Plutarch (*Alex.* 11) record the pleasing story that, when Alexander the Great razed Thebes to the ground, he spared the house of Pindar as well as the descendants of the poet 'out of reverence for Pindar.' The ruins of this house were still shown in the time of Pausanias and beside it a 'temple of the Dindymene Mother (Kybele), dedicated by Pindar, the image being the work of Aristomedes and Socrates of Thebes. The practice is to open this temple on one day in the year and no more. I had the good fortune to visit it on that day and saw the image of Pentelic marble, as well as the throne' (Paus. IX. xxv. 3). To this temple Pindar himself seems to refer in *Pyth.* iii. 77 ff.: 'But I will pray to the Mother, the awful goddess unto whom with Pan beside my door the maidens sing ofttimes by night.'

2. Works.—Pindar's lyric production covered a wide variety of subject and form. His poems were distributed by Aristophanes of Byzantium in 17 books: ὕμνοι, παιᾶνες, διθύραμβοι (6 books); προσόδια (2); παρθένια (3); ὑπορχήματα (2); ἐγκώμια, θρῆνοι, ἐπινίκια (4). Fragments of the various types survive, but only the epinikian odes are extant in any completeness.

The ἐπινίκια are classified — not always quite accurately—as Olympian, Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian, according to the games at which the particular victory celebrated was won. It might seem surprising at first sight that round a theme so apparently trivial as an athletic victory Pindar should have been able to weave poetry of enduring interest and charm. But, indeed, the details of the victory are, as a rule, only lightly touched upon. The central theme of the poem is a myth connected with the history of the victor's family or city, which Pindar introduces with surprising propriety and skill. This myth, and the moral reflexions which it suggests and illustrates, constitute the real substance of the Pindaric poetry.

But, further, it is to be remembered that the great games for which Pindar wrote were much more than mere athletic gatherings such as we are familiar with in modern times. Part of the regular ritual at the funeral of a dead chieftain was an athletic contest—an ἀγὼν ἐπιτάφιος—such as that described in *Iliad* xxiii., embracing competitions in feats of physical strength and skill as well as in music and poetry.

Hesiod (*Works and Days*, 654 ff.) tells us that at the funeral of Amphidamas, king of Chalkis in Euboia, 'his great-hearted sons advertised many prizes: and there I say that I was victorious in the hymn and carried off an eared tripod.'

Celebrations of this sort held annually in honour of a local hero and accompanied by the due performance of offerings (ἐναγίσματα) to the dead are attested all over Greece. It was an amalgamation of such local hero-cults with the worship of Zeus, Apollo, and Poseidon that gave rise to the great national games of Olympia, Delphi, and the Isthmus.

Thus these meetings were essentially in the nature of religious festivals, of national and not merely local meaning and importance. And as national festivals they conferred on the victor and his city a glory to which it is difficult to suggest a modern parallel. Politically, too, they were of immense value for the realization of Hellenic unity, none but competitors of acknowledged Greek blood being admitted to participation in them. In the brilliant period at which Pindar wrote the Greeks had everywhere repelled the barbarians — Persian, Etruscan, Carthaginian. They had vindicated their 'place in the sun,' and had entered into full possession of their heritage of intellectual freedom, champions of civilization and conscious of their power. The games celebrated at the hallowed sanctuaries of Greece were not only for the Greeks of the mother-country but for their distant colonies beyond the seas an opportunity of meeting together to worship the gods of their ancestors and to realize amid the splendour of the festival their common pride and glory of Hellenic blood. Small wonder that the victor at Olympia or at Delphi seemed to have attained the pinnacle of earthly success.

'The victor for the rest of his life hath a honeyed calm, so far as touches games' (*Ol.* i. 97 ff.).

This is the feeling which the sculptor of the famous statue of the charioteer discovered at Delphi in 1896 has sought to realize.

'Le conducteur de char est beau, paisible, heureux d'avoir gagné le prix: il s'en contente' (E. Bourguet, *Les Ruines de Delphes*, Paris, 1914, p. 237).

3. Leading thoughts.—(*a*) *The frailty of man.*—We are told that at a Roman triumph it was customary for a slave to ride behind the general in the triumphal car, whose duty it was to remind him of his mortality: 'Respice post te, hominem memento te.'

'et, sibi consul
Ne placeat, curru servus portatur eodem' (Juv. x. 41 f.).

So in Pindar over against the brilliance of festal joy and splendour looms always the shadow of mortality. Thus in *Nem.* xi.—a poem which is, however, not an ἐπινίκιον—he says:

'Now if a man hath wealth and in beauty surpass others,

and foremost in games also hath displayed his might, let him remember that his raiment covers mortal limbs and that last of all he shall put on a garment of earth' (16 ff.).

But it cannot be too strongly emphasized that this is no pessimism which should blunt the edge of enthusiasm. It is only the sober colouring which human life presents 'to an eye that hath kept watch o'er man's mortality.' Hence, so far as it works in practice, it is made an incentive to redeem the time by some deed of glory which shall annul the triumph of death.

'The high adventure accepts not the coward; since we must die, wherefore should one sit in darkness nursing a nameless age without lot in glorious deeds?' (*Ol.* i. 81 ff.). 'A man forgets Hades when he attains his heart's desire' (*ib.* viii. 72 f.). 'The right spirit is the spirit of the Argonauts, in whom 'Hera kindled the all-persuasive sweet longing for the ship Argo, that none should stay behind, nursing by his mother's side an unadventurous life, but rather, even at the price of death, should earn along with his fellows valour's drug' (*Pyth.* iv. 184 ff.).

It is worthy of remark that in no single passage of Pindar are the brevity of life and the certainty of death made a plea for a life of sensual pleasure in the present.

Nothing is more characteristic of Pindar than the earnestness with which he preaches this sane and clear-eyed recognition of the limitations of mortality. Men and gods are, indeed, the children of one mother, Earth, but they are born to different destinies:

'One is the race of men, one the race of gods, and from one mother do we both have breath; but an altogether separate power (*δύναμις*) divideth us; man is naught, but the brazen heaven abideth, an habitation unshaken for ever' (*Nem.* vi. 1 ff.).

Human life has its own appropriate goods: health, wealth, the blessing of children, a good name; to the stable and unbroken felicity of the gods a mere mortal must not aspire.

'I come to pray that thou, O Olympic victor, mayst carry a cheerful old age unto the end, thy sons, O Psaumis, standing by thy side. If a man waters his prosperity to health, sufficient in possessions and adding thereto fair fame, let him not seek to become a god' (*Ol.* v. 21 ff.). 'Mayst thou weave life's web in happiness unto the end and thy children's children have evermore the portion that now is and better in the after days' (*Nem.* vii. 98 ff.). 'A god might have a heart untouched of woe, but happy and worthy to be sung is that man in the eyes of the wise, whoso, victorious with his hands or the excellence of his feet, hath won the mightiest of prizes by his daring and his strength, and, while he yet lives, hath seen his son duly attain the Pythian crown. The brazen heaven he may never climb; but all glories that we of mortal race attain, these he accomplishes unto the farthest voyaging. By ship nor on foot shalt thou find unto the meeting of the Hyperboreans the wondrous way' (*Pyth.* x. 21 ff.). 'If the son of Aristophanes, being beautiful and doing deeds worthy of his beauty, hath set his foot upon the utmost heights of valour, it is not easy farther to pass the trackless sea beyond the pillars of Herakles' (*Nem.* iii. 19 ff.). 'If together with many possessions a man hath won proud renown, it is not possible that a mortal should reach with his feet any farther height' (*ib.* ix. 46 f.). 'Whatsoever records are blown among men touching the infinite glory of the dead or the living, these they have attained utterly; in deeds of utmost valour they lay their hands from home upon the pillars of Herakles; seek no farther excellence' (*Isth.* iii. (iv.) 27 ff.). 'If any man fares well and is well spoken of, seek not to become Zeus; thou hast all, if this share of glory be thine. Mortal things befit mortals' (*ib.* iv. (v.) 13 ff.).

Change and uncertainty are the dominant characteristics of human life:

'Surely man's death hath no appointed term nor know we when we shall end a quiet day with enduring good; divers streams at divers times come unto men, fraught with joy or with sorrow' (*Ol.* ii. 33 ff.).

The life of man is in its very essence a tangled skein, a chequer of good and evil. For a man to aspire to more would be to seek to overstep the boundaries of justice (*δίκη*) — the *alte terminus hærens*, which divides the destiny of mortals from that of the gods.

'A man with his mortal mind should seek such things from the gods as are meet, knowing that which lies at his feet, such destiny as we are born to. Aspire not, O my soul, to deathless life, but exhaust thy practicable means' (*Pyth.* iii. 59 ff.). 'If thou, O Hieron, canst understand the sum of words, thou knowest by hearsay from men of old—for one good thing the immortals deal to mortals two evils together. Now this the foolish are not able to bear in orderly wise (*κόσμῳ φέρειν*), but only good men who turn the fair things out' (*ib.* iii. 81).

On no other condition can human prosperity attain such relative stability and permanence as are attainable by mortality than that it be made up both of 'these and those' (*τὰ καὶ τά*), of good and evil.

'Yet quench the boast in silence; Zeus giveth both these and those, Zeus the lord of all' (*Isth.* iv. (v.) 51 ff.). 'They say that just so a man's felicity, if it blooms enduringly, must take both these and those' (*Pyth.* vii. 16 ff.). 'Even for men who strive there is uncertainty of Fortune till they reach the very end. For she giveth both of these things and of those' (*Isth.* iii. (iv.) 52 ff.).

(*b*) *The strength of the gods.*—Over against the frailty and mutability of mortality Pindar emphasizes the strength and stability of the gods:

'Time (*αἰών*) with the rolling days brings ever other changes: but the children of the gods are unwounded' (*Isth.* iii. 18). 'In a little while the pleasure of men grows up, and even so it falls to the ground when shaken by an adverse doom. Creatures of a day! what is anybody? what is nobody? Man is the dream of a shadow' (*Pyth.* viii. 92 ff.).

The background of Pindar's theology is the orthodox traditional theology of his race, with its anthropomorphic representation of the gods as a race of beings superior, indeed, to men but of like passions with them. But the reasoned beliefs of the worshipper are inevitably framed in a setting of tradition, much of which is repugnant alike to his intellect and to his moral sense. It is quite evident that Pindar, like Æschylus, felt strongly that the orthodox theology held much that was inconsistent with a worthy conception of the gods. He would have sympathized with Xenophanes in his censure of Homer and Hesiod, 'who have attributed to the gods all things that are a shame and a reproach among men,' and he would have agreed with the famous line of Euripides (*ap.* Plut. *Mor.* 21 A): *εἰ θεοί τι δρῶσι φαῦλον, οὐκ εἰσὶν θεοί.* 'Meet is it,' says Pindar, 'that a man should speak noble things of the gods: the blame is less' (*Ol.* i. 35).

This feeling is well illustrated by the manner in which Pindar on occasion refines the grosser elements of the traditional mythology.

Thus in *Ol.* i. he deals with the story of Pelops, son of Tantalos. Legend told how Tantalos invited the gods to a banquet at which he served up to them his son Pelops. The gods did not partake of the flesh, save only Demeter, who ate a portion of his shoulder, which was afterwards replaced by a piece of ivory. This story Pindar rejects. It is a mere invention of the envious neighbours to account for the supernatural carrying off of Pelops by Poseidon; the ivory shoulder (referring probably to some family birthmark) was congenital: he had it even 'when Klotho took him from the basin of purification' (l. 26)—the *λέβης καθαρός*, the bath of purification, not a Medea-cauldron in which, Pelias-like, the *membra disjecta* of the boy were cooked into a new life.

Again, take his treatment of the story of Neoptolemos, son of Achilles, in *Nem.* vii. There was a persistent tradition that Neoptolemos was slain at Delphi. According to one version, he had come to plunder the temple of Apollo (Paus. x. vii. 1: *Πύρρος ὁ Ἀχιλλέως ἐπεχείρησεν αὐτῷ*) and was slain at the instance of the Pythian priestess by the Delphians (*ib.* i. xiii. 9: *Πύρρον δὲ τὸν Ἀχιλλέως ἡ Πυθία προστάξαν ἀποκτεῖναι Δελφοῖς*) or by Apollo's priest himself (*ib.* x. xxiv. 4: *θεάσαιο δ' ἂν ἐνταῦθα καὶ ἐστίαν ἐφ' ᾗ Νεοπτόλεμον τὸν Ἀχιλλέως ὁ ἱερεὺς ἀπέκτεινε τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος*). In Pindar's version all the untoward elements of the myth disappear. Neoptolemos came, not as an enemy, but to offer to Apollo the firstfruits of the spoil of Troy. His death was the result of a chance quarrel that he might fulfil the destiny which required that one of the house of Aiakos should dwell within the grove of Apollo and be the presiding genius at the hero-celebrations; so far from the Delphians causing his death, they were much grieved by it: 'He went unto the god, bringing treasure of firstfruits from Troy: and there in a quarrel over meats a man slew him with a knife (*μαχαίρᾳ*). The hospitable Delphians were grieved exceedingly. Yet he but fulfilled his destiny: it was decreed that within that most ancient grove there should be in time to come, beside this well-walled abode of the god, some one of the lords Aiakidai, and that he should dwell there to be keeper of judgments for the sacrificial hero-processions to maintain justice of fair name' (*Nem.* vii. 40 f.).

Yet again, Homer tells us in *Iliad* v. 395 ff. how Herakles wounded Hades at Pylos (Elean): 'And giant Hades therewithal suffered a swift arrow, when this same man, the son of Zeus, smote him in Pylos amid the dead and gave him over to pain. And he went unto the dwelling of Zeus and high Olympos, grieved at heart and pierced with pain; for the arrow was driven into his shoulder and grieved his soul.' Pindar, in emphasizing the prowess to which men may attain by favour of the gods, instances this feat of Herakles. But, as the issue

seems to reflect upon a god, Pindar, employing the figure of aposiopesis, breaks off suddenly and says nothing of the wounding of Hades: 'By favour of God (*δαίμων*) are men good and wise. For how else could Herakles have brandished in his hands his club against the trident, what time at Pylos Poseidon stood and pressed him hard: pressed him, too, Phoibos warring with his silver bow, nor did Hades keep unmoved the wand, wherewith he brings down to the hollow way of them that die the mortal bodies? Fling from thee, O my mouth, this tale! To speak evil of the gods is hateful skill, and untimely vaunting strikes a note of madness. Prate not, then, of such things; leave war and battle altogether apart (*χωρίς*) from the immortals' (*Pyth.* ix. 28 ff.). The word *χωρίς*, which Pindar uses here, is almost technical in this special sense; cf. Æsch. *Ag.* 636 *f.*:

εὔφημον ἦμαρ οὐ πράσσει κακαγγέλῳ
γλώσσῃ μιαίνειν· χωρὶς ἡ τιμὴ θεῶν.

The same tendency is seen in his treatment of the story of the Danaids in *Pyth.* ix. 111 ff. and in the emphatic *μόνον* in *Pyth.* iii. 100 f. (*ὄνπερ μόνον ἀθανάτα τίκτεν ἐν Φθίᾳ Θέτις*), which rejects in passing the gruesome saga which represented Achilles as the sole survivor of seven children (Lycophr. 178; schol. *Il.* xvi. 37, etc.). Pindar's position is, in fact, precisely that of Euripides, *Iph. in Taur.* 386 ff., where Iphigeneia rejects the idea of human sacrifice being pleasing to Artemis:

ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν
τὰ Ταντάλου θεοῖσιν ἐστιάματα
ἄπιστα κρίνω, παῖδας ἡσθῆναι βορᾷ,
τοὺς δ' ἐνθάδ', αὐτοὺς ὄντας ἀνθρωποκτόνους,
εἰς τὴν θεὸν τὸ φαῦλον ἀναφέρειν δοκῶ·
οὐδένα γὰρ οἶμαι δαιμόνων εἶναι κακόν.

'Si Dieu a fait l'homme à son image, l'homme le lui a bien rendu.'

The gods, according to Pindar's view, though they had birth, like men, are deathless and ageless, free from disease and pain (frag. 143, *ap.* Plut. *de Superstit.* 6), omniscient (*Ol.* i. 64), and all-powerful:

'God accomplishes every purpose according to his hopes; God who overtakes the winged eagle and outstrips the dolphin in the sea, and brings low many a proud man, but to others gives ageless glory' (*Pyth.* ii. 49 ff.). 'Swift is the doing and the ways are short when gods are fain' (*ib.* ix. 67 *f.*). 'For me no marvel is beyond belief when it is wrought by gods' (*ib.* x. 48 ff.). 'God is able to raise undefiled light from black night and to hide the clear radiance of day in cloudy darkness' (frag. 142, *ap.* Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 708).

The gods are the authors of all human success and achievement:

'From the gods are all means (*μαχαναί*) for mortal excellence (*ἀρεταί*); from them are men wise and mighty of hand and eloquent of tongue' (*Pyth.* i. 41 *f.*; cf. *Ol.* x. (xi.) 10). Only such success as the gods give is to be desired: 'May I desire glory from God' (*θεόθεν*) (*Pyth.* xi. 50). Only such success can be enduring: 'The prosperity that is begotten by the grace of God is more enduring for men' (*Nem.* viii. 17). Man proposes, God disposes: 'Now I hope, but the issue lies with God' (*Ol.* xiii. 104 *f.*). What is done without God is better left unsung: 'Each thing that is without God is not worse hushed in silence' (*ib.* ix. 103).

The ineluctability of fate or destiny is strongly affirmed in Pindar, but it is not an uncompromising fatalism and is in no way inconsistent with an overruling Providence, or deterrent of the initiative and effort of men. A man should cherish good hope (*Isth.* vii. (viii.) 15)—not the *κεναὶ ἐλπίδες* whose issue is vanity (*Nem.* viii. 45, *Pyth.* iii. 23); not the desire of the moth for the star: that way lies madness (*Nem.* xi. 48). A man's duty is to aim at a reasonable ambition (*ib.* xi. 47); in the perplexities of life to look to the immediate duty (*Isth.* vii. (viii.) 13 f.). In pursuit of his aim he must spend and be spent, though the issue is uncertain (*Ol.* v. 15 f.). He cannot foresee the future, and fortune now bestows and now withholds:

'The black fields do not give their fruit continuously nor will the trees in every circling year bear their fragrant flowers with equal wealth, but only alternately. Even so Fate (*μοῖρα*) guides the race of men. There is given of Zeus no certain mark for men. Yet do we embark on high emprise and plan many deeds; for our limbs are chained by hope unabashed; but the river of Foreknowledge is set afar' (*Nem.* xi. 39 ff.).

We must be content to accept what fate has in store for us—not an austere impersonal fate, but the will of God: *τὸ μόρσιμον Διόθεν πεπρωμένον* (*Nem.* iv. 61; cf. *Pyth.* xii. 28 ff.).

'The mighty mind of Zeus steers (*κυβερνᾷ*) the destiny (*δαίμονα*) of men whom he loves' (*Pyth.* v. 122 *f.*).

In this conviction Pindar says:

'To me whatsoever excellence sovereign Destiny (Πότμος) has assigned, I know well that Time in his course shall bring it to its fated fulfilment' (*Nem.* iv. 41 ff.)—words which might almost seem to have been in the mind of Milton when he wrote:

'Yet, be it less or more, or soon or slow,
It shall be still in strictest measure even
To that same lot, however mean or high,
Toward which Time leads me, and the will of Heaven
(*Sonnets*, ii. 9 ff.).

The cruder form of the doctrine of the envy of the gods was of course familiar to Pindar. It is clear that Pindar, who calls envy 'the companion of fools' (*φθόνον κενεοφρόνων ἑταῖρον* [frag. 128]), would not seriously attribute envy to the gods. When he alludes to it, it will be seen that it is merely a *façon de parler* and ethically means simply that a man should not seem to encroach on the prerogatives of the gods,

'Or pass beyond the goal of ordinance
Where all should pause as is most meet for all'
(Tennyson, *Tithonus*, 30 f.).

That this is so becomes clear upon an examination of Pindar's references to the doctrine. In *Pyth.* x. 19 ff. the train of thought is evident. The Aleuadai have had great success; may they not meet with envious reversals (*φθονεραὶ μετατροπίαι*) from the gods; a god may have perfect and unbroken felicity, man must expect alternatives of weal and woe; he cannot climb the brazen heaven. In the second passage, *Ol.* xiii. 25, it is little more than a form of speech. The third passage, *Isth.* vi. (vii.) 39 ff., rightly interpreted, is an admirable commentary on the ethical content of the doctrine of the *φθόνος θεῶν*:

'Let not the envy of the immortals disturb (cf. *Ol.* vi. 97) whatsoever pleasant thing of the day I pursue quietly unto old age and for my destined life. For all alike we die, but destiny differs. But if one looks for far things, his stature is too short to reach the brazen abode of the gods: the winged Pegasos threw his master Bellerophon when he would have come to the habitations of Olympos amid the company of Zeus.' That is to say: I recognize my mortality; I will not seek the things afar; being the creature of a day, I will pursue quietly (*ἔκαλος*, not with violence and wantonness, but *ἡσυχᾷ νεμόμενος*; cf. *Pyth.* xi. 54 ff.: *φθονεροὶ δ' ἀμύνονται ἀταὶ· εἴ τις ἄκρον ἑλὼν ἡσυχᾷ τε νεμόμενος αἰνὰν ὕβριν ἀπέφυγεν*), not the far things, but the good of to-day which is ever the highest for a mere mortal (*τὸ δ' αἰεὶ παράμερον ἐσλὸν ὕπατον ἕρχεται παντὶ βροτῷ* [*Ol.* i. 99 *f.*]). So shall I not be liable to the envy of the gods.

Pindar's attitude may be summed up in three words—*ὕβρις*, *κόρος*, *ἄτη*. The precise meaning of these terms is somewhat fluctuating and the relation of the first two is sometimes reversed. *ὕβρις* is 'insolence,' 'wantonness,' 'pride' (*Pyth.* ii. 28, viii. 12, x. 36, xi. 55, *Ol.* vii. 90, *Isth.* iii. (iv.) 27), or 'violence' (*Nem.* i. 50, *Pyth.* iv. 112). *κόρος* is 'satiety' (*Ol.* ii. 95, *Pyth.* i. 82, viii. 32, *Nem.* vii. 52, x. 20) or the resulting 'insolence,' 'pride' (*Ol.* i. 56, *Nem.* i. 65). Hence Pindar (*Ol.* xiii. 10) makes *Ὕβρις* the bold-mouthed mother (*ματέρα θρασύμυθον*) of *Κόρος* (so, too, the oracle in Herod. viii. 77: *δῖα Δίκη σβέσσει κρατερὸν Κόρον Ὕβριος υἱόν*), whereas elsewhere (Theognis, 153; Solon, frag. 8) *Κόρος* is father of *Ὕβρις*. *Ἄτη* is in Pindar 'woe' (*Ol.* i. 57, xi. (x.) 37, *Pyth.* xi. 55, *Nem.* ix. 21, and frag. 42 (171). 4), but *αὐάτα* is 'infatuation' (*Pyth.* ii. 28, iii. 24). The doctrine of sin implied in these terms is illustrated by the following passages:

'He [Tantalos] could not digest his great prosperity, but for his insolence (*κόρῳ*) won an exceeding woe (*ἄταν*)' (*Ol.* i. 55 ff.); Ixion was greatly blest, 'but lust (*ὕβρις*) drove him to an exceeding infatuation (*αὐάταν*) and speedily he suffered his deserts and won a choice affliction' (*Pyth.* ii. 28 *f.*).

The sequence is success (*ὄλβος*), pride (*ὕβρις*), infatuation, or moral blindness (*ἄτη*)—'quem deus vult perdere, dementat prius.' Æschylus, rejecting, as Pindar does, the crude conception of the envy of the gods, gives a similar sequence (*Ag.* 750 ff.): old *Ὕβρις* begets a young *Ὕβρις* and unholy *Θράσος*, which are dark *Ἄται* for the house. In other words, success leads to pride, whence springs sin; one sin leads to another, and with repeated sin comes greater boldness (cf. 222 ff.: *βροτοὺς θρασύνει γὰρ αἰσχρόμητις τάλαινα παρακοπὰ πρωτοπήμων*). Precisely so in the OT 'Jeshurun waxed fat, and kicked: . . .

then he forsook God which made him, and lightly esteemed the Rock of his salvation. They moved him to jealousy with strange gods, with abominations provoked they him to anger' (Dt $32^{15f.}$).

(*c*) *Man's relation to the gods and to fellow-men.*—Man's duty in relation to the gods (*εὐσέβεια*) necessarily includes the performance of his duty to his fellow-men, but it involves, further, the specifically religious duties of prayer and sacrifice. According to Hesiod, the doom of the silver race came upon them because they did not refrain from violence to one another, 'neither would they worship the immortals nor do sacrifice upon the holy altars of the blessed ones' (*Works and Days*, 134 ff.). So in Pindar:

'Success is given for the sake of their piety (*εὐσεβείας χάριν*) in answer to the prayers of men' (*Ol.* viii. 9). 'Me anywise my spirit bids declare that to the Emmenidai and to Theron glory hath come by gift of the Tyndaridai of goodly steeds, forasmuch as they more than any other among men visit them with hospitable tables, with pious mind maintaining the rites of the blessed ones (*εὐσεβεῖ γνώμᾳ φυλάσσοντες μακάρων τελετάς*)' (*Ol.* iii. 38 ff.).

Similarly in *Ol.* vi. 77 ff. success in the games is directly connected with such observances:

'Surely as thy mother's brothers, O Hagesias, in their home beneath Kyllene's hill presented with many prayerful sacrifices (*λιταῖς θυσίαις*) piously (*εὐσεβέως*) Hermes, the herald of the gods, who keeps contests and the dispensation of games, . . . it is he with his father the thunderer who accomplishes thy success.'

The duty of man towards his fellows is summed up in the word *δίκη*. This in its essence is the due observance of use and wont, *νόμος*, *τρόπος*, *Sittlichkeit*. Eunomia is the daughter of Themis (*Ol.* ix. 15 f.) and sister of Eirene and Dike, worshipped by the Korinthians, who are fain to keep from them Hybris, the mother of Koros (*ib.* xiii. 6 ff.). Ixion's temptation of Hera is described as *εὐναὶ παράτροποι* (*Pyth.* ii. 35). Men are tempted to accept a guileful gain in preference to justice, but they travel to a stern reckoning (*ib.* iv. 139 f.). Dike regulates also the relation of man to the gods; any encroachment on the prerogatives is sternly punished:

τὸ δὲ πὰρ δίκαν γλυκὺ πικροτάτα μένει τελευτά (*Isth.* vi. (vii.) 47 f.).

First in the list of specific virtues we may put *εὐορκία*, keeping of oaths. Those who enjoy eternal happiness after death are briefly described in *Ol.* ii. 65 as those who rejoiced in keeping their oaths (*ἔχαιρον εὐορκίαις*). Next comes truthfulness:

'In every sort of state the man of straight speech (*εὐθύγλωσσος*) is best: in a tyranny and when the loud mob (*λάβρος στρατός*) and when the wise (*σοφοί*) keep the city' (*Pyth.* ii. 86 ff.).

The slanderer, on the other hand, is an unmitigated evil:

'Rhadamanthus fares well because he reaped the blameless fruit of his soul (*καρπὸν ἀμώμητον φρενῶν*) and delights not his heart with deceits, such as ever attend the wiles of whisperers; an invincible evil to both parties are the suggestions of slander, like to the mood of the fox' (*Pyth.* ii. 73 ff.).

And it is not only straightness of speech that Pindar praises but also straightness in action:

'Divers are the arts of divers men, but a man must walk in straight paths (*εὐθείαις ὁδοῖς*) and fight according to his nature' (*Nem.* i. 25 ff.).

Diagoras, the heavy-weight from Rhodes, is described as a 'huge straight-fighting (*εὐθυμάχαν*) man' (*Ol.* vii. 15). In one passage, indeed, Pindar does seem to suggest that craft should be met with craft, when he speaks of an athlete who made up for deficiency of stature by the cunning of the fox:

'One must do everything to bring low the foe' (*Isth.* iii. 66 (iv. 48)).

Already Plutarch (*Mor.* 21 A) had noted this as inconsistent with other passages of Pindar. Next the duty of gratitude is pointed by the fate of Ixion, who was a signal example of ingratitude:

'Bound by command of the gods to his winged wheel he declares to men that one should repay the benefactor with kindly recompense' (*Pyth.* ii. 21 ff.).

On the other hand, the poet grieves to see 'envy requiting noble deeds' (*Pyth.* vii. 18 ff.). Kindness is commended, cruelty condemned, by the examples of Kroisos and Phalaris (*Pyth.* i. 94 ff.). The second *Pythian* is beset with many difficulties of interpretation, but it is impossible to quote as Pindar's own view:

'Let me love him who loves me: but towards my enemy as an enemy I will run upon him like a wolf, treading now this way now that, in crooked paths' (*Pyth.* ii. 83 ff.).

Rather Pindar's position is expressed in *Pyth.* ix. 93 ff.:

'Therefore a citizen be he friend or be he foe, let him not hide that which is well done for the common weal, nor make void the saying of the old man of the sea who said that one should praise even a foe who doth good deeds.'

Among the primary duties are honour to parents and patriotism:

'In that thou keepest thy father at thy right hand, thou maintainest the precept which of old among the hills they say that Philyra's son gave to the fatherless son of Peleus: to honour above all the son of Kronos . . . but never to rob of like honour the destined life of his parents. Of old Antilochos (*φιλοπάτωρ* [Xen. *Kyneg.* i. 14]) had this mind, who died for his father' (*Pyth.* vi. 19 ff.).

'Whoso in this cloud wards off the hail of blood for his dear fatherland, inflicting death upon the foe, let him know of a surety that he wins the highest glory for his fellow-citizens, whether he live or die' (*Isth.* vi. (vii.) 27 ff.).

Although Thebes occupied an unworthy position in the great struggle against the barbarians, Pindar speaks with real feeling of the glory of the victory which removed the 'Tantalos-stone' which hung over the head of Hellas (*Isth.* vii. (viii.) 10; cf *Pyth.* i. 76, *Isth.* iv. (v.) 48 ff.). Pindar recognizes, too, the duty of kindness to the stranger within the gates (*Ol.* ii. 6, *Isth.* ii. 39 f., and *passim*). It is noteworthy that the *μύσται* in the *Ranæ* of Aristophanes base their claim to bliss on the two grounds that *μεμνήμεθ' εὐσεβῆ τε διήγομεν τρόπον περὶ τοὺς ξένους καὶ τοὺς ἰδιώτας* (456 ff.).

Pindar, as an aristocrat, insists much on the virtues of heredity:

'That which is by nature is always best' (*Ol.* ix. 100; cf. ii. 85 ff., etc.);

and he is much impressed with the splendour of a tyranny such as he witnessed in Sicily:

'On a tyrant, leader of a people, looks the high Fortune if on any man' (*Pyth.* iii. 85); 'Divers are the kinds of greatness, but the crown of greatness is for kings' (*Ol.* i. 113 f.).

But his personal predilection is for a modern aristocracy in which the government is in the hands of the *σοφοί* or *ἀγαθοί*. The middle estate is the more enduring. The great virtues are those of social service, those which exalt the State (*Pyth.* xi. 52 ff.).

There be some who mock at a man who jeers at those who spend money on the great games and hoard their own wealth, forgetting that at the last they shall 'render their souls to Hades without glory' (*Isth.* i. 68).

Pindar's own ideal of life is beautifully expressed in the following:

'May I cleave to the simple paths of life that, when I die, I may attach to my children no evil fame. They pray for gold and some for limitless lands. Mine be it amid the love of my townsmen to hide my limbs in earth, praising what is worthy of praise, and scattering rebuke on sinners' (*Nem.* viii. 35 ff.).

(*d*) *The soul.*—A special interest attaches to Pindar's views of the origin and ultimate destiny of the soul. According to the typical Homeric conception, when death occurs, or in any case after the body has been consumed on the funeral pyre, the soul goes to the sunless house of Hades under earth, leaving behind its 'manhood and youth,' existing still in a dim half-life, and no more affecting or affected by the things of the upper world. Only some favoured mortal, like Menelaos, may by special dispensation of the gods pass without dying to the Elysian plain (*Od.* iv. 563), an idealized earthly paradise.

According to Hesiod (*Work and Days*, 156 ff.), the fourth race, *i.e.* the race immediately preceding our own, was the race of heroes or half-gods:

ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων θεῖον γένος, οἳ καλέονται
ἡμίθεοι προτέρῃ γενεῇ κατ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν.

These were the men who warred at Thebes and Troy, and, after death,

'Zeus the son of Kronos gave them a life and an abode apart from men, at the ends of the earth, far from the immortals. Among them Kronos rules. And they, with heart free from sorrow, dwell in the Islands of the Blest beside deep-eddying Okeanos, happy heroes, for whom the bounteous earth bears honeysweet fruit, blooming thrice a year' (*ib.* 166 ff.).

Now both these ideas are familiar to Pindar. We have first the Hyperboreoi, worshippers of Apollo (*Ol.* iii. 16), whose life is perpetual bliss:

'Disease nor age touches that holy race, but they dwell apart from toil and battle, escaped from overjust Nemesis' (*Pyth.* x. 41 ff.; cf. *Isth.* v. (vi.) 23).

Then we have the miraculous carrying off of Pelops and Ganymede to Olympos (*Ol.* i. 40 ff.); the swallowing up of Amphiaraos by the earth (*Nem.* ix. 24); Ino (Leukothea) lives an immortal life with the Nereids (*Ol.* ii. 28 ff.); even after death Semele is raised to Olympos (*ib.* ii. 25 f.), Polydeukes is raised to alternate life with his brother Kastor—'half the time beneath the earth and half in the golden halls of Heaven' (*Nem.* x. 87 f.); and so on.

But of far more importance is the Hesiodic passage. The conception of the 'heroes'—the great men of the heroic past—as being after death exalted to perpetual felicity had become part of the orthodox Greek belief. And the word 'hero' (*ἥρως*) had taken on a new meaning. It was no longer confined to the great figures who had fought at Thebes and Troy. Great men of a less remote past who had deserved well of their fellow-men were conceived as enjoying an exalted state after death and received the honours and offerings of hero-worship. The founder (*οἰκιστής*) of a city, especially, was worshipped as a hero in the city which he had founded.

The full content of this hero-conception cannot be discussed here. The offerings made to them were specifically called *ἐναγίσματα*; thus Pollux, viii. 91, in enumerating the duties of the *ἄρχων πολέμαρχος*, says:

θύει μὲν Ἀρτέμιδι ἀγροτέρᾳ καὶ τῷ Ἐνυαλίῳ· διατίθησι δὲ τὸν ἐπιτάφιον ἀγῶνα τῶν ἐν πολέμῳ ἀποθανόντων· καὶ τοῖς περὶ Ἁρμόδιον ἐναγίζει.

They were conceived as occupying an intermediate state between men and gods, though they seem rarely to have been appealed to as intercessors for man with the gods (but see *Nem.* vii. 95 f.). As compared with the gods, their range for good or evil is restricted, their worship and their influence being local and attached to the place of their grave. Hence we hear constantly of the bones of a hero being brought home from a foreign land where he had died, that they might find sepulture there, and there form the centre of his worship. But, like the gods, the heroes could take on bodily shape, human or otherwise, to aid their worshippers in a crisis, and such phantom appearances (*φάσματα*) are often referred to — *e.g.*, Echetlus or Echetlaios (the man of the plough-stilt), who appeared at Marathon and, like Hay of Luncarty, dealt havoc with his plough (Paus. I. xxxii. 5; cf. I. xv. 3), Neoptolemos and others, who helped to repel the Gauls at Delphi (*τά τε τῶν ἡρώων τηνικαῦτά σφισιν ἐφάνη φάσματα, ὁ Τπέροχος καὶ ὁ Λαόδικός τε καὶ Πύρρος* [Paus. X. xxiii. 2; cf. I. iv. 4]).

Hero-worship is closely akin to the cult of the chthonian deities and the veneration of the dead, and found an especially congenial soil in Bœotia, and hence interests prominently the Bœotian poets Hesiod and Pindar. Pindar knows of the hero-cult of Pelops at Olympia where 'in his grave by the stream of Alpheos he hath part in splendid blood-offerings' (*Ol.* i. 90 f.), of Neoptolemos and others at Delphi (*Nem.* vii. 31 ff.; cf. *Νεοπτολέμου . . . τάφος· καὶ οἱ κατὰ ἔτος ἐναγίζουσιν οἱ Δελφοί* [Paus. X. xxiv. 6]), and, besides others, most significantly of all, Battos (Aristoteles), founder of Kyrene (*c.* 630 B.C.):

'Aristoteles . . . built greater groves of the god and laid down a straight-cut horse-trodden way across the plain for the processions of Apollo; where at the end of the marketplace he lies apart in death. Blessed was he while he dwelt with men, and thereafter a hero worshipped by the people (*ἥρως λαοσεβής*)' (*Pyth.* v. 89 ff.; cf. R. M. Smith and E. A. Porcher, *Hist. of the Recent Discoveries at Cyrene, 1860–61*, London, 1864).

Pindar's deep interest in the state after death is unmistakable. He likes to imagine the dead still touched by the fortunes of their living descendants:

'And apart in front of the halls are other holy kings (*βασιλέες ἱεροί*) who have Hades for their lot, and when great deeds are bedewed with song, they haply hear with the hearing of the dead (*χθονίᾳ φρενί*) of the success which is common to them and to Arkesilas' (*Pyth.* v. 96 ff.). 'Go now, Echo, to the dark-walled house of Persephone, bearing to his father the glorious tidings . . . of his son's victory at Pisa' (*Ol.* xiv. 19 ff.). 'The dead too have some part in things duly done, and the dust hides not the good grace of their kin. May Iphion hear from Aggelia, daughter of Hermes, and tell Kallimachos of the bright honour at Olympia which Zeus hath granted to his kin' (*Ol.* viii. 77 ff.; cf. *Nem.* iv. 85).

At the supreme moment of the family's fate

'Entsteigen ihren Gräbern manche Schatten,
Die Seelen schweben von dem Himmel nieder,
Die Heimat und die Freunde zu besuchen.
Sie nahen dir mit geisterhaften Schimmer,
Umstrahlt von heil'gem überird'schem Glanz.
Sie bringen doch die alte Liebe mit'
(W. Hauff, *Der Schwester Traum*).

But of quite special importance are certain other passages of Pindar, which are best considered together:

(*a*) *Ol.* ii. 53 ff.: 'Wealth adorned with deeds of excellence brings occasion for these things and for those, bringing a deep wild mood—a bright star it is, a most true light (*φέγγος*) for a man. And if he that hath it knows that which is to be—that of the dead the helpless souls (*φρένες* here, not *ψυχαί*) straightway here pay the penalty, while the sins done in this realm of Zeus one judges under earth, pronouncing doom by hateful constraint. And, ever more equally by day and night enjoying the sun, the good receive a life free from travail, vexing not the earth with labour of the hand nor the waters of the sea in that shadowy life, but with the honoured of the gods those who rejoiced in keeping their oaths live a tearless life; but the others endure woe not to be beheld. But whoso, abiding unto three times on either side, have endured to keep their soul (*ψυχάν*) utterly from iniquity, rise by the way of Zeus unto the tower of Kronos. There round the Islands of the Blest the breezes of Okeanos blow and flowers of gold are glowing, some ashore on glorious trees, while others the water feeds, with chains whereof they entwine their hands and twine garlands, according to the just council of Rhadamanthus, whom the mighty sire, husband of Rhea throned in the highest, hath as ready assessor. Peleus and Kadmos are numbered among these, and thither his mother carried Achilleus, when she had persuaded the heart of Zeus by her prayers.'

(*b*) Frag. 129 (*ap.* Plut. *Consol. ad. Apoll.* 35): 'For them shines the strength of the sun below while it is night here; and in meadows (*λειμῶνες*) of purple roses their suburb is shady with frankincense and laden with golden fruits. . . . And some in horses, some in feats of strength, some in draughts, and some in the lyre take their delight, and by them blooms all fair-flowering bliss. And fragrance is spread about the lovely place (*χῶρος*) as they mingle evermore all manner of offerings in far-shining fire on the altars of the gods.'

(*c*) Frag. 131 (*ap.* Plut. *loc. cit.*): 'By happy dispensation all (travel to) an end that delivers from travail (*λυσίπονον τελευτάν*). And the body indeed of all men follows overmastering death; yet is there left alive a copy of life (*αἰῶνος εἴδωλον*); for this alone cometh from the gods; and it sleeps while the limbs are active; but to sleeping men it reveals (*δείκνυσιν*) in many a dream the coming judgment of happiness and woe.'

(*d*) Frag. 133 (*ap.* Plato, *Meno*, 81 B): 'From whomsoever Persephone accepts atonement for the ancient woe (*ποινὰν παλαιοῦ πένθεος*), the soul of these she sends back again in the ninth year to the upper sun. From these spring glorious kings and the swift of strength and the mightiest in wisdom. And for the time to come they are called by men holy heroes (*ἥρωες ἁγνοί*).'

(*e*) Frag. 137 (*ap.* Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 518): 'Happy is he who hath seen these things ere he goes beneath the earth; he knows the end of life, and he knows its god-given beginning.'

We take no note here of frag. 132, which is generally regarded as spurious.

A full discussion of these passages is impossible in the scope of this article. There are many difficulties of interpretation, due in some cases to absence of the context, in others to the fact that some of the words used may have possessed an esoteric meaning which we do not fully realize—*e.g.*, *φέγγος ἐτυμώτατον* (cf. Aristoph. *Ran.* 454 ff., where the Eleusinian *μύσται* say: *μόνοις γὰρ ἡμῖν ἥλιος καὶ φέγγος λαμπρὸν ἐστιν, ὅσοι μεμυήμεθ' εὐσεβῆ τε διήγομεν τρόπον περὶ τοὺς ξένους καὶ τοὺς ἰδιώτας*), *ἀγροτέραν* (it seems significant that this is an epithet

of Artemis; cf. the sacrifice offered by the polemarch [Pollux, viii. 91; Plutarch, *de Malign. Herod.* 26]), and so on. Also we do not know how far the passages represent one consistent doctrine.

But in general outline the essentials are as follows. The soul and the soul alone 'comes from the gods.' By reason of ancient sin—*πένθος*, suffering which is sin—the soul is imprisoned in the body. Then it passes through a period of trial 'three times on either side.' Some commentators take this to mean three times in all—once here, once in Hades, and lastly here. But it more naturally means once here and then below; then here and again below; then once more here and once more below. Having passed these six alternating periods successfully, in the ninth year—the sacral *ἐννατηρίς*—Persephone accepting atonement, the soul enters its final life in the body of a king, a mighty athlete, a poet, or a philosopher, after which it passes in the guise of a hero to the Isles of the Blest.

How much Pindar in these speculations owed to the mysteries of Eleusis (to which frag. 137 especially seems to refer), how much to the rise of Orphic and Pythagorean doctrines in the latter part of the 6th cent. B.C., we need not here inquire. Nor can we discuss the influence which, through Pindar, these doctrines exercised on Plato and later thinkers. What is important is that Pindar expounds, with all the earnestness of personal conviction, the doctrine that the soul is in her origin divine and that she carries in her the seed of emancipation from the flesh—an emancipation to be attained, not by some peculiar dispensation of the gods, but by her own effort towards purity.

LITERATURE.—C. A. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, Königsberg, 1829; E. Rohde, *Psyche*[4], Tübingen, 1907; E. Buchholz, *Die sittliche Weltanschauung des Pindaros und Aeschylos*, Leipzig, 1869; J. A. Stewart, *The Myths of Plato*, London, 1905; J. Adam, *The Religious Teachers of Greece*, Edinburgh, 1908; E. S. Thompson, *Meno*, London, 1901, Excursus vi.

A. W. MAIR.

PĪR.—1. The term and its synonyms.—*Pīr* is a term denoting a spiritual director or guide among the Ṣūfīs, or mystics of Islām. The functionary described by the title is known also under other names: *shaikh*, *murshid*, *ustadh*. *Pīr* is a Persian word, but is applied to a spiritual guide more commonly in India and Turkey than in its native home; *shaikh* in our special sense is in general use throughout Islām; *murshid* is also wide-spread, but in Turkish- or Arabic-speaking countries rather than in India; *ustadh* is found in Persia.[1]

2. The authority of the spiritual guide.—Theoretically speaking, any one who has advanced sufficiently in the mystical experience of divine reality may undertake to give spiritual guidance to others. But, as a matter of fact, the *pīr*, or *murshid*, nearly always bases his right to direct souls on the authorization of some teacher who has directed him in the mystic way (*ṭarīqah*). This authority is valid only in so far as the teacher traces his claim to teach through a succession of teachers, or *murshids*, to the founder of some one of the numerous Darwīsh orders. The *murshid* follows the tradition of the order to which he belongs. He is under the grand *shaikh* of his order, who resides at the place where the tomb of the founder of the confraternity is found. The grand *shaikh*, for his part also, proves an authority lineally derived from the founder.[1] He makes little or no attempt to control the local *shaikhs* of his order. It is in his power to summon a general council of *shaikhs*, whose action would be binding on each of them and on the Darwīshes subject to them; but such councils are and always have been of exceedingly rare occurrence. In reality there is little official restraint on the independence of the Darwīsh *shaikhs*.[2] Even in their relation to the civil power they occupy a position of special privilege, and *shaikhs* of pre-eminent sanctity or strong character make a large place for themselves in public life. The local influence of many *shaikhs* is very significant; their word is felt to have the force of law, and the demands which they may make on the community are granted without dispute. If they levy a fine because of some offence against a member of their order, it will be paid. Government officials pay them respect in various ways.[3]

On the whole, the part played by the *shaikhs* in the communities of the Muslim world has been in favour of order and public welfare. They have taught by example and precept the principle of loyalty to authority, and they have been devoted to the interests of Islām, which they recognize to be inseparable from the interests of the sovereign State.[4]

3. The pīr and the mystical life.—In order to act as a spiritual guide in the life of the mystic (*taṣawwuf*, 'to live the life of a Ṣūfī') the *pīr*, or *murshid*, must hold a *sanad* from his teacher. This is a written permission (*ijāzah*) giving him the right to pass on to others the *ṭarīqah*, or mystical discipline, as he has learned it, and also conferring upon him the authority to perform healing miracles and to work signs. The validity of the *sanad* depends upon the chain of guides whose names connect the name of the issuing *shaikh* with that of the founder of the *ṭarīqah*, or order.[5] The *shaikh* may hold the *ijāzah* of more than one teacher if he has followed more than one

[1] *Shaikh* is used also of the *khalīfahs*, or deputies, of a *pīr*, or *murshid*. These men may have their own disciples, usually of the poorer class or such as are at a distance from their own proper guide. They may give the mystic way (*ṭarīqah*) to those who seek it, and may even confer the rank of *shaikh* upon such as have advanced sufficiently. *Shaikh* often describes the official head of a Darwīsh community rather than the same man as the spiritual director of a narrower group of disciples (*murīds*). *Pīr* is employed also somewhat loosely of the founder of a Darwīsh order, and still more generally of a *walī*, or saint. In Persia, India, and Turkey the term is current among non-Muslims as well as Muslims. The Hindus apply it to their dead saints, and in Persia and Turkey it designates an inferior priest among the Yezīdis. In this non-Muslim usage the same extraordinary gifts of knowledge and miracle-working are implied as the Muslims ascribe to their *pīrs*.

[1] The grand *shaikh* is described as occupying the *sajjādah*, or prayer-carpet, of the *pīr*, or founder.

[2] The Shaikh al-Bakrī, who is supposed to be descended from Abu Bakr, the first *khalīfah*, is appointed by the Egyptian Government to have supervision over the Darwīsh orders in Egypt, and within the borders of that country exercises a real official authority. The office which he holds finds no analogy in other Muslim countries, and in Egypt its purpose is not to dictate but to prevent excesses.

[3] (*a*) Occasionally a specially forceful *shaikh* may be accorded a controlling influence over several local Darwīsh fraternities, and the recognition may even be given to his son after him. This does not necessarily imply the right to modify the spiritual discipline of these fraternities or the direction of novices. The influence is more or less irregular and affects the general well-being of the orders rather than their respective *ṭarīqahs*. The conduct of the latter is in the hands of the *pīrs*, or *murshids* (*shaikhs* who are spiritual directors). (*b*) The history of Morocco in former times was that of a country governed by Ṣūfī *shaikhs*. In Persia the political power of the *shaikhs* has been a constant factor in the history of the kingdom. The great poets of Persia in most cases have been Ṣūfī teachers. In Turkey the highest places of power sometimes have been held by Darwīsh *shaikhs*—*e.g.*, Abu Hudā, the personal *imām* of the Sulṭān Abdu'l-Hamīd. The weight of influence exerted by hundreds of powerful Darwīsh *shaikhs* throughout the Ottoman empire is admitted by competent observers.

[4] The principles of Ṣūfiism, if pressed to a logical conclusion, are anarchistic, but Ṣūfī practice knows little of revolt against either civil or religious authority. Even the Darwīsh excesses which are promoted by the *shaikhs* have in them no spirit of antagonism to the public order. The Wahhābī, Mahdist, and Senūsī movements are, indeed, revolutionary in character, but neither professedly nor really are they part of the Ṣūfī movement.

[5] The chain of supporting names (*isnād*) is, of course, carried back from the founder to the Prophet and thence back to Abraham, Adam, and God Himself. The *sanad* usually bears the seals of other *shaikhs* as additional credentials

ṭarīqah and has been admitted to membership in more than one Darwīsh order.

The presupposition is that one who holds a *sanad* has attained to that stage of advancement in the mystic path which brings him to an intuitive knowledge of God. He has attained to *ma'rifah* ('gnosis') and is himself an *'ārif* ('gnostic'). The consciousness of self has been absorbed in the consciousness of Allāh (*fanā fi-'llah*) and he is regarded as *majdhūb* ('attracted'). The one who is to guide others in the *ṭarīqah* must have gone at least thus far himself. He through his teacher has become possessor of the *silsilah* ('spiritual chain'), which ensures that the teachings and spirit (*rūḥaniyyah*) of the founder of his order have come down to him. Spiritual guides possess a trained susceptibility to hypnotic influences, whether mediated through the environment, through other persons, or through autohypnosis. Training also enables them to arrange conditions adapted to produce hypnotic states in others.[1]

It may be allowed that a great many of the Ṣūfī *shaikhs* meet fairly well the conditions laid down by the great Ṣūfī al-Ghazālī for the *murshid*. They are orthodox, faithful to the *sunnah* of the Prophet, and correct in life. They are not usually well trained in the higher branches of Muslim learning. Very many are of humble attainments outside of the tradition and ritual of their particular order. The greater number hold scientific knowledge in slight esteem, as conveying a false conception of reality and so hindering progress towards an immediate perception of truth (*dhauq*).[2] A relatively small number of *shaikhs* are serious students of theology and law, and some of these have established for themselves a secure reputation as teachers of these sciences.[3]

4. **The shaikhs and learning.**—The attitude of the *faqīhs* and *'ulamā* towards the spiritual guides of Ṣūfiism is not now so hostile as it was in the early centuries of the movement. Many are still covertly suspicious or jealous, but nearly all recognize that the *shaikhs* are meeting a deep craving of the Muslim world for a satisfying experience of communion with God. They infuse a spiritual vitality into Islām which theology and law have never been able to contribute, and the orthodox doctors admit this. The majority of the learned teaching class have put themselves under the direction of spiritual directors and are members of some Darwīsh order.[4]

The Ṣūfī view of knowledge is that to be true it must be given to the heart by God (*ilhām*). The task of the Ṣūfī guide is to prepare the heart that Allāh may open it and lodge therein the apprehension of reality. The impartation of ideas and cultivation of logical capacity are not his special task, but rather the development of the power of suggestion and direct emotional impression. If this is secured, the vivid and immediate states of mind which result seem to the untrained observer to be of the nature of supernatural communications. Highly wrought feelings and ecstasy become themselves the most perfect apprehension of the real. Ineffable emotions, because of the intense pleasure which they afford, are in themselves the experience of the divine; and as, for the time being, they suspend deliberate attention and volition, except in relation to themselves, all knowledge and all being are swallowed up in the immediate consciousness of God, and God becomes the only reality. Every other thing is but phenomenal; the real is He. The discipline of the *shaikhs* seeks to bring the *murīd* to the point where this inference from an absorbing emotional consciousness becomes a fixed belief furnishing a powerful and constant motive for life. In the greater number of cases the motive of those who follow the guidance of the *murshid* is a mixed motive. The emotional satisfactions are made an end in themselves and not merely an index of divine reality. In view of the moral danger involved in the dominance of this lower motive, al-Ghazālī taught that the true Ṣūfī should be careful to fulfil ethical obligations, and should make his mystical experiences subserve that end. The *shaikhs* of greatest influence to-day follow this rule.

5. **The shaikhs and their circle of influence.**—There are certain moral aspects of the Darwīsh life which, indeed, are rarely if ever wanting. The disciple chooses his spiritual director without constraint, binds himself to him freely, and holds to him to the end, though the relation between them is under moral sanctions only. The devotion given is complete, spontaneous, and marked by affectionate veneration amounting almost to worship. The *shaikhs* live for their followers, and inculcate on all the duties of brotherliness towards one another and general benevolence towards all. Hence the assistance given to wayfarers and needy persons at the *takiyyahs* (or *zāwiyahs*, Darwīsh houses), and the readiness of Darwīshes to share even a meagre portion with those in want.

The greater *shaikhs* are men of agreeable and magnetic personality, and show conspicuous gifts of leadership and organization.[1] They do not impress one as fanatical or as lacking in practical wisdom in the direction of affairs. The success of the Ṣūfī *shaikhs* in providing for a real spiritual need has made them effective propagandists in the cause of Islām. They have been more successful in this regard than the *mullas* and other orthodox agencies. The mystical fellowship of the Darwīsh fraternities has been of itself an attraction to outsiders, but the *pīr* himself, with what he has to promise, has been the indispensable factor.[2]

Among the *shaikhs* of a lower type are found some men of weak or unbalanced minds. Many of these are looked upon as saints (*walīs*) and *faqīrs*, and are consulted in sickness or other special need. Their influence lies in this direction and not in the control and guidance of a group of disciples.

The influence of the *shaikhs* touches women as well as men. Indeed, as far as occasional consultation of the *pīr* goes, women turn to him more frequently than men. There is no prohibition against their being admitted to the *ṭarīqah*, and there is eminent Ṣūfī authority for the view that the female mind is more sensitive to mystical

[1] The Oriental is much more subject to hypnotic influence than the Occidental, but the hypnotic powers possessed by individual *shaikhs* vary. There are those who may induce hypnosis with little or no exercise of will. The vulgar account of hypnotic states is that the persons concerned are *melbūs* (possessed by the power of Allāh).

[2] The ordinary believer looks upon the *murshid* as one who has been directly taught of God, and therefore has a superior kind of knowledge to that of him who merely learns from others.

[3] The literary activity of the *shaikhs* does not commonly extend beyond tracts or manuals of direction for the use of their disciples (*murīds*). The disciple is cautioned sometimes against allowing others to see his books. The *shaikhs* often direct specially gifted pupils to study the works of the great mystical writers in order to attain more fully the advantages of the mystic life. Sometimes the *shaikh* himself will teach his disciple theology and subsequently initiate him into the *ṭarīqah*. This order of instruction is that approved by the *'ulamā*.

[4] The open opposition of the orthodox authorities to Ṣūfiism is now directed for the most part against the cheap love of wonders, the hypocritical asceticism of the begging *faqīrs*, and the loose living of such as claim falsely to be above the common obligations of morality and law.

[1] The temper of the Ṣūfi movement admits the assertion of individual leadership rather than the effective co-operation of leaders.

[2] The *shaikhs* have in their *khalīfahs* very effective agents to second their influence. The *murīds* also actively recommend their own *shaikh* to others.

impressions than the male mind; still, the number of women Darwīshes is not relatively great.[1]

The *shaikh's* high standing with God is attested by the miracles (*karamāt*) with which God honours him. The *shaikh* is not said to perform miracles; God gives them to him.[2] In all parts of the Muslim world healing miracles are attributed to *walīs* and *murshids*; they are a mark of their special holiness. The most famous instances of these healings occur in connexion with wounds or serpent-bites inflicted in the *dhikrs* (Darwīsh religious exercises) of the Darwīsh orders. *Shaikhs* of the soundest reputation do not favour the extravagant self-mutilations inflicted in the *dhikrs* of special orders, and in general give their approval only to the miraculous cure of disease or wounds resulting from accident. They are inclined to demand also that those to be cured shall be known to be of good character. There are as striking instances of cure by means of suggestive therapeutics in the Darwīsh circles as are to be found anywhere, and, similarly, the immunity from injury which may be secured through hypnotic suggestion is very strikingly illustrated in the self-inflicted woundings and burnings and the serpent-bites permitted, *e.g.*, in the societies of the Rifā'īyyah order. In hundreds of instances neither pain nor permanent injury follows.[3]

The power to reveal the unseen and to predict the future is explained also as a gift with which Allāh honours the holiness of his servants. In certain cases the *shaikhs* show remarkable powers of mind-reading, telepathy, and clairvoyance, and some quite accurate verifications of their predictions are on record.

The *shaikh's* circle of influence includes those who are in the habit of consulting him when need arises; those who take part occasionally in the *dhikrs* which he directs, because they find it either pleasant or helpful to do so; those who have chosen the *shaikh* as their *murshid*, or spiritual guide, and either look forward to joining his order or are already members of it; and those who occupy a cell in the *zāwiyah*, or *takiyyah*. The first three classes have not separated themselves from the world; the last have done so and are living a celibate life under the constant superintendence of the *shaikh*. It is possible to have such a class only where there is a *zāwiyah* that is large enough to provide lodging for a group of brothers in addition to the assembly room of the fraternity.

6. The vocation of the shaikh.—The *shaikh* may hold his position by nomination on the part of his predecessor, or, if the latter is his father or brother, possibly by right of inheritance, or he may be elected by the vote of the local group of Darwīshes. His appointment will be confirmed by the *muftī* of the place, in rare cases by the Sulṭān himself, and regularly by the grand *shaikh* of his order. The celibate life is not binding upon him, and in certain cases the rule is that his office is inherited by his son. Where there is no *zāwiyah* with a resident group of disciples, the *shaikh*, unless he is a mendicant, will follow some secular vocation. If there is a Darwīsh hostel, it may have land attached to it, which will be cultivated by the resident *murīds*. The *shaikhs* who do not follow any trade are supported by gifts from their disciples and others. The *zāwiyahs* over which they preside are provided for by income from local endowment funds, grants from public endowment funds (*waqf*), or private gifts. The gifts which fall to the *shaikh* he regularly devotes to the purposes of his community.[1]

As the *shaikh* may arrange, meetings of the local fraternity are held in the assembly room of the *zāwiyah* from time to time. If there is no *zāwiyah*, the group meets regularly in a mosque. The usual meetings are a daily meeting, a more important weekly one (often held on the eve of Friday), a monthly observance in honour of the founder of the order, a similar service for the Prophet, and a yearly celebration of the birthday of the Prophet (*Maulid en-Nabī*). The assembly room serves not merely for the performance of the *dhikrs*, but as a meeting-place for the brothers and those interested in the order. Not all present are permitted to join in the religious exercises, and not all care to do so.

7. The murīd and the ṭarīqah.—The life of the disciple (*murīd*) who has chosen for himself a spiritual guide is subject in all respects to the direction of the latter. He confides in him implicitly, and refers to him all his concerns and plans. The disciples resident in the *zāwiyah* take part in the regular *dhikrs* (religious exercises), and, in addition, are assigned special exercises for their own private observance. In a general way the *shaikh* instructs each *murīd* how to conduct his life with a view to the attainment of the mystic goal. He may from time to time visit the *murīds* in their cells. They visit him each week in his cell for the purpose of disclosing to him their religious progress and receiving from him necessary directions.[2] The *shaikh* is one who is practised in noting the signs of spiritual advancement in his disciples.

The nature of the *shaikh's* relation to the *murīd* in the *ṭarīqah* is well illustrated in the typical instance of Tawakkul Beg's initiation at the hands of Mulla Shah.[3] Tawakkul Beg chose Mulla Shah as his spiritual director and was accepted by him as a *murīd*. The *ṭālib* ('seeker') usually undertakes a long course of penitential discipline prescribed for him by his guide with a view to securing a complete detachment from the world of sensuous things and an utter humility which will prepare him to receive the positive blessings of the mystic way.[4] The *shaikh* then admits him as a *sālik*, or traveller on the way. He takes the *'ahd*, or oath, declaring particularly his devotion to the founder of the order whose *ṭarīqah* he is following and to the special guide whom he has selected. These steps are not described by Tawakkul Beg, but in those which follow he shows how through private exercises of devotion[5] and the hypnotic influence of Mulla Shah and his *khalīfahs* the initiate reached the goal of union with God.

The method of guidance is expressed by the term *dhikr*, 'recollection.' This implies the fixing in the mind of some object of thought. It is accomplished by concentrating the attention upon the conception and its name, or upon some religious idea and its corresponding formula of expression. To assist in fixing the notion the mental effort is accompanied by vocal repetition of the name or formula with varying tone, pitch, and force of voice. In the vocal exercises the breathing is timed and adapted to accord with the strict rhythm and time of the vocal utterance. In the collective *dhikrs* of the

[1] There exist orders of women Darwishes, and among the outstanding Ṣūfī leaders of history one or two women *shaikhs* are named.

[2] The *karamāt* of the *shaikh* are of a different genus from the authenticating miracles (*mu'jizāt*) granted to a prophet.

[3] In the *Dausa* ceremony, where a mounted *shaikh* rides over the prostrate bodies of his followers without injury to them, the immunity from harm is credited to their faith. Both the *shaikh* and the disciples in this instance are under the stress of intense religious excitement.

[1] Some *zāwiyahs* have endowments more than adequate to meet their expenses. The erection of *zāwiyahs* is provided for by gifts which may be supplemented by grants from the public religious endowments (*waqf*).

[2] The formal instruction of the *shaikh* is called *talqīn*.

[3] Cf. Macdonald, *Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, pp. 195–200. Mulla Shah had attained the mystic goal without the aid of a *shaikh*. Nowadays it is held to be enormously difficult to do this, and the choice of a *murshid*, or spiritual director, is insisted on.

[4] This 'repentance' (*taubah*) is for the purpose of eradicating the *shahwah kadhibah*, or evil impulses.

[5] The exercises include oral or silent repetition of formulas taken from the Qur'ān, the recitation of longer sections from the Holy Book, the repeated thought or expression of one of the sacred names of Allāh or of a pronoun referring to Allāh. The repetitions may be assisted by means of a rosary of 33, 66, or 99 beads. Such is the usage of the Darwīshes to-day.

Darwīsh fraternity the *shaikh* fixes the programme of exercises and determines the number of repetitions of a given formula and the manner of recitation in each part (*dharb*) of the *dhikr*. He or his *khalīfahs* superintend the ceremonies, exercising constant and close control in order to secure perfect harmony of voice and movement among those taking part.[1] Each *shaikh* holds to the traditions of his own order, but at the same time there is a large element that is common to the *dhikrs* of the various Darwīsh orders. It is in the exercises prescribed for the private use of individuals that particular *shaikhs* feel free to adapt their spiritual directions to the needs of special cases.

The advancement of the *sālik* is in the hands of the spiritual director, who lays down the means by which it is to be realized, and decides when the respective stages of progress have been reached. There are four major objectives which are to be successively attained. The first of these is described by the technical term *fanā fi-'lshaikh* ('disappearance[2] in the *shaikh*'). The disciple is directed to fix attention upon the thought and mental image of the spiritual director, while the director projects himself into the consciousness of his disciple.[3] By these means and by the help of various external exercises such as have been already referred to hypnosis is at last effected and the *sālik* feels that his identity is merged in that of the *shaikh*. He declares to his instructor, no longer 'I am I,' but 'I am thou.'

When *dhikrs* have served their purpose in this way, the director introduces into the mystic discipline exercises in meditation (*murāqabah*) to fix firmly certain convictions and to intensify spiritual longing. The next major objective[4] is designated *fanā fi-'llah* ('disappearance in God'), and the *shaikh* declares it to have been attained when, through the hypnotic influence of his will exercised upon the *murīd* and through assistance of the prescribed discipline, the *murīd* feels 'I am He' (God). His own identity has become an element in his consciousness of God, and, similarly, his sense of the phenomenal world has ceased to be separately true and has passed over to be an element in his sense of God. The *sālik* who has travelled on the way (*ṭarīqah*) until he has attained *to* God in the way described is 'united' (*ittihād*) or 'attracted' (*majdhūb*) and henceforth will travel on *in* God.[5] He will be permitted to enter the circle of the initiated, may wear the characteristic garb of his order, and may receive authority to pass on the *ṭarīqah* to others as a *murshid*. Before the last objective shall have been reached he must still seek to reach *fanā ul-fanā* ('disappearance of *fanā*'), in which he loses all sense of 'union,' 'attraction,' or 'absorption,' and the sense of God which results from these processes is all in all. Beyond that is the ultimate goal, *baqā*, in which the heart returns to express itself in the relations of the phenomenal world, while never losing the true vision of reality, namely, that there is but one real being and that the world and self are but phenomenal manifestations of the one.[6]

[1] In many orders the actions of the participants in the *dhikrs* are accompanied by music rendered by attendant *murshids*. This accompaniment materially assists the process of hypnosis desired by the *shaikh*. The motions of the body in time with the regulation of the breathing tend in the same direction.

[2] *Fanā* is an equivalent of *ghaiba*, 'disappearance,' 'absence.'

[3] The process is helped forward by the novice fixing his eyes upon the face of his director.

[4] Intermediate objectives may be placed before the *sālik* (traveller), namely, *fanā fi-'lpīr* ('disappearance in the founder') and *fanā fi-'nNabī* ('disappearance in the Prophet'). A synonym for *fanā fi-'llah* is *fanā fi-'lhaqq* ('disappearance in the real').

[5] When one has become *majdhūb*, his soul and its motions are ruled by gnosis, the mystic knowledge of the real, and love, the mystic fulfilment of desire. Such an one has attained a status (*waqfah*).

[6] In *baqā* the traveller has reached the *quṭb*, the focal point in which the onward movement of the spiritual life rests. It is obvious that this pantheistic teaching of the Ṣūfī *shaikhs* is not logically consistent with the theology and law of Islām. Sane Ṣūfī teachers have explicitly said that one who was *majdhūb*, or attracted, was above the law; and the division of the Darwīsh orders into Ba-Shar' ('within the law') and Bi-Shar' ('without the law') gives ground for the suspicion which the orthodox have felt towards certain of the orders. For most of the *shaikhs* a reconciliation with the law has been possible. They have looked upon it as useful in the penitential preparation (*taubah*) for the mystic way, and they have regarded the observance of it on the part of the Ṣūfī initiates as a useful condescension for the sake of common believers (*'ahlu-'ttaqlīd*). It may help them to gain paradise, though for Ṣūfīs (*'ahlu-'lhaqq*) it may afford no help in their practice of the mystical life (*taṣawwuf*).

In relation to the *sunnah* a large majority of the *shaikhs* are Sunnīs, but in Persia and N.W. India there is a substantial Shī'ah element. The movement is of Shī'ah origin, and much of the Ṣūfī teaching and method may be traced through the Shī'ah to Yoga and Vedāntist influences in India.

Finally, there are *shaikhs* who look upon the desire to guide souls as a lingering attachment to the world and therefore something to be renounced in order to an unconditional oneness with God, the only reality.

LITERATURE.—F. J. Bliss, *Religions of Modern Syria and Palestine*, Edinburgh, 1912; J. P. Brown, *The Dervishes: Oriental Spiritualism*, London, 1868; E. G. Browne, *A Year among the Persians*, do. 1893, *Literary Hist. of Persia*, do. 1906; O. Depont and X. Coppolani, *Les Confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers, 1897; C. N. E. Eliot, *Turkey in Europe*[2], London, 1908; W. H. T. Gardner, '"The Way" of the Mohammedan Mystic,' *Moslem World*, ii. [1912] 2. 3; E. J. W. Gibb, *Hist. of Ottoman Poetry*, 6 vols., London, 1900–09, i.; I. Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islām*, Heidelberg, 1910; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, The Hague, 1888–89, ii.; Jalāluddīn Rūmī, *Masnavī*, abridged tr. by E. H. Whinfield, London, 1887, bk. i., tr. J. W. Redhouse, do. 1881, bk. ii., tr. C. E. Wilson (with commentary), do. 1910; E. W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*[5], do. 1890; D. B. Macdonald, *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, Chicago, 1909, *Aspects of Islam*, New York, 1911; D. S. Margoliouth, *The Early Development of Mohammedanism* (*HL*), London, 1914; R. A. Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, do. 1914; E. H. Palmer, *Oriental Mysticism*, Cambridge, 1867; T. H. Weir, *The Shaikhs of Morocco*, Edinburgh, 1904; *DI*, *s.vv.*

W. M. PATTON.

PIŚĀCHAS.—In modern India a *piśācha* is a kind of ghoul, usually the ghost of some one who has died an unnatural death, or for whom the requisite funeral rites have not been performed. He is classed as a *bhūta*, or ghost, and the term *bhūt-piśāch* is commonly used to indicate demons generally. *Piśāchas* haunt burial-grounds and places of cremation, and eat human flesh. Their speech is a kind of gibberish, and hence modern English is called *piśācha-bhāṣā*, or 'goblin language,' by those who cannot understand it.[1] In S. India the small circular storms, called 'devils' by Europeans, are called *piśāchīs*, or 'she-ghouls.'[2]

In ancient India *piśāchas* played a much more prominent part. They are frequently mentioned in Vedic literature. Here they are also called *kravyād*, a term which, like *piśācha*, is said to mean 'an eater of raw flesh.' Most scholars agree that these Vedic *piśāchas* were malignant demons,[3] but A. Hillebrandt[4] considers it to be quite possible

may be remarked that the discipline imposed by the *shaikhs* quite frequently brings to those who subject themselves to it a weakening of the power of nervous resistance, a loss of will power, and a general weakening of character. Through self-absorption, and even autohypnosis, their social value and their value for work are lessened.

[1] *PR*[2] i. 288.

[2] H. Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*[2], London, 1903, p. 714.

[3] Cf. H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, Berlin, 1894, p. 264 n.; A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology* (*GIAP* III. i., Strassburg, 1897), p. 164; and A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, London, 1912, i. 533.

[4] *Vedische Mythologie*, Breslau, 1902, iii. 426.

that they were ancient enemies who subsequently became traditional fiends, while Macdonell and Keith (*loc. cit.*) admit that in later times the name may have been given in scorn to human tribes. In one place (*Rigveda*, I. cxvii. 21) the commentator Sāyana explains the word *dasyu*—generally explained as meaning non-Aryan aborigines—by 'the *asuras*, *piśāchas*, etc., who destroy.'

In the *Rāmāyaṇa* they do not appear very often, and then only as ghouls; but in the *Mahābhārata*, while the demon character is most often assigned to them, they also over and over again appear as a race or races of men inhabiting N.W. India, the Himālaya, and Central Asia. They are described as performing human sacrifices and as eaters of raw flesh. They have a form of marriage which consists in embracing a woman who is asleep or drugged, and are guilty of other abominable practices. Two *piśāchas* are specially mentioned as living by the river Vipāśa, who were progenitors of an impure W. Panjāb tribe known as Bahīkas. On the other hand, individual *piśāchas* are here and there referred to as pious ascetics living by holy streams in N.W. India.[1]

In later Sanskrit literature, with important exceptions to be noted below, the human nature of the *piśāchas* has disappeared, and they are merely demons. Sometimes they serve men for a *quid pro quo*. Thus, in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* ([11th cent. A.D.], I. ii. 262) a *piśācha* is possessed of surgical skill, and will cure a wound, provided he is always given a new wound to cure as soon as his present job is finished. Otherwise he kills his patient. With this we may perhaps compare the unknown science called *piśācha-vēda*, or *piśācha-vidyā*, mentioned in two works of the late Vedic period.[2]

According to the *Purāṇa* legends, the valley of Kashmīr was once a lake. When the water had been drained off by the god Śiva, it was peopled by the Prajāpati Kaśyapa. This Kaśyapa had several wives. Three were Kadrū, Krōdhavaśā, and Khasā. By the first he had as offspring the *nāgas*, or snake-gods, by the second the *piśāchas*, and by the third the cognate *yakṣas* and *rākṣasas*.[3] In Buddhist literature the *yakṣas* and *piśāchas* are confounded, and both had cannibal propensities.[4] Similarly, Kalhaṇa, the non-Buddhist chronicler of Kashmīr (12th cent. A.D.), in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (i. 184), uses the word *yakṣa* as equivalent to *piśācha*. At the present day, in Kashmīr and the neighbouring countries lying south of the Hindū Kush, while the word *piśācha* has fallen out of use, *yakṣa*, under the form of *yachh*, is still the name given to malignant demons who are cannibal.

This brings us to the work known as the *Nīlamata*, a legendary account of Kashmīr certainly older than the 11th cent. and perhaps as old as the 6th or 7th. According to it, when the valley of Kashmīr was formed, Kaśyapa at first peopled it with his sons, the *nāgas*, who were the former inhabitants of the now dried-up lake. He wished to introduce men (*i.e.* people from Aryan India?) also, but the *nāgas* objected, and he thereupon cursed them, so that thenceforth the country was peopled for six months of each year by his other sons, the *piśāchas*. These came from an island in the sand ocean, *i.e.* from an oasis in the Central Asian desert, possibly Khōtan, where there are also found similar traditions of *yakṣas* (i.e. *piśāchas*) superseding the *nāgas*. In after generations the Kashmīr *piśāchas* were finally expelled, and the country became inhabited only by *nāgas* and men, as it is at present.[1] All over the so-called Dard country north and west of Kashmīr, as far as Kāfiristān, there are still told numerous legends, some of them intimately connected with the foundation of a tribe or of its religion, in which cannibalism plays a prominent and important part.[2]

F. Lacôte[3] maintains that there is no sufficient reason for assuming that there was ever a tribe or tribes known as Piśācha, and this opinion is shared by S. Konow;[4] but a consideration of the legends just recounted and of the references to *piśāchas* in the *Mahābhārata* entitles us to believe that (1) there were actual people whom the Aryan Indians called Piśāchas—*ὠμοφάγοι*; (2) this name and also the name *yakṣa* were possibly opprobrious epithets, derived from the names of demons; or, as an alternative, they were names of tribes, which hate in later times converted into names of demons; (3) the *Mahābhārata* considered these people as inhabiting the north-west of India and the neighbouring mountainous tracts, and Kashmīr tradition connected their original home with an oasis in the Central Asian desert.

The question next arises as to the language spoken by these *piśāchas*. There are two independent streams of tradition concerning this. In the first place, there is the great encyclopædia of stories appearing in Sanskrit under various forms, the best known of which is the famous *Kathāsaritsāgara*.[5] All these collections come from the Himālaya—one from Nēpāl and two others from Kashmīr.[6] They purport to be translations into Sanskrit made from an older version, entitled the *Bṛhatkathā*, which is said to have been communicated to one Guṇāḍhya by a *piśācha*, in 'Paiśāchī.' 'Paiśāchī' means 'the *piśācha* language,' and is usually explained as signifying the language believed to have been spoken by these demons or by these people. Lacôte, however, maintains (p. 45) that the language was given this name simply because the original narrator was represented to be a *piśācha*, and that Paiśāchī was really a literary adaptation of the vulgar speech of the tribes of the north-west. As it has been shown above that there were people in the north-west who were called Piśāchas—a fact denied by Lacôte—the point so far is of little importance. The other stream of tradition is contained in the works of the Indian grammarians. Several of their grammars of the Prakrit language contain sections dealing with Paiśāchī. The oldest of them—Vararuchi (*c.* 6th cent. A.D.)—knows only one Paiśāchī dialect, but, as time went on, the number of dialects mentioned increased till Markandēya (17th cent.) discusses no fewer than thirteen. Without doubt the later grammarians included under the name many local dialects spoken in various

[1] For further details and references see G. A. Grierson, 'Piśācas in the Mahābhārata,' in *Festschrift für Vilhelm Thomsen*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 138 ff. Cf. also G. A. Grierson, 'Paiśāchī, Piśācas, and "Modern Piśācha,"' in *ZDMG* lxvi. [1912] 68.

[2] *Gōpatha Brāhmaṇa*, I. i. 10; and *Āśvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra*, x. viii. 6, both quoted by Macdonell and Keith, *loc. cit.*

[3] The various Purāṇic accounts of these legends are conveniently summarized in H. H. Wilson and F. Hall's tr. of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, London, 1865, ii. 74. The *nāgas*, of course, not only were mythical demi-gods, but also represented memories of a race of men so called. According to other legends, the name of the mother of the *piśāchas* was Kapiśā, with which may be compared the name of the ancient town Kapiśā at the southern foot of the Hindū Kush (see F. Thomas, in *JRAS*, 1906, p. 461). Kapiśā looks like a metathesis of Kaśyapā, the feminine of Kaśyapa.

[4] See, *e.g.*, *Jātaka*, tr. H. T. Francis, Cambridge, 1905, p. 128, note 3.

[1] Nowadays the *nāgas* are the presiding deities of the numerous springs in Kashmīr. For full details of the above legends, and also for other legends of the supersession of *nāgas* by *yakṣas* or *piśāchas* in other localities of the same tract of country, see G. A. Grierson, in *ZDMG* lxvi. 70 ff.

[2] See G. A. Grierson, 'Piśāca='Ωμοφάγος,' *JRAS*, 1905, p. 285 ff.

[3] *Essai sur Guṇāḍhya et la Bṛhatkathā*, Paris, 1908, p. 47.

[4] 'The Home of Paiśāci,' *ZDMG* lxiv. [1910] 102.

[5] Tr. C. H. Tawney, Calcutta, 1880–84.

[6] For full particulars see F. Lacôte, *op. cit.*, and also his ed. of Budhasvamin's *Bṛhatkathā Çlōkasaṁgraha*, Paris, 1908.

parts of India which had nothing whatever to do with Paiśāchī; and it will be safest to accept the statement of Hēmachandra (13th cent.) that of the real Paiśāchī there were at most three varieties. The later grammarians gave lists of the localities where Paiśāchī was spoken, but these differ greatly among themselves, and the localities are very widely scattered over the whole of India, north, south, east, and north-west. They all agree in regard to one, and only one, locality—Kēkaya, a country on the east bank of the Indus, in the N.W. Panjāb, *i.e.* in the extreme north-west of modern India. Moreover, Mārkaṇḍēya, in his treatment of this Kēkaya Paiśāchī, which he calls the standard, or principal, dialect, and which closely agrees with the form described by Vararuchi, quotes in his examples a phrase that he specially says is taken from the *Bṛhatkathā*. We may therefore assume that at least this grammarian, who is our only authority on the point, considered that the Paiśāchī of this work belonged to N.W. India. Except the accounts of these grammarians, no traces of Paiśāchī have survived in Indian literature.

All scholars do not, or did not, accept the theory of a north-western origin for Paiśāchī. An account of the various theories will be found on p. 74 of the present writer's article on 'Paiśācī, Piśācas, and "Modern Piśācha"' already quoted, and the following is a brief summary:

In 1880 A. F. Hoernle considered it to be the low Prakrit spoken by Dravidian aborigines. In 1886 E. Senart suggested that it was merely the name of the popular language of India. In 1900 R. Pischel claimed it as an independent Prakrit dialect of N.W. India. This theory was adopted by the present writer in 1906. In 1908 F. Lacôte argued that it was an Aryan language of N.W. India, but spoken by non-Aryan people. In 1910 S. Konow returned to Hoernle's opinion, and considered it to be an Aryan language spoken by Dravidians in Central India.

Konow's theory—ably argued in his article in *ZDMG* already quoted—is partly based on the fact that much of the main story of the *Bṛhatkathā* deals with events occurring in Central India, but the evidence for a north-western home for the language seems to the present writer to be overwhelming. It must at the same time be admitted that there is clear linguistic evidence of traces of Paiśāchī in the modern languages not only of Central but also of W. India, and this can best be explained by the assumption that the speakers of Paiśāchī spread from the north-west, as from a nidus, down the Indus, into Gujarāt, Central India, and the Marāṭhā country of the western coast.

Konow has, on the other hand, made an important contribution to the discussion by pointing out the close connexion that exists between Paiśāchī and the Pāli language of the Buddhist scriptures. Pāli has been localized, without great success, in many parts of India, and, if Paiśāchī is, as Konow maintains, a Central Indian language, then the arguments favouring the localization of Pāli round Ujjayinī in that tract would be greatly strengthened. But there is an alternative, and, to the mind of the present writer, a much more likely theory. In the country of Kēkaya was situated the famous university of Takṣaśilā, a home and centre of Buddhist learning.[1] This at once explains the close connexion between Paiśāchī and Pāli, and will entitle us to consider the latter as the literary and polished form of the folk-speech of the country in which the university was situated.

It remains to consider whether Paiśāchī has left any traces of its former existence in the modern languages of N.W. India. This is denied by Konow; but the present writer, in his article in the *ZDMG* already quoted (p. 78ff.), has shown numerous points of agreement. The subject is of a character too minute to be discussed here. Suffice it to say that the writer considers that the inhabitants of the W. Panjāb and of the wild country to the north below the Hindū Kush may be taken as in the main representing the ancient *piśāchas*, and that the many varying languages of these tracts, including Kāshmīrī, though in later times much subjected to Iranian influence and possibly retaining peculiarities from the proto-Iranian stage of the Aryan language, have at their basis a form of speech not dissimilar from the ancient Paiśāchī. At the same time the extremely mixed character of all these tongues prevents him from calling them 'Modern Paiśāchī,' and he prefers to group them, under the name of the people, as 'Modern Piśācha.'[2]

LITERATURE.—This is indicated throughout the article.

G. A. GRIERSON.

PISTIS SOPHIA.—1. Characteristics.—The *Pistis Sophia* is a miscellany of weird, fantastic fragments which apparently voice the theosophy of some Gnostic Christian circles in Egypt (*ERE* iv. 115). The particular type of Gnosticism cannot be identified, however, as it exploits the mythological romance of Sophia's redemption; some critics have ascribed it to the Valentinians (*q.v.*) or even to (a disciple of) Valentinus himself,[1] others to the Ophites, others, again, to the Barbelo-Gnostics (cf. *ERE* vi. 239ᵃ, 241ᵇ). The first point to notice is that Coptic scholars generally agree that the extant MS represents the Sahidic translation of a Greek original. The MS itself, written in double columns on both sides of a parchment, cannot be dated earlier than the end of the 4th or the opening of the 5th century. How much earlier the original was composed it is impossible to say; the fact that the Epistles of the NT are quoted as Scripture seems to fix a *terminus a quo* not earlier than *c.* A.D. 140; but the internal evidence is too uncertain to allow any precise inferences to be drawn with regard to the period at which it was compiled. What is certain is that the *Pistis Sophia* is a product of the later Gnosticism, especially of Gnosticism as it grew upon Egyptian soil; and, as few of the Gnostic documents have survived in their entirety, this invests it with special value for a student of the movement; its contents are often tedious and occasionally trivial, but they are of first-rate importance for the comparative criticism of the scattered pieces which in most cases represent all that is extant of the rich Gnostic literature. We have here the morbid craving for an esoteric revelation, as well as the blending of mythology and ritual, which made some of the Gnostic circles more than mere schools of religious philosophy. We have sacramental rites combined with Christology,[2] in a form whose spirit is sometimes not far from Catholicism. We have theurgical elements fused with ceremonial (cf. *ERE* viii. 277). We have also astrological mysticism in a peculiar combination of Christian faith and intricate theosophical speculation, whose general outlook is most nearly parallel to the attempt of Bardesanes on more orthodox and sober lines. Finally, from the point of view of literary form, we have in the *Pistis Sophia* an illustration of how Gnostic writers could employ the dialogue and the hymn[3] in order to convey their opinions, and of how they personified abstractions as Æschylus had done more dramatically in the *Prometheus Vinctus*, and the Hebrews in the Sophia of Proverbs and of the Wisdom-literature more simply.

The affinities of the theosophy reflected in the *Pistis Sophia* are with that branch of Ophitism which is called Barbelo-Gnosticism (*ERE* vi. 238ᵃ); the description of this sect, as given by Irenæus (*adv. Hær.* i. 29) in what seems an extract from the Gnostic 'Gospel of Mary' (cf. *DAC* i. 502ᵃ), does not exactly tally with the details of the *Pistis Sophia*, but this is not surprising, as the latter reflects innovations and modifications of any Gnostic scheme. The Barbelo-Gnostics seem to have been originally Syrian, and to have passed south-west into Egypt. The characteristic feature of their occult speculations was the place assigned to the female principle (*ERE* v. 827 ff.), which led to an exploitation of the term 'Barbelo.' This was applied by them to the female deity, either as the supreme ἔννοια of the invisible God[4] or as the

[1] See, *e.g.*, the *Jātakas, passim.*

[2] See also G. A. Grierson, *The Piśāca Languages of N.W. India*, London, 1906.

[1] Appealing incautiously to Tertullian's language in *adv. Valentin.* ii. ('porro facies Dei spectatur in simplicitate quaerendi, ut docet ipsa Sophia, non quidem Valentini, sed Solomonis'). So F. Legge, 'Some Heretic Gospels,' in *The Scottish Review*, xxii. [1893] 133-162.

[2] Cf. E. Bevan, 'The Gnostic Redeemer,' *HJ* xi. [1912–13] 137–152.

[3] On the development of the hymn in Syriac Christianity see *ERE* vii. 12.

[4] According to Irenæus, Barbelo was 'an æon, in virgin-shape, who never aged,' existing with the 'innominabilis Pater.' The

lower Sophia, and it gave them their distinctive name. It is this figure, not the serpent of the specific or narrower Ophites, that appears in the cosmology of the *Pistis Sophia*. The representation thus resembles the account of the Gnostics given by Epiphanius (*Hær.* xxvi.); whether or not the *Pistis Sophia* in its present form or in the original form of any part is to be identified with the 'Little Questions of Mary' which Epiphanius mentions as a document of that sect, the similarity of physiognomy is unmistakable. The insistence on the virgin-birth of Jesus, the salvation of the spiritual through initiation into the mysteries, and the identification of the Highest Being with supreme light recall these Ophites, and, even more so, the description of the tyrants who guard the portals of eternity (cf. Origen, *c. Cels.* vi. 30 f.); but the functions of Ialdabaoth (cf. *ERE* vi. 236) differ, and the adventures of (Pistis) Sophia are not quite the same as those of Sophia Achamoth in the Valentinian scheme or in the Ophite; in the *Pistis Sophia* she is not connected with the origin of matter, and she is represented as the object of redemption by Christ, not as a medium or principle of redemption, much less as a sister or as the mother of Christ. The conception of the light-maiden Barbelo, again, is variously defined in the extant notices of the Gnostic theosophies, and her ill-defined characteristics in the *Pistis Sophia* differ from the views which dubbed her Prunicus or set her in the eighth heaven, as the mother of Sabaoth or of Ialdabaoth (=ילדא בהות, 'son of Chaos?), who, to her sorrow, usurped the seventh heaven. In the *Pistis Sophia* she is a great Power of the invisible God, but she does not produce Jesus as 'the Light'; she merely confers on Him His vesture of light, and Ialdabaoth is in the chaos of the under world, a torturing fiend instead of a demiurgus. The Barbelo-Gnostics were evidently not homogeneous, but the occurrence of Barbelo in the *Pistis Sophia* assigns that miscellany to some circle more or less allied to the pious theosophists of the 2nd cent. whom we know as the Ophites collectively, and as the Nicolaitans, Simonians, and Barbelo-Gnostics specifically. For the Ophites, though numerically insignificant, were influential, and the tenets which they started seem to have been capable of permutation and modification in several directions.

Five etymologies of the term 'Barbelo' (Βαρβηλώ) have been proposed: (*a*) 'daughter of the Lord,' an equivalent for ברת-בעלי; (*b*) 'God in the Tetrad,' באדבע אלוה, which is probably the most satisfactory explanation; (*c*) 'the supreme Limit,' *paravela*, from the Indian *vela*, 'limit'—a suggestion made by Julius Grill (*Untersuchungen über die Entstehung des vierten Evangeliums*, Tübingen, 1902, pp. 395–397), who connects it with the Valentinian Ὅρος, the Barbelo being called 'the supreme limit' in relation to the Πατὴρ ἀκατονόμαστος on the one side and to the lower syzygies on the other; (*d*) Bousset (*Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, Göttingen, 1907, p. 14 f.) suggests, on the lines of (*a*), that the word is a mutilation of παρθένος—the intermediate form, βαρθενώς, actually occurring in Epiphanius (*Hær.* xxvi. 1) as the name of Noah's wife; (*e*) finally, Hort's (*DCB* i. 235, 249) conjecture has to be chronicled, which regards 'Barbelo' as identical in meaning with its equivalent 'Babel' in the Gnosticism of Justinus (Hippol. *adv. Hær.* v. 26), *i.e.* as the chaotic germ of manifold existence—though the seductive, cosmological functions of Babel are very different from the celestial position of Barbelo and her Christological significance in the *Pistis Sophia*.

The only quotations are from the OT and the NT, the former including the Odes of Solomon among the canonical Psalms, the latter ranging over the four Gospels and most of the Epistles (with the exception of Hebrews). Instead of depreciating the OT, the *Pistis Sophia* believes in its inspiration; the divine power in Christ is traced in the OT as well as in the NT, and this absence of anti-Semitic bias differentiates the miscellany from the general class of Gnostic (Ophite) speculations. Furthermore, it makes no appeal to outside myths, as did the Ophites and the other Gnostic sects described by Hippolytus. Whether this was intentional or not, whether the *Pistis Sophia* documents came from a circle less cultured than the rest or from Gnostics who were shy of syncretism, it is a feature which allies them, in spite of their fantastic cosmogony and kabbalistic expressions, to the main body of the Church. Nor is it the only feature of this kind. Belief in the absolute efficacy of the sacraments, a certain reserve in exploiting mythology, a real devotion to Christ, and an evangelical sense of 'God for all the world' shimmer through the coloured and wavering mists of theosophy in the *Pistis Sophia*, and suggest that a genuine faith lay behind the chimeras and amalgamated texture of these Gnostics' cosmology.[1]

latter produces the female tetrad of ἔννοια, πρόγνωσις, ἀφθαρσία, and ζωὴ αἰώνιος, while Barbelo produces the male triad of φῶς, (=Christ), νοῦς, and λόγος.

2. Contents.—The esoteric mysteries are as usual represented to be a revelation—in this case, as in many other Gnostic documents which are known more or less fragmentarily, a revelation made by the Risen Christ to the inner circle of His disciples. The precedent for this method had been furnished by the Catholic Church, in the interests of apostolic tradition. Thus Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 67) closes his account of the Christian sacraments and teaching by claiming that he was only setting before his pagan readers what 'Jesus had taught when He appeared on Sunday to His apostles and disciples'—an amplification of Mt 28[20]. In the *Pistis Sophia* the main purpose of Christ is to reveal and institute mysteries, and mysteries of a sacramental order, by which alone redemption from sin is possible for the elect. The starting-point is the same as in the uncanonical gospels which dealt with the Resurrection and passed into apocalypses, viz. the period of forty days which, according to Ac 1[3], Jesus spent with His disciples between the Resurrection and the Ascension. The communications which He was supposed to have imparted to His followers during this interval were shaped into fantastic revelations of heaven and earth. The *Pistis Sophia* (1–5)[2] starts also from the instructions given by the Risen Jesus to the disciples on Mount Olivet; but the remarkable and unique feature is that the writer extends the period to eleven years. Even this prolonged period did not enable the Lord to impart more than an elementary knowledge of the mysterious Light-world. Since He had not yet ascended, the esoteric meaning of the æons and spheres which intervene between the human soul and the supreme Light had still to be revealed, although the disciples complacently thought that they had already attained a perfect insight. Hence, after the ascension to the Prime Mystery (or Supreme God) on the 15th day of the month Tybi[3] (cf. *ERE* iii. 93) at full moon, when the passage of Jesus through the firmaments into the higher world had produced confusion among the powers of heaven and an earthquake which dismayed the disciples, He returned (cf. W. R. Newbold, *JBL* xxxi. [1912] 168–209) next day in dazzling glory and, to their delight, promised to complete their knowledge of the heavenly world, *i.e.* to describe the Ineffable One, who was above the Prime Mystery. The gnosis is practical; it is a revelation of the proper methods by which the disciples can attain, and help others to attain, the goal of their quest, viz. the attainment of the Light-world,[4] instead of the present mixed (κεραμός) world which is destined to perish at the end.

The remainder of the first book (6–62) is devoted to this exposition, Jesus being occasionally questioned in the course of it by Mary Magdalene, Philip, Peter, Martha, John, Andrew, Thomas, Matthew, James, Salome, and the Virgin Mary, all of whom not only put questions but reveal for the approval of Jesus what is in their minds. The literary quality is not high, but the setting of the dialogue is sometimes quaint—Mary 'gazing into the air for an hour' (17) before she ventures to ask a question, Philip sitting and writing down the words of Jesus (22), Peter angrily complaining that Mary talked too much (36), and James reverently kissing the breast of Jesus before he speaks a word (51). The exposition itself is from time to time linked to mystical interpretations of OT texts; *e.g.*, one of the grotesque applications of Ps 85[10] ('mercy and truth are met together') is that these words denote the meeting of the Virgin Mary and Elisabeth (Lk 1[40]), since 'Mercy' was the divine

[1] Christ breaks the power of fate (εἱμαρμένη) over the soul (22 f.); but this preoccupation with the problem of destiny, which haunted the early centuries (cf. Gilbert Murray, *HJ* ix. [1910–11] 15 f.) like a nightmare, was faced by Christian thinkers in the Church, like Origen and Bardesanes, as well as by Gnostics (cf. the *Excerpta Theodoti*).

[2] Schmidt's numbering of the chapters, in his standard ed. (see under Literature), is followed throughout this article.

[3] Basilides and his school generally made this day the date of the baptism of Jesus (Clem. *Strom.* i. 21. 146) in the fifteenth year of Tiberius.

[4] Cf. and ct. the basal idea of Manichæism (*ERE* viii. 397, 400), and the discussion in the second book (xlix f.) of the Clementine *Recognitions*. But the *Pistis Sophia* is prior to the rise of Manichæism, and less dualistic in tone.

Power in Mary which issued in the shape of Jesus, while 'Truth' in Elisabeth developed into John the Baptist, the herald of the Truth (62).

Jesus begins (7) by describing the origin of the twelve apostles not from the rulers of the æons (*i.e.* the zodiac), as in the case of ordinary men, but from twelve Powers[1] taken by him from the twelve saviours of the Treasure of Light and placed in their mothers' wombs. John the Baptist's soul is similarly formed from a Power granted to Jesus by the beneficent 'little Iaô' and from the soul of Elijah.[2] His own incarnation (8) is due to His implanting of 'the first power I had received from Barbelô, that is to say, the body (σῶμα) which I had borne in the height, and instead of the soul (ψυχή), the power I had received from the great Sabaôth, the beneficent,' in Mary His mother. He then describes His investiture with three robes of light and His ascension through the various compartments or spheres, His victorious conflict with the archons and hostile powers of the twelve æons,[3] who were organized to thwart the redemption of the light, and His discovery, behind the veils of the thirteenth æon, of poor lonely Pistis Sophia (29) seated underneath that æon and mourning over her exclusion. The story of this pathetic figure is now told. She was the last and lowest of the twenty-four emanations, and she had incurred the hatred of the twelve æons by desiring the light of the Highest; furthermore, Arrogant (αὐθάδης), who sought control of the thirteenth æon, did his best to keep her out by issuing a lion-faced Power and other emanations in chaos (including Ialdabaoth), whose evil fascinations drew Pistis Sophia down through the twelve æons until, harried and darkened by her foes, and having abandoned her consort (σύζυγος), she reached chaos itself. Then, coming to herself, she repents of having mistaken the deceptive light of Ialdabaoth for the True, and cries to the Light of lights; by a twelvefold act of repentance, elaborately explained, she expiates the twelve æons, succoured at every stage by help from on high against Arrogant and his allies, and finally (57), having repented for abandoning the thirteenth æon,[4] she is led from chaos by a Power of Light sent by Jesus,[5] which crowns her with unquenchable radiance and inspires her to praise the Power of Light in a song.

An interpolated paragraph of alphabetical gibberish[6] has been inserted at this point (62). The following section (63–148) is entitled 'the second book of Pistis Sophia,' but the division is artificial and the name of the original document evidently was not 'Pistis Sophia' at all; at the close of 100 we read 'a portion of the books or texts (τεύχη) of the Saviour'—which covers 63–100. The next section (101) appears to be the conclusion of a different document altogether. Another 'portion of the books of the Saviour' follows (102–135), and the final section (136–148) has a later note appended, which recalls the contents of Mk 16^{9-20}.

The so-called 'second book of Pistis Sophia' continues the heroine's career. She is driven down by a fresh attack of her foes, but Jesus orders Gabriel and Michael to assist her by means of a stream of light against the archons and emanations who still thwart her progress; finally she is set in the centre of the Light itself, triumphing over the hostile æons of darkness by the direct aid of Jesus, who paralyzes Arrogant and his emanations. Her songs of praise and the revelations made to her are expounded at length; she accompanies Jesus into the thirteenth æon; then, after a hymn of praise, she passes suddenly, singing, out of the story. No more is heard of her. The remainder of the book (83 ff.) is occupied by an elaborate Gnostic survey of hierarchies, æons, and spheres. The drama gives place to exposition, and the theme is the next world, with special reference to the destiny of the soul and its varying fortunes there. The literary method is the same as in the first book: Jesus invites His hearers from time to time to guess the meaning of what He has said, and praises the answer; or He allows Himself to be questioned. But Mary does nearly all the speaking in the second book, though she confesses (72) that she is in terror of Peter—'I fear Peter, for he threatens me, and he hates our sex.'[1] She even, by permission of Jesus, explains at a later stage the mystic sense of Ex 21^{17} to Salome (132). The special feature of the dialogue is a severe rebuke of Andrew[2] for ignorance, but he is pardoned, at the humble request of the others (100). At this particular point the book becomes heterogeneous. The extract from 'the books (τεύχη) of the Saviour' gives place suddenly to the brief (101) conclusion of some lost Gnostic treatise or apocalypse of Jesus; this beatitude on the members who are initiated into the mysteries breaks the thread of the story, and, when a second extract from these books (102–135) opens, we find ourselves in a different world. The bizarre element predominates. Conversations between Jesus and the group continue, but the topics are less ethereal and speculative, connected for the most part with the gnosis of the initiated—*e.g.*, the power and limits of forgiveness, the influence of the living over the souls of the departed, the efficacy of baptism, the rules for imparting the mysteries of the faith, the meaning of destiny, etc. The sense of sin is deep, but the hope for sinners[3] lies in the rites of the Gnostic faith thus revealed. Finally, Mary exclaims: 'My Lord, lo, we know plainly, openly, and clearly (φανερῶς) that thou hast brought the keys of the mysteries of the realm of light, which forgive the sins of souls and purify them and make them pure light, and bring them into the light' (135). The entire section is a blend of puerile speculation, austere ethics, and sincere piety of the sacramental order, which some critics have thought to connect with the Marcosian sect.

The MS then contains a section which is usually called the fourth book (136–148). It has no connexion with the foregoing. Substantially it is a piece of Gnostic sacramentalism, couched in eclectic and often crude terms. The disciples, including the women (and, for the first time, Simon the Canaanite and Bartholomew), come to Jesus after the Resurrection, as He stands, clothed in white linen, on the shore of the ocean; their cry is,[4] 'Our Lord, have pity on us, for we have left father and mother and all the world and have followed thee.' Jesus, then, by a mystic incantation pronounced 'at the altar,' moves the spheres[5] right and left, transporting Himself and the disciples to an aerial region lying between, where He discourses to them upon the celestial hierarchies and the various torments endured by souls before they are released from the different rulers of the spheres. He comforts them, in view of all this, by reaffirming His gift to them of 'the keys of the heavenly realm' (141). A fresh incantation raises them to a sphere of light, where they receive a vision of fire, water, wine, and blood, which is explained as the meaning of Lk 12^{49}, Jn $4^{10.14}$, Mt 26^{27}, and Jn 19^{34}: 'I brought nothing into the world, when I came, except this fire, this water, this wine, and this blood; the water and the fire I brought from the region of the Light of lights, from the treasure of light, and the wine and the blood I brought from the region of Barbelo. Shortly afterwards, my Father sent me the holy spirit in the form of a dove. The fire, the water, and the wine were for the purifying of all the sins of the world; the blood was a sign for me of the human body which I received in the region of Barbelo, the great Power of the invisible God. The Spirit, again, draws all souls and leads them to the region of light.' Jesus then transports them back to the mountain of Galilee, institutes (cf. *ERE* vii. 408[a]) a mystic sacrament (142) of water, wine, and bread, intercedes successfully with the Powers who remit sins, on behalf of the disciples, and explains the efficacy of the supreme Name as a charm against the rulers of the spheres. There is a gap in the MS at this point. When it recommences, we are listening to a recapitulation, uttered with gusto and gloating, of the Dantesque punishments inflicted on the soul guilty of cursing, the slanderer, the murderer,[6] the thief, the scorner, the blasphemer, the sodomite, the obscene sorcerer,[7] and the good man who has not been

[1] An indication of the Gnostic claim to apostolic authority and of the apostolic prestige in their theosophy. The treason of Judas is ignored.

[2] This is held to explain Mt $17^{11.12}$ 11^{14}. The older Gnosticism, described by Irenæus, made John the Baptist and Jesus emanations of Sophia herself, through the unconscious agency of Ialdabaoth. Here, as elsewhere, the *Pistis Sophia* departs from the Christology of the earlier schools of Gnostic speculation.

[3] Even in the medley of celestial figures Christ is supreme over these tyrannical lords of destiny (εἱμαρμένη). According to the *Pistis Sophia*, which tallies here with the Ophite system in general, the stars in their courses fight against the saints, and Jesus has to intervene in order to shorten the times for the sake of the elect.

[4] This is held to explain Ps 51^{1-4}.

[5] After His ascension. Her fall and preliminary rise seem to be prior to the advent of Christ; the completion of her rescue and uplifting is accomplished by the Ascended Christ.

[6] The jargon of foreign syllables and names in the *Pistis Sophia* prompted this scribe to try such composition on his own account. In 137, *e.g.*, we read a Word of Jesus to this effect: 'He (Jesus) drew another Power from ἰψανταχουνχαϊνχουχεωχ—who is one of the three gods of triple power—and bound it to Arês; and he drew a Power from χαϊνχωωωχ—who is also one of the three gods of triple power—and bound it to Hermes; and again he drew a Power from Pistis Sophia, the daughter of Barbelo, and bound it to Aphrodite.' Cf. C. Bigg, *The Church's Task under the Roman Empire*, London, 1905, p. 63 f.

[1] This may reflect a Gnostic claim for women in the prophetic ministry of the Church, as against an attempt on the part of the (Roman?) authorities to put them down.

[2] He gets the rebuke of Mt 17^{17} for wondering how the disembodied soul can escape the archons and powers.

[3] It is a free gospel. 'I have called and said to all men, sinners and just persons, "Seek that ye may find, knock that it may be opened to you; for everyone who seeks in truth shall find, and to him that knocketh it shall be opened. For I have said to all men, that they are to seek the mysteries of the realm of Light, which will cleanse them and purify them and bring them to the Light"' (133).

[4] This cry for more light than the old gospel could furnish on the problems of the universe marks, as Harnack observes, the common plea of Gnosticism and catholicism; the simple gospel of Jesus had to be expanded to meet the speculative problems of the age.

[5] Among the grotesque semi-Egyptian colours of this sketch, it must be noted that the spheral powers include 'the basis (βάσις) of the moon, which was like a ship steered by a male and a female dragon, and drawn by two white oxen. On the poop of the moon there was the figure of a child who drove the dragons that had seized the light from the archons. At the bow was the face of a cat.'

[6] At this point Peter again protests that the women (Mary and Salome) are putting too many questions, and Jesus bids them let the men have a chance of speaking (146).

[7] These denunciations show how the *Pistis Sophia* abjured the libertinism which was rampant in some of the ultra-spiritualistic circles of Gnosticism. For the Egyptian basis of the Gnostic hell see E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, London, 1904, i. 265 f.

initiated. Each case is proposed by a disciple, and answered by Jesus. He closes by declaring that (148) a man is punished separately for every sin, but that the penitent initiate is sure of pardon; also, He describes the best time for those to be born who shall be initiated into the mysteries. The original MS then ends with the words, 'When Jesus spoke thus to his disciples in Amenti, the disciples wept and wailed: "Woe, woe to the sinners on whom the indifference and forgetfulness of the archons lies, till they leave the body and are led to these punishments! Have pity on us, have pity on us, Son of the Holy One, and take compassion on us that we may be delivered from these punishments and judgments prepared for sinners—for we too have sinned, our Lord and our Light!"' The entire fourth book is kabbalistic as none of its predecessors is; the moral demand, which counteracted the magical element (*ERE* iv. 115[b]) in the sacramental doctrine, begins to fall away, and the religious temper narrows as well as hardens.

3. Composition.—The problem of the *Pistis Sophia* is twofold—literary and religious. The literary problem is to analyze the structure of the miscellany. Even when the first three books are taken by themselves, their original title cannot have been *Pistis Sophia*. This designation[1] may be retained for the sake of convenience, but it is the addition of a later scribe, and is just as appropriate as 'The Book of Una' would be for the *Faerie Queene*; the miscellany is much more comprehensive than such a title would suggest. Either 'The Books of the Saviour' or 'Questions of Mary and the Disciples concerning Repentance and Forgiveness, with the Answers of the Lord' would cover the contents more accurately. Even this, however, does not explain the juxtaposition of the fragments. One theory (Schmidt) is that the fourth book, together with the allied books of Jeû in the Bruce MS, must reflect an earlier stage of this Gnostic theosophy, at which the 'lower' mysteries as yet consisted mainly of a baptismal sacramentalism (*ERE* ii. 388[a]). The rival hypothesis (Liechtenhan) reconstructs an original document by omitting 64–80 as an interpolation. These theories are complicated by (*a*) the probability that the *Pistis Sophia* is based upon earlier Gnostic treatises of the 2nd cent. which are known to us, as far as they are known at all, mainly by their titles;[2] and (*b*) by the obvious connexion between our miscellany and the 'two books of Jeû,'[3] which happen to be preserved in the allied Sahidic MS of Bruce. The *Pistis Sophia* mentions these books (134) as containing the higher mysteries and as 'written by Enoch when I spoke with him from the tree of knowledge and from the tree of life.' But the books mentioned here can hardly be the books of the Bruce MS, for the latter do not profess to have been composed by Enoch. Nevertheless, there is a general similarity between the two MSS, which involves literary and religious questions that have not yet been answered definitely by experts. In the extant books of Jeû Jesus is also revealing the mysteries of the celestial spheres to His disciples, the sacramentalism is still more emphatic, the ascetic note is loudly struck, and the underlying aim is, as in the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*, to provide a safe passage for the initiated soul through the hostile regions of the other world. The latter aim, more explicitly than in the *Pistis Sophia*, dominates the sacramental interest; it must be admitted that the entire scheme of both works presents a grotesque, weird elaboration of the sacramental mysteries, compared with which the later Catholic construction may be described as simple and sober (cf. *ERE* v. 548[b]).

LITERATURE.—The literature may be grouped under the successive stages of criticism. The MS of the *Pistis Sophia*, originally possessed by A. Askew, passed into the keeping of the British Museum [MS Add. 5114] towards the end of the 18th century. Some passages had been already copied and noticed by C. A. Woide, the Coptic expert (cf. J. A. Cramer, *Beiträge zur Beförderung theologischer. . . . Kenntnisse*, Kiel and Hamburg, 1778, p. 82 f.), who assigned it, on palæographic grounds, to the 4th cent.; and in 1843 it was discussed by J. Matter, *Hist. critique du gnosticisme*[2], Paris, 1843–44, ii. 41 f., 350 f. E. Dulaurier (*JA*, 4th ser., lx. [1847] 534–548) ascribed the work to Valentinus; but his Fr. version was never published, and the first ed. of the MS did not appear till 1851 when M. G. Schwartze's Lat. tr. was posthumously ed. by J. H. Petermann (*Pistis Sophia, opus gnosticum Valentino adiudicatum*, Berlin, 1851), who attributed the document to the Ophites, an opinion shared by K. R. Köstlin in his exhaustive essay on the Gnostic system of the *Pistis Sophia* (*Theologische Jahrbücher*, xiii. [1854] 1–104, 137–196), and by R. A. Lipsius (*DOB* iv. 405–415). Portions were translated from Schwartze's version into Eng. by C. W. King, *Gnostics and their Remains*[2], London, 1887. A Fr. version by E. Amélineau followed (*La Pistis Sophia: Ouvrage gnostique de Valentin, traduit du copte en français, avec une introduction*, Paris, 1895), which was severely criticized by E. Andersson (*Sphinx*, viii. [1904] 237–253) and C. Schmidt (*GGA*, 1891, p. 640 f., 1892, p. 201 f.). An Eng. version, based on Schwartze and Amélineau, was published by G. R. S. Mead (*Pistis Sophia, a Gnostic Gospel . . . now for the first time Englished*, London, 1896). C. Schmidt's Germ. tr. (*Koptisch-gnostische Schriften*, Leipzig, 1905, i. 1–254) had been preceded by his ed. and study of the allied Gnostic documents in *TU* viii. 1–2 [1892] ('Gnostische Schriften in koptischer Sprache aus dem Codex Brucianus'), as well as by A. Harnack's monograph, 'Ueber das gnostische Buch Pistis-Sophia,' in *TU* vii. 2 [1891]. Harnack's views are summarized in his *Gesch. der altchristlichen Litteratur*, i. (Leipzig, 1893) 171 f., ii. 2. (1904) 193 f. Schmidt's theory, that the two books of Jeû (in the Bruce MS) represent, along with the (so-called) fourth book of the *Pistis Sophia*, an earlier stage, is criticized adversely by E. Preuschen (*ThLZ* xix. [1894] 183–187) and defended by Schmidt in *ZWT* xxxvii. [1894] 555 ff.; Harnack tends to think that Schmidt has not proved his thesis at this point, and a similar scepticism, accompanied by an independent, positive reconstruction, is reflected by R. Liechtenhan in his 'Untersuchungen zur koptisch-gnostischen Litteratur' (*ZWT* ix. [1901] 236 ff.) and in *PRE*[3] xiv 404 ff. The discovery of the *Odes of Solomon*, five of which were already preserved in the *Pistis Sophia*, has reopened the problem of the latter book; cf. J. Rendel Harris, *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon*, Cambridge, 1909, pp. 10–35, and W. H. Worrell, 'The Odes of Solomon and the Pistis Sophia,' *JThSt* xiii. [1911] 29–46. The most recent discussions of the *Pistis Sophia* will be found in W. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, Göttingen, 1907, which brings out the syncretistic features; E. de Faye, *Introd. à l'étude du gnosticisme*, Paris, 1903, pp. 109–139, and *Gnostiques et gnosticisme*, do. 1913, p. 247 ff., the latter of which thinks highly—some will feel, too highly—of its religious value; P. D. Scott-Moncrieff, *Paganism and Christianity in Egypt*, Cambridge, 1913, p. 148 ff., which elucidates the Egyptian characteristics of the miscellany; and F. Legge, *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity*, Cambridge, 1915, ii. 134 f.

JAMES MOFFATT.

[1] E. Dulaurier and E. Renan (*Marc-Aurèle*[3], Paris, 1882, p. 120 f.) proposed to read πιστὴ σοφία ('faithful *or* believing Wisdom'), but 'Faith-Wisdom' is quite intelligible, especially when it is remembered that the twelve æons posited by Valentinus commence with πίστις and end with σοφία.

[2] The discovery of the *Odes of Solomon* (*ERE* vii. 13[a]) has put one of these treatises in our hands; the *Pistis Sophia* quotes, among the canonical Psalms, from five of these Odes (i., v., vi., xxii., xxv.).

[3] Jeû in the *Pistis Sophia* is the father of Sabaoth, and consequently (see above, p. 47[a]) 'the father of the father' of Jesus. The pre-existence of Christ is assumed in the story of these books' origin; indeed, the pre-existence and the ascended activities of Christ in this literature are much more vital than the historical life and mission on earth, the main significance of the latter being that it inaugurated the sacramental rites. Jeû, in the *Pistis Sophia*, keeps the lower archons in order, but his principal mission is to transmit light from the higher Treasure to the regions below him, by way of revelation; he is more important as a medium than as a celestial potentate.

PITṚS.—See ANCESTOR-WORSHIP (Indian).

PITṚYĀNA.—See DEVAYĀNA.

PITY.—Pity is pre-eminently a human emotion; it is either not shared at all or shared in a very inferior degree by the brutes. As a human emotion it is very widely spread, but affects men at different times and in different races in different degrees. Women are more moved by pity than men, civilized men than savages, and probably the northern more than the southern races. Among the Greeks and Romans pity was less felt than among Christian nations, in the mediæval life less than in the modern world. This is, perhaps, due to the increased ease of communication between one part of the world and another, and, as a consequence of this, to the growing solidarity of the human race. Hostility and anger are both apt to obliterate pity, or at any rate greatly to diminish it; on the other hand, affection for and contiguity to the sufferer enhance it.

1. Greek.—In Homer pity is recognized as a

quality which prevails to some extent and ought to prevail among both gods and men. Yet no great stress is laid upon it, nor does its absence excite much indignation. In one passage (of doubtful authority) it or, rather, the respect which gives rise to pity is described as a quality 'which greatly injures and also greatly benefits men' (*Il.* xxiv. 45). In the tragedians the feeling of pity is more marked and occupies a more prominent place. Indeed, as Aristotle points out, tragedy could not exist and would have no point, did not human misfortune excite pity and were not people capable of being moved by the imaginary misfortunes of their fellow-men. He says that the object of tragedy is 'by means of pity and terror to effect a purging of such emotions' (*Poetics*, 1459^b, ed. Bywater, Oxford, 1909).[1] In some ways the most remarkable instance of pity exhibited in Attic tragedy is Prometheus's self-sacrifice for the good of mankind, brought about by the pity which he felt for their forlorn condition; with this is contrasted the pitiless inexorability of Zeus. This has in it some touch of the Christian doctrine of God's pity for man, though in spirit it stands greatly opposed to it. In Plato there is no formal treatment of the emotion of pity, though he recognizes it as a natural and proper human sentiment (*e.g.*, *Phædo*, 58 E). It is further characteristic of Plato that he thinks the condition of ignorance or mistake more to be pitied than that of those who fall into misfortune (*Rep.* 539 A). In Aristotle the emotion is treated more formally and at greater length. But in the *Ethics* he describes it along with desire, anger, and fear as a feeling (*πάθος*) (*Nic. Eth.* ii. 1105^b); in the *Rhetoric* he discusses at length the character of the emotion at least as it can be used for rhetorical purposes. Of course, as a simple emotion pity defies definition; no one could ever make the feeling of pity intelligible to a man who had never known it; but it is possible to analyze the circumstances in which it will arise and be felt, and this is what Aristotle attempts.

> He describes it as 'a painful feeling arising on the sight of evil either destructive or painful, which happens to one who is unworthy of it, an evil of a kind which one might expect to suffer oneself or that one of one's friends should do so, and this when the evil appears close at hand. For it is clear that it is necessary that he who should feel pity should be such as to think that he might suffer the evil either in his own person or in that of one of his friends, and that the evil should be such, or very much such, as has been described in the definition' (*Rhet.* ii. 8).

The definition gives at first sight a somewhat selfish complexion to the feeling of pity; yet there can be no doubt that it lays the conditions down under which pity is most readily felt, and, though there is a pity which transcends this account of it, the definition accurately describes the pity by which the great majority of ordinary men are moved.

2. **Roman.**—In Latin literature the sentiment of pity occupies no prominent place; the Romans were not a compassionate people, and their literature faithfully reproduces this trait of their character. The passage where the feeling of pity is most finely touched upon in Latin literature is in Virgil:

> 'Hic . . .
> Sunt lachrymæ rerum, et mentem mortalia tangunt'
> (*Æn.* i. 462).

There is also a striking passage in which Tacitus contrasts the pity felt by some of the rough soldiers after the battle of Bedriacum, at the horrors which the field of battle displayed, with the callousness of Vitellius and his entourage (*Hist.* ii. 70). Cicero also knew what pity was; he described it as 'ill ease of mind growing out of the misfortune of another' (*Tusc. Quæst.* iii. 10), and 'the ill ease excited by the misery of another who suffers wrongfully' (*ib.* iv. 8).

[1] What the precise meaning of Aristotle's definition of the object of tragedy is has been much debated, and need not be discussed here.

3. **Biblical.**—In the Bible it is to be observed that the terms 'pity,' 'compassion,' and 'mercy' are used as practically synonymous (being all used in different places as translations of the same Hebrew and Greek words), and that they occupy a position which is unique in the religious literature of any people. For God is represented in Hebrew as well as in Christian literature not only as a God of justice but as pitiful, compassionate, and merciful. That such are the characteristics of God was a conviction which grew upon the prophets of Israel and the religious leaders of Jewish thought till it culminated in the teaching of our Lord Himself.

In the earlier books of the OT the pity and compassion of God are comparatively little emphasized. The most important passage occurs in the decalogue in both of the forms in which it has come down to us:

> 'Shewing mercy unto thousands of them that love me and keep my commandments' (Ex 20^6, Dt 5^{10} [*ποιῶν ἔλεος εἰς χιλιάδας τοῖς ἀγαπῶσί με καὶ τοῖς φυλάσσουσι τὰ προστάγματά μου*]);

but in the Psalms and in certain of the prophets the thought is very prominent—*e.g.*, Ps 86^5 103$^{8.13}$ 130^7 etc., Is 54$^{8.10}$ 63^9, Jer 12^{15}, Hos 1^7.

In the NT the belief in God's pity or mercy follows as a direct consequence from the doctrine of God's fatherhood and God's love (*e.g.*, Lk 6^{36}). To St. Paul God is a God of mercy. God is the Father of mercies (2 Co 1^3); He is rich in mercy (Eph 2^4); mercy and peace come from God through Jesus Christ our Lord (1 Ti 1^2, 2 Ti 1^2, Tit 1^4, 2 Jn ^{3}).

Pity towards men is commended to us in the Bible as a consequence of the pity and mercy of God, and particularly of His pity and mercy as expressed by and revealed in the sending of Jesus Christ. Pity and mercy towards aliens and strangers were in early days perhaps no more recognized as a duty by the Israelites than they were by the Greeks and Romans; indeed, there is a passage (Dt 13^8) in which it is expressly forbidden that pity should be felt or shown towards those who try to pervert God's people from the worship of Jahweh into the worship of any strange god; but throughout the OT mercy and pity are inculcated towards members of the house of Israel, and the failure to have pity on the widow, the fatherless, and the destitute is strongly reprobated. In the NT the command to be pitiful has no such restrictions. The teaching of the parable of the Good Samaritan implies that our acts of charity, pity, and mercy are by no means to be limited to those of our own nation, and, as a matter of fact, under the teaching of Christianity pity has been extended so as to embrace sufferers of the whole human race, and in our day embraces the animal world as well.

4. **Augustine.**—In Augustine's *de Civitate Dei* there is an interesting chapter (ix. 5) devoted to the manifestation of pity as exhibited by God and man. He maintains against the Stoics, who asserted that God could not be moved by pity, that, while the claims of pity must always be subordinated to justice, it is yet an emotion which is not unworthy of God and should be exhibited by men to their fellow-men, being naturally called out by the sight of distress. The pity of God, of course, must depend on the repentance of man; yet, granted this condition, God's pity can flow out towards man, and, it would seem, inevitably does so. The pitiful God of the Christians stands thus contrasted with the passionless God of the Stoics, just as the compassionate man under the Christian dispensation is opposed to the unfeeling man of the Stoical ideal.

Yet, in spite of what Augustine urges, the idea of a pitiful God is not altogether an easy one

to embrace. It has to be taken in close connexion with the teaching of the NT on repentance. The good will, the love, the fatherhood of God to man, is a permanent attitude which remains, whatever man's conduct. Sin turns man's thoughts and his affections away from God; repentance makes possible the renewal of the relation between God and man, which has been there potentially all the time, but has been interrupted. The changed attitude of God to man consequent on repentance expresses itself in pity. The bearing of this doctrine on the question of the Atonement is outside the present article (cf. EXPIATION AND ATONEMENT [Christian]).

5. English moralists.—In the English moralists the phenomena of pity and the cognate emotions held a considerable place. Hobbes started the investigation:

'Griefe, for the Calamity of another,' he says, 'is Pitty; and ariseth from the imagination that the like calamity may befall himselfe; and therefore is called also Compassion, and in the phrase of this present time a Fellow-feeling: And therefore for Calamity arriving from great wickedness, the best men have the least Pitty; and for the same Calamity, those have least Pitty, that think themselves least obnoxious to the same' (*Leviathan*, pt. i. ch. 6).

This selfish doctrine of pity is vehemently opposed by Butler in his two sermons on compassion (*Sermons*, v. and vi.). Having stated Hobbes's definition of pity as given in his treatise on *Human Nature*, ch. ix. § 10, as 'the imagination or fiction of future calamity to ourselves, proceeding from the sense (he means sight or knowledge) of another man's calamity,' he proceeds to criticize it in the following way (*Sermon* v. 'Upon Compassion').

In the first place, he contends that it is no account of pity or compassion at all. The sight of a friend's misfortune might in some minds give rise to the feeling of fear for ourselves which Hobbes describes, but, if it gave rise to such a feeling, the feeling would not be one of pity or compassion, but something quite different. Again, there are objects which give rise to a sense of our own danger—*e.g.*, a sudden sight or sound, or some association of ideas—but no one would say that we compassionate or pity such objects; it would be ridiculous to do so. Again, fear, pity, and compassion would be on Hobbes's showing the same sentiment and a fearful and compassionate man the same character—which every one immediately sees are totally different. Again, while compassion and pity exhibited towards others, and especially towards our friends, commend us to the favour of all good men, fear or anxiety on our own account by no means equally recommends us. Pity, then, and compassion, Butler concludes, are not forms of self-love, but original affections, being grief at the distresses or misfortunes of others, are a primitive sentiment in human nature, a sentiment implanted in us, intended to prompt us to relieve those many miseries and sufferings of which, in Butler's view, life is so full. The emotion does not supplant reason, but fortifies it, reason being often too weak to induce men by itself to alleviate or attempt to banish the sufferings of our fellow-men unless supported by those feelings of compassion and pity with which, as a matter of fact, the better class of men are endowed.

One other question Butler touches upon in the course of these two sermons. Pity and compassion were regarded by many of the Stoics in earlier days and by some of Butler's own contemporaries as a weakness which the 'wise man' will seek to get rid of. To this Butler replies that the gratification of the affection may be, and often is, a source of pleasure to him who indulges it, and certainly makes compliance with the dictates of the sense of duty and reason easier and more possible than without such a sentiment they are likely to prove to the majority of mankind. In this way he answered by anticipation the objections of Kant, who took up on this point a position even more extreme than most of the Stoics. Kant said: 'The passions themselves, being sources of want, are so far from having an absolute worth for which they should be desired, that, on the contrary, it must be the universal wish of every rational being to be wholly free from them' (*Grundleg. zur Metaphysik der Sitten* [*Sämmtl. Werke*, ed. K. Rosenkranz and F. W. Schubert, Leipzig, 1838–40, viii. 56]).

Hume has a good deal to say about pity and compassion. Pity is defined by him as 'a concern for the misery of others' (*Treatise of Human Nature*, bk. ii. pt. ii. § 7). He does not accept Hobbes's view, that it is an affection springing from the sight of others suffering which makes us apprehensive on our own account. It has its source in the imagination, in the power which we have of putting ourselves in the place of others and gaining an impression of the ideas which they actually experience. It is a peculiarity of the passion, he continues, that the communicated passion of sympathy sometimes acquires strength from the weakness of its original feeling.

'A man who is not dejected by misfortunes is the more lamented on account of his patience' (*ib.*).

This principle of sympathy is largely invoked by Adam Smith to explain some of the phenomena which pity and compassion exhibit. Why is it, he asks, as Hume had also asked, that we feel more compassion for the man who exhibits greater magnanimity in his sufferings than for one who allows himself to be overwhelmed by them? The reason is, he answers, that we can more easily enter into, or sympathize with, the actual feeling which he displays.

'We wonder with surprise and astonishment at that strength of mind which is capable of so noble and generous an effort' (*Theory of Moral Sentiments*, Edinburgh, 1849, pt. i. sect. iii. ch. 1).

6. Conclusion.—Pity, then, is a universal or almost universal human feeling, of the existence of which as a fact of human nature there can be no doubt, though the explanation of the feeling itself, and still more of the phenomena which it exhibits, may be in doubt; it is a feeling the presence of which in men, and still more in women, we approve, the absence of which we blame and deplore, but on condition that it leads to active interposition on behalf of those who are in distress; it is a feeling, moreover, which we readily attribute to God Himself, because we recognize that it is a form which love takes, a proof not of weakness but of strength.

LITERATURE.—The authorities are cited throughout the article.

W. A. SPOONER.

PLACES (Sacred).—In primitive religious conceptions the gods are not exempt from general limitations of space and time. Arguing by analogy, the savage ascribes to all material objects a life similar to that of which he himself is conscious, and he easily confounds the spiritual force with its visible embodiment. Hence in primitive myth we find animate and inanimate things equally capable of feeling and action, while transformations of men into animals are perfectly natural. The gods have a physical environment, on and through which they act. Nowhere ubiquitous, they are conceived of as bounded by certain local limits: the god's land is the land of his worshippers, and his immediate sphere of influence is his residence. Among the early Semites ideas of divine preference came to be associated with the fertility of particular places, whether from rainfall or from springs and watercourses, the local gods, or *bᵉʿālîm*, being recognized and appeased by a tribute of firstfruits, and, by a natural extension of meaning, of firstlings of cattle and men. Thus the idea grew that the gods have their proper homes or haunts where the worshippers lay their gifts on sacred ground, hang them on a sacred tree, or, in the case of sacrificial blood, pour it over a sacred stone. Later the home or sanctuary of a god was a temple, which could be erected only in a place where a god had manifested his presence. A theophany was held to justify the act of sacrificing on the spot (Gn 12^{7}, Ex 17^{15} etc.). Hence came the idea of the sanctity of such places as Bethel, Mamre, Shechem, Beersheba, etc. The theophany in Ex 3 took place on Sinai, because it is holy ground, Jahweh's habitual dwelling-place (W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*[2], London, 1894, p. 118). Thus we see that holy places are older than temples, and that places become holy as the natural haunts of a god, these being in their earlier forms a cave, a rock, a fountain, or a tree. These places and things, as

the favourite haunts of divine beings, come naturally to be regarded as holy, as opposed to common, and are reserved for the use of the god and his ministers. In relation to man such sanctuaries come to be surrounded by restrictions as to access, especially for such persons as are physically unclean or have shed blood. The right of asylum in the OT was limited to involuntary homicide, and confined to certain old sanctuaries —the cities of refuge. But at some Arabian sanctuaries all fugitives were admitted to shelter. The idea of holiness had thus come to involve restriction or prohibition, together with the idea of protection from encroachment, as may be seen in the root-meaning of the Hebrew word *ḥimā*, a sacred enclosure or *temenos*. The god and his worshippers belong to a community of kinship, most probably on the basis of a totemistic conception of mutual relationship. Hence men naturally fell into the way of observing rules of holiness—'a system of restrictions on man's arbitrary use of natural things, enforced by the dread of supernatural penalties' (*ib.* p. 152), as found among all primitive peoples. This is the primitive institution to which the name 'tabu' has been given, including both rules of conduct for the regulation of man's contact with propitious deities and precautions against the approach of evil spirits and the like. The distinction between the holy and the unclean is real enough, though it may not be always precise, and both may overlap, as in the Levitical legislation.

The sanctuary, being protected by rigid tabus, had of course to be clearly marked in its limits. The *ḥimā* in Arabia sometimes included a large tract of pasture land marked off by pillars, and the *ḥaram*, or sacred territory, of Mecca extends for miles on almost every side of the city. The whole mountain of Horeb was sacred ground. The customary symbol or permanent visible object at and through which the worshipper comes into direct contact with his god is sometimes a natural object, as a fountain or tree, or an artificial erection, as a pillar or pile of stones. It is easy for the primitive imagination to connect ideas of animate life and quickening energy with running water or with the rustling leafage of a tree. And we find ideas of sanctity attached to rivers, as the Belus and the Adonis, and to springs at shrines with healing qualities, as the seven wells of Beersheba, etc., into which propitiatory gifts were cast with a view to divination or prophetic inspiration. The extension of the idea of sanctity to purposes of adjuration and ordeal is obvious enough. Trees were adored as divine among all the Semitic peoples, and still are as *manāhil* by the modern Arabs. The local sanctuaries of the Hebrews were altar-sanctuaries erected under trees, but the altar had an *ăshērāh*, or pole, beside it (Dt 16^{21}). Again, grottoes or caves were supposed to be specially sacred, and the oldest Phœnician temples took this form. The holy cave was the original sanctuary of the temple of Apollo at Delos, and the *adytum*, or dark inner chamber, was common alike in Semitic and in Greek temples, being frequently the place where oracles were delivered. The sacrificial stone or altar in the Semitic sanctuary was the locality of most intimate communion between the worshipper and his god, on which sacrifices were burned and offerings set forth. The Arabian form was usually a cairn or heap of stones, upon which, or at the base of which, the sacrificial blood was poured out, as was the case also with the Greeks and Romans. We read in the OT of monoliths (*maṣṣēbhôth*) at sanctuaries, as at Shechem, Gilgal, etc.

'It seems clear that the altar is a differentiated form of the primitive rude stone pillar, the *nəṣb* or *maṣṣēba*. But the sacred stone is more than an altar, for in Hebrew and Canaanite sanctuaries the altar, in its developed form as a table or hearth, does not supersede the pillar; the two are found side by side at the same sanctuary, the altar as a piece of sacrificial apparatus, and the pillar as a visible symbol or embodiment of the presence of the deity, which in process of time comes to be fashioned and carved in various ways, till ultimately it becomes a statue or anthropomorphic idol of stone, just as the sacred tree or post was ultimately developed into an image of wood' (*ib.* p. 204).

Such sacred stones are found in connexion with the worship of the most various gods, in all parts of the world, as among the Ainus, the Brazilian tribes, the Samoans, etc. The *ăshērāh* develops into the wooden idol, the primitive unhewn monolith into the marble statue of the god, with which the altar still continues to be associated, and from these elements eventually the temple was built. The primitive altar grew out of totemistic ideas, and there is in the earlier stages no need to suppose that the stone or image in front of which the rites of worship are performed actually contained the god. The identification of the god and the abode in which he may be pleased to make his resting-place is, however, an easy transition. Thus among the American Indians the place of national worship for the Oneidas was the Oneida stone from which they claimed descent. The Dakotas and Ojibwas had similar stones, which they called 'grandfather.' The shaping of a likeness to the human face was natural enough, but by no means universal, as we see in the unchanged idol of Astarte at Paphos. It must be clearly understood that the idea of the stone becoming the permanent rather than an occasional dwelling-place of the god represents a later stage of development. The existence of sacrifice implies an earlier totemistic stage, in which the blood sprinkled is that of the totem-animal, and the object is the renewal of the blood-covenant between the totem-clan and the totem-god (F. B. Jevons, *Introd. to the Hist. of Religion*[6], London, 1914, p. 141). This superstition lingered long. It was condemned by the Council of Nantes in 895, but it survives to this day in some corners of France and Norway.

In ancient Rome, in the earliest times, there was no temple or image representing a deity. Certain places were regarded as *religiosa*, affected by tabu, as distinguished from *loca sacra*, places made over to the deity by certain formulæ, under the authority of the State, by the processes of *consecratio*. Such a place, in which a deity had taken up his abode, was a *fanum*, containing a *sacellum*, or small roofless enclosure, with an *ara*. Among *loca religiosa* were the spots where thunderbolts had fallen and burial-grounds. This feeling or scruple (*religio*) as applied to places finds expression in Virgil's lines describing the visit of Æneas to the site of the future Rome:

> 'Hinc ad Tarpeiam sedem et Capitolia ducit,
> Aurea nunc, olim silvestribus horrida dumis.
> Jam tum religio pavidos terrebat agrestis
> Dira loci; jam tum silvam saxumque tremebant.
> "Hoc nemus, hunc," inquit, "frondoso vertice collem,
> (Quis deus, incertum est) habitat deus"'
> (*Æn.* viii. 347 ff.).

The temple on the Capitol, with its statue of Jupiter, and that of Diana on the Aventine, with its reproduction of the ξόανον of Artemis at Massilia, were the earliest statues of the gods in roofed temples at Rome. From the earliest times the Roman boundaries, house, burial-place, and spring were considered as in a special sense sacred, needing constant religious care. The hearth (*focus*) was the 'natural altar of the dwelling-room of man' ('Aust's admirable expression,' as Warde Fowler styles it, quoting E. Aust, *Die Religion der Römer*, Münster, 1899, p. 214), and the seat of Vesta, the spirit of the fire. Behind the hearth was the *penus*, or storing-place of the household, inhabited or guarded by spirits, the *di penates*,

who together with Vesta represent the material vitality of the family (W. Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, London, 1911, lect. iv.). The protecting door-spirit was Janus; and in the *Janus bifrons* in the symbolic gate of the Forum Fowler sees a developed form of the spirit of the house-door. The *lar* was originally the presiding spirit, not of the house, but of an allotment, or the whole of the land of a *familia*, including that on which the house stood. The *terminus* was the boundary-mark of the land belonging to the *familia*, or the *pagus* (an association of farms and homesteads), and its care was marked by detailed religious ceremonies. The *lustratio*, or purification, of land, city, etc., was carried out by means of a solemn procession accompanied with sacrifice. And, as the *ager* of the city-state had its boundary made sacred by a *lustratio*, so the city had its *pomœrium*, or boundary-line between the sacred and the profane, like that of the farm, within whose limits alone the *auspicia* of the city could be taken. See, further, art. LANDMARKS AND BOUNDARIES.

The earliest Teutonic word for temple means also wood, and the primitive shrine of the deity was a holy place untouched by human hand, a grove. A god may inhabit a mountain-top, a cave, or a river, but the general worship was a forest cultus, its seat a sacred tree (cf. Tac. *Germ.* ix.). This is not pure nature-worship, for the gods dwelt in these groves, although as yet no walls were built or images set up. Among the Saxons and Frisians the veneration of groves long survived the introduction of Christianity. At the beginning of the 11th cent. Bishop Unwan of Bremen had all such woods cut down in his diocese, and Grimm (*Teutonic Mythology*, i. 73 f.) tells us of a holy oak near Wormeln, Paderborn, to which even in his time the neighbouring peasants made a solemn procession every year. The earliest temples were built on the sites of the more ancient trees or groves, and, later, Christian churches were erected on the same spot, so that the old sacredness did not depart from the place, but merely passed into a higher relation.

LITERATURE.—See, besides works already mentioned, C. Bötticher, *Der Baumkultus der Hellenen*, Berlin, 1856; W. Mannhardt, *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte*, do. 1875–77; J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, tr. J. S. Stallybrass, 4 vols., London, 1882–88; W. W. Baudissin, *Studien zur sem. Religionsgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1876–78; J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*[2], Berlin, 1897; also *GB*[3], London, 1911–15, *passim*; and the artt. HOLINESS, MASSĒBHĀH, POLES AND POSTS, TABU, TOTEMISM.

T. DAVIDSON.

PLAINS INDIANS. — **1. Distribution and history.**—The region that gives a geographical name to this group of American Indians is of an irregular oblong shape, some 2500 miles from north to south and 1000 to 1500 miles from east to west. Roughly speaking, the Plains extend from the Rio Grande in S.W. United States to the Saskatchewan River in Canada, and from the base of the Rocky Mountains to Lake Winnipeg in Canada and the Missouri and the Mississippi in the United States. Down the long easterly slope of this broad stretch of land flow many streams that take their rise in the Western mountains. Trees border these numerous waterways, but the country is barren of forests. This was formerly the home of over twenty different tribes, belonging to six different linguistic stocks. They were as follows:

(1) Algonquian: Arapaho, Blackfeet (or Siksika), Cheyenne, and Cree; (2) Athapascan: Apache; (3) Caddoan: Arikara and Pawnee; (4) Kiowan: Kiowa; (5) Shoshonean: Comanche; (6) Siouan: Assiniboin, Crow (or Absaroka), Dakota, Hidatsa, Iowa, Kansas, Mandan, Missouri, Omaha, Osage, Otoe, Ponca, and Quapa.

To and fro over the wide Plains formerly moved vast herds of buffalo, which gave abundant food and furnished the Indians with pelts for clothing as well as covering for their tents. The tribes regarded these animals as specially provided for the sustenance and welfare of the native people, and this gift was gratefully recognized in their religious rites.

The Indians of the Plains had been attracted thither by the buffalo herds. Some of the tribes had come from the woods on the north, east, and west, where the game, although plentiful, was more or less difficult to secure; others had come up from the south for similar reasons. After the settlement of the white colonists on the Atlantic coast a new force was felt over the land. A gradual displacement of the native tribes formerly dwelling on the eastern littoral and its streams began and went on increasing, until it was felt as a westward pressure up to the eastern border of the Plains. This steady displacement, added to the influence of the white traders, the adventurers, and the 'opening up of the country,' brought to the Indians new diseases, intoxicants, and many other evils which greatly reduced their number.

The horse reached the Plains with the expedition of Coronado in 1541. Later, strays multiplied rapidly, and finally formed the herds of wild horses that became the principal source of the Indian supply. What tribe introduced them on the Plains and used them for hunting is not known, but they were first met by tribes of the Siouan stock, among the Comanche, who were famous for their horsemanship, and from that tribe knowledge was obtained of the use and care of the horse. Not only did the horse modify hunting methods, but it introduced a new species of property, changed social customs, and led to foraging expeditions and to wars.

Although the Plains was never a peaceful country, the changing conditions increased its turbulence until it became a great battle-field as well as a hunting-ground. The greatest blow that the native life of the Indian ever received came during the first decades of the latter half of the 19th cent., when, in the interests of trade, the buffalo were slaughtered by the thousand, until within a few years they were practically extinct. What that catastrophe meant to the Indian it is difficult for one of our race fully to appreciate. The present writer can never forget the occasion, some thirty years ago, when its meaning was really borne in upon her.

The aged Omaha keeper of the sacred rites that inaugurated the annual tribal buffalo-hunt consented to recite the rituals, for historic preservation; he stood alone in his little cabin before the graphophone to voice for the last time the words that told of the birth of the buffalo-herds. When he came to the promise given by Wakonda, in answer to man's appeal, that the herds should come to the people from all directions, the tears rolled down his withered cheeks as he sobbingly murmured: 'Not now, not now!' To him, Wakonda had abandoned the Indian and the world had become desolate.

The old man did not long survive this recital.

2. Religious and social ideas. — The social organization and religious ceremonials of the Plains Indians varied in a number of particulars. Those tribes belonging to the Algonquian linguistic stock had formerly dwelt under sedentary and agricultural conditions, and many of the habits then formed were lost under the stress of hunting; the binding force of a close social organization also gave way, with the result that religious rites and social customs were modified. With the affiliated Arapaho and Cheyenne tribes the 'Sun-dance' became the principal ceremony of the people. This composite rite spread to some tribes of the Siouan linguistic stock. It was not directly connected with the worship of the sun, as its name might imply. It is true that the 'dancer' turned towards the sun, but it was viewed as a symbol of the unseen Power that had granted the prayer of

the dancer—usually a supplication for the recovery of a sick relative, the sincerity of the request to be proved by the suppliant going through the torture of the Sun-dance. The Sun-dance witnessed by the writer in 1882 was the fulfilment of a vow made that the life of a sister might be spared to her family. There was therefore an altruistic teaching in this seemingly barbarous rite.[1]

Among the Cheyenne there is an ancient ceremonial connected with four sacred arrows that have been preserved time out of mind, which was related to the teaching of the sanctity of life within the tribe. Little is known of this rite, as no one having any white blood has ever been allowed to witness it. See art. CHEYENNE.

The tribes of the Caddoan linguistic stock had long been familiar with the cultivation of the maize which figured in their tribal rites. These were elaborate, and presented phases of anthropomorphism that were not met with elsewhere.

The tribes of the Siouan linguistic stock dwelt on the eastern border of the Plains, along the banks of the Missouri River and the lower part of some of the tributaries of the Mississippi. The people lived in villages and cultivated maize, beans, and a few other plants; they went out to hunt buffalo and other game, returning home with their supply of meat and pelts. Early in the 17th cent. these tribes came into touch with French traders from the south, by way of the Mississippi, and across country to the north and east from the lakes and the St. Lawrence River. With the influx of wares during the 18th and 19th centuries, the native arts of weaving, pottery-making, and the manufacture of implements and weapons from stone, bone, and wood declined and finally ceased altogether. Under these influences hunting grew to be more or less a mercantile pursuit, and the religious rites formerly connected with it began to lose their power.

During the latter half of the 19th cent. the life of the tribes became greatly modified and at its close hardly a tribe was practising its ancient vocations and rites, or was dependent for social order upon its tribal form of government. The entire country was under the control of the white race, railroads stretched from the Atlantic to the Pacific, the mountains were no barriers, and portions of the Plains once regarded as a desert yielded to modern methods of land cultivation, so that the old life passed for ever out of sight. The native race survived under the new conditions, nor were their ancient beliefs wholly obliterated; these had too long been vital to the race to yield to mere external pressure. What those beliefs were has assumed new importance to the student of the development of the mind and thought of man while under the direct and sole tutelage of nature.

The American Indians belong to an observant, thoughtful, out-of-door people who for generations have lived on intimate relations with an unmodified environment. All animals pursued their own untrammelled mode of life, only the dog being domesticated. With few exceptions, the plants were undisturbed in their manner of growth; there were no highways to break the wide expanse of grass, or bridges to span the streams. There was nothing to suggest any break in the continuity of the natural relation between man and his surroundings. It is difficult for one of our race to conceive of that once unbroken stretch of country, giving no sign of the master-hand of man or of his permanent occupancy. It was amid such untouched, unforced conditions that the American Indian attentively watched the various phases of life about him and pondered upon what he saw.

[1] For a description of the Sun-dance see art. PHALLISM, § 2.

Everywhere he seemed to discern that dual forces were employed to reproduce and so to perpetuate living forms. The fructifying power of the sun was needed to make the earth fruitful, and only on the union of the two, sky and earth, was life in its various forms made possible. Upon these two opposites he projected human relations and made them, to a degree, anthropomorphic; the sky became masculine, the earth feminine. Finally, by thinking along these lines, as his rituals reveal, he was led to conceive of the cosmos as a unit, permeated with the same life force of which he was conscious within himself—a force that gave to his environment its stable character, to every living thing on land and water the power of growth and of movement, to man not only his physical capacities but the ability to think, to will, to bring to pass. This unseen, undying, unifying force is called by the Omaha and cognate tribes Wakonda. Through Wakonda all things came into being, are ever related, and made more or less interdependent. Consequently, nature stood to the Indian as the manifestation of an order that had been instituted by Wakonda, of which man was an integral part. To this order he turned for guidance when establishing those means, religious and secular, that would ensure to him, individually and socially, safety and continuous life.

Finding himself to be one of a wide-reaching cosmic family, the Omaha (and his cognates) planned the tribal organization upon the type of that family. The people were divided into two great sections, one to represent the sky, the other the earth. Each section was composed of a number of kinship groups, called by a general term meaning 'village.' (These are spoken of by our students as 'clans' or 'gentes.') Each village stood for some one of the forms of life seen in Wakonda's instituted order. The sky was the abode of the sun, the stars, the winds, and the storm-cloud with its thunder and lightning, and to each village of that section was committed something regarded as symbolic of one of these manifestations. The earth, with its land and water, was the abode of the trees, grasses, and the various animals so closely allied to man and his needs, and to each village of that section was committed something typical or symbolic of one of these manifestations of life. In this way the tribal organization aimed at mirroring man's environment, as ordained by Wakonda, and was primarily religious in character, and secondarily political in its function. The tribal rites were instituted to emphasize that which the tribal organization portrayed, and to provide means by which the people should together acknowledge the order inaugurated by Wakonda, of which man was a part. In these rites all the villages of the two sections had a share, as well as the symbols committed to their keeping, so that the people, standing in the appointed order, with one voice appealed to the invisible Wakonda for help to secure food, safety, and long life.

A few words are necessary regarding the symbolic objects committed to the villages, as there has been considerable misconception of these and the Indian's use of them. Each village, according to the section to which it belonged, had charge of one of these symbols. The term by which it was designated in the Omaha language meant 'that by which they make themselves known as a people.' It is to this object that the term 'totem' has been applied. The symbol, representing, as it did, one of the forms of life in the sky or on the earth, as created by Wakonda, had a sacred significance to the people of the village and held the central place in their ceremonies. It bound the people together by a sacred tie, made them

distinctive among the other villages, and was a link between them and the invisible Wakonda. The symbol belonging to a village was always metaphorically referred to in the name of the village, and also in the personal name ceremonially given to every child born within the village. The symbol might be an animal (*e.g.*, the buffalo) or a force (*e.g.*, the wind), and the people might be spoken of by the name of the symbol of their village (*e.g.*, the buffalo people, or the wind people). This form of speech never meant to imply that the people were descended from the buffalo or any other symbolic object. Certain articles were regarded as associated with the different symbols; these were always treated with marked respect, and the people of a village never touched the articles associated with their own sacred symbol.

The tribal rites of the Omaha and cognates were composed of dramatic acts, the recitation of rituals, and the singing of ritualistic songs. In these are embodied the myths setting forth the genesis of man and his relation to nature. The stories, symbols, and metaphors are often highly imaginative and not infrequently touched with poetic feeling. These formed a nimbus about the rites that both illuminated and made elusive their meaning.

In the tribal rites can be traced the gropings of the Indian's mind to find that power, greater than man, which was the source of visible nature, to discover a way for man to approach it and receive help from it, and to search for the meaning of the activities that were everywhere apparent. The religious and social ideas developed through this search, extending through generations, as evidenced in the rituals, were gradually evolved and formulated in the tribal rites, wherein were clearly set forth the importance of the perpetuation of human life and the recognition that Wakonda is ever present in all things that surround man.

There were no specially designated persons in the tribe whose duty was to teach religion or ethics, nor were there any succinct, practical commandments as to the beliefs or actions. Religious and ethical teachings were embedded in the tribal and other rites. The duty of explanation and instruction to the laity, concerning the meaning and the teaching of these rites, devolved on the thoughtful elders of the tribe, who generally belonged to those eligible for the office of keeper and who formed a kind of hereditary priesthood.

3. Wakonda.—The term *wakonda* is not modern and does not lend itself to analysis. It is distinct from the word meaning 'spirit' and has nothing in common with it. *Wakonda* is not a synonym of 'Great Spirit,' of nature, or of an objective god, a being apart from nature. It is difficult to formulate the native idea expressed in this word. The European mind demands a kind of intellectual crystallization of conceptions which is not essential to the Indian and which, when attempted, is apt to modify the original meaning. *Wakonda* stands for the mysterious life-power permeating all natural forms and forces and all phases of man's conscious life. The idea of *wakonda* is therefore fundamental to the Indian's relation to nature and to all living forms, including man. While the conception of *wakonda* may appear vague, certain anthropomorphic attributes were ascribed to it, approximating to a kind of personality. Besides the insistence on truthfulness in word and deed, there were qualities involving pity and compassion, as shown in certain rites. All experiences of life were directed by *wakonda*—a belief that led to a kind of fatalism.

LITERATURE.—*HAI* (=*Bull. 30 BE* [1907–10]); J. Mooney, 'Calendar Hist. of the Kiowa Indians,' *17 RBEW* [1898], pt. 1, p. 141 ff., 'The Ghost-Dance Religion,' *14 RBEW* [1896], pt. 2; A. C. Fletcher, 'The Hako,' *22 RBEW* [1904], pt. 2; A. C. Fletcher and F. La Flesche, 'The Omaha Tribe,' *27 RBEW* [1911], p. 15 ff.; *Publications of Field Columbian Museum*, Chicago, Ill., Anthropological series; *Amer. Nat. Hist Museum*, Anthrop. Papers; *Univ. of California Publications in Amer Archæology and Ethnology.*

A. C. FLETCHER.

PLANTS.—See TREES AND PLANTS.

PLATO AND PLATONISM.—1. Life.—Aristocles, known always in after life as Plato (Πλάτων), was born at Athens (or, as some say, at Ægina) on 26th or 27th May 427 B.C. (or, as some say, 5th or 6th June 428 B.C.). He was well born, his father, Ariston, being of the family of Codrus, and his mother, Perictione, or Potone, of that of Solon; he was well bred; he was well-to-do. In his youth he received the customary education in music and gymnastic, and he performed the usual military service. He is said to have had poetical aspirations—dramatic, epic, lyric. In all probability he looked forward to a political career. Having been in early years introduced to the Heracleitean philosophy by Cratylus, he became acquainted about 407 with Socrates, and henceforward was one of his 'familiars' or 'associates' (ἑταῖροι). Presumably Plato shared Socrates' political unorthodoxy; that is to say, he was a 'moderate' of the type of Theramenes, and, whilst he had no sympathy with Critias and the extreme oligarchs, desired a stringent reform of the 'unmixed democracy.' Accordingly, he was one of those Socratics who, on the death of their master in 399, withdrew from Athens and found a refuge with Eucleides at Megara. It is possible that Plato returned to Athens in or about 394. Then came a time of travel, when he is said to have visited Egypt, Cyrene, Magna Græcia, and Sicily. At Syracuse he made acquaintance with Dion, and with Dion's brother-in-law, the 'tyrant' Dionysius the Elder. It is said that Dionysius, taking offence at remarks made by Plato about the ethics of tyranny, revenged himself by delivering Plato to one Pollis, a Spartan diplomatist; that Pollis sold Plato in the market-place of Ægina, as though he were a prisoner taken in war; that Anniceris of Cyrene bought him and set him free; that Plato's friends proposed to repay to Anniceris the sum which he had expended; and that, when Anniceris declined their offer, the money was spent in the purchase of the garden of Academus. Whatever may be thought of this curious story, Plato, when he returned to Athens about 387, established, first in the gymnasium of Academus and afterwards in the garden hard by, the school known henceforward to all time as the Academy. Here he lived, thought, taught, and wrote. It may be conjectured that in the earlier days of the Academy Plato not only delivered formal lectures, but also gave personal instruction to his abler pupils, using his written dialogues as texts for catechetical teaching; and that he shared the common life of the school. But there is reason to believe that in later years he delegated the personal teaching to others, and that towards the end of his life his public lectures were few and far between. In 367 he made a second journey to Syracuse in the vain hope of winning the younger Dionysius to philosophy, and thus realizing his scheme of an ideal polity governed by a philosopher-king. A third journey to Sicily in 361, having for its object the reconciliation of Dionysius with his uncle, Dion, was conspicuously unsuccessful. Plato died at Athens in 347.

2. Writings.—In the age of the emperor Tiberius the grammarian Thrasylus framed a canon of Plato's writings, and included in it the *Apology of Socrates*, which purports to represent the unpremeditated defence addressed by Socrates

to his judges; the *Epistles*, a collection of letters supposed to have been written by Plato to his friends; and 34 dialogues on philosophical subjects. There has been, and there still is, controversy about the epistles, some thinking that all are genuine, others that some, and in particular vii. and viii., are genuine, and others again (with whom the present writer ranges himself) that all are spurious. Doubts have been raised about certain of the 34 dialogues; but no serious critic of the present day questions any of the more considerable of them. It is easy to see why Plato gave to his writings a conversational form. Socrates had held that the teacher should elicit and suggest rather than inculcate and dogmatize, and had therefore preferred spoken to written discourse, question and answer to continuous exposition. Plato accepted his master's principle; and accordingly, though he deserted his example so far as to make use of writing, he was careful in so doing to imitate conversation. In most of the dialogues Socrates is the chief speaker; but Plato's Socrates is an idealized Socrates, who has an urbanity foreign to the Socrates of history, and he sometimes propounds physical and metaphysical doctrines which could not have found favour with a philosophical agnostic. In the *Parmenides* Socrates takes the second place; in the *Sophist*, the *Politicus*, and the *Timæus* he retires into the background; and in the *Laws* he does not appear. The dialogues differ in structure, inasmuch as the conversation is sometimes written down in the words of the supposed interlocutors; sometimes is reported by X, who has taken part in the discussion or has been present at it; once is reported by X, who heard the story from Y; and once is reported by X, who heard it from Y, who heard it from Z. They differ also in literary character and treatment. Some are lively and dramatic; some are eloquent and poetical; some are severely dialectical. Though in general the conversational form is studiously maintained, there are upon occasion great stretches of continuous discourse; and in particular there are imaginative interludes called myths (*μῦθοι*), which, making no pretension to exactitude of statement, claim notwithstanding to be substantially true, and, where experience fails, to fill a gap by provisional hypotheses (*Phædo*, 114 D). Thus, the making and the maintenance of the universe, prehistoric society, the day of judgment, and the future state are mythically described. In a word, the myth is a profession of faith. The introductions prefixed to some of the dialogues and the description of the last hours of Socrates in the *Phædo* are the very perfection of continuous narrative. The style is always the best possible for the occasion; for Plato's harp has many strings.

3. **The grouping of the dialogues.**—Assuming that, when Plato began to write, the fundamentals of his system were already settled, and that accordingly the order of the principal writings was determined by the needs and the conveniences of exposition, Schleiermacher,[1] the father of the modern study of Platonism, recognized three groups of dialogues: elementary, transitional, and constructive. The *Phædrus*, he thought, was the earliest of the dialogues; the *Republic*, the *Timæus*, the *Critias*, and the *Laws* were the latest. On the other hand, K. F. Hermann,[2] denying that the system came into existence full-grown, saw in the several dialogues the results and the evidence of Plato's doctrinal development, and distinguished three periods of his literary activity: (1) the years immediately following the death of Socrates; (2) the residence at Megara; and (3) the years 387–347. Subsequent inquirers, however much they differ in detail from one another and from Hermann, seem on the whole to agree in accepting his principle of interpretation.

It will be convenient to note, first, the principal points in which the critics are agreed; secondly, the principal points in which they differ. The critics are for the most part agreed in recognizing a group of dialogues in which Plato, despite certain differences of nomenclature and method, has not yet advanced beyond the Socratic standpoint; and it is obvious to assign these to an early date. Again, tradition ascribes to the *Laws* the last place; and modern scholarship readily assents, adding that the *Timæus* and the *Critias* come next before it. Further, on internal evidence it is obvious to suppose that certain dialogues which are critical of educational methods—*Protagoras*, *Gorgias*, *Phædrus*, *Euthydemus*, *Symposium*, and *Meno*—preceded the *Republic*, in which Plato propounds his own educational theory. Thus far there is little disagreement. But there is an eager controversy about certain dialogues which have been described as 'dialectical' or 'professorial,' namely, the *Parmenides*, the *Philebus*, the *Theætetus*, the *Sophist*, and the *Politicus*, and about their relation to the *Republic*, some regarding them as dialectical exercises preparatory to the dogmatic teaching of that great dialogue, whilst others find in them a style later than that of the *Republic*, reasoned criticism of its metaphysical doctrine, and substantial contributions to a revised and reconstituted system. The present writer, who holds that the five dialogues called dialectical or professorial look back to the *Phædo* and the *Republic*, forward to the *Timæus*, and together with the *Timæus* represent Plato's philosophical maturity, would arrange the principal dialogues in five groups corresponding to successive stages in Plato's intellectual development, namely: (1) Socratic dialogues, (2) educational dialogues, (3) *Republic*, *Phædo*, *Cratylus*, (4) professorial dialogues, *Parmenides*, *Philebus*, *Theætetus*, *Sophist*, *Politicus*, together with *Timæus*, (5) *Laws*. An attempt must now be made to characterize these several stages of Plato's intellectual development, and to show how the principal dialogues illustrate and elucidate them.

4. **The five stages of Plato's intellectual development.**—(1) *The Socratic dialogues.*—About the middle of the 5th cent., say 450 B.C., the philosophers who sought knowledge for its own sake were faced and baffled by three questions: (*a*) What is being? (*b*) What is knowledge? (*c*) What is predication?; and, for the moment, philosophical inquiry seemed to be at a standstill. Democritus indeed had not abandoned the attempt to provide a scientific cosmology and cosmogony; and, towards the end of the century, the neo-Heracleitean Cratylus, recognizing that, if all things are in flux, there is nothing to be perceived, looked to etymology for evidence of something permanent underlying the perpetual process of phenomena. But Democritus belonged to the past, and the etymological theory of Cratylus never established itself. Accordingly, in the latter half of the 5th cent. (450–400) the main stream of thought set strongly in the direction of philosophical agnosticism, and the intellectual aspirations of central Greece found expression for the most part in humanism—that is to say, the literary humanism of the Sophists and the ethical humanism of Socrates. Plato's youthful study of Heracleitean flux had made him a philosophical agnostic; for, even in early days, he must have recognized the futility of Cratylus's etymological

[1] *Platons Werke*, Berlin, 1855–62, I. i. 32–36.
[2] *Geschichte und System der platonischen Philosophie*, pt. i. (do. 1839) p. 384, etc.

theory. He was then ready to receive and assimilate the positivism of Socrates; and for a time he found a refuge in dialectical theory and practice. But, whereas Socrates had seen in the study of ethical consistency a sufficient occupation for his energies and had rested in it, Plato, taking his departure from the logic of consistency, proceeded to build upon it, first, a philosophy, secondly, a science, and, thirdly, a sociology. Moral error, Socrates had thought, is largely due to the misapplication of general terms which, once affixed to a person or an act—possibly in a moment of passion or prejudice—stand in the way of a sober and serious judgment. In order to guard against error of this sort, and to secure in the individual at any rate consistency of thought, and, in so far, consistency of speech and action, Socrates spent his life in seeking, and helping others to seek, 'the what,' or the definition, of the words by which the moral quality of actions is described. This statement of the aim which Socrates had steadily pursued exactly describes the end which Plato proposed to himself in the Socratic dialogues of his first period. But Socrates had talked, and Plato wrote. Consequently, whereas Socrates, who talked, having satisfied himself that the ἔλεγχος, or cross-examination, had made the hearer aware of his ignorance, might, and did, point the way to a definition, Plato, who wrote, if he was not to sacrifice the advantage of the elenctic stimulus, was obliged to stop short of dogmatic reconstruction.

E.g., in the *Euthyphro* Socrates invites his interlocutor to define 'piety' or 'holiness.' At first Euthyphro does not understand what Socrates means by a definition. Socrates explains. Then Euthyphro propounds in succession several definitions, and Socrates shows their insufficiency. Again and again confuted, but in no wise abashed, Euthyphro pleads an engagement, and the dialogue ends. We may perhaps conjecture that Plato intends to define piety or holiness as 'that part of justice which is concerned with the service of the gods'; but, in order that the reader may be compelled to think for himself, Plato carefully refrains from formulating his result.

The Platonic dialogue of this period is, then, an exercise in Socratic dialectic; but, whereas the destructive process is set out at length, the constructive process is left to be supplied by the reader. Contrariwise, Xenophon, who, being apologist rather than educator, cares little for the ἔλεγχος, and is chiefly anxious to justify his master's morality, neglects the destructive process and dwells upon the constructive results. Besides the *Euthyphro* (piety), the *Charmides* (temperance), the *Laches* (courage), the *Lysis* (friendship), and the *Hippias Maior* (beauty) are characteristic dialogues of the first or Socratic period. In this period Plato uses the terms 'form' (εἶδος) and 'idea' (ἰδέα) to mean the characteristic or characteristics included in a Socratic definition, *i.e.* 'the one in the many,' the element common to a plurality of things which we propose to call by the same name. But, inasmuch as the Socratic definition of a term of morality or art does not presume, either in or out of nature, any objective unity corresponding to it, the 'form' or 'idea' has no separate existence, it is not χωριστόν τι. In this stage, then, the forms or ideas are moral and æsthetic concepts framed by the individual in order that he may be consistent in thought, word, and deed, and that he and his interlocutor may not misunderstand one another.

(2) *The educational dialogues.*—The dialogues of the second period show a notable advance upon the dialogues of the first both in their style and in their doctrine: in their style, for they are more complex, more literary, and more dramatic; and in their doctrine, for Socrates, the protagonist, propounds doctrines unknown to the Socrates of history, the Socrates of Xenophon, and the Socrates of Plato's Socratic writings. These dialogues are primarily concerned with the criticism of earlier and contemporaneous theories of education. Thus the *Protagoras* brings the educational methods of Protagoras and the Sophists face to face with the educational method of Socrates; the *Gorgias* and the *Phædrus* deal respectively with the moral and intellectual aspects of the forensic rhetoric of Gorgias and the political rhetoric of Isocrates; the *Meno* criticizes the makeshift method of those who, despising systematic teaching, regarded the practical politician as the true educator; the *Euthydemus* caricatures the contemporary eristic; and all these dialogues, together with the *Symposium*, whilst they demonstrate the superiority of Socratic dialectic to the current sophistries, show a growing consciousness of its limitations and insufficiency. If education is to do what we expect of it, surely it should have for its basis, not personal consistency, but objective truth. Where, then, is truth to be found? Not in objects of sense, which are confessedly imperfect, but in the type or form with which we instinctively compare them. In the words of John Stuart Mill:[1]

'All the objects of sense are that which they are, in only an imperfect manner, and suggest to the mind a type of what they are, far more perfect than themselves; a "something far more deeply interfused," which eye has not seen nor ear heard, but of which that which can be seen or heard is an imperfect and often very distant resemblance. . . . What, then, could be more natural than to regard the types as real objects concealed from sense, but cognisable directly by the mind? . . . The self-beautiful, the self-good, which not only were to all beautiful and good things as the ideal is to the actual, but united in themselves the separate perfections of all the various kinds of beauty and goodness—must not they be realities in a far higher sense than the particulars which are within sensible cognisance? particulars which indeed are not realities: for there is no particular good or beautiful or just thing, which is not, in some case that may be supposed, unjust, evil, and unbeautiful.'

This paragraph is not indeed what Mill meant it to be, a complete and final summary of Plato's theory of ideas; but it cannot be bettered as a statement of the imaginative speculation out of which that theory was afterwards to grow; *i.e.* as a description of the process by which Plato arrived at the conception of a sole reality, eternal, immutable, perfect, whereof perishable, mutable, imperfect things are, in the language of Goethe, no more than 'likenesses.'

For the exposition of this imaginative speculation in its primitive and poetical form the *Phædrus* and the *Symposium* are all-important. There are, we are told in the *Phædrus* (247–250), certain real existences (ὄντως ὄντα), such as self-justice, self-temperance, self-knowledge, of whose transcendental perfection, revealed to us in a previous existence, we are *reminded* by their imperfect earthly counterparts. This rudimentary theory of being becomes a rudimentary theory of knowledge when we are further told in the *Symposium* (210 A ff.) that the lover of beauty rises from the sight of persons, souls, and institutions, which are imperfectly beautiful, through the corresponding universal or Socratic definition, to the knowledge of the eternally existent self-beautiful (αὐτὸ ὃ ἔστι καλόν). In a word, Plato postulates really existent unities, of which unities phenomenal pluralities are imperfect likenesses, and supposes the really existent unities to become known to us, through Socratic definitions, by means of *reminiscence* (ἀνάμνησις). But he makes no attempt to explain how the imperfectly beautiful particular is related to the perfect self-beautiful; nor does he define the content of the world of ideas. In this second period, then, the forms or ideas are moral and æsthetic unities, eternal, substantial, separately existent; but we are not told how their particulars participate in them, nor what the things are which have ideas corresponding to them.

[1] *Dissertations and Discussions*, London, 1867, iii. 348

(3) *The earlier theory of ideas.*—And now, in a third period, taking his departure from the rudimentary conception of eternally existent unities, Plato proceeds to develop a systematic theory which shall afford answers to the three great questions, What is being?, What is knowledge?, What is predication? This systematic theory, the earlier theory of ideas, may be summed up in four propositions—a fundamental proposition and three supplementary articles. The fundamental proposition is the proposition already indicated in the poetical speculation of the second period, and henceforward steadfastly maintained: beside pluralities of phenomena, transient, mutable, imperfect, which become, and are objects of opinion, there are unities, eternal, immutable, perfect, which really exist, and are objects of knowledge. The supplementary articles which convert the poetry of the *Phædrus* and the *Symposium* into the philosophy of the *Republic*, the *Phædo*, and the *Cratylus* are: (*a*) wherever a plurality of particulars are called by the same name, there is a corresponding idea or form (*Republic*, 596 A; cf. *Phædo*, 65 D); thus there are now ideas, not merely of good, just, beautiful, but also of bad, unjust, unbeautiful; of chairs and tables; of fever; of hot and cold; in short, of every common term; (*b*) it is the presence, immanence, communion (*παρουσία, κοινωνία*) of the form or idea in the particular—or, in other words, it is the particular's participation (*μέθεξις*) in the idea—that makes particulars what they are (*Phædo*, 100 D; cf. *Republic*, 476); that is to say, a thing is beautiful because the idea of beauty is present in it; a thing is unbeautiful because the idea of unbeautiful is present in it; a thing is both beautiful and unbeautiful because both the ideas are present in it; (*c*) foremost of the ideas is the idea of good.

'For,' says Socrates (*Republic*, 509 B), 'just as the sun furnishes to the objects of sight not only their capacity for being seen, but also their generation, growth, and nutrition, even so the objects of knowledge derive from the good not only their capacity for being known, but also their existence and their reality, though the good is not reality, and is on the other side of it, transcending it in majesty and power.'

With the help of these supplementary articles, the fundamental proposition becomes a theory of being, a theory of knowledge, and a theory of predication. It is a theory of being inasmuch as the ideas are eternal, immutable unities. It is a theory of knowledge inasmuch as in the *Republic* (vi. *ad fin.*) Plato hopes to ascend from observed particulars through Socratic definitions to a definition of the self-good, and thus to convert provisional definitions of things into certified representations of ideas. It is a theory of predication inasmuch at it affords or seems to afford an answer to certain logical paradoxes which had sorely perplexed Plato's contemporaries and for the moment himself. For, whereas the proposition 'Likes cannot be unlike, nor unlikes like,' which Zeno had regarded as a truth, seemed to his successors to cut at the root of all predication, Plato in this stage conceived that, though the unities like and unlike cannot be affirmed the one of the other, a particular can be simultaneously like and unlike in the sense that the ideas of like and unlike are simultaneously present in it. That this was the origin of the hypothesis of the particular's participation (*μέθεξις*) in the idea is plainly affirmed in the *Parmenides*; and it would seem that, when Plato wrote the *Republic*, he was not yet aware of the limitations and inconsistencies which were speedily to prove fatal to this, the earlier theory of ideas.

(4) *The later theory of ideas.*—Plato's fourth period, in which his philosophy reached its consummation, is represented by six remarkable dialogues, of which three—*Parmenides*, *Philebus*, and *Timæus*—are chiefly ontological, and three—*Theætetus*, *Sophist*, and *Politicus*, or *Statesman*—are chiefly logical. In all of these, unmistakable references to the *Republic* and the *Phædo* show that Plato has now finally renounced the supplementary articles of the earlier theory of ideas; but the critical or destructive element is especially conspicuous in the *Parmenides* and the *Philebus*, which may be placed respectively first and second at the beginning of the series. The *Theætetus*, the *Sophist*, and the *Politicus*, which deal with the logical problems of the time and clear the way for the reconstruction of the system, naturally follow; cf. Aristotle's statement (*Metaphysics*, A. vi.) that Plato's theory of ideas, *i.e.* the later theory, rested upon a logic which was all his own. The series ends with the *Timæus*, which, if it does not formulate a dogmatic ontology, at any rate lays the foundations of what R. D. Archer Hind has well called 'a thorough-going idealism.' Of each of these dialogues something must now be said.

In the *Parmenides* Plato takes up again the proposition 'Likes cannot be unlike, nor unlikes like.' Socrates, a mere stripling, disputes Zeno's supposed truth, and maintains that the same thing may be at once like and unlike by reason of the immanence in it of the ideas of like and unlike, or, in other words, by reason of the particular's participation in those ideas. That is to say, he attempts to dispose of the contemporary paradox of predication by an appeal to the characteristic doctrine of the *Republic* and the *Phædo*. Hereupon Parmenides—not the Parmenides of history, but an anachronistic Parmenides; in fact, Plato himself in the fullness of his powers—intervenes, and shows (*a*) that, whereas by assumption the idea is a unity (for otherwise the difficulties which beset the particular would beset the idea also), if two or more things are called by the name of the idea in virtue of their common participation in it, the unity of the immanent idea is sacrificed, either by multiplication or by division, in the world of sense (*Parmenides*, 130 E ff.); (*b*) that, if without participation in the idea there is no predication, the unity of the idea is sacrificed in the world of ideas; for the particular man and the idea of man are both called man, and by assumption this common predication implies the existence of a secondary idea of man, and so on *ad infinitum* (131 E, 132 D); (*c*) that the theory of the *Republic* and the *Phædo* does not explain how the idea, which is a unity, can be the subject of predication; for by assumption the subject of predication is not a unity, but a complex or bundle of ideas (129 C, E); (*d*) that the dogma 'Every common term has an idea corresponding to it' conflicts with the theory of the idea's perfection (130 C); (*e*) that, while without ideas there can be no knowledge, the unconditioned idea can no more be apprehended by man than the conditioned phenomenon can be apprehended by God (134 A ff.). That is to say, the theory of immanence, by which Plato in the earlier time had sought to explain the supposed paradox of the one thing and its many predicates, involves another paradox, the paradox of the one idea and its many particulars; and it will be necessary for us, if we are to attempt a reconstruction of the theory of being, to provide a new solution of the paradox of diverse attributions. For this new solution, so far as *relations* are concerned, we must look to the latter part of the dialogue. Here, at the instance of the other two, Parmenides proceeds to investigate his own doctrine of the existence of the one; but he extends the scope of the inquiry so that it shall take account of the antithesis of the one and the many whether that one or that many is supposed to be or not to be, and not only as the antithesis was understood by himself and by Zeno, but also as it was interpreted by their successors, and in particular by

Plato himself both in his earlier theory and in his later. In the course of the inquiry the antithesis of the one and the others, *i.e.* of the one thing and its many attributions, is brought before us in eight hypotheses: and in each case we ask ourselves, How does this particular hypothesis deal with the paradox of likeness and unlikeness? Does it recognize that the same thing can be like and unlike, old and young, and so forth, in which case cognition of some sort is possible? Or does it deny these attributes, and thus bring philosophy to a deadlock? The eight hypotheses and their results may be briefly stated as follows:

(i.) If the One is one, that is to say, in a strict sense a unity, the attributes like and unlike, great and small, resting and moving, old and young, etc., cannot be predicated of the One, and there can be neither knowledge nor sensation nor opinion of it.

(ii.) If the One participates in existence and, through a finite many (πολλά), becomes an infinite many (ἄπειρα), diverse predicates such as like and unlike, etc., can be affirmed and denied of the One in its relations to itself and to the others; and the One can be known, opined, perceived.

(iii.) If the One is, and, through a finite many, an infinite many can be conjoined in the One, diverse predicates such as like and unlike, etc., can be affirmed of the others in relation to themselves and to one another.

(iv.) If the One is, but, inasmuch as there is no finite plurality to mediate between the others and the One, the others are wholly dissociated from the One, diverse predicates such as like and unlike, etc., cannot be affirmed of the others.

(v.) If the One is not, *i.e.* if the One is negatively determined by its otherness from what is, diverse predicates such as like and unlike may be affirmed about the One and it can be known.

(vi.) If the One is not, *i.e.* if the One is absolutely non-existent, diverse predicates cannot be affirmed about it, and it cannot be known.

(vii.) If the One is not, and yet there are others—*i.e.* things other than one another—the others may have the semblance of grouping, even if there is no finite plurality to determine the groups, and in this way diverse predicates may be affirmed of the phenomenal others, and opinion, though not knowledge, is possible thereof.

(viii.) If the One is not, and there is no semblance of grouping, the others being no more than disconnected particulars, diverse predicates cannot be affirmed of them.

Now of these eight hypotheses four, namely i., iv., vi., viii., give negative results only; that is to say, there can be neither predication nor knowledge either of the One or of the others as here described. But (*a*) of the One and the others as conceived in ii. and iii., where the finite many mediates between the unity and infinite plurality, and (*b*) of the One of v., which is negatively determined, there may be predication and knowledge, and (*c*) vii. permits qualified predication and opinion in the region of sense. Accordingly, we shall find that ii. and iii. are the foundation of the *Philebus* and the *Timæus*, and that v. and vii. find a place in the three logical dialogues, *Theætetus*, *Sophist*, and *Politicus*. In a word, the *Parmenides* not only rejects the earlier theory of ideas, but also maps out the later. And this is not all. From the eight hypotheses Parmenides draws the enigmatical conclusion:

'Whether One exists or does not exist, both One and the others are, and are not, all things in all ways, and appear to be, and do not appear to be, all things in all ways, both in relation to themselves and in relation to one another.'

This summary of the eight hypotheses is Plato's resolution of the paradox of likeness and unlikeness. For he has shown practically in many particular instances that, whether we suppose the One to be existent or to be non-existent, and howsoever we conceive it, we can affirm and deny, of it and of them, *in its and their relations to itself and to themselves*, diverse predicates such as like and unlike, resting and moving, small and great, etc. Thus, when we affirm diverse predicates of any thing, there is no inconsistency such as Antisthenes had supposed; because what is affirmed or denied is always a *relation*, and the same thing can be like in one relation and unlike in another. And this resolution of the contemporary difficulty carries with it an important corollary; it is now open to us to expunge relations from the list of the εἴδη, and in this way to escape, so far as relations are concerned, from the paradox of the multiplication or the division of the idea. Or, if we prefer still to recognize εἴδη of relations, distinguishing between εἴδη which are αὐτὰ καθ' αὑτά and εἴδη which are not αὐτὰ καθ' αὑτά, we may relegate εἴδη of relations to the latter class.

But again, as has been said, the *Parmenides* affords hints for reconstruction: (1) the second and third hypotheses show that, if exact predication and knowledge are to be possible, a finite plurality must needs intervene between unity and infinite plurality; *i.e.*, as is affirmed in the *Philebus*, a finite number of kinds must needs intervene between the unity of existence and the infinity of particulars; (2) from the fifth hypothesis we learn what is shown at length in the *Sophist*, that a member or members of the finite plurality can be negatively described; (3) the seventh hypothesis shows that, where there is no finite plurality, there may still be a finity of apparent, artificial groups, by which inexact predication, and opinion, but not knowledge, become possible. It would seem, then, that the *Parmenides*—which some have regarded as a dialectical exercise preparatory to the *Republic*, and most have deliberately neglected—not only disposes of the earlier doctrine, and maps out the later, but also announces that withdrawal of ideas of relation which Aristotle plainly regarded as a notable characteristic of Plato's maturity (*Met.* A. ix. 990^{b} 16).

The work of reconstruction begun in the *Parmenides* is continued in the *Philebus*. Here Socrates reverts to the question propounded in *Republic*, vi. 505 A ff., What is the *summum bonum*? Is it pleasure? Is it intelligence? This ethical question is quickly and summarily disposed of: the chief good of man is a mixed life of intelligence and pure pleasure. But a new question, wider in its scope, arises out of it and takes its place. What is it that makes the mixed life, or anything else, good? In the *Republic* and the *Phædo* Plato had made answer: 'A thing is good because, side by side with the constitutive idea, the idea of good, the αὐτὸ ἀγαθόν, is present in it.' But in the interval the theory of the immanent idea has been discredited, and now in the *Philebus* we start anew from the dogma foreshadowed in the second and third hypotheses of the *Parmenides*: 'All things which are or exist in our universe are combinations of *finity* (πέρας), and *indefinity*' (ἀπειρία); and we call them good or bad according as they approximate to, or diverge from, the πέρας ἔχοντα, their constitutive ideas. Whence it would seem (1) that, inasmuch as the particular is good by reason of its approximation to its formative idea, the intervention of the idea of good is no longer required to account for the particular's excellence, and (2) that, inasmuch as particulars approximate to, and diverge from, their respective ideas, the particular *imitates* (μιμεῖται) the idea and no longer *participates* in it (μετέχει). Incidentally it appears that we no longer need ideas of 'hot' and 'cold,' inasmuch as these qualities are divergences from an indifference point which is neither the one nor the other.

The *Theætetus*, the *Sophist*, and the *Statesman* are a trilogy, not only in the sense that the conversation begun in the first of the three is continued in the other two, but also inasmuch as the *Sophist* and the *Statesman*, though ostensibly they discuss a new question, Are sophist, statesman, and philosopher one, two, or three?, resume and dispose of the question left unanswered in the *Theætetus*, What is knowledge?

According to Aristotle (*Met.* A. vi. 987^{a} 32), Plato, who in early years had been the pupil of the Heracleitean Cratylus, was true in later life to the Heracleitean principle, 'All sensibles are in

flux and therefore cannot be known,' whence he inferred the existence of things other than sensibles, and these things he called *forms* or *ideas*. The *Theætetus* is Plato's justification of the Heracleitean principle; and, if the corollary is not explicitly formulated, at any rate the way to it is made plain. Knowledge, we find, is not sensation, which has sensibles for its object; nor is it true opinion, opinion being judgment about sensibles; nor is it true opinion supported by a definition, Socratic or otherwise. Hence, if there is to be any knowledge —and Plato does not despair—there must be things other than sensibles, and such are the ideas, which, in the second and third hypotheses of the *Parmenides*, mediate between the unity of being and the infinity of particulars.

In the *Sophist* and the *Statesman* the interlocutors of the *Theætetus* together with an Eleatic stranger, who now appears for the first time, discuss the question, 'Are sophist, statesman, and philosopher one, two, or three?', and come to the conclusion that the true statesman is identical with the philosopher, and the mere politician identical with the sophist. Thus in our search for the sophist we stumble upon the philosopher (253 C); and it is therefore unnecessary either to suppose that a dialogue about 'the philosopher' was planned but remained unwritten, or to find a 'philosopher' in one of the extant dialogues. Incidentally, the definition of the philosopher carries with it a definition of knowledge, and in this way the *Sophist*, hereafter to be supplemented by the *Statesman*, resumes the discussion raised and dropped in the *Theætetus*, and the unity of the trilogy is assured.

In the search for a definition of 'sophist' the Eleate finds himself obliged 'in violation of the principle of our father Parmenides,' to attribute existence to the non-existent or non-ent. An investigation of the non-ent (*μὴ ὄν*) thus becomes necessary; and, as in the *Parmenides* the investigation of the existent unity involves that of unity which is non-existent, so here the study of the non-ent involves that of the ent also. In the investigation of the two taken together the following discoveries are made: (1) beside *αὐτὰ καθ' αὑτὰ εἴδη*, which are incommunicable, incapable of being predicated of one another, there are *γένη* or *εἴδη*, not *αὐτὰ καθ' αὑτά*, which communicate, some within narrow limits, others generally but not universally, such as 'rest' (*στάσις*) and motion (*κίνησις*), and others, again, universally, namely ent (*ὄν*), same (*ταὐτόν*), other (*θάτερον*); (2) there is no *αὐτὸ καθ' αὑτὸ εἶδος* of sophist; (3) the function of dialectic is classification according to kinds (*τὸ κατὰ γένη διαιρεῖσθαι*), whereby we are preserved from thinking that which is the same different or that which is different the same; and he who can thus classify is the philosopher whom we seek; (4) ent (*ὄν*) and non-ent (*μὴ ὄν*) are intercommunicable, if by non-ent we mean, not that which is contrary (*ἐναντίον*) to ent, but that which is different (*ἕτερον*) from it, and accordingly *μὴ μέγα* and *μὴ καλόν* may be as truly existent as *μέγα* and *καλόν* (cf. the fifth hypothesis of the *Parmenides*, and ct. *Republic*, v. *ad fin.*); (5) the troubles of contemporary logic principally depend upon misunderstandings in regard to the negative. The merits of this great dialogue cannot be exaggerated.

The method of *division* (*διαίρεσις*) announced in the *Sophist* is developed and illustrated in the *Statesman* (*πολιτικός*). Division is indeed no new thing; but the use now to be made of it is novel and important. In the *Philebus* (16 B) Socrates professes himself enamoured of it, though it has often left him stranded: and as early as the *Phædrus* (263 A) he has employed it in framing Socratic definitions with a view to consistency in the use of debatable terms (*ἀμφισβητήσιμα*) such as just, unjust; in other words, in making artificial groups where nature does not give us definite kinds. In the *Sophist*, when we seek definitions of *ἀσπαλιευτική* and *σοφιστική*, and even in the *Statesman*, when the stranger starts upon his inquiry, division has no more ambitious aim than *ὁμολογία*. But at 261 D ff., and especially at 266 A ff., we find ourselves applying it to animal kinds with a view to the discovery of incorporeal *αὐτὰ καθ' αὑτὰ εἴδη*. That is to say, *διαίρεσις* is now used, not with a view to the creation of artificial groups in the region of *ἀμφισβητήσιμα*, but as a means of ascertaining the likenesses and the unlikenesses of nature's fixities, the *αὐτὰ καθ' αὑτὰ εἴδη*. In other words, the natural types, or *αὐτὰ καθ' αὑτὰ εἴδη*, are the proper objects of knowledge, and what can be known about them is their mutual resemblances and differences. And, when it is understood that the end of *διαίρεσις* is now the determination of the affinities of *εἴδη*, and not a mere definition 'per genus et differentias' of a single *εἶδος*, certain precepts here added and exemplified become for the first time intelligible. *E.g.*, the longer dichotomy is, as such, the better, because we obtain by it fuller information about an *ἐπιστητόν*. We have then here the foundation of the classificatory science which was for a time to play so great a part in the Academy. The latter part of the dialogue prepares the way for the reconstituted sociology of Plato's fifth period.

The *Timæus* is the keystone of the later theory of ideas. Here, in a cosmogonical myth, Plato shows that the universe, as we know it under conditions of time and space, may be conceived as the thoughts of universal mind together with the thoughts of those thoughts. The ideas are the thoughts of God (*νοήματα θεοῦ*), or, in other words, the laws of universal mind's thinking. But, whereas universal mind, the subject, thinks a plurality of thoughts, it thinks those thoughts, its objects, in space; and, in so far as it thinks them under spacial conditions, it thinks them in terms of certain regular geometrical figures—pyramid, octahedron, eikosahedron, cube — and these regular geometrical figures are respectively the ideas of fire, air, water, earth, the elements which go to make (*a*) the body of the universe, (*b*) the bodies of the stars, which are the first-born thoughts of creative mind, and (*c*) the bodies of the animals and vegetables, which creative mind thinks, not directly as it thinks the stars, but indirectly through the minds of the stars, its first-born thoughts; and, whereas God, or mind, the creator, thinks humanity or caninity, as an eternal unity, the stars, His first-born thoughts, when they think humanity or caninity corporealized under spacial conditions, conceive it, not as an eternal unity, but as a transient plurality. Thus particular men or dogs are, as it were, reflexions of the idea of man or dog, invested with bodily form under conditions of time and space; and in this way, in virtue of the hypothesis that 'that which superior mind *conceives* as a subjective thought is *perceived* by inferior mind, however imperfectly, as an objective thing,' Plato is able to show, at any rate, the possibility of expressing in terms of mind the materiality and the externality of things. And these results carry with them an important corollary. If particular men and particular dogs owe their respective existences to eternal, immutable ideas of man and dog, it should be possible for us—even if we cannot apprehend those ideas—to study by the method of division (*διαίρεσις*) announced in the *Sophist* and the *Statesman* the *bodily* resemblances and differences of natural kinds. In a word, the proper function of the man of science is the study of classificatory zoology and botany, because in these subjects the

ideas of the respective animals and vegetables assure us of the existence of natural kinds. On the other hand, where there are no ideas, and therefore no determinate natural kinds, though we may 'study the subject as a recreation, and derive from it a sober and sensible amusement (59 C),' there can be no exact science. *E.g.*, mineralogy, inasmuch as the several minerals are irregular, indeterminate, combinations of the four simple bodies, combinations which are not definitely marked off from one another by nature, is not an exact science. Nevertheless it would seem that Plato by no means confined his attention to the exact sciences, the sciences founded upon ideas; for in the latter part of the *Timæus* he has much to say both about inexact sciences, such as mineralogy, and about the parts and organs of the body and their several functions. His pronouncements on these subjects are highly speculative; but, as indications of his scientific aims, they are by no means unimportant.

We may now tabulate the later theory of ideas with a view to a comparison of its supplementary articles with those of the earlier theory. The fundamental proposition is still—as it has been ever since Plato freed himself from Socratic limitations—'Beside pluralities of phenomena, transient, mutable, imperfect, which come into being, and are objects of opinion, there are unities, eternal, immutable, perfect, which really exist, and are objects of knowledge.'

The supplementary articles are as follows: (*a*) there are substantive, self-existent ideas (*αὐτὰ καθ' αὐτὰ εἴδη*) of the universe; of fire, air, water, earth; of the several stars; and of the several animal and vegetable species; but of nothing else. (*b*) It is not the idea's immanence in particulars, but the imitation or reflexion of the idea in matter—*i.e.* in space—that brings particulars into existence and makes them what they are. (*c*) Unity = mind = good = God is the cause, the sole cause, of all things; it is the cause of the ideas, of particulars, and even of its own correlative—plurality = space = evil = necessity. (*d*) The ideas are the thoughts of the sole cause, namely, unity or mind. (*e*) Infinite mind develops within itself a complete universe of thoughts, primary and secondary; and this universe of thoughts, as seen from within by a finite intelligence included in it, is our universe of things.

In this stage, then, the forms or ideas are unities from which nature's fixities—the universe, the four simple bodies, the stars, and the animal and vegetable kinds—are respectively derived; they are substantial and eternal; they are the thoughts of universal mind; they are not immanent in particulars, but are imitated or reflected as particulars in space.

(5) *The Laws.*—We now come to the fifth period of Plato's philosophical and literary activity. Having given to his metaphysic its final shape, and having shown how, through the doctrine of natural kinds, it affords a foundation for the scientific study of animal and vegetable species, Plato leaves to his nephew Speusippus the direction of the biological studies of the school, and himself, reverting to ethics and sociology, revises his earlier conclusions about those subjects from the standpoint of his later philosophy. When he wrote the *Republic*, he had hoped to attain through the self-good to the knowledge of the ideas, and thus to establish a 'philosophical morality.' If man could know the self-good and the ideal virtues which spring from it, he would no longer—except in early years when he had not yet completed his education—require that 'popular and civic virtue' which society artificially builds up by means of rewards and punishments; the knowledge of the self-good would be his one and only end and his exceeding great reward. Such had been Plato's aspiration when in a burst of enthusiasm he wrote the *Republic*. But since that time he had become aware of the limitations of human nature. Man cannot know the self-good; and, what is more, inasmuch as man has a bodily nature, the self-good and the human good are not identical. This being so, we cannot dispense with 'popular and civic morality,' and it becomes necessary to do what we can to strengthen and improve it. Hence, whereas in the *Republic* he plans a constitution and provides for its maintenance, but commits to his trained magistrates all the responsibilities of administration, in the *Laws*, recognizing that under existing conditions legislation is indispensable, he seeks to provide for the guidance of his countrymen a complete code of enactments. In this remarkable treatise Plato leaves metaphysic and science behind him; but there is one metaphysical pronouncement, and at first sight it flagrantly conflicts with the teaching of the *Timæus*. Whereas in that dialogue Plato claims to have found in universal mind the one and only cause of the infinite variety of things, here, in the *Laws* (896 E), he confidently affirms that there are two world-souls, the one beneficent, the other maleficent—God and devil. The truth is that, writing popularly, he stops short of his final analysis. The good world-soul and the bad world-soul of the *Laws* are the providence (*πρόνοια*) and the necessity (*ἀνάγκη*) of the *Timæus*; and the fact that in the unmetaphysical *Laws* Plato rests in the penultimate dualism of the great metaphysical dialogue is no reason for supposing that he had abandoned his ultimate henism.

Never perhaps was any other philosopher as progressive as Plato. In his early years he had studied the two philosophies which were afterwards to be the foundations of his own system—the Heracleitean theory of flux and the Socratic doctrine of ethical universals. In the first period of his independent thought he attempted no more than to carry on by written discourse the oral teaching of his master and thus to secure a greater consistency in the use of those terms of morality which have so great an influence upon actions. In the second, noting that, in moral and æsthetic practice, we find ourselves perpetually referring to an ideal standard, he conceives that in a previous existence we have known certain suprasensual realities such as goodness, beauty, and justice, of which their counterparts in this world imperfectly remind us. In the third, bewildered by Zeno's axiom that likes cannot be unlike, nor unlikes like, he assumes that for every predicate there is a suprasensual reality, and that this suprasensual reality, though separately existent and a unity, is present in every particular which bears the same name. In the fourth, having in the interval realized that things which are like in one relation may be unlike in another, and having disposed of other logical difficulties of the time, Plato now postulates ideas only where he finds fixities in nature. Such fixities are the universe itself, the four so-called simple bodies, the stars, and the animal and vegetable kinds. These are natural fixities because they derive their existence from the ideas, which are the eternal immutable thoughts of universal mind. Universal mind is the sole cause of the universe and all that is in it. In the fifth period, having learnt to limit his intellectual aspirations, Plato revises and supplements the sociological schemes of his third period.

5. Ethical teaching.—Plato's ethical teaching can hardly be called systematic. In his first period he is a Socratic, pure and simple. In his second he indicates, but does not develop, the theory of ideas upon which he at that time hoped to build a transcendental ethic. In the third, if we look to

the *Republic* for a positive morality, we find ourselves disappointed; for this great treatise, in which Plato discusses the well-being of the state and the well-being of the individual, merges ethic in education, and makes the educated man a law to himself and to his inferiors. In the fourth period the *Philebus* and the *Statesman* do something to correlate the earlier morality with the later theory of ideas. Finally, the *Laws* is written, not from the standpoint of the professional moralist, but from that of the legislator, who, recognizing the importance of political institutions and the value of rewards and punishments, endeavours to improve the contemporary methods. See, further, art. ETHICS AND MORALITY (Greek), § 12.

6. The school of Plato.—It has been seen that Plato in his maturity was not only philosopher but also man of science. That is to say, the metaphysical theory of ideas carried with it the physical theory of natural kinds and thus provided a basis for the classificatory sciences of zoology and botany. But the two theories were not inseparable. Plato's nephew, Speusippus, who in 347 succeeded him as head of the school, rested his biological researches upon the theory of kinds, while he rejected the theory of ideas as a superfluous hypothesis. Aristotle, while he impatiently and peremptorily dismissed the theory of ideas, was careful to reconstitute the theory of kinds, taking his departure from the two principles *οὐδὲν ἀτελὲς ποιεῖ ἡ φύσις* and *ἄνθρωπος ἄνθρωπον γεννᾷ*. Xenocrates, indeed, who succeeded Speusippus in 339—a moralist rather than a metaphysician—attempted to maintain the idealist tradition; but his arithmetical interpretation of the phrase 'ideal number' shows a strange misconception of his master's teaching. Polemo, who followed Xenocrates in 314, took definitely the ethical direction. With Crates, who succeeded Polemo in 270, the so-called Old Academy ended. Platonism, *i.e.* the idealism upon which Plato rested the theory of kinds, ceased to be a living force when Plato died. For the subsequent history of the school see art. ACADEMY.

LITERATURE.—The following editions of Plato's writings deserve special mention: (1) whole works: I. Bekker, Berlin, 1816–23; J. G. Baiter, J. C. Orelli, and A. W. Winckelmann, Zürich, 1839–42; K. F. Hermann, Leipzig, 1851–53; F. W. Wagner, Leipzig, 1841–77, with German translation and commentary; J. Burnet, Oxford, 1901–06 (an excellent conservative text); (2) selected dialogues: L. F. Heindorf, Berlin, 1802–28; (3) particular dialogues: W. H. Thompson, *Phædrus*, London, 1868, and *Gorgias*, do. 1871; R. D. Archer Hind, *Phædo*, do. 1883, and *Timæus*, do. 1888. The best-known English translation of the whole works is that of B. Jowett, Oxford, 1871.

For Plato's philosophy see E. Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen*[3], Leipzig, 1869–81, II. i., tr. S. F. Alleyne and A. Goodwin, *Plato and the older Academy*, London, 1876 (not always to be trusted); F. Ueberweg, *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie*[8], Berlin, 1894–97 (Eng. tr., H. P. Smith and P. Schaff, London, 1880), contains, together with a useful summary of Plato's teaching, a very valuable bibliography.

The writer of the present article has occasionally used in it sentences and phrases borrowed from a sketch of the history of Greek philosophy down to Aristotle which he contributed to *A Companion to Greek Studies*[2], Cambridge, 1906, pp. 163–187. His present statement of the later Platonism set forth in 'the six dialogues' is largely based upon papers published in *JPh* x. [1881–82] 253–298, xi. [1882] 1–22, 287–331, xiii. [1884–85] 1–40, 242–272, xiv. [1885] 173–230, xv. [1886] 280–305, xxv. [1897] 4–25, but the views there indicated, while they have in some respect modified themselves, have for the most part become more definite with the lapse of time. For certain recent speculations about Plato and the relation of his teaching to that of Socrates see A. E. Taylor, *Varia Socratica*, Oxford, 1911, and J. Burnet, *Plato's Phædo*, do. 1911, *Greek Philosophy*, pt. i., London, 1914.

HENRY JACKSON.

PLAY.—See DRAMA, GAMES, DEVELOPMENT (Mental).

PLEASURE.—Both pleasure and pain are too well known to require description and too elemental to admit of analysis. They are experiences which are co-extensive with all other forms of mental life—sensations, images, memories, reasonings, willings, emotions, all being capable of taking on these pleasant or unpleasant colourings, although all, apparently, except perhaps the last, are able to exist in a neutral phase. Yet in spite of the familiarity and prominence of these states, both in daily life and in ethical controversy, the more exact determination of their nature is one of the most confused problems in modern psychology. As a problem it was seriously considered by Plato and by Aristotle, but it was not until the intellectualist tradition had been questioned by Rousseau, and interest in the more inarticulate phases of mental life had been quickened by evolutionary biology, that the feelings were made objects of exact investigation. Within the last twenty years, however, much has been done, and, while it is impossible to say that conclusions have been established, it is at least true that many facts have been determined and alternative theories defined.

1. The term 'pleasure' itself has been recognized as too ambiguous for technical use, and there has developed a tendency to substitute for it 'agreeableness' or 'pleasantness,' and to include both it and its opposite, pain or unpleasantness, under the common term 'affection' as denoting the non-cognitive aspect of mental life. Pleasantness and unpleasantness would thus be recognized as affective phases of mental complexes into which any of the other elements or phases might enter. For those complexes in which the affective phase is most prominent or characteristic the term 'feeling' has been suggested, as the feelings of gladness or depression. Pleasure, in popular usage, is generally identified with one of these complex processes of feeling and not with the abstract affective phase of pleasantness. It is the whole process of eating a good dinner or of enjoying a reunion that is called a 'pleasure.' Much of the confusion in ethical discussions of the good has arisen from failure to make this distinction between pleasure as affective tone and as complex feeling, the value recognized by common sense in the latter being identified by hedonistic theory with the former.

2. The historic problem of quality of pleasure also has light thrown upon it by this distinction. John Stuart Mill's revival of the Platonic doctrine of differences of kind in pleasures involves the failure to make this analysis into pleasantness and pleasant object, with the consequent apparent ascription to the one of the moral worth found in the other, the differences in the pleasures of the fool and Socrates lying not in the affective element but in the total feeling. So, too, the common popular classification into higher and lower kinds of pleasure is really a distinction between higher and lower forms of experience as a complex whole rather than between kinds of pleasantness as such.

Yet, even on the basis of this analysis, modern psychology is not a unit as to the quality of affection. Wundt insists upon a threefold distinction within affection itself—upon three pairs of opposites: pleasantness and unpleasantness, excitement and depression, tension and relaxation. Within each of these pairs, again, he recognizes an indefinite number of qualitatively distinct affective elements. This tri-dimensional theory of feeling involves the concept of pleasure mainly so far as concerns the recognition of varieties of pleasantness and unpleasantness, although undoubtedly much of what popular consciousness includes in pleasure would, under this theory, be assignable to excitement or relaxation. In his main contention for the greater complexity of the affections Royce agrees with Wundt, though seeing his way as yet to the recognition of only two antagonistic lines of difference—pleasantness and unpleasantness, restless

ness and quiescence, with their included minor distinctions.

On the other side are those who recognize only two antagonistic aspects of affection—pleasantness and unpleasantness — analyzing the other two dimensions into organic and muscular sensations. Certainly, when we have eliminated our sensations of muscular strain, the feeling of tension vanishes, and, equally, excitement seems to have little meaning apart from sensations of tension and respiration and consciousness of rapidity in the flow of ideas. On the whole, the dual theory seems to have the weight of testimony, both lay and expert, in its favour.

Incidentally, it may be remarked that the unpleasantness recognized in this analysis is not to be identified with the sensation of organic pain, which, while usually existing in an extremely unpleasant complex, may yet, when of slight intensity, have the pleasantness of interest.

The question as to whether pleasantness itself admits of qualitative differences is not to be answered with any positiveness. Introspection gives varying testimony on the point, and whereas, if we assume that the phases of affection correspond to a general central process, we are inclined to expect only differences of degree, when we also assume that every element in a complex varies with the changes in the total complex, we tend to look for qualitative differences in pleasantness according as the total process varies. Certainly the burden of proof seems to rest heavily on those who affirm such differences in quality.

3. As to the psychological status of pleasure—its place among other mental processes — three theories hold the field.

(1) *The qualitative theory* (Stout, Marshall).—Pleasure and pain are general qualities or attributes of mental process, either of which may be attached to any mental element. The term 'quality' is here explained as used in the same sense as when applied to intensity as a quality of sensation. Pleasantness thus has no substantive standing, but is always pleasantness of something, just as intensity never exists by itself but always as an essential attribute of another state.

(2) *The sensational theory* (Stumpf).—Pleasure and pain are sensations of the organic type. Pleasure is a diffused sensation of tickling or a weak sensation of lust. If pleasure were a mere attribute of sensation, it would not itself have attributes such as intensity and duration, nor would a sensation persist in the absence of its attributes as is the case relative to pleasure and pain.

(3) *The affective element theory* (Titchener).—Pleasure and pain are the two phases of a simple affective process which forms one of the two elementary constituents of mental life, if we group sensation and image together as the second. Affection is similar to sensation in possessing quality, intensity, duration, but it lacks clearness, and shows an antagonism and incompatibility of its opposite qualities which mark it off from sensation. Tickling has its own sensory quality, which may be either pleasant or unpleasant, but which is not synonymous with pleasantness.

While no consensus of opinion can be invoked on the questions involved in these theories, it may be remarked that the point at issue between (1) and both (2) and (3) seems to resolve itself into the somewhat profitless logical distinction between substance and quality. As between (2) and (3), while one may not be satisfied with the form in which the latter theory is usually stated, one cannot but feel that, in its recognition of the distinctness of pleasantness as an elementary aspect of mental life, it has in its favour the almost unanimous testimony of introspection.

4. As to the conditions of pleasure, our knowledge is still more incomplete. From the genetic point of view, it has been suggested that affection is undeveloped sensation or a mode of experience of which sensation is a later phase, and that the free sensory nerve-endings may be its organ (Titchener). We have also the biological generalization that pleasure is the accompaniment of actions useful to the organism (Spencer), but such a generalization needs qualifying conditions which it is beyond our present power to supply. A widely applicable psychological formula is that pleasure is the accompaniment of uninterrupted activity, of progress towards an end, whatever the end may be (Stout, Angell). This end may not be useful for life as a whole, and hence the activity may not have survival value, but in so far as it is an actual end the progressive realization of it gives pleasure. Such a formula seems more adequate for the more active type of pleasures but hardly for pleasure in its whole extent. From the physiological point of view, there is a general tendency to consider the conditions for affection as central rather than peripheral, but guesses differ as to whether it is a matter of general nutritive condition or of motor preparedness, as well as to whether a special cortical region is involved or the whole cortex.

5. For the place of pleasure in ethical systems see art. HEDONISM.

LITERATURE.—E. B. Titchener, *Elementary Psychology of Feeling and Attention*, New York, 1908, *Text-Book of Psychology*, do. 1910; H. R. Marshall, *Pain, Pleasure, and Æsthetics*, London, 1894, *Consciousness*, do. 1909, ch. xi.; G. F. Stout, *Manual of Psychology*[2], do. 1904, bk. ii. ch. viii., *Analytic Psychology*, 2 vols., do. 1896, bk. i. ch. vi.; J. Royce, *Outlines of Psychology*, New York, 1903, ch. vii.; G. T. Ladd, *Psychology, Descriptive and Explanatory*, London, 1894, ch. ix. f.; W. Wundt, *Grundzüge der physiologischen Psychologie*, Leipzig, 1902–03, ii.; C. Stumpf, 'Ueber Gefühlsempfindungen,' *Zeitschr. für Psychologie*, xliv. [1907]; H. Münsterberg, *Beiträge zur experimentellen Psychologie*, Freiburg, 1889–92, iv.; O. Külpe, 'Zur Theorie der sinnlichen Gefühle,' *Vierteljahrsschr. für wiss. Philosophie*, xi. [1887] 442–482, xii. [1888] 50–80; F. Bouillier, *Du Plaisir et de la douleur*[3], Paris, 1885; H. Spencer, *Principles of Psychology*, London, 1881, vol. i. pt. ii. ch. ix.

NORMAN WILDE.

PLEROMA.—This term has acquired a certain celebrity from its use in the later NT books, in relation to deity, and in one of the most fully developed systems of Gnosticism, as a designation of what may be called the Gnostic heaven—that supersensible spiritual sphere in which the Godhead was thought to exist and manifest itself above and apart from the material world. There were, of course, many fantastic and extravagant notions in the Gnostic idea, but every careful student who follows the course of Christian thought in the 2nd cent., at the time when Christianity came face to face with the advanced conclusions of speculative religious philosophy, will see how significant a phenomenon the Gnostic heaven is. This article will deal exclusively with the conception embodied in the word 'Pleroma,' and will endeavour to follow its use from the NT up to the form in which it finally appears in the Valentinian system of Æons. The various elements of thought which are there united, and which form a fairly well rounded system of God and the world, had grown up out of, and had been gathered from, the great systems which dominated the ancient world; but these appear here fused and blended with the new ideas that Christianity had introduced. It was the first great attempt to exhibit Christianity as a part of the system of the world—and no mean effort either, as we shall readily see, if we are able to thread our way through the tangled maze of grotesque and mythical phraseology in which the Gnostic teachers indulged. In its most fantastic shapes, however, there are usually visible some gleams of rational thought.

1. NT use.—The NT use of the term 'Pleroma,

in relation to deity, is given in Col 1^{19} 2^{9}, Eph 1^{23} 3^{19} 4^{13}, Jn 1^{16}. The word is found in other parts of the NT in the ordinary sense of 'fullness' variously applied, but in these passages it stands in a context which seems to require a special theological connotation with which the reader is supposed to be already familiar. In St. Paul's language two great conceptions are affirmed or implied: (1) that the whole fullness of deity, the entire plenitude of divine excellences, energies, and powers resides in Christ; and (2) that, through union with Him, the Christian Church is destined to share in the fullness which dwells in Him. Both these conceptions appear in the subsequent phases of Gnostic thought, but they are placed in new connexions and relations, and in the handling of them the lead of Scripture and the limits within which they are viewed in Scripture are soon lost sight of. In the views which St. Paul combats at Colossæ we recognize some incipient forms of Gnosticism which are easily identified with well-known features of popular Jewish beliefs characteristic of the age—an undue prominence given to angels as mediators between God and the world, and the false authority ascribed to various ascetic practices. The revelation of God which was given in the incarnation and mission of the Son had for ever set aside the necessity for inferior mediators, whether angels or men; and the Apostle's contention is that all the energies and powers of deity, all divine functions in the order and government of the world, reside in Him, all things visible and invisible, thrones, dominions, principalities, and powers being subject to Him. The Jewish teachers at Colossæ had doubtless taken their stand upon the common belief that there were many mediators through whom God communicates His will to men, and that to each of these a measure of divine honour or worship might be due. They had not yet discovered that in Christianity was given the final and absolute revelation of God to the world.

The idea that the entire fullness of the Godhead is manifested in Christ is fundamental to Christianity, and is, indeed, a wide-reaching conception, difficult to grasp by the intellect—a mystery profoundly significant and precious to faith. The Christian recognizes in Him the embodiment of all divine excellence, the full glory of the Father. In the later books of the NT we note an important advance upon the Christology of the Acts and earlier Epistles. In the latter the chief aspects of His Messianic dignity and glory are set forth as the ground for faith in Him as the Mediator of the Messianic salvation. The full content of the Messianic idea was not laid open, and was probably not called for in the earlier preaching. But at a later stage, with the advance of thought and a growing faith, the doctrine of the person of the Son became richer and fuller. It was seen that He is the full and complete expression of the Father's nature and glory, 'the image of the invisible God,' 'the effulgence of His glory,' 'the very impress of His being.' The Fourth Gospel, the latest phase of NT teaching, exhibits this conception in relation to the earthly life of the Redeemer, showing that the Son is the entire and complete manifestation of the Father. It is doubtless the spiritual and ethical perfections of deity that are chiefly in view in the passages in which the Pleroma of the Godhead is ascribed to the Son, since these chiefly will be thought of as constituting the great essentials of the eternal life, which was with the Father, and which the Redeemer conveys to mēn. Yet, though we have difficulty in believing that all the recesses of deity are open to the knowledge of men, it is manifest that in the NT conception of the Incarnation there is given, besides the ethical perfections of the Godhead, a universal cosmic principle—the energies and powers which produce and sustain the course of the world. It is not easy to separate in thought the cosmic and ethical elements in the idea; in reality the two must meet and blend to form a complete whole. The ethical perfections of the Godhead are manifested not in empty space, but in the complex life of the material world, in which they must be sustained and vindicated by physical energies and powers. The Pleroma of the Godhead, therefore, contains not merely the totality of all ethical perfections, but all divine energies which the cosmos displays; and, all these being ascribed without limitation to the Son, there arises the necessary inference that He is the final and absolute manifestation of deity to men.

2. The Valentinian system.—From the various contexts in which the term 'Pleroma' is used in the NT it is to be gathered that the idea was new in the sphere of religion, and that towards the close of the Apostolic Age it was denied or opposed by other and contrary hypotheses, viz. that there were many mediating agencies between God and men, and that the whole fullness of deity could not be communicated to any one being or person, however eminent.

The last thought appears in various shapes in all the forms of Gnosticism, and it is usually implied that no entire or perfect revelation of deity is possible in material things, that all perfect manifestations of God are confined to the sphere within which deity is to be found—the sphere to which they apply the term 'Pleroma' in a local or topographical sense. In some passages where the word occurs incidentally we see that the idea is of capital importance, and we are prepared for the bold effort which is made in the Valentinian system to reach a definite and rounded doctrine in regard to it. Among the earlier Gnostics the attempt was made to obviate the difficulty involved in the incarnation and passion of the Son, either by assuming that our Lord's body was not real flesh and blood, but a form assumed for a time, or by saying that Jesus was the son of Joseph and Mary by ordinary generation, and that the Christ who descended upon him at his baptism, being a spiritual being and, as such, impassible, departed from him at the Crucifixion.

Irenæus describes this party as maintaining that Jesus was 'merely a receptacle of Christ upon whom the Christ, as a dove, descended from above, and that when He had declared the unnameable Father He entered into the Pleroma in an incomprehensible and invisible manner' (*Hær.* III. xvi. 1). The same view appears in another passage, where it is said that 'the Christ from above . . . continued impassible,' and that, though He had descended upon Jesus the Son of the Demiourgos, He 'flew back again into His own *pleroma*' (III. xi. 1).

These two examples serve to show the point at which the Gnostic view diverges from St. Paul and the NT. He teaches that all divine powers and energies reside in Christ in permanent form, while they maintained that only a single power—the Christ from above—had dwelt in Jesus for a time, and afterwards returned to the Pleroma, from which thought it is clear that the Pleroma is viewed as the special sphere or abode of deity, separate from the rest of the world and not homogeneous with it.

Turning now to the system of Valentinus as it is expounded by Irenæus and Hippolytus, we find that the Pleroma forms the centre of an elaborate theory of the world—of divine emanations, of creation, and redemption. It is the exclusive sphere of deity within which the evolution of the Æons is accomplished. It has over against it the *κένωμα*, the 'void,' the sphere of matter which includes all that is outward, corporeal, physical, sensible. These two spheres include the totality of being real or conceivable, and there is an absolute difference and antithesis between them,

such that the one is the home of all that is perfect, godlike, eternal, imperishable; while in the other things are corrupt, perishable, shadowy, unreal. The Æons which are begotten from the unfathomable abyss of deity are the divine energies, the functions of infinite life which manifest themselves in a definite order and succession; but towards the end of the series, where presumably their strength and purity have diminished, the last being far from the centre and source of life, one of them, Sophia, somehow passes out into the void beyond, and out of her tears, sorrows, and distresses the material creation arises. The antithesis between these two spheres as conceived by Valentinus himself is probably better expressed by the term ὑστέρημα, 'defect,' than by κένωμα, 'void,' since the view of matter or the world which is prominent in the teaching of the school regards it as having its origin in some disturbance in the life of deity itself, and therefore not of an opposite or contrary nature. The sphere of the Æons is marked off by definite bounds from the sphere beyond, but the movement implied in the generation of the Æons in some of its remoter effects passes over the limits into the sphere in which the world arises, so that an affinity is established between the two from the first. The later Æons —Sophia, Christ, and the Holy Spirit—carry over the living and redeeming energies of the Pleroma into the lower sphere where, divine seeds being already sown from the tears and labours of Sophia, all that is kindred with the Pleroma, after being redeemed and purified, returns to it at last as its ultimate home.

3. The Gnostic reconstruction.—From this outline we are in a position to see how far the Gnostic conception has parted from the NT standpoint, and where it passes over into a region unknown and unknowable to man. It has already lost sight of the spiritual and ethical quality of the concept of God, characteristic of Scripture, in which omniscience and omnipresence are implied, and sets about establishing bounds between the sphere appropriate to deity and an outer world. In this respect it still keeps to the old contrast of God and the world which dominated all the ancient systems. A parallel to this drift of thought is seen in the strong tendency towards the unknown and the marvellous exhibited in the apocryphal Christian literature which was contemporaneous with the great Gnostic movement. Yet the speculative effort to reach an adequate idea of God, in harmony with the new data which Christianity had established, has much interest and significance. It was really the first great attempt to construct a philosophy of religion with Christianity taken into account. In the Valentinian Pleroma there appear the chief conceptions regarding the nature of deity which speculative thought had then reached, but they are blended with the new view of the world which Christianity had established. In the doctrine of God taught in the Palestinian school the action of God in the material world was thought to be effected by various mediating agencies and powers of a supermundane angelic character, personal and impersonal. God Himself was too highly exalted in majesty and glory to come into immediate contact with man's world. Hence it was thought that the purposes of His will and government were carried through by various orders of ministering angels. This view had grown out of the earlier OT doctrine of the holiness and exaltation of Jahweh, which at first was preached mainly with reference to sin and the imperfections of man's life, but in the later theology of the schools it had practically separated the Godhead from all contact with the world, leaving only the abstract idea of a Being exalted above all human thought, inscrutable and unnameable. With Philo and among the Alexandrians the same result was reached by much the same process, partly also by the help of Platonic conceptions. Here also God in Himself is defined in terms of absolute being, mostly negative, without attributes or qualities. His agency in the world is represented and sustained by His Logos, or reason, and the vast multitude of inferior λόγοι which determine all particular things. Among the Greeks, since Plato and Aristotle, God was defined as the highest good or the supreme cause far removed from the actual world, who leaves the care of it to inferior agencies or powers. With Plato (*Timæus*) the demiourgos, or creator of the world, acts the part of an inferior deity, since he must build the world on the patterns furnished by the eternal ideas and from material already existent.

Now, having such an idea of deity to start from, and with the conviction that Christianity had brought something new in the sphere of religion—that in fact it was revelation from the highest God, as was held in all the phases of Gnostic speculation—Gnosticism set itself to a reconstruction along the whole line of the theistic conception, to provide for the passing of deity from the primal silence of a past eternity into a process of self-manifestation in a series of Æons, in a Pleroma, or spirit-sphere, to constitute an ideal world, from and after which the existing system of material things arose, in such wise that the creative and redeeming agencies which Christianity reveals are found to be not only in accord with the laws of the higher sphere, but also the immediate revelation of them. The Gnostics all seem to have been greatly troubled with the imperfections of all earlier conceptions of God, Jewish as well as heathen, and, by assigning the various defects of the world and of earlier religions to inferior beings or agencies, they doubtless thought to secure a clear field for the new world which they saw in the new religion. To be thorough, they began their reconstruction from the beginning, and assumed a movement from within the depths of the Godhead outwards, towards a world different from itself, to arise out of itself, and destined in its purer parts to return to it again, by the process of redemption which Christianity reveals and accomplishes.

4. The process of emanations.—A tolerably clear account of the Pleroma in the system of Valentinus is given by Irenæus and Hippolytus. Their eagerness to expose the absurdities of the system has often led them off the points of greatest interest for us, who want to understand, and are outside the sphere of danger.

First of all, then, there exists in 'the invisible and ineffable heights above' a certain perfect pre-existent Æon whom they call Proarche, Propator, Bythos, invisible, incomprehensible, eternal, and unbegotten, remaining throughout innumerable cycles of ages in profound serenity and quiescence. Along with Him there existed Ennoia ('thought'), called also Charis or Sigē ('grace,' 'silence'). At last this Bythos determined to produce from Himself the beginning of all things. From the union of Bythos and Sigē ('depth' and 'silence') was produced Nous ('mind,' 'intelligence'), called also Monogenēs ('only-begotten'), father and the beginning of all things. Along with Nous was produced Alētheia ('truth') as his mate. These four constitute the first tetrad, and are called the root of things. From Nous and Alētheia arise Logos and Zoē ('reason' and 'life'), and from these again Anthrōpos and Ecclēsia ('man' and 'church'), *ideally conceived*. Here, then, we have the first ogdoad, called (let us be careful to note) 'the root and substance of all things, the beginning and fashioning of the entire Pleroma.' In this ogdoad we have given the essential, the determining, part of the conception, the source or ground from which the others proceed according to the same principle. The first movements of life within the hidden recesses of deity give birth to the ideal forms of all rational life—mind or intelligence, truth or reality, reason, life, man, church. These must first exist in God, and be evolved in the divine self-consciousness as the essential and primary functions in the inner life of deity, the patterns or models of life also in man's world.

The first ogdoad, then, must be primary, since all the Æons

which follow are contained or given in them by implication. From Logos and Zoë arise other ten, from Anthrōpos and Ecclēsia twelve. Reckoning Bythos and Sigē as the first in the series, we have thirty in all—the complete number of the Æons. But, since Christ and the Holy Spirit are sometimes spoken of as Æons, they would have to be added as later developments, and probably in some computations Bythos and Sigē are not reckoned within the thirty, as being the fountain of all the rest. The language of our sources varies a good deal on this point. Sophia is repeatedly spoken of as the last of the Æons, through whom confusion was begun in the Pleroma, which confusion was afterwards allayed by Christ and the Holy Spirit projected by the will of the Father for this purpose. It would seem, then, that these two should be regarded as later developments which arise in view of the sorrows of Sophia and the world, which should arise out of her tears. Christ and the Holy Spirit undoubtedly belong to the Pleroma, but they differ from the earlier Æons in this, that, though belonging to the Pleroma, they are intermediate with it and the sphere of the world (for the significance attaching to them see below). Meanwhile, reckoning the thirty as complete without them, we have three series—an ogdoad, a decad, and a dodecad, thus:

The primary ogdoad:
Bythos (=Proarchē=Propator) and Ennoia (=Charis=Sigē),
Nous and Alētheia,
Logos and Zoë,
Anthrōpos and Ecclēsia.

The decad produced by Nous and Alētheia (with some by Logos and Zoë):	The dodecad by Anthrōpos and Ecclēsia:
1. Bythios, 'deep,'	1. Paraclētos, 'comforter,'
2. Mixis, 'mixture,'	2. Pistis, 'faith,'
3. Agēratos, 'undecaying,'	3. Patricos, 'paternal,'
4. Henosis, 'unification,'	4. Elpis, 'hope,'
5. Autophyēs, 'self-grown,'	5. Metricos, 'temperate,'
6. Hēdonē, 'pleasure,'	6. Agapē, 'love,'
7. Akinatos, 'unmoved,'	7. Synesis, 'understanding,'
8. Syncrasis, 'composition,'	8. Ecclēsiasticos, 'ecclesiastical,'
9. Monogenēs, 'only-begotten,'	9. Ainos, 'praise,'
10. Macaria, 'blessedness.'	10. Macariotēs, 'felicity,'
	11. Thelētos, 'volition,'
	12. Sophia, 'wisdom.'

In the sources there are some small variations in the lists of the Æons, as also a difference of opinion as to the pairs by whom the decad or the dodecad were produced. From the outline it will be seen that the terms in some cases overlap. A more rigid logic could easily reduce the number. It is probable that the symbolism implied in the numbers 4, 8, 10, and 30 may have suggested 30 in all, as the number denoting the highest perfection. All the Æons taken together were meant to represent an ideal outline of things, to be realized in the material sphere, for which reason their perfection as a whole is more in prominence than the logical proportion of the parts, if, indeed, we should speak of logic at all in a construction so largely mythical. The conception offers an outline of the supposed life of deity, within the sphere of the eternal, according to which the life of man is to be modelled, the decad and the dodecad being an ideal sketch of the Gnostic Church from different standpoints. It will also be seen that the emanations or projections follow a descending series in such manner as to show that each series in the succession is a further unfolding of the essential content of those above, and the entire company constitute a fellowship in which each is necessary to all, and the felicity of each is dependent on the felicity of all. It is an image of the life of deity, not in the abysmal solitude of a bygone eternity, but at the stage when it has entered on a process of self-manifestation in which all the life powers and functions latent from the beginning take their place in an order of being which constitutes a heaven self-sufficing and eternal.

But our view of it is not complete till we see how the process of emanation, begun in the depths of deity, terminates in the production of the world and the redemption of man. The process is not conceived in the manner of pantheism. It has definite bounds, and terminates at a point where a *ὅρος*, 'limit,' is placed at the boundary where the *κένωμα*, or the *ὑστέρημα*, a sphere of another nature, begins. The Æons are not nature-powers which follow a necessity of nature; they are rather ethical personalities, and they constitute a spirit realm whose arrangements and working follow a Christian ideal. The frame for the conception was probably suggested by Platonism, from the place assigned to the eternal ideas in the building of the world, but the content is essentially Christian, and the heaven which they constitute is a Christian heaven. They furnish the model for the life of the lower world from which all that is purified and perfected at last ascends to dwell with the Æons. The first eight represent the great conceptions which underlie all forms of rational life. The next ten, which arise from Logos and Zoë, represent chiefly cosmical principles or powers which are necessary as a basis of ethical life. The last twelve, produced from Anthrōpos and Ecclēsia, are mostly the qualities of the perfected humanity which Christianity is destined to produce.

A scheme for a Pleroma was contained in the earlier system of Basilides, but the term does not seem to have been applied to it. Basilides confined the evolution of the divine life within deity to the seven powers—mind, reason, thought, wisdom, might, righteousness, and peace. But from this point the evolution continued through numberless grades of existence in a descending series—a conception which abandons the problem raised by Christianity.

5. **The Pleroma and the world.**—Returning, then, to the Valentinian Pleroma, how did the system account for the origin of the world, and what is the relation of the Pleroma to the world? The passage from spirit to matter, from the absolute and the perfect to the finite and the imperfect, is the great problem that confronts all philosophies which attempt to explain the origin of the world. The Gnostic attempts on this problem show great constructive skill and profound conceptions of what Christianity was expected to effect in the transformation of the world. Considerable difference of view appears, however, as to the manner in which the life of the Pleroma passes over into the region beyond. The myth of Sophia, which generally covers the origin of the world from the Pleroma, is put in various shapes, and it is not easy to gain a definite picture of the process as the Gnostics conceived it, if that was possible even to them. To a certain extent the myth of Sophia—*i.e.* the wisdom, or constructive skill, which had laboured to bring about the world—had taken various shapes before speculative thought had attempted the bolder task of picturing the life of deity in itself. We have seen that schools of opposite tendencies were agreed in placing supreme deity at the farthest possible distance from the world. But Jewish thought, while agreeing with the results of Greek speculation on this point, sought to explain the action of God in and upon the world by assuming the agency of various semi-divine mediating beings. Among these high prominence was assigned to wisdom (Sophia) as a world-building and world-ruling power. Closely allied to this conception was that of a demiourgos, or world-builder, which was introduced by Plato in his account of creation in the *Timæus*, and which became a favourite figure with the Gnostics. These personifications represented agencies more or less inferior to the highest deity, and, by ascribing the existing world with its many defects to these or similar beings, Gnosticism maintained a direct antithesis between God in Himself and all inferior agents who might have sway in the world. Deeply penetrated with the thought that Christianity was something absolutely new, that the Jewish dispensation which preceded it was mainly the work of inferior beings, that the mission and work of Christ were a revela-

tion from the highest God, the Gnostics sought for a conception of the Godhead which should stand in closer harmony with Christianity and explain the present anomalies of the world. To some extent, then, their speculative construction of the world had preceded their attempt at the heaven of the Æons, and the myth of Sophia had probably grown into some of its forms before the Æons of the Pleroma were fully established. The problem was, not to construct a material world by a process of emanation from the Pleroma, but to form a bridge between two systems of thought which had grown up apart and from the opposite ends of existence. Already in Christianity Christ and the Holy Spirit had been revealed as ethical and cosmic powers. They had come from the great unknown, and place must be found for them in the Pleroma of the Æons. The conception of the Pleroma would not be complete till it was shown how the life of the Godhead, already perfect in itself in the higher sphere, is reproduced in the lower, and draws up into itself all that is susceptible of redemption.

The passage of creative life from the Pleroma over the ὅρος, 'limit,' into the region beyond is represented somewhat thus:

> The life of the Æons was not one of perfect rest and quiescence like that of the Eternal and the Unbegotten in the beginning; for the desire arose among the Æons to search into the depths of the uncreated which remained invisible and incomprehensible to all except Nous alone. He alone exulted in the greatness of the Father and he sought how he might reveal to the rest how mighty the Father was. The rest of the Æons also had a wish to behold the author of their being. However, this was not the will of the Father, and Nous was restrained in his desire. Yet the last of the Æons (Sophia), conceiving this passion by contagion from the others, desired to comprehend the greatness of the Father. But, aiming at what was impossible, she became involved in great agony of mind, and was with difficulty restored to herself, by the power of ὅρος. By another account, a fuller and larger part of the myth, Sophia, through the excess of her desire, gave birth to an amorphous spiritual substance which, being separated by ὅρος from the circle of the Æons, constituted the beginning of the material world. Thus arose three distinct kinds of existence, the spiritual, the psychical, and the material—distinctions which play an important part in Gnostic teaching.
>
> Now these movements of desire within the circle of the Æons showed how disturbance might arise even in that world. Accordingly, by the forethought of the Father, Nous or Monogenēs gave origin to another pair of Æons—Christ and the Holy Spirit—lest any similar calamity should happen again, and to fortify and strengthen the Pleroma, and to complete the number of the Æons. By Christ and the Holy Spirit the Æons were instructed as to the knowledge of the Father, since such knowledge was given to Monogenēs alone. Being thereby restored to rest and peace, out of gratitude they brought together the best of what each possessed of beauty and preciousness, and, uniting the whole, they produced a being of the most perfect beauty, 'the very star of the Pleroma, Jesus, whom they name Saviour Christ, and everything, because he was framed from the contributions of all.'

Returning now to the offspring of Sophia, which was separated from the Pleroma and constituted the beginnings of the world, the myth represents the world as a growth from seed which has fallen from the Pleroma. It describes the effects produced upon it by the action of Christ as one of the heavenly Æons and Jesus the Saviour. The lower world is shown to be of a kindred nature with the higher. Spiritual men, who are the seed of the Pleroma in greatest perfection, yet share in the benefits secured by the heavenly Logos and the Saviour, and rise to the Pleroma, chiefly in virtue of their nature. Psychical men, who form the majority of ordinary Christians, stand in special need of the redemption which Christianity provides, while those who yield themselves to the seductions of the material world are subject to the destruction which awaits it.

6. Conclusion.—In this brief outline the reader will see much that is fantastic and strange to the Western mind. Yet there are many gleams of profound thinking. The nearest parallels in modern systems of thought will be found in those of Boehme and Schelling. For fuller details see art. GNOSTICISM, and the literature mentioned below. A few general remarks may still be added.

The underlying conception of the Valentinian Pleroma implies a modified or weakened form of dualism. The antithesis to the heaven of the Æons is not a world of dead matter which resists and opposes the creative action of spirit. It is rather one of emptiness or defect which is waiting to be filled with the overflowings of divine life, which yet needs to be redeemed by powers that go forth from the heavenly sphere. The life of the world is an ethical process. The spiritual portion of mankind, having the largest share of pneumatic life, is already within the sphere of salvation. The psychical men, still wavering between flesh and spirit, are in need of redemptive help and ethical trial, while those who are buried in the life of sense are left to destruction.

It should also be noted that the life of deity within the Pleroma was liable to disturbance and had to be restored by the heavenly Logos and the Holy Spirit. The perfect felicity of the Æons lies in each keeping within the assigned limits. The fullness of deity does not belong to them as individuals, but as a whole. Disturbance arises when they desire to pass the limits assigned to each. Individually, therefore, they are beset with limitations, and exhibit the life of the absolute only in their totality. They present the manifold life and energies of the Godhead in a process of self-manifestation that results in an ideal spirit-realm, in which the life of each is perfected, not in itself, but in the whole. The original part of the conception does not lie in the view of an inscrutable fountain of unknown deity, for that was common to all the speculative systems of the time. It lies in the construction of a heaven of Æons which shall constitute the ideal of, and supply dynamic for, the world that Christianity reveals and creates. The Gnostic Pleroma is distinctively a creation of Christian thought, and was meant to exhibit a general scheme of the world on which Christianity was thought to be based, and which it was destined to realize and perfect. This fully appears in many other parts of Gnostic thought which aimed at reaching a comprehensive view of the whole scheme of revelation and the course of the world. It did, in fact, offer a special philosophy of the nature of revelation in the pre-Christian time, of the manner in which deity was given in the person of Christ, and of the perfecting of the susceptible portion of mankind through the Holy Spirit.

LITERATURE.—J. B. Lightfoot's special note on Pleroma, *Com. on Col.*[3], London, 1879; H. L. Mansel, *The Gnostic Heresies of the First and Second Centuries*, do. 1875; J. A. W. Neander, *Church History*, Eng. tr., do. 1850–58, ii.; F. C. von Baur, *Die christliche Gnosis*, Tübingen, 1835, *Church Hist. of First Three Centuries*[3], Eng. tr., London, 1878–79; C. W. Niedner, *Geschichte der christlichen Kirche*[2], Berlin, 1866; R. A. Lipsius, *Der Gnosticismus*, Leipzig, 1860; A. Hilgenfeld, *Die Ketzergeschichte des Urchristenthums*, do. 1884; H. L. Martensen, *Jacob Boehme*, Eng. tr., London, 1885; Irenæus, *Hær.* I. ii.f., III. xi., xvi.; Hippolytus, *Ref. Hær.* vi. 25.

A. F. SIMPSON.

PLOTINUS.—See NEO-PLATONISM.

PLURALISM.—Pluralism is currently defined as the metaphysical doctrine that all existence is ultimately reducible to a multiplicity of distinct and independent beings or elements.[1] So defined, it is the obvious antithesis to monism (*q.v.*), and differs from dualism not only in emphasizing many as distinct from two realities, but also in providing for greater qualitative diversity among the many. Dualism (*q.v.*) is primarily a doctrine of two substances, one material and the other spiritual, and

[1] See, *e.g.*, Baldwin's *DPhP*, *s.v.*; *Bull. de la société française de philosophie*, xiii. [1901–05] 182; and R. Eisler, *Wörterbuch der philosophischen Begriffe*, Berlin, 1899. The *Bulletin*, however, recognizes in a *remarque* another form of pluralism which will be considered in the last section of this article.

is commonly stated in terms of the contrast between body and mind. It is apparent, however, that the material and the spiritual substance may each be regarded as reducible to many separate elements which, in spite of their likeness in kind, are really independent and self-existent. There may be many independent atoms of matter, and there may be many independent spirits or minds. In a case like this, dualism is essentially pluralistic. Even monism may be similarly pluralistic if it is conceived as only a doctrine of one substance, either material or spiritual, as opposed to more than one. For it is evident that the one substance may be considered as reducible to many elements independently existing although qualitatively alike. The possible forms which pluralism may take are, therefore, many. It is not important, however, either to attempt to classify them or to discuss them, because only materialistic pluralism and spiritualistic pluralism have had any significant presentation in the history of thought.

1. **Materialistic pluralism.**—Materialistic pluralism has been represented by the consistent atomists from the time of Democritus. The atom and the medium in which the atoms move have, however, been variously conceived. The view usually ascribed to Democritus, and held by many subsequent thinkers, is apparently the simplest statement of the theory. The atoms are very small particles of matter, so hard that they resist division or change. They are qualitatively alike, but differ in size and shape, *i.e.* in their geometrical properties. They have always existed and are indestructible. They move freely in space by their own natural motion. Space is mere emptiness, the void, and consequently offers no resistance to the movement of the atoms. The motion of each atom, if left to itself, would be rectilinear, but, since the atoms differ in size and shape, they collide with one another, and the motion of the whole mass is, consequently, turbulent. As a result the geometrically similar atoms tend to congregate and form selected and ordered systems, first the 'worlds' in space and then the particular things of each world. But the general instability of the whole mass keeps any particular combination of atoms from persisting indefinitely. There is, consequently, perpetual combining and recombining among the atoms; and, on account of the many geometrical differences between the atoms, the number of permutations and combinations is practically limitless. With Democritus, as with most of his followers, this view of the atomic structure of all things seems to have resulted from the attempt to generalize, solely in terms of the geometrical properties involved, the empirical fact of the divisibility of concrete masses of matter. The qualitative diversity which the world obviously presents is usually either disregarded or viewed as a consequence of our way of perceiving. Democritus is reported to have said that, while we commonly speak of colours, sounds, etc., in reality there is nothing but atoms and the void.

The atomic theory (*q.v.*) admits of many variations, but its pluralistic character is not affected so long as the atoms are kept intact and the medium in which they move is equivalent to empty space. The atoms may be qualitatively different or the ultimate elements of a limited number of different material substances; they may expand and contract; they may have natural affinities and repugnances; they may be acted on by forces exterior to them or be impelled by forces resident in them; they may be so closely packed as virtually to exclude the necessity of a medium, and yet be conceived as in themselves permanent and underived. When, however, the medium in which the atoms operate is not conceived as empty space or its equivalent, the pluralistic character of the system is affected. For it is evident that the new medium—the ether, *e.g.*—cannot be atomic in structure, but must be continuous. The atoms cannot break the continuity. The medium must, therefore, penetrate them, but this penetration robs the atoms of their original simple character, and tends to make them appear as modes, rifts, involutions, or concretions of some sort in the medium itself. Such a direction as this recent chemistry and physics have taken, impelled thereto not only by speculative considerations, but also by experiments, like those of Sir William Ramsay, which have done much to make current once more the notion that material substances are convertible. The doctrine of relativity in physics moves in the same direction. Judged, therefore, by contemporaneous tendencies, materialistic pluralism as above defined does not represent the progressive ideas of the sciences which deal with matter. The tendency is rather towards a monistic conception or a complete relativism.

2. **Spiritualistic pluralism.**—The leading historical representative of spiritualistic pluralism is Leibniz (*q.v.*). Although thinkers in all ages have believed in the existence of many independent minds, few of them have, like him, made this belief the dominant and controlling factor in metaphysics. His philosophy, although among those which have had considerable historical influence, was not the result of the generalization of empirical fact such as marked the theory of atoms. It was the result rather of his attempt to avoid the monism of Spinoza, on the one hand, and atomism, on the other. In place of the atom he puts the monad—an ultimate, simple, and self-existent spiritual being. The monads do not have geometrical properties, nor do they exist in space as in a void. Their independence and metaphysical exteriority to one another constitute a kind of quasi-space in which they may be said to exist. Their properties are spiritual or psychical, such as appetite, desire, perception. Each is self-contained, 'windowless,' and neither influences nor is influenced by another. Each has its own inherent law of life or development, so that all the monads may be represented in a series from the lowest, or 'sleeping,' monads to the highest, or self-conscious, each differing from its neighbour by the least possible difference. They are thus all in a kind of 'pre-established harmony,' each reflecting, as it were, the whole range of possible development from its own peculiar position in the series. All things are made up of monads. The highest monad in the body is the soul, and the highest monad in the system is God. But God's relation to the other monads is not always clear. At times He is one of the monads, at times their creator, at times the unity in the system. Among the monads there is no spatial motion, for their life is not that of physical movement, but that of purposeful development. It is their externality to one another combined with their concerted life that gives us the phenomenon of physical movement in physical space.

This doctrine of monads may be taken as representative of spiritualistic pluralism generally. It has never had the influence on scientific procedure which the doctrine to which it is opposed has had. For the atomic theory is an attempt to generalize the empirical fact of the divisibility of matter and to employ the apparatus of mathematics to make this generalization workable. As a result it has been embraced by many who are not materialists, but who have found it a potent instrument in scientific investigation. The theory of monads—and similar attempts to construct a pluralistic system of spiritual entities—is, as already noticed,

fundamentally a protest against materialism. When it addresses itself to the concrete facts of nature, it amounts to little more than the attempt to make the atoms spiritual—to substitute psychical properties for physical, and internal purposeful development for external physical motion. That is why it appears to be more an ingenious speculation than a fructifying hypothesis.

3. **The new pluralism.**—Although philosophical usage has recognized in the theories just considered the two classical forms of pluralism, it should be observed that neither of them denies the fundamental unity and wholeness of the universe. There may be many atoms or many minds, but in either case there is only one universe, and this universe is a coherent and self-contained whole. The resulting speculative opposition between the one and the many has probably done more to keep philosophical interest in these systems alive than any genuine illumination which they afford. For this opposition has proved itself repeatedly to be a potent stimulus to philosophical reflexion. In terms of it a different form of pluralism may be defined which has many supporters among contemporary philosophers.

This new pluralism is not a doctrine of many substances opposed to monism conceived as a doctrine of one. It is rather the doctrine that there is no absolute unity in the universe, and it is opposed to the controlling absolutistic—and in that sense monistic—systems of the greater part of the 19th century. Absolutism in some form had as its supporters nearly all the leading thinkers of the world, and had become almost a settled dogma in philosophy. In the face of an absolutistic logic and of the principle of the conservation of energy, few philosophers had the courage to deny that the universe is a thoroughly coherent system in which, by virtue of its unity, a place and time and cause are, at any moment, implied for every event that has taken place or can take place. Thinking was constrained by the principle so eloquently set forth, *e.g.*, in Emil du Bois-Reymond's famous essay, *Ueber die Grenzen des Naturerkennens* (Leipzig, 1872), that, did we know completely the state of the universe at any one moment, we should be able to calculate its state at any other moment. Opposition to this dogma was not very effective until towards the close of the century, when the writings principally of William James, John Dewey, F. C. S. Schiller, and Henri Bergson effectively challenged it and put it on the defensive.[1]

James was, doubtless, the protagonist in the movement. He named his philosophy 'radical empiricism,' and occasionally 'pluralism.' In the preface to *The Will to Believe* (1897) he gives this general statement of his position:

> 'The crudity of experience remains an eternal element thereof. There is no possible point of view from which the world can appear an absolutely single fact. Real possibilities, real indeterminations, real beginnings, real ends, real evil, real crises, catastrophes, and escapes, a real God, and a real moral life, just as common-sense conceives these things, may remain in empiricism as conceptions which that philosophy gives up the attempt either to "overcome" or to reinterpret in monistic form' (p. ix).

Dewey's insistence that thinking is a real instrument which brings situations essentially indeterminate into determinate form, Schiller's rather individual and peculiar type of pragmatism, and Bergson's insistence that evolution is essentially creative and discontinuous, all exhibit this new tendency in different forms, but to the same end.

There has not yet, however, so far as the writer is aware, appeared any systematic presentation of the metaphysics underlying this new movement in philosophy. What is here called pluralism represents a tendency rather than an achievement The general direction of this tendency in various departments of human interest is indicated below, but here an attempt may be made to suggest the basal conceptions which this tendency seems to imply. Emphasis falls on change, adaptation, reorganization, or action as an original and genuine fact wherever and whenever it occurs. Accordingly there is no moment in the world's history when all possible changes may be said to be determined. All things are in process of becoming determined, and what that process will be is contingent, not simply on what has already happened, but on what may happen. But what may happen is a genuine possibility with nothing fully to determine it before it arrives. The world is thus never fully made, but always in the making. The fact that it perpetually has a future negatives any absolutistic conception of it. Our inability to grasp the world as a single, unified, and complete system is, therefore, due, not to our incapacity or ignorance, but to its essential nature as a genuine time-process which reaches many concrete and specific ends, but which implies no absolute end that limits and closes the process as a whole.

We have in these considerations not, as might be superficially supposed, a revival of the doctrine of freedom as opposed to necessity, but the beginnings of a genuinely constructive metaphysics of activity. That is, pluralism does not start with a self-contained system of terms and relations which is, in general, responsible for everything that happens, and then claim that there may be free and spontaneous infractions of the system. It starts rather with the conception of activity as empirically exhibited in any change, and tries to generalize this conception and draw out the implications that seem to be empirically involved. As every action takes time, the course of the action when followed out empirically in detail gives us, not the effect of causes all operative at the moment when the action begins, but the interplay of causes operative only from moment to moment as the action proceeds. It is only where the action is viewed retrospectively from some specific point of view in its career that it can be construed absolutely; *i.e.*, only then can any of its issues be construed as the necessary effect of causes which have determined it. Such retrospective views can give us formulæ and laws of accomplished fact and thus afford a basis for prediction in similar cases, but they cannot give us any action in its concrete vitality and operation, because every action is forward-moving. Now, the generalization of this view of activity naturally forbids a monistic or absolutistic view of the world as a whole. For, if we now speak of the world as a whole, or of the 'universe' in any intelligible sense, we must speak of it, not as something already accomplished which can be viewed retrospectively, but as something moving forward with a genuine future and real possibilities. Yet, even so, we could not conceive it as a single movement, but only as the interplay of many movements. Otherwise the movement of the universe would be only movement abstracted from its concrete setting. It could not be itself a concrete movement illustrating the interplay of factors which operate only from moment to moment as the movement pro-

[1] For other writings of the same general tenor see the bibliography at the end of this article. The opposition under consideration has not always borne the name of pluralism. One finds the same general tendencies in the supporters of pragmatism (*q.v.*) and the advocates of personal idealism. The latter doctrine, represented principally by Henry C. Sturt in England and George H. Howison in America, is a reaction against absolutism in the interest of personality conceived as spiritual and free. Howison is frankly pluralistic and exhibits close similarities with Leibniz's doctrine of monads. Sturt bases all speculation on the principles that personal experience should be the basis of all philosophical synthesis and that personal experience is spiritual; but he believes in a 'totality of goodness,' a 'noetic totality,' and that the cosmos must be dominated by a single intelligence.

ceeds. Such appears to be the general metaphysical groundwork of the new pluralism.

In psychology these tendencies had their initiative, and here they have been most effective. During the past thirty years the attempt to construe the mind or consciousness as a substance or as a complex of elementary sensations united by fixed laws of association has progressively yielded to the attempt to construe mental life in terms of activity and response. Although many psychologists have independently contributed to this progress, the publication in 1890 of James's *Principles of Psychology* may justly be cited as critical. Here was the first effective and systematic attack upon the older view. To-day the idea that 'to have a mind' means 'to act in a certain way' has become a commonplace in psychology. To think has become an adventure and a real instrument in adaptation. Knowledge has ceased to be regarded as simply the mental counterpart or image of an objective order, and knowing has become an active participation in the order of events. In other words, to be conscious of objects does not mean to possess their psychical equivalents or imply a possible consciousness which might possess the equivalents of all objects whatever, and so be the perfect and complete representative of the world. It means rather to operate with objects effectively, to seek and avoid, to work changes — in short, to organize experience. This newer conception of the mind has spread beyond psychology and markedly affected anthropology and sociology. Primitive peoples and society are studied more in terms of what they do and less in terms of the supposed 'consciousness' that they were once credited with possessing.

In logic the new movement has been more equivocal in its success. It has illuminated in a brilliant way the concrete procedure of thinking, showing how distinctions like object or thing and idea arise in its course and are not the constituent elements of thinking itself. It has given us the logic of 'how we think.' But the opposition to formal logic which has too frequently accompanied this service has obscured many logical issues and problems. The structure of accomplished thought has been too much neglected. The older logic, especially in the form set forth by Bertrand Russell, is still an active and constructive opponent of the newer tendencies.

In morals and religion it is premature to attempt to state with conclusiveness the effects which the new movement is likely to produce. Yet, so far as morals are concerned, the general direction is fairly clear, as may be seen from the *Ethics* of Dewey and Tufts (1908). The tendency is away from fixed, *a priori* principles, and towards the concrete exigencies of life. Morality is conceived, not as a system of rules which should be obeyed, but as the type of life which characterizes beings who desire and wish, hope and fear. Responsibility is conceived, not in terms of an obligation imposed upon living, but in terms of an increasing sensibility of the value of human relationships. There are no absolutes. Justice, *e.g.*, is not such. It is rather the attempt to deal with human adjustments in a progressively effective manner. In brief, morality is not an absolute ideal which, being somehow imposed on man, orders him to be moral. It is the kind of life that man conceives to be most adequately expressive of his natural impulses and his ideal hopes.

There is in these considerations a close resemblance to the more refined forms of utilitarianism, but the doctrine is not utilitarian as commonly understood. No simple or elaborate computation of pleasures and pains is implied. No attempt is made first to estimate the greatest good of the greatest number, and then to act accordingly. There is rather the attempt to take human relationships as they are empirically given — the family, friends, the State, love, property, marriage —to see towards what they point, what desires and hopes they engender, and then to bring the resources of knowledge to bear upon the perfecting of them or the elimination from them of that which makes communal living difficult and unlovely.

In religion the tendencies are not as yet well defined. It is possible, however, to recognize among religious writers influenced by the new movement a growing appreciation of religion as something humanly characteristic, rather than as a matter beginning with the gods. There is, too, as in the ethical tendencies, the denial of absolutistic ideas. Consequently there is recognized no one religion which can be judged valid as over against all others. In estimating the worth of any religion moral instead of logical or metaphysical standards are employed.

It is mainly as a new and potent stimulus to fresh philosophizing that current pluralistic tendencies are to be estimated. Under the absolutistic systems of the last century, philosophy had largely lost its vitality. It had become almost exclusively historical, a comparative study of systems, and was not an intimate companion of living or a vivid aid to reflexion. It was largely an intellectual interest set apart from the sum of intellectual interests generally. Pluralism has effected a change in this regard. There is to-day a genuine revival of philosophical interest which is making its impression not only upon the traditional 'problems of philosophy,' but also upon the whole domain of inquiry. It is common to hear of the 'new chemistry,' the 'new physics,' the 'new biology,' the 'new history.' When we inquire generally what is the underlying motive of this 'newness,' we almost invariably find a desire for the recognition of real possibilities and a revolt against absolutistic systems.

There is, doubtless, some confusion and disadvantage in grouping under the name of 'pluralism' the tendencies which have just been considered, although the grouping has warrant in contemporary usage. There is some confusion because these tendencies are motived not simply nor always by metaphysical considerations growing out of the opposition between monistic and pluralistic speculations. They are motived also by obvious empirical considerations. A thinker who takes the world as he finds it, and, in reflecting on it, follows the lead of concrete tendencies as they arise and come to an issue, will doubtless be led to view the world as a process involving many different factors and not as an already completely unified and permanently organized whole. He might find some disadvantage in calling his view of things pluralism, because he might feel that, in so doing, he was affirming kinship with some form of the substantial pluralism noticed in the beginning of this article, or with the leading motives and principles of that philosophy. Substantial pluralism is a positive doctrine. The new pluralism is as yet largely negative. It is not so much the affirmation that the world is many as it is the denial that the world is one. That is the main reason why it represents to-day a tendency in philosophy much more than a systematic metaphysics.

LITERATURE.—For the older form of pluralism it is sufficient to refer to the standard histories of philosophy and to introductions to philosophy. For the newer form the following will be found illustrating the tendencies set forth in the article, by way both of support and of opposition: H. Bergson, *Matière et mémoire*, Paris, 1896, *Essai sur les données immédiates de la conscience*[2], do. 1898, *L'Évolution créatrice*, do. 1907; J. H. H. Boëx-Borel, *Le Pluralisme*, do. 1909; J. Dewey, *Studies in Logical Theory*, Chicago, 1903, *The Influence of Darwin on*

Philosophy, and other Essays in Contemporaneous Thought, New York, 1910, *How We Think*, Boston, 1910; J. Dewey and J. H. Tufts, *Ethics*, New York, 1908; G. H. Howison, *The Limits of Evolution*[2], do. 1904; W. James, *The Will to Believe and other Essays in Popular Philosophy*, London, 1897, *A Pluralistic Universe*, do. 1909, *Essays in Radical Empiricism*, do. 1912; P. Laner, *Pluralismus oder Monismus*, Berlin, 1905; A. W. Moore, *Pragmatism and Its Critics*, Chicago, 1910; J. B. Pratt, *What is Pragmatism?*, New York, 1912; C. B. Renouvier, *La nouvelle Monadologie*, Paris, 1897, *Les Dilemmes de la métaphysique pure*, do. 1901, *Le Personnalisme*, do. 1903; F. C. S. Schiller, *Studies in Humanism*, London, 1907, *Riddles of the Sphinx*[2], do. 1910, *Humanism*[2], do. 1912; H. C. Sturt, *Idola Theatri*, do. 1906, *Principles of Understanding*, Cambridge, 1915; *Personal Idealism, Philosophical Essays by eight Members of the University of Oxford*, ed. Sturt, London, 1902; J. Ward, *The Realm of Ends, or Pluralism and Theism*, Cambridge, 1911; F. J. E. Woodbridge, *The Purpose of History*, New York, 1916.

FREDERICK J. E. WOODBRIDGE.

PLUTARCH.—1. Life.—Plutarch was born about A.D. 46, as may be inferred from the statement that in 66, the year of Nero's visit to Greece, he was a pupil of the Academic philosopher Ammonius in Athens (*de EI apud Delphos*, 1, p. 385 B). He was a native of Chæronea in Bœotia, and showed a constant affection for his birth-place, which he ultimately made his home. Belonging to a family of good position, he received the best education open to a young man of his time. He was instructed in medicine and natural science by the physician Onesicrates (*de Mus.* 2, p. 1131 C); and, though there is no direct evidence of his public profession of the art of declamation, his rhetorical training is manifest in such of his early writings as the *de Fortuna Romanorum* (pp. 317–326) and the *Aquane an Ignis sit utilior* (pp. 955–958).

While still a young man, he was sent as an envoy representing his native town on a mission to the proconsul (*Præc. ger. Reip.* 16, p. 816 D). It seems that political business was also at any rate the ostensible cause of his visits to Rome (*Demosth.* 2), the earliest of which must have taken place in the reign of Vespasian (*de Sollert. Anim.* 19, p. 974 A). It is a legitimate assumption that he made several visits (cf. *Quæst. Conv.* viii. 7. 1, p. 727 B), and that they occupied a considerable time; for he shows an intimate acquaintance with Roman topography (e.g., *Poplic.* 8), and was so well known there that he was accustomed to deliver lectures in public (*de Curios.* 15, p. 522 E). Among the chief of his Roman friends may be reckoned C. Sosius Senecio, who was four times consul under Trajan, and to whom several of the *Parallel Lives* were dedicated, and Mestrius Florus, another consular, in whose company he visited the historical sites of Gallia Cisalpina (*Oth.* 14). During his residence in Italy he acquired a high reputation as a teacher of moral philosophy, and was rewarded with the devotion of a large band of pupils. It is evident that in this intercourse the medium of communication was the Greek language; for Plutarch makes the interesting confession that he was well advanced in years before he commenced to study Latin (*Demosth.* 2), and the errors which he makes in his incidental references to the language (*e.g.*, *σίνε πάτρις, οἷον ἄνευ πατρός* [*Quæst. Rom.* 103, p. 288 F]) are such as to prove that his acquaintance with it was never more than superficial.

Subsequently, if we may trust the authority of Suidas (*s.v.* Πλούταρχος), he enjoyed the favour of the emperor Trajan, by whom he was elevated to consular rank, while the governor of the province was enjoined to take his advice upon all matters of importance. It is probable that he survived to witness the early part of the reign of Hadrian, but died not long after 120; for he speaks of the Olympieium in Athens as unfinished (*Solon*, 32), whereas we know that it was completed by Hadrian between the years 125 and 130.

In the latter part of his life Plutarch seems to have settled permanently at Chæronea, where he was uninterruptedly engaged in literary labour, except during the performance of the duties attached to his municipal offices. At Chæronea he filled the post of overseer of buildings (*Præc. ger. Reip.* 15, p. 811 B), as well as that of archon *ἐπώνυμος* (*Quæst. Conv.* ii. 10. 1, p. 643 F). He was also an associate of the college of priests to Apollo at Delphi (*ib.* vii. 2. 2, p. 700 E), and was a member of the council which superintended the organization of the Pythian games (*ib.* v. 2, p. 674 E). Notwithstanding these activities, he gave lectures from time to time both on philosophical subjects and on others of wider interest (cf. *de Rect. Rat. Aud.* 1, p. 37 C). In his domestic life his relations with his wife and children were strikingly tender and affectionate, and are charmingly illustrated in the letter of consolation addressed to his wife Timoxena on the death of their infant daughter, who was named after her mother. From this letter a single sentence may be quoted:

'As she was herself the dearest object for her parents to fondle, gaze upon, or listen to, so should her memory remain to us as a joy far exceeding its pain' (*Consol. ad Uxor.* 3, p. 608 E).

From the same source (5, p. 609 D) we learn that two of the four sons born to Plutarch and his wife died at an early age. The names of the two sons who survived, Autobulus and Plutarchus, are recorded in the dedication to them of the treatise *de Animæ Procreatione in Timæo* (p. 1030 D); and they are mentioned as taking part in the various discussions which arose at their father's table (cf. *Quæst. Conv.* viii. 10. 3, p. 735 C). We read also of the marriage of Autobulus (*ib.* iv. 3. 1, p. 666 D), who appears again as the narrator of the *Amatorius*, and as a character in the dialogue *de Sollertia Animalium*. But it was not merely within the family circle that the kindliness and geniality of Plutarch's character were displayed. There is abundant evidence from his *Table Talk* (*Quæstiones Convivales*) and the other dialogues that to his friends he was an object of affectionate regard no less than of respect for his moderation and common sense. His writings have made a similar impression upon posterity. Among many testimonies to his worth we may instance the judgment of Mahaffy, who happily remarks:

'We feel him, as we feel Sir Walter Scott, not only the originator of an inestimably instructive form of historiography, but also essentially a gentleman—a man of honour and of kindliness, the best type of the best man of his day' (*Greek World under Roman Sway*, p. 293).

2. Works.—The most celebrated of Plutarch's works is his *Parallel Lives*, intended to exhibit a comparison of the greatest men whom Greece and Rome had produced, by the publication of their biographies side by side in pairs. Forty-six of these lives have come down to modern times, and their world-wide celebrity makes it the less necessary to describe their characteristics, especially as we are more nearly concerned with the other branch of his writings, which is conveniently but inaccurately labelled the *Moralia*. It is enough to say that the *Lives* were not so much the fruit of historical research as an endeavour to illustrate the moral writings of their author by depicting the characters and dispositions of men who have actually lived.

The collection of the *Moralia* (*ἠθικά*) is so described because most of the treatises which it comprises deal with what may be called 'moral' subjects, although not with the principles of formal ethics. The writings are actually a miscellany, containing discussions on religion, literature, politics, education, philology, folk-lore, archæology, and natural history, as well as some of a severely philosophical type. Plutarch is less a philosopher than an essayist, and the most characteristic of

his writings are those which, in dealing with such subjects as garrulousness, false shame, restraint of anger, or flattery and friendship, display, together with a profusion of illustration and anecdote, the good taste, common sense, and genuine humanity of their author. Not the least of their merits for the modern world is that, apart from a wealth of information on literary history, the *Moralia* are a plentiful storehouse of quotations from the lost writings of early poets and philosophers.

3. **Leading ideas.**— (*a*) ***Philosophical and religious.***—By his adoption of the dialogue form for most of these treatises Plutarch acknowledged himself as much a follower of Plato's literary methods as he was formally an adherent of his teaching (cf. *de Def. Or.* 37, p. 431 A). The latest tendency of the Academy had been in the direction of eclecticism. Philo and Antiochus had abandoned the extreme scepticism of Arcesilaus and Carneades, and, while laying greater stress upon ethical doctrines, had made an approach towards the positions of the Stoics and Peripatetics by advocating life according to nature, and the plurality of virtue as well as its self-sufficiency. In the 1st cent. of the Christian era the beginnings of a new movement, of which Plutarch was the most distinguished representative, gradually become apparent. Its leading features are two—a closer application to the study of the Platonic writings, and the growth of a spirit of religious mysticism, which ultimately issued in Neo-Platonism. Not that the accretion of alien doctrine was entirely repudiated; for it has even been said of Plutarch that 'it would be hard to say whether the number of Stoic dogmas which he rejects exceeds that which he quotes with approval' (Mahaffy, p. 301). At the same time the most important of Plutarch's strictly philosophical writings are those directed from an Academic standpoint against the Stoics (*de Stoicorum Repugnantiis, de Communibus Notitiis*) and against the Epicureans (*adversus Coloten, Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum*). His positive contributions towards the elucidation of the Platonic text are contained in the *de Animæ Procreatione in Timæo*, and are of much less importance to the student of philosophy than the controversial writings previously mentioned. Plutarch adopted from Plato as his two ultimate first principles the One and the Indeterminate Dyad (δυὰς ἀόριστος). The latter, as the element of shapelessness and disorder, is called Infinity (ἀπειρία), whereas the nature of the One, by defining and occupying the Infinity, which is empty, irrational, and indeterminate, endows it with form, and so makes it capable of supporting and containing the determination which is a necessary accompaniment of sensible objects (*de Def. Or.* 35, p. 428 F ff.). The combination of these two principles, unity and duality, is seen most clearly in the production from them of numbers (*ib.*). The creation of the world was the result of the concatenation of three factors —God, matter, and form. Matter is the shapeless underlying substratum; form is the fairest model; and God is the best of causes. God, in His desire to leave nothing indeterminate, but to organize nature with proportion, measure, and number, produced a unity by a combination of His material. This was the universe (κόσμος), equal to matter in extent, and similar to form in quality (*Quæst. Conv.* viii. 2. 4, p. 720 A, B). It must be remembered, however, that, according to Plato's doctrine, matter, being itself formless and inert, is not the cause of evil, which proceeds from a foul and malignant necessity struggling with and rebelling against God (*de Anim. Procr.* 6, p. 1015 A, *de Is. et Osir.* 48, p. 370 F). The war of these opposing principles is especially to be detected in man's chequered existence, and in the region of inequality and change which lies between the earth and the moon (*de Is. et Osir.* 45, p. 369 D). God exists not in time, but in eternity, which for His unity is an everlasting present, without beginning or end, past or future. As being absolute unity, He is incapable of differentiation (ἑτερότης [*de EI apud Delph.* 20, p. 393 A, B]). God sees, but cannot be seen (*de Is. et Osir.* 75, p. 381 B). He is absolutely pure and undefiled by any form of existence liable to destruction and death; hence our souls, which are encompassed by the body and its attributes, cannot reach God, save only in so far as, by the exercise of pure reason and through the medium of philosophy, they may attain to an indistinct vision of His image (*ib.* 78, p. 382 F). Life in the body upon earth is an exile of the soul (*de Exil.* 17, p. 607 D). It has come from the gods and will return thither, so soon as it is discharged from the trammels of the body. It is like a flame which shoots upwards in spite of the misty vapours that cling round it and seek to bind it to the earth. Hence it is not the bodies of good men that go to heaven; but their souls pass into heroes, from heroes into demons, and, when at last they have been mysteriously cleansed and sanctified, so that they are free from any mortal affection, then in no merely conventional sense, but in very truth and by a blessed consummation, they are caught up to join the gods (*Rom.* 28, *de Def. Or.* 10, p. 415 B). Some souls are not entirely imprisoned within the body, but, by keeping the purest portion in external association with the topmost surface of their owners' heads, who are thus lifted upwards and saved from complete submersion, they preserve their immortality free from bodily taints. This part, called the intelligence (νοῦς), and generally supposed to be innate, is actually external, and would more properly be known as 'demon' (*de Gen. Soc.* 22, p. 591 D). It is unreasonable to disbelieve in the inspiration of certain individuals, if we retain our belief that God is a lover of mankind. The ordinary man learns the commands of God by signs, which the prophetic art interprets, but there are a few who on rare occasions have direct intercourse with the divinity. Further, when souls freed from the body have at length become demons, they still retain their interest in the world which they have left, as Hesiod was aware (*Op.* 120), and are allowed by God to assist the final struggles of those aspiring souls which are yet in the last period of their incarnation (*de Gen. Soc.* 24, p. 593 A ff.). There are, however, bad demons as well as the good; and they are elsewhere described as belonging to the borderland which separates gods and men, and as subject to mortal affections and the changes wrought by necessity (*de Def. Or.* 12, p. 416 C; cf. 17, p. 419 A, *de Is. et Osir.* 25, p. 360 E). These passages are typical of much in Plutarch, and their Platonic character is unmistakable. At the same time, it should be observed that, in emphasizing his belief in demons, he was echoing the teaching of the Stoics (see art. DEMONS AND SPIRITS [Greek]). The same remark applies to his treatment of μαντική. Divination is the gift of God to man (*de Def. Or.* 8, p. 413 C), but the decay of oracles is not on that account to be attributed to Him, but rather to the failure of matter (*ib.* 9, p. 414 D, E). In a curious passage (*ib.* 40, p. 432 D) he speaks of the prophetic capacity as resembling a sheet of white paper, ready to receive impressions from the warnings of sensation, when the seer is withdrawn (ἐκστῇ) from the influences of the present and is filled with the spirit of prophecy (ἐνθουσιασμός). This inspiration may come from the inner constitution of the body, but is frequently conveyed either through air or through water at particular

places in the form of flowing water or breath. Elsewhere (*de Pyth. Or.* 7, p. 397 D) he says more simply that God does not inspire the voice of the prophetess or the words which she uses, but merely provides the sense-impressions (*φαντασίας*), and gives light in the soul, enabling it to look upon the future. Thus, though agreeing with the Stoics in upholding the truth of *μαντική*, Plutarch refused altogether to countenance the Stoic doctrine that the divine spirit permeated every stone and piece of metal in the world (*ib.* 8, p. 398 C). His whole attitude towards religion is guided by a spirit of conservatism, seeking to uphold each venerable institution, while finding elements of truth in the various devices by which philosophers sought to remove traditional difficulties (*ib.* 18, p. 402 E, *Amat.* 13, p. 756 B). Thus he would steer a middle course between superstition and atheism, recognizing that there is not so much difference in the nature of the gods as the various conceptions of them by Greeks and barbarians, and the names given to them, might seem to imply, but that there is only one Reason that sets in order and one Providence that controls the world (*de Is. et Osir.* 67, p. 377 F ff.). The elaborate discussion of Egyptian religion (*de Iside et Osiride*) is a testimony to the progress of these foreign cults in the estimation of his fellow-countrymen, and is so constructed as to show that the ideas which underlay them are essentially the same as those which are recognized by the theologians of Greece. The leading motive of the short essay *de Superstitione*, which is, however, regarded by some merely as a rhetorical exercise undertaken in defence of a paradox, and not therefore characteristic of its author's real view (Mahaffy, p. 318), is to show that a perverted and ignorant belief respecting the nature of the gods and their attitude to mankind is more harmful to the peace of the soul than an obstinate refusal to believe in their existence. While he had no sympathy with Epicurean rationalism, which destroyed the value of piety (*adv. Colot.* 27, p. 1123 A), he was no less disinclined to accept the reckless allegorizing of the Stoics, which, by making Ares a mere synonym for combativeness, Aphrodite for desire, and Athene for intelligence, destroyed the individualities of the old gods and plunged their worshippers into a gulf of atheism (*Amat.* 13, p. 757 B). It was therefore quite consistent with his general attitude towards religion that Plutarch, as we have seen, himself exercised priestly functions, and attended with his wife to take part in the sacrifice offered on the occasion of the festival of Eros at Thespiæ (*ib.* 2, p. 749 B). The same moderation may be detected in his attitude towards Orphism. While he wholeheartedly condemns the follies of excess attendant upon the popular celebration of its rites, the modes of cleansing and purifications which were themselves filthy, the wearing of ragged garments, the wallowings in the mud, the ridiculous importance attached to the eating or drinking of particular solids or liquids (*de Superst.* 7, p. 168 D, 12, p. 171 B), he was himself the advocate of a reasonable abstinence and asceticism (*de Tuend. Sanit.* 19, p. 132 E, *de Is. et Osir.* 2, p. 352 A), and, by his abstention from eggs for a season in consequence of a dream, laid himself open to the suspicion of having adopted Orphic tenets (*Quæst. Conv.* ii. 3. 1, p. 635 A).

We have seen that Plutarch regarded the existence of evil as an outcome of necessity, but he has much more to say on the kindred problem why the gods permit the existence of moral evil without exacting appropriate punishment. To this subject he has devoted the important dialogue *de Sera Numinis Vindicta*. The occasion is provided by a supposed lecture of Epicurus, and various answers are given to the objection raised against what is assumed to be the ordinary dealing of Providence, namely, that the delay in punishment encourages the sinner and disappoints the injured. Thus it is said (1) that the gods wish to give time for repentance, and thus set an example to others, teaching them to beware of hasty resentment, and (2) that by this delay they are able to distinguish those who are incurable and require extirpation from those who, having erred rather through ignorance than of deliberate choice, are deserving of remedial treatment (5, p. 550 C ff.). Again, since it is always possible that a wicked parent may beget a virtuous offspring, it is natural that God should not immediately root out an evil stock, without waiting to see whether it will not produce a good fruit (7, p. 553 B). But the best answer of all is that the delay is only apparent, since sin, by the misery which it causes to the sinner, brings its own punishment with it, so that length of life becomes an aggravated unhappiness (9, p. 554 A ff.). We are then introduced to the topic of punishment in the next world, and the dialogue concludes with a myth concerning the experiences of one Thespesius, who, during a trance, was permitted to be a witness of the treatment accorded to the souls of the dead. The myth is obviously modelled on the story of Er in the tenth book of Plato's *Republic*, and serves once more to illustrate Plutarch's admiration for his great predecessor. The same tendency appears in the parallel case of the myth of Timarchus in the *de Genio Socratis*, where an account is given of the supernatural visions granted to him after his descent into the cave of Trophonius at Lebadeia (*de Gen. Soc.* 21, p. 589 F ff.).

(*b*) *Ethical.*—The strictly ethical treatises are in the nature of short essays on moral subjects, based upon psychological observation, and designed to effect the moral improvement of their readers. Here we find Plutarch in the character of a physician of the soul, a public preacher who, so far from being inspired with the fervour of a new revelation, sought, by means of copious illustration and apt quotations from the poets, to instil a reasonable exercise of the humaner virtues. The practical aim of his advice may be seen in the three treatises belonging to the consolatory type (*παραμυθητικοί*), acknowledged by the schools as a special branch of casuistry (*παραινετικὸς τόπος*; see the present writer's notes on Cleanth. frag. 92 f. [*Fragments of Zeno and Cleanthes*, Cambridge, 1891]). These are the *de Exilio* and the *Consolatio ad Uxorem*, which have already been mentioned, and the more elaborate *Consolatio ad Apollonium*, which was largely indebted to Crantor's *περὶ Πένθους*. In fact, a considerable number of these writings are open to the suspicion that they are dependent upon unacknowledged, principally Stoic, sources.

As an example we may instance the short treatise *de Virtute Morali*, which contains comparatively little of Plutarch's characteristic manner, but, while designed to support the Platonic psychology by advocating the submission of the emotions to reason rather than their entire eradication, is constructed to serve as a compendium of moral doctrine with material drawn from the severer text-books of the Peripatetics and Stoics.[1]

He had no sympathy with the formal dogmatism of the schools, but did not hesitate to borrow from them whatever approved itself to his common sense as conducive to moral welfare. When we turn to those passages where he seems more especially to give utterance to his innermost convictions, we find him inculcating self-control, patience, and cheerfulness as the surest defences against the jars and worries of social and domestic life. Thus,

[1] M. Pohlenz, in *Hermes*, xxxi. [1896] 332, 338, finds the original source of the treatise in a work of Hieronymus of Rhodes.

after mentioning the advantages of various forms of abstinence, he continues:

'I put beside them a vow no less acceptable to the gods: I resolved, as if I were making a wineless oblation of milk and honey, to keep myself free from passion first of all for a few days; then, to extend the period by gradual experiment to one or two months, so that I continually made progress in the tolerance of evil, exercising an unceasing control upon my tongue in order to appear cheerful and void of resentment. I refrained consistently from base talk and extravagant action, and repressed any emotion which provoked violent agitation or shameful remorse for the satisfaction of a mean or trifling pleasure. By these means I am contented, and, by the favour of heaven, experience has confirmed the truth of my conviction that the spirit of cheerfulness, gentleness, and kindness is to none of his associates so gracious, welcome, and comforting as to its possessor' (*de Cohib. Ira*, 16, p. 464 C).

In another passage he deduces a similar moral from the contemplation of the glories of the physical world, which, following ultimately a Peripatetic model (I. Bywater, in *JPh* vii. [1876] 80), he compares with an august temple, where the most exalted mysteries are being continually celebrated:

'Yet men debase this festival which God has provided for them by unceasing lamentation and dejection, permitting themselves ever to be harassed by wearisome anxiety' (*de Tranq. An.* 20, p. 477 E).

Just as in religion he endeavoured by compromise to adjust extreme views, so in ethics he sought to reconcile the divergencies of the dogmatic schools by refusing to accept in their entirety the tendencies with which he partly sympathized.

'He will not adopt with Plato the equality of the sexes, or with the Stoics the injustice of slavery, or with the Pythagoreans the rights of the lower animals to justice at the hands of men, yet he goes a long way with all three—magnifying the position and the dignity of the house-mother both by example and precept, inculcating everywhere kindness and consideration to slaves, adopting even vegetarian doctrines in some of his earlier treatises, and upholding with satire and with paradox the superior insight and intelligence of the animals we patronize or oppress' (Mahaffy, p. 301).

(*c*) *Political.*—In regard to politics, Plutarch repudiated the Epicurean advocacy of abstention (*Pyrrh.* 20) as expressed in the formula 'Live in retirement' (λάθε βιώσας), against which he directed a short treatise (*de Latenter Vivendo*, pp. 1128–1130). But he lived in an age in which the limits of political activity were severely narrow, and he was the last man to waste himself in chafing against a restriction which it was neither wise nor possible to break down. Thus he sincerely believed that monarchy was the most perfect of all forms of government (*An Seni sit Resp. ger.* 11, p. 790 A), but that the wise ruler must be careful to observe a mean between laxity and severity, so that he may not incur either the hatred or the contempt of his subjects by aiming at despotism or making concessions in favour of popular government (*Thes. et Rom. Comp.* 2). He recognized that it was idle to rebel against the imperial dominion or to cast wistful eyes upon the historic battlefields of Marathon and Platæa (*Præc. ger. Reip.* 17, p. 814 C). The chief political virtues are not pride and stubbornness, but patience and tolerance, which are the fruits of a well-trained reason (*Coriol.* 15). He has even a good word to say for Theramenes and his proverbial 'boot which fitted either leg' (*Præc. ger. Reip.* 32, p. 824 B), and holds that the politician should make it his chief aim to avoid a crisis. Thus, if the greatest blessings which communities can enjoy are taken into account, it will be found that, in regard to peace, the Greeks have nothing left to desire, since every form of warfare, domestic or foreign, has come to an end; while, in respect of freedom, they enjoy as much as their masters allow them, which is perhaps as much as is good for them (*ib.* p. 824 C). What sort of politics other than the petty activities of municipal government was it possible for Plutarch to recommend? His own life is now seen to furnish a near approach to the only ideal which he regarded as attainable. A public lawsuit or a deputation to the emperor is the chief opportunity for a courageous and prudent man to seek his own advancement (*ib.* 10, p. 805 A). We should not always be striving after the highest offices, such as that of *strategus* in Athens, *prytanis* in Rhodes, or *Bœotarch* in Bœotia; but rather we should endeavour to impart lustre to those of less account, and preserve a mien suitable to the sphere of authority assigned to us by the responsible powers (*ib.* 17, p. 813 D, E). Such was the temper of the man whose chief title to fame is as the biographer of the heroes of the ancient world. Nevertheless, Plutarch was far from being a time-server, or one who would put his private interests before his country's good (*ib.* 18, p. 814 D). His quietism was founded on the reasoned conviction that, as resistance is impossible, a cheerful submission is wiser than an inopportune struggle against overwhelming odds (cf. *Philop.* 17). But, whereas the folly of ill-judged patriotism may at least claim the sympathy of a generous heart, the conduct of those who make the welfare of Greece of no account as compared with their own comfort and enjoyment deserves our profound contempt (*Non posse suaviter*, 19, p. 1100 D).

LITERATURE.—The chief texts of the *Moralia* are by D. Wyttenbach, 8 vols. in 15, with notes and *index verborum*, Oxford, 1795–1830; by F. Dübner in the Didot series, Paris, 1839–42; and by G. N. Bernardakis in the Teubner series, 7 vols., Leipzig, 1888–96. For the life and opinions of Plutarch the following may be consulted: R. Volkmann, *Leben, Schriften und Philosophie des Plutarch von Chaeronea*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1869; J. P. Mahaffy, *The Greek World under Roman Sway*, London, 1890, pp. 291–350; J. Oakesmith, *The Religion of Plutarch*, do. 1902; R. Hirzel, 'Plutarch,' Heft iv. of *Das Erbe der Alten: Schriften über Wesen und Wirkung der Antike*, ed. O. Crusius, O. Immisch, and T. Zielinski, Leipzig, 1912.

A. C. PEARSON.

PLYMOUTH BRETHREN.—See BRETHREN (Plymouth).

POETRY.—See HYMNS, LITERATURE.

POINTS OF THE COMPASS.—I. *INTRODUCTORY AND GENERAL.*—Owing to the marked way in which, in several lands, notably in ancient Greece and in Christendom, sacred buildings have been placed with their most important front towards the east, this subject is generally known as orientation, and that term will be used in this article. As a title it might, however, in some cases be open to the charge of begging the question, and the one here chosen is non-committal and more comprehensive.

The religions of many peoples—perhaps of most—have taken account of the cardinal points of the compass, though the importance attached to them may have varied. The feelings aroused by sunrise and sunset must always have been very much the same all the world over, and they are in some degree expressed by the terms used for the cardinal points. Skeat (*Etymological Dictionary*[2], Oxford, 1884) traces the word 'east' to the Aryan root *us*, 'shine,' 'burn.' Bradley (*OED*) gives the root *aus*, 'dawn.' Skeat derives 'west' from the Aryan root *vas*, 'dwell,' and says that the allusion is to the apparent resting-place or abiding-place of the sun at night. 'South' seems to mean simply the 'sunned' quarter; the derivation of the word 'north' is unknown (Skeat).

The Hebrew imagines himself to be facing east and describes east, west, north, south by the expressions 'before,' 'behind,' 'left,' 'right.' This nomenclature, even more than the Aryan tongues, suggests ideas about the four quarters of the horizon that were definite and important, and it is therefore not surprising to find that the point of the compass is stated with precision in the story

of the Fall and elsewhere. This precision is not really inconsistent with the inaccuracies in Gn 11^{12}. and other passages. The Indo-European peoples picture themselves as facing north and call the hand towards the rising sun the better hand, the dexterous one, and the other (although the Greek veiled it by euphemisms) the sinister. The Etruscans, on the contrary, thought of themselves as looking south; the Roman augurs continued the tradition and considered the left the lucky hand. Thus it will be seen that the Indo-European peoples really had the same notions about the east as the Semitic. Walter Johnson gives useful examples of this habit (*Byways of British Archæology*).

The subject may be said to have been neglected if not ignored till within the last decade or two. Most books on architecture, even those dealing with countries in which orientation is a marked characteristic of the buildings, make no reference to it; the most comprehensive general encyclopædias have short and perfunctory articles or none at all; works on folk-lore, which are of necessity much concerned with ritual, seldom record any observations or offer any explanations, while very often neither the word 'orientation' nor the names of the cardinal points are to be found in the index. This neglect, at least so far as Britain is concerned, is no doubt due to the belief that the custom of orientation has no historical significance, that it was even in the earliest historical times inherited from a long-buried past and had comparatively little relation to the beliefs of the age that practised it. Hence many published plans of buildings have no compass at all; of the others most have but a rough indication with nothing to show whether true north or magnetic north is intended. It is still more rare to find a plan which, while stating that the observation is magnetic north, gives also the date of the observation, although it is well known that the variation between the magnetic and the true north changes rapidly and irregularly. In the south of England the needle now points above 16° W. of polar N.; this difference is diminishing six or seven minutes a year, so that, if the decrease were constant—which it is not—the variation would be reduced by a degree in about nine years. In works of the highest scientific value we find such errors as the plan of St. Peter's at Rome turned round so as to bring the altar to the east; the magnetic variation shown east instead of west; while a third goes to the opposite extreme and carries accuracy so far as to give not only the date of the observation but the hour also. Descriptions are often loose; to say that a church 'faces east' may mean either an east door or an east altar; burial 'to the east' is equally vague; when Guiderius says, 'Nay, Cadwal, we must lay his head to th' East,' he certainly meant 'to the west' (Shakespeare, *Cymbeline*, act iv. sc. 2). The only unambiguous descriptions are 'altar to east (or west),' 'feet to east (or west).'

Lately the architectural side of the subject has been approached by a few observers in a scientific spirit in Germany and in England, and some records of the customs of savage races have been made.

In this article we shall deal with the following questions: (1) ritual acts: the direction in which the suppliant looks while praying or sacrificing, during baptism, or while performing other ritual acts; (2) the aspect of buildings: the direction of the main axis, or the aspect of the door, altar, or other feature of the temple, using that word in its widest sense; (3) burial: the direction in which the grave is made, or the body of the dead is placed in the tomb, and consequently the planning of the tomb itself; (4) beliefs unclassified (called for brevity 'superstition'): points of the compass from which attacks of evil spirits are most to be feared, and the like.

It is clear that all these, especially the three first, are in a great degree interdependent. They should therefore be discussed together wherever possible. But in some cases this would be inconvenient, and it will be necessary to consider separately the orientation of the more important classes of temples.

1. **Ritual acts.**—The practice of orientation has been very generally observed in ritual acts, although from the nature of the case it has not in the past left such a clear record as have temples and burials.

The direction in which the suppliant looks when at prayer or performing ritual acts has had, we shall find, in almost every form of religion a direct relation to the sun, his beliefs about it and the emotions which it arouses. Those beliefs and those emotions range through every shade from sun-worship and totemism to perhaps mere wonder at the never-fading impressiveness of the phenomenon of sunrise. In the relatively few cases in which ritual is independent of the position or course of the sun it is governed by simple and easily ascertainable facts, such as the Muhammadan's prayer towards Mecca.

It is probable that some peoples who did not orientate their buildings did face a particular direction when in the act of adoration; some savage races who have not reached or have scarcely reached the stage of temple-building observe an orientation in their ritual; the Jew and the Muhammadan observe what may be called a 'local' orientation in prayer; the Christian still retains a considerable amount of traditional orientation in his ritual.

2. **Temples.**—The aspect of buildings must almost inevitably have a close relationship with the direction in which the prayer is uttered or the rite performed, for it is governed by the same ideas—this notwithstanding the very varying degrees in which the building, in different religions, can be regarded as a house of prayer or as the home of a god. But, whereas a more or less correct general position sufficed or suffices for the private person at prayer, the temple is the work and the instrument of the professors of religion and for the most part of somewhat elaborate religions, each acknowledging and dedicating its buildings to many different gods, as the ancient Greeks, or in honour of special patron saints, as in the Christian Church. This consideration complicates, or has been thought to complicate, the inquiry into this part of the subject. We shall also have to bear in mind that in the case of the building, to a greater extent than in the attitude of prayer, tradition counts for much, as in the Christian Church at the present day, long after the matter has ceased to be thought important or indeed to have any meaning at all.

3. **Burial.**—The position of the body in relation to the points of the compass varies much, but the underlying idea which dictated it is in the main fairly general. Expressed briefly, it is that a dead person is laid in the grave in that position which will make the journey of the spirit as easy as possible. The journey is usually to a home of the dead. Consequently the position varies according to the conception of that home.

This idea of facilitating the journey of the dead is, however, sometimes found acting in an opposite direction: it may be desirable to keep the spirit in the grave. Thus the soul of the chief should continue to reside among and to protect the tribe; that of the wicked man should be prevented from returning to the village and disturbing the peace of the surviving relatives. J. G. Frazer sees a survival of the latter feeling in the custom in this country, not long since given up, of burying a suicide with a stake through his body (*The Belief in Immortality*, London, 1913, i. 164). The further opinion may perhaps be hazarded that the selection of cross-roads as the place was suggested by the thought that, if the spirit did make its escape, it might be puzzled as to which road led home; in the same way it is still believed that the sick are cured by being taken to the cross-roads, the original idea probably having been that, when the evil spirit was expelled from the patient, it was liable to lose its way.

The journey of the spirit may be made (*a*) to the land of the forefathers, (*b*) to an under world, (*c*) to the isles of the blest, (*d*) to the place where the totem of the dead person resides. There are some doubtful exceptions to this rule, namely burial towards one

of the cardinal points or in the path of the sun—doubtful because they may after all prove to be connected with a journey. We shall have to consider these classes more at large. Meanwhile we must bear in mind Frazer's warning not to expect uniformity even among people of one tribe; modes in the disposal of the dead vary according to sex, rank, moral character, and manner of death.

(*a*) *The land of the forefathers.*—The journey to the land of the forefathers is the hypothesis of Herbert Spencer. The land of the dead is the land from which the tribe migrated. The idea may be summed up in the words, 'The dead man has gone home.' The body is laid with the feet in that direction. It is this hypothesis that now finds favour as the one which best fits the facts, rather than that of Tylor, to which further reference is made below. But it will none the more bear too general an application. It appears to express the most common conception among savage tribes at the present time.

(*b*) *The under world.* — The most familiar instance of this conception is that of mediæval Christianity. The belief appears to be shared by some primitive peoples of to-day. A. C. Kruijt, whose observations are used by Perry, maintains (see art. INDONESIANS, vol. vii. p. 245) that an idea common to all conceptions of the hereafter is that the soul has to cross the sea, and that this belief found its origin in the theory that the sun crossed the sea every day on its way to the land of souls under the earth; he points out that the word meaning 'setting of the sun' is used for dying, and states that many of the tribes think that the land of souls is under the earth.

(*c*) *The isles of the blest.*—There are two remarkable examples of belief in the happy islands. They are from opposite ends of Europe. The first is that of the Greeks. Of the second W. Ridgeway says:

'There is some evidence that the northern cremationists, like the Acheans, believed that the Spirit-land lay in the West. Perhaps the ordinance of Odin that the ashes of the dead should be sent out to sea points in this direction, but it is clear from Procopius [*de Bell. Goth.* iv. 20] that in the sixth century of our era, the peoples of north-west Europe held that the soul of the departed journeyed westward . . . into the western part of Britain. A peninsula opposite Britain was inhabited by a folk (probably the Veneti of Armorica [Brittany]), who . . . were subject to the Franks, but paid no tribute by virtue of the ancient service of ferrying the souls out into the Ocean to Britain' (*The Early Age of Greece*, Cambridge, 1901, i. 517).

The expression 'to go west' for 'to die' is still in use and has been extended to include anything that is lost.

(*d*) *Totemism.* — Two instances will be noted below in which a man is buried with his head to the point of the compass appropriate to his totem; but these may prove to be cases of class (*a*), the journey of the spirit to the land of the forefathers.

Each of the above classes presupposes a journey to be made by the soul. It remains to notice the apparent exceptions referred to above. Burials, chiefly pre-historic, occur which seem to have a direct relation to the course of the sun and do not suggest a reference to a journey. Thus the graves of Teutonic peoples on the Continent and in England often, if not generally, have the foot towards the N. but occasionally to the S.; sometimes they are E. and W. with the foot sometimes E. and sometimes W., but with the body laid on its side and facing S. The idea may have been a desire for comfort, and seems to take the form of a wish to lie in the path of the sun. It lends some weight to Tylor's hypothesis, applied by him no doubt too generally, viz.:

Orientation originates in 'the association in men's minds of the east with light and warmth, life and happiness and glory, of the west with darkness and chill, death and decay, [which] has from remote ages rooted itself in religious belief' and has affected the position alike of temple and of grave (*PC*[3] ii. 421).

To the ancient Egyptian the west was the land of souls; he complains:

'The West is a land of sleep and of heavy shadows. . . . Let me be placed by the edge of the water with my face to the North, that the breezes may caress me' (G. Maspero, *The Dawn of Civilization*[4], Eng. tr., London, 1901, p. 113).

The legend that Christ was buried with His head to the W. is attributed by Tylor to wide-spread solar ideas. We have an instance of Australian tribesmen who prefer to lie 'in the path of the sun' (Johnson, p. 274). The Tlingits, a people of Alaska, bury with the head to the sunrise (Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, London, 1910, iii. 274); the reason given, namely to allow the spirit to return, makes it doubtful whether this class is really an exception to the general rule that position is determined by desire to facilitate a journey. As a doubtful case we may perhaps class with it the instance mentioned below of the Egyptian buried in a cramped position in the hope, it is suggested, of facilitating the re-birth of the body.

4. Superstition. — No generalizations can at present be made on this branch of the subject. Most of the beliefs may presumably have some connexion, now lost, with ritual and ideas of death. A few examples will be noted below (VI. 12, X. 1, and table at end of art.). Probably a good deal of material still remains to be collected.

II. *EGYPT.*—1. Temples. — The Egyptians appear to have been indifferent as to the direction in which their temples lay; at least, if they had a system, it is by most people considered to be unknown to us. J. Fergusson expressly states (*Hist. of Architecture*[3], London, 1891–93, i. 119) that they did not orientate their buildings; but in his day no system had been suggested, and he accepted the obvious reading of the evidence. The evidence is that the temples face in all directions. The silence of other writers on Egyptian architecture may be assumed to mean that they take the same view as Fergusson, and students of the elaborate religion of the Egyptians give us little help.

Attempts have recently been made, however, to reduce the apparent confusion to a system. Two of these attempts—those of Nissen and of Lockyer—were apparently made more or less independently of one another, but they may be considered together. Nissen discusses eleven examples.

Every temple is directed towards the point on the horizon at which the sun or the star to which the temple is dedicated rose or set on the feast-day at the time when the temple was founded. When the axis of a temple lies nearly E. and W., it necessarily points to sunrise on some day of the year and to sunset on some other day, and the temple is then called a sun-temple. If, however, the axis points to a spot on the horizon outside the limits of sunrise and sunset at midsummer, the temple is considered to be a star-temple. The point on the horizon at which the sun or a star rises on any particular day of the year is constantly changing, owing to the movement of the pole of the earth round the pole of the heavens, and it is pointed out by Lockyer that in 13,000 years this point for a star may shift 47°. Some star is then looked for which rose or set at that particular spot at some time during the epoch in which the temple must be supposed, on archæological grounds, to have been founded. A likely star having been found, the exact date, to within a very few decades, at which it rose or set at the point in question is easily calculated. This date is the date of the building. A likely star is one which can be shown to have some possible connexion with the temple, and great ingenuity is shown in finding such connexions; *e.g.*, the temple of Sebak-Ra at Ombos seems to point towards the setting of Arcturus, which was sometimes represented by the Egyptians as a crocodile, and the god Sebak-Ra was also represented as crocodile-headed (Nissen, *Orientation*, p. 52). Inscriptions from Annu, Denderah, and elsewhere are quoted by both Nissen and Lockyer describing the foundation of temples, a ceremony of the greatest importance: the king himself stretches the measuring-cord and directs his glance to the course of the rising stars, his eye is fixed on the Great Bear, and he gives the corners of the temple. But it is admitted that the Denderah inscription is very late; it refers to the emperor Augustus, who, it is said, was never at Denderah; nor did the Great Bear set at Denderah in his time; it must therefore reproduce an earlier inscription (Lockyer, *The Dawn of Astronomy*, p. 178). An exact orientation was of the greatest importance, and Lockyer suggests that the long series of halls and courts which formed an Egyptian temple would make an

excellent telescope of a sort; the halls, especially those at the farther end, were dark, and the dividing walls were each pierced by a central doorway; a priest standing in the dark at the farther end, looking through this long series of doorways, would have a good view of a star at heliacal rising, *i.e.* rising a little before sunrise, and would thus be warned that it was time to prepare sacrifice; the fairway to the horizon was always carefully preserved uninterrupted. True, later temples were sometimes built right across the fairway, but that was done on purpose by the later priests to spite those of the old temple. The sun-temples make admirable observatories for ascertaining the exact time of the summer solstice; the measurement of time was a most important matter in an agricultural country; it was a duty monopolized by the priests. The orientation of star-temples is often what we may call indirect, *i.e.*, it is not the long axis, but the short, that points to the rising of the star, as at Denderah and Edfu (Nissen, pp. 36, 43); and the Egyptians had the habit of building neighbouring temples at right angles to one another (Lockyer, pp. 168, 316; Nissen, p. 59).

These views have been accepted by R. Phené Spiers (*EBr*[11], *s.v.* 'Orientation'), E. A. Wallis Budge, and F. C. Penrose. They are strongly controverted by a writer in the *Edinburgh Review* (clxxx. [1894] 418 ff.). The weak points of the theory, besides those indicated above, are that, owing to the movement of the earth's axis, the same star would not serve for more than 200 or 300 years, as Lockyer admits; that that is a very short space of time in Egyptian history, so that the fact must have been observed comparatively soon; that the very late inscriptions describing the setting out of the temple with a cord by the king, inscriptions rewritten and indeed freely 'edited,' should not be accepted as plain statements of fact, devoid of poetic or religious fervour. The writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, indeed, points out that the older inscriptions say nothing about the star, while in the later instances 'the Great Bear' simply means 'the north.' Lockyer does not support his views of Egyptian sacerdotal history by reference to authorities. Nissen is less fanciful, but scarcely more convincing.

The sun and stars entered so largely into Egyptian religion and the observation of their movements was so important for making the calendar that the case can at most be said to be not proven. This would seem to be the view of W. M. Flinders Petrie (art. ARCHITECTURE [Egyptian], vol. i. p. 722 ff.), who, however, appears to avoid a definite statement of opinion. He does, indeed, give interesting facts about the temple of Abydos (p. 723[a]), but no explanation of them or even a hint as to whether he thinks an explanation is required. In the earliest plan the entrance is a passage between walls 4 ft. apart and 35 ft. long, facing S.; it is probably of the Ist dynasty; in the new temples of the VIth dynasty the principal door is to the N. and the lesser to the S.; later still it was several times rebuilt or remodelled facing N. and then E.; in all there are seven (*sic*) different plans, dating from the Ist to the XXVIth dynasty and facing successively S., N., N.?, N., N.?, E., E., E.

2. Burials.—In the earliest burials in Egypt the body is said to be laid on the left side, lying N. and S. with face towards the E. (Maspero, pp. 112 A, 361). Budge, referring apparently to the same period, says that the skeleton is laid on the left side with limbs bent and the face generally to the S., adding, however, that no invariable rule seems to have been observed as to the points of the compass. At a somewhat later but still prehistoric time and before the days of embalming, the graves are 'oriented either north or south' (*Egyptian Ideas of the Future Life*, p. 159). Budge thinks that the cramped attitude, the ante-natal position of the child, may perhaps have been adopted in order to facilitate the re-birth of the body (p. 162).

The royal tombs of the Ist dynasty at Abydos are made parallel to the river valley and hill line, and not true to the cardinal points, the nominal N.S. line being really N.W. and S.E. But the builders recognized this diagonal direction (*Egyptian Explor. Fund Report*, London, 1900, pt. i.).

The pyramids of Gizeh are of the IVth dynasty (variously estimated at 4000 to 6000 B.C.). They are accurately set out so that one side faces due N. They are not absolutely accurate; the sides of the Great Pyramid, which should point N., do actually bear 4′ W. of N. Petrie (*The Pyramids and Temples of Gizeh*, London, 1893, pp. 40–42) thinks that this discrepancy is due, not to a fault in the setting out, but to a movement of the pole; he thus tacitly assumes that absolute accuracy was desired. Six of the nine remaining pyramids at Gizeh have a N. entrance passage sloping down towards the centre at a mean angle of 26° 47′; and at Abousseir, of the only two which are sufficiently well preserved, one has a passage at an angle of 27° 5′, and the other at 26°. All these must have given view of the then pole star at its lower culmination—'a circumstance which can hardly be supposed to have been unintentional' (J. F. W. Herschel, *Outlines of Astronomy*[9], London, 1867, p. 205 f.).

Opposite to the middle of the E. side of each pyramid there was a temple, where the worship of the deified king was carried on.

The temple, says Petrie (p. 81), looked 'towards the pyramid which stood on the W. of it (the "blessed West," the land of souls).'

In connexion with the second pyramid temple there is a granite temple about a quarter of a mile away. A paved causeway leads from one to the other. This granite temple is duly orientated to the E., but it is about E. by S. of the pyramid, this position evidently being decided by the lie of the ground. A causeway also runs E. from the third pyramid temple.

Most of the other pyramids of Egypt face N. with greater or less degrees of inaccuracy, and all have the entrance to the N. Of that at Sakkara the N.S. line is, according to Fergusson, 4′ 35″ E. of N.

In the Sūdān, however, there are some important groups of pyramids which are placed diagonally to the meridian. These are at Gebal Barkal and at Meroë, east of the Nile, and at Nuri or Belal, west of the Nile. The shrines are against the S.E. faces. Budge, who made observations, accepts the views of Lockyer and Penrose [and Nissen], and holds that these pyramids are orientated to the sun or, where its rays could not enter the shrine, to some star (*Proc. Royal Soc. London*, lxv. 333).

The Sphinx seems to have been called Har-em-khu by the ancient Egyptians (the Harmakhis of the Greeks and Romans), equivalent to 'Horus on the horizon' or the sun in the act of rising. The sun-god Horus takes several forms, one of which was 'Horus of the two [*i.e.* E. and W.] horizons.' Horus in one of his qualities is primarily the god of the sunrise, and as such is the counterpart of Hathor, the god of the west, who received the dead. It is this eastward gaze of his that has made the Sphinx so impressive to all who have beheld him, and that long ago gained for him the name of 'the Watcher.' The work is usually attributed to the XVIIIth dynasty (*c.* 16th and 17th centuries B.C.), by which time the origin of all forms of religion was sought in sun-worship, and nearly every principal deity became amalgamated with the sun-god (A. Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, Eng. tr., London, 1897, p. 12).

But, though theology may have changed during the course of ancient Egyptian history, we may safely guess that ritual, with which we are here concerned, remained very much the same in that

most conservative land. Egypt was a land of sun-worship in one form or another from the earliest pre-historic times till the dawn of the present era. The worship centred in Pa Rā (the house of Rā), the Greek Heliopolis. Thither a Pharaoh of the XIIth dynasty went in procession, and on the sandhill sacrificed before the god Rā at his rising and, returning to the great temple of the sun, went alone into the holy of holies to see the god, his father, Rā himself (*ib.* p. 21).

The *mastabas*, or private tombs of dynasties III. to X., have generally the entrance to the E., sometimes to the N. or S., never to the W. There was also a sort of blocked-up door facing E.; this was for the use of the dead; the spirit could enter or leave by it. An inscription is recorded invoking blessing on the dead 'that burial might be granted to him in Amentît the land of the West' (Maspero, p. 250). At the far end of the building, set back in a recess in the W. wall, is a stele.

Wiedemann thus describes a funeral:

'When the tomb had been reached, the coffin was set up on end, with face turned towards the south, on a small sandhill intended to represent the Mountain of the West—the realm of the dead' (p. 286).

III. *ASSYRIA, CHALDÆA, PERSIA: TEMPLES AND BURIALS.*—Our knowledge of these regions in ancient times is still marred by serious lacunæ. The old Chaldæans had their theory of a world of the dead—either an under world or one lying E. or N. Of burial places other than those of royal persons nothing seems to be known, and even of those the authorities do not tell us much.

The temple, a succession of terraces about three in number, forming a sort of irregular stepped pyramid, was placed with its corners to the cardinal points — *e.g.*, the temple of Nannar at Uru in Chaldæa (Maspero, p. 629) and Nin-maḫ at Babylon (T. G. Pinches, art. ARCHITECTURE [Assyro-Babylonian], vol. i. p. 689[b]). This may be chance, but, in describing the precinct of the temple-tower of Belus at Babylon, Pinches says:

'In accordance with the usual Babylonian custom, the angles indicated the cardinal points, and each side had an entrance. Inside the enclosure . . . stood some kind of erection 200 ft. square, connected with the *ziggurat*, or tower, and having round its base the chapels or temples of the various gods, on all four sides, and facing the cardinal points' (p. 690 f.).

The principal buildings, with the couch of the god and the throne, were to the W. (p. 691[a]). Sippara and Larsa, cities where the sun-god was worshipped, have not been thoroughly investigated. Persepolis was orientated to the cardinal points. The palace of Sargon in Mesopotamia has its diagonals pointing to them.

IV. *GREECE.*—**1. Temples.**—The normal position of a Greek temple is approximately E. and W., and it was an E. aspect that was aimed at. But an E. aspect meant the opposite of what we now mean. A religion like Christianity which has developed an indoor congregational worship considers the position of the altar within the temple and the attitude of the worshipper as the essential points; the position of the door is a corollary. But in a religion such as that of the ancient Greeks, where the temple is a mysterious home of the god entered by the few while the people remain in the *temenos* to see the sacrifice, it is the entrance front and the altar before it that are the first considerations. Greek temples therefore generally have the entrance to the E.; the altar (see art. ALTAR [Greek], vol. i. p. 343[a]) is, if possible, placed in front of it on the main axis and so that the person sacrificing faced E. with his back to the temple—*e.g.*, temples of Aphæa at Ægina, of Apollo at Delphi. If this was difficult or impossible, the altar was elsewhere, as that of Zeus at Olympia and of Athene on the Acropolis at Athens.

By far the greater number of temples face towards the E. Nissen's useful list of 113 Greek temples (pt. ii. p. 224) shows that 75 per cent are within an arc of 50°, or 25° on either side of true E., while more than half are within an arc of 20°, or 10° on either side of E. Of the remainder there are four principal groups with the entrance facing approximately N.E., N., W., and S. There are several large gaps: no temples have the entrance to S.S.E., N.N.E., N.N.W., or W.N.W., while there is a gap of no less than 65° from about W.S.W. to nearly due S. containing only two temples. This distribution is partly geographical and partly according to cult, but never directly chronological.

Geographically all temples on the mainland, with but five exceptions, face between N.E. and S.E., the bulk of them either just N. of E. or about E.S.E.; those in Sicily and Italy are for the most part just S. of E.; the islands and Asia Minor form three nearly equal groups facing E., S., and W. fairly accurately.

Grouped under cults, the temples of Zeus, Athene, Asklepios, and Hera face fairly uniformly E., except when in some Asia Minor examples the door is turned to W. or S. The temples of Artemis, Dionysos, and Demeter show rather greater variation. Temples to Apollo point in many directions. Among the temples of unknown dedication there is singular uniformity: they all face nearly due E., except one, which is nearly due S.

Although no general classification according to period can be combined with a classification according to direction, yet dates of buildings cannot be ignored: thus the Asia Minor temples of Zeus and Athene facing W. and S. are late, those of Artemis early; we shall have occasion to notice the Delos temples in this connexion. Still less can we neglect the period of the cult in examining the direction, as we shall see in considering the temples of Isis and Serapis. Most important of all will be the original seat of the cult, as in the cases of Apollo and the Ephesian Artemis.

The normal aspect of the entrance to a Greek temple is therefore E. Deviations from it are abnormal and are of varying degrees of importance. The reason of the E. aspect must be sought in sun-worship of some sort; the time and perhaps the place of its origin are obscured by distance. Statues of gods before house or temple doors were called δαίμονες ἀντήλιοι, 'deities facing the sun.' In Homer's poems, says L. R. Farnell (art. GREEK RELIGION, vol. vi. p. 401[a]), the sun was anthropomorphized, but it is doubtful if it was so for the average Greek, who merely kissed his hand to it every morning or bowed to it on coming out of his house. The same author points out that the earliest temples—Homeric and pre-Homeric of the Minoan-Mycenæan culture—are, with one exception, domestic chapels in royal palaces and mark the sacred character of the king (p. 397[b]). Of the palaces themselves those that are known to us do not face E.: Tiryns and Phylakopi face due S.; Mycenæ about W.N.W.; Troy S.E.; Knossos seems to have had several fronts, one about S. by W. and others to the corresponding points. Some of these sites are too cramped to have afforded a choice of aspect.

Some light is obtained from literature, but it is not conclusive.

In the *Ion* of Euripides the great tent set up by Ion, the son of Apollo, is scrupulously orientated—for it is a ἱερόν, a sacred or tabu place—so that it should not face the mid shafts of the sun's fire nor its dying rays (lines 1132–1137). On the roof were embroidered pictures of the sun, moon, and certain stars. There is nothing to connect the tent with Apollo-worship and the orientation seems to aim not so much at facing N. and E. as at avoiding S. and W.

Hesiod (*c.* 800 B.C.) has some passages in *Works and Days* referring to the movements of the stars and the time for re-

ing and other agricultural work, and other ancient authors refer to the means of measuring time by the heavenly bodies.

Deviations from true E., where these are slight, as in the case of dedications to Zeus and Athene, may be explained in one of two ways: they may be due to indifference as to exactness, or we may, with Nissen and Penrose, see in them deliberate intention in conformity with an elaborate system.

These authors suggest that the axis is directed to the point of sunrise on the feast-day; that the variations among temples having the same dedication are due to the varying customs in different states, and to the varying position of the place of sunrise caused by the movements of the earth's axis; that the latter cause incidentally gives us an indication of the date of the temple; that it was important for the priest to have warning of sunrise so that he might prepare the sacrifice; and that this was given to him by the appearing of a star which was known to rise a little before the sun. Both Penrose and Nissen, by calculating from the known movement of the earth's axis (the precession of the equinoxes), have arrived at dates at which the axes of most of the extant temples would point to a heliacal star. They have thus fixed the dates of the foundations of the temples. Penrose points out that the dates thus deduced are in most cases clearly earlier than the existing remains. His explanation is that the temple has been rebuilt on an old site, and the direction of the old axis has been followed. Lockyer agrees in the general theory, and it has been accepted by J. B. S. Holborn (art. ARCHITECTURE [Greek], vol. i. p. 738[a]) and by Spiers (*EBr*[11], *s.v.* 'Orientation'), who both state that temples of gods face E. and those of heroes W. It is opposed with force by a writer in the *Edinburgh Review* (clxxx. 418) in an article on Lockyer's *Dawn of Astronomy*.

The theory indeed seems to require a broader basis of evidence. Penrose himself points out that the same star would not serve for more than 200 or 300 years, and he finds that at the rebuilding of a temple the axis has sometimes followed the star and sometimes not.

The fact that most temples point nearly due E. may be due to an old tradition having been adhered to and fairly accurately carried out. On the other hand, we may, with Nissen, find the explanation in the Greek calendar: the chief festivals were equinoctial—March, April, and early May (from the opening of navigation to the beginning of harvest [May]), and August, September, and the beginning of October, interrupted by vintage and ended by the closing of navigation.

Certainly the importance of accurate observation of the movements of the stars for the regulation of the calendar and for timing agricultural operations was fully realized. The terms 'heliacal,' 'acronychal,' and 'cosmical' rising and setting were used by the early astronomers.

After this general indication we may take a closer view. The temples of Zeus and Athene show, as stated above, a general agreement, but there is considerable difference between the two limits—some 36° in the case of Zeus and 21° in the case of Athene, not including the early temple at Miletus, Asia Minor. In Asia Minor Zeus has a temple at Magnesia with the door due W. (220 B.C. [Nissen]); Athene has two at Miletus at right angles to one another, E.S.E. and S.S.W., and one at Pergamon due S. With these exceptions, there is no connexion between direction of axis and geographical position. There is a difference of nearly 4° between the early temple of Athene on the Acropolis and the Parthenon: they are respectively 260° 55′ and 257° 7′, given S. = 0° and going sunwise (Nissen, Penrose).

Athene, Asklepios, and Demeter keep their E. door at Priene, Asia Minor. The two temples of Artemis in Asia Minor, at Ephesus and Magnesia, have the door approximately to W., though they differ considerably in direction of axis. This reversal is perhaps due to the confusion of the Greek Artemis with the Asiatic goddess.

The Erechtheum points rather N. of E., being nearly parallel with the Parthenon. The Theseum is 13° S. of E.: Nissen holds with the view that it has nothing to do with Theseus, but connects it with Iacchus, son of Demeter, and the Eleusinian mysteries (p. 177).

This brings us to Demeter. Her temples are mostly not far from parallel with one another and with one of the two Persephone temples, while they are only 12° removed from the Theseum on one side, and 14° from the second Persephone temple on the other side, their axis pointing 295° or about E.S.E. These Demeter temples are widely scattered—Eleusis and Sicily. But in Asia Minor there is one temple of Demeter at Priene, and in Arcadia a temple of Despœna, the Arcadian name of Persephone, both facing due E. In Sicily at Selinus there is a temple said to be of Demeter facing almost N.E.; this is remarkable because all the eight other temples at Selinus are exactly parallel with one another and face somewhat S. of E., or not far from the direction of the other Demeter temples.

The temples of Apollo present perhaps the greatest problem in Greek orientation. Even Nissen, who has an explanation for most things, admits that they are difficult. They point in many directions. This is probably due to the foreign extraction of the god: he has been thought to have come from Asia, from Egypt, from the north. Farnell says (art. GREEK RELIGION, vol. vi. p. 395[b]) that he was no doubt a cult figure of tribes other than Achæans, and that in the Hyperborean ritual, which reflects at points the earliest days of Hellenism, we can follow the track of Apollo's invasion from the north. Nissen ingeniously suggests that the simple mountain shepherds of Arcadia and Ætolia accepted with the foreign god his foreign ritual and gave to his temples at Bassæ, near Phigeleia, and at Thermon the N.S. axis with the door at the N. end (that at Bassæ has also a door in the E. side); but advanced city communities with a popular theology adjusted the axis to suit their own views; thus the temples at Selinus and Syracuse face due E., and that at Corinth nearly so. But on this hypothesis the temple at Delphi facing N.E. and that at Didyma in Argolis a little S. of N.E. are difficult to place. The temple at Metapontum on the south coast of Italy, with the entrance to the S.E., may be said to conform with the custom of the country; that in the Ægean island of Thera is parallel with it; that at Letoon has its door to the S.S.W. There remain two temples of Apollo at Delos, one facing due E. and the other due W.; these must be purely political, faced according to the dictates of the times to which they belong, as Athens or Asia Minor was in the ascendant. Besides these there are in Delos two old temples facing W. which, Nissen says, Wilhelm Dörpfeld is inclined to dedicate to Apollo; finally there is the nameless temple at Mycenæ with the doorway to the S., which is perhaps more likely to have been dedicated to Apollo than to any other god.

The Delos temples were first built facing W.—the rock-cut, the Leto, two which are nameless, and one dedicated to Apollo. The aspect is perhaps due to the influence of Asia Minor—except of course the rock-cut. Then, under the influence of Athens in the 4th cent., the temples of Zeus and Apollo were built with the door to the E., and finally, according to Nissen, when the island passed away from Athens, the temple of the foreign Isis looked W.

A foreign god, as Nissen points out, may retain or may yield his native ritual. We have seen that Apollo illustrates both processes. At Alexandria the parent temple of Serapis faces S.; the daughter at Taormina is turned E., while in Delos she keeps the door to the S. The temple of Isis is turned to the W. at Delos, but keeps its S. door at Priene.

It is probably a mistake to suppose that the aspect of temples was much more than a fashion, that it expresses any definite idea in theology. We have an exactly parallel case in the Christian Church; most of our buildings have the door to the W., but in some of the most famous it is to the E. Probably few people are aware of the latter fact, even when they are attending service, although it sometimes requires a slightly different ritual. Perhaps to the Greek the matter was a little more important, but not much.

The temple with the door to the W. did not face W., any more than St. Peter's in Rome faces W.; it only faced E. in a different manner. Nissen thinks that it did face W., and that this aspect symbolizes 'world empire.' So it does, but the symbolism is of the 20th cent. and Teutonic. It is generally thought that on the feast-day the rays of the rising sun were to fall through the open door and light up the statue of the god, and the northward-facing temple at Bassæ has indeed the famous side door to the E., opposite the spot where the statue stood. But how could this have been arranged in a westward-facing temple? A hypæthral opening would throw only a reflected light on the figure. Vitruvius has some remarks on the subject which we shall presently notice.

2. Burials.—The Greek idea of death is complicated by many cross-currents, but the notion of a voyage or a journey of some sort enters largely into it. S. Baring-Gould says (*A Book of Folklore*, London, n.d., p. 160) that the ancient Greek inscribed the word εὔπλοια, 'favourable voyage,' on a gravestone and that his descendant carves a pair of oars.

In five shaft graves on the Acropolis at Mycenæ two bodies lie N. and S., with feet to S., and all the others, eleven or more, lie E. and W. with feet to W. At Vaphio the chief is laid E. and W. with feet to E.; possibly this is only in order that he should face the door of the tomb, which is to E.

Ridgeway (i. 490) thinks that we may infer that burial with feet to W. was the characteristic orientation of the autochthonous race. He points out (i. 516) that Odysseus did not descend into Hades as did Æneas and Dante; he sailed west; and in post-Homeric belief there was no under world, but isles of the blest, which lay in the west. At Phylakopi in Melos the orientation of the tombs depended wholly on the conformation of the ground (Hellenic Society, suppl. paper no. 4 [1904], p. 234).

In later times the position of the body varied. Thus Solon proved the justice of the claim of Athens to Salamis as against the Megarians by pointing out that the tombs which he opened faced E., and that the corpses in them were turned to the E. in the Athenian fashion. We have therefore the tradition at least that in the days of Solon (*c.* 600 B.C.) there were in different parts of Greece two well recognized positions for the body. Such customs 'probably . . . depend on the ideas which each people has formed of the direction in which lies the land of the dead' (Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, iv. 214).

V. *ROME.*—1. Temples.—It is generally agreed among modern writers that the Romans, whatever their theories, did not orientate their buildings (W. J. Anderson and R. P. Spiers, *Greek and Roman Architecture*[2], London, 1907, p. 188). The silence of Fergusson, of Middleton (*Remains of Ancient Rome*, 2 vols., London, 1892), and of Lanciani is perhaps as eloquent on the same side. E. A. Gardner (art. ALTAR [Roman], vol. i. p. 349) says that, the orientation of the temples being varied, that of the altar varied also, and that, from the position of the altar, the sacrificer appears to have stood with his side to the temple, and in some cases with his back to it. J. Dürm lays it down that the Etruscan rule required that the temple axis should be N. and S.; that the Roman turned to the E. during prayer; therefore either the temple statue had to face W. or the axis of the temple had to lie E. and W. (*Handbuch der Architektur*, Stuttgart, 1905, sect. 431).

Of the Etruscan practice we know almost nothing. The Roman augurs inherited as the basis of their ritual the Etruscan idea of the natural or normal attitude; *i.e.*, they imagined themselves as facing S., so that the lucky side—that towards the E.—was the left, and the unlucky side the right. But with the Roman populace the opposite was the rule: they faced N., and the right was the lucky side. Both these notions show that, whatever was the practice with regard to buildings, there was in early times a special veneration for the east.

Vitruvius, who lived and wrote in the 1st cent. B.C., is a useful link between Greece and Rome. He was an architect with a practical knowledge of work in Rome in his own day and with some outside book-knowledge of Greek lands. He has a chapter on 'The Position of Temples according to the Regions':

'The sacred temples of the immortal gods should be so disposed, that, if there is no impediment and the use of the temple permits, the statue which is placed in the cell may seem to look towards the evening region of the heavens; so that those who approach the altar, to make their offerings, or perform sacrifices, may look towards the eastern sky and to the image which is in the temple. By this means the temple, the eastern sky, the supplicants and sacrificers making their vows, and the image seeming to rise to behold them will all be seen at one view: for it is proper that the altars of the gods should be disposed to the east.

But, if the nature of the place prevents that position, then the temple is to be turned to the view of the greater part of the city walls and temples of the gods; or should sacred fanes be built near a river, like those near the Nile in Egypt, they should look towards the banks of the river; so likewise, if near a public way they should be so situated that the passengers may behold it, and pay their salutations' (*de Architectura*, tr. W. Newton, London, 1791, bk. iv. ch. v.). Pseudoperipteral temples 'are appropriated to the use of sacrifices, for the same kinds of temples are not erected indiscriminately to all gods, because the sacred rites performed to each are different' (bk. iv. ch. vii.). 'Altars should regard the east' (bk. iv. ch. viii.).

In these passages, it appears, Vitruvius combines unconsciously what he had learned from books about Greek work with his practical knowledge of Roman custom in his own day. He had not travelled, and clearly the Greek architecture about which he had read was, as we might perhaps expect, chiefly that of Asia Minor. As to Roman work, he seems to consider the W. orientation to be a counsel of perfection, which was to give way before considerations of architecture and convenience.

In practice temples face in every direction; a glance at a plan of Rome or at a table of orientations makes this clear, and an attempt to work the data into a system would indeed be bold. But it has been made by Nissen; his lists contain 33 Roman temples and 34 temples in Italy outside Rome.

That the Romans and the Etruscans before them were very susceptible to outside influences—Greece, Egypt, and Asia—is a commonplace of history. It would be remarkable, then, if in the placing of their buildings even in Rome itself they never followed the practice of countries where orientation was general—countries within whose borders they themselves were building temples carefully orientated in accordance with native custom.

But, if we would look for truly orientated buildings, it must be on open sites or among the early buildings of a town before the place had become congested; or at least among those which, if not

early, might be expected to preserve early traditions. In Rome the circular temple of Vesta in the Forum faces E.N.E. (R. Lanciani, *Forma Urbis Romæ*, Milan, 1893–1901, pt. iv. pl. xxix.) or due E. (O. Richter, *Topographie der Stadt Rom*, Munich, 1901, pl. x.). The old Domus Publica (Middleton) and the Regia, neighbouring buildings associated with the temple, have also the E. direction—a direction contrasting strongly with all the buildings round them. The temple of Vesta was one of the most sacred of buildings, and it owed both its form and its sanctity to its extreme antiquity. The house for keeping alive a fire for the use of the community was probably the earliest building which primitive man attempted, earlier even than the shelter for his own head. The actual building in the Forum was destroyed and rebuilt more than once, and even its position had been slightly moved, but the old round form was preserved. The plan came to receive a symbolical meaning, but there can be no doubt that it was simply the natural form in which primitive man built, and that it was perpetuated in a specially sacred building by a well-known tendency just because it was primitive. It is suggested that the E. direction also is that of the primitive building, and that it points to a true orientation having been observed in early times. The well-known round temple to Mater Matuta, of early foundation, opposite S. Maria in Cosmedin has its door almost due E. (Lanciani, pt. viii. pl. xxviii.). The door of the Tullianum also looks due E. This building has, like the Regia, the trapezoidal plan which is believed to be the mark of a very primitive tradition. The Lapis Niger over the grave of Romulus is trapezoidal, but its axes run N.W. to S.E. and N.E. to S.W. The early quadruple temple on the Capitol faced about S.S.E. (*ib.*), and the early temples on the S.W. corner of the Palatine face S. by W. Outside Rome: the temple of Vesta at Tivoli has the door facing S.W. by S. (G. L. Taylor and E. Cresy, *Architectural Antiquities of Rome*, London, 1821–22, pl. lxvi. [vol. ii.]) probably for local reasons. The Artemisium at Nemi runs N. and S. with the door to the S. Thus it is difficult to detect a system even among the early buildings, unless it is perhaps a tendency to make buildings face approximately either E. or S. But much could not be expected from so few remains.

It is possible that other buildings might be found in which there might be discovered a cause for the direction of the axis other than practical or architectural considerations. Contact with neighbouring or distant nations may more than once have had its influence; the third legion of the army, for instance, learned during its stay in Syria the custom of saluting the rising sun (*GB*[3], pt. vi., *The Scapegoat*, London, 1913, p. 416).

The orientation of buildings in Rome in historical times seems to have been made to conform to the lay-out of the city generally, as Vitruvius suggests. The lay-out of the city must be considered in areas. In the earliest town the Forum Boarium may have been truly orientated, either from ritual tradition or because of the relative positions of the Capitol and the river. The Palatine, on the other hand, is laid out on a line running N.E. and S.W.; this was probably determined by the limits of the hill and by the valley which formerly crossed it. To the N. of it were the Forum Magnum and the Via Sacra running from N.W. to S.E. Some early buildings in these parts and on the Capitol have been referred to above. The buildings of later times, such as the temples of the Forum Magnum, face in all directions, seemingly without system. Outside this primitive area and within the wall of Servius Tullius, the planning generally is determined by the run of the hills and valleys. But the greater part of the flat Campus Martius between the wall and the river, as well as the Vatican district beyond the river, is methodically laid out on lines due N.S. and E.W. The Mausoleum of Hadrian facing S., four circuses, and most of the other important buildings have this orientation. Included among these are the Pantheon, which faces N., the baths of Alexander Severus and of Agrippa, and the Porticus Argonautum, containing the Neptunium with door to E., and the Basilica Matidies with door to E. But the buildings in the north part of the Campus Martius, north of the Via Recta, conform to the Via Flaminia (practically the Corso). The important group of buildings forming the imperial Fora (of Trajan, etc.), with their temples, are symmetrically arranged on an axis running N.W. and S.E. Three of the four remaining great baths—those of Diocletian, Titus, and Caracalla—are on an axis running N.E. and S.W., perhaps partly to fit the hill-tops and to suit the principal streets, and partly from considerations of sun and weather. The baths of Constantine face N.S. and E.W., and appear to conform intentionally with the Campus Martius scheme. Although this planning is chiefly secular, it is in different quarters so definitely orientated that it can scarcely be neglected. Temples seem to be invariably built to suit the road, as, for instance, that called of Fortuna Virilis facing N., a group of three just south of the theatre of Marcellus facing E., and those west of the Capitol which face S.W.

Outside Rome the same probably holds good—that orientation was observed to some extent, and often gave way to practical considerations. Nissen finds a system at Naples and Pompeii. The Forum at Pompeii runs N. and S., and its two temples of Jupiter and of Apollo face S. The temple of Vespasian and the sanctuary of the city Lares face W.

But, if Rome herself was influenced more by architectural effect and considerations of convenience than by religious or ritual motive, we find in the countries which she conquered a very different result, produced perhaps by the same causes. The Roman buildings in other lands are definitely orientated, though not always to the E. The determining influence may have been a desire to conform to the custom of the country or to the surrounding buildings, though in some cases the axis seems to have been fixed by religious influences, for the temple is at an angle with the street. The temple of Zeus Olympius in Athens is fairly true E. and W., with the door to E. The temples of the sun and of Zeus at Baalbek have the door to E., while that of Venus faces N.; the temple of the sun at Palmyra has a N. and S. axis, with the door in the long W. side.

At Silchester there are two square buildings near the present church which are believed by the discoverers to be temples, and are compared by them with similar buildings in Gaul. These temples do not conform with the general lines of the Roman city, but they are nearly parallel with one another and also with the mediæval church, which, it is suggested, may itself stand on the site of another pagan temple. The axes of the church and temples seem to be a little S. of E., but the point is somewhat obscured because the magnetic variation in this plan and in others, where it is given at all, is shown as E. instead of W., which has not been the case since the year 1656 (*Archæologia*, lii. [1890] pl. xxx.).

2. Burials.—The Romans for the greater part of their history cremated their dead, so that the orientation of their monuments had not to be considered.

VI. *CHRISTENDOM.*—**1. Early ritual.**—Orienta

tion in some form was probably practised, if not in the time of the apostles, at least in that immediately following, for we learn from Tertullian that it was observed at prayer in his days (A.D. *c.* 160–240). He says that the Christians were thought to be sun-worshippers because they prayed towards the E. (*Apol.* 16). If this attitude was general and its objections realized and its abandonment considered possible at such an early time, and if, as was the case, the temples of both Jew and Gentile had from time immemorial faced E., the inference is that the practice was continuous. But Tylor says that orientation was unknown in primitive Christianity and was developed in the first four centuries (*PC*[3] ii. 427).

The *Apostolical Constitutions* are very clear both as to ritual and as to buildings:

'After this, let all rise up with one consent, and looking towards the east, after the catechumens and penitents are gone out, pray to God eastward, who ascended up to the heaven of heavens to the east; remembering also the ancient situation of paradise in the east'; and, as to the church, 'let the building be long, with its head to the east' (*Apost. Const.*, ed. J. Donaldson, Edinburgh, n.d., ii. 57).

Cyril of Jerusalem in the 4th cent. not only explains that turning to the E. in prayer was symbolical of the situation of paradise (*Catech. Lect.* xix. 9), but also describes the actual ritual:

We are to remember that at baptism we entered the outer hall [porch] of the baptistery and there, facing W., heard the command to stretch forth the hand and, as in the presence of Satan, renounced him (*ib.* xix. 2).

The rite is said to be still retained in the Greek Church.

Pope Leo in the 5th cent. complains that people turned to salute the rising sun as it shone through the E. door of St. Peter's, and it has been suggested that this was one of the causes of the reversal of churches to their present aspect with the door to the W., though at St. Peter's itself no alteration was made.

It appears, then, from the evidence of the earliest writers and of the earliest buildings (1) that orientation was strictly followed—*i.e.*, a symbolical meaning was attached to the attitude of the individual, and the E.W. direction of the main axis of churches was preserved; (2) that the ritual was not without its inconvenience (as Leo complained); and (3) that the E.W. axis sometimes means that the door faced E. and sometimes that it faced W.

This result is scarcely surprising when we consider the various facets from which the light of the gospel was reflected. There were customs both Hebrew and pagan to be utterly reversed, on the one hand, or, on the other, to be retained and infused with new meaning. Of buildings there were the Temple at Jerusalem and most of the Greek and Asiatic-Roman temples with the door to the E., while there were notable exceptions at Magnesia, Ephesus, and Delos.

2. Early buildings.—It may be that there was always variety in the buildings owing to the various influences at work: Greece proper, Greek work in Asia Minor, Palestine, Syria, Egypt, Rome. On the one hand, there is (1) the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem with an E. door, of which the earliest work begins in A.D. 326 (though here the site hardly left a free choice); (2) a statement by Paulinus of Nola († 432) that the façade to the E. was more usual (though this is ambiguous); (3) the description of the early church with E. door at Antioch, not later than the first half of the 5th cent.; (4) important churches in Rome, many of which still exist, while records remain of others, including the old basilica of St. Peter, first built early in the 4th cent.; and (5) a considerable number of early churches in Northern, Central, and Western Europe.

On the other hand, there is (1) the undoubted fact that, if churches were originally built with W. altar and E. door, they were reversed in the Eastern Church at least at a very early period; (2) Socrates the historian, writing in the first half of the 5th cent., says that the door was generally to the W.; (3) the church at Antioch is described as being exceptional; (4) the churches of Constantine at Byzantium either were all built with the E. altar or were all reversed by about the time of Justinian; (5) moreover, there is the obvious inconvenience of prayers towards the E. and the altar to the W.

The churches of Southern, Northern, and Western Europe retained the W. altar long after the E., while some still retain it. That the conservative East should have changed—as it probably did—while the progressive West kept to the old plan is perhaps an index of the theological activity of the Eastern Church in early times. It may have been due, to some extent, to a dread of the influence of Asiatic sun-worship.

The turning round of churches from what seems to have been the normal aspect with the W. altar to the present direction of altar to the E. is somewhat obscure. It seems that all the churches built by Constantine (272?–337) himself had the W. altar and E. door. Besides the church of the Holy Sepulchre already mentioned, there is a church at Tyre 'restored' by him and several churches in Rome: St. Peter's (Vatican), W. altar; St. Peter in Montorio, N.N.W. (since rebuilt); St. Chrysogonus in Trastevere, W.N.W.; St. Sebastian on the Appian Way, W. (Scott, *Essay on the Hist. of English Church Architecture*, p. 18). It must be remembered that in addition to these other churches in Rome built under the direct influence of Constantine, though not nominally founded by him, such as St. John Lateran, also have the E. door.

3. Eastern Church.—No work of Constantine remains above ground in Constantinople, and the orientation which he there adopted must remain a secret until some foundations of his churches are exposed. All the present buildings have the door to the W. A. van Millingen (*Byzantine Churches in Constantinople*, London, 1912) gives the plans of 22 churches; two of these have the door to N.W.; all the rest lie between W.N.W. and W.S.W., and about six of them are practically due W. (The observations are probably all magnetic, though they are not always stated to be so.)

The churches of Syria, Armenia, and Cyprus, with scarcely an exception, have the door to the W. Many of these are very early. All the Jerusalem churches, with the exception of one with a S. door, have the door to the W. The churches of Salonica, some of them of the 5th and 6th centuries, and of Mount Athos have the W. door, except the early church at Salonica, probably late 4th cent., now the mosque Eski Juma, which had the altar at the W. end. The church of St. Felix at Nola and a church at Trieste have the W. altar.

Probably many Greek temples became Christian churches. The Parthenon was converted into a church and an apse was built at the E. end.

In like manner the churches of Greece which were built for Christian worship all have an E. altar and a W. door—*e.g.*, the 'small metropolis' of Athens (8th or 9th cent.), the Kapnikaræa (9th cent.?) in the middle of Rue d'Hermès, the church at Daphne (12th or 13th cent.), and the coupled 10th cent. churches of the monastery of St. Luke of Stiris in Phocis (due W.) and that of St. Nicholas near Skripou in Bœotia (N.W.).

The Coptic churches in Egypt, whatever their age, may be taken to represent very ancient practice. They all have the altar to the E., and the door is at the W., although it does not open directly into the main body of the church. The priests sit in a semi-circular apse behind the altar, thus facing W.

4. Western Church.—The orientation of the churches of Rome forms a strong contrast with the rest of Christendom, for a large majority of the old buildings have the altar to the W. and the door to the E. In this connexion we must remember that, from the circumstances of early Christianity, the church plan of every type must have been developed outside of Rome.

In early times, when Christians worshipped where they would attract least attention, the orientation of buildings cannot have been observed, though it would often be possible to preserve it in ritual even in private houses. Churches were indeed built before the time of Constantine, but thenceforth services were held in all sorts of buildings, and, large as was the increase in the number of Christians, the buildings available for worship would be adequate from the time when the removal of the government to Byzantium left, as it must have done, many buildings deserted. The early Christians did not object to making use of any sort of building. The smaller buildings, such as temples, were converted bodily into churches; of the larger buildings, such as thermæ, theatres, and the like, a part only was used. Lanciani (*Pagan and Christian Rome*, London, 1892, p. 160) states that he has hardly found an ancient pagan building in Rome that has not evidence of having been used as a church at some period.

The Christian adapters of most of these buildings must have ignored orientation. But they probably regarded most of them as temporary, and few pagan buildings are still used as churches; the best known are the round temple of Romulus with the adjoining *templum sacræ urbis*, since the 6th cent. the church of SS. Cosmo and Damian, in which the altar is to the E.N.E., and the Pantheon, the door of which is to the N.

Of the churches actually built by Constantine or under his auspices almost all have the W. altar and the E. narthex. When this is not the case, there is generally some obvious explanation. Scott (*Essay on Eng. Ch. Arch.*, p. 18) gives very useful lists of the old churches of Rome showing approximately their direction. Of the 53 churches recorded only 11 have the E. altar, the aspects lying for the most part between E.N.E. and E.S.E. Of these three may have been reversed and two, the important churches of S. Lorenzo without the walls and S. Paolo without the walls, certainly have. Some of them owe their foundation to Constantine. But the churches which (in Scott's list) have the W. altar number 42. These include St. Peter's and the small church of St. Stephen near the apsidal end, now removed, each with its altar to the W.; the great basilicas of St. John Lateran with altar to the W.; Sta. Maria Maggiore, N.W.; S. Lorenzo without the walls, in its original state, W.; and to them must be added S. Paolo without the walls, before it was rebuilt by Valentinian II., W.; all these except Sta. Maria Maggiore are attributed to Constantine. Three other Constantinian buildings are included in the list as well as the important churches of S. Clemente (the lower building perhaps 6th cent.), W.N.W., and Sta. Maria in Trastevere, W. Many of these, like the first and last, have been rebuilt or remodelled in late times, but preserve the old orientation. Half of them point approximately due E. and W.; about a quarter have the altar N.W. and the door S.E.; one has the altar facing S. of W.

The turning round of the two great churches outside the walls happened in different ways. The W. apse of S. Lorenzo, as built by Constantine and partly rebuilt by Pope Pelagius II., was taken down in 1216 by Pope Honorius III., who built a large nave to the west of it. Honorius then made a raised floor, in what had been the nave, to form an elevated presbytery; this accounts for the way in which the ancient columns of the original nave are partly hidden. S. Paolo, on the other hand, was a case of entire rebuilding. Constantine built a very small church over the tomb of St. Paul on the W. side of the road to Ostia, the atrium reaching right up to the road. In the 4th cent. this little church was taken down, and a very large one built in its place. But it was impossible to move the tomb of the Apostle, and there was not room between it and the road for a large church. The body of the new church was therefore built W. of the old church, with the door at the W. end; the site of the old church with the tomb below it occupies that part of the transept of the present church immediately in front of the apse. We shall find evidence of something analogous to each of these processes of revolution in England.

In these early churches the altar stood on the chord of the apse; against the walls of the apse there were seats for the presbyters, the central one being for the bishop. The clergy therefore looked E. over the altar towards the people; the people looked W. towards the altar and the tomb of the blessed martyr; for many of the churches of Rome, including the most important, were built over the tombs of martyrs or on the places where they suffered death or torture. Lanciani says that 58 churches originated thus. The conditions which he lays down are these three: (1) the tomb-altar was not to be moved vertically or horizontally; (2) the tomb was to be in the centre of the apse; (3) the [concavity of the] apse and the front of the edifice were to look E. Durandus, in the first book of the *Rationale*, is clear as to the ritual of the second half of the 13th cent.:

'The priest is to pray towards the E., whence in churches which have a W. door he turns in the Salutations to the people; but in churches which have the entrance to E., as in Rome, there is no need in the Salutations for turning round, because the priest is always turned to the people.' Durandus gives several reasons for praying towards the E. (*The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments*, tr. J. M. Neale and B. Webb, Leeds, 1843, v. ii. 57, app. B).

Scott gives the following facts with regard to present day use:

The priest faces E. and away from the people when the altar is to the E., except in two cases in which the altar arrangements have clearly been modernized; he faces E. towards the people in 17 cases out of 40 where the altar is at the W. end, including the most important and those which have best retained their early arrangements.

Scott fairly claims that from the point of view of mediæval and modern ecclesiology this position of the priest facing the people is so singular that 'we may well be surprised, not that in many Roman churches, having western sanctuaries, the primitive orientation of the celebrant has been lost, but that it has been preserved in so many instances, in defiance of the fashion of mediæval and modern times' (*Essay on Eng. Ch. Arch.*, p. 22).

The early churches of Italy outside Rome were built under Byzantine influence and date from a later time than the adoption of the E. altar at Byzantium. All accordingly have the E. altar. Ravenna possesses the most remarkable buildings of this class. They are of the first half of the 6th century. The basilican church which preceded the present church of St. Mark at Venice faced in the same direction; its altar was to the E.; but it was of comparatively late date, being of the 9th century.

5. Roman missions.—We have seen that Rome occupies an almost unique position in preserving the W. altar. But some at least of her early missions observed the same orientation. The Romano-British church recently brought to light at Silchester (*Archæologia*, liii. [1892] 26) is a small basilica with a W. apse and transepts, clear indications of an altar on the chord of the apse, and an E. narthex. The evidence that this was indeed a Christian church only stops short of absolute proof. Its date is very uncertain, but it is thought to belong to the 4th century. Other churches of a later date with the same orientation are not uncommon. No example is to be found in England now, but it has been thought that both the earliest church at Canterbury, to which reference is made below, and Wilfrith's church at Ripon had their altars to the W. There are several instances on the Continent: Great St. Martin's at Cologne

(12th cent.) and St. George's, Dinkelsbühl, of which the present building is 15th century. St. Stephen, Mayence, appears to have a choir at the W. end. St. Sebald, Nüremberg, a collegiate church, has a choir at each end, but the E. choir is an addition of the 14th century. At Verdun the cathedral has E. and W. choirs, but that at the W. end is called the old choir.

6. Double-apse churches.—There is a remarkable type of early church which it remains to notice. It has an apse and an altar at either end. It is found over a very wide area, and the place and manner of its origin do not seem to have been conclusively explained. W. R. Lethaby (*Mediæval Art*, London, 1904, p. 29), quoting Strzygowski, derives it from Egypt and Syria. The importance of the N. African churches lies in the fact that they were so planned from the first. Another well-known example is the monastic church of St. Gall in Switzerland, near Lake Constance.

A 9th cent. plan of the whole monastery of St. Gall has been preserved; it seems clear that this does not represent what was already in existence; it is a scheme in contemplation, and it was not exactly adhered to in execution. It is therefore valuable as showing the ideal of the 9th century (R. Willis, *Archæological Journal*, v. [1848] 85). There is an apse at either end. That to the E. contains the high altar and the altar of St. Peter. In front of it is the monks' choir. The W. apse contains another altar of St. Peter, and before it is another choir, on either side of which are entrances for the public. There is no bishop's throne. The side altars are so placed that the officiating priest faces E. The chapels of the infirmary and of the novices' hostel are placed back to back, the altar of one being at the E. end and that of the other at the W. end.

There are not a few double-apsed churches on the Continent, and they are known to have been used in England. But a great proportion of these reached their ultimate double form by receiving additions to the original plan. They therefore come under a different category from those which were so planned from the first, and they may perhaps be taken to show one phase in a transition—an abandonment of the W. altar for the E.

Double-apse churches are found at the following places among others: Gernrode, in the Hartz; St. Cyriac's (collegiate); Hildersheim, St. Michael's; Laach, St. Mary (Benedictine); Worms Cathedral; Trèves Cathedral (the W. apse is said to be the latest); Mayence Cathedral (probably both choirs entered into the original scheme; the W. choir is called the parish choir); Naumburg Cathedral (the W. apse appears to be a creation of the 13th cent. and not to continue an early tradition); Bamberg Cathedral (the E. apse is rather the earlier and has a crypt, but the church is thought to follow an earlier plan); Augsburg (the W. choir is called the parish choir); Oppenheim, St. Catherine's (the present W. choir is later, but probably occupies the site of an early church); Reichenau on the Lake of Constance.

Outside Germany double-apse churches are rarely met with on the Continent. J. T. Micklethwaite ('Something about Saxon Church Building,' *Archæological Journal*, liii. [1896] 293) suggests that in Germany they may possibly be due to the English tradition taken thither by St. Boniface. In England we know of three: Abingdon (7th cent.), Lyminge, and Christ Church Cathedral, Canterbury. Of the last-named we have a description of the building that was burnt in 1067. Below the E. apse, which contained the high altar (of Christ), there was a crypt, but the W. apse contained the bishop's throne behind the altar of the Virgin. About the middle of its length the church was flanked by a tower on either side. It is thought that St. Augustine found an old building (Bede [*HE* i. 33] says Roman) with a W. apse, and with a narthex and towers at the E. end, that he restored this, and that after his time the nave was lengthened eastwards and a second apse built. At Lyminge the foundations of a W. apse have been found; the work is said by Scott (*Essay on Eng. Ch. Arch.*, p. 20) to be Roman.

7. Position of altar in later Middle Ages.—The turning round of the churches of Western Europe so that the altar should be at the E. end instead of at the W. probably happened in different places at different times. Micklethwaite thinks that in double-apse churches a monks' choir at the E. end gradually overshadowed the people's choir at the W. end, till in the 11th and 12th centuries the W. altar came to be looked upon as abnormal, and at the general rebuilding of churches in that age the W. altar was put against the rood screen. A simpler explanation would be that it was a gradual conforming tendency to what had become the orthodox practice at a much earlier period.

Probably the direction of the altar was at no period held to be of very great importance. We have noticed a great amount of variety. At all times minor altars seem to have been often placed against side walls so that they faced N. or S. There are several in the plan of St. Gall which might apparently have been placed with as great convenience against the E. walls of their respective chapels. There are a few striking instances of churches with a N.S. direction. At Siena Cathedral the altar is at the E. end, but we may see the beginnings of a great 14th cent. scheme for a new cathedral which was to run N. and S. and was to absorb the old building (the present church) and convert it into a transept. Naples Cathedral is another instance; the old and new buildings are at right angles to each other.

In England it was natural that Augustine († 604), Birinus († 650), and Wilfrid (634–709), under Roman influence, should place their altar to the W. It might also be expected that the Scottish mission of Aidan († 651) should use the E. position. This we find to be the case. But at an early date the E. altar predominated and became universal.

8. Deviation from due E.—English churches generally have their axes near enough to true E.W. for deviation to be unnoticeable to most people. But the orientation is by no means accurate, and occasionally the deviation is very considerable. This deviation has been explained by the pretty theory that the axis is in the direction of sunrise on the day of the particular saint in honour of whom the church is dedicated. But this theory has not found favour with serious ecclesiologists in England. It is just possible that this direction was adopted occasionally, and in the aggregate such instances might be numerous, though those who hold the theory have never been at the pains to compile a list. But it is open to serious objections. There are in ancient writers no directions or orders for so placing churches and no hint that they ever were so placed, while Durandus distinctly says that churches are to point to sunrise at the equinoxes and not at the solstices (i. 8). And the exceptions are so numerous as to be in the majority. We may notice a few well-known buildings (see table at end of article). These and all observations must be corrected to suit the unreformed calendar. The calendar was reformed in England in 1751, when we had to omit eleven days. If we take the year 1100 as an average date for the foundation of our churches, the calendar would then be seven days wrong. This would not make a difference of 2°. It will be seen that most buildings face nearly E., regardless of their dedication. Rochester Cathedral is fairly correct for its feast-day, but there can hardly be a doubt that it is turned so far to the S. to accommodate it to a cramped site. At Westminster there are three notable buildings—the Abbey, St. Margaret's Church, and St. Stephen's Chapel of the old royal palace, now absorbed in the Houses of Parliament. The feasts are 29th June, 20th July, and 26th December. But the axes of the three are nearly parallel and point E. or slightly S. of E., instead of almost N.E. and S.E.

Ely Cathedral, an instance favouring the theory, may be quoted to show the rashness of holding it

without very careful inquiry. The dedication is to the Holy and Undivided Trinity. As it is a cathedral church, its history is preserved and we know that before the Reformation the dedication was in honour of the Blessed Virgin (25th March), of St. Peter (29th June), and of St. Etheldreda (whose feast was 23rd June, and whose translation in 695 and in 1106 was on 17th Oct. and in 1252 on 17th Sept.). It is not known whether St. Etheldreda dedicated her church in honour of the Blessed Virgin or of St. Peter or of both. The feast of the translation of a saint's relics was no doubt a great occasion, but it is difficult to conceive of its giving the orientation of a building, because it would be hardly possible to foresee, on the fixing of the axis, when the new building would be ready for the translation. Thus the building probably does not derive its direction from the first translation of 17th Oct. 695. But it is to sunrise on about 17th Oct. that the axis points, and it may be argued that the present building was made to suit sunrise on the anniversary of the first translation. But it is more probable that, if any day fixed the axis, it would be either St. Peter's Day (29th June) or Lady Day (25th March). We have seen that the direction does not suit 29th June. It would indeed suit Lady Day fairly well, though not exactly.

We may test the theory further by applying it to a group of small churches taken at random in one district. None of the following churches deviates more than 5° N. of true E. or 5° S. of true E., except one which is about 10° N. of true E. (it will be seen that the dates of the feasts vary from mid-summer to nearly mid-winter, at which seasons the points of sunrise are about 80° apart): St. Margaret, Norwich and Swannington (20th July); St. John Baptist, Alderford (24th June); St. Andrew, Attlebridge (30th Nov.); St. Agnes, Cawston (21st Jan.); St. Nicholas, Brandiston (6th Dec.); All Saints, Weston (1st Nov.).

A point to be borne in mind in this connexion is that the dedications of churches have not infrequently been altered; some earlier dedications have been changed to that of the Blessed Virgin Mary; this was common in the 14th cent.; others were changed to that of the Holy Trinity at the Reformation. Some places still preserve, it is said, a primeval solar feast.

In Rome, out of 45 churches (nearly the whole number in Scott's lists) 15 point reasonably near to the sunrise on the feast-day, and 30 are quite wide of it.

9. **Bend in axis of churches.**—Another popular theory is this: when the axis of a chancel is found not to be in a straight line with that of the nave, the deflexion was intentional and was meant to symbolize the drooping of the head of our Lord upon the Cross. Here again we have no authority from the ancient writers, and we have no right to attribute to them a meaning which they do not acknowledge. F. Bond (*Dedications and Patron Saints of English Churches*, London, 1914, p. 249) indeed quotes the case of a 14th cent. architect who died of grief on finding that a church that he had built at Metz had a bent axis.

Bond says that the theory has been supported recently by Emile Male, Victor Mortet, J. A. Brutails, Anthyme Saint-Paul, and to some extent by de Caumont, Viollet le-Duc, and Camille Enlart, but rejected by Auguste Choisy and Robert de Lasteyrie. Johnson (p. 238) suggests that the bend was intended to produce an agreeable optical illusion. He states that deviation is generally to the S.; Bond says that it is to the N.

A little consideration will show that the deflexion must always be accidental. When a chancel is to be rebuilt, the chancel arch is blocked by a temporary wall so that the nave can continue in use. Unless the axis of the nave is carefully found and continued eastwards before this wall is built, and unless the stakes in the ground are carefully preserved, the chances are that the axis of the new chancel will not be in the same straight line, because it is difficult to make it exactly perpendicular to the short base afforded by the piers (perhaps themselves irregular) of the chancel arch. And it is not going too far to say that the deflexion is never found except where one part of the church has been rebuilt. It is, moreover, seldom found in the best buildings—more often in the churches of country towns and villages than in cathedrals and great churches, and more often in great churches which are in other respects irregular and of various periods than in those which are of fairly uniform style and are acknowledged masterpieces.

No bend is found in Winchester, Durham, Salisbury, Wells, Norwich, Lincoln, Peterborough, Exeter, Hereford, Gloucester, Worcester, Chester, Llandaff, Oxford, Southwell. This list contains all the buildings of the first rank except a few notable cases of partial rebuilding. It would be strange indeed if Canterbury with its complicated plan and its long history showed no bend, or Chichester, which is notoriously irregular. Moreover, the evidence of symbolism in these and other buildings is vitiated by the fact that each has several deviations: Canterbury has four axes; Chichester appears to have seven; Rochester has several axes, but the deviations are very slight. And again, when there are two bends in the axis, they are sometimes in different directions. The only important buildings with a deviation which will serve for symbolism are therefore Lichfield, Bristol, St. Albans, and Ripon, with an inclination of the choir to N.; and Ely and York, to S. In each of these either the choir or the nave has been rebuilt.

The force of even these few instances is lessened still more when we see that the bend in the axis is only one irregularity among the many found in old buildings; *e.g.*, in six cathedral churches the W. door is not in the centre, and in one, Manchester, the axes of nave and choir are parallel but not in the same straight line; only the irregular Lady chapel at the E. end deviates.

It may be that the above analysis is subject to correction, because plans, however carefully measured (like the *Builder* series here used), may occasionally omit a slight deviation. But, if the deviation is so slight as to escape the notice of the surveyor, it can have but little value as a symbol.

It is true that the cruciform plan of our great churches symbolizes the Cross. But it was a symbolism read into the cross-form after it had been evolved on other grounds. Exactly the same process is happening now in regard to the inclination of the head of the Cross.

10. **Details of orientation in buildings and furniture and in ritual.**—The site chosen for the English parish church was usually to the N. of the village; perhaps it would be more correct to say that a site was chosen such that the village should be S. of it. There may have been some now unknown motive in this, or it may be simply that it was preferred to approach the church through the burial-ground, which was usually to the S. Similarly, there are two possible explanations of the burial-ground being to the S. There is a prejudice against burial on the N. side. J. Brand records (*Popular Antiquities*, new ed., London, 1900, p. 475) that it was formerly appropriated to unbaptized infants, the excommunicated, the executed, and suicides. This prejudice may be due to an old belief or simply to a natural dislike of a cold, damp place with rank herbage. Thus the principal door of the church is generally to the S., but there is almost invariably a N. door opposite to it, which is often nearly or quite disused.

Tombs in the aisles are on either N. or S. side indifferently. But in the chancel the place of honour was on the N. side; this was undoubtedly in order that the tomb might be used as the Easter Sepulchre, which was on the N. side, presumably because our Lord was pierced on the right side.

In early churches the Gospel ambo was on the N. side; from it sermons were preached and decrees and excommunications read; hence there is still a

slight tendency in Anglican churches to place the pulpit on the N. side. The Paschal candlestick also was on the N. side. The Epistle ambo was on the S. side. The sedilia of mediæval type are believed to be a relic of the presbyters' seats round the apse of the early churches. They have been kept on the S. side and not on the N., doubtless because it is more convenient for the assistant to approach the celebrant, who is facing E., on his right hand. Close to the sedilia was placed the piscina. The bishop's throne is also on the S. side. There was a custom, very commonly if not generally kept up in country places till the beginning of the 19th cent., of separating the men and women, the men sitting on the S. side of the church and the women on the N. This custom had doubtless continued without a break from the earliest days of Christianity, and it is perhaps of pre-Christian origin. It is noted by Durandus (i. 46).

The dissenting bodies from the Anglican Church do not observe orientation.

11. **Burial.**—Christianity no doubt inherits the custom of burial with feet to E. from paganism. The reason for it given by the early Christians was that Christ at His second coming will appear in the E. and the dead will rise to move towards Him. In practice graves are made parallel with the church without any attempt at accuracy.

12. **Superstition.**—Few definite beliefs in this country about the points of the compass are recorded. The following has not previously been published:

> An old gentleman who had to undergo a slight operation declined to allow it to be performed until the sofa on which he was lying had been placed N. and S. It is thought that he held some views about magnetism.
>
> It is said that in Scotland there is an idea that if the passing of the soul is to be easy the floor-boards of the sick room should not run N. and S.

The association in Ireland of colours with the points of the compass will be noted presently in describing similar ideas in other parts of the world (see below, X.). Green is said to be an unlucky colour in England (Baring-Gould, p. 15).

VII. *Jews.*—The Hebrew word for east means literally 'the front,' and that for west 'the back,' so that south is on the right hand and north on the left. This suggests some form of sun-worship at an early period. The supposition is supported by evidence from a later time: the Tabernacle had its door facing E. ('and for the hinder part of the tabernacle westward thou shalt make six boards' [Ex 26^{22} RV]). This true orientation was notwithstanding the ban of sun-worship by Moses (Dt 4^{19}).

Lapses into worship of sun, moon, and stars are frequent all through Jewish history: Manasseh 'worshipped all the host of heaven' (2 K 21^{3}); Josiah 'took away the horses that the kings of Judah had given to the sun' (23^{11}); Amos upbraids Israel with carrying with them 'the star of your god' (Am 5^{26}); Ezekiel sees 'between the porch and the altar, about five and twenty men, with their backs toward the temple of the Lord, and their faces toward the east; and they worshipped the sun toward the east' (Ezk 8^{16}). The custom of saluting the moon by kissing the hand referred to in Job $31^{26f.}$ may have been learned in Assyria (see *JE*, *s.v.* 'Star-Worship').

The Jewish attitude of prayer is an instance of what may be called 'local orientation'; it was not a turning to a point of the compass, but a turning to a place. We have a suggestion of this in Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the Temple: if a man 'spread forth his hands toward this house: then hear thou in heaven thy dwelling place' (1 K $8^{38f.}$). And, when Daniel prayed, 'his windows were open in his chamber toward Jerusalem' (Dn 6^{10}). This became the law; a worshipper out of Palestine should turn towards Palestine, one in Palestine towards Jerusalem, in Jerusalem towards the Temple, in the Temple towards the Holy of Holies (*JE*, *s.v.* 'Mizrah'). In *JE*, *s.v.* 'East,' however, facing to the E. is said to have been the attitude of prayer, and reference is made to *Apost. Const.* ii. 57, which the writer maintains to have a pre-Christian Hebrew foundation.

In regard to buildings the custom of a true orientation, which had been established by the arrangement of the Tabernacle, was continued. It was followed in Solomon's Temple and in all subsequent rebuildings. Ezekiel is very precise on the orientation of the temple of his vision (40–47). Comparison may be made with the Apocalypse (Rev 7^{2} 16^{12}). Synagogues (apparently those of the pre-Christian era)are said by A. W. Brunner (R. Sturgis, *Dict. of Architecture and Building*, 3 vols., New York and London, 1901, *s.v.* 'Synagogue') to have had 'the holy ark or sanctuary' at the E. end, but no authority is given. Those of the 2nd cent. A.D. in Galilee all faced S. (*ib. s.v.* 'Syria'). Synagogues are now planned so that the ark may be towards Palestine (*JE*, *s.v.* 'Mizrah').

VIII. *Muhammadans.*—The Muhammadans, like the Jews, observe a 'local orientation'; they turn in prayer towards a place, Mecca. The Ka'bah at Mecca, adapted by Muhammad as a mosque, had been a pagan temple with its entrance to the E. (J. Gwilt, *Encyclopædia of Architecture*, ed. W. Papworth, London, 1867, § 118).

The essential feature of a mosque is the *qiblah* or *mihrab*, a niche or recess in a wall, the direction of the wall being at right angles with a straight line to Mecca. In front of the *qiblah* is an area covered by a roof supported on columns which form a series of aisles running towards the Mecca wall. These form the prayer chamber; in front of it is an open court with covered walks at the sides leading from the entrance, which is generally opposite the Mecca wall. As the Jews had but one temple, synagogues being but houses of prayer, so the Muhammadans had only one temple, that at Mecca (Fergusson^{2}, ii. 516); mosques are places of prayer arranged so as to show the direction of Mecca, though they have acquired a sanctity of their own, not less than that of the shrines of other faiths.

Orientation of a kind was therefore of the first importance in a mosque. At Ispahan the axis of the great bazaar runs N. and S. The front of the mosque occupies the S. side of this, but the axis of the porch is bent at an angle of 45° so as to suit the mosque itself, the main axis of which is duly pointed to Mecca.

Private prayer on the housetop is also directed towards Mecca.

In burial the Muhammadan is laid on his right side facing Mecca (see art. Death [Muhammadan], vol. iv. p. 502^{a}).

IX. *The East.*—Orientation in ritual observance is perhaps most pronounced in Asia, which may be more or less indirectly the source from which the European observance is derived. Tylor holds that the adoration of the sun in the ancient Aryan religion is revealed in ritual orientation.

The Brāhman turns E. at sunrise, says Tylor, and at noon, after adoration of the sun, he turns again E. to read his daily portion of the Veda and to make his daily offering.

> 'It is with first and principal direction to the east that the consecration of the fire and the sacrificial implements, a ceremony which is the groundwork of all his religious acts, has to be performed' (*PC*^{3} ii. 425).

An example of the orientated altar is given in art. Altar (Hindu), vol. i. p. 345^{b}. Hindu temples are sometimes dedicated to the sun-god, but the

moon-god has none (art. BRÄHMANISM, vol. ii. p. 805b). Temples seem to be duly orientated in the wider sense of the word.

The Indian Buddhist generally orientated his buildings fairly closely to the cardinal points, and seemed to prefer to make his entrance face E. But the Jain temples did not follow a rule, 'the Jains being indifferent apparently to any particular direction for their buildings' (H. Cousens, in *Archæological Survey of India*, Calcutta, 1907–08, p. 195).

The Thugs, on the other hand, are worshippers of Kali, the death-goddess. In her honour human victims were murdered; to her the sacred pickaxe was consecrated with which the graves of slain were dug, and the elaborate ritual of this consecration was performed facing W. The mediæval Tatars made a mound over the grave and placed on it a statue facing E. (*PC*[3] ii. 423).

Buddhism varies much in different countries, and presumably its buildings and ritual vary. In China it appears that the temples are truly orientated (see ARCHITECTURE [Chinese], vol. i. p. 695b) and there is therefore, it is to be supposed, some orientation of ritual. There is a paradise of the dead in the W., and the chief book read in the presence of the departed person is 'the "Sūtra of Amitābha," or the Buddha representing the sun in the west, behind which lies paradise' (art. CHINA [Buddhism in], vol. iii. p. 554a; cf. art. CONFUCIUS, vol. iv. p. 19a).

In the Confucian religion there are many sacrifices offered with an elaborate ritual. The most important of these is described in art. CONFUCIAN RELIGION (vol. iv. p. 13), and the points of the compass are carefully mentioned, but their religious significance, if they have any, is not indicated. The sacrifices of the second rank are made at altars and temples in and about Peking. The sun-god has an altar-terrace outside the main E. gate towards the region of the sunrise; the moon-goddess has an altar outside the W. gate, because the W. is the region where the new moon is born.

X. *SAVAGE RACES.*—1. Ritual acts.—The ritual of primitive races is with difficulty ascertained, and not very much has been recorded. The Pangin, one of the tribes of the Indian Archipelago, on all ceremonial occasions salute and invoke the directions of the rising and setting sun; the people sleep with their faces to the E., and on cremating the dead they place the body to face in the same direction; the land of the dead is in the E., and it seems that that is the direction to which most importance is attached:

'The only disturbing feature is the fact that the "setting sun" is said to be invoked. This may be due to the influence of a solar cult' (W. J. Perry, *JRAI* xliv. 285).

Another tribe, the Toraja of Central Celebes, place their houses in an E. and W. direction with the door at the W. end, thus facing the land of the dead; but this is really religious

A neighbouring tribe, the Tobada, build their 'village-house' N. and S., 'so that, as they say, on entering, one faces to the north, the direction whence they have come, and in which direction they place the land of the dead. The holy place of the house is the north centre-pile . . . and there the ghosts come to live in bunches of leaves of the aruru palm' (*ib.* p. 290).

This seems to be a first, but very important, step towards temple-worship. The largest and most important temple of the Tonapoe has a door on the E. side, thus facing towards the land of the dead and in the direction whence the tribe came. A number of cases are recorded in which houses are built with due regard to the direction of the land of the dead, and of others in which a place is provided as a residence for the ghost, or an entrance into the house is made for it.

In ritual observances the following may be noted:

In old Mexico, where sun-worship was the central doctrine of a complex religion, men knelt in prayer to the E. and doors of sanctuaries looked mostly W. (*PC*[3] ii. 424). The Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, though they are now Christians, have preserved their ancient practice of turning to the sun at his rising, just as the Christians of Europe turn to the E. at certain parts of their worship. The cave-temple of the sun-worshipping Apalaches of Florida had its opening to the E., and the priest stood in the opening early in the morning of the feast-days waiting for sunrise. The Comanches, also sun-worshippers, when preparing for the war-path, place their weapons over night on the E. side of the lodge to receive the morning sun's first rays. The ancient Peruvians were sun-worshippers, and had in their capital, Cuzco, a temple duly orientated, with a great golden disk on the W. wall to reflect the rising sun as it shone through the E. door (*ib.* ii. 424). The Hopi mother, on the twentieth day after the birth of her child, presents it to the sun at the moment of sunrise (see BIRTH [Introduction], vol. ii. p. 642b, and *Journ. Amer. Eth. and Arch.* ii. [1892] 163).

The following symbolic orientation is characteristic (A. C. Haddon tells the present writer) of the Pawnee, but to a greater or less extent applies to the Plains Indians generally. The 'earth lodges' are built in the traditional manner according to a divinely inspired plan, and serve for ceremonial purposes as well as dwelling-houses; the same symbolism is found in the summer tents, or *tipi*. The entrance always faces E. The central circular fireplace represents the sun, and the cleared space round it the horizon. For certain ceremonies an altar of rugs is placed to the W. of the fireplace, and on it is deposited the sacred bundle; behind it, in the place of honour, sit the priests; the space between the altar and the fireplace is holy ground, over which no priest can pass till purified by thurification. This region in the W. is sacred to the evening star, the beneficent guardian of fertility, and to her four attendant messengers: wind, clouds, thunder, and rain. To the N. of the fireplace there should be a bison's skull to represent at once the gods in the heavens and the home of Tirawa, the high god, the all-embracing, the morning star, the bloodthirsty controller of the heat of the sun in the E., who prevents his brother, the sun, from burning up the world. The S. is the land of death and the receivers of the souls of the unfortunate dead, while the malevolent deity of sickness is stationed in the S.W. In ceremonial pipe-smoking puffs of smoke may be blown in various directions as offerings to these and other heavenly bodies.

J. W. Fewkes (*Journ. Amer. Eth. and Arch.* ii. 14–22) says that the underground *estufas* or *kib-vas* (ceremonial chambers) in the Tusayan (Hopi) Pueblo of Wál-pi in Arizona 'are generally placed with their walls corresponding to the conception of the primary points but not to our cardinal directions. . . . The variation of their N. is W. of the true N. (varying from 42° to 50°); consequently the N.S. lines of thier *kib-vas* are in reality N.E. and S.W. lines.' The orientation 'is probably intentional, but it may be determined by the possibilities in direction of the recesses in which they are constructed.'

R. M. W. Swan considers that the temples of Mashonaland were orientated (J. T. Bent, *Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*, London, 1892).

We may here notice the wide-spread association of certain colours with the various points of the compass. A table is appended showing some of the recorded observations. It will be seen that these are from N. and S. America, China, and other parts of the world, including Ireland. There is no approach to uniformity and only a few tendencies can be faintly traced, as, *e.g.*, that black is practically never associated with the S. or E. It is just possible that the well-known liturgical colours of the Christian Church, although of late use, are not entirely unconnected with these ideas.

2. Burial.—Practically all peoples who practise inhumation follow some rule as to the direction in which the body is to be laid.

A journey to the land whence the tribe migrated is probably the most general conception at the present time. The dead are laid in the direction of the land of the dead, and this, when both can be ascertained, is found to coincide with the direction of the land of the forefathers.

Perry gives many instances from the E. Indian Archipelago. One tribe makes the grave parallel to a river up which the spirit must travel, the tribe having migrated down the river; another, which believes that the land of the forefathers is to the S., lays the body on its side with head to W., feet to E., and facing S.; another places the body in a sitting position facing the land of the dead. In one case the direction of the grave is towards the land of the dead and in the direction of those places where the first chiefs procured their wives; in another the dead are buried on the S. side of the village, the land of the

dead is situated in the S., and it is from the S. that the people believe themselves to have come. Cases are recorded where the bodies of the dead are definitely orientated to the land of their forefathers, the situation of the land of the dead being unascertained. An exceptional and special case may help to illustrate the belief in the journey which the spirit was to take: the body of a man whose head had been cut off by a member of another clan was brought in and placed sitting on the ground against a pile of the house and facing the land of his enemy; when buried, it was placed in a sitting position still facing in the same direction (*JRAI* xliv. 289); presumably the first business of the ghost was to go and have his revenge. A tribe in E. Africa buries a man who dies in a strange place with his face towards his mother's village (art. DEATH [Introductory], vol. iv. p. 425b).

A man of the Wotjobaluk tribe of Victoria, Australia, is buried with his head towards the point of the compass appropriate to his totem (*ib.* p. 425a).

'Among the Battas of Sumatra men of different totems are buried with their heads in different directions, but the reasons for these differences are not always manifest. On the analogy of the Hot-Wind totem and the Sun totem among the Wotjobaluk we may conjecture that the direction in which the body was buried was the direction in which the totem was supposed especially to reside, so that the intention of interring the bodies in these positions may have been to enable the released spirits of the dead to rejoin their totems' (Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, iv. 213). But, as Haddon points out, since the people are supposed to be related to or descended from their totem, this seems to be but another form of the journey of the spirit to the land of the forefathers.

The orientation of the graves of some primitive peoples is recorded without any indication of the beliefs which decided the direction; burial with feet to the W. is observed by races of N. America, Central Africa, Samoa, Fiji, and Australia. Tylor mentions some Australian tribes who bury their dead in a sitting position facing E., even while believing that the land of the dead is in the W.

XI. *PRE-HISTORIC WESTERN EUROPE.* — **1. Temples.**—Under this heading brief reference will be made to the great well-known megalithic monuments. They are included in this article because they have been called temples and tombs, and have been said to be orientated in the sense that their aspect was decided by religious considerations. But as a matter of fact we do not know their use, or what determined their direction, their age, or the religion of the folk who built them. If we knew any two or even any one of these facts, it might be possible to deduce the others. But we have no working base, not even any uniformity among the remains.

The two most famous examples are Carnac in Morbihan and Stonehenge in Wiltshire. Carnac is a series of immense parallel avenues running roughly E. and W. along the coast of Brittany. Stonehenge is a horseshoe within three concentric circles, two of stone and one of earth. From the outer circle runs a straight depression between earth banks. A line drawn down this depression and continued through the horseshoe divides it symmetrically and passes through a flat slab called the 'altar.' This line points to the place of sunrise on mid-summer day about, according to Lockyer (*Stonehenge*, p. 67), the year 1680 B.C. It may be that Stonehenge is a sun-temple, as Lockyer argues, and that it was built about that time. But it may not be a sun-temple, and, as to the date, A. R. Hinks points out (*NC* liii. [1903] 1002 ff.) that, if the first glimpse of the sun is observed, we get the year A.D. 3000; if the middle of the disk is observed, the conditions are right for to-day; if we wait for the completion of the sunrise, the date must be put back about 2000 years.

The works at Avebury consist of a large circle enclosing two others; there is an avenue leading from the outer circle in a S.E. direction. On Hakpen Hill there is a circle with indications of an avenue leading N.W. The circles forming 'King Arthur's Round Table,' Penrith, are broken towards the N.E. and S.W. The work at Arbor Low, Derbyshire, seems to be orientated almost due N. and S. (Fergusson, *Rude Stone Monuments*, London, 1872).

Callernish in the island of Lewis is a circle with a stone in the centre. From the circle single lines of stone stretch out S. and E. and W., while a wide avenue runs to the N. (These directions appear to be approximate only.) A tomb within the circle has an axis roughly N.E. and S.W., the entrance being towards the N.E.

There are considerable remains in Ireland. Those around Lough Gur, Limerick, have been described by B. C. Windle, who made careful observations of the bearings in those cases where they 'might possibly be significant' (*Proc. Royal Irish Acad.* xxx. [1912] sect. C, p. 283). The monuments near Lough Swilly, Co. Donegal, have been recorded by H. Boyle Somerville, who detects several systems of orientation, monuments being orientated for the solstitial sunrises or sunsets or both, for sunrise or sunset at the equinoxes, for sunrise or sunset at a point equidistant in time between solstice and equinox, for rising or setting of a star or of the moon (*Journ. Royal Soc. of Antiquaries of Ireland*, xxxix. [1909] 192, 215, 343).

2. Burials.—Until recently burials both on the Continent and in Britain appeared to be haphazard. But recent research seems to show that two or perhaps three definite systems were followed, though in each of these there were not a few exceptions. In some cemeteries the skeletons are found laid on their backs E. and W. with feet to E., while in others they are N. and S. with feet to N., but occasionally to S. Others again are laid on the side E. and W. with the feet sometimes E. and sometimes W., but always looking S. In some cases a single group contains skeletons pointing to all four cardinal points, as at Broughton Poggs. At the Saxon cemetery at Fairford the feet were almost invariably to the N., and W. M. Wylie thinks that this was the prevailing pagan practice among Teutons (*Archæologia*, xxxvii. [1857] 459). In Sussex and Surrey and in the south of England generally the feet are most commonly E., but, when they are not, they are almost invariably to the N. In the round barrows of Wiltshire the tendency is for the bodies to be facing S.

One of the most remarkable examples of orientation (taking the word in its wide sense) is the 7th or 8th cent. Christian cemetery at Hartlepool, the first monastic seat of Hilda of Whitby. Here were found a dozen bodies with memorial slabs incised with crosses and Christian inscriptions; yet all were lying N. and S.

There seems good ground for believing that the Teutons held the north sacred. The classical passage in mediæval literature is in *Reineke Fuchs* and is quoted by J. Grimm (*Deutsche Mythologie*, Göttingen, 1854, i. 30). Here the fox turns in the Christian direction, while the wolf is content with the heathen orientation towards the N. G. B. Brown (*The Early Arts in England*, London, 1915, iii. 161) points out that this orientation cannot have formed an important item in Teutonic paganism or it would have left a more decided mark in literature. On their conversion to Christianity the Teutons for the most part seem to have abandoned this direction in their burials for that of E. and W.

The general conclusions are as follows, though we must not expect uniformity even in the same race. Burial with the feet to the N. was probably the practice of the pagan Saxons, though this was not universal. For the most part they adopted the E. and W. position on conversion to Christianity. On the other hand, some Christian burials are, as we have seen, N. and S. Some burials on the side with feet to E. or W. but with the face

always to the S. suggest a desire to face, or lie in the path of, the sun. These general tendencies are interfered with by the survival or overlap of more ancient customs, by indifference and ignorance, and by local conditions such as a steep slope in the ground.

List of English churches showing direction of axis, dedication, and date of festival, with direction of sunrise on the festival (see above, VI. 8).

SS. Peter and Paul, 29 June, N.E. by E.	
Exeter Cathedral	E. by S.
Gloucester Cathedral	E. by S.
Llandaff Cathedral	E. by S.
London, Old St. Paul's Cathedral	E.
London, Westminster Abbey	E. by S.
Peterborough Cathedral	E.
Winchester Cathedral	E. by S.
York Cathedral	E.
Chichester Cathedral	E. by S.
The Blessed Virgin, 25 March, E.	
Carlisle Cathedral	E
Fountains Abbey	E. by N.
Jervaulx Abbey	E. by N.
Holyrood Chapel	E. by N.
Lincoln Cathedral	E.
Rievaulx Abbey	N.
Salisbury Cathedral	E.
Old Sarum Cathedral	E. by S.
Southwell Cathedral	E. by S.
Worcester Cathedral	E.
York, St. Mary's Abbey	N.E.
St. Etheldreda, 25 June, N.E. by E., and E. by S.; St. Peter, 29 June, N.E. by E.; B.V.M., 25 March, E.	
Ely Cathedral	E. by S.
St. Cuthbert, 20 March, E., and 4 Sept., E. by N.; B.V.M., 25 March, E.	
Durham Cathedral (St. Cuthbert and B.V.M.)	E. by S.
Wells, St. Cuthbert's Church	E.N.E.
St Werburgh, 3 Feb., E.S.E.; SS. Peter and Paul, 29 June, E.; B.V.M., 25 March, E.	
Chester Cathedral	E. by N.
St. Andrew, 30 Nov., S.E. by E.; St. David, 1 March, E. by S.	
Rochester Cathedral, present building (S. Andrew)	S.E.
Saxon building	S.E. by E.
St. David's Cathedral (SS. Andrew and David)	E.
Wells Cathedral (S. Andrew)	E.
Christ, 25 March, E., 25 Dec., S.E. by E.	
Canterbury Cathedral	E. by S.
Norwich Cathedral	E. by N.
St. John Baptist, 24 June, N.E. by E.	
Chester, St. John's Church	N.E. by E.
Peterborough, St. John's Church	E. by S.
St. Alban, 25 June, N.E. by E. (Dedication of Church, 29 Dec., S.E. by E.[1])	
St. Alban's Cathedral	E.S.E.
St. Ethelbert, 24 Feb., E. by S., or 20 May, N.E. by E.; B.V.M., 25 March, E.	
Hereford Cathedral	E.
St. Frideswide, 19 Oct., E. by S.	
Oxford Cathedral	E.
St. Nicholas, 6 Dec., S.E. by E.	
Cambridge, King's College Chapel (St. Nicholas and B.V.M.)	E. by N.
Newcastle Cathedral	E.N.E.
Yarmouth Parish Church	E. by S.
St. Chad, 2 March, E.	
Lichfield	N.E. by E.
St. Margaret, 20 July, N.E. by E.	
Westminster (St. Margaret's Church)	E.
St. Stephen, 26 Dec., S.E. by E.	
Westminster (Chapel Royal)	E. by S.

[1] Nicolas, *Chron. of Hist.*

Table showing the colours which represent the points of the compass and the common liturgical colours (see VI. 12 and X. 1).

	N.	S.	E.	W.
Pueblo, Arizona[1]	Blue (green) or yellow	Red	White	Yellow or blue
Zuñi[2]	Yellow	Red	White	Black
Navaho[2]	Black	Blue	White	Yellow
Moki[2]	White	Red	Yellow	Blue
Pueblo[2]	White	Blue	Red	Yellow
Isleta, Pueblo[2]	Black	Red	White	Blue
Cherokee[2]	Blue (trouble)	White (happiness, peace)	Red (success)	Black (death)
Mexico and Cent. America[2]	Black, yellow	Red, blue	Yellow, red	White, white
Tewa Indians, New Mexico[3]	Blue, green	Red	White	Yellow
Yucatan, Mexico[4]	White	Yellow	Red	Black
Ireland[4]	Black	White	Purple	Dun
Navaho[4]	White	Blue	Dark	Yellow
Veda[4]	Very dark	White	Red	Dark or dark blue
China and ancient Java[4]	Black	Red	Green	White
Liturgical colours in common use in Western Christian Church[5]	Advent and Lent	Christmas and Easter	Good Friday	Oct. of Epiph. to Candlemas and Trin. to Advent
	Sorrow	Purity	Death	Life
	Violet	White or, for Passion, Easter and Love, red	Black	Green

Literature.—The only work dealing comprehensively with the subject is Heinrich Nissen, *Orientation*, Berlin, 1906–10 (only pts. 1–3 [Egyptian to early Christian] have been issued). Egypt is dealt with partially by E. A. Wallis Budge, *Egyptian Ideas of the Future Life*, London, 1899, and 'The Pyramids and Temples in the Sûdân,' in *Proc. of Royal Society of London*, lxv. [1899], and more fully by J. Norman Lockyer, *The Dawn of Astronomy*, London, 1894. Greek temples are discussed by F. C. Penrose, in *Proc. of Royal Society of London*, liii. [1893], lxv. [1899], and early Christian churches by G. G. Scott, junr., *Essay on the Hist. of English Church Architecture*, London, 1881. An important contribution on primitive races is W. J. Perry, 'Orientation of the Dead in Indonesia,' *JRAI* xliv. [1914] 281 ff. He opposes the hypothesis of E. B. Tylor, *PC*[3], London, 1891. Lockyer has expounded his theories on Stonehenge in his *Stonehenge and other British Stone Monuments*, London, 1906. James Fergusson's *Rude Stone Monuments in all Countries*, London, 1872, is still valuable. Pre-historic work is discussed by G. Baldwin Brown, *The Early Arts in England*, 4 vols., do. 1903–15, and by Walter Johnson, *Byways of British Archæology*, Cambridge, 1912. Both these authors give useful references to recent research. J. G. Frazer's works, although, curiously enough, not dealing directly with the subject, must of course be studied.

T. D. Atkinson.

POKOMO.—1. Distribution.—The Pokomo are a Bantu people inhabiting the Tana Valley, in the north-eastern part of the British E. Africa Protectorate. Their proper tribal name is Wa-Fokomo (*f* representing the 'bi-labial *f*' which in this language corresponds to Swahili *p* and Giryama *h*), but they are called Wapokomo by the Swahili and Munyu by the Galla. A recent official estimate gives their number at about 18,000. They are divided into thirteen tribes (*vyeti*, plur. of *keti*), occupying definite areas with recognized bound-

[1] Fewkes, *Journ. Am. Eth. and Arch.* ii. 14–22, 111.
[2] G. Mallery, *4 RBEW* [1886], p. 56.
[3] J. P. Harrington, *29 RBEW* [1916], p. 43.
[4] A. C. Haddon, *Evolution in Art*, London, 1895, p. 123 f.
[5] R. A. S. Macalister, *Eccles. Vestments*, London, 1896, pp. 224–226.

aries. None of their villages is found at any great distance from the river, with which their tribal life is so closely bound up that they have a saying 'The Tsana is our brother' (they call it Tsana, Tana being the Swahili pronunciation; the Galla name is Galana Maro). Their farthest north-western limit appears to be about 39° 30′ E., on the bend of the river; this is the district of the Korokoro tribe; the rest, in order, going down the river, are Malankote, Malalulu, Zubaki, Ndura, Kinakomba, Gwano, Ndera, Mwina, Ngatana, Dzunza, Buu, Kalindi. The first nine of these are known as the 'upper' tribes (*Wantu wa dzuu*); the Ngatana (whose district is about 3° 30′ S. by 40° E.), Dzunza, Buu, and Kalindi are the 'lower' (*Wantu wa nsini*). These two sections differ considerably in dialect and customs; they are sometimes said never to intermarry, but the rule is not absolute. On the confines of the Kalindi area, between Chara and Kau, and on the Ozi estuary, are some villages of 'Mahaji'—Pokomo who have become Muhammadans and more or less adopted Swahili dress and customs. The Zubaki are the most numerous tribe, numbering about 2000.

The first European to mention the Pokomo is probably Boteler, who was at Lamu in 1823, and says:

'Above the town of Kow [Kau], at every twelve or fifteen miles, there are large villages on the northern bank inhabited by the Poconas, a tribe dependent on it, and at the distance of fifteen days' journey in a canoe, . . . is situated the town of Zoobakey, beyond which the current of the river is too strong to proceed against it' (*Narr. of Voyage of Discovery*, i. 393).

The 'town of Zoobakey' is probably a mistake for the Zubaki tribe; the distance is approximately correct.

Krapf, though he never visited the Tana, heard of this tribe, and mentions their kinship with the 'Wanyika' (see art. NYIKA). He obtained a good deal of information from two Muhammadan Pokomo settled at Takaungu, who, among other things, gave him a list of the 'principal places' on the Tana, most of which are the names of the tribes already given; others may be those of villages which have since been removed. The Pokomo, though not nomadic, like the Galla, have at various times been forced to migrate by changes in the course of the Tana, the last of which seems to have taken place about 50 years ago, the river being deflected near Marfano from its old bed, which ran to the north-east of the present one.

Von der Decken was at Kau in the early part of 1865, and speaks of the Pokomo as 'friedliche und fleissige Ackerbauer,' whose villages begin above Chara (*Reisen in Ostafrika*, ii. 271). His companion, R. Brenner, returned in 1867 and ascended the Tana as far as the Malankote district. Between these two dates the Tana had been visited by New and Wakefield, of the United Methodist Free Church Mission, who founded a station at Golbanti, primarily for the benefit of the Galla, though the Pokomo were found to be more promising converts. This station has long been without a resident European, but is in charge of a native teacher; and there is a small number of Christian Pokomo at other stations of the same mission. Brenner's estimate of these people, it may be remarked, is unduly severe. The Tana was explored in 1878–79 by Gustav and Clemens Denhardt, who ascended as far as Masa, in lat. 1° 15′ S. The former gives some account of the Pokomo in the *Journal of the Berlin Geographical Society* for 1884. Subsequent information is derived chiefly from the German missionaries belonging to the Neukirchen body, who began work on the Tana in 1887, soon after the proclamation of the German Protectorate over Witu, which lasted till 1890.

2. Origin, language, etc.—The traditions of the Nyika tribes seem, on the whole, to import that the Pokomo came, like them, from Sungwaya, though they moved southward considerably earlier. They were already settled in the Tana Valley when the Wanyika were driven from their homes by the Galla invasion. The Kauma version of the matter is that 'we refused to be conquered by the Galla, but the Pokomo consented,' and retained their country at the price of their freedom. They have been, in fact, more or less tributary to the Galla ever since—or at least till the Galla power was reduced by the attacks of the Somali on one side and the Masai on the other. According to Von der Decken (ii. 271), the Pokomo were, in 1865, dependent on the Galla 'ohne jedoch von ihnen gedrückt zu werden.' The Korokoro tribe have, like the Wasanye, ceased to use their own language and adopted Galla instead.

Krapf records the fact that the inhabitants of the Taita hills call the Wanyika 'Ambakomo,' because they believe them to be descended from the Pokomo on the Tana. It also appears, from independent traditions preserved by both peoples, that some of the Rabai tribe at one time took refuge among the Pokomo, who have derived one of their 'mysteries,' the 'great *ngadzi*' (see below), from them (Krapf, *Dict. of Suahili*, London, 1882, *s.v.* 'Mutsi mwiru'). The Pokomo traditions, together with various features of their language and customs, indicate a composite origin: (1) a Bantu immigration from Sungwaya, (2) the hunter tribes (Wasanye and Waboni) previously in occupation of the Tana forests, (3) the backward migration from Rabai (Werner, *Journ. of Afr. Soc.* xiii. 364 f., *FL* xxiv. 457; Böcking, *Zeitschr. für afrikan. und ocean. Sprachen*, ii. 33). The tribes seem to have reached the Tana Valley separately. Some say that the Buu and Ngatana were the first to arrive, coming from the north or north-east; others that the Mwina, Dzunza, and Kalindi were there before them. A legend given by Böcking (p. 36), and independently by the present writer (*Journ. of Afr. Soc.* xiii. 363 f.), derives the Buu from a single ancestor, Vere, who 'appeared' in the country near the 'old Tana' and was taught to make fire (by friction) by a Musanye named Mitsotsozini. As this man is claimed as a direct ancestor by the Katsae clan of the Buu, it seems that either Vere himself or his children intermarried with the Wasanye. The traditions go on to state that, when the Pokomo were attacked, first by the Galla and afterwards by the Swahili (Watsawaa), some of them emigrated (but subsequently returned), others dug pits (*dindi*) and retired underground: hence the name Kalindi (Böcking, p. 36; [Krafft], *Grammatik der Pokomo-Sprache*, p. 137). The subjugation by the Galla is here spoken of as prior to that by the Swahili, but other accounts indicate that the latter came first—*i.e.*, if the accounts are to be trusted which place Liongo Fumo in the 13th century. That legendary hero (whose story is given in E. Steere, *Swahili Tales*, London, 1870) is said to have made the Pokomo tributary 'from Chara to Mwina'; he went no higher up the river. Some say that he imposed the 'tribute of heads' (*i.e.* four slaves from every large village and two from every small one), which was afterwards commuted into a payment of so many sacks of rice. This was received by the Sultans of Witu till quite late in the 19th century (Würtz, in *Zeitschr. für afrikan. und ocean. Sprachen*, ii. 89). The Pokomo tradition about Liongo agrees quite closely with the Swahili one given by Steere, which still lives at Kipini and Lamu—his grave and other sites connected with him are pointed out at the former place. Some say that he warred against the Portuguese, which would make him much later; but the matter is still involved in much uncertainty. Some of the

Pokomo make him contemporary with Vere, and others, while not asserting this, are positive that there were Swahili towns on the coast when this ancestor came to the Tana Valley, which may indicate that the Pokomo settled there at any rate later than 689, the date generally accepted for the foundation of Pate. It seems probable that the Pokomo were the earliest Bantu with whom the Arab settlers came in contact, and that their language forms the groundwork of Swahili—or at least of the Lamu dialect.

The Pokomo language contains, as might be expected, a great many Galla words and also a number of others which do not seem to be Galla, but are difficult to parallel in any other Bantu language. Considering the traditions above referred to and other points which make it highly probable that these people are partly descended from the Wasanye, we may not be far wrong in assigning these words to the language of the latter. It is difficult to establish this point at present, because most of the Wasanye have disused their own language, and (like the Korokoro) speak Galla; the few who still know the old speech are to be found in the neighbourhood of Witu.

The Pokomo, though cultivators of the soil, are also hunters and fishermen; and their hunting customs, tabus, and traditions show that the practice is of great antiquity. Their burial customs also seem to connect them with the Wasanye, for, instead of burying in the village, or even in the dead man's own house, as do most Bantu tribes, they carry the dead away into the forest. One of their 'mysteries,' the *fufuriye*, is avowedly borrowed from the Wasanye, as the great *ngadzi*, or sacred friction-drum, is said to have been derived from the Warabai. We have therefore every right to assume a composite origin for the Pokomo; and this seems also to be borne out, *e.g.*, by the numerous gradations of skin-colour met with, 'black' and 'red' (*i.e.* darker and lighter) individuals being frequently seen among the children of the same father and mother. As a rule, they are of sturdier build than the Wasanye, but not often tall. Otherwise their physical type calls for no special remark. Denhardt (p. 145) says that cicatrization was common in 1878, but it is not often seen now. The two middle lower incisors are sometimes removed, or partly chipped away, but this is not universal, and seems to have, nowadays at least, no ritual significance. Denhardt, although he found that all boys underwent this operation about their eighth year, was repeatedly assured that this and the cicatrization were 'nur Schönheitsmittel.' The tribes of the Lower Tana do not practise circumcision (except such individuals as have adopted Islām); those of the Upper Tana do.

3. **Social organization.**—The Pokomo *vyeti* consist of exogamous clans (*masindo*, plur. of *sindo*). Many of them bear Galla names (*e.g.*, Uta, Meta, Ilani, etc.); but these are of later adoption, and some have their old Pokomo name side by side with the Galla one—*e.g.*, Kinakaliani of Zubaki, which is also Garijela (=Gardyed). The clans of the Wasanye also have Galla names. Traces of totemism, though no doubt it once existed, are not very obvious at the present day. The tribal organization is similar to that of the Giryama and other Nyika tribes, and also to that of the Galla, the Masai, and apparently the Wasanye. The system of 'ages' (Giryama *marika*) is known by the Galla name of *luva*. Circumcision, as above stated, is not practised by the Pokomo of the Lower Tana; but all the boys who enter the 'young men's house' (*gane*, or *nyumba ya worani*) at the same time (which they do about the age of 14 or 15) constitute a *luva*. They remain in the *gane* till they marry, the next *luva* entering a few years after them, so that there are always two 'companies' (*vitaro*) in the house at the same time. There is a twofold division of the tribe, apparently corresponding to the 'right-hand' and 'left-hand' circumcision of the Masai, the two halves being called Honge and Vibare, and the senior *luva* in the *gane* belonging to each of these alternately. Apparently the *luva* does not receive a name till it has passed into the highest stage of eldership. In 1912 the young married men of the Buu tribe at Ngao were *wana wa magomba*, belonging to the Vibare section; the men of the previous *luva*, older, but not old enough to be their fathers, were *wana wa mperuya*, and the *luva* before that (to which belonged Nyota, the senior chief, then almost incapacitated through age) was *magomba*. The *magomba* are the fathers of the *wana wa magomba*, and the sons of the latter are at present known as *wadzukuu* ('grandsons') *wa magomba*. The *luva* before *magomba* was *mperuya*, of which few, if any, were still living in 1912. The duration of a *luva* would seem to be about fifteen or sixteen years—roughly, half a generation.

The word *rika* is used by the Pokomo, but is applied to a feast given to the whole tribe by the members of a new *luva* on their admission.

These age-classes must not be confused with the 'degrees' or 'orders' to which men and women are admitted at various stages of their existence, and which correspond to the *habasi* and *kambi* of the Giryama. Boys are supposed to be bought into the *makombe* by their fathers as soon as possible after birth, but the ceremony may be delayed if the family cannot afford the fee. The initiate is entitled to wear a coronet of palm-leaf (*tama*) and ear-ornaments called *vipuli*. The next step is *njere* (Giryama *nyere*), followed by *kundya*, which a man is supposed to have entered before he marries. Married men are initiated into the *kiroo*, whose badge is an ostrich-feather worn in a little clay 'holder' plastered on the head, like the nest of the mason-wasp (whence its name, *nyumba ya nyiro*). After this comes the higher grade, *ngadzi*, with three divisions: the *fufuriye*, lesser *ngadzi*, and greater *ngadzi*. The special 'mystery' of the *fufuriye* (derived, as already stated, from the Wasanye, who strictly keep the secret from the Galla) consists of two flutes (called 'male' and 'female'), differing in diameter and in pitch, which are played together. They are kept at a lodge in the forest and shown only to the initiated. The lesser *ngadzi* has three stages and the greater six, one of which is called *mwanja* (=Giryama *mwandza*). The *ngadzi* itself is a huge friction-drum made of a hollowed log, 12 ft. long and weighing half a ton. There is one *ngadzi* for the Wantu wa dzuu, and another for the Wantu wa nsini, with whom are included the Wasanye.

The members of the *ngadzi* are all called 'elders' (*wakijo*), though those belonging to the greater *ngadzi* enjoy most consideration. The government of the tribe is in their hands, and from them the two chiefs (*mahaju*) are chosen. One of them belongs to the Honge and one to the Vibare section. They appear to hold office till they die or are incapacitated by age. The name *haju* is the Galla *hayu*, 'chief.'

The *wagangana*, or sorcerers, form a distinct gild, with their own rules and initiation. There are five grades of them, the lowest called *mwana wa mpefo*, 'son of the spirits.' A man who has passed through all but the highest is supposed to be eligible for that when his son enters the lowest. Both *wakijo* and *wagangana* are buried with special honours, and the face and breast of the corpse are painted in three colours, with soot ashes, and red clay (*zazi*).

Women have two orders, the *vara*, corresponding to the *makombe* of the youths, girls being bought in by their fathers as soon as they can afford it, and the *nkaka ya mumio* (also called *ngorosho*), which they join after marriage, their husbands paying the fees. It is probable that they have a *ngadzi* (or some equivalent) of their own, but the present writer was never able to ascertain this point.

An arrangement as yet insufficiently investigated is the division of each village into 'upper' and 'lower' sections (*danda ya dzuu* and *danda ya nsini*), which appears to have no relation to either clans or *luyas*. At Ngao, in 1912, each section had two elders (one of the four being the junior *haju*).

4. Material culture.—Pokomo huts are very much like those of the Galla; they are hemispherical, or beehive-shaped, thatched with grass on a framework of poles, which are planted in a circle and tied together at the top (not, as by the Zulus, bent over to form arches). Rice was formerly the staple crop cultivated, but, since the Tana has had a freer outlet to the sea through the Belezoni canal and the Ozi estuary, the cultivation of rice has diminished and that of maize increased, owing to the smaller area now covered by the annual inundations. All Pokomo are expert swimmers and canoe-men; the craft generally used (*waho*, plur. *maho*) is the usual African dug-out, but for long journeys performed by a large party they have the *sangala*—two canoes lashed together, with a platform of sticks between them.

Fishing is carried on with hook and line, by spearing (the fish-spear, *yutsoma*, is distinct from the hunting-spear, *fumo*), or by means of wicker traps (*mono*) and weirs. The most important animals hunted (before the game-laws were in force) were the hippopotamus, the elephant, and the crocodile. Each has its appropriate ceremonies and is celebrated in special songs. No hunt could take place without the permission of the *wakijo*, who chose a lucky day, performed incantations to ensure success, and insisted on the observance of the complicated etiquette regulating the distribution of the meat. The chief hunting weapon is the spear; bows and arrows (with iron heads, or poisoned ones, with reed points) are sometimes seen, but are commoner among the Wasanye. The crocodile is a favourite food, and is therefore to a certain extent preserved; the Pokomo are always reluctant to destroy its eggs. Other items of food, especially in times of scarcity, are wild fruits and roots—*e.g.*, the fruits of the *mkoma*-palm (*Hyphæne thebaica*) and the tubers, the receptacle, and upper part of the stalk of the blue or white water-lily (*junji*).

As might be expected from their being largely a hunting tribe, the Pokomo have an interest in animals and a knowledge of their habits which recall the S. African Bushmen. Böcking has recorded some of their hippopotamus and elephant songs, and many others might be gathered from the lips of the people. A specially noteworthy point is the fondness of the women for improvising songs about birds, many of which are remembered and handed down. The Tana is unusually rich in bird-life, and the creatures celebrated in the songs (the osprey, a kind of plover, etc.) seem to have attracted attention by their beauty and grace and are not, so far as one can discover, considered from a utilitarian point of view.

5. Customs, etc.—So far as the Pokomo are differentiated from other Bantu, it appears to be firstly by their affinities with the hunting tribes, and secondly by the specialized life consequent on their riverine habitat. In many ways their customs do not call for separate remark—*e.g.*, those connected with marriage are much the same as those of other Bantu, except, perhaps, that it is more usual than elsewhere for a man to bespeak his friend's daughter in infancy or even before birth. This may be due to a comparative scarcity of women; and it was the present writer's impression that men with two wives at once—and certainly with more than two—were not common; but she gives this with hesitation, as her observation of natives not under missionary influence was limited. The rules of *hlonipa* are strictly observed, applying to a prospective as well as an actual mother-in-law, to her sisters, and, in a less degree, to other members of the family.

Pokomo folklore is of the usual Bantu type, but has interesting points of contact with that of the Galla, while the latter shows striking parallels with the Nama and Masai.

LITERATURE.—T. Boteler, *Narrative of a Voyage of Discovery to Africa and Arabia, performed in His Majesty's Ships Leven and Barracouta, from 1821 to 1826*, 2 vols., London, 1835 (much of Boteler's journal is reproduced, though with textual variations, in F. W. Owen, *Narrative*, etc. [1833]); J. L. Krapf, *Reisen in Ost-Afrika, ausgeführt in den Jahren 1837–1855*, Stuttgart, 1858 (Eng. ed., London, 1860); C. New, *Life, Wanderings and Labours in East Africa*, London, 1873; E. S. Wakefield, *Thomas Wakefield: Missionary and Geographical Pioneer in Eastern Equatorial Africa*, do. 1904; C. C. von der Decken, *Reisen in Ost-Afrika in den Jahren 1859 bis 1865*, 4 vols., Leipzig and Heidelberg, 1869–70 (the references to the Pokomo are in vol. ii.); R. Brenner, *Forschungen in Ost-Afrika*, in A. Petermann's *Mittheilungen*, Gotha, 1868, pp. 175–179, 361–367, 456–465 [Pokomo, p. 461]; C. and G. Denhardt, 'Bemerkungen zur Originalkarte des unteren Tanagebietes,' in *Zeitschr. der Gesellsch. für Erdkunde*, xix. [1884] 122–160, 194–217; F. Würtz and G. Böcking, 'Lieder der Wapokomo,' in *Zeitschr. für afrikanische und oceanische Sprachen*, i. [1895] 324; Böcking, 'Sagen der Wapokomo,' *ib.* ii. [1896] 33–39; [H. Krafft], *Grammatik der Pokomo-Sprache*, Neukirchen, 1901 (privately printed); A. Werner, 'Some Notes on the Wapokomo,' in *Journal of the African Society*, xiii. [1913], 'Pokomo Folklore,' in *FL* xxiv. [1913] 456–476, 'The Bantu Coast Tribes of the E. Africa Protectorate,' in *JRAI* xlv. [1915] 326 ff.

A. WERNER.

POLABIANS.—See SLAVS.

POLES.—See SLAVS.

POLES AND POSTS.—In many parts of the world poles and posts have had a religious or magic significance. There is reason to believe that in many countries the post or pole has gained its significance as the representative of a once sacred tree, the spirit of the tree being supposed to have passed into it. Whether this explanation will hold for all parts of the world is problematical.

1. Babylonia and Assyria.—One of the oldest Babylonian inscriptions known[1] (so old that its writing is almost pictographic) bears on one side the picture of a man who wears a feathered head-dress and stands before two pillars or posts. These have each a globular enlargement near the top; and just beneath this enlargement there are on one pole four horizontal marks, and on the other eight. The inscription, of which no translation has ever been published, refers to the building and dedication of a temple. It begins:

> 'Wood unworked, reeds unworked, Ennamag,
> suitable for a dwelling, brought.
> Uninjured was the chief, uninjured was the officer Ennamag.
> Ennamag with firmness laid the bricks; the princely dwelling made.
> By it was a tall tree; by the tree he planted a post.'

The association of trees and posts to which this ancient text bears witness is confirmed by a number of early Babylonian seals, on which, in connexion with the picture of a god, a tree and a post are also pictured. Thus one seal[2] represents the sun-god stepping over the mountain of the eastern horizon, and behind him is a palm-tree. Before

[1] E. de Sarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, Paris, 1885–1912, pl. i. *bis*.
[2] W. H. Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, Washington, 1910, no. 260.

him stands the moon-god, and between the two gods is a post having at the middle a globular enlargement similar to that of Ennamag. Another[1] represents the seated sun-god, behind whom is a tree, while two posts, one before and one behind him, are carved at the top into a slightly tree-like form. It thus appears that the sacred tree and the sacred posts were associated.

The sacred tree was in Babylonia usually a palm-tree. This is shown by the pictures on many seals.[2] The fact that the god resided in the tree is graphically shown by two seals, on which the tree is portrayed as an anthropomorphic deity whose head is surmounted by the horns of divinity, and from whose body the branches of a tree protrude.[3] This was the spirit which, it was thought in early times, could be persuaded to go and reside in a pole or post that could be transported from place to place. The conception was analogous to the idea that the spirit of a crag could be persuaded to reside in a smaller movable stone and then in an idol.

The posts were often surmounted by the symbol of the deity to whose worship they were attached. The symbol of Ishtar was a star, and on many seals this symbol is pictured as resting on the top of a post.[4] Out of this combination the sign was evolved by which the goddess's name was expressed in later Babylonian writing.[5] A late seal, bearing an Aramaic inscription, actually has a form of the post practically identical with the sign.[6] The post was sometimes surmounted by a sun-disk;[7] at least once it is surmounted by both the star and the crescent moon;[8] sometimes it bore a triangle, and sometimes a bird.[9] When thus surmounted, it became the symbol of different deities. Thus, when it bore the head of an eagle or a hawk, it was the symbol of Zamama, the god of Kish; when it bore the head of a lion, of some unidentified deity; when the heads of two lions, it was the symbol of Ninib.[10] Sometimes the post terminated at the top in a crook which turned to the right hand or the left, and in one instance it bore horns like those of a cow turned downwards.[11]

Representations of the post, when so curved, easily pass into representations of the *caduceus*, which, according to Ward, was a serpent emblem. Sometimes objects which he designates as *caducei* seem more like posts.[12] It seems probable that the posts were sometimes carved to resemble serpents, and that the two emblems merge at times the one into the other.

Another object on the seals is of a puzzling nature. It looks like a post with a projection on one side.[13] Frequently, though not always, a vase is pictured above it. Ward calls the vase the symbol of Aquarius, and suggests that the object in question may be the balance of Libra.[14] This suggestion seems most dubious. Why should a balance always stand on end? The balance-signs in the Babylonian writing are never made like this picture. The pictures of the posts on the earlier seals, which represent them with a globular enlargement towards the top or above the middle, indicate that this, too, is a post, though why it should be made in this form it is impossible to conjecture.

[1] Ward, *Seal Cylinders*, no. 271; cf. no. 374.
[2] *Ib.*, nos. 302, 388, 389, 421, and 725; cf. also 200, 217, 296, and 317.
[3] *Ib.*, nos. 374, 378.
[4] *Ib.*, nos. 126, 223, 244, 270, 274, 279, 283, 362.
[5] Cf. E. S. Ogden, *The Origin of the Gunu-Signs in Babylonian*, Leipzig, 1911, p. 44 f., and G. A. Barton, *The Origin and Development of Babylonian Writing*, do. 1913, pt. ii. p. 64.
[6] See *CIS* ii., Tabulæ, no. 84.
[7] Ward, no. 413. [8] *Ib.*, no. 257. [9] *Ib.*, no. 1292.
[10] So Ward, p. 395. [11] See Ward, no. 904.
[12] See Ward, *Cylinders and other Oriental Seals in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan*, New York, 1909, no. 114.
[13] *E.g.*, in Ward, *Seal Cylinders*, nos. 312, 331, 334–337.
[14] *Ib.*, p. 113.

There is reason to believe that the primitive Semitic name for a sacred post was expressed by the consonants *'šr*, for in S. Arabia it was known as *athirat*, in Phœnician and Hebrew as *ăshērāh*, and in Akkadian as *ashirtu* or *eshirtu*.[1] Apparently in early times such posts marked the limits of a sanctuary, for in course of time *ashirtu*, or *eshirtu*, became the Akkadian word for 'sanctuary,' and so passed into Assyrian. If we are right in supposing that the post was a surrogate for an earlier tree, it would follow that the limits of the earliest Babylonian sanctuaries were determined by the position of sacred trees. F. Hommel suggested[2] several years ago that the name of the god Ashur was derived from *ashirtu*, 'sanctuary'—a view that Barton afterwards accepted.[3] If this be so, not only the name of Ashur, but the city that bore his name, as well as the warlike empire that grew out of it, all bear witness to the popularity of the cultus-post in early Mesopotamian religion.

No shrine was thought to be complete without such posts. Thus, when the Assyrian armies erected temporary shrines in order to propitiate by sacrifice a river-deity before crossing the river, they set up not only a temporary *maṣṣēbhāh*, but two posts. This is shown in the case of the army of Shalmaneser III. in the pictures on the Bronze Gates of Balawat. The *maṣṣēbhāh* here has a broad base so that it will stand on the ground; the two posts, surmounted with sun-disks, are provided with a base in the form of a tripod. Friedrich Delitzsch calls these 'candelabra,'[4] but in view of the evidence of the seals and the Carthaginian *cippi*, cited below, they are probably representatives of the older posts. As Shalmaneser does not inform us of the nature of these objects or of the material of which they are made, we are left to conjecture. The object that we have designated a *maṣṣēbhāh* may have been made of wood. If so, it was also an *ăshērāh*. In any event it has near the top some of the horizontal lines borne by the post of Ennamag already mentioned.

Whether sacredness attached to the posts of doors and gates is problematical. If H. C. Trumbull's explanation[5] of the origin of the sacredness of the threshold is correct, the door-post, which represented the male, should be as sacred as the door-socket or threshold, which represented the female. Possibly this was the case in Assyria, since at Khorsabad foundation deposits were found, not only under the corners of the city which were sacred (see art. CORNERS), but under each gate-post of the eight gates of the city. This seems to show that the gate-posts shared in the sacredness of the corners. It is possible, therefore, that some sacred symbolism attached to the gate-posts pictured on the seals of the sun-god Shamash.[6] He is represented as stepping over the mountains of the east and through the gate of the morning by which he emerged from the subterranean passage which was supposed to lead from the west to the east. There are, however, no symbols at the top of these posts, as on some Phœnician gate-posts, to indicate that they were sacred, and the point cannot now be determined.

The Assyrian kings sometimes savagely boast that they impaled their captives on stakes round the cities which they had conquered.[7] Such victims were at times killed before they were impaled. It has been customary to ascribe these acts to the savage brutality of the Assyrians; but, in view of a method of sacrifice by impaling cited below (§ 8), it is possible that we have in this custom the

[1] See G. F. Moore, *EBi*, *s.v.* 'Ashera.'
[2] *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen*, Munich, 1900, ii. 209.
[3] *Semitic Origins*, p. 223. [4] *BASS* vi. pt. i. [1908].
[5] *The Threshold Covenant*, New York, 1896, ch. iv.
[6] Ward, *Seal Cylinders*, ch. xiii.
[7] See *KB* i. 56, ii. 86, 164, and Shalmaneser Obelisk, 155.

survival of a primitive sacrifice by impaling on a post. Such a sacrifice could originate only in a period when men were in a very savage state. The Assyrians were the most brutal of all the Semites, and it is possible that such a primitive custom may have survived among them. It was exercised only in war, when persistent resistance especially enraged them. As all their wars were carried on in the name of Ashur, such resistance was impious to him, and he would take pleasure in the sacrifice of the victims. If this view be true, the stakes or posts on which the victims were impaled were a kind of rude altar.

2. Arabia.—Nearly all direct evidence of the use of the sacred post in Arabian heathenism has disappeared along with the rest of the cultus of the 'times of ignorance' which Islām supplanted. The one bit of evidence that has survived is contained in a Minæan inscription published by Hommel, which mentions a goddess Athirat as the consort of the god Wadd.[1] Athirat is the S. Arabic equivalent of Ashera (Assyr. Ashirtu). As in N. Semitic lands the word designated first the name of the post and only later that of a deity, it is probable that the same was true of Arabia, especially as the palm-tree is shown by historical[2] and archæological[3] evidence to have been sacred in Arabia as well as in Babylonia. The only heathen shrine of Arabia of which we have a tolerably full description is the Ka'bah at Mecca, and, while in the descriptions of that the sacred stone is mentioned, there is no mention of the sacred post.[4]

3. Phœnicia and her colonies.—Most of our knowledge of sacred posts in the Phœnician world comes from Cyprus and Carthage. The word *asherath* in the sense of 'sanctuary' occurs in a Phœnician inscription from Masub that was discovered in 1885.[5] This use of the word accords with the Akkadian. A seal, possibly Babylonian (in any case it reflects Babylonian influence), seems to represent the limits of a sanctuary as marked by two posts similar in shape to one of the Babylonian forms.[6]

There is much evidence that in Phœnician religious thought the palm-tree held the same place as it did in Babylonian thought. In Cyprus terra-cotta figures of three women dancing round a palm-tree have been found in considerable numbers.[7] Although these are broken, a reconstruction of the original is possible and furnishes proof of the devotion of women to this tree. Evidence of the sacredness of the tree is also afforded by many of the votive *cippi* from Carthage, on which it is drawn in more or less realistic fashion.[8] The transition from the tree to the sacred post is shown by a terra-cotta object from Cyprus now in the museum of Bonn University.[9]

As to the forms which the post assumed in the Phœnician cult we cannot always speak with definiteness, since from the drawings on the votive *cippi* it is not possible to distinguish in every case which objects were made of wood and which of stone. The *ăshērāh* is once represented as a slender post surmounted by the crescent moon,[10] and several times as a slender post surmounted by curved lines which form a kind of sun-disk, or two sun-disks one above the other; in some instances two wavy lines branch out below the sun-disks.[1] These are clearly rude representations of the palm-tree made by using as few lines as possible. Another series of figures, more elaborately made, affords the transition to the more common sort of post. These are in the form of posts surmounted by the curves which resemble the sun-disks, but they still have the horns or streamers which represent the hanging date-fruit.[2] The post as most commonly represented on these *cippi* is identical in form with this conventionalized date-palm, except that the lines which represented the hanging dates are absent. Sometimes two globular curves are represented at the top, sometimes one, and at times even one curve is so incomplete that the post appears to be surmounted by two horns. This series of pictures demonstrates the date-palm origin of the cultus-post for the Semitic world.

The posts appear on the *cippi* in various connexions. At times they stand by the triangular figure of the goddess Tanith; this is the most common representation.[3] Sometimes with the figure of the goddess there stands a hand which represented at this time the *maṣṣēbhāh*, or pillar.[4] This hand appears also on various seals made under the mingled influences of Babylonia and other countries of W. Asia.[5] The hand was a euphemistic symbol of the phallus, which the pillar was believed to represent. This is its meaning in Is 57[8] in the phrase 'thou sawest the hand יד חזית. That this is the significance of the hand on these *cippi* is indicated by a picture in which the posts appear together with the figure of the goddess and a phallus.[6] At times it is accompanied by two hands. Various conjectures have been made as to the significance of the posts. It seems clear from these combinations, and from the dance of the women of Cyprus about the palm-tree, that in the Phœnician religion they represented the female principle of fertility as the pillars did the male principle.

In some representations of Phœnician temples which have survived the door-posts are surmounted by curves similar to those at the top of some of the cultus-posts.[7] Apparently, when such posts were of wood, they had a significance similar to that of the cultus-posts. Sometimes, however, they were of stone, like those at Tyre described by Herodotus.[8] Perhaps, in that case, the sacredness of the *maṣṣēbhôth* attached to the pillars. In any event the sacredness of the doorway was connected with the two sets of symbols.

A number of the *cippi* are dedicated to Tanith and to Ba'al-Shamin, or the sun-god. Naturally it was thought that the female principle would appeal to the god, just as the male principle did to the goddess. The rude representations of the top of the palm-tree appear, as already noted, somewhat like sun-disks. In time, then, these posts were known as 'sun-pillars' (cf. Is 27[9], Lv 26[30], where RV renders 'sun-images').

4. Amorites.—As was the case with Arabia, no archæological evidence of the use of the cultus-post has come down to us from the Amorites, and yet we know that they not only used the post, but, like the Arabians, gave its name to a goddess. When the El-Amarna Letters were written, in the first half of the 14th cent. B.C., a compact group of Amorites were living in N. Palestine. Their

1 ii. 206. 2 See Barton, *Semitic Origins*, p. 79.
3 See *CIS* iv., Tab., no. 13.
4 See J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*[2], Berlin, 1897, p. 74 ff.
5 Cf. C. Clermont-Ganneau, *RA* v. [1885] 380; and G. Hoffmann, *Über einige phönikische Inschriften*, Göttingen, 1889, p. 20 ff.
6 Cf. J. Menant, *Glyptique orientale*, Paris, 1886, ii. 65, fig. 60; and Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros*, pl. lxxviii. 8.
7 Cf. Ohnefalsch-Richter, i. 127–131, ii. pl. lxxvi.
8 See *CIS* i., Tab., nos. 194, 189, 245, 2719, 2782, 2969.
9 Cf. Ohnefalsch-Richter, pl. xvii. 1.
10 *CIS* i., Tab., no. 426.

1 *CIS* i., Tab., nos. 326, 365, 370, 372, 388, 397, 398.
2 *Ib.*, nos. 2629, 2730, 2818.
3 *E.g.*, *ib.*, nos. 238, 2666, 2706, 2833, 2992, 2986, 3031, 3038, 3049, 3055, 3056.
4 *Ib.*, nos. 3042, 3080, 3122, 3142, 3144, 3192. At times the post and hand stand alone, as in nos. 282, 2953, 2958.
5 See, *e.g.*, Ward, *Seal Cylinders*, no. 901.
6 *CIS* i., Tab., no. 188.
7 See, *e.g.*, Ohnefalsch-Richter, pl. lxxxii. 8.

habitat stretched from the sea-coast at Accho, across the territory afterwards occupied by the tribe of Asher, up into the great valley between the ranges of the Lebanons. The chieftain of this tribe was called in the letters Arad-ilu-A-shi-ir-ti, the Akkadian form of Ebed-Ashera, a name meaning 'the servant of Ashera.'[1] The presence of this name is proof of the antiquity of this phase of the cult among the Amorites, and of its close association with deity. The memory of this name of the Amorite goddess lingered long in the Orient, for in a Babylonian hymn of the Greek period we read:[2]

'Unto the god Amurru, lord of the mountain,
Unto Ashrat, lady of the plain.'

5. Canaanites and Hebrews.—There is abundant testimony in the book of Deuteronomy that the pre-Israelitish inhabitants of Canaan equipped their high places with both pillars (*maṣṣēbhôth*) and wooden posts (*ăshērîm*). The Hebrews are strictly admonished to break down the one and to cut down the other (Dt 7^5 12^3 etc.). It has often been inferred from 16^{21}, 'Thou shalt not plant thee an Asherah of any kind of tree,' that the *ăshērîm* were trees. In accordance with this view, the AV translated the term 'groves.' More recently G. F. Moore[3] and K. Budde[4] have endeavoured to show that the *ăshērāh* was always a wooden post, and that the verse in question should be rendered 'an Asherah of any kind of wood.' It is true that the *ăshērîm* were sometimes erected under living trees (2 K 17^{10}), but it was the opinion of some of the rabbis of the Talmud that it was a living tree (*ʿĀbōda Zārā*, 45*ab*); and, from what we have learned of its origin, its resemblance to the living tree may sometimes have been closer than at other times. The Canaanitish post must have at times been quite large, since the one cut down by Gideon (Jg 6^{25}) furnished fuel with which to burn the sacrifice of a bullock.

Such posts were a part of the cultus-equipment of the temple of Jahweh in Jerusalem down to the reign of King Josiah, for he removed them at the time of his reform in 621 B.C. (2 K 23^6). The sanctuary at Jerusalem was not peculiar in this respect, since the posts existed at Bethel (2 K 23^{15}), Samaria (2 K 13^6), and doubtless at all other shrines. It is worthy of notice that *ăshērāh*, which represented the female principle, formed in Hebrew a masculine plural, *ăshērîm*, while the *maṣṣēbhāh*, which represented the male principle, formed a feminine plural, *maṣṣēbhôth*. Possibly this occurred because of the supposed affinity of male deities for the female principle and *vice versâ*. As noted above, this would account for the fact that the surrogate of the feminine sacred tree became the emblem of the masculine sun-god (cf., *e.g.*, Is 27^9).

In the Hebrew cult the posts were sometimes carved into the semblance of the human form or of its reproductive organs; when carved into such forms, the posts were sometimes draped; down to the time of Josiah there were connected with the temple women who wove hangings for the *ăshērāh* (2 K 23^7). There are several passages, as the Hebrew text now stands, which indicate that, as in Arabia and among the Amorites, the *ăshērāh* became a goddess, or rather a group of goddesses. Thus Jg 3^7 speaks of 'the Baalim and the Asheroth,' and 2 K 23^4 of 'vessels that were made for Baal, and for the Asherah.' We also hear of 'the prophets of Baal . . . and the prophets of the Asherah' (1 K 18^{19}). Moore[1] holds that it is probable that in these cases the text of the OT has been glossed, and that the presence of a goddess Ashera is due to a confusion between Ashtoreth and her symbol. It is probable that, wherever the name of the post became the name of a divinity, it was because of such confusion, but it is certain that among the Amorites and in Arabia the name of the post passed into the name of a goddess, and it is quite possible that it was so in Israel. We sometimes are too suspicious of the Massoretic text.

In view of the form of the cultus-post as it is shown on Phœnician votive *cippi*, and in view of the analogy of this form with the shape of the pillars at the doors of Phœnician temples, it is tempting to see in the *ăshērāh* the origin of the pillars (*ʿammudîm*, not *maṣṣēbhôth*) that stood on either side of the entrance to Solomon's temple, and which were named Jachin and Boaz. They were constructed of bronze, and their tops were carved into lily-work. The writer is disposed to believe that they were transformed cultus-posts. As already noted, such posts were found in Cyprus made of terra-cotta, shaped to imitate the natural wood. It is not improbable that the form of Jachin and Boaz originated from a much conventionalized palm-tree. W. R. Smith thought[2] that they represented the oldest type of fire-altar; but this is most doubtful.

Cf. also art. MAṢṢĒBHĀH.

6. Egypt.—It appears that in Egyptian worship Osiris was the only god with whom a cultus-post was associated. The Osiris-post was of medium height and carved so that the upper part (about one-third of the whole) resembled four cups or four lotus-blossoms standing one within the other.[3] Remembering how the palm-tree was conventionalized in Babylonia and Phœnicia, we readily see in this post also a conventionalized palm-tree. So closely was the post associated with Osiris that it became the hieroglyphic symbol for his name in all periods of Egyptian writing.[4]

While other gods appear not to have been associated with posts, standards borne upon rods played a great part in their cults. Thus on the palette and mace head of Nār-mer, a king of the 1st dynasty, if not a pre-dynastic king, four divine symbols are borne aloft on poles, each about three times the height of a man.[5] Not only were these symbols borne in procession, but they are frequently represented in Egyptian reliefs as planted in the ground, so that they seem like posts surmounted by the symbol of the god. These are found from the time of the Middle Kingdom[6] down to the latest Egyptian dynasty.[7] They appear in many combinations; at times they seem half-humorous, as when one of the divine sceptres and the sign *ʿnḫ*, signifying life, are pictured with hands supporting such standards.[8]

Similar to these standards are the rod-like sceptres carried by most Egyptian gods. Possibly there was originally some connexion between them, though it cannot now be traced.

7. Indo-Europeans. — Posts and poles do not play so important a part in the religion of the Indo-European peoples as they do among the Semites; nevertheless they are not wholly wanting.

(1) In the Vedas of *India* we hear of the 'sacrificial posts' which apparently stood before every

[1] The best ed. of the original text is in *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der königl. Museen zu Berlin*, xi. [1914], no. 41. The name occurs in line 8. It is found also in no. 52, l. 9. For tr. see J. A. Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, Leipzig, 1912, nos. 84, 103, or Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, Philadelphia, 1916, p. 344 f.

[2] The text is found in G. A. Reisner, *Sumerische-babylonische Hymnen*, Berlin, 1896, p. 92; see line 18. Cf., for a full tr., S. Langdon, *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, Paris, 1909, pp. 151–167.

[3] In *EBi* 331. [4] In *The New World*, viii. [1899] 734.

[1] *EBi* 331, 332. [2] Cf. *Rel. Sem.*[2], pp. 208, 488.

[3] See A. Erman, *Die ägyptische Religion*[2], Berlin, 1909, p. 22.

[4] Cf. G. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, Leipzig, 1909–12, no. 541.

[5] E. A. W. Budge, *A Hist. of Egypt*, London, 1902, i. 183, 185

[6] Cf. *RTr* xxxii. [1910] 52 ff.

[7] Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, London, 1904, ii. 271.

[8] See Ohnefalsch-Richter, pl. cxxiii. 4 f.

altar.[1] Oldenberg believes that in Rigveda I. xiii. 11 such a post is addressed as a 'tree.'[2] To these posts the sacrificial victims were tied before they were slain.[3]

In the *Mahābharata* (xii.) these stakes are described thus:

'Sacrificial stakes of timber with their golden fastenings graced,
Consecrated by the *mantra* are in sumptuous order placed.'

Further on we read:

'Six good stakes of *vilva* timber, six of hard *khadira* wood,
Six of seasoned *sarvavarnin*, on the place of *yajna* stood.

Two were made of *devadaru*, pine that on Himalay grows,
One was made of wood of *śleshā*, which the sacrificer knows,

Other stakes of golden lustre quaint with curious carving done,
Draped in silk and gold-brocaded like the constellations shone! . . .

Bulls of various breed and colour, steeds of mettle true and tried,
Other creatures, full three hundred, to the many stakes were tied.'

At least in poetry a certain personification of the stake occurred.[4] Whether the post became specially sacred in earlier Hinduism is problematical, though it was such a constant accessary of sacrificial places that, in a hymn in the Atharvaveda, in which the burning sun is apostrophized as sacrificial fire, the mountains of the earth are described as the 'sacrificial posts.'[5]

In later Hinduism the symbol of Śiva, the *liṅga* or phallus, is usually a smooth post of stone or wood. Whether this is an evolution from the sacrificial post of earlier days, or an intrusion from the Dravidian population of India, cannot now be determined.

(2) Among the *Persians* trees were apparently sacred in early times, for there is in the *Bundahishn* a myth of a tree that was supernatural and generated all seeds.[6] Worship of trees combined with sun-worship appears to have survived among the Magi, but it found expression in the use of 'rods' or the branches of trees, rather than in the consecration and veneration of posts.[7]

(3) Among the *Greeks* and their Cretan forerunners there are traces of a sacred post. Plato describes[8] a sacrifice of a bull that is said to have been offered in the sunken island of Atlantis, by which it has been conjectured[9] that he meant Crete. The bull was led to a pillar or column on which the law and a curse were inscribed, and was slain 'against the top of the column over the writing.' His blood was thus brought into contact with the column or post on which the laws were written.

Some coins from Ilium bear witness to the existence there of a cultus-post not unlike the sacrificial posts of India. One of these coins pictures 'Athena Ilias with her fillet-twined spear and owl,' and on her right a pillar to which a bull is hung. Evidently the pillar was connected with the sacrifice in some way, though not in the manner described by Plato. Another coin shows the goddess standing on a post, while before her is a cow, apparently waiting for sacrifice. A third coin pictures the goddess standing on her post, and before her is a cow hanging head uppermost from a tree.[10] Miss Harrison thinks that the post was once the goddess, and that the representation of an anthropomorphic figure standing on the pillar is a later development.

The Greek god Hermes apparently developed out of a post or pillar.[1] In the early art he is represented as a square post with a human head.[2] Gilbert Murray[3] holds that the phallic post was placed at the head of graves to symbolize the renewal of life, and that its spirit came to be regarded as a means of communicating with the dead. Such a post was called a 'Herm,' and in time the collective totality of such posts became the god Hermes, the messenger of the gods. Later the post form of Hermes was discarded for more artistic anthropomorphic representations, and the post was even regarded with aversion.

(4) There are many survivals of tree-worship in the customs of *modern Europeans*, and among these the May-pole celebrations and dances hold a prominent place.[4] In one form or another they are found in Bohemia, Swabia, among the Wends of Saxony, and in various other parts of Germany; also in Corfu, Sweden, Alsace, Provence, and Ireland; and nowhere do these customs appear in such completeness as in England. They are found in all parts of the country, have persisted almost to the present, and have found a considerable place in literature.[5] The idea that the May-pole prevents sterility in women and cattle is almost universal among these peoples. In Saxony May-trees or May-poles were set up before houses, stables, and cattle-stalls, and even before the chambers of sweethearts; in Sweden, where the celebration comes in midsummer, young fir-trees are set up at the doorway and elsewhere about the house; in Suffolk, according to an old custom, a servant who first brought a branch of hawthorn on the 1st of May was entitled to a dish of cream—a custom that until recently continued with some modification in Cornwall.

In many of these countries the May-pole was brought into the village each year with great rejoicings.[6] In some cases bands had been seeking it in the woods all night. Philip Stubbes, writing in the time of Queen Elizabeth, says that the May-pole was brought home with twenty or forty oxen, each ox having a nosegay of flowers on his horns, while the pole was also decorated with flowers. It was raised in all the countries with rejoicings in which old and young shared. In England, as in many places on the Continent, dancing was an important feature of the celebrations. In Northumberland, in the 18th cent., after the dancing there was a feast for which a sillabub was made of milk warm from the cow, sweet cakes, and wine. A wedding-ring was dropped into this, and the young people fished for it with a ladle. The finder was supposed to be wedded first. The customs and superstitions associated with the May-pole indicate that it was a surrogate for a divine tree, and that the sacredness of the tree was connected with the idea of fertility.

8. **Native races of India.**—In Hinduism the god Śiva is not represented by an idol, but by the *liṅga*, or *liṅgam*, a phallic post. It is generally supposed that the *liṅga*, of which there is no trace in the Vedas, is a contribution from the Dravidian peoples. The *liṅgam* are generally made of stone[7]

1 See Rigveda, v. ii. 7; Atharvaveda, xii. i. 13, 88.
2 See *SBE* xlvi. [1897] 12, n. 1.
3 Cf. R. Dutt, *Maha-Bharata, the Epic of Ancient India, condensed into English Verse*, London, 1898, p. 167.
4 See the references cited by H. Oldenberg in *SBE* xlvi. 12, n. 1.
5 Atharvaveda, xiii. i. 47.
6 See *Bundahishn* (*SBE* v. [1880]), ix. 5 f., xviii. 9, xxvii. 2, xxix. 5; and *Zāt-sparam*, viii. 3.
7 Cf. J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, London, 1913, p. 189.
8 *Krito*, 119 D and E.
9 See J. E. Harrison, *Themis*, p. 163 ff. 10 *Ib.* p. 164 f.

1 Frothingham seeks to show that he was developed from the Babylonian *caduceus* and was a snake-god; cf. *American Journal of Archaeology*, xx. [1916] 175–211.
2 Harrison, *Themis*, p. 365.
3 *Four Stages of Greek Religion*, p. 74.
4 See *GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, ii. 52–71.
5 Cf. W. C. Hazlitt's ed. of Brand's *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, ii. 402–406.
6 Full accounts of these may be found in the works of Hazlitt and Frazer cited above. The statement given above is mainly a condensation of *GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, ii. 52–71.
7 Cf. W. T. Elmore, *Dravidian Gods in Modern Hinduism*, p. 142.

and painted red,[1] though possibly at times of wood. The use of this symbol seems now to be co-extensive with the Śiva-cult. Of other religious uses of posts in India there seems slight trace.

On the fourth day of the festival of Ankamma, a Dravidian village-goddess, 'a man disguised as a woman carries a paper balloon in procession on the end of a long pole. Above the balloon is a pot, and above that a drinking-cup, while the royal staff and snake hood are carried behind accompanied by drumming and shouting. On the last day the cruel features of the worship take place. The village carpenter prepares a rude cart on which are set stakes sharply pointed at the upper end. The usual number of the stakes is nine. On these are impaled alive a goat, a pig, a lamb, a chicken, and other small animals. The story-teller . . . rides to Ankamma's temple in the midst of the suffering animals. . . . After they have arrived at the temple, a live sheep is impaled on a stake set for that purpose in the ground in front of the temple. All of these animals of course die in their agonies.'[2] It is believed that Ankamma is propitiated by this suffering and shedding of blood.

In this case the stakes or posts become practically altars for the offering in a most horrible way of such sacrifices as are supposed to appeal to the savage god. According to Dravidian legends, men have sometimes been put to death by being impaled on such stakes.[3]

9. Burma.—The Red Karens hold a festival every year in April at which the principal ceremony is the erection of a post on ground, in or near each village, set apart for the purpose. A new post is set up every year. The old ones are left standing, but, when they decay, are not renewed. The posts are really poles, 20 to 30 ft. high. The tree from which each is made is selected each year by omens obtained from chicken-bones. When the pole is set up, the people join in rude dances not unlike the May-pole dances of Europe. They feast on pork and drink quantities of liquor.[4]

10. China.—While in China there is evidence of a semi-sacredness attaching to trees because they are supposed to be the abodes of spirits that must be propitiated,[5] no evidence of the employment of a sacred pole or post in that country is known to the writer. The nearest approach to anything of the kind is the system of poles by which a coffin is carried from the house to the grave.[6] The coffin is placed on a frame-work which is attached to a heavy pole or beam. At each end of this there are cross-poles, which rest on the shoulders of the bearers. There are never fewer than four bearers, and, by increasing the system of cross-poles, there may be eight, sixteen, or thirty-two. These poles have no sacred significance, except in so far as everything connected with burial is to a degree sacred in China. The pole device may have been dictated by convenience, since the frame on which the coffin rests is attached to the large pole by a swivel and can be turned in any direction at will—a great convenience in passing through the winding alleys of Chinese cities.

Brooms and bundles of twigs are employed to drive away evil spirits,[7] but this is a development from the primitive sacredness of trees different from that represented by sacred poles and posts.

11. Japan.—Trees among the Japanese might be considered *kami*, 'wonderful' or 'divine.' *Kami* was the nearest Japanese equivalent to 'god.' Trees, accordingly, were often sacred. This is shown in the Shintō ritual, where it is directed that heavenly twigs be clipped at the top and bottom, 'making thereof a complete array of one thousand stands for offerings.'[8] Apparently each twig became a little post for the support of an offering, and was thus a temporary sacred post. More significant are the many phallic emblems in Japan that were formerly connected with the Shintō ritual.[1] Down to 1872 phallic symbols were to be seen at many Japanese shrines. They were usually made of stone, though often of wood, and in later times of terra-cotta, iron, and gold.[2] In connexion with Shintō there were, accordingly, many sacred posts kindred in significance to the sacred posts of the Semitic peoples. In Japan they represented the male principle, the female being indicated by an emblem of different shape.

12. Kamchatka.—Among the Koryaks, when a pestilence is raging, a dog is killed and his entrails are wound round two poles. The people then pass between the poles, which are supposed to have power to prevent the demon of pestilence from following them.[3]

13. Celebes.—(1) Among the *Tokoelawi* in the interior of Central Celebes it is customary to hold a sacred festival on the eighth day after the death of a man and on the ninth day after the death of a woman. On the way home from the festival the guests pass under two poles placed in a slanting direction the one against the other, and they must not, while doing this, look round at the house where the death occurred. In this way, with the supernatural or magic aid of the poles, they take leave of the soul of the departed.[4]

(2) Among the *Toboengkoe*, another tribe of Central Celebes, when a man buries his wife, 'he goes to the grave by a different road from that along which the corpse is carried, and on certain days afterwards he bathes, and on returning from the bath must pass through' a structure shaped like an inverted V. The structure is formed by splitting a pole up the middle and separating the two parts widely at one end, while they adhere at the other. The ceremony is believed to protect the man's second wife, if he has one, from soon following the first.[5] The leaning poles form an archway, somewhat similar to that made of boughs by the people of Borneo, beyond which a spirit is supposed to be unable to pass. Among the Toboengkoe it is the spirit of the dead wife, who is believed to be jealous of her living rival, against which protection is sought.

14. Melanesia.—Among the Melanesians there are few traces of sacred posts. (1) In *Santa Cruz* stocks or posts are set up as memorials of the dead.[6] They are of the rudest sort, and have only such sacred character as attaches to the dead. In the *Banks' Islands* tree-trunks cut into very rude figures of men are frequently seen at funeral feasts. They are memorials of the dead, but have no sacred character.[7] In the same islands rough idols are carved out of tree-trunks, varying from the rudest stock to elaborately carved images. The posts of houses are also carved into *nules*, the setting up of which is attended by a celebration called *kolekole*.[8]

(2) In *Lepers' Island* they have a way of communicating with ghosts by means of a bamboo pole.

They build a little hut in the forest near their village, adorning it with leaves and coco-nut fronds. The hut is divided by a partition, through which runs a bamboo pole 12 or 15 ft. long. To ascertain whether a ghost is present, the men sit at night on one side of the partition with their hands under one end of the pole and call the names of people who have recently died. When the bamboo rises in their hands, they know that the ghost of the last called is present. When they name one of

[1] N. Macnicol, *Indian Theism*, p. 124.
[2] Elmore, p. 25 and pl. vii., where there is a picture of the altar-stake.
[3] *Ib.* p. 96. [4] *GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, ii. 69 ff.
[5] J. J. M. de Groot, *Religion in China*, New York, 1912, p. 19; *GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, ii. 31.
[6] A description of the whole structure with drawings is given in de Groot's *Religious System of China*, i. 180 ff.
[7] De Groot, vi. 971 f.
[8] Cf. W. G. Aston, *A Hist. of Japanese Literature*, London, 1899, p. 11 f.

[1] See E. Buckley, *Phallicism in Japan*; W. E. Griffis, *The Religions of Japan*, pp. 29 f., 49–53.
[2] See Buckley, p. 14 f.; Griffis, *loc. cit.*
[3] *GB*[3], pt. vii., *Balder the Beautiful*, ii. 179.
[4] *Ib.* p. 178. [5] *Ib.* p. 179.
[6] R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 174.
[7] *Ib.* [8] *Ib.*

themselves, asking the ghost where the man named is, the pole rises and strikes the man named. After this they go out singing, with one end of the pole in their hands, and the ghost leads them whither it will. If they sing that they will go uphill, it leads them down. If they sing that they do not wish to return to the village, it leads them there. A man is said to have put a bamboo pole over his shoulder with a basket attached, when a ghost came and got into the basket, weighing it down to the ground. After that the pole led people whither it would.[1]

(3) Some of the *Torres Straits* islanders performed a ceremony with poles when a turtle was caught.

The turtle was placed on a beach and two highly decorated and carved poles were erected, one on either side of its neck. These poles bore carved faces, somewhat resembling totem-poles. They were surrounded by a number of men, four of whom grasped long ropes that were attached to the tops of the poles. Beginning at the turtle's head, they walked counter-clockwise with a kind of dancing movement round the turtle. When they had advanced a short distance, they partly retraced their steps without turning round, then advanced again until they had gone completely round. All the time they were making overhauling movements with their hands on the ropes, and a drum was beaten and a song was chanted. One of the poles was regarded as male and the other as female.[2]

15. **Australia.**—In Australia poles are associated with the totemic ceremonies of certain tribes. (1) Thus, in the *Arunta* tribe, when a boy is circumcised or subincised, although the number of performers is very small, a sacred pole is frequently employed. This usually represents the totemic animal or plant. At such times the boy beholds the mystic ceremonies of the tribe for the first time.[3]

(2) Among the *Kingilli* a part of the fire-ceremony as witnessed by Spencer and Gillen was as follows:

The women danced round a pole about 15 ft. high, which bore on its top a sort of tuft;[4] and after the dance, while the men were performing other parts of the ceremony, the women lay on the ground by the pole for the whole night.[5] In the morning the men approached the pole in single file and crouched down, while the women, each carrying a little bag of stones in her hand, danced again round the pole, jingling the stones.[6]

The performers could give no explanation of the ceremony; it had been handed down to them from antiquity.

(3) Among the *Mara and Anula* tribes there is another curious ceremony in which a post figures.

When a man dies and his flesh has been eaten, his bones are collected and brought to his father and mother. They are first spread out to dry, after which they are wrapped up in paper-bark and the parcel is fixed into the fork of a stout stick which stands upright in the ground. The stick 'is placed in the centre of a little cleared space outlined by a raised circle of sand, in which an opening is left on one side.' Within the circle a small fire, which must be lighted by rubbing two sticks together, is made and kept burning. No one may approach it but the father and mother of the dead, and no stick may be taken from it. The spirit is supposed to come and hover over the bones and the fire, and at times may be seen by the father and mother standing near the fire.[7] After the lapse of a considerable time, often a year or more, other important ceremonies having been performed in the meantime,[8] the bones are removed, put into a hollow log, the ends of which are stopped up, and buried.[9]

16. **Africa.**—Posts and poles are used in various semi-sacred ceremonies by the savage tribes of Africa, but the religion of most of them is so inchoate that it is often difficult to tell what degree of religious significance is attached to the posts. A few examples must suffice.

(1) The *Yorubas* used to employ posts when offering human sacrifice to Ogun, their god of war.

A place was selected where rocks and boulders enclosed a kind of natural temple. As soon as it was known that such a sacrifice was to be made and that a slave had been selected as a victim, the women of the tribe were seized with great excitement. They rushed to the victim, addressed prayers to him, sent messages by him to departed friends, and gave him their choicest articles of food. Then, encircling him, they engaged in a wild dance of amazing rapidity, which continued until the victim had been decapitated. While this dance was in progress, the officiating priest placed two forked sticks or posts about 7 ft. high in the ground, one on each side of the entrance to the rock-enclosed space, and across these he laid a pole from which a fringe of palm-leaves was suspended. While the dancing continued, the victim, in the space described, was laid on his face and beheaded. The head was placed in a fantastically decorated earthen pot in the rear, while the body was left lying where the decapitation occurred.[1] The sticks and pole possessed some ritual significance, though just what it was is not clear.

(2) On the *Upper Congo* a chieftain is, after his death, given a kind of worship for a time. As a part of the reverence shown to him, four of his wives are buried alive under his body, their legs and arms having first been broken so that they will not crawl out. In order that he may be properly attended in the spirit world, ten of his slaves are decapitated that their spirits may go with his. The ritual of this decapitation is as follows:

'A tall flexible pole is stuck in the ground, at some distance behind the seat' in which the slaves are to be placed one by one. 'From the top of the pole a cage-like arrangement is suspended by a cord. The pole is bent down, and the cage is fitted to the unfortunate man's head. He is blindfolded, but he knows what is happening,' having on former similar occasions seen it done to others. 'The executioner commences to dance, and make feints; at last, with a fearful yell, he decapitates his victim, with one sweep of the huge knife. The pole thus released springs the head into the air. The crowd yells with delight and excitement.'[2]

17. **American Indians.**—'The sacred pole was found widely among the American Indians. It was planted in the centre of their villages, or, if the tribe was nomadic, it was carried about in an ark or wrapping and set up in a tent by itself in their encampment. It typified the communal life of the tribe and represented the "mystery tree," which was intimately associated with their legendary origin.'[3]

The most striking of all these are the totem-poles of the Indian tribes of the north-west coast of America. The largest of these, as well as the most curious, are those of the Tlingit of Alaska and the Haida of Queen Charlotte Islands.

'Some of them stand in front of houses, or very near them; others are set near the beach, beyond the village. When old they are weather-beaten and gray. They are sometimes compared to a forest of tree trunks left after a fire has swept through a wooded district.'[4]

'There are three kinds of these carved posts—totem-posts, commemorative posts, and death-posts. The death-posts are the simplest of the three. Among the Tlingit and the Haida the dead were usually burned. If the man had been important, a display was made of his body. . . . After the body had been burned, the ashes were gathered and put into a box, which was placed in a cavity hollowed out of the lower part of the death-post. . . . At the top of the death-post was a cross-board on which was carved or painted the totem of the dead man.'[5]

'The second kind of carved post is the commemorative post, put up to commemorate some important event.'[6] Thus an old chief once erected a post to commemorate the failure and consequent withdrawal from his village of missionaries of the Græco-Russian Church. On the pole were carved, from the top downward, an eagle, a man pointing with his right hand to the sky, an angel, a priest with hands crossed on his breast, and a trader.[7]

The totem-posts are the most interesting. They are taller and more elaborately carved than the others. 'They stand in front of the houses; among the Tlingit to one side, among the Haida at the very middle and close to the house. In fact among the Haida the doorway of the house was a hole cut through the lower end of the totem-post.'[8]

Among these tribes every one bears the name of some animal or bird, such as 'the wolf, bear, eagle, whale, shark, porpoise, puffin, orca, orca-bear, raven, frog, goose, beaver, owl, sea-lion, salmon, dog-fish, crow.' The totem-poles bear the pictures of the totems of the persons living in each house. The husband and wife are of different totems, so both of their totems appear, that of the man at the top, that of the woman at the bottom. Between them other designs are frequently carved

1 Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 223 f.
2 A. C. Haddon, *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vi. 214 ff.
3 Spencer-Gillen[b], p. 178. 4 *Ib.* pp. 196, 387 f., and fig. 119.
5 *Ib.* p. 391. 6 *Ib.* p. 392. 7 *Ib.* p. 549.
8 *Ib.* pp. 549–559. 9 *Ib.* p. 553.

1 R. H. Stone, *In Afric's Forest and Jungle*, p. 244 f.
2 W. H. Bentley, *Pioneering on the Congo*, i. 254 f.
3 D. G. Brinton, *Religions of Primitive Peoples*, p. 152.
4 F. Starr, *American Indians*, p. 195.
5 *Ib.* p. 195 ff. 6 *Ib.* p. 197. 7 *Ib.* 8 *Ib.*

is 'tell the tale of the man's wealth and importance, or they might represent some family story.'[1] Descent is reckoned through the mother in these tribes; consequently the carving at the bottom is most important, as it tells the totem of the mother and children. These poles are a kind of door-plate and tell at the same time something of a family's history and importance.

Besides the carved totem-poles there are also frequently carved columns or posts inside their houses.[2] They serve to support the two great rafters on which the jack-rafters and the roof rest. The carvings resemble those on the totem-poles and have, no doubt, a similar significance.

LITERATURE.—The literature has been fully cited in the notes. Most of it is of a fragmentary character. The more connected discussions may be recapitulated here with a few additions: M. H. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, the Bible and Homer*, i., London, 1893, pp. 141–202; W. R. Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*[2], do. 1894, pp. 187–191; W. C. Allen, 'Asherah,' in *HDB*; K. Budde, 'Ashera in the OT,' *The New World*, viii. [1899] 732–740; G. F. Moore, 'Asherah,' in *EBi*; G. A. Barton, *A Sketch of Semitic Origins*, New York, 1902, pp. 106, 246–249, 'Asherah,' in *JE*; P. Torge, *Aschera und Astarte*, Leipzig, 1902; A. R. S. Kennedy, 'Asherah,' in *SDB*; H. Oldenberg, in *SBE* xlvi. [1897] 12; J. E. Harrison, *Themis*, Cambridge, 1912, pp. 163–165, 365; Gilbert Murray, *Four Stages of Greek Religion*, New York, 1912, p. 74 ff.; *GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, London, 1911, ii. 52–71, pt. vii., *Balder the Beautiful*, do. 1914, ii. 178–180; W. C. Hazlitt, *Faiths and Folklore*, forming a new ed. of Brand's *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, do. 1905, ii. 402–406; N. Macnicol, *Indian Theism*, Oxford, 1915, p. 124; W. T. Elmore, *Dravidian Gods in Modern Hinduism*, Hamilton, N.Y., 1915, pp. 25 ff., 96 ff., 142; J. J. M. de Groot, *The Religious System of China*, Leyden, 1892–1910, i. 178–181, vi. 971 f.; E. Buckley, *Phallicism in Japan*, Chicago, 1898; W. E. Griffis, *The Religions of Japan*, New York, 1895, pp. 29 f., 49 ff.; R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, Oxford, 1891, pp. 174, 223 ff.; A. C. Haddon, *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vi. [1908] 214 ff.; Spencer-Gillen[b], London, 1904, pp. 178, 195, 387–392, 549–553; R. H. Stone, *In Afric's Forest and Jungle*, New York, 1899, p. 244 f.; W. H. Bentley, *Pioneering on the Congo*, London and New York, 1900, i. 254 f.; D. G. Brinton, *Religions of Primitive Peoples*, New York, 1898, p. 152; F. Starr, *American Indians*, Boston, 1899, ch. xxix.; F. S. Dellenbaugh, *The North Americans of Yesterday*, New York, 1901, pp. 161–164.

GEORGE A. BARTON.

POLITICAL ECONOMY.—See ECONOMICS.

POLITICS.—1. Scope of the article.—The word 'politics' is used to refer both to administration or legislation and to the study of this department of human activity. Although the usual sense of the word refers rather to public activities than to theory, the subject here spoken of must be what is more strictly called the theory of politics, or political theory. The practical importance of this theory is very great, both because it obstructs and because it assists the attainment of justice and liberty. Theory has often made the accidental conditions of a passing age seem to be the nature of things, and has therefore perpetuated abuses; and it has often shown a better way when politicians were blind to facts. The facts of political life will, therefore, be treated here as a basis for speculation, analysis, and suggestion (see, further, art. STATE). That part of life which is political is generally supposed to be concerned with the organization of social relations with a view to justice and liberty. Political theory is the analysis and criticism of the attempts to attain those ends; and such theory may be divided into political science (an analysis of facts) and political philosophy (a criticism and moral evaluation of political society). But, since political society is not the only form of society, the theory of politics is only one section of social theory; and it must be distinguished from other kindred subjects. Political society is distinct from the earlier or more primitive forms of social organization (*q.v.*). In political as opposed to primitive society there is a conscious adjustment of social relations by members of a society. Until that occurs, there is, properly speaking, no political life, although, obviously, there is no moment nor any one place in which political life appears, and it must also be allowed that the more primitive social forces are active even in an elaborate political organization. Again, in early but not very primitive society there was no distinction between what we now call 'political' and what we now call 'religious' organization. There was, therefore, no separate theory of religious institutions; but there should be one now, if our social theory is to be complete. Political theory must exclude this. In still less primitive times, and even as late as the 19th cent., no clear distinction was made between economic and political purposes. Therefore a study called 'political economy' arose; and the study of organization for economic wealth was confused with the study of organization for justice and liberty. But, however close the connexion between them, we shall presume that economics (*q.v.*) is quite distinct from political theory, at least in its subject-matter, if not in its method. Finally, politics is connected, through the general theory of society, with ethics (*q.v.*), or the study of right action; but, although ethics should be regarded as fundamentally social and should not isolate the individual, it deals with more general issues.

[1] Starr, p. 200.

[2] F. S. Dellenbaugh, *The North Americans of Yesterday*, p. 612 ff.

2. The Greek conception.—The first political theory was Greek; and it was based upon the half-conscious political organizations—monarchy, oligarchy, and democracy—which are reviewed in the famous passage of Herodotus.[1] The criticisms there made mark the beginning of political theory. They are based upon Greek experience, aided by observation of Eastern practices; and the forms of government are distinguished by psychological observation of the actions of men in half-organized groups. The immediately following practice and theory were based upon the experience of the πόλις—a peculiar and unique organization or institution which has not only given a name to our subject, but very profoundly affected the view usually taken of it. A word is necessary as to the nature of the πόλις. It was the organization of a small local group of male slave-owners, based upon what we may call religious or ritual community. It was originally exclusive, segmented according to military purposes and organized politically, in our sense of the word (*i.e.* for the purpose of justice and liberty), in one of the three ways mentioned above. But it was a society in which the political was not yet clearly distinguished from the economic or religious needs of man. For this and other reasons, therefore, it is impossible to suppose that the πόλις was essentially a State (see STATE). But upon the experience of the πόλις was based all the Greek theory of society; and the Greek theory of the πόλις is therefore rather an early form of philosophical sociology than what we now call political theory. The pre-Socratic views of society probably veered between the idea that all social organization is a convention (and as such a break with 'nature') and the idea that the organization of civilized society is natural. The theory of convention was probably connected with the attack on slavery and the subjection of women. 'Nature' was the name given to what would be better than the established custom. But we have no complete statement of this view of society. The most valuable and effective political theory began with Socrates (*q.v.*), and is found in Plato's dialogues. Although it is not systematically presented, we can quite clearly see the main lines of the Socratic-Platonic analysis and suggestions of social betterment. This theory of society is part of a general theory of the nature and purposes of man; and,

[1] iii. 80.

since man is essentially social, ethics is part of the theory of social life which is called, in our transliteration of the Greek word, 'politics.' It is false to say that politics in this sense is only a part of ethics; it is absurd to suppose that Socrates and Plato (*q.v.*) were thinking only or chiefly of what *we* call 'politics.' Organized society presented itself to them as a whole—religious, cultural, and economic, as well as what we call political—and the discussion always refers to *all* the relations or contacts of man with man. For this reason the psychological analysis of the individual in the *Republic* is regarded as an equivalent to an analysis of society. The fundamental statement implied in Plato's work is that society is the result of three distinct elements of the character or nature of man; the reverse, he would admit, is also true that the three elements are the result of society.[1] For it is not possible to say of the individual or of society that one exists, in time, before the other. The *Republic* is in the main an analysis of fact, and only in a secondary sense a Utopia; the fact is the life of the πόλις. Therefore the Socratic-Platonic theory is only in part what we should now call political, and in that part is concerned more with the purpose of political action than with political devices or methods. The discovery and promulgation of what is worth doing rather than the administration of society so that its members should do it were the chief interests of Socrates. Law meant to him and to Plato what it meant to most Greeks—a statement of the reasonable rule to be followed rather than a command. And those who could discover this rule were, therefore, the only hope of society. Unimaginative commentators have turned this 'spiritual power' into a military autocracy, because of the Spartan tendencies in Plato; for Plato is indeed too impatient of the method of trial and error in politics. But the value of his work lies in suggestiveness as to ultimate ends rather than in ideas of method. He is the first political philosopher.

The situation had changed in the interval between Socrates and Aristotle; but Aristotle (*q.v.*) continues to repeat the established analysis and to depend for evidence upon an already fast disappearing life of the πόλις. His analysis, however, is carried farther than Plato's, and his suggestions, though less radical, are more detailed. In his *Politics* he reviews the general principles on which the πόλις was organized; and he begins to subordinate, as later ages did more completely, all other interests of man to the desire for orderly administration. In addition to principles shared with Plato, he gives us suggestions as to the dependence of social organization upon external or natural circumstances; he perceives the importance of economic facts; and he attempts to combine the good points of the different systems of government so far discovered by the Greeks. He is the first political scientist. Apart from his unsurpassed ability in analysis of political fact, he formulates well certain principles already discovered. The true State exists not for wealth or power, but for a full and noble life; administration is to provide opportunity for the highest social abilities of man; it is to give these opportunities to all who are capable of using them, women and slaves being proved by 'experience' incapable; and good government is such as prevents the exploitation of some members of a given society by others.

Great as Plato and Aristotle were, they omitted or under-estimated the value of certain facts of the social life which they analyzed. They treated the πόλις as in essence self-sufficing; but the evidence was against them. Nearly all the Greek city-States were dependent, for food, luxuries, or ideas, on other communities; and Athens, confessedly the most advanced, if not, in the philosophers' judgment, the best organized, was civilized largely by foreign contacts. Secondly, they omitted to notice the growing departmentalizing of function which was making the primitive and all-inclusive πόλις into one of many institutions. Voluntary unions existed for economics, religion, or culture, which are simply disregarded by Plato and Aristotle.

So much with respect to facts; but as to conceptions of social betterment also the two great philosophers are deficient. Although each gives hints of the unity of Greece,[1] they neglect too much the attempt of Sophists like Gorgias, Lysias, and Isocrates to counteract the isolation of the πόλις and make an inter-State political structure. And they hark back to the primitive all-inclusive organization, since they desire a πόλις which is merely 'a parochial Sinai.' The history of their influence has unfortunately been as much a history of their mistakes and omissions as of their illuminating conceptions, and this both in the sphere of practical politics and in political theory. But they still give the most suggestive introduction to the general theory of society and the social nature of man. At about the same period political theory and development were beginning in China; but the early promise does not seem to have led to anything new or strange to the Western tradition, which, at any rate, continued for more than 2000 years unaffected by the East. We may therefore suppose that political, if not social, theory, as it now stands, is almost exclusively Western.

3. Roman contribution to the theory.—The domination of Rome marks the second stage in political development. A single State gradually acquired the administration of all the different local groups in W. Europe, W. Asia, and N. Africa. But even this State was a much more simple and all-inclusive organization than any modern State. It was, like the πόλις, in its basis religious, and in the form of its institutions military; and, although the same administration in the 2nd cent. of our era covered vast territory with many races, the structure of the State was still sufficiently like that of the original *urbs* for the conception of the Greek philosophers to be applied to it. With some modifications made by Cicero and Polybius, the idea of political life remained almost Aristotelian. Polybius is perhaps the more important, since he introduced to the political tradition the idea of a balance of social powers as a good method for administration.[2] But the real experience of the Romans is contained not in the philosophical commentators, but in the lawyers. For the social need of the time seems to have been orderly administration, and the desire for local or individual development was sufficiently satisfied if peace was secured.

The Roman lawyers added to the political tradition two important conceptions: an early form of the idea of sovereignty and the idea of a natural law. The one was a reflex of the imperial unity of the Roman world, the other an attempt to explain the basis of civil law. A single source of law and the dependence of all forms of association upon the will of the political power are conceptions of extreme importance in the Middle Ages, with sinister consequences in the Renaissance. And the idea of natural law lived on to affect the first efforts at international law and the early claims to 'the rights of man.' But no complete and comprehensive theory of politics had been developed among the Romans when the Roman world fell in ruin.

4. The Middle Ages. — The development of political life and theory was then interrupted.

[1] Cf. *Rep.* 443.

[1] Plato, *Rep.* 470; Arist. *Pol.* 1327b. [2] *Hist.* vi. 15.

The Dark Ages contain nothing but gradual loss of the civilized administration and exact thinking of the past, together with fitful and primitive efforts to retain the ghost of the dead world or to inspire a new earth. When the darkness begins to lift, a single form appears—the Roman Church. The only stable and effective organization, with real power for ordering and directing life in every corner of W. Europe, it took over the prestige of the half-forgotten Roman rule and bestowed it upon one of the most fantastic creations of the political imagination—the Holy Roman Empire. What the Church was for the Middle Ages was largely due to Augustine's *de Civitate Dei*, which is an attempt to provide a theory to replace that of the Roman law and the Greek philosophy. Its importance for us here is that, continuing some of the old ideas of administration, it adds to them (1) a conception of another world for which temporal or earthly life is preparatory, and (2) a vague theory as to the equal value of all human beings.

Mediæval political experience may be summarized under two headings: (*a*) the distinction of Church and State, and (*b*) the hierarchy of rulers.

(*a*) Under the first heading come the two great facts—the distinction between the various human interests, and the unity of Europe. The interests for the first time appearing distinct were then called spiritual and temporal. Men were impressed with the existence of other values than those of wealth and power, and they lived in the firm conviction that another and a better existence was to be attained by all who deserved it. To deserve heaven involved, indeed, partly moral and partly magical action; but, in any case, the conception of what was called the spiritual was based upon actual experience. On the other hand, men felt the need for material goods and for orderly administration. This need it is not necessary to explain in the 20th century. Out of those two needs came the mediæval Church and the mediæval attempts at political administration; but the delimitation of function was never decided. In political theory the observation of the facts was complicated by an unhistorical reading of the Bible and Aristotle. Men thought that they saw in the mediæval system the Jewish priesthood and kings, mingled with the society of the old city-State. And the spiritual and temporal needs, differently supplied and differently explained, gave rise to thinkers whom we may roughly classify as ecclesiastical or civil. But, since the Church had control of most of the teaching, the ecclesiastical view of society prevailed in the mediæval books. Thomas Aquinas may stand for many others in his subordination of the civil to the ecclesiastical authority. And even Dante grants in theory a superiority of the Church which he feared in practice. The whole issue was discussed as though it were only a question of two authorities to which all men were equally subject.

As for the unity of Europe, this great mediæval idea was not destroyed by the conflict of Church and State. In fact, Europe was one in its general culture and in its social classifications, although politically it was one only in sentiment. No effective organization of the political order was produced by this sentiment. But in theory all thinkers agreed that the basis of political organization was the interdependence of all the groups of the humanity which counted. The existence of the Eastern empire, of heathen kingdoms and of distant civilizations, hardly seemed to trouble the theorists. Civilized humanity for them was one family, the inhabitants of W. Europe.

(*b*) Mediæval political life was formed by the system called feudal and by kingship. The local administrations of feudalism remain effective in the quaint idea that ownership of land implies the right to govern the inhabitants of that land, and in certain peculiar caste-sentiments; but as a political system feudalism gave place to kingship, and it has hardly been the occasion of any valuable political idea. In fact it was essentially pre-political and socially primitive. Kingship, on the other hand, has been important to political life and to theory. The mediæval king was a sacred person, responsible to God, and an exponent, with advisers, of 'natural' or of customary law. He was not a despot, a representative, an official, or the source of law. He became, especially in England and France, the focus of the effort towards settled and therefore centralized government and the symbol of the new national sentiment. In theory the king has some special divinely-given qualities; he is the necessary result of the desire for one kind of law in any group, and he seems to be given some peculiar physical power of transmitting abilities to his children.

5. The Renaissance.—The decay of the mediæval system, towards the end of the 14th cent., left the unity of Europe a vague memory, the conflict of Church and State a tiresome and half-forgotten quarrel, feudalism practically defunct, and kingship supreme. But the influence of a new economic situation, due in part to discoveries and inventions, together with the disappearance of old ideals and the appearance of political realism, soon transformed mediæval kingship into Renaissance sovereignty. Theory changed as quickly as practice. First, William of Ockham and his follower, Marsiglio of Padua, attempted to give to the State the prestige of the Church by proving it to be fundamentally necessary and not secondary in importance. Then the minds of great numbers of men were gradually turned away from the desire for heaven. This had the double effect of degrading all political conceptions into the merely economic and at the same time of lifting ordinary life by making it seem more worthy of consideration. The supreme political fact of the Renaissance was the existence of personal government in different mutually jealous groups. The situation is generally described in books on history—a subject that has become since the Renaissance predominantly political. Indeed, conscious political development began again at about this date. And this resulted in a succession of brilliant analyses of political life and suggestions of change. Machiavelli is the first and greatest observer of facts; he is valuable because neither the Bible nor Aristotle obscured his view of life as it was; and since his time no political thinking has been based upon books. Even his suggestions for the future are not more than observations of the plans usually followed. The State is for him an instrument of the prince, chiefly for the attainment of 'glory'; and it is essentially an organization for exploitation, either within its frontiers, of the many by the few, or, outside of its frontiers, of one group by another—an analysis which is not altogether inapplicable to modern States.

A slight change of experience is marked by the consolidation of personal government on a more economic and less military basis, over nations rather than districts. France and England provide the evidence, and Jean Bodin analyzes the new phase of political life. The monarch is less prominent in theory and the organization more, although even in Bodin the theory of government in general is always tending to become an analysis of personal rule only. The *Six Livres de la République* (Paris, 1576) expresses for the first time clearly the complete doctrine of sovereignty, at least with respect to the internal organization of the State. This was a great step forward. From that time it has been taken for granted that there is within each

politically organized group an authority, a source of law and administration, beyond or above which there is no other. Legal supremacy of one authority within one territory was, therefore, seen to be necessary for political life. Bodin, however, never lost sight of the fact that legal supremacy does not imply moral superiority, and that legal submission does not imply moral allegiance. He recognizes other institutions and even grants that they existed before the State; but he seems to say that, the State having come into existence, all other social allegiances derive their force from the State and bind only in subordination to the State. This is probably due to the influence of the Greek theory of the πόλις and of Roman law. It marks the Renaissance identification of political with the whole of social theory. Hobbes's *Leviathan* (London, 1651) still remains the best expression of the full meaning of this attitude. The State is the highest, most complete, and at the same time most fundamental or original form of society. It is doubtful if Hobbes (*q.v.*) saw anything but perversity in other social obligations than those of the State. For him the real social world was altogether included in the two problems of the individual and the State. The original war of each against all was to be avoided only by the mutual agreement (compact or contract) to erect and to obey one authority above the whole group. Groups which had not so compacted were still essentially at war each with the other. This natural war of each against all, according to Hobbes, survives between organized groups or States, and it is described as the use of force and fraud. Within the frontiers of the State there is no appeal against 'the mortal god' who, in effect, is a monarch, although in theory the sovereign may be a multitude; and there is no appeal because force is against any such appeal. As for a Church, either it is the State itself in one of its functions or it is a subordinate form of society like a goose-club. Political realism could go no farther; and with some uncertainty perhaps, but with evident intention, force is made to be the fundamental political fact. Against this Locke's conception of civil government was in part a protest. Man is not for him quite so physical, and 'the state of nature' is clearly distinguished from war. Primitive man is rightly considered to have social tendencies; and Locke (*q.v.*) adds to the idea of a compact the valuable conception that civil administration is not based upon an unlimited surrender of individuality, but on limitation of independence with a view to particular purposes. He implies that these purposes are not the only purposes of life, and he definitely makes allegiance to a government depend upon its success in attaining the purpose for which it exists.

The two leading conceptions of the period in all writers were those of a state of nature and of a social compact or contract. They have been many times proved untenable, and, although they survived into the Revolutionary period and perhaps influenced the idea of 'the rights of man,' they had been already exploded. For it is obvious that primitive man was neither so unsocial as Hobbes imagined him nor so intelligent as Rousseau thought. And even as a logical basis for society, as opposed to a historical origin, a social compact implies far too calculating and conscious an activity. But perhaps now we need rather to understand the element of truth in these two ideas of the late Renaissance. It is true that political society is based, logically and historically, on a tangle of primitive impulses and that its best purpose is the preservation and development of the constructive tendencies which are 'natural'; on the other hand, it is true that a relation not unlike a compact is logically implied in the half-reasoned acceptance by citizens of the political conditions under which they live.

The international law of this period deserves special consideration, for it reflects a new phase of political experience and adds something to political theory, but with strangely little effect upon the idea of sovereignty. International law was primarily an attempt to supply another conception for the mediæval idea of the unity of civilization. It was based upon the obvious facts that no State was isolated, and that the relations between States were not altogether those of force and fraud. There were indications that at intervals even sovereigns regarded other sovereigns as trustworthy or amicable; and, when the peculiar habit called war broke out, there seemed to be some limits set to the amount of force or to the intricacy of the fraud usually maintained. How was this to be explained? The attempts which were made to explain it culminated in Grotius (*q.v.*), who established or revived for many generations the conception of a natural law, with Christian connexions, superior to the will of States or princes. Besides being only the expression of the moral feeling of that particular period, this natural law, in so far as it was defined, was a mild restrictive suggestion which the international lawyers tried to believe was a command. But its presupposition was that the agents of States could use anything except a few peculiar practices, and need not feel even that restriction when the existence of their own form of government was in danger. Personal rule had created a mythical State-person, having all the qualities of personality except moral responsibility. At the close of the Renaissance period another great political realist appeared. Charles de Secondat Montesquieu set himself, in *L'Esprit des lois* (Geneva, 1748), to study political facts by the method of comparing the usages of different peoples. The evidence at his disposal was very deficient, but he arrived at some valuable conclusions—*e.g.*, that environment affects institutions. His attempt to distinguish the inner spirit of different forms of government as well as their external forms is also valuable.[1] His aloofness is partly that of the scholar, partly due to the spirit of the 18th cent., when passionate feeling had not yet disturbed or developed the course of political thought.

6. Influence of Rousseau.—Meanwhile the dumb majority were living and dying, hardly troubled by 'glory' and gradually rising to a hope for something more than food and clothing, of which, indeed, the prevailing social organization made the distribution more and more uneven. The movements of the following centuries were political largely because economic needs could not be supplied without political disruption. And it was beginning to be felt that government for the good of the governed should not be a kindly concession by the established powers, but a right—*i.e.*, it must be conceived as the very nature of government and the only basis of moral allegiance. A new and truer conception of humanity was shaking the barriers which divided social castes.

The new age was heralded by the work of Jean Jacques Rousseau (*q.v.*). Still moving in the confused region of contracts, rights, and sovereignty, Rousseau redeemed the old words and foretold a new spirit by his undeluded love of men. He thought in terms of real life, even when he used the musty language of his predecessors. In the analysis of fact Rousseau emphasized chiefly the dependence of the individual upon society for his thought and feeling as well as for his material wants, but he so phrased his conceptions that the

Library of
PACIFIC BIBLE SEMINARY
4836 EAST ANAHEIM ST.
LONG BEACH, CALIFORNIA

choice of the individual seemed to be the ultimate source of government. As for suggestions of social betterment, he required a complete supremacy of all adult men of the group, who were to rule directly through their agents. They were, however, to have power, not because of their combined force, but because their real will could not be mistaken. This was a moralizing of politics; but in effect Rousseau only transferred to popular government the absolutism and the divine right (*q.v.*) which had hitherto been allowed to personal government. Again, for him as well as for most of his contemporaries, the State meant the whole of organized society. And, again, in the effort to preserve local political vitality he repudiated the device of representative government. These are obvious mistakes. But the great importance of Rousseau is not merely due to the effect of his work on his own generation; it comes from the fact that he re-established the old Greek and fundamentally human idea of political society as an opportunity for the full realization of what is best in man. His argument is often bad and his language always ineffective, because of the obsolete conceptions with which he had to work. But one can feel the effort to express a new meaning. Men were to be truly free in political society; they were to find in it more than they had surrendered in the mythical contract; and they were to be 'citizens,' because 'subjects' only of the general will. The Revolution was intoxicated with the word 'citizen'; and it marks a new age, if we consider that for writers like Hobbes the products of the social contract are only subjects. With the title of citizen the common man felt that he could rise from his knees; and, even if later he mistakenly worshipped himself, he was at least given a dignity without which the political progress of recent years would have been impossible.

Burke, who imagined himself as far as possible opposed to Rousseau, is full of the same kind of humanism. He feels the naturalness of institutions and the value of tradition, but his intellectual analysis of facts is inadequate. The circumstances of the time often misled him into the maintenance of what was obsolete, and he saw objections against any new idea much more clearly than the evils of the established system.

The two great political changes of the period, of which the importance is hardly recognized even to-day, were the political experiments in N. America and in France. 'The rights of man,' vaguely conceived by English revolutionaries, were taken as the theoretical basis for the republic of the United States and, under the influence of thinkers, adopted by the revolutionaries of France. The phrase, however, sounds so empty to-day that it is difficult for us to understand the force that it once had. It meant that there was to be recognized by every political society a fundamental humanity in every man which should not be, as it still is, forgotten in the pursuit of wealth, or because governments desire to act without being criticized, or because we know that men differ in ability.

In the meantime men were turning away from the comparison of different organizations to the criticism of all organization in view of fundamental needs. The new question was not which form of administration was best for the attainment of old purposes, but what purpose any administration should pursue.

7. **Utilitarianism and politics.**—Political thought renewed its life in the utilitarians. The experience which gave rise to their calculus of pleasures was the dismal beginning of industrialism. At first a revolt against the restrictive influence of the remnants of the mediæval system, utilitarianism (*q.v.*) became ultimately an appeal for the full and free development of all human beings. Jeremy Bentham was the source of the new energy. 'The greatest happiness of the greatest number' became the new gospel. The effect of Bentham's theory upon political practice was so obvious and is still so recent that even practical politicians admit in this case the importance of theory. For Bentham initiated the modern practice of continuous legislation. The State was not merely to maintain, but to develop and increase the opportunities for civilized life. From this period we derive the conception of a scientific use of legislation for definite social effects and the desire to have as few restrictions on individual action as is consistent with order. J. S. Mill (*q.v.*) was the most philosophical thinker of the new school, especially as regards the fact that spontaneous individual action is the only source of a valuable social life. So far as the analysis of fact is concerned, the most important influence upon political thought came from the new study of economic facts. At one time the State seemed to be concerned only or chiefly with wealth. Mill represents this element in the new phase of political thought. Much discussion turned upon commercial policy, and for the first time a proper attention was directed to the relation of administration and economic production. English political thought has since fallen into the hands of the lawyers, whose natural interest is in methods rather than in moral ends to be pursued. The problem of legal sovereignty has bulked largely in their imagination, and they have done admirable work in making the machinery of government more effective. Their deficiencies were due largely to an extreme provincialism. French thought, meanwhile, was making progress in the basic conceptions of political society. It was perceived that society could not be understood as a machine, and that the conception of individuals as nerveless similar units was destroying social vitality in the attempt to prevent the growth of privilege. The republic was criticized as severely as any monarchy had been. In Germany the philosophical study of man led to conceptions of society vaguely correct but hopelessly without reference to contemporary facts. The most valuable idea developed was that of the historical evolution of various forms of organization.

The attitude towards established government, adopted chiefly in France and England, was one of suspicion. It seemed to imply that the individual was best when alone or was by nature isolated. *Laissez-faire* (*q.v.*) led to brute conflict, and the State was becoming a machine for the use of manufacturers. The influence of the historical school, both on the Continent and in England, should be counted as correcting the mistakes of this false individualism. In practice it had been corrected, for the political influence of the later utilitarians was by no means directed to isolating the individual. But the theory of the State as a living and natural unit was needed to complete the tendency towards socializing all political activities. The historical school rightly looked back to a form of political humanism in their opposition to what appeared to be a too mechanical conception of society and the State. But their ambitions misled them. They lost sight of the individual in the endeavour to transcend him; they confounded the State with society as a whole and, in the desire for organic conceptions, they raised from the grave of Leviathan a monstrous ghost—the mystical State which is above all morality.

8. **A new political theory.**—The crude and as yet unexamined conceptions of nationalism at present popular are in part due to the mistakes of the

historical school. Already, however, especially among French writers, there is a return to the individualism (*q.v.*) of earlier times, with such corrections as must be allowed from the suggestions of Auguste Comte and his followers (see art. POSITIVISM). Society is clearly not a mere collection of individuals, nor is the State a mere contract of citizens; but, on the other hand, the social unit or the State is not to be explained except as a special form of relation between individuals. Neither the atomic individual nor the mystical crowd-mind is a fact; and with such negatives the history of political theory ends, except for the study of special or departmental interests.

Again, however, political life outgrows the formulæ of established theory. Within the frontiers of every civilized State independent quasi-voluntary associations have arisen — the trade-unions (*q.v.*). Across the frontier voluntary associations for the use of capital in undeveloped countries have become powerful. State action has immensely increased, and no clear limit appears as to what the State can do; but other organizations have begun to repudiate the idea that they owe their existence to the State. Further, by contrast to the preceding period, States are compelled by force of circumstances to act together; and, most important of all, for the first time in human history every human being is brought into continuous political contact with every other, since all the States of the world are at last connected. The mass of new facts has led to extreme specialization in action and thought; and so far no comprehensive view has become common nor is any suggestion of improvement generally accepted. Recent political thought is to be found embedded in the discussion of general social and economic questions. Socialism and syndicalism (*qq.v.*), although implying political conclusions, are far-reaching social movements rather than programmes of State action. For the old theories of the State begin to appear superficial to an age impatient of fundamental evils and unlikely for much longer to be satisfied with the modification of a few officialisms. Already there is evidence that a new political theory is arising out of the new social theory; and the new experiences of recent years will perhaps require an entirely new analysis of fact, not to speak of new suggestions of reform. It is becoming obvious that political thought should concern itself not only with devices of government, but with the establishment of more ideal purposes than those now commonly accepted.

Although the situation has indeed changed in so many ways that much of the old political theory is obsolete and all of it is inadequate, we owe much to the statesmen and thinkers of the past. The results acquired in practice are probably such as that the consent of the governed is essential for good government, that different situations need different systems, that political life changes and therefore the system of administration should change. These are principles which may be observed to be implied in the action of the more advanced political groups. In the sphere of theory the old truths still valid are such as that society is a real and natural whole, that man is made by society and yet the individual is the only source of development. But, naturally it is impossible to distinguish clearly theory from practice when we are making a summary of our indebtedness for the achievements of past ages. We can only build the future upon the good already established by men now dead. The greatest good, however, that we may derive from them, in the effort to elevate political action and illuminate political theory, is the power to repudiate what we have inherited when it hampers our perception of evil or dulls our desire to destroy it.

LITERATURE.—W. A. Dunning, *A Hist. of Political Theories*, 2 vols., New York, 1902–04; P. Janet, *Hist. de la science politique*[2], 2 vols., Paris, 1872; Frederick Pollock, *Introd. to the Hist. of the Science of Politics*, London, 1890; and, for the modern period, H. Michel, *L'Idée de l'État*, Paris, 1896.

C. DELISLE BURNS.

POLYANDRY.—See MARRIAGE, FAMILY.

POLYDÆMONISM. — See DEMONS AND SPIRITS.

POLYGAMY.—See MARRIAGE, FAMILY.

POLYNESIA.—**1. Introductory.**—Polynesia is the name given to a number of Pacific islands whose inhabitants are closely related to one another, speak dialects of substantially the same language, are similar in physique, and are, in fact, a distinct, though not a pure, race. The chief groups of islands included in the area are Samoa, Tonga, Tahiti and the Society Islands, the Hervey or Cook Islands, the Marquesas and the Paumotu, with the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands to the north and New Zealand to the south. The Fiji Islands form part of Melanesia; but their people are largely Polynesian in character; and there are, scattered among the islands of Melanesia and Micronesia, small outlying settlements of people either wholly or partly Polynesian.

The Polynesians have long been subject to the influence of white men. Mission stations were established long ago in most of their groups, and the people have been in constant contact with travellers, traders, government officials, and others. The old religious beliefs have been swept away, and superseded by Christianity; early social and political systems and customs have been displaced; past cultures have been forgotten. It is therefore necessary, in writing about these things, to adopt the past tense, even though some of the matters spoken of still survive. It must not be assumed that every statement which follows applies to all the islands, the intention of this article being merely to indicate, as far as possible in the space available, some of the more widely spread or characteristic features of Polynesian customs and beliefs.

2. Origin and migrations.—It is believed that, prior to the migrations about to be mentioned, the islands of Polynesia, or many of them, must have been occupied by a people more primitive in culture than these later migrants. This belief is based upon a recognition of physical differences among the people; upon an investigation of the systems of relationship, nomenclature in connexion with those systems, and certain relationship duties and privileges found in Polynesia; upon a study of certain Polynesian beliefs, cultures, and customs, including the custom of *kava*-drinking; and upon a comparison of all these matters with what has been found in Melanesia. Much fresh light has been thrown upon this difficult subject by W. H. R. Rivers in his recent great work, *The History of Melanesian Society*. The later migrants moved into the Pacific from the islands of Indonesia; they had probably passed to those islands from an earlier home on the mainland of further India; and there are grounds for suggesting a still earlier home to the north-west. Their movements from India to Indonesia, and afterwards, by routes skirting some of the islands of Melanesia, to the Pacific, are believed to have been caused by pressure from behind; and it is thought that in the course of their migrations through Indonesia they themselves came in contact with, and to a certain extent pushed before them, Papuans or Melanesians then

occupying the islands. Their legends indicate that their first halting-places in the Pacific were probably the Fiji Islands, from which they reached the Samoan and Tongan groups, and from all these they spread westward among the other groups which now constitute the islands of Polynesia. Certain definite migrations are recorded in these legends; but there must have been unrecorded movements, and, indeed, it is possible that during the whole period there was a more or less undefined and intermittent process of passing from India southward and eastward. The period of what is regarded as the first recorded migration from India to Indonesia has been placed in the last century prior to the Christian era; but it has been suggested that the movement began some few hundred years earlier. Their first recorded appearance in Fiji has been allocated to the 5th cent. A.D., but probably there were Polynesian colonies in Fiji before then. It will be seen, therefore, that, if these figures are anything like correct, the whole period of migration may have been extremely prolonged; and, whatever may have occurred before the departures from India, there must have been, during this period, numberless times of separation and isolation of bodies of migrants, and the people must have come into contact with other races. Then, again, after the Polynesians were scattered about in the Pacific, further separation and opportunities for differentiation arose. It is therefore hardly to be wondered at that, when many centuries afterwards they came under the notice of white observers, it was found that, notwithstanding the general similarity among the people, there were marked differences in their cultures and beliefs. The period, extending over centuries, of occupation of the western islands—Fiji, Samoa, and Tonga—has been spoken of as the Homeric age of the Polynesians, when flourished so many of their heroes, whose deeds are embodied in the traditions and songs that form the classics of the race.

3. Political systems.—The political division of the people was largely geographical, each village, subdistrict, district, and large division of an island, and each island or group of islands, being to a large extent a separate entity, managing its own affairs. The political power, and such rude systems of justice as the people possessed, were in some of the islands mainly in the hands of the chiefs, small chiefs controlling villages and small districts and great chiefs ruling over the larger areas, whilst in most of the islands or groups there were powerful head chiefs, sometimes with special distinctive titles, who are generally spoken of by writers as 'kings.' In some of the islands there were classes of landed proprietors inferior in rank to the families of the chiefs, from whom they were distinct, but who nevertheless possessed considerable influence and power. This was the case in Tahiti, where no important proposal could be carried out without the concurrence of the landed proprietors, and perhaps still more so in the islands of the Samoan group, where each village, subdistrict, district, division, and island had its *fono*, or meeting of land-owners, by whom the affairs of the area under their jurisdiction were discussed and regulated, and whose powers rivalled, and in some places seem to have over-ridden, those of the chiefs.

4. Past clan systems.—There was little or no clearly defined system of division into clans, with their accompanying practices of clan exogamy and clan totemism; but there is abundant evidence that such a system must have prevailed in earlier days and that some of its features still survived. This evidence is diverse in character. An enormous number of their gods were incarnate or immanent in animals and plants or in parts of them, in inanimate objects, such as stones, and in phenomena of nature; and the attitude of the people towards these things, and the imagined attitude of the latter towards the people, seem to point irresistibly to a totemic origin—that is to say, these visible representations of their gods were deified totems, or, as has been suggested, had been the totems of deified heroes and ancestors of long ago. For instance, a Polynesian would be unwilling to kill, and still more unwilling to eat, the animal which was the incarnation of his own god or that of his people, and the accidental killing of one of these animals, or the finding of it dead, would cause great distress, and perhaps involve a religious ceremony; he would, however, have no scruples in regard to the god of his neighbour or a neighbouring people. He not only trusted the incarnation of his god to do him no injury, provided, of course, he had not been guilty of a grave offence, but he actually looked to it for guidance, help, and protection. There is, moreover, evidence which points to beliefs as to animal incarnations having been the ancestors of their worshippers, or the offspring of human ancestresses. Then, as regards the more social aspects of a clan system, the attitude of the people towards one another includes features highly significant of clanship; these features are various, but by way of example reference may be made to the idea prevalent in some of the islands, that, if A killed B, it was a social and even religious duty of all B's people to join in retaliating, and their vengeance was directed, not only against A, but also against all his people, a whole village sometimes being involved in the matter. There were also clear and unmistakable relics of clan exogamy; and in some of the groups—notably in Tonga—family rank descended by a matrilineal system, and there were traces of the same thing in other groups.

5. Myths of creation.—The dominant idea of some of what are believed to have been the oldest Polynesian myths of creation was the evolution of light from darkness, with which was sometimes associated the beginning of sound and of stability.

The Maori myth told of the embrace of the original parents, sky and earth. So close was this embrace that their children, who were between them, were being smothered, until one of these, Tane, succeeded in forcing their father, the sky, upwards and so letting in light and air. The same myth was known in Niue (Savage Island); and the belief that the sky had originally been forced and propped up from below prevailed widely in Polynesia. The beautiful Marquesan legend told of the victory of Atea (representing light, or perhaps even the sun) over darkness, and of sound over silence; and the marriage of Atea with the dawn. The Hawaiian myth narrated the achievements of Kane—the Hawaiian spelling of Tane—representing light, and two other beings, representing sound and stability, who broke up darkness and chaos, admitted light, and created the heavens and earth and, lastly, man. In Mangaia (Hervey group) the legend of creation begins with references to certain spirit-beings, not of human form; and then goes on to tell of a woman, called the 'very beginning,' or the 'beginning and the bottom,' who dwelt in the depths below the earth, and of the children whom she produced by tearing off portions of her own flesh, of whom the eldest, Vatea, representing the noon, and so in effect the light, was the divine ancestor of mankind.

Several of the Polynesian myths, in the form of a recital of a series of consecutive births or evolutions, suggest the development of firm rock or foundation from sand, slime, or dust. Tane and Kane were the same god; Atea and Vatea were also the same as Tane, or at least represented the same conception; and to Tane must, perhaps, be accorded the original primacy in the Polynesian pantheon; though he had not retained it in all the groups, and in some of them, in particular, had been wholly or partially forgotten and supplanted by another god, Tangaroa, who was there regarded as the creator of all things. Another idea which was widely scattered in Polynesia was that the islands or groups had been dragged up by one or

other of their ancient gods, by means of a fish-hook, from the bottom of the sea.

6. Ideas as to earth, heaven, hades, etc.—A belief prevailing in Polynesia was that the earth—a term generally confined to one island or group of islands and the surrounding sea—was a flat surface, overarched by the sky, and ending abruptly at the horizon, where sea and sky met. In some of the groups we find the idea that the heavens, above the visible sky, were formed in a series of concentric layers or strata, the higher being darker than the lower, and the highest being absolutely dark. These upper or more distant heavens, spoken of as the region of Po, or night, were believed to envelop all things, both the visible sky and the earth, so that it was Po in the remote heavens above, and Po in the regions below the earth. This idea has an important bearing upon Polynesian beliefs as to the homes of their gods and the destination of the souls of the dead. The old migration traditions and myths point to the west as the place from which they came. The home of their gods, some of them known in most or all of the groups (possibly gods or living heroes of Indonesian or pre-Indonesian days), was a beautiful paradise away to the west, and in the region of darkness, which was believed in some islands to be in the sky above, and in others to be in the depths below. The apparent confusion between the distant west, beyond the horizon, and the sky above was natural, for anything coming from the former was visibly approaching from the sky; and the further confusion between the sky above and the region below arose from their conception of Po. Similarly, the most general belief as to the destiny of the souls of the dead was either that they went to live with the gods in their western paradise or that they passed into Po.

7. The soul during life.—The belief that man possessed a spiritual personality quite distinct from his physical body—a ghostly self, which we may call a soul—and that this soul survived the body at death is found throughout Polynesia; the statement as to survival must be qualified, however, by saying that in some islands it was believed that the souls of the low-class people died with their bodies. There was a distinction in their minds between this soul, on the one hand, and the mental and moral faculties and emotions, on the other. The belief that, when dreaming, the soul of the sleeper left his body and actually saw what appeared to him in his vision was apparently widely spread; and dreams were a recognized method of inspiration by the souls of the departed and the gods. In some of the islands the possession of a soul, or at all events of a mysterious invisible self, was attributed not to man alone, but also to animals, and even to trees, plants, and inanimate objects; and we find beliefs that with these also this invisible self survived the death of its owner.

8. Good and bad conduct.—It may be said generally that a man's conduct, as between himself and his fellow-men, had no influence upon his life on earth or upon the future of his soul. The only offences noticed by the gods were acts of disrespect to themselves—omissions of acts of devotion, shortcomings in performance of the usual religious observances, breaches of the tabu, and, perhaps especially, neglect in offering in sufficient quantities the required sacrifices, the last offence being one to which the priests, for obvious reasons, attached special importance. For offences of this sort the gods inflicted the punishment of illness; and, if the offence was serious and the gods were not appeased, the illness would be followed by death.

9. The soul after death.—The conduct of a man during life, even as between him and the gods, had no influence upon the destination of his soul after death. In some of the islands all souls went to the same place; in others there was an alternative between what may be called heaven and some region under the earth—generally Po. But in nearly all the groups it was solely a question of rank, only the chiefs and upper classes going to heaven, and the common people, if their souls survived at all, going below; though in one group the alternative depended upon an entirely different matter.

In Samoa and Tonga the souls of chiefs went to their heaven, Bulotu, which was one of the homes of their gods—indeed, the souls of Tongan chiefs became gods; the souls of common people of Samoa went to a sort of hades, called Sa-le-fee, which was not exactly Po, but was for all practical purposes the same; the souls of common people of Tonga died (according to the more prevalent beliefs) with their bodies. Bulotu was away to the west; the Samoans believed it to be a region under the sea, and the Tongans thought that it was an island. It was a beautiful place, abundantly supplied with plants, bearing the richest fruits and most beautiful flowers, and with quantities of pigs; and, when the flowers were plucked and the pigs killed, others immediately took their place. Sa-le-fee was under the earth; it was the home of the family of the cuttlefish god, and, though not apparently a place of actual torture, was an unpleasant place to live in.

The Society Islands heaven was Rohutu-noa-noa, a home of the gods. It was primarily the destination of the souls of members of the great Society Islands semi-sacred Areoi society; but, as any one could go there whose surviving relatives could afford a somewhat expensive ceremony after his death, it was also in effect the destination of chiefs and important persons. All other souls went to Po. Rohutu-noa-noa, which was really Bulotu with another name, was by these people believed to be near (apparently above, in the sky) a mountain on the north-west side of the most westerly island of the group; the description of it is similar to that of Bulotu. All souls which did not attain to life in Rohutu-noa-noa had to go to Po, the journey to which appears to have been a westward one; it was a home of the gods, and was not regarded as a revolting or terrible place.

In Mangaia (Hervey Islands) the alternative destinations of the souls were paradise in the heavens above and a subterranean Po—both of them homes of the gods. Here the soul's destiny did not depend upon rank; the souls of those slain in battle went to paradise, but all others went to Po. The heavens were above, built of azure stone; and the souls that reached them were clothed with beautiful and sweet-scented flowers, laughed, danced, and enjoyed themselves in every way, looking down with disgust at the poor wretches in Po, who had to endure the indignity of being covered with the dung which fell from their more fortunate friends above. There were three points of departure for Po; but they all faced westward. The beliefs of the people of Rarotonga (Hervey Islands) were fundamentally similar to those of Mangaia.

In the Marquesas the souls of the upper classes went to heaven, this being, they thought, an island up in the sky, apparently beyond the seas, abounding in everything delightful; those of the lower classes went to Po, beneath the earth. Each of these was a home of the gods.

The Maoris of New Zealand recognized the idea of Po in its original form, as extending in concentric layers both above the visible sky and beneath the earth. Po above was the home of the gods;

and Po below was the destination of all human souls, which after death descended to the impenetrable darkness of its lowest depths, where they gradually pined away and ultimately became annihilated.

In Hawaii there was a common belief that the souls of the dead went to Po and were there eaten or annihilated by the gods; but there were variations of this belief.

It will be noticed that generally the alternative destinations were paradise and what we may call Hades; that each of these was a home of the gods; and that, whilst the former was delightful, the latter, though not necessarily a place of torment, was not a desirable residence—among other things it was always dark and gloomy. It will also be observed that heaven was usually supposed to be situated somewhere in the west; and so generally was Hades; for the most usual route to either one or the other was westerly, commencing with a rock facing the sea at the westerly end of the island group, from which the soul leapt into the sea. In New Zealand the leaping place was at the northerly extremity of the islands; but the migrations to this group of the Maoris were from central Polynesia, and a glance at a map will explain what might otherwise be regarded as an inconsistency. It may be that the custom which, as will be seen, prevailed in some of the islands of placing the remains of the dead in a canoe or a canoe-shaped receptacle is significant of a belief as to the journey of the soul when released from the body. It is thought that all these beliefs concerning the west must be associated with the early traditions of the people about the quarter from which their remote ancestors had migrated; for this would be the natural habitation of their oldest racial gods, and, to a certain extent, of their pantheon generally, and the natural destination of the souls of the dead.

In some of the islands it was believed that the soul during its journey might have a chance of turning back and re-entering its body. This was so in the Hervey Islands and in Samoa. In the latter group the belief was that, if the soul struck against a coco-nut-tree near the western land extremity at which it leapt into the sea, it could come back; and a man apparently dying, but afterwards recovering, was believed to have died and come to life again through this fortunate accident to his soul.

A belief which prevailed in many of the islands was that the souls, on reaching their ultimate destination, were eaten by the gods, or one of them. Except perhaps in one or two groups, this fate awaited only the souls that went to Po, and not those bound for paradise. It is sometimes spoken of by writers as a punishment for the people's sins against the gods. So far as the Society Islands were concerned, this statement receives some support; for we are told that in that group those who had sinned were eaten and the innocent were spared; in other groups it was the fate of all, good or bad. There is ground for suggesting that this soul-eating was not merely a matter of divine gastronomical enjoyment, but that there was connected with it an underlying idea of the passing of the souls through the gods, for the purpose of purifying them and making them fit to live among the gods.

The souls would sometimes linger about their old haunts before starting on their final journey, and in some of the groups they would actually return from their abode in paradise or Po and revisit their friends. They seem to have appeared usually in human form, but to have been immaterial and mist-like. Their visits were much dreaded by the people, though it does not appear that they were usually believed to act malevolently during their wanderings.

10. **The gods.**—The Polynesian gods were extremely numerous, and differed widely in celebrity and power. They were greedy of respect and religious attentions and merciless with those who failed in these matters; but it cannot be said that they were regarded merely as a body of malignant beings, only to be propitiated. The people appealed to them for active guidance and assistance in all the affairs of life, both great and small, and relied confidently upon receiving it; and a large proportion of the omens which governed the people's decisions, even in most important matters such as peace or war, were the actions and movements, most carefully watched, of the divine incarnations. First in rank came what may be called the racial gods—great deities, one or more of whose names were known in nearly all the groups; these included Tane, Tangaroa, Rongo, Tiki (or Tii), Tu, Ru, the demigod Maui, and others; they were the oldest gods, possibly the divinities or heroes of the Polynesian ancestors in the Indonesian days or earlier. At the periods of visits of white men to the islands there was much confusion as to these gods. In one group only one or two were known, whilst in another group it would be another or others of them; in one group one held the supremacy, whilst in another group another was supreme; the beliefs as to the relationships of these gods, one to another, and even their origins, attributes, and spheres of influence, differed in the several groups. As a rule, they were not the objects of prayer and sacrifice, except on specially important occasions, the reason being that they were believed to be too remote to concern themselves with unimportant human affairs. Each island group, and many a single island, had gods wholly or mainly peculiar to itself; there were tutelar gods of specific sections of the people, of districts, and of villages, and family gods; and individual Polynesians had special gods, selected by themselves, or by their parents for them at birth, under whose protection and guidance they placed themselves. There were gods of the air, of the mountains, of valleys, of streams, of the sea, of animals, of plants, of fishes, of the forces and phenomena of nature. There were gods of various trades or occupations, from the most important productive labours to mere matters of personal entertainment. Of all these deities, some (including the great gods above mentioned) were spoken of as 'original gods,' or 'gods of night,' being regarded as having evolved themselves in the far distant past, never having been human; others were supposed to have been descended from, or created by, these original gods; others again were admittedly deified human beings. It may be said generally that these gods were believed to be influenced by sentiments, inclinations, and passions, and, as regards many of them, to engage in occupations and enjoyments very similar to those of the human race, though they were more enlightened and possessed supernatural powers. Very many of them were believed to be incarnate or immanent in, or to enter or take the forms of, birds, beasts, fishes, insects, plants, stones, and other inanimate objects and natural phenomena, all of which necessarily became sacred, each one to its own worshippers. There were, besides these deities, a number of spirits, some purely supernatural, others human in origin, some vindictive to humanity in general, others only to the enemies of their own clients, but all greatly feared by the people. It was usually through their help that sorcery was practised.

11. **Hero- and ancestor-worship.**—As many of the gods were admittedly departed human beings, and in some islands chiefs became gods immediately

after death, it may be said that the religion of the Polynesians included the worship of the dead. Whether it can be said that they were hero-worshippers or ancestor-worshippers depends mainly upon the definitions to be put upon these terms. As regards hero-worship, if, as is probable, a number of the Polynesian deities had been human beings—great chiefs, successful warriors, distinguished navigators, etc.—then to this extent their religion perhaps may be regarded as having had its origin, in part at all events, in hero-worship. As regards ancestor-worship, a Tongan chief would go to the grave of his deceased father or grandfather, and pray to him; but this does not necessarily mean ancestor-worship; the ancestor was regarded by the chief as a god, to whom he might pray, not merely because of ancestry, but because, having been a chief, the ancestor after death had become a god; and other people not descended from the deified chief also might pray to him. Some of the myths of creation ended in the birth of a god who was the ancestor of the human race, *i.e.* of the particular people who believed in the myth and worshipped the god; and this idea perhaps may be regarded as pointing to a past cult of ancestors. There is, however, no evidence to justify the suggestion of a general custom for members of families to worship their ancestors, either actual or collateral.

12. Sun-worship.—The evidence of sun-worship in the past is of a varied and scattered character; but its cumulative weight seems to be irresistible. Only a few indications of the nature of some of this evidence can be given here. Some of the gods are in certain groups associated with the sun—so much so that writers speak of them as sun-gods. There is a Tahitian legend, almost classic in form, concerning a god Hiro, which, though he was not there regarded as a sun-god, is very suggestive.

Hiro was voyaging with his companions in search of the *maro ura*, the special red girdle which was perhaps the most sacred object in Tahiti and is believed to have been specially connected with sun-worship. On one occasion, when he was sleeping in a grotto, evidently under the sea, his enemies, the gods of darkness, taking advantage of his absence, raised a violent storm, in the hope of destroying his boat and companions; Hiro, however, awaking just at daybreak, reappeared on the surface of the water, and with a look dispersed his enemies with the darkness.

Other evidence is connected with the great Areoi societies of the Society Islands and the Marquesas, and with certain seasonal festivals in which they engaged. These societies, which have been compared, and indeed associated, with the secret societies of Melanesia, appear, both from the legends as to their origin and from the performances in which they engaged, to have been connected with the worship of the sun. Among their performances in the Marquesas and perhaps in some of the islands in the Society group were certain seasonal festivals of a significant character. The summer, ending in April or May, was a season of rejoicing; but on its termination feasts were held to celebrate the departure of the gods to the abode of darkness; and, after these, prayers were offered to the gods to return. Then the *areoi* went into mourning, suspending all amusements, and retired to their homes to lament the absence of the gods; this continued until the spring, when, about October, they had another feast to celebrate the return of the gods (and especially, it would seem, the sun-god) and their period of rejoicing recommenced. These festivals, as might be expected, if the suggestion as to their significance is correct, were closely connected with the ideas of fertility and reproduction, and abundant crops and harvest. It may be noticed that this marked differentiation between summer and winter must in itself be regarded as an indication that these people came from some latitude very different from that of the central Pacific islands. A custom of orientation of the bodies of the dead prevailed in some of the islands, but, in view of the beliefs of the people as to their place of origin, the homes of the gods, and the destination of the soul, this custom must not necessarily be regarded as evidence of sun-worship.

13. The priesthood.—There is ground for believing that at one time religious and civil authority were united in Polynesia. In Tonga there were two head chiefs or kings, of whom one, the *tuitonga*, held a purely sacred office, having little or no secular power, while the other, the *tuikanokubolu* or *hau*, was the actual civil and military ruler of the people; and the same division of the supreme power is found in Mangaia and Rotuma. The Tongan traditions go back to a time when religious and civil supremacy were united in the *tuitonga*, and tell of his parting with the latter; but probably the change was gradual. In some of the islands the head chief or king was the high-priest of the island; in all of them the chiefs, or at all events the higher chiefs, were regarded as divine or nearly so; and in some of them the chiefs were in many ways closely associated with the priesthood. In some of the groups there were recognized separate ranks or grades of priests, but this was not general. Considerable differences are found in the social status of the priests and their co-operation as an organized and distinct class. In some islands they formed a powerful united caste; in others they were merely members of the lay classes (and not necessarily of the highest of these), engaged in the ordinary vocations of life, and, except when actually inspired, having no special social status or power. Each of them, as a general rule, was associated with a specific god. As diviners and interpreters of the will of the gods, able in cases of illness to ascertain the cause of the divine displeasure and to specify the offerings required for its removal—offerings in which they usually had a substantial interest—they had considerable power; and the practice of sorcery gave them a special method of terrorizing the people. In some groups the sorcerers were regarded as a separate caste, distinct from and inferior to the priests, and there were certain ranks of priests who do not appear to have practised sorcery; but in some groups even high-class priests did this; and it cannot be said that there was any general defined distinction between priests and sorcerers. The father, or other head of the family, was in some of the groups the person to approach the tutelar family god.

14. Temples and places for disposal of the dead.—The Polynesians had temples and places for the disposal of the bodies of the dead. In many of the islands the temples were the mortuaries; in some the two were distinct. Where, as in Tonga, a chief became a god after death, the place where he was buried became in a sense a temple; for it was there that supplications would be addressed to him; but in Tonga they also had temples for their other gods. The temples included great national temples, temples of districts, of villages, and of families, the places of sepulture generally belonging to families. The great national temples, the domestic temples of the great chiefs, and in some of the islands the family burying-places of the chiefs were often massive structures; one form of these was a huge raised quadrangular arena, enclosed and supported on one or more of its sides by boundaries made of immense blocks of stone, the interior being flat, or rising upwards from the sides to the centre, and often wholly or partly paved. In some cases the stone boundary rose in steps; in some a portion of the enclosed arena was occupied by a massive stone structure, in the form

of a truncated pyramid, with sides rising in steps. The prevalence of this form of step-like boundary and pyramid may be a matter of some significance. In some islands the temples were merely houses, in form like domestic dwellings, and usually enclosed by an encircling fence. Similarly, in some of the islands, where it was the custom to keep the bodies of the dead above ground, house-like structures were erected for their retention.

In or about the larger temples there were usually some other erections connected with the religious rites conducted in them. These erections were different in the several groups; but they commonly included images, great and small, altars, upon which the sacrifices were laid, and houses for keeping some of the smaller images and other sacred objects, and for the occupation of priests and custodians of the temples. The images erected outside varied in character. Some were of stone and others of wood; some were rudely carved with more or less grotesque representations of the human form, others were not carved at all. And so with the smaller images kept inside the houses; some were merely shapeless logs of wood, or only poles or sticks, covered perhaps with sinnet and ornamented with red feathers—that sacred form of decoration throughout Polynesia; others were mere bundles of cloth, decorated with red feathers.

As regards all these objects, it must be stated that the old missionary idea that the people actually worshipped them was mistaken. They were images or symbols of the gods, to whom alone the worship was offered, and as such they were of course sacred; but this sanctity was not inherent in themselves, but due merely to their association with the gods. Sometimes, as in Tahiti, the god was supposed to enter temporarily one of these images, and through its medium to speak to the priest. On such an occasion the image would necessarily become specially sacred, just as the commonest Tongan layman would be sacred during a period of inspiration by the gods; but this does not mean that the image was worshipped as an 'idol.'

15. Religious observances.—Fear of the gods and spirits, the wish to turn away their wrath, and the desire to secure their guidance and help were for ever present in the minds of the Polynesians. Hence we have records of their methods of invocation and praise, possession, inspiration and divination, intercession, self-humiliation, offerings and sacrifices, and of their belief in omens, use of charms, and practices of sorcery. Religious ceremonies of one sort or another were associated, not only with the leading events of the lives of the people, from birth to death, but also with their daily life, their industries and occupations, and even amusements. Many of the prayers repeated by the priests were expressed in metaphorical and obscure language, the meaning of which was sometimes hardly understood by the speakers themselves; some of them included references to the traditions of the people, the genealogies of their chiefs, the feats of their heroes and histories of wars, and any other events of which the priests professed to have knowledge.

The faculty of obtaining inspiration from the gods and of expressing their wishes and intentions does not seem to have been nearly so much a monopoly of the priests as was that of invocation and intercession. In some of the islands any one might become temporarily inspired. Possession by the gods was generally indicated by great bodily agitation, in which the limbs became convulsed and the features distorted, the inspired person sometimes rolling on the ground in his frenzy, foaming at the mouth, and giving vent to violent cries. Thus they ascertained and announced the will of the gods in matters great and small, public and private. In cases of illness the priests and sorcerers were the doctors, for they claimed to be able to find out the cause of illness—always either an offence by the patient or by some person connected with him, against the gods, or else sorcery—and plead with the gods for mercy, or try to counteract the machinations of the hostile sorcerer. There were actual remedies for known illnesses; but the curative powers of these remedies seem to have been attributed by the people to supernatural agency, the medicines being the vehicles or media by which the gods acted. The doings of these priests and sorcerers, and the articles, including medicines, used by them differed in the several islands, and indeed, as regards different individuals; but the predominant matters seem to have been the fees to be paid to themselves and the offerings to be made to the gods, this generally meaning, in part at least, to the priest. Sometimes one of these men would, without actually applying sorcery to make a man ill, frighten him into the belief that he was so and thus reap a harvest from him and his friends. Another customary feature was the acts of humiliation of the patient or his friends, intended to soften the hearts of the gods.

16. Omens.—Omens were believed in largely in Polynesia, some of them relating to the ordinary affairs of life, but the majority being connected with war. The people noted the position of the moon, the appearance of the stars, the forms and movements of the clouds, the advent of shooting stars and comets, the position of rainbows, the direction from which thunder was heard, the character and locality of lightning discharges, the sunset sky and other matters, and especially the movements and behaviour of birds and other living creatures in which their gods were supposed to be incarnate. The matters which these signs portended included, besides success or failure in war, the approach of death to a member of a household, the recovery or otherwise from an illness, the death of some chief, whose identity the omen did not disclose, or an invasion from a neighbouring island, etc. All these omens were believed to be signs sent by the gods; when the guidance was given by an animal incarnation, it was the god himself who was pointing out what should be done. The appearance before a Polynesian of the creature in which the god whom he worshipped was incarnate—perhaps a bird, a fish, or a crab—was sometimes regarded as a prognostication of his death; the god had come to receive his spirit.

17. Tabu.—The principle of the tabu, which was in effect a prohibition based upon the idea of sanctity, permeated deeply the minds of the Polynesians; it has been defined as a prohibition resting on a magico-religious sanction. There were certain forms of tabu which, though doubtless having a similar basis, were, in their application, of a social rather than an obviously religious character; and these cannot be dealt with here. Most of the other tabus fell under one or other of the following categories: they might be directed against (*a*) touching of a sacred person or object; (*b*) entering a sacred place or one in which a sacred ceremony was being performed; (*c*) doing certain things on certain solemn occasions; and (*d*) interfering with things upon which a specific tabu had been placed. The penalty usually expected for breach of any of these tabus was punishment by the gods, inflicted in the form of illness or even death. A few illustrations of these tabus will indicate their general character.

(*a*) The belief as to the sanctity of kings and great chiefs was almost universal in Polynesia, and none might come in contact with them, direct or indirect. In some of the islands no one

might touch one of these divine people or anything with which he had been in contact, or sit near him; in some places his food had to be thrown to him. In Tahiti the king was so sacred that any dwelling-house which he had entered, or furniture which he had used, or articles from or with which he had eaten or drunk could not be touched by any one else, and had to be burnt; even the ground upon which he trod became sacred, and so he had to be carried about on the shoulders of a bearer, who therefore himself became sacred. Any person who broke this tabu and came into contact, direct or indirect, became tabu himself. It was the same with those who had, in performance of the funeral offices, handled the bodies of the dead; they became tabu. The most widely recognized result of such a situation was that the person thus infected with sanctity must not handle his own food, as, if he did so, the sanctity would be transmitted to the food, and he would become ill and die. The removal of the tabu was effected in different ways in different islands. In Tonga, *e.g.*, a humble act of piety had to be performed before another great chief, whilst in Samoa the remedy was sprinkling with coco-nut-water. The tabu of the dead man was sometimes terminated on the completion of one of the regular funeral ceremonies.

(*b*) Entry into temples, or portions of them, and other sacred places, and even into private houses, when religious ceremonies were being carried on there, was in many islands forbidden to all except the priests, and perhaps the chiefs; and a violation of any tabu of this character would be regarded as a sacrilege, from which the direst consequences would ensue. The most widely spread form of tabu sign, intended to warn off trespassers, was a flag or piece of white cloth.

(*c*) There were certain acts of every-day life which were forbidden during the performance of certain solemn ceremonies and for a period after the death of a great chief. These differed somewhat in the several groups; but they included such things as eating food, or eating it in the day-time, lighting fires, engaging in certain occupations, launching a canoe, or passing in a canoe the place of ceremony or the place where the dead man lay.

(*d*) The placing of tabu upon specific things was a somewhat different matter. A king or chief, or perhaps a priest acting on his instructions, would place a general tabu upon a grove of coco-nut-trees or a patch of some other produce or upon the whole of some form of diet; and no man would dare to break it, even in secret. This restraint was not merely based on fear of discovery and earthly punishment; the tabu food was under the protection of the gods; a violation of the tabu would be an offence against them, and they would punish the offender. This point is illustrated by the fact that any man could place a tabu upon his own property; if it were, say, a coco-nut-tree, he would tie round it perhaps a frond of coco-nut or a wisp of grass or leaves; and any would-be pilferer knew well what this meant, and dared not risk the curse which would follow a violation of the tabu.

18. Sorcery.—Sorcery was practised by lower classes of priests, commonly spoken of by writers as sorcerers, and also, in some islands, by the higher priests. The supernatural beings through whose help it was accomplished were usually evil spirits, inferior in rank to the gods; but the gods themselves were not always superior to such work, at all events in some of the islands. One method of sorcery was what may be called contagious magic. A man, wishing to avenge himself on an enemy, procured some of his hair, saliva, urine, or excrement, or some remnants of his food, or a piece of his loin-cloth, or something else which had been in contact with his body, and handed this, with the requisite fee, to the sorcerer. The latter might take these things to his house or to the temple with which he was connected, and engage in incantations over them; or he might place them in a little bag, in which he carried images or other symbols of the supernatural beings whose aid he would invoke; and the bag might also contain such things as lizard-skin, parts of special plants, peculiarly formed stones, etc.; and he would probably bury the bag and its contents. Another method of contagious magic consisted in rubbing with a human skull food that a man was going to eat. Another form of sorcery was that of cursing No doubt the prayers of the sorcerer engaged in contagious magic would be of the nature of curses; but in some of the islands it was believed that disaster could be brought upon the head of an enemy by merely cursing him. Presumably the imprecation was supposed to move the god or spirit, just as did the proceedings in connexion with contagious magic. In Tonga they had some special curses, amounting to commands that the person cursed should maltreat a superior relation, such as 'Bake your grandfather till his skin turns into cracknel, and gnaw his skull for your share,' or 'Dig up your father by moonlight, and make soup of his bones,' and others of a highly indelicate character. These Tongan curses are referred to specifically because of what they would appear to involve. It was a tenet of Tongan religion that human merit, for failure in which a man might be punished by the gods, included among other things the paying of respect to aged persons and filial love; and it was considered a crime to eat food that a superior relative had touched; so, in pronouncing either of these curses, a man was commanding the committal of a double offence, for which the gods would punish the offender; for, if it was wrong to eat an aged relative's food, it must have been very wrong to eat the aged relative himself. How these curses operated is not stated; but it must not be assumed that it was believed that the victim would actually be impelled to commit the crime; for many of the Polynesian ceremonies were purely symbolic, and symbolism may well have been behind these curses, in the sense that the suggestion of the act took the place of its actual committal. Sometimes the victim was not aware of what was being attempted against him; but sometimes he was told of it, and then he would often pine away and die from sheer fright.

The underlying idea of Polynesian sorcery seems to have been that the supernatural being to whom the sorcerer appealed actually entered into the victim, sometimes perhaps through his food, and sometimes by direct entry into his body. The sensations of a person so possessed were far from pleasant; we are told, *e.g.*, of the evil spirit twisting and knotting the man's internal organs; and again of his causing the feeling of being transfixed internally by a barbed hook. These descriptions suggest certain internal complaints, which may well have been ignorantly attributed to sorcery.

There is a description by a missionary of a young Tahitian who had been subjected to sorcery. He was lying on the ground, writhing in anguish, foaming at the mouth, his eyes ready to start from his head, and his countenance exhibiting every form of terrific distortion and pain, while his limbs were agitated with violent and involuntary convulsions.

In some of the groups, however, the spell seems to have worked differently; in the Marquesas, for instance, it is said to have operated only slowly, the victim first becoming sick and then growing daily weaker, until, after about three weeks, he seemed to die from loss of strength.

In some of the islands there were alternative methods of saving a man who was under the spell of sorcery. One was to find out who was the sorcerer that had inflicted it, and by means of presents to him, exceeding in value those given to him by his original client, to induce him to call off the malignant and devouring spirit. The other was to call in the services of another sorcerer, associated with another supernatural spirit, more powerful than that which had produced the trouble, or perhaps, if only equal in power, stimulated to greater energy by more costly gifts. When a victim died, the instigator, or suspected instigator, of the calamity would often become himself the victim of persecution by the dead man's family.

19. Funeral ceremonies.—Something has already been said about the attitude and conduct of the priests, acting as doctors, diviners, and suppliants to the gods in time of illness. This matter of illness and subsequent death is also interesting as regards the attitude of the people, the relatives and friends of the sick man, especially when the invalid was a great chief or king, and thus the subject of anxiety and concern of a deep and

wide-spread character. Large numbers of people —relatives, friends, and chiefs and other important personages—came to the village of the dying man, bringing with them enormous quantities of cloth and of pigs and other food, to be offered to the offended gods. There was a general wailing, and much self-wounding and blood-letting; in the Tongan Islands women or children were in the case of a great chief strangled and offered to the gods; in the Marquesas on the illness of a priest enemy victims were sacrificed; sometimes only symbolic sacrifices were made, the people going to the temple with ropes round their necks, but not being actually slain. There is a narrative concerning the dying of a Tongan secular king, who was carried by his friends to the cook-house of the sacred king, and there placed over the cooking-hole, as a symbolic offering to the gods of the patient himself; we are told also of the same thing being done with the sacred king. The discovery that all efforts had been unavailing and that the chief was indeed dead was usually the occasion for a general howl of despair.

The methods of dealing with the bodies of the great dead, and the ceremonies with which the funerals were conducted, differed so widely in the several groups that it is impossible even to attempt to explain them here; there were, however, certain interesting features in some of the ceremonies, to which attention may be drawn, and a short statement may be made as to the modes of dealing with the corpse.

Immediately and for some time after the death all the people engaged in loud lamentations, which were, in most of the groups, renewed at certain stages of the funeral ceremonies. The lamentations were accompanied by most amazing self-wounding and laceration. The people in many of the groups would beat themselves almost senseless with clubs and other weapons, and stones, cut themselves shockingly on the heads, temples, cheeks, and breasts with instruments armed with sharks' teeth, lacerate themselves with shells, knives, and spears, sometimes driving spears into their limbs and bodies, or even through the cheeks into their mouths, thus making hideous wounds, from which the blood flowed profusely; they would tear off their hair in handfuls, and burn their bodies with lighted sticks or pieces of cloth. Various motives have been suggested by observers for these wild and excessive manifestations of grief. One suggestion is that it was intended to please the ghost, another that it was to please the gods, and yet another that it was merely a testimony of respect for the dead man's memory and of fidelity to his family. Any, or all, of these explanations may be correct; but none of them seems entirely adequate. It may be that a more correct explanation is to be deduced from the custom, which prevailed in Tahiti and perhaps others of the Society Islands, of catching the flowing blood in cloths and throwing these under the bier which held the corpse; and that the underlying idea was, or originally had been, an offering of blood to the ghost of the dead man, to strengthen it on its journey to the other world.

Another interesting practice, found in some of the islands, was that of giving the dead man some of his earthly possessions — either burying them with him or placing them on or near the bier—to which were sometimes added further offerings by his friends. Suggestions have been made by writers that the reason for the burial of the dead man's property with his body was that they were tabu; and this perhaps may have been the case as regards garments, mats, cloths, etc., which had been in contact with his dead body; but it can hardly be an explanation of everything. The idea of providing the ghost with things for use in its new world is well known, and must surely be the explanation of many of the Polynesian practices. In Samoa valuable mats and other things were sometimes buried with the body; the grave of a warrior was surrounded with spears, fixed upright in the ground, while his club was sometimes placed on the ground and allowed to decay, no one daring to touch it; a few little trinkets and playthings might often be seen on the grave of a dead child. In Tonga most of the valuable property of the sacred chief, together with presents brought to the funeral, were buried with him. In Rarotonga they placed the dead chief's adze in his right hand, and his staff and drinking-cup by his side; and with a woman of rank they buried her cloth mallet and other domestic utensils. The practice of putting to death the dead man's wives and burying them with him prevailed, though apparently only to a limited extent, in the Tongan Islands. The custom of placing food on or near a grave or burial platform, and renewing it from time to time, was wide-spread.

Boxing and sham fights were usual features in most Polynesian festivities; but in some of the islands the ceremonies attending the burial of a chief included fights of a special character. In Mangaia (Hervey Islands) they had combats between parties, of which one was called 'the friends' and the other represented malignant spirits, and the former was always successful. In the Society Islands, when the body of a chief had been put on its resting-place—a bier, placed in the temple — it was surrounded by his family and people, all well armed. Shortly afterwards an armed party of friends from an adjoining district approached; they were called 'the mourners,' and they asked to be admitted to lament their chief. Permission was always refused; and thereupon arose a battle, which, though quite friendly and purely formal, often caused loss of life; and apparently the mourners were always the victors. In Samoa also they sometimes had combats which, though we have no description of them, there is reason for thinking had a special significance connecting them with those of Mangaia and the Society Islands. The special interest of these mock conflicts rests on the fact that a comparison of them with the ceremonial funeral combats usual in a district of Australia and in certain places in Melanesia seems to suggest that their underlying idea was an attack upon the hostile spirit that had caused the man's death.

Another curious ceremony practised in some of the islands may be called the 'burying of the dead man's sins.' In Tahiti a hole was dug in the ground, beneath the bier upon which the dead body lay; and the priest prayed to the god that the sins of the dead man, and especially that for which he had been called away, might be buried in the hole, so that the surviving relatives might be free from anxiety as to their future; the hole was then filled in, and the priest addressed the corpse, exhorting it (*i.e.* the ghost) to be content with its new conditions, and not to distress its surviving relatives by returning to them. Somewhat similar ceremonies were performed in some of the other islands.

20. Disposal of the corpse.—The methods of dealing with the corpse can be stated only in barest outline. Throughout Polynesia common people were usually buried underground with but little ceremony; but the modes of disposing of dead chiefs differed in the several groups.

In the Society Islands the body was taken to the seashore, and there is a statement that it was usually carried in a canoe as far as the opening of the reef, and back again. Within a short period

—generally three or four days after death—it was taken to the temple of the chief's family, and there placed upon a platform or bier, sheltered from sun and rain by a roof, in shape rather like an inverted canoe. There it was subjected to a process of preservation—a sort of simple embalming—and, when sufficiently dried up, it was wrapped in cloth, placed in a sitting posture on the bier, and allowed to remain exposed for an indefinite time. Ultimately it was buried underground beneath the platform. In time of war the bodies or their remains were often carried away to almost inaccessible spots in the mountains, in order to secure them from the sacrilege of the enemy.

In Tonga the body of a dead chief was carried, generally within a few days after death, to the burial-place of his family. The interment was underground in a vault, made of six huge masses of stone, one forming the bottom, four making the sides and ends, and one closing it in at the top, the whole being sunk underground, and covered with earth. These vaults were generally about 8 ft. long, 6 ft. broad, and 8 ft. deep; but that of a very important family might be larger, one such vault being described as capable of holding thirty bodies.

In Samoa there appear to have been alternative methods of disposing of the body. The more usual one was burial underground, some ten, fifteen, or twenty days after death. Ultimately the body was placed in a canoe, or a canoe-shaped receptacle, and buried underground, with its head to the east and its feet to the west, in the family vault—a stone structure within the family temple, evidently somewhat similar to that of Tonga. Above the vault was erected a mound of stones, neatly built up in an oblong slanting form, about 4 ft. high at the head, and 3 ft. at the foot. Sometimes, however, the body was subjected to a rude process of preservation or embalming, and then either placed in a canoe and sent adrift out to sea or placed on a stage erected in the forest, and there left to decay, after which the bones were collected and buried. One or two of the leading families had a custom of embalming the bodies of their dead, placing them on platforms raised on double canoes, in houses built for the purpose, and leaving them there. Some Samoans used to exhume the dead bodies of their relatives, sever the head—that most sacred member in Polynesia—and reinter it in a family burying-place in the mountains, the intention being to save the head from enemies in case of war.

In Mangaia (Hervey Islands) the bodies of the dead were usually deposited in caves. Some of these were of the nature of chasms, into which the body had to be let down with vine ropes from above, and a description of one discloses that it was full of water, into which the body was dropped; others were apparently caves that could be entered from below. Some bodies were buried underground in the temples. They were fixed in a doubled-up position, with the chin and knees meeting, and the limbs secured with sinnet cord, and were then placed in the grave, face downward, with the head turning towards the east. A thin covering of earth was laid over the body, and heavy stones were piled on the top.

In the Marquesas the body was usually retained in the house in which the man had died, or in another house—sometimes for weeks or months; and there is a statement that it was flayed, the skin being preserved among the family treasures. Eventually it was put in a canoe-shaped coffin, which was placed upon a covered platform or bier (evidently very like that of the Society Islands) in the temple. Later, when the flesh had all decayed away, the bones were cleaned, and some of them were kept as relics, the rest being buried in the temple. Sometimes the body, it would seem, was kept in a private dwelling-house until the time came for cleaning and breaking up the skeleton. The death of a high-priest involved human sacrifice and a cannibal feast; but apparently all the victims were not eaten. If the high-priest had been killed in battle, and his body had not been recovered from the enemy, his soul, we are told, could not travel to its destination until they had captured and killed a sufficient number of enemy men to paddle it thither; and fighting would actually take place for the purpose of securing a full crew.

In New Zealand the mode of dealing with the remains of the dead differed in the several parts of the islands. In some places the body was buried in a sitting posture underground in the house of the dead man; one or more of his wives strangled themselves, and several slaves were killed, so that the ghost might not be without attendants. After an interval of about four weeks the body was taken up for the purpose of a further funeral ceremony, and then reinterred. After two years the bones were again dug up, scraped, painted red (the sacred colour of Polynesia), wrapped up in mats, and deposited in a canoe, which was elevated on a pole, or in a small house, or they were placed on a stage at the top of a sacred tree, or put into a hollow trunk, or conveyed to a cave or a fissure in the rocks, or burnt. Another custom was to put the body into a kind of frame, formed by two pieces of an old canoe, and standing about 6 ft. high, the body being placed in a sitting posture on a grating in the hollow place between the parts of the canoe. After a time the skeleton was removed and scraped. Near the seaside bodies were often buried in the sand drifts.

In Hawaii some of the bones of the kings and principal chiefs were preserved, and either deposited in the temple or distributed among the relatives; and the rest of the remains were either burnt or buried. The bodies of priests and chiefs of inferior rank were laid out straight and buried in that position; and a pile of stones, and often a surrounding circle of high poles, marked the position of the grave. Priests were buried in the temples at which they had officiated. For other people natural graves were preferred, such as caves in the sides of steep rocks, or large subterranean caverns. Their artificial graves were only shallow, and were often dug in their gardens, or sometimes in their houses or in sequestered spots near them, the bodies being generally placed in them in a sitting posture.

LITERATURE.—The literature relating to the Polynesians is extensive and of a varied character; but the following are a few of the more important works: A. Fornander, *An Account of the Polynesian Race*, 3 vols., London, 1878–85; S. Percy Smith, *Hawaiki*[3], do. 1910; W. H. R. Rivers, *The Hist. of Melanesian Society*, 2 vols., Cambridge, 1914; Horatio Hale, *Ethnography and Philology* (U.S. Exploring Expedition, 1838–42, vol. vi.), Philadelphia, 1846; Captain Cook, *Voyages*, London, several edd.; G. Turner, *Samoa a Hundred Years Ago*, do. 1884; J. B. Stair, *Old Samoa*, do. 1897; G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, do. 1910; A. Kramer, *Die Samoa-Inseln*, 2 vols. and supplement, Stuttgart, 1901–03; W. Mariner, *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands*[2] (compiled by J. Martin), 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1827; B. Thomson, *The Diversions of a Prime Minister*, do. 1894, *Savage Island*, London, 1902; W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*[2], 4 vols., do. 1832–36; J. A. Moerenhout, *Voyages aux Iles du Grand Océan*, 2 vols., Paris, 1837; Mrs. Salmon, *The Memoirs of Arii Taimai*, do. 1901; W. W. Gill, *Myths and Songs from the S. Pacific*, London, 1876, *Sketches of Savage Life in Polynesia*, do. 1881, *Life in the Southern Isles*, do. 1876; G. Mathias, *Lettres sur les Iles marquises*, Paris, 1843; C. A. Vincendon-Dumoulin, *Les Iles marquises ou Nouka-hiva*, do. 1843; D. Porter, *Journal of a Cruise made to the Pacific Ocean*[2], 2 vols., New York, 1822; G. H. von Langsdorff, *Bemerkungen auf einer Reise um die Welt in den Jahren 1803 bis 1807*, Frankfort, 1813; R. Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*[2], London, 1870; J. S. Polack, *New Zealand*, 2 vols., do. 1838; John Savage, *Some Account of*

New Zealand, do. 1807; F. E. Maning ('A Pakeha Maori'), *Old New Zealand*, do. 1884; G. W. Rusden, *Hist. of New Zealand*[2], 3 vols., Melbourne, 1895; J. J. Jarves, *Hist. of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands*, Boston, 1843.

ROBERT W. WILLIAMSON.

POLYTHEISM.—Polytheism is the stage or phase of the religious development of mankind in which the belief in and worship of many gods prevails. It is distinguished from the previous stage (polydæmonism) by the nature, and from the subsequent stage (pantheism, monotheism) by the number, of the objects of worship.

1. The antecedents of polytheism.—It is not necessary to retrace the development from its beginnings in animism (*q.v.*) or possibly an even earlier animatism (R. R. Marett, *The Threshold of Religion*, p. 15). Only two general remarks need be made.

(*a*) In the first place, the primitive monotheism which has been asserted has not been proved, as the assertion rests on insufficient and inconclusive evidence; and to this view applies the same objection as to the view that polytheism belongs to the pre-animistic stage.

'I am not at present prepared to admit,' says Marett (p. xvii), 'the postulate of a world-wide degeneration from the belief in such beings ['high gods'], as accounting for pre-animistic phenomena in general. On the contrary, I assume for working purposes that Mr. Lang's "high gods" must have had a psychological pre-history of some kind which, if known, would connect them with vaguer and ever vaguer shapes—phantoms teeming in the penumbra of the primitive mind, and dancing about the darkling rim of the tribal fire-circle.'

From the psychological standpoint the movement of the mind from the indefinite to the definite, the incoherent to the coherent, multiplicity to unity, is incomparably more probable than the reverse process. It is incumbent on us to try to make the development of the religious consciousness intelligible; and this we do, not by assuming any belief as a 'bolt from the blue,' a gift from heaven dropped down on earth, but by connecting it with the probable movement in the human mind under the given conditions of life.

(*b*) In the second place, totemism (*q.v.*) cannot be assumed as primitive or as a necessary phase of the development of the religious consciousness.

'The totemistic theory of the origin of worship has been widely propagated through the brilliant and learned monograph of W. R. Smith (*Journ. Philol.* ix. 75 ff.), and its fascinating exposition by Jevons (*Introduction to the History of Religion*, 1896); but the main body of English anthropologists refuse to regard it as primitive, while in France the hypothesis has been subjected to close and learned criticism (Marillier, 'La place du Totemisme dans l'évolution religieuse,' in *Rev. de l'Hist. des Religions*, 1897–98). Totemism seems most intelligible when viewed as formed under the play of savage thought or misconception, and as intruding upon and overrunning earlier forms of worship which found a god in nature or the spirits of men' (*HDB* iv. 331[b]).

Totemism assumes that the stage of generalization in thought has been reached, as the totem is not an individual, but an animal or plant class, and also presupposes the stage of tribal unity in life, neither of which can be regarded as primitive. There is not the same evidence that all religions have passed through a totemistic stage as there is regarding an animistic; and the psychological probability is not so great. We can hardly say that it appears necessary for religious thought to have passed through this phase. We cannot therefore connect polytheism so exclusively with totemism as Jevons does (pp. 234–248). Where the phase of totemism did exist, it is not at all improbable that, as he argues, the objects of the tribal cults, when a political union took place, were either fused together (syncretism), if for one or other of the reasons he suggests the spirits were not definitely enough distinguished either in belief or in worship to remain apart, or placed side by side in a national pantheon (polytheism). Totemism, however, was not monotheistic (belief in the existence of one God alone), nor even had it reached the stage of monolatry (the worship of one God combined with the belief in the existence of others).

As Jevons concedes (p. 239), 'the sky-god, whose favour is essential to the herbage which supports the herdsman's cattle, as well as to the farmer's crops, may be worshipped concurrently with the totem plant or animal, and retain his independence, as the Dyaus, Zeus, Jupiter, of the Aryans, did.'

Accordingly, we may question whether his statement, 'polytheism is the price which must be paid for political development' (p. 241), is so absolutely or universally applicable. Even where totemism does prevail, is it so certain that it must advance to monotheism? Polytheism need not then be regarded as a relapse from totemism; it may be regarded generally as an advance on polydæmonism (the belief in an indefinite multitude of spirits, and the worship of some of them). It must, of course, be understood that the distinction is logical, for our thought, rather than chronological, in time. Polydæmonism and polytheism overlap and intermingle. Gods and spirits may be worshipped together; but we may call a religion polytheistic when the worship of the gods is more prominent.

2. The transition from polydæmonism to polytheism.—How shall we distinguish the spirit from the god as the object of worship?

(*a*) The conception of the spirit is less definite than the conception of the god; he has less individuality; he has generally no name. As the god is conceived more definitely, he is less confined to, and more detached from, the individual object than the spirit which inhabits and controls it, and yet is not separated from it. As the god gets more of 'a name,' he has less of 'a local habitation' than the spirit. As man realizes more fully his weakness in comparison with the forces of nature, which he conceives as living, he endows the objects of his worship with powers, which we may at least describe as 'superhuman,' if 'supernatural' suggests too advanced a mode of thought; the god has more power than the spirit.

(*b*) Again, as man gets more familiar with the world, he begins to observe resemblances and connexions; he begins to classify plants and animals; he begins to recognize the effect of the great objects of nature—sun, moon, earth, etc.—on his environment; he begins to think of the objects in nature (may we say?) departmentally rather than individually. Each tree, stone, or stream may have its own spirit; there is a god of vegetation, of a land, of seas and rivers.

'The material progress made by man,' says Jevons (p. 234), 'as he advanced from the material basis of subsistence on roots, fruits, and the chase, first to pastoral and then to agricultural life, required that he should make an ever-increasing use for his own ends of natural forces. These forces were to him living beings with superhuman powers, of whom he stood in dread, but whose co-operation he required. Without some confidence that it was possible, if he set about it in the right way, to secure their favour and assistance, his efforts would have been paralysed. That confidence was given him by religion; he was brought into friendly relations with powers from which, in his previously narrow circle of interests, he had had little to hope or to gain.'

This practical interest was the main, if not the sole, motive of the intellectual development sketched above. Speaking generally, the relation to the gods is more definite, intimate, and confident than that to the spirits. As man comes, as it were, to be at home in his world, getting to know it, and so to use it more for his own good, the powers that he depends on, and whose assistance he seeks, appear to him more friendly, and he cultivates their friendship more carefully.

(*c*) Man only gradually distinguishes himself from living creatures, and animals especially; and thus his conception of the spirits or gods is not at once anthropomorphic. He does not at once make his god in his own likeness. There is a stage, which we may call the zoomorphic, when he thinks of the spirits as living beings. There follow as

stage, even where totemism does not prevail, where, feeling his kinship with some animals at least, he thinks of the spirits or gods as altogether animal, or partly animal and partly human. We may call this the therianthropic stage. At last, when he lifts himself above all his fellow-creatures, he thinks of the gods as men (or women) of like passions and forms as himself (the anthropopathic or anthropomorphic stage). In Egyptian religion we have a conspicuous instance of this development (see art. GOD [Egyptian]).

At first the god is an animal: 'Khnum of Elephantine was a ram, Hathor a cow, Nekhbet a vulture, Bast a cat, Horus a falcon, Anubis a jackal, Sebek a crocodile, Thoth an ibis, and so on' (G. F. Moore, *Hist. of Religions*, i. 147). Next the god is represented with an animal-head; lastly the god assumes a human form, but the animal which once represented him remains sacred to him.

3. The mythology of polytheism.—So much it seems possible to state of a general character about polytheism. The development of polytheism in each religion was determined by so many varied and varying factors that no simple uniformity but a bewildering variety appeared. Physical conditions, racial characteristics, political circumstances, historical occurrences—all affected the forms assumed by the belief and worship of the many gods. The personification of natural processes, the endowment of these gods with human qualities, passions, relations, and activities, the free play of the imagination with this varied material, the reflex influence of language on thought, metaphor begetting myth, the absence of any control of this development by scientific knowledge, moral sense, and religious reverence—all these factors combined explain the luxuriant, extravagant, and sometimes grotesque and even offensive mythology which connects itself with polytheism in the religions of mankind.

(*a*) *The moral defects of mythology.*—The description of natural processes as the personal actions of gods and goddesses, especially the comparison of these processes to sexual relations, results in the ascription to deity of what to a more developed moral sense appears immorality, although there was no such intention originally. Religion is more conservative in belief and worship than is morality, and much is told about the gods which a decent man would not do. Paul's condemnation of polytheism had been anticipated by Xenophanes in the ridicule which he casts upon anthropomorphism and anthropopathism.

'The Ethiopians imagine their gods flat-nosed and black; the Thracians, blue-eyed and red-haired; and if cattle and horses or lions had hands and could draw, horses would draw the gods as horses and cattle as cattle—each kind would make its gods in its own likeness' (Moore, i. 458).

To quote Xenophanes' own words:

'Homer and Hesiod ascribe to the gods everything that among men is a shame and a disgrace—theft, adultery, and deceit' (quoted by Moore, *loc. cit.*).

Only one other instance of such criticism of popular mythology need be given—Amphitryon's address to Zeus in the *Herakles* of Euripides:

'O Zeus, in vain I shared my wife with thee, in vain I called thee father of my son; thou hast not proved the friend thou dost pretend to be. Mortal that I am, I am much better than thou, a great god! For I did not betray Herakles's children, but thou understandest how stealthily to find thy way to men's beds, taking possession of others' couches without their consent, but how to save thine own friends thou dost not know. Thou art a stupid god, if not an honest one!' (quoted by Moore, p. 488).

It is no wonder that Plato desired that these stories should not be told to children because corrupting to their morals.

(*b*) *National differences in mythology.*—Not all nations were equally interested in their gods to develop a mythology about them. Of the Chinese deities Moore says:

'These powers have no plastic, dramatic individuality, like the gods of Greece; no mythology recites their exploits. They have definite functions, and by these alone they themselves are defined. In this, as in other respects, the religion of China strikingly resembles that of the Romans; for a practical people it is enough to know what the gods do, and what their worshippers have to do to secure their favour, without trying to imagine what they are like' (p. 22).

But China and Japan offer the same contrast as Rome and Greece; for Shintō has an abundant and even grotesque genealogy of its many gods. Like Greece in the wealth of its mythology, Japan differs from it in the representation of the gods. While Greece represented the gods in the likeness of man, in a Japanese temple the deity is represented by some holy object (*shintai*) in which the spiritual presence (*mitama*) dwells; thus a mirror is the symbol of the presence of the sun-goddess. While Greece in its matchless art endowed its gods with beauty of form, Indian idols are 'to our taste grotesquely hideous—a human body with an elephant's head; tricephalous monsters; heads with a third eye in the middle of the forehead; human trunks with supernumerary arms and legs, and the like' (Moore, p. 345). Of this difference Moore offers an interesting explanation:

'It should be remembered, however, that all this ugliness is symbolical; the supernatural powers of the deity are intended to be expressed by these unnatural forms. The Hindu gods are less beautiful than the purely anthropomorphic gods of Greek art, because of the effort to make them more manifestly divine' (p. 345 f.).

In China heaven (T'ien) is the supreme emperor (Shang-ti), and determines both the moral and the natural order; in Japan the sun-goddess takes the highest place, but she has no relation to any moral order, although Japan did possess a customary morality even before the advent of Confucianism.

(*c*) *The influence of political conditions on mythology.*—Political conditions very directly and potently affected religious ideas. Over each city-State in Egypt a god watched, cared, and ruled; when political combinations took place, the gods were brought into relation to one another. The chief god had a wife and a son. Amon of Thebes has as wife Mut (=Nekhebt of Eleithyiapolis) and as son Montu (of Hermonthis). These triads have a special peculiarity:

'The son is the successor of his father, and it is his destiny in turn to marry his mother and so to reproduce himself, that is his own successor; and so though constantly dying he is ever renewed. The mother, not being a sun-god, does not die. If we remember that the gods have to do with the sun these things need not shock us, nor need we wonder at the statement which is very frequently met with, that a god is self-begotten, or that he produces his own members' (A. Menzies, *Hist. of Religion*, p. 135).

Rā, the solar deity of Heliopolis, rose to be the supreme god of the Middle Kingdom; but, as the political importance of the provincial cities increased, their local cults could not be suppressed, and each deity was in turn identified with Rā, and appropriated his attributes.

'From the Heliopolitan priests came also a theogony which put the god of their city, Atum, at the beginning of all things, and derived from him, through two intermediate generations, the gods of the Osirian circle as it appeared in the Delta' (Moore, p. 169).

When Babylon became the capital of the new dynasty in Babylonia, its god Marduk supplanted Enlil of Nippur, claimed Ea of Eridu with his wisdom as his father, and made Nabu, the god of Borsippa, his son and prophet. In one hymn the other gods are treated as only variant names of Marduk in his varying functions.

(*d*) *The influence of religion on mythology.*—The changes in thought about the gods did not, however, always depend on political conditions; religious belief and worship must also be taken into account. Before Marduk assumed the supremacy, the gods at the head of the pantheon were Ea of Eridu, Enlil of Nippur, and Anu, held in high honour, if not the patron deity, in Uruk; and they owed their place to the influence on the religious development exercised by their temples and priest-

hoods. An attempt at systematic theology appears in the partition of the universe among these three gods; Anu rules in heaven, Enlil in earth and air, and Ea in the waters. The Vedic gods are divided into three classes also—gods of the sky, gods of the air, and gods of the earth. Another interesting feature of the Vedic polytheism is that there are indications of the supersession of one order of gods by another, the *asuras* by the *devas*. Varuṇa, Mitra, and Ṛta fall into the background, and their places are taken by Indra, the Maruts, etc. While in the Rigveda the *asuras* are gods, in the Atharvaveda they have become demons. In the Iranian sister-religion the reverse process took place. If Ahura Mazda is the same god as Varuṇa, he becomes supreme in Zoroastrianism, and is in conflict with the *daevas*, the gods of the popular religion.

India offers an interesting illustration of the reflex influence of the worship on the theology. Sacrifice is conveyed to the gods by means of fire. Fire itself (Agni) becomes deified, and yet he is being constantly reborn when two sticks are rubbed together to produce the spark. The drink of the gods is *soma*. They love it so much that the gift of it can influence them. Soma becomes a god with power over the other gods. *Brahman*, the absolute deity of religious speculation, is probably to be traced back to the hymn or prayer which accompanied sacrifice (see Max Müller, *Origin and Growth of Religion*, pp. 358, 359, note). The Hindu Trimurti is a priestly device to combine their cult with the popular worship of Viṣṇu and Śiva. These two gods, together with Brahmā (masc.), the personal god, are manifestations of *Brahman* (neut.), the absolute reality.

(*e*) *The reflex influence of language on mythology.*—One instance of this must suffice. As a rule, heaven is thought of as father and earth as mother; so in the Vedic mythology, in which Dyaus and Pṛthivi are the universal parents, and in the Maori. In Egypt by an accident of grammatical gender the earth (Geb) is masculine, and the heaven or sky (Nut) is feminine; and the relation in the myth has to be altered accordingly. The influences affecting the ideas about the gods and their functions and relations being so manifold, it is evident that we cannot treat polytheism as one phenomenon of which any description of a general character can be given.

See also MONOLATRY AND HENOTHEISM, MONOTHEISM.

LITERATURE.—R. R. Marett, *The Threshold of Religion*, London, 1909; F. B. Jevons, *Introd. to the Hist. of Religion*, do. 1902; G. F. Moore, *Hist. of Religions*, i., Edinburgh, 1914; A. Menzies, *Hist. of Religion*, London, 1895; F. Max Müller, *The Origin and Growth of Religion* (*HL*, 1878), do. 1878; P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Religionsgeschichte*[3], Tübingen, 1905; A. Bertholet, *Religionsgeschichtliches Lesebuch*, do. 1908.

A. E. GARVIE.

PONTIFEX.—See PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD (Roman), ROMAN RELIGION.

POOR MEN OF LYONS.—See WALDENSES.

POPOL VUH.—The *Popol Vuh* is a mythic and heroic saga of the Quiche Indians of Guatemala, on whose mythology and ancient history it is our chief source of information. It is of great comparative value when studied in conjunction with the mythology of the pre-Columbian inhabitants of Mexico and Yucatan. The text, as extant, was written by a Christianized native of Guatemala some time in the 17th cent., and was copied in the Quiche language, in which it was originally written, by a monk of the Order of Predicadores, Francisco Ximenez, who added a Spanish translation and scholia.

A great deal of doubt has been cast upon the genuineness of the *Popol Vuh*, and it has been contended that it is merely the imaginative production of a Quiche native whose ideas were coloured by Christian influences; but these reflexions on this venerable compilation originated with persons who were for the most part unacquainted with the history and mythology of Central America, who possessed no insight into aboriginal habits of thought, and who, in short, were improperly equipped for the criticism of such a work.

C. Scherzer, an Austrian savant, became aware that such a work as the *Popol Vuh* had existed through the medium of a letter from the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg to the Duc de Valmy, in which the Abbé deplored the supposed loss of the collection. Bent on the recovery of a relic of such profound interest, Scherzer journeyed to Guatemala in 1854 or 1855, found that the *Popol Vuh* had been made use of early in the 19th cent. by a certain Don Felix Cabrera, and was successful in tracing the missing MS in the library of the university of San Carlos, in the city of Guatemala. It appears that Ximenez had deposited it in the library of his convent at Chichicastenango, whence it passed to the library of San Carlos in 1830. Scherzer copied the Spanish translation of the MS, as did Brasseur, and these were published at Vienna and Paris in 1856 and 1861 respectively. Most unfortunately the Spanish and French translations leave much to be desired as regards accuracy, and the misleading notes which accompany them must be read very critically. A Spanish translation, published as a number of the *Biblioteca Centro-Americano*, is scarcely more accurate, but is burdened by notes which show a total ignorance of his subject on the part of the editor, and which are substantially those of Brasseur.

The name *Popol Vuh* means, in its literal translation, according to some authorities, 'The Book of the Mat,' or, in more sophisticated phrase, 'The Record of the Community,' but it is likely that a correct rendering of the title is 'The Collection of Written Leaves,' *popol* signifying the prepared bark upon which aboriginal writing is often set down, and *vuh*, 'paper' or 'book,' from the verb *uoch*, 'to write.' Thus a still more simple translation would give 'The Book of Bark.' It is a work of the same family as the Chinese *History of the Five Books*, the Japanese *Nihongi*, the *Danish History* of Saxo, the *Heimskringla* of Snorre, and some of the Hindu sacred books—a compilation in which pure mythology gradually shades off into veritable history. The language in which it was composed, the Quiche, is a dialect of the great Maya-Quiche tongue, spoken at the time of the discovery in Western Guatemala, where it is still used by the natives, and it is the only remaining monument of this tongue. Evidence is not wanting to prove the considerable antiquity of the compilation, and a decided metrical tendency in its composition would lead us to the conclusion that it was originally composed in metre, and that consequently, like the poems of Homer and Ossian, before it was reduced to writing it depended for its popularity upon the aboriginal memory alone. On the other hand, it must be admitted that the work as we possess it probably does not stand in its pristine simplicity; that it has become sophisticated in a certain degree by Christian thought and influence can hardly be doubted; but it cannot be too strongly insisted upon that such sophistication is merely a surface one, and that it has not succeeded in penetrating to the lower strata of aboriginal thought. The evidence of language, too, is certain proof that it was penned by none other than a member of the Quiche race. The almost insur-

mountable difficulties of the Quiche language render it impossible that a European of the 17th cent. could have in any way tampered with the compilation, and the evidence of its contents is conclusive, as the Quiche mythology concurs in many respects with those of Mexico and Yucatan, which were as sealed books to the scholars of the time in which the MS was written. Furthermore, the Quiche mythology, as set forth in the pages of the *Popol Vuh*, accords in its general characteristics with the great laws of mythologic science.

The *Popol Vuh* is divided into four books, the first cosmological, the second dealing with the adventures of certain hero-gods in the nether world, the third detailing the origin and early migrations of the Quiche race, and the last a pseudo-chronicle of the Quiche kings.

In the beginning we see the god Hurakan ('the one-legged') hovering in the dense and primeval gloom over a waste of waters. As a mighty wind he passed over the surface of the sea and ejaculated the one word 'Earth.' In answer to his evocation the solid land rose slowly from the deep—vast, wet, and unstable. The gods took counsel together, presided over by Hurakan. Gucumatz, the serpent covered with green feathers, and Xpiyacoc and Xmucane, male and female creative divinities, were present.

Gucumatz is merely a Quiche variant of the Mexican Quetzalcoatl, known to the Maya as Kukulcan. It must be borne in mind that to the Nahua of Mexico Quetzalcoatl was an alien deity, and regarded as a culture-hero who brought them the seeds of civilization and then departed, whereas in the *Popol Vuh* we find him a native deity, assisting in the act of creation. It is strange to find him acting as the inferior of Hurakan, and, in fact, in this pantheon on the whole we cannot discover much affinity with Maya forms, so far as we are at present acquainted with the characteristics of these. The affinities, oddly enough, seem to be with Mexican deities. *E.g.*, Hurakan may be safely equated with Tezcatlipoca, and Xpiyacoc and Xmucane have all the characteristics of Ometecutli and Omeciuatl. Certainly Gucumatz has many points of contact with P. Schellhas's god P which he identifies with Kukulcan. As a Quiche deity, Gucumatz would undoubtedly seem to figure as a rain-god pure and simple—rather a different rôle from that which he plays in the mythology of the Mexicans. His serpent form is symbolic of water; and, as the god of the elements whose shape is serpentine is almost universal throughout N. America, but by no means so in the southern sub-continent, there is a possibility that he originated in the north. Of course, it is possible that as Quetzalcoatl he may have been adopted by the Mexicans from the Southern Maya, and that his name and fame may have filtered northwards, where they are found even to-day, as in the Kumsnöotl, or Kanikilak, of certain British Columbian tribes.

As the result of the deliberations of the gods, animals were created, but as yet man was not. The want of a higher type of being was felt, and, to supply the deficiency, the gods carved mannikins out of wood, and endowed them with life. But these were frivolous and irreverent, and in their nature too puppet-like to be quite human; so the gods, irritated by their conduct, resolved upon their destruction. Hurakan therefore sent a great flood upon the mannikin folk, which was accompanied by a resinous rain falling from the heavens. In their drowning the mannikins were tormented by fierce birds which plucked out their eyes and tore their flesh; and, as the rain increased, the animals and plants, and even the domestic utensils that they had made, their millstones, plates, and cups, rose up against them and jeered at them. The wretched mannikins rushed hither and thither in their despair, but could find no place of shelter, until at last all were drowned, save a mere handful whose descendants are said to be 'the little monkeys that live in the woods.'

The composite character of the *Popol Vuh* may be recognized from the circumstance that we discover at least three agencies assisting in the work of creation. From this it appears that three separate cosmologies may have been welded together into one account, as in the case of other and more familiar instances, the most remarkable of which will readily occur to all students of comparative religion.

After earth had somewhat recovered from this deluge, there arose a being, orgulous and full of pride, named Vukub-cakix, which signifies 'seven times the colour of fire,' or 'very brilliant,' an earth-god like the Scandinavian Jotunn or Greek Titans, who took the shape of the arara bird or great macaw. His eyes were of silver, his teeth of emerald, and his body was composed of various precious metals. His overweening conceit so irritated the gods that they resolved upon his destruction. To that end they dispatched the twin hero-gods Hun-ahpu and Xbalanque to earth, to chastise the arrogance of Vukub-cakix. These, arriving in his domain, wounded the god severely in the mouth with a dart from a magic blow-pipe. Afterwards, with Xpiyacoc and Xmucane, they proceeded to his dwelling, disguised as physicians, and extracted the unfortunate Titan's emerald teeth, for which they substituted grains of maize. After the operation Vukub-cakix expired.

This would seem to be a myth explaining the first fertilization of the earth with seed, and the substitution of the maize-plant for the green, virgin soil. But the progeny of Vukub-cakix had yet to be disposed of. Zipacna, the earth-heaper, and Cabrakan, the earth-quake, were also destroyed by craft, so that the race of Titans was now extinct.

The second book yields much interesting material for the mythologist. It relates the under-world adventures of Hunhun-ahpu and Vukub-hun-ahpu, the sons of Xpiyacoc and Xmucane.

Hunhun-ahpu and his brothers were great exponents of the native game of ball, a kind of hockey. On one occasion the course of their play took them into the vicinity of the realm of Xibalba, the under world, the monarchs of which challenged them to a game with the malicious intent, common to all supernatural folk, of defeating and disgracing them. The challenge was accepted, and, after crossing over a river of blood, the brothers came to the residence of the lord of the Quiche hades, where they underwent a series of insults and tortures. First they were requested to place themselves in a seat of honour, but hastily arose when they found that it was a red-hot stone. Then they were thrust into the House of Gloom, where they were tortured, killed, and buried. The head of Hunhun-ahpu was, however, suspended from a tree, which speedily became covered with gourds. Xquiq ('blood'), the daughter of a notable of Xibalba, was standing underneath its shade, when the head of Hunhun-ahpu expectorated into her palm, so that she conceived. The head told her to go to his home on earth, where she would be received by Xmucane, to whom she must tell the story of the brothers' tragic fate. She did so, but Xmucane would not at first credit her story. Xquiq, however, to prove her supernatural origin, gathered a basket of maize where no maize grew —quite a natural thing for a deity of the under world to do, as they are invariably associated with the growing of grain. Xquiq became the mother of Hun-ahpu and Xbalanque, the twin-heroes alluded to in the first book. They were so noisy that Xmucane, their grandmother, thrust them out of doors. Extremely precocious, they were made to clear ground for the plantation of maize, but, as they possessed magic tools which could work of themselves, they went on hunting expeditions and neglected their duties, and during the night the wild animals met and undid the work that the magic tools had accomplished. The brothers watched for the purpose of capturing the miscreants, but the animals escaped, all save one, the rat, which in return for its life recounted to them the glorious deeds of their father and uncle, and how they had been entrapped in Xibalba. Shortly after this the twins themselves received a challenge to play ball from the lords of the under world, which they accepted. On their arrival in Xibalba, the community of which seems to have been conducted on the lines of a native secret society with a form of initiation, they passed scatheless through several of the ordeals, and defeated the lords of the Plutonian realm at ball. They were placed in the House of Lances, but escaped by bribing the lancers. They were then thrust into the House of Cold, where they cheated their tormentors by warming themselves with burning pine-cones. In the House of Tigers and the House of Gloom they passed a night each without misfortune, but in the House of Bats Hun-ahpu's head was cut off by Camazotz, ruler of the bats. The head was suspended in the ball-court, but the tortoise passed by the severed neck of Hun-ahpu, to which it became attached, turning into a new head.

The Camazotz here referred to is a figure of some importance. With the Central American peoples generally the bat was the symbol of gloom and darkness, therefore Camazotz is the god of subterranean caves in which that animal is usually found. It is plain, in fact, that here we have to deal with a form of the deity of mountain caverns and cave-worship. Pictures of the bat-god are found in the Borgian, Vatican, and Fejervary Codices — all Mexican MSS—as Seler first pointed out, and

this is strange, as in Mexico itself the cult of a bat-god does not appear to have been known. But it is probable that the MSS which give representations of this god originated near the southern borders of the Mexican empire, nearer the sphere of Maya influence. In the Borgian Codex the bat-god is represented as holding a severed human head in the left hand, and as in the act of tearing a man's head from the body with his right hand. He is also frequently met with on the Copan reliefs, and in the Maya Dresden Codex, and his head appears in the Maya conventional sign for the cardinal point of the north. In a vase excavated by E. P. Dieseldorff he is well portrayed with outstretched wings on which are depicted half-moons, symbolic of his nocturnal character. We find his name also reproduced in that of the two royal families of the Cakchiquels, who were called Ah-po-zotzil and Ah-po-xa, and, according to another passage in the *Popol Vuh*, we find that the Cakchiquels designated him Zotzilaha Chamalcan, who, we are told, took the bat for his image. But Zotzilaha does not mean 'bat,' but 'bat's house,' therefore it is reasonable to suppose that this god possessed more than one form, *i.e.*, that, besides the bat which he symbolized, he had the form of a cave-god.

The brothers, having outwitted their fiendish hosts, now entered upon a veritable orgy of magic, even submitting to be killed and coming to life again, after their bones had been beaten to powder and thrown into the river. The monarchs of Xibalba requested to be killed also, but, as the brothers omitted to revive them, their reign was at an end. They then showed themselves in their true colours, degraded the princes of Xibalba, and, after paying fitting funeral honours to their father and uncle, set them in the heavens as the sun and moon.

In this myth it is easy to see the harrying of hell so common to the mythologies of all nations. The Quiche Xibalba is, of course, a place of the dead, with many departments, like the Egyptian Amenti, where both just and unjust alike are lodged. The savage mind trembles at the idea of a place of eternal doom of which it knows nothing; therefore it invents myths of the descent into its hades of its most heroic and god-like figures, who are described as achieving the conquest of the terrors of death and hell, and making the way easy for those who come after them.

In the third book we find the gods once more in council, their object this time being the creation of man.

Four perfect men were fashioned by Hurakan out of red and white maize. But these beings were too perfect, and in knowledge closely approached to the gods themselves. The creators, alarmed at this condition of things, felt that it was not good that man should approach them in wisdom, so they contracted his sight so that he might only be able to see a portion of the earth. The gods then provided the first four men with wives. These eight people were the ancestors of the Quiche only, the progenitors of other tribes being created subsequently. As yet there was no sun in the heavens, and, despite the prayers of the early Quiche, no luminary appeared. A desire to migrate came upon the first men, and they set out for Tulan-Zuiva. Attempts have been made to identify this locality with the city of Tollan, the capital of the Toltecs of ancient Mexico. In that place the Quiche received gods, each man being given a special and probably tribal deity. One of these, Tohil, whose name signifies 'the rumbler,' and who is a thunder- and rain-god, probably a variant of Quetzalcoatl or Gucumatz, supplied the emigrants with fire by striking his feet (which were composed of flint) together, and producing lightning. At Tulan the speech of men became confounded, so that the four progenitors of the Quiche could no longer comprehend one another. Leaving Tulan under the leadership of Tohil, they wandered on, meeting innumerable hardships, making their way through desolate mountain-passes, and passing through the sea, which was miraculously divided for their journey from shore to shore. At length they came to the mountain Hacavitz, called after one of their gods, where they halted, as they had been told that at this spot they should see the sun. At last he appeared above the horizon, weak and as reflected in a glass, and, as his beams lighted upon them, the tribal gods were turned into stone, as were the gods worshipped by the animals.

It is probable that this myth recounts a migration from the cold north to the warm south. The sun grows stronger as the journey proceeds, which would seem to show that, to begin with, the ancestors of the Quiche people must have dwelt in a comparatively cold climate. T. A. Joyce (*Mexican Archæology*, p. 362 f.) sees in this myth the adoption of a solar calendar or rather the fixing of a date to form a starting-point for a time-count modelled on solar time. The whole myth is strikingly akin to that of the wanderings of the Israelites, but the conditions of migration undergone by the Quiche, though similar to those recounted in the book of Exodus, possess as many points of difference, and are by no means a mere variation of the Scriptural version, as stated by short-sighted collators of both. The best proof that the myth is of purely native origin is that such myths of undoubted aboriginal manufacture abound in America. Thus we find in an Aztec migration-myth in the Boturini Collection that the Aztecs issuing from Aztlan carried their god Huitzilopochtli before them when they came by water to Colhuacan. We also find a similar myth in the *Wallam Olum*, or Painted Records of the Lenapé Indians, which state that the Lenapé left the dwelling of Talli for the Snake Land, to reach which they passed over the water of the frozen sea. The *Popol Vuh*, indeed, may be a dim and distant echo of a migration from N.E. Asia to American soil. The circumstance that the tribal gods of the Quiche were turned to stone on the appearance of the sun recalls a myth of the Zuñi Indians of New Mexico, in which the great gods turned certain animals into stone, which afterwards became fetishes.

The fourth book of the *Popol Vuh* is almost purely pseudo-historical, and as such possesses no interest for the student of comparative religion. Enough has been said to prove that the *Popol Vuh* is the New World's richest mythological mine, abounding with treasure awaiting those who will take the pains to unearth it. In especial there can be no question that it throws much light upon the mythologies of the Mexicans and Maya, but our knowledge of these is so slight that at present it is found not a little difficult to apply the light shed by the *Popol Vuh* so as to dispel the gloom which surrounds them.

LITERATURE.—Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Popol Vuh*, Paris, 1861; F. Ximenez, *Los Historias del Origin de los Indios de Guatemala*, Vienna, 1856; L. Spence, *The Popol Vuh* (in 'Popular Studies in Mythology, Romance, and Folk-lore' series), London, 1908, *The Myths of Mexico and Peru*, do. 1913; T. A. Joyce, *Mexican Archæology*, do. 1914. The brief essay of Max Müller upon the *Popol Vuh* is worthless. A tr. is in course of preparation in Austria, and a tr. from the original Quiche is understood to be in progress by a distinguished German student of Mexican archæology.

LEWIS SPENCE.

PORPHYRY.—See NEO-PLATONISM.

PORTENTS.—See PRODIGIES AND PORTENTS.

PORT ROYAL.—See JANSENISM.

POSITIVISM.—**1. Derivation and definition.**—Derived from the French *positif*, 'sure,' 'certain,' 'positivism' was the term chosen by Auguste Comte to designate a system of thought and life dealing with realities and based on the sure results reached by scientific methods, which aimed not only at certainty, but also at precision in the varying degree that each particular branch of science allows. When, however, the word was applied to a system of life as well as of thought, it obtained the additional connotation of 'useful'; and, as our knowledge of the world depends on the powers of mankind, we also get the meaning 'relative.' With the study of biology and sociology, science becomes organic, and, with the recognition of the union of mankind in the social organism, sympathetic. Positivism, therefore, in spite of its name, is not purely intellectual. It is not only

real, certain, and precise, but also useful, relative, organic, and sympathetic.

2. History before Comte.—The general application of scientific methods, the accumulation of a mass of ordered knowledge, the building up in turn of the various abstract sciences—all this has been a long and gradual process. While in the theocracies of Babylon and Egypt concrete facts were observed, recorded, and utilized, calendars made, canals dug, land measured, temples and pyramids built, it was only in Greece that abstract laws of co-existence and succession were formulated. But the abstract science of Greece made considerable progress only in mathematics and astronomy; it was essentially statical, failing to solve even so simple a problem as that presented by the acceleration of a falling body; it did not reach the subjects—health, politics, morals—most interesting to mankind, for in these subjects Greek knowledge remained almost entirely concrete and empirical. Other interests and needs, the development of Roman law, the rise of a new religion, the inroads of the barbarians, distracted the attention of the ancient world, and Greek science not only ceased to make progress, but would have been lost, had it not been preserved and even slightly increased by the Arabs. At the Renaissance the scientific advance was resumed. Copernicus, Kepler, and Galileo introduced the new astronomy; the earth ceased to be the centre of the universe; problems of motion were successfully solved. Bacon and Descartes discussed the purpose, methods, and scope of science, and the former foresaw its extension to social and moral phenomena. In the two centuries after Bacon the sciences of physics, chemistry, and biology made great progress, and a long series of thinkers began tentatively to investigate the laws of social structure and development, the working of the human mind, and the relation of subject and object. Building on the results of these labours and gathering up the scattered threads of these 18th cent. investigations, Comte founded a scientific philosophy and a purely human religion.

3. Comte.—Auguste Comte was born at Montpellier on 19th Jan. 1798, the son of a revenue officer of small means. His parents were royalists and devout Catholics, but he had abandoned theology before he was fifteen, and was throughout his life a firm republican. At the Lycée at Montpellier he showed such precocity that, while still a pupil, he took the place of the absent mathematical professor. Thence he passed to the famous Polytechnic School, first of his list in the entrance examination when sixteen, though he was not allowed to join till the next year. In 1816—the year after Waterloo—he took a leading part in a demonstration against an unpopular official, and was expelled with the other students of his year, the whole school being suspected of republican sentiments. He was, however, already known to some eminent men, and on their recommendation he obtained pupils. Later he was appointed to two small mathematical posts in the Polytechnic as teacher and examiner. Having already published some important essays, he began, in 1826, a course of lectures on the positive philosophy, which was interrupted by a mental breakdown; but after his recovery it was resumed and completed. The course was attended by some of the most eminent men of science of the day, and formed a first sketch of the *Positive Philosophy* (6 vols., 1830–42). This was followed in 1848 by the *General View of Positivism*, the introduction to his second great work, the *Positive Polity* (4 vols., the last being published in 1854). Between the two works his outlook on life had developed. An early marriage had turned out unhappy; his wife grudged his devotion to his chosen task, and wished to direct his powers into more lucrative channels; eventually she left him. Some years afterwards he formed a devoted friendship for Madame de Vaux, whose husband was a fugitive from justice. Clotilde de Vaux was not perhaps a woman of exceptional mental capacity, but she was quite able to appreciate Comte's genius. She was not, however, in the least in love with him, and their friendship led to no closer union. It began in April 1844, and ended by her death just a year later. This short episode had a lasting effect on his career. From the outset, as he had shown in his early essays, he had sought the good of mankind as the proper goal of all human effort. But he had sought it by an intellectual regeneration, a philosophy of science, a synthesis of human knowledge. Clotilde de Vaux could add nothing to his intellectual equipment, but their friendship opened his eyes to sides of human life previously unseen, to other needs of the human heart and other values in human conduct. Henceforth, while recognizing the primary necessity of scientific synthesis, he saw that there must be a synthesis embracing all sides of human nature, action, and affection as well as intellect—in other words, a religion at once scientific and human. Thus he became the founder of the Religion of Humanity. This was the dominant note of the *Positive Polity* and the *Catechism of Positive Religion*. In his last work, the *Subjective Synthesis*, he returned to mathematics, considered from a social and religious point of view. A companion treatise on morals he did not live to write. He died on 5th Sept. 1857, in Paris, and was buried in Père Lachaise Cemetery. A monument was erected to his memory outside the Sorbonne in 1898. Many years before his death he was deprived of his posts at the Polytechnic; for the scientific specialists disliked his insistence on synthesis, and vehemently rejected his claim that science should fulfil a social mission. Some of his earlier supporters, notably M. P. E. Littré and John Stuart Mill, declined to follow him in his religious developments. But he gathered round him a small body of disciples who remained after his death to defend his memory and propagate his ideas.

When twenty years old, Comte became acquainted with Henri Saint-Simon (1760–1825), who was already famous. Saint-Simon had conceived the idea of a reformed social order in which all the resources of the State should be used for the benefit of the whole people, and was in fact one of the originators of modern socialism, though the word was then unknown, while, unlike most socialists, he had no confidence in democratic institutions. He believed that the new order must rest on a basis of science; but he had led a roving and adventurous life little c mpatible with scientific studies. This lack Comte seemed eminently fitted to supply. He wrote his two earliest essays under Saint-Simon's influence, and the third at his request; but, when this was written, it was the master who first perceived the discrepancy between his ideas and those of his disciple. Saint-Simon had expressed his purpose in the title which he had suggested: 'Plan of the Scientific Operations necessary for reorganizing Society.' He wanted an immediate application of science to this purpose. Comte saw that much more was needed, and that a much longer task lay before him: a new science of sociology must be founded irrespective of any immediate application; and science itself stood in need of reorganization. He soon came to see that a scientific philosophy must precede a polity founded on science. Thus, after six years, master and disciple separated; and Comte, who in every other case was so ready to acknowledge his indebtedness to his predecessors,

always insisted that Condorcet was his immediate intellectual ancestor, and that he owed nothing to Saint-Simon. It is true that he gained little intellectually from the connexion; for Saint-Simon's ideas were constantly changing and often inconsistent—he was a visionary rather than a systematic thinker. Nevertheless, Comte was affected both for good and for evil: for good, since Saint-Simon was well fitted to impress on him the need of reconstruction, and had some confused glimpses of its true conditions; for evil, because he retained to the end of his life Saint-Simon's tendency to expect quick results and to outrun scientific forecast in his zeal for social reconstruction. The first is, indeed, the common failing of reformers; the second led Comte to make his forecasts of the future more detailed than the complex character of social phenomena allows.

It was in this third essay (1822) that Comte put forward his law of intellectual development, which he named the 'Law of the Three States,' and his classification of the sciences. The former had already been stated by Turgot in an early thesis, but without adequate proof or recognition of its scope; and it was open to fatal misunderstanding unless combined with a classification of the sciences in the order of their historic development. Here is a statement of the law by Comte:

> 'From the nature of the human intellect each branch of knowledge, in its development, is necessarily obliged to pass through three different theoretical states: the theological or fictitious state; the metaphysical or abstract state; the scientific or positive state' (*Early Essays in Social Philosophy*, Eng. tr.[2], p. 131).

In the first stage men, interpreting the unknown by the known, attribute the phenomena of the world without to the action of beings moved by human passions; in the third they content themselves with discovering the order in which events occur, noting the relations of co-existence or succession, which give the conditions of human action. Between these there is a transitional stage in which personified or merely verbal entities take the place of divine wills. Thus a pestilence, which is in primitive times or among backward peoples a punishment sent by the gods, passes into an entity, which comes and goes without assigned cause, till with increasing knowledge the conditions of its appearance and the course of its development are discovered, its microbe isolated, it may be, and so its prevention or cure becomes possible. The natural rights of man, supposed the same in all ages and under all conditions, supply an example in politics of the metaphysical transition from the divine right of kings to the ordering of society in accordance with the needs of a developing civilization. Of such entities Nature is the most general. At the beginning of the transition it is hardly distinguishable from a divinity or at least a living being, as in such expressions as 'Nature abhors a vacuum.' In the end it becomes a convenient summary for the totality of phenomena and their laws.

But, in order to understand correctly the Law of the Three States, a classification of the abstract sciences was necessary. Comte proposed to range them in a linear series, beginning with the most general and simple and proceeding to the most special and complex — mathematics, astronomy (celestial physics), physics, chemistry, biology, and sociology, to which he afterwards added ethics, the first four being condensed into cosmology on occasion. This order was that actually followed by the sciences in their historic development—the order in which they in turn reached the positive stage. Herbert Spencer attacked this classification on the ground that no linear arrangement was possible, the sciences being interdependent. But classification is a logical artifice, which usually accentuates the divisions found in nature, and is intended for the assistance of human reason. For exposition a linear order is necessary, and of such orders Comte's conforms most nearly to the order of historical development; and in its main lines it has been adopted by Spencer himself in his exposition of the synthetic philosophy, with one amendment which does not affect the order of the series. This amendment consists in the intercalation of psychology between biology and sociology. In fact, the most serious criticism directed against Comte's classification is that he has treated psychology as a department — the concluding section—of biology and not as a separate science; but, if the criticism be allowed, it would mean only the insertion of a new term, not a recasting of the whole. Whether psychology is to be considered as a separate science depends, according to Comte's principles, on whether it requires a new method; for the main distinction between the various sciences lies in the methods necessary for their investigation.

It will thus be seen, if we consider the Law of the Three States in combination with the classification of the sciences, that at any given period all three stages will be represented, the simplest sciences being already positive, while the more complex are partly or wholly metaphysical or theological. In the earliest societies of which we have knowledge some simple positive notions will have been derived from practical life, while even in the present age the most complex sciences have not become completely positive.

Comte is generally recognized as the founder of sociology. It is true that the necessary conditions of human society were discussed by Aristotle, and that therefore, in its purely statical aspects, the subject was studied in ancient Greece. Early in the 18th cent. Vico attempted to establish a new science of society, but the necessary foundation in the simpler sciences was wanting; the same century saw the successful treatment of many isolated questions relating to social structure and development; and towards its close Herder, Kant, and Condorcet sought the laws of the progress of civilization in the study of history. But Comte was the first to map out the field of sociology, to show its true relation to the earlier sciences, especially biology, to distinguish social statics from social dynamics, and to put forward and apply the special method proper to the latter. In this, which Comte called 'historic filiation' and J. S. Mill 'inverse deduction,' a generalization is made inductively from the facts of history. Then the same result is deduced by showing how the sequence of events could be attributed to the known facts of human nature, or to what we already know of the development of societies and the conditions of social action. By this method Comte reached his law of intellectual development and corresponding laws of the evolution of activity and affection. Thus in the Western transition, while human activity was at first organized for conquest and then for defence, eventually industry becomes recognized as the chief occupation of mankind. In correspondence with this the status of the workers changes from slavery to serfdom and then to freedom. In the last stage there is a further advance from the metaphysical concept of individual rights and the absolute control of wealth by its possessor to the acceptance of social duty or convenience as regulating industrial relations. In the language of Pierre Laffitte, Comte's successor as leader of the Positivist body, we should regard 'wealth as social in its origin and destination' (*The Positive Science of Morals*, Eng. tr., p. 191). So, too, there is a widening of the moral sphere, a law of moral progress. At one

time moral duties are bounded by the family, class, or tribe. Later they are extended to all of the same city or nation. Finally, they include the whole human race.

The field of social statics, as we have seen, had been cultivated from ancient times. Comte, however, made some important additions to the work of his predecessors. He brought out more fully than they had done the co-ordination that exists between institutions in corresponding stages of social evolution, while avoiding the error of supposing this co-ordination to be as exact as in biology, where R. Owen was able from a single bone to reconstruct the form of an extinct bird. More important is Comte's classification of the elements of society—first into spiritual and temporal, these tending to further subdivision, the former into emotionals and intellectuals, the latter into chiefs and people. The progress of sociology has not been so rapid as Comte hoped, but it is now generally recognized as a science under that name, which he gave it. The chief sociologists since his time have pursued the study from rather different standpoints. Herbert Spencer has dealt largely with the influence on the social organism of the laws of the lower sciences, especially the biological laws of heredity. P. G. Frédéric Le Play has shown how the environment chiefly affects social structure and development indirectly through its control of industry, the work of the hunter, the fisher, the shepherd, and the tiller of the soil each giving rise to a different type of civilization. But in sociology physical and biological laws only give the conditions of social existence. The environment is most powerful in the early stages of civilization and becomes less and less so as the social heritage grows. Following the example of other sciences, sociology must discover laws by the direct study of social phenomena, the structure of human societies, and the development of human civilization. In this field Comte has been the chief pioneer.

The importance of his discoveries is seen in the light which they throw on history. He traces the development of civilization from fetishism or animism, through astrolatry, the worship of the heavenly bodies, to polytheism, found in a theocratic form in the great river valleys, isolated by strong natural barriers, as in Egypt, or in a military form in Greece or Rome. In Greece the geographical configuration of the country did not favour a career of conquest, and amid the freedom and rivalry of the small city-States Greek art and Greek science arose. Rome, on the contrary, conquered and united the Mediterranean world. Polytheism passed into monotheism and conquest into defence. For some centuries the energies and intellect of the West were occupied in civilizing the barbarian and creating the Catholic Church. But, as that was accomplished, a new intellectual curiosity arose, stimulated by contact with the Muhammadan world and later by the revival of ancient learning. From the 14th cent. onwards Europe entered on that revolutionary transition which culminated in the 18th. But, alongside of the movement of destruction, the breakdown of the old institutions and beliefs, there was a movement of construction, the building up of modern science. In this growth of science Comte saw the promise of the close of the revolutionary era, for scientific results were true for all, transcending national bounds and giving a certitude in which all could share. From a study of the past he reached the following conclusions as to the characteristics of the new era: (1) as the field of scientific investigation was continually enlarging, as that was becoming more and more the test of certitude and the bond of intellectual unity, the philosophy of the future must be founded on science, and the religion of the future must be compatible with science; (2) however much the peace of the world might be troubled by nations in a more backward stage of civilization—and even in Europe some are behind others—industry was becoming more and more the chief occupation of man's energies; peace was becoming normal, war abnormal; (3) in politics the metaphysical conception of natural rights, the same in all places and times, was giving way to the acceptance of duties, changing with the development of civilization; (4) conduct was being more and more judged by human and social standards. Aristotle had described man as a civic animal. 'We are members one of another' (Eph 4^{25}), St. Paul proclaimed. In the 17th cent. this recognition of solidarity was extended—at least in the intellectual sphere—to continuity, when Pascal said:

> 'The whole succession of men during the course of so many centuries should be considered as one man, ever living and continually learning' (*Préface sur le Traité du Vide*, *Œuvres*, Paris, 1908, ii. 139).

In Comte's view the human race formed one great organism, Humanity, living a continuous life in accordance with its own laws of development, its elements becoming more and more closely connected. The individual as such is an abstraction; for every one is a member of a family, then of a city or nation, and finally of Humanity, which is made up of all the nations of the earth. On these collective elements the thought and life of each individual depend, and that thought and life necessarily differ in different stages of human development. Each is the child of his own nation and time.

Religion, in Comte's definition, consists in the full harmony of life, and embraces equally the heart and the intellect, 'for both of these must concur to produce any true unity of life' (*Positive Polity*, Eng. tr., ii. 8). Its function is to regulate the individual life and to combine collective lives. In the earlier stages of man's development this was attained by the unconscious creation, first of fetishes, then of gods, the unknown outside being interpreted in terms of men's own feelings. But intellectually, in one department after another, natural laws take the place of divine wills, and in morals the desire to please or appease the gods becomes less potent as a motive for good actions than the love of our fellow-men. Humanity thus becomes the new centre of unity; the Religion of Humanity, a religion capable of uniting all, and 'Live for others' its guiding principle. The term 'altruism,' now in general use, was introduced by Comte.

Three sources of misunderstanding must be guarded against in considering this religion. (1) It is not mere cosmopolitanism. Humanity is made up of families and nations. For the great mass of men and women—indeed, for all in many relations of their lives—it must be served through service to family and country, to kinsmen, friends, and fellow-countrymen. Humanity is strengthened, not by reducing all nations to one level, but by each nation in its free development bringing to the common service of mankind the special aptitudes and resources which it has developed. Devotion to Humanity is based upon family affection and love of country. Humanity does not set aside nationality; it only controls it, making a nation's glory consist in service and not in domination. (2) Positivism does not regard the earlier religions as bad and false. They are such approximations to the truth as were possible in the ages in which they arose. Their acceptance and, indeed, their continued existence, where they still exist, show that they answer to certain human needs:

and, so far as they fulfil a necessary function, to be destroyed, they must be replaced. They were centres of unity to their adherents, even when their rivalry made for disunion. Thus Positivists honour the great teachers of all religions and gladly accept what is permanent in their work—*e.g.*, the separation of spiritual from temporal power under the mediæval Church. But they also honour apostles of enlightenment like Diderot and Condorcet, who, though they failed justly to appreciate the past, made ready the way for the future. (3) Altruism is inconsistent with self-immolation or with purposeless self-denial. Pleasure is not an evil, except where it involves neglect of duty in ourselves or pain to others. To live for others implies the maintenance of our full powers of service, including physical health and cheerfulness of temper. Asceticism, save as training for service, is alien to the Religion of Humanity.

Comte has been blamed for neglect of epistemology and formal logic. The latter he considered best studied in the several sciences, methods being thus seen in their application. As to the former, the validity of scientific methods and the underlying assumptions of science were in his view sufficiently established by the success of modern science and the continual extension of its sphere. The uniformity of nature, the reign of natural law, the relativity of knowledge, the distinction between subjective and objective derived from Kant, were accepted as postulates of scientific investigation. He did, however, formulate under the designation *The First Philosophy* a series of general principles or laws on which the abstract sciences rest. Hypotheses, far from being condemned, were held to be legitimate provided they were verifiable. Without the use of hypothesis scientific discovery is impossible. Knowledge was not to be pursued for its own sake, but for a social purpose.

'Know in order to foresee, and foresee in order to provide' (*Politique positive*, i., table facing p. 726).

As to those ultimate problems which occupied so large a space in man's early speculations, Comte considered them insoluble. The absolute is out of reach of man's relative powers. We can postulate benevolence of his immediate environment and the laws that control his destiny only in so far as they have allowed Humanity to arise and develop. To that extent the earth and the whole body of natural laws—'le grand milieu,' in Comte's expression—were rightly venerated by mankind, but only as a consequence of their relation to Humanity. The old cosmogonies made man the objective centre of the universe. Comte aimed only at a subjective synthesis. In positivism all knowledge is viewed in its relation to man, and human knowledge is considered adequate for all human needs. At the same time Comte was not purely intellectualist. He recognized the effect of practical life and feeling on thought. He took all sides of human nature into account. He insisted on the need of social aims even in scientific inquiry.

'The Intellect should always be the servant of the Heart, never its slave' (*A General View of Positivism*, Eng. tr.[2], original title page).

To the positive philosophy corresponds a positive education, replacing instruction in letters by a training in science and a knowledge of realities. Comte divided the education of the young into three phases. Till seven years of age the child would remain entirely in his mother's charge, gradually exercising his powers, but in an informal way, and not even being taught to read. From seven to fourteen, while he would learn to read and write, his education would be mainly artistic. He would sing and draw, and become acquainted with the literature of his own country, and possibly towards the end of the period he might begin to study foreign languages. Comte hoped that eventually mothers who had already received a positivist education would be capable of teaching their children during the second, as well as the first, period, but for the present he recognized that this would be impossible. Finally, in the third stage, from fourteen to twenty-one, the youth, while engaged in preparing for the active work of his life—in general as apprentice—would follow courses on all the seven abstract sciences, from mathematics to ethics, on two evenings in the week during the first two years, on one evening during the last five. Girls would go through precisely the same course, except that, to prevent overstrain, they would have only one evening a week throughout. For such classes to be largely attended, they would obviously have to fulfil certain conditions. (1) The hours of labour would have to be short. Comte hoped that the hours even of adults would ultimately be reduced to thirty-five a week. (2) The study of each science must be limited. There was to be no question of training the boys and girls to be teachers of mathematics or chemists or surgeons. For such professional instruction there would be special institutions. The general courses would be open to all and would have to recognize two limitations. They must be sufficient only (*a*) to give the student a grasp of scientific method, of the scientific way of looking at the world, and (*b*) to enable him to proceed to the later sciences. Each science would be pursued—till the last was reached—in order to understand its method and have a firm basis for later studies. (3) The course of seven years must form a connected whole, and be infused with a social purpose. The teachers, therefore, were to be men of philosophic outlook—Comte referred to them as a philosophical priesthood—who, while their chief business would be teaching, would also form a spiritual power, international as science is, and independent of political parties, who, as they would renounce all temporal ambition, could give disinterested counsel in relation to public affairs.

Many other institutions were suggested by Comte. Of these it is possible here to describe only the Positivist Library and the Positivist Calendars.

The Positivist Library for the Nineteenth Century was a selection of books made by Comte, 'with the view of guiding the more thoughtful minds among the people in their choice of books for constant use.' It is divided into four sections: poetry and fiction, science, history, and philosophy and religion. Of these the first and last have naturally the most permanent interest, the one containing the great masterpieces of imaginative literature from Homer and Æschylus to Goethe and Walter Scott, the other, not only the sacred books of Hebrew, Christian, and Muslim, the Bible and the Qur'ān, with St. Augustine, St. Bernard, Thomas à Kempis, and Bossuet, but the great philosophers, from Aristotle, through Bacon and Descartes, to Diderot, Condorcet, and Comte. The collection was purely provisional and intended only for the West. It includes only those religious writings that have directly affected Western civilization; it excludes the great epics of India. This is in the main true also of the Historical Calendar, though the first month contains the names of Buddha, Confucius, and Zoroaster as well as those of Moses, Isaiah, and Muhammad. The year is divided into thirteen months, each representing a phase in human development: theocratic civilization, ancient poetry, philosophy, science, military civilization, catholicism, feudalism, modern epic poetry, industry, drama, philosophy, statesmanship, and science. The month is divided into

twenty-eight days. At the head of each month is a great name, Homer, Dante, Shakespeare for the three months of poetry, Aristotle and Descartes for the two of philosophy, Julius Cæsar, St. Paul, Charlemagne, etc. Other types preside over each week, while every day recalls some eminent man, with substitutes in some cases for leap-years. The whole forms a wonderful picture of European progress from the dawn of history to the French Revolution. It is professedly a record of construction rather than destruction; except in the first month it deals almost entirely with the West; it is temporary, save as a historical sketch, and even historical values change. On the other hand, the Abstract Calendar is general and permanent. In this the first month is dedicated to Humanity, the next five to family and industrial relationships, then three to the preparatory historic phases, fetishism, polytheism, and monotheism, and the last four to the normal functions—the moral providence of women, the intellectual providence of the teachers and thinkers, the material providence of the industrial leaders, and the general providence of the proletariate. Both Calendars end with an additional day not included in any month—a day dedicated to no particular individual but to 'all the dead,' since every man, in the course of his life, however useless or degraded, has done some useful or even honourable actions. In leap-year one day more has to be added, and this is devoted to a general commemoration of those illustrious women who, under exceptional circumstances, have, like Joan of Arc, passed beyond the sphere of woman's ordinary duties. Under the influence of a higher standard of education, Comte thought the number of such women would increase in the future, but that the great mass of women would still devote themselves to the indispensable duties of the home, and remain the moral providence of Humanity. The first day of the first month of the year was assigned as the festival of Humanity, not as the day of all the dead, a commemoration of the individuals who compose the human race, but as the day of that great human organism considered as a whole and built up by the convergent efforts of all generations. Comte also instituted a series of nine social sacraments 'consecrating all the successive phases of private life by connecting each with public life' (*The Catechism of Positive Religion*, Eng. tr.[2], p. 90).

4. Spread of positivism. — Comte founded the Positivist Society of Paris in 1848. His philosophy was spread from an independent standpoint in England by John Stuart Mill, George Henry Lewes, and Harriet Martineau. Later a Positivist Society was founded in London by Richard Congreve, E. S. Beesly, J. H. Bridges, Frederic Harrison, and Henry Crompton. They concerned themselves not only with the philosophic but also with the religious side of his teaching and with the practical application of positivism to public affairs. Believing with Comte that 'the proletariate class is not, properly speaking, a class at all, but constitutes the body of society' (*A General View of Positivism*, Eng. tr.[2], p. 147), and that trade unionism is a powerful instrument for the emancipation of the workers, the English positivists were foremost in the agitation for the strengthening and legal recognition of the Unions. Believing that politics should be subordinate to moral considerations, they have actively opposed all schemes of aggressive imperialism, whether on the part of their own or on that of other countries, and they protested in 1871 against the dismemberment of France. Recognizing that Humanity consists, not of an undifferentiated aggregate, but in a consensus of free nations, they have supported the claims of subject nationalities, as Ireland and Poland, to control their own internal affairs and develop in their own way. The term 'Comtist' was repudiated by Comte, and has not been accepted by positivists, as it misinterprets the relationship between that great teacher and those who have carried on the positivist movement and propagated the Religion of Humanity since his death. Positivism being founded on science and on scientific philosophy, its doctrine and practice must be adapted to the new truth that results from scientific development. It is a synthesis, but not a closed and rigid synthesis. It is a relative, an organic, and an expanding synthesis, in which all new developments of science must find their place. The positive philosophy neither began nor ended with Comte, though it was under the inspiration of his genius that positivism ceased to be purely intellectual, and embraced not only the intellect, but also the feelings and activity of man.

At present there exist an International Positivist Society with its seat in Paris, of which Emile Corra is president, and local Positivist Societies (some of which are attached to the International Society and some independent) in many places—notably in London and Liverpool, and in several parts of Latin America, with scattered groups or individuals in almost every country. Among distinguished adherents in the past or present may be mentioned, in addition to the English positivists named above, in France Pierre Laffitte, who succeeded Comte, and had among his disciples many of the founders of the Third French Republic, George Eliot, the English novelist, John Kells Ingram in Ireland, Benjamin Constant Botelho de Magaelens, founder of the Brazilian Republic, Theophilo Braga, chief of the provisional government and second President of the Portuguese Republic, Ahmed Riza, speaker of the first Turkish Parliament after the Revolution, and Dwarka Nath Mitter, first Indian Judge of the High Court at Calcutta. *La Revue positiviste internationale*, published six times a year at Paris, is the organ of the central body. *The Positivist Review* is published monthly in London.

5. Principles.—The English Positivist Committee (The Church of Humanity, 19 Chapel Street, Lamb's Conduit Street, London, W.C.) have recently issued the following statement under the title, 'Some Principles of the Religion of Humanity.'

'As the bounds of human love and duty extend from family to country, from country to all races and peoples, as science develops till it embraces the laws of the world and of life, of Man and Society, Humanity becomes recognised as an organic whole, which has existed through the ages and has continually grown in knowledge and unity. The old religions are seen to be worthy of honour so far as they foreshadowed this unity, as they inspired love and service, the pursuit of social aims, and the advance in righteousness and knowledge. The Religion of Humanity attains these ends more completely and more directly; for it has grown out of the whole past of Man; it is inspired by human love; it is based solely on human science; it has human service as its highest aim. It gives us a criterion of duty and a test of progress. In the presence of our duty to Humanity, all lesser duties find their true place and meaning. We can reconcile family affection and private friendship with public endeavour, devotion to country with love of all mankind.

The Religion of Humanity does not destroy the older religions; it fulfils their highest aims. It does not weaken family ties; it purifies and consecrates them. It does not repudiate the love of country; it honours each nation, however small or primitive, as a necessary element of a greater whole—an element more glorious as in its free development it brings its special gifts to the general service and the common task. It does not disregard physical and material well-being; but it subordinates them to the social and moral point of view, considering human happiness of greater importance than the accumulation of wealth, and the welfare of the great mass of the people than that of any section. This religion is based on the positive philosophy which includes in its scope the social organisation, the historic filiation of the ages, and the conduct of Man in Society, and it involves full liberty of speech and teaching for all. Humanity and science, love and knowledge, are alike necessary to right action. Inspired by the one, and enlightened by the other, we go forward in the great work of human service' (Leaflet, p 1 f.).

The Committee invites the adhesion of 'all those who wish to see life inspired by a human religion, guided by a philosophy founded on science and directed to the service of Man' (*ib.* p. 2).

LITERATURE.—i. *PRECURSORS OF COMTE IN THE 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES.* — F. Bacon, *Novum Organum* (under title, *Instauratio Magna*), London, 1620; R. Descartes, *Discours de la Méthode*, Leyden, 1637, Eng. tr., London, 1649; T. Hobbes, *Leviathan*, London, 1651; G. Vico, *Scienza Nuova*, Naples, 1725, Fr. tr., Paris, 1835; D. Hume, *Treatise of Human Nature*, London, 1739, *Four Dissertations*, the first being *The Natural Hist. of Religion*, do. 1757; C. de S. Montesquieu, *De l'Esprit des lois*, Geneva, 1748, Eng. tr.[2], London, 1752; J. G. von Herder, *Ideen zur Philosophie der Gesch. der Menschheit*, Riga and Leipzig, 1784–91, Eng. tr., London, 1900; I. Kant, *Werke*, Leipzig, 1838–39, esp. *Politische Meinungen*, Königsberg, 1794, Eng. tr., London, 1798; M. J. A. N. Condorcet, *Esquisse d'un tableau historique de l'esprit humain*, Paris, 1795, Eng. tr., London, 1795. For relations of positivism to 18th cent. thought cf. John Morley, *Diderot and the Encyclopædists*, London, 1878.

ii. *WORKS BY AUGUSTE COMTE.* — Essays contributed to various periodicals, 1819–28, collected as *Opuscules de Philosophie sociale*, in appendix to the *Politique*, Eng. tr., *Early Essays on Social Philosophy*[2], London, 1911, *Cours de philosophie positive*, 6 vols., Paris, 1830–42, Eng. tr., much condensed, by Harriet Martineau[3], London, 1896 (the first two chs. have been tr. as *The Fundamental Principles of the Positive Philosophy*, London, 1905), *Traité élémentaire de géométrie analytique*, Paris, 1843, *Traité philosophique d'astronomie populaire*, do. 1844 (preliminary discourse published separately as *Discours sur l'esprit positif*, do. 1844, tr. E. S. Beesly, London, 1903), *Discours sur l'ensemble du positivisme*, Paris, 1848 (forms the introduction to the *Politique*, tr. J. H. Bridges, *A General View of Positivism*[3], London, 1908), *Système de politique positive*, 4 vols., Paris, 1851–54, tr. J. H. Bridges, F. Harrison, E. S. Beesly, and R. Congreve, *The Positive Polity*, London, 1875–77 (the third volume is a history of human progress), *Catéchisme positiviste*, Paris, 1852, Eng. tr., *The Catechism of Positive Religion*[3], London, 1891, *Appel aux conservateurs*, Paris, 1855, Eng. tr., London, 1889, *Synthèse subjective*, Paris, 1856, Eng. tr. of introd. ch. only, London, 1891, *The Positivist Calendar of Auguste Comte and other Tables*, London, 1905.

iii. *LATER POSITIVIST WORKS.*—P. Laffitte, *Les grands Types de l'humanité*, 2 vols., Paris, 1875–76, *De la Morale positive*, Havre, 1881, tr. J. C. Hall, *The Positive Science of Morals*, London, 1908, *Cours de philosophie première*, 2 vols., Paris, 1889–94, *Catholicisme*, do. 1897; J. F. E. Robinet, *Notice sur l'œuvre et la vie d'Auguste Comte*[3], do. 1891; E. S. Beesly, J. H. Bridges, F. Harrison (ed.), V. Lushington, etc., *The New Calendar of Great Men*, London, 1892 (biographies of the 558 in the Positivist Calendar); J. H. Bridges, *Essays and Addresses*, do. 1907, *Illustrations of Positivism*, enlarged and classified ed., do. 1915; F. Harrison, *The Creed of a Layman*, do. 1907, *The Philosophy of Common Sense*, do. 1907, *National and Social Problems*, do. 1908, *Realities and Ideals*, do. 1908, *The Positive Evolution of Religion*, do. 1913; Mrs. F. Harrison (ed.), *Service of Man*[3] (a hymn book), do. 1908; J. K. Ingram, *Outlines of the Hist. of Religion*, do. 1900.

iv. *CRITICAL OR INDEPENDENT WORKS ON POSITIVISM.*—J. S. Mill, *A System of Logic*, London, 1843, *Auguste Comte and Positivism*, do. 1865 (answer by J. H. Bridges, *The Unity of Comte's Life and Doctrine*[2], do. 1910); H. Spencer, *The Classification of the Sciences; to which are added Reasons for dissenting from the Philosophy of M. Comte*, do. 1864; G. H. Lewes, *Biographical Hist. of Philosophy*[3], 2 vols., do. 1867, art. 'Comte'; H. Gruber, *August Comte, der Begründer des Positivismus*, Freiburg, 1889, Fr. tr., Paris, 1892, *Der Positivismus vom Tode August Comte's bis auf unsere Tage* (1857–91), Freiburg, 1891, Fr. tr., Paris, 1893; F. Alengry, *Essai historique et critique sur la sociologie chez Auguste Comte*, do. 1900; L. Lévy-Bruhl, *La Philosophie d'Auguste Comte*, do. 1900, Eng. tr., London, 1903; V. Branford and P. Geddes, *The Coming Polity*, London, 1917.

S. H. SWINNY.

POSSESSION.

Introductory (E. N. FALLAIZE), p. 122.
American.—See COMMUNION WITH DEITY (American).
Chinese.—See TAOISM.
Greek and Roman (A. C. PEARSON), p. 127.
Indian (W. CROOKE), p. 130.
Japanese (M. REVON), p. 131.
Muslim.—See 'Semitic and Christian.'
Semitic and Christian (G. A. BARTON), p. 133.
Slavic.—See DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Slavic).
Teutonic.—See DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Teutonic).

POSSESSION (Introductory and Primitive).—The belief that supernatural powers, spiritual or divine, may become embodied in man, either permanently or temporarily, is found at all stages of human development and has had a profound effect on the history of religious belief. Possession, a temporary embodiment of an influence or spirit alien to the subject, is a conception in full logical agreement with primitive animistic theories; it was officially recognized in the early Christian Church; and it underlay the cruder forms of modern revivalism. Abnormal physical and psychical manifestations are regarded as evidence of the presence of a deity or spirit, good or evil, and every word and action of the subject are held to be outside his or her control and to proceed solely from the indwelling power. The primitive mind has been quick to seize the advantage of the supposed presence of a supernatural being in order to influence or ascertain the future course of events, and this in one form or another has persisted throughout the religious and spiritual history of mankind. And, since those who are, or have been, under the influence of possession are regarded as oracles, prophets, magicians, and diviners, it has followed that, where the physical and mental peculiarities which are regarded as signs of the spiritual influence are not present from natural causes, they have been simulated or artificially induced. Possession in primitive custom may, therefore, be distinguished as being either involuntary or voluntary. This distinction, though not clearly present to the primitive mind, is nevertheless real.

1. **Origin of belief.**—The spiritual theory of the universe, which is the basis of primitive modes of thought and ascribes powers and attributes which would now be regarded as supernatural to every man or woman, might be held adequate to account for the nature of the belief. It is clear, however, that, while this attitude of the primitive mind has suggested its general form, its interest centres in what is abnormal in the phenomena. The constant association of possession with pathological states of mind and body indicates that as a theory it is an attempt to explain the existence of epileptics, neurotics, perverts, and those who are subject to other forms of mental diseases. It is particularly significant that it is precisely in those areas in which what is known as 'arctic hysteria' is prevalent, and especially in Siberia, that the mediumistic side of the shaman's functions are most prominent and most constantly in request.

2. **Description of phenomena.**—The interesting physical and psychical phenomena of possession as described both in antiquity and in recent times are essentially identical wherever encountered. The subject, having attained by means of some stimulus or other a state of intense emotional excitation, is seized with convulsive shiverings and shakings of the body, makes violent gestures with the arms, and his looks become wild and excited.

An account of a case of possession in the Sandwich Islands says that the priest who was the subject worked himself up to the highest pitch of frenzy, the limbs seemed convulsed, the body swelled, the countenance became terrific and the features distorted, the eyes wild and strained. While in this state, he rolled on the earth, foaming at the mouth as if labouring under the influence of the divinity. The will of the gods was then revealed in shrill cries, in violent and often indistinct sounds. When the response of the oracle had been given, the violent paroxysm gradually subsided and comparative composure ensued (W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*[2], London, 1832–36, i. 372–375). This account may well be compared with that given by Vergil:

> . . . subito non vultus, non color unus,
> Non comptae mansere comae; sed pectus anhelum,
> Et rabie fera corda tument; majorque videri,
> Nec mortale sonans; afflata est numine quando
> Jam propiore dei' (*Æn.* vi. 47–51).

The exclamations, the cry 'Apollo,' and the disjointed utterances with which Cassandra in the *Agamemnon* begins to prophesy under the influence of the god (Æsch. *Agam.* 1072 f.) in like manner find a parallel in the description of possession among primitive races. In the Vedda ceremony the shaman cries 'Ah, Ah,' as the *yaka* enters into possession of him and when it leaves; in Fiji, when the priest was seized, the god announced his name with the subject's voice (*GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, London, 1911, i. 378, quoting L. Fison).

The gradual cessation of the paroxysm is not universal. Among the Veddas the termination of possession takes place suddenly after a crucial act in the pantomime of which the ceremonial consists and the shaman falls back exhausted into the arms of his supporters. In a careful study of the phenomena in the Vedda shaman Seligmann says that, although the performer can co-ordinate his movements, he has only a general idea of what he is doing and is more or less in an automatic condition in which he goes through all the emotional movements of the dance correctly and in the proper order. He acts without complete volitional consciousness. The shamans themselves said that both at the beginning and at the end of the performance they were seized with vertigo and nausea. One said that he heard booming noises in his ears when the spirits left him. Apparently the determining factors are a profound belief in the reality of possession and a subconscious attitude of expectancy. It appears to be clear that the possession of the bystanders is non-volitional. A Sinhalese 'devil-dancer' appeared to suffer considerable pain, or at any rate inconvenience, although he did not wish to be, and had taken pains to avoid becoming, possessed. At the end of the dance the performer seems to be genuinely tired. The Veddas show no particular indications of a neurotic or hysterical tendency (C. G. and B. Z. Seligmann, *The Veddas*, Cambridge, 1911, pp. 130, 134 f., 209 ff.).

3. Possession and disease. — Although the primitive theory of possession does not discriminate between the cause of cases which are pathological and those in which an abnormal state is the result of the more or less voluntary action of the subject, both alike being attributed to the presence of spirits, in practice a distinction is made between an accidental or occasional seizure and the ceremonial observance of rites to summon spirits to materialize for a special purpose.

Forms of possession which, in the light of this distinction, might be classed in the former category, would include such as are explained as arising from neglect of what is fitting in respect of, or by way of offerings to, a spirit.

Among the Lushei of India, on the occasion of the tribal feasts, the spirits of the dead are believed to be present and it is usual to place offerings of food for them in the eaves of the houses. If it should happen that a girl who has recently lost her mother should fall in a faint, it is taken as a case of possession; 'the dead has taken her place.' This is a sign that the spirit is not satisfied with the costume and ornaments with which she was decked on the occasion of the funeral. In order that the girl may be relieved and the spirit appeased, her clothes, ornaments, etc., are placed on that part of the floor where the body lay and one of her old petticoats and cloths is burnt in the forge (J. Shakespeare, *The Lushei Kuki Clans*, London, 1912, p. 65).

Possession may follow some act of impiety.

It is recorded that a Javanese coolie in the Malay Peninsula who cut down a tree known to be tenanted by a *hantu* (spirit) was seized by something resembling an epileptic fit, which was regarded by the Malays as possession. No Malay would cut down a tree known as the abode of a spirit unless directed to do so in the course of an exorcism conducted by the medicine-man (C. O. Blagden, quoted by W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, London, 1900, p. 64 f.).

Near relatives appear to be peculiarly susceptible to attacks by spirits of the deceased, as in the Lushei case of mother and daughter cited above. In other cases, as, *e.g.*, among the Akikúyu, who believe diseases to be caused by *n'góma* (spirits of the dead), there is peculiar danger for the relatives.

The *n'góma* haunt especially the place of the man's death and, if he has been an evil liver, his spirit does as much harm as possible, in particular by taking possession of people whenever he has an opportunity. In such cases the medicine-man is called in to interpret the spirit's desire. If it is not satisfied, it will torment its victim at night and probably cause madness (W. S. and K. Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People*, London, 1910, p. 240 f.).

Possession and causing madness are here specifically mentioned as activities of an evil spirit, but among the primitive theories of disease causation by spirits who enter into or torment the patient holds a prominent place. The therapeutic measures of the medicine-man, in so far as they are not purely materialistic, like the extraction of a bone or pebble, are largely directed towards driving out or propitiating the demons or spirits responsible for the disease (see art. SHAMANISM). It also finds expression in the customs of driving out disease-spirits at special festivals, of sending them away in boats, or of diverting them to a scapegoat.

It is, however, to the more violent and abnormal forms of disease in particular that the theory of possession is applied.

The Bathonga hold that possession in the form in which it is recognized among them is caused by the spirits of the dead, not, be it noted, spirits of their own dead, but Zulu or Banjao spirits. It occurs chiefly among those who travel outside Thonga boundaries. The attacks are not confined to the time of their absence from their own country; they may bring back the infection with them, and, indeed, though now less frequently than formerly, at times the disease has assumed the proportions of an epidemic. The preliminary symptoms are a nervous crisis, persistent pain in chest, hiccough, extraordinary yawning, and emaciation. If, after consultation of the divinatory bones, the medicine-man decides that the patient is possessed, the spirit is exorcized. In the course of the elaborate series of ceremonies which follows the patient in a frenzy declares the name of the spirit which possesses him, speaking in Zulu or Njao even if he has no previous acquaintance with the language. The spirits are appeased by the offering of a goat. When the throat of the goat is cut, the patient sucks blood from the cut until his stomach is full and is then torn away from the carcass by the bystanders. He is given drugs which act as an emetic and the spirit is declared to have left him. At the end of the ceremony which closes the rites, and after a probationary period of a year, the possessed are regarded as fully initiated medicine-men and are distinguished by white beads woven into their hair (H. A. Junod, *Life of a S. African Tribe*, London, 1913, ii. 436 ff.). Among the Zulu, where possession occurs in a very similar form and with almost identical symptoms, it is ascribed to the ancestral spirits (*amatongo*); from some it departs of its own accord, others have the ghost laid, while in other cases the disease is allowed to take its own course and they become diviners (H. Callaway, *Religious System of the Amazulu*, London, 1870, pp. 185, 289, etc.).

The magico-medical theories of the Malays which are based upon the idea of 'mischiefs' are peculiarly instructive as illustrations of this side of the possession theory. As an example may be cited the form of treatment which aims at inducing the disease to pass along a parti-coloured thread from the patient to small dough figures of birds, beasts, and fishes (Skeat, p. 432 f.).

In Borneo the pagan tribes regard madmen as possessed by some *toh* (spirit), while the Melanaus extend this theory to other forms of sickness. Exorcism for possession is practised by all the pagan tribes, least frequently among the Kayans, most elaborately among the Klemantan. The different forms of dementia are ascribed to different devils. They are said to be ghosts with red eyes; the *amok* devil comes from the swamp and is different from the suicide devil, both being distinct from the devils which cause simple lunacy (C. Hose and W. McDougall, *Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, London, 1912, ii. 28, 31, 46).

It will not be necessary to enter more fully into this side of the subject here, on which further information may be found elsewhere (see artt. DISEASE AND MEDICINE, SHAMANISM). Enough has been said to indicate that, while possession is one of the more important theories of disease, it is applied especially to those cases in which peculiarly violent or abnormal symptoms are plainly to be observed.

4. Possession and initiation.—The pathological character of those affections which are regarded by primitive peoples as evidence of possession is such that the symptoms of the disease or weakness would recur at more or less frequent intervals. It is therefore not surprising to find that those who are subject to such nervous crises come to be regarded as a class apart—a class of peculiar sanctity. This offers in part an explanation of the origin and power of the medicine-man on one side of his functions—as healer, wonder-worker, and prophet. Those who have been in such close relation with the spirits are expected to have special power over them and special knowledge of their will (see J. G. Frazer, *The Belief in Immortality*, i., London, 1913, p. 15).

The Bathonga who had been exorcized for possession after a period of probation himself became a medicine-man and exorcist (Junod, ii. 436 f.). The Melanau woman who has been under the influence of the *toh*, when she has undergone the full

ceremony of exorcism, becomes a medicine-woman with full powers to summon the spirits to assist her in healing others (Hose-McDougall, ii. 130).

In both these cases the abnormal condition did not bring about the automatic inclusion of the subject in the class of medicine-men and -women. The further ceremonies beyond the minimum necessary for mere exorcism, as well as the probationary year in the Thonga case, suggest that, while the actual case of possession had indicated the fitness of the subject, some further process was necessary before he or she was regarded as fully qualified. In this connexion it may be mentioned that in the secret societies, and especially in those of W. Africa, of which initiation is such an important feature, the spiritualistic element which is prominent in certain forms of possession appears to be strongly cultivated (see Hutton Webster, *Primitive Secret Societies*, New York, 1908, p. 174 ff., and P. A. Talbot, *In the Shadow of the Bush*, do. 1912, p. 40). On the other hand, the mere fact of possession is sometimes adequate to secure recognition of magical powers.

Among the Patagonians those who were seized with the falling sickness or St. Vitus' dance were at once selected to be sorcerers as chosen by the demons themselves (T. Falkner, *Description of Patagonia*, Hereford, 1774, p. 116). In some cases the power was confined to certain families; among some Siberian tribes the office of shaman tended to become hereditary, but the supernatural gift was a necessary qualification, and the shamans also adopted children who appeared suitable to succeed them, i.e. those who showed signs of an epileptic or neurotic tendency. Notwithstanding the prevalence of arctic hysteria, it is probable that the qualities necessary for a successful shaman were not too common, as not only must he differ from the ordinary patient in having great control over himself between the fits, which occurred only at the ceremonies, but he had also to have a strong personality, tact, and knowledge to control those with whom he came into contact (M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, Oxford, 1914, p. 169 ff.; *PC*[4], London, 1903, ii. 133, quoting Georgi).

Yet, notwithstanding their selection on the grounds of special fitness, whether due to inheritance or as manifested in the susceptibility to possession, the shamans, after a call which usually follows an acute nervous crisis, have to undergo a period of preparation varying from tribe to tribe, but which in the case of the Yakuts is a lengthy and elaborate ceremony of initiation.

On the other hand, even where a predisposition or the actual symptoms of previous disease were not a condition of becoming a priest, diviner, or soothsayer, the novitiate often imposed conditions which could not fail to lead to an abnormal or unhealthy frame of mind.

The probationary periods required from the aspirant to the profession of the medicine-man among the N. American tribes not infrequently included long fasts and periods of solitude spent in the mountains, during which the novice saw visions, dreamed dreams, and entered into relation with spirits, while the immediate followers of the medicine-men in periodic seclusion in the woods often inflict upon themselves mutilations and injuries which suggest the influence of hysteria (C. Hill-Tout, *British North America*, i., *The Far West*, London, 1907, p. 174 f.; *NR*, San Francisco, 1882–83, i. 170 f., 202, 284, 777, etc.). Among the Chukchi, Koryak, and Gilyak, during the long periods of seclusion in the forests, not only did the shamans learn and practise their professional arts—singing, dancing, ventriloquism, and playing the drum—but they endured hardships of cold, hunger, and solitude which could not but intensify their natural predisposition towards hysteria (Czaplicka, p. 178 f.).

These facts appear to lend support to the view that possession voluntarily induced was not entirely imposture, as those in whom lay the power of acting as media would be recruited from neurotic and mentally weak members of the community who, having a natural predisposition to instability, would be peculiarly susceptible to the influence of excitement and auto-suggestion.

In view of the sanctity of the chief and king and the close connexion of these offices with that of priest and medicine-man, it is not surprising to find that it is believed that the presence of the deity or the spirits may be made manifest in the person of the ruler or leader of a community.

In the Sandwich Islands the god spoke through the king (Ellis, *loc. cit.*). In Fiji the god could be approached only through the medium of the priest, who announced the will of the deity while under the influence of divine possession, but the offices of priest and chief were combined. If, however, the chief was of high rank, it was considered derogatory to his dignity that he should become possessed (B. Thomson, *Fijians*, London, 1908, p. 159).

5. The spirit helper.—As a result of the seclusion which forms part of the novitiate both in Siberia and in N. America, the shaman acquires a familiar spirit or helper which usually appears to him in the form of some animal. When he becomes possessed subsequently, it is by the intermediation of this helper that he comes into relation with the spirit world.

In the Siberian séance, the shaman being a skilled ventriloquist, the voices of the spirits come from all sides of the room as well as from the ceiling. The spirits speak with their own voices, unless they happen to be wolf, fox, or raven, which can speak in the language of man. Sometimes the shaman himself does not understand the language; it may be a mixture of Koryak, Yakut, and Yukaghir, and it may have to be translated for the benefit of Russianized shamans. One Tungus shaman having Koryak spirits, they spoke through him in that tongue. The Asiatic Eskimos have a spirit language analogous to that of the Eskimos of Alaska and Eastern N. America. On the other hand, a Chukchi shamaness, while in a state of possession, in which she produced small pebbles from a larger pebble with no apparent change in the latter, by wringing it with her hands, was unable to answer questions except by signs, because, it was said, she had temporarily lost the knowledge of her own language (Czaplicka, pp. 231, 233).

6. Voluntary possession.—The theory of possession is not applied solely to those intermittent manifestations of abnormality to which it owes its origin. It could hardly be expected that those who are subject to attacks should not take advantage of the power given them by the feelings of awe and terror aroused by their supposed relation to the spirit world. But, as a crisis of their disease cannot be relied upon to coincide with the moment when their advice may be sought or their assistance invoked by the ordinary member of the community, possession is superinduced voluntarily by an artificial stimulus. The fact that in the majority of cases possession is not a morbid state due to purely natural causes, but is artificially induced, as well as the comparative certainty and facility with which the state of exaltation is attained, has caused question to be raised as to the genuine character of the manifestations and the honesty of the performers. When the peculiar temperament of the performers is taken into account, however, there can be little doubt that, notwithstanding imposture in details, the seizure is genuine and the performer himself often believes to a great extent in the reality of his powers. Many writers concur in ascribing a peculiar cast of countenance to the medicine-man as distinct from other members of his tribe. There is often said to be an appearance of evasive cunning and malice, especially in the expression of the eyes. More probably it is due to a highly-strung or neurotic temperament (see especially writers quoted in Czaplicka, *loc. cit.*).

Various means are employed to superinduce the state of possession. These are usually of such a character as might be expected to set up a state of automatism in the chief actor, and, where possession is not confined to the central figure, to stir up a sympathetic state of excitement in the bystanders. Usually some form of action with a strong rhythmic appeal is a prominent feature in the preliminary ceremonies.

The Vedda form of possession is preceded by a dance in which the shaman, while uttering invocations to the spirits, circles round the offerings; the dance increases in speed until the seizure takes place. In one dance in which there were two principal performers the second joined in when the first, who had already become possessed, waved a cloth in front of him. This cloth was the vehicle by which the spirit was supposed to have entered the first dancer, and presumably by the action of waving the cloth in front of the second it was also transmitted to him (C. G. and B. Z. Seligmann, p. 230). In Borneo the Kayan medicine-women, in the course of the exorcism of the

evil spirit for the cure of disease, whirl round until they fall in a faint (Hose-McDougall, ii. 133).

Among all the Siberian tribes the most important part of the shaman's outfit is the magic drum, on which he beats at first softly and then louder and louder as his excitement increases. The shamans of the Chukchi and the Asiatic Eskimo sing while beating the drum, and responses are given by an answering chorus consisting in the former case of novices, in the latter of the members of the shaman's family (Czaplicka, p. 230 f.). The Samoyed shaman holds in one hand two arrows, from the points of which hang two bells, and in the other a mystic staff, with which he beats the bells rhythmically as he sings (*ib.* p. 239). In the course of the Bathonga ceremony for exorcizing the spirit of possession—a ceremony which consisted chiefly of an orgy of noise made by drums, rattles, etc., round the subject, sometimes for as long a period as a fortnight—the patient composes a song, usually in Zulu, by the repetition of which subsequently he can be roused or arouse himself to a state of excitation. This is his special song and is used by him on all occasions when, having become a fully-fledged medicine-man, he exercises his powers. One peculiarity connected with this song is that it is invariably composed in Zulu or Njao, even though the subject is unacquainted with these languages. In Fiji the priest appears to set up a state of auto-hypnosis. He takes in his hand, and gazes fixedly at, a whale's tooth until he begins to tremble with a violent muscular action and to sob (Thomson, p. 160). The Yakut shaman also in the preliminary performance gazes fixedly on some point in the darkened room, usually the fire. The peculiar effect of suggestion is indicated in this case by the artificial hiccough which the shaman keeps up during the early part of the performance in the complete silence of a darkened room before he begins to beat his drum (W. Sieroszewski, quoted in Czaplicka, p. 235).

The action of other means employed is more obvious. Intoxicants of various kinds are used.

In Mangaia before giving oracles the priests drank an intoxicating liquor (W. W. Gill, *Myths and Songs from the S. Pacific*, London, 1876, p. 75). In Bali incense was inhaled by the seer or he was surrounded by a band of singing men and women (F. A. Liefrinck, quoted in *GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, i. 379).

Smoke from the foliage of a sacred tree or plant was sometimes used.

Among the tribes of the Hindu Kush the priestess veiled her head with a cloth and inhaled smoke from the fire of the sacred cedar until seized with convulsions (J. Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, Calcutta, 1880, p. 97). The priestess of Apollo ate and was fumigated with laurel, while the Bacchanals ate ivy (Plut. *Quæst. Rom.* 112). In Uganda tobacco was smoked (J. Roscoe, 'Further Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda,' *JRAI* xxxii. [1902] 42). Chukchi and Tungus shamans smoked pipes containing narcotic tobacco; the Yakuts also smoked, swallowing the smoke (Czaplicka, pp. 230, 234). In Madura the medium inhaled incense as she sat on a tripod (*GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, i. 384).

A repulsive but not uncommon method of excitation was to suck or drink the blood of a sacrificial victim.

Among the Kuruvikkārans of S. India the goddess Kali descends on the priest after he has sucked blood from a goat of which the throat has been cut (E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of S. India*, Madras, 1909, iv. 187). In S. Celebes the priest runs to put his head inside the carcass of a pig which has been cut open. The impulsive character of this act may be compared with the convulsive sucking of the victim's blood in the Bathonga case quoted above (*GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, i. 382). Analogous examples are to be found in the records of antiquity. In Rhetra, the religious capital of the W. Slavs, the priest tasted the blood of the victim in order to prophesy better (F. J. Mone, *Gesch. des Heidenthums*, Leipzig, 1822, p. 188). The heathen of Harrān, although holding blood unclean and the food of demons, drank it in order to enter into communion with them. In ancient Greece drinking bulls' blood was both a test of the chastity of the priestess and, in Argos, at Ægira in Achaia, a preliminary to the descent of the priestess into the cave from which she prophesied (*GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, i. 381 f.). In S. India self-mutilation was part of the rite. The devil-dancer cuts and lacerates his flesh with a huge whip till the blood flows, presses a torch to his breast, drinks blood from his own wounds and then from the throat of the sacrificial victim (R. Caldwell, 'On Demonolatry in S. India,' *JASB* i. [1832] 101 ff.).

7. Objects to be attained by possession.—(*a*) *Oracles, divination, and prophecy.*—It follows from the primitive interpretation of this abnormal state of exaltation as one of possession by a spirit or by a deity that anything said by the subject while in this state should be regarded as the utterance of the spirit itself. A condition of the success of an attempt to exorcize the possessing spirit is that it should be compelled to declare through the mouth of the victim either its name, thus giving the operator power over it in accordance with a generally recognized rule of magical practice, or its desires (usually a request for offerings), knowledge of which makes it possible for it to be expelled by propitiation. It requires only a slight extension of the argument that these sayings are an expression of the will of the gods to transform them into a channel for the revelation of the future. There is abundant evidence in the recorded instances of possession to show that this is not merely an *a priori* view, but is in accordance with the facts, and, even when the state of possession may have been induced primarily with another object in view, advantage has been taken to obtain knowledge of the future through the possessed person.

In the Sandwich Islands it was believed that, when the priest had reached the height of his frenzy, he revealed the will of the gods. But it was also held that the god did not leave him immediately after his recovery, but continued to possess him for two or three days longer. During this time, when he wore a cloth of a peculiar kind in order to mark his abnormal condition, all his acts were regarded as those of the god, and the greatest attention was paid to his expressions and his whole deportment (Ellis, i. 372–375).

When it is believed that these manifestations of the deity or of spirits are not such involuntary seizures as may occur at any time or to any person, but are subject to what to the savage mind must appear to be certain rules or natural laws, in that they can be superinduced by magical formulæ or magical acts, or in virtue of magical powers inherent in certain individuals, the custom arises of performing these actions or resorting to these individuals whenever it is desired to obtain knowledge of the future. Those who are subject to possession by entering voluntarily into the state of exaltation at the request of their consultants attain the position of oracles. Analogies more or less close to the priestess of Apollo at Delphi and the Sibyl at Cumæ are found in almost every part of the world.

The germ of the prophetic character of possession is to be seen in the Vedda dance in honour of the *nae yaku*, when the direction in which game will be found is indicated by the direction in which the pot of rice falls after it has been set spinning by the shaman as his last act before he ends his performance. In another dance the shaman splits a coco-nut with an *aude* (ceremonial arrow); if a clean break is made, the animal to be shot will be a female, but, if the edge is jagged, it will be a male (C. G. and B. Z. Seligmann, pp. 221, 223). In Bali it was held that, when the *pĕrmas* had been taken to the temple and had been raised to a proper pitch of excitement by the incense and the singing of groups of men and women who surrounded him, his soul left his body, which was then at the disposal of the deity. He was regarded as a god and as such gave answers to all questions (F. A. Liefrinck, quoted in *GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, i. 379).

The belief that the subject spoke no longer with his own voice but with that of the god is supported by peculiarities of diction and intonation. The utterance may be intermittent or the quality of the voice may be changed.

The Patagonian shaman, when he has worked himself into a frenzy by drumming and rattling, speaks in a low mournful voice (Falkner, *loc. cit.*). In the Sandwich Islands the god gives utterance through the priest to shrill cries and sounds violent and indistinct (Ellis, pp. 352, 373). In Guinea the fetish woman snorts and gasps and her responses are given in a shrill whistling voice (Römer, *Guinea*, p. 57, quoted in *PC*[4], p. 134 f.). As already mentioned, the Siberian shaman, by his skill in ventriloquism, was able to convince his audience of the presence of his spirit or spirits by the cries, appropriate to their supposed animal form, which they uttered. In the case of those animals which spoke with the human voice their utterance was distinguished by a peculiar timbre (Czaplicka, p. 231).

(*b*) *Propitiation.*—These abnormal manifestations may also be evoked in order to propitiate spiritual powers or to enter into communion with those powers; or they may even become an act of worship.

This aspect of the belief is very apparent in the pantomime dances of the Veddas, which form the most important element in their ritual and of which the essential object is that the shaman, the central figure, should become possessed by the spirits invoked. The end to be attained is the material success of the tribe, especially success in the matter of food supply, by propitiating the spirits of the recently dead and those spirits who are specially concerned with hunting, the gathering of honey, and the like. These dances are of the greatest interest; their details throw much light on similar dances elsewhere and on the belief in possession generally. The details of the ceremony, and

especially the eating of the offerings after its termination by all present, point to an attempt thoroughly to unite the spirit in a community of membership with the group and thus to secure the exercise of his power to its advantage, the shaman being both the convener and the vehicle of materialization. The dances take place around offerings to the *yaku* (spirits of the dead). The shaman, while dancing and uttering an invocation summoning the spirits, is seized by the *yaka* invoked. It is interesting to note that the spirit cannot enter directly into the shaman, but only by some vehicle, an *aude*, sword, cloth, or other object held in his hand,[1] or the leaves of a bower of branches usually erected near by. The bower is beaten and stripped when the dance is over in order that the spirits may not linger in the neighbourhood longer than is thought desirable. When the spirit enters the shaman, his first act is to approve the offering; this is signified by the shaman bending over the bowl in which it is contained and then springing away. It is expected that the spirit will grant them what they desire out of gratitude. The pantomime dance then begins; the movement usually leads up to some critical action, after which the shaman collapses. This critical act in a dance devoted to Kande Wauniya, a hunting hero, of which the object is to secure success in hunting, is the shooting of the *sambar* deer by the medicine-man. Another dance, in which Bambura Yaka is invoked for success in getting yams and pigs, staple foods, involves three separate possessions of the chief performer, one of each of the personages mentioned as helping Bambura to kill the boar in the hunting story represented by the action of the dance. In each of the dances the spirit invoked to take possession of the dancers and accept the offerings is appropriate to the end desired, Kande Wauniya for success in hunting, Bambura Yaka for pigs and yams, Pata Yaka in childbirth, Dola Yaka for success in collecting rock honey, Rahu Yaku in collecting the honey and in illness. One of the chief dances is that in honour of the *nae yaku*, the recently dead. Some of the dances, in addition to being intended to secure success in the future, are thanksgivings for past favours (C. G. and B. Z. Seligmann, p. 209 ff.).

Possession also forms an element in Malay dances, which, although now a form of amusement, retain some traces of a religious origin. The dance is preceded by an invocation and offering to the spirit of dancing, during which it is usual for the performer to lie down, but in the 'monkey-dance,' which is performed by a girl of about ten years of age, she lies in a swinging cradle, is rocked until she is dizzy, and is fed with salt and areca-nut. At the end of the invocation the spirit is supposed to have taken possession of the dancer. Sometimes the dancer in the monkey-dance is said to perform extraordinary feats of climbing while under the spirit's influence. The child is called by name when it is time for her to recover or, if that fails, she is bathed with coco-nut milk. At the end of the dances an invocation escorts the spirit home. In the 'spit-dance' the dancer holds two iron spits in his hand which at a certain point in the dance he drives into his arms, where they hang (Skeat, pp. 463–467).[2]

(c) *The treatment of disease.*—As has been stated above, the primitive theory of disease, in one of its forms, attributes it to the influence of spirits. This being the case, it is thought that its cure may be effected by entering into relation with the spirits and ascertaining their will. Frequently desire to obtain a knowledge of the future is merely secondary. The function of the Siberian shamanistic rites of possession was primarily to remove disease; only when this was accomplished did the shaman at times turn to prophecy. Among the Yakuts the gift of prophecy, however, was retained for some time after the cessation of the rites (Czaplicka, p. 237).

An instructive instance in which the relation of possession to both propitiation and cure of disease is illustrated is to be found in the *bori* cult of the Hausas of Nigeria and Tunis. The *bori* are spirits, some of Muhammadan origin, some purely pagan, who are regarded as the cause of the various diseases. Each spirit is known by name, is responsible for a particular disease, and is summoned to the accompaniment of drumming and the burning of incense by his or her special song. The dancers, both male and female, are 'mounted' by the spirits in the great ceremonial dances when offerings are made. In addition to these propitiation ceremonies which avert the attacks of disease, the medium may be called into consultation in case of an actual illness to make the offerings to appease the offended spirit, or for purposes of divination (A. J. N. Tremearne, *The Ban of the Bori*, London, n.d. [1914], pp. 243 ff., 280 ff.).

In S. India and Ceylon in the course of the devil-dances the performers by becoming possessed enter into relation with the demons who are responsible for cases of illness. It may be noted, however, that in some cases the aim of the performer is to avoid possession by the spirit responsible for the disease, especially if the spirit be very powerful. In the Gonagalla ceremony, at the stage when the Riri Yaka was invoked, a cock was substituted for the dancer as the subject for possession owing to the great malignity of this spirit (B. Z. Seligmann, *JRAI* xxxviii. 374).

In such dances as these the object of the dancer is to cure or to avert disease by appeasing or propitiating the spirits responsible, and in these cases possession is only one of the means, though it may be the most important, by which the goodwill of the spirits is secured and made manifest.

In Cambodia in the time of an epidemic the villagers will seek a man whom they consider suitable, take him to the temple, and then, when he is possessed by the god, ask him to ward off the plague from their village (J. Moura, *Le Royaume de Cambodge*, Paris, 1883, i. 177).

But, while in this case and in other cases—*e.g.*, the *bori* quoted above—spiritual causation is recognized, the exact relation of the spirit to the patient is not clearly expressed. When, however, disease is regarded as due to an indwelling spirit, the obvious aim of the exorcist is to drive out the possessing influence. Such is the case in the Thonga form of possession, when the object of the exorcist is to master the spirit by learning its name and thus acquiring power to drive it away. It is possible to trace the development of the idea of the relation of possession and disease through various stages. The exorcist as among the Bathonga, Zulus, Kayans, and many other peoples, some already mentioned, is usually one who has himself or herself suffered from possession, and therefore may be supposed to stand in a peculiar relation to the spirits. Even when disease is attributed to a material cause, a pebble or bone introduced by magical means into the body, the assistance of the deity may be invoked through his agent.

In Poso in Central Celebes, when the priestess is consulted in a case of disease, she becomes possessed and it is the god who speaks through her mouth, and through her hands draws the evil from the patient (*GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, i. 379 f., quoting A. C. Kruijt).

The intervention may be less direct and the god or spirit may do nothing more than indicate the measures propitiatory or therapeutic that will relieve the patient, as among the Akikúyu (Routledge, p. 241). On the other hand, a logical development is to summon a stronger spirit to possess the exorcist and drive out the malignant spirit.

This is the object of the elaborate rite of the Melanaus of Borneo. If a woman who is possessed goes through the complete rite of exorcism known as *bayok*, she herself becomes an exorcist and can cast out devils from others. This rite is divided into three parts, extending with intervals over eleven nights; the first part is to satisfy the people, the second part to appease the spirits, and the third secures the patient's acceptance as an exorcist. The *bayok sadong* ceremony is undertaken when fowls and eggs have been offered without effect to good spirits. It takes place in a room which is elaborately decorated and on the floor of which coloured rice in the shape of crocodiles, popcorn, maize, tobacco, etc., have been scattered as an offering. The object of the ceremony is to summon the evil spirits to take possession of the medicine-women, three or four of whom are present. In the course of the ceremony the patient is brought to the centre of the room and is whirled round in a sealed cone of shavings until she has been worked up into a frenzy. The medicine-women themselves whirl round until they fall in a faint. The native explanation of the ceremony is that it serves as a summons to the spirits, who keep on coming until one sufficiently strong to deal with the case arrives. This one then takes possession of the chief medicine-woman, and in her person eats the rice and other offerings which have been prepared. The spirit in her then calls out the evil spirit from the patient. Sometimes a rattan swing is provided for the patient and chief medicine-woman.

[1] It is stated that carved bamboos and arrows to be used for a similar purpose were found in the hut of a Sakai medicine-man (W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, London, 1906, ii. 252). In a Sinhalese devil-dance at Gonagalla, however, while a sword brought the dancer *en rapport* with the spirits, an arrow was used to prevent possession by a dangerous spirit (B. Z. Seligmann, 'A Devil Ceremony of the Peasant Sinhalese,' *JRAI* xxxviii. [1908] 372).

[2] Insensibility to pain or invulnerability is a mark of divine possession. In Bali, when the divinity had seized the possessed person, his body became immaterial and therefore invulnerable, and in the dance with swords or pikes which followed no weapon could hurt him. The S. Indian devil-dancer cut and lacerated his flesh until the blood flowed. The Siberian shaman apparently stabbed himself in the body with a knife in the course of the rite as practised among the Kamchadal Eskimos, Chukchi, Jukaghir, and some other of the Siberian tribes, but close observers consider this an effect of sleight of hand, at most a scratch being responsible for the blood shown (Czaplicka, p. 233).

while near at hand is a stand for the evil spirit (Hose-McDougall, pp. 28, 31, 46, 130 ff.).

The Sakai and Jakun, when they have built their little shelters, place the patient inside and then call upon the spirits to descend on themselves. The Blandas summon the spirits of elephants and monkeys (Skeat-Blagden, ii. 252, 295), while the Malay *pawang*, in dealing with a serious case of illness after possession by the tiger-spirit, when he imitates the actions and voice of that animal in movement, in eating, and in licking the body of the patient, engages in a hand-to-hand conflict with the malignant spirit and stabs it after it has taken refuge in jars of water or other receptacles placed for the purpose (Skeat, pp. 436–444).

8. Possession of animals and inanimate objects.—Finally it may be noted that possession is not confined to human beings.

The Todas believe that gods sometimes possess their buffaloes (W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, London, 1906, p. 451). This may be compared with the belief that disease may be transferred to cattle. When the cattle of the Bahima suffer from an epidemic, it is the custom to secure by means of a ceremony the transfer of the disease to one member of the herd which is then driven out for sacrifice as scapegoat (J. Roscoe, 'The Bahima: a Cow Tribe of Enkole in the Uganda Protectorate,' *JRAI* xxxvii. [1907] 111). The Yakut shaman sometimes frightens away disease, driving it off by spitting and blowing, but sometimes it is transferred to cattle, which are then sacrificed. The dance which forms part of the ceremony is said to be symbolical of their journey to the sky, and in olden days, it is said, there were shamans who themselves ascended to the heavens (Sieroszewski, in Czaplicka, p. 237 *f.*).

Among the Malays, in a species of spiritualistic performance, after invocation and offerings, spirits are made to take possession of inanimate objects such as palm-blossoms or a fish-trap, and make them go through the motions of a dance. A parallel may be found in the spiritualistic performances of the shaman of the Reindeer Chukchi. Their spirits are said to be very mischievous. Invisible hands turn everything in the tents upside down and throw different objects about. Should the spectators try to touch the spirit, they resent it and may kill the shaman by stabbing him or breaking his head (Czaplicka, p. 232).

LITERATURE.—This is sufficiently quoted throughout.

E. N. FALLAIZE.

POSSESSION (Greek and Roman).—The conception of divine possession—the incarnation of a god in human form—prevailed extensively in the earlier stages of religious history. It may be that, as evidenced by the practices of Australian savages, this consciousness in states of excitement of an internal but overmastering force is felt without relation to a personal god (J. E. Harrison, *Themis*, Cambridge, 1912, p. 65); but such considerations are inapplicable to the Greeks of the historical age. When the body of the priest or celebrant passed for a time into the possession of the god, all his acts and words were not merely prompted by but proceeded from the god himself. The devotee identified himself with the god and affected to exercise the divine functions. Illustrations may be drawn from the professions of savage medicine-men, such as the *wakan* men of the Dakotas or the Maori *tohungas* (A. Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, i. 112 f.). The best of the Greek instances is the giving of the name Bacchus to those who participated as worshippers in the orgiastic cult of Dionysus (schol. Aristoph. *Eq.* 408); and the impersonations of the Curetes, who took part in the Cretan mysteries of Zagreus (Eur. frag. 472), were similar to those enacted by the enthusiastic followers of the god at Eleusis or Delphi. The ultimate explanation of these phenomena—whether the collective emotion of the group meeting together for the performance of mimetic rites, when projected and externalized, led to the conception of a personalized god (J. E. Harrison, p. 46), or whether, again, the religion of Dionysus was entirely developed from the worship of a god of vegetation (*GB*[3], pt. v., *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, London, 1912, i. 1 ff.)—cannot be discussed here. It is sufficient to observe that in all cults where the god enters into the worshipper the worshipper regularly assumes the name of the god. The famous line, to which Plato alludes (*Phædo*, 69 D)—'Many are the thyrsus-bearers, but few are the inspired (Bacchi)'—may be ascribed to the theological movement of the 6th cent. B.C., which laid increased stress on the mystical value of the communion of the celebrant with the god (C. A. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, Königsberg, 1829, p. 813; T. Gomperz, *Greek Thinkers*, Eng. tr., London, 1901, i. 132). Less familiar instances are Sabi and Sabæ, names given to the inspired worshippers of Sabazius (H. Usener, *Götternamen*, Bonn, 1896, p. 44), Bassaræ and Bassarides applied to the Mænads (Athenæus, 198 E; Nonnus, *Dionys.* 14. 395), Cybebi, the designation of the enrapt votaries of the Great Mother (Phot. *s.v.* Κύβηβος), Hermæ, the boy attendants at the oracle of Trophonius (Paus. ix. 39. 7), and Melissæ, the bee-priestesses of Demeter and other deities (A. B. Cook, in *JHS* xv. [1895] 14 f.; Frazer, *Paus.* VIII. xiii. 1). With the last we cannot fail to compare the Thriæ, the prophetic bee-goddesses mentioned below, and the dove-priestesses (Peleiades) at Dodona (R. C. Jebb, *Soph. Trach.*, Cambridge, 1892, p. 202 ff.). The identity of the Peleiades is obscure, but it has recently been suggested with some plausibility that the name was given to a class of magicians who, by intimate association with the birds, had learnt to understand their language, and, as the birds' interpreters, wore a kind of bird-dress when giving response to their questioners (W. R. Halliday, *Greek Divination*, p. 265 ff.). The external association displayed in this mimicry may be compared with the wearing of horns by the Thracian Mænads (Μιμαλλόνες) in order to identify themselves with the bull-god Dionysus (schol. Lycophr. 1237). These impersonations are not always or even usually to be classed as merely deliberate impostures. The visionary who is conscious of the divine possession yields to the emotional impulses stirred in his responsive nature by the whirling dance, the wild music of the flutes, and the intoxication of the midnight hour. And it would not be difficult to adduce modern parallels for the hallucinations of the Bacchants, when they saw the earth flowing with milk, wine, and honey, and inhaled the fragrance of Syrian unguents (Plat. *Ion*, 534 A; Eur. *Bacch.* 141 ff.), or for their insensibility to the attack of fire and sword (Eur. *Bacch.* 747; Ov. *Trist.* IV. i. 41 f.).

The condition of the inspired devotee is described as a divine seizure (κάτοχος, θεόληπτος); and the original sense of the word 'enthusiasm' (cf. ἔνθεος, ἐνθεάζειν) is derived from the indwelling faculty which evokes the display of superhuman power. Corresponding to the entrance into the devotee of an overmastering force was the release of the soul from its corporeal subjection (ἔκστασις, our 'ecstasy'; cf. Plat. *Ion*, 534 B). This temporary expropriation is defined as a brief madness (Galen, xix. 462), which is not to be understood as an irresponsible unsteadiness, but rather as the complete occupation of the mental faculties by a sacred energy (Procl. in Plato, *Rep.* 59. 19). A description of the outward effects of inspiration is given by Vergil in connexion with the visit of Æneas to the Cumæan Sibyl:

'Even as she spoke neither her features nor her complexion remained the same, nor was her hair confined within its braid; her bosom heaved, and her wild heart was swollen with frenzy; her stature was larger to the sight, her voice no longer human: so soon was she inspired by the breath of the god as it came ever nearer. . . . At length, no longer submitting herself to Phœbus, the prophetess rages furiously in her cavern, if so be she may succeed in flinging off the mighty god from her bosom. All the more he plies her frenzied mouth, subduing her wild heart, and fashions her to his will by constraint' (*Æn.* vi. 46 ff., 77 ff.).

Even more explicitly Lucan (v. 161 ff.) describes the vapour from the chasm inspiring the Pythia, and the god forcing his way through the whole of her frame, and compelling her nature to yield to his exclusive guidance. Then he passes to an account of her distraction, as she shakes the

sacred garlands from her head, and overturns the holy vessels of the temple in feverish efforts to escape from the wrath of the god.

The notion that the entrance of the divine afflatus swells the physical frame of the seer recurs in Ov. *Fast.* vi. 537 ff., where Ino consults Carmentis, the prophetic mother of Evander; and the reluctance of the seer to yield to the overpowering strength of the god is illustrated by Cassandra's cry:

'Again the fearful pangs of true prophetic vision stir my soul, and whirl me with their dizzy prelude' (Æsch. *Ag.* 1214 f.).

Those who would avail themselves of the prophet's insight must encounter his natural tendency to resist by binding him fast when they have caught him (A. Lang, *Making of Religion*, p. 142)—a proceeding which receives illustration from the story of Proteus (Hom. *Od.* iv. 415 ff.; Verg. *Georg.* iv. 395 ff.). It has been observed that a divine possession produces the appearance of madness; and, while especially characteristic of the diviner (cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 298), the signs of madness are wont to accompany every ecstatic impulse, as when Hector with foaming mouth and flashing eyes rushes upon the Greek ships, and savage Ares entering into him fills every sinew with increased might (Hom. *Il.* xv. 605, xvii. 210 f.). For inspiration may be put in operation by the agency of various deities, more particularly of those whose individuality was less firmly marked or whose worship was infected with Oriental or at least foreign influences. To the latter class, besides the instances already mentioned, may be assigned the inspiration of Hecate and Cybele (Eur. *Hipp.* 142 ff.). The former, who belong to an earlier and indigenous stratum of thought, include Pan (Poll. i. 19), the Nymphs (*νυμφόληπτος*), and the Muses (*μουσόληπτος*). The Muses (*q.v.*) are merely a subdivision of the Nymphs (*FHG* i. 36); and the Nymphs themselves, of whom the Sphragitides of Cithæron may be cited as typical (Paus. ix. iii. 9; Plut. *Aristid.* 11), were gradually forced to yield the sanctities of their shrines to the superior majesty of the Olympians. Plutarch (*Amat.* 16, p. 758 E) includes various kinds of inspiration (*ἐπίπνοια*) which overturns the reason under the generic term 'enthusiasm.' Besides the inspiration of the diviner by Apollo, he names the Bacchic frenzy of Dionysus, with which he couples the orgiastic ecstasies of Cybele and Pan, the poets' frenzy inspired by the Muses, the warlike frenzy of Ares, and what he calls the fiercest and most fiery of all, the frenzy of love. It must be remembered that Plutarch was writing as a philosopher and man of letters; for in popular estimation the inspiration of the seer was essentially distinct from the rest. Although Apollo had no monopoly of divination, the presiding functionaries of the leading oracles, such as the Pythia at Delphi and the Sibyl of Erythræ, passed increasingly into his service. Among the exceptions may be mentioned Erato, prophetess of Pan at Lycosura in Arcadia (Paus. viii. xxxvii. 11), and the ministers who prophesied at the temple of Artemis Sarpedonia in Cilicia (Strabo, p. 676).

The entrance into the ecstatic condition was not effected without the co-operation of the seer himself, and various methods were adopted to bring him into communion with the god. The drinking of wine, supposed to contain the vital essence of the god, was practised by the priests at the shrine of Dionysus among the Thracian Ligyræi (Macrob. i. xviii. 1). The oracle of the Clarian Apollo at Colophon was served by a priest drawn from a particular class, who, although utterly ignorant of letters, was able, after drinking the water of a secret spring, to give utterance to oracles composed in formal verse (Tac. *Ann.* ii. 54). A similar potency was ascribed to the waters of the Delphian Cassotis (Paus. x. xxiv. 7) and of the sacred well at Hysiæ in Bœotia (*ib.* ix. ii. 1). The mystical power of the water might be manifested otherwise, as at the oracle of Apollo Thyrxeus near Cyaneæ in Lycia, where the spring showed to any one looking into it whatever he wished to see (*ib.* vii. xxi. 13). The priestess of Apollo Diradiotes at Argos became inspired by drinking the blood of a lamb which had been sacrificed (*ib.* ii. xxiv. 1), and Pliny records that, as a preliminary to the exercise of her prophetic power, the priestess of Earth at Ægira in Achaia was accustomed to drink the blood of a bull (*HN* xxviii. 147). The crudity of the conception that the eating of the flesh of a prophetic animal imparts the prophetic faculty by way of corporeal assimilation is illustrated by the remarkable statement of Porphyry (*de Abst.* ii. 48) that those who wish to become possessed of a prophetic spirit swallow the most effective parts of similarly endowed animals, such as the hearts of crows, moles, and hawks. The temple of Apollo at Delphi occupied the site of an old Earth-oracle, which was placed over a deep chasm with a narrow outlet. Here the Pythia, seated on a tripod above the outlet, received the mephitic vapours which rose from the hollow, and was thereby inspired to the utterance of the answers appropriate to the needs of the inquirers (Strabo, p. 419; Cic. *de Divin.* i. 79; Pliny, *HN* ii. 206). Herodotus relates (vii. 111) that at a Thracian oracle of Dionysus belonging to the Satræ, and situated among the loftiest peaks, a priestess of the religious order of the Bessi pronounced the oracles in the same manner as the Pythia, *i.e.* in a condition of ecstatic rapture—but how induced he does not explain. However the result was attained, at Delphi the supremacy of Apollo was acknowledged by his priestess, when, before entering upon her duties, she chewed laurel-leaves (Lucian, *Bis Accus.* 1) or was fumigated with their smoke (Plut. *Pyth. Or.* 6, p. 397 A). Similarly, the Bacchic frenzy was believed to be imparted by the ivy which the Bacchanals ate (Plut. *Quæst. Rom.* 112, p. 291 A). The Thriæ of Mt. Parnassus were conceived either as actually having the form of bees or as winged females with a bee's body from the waist; in either case they were fabled as willing to utter true prophecy when they had fed on fresh honey and were inspired by its intoxicating madness (*Hom. hymn Herm.* 561 f.; with Allen and Sikes's [London, 1904] Appendix, p. 313). Sometimes inspiration was conferred as the result of a sexual union: Numa exercised prophetic power in his capacity as the husband of Egeria (Plut. *Num.* 8); and Apollo was said to have espoused not only Cassandra, but also the Sibyl Herophile (Paus. x. xii. 2) and the priestess at Patara in Lycia (Herod. i. 182).

Whether Theoclymenus in the *Odyssey* (xx. 350) is described as under the influence of inspiration has been disputed; but Calchas and Helenus speak the words that Apollo puts into their mouth (*Il.* i. 385, vii. 53), and the story of Cassandra is a clear proof that the phenomenon was familiar to the writers of the Cyclic epics. From an early date the constitution of Lycurgus was believed to have been inspired from heaven, whether Lycurgus himself was the direct medium for conveying the divine message (Plato, *Legg.* 691 E), or was formally commissioned by the Pythian oracle (Herod. i. 65). The sayings of inspired prophets began to be collected perhaps first during the progress of the religious movement of the 6th cent., to which reference has already been made. The prophet Amphilytus encouraged Pisistratus with an oracle immediately before his victory at Pallene (Herod. i. 62), and Onomacritus, the founder of the Orphic community at Athens, who lived at the court of

the tyrant, was charged with the preparation of a collection of the oracles attributed to Musæus, and was subsequently banished for interpolating it with his own compositions (*ib.* vii. 6). Besides the oracles of Musæus the most notorious were those assigned to Bakis—originally the generic term for a seer, whence a fictitious personality was developed. Collections of oracles were not merely preserved among the state records, but circulated freely among the public without any official endorsement. In fact, the calling of an oracle-monger tended to grow into a profession, which traded on the credulity and superstition of the masses; and the extent of the evil may be measured by the violence with which Diopeithes and others of the same class are denounced by Aristophanes (*Eq.* 1085, etc.). Another impostor of the same period was Eurycles the ventriloquist, who claimed to be inspired by an indwelling demon (see DEMONS AND SPIRITS [Greek]). In later ages the belief in demons, fostered even among cultivated circles by the adherence to it of the Stoic philosophy, kept alive also the notion that the divine power could inform and stimulate the human seer. When pressed to account for the failure of the Pythian oracle to maintain its former reputation, Chrysippus (ii. 1215 [Arn.]) was content to explain that the peculiar virtue of the locality, which imparted her inspiration to the priestess by means of the exhalations rising from the ground, had decayed through lapse of time. The Stoic theories of the universal immanence of the divine πνεῦμα, and of the harmonious co-ordination of every part of the world (ii. 546 [Arn.]), seemed to give a scientific sanction to the popular belief in the inspiration of the professional diviners (ii. 1211 [Arn.]).

A position of special eminence was accorded to the Sibyl, whose earliest mention is to be found in Heraclitus:

'The Sibyl with raving voice speaks words that have no part in laughter or in rich apparel or in unguents. Yet she prevails; for it is the god who drives her' (frag. 92, in H. Diels, *Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, i.[3] 94).

The name is believed to be of Semitic origin, and to bear the meaning 'seized by the god' (Gruppe, *Gr. Myth.* p. 927). It will be observed that in Heraclitus, as in Aristophanes (*Pax*, 1095) and Plato (*Phædr.* 244 B), there is no mention of more than one Sibyl; and there is very little doubt that her original home—*i.e.* from the Greek point of view—was at Erythræ on the west coast of Asia Minor (Paus. X. xii. 7). In the later authorities several Sibyls are mentioned, so that the name, once introduced, seems to have spread over the Greek world (cf. Livy, i. 7). One of the most famous was the Sibyl of Cumæ introduced by Vergil into the narrative of *Æn.* vi., and it was she who, according to the legend, brought the Sibylline books to King Tarquin.

The idea of possession may be traced also in the ritual of the dream-oracle. The dream itself was a divine message sent to the sleeper in concrete form (Hom. *Od.* iv. 796 ff.), and clear evidence is wanting that it was commonly regarded as the working of a demonic being within the body of the sleeper himself. On the contrary, it is the normal belief of savages that the soul of the sleeper passes out of his body during sleep (*GB*[3], pt. ii., *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, London, 1911, p. 36 ff.); and there are some indications that a similar view was adopted by the Greeks (Cic. *de Divin.* i. 30, etc.). Nevertheless, the custom whereby inquirers were wont to spread beneath them the skin of the sacrificial victim before seeking sleep in the temple—a custom which is well attested for the shrine of Amphiaraus in Attica, and for other places (Frazer, on Paus. I. xxxiv. 5)—shows that the revelation of the dream required for its transmission the establishment of a special relation between the worshipper and the god. It has also been suggested that the sleeping on the bare earth attested for ordinary persons (Lucian, *Necyom.* 7), as well as for the Selli of Dodona (Hom. *Il.* xvi. 235), was intended to assist the entrance into the body of the sleeper of the chthonic influences coming from below. Sometimes the inquirer is not brought directly into contact with the sacred influence, but receives his message from the lips of a priestly intermediary, whose functions are similar to those of the medium in modern spiritualism. At the temple of Dionysus at Amphiclea in Phocis the god was said to announce cures for sickness in dreams, not directly, but using the priest as his inspired mouth-piece (Paus. X. xxxiii. 11). Further, inscriptional evidence seems to prove the existence of a class of inspired persons (κάτοχοι), who superintended the incubation-rites at various dream-oracles in Egypt and Syria (Gruppe, p. 928).

The Greek poets always spoke of themselves and of other singers as inspired (θεῖος ἀοιδός [cf. Hom. *Od.* iv. 17; Pind. frag. 150; Bacchyl. viii. 3]). This was not so much a metaphor as a survival, since the origin of the conception is to be referred to a primitive era in which the functions of poet and seer were not yet differentiated. The early medicine-man, like Apollo himself, was at once prophet, poet, doctor, diviner, and wizard; but the gradual emergence of the various arts and sciences continually stripped him of his attributes (Halliday, pp. 57, 75). Hence, even in the earliest of our literary records, poetry and divination appear as distinct arts; and in the 5th cent. the sense of their original connexion had so entirely disappeared that it was almost a paradox for Democritus to declare that no good poetry was possible without a mental ardour and inspiration akin to madness (frags. 17, 18 [Diels]). Similarly, the Platonic Socrates asserted that poets compose their songs not by virtue of any wisdom or skill, but owing to a kind of natural inspiration, like that of seers and prophets (*Apol.* 22 C, *Ion*, 533 E). Inspiration had come to be a general notion covering many different kinds of activity which seemed to spring from some transcendent or pre-eminent ability. It was in accordance with this habit of thought that Pindar, emphasizing his preference for inborn over acquired characteristics, spoke of all wisdom as inspired (*Ol.* ix. 28, xi. 10). Since it was the characteristic of seers, as being merely the mouthpieces of the god, to utter what they did not understand, Plato concluded that statesmen, who, though often successful in their speeches and policies, were equally ignorant of the real meaning of their words, must be guided by divine inspiration (*Meno*, 99 C, D). Again, the wisdom of the philosopher may be described as enthusiasm in the fullest sense; for, though derided by the masses as dotage, it is derived from constant association with the divine (*Phædr.* 249 D).

Roman religion has been so much overlaid with Greek innovations, particularly in so far as our evidence is derived from literary sources, that it is generally difficult to discover old Italian beliefs which have not been contaminated with foreign associations. The early date of this Greek influence may be gauged by the legend which refers the acquisition of the Sibylline books to the end of the regal period, and by the authentic statement that they were first consulted in the year 496 B.C. (Dion. Hal. vi. 17). It is certain, however, that prophetic inspiration must have been as familiar to the old Roman religion as it has been found to be everywhere else; and it is unnecessary in this place to do more than refer to some scanty traces of native divination which occasionally meet us in Latin literature. Besides the Sibylline books, we

read of collections of oracles attributed to Marcius and Publicius (Cic. *de Divin.* i. 115, ii. 113). Of the latter nothing further is known, but the *carmina Marciana*, if Livy's extract (xxv. 12) may be trusted, contained allusions to Greek myths, and must have been of comparatively late origin. To take another illustration, there is no doubt that Faunus was a native Italian wood-spirit, although he was constantly assimilated to Pan by Græcizing writers. Moreover, Fauni (in the plural) are well-evidenced as the semi-divine occupants of oracular shrines. Ennius, in a well-known line, refers to the verses in which Fauns or prophets chanted of old (213 [ed. J. Vahlen, Leipzig, 1854]). Vergil described the visit of Latinus to the dream-oracle of Faunus at Albunea, where a sacred spring in the midst of a dark grove emitted sulphurous fumes (*Æn.* vii. 81 ff.). This character of Faunus is confirmed by the tradition that his wife was named Fatua, and that she foretold the future in the frenzy of divine inspiration (Justin, xliii. 1. 8). He himself also bore the title Fatuus, which, though connected by modern philologists (K. Brugmann, *Comparative Grammar*, Eng. tr., London, 1888, i. 151; W. M. Lindsay, *Latin Language*, Oxford, 1894, p. 324) with *fa-ri*, 'to speak,' was understood by the ancients as descriptive of the inspired madness of the seer (Plin. *HN* xxvii. 107). In his mantic capacity Faunus was associated with Picus, the woodpecker-king or prophetic bird-spirit (Plut. *Num.* 15; see also Harrison, *Themis*, p. 106 ff.).

LITERATURE.—E. B. Tylor, *PC*[4], London, 1903, pp. 124–143; A. Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, do. 1899, i. 108 ff., *The Making of Religion*, do. 1898; J. G. Frazer, *GB*[3], do. 1911–15; O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, Munich, 1906, p. 924 ff.; E. Rohde, *Psyche*, Tübingen, 1910, ii. 19 ff.; W. R. Halliday, *Greek Divination*, London, 1913, pp. 54–99.

A. C. PEARSON.

POSSESSION (Indian).—The question of the possession of spirits in the case of the medium, who in a state of hysteria mutters incoherent words which are interpreted as oracles, and of persons in an abnormal condition, as at puberty, pregnancy, and the like, has been discussed in art. DEMONS AND SPIRITS (Indian), vol. iv. p. 604 ff. In the present article some points hitherto unnoticed are considered.

1. Possession at domestic rites.—Cases of possession often occur at domestic rites.

(*a*) *Death.*—The practice of the Paniyans of Madras is typical:

A man enters with his legs girt with bells, the music of which is supposed to scare the malevolent spirits which are present at the time of a death. He advances with short steps, rolling his eyes and staggering to and fro, sawing the air with two short sticks which he holds in his hands, and thus works himself into a frenzied state of inspiration, while the mourners wail and ask why the dead has been taken from them. Presently a convulsive shiver attacks the medium, who staggers more violently, and at last falls on the ground. He tries to support himself by holding one of the poles of the funeral shed, while he gasps out disjointed sentences which are taken to be the voice of the god.

The object here is to ascertain the fate of the spirit of the dead man, and to discover the cause of his death, which may be due to some misconduct on the part of his relatives—witchcraft, sorcery, or the like. In another form of the rite in the same tribe the intention seems to be to secure communion with the deity who is supposed to be responsible for the death.

Here three masked dancers—one representing the tribal goddess, the other two her ministers—waving sticks and shivering, go before each elder of the tribe and apparently receive his blessing, the elder placing his hands on their faces as a form of salutation, and then rubbing them on his own face. The man representing the goddess then seats himself on a stool and gives an address to the assemblage, admonishing them as to their future conduct (E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of S. India*, Madras, 1909, vi. 67, 69).

The desire to effect communion with the spirit of a person lately dead is illustrated by the practice of the Tiyans of Madras.

A girl becomes possessed by the spirit, and talks and acts, it is said, just like the person who has lately died, calling the children, relatives, and friends by name, and giving commands for the future conduct of the surviving members of the family. 'After this, the spirit is severed from earthly trammels, and attains heavenly bliss' (*ib.* vii. 91).

(*b*) *Marriage.*—The Gollas of Madras at their marriages worship Gangā, the goddess of the river Ganges.

They draw coloured figures on the floor of the house and during the preparation of these some people, more particularly boys and those of feeble mind, are excluded from the yard, as some ill luck would befall them if they caught sight of the figures before the rite of removing the evil eye from them had been performed. Food and incense are waved before the figure of Gangā, and a cock is sacrificed, its neck being wrung. The three men who perform the rite prostrate themselves before the goddess and salute her. One of them gradually begins to perspire, and the spectators exclaim that he is about to become possessed by the spirit of an ancestor. Taking up a sword, he tries to cut himself with it, but he is careful to use only the blunt edge. The sword is wrested from him and placed on the figure of the goddess. He then walks round the figure, shaking and twisting his body. Then the bridegroom enters, and he also becomes possessed. Incense and lights are carried round the figure, and the man representing the ancestor announces that the marriage will be fortunate; in other words, the family ancestor sanctions the union of the couple (*ib.* ii. 295).

2. Possession among Muhammadans.—The cult of spirits is a later addition to the orthodox form of Islām, but it is inevitable in India where so many of the converts are drawn from animistic tribes and castes. Among people of this class the spirit-scaring power of the tombs of certain saints and martyrs is prominent.

The shrine of Mirān Sayyid 'Alī, at Unjā in N. Gujarāt, is famous for its power of relieving persons attacked by spirits. When such a patient arrives, the warden (*mujāvir*) provides him with accommodation in one of the open rooms or outhouses of the shrine. In the evening he takes his place beside the railing of the saint's grave and is given a cup of water from the shrine well or cistern. If he is really spirit-possessed, the spirit manifests itself by causing him to shake his body, or, in the case of a woman, to fling her hair about and roll her eyes. If after one or two draughts of water these effects are not produced, the ailment is supposed to be constitutional, and the remedy prescribed is the external or internal use of the leaves of the tree which grows near the saint's grave. This is said to be of a variety elsewhere unknown, but to have grown from a piece of wood which the saint used to clean his teeth—an idea which savours of Buddhism (*PR* ii. 89 f.). In more serious cases the patient seems to be dragged by some unseen force, writhing and raving as if he were undergoing chastisement. 'At last when he gives a faithful promise of future good conduct, and when the fit is exhausted, he removes himself from the place, often with a shoe between his teeth as a sign of abject admission of defeat, and runs from the shrine enclosure, and drops as if dead. He is now in his proper senses, the wild and fagged look in his face during the days of his possession has disappeared, the dazed expression with the snake-like fixedness of the eyeballs is gone. He regains his usual spirits, and after the performance of his vow is sent back to his home' (*BG* ix. pt. ii [1899] 128 f.).

3. Shaikh Saddū.—Among the spirits which attack women in India the chief is Shaikh Saddū. He was a learned man, but a hypocrite, who found a copper lamp engraved with mystical characters. When he lighted it, as in the case of Aladdin (R. F. Burton, *Book of the Thousand Nights and a Night*, London, 1894, x. 33 ff.), a *jinn* appeared to serve him. But, when he employed the *jinn* to gain for him the daughter of a king and to appropriate a mosque which he coveted, the spirits tore him to pieces.

'It is very common to hear the vulgar people say if any of their friends is affected with melancholy, hypochondria, etc., "Ay, it is the spirit of Shaikh Saddū has possessed him." In such cases the spirit is to be dislodged from the afflicted person by sweetmeats, to be distributed among the poor; to which is added, if possible, the sacrifice of a black goat' (Mrs. Meer Hasan Ali, *Observations on the Mussulmauns of India*, London, 1832, ii. 323 ff.).

Some women, regarded as impious by the orthodox, dress themselves in men's clothes, and have a séance in which Shaikh Saddū 'comes on the head' of one of them.

She becomes possessed, waves her head about, and women who desire any special boon, such as the birth of a child, implore her aid. The medium gives her a packet of betel-leaves, and some which she has herself chewed, or sweets

'which she with her profound faith, actually eats. However, God is Lord of all, and it depends on His will and pleasure whether the woman shall be with child or not. But if perchance she should bring forth a child, the belief of these unfortunate creatures in these things is wonderfully confirmed, and they turn real infidels. Should she not have a child, she concludes Miyân [the saint] is angry with her, and repeats the ceremony with redoubled credulity' (Jaffur Shurreef, *Qanoon-e-Islam; or the Customs of the Mussulmans of India*[2], Madras, 1863, p. 184 f.).

LITERATURE.—The literature has been quoted in the article; see also *ERE* iv. 608.

W. CROOKE.

POSSESSION (Japanese).—***Kangakari***, which is a contraction of *kami*, 'god,' and *kakari*, a word implying the idea of 'possession,' means literally 'god-attachment,' and expresses the idea of the passive attitude of a man under a superior influence which takes possession of him. The Japanese also use two words of Chinese origin to denote inspiration, *shintaku* and *takusen*, both of which imply the idea of divine revelation—of a communication made by divinity by means of an inspired man as intermediary. In pure Japanese the latter idea is also rendered by the expression *kami no shirase*, 'information of the god.'

1. In ancient literature.—This supernatural phenomenon is described in the most ancient Shintō documents. One of the most important mythological tales is that of a famous goddess, Ame no Uzume (the Dread Female of Heaven), who is a sort of prophetess. It is she who, by a sacred dance before the rock cavern in which the sun-goddess has hidden, finally leads her to reappear and lighten the world again. In this connexion an expression is employed in the *Kojiki* (*kamugakarishite*, 'accomplishing divine possession') which is not very clear, and may be taken in the sense of feigned possession (this is the sense adopted by B. H. Chamberlain, *Kojiki*[2], Tokyo, 1906, p. 69, n. 32); but the corresponding passage in the *Nihongi* rather seems to indicate that it is real possession (see *Nihongi*, Shūkai ed., i. 40; and cf. tr. by W. G. Aston, London, 1896, i. 44). Moreover, Uzume is regarded as the mythical ancestor of the *sarume* (monkey-women), who performed religious dances (*kagura*) at court; and the divinely-inspired utterance which, according to the *Nihongi*, she pronounced in front of the celestial cavern (and which, according to another version, consisted only of the words *Hi, fu, mi, yo, itsu, mu, nana, ya, kokono, tō*—simply the numerals from one to ten) is the prototype of the revelations of the *miko* ('august child'), young priestesses attached to the principal Shintō temples, who dance the *kagura* to this day and sometimes acted as mediums, particularly at Ise.

Another and more characteristic case of possession is furnished by the prelude to the story of the expedition of the empress Jingō, the first legendary conqueror of Korea. The scene, which is one of ancient grandeur, is thus described in the *Kojiki*:

'The Empress, Her Augustness Princess Okinaga-tarashi [the ancient name of the empress], was at that time divinely possessed. So when the Heavenly Sovereign [Emperor Chūai], dwelling at the palace of Kashiki in Tsukushi [Kyūshū], was about to smite the Land of Kumaso, the Heavenly Sovereign played on his august lute [the *Azuma-koto*, an instrument 5 or 6 ft. long, with six strings], and the Prime Minister, the Noble Take-uchi, being in the pure court [*sa-niha*], requested the divine orders. Hereupon the Empress, divinely possessed, charged him with this instruction and counsel: "There is a land to the Westward, and in that land is abundance of various treasures dazzling to the eye, from gold and silver downwards. I will now bestow this land upon thee." Then the Heavenly Sovereign replied, saying: "If one ascend to a high place and look Westward, no country is to be seen. There is only the great sea"; and saying, "They are lying Deities," he pushed away his august lute, did not play on it, and sat silent. Then the Deities were very angry, and said: "Altogether as for this empire, it is not a land over which thou oughtest to rule. Do thou go to the one road!" [*i.e.* Hades]. Hereupon the Prime Minister, the noble Take-uchi, said: "[I am filled with] awe, my Heavenly Sovereign! Continue playing thy great august lute." Then he slowly drew his august lute to him, and languidly played on it. So almost immediately the sound of the august lute became inaudible. On their forthwith lifting a light and looking, [the Heavenly Sovereign] was dead' (*Kojiki*, 284 f.; cf. *Nihongi*, i. 221 f.).

After the tragic death of the emperor, which was the punishment for his impiety, the empress and her prime minister, alarmed and dismayed, perform the ceremonies of the Great Purification of the country; then Take-uchi tries to obtain a new inspiration from the gods.

'The Noble Take-uchi again stood in the pure court and requested the Deities' commands. Thereupon the manner of their instruction and counsel was exactly the same as on the former day: "Altogether this land is a land to be ruled over by the august child in thine Augustness's august womb." [The deities now speak to, as well as through, the empress.] Then the Noble Take-uchi said: "[I am filled with] awe, my Great Deities! The august child in this Deity's womb, what [sort of] child may it be?" [The Deities] replied, saying: "It is a male child." Then [the Noble Take-uchi] requested more particularly, [saying]: "I wish to know the august names of the Great Deities whose words have now instructed us." Forthwith [the Deities] replied, saying: "It is the august doing of the Great-August-Heaven-Shining-Deity; likewise it is the three Great Deities Bottom-Possessing-Male, Middle-Possessing-Male and Surface-Possessing-Male [three of the deities born at the time of the purification of Izanagi, on his return from Hades], etc. . . ." ' (*Kojiki*, 286 f.).

Whereupon these divinities reveal the offerings and mysterious rites by means of which the crossing of the sea and the conquest of Korea will be successfully accomplished.

It is to be noted that, in this text, the empress is accorded 'divinity' (*kami*). This title may have been given to her, as sometimes happened, simply on account of her supreme rank (cf. *Kojiki*, 333, 364 f., etc.); but it is more probable that, as has been supposed by the native commentator Motoori, the prime minister made an exceptional use of the title here, because at the moment she was 'divinely possessed.' However this may be, both this narrative and that of the death of the emperor have a corresponding passage in the *Nihongi* (i. 225 f.) which shows that the interrogation of the gods in a sacred place, with a lute accompaniment, in order to know their names and desires, was a form of divination regularly employed in the most ancient Shintō; and we see also that this practice admitted of the presence of two persons, the one, in a state of possession, serving as a medium, and the other entrusted with the asking of the necessary questions, and also, no doubt, with the explanation of the obscure answers, as the priests of Delphi interpreted the unintelligible words of the pythoness.

2. Development and modification by Buddhism.—After these fundamental narratives of the sacred books, mention might be made of many other cases of inspiration in the course of Japanese history. Without relating them here in detail, we may draw from them two observations of a general kind. (1) Any persons whatever may be possessed as subjects of divination. They may be men (*e.g.*, *Nihongi*, i. 225, 391 f., ii. 317 f.), particularly inferior priests (ii. 76 f., 318), or women (i. 152, 221), especially priestesses (i. 176), or even children (i. 163). (2) We find that the objects of inspiration are usually the oracles of a god who demands a cult either for himself (*e.g.*, *Nihongi*, i. 154 f., 163, 221, ii. 76 f.) or for some other god (i. 391 f.), or who complains that his already existing cult is neglected (i. 152, ii. 77, 318), asks for the erection of a new temple (i. 176, ii. 77), or specifies the particular offerings and observances agreeable to him (i. 153, 222, 226, 391 f., ii. 77, 318). All this represents something rather vulgar. It is, in a word, a secondary divinatory practice, which the court and the upper Shintō clergy, faithful to the official method of the 'Greater Divination' (see DIVINATION [Japanese], vol. iv. p. 802), regard with a certain mistrust. *E.g.*, in the year 812 a decree announced penalties against peasants who, without reason, predicted good or bad fortune.

It is true that this document ordered the local authorities to report to the central government all authentic predictions. But later, when, in 1348, a bonze of Ise, after a thousand days of prayers, found floating on the sea a glittering sword, which a young boy, divinely inspired, declared to be one of the three imperial insignia—the sacred sword lost in 1184 at the great naval battle of Dan-no-ura—the court refused to recognize it as such. This shows that, if possession plays an important part in the most ancient Shintō, it tends afterwards to become rather a popular proceeding, more and more neglected by the official religion.

On the other hand, however, Buddhism lays hold of it, and often avails itself of it in its politics and its 'pious expedients' (*hōben*), *i.e.* cleverly appropriating Shintō by representing its gods as incarnations of its own saints. Thus, in the 8th cent., the priest Gyōgi, having prayed seven days and seven nights under a tree near the great temple of Ise, receives an oracle the result of which is that the sun-goddess must be identified with Vairochana, a Buddhist personification of spiritual illumination and purity. At the same time this foreign influence brings to Japanese possession moral characteristics which pure Shintō did not know. Henceforth the gods teach kindness, charity towards the poor, righteousness, purity of heart—all Buddhist and Confucian virtues. Even Hachiman, the terrible god of war, enjoins on his followers pity for mendicants and lepers, for ants and crickets. A glance through the odd collection of oracles of the *Wa Rongo* ('Japanese Analects,' 1669), of which Aston gives an analysis (*Shinto*, London, 1905, pp. 367–372), will make one realize this transformation. It is a mixture of foreign ideas, attributed to the gods of various Shintōist temples, which contradict not only each other but all that we know of these Japanese gods. At the same time, however, there are in many cases conceptions of a much higher moral level than that of the old indigenous religions.

3. Present-day practice.—At the present day possession is represented chiefly by popular practices of which the principal element is hypnotism. It is certain that this phenomenon was the basis of primitive possession, although the ancient documents do not describe it minutely. Nervous phenomena in general played a large part in Shintō, and gave birth especially to some curious beliefs and legends founded on dissociation of personality (see M. Revon, *Anthologie de la littérature japonaise*, Paris, 1910, pp. 58, 134, etc.). Hysteria was also well known to the early Japanese, who treated it by massage (see W. N. Whitney, 'Notes on the History of Medical Progress in Japan,' in *TASJ* xii. pt. iv. [Tōkyō, 1885] 351). This state of things being understood, it is not astonishing to find that in our day the hypnotic crisis constitutes the essential point of the spiritual séances so well described by Percival Lowell ('Esoteric Shinto,' in *TASJ* xxi. [1893] 106–135, 152–197, 241–270, xii. pt. i. [1894] 1–26, and *Occult Japan*, Boston, 1895).

In a purified place a small group of believers assemble, of whom the principal personages are the *naka-za* ('middle-seat'), *i.e.* the medium, and the *mae-za* ('front-seat'), who directs the ceremony and interrogates the medium himself. It is easy to recognize in these two modern rôles those which we have already found, in primitive times, in the persons of the divinely-possessed Empress Jingō and her minister Take-uchi. After various preliminary ceremonies (in which Buddhist influence is sufficiently marked, by the employment, as accompaniment to the songs, of the *shaku-jō*, a staff to the end of which metal rings are attached, as well as of incense, and by other foreign customs), the *naka-za* sits down, closes his eyes and receives from the *mae-za* the *gohei*, *i.e.* a wand adorned with strips of white paper, which is the sacred emblem of Shintō. Then there is singing, and the descent of the god (*kami-oroshi*) is awaited. At first the *naka-za* remains motionless, but suddenly the *gohei* quivers in his hands, and gradually trembles more and more until the man enters into a state of convulsion. In some cases his eyes remain half-closed; in others they open, and, when the crisis subsides into a permanent trembling, remain fixed, with the look peculiar to hypnosis. The man has then become a god, and the *mae-za*, bowing respectfully, first asks his name, and then puts some questions to him, to which the god, on his part, replies. When this dialogue is finished, the *naka-za*, after a last prayer, rouses him by striking him on the back. After that one of the audience offers him a cup of water, and, when he manages to drink it, others rub his arms and his body until he recovers from his catalepsy.

It may be added that, even in some forms of inspiration in which hypnotism does not play the principal part, as in divination by the *eki*, the soothsayer allows himself to be put into a certain nervous state, marked by a violent contraction of the face, foaming of the lips, and trembling of the whole body. The present writer has seen a man in this state of traditional delirium in the exercise of his prophetic office, who was ordinarily quite gentle — the famous soothsayer Takashima (cf. DIVINATION [Japanese], vol. iv. p. 804[b]).

4. Possession by human spirits. — There is another kind of possession, in which it is not gods that are invoked, but human spirits, either of living men, or, more frequently, of the dead, and especially of deceased relatives. These evocations are practised, also by means of hypnosis, by sorceresses called *ichi-ko*, or *agata-miko*, or sometimes *azusa-miko*, because in their conjurations they make use of the *azusa-yumi*, a bow of *azusa*-wood. Some are parish mediums, others itinerant mediums of a more humble position. This necromancy is, however, a modern custom.

5. Animal-possession.—The last form of possession to be noticed is possession by the fox, the badger, and other animals. The Japanese employ for animal-possession the same expression as for divine possession: 'to be possessed by the fox' is *kitsune ga kakari*. But the fox and the badger do not appear in the primitive documents unless just as any other animals, and Aston is wrong (*Nihongi*, i. 59, n. 10) in including their enchantments among the calamities (*wazahahi*) which required ritual purification. He has confused two aspects of the Japanese fox, which must be all the more carefully distinguished because they are in direct opposition to each other. If the fox holds a place in Shintō, it is only on account of its gradual identification with the god Inari, 'the Man of the Rice,' who is himself connected with Uka no Mi-tama, 'the August Spirit of Food,' a hypostasis of the goddess of food, Ukemochi. It is only in Buddhism that he is regarded as an agent of possession; and he appears there not as a beneficent god, but, on the contrary, as an evil demon.[1] The traditional badger (*tanuki*, which in fact is not a real badger, but a small black fox, the *canis procynoides*) also appears only in popular superstitions, just as does the *mujina*, a kind of badger mentioned in some tales of the *Nihongi* (i. 184, ii. 155).

A famous story in Japan is that of the badger in a monastery which assumed the shape of a tea-kettle and, by its fantastic gambols, caused consternation among all the priests. When they sold it to a coppersmith, the animal took its own shape again, and made the fortune of its new master, who exhibited it as an animal both curious and sacred (A. B. Mitford, *Tales of Old Japan*, London, 1888, p. 175 f.).

That these popular beliefs persist even to-day is shown by a well-known anecdote.

In 1889 a phantom train suddenly appeared to the engine-driver of a real train on the line from Tōkyō to Yokohama. After a desperate pursuit the phantom train was overtaken, and a fox was found crushed to pieces under the wheels of the real locomotive.

[1] For the legendary point of view see W. de Visser, 'The Fox and Badger in the Japanese Folklore,' in *TASJ* xxxvi. pt. iii. [1908]; Lafcadio Hearn, *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, Boston, 1896, i. 310 f.; W. Anderson, *Catal. of Jap. and Chin. Paintings in the British Museum*, London, 1886, pp. 391, 424; J. M. James, in *TASJ* vii. pt. iv. [1890] 276 *f.*, etc.; cf. also J. L. Nevius, *Demon Possession and Allied Themes*, Chicago, 1894, pp. 46, 51, 71, 104, 202; for the medical point of view the observations of E. Baelz, of the University of Tōkyō, a résumé of which will be found in B. H. Chamberlain, *Things Japanese*[3] Tōkyō, 1898, *s.v.* 'Demoniacal Possession.'

It must also be mentioned that, besides persons possessed by the fox, there are others who possess the fox (*kitsune-mochi*) and can, like the fox himself, employ charms against their enemies. In the old province of Izumo whole families exist who are supposed to have invisible foxes protecting them; but these families are regarded with a general feeling of repulsion, and it is only other families also possessing the fox who will agree to become united to them by marriage. Lastly, it may be recalled in this connexion that the soul of the dead fox is sometimes employed in a kind of secondary divination practised by the *kitsune-tsukahi* (see DIVINATION [Japanese], vol. iv. p. 803[b]).

LITERATURE.—The literature is cited throughout the article.

MICHEL REVON.

POSSESSION (Semitic and Christian). — Among the Semitic peoples, as among the other peoples of the world, there survived from the animistic stage of culture the belief that a spirit can take possession of a person either for good or for evil. This will be made more clear by passing in review the facts in detail.

1. Babylonia and Assyria.—Among the ancient Babylonians the idea of possession in its completest form survived only in the case of evil spirits, though some attenuated traces of the conception that the spirit of a god might take possession of a man are also found. In every period of Babylonian history it was believed that sickness was caused by a demon which entered into persons and took possession of them. This conception is reflected in the oldest Babylonian religious text known, an incantation inscribed on a foundation cylinder of the time of the dynasty of Akkad, about 2800–2600 B.C., now in the University Museum in Philadelphia. The cylinder is fragmentary, the beginning being broken away. But in one of the early columns the demon is addressed thus:

'The light of the city,—in the light of the city are they.
The darkness of the city,—in the darkness of the city are they.
The people of the city,—among the people of the city are they.'

In a later column we read:

'Enlil declares to him:
"Gone is the sickness from the face of the land."
As a protector he removed it,—
Enlil's are they,—
As a protector he removed it.'

It is clear from this text that sickness was a demon, but a demon that Enlil could expel. The beneficent god was more powerful than the demon.

The Babylonians distinguished one demon from another just as a modern physician distinguishes one germ from another. Ashakku was the demon of a wasting disease, perhaps a form of tuberculosis. Akhkhazu, the 'seizer,' was the demon of liver troubles. Labartu, who was pictured as a monster with swine sucking at her breasts, attacked women in childbirth and their infant children.[1] Toothache was supposed to be caused by a demon that was identified with a worm. This is made clear by the following text:

'After Anu [had created the heavens]
The heavens created the earth,
The earth created the rivers,
The rivers created the canals,
The canals created the marsh,
The marsh created the worm.
Then came the worm weeping before Shamash;
Before Ea came her tears:
"What wilt thou give me for my food?
What wilt thou give me as mine to destroy?"
"I will give thee the ripe figs (?) and soft pomegranates (?)."
"Me! What are these ripe figs (?) to me? And soft pomegranates (?)?
Lift me up, between the teeth and the jaw-bone set me,
That I may destroy the blood of the teeth,
And ruin their strength,
Grasp the prong and seize the root."'[1]

As disease was possession by a demon, so cure consisted of expelling the demon from the body. This is most clearly shown in an incantation text in which the demon is addressed thus:[2]

'Out! Out! Far away! Far away!
Shame! Shame! Perish! Perish!
Turn thy body! Out! Far away!
From my body go out!
From my body far away!
From my body, for shame!
From my body perish!
From my body turn!
From my body thy body!
Into my body do not return!
To my body do not approach!
In my body do not dwell!
On my body do not press!
By Shamash, the mighty, be exorcized!
By Ea, lord of all, be exorcized!
By Marduk, chief exorcizer of the gods, be exorcized!
By the fire-god, who burns you, be exorcized!
From my body be ye separated!'

It was a common belief that demons of sickness might enter the body through the agency of other people. Such bewitchment or the casting of a spell over the body of another was an easy way of avenging real or supposed injuries. So frequent were attempts to bewitch personal enemies, and so potent were the spells or charms believed to be, that the second section of the Code of Ḫammurabi is directed against the practice. It is taken up immediately after cases in which men are accused of a capital crime, and one who was accused of practising such arts was compelled by the law to purge himself by the ordeal of plunging into the sacred river. If he could swim out, he was innocent.

This belief in bewitchment is recognized in a number of the incantations, as in the following:[3]

'An evil curse, like a demon, rests upon the man,
A voice, a wretchedness has fallen upon him,
A voice not good has fallen upon him,
An evil curse, a ban of pestilence!
That man an evil curse has slaughtered like a lamb;
His god has retired from his body,
His prayer-answering goddess stands aside,
The voice, the wretchedness covers him like a garment, it overwhelms him
Marduk saw him,
Into the house of Ea, his father, he entered and spoke:
"My father, an evil curse, like a demon, has fallen on a man."
A second time he said to him:
"What that man should do I do not know. By what may he be cured?"
Ea answered his son Marduk:
"My son, what dost thou not know? What can I add to thee?
Marduk, what dost thou not know? What can I add to thee?
What I know, thou knowest.
Go to him, my son Marduk,
To the house of holy cleansing take him,
His ban loose, his ban break!
The restless evil of his body,
Whether it be curse of his father,
Or curse of his mother,
Or curse of his elder brother,
Or curse of a pest-demon,
Or curse of a man unknown,
Like an onion may it be peeled off,
Like a date may it be cut off,
Like a palm-raceme may it be broken off!
O curse, by Heaven be thou exorcized!
By the Earth be thou exorcized!"'

This text makes it clear that, when the demon took possession of a person, the god or goddess (in other words, good spirits) was believed to withdraw. A similar conception prevailed among the Hebrews.

[1] Cf. M. Jastrow, *The Medicine of the Babylonians and Assyrians*, p. 7.

[1] For the original see *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, xvii. [1903] 50, and for trr. R. W. Rogers, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, New York, 1908, p. 155, *Cuneiform Parallels to the OT*, do. 1912, p. 52 ff.; and H. Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder zum AT*, Tübingen, 1909, p. 28.

[2] K. L. Tallqvist, *Die assyrische Beschwörungsserie Maqlû*, Tafel v. 166–184.

[3] H. Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion*, Tafel v. 1 ff.

In order to exorcize the demon not only words but symbolic acts were employed. The incantation from which the last quotation comes is continued by a series of sections, each devoted to a symbolic casting into the fire of different kinds of material—an onion, a date, a palm-raceme, a little fleece, a goat-skin, wool, and seed. The portion of it which accompanied the use of the onion reads:

'As this onion is peeled and cast into the fire,
The devouring flame seizes it,
In a garden it will never be planted,
Amid pools and irrigating-ditches will not be placed,
Its roots will not strike into the ground,
Its stalk will not shoot up, will never see the sun,
Unto the feast of a god or a king will not approach,
So be the curse, the ban, the torture, the bewitchment,
The sickness, sighing, sin, misdeed, wrong, and transgression,—
The sickness which in my body, my flesh, my members dwells.
As this onion is peeled and
On this day the devouring flame seizes it,
May the curse be removed! May I see light!'

Similar utterances accompanied the burning of the other materials. To such an extent did the belief in the possession of evil demons prevail that, at least in later times, the whole life of Babylonia was pervaded by the fear of them. This is proved by the extent and variety of the incantation literature. This need not be more fully quoted here, as its fundamental conceptions are embodied in the extracts given above. The rest of it presents in different ways and with a variety of outward symbols endless variations of this theme.

Because of the difficulties of life in the Babylonian climate, struggle, sickness, and pain were more common than exultant joy. Perhaps it was for this reason that, while belief in the possession of demons was developed to a pseudo-science, there is almost no trace of a belief in the possession of a man by a good spirit or god. Nevertheless men who accomplished unusual deeds recognized that their power was not their own—that it came to them from the gods. As a rule, however, they did not claim possession of the gods, but held that each god had imparted to them some special attribute of his as a gift.

Thus Lugalzaggisi, the first to carry the Babylonian arms to the Mediterranean coast (*c.* 2800 B.C.), claims that intelligence was given him by Enki, the god of wisdom, that he was nourished with the milk of life by Ninkharsag, that he was called by Shamash, and chosen to be the king of the world by Enlil.[1] Earlier than he Eannatum, the conquering king of Lagash, made similar claims. Eannatum also relates a more intimate religious experience. When the men of Umma had raided the fertile plain of Guedin and carried off the crop which was of such value to the men of Lagash, Eannatum fell on his face before the god Ningirsu and prayed for guidance in the important crisis. Thereupon Ningirsu appeared to him, apparently in a dream (we cannot be sure, since the text is broken) and gave him the desired guidance and power. Filled with enthusiasm because of this communion with his god, Eannatum went forth and completely subdued his enemies.[2]

Five or six centuries after Eannatum Gudea, another ruler of Lagash, had a similar experience. The overflow of the rivers had failed, and a famine had resulted. Naturally the ruler was most anxious. Two gods appeared to him in a dream and told him to rebuild the temple of Eninnû,[3] which he proceeded to do. Evidently Gudea believed that in this experience divine intelligence was imparted to him, for he boasts that he introduced by his superior understanding a new type of temple architecture.

This method of gaining divine power continued down to the end of the Assyrian period, though in a somewhat attenuated form.

In the time of Ashurbanipal, *e.g.*, when the king was once invading Elam, both he and his troops were in trouble on account of the river Ididi being in flood. Ashurbanipal prayed, and the goddess Ishtar answered, but now it was not the king to whom the goddess appeared in a dream, but a seer.[4] The vision came by proxy.

[1] Cf. F. Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften*, Leipzig, 1907, p. 152.
[2] *Ib.* p. 13, and L. W. King, *Hist. of Sumer and Akkad*, London, 1910, p. 123 ff.
[3] See Thureau-Dangin, pp. 89–93.
[4] Cf. G. A. Barton, *Archæology and the Bible*, Philadelphia, 1916, p. 417.

Perhaps it was because of the heightening of this conception—that gods occasionally appeared to their devoted followers and empowered them to unusual deeds—into a belief that these exceptional men were possessed by the gods or by divine powers that led to the deification of a few Babylonian rulers. It has long been one of the puzzles of Babylonian history why Naram-Sin, Gudea, Dungi, Bur-Sin, and Gimil-Sin claimed to be gods. Granted that the last two may have inherited the title from Dungi, why should it have been accorded spontaneously to three of Babylonia's great rulers, and not to a number of others equally great? None of the theories previously put forward (such as Egyptian influence or the possession of the shrine of Nippur) is adequate. A more probable hypothesis would seem to be that for some reason Naram-Sin, Gudea, and Dungi were believed to be possessed of the divine powers.

2. Phœnicia.—While most of the Phœnician literature has perished, interesting evidence of Phœnician belief in possession is found in an Egyptian document known as the 'Report of Wenamon,'[1] an Egyptian who was sent to Byblos (Gebal) in Phœnicia in the reign of Ramses XII. (1118–1090 B.C.). It was a troubled period of history, and Wenamon had many adventures, being robbed at Dor on his way to Phœnicia, and driven by adverse winds to Cyprus on his way home. Fortunately he lived to narrate his experiences, not the least of which occurred at Byblos itself.

The king of Byblos, Zakar-Baal, was at first unfriendly. This part of the narrative runs:

'I spent nineteen days in his [harbour], and he continually sent to me daily saying: "Betake thyself from my harbour."

Now, when he sacrificed to his gods, the god seized one of his noble youths, making him frenzied, so that he said:

"Bring [the god] hither! Bring the messenger of Amon who hath him, Send him and let him go."'

'The god' in this passage refers to an image of the Theban god Amon called Amon-of-the-way—a kind of travelling Amon which Wenamon had with him. Wenamon continues:

'Now, while the frenzied (youth) continued in frenzy during this night, I found a ship for Egypt, and I loaded all my belongings into it.'

He then relates how, as he was about to flee, Zakar-Baal, at the command of the god through the frenzied youth, sent and recalled him.

The whole incident shows that the Phœnicians believed in possession by a god, and that what was uttered by one so possessed was a divine command that should be given the strictest heed. It is a conception of prophecy familiar to students of the OT.

3. Israel.—The OT affords much evidence that the belief in possession in Israel in the early days of her history was identical with that in Phœnicia. A classical instance of this is Balaam.

The king of Moab sent for him to curse Israel. Balaam strongly desired to comply; to comply meant rich rewards. But, according to the E account, Jahweh met Balaam in the way, and 'put a word in Balaam's mouth' (Nu $23^{4f.}$). Jahweh so took possession of Balaam that in spite of his desires he blessed Israel. The J document says of his experience, 'The spirit of God came upon him' [Balaam] (24^{2}).

That Balaam had the ecstatic experience of the Byblite youth is clearly shown by the poems attributed to him. One of these describes him as the man

'Who seeth the vision of the Almighty,
Falling down and having his eyes open' (24^{16b})—

clearly a description of the frenzied or ecstatic state. The powerlessness of Balaam when thus possessed by the divine spirit is expressed in the lines:

'How shall I curse, whom God hath not cursed?
And how shall I defy, whom Jahweh hath not defied?' (23^{8}).

A still more patent example of the view that pro-

[1] For the whole document see Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, iv. §§ 583–591, or, for the most important parts of it, Barton, pp. 352–355.

phecy is the result of ecstatic possession is afforded by the case of King Saul.

According to the narrative in 1 S 19[18ff.], when David fled for protection to Samuel, Saul sent messengers to bring David back. 'And when they saw the company of the prophets prophesying, and Samuel standing as head over them, the spirit of God came upon the messengers of Saul, and they also prophesied.' The experiment was repeated three times, with the same result. The messengers were so overcome with the ecstasy that some one else had to return to tell Saul what had happened. Finally Saul himself started to go and fetch David, and 'the spirit of God came upon him also, and he went on, and prophesied, until he came to Naioth in Ramah. And he also stripped off his clothes, and he also prophesied before Samuel, and lay down naked all that day and all that night. Wherefore they say, Is Saul also among the prophets?'

It is clear from this story that the prophetic frenzy in the case of Saul rendered him unconscious or, at any rate, unable to stand. It also so possessed him that he became regardless of the ordinary proprieties of dress. Not only is it impossible to obtain stronger evidence of possession, but it is made clear that Samuel's prophecy was also of this order. Indeed *nibba*,' 'he prophesied,' is a passive form, indicating that his words bubbled out under the influence of the power that possessed him.

That this was still the conception of prophecy in the time of Elisha is shown by the narrative in 2 K 3, which gives an account of the campaign of Jehoram, Jehoshaphat, and the king of Edom against Moab.

Elisha accompanied the expedition, and, when the prophet was asked for an oracle concerning where they could find a water-supply, he called for a minstrel to play before him. As the minstrel played, 'the hand of Jahweh came upon him,' *i.e.*, the prophetic ecstasy was induced, and he gave the desired oracle.

From this type of prophecy the literary prophets of later time clearly differentiated themselves. Amos declared: 'I am no *nabî'* !' (7[14]). We find in this period no trace of possession by demons, for in Hebrew thought the spirits were not yet differentiated into good and bad. They were still non-ethical. They were regarded by men as good or evil according as Jahweh sent them on missions that were for the benefit or for the injury of mankind. This is shown by the narrative in 1 K 22, in which the prophet Micaiah explains the fact that the other prophets of the court of Ahab differed from him, because Jahweh had sent forth a spirit to be a lying spirit in the mouths of these prophets.

The case of King Saul was of the same type. We find his melancholia or insanity explained thus: 'Now the spirit of Jahweh had departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from Jahweh troubled him' (1 S 16[14]). The evil spirit came from Jahweh, just as the spirit of Jahweh did, but it was evil because its effects were different. Just as in Babylonia the god and goddess were thought to depart before the demon could come into the man, so the spirit of Jahweh departed before the evil spirit entered into Saul. His possession by this spirit was believed to be the cause of his darkened reason.

The idea of possession appears also to have included the belief that a person could be possessed of the spirit of a departed person. Thus a necromancer is described as *baal 'ob*, 'the possessor of an *'ôb*.' The meaning of *'ob* is obscure, but apparently it refers to the spirit of the dead. Thus in 1 S 28, where Saul consulted a woman who possessed an *'ob*, the spirit of Samuel seemed to possess her, for she spoke as though she were Samuel. Necromancers were also called *yidde'oni*, and they were described in Is 8[19] as those 'who chirp . . . and mutter'—possibly because they spoke in the voices of the dead.

In the time after the Exile the literature affords little trace of the conception of possession by the spirit of God. God had become in the theology of the time exalted and remote. Prophets continued to speak, but, as in the case of Zechariah, they received their messages through angels. Eventually even prophecy died out and apocalyptic took its place, and the apocalypses record visions which the God, once nigh, but now most remote, had formerly vouchsafed to men. In such an age the idea of divine possession became impossible.

In this period the belief in demons was fully developed (see DEMONS AND SPIRITS [Heb.]). Apparently the older view that men might be possessed of a supernatural being continued, but it was inferred in all such cases that the patient was possessed of a demon and not by the spirit of God. While there is no direct evidence on this point in the literature, the prevalence of the belief in demoniacal possession by the people of Palestine that is reflected in the NT is sufficient proof. It is predicted in Zec 13[3ff.] that in future, when any shall prophesy, 'his father and his mother that begat him . . . shall thrust him through when he prophesieth.' This prediction belongs to the latest of the Hebrew prophecies. Was it not uttered because possession was now coming to be regarded as always possession of the devil? See, further, PROPHECY (Hebrew).

4. Arabia.—The beliefs of the early Arabs concerning spirits and possession were similar to those of early Israel. The Arabs believed in a great mass of spirits called *jinn*, or *jan* (the more common name is *jinn*).[1] These were not pure spirits, for they were often represented as hairy and often as having the form of an ostrich or a snake. It was believed that, when a *jinni* was killed, a solid carcass was left behind. Nevertheless the *jinn* had the power to appear and disappear, to assume temporarily any form that pleased them. They are usually spoken of collectively, and were not individualized. Similarly they were originally non-ethical. Whether they were good or bad depended upon the attitude that for the time being they assumed towards men. They were generally supposed to inhabit desolate places and to be unsocial in nature. Their powers were superhuman and they were capable of taking possession of men.

Poets were supposed to owe their power to such possession.

E.g., it is related of Ḥassân ibn Thâbit, a devoted follower of Muḥammad who was very useful to the Prophet in replying in a sort of poetry to abusive attacks upon his master, that, while still a young man, before the rise of Islâm, he met one day in a street of Medîna a female *jinnî*, who leaped upon him and compelled him to utter three verses of poetry. This was his initiation into the versifier's art. Thereafter he was a poet, but each poem came to him as the result of inspiration from the *jinn*.[2]

The separateness of the poets from other men greatly impressed the Arabs.

'From time to time, too, in the intense nervous susceptibility of the Arab race in the keen desert air, there fell upon him [the poet] cataleptic rigors, swoons, and dreams, from which he returned with strange words in his mouth.'[3]

So the poets, when under inspiration, were believed to be under the power of *jinn*. This gave them great distinction. They were, before Islâm, often the leaders and representatives of these tribes. Honour was accorded them, not from appreciation of intellectual endowment or of artistic genius, but because of their uncanny connexion with the supernatural. There is a striking parallel between the way in which the poet Ḥassân 'was thrown down by the female spirit and had verses pressed out of him,' and the way in which 'the first utterances of prophecy were pressed from Muḥammad by the angel Gabriel.'[4] In

[1] For more complete accounts see E. W. Lane, *The Thousand and One Nights*, London, 1838–41, note 21, i. 29 ff.; J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*[2], p. 148 ff.; and W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*[2], p. 119 ff.

[2] Cf. D. B. Macdonald, *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, p. 18 ff.

[3] *Ib.* p. 24.

[4] *Ib.* p. 19.

Arabian thought only the Prophet experienced angelic possession.

Beside the poet (*shā'ir*), and below him, was the *kāhin*, or soothsayer, and below him the *'arrāf*, a kind of diviner. These, too, were under the influence of the *jinn*, but in a less exalted way. The *kāhins* were soothsayers connected with a sanctuary, while the *'arrāfs*, like Samuel, told where lost articles might be found. Nevertheless the *kāhins* usually cast their oracles in verse. Their inspiration came, however, in the sanctuary, while that of the poet came as freely as the air of heaven. The ecstatic inspiration of the *kāhin* is interestingly set forth in the following account from the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, viii. 66, of the approach of the Banu Asad to Imrul-Qais.[1]

'Then the Banū Asad advanced until, when they were a day's journey from Tihāma, their Kāhin, who was 'Awf ibn Rabī'a, prophesied [a prophetic fit came upon him] and said unto them, "O my servants!" They said, "With Thee! O our Lord!" He said, "Who is the king, the ruddy one, the all-conqueror, the unconquered, among camels as if they were a herd of gazelles, with no clamor by his head? He! his blood is scattered wide! He, tomorrow, is the first of the stripped and spoiled!" They said, "Who is it, O our Lord?" He said, "If my heaving soul were not disquieted, I would tell you that he is Ḥujr openly." Then they mounted all, every beast broken and unbroken, and the day had not risen upon them when they came upon the army of Ḥujr, and charged upon his tent.'

This passage describes the oncoming of the prophetic fit, which closely resembled those of which we know in Phœnicia and in Israel; it proceeds to tell us graphically what the *kāhin* uttered and how it was fulfilled. It reveals clearly to us the Arabian notions of possession. The speaker bears witness to the fact that his soul was disquieted by a power not its own.

Muhammad, when first his ecstatic revelations came to him, believed that he was possessed by a *jinni*, and only gradually came to the conviction that it was a divine revelation. He seems to have been subject to ecstatic disturbances, and began his career as a prophet in this way. Later he was compelled to simulate such states in order to keep up the illusion of his followers. It was accordingly natural that, when he began to preach, the Meccans should class him with the *kāhins* and attribute his inspiration to a *jinni*.[2]

There is an interesting story of a Jewish boy at Medīna, in the time of Muhammad's residence there, who was subject to epileptic or cataleptic fits. His name was Ibn Ṣayyād. When in his fits, he would lie wrapped up in a rough mantle, muttering to himself, as Muhammad himself had done at the first.[3] The Jews regarded him as a prophet, and Muhammad appears to have been puzzled whether to regard the boy as a prophet or as the Jewish Antichrist.[4] In the one case his possession would be that of angels; in the other of *jinn*.

The adoption by Islām of the Jewish-Christian conception of angels tended to make demons of the *jinn*, but the movement was never completely successful. Though they are sometimes called satans (*shaitans*), they still maintain on the whole their impersonal character, and draw the satans into it. On the whole Islām took over the *jinn* in their original form, and in this form believes in them to this day. Their legal status and their relations to mankind, such as marriage and property, were discussed by Muslim jurists, and, so far as possible, fixed. They were divided into two classes, good and bad, and Muslim saints, such as al-Ghazālī, are said to have had relations with them. The *jinn* were believed to be of a lower order than men, and the saints are frequently said to have preached to them and to have taught them.[5]

5. **Egypt.**—The conceptions concerning possession in Egypt were more nearly parallel to those in Babylonia than to those in Israel and Arabia. In Egypt and Babylonia the spirits were differentiated into good and bad at a much earlier period, and in Egypt, as in Babylonia, the conception that a person might be possessed by supernatural powers was confined largely to belief in demoniacal possession. All disease was accounted for in this way, and, although a kind of medical science developed in Egypt to a higher degree of excellence than in many countries, not only did this conception of demoniacal possession lie behind it, but the administration of purely medical remedies was, to the latest time, accompanied by the recitation of formulæ that were supposed to have power over the disease-giving spirit.

One of the clearest expressions of this view is found in a tale[1] invented at the end of the XXth dynasty of some fictitious events that are said to have transpired in the reign of Ramses II.

That king is said to have married, among others, a princess of Bakhtan. Afterwards the king of Bakhtan sent to Ramses, saying that Bentresht, another daughter of his, was very ill, and begged that an Egyptian physician might be sent to heal her. The most skilful physician went, but found her possessed of a spirit, and could do nothing. Evidently he laboured in vain for a long time, for nine years later the father sent again for aid. This time a charmed statue of the god Khons, called Khons-who-executes-plans-and-drives-out-rebels, was sent. This Khons proceeded to Bakhtan, touched the princess, and the spirit went out of her. Like some of those in the Gospels, he did not depart in silence. He said: 'Welcome, thou great god who drivest out rebels; the city of Bakhtan is thine, its people are thy slaves, I am thy slave. I will go to the place whence I came, to satisfy thy heart concerning the matter of thy journey. Let thy majesty be pleased to command that a festival be celebrated in my honour by the prince of Bakhtan.' The god then nodded to his priest saying: 'It behoves that the prince of Bakhtan make a rich offering to this spirit.'

As Naville has pointed out, this story was intended as an advertisement of the god Khons to the Egyptians. It reflects Egyptian ideas, setting forth in a detailed way their conceptions of possession. A god who advertised such cures hoped to have an opportunity to treat many similar patients in Egypt.

That similar ideas of possession underlay the Egyptian conception of disease is shown by the incantations that were to be spoken at the administration of certain prescriptions.

With a fermentation of honey and other ingredients, *e.g.*, one was to say:[2] 'It has discharged and departed, that which has no fruit. It has gone away, that which has no arms. Turn back (*O mšpn-t*) for I am Horus. Yield (*O mšpn-t*) (for) I am the son of Osiris. The magic of my mother is the protection of my members. Thy evil shall not arise in my body nor any *mšpn-t* in thy members. It has been discharged seven times.' The words were to be spoken over *innk-w* herbs. They were to be cooked, mashed, and applied thereto. In like manner, when a kind of beer[3] called *dšr-t*-beer was administered, the *sem*-priest was to be present with his implements—statue, bird-catcher's net, oil, some kind of a flower, etc.—and say: 'Drink the beer. I have brought it to drive out the *ššt-c*-god, the male death, the female death, which is in my body,' etc.

The demons of disease were supposed to be always lurking about, watching for an opportunity to attack. This belief made life a constant terror. No mother could lay a child to rest without invoking unseen powers to spare the little one from malice and disease that lurked in every dark corner or slipped through the open door as the gloom of night gathered, to prostrate the little ones with sickness. One can almost hear the voice of the mother as she said:[4]

'Run out, thou who comest in the darkness, who enterest in stealth, his nose behind him, his face turned backward, who loses that for which he came.
Run out, thou who comest in darkness, who enterest in stealth, her nose behind her, her face turned backward, who loses that for which she came.'

The demons might come under the guise of friends in order to gain access to the child. Hence the mother continues:

'Comest thou to kiss the child? I will not let thee kiss him.
Comest thou to soothe (him)? I will not let thee soothe him.

[1] Tr. Macdonald, p. 81 f. [2] *Ib.* pp. 33, 37.
[3] Qur'ān, lxxiv. [4] See Macdonald, p. 34 ff.
[5] *Ib.* p. 144 ff.

[1] See E. Naville, *The Old Egyptian Faith*, pp. 250–258.
[2] Cf. G. A. Reisner, *The Hearst Medical Papyrus*, p. 6.
[3] *Ib.* p. 7.
[4] See Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, p. 291.

Comest thou to harm him? I will not let thee harm him.
Comest thou to take him away? I will not let thee take him away.'

The danger from demons not only accompanied one throughout this life, but also followed one into the hereafter. Hence the charms that had been potent to protect one here were applied to the life beyond. In the time of the empire the folk-charm invaded the *Book of the Dead*, where it forms the 'Chapter of not Permitting a Man's Heart to be Taken Away from Him in the Nether World.'[1]

While belief in possession by demons developed to an elaborate system in Egypt, belief in possession by gods left little trace. In one of the Pyramid Texts of the Old Kingdom King Unis is represented as practising on the gods a kind of cannibalism, in order to possess himself of their powers. The passage reads:[2]

'King Unis is one who eats men and lives on gods,
Lord of messengers, who [dispatches] his messages;
It is "Grasper-of-Forelocks" living in Kehew
Who binds them for king Unis.
It is the serpent "Splendid-Head"
Who watches them for him and repels them for him.
It is "He-who-is-upon-the-Willows"
Who lassoes them for him.
It is "Punisher-of-all-Evil-doers"
Who stabs them for king Unis.
He takes out for him their entrails,
He is a messenger whom he (king Unis) sends to [punish].
Shesmu cuts them up for king Unis
And cooks for him a portion of them
In his evening kettles (or "as his evening kettles = meal").
King Unis is he who eats their charms,
And devours their glorious ones (souls).
. . . . . .
He has taken the hearts of the gods;
He has eaten the Red,
He has swallowed the Green.
King Unis is nourished on satisfied organs,
He is satisfied, living on their hearts and their charms.
. . . . . .
Their charms are in his belly.
The dignities of king Unis are not taken away from him;
He hath swallowed the knowledge of every god.
. . . . . .
Lo, their (the gods') soul is in the belly of king Unis,
. . . . . .
Lo, their soul is with king Unis.'

This text, which incidentally reveals the cannibalism that lay behind Egyptian civilization, was written to account for the intelligence, power, and divine qualities of King Unis. It reverses the usual idea of possession, however. The gods did not possess him, but he possessed them. How all Egyptian kings came to be regarded as gods we can now only conjecture, but evidently one pathway by which it came was this cannibalistic conception of possession.

In the Egyptian priesthood there was an order of prophets, but their particular functions are obscure. They appear to have differed little from the other priests in character. So far as appears, their functions did not depend, like those of the prophets of early Israel, upon ecstatic experiences.

6. Possession in the Gospels.—There is considerable evidence in the Gospels that, in spite of the silence of the later pre-Christian literature on the subject, belief in the possession of demons survived among the peasantry of Palestine, and was often supposed to be the cause of disease. Thus it is regarded as the cause of dumbness (Mt 9^{32}, Lk 11^{14}), of deafness, dumbness, and epilepsy (Mk 9^{25}), of dumbness and blindness (Mt 12^{22}), of curvature of the spine (Lk 13^{11}), and epilepsy (Mk 1^{26}). Ascription of these diseases to unclean spirits is not uniformly made; they are sometimes spoken of merely as disease (Mt 15^{30}, Mk 7^{32}, Lk 18^{35}). In some passages possession and these diseases are enumerated as separate things (Mt 10^{8}, Mk 1^{32}, Lk $6^{17f.}$ 7^{21} 13^{32}). It would seem that, among some, knowledge of the nature of physical disease had progressed far enough to be distinguished from possession, though this was not universal. Once, at least, the old Hebrew and Arabic idea of the multitude and impersonality of the demons comes to the front in the Gospels. The Gerasene demoniac, when asked his name, replied: 'My name is Legion; for we are many' (Mk 5^{9}). This narrative and those in Mk 1 and 9 indicate that insanity and epilepsy were the ills most commonly attributed to demoniac possession. This belief still prevails in Palestine.

The present writer once came upon a group of men near Beitin (Bethel) who were surrounding another, waving sticks at him and shouting. At an opportune moment one behind him dropped his club and caught the hands of the man in the centre, pinioning them behind him. When the writer asked the cause, he was informed that the man was *majnun*, 'possessed of a *jinni*.'

It is indicated in the Gospels that in the time of Christ there were professional exorcists who cast out demons (Mt 12^{27}). Jesus, too, cast them out. Some of His most marvellous cures were of this nature. Attempts have been made by some theologians to prove that Jesus did not Himself believe in possession, but accommodated Himself to the views of His patients and their friends. There is no evidence for this view and much against it. He made the validity of the belief the basis of argument with others, assumed that certain Pharisees could exorcize the demons, and that He, too, could do so (Mt $12^{27f.}$, Lk $11^{16ff.}$). He also assumed that, after expulsion, the existence of the demons was real, and that they could still do harm (Mk $5^{12ff.}$). His humanity was real, and He fully shared the beliefs of His contemporaries upon this point.

7. The Apostolic Age.—In the Gospels possession appears to be confined to demons; in the rest of the NT we hear mainly of being possessed of the Spirit, though references to demoniacal possession are not wanting. This change was wrought by the experience of the day of Pentecost (Ac 2) when the disciples were so possessed of the Spirit that they spoke ecstatically and the beholders thought them drunken. A later historian understood that this speaking, which was called *glossolalia*, 'speaking-tongues,' was the ability to speak foreign languages (v.[8]), but the narrative nevertheless contains evidence that this was a misunderstanding (v.[13]). The disciples were thrown into an ecstasy; they were exalted in mood; they were taken out of themselves. We learn from St. Paul (1 Co 12 and 14) that this type of public utterance was in his time exalted above all other types. His discussion of the subject also makes the nature of the phenomenon quite clear. One who 'spoke in a tongue' spoke with his spirit, but his understanding was unfruitful (1 Co 14^{14}); the hearers did not understand (14^{2}); those out of sympathy, when they witnessed such utterances, naturally called the speakers mad (14^{23}). Paul, with his sound common sense, rated intelligent speaking more highly than this speaking in a tongue, but so popular was this type of possession that even he could not but treat it with great consideration. 'Be not drunken with wine, wherein is riot but be filled with the Spirit' (Eph 5^{18}) could have been written only in an age when complete fullness of the Spirit was supposed to produce effects similar to the drinking of wine. The greatest enemies of the Christians were still thought to be demons and their chief, the 'prince of the power of the air' (2^{2}). The militant disciple wrestled 'against . . . the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places' (6^{12}). It is implied that these controlled, if they did not possess, men. One instance of such possession is presented in the Philippian slave-girl who possessed 'a spirit of Python' (Ac 16^{16}).

[1] See Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, p. 291 ff.
[2] *Ib.* p. 127 ff.

Not only did the Philippians believe her possessed, but St. Paul did also, for he addressed the spirit in exorcizing it (16[18]).

8. The Montanists.—In the 2nd cent. the ecstatic type of prophecy was revived by Montanus in Phrygia, who became the champion of the prophetic ministry. Eusebius, quoting an unnamed informant, says:

'He was carried away in spirit, and wrought up into a certain kind of frenzy and irregular ecstasy, raving, and speaking and uttering strange things, and proclaiming what was contrary to the institutions that had prevailed in the Church.'[1]

This is the report of an unsympathetic critic, but among the few sayings of Montanus that have come down to us is one that confirms the view that he was subject to the phenomenon of possession. It runs:

'Man is like a lyre, and I [the Holy Spirit] play him like a plectrum. Man sleeps; I [the Holy Spirit] am awake.'[2]

The Church had lost the fire of enthusiasm that made such possession possible, and cast out Montanus and his followers as heretics; nevertheless they lingered in Phrygia until in the 6th cent. they were forcibly exterminated. To what extent the ecstatic experiences were repeated by the followers of Montanus after the 2nd cent. we do not know.[3]

9. The Church and possession.—The condemnation of Montanus registered the belief of the Church that possession of the Holy Spirit in this extraordinary way was no longer possible—a view that was maintained by all the Church until the Reformation and is still maintained by all except some smaller sections of Protestantism. Belief in the possession of demons was still maintained and, as time passed, was intensified. The presence of this belief in the early centuries clearly moulded certain features of the ritual of the Church. Thus, according to the Roman usage, a catechumen, preparatory to baptism, first presented himself to the priest, who breathed upon him (*i.e.* performed the act of insufflation) and recited a prayer of exorcism with his hand extended over the candidate's head. A part of the petition was: 'Break all the snares of Satan by which he has been bound.'[4] The insufflation typified the reception of the Holy Spirit whereby the evil spirit was driven out. In the Gallican ritual the exorcism came first, then unction, and the insufflation last.[5] One curious sentence of this ritual reads: 'I approach thee, thou most unclean, damned spirit.' The liturgy of the East contains similar ceremonies of exorcism and insufflation.[6] The insufflation was a symbolic repetition of the act of Jesus when He breathed on His disciples and said: 'Receive ye the Holy Spirit' (Jn 20[22]). Apparently it was believed that the candidate, who as a sinner had been possessed of Satan before, now became possessed of the Holy Spirit. Such possession was but an attenuated form, so far as outward manifestations were concerned, of that of earlier time. The belief that insufflation imparted such possession extended to oil and water, for, in the consecration of these, the priest breathed on them.[7]

While the belief in possession of the Spirit took this symbolic form, belief in demoniacal possession continued in its original vigour. In W. Europe it was gradually intensified by the survival of pagan beliefs, stories, and practices. Many of these the Church took over and consecrated, but all those not so consecrated were regarded as of the devil. He was supposed to possess those who practised arts that had been banned by the Church. Witches who practised them were in league with him or possessed of him. When in the 13th cent. sects began to spring up, it was natural for ecclesiastics to regard them as in league with the evil one. Thus in 1223 Gregory IX. promulgated a letter exhorting a crusade against the Stedingers, a sect in Friesland and Lower Saxony, in which he accused them of worshipping and having secret communion with the prince of darkness. In 1303 John XXII. complained, in two letters, that both he and many members of his flock were in danger of their lives by reason of the arts of sorcerers. Finally Innocent VIII. in 1484 promulgated his famous bull 'Ad forturan rei memoriam,' in which he accused many persons of both sexes of mixing with devils and injuring by their conjurations unborn children, young animals, all sorts of crops, inflicting all kinds of pains and sickness on people and animals, preventing men from procreation and women from conception, and making them recant their Christian faith. He appointed Heinrich Krämer (Institor) and Jakob Sprenger to be prime inquisitors to rid the land of such. Sprenger had composed his *Malleus Maleficarum* ('Witch-Hammer,' 1489, Cologne, 1520) which, with the papal bull, precipitated a long drawn battle against witches, who were believed to be in league with Satan or possessed of him.[1] The movement spread to England, where in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth laws were enacted against witches. It called forth Reginald Scot's noted work, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft* (London, 1584). The war against witches and the devil spread to the New World; in Salem, Massachusetts, a number of people were executed at the end of the 17th cent. on suspicion of exercising demoniacal powers. Of course the clergy supported the crusade on both sides of the Atlantic. How many lost their lives in consequence of this dread belief cannot now be ascertained.

Although the increase of scientific knowledge has stopped the execution of people on such charges, the belief in demoniacal possession dies hard. Several cases were reported among the peasantry of Germany in the early part of the 19th cent., vouched for by accredited doctors and clergymen.[2]

10. Possession and revivals.—With the spread of experimental religion as distinguished from ecclesiastical religion since the Reformation there has been a recrudescence of the ancient belief that ecstatic experiences are the work of the Holy Spirit—a kind of possession. Such ecstasies occurred at times under the preaching of the early Friends in the 17th cent. in England, and were interpreted as manifestations of the power of God.[3] They manifested themselves again in the 18th cent. in England under the preaching of Wesley,[4] and in Massachusetts under the ministry of Jonathan Edwards.[5] They accompanied the Scottish-Irish revival in Kentucky in 1800–03[6] and the revival in Ulster in 1859.[7] They may still sometimes be seen in the meetings of the American Negroes.[8] Enthusiastic revivalists have down to recent times regarded them as striking evidences of divine visitation, though the wisest of them, such as Jonathan Edwards, lost faith in them, and Wesley's judgment finally tended in the same direction. Under Finney and Moody common sense asserted itself and evangelism rose to a more healthy plane, though such phenomena still sometimes appear. Science has taught us that they are due to disordered nerves, and the primitive belief in possession that has survived so long is fading away.

[1] *HE* v. 16.
[2] Cf. R. M. Jones, *Studies in Mystical Religion*, p. 40 ff.
[3] Cf. art. MONTANISM.
[4] See L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*[3], p. 296.
[5] *Ib.* pp. 317, 319. [6] *Ib.* p. 328. [7] *Ib.* pp. 306, 312.

[1] V. Rydberg, *The Magic of the Middle Ages*, pp. 173–200.
[2] See J. L. Nevius, *Demon Possession*, p. 111 ff.
[3] See, *e.g.*, W. C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism*, p. 167.
[4] Cf. F. M. Davenport, *Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals*, ch. ix.
[5] *Ib.* ch. viii. [6] *Ib.* ch. vii.
[7] *Ib.* ch. vi. [8] *Ib.* ch. v

LITERATURE.—R. C. Thompson, *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, 2 vols., London, 1903–04; M. Jastrow, Jr., *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, Boston, 1898, pp. 260–293, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, Giessen, 1902 ff., i. 289–392, *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria*, New York and London, 1911, pp. 303–312, *The Medicine of the Babylonians and Assyrians*, London, 1914, p. 7 ff.; K. L. Tallqvist, *Die assyrische Beschwörungsserie Maqlû*, Helsingfors, 1894; H. Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion*, Leipzig, 1896; F. Küchler, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der assyrisch-babylonischen Medizin*, do. 1904; L. W. King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*, London, 1896; J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, Chicago, 1905–07, iv. 280, *The Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, New York, 1912, pp. 127 ff., 290 ff.; W. R. Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*[2], London, 1894, p. 119 ff.; J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*[2], Berlin, 1897, p. 148 ff.; D. B. Macdonald, *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam*, Chicago, 1909, lects. i.–v.; G. Steindorf, *The Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, New York and London, 1905, pp. 106–114; E. Naville, *The Old Egyptian Faith*, Eng. tr., London and New York, 1909, pp. 251–258; G. Ebers and L. Stern, *Papyrus Ebers*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1875; G. A. Reisner, *The Hearst Medical Papyrus*, do. 1905; W. Wreszinski, *Der grosse medizinische Papyrus des Berliner Museums*, do. 1909, *Der Londoner medizinische Papyrus und der Papyrus Hearst*, do. 1912, *Der Papyrus Ebers*, do. 1913; T. W. Davies, *Magic, Divination, and Demonology among the Hebrews and their Neighbours*, London, 1898; O. C. Whitehouse, 'Satan,' in *HDB* iv. 410–412; R. W. Moss, 'Possession,' in *SDB*, p. 739 f.; A. Robertson and A. Plummer, 'First Corinthians,' in *ICC*, Edinburgh, 1911, pp. 257–284, 301–328; R. M. Jones, *Studies in Mystical Religion*, London, 1909, p. 40 ff.; L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship, its Origin and Evolution*, Eng. tr.[3], do. 1910, pp. 296, 317, 319, 328, 331; Reginald Scot, *The Discoverie of Witchcraft*, ed. B. Nicholson, do. 1886; V. Rydberg, *The Magic of the Middle Ages*, Eng. tr., New York, 1879; W. C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism*, London, 1912, p. 167; J. L. Nevius, *Demon Possession and Allied Themes*, do. 1897, ch. ix.; A. B. Hart, *American History told by Contemporaries*, New York, 1912, ii. 35–48; F. M. Davenport, *Primitive Traits in Religious Revivals*, do. 1905.

GEORGE A. BARTON.

POSTS.—See POLES AND POSTS.

POTTAWATOMIES. — See ALGONQUINS (Prairie Tribes), vol. i. p. 325.

POVERTY.—1. **Definition.**—In the Poor Law Commissioners' Report of 1834 poverty is defined as the state of one who, in order to obtain mere subsistence, is forced to have recourse to labour. This the Commissioners distinguish from indigence, by which they understand the state of a person unable to labour, or unable to obtain, in return for his labour, the means of subsistence. Probably B. Seebohm Rowntree's definition (*Poverty: A Study of Town Life*) is more satisfactory: families whose total earnings are insufficient to obtain the minimum necessaries for the maintenance of mere physical efficiency may be described as living in 'primary' poverty. This he distinguishes from 'secondary' poverty, under which come those families whose earnings would be sufficient for the maintenance of mere physical efficiency, were it not that some portion of it is absorbed by other expenditure, either useful or wasteful. If this definition of poverty is accepted, indigence or destitution is included under 'primary' poverty.

2. History.—This is of a very restricted nature, and is practically limited to the history of destitution, or extreme poverty. Even at the present day the information available concerning poverty is very slight, as scientific investigations have been made in only very few towns, and the results vary so much that it is impossible to generalize.

The only attempt to compare conditions in this country at two different periods is that of Robert Giffen. We give his conclusions, whilst bringing the figures rather more up to date.

For 1843, the first year for which we have income-tax returns, Giffen estimated the income of the country to be £515,000,000, of which £280,000,000 belonged to persons with over £150 per annum and £235,000,000 to persons with under £150 per annum. The £280,000,000 was shared by 200,000 to 250,000 persons, or, including their families, by 1,000,000 to 1,250,000 persons. The £235,000,000 was shared by about 25,500,000 persons. The income-tax paying class had about £250 per head, while the rest of the population had something under £10 per head.

For 1908 Leo G. Chiozza Money estimated the income of the country to be £1,844,000,000, of which £909,000,000 belonged to persons with over £160 per annum and £930,000,000 to persons with under £160 per annum. The £909,000,000 was shared by 1,100,000 persons, or, including their families, by 5,500,000 persons. The £935,000,000 was shared by 39,000,000 persons. The income-tax paying class had about £165 per head as compared with £250 in 1843, whilst the rest of the population had about £24 per head, as compared with under £10 in 1843.

Other figures which bear out the contention that the income-tax paying class has increased much more rapidly than the non-income-tax paying class are those relating to the value of estates passing at death.

In 1838, 25,368 probates were granted, the average amount per estate being £2160. In 1908, 67,524 probates were granted, the average amount per estate being £4000. The increase in the number of estates (165 per cent) was much greater than the increase in the population (70 per cent), so that the wealth of the country was becoming more diffused, or, in other words, a growing proportion of the population was leaving estates.

The figures relating to the consumption of comforts and conventional necessaries consumed by the masses confirm the improved conditions of the bulk of the population. The following table gives the quantities of the principal imported and excisable articles retained for home consumption per head of the population of the United Kingdom in the years 1840 and 1911.

	1840.	1911.
Currants and raisins	1·45 lbs.	4·89 lbs.
Rice	0·90 ,,	15·08 ,,
Sugar	15·20 ,,	92·07 ,,
Tea	1·22 ,,	6·48 ,,
Tobacco	0·86 ,,	2·05 ,,

The great increase in the consumption of currants, raisins, rice, sugar, tea, and tobacco can be accounted for only by the much greater use that is made of them by the bulk of the population; and such greater use would not be possible but for the increased incomes at the disposal of the masses. Figures showing the growing incomes of the non-income-tax paying classes have already been quoted and these may be supported by the Board of Trade index numbers of wages.

If the general level of wages in 1850 be taken as 100, then the figure for 1907 was 181·7, showing an increase of 81·7 per cent in 57 years (Cd. 4671, p. 44).

From the early part of the 19th cent. until 1896 prices fell very considerably, and, though they have risen since, they were much lower shortly before the war than they were during most years of the 19th century. A few figures from Sauerbeck's average prices of all commodities may be quoted:

Average of 1867–77 = 100	1873 = 111
1820 = 112	1880 = 88
1830 = 91	1890 = 72
1840 = 103	1896 = 61
1850 = 77	1900 = 75
1860 = 99	1910 = 78
1870 = 96	1911 = 80

With the rise in incomes and the fall in prices, there can be little doubt that the masses were much better off in the early 20th cent. than they were 50 or 100 years previously. The growth of Savings Banks deposits (£29,000,000 in 1850 to £257,000,000 in 1911), of the accumulated funds of Friendly Societies (£14,000,000 in 1877 to £50,500,000 in 1905), and of the loan and share capital of Co-operative Societies (£8,500,000 in 1883 to £45,250,000 in 1909) are other indications of greater general prosperity.

3. Extent.—(*a*) The earliest investigation is that of Charles Booth, who conducted an inquiry into the extent of poverty in London in 1886–88. By 'poor' he understood those who had a sufficiently regular, though bare, income, such as 18s.

to 21s. per week for a 'moderate family,' and by 'very poor,' those who from any cause fell much below this standard. Booth obtained his information from the London School Board visitors, who were in daily contact with the people and had considerable knowledge of the parents of the school children. He then assumed that the whole population was the same as the tested part, *i.e.* families with school children. When it is remembered that the part of the population which was not investigated included all the families with children above school age, and with no children, it will be realized that the condition of the bulk was better than the part tested, so that Booth's figures, in so far as they err, err on the dark side. In other words, conditions were probably not so bad as Booth's figures would suggest.

Booth divided the population into 8 classes :

A. The lowest class of occasional labourers, loafers, and semi-criminals.
B. Casual earnings—'very poor.'
C. Intermittent earnings } together the 'poor.'
D. Small regular earnings }
E. Regular standard earnings—above the poverty line.
F. Higher class labour.
G. Lower middle class.
H. Upper middle class.

As the result of his investigations he divides the population among these classes as follows :

A. (lowest)	37,610	or	0·9 per cent
B. (very poor)	316,834		7·5 ,,
C. and D. (poor)	938,293		22·3 ,,
E. and F. (working class, comfortable)	2,166,503		51·5 ,,
G. and H. (middle class and above)	749,930		17·8 ,,
	4,209,170		100·0 ,,
Inmates of institutions	99,830		
	4,309,000		

According to Booth's inquiry, 30·7 per cent of the population of London were living in poverty in 1887. This may be taken to include what Rowntree calls 'secondary' as well as 'primary' poverty. That nearly one-third of the inhabitants of London were living in poverty appears very startling, yet the investigations in other towns seem to bear out the probable accuracy of this figure.

(*b*) Seebohm Rowntree conducted his investigations into the extent of poverty in York in 1899. As the population at that time was about 75,000, it was possible to make a house to house investigation in respect of every wage-earning family. Particulars were obtained concerning 11,560 families consisting of 46,754 persons. The population was divided into 7 classes :

A. Total family income under 18s. for a moderate family.
B. Total family income 18s. and under 21s. for a moderate family.
C. Total family income 21s. and under 30s. for a moderate family.
D. Total family income over 30s.
E. Domestic servants.
F. Servant-keeping class.
G. Persons in institutions.

By moderate family was meant a family consisting of father, mother, and from two to four children. In classifying, allowance was made for families which were smaller or larger.

On this basis Rowntree divided the population as follows :

A.	1,957	or	2·6 per cent
B.	4,492		5·9 ,,
C.	15,710		20·7 ,,
D.	24,595		32·4 ,,
E.	4,296		5·7 ,,
F.	21,830		28·8 ,,
G.	2,932		3·9 ,,
	75,812		100·0

Rowntree, instead of adopting Booth's somewhat rough and ready method of saying that all families with less than a certain weekly income were living in poverty, sought to establish a scientific poverty line. He estimated the minimum necessary expenditure for the maintenance of mere physical health and then ascertained whether each family had sufficient earnings to pay for the requisite food, housing accommodation, and household sundries.

With regard to food, he took as the basis of his calculations the diet adopted at the York Workhouse, but excluded butcher meat, as this diminished the cost without reducing the allowance of protein, fats, and carbo-hydrates below the minimum requisite for physical efficiency. The weekly cost of this diet in 1899 was as follows :

Men.	Women.	Child. 8–16.	Child. 3–8.	Child. under 3.
3s. 3d.	2s. 9d.	2s. 7d.	2s. 1d.	2s. 1d.

Average for adults, 3s. ; average for children, 2s. 3d.

With regard to rent, the actual sums paid for rent were taken as the necessary minimum rent expenditure.

With regard to household sundries, Rowntree allowed 1s. 10d. (=1½ bags [140 lbs.] at 1s. 3d.) for coal, 6d. for adults and 5d. for children for clothing, and 2d. per head for all other sundries.

Thus a table was established showing the minimum necessary expenditure per week for families of various sizes ; *e.g.*, a family of father, mother, and three children would require 21s. 8d. made up as below :

	s.	d.
Food : 2 at 3s. and 3 at 2s. 3d.	12	9
Rent	4	0
Household sundries : coal	1	10
clothing : 2 at 6d. and 3 at 5d.	2	3
other sundries 5 at 2d.	0	10
	21	8

When the earnings of every family were examined by this table, it was ascertained that 1465 families, comprising 7230 persons, were living in 'primary' poverty. This was equal to 9·91 per cent of the whole population of the city and to 15·46 per cent of the working-class population. The number of persons living in 'secondary' poverty was ascertained by deducting the numbers of persons living in 'primary' poverty from the total number of persons living in poverty, the latter number being an estimate of the investigator, formed by his noting down evidences of poverty during his house to house investigation. By this method it was found that families comprising 20,302 persons, equal to 27·84 per cent of the population of the city, were living in poverty. Of these 7230 persons, or 9·91 per cent of the population, were living in 'primary' poverty and 13,072, or 17·93 per cent of the population, in 'secondary' poverty. According to this inquiry, the percentage of the population of York living in poverty (27·84) was only a little less than that in London (30·7). In the case of the towns mentioned below a similar comparison cannot be made, as the extent of 'primary' poverty alone has been investigated.

(*c*) An investigation at Northampton was made by A. R. Burnett-Hurst in July 1913. There, as also at Warrington, Stanley, and Reading, the system adopted was to investigate the conditions prevailing in some 5 per cent of the households and to generalize from these. Further, in each of these cases it was necessary to make allowance for the rise in the general level of prices between 1899 and 1913 before using Rowntree's poverty line figures. Thus the York food allowance of 3s. for adults and 2s. 3d. for children became 3s. 6d. and 2s. 7d. respectively. Fourpence was added for State insurance, and the expenditure on coal was adjusted to meet local conditions.

In Northampton, of the 693 working-class families investigated 57 were below the poverty line. These were equivalent to 8·2 per cent of the working-class households of the town and to 6·4 per cent of all households. These 57 families contained 9 per cent of the working-class population which fell within the scope of the inquiry. In York 15·46 per cent of the working-class population was living below the poverty line in 1899.

(*d*) Burnett-Hurst's inquiry at Warrington was conducted in the early autumn of 1913. Of the 640 working-class families investigated 78 were below the poverty line. These were equivalent to 12·2 per cent of the working-class households and to 11·5 per cent of all households. These 78 families contained 14·7 per cent of the working-class population which fell within the scope of the inquiry.

(*e*) The mining village of Stanley, in the Durham coalfield, was investigated by Burnett-Hurst in July 1913. Of the 203 working-class families whose circumstances were inquired into 12, containing 6 per cent of the working-class population investigated, were below the poverty line.

(*f*) A. L. Bowley conducted an investigation in Reading in the autumn of 1912. 128 families of the 622 investigated were below the poverty line. This is equivalent to 20·6 per cent of the working-class households and to 15·3 per cent of all households. The 128 households below the poverty line contained 29 per cent of the population which fell within the scope of the inquiry.

(*g*) An investigation of quite a different character into the extent of poverty in the United Kingdom has been made on two occasions by Leo G. Chiozza Money. His first inquiry related to 1903 and his second to 1908. As the income-tax returns constituted the basis of his inquiry, he divides the population into three groups, with £160 and £700 as the dividing lines:

	1903.		1908.	
	Number.	Income £ mil.	Number.	Income £ mil.
Riches.				
Persons with incomes of £700 per annum and upwards and their families . .	1,250,000	570	1,400,000	634
Comfort.				
Persons with incomes between £160 and £700 per annum and their families . .	4,000,000	260	4,100,000	275
Poverty.				
Persons with incomes of less than £160 per annum and their families	37,250,000	880	39,100,000	935
	43,000,000	1,710	44,500,000	1,844

(*h*) The statistics relating to pauperism enable us to gauge destitution or extreme poverty, which must not be confused with poverty as defined by Rowntree. The average daily number of paupers in receipt of relief in the United Kingdom at the beginning of 1914 was 933,163, or 20·3 per 1000 of the population.

(*i*) On 26th Dec. 1913 there were 982,292 old age pensions payable in the United Kingdom. Of these, 685,288 were payable in England and Wales, 97,702 in Scotland, and 199,302 in Ireland. Of the total number of persons in England and Wales who are over 70 years of age three-fifths are old age pensioners, *i.e.* persons whose incomes are less than £31 10s. per annum.

4. Causes.—All these investigators of poverty have analyzed its immediate causes, and their conclusions are given below.

(*a*) Booth analyzed 4076 cases of the poor and very poor in London, known to selected School Board visitors, and summarized the results as follows:

Loafers			60 or 1·5 per cent
Questions of employment—			
Casual work, low pay, irregular earnings	2546	62·4	,,
Questions of habit—			
Drunkenness and thriftlessness . .	533	13·6	,,
Questions of circumstances—			
Large families and illness . . .	917	22·5	,,
	4076	100·0	

(*b*) Rowntree analyzed the causes of 'primary' poverty under somewhat different headings.

Immediate cause of 'primary' poverty.	No. of households affected.	No. of persons affected.	Percentage of total population living in 'primary' poverty.
Death of chief wage-earner	403	1,130	15·63
Illness or old age of chief wage-earner . .	146	370	5·11
Chief wage-earner out of work	38	167	2·31
Irregularity of work .	51	205	2·83
Largeness of family, *i.e.* more than 4 children .	187	1,602	22·16
In regular work but low wages	640	3,756	51·96
	1,465	7,230	100·00

(*c*) The information collected by Bowley and Burnett-Hurst in Northampton, Warrington, and Reading may be summarized in one table; the figures for Stanley are omitted, being too small to express in percentages.

Immediate cause of poverty.	Percentage of households below the Rowntree standard.		
	Northampton.	Warrington.	Reading.
Chief wage-earner dead .	21	6	14
do. ill or old . .	14	1	11
do. out of work . .	..	3	2
do. irregularly employed . .	..	3	4
do. regularly employed: Wage insufficient for 3 children . . .			
3 children or less .	21	22	33
4 children or more .	9	38	15
Wage sufficient for 3 but family more than 3 .	35	27	21
	100	100	100

In the case of each of the five towns where the immediate causes of poverty have been analyzed the predominant cause is the same, viz. low wages, frequently in conjunction with large families. In York (1899) 10 per cent of the adult males earned under 20s. a week and 26 per cent earned between 20s. and 24s. In Northampton (1913) 13 per cent of the adult males earned under 20s. a week and 14 per cent earned between 20s. and 24s. In Warrington (1913) 3·5 per cent of the adult males earned under 20s. a week and 28·5 per cent earned between 20s. and 24s. In Reading (1912) 15 per

cent of the adult male population earned under 20s. a week and 35·5 per cent earned between 20s. and 24s. When from one quarter to one half of the adult male populations of these towns was earning less than 24s. a week, it is not astonishing that poverty should be very prevalent.

The growth of population has undoubtedly a serious influence on the general extent of poverty in old countries. Sooner or later increasing supplies of food and minerals can be obtained only at increasing cost. As the population of an old country grows and the supply of labour as a consequence increases, the productive capacity of the country grows, but not in the same proportion as the population. For a time this tendency may be overcome by new inventions, the accumulation of more capital, and the greater efficiency of the workers; under these circumstances an advance in the general welfare of the community may be achieved, in spite of the increase of population. This has probably been the case in this country during the past hundred years or so, but we cannot look to similar conditions continuing indefinitely in the future.

5. **Present system of dealing with poverty.**—At the present time in this country there are various methods, public and private, but not too well co-ordinated, for dealing with poverty. Most are palliative in character and only too few are remedial. This, however, is hardly astonishing, seeing how difficult the problem is.

(*a*) *Public methods.*—(1) The poor relief granted by Boards of Guardians or Poor Law Boards must be mentioned first. Nearly £18,000,000 per annum are being spent by these bodies in the United Kingdom, but they assist no one unless he or she is absolutely destitute, so that their help is accorded only to a small proportion of the poor. Out-relief, which with certain exceptions is not granted to able-bodied persons, is generally very inadequate. Indoor relief, on the other hand, is very costly, and not infrequently has the effect of making persons relieved into more or less permanent paupers, by bringing them into contact with some of the least desirable guests of the Guardians. Undoubtedly, the most satisfactory work done by the Guardians is that done in their children's homes and in their hospitals.

(2) Under the Old Age Pension Act, 1908, every person of British nationality and twelve years' residence within the United Kingdom whose income is below £31 10s. per annum becomes entitled, subject to certain small exceptions, on attaining the age of 70 to a pension of 5s. a week from the Exchequer. At the present time about a million persons benefit by this Act at a cost to the community of some £13,000,000. As the result of the passing of this Act, the number of paupers in England and Wales over 70 years of age has greatly diminished. It was 229,474 on 31st March 1906, whereas it had fallen to 57,948 on 1st Jan. 1914.

(3) The Unemployed Workmen Act, 1905, provides for the establishment of Distress Committees which, if satisfied that an applicant is a person honestly desirous of obtaining work, but unable to do so from exceptional causes over which he has no control, and that his case is capable of more suitable treatment under the Act than under the Poor Law, can endeavour to obtain work for him or themselves undertake to assist him. This assistance may take the form of (α) aiding emigration, (β) aiding migration to another area, or (γ) providing or contributing towards the provision of temporary work. The Distress Committees have dealt with only a very limited number of the unemployed: in 1912–13 the applicants for relief in England and Wales numbered 43,381, and of these 30,662 were found qualified for assistance. The majority of the applicants were general or casual labourers.

(4) A far greater number of unemployed are dealt with by Labour Exchanges, established under the Labour Exchanges Act, 1909. On 16th Jan. 1914 423 Exchanges were open. During 1913 the total number of individuals who applied to the Exchanges for employment was 1,871,671, the total number of registrations being 2,965,893. During the year 652,306 individuals were given work, the number of vacancies filled being 921,853.

(5) Another attempt to minimize the consequences of unemployment, and indirectly of poverty, has been the introduction of compulsory insurance against unemployment in certain trades, under pt. II. of the National Insurance Act, 1911, since amended by the National Insurance Act, 1914. The principal industries concerned are building, shipbuilding, works of construction, engineering, iron-founding, and the construction of vehicles. On 17th Jan. 1914 the number of workpeople insured was 2,282,324. The total amount of unemployment benefit paid to workpeople during 1913 was £497,725.

(6) The compulsory health insurance established by pt. I. of the National Insurance Act, 1911, since amended by the National Insurance Act, 1913, should ultimately have a considerable effect in increasing the welfare of the population, as ill-health undoubtedly lies at the bottom of a good deal of inefficiency, and the consequent low wages. A return made in February 1914 stated that there were 13,759,400 insured persons in the United Kingdom, of whom 360,000 were deposit contributors.

(7) The most direct effort to raise the low level of wages which is at the bottom of so much poverty was made when the Trade Boards Act, 1909, was passed. The Act applied at first only to the four trades specified in the schedule—tailoring, cardboard box-making, machine-made lace, and chain-making—but the list may be extended by Provisional Order, confirmed by Act of Parliament. In 1913 the Act was applied to four new trades—shirt-making, sugar confectionery and food-preserving, hollow-ware, and linen and cotton embroidery. For each trade or branch of a trade one or more Trade Boards are to be established. The duties of a Trade Board include the fixing of minimum time and piece rates.

Investigations into the working of the Act have been made in the chain-making and tailoring trades by R. H. Tawney, and in the box-making trade by Miss M. E. Bulkley, under the auspices of the Ratan Tata Foundation of which Tawney is director. The following table relating to the wages earned by mastermen and journeymen chain-makers, before and after the establishment of minimum rates, gives some indication of the work of a Trade Board:

Weekly wages.	Mastermen.		Journeymen.	
	1911.	1913.	1911.	1913.
Under 15s.	56·7 %	1·3 %	61·3 %	0·7 %
15s. and under 20s.	33·7 „	20·2 „	37·2 „	14·6 „
20s. and under 25s.	9·4 „	60·8 „	1·4 „	48·1 „
25s. and under 30s.	..	17·5 „	..	30·6 „
30s. and over	..	..	..	5·8 „

(8) Of the persons who fall below the poverty line there can be little doubt that the school children and infants constitute the majority and that they are the worst sufferers. As a result of their investigations Bowley and Burnett-Hurst

inform us that in Northampton just under one-sixth of the school children and just over one-sixth of the infants, in Warrington a quarter of the school children and almost a quarter of the infants, in Reading nearly half the school children and 45 per cent of the infants belonging to working-class families are living in households in 'primary' poverty.

The direct efforts of the State to remedy these conditions in England and Wales are connected with the feeding and the medical inspection of school children.

(α) The Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1906, which permits rates to be spent on the provision of food, is optional, and its adoption by Local Education Authorities is by no means universal. In many cases the authorities have contented themselves with making arrangements with voluntary agencies. In 1911–12, out of 322 Local Education Authorities in England and Wales, 131 were making some provision for feeding school children. Of these, 95 were spending rates on the provision of food. In 1908–09, £67,524 from the rates, and £85,690 in all, were spent in the provision of meals by Local Education Authorities. In 1911–12 the corresponding figures were £151,763 and £157,127. The total number of meals provided in 1911 was 8,487,824 in London and 7,634,395 in the rest of England and Wales. Both these figures show a small decrease on the previous year. The total number of children fed is given in the returns for 1911 as 124,685. The number is apparently too low; and Miss Bulkley, in her investigation under the Ratan Tata Foundation, estimates that the total number of children who were fed at some time or other during the year was about 230,000 out of a total school population of 5,357,567. The Education (Provision of Meals) Act, 1914, has removed the chief financial restrictions imposed by the earlier Act, and provides for an Exchequer grant which may amount to half the local authority's expenditure. It is hoped that this grant will prove a stimulus to increased provision of school meals and a means by which the Board of Education can level up the conditions under which the provision is made.

(β) The School Medical Service was set up under the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act, 1907. The medical inspection of all children attending public elementary schools is obligatory, but their treatment is optional. In 1913–14 there were 841 school medical officers in England and Wales, and in addition there were 578 officers appointed for special work, especially dentistry. In 277 out of the 317 Elementary Education Areas in England and Wales school nurses had been appointed. Medical treatment was provided by 241 out of the 317 authorities. The treatment is generally limited to minor ailments, uncleanliness, ring-worm, and other common skin-diseases of children, defective eyesight or hearing, some external affections of the eyes and ears, and various temporary conditions of the mouth (including teeth), nose, and throat.

(*b*) ***Private methods.*** — These vary greatly in character. There is much individual charity, people who are well-to-do helping those who are less fortunate. In many cases it is the poor who help the very poor, whether they be relatives or merely neighbours. Further, there are many charitable foundations and institutions whose funds are obtained from endowments or subscriptions, or from both these sources, such as Dr. Barnardo's Homes and the Church Army. Other types of organization are the Charity Organization Society and the Gilds of Help that exist in several towns; these organizations exist with the special object of investigating cases of poverty and helping them or bringing them into touch with some means of help. At times of unusual distress, such as is caused by a famine or a coal-mine disaster, a special fund is often raised to meet the emergency. Many trade unions, although not charitable organizations, relieve distress by the payment of out-of-work benefits.

How many people in the grip of poverty are helped by private efforts, and how much money is spent in this way, it is impossible to say. Definite information with regard to public efforts to alleviate poverty is also very difficult to obtain. The ideal of public and private methods should undoubtedly be gradually to reduce the amount of poverty by abolishing the ultimate causes of poverty. That many of the efforts are not remedial, but merely palliative, must be admitted. Further, no expenditure of money, however lavish, no raising of wages, no bettering of urban and rural housing accommodation, no improving of sanitary conditions, in fact, no material improvements alone, can hope to achieve permanent results, unless they are accompanied by certain moral changes in the character of the people. Thrift, sobriety, tidiness, and cleanliness—these and other virtues must be developed, if people are to reap the full benefits of any material changes which are likely to be effected. Much, in fact, could be achieved by moral development alone, and it is of the greatest importance to realize this, as material improvements at a time of high prices and great national impoverishment due to the war are hardly likely to be forthcoming in any large measure in the immediate future.

LITERATURE.—C. Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London*, London, 1892–97, esp. vols. i. and ii.; B. Seebohm Rowntree, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, do. 1901; A. L. Bowley and A. R. Burnett-Hurst, *Livelihood and Poverty*, do. 1915; L. G. Chiozza Money, *Riches and Poverty*[11], do. 1912; R. Giffen, *Economic Inquiries and Studies*, do. 1904, vol. i. ch. 10; H. J. Hoare, *Old Age Pensions*, do. 1915; M. E. Bulkley, *The Feeding of School Children*, do. 1914; R. H. Tawney, *The Establishment of Minimum Rates in the Chain-Making Industry*, do. 1914, *Minimum Rates in the Tailoring Industry*, do. 1915; M. E. Bulkley, *Minimum Rates in the Box-making Industry*, do. 1915; W. H. Beveridge, *Unemployment, a Problem of Industry*, do. 1909; T. Chalmers, *Problems of Poverty*, do. 1912; *The Year Book of Social Progress for 1913–14*, and *for 1914–15*; *Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom*; *Abstract of Labour Statistics of the United Kingdom*; *Statistical Memoranda and Charts relating to Public Health and Social Conditions* (Cd. 4671); *Report of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education.*

DOUGLAS KNOOP.

POWER.—The definition of power, or potency, and the distinction of power into active and passive are most clearly given by Aristotle. In this respect later writers, as Hobbes and Locke, have done little more than repeat Aristotle.

In *Met.* (iv.) v. 12 Aristotle distinguishes three senses of the term:

'"Potency" means (1) a source of movement or change, which is in another thing than the thing moved or in the same thing *qua* other, *e.g.* the art of building is a potency which is not in the thing built, while the art of healing, which is a potency, might be in the man healed, but not in him *qua* healed. "Potency" then means the source, in general, of change or movement in another thing or in the same thing *qua* other, and also the source of a thing's being moved by another thing or by itself *qua* other. For in virtue of that principle, in virtue of which the patient suffers anything, we call it "capable" of suffering; and this we do sometimes if it suffers anything at all, sometimes not in respect of everything it suffers, but only if it suffers a change for the better.—(2) The capacity of performing this well or according to intention; for sometimes we say of those who merely can walk or speak but not well or not as they intend, that they *cannot* speak or walk. The case of passivity is similar.—(3) The states in virtue of which things are absolutely impassive or unchangeable, or not easily changed for the worse, are called potencies; for things are broken and crushed and bent and in general destroyed not by having a potency but by not having one and by lacking something, and things are impassive with respect to such processes if they are scarcely and slightly affected by them, because of a "potency" and because they "can" do something and are in some positive state' (*Metaphysica*, tr. W. D. Ross, in *Works of Aristotle*, tr. J. A. Smith and W. D. Ross, vol. viii. Oxford, 1908).

In *Met.* (viii.) ix. 1, having mentioned these different kinds of potency, Aristotle says:

'Obviously, then, in a sense the potency of acting and of being acted on is one (for a thing may be "capable" either because it can be acted on or because something else can be acted on by it), but in a sense the potencies are different. For the one is in the thing acted on; it is because it contains a certain motive principle, and because even the matter is a motive principle, that the thing acted on is acted on, one thing by one, another by another; for that which is oily is *inflammable*, and that which *yields* in a particular way can be *crushed*; and similarly in all other cases. But the other potency is in the agent, *e.g.* heat and the art of building are present, one in that which can produce heat and the other in the man who can build. And so in so far as a thing is an organic unity, it cannot be acted on by itself; for it is one and not two different things' (tr. Ross; cf. Reid's *Works*[3], ed. Hamilton, p. 519, note).

Aristotle also refers to the use of the term in geometry, and says that it is due to analogy.

The foregoing quotations contain not only the germ of all that has been subsequently written, but also anticipations of what is suggested by the most recent results of science.

The language of Hobbes is not essentially different from that of Aristotle. Hobbes reduces all change to motion. Hence power is confined by Hobbes to what Aristotle regards as only one sense of the word 'power.'

'All mutation,' says Hobbes, 'consists in motion only'; 'there can be no cause of motion, except in a body contiguous and moved'; 'motion is not resisted by rest, but by contrary motion' (*English Works*, ed. Molesworth, i. 123–125).

Hobbes continues:

'Whensoever any agent has all those accidents which are necessarily requisite for the production of some effect in the patient, then we say that agent has *power* to produce that effect, if it be applied to a patient. . . . The same accidents, which constitute the efficient cause, constitute also the *power* of the agent. Wherefore the *power of the agent* and the *efficient cause* are the same thing. But they are considered with this difference, that *cause* is so called in respect of the effect already produced, and power in respect of the same effect to be produced hereafter; so that *cause* respects the past, *power* the future time. Also the *power of the agent* is that which is commonly called *active power*.' Power of the patient, passive power, material cause are, he says, the same thing, 'but with this different consideration, that in cause the past time, and in power the future, is respected.' The power of the agent and patient together he styles 'entire or *plenary power*.' It is the same thing with entire cause—'the aggregate of all the accidents, as well in the agent as in the patient, which are requisite for the production of the effect' (*ib.* i. 127 f.).

The language of Hobbes reminds us of J. S. Mill, who regards the cause as the sum total of conditions, positive and negative taken together, which being realized, the consequent invariably follows. To Mill, however, the distinction of agent and patient is illusory, whereas Hobbes follows closely the Aristotelian analysis given above. They are two aspects necessarily united.

'These powers . . . are but conditional, namely, *the agent has power, if it be applied to a patient; and the patient has power, if it be applied to an agent*; otherwise neither of them have power, nor can the accidents, which are in them severally, be properly called powers; nor any action be said to be possible for the power of the agent alone or of the patient alone' (*ib.* i. 129).

Neither in Hobbes nor in Mill do we find any satisfactory account of power as a subjective phenomenon. This question was first raised by Locke, who uses language, in some respects, similar to that of Hobbes, but not so objective. He says:

'Power also is another of those simple ideas which we receive from sensation and reflection: for, observing in ourselves that we can at pleasure move several parts of our bodies which were at rest; the effects, also, that natural bodies are able to produce in one another, occurring every moment to our senses, we both these ways get the idea of power' (*Essay*, II. vii. 8).

'*This Idea how got.*—The mind being every day informed by the senses of the alteration of those simple ideas it observes in things without, and taking notice how one comes to an end, and ceases to be, and another begins to exist which was not before; reflecting also on what passes within itself, and observing a constant change of its ideas, sometimes by the impression of outward objects on the senses, and sometimes by the determination of its own choice; and concluding from what it has so constantly observed to have been, that the like changes will for the future be made in the same things, by like agents, and by the like ways; considers in one thing the possibility of having any of its simple ideas changed, and in another the possibility of making that change: and so comes by that idea which we call power. . . . The power we consider is in reference to the change of perceivable ideas; for we cannot observe any alteration to be made in, or operation upon, anything, but by the observable change of its sensible ideas; nor conceive any alteration to be made, but by conceiving a change of some of its ideas' (*ib.* II. xxi. 1).

In these sentences we come face to face with the psychological and epistemological problems which, in modern times, circle round the meaning of the term. Apart from these questions, power is to Locke, as to Aristotle and Hobbes, active and passive.

'Power, thus considered, is two-fold; *viz.*, as able to make, or able to receive, any change: the one may be called active, and the other passive power' (*ib.* II. xxi. 2).

He suggests that matter may be wholly destitute of active power, as its author, God, is truly above all passive power, and that created spirits alone are capable of both active and passive power. He also suggests that the clearest idea of active power is got from spirit, from reflexion on the operations of our minds, from which only we have the ideas of thinking and of the beginning of motion. These ideas of Locke lead inevitably to the question as to the relation that the power of which we seem to be conscious to control our own thoughts and actions has to power considered as existing in the external world.

It is not unusual to evade the problems thus raised by Locke by distinguishing different senses of the word 'power'; by saying that, when we use 'power' in the psychological sense, as an apparent phenomenon of our inner consciousness, the sense is quite different from and unrelated to such uses of 'power' as are exemplified when the 'mechanical powers' are spoken of, or 'power' as the rate of doing work per unit of time, or, again, as implied in the phrase 'potential energy'; or in the theory of *potential* introduced into electrical science by G. Green in 1828. The question as to the total discrimination of these different senses from the psychological cannot be determined *a priori*, by mere introspection. We, therefore, propose to consider: (1) the psychological data from which the concept of power is derived; (2) the scientific uses of the term; (3) the metaphysical connexion (if any) which exists between the psychological concept and the scientific use; and (4) the epistemological value of the concept.

1. **The psychological origin.** — The passage quoted above from Locke was early taken exception to by Hume.

'I believe,' says Hume, 'the most general and most popular explication of this matter, is to say, that finding from experience, that there are several new productions in matter, such as the motions and variations of body, and concluding that there must somewhere be a power capable of producing them, we arrive at last by this reasoning at the idea of power and efficacy. But to be convinc'd that this explication is more popular than philosophical, we need but reflect on two very obvious principles. *First*, That reason alone can never give rise to any original idea, and *secondly*, that reason, as distinguish'd from experience, can never make us conclude, that a cause or productive quality is absolutely requisite to every beginning of existence' (*A Treatise of Human Nature*, ed. T. H. Green and T. H. Grose, new ed., London, 1909, i. 452).

In the *Inquiry concerning Human Understanding*, he says:

'From the first appearance of an object, we never can conjecture what effect will result from it. But were the power or energy of any cause discoverable by the mind, we could foresee the effect, even without experience; and might, at first, pronounce with certainty concerning it, by mere dint of thought and reasoning' (sect. vii. pt. 1).

Hume then inquires whether this idea is derived from reflexion on the operations of our minds, and is copied from any internal impression—*e.g.*, an act of volition. His conclusion is:

'The motion of our body follows upon the command of our will. Of this we are every moment conscious. But the means, by which this is effected; the energy, by which the will performs so extraordinary an operation; of this we are so far from being

immediately conscious, that it must for ever escape our most diligent enquiry' (*ib.*). His general conclusion is: 'All events seem entirely loose and separate. One event follows another; but we never can observe any tie between them. They seem *conjoined*, but never *connected*. And as we can have no idea of anything which never appeared to our outward sense or inward sentiment, the necessary conclusion *seems* to be that we have no idea of connexion or power at all, and that these words are absolutely without any meaning, when employed either in philosophical reasonings or common life' (*ib.* sect. vii. pt. 2).

These views regarding power were accepted and repeated by Thomas Brown.

'We give the name of *cause* to the object which we believe to be the invariable antecedent of a particular change; we give the name of *effect*, reciprocally to that invariable consequent; and the relation itself, when considered abstractly, we denominate *power* in the object that is the invariable antecedent,—*susceptibility* in the object that exhibits, in its change, the invariable consequent. We say of fire, that it has the *power* of melting metals, and of metals that they are *susceptible* of fusion by fire,—but, in all this variety of words, we mean nothing more than our belief, that when a solid metal is subjected for a certain time to the application of a strong heat, it will begin afterwards to exist in that different state which is termed liquidity,—that, in all past time, in the same circumstances, it would have exhibited the same change,—and that it will continue to do so in the same circumstances in all future time' (*Inquiry into the Relation of Cause and Effect*[3], p. 15 f.).

The analysis of Hume and Brown reduces the idea of power, efficiency, necessary connexion, considered as a subjective phenomenon, to an illusion.

'In the sequence of events called Cause and Effect,' says James Mill, 'men were not contented with the Cause and the Effect; they imagined a third thing, called Force or Power, which was not the cause, but something emanating from the Cause, and the true and immediate cause of the Effect' (*Analysis of the Phenomena of the Human Mind*, new ed., London, 1869, ii. 328).

In opposition to Hume's opinion, Reid held that reason might give rise to a new original idea; in what way it is difficult to say.

'It is not easy to say in what way we first get the notion or idea of *power*. It is neither an object of sense nor of consciousness. We see events, one succeeding another; but we see not the power by which they are produced. We are conscious of the operations of our minds; but power is not an operation of mind. If we had no notions but such as are furnished by the external senses, and by consciousness, it seems to be impossible that we should ever have any conception of power' (*Works*[2], ed. Hamilton, p. 446). 'Our conception of power is relative to its exertions or effects' (p. 514). From the consciousness of our own activity, seems to be derived not only the clearest, but the only conception we can form of activity, or the exertion of active power' (p. 523).

The view expressed in these and other passages, and already suggested by Locke, that the conception of active power is derived solely from the consciousness of our own exertions, occurs frequently in subsequent philosophy. In its most significant form it seeks to derive the notion of power from the consciousness of our voluntary activities and, in particular, our motor energies. This view had been already combated by Hume (*Inquiry*, sect. vii.), and his arguments are repeated by Hamilton (*Lectures on Metaphysics*, Edinburgh and London, 1859, ii. 391 f., Reid's *Works*[2], p. 866 f.). To escape the force of Hume's arguments, H. L. Mansel (*Prolegomena Logica*[2], Oxford, 1860, p. 151, *Metaphysics*[3], Edinburgh, 1875, p. 269) and V. Cousin (*Fragments philosophiques*, Paris, 1826, preface) were led to seek an immediate intuition of power in mind as determining its own modifications—in Cousin's language, in a causation wholly spiritual. Quite recently an attempt has been made to prove experimentally such purely mental determination. Such mental determination seems equivalent to the *fiat* of William James (*Principles of Psychology*, London, 1905, ii. 561). But, just in so far as the element of effort is eliminated, the experience becomes correspondingly unfruitful as the source of the origin of our notion of power.

If, however, the sense of effort, and in particular of muscular effort, is retained as an integral part of our volitional consciousness, we encounter a grave difficulty. The experiment of D. Ferrier (*Functions of the Brain*[2], London, 1886, p. 386) seems to show that the consciousness of effort is an afferent, not an efferent, sensation, and dependent in every case upon some muscular contraction. Ferrier's argument was powerfully pressed by Hugo Münsterberg, in *Die Willenshandlung* (Freiburg, 1888, pp. 73, 82, quoted by James, ii. 505); nor does it seem possible now to maintain the view formerly held by Hamilton, Bain, and Wundt, that we have a direct consciousness of effort, or energy expended, accompanying the innervation of the motor nerves. Muscular afferent sensations are as subjective as those of brightness, noise, and smell. Thus P. G. Tait (*Dynamics*, London, 1885, p. 354) regards the idea of force as corresponding to some process going on outside us, but quite different from the sensation which suggests it. If this view is sustained, a philosophy like that of Maine de Biran or Schopenhauer, which seeks to interpret the universe in analogy with will force, is excluded.

In his *Metaphysic* Lotze says:

'These effects or actions [of things], which proceed from them and are sense-stimuli to us, are no doubt only motions and themselves neither red nor sweet; but what is there to prevent our supposing that, by acting through our nerves, they make that same redness or sweetness arise, as our sensation, in our souls, which also attaches as a quality to the things themselves? Such a process would be no more wonderful than the performances of the telephone, which receives waves of sound, propagates them in a form of motion quite different, and in the end conducts them to the ear retransformed into waves of sound' (Eng. tr.[2], Oxford, 1887, ii. 204 f.).

The objectivity of the qualities of sensation has been maintained by J. H. von Kirchmann (*Katechismus der Philosophie*, Leipzig, 1877, p. 103), H. Schwarz (*Das Wahrnehmungsproblem*, Leipzig, 1892, p. 76), and apparently by Bergson (*Matter and Memory*, Eng. tr., London, 1911, p. 49 ff.). Wundt long ago recognized that his argument against the specific energies of the nerves, according to which the quality of sensation does not belong originally to the nerves, but is due to the action upon them of the normal stimulus, involves as a consequence that the sensation is brought nearer to the stimulus and made dependent upon it. These tendencies in modern writers show that it may still be possible to interpret the feeling of effort or force objectively, even though it be mediated by a sensory, not a motor, nerve. The objectivity of our perception of force does not really depend upon whether the nerve is incoming or outgoing, but depends upon the nature of the impression which is thereby conveyed. Here a difference presents itself. In the case of other impressions the phenomenon disclosed to consciousness seems purely subjective. In the perception of force we are confronted with a transeunt phenomenon. At whatever point the transition into sensuous consciousness takes place, the nature of force is to exist and to be perceived only as coming from without, just as we feel at the point of the pen the resistance of the paper over which it moves. This is what Hamilton means by the 'quasi-primary phasis' of the secundo-primary qualities (Reid's *Works*[2], note D, § 2). His analysis of the apprehension is correct, even if he be wrong in assigning it to a locomotive faculty instead of to the muscular sense. It is also implied in Reid's 'relative' notion.

2. The scientific use of 'power.'—If a force is applied to overcome a resistance, no matter at what time-rate the force acts, the force so applied has been called the 'power,' and that independently of any mechanical advantage gained. Power in this sense is now called the effort.

When, by use of a simple machine, mechanical advantage is gained, the instrumentality through which this advantage is obtained has been called a 'power,' as in the phrase 'the mechanical powers,'

applied to the lever, the wheel and axle, the inclined plane, the wedge, the movable pulley, and the screw. Such a machine is not a force or power in itself, but only a contrivance for concentrating force on a particular resistance. Since the work done by a simple machine may be taken as equal to that done upon it, it is not itself a power in the sense of doing work.

Power is the rate of doing work, or the quantity of work the agent can perform in a given time.

If it can be shown that the power, or *actio agentis*, of a material agent stands to the object upon which it acts in a relation analogous to that which governs the relations of the material and spiritual generally, we shall have a confirmation of the foregoing theory of the perception of force.

3. Metaphysical connexion of the subjective and objective aspects of power.—The well-known law of Fechner, that the increase of sensation is as the logarithm of the stimulus, is commonly discussed as a purely phenomenal law—a formula to which the facts of our sensitive consciousness rather curiously happen to conform. As such it has been regarded rather contemptuously by James. In recent years attempts have been made to extend it not only to the organic, but also to the inorganic, world. To Fechner himself it was something infinitely more than such a mere phenomenal rule. It was no less than a fundamental law, governing the relations of the physical to the psychical, and, conversely, of the psychical to the physical. It was closely connected with Fechner's psycho-physical parallelism. Fechner's doctrine was quite different from ordinary psycho-physical parallelism. The latter endeavours to find for each mental state, and each fragment thereof, its underlying physical equivalent (*e.g.*, Münsterberg, *Aufgaben und Methoden der Psychologie*, Leipzig, 1891). Fechner, on the other hand, saw clearly that to a single mental unity a distinguishable material multiplicity may correspond (*Zend-Avesta*[3], Hamburg, 1906, ii. 141). This is quite in accordance with his law. Here it is only necessary to call attention to the fact that, if in the physical world energy increases as the square of the velocity, in the psychic world the resistance to the stimulus increases by a similar law.

4. Epistemological conclusion.—If there is thus in the relations of the spiritual and physical something like that which holds between potential energy, depending upon configuration, and movement, something analogous to the strain implied in that which on other grounds has been called 'potential' (J. Clerk Maxwell, *Theory of Heat*, new ed., London, 1894, p. 91), it is a reasonable inference to say that it is just the very nature of this power which as 'quasi-primary phasis' we experience in our muscular activities, and that the secundo-primary qualities are experienced in an objective sense.

LITERATURE. — Aristotle, *Metaphysica*; Hobbes, *English Works*, ed. W. Molesworth, London, 1839–45, i.; Locke, *Essay concerning Human Understanding*, do. 1690, bk. ii. ch. xxi.; Hume, *An Inquiry concerning Human Understanding*, do. 1748; T. Reid, *Works*[3], ed. W. Hamilton, Edinburgh, 1849; Maine de Biran, *Nouvelles Considérations sur les rapports du physique et du moral de l'homme*, Paris, 1834; Thomas Brown, *Inquiry into the Relation of Cause and Effect*[3], Edinburgh, 1835.

GEORGE J. STOKES.

POWER OF THE KEYS.—This term is derived from the promise of our Lord to St. Peter: 'I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven' (Mt 16[19]). In Jewish literature the key is symbolical of authority (cf. Is 22[22], Rev 1[18] 3[7]; G. Dalman, *Words of Jesus*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1902, p. 213). Here the expression contains a manifest reference to Is 22[22]. In that passage the prophet announces that 'the key of the house of David' is to be taken from the unworthy Shebna and given to Eliakim; in other words, the latter is to be appointed the king's minister, and to govern the kingdom in his name. 'The Kingdom of Heaven' is the term ordinarily employed by our Lord to signify the Church which He had come on earth to found—the organized, theocratic society of those who accepted His claims. Thus the promise, it would seem, can have but one meaning: Peter is to be Christ's vicegerent to rule the Church on His behalf. It is true that a few recent writers have sought to give another sense to the passage by connecting it with our Lord's words to the scribes: 'Ye have taken away the key of knowledge' (Lk 11[52]). They suppose that scribes were instituted to office by the ceremonial delivery of a key, and conclude that the words addressed to Peter signify no more than that he is a scribe fully instructed unto the Kingdom of Heaven. The contention is devoid of all probability, for there is no evidence for any such ceremony of institution. The natural interpretation of the expression as employed in Lk 11 is simply that the scribes had prevented all access to the knowledge of the way of salvation (cf. A. Plummer, 'St. Luke'[2], in *ICC*, Edinburgh, 1898, p. 314).

The nature of the power conferred on St. Peter is indicated by what follows: 'Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.' It seems generally admitted that the power of binding and loosing (*q.v.*) signifies primarily the gift of legislative authority. In theological literature, however, from Patristic times to the present day, the term has commonly been employed to denote the judicial power exercised by the Church in regard to the forgiveness of sins. This use is not without justification. In every State supreme legislative authority carries with it supreme judicial authority; the one is the corollary of the other. Hence, when Christ constituted St. Peter and subsequently (Mt 18[18]) the whole apostolic college legislators of His kingdom, He thereby made them likewise its judges. But the judicial power which is proper to the Church must in the nature of things differ very greatly from that exercised by a civil government. The function of the State is simply to secure the temporal welfare of its citizens; hence it takes cognizance only of external acts and not of the internal motive ('De internis non judicat praetor'). The Church, on the other hand, exists for the salvation of souls. From this it may be concluded that in her judicial capacity she must deal with sin as such, and must be authorized to remit it or refuse remission as the case may demand. This power, as the traditional theology of the Church has always taught, was granted in express terms on a subsequent occasion (Jn 20[23]).

In Patristic literature we find two interpretations of the promise of the keys. Neither of the two, however, gives us quite the full force of the Hebrew metaphor. Thus several of the fathers, while recognizing that St. Peter is the recipient of an exceptional favour marking him out as the chief of the Twelve, understand the privilege as having reference not to the Church militant but to the celestial Kingdom. Our Lord, they hold, foretold that it should be Peter's office to receive the souls of the just into beatitude and exclude the unworthy, and by this prerogative constituted him the prince of the apostles. St. Asterius of Amasea writes as follows:

'He receives by this promise the keys of the kingdom, and becomes lord of the gates thereof, so as to open them to whom he will, and to close them to those against whom they should justly be shut' (*Hom. viii. in SS. Pet. et Paul.* [*PG* xl. 280]).

St. Cyril of Jerusalem speaks of 'the Prince of the Apostles, the key-bearer of the kingdom of heaven'

(*Cat.* xvii., *de Spiritu Sancto*, ii. [*PG* xxxiii. 997]; cf. Basil, *de Judicio Dei*, 7 [*PG* xxxi. 671]; Chrysostom, *Hom. in St. Ignat.* n. 4 [*PG* l. 591]; Eph. Syrus, *Serm. Syr.* lvi. [tom. ii. p. 559]).

In another and much the most frequent class of passages the promise is understood of the power of absolution alone. To men thoroughly familiar with the institution of penance the metaphor of the keys seemed intended to signify that to Peter was granted authority to forgive sins and thereby to open or bar the road which alone gives access to heaven. This application, as we have explained above, is admissible, though it is far from exhausting the full significance of Christ's words. But some at least of those who adopted it failed to see that the metaphor implied the gift of supreme authority in general, and restricted its meaning entirely to the sacrament of penance. Thus we find Augustine so completely identifying the keys with the power of absolution that he expressly denies that the gift was personal to Peter. It was bestowed, he says, no less on all the Twelve, and it is in virtue of this gift that the Church, wherever it is found, exercises the right to forgive sins (*Serm.* cxlix. 7 [*PL* xxxviii. 802]; for other examples see Ambros. *de Pœn.* i. 33 [*PL* xvi. 496]; August. *Serm.* cccxcii. 3 [*PL* xxxix. 1711]; Hilary, *in Matt.* xvi. 7 [*PL* ix. 1010]; Origen, *in Matt.* xii. 14 [*PG* xiii. 1014]; *Conc. Œc. Eph.* Act iii. [Hardouin, i. 1477]). This explanation of the passage leads naturally to the question why, if the power conferred belonged to all the apostles, the keys were committed to Peter alone. To this it is replied that thereby is signalized Peter's pre-eminence among the apostles (Origen, *in Matt.* xiii. 31 [*PG* xiii. 1179]; Hilary, *loc. cit.*; August. *Serm.* ccxcv. 2 [*PL* xxxviii. 1349]). Stress is further laid on the consideration that in giving the keys to the chief apostle alone Christ designed to make it clear that the Church is in her essence one (August. *loc. cit.*; Optatus, *de Schismate Donat.* vii. 3 [*PL* xi. 1087]).

The Scholastic theologians of the 12th and 13th centuries, when they treat of the sacrament of penance, devote a special section to 'de Clavibus,' in which they examine the nature of the power of absolution (Hugo Victorinus, *Summa Sententiarum*, vi. 14 [*PL* clxxvi. 152]; Rolandus, *Sententiæ*, p. 264 [ed. A. M. Gietl, Freiburg im Br., 1891]; Petrus Lombardus, *Lib. Sent.* iv. 18 [*PL* cxcii. 885]; Petrus Pictaviensis, *Sent.* iii. 16 [*PL* ccxi. 1073], etc.). There are, they say, two keys, viz. *discretio* and *potestas*—the *clavis scientiæ* and the *clavis potentiæ*. The original source of this curious distinction is apparently the *Glossa interlinearis* of Anselm of Laon, where it occurs in the comment on Mt 16 (*PL* clxii. 1396). The idea of a *clavis scientiæ* is most probably connected with Lk 11[52]. To the objection that many who are not priests possess *scientia* Thomas Aquinas replies that the *clavis scientiæ* is not knowledge as such, but the authority to inquire judicially previously to pronouncing judgment (*Summa Theol.* Suppl. qu. 17, art. 3, ad 2). It appears, however, from a passage in a decree of John XXII. which deals incidentally with this point that some theologians at least rejected this distinction of the *clavis scientiæ* and *clavis potentiæ* as an artificial refinement (*Corpus Juris Canonici: Extravagantes*, xiv. 5, 'Quia Quorundam').

Towards the end of the 13th cent. a new interpretation makes its appearance. At this period the struggle between the empire and the papacy was at its height, and on either side the pen was hardly less active than the sword. The imperial legists claimed for the emperor complete supremacy over the ecclesiastical order; and the canonists replied by maintaining that the pope as Christ's vicar possessed direct authority over secular princes, that it lay with him to appoint them, and, if need be, to depose them. Christ's gift of the keys to Peter was employed to support this contention. It was urged that the gift was not of one key alone, but of two; and that this symbolized Peter's supremacy alike over spirituals and over temporals. The first, it would seem, to employ this argument was the famous canonist Henry of Segusio (Hostiensis) († 1274), who writes:

'Ideo etiam Dominus dominorum non sine causa dixit Petro: Et tibi dabo claves regni coelorum. Et nota, non dixit clavem sed claves, scilicet duas, unam quae claudat et aperiat, liget et solvat quoad spiritualia; aliam qua utatur quoad temporalia' (*Summa Aurea*, lib. iv. tit. 'Qui filii sint legitimi,' n. 10).

The same claim was made in the following century by Augustinus Triumphus († 1328) and Alvarus Pelagius († 1352) (*de Planctu Ecclesiæ*, 13). It is perhaps not to be wondered at that, at a period when Marsiglio of Padua and John of Jandun were advocating their revolutionary theories, the controversialists of the opposite school should have fallen into exaggerations on their side. On the other hand, the theologians who denied that the pope possessed direct authority over secular princes called attention to the fact that it was the keys of the Kingdom of heaven, not those of an earthly kingdom, that Christ gave to His apostle (cf. Cornelius a Lapide, *in loc.*).

Since the 16th cent. Roman Catholic theologians appear to be practically unanimous in their understanding of the passage. By the gift of the keys, they hold, is signified ecclesiastical authority in its widest scope. This authority is multiple, and embraces (1) the power of order, exercised in regard to sacrifice and sacrament, (2) the power to teach authoritatively the revealed word of God, and (3) the power of jurisdiction, in virtue of which the Church rules and legislates for the faithful. This authority was conferred in its fullness on Peter and his successors. It was, however, to be shared by others in due measure, though always in dependence on the chief pastor. Thus the pope is the supreme ruler and teacher of the Church. Yet all bishops and priests possess the power of order; and they receive in due degree authority to teach, and in most cases some measure of jurisdiction. In absolving from sin the Church is exercising the powers of order and of jurisdiction. This is, however, but one aspect of the gift signified under the metaphor of the keys of the Kingdom of heaven.

LITERATURE.—F. Suarez, *De Pœnitentia*, xvi. 4 (ed. Paris, 1856-61, xxii. 357); R. Bellarmine, *Controversiæ de Rom. Pont.*, Ingolstadt, 1601, i. 12 f.; F. Macedo, *De Clavibus Petri*, Rome, 1660, i. 2; J. Blötzer, art. 'Schlüsselgewalt,' in Wetzer-Welte, *Kirchenlexikon*, x. [Freiburg im Br., 1897] 1834; Cornelius a Lapide, *Comment. in Script. Sacr.*, Lyons, 1872, xv. 370.

G. H. JOYCE.

PRADHĀNA.—Pradhāna, properly 'fundamental substance,' is a Sanskrit term employed in the Sāṅkhya (*q.v.*) philosophy as a synonym for *prakṛti*, to denote the primeval substance. Since in all material developments this primeval substance retains a place though transformed, and the doctrine of the Sāṅkhya expressly asserts the identity of the material cause and the product, the words *pradhāna* and *prakṛti* in the Sāṅkhya texts not seldom denote also the matter which is the result of evolution, *i.e.* the material universe in general.

R. GARBE.

PRAGMATISM.—Pragmatism has come into use since 1898, when the word first occurred in William James's pamphlet on *Philosophical Conceptions and Practical Results*, as the technical name for a tendency which can be traced throughout the history of philosophy, but has only of late grown self-conscious, systematic, and general. The term had been coined twenty years before by

C. S. Peirce (without regard to the existing, but obsolescent, word 'pragmatic') in order to express the scientific need of testing the meaning and value of our conceptions and terms by their use, *i.e.* by applying them to the things which they were supposed to stand for, instead of allowing their own apparent self-evidence or intuitive certainty to attest their truth without more ado. He insisted, therefore, that the truth (and indeed the meaning) of every conception depended on the difference which it made in a scientific situation and on the 'consequences' to which its assumption led, and systematically denied that it could be determined in any *a priori* way. Thus every 'truth' became a question of empirical observation and scientific experiment. This critical method was, however, widely understood to mean practical consequences in the way of action alone, and so pragmatism was regarded as a sort of 'practicalism,' and as a disparagement of 'theoretic' truth which was a direct insult to all who cultivated the latter. But, though many pragmatists emphasized the importance of bringing fine-spun theorizing to some sort of definite test, and showed that in point of fact practical consequences frequently formed such a test, this interpretation of pragmatism is untenable. It is not correct etymologically, for the word is derived from πράγματα ('things') not from πρᾶξις ('action'). It is seriously misleading scientifically, unless it is fully understood that 'practical' is taken by pragmatism in a very wide sense, which includes what is ordinarily called the 'theoretic,' for which 'in practice' means 'in use for any purpose,' for which every thought is essentially an act, and the test of a thought may be another thought to which it leads in some psychological connexion. Pragmatism is really a denial of the absoluteness or ultimateness of the traditional antithesis between 'theory' and 'practice,' and relies for its justification on the fact that everything that we think and do has first to be willed, and has ultimately some biological value as a vital adaptation, successful or the reverse. The controversial significance of this critical and empirical attitude towards doctrines and beliefs lies, of course, in the wide prevalence of credulity and dogmatism, which cannot bear questioning. It is evident, moreover, that this pragmatist questioning may arise in various contexts and in various ways, each of which will constitute an approach to pragmatism which can be used independently of the rest. Hence what is really a very simple method is apt to assume the appearance of a perplexing complexity of doctrines. It will be best, therefore, first to survey the problems that most obviously demand pragmatic treatment in ordinary life and in the various sciences, in order to appreciate the solutions which pragmatism offers, remembering always that this treatment is ultimately logical, *i.e.* if 'logic' be taken in a sufficiently wide sense.

1. The problems leading to pragmatism.—(1) Common sense is quite aware that the world is full of deceptive appearances, that things are not all what they seem, that not everything is real or true that claims to be, that not all 'facts' are facts, that not every form of words has a meaning, that much which passes for profundity is unmeaning nonsense, that, though all things are real in some sense (seeing that they can be talked about), they are very frequently not so in the sense in which they profess to be; in short, that the intellectual world is pervaded and perverted by errors, lies, fictions, and illusions. It is recognized, therefore, on quite a simple level of reflexion that precautions must be taken, and the needs of (*a*) determining the meaning, and (*b*) testing the truth, of assertions make themselves felt. A method is demanded for distinguishing the meaningful from the meaningless, the true from the false, the real from the unreal. It is also extensively known that our ability to form conceptions and to lay down definitions is not decisive of their real value and in no way ensures that they will apply to reality in a successful and fruitful way or that reality will conform to them.

(2) The everyday problems of practical knowing reappear in logic and the theory of knowledge as 'the problem of error' and the questions about the definition and 'criterion' of truth, the 'import' of propositions, the 'reference to reality' of judgments, the formal 'validity' of proof, and the absoluteness or relativity of knowledge. But their treatment has always been vague and inadequate, because it has not been perceived that they are all concerned with one and the same central difficulty of knowledge and with the problem of logical values.

(3) Similarly, logic has never succeeded in determining its relations to psychology in a comprehensive and consistent way. It has professed to be somehow 'independent' of psychology and to be entitled to regulate the course of actual thought; yet it could never quite deny that all logical processes occur in a psychological setting, and are derived from the cognitive operations of human minds. These, however, are found to differ widely from the ideas of pure thought which logic constructs and contemplates. It appears that all actual thought is full of 'non-intellectual' factors; it is active, volitional, emotional, purposive, selective, and its understanding presupposes a study of the effects of interest, attention, desire, bias, satisfaction. But, while the actual thought is thus dependent on, and expressive of, its thinker's total personality, its logical representative has hitherto been permitted to abstract from personality. Hence there arises an acute problem of how to correlate the theories of logic with the facts of human psychology, and to determine what effect the actual nature of thought should have on its 'ideal.' For, even though this effect may be considered wholly deleterious, it is ineradicable; all truths are, and must be, on one side matters of belief. Moreover, the discrepancy between the facts and the theories of knowing is hardly less marked within the field of psychology proper. Nearly all psychological theories still abstract from the biological and functional import of the psychic processes which they describe and classify; their descriptions are in terms of 'faculties' and 'elements,' which are creatures of abstract analysis and not objects of immediate experience. They consequently overlook that all mental functioning must be understood as a reaction of the total organism, that beliefs are essentially rules for action, and that valuations occur as the stimuli to thought as well as to action.

(4) This occurrence of valuations connects pragmatism with the one science that has hitherto professed concern with value-judgments, viz. ethics. Pragmatism notices (*a*) that all the different kinds of value, ethical, æsthetical, logical, and economic, have in common a relativity, to their several purposes in the first place, and ultimately to the final end of action, 'the good.' They are all means to intrinsically valuable ends ('goods'), and as such valuable or 'useful.' It notices (*b*) that any 'truth' asserted about any 'real' is a latent value—both because it is the achievement of a purpose and because it is selected from a number of competitors and preferred as the *best* of them. Similarly, whatever is recognized as 'real' is logically in a position of superiority to other *claimants* to reality. Thus the 'true' and the 'real' have to be viewed as forms of the 'good,' and as satisfactions of desire. It is evident, however, that goods,

ends, and values may come into conflict with one another, and that intricate problems arise when we ask how much beauty or moral goodness will make up for lack of scientific evidence for a belief, or how intolerable a 'truth' may be before it is rejected as incredible.

(5) Such problems have long agitated the philosophy of religion and familiarized it with the antithesis of 'knowledge' and 'faith.' Pragmatism notes, indeed, that most men, especially when excited, regard the unsupported satisfactoriness of a belief, and their mere 'will to believe' it, as sufficient proof of its truth; but it is not true that it approves of this; for it dispenses with verification no more here than elsewhere, and observes that religious beliefs also are in fact tested, though not perhaps as systematically as they might be, by their 'working.' Still it does not simply dismiss 'faith' as a source of error alone, with the traditional rationalism. For the faith-attitude or 'will to believe' appears to it to have important cognitive functions. It may be, psychologically, a necessary condition of the discovery, not only of religious, but also of scientific, truth. It is, moreover, latent in the very notion of 'knowledge.' For the 'principles' which every system of knowledge assumes are not to be understood either as mere generalizations from experience or as sheer necessities of thought; they seem to be intelligible only as 'postulates' which are adopted by an act of faith, before they are 'proved' by the subsequent working of the science. Nor, on the other hand, does it seem proper to regard a belief as established merely because it evokes a strong will to believe. The truth is that the religious questions as to the sort and amount of evidence required by a postulate of faith are peculiarly difficult.

2. The pragmatist handling of these problems.—(1) *The problem of meaning.*—Pragmatism contends that alleged meanings, to be tested, must be applied or used, and thereupon valued or revalued according as they work well or ill. Of all the formulæ for defining pragmatism none is better than 'meaning depends on application,' which condemns the absolute distinction between theory and practice and the entire separation between 'pure' and 'applied' science (*e.g.* in mathematics). Thus inapplicable notions (like unknowable and absolute truths and realities) are declared to be unmeaning. Moreover, if two notions do not differ in their application, the distinction between them is said to be unmeaning; they are really identical and differ only in words—differences that make no difference are not worth making.

(2) *The problem of truth.*—Applying the same principle to alleged truths ('truth-claims'), we see that, since all assertions formally claim to be true, and mostly are not, truth-claim or formal truth is not what common sense and science mean by 'truth,' and that all claims have to be tested by their applications or 'consequences.' If they work well, their claim to truth-value is confirmed; if ill, it is doubted or rejected as false or erroneous. Hence the pragmatist formulæ, 'All truths are useful' and 'Genuine truth must work,' are corollaries from this method of testing truth-claims. But it should be observed that these formulæ are not formal definitions and so must not be treated as convertible; pragmatism does not affirm that whatever is useful or works is true. To assert this would be to ignore the existence of lies, fictions, errors, methodological assumptions, and other varieties of truth-claim, which are not generally called truths, and are the very things which pragmatism prides itself on distinguishing from genuine truths. It should be noted, further, that the question what sort of 'working' is relevant to the truth of a claim is relative to the inquiry, and is often disputable. In general it must be left to the experts in the various subjects concerned. But in all subjects truth always remains relative to the state of knowledge, because only the consequences known up to date can be used to test a truth-claim. Hence no amount of successful working ever leads to the complete verification of any truth, or renders it 'absolute'; further confirmation is always possible and conceivable. But this denial that any truths are absolute and immutable is quite in accord with the practice of the sciences; it leaves room for literally infinite improvement in the reigning 'truths,' and explains their continual changes. For a truth remains true only so long as it is the best to be had; it becomes false as soon as it can be bettered.

(3) *The problem of truth and error* is solved by regarding both as values, positive and negative, *i.e.* as success and failure relatively to a cognitive purpose. A *bona fide* truth-claim is always supposed by its maker to be as true as he can make it at the time; but it may nevertheless fail subsequently and be declared false, nor is its formal truth-claim any protection against this fate. Consequently there can be (4) *no criterion of truth* which is formal or absolute, nor (5) any *formally valid proof* which renders its conclusion certain as a fact, in advance of observation. Successful verification never amounts to 'valid proof,' because it involves the formal defect of 'affirming the consequent.' The same conclusion follows from the formal defects of syllogistic reasoning. It is impossible to get any guarantee of the absolute truth of the premisses used, because these cannot be truer than the sciences can make them, and because 'self-evident' intuitions have always to be tested. Moreover, as Alfred Sidgwick was the first to point out, the 'truth' of a premiss is ambiguous. A premiss may be true in general and yet false for the special purpose in hand. When, therefore, it is used, a false conclusion is deduced. After the event this failure may be described as a 'fallacy of accident,' or as an 'ambiguity in the middle term'; but the potential flaw was imperceptible before, and could not be guarded against. Hence we can never know whether a formally valid deduction will be true in fact, nor can we be absolutely assured in advance that an apparent 'case' of a rule, 'law,' or 'universal' will turn out to be one in actual fact.

As regards the psychological aspects of logic, pragmatism demands especially a recognition of *the relation of thinking* (6) *to personality and* (7) *to doubt.* Emphasis on the former has led to the systematic extension of pragmatism called humanism (*q.v.*), but it is evident that in logical theory also the traditional abstraction from the personal context and particular occasion of assertions must be called in question. In particular, the relation of meaning to purpose and context, the psychological impossibility of asserting truths which are thought to be useless, the selectiveness of human thought, the importance of interest in starting and of attention and relevance in conducting reasoning, and the massive, and still more the subtle, effects of bias and passion in distorting it, may be mentioned as implications of personality which have far-reaching (and unexplored) logical effects. The dependence of thought upon the stimulus of doubt has been specially elaborated by John Dewey, who has emphasized the need of a continual reconstruction of beliefs and the experimental nature of all judgment. (8) Dewey also emphasizes *the biological function of thinking* as an instrument of vital adaptation, and his name for pragmatism, 'instrumentalism,' conceives it as a radical application of Darwinism to psychology. But, though it is clear that pragmatism entails a

reform of psychology as well as of logic, and that it has had a certain effect in promoting psychological explanation in terms of 'function' rather than of structure, it cannot as yet claim to have led to the working out systematically of a non-intellectualistic and biological psychology.

Much the same may be said about the bearing of pragmatism on the ethical and religious values. It is certainly important, for pragmatism cannot but affect the factitious value which they have derived from their acceptance as absolute, immutable, and infallible. Actually, however, they do not seem to be able to substantiate these claims, which are contradicted by the facts of their history, and they probably stand to gain more than they could lose by being humanized and brought into closer relation with the needs of life. It is also evident that, whereas the belief that truth, reality, and good are each one, absolute, immutable, and infallible was in principle bound to lead to dissensions between men each of whom believed that because he was right the others must be wrong, the pragmatist doctrine that truth, right, and good, being relative to circumstances though not less precious on this account, may be different for different persons, and must, moreover, be developed by the continuous correction of errors and the substitution of better and more satisfactory views for worse, is highly conducive to toleration and social harmony. Even so, it does not seem probable that on questions which affect different temperaments so differently anything like universal agreement will ever be reached; but a convergence of opinion sufficient for social purposes is far more likely, if greater freedom to experiment in ways of living were granted and if men were allowed to see for themselves which methods are successful and satisfactory and which are practically sure to fail.

3. Pragmatism and absolutism.—It was natural that so distinctive and comprehensive an attitude as the pragmatic should be highly controversial, especially as it was diametrically antithetical to the intellectualistic 'idealism' which conceived the essential function of intelligence as a static contemplation of 'eternal' truths and possessed great academic vogue. The ensuing controversy has chiefly raged round the conceptions of truth and its absoluteness. The pragmatists have accused the traditional accounts of truth of being unduly intellectualistic and ultimately devoid of meaning. Thus the realistic 'correspondence' theory, which makes truth depend on an agreement with a reality which transcends the process of knowing, has no means of establishing or testing the correspondence which it alleges between the object as it is known and the object as it is *per se*. Its rival, the (idealistic) 'coherence' theory, not only has to *postulate* an absolutely coherent system of truth on the (inadequate) evidence of the relatively coherent systems of the sciences, and so (inadvertently) requires a voluntaristic logic to justify it, but leads to a conclusion which confutes this same premiss. For it finds that the absolutely coherent truth which it demands cannot be possessed by any human mind; it has, therefore, to allege an Absolute to be the receptacle of such absolute truth. But this is equivalent to scepticism as regards human knowledge, while it relapses into a 'correspondence' theory as regards the relation of human truth to absolute. Pragmatism, therefore, rejects both these absolutist metaphysics and the absoluteness of the truths known to man. They are all regarded as relative to man and to the condition of human knowledge for the time being, as the history of the sciences exemplifies. From this point of view also, humanism becomes an appropriate description of pragmatism.

LITERATURE.—The literature of pragmatism is still largely scattered in the philosophic periodicals, especially in *Mind* and the *Journal of Philosophy*. Its history as an avowed doctrine begins in America, with William James's lecture on *Philosophical Conceptions and Practical Results* at Berkeley, Cal., 1898. James acknowledged that he had taken the name from his friend C. S. Peirce, who had written on 'How to make our Ideas clear,' in *Popular Science Monthly*, xii. [1878] 287 ff., without using the word; but James himself had long been teaching pragmatism in everything but the name. His *Will to Believe*, New York and London, 1897, states (p. 124) the pragmatic test of truth, in a paper dating from 1881. His epoch-making *Principles of Psychology*, 2 vols., do. 1890, also is full of pragmatism, and was admittedly the chief source from which the other leaders derived it. After the movement had been baptized, James devoted himself to its popularization, in his *Pragmatism*, do. 1907, *The Meaning of Truth*, do. 1909, *A Pluralistic Universe*, do. 1909, the unfinished *Some Problems of Philosophy*, do. 1911, and the posthumous collection of *Essays in Radical Empiricism*, do. 1912. The applications of pragmatism to logic were made in America by John Dewey and his pupils, who studied especially the dependence of knowledge on doubt and on the need of reconstructing beliefs (*Studies in Logical Theory*, Chicago, 1903, *How we Think*, Boston, 1910, *The Influence of Darwin on Philosophy*, New York, 1910, *Essays in Experimental Logic*, Chicago, 1916, *Creative Intelligence*, New York, 1917). In England Alfred Sidgwick had worked out a pragmatic logic independently (*Distinction and the Criticism of Beliefs*, London, 1892, *The Use of Words in Reasoning*, do. 1901, *The Application of Logic*, do. 1910, *Elementary Logic*, Cambridge, 1914). F. C. S. Schiller's writings elaborate chiefly the epistemological, logical, and polemical sides of pragmatism, in 'Axioms as Postulates' (in *Personal Idealism*, ed. H. Sturt, London, 1902), *Humanism*, do. 1903, [2]1912, *Studies in Humanism*, do. 1907, [2]1912, the new ed. of *Riddles of the Sphinx*, do. 1910, and *Formal Logic*, do. 1912. As simple introductions, D. L. Murray, *Pragmatism*, London, 1912, and H. V. Knox, *William James*, do. 1914, may be recommended; the full history of the movement has been written in Dutch in T. B. Muller, *De Kennisleer van het Anglo-Amerikaansch Pragmatisme*, The Hague, 1913. The validity of the pragmatic argument from consequences and the connexion of truth with what 'works' was upheld (*à propos* of A. J. Balfour's *Foundations of Belief*) by A. Seth (Pringle-Pattison), *Man's Place in the Cosmos*, Edinburgh, 1897. Other pragmatist books of value are A. W. Moore, *Pragmatism and its Critics*, Chicago, 1910; I. E. Miller, *Psychology of Thinking*, New York, 1909; J. E. Boodin, *Truth and Reality*, do. 1911. For the religious applications of pragmatism cf. James, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, London and New York, 1902; G. Tyrrell, *Lex Orandi*, London, 1904, *Lex Credendi*, do. 1906; I. King, *The Development of Religion*, do. 1910.

Abroad pragmatism has great affinities with the French anti-intellectualism of Henri Bergson and his school (especially Le Roy and Wilbois) and the criticism of scientific procedure by H. Poincaré, E. Boutroux, G. Milhaud, P. Duhem, etc. In Germany the same may be said of the theories of knowledge of F. W. Nietzsche (*The Will to Power*, Eng. tr., 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1907–10), H. Vaihinger (*Die Philosophie des Als Ob*, Berlin, 1911), E. Mach (*Zur Analyse der Empfindungen*[6], Jena, 1911), W. Ostwald, W. Jerusalem, and G. Simmel.

In the way of criticism of pragmatism nothing systematic has yet been accomplished, but the best materials may be found in B. A. W. Russell, *Philosophical Essays*, London, 1910; L. J. Walker, Stonyhurst manual on *Theories of Knowledge*, do. 1910; W. M. Keane, *Pragmatism and the Scholastic Synthesis*, Dublin, 1910; J. B. Pratt, *What is Pragmatism?*, New York, 1909; R. B. Perry, *Present Philosophical Tendencies*, do. 1912; W. Caldwell, *Pragmatism and Idealism*, London. 1913. A. Schinz, *Antipragmatism*, do. 1910, is of value as a display of the emotional reaction elicited by pragmatism, and F. H. Bradley, *Essays in Truth and Reality*, Oxford, 1914, as a record of the reluctant, but in the end decisive, concessions to which idealistic absolutism has been driven (cf. Schiller's art. in *Mind*, no. 95 [1915]).

F. C. S. SCHILLER.

PRAISE.—See HYMNS, WORSHIP.

PRAKRTI. — See PRADHĀNA, SAṄKHYA, NATURE (Hindu).

PRĀNNĀTHĪS.—This is the name of an Indian sect founded by Prāṇnāth, or Prāṇa-nātha, in the early part of the 18th century. He was a Kṣatriya by caste, and came from Kāṭhiāwār. After long wanderings over W. India he reached Bundēlkhand, and settled near Pannā with a large following of disciples. During his stay there he indicated the Pannā diamond-mines to Chhatraśāla Bundēlā († 1732), the local Rājā, who became his disciple.

Prāṇnāth founded an eclectic religion combining the best elements of Islām and Hinduism. He was the author of at least sixteen works written in a strange jargon, a mixture of Hindī, Sindhī,

Gujarātī, Arabic, and Sanskrit, by no means easy to understand. Growse ('The Sect of the Prāṇnāthīs,' *JASBe* xlviii. pt. i.) has edited and translated one of these—the *Qiyāmat-nāma*, or 'Account of the Day of Judgment.' Verses 28 ff. of this give a good idea of the attitude taken by the teacher:

'(According to the Hindūs) the Kalki (incarnation of Viṣṇu) will make an end of the Kalī Yuga. The Gospel says that Christ is the head of all, and that He will come and do justice. The Jews say that Moses is the greatest, and that all will be saved through him. All follow different customs, and each proclaims the greatness of his own master. Thus idly quarrelling they fix upon different names; but the end of all is the same, the Supreme God.'

One of the names of this Supreme God is Dhām, and hence the Prāṇnāthīs also call themselves 'Dhāmīs.'

Prāṇnāth disallowed the use of intoxicating drugs, tobacco, wine, meat, and unlawful visits to women, and preached peace and charity. He prohibited idolatry, but at the present day one of his books, called the *Qulzum*, is worshipped at the temple at Pannā. All else that is seen at his shrines here and elsewhere is a small bed with a turban on it, called Prāṇnāth's seat. In 1764 Murtaẓa Ḥusain saw the bed with a stool on each side of it. On one was a copy of the Qur'ān, and on the other a copy of the Hindū *Purāṇas*, with learned men of both religions in attendance ready to give profitable answers to all inquirers. Most of the replies made to him involved the unity of God.

There are only a few hundred followers of this cult in modern times. Most of them live at Pannā, and others are found in small numbers in the United Provinces and in Nēpāl. Those of Bundēlkhand bury their dead at Pannā. Elsewhere they burn them, and carry the relics thither.

LITERATURE.—H. H. Wilson, *Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindūs*, in *Works*, ed. R. Rost, London, 1861–77, i. 351; F. S. Growse, 'The Sect of the Prāṇnāthis,' *JASBe* xlviii. [1879] pt. i. p. 171, reprinted in *Mathurā, a District Memoir*², Allahābād, 1880, p. 212; [Jagēshar Prasād Tiwārī], *Juvenile Hist. of Charkhārī, by a Native Servant of the State*, Benares, 1886, p. 12 ff.; C. E. Luard, *Gazetteer of Bundelkhand*, Lucknow, 1907, p. 199. Lāl Kavi, *Chhatra Prakāśa*, Calcutta, 1829, and Benares, 1903, chs. 133 ff., contains a contemporary account of Prāṇnāth's dealings with Chhatraśāla. Murtaẓa Ḥusain, Allahyār, wrote the *Ḥadīqatu'l-aqālīm* about 1782. In this is described the author's visit to Pannā about the year 1764, with a full description of the Prāṇnāthis and their temple (p. 669 of the lithographed ed., Lucknow, n.d.).

G. A. GRIERSON.

PRAPATTI-MĀRGA.—*Prapatti-mārga* was a development of the Indian *Bhakti-mārga* (*q.v.*) which took its rise in S. India in the 13th cent. A.D. *Bhakti* connotes active love and devotion to the adorable, while *prapatti* is simply passive surrender. There are two schools of Vaiṣṇava thought in S. India. The Vaḍagalai, of the country north of, say, Conjeeveram, lays stress on *bhakti*, and the Teṅgalai, of the country south of that town, on *prapatti*. The attitude of a follower of the Vaḍagalai school is compared to that of a baby monkey, which is carried about and protected by its mother, but nevertheless has to cling to her, while that of a follower of the Teṅgalai school is compared to the passive surrender of a kitten carried about in its mother's mouth. They are hence nicknamed the 'monkey-school' (*markaṭa-nyāya*) and 'cat-school' (*mārjāra-nyāya*) respectively. The corresponding attitudes of the deity in these two cases are, respectively, *sahētuka-kṛpā*, or 'grace sought,' and *nir-hētuka-kṛpā*, or 'grace unsought,' which may be compared with the 'co-operative grace' and 'irresistible grace' of Western theologians.

A man who has adopted the *prapatti-mārga* is called a *prapanna*, 'refugee,' or 'suppliant,' and he may be either *dṛpta*, 'patient,' or *ārta*, 'impatient.' A patient suppliant is one who lives an ordinary life, straight in thought, speech, and deed. An impatient suppliant is one whom *prapatti* has caused to loathe the ordinary life and everything connecting him with this world, and who, impatient of salvation, beseeches and besieges God to bring him to Himself.

The argument of the teachers of the *prapatti-mārga* is that the active concentration upon and adoration of God demanded by the *bhakti-mārga* is a means of salvation that tries the utmost strength and capacity of mortals, and is beyond the powers of most. Hence God in His mercy has opened the way of *prapatti*, which demands merely unconditional self-surrender, and is accessible to all, irrespective of caste, colour, or creed.

Although essentially a creed of S. India, the *prapatti-mārga* in later times found its way to the Ganges Valley in the north, and gave consolation to many pious souls afflicted by the tragedies that overwhelmed Hindōstān in the 17th and 18th centuries (cf. art. CHARAN DĀSĪS).

A further development of the ideas contained in this doctrine is called *ācārya-ābhimāna*, 'resort to a teacher or mediator.' In this a mediator, tangibly present and accessible, conducts the soul to a God, who is to many beyond the reach of human thought. The mediator is represented as possessing two arms. With one he reaches downwards and rescues the proselyte soul from the world of sin, and with the other he reaches upwards and presents the soul, purified from earthly taint, before the throne of the Adorable.

LITERATURE.—A. Gōvindâchārya and G. A. Grierson, 'The Artha-pañchaka' (text and tr.), *JRAS*, 1910, p. 565, 'Teṅgalai and Vaḍagalai,' *ib.* 1912, p. 714; A. Gōvindâchārya, 'The Ashṭadaśa Bhēdas' (account of the doctrinal differences between Teṅgalai and Vaḍagalai), *ib.* 1910, p. 1103.

G. A. GRIERSON.

PRĀRTHANĀ SAMĀJ.—The Prārthanā Samāj is the Brāhma Samāj (*q.v.*) of the Bombay Presidency, but it has noteworthy characteristics of its own.

Through the final defeat of the Marāṭhas in 1818 the Bombay Presidency, almost to its present extent, came under direct British rule, and Mountstuart Elphinstone was the first governor. Under settled government things began to improve; Western education was introduced; with John Wilson missions took a fresh start, employing new methods; and, in consequence, the Indian mind showed signs of awaking. About 1845 discussions on religious and social questions began to agitate both the Hindu and the Parsi communities in Bombay. The Hindus took action first. The earliest organization was a secret society, called the Gupta Sabhā, for the discussion of religious questions. This was followed in 1849 by a larger secret society, called the Paramahaṁsa Sabhā, which was meant to advance liberal ideas, both social and religious, and above all to break down caste. But in 1860 the matter was made public, and the society broke up.

Yet liberal ideas were not thereby crushed, and the movement was quickened by a visit which Keshab Chandra Sen (see art. BRĀHMA SAMĀJ) paid to Bombay in 1864. Finally, in 1867, the Prārthanā Samāj (*i.e.* 'Prayer Society') was organized. There was no man of genius among those who founded the society, but three strong men, the brothers Pandurang and N. M. Paramanand, stood out as leaders. The chief interests of the Samāj were theistic worship and social reform; and a simple congregational organization was adopted. In 1870 two young men of character and capacity joined the movement, M. G. Ranade (later Justice Ranade) and R. G. Bhandarkar (now Sir R. G. Bhandarkar), the well-known scholar. Ranade was the most influential leader the Samāj has had, and to this day its teaching and activity bear the impress of his

spirit. The Samāj building was erected in Girgaum, Bombay, in 1874, and since then has been the chief centre of theism in the West. In 1882 another young man, now Sir N. G. Chandavarkar, became a member of the Samāj. Bhandarkar and Chandavarkar, the former in Poona, the latter in Bombay, have been by far the most prominent men in the movement since Ranade's death in 1901. There have been no groups of vigorous missionaries connected with the Samāj such as built up Brāhmaism in Bengal, but there have been individual workers who have done faithful service, notably S. P. Kelkar and V. R. Shinde; but something hinders; for no one remains long in the work. There are also a number of cultured laymen whose assistance must be valuable—K. Natarajan, V. A. Sukhtankar, N. G. Velinkar, and others.

There is also a strong Samāj in Ahmadābād in the Gujarātī country, the first leader of which was Bholanath Sarabhai. Poona, Kirkee, Kolhāpur, and Sātāra, all in the Marāṭha-speaking portion of the Presidency, have each a Samāj. Of the twenty-nine theistic societies in the Madras Presidency eighteen bear the name Prārthanā Samāj.

The beliefs and teaching of the Samāj are very similar to those of the Sādhāraṇa Brāhma Samāj of Calcutta. They are theists and opposed to idolatry with all its accompaniments. The inspiration of the Vedas and the doctrine of transmigration and *karma* have been surrendered. While the thought and life of the Samāj are largely fed from Hindu theology and literature—the hymns of Tukārām, Nāmdev, and other leaders of the *bhakti* school of Marāṭha-land being much used—yet the teaching of Christianity, religious, moral, and social, has had quite as much influence as in the Brāhma Samāj. One striking difference, however, has to be noted: in the Sādhāraṇa Brāhma Samāj and also in the New Dispensation section vows are taken by every full member whereby he promises to give up both caste and idolatry absolutely, while in the Prārthanā Samāj no such promises are made; and, though the leading members are as strict in these matters as any Brāhma could possibly be, there are others who belong to the Samāj and yet have banished neither idolatry nor caste from their homes. Thus the Bombay society stands nearer Hinduism and has closer relations with the Hindu community.

The religious services of the Samāj are very similar to those of the Brāhma Samāj, the language being Marāṭhī in Bombay, Poona, and the other southern centres, but Gujarātī in Ahmadābād. Passages are read from the Hindu Scriptures, and hymns are sung. There are prayers and a sermon.

The literature of the Samāj is partly in English, partly in the vernacular. Sermons and hymn-books are in the vernacular, and have a fair circulation. The literature in English is very scanty. Indeed, the weakness of the Samāj in theology is very notable, and was fully recognized by Ranade. Attempts are being made to produce books to enrich the teaching and the thought of the community, but the results are meagre.

Apart from the regular Sunday services, the religious activities of the Samāj are the Young Theists' Union, the Sunday School, the Postal Mission, and the *Subodh Patrika*, an Anglo-Marāṭhī journal. The Students' Brotherhood, a sort of theistic Y.M.C.A., whose active workers belong to several communities, owes much to the Samāj.

A good deal of educational and charitable work is carried on. In Bombay schools are maintained for children and for women, night-schools are conducted for working men, and there is a Home for the Homeless; there is also an Orphanage, with a Foundling Asylum, and Distressed Widows' Refuge, at Pandharpur.

It is a very remarkable fact that, although the organization of the Prārthanā Samāj with reference to social questions is lax as compared with the Brāhma Samāj, yet its services to the cause of social reform, to philanthropy, and to social service have been very great. It was Ranade who organized the friends of social reform and started the National Social Conference, which meets annually. The first Conference was held in 1888, and ever since that day members of the Prārthanā Samāj have taken a very large part in its activities. Similarly, the rise of the Depressed Classes' Mission, a society organized in 1906 to help and uplift the out-castes, which draws its support from various communities, is due almost entirely to V. R. Shinde and other Samājists. A third instance is the Social Service League recently founded in Bombay under Sir N. G. Chandavarkar.

Like the sister organization in Bengal, the Prārthanā Samāj remains weak in numbers but strong in influence.

LITERATURE.—i. *HISTORY*: Śāstrī, *Hist. of Brahmo Samaj*, Calcutta, 1912, ii. 411–456; V. R. Shinde, *The Theistic Directory*, Bombay, 1912; J. N. Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India*, New York, 1915, pp. 74–81.
ii. *TEACHING*: M. G. Ranade, *Religious and Social Reform*, Bombay, 1902, *Miscellaneous Writings*, do. 1915: N. G. Chandavarkar, *Speeches and Writings*, do. 1911.

J. N. FARQUHAR.

PRATYEKABUDDHA.—1. Introduction and definition.—In the course of ages the Law (*dharma*) has been successively taught by a long line of saviours or perfect Buddhas (*samyaksambuddha*). They are not only Buddhas, *i.e.* in possession of the knowledge (*bodhi*) that works out *arhat*-ship or liberation (*nirvāṇa*); they are perfect Buddhas—omniscient, omnipotent, and very compassionate. These qualities they owe to the long practice of the 'perfect virtues' (*pāramitās*) as *bodhisattvas* (see artt. BODHISATTVA, MAHĀYĀNA).

The seed of the Law bears different fruit according to the dispositions of the disciples. A threefold distinction must be made. (1) Some disciples (mediate or immediate) of a perfect Buddha resolve to imitate him; they follow the practice of the *bodhisattvas*, and finally become perfect Buddhas, revealing the Truth and establishing the Church. For, after a few centuries, the visible work of a perfect Buddha perishes, the very name of Buddha and the path to *nirvāṇa* die away. It is the lot of the *bodhisattva* to build the path again and again. (2) Some disciples realize the fruit of the religious life, and become *arhats* or Buddhas and reach *nirvāṇa* while the Law is yet living; the (later) technical name for such disciples, taught by Buddha or the Church, is *śrāvaka*. This word is commonly translated 'auditor,' 'disciple,' but it also means 'preacher,' and this meaning (supported by *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, iv. 53, with the commentary of Chandrakīrti thereon) points out one of the features of these saints: they are preachers. They are the fathers and the doctors of the Church together with the *bodhisattvas*. (3) But not every disciple, either monk or layman, becomes an *arhat* or a Buddha during the short period of the duration of the Church. The consequence is that, during the much longer periods of the disappearance of the Church, these already converted men continue to progress in holiness and wisdom; they develop their old 'roots of merit'; they will finally reach knowledge (*bodhi*), without being actually taught by a perfect Buddha, without being trained under the rule of the Church created by a perfect Buddha; they will, in their last birth, discover the Truth by themselves, as Śākyamuni did and as all perfect Buddhas do. But they will not be perfect Buddhas; they will not move the whee of

the Law; they will not re-establish the decayed Church. These saints are named *pratyekabuddhas* (*paccekabuddha*, *raṅ-saṅs-rgyas*), 'private Buddhas' (Kern), 'Bouddhas individuels' (Burnouf); 'they desire their own peace' (*raṅ zhi don gñer*, *svaśāntyarthaka*); 'they rule themselves, not the others; it is themselves they bring to *nirvāṇa*' (*ekam ātmānaṃ damenti parinirvāpayanti*).

'The name and the nature of a Buddha,' says Chandrakīrti,[1] 'belong to three classes of persons, the *śrāvakas*, the *pratyekabuddhas*, and the incomparable perfect Buddhas. The name of Buddha is therefore suitable for the *pratyekabuddhas*. These, owing to their merits and knowledge, are greater than the *śrāvakas*. But, as they lack the equipment of merit and knowledge [of the perfect Buddhas], the great compassion,[2] the universal knowledge, they are inferior to the perfect Buddhas. They are intermediary. And as knowledge [*i.e.* the knowledge that brings *nirvāṇa*] is born in them without a teacher, as they are Buddhas by themselves, isolated and acting for their own sake, they are *pratyekabuddhas*.'

2. Bodhisattva and pratyekabuddha. — All *pratyekabuddhas* are not *śrāvakas* who have failed to obtain knowledge (*bodhi*, *arhat*-ship) during the duration of the Church. A *bodhisattva* may abandon his career of a *bodhisattva* and become a *pratyekabuddha* in order to obtain *nirvāṇa* sooner. A legend told in the *Kanakavarṇāvadāna*[3] illustrates the leading motive of the *pratyekabuddha*:

A *bodhisattva* chanced to be aware of a hideous crime (incest); he felt disgusted with the creatures whom he was trying to liberate by becoming a perfect Buddha: 'Beings are corrupt! Nay, they are very corrupt! Who would have the courage to work so long a time for the sake of so wicked beings?' Accordingly, this *bodhisattva* made up his mind to obtain *nirvāṇa* as soon as possible (*i.e.* the *pratiṣṭhita nirvāṇa*); he sat at the root of a tree, meditated on the origination and passing away of the *skandhas* (elements of the 'self'), and soon realized *bodhi*, the *pratyeka bodhi*.

The *Avadāna* adds that this *bodhisattva*, changed into a *pratyekabuddha*, did not totally lose his previous charity.[4] He thought that he had not done anything for others, having only provided for himself (*svakārtham*). Being unable to preach, he begged in order that the donors might acquire merit by giving to such a 'holy vessel' as a *pratyekabuddha*. Some *pratyekabuddhas* are known to display miraculous powers—a poor substitute for the Word, but a proof of their altruism.

3. Why pratyekabuddhas do not preach.—The *pratyekabuddha* possesses the *bodhi*, or the knowledge necessary to *nirvāṇa*, but he is not a perfect Buddha: he lacks omniscience, omnipotence, supreme compassion; and the reason is clear enough. The *pratyekabuddha* is an *arhat* 'en retard,' who has had to work very hard, in an egoistical way (*svakārtham*), to compensate for the want of actual teaching; he has not followed the practice of the *bodhisattva* which assumes high compassion and creates omniscience and omnipotence. But why does he not preach as *śrāvakas*, as even ordinary monks and laymen do? For he has both compassion and learning. The reason of his silence, of his incapacity for preaching and even speaking, is to be found in the special nature of his training.

The *pratyekabuddhas* have led a lonely life for centuries, as 'solitary contemplative philosophers,' as 'hermits' (Kern); they have not met with laymen, monks, or other *pratyekabuddhas*; they have had neither teacher nor spiritual friends (*kalyāṇamitras*). They have been living 'like a rhinoceros' (*khaḍgaviṣāṇakalpa*).[5] The natural consequence of this solitary life, of this excessive distaste for 'human contact' (*saṃsarga*) in order to avoid 'attachment' (*sneha*), is that they are unable to preach the truth that they have discovered.

4. Ṛṣis and pratyekabuddhas.—There is little doubt that this theory of the *pratyekabuddha*, the hermit saint, arises from actual fact. The *pratyekabuddha* embodies the old ideal of a solitary and silent life—an ideal that was flourishing before Śākyamuni came. Śākyamuni did not favour it; he, indeed, condemned the vow of silence, and did his best to encourage spiritual exercises in common —reading, teaching, and social activities of many kinds. But he was shrewd enough to leave some scope to the more ascetic tendencies of his countrymen. Accordingly, after they had undergone some training (novitiate), monks were allowed to live in the forests, like the *ṛṣis* of old.

Hermits are supposed to have great magical power, and to be angry when troubled in their contemplations; the same is true of the *pratyekabuddhas*, and there are some legends to this effect.

5. The vehicle of the pratyekabuddha.—Owing to their austerities and long meditations, the *pratyekabuddhas* are superior to the ordinary *śrāvakas* in power and in science. But do they acquire *bodhi* by the same method as the *śrāvakas* or by some other method? Both Mādhyamikas and Vijñānavādins state that the *śrāvakas* and the *pratyekabuddhas* are 'conveyed' to *bodhi* by the same vehicle.

'The path of the *pratyekabuddha* is of the same nature (*tulyajātīya*) as the path of the *śrāvaka*. The difference is that in their last birth, owing to their former exercise, they realize without a master the thirty-seven qualities leading to *bodhi* and obtain *arhattva*, the abandonment of all vices' (*Bodhisattvabhūmi*, I. vi. 6; *Muséon*, new ser., xii. [1911] 168).

'All saints are born from the Buddhas. The Buddhas teach dependent origination. By hearing it, pondering over it, meditating on it, the *śrāvakas* and the other saints will obtain, according to their intentions, the perfection of their own state. But some of them [the *pratyekabuddhas*] . . . do not obtain *nirvāṇa* in this life; they therefore will obtain it, without further exertion, in another life' (*Madhyamakāvatāra*, p. 2; *Muséon*, new ser., viii. 252; Chandrakīrti quotes Āryadeva, *Śataka*, viii. 22, and Nāgārjuna, *Mūlamadhyamaka*, xviii. 12).

On the other hand, Tibetan and Chinese authorities maintain that, while the *śrāvakas* meditate on the Four Truths (*caturāryasatya*), the *pratyekabuddhas* obtain their *bodhi* by meditating on 'dependent origination' (*pratītya-samutpāda*). The Chinese translations of *pratyekabuddha* mean 'alone-Buddha,' '*pratyayabuddha*.' The Tibetan equivalents are 'who meditates on *pratītya*' (*rten ḥbrel bsgom*), 'who understands only the causes' (*rkyen gcig rtogs?*).[1] We are told that the proper way of such meditation is to look at the birth and decay of the leaves.

The present writer believes that this distinction is purely scholastic. Dependent origination is only the commentary of the Second Truth.

6. Mahāyānist criticism. — According to the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (p. 44, and *passim*), there is not a *śrāvaka*-vehicle or a *pratyekabuddha*-vehicle. *Śrāvakas* and *pratyekabuddhas* do not reach *bodhi* or *nirvāṇa*. They have to become *bodhisattvas* to enter into the Great Vehicle, which is the only vehicle.[2]

The *Prajñāparamitā*, on the contrary, maintains that it is not necessary to become a *bodhisattva* in order to reach *bodhi*. There is a *śrāvaka*-vehicle, a *pratyeka*-vehicle (see *Saddharma*, pp. 79, 260; *Dharma-Saṃgraha*, etc.). But one cannot

[1] *Madhyamakāvatāra*, Bibl. Buddhica, ix. 3. 18; tr. in *Muséon*, new ser., viii. [1907] 254.

[2] The 'compassion' (*karuṇā*) is compassion 'consisting in absence of hatred' towards beings of Kāmadhātu (see Cosmogony [Buddhist]) as far as they are enduring the first kind of suffering (*duḥkhaduḥkhatā*). The 'great compassion' (*mahākaruṇā*) includes all beings and all kinds of suffering.

[3] *Divyāvadāna*, ed. Cowell and Neil, p. 293 ff.; tr. E. Burnouf, *Introduction*, p. 94.

[4] Cf. *Avadānaśataka*, Bibl. Buddh. iii. [Petrograd, 1906–09], ii. 116: the *pratyekabuddhas* are said to be *hīnadīnānukampaka*.

[5] Later, it seems, a second category of *pratyekabuddha* was admitted (by the Sautrāntikas, says Wassilieff [*Buddhismus*, p. 304]; but it seems that the Vaibhāṣikas agree), the *pratyekabuddhas* 'who are living together' (*vargachārin*); Kern (*Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 62, n. 1) compares *vaggasārin* in the *Sutta-Nipāta*, 371, 800, 912.

[1] See Wassilieff, p. 13; Eitel, *Handbook*, p. 123; Sarat Chandra Das, *Tibetan-English Dictionary*, p. 1166.

[2] See also the *sūtra* quoted, *Śikṣāsamuchchaya*, p. 97.

become a *śrāvaka* and *pratyeka* by the mere understanding of the Four Truths or of dependent origination. Understanding of voidness (*śūnyatā*) is necessary.[1]

7. Technical details.—Many technical details are to be found in the Abhidharma and Vijñānavādin books—*e.g.*, the theory of the last incarnation of a future *pratyeka*.

The *chakravartin* (sovereign king) is conscious when descending into the maternal womb; then he becomes unconscious and is born unconscious. The future *pratyeka* remains conscious in the womb. The *bodhisattva* at his last birth is born conscious.

LITERATURE.—I. *Mahāvyutpatti*, Bibl. Buddhica, xiii. [Petrograd, 1911] § 45 (p. 17); *Dharma-Saṃgraha*, Anec. Oxon., Aryan series, III. v. [Oxford, 1885] ii.; *Mahāvastu*, ed. E. Senart, Paris, 1882, i. 301, iii. 271; *Madhyamakavṛtti*, Bibl. Buddh. iv. [1913] 351, 353; *Divyāvadāna*, ed. E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil, Cambridge, 1886, p. 293; *Madhyamakāvatāra*, Bibl. Budd. ix. [1912] 2 ff.

II. I. J. Schmidt, 'Über einige Grundlehren des Buddhaismus,' *Mém. de l'Acad. de St. Pétersbourg*, 6th ser., 'Sciences politiques, histoire et philologie,' i. [1832] 241; A. Rémusat, *Foe koue ki*, Paris, 1836, p. 165; E. Burnouf, *Introd. à l'hist. du bouddhisme indien*, do. 1844 (reprint 1876), pp. 94, 297, 438, *Le Lotus de la bonne loi*, do. 1852, pp. 52, 315; S. Beal, *A Catena of Buddhist Scriptures from the Chinese*, London, 1871, p. 253; E. J. Eitel, *Handbook of Chinese Buddhism*[2], do. 1888, p. 123; C. F. Köppen, *Die Religion des Buddha*, Berlin, 1857–59, i. 419, 426; W. Wassilieff, *Der Buddhismus*, Petrograd, 1860, pp. 13, 162, 289, 304; Sarat Chandra Das, *A Tibetan-English Dictionary*, Calcutta, 1902; R. Spence Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, London, 1850, p. 290, *Manual of Buddhism*[2], do 1880, p. 38; R. C. Childers, *Dictionary of Pali*, do. 1875, p. 309; H. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, Strassburg, 1896, p. 61 f. L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

PRAYER.

Introductory and Primitive (E. N. FALLAIZE), p. 154.
American (H. B. ALEXANDER), p. 158.
Babylonian (S. LANGDON), p. 159.
Buddhist (M. ANESAKI), p. 166.
Chinese (J. DYER BALL), p. 170.
Christian—
Theological (C. F. D'ARCY), p. 171.
Liturgical (R. M. WOOLLEY), p. 177.
Egyptian (F. LL. GRIFFITH), p. 180.
Finns and Lapps (C. J. BILLSON), p. 181.
Greek (A. W. MAIR), p. 182.
Iranian (E. LEHMANN), p. 186.
Jain (M. STEVENSON), p. 187.
Japanese (M. REVON), p. 189.
Jewish (F. PERLES), p. 191.
Mexican (L. SPENCE), p. 196.
Muhammadan (TH. W. JUYNBOLL), p. 196.
Roman (J. B. CARTER), p. 199.
Teutonic (E. WELSFORD), p. 201.
Tibetan (L. A. WADDELL), p. 202.

PRAYER (Introductory and Primitive). — **1. Origin and development.**—In its simplest and most primitive form prayer is the expression of a desire, cast in the form of a request, to influence some force or power conceived as supernatural. Apart from the modern usage of the term, which connotes spiritual communion, it is usually understood to imply reverent entreaty. It must be said, however, that in the primitive mind reverence is usually obscured by fear—all spirits, whether good or bad, are regarded as dangerous—while the idea of entreaty, though the ostensible influence in determining the form, is largely coloured by a desire to compel or command. Genetically, prayer is related to the spell or charm; and it is frequently a matter of difficulty to determine whether a particular formula should be assigned to one category or to the other. Although the form of the address may be of assistance—some writers have endeavoured to distinguish between spell and prayer by assigning to the latter those formulæ which contain a vocative (see W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, London, 1906, p. 272)—in the rudimentary forms the underlying psychological elements are hardly distinguishable. In performing a magical act the performer often supplements the mimetic action by indicating in a phrase or two what it is that he wishes to be done.

The Australian black-fellow who works magic against his enemy by pointing and stabbing with his spear says, 'Strike! Kill!' Here a simple command emphasizes the action. In another and more complex example the Maidu medicine-man inflicts disease on the neighbouring villages by burning certain roots and blowing smoke towards them saying, 'Over there! Over there! Not here! To the other place! Do not come back this way. We are good. Make these people sick. Kill them; they are bad people!' (R. B. Dixon, 'The Northern Maidu,' *Bull. Am. Mus. Nat. Hist.* xvii. pt. 3 [1905] 328 f.). In form this is a direct command, but in spirit it differs hardly, if at all, from supplication.

A familiar process of magic is to work evil against an enemy by performing a ceremony over some part of the body, such as hair or a piece of nail, or some object which has been in intimate contact with the body, such as earth impressed with a footprint. The ceremony is accompanied as a rule by some formula.

[1] *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, Bibl. Indica (Calcutta, 1888), p. 379; *Madhyamakavṛtti*, p. 353 (a different opinion, p. 351).

The Maori priest was believed to be able to 'pray' mother and child to death by using the placenta in this way (G. Bennett, *Wanderings in New South Wales, Batavia, etc.*, London, 1834, i. 128).

The relation between formula and ceremony is shown in a Malay charm in which the nature and meaning of the treatment of the soil from the centre of a footprint were indicated by saying:

> 'It is not earth that I switch,
> But the heart of *So-and-so*.'

But, while this instance merely illustrates the desire to make clear the intention of the charm (though it must be noted that it is an essential part in securing success), another charm from the same part of the world illustrates by a curious conjunction the primitive attitude of mind towards the powers to whom these invocations are addressed: in one of the ceremonies for bringing sickness, injury, or death upon an enemy by the mutilation or transfixing of a waxen image the operator, in the course of his address to the spirit, says:

> 'Lo, I am burying the corpse of *Somebody*,
> . . . . . .
> Do you assist in killing him or making him sick:
> If you do not make him sick, if you do not kill him,
> You shall be a rebel against God,
> A rebel against Muhammad,'

which illustrates at once the request for help, the idea of compulsion involved in the charm, and a threat in case of non-compliance (W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, London, 1900, pp. 569, 571). In some addresses to the dead, especially when the fear of the dead, however well disposed, has been much exaggerated by any peculiar or unusual circumstance, magical ceremony, entreaty, and command combine in much the same way.

The Oraons appear to regard the spirit of a woman who has died in childbirth or while pregnant as specially malignant. Not only is she buried with special precautions (the ankles are broken and the body is laid face downward with the bones of a donkey), but various invocations are addressed to her, such as, 'If you come back, may you turn into a donkey!' The roots of a palm-tree may be burned, while the mourners say, 'May you come home only when the leaves of the palm-tree wither!' (P. Dehon, 'Religion and Customs of the Oraons,' *Mem. As. Soc. Bengal*, i. 9 [1906], p. 189).

On the other hand, the Thonga formula at the *tjeba* ceremony of collective fishing by the community, which takes place when the lakes are

drying up, seems to be passing, if it has not already passed, into the category of prayer.

An offering is made by the descendant of an inhabitant of the country, who, however, does not perform the full sacramental *eu*, which consists in placing part of the offering in the mouth and then spitting it out, but merely spits without having placed anything in his mouth, and says, 'Let fish abound! Let them not hide in the mud! Let there be enough of them to satisfy everyone!'

Notwithstanding the form of the address and the circumstances of the ceremony, which give it a magical turn, the stress laid upon the ancestral connexion seems to indicate a more definite direction of the supplication than would be expected in an endeavour to compel a successful issue by magic alone (H. A. Junod, *Life of a S. African Tribe*, Neuchâtel, 1912–13, ii. 70). Among the Veddas of Ceylon many of the invocations which form a part of the ceremonial dances by which the favour of the spirits is secured are Sinhalese charms which are meaningless to them and as such are merely the 'word of power.' But in form, whatever may be the spirit in which the invocations as a whole are used, whether merely as spells or as supplications with full appreciation of their purpose and meaning, they belong to the category of prayer. This appears clearly in the following instance of an invocation to the *nae yaku*, the spirits of the dead:

'O father who went to that world, come to this world. Come quickly to place (for us) the sambar deer, the spotted deer. Take this betel leaf. Come very quickly. Come quickly. My mother's people take the rice, take the rock honey, take the betel leaf. To place the sambar, to place the spotted deer, come very quickly' (C. G. and B. Z. Seligmann, *The Veddas*, Cambridge, 1911, p. 277).

Notwithstanding the change in mental attitude involved by the transition from spell to prayer, there is always a tendency for the latter to retain or to revert to the character of the former. The primitive mind clings firmly to the idea of control over power which is involved by the use of name or formula. Among the Todas, with whom ritual has almost overwhelmed religion, prayers are divided into two portions, of which the petition or prayer proper forms the second. The first part consists almost entirely of names known as *kwarzam*; it is made up of a number of clauses, each consisting of the name of an object of reverence followed by *idith*, 'for the sake of.' Much care is taken that this part of the prayer should not be overheard; it is muttered in the throat. It has been conjectured that the *kwarzam* was originally a form of supplication to the gods with which other words have come to be included. The objects of reverence named are of various kinds, including the names of gods, buffaloes, villages, dairies, and parts thereof. As in other cases—*e.g.*, the Vedda prayers, for which there is a special vocabulary—these things are referred to not by their ordinary names, but by special names (Rivers, pp. 216, 229). This formalization of prayer which assimilates it to a spell can be paralleled from the Avesta, in which the conception of the magical power of prayer is such that the mere repetition of the words, if correct, is sufficient for efficacy, and it is commanded that they should be repeated as a sort of preservative at fixed hours of the day (W. Geiger, *Civilization of the Eastern Irānians in Ancient Times*, Eng. tr., London, 1885–86, i. 71)—a use of 'vain repetition as the heathen do' which finds expression in an extreme form in the employment of the Buddhist prayer-wheel (*q.v.*).

2. **Occasions on which prayer is offered.**—It follows from the close genetic relationship between spell, or charm, and prayer that the latter, when first it begins to modify its magical character of compulsion and to take on the character of an appeal for assistance, is employed intermittently only.

It is said of the Baganda that, when everything goes smoothly and the family is in good health, a man does not trouble to pray or make offerings, but does so only in times of danger or sickness. If a ghost was troubling a family, offerings were made and prayer was addressed to a stronger ghost to secure its assistance. Prayer was offered to Musisi, the god of earthquake, when he exhibited his power; Nagawonyi received offerings when the women desired children (J. Roscoe, *The Baganda*, London, 1911, pp. 286 f., 313 f.). The Fijian addressed a prayer to his totem when he was in danger; *e.g.*, a man who capsized at sea called on the shark-god, and a shark appeared and towed him ashore (B. Thomson, *The Fijians*, London, 1908, p. 115).

Illness, when recognized as caused by a spirit, was another occasion which called for prayer, either to the spirit responsible, or to a spirit which possessed the power to heal.

Among the Kayans of Borneo the chant of the *dayong* (medicine-man or -woman), before starting on the soul-hunt, is essentially a prayer for assistance addressed to Laki Tenangan, the supreme being of the universe, or in the case of a woman to Doh Tenangan, his wife (C. Hose and W. McDougall, *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, London, 1912, ii. 29 f.). The Thonga medicine-man, before entering upon the treatment of a case of illness, prays to his ancestors, and in particular to that one of them from whom he holds that his knowledge was acquired, to give their blessing to his treatment (Junod, ii. 362). The oblation which follows the circumcision ceremony performed on the young men to secure the recovery of a Fijian chief is accompanied by prayer to the ancestral spirits (Thomson, p. 157).

Drought is a frequent occasion—especially in Africa—for prayer in connexion with rain-making ceremonies, as, *e.g.*, among the N'yanga and N'goni tribes, when the chief at the head of the whole community offers up prayers as a part of a propitiatory ceremony addressed to his predecessors and ancestors. Every village has its prayer-tree, usually a fig, standing in the open space, under which sacrifices are offered (A. Werner, *Natives of British Central Africa*, London, 1906, pp. 51, 53, 62 f.).

A remarkable development of the theory of divine punishment which bears upon the efficacy of prayer as a remedial measure in case of drought is recorded among the Torajas of Central Celebes.

Divine displeasure in cases of incest is marked by torrential falls of rain. In cases of prolonged drought they simulate incest among their animals. A cock and a sow are killed and laid side by side in an intimate embrace. The headman then prays, 'O gods above and gods below, if you have pity on us, and will that we eat this year, give rain. If you will not give rain, well we have here buried a cock and a sow in an intimate embrace,' *i.e.* show your displeasure by sending storms (A. C. Kruijt, quoted in *GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, ii. 113).

Another occasion when the assistance of superhuman powers may be sought is in divination.

The Baganda leather-thrower, when consulted in a case of sickness, or the Thonga diviner, when consulting his bones, usually offered up a prayer to the god or to the ancestors (Roscoe, p. 339; Junod, ii. 363).

Although it cannot be said that among the more primitive races, with certain exceptions, there is any conception of prayer as anything more than a call in the hour of need and as occasion arises, there is an approximation to the idea of an organized ritual in the constant but irregularly recurring crises in which it is thought desirable to petition the spirits or deities for benefit or protection.

One of these is death or burial—a time when evil influences are most potent and are brought more intimately into touch with human life. Among the Igorots after a death an old man relates the story of the first man and woman after the flood. Cabunian taught them to bury the dead, and, after burying the dead, he said, 'You should make prayers and offerings so that you may not be affected by any kind of disease' (A. Robertson, 'The Igorots of Lepanto,' *Philippine Journ. Science*, sect. D. 9 [Manila, 1914], p. 514). Among the Bathonga a burial, a ceremony of which the traditional solemnity is indicated by the exceptional prominence assigned the uterine nephew, was one of the important occasions in the family ceremonial in which prayer was offered. Another was a marriage, when the father of the bride prayed the gods to give children to the union. When a man departed on a journey, the medicine-man prepared drugs, spat on him, and prayed for his protection (Junod, ii. 362). In the Philippines the native tribes spend a great part of their time in collecting animals with which to make feasts. The spirits are invited to these feasts in order to secure their favour. They precede almost every action of any importance, such as the first hair-cutting of a son, harvest, irrigation and other work connected with the crops and, inevitably, are part of the treatment of disease. In a feast preceding a journey to

make a purchase a man will invite the attendance of certain spirits, asking them to put it in the mind of whomsoever he may buy from to sell the animal cheap (R. F. Barton, 'The Harvest Feast of the Kiangan Ifugao,' *Philippine Journ. Science*, sect. D. 6 [1911], p. 83). Among the Igorots the feasts, whether made for a particular object or with the general aim of securing spiritual assistance, are not only the occasions for a petition; the reply is also forthcoming, being furnished by an examination of the liver of the victim (Robertson, p. 472 *f.*). Among hunting tribes with strongly developed animistic ideas it was usual to address some form of prayer to their prey by way of propitiation, either before or after its death (see HUNTING AND FISHING). The hunter of N. America sometimes thanked the animal for allowing itself to be killed (C. Hill-Tout, *British N. America*, i. *The Far West*, London, 1907, p. 168). This practice was also extended to the vegetable kingdom, and prayer to vegetation-spirits formed a part of the numerous firstfruit ceremonies which were a prominent feature in the culture of the American Indian. Before young people ate the first raspberry-shoots of the new season they addressed the plant and asked for its favour. Further, in both the raspberry-shoot ceremony and the salmon ceremony of the tribes of the north-west, ceremonies which inaugurated the new season's replenishment of the stock of food, the prayer offered by the medicine-man to the spirits of the raspberry or the salmon was an essential element in the ceremony (*ib.* pp. 168 *f.*, 171 *f.*). Agricultural ceremonies of all descriptions, and especially those connected with sowing and the harvest, have had a marked influence in the development of regularity in the occasions for prayer. At the time of sowing the Iroquois prayed to the thunder-spirit and at harvest they thanked him for the gift of rain (*GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, ii. 369). In the Malay Peninsula every one who is to take part in the rice cultivation must bring to the mosque half a quart of grain (for 'mother seed') in order that prayers may be read over it. When they are finished, every man goes to the rice-field, if possible on the same day, to begin to plough the nursery plot, and at the various stages of cultivation in the course of the ceremonies appropriate to each —*e.g.*, in the sowing and in the ceremonial reaping by the *pawang*—charms or prayers are repeated. In the case of the ceremonial reaping the 'ten prayers,' which are in effect a petition for daily bread never to be lacking on earth or in heaven, have to be repeated in one breath (Skeat, p. 240). If there was danger that the crop might fail from drought or from other causes, offerings were made and magical ceremonies performed which were sometimes accompanied by prayers. The two elements are combined in a rain-making ceremony in Angoniland when the people repair to the rain-temple and the leader pours beer into a pot, which is buried in the ground, and prays 'Master Chauta, you have hardened your heart towards us, what would you have us do? We must perish indeed. Give your children the rains, there is the beer we have given you.' On their return they find a pot of water set at a doorway by an old woman, in which they dip branches and scatter the water aloft (R. S. Rattray, *Some Folk Stories and Songs in Chinyanja*, London, 1907, p. 118). At the harvest feast of the Kiangan Ifugao prayers were addressed to every class of spirit in whose control lay any kind of influence, for good or ill, on the crop—spirits that make men remember and forget, earth-gods, sky-gods, the spirits that control locusts, wind, rain, and drought. The earth- and sky-gods, who are especially concerned with the growth of plants, are asked to 'speed the harvesters, make the rice grains numerous as the sands, increase the rice' (Barton, p. 89 *f.*). One of the Igorot feasts was given by a man once every four or five years. To this feast he summoned all the rich men of the neighbouring towns and all the poor of his own. It was accompanied by a dance and a petition was offered up for favour to be shown to the host. The petitioners prayed to the *anitos* (spirits) and the souls of their dead ancestors not to destroy his plants and not to kill his animals, so that he might be able to use these animals to give another feast for the *anitos* (Robertson, p. 513). In the peculiar and exceptional *nanga* rites of Fiji prayers to the ancestors formed part of the ceremony; these rites also appear from the character of the offerings to have been in certain of their aspects a firstfruit ceremony (Thomson, p. 155).

In a few cases peoples of a primitive type have advanced beyond this conception of prayer as intermittent and have incorporated it as a regular function in their life.

Among the Todas, *e.g.*, prayer both morning and evening is a regular part of the ceremonial of the *ti* dairies, while at the village dairies it is offered in the evening only. Each village has its own prayer, which is used in all the dairies of the village (Rivers, p. 213). Among the Masai and peoples of related culture, such as the Gallas, Nandi, and Suk, prayers form a regular part of their life. Not only are they offered on special occasions, such as the appearance of the new moon, a raid (when the warriors after victory give thanks and pray for safe return to their homes, while the women and girls who have been left behind also pray for their safety), the building of a house, etc., but the Nandi, *e.g.*, believe that the deity takes an intimate interest in all affairs of their life and pray to him regularly. Among the Masai the women offer up prayer twice a day, while the men pray with regularity, though less frequently (C. Eliot, in A. C. Hollis, *The Masai*, Oxford, 1905, p. xix, and *The Nandi*, do. 1909, p. xix *f.*; K. R. Dundas, 'Notes on the Tribes inhabiting the Baringo District, E. Africa Protectorate,' *JRAI* xl. [1910] 61).

It must be admitted, however, that these cases are exceptional and that, generally speaking, prayer is a refuge in time of crisis for purposes of protection or propitiation. The primitive attitude in its crudest form is perhaps best indicated by the Solomon Islands belief that prayer is not available for all and sundry, but, to be acceptable to the power, ghost, or spirit addressed, it should be in a regular form of words known only to the person who has access to the power (R. W. Williamson, *The Ways of the South Sea Savage*, London, 1914, p. 73). The belief is not universally held in the Solomon Islands—natural calls for help are made in time of danger or distress—but in so far as it is held it places prayer on a level with the esoteric magic of the medicine-man, from which the ordinary individual is debarred.

3. Powers to whom prayer is addressed.—It would be impossible to give here a complete account of the powers, spirits, deities, whatever they may be called, to whom prayers are addressed. It will be sufficient to indicate briefly the general principles upon which the primitive mind works in turning to higher powers for assistance. Prayer has been defined as 'the address of personal spirit to personal spirit' (*PC*[4] ii. 364). This definition, however, at any rate in regard to the lower culture, by specifying terms of personality, appears to apply too precise a conception to what is in all probability a somewhat vague attitude of mind. The Australian black-fellow's phrase, 'Strike! Kill!' is perfectly definite in its intention of producing a result by setting certain forces into operation, but the attention is focused on power rather than personality, whether that of the speaker or that of something external to himself. Prayer, in fact, develops through the conception of powers, or, as some would prefer to call it, using the Melanesian term, *mana*, rather than by an increasingly precise attribution of personality to the supernormal, a factor which comes into prominence only at a later stage. This is not necessarily inconsistent with the view that bases prayer on the analogy of human intercourse; for, while the form of spell and prayer may well be modelled on command and entreaty, the idea of the relative strength of the powers at the command of different individuals is perfectly familiar to primitive experience. The regular method of combating magic is to control a stronger magic.

The Creek shamans held contests to determine their superiority, and among the Shushwap, if two shamans with equally powerful spirits tried to bewitch one another, both died, one shortly after the other (G. Speck, 'The Creek Indians of Taskigi Town,' *Mem. Amer. Anthrop. Assoc.* ii. [1903] 74; J. Teit, 'The Shushwap,' *Jesup N. Pacific Exped.* ii. 7 [1909], p. 613).

Failure to compel by magical ceremony a power adequate to the purpose would lead naturally to an attempt to secure the services of greater powers either through the expert—the medicine-man—or by propitiation and entreaty.

In Uganda, when a ghost troubles a family, prayers and offerings are made to a stronger ghost to secure its assistance (Roscoe, p. 286).

The extent to which such powers are attributed to the human individual and the relation of the ordinary man to a person endowed with these powers differ in degree and not in kind from the relation to the superhuman spirit world. This in some cases leads to a form of address which to all intents and purposes is a prayer.

It is recorded that the natives of Brazil, when they went to meet the medicine-man, prostrated themselves on the ground before him and said, 'Grant that I be not ill, that I do not die, neither I nor my children' (*GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, i. 358).

It must not be assumed that all objects of veneration, or of fear and awe, are addressed in prayer. Indeed, of some primitive races who recognize the existence of spirits it is not recorded that they made any use of prayer. Further, when

in the lower forms of religion the existence of a supreme spirit is recognized, this spirit is usually looked upon as otiose, propitiatory offerings and prayer being made to the lower spirits, who, if not actually regarded as more powerful, are held to be more actively concerned in human affairs. Even when this extreme view is not taken, the supreme being is often approached by intercession rather than directly.

Among the Philippine tribes to whom reference has been made above prayer is offered to the *anitos* and ancestral spirits in order that they may intercede with the *batala*, the supreme being (Robertson, pp. 472, quoting Loarca [*c.* 1580], 514, etc.). The Kayans, though addressing the gods by name in terms of praise and supplication, appear to believe that the prayers are transmitted to them by the souls of domestic pigs and fowls. One of these animals is always killed and charged to carry the message to the gods. Also a fire is always at hand, the ascending smoke of which seems to establish communication with the god. Oding Lahang, who is regarded by the Kayans as a deified chief, is also invoked for his intercession with Laki Tenangan (Hose and McDougall, ii. 6 ff.). On the other hand, the Masai group (using the term in the extended sense to cover all the peoples—Suk, Nandi, etc.—of related culture in N.E. Africa), whose exceptional position in the matter of prayer has already been noted, frequently pray to the supreme deity, the sky-god; *e.g.*, the Masai women after childbirth pray for children to the god who thunders and rains, the old men pray for rain to the 'black god,' *i.e.* the god of the rain-cloud. This god is Engai, 'who is prayed to and hears' (Hollis, *Masai*, pp. 345 f., xix). Among the Galla the supreme deity to whom prayer is addressed daily is Wak; among the Nandi Asis, the supreme deity, is supposed to take a friendly interest in the details of their daily life, and at such events as, *e.g.*, the building of a house prayer is offered. The potter, when baking pots, prays, 'God give us strength, let us bake them so that men may like them.' It is interesting to note, however, that the medicine-men, who are Masai, pray to their ancestors and not to the Masai Engai (Hollis, *Nandi*, p. xx f.). Among the gods and spirits summoned to the harvest feast of the Ifugao are the earth- and sky-gods, while the conception which underlies the Iroquois prayer to the thunder-spirit at sowing time and the thanksgiving at harvest is evidently an analogous appeal to the controlling powers of natural phenomena.

Natural objects, or rather the indwelling spirits, are not infrequently addressed in prayer.

When a Masai sees a new moon, he throws a twig or stone at it, saying, 'Give me long life,' or 'Give me strength,' and a pregnant woman will make an offering of milk and say, 'Moon, give me my child safely' (Hollis, *Masai*, p. 274). The Nandi also pray to the new moon (Hollis, *Nandi*, *loc. cit.*). In the Kei Islands, when the warriors have gone on an expedition, the women bring baskets containing stones and fruit, which they anoint and place on a board murmuring, 'O Lord, Sun, Moon, let the bullets rebound from our husbands, brothers, betrothed and other relations just as the raindrops rebound from these objects which are smeared with oil' (C. M. Pleyte, 'Ethnog. Beschr. der Kei Eilanden,' *Tijd. van het Ned. Aard. Genootsch.* II. x. [1893] 805). The Baganda, before crossing any river, take a few coffee-berries and, after asking the spirit for a safe passage, throw them into the water (Roscoe, p. 319).

The magical element in prayer requires that the powers addressed should be adequate to carry out the request of the petitioner.

The Ifugao of the township of Cayan in cases of sickness summon an old woman, a *baylan* (priestess), who makes an offering and prays to the *anito*; if the prayer has been offered to the right *anito*, the patient recovers; but, if not, another priestess is summoned and a fresh offering is made to another *anito*, and so on until the right one is found.

This principle is still more clearly indicated when departmental spirits and deities are recognized.

In Uganda, *e.g.*, there are four principal classes of objects of veneration: the fetishes which, though made by man in many cases, possess ghosts and hear and answer supplications; national gods whose duty is the protection of the king and the State; ghosts; and amulets. Appeals are addressed to the high gods on special occasions. To Mukasa, the great god, the king sent an annual offering, when a special appeal was made for the prosperity of the crops; Musisi, the father of Mukasa, was responsible for earthquakes, and, when an earthquake occurred, he was asked to keep quiet; Nagawonyi, the goddess of hunger, was addressed in times of famine; Mbale was resorted to by women who desired children; Nagadya interceded with the other gods when rain was required, and so forth (Roscoe, pp. 273, 298, 313 ff.).

The reverence for the ghost which forms part of the Baganda religion is one phase of the cult of the dead, which in various forms is wide-spread among primitive peoples. The offerings made to the dead either to secure their influence or to ward off any harm that they might do are usually accompanied by some form of address.

In Central Africa among the Yaos the spirit of any deceased person, with the exception of wizards and witches, is regarded as an object of homage. In the prayers for the community on such occasions, *e.g.*, as a petition for rain, the chief addresses his immediate predecessor as the representative of all who have lived in the village in past times and the whole line of his ancestors, and the individual may approach his dead relatives in the same way on his own behalf (Werner, p. 49). In the prayers of the Igorots the ancestors are invoked side by side with the *anitos* (Robertson, *loc. cit.*). The Bathonga, as has been mentioned above, pray to their ancestors. The medicine-man, in praying for the sick, will call on the god who caused the illness, asking him to bring with him all the gods who have helped, or he may call his own father, asking him to bring his grandfather and so on until all his ancestors, including collaterals, have been named. On the other hand, the priest, if praying for the country as a whole, will begin with the remotest ancestor and name the successors in order until he reaches his father. An exception is found in the Maluleke district, where at the cooking of the new yams an offering and prayer are made to the spirits of the Ba-Nyai (a people conquered by the Maluleke) as the original owners of the land (Junod, ii. 363, 367). The Vedda invocations are also addressed to the spirits of the dead; departmental spirits are invoked for success in hunting, in honey-gathering, and in getting food supply (Seligmann, pp. 133, 166, 272 f.); but the myths which attach to these spirits would suggest that they are a development of the cult of the dead, spirits which in course of time have become individualized as heroic figures.

4. Persons by whom prayer is offered.—The development of prayer is closely connected with the growth of a specialized class of priests. Although it is the case that at all stages of development prayers are offered by individuals on their own behalf, there are two influences which tend to confine the ceremony, or the principal part in the ceremony, to a particular class. One is the special knowledge of the requirements and powers of the spirit whose aid is to be invoked—a knowledge of the special magic for the occasion—and the other is the communal interest of the occasion on which prayer is offered.

(1) An example of the first, of frequent and wide-spread occurrence, is to be found in the treatment of disease, where, the specialist—the medicine-man—having been called in, it is naturally a part of his function that he should utter the invocations, if any should form part of the ceremonies of which his treatment consists. Instances have already been mentioned — *e.g.*, among the Igorots, where, if one medicine-woman fails, another must be consulted until the spirit who can deal with the case has been found. On the analogy of other cases it might be assumed that in this case knowledge of the right formula is necessary to success, just as it is believed in the Solomon Islands that those who offer prayer must know the form of words acceptable to the power addressed.

In the Ifugao harvest feast, the prayers are uttered by the old men, who alone know the words which should be uttered, while the younger men act as acolytes (Barton, p. 83).

This is not an isolated instance, but it states explicitly a reason which may be held to account for the form of solo and chorus often followed in offering prayer.

(2) It is probable that the second influence has grown out of the first, and that magical power or knowledge is the basis of the union of temporal and spiritual which makes the chief the spokesman of the community in those invocations which seek the benefit of the whole community.

In such a ceremony as that of the Central African Anjanga, in which the chief utters prayers while alone in a small hut, while the people outside chant accompaniments and clap their hands (Werner, p. 63), the chief as rain-maker has become the chief as priest. In Fiji, where the offices of chief and priest were combined, the tribal gods could be approached only through the priests. In Uganda the national gods were approached through the intermediacy of their priests; at the sacrifice offered at the building of a temple to the god Mukasa it was the chief priest who prayed the god to accept the blood and grant an increase of cattle, children, and food; but the rebuilding of the temple could be undertaken only with the consent of the king; and it was the king who sent offerings

annually to secure prosperity of the crops (Roscoe, pp. 292, 294). In this instance, although the offices of king and priest are fully differentiated, there is a special and significant relation between the king and national religion and prosperity.

On the other hand, the duty of acting as the representative of the community may fall entirely on the medicine-man.

In the ceremonial dances of the Veddas the leader who utters the invocation and takes the chief part is invariably a shaman (Seligmann, *loc. cit.*), and in the firstfruit ceremonies of N. America the shaman utters the prayer, while the members of the community stand round in a circle. In Toda ritual, although the individual may pray for his private ends, the prayers upon which the prosperity of the dairy, the chief matter of tribal concern, depends are part of the duties of the priests or keepers of the dairy (Rivers, p. 229).

The position of a father or head of a family is analogous.

Among the Bathonga in all ceremonies connected with the family on which prayers are offered this is the duty of the father (Junod, ii. 362).

5. Conclusion. — In the preceding analysis of prayer in its development from the spell to an invocation addressed to high gods or to the supreme deity there is one characteristic in which it differs fundamentally from the conception of the higher religions, viz. that prayer is an entering into communion with the deity: the benefit for which petition is made is material and not spiritual, and the ethical note is almost entirely absent. The epithets 'good' and 'bad' in the prayer of the Maidu medicine-men to the spirits of disease have a tribal rather than an ethical significance. In fact, in the lower culture there is expressed neither a desire for moral goodness nor a request for forgiveness for moral sin. On the other hand, an Aztec prayer for the ruler recognizes the ethical principle in the words:

'Make him, Lord, as your true image, and permit him not to be proud and haughty in your throne and court; but vouchsafe, Lord, that he may calmly and carefully rule and govern them whom he has in charge' (Sahagun, quoted in *PC*[4], ii. 373).

LITERATURE.—L. R. Farnell, *The Evolution of Religion*, London, 1905; *GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, London, 1911; *PC*[4], do. 1903, ii. 364 ff.

E. N. FALLAIZE.

PRAYER (American).—Any ritual observance designed to bring man into nearer relation with the unseen powers of nature is prayer. In this broad sense prayer includes not merely the spoken or chanted word, but also dramatic and symbolic ceremonies, and above all, for the American Indian, the 'dances' in which most of his cults centre. Such ritual prayer has elsewhere been discussed (see esp. COMMUNION WITH DEITY [American], MUSIC [American], SECRET SOCIETIES [American]). But, in a narrower and perhaps finer sense, prayer signifies a personal and intimate expression, non-ritualistic in spirit and commonly in form. The degree in which the native American could possess and consciously prize such expression may appropriately be indicated here.

Half magical spell, half articulation of desperate need, are the crude utterances of the Montagnais which so shocked Le Jeune:

'Their religion, or rather their superstition, consists besides in praying; but, *O mon Dieu!* what prayers they make! In the morning, when the little children come out from their cabins, they shout, "Come, Porcupines; come, Beavers; come, Elk"; and this is all of their prayers' (R. G. Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, Cleveland, 1896–1901, vi. [*Quebec, 1633–34*] 203).

Three centuries later another Jesuit says of the Kansas Indians—a thousand miles away:

'The religious sentiment is deeply implanted in their souls. . . . They never take the calumet, without first rendering some homage to the Great Spirit. In the midst of their infuriate passions they address to him certain prayers, and even in assassinating a defenseless child, or a woman, they invoke the Master of Life. To be enabled to take many a scalp from their enemies, or to rob them of many horses, becomes the object of their most fervid prayers, to which they sometimes add fasts, macerations and sacrifices. What did they not do last spring, to render the heavens propitious? And for what? To obtain the power, in the absence of their warriors, to massacre all the women and children of the Pawnees!' (*Life, Letters and Travels of Father Pierre-Jean de Smet*, 4 vols., New York, 1905, i. 284 *f.*).

Yet de Smet could find in these people 'natural Christians':

'When we showed them an "Ecce Homo" and a statue of our Lady of the Seven Dolours . . . we beheld an affecting illustration of the beautiful thought of Tertullian, that the soul of man is naturally Christian' (*ib.* i. 285 *f.*).

So Ragueneau had said of the Hurons (1647–48):

'Though they were barbarians, there remained in their hearts a secret idea of the Divinity and of a first Principle, the author of all things, whom they invoked without knowing him. In the forests and during the chase, on the waters and when in danger of shipwreck, they name him *Airsekoui Soutanditenr*, and call him to their aid. In war, and in the midst of their battles, they give him the name of *Ondoutaeté* and believe that he alone awards the victory. Very frequently, they address themselves to the Sky, paying it homage; and they call upon the Sun to be witness of their courage, of their misery, or of their innocence. But, above all, in the treaties of peace and alliance with foreign nations they invoke, as witnesses of their sincerity, the Sun and the Sky, which see into the depths of their hearts, and will wreak vengeance on the treachery of those who betray their trust and do not keep their word. So true is what Tertullian said of the most infidel nations, that nature in the midst of perils makes them speak with a Christian voice,—*exclamant vocem naturaliter Christianam*,—and have recourse to a God whom they invoke almost without knowing him,—*Ignoto Deo*' (Thwaites, xxxiii. [*Lower Canada, Abenakis, 1650–51*] 225).

Perhaps more impartial and certainly not less sympathetic accounts of the Indian's attitude towards prayer have come from modern students; and among these none is more illuminating than Alice C. Fletcher's account of the initiation of the Omaha youth to the spiritual life:

'The rite [is] known by the name of Nonzhinzhon. The literal meaning of the word is "to stand sleeping"; it here implies that during the rite the person stands as if oblivious of the outward world and conscious only of what transpires within himself, his own mind.' The rite takes place at puberty, when the mind of the child has 'become white.' 'When the youth is at the verge of his conscious individual life, is "old enough to know sorrow," it was considered time that through the rite Nonzhinzhon he should enter into personal relations with the mysterious power that permeates and controls all nature as well as his own existence.' The history of the rite is given in a legend: 'The people felt themselves weak and poor. Then the old men gathered together and said: "Let us make our children cry to Wakonda that he may give us strength." So all the parents took their children who were old enough to pray in earnest, put soft clay on their faces, and sent them forth to lonely places. The old men said to the youths: "You shall go forth to cry to Wakonda. When on the hills you shall not ask for any particular thing. The answer may not come to you as you expect; whatever is good, that may Wakonda give." Four days upon the hills shall the youths pray, crying. When they stop, they shall wipe their tears with the palms of their hands and lift their wet hands to the sky, then lay them to the earth. This was the people's first appeal to Wakonda' (*27 RBEW* [1911], p. 128 *f.*).

The youth could repeat this rite from time to time until he came to marry; then, unless he were a priest, he gave it up. The Omaha recognized other powers besides Wakonda, as the Earth, the Sky, the Sun, the Moon, but personal prayers were addressed directly to this higher power, penetrating them all.

'A man would take a pipe and go alone to the hills; there he would silently offer smoke and utter the call, *Wakonda ho!*, while the moving cause, the purport of his prayer, would remain unexpressed in words. . . . Women did not use the pipe when praying; their appeals were made directly, without any intermediary' (*ib.* p. 599).

From the illustrations given (and they are only fugitive examples from wide materials) it is obvious that the American Indians have two kinds of prayer: (1) spells and oaths and pleas addressed to the lesser, the environmental, powers of nature, expressed in a magical or hortatory mood; and (2) true spiritual supplications directed to a power variously interpreted as the Great Spirit, the Master of Life, the Heavenly Father. 'Father' is a frequent epithet in their invocations. J. Mooney says of the Arapaho *niga* or *aniqu* that it 'is a term of reverential affection, about equivalent to "our father" in the Lord's prayer'; the ordinary word for 'father' is quite different (*14 RBEW* [1896], pt. ii. p. 966). Again it is

Mooney who says of one of the most pathetic of the Arapaho prayer-songs—'sung to a plaintive tune, sometimes with tears rolling down the cheeks'—that 'it may be considered the Indian paraphrase of the Lord's prayer':

'Father, have pity upon me!
I am weeping from hunger;
There is nothing here to satisfy me'

(*ib.* p. 977).

LITERATURE.—See under artt. referred to.

H. B. ALEXANDER.

PRAYER (Babylonian).—Prayer in the Sumero-Babylonian religion was almost exclusively confined to the private cults, or services for individuals, and the types of prayer which these peoples evolved may be classified in two distinct groups. These two types of prayer designed for the rituals of atonement for individuals are distinguished by their origin and usage. (1) The public liturgies tended to develop a liturgical type of prayer as the last melody or recessional of the song service, and these final passages of the liturgies were adapted for private penance. Prayers of this type are always liturgical in character, metrical in form, and disconnected with every form of magic. (2) On the other hand, a type of prayer was evolved in connexion with the magic rituals of atonement, and formed part of those mysterious and involved rituals. They are free from liturgical formality and usually inspired with great individuality and spiritual sentiment. Inasmuch as the liturgical type of private prayer was the direct offspring of the public liturgies, we shall introduce their discussion by describing the forms of public prayers which ended the Babylonian liturgies.[1]

1. The recessional of the public liturgies.—When the Sumerian liturgists of the 24th to the 21st centuries B.C. finally succeeded in the completion of the long and intricate public services, they introduced a new musical and liturgical motive to end the service. These epilogues or recessionals differ both in literary composition and in musical accompaniment from the various passages which compose the main body of the service. They were known as *er-šem-ma*[2] to the Sumerian liturgists, *i.e.* 'a song sung to the flute.' The choir appears to have been accompanied through the many choral passages of these public services by the lyre, drum, and cymbals, but in the final passage the instruments were changed to the flute for the prayer of intercession. In the ancient liturgies as well as in the main body of the completed products of the Isin period the element of prayer or intercession was not prominent. But these long and intricate services of the Isin period were completed by attaching the intercessions at the end, for the need of prayer pressed itself increasingly upon the religious consciousness of mankind. These intercessions were at first of a purely public character and in harmony with the communal nature of the whole liturgy. The following extracts from the recessional prayer at the end of an Enlil liturgy will serve as an example of these public intercessions at the origin of their use:

'Oh heart repent, repent; oh heart repose, repose.
Oh heart of Anu repent, repent.
Oh heart of Enlil repent, repent.
. . . . . .
"Oh heart of the lord repose," let be spoken unto thee.
Unto thy city hasten in glory like the sun.
Unto Nippur hasten in glory like the sun.
. . . . . .
Thy city Nippur be rebuilt.
Thy temple Ekur in Nippur be rebuilt.
. . . . . .
May one utter petition unto thee.
May one utter intercession unto thee.
Oh heart be reconciled, oh heart repose.'[1]

These Sumerian public services were employed without an interlinear translation by the Semites before 2000 B.C., but at some unknown point in the middle period of the history of Babylonia and Assyria the Semitic liturgists edited these texts with a Semitic version. They continued, however, to the very end of Babylonian civilization, as late as the last century before our era, to conduct the liturgies in Sumerian.

2. Rise of the penitential prayers.—Gradually the intercessions of these public services became more individualistic in thought and expression. In due time arose the beautiful responsive intercessions at the end of the liturgies, where the people and choir no longer voice the appeal of the city and nation, but represent themselves as penitents pleading for mercy before the deity to whom they had sung a long series of litanies. With the intercessional *er-šem-ma* of the Sumerian liturgy, quoted above, compare the following epilogue said at the end of a late liturgy to Marduk:

Choir:
'Oh lord, not wilt thou reject me, not, oh lord, wilt thou reject me.
Oh lord, divine ram of heaven and earth, not wilt thou reject me.
Oh lord Marduk, not wilt thou reject me.'
. . . . . .
Priest:
'He that renders petition am I, thou wilt not reject me.
One of prayer am I, thou wilt not reject me.
One of intercession am I, thou wilt not reject me.'
Choir:
'A father who has begotten I am, thou wilt not reject me.
Oh soon repose, thou wilt not reject me.
How long, oh lord of righteousness? thou wilt not reject me.'
. . . . . .
Priest:
'"Turn thy neck unto him in faithfulness," I will say to thee.
"May thy heart repose," I will say to thee.
"May thy soul repose," I will say to thee.
Thy heart like the heart of a child-bearing mother may return to its place.
As a child-bearing mother, as a begetting father, to its place may it return.'[2]

We have here a fully developed penitential prayer of the liturgical type, the new element of responses between priest and choir being introduced. The influence of the private confessional is obvious, and this public intercession was probably employed in the service of the confessionals. So arose under the influence of the public recessional the prayers of private penance said in secret with a priest in the seclusion of the temple cloisters and chapels. These penitential prayers were said in Sumerian, but are always provided with an interlinear translation for the more important lines.[3] They were apparently unknown to the Sumerians; the pure Sumerian prayers of that type were probably composed by Semites. They are the direct offspring of the *er-šem-ma*, but, when employed for private penance, they were known as *er-šag-tug-mal*, 'weeping that appeases the heart.'[4]

3. The er-šag-tug-mal.—It is obvious that prayers of such formal character, said in the sacred language not understood by laymen and requiring intonation, could not become popular. The ordinary

[1] The Babylonian liturgies, which are numerous and fundamental to the discussion of Babylonian religion, are treated as a supplement to this article (below, §§ 13–18).

[2] The Semitic rendering of this term is still unknown. Reisner has suggested *takribti ḫalḫallati*, and this has been adopted by Jensen, but the evidence is not satisfactory.

[1] Taken from the epilogue of the liturgy to Enlil in H. Zimmern, *Sumerische Kultlieder aus altbabylonischer Zeit*, no. 12, restored by the present writer from a Philadelphia text in his *Liturgical Texts from Nippur*.

[2] The *er-šem-ma* of *en-zu šd-mar-mar* liturgy in S. Langdon, *Babylonian Liturgies*, pp. 114–123.

[3] Pure Sumerian penitential prayers without Semitic translations were in use, as is proved by the fragment of one of this type in Langdon, *Bab. Liturgies*, K. 11874=no. 64, and C. D. Gray, *The Shamash Religious Texts*, Chicago, 1901, pl. xiii. K. 4795. See also Langdon, *Sumerian Liturgical Texts*, p. 118 (a penitential psalm to the god Amurru).

[4] The Semitic rendering was probably *šigû*, the שִׁגָּיוֹן of Hebrew poetry. This identification is based upon a comparison of iv. Rawl.[2] 54, no. 2, lines 14 and 21, *šigû*, with *ib.* line 17 *er-šag-tug-mal*, and rev. 19, *er-šag-tug-mal*.

Babylonian and Assyrian preferred the services of the magic cults, where he said his prayers in Semitic. Consequently few of the liturgical prayers of penance have been found, whereas a large and increasing number of Semitic prayers of the secret cults are known. Only educated and distinguished laymen employed the liturgical prayers. They are mentioned in connexion with a ritual for the king, where they are intercalated in the service of a magic ritual along with the prayers of 'the lifting of the hand,'[1] which were always accompanied by sacramental ceremonies. We possess many rituals of this kind both for kings and for laymen, but this is the only one which directs the use of the liturgical penitential prayers. The king is directed to recite these prayers, or sometimes the priest recites them for him. In this case the service seems to have been performed on the roof of the palace.[2]

Another ritual tablet of this class also orders the saying of an *er-šag-tug-mal* to Ishtar.[3] So we have substantial evidence that these liturgical prayers could be employed in the magic cults, but perhaps only in the rituals for kings and educated laymen. Asurbanipal employed homage[4] and liturgical prayers to appease the gods.[5]

Only ten penitential prayers of this kind are known. They may be readily detected by two easy tests even when the literary note is broken from the end of the tablets. Used in the proper sense, an *er-šag-tug-mal*[6] must be written in Sumerian with interlinear Semitic version and be composed in liturgical style. The penitential psalms are:

(*a*) and (*b*) On a neo-Babylonian tablet in Berlin—one psalm to the god Sakkut and one to Marduk.[7] The psalm to Sakkut is responsive, but that to Marduk is sung for the penitent by the priest.

(*c*) A long psalm to 'any god' and the best example of a deep sense of religious contrition for moral sin;[8] sung throughout by the penitent.

(*d*) Psalm to Aja, consort of the sun-god at Sippar; a fine responsive composition which imitates the public intercessions closely.[9]

(*e*) Psalm to Innini-Ishtar in the same style as (*d*), but sung throughout by the penitent.[10]

(*f*) Fragment of a beautiful responsive psalm:

'He weeps and cannot restrain it.
My deeds I will speak of, my unspeakable deeds.
My words I will rehearse, my word unrelatable.
Yea, oh my god, of my deeds I will speak, my needs not to be told.'[11]

(*g*) Fragment of a psalm similar to (*f*).[12]

(*h*) Responsive prayer in imitation of a public intercession to Enlil.[1]

(*i*) A liturgical prayer similar to (*h*) mentioning an historical event; recited by the penitent (or choir?); possibly an *er-šem-ma*;[2] intercession to Ishtar.

(*j*) Fragment of a beautiful prayer to a god.[3]

4. Semitic private prayers. — Besides these formal penitential prayers, a few Semitic prayers are known which probably represent the work of lay hymnologists, and hence approach more nearly our modern standards of poetry. They do not appear to have had any connexion with official worship. One of the best and longest examples of this type of private prayer is the fine appeal of Ašurnaṣirpal I. to Ishtar of Nineveh in which he intercedes for help in governing his kingdom and mercy upon himself as a sinner. According to one passage of this prayer, it was made at the time when the king dedicated to Ishtar a bed of ebony in her temple.[4] Another long Semitic prayer to Marduk, which devotes special attention to this god's mythical deeds, appears to be a real act of private devotion by Asurbanipal in which he asks Zerbanit to intercede for him with Marduk.[5] On an even more abstract and ceremonially detached plane stands the well-known hymn and prayer to the sun-god in which the best Babylonian ethical wisdom is discussed.[6] A long but badly damaged secular prayer of this type to Nebo contains some remarkable lines.

'Oh lord open (hearted), that puttest an end to sorrow,
Thou of wide ears, that holdest the writing tablet,
Oh Nebo open-hearted, that puttest an end to sorrow,
Thou of wide ears, that holdest the writing tablet,
Oh wise lord, thou hast become angry against thy servant.
Upon him have fallen woe and suffering.
In the billows of the flood he is thrown, the deluge [mounts] over him.
The shore is far from him, far away is the dry land.
He has perished in a deep place, upon a reef he has been caught.
He stands in a river of pitch, he is caught in the morass.
Take thou his hand, not shall thy servant be brought to naught.
Cause his sin to go forth, lift him from the river of pitch.
Oh Nebo, take his hand, not shall thy servant be brought to naught.'[7]

5. Acrostics.—To this class of secular prayer belongs a group of artificially constructed prayers arranged in sections so that each section has the same number of lines, and each of these lines begins with the same vowel or syllable. These initial syllables of the sections spell out a sentence.

[1] See below.

[2] This ritual for the atonement of a king will be found in v. R.[2] 54, no. 2, with additions on pl. 10 at the end.

[3] H. Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der babylonischen Religion*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 164, no. 51.

[4] *Takribtu*, a Semitic word for liturgy in this passage (?) (v. R. iv. 89).

[5] The Semitic prayers, employed only in the magic cults, by long association in the cults of atonement for royal persons where the liturgical prayers were also permitted, were also erroneously called *er-šag-tug-mal*; *e.g.*, the Semitic prayer addressed to Ishtar in a ritual for a sick man in iv. R.[2] 55, no. 2, obv. 25—rev. 5 is called a *šu-il-la*, which is the proper title, but also an *er-šag-tug-mal*, which is erroneous.

[6] The reading *er-šag-tug-ga* is also possible.

[7] Text in Reisner, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen*, no. 30; tr. in Langdon, *Bab. Liturgies*, pp. 124–130.

[8] Text in iv. R. 10. The principal edd. are H. Zimmern, *Babylonische Busspsalmen*, Leipzig, 1885, pp. 61–74, and in *Der alte Orient*, vii. pt. iii. pp. 22–24; A. Ungnad, in H. Gressmann's *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder*, Tübingen, 1909, p. 90f. The advanced ethical conception of sin in this text points to a rather late date. The tablet was copied from a Babylonian original for Asurbanipal's library.

[9] Text in P. Haupt, *Akkadische und sumerische Keilschrifttexte*, Leipzig, 1882, p. 122 f.; ed. Zimmern, *Babylonische Busspsalmen*, pp. 51–61; A. H. Sayce, *Origin and Growth of Religion*[8] (*HL*, 1887), London, 1909, p. 523.

[10] Text in Haupt, p. 116 f.; ed. Zimmern, *Bab. Busspsalmen*, pp. 33–51, and *Der alte Orient*, vii. pt. iii. [1905] p. 24; Langdon, *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, pp. 256–258; Sayce, p. 521.

[11] Text from two fragmentary duplicates, iv. R. 26, no. 3 and 27, no. 3; ed. Zimmern, *Bab. Busspsalmen*, pp. 85–87, and *Der alte Orient*, vii. pt. iii. p. 25; Sayce, p. 526.

[12] Text in v. R. 29**; ed. Zimmern, *Bab. Busspsalmen*, pp. 9–33; Sayce, p. 521; Langdon, *Sum. and Bab. Psalms*, pp. 268–271.

[1] Text in iv. R. 21*, no. 2; ed. Zimmern, *Bab. Busspsalmen*, pp. 78–85.

[2] Text in iv. R. 19, no. 3 and corrections, pl. 4; ed. Zimmern, *ib.* pp. 74–78. The colophon is broken away and hence this intercession may be the epilogue of some liturgy. Other fragments of penitential prayers are published by T. Meek, *BASS* x. pt. i. [1913], nos. 15, 16 (fragments of three different prayers, one of which is also published in Langdon, *Bab. Liturgies*, p. 133), and 17; K. 4648 in the British Museum (unpublished) is also a psalm of this class.

[3] Text in iv. R. 24, no. 3; cf. Haupt, p. 208; M. Jastrow, *Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, Giessen, 1905–12, ii. 110. The number of prayers of this class was certainly more numerous than the known examples would lead us to infer. A tablet, Rm. 2220, in the British Museum contains a few titles of such prayers; since it is a fragment of a large tablet, it originally contained a long list of these liturgical psalms.

[4] Text in *ZA* v. [1890] 79 f.; tr. in Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, Oxford, 1914, pp. 65–69.

[5] Text in J. A. Craig, *Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts*, Leipzig, 1895, i. 29–31; ed. J. Hehn, in *BASS* v. [1903] 309–319; P. Jensen, *Texte zur assyrisch-babylonischen Religion*, Berlin, 1915, pp. 108–117. The first letters of the lines are an acrostic and read *a-na-ku aš-šur-ba-an-ap-li ša il-su-ka bu-ul-lí-ṭa-ni-ma ma-ru-du-uk da-li-li-ka lu-ud-lul*, 'I am Asurbanipal who pray to thee; grant me life, oh Marduk, and I will sing thy praise.'

[6] A long text in four columns, published by C. D. Gray, pls. i., ii., ed. *ib.* pp. 12–23; also by A. Jeremias, in Roscher, *s.v.* 'Shamash'; see also Zimmern, *Der alte Orient*, xiii. pt. i. [1911] p. 23; A. Schollmeyer, *ib.* p. 80 ff., and P. Jensen, *Texte zur assyrisch-babylonischen Religion*, pp. 96–107.

[7] Text in *ZA* iv. [1889] 252–255 and 256 f. Similar prayers to Marduk are published, *ib.* pp. 36–40, and ed. Hehn, *ib.* pp. 319–325; by Hehn, *ib.* p. 392 f., and ed. pp. 368–373.

Naturally a composition of that kind was bound to extend to a great length. The best example is the acrostic published by Zimmern[1] and Craig.[2] The text is badly damaged and only a few words of the acrostic can be read: *a-na-ku . . . ub-bi-ib-ma . . . i-li u šar-ri*, 'I am . . . he has cleansed . . . of god and king.' Naturally the name of some king was spelled out after *a-na-ku*. Each section contains eleven lines, and each line is ruled into four accents, or word-groups. A fragment of an acrostic in sections of four lines has been published by Pinches[3] which is obviously a royal prayer. Only one word of the acrostic can be read, viz. *zi-kir-šu*, 'his name.' The best example of an acrostic in sections of four lines is a fragment of which only three sections are preserved.[4] The lines begin and end with the same syllable.

'He whom thou hast seized — not shall be lifted up [his head] among the gods,
Of the weak and down-cast — thou establishest the [foundation],
He that is entangled in pit and mire — looks unto thee.
May thy good wind blow — and I be delivered.
I have cried unto thee, Oh Nebo! — Receive me with favour and I shall rejoice.
I am fallen low among men, — I refuse sleep.
I am undone like magician — who knows not what he shall pray for.
I cry aloud to the gods, — loudly calling.
The down-cast who puts his trust on thee — shall be satiated with abundance.
Thou fortifiest the wall of the faithful, — and establishest the foundation thereof.
Thou givest goodness — and puttest far away sin.
The stone wall of the wicked — thou turnest to clay.'

6. Prayers of dedication. — Closely allied to these unceremonial prayers and, like them, written for special occasions are the numerous prayers connected with dedications. The historical inscriptions of Sumerian rulers are usually written upon objects of art dedicated to a deity. At the end stands invariably[5] the personal petition of the king.

E.g., the deeds of Lugalzaggisi, king of Erech, are written upon a vase dedicated to Enlil in the temple of Nippur and conclude with a prayer in prose. 'May Enlil, king of the lands to Anu his beloved father, repeat my prayer and to my life, life add. May he cause the world to abide in peace.'[6] A statue of Gudea, patesi of Lagash, dedicated to the goddess Ninharsag to commemorate the building of her temple, ends with a prayer, 'The queen who in heaven and earth decrees fates, Nintud mother of the gods may lengthen the life of Gudea who built this temple.'[7]

The Sumerians no doubt attached a magical influence to these prayers. They produced in a positive sense the intervention of the gods in the same way as the curses which they often attached to monuments were supposed to invoke the wrath of the gods upon those who violated the statue.

The Semites did not imitate the Sumerian prayers at the end of their historical inscriptions[8] until late in the history of Babylonia. All the historical inscriptions of Assyria from the period of the early rulers of Aššur to the reign of Asurbanipal in the 7th cent. end with a curse. Although in Assyria this Semitic conservatism in regard to ancient canons of historical composition remained to the end, yet we possess some examples of prayers on objects dedicated to deities as early as the 15th cent.,[1] and many other beautiful Assyrian prayers of this kind in later reigns.[2] These are regularly written in metrical form. The following are the best-known Semitic prayers of this kind:

(*a*) A hymn and prayer on a gold censer dedicated to Marduk in his temple at Babylon, by Asurbanipal.[3]
(*b*) Hymn, prayer, and curse to Nusku written on an image of the storm bird.[4]

A tendency to add prayers to the end of historical inscriptions is found among the Semites only in Babylonia and is probably to be explained as a survival of Sumerian influence. The Babylonian inscriptions of Asurbanipal preface the curse by a prayer,[5] and one of them ends with a metrical penitential prayer.[6] The full consequence of this literary movement was realized in the historical inscriptions of the Neo-Babylonian empire. Here from Nabopolassar onwards the records of these kings end with admirable prose prayers, and the curse disappears. From a religious and literary point of view, this represents a great advance on all preceding historical composition. The prayers of this class and period are numerous and should be referred to by the student who wishes to study the secular Semitic prayers at their best. The following prayer of Nebuchadrezzar is intercalated in an unusual manner into the preface of his greatest historical inscription (it is addressed to Marduk):

'Without thee, oh lord, what were the portion of the king whom thou lovest, whose name thou callest as it seemed good to thee? Thou directest his being and guidest him in a righteous way. I am thine obedient prince, the creation of thy hand. Thou hast created me and hast entrusted me with the rulership of all peoples. According to thy kindness, oh lord, with which thou carest for all of them cause thy majestic rule to be merciful, and fear of thy divinity cause to be in my heart. Grant me what seems good to thee.'[7]

7. Rise of the šu-il-la and its later application to private prayer in incantations.—By far the most important and numerous class of prayers are the so-called 'prayers of the lifting of the hand'[8] which arose out of the curse in the Sumerian incantations. In the early period the ritual of the incantations consisted in acts of symbolic magic accompanied by an invocation to one of the deities and a curse. The whole was said by the priest. The afflicted person in this period was supposed to have been attacked by the demons. Gradually a more ethical view of sin arose, in which the priests attributed the invasion of the spell (*mamit*) and the flight of the man's protecting deity to the penitent's own immoral deeds.[9] *Pari passu* with this higher conception of sin increased the tendency to secure divine intervention by prayer and confession of these sins. Hence in the course of time the Babylonians developed a ritual of atonement, which, while preserving the magic acts and

[1] *ZA* x. [1895] 1–24.
[2] Craig, i. 44–52. See for a tr. François Martin, *Textes religieux assyriens et babyloniens*, 1st ser., Paris, 1903, pp. 164–194.
[3] T. G. Pinches, *Texts in the Babylonian Wedge-Writing*, London, 1882, pl. 15. This text is DT. 83 in the British Museum and has been studied by Sayce, p. 514, and S. A. Strong, *PSBA* xvii. [1895] 131 ff.
[4] Published by Strong, pp. 138–141. See also C. Bezold, *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the British Museum*, London, 1889–99, K. 8204.
[5] That is in case of objects dedicated to a god.
[6] F. Thureau-Dangin, *Die sumerische und akkadische Königsinschriften*, Leipzig, 1907, p. 155 f.
[7] *Ib.* p. 67. For other prayers of this kind in the Sumerian period see *ib.* p. 83, ix. 1–3, p. 194 (*z*) 209 (*a*). Note especially the fine prayer of Arad-Sin, king of Larsa (*ib.* 215 (*d*) rev.).
[8] *The Cruciform Monument of Manishtusu, e.g.*, ends with a curse (L. W. King, *RAssyr* ix. [1912] 104) and so does the stele of the Code of Hammurabi. The historical inscriptions of Hammurabi, Samsuiluna, and Ammizaduga do not end with prayers.

[1] A short Semitic prayer at the end of a memorial tablet of the scribe of Ašuruballiṭ, king of Assyria at the end of the 15th cent., will be found in King, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, London, 1902, pp. 388–390. The fine prayer of Ašurnaṣirpal I. in the 12th cent. cited above is really a dedicatory prayer written on the occasion of presenting a bed to Ishtar.
[2] Cf. the dedication of a statue of Nebo by a governor of Calah, i. R. 35, no. 2; J. Pinckert, *Hymnen und Gebete an Nebo*, Leipzig, 1907, p. 27.
[3] The text is known only from a copy by an Assyrian scribe; text by Strong, *JA*, new ser., i. [1893] 365 f., and Craig, pp. 10–13; ed. Martin, pp. 46–53.
[4] Text known only from an Assyrian copy, published by Craig, p. 35 f.; ed. Martin, pp. 134–138.
[5] See the cylinder inscr. L^2, record of the rebuilding of Ebarra in Sippar (C. F. Lehmann, *Šamaššumukin*, Leipzig, 1892, pt. ii. 19–21).
[6] Lehmann, pt. ii. 21–23, inscr. 4^3.
[7] Langdon, *Die neubabylonische Königsinschriften*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 122, lines 55–72. The prayers of this class will be found at the end of each inscription in this volume.
[8] Sumerian *šu-il-la*, Semitic *niš kâti*.
[9] On the principles of the Babylonian atonement see art EXPIATION AND ATONEMENT (Babylonian).

the curses, introduces long prayers to the deities by the priest and penitent. Finally, a still higher ritual resulted in banishing the priest's prayers entirely and assigning them all to the sinner. In a ritual of the latter class the priest confined himself to the acts of magic which accompanied the prayers. Usually the directions for the magic ritual are written after each prayer said by the man seeking atonement from sin or healing of disease. Sometimes the prayers of the penitent are written on one set of tablets and the ritual for the priest on another.[1] Prayers said by a penitent are called 'lifting of the hand,' and were always said in the vernacular familiar to laymen. In those rituals where the priest took over a portion of the prayers we find them named by an ancient liturgical term *ki-[šub]*, 'prostration.' The priests almost invariably employ Sumerian in their prayers of the magic rituals, which were private ceremonies.

Since the ceremonial prayers of private penance were evolved by the Semites directly from the epilogues of the Sumerian liturgies, we should naturally expect that the prayers introduced into the ceremonies of the secret magic cults were modelled upon classic Sumerian incantation rituals. In fact, an Assyrian catalogue of official liturgies and recessional psalms adds also a long list of titles of Sumerian prayers of the 'lifting of the hand' to various gods,[2] and a small fragment of another catalogue contains several more.[3] Since these have Sumerian titles, they perhaps may go back, like the liturgies, to Sumerian times. It will be seen, however, that *šu-il-la* in these catalogues designated a liturgical public prayer. Only at a later period did the term apply to the Semitic prayers of penitents in the magic rituals. The present writer does not believe that the incantation ceremonies, as they came into the hands of the Semites in the age of Hammurabi, afforded any opportunity for the prayers of the sinner. They were too ritualistic and priest-ridden to permit of such concessions to laymen. Nor had they risen to the necessary conceptions of sin to produce private prayers as we have them in the later cults. When they passed on their rites of atonement to the Semites, they had probably arrived at the stage in which the priest alone adds prayer to the ban and the magic ritual. These priestly prayers were called *ki-šub* in the Sumerian ceremonies, and, when the Semites introduced their beautiful prayers for the sinner into those ceremonies, they called them *šu-il-la*; since they take the place of the ancient 'curse,' they invariably bear also the title 'incantation.'

8. Prayers of the older type in Semitic times; the kišub of liturgies applied to priests' prayers.—Ceremonies of atonement of the Sumerian type in which the priest said part of the prayers on behalf of the sinner persisted in the Semitic religion of Babylonia. These are of course bilingual, said by the priests in Sumerian and possibly interpreted to the penitent by means of the Semitic interlinear version. The following are the best known examples of this class:

(*a*) A long bilingual prayer to the sun-god, followed by a Semitic prayer of the penitent; part of a ritual of atonement for the king.[4] A portion of the priest's prayer is as follows:

'To free the bound, to heal the sick is in thy power.
The god of this man for his son stands humbly before thee to accomplish faithfully the freeing.
The lord has sent me;
Yea, the great lord of Eridu has sent me.
Stand forth and learn his command and render his decision.
When thou marchest the dark-headed people, thou directest
The light of peace create for him, and so may his trouble be smoothed out.
Punishment for sin has been laid upon a man, son of his god.
His limbs are afflicted with pain; he lies suffering with sickness.
Oh sun-god, observe the "lifting of my hand."
Consume his food, receive his drink-offering and his god place at his side.
At thy command may his punishment be forgiven, his condemnation removed.
That which binds him let be undone, from his sickness may he live.
As long as he lives may he speak of thy majesty.
And I the magician, thy servant, will sing thy praise.'[1]

(*b*) Part of a similar series containing the priest's prayer to Shamash and the first line of the penitent's Semitic prayer. A portion of the Sumerian has no interlinear version.[2]

(*c*) Fragment of a similar series. Only the prayer of the priest to Shamash is preserved. The last lines duplicate no. (*b*).[3]

(*d*) Fragment of a similar series. Only about half of the priest's prayer to Shamash is preserved.[4]

(*e*) A complete series of prayers in the 'house of washing' for the healing and atonement of a king. The service begins by a long prayer of the priest, after which follows a section from the lower type of incantations, and then a short Semitic prayer of the king; finally a long prayer of the priest. This service is also said to Shamash.[5]

(*f*) Fragment of an incantation ceremony to Marduk. The end of one of the penitent's prayers in Semitic and most of one of the priest's prayers are preserved.[6]

(*g*) A complete prayer of a priest addressed to Shamash as an incantation to deliver a woman at childbirth.[7]

(*h*) Fragment of a ceremony in the house of washing, containing a portion of the priest's prayer and the end of the penitent's prayer.[8]

(*i*) Fragment of a ceremony addressed to Bau, goddess of healing; portions of the priest's prayer and beginnings of a few lines of the penitent's prayer.[9]

(*j*) A priest's prayer, called an 'incantation and prayer of prostration to the setting sun,' with catch-line for a succeeding Sumerian prayer.[10]

(*k*) A long and nearly complete bilingual prayer to the moon-god is called a *šu-il-la* by the scribe, but it has more similarity to the epilogues (*er-šem-ma*) of liturgies than to the prayers of priests in the magic ceremonies.[11] It was followed by a similar Sumerian prayer. This tablet testifies to the existence of a series of liturgical prayers probably written for public services and closely related to the liturgies.[12]

It is evident, therefore, that the Babylonians employed the word *šu-il-la* originally for a Sumerian public prayer, and, although we have but one example of these, yet the catalogue shows that they possessed a great number. The titles of prayers in the incantations were, therefore, taken from the musical terminology of the public services. The name of the choral passages in the liturgies (*kišub*) was given to the Sumerian prayers of the priests in these magic rituals, and the name of public solo prayers of the temple choristers (*šu-il-la*) came to designate the prayers of the

[1] This class of prayer usually has the title, *enim-enim-ma ki-[šu-bi-im] dingir X kam*, 'An incantation, prayer of prostration to the god X.' This title was taken from an old liturgical term, *kišub*, melody in a public liturgy.

[2] Text iv. R. 20, no. 2; ed. Schollmeyer, no. 4.

[3] iv. R. 28, no. 1; Schollmeyer, no. 5.

[4] iv. R. 19, no. 21; Zimmern, *Der alte Orient*, vii. pt. iii. p. 15; Schollmeyer, no. 3.

[5] Text in v. R. 50 f.; restored and edited with omission of the interlinear version in Langdon, *Sumerian Grammar*, Paris, 1911, pp. 187–196; Schollmeyer, no. 1.

[6] iv. R. 29, no. 1; ed. C. F. Fossey, pp. 364–369; Hehn, pp. 334–337.

[7] Meek, no. 1.

[8] Gray, *Shamash*, pl. vi.; ed. Schollmeyer, no. 20.

[9] Text by Craig, pl. 18; ed. Martin, p. 70.

[10] Text by G. Bertin, in *RAssyr* i. [1886] 157–161 with tr.; see also Schollmeyer, no. 7. The purpose of this ceremony remains obscure. It may possibly belong to a series of prayers for the dedication of a temple or some similar service.

[11] Text in iv. R. 9; ed. E. G. Perry, *Hymnen und Gebete an Sin*, Leipzig, 1907, no. 1; and E. Combe, *Hist. du culte de Sin*, Paris, 1908, no. 1; Zimmern, *Der alte Orient*, vii. pt. iii. p. 11 f. The title of this prayer was entered in the catalogue (Langdon, *Bab. Liturgies*, no. 103, line 8) and the title of the colophon *elimma umun gir-ra* in the same catalogue (line 10).

[12] The bilingual prayer said at the close of the public services of the New Year festival by a priest is also called *šu-il-la* (F. H. Weissbach, *Babylonische Miscellen*, Leipzig, 1903, pp. 36–41; iv. R. 18, no. 2).

[1] *E.g.*, the rituals for one of the rites of atonement in the 'house of washing' (*bit rimki*) will be found in Zimmern, *Beiträge*, pp. 122–135. The tablets of prayers to be said by the penitent (here the king) are also partially preserved (see L. W. King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*, London, 1896, no. 1).

[2] iv. R. 53, iii. 44–iv. 28.

[3] No. 103, in Langdon, *Bab. Liturgies*.

[4] Text iv. R. 17; ed. A. Schollmeyer, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen und Gebete an Šamaš*, Paderborn, 1912, no. 2.

laymen in these incantations. Both of these literary terms have, therefore, a double usage in Babylonia and Assyria, which proves clearly enough that the prayers of incantation ceremonies are of much later origin than the liturgies.

9 The šu-il-la prayers of the magic cult.—From every point of view the prayers of the laymen, said in their own vernacular Semitic, form the largest and most valuable collection of private devotional literature of the Babylonians and Assyrians. The tendency to regard moral transgression as the cause of divine anger resulted in the increasing importance of the prayers of the penitent. Most of their best rituals of atonement have eliminated the prayers of the priests entirely. We possess a large number of these prayers of 'the lifting of the hand' to be used as the books of the various rituals appoint. They follow one another, each to a different deity, while the priest performs the necessary rites of magic. All the known tablets of prayers of this class belong to the late period, as we must expect; for fervent intercession based upon a spiritual consciousness of sin is of slow growth in any religion. It never was attained by the Sumerians, and the Semites themselves advanced to these higher forms of atonement only after 2000 years and more of their consecutive history. These prayers, despite their fine literary composition and lofty sentiment, always bear the title 'incantation and lifting of the hand,' but the former title, implying a low type of religion, appears here only because these prayers belong to the secret rituals of the priests of atonement. It is possible to give only lists of groups of these prayer-tablets, since their number is very great.

The earliest known incantation rituals, in which the prayers are either partly or wholly assigned to the laymen, belong to the city of Aššur, capital of the early Assyrian empire, and probably belong to the period of Tiglathpileser I.[1] and his successors. These have been recently excavated by the German Oriental Society on the site of modern Kalah Shergat. The religious texts recovered by the Germans at Aššur were not published until late in 1915,[2] and consequently Assyriologists have not yet been able to make critical editions of them. The following list of tablets in the official publications will contain the more important of the early Assyrian prayers of this class:

No. 23: portions of two prayers to Marduk. Ritual accompanies each prayer.[3]

No. 25: part of a prayer to Nebo followed by the ritual and beginning of a prayer to Marduk.[4] The Marduk prayer was employed in many other services and will serve as a good example of these Semitic compositions:

'Mighty and glorified one, splendid one of Eridu,
Lofty prince, first born of Nudimmud,
Marduk the terrible one, who maketh Egurra to rejoice,
Lord of Esagila, help of Babylon, who showeth mercy unto Ezida,
Who giveth peace unto the soul, chieftain of Emahtila, who reneweth life,
Protecting shadow of the land, sparing the wide-dwelling peoples.
Regent of the sacred chapels everywhere,
Thy name is good in the mouth of peoples everywhere.
Marduk, great lord, merciful god,
By thy mighty command may I live and prosper and look upon thy divinity.
Whatsoever I plan may I attain.
Fix justice in my mouth.
Cause to be words of goodness in my heart.
May guard and watchmen speak of (my) good deeds.
May my god stand at my right.
May my goddess stand at my left.
May a saving god be faithful at my side.
Oh grant to speak, and hear and be gracious.
The word which I utter, even as I utter it, may be favourably received.
Oh Marduk, great lord, bestow life.
Command that my soul live.
May I enjoy unto satiety walking in purity before thee.
May Enlil rejoice for thee, and Ea be glad for thee.
May the gods of the universe adore thee,
And the great gods make kind thy heart.'

This prayer was followed in the Aššur service by another to Marduk, then by one to Sin, the moon-god, and finally by one to Enlil. After each the scribe gives the ritual for the priest.

No. 26: a ceremony in which the priest introduces the penitent to Marduk, explaining his sorrows in Semitic. Then follows a very long prayer to Marduk by the penitent. The service ends with a complicated and long ritual.

No. 32 contains a long prayer to Shamash preceded by a ritual.

No. 55 contains a prayer to Shamash. As no ritual is given, it probably belongs to a series in which prayers and ritual were given on separate tablets.

No. 58 contains a prayer to Shamash and four to Nusku, the fire-god, without ritual.

No. 59 begins with the prayer to Marduk translated above, and is followed by one to Enlil.

No. 68 contains only one long and beautiful prayer to Enlil without ritual.

No. 80 begins with ritualistic directions for the priest, after which follows a long prayer of the penitent to Shamash.

The Asurbanipal library has been up to the present our principal source of information concerning these rituals of atonement. The tablets of prayers and ceremonies belonging to that collection have been published together in King's *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*, and they have been widely studied in special monographs. These ceremonies, however, have never received a proper scientific treatment, since the various monographs founded upon them, by selecting only prayers for a particular deity, dissect the ceremonies and omit the rituals.[1]

Prayers of 'the lifting of the hand' from Babylonia are also well documented. The longest, and in many ways the finest, of all these *šu-il-la* prayers is addressed to Ishtar and contains 110 lines.[2] Several tablets from ceremonies of this kind belong to the collection of the University Museum in Philadelphia and have been published by D. W. Myhrman, *Babylonian Hymns and Prayers*.

No. 12 contains a prayer of 'the lifting of the hand' to Shamash by the king Shamash-shum-ukm. Ordinarily these prayers contain a blank space for the insertion of the name of the layman. This and no. 18, a prayer to Marduk, and Ebeling, no. 55, a prayer to Shamash by Asurbanipal, are the only known instances where the text gives the name of the person who used it. In fact, we have two Assyrian ceremonies which employed Myhrman, no. 12, both with the usual blank space for the name of the layman.[3]

No. 17: a prayer to Enlil, and first line of the next prayer to Ninlil. This prayer illustrates Babylonian religion at its best:[4]

'Oh lord magnified, fortress of the heaven spirits,
Councillor of the earth spirits, solicitous prince,
Oh Enlil, lord magnified, fortress of the heaven spirits,
Councillor of the earth spirits, solicitous prince,
Self-renewing, the utterance of whose mouth is unalterable,
The word of whose lips no god has put aside,
Lord of lords, king of kings, father who begat the great gods,
Lord of fate and of the designs of things, ordering heaven and earth, lord of the lands.

---

[1] 12th century.

[2] E. Ebeling, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur Religiösen Inhalts*, Berlin, 1915, pts. i. and ii.

[3] It is somewhat rare to find these prayers addressed to the same god. A similar service, in which a succession of three prayers to Nebo occurs, will be found in King, *Bab. Magic*, no. 22. The first prayer to Marduk is a duplicate of the one mentioned in the following note.

[4] The Marduk prayer is known from a service employed at Nineveh, where it occurs as the first prayer on one of the tablets of a series (King, *Bab. Magic*, no. 9). Naturally both copies came from Babylon. It has been ed. by Hehn, *BASS* v. [1905] 347–349). A nearly complete duplicate is the first prayer in Ebeling, no. 59.

[1] The various prayers to Sin, Shamash, Marduk, etc., are thus taken out of their connexion in these ceremonies and grouped together for special study. This method is peculiar to the Leipzig school of Assyriologists.

[2] Text in King, *The Seven Tablets of Creation*, London, 1902, ii., appendix 5; ed. in i. 222–237. See R. W. Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the OT*, New York, 1912, pp. 153–161, and literature cited.

[3] King, *Bab. Magic*, nos. 6 and 10. This prayer was ed. by Schollmeyer, no. 14. See corrections to this edition in *AJSL* xxix. [1913] 209.

[4] Ed. S. Langdon, *PSBA* xxxiv. [1912] 152–156; corrections by Zimmern, *ZA* xxviii. [1913] 68. The same prayer was employed in Assyria by the king at the dark of the moon (King, *Bab. Magic*, no. 19).

Who completest judgment, whose commandment changes not.
Fixing the fates of the gods altogether,
By thy order humanity has been begotten.
Of king and prefect, the being thou definest.
Since to create god and king rests with thee,
And thou hast caused the weak to attain the measure of the strong,
Among the multitudinous stars of heaven,
Oh lord, I put my trust in thee, I adore thee, and my ears are unto thee.
The fate of my life decree.
Command that my name be created.
Undo the evil, create for me justice.
Pour out upon me a form, bestow upon me abundance.
Put upon me thy vast abundance.
May god and king hold me in esteem.
May lord and prince do what I command.
May there be unto me one that sees me.
In the assembly of elders may my speech be heard.
May the protecting spirit, commanding acceptance of prayer and mercy,
Daily walk with me.
May the gods adore thee, may the goddess seek thee.
And I thy servant would live, would prosper.
Thy greatness I would glorify, thy praise I would sing.'

All the prayers discussed in the above section are designated by the literary note *šu-il-la*, but they by no means exhaust the literature of this kind. The incantation rituals of the lower types, such as the Maklû and Šurpu series, often contain incantations which are real prayers, and they are often repeated by the laymen. But the scribes do not dignify them by the name *šu-il-la*, and on the whole the distinction which they made, evidently on a ceremonial basis, holds good. In the *šu-il-la* we have a real prayer in which the sinner takes no part in the ritual.[1] In the other ceremonies, where he utters the incantations, he himself takes part in the magic ritual. Consequently the incantations not designated as *šu-il-la* are on the whole of a lower type as literature and from a religious point of view.

10. The ba-gur-da-kam prayers.—We possess one tablet of prayers which has the subscription, 'Incantation to cause god and goddess to repent.'[2] Since all prayers are incantations, we have here in reality evidence that the Babylonians possessed at least some series of private prayers for laymen, absolutely untrammelled by magic rituals. We may perhaps assume too much by this estimate of Babylonian religion, for which this tablet is at present our only evidence. But the three prayers which here follow each other are so lofty and fervent, and the second and third so monotheistic, that we cannot refrain from crediting the Babylonians with having attained this the highest level of all religion—private prayer.

A few lines of the second prayer will confirm this criticism.

'My god, I know not the sins of . . .
Thy revered name scoffingly have I spoken?
Thy titles have I forgotten and mightily have I . . .?
Thy work in time of trouble have I neglected?
Thy boundaries have I transgressed?

. . . . . .

Many are my sins; as I have done, mayest thou not requite.
Oh, my god, sever and undo, free the toils of my heart.
Forget my folly, receive my prayer.
Turn my sins unto favour.'[3]

[1] In a letter to the king concerning a list of rituals of the *nam-bur-bî* series (see below) the priest of incantation refers to the prayers or incantations in that service as *šu-il-la*, and the letter implies that the priest himself said them. This illustrates the indefinite application of *šu-il-la*. Here it is used for the lower type of prayer allied to the real incantations. See R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, Chicago, 1892, i. 23; ed. E. Behrens, *Assyrisch-babylonische Briefe*, Leipzig, 1906, no. 7.

[2] Craig, ii. 6 f., and duplicate in Myhrman, no. 14; ed. Langdon, *PSBA* xxxiv. [1912] 75–79; important corrections in *ZA* xxviii. [1913] 71, and *AJSL* xxx. [1914] 228.

[3] In Craig, p. 13 f., will be found a tablet with prayers which probably belong to this type of service. Here even the superscription, *šiptu*, which precedes all prayers, is omitted. To an advanced type of ritual belongs the tablet in Craig, pp. 15–18, restored by Langdon, *RAssyr* xiii. [1916] 105–117, from Ebeling, no. 57. The prayers are addressed to Tammuz and Ishtar and are neither prefaced nor ended by a literary note to designate them as incantations.

11. The prayers of the nam-bur-bî series.—A much more extensive series of atonement rituals existed, apparently designed for the use of those upon whom had fallen some misfortune, by which the Babylonians inferred that the gods were turned against a man, and that atonement was necessary. This series, which aimed at providing for all sorts of emergencies, bore the title *nam-bur-bî*,[1] 'the redemption.' An event of evil augury having occurred, the priests selected for the person concerned that part of the series which applied to his case. Much magic was employed, and the unfortunate man repeated a Semitic prayer provided by these books for the occasion.

E.g., the 135th tablet provided for the event, 'If a man has lost or [dropped] into the river a cylinder seal or a stone pestle (?).' After an elaborate ritual to cleanse that man's house by the priest, the man himself prays to Ishtar. The ritual closes with other complicated magical acts.[2] Another tablet of this series provides for, 'If evil signs and omens come upon a king and his land.'[3] The ritual seems to have preserved parts of two prayers said by the king or his delegate.[4]

Prayers and rituals from this series are frequently prescribed by astrologers at times of unfavourable omens.[5] A letter from one of the priests of atonement to the king refers to the *nam-bur-bî*, 'If the moon and Saturn stand together in a misty ring,' which was taken as an evil omen.[6] In the same letter the priest speaks of having read 21 tablets (!) of this series to avoid the ominous events. Another letter to the king informs him of a *nam-bur-bî* at the time of an earthquake.[7] Another letter mentions an astrological event for which the series provided no prayers and rituals.[8]

Most of the great rituals of atonement contain prayers employed as incantations; consequently the number of these compositions is well-nigh unlimited. A ritual for purifying a newly-built house to prepare it for the owner's occupation contains two prayers intercalated with the ritual.[9] The prayers of the priests in the rituals of the New Year celebrations during the first eleven days of Nisan belong to the public ceremonies and are said in a mixture of Sumerian and Semitic. These bear the title *šub*,[10] always employed for the Sumerian prayers in distinction from the *šu-il-la*, or Semitic prayers,[11] and were probably accompanied by music.[12]

12. Prayers of preparation (ikrib).—The intricate and comprehensive religious literature of the Babylonians provided rituals and prayers for every conceivable necessity, and one of the most import-

[1] The Semitic loan-word was probably *nam-bur-bû* (iv. R. 17*b*, 15: King, *Bab. Magic*, no. 6212); *nam-bur* means 'freeing,' 'unbinding,' and *bi* means 'to speak.' The same element *bi* is found in *sag-bi=mâmîtu*, 'curse.' For *nam-bur-bû* see Behrens, pp. 95–97.

[2] Text in Craig, p. 66 f.; ed. Martin, pp. 242–247.

[3] iv. R. 60. Restore the catch-line, *šumma idâti ittâti aḫâti ana šarri u nâti-šu ibšâ*.

[4] See, for partial tr., *Babyloniaca*, iii. 25, and Schollmeyer, no. 6. A similar ritual certainly belonging to this series and also performed against astrological omens is King, *Bab. Magic*, no. 62.

[5] See R. C. Thompson, *Reports of the Magicians and Astrologers*, London, 1900, nos. 88 and 82.

[6] *Šumma Sîn u Šamaš ana tarbaṣi zinnatu ibšû issiniš* (Harper, *Letters*, i. 23, 15).

[7] Harper, *Letters*, no. 355, 11.

[8] A partial eclipse of the rising sun (*ib.* no. 470).

[9] Text in Craig, p. 75 f., and Zimmern, *ZA* xxiii. [1909] 369. See also Langdon, 'Babylonian Magic,' in *Scientia*, xv. [1914] 239, and Jensen, p. 54.

[10] An abbreviation of *kišub*.

[11] The *šu-il-la* designated also Sumerian prayers of the priests, as already stated. When employed in this sense, they are related to the *kišub* or *šub*, the difference consisting probably in the use of a musical accompaniment for the *kišub* or *šub* prayers.

[12] The text of the New Year rituals will be found in iv. R. 40, and *RAssyr* viii. [1911] 42 (by P. Dhorme). These texts preserve most of the prayers and rituals for the days 2nd–5th Nisan. An unplaced fragment was published by Hehn, pp. 398–400, and ed. pp. 375–380. The final prayer of this service on 11th Nisan is called a *šu-il-la* (see above). Some of these public prayers were translated by Langdon in *Exp* vii. viii. [1909] 158–158.

ant parts of a priest's duties was to prepare himself properly for his sacred services. Undoubtedly the prayers provided for such preparation were extensive, but our sources supply us with adequate information upon only one point. The diviners (*barû*) invariably prepared themselves for consulting the omens revealed on sheep's livers by performing long purificatory rites interspersed with prayers to the deities Shamash and Adad, who presided over the art of augury. These prayers are not called incantations, nor do they bear any of the Sumerian literary indices so common to the prayers of the official cults. This points to their Semitic and comparatively late origin. They were classified as *ikrib* prayers—a pure Semitic expression.[1] These prayers all end with a formula which is practically unvaried:

'In all that I offer to you, oh Shamash and Adad, stand by; in my discourse, my prayer, in whatsoever I do, in the inquiry which I present let there be trustworthiness.'

13. Liturgies or public prayers.—For their public worship the Babylonians and Assyrians adopted that of the Sumerians, without any appreciable change. And they continued to use in the daily liturgies of that vanished people the language in which they were originally written. Semitic Babylonia and Assyria presented a close parallel to the Roman Catholic Church, which still conducts most of its formal public service in the sacred language in which it was originally written. An investigation of the liturgies must concern itself primarily with the origin, evolution, and use of Sumerian public worship. When the liturgists of the late Sumerian period finally constructed the long public services, the Semites adopted them as sacred books, and in many cases we can trace the use of these litanies from Sumerian days to the 2nd century B.C. Many of the late Assyrian and Babylonian editions are edited with partial interlinear versions; sometimes musical (to us unintelligible) notes are added; comments and variant readings[2] often encumber the text, but the faithful adherence to the ancient Sumerian original is remarkable. Perhaps a few of the epilogues which were later adopted as psalms of private penance (*er-šag-tug-mal*) arose in Semitic times, but even this is uncertain.

14. Public prayer older than private prayer.—We have already seen that in the complicated rituals of the Semites the prayers of private devotion are the product of the Semitic mind. Even the formal prayers in which the priests took part, although composed in Sumerian, were probably the work of Semites. There is no proof that Sumerian worship possessed any of these private or public solo chants of the priests. It is of course possible that they originated the Sumerian *šu-il-la* prayers which, as we have seen, existed alongside of the Semitic *šu-il-la* prayers. But these were public prayers, chanted by a priest and closely related to the choral liturgies. On the other hand, the Sumerian people, apparently incapable of individualism in worship, found the full expression of their religious psychology in common devotion. And devotion *en masse*, public songs participated in by the whole people, arose at an extremely early period. The Sumerian cared only to lose himself in the fellowship of religious experience.

15. Origin of liturgies.—It is difficult for moderns to understand the problems that confronted mankind in constructing religious services. In Sumer they began by using short chants based upon some calamity which had befallen the city. From the beginning music was essential to these public choral threnodies, and the earliest known compositions are characterized by refrains. In the early period anterior to the last dynasty of Ur each Sumerian city seems to have possessed its own corpus of sorrowful litanies based upon local calamities in its long history. At present Sumerian antiquities have produced only fragmentary examples of the public services of the early period.[1] But a few of these short threnodies survived and were current in the Ur and Isin periods, when the complicated liturgies were being worked out. The following public choral service of Lagash will illustrate the origin of these compositions (here the words are supposed to be uttered by Bau, the mother-goddess of Lagash):

'Oh city, alas the treasures! my soul sighs for thee.
My city Girsu, alas the treasures! my soul sighs for thee.
Oh brick-walls of Lagash, alas the treasures! my soul sighs for thee.
Oh abode of temple Ninnû, alas the treasures! my soul sighs for thee.
Oh my high altar of Ninâ, alas the treasures! my soul sighs for thee.
Oh brick-walls of my Sirar, alas the treasures! my soul sighs for thee.
Oh ye highlands (?) of Lagash, alas the treasures! my soul sighs for thee.
Of my city the treasures are scattered.
In shining Girsu the children are distressed.
Unto the interior of the city, oh day of woe!
Unto the exterior of Girsu, oh sorrow, my holy place.
Within the splendid sanctuary the transgressor came.
Unto my abode the transgressor came.
Unto joyful . . . the transgressor came.
Unto the consort of the great hero the transgressor came.[2]
From their queen he caused him to go forth.
From their temple the august queen he caused to go forth.
The queen of my city with misery [is afflicted]
The mother, the wild cow queen, with misery [is afflicted]
. . . . . .
My city my father gave as a gift.
Girsu Enlil cared for faithfully.
In my city which he[3] ruined altogether,
In Lagash which he ruined altogether,
In Sirar which he ruined altogether,
In Ninâ which he ruined altogether,
Oh afflicting shepherd, I will appease thee.
Oh afflicting shepherd, let me appease thee.
Oh lord of lamentation, by the woe of my city, by the woe of my temple, accept repose (?).'[4]

These early single song compositions were probably named after the musical instruments chiefly employed in their composition. The liturgy translated above was called an *er-šem-ma*, 'lament on the double flute.' All the known early liturgies are of this class. It is, however, probable that other song services were accompanied by stringed instruments, particularly the lyre, and were called 'lament on the lyre.'[5] Choral passages of this kind were always known as *sir*, 'song,' to designate them as liturgical in character. A pronounced tendency to enlarge these single song services until they became of considerable length manifested itself at all the great temple schools. Some of them extend to nearly 100 lines.

16. Rise of a standard breviary.—As a national consciousness slowly permeated the disunited Sumerian communities, and the national myths and epics became common property, the various liturgical schools began to borrow from each other. If, *e.g.*, a choral song of Nippur possessed attractive words and a successful melody, the liturgists of other cities adopted it into their own breviary, inserting a line or lines to mention their own

[1] Most of the *ikrib* prayers and rituals will be found in Zimmern, *Beiträge*, pp. 190–219. A ritual of *barû* preparations containing *ikrib* prayers to Adad and Sin will be found in Perry, *Hymnen und Gebete an Sin*, pp. 24–28. Another fragment of the same ritual with prayers to the astral deities, moon, Jupiter, and Venus is published by Langdon in *RAssyr* xii. [1915] 189–192.

[2] *E.g.*, see the much glossed text iv R. 30, no. 1; ed. in Langdon, *Sum. and Bab. Psalms*, pp. 247–255.

[1] They are cited in Langdon, *Bab. Liturgies*, p. i, note 3, and one is partially tr. in *PSBA* xxxiv. [1912] 156.

[2] Note how the people inadvertently forget the situation and reveal the real fact that they themselves are wailing.

[3] The pronoun refers to Enlil; all calamity was attributed to the anger of the gods.

[4] Text in *Cun. Texts*, xv. 22, London, 1902; variant in Zimmern, *Sumerische Kultlieder aus altbabylonischer Zeit*, no. 2, rev. ii. 10–42; ed. in Langdon, *Sum. and Bab. Psalms*, pp. 284–287.

[5] See Langdon, *Bab. Liturgies*, p. xxxviii, and p. xlv, note 1.

temples and city.[1] The various lamentations to the weeping mother tended to produce catholicity, for she was a common possession of all Sumerian worshippers. Thus the growth of a standard breviary received on all sides a powerful impetus. And the priests of the prosperous and cosmopolitan age of Ur and Isin were not satisfied with these short songs. They desired longer services, more variety in melody, and more dogmatic theology. They began to evolve longer liturgies by the somewhat crude process of compiling a few old songs without regard to their content.[2] But such uncertain procedure was not tolerated to any great extent. The hymnologists naturally insisted upon working out a single religious idea and upon designing each liturgy for the worship of a single deity. They chose some ancient single song service for the first melody, reducing it to moderate length. The second melody was made by an extract from some old song. In this way the liturgists obtained the long services of 20 to 30 melodies, all selected from songs addressed to the same deity. Finally, the rule obtained that the next to the last melody should be a special theological litany, in which the names of all the gods are sung to a refrain peculiar to that service. This 'titular melody' is followed by the liturgical prayer, *er-šem-ma*, which gave rise to the *er-šag-tug-mal*, as explained above.

17. The word.—In most of these long liturgies we find at least one song to the 'word,' always described as the cause of all calamities. In the case of those liturgies sung to the great gods the word is described as going forth from the mouth of God to execute His judgment upon sinful mankind. In the weeping mother litanies the word seizes upon this mother-goddess, causing her to wail with her people. For all the liturgies addressed to the mother-goddess (Bau, Gula, Innini) represent her not as angered against humanity, but as sharing their sorrows and wailing with them in their lamentations.

18. The canon of liturgical literature.—Although we now know a very large number of these liturgies either complete or, as is generally the case, in fragmentary condition, we are far from possessing the whole number of the series of songs which formed the canon of sacred literature. The scribes of the Isin period probably drew up a list of the first lines of all liturgies that had received ecclesiastical sanction. Their number must have been large, possibly 600 or 700. At any rate, the canon was closed by the Sumerian liturgists themselves. Even in Assyria, which adopted the entire Sumerian canon of sacred liturgy, we find no mention of any Assyrian city or temple. The local cults of these northern Semites came too late to be entered into the songs of the public services, and they present the curious spectacle of a great people who said their public prayers in liturgies which never made any reference to themselves.

LITERATURE.—For the prayers of the private cults and the public solo prayers of priests the entire literature is cited in the notes. The subject of liturgies, which is much more extensive and difficult, may be studied in the following works:

I. *TEXTS.*—G. Reisner, *Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen*, Berlin, 1896; H. Zimmern, *Sumerische Kultlieder aus altbabylonischer Zeit*, Leipzig, 1912–13; S. Langdon, *Babylonian Liturgies*, Paris, 1913; H. Radau, 'Miscellaneous Sumerian Texts,' in *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume*, Leipzig, 1909, pp. 374–457, *Sumerian Hymns and Prayers to god Nin-Ib*, Philadelphia, 1911; D. W. Myhrman, *Babylonian Hymns and Prayers*, do. 1910; Langdon, 'Fragment of a Babylonian Liturgy' (*Babyloniaca*, iii. 241–249), Paris, 1910; L. W. King, *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, London, 1902; Langdon, *Sumerian Liturgical Texts from Nippur*, Philadelphia, 1917.

II. *TRANSLATIONS AND INTERPRETATIONS.* — Langdon, *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, Paris, 1909, *Babylonian Liturgies, Sumerian Liturgical Texts*, and *Public Worship in Babylonia* (in the press); Zimmern, 'Babylonische Hymnen und Gebete, in *Der alte Orient*, xiii. pt. i. [Leipzig, 1911].

S. LANGDON.

PRAYER (Buddhist).—1. General.—Buddhism teaches that there is no personal creator or ruler of the world, and that the perfection of religious and moral ideals rests solely on one's own self-perfection. Thus in the Buddhist religion there is no room for prayer, in the sense of a petition or solicitation addressed to a god. This was the reason why Buddha so carefully guarded against the use of prayer (*manta*, Skr. *mantra*) addressed to a god for the purpose of securing a certain benefit through his special favour.[1] But, when prayer is understood in a broader way, there is the Buddhist prayer as an expression of earnest faith, determined intention, as a means of self-perfection in Buddhist ideals. Moreover, the Buddhist religion developed, after the death of its founder, in the direction of adoring him not only as a perfect human personality but as an embodiment of universal truth, *i.e.* in the conception of the *dharmakāya*. In this developed form an individual striving for the attainment of *bodhi* ('enlightenment') stands to Buddha in the relation of the disciple to the Master, and of the saved to the Saviour. Here the practice of expressing the earnest intention of realizing Buddhahood gradually took the form of solemn vows taken to commit oneself to practise Buddhist morality, assisted by encouraging assurance given by Buddha, in his actual presence or in spiritual manifestation. Many of these vows are in reality prayers, addressed to Buddha as well as to the universal truth revealed by him. These vows, or prayers, are called *praṇidhāna* in Sanskrit (Pāli *paṇidhāna*).

Now, in the Pāli books, *paṇidhāna* means concentration of mind upon a certain idea or object, which helps in tranquillizing the mind.

'That disciple should concentrate (*panidahitabbam*) his mind upon a certain thing (*attha*) as the condition of tranquillizing; when the mind is concentrated upon that tranquillizing condition, cheer arises and from cheer joy arises . . . (Then he should think) I shall concentrate mind upon this thing and this thing being realized I shall now dwell on that.'[2]

In this sense *paṇidhāna* is a general name for various endeavours to calm and concentrate mind, such as *pasādha*, repose or faith in the Three Treasures and Buddhist morality; *chhanda*, earnest desire for realizing supernormal powers (*iddhi*); *sati*, thought intently fixed on Buddha and his teachings, etc.[3] Indeed, Buddhism is exceedingly rich in these terms, ideas, and practices of mental concentration and spiritual drill, and they all play the part of prayer or orison, with a special emphasis laid on the concentration of mind on a certain point of Buddhist truths. These experiences are described by similes which enable us only to guess what were the effects of the mental concentration; and the total result of the spiritual exercise may be formulated as a direct assurance and personal experience of the unity of existence, which may be expressed as an expansion of self or an absorption of the cosmos into self. There are prescribed formulæ for these practices of meditation and for their results, and these capital passages in the scriptures served as manuals of practice as well as a kind of prayer, in the sense of inspiration and assurance. *E.g.*, the fourfold faith (*pasādha*) mentioned above and the seven stages of enlightenment (*bojjhaṅga*) were used for expelling the pain of disease, though the real import of these meditations consisted in something more and deeper than mere guards against ills.

[1] See Langdon, *Sum. and Bab. Psalms*, pp. 292–295, a Nippur song employed at Ur and Larsa.

[2] The best example of a service of this kind is Zimmern, *Sumerische Kultlieder*, no. 2, a curious service made by joining songs to Tammuz, Enlil, and Bau.

[1] For the use of *mantra* in later forms of Buddhism see art. TANTRA.

[2] *Samyutta*, xlvii. 10 (PTS ed. v. 156).

[3] Similar terms are *vipassanā*, *samatha*, *pariyesanā*, *chetovimutti*, *jhāna*, etc.; cf. art. ETHICS AND MORALITY (Buddhist).

It was the same with the fourfold infinite expansion of mind (*appamāṇa-cheto-vimutti*) against hatred and ill-will and for realization of love, compassion, etc.[1]

Buddhist ethics emphasizes the importance of thought and intention as the source of bodily acts and utterances of speech. It is on this ground that the concentration of thought is so persistently insisted on in the various methods of meditation and carefully formulated in their descriptions. Thought may be expressed in utterance, whether in reciting the holy texts or in confessing one's faith, and these expressions naturally take the form of prayer as found in any other religion. Prayer in this sense is not a petition, but an utterance of devotion to the Buddhist cause, of determination to accomplish Buddhist ideals, of conviction in the final destiny of mankind to reach Buddhist perfection.

Thus, Buddhist prayer is an expression as well as an inspiration—an expression of belief and intention and an inspiration of ideal and zeal. As an expression of faith, Buddhist prayer pays homage to Buddha, to his truth and community, mostly in adoration and exaltation, which serve at the same time as a confession of faith.[2] As an inspiration of ideal aspiration, it takes the form of a solemn vow to commit oneself to efforts in moral perfection, equally on the part of Buddha himself and on that of his followers. The latter aspect had an important bearing on the significance and development of Buddhist prayer, because it was this aspect that stimulated the Buddhists not only to follow the Master's steps but to emulate his work. The ideal perfection of Buddhist morality consists in the attainment of the *tathāgata*-ship, on the part of every Buddhist, and, just as Buddha Gotama is said to have passed a long training of the *bodhisattva*-ship, every Buddhist is expected, in Mahāyāna Buddhism, to be a *bodhisattva* (cf. art. ETHICS AND MORALITY [Buddhist]). The essential condition in starting for the *bodhisattva* training is regarded as an earnest determination (*chitta-utpāda*) to go through the severe discipline of *bodhisattva* morality, and the determination is expressed in the vow or prayer (*praṇidhāna*). The vows are addressed to a certain Buddha, who testificates the oaths and gives assurance for their fulfilment. This act of Buddha is called *vyākaraṇa*, 'encouraging assurance,' and is the necessary counterpart of the vow. After the address of the vow to Buddha and its acceptance by him, a *bodhisattva* is expected to do the works of self-perfection with the wish to dedicate all the merits of his works to the Buddhist cause, *i.e.* for the sake of all fellow-beings, that they may participate in the joint stock of merits (*puṇya-kṣetra*) and proceed on the all-embracing sole road of Buddhist perfection.

2. Buddha's own prayer.—This model of taking vows is narrated in the introduction (*Nidāna-kathā*) to the *Jātaka* stories,[3] where Buddha's first start on his long training is told in the adoration of his enthusiasm. It was in a remote past that a Brāhman Sumedha took vows before the Buddha Dīpaṅkara to march on the way to Buddhahood; and indeed this Sumedha proved, in the course of time, to be worthy of his determination and finally became Buddha Gotama, or Śākyamuni. The vows say:

> 'Since now I make this earnest wish [*adhikāra*],
> In presence of this Best of Men,
> Omniscience sometime I'll achieve,
> And multitudes convey across.
>
> I'll rebirth's circling stream arrest,
> Destroy existence's three modes;
> I'll climb the sides of Doctrine's ship [*dhamma-nava*],
> And men and gods convey across'
> (verses 67 and 68, Warren's tr.).

Then Buddha Dīpaṅkara gives assurance of the fulfilment of the vows (verses 71–80), and Sumedha further commits himself to the practice of the ten methods of perfection (*pārami*). When he concludes his solemn pledge, the whole universe gives response to the vows.

> 'Now pondering these conditions ten,
> Their nature [*sabhava*], essence [*sarasa*], character [*lakkhaṇa*],
> Such fiery vigor had they all,
> That all the worlds ten thousand quaked' (verse 176).

This corresponds to something like a voice from heaven—the prayer is accepted and will be fulfilled. This is a metaphor, and behind it lies the metaphysical idea of the oneness of existence, the unity of *dhammatā* (the fundamental nature of things). All existences are one in their basic nature; therefore the vows taken and prayers expressed are addressed to a certain Buddha as well as to one's own self and to the whole existence, while the acceptance of the prayer is expressed in Buddha's *vyākaraṇa*, whose consequences are the cosmic response and the *bodhisattva's* practice of the ten *pārami*.

Now, the same thing is told about the preliminary training of Buddha, in the Mahāsanghika book *Mahāvastu*.[1] There the deeds (*chāryā*) of the *bodhisattva* are classified in four stages: (1) deeds in accordance with his inherent good nature (*prakṛti*), (2) deeds in accordance with his vows (*praṇidhāna*), (3) deeds in accordance with his ideals (*anuloma*), *i.e.* the practice of the six *pāramitās*, (4) deeds in accordance with the indefatigable virtues (*anivartana*).[2] Then the story of Buddha's conversion is told. Buddha, when he was a Brāhman, determined to perfect himself, and expressed his desire and determination in presence of the Buddha Dīpaṅkara and his congregation. The prayer says:

> 'Indeed, let it be so, that I could be born as one who, having overcome the world, would work in the world for the benefit of the world and should live for the weal of this world,' etc.

Dīpaṅkara, knowing that the vow-taker would surely attain the supreme enlightenment, gives him the assurance:

> 'Thou shalt at a certain future time become a Buddha, being born as a son to the Śākya clan, and work for the benefit of men and gods.'[3]

3. In Mahāyāna Buddhism.—Now, this idea of *praṇidhāna* and of its associate conditions was developed in Mahāyāna and applied to all Buddhists, who were, therefore, called *bodhisattvas*. The underlying idea was the same, yet the significance of *praṇidhāna* was interpreted metaphysically by the doctrine of the basic unity of existence (*tathatā*) and its application made wider by the extension of the *bodhisattva* ideal. The metaphysical conception of oneness was identified with the ultimate entity of Buddha's personality (*dharma-kāya*), and the person of Buddha, who testified the vows, was conceived to be his blissful manifestation (*sambhoga-kāya*) or one of his earthly condescensions (*nirmāṇā-kāya*). Thus, the theory of the threefold personality (*tri-kāya*) of Buddha

[1] Recitation of holy texts plays a very important part in the Buddhist religion and serves as credo, prayer, hymn, ritual, and inculcation at the same time. A collection of the sacred texts, called the *Parittam*, is most widely used among the Buddhists of the south. In the north and east the text used varies according to sects, but the most widely used one is the *Lotus* (*Saddharmapuṇḍarika*).

[2] See, *e.g.*, *Ratana-sutta* in *Sutta-nipāta* (*SBE* x. [1898] pt. ii. pp. 36–39).

[3] *Jātaka*, ed. V. Fausböll (i. 11–28), tr. T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Birth Stories*, London, 1880, pp. 10–18; H. C. Warren, *Buddhism in Translation*[3], Cambridge, Mass., 1900, pp. 14–31.

[1] *Mahāvastu*, ed. E. Senart, Paris, 1882, Introd. p. xxi, and i. 1. The Chinese version of the same book (B. Nanjio, *Catalogue of Chinese Buddhist Tripiṭaka*, Oxford, 1883, no. 587) gives the story in more detail.

[2] The Chinese version omits the negative *a* and interprets this to mean the 'consummating transformation,' *i.e.* the transformation of human nature to Buddhahood.

[3] *Mahāvastu*, i. 3.

was brought closer to the life of the *bodhisattva* and made the object to which the vows were addressed. Thus, every prayer addressed to Buddha is at the same time a vow by which the vow-taker commits himself to the practice of the ideas expressed therein. Vows are taken by a Buddhist and assurance is given by a Buddha, but the two parties are one in the basic entity, and the response given to a prayer is a necessary consequence of this oneness of existence. Yet, quite naturally, the vow and the response will remain void, unless the vow-taker practises his determination and dedicates all his goods to the broad cause of realizing the all-embracing Buddhist communion. This is the working out of the thought expressed in the vow, the practice of moral life with the intention of dedicating all goods to the Buddhist ideal, and is called *pariṇāmaṇā*, 'dedication.' The efficacy of dedication is guaranteed by the Buddha, who is a pioneer in the realization of the one road. In this way the Buddhist conception of prayer emphasizes the unity of its three phases, *praṇidhāna*, *vyākaraṇa*, and *pariṇāmaṇā*.

After all, the Buddhist religion conceives the world as the stage of spiritual development in which all beings participate in, and contribute to, the realization of the truth of oneness (*eka-yāna* or *ekatvam*) or of the cosmic enlightenment (*bodhichitta*).[1] A prayer addressed to a Buddha, an enlightened soul, is meant and destined to awaken in one's own mind or soul (*chitta*) the same *chitta* as the Buddha's own. To worship a deity—which is admitted by Mahāyāna Buddhism—means, not to adore it as a being external to oneself, but to realize the excellent qualities found in the deity. Likewise, to pray may be understood to mean asking something of a deity, but the truth is that the one who is asked and the one who asks are one in the fundamental nature, and, therefore, the prayer is in its ultimate significance a self-inculcation, a self-committal to the moral ideals of Buddhism. Although the Mahāyāna practice of offering prayer differs much, in its appearance, from the practice of primitive Buddhism, the final goal and the conception underlying the practice are the same—mental training for the attainment of Buddhahood.

Mahāyāna books are full of the stories of how a certain Buddha, in the preparatory stage, or a *bodhisattva*, started on his life of *bodhisattva*-ship, by taking vows in presence of his predecessor and master. All those narratives are modelled on the story of Sumedha, and the vows are essentially the same, consisting in an expression of the determination to save self together with others. As the typical representative of the Mahāyāna vows we take here the 'four great vows of the *bodhisattva*.' They say:

> 'There are beings without limit,
> Let us take the vow to convey them all across.
>
> There are depravities in us without number,
> Let us take the vow to extinguish them all.
>
> There are truths without end,
> Let us take the vow to comprehend them all.
>
> There is the Way of Buddha without comparison,
> Let us take the vow to accomplish it perfectly.'

Here it is emphasized that, without striving to fulfil the first vow, of saving others, the following three are vain, even if they could be executed. Another prayer, more frequently recited, is taken from the *Lotus*,[2] and says:

> 'Let these merits (now performed) universally pervade all;
> And let us, together with them, soon realize the life of Buddhahood.'

Another point to be noted in the Mahāyāna notion of prayer is that great stress is laid on the *vyākaraṇa* given by the presiding Buddha, and the assurance takes the form of prophecy. A prophecy of this kind is an encouragement given to the *bodhisattva* as well as an exaltation of his future achievements. Glorifications in the prophecy are always proportional to the enthusiasm of the vows, and these together served to impress the believers with the grandeur of the start, the magnitude of the merits accumulated by the *bodhisattva*, and to stimulate the followers to the similar practice of *praṇidhāna* and *pariṇāmaṇā*. The effects of these inspirations were great, and in many cases they gave an impetus to enthusiasts, who thereby became great teachers or reformers.

The greatest document of Mahāyāna Buddhism in this respect is the *Lotus of Truth*.[1] Besides various points of Buddhist doctrines expounded in it, the main topic of the book is the continuity of the vows taken, merits accomplished, and results attained, through the Buddhas of the past, Buddha Śākyamuni, and the future Buddhas.

The second chapter, entitled 'Tactfulness,' emphasizes the unity of all Buddhas in the purpose, methods, and goal of their long training.

> 'There shall be no one of beings, who, having heard the Truth, will not become Buddhas.'[2]

This is the earnest desire, vow, and prayer of all Buddhas. The discourse then proceeds to give *vyākaraṇa* to many disciples of Śākyamuni, by assuring them of Buddha's love of all beings and his power to lead them to the highest goal. Then, in ch. xii., entitled 'Perseverance,' Buddha's disciples are encouraged to emulate their predecessors' zeal and effort and to endure hardships in working among the perverted people of the latter days of degeneration. The disciples, in response, utter a prayer for endurance, pledging themselves to stand through all kinds of persecution and perils. After enumerating the perils, the prayer concludes with the following words:

> 'They will scold us and scorn and ridicule us. And thus we shall be repeatedly and repeatedly driven out of our own monasteries and sanctuaries. All this, hatred and persecutions, shall we bear in forbearance and perseverance, because we are mindful of our Lord's command. In whichever cities or villages, where there may be any one who would listen to us, we shall surely go there and preach as has been commissioned by Buddha. We are thy messengers, O Lord of the World, we have nothing to fear, in proclaiming thy truth. Now we take these vows in thy presence and in presence of all Buddhas, who have come here from the ten quarters. Mayst thou, O Buddha, know our intention and determination!'[3]

This prayer was not only an expression of ardent desire for the Buddhist cause cherished by many Buddhists, but was also a source of fiery inspiration given to many others who really lived their lives according to the dictates of the vows.

4. 'Adoration to the Lotus of the Perfect Truth.'—The *Lotus* played in Mahāyāna Buddhism a rôle similar to the Johannine literature in Christianity. Highest tributes were paid to the book by most Mahāyānists, from various points of view, doctrinal, ethical, apocalyptic. The final result was the formulation of a prayer to the book itself, as the embodiment of the whole content of Buddhist and cosmic truths. The man who standardized this formula was Nichiren (1222–82), a man of prophetic zeal who was intensely inspired by the 'Prayer of Perseverance,' cited above, and lived his life in perils and hardships. His formula was '*Namu Myō-Hōrenge-kyō*,' which

[1] See art. ETHICS AND MORALITY (Buddhist); D. T. Suzuki, *Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, p. 294 f.

[2] *Saddharmapuṇḍarika*, tr. H. Kern, in *SBE* xxi. (1884). The quotation here given is a translation from the Chinese version of Kumārajīva, which is used as authoritative by the Eastern Buddhists. The extant original differs from this a little (cf. p. 171 of the Eng. tr. and p. 177 of the original, ed. Kern and Nanjio, Petrograd, 1912).

[1] Cited above, usually called *Lotus of the True Law* (*q.v.*), *SBE* xxi.

[2] ii. 99 (*SBE* xxi. 53).

[3] This passage is in verse and is here taken from the Chinese version (cf. *SBE* xxi. 261).

was the Sino-Japanese form of '*Namḥ Saddharma-puṇḍarīka-sūtrāya*,' 'Adoration be to the Lotus of the Perfect Truth.'[1] We shall give a brief account of his theory and practice.

Worship, according to the Mahāyāna theory, amounts to the elevation of self to Buddhahood and the discovery of *bodhi* in self. This doctrine was formulated by the Chinese philosopher Chi-i (531–597) on the authority of the *Lotus*, as the truth of 'mutual participation' or interdependence of all existences. All existences are interrelated; therefore Buddhahood is found in every being, as demoniac nature is not lacking but subdued even in Buddha. The universe consisting of these interrelated existences is the stage on which the truth of interdependence manifests itself, on which universal truths realize themselves in particular existences. Nichiren adopted this theory and represented it in a palpable way. His representation of the universe was to have the 'sacred title' (of the *Lotus of Truth*) written down in the centre, and the names of Buddhas, sages, gods and men, spirits and demons, represented round the central truth. This symbolic visualization of the universe, or of the supreme being together with all beings, is, according to Nichiren, the best means of realizing the cosmic truth in every worshipper's soul. The adoration of the book *Lotus* in this way is not a mere bibliolatry, but the worship of the universal truth, as revealed in the book. Now, this adoration is uttered in speech, *i.e.* in the formula as shown above, and the oral utterance is prayer, hymn, confession, and oath of fidelity all at once. Although the utterance is an act of an individual, it is destined, by the very nature of cosmic structure, to awaken in one's self, together with all others, enlightenment in the quintessence of cosmic truths, and thus to accelerate the full bloom of the cosmic lotus-flower in every existence.[2]

This thought about the adoration is expressed by Nichiren as follows: 'The letters which open every chapter [of the Scripture] are five [in Chinese ideograms denoting the *Lotus of the Perfect Truth*] and the same conclude each one of the chapters. Thus, the beginning and the consummation, as well as the whole between them, amount to the seven letters [denoting] the Adoration of the Truth. To utter this Adoration is the sole clue to the propagation of the Truth in the latter days of degeneration. Any one who does not see the spirit of the Adoration and therefore fails to grasp the key to the essential principle [of the truth and its propagation] is not worthy of a teacher in the latter ages, but moreover misses the real spirit of Nichiren's teaching. For my, Nichiren's, disciples and followers there is no need of any other device than the sole practice [of the Adoration].' In short, the adoration is the means of realizing the truth of the mutual participation in every one's life, and the formula is a prayer addressed to Buddha and to the truths revealed by him, as well as to all beings and to one's own deeper self.

5. 'Homage to the Buddha of infinite light.'—As we have seen, the stories of various Buddhas and *bodhisattvas* are told in Mahāyāna books, with their respective vows of salvation. These stories and vows became sources of inspiration and stimulants to emulation for the respective believers in the superhuman beings.[3] Among the objects of adoration and devotion in this sense Amitābha, the Buddha of infinite light, played the most significant part, and his worship formed a distinct stream of Buddhist pietism.[1] This form of Buddhism lays more emphasis on devotion than on emulation, in spite of the fact that the vows taken by Amitābha, while he was still a monk Dharmākara, are a specimen of the grand prayer for the salvation of all beings. In any case, the faith in Amitābha's all-embracing compassion and all-saving device caused many prayers of devotion to be uttered or written down, and the final result was a formulation of the prayer in a simple form, '*Namu Amida-butsu*,' which is the Sino-Japanese form of '*Namo 'mitābhāya Buddhāya*,' 'Homage be to the Buddha of infinite light.'

Before considering this simple prayer to Amitābha, we shall give a specimen of the prayers addressed to him. Vasubandhu opens his commentary on the *Sukhāvatī-vyūhā* (Nanjio, no. 1204) with a prayer:

'O Exalted One! I trust myself whole-heartedly
To the Tathāgata whose light pervades,
Without any impediment, the regions in the ten quarters,
And express my earnest desire to be born in Thy Land.

. . . . . .

In realizing in vision the appearance of Thy Land,
I know that it surpasses all realms in the threefold existence,
That it is like sky, embracing all,
Vast and spacious without boundaries.
Thy mercy and compassion in accordance with the righteous way
Is an outgrowth of the stock of merits (accumulated by Thee), which are beyond all worldly good;
And Thy light permeates everywhere,
Like the mirrors of the Sun and the Moon.
[Further description of the excellence of the Paradise.]
Let me pray that all beings, having been born there,
Shall proclaim the Truth, like Buddha Thyself.
Herewith I write down this essay and utter these verses,
And pray that I could see Thee, O Buddha, face to face,
And that I could, together with all my fellow-beings,
Attain the birth in the Land of Bliss.'
(In this prose translation, the lines of the original verse are kept.)

Vasubandhu further prescribes the five methods of worship to those who desire the communion of the land of bliss: (1) reverence shown by bodily acts of worship; (2) adoration expressed in oral utterance; (3) earnest thought and prayer carried out by the fixation of mind; (4) intent thought to visualize the Buddha and his land; (5) dedication of all good will and works to the welfare of fellow-beings.

Among these five methods adoration by oral utterance, especially in calling the Buddha's name (*nāmadheya*), became an important factor in the worship, and the final result was the formula cited above. This kind of prayer tends very naturally to become a mechanical repetition of the name, and there were and are many Buddhists practising the method in that way. Yet we must know that devotional piety and earnest thought are kept and stimulated even by the repetition of the Buddha's name, and also that the leaders of this Buddhist pietism were always keen on emphasizing faith and moral life as manifestations of piety.[2]

Moreover, there is another interesting phase in the development of Amita-Buddhism, viz. that a special theory of prayer was propounded by one of its leaders, Shinran (1173–1262), a Japanese reformer. He explains the faithful thought to mean, not only a thought, but also reverence shown towards the Buddha, through one's moral life, as well as the adoration of his grace by oral utterance of his name. This adoration, the repeti-

[1] This kind of adoration paid to a sacred book is as old as the origin of Mahāyāna, and every Mahāyāna book opens with a homage paid to the book. In some cases the homage is extended to Buddha and his community, and the adoration takes the form of a prayer. This practice may be traced back to the Pāli books, in which the formula '*Namo tassa Bhagavato Arahato Sammā-Sambuddhassa*' precedes the text. An introductory prayer of this kind is found in nearly every treatise on doctrines, one of which is cited below.

[2] Cf. M. Anesaki, *Nichiren, the Buddhist Prophet*, Cambridge, Mass., 1916.

[3] One of those deities whose vows are adored and to whom many prayers are addressed is Avalokiteśvara, the chief figure of ch. xxiv. (xxv. in Chinese) of the *Lotus*. For one of the prayers addressed to him see J. Estlin Carpenter, *Comparative Religion* (Home University Library), London [1913], p. 153 f.

[1] The story of Amitābha's conversion and vows is told in the *Sukhāvatī-vyūha* (*SBE* xlix. pt. ii.). The scenes are depicted in a highly imaginative way and the vows taken are elaborate and high-sounding, yet all after the model of the story of Sumedha. This link of affinity between the two stories is a strong point against the theory that the belief in this Buddha was a product of Christian influence. Another point to the same effect is the development of the faith, which can be traced step by step in India, China, and Japan.

[2] The threefold thought in devotion is faithful thought, profound thought, and the thought to attain the final bliss by dedicating all good to that end (cf. *SBE* xlix. pt. ii. p. 188).

tion of the Buddha's name, ought to be uttered, never with any idea of petition, but always as an expression of absolute dependence on, and of gratitude towards, the Buddha's grace. Shinran taught this doctrine of prayer because he believed in the infinite strength of the Buddha's saving power, which reduces any idea of exertion or self-reliance, not only to useless redundance, but to a harmful impediment to the true devotion. Thus, prayer is regarded by Shinran as an expression of absolute dependence, on our part, on the Buddha's compassion and redeeming plan.

Shinran's religion was, in this way, the antipodes of the religion of self-perfection, as we see it in the original tenet of Buddhism; yet, in strictly excluding the idea of petition from prayer, he returned to the original standpoint of Buddhism, in contrast to some of the prevailing forms of the Buddhism of his time.

LITERATURE.—See the works cited throughout, especially D. T. Suzuki, *Outlines of Mahâyâna Buddhism*, London, 1907, pp. 290–310.

M. ANESAKI.

PRAYER (Chinese).—The idea of prayer has permeated the whole religious life of China, under whatever form that life has manifested itself from the earliest ages of which we have any knowledge down to the present time. The Chinese had 'in everything by prayer and supplication' made known their requests long before St. Paul wrote those words.[1]

The present writer has heard extempore prayer in a temple,[2] but set forms are very largely used. Supplications are prepared to meet different circumstances with blanks to fill in personal particulars of names, etc. These are burned, this process, it is believed, ensuring their passage to the other world. Among such are prayers after bad dreams,[3] and when some untoward event has been seen, as a crowing hen, a dog digging a hole, etc.

When Confucius was ill, one of his disciples wished prayer to be offered to the spirits for his master.[4] The duke of Chow prayed for King Wu, his brother, to their great-grandfather, grandfather, and father.[5] The famous general Chu Koliang in ancient times prayed for restoration to health.[6] Sons pray for long life for their parents,[7] and petitions are offered for offspring (the goddess of mercy is much sought after for that purpose). Confucius was born after prayer by his mother.[8]

Almost as varied as the objects of prayer are the deities to whom prayers are made, the first and highest being Shang Ti, the Supreme Ruler. From ancient times this worship of God has been regularly kept up by the sovereign.[9] As one instance of it, the emperor Kien Lung 'in times of scarcity . . . begged grain from the Ruler above.'[10]

With this basis of monotheism there was also worship of the spirits presiding over rivers and hills of note, 'the mounds, dykes, plains, forests, and the spirits of sages and worthies of ancient times' who were subordinate to the Supreme Ruler.[11] The prayers to these were in the character of announcements, thanksgivings, petitions, or adoration. Those of adoration are the only kind used in the worship to Confucius.

Heaven and earth, as the manifestations and revelations of the Supreme Being, were the objects of imperial worship[1] and also at times of that of the common people.

The present writer will never forget a most impressive instance of it during a terrific typhoon. Amidst the howling tempest, with many drowning, the Chinese nurse knelt down on the breaking verandah and poured forth an earnest and impassioned prayer.

Ancestor-worship is regularly engaged in by every family which is not Christian. Numerous gods and goddesses, deified heroes, sacred trees, smooth stones from the brook, bridges, etc., or their spirits, are worshipped with prayer and offerings.

Buddhist and Taoist monks and priests read liturgies and *sutras* in the temples and monasteries. There is no suggestion of prayer in the *Tao Teh King* of Lao-tzu,[2] though it soon appears in Taoism.

Buddhist gods are ideas personified, mostly 'fictitious personations,' so that Buddhist worship, except among the simple-minded in China, is but 'a homage rendered to ideas and is only supposed to be reflex in its effects. Their worship is useful as a discipline, but not effectual as prayer.' Prayer is not absolutely necessary to the Buddhist.[3] But the common man or woman in China, like the rest of the human race, feels the need of prayer and is not concerned with this esoteric view.

The following prayer was used by the Ming emperors at the solstice worship of Shang Ti:

'All the numerous tribes of animated beings are indebted to Thy favour for their beginning. Men and creatures are emparadised, O Ti (Lord), in Thy love. All living things are indebted to Thy goodness, but who knows whence his blessing comes to him? It is Thou alone, O Lord, who art the true parent of all things. . . . The Service of Song is completed but our poor sincerity cannot be fully expressed. Sovereign goodness is infinite. As a potter Thou hast made all living things. Great and small are curtained round. As engraven on the heart of Thy poor servant is the sense of Thy goodness, but my feeling cannot be fully displayed. With great kindness Thou dost bear with us, and notwithstanding our demerits dost grant us life and prosperity.'[4]

This very high level of spirituality is not reached in many of the ritual prayers.

Though a tablet to the emperor appeared in the larger temples, it is only recently that prayer for the government and those in authority has been desired, and the Chinese turned to the Christians for it, the emperor having been dethroned with his State worship.

One of the most eminent Chinese philosophers, a great Confucian commentator, said:

'Prayer is the expression of repentance and promise of amendment, to supplicate the help of the spirits. If there may not be those things, then there is no need for praying. In the case of the Sage [Confucius], he had committed no errors, and admitted of no amendment. In all his conduct he had been in harmony with the spiritual intelligences, and therefore he said "My praying has been for a long time."'[5]

The spirit in which prayer is offered is considered by the Chinese to be of the utmost importance. The Master (Confucius) said: 'Hold faithfulness and sincerity as first principles,'[6] and the spirit in which prayer is offered must be a sincere one. Some amount of ceremony is generally observed with prayer. Offerings of meat and vegetables are often presented and cups of wine; wax candles are lighted and incense-sticks and mock paper money burned.

The attitude taken in prayer is typical of reverence. Kneeling mats are provided in temples for

1 E. H. Parker, *Ancient China Simplified*, London, 1908, p. 58; *Chinese Recorder*, Shanghai, 1866–1914, xliv. 133, 146.
2 J. Dyer Ball, *Is Buddhism a Preparation or a Hindrance to Christianity in China?*, Hongkong, 1907, p. 14 ff.
3 *Chinese Recorder*, lxiv. 369, 370 f.
4 J. Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, Hongkong, 1861–72, i. 'Confucian Analects,' etc., p. 70.
5 See art. HUMAN SACRIFICE (Chinese); *Chinese Recorder*, lxiv. 290, 375.
6 *Chinese Recorder*, lxiv. 291.
7 *Ib.* p. 292. 8 *Ib.* p. 294 f.
9 J. Legge, *The Religions of China*, London, 1880, p. 25.
10 E. H. Parker, *Studies in Chinese Religion*, London, 1910, p. 191.
11 Legge, *The Religions of China*, p. 25 f.; also his *Chinese Classics*, ii., 'The Works of Mencius,' p. 193 f., iii., 'The Shoo King,' p. 152.

1 Legge, *Religions of China*, p. 34; J. Edkins, *Religion in China*[2], London, 1878, p. 18 f.
2 Parker, *Studies in Chinese Religion*, p. 111.
3 Edkins, *Religion in China*[2], p. 60.
4 Nelson Bitton, *The Regeneration of New China*, London, 1914, ch. iii.
5 *Chinese Recorder*, lxiv. 289 f.
6 Legge, *Chinese Classics*, i. 5.

the worshippers, who not only kneel but often touch the ground with their foreheads and perform the kowtow. If weak and unable to kneel, the worshipper is told in pious books that he may stand. In prayer the hands are laid palm to palm with extended fingers and raised up and down several times.

LITERATURE.—Authorities are cited in the footnotes.

J. DYER BALL.

PRAYER (Christian, Theological).—The fact of prayer is the supreme proof of the importance of religion as an element in human life. Face to face with vast and mysterious forces, beset by dangers, urged on by unceasing needs, man turns instinctively for help to powers other and greater than himself. Prayer is wide as the world and older than history. The animistic savage and the polytheist, as well as the Christian, practise it. Even the Buddhist, though in strictness his creed should find no place for it, seeks solace in prayer. In the presence of such facts, it is not wrong to speak of prayer as an instinct of the human heart. It is an instinct springing from man's sense of his own weakness and limitations and from his recognition of the greatness of the universe in which he dwells. Prayer may truly be said to be prior to all definite creeds, to be indeed the expression of the need which all creeds seek to satisfy. 'He that cometh to God must believe that he is' (He 11^{6}), we are taught, and the saying is true; but the belief is often implicit rather than explicit.

With the advent of monotheism, prayer reaches a new dignity and power. Belief in the one Deity, sovereign in the universe, carries with it a sense of security and of elevation which has an ennobling influence on thought and life. It makes men strong and free in the world. Here is the secret of the transformation which Islām effects for the African animist. Christianity offers better gifts, but the gifts of Islām are not to be despised. The monotheist, set free from the terrors of the animistic demon-world, or from the uncertainties and confusions of the polytheistic pantheon, lifts his face to heaven and gives his worship to the Supreme alone, and asks help from a Power which, he is assured, has no rival.

1. Definition.—Prayer is not necessarily petition, the asking for benefits. Any intercourse of a human soul with higher powers may rightly be termed prayer. For the monotheist prayer is intercourse with God. Prayer, says Jeremy Taylor, is 'an ascent of the mind to God.'[1] All forms of such ascent — adoration, confession, thanksgiving, as well as petitions seeking for definite gifts—may be included in the generic term 'prayer.' Prayer is, in general, the communion of the human soul with God.

This communion is not necessarily an inward consciousness of spiritual relationship with God. There is a tendency in modern writings on this subject to regard prayer as necessarily involving an apprehension of the Divine Presence in an essentially inward manner. But there is no proof of this. The inward apprehension of God is the soul of all mysticism; and it would be going too far to claim mystical experience for every prayer. Such experience is a mark of a somewhat advanced stage of religion. The child, the uneducated, and the simple unreflecting mind, as a rule, seek God above, not within. Hence the tendency of all such to speak prayers aloud, no matter how private and personal the prayers may be. The prayer of Solomon, 'Hear thou in heaven, thy dwelling-place' (1 K 8^{30}), expresses the natural thought of the simple mind.

[1] *The Rule and Exercises of Holy Living*, London, 1686, ch. iv. § 7, identical with Aquinas's 'ascensus intellectus in Deum' (*Summa Theol.* I. ii. qu. lxxxiii. art. 13, 'de Oratione').

2. OT.—Monotheistic prayer in its pre-Christian form reaches its greatest elevation in the OT. All the forms which the intercourse of the human soul with God is able to assume will be found there in unexampled nobility and splendour. The cry of the soul for God, as in Ps 42; confession of sin, as in Ps 51; intercession, thanksgiving, petition—all these are found in the OT, and especially in the Psalms and the Prophets, in forms which stand to-day as the most perfect utterances of spiritual devotion.

The principal elements which distinguish the prayers of the OT are: (1) a vivid consciousness of God as a living personal Presence and as possessing supreme power, and (2) an unfailing realization of His holiness, involving the conviction that only through moral goodness can men become acceptable in His sight. Ps 139 affords a striking instance of both these elements; but they are to be found everywhere. God as the living God, and righteousness of life as that which alone can bring man into harmony with Him — these are the essentials of the monotheism of the OT and they are the distinguishing marks of its prayers.

3. NT.—Christian prayer demands more detailed consideration. The NT is full of exhortations to prayer and promises of blessing to those who pray aright. It also contains many examples of prayer. So important a place does prayer occupy in its teachings that it may be affirmed positively that to doubt the efficacy of prayer is to shake the very foundations of Christianity. To determine the essential elements of Christian prayer, we must go to the teachings of Christ Himself. The fullest and most characteristic is contained in Mt 6^{5-16}. A brief analysis of this passage will exhibit the principles of Christian prayer.

(1) Prayer must have spiritual reality. This truth is enforced by means of a warning against hypocrisy, *i.e.* against unreality. The warning is twofold: (*a*) against that unreality which uses the observances of prayer for outward show, in order to gain credit in the world, and (*b*) against vain repetitions, *i.e.* against using the forms of prayer as incantations or magical formulæ, the mere repetition of which will, it is imagined, avert some evil or effect some good. Prayer is to be real spiritual intercourse between the soul and God: 'When thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret' (Mt 6^{6}).

(2) In prayer the soul is to approach God as a child drawing near to a father, with perfect simplicity and directness, in confidence and love. 'Pray to thy Father'; and remember that 'your Father knoweth what things ye have need of, before ye ask him' (Mt 6^{8}). He is a Father whose knowledge of your needs is infinitely greater than your own.

(3) Christ gives a form of prayer which is to serve as a pattern. The Lord's Prayer teaches us what to pray for. It also teaches us how to pray. In it we are taught to pray for the supreme end which God Himself seeks, and also for temporal and spiritual good for ourselves. Most remarkable is the order in which the petitions are arranged. The prayers for God's glory and Kingdom come before the prayers for personal blessing. From this we gather that all private and personal ends must be subordinated to the higher purposes of the Divine Will. All our prayers must be offered up with the condition that the supreme end, which is the universal good, must overrule all particular ends. There must be no selfishness in prayer. The greatest instance of the application of this principle is to be found in the life of Christ Himself. When confronted with the last great sacrifice, He prayed that He might be delivered, but added, 'nevertheless not my will, but thine, be done' (Lk 22^{42}).

This is the same principle as that which Christ sets forth as the supreme rule of all true living: 'Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness' (Mt 6^{33}). In this principle also we find the significance of the characteristic law of Christian prayer that it is offered 'in the name of Christ.' The mission, sacrifice, life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ form the means by which the Kingdom is established through the overcoming of evil and the perfecting of humanity. In and through Him human wills become identified with the supreme Divine purpose. 'If ye abide in me, and my words abide in you, ye shall ask what ye will, and it shall be done unto you' (Jn 15^{7}). Prayer which is truly 'in Christ' can never be in vain.

It is not going too far to say that, when these principles are grasped firmly, the difficulties which have so frequently troubled the minds of thoughtful people on the subject of prayer will be found capable of solution. Our purpose here is to exhibit this fact as clearly and simply as possible and to deal briefly with the deeper scientific and philosophical problems which are involved.

4. Two main difficulties.—Two great objections have been made against the efficacy of petitionary prayer.

(*a*) *The moral, or theological, objection.*—This difficulty has troubled devout minds in all ages. It assumes many forms, but, in its commonest shape, may be presented thus: God knows, better than we do, all that is good for us. Trusting in His supreme wisdom and power, we may rely upon Him to do what is best without any request on our part. To ask Him for gifts is really an effort to get Him to do something for us which we fear He may not do. Instead of being an exercise of faith, it is in truth a manifestation of doubt, perhaps even of selfishness. It is, in effect, an attempt to induce God to change His mind. Hence it is concluded that the only justifiable prayer is the prayer for resignation or, more properly, for submission of the will to God. The intercourse of the soul with God, it is said, should never be the asking for definite gifts, but always the bringing of the human will into harmony with the Divine.

In all this there would seem to be an element of truth and an element of error. The element of truth will be found in the final words in which the objection has just been stated: true prayer must always involve the bringing of the mind and will of man into harmony with the mind and will of God. This is another way of expressing the third condition of Christian prayer as given above: all private and personal aims must be subordinated to the higher purposes of the Divine Will. The element of error will be found in the supposition that this bringing of the human will into harmony with the Divine renders impossible the asking and the receiving of special benefits. The true inference is quite opposite. When the will has been brought into harmony with the great universal purpose of God, the soul becomes capable of benefits which were before impossible. To regard the Will of God as determining a fixed unalterable arrangement of events is inconsistent with that spiritual view of the universe which is the basis of the whole argument: it is to leave out of account the incessant action and reaction of the spiritual world. The unchangeableness of God does not mean that the universe is a perfectly articulated mechanical system in which everything is given from the beginning. It means, rather, that the principles and purposes of the Divine Providence are eternal and unchangeable. If God be a living God—a personal Life with whom our souls are in relationship—it follows that to every movement of the human will there is some corresponding Divine reaction. When, therefore, the will of man is brought into harmony with the Will of God, the soul is rendered capable of blessings which were before impossible. The moral condition on which those blessings depend has been fulfilled. Now, prayer is essentially the fulfilment of this moral condition. True prayer is the movement of the human soul into a new relationship with God. Every true prayer, therefore, renders some blessing possible. An illustration will make this statement clearer. The forgiveness of sins is granted in response to the prayer which expresses true repentance. Confession of sin which has no spiritual reality behind it, which is a mere form of words, cannot call down pardon. Only when the soul moves into harmony with the Divine Will—a movement which finds its inevitable expression in the prayer of contrition—is the blessing bestowed. This instance is that selected by Christ Himself. Commenting on the petition, 'Forgive us our debts as we also have forgiven our debtors,' He says: 'If ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you: but if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses' (Mt $6^{14f.}$). Here the condition of the great gift of pardon is the bringing of the mind and will of man into harmony with the mind and will of God. When that movement of the soul has taken place, the gift becomes possible. True prayer is the expression of a spiritual change which brings a new capacity to receive blessing from God. Nor is there any reason why this capacity should be relative only to spiritual gifts. The principle involved applies to the whole range of blessing, temporal as well as spiritual. In a moral and spiritual universe all the possessions and capacities of moral and spiritual beings must be morally and spiritually conditioned.

The whole force, then, of the moral, or theological, difficulty in relation to prayer is derived from an erroneous—indeed impossible—view of the nature of the spiritual universe. This view attributes to the spiritual a mechanical rigidity which is altogether alien from its true nature.

(*b*) *The scientific objection.*—This difficulty is one which has pressed with great weight upon the modern mind, for it derives its force from modern scientific conceptions of the universe. It depends upon the scientific principle of natural law. The advance of science, so wonderful in the modern world, has been secured by the progressive discovery of what are termed 'laws of nature,' *i.e.* a great order according to which events happen. Cause and effect are linked together in the natural world by certain unvarying uniformities of sequence. When one of these uniformities has been determined, it is found to be constant and unchangeable. And, the further science advances, the more fully does it appear that things and events in nature are subject to the sway of such uniformity. From this it seems to follow that the whole course of nature is a perfectly determined system. Everything that happens is the result of the previous state of things, in a relationship which is absolutely necessary.

The effect of all this on many devout minds has been such that prayer for benefits involving material elements has been regarded as meaningless. How can we pray for fair weather if we believe that the weather is determined by natural causes in a necessary order? How can we pray for recovery from sickness if we believe that sickness and health depend on the physical condition of the organism, and that that condition arises from certain antecedent causes in accordance with unvarying laws? Some of those who have been

influenced by this reasoning divide the world of human experience into two parts, spiritual and material. In the former, they think, prayer is efficacious; spiritual blessings may be obtained by it; in the latter they believe prayer to be wholly unreasonable and ineffective. Such thinkers, regarding the laws of nature as the expression of the Divine Will, hold that, when we pray for material results, we are guilty of the folly of asking God to abrogate His own laws.

It is not surprising that a conception of natural law which has had so great an effect upon sincerely religious minds should have been even more influential in relation to the common opinion of the modern world. Materialism and naturalism have become popular doctrines. They hold (the former more crudely, the latter in a more subtle manner) that the universe is a continuous development, necessarily ordered from beginning to end in accordance with natural law. In such a system there can be no place for Divine intervention; prayer is meaningless.

It is true that these doctrines find no place for God in the scheme of their thought, and therefore they are bound to deny altogether the value of prayer; but it must be remembered that many who hold these views as working hypotheses for scientific purposes are not prepared to go so far as this. Like the devout minds already mentioned, they are apt to think in water-tight compartments. They are materialists, or naturalists, while dealing with the physical world, but are inclined to admit the existence of a spiritual realm in which events occur which are not subject to the laws of physical causation. To such, an answer to prayer involving change in the physical order seems impossible, but in the spiritual realm the intercourse of a soul with God may well be a means of great and varied blessing.

In considering this mode of thought, it is necessary first to take account of the sharp distinction which is so frequently made between the material and the spiritual. In regard to the latter, it is admitted that prayer may have results; its efficacy in relation to the former is denied. And here again a distinction must be made. There are some who believe in a real response of God to the cry of the human soul seeking for spiritual blessing; there are others who think that the spiritual value of prayer is to be accounted for only by its subjective influence upon the devout mind: prayer attunes the soul to higher things; it brings peace, resignation, trust; these are its real benefits. None can deny these subjective effects; but, if prayer be no more, it loses even this value; for it becomes an impossibility for the enlightened. Who could seek peace in prayer, knowing all the time that his cry for help could bring no real response? This doctrine is but another form of the cynical view which regards religion as a useful superstition—an illusion which gives comfort to those whose ignorance permits them to enjoy it. More important is the view of those who hold that there is a real Divine response in the spiritual sphere, as distinguished from the physical. Many great religious thinkers of the 19th cent. made this distinction. Their reason for doing so has already been explained. It was a mode of thought characteristic of the time. More recent movements of science and philosophy have been showing that this sharp division between the two realms of being cannot be maintained. Psychology has been proving the greatness of the influence of mind upon matter, and physiology has been revealing the fact that the brain is an organ which subserves the directing agency of intelligence (see W. McDougall, *Body and Mind*, London, 1911; and H. Bergson, *Matter and Memory*, Eng. tr., do. 1911). The brain has been compared by Bergson to a telephone exchange. It is the instrument by which the response of the organism to a stimulus from without is controlled.

In relation to all such forms of thinking, however, our common sense supplies a ready solution of the problem which we are now considering. And here common sense is most perfectly expressed in the simple words of Christ: 'Pray to thy Father.' When a child asks for some gift, he never pauses to think whether the gift is material or spiritual. His prayer expresses his need with the utmost simplicity and directness. As to material benefits, he knows perfectly well that his father can bestow them. Human beings can intervene to help one another. A man drowning in deep water cries out for help because he knows that human power may be able to save him. A sick man calls in a doctor because he knows that his medical skill is often able to arrest the progress of disease. We are all aware that there are limits to human power in its intervention in the course of natural events; but that, within those limits, its ability to produce changes in that course are infinite, we are assured by our commonest experiences. The mind and will of man can subordinate the course of nature to human purposes.

Further, this power is not inconsistent with the perfect fulfilment of the laws of nature. Man is able to use natural forces, and combine them in multitudes of ways, for his own ends; but every force so employed operates in accordance with its proper laws. Thus it is that all human works are accomplished. Thus almost the whole surface of the globe has been altered, the seas covered with fleets, the earth penetrated in pursuit of its hidden wealth. So it is that man can rise high in air in opposition to the force of gravitation, speak to a friend miles away, and send his messages round the world.

And not only is all this done in accordance with the laws of nature, but its very possibility is dependent upon the existence of natural law. The laws of nature are only another name for the trustworthiness of natural forces. When we find that nature is not capricious, but trustworthy, we are able to use physical forces to effect the purposes which we have in view. It is the knowledge of natural law as unfailing that gives man his power in dealing with nature. When man has grasped these unfailing laws, he finds the material world plastic in his hands.

Now, it is absurd to suppose that this characteristic of natural law, which gives to man all his power over nature, creates an obstacle in the way of Divine activity. Are we to suppose that the Supreme Spirit labours under a disability from which His creature, man, is free; that He is so shackled by His own laws that He is unable to respond to the changing needs of His creation? Surely it must be true that, if the uniformity of nature is the means by which human liberty, in dealing with the forces of nature, is secured, that uniformity must in some far higher way subserve the Divine freedom.

It is not difficult to discover the source of the confusion of mind which is so common on this question. We forget to take account of the practical side of science. When applying scientific principles, we think only of theoretical science. Theoretical science discovers the uniformities of nature; practical science makes use of those uniformities for the effecting of human purposes. But the history of discovery shows that the practical aim is really dominant throughout. Man has learned to master natural forces for his own benefit by finding out how they work. The one supreme lesson is that nature is thus mastered.

Forgetting to consider this, and regarding nature in an abstract theoretical way as a system of laws, we form a purely factitious conception of it from which all spiritual initiative is excluded. We then apply this conception to God's relation to the universe, and forget that the impotence which we thus ascribe to God should first be ascribed to ourselves. Thus arises the illusion which has darkened so many souls.

Far clearer in thought and truer in principle is the faith which passes with simplicity from the common earthly experience to God in relation to human need. The earthly father can and does help his child; how much more must the Heavenly Father be able and willing to answer the prayers of His children!

It may be urged as an objection against all this that, in the case of man, we can trace his intervention in the succession of natural causes; we see him at work, selecting and combining the elements with which he deals, and so bringing about the results which he has in view. The drowning man cries for help; his shout is heard; and, by means of a rope or a boat, he is pulled out of danger. But we see no sign of similar interventions by Divine agency in response to prayer. When devout souls believe that their prayers are answered, it will be found that the desired results have come about by means of the apparently undisturbed operation of natural causes. If this be, in truth, God's work in answer to prayer, His method must be very different from that employed by man when he controls the succession of events. This is an important objection, and, up to a certain point, perfectly sound. It is not to be supposed that God's response to prayer takes place in the superficial way characteristic of man's work. Whatever conception we may form of the Divine relation to the forces and laws of nature, we cannot believe that the Almighty works as man works. Man by constant and painful trial has burrowed a little beneath the surface of things and so made useful discoveries which enable him, in a manner which is marvellous for him, to guide the course of nature for his own purposes. But God's control of natural forces must be very different. Man works upon the surface; God directs things from the centre. What we call forces and laws of nature are but fragments abstracted from the whole and presented in forms which have been shaped by our human needs and methods. It is absurd to suppose that the Supreme Spirit must approach the material universe in the same limited way. But the objection assumes that there can be no other way in which to approach it—an absurd supposition. The whole meaning of the argument which has been presented above is just this: if man with his very limited knowledge and power is able to control natural forces for the satisfaction of human needs, how much more must the Eternal God, with His infinitely larger and deeper grasp of the material universe, be able to use the laws and processes of nature for the realization of the ends demanded by the spiritual relationships into which He enters with His human children! Neither in the human sphere nor in the divine is it necessary to suppose any violation or suspension of natural law.

5. Some minor objections.—The two difficulties which so far have occupied our attention are by far the greatest and most formidable of all in connexion with the subject of prayer. Some minor objections deserve a brief consideration.

(*a*) *The littleness of man.*—It is urged that man is too small a being to claim the interest and attention of the Almighty. The vastness of the physical universe as revealed by astronomy, and its immeasurable history as disclosed by geology and biology, teach us that man is of very little account in the whole scheme. It is sheer presumption on his part to ask God to attend to his petitions. And how much more does this apply to the individual human being, who is but one out of many hundreds of millions of beings of the same sort?

In a similar spirit, it has been said that it is inconceivable that God can 'give serious ear and individual consideration to each and all' of the multitude of petitions, 'wise and unwise, selfish and unselfish,' which are addressed to Him 'daily and hourly by hundreds of millions of human beings' (C. Stewart, in *HJ* ix. 386).

In answer to such objections, it must be observed (*a*) that, no matter how small and weak man may be, he is yet a spiritual being, capable of knowledge, goodness, and love, able to enter into communion with God; and (*β*) that such arguments, instead of attributing greatness to God, really detract from His greatness. A worthy conception of God's greatness will discern that nothing is little, nothing insignificant, in His sight. He is not like a collector who prizes a thing because it is rare, nor like a megalomaniac who admires only the gigantic, nor like a tired official who finds details wearisome and settles every question by red tape. In God's universe the midge is as perfectly formed as the whale, the snowflake as harmonious as the solar system. But, above all, God's supreme greatness is His spiritual perfection. To Him spiritual ends are supremely important. Therefore the perfecting of every human being possessed of personality must be a matter outweighing all material considerations.

(*b*) *The inconsistency of human prayers.*—It is often said that petitions addressed to God are so conflicting, owing to the diversity of human interests, that it is impossible to suppose that they can be rightly offered, or can call down an answer. One farmer prays for rain, another for fair weather. In every war both sides pray for victory.

It is indeed astonishing that this objection has been seriously entertained by some reasonable people. Every true prayer must be offered up, as we have seen, with the condition that the granting of it is not inconsistent with the higher purposes of the Divine Will. 'Not my will, but thine, be done' must express the spirit of every prayer. Further, every true prayer, recognizing the fact of human ignorance, must involve the 'if it be possible,' which even Christ Himself uttered. And it is surely true that no Christian soul ever expects the answer to his prayer to take precisely the shape fashioned by his own desires and imagination. On the contrary, he is convinced that, whatever the appearance may be, the God who knows 'our necessities before we ask, and our ignorance in asking,' will always give to His children more and better than they can ever 'ask or think' in response to their petitions.

(*c*) *Prayer inconsistent with self-reliance.*—The habit of prayer, it has been thought, tends to weaken character. Men should learn to exert themselves, and so win, by their own efforts, what they require, and not look continually to some great power above them for help. The records of Christianity afford a sufficient answer. St. Paul, Athanasius, Augustine, Luther, Cromwell, Wesley, Gordon, were not moral weaklings. Christianity is the religion of the most vigorous races. The fact is that a true dependence upon God cannot weaken any character, because the true life of every soul is to be found in God. The identification of mind and will with God brings with it the consciousness of a new strength. It is also to be observed that many prayers are answered through the normal exercise of human powers. Thus the

prayer, 'Give us this day our daily bread' (Mt 6^{11}), finds its usual response in the reward which comes to man when he exerts himself in taking advantage of the opportunities presented to him. No religious mind regards this response as the less providential on that account. On the contrary, the offering of the prayer involves the recognition that we are to expect a blessing upon our work, and is therefore a stimulus to exertion. 'Work out your own salvation . . . for it is God which worketh in you' (Ph $2^{12f.}$), is a principle which pervades all Christian devotion and life.

(*d*) *Experimental test.*—It has been urged that the effects of prayer, if it has any, must be of such a nature as to be open to proof by ordinary scientific methods. Tyndall proposed that two wards in a hospital should be selected; in one the patients should be treated by medical science, in the other they should be made the subjects of prayer only (*CR* xx. [1872] 210). Others suggested tests by observation. Sovereigns and royal princes are prayed for more constantly than other people; can we see, in the records of such persons, that they have enjoyed longer life and been endowed with greater blessings, spiritual and temporal, than those who have not been so much prayed for? (F. Galton, *Fortnightly Review*, new ser., xii. [1872] 125).

The crudeness of these suggestions is perhaps more obvious now than at the time when they were made.

(1) It is now known that the influence of suggestion upon both mind and body is very great, and there is clear evidence that suggestion can act subconsciously. Also there is good evidence for telepathy, *i.e.* the influence of mind upon mind at a distance and independently of material and sensational methods of communication.

(2) It would therefore be impossible to determine the real conditions of such an experiment as Tyndall proposed. It is obvious also that royal princes, in their relation to their mental and moral environment, are in a position very different from that of ordinary men. Further, it is impossible to isolate any human soul from the influence of prayer.

In addition to these considerations, it should be remembered that Tyndall's proposed experiment would violate the very first principle of true prayer. It would be altogether lacking in spiritual reality. It would be an exhibition of doubt rather than of faith. It would be treating the Almighty as if He were a chemical reaction.

(*e*) *Intercessory prayer.* — There is a peculiar difficulty involved in prayer of this kind. We have seen that, when a soul turns to God in sincere prayer, the spiritual movement which the prayer expresses establishes a new relation of the soul to God which makes possible blessings that would otherwise be impossible. Thus the prayer of contrition fits a soul to receive the Divine pardon. This consideration enabled us to perceive that true prayer is not inconsistent with a perfect submission to the unchanging purposes of the Divine Will. But how, it will be asked, can the movement of a soul towards God be efficacious for the benefit of another?

The problems involved in this question are very profound, and to consider them with any fullness would lead us very far. Two principles may be laid down which will be found to give help. (1) Modern psychology has shown that one mind can influence another in other ways than by speech and sight, and therefore can alter to some degree the moral relationship in which the other mind stands to God. (2) A soul which yields itself to God in prayer may become the channel through which Divine influences can flow to others as well as to itself. As the influence of goodness in a human being can spread from soul to soul, so surely, only in a far greater degree, can the influence of Divine goodness pass through one human soul to another.

6. **Deeper problems.**—(*a*) *Conception of God.*—Prayer assumes the being of God. But in what sense? We are now concerned only with Christian monotheism. The essence of this doctrine is that God is one, holy, supreme in the universe, and standing in a moral relationship with His creatures. All our arguments so far have gone upon this postulate. But this doctrine is capable of several interpretations.

(1) God is sometimes conceived as altogether transcendent. He is a creator who called the world into being, giving it a certain definite constitution. This thought of God is founded on an analogy from human work. An engineer makes a machine, fitting its parts together, so constructing an instrument by means of which certain desired results can be accomplished. So God, having a great purpose in view, created the universe. Out of this conception a very great difficulty is apt to arise. It is only a very imperfect machine which requires to be continually set right. If the universe needs constant interference in the shape of answers to prayer, or miracles, it must be a very imperfect construction. On the other hand, if God foresaw and ordered everything from the beginning, what place can there be for changes in answer to the petitions of men? To this question there can be only one possible answer. It is an answer which some theologians have not hesitated to give: both the prayer and its answer must be parts of the original Divine plan (J. McCosh, *CR* xx. 777).

It must be confessed that this solution seems to make prayer unreal; the spontaneity of human initiative has disappeared; everything is settled beforehand. The truth is that it is the conception with which we started that is at fault. We have pushed a useful analogy too far.

(2) Our thoughts on this subject can be to a great degree corrected by introducing another conception. We can think of God as the immanent Life of the universe. This conception brings our thoughts into very suggestive relationship with modern ideas of evolution. It also enables us to think of God as one with whom we ourselves and every other living being, and every element in nature, are in continual intercourse and contact. We are thus lifted out of those purely mechanical ideas within which the former conception confined us. At the same time, the idea of immanence is in constant danger of drifting into pantheism, and therefore of losing belief in that moral relationship between God and man which is the very life of a monotheistic creed, and the foundation of all faith in the efficacy of prayer.

(3) There is a higher conception of Divine transcendence which is not inconsistent with belief in the immanence of God. This conception is founded on a full recognition of all the data of experience. Discerning in the principle of personality our surest guide to the nature of the ultimate reality, it takes account of the moral freedom of the human individual. It therefore thinks of God as the supreme personal Life, within the sphere of whose being there is room for the free interaction of the whole multitude of finite persons. He is at once the Infinite in whom we live and move and have our being, and the Father of spirits on whose love and providence we depend. The difficulty of making this conception perfectly consistent is simply due to the difficulty of reconciling in one scheme of thought the diverse elements of the world of our experience. The true value of this view of God, as at the same time immanent and

transcendent in this higher sense, is that it takes account of all the facts and holds fast to that fundamental monotheism which is the ultimate justification of the conviction that the moral aim is supreme in the universe.

(*b*) *The unchangeableness of God.*—The conception of God which has just been set forth gives us the true solution of this problem. When we speak of God as unchangeable, we do not mean that the whole universe is fixed by His fiat in a complete rigidity. That is the mechanical conception which, as we have seen, is wholly inconsistent with the facts of life and morality. God is unchangeable in the sense of being absolutely trustworthy. His purpose cannot be altered. That purpose is the realization of the moral ideal. It is the good of all and the good of each. It is the Kingdom of God, or Kingdom of Love. In its application to the infinite variety of human and moral situations, this unchangeable purpose must take the form of an unfailing Divine response to every element and tendency of good in the character and life of finite personalities.

(*c*) *Conception of law.*—Much confusion has been caused by the failure to distinguish between the various meanings of the word 'law.' We speak of the laws of nature, and also of the moral law. It has sometimes been asked, Are we to pray to God to abrogate His own laws? The reference is to the laws of nature which have been ascertained by science; but the whole force of the question resides in the connexion of the word 'law' with God, and our reverence for the great moral laws which we have been taught to trace to Him. A law of nature is merely an observed uniformity, a sequence of physical cause and effect, a certain order in the way in which events follow one another. Such a law is not, in itself, capable of effecting anything. It is even wrong therefore to speak of nature as being governed by laws. A law of nature is, in fact, simply our way of grouping our observations. It is a description and nothing more. Nor are we at all sure that such descriptions of grouped natural processes as have been so far ascertained, and labelled laws, are anything but provisional statements. There are indications that even such vast generalizations as the law of gravitation or the law of the conservation of energy may some day be merged in larger descriptions of the sequences which they include.

A deeper philosophy is now showing good reason to believe that these laws of nature, which are essentially the description of natural processes in terms of human intelligence, are relative to our mode of grasping our experience of the physical world with a view to the satisfaction of our needs (see Bergson, *Creative Evolution*, Eng. tr., London, 1911, ch. ii.). They have, that is, been shaped by the practical aims of human life. It is altogether in harmony with this doctrine that the knowledge of these laws is the very means which man employs in order to control natural processes for his own purposes. His amazing success in this work is revealed at every turn in our wonderful modern world. The absurdity of supposing that the discovery of these laws makes it improper for us to pray to God for benefits which involve changes in the physical sphere is therefore manifest.

The most notable expression of the doctrine that the laws of nature forbid prayer is Tyndall's famous attempt to show that the principle of the conservation of energy rules out all possibility of Divine intervention in the physical world.

'The principle,' he writes, 'teaches us that the Italian wind gliding over the crest of the Matterhorn is as firmly ruled as the earth in its orbital revolution round the sun; and that the fall of its vapour into clouds is exactly as much a matter of necessity as the return of the seasons. . . . Without a disturbance of natural law, quite as serious as the stoppage of an eclipse, or the rolling of the St. Lawrence up the Falls of Niagara, no act of humiliation, individual or national, could call one shower from heaven, or deflect towards us a single beam of the sun' (*Fragments of Science*, p. 35 f., 'Prayer and Natural Law').

This argument, enforced as it was by the authority of a distinguished man of science, had an enormous effect at the time when it was first presented (see Stopford Brooke, *Christ in Modern Life*, p. 132) and is not without influence even now. But, as Oliver Lodge points out, it is open to objection—

'Even from the strictly scientific point of view: the law of the conservation of energy is needlessly dragged in when it has nothing really to do with it. We ourselves, for instance, though we have no power, nor hint of any power, to override the conservation of energy, are yet readily able, by a simple physical experiment, or by an engineering operation, to deflect a ray of light, or to dissipate a mist, or divert a wind, or pump water uphill' (*Man and the Universe*, p. 7; see also chs. i.–iii., and *Life and Matter*).

George Stokes deals with objections of this kind in a similar manner and with equal clearness and decision (*Natural Theology*, p. 220). These utterances of competent scientific authorities are in perfect accord with what has been said above on this subject. The principle which they express is just this: natural law is indeed unfailing, but all experience proves that this constancy does not prevent human intelligence and skill from making use of physical forces and so effecting results which the natural course of things, left to itself, could never bring about. If human power can do so much, why should Divine power be helpless? As we have seen, the existence of those constant uniformities which we call the laws of nature is the very foundation of all human power in dealing with the forces of nature. Therefore we have reason to believe that, in a far profounder way, the order of nature subserves the operations of Divine Providence.

(*d*) *Prayer and miracle.*—Objection is sometimes made that prayer is in essence the request that God should interfere miraculously for our benefit. Fundamentally, it is said, answers to prayer and miracles, if such things happen, are indistinguishable. This is not the place to discuss the great and intricate question of the miraculous (see art. MIRACLE). Let it suffice to say that those who believe in miracles do not, in our time, suppose that a miracle is a violation of law. It is usually held to be the manifestation of forces, and possibly of laws, which do not enter into our ordinary experiences. But, while all this is admitted, it must be remembered, as shown above, that natural laws, as we apprehend them, belong to abstract realms of experience and are probably relative to our mode of apprehension. There is a sense also in which it must be said that the miraculous is relative to our mode of apprehension. As the control which civilized men exercise over natural forces appears, or might appear, miraculous to the intelligent savage, so a superhuman control of natural forces may well be the true nature of what we call miracle. There is therefore no objection to miracle on the ground of scientific principle. But this is not a sufficient account of the matter. The Christian miracles, as recorded in the NT, are not mere wonders. They are not even mere displays of superhuman power. Their distinctive quality is to be found in the fact that, while exhibiting superhuman power, they also reveal Divine character. They might be described as 'acts of revelation.' Here is the force of the term 'signs' (σημεῖα) by which they are designated. This consideration at once makes clear the distinction between a miracle and an answer to prayer. It may well be that, so far as the method of their performance goes, there is no difference between them. But the former is intended to reveal the operation

of One who is able to exert superhuman power and, in exerting that power, to manifest His character. The latter is for the simple bestowing of a benefit. In the former the Divine element is made startlingly manifest in order to attract attention. In the latter we must expect that the Divine direction of events takes place secretly, in the inmost heart of things, producing results which are as obviously natural as the falling of a leaf or the flowing of a river. The difference between the two is to be found rather in the purpose which guides the operations of Divine Providence than in the nature of the method by which the results are effected. Miracles are therefore exceptional. They 'do not happen,' to quote a famous phrase, in our ordinary experience. Answers to prayer occur every day.

7. Summary.—The result of our whole investigation is this: to a believer in a living God the efficacy of prayer is capable of ample justification. None of the objections which have been made against it on scientific or philosophical grounds can be sustained.

LITERATURE.—E. A. Abbott, *Cambridge Sermons*, London, 1875; F. Ballard, *Is Christianity True?*, do. 1904; J. H. Bernard, *The Prayer of the Kingdom*, do. n.d.; W. E. Biederwolf, *How can God answer Prayer?*, do. 1913; B. P. Bowne, *The Essence of Religion*, do. 1911; J. Brierley, *Life and the Ideal*, do. 1910; Stopford A. Brooke, *Christ in Modern Life*, do. 1872; R. J. Campbell, *A Faith for To-day*, do. 1900; W. N. Clarke, *An Outline of Christian Theology*, Edinburgh, 1900; S. Cox, *Expository Essays and Discourses*, London, 1877; C. F. D'Arcy, *Christianity and the Supernatural*, do. 1909; H. Drummond, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, do. 1883; C. Gore, *Prayer and the Lord's Prayer*, do. 1898; Dora Greenwell, *Essays*[2], do. 1867; C. Harris, *Pro Fide*, new. ed., do. 1914; J. Hastings, *The Christian Doctrine of Prayer*, Edinburgh, 1915; F. R. M. Hitchcock, *The Present Controversy on Prayer*, London, 1909; J. R. Illingworth, *University and Cathedral Sermons*, do. 1893; A. F. W. Ingram, *The Call of the Father*, do. 1907; J. H. Jellett, *The Efficacy of Prayer*[2], Dublin, 1879; B. Jowett, *Sermons on Faith and Doctrine*, London, 1901; J. Kaftan, *Die christliche Lehre vom Gebet*, Basel, 1876; H. P. Liddon, *Some Elements of Religion*, London, 1873; O. Lodge, *Man and the Universe*, do. 1908, *Life and Matter*, do. 1905; S. McComb, *Christianity and the Modern Mind*, do. 1910; S. A. McDowall, *Evolution and Spiritual Life*, Cambridge, 1915; W. C. Magee, *Christ the Light of All Scripture*, London, 1892; H. Martensen, *Christian Ethics*, tr. W. Affleck, Edinburgh, 1881, i.; W. Paley, *The Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy*, London, 1785, bk. v.; C. P. Reichel, in *Official Report of Church Congress at Wakefield*, do. 1886; A. W. Robinson, in *Cambridge Theological Essays*, do. 1905; G. J. Romanes, *Christian Prayer and General Laws*, do. 1874, *Thoughts on Religion*, do. 1895; F. E. Schleiermacher, *Selected Sermons*, tr. M. F. Wilson, do. 1890; W. F. Stevenson, *Praying and Working*, do. 1862; G. G. Stokes, *Natural Theology* (Gifford Lectures), do. 1891; A. Tholuck, *Stunden christlichen Andacht*, Gotha, 1864, Eng. tr., *Hours of Christian Devotion*, Boston, 1871, Edinburgh, 1873; J. Tyndall, *Fragments of Science*, London, 1871; P. N. Waggett, *The Scientific Temper in Religion*, do. 1905; J. E. C. Welldon, *The School of Faith*, do. 1904; A. J. Worldledge, *Prayer*, London and New York, 1909; *Christus Futurus*, London, 1907; *Concerning Prayer: its Nature, its Difficulties, and its Value* (various writers), do. 1916; *CR* xx. [1872] 205 ff., 430 ff., 763 ff., and xxi. [1873] 183 ff. 464 ff.; *Exp*, 1st ser., ix. [1879] 1–23; *ExpT* xxvi. [1914–15] 87 ff., 292 ff., 314 ff., 381 ff., 385 ff., 483, 526 f., 529 f.; *Fortnightly Review*, new ser., xii. [1872] 125 ff.; *HJ* ix. [1911] 233 ff., 385 ff., 477 ff.; *London Quarterly Review*, iv. xv. [1908] 1–22.

C. F. D'ARCY.

PRAYER (Christian, Liturgical).—If prayer is the natural and necessary outcome of belief in God, it is most natural and most necessary to the Christian believer. Before the Christian dispensation God was far off from man, unapproachable, unknowable, far above man and the needs of man. The incarnation of the Son of God brought man as it were into touch with God. God revealed Himself to man in the Incarnate Christ, and the Son of God, by taking our nature upon Him, lifts humanity into close communion with God. God was no longer far away, beyond the ken of mankind, no longer so far beyond man as to seem unable to condescend to the needs, the longings, and the understanding of His creature. The Son of God reigning in highest heaven is also Son of Man, understanding and knowing by virtue of His incarnation man's needs and man's weaknesses, loving man not only with a love divine, but with a perfect sympathy inasmuch as in virtue of His manhood He is of the same substance as man. Prayer then, since the Incarnation, became something infinitely more real than ever it could be before—a real and intimate connexion between heaven and earth, between God and man. Our spiritual aspirations and worldly needs can be brought before the Eternal Father by the mediation of Him who lived and prayed and died among us, and ascended to the right hand of the Father to be our Mediator and Saviour.

Our Lord bade us pray, and Himself in this as in all things sets us an example. First there is individual prayer, which concerns the needs of the individual, whether spiritual or temporal. But there is another aspect of prayer. Our Lord teaches us above all things the brotherhood of man, that the whole race of humanity is one great family with a common Father. So prayer must also be collective, consisting of worship which is due from the whole family alike to God their Father, and supplication for those many necessities both of body and of soul which are common to all men. Our Lord has therefore taught us to pray in common, and indeed His own model prayer, 'Our Father,' is a common prayer.

Individual prayer is essentially private, bearing on personal and private needs. Such a prayer as 'O God of the crosses that are laid upon us, help thy servant Apphouas,' which has survived in a 4th cent. fragment (*Ox. Pap.* vii. [1910] no. 1058), may be taken as an example of prayer to God in time of intense personal need—such a prayer as has been prayed millions of times.

Collective prayer is public, the common prayers used when the family of God gather together to give Him the worship due from all. The history of common prayer is to be found in the liturgical service of the Church. Christ came to fulfil the law, not to destroy it. The Christian Church regarded itself as the fulfilment and the perfection of the Jewish Church. Christ Himself taught in the synagogues and took part in the synagogue worship. He went up to Jerusalem and took part in the Temple worship at the great feasts. The Eucharist was instituted by Him at the Passover Supper, and is the Christian Passover, the memorial of our redemption. So we find the Apostles in Jerusalem after the Ascension still frequenting the Temple and taking part in its worship. The Eucharist only seems to have been their own distinctive act of worship. St. James the Lord's brother frequented the Temple till the day of his death. Even St. Paul used the synagogue worship as long as he could, and it was not the Church that cut the connexion with Judaism, but Judaism that cast off the Church.

Thus, when we come to consider Christian prayer in its public forms, we should naturally expect to find that it is a Christian development of Jewish forms of worship. Unfortunately there exists very little Jewish liturgical material of the time of Christ, but none the less it seems, from that which is extant and from what we know from other sources, that Christian worship is based upon the worship so familiar to the majority of the first generation of Christians before they came to the faith of Christ.

Jewish public worship consisted of the synagogue worship and the Temple worship. The synagogue services were held every Sabbath day, and there were also services on the third and fifth days of the week, Tuesday and Thursday. The synagogue service was definite and fixed, and we know from the Mishnāh of what it consisted. It began with the Shema ('Hear, O Israel'); then came a lection

from the Law and a lection from the Prophets; then came the blessing, followed by the Targum, an explanation in the vernacular of the Hebrew lections, and a discourse or sermon on what had been read. Such a service our Lord, as we know from the Gospels, was not only present at on Sabbath days, but frequently took part in as reader and preacher.

The Temple service existed of course only in Jerusalem. Here day by day there was the morning and the evening sacrifice. In connexion with these was the singing of psalms, and the eighteen benedictions or ascriptions of praise to God were made daily. Then there were the great annual festivals, at the chief of which, the Passover, many thousands of Jews gathered together from all parts of the world. The ritual of the Passover Supper we know partly at least from the Mishnāh, which probably represents the use of our Lord's time. The liturgy of the Paschal Supper begins with ritual question and answer, and then the celebrant recites the Haggādāh, the story of God's mercies to Israel, speaking of the bitter treatment of the people in Egypt, and of their wonderful redemption from slavery, and closing with a burst of worship and praise.

1. **The Eucharist.**—It is almost a certainty that the Eucharist was instituted by our Lord at this Passover Supper. The Haggādāh is doubtless represented by the expression, 'when he had given thanks'; then followed the giving of the Bread and the Cup to the disciples, with the charge that they should always do this in remembrance of Him. Thus we see how closely Christian worship is bound up with the older worship, how true was the feeling that there was an unbroken continuity between the old and the new dispensations, and how the new dispensation of Christ was but the fulfilment and perfecting of the old. For the Eucharist was the central act of Christian worship from the very first.

Of the early ritual of the Eucharist we know very little. In the Acts the Sunday reunions of Christians for 'the breaking of bread' doubtless imply the Eucharist, whether in connexion with the Agape or not. Elsewhere of course the expression 'breaking of bread,' as, *e.g.*, at Emmaus, simply implies an ordinary meal. In St. Paul's references to the Eucharist in connexion with the abuses at Corinth (1 Co 11) we are told nothing definite; but the words that he uses—'For I have received of the Lord that which also I delivered unto you' (v.[23])—seem to imply some recognized outline, at least, in the form of thanksgiving used, which would apparently include some reference to, or perhaps recitation of, the account of the institution. The *Didache* gives forms which are most certainly Eucharistic prayers, but the date of the *Didache* is so uncertain, and the authority of the work so doubtful, that it is not safe to build too much on these forms. They seem to be a form of the grace before and after meals specially adapted to the Eucharist. These forms of grace are found again in the tract of St. Athanasius *On Virginity*, but simply as graces.

The first actual description of the Eucharist is found in St. Justin Martyr (*c.* A.D. 150) in his *First Apology* (65), and there are several references to it in his *Dialogue*. According to the description in his *Apology*, the Eucharist begins with the kiss of peace, then the offering of bread and the mixed cup is made, and the celebrant proceeds to offer praise and worship and thanksgiving, to which the people answer, 'Amen,' and then follows the communion. Elsewhere he speaks of the *εὐχαριστία*, or thanksgiving prayer, as including thanksgiving for the creation of the world and all that is in it, for our redemption, and for the breaking of the power of evil (*Dial.* 41). His reference to the words of institution perhaps imply that they were included in the thanksgiving. But there were as yet no forms fixed except in outline. Justin's description implies that everywhere the Eucharist would be celebrated in the same way, but, on the other hand, he states definitely that the actual wording of the prayers was left to the celebrant.

But, according to Justin, the Eucharist proper was preceded by another service in close connexion with it (*Apol.* i. 67). This consisted in lections from the Gospels or Prophets or both, then a sermon by the bishop or celebrant, and this was followed by prayers. Closely on this followed the Eucharist. One is struck at once by the similarity between this service, which is the later Præanaphora of the liturgy, and the synagogue Sunday service, and we are drawn to the conclusion that this first part of the Eucharistic liturgy is based upon the synagogue worship just as the anaphora, or Eucharist proper, is based upon the ritual of the Passover Supper.

St. Clement of Rome, St. Irenæus, Tertullian, and St. Cyprian also refer occasionally to the Eucharist. In Cyprian the beginning of the Eucharistic prayer already has a technical name, the 'Preface' (*præfatio*). Also in certain non-orthodox works of the end of the 2nd cent. or the beginning of the 3rd, the *Acts of John* and the *Acts of Thomas*, we are given partial descriptions of the celebration of the Eucharist.

It is when we reach the era of the Church Orders, however, that we first come to definite accounts of the actual Eucharistic ritual. The Church Orders seem to have been almost authoritative, or certainly of very wide vogue, and are certainly based on the writings of Hippolytus. There seem to be two recensions of the Church Order, the first about A.D. 250, existing now in various versions, Latin, Coptic, Ethiopic, Arabic (including the so-called *Canons of Hippolytus*), and Syriac (embedded in a work called *The Testament of our Lord*, and in its present form of about A.D. 350). The second recension seems to have been made in the 4th cent., and in this the original Greek survives, with versions in Coptic and Ethiopic.

In addition to these there is what is known as the *Didascalia*, a work which forms the basis of the first six books of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, the 8th book of which is the latest recension of the Church Orders. The 7th book of the *Apostolic Constitutions* is based on the *Didache*, the whole work belonging to the second half of the 4th century. In this extremely valuable collection of documents we have a detailed description of the Eucharistic liturgy of the 3rd and 4th centuries.

The two divisions of the Eucharistic liturgy are still clearly marked. First comes the Præanaphora, consisting of a series of lections from Law, Prophets, Gospels, Acts, and Epistles, apparently unfixed in number, interspersed with psalms which survive in the introit, gradual offertory, and communion of the Latin Church. These are followed by the sermon, and then, as in Justin, comes the prayer for all estates, after which catechumens and those under penitence depart. Then follows the anaphora introduced with the kiss of peace. The anaphora begins with the 'Sursum corda' and Preface. The Preface, or thanksgiving, contains thanksgiving for all God's mercies to mankind, leading up to the Passion and an account of the institution, and ending with the anamnesis, or formal act of remembrance, and the invocation of the Holy Spirit, the whole concluding with the Lord's Prayer. After the communion come the act of thanksgiving and the dismissal.

This construction of the liturgy appears in all these documents, the later recensions already show

ing developments. Thus in the earlier Church Order it is still definitely left to the celebrant to use his own words, the forms provided being apparently a model, or for the use of those who had not a ready flow of words. It is in the invocation of the Holy Spirit that the most interesting development took place. The invocation was originally an invocation of the Holy Spirit on the act of communion, a prayer that those receiving might receive the full virtue of the sacrament. This idea extended gradually to the idea of the invocation of the Holy Spirit on the elements that He might make them the Body and Blood of the Lord. The invocation of the *Apostolic Constitutions* is half-way between the two; that of St. Cyril is definitely on the elements, as is the invocation in all later Eastern liturgies, which, however, retain some signs of the earlier idea. In the liturgy of Sarapion, bishop of Thmuis in Egypt (*c.* A.D. 360), we have perhaps the first example of a liturgy used as it was written. This liturgy consists of the anaphora only, and is interesting, moreover, in the fact that the invocation is of the Word and not of the Holy Spirit. The liturgy generally tended to become definitely a fixed and written service about the end of the 4th century.

In the East the extant liturgies are all of the same structure as that of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, and have developed only in length.

In the West the history of the liturgy is not so clear. In the work once attributed to St. Ambrose, the *de Sacramentis* of *c.* A.D. 400, there is an account given of the liturgy. This liturgy is apparently that underlying the later Roman Mass, and already contains the chief prayers of the latter. The later history in the West is obscure. In Charlemagne's time there were two types of liturgy extant in the West, the Roman and that called the Gallican. The latter type, less formal and much more verbose than the Roman, was displaced by it, and survives only in the Mozarabic rite and in the Ambrosian Liturgy of Milan, though the latter has been very much Romanized.

It is from the Roman that all other Western liturgies are derived. Thus the uses of England—the Sarum, York, Hereford, and Bangor—are all Roman, with the exception of certain prayers peculiar to the use added. And this is true of very many Continental uses, all of which had their own peculiarities, and of which those of France survived till the middle of the 19th cent., when they were displaced by the Roman rite. All alike are fundamentally Roman. The English Prayer Book is based on the older pre-Reformation uses, and is thus Roman in type. See also art. LITANY.

2. The daily offices.—The Eucharist was from the first the central act of Christian worship, but alongside of this other forms of additional worship very soon sprang into being. We have seen, *e.g.*, that the liturgy is formed of two parts, the Præanaphora and the Anaphora, and that the union of these two was at first very loose. In fact, it seems that the former could be and was used separately with a sermon. So it was used, in certain places —*e.g.*, Alexandria—on the station days, Wednesday and Friday. But the growth of other services was very early, and this too seems to have been a Christian development of Jewish devotion. In the book of Daniel there is a reference to three set hours of prayer, and perhaps the same is implied in Ps 55^{17}: 'Evening, and morning, and at noonday, will I pray.' Again in the Acts we find the three hours—the third, sixth, and ninth—observed as times of prayer. In the *Didache* the Lord's Prayer is ordered to be said three times a day. Tertullian and the Church Orders refer to prayer at the third, sixth, and ninth hours, but these were private devotions only and said at home. There were, however, apparently, when it was possible, morning and evening prayers said publicly, and forms of these prayers are given in the *Testament of our Lord* and the *Apostolic Constitutions*, consisting of psalms and prayers. Gradually the three hours began to become times of public service, and this was perhaps largely due to the rise of monasticism, by which these hours tended to become common services in the case of men and women living in communities. In addition to these there was the night office, which originated apparently from the vigil of Easter, which in early days was strictly kept, and was extended to the eves of local saints and thence became a definite night service. The night service seems to have originated as a regular observance in Syria, and it was introduced into the West by Cassian—the mattins of the Breviary. In the *Peregrinatio of Etheria* (*Silvia*) we are told that the hours observed at Jerusalem were mattins, the sixth hour, the ninth, and vespers, and to these in Lent was added the observance of the third hour. Eventually the offices in the Breviary amounted to eight—mattins, lauds, prime, terce, sext, none, vespers, and compline. Originally monastic, they were enjoined on all clergy, and the laity were expected to (and did) attend at least some of them.

3. Popular devotions.—But the hours tended to become more and more a clerical office, and the devotional book of the laity from the 10th or 11th cent. is the *Little Hours* or the *Primer*. The 'little hours' were originally additional devotions in honour of the Blessed Virgin, and were generally called 'the Hours of the Virgin.' But they speedily became the popular devotion of the laity, and as such tended to develop so as to meet the needs of lay folk. Thus the 'little hours' contained a series of hours of prayer, sometimes several such series—*e.g.*, 'the Hours of the Virgin,' 'the Hours of the Cross,' 'the Hours of the Holy Ghost.' To these were appended the gradual psalms, the penitential psalms, sometimes the whole Psalter; also the offices of the dead, the commendation, generally a litany, and various prayers for various purposes. These *Horæ* were very popular and very common, both in Latin and in the vernacular. They are frequently mentioned in wills, and a considerable number of them survive to the present day. Other popular works there were, such, *e.g.*, as the *Layfolks' Mass Book*, instructing folk how to occupy their time devoutly at the Mass. But the *Primer* remained the book of the laity.

The Reformation of course made a great difference. The fact of the Reformed service-books being in English tended rather to obviate the need of such books as the *Primer*. But for some time after the Reformation editions of the *Primer* continued to be issued. Three primers were issued in several editions in the reign of Henry VIII. Of these the first, Marshall's *Primer*, contained a good deal of novelty. It contains the hours of prayer, dirge, and the commendations, but with an admonition against praying for the dead. It also contains a good deal of instruction and exposition of a reforming type. This book appeared in 1534, and was denounced in Convocation, but was reissued at least twice. In 1539 the *Primer* of John Hilsey, bishop of Rochester, appeared. This contains the hours and dirge, but many of the lessons are changed to new ones, the litany with many of the saints omitted, and an instruction on hearing Mass, and other matter of a devotional and instructive kind. Both these primers were superseded by *The King's Primer* in 1545 and its Latin form, the *Orarium* (1546). These were much less pronounced than the former books, and contained the hours, penitential psalms, litany, dirge, and commendations, the psalms and devotions of the

Passion, and a few private prayers. *The King's Primer* was reprinted in the reign of Edward VI., and again in 1551 with some omissions—*e.g.*, the 'Hail, Mary,' and the names of the saints in the litany—and again in Mary's reign. In 1553 appeared the *Primer* of Thomas Cottesford. It is of an entirely different character from the preceding books, and is simply a book of private prayer for each day of the week, followed by the collects and 'sundry godly prayers,' omitting entirely the hours, etc.

In Elizabeth's reign the *Primer* of 1551 was reprinted in 1559 and a very similar edition in 1566. The *Primer* of 1553 was reprinted in 1560 and 1568. Also in 1560 she published a Latin form of her primer, the *Orarium*, differing, however, in some respects from the English book. In 1564 appeared her *Preces Privatæ*, containing a Latin order for mattins and evensong similar to but not the same as that of the Prayer Book, with hymns, and a large collection of various forms of devotion. This was republished with some additions in 1573. *A Book of Christian Prayers* appeared in 1569, and was several times republished (with some alterations from the original edition) in Elizabeth's reign and in the reign of James I. This consists of many devotions for various occasions, and has the litany as an appendix.

By this time the English *Book of Common Prayer* seems to have become to lay people what the *Primer* was to them in the days of the old Latin services. Devotional books henceforth were put forth only by private enterprise, and were simply intended to be used with the Prayer Book. One exception perhaps may be instanced, and that is Cosin's *Collection of Private Devotions*, which he published in 1627, and which is based on the *Primer* of Elizabeth of 1560 and follows the old arrangement of hours. Later devotional books which had a great vogue may be instanced, such as Bishop Andrewes' *Preces Privatæ* (Oxford, 1675), Jeremy Taylor's *Holy Living and Holy Dying* (London, 1686), Bishop Wilson's *Sacra Privata* (London, 1900), and through the 18th cent. the Prayer Book was commonly bound up with a *Companion to the Altar*, containing devotions for preparation for communion and for communion, and forms of thanksgiving. In the 19th cent. an immense number of devotional books has been issued—too many to deal with here.

LITERATURE.—F. E. Warren, *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Ante-Nicene Church*[2], London, 1912; J. H. Srawley, *The Early Hist. of the Liturgy*, Cambridge, 1913; R. M. Woolley, *The Liturgy of the Primitive Church*, do. 1910; J. Wordsworth, *The Holy Communion*[3], London, 1910; G. Horner, *The Statutes of the Apostles*, do. 1904; J. Cooper and A. J. Maclean, *The Testament of our Lord*, Edinburgh, 1902; F. X. Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, Paderborn, 1905; F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Oxford, 1896; L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, Eng. tr.[4], London, 1912; H. Littlehales, *The Prymer*, do. 1891–92; E. Burton, *Three Primers put forth in the Reign of Henry VII.*, Oxford, 1834; E. Hoskins, *Horæ Beatæ Mariæ Virginis*, London, 1901; F. Procter and W. H. Frere, *A New Hist. of the Book of Common Prayer*, do. 1914.

R. M. WOOLLEY.

PRAYER (Egyptian).—Of forms of prayer in Egyptian ritual little is known. Among the magical formulæ, addresses, statements, and adorations in the daily ritual of the temples there are few, if any, words of request; in one passage, when the officiant in the temple of Amen-re exclaims, 'Come unto me, Amen-re, open for me the gates of heaven, throw open for me the gates of earth,' etc., the demand seems directed to carrying out the immediate objects of the ritual on behalf of the deity rather than the direct benefit of any one (cf. A. Moret, *Le Rituel du culte divin journalier en Egypte*, Paris, 1902, p. 81 [several prayers in this tr. would be better interpreted as direct statements]). The funerary ritual is similar, but late copies contain a short prayer to all the gods for the welfare of the dead (E. Schiaparelli, *Il Libro dei Funerali*, Rome, 1882–90, ii. 108).

While attitudes of adoration, submission, etc., are represented frequently on the monuments, there seems to be none which is distinctive of prayer. Of times and places for prayer also little can be said; sunrise and sunset appear to have been the special hours for adoration of the forms of Re, the sun-god; the graffiti on temples and sacred places belonging chiefly to the late ages of paganism show that prayers were offered in and about them.

From the Old Kingdom very little is preserved in the nature of prayers beyond the funerary formula (see below); this applies even to the enormous body of the Pyramid Texts in which ritual charms and hymns are brought together for the welfare of the dead king. The texts of the Middle Kingdom are more productive in this respect. In the New Kingdom, especially after the days of Akhenaton (the enthusiastic monotheist and heretic at the end of the XVIIIth dynasty), an age of personal piety began in which the worshipper turned naturally to his god for protection, help, and comfort. This spirit, finding utterance in combined hymns and prayers, was never lost, though formalism and magic reasserted their sway with greater strength than ever in the lives and writings of the ultra-religious Egyptians.

The funerary formula.—A form of prayer for the comfort of the dead, beginning with an obscure phrase, 'Grace that the king grants, grace that Anubis (or other gods) grants,' is seen everywhere from the Old Kingdom onwards, and continues almost to the end of paganism. In the Old Kingdom the prayer, as prescribed on the great tombs, usually for a good burial after a good old age, for food, etc., daily and on the feast days, and 'to travel on the roads on which worthy veterans travel,' etc., is addressed to the funerary gods; later it was addressed also to local and other deities and often greatly developed according to individual taste. Tombstones request the passer-by to repeat it, adjuring him by his love of life, hatred of death, and devotion to his local god, and by his desire to bequeath his office to his children, and remind him that it will cost him no more than a little breath.

Salutations.—In speech and in writing these were prayers. After the name of royalty or a superior it was proper to add, '(May he continue) living prosperous and in health.' Letters of the Middle Kingdom end, 'May your hearing (of this) be fortunate.' In the New Kingdom a letter addressed to a king begins with prayers for his prosperity and long life (Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahûn and Gurob*, London, 1898, pp. 67 ff. and 91). In later times a petition or letter to a great man commences, 'May Ammon cause his life to be long.'

In early times to 'lift up the voice' (probably wanton shouting) in the tomb chapel was considered a gross offence, and doubtless both tomb and temple were places of solemn silence during the greater part of the day; hence religion tended to be associated with silence. On the vivid realization in the New Kingdom of personal relationship between the individual worshipper, however humble, and his protecting deity, we find insistence laid upon the value of secret prayer and contemplation.

'Thoth is as a sweet well to him who thirsts in the desert, closed to him who finds utterance, open to him who is silent' (*Papyrus Sallier*, i. 8, 5–7); 'Be not of many words, for in silence thou shalt gain good. . . . As for the precinct of God, his abomination is crying out; pray thou with a desiring heart whose every word is hidden, and he will supply thy need and

hear thy speech and receive thy offering' (*Maximes d'Ani*, 3, 1–4; see J. H. Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, New York, 1912, p. 355).

At the same period models of human ears and stelæ sculptured with ears were dedicated in the temples to the succouring god or goddess, 'who heard the prayer of the traveller afar off'; and in a group of little shrines in the necropolis of Thebes votive stelæ were set up in honour of various deities, recording the plagues inflicted on the sinner and their goodness to the repentant who sought their aid.

The goddess 'is a lion; she smiteth as a fierce lion smiteth and pursueth him that trespasseth against her. I cried to my mistress and found that she came to me with sweet breath. She was gracious to me after she had caused me to see her hand. She turned again to me in favour, she let me forget the sickness that was on me,' etc. (Erman, 'Denksteine aus der thebanischen Gräberstadt,' in *SBAW*, 1911, p. 1086).

LITERATURE.—An elaborate examination of the funerary formula by Gardiner, who explains it as a statement rather than a prayer, is printed in N. de G. Davies and A. H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhēt*, London, 1915, p. 79 ff. Hymns and prayers prefixed to the *Book of the Dead* are tr. by E. A. Wallis Budge in various edd. of that text.

F. LL. GRIFFITH.

PRAYER (Finns and Lapps).—**1. Ancient Finns and Lapps.**—The ancient Finns and Lapps attributed to every natural object a living spirit. The Lapps sometimes called these spirits 'men'; water-spirits, *e.g.*, were known as *cacce-olmak*, 'water-men.' Indeed the relations between men and spirits were at first, as Castrén has pointed out,[1] like those between men and men. As a man would naturally call a neighbour to his assistance rather than a stranger, so the ancient Finns and Lapps would pray to familiar spirits, like those of well-known trees and streams, rather than to remote beings, like sky-spirits, whom they did not know and could not expect to control. But spirits came to be thought of as free, personal beings, able to move about and occasionally visible, whose existence was not entirely dependent upon the objects of which they were the spirits and guardians, so that the spirit of one object might guard also other objects. In the course of time (before A.D. 600) they were named *haltiat* (Finnish) or *haldek* (Lappish), a Scandinavian word meaning 'rulers' or 'guardians.' The most important spirits were undoubtedly those of the dead. So awe-inspiring were the spirits of dead men buried in the forest or by the side of lakes and rivers, and so much more full of power than any other spirits of land or water, that they were credited with the guardianship of animals and fish, which could not be taken without their permission. Thus, when the Lapps prayed for help in hunting, as we are told they did every morning and evening,[2] to Leib-olmai, 'alder-tree-man,' the spirit to which they prayed was a forest-god, who was probably, like Tapio and Hiisi, the forest-gods of the Finns, connected with the cult of the dead, and who was the tutelary spirit of the bear, the most powerful animal that they knew. Again, when they prayed, as they did constantly,[3] to 'water-men' to aid their fishing, they were addressing themselves to local spirits of the dead who guarded different fishing-places. Moreover, the spirits of the dead were thought to be still in very close relationship with the living, whom they could either help or injure, so that their favour was in every respect of the utmost importance. There were several methods by which they might be approached, viz. through (1) idolatry, (2) reincarnation, (3) shamanism, and (4) the use of special means and instruments.

[1] M. Alexander Castrén, *Vorlesungen über die finnische Mythologie*, ed. A. Schiefner, Petrograd, 1853, p. 195.
[2] K. Leem, *De Lapponibus Finmarchiæ eorumque lingua, vita et religione*, Copenhagen, 1767, pp. 412 f., 417, Eng. tr. in J. Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, London, 1808, i. 458 f.
[3] *Ib.*

(1) Among the ancient Finns spirits were located in pillars of stone or wood, in rocks or trees of peculiar appearance, and in pebbles, twigs, or rude images.[1] All the Finnish tribes seem to have possessed as household gods loose stones or faggots, images, or dolls, which almost certainly embodied the spirits of dead ancestors.[2] The Lapps too worshipped idols of stone or wood called sometimes by the Scandinavian name *storjunkare*, 'great governors,' sometimes *seitas*, sometimes *passegedge*, 'holy stones.'[3] Every Lapp family and clan had their *storjunkare* standing near their settlement, and private persons sometimes had one or more of their own. Prayers were offered to these idols with both communal and private oblations.[4]

The Lapp Fjellner described to von Düben a communal sacrifice of which he had been an eye-witness, where the worshippers knelt down and prayed after a sacrificial meal.[5] A man, before going to hunt or fish, kissed his *seita* three times, and promised it some of his prey.[6] A Lapp told Fellman that his *seita* helped him as long as he kept it in a good humour[7] If *seitas* did not help, they were often whipped or abandoned.[8]

(2) Spirits of the dead might also be embodied in the person of a living man. They then became his guardians, and he could make a bargain with them that they should help him whenever he called upon them. According to the Lappish *saivo*-doctrine, ancestors came to life again in persons named after them; by obtaining the names of several ancestors a Lapp could obtain several guardian-spirits.

(3) Both Finns and Lapps at one time made use of intermediaries between themselves and spirits. These were the shamans (Finnish *noitas*, Lappish *noaides*), men who, owing to their exceptional nature and training, could communicate with the spirits of the dead, and through them learn the wishes of remote gods. The Samoyed shamans sent their spirits up to the sky-god Num to ask his will.[9] Various Finnish tribes practised divination for a like purpose, and Esthonian and Karelian shamans are sometimes described as 'diviners.' The Lapps divined through their magic drums, but they retained the primitive mysteries of shamanism; for, when their divination failed, as often happened, it was still necessary for the *noaide* to make a journey to the world of the dead, to appease the spirits or to obtain their help.

(4) Distant spirits, like those of the dead, could not hear men's feeble voices. But, if ordinary words and tones could not reach them, they might perhaps hear strange shouts, mysterious whispers, or the noise of a drum. Two special means were used by the Lapps to attract the spirits' attention: (*a*) *juoigen*, incantation, and (*b*) *myran*, magic action, especially magic drumming.

(*a*) *Juoigen.*—This was a sacred chant, 'the tenor of which no Lapp has ever been willing to confess.'[10] It was taught to every Lapp boy, 'so that the boy, before he could speak distinctly, had mastered the elements of this rude melody, or rather, if it pleases better, this howling.'[11] Acerbi described it as the most

[1] C. E. Lencqvist, *De superstitione veterum Fennorum*, Abo, 1782, p. 16.
[2] J. Abercromby, *The Pre- and Proto-historic Finns*, London, 1898, i. 167, 179.
[3] P. Högström, *Beskrifning öfver de til Sveriges krona lydande Lappmarker*, Stockholm, n.d. [1746–47], p. 181; G. von Düben, *Om Lappland och Lapparne*, Stockholm, 1873, p. 236; Leem, p. 457. Högström (p. 193) calls these idols *saivos*. Their connexion with the *saivo*-cult, or worship of the dead, was first established by Castrén, p. 207 ff.
[4] It should be stated that women were rigidly excluded from this worship. They paid their devotions apart to certain birth-goddesses.
[5] Von Düben, p. 258.
[6] J. Qvigstad and G. Sandberg, *Lappiske eventyr og folkesagn*, Christiania, 1887, p. 112.
[7] Von Düben, p. 237.
[8] O. Donner, *Lieder der Lappen*, Helsingfors, 1876, p. 26.
[9] Castrén, *Nordiska Resor och forskingar*, Helsingfors, 1852, i. 207.
[10] Trondhjem MS, *ap.* J. A. Friis, *Lappisk Mythologi eventyr og folkesagn*, Christiania, 1871, p. 24.
[11] Leem, p. 484.

hideous kind of yelling.[1] In E. Lindahl and J. Ohrling's *Lexicon Lapponicum* (Stockholm, 1780, p. 96) *juoiket* is defined as 'Lapponum more canere, tremulo cantu canere.' The words of such incantations are not known.[2] Fjellner said that some prayers were presented in a whisper with words not used in ordinary speech.[3] The omission of one word would render the chant ineffective, and might cause a shaman's death.[4]

(*b*) *Myran.*—When the help of spirits was sought on important occasions, several *noaides* went into a hut set apart for the purpose, and there shamanized 'per rb juoigen et myran,' *i.e.* by incantations mixed with magic action and especially drumming.[5] Although the magic drum was adapted by the Lapps and others to divination, its original object was to attract the attention of the spirits of the dead who lived underground out of ordinary ear-shot, and who were thereby summoned to place themselves inside the drum and help the shaman.

The *kamlanie* of the Lapp *noaides* resembles that of Siberian and other shamans, and the best accessible account is that translated from Mikhailovskii in *JAI* xxiv. 145 f.[6] The *juoigen* which accompanied it was of great importance, and, if the onlookers ceased singing during the *noaide's* trance, he could never come to life again.[7] Nevertheless, the main feature of the performance was coercive action. Prayer was in a very rudimentary stage.

2. Finns of Finland.—It seems certain that the Finns of Finland, like other members of the Finno-Ugrian family, anciently used shamanistic methods of coercing spirits similar to those of the Lapps. But they soon left the Lapps far behind, partly because they came under Christian influences some centuries earlier, but chiefly because their higher intelligence led them even before that time to assimilate the culture of more advanced neighbours. The Finns must have reformed their old religion long before the 12th cent., when Christianity was introduced to them. There is evidence of this in their traditional poetry, known chiefly through Lönnrot's compilation, the *Kalevala*[8] (*q.v.*), which, though very largely mediæval, is not entirely so, and reflects much of the old life of the Finnish people, but has little or nothing to say of primitive shamanism.[9] The heroes of Finnish poetry are magicians, but they do not perform any shamanistic actions.[10] Their magic is carried out by the utterance of word-charms. For instance, the rivalry between Finnish and Lapp wizards which is expressed in the strife of Väinämöinen and Joukahainen in *Kalevala*, vi., is a contest not in *kamlanie* but in the singing of spells. Divination is practised by rhabdomancy[11] or by the sieve.[12] The magic drum has been forgotten and is never mentioned.[13] The rude incantations which accompanied the shaman's performances have given place to those magic songs which are so prominent in Finnish poetry. Of the large number of such songs published by Lönnrot in 1880 under the title *Loitsurunoja*[14] most seem to be later than the 12th cent., and few can have come from professional magicians. They are certainly popular products, and presuppose a revolt against the official shamanism which prevailed generally among Finno-Ugrian peoples.[1] As a result of this reformation laymen must have taken to themselves the power of approaching spirits which had been restricted to an initiated class. Personal supplications, and word-charms which were always benevolent and which were gathered mainly from the common stock of European magic, entirely superseded the crude mimetic actions and unintelligible incantations by which the official wizard tried to enforce his will on spiritual powers. Thus the prayers and spells of the Finlanders were not, like the Accadian formulæ to which Lenormant compared them,[2] priestly incantations in a secret tongue, nor, like the Lapp *juoigen* and *myran*, mere mechanical acts of sorcery, but they were aids to popular religion belonging generally to mediæval and comparatively modern times, when a man had learnt to approach the spirit world on his own account either with spells or with genuine prayers.

Lönnrot's collection comprises, besides general formulæ of magic, a large number of exorcisms, which are borrowed mainly from Scandinavia, and include some well-known and wide-spread charms, such as the Merseburger Gebet.[3] It also contains 'origins,' or 'births' (*synty*),[4] songs which describe fantastically, and often in a derisive manner, the genesis of animals, diseases, and other things, the aim of the singer being, apparently, to demonstrate the feebleness of the object and induce it to act as he wishes. The remaining 73 songs are called 'prayers,' most of them having several variants, some as many as 30. They are addressed indifferently to old Finnish gods and spirits, such as Ukko, Hiisi, Tapio, Ahti, etc., and to various objects of Christian worship, the most popular of whom is the Virgin Mary. She is addressed sometimes by her own name, but often by beautiful Finnish epithets such as Suvetar, 'daughter of summer,' Etelätär, 'daughter of the south wind,' Luonnotar, 'daughter of creation,' Kivutar, 'daughter of pain.' A large proportion are hunters' and fishers' prayers. Most of these seem comparatively modern, and so do the agricultural prayers, excepting perhaps those relating to a vegetation-spirit known as Sämpsä Pellervoinen, which were sung at the spring sowing festivals of 'Ukko's Cup' and 'Ukko's Chests,' vestiges of which have been noted in recent years. These sowing charms may be read, woven together by Lönnrot, in *Kalevala*, ii.[5]

The 'prayers' generally bear out Lencqvist's remark that the Finns pray only for material benefits.[6] Nevertheless, they reveal the kind and simple heart of the Finn, his warm love of nature, and his peculiar but genuine gift of poetic imagination. We may quote a short sailor's prayer:[7]

Ilo-lintu ilmahinen.

'O bird of joy, bird of the air,
Fly whither I command,
Fly to the infinite East,
Fly to the chambers of the morning Sun!
Puff out your cheeks,
And blow a favouring gale;
That I may have a fair wind,
And may freely pass
Over the wide waters,
Across the far-spread sea.'

LITERATURE.—Most of this is indicated in the notes; other critical literature is published in Finnish.

CHARLES J. BILLSON.

PRAYER (Greek).—**1. Expressions used to denote prayer.**—The normal expression in Greek for 'prayer' is *εὐχή*, for 'to pray,' *εὔχεσθαι*, with

---

[1] J. Acerbi, *Travels through Sweden, Finland, Lapland to N. Cape*, London, 1802, ii. 311.

[2] Donner, p. 28; Acerbi (ii. 311) quotes a fragment of a wolf-charm.

[3] Von Düben, p. 260.

[4] *JAI* xxiv. [1894] 146; cf. *Kalevala*, xvi. and xvii., where Väinämöinen goes first to Tuonela and then to Vipunen to recover three magic words which he has forgotten.

[5] E. J. Jessen, *De Finnorum Lapponumque Norwegicorum religione pagana*, Copenhagen, 1767, p. 60.

[6] See also Leem, pp. 477–479.

[7] J. Scheffer, *Lapponia*, Frankfort, 1673, p. 139 f. In the *Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne*, viii. [Helsingfors, 1890] 121–123, E. N. Setälä gives the text of the MS on which Scheffer's account is based.

[8] 1st ed. (32 cantos), Helsingfors, 1835, 2nd ed. (50 cantos), do. 1849, Eng. tr. by W. F. Kirby, in 'Everyman's Library,' 2 vols., London, n.d.

[9] See D. Comparetti, *The Traditional Poetry of the Finns*, Eng. tr., London, 1898, p. 263 f. (the progress of Finnish research has invalidated some of Comparetti's work).

[10] Their occasional changes of shape are not necessarily reminiscences of shamanism.

[11] *Kalevala*, xlix. 75–110; *Kanteletar*[3], Helsingfors, 1887, ii. 138, 143; *Suomen Kansan Muinaisia Loitsurunoja*, do. 1880, p. 111 f.

[12] Lencqvist, p. 91; *Loitsurunoja*, p. vii f.

[13] The only allusion to it known to the present writer is in *Loitsurunoja*, p. 29, where *käsikannus*, 'hand-drum,' is used as a synonym of the Laplander. Friis's view (pp. 147, 199) that *sampo* was a magic drum is quite untenable.

[14] A good deal of this material had been used in the *Kalevala*, and some had been published by earlier collectors; *e.g.*, see H. G. Porthan, *De Poesi Fennica*, Abo, 1766–78; Lencqvist, *op. cit.*; C. Ganander, *Mythologia Fennica*, Abo, 1789; and esp. D. H. R. von Schröter, *Finnische Runen*, Upsala, 1819.

[1] See Abercromby, ii. 45.

[2] F. Lenormant, *Chaldean Magic*, Eng. tr., London, 1877, ch. xvi. f.

[3] *Loitsurunoja*, p. 75 f.

[4] There are 83 'origins' (including variants), over 50 of which may be read in the *Kalevala*; see *FL* vi. [1895] 345.

[5] Of the 'Planting of the Barley' (*Loitsurunoja*, p. 296) L. Le Duc wrote: 'Les vieux Finnois prononcent encore aujourd'hui cette invocation en ensemençant leurs champs' (*Le Kalevala traduit*, Paris, 1879, p. 17, note). Comparetti (p. 188) identified Sämpsä with the Biblical Samson, but his name has since been explained as that of a kind of grass which springs up as soon as the snow melts. The songs of Sämpsä show influence of the Scandinavian cult of Frey.

[6] Lencqvist, p. 54.

[7] *Loitsurunoja*, p. 267.

compounds προσεύχεσθαι, ἐπεύχεσθαι. Another word, used chiefly by the poets, is λιτή, or rather λιταί, with its corresponding verb λίσσεσθαι.

In Homer the regular verb of prayer addressed by men to the gods is εὔχομαι. Only in one passage (*Il.* ix. 501) does he use λίσσομαι in this way. On the other hand, Homer has εὐχή (in plur.) only in *Od.* x. 526; λιτή (in plur.) in *Od.* xi. 34, *Il.* ix. 502.

Although, naturally enough, these expressions tend to get confused, it seems to the present writer that there is a fundamental distinction between them. Εὔχομαι corresponds very closely to the Latin *voveo* in its double sense of 'vow' and 'wish' and hence is the regular word for a prayer to the gods for future blessing. On the other hand, λιταί are not properly prayers for future blessing, but are in the nature of prayers for forgiveness, prayers of atonement. This is borne out by the use of the corresponding Latin verb *litare*, which is not 'to pray,' but 'to propitiate.'

Thus, to take first *Od.* xi. 34 f. (the passage occurs in the *Nekyia*): Odysseus digs a trench into which he pours offerings to all the dead. He then vows to perform certain sacrifices to them on his return to Ithaca. Then the passage proceeds: τοὺς δ' ἐπεὶ εὐχωλῇσι λιτῇσί τε, ἔθνεα νεκρῶν, ἐλλισάμην, where one may suppose that εὐχωλαί refers to his vows, λιταί to his entreaties or propitiatory prayer.

Turn now to *Il.* ix. 496 ff., which Leaf translates thus: 'Therefore, Achilles, rule thy high spirit; neither beseemeth it thee to have a ruthless heart. Nay, even the very gods can bend (στρεπτοὶ δέ τε καὶ θεοὶ αὐτοί), and theirs withal is loftier majesty and honour and might. Their hearts by incense (θυέεσσι), and reverent vows (εὐχωλῇς ἀγανῇσι) and drink offering (λοιβῇ) and burnt offering (κνίσῃ) men turn with prayer (λισσόμενοι), so oft as any transgresseth and doeth sin. Moreover, Prayers of penitence (Λιταί) are daughters of great Zeus, halting and wrinkled and of eyes askance, that have their task withal to go in the steps of Sin (Ἄτη). For Sin is strong and fleet of foot, wherefore she far outrunneth all Prayers, and goeth before them over all the earth making men fall (βλάπτουσ' ἀνθρώπους), and Prayers follow to heal the harm (αἱ δ' ἐξακέονται ὀπίσω). Now whosoever reverenceth Zeus's daughters when they draw near, him they greatly bless and hear his petitions; but when one denieth them and stiffly refuseth, then depart they and make prayer unto Zeus the son of Kronos that Sin may come upon such an one, that he may fall and pay the price. Nay, Achilles, look thou too that there attend upon the daughters of Zeus the reverence that bendeth the heart of all men that be right-minded. For if Atreides brought thee not gifts and foretold thee not more hereafter, but were ever furiously wroth, then I were not he that should bid thee cast aside thine anger . . . but now he both offereth thee forthwith many gifts, and promiseth thee more hereafter, and hath sent heroes to beseech thee . . . dishonour not thou their petition.'

An examination of Greek literature confirms this view of λιταί.

Hesiod has neither λιταί nor λίσσομαι, and only one case of λιτανεύω (*Theog.* 469)—of the prayer of Rhea to Earth and starry Heaven, before the birth of Zeus. On the other hand, εὐχαί occurs (*ib.* 419) of prayer to Hecate and (frag. 246) in a proverbial line, ἔργα νέων, βουλαὶ δὲ μέσων, εὐχαὶ δὲ γερόντων. Εὔχομαι occurs in *Theog.* 441, *Works and Days*, 465, 788, and frag. 81; εὐχωλή in *Sc.* 68. Theognis has neither λιταί nor λίσσομαι, but he has εὐχή (341) and εὔχομαι (13, 129, 171, 1141, 1151). In the group of early lyric poets—Archilochus, Simonides, Mimnermus, Solon, Tyrtæus—there is no case of either λιταί or λίσσομαι, while εὔχομαι occurs in Simon. frags. 7, 84, and Solon, frag. 5. In Pindar λίσσομαι has become practically the same thing as εὔχομαι (*Pyth.* i. 71, *Ol.* xii. 1, *Nem.* iii. 1, frag. 90, *Pyth.* iv. 207), and in *Isth.* v. (vi.) 45 is combined with εὐχαί ὑπὸ θεσπεσίαις λίσσομαι. But λιταί occurs only twice: *Ol.* ii. 88, where Thetis Ζηνὸς ἦτορ λιταῖς ἔπεισε, and got Achilles conveyed to the Islands of the Blest, and *Ol.* viii. 8. What appears to be an adjectival form occurs twice: *Ol.* vi. 78, λιταὶ θυσίαι (sacrifices of propitiation offered to Hermes, no doubt in his character of ψυχοπομπός—the right use of λιταί) and *Pyth.* iv. 217, λιταὶ ἐπαοιδαί (propitiatory incantations—again the normal use of λιταί). In frag. 21, Λιτὴν Ἥώ, it is, as the scholiast says = εὐκταίαν. In Bacchylides λίσσομαι occurs in v. 100, where it is definitely of prayers to appease the anger of Artemis—a chthonian deity—and in x. 69, where it is used in the Homeric sense of an appeal by mortals to mortals. He has no example of λιταί.

When we turn to the dramatists, we find that Æschylus has λίσσομαι once only (*Suppl.* 748), in an appeal by a mortal to a mortal; λιταί he has in *Prom.* 1009, *Sept.* 143, 173, 214, 320, 626, 620, *Pers.* 499, *Ag.* 228, 396, *Eum.* 362, *Suppl.* 173, 378, 521. An examination of these passages confirms our general view. Εὔχομαι and εὐχαί occur in Æschylus very frequently, and are his normal expressions for 'pray' and 'prayer.' The usage of Sophocles is quite in accordance with our position. He has εὐχαί in *Œd. Tyr.* 239, *El.* 636, εὐχή in *Ph.* 771, and εὔχομαι frequently. Λίσσομαι as a general term for entreaty occurs some seven or eight times; λιταί occurs in *Ph.* 60, 495, *Œd. Col.* 485, 1015, 1311, 1654, *El.* 137, *Ant.* 1006—all normal uses. In Aristophanes εὐχαί occurs three times, εὐχή twice, εὔχομαι twenty times, εὐχωλή once; he has no case of λιταί; λίσσομαι occurs in *Pax*, 382, addressed to Hermes; λίτομαι is coupled with εὐχαί in *Th.* 313; in *Th.* 1040 λίτομαι is definitely 'supplicating.'

Of prose authors Herodotus has εὔχομαι and εὐχωλή, no case apparently of λίσσομαι, but λιταί (i. 105) of propitiatory prayer. Thucydides has no example of λίσσομαι or λιταί, nor do the words occur in any of the orators.

Εὐχαί, then, is the normal Greek word for prayer; λιταί are in the nature of penitential or propitiatory prayer; προσεύχομαι is normally 'thanksgiving' (*e.g.*, Aristoph. *Plut.* 841, 958, *Ran.* 891, *Pax*, 560), though also used (*e.g.*, Plato, *Crit.* 106 A) as practically equivalent to εὔχομαι.

Other expressions for 'prayer' and 'pray' are ἀρή (ἀρά) and ἀράομαι.

There is no clear distinction in Homer between ἀράομαι (occurring some 39 times) and εὔχομαι, with which, indeed, it is frequently expressly equated, as, *e.g.*, *Il.* v. 114, 121, x. 295 f.; and the same is true of ἀρή (occurring six times)—*e.g.*, *Il.* xv. 377, εὐχόμενος followed by ἀράων (378). The fact is that 'prayer' and 'curse' are essentially undifferentiated. Thus it happens that Althæa's prayer (*Il.* ix. 565 ff.) is a prayer for death to her son Meleager, and is therefore a 'curse,' just as it happens that ἀρήσετ' Ἐρινῦς (*Od.* ii. 135) is a summoning of the Erinyes to exact vengeance and so amounts to a curse. The notion that it could mean 'curse the Erinyes' is utterly wrong, being consonant neither with the Homeric use of ἀράομαι nor with Greek syntax. It is noticeable that Homer has ἀρητήρ = 'priest' (*Il.* i. 11, 94, v. 78). In Hesiod ἀράομαι does not occur and ἀραί in the one example of it (*Works and Days*, 726) = 'prayers.' Pindar has ἀραί once only (never ἀράομαι) in *Isth.* v. (vi.) 43, where it = 'prayers.' But in the dramatists 'curse' is the normal, or even the invariable, sense of ἀρά (ἀραί)—*e.g.*, Æsch. *Sept.* 70, 695, 833, 894, 954, *Eum.* 417, *Ch.* 406, 593; Sophocles, *Œd. Tyr.* 295, 744, 820, *Œd. Col.* 152, 956, 1377, 1386, *Ant.* 423, etc. So ἀράομαι is 'curse' in Æsch. *Prom.* 912, *Sept.* 633 (the only examples); Soph. *Œd. Tyr.* 251, 1291, etc. Yet Sophocles has the verb in the sense of 'pray' three times (*Aj.* 504, *Œd. Col.* 1447, *Tr.* 48). In later Greek the sense of 'curse' prevails completely.

2. Attitude in prayer.—The most striking characteristic of the Greek attitude in prayer is directness of address. The worshipper endeavours to be, so far as possible, literally in touch with his god.

Thus, in Pindar, *Ol.* vi. 58, when Iamus prayed to Poseidon, 'he went down into the midst of Alpheus [Poseidon being a river-god as well as a sea-god] and called on wide-ruling Poseidon his grandsire . . . and he stood beneath the heavens, and it was night.' So, in *Ol.* i. 71, Pelops 'came and stood on the margin of the grey sea, alone in the darkness of the night and called on the deep-voiced Lord of the Trident.' So, too, in Hom. *Il.* i. 348–351, 'Achilles wept and sat down apart . . . on the beach of the grey sea, gazing over the boundless deep: he stretched forth his hands and prayed instantly to his dear mother,' *i.e.* to Thetis, a sea-deity.

Typically, when Zeus or any other of the Olympians was invoked, the worshipper turned his face to the heavens (*e.g.*, Hom. *Il.* iii. 364 f.: 'Thereat Atreides groaned, looking up to the wide heaven: "Father Zeus,"' etc.), the hands uplifted palms upwards (χεῖρες ὑπτίαι [Philostr. *Imag.* 341; Plutarch, *Compar. Philopoem. et Tit.* 2: τοῦ Τίτου τὰς χεῖρας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ὑπτίας ἀνατείνοντος, ἑστῶτος καὶ προσευχομένου]; cf. the *manus supinæ* of the Roman prayer [Verg. *Æn.* iii. 176, Ovid, *Met.* viii. 681; Hor. *Carm.* iii. 23. 1]). Of the veiled head (*caput velatum*) of the Roman worshipper (Verg. *Æn.* iii. 545; Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* ii. 3. 10, etc.) there is no trace in Greek, nor of the turning to the right (east) so typical of Roman prayer (Pliny, *HN* xi. 45, 251; Plut. *Marcell.* 6; Plaut. *Curc.* i. 69; Val. Flacc. viii. 246; Sueton. *Vitell.* 2; Stat. *Theb.* vi. 215; Livy, v. 21). Prostration was regarded as Oriental and un-Greek. Normally the Greek prayed standing upright. Yet a fragment of a bas-relief from the Asklepieion shows Asklepios standing upright and a woman on her knees before him, touching his ἱμάτιον with her right hand (*REG* xxix. [1916] 131, p. 78).

If a sea-deity were invoked, the worshipper stretched his hands towards the sea (Hom. *Il.* i. 351), though Polyphemus, praying to Poseidon (*Od.* ix. 527), raises his hands to the starry heaven. In prayer to river nymphs the worshipper fixed his eyes on the water (Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 737 f.). Achilles in Troad, addressing his home

river Spercheios, looks over the sea (*Il.* xxiii. 143 f.). In prayer to a chthonian deity the hands were held downwards or placed on the ground :

'Come now swear to me by the inviolable water of Styx, and with one of thy hands grasp the fertile earth, and with the other the shining sea, that all may be witnesses to us, even all the gods below that are with Kronos,' etc. (Hom. *Il.* xiv. 271 ff.; cf. Bacchyl. v. 42, vii. 41).

Sometimes, to reinforce his prayer to a chthonian deity, the worshipper would beat the ground with his hands :

Althæa, 'grieved for her brethren's death, prayed instantly to the gods, and with her hands she beat upon the fertile earth, calling on Hades and dread Persephone, while she knelt upon her knees and made her bosom wet with tears, to bring her son (Meleager) to death ; and Erinnys that walketh in darkness, whose heart knoweth not compassion, heard her from Erebos' (Hom. *Il.* ix. 565 ff.). 'Straightway the ox-eyed lady Hera prayed, striking the earth with the flat of her hand, and spake saying, "Hearken to me now, O Earth and the wide Heavens above, and ye gods called Titans, dwelling beneath earth in great Tartaros"' (Hom. *Hymn. Apoll.* 332 f.). 'So spake she and lashed the earth with her stout hand ; and earth, giver of livelihood, was stirred, and Hera, beholding it, was glad at heart, for she deemed that her prayer would be fulfilled' (*ib.* 340 ff.); cf. Paus. viii. 15. 3 : 'I know too that on the most important affairs most of the Pheneatians swear by the Petroma. There is a round cover on it, which contains a mask of Demeter Cidaria : this mask the priest puts on his face at the greater mysteries, and smites the Underground Folks with rods—I imagine, in conformity with some legend.' On Theocritus, vii. 106, 'And if, dear Pan, thou dost those things, may the Arcadian boys not smite thee on sides and shoulders with squills, when there is little meat,' the schol. remarks: *Μούνατός φησιν ἑορτὴν Ἀρκαδικὴν εἶναι ἐν ᾗ οἱ παῖδες τὸν Πᾶνα σκίλλαις βάλλουσι· γίνεται δὲ τοῦτο ὅταν οἱ χορηγοὶ λεπτὸν ἱερεῖον θύσωσι καὶ μὴ ἱκανὸν ᾖ τοῖς ἐσθίουσι.* Similarly, in Colluthus, *Rape of Helen*, 46 ff., Strife, who had not been invited to the marriage of Peleus and Thetis, 'rose often from her stony seat and again sat down : and with her hand she smote the broad bosom of earth and heeded not the rock. She would fain have burst the bars of the darksome hollows and roused the Titans from their pits beneath the earth and laid waste the heavens, the seat of Zeus who rules on high.'

3. The utterance of prayer.—Normally prayer was not merely thought, but uttered aloud. The same was the case among the Jews, as is well illustrated by the prayer of Hannah (1 S $1^{12f.}$) :

'And it came to pass, as she continued praying before the Lord, that Eli marked her mouth. Now Hannah, she spake in her heart (מדברת על־לבה; LXX, *ἐλάλει ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτῆς*) ; only her lips moved, but her voice was not heard : therefore Eli thought she had been drunken.'

It would be easy to illustrate this practice from all periods of Greek literature :

Hom. *Il.* i. 450, iii. 275 : *μεγάλ' εὔχετο*, 'prayed loudly'; so *μέγα εὔξατο* in *Od.* xvii. 239. Prayer is overheard (*Il.* xix. 255 f., *Od.* xvii. 248 ; Xen. *Sympos.* iv. 55 : *καὶ πρώην ἐγώ σου ἤκουον εὐχομένου πρὸς τοὺς θεούς*).

The loudness of the voice increased with the fervour of the prayer. It may rise to a *βοή*, or loud cry :

ἐγὼ δὲ θεοὺς ἐπιβώσομαι αἰὲν ἐόντας (Hom. *Od.* i. 378, ii. 143), precisely as, in a moment of great peril, Nestor *βόασε παῖδα Φόν* (Pind. *Pyth.* vi. 36).

Similarly, among the Romans, the mother prays more loudly for beauty in the case of her daughters than in the case of her boys, according to Juvenal, x. 289 f. :

'Formam optat modico pueris, maiore puellis
Murmure, cum Veneris fanum videt anxia mater.'

When prayer is not uttered or is uttered in a low voice, the motive is generally expressed or implied. And the motives are several.

(*a*) In Hom. *Il.* vii. 194 ff., the motive is apparently the fear that the knowledge of the prayer might enable the enemy to counteract it by some more potent spell ; it might in fact 'give useful information to the enemy.'

Ajax is about to fight with Hector in single combat, and he asks the Greeks, while he is putting on his armour, to pray to Zeus 'in silence by yourselves that the Trojans may not know, or even openly, since we fear no one' (*σιγῇ ἐφ' ὑμείων, ἵνα μὴ Τρῶές γε πύθωνται, | ἠὲ καὶ ἀμφαδίην, ἐπεὶ οὔ τινα δείδιμεν ἔμπης*).

(*b*) External circumstances might make a spoken prayer impossible.

Thus Odysseus, swimming for his life, 'prayed in his heart' (*εὔξατο ὃν κατὰ θυμόν*) (*Od.* v. 444) ; and this may be the motive of *Il.* xxiii. 769, where Odysseus in the crisis of the footrace 'prayed to grey-eyed Athene in his heart.'

(*c*) Again, the motive might be a natural desire for privacy—a desire, as we say, to be alone with God.

Thus, in *Od.* xii. 333 ff., Odysseus says: 'Then I went away through the island that I might pray to the gods, if haply some one should show me the way to go. And when on my way through the island I had avoided my comrades, I washed my hands where was a shelter from the wind, and prayed to all the gods who keep Olympos.' So Pind. *Ol.* i. 71 f. : Pelops 'went nigh unto the gray sea alone in the darkness' (*οἷος ἐν ὄρφνᾳ*) to pray to Poseidon. So 'going apart' (*ἀπάνευθε κιών*) is said of one who prays (*Il.* i. 35, *Od.* ii. 260).

(*d*) The motive is obvious which makes Orestes pray silently or rather in a low voice in presence of Aigisthos :

δεσπότης δ' ἐμὸς
τἄναντί' ηὔχετ', οὐ γεγωνίσκων λόγους (Eur. *El.* 808 f.).

(*e*) Another motive is modesty. This is especially the case with the prayer of the lover.

Thus Pind. *Pyth.* ix. 97 ff., of the successful athlete : 'Full many times at the yearly festival of Pallas the maidens have seen thee victorious and mutely prayed each for herself that such an one as thou, O Telesikrates, might be her beloved husband or her son' (*ἄφωνοί θ' ὡς ἑκάστα φίλτατον παρθενικαὶ πόσιν ἢ υἱὸν εὔχοντ', ὦ Τελεσίκρατες, ἔμμεν*).

The opposite of *μέγα φθέγγεσθαι* is *ψιθυρίζειν*, 'whisper,' and doubtless this explains the cult-title of '*Αφροδίτη ψίθυρος*, to whom prayers were whispered (cf. Tibull. II. i. 83 ; Catull. lxiv. 104).

(*f*) A leading motive is that the prayer is a shameful prayer.

Pythagoras (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iv. 26, § 173) enjoined *μετὰ φωνῆς εὔχεσθαι*. Seneca, *Ep.* x. 5, quotes from Athenodorus : 'Know that you are free from all desires when you reach a stage where you ask nothing from God except what you can ask openly,' and he goes on to say that 'men now whisper the most shameful prayers to the gods ; if any one hearkens, they become silent, and they tell to God what they do not want man to hear' ; cf. Hor. *Ep.* i. 16, 59 f. ; Pers. ii. 3–75 ; Mayor, on Juv. x. 289 f. Cf. the 'loud voice' of the Prayer Book.

(*g*) The prayers or incantations of the magician are naturally spoken in a low voice.

So in the OT Is 8^{19} : 'Seek unto them that have familiar spirits and unto the wizards, that chirp and that mutter' (LXX *ζητήσατε τοὺς ἐγγαστριμύθους . . . οἱ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας φωνοῦσιν*).

4. The relation of the suppliant to his god.—In the earliest times the suppliant compelled his god to do his will—traces of which may be found in the beating of the ground and the flagellation of Pan mentioned above, and the smiting of the *ὑποχθόνιοι* in Paus. *loc. cit.*

The next stage is one of bargain, which is the typical form of prayer in Homer. This bargain-theory of prayer may assume different forms.

(*a*) If ever I did that for thee, so do thou this for me.

Thus Hom. *Il.* i. 35 ff. of the priest Chryses : 'Then went that old man apart and prayed aloud to King Apollo, whom Leto of the fair locks bare : "Hear me, lord of the silver bow, that standest about Chryse and holy Killa, and rulest Tenedos by thy might, O Smintheus ! if ever I built a temple pleasant in thine eyes, or if I ever burnt to thee fat flesh of the thighs of bulls or of goats, fulfil thou this my desire."' So *Od.* iv. 763 ff., *Il.* xv. 372 ff.

(*b*) If thou do this for me, I will do that for thee.

A typical example is Hom. *Od.* iii. 380 ff., where Nestor prays to Athene : 'Be gracious, O queen, and give me fair fame—for myself and my children and gracious wife ; and I in turn will sacrifice to thee a heifer,' etc. ; cf. *Il.* vi. 115.

One form of this is the explicit assertion that it is for the advantage of the gods to protect their worshippers.

Thus Theognis, 773 ff. : 'O Lord Phœbus, thyself didst build the High City, doing a favour to Alcathous son of Pelops ; thyself keep from this city the froward host of the Medes, that with joy the people may send thee glorious hecatombs when spring comes round, rejoicing in cithara and delectable mirth, in pæan choir and song around thy altar.' Similarly and still more frankly, Æschylus, in *Sept.* 76 f., makes Eteocles pray to the gods to save Thebes : 'Be our refuge. And I think I speak for our common interest : for a prosperous city honours the gods.'

(*c*) The third type is that which J. Adam (*The Religious Teachers of Greece*, Edinburgh, 1908, p. 46) has compared to our

'God of our fathers, be the God
Of their succeeding race,'

i.e., even as thou didst of old, so do also now.

Thus Hom. *Il.* i. 450 ff. : 'Then Chryses lifted up his hands and prayed aloud for them : "Hearken to me, god of the silver bow, . . . even as erst thou didst hear my prayer and didst me honour and greatly afflictedst the people of the Danaans, even so now fulfil me this my desire."' Cf. *Il.* i. 453 ff., v. 118 ff., x. 278 ff. ; Pind. *Isth.* vi. 42 f. In *Il.* x. 284 ff. this type is combined with type (*b*).

(*d*) There is the type in which man makes no bargain, the normal type from the 5th cent. B.C.—*e.g.*, Pind. *Ol.* xiv. 5, *Pyth.* v. 124 ; Æsch. *Ag.* 946 f. ; Soph. *Œd. Tyr.* 187 f. ; Demosth. *de Cor.* i., and *passim*.

It is to be noted that the personal piety of the worshipper—*εὐσέβεια*—was considered by the Greeks to make his prayer more likely to be answered.

Thus Hom. *Il.* i. 218 : ὅς τε θεοῖς ἐπιπείθηται, μάλα τ' ἔκλυον αὐτοῦ, 'if a man obeys the gods, they surely hearken to him,' and Pind. *Ol.* viii. 8 : ἄνεται δὲ πρὸς χάριν εὐσεβίας ἀνδρῶν λιταῖς, 'fulfilment is granted to the prayers of men for the sake of their piety.' Cf. Xen. *Mem.* i. 3. 3 ; Eur. frag. 946. Contrast the case of the wicked man : 'No god hears his prayers' (Æsch. *Ag.* 387 ; cf. Hor. *Carm.* III. xxiii. 17 ; Pers. *Sat.* ii. 73).

5. **The ritual of prayer.**—The simplest form of prayer is little more than an ejaculation, and is typically expressed in Greek by the name of the god in the vocative case, followed by an infinitive (dependent on some word for 'give' or 'grant' understood) expressing the request.

Thus Hom. *Il.* vii. 175 ff. : 'So he spake and each marked his lot, and they cast them into the helmet of Agamemnon, son of Atreus ; and the people prayed and lifted up their hands to the gods ; and thus would one say as he looked unto the wide heaven :

Ζεῦ ἄνα ἠ Αἴαντα λαχεῖν, ἢ Τυδέος υἱόν,
ἢ αὐτὸν βασιλῆα πολυχρύσοιο Μυκήνης !'

Cf. Herod. v. 105, where Darius, hearing that Sardis had been burnt by the Athenians, 'called for a bow, and, having received one, he put an arrow into it and shot it into the air, with these words : ὦ Ζεῦ, ἐκγενέσθαι μοι Ἀθηναίους τίσασθαι.'

A still shorter form of the ejaculatory prayer is the use of the vocative alone—*e.g.*, Ἀπόλλων ἀποτρόπαιε (Aristoph. *Av.* 61, etc.) ; Herondas, vii. 74 : Ἑρμῆ τε κερδέων καὶ σύ, κερδίη Πειθοῖ ; cf. such expressions as 'Hercle,' 'mehercule,' 'medius fidius,' in Latin. The ejaculatory prayer is commended by Marcus Aurelius, v. 7.

The more elaborate ritual will be best explained by definite examples.

(*a*) The account of the Argonauts starting on their voyage in quest of the Golden Fleece :

'Now when that goodly crew were come to Iolkos, Jason mustered them with thanks to each, and the seer Mopsos prophesied by omens and by sacred lots, and with good will sped the host on board. And when they had hung the anchors over the prow, then their chief, taking in his hands a golden goblet, stood upon the stern and called on Zeus whose spear is the lightning, and on the tides of waves and winds and the nights, and the paths of the sea, to speed them quickly over, and for kindly days and the friendly fortune of return. And from the clouds a favourable voice of thunder pealed in answer ; and there came bright lightning flashes bursting through.

Then the heroes took heart in obedience to the heavenly signs ; and the seer bade them strike into the water with their oars, while he spake to them of happy hopes ; and in their rapid hands the rowing sped untiringly' (Pind. *Pyth.* iv. 183 ff.).

(*b*) Compare with this the famous passage in which Thucydides tells of the start of the Athenian expedition to Sicily in 415 B.C. :

'Now when the ships were manned and everything with which they were to put to sea was on board, the signal for silence was given by the trumpet and they made the customary prayers before putting to sea, not ship by ship but all together, led by a herald (κῆρυξ) throughout all the army, marines and generals alike making libation with cups (ἐκπώματα) of gold and silver. And in their prayers joined also the general crowd on shore, not only Athenians but any other friendly person who was present. And when they had sung the pæan and finished their libations (παιωνίσαντες δὲ καὶ τελεώσαντες τὰς σπονδάς) they put to sea' (vi. 32).

(*c*) Or, again, take what is really a Greek view, though it refers to a Carthaginian—the story of the conduct of Hamilkar during the battle of Himera :

'The following story is related by the Carthaginians with great probability, that whilst the barbarians were engaged with Greeks of Sicily in that battle, which began early in the morning and lasted to the twilight of the evening, Amilkar, continuing in the camp, sacrificed entire victims upon a large pile : and when he saw his army flying, as he happened to be pouring libations on the victims, he threw himself into the flames, and thus, being burnt up, disappeared' (Herod. vii. 167).

(*d*) Precisely the same ritual meets us in the account given by Herodotus vii. 54 of the prayer of Xerxes as he was about to cross the Hellespont for the invasion of Greece :

'The rest of the day was spent in disposing all things in order to their passage : and on the next day they waited for the sun, as they wished to see it rising, and in the meantime burnt all sorts of perfumes upon the bridges, and strewed the way with myrtle branches. When the sun was risen, Xerxes, pouring a libation into the sea out of a golden cup (σπένδων ἐκ χρυσέης φιάλης ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν), addressed a prayer to the sun, that he might not meet with any impediment so great as to prevent him from subduing Europe.' Then follows a less Greek incident : 'After which he threw the cup into the Hellespont with a bowl of gold and a Persian scimitar. But I cannot determine whether he wished by throwing them into the sea to consecrate these things to the sun, or whether he repented of having scourged the Hellespont (vii. 35), and as a compensation made that gift to it.'

The normal ritual of prayer is : (1) the hands are washed (if this were omitted, libation and prayer are vain [Hes. *Works and Days*, 724 ff., 740 f. ; Hom. *Il.* vi. 266 ff.]) ; (2) prayer is made ; (3) after the prayer comes the sacrifice ; (4) last of all comes the pouring of libations.

Thus Hom. *Il.* i. 447 ff. : 'They set in order for the god the holy hecatomb about his well-builded altar ; next washed they their hands (χερνίψαντο) and took up the barley corns (οὐλοχύται). Then Chryses lifted up his hands and prayed. . . . Now when they had prayed and sprinkled the barley corns, first they drew back the victims' heads and slaughtered them and flayed them, and cut slices from the thighs and wrapped them in fat, making a double fold, and laid raw collops thereon, and the old man burnt them on cleft wood and made libation over them of gleaming wine.' Next they feasted, and then, 'when they had put from them the desire of meat and drink, the young men crowned the bowls with wine, and gave each man his portion after the drink-offering had been poured into the cups. So all day long they worshipped the god with music, singing the beautiful pæan, the sons of the Achæans making music to the Archer-god ; and his heart was glad to hear.'

6. **Mode of addressing the deity** (*ἐπίκλησις*).—It was a matter of importance that the deity invoked should be addressed by his right cult-titles.

Thus Achilles (*Il.* xvi. 233 f.) at Troy invokes Zeus as Ζεῦ ἄνα, Δωδωναῖε, Πελασγικέ, τηλόθι ναίων, Δωδώνης μεδέων δυσχειμέρου. Apollo is invoked by Chryses in *Il.* i. 37 ff. as ἀργυρότοξος and Σμινθεύς. Especially noteworthy is Æschylus, *Ag.* 160 ff., where we find the curious expression 'Zeus whoever he be, if it please him so to be called, by that title I address him,' on which the commentators refer to Plato, *Cratyl.* 400 D f : 'One excellent principle which, as sensible men, we should follow : that with regard to the gods we know nothing, either with regard to themselves or the names by which they call themselves ; for it is evident that they call themselves by their true names. The second best principle of correctness is, as it is customary in our prayers to pray, that we ourselves call them by the names and titles, whatever they may be, by which they like to be named (οἵτινές τε καὶ ὁπόθεν χαίρουσιν ὀνομαζόμενοι), since we know no more ; for that appears to me a right custom.' The phrase Ζεὺς ὅστις ἐστίν (cf. Eur. *Troad.* 885, *Herc. Fur.* 1263, frag. 483 [Melanippe]) carries out this principle (imitated Hor. *Sat.* II. vi. 20 ; Milton, *Par. Lost*, iii. 1–7). In the same way Callim. *Hymn to Zeus*, 4 : 'How now shall we sing of thee ? as Diktaios or Lykaios ?', *Hymn to Apollo*, 69 ff. : 'O Apollo, many call thee Boedromios and many call thee Klarios, . . . but I call thee Karneios' ; cf. *ib.* 47 : Φοῖβον καὶ Νόμιον, and Pind. *Pyth.* ix. 66 : 'Agreus and Nomios and by some called Aristaios' ; cf. Eur. frag. 781. 11 f.

7. **To whom prayer is addressed.**—The general phrase for offering prayer is 'pray to the gods' (θεοῖς εὔχεσθαι, δαίμοσιν ἀρήσασθαι [Hom.]), but the particular deity addressed varies with the situation : the poet prays to Apollo or the Muses, the hunter to Artemis, the farmer to Demeter, and so on. Not an unusual thing is to pray to Zeus and the particular god more especially concerned ; *e.g.*, Hesiod (*Works and Days*, 463) bids the farmer pray to Zeus and Demeter. Again, a god may be invoked under a special cult-title in reference to the particular boon desired—*e.g.*, Ζεὺς Ὄμβριος for rain, Ζεὺς Οὔριος for a favourable wind, and so on ; hence the point of the amusing prayer of the Acharnian farmer as he holds up his tattered garment to the light :

ὦ Ζεῦ Διόπτα καὶ Κατόπτα πανταχῆ
ἐνσκενάσασθαί μ' οἷον ἀθλιώτατα

(Aristoph. *Acharn.* 435 f.) — an excellent example of the *Stossgebet*.

Particularly interesting is the case of prayers made by special classes of people to minor deities or semi-divinities, in whom they have a, so to say, 'superstitious' faith. Thus, *e.g.*, the sailor prays not merely to Poseidon but to the 'Samothracian gods,' *i.e.* the Cabeiri or the Dioscuri (Callim. *Ep.* 47; Diod. iv. 43; Theophrast. *Char.* xxvii. [xxv.]).

8. The dead and the chthonian gods.—Prayers to the dead and the chthonian gods have certain special characters in common, which cannot be discussed here. The *ἀνάκλησις*, or solemn evocation of the dead, is illustrated by Æschylus's *Persæ* and *Choephoræ*. The chthonian gods are especially powers of vengeance.

In Hom. *Il.* iii. 278 f., they are specially appealed to as punishers of perjury:

> καὶ οἳ ὑπένερθε καμόντας
> ἀνθρώπους τίνυσθον, ὅτις κ' ἐπίορκον ὀμόσσῃ

(thé dual indicating especially, in all seeming, Ζεὺς *καταχθόνιος* and Persephone). It is to their ministers, the Erinyes, that Penelope will appeal for vengeance (*Od.* ii. 135). It is to them that people 'devote' enemies by a solemn *devotio* (*κατάδεσμος*). It need only be said here that the ritual of the curse is so far at least like the prayer that it apparently requires to be spoken (even the *κατάδεσμος* was in all probability inscribed to the accompaniment of a recital of its contents).

Thus in Æsch. *Ag.* 226 ff. the lips of Iphigeneia are gagged to prevent her uttering a curse. Similarly, in the *Choephoræ* (83 f.) Electra does not know what words to utter as she makes an offering at her father's tomb, but she feels that she can hardly do it without some prayer spoken; to do so would be just like throwing out refuse:

> ἢ σῖγ' ἀτίμως, ὥσπερ οὖν ἀπώλετο
> πατήρ, τάδ' ἐκχέουσα, γάπιστον χύσιν,
> στείχω, καθάρμαθ' ὥς τις ἐκπέμψας πάλιν
> δίκουσα τεύχος ἀστρόφοισιν ὄμμασιν (88 ff.).

9. The occasions of prayer.—No business of importance was begun without prayer; indeed, the pious man begins no business of any sort without first praying:

Socr. 'It would be your business, it seems, to speak next, after duly invoking the gods' (*καλέσαντα κατὰ νόμον θεούς*). *Tim.* 'All men, Socrates, who have even a little portion of right feeling, on starting upon any business, small or great, always call on God. And we who are about to discuss the nature of the Universe—how it was created or exists uncreate—if we are not completely out of our wits, must certainly call upon gods and goddesses and pray that our words may be acceptable to them and consistent with ourselves' (Plato, *Tim.* 27 C; cf. Xen. *Œc.* v. 19 f.).

Prayer was made on all solemn occasions, at the opening of the ecclesia or the law-courts, on the new moon (Demosth. *Aristop.* 99), etc.; at sunrise and sunset (Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 338 f.).

For prayer at sunrise cf. Plato, *Symp.* 220 D, where Socrates, having stood in a trance from one morning to the next, prayed to the rising sun and went home (*εἱστήκει μέχρι ἕως ἐγένετο καὶ ἥλιος ἀνέσχεν· ἔπειτα ᾤχετ' ἀπιὼν προσευξάμενος τῷ ἡλίῳ*).

10. The content of prayer.—It would not be true to say that the Greek prayer was never a prayer of thanksgiving. This conception is more a question of language than anything else, and *προσεύχεσθαι* gives more nearly what we generally include in 'prayer' than *εὔχεσθαι*. But it is undoubtedly true that prayer in general, as we find it in the Greek authors, is essentially a petition for blessings of a utilitarian kind—health and wealth, children, success in business and in battle. The special circumstances of the case make it absurd to quote Simonides, frag. xxii. 17 ff., as an example of the prayer of a contrite heart.

The refinements of the philosophers perhaps hardly concern us here.[1] Socrates emphasizes the efficacy of the prayers (and the curses) of parents in Plato, *Legg.* 931 C.

He himself 'prayed to the gods simply that they would give him good things, believing that the gods know best what sort of things are good. As for those who prayed for gold or silver or a tyranny or such like, he believed that was just as if they prayed for gambling or battle or any thing else the issue of which is uncertain' (Xen. *Mem.* i. 3. 2).

[1] See Max. Tyr. xi. 8 (prayer a *ὁμιλία καὶ διάλεκτος πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς περὶ τῶν παρόντων*, not an *αἴτησις τῶν οὐ παρόντων*); Marc. Aurel. iv. 23, ix. 40; Philostr. *Apoll. Tyan.* iv. 40 (*ὧδε εὔχομαι, ὦ θεοί, δοίητέ μοι τὰ ὀφειλόμενα*); Sen. *Ep.* x. 5, xli. 1.

Not altogether unlike is Pindar's

'Some pray for gold and some for limitless land: but mine be it with the favour of my townsmen to hide my limbs in earth, praising what is worthy of praise and sowing rebuke on sinners' (*Nem.* viii. 36 ff.).

In Plato, *Alcib.* ii. 143 A, Socrates is made to say:

'He seems to have been a wise poet, Alcibiades, who, seeing, as I believe, his friends, who were foolish men, praying for and doing things which it was not good for them to do, offered a prayer in behalf of them all to this effect: "King Zeus, what things are good, give us even without asking; but what is evil, keep away from us even if we ask them."'

His prayer in Plato, *Phædr.* 279 B,

'O dear Pan and other gods who are here, grant me to become beautiful within (*καλῷ γενέσθαι τἄνδοθεν*), and grant that whatever outward possessions I have may be friendly to that which is within. Let me count the wise man a wealthy man. As for gold, give me just so much as none but the prudent man could bear or carry,'

is very close in spirit to the prayer of Pindar just referred to which commences:

'O father Zeus! never may such a character be mine, but let me cleave to simple [*i.e.* honest, true] paths of life, that when I die I may leave to my children no evil name.'

LITERATURE.—In addition to general works on Greek religion, see L. R. Farnell, *The Evolution of Religion*, London, 1905; C. Ausfeld, *De Græcorum precationibus quæstiones* (Fleckeisen, *Jahrbücher*, Suppl. xxviii.), Leipzig, 1903; C. Ziegler, *De precationum apud Græcos formis quæstiones selectæ*, Breslau Dissert., 1905; E. von Lasaulx, *Der Fluch bei den Griechen und Römern*, Würzburg, 1843; S. Sudhaus, 'Lautes und leises Beten,' *ARW* ix. [1906] 185 ff.; L. Radermacher, 'Schelten und Fluchen,' *ARW* xi. [1908] 11 ff.

A. W. MAIR.

PRAYER (Iranian). — Zoroastrianism being essentially a religion of ritual observance and of practical morality, Zoroastrian prayer is bound to be different from that of religions of a more cultual or devotional type. What we call 'prayers' in the Avesta are either mere invocations of gods and celestial powers—a recitation of names in a list of deities, such as often occurs in the *Yasna*—or confessions of a more theoretic or dogmatic character, as the *Ahuna Vairya*, the *Ashem vohū*, and other formulas. We also find—especially in the *Gāthas*—personal petitions, more for instruction and mental enlightenment, however, than for help or direct salvation. A system of prayers for the dead is included in the ritual. Requests for material gifts are far less important in the Avesta than, *e.g.*, in the Vedic ritual.

1. Ritual invocation.—The usual form in the *Yasna* is the following, repeated continually:

'I announce and I (will) complete (my offering) to Ahura Mazda, the Creator, the radiant and glorious, the greatest and the best . . . the most firm, the wisest. . . . I announce and complete to Vohu Manō, Asha Vahista, Khshathra-Vairiya, Spenta Ārmaiti . . . etc. . . . Yea, all ye lords, the greatest ones, holy lords of the ritual order, if I have offended you by thought, or word, or deed, whether with my will, or without intending error, I praise you (now the more) for this' (*Ys.* i. 1–22).

Another form (as in *Ys.* xvii. 11 ff.) is:

'We worship thee, the Fire, O Ahura Mazda's son! . . . We worship the good and best waters Mazda-made. . . . We worship the Māthra-spenta . . . We worship the good and pious prayer for blessings . . . and all the greatest chieftains, lords of the ritual order.'

Most of the verbs used in these texts are of the ritualistic type: *nivaedhayemi*, *hañkārayemi*, 'I announce and complete,' *yazamaidlz*, 'we worship' (in the sense of performing devotional acts). The verb *stuye*, 'I praise,' in i. 22, means oral praise, as known from the Sanskrit *stotra*, 'hymn'; all these terms convey the idea of glorifying the deities and the religion.

Sometimes, as in *Ys.* xviii. 4, the worshipper may ask for the blessings of religion:

'Grant me, Thou maker of the plants and waters, Immortality, Mazda!';

but ordinarily he expects to possess these prerogatives as a 'righteous' man (*i.e.* a Zoroastrian) and offers Mazda his praise in return for salvation:

'As to those, Immortality, the Righteous Order, and the Kingdom of Welfare, which Thou, O Mazda! hast given through (holy) deeds, words, and the sacrifice . . . gifts [shall] be offered (by us) in return to Thee, O Ahura!' (*Ys.* xxxiv. 1);

and now he begs Mazda to continue to uphold this order of salvation and to keep his followers in the truth :

'We pray for Thy Fire, O Ahura ! strong through Righteousness, most swift, [most] powerful, to the house with joy receiving it, in many wonderful ways our help, but to the hater, O Mazda ! it is a steadfast harm as if with weapons hurled from the hands' (*ib.* 4).

2. Petitions for personal enlightenment.—Petitions for mental enlightenment take up a great deal of space in the *Gāthas*; not a few of the holy truths are communicated in the form of questions and requests addressed by the prophet to Ahura Mazda or Vohu Manō. The whole of *Yasna* xliv., dealing with the theory of creation and cosmology, is in this form :

'This I ask Thee, O Ahura ! tell me aright : who, as a skilful artisan, hath made the lights and the darkness ?' (5).

Such questions assume the typical character of prayer when the worshipper asks for special instructions necessary for his own personal salvation :

'(Come Ye) and show me the worthy aims of our faith, so that I may approach and fulfil them with (Thy) Good Mind, the offering, O Mazda ! of the One like You, or the words of praises offered with Righteousness. And give Ye, as Your offering (of grace to me) the abiding gifts of Your Immortality and Welfare !' (*Ys.* xxxiii. 8).

In most of the *Gāthas* the prophet continues in the same idealistic but intellectualistic way. As the Zoroastrian believer must know—and receive—the truth in order to be saved, Zoroaster, as an example to his followers, must pray for his own and for their enlightenment.

3. Prayer for the dying and dead.—Another form of praying for salvation is seen in the prayers for the dying and the dead who belong to the religious community; unbelievers are excluded from salvation. These prayers, which are still made among the Parsis after the death of a beloved one (see J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, London, 1913, p. 313, n. 2), are called *āfrīngān* and *srōsh darūn* in Avesta. Their aim is to secure for the dead eternal bliss and happiness in heaven and in the future world, and they consist in sacerdotal ceremonies, celebrated on various occasions, but especially at the time when the dead are expected to visit the earth, and in connexion with funeral festivals. At these ceremonies the priests invoke many gods and genii, especially the angel of death, Srōsh (Sraosha), the psychopompos of the Iranians, who carries the dead to heaven and protects them from demons. In this dangerous task Sraosha needs the assistance of the offerings and prayers of the survivors. Yet the ceremonial act is an *opus operatum* of mere invocations, no immediate petitions being made in the ritual. Only the final words (of late date) in *Srōsh Yašt Hādhōkat* (*Yašt* xi.) express a direct request for bliss for the deceased :

'[Give] unto that man brightness and glory, . . . give him the bright, all-happy, blissful abode of the holy Ones !' (*Yt.* xi. 23).

4. Prayer for material gifts.—Material gifts are desired and asked for in the Avesta as in other religions, particularly as the general aim of the Zoroastrian religion is the conservation and renovation of the material world. Such petitions occur more frequently in the later Avesta than in the *Gāthas*, whose abstract and solemn character forbids them to descend to personal and private desires. The earthly bliss that the *Gātha*-singer longs for is more the general state of material happiness than any single advantage. A typical strophe in this respect is *Ys.* xxxiii. 10 :

'All prosperous states in being which have been enjoyed in the past, which men are now enjoying, and which shall be known in the future, do Thou grant (me) these in Thy love. (Yea), cause (our) bodily and personal life to be blest with salvation.'

The paraphrases of the commentators are usually far more concerned with concrete and individual happiness — *e.g.*, Neriosangh comments on this strophe :

'Let them continue to live well, and be prosperous in all things, those females who are born thus,' etc. (*SBE* xxxi. 77, n. 7).

They breathe the spirit of the later Avesta, which is more realistic in tone and is always seeking for the material help of the gods.

An offering is made to Mithra, Ashi Vanguhi, and the other gods of the *Yašts* for bringing 'swiftness to our teams, strength to our own bodies, and that we may watch with full success those who hate us, smite down our foes, and destroy at one stroke our adversaries' (petition to Mithra, *Yt.* x. 94). 'O ye waters, I beseech of you for wealth of many kinds, power, and for an offspring self-dependent whom multitudes will bless' (to Ardvi Sūra Anāhita, *Ys.* lxv. 11). In the *Fravardīn Yašt* (xiii.) to the Fravashis such petitions abound; and the genii bestow wealth and fertility on their own kindred, when they make offerings to them, saying : 'May my country grow and increase !' (68), offering to them 'for a dominion full of splendour, for a long, long life, and for all boons and remedies . . . to withstand the evil done by oppressors' (135).

The piety of the Zoroastrians was more realistic in the later Avesta, but not more personal or devotional than in the times of the *Gāthas*. On the contrary, in these hymns of old we meet with strophes of a very noble tenor, where the prophet tells of his sufferings and hopes and ardently beseeches his Lord and Master for help and consolation in his striving :

'How shall I conciliate Thy (grace) O Lord ? . . . Therefore I cry to Thee ; behold it, Lord ! desiring helpful grace for me, as friend bestows on friend. . . . Thee, for mine exhorter and commander, Living Lord ! I choose' (*Ys.* xlvi. 1–3).

LITERATURE.—There is no general discussion of the subject; for details see the introductions to the ritualistic hymns in J. Darmesteter, *Le Zend Avesta*, 3 vols., Paris, 1892–93, esp. his general introduction to the *Yasna*. K. F. Geldner, *GIAP* ii. [1896–1904] 23, gives a short description of the prayers (§ 20). The ritualistic hymns are translated by L. H. Mills and Darmesteter in *SBE* xxxi. [1887] and xxiii. [1883].

E. LEHMANN.

PRAYER (Jain).—It is extraordinarily difficult to discover the exact place that prayer holds in the Jain system. Every Jain is on the defensive lest his creed should be considered atheistic, and is unwilling to make any admission that might seem to point in that direction. Again, Jainism, like every other Indian faith, is so influenced by its environment and, in especial, borrows so much from Hinduism that not infrequently orthodox Jains in actual practice do many things not really in harmony with the principles of their religion; the difficulty is further enhanced for the investigator by the inexplicable ignorance which prevails among many Jains as to the articles of their creed. The most satisfactory way, perhaps, of arriving at any conclusion is to divide the subject of prayer into various elements, such as petition, intercession, adoration, confession, worship, and thanksgiving, and to note under each head the actual practice and the sometimes conflicting opinions of the Jains.

1. Petition.—As the Jain system is based on the root-idea of previously acquired *karma* automatically conditioning every incident of a man's life, past, present, and future, there is no subject which could logically be affected by petition. If a man is strong, happy, and wealthy in this life, it is owing to the merit that he has acquired in previous births; but no petition can prolong his fortunate condition. Again, if he is ill, unhappy, and poverty-stricken, it is due to his separate sins in a previous existence, and, as long as the accumulated energy of past bad actions lasts, his lot is evil and continues to be so until the moment arrives when the ill-omened energy is expended, the mechanism stops, the clock runs down, and the man, having worked out that particular sentence, passes on to endure the good or evil effects of the succeeding *karma* that he has attracted. But no petition can affect the mechanism of *karma*, no prayer mitigate his sentence of lives-long imprison-

ment to it. The Jains therefore hold that logically it is of no use to pray for health, wealth, or fame, since all are inexorably fixed by *karma*.

Again, not only is there no subject that could be affected by petition, but there is no one to whom prayer could be addressed, since the Jains acknowledge no supreme God, not knowing Him either as Creator, Father, or Friend. Nor would it, logically, be of any avail to pray to the deified men who have passed to the still land of endless inaction; for they take no more interest in worldly affairs. 'Of what use would it be for us to pray to a Siddha?', said a Jain gentleman to the present writer, 'he would no more hear us than would a dead animal.' Consequently, though the Jains perhaps lay greater stress on the duty of forgiving others for all personal slights, injuries, and offences than the followers of any other religion, one great subject of petition—forgiveness for sin—is, they hold, logically excluded, since there is no one to forgive the sin, no one greater than the mechanism of *karma*, no one who has never experienced its sway.

2. Intercession.—In the same way there is no room in the Jain system for intercession. As the belief in *karma* dries up all sympathy for the suffering of others, so it impedes any intercession for their deliverance. A child-widow is merely expiating the sin of adultery committed in a previous birth; a leper is only serving his sentence for some former, though unremembered, crime; and no intercession could mitigate or shorten their penal term of suffering.

Indeed, not only is intercession ineffectual, but to Jain ideas it is tainted by actual sin—the sin of spiritual bribery. If (since human need and human longings are greater than any creed) a prayer is wrung from an anguished mother in her extremity as she watches beside the sick-bed of her little child, she is told that she has committed the grave sin of *lokottara mithyātva*,[1] under which would also be included a childless woman's vow that, if a son be born to her, she will offer a cradle at some saint's shrine.

No people in India are prouder than the Jain community of their loyalty to British rule, but it is impossible for them logically to offer up prayers for the success of the Allied cause, as the Muhammadans and Hindus frequently do; all that is permissible for them is to hold meetings to express their ardent good wishes and fervent desires for a victorious peace.

Some well-instructed Jains account for the fact that some of the members of their community do use such phrases as 'O Lord (*Prabhu*), give me wealth,' 'O Lord (*Prabhu*), forgive me my sin,' by saying that the prayer is addressed neither to a supreme God nor to a deified man, but to their own inner consciousness, to stir themselves up to greater efforts; others, again, say that such phrases are metaphorical; a third explanation sometimes given is that they are due to the pervading influence of Hinduism.[2]

3. Adoration.—A Jain said to the writer: 'We are not beggars, and we cannot petition for boons like beggars, but by remembering our Tīrthaṅkara, we can pluck up heart to follow their example.' To this extent one element of prayer—adoration—is found in the Jain system. A Sthānakavāsī (non-idol-worshipping) Jain will declare that he rises before sunrise and, rosary in hand, adores the great saints and the great principles of the Jain creed; but, when the meaning of his devotion is fully explained, one realizes that the act is salutation rather than adoration. The attitude of the worshipper seems (to quote an illustration which all the Jain friends consulted by the writer have accepted) nearer to that of a French soldier paying his homage at the tomb of Napoleon and saluting the memory of a great hero than to the warm, personal adoration and loving faith connected with the Hindu idea of *bhakti*. Indeed, a Hindu told the writer that the vital distinction between the two creeds seemed to him to lie in the fact that the Jain system had no room for *bhakti*. The Jain telling his rosary of 108 beads would salute the Five Great Ones (Arihanta, Siddha, Āchārya, Upādhyāya, and Sādhu) and the great principles of knowledge, faith, character, and austerity. Then, repairing to the monastery or to some quiet place in his house, he would perform *sāmāyika*,[1] during which, after begging forgiveness for any injury done to the tiniest insect on his way to his devotions, he would promise to commit no sin for the space of forty-eight minutes, and then praise the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkara, saluting each by name in a set form of Māgadhī words, and would conclude by a salutation to a director (*guru*) if present; if not, to the north-east corner of the building.

4. Confession.—This is followed by the confession of sin, or *paḍikamaṇuṁ*, which is an essential part of Jain worship. The object of this confession, the Jain says, is not to obtain forgiveness of sins and removal of the guilt, but, by confessing and carrying out the penance imposed by the director, to perform an austerity, in the fire of which it is hoped to burn up some of the *karma* acquired by sinning. A difficulty has occasionally arisen in the minds of students of Jainism owing to the use of such expressions in Jain prayers as 'I crave forgiveness,' whereas the accepted Gujarātī comment or translation of such words appears to be little more than an expression of desire to be free from the fruit of such sin.[2] In this formal confession, however, the worshipper acknowledges his sins in the most careful way, confessing if he has sinned against knowledge in any of the fourteen special ways, or against faith in five ways, or if he has uttered any of the twenty-five kinds of falsehood, or committed any of the eighteen classes of sin, or in any way sinned against the Five Great Ones of the Jain faith, being specially careful of course to confess any sin against animal life, the taking of which is the most heinous crime to a Jain. This is followed by a repetition of the salutation to the Five Great Ones, and this, in turn, by another form of confession of the sins of that particular day, by a vow to fast in some way or other, if only for an hour (for the Jains lay the greatest stress on fasting), and the whole is concluded by an act of general praise. A devout Jain will repeat these religious exercises (which generally take about forty-eight minutes) in the evening. It is illuminating to notice that the director never seems to pronounce an absolution; he imposes a penance, generally concerned with fasting in some way or other, and the penitent simply goes away and performs it to the satisfaction of his own conscience.

No Jain is content with the austerity of a confession of sin night and morning; it is also incumbent upon him to examine his conscience still more scrupulously every fortnight, even more thoroughly at the four-monthly confession, whilst the most important of all is the great yearly confession at *Saṁvatsarī* (see art. FESTIVALS AND FASTS [Jain]).

After the evening confession the Jain, before sleeping, sings the praises of the Tīrthaṅkara, and

[1] M. Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 131.

[2] A Śvetāmbara Jain friend of the writer keeps Hindu gods in his house, that he may address petitions to them.

[1] For further details see Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 255 ff.

[2] Cf. *Sāmāyak* (in Māgadhī, with Gujarātī tr.), p. 11: 'May what I have done wrong be without fruit to my *jīva*.'

tells his beads, again making salutation to the Five Great Ones.

5. Temple-worship. — Besides meditation and confession, the daily devotions of a Śvetāmbara Jain include a visit to the temple, which he circumambulates three times before entering (as he crosses the threshold he touches it and utters three times the word '*Nissahi*,' which puts on one side all sins and worldly cares). The morning ritual[1] has eight parts—bathing the idol, marking it with the auspicious mark, offering it flowers and garlands, waving a lighted incense-stick in front of the image, waving a lamp before the shrine, offering rice, offering sweetmeats, and offering nuts. The first part, bathing the idol, can be performed only once, so only one worshipper can do that, but any man who has time to bathe at the temple and to don the special dress may mark the idol, offer flowers to it, and wave the incense-stick, which all involve entering the inner shrine and therefore are forbidden to any not in special clothes and to all women, who, however, may perform the remaining acts of worship. Before leaving the temple, the worshipper may sing the praises of the Tīrthaṅkara (this can be done at any time by any one entering the temple), and he then strikes a gong to show that he has finished. As he recrosses the temple threshold, he says, '*Āvissahi*' before resuming his usual vocation. About sunset he would perhaps go to the temple again and perform the evening worship, which consists in waving a lamp before the idol. On great festivals and at pilgrim resorts the worship is of course more elaborate.

6. Thanksgiving.—Just as no Jain can beg boons, so no Jain returns thanks for answered prayers, for sins forgiven, for hopes fulfilled. Every good thing that happens to him in this life is in direct payment for his own good actions in a past existence.

'Certainly,' says a recent writer,[2] 'the Jaina does not hope to ride into heaven on the "back of another." To him hope has about the same meaning as it has to the scientist who knows that H_2O would never fail to give him a drop of water if he would only take the trouble to work out the formula in practice.'

Perhaps for a European the whole Jain attitude to prayer is best summed up in Henley's words:

> 'I am the master of my fate:
> I am the captain of my soul'—

lines which it is interesting to compare with the *śloka* which many devout Jains repeat at night after they have read their sacred books:

'The soul is the maker and the non-maker, and itself makes happiness and misery, is its own friend and its own foe, decides its own condition good or evil. . . . The soul is the cow from which all desires can be milked, the soul is my heavenly garden.'

LITERATURE.—The information contained in this article has been derived directly from Jain informants. The reader may also consult the present writer's *Notes on Modern Jainism*, Oxford, 1910, *The Heart of Jainism*, do. 1915, and vernacular prayer-books and hymn-books, such as *Śrī Sāmāyaka tathā Śuddha Śraddhā svarūpa*, Ahmadabad, 1899, or *Anupūrvi ane Sādhuvandanā*, do. 1894; and *SBE* xxii. [1884], xlv. [1895].

MARGARET STEVENSON.

PRAYER (Japanese).—The prayers of Shintō, the Japanese national religion, are of a type conforming more to the formulæ of primitive magic than to modern Western prayer (see MAGIC [Japanese], vol. viii. esp. pp. 296ᵇ, 299ᵇ, *in fine*). They can be best understood by analyzing the characteristics of prayer in the earliest times.

1. By whom offered.—Private individual prayer, addressed by the worshipper directly to his god, scarcely ever occurs in the earliest sources. The *Kojiki* and the *Nihongi*, collections of the traditions of the mythology and early history of the empire, are naturally not concerned with the details of individuals, and merely mention now and then the worship of some legendary hero or important personage in some temple (*e.g.*, *Kojiki*, tr. B. H. Chamberlain[3], Tōkyō, 1906, pp. 216, 238, 260, etc.). But, when we notice that among the numerous archaic poems preserved in those collections (111 in the *Kojiki*, 132 in the *Nihongi*) there is not a single hymn or other such religious effusion, we are almost forced to the conclusion that prayer must have been of little moment in the everyday life of the primitive Japanese. On the other hand, individual prayers are fairly often mentioned in the poems of the *Manyōshiu*, which are not much later in date (9th cent.); but it is often difficult to distinguish the true Shintō element in these from the Buddhist influence already in evidence. In the pre-Buddhist period, then, we have scarcely any evidence of prayer except in its official, public form—offered, *i.e.*, in the name of the whole people first by the Mikado in person, whose office, according to etymology (*matsurigoto*), implied the idea of worship, then, when he delegated his sacerdotal function and retained only his political power, by the priests officiating as his representatives, the *nakatomi*, 'intermediary ministers,' the privileged, hereditary reciters of the *norito* (rituals). Another hereditary corporation, however, the *imibe*, 'abstaining' priests, used to read certain of the *norito* (nos. 8 and 9 in the *Engishiki* collection; see MAGIC [Japanese], vol. viii. p. 297). Apart from the emperor, the heads of noble families had charge of certain forms of cult—which explains the establishment, in 577, of a hereditary corporation for the worship of the sun. Finally, as the priesthood underwent organization, different classes of local priests performed similar functions, from the *kannushi*, chief priests in charge of a temple, down to the *hafuri* or *hōri*, inferior priests who were originally sacrificers but whose name came to be written with the Chinese characters meaning 'prayer-officials,' and the *negi*, also of humble rank, whose name seems simply to come from the verb *negafu*, 'to pray.'

2. To whom offered.—The *norito* were addressed sometimes to one or several individual gods, sometimes to a class of gods (*e.g.*, in 866 to the deities of all the provinces of the Nankaido district), and sometimes to all the gods (see MAGIC [Japanese]). An interesting point to notice here is that, with the development of the imperial prestige on the one hand, and ancestor-worship under Chinese influence on the other, the custom arose of addressing prayers to deceased Mikados. These prayers are not mentioned in any of the *norito* of the *Engishiki*, but only in the later *norito* (9th cent. onwards).

Prayers for rain were made in 841 to the emperor Jimmu and the empress Jingō: in 850 Jimmu was again besought to cure an illness of the reigning Mikado; in 864 and 866 prayers were offered to the emperor Ojin, who, under the name Hachiman, was destined to become one of the favourite figures in the Japanese pantheon.

3. For whom offered.—Prayer was made for the emperor, his court, and his people (see MAGIC [Japanese], vol. viii. esp. p. 296ᵇ, rituals 1–3, p. 297, rituals 4, 8–10, p. 298, rituals 12, 15, p. 299, rituals 25, 27). But it must be observed that in this very simple conception there is none of the moral ideas that lead us at various times to pray specially for the just, or for sinners, or for infidels, and so on. Similarly, there were no prayers for the dead, the idea of the soul's survival and fate in another world being very vague among the primitive Japanese (see ANCESTOR-WORSHIP [Japanese], vol. i. p. 456ᵇ).

4. For what offered.—Prayer was not made for the spiritual blessings that are regarded as the primary object of prayer in the West, but for far more practical and everyday boons. The Christian

[1] For further details see Stevenson, *Notes on Modern Jainism*, p. 102 ff.

[2] In the *Jaina Gazette*, Lucknow, Aug. 1915, p. 196

prays for whatever will help him to attain his final goal, viz. happiness in the future life; when he asks for grace, virtue, or other spiritual blessings, it is with this ideal in view; and he does not pray for bodily or material blessings, such as health and success, except as means to this end. The primitive Japanese had no such ideas. Their *norito* have no conception of moral progress or eternal salvation; they simply seek for earthly goods—for the emperor health, long life, protection of his palace from all forms of destruction, especially fire, safe journeys for ambassadors to foreign lands, and internal and external peace for his empire (see art. MAGIC [Japanese], vol. viii. p. 297, ritual 8 f., p. 298, rituals 11 f., 14 f., p. 299, rituals 23, 27); for the people a good harvest, protection of the crops from inclement weather or floods, rain in times of drought, safety from epidemics, and general prosperity (*ib.* p. 296[b], ritual 1, p. 297, ritual, 4, p. 298, ritual 13, p. 299, ritual 25). The idea of purification, which often appears in these texts (*ib.* p. 297[b], ritual 10, and *passim*), is confined mainly to ritual purity, though the moral element is not quite excluded. Sometimes the *norito* is meant to appease the anger of the gods, when the care of their temples or the precautions for ritual purity necessary for their worship have been neglected. Finally, besides petitions and expiations, the *norito* is sometimes a means of announcing some important piece of news to the gods—an accession to the throne, the changing of the name of an era, an enemy invasion, the nomination of a prince as heir or of a vestal of imperial blood, and so on. The most interesting among these announcements are unquestionably those advising a deity of his promotion, by the emperor, to a higher rank in the celestial hierarchy (based on the Chinese system of official ranks, in the 7th century).

In 672 three deities supplied some useful military information; as soon as the war was finished, the emperor, upon the report received from his generals, raised these deities to higher rank. In 838 a similar distinction was bestowed on a young god in defiance of seniority, and a jealous goddess showed her anger by pouring a volcanic shower on the eastern provinces. In 840 the great deity of Deha sent a shower of stones, and the emperor conferred the second grade of the fourth rank on her, with congratulations on her marvellous power. In 851 Susa-no-wo and Oho-kuni-nushi (see NATURE [Japanese], vol. ix. p. 255[b], and HEROES AND HERO-GODS [Japanese], vol. vi. p. 662[b]) obtained the second grade of the third rank, and, eight years after, the first grade of the same rank, which, however, does not make them higher than an important minister or a successful chamberlain. In 860 a volcano of Satsuma was placed in a lower subdivision of the second grade of the fourth rank. In 868 the gods of Hirota and Ikuta caused seismic shocks, and were immediately presented with a diploma. In 898, 340 gods were promoted by the emperor Daigo as a bounty, at his happy accession. In 1076 and 1172 promotions were made *en masse*.

These examples show the essentially positive character of the *norito* and the distance that separates them from the lyrical outbursts that we think of when we speak of prayer properly so called. Even in those *norito* which approach most nearly to normal prayer the formula is more of the nature of a contract with the gods; gifts and vague praises are offered to them in exchange for their benefits, and they are promised further rewards, if necessary, should their services turn out satisfactory (see MAGIC [Japanese], vol. viii. p. 296[b], rituals, 1–3, p. 297, ritual 4).

5. Nature of prayer.—We must distinguish between the basis and the form, the moral dispositions and the material conditions. As regards the inner feelings, a reading of the *norito* shows that the primitive Japanese, though they felt sincere regard for the beneficent gods (see NATURE [Japanese], vol. ix. p. 233), never had that implicit confidence in addressing them which is generally considered, especially among Christian peoples, an essential quality in prayer. On the contrary, it is clearly seen that they often distrusted their gods, for they sometimes made them conditional offerings only (*e.g.*, MAGIC [Japanese], vol. viii. p. 296[b], ritual 1, and below, ritual 3). This attitude throws light on the magical rather than religious character of their invocations.

As regards the material conditions, it is not surprising to find that this people, always so polite, maintained a most respectful attitude towards their gods. Sometimes they bowed to the ground (the verb *wogamu*, 'to pray,' comes from *wori-kagamu*, 'to bend,' according to the native philologists); sometimes they bent the knee 'like the stag,' or 'plunged down the root of the neck like the cormorant'; they clapped their hands (*kashi-hade*)—a mark of respect in ancient Japan; they 'humbly presented' or 'raised aloft' in front of them or on their heads (*itadaku*) their offerings, which, they declared, had been 'prepared with profound respect'; and in the same deferential attitude they 'lifted their eyes' (*awogu*) to the heavens (see *TASJ* vii. [1889], pt. ii. pp. 116 f., 130, pt. iv. pp. 426, 433 f., 444, etc.). But there is no doubt that the essential point was the perfect accuracy of the formula pronounced, for on it depended the magical virtue of the prayer (see, *e.g.*, MAGIC [Japanese], vol. viii. p. 298[a]). The Japanese, however, gave the gods the credit of being sensitive to the literary beauty of the text, to the sonorousness of their long, majestically balanced periods; *e.g.*, in one version of the *Nihongi* (i. 46; tr. W. G. Aston, London, 1896, i. 49) the sun-goddess is represented as having been won over by the harmonious language of the ritual composed to persuade her to leave her cavern and light the universe again.

6. Place of prayer.—The place for offering prayers naturally depended on the ceremonies with which they were connected. It was often the palace itself (*e.g.*, to mention only some of the important rituals, nos. 1, 8, 10, 12, etc.), the great temple of Ise (*e.g.*, nos. 16–24), or other sacred places, and sometimes the temple of a local god (*e.g.*, no. 5, at Hirano, a village in the province of Settsu). In many cases the chief ceremony took place at Kyōto and was repeated in the province. There were also domestic celebrations, as at the *Niihinamé* (see MAGIC [Japanese], vol. viii. p. 298[b], ritual 14), which, besides its public rites in the temple, was performed privately in the family, and to which no stranger was admitted—for fear of pollution, no doubt. What the texts never mention is the intimate individual prayer in the inner chamber which the gospel recommends (Mt 6[6]). This seems to have had practically no place in the devotions of the primitive Japanese.

7. Times of prayer.—Sometimes prayers were monthly (the title of the 7th ritual, *Tsukinami no Matsuri*, shows that originally at least it was a 'monthly' celebration), sometimes twice a year (*e.g.*, 10th ritual), sometimes annual (*e.g.*, 1st ritual), at certain appointed months and days (*e.g.*, 1st ritual on 4th day of 2nd month; 10th ritual, on last day of 6th and 12th months), and at fixed hours (*e.g.*, 3rd ritual, at sunrise; 10th ritual, at sunset). Others were used only when the occasion for which they were suited arose (*e.g.*, 14th ritual, at the accession of a new emperor). The priestly functionaries, from the Mikado himself, seem to have prayed much more frequently; we know, *e.g.*, that a high official called *haku*, who presided over the Jingikwan ('Department of Religion'), took the emperor's place whenever he was prevented by illness from saying his daily prayers. But here again the texts make no mention of daily prayers, far less of prayers twice or thrice daily, among the people, and it is probable that they were usually content to leave that duty to those whose professional function it was to offer prayers.

8. Typical example of Shintō prayer.—As a

typical example, in which the general features of the rituals are combined under the recognized form, we may quote the 3rd *norito*, which is neither among the finest nor among the poorest, but is a good average, and is short. It is addressed to the goddess of food, one of the great figures in Shintō (see NATURE [Japanese], vol. ix. p. 239[b], last paragraph, and p. 240), and, secondarily, to the gods of ravines who send water to irrigate the imperial farms.

'He [the *nakatomi*, in the name of the Mikado] declares the august name of the sovran god whose praises are fulfilled at Kahahi in Hirose [a village in the district of Hirose, where the goddess has a secondary temple, her chief temple being at Ise]. Declaring her august name at the Young-food-woman's augustness [Waka-uka-no-me no mikoto, one of the alternative names of the goddess], who rules over the august food, he fulfils praises in the august presence of this sovran deity. He says: "Hear all ye *kannushi* and *hafuri* the fulfilling of praises, by sending the princes and councillors to lift up and bring the great august offerings of the sovran august grandchild's augustness." He says: "Deign to declare in the presence of the sovran deity that as to great august offerings which are set up, he deposits in abundance and offers up, as to august clothing, bright cloth, glittering cloth, fine cloth, and coarse cloth, the five kinds of things, a mantlet, spear, and august horse; and as to august liquors, raising high the beer [sakē]-jars, filling and ranging in rows the bellies of the beer-jars, in soft grain and in coarse grain [*i.e.* hulled rice and paddy]; as to things which dwell in the mountains, things soft of hair and things rough of hair [birds and beasts]; as to things which grow in the great field plain, sweet herbs and bitter herbs; as to things which dwell in the blue sea plain, things wide of fin and things narrow of fin, down to weeds of the offing and weeds of the shore." He says: "Declare in the presence of the sovran deity that, if the sovran deity with peaceful and tranquil heart accepts as peaceful august offerings and sufficient august offerings the great august offerings thus set up, and if the sovran deity will deign to perfect and bless in many-bundled ears the sovran deity's harvest-fields in the first place and also the late-ripening august harvest which the august children [princes of the blood], princes, councillors and great august people of the region under heaven shall make by dripping the foam from their arms and drawing the mud together between the opposing thighs, in order that it may be taken by the sovran august grandchild's augustness with ruddy countenance as his long august food and distant august food, he will draw hither the firstfruits both in liquor and in husk, even to a thousand plants and many thousands plants, and piling them up like a range of hills, will offer them up at the autumn service." He says: "Hear all ye *kannushi* and *hafuri*." He sets up the great august offerings of the sovran august grandchild's augustness, bright cloth, glittering cloth, soft cloth, and coarse cloth, the five kinds of things, down on the mantlet and spear, in the presence of the sovran gods also who dwell in the entrances of mountains of the six august farms of the province of Yamato. As to the setting up of offerings in this way, if the water which the sovran gods deign to send boiling down the ravines from the entrances of the mountains which they rule be received as sweet water, and ye [gods of the mountains] will deign to bless the late-ripening harvest which the great august people of the region under heaven have made, and deign not to inflict on it bad winds and rough waters, the princes, councillors, functionaries, down to the male and female servants of the six august farms of the province of Yamato, will all come forth on the [number] day of the [number] month of this year, to set up the firstfruits in juice and in the husk, raising high the beer-jars, filling and ranging in rows the bellies of the beer-jars, piling up the offerings like a range of hills, and plunging down the root of the neck cormorant-wise in the presence of the sovran gods, will fulfil praises as the morning sun rises in glory' (*Hirose oho-imi no matsuri*, tr. E. Satow, in *TASJ* vii. pt. iv. p. 433).

9. **Modern prayer.**—Later, when the nationalist scholars tried to revive pure Shintō, in opposition to Buddhism and Confucianism, the most devout of them, Hirata, composed in 1811 a book of prayers called *Tamadasuki*, which, unlike the ancient *norito*, was meant for private worship. It is interesting to see how prayer was conceived by the chief theologian of modern Shintoism. Hirata's views are as follows:

'As the number of the gods who possess different functions is so great, it will be convenient to worship by name only the most important, and to include the rest in a general petition. Those whose daily affairs are so multitudinous that they have no time to go through the whole of the following morning prayers, may content themselves with adoring the residence of the emperor, the domestic *kami-dana* [the shelf on which the household gods are placed], the spirits of their ancestors, their local patron god, and the deity of their particular calling in life. In praying to the gods, the blessings which each has it in his power to bestow are to be mentioned in a few words, and they are not to be annoyed with greedy petitions; for the Mikado in his palace offers up petitions daily on behalf of his people, which are far more effectual than those of his subjects. Rising early in the morning, wash your face and hands, rinse out the mouth, and cleanse the body. Then turn towards the province of Yamato, strike the palms of the hands together twice, and worship, bowing the head to the ground. The proper posture is that of kneeling on the heels, which is ordinarily assumed in saluting a superior.'

Then follows a specimen prayer: 'From a distance I reverently worship with awe before Ame no Mi-hashira and Kuni no Mi-hashira, also called Shina-tsu-hiko no kami and Shina-tsu hime no kami [the god and goddess of wind; see art. NATURE [Japanese], vol. ix. p. 236[a]], to whom is consecrated the palace built with stout pillars at Tatsuta no Tachinu in the department of Heguri in the province of Yamato [cf. art. MAGIC [Japanese], vol. viii. p. 297[a], ritual 4]. I say with awe, deign to bless me by correcting the unwitting faults which, seen and heard by you, I have committed, by blowing off and clearing away the calamities which evil gods might inflict, by causing me to live long like the hard and lasting rock, and by repeating to the gods of heavenly origin and to the gods of earthly origin the petitions which I present every day, along with your breath, that they may hear with the sharp-earedness of the forth-galloping colt.' (Other analogous prayers follow, addressed to other deities, for which see Satow, 'The Revival of pure Shin-tau,' in *TASJ* iii., App., Yokohama, 1883, p. 72 ff.)

Without emphasizing the artificial nature of these prayers, which, in spite of the express aim of their author to the contrary, are patently inspired largely by Buddhist tendencies and especially by Chinese ideas, we may question whether they were ever used by the worshippers for whom they were intended, for the first five volumes of Hirata's book were not printed till 1829, and the following four not till some time after his death, which occurred in 1843.

Official *norito* are composed to this day, for all special occasions (*e.g.*, the conferring of posthumous honours on early Mikados, invocation of the gods of war, etc.). On the other hand, the common people offer informal prayers to various familiar gods—*e.g.*, to Inari, originally the protector of agriculture, then a kind of Japanese Providence, when they are sowing rice or beginning a commercial enterprise, etc. The worshipper who may be seen standing in front of a temple, pulling the white cord that rings a bell to attract the attention of the god, and then praying for a moment with clasped hands, is usually offering a personal petition of the most paltry kind. The more general type of modern prayer asks for 'peace to the land, safety to the household, and abundant harvest.' But modern Shintō prayers, like those of twelve hundred years ago, are always essentially positive, inspired by human wisdom alone; and, whenever a somewhat elevated moral or mystical idea appears in them, it is the result of Buddhist influence.

LITERATURE.—See the sources cited in the article.

MICHEL REVON.

PRAYER (Jewish).—I. *BIBLICAL AND PRE-TALMUDIC.*—As far back as we can trace its history, we find prayer occupying a central position in the Jewish religion. It was an inseparable accompaniment of sacrifice, and its significance in the religious life of the individual and of the nation at large increased in the same degree as the knowledge of the power, justice, and goodness of God advanced. A profound conception of the nature of prayer is betrayed in the designation *tephillāh*, which, according to Goldziher, really means 'invocation of God as judge.' In the mouth of almost all the important characters of the OT, from Abraham onwards, we find personal prayers—prayers of thanksgiving and praise, of intercession and confession. A very characteristic example is found in Solomon's prayer at the dedication of the Temple (1 K 8^{12-53}), which, although undoubtedly of a later date, contains all the four kinds of prayer mentioned above. Down to the last days of the first Temple there were no formal prescribed prayers—not even a general command to pray. Prayer was rather, both in form and in contents, an individual thing, nor was there any kind of precept as to its time or place. In Dt $26^{5-10.\ 13-15}$

we meet for the first time with forms of prayer, which are to be uttered on the occasions of offering the firstlings and the tithes. Among the prayers of individuals before the Exile those of the prophet Jeremiah are of the highest order (Smend, *AT Religionsgeschichte*[2], p. 263 f.).

1. The prophets.—The work of the prophets in making religion more of an inward thing, which found expression chiefly in their low estimate of the sacrificial cult, did not have its full effect among the mass of the people till the time of the Exile, when it found its natural expression in the prayers of the Jews. Towards the end of the Exile a prophet (Is 56[7]) describes the temple of the future as a 'house of prayer for all peoples.'

2. The Psalms.—At a later date the prayers known to us as 'the Psalms' took their rise, but, owing to a tendency of a still later period, they were referred back to remote antiquity—to the time of David. They are far more probably the fruit of the religion of the prophets, giving in prayer-form the thoughts that had entered into the consciousness of the people from the teaching of the prophets. After the return from the Exile, and when the second Temple had been erected, the Psalms became the Temple liturgy, in spite of the fact that, to a considerable extent, they formed a protest against the sacrificial cult of the Temple. That God desires and needs no sacrifice, but only the pure heart and the good deed, is a constantly recurring theme of the Psalms. Besides the moral teaching of the religion of the prophets, the Psalms deal chiefly with the sufferings of the people—particularly of the righteous—the sins of the nation and of the individual, memories of the nation's past, hopes of the final mercy of God, and His justice and power in nature and in history.

The collecting of the Psalms, which was gradually accomplished between the Exile and the Maccabæan period, was undoubtedly made in the first place for liturgical purposes; still it is very questionable, in the case of many Psalms, whether they were originally composed as songs for the congregation, while, in the case of others, the titles themselves as well as internal evidence point to their liturgical use. In form the Psalms are very varied and differ much in value, but, as far as their contents are concerned, they represent the highest product of the religious poetry of all nations.

'After reading the prayers of other nations, no unprejudiced critic would deny that the Hebrew Psalms stand out unique among the prayers of the whole world, by their simplicity, their power and the majesty of their language, though, like all collections of prayers, the collection of the Psalms also contains some which one would not be sorry to miss' (Max Müller, 'On Ancient Prayers,' in *Semitic Studies in Memory of Rev. Dr. Alexander Kohut*, Berlin, 1897, p. 40).

3. The synagogue.—The Psalms, which indeed still presuppose the sacrificial cult, and were sung in connexion with it, symbolize the transition to the new form of worship which we find in the synagogue. The origin of the synagogue is hidden in obscurity, but it is pretty certain that the work of Ezra, in introducing the Tôrāh as the law-book and book of devotion for the whole people, led to the institution of the synagogue (*bêth hakk^{e}nēseth*, 'house of assembling'; then translated Gr. συναγωγή along with προσευχή). The first mention of synagogues seems to occur in a Maccabæan Psalm (74[8]). In the first place the synagogue served the purposes of religious instruction, and was the means by which the Tôrāh entered into the flesh and blood of the people—a result which we see clearly in several Psalms (19[8-12] 119). In the reading of the Tôrāh, with accompanying translation and explanation in the Aramaic dialect of the people, which took place on all the Sabbaths, feast-days, and the market-days (Mondays and Thursdays), the people were at first entirely passive, being merely listeners. Gradually prayer was added—at first only in the form of several important sections of the Tôrāh, which bore the character of a devotional or edifying reading, and which were repeated by the people as a sort of confession. This is the so-called *Sh^{e}ma'* (Dt 6[4-8] 11[13-21], Nu 15[37-41]). It was regarded by Josephus (*Ant.* IV. viii. 13) as an institution that had long existed. Gradually the *Sh^{e}ma'* was provided with a framework of introductory and concluding pieces, which were no longer taken from the Tôrāh, but were original compositions that, as far as their contents were concerned, were prayers in the real sense of the term.

Besides these, there arose, perhaps at the same time, a quite independent prayer, which was designated as the prayer κατ' ἐξοχήν, as *t^{e}phillāh*. This prayer, which has gone through a considerable historical development and in its later form was called *Sh^{e}mōneh 'Esrēh* (*i.e.* 'eighteen,' because it contains eighteen benedictions), seems to be influenced in some way by the Hebrew Psalm of Sirach (51[12]). The oldest part of the prayer is composed of the first three and the last three benedictions. The *Sh^{e}mōneh 'Esrēh* remains to the present day the real congregational prayer of Judaism. It is very well suited to this purpose, as it unites in simple speech the four chief kinds of prayer (thanksgiving, praise, petition, and confession), and gives expression to them from the standpoint of the people as a whole.

4. Family prayer.—Along with the synagogue the home also became a place of worship. It is doubtful whether the praying three times a day mentioned in Ps 55[17] and Dn 6[10] was a standing institution. In any case it is certain that at an early date family prayer, with a special liturgy for the evening of the Passover and for the beginning and end of the Sabbath (*Qiddūsh*, *Habhdālāh*), was customary. Then, too, prayer was offered at the beginning and end of every meal; and, later, on the occasion of every enjoyment whatever, at the commencement of every important work, at every outstanding event or experience, a special *b^{e}rākhāh* (blessing) was spoken. Thus in course of time every activity of life, every place, and every portion of time were permeated with thoughts of God. The demand that every action should be *l^{e}shēm shāmāyim* ('to the name of God,' 'consecrated to God') was thus literally fulfilled and 'the whole of life became a Divine service with interruptions' (M. Steinschneider).

5. Rivalry between synagogue and Temple.—This new form of worship in the synagogue and in the home constitutes perhaps the greatest and most radical reform in the whole history of the Jewish religion. For, although we possess no historical report of any revolt against the introduction of this worship, there naturally existed from the beginning a deep-seated opposition between the ancient Temple cult, which presupposed only one central sanctuary, and the synagogues, which existed in countless numbers and could be erected even beyond the confines of Palestine, wherever Jews were to be found. In the Temple a hereditary priestly aristocracy conducted the service, while the new form of worship was based on a purely democratic foundation, and any one who possessed sufficient knowledge and commanded respect might officiate. In the one case sacrifices, which at least in part were of a sacramental nature (*e.g.*, the sacrifices of atonement and purification), formed the chief part of the service, while the liturgy had only a secondary place. In the synagogue, on the other hand, the model of a purely spiritual service was seen for the first time. Here

there was to be found nothing mystical or symbolical—only prayer and instruction, without any ritual accompaniment. In this respect the synagogue is the most real result of the prophetic religion. It made Judaism entirely independent of the Temple, and prepared men's minds for its overthrow.

6. Use of the popular dialect.—It is also worthy of mention that everywhere the dialect of the people was used in prayer along with Hebrew. In fact, in many important prayers the popular language was prescribed for those who did not know Hebrew. The Egyptian Jews in particular, who used the Septuagint instead of the Hebrew originals in divine service, developed also a Greek prayer-book. The numerous prayers contained in the Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha indicate how rich this literature must have been.

The early Christian liturgy is entirely modelled on the Jewish. This is seen not only in the Lord's Prayer, which is entirely composed of parts of Jewish prayer, but also in the other ancient Christian prayers as well as in the whole organization of the service.

7. Consequences of the destruction of the Temple.—After the fall of Jerusalem and the destruction of the Temple the synagogue, which had for long been the most important representative of Jewish religious life, became the only centre uniting the Jews of the Dispersion. From this time onwards the scribes sought more and more to establish, as far as possible, uniformity in the services. With the exception of a few ancient prayers in the Aramaic dialect (*e.g.*, the *Qaddish*), Hebrew alone came to be used in public prayer. The language of the prayers also became more fixed; in particular, the *Sh*ᵉ*mōneh 'Esrēh* underwent what was for the time at least a final revision; new prayers for the service of the congregation were composed; the time and the outward form of the service as a whole were more and more fixed with painful exactness. While at an earlier date the element of instruction held the chief place, now prayer came to occupy an equally important position. The reading, translation, and explanation of the Scriptures on Sabbaths and feast-days continued to form an integral part of the service. In addition to the reading of the Tôrāh, lessons were also read from the Prophets, to which the name *haphṭārāh* (*i.e.* 'closing') was applied, because they concluded the service, or because they concluded the reading of the Tôrāh. The explanation of the sections read from the Tôrāh was called the Midrāsh, and developed gradually into lectures based on a Scripture text and embracing the whole body of Jewish religious and national ideas. These lectures formed the model for the Christian sermon.

The classical work of Zunz, *Die gottesdienstliche Vorträge der Juden*, gives a critical history of the Midrāsh and at the same time of the synagogue service, while it brings out clearly the intimate historical connexion between prayer and sermon, which mutually completed and enriched each other.

The content of the prayers was widened after the destruction of the Temple, when the desire for the restoration of political independence, the rebuilding of the Temple, and the re-introduction of its worship came to occupy an important place. This desire appears, for the most part, in connexion with the Messianic hope, which is found in prayers from the time of Sirach, but first obtained decisive significance in the consciousness of the people after the great national catastrophe. This hope appears now in a gross form in the purely external conception that an earthly saviour would free the people from misery and servitude, now in a deeper and more spiritual form in the vision of the coming of the Kingdom of God (*Malkhūth shāmāyim*), *i.e.* the time when God shall be acknowledged and worshipped by all peoples, and when righteousness and peace shall reign on the whole earth.

This thought finds full expression in the prayers appointed for the New Year Festival and for the Day of Atonement, partly composed at the beginning of the 3rd century A.D.

As an example we may refer to the prayer ascribed to Rabh (175–247) based on Sirach 36 (33)$^{1ff.}$: 'Lay then Thy fear on all Thy creatures, that all beings may worship, that all whom Thou hast created may fall before Thee, and that all may make one only covenant to do Thy will with all their heart, as we have long known that the power and the might belongeth unto Thee, and that Thy name is exalted over all that Thou hast created.'

In the liturgy associated with these two festivals the creative religious genius of Talmudic Judaism was specially manifested. For the richness of this New Year's liturgy in beautiful and thoughtful prayers was really the first thing to lend a religious significance to this festival, and to give it the place which it has since held in the popular consciousness alongside of the festival of the Day of Atonement as one of the chief festivals of the year. These prayers, in which the national element recedes into the background, ascribe to God the dignity of the world's Judge on the one hand and that of the forgiving Father on the other, and offer us a clear view of the whole Jewish system of doctrine regarding sin, repentance, and forgiveness.

II. *TALMUDIC AND MEDIÆVAL.*—**1. Prayer and service in the Talmud.**—The predominating place which the synagogue service came to occupy in the religious life finds outward expression in the fact that the Mishnāh, the official law-book (closed about A.D. 200), begins with the treatise *Bᵉrākhôth*, which deals with prayer in all its aspects. The wealth of material contained in this treatise, as well as in the treatises *Mᵉgillāh* and *Ta'anîth* in the Mishnāh, and in the contemporaneous but unaccepted collection Tosephta, was materially increased in the following three centuries in the high schools of Palestine and Babylon, and its religious and historical significance has never been sufficiently appreciated. In spite of the scruples entertained among Jewish scholars about reducing prayers to a fixed form, and although they even censured those who could not vary them, and opposed the writing down of prayers ('Those who commit prayers to writing burn the Tôrāh' [Tos. *Shabbāth*, xiii. 4]), the necessities of life brought about a uniformity in the synagogue service and partially even in family worship. This was the case among the whole people, the individuality of the worshipper being disregarded. It required several centuries, however, before congregational prayer really assumed a fixed form. Within the prescribed prayers room was of course left at various places for the individual needs of the worshipper.

This stated synagogue service was of the greatest importance in the religious training of the people. Prayers were offered three times every day (*shaḥarîth, minḥāh, ma'arībh*); on Sabbaths and feast-days a fourth supplementary prayer (*mūsāph*) took the place of the earlier sacrifices. By means of these services the most important religious duties, the chief doctrines of Judaism, and the most important hopes of his nation were ever afresh brought home to the consciousness of the worshipper, so that he never was actually freed from the atmosphere of prayer.

On the other hand, there was a danger in these prayers which were fixed and unchangeable as to hour, content, and form. They tended, among the masses of the people, to make prayer a purely external and mechanical affair. Hence the scholars who were the framers of the public liturgy constantly emphasized that prayer was to be regarded not as an obligatory service, but as a 'worship with the heart'—that 'God desires only the heart.'

Accordingly, short prayers were frequently recommended, and as early as the beginning of the 3rd cent. a short extract was taken from the *Sh^{e}mōneh '^{E}srēh* (*Hăbhinēnū*). In this connexion there is a specially significant conception for which we have no term in any other ancient language—not even in the NT—namely, *kawwānāh*, 'devotion' (more exactly *kawwānāth hallēbh*, 'direction of the heart'). The *kawwānāh* is, in numerous passages in the Talmud, demanded as the chief requirement for every prayer. These passages have been collected by Maimonides (12th cent.), who has expressed the demand for contemplative devotion in the following form:

'Prayer without devotion is no prayer at all. The man who has prayed without devotion ought to pray once more. He whose thoughts are wandering or occupied with other things need not pray. . . . What then is devotion? One must free his heart from all other thoughts and regard himself as standing in the presence of God. Therefore, before engaging in prayer, the worshipper ought to go aside for a little in order to bring himself into a devotional frame of mind, and then he must pray quietly and with feeling, not like one who carries a weight and throws it away and goes farther. Then after prayer the worshipper ought to sit quiet for a little and then depart. The pious folk of old waited an hour before prayer and an hour after, and engaged in prayer for a whole hour. . . . One ought not to go to prayer immediately after jest or frivolous talk, or conversation, quarrelling or anger, but only after a discourse of a religious tenor' (*Mishneh Tōrāh, Hilekhōth Tephillāh* iv. 15 f.).

2. Social significance of the service.—Since in the prayers of the congregation the individual's private interests had to take a second place, the public services constituted an important social factor. In the synagogue there was no room for egoistic prayers, and even in the prayers for the congregation requests for material good were subordinated to petitions for the enlightening of the spirit and for moral power. As these prayers did not satisfy the individual needs of the worshipper, a number of personal prayers were formed for private devotion which differed in outward form from the prayers of the congregation by the use of the singular, while the latter invariably use the plural. These personal prayers were said at the end of the public worship (cf. Elbogen, *Studien*, p. 41). They are characterized by a special tenderness and inwardness and only a few of them have been included in the Jewish Prayer Book. As an example of these private prayers we may quote the prayer of R. Yehuda, the redactor of the Mishnāh, which is still preserved in the daily morning prayer:

'May it be Thy will, eternal God, our God, the God of our fathers, to keep us [in the Prayer Book 'me'] from insolence that is foreign to us, or arrogance that is our own, from an evil man, an evil fate, an evil instinct, an evil companion, an evil neighbour, from the tempter who brings destruction, from a cruel judgment-seat and a cruel enemy, be he a son of the covenant [*i.e.* a Jew] or be he a stranger' (*Berākhōth*, 16*b*). A number of other private prayers are found translated in the present writer's *Bousset's Rel. des Judentums . . . kritisch untersucht*, p. 99 f.

Beautiful thoughts on prayer are to be found scattered through the whole of the Talmudic literature, and they testify to a sound moral judgment as well as to keenness in psychological insight. We may here quote the most interesting sentence:

'It can be discovered from the prayers of a man, whether he be a *talmīdh ḥākhām* [*i.e.* a man of culture in the moral and religious sphere] or a *bōr* [*i.e.* an uncultured person]' (Tos. *Berākhōth*, i. 6, and parallel passages).

3. External form of the service.—Regarding the external form of the service, we can gather very little from ancient sources. The reason for this silence is, of course, to be found in the absolute simplicity of the service, which was devoid of anything like ceremony. Owing to the lack of any written prayer-book in the age of the Talmud, the prayers had to be spoken by a reciter (*sh^{e}liaḥ ṣibbûr*, lit. 'deputy of the congregation'; later, *ḥazzān*), and the people took part in them, repeating in many places 'Amen,' but often expressing their agreement in longer responses. Any full-grown male Jew might act as leader in prayer, but the duty was preferably entrusted to the most learned. The leader went (at least in Babylonia; cf. Elbogen, *Studien*, p. 33) to a lower place in front of the worshippers and prayed standing, with his face turned towards the sacred ark. The congregation, consisting of at least ten male adults, stood during a part of the prayers (particularly during the *Sh^{e}mōneh '^{E}srēh*, which thus came to be called *'Amīdhah*). At other parts they bent their heads, and at some portions sank down on their knees. During prayer the worshippers covered themselves with the prayer-cloth (*ṭallîth*), which was provided with fringes (*ṣîṣîth*). On week-days the phylacteries (*t^{e}phillîn*) were also worn on the head and the left arm. The use of these was based on the literal interpretation of the two passages contained in the *Sh^{e}ma'* (viz. Dt 6^{8} and Nu 15$^{37ff.}$). The *ṭallîth* and *t^{e}phillîn* were supposed to serve as memorials (*'ōth*), but not as amulets. Neither to any of the customs mentioned nor to prayer at all (contrasting with Christianity) was there any kind of material influence ascribed. Nor, as was expressly emphasized, did the benediction of the priest have any external effect, 'as God but not the priests can grant blessing' (*Siphrē*, § 43, on Nu 6^{27}). Moreover, the strict monotheism of the Jews permitted no kind of mediation in prayer by higher beings. Only in a few places (and in none of the official prayers) do we find the angels called on to intercede, while eminent scholars protested emphatically against the custom. It was not till the Middle Ages, when, owing to external oppression and internal ignorance, a darker spirit took possession of Judaism, that the expression 'the angel of mercy' was introduced into the Prayer Book by the Ḳabbālā. Even the names of the angels invoked in prayer—Sandalphōn and Meṭaṭrōn—show that we have here to do with ideas introduced from without.

The close of the Talmud (*c.* A.D. 500), when all Jewish traditions were reduced to writing, did not by any means give the liturgy a stereotyped form, although prayer-books can be traced back to the 7th century. On the other hand, we have now, much more than formerly, alongside of the statutory prayers, to reckon with the *minhāgh*, *i.e.* the local usage which not only decided on form and use and created many new prayers, but also often directly opposed the Talmud. In consequence of the dispersion of the Jews in the different lands, climate and external circumstances exerted quite as strong an influence on the *minhāgh* as the language, customs, and civilization of the neighbouring peoples. In order to restrict the variety that thus arose in the ritual, the G^{e}ônîm, or heads of the Babylonian high schools, whose authority was recognized by all Jews, gave reasoned decisions, in answer to questions addressed to them. These decisions were then collected, and are preserved to the present day. We have to thank the G^{e}ônîm for the first ordered form of prayer with reasons for the same, called *Siddûr*, of which the oldest extant is that of Gāôn 'Amrām (9th century). Special importance attaches to the *Siddûr* of Gāôn Sa'adya (10th century). The later and more complete collections of this kind were called *Maḥzōr* (lit. 'year-cycle')—an expression which came to be used for prayer-books generally, particularly in connexion with the feast-days.

In spite of all decisions and ordered forms for prayer, in spite also of all endeavours of the great codifiers (among them Maimonides [*q.v.*]), the attempt to obtain uniformity of service was not successful. In fact, there came to be two groups

of sharply contrasted liturgical services which were further subdivided into many smaller groups: (1) the Palestinian group, which permeated the nations of N. Europe, and thus came to be called the 'German'; and (2) the Arabic group, which drew its adherents from the Jews dwelling round the Mediterranean (with the exception of Greece and Italy), and, as it was in use principally in the Peninsula, was called the 'Spanish' group. These two groups, which still exist alongside of each other, differ particularly with regard to the poetical prayers which, since the 8th cent., it has been customary on the feast-days and on certain Sabbaths to insert in the principal prayers.

4. The synagogue poetry.—Little can be discovered with regard to the origin of the synagogue poetry—*pîyyûṭ*, as it was called.

It is not at all improbable that the Syrian and Greek hymns of the Church had an influence in the matter. The term applied to the poet of the synagogue—*paiṭān* or *payyāṭ* (from ποιητής)—points at once to a foreign origin. Zunz rightly emphasizes the fact that the Jews had in their Psalms an ancient foundation, to build on which they required only the fitting materials. Any account of the history of the *pîyyûṭ* must be based on the work of Zunz, *Die synagogale Poesie des Mittelalters*.

The oldest poetical compositions were without rhyme or metre, and for the most part with alphabetical arrangement of the lines and sections. Rhyme is found as early as the 8th cent., while verse measure was introduced by Spanish poets after the second half of the 10th century.

Zunz traces the origin of synagogue poetry to the tendency 'to give to the history and sacred traditions of Israel a form ennobled by art and beautified by song, and (by changing the commanded service into a spontaneous homage) in this way to make the synagogue to the Jew what the Olympic games and tragedies had been to the Greek—a place where the national genius was embodied and spiritualized, where it was seen and felt to be the costliest possession of the community and of every individual' (*Literaturgesch. der synagogalen Poesie*, p. 22 *f.*).

The authors of the oldest synagogue poems are unknown to us. These were composed, no doubt, for the most part by the leaders in prayer themselves, and were, to begin with, only listened to by the congregation but not repeated. Before long, however, these poems were also sung, so that the voice of song in divine service, which had been silent since the destruction of the Temple, was heard once more, and the leader in prayer became the precentor. Poetical sections were first inserted in the passages preceding and following the *Sh'ma'*; hence their names (*yōṣēr*, *ōphān*, *zūlāth*). But the main endeavours of the *paiṭānîm* were directed towards adorning the first blessings of the *t'phillāh*. The compositions belonging to this class were called *q'rōbhāh* (cf. Syr. *kūrōbhō*, 'mass'). Further poetical compositions were provided for the Day of Atonement (*'abhōdhāh*, a description of the Temple service at that day in old times), for *shābhūôth* (*'azhārôth*, enumerations of the precepts of the Tôrāh), for the 9th of Ab (the day of mourning for the destruction of the Temple, called *qînôth*, 'lamentations'), and for the seventh day of the Feast of Tabernacles, called *hōsha'nôth*.

'In course of time the *pîyyûṭ* found its way into every part of the religious life and every portion of the service. Nor was it confined to the synagogue. It entered into the family, and had its place there at the Sabbath meals, at the close of the Sabbath, in the joys as well as in the sorrows of the house, at births and at funerals' (Zunz, *Die synagogale Poesie des Mittelalters*, p. 70).

Material for the *pîyyûṭ* was found in the inexhaustible wealth of ideas contained in the Midrāsh, whose place was gradually taken in the course of the centuries by the *pîyyûṭ*, as the ever-increasing number of poetical compositions quite displaced the lecture

A specially important kind of synagogue poetry is the *s'lîḥāh*, prayer for forgiveness, penitential prayer. The service for the Day of Atonement was the first to be enriched with special prayers, which belong in part even to the age of the Talmud. The length of the service, which lasted from morning till evening, and the special significance of the day led to the expansion of the liturgy. Thus Bible verses referring to God's forgiveness were collected, and poetical prayers dealing with the same subject were composed. The *q'rōbhāh*, along with these *s'lîḥôth*, was called *ma'amādh*. The *s'lîḥôth* became in course of time even more artistic in form and rich in content. Special pieces provided with a refrain were called *pizmōn*. The difference of content between the *pîyyûṭ* and *s'lîḥāh* is thus stated by Zunz:

'The *pîyyûṭ* gives history and Midrash, the *s'lîḥāh* feeling and presence; the *pîyyûṭ* tends to become prophecy, the *s'lîḥāh* a psalm' (*ib.* p. 83).

While in the *pîyyûṭ* the element of teaching is in the forefront, the *s'lîḥāh* is in form and content more the expression of the feelings with which the people were filled, and thus more a prayer in the strict sense of the term. The chief theme, which is treated in endless variations, is sin and suffering. The unceasing affliction which a thousand years of persecution brought upon the Jews finds as touching expression as does the believing humility with which they sought the reason of their misery in themselves rather than in the injustice of God. We also find the undying hope that God will finally put an end to their sorrows. Thus the *s'lîḥôth* are the most valuable testimony to the piety of the Jewish people during the Middle Ages, and must from this point of view be regarded as the continuation of the Psalms.

See, further, for the synagogue poets, LITERATURE (Jewish), III. 5, IBN GABIROL, IBN EZRA, HALEVI.

5. Influence of philosophy.—In spite of the fact that we possess synagogue poems from almost all the Jewish philosophers of the Middle Ages, from Sa'adya onwards, and although the greatest poets were also philosophers, we have comparatively only a few philosophic prayers (*e.g.*, 'the King's Crown' of Gabirol). The reason for this striking phenomenon is probably to be found not so much in the difficulty of clothing philosophic thought in prayer form as in the fact that prayer was an attempt to satisfy the claims of the heart by warm personal outpourings, which the coldness of philosophic rationalism rendered well-nigh impossible.

6. Influence of mysticism.—If there are few traces of philosophy proper in the prayers of the synagogue, mysticism, on the other hand, has exercised a most harmful influence, since the end of the 12th cent., on both the conception and the content of prayer.

'Although the more respectable mystics did something for spiritual religion and for devotion as opposed to thoughtless formalism, yet the liturgy lost more than it gained by their influence' (Zunz, *Die Ritus*, p. 24).

Since the beginning of the 16th cent. the liturgy has hardly been enriched except by additions from the Ḳabbālā, which only burdened the form and content of the service. On the other hand, the mystical sect of the Ḥasîdîm, which arose about the middle of the 18th cent., originated a most important movement among the people. This movement directed itself chiefly against the rigid codification of all matters relating to prayer brought about by Joseph Qaro's ritual code, called *Shulḥān 'Ārūkh* (1565), which had been generally acknowledged since the end of the 16th century. In opposition to it, the Ḥasîdîm denied that the traditional form and the appointed times of prayer were binding, and, in place of meaningless habitual repetitions, demanded devotion springing from personal inspiration. Unfortunately this important movement, which at first seemed likely to be so fruitful, soon exhausted itself, owing to the opposition of the rabbis and to internal degeneration.

III. *MODERN CONDITIONS.* — Since the last quarter of the 18th cent., when the Jews, especially in Germany, began to participate in general culture, an important change has gradually come over the Jewish service. It was no real innovation to provide the Prayer Book everywhere with a translation into the language of the country, for, as early as the 16th cent., Italian, Spanish, and Jewish-German translations had appeared. The innovation rather concerned the service itself. Refined taste demanded a corresponding form, and changed circumstances called for a partial change in the contents of the prayers. In particular, the greater part of the poetry of the synagogue no longer suited the needs of modern times. It was only after bitter contests that in the course of the 19th cent. a series of reforms were generally accepted in the whole of W. Europe. In the first place, the sermon in the language of the country, which in Germany and elsewhere for various reasons had wholly fallen into disuse, was reintroduced. Prayers in the popular speech, alongside of those in Hebrew, and the curtailing of the synagogal poetry, have not, however, been so generally accepted. A number of congregations have also introduced choir-singing and even organs to accompany the prayers, as well as a shortening and reformation of the old chief prayers. One congregation in Europe (viz. the reformed congregation in Berlin, founded in 1845) and many American congregations have absolutely broken with tradition, by keeping the Sunday instead of the Jewish Sabbath, by almost entirely abolishing Hebrew as the language of prayer, by creating a completely new liturgy, which omits all the national memories and hopes, by doing away with the separation of men and women in the synagogues, and by praying with the head uncovered. In this way the unity of the liturgy is irrevocably lost. Thus the divine service, which for more than two thousand years had been the chief mark of the unity of Judaism, has become a bone of contention among opposing parties—a circumstance which has not failed to exercise a baneful influence on the whole religious life.

LITERATURE.—i. *GENERAL*: *JE* viii. 132, art. 'Liturgy' (L. Blau), x. 164, art. 'Prayer'—the chief part on 'Prayer in the Rabbinic literature' (J. D. Eisenstein [uncritical]); I. Abrahams, 'Some Rabbinic Ideas on Prayer,' *JQR* xx. (1908) 272 ff.

ii. *PRAYER IN THE OT*: R. Smend, *Lehrbuch der AT Religionsgeschichte*[2], Freiburg, 1899, Index; *PRE*[3] vi. 393; F. Buhl), *EBi* iii. 3823 (T. K. Cheyne).

iii. *SYNAGOGUE SERVICE*: L. Zunz, *Die gottesdienstl. Vorträge der Juden*, Berlin, 1832, [2]Frankfort, 1892; L. Löw, *Gesammelte Schriften*, Szegedin, 1889–1900, iv., 'Der synagogale Ritus,' v., 'Synagogale Altertümer: Plan und *Kollektaneen*'; E. Schürer, *GJV*[4], Berlin, 1901–11, ii. Index; W. Bousset, *Rel. des Judentums im NT Zeitalter*[2], Berlin, 1906, pp. 201 ff., 417 ff.: and, in opposition, F. Perles, *Bousset's Religion des Judentums im NT Zeitalter, kritisch untersucht*, do. 1903, pp. 94–108; *PRE*[3] vii. 7, art. 'Gottesdienst (synagogaler)' (G. Dalman); *EBi* iv. 4832, art. 'Synagogue' (I. J. Peritz); *HDB* iv. 636 ff., art. 'Synagogue' (W. Bacher); *JE* xi. 619 ff., art. 'Synagogue' (W. Bacher); I. Elbogen, *Gesch. des Achtzehngebets*, Breslau, 1903, 'Studies in the Jewish Liturgy,' in *JQR* xix. [1907] 229 ff., 704 ff., *Studien zur Gesch. des jüdischen Gottesdienstes*, Berlin, 1907, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst in seiner geschichtl. Entwicklung*, Leipzig, 1913.

iv. *SYNAGOGUE POETRY*: M. Sachs, *Relig. Poesie der Juden in Spanien*, Berlin, 1845, [2]1901; L. Zunz, *Die synagog. Poesie des Mittelalters*, do. 1855, *Die Ritus des synagog. Gottesdienstes*, do. 1859, *Literaturgesch. der synagog. Poesie*, do. 1865, and supplement, 1867.

v. *PRAYER-BOOKS*: *JE* x. 171 (J. D. Eisenstein).

vi. *SAMARITAN LITURGY*: J. A. Montgomery, *The Samaritans*, Philadelphia, 1907, p. 297 ff.; A. E. Cowley, *The Samaritan Liturgy*, I. II., Oxford, 1909.

vii. *THE KARAITES*: Zunz, *Die Ritus der synagog. Poesie*, p. 158; *ERE* vii. 662 ff. (S. Poznanski).

viii. *THE ḤASIDIM*: *JE* vi. 251 (S. M. Dubnow).

FELIX PERLES.

PRAYER (Mexican).—The great repository of Mexican aboriginal prayer is the work of Bernardino de Sahagun, *Historia General de las Cosas de Nueva España* (3 vols., Mexico, 1829), in which he furnishes us with numerous examples of Aztec devotion, of a public and ritual as well as of a private character. As he lived and worked in the generation immediately succeeding the Spanish conquest of Mexico, and had abundant opportunities of meeting and speaking with natives who well recalled the times of Aztec paganism, there is no reason to believe that these productions are not the genuine outpourings of the Aztec mind or that they have in any manner been sophisticated.

The ritual and public prayers consist for the most part of appeals made to the various gods on the occasion of religious festivals, war, sacrifices, baptisms, funerals, and purifications, or in time of pestilence, and are extremely hortatory in tone, the purpose being the edification of the hearers. Particularly noteworthy are the prayers to Tezcatlipoca on the occasion of confession. These are of the most intense earnestness and lofty in tone and language. Nearly all the ritual prayers are of considerable length, and are obviously the products of a priesthood possessing ample time for pious consideration. It is only occasionally that Mexican prayer throws any light on the theological beliefs of the Aztec people, and, as practically every deity is addressed in the most exalted terms, it is impossible to judge the relative importance of the gods from the prayers offered up to them.

Private prayers, which appear to have been of a ritual character, were offered up to avert poverty, to obtain the necessaries of life, for agricultural reasons, and, indeed, for heavenly assistance in every activity of life. The exhortations of parents to children, which have frequently been called prayers and are so characteristic a feature of Mexican life, are, in reality, advisory sermons embracing codes of conduct for young people. The whole body of matter has been brought together in the sixth book of Sahagun's work mentioned above.

LEWIS SPENCE.

PRAYER (Muhammadan).—**1. The ritual of the daily ṣalāt.**—The most important part of the Muslim liturgy was, from the beginnings of Islām, the ritual prayer, the so-called *ṣalāt*. Muhammad's intention in prescribing this ceremony as a religious duty to his followers was undoubtedly to imitate the ritual prayer of the Christians and Jews in the Orient, at least as far as it was known to him. Like this prayer, the Muslim *ṣalāt* consisted chiefly of prostrations, praises of God, the reciting of formulæ, etc. The name *ṣalāt* is not originally Arabic, but borrowed from the language of the Eastern Christians and the Jews (viz. the Aramaic ܨܠܘܬܐ).

The Muslim law prescribes in great detail how a Muslim must perform his *ṣalāt*. A considerable proportion of these regulations may really be based upon the old *sunnah* (the common practice) of the Prophet and his contemporaries, but many of the rules concerned with details, as to which there still existed difference of opinion in the first centuries after Muhammad's death, must be of later date.

When performing a *ṣalāt*, a Muslim stands, raises his open hands on either side of his face, and says: '*Allāhu akbar!*' ('God is most great!'). This ejaculation is called *takbīr* (or *takbīrah*). Then, still standing, he recites some verses of the Qur'ān, especially the Fātiḥah (*i.e.* the opening chapter, i. 1–7). After this recitation the various inclinations and postures follow (described, *e.g.*, by E. W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, London, 1895, ch. iii., with figures in the text): (1) the worshipper first inclines his head and body till his hands reach the height of his knees, and then rises again (this is called the *rukū'*, 'inclination'); (2) then he proceeds to the first prostration (*sujūd*), dropping gently on his knees, placing his hands on the ground a little in front of his knees, and putting his forehead also to the ground; (3) he raises his head and body (but his knees must remain on the ground) and performs the second *sujūd*. This completes a *rak'ah* (*i.e.* one of the subdivisions of the *ṣalāt*). Having finished one *rak'ah*, the worshipper rises to his feet and goes

through the same again (the recitation of some verses of the Qur'ān, the *rukū'* and the two *sujūds*). Before the *rukū'* and before and after each *sujūd* of every *rak'ah* he recites the *takbīr*; and after the last *rak'ah* he recites: (1) the *shahādah* (*i.e.* the confession of faith); (2) a salutation over the Prophet, and (3) a second salutation (the *taslīmah*, *i.e.* the invoking of a blessing, saying '*al-salām 'alaikum*'), which is considered by most Muslims to be addressed to the guardian angels who watch over the worshipper.

At first—at least immediately after the *hijrah*—the Prophet used to turn his face towards Jerusalem during the *ṣalāt*, like the Jews. But in the second year after his arrival at Medīna a revelation (Qur'ān, ii. 136–145) changed this, Muhammad having quarrelled with the Jews in that town. Ever since that time the Muslim must turn his face towards Allāh's house, the Ka'bah at Mecca, to perform the *ṣalāt*.

While performing the *ṣalāt*, the worshipper is in a state of consecration (*iḥrām*) and must observe special prescriptions. According to the primitive conceptions, every worshipper was supposed to be exposed to particular dangers from evil spirits when he was adoring his Lord. Many of the religious observances of the *ṣalāt* may originally have had no other purpose than to protect the worshipper against the maliciousness of the demons.[1] Thus (1) he must take care that his body is sufficiently covered; according to the Muslim lawbooks, a woman must cover her whole body during the *ṣalāt* (except her face and her hands); and a man at least the part of his body between his waist and his knees; the heads of both men and women are also supposed to be covered. (2) He must say before reciting the Qur'ān verses: 'I seek my refuge near God from Satan' (cf. Qur'ān, xvi. 100), and raise his hands in pronouncing every *takbīr* in order to avert the evil spirits that may be present (or, according to the Ḥanifites, he must do so only in pronouncing the first *takbīr*, the *takbīrat al-iḥrām*; cf. Goldziher, 'Zauberelemente im islamischen Gebet,' in *Festschrift-Nöldeke*, Giessen, 1906, i. 320–325). (3) Special emphasis is laid on ritual ablution before the *ṣalāt*. It was a general custom of the ancient Arabs to employ water as a charm against demoniacal influences (see Goldziher, 'Wasser als Dämonenabwehrendesmittel,' in *ARW* xiii. [1910] 20–46); some of the earlier Muslim scholars held that an ablution was necessary before every *ṣalāt* (cf. Qur'ān, v. 8), but this view was rejected by other *faqīhs* (see Goldziher, *Die Ẓâhiriten*, Leipzig, 1884, pp. 48–50). According to the four orthodox *fiqh*-schools, a ritual ablution (*wuḍū* or *ghusl*) is required before the *ṣalāt* only when the worshipper is in a state of ritual impurity. It must be observed, however, that the ritual ablution is usually considered simply as a purification (see art. PURIFICATION [Muslim]); the original purpose of this ceremony may have been forgotten by the Muslims. (4) Further, it is desirable for a Muslim to recite the formulæ of the *adhān* (*i.e.* the call to prayer; see below) before beginning a *ṣalāt*—at least when he is not already summoned by the *adhān* that is chanted from the mosque. This usage must also be regarded as a kind of charm; the demons are supposed to flee when they hear the sacred words of the *adhān*.

2. Obligatory and supererogatory daily ṣalāts.—Some of the earlier verses of the Qur'ān (see xi. 116, xvii. 80 f., xxx. 16 f., lxxiii. 1) require Muslims to perform the *ṣalāt* thrice every day—in the morning before sunrise, at the close of day, and during a part of the night. To these *ṣalāts* another was added after the *hijrah*, the 'middle *ṣalāt*' (*ṣalāt al-wustā*), mentioned in Qur'ān, ii. 239, probably an imitation of the Jewish mid-day prayer (the *minḥāh*). Moreover, the Prophet, according to the tradition, used to perform *ṣalāts* on various other occasions. In the first generations after his death it was a subject of discussion which of the daily *ṣalāts* must be regarded as obligatory, and there was also difference of opinion as to the exact times of day at which the Prophet had usually performed his devotions.[1] But gradually it was recognized in the whole Muslim world that the five following *ṣalāts* were obligatory for every Muslim: (1) the *ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ* (at daybreak); (2) the *ṣalāt al-ẓuhr* (at noon, or rather a little later, when the sun has begun to decline); (3) the *ṣalāt al-'aṣr* (in the afternoon, about half-way between noon and nightfall); (4) the *ṣalāt al-maghrib* (at sunset, or rather about five minutes later, for it is forbidden to perform a *ṣalāt* just at sunrise or sunset, because the heathen Arabs used to do so); and (5) the *ṣalāt al-'ishā'* (at nightfall, when it is quite dark). Each of the five prescribed periods ends when the next commences, except that of the *ṣalāt al-ṣubḥ*, which ends just before sunrise. The worshipper is recommended, however, to perform every *ṣalāt* as near the beginning of the prescribed period as possible. The *ṣalāt* at daybreak must consist of two *rak'ahs*, that of sunset of three, and each of the others of four; it is meritorious to add some supererogatory *rak'ahs* to each of the five daily *ṣalāts*. The four *fiqh*-schools disagree as to the exact number of these voluntary *rak'ahs*.

The three following daily *ṣalāts*, though not prescribed by the law as obligatory, are regarded as commendable and meritorious:

(1) The *ṣalāt al-tahajjud* (the night-*ṣalāt*) mentioned in some verses of the Qur'ān (see above).—This *ṣalāt* had evidently been gradually neglected by most of Muhammad's followers at Medīna; not all the members of the continually increasing Muslim community could show so much zeal for the service of their Lord, and Allāh at last yielded to their wishes! (see Qur'ān, lxxiii. 20). This *ṣalāt* was no longer to have an obligatory character. Nevertheless it is still regarded as very meritorious by the Muslims. It must consist of an even number of *rak'ahs*—two, four, or more. The middle third of the night is thought to be the best time for this devotion. Hence in many Muslim lands a sign is given in the mosque about midnight to announce the time of the *tahajjud*.

(2) The *ṣalāt al-witr*.—It is meritorious to make odd the even number of *rak'ahs* of the last *ṣalāt* of the night (*i.e.* the *ṣalāt al-'ishā'* or the *tahajjud*) by adding an odd number of *rak'ahs* or at least one *rak'ah*. Usually the *ṣalāt al-witr* is added to the *ṣalāt al-'ishā'* (since most people neglect the *tahajjud*). A well-known tradition says: 'Allāh is *witr* (odd) and loves the *witr*,' and the Muslims therefore pay a certain respect to every odd number. According to the Ḥanifites, the *ṣalāt al-witr* is even obligatory.

(3) The *ṣalāt al-ḍuḥā* (*ṣalāt* in the morning) at the time between sunrise and noon, consisting of from two to twelve *rak'ahs*.—This ceremony also is not obligatory, though some of the earlier Muslim scholars thought it was. According to some traditionalists, it was a custom of the Prophet to perform this *ṣalāt* every morning, but this is denied in many other traditions.

3. The mosque and the daily public service in the mosque.—The so-called mosque of the Prophet at Medīna was only an open enclosure, adjacent to his dwelling. On one side there was a kind of portico, a flat roof supported by wooden pillars. This was where Muhammad usually performed his *ṣalāts*, either alone or with some of his followers. But this *masjid* was used also for various other purposes; it was, *e.g.*, the place where Muhammad received the embassies of Arabian tribes and where he gave banquets to his guests. We may assume that the houses of other men of rank at Medīna had also a *masjid* of the same type.[2] Originally

[1] See for the following rules especially A. J. Wensinck, 'Animismus und Dämonenglaube im Untergrunde des jüdischen und islamischen rituellen Gebets,' *Der Islam*, iv. [1913] 218 ff., and 'Die Entstehung der muslimischen Reinheitsgesetzgebung,' *ib.* v. [1914] 68–80; I. Goldziher, 'Die Entblössung des Hauptes,' *ib.* vi. [1916] 301 ff.

[1] See, for further details, M. T. Houtsma, 'Iets over den dagelijkschen çalât,' *Theolog. Tijdschrift*, xxiv. [1890] 127 ff.; Goldziher, 'Die Bedeutung der Nachmittagszeit im Islam,' *ARW* ix. [1906] 293 ff.; T. Nöldeke and F. Schwally, *Gesch. des Qorâns*[2], Leipzig, 1909, p. 57, n. 1; E. Mittwoch, 'Zur Entstehungsgesch. des islamischen Gebets und Kultus,' *ABAW*, Phil.-hist. Classe, 1913, p. 11 ff.; Wensinck, in *Der Islam*, iv. 232 ff.

[2] Maqrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ*, Būlāq, 1270, ii. 270. 11) says that there

the mosque in Muslim society took the place of the old heathen *majlis*, the open space near the tent or dwelling of the head of the tribe where all deliberations of the tribesmen took place (see H. Lammens, 'Ziād ibn Abīhi,' in *Rivista degli studi orientali*, iv. [1911–12] 240 ff.; L. Caetani, *Annali dell' Islam*, Milan, 1905, i. 432 ff.; C. H. Becker, 'Zur Gesch. des islamischen Kultus,' in *Der Islam*, iii. [1912] 394 f.). Once a week the Muslims were convoked to an assembly in Muhammad's *masjid*—a usage probably originally introduced by the Prophet in imitation of the weekly congregations of the Christians and Jews. But the Muslims assembled on Fridays—at least at Medīna, some time after the *hijrah*. One Friday, just before the service, a caravan with merchandise arrived at Medīna, and most of the believers forgot their religious duty, being occupied in buying and selling. Then Qur'ān, lxii. 9, was revealed:

'When the call to prayer soundeth on Friday (or on the day of the congregation), then go to praise the Lord and abandon business,' etc.

About A.H. 7 or 8 a *minbar*, a sort of wooden throne or raised seat with two steps, was placed in Muhammad's *masjid*, and the Prophet always sat upon this when presiding at the meetings (see Becker, 'Die Kanzel im Kultus des alten Islam,' in *Festschrift-Nöldeke*, pp. 331–351). On special occasions Muhammad and his followers went out of Medīna to the *muṣallā* (the place where the *ṣalāt* and other ceremonies were performed in the open field). Later, a lance was carried before the Prophet as an emblem of his authority; on the *muṣallā* this lance was stuck into the ground before him, marking the direction of the Ka'bah.[1]

After Muhammad's death the Muslim liturgy remained very simple. In the great encampments of the Arabs in the conquered countries each of the tribes had its own *masjid*, where the tribesmen assembled. There was also a general *masjid* near the dwelling of the *wali*, the head of the place or the governor of the province. Originally this head mosque was very simple, often being only a large open square, surrounded by a ditch or by walls and with an open portico in front facing towards Mecca, supported on stone pillars and covered with a roof (see, *e.g.*, Ṭabarī, i. 2489). It was a general place of meeting, not reserved for the Friday service and other religious purposes. When general deliberation was necessary, the believers were convoked to a public *ṣalāt* before the further transactions, and the *wali*, or, in the residence, the *khalīfah* himself, presided at these meetings (see Goldziher, in *ZDMG* xlix. [1895] 315; Belādsorī, ed. M. J. de Goeje, Leyden, 1866, p. 229. 3 [*Fragmenta hist. arabic.*, ed. de Goeje and P. de Jong, do. 1869, p. 217. 5]; al-Bayān al-Mughrib, ed. R. Dozy, do. 1848, p. 55. 16; al-Faḥrī, ed. W. Ahlwardt, Gotha, 1860, p. 95. 11; Becker, in *Der Islam*, iii. 395; and Lammens, in *Rivista degli studi orientali*, iv. 242 ff.). The Umayyad *khalīfahs* and also many of their high functionaries in the provinces used to sit on a *minbar* in these assemblies just as the Prophet had done before them. At first, however, this was regarded by some people as improper for a *wali*; the *khalīfah* 'Umar forbade 'Amr, his governor of Egypt, to sit on a *minbar*.

It was only gradually that the mosque became a place exclusively dedicated to worship; a regular daily service was instituted, and the Muslim liturgy began to develop and take fixed forms. The service of the Christian churches and Jewish synagogues may have influenced this development (see esp. Mittwoch, 'Zur Entstehungsgesch. des islam. Gebets und Kultus'; and Becker, 'Zur Gesch. des islam. Kultus'). It became a general custom to announce the times of the daily *ṣalāt* from the minarets of the mosque (the origin of the minaret is discussed in detail by H. Thiersch, *Pharos: Antike, Islam und Occident: Beitrag zur Architekturgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1909). The *adhān*, which is chanted from the minaret by the *muaddhin*, consists of the following formulæ:

'God is most great' (this is said four times); 'I testify that there is no God but Allāh' (twice); 'I testify that Muhammad is Allāh's apostle' (twice); 'Come to prayer' (twice); 'Come to security' (twice); 'God is most great' (twice); 'There is no God but Allāh.'

The public *ṣalāt* in the mosque requires a leader, since all worshippers must perform the prescribed ceremonies together and at the same moment; every mosque has its own *imām*, who officiates over all who may be present at the times of the daily *ṣalāts*.[1] It must be observed that the position of this *imām* is very different from that of a priest, since he does not perform any sacramental action; he is only the leader of the *ṣalāt*, and, according to the theory of Muslim law, he may even cede his place to any other member of the congregation who is competent for the office. The beginning of the *ṣalāt* is announced in the mosque by a second call to prayer, the *iqāmah*, which consists chiefly of the same formulæ as the *adhān* (most of the formulæ of the *iqāmah*, however, are recited only once, and the words, 'The time of the *ṣalāt* is [now] come,' which are twice repeated, must be inserted after the formula, 'Come to security'). The *imām* then places himself before the *miḥrāb*, the niche that indicates the direction to Mecca,[2] and performs the *ṣalāt* with the congregation. Only the voice of the *imām*, who recites the prescribed formulæ, may be heard during the *ṣalāt*. In the great mosques, however, where the congregation is usually so numerous that the believers cannot all see and hear the leader, the *takbīrs* of the *imām*, marking the various postures of the *ṣalāt* (see above), are repeated loudly by persons especially charged with this office (the *muballighs*).

4. The Friday service and the public salāt on feast-days and other occasions.—On Friday the *ṣalāt al-jum'ah* (the *ṣalāt* of the Friday) must be substituted for the ordinary noon-prayer. It is a service celebrated by the whole community in the head mosque (*jāmi'*) of the place, consisting chiefly of two parts: the *khuṭbah* ('sermon') and a *ṣalāt* of two *rak'ahs*. In later times the *khuṭbah* preceded the *ṣalāt*; but this was not the original usage. According to Muslim tradition, it was an innovation introduced by the first Umayyad *khalīfah*, Mu'awiyyah. Before the beginning of the sermon the *adhān*, which has already been chanted from the minarets, is repeated in the mosque. The preacher (*khaṭīb*) then delivers his sermon, standing on the *minbar*, and holding, as prescribed by ancient custom, a staff or wooden sword (or a bow) in his hands (see PREACHING [Muslim]). When the *khaṭīb* has finished his *khuṭbah*, he descends from the *minbar*, then the *iqāmah* is chanted, and the whole congregation performs the two prescribed *rak'ahs* of the *ṣalāt al-jum'ah*. It is considered meritorious to perform, before and after the obligatory Friday *ṣalāt*, the usual supererogatory *rak'ahs* of noon.

The Friday service formerly required a general

were nine *masjids* at Medīna besides that of the Prophet; see also the traditions concerning the *masjid al-ḍirār* (mentioned in Qur'ān, ix. 108).

[1] At a later time it was still a custom in some Muslim countries to indicate the direction towards Mecca by means of a staff or lance, behind which the leader of the *ṣalāt* placed himself. The *ṣalāt* was then performed *'ala 'l-'asā* (*i.e.* in the direction of this staff).

[1] Other persons perform the lower offices in the mosque—lighting the lamps, sweeping the mosque, attending to the receptacles for water necessary for the ablutions, etc.

[2] See further, on the *miḥrāb*, N. Rhodokanakis, in *WZKM* xix. [1905] 296 ff., and xxv. [1911] 71 ff.

assembly of the whole community. Muslim law therefore forbids that this service should be celebrated in different mosques of the same town, unless the place is so populous that it would be practically impossible to assemble in one mosque. Moreover, according to the Shāfi'ites, the *ṣalāt al-jum'ah* is valid only when at least forty persons join in it; the Ḥanifites, on the other hand, hold that no fixed number is required, and that the Friday service can be validly celebrated by an *imām* and only three persons.

Twice a year, on the two Muslim feast-days (at the end of the fasting month and on the 10th of the month of Dhu'l-ḥijjah, in connexion with the sacrificial feast of the pilgrims in the neighbourhood of Mecca) a special service, the *ṣalāt al-'īd* ('feast-*ṣalāt*') is celebrated which resembles the Friday service in many respects. There are, however, some points of difference: (1) the time recommended for the *ṣalāt al-'īd* is the morning, about half-way between sunrise and noon; (2) it is supposed in the lawbooks that this ceremony should take place not in a mosque but in the open field; (3) the service consists of a *khuṭbah* and a *ṣalāt* of two *rak'ahs* like the Friday service, but the *ṣalāt* must precede the *khuṭbah*; and (4) the *adhān* and *iqāmah* are omitted; the *muaddhin* before the service only calls: '*Al-ṣalāta jāmī'atan!*' ('[Now perform] the *ṣalāt* together!'). We may assume that in all these respects the feast-*ṣalāt* is still more ancient than the Friday service.

Another religious assembly takes place on each evening of the fasting month. It is counted meritorious to perform the *ṣalāt al-tarāwīḥ* ('the *ṣalāt* with pauses') after the daily *ṣalāt al-'aṣr* in this holy month. This ceremony consists of twenty *rak'ahs*, each pair of which is separated from the rest by a *taslīmah* (see above). Though this *ṣalāt* is not obligatory, many persons usually take part in it. This great zeal for the *ṣalāt al-tarāwīḥ* can only be explained by its particular connexion with the holy fasting month.

When there was a great drought, the pagan Arabs tried to induce rain by enchantments. These heathen practices were replaced in Islām by the *ṣalāt al-istisqā'* ('the *ṣalāt* for imploring rain'), a public service that differs little from the service on the two feast-days. It is still characterized by the following ceremony: after the *ṣalāt* the *imām* and the other worshippers who are present move about and shake their upper garments; this custom is probably to be regarded as a survival of Arabian heathenism (see Goldziher, 'Zauberelemente im islamischen Gebet,' pp. 308–312). During an eclipse of the sun or moon a public service is celebrated which resembles the feast-*ṣalāt* in most respects. As regards details of the liturgy on these and other occasions, the opinions of the different *fiqh*-schools disagree.

LITERATURE.—Besides the works mentioned throughout see esp. C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, Hague, 1888–89, ii. 78 ff., *The Achehnese*, Leyden, 1906, i. 61 ff., 80 ff., 230 ff., ii. 283, and 'Islam und Phonograph,' in *Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genootschap*, xlii. [1900] 401–404; E. Sell, *The Faith of Islam*, London and Madras, 1880, p. 188 ff.; A. J. Wensinck, *Mohammed en de Joden te Medina*, Leyden, 1908, p. 102 ff., and the first and second chapters of the various Muslim *fiqh*-books.

TH. W. JUYNBOLL.

PRAYER (Roman).—As in many other phases of religion, the religious life of the Romans offers an exceptional opportunity for the study of prayer. Between the prayers of Cato and those of Marcus Aurelius we have, as it were, a complete gamut of religious experiences, and, though these two landmarks are less than 400 years apart, Cato represents many centuries before his time, and Marcus Aurelius is the prototype of many centuries to follow. Prayer, as distinguished, on the one hand, from magic and, on the other, from mystical absorption, is the orthodox communication between man and those powers outside of him which are called God or gods according to circumstances. Upon the orthodoxy of the act depends this distinction, and it is this element of orthodoxy alone that distinguishes primitive prayer from the mazes of magic, and advanced prayer from the formlessness of mystical absorption—so true is it that primitive prayer is closely akin to magic, and advanced prayer to religious absorption.

But, before we begin even this outline study of Roman prayer, we should make ourselves fully aware of three facts: (1) that the actual number of Roman prayers transmitted to us is relatively small; (2) that many prayers, so called, especially those in the poets, do not represent trustworthy evidence, and are apt to be either fanciful or under Greek influence, and therefore not available for our present purpose; and (3) that there is scarcely an operation in the world more delicate, and therefore more difficult, than the attempt to deduce the religious attitude of the individual from the formal experiences handed down to us.

1. Primitive prayer.—Here it should be noted that this title includes not only prayer as practised in the historical period which we call primitive and prayer as practised in later times by persons of primitive intelligence, but also many primitive forms of prayer retained by religious conservatism and practised by all orthodox persons. This observation is very necessary owing to the peculiar conditions under which the religious life of ancient Rome had its development. This development represents a series of accretions—a mechanical rather than a physiological growth. Man's spiritual evolution expressed itself not nearly so much in the transforming of the old formulæ as in their absolute conservation and the adding to them of outer coatings, new tree-rings of more modern thought. This was possible because of the absolutely formal character of all Roman religious concepts; and the only exceptions to it are found in the more spiritual cults of the Orient and in the impotent enthusiasms of a spiritual philosophy. The success of primitive prayer depended principally upon two things—the scrupulous exactness of expression and the correctness of the name and title of the deity addressed. Exactness of expression is an absolute requisite. This idea is, of course, common to both prayer and magic, and the orthodoxy of the one and the illegitimacy of the other form almost the only criterion of distinction. The question whether all primitive prayers were of a rhythmical character — the *carmina*, common to both prayer and magic—is a difficult one to answer,[1] but certainly very many primitive prayers were, for we have instances of them.

Every effort was made to obtain the strictest verbal accuracy, on the theory[2] that whatever was said had legal validity.[3] The formulæ themselves were collected and preserved in the books of the priests.[4] The formulæ were never changed, even though the language was so archaic that the priests themselves scarcely understood it. This was true, *e.g.*, of the prayers of the Salii, of which Quintilian[5] says:

'The prayers of the Salii were scarcely understood by the priests themselves, but religious conservatism forbade the changing of them, and the consecrated forms must still be used.'

---

[1] Cf. R. Westphal, *Theorie der griech. Metrik*, Leipzig, 1887, iii. 1, 67, *Allgemeine Metrik*, Berlin, 1892, p. 223; C. Zander, *Vers. Ital. antiqui*, Lund, 1890, p. 36.

[2] *Verba certa*; Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* ii. 10, and Paul. p. 88, *s.v.* 'Fanum.'

[3] Cf. Festus, p. 173: 'As the tongue has spoken, so is the law'; and Cic. *de Orat.* i. 245.

[4] Gell. xiii. 23. 1.

[5] *Inst. Or.* i. 6. 40.

In the cult of the Arval Brothers[1] a similar state of affairs existed, and as a safeguard against mistake the priests used prayer-books out of which they sang as they danced. In other cases the worshipper repeated the words of the prayer as they were said by an assistant.[2] The penalties for an error were indeed great, for a trifling mistake rendered the whole performance null and void. In the year 176 B.C.,[3] at the celebration of the Latin Festival, the officiating magistrate from Lanuvium forgot to pray for the Roman people, and, when the matter was discovered, the senate referred it to the pontifical college, who in turn decreed that owing to the omission the festival could not be considered as performed and must be gone through all over again, and, as the magistrate from Lanuvium had made the mistake, Lanuvium must pay the cost of the new performance; and Plutarch remarks:

'In later ages one and the same sacrifice was performed thirty times over because of the occurrence of some defect or mistake or accident in the service—such was the Roman reverence and caution in religious matters.'[4]

In relation to this verbal accuracy, we find ourselves between the realm of magic and that of law. Regarded as a charm, the prayer needed to be absolutely accurate in order to be effective, but in prayer regarded as a legal transaction such accuracy was equally important.

E.g., in the year 200 B.C. we read that 'the Roman people directed the consul to vow games and an offering to Jupiter. But the vow suffered a delay; the Pontifex Maximus Licinius asserted that one could not make a vow of an indefinite sum because this money ought not to serve for the needs of the war but should be put apart at once and kept apart and not be mixed with any other money, for, if such a mixture took place, the fulfilment of the vow would be irregular. . . . The consul was asked to consult the College of Pontifices to know whether it were possible to vow in regular form an indefinite sum. The Pontifices replied that the vow was possible and entirely regular. The consul, repeating the exact expression of the Pontifex Maximus, pronounced the vow in the form employed previously for five year vows.'[5]

We shall have occasion below to return to the legal aspect of Roman prayer, but, before leaving the interrelation of prayer and magic, it is important to notice that they have one other point in common, namely, that they depend for their effectiveness upon a knowledge of the exact name of the object addressed. In order that a prayer may be effectual, it must be addressed not only to the proper deity, but to some particular phase of that deity's activity as expressed in some adjective or *cognomen*. Hence the development of a great science of nomenclature—lists of gods and lists of *cognomina*.[6]

It is the same line of reasoning that makes it desirable to keep secret the name of one's special deity so that one's enemies may not be able to take advantage of it in prayer and call forth one's gods by the mysterious process of *exauguratio*. Hence Servius[7] tells us that in pontifical law special precautions were taken that the gods of the Romans should not be called by their right names, in order that they might not be exaugurated. Similarly, Macrobius says:

'It is certain that every city has a god under whose protection it is placed; and the Romans had a mysterious custom, of which many persons are ignorant, that when they were besieging a city and thought they were on the point of capturing it, they worked the deities by means of a certain formula. Without this they did not think the city could be captured, or, at least, they would have considered it a sacrilege to take the gods captive. It was for this reason that the Romans always kept concealed the name of the god who protected Rome, and even the Latin name of the City.'[8]

Of course, much nonsense was talked among the antiquarians regarding the secret name of Rome and of the god who protected Rome, and very possibly the secret names were so secret that they never existed, but the principle underlying the whole discussion is a genuine one.

Practically all the writers on Roman religion, with the exception of Warde Fowler,[1] have unduly emphasized the magical and the legal bargaining aspects of Roman prayer. These two aspects were indeed prominent, but alongside of them existed, if only in embryo, the concept of the power and greatness of the deity and the powerlessness of man. 'The language is the language of prayer, not of compulsion or even of bargaining.'[2] We see this most clearly in the famous four prayers in Cato's 'Farm Almanack'—prayers which are such precious and unique documents that the quoting of them in full is better than many pages of explanations.

Prayer for the cattle at the flowering of the pear-trees (Cato, *de Re Rust.* 131 f.): 'At the flowering of the pear-trees make sacrifice for the cattle. . . . Thus shall the offering be made. Give to Jupiter Dapalis a measure of wine, as much as you see fit. On the day of the sacrifice let there be a holiday for the cattle, the herdsman, and for those who make the sacrifice. When you have to make the offering, you shall do as follows: "O Jupiter Dapalis, in regard to the sacrifice of a measure of wine which I make to thee in my house and in my family, mayst Thou be graciously increased by this sacrifice." Then wash your hands and afterwards take the wine, saying, "O Jupiter Dapalis, mayst Thou be increased by this sacrifice which I make unto Thee, mayst Thou be increased by this wine which I offer Thee."'

Prayer before the harvest (*ib.* 134): 'Before commencing the harvest, it is necessary to sacrifice a pig in the following manner: The sacrifice of a female pig should be made to Ceres before harvesting the following—spelt, wheat, barley, beans, and turnips. Before sacrificing the pig, invoke with incense and wine Janus, Jupiter and Juno. Present the pig to Janus with this prayer, "O Father Janus, in offering Thee this pig I pray that Thou wouldst be propitious to me, to my sons, to my house, to my family. Be Thou increased by this offering." Then offer the sacred pig to Jupiter, saying, "O Jupiter, in offering Thee this pig, I pray that Thou wouldst be propitious to me, to my sons, to my house, to my family. Be Thou increased by this offering." Afterwards give wine to Janus as follows: "O Father Janus, just as in offering the pig to Thee I prayed good prayer to Thee, for the sake of this thing mayst Thou be increased with the wine which I offer Thee." And thereafter pray to Jupiter as follows: "O Jupiter, mayst Thou be increased with this offering, and mayst Thou also be increased with the wine which I offer Thee." Thereupon slaughter the pig.'

Prayer on making a clearing (*ib.* 139): 'According to the custom of the Romans, thus should a clearing be made. Make an expiatory sacrifice of a pig and recite the following prayer: "Whether Thou be god or goddess to whom this wood is sacred, be there paid to Thee thy due, the expiatory sacrifice of a pig for the cutting of this sacred wood. For this purpose, whether I perform the sacred act or others do so at my command, may it be well done, even as it has been done. With this intention I sacrifice this pig in expiation, and I turn to Thee my pious prayers that Thou shouldst wish to be kindly disposed toward me, my house, my dependents, my sons. Therefore mayst Thou be increased by this pig of expiation which I am offering to Thee."'

Prayer at the lustration of the farm (*ib.* 141): 'Thus should the lustration of the fields take place. Thus shall you order the suovetaurilia to be led about them: "With the consent of the gods and with every favourable omen, I commit to you, O Manius, the task of leading the suovetaurilia about my farm, my fields, my land, in whatsoever part you should think best that they should be led about." Then make libation with wine and invoke according to formula Janus and Jupiter, and speak as follows: "O Father Mars, I pray and beseech of Thee that Thou wouldst be well willing and propitious to me, to my house, to my dependents; and for this reason I have ordered that the suovetaurilia should be led around my fields, my land and my farm, that Thou shouldst hold back, hinder and drive away sickness visible and invisible, desolation, ruin, damages and storm; and that Thou shouldst cause to grow and prosper the fruits of the soil, the grain, the vineyards and the thickets; that Thou shouldst keep in safety the shepherds and the sheep; that Thou shouldst give prosperity and health to me, to my house and to my dependents. For these reasons, and because, as I have said, I am lustrating and causing to be lustrated my farm, my lands, and my fields, mayst Thou be increased by this suovetaurilia which is being offered Thee. O Father Mars, mayst Thou be increased by this suovetaurilia which is being offered Thee."'

2. Prayer as a votum.—Prayer in the religion of the Roman State was virtually a bargain

1 Cf. art. ARVAL BROTHERS.
2 *Verba præire præfari*; *Sacra Carmina præcantare*.
3 Cf. Livy, xli. 16. 4 *Coriol.* 25. 5 Livy, xxxi. 9.
6 Cf. the *Indigitamenta*; G. Wissowa, *De dis Romanorum indigetibus et novensidibus disputatio*, Marburg, 1892; J. B. Carter, *De Deorum Romanorum Cognominibus*, Leipzig, 1898; Warde Fowler, *Rel. Exper. of the Roman People*, p. 153.
7 *Æn.* ii. 351. 8 *Sat.* iii. 9.

1 *Rel. Exper. of the Roman People*, p. 182 ff. 2 *Ib.* p. 189.

between man and god, whereby man, the party of the first part, agreed to pay to the god, the party of the second part, such and such things if the god, the party of the second part, performed certain acts for man, the party of the first part. Such prayer was called a *votum*, a 'vow,' because the important and distinguishing feature was the promise to pay if service was rendered. As a rule, payment was not made until the deity had performed the desired acts. But there was one important exception to this general rule, the *devotio*, in which case payment was made in advance. It is not at all impossible that such payment in advance may have been intended as a means of binding the god and thus exercising a species of compulsory magic. The *devotio* is the vow uttered by a Roman general in the moment of battle whereby he agrees to give up his own life in order that his army may be victorious. If he succeeded in this act of self-destruction, it was felt that the gods had accepted his death, and that, having accepted it, they were compelled to grant the victory to his side. This curious reasoning was carried one step further, and it was thought that the gods were free from any obligation if the enemy succeeded in opening their ranks and letting him pass through unharmed.

The *devotio* may therefore be considered as in a certain sense forming the link between the magical and the legal point of view, for all ordinary *vota* were a strictly legal performance. The favours demanded of the gods were as infinitely various as were the promises to pay in case of fulfilment. These promises included votive offerings, games, sacrifices, the building of an altar or of a temple.

3. Outward characteristics of Roman prayer.—The worshipper faced the image of the god, and, as the god usually faced west, so the worshipper usually faced east. His position, as a rule, was standing, though occasionally he walked round the altar.[1] During the actual prayer itself the worshipper often held the altar.[2] Generally the hands were raised, but sometimes special positions were required; *e.g.*, in a prayer to Neptune the hands were stretched out towards the sea,[3] while in praying to Tellus or Ops the suppliant touched the earth.[4] We also find references to kneeling.[5] At the end of the prayer there followed the moment of adoration (*adoratio*), when the worshipper put his right hand to his mouth.[6]

Prayers were normally said in a distinct and usually a loud voice. This was the natural method in antiquity, just as all reading was done aloud. This fact makes possible many scenes in the drama when prayers are overheard.[7] Silent prayer was sometimes motived by modesty,[8] and sometimes by shame;[9] but whispered prayers were not orthodox,[10] and he who indulged in them fell readily under the suspicion of practising magic.

4. Spiritual prayer. — Philosophy and the spiritual cults of the Orient, which entered Rome at the beginning of the empire, tended to introduce gradually an entirely new concept of prayer. It was no longer a formal process by which man obtained physical benefits from the gods either by compulsory magic or by legal bargaining. It became instead an effort of adoration, a communion with God, a moment of spiritual exaltation;[1] and it was into this atmosphere that Christianity came.

LITERATURE.—G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, Munich, 1902, p. 318 ff.; W. Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, London, 1911, *passim*, and esp. pp. 181–191; Brissonius, *De formulis et sollemnibus populi Romani verbis*, Halle and Leipzig, 1731, i. 1–69; S. Sudhaus, 'Lautes und leises Beten,' *ARW* ix. [1906] 185 ff.; L. Friedländer, *Sittengesch.*[6], Leipzig, 1888–90, iii. 578 ff.; S. Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*[2], London, 1905, pp. 394–420; R. R. Marett, *EBr*[11], *s.v.* 'Prayer.'

JESSE BENEDICT CARTER.

PRAYER (Teutonic).—1. Prayer to the gods.—Our knowledge of heathen prayer among the Teutonic peoples is very scanty, and comes almost entirely from Scandinavian sources. From the prose Edda we learn that prayer was a regular part of the worship of the Aesir and Asynjur. Njorðr is to be invoked for sea-voyages and for hunting (*Gylfaginning*, xxiii. [*Die pros. Edda*, ed. E. Wilken, Paderborn, 1912, p. 32]). Freya is particularly well-disposed towards those who pray to her for help in love affairs (*Gylf.* xxiv. [p. 34]). In the sagas we frequently hear of men who have a special devotion to Thor, whom they invoke in difficulties and whom they consult before any important undertaking. In these cases it is hard to distinguish between prayer and divination.

'Thorolf Mostrarskegg made a great sacrifice and went to consult with Thor, his beloved friend' (F. Holthausen, *Altisländ. Lesebuch*, Weimar, 1896, p. 64). 'Helgi was very mixed in his faith. He put his trust in Christ and named his homestead after him; but yet he would pray to Thor on sea-voyages, and in hard stresses, and in all those things which he thought were of most account to him' (*Landnamabók*, III. xiv. 3, in G. Vigfusson and F. Y. Powell, *Origines Islandicæ*, Oxford, 1905, i. 149). 'Then Aur-lyg called upon bishop Patrec, but as for Coll he called upon Thor' (*ib.* I. vi. 2).

In *Vigaglum's Saga*, 9, there is an interesting example of prayer to Frey:

'Thorkel had been forced to sell his land to Glum. Before he departed from Thverá he went to the temple of Frey, leading thither an ox, and said: "Frey, who long hast been my patron, and hast accepted many gifts from me and rewarded me well, now I give this ox to thee, so that Glum may leave Thveráland as much against his will as I do now; let me see some token whether thou acceptest it from me or not." At this the ox bellowed loud and fell dead, which Thorkel liked well, and he was less sad because he thought his prayer was heard' (P. B. du Chaillu, *The Viking Age*, London, 1889, i. 352).

There are several stories of Earl Hakon's devotion to Thorgerðr Holgabrúðr (also Hörðabrúðr, Horgabrúðr) and the earnest prayers that he was wont to make to her in moments of crisis. On one occasion Hakon desired her help for his friend Sigmund, whom he led into her temple.

'Hakon and Sigmund with a few others went into this house, where there were many gods; it had also many glass windows so that there was no shadow in it. At the inner end was a woman magnificently dressed. The Earl threw himself down at her feet, and lay there a long time. Then he rose up and told Sigmund that they should make her some offering, laying the money on the seat in front of her, "and we shall have this token," said he, "whether she will accept it or not, that I have wished her to let go the ring that she has on her hand. From that ring you will obtain good luck." The Earl then laid hold of the ring, and it seemed to Sigmund as if she closed her hand, so that he could not get it off. The Earl lay down again before her, and Sigmund noticed that he was in tears. Again he stood up, and laid hold of the ring, and this time it was loose. He gave Sigmund the ring' (*Flateyjarbók*, i. 144, quoted in W. A. Craigie, *Scandinavian Folklore*, London, 1896, p. 33).

An instance of prayer addressed to a stone occurs in *Hörd's Saga*, 37:

'Hörd's brother-in-law Indridi wished to slay the bondi Thorstein Gullknapr (gold-button), and waited for him on the way to his sacrificing house, whither he was wont to go. When Thorstein came, he entered the sacrificing house and fell on his face before the stone he worshipped, which stood there, and then he spoke to it' (du Chaillu, i. 383).

2. Prayer and sacrifice.—The obscure verse in *Hóvamál*, 176 (*Die Lieder der älteren Edda*, ed.

[1] Cf. Seneca, *Ep.* x. 5, xli. 1.

[1] Serv. *Æn.* iv. 62.
[2] *Ib.* iv. 219; Verg. *Æn.* xii. 201; Ovid, *Amores*, i. 4. 27; Varro, *ap.* Macr. *Sat.* iii. 2. 8.
[3] Verg. *Æn.* v. 233. [4] Macr. *Sat.* i. 10. 21, iii. 9. 12.
[5] For Umbria, *Tab. Iguv.* vi. G. 5; for the Oscans, J. Friedländer, *Die oskischen Münzen*, Leipzig, 1850, v. 81 ff., Taf. ix. 9–12, x. 18–19; H. A. Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in British Museum*, London, 1910, ii. 323; cf. Quintil. *Inst. Or.* ix. 4. 11; Petron. 133.
[6] Pliny, *HN* xi. 251; cf. Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict. des Ant.*, Paris, 1877–1916, i. 80 ff.
[7] Cf. Plaut. *Rudens*, 258. [8] Cf. Tibull. ii. 1. 83.
[9] Cf. Hor. *Epist.* i. 16. 60, where a man prays aloud to Janus and Apollo, and whispers a petition to Laverna to give him success in cheating; cf. also Persius, ii. 3 ff.
[10] Cf. Seneca, *Ep.* x.: 'Speak to God as though all men were listening.'

Library of
PACIFIC BIBLE SEMINARY
4236 EAST ANAHEIM ST.
LONG BEACH, CALIFORNIA

K. Hildebrand, Paderborn, 1912, p. 56), 'Betra's óbeðit an sé ofblótit,' may perhaps be translated, 'It is better not to pray at all than to sacrifice overmuch'; but it is not clear whether sacrifice and prayer are here contrasted or considered as practically synonymous. Certainly in Teutonic as in other religions the two modes of worship were closely connected.

'Sacrifice is a prayer offered up with gifts. And wherever there was occasion for prayer, there was also for sacrifice' (Grimm, *Teut. Mythol.* i. 29).

Ibn Fadhlan gives a detailed account of the worship of the Scandinavian Russians:

'As soon as the ship arrives in the haven, each one of them goes ashore, taking with him bread, meat, onions, milk and intoxicating drink, and makes his way to a tall piece of wood set up, which has something resembling a human face and is surrounded by small statues behind which are erected still other tall pieces of wood. He goes up to the great wooden image and throws himself down before it, saying: "O my lord, I am come from distant lands, bringing with me such and such a number of maidens, and such and such a number of sable skins." When he has counted up all his stock, he proceeds: "I have brought this gift to thee," and lays down what he has brought before the wooden statue and says: "I desire that thou wouldst provide me with a merchant who has plenty of gold and silver and will buy from me all that I wish to sell and will challenge nothing that I say." He then goes away. If, however, his trade does not proceed favourably and his stay is too protracted, he comes again, bringing a second or even a third gift. If he still has difficulty in obtaining what he wants, he brings a gift to each of the little images and asks them for their intercession, saying, "These are the wives and daughters of our Lord"' (C. M. Frähn, *Ibn-Foszlan's und anderer Araber Berichte über die Russen älterer Zeit*, Petrograd, 1823, p. 7 ff.).

Prayer was not always accompanied by offerings.

Sigrdrifa, having been roused from a magic sleep by Sigurd Fafnirsbane, makes this invocation: 'Hail day! Hail sons of day! Hail night and her kinswoman! With favourable eyes, look upon us who are sitting here, and grant us victory! Hail æsir; hail asynjur! Hail also to the bountiful earth! Give wisdom and eloquence to us two glorious ones, and hands of healing during our lives!' (*Sigrdrífumál*, ii. 3 [Hildebrand, p. 317 f.]).

When Earl Hakon and Gudbrand were pursuing Hrapp, who had plundered the shrine dedicated to Thor, Thorgerðr Holgabruðr, and Irpa, 'the earl went aside by himself, away from other men, and bade that no man should follow him, and so he stays awhile. He fell down on both his knees, and held his hands before his eyes; after that he went back to them' (*The Story of Burnt Njál*, tr. G. W. Dasent (Everyman's Library], London, 1911, p. 156).

During his fight with the Jomsborg Vikings Hakon prayed to Thorgerðr Hörðabrúðr, but his prayer proved unavailing until he had sacrificed his son Erling (cf. Craigie, p. 33).

3. Manner of prayer.—Little is known of the form and manner of heathen prayer. Tacitus (*Germ.* x.) informs us that among the Teutons divination was practised by a priest or paterfamilias, 'having prayed to the gods and glanced up to heaven.' In the sagas we hear frequently of worshippers prostrating themselves before images of the gods.

'The island was thickly wooded, and Hakon went to a clearing in the forest, where he lay down, looking to the north and prayed in the way he thought best, calling upon her in whom he put all his trust, Thorgerðr Hörðabrúðr' (Craigie, p. 33; for the heathen custom of turning to the north in prayer cf. Grimm, i. 34).

LITERATURE.—J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, tr. J. S. Stallybrass, London, 1882–88, vol. i. ch. iii.; P. Herrmann, *Nordische Mythologie*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 449 ff., *Deutsche Mythologie*, do. 1898, p. 420 ff.; E. Mogk, *Mythologie*, Strassburg, 1900, in H. Paul's *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*, iii. 384 ff.

ENID WELSFORD.

PRAYER (Tibetan).—Prayer is more prevalent among the people of the Land of the Lāmas than among any other nation perhaps in the world. This is owing partly to the extreme devotion fostered by the hierarchy which wields the temporal rule of the country, and partly to the intense piety engendered by generations of extreme isolation from the rest of the world, amidst environments where Nature in her severest moods tends to inspire a superstitious dread of malignant spirits, who can be appeased or coerced only by prayer and sacrifice. Prayers are thus ever on the lips of the laity in all spare moments, apart from the daily priestly services in the temples, and in the houses of the well-to-do, which generally possess a small shrine with miniature altar, before which domestic prayer is rendered.

1. General character of the prayers. — The prayers are generally genuine petitions addressed to one or more bountiful Buddhas or Buddhist divinities, whose spiritual or material succour is entreated; or they may be stanzas uttered in praise of the particular deity or deities invoked; and, in nearly all, one or other Buddha, human or celestial, is referred to in addition to the other deity implored. The frequent repetition of such formal prayers tends to degenerate into a mechanical routine. Yet, although the prayers consist usually of formal litanies and other rituals extracted from the Indian and Tibetan Buddhist canonical scriptures, spontaneous private prayers are not uncommon. The present writer has often heard Tibetan votaries, after making an offering of lamps on the altar of wayside temples, address God for spiritual and temporal blessing, for prevention of bodily peril or ailment, and for provision for daily wants, very much after the manner of Christian worshippers at the present day.

2. Buddhist form of Tibetan prayers. — The formal prayers, collected in printed or written manuals, consist mainly of extracts from the Indian Buddhist canon or from the rituals composed by early Indian and Tibetan monks. The class of canonical works furnishing these prayers is generally the same as that employed by the 'Southern' Buddhists of Ceylon, Burma, and Siam for the purpose, under the name of *paritta* or *pirit* (='protection'), and are *suttas* from the Pāli canon specially composed and prescribed by Buddha himself[1] to be recited as prayers to avert malign influence, for recovery from disease, to remove physical difficulties, and to procure happiness and a good rebirth. They are addressed to the moon, sun, and various other divinities, especially the *yaksha*—a general term for the orthodox Buddhist gods on Aśoka's monuments (250 B.C.), though latterly viewed as more or less malignant. While the Tibetans thus use for prayers the corresponding canonical texts to the Hīnayāna Pāli canon of the Southern Buddhists,[2] they have the advantage over the latter in that they have translated these texts into the vernacular so that the people can understand the meaning of the prayer or praise, whereas the Southern Buddhist laity repeat the texts in the foreign and long dead Pāli, which is unintelligible to them, making the 'prayer' an unmeaning mummery. Even the ingenious Bön religionists in the remoter districts have now generally assimilated their prayers to the type of the dominant Buddhists.

3. Deities and saints invoked.—The gods chiefly invoked by the Tibetans are found by the present writer to be orthodox Buddhist gods. For, contrary to the statements of Western writers on primitive Buddhism,[3] he finds that gods enter very largely into the religion of Śākyamuni himself, as evidenced in the earliest Pāli canonical books, and into that of his greatest propagandist, the emperor Aśoka, not only in his inscribed monuments at Bhārhut, but also in his edicts. Thus the latest authoritative reading of the Sahasrām rock-inscription states:

'Men in Jambu-dvipa (India) who up till this time had been unassociated with the gods, have (now) been made associated with the gods.'[4]

[1] Cf. D. J. Gogerly, *Ceylon Buddhism*, Colombo and London, 1908, ii. 328; and L. A. Waddell, 'Dhāraṇī Cult in Buddhism,' *Ostasiat. Zeitschr.* ii. [1913] 155 f.

[2] For list of the Buddhist canonical texts used as prayers in Pāli, and trr. of several, see Gogerly, ii. 329–393.

[3] *E.g.*, T. W. Rhys Davids and H. Oldenberg, *passim*.

[4] Tr. by E. Hultzsch, *JRAS*, 1911, p. 1115; cf. also Waddell, 'Dhāraṇī Cult,' pp. 155–171.

The first deity or divine saint to be invoked is Buddha himself, though not the most frequently addressed by the Tibetans. This also is paralleled in Southern Buddhism, which is supposed to represent the primitive form of Gotama's religion, wherein Gotama (Śākyamuni), although regarded as having passed away totally from the world, is not regarded as 'extinct,' as in the later mystical Buddhism, but is invoked as a still existing divinity, and not a mere pious memory:

> 'I bow my head to the ground and worship
> The sacred dust of his holy feet:
> If in aught I have sinned against Buddha
> May Buddha forgive me my sin.'[1]

He is also invoked daily in the refuge-formula: 'We go for refuge to Buddha, to his word or law (*Dharma*), and to his order of monks (*Saṅgha*),' in Tibetan[2] as in Southern Buddhism, as if he were still existent.

More frequently than the quondam human Buddha are invoked the celestial Buddhas of Indian Mahāyāna Buddhism. They are regarded as everlasting gods, and are reflexes of the Hindu gods to whom the title of 'Buddha,' or Buddha's other favourite title, 'Jina' or 'the Victor,' has been transferred. Of these the primordial self-existent god, corresponding to the late Brāhmanist creator-god Brahmā, is Ādibuddha, and he bears various titles according to different sects of Lāmas. Thus he is the 'Thunderbolt-Holder' (rDorje 'chan = Skr. Vajradhara), or the 'Thunderbolt-Souled' (rDorje sems-dpa = Skr. Vajrasattva), or 'Receptacle of Light' or 'Ever-shining' (rNam-par snan-mdsad = Skr. Vairochana), presumably a form of the popular solar Buddha, Amitābha, or the 'Boundless Light,' the god of the Western Paradise, though nominally different from the latter. Latterly there was a fivefold division of these celestial Buddhas according to the five directions, namely the four quarters and the zenith.[3]

Much more frequently implored are the celestial *bodhisattvas*, or nominally potential Buddhas among the gods, most of whom are everlasting gods of an energetic order and invoked for their active aid. One of these, common to Southern Buddhism and Indian Mahāyāna, is the Buddhist Messiah, Maitreya (Tib. Byams-pa), who was placed by Śākyamuni in the heaven of Indra or Śakra. Gotama's (or Śākyamuni's) frequent references to him and to his abode in Indra's heaven offer another confutation of the statement so frequently made by the Pāli school of writers that Buddha was atheistic and did not recognize the Hindu gods in his system. Of this Buddhist Messiah many colossal images are carved on cliffs along roads in Tibet, and are the object of prayer to passers-by. But the most frequently worshipped and invoked of all is the Indian Buddhist goddess the 'Saviouress' (sGrol-ma, pronounced Dö-mä, the Skr. Tārā), who is the primordial Mother-goddess, Māyā, which was also the name of Buddha's mother; and, under the name Māyā, Tārā is worshipped by the Burmese and other Southern Buddhists. She is the special patron of women and children, and succourer in distress on land and sea. She is the Queen of Heaven, independently on her own account as well as in the form of consort to the Indian Avalokita (sPyan-ras-zigs, pronounced Chä-rä-si), the 'All-seeing One' (lit. 'Clad with Eyes,' according to its Tibetan translation). The latter as the god of transmigration is the special favourite and patron-god of the Tibetans, and is associated with two others, as the defenders of Lāmaism, who also are of Indian origin, namely the 'Thunderbolt-Wielder' (Phyag-rdor, Skr. Vajrapāṇi), the Śaivist Jupiter Pluvius, and the 'Sweet-Voiced' god of wisdom or Buddhist Apollo ('Jam-dbaṅs, Skr. Mañjuśrī)—all three of whom are in great request, though Avalokita, to whom the *Oṁ maṇipadme Huṁ* formula is addressed, is the most frequently invoked of all, and by all sects. The other popular *bodhisattva* gods and goddesses are enumerated in the list of their prayer-spells below, § 6.

Of the saints who are specially invoked for aid, each different sect of monks gives pre-eminence to its own particular founder; thus the Yellow-caps invoke Tsongkhapa; the new Red-Cap, Dug-pa, invoke Marpa or Milaräpa; and the old Red-cap, the original founder of the order of the Lāmas, Padmasambhava or Padmakara (*q.v.*). The laity, however, of all the sects especially invoke the last-named saint and esteem him to be practically as powerful as their favourite god, and he receives full divine honours—though this is paid covertly in communities where the Yellow-cap priests predominate, by whom he is banned as unorthodox.

'Demons' are not ordinarily invoked as such, or directly, even by the unreformed Red-caps, except on certain rare occasions of 'feeding the devils' and in disease- or death-ritual; and even then the invocation is usually preceded by some Buddhistic ceremony, although embodying aboriginal Bön rites. But the Śaivist forms of the Thunderbolt-Holder as the 'Defender of the Faith,' although not technically regarded by the Tibetans as devils, are really demoniacal and are identical with the demonist forms of the Hindu god Śiva as the spirit of destruction and death. These demonist forms were not inventions of the Tibetans, as generally asserted, but were all borrowed by the Tibetans ready-made from mediæval Indian Buddhism, which, to maintain its popularity, had been forced to adopt these depraved elements from the degenerated Indian Brāhmanism, while the poor deluded Tibetans believed that they were all right, as they imported them from the home of Buddhism at Bodh Gaya. As a result, each Tibetan monk has to select one of these demonist Śivas as his tutelary,[1] and each morning he privately invokes him for his protection throughout the day. But the unsophisticated layman invokes for this purpose the deified saint Padmasambhava, and the women implore Dö-mä, or Tārā, when they proceed beyond the self-sufficient *Oṁ maṇipadme Huṁ*.

4. Prayers in celebration services.—The priestly arrangement of prayers for the worship of each Buddhist divinity among Tibetans is usually divided into seven stages, and the text is printed or written in separate little pocket manuals or prayer-books for each deity, all in vernacular Tibetan. The stages are:[2] (1) the invocation—calling to the feast or sacrifice; (2) inviting the deity to be seated on the altar; (3) presentation of sacrificial offerings—sacred cake, rice, water, flowers, incense, lamps, musical instruments; (4) hymns in praise; (5) repetition of the special spell of the deity in Sanskrit; (6) prayers for benefits, present and to come; (7) benediction. When demons have been worshipped, they are 'invited to depart' before the benediction.

5. Specimen of ritualistic prayer.—A good example of the formal prayers is seen in the follow-

[1] Pāli *Pātimokka*, Dickson 5; this does not appear in the version translated by Gogerly, i. 160–210, and is therefore presumably not used by all Ceylonese Buddhists; but it is found almost literally in the Tibetan versions—*e.g.*, E. Schlagintweit, *Buddhism in Tibet*, London, 1863, p. 126 f., where the text specially adds: 'I believe that the body of all the Buddhas does not enter into Nirvana (of Extinction),' evidently intended to confute as a heresy the doctrine of total extinction.

[2] Waddell, 'Lāmaism,' in *Gazetteer of Sikhim*, Calcutta, 1894, p. 308.

[3] For details see Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895, pp. 346–352.

[1] See Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, pp. 152, 222 f.

[2] For details see *ib.* p. 424 f.

ing extract from the ritual of Tārā, the Queen of Heaven, which has been translated in full by the present writer.[1] It is composed in metre.

Invocation.

'Hail! O verdant Tārā! The Saviour of all beings!
Descend, we beseech thee, from thy heavenly mansion at Potala,
With all thy host[2] of gods, titans, and deliverers.
We humbly prostrate ourselves at thy lotus-feet!
Deliver us from all distress, O holy Mother!'

Presentation of sacrificial offerings.

'We hail thee, O revered and sublime Tārā!
Who art adored by all the kings and princes
Of the ten directions,[3] of the present, past and future.
We pray thee to accept these offerings
Of flowers, incense, perfumed lamps, precious food,
The music of cymbals and the other offerings!
We sincerely beg thee in all thy divine forms[4]
To partake of the food now offered.
On confessing to thee penitently their sins
The most sinful hearts, yea, even the committers of
The ten vices and the five boundless sins
Will obtain forgiveness and
Reach perfection of soul, through thee!
If we have amassed any merit in the three states,[5]
We rejoice in this good fortune, when we consider
The unfortunate lot of the poor (lower) animals
Still piteously engulfed in the ocean of misery.
On their behalf, we now turn the wheel of religion!
We implore thee by whatever merit we have accumulated
To kindly regard all the (lower) animals.
And for ourselves, when our merit has reached perfection,
Let us not, we pray thee, linger longer in this world.'

Hymns in Tārā's praise.

(The hymns are in verse, the metre of which is not here reproduced.)

'Hail! exalted Tārā-the-Saviouress!
Heroic mother, the messenger
Of the three-world Lord,
Rich in power and compassion.

Hail to thee whose hand is decked
By the golden lotus,
Eager soother of our woe,
Ever tireless worker, thou!'

(and so on for 21 verses).

Repetition of the spell and prayer of the deity.

Here is repeated 108 times on the rosary, or, if time presses, as often as possible, the special mystic spell of Tārā in Sanskrit, namely:

'*Oṁ! Tā-re tu Tā-re tu-re Svā-hā!*'

Prayers for blessings.

'We implore thee, O revered Blessed One,[6] Victorious and Merciful Mother! purify us and all other beings from the two evil thoughts. . . .

Wherever we dwell, we beg thee to soothe there disease and poverty, fighting and disputes, and increase the true religion. . . .

Let us obtain the favourite tutelary angels[7] of our former lives and entry into the paradise of the Buddhas of the past, present and future.'

Benediction.

'Now, O mighty Worker, speedy Soother and gracious Mother,
Holding the *utpal*-lotus flower, may thy glory come and all happiness!'

One of the ordinary hymns to Buddha opens as follows:

'Om! Hail to the Omniscient Ones: Buddha, (His) Law, and (His) Order of Monks!
Hail to the blessed Buddha, the victorious and all-wise Tathā-gata Arhat, who has gone to happiness!
He is the guide of gods and men.
He is the root of virtue and fountain of treasure.
He is adorned with perfect endurance and all beauty.
He is the greatest flower of all the race.
He is admirable in all his actions, in the eyes of all.
He delights in the faithful ones.
He is the Almighty Power, the Universal Guide.
He is the father of all the Bodhisats,
The king of the revered ones and leader of all the dead.
He owns infinite knowledge, immeasurable fortitude.
His commands are all-perfect, his voice all-pleasing.
He is without equal, without desires, without evil.
He delivers all from sorrow, from sin, from worldliness.
His senses are the sharpest. He bravely cuts all knots.
He delivers all from deepest misery, from earthly woes.
He has crossed the ocean of misery.
He is perfect in foreknowledge.
He knows the past, present and future.
He lives far from death.
He lives in the pure land of bliss, whence enthroned he sees all beings!'

6. **Rosaries.** — The supposed efficacy of the mechanical repetition of prayers as devotional exercises has led in Tibet, as in the Roman Church, to the extensive use of the rosary; and nearly every layman and woman in Tibet carries a rosary to register the performance of these pious tasks. The rosaries are formed of various materials of mystical significance,[1] and the beads reach the mystic number of 108. The leading prayer-spell formulæ recited on these beads are of a Sanskritic character, and are shown in the following table along with the deity or saint to whom they are addressed and the kind of rosary employed.

Deity.	The prayer-spell.	Kind of rosary.
1. Chā-rā-si, Skr. Avalokita.	*Oṁ! maṇipadme Huṁ.*	Conch-shell or crystal.
2. Dorje jik-je, Skr. Vajrabhairava.	*Oṁ! Yamāntaka Huṁ phat.*	Human skull or 'stomach'-stone.
3. Chā-na dorje, Skr. Vajrapāṇi.	*Oṁ! Vajrapāṇi Huṁ phat.*	*Raksha*-seed.
4. Dō-mā (green), Skr. Tārā.	*Oṁ! Tāre tut Tāre ture Svā-hā.*	*Bodhi*-tree wood or turquoise.
5. Dō-kar (white), Skr. Sitā-Tārā.	*Oṁ! Tāre tut Tāre mama āyur punyedsanyana pushpitta kuru Svā-hā.*	*Bodhi*-tree wood.
6. Dorje p'agmo, Skr. Vajravarahi.	*Oṁ! Sarva Buddha dakkinnī Hūṁ, phat.*	do.
7. 'Ozer chān-ma, Skr. Marīchī.	*Oṁ! Marichyē maṁ Svā-hā.*	do.
8. Gon-po nagpo, Skr. Kālanātha.	*Oṁ! Śrē Mahākāla Huṁ phat Svā-hā.*	*Raksha*-seed.
9. Nam-sé, Skr. Vaiśravaṇa.	*Oṁ! Vaiśrāvaṇa-ye Svā-hā.*	*Nanga*-pāni-seed.
10. Dsambha-la, Skr. Jambhala.	*Oṁ! Jambhala dsaiendra-ye Svā-hā.*	do.
11. Sen-ge-da, Skr. Sinhanāda.	*Oṁ! Āhrīḥ Sinhanāda Huṁ phat.*	Conch-shell or crystal.
12. Jam-yang, Skr. Mañjughosha.	*Oṁ! Ara-paca-nadhi.*	Yellow.
13. Demchog, Skr. Samvara.	*Oṁ! Hrih ha-ha Huṁ Huṁ phat.*	*Bodhi*-tree.
14. Padma-jungnā, Skr. Padmasambhava.	*Oṁ! Vajra Guru Padma Siddhi Huṁ.*	Coral or *bodhi*-tree.

7. **Graces before meat.**—Before drinking tea, the usual beverage, the Lāmas, like the Romans in regard to wine, pour out a little as a libation to the *lares* and other gods. A usual grace for tea is:

'We humbly beseech thee that we and our relatives throughout our life-cycles may never be separated from the Three Holy Ones! May the blessing of the Trinity enter into this drink!'

Then, before drinking, they sprinkle a few drops with the tips of the fingers on the floor or ground, and continue the grace:

'To all the dread local demons of this country we offer this good Chinese tea! Let us obtain our wishes, and may the doctrines of Buddha be extended!'

When any flesh-meat is in the diet, '*Oṁ abhira khechara, Huṁ!*' is repeated to counteract the sin of slaughter and of eating flesh, and by the efficacy of this prayer-spell the animal whose flesh is eaten is supposed to be reborn in a higher state of existence, and even in heaven.

8. **Prayer-wheels and prayer-flags.**—With the laity the panacea prayer-formula is the ubiquitous

[1] See Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 435.
[2] '*khor*='circle.'
[3] That is the four cardinal points, the intermediate half-points, the zenith and nadir.
[4] This goddess has different forms and names as incorporating all aspects of the primordial divine mother; see Waddell's tr. of Tibetan *Dhāraṇis*, in *IA* xliii. [1914] 37–95.
[5] The three mystic worlds of Brāhmanism: desire, form, and formlessness (*kāma*, *rūpa*, and *a-rupa*).
[6] *Bhagavati*, the feminine of *bhagavat*, the ordinary title for Buddha in the Pāli and often in the Sanskrit.
[7] Lit. 'spirit' or 'gods' (*lha*).

[1] For details see Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, pp. 202–210.

Oṁ manipadme Huṁ, which is the Pater Noster of Tibetans, though it is of Indian origin. In virtue of the supposed efficacy of its mechanical repetition, it is printed thousands of times on long strips of paper which are coiled inside revolving metal cylinders to form the so-called hand-'prayer-wheels' which are the most conspicuous part of the pious outfit of the Tibetans, laity and Lāmas, and are carried spinning in their hands, in the belief that each revolution of the printed sentences is equivalent to uttering the formula an equal number of times (cf. art. PRAYER-WHEELS). On the 'prayer-flags,' which are erected on tall masts in the neighbourhood of temples and wayside shrines, and, fluttering in the breeze, form a very artistic and picturesque feature of the landscape, are inscribed various prayers of an astrological kind, especially for the good fortune of the person erecting these flags, which are really 'luck-flags.' Their name *lung-rta* has been shown by the present writer[1] to incorporate the Chinese *long-ma*, 'horse-dragon,' which has an analogous ritual. After several spells in Sanskrit we find written in Tibetan:

'May all the above deities [Avalokita and others] prosper the year [here is inserted the year of birth of the individual votary] and prosper the body, speech, and mind of this year-holder and may the true religion [of Buddha] prosper!'

Analogous paper banners, in the shape of dragons and other animals, are offered also by the Southern Buddhists of Burma at temples and other shrines inscribed with similar sentences in Pāli and the vernacular, such as:

'May the man born on Friday gain reward by this pious offering.' 'May the man born on Monday be freed from sickness and the three calamities.' 'By the merit of this may Wednesday's children be blessed by spirits and men.'[2]

These Tibetan luck-flags are also tied to certain bushes over dangerous parts of streams and near cairns, like the rag-bushes in Muhammadan and other Eastern countries.

LITERATURE.—See the works quoted throughout.

L. A. WADDELL.

PRAYER, BOOK OF COMMON.—1. Introduction.—(*a*) The English Prayer Book, as we now have it, is a very composite production. A study of the title-page alone is sufficient indication of this. It runs thus:

'The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church according to the Use of the Church of England;[3] together with the Psalter or Psalms of David, pointed as they are to be sung or said in Churches; and the Form and Manner of Making, Ordaining, and Consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.'

The cumbrousness of this title is not merely a relic of the days when such prolix titles to books were in fashion, but is also due to the fact that by the middle of the 16th cent. the still recent invention of printing and the constant improvements in it enabled our Reformers to begin to bring together into a single volume all the more necessary services and other materials for public worship, which had as a rule hitherto been copied out with much labour in several separate tomes.[4] Thus 'the Common Prayer' represents the former Breviary (and perhaps we may add the Primer); 'the Administration of the Sacraments,' etc., represents the Missal and the Manual; the 'Psalter' speaks for itself; and the 'Form of Making,' etc., stands for the old Pontifical. This, of course, is far from exhausting the books in use before the Reformation, such as the Hymnary (of which we now have no authorized representative), the Antiphoner, Lectionary, etc. Some of these (*e.g.*, the Antiphoner) have been almost entirely removed from the services in the present book, the reason being thus stated in the Preface of 1549:

'For this cause be cut off Anthems, Responds, Invitatories and such like things as did break the continual course of the reading of the Scripture.'[1]

Others are either provided for as by the references in the Table of Lessons or printed in full as in the Epistles and Gospels of the Day, etc., while the use of hymns in numerous unauthorized collections has taken the place of the ancient Hymnary.[2] The musical notes, however, which the old books often supplied are now wholly wanting,[3] except by prescriptive use, though the rubrics in various places contain references to the clerks and their singing, which obviously recognize the place of music in public worship as legitimate; and the Psalter is specially said to be 'pointed' for singing or saying[4] in churches.

In the Ordinal, which was first issued separately in March 1549–50, the most notable omission, when we compare it with the ancient Pontificals, is of any provision for the consecration of churches and for the coronation of the sovereign. It is not easy now to account for this serious oversight, which, at least in the case of opening new churches for public use, has been a great drawback ever since. We have no exact guide as to what was the mind of the Church at that period, and the celebration of the divine mysteries as an essential of the rite has usually been almost entirely lost sight of.[5]

(*b*) We may now proceed briefly to review the reasons and principles which guided the first compilers of the new book, and which have been accepted in the bulk by all subsequent revisers.

(1) One main reason for the fundamental change of substituting English for Latin throughout is the obvious one and is thus stated in the Preface of 1549: 'that the people might understand and have profit by hearing the same.' But it is a mistake to suppose that this was an entirely unheard-of innovation in the reign of Henry VIII. Apart from the fact that it was after all only a return to primitive practice,[6] it is worth noting that in the marriage service of the unreformed rite the betrothal had from of old taken place in the mother tongue, though the rest of the ceremony was conducted in Latin, while for at least 150 years the private devotions of the laity had been provided for in English by the Primers, which were put forth by authority from time to time.[7] These contained some of the more important prayers, canticles, etc., from the Breviary offices,

[1] Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, p. 412 f.

[2] Shway Yoe (J. G. Scott), *The Burman, his Life and Notions*, London, 1882, i. 225.

[3] The title originally ended here; until 1662 the Psalter had its own separate title-page and the Ordinal still has, though since 1662 it has also been printed on the front page (see below).

[4] Cf. the Preface of 1549: 'by this order the curates shall need none other books . . . but this book and the Bible and . . . the people shall not be at so great charge for books as in time past they have been' (these words are now omitted).

[1] A few traces, however, are left: (1) the reference to the Advent antiphon 'O Sapientia' (16th Dec.); (2) the mention of the anthem 'in Quires and Places where they sing' at Mattins and Evensong; this rubric, however, dates from 1662; (3) old antiphons have been introduced into (*a*) the Litany ('O God,' etc.), (*b*) the Burial Service ('Man that is born,' etc., and 'I heard a voice,' etc.), and (*c*) the Visitation of the Sick ('O Saviour,' etc.), and (*d*) the collect for the Sunday after Ascension day is an adaptation of an old antiphon.

[2] Only one metrical hymn is now contained in the Prayer Book, viz. 'Veni Creator' (in two versions) in the Ordinal.

[3] Merbeck's notation (1550) was apparently to be the norm at one time; but see Procter and Frere, *New Hist. of the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 42 f.

[4] 'Sing'=recite with musical inflexions; 'say'=recite in monotone.

[5] Obviously, if this contention is correct, the usual method of a priest celebrating the Holy Communion before the consecration by the bishop is uncanonical and reduces the Episcopal service almost to a farce. In the order of consecration provided in the American Prayer Book, Holy Communion does form an integral part, though it is rather spoilt by too much attention being directed to Mattins which precede it.

[6] Cf. A. Fortescue, *The Mass*, new ed., London, 1914, p. 126: 'There was no idea of a special liturgical language at that time [for the first 2 centuries]; people said their prayers in the vulgar tongue.'

[7] For the Reformed Primers of Henry VIII.'s reign see Procter and Frere, p. 43 f.

and thus for a considerable period the more thoughtful and religious lay-folk had become familiarized with a certain portion of the Church services. Still the restoration of the use of the vernacular into public worship—a use which had ceased for many centuries—was a new departure of the very highest importance and was under God due to Henry VIII. and his advisers.[1]

The first step taken in that direction was in 1543, when the Canterbury Convocation ordered Lessons from the English Bible to be read at Mattins and Vespers. But the first service proper to be published in English was the Litany in the year following (1544). It is interesting to note that the reason which suggested this was very similar to that which originated litanies in the West in the 5th and 6th centuries, viz. the prevalence of bad seasons and other troubles at home and of wars abroad.

The next step in the same direction was at the beginning of Edward VI.'s reign, when—pending the decision as to the use of English in general—an Order of Communion in English was issued in March 1548. This[2] contained the Exhortation, Confession, Absolution, the 'Comfortable Words,' the Prayer of 'Humble Access,' nearly as we have them now, and was to be inserted in the Latin Mass before the Communion of the people. The Epistle and Gospel were also to be read in English.

Three other principles guided the Reformers in compiling the Prayer Book, as the original Preface makes clear.

(2) They aimed at clearing away that which was only legendary and calculated to foster superstition:

'Here are left out many things, whereof some are untrue, some uncertain, some vain and superstitious,'

and at restoring the continuous and orderly reading of the Holy Scripture day by day together with the monthly recital of the whole Psalter.

(3) They greatly simplified the forms and ceremonies in vogue:

'The number and hardness of the rules . . . and the manifold changes of the service was the cause that . . . many times there was more business to find out what should be read than to read it when it was found out.'

At first this process was much more drastically carried out in the case of the Daily Offices than in that of the Liturgy proper, where in 1549 a very considerable portion of the ancient usages was retained, whilst those in Morning and Evening Prayer were reduced to a bare minimum—suitable, as it was thought, for the busier members of the laity as well as for others. But later changes (especially in 1552) in the Liturgy itself were far less conservative and liturgically defensible. Even so the first paragraphs of the present Preface drawn up by Robert Sanderson, bishop of Lincoln, and prefixed to the original portion ('concerning the service,' etc.) so late as 1662 still profess

'to observe the like moderation as we find to have been used . . . in former times. And therefore . . . we have rejected all such [alterations] as were . . . of dangerous consequence as secretly striking at some . . . laudable practice of the Church of England or indeed of the whole Catholic Church of Christ.'

(4) They desired uniformity of use throughout the kingdom.

'Whereas heretofore there hath been great diversity . . some following Salisbury use, some Hereford use, etc. . . . now, from henceforth all the whole Realm shall have but one use.'[3]

(5) Yet another principle of the Reformers has so far been taken for granted rather than asserted, except as the use of the English tongue and supplication of the forms give evidence of it, viz. their intention to give the laity proper facilities for joining in the divine service. This of course specially refers to the Daily Offices. The theory always had been that the people as well as the clergy should attend the day hours in the parish church, though it may be doubted if it was ever very generally put in practice. In 1549 and onwards the aim was to facilitate the practice as much as possible, though still with doubtful success.

The Preface, as it now (since 1662) stands, bids 'all Priests and Deacons to say daily the Morning and Evening Prayer either privately or openly, not being let by sickness or some other urgent cause' (in 1552 'preaching and studying of divinity' had been particularized). 'And the Curate . . . being at home and not being otherwise hindered . . . shall cause a bell to be tolled thereunto a convenient time before he begin, that the people may come to hear God's Word and to pray with him.'

Fresh emphasis was likewise given to the obligation in 1662, when the words 'daily to be said and used throughout the year' were added to the first title of 'Morning and Evening Prayer.'

It should be observed that much of the original Preface recalls the language of Cardinal Quignon's Preface to his Breviary (1535), because it shows that the Spanish Reformer's ideas had clearly as much influence on Cranmer as, if not more than, those of Luther and other less conservative Reformers on the Continent.

2. Historical résumé.—It is now matter of common knowledge that, though a great deal of the work of constructing the Prayer Book had been done in Henry VIII.'s reign, yet the first edition was not actually published till 1549, when Edward VI. had been on the throne more than a year. It was to come into use on Whitsunday, 9th June.[1] But the great and rapid progress made by the extreme Puritan party during this reign availed very soon to bring about much more radical changes, and by All Saints' day 1552 the First was superseded by the Second Book, the contents of which are much more nearly what we are familiar with in our present Book; in fact most of the subsequent modifications have been by way of addition to, rather than alteration of, its text.

Edward died in July 1553, and during the reign of Mary the old unreformed services and ceremonies were restored in their entirety.

When Elizabeth in her turn came to the throne (1558), she had to be content with the fewest possible improvements in the Second Book, which was then again (1559) brought into use: such as the addition of Sunday Lessons, the omission of the petition against 'the Bishop of Rome and his detestable enormities' from the Litany, and the present words of distribution in the Holy Communion, which combine the formulas of 1549 and 1552. By the end of her reign the Puritans had regained such strength that they hoped on the accession of James I. (1603) to get rid of much that they disliked, but at the Hampton Court Conference, to which both sides were summoned, hardly any of their demands were conceded. The most important change was the addition to the Catechism of the part about the sacraments (by John Overall, then dean of St. Paul's, afterwards bishop of Norwich), which the Puritans can hardly have regarded as favouring their views.

The next stage in revision was at the Restoration of Charles II. (1660), when the Prayer Book was brought back into use, after being suppressed during the Commonwealth. In 1661 a conference was held in the Savoy, at which it was again felt

[1] Of the two schemes drawn up before 1549 by Cranmer (recently published by Henry Bradshaw Society, vol. l. [1915]) the first retains the Latin language throughout, but the second introduces the use of English for the Lord's Prayer and the Lessons.

[2] Published by H. Bradshaw Soc., vol. xxxiv. [1908].

[3] It is curious to reflect that after the Council of Trent (1563) the Roman Curia followed suit, and since then has rigorously repressed local uses, with rare exceptions.

[1] But without the Ordinal at first (see above, p. 205).

impossible to entertain most of the Puritan proposals, such as the doing away with the sign of the cross in Holy Baptism and with the kneeling posture at Holy Communion. A fair number of changes were, however, admitted under the direction of John Cosin, bishop of Durham, and they were mostly by way of distinct improvement. They came into force in the year following (1662).

Another attempt at revision made in 1689 was ineffectual, and not much has been done since then. We may note, however, (*a*) that of four State services drawn up for occasions of national importance in the 17th cent. only one has been retained since 1859, that for the king's accession (revised 1901); (*b*) that a new Lectionary was issued with the sanction of Canterbury and York Convocations in 1871; and (*c*) that a limited permission was given in 1872 to shorten or modify the service and use hymns. Of these changes the first two must be reckoned as of advantage, while the third is of more questionable value. But that the time has come, or ought to have come, when yet another general revision should be taken in hand to meet modern needs on carefully considered and wisely conservative lines is obvious to most thinking Churchmen. But so far only tentative proposals are forthcoming and 'adhuc sub iudice lis est,' though a certain amount of progress has recently been made.

3. The contents of the present Book in detail.—It will not be possible to describe in full the various contents under separate heads. We must be content with drawing attention to salient features as best we can.

(*a*) *The Preface.*—The first five paragraphs were prefixed in 1662, having been composed by Sanderson of Lincoln and slightly altered by Convocation before approval.

(*b*) *Concerning the service of the Church.*—Here the original Preface (1549) began; it was probably the work of Cranmer, as was also the section that follows, *Of Ceremonies*; but the latter was transferred from the end of the Book to its present place in 1552, while *Certain notes for the more plain explanation and decent ministration of things contained in this Book* were then expunged.[1] Besides one or two verbal alterations of small importance, three interesting sentences are now omitted. The first has been already quoted (p. 205[a], n. 4), the second justifies the adoption of a single use throughout the realm, and the third, which only in a general way bound to the saying of the Daily Offices such of the clergy as serve the congregation in cathedral and other churches, has given way to the present much more definite and stringent regulation (see above, p. 206).

(*c*) *The order how the Psalter is appointed to be read* originally contained a special provision for the first three months of the year, by which 31st Jan. and 1st March were to be treated as if they were 1st and 29th (or 30th) Feb. respectively and the rest of the days of the month shifted forward by one (*i.e.* 1st Feb. became 2nd and so on); and in leap-year on the intercalary day (between the 25th and 26th) the Psalms (and Lessons) of the previous day were to be repeated. The order about repeating 'Gloria Patri' at the end of each Psalm, always provided for in the rubric, was not originally inserted here.

(*d*) *The order how the rest of the Holy Scripture, etc.*—The original provisions in this section were modified in 1871 to suit the New Lectionary now in use. It is impossible here to compare the old with the new course or to indicate the changes made and the principles of selection.

(*e*) *The Calendar* proper as published in 1549 contained but few commemorations and of these the only one that calls for notice is [St. Mary] Magdalen (22nd July), because it was at first furnished with a special Introit, Collect, Epistle, and Gospel, but in 1552 all mention of her was removed. The bare name, however, was restored in 1561 together with several other names, St. Anne (26th July) among them.

The list of commemorations underwent various vicissitudes (1561, 1604, 1662) chiefly in the way of addition, though it is not always easy to arrive at the reasons for the selections: some of the saints are very obscure—*e.g.*, Valentine Bp., Nicomede Mart., Enurchus (Evortius) Bp.,[2] and Machutus Bp.—and there are some notable omissions (*e.g.*, of Eastern worthies).

The following details are to be observed: (1) St. Alban's day, now 17th June, is usually the 22nd, and St. Cyprian's, now 26th Sept., the 14th; (2) the Transfiguration (6th Aug.) was not formally authorized in the West till 1457 (to commemorate the deliverance of Belgrade from the Turks); it now has a proper Collect, Epistle, and Gospel in the American Prayer Book; (3) the Name of Jesus (7th Aug.) was never a very general commemoration; (4) Enurchus Bp. (7th Sept.) is probably a misprint for Evortius, bishop of Orleans (4th cent.); (5) it is somewhat strange to find the Visitation (2nd July) and Nativity of B.V.M. (8th Sept.) included, since her Falling asleep (15th Aug.), a much more general feast-day, is omitted; (6) 'O Sapientia' (16th Dec.) marks the beginning of the series of Advent antiphons before Christmas, though no provision is made for their use in Magnificat during that season; (7) K. Charles Mart. (30th Jan.) was added in 1662 and has been omitted without authority, since the special service of that day was abolished in 1859.

(*f*) *Tables and rules for feasts and fasts.*—These were first added in 1662, probably at Cosin's suggestion. Hitherto they had been kept according to tradition and custom only, except that in the Calendar the vigils had been marked. It is to be noted, (1) that only the 'red letter' days among the feasts are here mentioned; (2) that the Friday fast is of unusual strictness, being now only relaxed when Christmas falls on that day of the week; the ancient rule extended the relaxation to all Fridays within Easter and Christmastide and those on which a feast falls; and (3) the distinction between fasting and abstinence (as if the latter were less strict than the former) is to some extent a modern (Roman Catholic) innovation.

(*g*) *The tables for finding Easter* are too technical and elaborate to find treatment in this article (*cf.* CALENDAR [Christian]). And the same may be said about the '*Ornaments*' *Rubric*, that stands before the Order for Morning Prayer.[1]

(*h*) *The Daily Offices.*—Roughly speaking, Morning Prayer is compiled from the mediæval offices of Mattins, Lauds, and Prime, Evening Prayer from those of Vespers and Compline, with certain new elements added to each later. Thus the former, from the first Lord's Prayer (with which in 1549 the service began) to 'Te Deum,' followed the lines of Mattins and, from the second lesson to the third collect (with which it ended), the lines of Lauds. But Evening Prayer was made to conform more to the new Mattins, and therefore the materials taken from the ancient Vespers and Compline were subjected to rather greater changes, though here again the first part up to Magnificat more or less corresponds to Vespers and the latter part to Compline. The opening sentences, Exhortation, Confession, and Absolution, were added to Mattins in 1552 and to Evensong in 1662. The concluding prayers were transferred from the end of the Litany to their present place in 1662. Of these the second was composed in 1604; the others were inserted in 1559, the first dating from 1545 (or possibly 1534) and the third being found in the so-called 'Gelasian' Sacramentary. The fourth concludes the Deacon's Litany before the 'Little Entrance' in the Liturgies of St. Basil and St. Chrysostom. It stands therefore suitably at the end of our Litany, when it is followed by Holy Communion, as was originally intended, but is less suitable at the end of Mattins and Evensong.

(*i*) *Quicunque vult* before the Reformation had been appointed for daily use at Prime. In 1549 it was turned into English and ordered to be used immediately after Benedictus on the six great festivals; and in 1552 seven saints' days were added, which brought up its recitation to about once a month throughout the year. The direction that it is to be said 'instead of the Apostles' Creed' was added in 1662.

(*j*) *The Litany* in its present form is perhaps Cranmer's greatest liturgical triumph. Any one acquainted with mediæval litanies will appreciate the masterly skill with which he has by various devices (such as the grouping of petitions drawn from different sources[2] and the exercising of great wisdom both in selection and in omission[3]) turned the old forms from barren strings of names and short petitions into an astonishingly rich and satisfactory instrument of devotion—at all events for occasions when humiliation of the soul and deep penitence are timely, even if we could desire an alternative form which should be more suitable for times of uplifting and rejoicing.

As to the second part of the Litany after the Lord's Prayer, it is impossible to give here a complete description of the materials of which it is built up. The first versicle, response, and collect are taken from Luther's Litany; the collect, however, is ancient, being that 'in Missa pro tribulatione cordis' (Sarum); the 'Amen' has never been printed. Then follows a section taken from a litany for Rogationtide; it consists of anthem and psalm with 'Gloria Patri'; only (perhaps by accident) the repeated anthem[4] precedes the 'Gloria' instead of following it, as it ought to do. The versicles and responses,[5] which come next, ought properly to be sung by the clerks: they were for special use 'in tempore belli' in the Sarum use.

---

[1] But partly incorporated (much modified) in the rubrics at the beginning of Morning Prayer.

[2] Not included in the Elizabethan Calendar (1561), but added in 1604, perhaps because it had been Elizabeth's birthday and therefore a public holiday for some years. Similar national or even local reasons may have guided the selection in other cases (*e.g.*, St. Audrey [17th Oct.], the great E. Anglian fair-day).

[1] Much that is reasonably and usefully to be said on opposing views of this rubric will be found in F. C. Eeles' tract no. 17 in Mowbray's *Churchman's Penny Library* and in G. Harford's art. *s.v.* in *Prayer Book Dictionary*, p. 516 ff.

[2] Not only did he use the old Roman forms, but he also used Luther's Litany (1529) and the Deacon's Litany in the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom.

[3] At first (1544) invocations of St. Mary Mother of God, the angels, blessed spirits, patriarchs, etc., were retained, but in 1549 they were removed.

[4] The variation in the anthem is unusual.

[5] The address 'O Son of David' probably stands for the original 'Fili Dei vivi,' as if it were 'Fili Davidis.'

The concluding versicle, response, and collect are freely adapted from the Sarum Rogations. The Grace (2 Co 13) was added in 1559.

(*k*) *Holy Communion.*—We here deal mainly with the present order, characterizing the contents *seriatim* as briefly as may be.

The *first Lord's Prayer and the Collect for Purity* appear in the Latin rite among the private devotions of the priest before the Mass; hence perhaps comes his repeating the former alone, 'Amen' and all.

The *Ten Commandments* have been a special feature of our service since 1552.[1] Apparently they are intended to recall or represent the *Lectio Prophetica* (the OT lesson) of the early Liturgies. Their present use with the tenfold (instead of the former ninefold) repetition of 'Kyrie eleison' (specially applied to each individual soul) is a very happy inspiration of Cranmer's, to which, in spite of certain difficulties of interpretation and application, English Christianity owes much of its certainty as to the true standard of good living.

The (alternative) *Collects for the King*, composed in 1549, were then ordered for use after the collect of the day, not before as now.

The *Collects proper* may be divided into three classes: (i.) those which belong to the pre-Reformation period, some of them as old as the 'Leonine' or 'Gelasian' or 'Gregorian' books;[2] (ii.) those first issued in 1549; (iii.) those issued in 1662. But it must be remembered that many of the older forms have received important additions or modifications in either 1549 or 1662 or at both dates.

As to the *Epistle* (during which the right position for the people is that of sitting), it is worth noticing that out of 90 passages chosen seven are taken from Isaiah or one of the Prophets (only one of these being for a Sunday, viz. that next before Advent), thirteen out of the Acts, and four out of the Revelation (of which two are from the last book for Sundays, viz. Whitsunday and Trinity Sunday).

As to the *Gospel* (for which the rubric especially orders the people to stand), all that need be said is that the ascription before ('Glory be,' etc.) inserted in 1549 was removed in 1552 and was not restored in 1662, though Cosin desired it and it had been inserted in the Scottish Office (1637) together with 'Thanks be,' etc., afterwards.

The rubric ordering a *Sermon* after the Creed is one of the very few references to preaching during service in the Book, the others being in the baptismal and marriage services, while in the Ordinal the Sermon is put before the Litany instead of in the usual place. The traditional and natural place for exposition or exhortation is after the reading of God's Word.

Offertory sentences.—In 1549 one or more of these were to be sung 'where there be Clerks,' but this direction was removed in 1552 and now only the saying of them by the priest is mentioned.

The *Prayer for the Church* [+*Militant here in earth*, 1552].—This portion of the Canon of 1549 was separated from the consecration of the elements and placed here in 1552: and at the same time the Lord's Prayer,[3] with which in accordance with ancient use the Canon ended, was placed after the Communion of the people as now, and the first of the two following prayers was likewise cut off and put separate, as an alternative to the Thanksgiving.

It is to be observed (1) that with the Church militant are now included 'all thy servants departed this life in thy faith and fear' (which is strictly inaccurate), and (2) that 'oblations' are generally considered to mean the sacred elements in contradistinction to the 'alms' for the poor; but there are grounds for holding that they more correctly refer to the people's contribution to the support of the clergy or their offerings in general.

The three *Exhortations* which follow are a special feature of our Book originally introduced in 1549; since then they have been subjected to many changes, and are still printed, though but seldom used, the need of them having now in a large measure gone. Nevertheless, they contain much valuable teaching and advice, though some of it has given rise to unfortunate misunderstandings (*e.g.*, as to the 'unworthiness' of those who receive). The first is for ordinary use in giving notice of Communion, and suggests the lines on which private confession to a minister is desirable in the English Church; the second (attributed to Peter Martyr) is to be substituted when there is negligence as to attendance; the third is to be used at the Communion itself, after the communicants have been 'conveniently placed' for the reception. No reference to the withdrawal of non-communicants now remains.

The section from 'Ye that do truly,' etc., down to 'We do not,' etc., came after the Consecration and immediately before the people's Communion at first (see above, p. 206). It was removed to its present much less appropriate position in 1552, the Prayer of 'Humble Access' being then separated from the rest of the section by the first part of the Canon.

The *Canon* began with 'The Lord be with you, R/ and with thy spirit,' in 1549, in accordance with ancient usage; but this was omitted in 1552. It is now much broken up, and other traces of unobjectionable pre-Reformation beliefs and practices besides those mentioned have been obliterated. In particular the beautiful Epiclesis of 1549 has gone: 'With thy holy spirit and word vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ.' The directions for the manual acts, removed in 1552, were brought back in 1662.

The present form of words at the people's Communion happily combines both the forms of 1549 and 1552 and dates from 1559 (see above, p. 206).

The *second post-Communion prayer* of thanksgiving was composed in 1549 and then stood alone, but is now (since 1552) an alternative for the prayer of oblation (see above).

The '*Gloria in Excelsis*' in 1549 occupied its ancient place between the 'Kyrie' and the collect, but was removed in 1552 to the end of the service; and, though this position is contrary to all precedent, it may justly be considered a fitting conclusion to our worship.

The *Blessing* (1549) is likewise a distinct improvement on the rather abrupt ending of the Roman Mass ('Ite: missa est'), to which, however, since 1604 an appendix with a short blessing has been added.[1]

The last six collects, of which the first, second, and fourth are old and the rest date from 1549, were originally appointed for use 'after the offertory, when there is no Communion,' but may now be used at other times.

(*l*) *Holy baptism.*—Of the three offices now supplied the first, as issued in 1549, was mostly derived from the ancient services considerably modified and simplified. From the first the use of salt and the *Ephphatha* were omitted, but the chief points then retained and now since 1552 given up are the exorcism, the anointing, and the chrism; the interrogations, the sign of the Cross, and the reception into the Church are, however, still kept. The novel feature is the insertion of the several exhortations suggested by Luther's *Baptismal Book* and Hermann of Cologne's *Consultatio* (1543).

A second form (for private baptism and subsequent reception into the Church, if the child survived) also appeared in 1549 and has always been retained with such modifications (esp. in 1662) as were required to safeguard the validity of the sacrament and also to bring it into conformity with the first office as altered in 1552.

The third form (for baptism of adults) was inserted in 1662 (George Griffith, bishop of St. Asaph, being the chief member of the committee that drew it up) to meet the growing needs of the natives in our 'plantations' (=colonies) and others converted to the faith (from anabaptism, etc.). It follows the lines of the first office with such adaptations as are appropriate, and the rubric prefixed definitely recognizes (1) that the bishop is ultimately responsible for the administration of the sacrament 'per se vel per alium,' and (2) that fasting as well as instruction and prayer should form part of the candidate's preparation.

(*m*) *Catechism.*—The former part was drawn up and issued in 1549 and has not been altered since. The latter part (on the sacraments of the Gospel) was due to Overall, dean of St. Paul's in 1603. In spite of certain defects,[2] which need rectifying, the whole is a valuable manual of elementary instruction in Christian doctrine, so far as it goes.

(*n*) *Confirmation.*—The order in 1549 began at 'Our help,' etc., and included the signing on the forehead as well as the laying on of hands; but the former of these ceremonies was abolished in 1552 and the present prayer at the imposition of hands substituted for the older form. The preliminary exhortation, which incorporates the substance of a former rubric (and this accounts for its complete inappropriateness)[3] together with the bishop's question and the answer, were not added till 1662. This addition has had the unfortunate effect of obscuring the true meaning of the rite in the minds of many.

(*o*) *Holy matrimony.*—This office has remained without any change of much importance since 1549. But the following are of sufficient interest to be noted: (1) a phrase *in parenthesi*, 'after bracelets and jewels of gold given of the one to the other for tokens of their matrimony,' after 'as Isaac and Rebecca' in the prayer 'O Eternal God,' etc., was omitted in 1552, when the words in the rubric which suggested it were also omitted: 'a ring, and other tokens of spousage as gold or silver'; (2) the phrase about the sending of 'thy Angel Raphael to Tobias and Sarah the daughter of Raguel' was altered to the sending of 'thy blessing upon Abraham and Sarah' in the prayer 'O God of Abraham,' etc. (an undoubted improvement); (3) the phrase 'loving . . . husband' in the prayer 'O God who,' etc., was substituted in 1662 for a quaint reference to the wifely virtues of Rachel, Rebecca, and Sarah which had stood there hitherto; (4) before the address in 1549 the rubric ran: 'Then shall he begin the Communion, and after the Gospel shall be said a Sermon,' etc., whilst another rubric required the newly-married persons to receive the Communion the same day. These indica-

[1] In the Nonjuror's Prayer Book (1718) Mt 22[37-40] was substituted for them. The Scottish Office (of 1764) allows these verses as an alternative for the Decalogue. The present American Prayer Book (1892) allows the alternative only on days when the Decalogue has already been recited.

[2] This nomenclature is misleading, but much of their contents belongs to the 5th cent. at least. The great majority of the 'Sarum' Collects are drawn from them.

[3] The present position of the Lord's Prayer here seems to be in accordance with a principle of the Reformers noticeable elsewhere; it occupies a similar position at Baptism, Confirmation, Matrimony, and Burial, *i.e.*, when the principal or essential ceremony has been performed.

[1] See Fortescue, p. 392 ff.

[2] *E.g.*, the answer does not usually contain the gist of the question; the unity of God is not established, and there is no mention of the Church and its constitution.

[3] See F. H. Chase, *Confirmation in the Apostolic Age*, London, 1909, p. 13 n.

tions of the retention of a nuptial mass were not obliterated till 1662, when the present rubric before the address was substituted, and afterwards it is only stated to be 'convenient' (*i.e.* suitable) that they should communicate at the first opportunity.

(*p*) *Visitation of the sick.*—After the salutation the form in 1549 proceeded with Ps 143 (omitted 1552). The second collect, 'Hear us,' etc., made mention of Peter's wife's mother, the captain's servant, and Tobias and Sarah preserved from danger by the angel, in 1549; the last reference was omitted in 1552, and the other two in 1662, when the present form was adopted.

The second part begins with an exhortation and proceeds to an examination of the sick person with a view to his confession and absolution, if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter (on the lines laid down also in the Holy Communion Office [see above]). Since 1662 the sick person is to 'be moved' to do this; previously it had been left to his own initiative. The form of absolution here is naturally more authoritative and personal than those in the Daily Offices and at Holy Communion.

The third part consists of collect (partly old) and Psalm 71 with anthem ('O Saviour,' etc.) and blessing. The commendation to God's mercy was added in 1662 and also the appendix (containing four well written though somewhat long occasional prayers).

A service for anointing the sick if desired, which was included in 1549, has been omitted since 1552.

(*q*) *The Communion of the sick.*—The present form (with certain alterations in 1662) has been in use since 1552, when preservation of the sacrament for the sick in the modified form of 1549 was abolished.

(*r*) *Burial of the dead.*—The present form dates practically from 1552, when the definite expressions of prayer for the dead and the provisions for Holy Communion made in 1549 were omitted. The last 'collect' was originally the collect at the Communion. The alternative Psalms were not added till 1662; and the lesson was then transferred to its present place, having previously been read at the grave between the anthem ('I heard a voice,' etc.) and the Lesser Litany. The Grace was added in 1662.

(*s*) *Churching of women.*—The title (1549) was 'Purification of women,' altered to its present form in 1552. In the first rubric (1) the phrase 'decently apparelled,' added in 1662, is thought to refer to the old custom of wearing a veil, which had been discarded during the Commonwealth; (2) the words 'convenient place' had been more carefully defined as 'nigh unto the quire door' (1549), or 'nigh unto the place where the Table standeth' (1552). Ps 121 (1549) was replaced by Ps 116 and the alternative Ps 127 also added in 1662. The final rubric shows that the office is intended as the woman's preparation for Communion.

(*t*) A *Commination* was for use on Ash Wednesday only in 1549. The present title was given to the service in 1552, when it was ordered to be used at 'divers times in the year.' Its use on Ash Wednesday was again specified as well in 1662.

The opening address advocates the restoring of the primitive church discipline of open confession and penance, which had gradually given way to private confession (whether occasional or regular). The final prayer of humiliation by minister and people is called an 'anthem to be said or sung' in 1549. The special form of Blessing (from Nu $6^{24ff.}$) was added in 1662.

(*u*) *Prayers to be used at sea.*—Those were first inserted in 1662, though some provision of the sort had been made previously in 1644 by order of parliament.

(*v*) *The Ordinal* (see above, p 205).—The Preface was altered in 1662 (1) better to guarantee episcopal ordination after the laxity which had prevailed during the Commonwealth, (2) to raise the age of deacons from 21 to 23, (3) to restrict the times of ordination usually to the Ember seasons.

The present rubric (1662) orders candidates for either the diaconate or the priesthood to be 'decently habited.' The exact meaning of this is doubtful; probably it was intended to restore such distinctive clerical attire (*e.g.*, cassock, surplice, and hood) as had fallen into desuetude during the Commonwealth, and that is how it is now interpreted. In 1550 they were to wear 'a plain alb'; in 1552 no direction is given at all. So, too, in 1550 the 'Gospel Deacon' was 'to put on a tunicle' (for which see also the 4th rubric before Holy Communion [1549]). But since 1552 this direction has been omitted.

The special petition in the Litany did not actually mention either the deacon's or the priest's office till 1662; in fact the petition was omitted altogether in 1559.

Since 1865 the Oath of the Royal Supremacy has not been administered to either priests or deacons during the service.

The present Gospel (Lk $12^{35ff.}$) at the *Making of Deacons* was substituted for the Gospel of the day in 1662.

In the *Ordering of priests* the first presentation of candidates came after 'Veni Creator,' which followed the Gospel, till 1662, when the present arrangement was made.

The present Epistle (Eph $4^{7ff.}$) was substituted for two others, which were alternative, in 1662.

Jn $20^{19ff.}$ has been a third alternative Gospel (for priests) in 1552, but this was omitted in 1662 and is now one of three alternatives at the consecration of bishops.

Veni Creator.—The first and shorter version (in all probability by Cosin) was added in 1662 and is far superior to the diffuse anonymous version of 1550, which has been slightly touched up and improved since then but is very seldom used.

The *Commission* 'Receive the Holy Ghost.'—The very important addition 'for the Office and Work of a Priest . . . hands' was made in 1662.

The ancient ceremony of handing 'the chalice or cup with the bread' to the priests has been omitted since 1552.

In the *Consecration of bishops* the collect was added and the present selection of Epistles and Gospels was made in 1662. There has been no *traditio instrumentorum* since 1552; in 1549 the bishop elect received the pastoral staff and the Bible was laid on his neck. The present vaguer injunction (to read and be a good shepherd) was substituted in 1552. In 1550 he was to wear a surplice and cope; so likewise were the bishops who presented him (also their staffs); in 1552 no direction was given; the present rubric 'vested with his rochet' was added in 1662.

(*w*) *Accession service.*—This is now the only survivor of four State services (see above, p. 207). The present revision, which provides three separate forms, was made in 1901 and is on sound liturgical lines. We may note in particular the careful way in which the method of pointing preserves the composite character of 'Te Deum.'

(*x*) The *Articles of Religion* (1571), though usually printed in the volume, form no proper part of our Prayer Book.

LITERATURE.—Of the large number of books that have been published on the subject only some of the more practically useful (and mostly more modern) are here mentioned.

(*a*) The Irish Prayer Book, 1877; the Welsh (only a tr. from the English), 1567 and onwards; the Scottish, 1637; the Communion has important differences which have undergone various vicissitudes (see J. Dowden, *Annotated Scottish Com. Office*, London, 1884); the American, 1789; alterations have since been made in 1877, 1886, 1889, and 1892.

(*b*) C. Wheatley, *A Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer*, ed. G. E. Corrie, Cambridge, 1858; W. Palmer, *Origines Liturgicæ*[4], Oxford, 1845; J. H. Blunt, *Annotated Book of Common Prayer*, London, 1866; F. Procter and W. H. Frere, *New Hist. of the Book of Common Prayer*[2], do. 1902; *Teacher's Prayer Book*, ed. A. Barry, do. 1882; *Prayer Book Commentary*, ed. F. E. Warren, do. 1905; J. H. Maude, *Hist. of the Book of Common Prayer*, do. 1899; Leighton Pullan, *Hist. of Book of Common Prayer*, do. 1900; E. Burridge, *Liturgies and Offices of the Church*, do. 1885; W. E. Scudamore, *Notitia Eucharistica*[2], do. 1876; J. Dowden, *Workmanship of the Prayerbook*[2], do. 1902, *Further Studies in the Prayerbook*, do. 1908; H. B. Swete *Church Services and Service-books before the Reformation*, do. 1896; *The Prayer Book Dictionary*, do. 1912; F. E. Brightman, *The English Rite*, do. 1915; *Cranmer's Liturgical Projects*, ed. Henry Bradshaw Society, I. [1915]; W. H. Frere, *Some Principles of Liturgical Reform*, London, 1911; C. Gore, *Body of Christ*, do. 1901; J. Wordsworth, *Ministry of Grace*, do. 1901.

C. L. FELTOE.

PRAYER FOR THE DEPARTED (Christian).—1. The custom earlier than the development of doctrine.—

That prayers for the faithful departed do not, as a matter of history, depend necessarily on any particular doctrine of the intermediate state between death and judgment is seen from the fact that they existed long before the doctrines on that subject were developed. Even in comparatively late times the form of the prayers for the departed was framed before the teaching was stereotyped. The only thing that the custom necessarily assumes is that the departed, or some of them, can make progress in holiness after death and before the Last Day.

The custom does not necessarily even assume that the departed are conscious; for it is quite conceivable that progress might be made by an unconscious soul. But it was the practically universal belief of Christian antiquity that the souls of the departed, good and bad, are conscious, the belief being based chiefly on passages such as the promise to the penitent robber (Lk 23^{43}), the descent of our Lord to Hades (1 P $3^{18f.}$ 4^{6} etc.), the parable of Dives and Lazarus (Lk $16^{19ff.}$), and on the desire of St. Paul to be absent from the body and at home with the Lord, to depart and be with Christ (2 Co 5^{8}, Ph 1^{23}).

This article, then, will not deal with doctrines about the intermediate state except so far as it is necessary to refer to them in order to explain the historical custom of prayers for the departed.

2. Jewish background of the custom.—It was only in the two centuries immediately preceding the Christian era that Jewish conceptions about the dead were developed. But in 2 Mac 12^{39-44} we find prayers for the departed mentioned and defended. For the soldiers who had fallen, when it was discovered that under their garments were consecrated tokens of idols and that this was the cause of their death, their companions 'betook themselves unto supplication, beseeching that the sin committed might be wholly blotted out'; and Judas Maccabæus sent alms to Jerusalem to offer a sacrifice for sin. This the writer justifies, because of the resurrection: 'If he were not expecting that they that had fallen would rise again,

it were superfluous and idle to pray for the dead.' This book is an abridgment of a lost work by Jason of Cyrene (2^{23}). Jason wrote *c.* 150 B.C., and the abridgment was made between that date and the destruction of Jerusalem (A.D. 70). The passage in question probably shows the existence among the Jews of the custom under consideration in the 2nd cent. before our era; but whether Judas extended it beyond the limits afterwards approved by the Christians (below, § 6) is another matter. That Jews inscribed on their tombstones words similar to 'Requiescat in pace,' and that in later times (as at the present day) they habitually prayed for the dead, is universally agreed; but the dates of the tombstones are uncertain (for the evidence on these heads reference may be made to Luckock, *After Death*[3], pp. 56–65). It has often been said that the Jews would never have borrowed the custom from the Christians. This is a line of argument which history shows not to be very safe; but in this case we have the evidence from 2 Mac. for the early existence of prayer for the dead among the Jews. We must not, however, push this argument too far; the practice was, almost certainly, not universal among the Jews at the beginning of our era, for the Sadducees would not have used it. And it is hazardous in any case to say that our Lord approved everything in the teaching of the Jews which He did not condemn.

3. Early Christian evidence.—The silence of the very earliest ages on the subject is somewhat remarkable, in view of the fact that the custom was in existence among the Jews. Our Lord does not refer to it. A phrase in the Pastoral Epistles (2 Ti 1^{18}) has been not unnaturally judged to be a prayer for Onesiphorus after his death (see the context, v.[16] 4^{19}). The wording is not much more than a pious wish: 'the Lord grant unto him to find mercy of the Lord in that day.' The lately-discovered liturgical portion of Clement of Rome's *Epistle to the Corinthians* (59–61), though it contains intercessions for the living, has none for the departed (*c.* A.D. 96). The *Didache* (*c.* A.D. 120 ?) in its prayers at the agape (or eucharist) only prays God to remember His Church and deliver it from all evil, perfect it in His love, and gather it together from the four winds (§ 10)—a petition which must by its wording include the whole Church, but does not explicitly mention the departed.

We find, however, copious evidence of prayers for the departed in the catacombs, usually in the simple form 'Mayest thou live in peace,' or the like. There are some inscriptions asking those who come to the catacombs to pray for the deceased person (Swete, in *JThSt* viii. 502). The exact dates of these are uncertain, but they are undoubtedly ancient. An inscription in Phrygia gives the remains of the epitaph made for himself by Avircius (Abercius) Marcellus, bishop of Hieropolis, in the 2nd century. This is also given by other authorities, and has been restored by Lightfoot (*Apost. Fathers*, pt. ii., 'Ignatius and Polycarp,'[2] London, 1889, i. 496); it contains this line: 'Let every friend who observeth this pray for me' (the extant inscription breaks off before this). For Perpetua's prayer for the dead at the end of the 2nd cent. see below, § 6. Tertullian (*de Monogam.* 10 [*c.* A.D. 217]) bases an argument against remarriage on the fact that the widow prays for her deceased husband that he may have refreshment and fellowship in the first resurrection. Of later writers it is necessary to mention only Eusebius, who describes how all the people, with the priests, prayed for Constantine's soul after his death (A.D. 337; *Vita Const.* iv. 71).

4. Prayer for the departed in public worship.—This first appears in Tertullian, who, however, does not treat it as a novelty; and for some time we have no absolutely certain evidence of it outside the province of 'Africa.' We read of eucharists for the departed on their anniversaries, 'as birthday honours,' in Tertullian (*de Cor* 3, *de Monogam.* 10); and so in Cyprian (*Ep.* xxxix. [xxxiii.] 3, on the ordination of Celerinus) we read of them being offered for the repose even of martyrs and confessors on their anniversaries (see also § 6 below). At the end of the 3rd cent. the 'African' Arnobius speaks of the Christian churches (*conventicula*) in which 'peace and pardon are asked for all . . . for those still living and those freed from the bond of the bodies' (*adv. Gentes*, iv. 36). Such anniversaries were apparently known to Origen, who testifies to the reading of Codex Claromontanus in Ro 12^{13} of μνείαις, 'memorials,' for χρείαις, 'needs' [of the saints]; but some think that this passage is due to Rufinus's Latin translation and not to Origen.[1] Two references in the *Canons of Hippolytus* (xxxiii. [ed. H. Achelis, *TU* vi. 4 (1889), § 169 f.], and in E. Hauler's *Didascaliæ Apostolorum Fragmenta Veronensia Latina*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 85), which, though themselves perhaps of the 4th cent., yet, if so, adhere closely to a 3rd cent. original, attest memorial eucharists for the departed at the time when they were written, and perhaps 100 years earlier. In the 4th cent. memorial eucharists are constantly attested—*e.g.*, in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (vi. 30 [*c.* A.D. 375]), which say that they were held in cemeteries (so the *Verona Fragments*, as above); in pseudo-Pionius (*Life of Polycarp*, § 20 [Lightfoot, iii. 452]), who says that at the funeral of Bishop Bucolus (Polycarp's predecessor at Smyrna; early 2nd cent.) 'they offered bread for Bucolus and the rest' (we can only take this as evidence for the 4th cent., when the *Life* was written); in Ambrose (*de Excessu Satyri*, i. 80, ii. 5, and elsewhere), who speaks of the eucharists on the solemn anniversaries of the departed. An earlier example is in the Leucian *Acts of John*, which speak of a eucharist on the third day after death at a grave; but the date is not quite certain. Augustine describes the eucharist at the grave when his mother Monica was buried (*Conf.* ix. 32 [12]), and says that it was a universal custom, because eucharist and alms help the departed (*Serm.* clxxii. 2). We also read of an agape, or commemorative feast, for the departed (*e.g.*, *Can. of Hipp.*, *loc. cit.*; *Apost. Const.* viii. 44; see also art. AGAPE). And we frequently read of alms being given for the benefit of the dead; in the *Testament of our Lord* (*c.* A.D. 350 ?) they are taken out of the deceased's possessions and given to the poor that he may be profited (ii. 15, 23).

As the earliest written liturgies known to us are of the 4th cent. (but see below), we cannot tell whether the departed were prayed for at the ordinary eucharists before that time; and, indeed, the intercessions were probably developed into fixed forms somewhat later than the other parts of the service (see art. INTERCESSION [Liturgical]). In the early liturgy known as the Old Ethiopic, which some believe to be a translation of Hippolytus's liturgy of the 3rd cent., there is no intercession given (Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, i. 189). But we find the departed prayed for either in the 'Great Intercession' or in the 'people's prayers' given in the *Testament of our Lord*, by Cyril of Jerusalem (A.D. 348), by Sarapion, bishop of Thmuis in Egypt (*c.* A.D. 350), in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (bk. viii.), and the *Arabic Didascalia* (*c.* A.D. 400 ?), as in all the

[1] Origen is clear that the departed pray for the living—*e.g.*, *Com. in Ep. ad Rom.* ii. 4. So the *Testament of Abraham*, § 14, a work probably of the 2nd cent. A.D. (ed. M. R. James, in *TS* ii. 2 [Cambridge, 1892], p. 94).

Great Liturgies of the following ages. Sarapion also gives a prayer for the departed, to be used at a funeral (§ 18).

5. Purport of the prayers.—In several of our authorities the language is severely restrained, the prayers being, as in Sarapion, for the repose of the departed in 'chambers (*ταμείοις*) of rest' and for his resurrection 'in the day which thou hast ordained,' and that his transgression and sins be not remembered (§ 18), or, as in the prayer which follows the recitation (*ὑποβολή*, lit. 'prompting') of the names of the departed at the eucharist, for their sanctification. So in the *Testament of our Lord* the prayer is for a place of rest and remembrance (i. 23, 35). Note especially the oration of Gregory of Nazianzus on his brother Cæsarius (*c.* A.D. 369). He prays for him that he may have an entrance into heaven, and enjoy 'such repose as the bosom of Abraham affords,' and 'behold the choir of angels and the glories and splendour of sainted men and share their joy,' etc. (§ 17). Nothing is said of suffering for sin. Compare also Gregory's oration on his deceased sister Gorgonia (§ 23). Many of the Great Liturgies have an equally restrained prayer for the dead: the Byzantine 'St. Basil' and 'St. Chrysostom' (Brightman, i. 332, 388); the Greek 'St. Mark' (Egyptian [*ib.* i. 129]), which asks for them rest and that they be made worthy of the Kingdom of Heaven, and for us a Christian end; the Coptic (*ib.* i. 170), which has nearly the same language, but somewhat amplified; the Greek 'St. James' (Syrian rite [*ib.* i. 57]); and the Armenian (*ib.* i. 440).

In other cases the forgiveness of the sins of the departed is explicitly prayed for. In Arnobius we find the first instance of this (above, § 4), though perhaps he means 'pardon' for the living and 'peace' for the dead. But forgiveness of sins is emphasized by Augustine (*Conf.* ix. 34 f. [13]; he is speaking of his mother Monica); and so in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (viii. 41: 'that God . . . may forgive him every sin, voluntary and involuntary'), and in several of the Great Liturgies, as in the Syriac 'St. James' (Brightman, i. 95), the E. Syrian 'Addai and Mari' (*ib.* i. 265); and in the West in the Leonine, Gregorian, and Gelasian sacramentaries (for the Gregorian see H. A. Wilson's ed., Henry Bradshaw Soc. [London, 1915] p. 209, etc.). Theodoret tells us (*HE* v. 36) how the emperor Theodosius II., when the body of St. Chrysostom was brought to Constantinople, laid his head against the bier and 'prayed for his parents and for pardon on them who had ignorantly sinned, for his parents had long ago been dead.' Augustine (*Enchiridion*, 29) uses the word 'propitiation.' Cyril of Jerusalem had already spoken of 'propitiating our merciful God both for them [the departed, 'though they be sinners'] and for ourselves' (*Cat.* xxiii. [*Myst.* v.] 10).

6. Who were prayed for.—(*a*) There seems to have been a difference of opinion in Christian antiquity as to whether all the faithful departed should be prayed for, or the martyrs and great saints should be excepted. Cyprian (*Ep.* xxxix. [xxxiii.] 3) speaks of offering sacrifices for certain martyrs 'as often as we celebrate the passions and days of the martyrs in the annual commemoration.' At the end of the 3rd cent., in 'Africa,' Arnobius makes no limitation (see above, § 4: 'for all'). In the 4th cent. also there is no limitation in the prayers in the *Testament of our Lord* (i. 23, 35), and Epiphanius of Cyprus expressly says:

'We make our memorial on behalf of righteous and of sinners; on behalf of sinners praying for the mercy of God, and on behalf of righteous and fathers and patriarchs, prophets and apostles and evangelists and martyrs and confessors, and bishops and anchorets and all the estate (*τάγματος*) [of man], that we may separate the Lord Jesus Christ from the order (*τάξεως*) of men by means of the honour given to him, and that we may render worship (*σέβας*) to him, remembering that the Lord is not to be put on the same footing with any man' (*Hær.* lxxv. 8).

Already, it seems, there was a tendency to exalt the greatest saints to a superhuman position.

In Syria the *Apostolic Constitutions* mention assemblies in the cemeteries with lections and with psalm-singing (*ψάλλοντες*) on behalf of (*ὑπέρ*) the martyrs and all saints who have fallen asleep (vi. 30), and the liturgy in bk. viii. explicitly says:

'We offer to thee also on behalf of all the saints who from the beginning have pleased thee, patriarchs, prophets, just men, apostles, martyrs, confessors,' etc. (ch. 12).

In the era of the Great Liturgies the same feeling still survived in some Churches. The Greek 'St. Mark' prays for rest and remembrance for the souls of the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, and others, including St. Mark himself by name (Brightman, i. 128). In the Byzantine rite the Greek 'St. Chrysostom' and the Armenian liturgy have an almost identical prayer (*ib.* i. 387 f., 440).[1]

On the other hand, there was a tendency in some circles in the 4th cent. to abstain from prayers for the martyrs and the greatest saints. Cyril of Jerusalem, speaking of the Great Intercession in the eucharist, makes a distinction:

'We commemorate . . . first patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, that at their prayers and intervention God would receive our petition. Afterwards also on behalf of the holy fathers and bishops who have fallen asleep before us, and, in a word, of all who in past years have fallen asleep among us, believing that it will be a very great advantage to the souls, for whom the supplication is put up, while that holy and most awful sacrifice is presented' (*Cat.* xxiii. [*Myst.* v.] 9).

Augustine (*Serm.* clix. 1) expressly denies that martyrs are prayed for, though they are commemorated at the altar; and he considers that it is an insult (*injuria*) to pray for a martyr, 'to whose prayers we ought to commend ourselves.' And we see the same feeling in several of the Great Liturgies—in the Greek 'St. James' (Syrian rite [Brightman, i. 47 f.]), the E. Syrian 'Addai and Mari' (*ib.* i. 264), and the Abyssinian Liturgy (*ib.* i. 206, 208, 228 f.). The Coptic takes a middle line (*ib.* i. 169). It asks for rest and remembrance for all the great saints, including the 'holy Theotokos Mary,' but goes on to say:

'Not that we . . . are worthy to intercede for their blessedness . . . but . . . that . . . they may in recompense intercede for our poverty and weakness.'

The question depended much on whether it was believed that the greatest saints have already received their full reward or await it at the Last Day. That they have already received it is denied by Justin Martyr (*Dial.* 80) and Irenæus (*Hær.* v. 31). Tertullian (*de Anima*, 55, *de Res. Carn.* 43) makes an exception only in the case of the martyrs. In the 3rd cent. Origen makes no exception (*Hom. in Lev.* vii. 2: 'not even the apostles have yet received their joy'). So, indeed, Augustine, though with some hesitation, makes the Last Day the time for all the faithful to receive their complete reward (*Serm.* cclxxx. 5). But gradually in the West the view prevailed that all the great saints, whether martyrs or not, are already reigning with Christ, and ought not to be prayed for (for a review of belief on this subject see A. J. Mason, *Purgatory*, pp. 81–96).

(*b*) There was a general feeling that it was of no avail to pray for the heathen departed, for any but the baptized. There might, indeed, be an exception, especially in times of persecution, in the case

[1] This article is not concerned with the subject of the invocation of saints; but, as an illustration of the feeling expressed in these authorities that all the faithful departed are of one class, it may be mentioned that the Greek Orthodox Church at the present day habitually invokes the prayers, not only of the saints, but of departed relatives, whether they were especially saintly or not. There is a beautiful poem by Alexis Khomiakoff, asking his dead children to pray for him (Birkbeck, *Russia and the English Church*, p. 21).

of a catechumen who desired baptism but died before he could receive that sacrament. The *Canons of Hippolytus* (x., ed. Achelis, § 63) say that catechumens are already 'Christians,' and so the 7th canon of the Council of Constantinople (A.D. 381). The former work (xix. [101]), the *Egyptian Church Order* (Sahidic, § 44), and the *Testament of our Lord* (ii. 5) recognize a martyred catechumen as 'baptized in his own blood.' But, generally speaking, only the baptized were prayed for. Augustine says (*Enchir.* 29): 'We offer . . . for all baptized departed.' We do, indeed, read that Perpetua prayed for her brother Dinocrates, who, as we gather from her own words, was unbaptized, though Augustine denied this. A similar case is found in the *Acts of Paul and Thecla* (Swete, *JThSt* viii. 502 f.). Gregory the Great prayed for the soul of the emperor Trajan, and was warned in a vision not again to pray for the unbaptized (Lightfoot, *Ignatius*, i. 5). But these were mere private speculations, which did not represent the ordinary feeling of Christianity.

For those who died in wilful sin it was felt that prayer could not be offered. The *Apostolic Constitutions* (viii. 43) say that one will never help the wicked (ἀσεβῶν), even though he gave all the goods in the world to the poor. Augustine (*de Civ. Dei*, XXI. xxiv. 2) says that prayers are not for unbelieving and unholy dead; they are (*Enchir.* 29) neither for those who are very good nor yet for those who are very bad. In the 3rd cent. Cyprian had forbidden the eucharist to be offered for the soul of a certain person who had seriously transgressed an ecclesiastical rule and had died impenitent (*Ep.* i. [lxv.] 2, to the clergy and people at Furni).

7. Early objectors to the custom.—In the 4th cent. Aerius, a presbyter in Pontus, the founder of the sect named after him (it seems scarcely to have survived his death), protested against prayers for the departed. We learn about his history and his views from Epiphanius, who says that he was alive in his time (*Hær.* lxxv. 1), and from Augustine (*de Hær.* liii.). He had been disappointed at not being made bishop, and lapsed into Arianism. Among other things he said that the eucharist[1] 'ought not to be offered for them that sleep.' He adduced as the reason for his objection the danger of a man leading a sinful life in the hope that he would be saved from punishment by the prayers of his friends.

Though Aerius is the only person in antiquity known by name who objected to prayers for the departed, there must have been others. Cyril of Jerusalem says that 'many' held that they were profitless (*Cat.* xxiii. [*Myst.* v.] 10); and the language of Augustine (*Enchir.* 29) and others seems to imply that the question was frequently debated in the 4th century. Yet the objection cannot have been much pressed, for Augustine (*Serm.* clxxii. 2) says that the custom was universal, and Epiphanius (*Hær.* lxxv. 8) traces it back to primitive times.[2]

8. Mediæval Western views.—As doctrines about the intermediate state developed in the West, chiefly in consequence of the tentative suggestions of Augustine and the visions related by Gregory the Great, the principal aim of prayer for the departed came to be the deliverance of souls from a penal purgatory. The schoolmen discussed the matter at considerable length. Their speculations concern us here only so far as they resulted in the particular shape taken by the prayers. When purgatory was conceived as a place of punishment whose tortures differed from those of hell only in not being eternal, it is not surprising that men's energies were directed to the deliverance, by prayer and alms, of their friends therefrom. Yet the prayers of the mediæval Latin service-books show great restraint, and do not reflect popular beliefs to any very large extent. But they exhibit a sadness which is not found in earlier rites. The keynote to the Sarum service for the burial of the dead is struck by the opening antiphon:

'Circumdederunt me gemitus mortis, dolores inferni circumdederunt me' (see W. Maskell, *Monumenta ritualia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*[2], Oxford, 1882, i. 142).

The popular conceptions about purgatory are not necessarily the official views of the Church of Rome. According to Roman Catholic writers of repute, the only statement which is of faith in that communion is that 'there is a purgatory and that the souls detained in it are helped by the prayers of the faithful' (Creed of Pope Pius V.). The Council of Trent (*Canones et Decreta*, sess. xxii. § 2) says that the eucharist is offered 'for the departed in Christ not yet fully cleansed'; and sess. xxv. (decree on purgatory, A.D. 1563) has the words just quoted from the Creed, adding 'especially the acceptable sacrifice of the altar,' and enacting that a 'sane doctrine of purgatory, handed down from the holy fathers and sacred councils, is to be believed and taught.' The last words probably are meant to rebuke the extravagances of some popular teaching.

9. The Church of England at the Reformation took a middle course. In the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. (1549) there were explicit prayers for the departed. But since 1552 these have been removed from the public services; the only relics of them remaining are the petitions in the Communion Service (perhaps purposely left ambiguous) that 'we and all thy whole Church may obtain remission of our sins,' etc., and (in the prayer for the Church militant) that 'with them (the departed) we may be partakers of thy heavenly kingdom'; in the latter case the title does not exactly correspond with the contents of the prayer, as is sometimes the case in the Thirty-nine Articles. In the Burial Service there is a prayer 'that we, with all those that are departed in the true faith of thy holy Name, may have our perfect consummation and bliss,' etc. But, while thus removing explicit prayers for the departed from its Prayer Book, the Church of England declined to condemn the practice in itself. In the original draft of art. xxii. it was proposed to do so, but the condemnatory words were struck out (see E. C. S. Gibson, *The Thirty-nine Articles*, London, 1897, p. 537 f.). And the Act of Uniformity of 1552 expressly declared that the First Book of 1549 was 'a very godly order, agreeable to the Word of God and the primitive Church.' In the Second Book of Homilies, on the other hand, the homily on prayer repudiates prayers for the dead; and this book is said by art. xxxv. to 'contain a godly and wholesome doctrine,' though all its opinions are not necessarily the official views of the Church of England. The position of that Church is thus a mediating one. It neither commands nor condemns the practice, and leaves it, as far as private practice is concerned, to the discretion of its members.

10. The Westminster Confession.—This was adopted as a standard by the Presbyterian General Assembly in Scotland, A.D. 1647. It takes a very precise line on the subject now under consideration. It says:

'Prayer is to be made . . . for all sorts of men living, or that shall live hereafter; but not for the dead, nor for those of whom it may be known that they have sinned the sin unto death' (xxi. 4).

[1] This is clearly the meaning. At the time προσφέρειν and *offerre* were used absolutely, without a substantive, as the technical terms for celebrating the eucharist. See the present writer's *Ancient Church Orders*, Cambridge, 1910, p. 48.

[2] On the subject of prayers for the departed reference may be made to a learned catena of Patristic and liturgical writings (as far as they were known in his day) by James Ussher, archbishop of Armagh (1625 56), reprinted in the Oxford *Tracts for the Times* (Tract 72, London, 1837).

The same statement (with a slight difference of wording) is found in the *Larger Catechism* of 1648 (qu. 182), but is not contained in the *Shorter Catechism* of the same date. Already in 1580 the Scottish National Covenant, when denouncing (in the strong language of the day) 'that Roman Antichrist,' had repudiated among many other things 'his purgatory prayers for the dead.'

The reason for the prohibition of prayers for the departed in the *Westminster Confession* is seen in its teaching as to the state of the faithful after death. All progress after death is denied. After saying that at death man's soul does not die nor sleep, it goes on:

'The souls of the righteous, being then [at death] made perfect in holiness, are received into the highest heavens, where they behold the face of God in light and glory, waiting for the full redemption of their bodies: and the souls of the wicked are cast into hell. . . . Besides these two places for souls separated from their bodies, the Scripture acknowledgeth none' (xxxii. 1).

Very similar is the wording of the *Larger Catechism* (qu. 86). The well-known words of the *Shorter Catechism* (qu. 37) are:

'The souls of believers are at their death made perfect in holiness and do immediately pass into glory; and their bodies, being still united to Christ, do rest in their graves till the resurrection.'

This may be taken to be the general teaching, not only of Presbyterians, but of a large number of other Protestant communities throughout the world. Luther, however, favoured the practice of praying for the departed (see S. C. Gayford, *The Future State*, London, 1903, p. 58).

11. The Eastern Orthodox Church.—The teaching of this Church remains much the same with regard to prayer for the departed as that of the Greek Fathers of the 4th and 5th centuries. It is remarkably cautious in refusing to dogmatize. The eminent Russian layman, Alexis Khomiakoff, remarks (Birkbeck, p. 217 f.):

'Each person owes his prayers on behalf of all, the living and the dead, and even those who are as yet unborn. . . . We do not acknowledge purgatory, that is the purification of souls by sufferings from which they may be redeemed by their own works or those of others. . . . Who will forbid us to pray [God] to glorify his saints and to give repose to his elect?' (see above, § 6).

The official treatise *On the Duty of Parish Priests* (§ 16 [Blackmore, *Doctrine of the Russian Church*, p. 281]) says that we ought to pray for the departed in the hope and faith of the resurrection of them that sleep, and bases this teaching on Bar $3^{4f.}$, 2 Mac $12^{41ff.}$, and on apostolic and primitive tradition. The Synod of Jerusalem (or Bethlehem, A.D. 1672) went farther than Khomiakoff and most Eastern theologians would approve. 'The doctrine of purgatorial fire has never been recognized or admitted in the Eastern Church' (Duckworth, *Greek Manuals*, p. 63); but the Synod, which was held at a time when the Eastern Church was largely under Roman influence, pronounced in favour of some sort of punishment in purgatory for a certain number of sinners, and affirmed that 'they are released by God's goodness in answer to the prayers of priests and the benefactions done in the name of the departed by their kinsfolk,' and that for this the eucharist is 'of especial avail'; 'but the time of their release we know not' (*ib.* p. 64 f.). On the other hand, Archbishop Philaret of Moscow, the author of the *Longer Catechism* of the Russian Church in its present form, denies that there is such a thing as purgatory in which souls have to pass through fiery torments in order to prepare them for blessedness (Headlam, *Teaching of the Russian Church*, p. 17). And the Catechism itself (Blackmore, p. 98 f.) says nothing of any punishment even for those who have died without having had time to bring forth fruits worthy of repentance, but affirms that they may be aided towards the attainment of a blessed resurrection by prayers, eucharists, and works of mercy offered for them. It says of all the righteous dead that they 'are in light and rest with a foretaste of eternal happiness,' while the wicked 'are in a state the reverse of this'; the righteous do not attain to perfect happiness till the resurrection of the body.

12. The Separated Churches of the East.—The service-books of these communities have already been dealt with, in reference to prayer for the departed (§§ 5, 6). We may, however, in conclusion notice a very remarkable custom which is found among both the Armenians and the E. Syrians (Nestorians), namely that of animal sacrifices. These seem to be properly memorials of the dead (for the custom among the E. Syrians see A. J. Maclean and W. H. Browne, *The Catholicos of the East*, London, 1892, p. 334; for the Armenians see F. C. Conybeare and A. J. Maclean, *Rituale Armenorum*, Oxford, 1905, pp. 54–60). This custom appears to be a curious survival of paganism.

LITERATURE.—A. J. Mason, *Purgatory, the State of the Faithful Departed, Invocations of Saints*, London, 1901; H. B. Swete, 'Prayer for the Departed in the first four Centuries,' in *JThSt* viii. [1907] 500 ff.; H. M. Luckock, *After Death*[3], London, 1881; E. H. Plumptre, *The Spirits in Prison*[5], do. 1886, ch. ix. f.; F. G. Lee, *Christian Doctrine of Prayer for the Departed*[2], do. 1875; F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, i., Oxford, 1896 (for the Eastern liturgies); W. E. Scudamore, art. 'Obsequies of the Dead,' in *DCA*; P. J. Toner, art. 'Dead, Prayers for the,' in *CE* iv. 653 ff.; R. W. Blackmore, *Doctrine of the Russian Church*, Aberdeen, 1845; W. J. Birkbeck, *Russia and the English Church*, London, 1895; H. T. F. Duckworth, *Greek Manuals of Church Doctrine*, do. 1901; A. C. Headlam, *Teaching of the Russian Church*, do. 1897; E. C. Dewick, *Primitive Christian Eschatology*, Cambridge, 1912.

A. J. MACLEAN.

PRAYER-WHEELS (or 'magical wheels').—This name is applied to wheels or cylinders which are made to revolve in the expectation of spiritual or magical profits. Sometimes they are actual wheels, hung in a temple and turned by hand or by means of a cord. To this category belong the small metal wheels fixed in the wooden pillars at the entrance of certain Japanese pagodas.[1] Such also are the so-called 'wheels of fortune,' suspended from the ceiling or attached to the pillars of some Breton churches. Worshippers are allowed to turn these on payment of a few pence for behoof of a saint whose image is placed alongside, and which bears the name of 'Saint of the Wheel' (*Santic-ar-rod*). The Japanese wheels have metal rings, which slide along the spokes and make a silvery sound. The Breton wheels produce the same effect by means of the small bells with which they are decorated. The use of these instruments is of long standing in the Church. According to the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, St. Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester in the 10th cent., introduced into his cathedral a wheel of gilt metal, all covered with little bells ('tintinnabulis plenam'), which was made to revolve on saints' days, to increase the devotion of the faithful ('ad majoris excitationem devotionis').[2] Among the ancient Greeks the grammarian Dionysius of Thrace notes 'the wheels which are revolved in the temples of the gods.'[3] Plutarch and Heron testify to their presence in Egyptian temples of a late period. Plutarch makes them a symbol of the instability of human things,[4] Heron an instrument of purification: 'Below the colonnade of the Egyptian temples are placed movable bronze wheels, which are turned by those entering, in the belief that the bronze purifies.'[5]

[1] See illustration in Simpson, *The Buddhist Praying-Wheel*, p. 116.
[2] *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. W. Dugdale, London, 1655, p. 104.
[3] *ap.* Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. p. 568.
[4] *Numa*, xiv.
[5] *Veterum Mathematicorum Opera*, Paris, 1693, p. 220.

Again, the instruments used may be cylinders, or rather cylindrical boxes, containing texts or sacred objects. Such are the praying-mills, which have assumed special importance among the Buddhists of the North. The smallest ones are bobbins, often of silver, attached to a wooden handle, which the lāmas by a slight movement of the wrist keep steadily revolving for whole days, while they repeat the invocation engraved on the surface—generally the famous formula, *Oṃ maṇi padme Hūṁ*, 'O the jewel in the lotus!' Other cylinders, of a larger size, generally of wood painted in bright colours, are to be seen in the vicinity of the lamaseries. Passers-by make them revolve by means of a handle which returns to the hand, making a bell ring several times. As many as 300 of these wheels may be found, placed side by side like barrels in a beer-cellar.[1] Some are of such a size that it requires several persons to set them in motion. The traveller Gérard saw one at the monastery of Sunum which carried 108 lighted lamps. Others contain shrines, images, and prayers, and occasionally a number of manuscripts. Each revolution confers on the worshipper the same spiritual benefits as the reading of all the texts. Miss Gordon Cumming found some in Japan which were veritable libraries—'circulating libraries,' as William Simpson wittily called them.[2] Gabriel Bonvalot mentions having encountered, in the monastery of Dotou, 100 large bobbins, each containing 10,000 invocations. As a few minutes suffice to revolve the whole in succession, one may thus rapidly gain the benefit of the indulgences attached to the recitation of 1,000,000 formulæ.[3]

In the Himālayas these mills are often erected above a rushing stream, which turns unceasingly a wheel with blades dipping into the water. It appears that the merit mechanically engendered by these applications of natural forces goes to increase the *karma* of those who constructed the apparatus. E. R. Huc,[4] Gilmour, and W. W. Rockhill[5] report that among the Mongols there are mills made of paper and hung in the tents over the fireplace in such a way that they may be set in motion by the displacement of the heated air.

Such is the fashion in which the Buddhists of the Northern school have materialized the 'wheel of the Law,' the *Dharmachakra*, the chain of causes and effects. There is no mention of praying-mills in the oldest Buddhist treatises. Nor are these instruments known among the Buddhists of the South. Nevertheless the symbol of the wheel was in very early times held in high esteem by the followers of the Buddha. It is to be seen on Buddhist monuments prior even to the first appearance of the image of the Master. The wheel figures in the oldest Buddhist sculptures, in the place of honour upon altars, where it receives the homage of the faithful.[6] A. Cunningham supposed that it represented the Buddha himself.[7] But it is more probable that it personified his teaching, the 'wheel which he set in motion for the salvation of humanity,' by the revelation of the Four Great Truths in his famous sermon at Benares.

[1] J. Gilmour, *Among the Mongols*, London, n.d., p. 164.
[2] P. 21.
[3] *Across Thibet*, Eng. tr., London, 1891, ii. 170; *Tour du monde*, lxii. [1891] 390.
[4] *Travels in Tartary*, Eng. tr., London [1852], vol. i. ch. ix.
[5] *JRGS* for May, 1894, p. 363.
[6] J. Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, London, 1868, pl. xliii. fig. 1.
[7] *Bhilsa Topes*, London, 1854, p. 352.

We may suppose that the Buddhists have combined their symbolism of the wheel with a magical rite previously practised either by the Scythian races of Central Asia or by the Brāhmans of Northern India. In support of the former of these conjectures use may be made of the circumstance that on a coin of the Indo-Scythian king Hoerkes or Hūvichka this monarch holds in his hand a spindle-shaped object in which some have thought to recognize a praying-mill.[1] On the other hand, William Simpson has found in the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* a text which shows beyond question that the Brāhmans revolved chariot-wheels horizontally around a stake fixed in the ground, while they chanted a hymn from the *Samaveda* in honour of the sun-god Savitri.[2]

What was the original purpose of this rite? The wheel, which has a round shape, and which implies a movement of translation in space, has everywhere been one of the images most frequently employed to represent the sun. The latter is called by the Latins *rota altivolans*,[3] in the Edda 'the beautiful wheel' (*fagravel*),[4] by the Celts 'the luminous wheel' (*roth fail*),[5] and the *Rigveda* invokes the god who directs 'the golden wheel of the sun.'[6] The wheel thus becomes the symbol of the regular course of the sun, and consequently of the celestial or cosmic order, the *rita*. Another passage of the *Rigveda*[7] speaks of it as 'the immortal wheel which nothing stops, on which all existence depends.' It was this symbolism that the Buddhists applied to their 'wheel of the Law,' with its thousand spokes, the *Dharmachakra*, 'that wheel which not by any Sahmana or Brāhman, not by any god, not by any Brahmā or Mārā, not by any one in the universe can ever be turned back!'[8] All observers agree in stating that the praying-mills must turn in the direction followed by the sun.[9]

On the principle of imitative magic, to revolve the wheel in the apparent direction of the sun's course is to facilitate or assure the beneficent movement of the sun, and thus to secure general luck, as in the similar case of circumambulation (*q.v.*). Hence the popular customs, described by Mannhardt[10] and Gaidoz,[11] in which the inhabitants of certain districts—in Germany, France, and England—may be seen driving a wheel, sometimes set on fire, across the fields. As Mannhardt maintains, this is simply a solar charm, intended to secure an abundant harvest.

Finally, mention must be made of certain forms of rattles used by the inhabitants of New Mexico. In so far as they are magical instruments, they resemble in construction the invocation-cylinder, but they belong to quite a different symbolism.

LITERATURE.—C. F. Gordon Cumming, 'The Wheel as a Symbol in Religion,' in *Scribner's Monthly*, xxii. [1881] 733 ff.; William Simpson, *The Buddhist Praying-Wheel*, London, 1896; H. Gaidoz, 'Le Dieu gaulois du soleil et le symbolisme de la roue,' in *RA* III. iv. [1884]; Goblet d'Alviella, 'Moulins à prières,' in *Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles*, 1897, and 'Les Roues symboliques de l'ancienne Egypte,' in *Bulletin de l'Académie royale*, Brussels, 1899. GOBLET D'ALVIELLA.

[1] This identification is questioned by Percy Gardner, who reproduces the coin in his *Indian Coins in the British Museum*, 'Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India,' London, 1886, pl. xxvii. no. 16.
[2] v. i. 5. 2 (*SBE* xli. [1894] 22 f.).
[3] Lucretius, *de Rer. Nat.* v. 434.
[4] J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, tr. J. S. Stallybrass, London 1882–88, ii. 701 f.
[5] J. Rhys, *Celtic Heathendom*[2], London, 1892, p. 214.
[6] v. vi. 56. [7] v. i. 164. [8] *SBE* xi. [1900] 158 f.
[9] J. Edkins, *Religion in China*[2], London, 1878, p. 238.
[10] *RA* III. iv. 14 ff.
[11] *Der Baumkultus*, Berlin, 1875, p. 510.

PREACHING.

Christian (J. STALKER), p. 215.
Jewish (H. HIRSCHFELD), p. 220.
Muslim (D. S. MARGOLIOUTH), p. 221.

PREACHING (Christian). — **1. The early Church.** — From the accounts of Christian worship in the NT, especially in the Epistles to the Corinthians, it can be gathered that great liberty of prophesying was allowed in the meetings of the primitive Christians, although there was a general understanding that the prompting to speak should come from the Spirit of God. As early as the *Didache* the 'prophets' are mentioned as a separate class, the members of which wandered from community to community in the exercise of their gift; but already their inspiration was so far from being above suspicion that the churches were coming to be better satisfied with any authentic light they could receive from their own elders than with the illumination afforded by those wandering stars. This tendency was increased by the growing sense of the inexhaustible treasures of wisdom and spiritual power lodged in the Holy Scriptures the canon of which was gradually forming. From the synagogue the Church had inherited the practice of reading aloud the sacred writings and attaching to this reading the word of exhortation. When the Christian community had the whole of the NT and the OT thus to draw upon, it could not lack the bread of life, if a moderate amount of attention or skill were given to the application of what had been read to the life of the individual and the community. At all events the first form of preaching was homiletical, a homily being a running commentary on a passage read. This is known to have been the form of instruction given at the first college for the training of preachers, the Catechetical School of Alexandria, of which Clement and Origen were the shining lights. Many of Origen's homilies have come down to us; and they show how boundless a thesaurus of truth he was sensible of possessing in the Word of God, though the heritage left by him to succeeding ages was sadly vitiated by the introduction of the allegorical method, which tempted nimble wits into excessive ingenuity, but, in incompetent hands, could make almost any passage of Scripture mean almost anything.

During the first 300 years of its existence Christianity, in spite of the persecution to which it was subjected, made more rapid progress than it has ever done since; yet the names of outstanding preachers, after the death of the apostles, are so few that it cannot have been by this means that success was gained. It was rather by a kind of preaching which has been too little practised in subsequent centuries, but will have to be rediscovered if the world is to be fully evangelized. At the first the gospel was so intense a blessedness that no one who heard it with faith could keep the secret to himself. Neighbour told it to neighbour, slave to fellow-slave; the sailor carried it to every shore visited by his ship, and the soldier communicated it even to the enemy whom he had conquered on the field of battle. Justin Martyr, after becoming a Christian, continued to wear the philosopher's cloak, because this gave him access to those to whom he 'talked' the gospel, and the verb 'to talk' is a good name for preaching in the NT.

2. The Middle Ages.—When, at the beginning of the 4th cent., Christianity was adopted as the religion of the Roman empire, there immediately took place a great revival and extension of preaching; for it was no longer necessary to confine such testimony to the places where the myrmidons of persecution could not find the worshippers, but, under imperial auspices, Christian places of worship, of growing size and magnificence, rose all over the empire. The first Christian emperor himself set an example of preaching, like a well-known imperial figure of the present day; and, as at least one of his efforts has come down to us, we can judge of their quality for ourselves. It is by no means bad preaching for an emperor. Even the apostate Julian, who attempted to restore heathenism, betrayed his consciousness of the importance of preaching by exhorting his priests to make sermons with the pagan myths for texts and by setting an example himself. But his attempt was very soon at an end; and in the courts of the Christian emperors by whom he was succeeded preachers and preaching held a conspicuous place. The more famous became as much topics of conversation at court as favourite charioteers or actors had been before; and in the sunshine of imperial favour preaching attained to a notable development. The 4th and 5th centuries contain many outstanding names, the greatest of which in the East is that of Chrysostom, in whose hands the homily was transmuted into an oration, which the hearers applauded in church, as they might a speech in a political meeting. In the West the greatest preacher was Augustine, whose sermons, being addressed to audiences of fishermen, were more simple and practical. But the first impression made by even the greatest sermons of that age is, how much the long continued exegesis of the Scriptures through the Christian centuries has benefited congregations; for, in explaining the book of Acts, *e.g.*, the humblest preacher has now within easy reach materials far more true to the text and useful to the people than were at the command of even a genius like Chrysostom, who has left lectures on this book of Scripture.

Many other names of the period could be mentioned, such as Gregory and Basil in the East and Ambrose and Hilary in the West, to show that this was a great age for preaching; and it has another sign of distinction in the appearance of books on the preacher's art, both Chrysostom and Augustine having produced examples of this species of literature. But it was not long before the descent of the barbarians from the north, and then the pressure of Muhammadanism from the east, nearly squeezed the life out of the Church, and preaching, like the other functions of her life, was reduced for centuries to the lowest terms. Yet this was the time when monasticism arose and spread with extraordinary rapidity over the Church, occupying territory from which it has never since been wholly dislodged; and in the monasteries and nunneries preaching obtained a new sphere of influence. Monks and nuns must often, in the centuries that followed, have been unusually intelligent and sympathetic hearers, and the opportunities thus opened up to a spiritual and gifted preacher may be inferred from the relation of Staupitz to the youthful Luther; for this worthy, who was inspector of monasteries in the district of Thuringia, must have made use of preaching as one of his ordinary activities. A still more attractive aspect of the preaching of the Dark Ages is that of the missionaries; for, in spite of its repellent features, this was one of the great eras of missionary progress, when, issuing from the monasteries of Great Britain and Ireland, the

heralds of the Cross not only evangelized the tribes who had occupied the countries of S. Europe, but carried the gospel to the inhospitable regions of the north out of which the invaders had come. Names like those of St. Columba and St. Patrick, St. Columbanus and St. Gall, are worthy of everlasting remembrance, and in the remains of St. Boniface, in some respects the greatest of them all, we can still see for ourselves the kind of message with which they operated. It was a message of realism and terror; for the conditions were very rude with which the missionaries had to deal. Sin was then the chief theme of the pulpit, because there was abounding iniquity in the world; and it was not for centuries yet that preaching learned to deliver in its fullness the gracious message of deliverance from sin.

It was in the reaction from Muhammadanism that the sound of a new era of preaching began to be heard in the atmosphere of Europe. Peter the Hermit 'preached' the first Crusade; and the preacher of the second was no less a personage than St. Bernard, usually reckoned the greatest preacher of the Middle Ages, although the sermons for which he is most famous—those on the Song of Solomon—belong not to popular oratory but to the preaching of the monastery. The tendency, however, to consider the multitude had, as well as the romanticism of the Crusades, a place in the movements with which the names of St. Francis and St. Dominic are identified. Preaching was one of the principal instrumentalities made use of by both of these reformers; and even in our time, in Roman Catholic countries, it is a red-letter day in the history of a country congregation when a stranger in the graceful garb of the Dominican order rises in the pulpit, as a visitor, to occupy the place of the ordinary incumbent. Among the Franciscan preachers Antony of Padua and Berthold of Regensburg are the foremost. The matter of preaching was adapted for presentation to the general mind through the labours of the Schoolmen, not a few of whom were themselves famous preachers; and, after these had had their day, the hardness of their doctrine was softened in the atmosphere of the mystics, who gave to the pulpit some of its very greatest names, such as Eckhart and Tauler. The chapters of the *Imitatio Christi* preserve the exquisite blossom and flower of monastic preaching at its best.

3. The Reformation.—Immediately before the Reformation preaching suffered in most parts of the Church a sad decline. In many quarters there was hardly any preaching at all, the Christian religion being reduced to a mere pagan round of forms and ceremonies, pilgrimages and penances. In vain did councils summon the clergy to their duty; for the higher clergy, who presided in such assemblies, were themselves the most remiss in the discharge of this function, and the lower clergy were too deeply sunk in ignorance to be equal to the task. The description of the preaching of the time given in Thomas McCrie's *Life of John Knox* is not exaggerated, and it may be applied without hesitation to the rest of Christendom.

'It is difficult for us to conceive how empty, ridiculous, and wretched those harangues were which the monks delivered for sermons. Legendary tales concerning the founder of some religious order, his wonderful sanctity, the miracles which he performed, his combats with the devil, his watchings, fastings, flagellations; the virtues of holy water, chrism, crossing, and exorcism; the horrors of purgatory, and the numbers released from it by the intercession of some powerful saint; these, with low jests, table-talk, and fireside scandal, formed the favourite topics of the preachers, and were served up to the people instead of the pure, salutary, and sublime doctrines of the Bible' (*The Works of Thomas McCrie*, new ed., Edinburgh, 1855, i. 11).

It is in the writings of Erasmus that we see most clearly both the ludicrous and the deplorable aspects of the preaching of the time; but, in *Ecclesiastes*, one of the worthiest of his books, this great Humanist exhibited the image of what, in his opinion, a preacher ought to be. The Reformers before the Reformation, especially Wyclif, Hus, and Savonarola, revealed popular talent in the pulpit, and in the last-mentioned especially the gift rose to the prophetic strain.

The Reformation was a crowning era in the history of preaching. Innumerable abuses were pushed aside, which had been preventing the pulpit from having its chance. The Word of God was exalted above all other authorities, and it was not only heard with new fullness and force from the pulpit but put into the hands of the common man, in his own tongue, so that he could bring what he heard to the judgment of the law and the testimony. The Reformers had themselves passed through the great experiences of the soul, and they spake that which they knew and testified that which they had seen. Among the people there was the most extraordinary appetite for the new message, the more prominent among the preachers being called on to preach every day, and no limit being put to length. In Luther there were accumulated all the elements of a great preacher—learning, experience, knowledge of men, humour, homeliness, indignation, spirituality. To this day the best of his discourses have not lost the freshness of their prime, and everywhere in them the music of free grace sounds like the tinkle of a hidden well. Zwingli was more of the orator, bringing into the new movement the treasures of the Renaissance, but his testimony to the new truth is also clear and strong. Calvin excelled in the exposition of the Scriptures, and his great dogmatic work, the *Institutes*, swelled, in the course of his lifetime, to five times its original size just because he crowded into the successive editions the best things gathered from the Word through incessant preaching and lecturing. John Knox applied the examples of the Bible to the problems of the passing hour; and the English ambassador, in a letter to Queen Elizabeth's Chief Secretary of State, bore to him this testimony:

'I assure you, the voice of this one man is able in one hour to put more life in us than five hundred trumpets continually blustering in our ears' (McCrie, *Life of Knox*, p. 178).

In all the countries in which the Reformation took any hold there arose preachers of power, whose names are cherished to this day as household words, and in many cities and towns men of the second or the third rank arose, who directed the course pursued by their fellow-citizens and left a name still identified with the scenes of their labours. The pulpit had the making of the people's convictions, the moulding of their manners, the direction of their education; and this continued for generations, in some places more and in others less visibly.

4. The Puritan era and after.—In England, in spite of such early names as Hugh Latimer, Nicholas Ridley, and John Hooper, the effective Reformation was long in commencing; but, when it began, it produced the same appetite for preaching; and there were not wanting those capable of satisfying this spiritual hunger. In the Long Parliament it was quite an ordinary practice to set time apart for the hearing of sermons, and days of humiliation or thanksgiving were frequent, in which not only sermons an hour long but even prayers of like extent were the order of the day. To satisfy such a critical assembly can have been no ordinary responsibility; but, if ever there was a dynasty of great preachers in England, it was in this age. On the Puritan side were such names as Thomas Cartwright, Richard Sibbs, Richard Baxter, John Owen, John Bunyan, John Howe, Thomas Goodwin, and Thomas Adam; and for

intellectual grasp, mastery of Scripture, spiritual analysis, and constructive skill these men have never been surpassed. He who is in search of the substance of Christian truth can turn to their works still with the certainty of finding in abundance that which he is seeking. But, with few exceptions, they were as defective in literary form and grace of utterance as they excelled in solidity. What, however, was lacking in them was supplied in abundance by their rivals — the Cavalier preachers of the period, such as Richard Hooker, John Donne, Joseph Hall, Thomas Fuller, and Jeremy Taylor. Whether it was that these had audiences to preach to less hungry for the bread of life than those who listened to the Puritans, or whether it was due to a marked difference of natural endowments, it is undeniable that these are as exuberant in all the graces which make style and literature as the others are deficient in them; and yet it cannot be said that there is any lack of substance in their discourses. On the contrary, although the ornamentation is sometimes excessive, the Cavalier divines, as well as their rivals, were great exponents of Christian truth and experience.

So great a revival of religion as Puritanism could not be confined to the British Isles; and on the Continent the stirring of the dry bones first appeared in Holland, where the signal of the new movement was the emergence of what is called the Federal Theology. This is usually fathered on Cocceius, a native of Bremen and a professor at Franeker and Leyden; but it is certain that the conception of revealed religion as a series of covenants belonged earlier to the Puritan thinkers, as, indeed, it is developed in the documents of the Westminster Assembly, which were in existence before the publication of Cocceius' renowned treatise on the subject. From Holland the revival movement spread to Germany, where its principal representative was Philipp J. Spener, court preacher successively at Dresden and Berlin; but it is known that he was influenced in youth by Puritan authors, especially by Richard Baxter, whose *Reformed Pastor* has been an inspiration to preachers and pastors in all parts of the Christian world. Spener was only the most outstanding of many preachers of the Pietistic order, the names of some of whom, like A. H. Francke, J. A. Bengel, and J. J. Rambach, have taken their places among the worthies of the Church universal. Out of the Pietistic movement issued directly the Moravian Church, whose founder, Count von Zinzendorf, and his successor, A. G. Spangenberg, were noted preachers who have communicated their inspiration to many successors in their small but active community. To the Moravian Church John Wesley owed his experience of the gospel; and the same may be said of his coadjutors, Charles Wesley and George Whitefield. These were preachers who shook not only England but America to the heart, and they have transmitted the sacred fire to innumerable successors not only in the denominations founded by them but far beyond. Though the Established Church was not able to retain their services, there arose within it many who imitated their methods and reproduced their spirit; and the succession of Evangelical divines, reaching from John Newton down through Charles Simeon to the shining lights of this section of the Church at the present day, may all be looked upon as derived from this source. An original step on the part of Wesley and Whitefield was preaching in the open air; and, in the churches founded by them, lay-preaching has been a prominent feature, with memorable effects not only on the community but on the character of the preachers themselves (cf. also art. LAITY, § 7).

Charles II. was not without a taste for preaching, and a curious letter has survived in which, before a visit to Cambridge, he lays down the law that the university preachers must refrain from reading their discourses, as the extempore style, to which he had been accustomed whilst living abroad, was more in harmony with the royal mind. But the recoil from Puritanism soon became so universal that anything like enthusiasm in the pulpit was looked upon as vulgar, and the quenching of the fire soon proceeded from form to substance, the tone of belief becoming lukewarm and the distinctive message of the gospel being forgotten. Preachers formed their style on that of Addison, and many a sermon hardly attained to the warmth of an article in the *Spectator*. The model preacher of the time was Archbishop Tillotson, and even in the chapels of the Dissenters cold respectability held sway, although there were not wanting figures like Isaac Watts and Philip Doddridge to keep alive the memory of a better time. The Latitudinarianism of England had its equivalent in the Moderatism of Scotland, whose apostles were such men as William Robertson, Hugh Blair, and 'Jupiter' Carlyle, as well as in the rationalism of Germany, which was represented in the pulpit at the one extreme by the vulgarity of K. F. Bahrdt and at the other by the eloquence of J. L. von Mosheim.

5. **The 19th century.**—(*a*) *Britain.*—All historians of preaching are agreed that the 19th cent. has been an epoch of unsurpassed maturity and productiveness. It has been a period when the human mind has blossomed in every direction, and preaching has both enriched itself from the progress of investigation and discovery and risen to the demands coming from every side. The most native impulse has been that of the Evangelical Revival, and this has been visible in its purest form in Scotland, where, at the beginning of the century, the movement was received into the mighty mind of Thomas Chalmers, taking on there a form of singular benignity and dignity, which has never since ceased to hold the heart and mind of his fellow-countrymen. Indeed, at the end of a century it is more in possession than ever, there being hardly any preachers of note at present who do not look up to Chalmers with veneration or are not proud of the name of Evangelicals. Chalmers' own eloquence was believed by the best judges of the time to be not inferior to that of the very greatest masters of the oratorical art in any age; and his coadjutors in the ecclesiastical conflict, such as R. Murray McCheyne, Robert S. Candlish, Thomas Guthrie, Robert Buchanan, were all preachers possessed of popular gifts and spiritual power. The Establishment from which these seceded, however, continued to produce preachers of eminence, such as Norman Macleod, John Caird, George Matheson, and James MacGregor. The United Presbyterian Church, which had originally sprung from the gospel preaching of the brothers Erskine, had such outstanding names as John Cairns, Robertson of Irvine, John Ker, and W. M. Taylor, who, however, rendered his principal service in America. The English Presbyterian Church, in spite of its limited size, was rich in gifts, having such names as Edward Irving, James Hamilton, J. Oswald Dykes, and W. G. Elmslie.

In England there was much more variety. The Evangelical school in the Church of England had a nursery for talents in the Church of Simeon at Cambridge; and in the Keswick Movement it has produced speakers whose messages have been carried to all parts of the world. The same views have had much more powerful intellectual representation in such Congregational preachers as Thomas Binney, R. W. Dale, and Joseph Parker.

The Methodists had such distinguished names as Richard Watson, Jabez Bunting, W. M. Punshon, J. H. Rigg, and W. B. Pope. But the Baptists, for their number, were the most fruitful of all, with such celebrities as Robert Hall, Alexander Maclaren, and C. H. Spurgeon, who held an archiepiscopal position during the latter half of the century among the Dissenters of the world. In sharp distinction from the Evangelical school rose the Broad Church at Oxford; and, although its predominance did not last long, it yielded some fine fruits in the pulpit, such as A. P. Stanley, Charles Kingsley, and, above all, F. W. Robertson of Brighton, whose sermons were probably the most widely read in the last half of the century, while in the 20th cent. they are obtaining a new lease of usefulness through having been translated into German. With the Broad Church preachers may be mentioned a very eminent Unitarian, James Martineau. The Broad Church was succeeded by the High Church school, which has to a large extent superseded it and is still in process of expansion. It was by a sermon of John Keble's, preached at the assizes in Oxford, that the movement was started, and its best known representative, John Henry Newman, would be esteemed by many the greatest of modern preachers on account of the intensity of his convictions, his power of probing the conscience, the nimbleness of his wit, and the perfection of his style. But another of the same school, J. B. Mozley, seems to not a few of the discerning to indicate the high-water mark of Anglican preaching; and the school had a noted orator in H. P. Liddon.

Wales is a land of preachers. Nowhere else are favourite preachers more beloved or better remembered; and it is no wonder that the Welsh people have invented a name for the *je ne sais quoi* which makes preaching effective. This is the *hwil*, which is a combination of nature, art, and grace. It is the happiness of the preacher; it is the thing that grips the hearer; and it expands and culminates like the rising tide. The present writer has heard Cyndyllan Jones, secretary of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Church, do it to perfection in an hour's discourse, the tide setting in about a quarter of an hour before the end. But the effect can be attempted and missed; and then the preacher feels 'deserted,' and the people complain of the absence of the Spirit of the Lord. Among noted Welsh preachers the Anglicans have had Henry Thomas Edwards, the Wesleyans John Evans, the Baptists Christmas Evans and William Jones, the Congregationalists William Williams, Herber Evans, and John Thomas, and the Calvinistic Methodists John Elias, John Jones, Henry Rees, Edward Mathews, Edward Magan, and many of the name of Edwards, including two principals of theological colleges, of enormous influence in their day. The Irish pulpit has had its own share of both the Celtic fire and the spiritual power of the Welsh, and among the names that are household words are E. H. Plumptre, J. H. Bernard, and William Alexander (Episcopalians), and Henry Cooke and Fleming Stevenson (Presbyterians), while none of the smaller denominations has been without preachers of power, remembered with affection and reverence in a more limited circle.

(*b*) *The Continent.*—If the impulse of the Evangelical Revival was predominant in Great Britain, it was still more obviously so in some of the Continental countries. A visit to Geneva of a Scotsman, Robert Haldane, who had come powerfully under this influence was the occasion of a revival, which spread through the churches of Switzerland and brought to the surface such preachers as César Malan, Merle d'Aubigné, Alexander Vinet, Frédéric Godet, and, much later, Gaston Frommel. The same evangelist, who was not himself a clergyman, was the means of initiating a similar movement in France, issuing from the college of Montauban and giving rise to the labours of such eminent preachers as Adolphe Monod, one of the most perfect sacred orators of all time, E. D. de Pressensé, and E. A. F. Bersier. In neither of these countries, however, was the gift of eloquence confined to men of one school; and in France especially Timothée Colani and the Coquerels, father and son, must be mentioned as belonging to the less Evangelical tendency.

In Germany in the 19th cent. everything in religion and theology dates from Schleiermacher, and preaching is no exception; for this second Luther both excelled in the art and expounded the theory of preaching to such a degree that great and small have in both respects been affected by him since. Many volumes of his sermons have been preserved, and they exhibit him as an original and daring thinker, a close interpreter of Scripture, and a Christian of spiritual power. A sermon by Schleiermacher usually begins where the sermons of other preachers end; that is to say, he takes for granted all the commonplace and ordinary remarks, and then inquires what else there is in the text. Sometimes what he finds left may be paradoxical, and not infrequently he leads for a considerable distance through a pathway which is obscure; but it is seldom that he does not at last come out on some height from which there is a wide and rewarding view over the fields of truth. The only German preacher since Schleiermacher who can be called a rival, as regards either the excellence of his own productions or the extent of his influence on subsequent generations, is F. A. G. Tholuck, who has also written, in the form of a preface to his collected sermons, an incomparable disquisition on the preacher's art. Tholuck is as infallible as even Robertson of Brighton in discovering something in the psychology of the hearer to which to attach the message that he brings; he has the same gift of unfailing interest; and he has an even stronger hold on the essentials of Christian truth. These two leaders have had a long and distinguished line of successors, exhibiting great variety and yet not forsaking the type. Among the more outstanding names may be mentioned L. F. F. Theremin, Klaus Harms, W. Hofacker, K. I. Nitzsch, F. W. Krummacher, J. F. Ahlfeld, G. C. A. von Harless, C. E. Luthardt, J. K. W. Löhe, and Karl Gerok. The court of Prussia has for generations been careful to attract distinguished preachers to Berlin. When one heard Rudolf Kögel, the chief court preacher in the days of Prussia's greatness, it seemed impossible to conceive of any one more fitted for his position and his work; yet, when one was listening to Emil Frommel, who was preaching in Berlin at the same time, this divine seemed to have more genius for the business in his little finger than Kögel had in his whole body. The Ritschlian movement in theology has not failed to produce eminent preachers giving currency to its views. Among recent names may be mentioned E. Dryander, B. Dörries, C. Geyer, and F. Rittelmeyer.

In the neighbouring countries of Holland and Denmark there have been similar currents of opinion at the same time; and among preachers whose renown has passed into other lands may be mentioned J. J. van Oosterzee, C. E. van Koetsveld, and A. Kuyper for the one country; and N. F. S. Grundtvig, S. A. Kierkegaard, and H. L. Martensen for the other. For Norway may be added the names of W. A. Wexels, O. A. Berg, C. Knudsen, and J. G. Blom; and for Sweden J. O. Wallin, S. L. Oedmann, C. P. Hagberg, J. H. Thomander, and F. O. Nillson.

(c) *America.*—In no part of the world has preaching been a greater power in the 19th cent. than in America. The energy of the surrounding life has communicated itself to the pulpit also, and not infrequently have great preachers been the leaders of public progress, their names becoming so identified with the places in which they have been settled that the mention of the city still suggests the preacher or the mention of the preacher the place. Certain bodies, like the Methodist and the Baptist, have accompanied the pioneers on their westward way, suiting their ministrations to the stage of culture and the spiritual aspirations of those under their charge, and they have had their reward in the phenomenal development which these denominations have attained in the newer States. Preaching has been a very conspicuous social force, and preachers have occupied a commanding position and exercised unusual influence. Nowhere else has talent been surer of recognition, and the demand has called forth the supply. Not only has every variety of preaching been exemplified, but the art itself has been thoroughly studied and taught; and books on the subject have been produced in exceptional numbers and of high quality. At Yale University the Lyman Beecher lectureship on preaching has been established since 1872, and in the successive issues every phase of the subject has been handled by experts from both the Old and the New Worlds. A similar lectureship now exists at Union Seminary, Richmond. The countless sects into which Christianity is divided in the United States have all had men of spiritual power, whose names are warmly cherished within a limited circle; but it will be possible to mention here only those who have attained something like a world-wide reputation.

Here again the beginnings were Puritan and Evangelical. The Pilgrim Fathers carried to the shores of New England the convictions of the age of Cromwell, and these were powerfully reproduced in the pulpit by Jonathan Edwards and the other leaders of New England theology, such as Joseph Bellamy, Samuel Hopkins, N. W. Taylor, Samuel Harris, and E. A. Park. The piety of the country was deeply affected by revival movements, which emerged from time to time and in no small degree affected the character of preaching. Among the more noted revivalists may be mentioned C. G. Finney and D. L. Moody. But some of the denominations which kept apart from revivalism produced distinguished preachers nevertheless, the Unitarians having in W. E. Channing and Theodore Parker representatives of very opposite types, and the Episcopalians, besides producing many distinguished preachers such as S. H. Tyng, H. C. Potter, F. D. Huntington, and W. S. Rainsford, having in Phillips Brooks a pulpit representative of the first rank, whose Yale *Lectures on Preaching* may be characterized as the finest product of the kind yet given to the world by America, while the big humanity of the man, his spiritual power, and his literary charm will long keep his memory green.

The Congregationalists had many names of great eminence, and reached a supreme preacher in Henry Ward Beecher, who possessed in the highest degree almost every gift of the pulpit orator, and who was the first of the Yale lecturers on preaching. Among the Baptists, while the names are very numerous, the greatest is perhaps that of John A. Broadus, in the south, who not only illustrated the best qualities of the preacher in his practice, but wrote on both the theory and the history of the subject with distinguished success. The Presbyterians have not been behindhand, as the names of the Hodges and Alexanders at Princeton testify, as well as those in the south of M. D. Hoge at Richmond and B. M. Palmer at New Orleans. In Canada the Anglicans have had Bishop Baldwin and J. de Soyres; the Methodists George Douglas, Potts, and C. L. Stafford; the Baptists E. A. Crawley, Denovan, and R. A. Fyfe; the Congregationalists H. Wilkes and P. S. Henson; and the Presbyterians G. M. Grant, D. H. MacVicar, and Barclay.

6. **The Roman Catholic pulpit.**—Protestants are apt to overlook the history of preaching since the Reformation among Roman Catholics; but these have had their own tradition and have embodied their practice both in books and in prelections on sacred eloquence in their seminaries. The prominence given to the Mass and other ceremonies tends to eject preaching from its lawful place; on the other hand, the arrangements for the observance of the Christian Year afford special opportunities for preaching on the greatest themes of the Christian system, and men possessed of oratorical gifts are trained to deliver courses of sermons at Lent and other seasons, which often attract very large audiences. There has been one scene of extraordinary development in the art of sacred oratory since the Reformation. This was the court of Louis XIV., during whose long reign a succession of orators was maintained, embracing the names of Bishop Bossuet, Louis Bourdaloue, Esprit Fléchier, Archbishop Fénelon, and J. B. Massillon. These lights of the pulpit were accounted among the principal ornaments in the court of the Grand Monarque; their merits and performances were compared and contrasted by the courtiers in the same way as the dramas of the poets and the books of the men of letters; and the stimulus of the cultivated audience excited the speakers to the utmost exercise of their powers. The sermons were expected to be lengthy and to deal with great themes in a great way; and in some respects the discourses thus produced remain as imperishable models of the art. Some of the greatest of them were on the death of princes, and the vanity of human things was a constant theme, as if the frivolity and the extravagance of the courtiers required this foil to make their enjoyment complete. The memory of this brilliant period has never died out in France, and from time to time there have been more or less successful attempts to revive it, as by J. S. Maury in the French Revolution and J. B. H. D. Lacordaire, F. A. P. Dupanloup, and Père Hyacinthe (=Charles Loyson) in the 19th century. In other parts of the Catholic world there have been striking personalities in the pulpit, such as J. M. Sailer and Martin Boos in Germany, Theobald Mathew, Tom Burke, and T. J. Potter in Ireland, and N. P. S. Wiseman and H. E. Manning in England. In the United States such names are mentioned as Bishop England, Archbishop Spalding, Archbishop Kenrick, and Cardinal Gibbons.

LITERATURE.—There are books of the past on preaching which may be called classical, such as Augustine († 430), *de Doct. Christ.* iv.; Alanus ab Insulis († 1203), *Summa de Arte Prædicatoria*; Bonaventura († 1274), *Ars Concionandi*; Erasmus († 1536), *Ecclesiastes*; Melanchthon († 1560), *Rhetoric*; Hyperius († 1564), *De Formandis Concionibus Sacris* (republished, Berlin, 1901, by E. C. Achelis and E. Sachsse as *Die Homiletik und die Katechetik des Andreas Hyperius*); J. Wilkins († 1672), *Ecclesiastes*, London, 1646; P. Doddridge († 1751), *Lectures on Preaching and the Ministerial Office*, do. 1804; G. Campbell († 1796), *On Pulpit Eloquence*, do. 1807; F. Theremin († 1846), *Die Beredsamkeit eine Tugend*, Berlin, 1814; A. Vinet († 1847), *Homilétique*, Paris, 1853, Eng. tr., Edinburgh and New York, 1858. But the modern books are better, as they not only include whatever was of value in their predecessors but address themselves to the tastes and requirements of the present day. Valuable to the practitioner are C. H. Spurgeon, *Lectures to my Students*, two series, London, 1875–77; H. W. Beecher, *Yale Lectures on Preaching*, 3 vols. in one, New York, 1881; R. W. Dale, *Nine Lectures on Preaching*[4], London, 1882; A. Phelps, *Theory of Preaching*, do. 1882; H. Bassermann, *Handbuch der geistlichen Beredsamkeit*, Stuttgart, 1885; Phillips Brooks, *Lectures on Preaching*, New York, 1881; W. Boyd Carpenter, *Lectures on Preaching*,

London, 1895; J. A. Broadus, *The Preparation and Delivery of Sermons*[26], ed. E. C. Dargan, New York, 1905; A. E. Garvie, *A Guide to Preachers*, London, 1906; P. Kleinert, *Die Homiletik*, Leipzig, 1907; P. T. Forsyth, *Positive Preaching and Modern Mind*, London, 1907. Preaching holds a place of course in works on Practical Theology, such as those of K. I. Nitzsch (*Prakt. Theologie*, 3 vols., Bonn, 1859–68), A. E. Krauss (*Lehrbuch der prakt. Theologie*, 2 vols., Freiburg, 1890–93), E. C. Achelis (*Prakt. Theologie*, Tübingen, 1903), J. J. van Oosterzee (*Practical Theology*, Eng. tr., London, 1878), as well as in series of books on the same subjects, like H. Hering's *Sammlung von Lehrbüchern der prakt. Theologie*, 50 vols., Berlin, 1895–1908, which includes both history and theory, in a series edited by himself. In the same way the subject is included in works on Pastoral Theology, such as those by K. Harms (*Pastoraltheologie*[3], Kiel, 1878), P. Fairbairn (*Pastoral Theology*, Edinburgh, 1875), W. G. Blaikie (*For the Work of the Ministry*, London, 1896), J. O. Dykes (*The Christian Minister*, Edinburgh, 1908). Choice books, worthy of mention by themselves, are George Herbert, *A Priest to the Temple, or the Country Parson*, London, 1652; W. Loehe, *Der evangelische Geistliche*, 2 vols., Stuttgart, 1852–58; John Watson, *The Cure of Souls*, London, 1899; and H. van Dyke, *The Gospel for an Age of Doubt*, do. 1899. On the history of preaching there are an excellent work by Broadus (*Lectures on the Hist. of Preaching*, New York, 1876) and a small but characteristic one by John Ker (*Lectures on the Hist. of Preaching*, London, 1888); but the best work in the English language is an American one, by E. C. Dargan (*A Hist. of Preaching*, New York and London, 1905–11), vol. iii. of which, dealing with the preachers of America, it is to be hoped will not be long delayed. The two volumes already published trace the theme from the beginning to the present day, and they are characterized by learning, insight, and vigour. In German there exist voluminous works on the history of both preaching in general and German preaching in particular, some of the outstanding names being R. Rothe (*Gesch. der Predigt von den Anfängen bis auf Schleiermacher*, Bremen, 1881), A. Nebe (*Zur Gesch. der Predigt, Charakterbilder der bedeutendsten Kanzelredner*, 3 vols., Wiesbaden, 1879), K. H. Sack (*Gesch. der Predigt in der deutschen evang. Kirche*[2], Heidelberg, 1875), C. G. F. Schenk (*Gesch. der deutsch-protestantischen Kanzelberedsamkeit*, 1841), C. G. Schmidt (*Gesch. der Predigt in der evang. Kirche Deutschlands*, Gotha, 1872). Of writers on French pulpit eloquence there are many, among whom may be mentioned E. Boucher, *L'Eloquence de la chaire*, Lille, 1894; A. de Coulanges, *La Chaire française au 18me siècle*, do. 1901; A. Vinet, *Hist. de la prédication parmi les réformés de France au xviie siècle*, do. 1860; P. Stapfer, *La grande Prédication chrétienne en France*, do. 1898. On the history of preaching in Holland and Denmark there are works by J. Hartog (*Geschiedenis van der Predikkunde in de Kerk van Nederland*, Utrecht, 1887) and V. L. Nannestad (*Portrairter fra Kirken-Bidrag til en Karakteristik of dansk Praediken*, Copenhagen, 1899), and on the same in Italy by U. Micocci (*Antologia della sacra eloquenza moderna*, Turin, 1897), and F. Zanotto (*Storia della Predicazione*, Modena, 1899). J. E. Kempe has edited two volumes on the *Classic Preachers of the English Church* (London, 1877–78), and J. C. Ryle published a volume entitled *Christian Leaders of Last Century* (Edinburgh, 1869). O. Jones has written on the great Welsh preachers (*Preachers of Wales*, London, 1885), while to the Scottish pulpit the same compliment has been paid by both W. G. Blaikie (*The Preachers of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1888) and W. M. Taylor (*The Scottish Pulpit*, London, 1887). Under the title of *Representative Modern Preachers*, New York, 1904, L. O. Brastow published elaborate essays on nine preachers belonging to different countries. Finally may be mentioned collections of sermons, of which by far the greatest is that of J. P. Migne (Paris, 1844–66) in no fewer than 86 volumes. H. C. Fish's well-known *Hist. and Repository of Pulpit Eloquence*, New York, 1856–57, is modestly limited to two volumes and a supplement (*Pulpit Eloquence of the 19th Century*, do. 1857). Recent publications in America are *The World's Great Sermons*, 10 vols., ed. G. Kleiser, Chicago, 1910, and *Modern Sermons by World Scholars*, 10 vols., ed. R. Scott and W. Stiles, New York, 1909.

JAMES STALKER.

PREACHING (Jewish).—The word 'preach' is derived from Latin *prædico* (Gr. προφημι), and means to foretell or to announce (in public). Generally speaking, the term conveys the idea of making a proclamation on behalf of God. The notion of preaching is based on many passages in the OT, such as Is 29[21], Am 5[10], etc. The Biblical prophets are, therefore, to be considered as preachers in the literal sense of the word. In Dt 31[12] the injunction is laid upon the king to read the Law before the assembled people once in seven years. Such public readings are recorded in 2 K 23[2], Neh 8[3-8], and in the Mishnāh *Sôṭāh*, vii. 8. A kind of model sermon may also be seen in Pr 1[20-33].

During the second Temple, and some time after, preaching retained its spontaneous character. Whoever felt called upon to preach stepped forward and spoke. The Mishnāh (*Ta'anîth*, ii. 1) states that in times of prolonged drought the community, in deep contrition, gathered in the open and were addressed in stirring words by the oldest member present. John the Baptist preached (ἐκήρυκε) in the wilderness of Judæa (Mt 3[1]), and Jesus preached in the synagogues. Preaching seems at that time to have been a regular feature of the Sabbath service. It grew out of the reading of the lessons from the Tôrāh, and consisted of the interpretation of the passages read and exhortations connected therewith. Since the people could not be trusted to follow the Hebrew text when read out, the latter was accompanied by a translation into the Aramaic vernacular, known as the Targum. The translator (*methurgemān*) was bound to be a person well versed in the original text. As a literal translation of many passages was impossible or impracticable, the translator frequently resorted to paraphrastic rendering, introducing into it elements of the Haggādāh as well as of Hălākhāh. Instances of homiletic translation in the so-called Targum of Onqelos are Gn 49[3-4. 10f.], Dt 32[5f.], which contain expressions of comfort, hope of speedy delivery and the rebuilding of the Temple, also admonitions to observe the Law and to study the Tôrāh. Broader still are the homiletic additions to the other Targumim, but it seems that these were meant for private rather than public reading.

The Greek-speaking Jews proceeded in a similar way, using the Greek language for their religious lectures. We are in possession of two Greek sermons and the fragments of a third ascribed to Philo.[1] He is himself credited with having acted as preacher, and Freudenthal is probably right in regarding his allegorical writings in the light of public lectures actually delivered.[2]

The transformation of these rather informal lectures into sermons proper, based on Biblical texts, proceeded gradually. Their promoters were the heads of the Sanhedrin, who were distinguished by the title *darshānim* ('interpreters'). As interpretation was the main feature of the lecture, the preacher 'opened' (פתח) his sermon with a quotation from the weekly portion, or *haphtārāh*, or from any part of the Bible in some way connected with the occasion. These occasions were not only Sabbaths and festivals, but also marriages (Talmud *B^erākhôth*, 600) and funerals (*ib.* and *M^egillāh*, 600). The specimens of introductions of funeral sermons given in these passages are in pure Biblical Hebrew, which is a sign that the preachers were highly trained persons who bestowed great care on their sermons. The ordination of rabbis was also solemnized by homiletic allocutions (*Sanh.* fol. 14vo). A large number of such introductions (פתיחתא) are to be found at the beginning of the Midrāsh on Lamentations and the *P^esîqtās*, together with the names of the preachers, each paragraph giving either a complete sermon or the nucleus of one.

As a rule the sermon was spoken in the vernacular, Hebrew or Aramaic in Palestine and Babylon, and, correspondingly, Greek, Persian, and Arabic. Of the use of Arabic we have direct evidence in Muslim tradition. There existed a Bēth 'Midrās' in Medīna, where the Jews interpreted the Tôrāh in Arabic.[3] The preacher (also styled the *ḥakhām*) often did not address the people direct, but spoke to the *methurgemān* (or *amōrā*), a paid official who translated his words

[1] Ed. J. B. Aucher, Venice, 1826; see J. Freudenthal, *Die Flavius Josephus beigelegte Schrift über die Herrschaft der Vernunft*, Breslau, 1869, p. 9 ff.

[2] P. 7.

[3] Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥiḥ*, ed. L. Krehl and T. W. Juynboll, Leyden, 1862–1908, iii. 198; see also H. Hirschfeld, *New Researches into the Composition and Exegesis of the Qorān*, London, 1902, p. 28.

aloud to the congregation. From this it follows that the *methurgemān* himself must have been a man of some learning. He had to add explanations and to answer questions, and the latitude allowed him is probably reflected in many passages of the Targumim and Midrashim.

Whilst the ordinary sermon was delivered in the synagogue, lectures on Hălākhāh, which demanded some preliminary knowledge, were left to the school hall (Beth Hammidrāsh). There was not, however, any fixed rule for such an arrangement, especially where the school hall was also used as a house of worship. On certain occasions, especially on Sabbaths preceding festivals, the public had to be instructed on certain duties and prohibitions, and the sermon assumed a mixed form. This custom is still observed in most communities. The natural place of the sermon was immediately after the reading of the lesson from the Pentateuch and the *haphtārāh* from one of the Prophets. We read in *Massēkheth Şopherîm*, xii. 7: 'On Sabbath the Targumān or Preacher (דורש) recites the *haphtārāh* from the Prophets.' A passage in the Midrāsh *Yalqūt* (92*a*) states that, when a person wakes from his sleep, he goes to the synagogue, reads the *Shᵉmaʿ* and the *Tephillāh* ('Eighteen Benedictions'), and listens to the Tôrāh and to the elder (preacher). There are many passages in the Midrashim containing similar statements. Occasionally, when the morning service exceeded its limits, the sermon was delivered before the termination of the afternoon service. In some places this custom is observed even in modern times.

The Gaonic period saw some changes. Whilst the preacher was honoured by the title *ḥākhām*, *darshān*, or *zāqēn* ('elder'), the *methurgemān* became a mere precentor, and the Midrāsh marks the contrast between the two by applying to them the verse Ec 7⁷. The latter embellished the service by his melodious voice, but contributed nothing towards the uplifting of the congregation. The liturgy became fixed. The function of the translator was either abolished or greatly restricted. Relics of the same, however, still exist in congregations of Sephardic rite, where during the service of the Fast of Āb the Aramaic Targum of the *haphtārāh* is read in an enlarged Spanish version. In Oriental congregations Arabic versions of the Targum are read of the Blessing of Jacob, the Song of Moses, the Decalogue, the *haphtārāh* of the first and last days of Passover, and similar pieces.

Even the function of the preacher did not escape the vicissitudes of time. During the persecution of the Middle Ages many synagogues were closed, the 'public' service was banned to secret places, and expulsions made an end of many congregations. Another cause which affected the sermon, chiefly in 'German' congregations, was the enlargement of the liturgy, by the insertion of *piyyuṭim*, *i.e.* unofficial poetic compositions. The large Haggādic elements which they contained in some measure replace the homily, and sermons were delivered in intervals or on special occasions. The names of famous preachers in France and Germany are, therefore, comparatively few. A list of them is given in Zunz's *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge der Juden*[2] (Frankfort, 1892, p. 435 ff.). Spain, prior to the expulsion, offered a more fertile soil for pulpit eloquence, probably on account of the simplicity of the rite. Only on one Sabbath in the year and the minority of festival days are some *piyyuṭim* recited. This country, therefore, produced a large number of renowned preachers. Of those not mentioned by Zunz[1] must be named Jonah of Gerona[2] († Toledo, 1340), who was one of those who joined the movement against Maimonides' philosophy, Nissim b. Reuben Gerondi (1350),[1] and Asher b. Jehiel († 1340). A great preacher of the 15th cent. was Joseph b. Shem Ṭôb. From a note prefacing a collection of his sermons[3] we gain some interesting information. It was in June 1452, when Prince Enrico arrived at Andalusia, that the Jews of Segovia dispatched a complaint to him concerning a persecution which had taken place on Christmas day. The prince sent Joseph with a written order to the authorities of the town commanding peace, and in another letter he assured the Jews of his protection. On the following Sabbath Joseph preached in the synagogue *after the reading of the lesson*. Subsequently he preached three more sermons in the same place. In Italy there were Abraham Farissol and Obadiah Sforno, both in the 15th cent., and David Zaccuth, who left a collection of 300 sermons.[3] In the 16th cent. we find Joseph Taytazak of Salonica.

The following two centuries were not favourable to any further development of the spiritual life of the Jews, and this circumstance also affected public preaching. There exists a rather extensive literature of sermons produced in Italy, the German lands, and Poland, but, as they were written in Hebrew, it is doubtful whether they were actually delivered. In the Sephardic communities of Holland and England, where the Jews lived in comparative safety, sermons were delivered in Spanish and Portuguese. In other countries, with the exception of perhaps Italy, the vernacular was lost to them. In German-speaking countries the Jews could converse only in the Jewish-German dialect, whilst the use of pure German was almost regarded as rank apostasy. This condition lasted till Mendelssohn inaugurated a reform. The beginning of the 19th cent. brought the revival of the sermon. Its effect made itself felt all over Europe, and the old-fashioned *derāshāh* was gradually replaced by its modernized substitute.[4] It has not died out entirely, and travelling and resident *maggīdîm* are listened to by large congregations in E. and W. Europe.

Even the modern form of sermons has undergone some modification in the direction of curtailment The rather ponderous lecture, with its three (or more) points, which was fashionable fifty years ago is now a thing of the past, and is generally replaced by an address of about half-an-hour. A competent preacher can find sufficient scope for edification even in this short space of time, as long as he remembers that the sermon owes its origin to the exposition of the Law.

LITERATURE.—See works mentioned throughout, and L. Philippson, *Die Rhetorik und jüdische Homiletik*, Leipzig, 1890; S. Bäck, *Die jüdischen Prediger, Sittenlehrer und Apologeten in dem Zeitraum vom 13. bis Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Trèves, 1895, 'Die Darschanim vom 15. bis Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts,' in Winter and Wünsche, *Gesch. der jüd. Litt.*, Leipzig, 1892–95, ii. 609–696.

HARTWIG HIRSCHFELD.

PREACHING (Muslim). — **1. The pulpit.**—The pulpit is designated in Arabic by the Ethiopic word *minbar*, literally 'seat,' or 'throne,' ecclesiastically the bishop's throne, in Greek *καθέδρα*, whence the French *chaire*. In early times the Arabic synonym *majlis* seems to have been occasionally employed in lieu of *minbar* (Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥîḥ*, Cairo, 1312, i. 107). Such a throne was introduced into the Prophet's mosque at Medīna before his death; it was of tamarisk wood, and

[1] P. 443 ff.

[2] ספר היראה (1430 ?).

[1] רישות, Constantinople (?) 1530.

[2] MS Cod. Montefiore 166; see H. Hirschfeld, 'Descriptive Catalogue of the Hebrew MSS of the Montefiore Library,' in *JQR* xiv. [1901–02], xv. [1902–03], no. 61.

[3] See Benjacob, *Ozar Ha-Sepharîm*, p. 122, *s.vv.* דרוש and דרשה.

[4] For a selected literature of sermons see S. Maybaum, *Jüdische Homiletik*, Berlin, 1894; see also M. Kayserling, *Bibliothek jüdischer Kanzelredner*, 2 vols., do. 1870–72.

was mounted by two steps. The traditions concerning the occasion and purpose of its introduction are contradictory, but the name indicates that it was conscious imitation of what was seen in Abyssinian churches; according to a tradition, the Prophet said that his purpose in introducing it was to enable the congregation to see how he performed the *ṣalāt* ceremonies. Of these, however, the prostration could not be performed on the *minbar*, whence it was eventually used only for the sermon, which was probably delivered by him standing, though there is some doubt about the matter. In 50 A.H. the Umayyad Mu'āwiyah contemplated removing this pulpit to the mosque of his capital, Damascus, but was prevented (it is said) by an eclipse of the sun, which was supposed to mark divine disapproval of this scheme; Mu'āwiyah accordingly disavowed this project, and instead raised the height of the pulpit by six additional steps. The eclipse is apocryphal. Several of the later Umayyads had the same idea, but they were all dissuaded (Ṭabarī, *Chronicle*, Leyden, 1881, ii. 92). Peculiar sanctity naturally attached to this pulpit, which, since perjury by it was thought to bring terrible punishment, was used for the settlement of disputes. It is said to have lasted till 654, when the mosque was burned (ʿAun al-Maʿbud, on the *Sunan* of Abū Dāwūd, Dehli, 1323, i. 421).

Pulpits were after a time erected in the mosques of the cities occupied or founded by the Muslim conquerors. Thus we hear of Mu'āwiyah, when governor of Syria, exhibiting the relics of the murdered Khalīfah 'Uthmān on the *minbar* of the mosque in Damascus. The material is properly wood; hence 'the beams' is often used as a synonym for *minbar*. In the more elaborate mosques it is richly ornamented; specimens of such *manabir* are to be found in the South Kensington Museum.

2. The preacher.—The orthodox law-books prescribe that the preacher shall be properly clothed, without specifying the mode; the Shī'ite manual (A. Querry, *Droit musulman*, Paris, 1871–72, i. 86) ordains that he shall wear a turban and a striped Yemen cloak; the Umayyad Khalīfah Walīd II. used to robe himself in white when preaching (*Aghānī*, vi. 141); but in 'Abbāsid times it would seem that the preacher wore a black gown (Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'ah, i. 274; A. von Kremer, *Culturgesch. des Orients unter den Chalifen*, Vienna, 1875–77, i. 137). In a description by Ibn Jubair (ed. M. J. de Goeje, London, 1907, pp. 222, 15) the preacher uncovers his head; the covering of the head was doubtless more usual, though the illustration cited by von Kremer (*loc. cit.*) perhaps refers to a special occasion. He should lean on a staff, bow, or sword, held in his left hand, 'indicating that this religion is maintained by the use of weapons' (Sherbini, *Comm. on the Minhaj*, Cairo, 1308, i. 286),[1] while his right hand rests on the pulpit-edge; and he should face the congregation, turning neither to the right nor to the left (Shāfi'ī, *Umm*, Cairo, 1321, i. 177). The sermon (*khuṭbah*) is of two parts, between which the preacher should sit down;[2] if, however, bodily infirmity render it necessary, he may sit throughout, or even maintain a recumbent posture. Some authors recommend an elaborate ceremonial (so Rashid Pasha, *Dini Mubini Islam*, Constantinople, 1328, ii. 145–147). The preacher (*khaṭīb*) was in early times the sovereign, *i.e.* the Prophet and his successors; various authors profess to reproduce discourses pronounced by the Prophet himself (Shāfi'ī, i. 179; Jāḥiẓ, *Bayan*, Cairo, 1232, i. 165; Ya'qubi, ed. M. T. Houtsma, Leyden, 1883, ii. 98; Bukhārī, i. 108), but these are very clearly spurious; Jāḥiẓ produces others by early Khalīfahs, and in the *Nahj al-balāghah* there are several supposed to have been delivered by the Khalīfah 'Alī. Outside the metropolis the preacher was the Khalīfah's representative; the historian Abu'l-Maḥāsin (ed. T. W. Juynboll, Leyden, 1852, i. 81) reproduces a sermon of 'Amr ibn al-'Ās, governor of Egypt for 'Umar I. During Umayyad times the Khalīfah continued to deliver it; 'Abd al-Malik declared that his hair had been whitened by the fear of making a mistake in his Arabic when preaching (*Fakhri*, ed. W. Ahlwardt, Gotha, 1860, p. 148). In 'Abbāsid times it would seem that the duty began from an early period to be delegated; the preaching of the Khalīfah Rādī in 324 A.H. is mentioned as exceptional (Miskawaihi, ed. H. F. Amedroz, in the press, i. 334). As late as 987 A.H. the emperor Akbar tried to deliver a sermon at Fathpur; but the experiment was a failure. An official called the *khaṭīb* was ordinarily appointed by the sovereign to discharge this function, and it was normally held that the sermon should be delivered only in cities, and in each city only at the official mosque. Where (as was the case with Baghdād) the city was bisected by a river, it might count as two cities. In the Shī'ite manual it is suggested that the mosques in which it is pronounced should be at a distance from each other of not less than three miles.

3. The sermon.—The occasions on which the law prescribes a sermon are before the mid-day prayer on Fridays, and after prayer on the feast-days, and in the services at times of eclipse and drought. Sermons are also delivered at weddings and on many public occasions. The language, according to the orthodox law-books, should be Arabic; the Zaidis, however, permit the use of Persian or any other language understood by the congregation (*Muntaza' al-Mukhtar*, Cairo, 1327, i. 221), and some other authorities permit this, though use is rarely made of the leave on the prescribed occasions.

Orthodox jurists enumerate the elements of the sermon as five: the words 'Praise be to Allah'; a blessing on the Prophet; an admonition to piety, of which the minimum amount is the phrase 'Obey Allah'; a blessing on the believers; and a lesson from the Qur'ān, not less than a complete verse. The fourth belongs to the first part of the address, and the fifth to the second. This list fails to include the prayer for the reigning sovereign, which is prescribed in the Zaidi law, the legitimate sovereign to be named or not according to the needs of the time. Although an innovation, the practice is so general throughout Islām that orthodox jurists advise its observation, for fear of giving offence (ʿAlī al-'Adawi, *Comm. on Sidi Khalil*, Cairo, 1307, i. 432); but it is not quite clear when it was introduced. Shāfi'ī (*c.* 200 A.H.) disapproves of prayer either for or against any individual being made part of the *khuṭbah* (i. 180); yet by 324 the prayer for the sovereign had become so regular a part of the Friday sermon that the Khalīfah, having undertaken to deliver it, required expert advice as to his treatment of this passage (Yāqūt, *Dictionary of Learned Men*, ed. D. S. Margoliouth, London, 1913, ii. 349); and omission of it on the part of a preacher was at this time regarded as a sign of rebellion against the sovereign (Miskawaihi, ii. 90). Some writers assert that the practice was introduced by the Prophet's cousin, Ibn 'Abbas, when governor of Baṣrah (Aḥmad Rasim, *Manaqib Islam*, Constantinople, 1326, ii. 437); the historian Ibn al-Athīr states that the first person for whom this prayer was offered in

[1] The orator's staff is an institution far earlier than Islām.

[2] Possibly this practice was suggested by the Christian sermon following the reading of Scripture (F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Oxford, 1896, Index).

Baghdād was the Buwaihid Sulṭān 'Aḍud al-Daulah in 367 A.H.; his meaning probably is the first person other than the Khalīfah.

If the introduction of a prayer for the sovereign was late, the practice of cursing public enemies from the pulpit was early; the second Khalīfah is said to have so cursed a man who was guilty of what was thought an immoral practice (*Mabsūṭ*, Cairo, 1324, xxiv. 20), and in the first civil war 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah introduced imprecations on each other into their sermons. The cursing of 'Alī in the Friday discourse was continued till the end of the 1st Islāmic cent., when the pious 'Umar II. put an end to it; as late as 321 A.H. there was a question of re-introducing the cursing of Mu'āwiyah (Miskawaihi, i. 260).

On the question whether the audience should be greeted at the commencement of the discourse there is a difference of opinion between the schools.

The Prophet is said to have recommended brevity to preachers, and the discourses attributed to him are of 'ten words,' *i.e.* a few sentences. The early discourses recorded by Jāḥiẓ (ii. 25 ff.) are somewhat longer than the minimum permitted, but are still very short. Some of them are partly in rhymed prose, and this style at a later time became normal. The cultivation of the sermon as a branch of literature may have been stimulated by the work of Jāḥiẓ († 255 A.H.), but the classical collection of sermons belongs to the 4th cent., and is the work of 'Abd al-Raḥīm b. Muḥammad, known as Ibn Nubātah († 374). The best edition of these is that published at Beirūt, 1311 A.H. They are throughout in rhymed prose, and occupy on the average five minutes in delivery. The subjects with which they deal are such as are natural in homilies; owing to the preacher's patrons being princes who fought against the Byzantines, many of them are exhortations to the Sacred War. Probably from the time of their publication it became the practice of those official preachers who had no talent for their vocation to learn them by heart, and they are still largely used in the mosques of Egypt and perhaps elsewhere. In Turkey a collection by various authors is now ordinarily used for this purpose (Rashid Pasha, ii. 149, where one of these sermons is given in full with Turkish translation). The famous poet and sceptic Abu'l-'Alā al-Ma'arrī composed several collections of homilies (see *Centenario della nascita di M. Amari*, Palermo, 1910, i. 230), but they had little popularity. The polygraph Shamīm al-Ḥilli (601) informed Yāqūt that his own collection of sermons had superseded those of Ibn Nubātah in popular estimation (*Dict. of Learned Men*, v. 130), but this boast was not justified.

4. Unofficial preaching.—Besides the formality of the Friday service many persons felt a call to encourage their fellows to virtue and piety, to propagate the Islāmic religion by exhortation, or to spread particular opinions. The name usually applied to discourses of this kind is *majlis*, 'sitting,' *'aqada majlisa'l-wa'ẓ*, 'he held assemblies for the purpose of preaching,' being the phrase employed to describe this form of activity. Jāḥiẓ (iii. 86) speaks of Thursday as a natural day for such assemblies. Ṭabarī (ii. 507) gives a specimen of a sermon delivered in 65 A.H. by the most eloquent preacher of the time in the interest of the Prophet's house; it is partly in rhymed prose, but the artifice is irregular and the language on the whole simple. Most of the famous Ṣūfīs were powerful preachers, and their effects on the audiences are described in the hagiologies; at a meeting held by Muḥāsibī († 243 A.H.) the company sat in silence after evening prayer until midnight; then some one propounded a question, whereon the preacher began to discourse, 'the audience listening in rapt attention, some weeping, some groaning and some shrieking' (Subkī, *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyyah*, Cairo, 1324, ii. 39). The crowds which gathered to hear these orators roused the curiosity of Jews and Christians, some of whom were moved by the sermons to embrace Islām (*Asrār al-Tauḥīd*, ed. V. A. Zhukovski, Petrograd, 1899, i. 169). With the growing fashion of erecting religious buildings of various sorts which characterizes the 5th cent. of Islām the chronicles pay more attention to the presence of influential preachers in Baghdād; the ground occupied by the male audience of the preacher Ardashīr b. Manṣūr, who came to Baghdād in 486 A.H., was 175 cubits by 120, and the female audience was yet larger (Ibn al-Athīr, *Chronicle*, *ad. ann.*). The pulpit of the Nizāmiyyah College in this city was occupied by famous preachers in this and the following century; the sermons of 'Abd al-Raḥīm al-Qushairī († 524) delivered here led to riots between the Ash'arites, whose cause he supported, and the Ḥanbalites, in consequence of which the preacher was exiled to Nisabur (Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane, Paris, 1842–71, ii. 154). The arrival in Baghdād of powerful preachers belonging to these respective sects is recorded by Ibn al-Athīr for the year 516; the sermons of the Ash'arite were attended by the Khalīfah himself, who presented him with the headship of one of the royal monasteries. For the middle of the 6th cent. we possess a volume of sermons by the famous Ṣūfī, 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī († 561), called *al-Fatḥ al-Rabbānī* (Cairo, 1302), some of whose discourses are also incorporated in the biography of him called *Bahjat al-Asrār* (Cairo, 1304); they were delivered on various days of the week, chiefly Sundays, Tuesdays, and Fridays (before the mid-day service) in different buildings of Baghdād, and would generally occupy about five minutes. They are in ordinary prose, but undoubtedly eloquent and spiritual; he claimed to have made 500 converts to Islām, and to have reformed more than 100,000 criminals (D. S. Margoliouth, 'Contributions to the Biography of 'Abd al-Qadir,' *JRAS*, 1907, p. 304). His personal character appears, however, to have left something to be desired, and it is to be observed that the authors of the *Maqāmaḥs* (a word which properly means 'addresses' or 'sermons') place affecting homilies in the mouths of notorious evil-livers; and the success of the historical preachers at times led to their amassing great fortunes and maintaining *ḥarīms* of a colossal size. The traveller Ibn Jubair, who visited Baghdād in 580 A.H., notices the preaching of Baghdād as its one favourable characteristic:

> 'Scarcely a Friday passes without a discourse by a preacher, and those among the inhabitants who are specially favoured pass their whole time in meetings where such are delivered' (ed. de Goeje, p. 219). He describes a Friday service at the Nizāmiyyah College, where after the mid-day prayer the shaikh Qazwīnī ascended the pulpit; chairs were placed in front of him for the Qur'ān-readers, who chanted elaborately, after which the shaikh delivered a powerful discourse; questions were then addressed him on strips of paper and he replied forthwith to every one. The historian Jamāl al-din Ibn al-Jauzi held services at this time every Saturday, and his eloquence also greatly impressed the traveller. The results were similar to the phenomena at times seen at revivalist meetings; many in the congregation sobbed and fainted, and crowds of penitents thronged to touch the preacher. 'It would have been worth while to cross the sea to hear one of these sermons' (p. 222). On Thursdays this preacher's gatherings were held in a private court of the palace, from which the Khalīfah and his family could hear them. The text was a verse of the Qur'ān which ended in *nās*, and the preacher maintained this rhyme throughout his discourse. Into the sermon he introduced compliments to the Khalīfah and his mother and prayers for them; he further recited many verses, some encomia on the sovereign, others of the Ṣūfī erotic style, which affected the audience powerfully.

This anecdote is of interest as indicating that the difficult artifice which characterized the

sermon was at the time unusual; we find it practised in a volume of sermons by a preacher of the 8th cent., Shu'aib al-Ḥuraifish († 801; *Al-Rauḍ al-fa'iq*, Cairo, 1280), which closely resemble the style which affected Ibn Jubair so vehemently. These are interspersed with erotic verses or hymns, which appear to be the preacher's own compositions, and are much more lengthy than the sermons of 'Abd al-Qādir; the time which their delivery would occupy is probably from twenty minutes to half-an-hour, or in some cases considerably more. They are clearly intended to work on the feelings of the audience, and to produce something resembling ecstasy. The narratives introduced are highly imaginative, though they are often attached to historical names.

The style which has prevailed since seems to resemble that of Ibn Nubātah more nearly, when his discourses are not actually reproduced. A collection published in Damascus in 1909 by Muḥammad al-Qāsimī contains sermons extracted from volumes of the years 653, 772, 873, and 1079 A.H., intended to be delivered at the Friday service and on the feast-days; the time which they occupy rarely exceeds five minutes; the continuous rhyme is carried on through the opening sentences, but does not usually extend beyond the first third of the sermon. The *Majālis* of the official preacher of Baghdād, Ālūsī-Zādah (*Ghāliyat al-Mawā'iz*, Cairo, 1911), resemble in length and to some extent in artifice those of Ḥuraifish; the verses introduced are not, it would seem, original. It is said that the Islāmic preachers have in places where there are Christian missions modified their theory of the sermon in order to provide something as attractive as the Christian discourses; the reproduction of Ibn Nubātah has had to give way to a style more closely related to the spiritual needs of the time.

LITERATURE.—This has been cited throughout the article.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

PRECEPTS (Buddhist).—The early Buddhists had very naturally quite a number of injunctions, precepts, short sentences on ethics or conduct, popular texts, or short verses current in the community. European writers call these 'precepts.' The Pāli word thus rendered is usually *sikkhā-pada*. *Sikkhā* is 'training'; *pada* is ambiguous, meaning either 'foot-step' or 'quarter verse,' and both meanings were called up by the word. Hence *sikkhā-pada* is either 'first steps in self-training' or 'textlets of training.' The basic idea is an influence from within, not an injunction or command from without.

An anecdote will show how such rules were looked upon by the new community. There came to the Buddha a *bhikkhu* of the sons of the Vajjians, and he said: 'Lord, it is more than a hundred and fifty precepts that are intoned to us every fortnight. I cannot, Lord, train myself in all these!' 'Could you train yourself, brother, in three—the higher morality, the higher intelligence, the higher wisdom?' was the reply. He said that he could. And he did. And thereby he put away lust, ill-will, and stupidity (*i.e.* reached *nirvāṇa*), and all the lesser matters were gained at once.[1] So also it is related of the Buddha that on his death-bed he told the order that they could revoke, if they chose to do so, all the minor and subsidiary precepts.[2]

In both of these cases the 'precepts' are for full members of the order. Another group consists of ten precepts for novices. It is often referred to in European books, but is found as a group only in the latest portions of the *Nikāyas*[3] and in the *Vinaya* (i. 83). In this group the novice takes upon himself in succession ten precepts. These are: (1) not to destroy any living thing, (2) not to steal, (3) to be celibate, (4) not to lie, (5) to abstain from strong drink, (6) not to eat save at the right time, (7) not to frequent variety shows with dances, songs, and music,[1] (8) not to wear garlands or to use perfumes, (9) not to use luxurious beds, (10) not to receive gold or silver. Each of the ten occurs in different groups and in different order in earlier parts of the Canon—eight of them, *e.g.*, in a different order, in the *Sutta Nipata*, one of the earliest documents.[2] But the above are the number and order that have survived in the use of all those Buddhist communities which adhere to the older tradition. It should be added that no one of them is exclusively Buddhist. What is Buddhist is the selecting—the omission, *e.g.*, of any precept as to obedience, or as to belief in any particular doctrine. But we need not here make any comparison between this list of 'first steps for the Buddhist novice' and similar lists for the novice in European or non-Buddhist Indian orders.

Of the many moral precepts for the use of ordinary Buddhists, not members of the order, it will be sufficient to refer to the well-known *Dhamma-pada*, an anthology of such precepts in verse gathered from the extant early books and other sources now lost. They are there arranged in groups of about 20 verses each on 26 selected subjects. Where the verses deal with ideas that are common ground to ethical teachers in Europe and India, the versions are easily intelligible and often appeal strongly to the Western sense of religious beauty. Where any verse is based on the technical terms of the Buddhist system of self-culture and self-control, none of the numerous translations is able to convey the real sense of the Pāli. The best translation is by Sīlāchāra.

There is a pretty custom that was current from very early times among the Buddhists in India, and is still current in Ceylon, Burma, and Siam. A layman (or laywoman), moved by some religious influence or emotion, will formally 'take upon himself,' for some definite period, the observance of the first five of the above ten precepts for novices. This is done by kneeling with clasped hands before a member of the order, and solemnly repeating after him, usually in Pāli, the words of each of the five precepts. This is called in Ceylon 'taking *pan-sil*,' *i.e.* taking the five moral precepts. It is not known when or where the custom originated.

LITERATURE.—*Aṅguttara Nikāya*, ed. R. Morris, E. Hardy, and C. A. F. Rhys Davids, PTS, 1885–1910; T. W. Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, Oxford, 1899–1910, *Buddhism*[22], London, 1910; *Khuddaka Pāṭha*, ed. H. Smith, PTS, 1915; *Vinaya Piṭaka*, ed. H. Oldenberg, London, 1879–83; *Dhamma-pada*, ed. Sūriyagoḍa, PTS, 1916, tr. Sīlāchāra, London, Buddhist Society, 1915.

T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

PRECEPTS (Christian).—See COUNSELS AND PRECEPTS.

PRECIOUS STONES.—The first difficulty in considering the opinions of earlier times regarding gems is that of realizing the standpoint before modern chemistry had revealed the nature of matter. Only 140 years ago the editor of Theophrastus, Sir John Hill, was publishing entirely futile classifications, lumping together as varieties of sapphire such different materials as ruby, topaz, emerald, hyacinth, garnet, carbuncle, amethyst, chrysolite, and prase, and assigning the mixture which caused the colours of each, because 'we know the ingredients which give their colour by experiments in colouring glass' (*Theophrastus's History of Stones*, London, 1774, p. 286). Long classifying of spars and earths follows, which has no more reality than the epicycles of planets. All this was an advance on Pliny and earlier observers, yet it has been extinguished by modern chemistry,

[1] *Aṅguttara*, i. 230; cf. *Saṃyutta*, iv. 251.
[2] Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, ii. 171.
[3] *E.g.*, *Khuddaka Pāṭha*, 1.

[1] This is sometimes rendered 'concerts or plays'—wrongly for at that time in India they did not exist. See Rhys Davids *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i. 7, note 4.
[2] See Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*[22], p. 139.

so that we can hardly realize the ancient confusion of thought. To understand the ancients we must set aside all chemical ideas, and regard stones only in their colour and hardness. Such a position must confound together materials entirely different, and divide identical substances which differ in colour. Thus the Egyptians had but one word, *mafkat*, for turquoise and malachite, a phosphate of alumina and carbonate of copper.

The questions about the ancient names and their modern equivalents are difficult to settle owing to the confusion of substances which look alike. The actual ancient usage of materials must be the guide, as it is impossible to connect with ancient names any gems that were then unknown. For the equivalents of the Biblical names see art. 'Stones, Precious,' in *HDB*.

1. Egypt.—In Egypt several stones are named anciently with specimens, and some others are named as the material for amulets which are regularly of one material. Thus we can be certain of *sef*, white quartz; *sef tahen*, amethyst; *khenem*, red jasper, or sard; *hersed*, carnelian; *khesdeb*, lazuli; *qesonkh*, a variety of lazuli; *nemehen*, jade; *qo* or *qada*, hæmatite; *neshen* or *mafkat neshen*, green felspar and beryl; *mafkat* of Syria, malachite; *mafkat* of Amen, turquoise; the last two may be perhaps reversed. The use of some stones was almost constant for certain amulets—carnelian or sard for the leg, hand, name-badge, and serpent-head; jasper, or imitation in red glass, for the girdle of Isis and the sacrificial cow; diorite for clothing; green felspar or beryl for the papyrus sceptre and the writing tablet; lazuli for figures of goddesses and the cartouche; hæmatite for the head-rest, square and level; obsidian for the double feather and *sma* sign of union. The reasons for such usage can be guessed in some cases: the green stones symbolized verdure and growth; the red jasper is called 'the blood of Isis'; the weighty hæmatite is for the repose of sleep or of levelled building; the flesh-coloured carnelian for the hand and leg. Some of these amulets are ordered to be made of such materials in the directions in the *Book of the Dead*.

2. Italy.—Italy is the land of which we know most regarding amulets, anciently from Pliny, recently from Bellucci. The ancient ideas attaching to stones are: diamond for poison or delirium; hæmatite for success in petitions or to reveal treachery; siderites (black hæmatite or meteorite) to cause discord in law-suits; brown hydrous oxide of iron (limonite) for pregnancy; quartz crystal for parturition; amethyst and emerald for intoxication, against spells, hail, and locusts, and for access to kings; agate against scorpions; jasper for public speaking; blood jasper for invisibility; black jasper for taking cities and fleets; yellow quartz against jaundice; amianthus against spells; serpentine against headache and serpent-bites; white steatite for increase of milk; malachite for preserving infants; amber for throat affections, and against fevers; ammonite for prophetic dreams.

In modern Italy pyrites is used to preserve the eyes; red hæmatite stops bleeding; black hæmatite is for the evil eye; limonite for pregnancy; sapphire is for headache, and promotes contentment; quartz crystal for evil eye; white chalcedony for milk; red chalcedony for bleeding; agate eyestone for evil eye; blood jasper to stop bleeding; black jasper against lightning; staurolite against witchery; nephrite for kidney disease; garnet for widows, and comfort in misfortune; serpentine against reptiles; malachite for the evil eye; dendrite against venom; selenite for increase of milk; amber against witchery; white coral for increase of milk; red coral for menstruation and evil eye; madrepore against witchery and worms. Obviously the use of a large part of these is due to 'sympathetic magic,' or, as it may better be called, 'the doctrine of similars.' A considerable revival of fancy beliefs about gems has occurred in recent times among the ignorant and superstitious of wealthy classes in Europe and America. There is little or nothing collected as to traditional beliefs about stones in other lands outside of Italy.

3. Motives for use of gems.—An examination of subjects engraved upon gems throws some light on the purposes for which they were worn. For this inquiry the number of occurrences of a subject in Furtwängler's great catalogue may be taken, supplemented by a few published in Petrie's *Amulets*.

Strength and love seem to have been the great motives, Herakles and Eros each occurring 173 times. Far below these come wisdom, with 75 of Athene and Minerva; Seilenos (66) for good living; Hermes and Mercury (63) for trade; Apollo (61) for music; and Daimon (53) for propitiation of evil; Dionysos (53) for mysteries; Nike and Victory (53) come next; and, strangely, Aphrodite comes as low as 52. Of the lesser classes are Gorgoneia and Medusa (45), Psyche (31), Artemis (29), Mænad and Bacchantes (28), Bes (18), Siren (17), Zeus (16), Perseus (15), Isis (14), Nereid (14), Ares and Mars (13), Bonus Eventus (11), Serapis (11), Pan (10), Nemesis (9), Cerberus (8), Eos (6), Harpocrates (6), Helios (5), Leda (5), Fortuna (5), Tyche (5), Asklepios (4), Dioscuri (4), Triton (4), Ganymede (4), Hephaistos (3), Hera (3), Hekate (3), Agathodaimon (3), lion-headed serpent (3), Ceres (2), Abundantia (2), Europa (2), Thanatos (2), and one each Adonis, Orpheus, Osiris, Anubis, and Set.

It is surprising how popular some deities were, nine surpassing Aphrodite; while Zeus, Asklepios, Fortuna, and Ceres were strangely neglected.

LITERATURE.—Pliny, *HN*; G. Bellucci, *Amuleti italiani contemporanei; Catalogo della collezione*, etc., Perugia, 1898, *Gli Amuleti*, do. 1908, *Il Feticismo primitivo in Italia*, do. 1907; A. Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen*, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1906; W. M. F. Petrie, *Amulets*, London, 1914.

W. M. F. PETRIE.

PREDESTINATION.—I. *IDEA AND PARTS.*

—1. Idea. — The idea of predestination bulks largely in the history of religious thought. Recently it has grown in interest. It has come down to us in two connotations, the one more strictly theological, the other more purely philosophical; and in both references severer definition demonstrates the reasonableness of its essential truth.

(*a*) As a technical term in theology the word stands for that voluntary act of the divine will whereby God predetermines or foreordains whatsoever comes to pass, and in particular the destinies of the good and evil.[1] The inclusion of the reprobation of the wicked has lent the term an ill savour. Shorn of this part, the dogma remains, the divergences of the schools in other points appearing less firm under the pressing practical and social needs of the modern Church. The predominant tendency is to identify this, the redemptive, aspect of predestination with election (*q.v.*), and to use the three terms—'predestination,' 'foreordination,' 'election'—as synonyms.

(*b*) In its philosophical character the word stands for a conception much more comprehensive and profound, viz. that original all-inclusive definite purpose of God and act of His all-holy will to manifest His glory in self-revelation, which self-revelation takes effect by stages in time, appearing not only in redemption, but in creation and providence as well. Here the idea is not given immediately in experience, but emerges in reflexion upon it and has in consequence to vindicate its rational validity. It has won favour under the ægis of the modern discipline of the philosophy of religion, its subject-matter furnishing one of the indispensable problems of that important science, where its claims are strengthened by several currents of the deeper thought of the age,

[1] The *Westminster Confession* used 'predestination' only 'to eternal life,' 'foreordination' 'to eternal death.'

the philosophy of nature and of history, comparative religion, the higher mysticism, man's tragic experience of life. The history of theism, moreover, shows predestinarianism to be an invariable concomitant of that form of religious thought, and to be as fundamental to theism as its other features. As theistic reconstruction proceeds, the idea of predestination correspondingly gains.

Note on the term.—The term 'predestination' has long been in disrepute, and for three reasons: etymologically it is unscriptural, theologically it is depraved in meaning, and philosophically it is not sufficiently distinctive. The word is not in the Bible. The verb and noun come from the Patristic period; the verb through the Vulgate won its way hesitatingly into the AV; in the RV its place is taken by 'foreordain.' The Latin *predestinare* translates the Greek προορίζειν—a better translation is *præfinire*. Then, in meaning, two declensions have occurred: προορίζειν does not include 'reprobation,' while *predestinare* has come to include it; on the other hand, popularly the term has lost the larger reference to the totality of divine self-revelation other than that in redemption. Further, the speculative understanding finds the theological controversial taint of the term repugnant, and prefers to argue for the idea under other names.

Is this disparagement wise? Three considerations may help to a negative answer. (1) Both Hebrew Wisdom and Christian theology worked out a large conception of God's relation to the world and to man as part of the world, which it was found difficult to embody in a single word. Accordingly, in both developments there occur a number of terms each of which conveys some special *nuance* of the general idea, for that is how the religious consciousness works. The philosophic consciousness, on the other hand, desiderates a term for the idea in its largest breadth; that is its nature. In Hebrew probably the nearest equivalent is יָעַץ. In Greek in the NT there is none; hence Patristic thought coined 'predestination' precisely as in the case of another doctrine, that of the Person of Christ, is coined ὁμοούσιος.

(2) If 'foreordination' be interpreted in a purely religious sense as the equivalent of election, referring to man's salvation from sin by grace, then it is not adequate to the whole idea intended in 'predestination.' God gathered His own in His electing will; but He has other activities in creation and providence, and, if these have a relation to redemption, they also have independent relations to God and each other, and, as such, have their ground in the divine will—a fact unrecognized in 'foreordination,' which, even if it be of wider compass than 'election,' embracing the reference of the divine predetermination of the works of creation and providence to that of redemption as its preparatory stages, is still inadequate to the whole idea of 'predestination.'

(3) The philosophical demand for stricter definition is not due simply to prejudice; there is a real need in the interests of truth to separate clearly the facts of religious experience from inferences deducible from them. The speculative impulse and the religious instinct move in different spheres and speak best each in its own tongue. The above contention is corroborated by the history of predestinarianism. The three greatest protagonists are St. Augustine, Calvin, and Jonathan Edwards (*qq.v.*). The special worth of these three is to have combined in an unusual degree the religious and intellectual powers; they all feel the need of this term 'predestination.' It is noteworthy in this connexion that, in those forms of pure philosophy in which the spiritual aspect of existence has justice done to it, idealism becomes predestinationism—as, *e.g.*, in the German succession from Kant, through Schelling and Krause, to Lotze; and that those forms of theology in which philosophy finds a constituent place exhibit the same tendency—as, *e.g.*, in the theosophy of F. X. von Baader[1] or the ethics of R. Rothe.[2]

2. Parts.—The predestination idea comprises two parts: (*a*) prescience, and (*b*) prevenience.

(*a*) *Prescience.*—'Foreknowledge' (πρόγνωσις) is a necessity of God's omniscience. It is involved in His knowledge of Himself and of His own will, and the immutability of His knowledge; for He sees all things future in the mirror of His will, and has never at any time been ignorant of what He was to do and what would be the consequences. Foreknowledge of the actions of free agents has sometimes been excluded from the idea of God's omniscience on the ground of its alleged inconsistency with human freedom,[3] and indeed the difficulty of explaining how actions are free yet ordained has never been solved. But that God has perfect foreknowledge of all events and that man has free agency, implied in moral responsibility, are truths supported by sufficient and appropriate evidence, although we may not be able to compose their harmony until our knowledge is such as God has. His foresight need not lessen man's freedom, if freedom be understood not as simple self-will, but as the growing faculty of co-operating with the divine purpose. That purpose is working out a higher thing than can be wrought between precise forecast and exact fulfilment; it is rather the evolution of men's free intellectual and emotional life, adapting them to their environment and improving their conditions. We can conceive of God influencing His whole creation in this way, persuading every grade of living things to assimilate more and more of His life-force, and go forward in the full tide of progress, while they are still free to close their pores, so to say, to His wisdom and life that encircle them as an atmosphere.

Such a purpose etches itself out against a background of much that seems purposeless, where much happens that is not His will but the will of an autonomous creature not yet won by His persuasive agency. As the divine knowledge is intuitive, not inferential, free, not necessitated, we are bound to assign to it the prescience of all things and all relations of things, of all actions and all conditions of actions.[1]

(*b*) *Prevenience.*—Again, the premotion[2] of God is a necessity of His omnipotence. Predestination is no mere idea in God—not simply His resolve to enter on modes of self-revealing activity; it is also action creative of creaturely destinies and productive of His eternal purpose; it is the actual acting upon His resolve, action whereby He is the immanent spirit in all nature, history, life. We note, further, that God's prescience and prevenience exclude the deistic and naturalistic formulations of His relation to the world, since both deny His active presence in it, as certainly as they exclude the pantheistic formulation which regards the world as illusion, emanation, or self-evolution of God. Thus it will be seen that in the predestination idea lies the thought that all the works of God form one whole and move to one goal, that all find their ground in His attributes, their cause in His will, that all are the issue of one presupposition in the divine nature. How do we affirm this? Religious experience postulates it as the basis of its certainty (predestination in redemption); philosophical reflexion postulates it as the integral ground of its view of the world and man's history (predestination in creation and providence). The word 'predestination' sums up both postulates and witnesses to secret affinities between the natural and revealed wills of God, wherein the realities both of reason and of faith find their ultimate reconciliation.

II. *SOURCE AND ISSUES.*—**1. Source.**—Here two points require to be noted. Predestination has its origin in the divine nature alone, and there alone in the divine attributes. God's act of resolving to enter upon the various modes of His self-revealing activity is a free yet responsible act

[1] *Spekulative Dogmatik*, pt. i., Stuttgart, 1828, pts. ii.–v., Münster, 1830–38.

[2] *Theologische Ethik*, 5 vols., Wittenberg, 1867–71. For this and the above English readers may consult O. Pfleiderer, *The Philosophy of Religion*, London, 1886–88, vols. i.–iv.

[3] *E.g.*, by the Socinians, Rothe, Martensen, etc.

[1] This excludes the celebrated distinction of *scientia media*, the proper discussion of which falls in connexion with the divine omniscience. It was invented by the Jesuits, defended and propagated by the Molinists, assailed by the Spanish Dominicans, and at a conference in Rome convened by Pope Clement VIII. was condemned. The agitation continued. The Arminians of Holland spread the view among the Reformers. In England it spread widely in the 16th century (see J. Strang, *De Voluntate et Actionibus Dei circa peccatum*, Amsterdam, 1657). The hypothesis of *scientia media* is untenable. There can be no such intermediate knowledge, all knowledge being either necessary or free. Again, as inferential knowledge it cannot worthily be ascribed to God, whose knowledge is intuitive. He knows all the relations of things, but does not reason out those relations in the act of knowing.

[2] The favourite term in Scholasticism for 'prevenience.' St Thomas Aquinas discusses it with fullness. Cf. also the controversy of Malebranche with Boursier.

to which He is determined by nothing outside of Himself, or alien to His nature, and by nothing in the way of an internal necessity of His being, or of any defect in His being, except the insistence of His own gracious character and good pleasure. There is no life outside the divine life. The life of God is inclusive of all life. It is a life with Himself alone and within Himself alone. In the vastest area of being there are no reaches beyond His boundless being or beyond the causation and control of His will. The whole actual and possible universe is at the last a monistic system, centring in a single truth to which everything in it may be referred. That truth is the one and absolute Being, who comprehends all being, the substance of all existence, God. God thus is not one side by side with others, whether like Him or unlike, co-equal or prepotent, relationship with whom He is bound to recognize and consider in His own action. He is God; and 'beside Him there is none other.' To be Himself is the sublimest glory conceivable. To go forth continually in self-manifestation is His constant good pleasure or will. Such a Being, overflowing with the sense of His beauty and infinite blessedness, must communicate Himself in love in every form and degree possible through which the features of His life may shine. His self-exhibition and self-communication are the only and original necessities of His action, and these reside in His own nature.

From that fact it follows that those original necessities operate in accord with the divine attributes and with nothing else—power, justice, wisdom, holiness, love. God is not all-powerful in the sense that He can do anything. He does what He likes, but He likes only what is according to His character, that which is true, just, holy. There can be no caprice in His action, for His will learns from His wisdom and works out what is just. His power is at the service of an idea which gives to His endeavour stability and worth. There can be no question here of His predetermining any thing or person to what is contrary to His character. The attributes of God, since they alone regulate His action, are the basal principles of existence and the supreme categories of thought, which takes origin in their exercise. All finite existences through which He designs to manifest and to bestow His life, founded in the qualities of His nature, find their real principles, their *ratio essendi*, there, and represent each one or more of those divine qualities. All life is rooted in the divine Being, is in Him an organic whole, and includes the life of nature, of history, of humanity, in which He displays His power, wisdom, righteousness, truth, goodness, and love, and no attributes opposed to these. All these lives are independent unities within their own spheres, yet related to one another in the all-embracing whole, which is neither identical with God nor separate from Him, but in which He is so present (and it in Him) that He is not merely the cause of it and all its parts, but is its and their immanent and active ground, so that they truly appear as His finite expression and image through a series of ascending stages in an organic process which tends to His honour and glory.

2. Issues.—Such is the divine design. The method of accomplishing it science and philosophy unfold. To their investigation nature, history, and man are all separate if related economies, susceptible of distinctive analysis—a task to which the modern spirit has addressed itself with eagerness. Here we are concerned only with an inductive generalization of broad results. These would appear to be three: (1) God works towards an end through means; (2) He employs means in a graded succession in time; (3) the character of the end displays the principle of the whole and motives the effort of progress towards it. If these results be kept in view, we shall be led in the path of a true theism and a right predestination. The universal dualism deeply seated in the entire constitution of things cannot be denied; it raises the problems. There are speculative systems that easily set it aside, in the way of logic joining opposites that are held to be originally one; but by such logical redemption no strength is given to human thought or moral aims. Theistic monism cannot thus proceed; it must show the dualism overcome in the way of historical fact and moral process, such that God is seen to be all in all, realizing Himself in His attributes in finite forms through the free play and independent life of their internal forces.[1] The steps of the proof are clear. The physical creation, operating freely within limits imposed only by its own material, is an orderly system working out its special end in man. Man is the living synthesis of nature, which in all its parts prefigures him, and in its functions aspires to what is only satisfied in him. History is characterized by the same independent interplay of all her forces and moves on under laws which reduce the acts of the countless conscious subjects who make events to a world of order, the progress of which is the evolution of the spiritual man. Man himself, granted that he is by nature a divided and complex being, is nevertheless in the healthy personality one. Aim, will, resolve, make him a complete unit; as mind or will he is a whole; and the more he advances in intelligence and ethical power, the better he is fulfilling the ideal of his own life, and responding to the preparatory movements beneath the human sphere which have gradually disclosed it. Humanity is thus the final cause of the world, history, human nature. Now, as it belongs to the nature of God to actualize Himself in humanity, the human spirit, as it descends into the depths of its own being, recognizes itself to be divine in principle. The perfect consciousness of this we see in Christ, and owe to Him. He made known to man his inborn divinity. His incarnation exhibits the unity of the divine and human. That consciousness comes first in a single individual, in isolated form, a present divine fact, serving to stimulate the human spirit to new life. The last consideration is of the highest importance. It contradicts all ideas which resolve the revelation of God in Christ into a general fact belonging to the phenomenology of spirit, and implies the personal God communicating Himself in dynamic force in positive historical form. Man has not grown into the consciousness of his own divinity; it has been revealed to him. Revelation is not simply an extension of the knowledge of God; it brings in an actual economy of grace as actively employed in the redeeming of men. Only by a sum of saving acts, unfolding His mind and will, can the living God become fully unveiled. In this sense Christianity alone is the revelation of God's redemptive love, since the whole person of Christ—His words, works, death, resurrection, exaltation—serves to bring into actual view the will of God as concerned in the salvation of men. Not through Christ merely, but in Him, in the undivided whole of His personality and history, as 'Head over all things to the Church,' God was reconciling the world to Himself. The Christological element leads us to regard the will of God for our salvation not as abstract, but as personal and positive in His Son. That, however, could not have happened haphazard in the divine mind; as it was essential

[1] The first thinker clearly to expound this position was the Italian G. B. Vico; cf. his 'La scienza nuova,' in *Opere*, ed. G. Ferrari, Milan, 1835–37; R. Flint, *Vico*, in Blackwood's 'Philosophical Classics,' Edinburgh, 1884.

to the setting forth of His glory, it was 'before the foundation of the world,' by His determinate counsel; and it determined the foundation of the world and the subsequent fortunes of all therein. Predestination is by the will of God, in an organic process,[1] in Christ who is its primal and final principle.

III. *SIGNIFICANCE.*—**1. For the idea of God.**—The predestination idea safeguards three factors in the relation of God to the world: (*a*) His free agency and responsibility in His activities, (*b*) His co-operation with His creatures in their true life, and (*c*) His efficiency in the fulfilment of His purpose.

(*a*) *Arbitrariness* has been associated with God's predestination. Yet predestination forbids arbitrary caprice on His part. The great advocates of its truth know nothing of arbitrary acts of God. The acts of God, they argue, are consistent with the character of God; the nature of God is prior to His laws, and His nature and character are of the absolute and perfect good. *Inscrutability* has been associated with predestination, as a cover for any injustice that may emerge in its issues. Now, while on any theory of the universe the last reasons of the constitution and course of things must always be sought for in the council of an eternal wisdom which it is beyond our capacity to fathom, and therefore inscrutable, in the inscrutability there can be no injustice or partiality; for those reasons are the outcome of an eternal wisdom, righteousness, love. God's action here can never be that of a selfish man. He acts according to His glory, which cannot be dissociated from His nature as absolute good. In that character His moral perfection implies an absence of arbitrary or unjust act. *Indeterminism* has been associated with predestination. But God cannot act as an indeterminate power. He is intrinsically and necessarily good—not by necessity, but freely, because He wills the freedom which lends His action its ethical character. The necessity which keeps Him from evil is moral—conformity to love, goodness, holiness.

In contradistinction from these, the divine predestination is an act of *sovereignty*, in the exercise of which God shows only mercy and goodness. Sovereignty is not simple supremacy; it is the sphere of divine freedom whence issues only blessing,[2] for there divine procedure is not limited by considerations of man's excellences or sins.

(*b*) God's blessing us is His co-operation with us to cultivate in us His life. As in Him, so in man, true life is attained by a combination of necessity and freedom. Man everywhere, as he ascends in intelligence, is inwardly conscious that He is able to do right. He is also convinced that God is on the side of the right. The tendency to excellency of life indicates God's will. It grows in man by his response which he makes in his freedom as he directs himself more perfectly towards God. Yet it is not simply by his desire and aspiration and the efforts born of these that he ascends, but also by their satisfaction in the answering care and recreative energy of creative love. These experiences point to the transcendent truth that creation was with God from all time, came from God, is in part turning of its own will towards God, is in part ever turning more and more consciously towards Him, and becomes at last completely, self-consciously, at one with God in will—the doctrine of the Logos, the hope of the eschatologist, the dream of the mystic.

(*c*) Is it but a hope and a dream? Can God's purpose fail? Our conception of *omnipotence* must be modelled on what we know of finite power, though not limited by it. In our experience the secret of power lies in the ability to conceive the end in view and to regulate action towards that end. Those are not absent from God. For the creation of the finite He is responsible. He has chosen to create it not a passive thing, but a life with a way of its own. Why should we not believe that it is only the possibility, not the actuality, of evil that is necessary? If the end which God has in view is a form of life produced by the ability to co-operate with or to resist Him, it must be part of His omnipotence to be able to give the ability to resist Him. The resistance would be evil. In so far the Creator is responsible for the possibility of evil and its attendant risks. On the other hand, the divine prescience cannot be conceived as dim or vague, or the divine blessedness as uncertainly fluctuating with the uncertainties of men's choices, as Calvin asks, 'How can the contingent affect the First Cause on which it entirely depends?' The possibility of future failure on His part must, therefore, be limited. God must be credited with provision against the results of all possible disaster. Is not fatherhood the best symbol of omnipotence? His creation must not finish in itself, but must go on to recreation—a consummation visible in Christ and Christian humanity, in whom 'the whole world is reconciled to God.'

God, then, has willed all men to be saved. He has predestinated all men and things in His Son. Creation is prelude to incarnation, and was never designed to furnish occasion for irreformable sinners. In the foreordination as in the judgment God might say, 'I never knew you sinners.' He has contemplated all in Christ; He has foreknown all in Christ; He has loved all in Christ; He has elected all in Christ; and by the one same act. He has taken every possible means to fulfil that act with success. Through creation, history, redemption, He has gradually exhibited and communicated His life to men, to raise men to its likeness step by step. Respecting his liberty God forces no man, yet presciently and preveniently seeks to persuade men. He reserves also the right to intervene by His omniscience and omnipotence in order to avert thoroughgoing disaster. Both courses He takes in the exercise of His sovereignty, which is the field of His freedom. That 'preferential action'[1] of His can fail only if the infinite resourcefulness of His nature fails—a result inconceivable.[2]

2. For the idea of man.—The predestination idea yields two precious assurances for man's conviction along with a grave warning: (*a*) the certainty of his practical freedom of will, (*b*) the ability to attain his destiny, (*c*) the fact of failure as both possible and permissible.

(*a*) *Necessity* has been associated with predestination. The problem that it raises is perennial. Its reproach no system can roll away from itself. As the divine Being is a harmony of necessity and freedom, so they run through all His handiwork inclusive of man's life. In themselves they are not antitheses, and they are but crudely conceived when opposed. A theistic predestination excludes their opposition and leaves the vindication of necessitarianism to 'the wisdom of this world' as in materialism and idealism—in men of science like Huxley, Spencer, etc., in men of speculative idealism like Hegel and others more pronouncedly pantheist, who assert that they see in all things the working out of an eternal necessity. Philo-

[1] The first philosopher clearly to recognize the organic process of the divine purpose was St. Augustine.

[2] Calvin terms the opposed doctrine 'frigid and jejune' (*Inst.* i. 16. 1).

[1] Martineau's phrase.

[2] The foregoing excludes three positions: (*a*) the notion that God predestinates fixed numbers, (*b*) the notion that God predestinates to evil, and (*c*) the notion that God predestinates 'by permission,' eternal consequences of evil.

sophers of the type of Schelling, Lotze, and others are truer guides. History, they urge, is characterized by a union of freedom and necessity, the product of a freedom somehow pervaded by necessity, composed of the acts of countless conscious subjects which yet form a world of order.[1] How can this be?, they ask. Only through the operation of a principle superior to both in which they are one—God. History is the evolution of that principle. It reveals itself through the free play of individual wills, and could not be were those wills not free so that they are fellow-workers with it. Free will is incapable of rigid objective presentation; it is best exhibited by a process corresponding to the development of freedom itself. What is freedom? It is only in terms of experience that it can have any meaning at all. So with necessity. They are two constantly alternating poles of our experience. The only solution is a repeated appeal to the subject. The freedom which we at once oppose to and collate with necessity is subordinate to the higher freedom of consciousness on which the distinction rests. Thus modern psychology. In the metaphysical reference the difficulties arising from finite freedom may be met by the contention that, while the total possibilities, however far back we go, are fixed, yet within these, however far forward we go, contingencies arise,[2] and the best is reached only by living through the less good.

(*b*) *Fatalism* has been associated with predestination. Calvinism is alleged to be specially chargeable with the error in Christian times. Unquestionably paganism furnishes abundant traces. The popular misunderstanding of foreordination is fate. Predestination, however, is not fate. Fate is a conception for which there is no foothold in the Christian system. Belief in one's fate or star or fortune is apt to characterize both great men and small, and to prompt both to trust in their strongest qualities, which may not be their best. In so far as a man is possessed by a blind feeling of being an instrument of destiny used by an irresistible force he knows not to what end, his belief is a weakness. It bears no likeness to the Christian idea, which has two features: it makes a man rationally conscious that he has a mission to accomplish, and it impels him when he learns the divine will to be humbly submissive to its dictates. 'I will do God's will and what I choose,' said General Gordon. The Calvinistic 'fate' is incentive to heroic effort, a challenge to play the man. God's predestinations are moral inspirations.[3] What God ordains man realizes. Yet withal there is more. Calvinism in its severer aspect embodies something additional. It is often neglected in Christian thought; it was seldom absent from the pre-Christian conscience. In India and Greece, among the old Teutons, in many Christian sects and not a few of the noblest Christian minds it found impressive expression, viz. man's profound sense of the radical obscurity and deep underlying tragedy of human existence—the *Weltschmerz* of modern pessimism. It centres in that suffering in which the subject is victim. It is the tragic mystery of the world, something piteous and fearful; not emergent merely from external forces nor from human acts, not the moral order nor yet a mere fate cruel and indifferent; but something inscrutable and inevitable outside all these which bears on man's life and assails it. It is a demonic force, ready to spring, when circumstances or character or both give occasion, upon its victims to wreak upon them a dire doom, in the drawing down of which motives are nothing, circumstances nothing; the motives may have been aflame with goodness, the circumstances such that any other course was impossible, yet with sharp and swift consequence the stroke descends out of the place where dwell the Nornir (Teutonic), the Hathor (Egyptian), the Erinyes (Greek), the 'divine jealousy' (Hebrew), and all such as 'work woe to mortal man.' It is this almost universal dark instinct more than the Pauline election that is responsible for the horror of much Christian eschatology and Calvinistic gloom; it inheres in the natural man. Early Greek dramas, Shakespeare's tragedies, Maeterlinck's essays, cover a stretch of many centuries and represent widely divergent civilizations, yet in this they are one. It is an insistent sense in all thought which has these two grievous wants: the lack of personality in the Deity and the lack of reality in the world. It is the great merit of Christian thought to remedy both defects and to lift in some measure the awful burden from human hearts. It does so by teaching the unity of the physical and moral spheres, the organic character of all existence in God. It agrees that these spheres do not exhaust the content of reality nor enable us to grasp the depths of being, and so cannot be erected into the working powers of the world or made the complete expression of the divine will. But what is beyond them is not dark, cruel, vengeful, jealous of men, eager to slay, but an order far deeper and richer than that which we know in time and space, where God's will alone abides unchanged and unchangeable, working itself out not only in spite of but even by means of all opposed to it; and it is a will of good to man.

(*c*) Opposition there is. It is vital; so real and serious as, not indeed finally to thwart, yet grievously to hinder, the fulfilment of the divine purpose, and at the same time completely disintegrate its own spirit-power. God cannot fail; individual men may. The forces adverse to Him are autonomous, and the autonomy is real; hence all may not 'work to will and to do of His good pleasure.' His workmanship is not merely mechanical, infallibly realizing His conceptions. He has His conception and also its completion before Him, as every purpose must; but the first has to reach the second not forcibly but freely through the material in which it seeks to be expressed. That material may never move against Him in the mass, but it may in the individual; for the individual is not wholly moved by the mass and may use the energy that is his own at variance with the force of the whole. When this is so, what then? Are there refuges, reservoirs of latent self, for the rebels? The energy of life-force which they misuse, is it transformable? Perhaps; by lapsing into the universal life, there to be re-formed.[1] At any rate, it may utterly fail in its present form.

[1] F. W. J. von Schelling, 'Philosophische Untersuchungen über die menschliche Freiheit,' in *Philosophische Schriften*, Landshut, 1809; R. H. Lotze, *Microcosmos*, Eng. tr., 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1885.

[2] This is Martineau's solution, accepting it from Dugald Stewart; cf. *A Study of Religion*, bk. iii., 'Determinism and Freewill.' It is the position gradually but cogently won through the succession from Kant to Lotze. Science, as distinct from metaphysics, has also in recent years begun to vindicate 'freedom' as rational; with the activistic and vitalistic philosophies of Eucken and Bergson it has entered on a new era. In a recently published letter of more than ordinary interest Bergson writes: 'From all this [the contentions of his three works, *Essay on the immediate Facts of Consciousness*, *Matter and Memory*, and *Creative Evolution*] there clearly emerges the idea of God, Creator and Free; the generator at once of matter and of life, whose creative efforts as regards life are continued through the evolution of species and the constitution of human personalities.'

[3] Cf. J. Orr, *The Progress of Dogma*, London, 1901, lect. i. Calvin and Knox in their treatises strenuously deny that predestination is fate. Sir W. Scott credits Montrose with the ditty:

> 'He either fears his fate too much,
> Or his deserts are small,
> That dares not put it to the touch,
> To gain or lose it all.'

[1] Cf. the Biblical figure of God as 'the potter.'

Individual tragedy is too frequent here to render it improbable or impossible hereafter,[1] unless, within the reaches of the divine resourcefulness and the possibilities of the organic life of the race, there be means of conversion and renewal at which we cannot even guess. Men must 'give all diligence to make their calling and election sure.'

IV. *HISTORY.*—1. Ethnic.—Predestinarian conceptions arise at a certain stage of religious reflexion of necessity; and kindred conceptions are to be found in all religions which have been influenced in their development by speculative thought. Even polytheism adumbrates them in divine personifications of Destiny.

(*a*) *Greek.*—The best instance of this we find in the Greek poets and tragedians, with whom the belief passed through a variety of forms: *φθόνος*, *ἄτη*, *μοῖρα*, *νέμεσις*, *Ἐρινύες*. These are less intellectual solutions of the problem than deifications of experience; and they are remarkably comprehensive. At first, as in Herodotus, Pindar, and Theognis, envy and caprice characterize the Olympic gods in their dealings with men. Men are the restless rivals of the gods, and must be taught their proper place. Occasionally a righteous purpose governs the divine dealings; occasionally also defects of character in men bring on their misfortunes. But such features do not manifest themselves in force till we come to the great themes of Æschylus and Sophocles, whose tone is vastly superior. The caprice of the gods is by them modified in an ethical direction. Personal calamity is a judicial act pronounced by a moral governor on men's follies and crimes. 'Divine Justice displaces the divine Jealousy.'[2] The mental and moral clouding gives way to the notion of events baffling human foresight and so leading to unconscious crimes. Even the dark power of Moira is part of the moral order, designed to incite man to resistance, in making which he may fall, but in his fall he is greater than if he had never met the challenge. Within increasingly broad limits, too, man's freedom is recognized. In Sophocles there is the mature idea that suffering is not always final, but is foreseen in the counsels of the gods as part of the permitted evil which is a condition of a just and harmoniously ordered universe. It is not inconsistent with this that epic poetry gives more prominence to circumstances and external forces in the determining of character; for such is the nature of epic as distinct from drama. Thus there is little justification for the common theory[3] that in the Greek drama everything is foreknown and develops inevitably from the beginning. Tragic fate needs a tragic trait in the victim. Cf. art. FATE (Greek and Roman).

(*b*) *Roman.* — Nothing like the same subtle sensitiveness is found in the Roman early theology. The citizens of Latium and the surrounding parts were a more secular and political race; and destiny with them amounts to little more than a belief in their own genius and the enterprise that renders it effective. The deity Fortuna embodies this faith. Destiny is seldom regarded as personal doom; it is rather racial mission. Nor does it often occur to the Roman thinker to inquire into the origin of the special genius of his people. The metaphysical and ethical implications of the belief were not canvassed. Cf. art. FATE (Greek and Roman).

(*c*) *Teutonic.*—Remarkable is the contrast in the Teutonic idea of destiny. It forms a prime element in an elaborate mythology whose foci are Odin and Urdr, divinity and fate. It is difficult to delimit the respective jurisdictions of these two; but the lion's share of power falls to Urdr (Vyrd). She is the goddess of fate, and also of death—a significant conjunction. She is the dispenser of life and death, with her maids the Norns (arbiters of life) and the Valkyries (arbiters of death), who dwell with her under the world-tree (Ygdrasil), which stands forever green, watered by her gold-cased fountain. The might of Odin standing behind is no relief; he wields a lawless power, with a loveless will. He stands for blind, arbitrary, elemental will—will cut off from wisdom, a brute, blundering, pitiless, eccentric will (with the single bright feature that it chooses the warriors for Valhalla), which surrounds human passion and affection with a tragic cloud against which the heroic figure is shown off. A deep pessimism pervades the Eddas. It is as if the cruel and dismal climate of the North, the huge terror of storm and sea, the high courage of reckless hearts crushed by the irresponse of apathetic deity, were all gathered up in a vast and bitter gloom — that general spirit which for modern understanding has been so powerfully portrayed in the romantic operas of Richard Wagner.[1] Cf. art. DOOM, DOOM-MYTHS (Teutonic).

(*d*) *Indian.* — On a higher plane, turning to ancient India, we find a definite theistic development in the later stages of the *Upaniṣads*, in the *Kāṭhaka* and the *Śvetāśvatara*, where there occurs the clear idea that 'only by the man whom he chooses is God comprehended—to him the *ātman* reveals his essence.' In the Buddhistic teaching prominence is accorded to the law of *karma* (*q.v.*), according to which the soul in its successive transmigrations has each stage irrevocably determined by its conduct in the previous stage—a suggestion of ethical necessitation which even in its fullest expression remains vague. Apart from express teaching, Hindu life and ideas are predominantly fatalistic, unfree, unenergetic. The drama is full of *deus ex machina*; the actors seldom rely on their own will. The religion, largely a ritual, shows the divine wrath ready to burst out on the most trivial occasions and for the most trifling offences.[2] Cf. art. FATE (Hindu).

(*e*) *Chinese.*—In ancient China there is the great law of *Tao*, circumscribing the course of human life in a cosmos of omnipresent order. It overrules the entire animation of the universe in both its aspects of light and darkness, life and death, good and evil. It never deviates or diverges. It metes out justly and equitably to all men, by means of the spirits or gods rewarding the good, by means of the spectres punishing the bad, with perfect impartiality. Blessing comes to those who conform to its laws, hurt to those who violate them. The fear of the spectres is very great; there is an all-pervading demonism, counteractives to which make up a large proportion of Chinese religious practice.[3] The evil spectres may interfere at any moment with human business and fate, favourably or unfavourably. These spectres are the instruments of retributive justice. *Tao* is

[1] Granted this, it follows that the total effect of individual tragic failure hereafter on the whole world-plan may be dealt with as in the case of individual failure in this life's progress. The Creator's method, righting what goes amiss, here may indicate His method in the hereafter. What is that method? Briefly nature's desire is to rid itself of defects; if defects persist, the cause is not in them, but in the progressive organism of life in which they are survivals. But the primal and final plan of God can have no inherent defects.

[2] S. H. Butcher, *Some Aspects of the Greek Genius*[3], London, 1904, p. 109.

[3] Schiller's so-called reproductions of Greek dramas illustrate this popular but erroneous idea.

[1] Cf. on this paragraph V. Rydberg, *Teutonic Mythology*, Eng. tr., London, 1889, §§ 61–64.

[2] P. Deussen, *The Philosophy of the Upanishads*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1906, pp. 172–179. Consult on the subject generally N. McNicol, *The Religious Quest of India; Indian Theism*, Oxford, 1915; Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism* do. 1915.

[3] J. J. M. de Groot, *The Religion of the Chinese*, 4 vols Leyden, 1892, bk. i. p. 935 f., bk. ii. ch. ii.

both the creation and the creator, the motive force of the universe and the free determiner of its agency, spontaneously working from all eternity. His favour, won by obedience to his motions, may be secured by faithful observance of them in the actual movement of the world and life. Having no superior or co-equal, he secures it that human destiny is neither dark nor cruel; it is clear and orderly as himself. Cf. art. FATE (Chinese).

(*f*) *Egyptian.*—In ancient Egypt the moral conditions of character and destiny are similarly conspicuous. Egyptologists are divided as to the characteristics of primitive Egyptian religion, whether they are those of a polytheism or those of a monotheism. But even that school which asserts its polytheistic character agrees that underneath the multiplicity of deities there is always the feeling of their unity; and, whenever that unity is at all recognized, it carries with it the further concept of the spirituality of the divinity in things[1]—a spirituality that is righteousness. The goddess Hathor, the patroness of joy and happiness, is also the cosmic principle, the personification of the great universal power of nature perpetually creating and maintaining all things, great and small; she is further in the judgment a foremost figure on the bench. In 'The Precepts of Khensu-ḥetep' (F. J. Chabas, in *L'Egyptologie*, Paris, 1876–78, ch. vi.) the explicit references to *sekher neter* show a clear and definite idea of divine providence,[2] by whose goodness men subsist. To the supreme being who is thus regarded is attributed at the same time the creation of the world and all things; and, as he is righteous, his plan is righteous. We owe it to this religion that it emphasizes the fact that the guilty suffer, the penalty being exacted at the time of the wrong-doing, not deferred to a later day or generation.[3] Cf. art. FATE (Egyptian).

2. Jewish and Muhammadan.—The OT and NT ideas are given *in extenso* in the art. ELECTION. There all in creation, history, redemption, is referred back to the divine sovereignty. The special features of that relationship as experienced in vital religious activity alone are set forth; the general idea never gets beyond its most general expression. The same speculative reserve characterizes later Jewish thought. Its particular interest is not high; except in the case of individual rabbis, nothing further is ventured than the statement of a comprehensive dependence of all things and all persons on the divine supremacy, and an insistence, always in subordination to God's sovereignty, on man's free will. Intellectual problems are evaded as beyond human solving. Of the Jewish sects in the time of Christ Josephus is responsible for making the Pharisees material predestinationists, the Essenes absolute predestinationists, and the Sadducees hostile to all forms of predestination, since they traced all events to chance. Material predestination limits the divine decree to this material life; an example from *Ḥul.* vii. 6 is to the effect that a man does not hurt his finger in this world unless it has been decreed. It is a peculiarly Judaic idea, and belongs to the main stream of Rabbinic conviction. Other currents represented in Rabbinism are the two familiar to Christian controversy—the one emphasizing man's freedom, the other divine overrule. According to the one, the decision rests with man, whose conduct determines his destiny; the spirit's prime endowment is freedom. According to the other, God directs and foreknows all. A representative utterance is that of R. Akiba (*Ābhōth*, iii. 15): 'All is foreseen yet freedom is granted'—a position whose last eminent apologist was the renowned Maimonides.[1]

Muhammadanism teaches an absolute predestination, to both good and evil, happiness and misery. God is conceived of as absolute will, operating by rigid law, moulding the material by whose instrumentality it works, after the manner of Oriental despotism. Muhammadan philosophers expound it in a more extreme way than it is set forth in the Qur'ān until the doctrine has become practically pernicious. The reaction set in by the Mu'tazilites, who assailed the orthodox view with keenness, made room for free will, but was eventually overcome by orthodoxy.[2] Cf. art. FATE (Muslim).

3. Christian.—Predestination holds a large place in the history of the Christian Church. It has fanned burning controversies, and generated popular fear; it has fostered stern ideals, and moulded strong natures. In its largest sense the finest intellects of the Church have been attracted to it, and those periods that have been most fruitful in reconciling the development of Christian ideas with the growth of culture have been indebted to it above all for inspiration. The epochs of its progress are marked by these periods.

(*a*) *First stage.*—The first stage is signalized by the conflict of the Greek Fathers with Gnosticism, the conquest of the Greek mind by Christian theology. The problems of Gnosticism are in the main two: (1) the nature of the Absolute, and the method whereby He can be the creator of matter, and (2) the origin of evil. The Gnostic solution is found in an endless succession of æons or emanations of the Absolute which serve to span the gulf between Him and creation. Gnosticism, in establishing its theory, had to deny free will. It is a solution metaphysical and necessitarian. The Greek Apologists and Fathers, addressing themselves to the problem, reached a solution ethical and personal. They know nothing of unconditional predestination; they teach free will. Believing in the sovereign efficacy of reason and conscience, they interpret the Absolute in terms of them. Their contribution combines four points, viz. (α) the Absolute requires mediation; (β) the mediator is the Logos; (γ) through the Logos the Absolute is creator; (δ) freedom is the mark of man.

All schools at that period held an abstract notion of God. The central quest was after an appropriate medium of communion between the Supreme Being and the world. The Gnostic attempt failed before the magnificent doctrine of the Logos (*q.v.*)—the issue of the controversy and its end. The doctrine of the Supreme as Creator through the Logos, and the activity of the Logos in nature, history, and man, are the primary ideas of Patristic theology, set forth partially in the Apologists, with fullness and learning in Clement and Origen, and preached by Chrysostom. It is essentially a new Gnosis, summing up the divine design of cosmic history.

(*b*) *Second stage.*—The second stage opens with the Latin Father, St. Augustine († 430), and the fall of imperial Rome. That event gives the *motif* to his profoundest thought that history is the history of two antagonistic cities, so that he can compare the ordered series of the centuries to an antistrophic hymn pervaded by an antithetic parallelism which turns on the call of God and the response of man (*de Civ. Dei*, xi. 18). Into his particular opinions on religious predestination we need not enter (see AUGUSTINE, ELECTION). His

[1] Cf. C. P. Tiele, *Hist. of the Egyptian Religion*, Eng. tr., London, 1882, pp. 216–230.
[2] Cf. E. A. W. Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians; or Studies in Egyptian Mythology*, 2 vols., London, 1904, i. 125.
[3] Cf. on this E. Naville, *La Religion des anciens Egyptiens*, Paris, 1906, pp. 150–175.

[1] F. Weber, *System der altsynagogalen palästinischen Theologie*, Leipzig, 1880.
[2] E. Sell, *Faith of Islam*[2], London, 1896; D. B. Macdonald, *Development of Muslim Theology*, London, 1903.

positions are not always superficially consistent. But his great merits are clear. He distinguishes prescience from predestination, and aids to a better analysis of the latter. He expounds a richer idea of will than the inherited views of the Greeks and the Pelagians; and initiates a discussion from the main position of which Christian thought has never since withdrawn, viz. that the unregenerate will is not free; freedom is growth in the power to do right.[1] Great as these services were to the progress of truth, they are not his chief contribution to the predestination idea. That concerns itself with the nature of the divine purpose the *motif* of which is referred to above. He unfolds his ideas in his main book, *de Civitate Dei*, called forth by the decay of the Roman State. The underlying principle of that masterly exposition is the organic character of the divine purpose. It is pervaded by his deep sense of the continuous evolution of the divine purpose in all things. It sums up his conviction of a life's study. Throughout his life he was intent on reducing to a consistent unity the varied elements of nature, history, and revelation, as they presented themselves in believing consciousness. So successfully has he vindicated that principle that subsequent developments have proceeded upon it, always the more clearly to demonstrate its essential truthfulness. The controversies that ensued, directed against St. Augustine, assail details—in particular the doctrine of 'predestination to evil' or the reprobation of the impenitent wicked. Rabanus Maurus († 840), Hincmar († 882), and others argued the inconsequence of that doctrine by Scripture proof, John Scotus Erigena[2] († *c.* 877) its inconsequence metaphysically—both legitimate corrections. The Augustinian doctrine in its general drift worked on with increasing cogency throughout mediæval Christendom, quickening an extraordinary ferment of ideas, creative of new impulses in every direction, religious and disciplinary, political and social. Into the stream of religious and general culture there entered currents widely dissimilar, deriving from the study of Aristotle and of Dionysius the Areopagite, really alien to the Latin genius. The pregnancy of St. Augustine's philosophy succeeded in acclimatizing rich elements in both in the atmosphere of Western theology.

(*c*) *Third stage.*—Of this the constructive intellect was that of St. Thomas Aquinas (*c.* 1227–74), who quells the maelstrom of mediæval thought. In him we see St. Augustine pruned of his many verbal and logical inconsistencies and his view of the world and history so presented with a logical thoroughness and developed on different sides as to exhibit a proper system, or *summa*. Of specific value is Aquinas's discussion of prevenience or premotion, and the grace of natural virtues—features of Augustinianism that have obtained a secure lodgment in Romanist theology, but not in Reformed. The whole effort of Aquinas results in a fusion of the best culture and most spiritual faith of his age. The Augustinian spirit pervading it is in his work definitely incorporated with the official teaching of the Roman Church. St. Thomas inspired the Decrees of Trent (1545–63), which, while affirming several Scotist positions, define a mild Augustinianism.[3] The Augustinian principles are three: (*a*) God is absolute master by His grace of all determinations of the will; (*β*) man remains free under the action of grace; (*γ*) the reconciliation of these two truths rests on the manner of the divine government. The Tridentine formulæ reaffirm original sin and man's need of grace as against Pelagianism (sess. vi. can. 2), the freedom of man and the ability of doing good and evil even before embracing faith (vi. 6. 7) as against the Protestants. Trent further, with St. Thomas, teaches the universal offer of salvation and divine provision of the means of grace. The problem of harmonizing grace and freedom is left undefined; the brief of Benedict XIV. (1748) gives liberty to all schemes of reconciliation—the strict Augustinian, the Thomist, and the Molinist.[1]

(*d*) *Fourth stage.*—The fourth stage came with the Reformation and the awakened moral conscience. The absorbing interest of the 16th cent. was religious, not speculative. No commanding intellect of the comprehensive order of an Origen, Augustine, or Aquinas arose to offer the new synthesis of faith and culture which the times imperatively demanded, and little progress was made in the growth of the predestination idea. Luther and Erasmus, Zwingli and Calvin, with minor divergences, agree in reverting to St. Augustine on the main issues and in the supposed interests of evangelical piety; but none of them had adequate philosophical equipment to formulate anew the problem in consistent and convincing form. Hence Western Christendom remained divided. Its continuance in disruption was due as much to the absence of a first-rank philosopher as to the presence of a fiery Reformer; for fresh religious feeling is less divisive than stale religious dogma, and the speculative reason of the Reformers made but indifferent flights. The proper contribution of that age lies elsewhere, in the fresh emphasis set on the doctrine of election as the believer's ground of certainty of salvation as against the Church and its machinery of grace. Polemical motives against Roman ideas of authority impelled the Reformers to give election a paramount place in their system, with the result that its philosophical counterpart, predestination, assumes, not only in general theory, where it is relevant, but also in theological construction, where it is not, the position of basal principle controlling the entire system. The *Institutes* of John Calvin († 1564) is representative. It asserts the double predestination, to life and death quite irrespective of merit. The central idea[2] is that of an independent and immutable decree of God, in which foreordination and foreknowledge are inseparable. Beza, Calvin's successor at Geneva, is the father of 'high,' or supralapsarian, Calvinism. The common view of the Reformed Confessions, confirmed alike by the Synod of Dort (1618–19) and the Westminster Assembly (1647), is infralapsarian. The infralapsarian (*infra lapsum*) theory of predestination, or the decree of predestination viewed as subsequent in purpose to the decree permitting man to fall, represents man created and fallen as the object of election. The supralapsarian theory designates the view which supposes that the ultimate end which God proposed to Himself was His own glory in the salvation of some men and the damnation of others, and that as a means to that end He decreed to create man and to permit him to fall. Strict Calvinism subsequently found mitigations in the 'Federal Theology,' expounded by Cocceius (1603–69), professor at Leyden, who introduced the idea that God's judicial charging

[1] Augustine's denial of freedom is really denial of capricious choice—the assertion of self-determination along the lines of one's true character.

[2] Erigena's contention, 'no predestination to evil' because that would imply a duality in the divine nature, or else the existence of some power above God determining His will, is acute (cf. his tractate *de Predestinatione*). It undermined for the future the recurring idea of God as the author of evil.

[3] Loofs's statement, 'the history of Catholicism is the history of the progressive elimination of Augustinianism,' we regard as a gross exaggeration.

[1] Cf. a valuable account by E. Portalié, in *CE*, *s.v.* 'Augustine.'

[2] Ritschl, Sneckenburger, etc., have denied the centrality; Schweizer proves it fully. M. Scheibe (*Calvins Prädestinationslehre*, Halle, 1897) describes the religious motives underlying Calvin's construction.

of the guilt of Adam's apostasy to his descendants was racial, and not personal; and in the contemporary Saumur school of Cameron, Amyraut, and others in France, who attempted a combination of particular election and universal salvation (subterlapsarianism). Bold opposition was offered by the Remonstrants led by Arminius, professor in Leyden from 1602 to 1609. A year after his death his disciples, as an organized party, presented a Remonstrance to the States of Holland pleading for toleration, and, for the sake of defining their position, presented soon afterwards five Articles expressing their views. This is the origin of the famous 'Five Points' in the controversy between Calvinism and Arminianism. Of Calvinism the 'Five Points' are unconditional predestination, particular election, efficacious grace, divine reprobation of the wicked, and final perseverance of the elect. Of Arminianism the opposed points were conditional predestination on foreseen merit, universal salvation, resistible grace with the provision of means sufficient for salvation, preterition of the wicked, and possible lapse of the justified from grace. Later, Methodism came with a synergistic solution which is logically indefensible, but has proved serviceable for piety. The Calvinistic victory was one of logic only; even the victors felt that, if not handled with special prudence and care, the doctrine would be the reverse of helpful to morals and piety. The Calvinistic Synods restate old positions—Dort with relentless rigour, Westminster a little more cautiously. They contribute nothing new to the theology of the subject. The work of the Protestant scholastics was one of systematization for civil and religious reform rather than of inspiration to spiritual or apologetic progress. It had unquestionable merits. It demonstrated the political potency of the predestination idea in common life, when men are found to believe implicitly in the absolute will of God and to range themselves submissively under its behests in simple obedience. It established as never before the religious principle as the controlling principle of civilization, taught the civil power definite ethical function, laid thereby the only workable basis of free democracy, and thus, when the unity of the world's life and knowledge had been shattered by the break-up of the mediæval Church, pointed to fresh sources of cohesion which prove the more efficient the more they are tested in the complexities of modern growth. Whatever criticism may be urged against Calvinism as a religion and a theology, it is certain that as a polity it has been a triumphant success, as the maker not indeed of kings—the claim of the mediæval Church—but of what is much greater, States.

The most commanding Calvinistic intellect appeared where there was obvious relief from the political pressure, in New England. Jonathan Edwards (1703–58) draws into the system somewhat of the wider expanses of the New World that gave him birth. He sets forth the Calvinistic view of the world with a masculine strength and rich insight of rare excellence, and in face of the most imposing critical antagonism which Calvinism has ever encountered—New England Unitarianism. He prepared the way for the final outfit of the predestination idea for its modern task; and he did so by having greater confidence in reason than his contemporaries. Edwards was no reactionary. In the widely prevailing scorn of human reason he dived deeper into its depths and achieved two superlative results—the reconciliation of the divine decrees and free will, and the exposition of the divine motive for predestination as resting in the divine glory. Regarding the former he argued that the law of causality is universal; that, while every man is free to act in accordance with his will, his power to will is controlled by causes outside of himself, so that ultimately the will must obey the behests of a power independent of its own purposes. Regarding the latter he argued that God's freedom is exercised in 'self-exhibition' and 'self-communication'—a self-communication which is creative in man of 'the religious affections' (the form that union of man with God takes) which display the reality of predestinating grace. His work is a distinct advance towards overcoming the dualism in the Calvinistic position, leading directly to the idea of God as moral personality, the controlling principle of modern theology. In the Catholic theology God is construed as substance; and in Scotist, Socinian, and Arminian theology as will. The Reformers conceived God as the embodiment of the moral law, bound by His own nature to punish sin and to uphold the eternal principles of righteousness. The conception, however, was not clear; and side by side with it we find the old conception of sovereignty as arbitrary will. Calvinism reconciles the two by distinguishing between the nature and will of God: nature is the sphere of necessity, will of freedom; justice belongs to the one, mercy to the other. Edwards makes 'the love of being' his controlling principle — lying behind both justice and mercy, containing them within itself. It is but a step from the divine self-love to the divine Fatherhood—the idea which fresh experience of the redemptive love of God in Christ (the discovery of the modern Church) revealed.

(*e*) *Fifth stage.* — Under the influence of the renewed study of the life of Christ modern theology has brought into fresh prominence the ethical and spiritual qualities which were central in Jesus' thought of God. For the abstract Absolute of the earlier theology and the arbitrary will of the later it substitutes the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, and seeks to show that in His wise, holy, and loving character we have the ultimate reality of religious truth. In this attempt it receives aid from two quarters. Through a better understanding of the nature of the will modern psychology makes it possible to overcome the supposed opposition between freedom and law; while philosophy, through its renewed emphasis upon the immanence of God, opens a way for the conception of God which shall include the concrete features essential to Christian faith. So far as the first is concerned, we are coming to see that it is not will, but character, that is fundamental for our idea of personality. That man is most truly free whose will is most completely dominated by a consistent moral purpose and whose acts—given a knowledge of that purpose—we can most certainly predict. Character denotes to us such consistency of moral purpose; and law, so far from being a limitation of freedom, is its most effective means of expression. In Christ, then, we can fill up 'the mere good pleasure' of historic Calvinism with the inner constraint of redemptive love. Not less significant is the help from modern philosophy. We are seeing that the ultimate reality, instead of being the most abstract, must be the most concrete of all conceptions. We do not explain the world by thinking away all that is most characteristic in experience into a colourless residuum, but rather by studying experience to discover, amid the infinite variety which it contains, the elements of permanence. Life is to be interpreted by its highest forms, not its lowest, and the qualities which Christian faith finds central in God become those most needed for an explanation of the actual facts of life. The main outline of the historical growth of the pre-

destination idea is thus evident. In ethnic religion, lower, we have the instinct of fatality predominant; in ethnic religion, higher, we have the dawn and gradual growth of the instinct of freedom. In Hebraism there is a definite conviction of the general idea of predestination, combining the two features of divine sovereignty and human liberty. Judaism, on the whole, conserves the same general idea. Muhammadanism reverts to fatality. Christianity, primitive and Patristic, preserves and defends predestination as received from Hebraism along ethical lines. The mediæval Church deepens the idea, and develops its definition by setting in strong relief the absolute supremacy of grace over nature in St. Augustine and the congruity of grace with nature in St. Thomas. The Reformation Church deepens the idea, and develops its definition by setting in strong relief the absolute spirituality of grace as resting in God's mercy (in the Reforming leaders) and its finality as resting in God's glory (in Jonathan Edwards). The modern Church, relying on modern philosophy, which has gathered up the results of the modern sciences, of nature, history, and man in a broad synthesis centring in the Supreme Being as moral personality, accepts the vindication of the harmony of divine sovereignty and human liberty, thus closing the most prolific source of conflict concerning this subject. The two foci of the predestination doctrine are both true, and every theory exalting one at the expense of the other has had to give place to the more adequate formula. The stubborn protest of orthodox common sense, which has never in any age lapsed, has been justified. The facts of the religious consciousness have availed to beget the theory, not the theory the facts.

V. *THE MODERN TASK.*—The supreme desideratum of modern religion is strong individuality, with its enterprise, romance, ever-fresh experience, and transforming impulses. It may be secured by that enlarged conception of the divine will regulating man's destiny to which every vital pulse of the modern spirit points. It will include a larger theism, a freer society, a richer soul.

1. **A larger theism.**—The antitheisms of the age are not wholly in error. They are popular because of the meagreness of the current theism. They are attempts to do justice to factors to which the prevailing theism does scant justice or even violence. They are not negative; their negations proceed from a positive faith; and in their positive contribution to thought they correct one another and enable us to discern the lineaments of an impressive philosophy. Superficially regarded, they all seem to lead to determinism, apparently absorbing the individual in the whole. Pantheism, materialism, socialism, secularism, naturalism—they look like the deification of the finite world. But only in the popular or semi-popular intelligence. Take, *e.g.*, pantheism. It is a term to which the vaguest and most contradictory meanings are attached, the clearest being that which identifies the world with God and regards man as part of the world. Yet that is a notion destitute of historical foundation and, indeed, of any rational meaning. How can pantheism say that the finite world is the infinite? We may say that it represents the infinite, but not that it is the infinite; and that is the precise opposite of the deification of the finite. It implies not the divinity, but the nothingness, of the world of sense and sight. The formula which expresses it is not 'All things are God,' but 'God is all in all'; or, in the comprehensive phrase of Indian philosophy, 'There is but one Being, no second'; or the Christian conception, 'There is one God, beside Him no other.'[1] Do not materialism and naturalism, when their real significance is seen, imply the same truth? They are eager to exalt the cosmic life-force as the dominating world-force. But how do they interpret it? Not abstractly, but from detailed observation of the actual phenomena of the world; hence its general conception is not untrustworthy; it is the concrete content of the abstraction of pantheism. And what is the contention of socialism ultimately but this, that no individual stands alone, that his perfection can never accrue in isolation, that, as the attraction of physical particle for particle causes every material body to retain its form and relations, so the self that will separate from the influence of other selves is on the sure path to disintegration? Together these antitheisms in their essential pleas urge that God is the only reality in the universe, that the life-force of creation is one, that man's safety and perfection rest in right relation with them. God's immanence in the world is the modern understanding of the eternal reality of its process and progress. Such conceptions are as profound as they are novel. They arise directly out of the minutest investigation into the facts with which science and history deal. They appeal to the theological mind to be drawn up into the idea of God and His relation to the world and man to enrich our apprehension of His transcendence and divine purpose. They teach us definitely concerning that purpose in the world that we know, and of Himself standing above it working out its ends. On the foundation of that knowledge we are summoned to build up convictions of the character and will of Him who thus acts and of the destiny of all His actions.[1]

2. **A freer society.**—Social theory is as multiform as antitheism. Anarchism, communism, socialism, nationalism, imperialism, are imperfectly understood apart from the ideal and emotional impulses prompting them. They are preparing the physical basis, the material conditions of large advances in human liberty. They are adversely criticized for doing the very opposite. But surely in their broad spirit they are operating to restrain those who need restraint within the attainments of human progress already won, in order that human welfare may enter on higher achievements. Social pressure, law, is not the foe of liberty; it is its nursing mother. Life depends on environment. A 'fullness of time and place' must be before fresh growth can come. Conditions must be organized if new life is to be generated. It is from lower forms that the higher arise as the appropriate *métier* of their life is secured. The social and industrial unrest of the times implies the bringing to birth of a fresh life of humanity. The new quality of life cannot live except with new social advantage. Here we note two facts of modern psychology: (*a*) social integration promotes individual independence, and (*b*) personality is enhanced by progress in material conditions. The individual is conditioned by his environment; that is the basis of all sound sociology. As a machine cannot work in an atmosphere that freezes its oils, or a plant flower in beauty in the Arctic zone, so man cannot grow to his full stature in a world of squalor, sin, and disease. This is the modern rendering of the ancient 'fate,' yet with what a difference for human hope! A large share of man's destiny is sealed by his birth and surroundings. On the one hand, while a certain power of choice remains his, his moral endeavour and moral vision are due quite as much to the community which produces him as to himself. On the other hand, it is a fact as well that this is for man's benefit; it is the grace of the universe to his growth. A man is, first of all, a unity; and his nature as such prevents his easy descent into

[1] Cf. R. Flint, *Agnosticism*, Edinburgh, 1903, last chapter.

the mass or dissolution into weakness. The more that unity of his is preserved and pressed, the stronger rises the outflow of original force of character, the result of social amelioration. Is this the mode of operation of the divine will upon the human? 'Our wills are ours to make them Thine'—have we here the method of discipline? Here once more is a summons to revise that harassing perplexity of foreknowledge and free will; here too a mightier incentive than before conceived for material progress and Christian enterprise.

3. A richer soul.—The practical experience of that old doctrine, the mystical union with Christ, has almost died down. It is well worth revival. The time is opportune. The stream of mysticism runs with a strong current in the modern conscience. It will enter theology as a power for good. Modern mystics are training us in their way of experience, and teaching the sacramentalism of nature; they are renewing our confidence in the validity of both in grace. Redemption is an economy like nature and providence; its spirit can be known and felt equally with theirs. The ordinances of Christ's appointment which sum up His saving acts to represent, seal, and apply their benefits, are its proper medium of communication, conferring 'God's essence and His very self' on believers. There is a spirit in creation; there is a spirit in history; there is a spirit in grace. These three are *not* one, but the experience of the first prepares for the last, in which their partial union with the divine life is consummated in perfect union. That union feeds the spirit of man, for the simple reason that the spiritual nature of man is not some special faculty or out-of-the-body ecstasy, but the conversion and sustenance of his ordinary powers. It is because we confine our union with the divine Being to communion with Him by our ordinary powers that our religious life is so pulseless. But the fault rests, not in the powers, but in the method of using them. We commit two blunders. We use our powers in analysis, not in synthesis; and the result is that the self is not offered to the divine life for its unfolding. The self is more than the collection of its faculties; and we have to realize that there is no end to the spiritual treasure latent in it when God has access to it. Then, again, we think God rather than experience God. But a thought God is abstraction; a lived-with God is power—action and passion. We have to learn that in the infinite personality there is no end to such action and passion. These recognitions, of our own deeper self and of the divine self, open the way for inflows from God constantly increasing unto perfection. Within our self God speaks and to our self; there is no identity, for identity would close intercourse. In this—the fine principle of the higher mysticism of our day—lies the sure hope of further spiritual advance.

But now every increase of living experience of this sort brings with it an increase of power to understand what God's will is, what it is doing, and by what method He is doing it. Those ideas, the divine immanence in the world, the social solidarity of the race, the enhancement of self-conscious life, have as yet no place in theological system.[1] The divine transcendence idea and predestination idea have been drawn deductively from data that are abstract; we must now build them up by induction from what we have seen are the data alone intelligible to the modern mind. They will then assume their proper position as the controlling principles in a scientific theology fitted to enlist the finest sympathies of modern culture and to effect its greatly desired harmony with modern faith.

[1] Fragmentary essays in that direction have been forthcoming during the latter half of the 19th century. Modern theology has moved away from the old moorings; partial reconstruction is proceeding apace; the comprehensive synthesis still lags. Yet the most fruitful interpretation still of the divine nature is that of will, motived by love, showing that in its general decline the heart of Calvinism, like that of Shelley in the ashes of his funeral pyre, remains entire.

LITERATURE.—W. A. Copinger, *A Treatise on Predestination, Election and Grace*, London, 1889 (a full bibliography in Appendix, up to recent times). The classical authors are in need of re-perusal and study: Origen, *de Principiis*, ii., iii.; Augustine, *de Prædestinatione Sanctorum*; Erigena, *de Prædestinatione*; Calvin, *Institutes*, iii.; Jonathan Edwards, *Works* (in particular 'God's End in Creation' and 'Freedom of the Will'), New York, 1869.

The Histories of Doctrine furnish useful reviews: Hagenbach, Shedd, Harnack, Loofs, Bovon, Grétillat (Protestant); and Moehler, Denzinger, Scheeben, Pohle (Roman Catholic). There are careful, if brief, articles in *EBi*, *PRE*[3], *CE*, *JE*. The Biblical material has been laboriously canvassed by B. B. Warfield, in *HDB*.

The credal and confessional definitions will be found in G. B. Winer, *Doctrines and Confessions of Christendom*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1873; C. A. Briggs, *Theological Symbolics*, do. 1913; W. A. Curtis, *A Hist. of Creeds and Confessions of Faith in Christendom and Beyond*, do. 1911; P. Schaff, *Hist. of the Creeds of Christendom*, 3 vols., London, 1877.

For special periods consult C. Bigg, *The Christian Platonists of Alexandria*, ed. F. E. Brightman, Oxford, 1913; W. Bright, *Select Anti-Pelagian Treatises of S. Augustine*, do. 1880; J. B. Mozley, *A Treatise on the Augustinian Doctrine of Predestination*[3], London, 1883; A. Dorner, *Augustinus, sein theologisches System und seine religionsphilosophische Anschauung*, Berlin, 1873; Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*; R. Seeberg, *Die Theologie des Johannes Duns Scotus*, Leipzig, 1900; D. J. Kennedy, in *CE*, *s.v.* 'Thomas Aquinas'; E. F. K. Müller, *Die Bekenntnisschriften der reformirten Kirchen*, Leipzig, 1903; J. van Oppenraaij, *Le Prédestination de l'église réformée des Pays-Bas*, Louvain, 1906; W. Hastie, *Theology of the Reformed Church* (Croall Lecture), Edinburgh, 1904; W. Cunningham, *Discussions on Church Principles*, do. 1863; E. D. Morris, *Theology of the Westminster Symbols*, Columbus, Ohio, 1900.

For representative modern discussions of special parts of the doctrine and idea of predestination cf. the following:

LUTHERAN.—C. E. Luthardt, *Vom freien Willen*, Leipzig, 1863; K. H. von Weizsäcker, 'Das Dogma von der göttlichen Vorherbestimmung im 9ten Jahrhundert,' in *JDTh* iv. [1859] 527 ff.; A. W. Dieckhoff, *Zur Lehre von der Bekehrung und von der Prädestination*, Rostock, 1883; Karl Müller, *Die göttliche Zuvorersehung und Erwählung*, Halle, 1892.

REFORMED.—J. Forbes, *Predestination and Freewill*, Edinburgh, 1879; F. A. Lichtenberger, *Encyclopédie des sciences religieuses*, *s.v.* 'Prédestination'; J. A. Froude, 'Calvinism,' in *Short Studies on Great Subjects*, ii., London, 1883; W. Cunningham, *Historical Theology*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1863; J. H. A. Ebrard, *Christliche Dogmatik*, Königsberg, 1863; J. Tulloch, *Movements of Religious Thought in Britain during the 19th Century*, London, 1885; T. B. Strong, *Manual of Theology*, do. 1892.

ROMAN CATHOLIC.—J. B. Franzelin, *De Deo uno*, Rome, 1883; H. Goens, *La Rôle de la liberté humaine dans la prédestination paulinienne*, Lausanne, 1884; J. Pohle, in *CE*, *s.vv.* 'Predestinarianism,' 'Predestination.'

UNITARIAN.—W. E. Channing, *Complete Works*, London, 1884; T. Parker, *Collected Works*, do. 1863–71; J. Martineau, *A Study of Religion*, Oxford, 1888, *The Seat of Authority in Religion*, London, 1890.

MODERN PHILOSOPHY.—W. Vatke, *Die menschliche Freiheit in ihrem Verhältniss zur Sünde und zur göttlichen Gnade*, Berlin, 1841; O. Külpe, in vol. v. of W. Wundt, *Philosophische Studien*, Leipzig, 1889; H. Sommer, *Ueber das Wesen und die Bedeutung der menschlichen Freiheit*, Berlin, 1882; A. Riehl, *The Principles of the Critical Philosophy*, tr. A. Fairbanks, London, 1894; T. Solly, *The Will, Divine and Human*, Cambridge, 1856; J. Royce, *The World and the Individual*, New York, 1901; J. R. Illingworth, *The Divine Immanence*, London, 1898; J. Ward, *The Realm of Ends*, Cambridge, 1911; O. Pfleiderer, *The Philosophy of Religion on the Basis of its History*, Eng. tr., 4 vols., London, 1886–88, *The Development of Theology in Germany since Kant*, Eng. tr., do. 1890; *Voluntas Dei* (anonymous), do. 1912; S. Harris, *God the Creator and Lord of All*, 2 vols., New York, 1896.

A. S. MARTIN.

PRE-EXISTENCE. — **1. Definition.** — Pre-existence, from being a general term, has come to have a limited, technical application in the philosophy of religion. It is used in stating the doctrine that the human soul has already been in being before the beginning of the earthly life, *i.e.* prior to the time of its union with the body. The precise character and conditions assigned to the pre-existent state cannot be brought out in a general definition, as these vary in different systems of religion. Where this belief appears it is generally

held in conjunction with belief in transmigration, but in a strict sense it has reference to a state of being prior to any incarnation. The reference is to the human soul. For the pre-existence of the divine nature of Christ see the art. JESUS CHRIST (cf. also art. LOGOS). Doctrines regarding the pre-existence of the souls of animals and plants are treated, for the most part, in connexion with transmigration (*q.v.*).

2. Origin of the doctrine.—The origin of belief in pre-existence is obscure. Man has difficulty in conceiving himself as non-existent, but experience familiarizes him with the facts of birth and death. When he reaches the conception of a soul in distinction to the body, his thought turns not only to the future but to the past. What is its origin? Among the answers which suggest themselves is this, that it has already existed before its union with the body. The inquiry may not proceed beyond the thought of previous incarnations, and of this we have many examples in the more primitive religions. But in other cases the inquiry has been pushed beyond this, or has advanced independently, to the thought of the existence of the soul in a spirit-world previous to its embodiment on earth, and a definite doctrine has been formulated. If we cannot for the present discover more exactly the origin of the doctrine, or the precise influence which one people exercised on another with regard to it, we can in some cases trace its development and observe the extent to which it has prevailed. It is found in a well-developed form in Greek religion and philosophy, in Judaism, in the early Christian Church, in the religions of India, and to a very considerable extent associated with modern thought in the West.

3. Greek and Roman doctrine.—Belief in the pre-existence of the soul prevailed widely among the Greeks from an early date, and at a later time became a theory of their philosophers. The influence of Greek thought in this respect was strongly felt in the early Christian Church, and is still apparent to some extent throughout the whole of Western civilization. To gain a knowledge of the subject it is well, therefore, to begin by observing its place and character in the Greek religion and philosophy. Regarding the origin of the doctrine among the Greeks there is no reliable evidence that, in the early stages, Egyptian or Oriental thought had any considerable influence. It appears to be of native origin and to have two distinct sources: (1) the early religious ideas of the people which found expression in certain ceremonies and myths; and (2) the philosophic principles which were gradually formulated in the schools, and from a statement of which this doctrine followed as a corollary; but, even in the latter case, religious pre-possession was not without its influence.

To the Greeks, as to many other peoples, the soul is air or breath (*πνεῦμα, ψυχή*), or an essence of a similar nature. It departs with life; it comes at the beginning of life. What is its origin? Homer and Hesiod do not give us much help, but the answer of the Orphic religion is that it is divine. The direct testimony as to what was taught in the Orphic religion as early as the 7th cent. B.C. comes from a later date.

Plato speaks of it as an ancient doctrine that the souls of men, 'having gone there from here subsist, and return hither again and are produced from the dead' (*Phædo*, 70 C). Philolaus states that 'the ancient theologians and soothsayers bear witness that the soul is joined to the body by way of punishment and as it were buried in it' (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* iii. 433A; cf. Plato, *Phædo*, 62 B).

The statement of Plato and even of Philolaus may refer only to transmigration, but their testimony must be taken in connexion with the evidence of the Orphic tablets, on one of which the soul declares, 'A child of Earth and of starry Heaven am I; but of Heaven is my race.' There is also the strongest probability that Pythagoras derived his views on the soul's pre-existence from Orphic sources. The egg used in the Orphic ritual was a symbol of the cosmic egg from which sprang the principle of all life. We have here indications of an ancient religious belief that had already taken definite form. At a later time it gained precision of statement at the hands of the philosophers who adopted it, and became an integral part of their theories of the universe. The pre-Socratic philosophy prepared the way for the dogma. Some unifying principle was being sought. Thales found in water the principle of all things; Anaximander in undetermined, unlimited matter; Democritus in atoms which are indestructible; the Pythagoreans in number. The Eleatic school accounted for the phenomenal world by the principle of eternal, immutable being; Heraclitus by continual change, becoming; and the Atomists by an attempt at combining those two principles. The thought of the indestructibility of atoms involved that of the pre-existence of the constituents of the soul; and, as already in the Orphic religion, its transmigration was taught by Pherecydes and Pythagoras (*c.* 540 B.C.). The distinction between soul and body is worked out by Anaxagoras (*c.* 470 B.C.). He introduces into his philosophy the thought of a world-forming mind (*νοῦς*) that is absolutely separate from matter and that acts upon it. This matter-forming mind is immanent in different degrees as an animating soul in plants, animals, and men. The human soul is thus a portion of the world-creating mind, and existed in it prior to its manifestation in the body. In his treatment of the *νοῦς*, however, the conception of immateriality is not yet made clear.

Plato (*c.* 387 B.C.), developing the teaching of Socrates, turns his attention in the first instance, not, like the earlier philosophers, to the investigation of external nature, but to reflexion on the mind itself, its essential qualities, its endowments and activity, and in this way arrives at his theory of ideas. The idea is not a mere abstraction, but is a real archetypal essence and is eternal. The highest idea is the idea of the good, and this idea of the good Plato seems to identify with God who existed from eternity. Matter also existed eternally, but without quality or order. At the beginning of time God appears as the world-builder or demiurge, and out of the ideal world and the germs of the material world forms the soul of the world. The chaotic matter is reduced to order and fitted to this world-soul as its body, which it animates and rules. The universe, which is the result of this creative work, is fashioned for the sake of what is good only, in beauty and harmony, after the model of the eternal ideas. Of this universe man is a part. He consists of soul and body, and in the embodied soul there are three elements: (1) the cognitive soul, which has its seat in the head, and sways and controls the body but at the same time is debased by association with it; (2) the appetitive soul—the lower, sensuous faculty; and (3) the courageous soul, which in man forms a link between the other two. The relation of the last two to the first resembles that of two steeds to a charioteer. Sometimes Plato seems to think of the whole soul as pre-existent and immortal, but in general it is the cognitive soul alone that is thus represented. This rational soul, as distinguished from the irrational and mortal elements, is of the same nature and character as the world-soul. A certain definite number of souls have been created by God, and this number is neither increased nor diminished.

Before the terrestrial life begins, the soul, with true personality, exists in a state of purity so refined that it is difficult to conceive its original estate from beholding it, as we now find it, marred by its abode in a mortal body. It has knowledge of the divine and eternal, and enjoys a life of bliss in contemplating the ideal world. From this state of purity, for the sake of completing the world-order, the soul is brought into union with a mortal body. Its higher nature is still shown, when incarnate, by love of wisdom and by a yearning for the divine to which it is akin. The soul is indestructible, but in the conflict of the earthly life, if it is overcome by the sensuous, it migrates at death into another human body, or even into a lower form of existence; if it maintains its purity, it returns to its original state of bliss, from which, however, it will again become incarnate. Through all these changes the continuity of its life is maintained. The soul in any particular body may, apparently, be undergoing its first or any subsequent incarnation. In the *Phædo* a proof of pre-existence is found in the doctrine of 'reminiscence,' the meaning of which is illustrated in the *Meno*. It is shown that in mathematical and philosophical learning the knowledge of universals is not acquired by direct experience or by teaching, but is drawn out of the soul; that the gaining of knowledge is an awakening of the memory which has become dulled through the soul's embodiment, the recollection of ideas with which it was familiar before the present terrestrial life began.

Aristotle (335 B.C.) regards the soul as an organizing principle, manifesting its activity in plant, animal, or man. The human soul is a microcosm, uniting in itself all the faculties of the lower grades of organic being with the additional faculty —reason. This reason, which is divine and immortal but not subject to transmigration, is the only element in the soul that exists before the body. His statements are, however, conflicting and his reference may be merely to the universal reason.

For the Stoics (from 310 onwards) the soul is an inborn breath pervading continuously the whole body. It is an emanation from the deity or a part separated from him. The fiery breath or germinative reason which pervades the whole world appears in man as a rational soul. This purest portion of the central fire outlives the body, but at the end of the world-period at longest it returns to its source.

Stoic teaching, as well as Platonism, Pythagoreanism, and Oriental mysticism, had its influence on Greek and Jewish speculation at Alexandria from before the Christian era, and the thought of emanations was given a prominent place. This thought was taken up and developed by the Neo-Platonic schools which arose from the teaching of Ammonius Saccas (*c.* A.D. 210). Besides its influence in Alexandria the Neo-Platonic movement gave rise to Roman, Syrian, and Athenian schools. The most notable exponent of Neo-Platonism is Plotinus, the mystic who founded the Roman school in A.D. 224. In the system of Plotinus the Absolute One or the Good is not merely, as with Plato, the highest of the ideas, but 'is greater than all we call being, greater and better than reason and intelligence and sense, though it is that which gives them whatever reality they possess' (*Enn.* v. 3, 14). The ideas are emanations from the Absolute One and the soul is an emanation from the ideas. As the sun emits rays, the One, through its very perfection, overflows and sends forth an image of itself; and this image in turning to behold its source becomes the *νοῦς*, or pure intelligence. In like manner the soul, an immaterial substance, is an emanation from the *νοῦς* of which it is an image. The ideas, endowed with true being and life, are immanent in the *νοῦς*. As the *νοῦς* exists in the One, so the soul exists in the *νοῦς* and thus partakes of the divine. The soul has a generative power which enables it to produce and fashion its material environment. Of souls the highest is the world-soul. It occupies the lowest stage of the ideal world and produces the world of matter and change. Other souls are not mere parts of the world-soul; but, although they are included in it, they have a distinct existence. The life of the human soul, derived from the universal intelligence, is prior to its union with the body and is independent of it as regards power of thought, memory, and even sensuous perception. It is in itself indivisible and permeates the body as fire permeates the air, or, rather, we ought to say that the body is in the soul. Its union with the body is the result of a fall from its original state. In its self-will it has revolted and has sought to be something for itself; it has chosen the unrest of time instead of the peace of eternity. In consequence of its own act it is shut out from the universal life of reason and joined to a mortal body. It has forgotten its dignity and its divine origin, but it has not lost its freedom; it can attain to consciousness of its own nature; by a faculty higher than discursive reason, by ecstatic feeling, it can rise into contact with God and partake of the truest bliss.

Except in so far as they adopted Greek ideas, the Romans do not appear to have formulated any theory of pre-existence. Where the influence of Greek speculation concerning the soul is apparent in the writers of the classical period, the interest generally centres in transmigration, as we see by the references of Ennius, Persius, Horace, Lucretius, and others; and, when inquiry is made into the soul's origin, the answer is mythological, or is given in a pantheistic sense, as by Virgil, or in other terms suggested by the theories of the Greeks. Cicero thinks of the human soul as an essence of a divine nature, a portion of the divine and rational principle. The Sextians favoured the Pythagorean doctrines, and Marcus Aurelius, although he is vague on this point, speaks of 'the divinity within a man' (*Meditations*, iii. 6, 16, v. 10). Later came the Neo-Platonic doctrine, elaborated by Plotinus and maintained by his disciples Amelius and Porphyry in pagan circles when Christianity was spreading at Rome.

4. The doctrine in Judaism.—According to the teaching of the OT, the soul had no previous existence apart from the body. The representation of man's origin excludes the idea. In the case of the first pair there is a direct creation (Gn $5^{1f.}$ etc.). When the other works were finished, man was not yet made (Gn 1^{26}), and in the statement 'God created man in his image . . . male and female' (v.^{27}) the same verb is used as in v.^{1}, where the object is 'the heaven and the earth,' and in v.^{4}, with object 'sea-monsters.' The account in 2^{7} is more in detail: the dust is fashioned and man becomes a living soul (*nephesh*) by the divine inbreathing. The life of the soul or of the body is not contemplated apart. With regard to other individuals of the race, there is nothing to suggest the view that the soul existed before the joint life begins on earth. The few passages most frequently quoted as favouring pre-existence are to be explained otherwise.

In Job 1^{21}, 'Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return thither,' 'mother's womb,' on account of 'return thither' in the parallelism, has been taken to mean the deep bosom of mother earth, Sheol, in which the soul previously dwelt. This is a strained interpretation, and it makes the 'I' identical with the soul. 'Mother's womb' is to be taken in its natural sense (cf. $3^{10f.\ 16}$ $10^{8ff.}$); then in 'return thither' there may be an abbreviated comparison between this and the depths of mother earth (cf. Sir 40^{1}); or, less pre-

cisely, the state after death is thought of as being similar to the conditions in the womb whence man issues when life begins. Another passage is Ps 139[15], 'When I was made in secret, curiously wrought in the lowest parts of the earth.' The term 'lowest parts of the earth' is elsewhere used of the realm of the dead (Ps 63[9]), and it is suggested that it means here the abode of the soul before birth; but two things are against this application: (1) the whole passage (vv.[13-16]) is a description of the growth of the embryo, and (2) the reference is explicit in v.[15a] to 'my bones' (RV 'my frame'). We have here, therefore, a poetical comparison of the 'mother's womb' of v.[13] with the deep, mysterious recesses of the earth. In Job 38[21] the context shows that the words are used in an ironical sense: 'Thou knowest; for thou wast then born' (LXX 'I know then that thou wast then brought forth'); *i.e.* Job was old as the first dayspring. The reference is to birth. It is only by a fanciful interpretation that passages like 1 S 2[6], Dt 29[14f.] can be thought to have any bearing on the subject.

Outside the Hebrew canon, however, we have early traces of the doctrine, and in Hellenistic circles and in later Judaism we find it fully developed. The idea of a disembodied soul, with an individuality of its own, had already become familiar to the Jews through their contact with Persian and Greek thought. The question of the disciples (Jn 9[2] [see below]) shows that theories of pre-existence were known to the Jews of Palestine in the time of Christ. Josephus tells us that it was a doctrine of the Essenes that souls are immortal and continue for ever; that, when they wander forth from the most subtile ether, they are drawn down by a kind of natural allurement and entangled in bodies as in prisons (*BJ* II. viii. 11). Whether his account is exact or not, the idea was familiar to him. The Essenes were probably influenced by the Pythagorean views that spread with Hellenism. Parsi and Buddhist influences are also suggested.

Among the Jews of Alexandria the doctrine was held before the Christian era, as we see from the statements of Philo and from the Apocryphal writings (Wis 8[19f.], 'Now, I was a child of parts, and a good soul fell to my lot; nay rather, being good, I came into a body undefiled'). He speaks first as if his personality was distinct from his soul (so, too, Wis 15[8], where man at death 'is required to render back the soul which was lent him' [RV]), but then he corrects this and speaks of the soul which pre-existed as being the real self. He implies, further, that there is a distinction between souls, as being pure or corrupt prior to union with the body (cf. *Slav. Enoch*, xxiii. 5, 'All souls are prepared to eternity, before the formation of the world'; *Syr. Apoc. Baruch*, xxx. 2 and 2 Es 4[35], sometimes quoted, are not to the point). Philo the Jew, at the beginning of the Christian era, developed this doctrine under the influence of Plato's idealism, and fitted it into his allegorical method of interpreting the OT. Man is composed of soul and body. The soul consists of two parts, the rational and irrational principles. It is only in speaking of its functions that he adopts the Platonic tripartite division. The irrational part of the soul, like the soul of animals, rises by generation, and, being material in its origin, is mortal. The rational principle, which is the true soul, is pre-existent and immortal. It is an emanation from the Deity; and, although Philo makes a distinction between the Supreme Source of all things and the world, he speaks of the human soul as 'a fragment of the Soul of the universe' (*Mutat. Nom.* 39), and as 'a fragment or a ray' of the divine reason (*de Mundi Opificio*, 51). Of incorporeal souls, which are emanations from the Deity, there are two classes, and these have their abode in the air and the heavens. The higher class, called 'dæmons' in philosophy and 'angels' in the Scriptures, do not descend into bodies and are incorruptible; but the other class, viz. the souls of men, being nearer to the earth, are attracted by the body, and by their union with it become corruptible. The soul finds in the body its prison-house or tomb, from which it escapes at death to enjoy its true life.

In the Talmud and the Midrash the pre-existence of souls is clearly taught. They are created by God and given a distinct existence as living beings. There are variations in the statements regarding details such as the time of their creation and their abode. In *B'rēshîth Rabbāh*, 8, God is represented as taking counsel with the souls of the righteous before He created the earth. According to *Tanhūmā*, 3, all souls which were to enter human bodies were formed during the six days of creation and were in the Garden of Eden. Before their descent to earth the souls are kept in the seventh heaven (*Ḥagīgāh*, 12*b*) or in the storehouse (*Sifrē*, 143*b*), and it has been said that the Messiah will come when all the souls in the *gûph* have passed through the earthly life (*'Abōdāh Zārāh*, 5*a*; cf. *Y'bāmôth*, 62. 1). It is not settled whether the soul comes to earth at the time of conception or after the embryo has taken form (*Sanh.* 90*a*). The doctrine appears in great detail in the Ḳabbālā literature. According to the book of *Zôhār* (13th cent.), the soul in its essence is derived from the Supreme Intelligence, the Universal Soul. When the Holy One purposed to create the world, it was brought before Him in His will, and He formed all the souls that were to be given to men; they were there made in the exact form in which they were afterwards to appear as children of men on the earth; they were created pure, but He saw that some of them would afterwards corrupt themselves in the world (*Zôhār*, i. 96*b*). They are sent into their bodies that they may be educated by taking their part in the universe and by contemplating creation. The doctrine was further developed and rendered popular by Isaac Luria (16th cent.) and his school. All souls destined for the human race were created together in Adam. They had their place in different parts of his body—the brain, the eye, the hand, etc.—and, as there are superior and inferior organs and members, there are corresponding differences in the qualities of souls. As every human soul is a spark from Adam, all bear the taint of his first sin. These theories of the Ḳabbālists are put forward in connexion with an elaborate system of transmigration (cf. Luria, *Sēfer Haggilgûlim*). At present the doctrine, as taught in the Talmud and the Midrash, is part of the creed of the Jews (cf. Prayer Book, *passim*), whilst the Ḥasīdīm, who constitute perhaps half of the race, adopt in addition the Ḳabbālistic views. In the Morning Prayer in the Synagogue the form of expression, 'the soul which thou hast given me,' is similar to that used in Wis 8[19], but it is understood in the sense made explicit in v.[20] (cf. above).

5. **In the Christian Church.**—Pre-existence is not taught in the NT. When the disciples asked the question, 'Who did sin, this man, or his parents, that he was born blind?' (Jn 9[2]), they probably had the doctrine of pre-existence in mind; but this would merely show that it was current in Palestine at the time, and that they may have still held it at this stage of their discipleship. Through the influence of Hellenistic philosophy and the Zoroastrian and Buddhist religions, it soon made its appearance among certain sects who derived part of their teaching from Christianity, notably the Mandæans (*q.v.*), originating in Palestine in the 1st cent.; the Gnostics (*q.v.*), spreading from Antioch and Alexandria in the 2nd cent.; and the Manichæans (*q.v.*) from Persia in the 3rd. It is involved in their theories of emanation and of the inherent evil of matter, by association with which spirit is defiled. An illustration may be given from the

speculations of the Valentinian Gnostics. From the dust of the earth and the pneumatic seed which Achamoth had conveyed into it the Demiurge formed man and breathed into him psychical life. He placed him in the lower heavens, but in consequence of disobedience banished him to the earth, and clothed him in a material body. Men multiply and the best of them—those with pneumatical natures—have an innate longing to return to the Pleroma. With the Manichæans the soul is a particle of the heavenly light imprisoned in matter, from which it may, at death or after further purification, return to the realms of light.

Under the influence of Greek philosophy many of the Church Fathers made a theory of pre-existence part of their system of doctrine. As early as the middle of the 2nd cent. it was taught by Justin Martyr, who, being a Platonist before his conversion, allowed his philosophy to colour his views of Christian doctrine; but its most influential advocate was Origen, who works it out in a clearly defined form in his great dogmatic treatise, *de Principiis*. Origen was familiar with the Alexandrian philosophy, being a fellow-student of Plotinus at the school of Saccas. Fundamental to the system of Origen is the thought that God is immutable and spirit indestructible. Among the spirits which God has created from all eternity are the spirits of men, and these were made in the image of God. All created spirits are endowed with freedom, and in the exercise of that freedom the spirits of men have fallen. The material world was subsequently created for the discipline and purification of spirits who have misused their freedom. The fallen spirits of men are banished into bodies in this material world. Man has a threefold nature: body, soul, and spirit, the material body and the rational soul or spirit being united by the animal soul. The rational soul is the immortal and eternal part which has suffered the premundane fall. Origen was followed in this teaching by Pierius, John of Jerusalem, Rufinus, Nemesius, and others. Jerome at one time believed in it, and Augustine acknowledged himself in doubt. It was opposed by Methodius and Gregory of Nyssa, and condemned by a decree of Justinian in A.D. 543, and by a synod at Constantinople in the same year; but in the Western Church it maintained itself in some quarters till the time of Gregory the Great at the end of the 6th century. Since that time it has been commonly held that the existence of all men was present to the foreknowledge of God and that it is part of the divine purpose; but a definite statement of actual pre-existence has not had a place in the acknowledged creed of any of the great Christian Churches. Still, individual theologians are to be found who have explicitly maintained it.

A particular phase of this doctrine occurs with regard to the person of Christ. It was taught by Origen and held by his followers that, like the souls of men, the *human* soul of Christ was created by God from eternity. It did not, like the others, suffer a premundane fall. The divine nature of Christ united with this undefiled soul and through it with the body. Among modern writers Isaac Watts (1747) adopted this theory. Cf. also Julius Müller.

6. In Indian religions.—The doctrine of pre-existence has a place in some form or other in most of the religions of India—Buddhism and Islām being the chief exceptions. Whether it was brought there by the Aryan invaders or afterwards originated among them, or was adopted by them from the pre-Aryan inhabitants, has not yet been determined. The significance of the doctrine is conditioned by the varying conceptions of the Deity which have been current in different periods and in different religious systems. The prevailing mode of thought is pantheistic, but in the Vedic hymns it sometimes shades off into polytheism; and sometimes—as is the case also in the later codes of laws—it aproximates to monotheism. In Buddhism it becomes practically atheistic; whilst the pantheism of Brāhmanism becomes blended with polytheism in Hinduism.

In the Rigveda the mother Aditi, 'immensity,' is conceived of as the substratum of all existences; she is 'what has been born, and what will be born.' The teaching—already a part of Brāhmanism—becomes clear in the *Upaniṣads* (*c.* 500 B.C.) and in most of the systems of philosophy founded on them, as well as in the codes of law. The doctrine is common to all these writings that the soul (*puruṣa*, or 'the self,' *ātman*) is eternal. It has always existed and it always will exist. In the case of man the soul, when united to the body, is brought into bondage and endures the misery of an earthly life. Of the various modes of presenting the doctrine only examples can be given here. According to one representation, all organized existence, material and immaterial, develops out of a primal substance, *prakṛti*, in virtue of its own inherent energy. In the earliest *Upaniṣads* this view is set forth in such a way as to involve a materialistic monism, but in the Sāṅkhya philosophy the basis is dualistic. According to the last theory, besides the *prakṛti*, there are individual souls existing eternally and indestructible, and it is to unite with these that the *prakṛti* energizes itself. There is no supreme soul, for all souls are equal; but the modifications of the *prakṛti* with which they unite produce differences in the earthly life. When the soul comes to recognize its distinction from matter, it can free itself from it and regain its liberty. There is another way of presenting the theory in the *Upaniṣads* and worked out in the Vedānta philosophy which is essentially idealistic and involves a pantheistic view of the universe. One principle of life animates man and nature. It is the *ātman*, or self. It appears in nature as air or ether and in man as breath. The individual soul (*jīvātman*), which has its abode in the heart, is part of the supreme soul (*paramātman*), but has an independent existence of a practical, experimental kind. The consciousness of separate existence is, however, illusion, ignorance of its real nature, and true knowledge consists in recognizing itself as identical with the supreme *ātman*.

A doctrine of pre-existence cannot be said to find a place in Indian Buddhism (which denies the *ātman*), but it appears in a distinct form in the closely related system—Jainism. The Jains believe that the world is eternal; all animate beings are composed of soul and body; the soul has always existed and always will exist, but during the earthly life or series of lives it is in bondage through its association with matter.

The two most prevalent forms of religion among the Hindus are Vaiṣnavism and Śaivism, although the sects which represent these have been subjected to almost endless subdivision. The materials for their creeds are derived chiefly from Brāhmanism but partly also from ancient ideas, Aryan and aboriginal, that were independent of Brāhmanism. Vaiṣnavism has the greatest number of adherents, and among most of its sects the influence of the Vedāntic idealism, as expounded by Śaṅkara, is apparent, although as time went on dualistic conceptions became more common. Sometimes Kṛṣṇa, one of the incarnations of Viṣṇu, is represented as being alone real, the absolute being in human form, and the consciousness of independent

existence in men is the product of his deceptive magic; but in the teaching of the Pāncharātras individual souls are emanations from the Supreme Being and, till they are absorbed in him again, enjoy a real and distinct existence. The followers of Rāmānuja, who are numerous both in N. and in S. India, attribute a distinct but finite reality to individual souls; and the followers of Ananda-tīrtha in the south regard individual souls as having an eternal existence distinct from matter and from God. The Sikhs—in some respects deists—follow the Vedāntic teaching on this subject.

In Saivism, which is more closely related to the deism of the Sāṅkhya philosophy, the distinction of the soul from God on the one hand and from matter on the other is made clear. While the soul is united to matter, it is subject to error and sin; it is separated from God, held back as by a chain which the faithful should earnestly seek to have broken. There is, however, a branch of the Śaivite religion, represented chiefly by ascetics in Benares and in the Deccan, in which a pure idealism is adopted. God is regarded as the only substance, and objects, including the individual ego, as His ideas.

These notices are far from an exhaustive enumeration of the modifications of the doctrine to be found in the Indian religions; but from them we see that pre-existence has been part of the teaching of all the great religious systems of the Hindus except Buddhism; that it is still a definite part of the teaching of that Hinduism, whether the cult adopted be that of Viṣṇu or that of Śiva, which is now the religion of more than 200,000,000 of the people of India, as well as of the smaller communities of the Sikhs and the Jains.

7. In other religions.—The belief in previous incarnations common to many primitive religions—among N. American Indians, Australian aborigines, African tribes, and elsewhere—is discussed under the title INCARNATION; here we are concerned with the origin of the soul previous to any incarnation. On the other hand, it is probable that pre-existence was believed in among some races whose religious system was more developed, but where direct evidence is now wanting. This is probably true of the Celts of the Druidic period, who believed in transmigration. The references to the cosmic egg in Teutonic legends, in the Orphic mysteries, and in Indian myths show that all these had certain ideas in common regarding world-origin. Among the ancient Egyptians there was a belief that one element in man—the *khu*—is a god-like essence, a spark of the divine intelligence. It comes down from heaven and forms part of the human soul, or *ka*, from which it is separated at death and, rising again to heaven, becomes a spirit. The Pharaoh was regarded as an incarnation of the sun-god and subordinate princes as incarnations of various gods. Chuang Tse (*c.* 300 B.C.), the opponent of Confucianism and the expounder of the philosophy of Lao-tse, the founder of Taoism, teaches that the soul is an emanation from God; that life on earth is a misfortune, involving a breach of the partnership with God, to whom the soul returns at death. Some forms of Buddhism, through contact with native religions outside of India, have developed a doctrine of pre-existence. Among certain Arab philosophers the Neo-Platonic teaching was revived, notably by al-Fārābī of Baghdād († A.D. 950).

8. In modern philosophy and general literature.—In modern times and within the bounds of Western civilization belief in pre-existence has been shown by various philosophers, poets, and other writers. In some cases it is accompanied by a pantheistic faith or undefined views tending towards pantheism, and in others by belief in a personal God. There are many varieties in the form of the doctrine, and all that can be done here is to refer to typical instances. In Spinoza it occurs in a pantheistic sense, the individual finite forms being *modi* in which the Infinite Substance particularizes itself. In Hegel's philosophy finite persons are differentiations of the Absolute Spirit, who is the sum of reality. God is the One-and-All of which every man is a part. 'The whole is in every part, and every part is essential to the whole' (J. M. E. McTaggart, *Studies in Hegelian Cosmology*, Cambridge, 1901, p. 243 f.). For Leibniz human souls are monads of a high rank. They have existed since the beginning of things and have been in the ancestors since Adam's time. They have been, however, merely sensitive souls possessed of perception and feeling, and are endowed with reason at the time of generation by a kind of transcreation. From the beginning they have the imperfection inherent in finite things. Kant is generally referred to as teaching pre-existence in discussing the origin of evil, but the statement of his position requires care. Man at his birth has an innate bias, which Kant calls 'radical evil.' This bias is referred to the will, and (as *peccatum originarium*) is itself an intelligible act, cognizable only by reason, performed by the individual, not in the phenomenal world but in the supersensible sphere. He does not, however, represent this act as taking place in a pre-existent state. The act is timeless (*Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft*, ii. [*Gesammelte Schriften*, Berlin, 1900–13, vi.]). The thought thus darkly suggested by Kant was given more definite form by subsequent philosophers. Schelling, postulating pre-existence, conceives of man as falling at the beginning of all things from absolute to self-dependent existence, in which state he remains till birth. Variations of a theory of pre-existence on a basis of idealism or of realism are to be found in Schleiermacher, Schopenhauer, I. H. Fichte, Herbart, and many others. Julius Müller presents the doctrine in a clearly-defined form. A threefold primitive condition is assigned to man—his primitive state in the eternal ideas, in the extra-temporal existence of every ego, and in the temporal beginning of his earthly development. Believing in trichotomy, he regards the ψυχή as being generated with the body, and the πνεῦμα as being the element that is pre-existent. The πνεῦμα of every individual, except Christ, became involved in a condition of primitive sinfulness in the extra-temporal stage of existence. Among recent philosophers J. M. E. McTaggart thinks that pre-existence can be proved in a directly metaphysical way. He believes in a plurality of lives both before and after the present life. Henri Bergson, developing his theory of creative evolution, speaks of souls as being continually created, which, nevertheless, in a certain sense pre-existed. William James, in explaining his transmission theory of the function of the brain, thinks of our consciousness as being continually derived from something mental (a mind or minds) that pre-existed — from a consciousness that exists, behind the scenes, co-eval with the world. The direction in which the minds of many writers are turned is shown by the frequent use of such terms as 'oversoul,' 'soul-stuff,' 'mind-stuff,' 'subliminal self,' and Fechner's 'psycho-physical threshold.'

Belief in pre-existence is expressed by several English poets and by other writers. Vaughan has it in *The Retreate* (1654), the leading thoughts of which are borrowed and amplified by Wordsworth in his *Ode on the Intimations of Immortality*. In the treatment in both cases there is an echo of

Plato's doctrine of reminiscence, with this difference that it is the child in its earliest days that has the clearest recollection of the heavenly world and the impression becomes dimmed as life advances. Rossetti, in *The House of Life*, assumes pre-existence to account for his familiarity with a strange place, and for the bond that binds two lovers. Browning represents Cristina as feeling that 'ages past the soul existed' (cf. *La Saisiaz*). Tennyson expresses it in *Early Sonnets*, i., and in *Crossing the Bar* (cf. *The Two Voices*). Of course in poetry it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the statement of a conviction and the play of poetic fancy or what is spoken in character. Jules Michelet, in *L'Oiseau* (1856), whilst not advocating transmigration in the ordinary sense, speaks of birds as embryo souls, candidates for the life to which the human soul has attained. Edward Beecher is an advocate of pre-existence in *The Conflict of the Ages*. A. B. O. Wilberforce, in *The Hope That is in Me*, says, 'I believe we have all been in being prenatally.' The evidence of a similar belief can often be seen in recent Russian literature. Among modern theosophists the belief is common that the conscious spirit is an eternal entity, a unit from eternity.

9. Summary.—By referring to the particulars given above it will be seen that belief in pre-existence prevailed very widely in ancient times, especially in the more developed ethnic religions. To what extent borrowing occurred has not been determined, but the probability is that in several cases the belief originated independently. It is held at present by most of the Hindus, by most Jews, and by many philosophers and other writers in Christian countries. There seems to be a tendency to revert to it in philosophic arguments in favour of the immortality of the soul. The doctrine appears in at least three distinct forms, each of which has several variations. (1) In the pantheistic form the soul pre-existed only in the Deity, and in the present life it continues to be merely a manifestation of the Deity. The Vedāntic philosophy, Spinoza, Hegel, and many others may be cited. It ought to be noted that in strict pantheism the same theory applies to the body as to the soul. (2) Another form is where the soul is thought of as having a distinct independent existence during the present life, and as having existed previously, but not as a soul. Manichæism and some of the Hindu systems supply instances. (3) In the other form the pre-existing soul is a distinct individual entity. The degree of consciousness ascribed to it varies, but the present life is a continuation of that which went before. The soul is an emanation from or is created by the Deity, or is eternally existent. It is in one of the varieties of the last form that the doctrine generally appears. The conditions in which the pre-existent soul lives are seldom described with any attempt at exactness, but generally it enjoys a state of bliss or at least of freedom from distress exceeding anything known on earth. This is the doctrine of the Essenes, Plato, Philo, and the Saivites. In many cases pre-existence is simply postulated, but attempts have also been made to justify belief in it. It has been regarded as more easily credible than any other account of the soul's origin—than either creationism or traducianism; as accounting for the feeling of familiarity that one sometimes has with a place never visited before, and the affinity that certain persons discover to each other at their first meeting (so in modern poets); as accounting for innate ideas (Plato), for original depravity (Müller). Origen derives it from the nature of the soul and regards it as the correlative of immortality; the idealists from the conception of existence. McTaggart hopes (1915) to justify his belief by a discussion of the fundamental nature of reality. None of the arguments advanced is convincing, and the phenomena observed can be better accounted for on other grounds.

LITERATURE.—i. *GENERAL.*—F. Ueberweg, *Hist. of Philosophy*, Eng. tr., London, 1872-74; E. Rohde, *Psyche*[3], Tübingen, 1903; W. MacDougall, *Body and Mind*[2], London, 1913; J. F. Bruch, *Lehre von der Präexistenz*, Strassburg, 1859; E. B. Tylor, *PC*[4], London, 1903; R. H. Lotze, *Microcosmus*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1885; J. G. Frazer, *GB*[3], London, 1911 ff.; C. P. Tiele, *Elements of the Science of Religion*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1897-99; M. Jastrow, *Study of Religion*, London, 1901.

ii. *GREEK.*—E. Zeller, *Philosophie der Griechen*, i.[4], Leipzig, 1876, Eng. tr., London, 1881; J. Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*[2], London, 1908; E. Caird, *Evolution of Theology in the Greek Philosophers*, Glasgow, 1904; J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*[2], Cambridge, 1908; Ueberweg, *Hist. of Philosophy*.

iii. *JEWISH.*—*JE*, *s.v.*; J. Drummond, *Philo Judæus*, London, 1888; E. Schürer, *HJP*, Edinburgh, 1890-91; S. D. F. Salmond, *Christian Doctrine of Immortality*[4], do. 1901; H. Schultz, *Theol. of OT*, Eng. tr., do. 1892.

iv. *CHRISTIAN.*—*EBi* and *CE*, *s.v.*; C. Bigg, *Christian Platonists of Alexandria* (*BL*), Oxford, 1886; J. H. Kurtz, *Church History*, Eng. tr., London, 1888-89, i.; A. Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr., do. 1894-99, i.; Ueberweg, *Hist. of Philosophy*.

v. *INDIAN.*—A. Barth, *Religions of India*, Eng. tr., London, 1882; M. Monier-Williams, *Brāhmanism and Hinduism*[4], do. 1891; L. D. Barnett, *Hinduism*, do. 1906; D. A. Mackenzie, *Indian Myth and Legend*, do. 1915; J. Eggeling, art. 'Sanskrit' in *EBr*[11]; F. Max Müller, *Theosophy or Psychological Religion*, London, 1893, *Natural Religion*, do. 1889, *Physical Religion*, do. 1891.

vi. *OTHER RELIGIONS.*—*Religious Systems of the World*, London, 1890; G. T. Bettany, *Primitive Religions*, do. 1891; A. H. Sayce, *Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, Edinburgh, 1902; A. Wiedemann, *The Ancient Egyptian Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul*, Eng. tr., London, 1895; H. A. Giles, *Confucianism and its Rivals* (*HL*), do. 1915.

vii. *MODERN.*—H. Bergson, *Creative Evolution*, Eng. tr., London, 1912; J. Müller, *The Christian Doctrine of Sin*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1852-53; J. Watson, *Interpretation of Religious Experience*, Glasgow, 1912; J. H. Stirling, *Philosophy and Theology*, Edinburgh, 1890; F. R. Tennant, *Origin and Propagation of Sin*[2], Cambridge, 1906, *Sources of the Doctrines of the Fall and Original Sin*, do. 1903; E. Caird, *Critical Philosophy of Kant*[2], Glasgow, 1909; William James, *Human Immortality*[2], London, 1906; J. M. E. McTaggart, *Immortality and Pre-existence*, do. 1915. See also section ii.

R. MOORE.

PREFERENTIAL DEALING. — 'Preferential dealing' has been defined (*e.g.*, in the Christian Social Union paper on *Preferential Dealing*) as 'the practice of purchasing goods only from tradesmen who observe the standard regulations for each trade'; and 'standard regulations' are taken to mean 'the best that can be secured at a given time in a particular locality,' whether the result of an agreement between capital and labour or of an award by an arbitrator. In this sense of the term preferential dealing was first applied by the C.S.U. in 1896.

An attempt had been previously made in England to organize a movement on similar lines under the title of a 'Consumers' League,' but no definite results seem to have been obtained by this method. It should be noted, however, that in America the 'National Consumers' League' has established a permanent position, with a wider scope of action, including the promotion of legislation by the various States in regard to the early closing of shops, the limitation of the hours of work for women and children in factories, etc. At an earlier date the principle of preferential dealing had been publicly recognized in England by the 'Fair Wages Resolution' passed by the House of Commons in 1891, requiring the payment of 'standard' or 'current' wages under all Government contracts.

As initiated by the C.S.U., this practice was described at first as 'exclusive dealing,' but this negative term was soon replaced by the positive term, 'preferential dealing.' It was found that the mere suggestion of an organized attempt to exclude tradesmen from public custom, for any

reason however just and valid, was liable to legal action as being in restraint of trade, whereas it was quite legitimate to offer preferential custom to those who were willing to adopt the standard regulations for their respective trades.

To give practical effect to this purpose, lists of tradesmen who observe the standard regulations (commonly called 'white lists') have been circulated, to be used by ordinary consumers at their discretion. Such a list may be published (*a*) by a Trade Union, dealing with a single trade as organized throughout the country — *e.g.*, the Typographical Association; (*b*) by a Trades and Labour Council, including many trades in a particular locality—*e.g.*, at Leeds; (*c*) by a society like the C.S.U., primarily for its own members—*e.g.*, a joint list of tailors in London, Oxford, Cambridge, Liverpool, Exeter, Eton, and Rugby; or (*d*) by a C.S.U. branch, giving a list of local trades—*e.g.*, at Oxford. It should be noted that, so far as the C.S.U. is concerned, it assumes no responsibility either for the code of rules or for their observance. The code is taken to be a mutual agreement between capital and labour, and it is assumed that it is the duty both of the Masters' Associations and of the Trade Unions to see that the standard regulations are faithfully obeyed. All that the C.S.U. supplies in this respect is an educated conscience ready to act on information given.

The ethical basis of preferential dealing was enunciated by the bishops of the Anglican Communion at the Lambeth Conference in 1897, when it was declared that Christian opinion ought to 'press upon retail purchasers the obligation to consider not only the cheapness of the goods supplied to them, but also the probable conditions of their production.' It has also received support from modern economists; *e.g.*, W. Smart of Glasgow University wrote:

'The producing man is, essentially, the servant of the consuming man, and the final direction of industry lies with the consumers. . . . There are two distinct responsibilities which must not be confused: one is responsibility for the conditions under which goods are made; the other is responsibility for their being made at all. A slight awakening of the public conscience has induced some to ask, if it is not possible to demand some guarantee that the goods we buy are made by workers paid decent wages and working under healthy conditions' (*Studies in Economics*, pp. 265, 268).

LITERATURE.—See *Preferential Dealing*, *Commercial Morality*, *List of Tailors*, etc., papers published by the Christian Social Union, Oxford, 1897-1912; J. G. Brooks, *The Consumers' League*, Cambridge, Mass., n.d. [1897]; *Work of National Consumers' League* (American Academy of Political and Social Science), Philadelphia, 1911; W. Smart, *Studies in Economics*, London, 1895.

J. CARTER.

PREGNANCY.—1. Ignorance of the cause of conception.—Among the Arunta and other tribes of Central Australia conception is regarded as the result of the entrance of an ancestral spirit individual into the woman.

'They have no idea of procreation as being directly associated with sexual intercourse, and firmly believe that children can be born without this taking place.'[1]

Similar ideas are found among other Australian tribes,[2] and the belief that conception can take place apart from sexual intercourse is found sporadically elsewhere, though perhaps not always with the same ignorance of the real cause of it. Examples of this have been found in New Guinea, in Melanesia, formerly among the Baganda, and in the Niger and Senegal regions.[3] Folklore and mythology show that conception might take place by more or less magical means, but, in many instances this is in addition to actual cohabitation.[1] Some writers have maintained that ignorance of the cause of conception must once have been widely spread, and possibly at one time in the history of early man was general. The reasons alleged for this ignorance are several: conception is found not to result from the wide-spread practice of cohabitation before puberty; why then should it follow it after puberty? Premature intercourse tends to impair fertility. There is again a disproportion of births to acts of sexual union. And even where the cause is known, it is not regarded as invariable and indispensable.[2]

In spite of all this, it may be doubted whether the belief in virgin-birth has ever been wide-spread. In most cases where conception is due to a god or spirit these are envisaged in very material and human aspects.

Among the Sinaugolo (British New Guinea) pregnancy is thought to result from frequent cohabitation. Conception begins in the breasts (from signs of pregnancy seen in them). Later the child drops to the abdomen. There is no idea of an intra-abdominal organ.[3] Among the Yakuts the woman is thought to have a greater share in procreation than the man, who therefore takes no responsibility for monstrosities.[4]

2. Averting barrenness and securing male children.—As the possession of some children at least is regarded as a necessity with savage peoples as well as at higher levels, many devices are made use of to avert barrenness.

The Eskimo woman of Behring Straits goes to a shaman, who gives her a kind of doll over which rites have been performed. She sleeps with this under her pillow.[5] This is a piece of mimetic magic, and may be compared with a Japanese method in which the woman is put through a form of delivery with a doll at the phallic festival.[6] Various practices with a doll-like image occur elsewhere—among the Battas, in Torres Straits islands, among the Maoris, the Huichol Indians, the Basutos and other African tribes, etc.[7] Among the Bahima women are thought to be barren or fruitful at the will of the clan deity. The husband who wishes a child prays to him and commits his wife to the god's care during her pregnancy.[8] In the Congo region barrenness is supposed to be cured by entering the *ndembo* secret society, when the entrant gets a new body.[9] Among the Awemba barren women wear two tiny horns in hope of bearing children, the reproach of barrenness being the worst insult.[10] In E. Central Africa the woman provides a black hen, which is tied to her back, and there fed as if it were a child.[11] In Egypt barren women pass seven times under the stone on which the bodies of decapitated criminals have been washed, and then lave their faces in the polluted water. Others step over the body of a decapitated man.[12] Bathing in or drinking the waters of a sacred well or spring is often resorted to for the cure of barrenness in various regions, and some legends tell of girls becoming mothers after doing so.[13] In modern Muhammadan districts favourite places of resort are the tombs of saints, where prayers and an offering are made—a practice found also in Christian countries. Contact with fixed rocks or boulders or megalithic monuments is often believed to be effectual for the removal of barrenness—the spirit of the stone or of the dead buried there perhaps being supposed to assist the rite or even to be reborn of the woman.

Sometimes special ceremonies occur to ensure that the expected child will be a boy.

In Sabai, Torres Straits, the expectant mother nurses the image of a male child made by her husband's sister. Or, to obtain a male child, the woman presses to her abdomen a fruit like the male organ in shape and then gives it to another woman who has only male offspring.[14] In Japan the expectant mother puts on part of her husband's dress, and, having gone round a well three times, looks at her face in the water. Without looking behind, she repeats, 'Woman is unlucky, man is lucky.' Then for three days she leaves the cover on the well, which is a

[1] Spencer-Gillen[b], p. 320; cf. p. 150 ff.; Spencer-Gillen[a], p. 123 f.; W. B. Spencer, *Introd. to the Study of certain Native Tribes of the Northern Territory*, Melbourne, 1912, p. 6.

[2] W. E. Roth, *N. Queensland Ethnography*, Brisbane, 1903, p. 22; other instances cited in *GB*[3], pt. iv., *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, London, 1914, i. 103 ff.

[3] R. Neuhauss, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea*, Berlin, 1911, iii. 26; W. H. R. Rivers, *JRAI* xxxix. [1909] 173 f.; J. Roscoe, *The Baganda*, London, 1911, p. 46 f.; M. Delafosse, *Haut-Sénégal-Niger*, Paris, 1912, iii. 171.

[1] Instances in E. S. Hartland, *LP* i. 71 ff., *Primitive Paternity*, London, 1910, *passim*; H. de Charencey, *Le Folklore dans les deux mondes*, Paris, 1894, p. 121 ff.

[2] Frazer, *GB*[3], pt. iv., *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, i. 106, *Totemism and Exogamy*, London, 1910, i. 155 ff., iv. 40 ff.; Hartland, *Prim. Paternity*, ii. 249 ff., 275 ff.

[3] C. G. Seligmann, *JAI* xxxii. [1902] 300.

[4] W. G. Sumner, *ib.* xxxi. [1901] 80.

[5] *18 RBEW* [1899], pt. i. p. 435.

[6] W. G. Aston, *FL* xxiii. [1912] 187.

[7] Examples in *GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, London, 1911, i. 70 ff.

[8] Roscoe, *JRAI* xxxvii. [1907] 110. [9] *FL* xxi. [1910] 487.

[10] J. H. West Sheane, *JAI* xxxvi. [1906] 154.

[11] *FL* xv. [1904] 73.

[12] E. W. Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, London, 1846, ii. 79.

[13] D. McKenzie, *FL* xviii. [1907] 271; J. A. MacCulloch, *The Religion of the Ancient Celts*, Edinburgh, 1911, p. 196.

[14] A. C. Haddon, *JAI* xix. [1890] 389 f.

domestic god.[1] In India a low-class mother of daughters only has been known to kill a neighbour's girl as a sacrifice in order to procure a son.[2]

3. Tabus during pregnancy. — The expectant mother and sometimes also the father are the subjects of various tabus, for the mother usually connected with food, for the father with that also, but more usually with his actions or pursuits. The woman in pregnancy is generally herself in a tabu state, since her condition is associated with those sexual crises which are so mysterious to and so much feared by savage man. Some of the tabus imposed on her or her husband may arise out of direct observation of ill-effects following the eating of some particular food; others are the result of mal-observation or superstition; others are purely arbitrary. Only a few typical examples need be given here.

Among the Australian tribes food restrictions are general for the woman, less so for the man, for fear of hurting the child or causing its death.[3] In Murray Island birthmarks are attributed to the mother's eating a certain fish, the juices of which touched the child.[4] With the Sinaugolo of British New Guinea, lest the child should be deformed, certain species of yam and fish are forbidden to the mother, who often tabus her own food.[5] Among the western tribes of Torres Straits no woman may eat of a certain pigeon till past child-bearing.[6] In Halmahera the woman is not allowed to eat the remains of her husband's food, for that would cause difficult labour.[7] In Assam one of the *gennas*, or tabus, is that the woman must not eat many specified articles of food for fear of harm to the child.[8] With the Wawanga (E. Africa) the woman must not eat meat called *ivechi*, if it has been placed in her hut over night uncooked. If she does, her child will be sickly, and, when it begins to crawl, its hair will fall out, and sores will come on its scalp.[9] Among the Bageshu, while there are no special tabus, precautions are taken against eating foods which might do the child harm. The husband must not take violent exercise or climb trees, rocks, or the house-roof, lest a miscarriage occur.[10] The father is prohibited from eating certain foods among the Bangala, and may not hunt or fish unless the wife has certain ceremonies performed over her by the *nganga* (medicine-man). The husband is said to be in a state of *liboi*. Tabu is also placed on certain foods for the woman by the *nganga*, but not the same for all.[11] With the Baganda sickly or delicate children are kept away from the woman, who is forbidden to eat several kinds of food, lest the child be still-born or delicate.[12] Among S. African tribes there are several restrictions prescribed by custom, but no evil consequences are thought to follow departure from these.[13] In ancient Persia the woman was forbidden to eat dead matter under pain of death, and she could not be purified from this pollution.[14] A final instance may be taken from the Indians of the Issa-Japura district, S. America: foods are much restricted—*e.g.*, paca flesh, lest the child's skin be spotted, capybara, lest it have teeth like that animal's, etc.[15]

A further tabu is seen in the very general avoidance of sexual connexion between husband and wife either during the whole period of pregnancy or during part of it, especially towards the end. Sometimes a definite reason is given for this—*e.g.*, lest the child be deformed (Sinaugolo, British New Guinea),[16] or lest the hunting and fishing of the father should be bad and the child sicken or die (Bangala).[17] Such avoidances are the result of the belief that any time of sexual crisis is dangerous. Examples are found in many parts of the world.[18]

1 Aston, *FL* xxiii. 192 f. 2 R. C. Temple, *ib.* x. [1899] 392.
3 Many examples in Spencer-Gillen[b], p. 614.
4 A. E. Hunt, *JAI* xxviii. [1899] 11.
5 C. G. Seligmann, *ib.* xxxii. 301.
6 A. C. Haddon, *ib.* xix. 309.
7 J. G. F. Riedel, *ZE* xvii. [1885] 79.
8 T. C. Hodson, *JAI* xxxvi. 97; cf. *ERE* iii. 31 for Burmese instances.
9 K. R. Dundas, *JRAI* xliii. [1913] 33.
10 J. Roscoe, *ib.* xxxix. 184.
11 J. H. Weeks, *ib.* pp. 444, 456.
12 Roscoe, *JAI* xxxii. 29.
13 J. Macdonald, *ib.* xix. 267.
14 *Shāyast lā-shāyast*, ii. 105 (*SBE* v. [1880] 272).
15 T. W. Whiffen, *FL* xxiv. [1913] 45.
16 Seligmann, *JAI* xxxii. 301.
17 Weeks, *JRAI* xl. [1910] 367.
18 Kagoro (A. J. N. Tremearne, *JRAI* xlii. [1912] 172); Wa-Giryama (W. E. H. Barrett, *ib.* xli. [1911] 22); tribes of British C. Africa (H. S. Stannus, *ib.* xl. 310); Ba-Yaka (E. Torday and T. A. Joyce, *JAI* xxxvi. 51); Lower Congo tribes (Weeks, *JRAI* xl. 367; the mother would have no milk and the child would die); Maoris (E. Tregear, *JAI* xix. 103); Coroados, Coropos, Puri (J. B. von Spix and C. F. P. von Martius, *Travels in Brazil*, Eng. tr., London, 1824, p. 247).

In British Central Africa a man will not commit adultery during the pregnancy of his wife because he would be accused of it if she died.[1]

In connexion with this subject of tabus certain Hindu rules are worthy of notice. The pregnant woman must be given food before the householder and even before guests;[2] way must be made for her;[3] no toll is taken from her at a ferry;[4] she is not fined for committing a nuisance;[5] a Brāhman must not eat in her house;[6] the crime of killing her is equal to that of killing a Brāhman.[7]

Other tabus are of a precautionary nature, though the link between them and the unborn child or the process of birth is of a magical kind.

One of these is that no knots may be tied during pregnancy by the woman or sometimes also by her husband. The reason of this was that delivery would be difficult—the woman being thus herself apt to be tied up, or the child constricted.[8] This is akin to the custom of unlocking all locks in the house at child-birth, lest the womb should be locked up, or to the German superstition that a pregnant woman should not creep through a hedge.[9] So, too, Ainu men should not spin or twist ropes when their wives are pregnant, lest the child's intestines should be entangled, and Roman women praying to Lucina were to loosen their hair, so that she might loosen their wombs.[10] For similar reasons a pregnant woman should not sit with legs crossed, nor should her husband do so, nor any one sitting near her; nor should they sit with clasped hands. Lucina sat by the house with legs crossed and hands clasped at the birth of Hercules; hence his mother travailed with him seven days.[11] In Sumatra the woman must not stand at the door or on the top rung of the house-ladder, lest she have difficult labour; and among the Torajas standing or loitering on the ladder is forbidden to every one for the same reason.[12] In India an eclipse is thought to have its dangers for the expectant mother. No work must be done—*e.g.*, locking or unlocking a door—lest the child be deformed, nor any sewing or cutting, lest it have holes in its flesh or a hare-lip.[13] An ancient Parsi regulation was that no toothpick should have the bark left on it. This was dead matter, and, if a woman stepped on it, her child would come to harm.[14] In India no one should step over a fallen broom, lest he cause suffering to a pregnant woman.[15] The woman herself in the W. Indies should not step over a rod or small branch, and in Fife folklore stepping over a hare's form causes the child to suffer from hare-lip.[16]

In some instances charms are worn to prevent any mischief which might happen to the woman or the child, or to give an easy delivery.

Among the Bangalas in the later weeks of pregnancy pigments are painted by a medicine-man on the woman's breast, abdomen, shoulders, etc., and she wears charms to cause easy delivery.[17] After her marriage a Nandi woman collects pieces of their dress from unmarried girls in the neighbourhood and wears them as a charm to ensure pregnancy taking its normal course. After birth they are returned and a feast takes place.[18] With the Awemba the woman wears necklaces of little wooden balls with fetish-medicine inside to avert dangers of pregnancy and cause easy delivery. They are made by the medicine-man.[19] Muhammadan women in the Panjāb wear charms or a cowry on the navel. They are procured from a priest, who blows upon them.[20] See also CHARMS AND AMULETS, and for other instances A. E. Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, London, 1902, p. 9.

Pregnant women being in a state which renders them liable to the attacks of evil spirits, various precautions are taken against these. The charms so often worn probably form one of such precautions.

1 Stannus, *JRAI* xl. 305 (Yao).
2 *Institutes of Viṣṇu*, lxvii. 39 (*SBE* vii. [1900] 216).
3 *Baudhāyana*, ii. iii. 6. 30 (*SBE* xiv. [1882] 243).
4 *Institutes of Viṣṇu*, v. 132 (*SBE* vii. 36); cf. *Laws of Manu* viii. 407 (*SBE* xxv. [1886] 325).
5 *Laws of Manu*, ix. 283 (*SBE* xxv. 283).
6 Āpastamba, i. v. 19 (*SBE* ii. 59).
7 *Institutes of Viṣṇu*, xxxvi. 1 (*SBE* vii. 133).
8 Many instances from the E. Indian and Malaysian region from Lapland, and among European peasantry, will be found in *GB*[3], pt. ii., *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, London, 1911, p. 294. Cf. art. KNOTS.
9 See LOCKS AND KEYS, § 3; *GB*[3], pt. ii., *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, pp. 294–295, 297; J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, tr. J. S. Stallybrass, London, 1882–88, p. 1812, no. 859; C. Hose and W. McDougall, *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, London, 1912, ii. 153.
10 *Anthropos*, v. [1910] 763; Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 327.
11 *GB*[3], pt. ii., *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, pp. 295, 298; Pliny, *HN* xxviii. 59; Ovid, *Met.* ix. 285.
12 *GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, i. 114.
13 W. Crooke, *PR* i. 22; H. A. Rose, *JAI* xxxv. [1905] 277 f.
14 *Sad Dar*, xvii. (*SBE* xxiv. [1885] 278).
15 *FL* xiii. [1902] 237. 16 *Ib.*
17 Weeks, *JRAI* xxxix. 100.
18 C. W. Hobley, *JAI* xxxiii. [1903] 345.
19 J. H. West Sheane, *JRAI* xxxvi. 154.
20 H. A. Rose, *JRAI* xxxv. 279.

Among the Sinhalese the woman is protected from devils by *mantras* for charming each day's first food and drink.[1] Among the people of Nias spirits of murdered infants cause miscarriage. The woman is protected at night by an idol, which is connected with a second by a chain of palm-leaves, while before the latter a small banana-tree is placed. The spirits, seeing the first idol, run along the chain in fear and then leap on the tree, mistaking it for the woman.[2] With the ancient Parsis fire was maintained in the woman's house, the reason being that such a fire protected Zoroaster's mother when attacked by demons.[3] Among the Nagas, pregnant women being exposed to attack from evil spirits, the river-spirit and also the Python are worshipped to cause easy delivery.[4] Protection of the woman against *jinn* is effected in Tlemsen by keeping a black fowl in the house from the seventh month onwards. After delivery it is let loose in the Jews' quarter, carrying the *jinn* with it.[5] Among some of the Veddas the aid of the *yakus* (spirits) is invoked, and a religious dance performed as soon as pregnancy is diagnosed.[6] Prayer is also made by the woman's father for her safety. For a Bavenda goddess of pregnant women cf. *ERE* ii. 364[b].

Sometimes the pregnancy rites are of a more elaborate nature than those which have just been described.

In Java in the seventh month husband and wife go to a river or well. Banana-leaves are fastened round the upper part of the woman's body. Through an opening in front of these the husband drops a weaver's shuttle, which an old woman catches, pretending that it is a child. An egg, emblem of the afterbirth, is then passed through, and a cut is made at the opening in the leaves in imitation of cutting the navel-string. The purpose of this ceremony is to facilitate delivery.[7]

Most elaborate of all are the rites followed in India, of which, as practised by Hindus and Muhammadans, a detailed description has been given by H. A. Rose.[8]

These rites vary from tribe to tribe, and consist of ceremonies in the 3rd, 5th, or 7th month or in all three, or in the 8th or 9th month. There is an interchange of presents between the woman and her mother. Offerings are made to the spirits. The woman is bathed and dressed in new clothes—not worn before the performance of the rites. The kinsfolk assemble, and gifts of food or fruit are placed in her lap. She and her husband adore the gods. The Muhammadan rites are analogous to these, but without the worship of the gods.

The Khatris, a Panjāb tribe, perform funeral rites for the father in the 5th month, while the parents are remarried after the birth.[9] This goes back to the belief found in the *Laws of Manu* that, after conception by the woman, her husband becomes an embryo and is reborn from her.[10] He dies when his son is quickened; hence the funeral rites.

4. Power of the pregnant woman.—The condition of the pregnant woman is often thought to have magical power, especially for fruitfulness.

Corn ground by her is used to fertilize the growing crops among the Zulus.[11] She eats of the food at the feast held among the Minang of Sumatra when a rice-barn is built, in order to increase the fruitfulness of the rice.[12] In the Nicobar Islands gardens are made more fertile by her presence in them or by her planting fruit there.[13] Similar ideas are wide-spread among savages and survive in European folklore. Probably for similar reasons pregnant cows were sacrificed at the Roman *Fordicidia* to the earth 'pregnant with the seed,' the unborn calves burned, and their ashes used at the *Parilia*.[14]

It may be noted here that in Lancashire gypsy belief a pregnant woman protects a man from hunt by mortal hands.[15]

On the other hand, pregnant women being more or less in a tabu state,[16] their influence on the crops may be dangerous, as examples from New Guinea and elsewhere show.[17]

In British Guiana, again, if a pregnant woman eats of game caught by hunting dogs, it is thought that they will never hunt again.[1] In the Panjāb it is held that a snake becomes blind if the shadow of a pregnant woman falls on it.[2] Parsi texts say that, if a dead pregnant woman is carried by two men, both must be cleansed by the *bareshnûm* rite.[3]

5. Determination of sex, etc.—Many methods are adopted to discover whether a woman is with child, its sex, and the like.

If a Kagoro woman is in doubt as to her condition, she goes to a medicine-man, who, after washing his eyes with a magic drug, looks into a calabash of water and tells what is to happen.[4] In Banks' Island divination consists in pinching a leaf cup full of water. If the water squirts out, a boy will be born; if not, a girl.[5] Sex is determined among the Veddas by the position of strips of bast as they fall on the woman's head in the dance already referred to. If they fall over the face, a girl will be born; if on the occiput, a boy.[6] In Japan, if some one calls a pregnant woman who is walking southwards and she looks back from the left, the child is a boy; if from the right, a girl. Another method of determining sex is to add together the years of the father's and mother's ages and divide by nine; if the remainder is odd, a girl will be born.[7] Among Muhammadans in the Panjāb it is thought that, if the woman's milk before birth is thin, she will have a boy; if, when it is put in a shell and fire is applied, it dries up, she will have a girl.[8] According to the *Saddharma Puṇḍarika* (xviii. 34 f. [*SBE* xxi. (1884) 344]), a preacher of the law (Buddhist) can discern if a woman is pregnant of a dead child or if she will have a healthy child. He discerns by the odour whether the child will be a boy or a girl.

LITERATURE.—Besides the works cited, see H. Ploss and M. Bartels, *Das Weib*[8], Leipzig, 1905.

J. A. MACCULLOCH.

PREMONITION.—See PRESENTIMENT.

PRESBYTER.—See MINISTRY.

PRESBYTERIANISM.—The name 'Presbyterianism' may be applied in a general sense to that theory of the Church which aims at realizing its visible unity through government by presbyters, clerical and lay, such presbyters being set apart by their peers with popular consent, being all of equal status, and being organized for purposes of ecclesiastical administration into Church courts, which rise one above another in an ascending scale, from the congregational to the national. In a sense more particular 'Presbyterianism' is used to denote the concrete effort after the realization of that idea which, originating in the work of John Calvin, was elaborated by those who followed him into a definite form of Church organization, with a distinctive type of doctrine, morals, and ritual, and which in one form or another counts perhaps 100,000,000 adherents to-day. Presbyterianism seeks to avoid, on the one hand, the absolute subjection of individual congregations to government from without and above, and, on the other, their absolute independence of all restraint. Of the three great types of Church government it is therefore the middle one, between Congregationalism and Episcopacy.

I. *EMERGENCE OF THE CALVINIST PRESBYTERIAN SYSTEM.*—**1. The NT basis.**—Serious Presbyterian scholarship is long past the stage of the crude 'jure divino' defence of Presbyterianism, as if it were the only form of Church government expressly sanctioned by the Word of God and the institution of Christ. During the first phase of the famous controversy between Puritans and Anglicans the Puritans claimed divine sanction for their ecclesiastical system, or, at least, divine disapproval of that of their opponents, as against the Anglican argument from the expediency of the episcopate; but in the later stages of the conflict the two sides reversed their rôles. The controversy died down about A.D. 1700 after the battle over the Ignatian Epistles; and the whole question as to the primitive form of Church government only revived under the stimulus of modern histori-

1 W. L. Hildburgh, *JRAI* xxxviii. [1908] 185.
2 F. Kramer, *Tijdschr. voor Indische Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde*, xxxiii. [1890] 489.
3 *Shāyast lā-shāyast*, x. 4 (*SBE* v. 316).
4 T. C. Hodson, *FL* xxi. 310.
5 E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers, 1908, p. 454.
6 C. G. and B. Z. Seligmann, *The Veddas*, Cambridge, 1911, pp. 247 f., 250.
7 C. Poensen, cited in *GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, i. 72.
8 *JAI* xxxv. 271 ff., 279 ff. 9 *FL* xiii. 279.
10 *Laws of Manu*, ix. 13 (*SBE* xxv. 329); cf. FIRST-BORN, § 3.
11 D. Kidd, *Savage Childhood*, London, 1906, p. 291.
12 *GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, i. 140.
13 *Inter. AE* v. [1892] 193; *Census of India, 1901*, Calcutta, 1903, iii. 206.
14 Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 629; cf. EARTH, § 6. Similar sacrifices also occur in Greece (W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge inscriptionum græcarum*[2], Leipzig, 1898, no. 615).
15 *FL* xxiv. 326.
16 Instances in A. E. Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, pp. 9, 54.
17 *GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, i. 141.

1 E. F. im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, London, 1883, p. 233.
2 *PR* ii. 143. 3 *Shāyast lā-shāyast*, ii. 6 (*SBE* v. 247).
4 A. J. N. Tremearne, *JRAI* xlii. 172.
5 W. H. R. Rivers, *FL* xxi. 46 f. 6 Seligmann, p. 250.
7 Aston, *FL* xxiii. 193. 8 Rose, *JAI* xxxv. 281

cal scholarship, with new methods, and under a new form. It is now realized by impartial critics that no one form of Church government is to be definitely discerned in Holy Writ more than another. While Calvin, therefore, and others of his day believed themselves the restorers of primitive Christianity, freed from the errors and corruptions of Romanism, modern scholarship cannot absolutely subscribe this opinion. Even if the Reformers had possessed the necessary critical insight to construct a clear picture of the NT Church, they must have found it impossible to reproduce with perfect faithfulness a primitive creed and polity which later had been in successive contact with the Græco-Roman and barbarian worlds; conversely, such a reproduction of primitive institutions would be a poor guarantee for their success in modern times. A living organism is necessarily subject to change, and the attempt to ignore a millennium of ecclesiastical history could not but fail. So far, then, as the advocate of Presbyterianism makes use of the NT to-day, he must claim to reproduce the spirit and intention of the primitive Church, and not its mechanism; he will draw his main arguments rather from considerations of expediency. He will show how Presbyterianism has proved itself particularly suited to the genius of its adherents; how it has played a prominent part in the political development of those peoples who have worked out systems of representative government; how it has produced a unique and admittedly worthy type of character; and, if these and other possible contentions savour to some extent of pragmatism, he may reply to this criticism that Church government can be, as an actual fact, traced in all ages—the NT age included—to motives of expediency, and that one of the fatal errors which have helped to rend the Church has been the injudicious elevation of government into the region of dogmatics.

Although the conditions prevalent in the early Church are inconsistent with the possible existence of either Presbyterianism or Episcopacy as we understand them, we find both presbyters and bishops mentioned in the NT; and the problem of their relationship, which has given rise to endless controversy, cannot be passed over. Whether we argue with Jerome that bishop and presbyter were originally identical, and hold with Lightfoot that the episcopate was developed from the presbyterate by elevation; whether we contend, with Harnack, that the offices were distinct from the beginning; or whether, with Lindsay and Loofs, we hold that πρεσβύτερος was the official name, while ἐπίσκοπος described the function, the problem remains the same, viz. How did the bishop come to overshadow the presbyter, and finally reduce him to a definitely inferior position? The most feasible explanation yet suggested seems to be that which is founded upon the bishop's connexion with the Eucharist, a connexion indicated by practically all the sub-apostolic literature.

2. Sub-apostolic development.—While the ἀγάπη still existed, the official in charge of the celebration would enjoy a distinctive place, not only in the Church itself, but in the eyes of outsiders. As the ἀγάπη fell into disuse, and the sacramental aspect of the Eucharist gained prominence, the bishop's pre-eminence would develop with it. The crux of the entire episcopal development seems to lie here; and, once the bishop had definitely asserted his special position among the officials of the Church, circumstances favoured his steady elevation. Roman imperialism and Jewish nationalism were in deadly conflict about the close of the 1st cent.; Jewish Christianity was rapidly disappearing; and all the conditions were in favour of the Gentile ἐπίσκοπος and his function being recognized as against the Jewish πρεσβύτερος and his function. The *Didache* is the most valuable document for this transition period; and in Ignatius we first find the threefold ministry, with the supremacy of the bishop, clearly set forth as the divinely-appointed form of Church government.[1] It is difficult, at this time of day, to accept Ignatius's own view that he received this theory by divine revelation; and the brief interval of time between him and Clement of Rome shows that his theory cannot have been extensively in practice when he wrote; but his martyrdom 'barbed and fledged' his teaching, and gave undue weight to his ecclesiastical expedient. Moreover, the Church was faced in times immediately following by heresy within and hostility without, and the concentration of power in as few hands as possible proved of great value. The forming of a creed, and of a collection of Holy Scriptures upon which to base it, was logically followed by the need of an authoritative interpretation for both. The bishop, already prominent, naturally if not logically became the authoritative mouthpiece of the Church in matters of the faith; and apostolic succession followed in due course. Irenæus, *e.g.*, definitely connects the theory of the apostolic succession of the episcopate with the necessity of maintaining sound doctrine; and the bishop thus emerges from the comparative obscurity of earlier times with a status in matters of the faith equal to that which he had previously enjoyed in matters of administration. Cyprian's position introduces a new factor. By his time creed and canon had attained a position of greater certainty, and the sacerdotalism of the Church under OT and also pagan influences had been intensified, so that apostolic succession is now a guarantee not so much of sound doctrine as of the validity of the priesthood. The evolution of territorial from congregational episcopacy was completed by the gradual assimilation of the ecclesiastical system to the imperial. The fall of the Empire, the transference of barbarian respect from it to the Church, the conversion and absorption into the Church of the northern peoples, all assisted in the process of closer organization; and so by degrees grew up the great mediæval hierarchy—the feudal system being theoretically crowned by the twin summits of a papacy supreme in spiritual affairs and an empire supreme in temporal.

3. Mediævalism.—Superficially considered, the whole history and tendency of mediævalism might seem designed to bury ever deeper the very idea of any but monarchical Church government; and the Reformation systems might seem so sudden and complete a contrast to previous developments as to justify Calvin's theory of a reversion to primitive Christianity by the ignoring of mediævalism. But nothing ever makes its appearance in history without preparation; and, while we cannot eliminate the genius of Calvin and the rest by explaining their systems out of any or all of their antecedents, we may discern certain mediæval tendencies which led up to their work. Presbyterians may find the beginnings of their history either in the NT or in the book of Exodus, if they will; but the mediæval continuation of it has been too much neglected. Although the practical needs and problems of mediævalism served to exalt the ecclesiastical society at the expense of the individual, and to sacrifice the intellectual and homiletic interests of the Church to the organizing and sacerdotal tendencies, yet the homiletic, intellectual, and individual element never completely perished. Practical exigencies might favour the creation and maintenance of a rigid monarchical system, which deprived the individual of all political or intellec-

[1] This episcopacy was congregational, not diocesan.

tual scope; but the mastery of the system was never wholly undisputed, and the essential Christian truth of the worth of the individual before God never fell completely out of sight. Throughout the growth of ecclesiasticism we can discern a continuous process of revolt against it, which, manifesting itself primarily in the form of Montanism (*q.v.*), was suppressed, but, in its essence, defied extinction. Athanasius was faced by Arius, Augustine by Pelagius, Bernard by Abelard, Aquinas by Scotus; the slavery of intellect was always incomplete. But it is in monasticism (*q.v.*) that we can see most clearly the opposition of individualism to the tyranny of the institution. The impulse which, in the successive forms of Montanism, Novatianism, and Donatism (*qq.v.*), succumbed to the need for closer organization persisted in the form of monasticism, and established an unbreakable hold upon Western Christendom. From the beginning of monastic history the conversion, the education, and the civilization of N.W. Europe were almost entirely the work of monks; and, while the episcopate succeeded in forcing the monks into the priesthood, monasticism conquered by forcing celibacy on the Western clergy and emancipating the orders from episcopal control. The opposition between the secular clergy and the monks runs throughout mediævalism; and the monastic side of the opposition represents the preparation for the Reformed Churches. Whereas the secular clergy obeyed a monarchic bishop, the monks obeyed a presbyter-abbot. Their vow of poverty gave expression to the truth that a man is of value apart from his property, their vow of celibacy destroyed the feudal fetish of family prestige, their vow of obedience was that of free-will obedience to a superior in whose election they had a voice, and in making this vow a man left a society in which he was a mere irresponsible cog accidentally placed in a machine for one into which he entered voluntarily. Thus, while, as A. V. G. Allen puts it, 'every direct specific purpose of the monk seemed in the long run to have been reversed, or to have proved a failure,'[1] yet there was 'a deeper purpose which could not be defeated,—the accomplishment of individual personality.'[2] It is in this presbyterial, as we might call it, conception of Christian organization that we discern the germ of the Reformation. Moreover, whereas the secular clergy and the episcopate had all along represented sacramentarianism in worship and rigid solidarity in government, the monastic system, on the whole, had stood for the homiletic aspect of worship and a form of organization at once more elastic and more representative of the popular voice. Of course, each side reacted upon the other. The monks were often the stoutest champions of orthodoxy, and their services were often most highly ritualistic; on the other hand, the Church was democratic enough to make it as possible for the most obscure Churchman to ascend to the papal throne as it is for any citizen of the United States to become President; and the semblance, at least, of representative government was retained in the election of bishops by the cathedral chapters and the choice of the pope by the conclave. But, in essence, the difference which afterwards became open in the Reformation between Catholic and Protestant subsists throughout the Middle Ages between the episcopate and monasticism; and it only required favourable circumstances to set on foot the process of disruption.

4. **Decline of papacy and the Reformation.**—The decisive factor in the final separation of the 16th cent. was the weakening of the papacy, which was the only power capable of holding together the opposed sides of ecclesiastical life. The fate of Boniface VIII. marked an era in the decline of the papal monarchy, which had ruined the Empire, only to find a new and more vigorous opponent in the growth of European nationalities; the Babylonish captivity of the Avignonese popes weakened the papal grip upon England and Germany. Early in the 14th cent. William of Occam and Marsiglio of Padua outfaced the pope in the interest of Louis of Bavaria. Marsiglio's fully-developed democratic idea of Church and State is a sign of the times; the fact that the Fraticelli were deeply involved in the anti-papal revolt is another; and the whole incident has been well named the Miniature Reformation. The work of Wyclif in England is a manifestation of the same spirit, which, passing from England to Bohemia and John Hus, remained active there far into the 15th century. These various movements combined projects both of political and of ecclesiastical reform—they attacked the dogma as well as the organization and morals of the Church. To the growing distrust of the papal monarchy and the whole system with which it was bound up the Great Schism contributed in no small measure; and the conciliar movement, while it represents in essence the struggle between the aristocratic episcopal form of Church government and the autocratic papal form, helped to pave the way for democracy by asserting the responsibility of rulers to those whom they affected to rule. With the close of the Council of Basel in 1447 the papacy secured an illusory victory over its foes, but not even the splendour of the Renaissance period could blind the eyes of serious men to the moral and financial corruption of the Curia. The rise of European nationalities, the inventions of printing and of gunpowder, revolutionary discoveries both geographical and scientific, contributed to the general ferment. Moderate men might desire a reform of the Church on the existing basis, but others were driven by the monstrous indifference of the Curia towards its own corruption to consider the evil as inherent in the system itself, and to desire a more radical reformation. In particular, the New Learning, by exposing the hollowness of many ecclesiastical pretensions, by weakening the belief in transubstantiation and sacramentarianism generally, and by reviving the interest of Europe in the teaching and homiletic side of Church activity, helped to relax the hold of the papacy upon the Church, and to set free the monastic side of its life from the long alliance with the episcopal. Finally, in the hands of Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin, the crisis came—divergence matured into division—and monasticism achieved its independence in the Reformation. It is no accident, but the result of a profound historical necessity, that the lands which remained in the Roman obedience were precisely those which had been fully Christianized in pre-monastic days, whereas the lands in which monkish missionaries, especially of the Iro-Scottish type, had laboured went over to the Reformation side.

From one point of view, the Reformation represents revolt and the rending of Christendom in pieces; but the pieces into which the Church fell correspond, with some definiteness, each to some previous tendency within mediævalism; and, from another standpoint, the Reformation is the substitution of spiritual unity under the headship of Christ for external, mechanical unity under the papal monarchy. The democratic constitution proposed for the churches of Hesse, *e.g.*, was the work of Lambert, a Franciscan monk, and recalls the Benedictine organization. Lutheranism reminds us forcibly of the Augustinian order; and

[1] *Christian Institutions*, Edinburgh, 1898, p. 173.
[2] *Ib* p. 175.

the Presbyterian type of constitution under Calvin and his followers calls to memory the organization of the great monastic orders of later mediævalism, wherein many houses were affiliated into one great society. Point for point, this parallel between mediæval tendencies and Reformation facts could be worked out in much detail. It will suffice, however, to note that Presbyterianism, like other ecclesiastical systems, was no new phenomenon suddenly entering about 1550 on a career totally unprepared for, but was the emergence into freedom of a tendency many centuries old. Substitute Christ for the pope as the head of the Church, and spiritual for corporeal unity, and you have at once the explanation of our Protestant divisions, and the antidote to much of the alarm which they cause in unreflecting minds.

5. **The question of government.**—When we consider the great importance which by and by came to be attached to the question of Church government—so that the form of organization adopted by Presbyterianism became, in time, its chief differentia from the rest of Protestantism, and 'jure Divino' arguments went hand in hand with armed force to resist any encroachment upon its rights—it is curious to reflect that, in the early days of Protestantism, the question of government was a secondary consideration. The Reformers, following the monastic lead, were more concerned with teaching than with administration; and, provided they got rid of the papal headship and could secure the safety of great truths like that of justification by faith, they kept a reasonably open mind on the question of organization. The salvation of the individual through the direct mediation of Christ was the vital point; other matters were subsidiary. Being in revolt against over-organization and all the loss of individual Christian liberty which that implied, Luther, Calvin, and the rest could scarcely make a virtue of ecclesiasticism.

Ecclesiastical organization was perhaps the least important activity of Martin Luther and the Lutheran Church. In common with the Calvinists, this Church recognized the priesthood of all believers and the parity of ministers, but, unlike the Calvinists, did not harden this into a fixed principle of organization. In the Scandinavian countries, where kings and bishops co-operated in the work of reformation, the episcopate was retained, though in a modified form; in the German principalities the *jus episcopale* was delegated to the civil power, which in turn delegated it to Consistories, and the persistence of civil government and patronage in the Church prevented Lutheranism from ever attaining to the firm representative organization which has become a feature of Presbyterianism. The attitude of Melanchthon, who would have recognized either bishops or a pope if they could have been shown to be of real use, has remained typical; the small crop of Lutheran Free Churches has resulted mainly from doctrinal objections to the union of Lutheran and Reformed a century ago in Prussia and allied states, and at least one such body seceded on the question of whether government was an essential feature of the Church at all.

The Calvinist bodies were prevented by circumstances from any such indifference to the form of Church government; for, whether by accident or by necessity, they found themselves situated either in republics or in principalities and kingdoms where the absence of a sympathetic ruler rendered the Lutheran plan impossible, and where the opposition of the bishops sooner or later demanded the repudiation of episcopacy. As has now been shown, the retention of episcopacy in some Reformation lands and its rejection in others was no accident, but a logical consequence of the attitude assumed by the bishops and the civil authorities towards the Reformation.

II. *SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENT.*—i. DOCTRINE.—In the dogmatic sphere two great doctrines mark off the Calvinist system from all others.

(*a*) The first of these is the doctrine of *the absolute sovereignty of God*, which is the keynote of all the other Calvinist developments. This carried with it the doctrines of election and predestination (*qq.v.*), which, in their rigid Supralapsarian form, denied man any participation whatever in the work of saving himself, and, in their milder Infralapsarian form, left him only a very minor part to play in it. This dogma, harsh as it may seem to the more lenient spirits of to-day, is not to be dismissed off-hand as if it were a mere negation of man's free will. The 'mere good pleasure' aspect of the doctrine is not the vital part of it. In the days when Calvin promulgated it the agony of a dying age and the birth-pangs of a new might well seem to renew the circumstances under which Augustine had set it forth, and to force upon men anew the conviction that God was all and man was nothing; to depend absolutely on the sovereign will of God for salvation was better than to depend upon the arbitrary will of a corrupt decaying papacy and an ignorant, evil-living priesthood; the folly of too much freedom was demonstrated by the excesses of Anabaptists and other irresponsible sectaries, and Lutheranism hesitated between universalism and the predestined release of certain elected men from the consequences of a totally depraved and enslaved human will. Calvin's doctrine of election was not so much a gloomy and pessimistic denial of human freedom as the joyous proclamation that man lived in an ordered universe where the sovereignty of God removed from the region of doubt the salvation of the true believer. It is an attempt to recognize necessity and order in the world of God's creation—to see temporal things, in Spinoza's immortal phrase, 'sub specie eternitatis.' This teaching runs throughout the Calvinist Confessions; and, though the settling down of modern civilization has induced in many quarters a revival of the softer Semi-Pelagian ideas, it still remains the official belief of Presbyterian Christendom.

(*b*) The other doctrinal differentia of Calvinism is found in connexion with *the sacraments*. It differs from Lutheranism in regard to baptismal regeneration and the ordinary necessity of baptism; but the chief difference is in regard to the Lord's Supper. The Roman Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation fell into disfavour as vitally connected with the ideas of priesthood and organization against which Protestantism was an avowed revolt; and the Lutheran idea of consubstantiation, with its insistence upon the corporeal presence of Christ in the sacrament, seemed to more radical Reformers to differ so little from the Catholic notion as to be an insufficient guarantee against the reintroduction of a tyrannical priesthood using unscrupulously a magical key by which they could open or close heaven to the rest of mankind. On the other hand, Zwingli and his following, by denying any real presence at all and reducing the sacrament to a mere memorial, seemed to many to go too far in the other direction. In actual fact the difference between Luther and Zwingli seriously divided the Reformers. Calvin's theory of the sacrament occupies a position between these extremes: it substitutes for the corporeal presence of Christ a spiritual, though quite real, presence; for the magical *opus operatum* of Roman Catholicism it substitutes an operation of the Holy Spirit whereby the believing communicant really feeds upon Christ; it professes to find in the real presence a mystery too profound to be explained by

the simple mechanical theory of Catholics and Lutherans or to be explained away by the equally simple denial of Zwingli; and, while the mediating position of the Calvinist theory has brought it under the suspicion of being an *εἰρηνικόν* cunningly devised in the interest of ecclesiastical and political union among the Reformers—the work of a Presbyterian politician rather than a philosophic theologian—so far as is known, no scrap of evidence exists to show that Calvin had any such deliberate purpose. It fits in quite articulately with the rest of his theology, and is the natural result of an effort on the part of one who was not an extremist to devise a theory of the sacrament which would retain the real presence of Christ without degrading it into the mechanical production of a priest with a formula. If it has served to hold together a great mass of Protestant opinion upon a subject so vital, that is not so much the result of any definite political design as a tribute to its innate reasonableness and moderation. It remains yet a feature of confessional Presbyterianism.

ii. POLITY.—The most characteristic aspect of Presbyterianism, however, is its evolution as an ecclesiastical polity. It is a natural inference from the doctrines of justification by faith and of the sole sovereignty of God that all men are equal before their maker, and the status of the clergy as a special caste wielding the powers of spiritual life and death was thereby destroyed. The ecclesiastical organization was looked at no longer from above but from below: the call of the people and the approval of his peers replaced episcopal consecration in the making of a minister; the laity received a share in the government of the Church, and the responsibility of officials to the general body became a recognized feature of ecclesiastical organization. Thus, behind all the formal shapes assumed by Reformed Church constitutions, an essentially democratic spirit is discerned. All was, at first, experimental; definite and rigid systems were evolved only by degrees. A 'jure humano' episcopacy did not frighten Calvin; and Knox, the founder of national Scottish Presbyterianism, approved, before his death, the reintroduction of bishops for certain specified purposes and on a basis of responsibility. But the fundamental ideas of the Reformed Churchmen had sealed the doom of the old type of episcopate, and, before long, the dangers involved in the preservation of even its outward form rendered a definitely Presbyterian theory and system inevitable. Circumstances forced upon Melville and others a greater rigidity of view and practice than had been found necessary by Calvin and Knox; and the conception of ministerial parity as an essential feature of the true Church was forced upon the Calvinist communions by ecclesiastical and political strife. The effusion of blood, as well as ink, in its defence caused the Presbyterians to set a great, perhaps an exaggerated, value upon their theories of Church government, for which they have suffered and fought, as other men for their faith.

The starting-point of any inquiry into the nature and history of Presbyterian Church government is necessarily found in Calvin's *Institutes* and especially in bk. iv., which deals with the doctrine of the Church. According to Calvin, a Church and ministers are necessary as external helps to the true believer, for whose edification the ministers at public worship expound God's Word. A careful distinction is drawn between the invisible Church—known only to God—and the visible Church which is discerned 'wherever we see the Word of God sincerely preached and heard, wherever we see the sacraments administered according to the institution of Christ' (bk. iv. ch. i. § 9). This very simple idea of the marks of the true Church renders the independence of many various bodies consistent with the essential requisite of true spiritual unity; taken in connexion with the idea of an invisible Church known only to God, it renders secession, except for the weightiest reasons, wicked and frivolous. Calvin will not even go so far as to unchurch Rome, though he contends that the insignificance of the remnants of a true Church contained in it abundantly justifies men in repudiating the Roman communion. 'We behoved to withdraw from them in order to draw near to Christ' (bk. iv. ch. ii. § 6).[1]

In the Church God uses men for the useful and honourable office of the ministry, and in Holy Scripture, the touchstone of all his ideas, Calvin finds only two permanent orders of ministry—the pastor and the teacher—though temporary offices, such as those of apostle, prophet, and evangelist, existed in NT times for special purposes, and might profitably be temporarily renewed on sufficient occasion. Of the permanent officers the pastor roughly resembles the apostle, whose function he localizes. 'What the apostles did for the whole world, every pastor should do for the flock over which he is appointed' (bk. iv. ch. iii. § 6). His office entitles him to preach, to administer the sacraments, to exercise discipline, to admonish, and to exhort; and, while this is ordinarily to be done for a special church to which he should be restricted, Congregationalism is avoided by the qualification that the pastor should move by public permission or be moved by public authority when the public good demands it. The idea of ministerial parity, which later became a rigidly defined principle of the Presbyterian system, comes out in the contention that, in Scripture, bishop, presbyter, pastor, and minister are interchangeable terms for the same ecclesiastical office. Calvin's later correspondence serves to show that he had no objection to episcopacy in so far as bishops might be useful and expedient; but his doctrine of the Church leaves them no essential place in it. Historically he regards the ancient bishop as a mere chairman of presbyters; and, with him, Jerome's famous dictum as to the original equality of bishop and presbyter, which raised no controversy in Jerome's day, and yet was never forgotten, became at length the basis of a Church polity.

The teacher, who corresponds roughly to the prophet and evangelist, is restricted to a purely educational function. Among the offices mentioned in Ro 12 and 1 Co 12, two are recognized as permanent—government and the care of the poor; and the secondary position of government, in Calvin's eyes, is shown by the admission of the laity to a share in these. Elders assist in the government of the Church, and deacons are divided into two classes according as they care for the poor and sick or deal with almsgiving. The permanent officials of the Church therefore are: pastors, teachers, elders, and deacons. The essentials for the making of a minister are: the call of God, examination as to life and doctrine, the call of the people, and a solemn setting apart to his office. Calvin almost goes out of his way to defend the people's right of electing their minister, but recommends that, in the interest of peace and common sense, other ministers should preside over the election. In the above conception of the Church we have in essence many of the features of present-day Presbyterianism—*e.g.*, the equality

[1] It is not surprising that, in time, Catholicism came to regard Calvinism as the arch-enemy. The Calvinists, *e.g.*, were excluded from the Peace of Augsburg (1555), and were only recognized in the Peace of Westphalia as late as 1648. How far the feeling had become mutual may be gathered from the fact that, as late as 1647, the stately and balanced Westminster Confession cannot refrain from abuse of th pope (xxv. 6).

of ministers, their election by the people, the share of the laity in Church government, and so on. But so far nothing unique is present, except perhaps the unusually vigorous defence of popular rights. The determinative feature of Calvin's system, however, appears on consideration of his theory concerning the relations between the civil and ecclesiastical powers. The Church, according to him, has a threefold power: (1) she can declare and interpret dogma, though she has no right to invent new dogmas not found in Scripture; (2) she can legislate for the Church, but she has no right to force purely human expedients and ceremonies upon her members to the prejudice of their consciences; thus he frees men from the Roman type of bondage to tradition and custom, and reduces the spirit of Church government to the observance of mutual charity and edification; (3) —and here the most distinctive feature of Calvinism is reached—he insists upon retaining for the Church a certain sphere of jurisdiction. Unlike Luther and Zwingli, who freely surrendered the administrative and disciplinary power of the Church to the civil authorities, whether princely or republican, Calvin attempted to mark off for the Church a sphere of spiritual jurisdiction distinct from the civil; and on the determination of his followers to define and preserve this sphere, irrespective of all difficulties, hangs much of the trouble that fell to the lot of Presbyterianism in later years. Spiritual government, in his view, was as necessary to the Church as civil government to the State; and the two jurisdictions, though mutually helpful rather than antagonistic, were quite distinct. The Church could not surrender, voluntarily or compulsorily, the power of the keys; she claimed no right to inflict civil punishment, but only to admonish and, if necessary, to excommunicate, for the purpose of producing repentance in offenders—a purpose in which the civil procedure frequently failed. This useful power of ecclesiastical discipline for spiritual evil-doers was to be in the hands of a Consistory 'of elders which is in the Church what a council is in a city'; and the basis of its judgments upon individuals was of course to be Christian doctrine. The error of the Roman Church lay not in the claiming of this power, but in the abuse of it for unworthy and worldly ends through the agency of corrupt and irresponsible individuals. Calvin does not seek to interfere with or to minimize in any way the scope of the civil power. He calls the magistrates 'ambassadors of God,' 'vicegerents of God,' and says that God considers their office an honourable one; and, while he indicates his personal preference for aristocratic government tempered by democratic consent, he holds that it is the duty of all Christian men to obey whatever lawful rulers have dominion over them. The only circumstances under which resistance, active or passive, is justifiable arise when the commands of rulers clash with the commands of God. Conversely, it is the duty of rulers to preserve public peace and happiness, and their first care must be for religion and morals. Their co-operation is due to the Church in this regard,

'provided this is done to preserve, not to disturb, the order of the Church, to establish, not to destroy, discipline. For, seeing the Church has not, and ought not to wish to have, the power of compulsion (I speak of civil coercion), it is the part of pious kings and princes to maintain religion by laws, edicts, and sentences' (bk. iv. ch. xi. § 16).

While thus fully recognizing the civil jurisdiction, Calvin holds that it should not interfere with the ecclesiastical, unless by direct invitation or necessity; and in this effort to define the respective limits of Church and civil power, to secure civil co-operation while keeping spiritual jurisdiction and liberty inviolate, he stands alone among the Reformers. The forms of procedure set forth in bk. iv. ch. x. are of only secondary importance. The point of his system which is distinctively characteristic of Presbyterianism consists in his determination to keep ecclesiastical discipline in ecclesiastical hands.

Such, in brief, are Calvin's ideas of Church government; but he lacked a field in which to test them, until, overwhelmed by the 'formidable obtestation' of Guillaume Farel, he consented to settle in Geneva. In that city there had long been an unstable equilibrium of three forces—the vicedominus of the house of Savoy, the bishop, who was often a member of the same house, and the people; and, when Calvin arrived in the city in 1536, the people had just won their freedom, after a contest in which independence and the new faith had played an equal part. But a state of confusion had supervened; and Farel the Reformer knew that no one in the city was capable of reducing the chaos to order. Accordingly, he persuaded Calvin to relinquish his project of further study for the work of organization. The system of Church government introduced was naturally Presbyterian: not only did Calvin's own ideas run in that direction, but the attempt to continue episcopacy would have had scant hope of success in a city which had just shaken off the tyranny of a bishop. Nevertheless the people hated the bishop less as a Roman Catholic, or a corrupt Churchman, or an official without NT warrant than as an interferer with their liberty, just as they afterwards hated Calvin and the rest for the same reason. Trouble began almost at once. In a memorandum of 15th Jan. 1537 Calvin asked the Council for a body of incorruptible men to exercise Church discipline up to and including excommunication. But the civil authorities did not like Calvin's request that the Church might have a disciplinary authority which neither Luther nor Zwingli had asked for it, and many citizens feared for their personal freedom. In 1538 a majority of the new Council consisted of Calvin's opponents. Strife began, and grew so keen that the ministers were forbidden to preach politics. Disgusted by this, and angered by the attempt to force upon them the observance of the Bernese usages, the ministers finally revolted openly at the Council's command to exclude no one from communion, and on 21st April they brought matters to a crisis by refusing to dispense the sacrament. They were banished, and all mediation was rejected by the Council. This refusal to accept dictation from the civil power on a matter vital to the welfare and liberty of the Church, and the choice of banishment before surrender, are a new departure in Protestant history, and are determinative of Presbyterianism.

Calvin's first experience of Geneva, however, did not deter him from returning, though reluctantly, three years later; for no city in France was safe, and no city in Germany politically free, and in Geneva alone could he hope to find a sphere of operations. Within twenty-four hours of his return he was at work; and the *Ordonnances* were the final outcome of his labours. He wished to embody the distinction between civil and spiritual jurisdiction, to secure the independence of the Church within her own sphere, to obtain the acceptance of a creed based on Holy Scripture alone, and to tune up Genevan morals to a NT pitch. The difficulty was that he must gain the consent of the civil powers to his solution of a problem which had hitherto been solved very differently, and must induce them to relinquish a great part of their authority. At the same time the enforcement of a NT standard of morals was distasteful to many citizens. Accordingly the *Ordonnances*,

while Calvin's sole work, do not represent his ideal. Four classes of official are recognized in the Church—pastor, teacher, elder, and deacon. The ministers were chosen by those already ordained after an examination as to life and doctrine. The civil power then approved of them; finally the people heard them, and they were ordained without laying on of hands. The democratic idea of this became aristocratic in practice; for, in actual fact, the people accepted, rather than elected, their ministers. The ministers were to meet once a week in conference and once in three months for mutual criticism; in this 'venerable company,' which did not, except by censure and moral weight, interfere in civil affairs, we discern a germ of the Presbytery. The teachers were purely for educational purposes. The ruling elders were in the Church what the magistrates were in the city. Their function was purely spiritual, confined to the judging of spiritual offences and the infliction of spiritual penalties, the aim being to secure the repentance of the offender. But, though Calvin, in accordance with his general principles, attempted to mark off this eldership, with its ecclesiastical sphere of action, quite distinctly from the magistracy, with its civil functions, he could not quite secure what he wanted, and had even the worse of the compromise which followed. He was unable to secure the election of the elders by the Church alone, or on the pure ground of spiritual and moral fitness. The Council, besides fixing the number of elders at twelve, decreed that two must be chosen from the Little Council, four from the Sixty, and six from the Two Hundred. The twelve, in the first instance, were really civil functionaries, and a committee of the Council; only secondarily and nominally did they form part of a Church court. Calvin may have had a paramount influence in that court, but his influence was a purely moral one, and he never presided. Indeed, in spite of the presence of these twelve councillors in the Consistory, along with the ministers, Calvin had much ado to secure for it the right of excommunication. It was agreed that, if no repentance resulted from judgments up to and including excommunication, the persistent offender should be handed over to the civil power. As this applied to doctrinal as well as moral cases, it really amounted to a declaration of the right of persecution; here at least Calvin is not in advance of his age, and his readiness to admit the interference of civil power, so long as it is not opposed to him, weakens his position as against hostile interference. The deacons discharged the functions already indicated in the *Institutio*, but were not organized, as recommended therein, into two classes. Calvin's machinery for the doctrinal and moral regeneration of Geneva, therefore, consisted of a verbally inspired Word of God, ministers to expound the same, a Consistory to enforce it, and the Council to deal with recalcitrants. A great deal of petty and almost ridiculous business came before the Consistory, but it accomplished its main purpose of raising the undoubtedly low standard of Genevan morals. Even to hold what he had got cost Calvin a long and bitter struggle. He was opposed by many old Genevans who had taken a prominent part in the liberation of their city and resented foreign intrusion, however salutary; and by that section of the citizens who resented the strictness of his moral control. His gains were not secure for over a decade; and not till he received the citizenship of Geneva in 1559 did he attempt to define more clearly the distinction between Church and State, in a series of demands which were practically all granted by the Council. Before his death in 1564 he had vastly bettered Genevan morals, given the city a splendid educational system, and made it a refuge for the oppressed of Europe, and he had the satisfaction of knowing that in France, in Scotland, and elsewhere his ideas of Church government and of the relation of Church and State were being extensively put into practice. The Presbyterian Church as a distinct and definite ecclesiastical body had entered upon its honourable career.

iii. HISTORY IN EUROPE.—1. Scotland.—Presbyterianism, in its national form as an established Church, is best exemplified in the case of Scotland, where, after an eventful history of three centuries and a half, it still retains a powerful grip upon the people. The Scottish Reformation, in the Lutheran form, was already so far advanced in 1525 as to call for stringent government interference; but, when it became strong enough to dominate the nation forty years later, it had assumed the Calvinist form, and it was the Calvinist type of theology and polity that received official recognition in 1560. The great protagonist of the movement was John Knox, who was called to the ministry at St. Andrews by popular acclamation during the period of excitement which followed the murder of Cardinal Beaton (1546). Knox was made prisoner when the French fleet captured St. Andrews castle in 1547, and spent two years as a galley-slave. After his release he remained in exile till 1559. Part of this period was spent in England, where he more than once refused preferment, part in Frankfort, where he and others vainly attempted to set the Church upon a Puritan basis, and part in Geneva, where he was enabled to see at work opinions and ideas which he had independently drawn from Scripture. His views were moulded and confirmed rather than created by his Genevan experience. Returning finally to Scotland in 1559, he became at once the head and front of the Reformation movement; and, if any confirmation of his Presbyterian convictions was necessary, he found it in the opposition of regent and bishops. By the middle of 1560 the Treaty of Edinburgh marked the triumph of Protestantism and English influence over Catholicism and the French interest, and the religious influence of Knox held the field in Scotland. The Confession of 1560 is thoroughly Calvinist, and is conspicuous for a wise moderation, which is unfortunately less apparent in the conflicts of later times. The first Book of Discipline embodies an essentially Presbyterian conception of the ministry. The differences from the Genevan organization are exactly what we might expect from the differing ecclesiastical needs of a nation and a city-state; the differences from the modern Scottish organization may be explained from the different circumstances of the age. Knox and his coadjutors were faced by the difficult problem of an abundant harvest and a lack of labourers; they had to find 100 ministers where Calvin had to find one. The first General Assembly, *e.g.*, contained only six ministers; accordingly, the ministerial office was supplemented in two directions. The reader's office was added to fill the gaps in the ranks of the regular ministry, the temporary nature of the expedient, however, being fully recognized. Readers were expected and encouraged to justify by their work eventual promotion to the regular ministry; persistent incapacity to do so was followed by exclusion from office. The scarcity of ministers also implied the necessity of making the best possible use of those available, and the country was therefore divided into ten dioceses, each in charge of a superintendent, who had to see that kirks were planted at the proper strategic points, to help the ministers in their work, and generally to exercise supervision. Some of these were laymen. The contention that these superintendents were virtually bishops cannot be upheld

—still less the almost fantastic contention that they were intended in time to be superseded by fully-qualified bishops. In this connexion we may note a curious and instructive parallel to the Scottish system of 1560 in the Canadian organization of to-day. There, similar needs have called forth similar expedients. The difficult problem of Church extension in the rapidly-filling West has called into being the office of superintendent without any afterthought of episcopacy. Divinity students in full standing and lay missionaries who look forward to ordination after a special course correspond to the readers of 1560. Knox's doctor is represented by the professor, the lay elder by his kind, and the deacon by the manager. The parallel is strikingly complete.

In the Church of 1560 the germ of the later Presbytery is discerned in the weekly meeting of local ministers in the towns, the Synod is foreshadowed by the superintendent's Council, and the General Assembly, irregularly constituted as yet and with uncertain powers, met at frequent intervals. The fully articulated system of later times grew only by degrees. Knox and his fellow-workers took substantially the same view as Calvin regarding the relation of the civil and ecclesiastical powers; indeed, though his own views on the point were independently matured, Knox had consulted Bullinger and Calvin on it during his exile; and the struggle of Geneva was repeated on a national scale in Scotland. The return of Mary Queen of Scots from France in 1561 ushered in a period of strife. The Reformers mistrusted Mary's good intentions towards the new Church, and resented the withholding of recognition from certain of their standards; she, on her side, was piqued by ministerial interference in her private concerns, and saw in the Church a formidable obstacle to her scheme of Roman Catholic reaction. Politics and the greed of the nobles went hand in hand with ecclesiastical strife to make difficult the way of the new Church; and civil war at length broke out, as a result of which the unhappy queen was driven from Scotland (1568) and the Roman Catholic power in the country was finally broken. But the defeat of the Roman Catholic party and the establishment of the Protestant succession in the person of the infant James VI. did not bring peace to the Church. The ministers found it nearly impossible to secure their stipends in terms of the agreement come to with the civil authorities; and, after some discussion, bishops were re-introduced into the Church by the Concordat of Leith (1572). To this expedient Knox consented before his death, recommending, however, that such bishops should be responsible to the General Assembly. The experiment proved a disastrous failure. Not only did the new episcopate escape ecclesiastical control, but they also rendered the clergy poorer than ever, by becoming the cat's-paws of the nobles in their seizure of ecclesiastical revenues, instead of the pay-masters of the unhappy clergy. The contemptuous name of 'tulchans' applied to the bishops of 1572 shows the estimation in which they were generally held, and the contemptible part which they played in the history of the time was a severe blow to the cause of Episcopacy in Scotland. In 1574 Andrew Melville returned to Scotland from Geneva, and proceeded to uphold the view that the office of bishop was unscriptural and by no means to be tolerated in a pure Church. Circumstances assured his success. By 1580 the 'tulchans' had disappeared; and in 1578 the second Book of Discipline was prepared, to be endorsed by the General Assembly in 1581. The first Book had grown out of the circumstances of the time, and found its best sanction in contemporary needs; the second Book, on the other hand, aimed at the deduction of general principles from the NT. *E.g.*, the offices of superintendent and reader were excised as episcopal and unscriptural; and, whereas the first Book had set up no Church courts, the second supplied the omission, but, strangely enough, left out the most characteristic court of all—the Presbytery. Presbyteries, however, were coming rapidly into existence; and the Assembly which adopted the Book erected several in 1581. Of the offices mentioned in the Book, the doctor and the deacon have practically disappeared; minister and elder alone remain with their original functions. The second Book of Discipline, with its determined attempt at a closer organization than that of 1560, never secured, in its entirety, the sanction of the civil power.

From the time of Melville's return to Scotland a determined struggle raged in the country for a century. On the one side we have Melville and those who followed him, holding the most rigid views concerning the parity of all ministers and the divine necessity of Presbyterian Church government; on the other, the determined Episcopalianism of the Stuart kings. Parallel to this divergence of view, and vitally connected with it, ran the question of the relation between Church and State, which became acute in every state where the Reformed Church had trouble with the authorities. Melville, on his side, believed in the double jurisdiction of Christ and the temporal king, and strenuously resisted any interference with the Church within her own inviolate sphere; James VI., on the other side, believing in the Divine Right of kings, saw in the Church's claim to spiritual independence as great a menace to the royal power as the papal jurisdiction had been. Moreover, as his succession to the English throne became more and more assured, the king was moved by a sense of the risks attendant upon the maintenance of two differing ecclesiastical polities within his dominions, and his consistent aim was to conform Scotland to Anglicanism. By means of episcopacy he could best hope to maintain control over the Church. Throughout the long struggle absolutism by Divine Right, episcopacy in the Church, and royal supremacy over all causes were banded together against limited monarchy, Presbyterian Church government, and ecclesiastical supremacy in spiritual affairs.

The details of the struggle need not be closely followed. The king, on his part, aimed at the complete subordination of Church and people to his views; the Church, on her part, resisted royal interference in spiritual matters. But the Church founded all her activities, beliefs, and claims ostensibly on the Word of God; and, as the ministers alone had the right to interpret that, no practical limit could be set to the claims of the Church, except by effective intervention on the part of the civil power. The king, as it turned out, would concede nothing, and the ministers claimed too much; and there is some truth in the thesis that Scotland had to choose between the tyranny of a king and the tyranny of a ministry self-constituted as the interpreters of an infallible Bible. But, on the whole, the Church represented the popular will, and served the popular cause. The ministers were chosen by popular election, they educated the people to the best of their ability, and sought to win their confidence; and there is no doubt that during the 17th cent. the General Assembly was a more representative body than the subservient Scottish parliament. Presbyterianism won a victory in 1592, when it secured from king and parliament what has been called its Magna Charta; but Episcopacy was re-introduced

in 1610, and the next opportunity of the Presbyterians came in 1638, when the injudicious and obstinate interference of Charles I. and Laud with the liturgy caused a wave of feeling to inundate Scotland that made the National Covenant possible. The Glasgow Assembly of that year swept away Episcopacy; and the king, whose hands were tied by difficulties in England, was powerless to save the bishops. Four years later civil war broke out in England between king and parliament. Now at length the long opposition culminated in an appeal to arms, and by the Solemn League and Covenant the Scottish Church and the English parliament were united in the cause of representative government and religious freedom.

2. England.—It will be convenient at this point to refer to the history of English Presbyterianism, which in 1643 found itself allied with its Scottish neighbour. The growing rigidity of ecclesiastical arrangements during Elizabeth's reign stimulated nonconformity into life both within and without the State Church. Of the nonconformists within the Church one party agreed on the whole with the Anglican establishment, but wished to see certain Romanist survivals purged away; another party, taking up the Presbyterian attitude, disagreed entirely with existing arrangements. Of the fortunes of the former party little need be said—they varied with the degree of persecuting zeal exercised by the authorities. But both parties have their essential connexion with Scotland from the beginning; for the troubles of the English congregation at Frankfort, in which John Knox was involved, were in fact a struggle between Anglicanism and Puritanism, and the first really Puritan congregation was John Knox's in Geneva. To that city, therefore, may be traced, not only the genesis of Scottish Presbyterianism, but also the beginnings of Presbyterianism and Puritanism in England. English nonconformity was largely the result of what the Marian exiles had seen and done abroad.

The movement of repression was well under way in 1561, by which time Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity and other measures were in operation against nonconformity. A second Act of Uniformity followed in 1563. About 1565 Parker declared that Presbyterianism was the Church's most threatening foe—and certainly it was the most definite and concrete form of opposition to existing ecclesiastical arrangements. About 1570 Cartwright, a Cambridge Divinity professor (later deprived for his anti-ecclesiastical views), brought Presbyterianism into prominence by his activity; and in 1572 the propaganda evolved into the 'Admonition to Parliament.' The 'Admonition' consisted of two manifestoes which never reached the stage of presentation to parliament. It is fanatically Presbyterian in tone, and aims at the substitution of presbytery for episcopacy in English Church government. In the same year the first English Presbytery was erected at Wandsworth. Cartwright was forced to flee the country, but maintained from his exile a vigorous literary defence of Presbyterianism against Whitgift. Other writings in defence of presbytery, such as that of Travers in 1574, continued to appear; and in 1583 enough Presbyterians existed in England to make possible the issue of a *Directory of Church Government*; but after that date the Presbyterian movement, having flourished for a decade, began to decline. Whitgift, though he did not, like Bancroft, insist on the divine right of episcopacy, was sternly set against nonconformity; and, by means of an ecclesiastical commission, forced from all ministers the admission that episcopacy was at least not contrary to Scripture. In 1584 the Presbyterians failed to introduce into parliament a bill in favour of their discipline; the Marprelate Tracts of 1588–89 roused Whitgift to a fresh access of persecuting zeal; the incident of the Armada in 1588 helped to confound in men's minds the ideas of nonconformity and political disaffection. Thus, though about 1590 there were some 500 Presbyterian ministers in England, the Act of 1593 ended meanwhile all effective opposition to the State Church. Presbyterianism found itself in especial difficulties when subjected to persecution, because, unlike Independency, it could not realize its ideal except by means of an elaborate organization, and so could not retire into hiding till the storm blew over, without relinquishing essential principles. Driven by the Act of 1593 to exile, or silence, or the assumption of the cloak of Puritanism, Presbyterianism languished for a time; and the hopes raised by the Hampton Court Conference (1604) proved illusory. But, as time went on, the ideas of James I. and Charles I. concerning Divine Right gradually drove into alliance the causes of civil and religious liberty, and the consistent harshness of Laud towards nonconformity helped to precipitate the great crisis of the Civil War. About the time when the Long Parliament met (1629) Presbyterianism had begun to raise its head. London was strongly Presbyterian, and Presbyterianism was widely diffused throughout England. In 1630 appeared Alexander Leighton's *Sion's Plea against the Prelacie*, for which the author was severely punished. Other incidents of the same nature occurred; and, while the Long Parliament, to begin with, merely desired to abate the overweening pretensions of the bishops, there were many who desired more, and their ideas gradually prevailed. Scottish commissioners were in London, preaching frequently, writing, holding conferences. In 1641 appeared *Smectymnuus*, a plea for Presbyterianism which recalled the days of Cartwright. The Root and Branch petition of Dec. 1640 and the ministers' petition of Jan. 1641 were on the same lines. Parliamentary defeats in the early part of the Civil War rendered the Presbyterian alliance necessary, and the Solemn League and Covenant of 1643 ushered in the period of Presbyterian ascendancy, which lasted till 1648. Charles I. had now combined against himself all the elements of ecclesiastical and political revolt in the British Isles; and Presbyterianism was meanwhile the dominating religious factor in the combination. The decision of battle went against the royalists, who were decisively beaten at Naseby in 1645; and Presbyterianism enjoyed its triumph. The terms of the Solemn League and Covenant show how far short Presbyterianism yet was of learning from its own sufferings the lesson of toleration. One of the avowed aims of the treaty was to force all the British Isles into Presbyterian conformity; and, though the English Presbyterians were less narrow and fanatical than their covenanted Scottish brethren, and though the Independents, a growing body, were still more set on liberty of conscience, the Scots had their way. The Westminster Assembly was overwhelmingly Presbyterian in sentiment and policy, and adorned the few years of the Presbyterian ascendancy with those classics of English-speaking Presbyterianism which almost make us forget the narrow spirit of the time and are the fine flower of Calvinist dogmatics.

The Westminster Confession of 1647, still the official Confession of English-speaking Presbyterians, is a noble monument to its authors and to the age which gave it birth; in its stately and balanced style, in the completeness with which it sets forth the Calvinist theology, in its pointed avoidance of what is merely controversial, it is the model of a Confession for a great body of Christian believers who are conscious enough of

their own worth in the world to refrain from speaking evil of others. The same Assembly of divines sent forth the *Form of Church Government*, the *Directory for Public Worship*, and the Longer and Shorter Catechisms; and of them all, whether we judge by its intrinsic excellence or its long and widely-diffused influence, the Shorter Catechism is undoubtedly the best. A new version of the Psalms also appeared in due course; and the sacrifices made to the cause of union by the Scottish Church consisted in the repudiation of Knox's Psalms for the new version, in the adoption of the King James Bible in place of the Genevan, in the dropping of Knox's liturgy, the Book of Common Order, and the Confession of 1560.

3. Wane in England and Scotland.—But, even while the Presbyterians rejoiced in the creation of an imperial Presbyterianism and in the consent of parliament thereto, their power was on the wane. Independency was growing in the army, and men like Cromwell and Milton were already on the Independent side. Independency was gradually preparing to play the chief part in the religious situation; and 1646 may be taken as the high-water mark of Presbyterianism. After that date, except in London and Lancashire, a thoroughly Presbyterian organization ceased to exist in England; and, when Charles I. escaped to Carisbrooke, and made promises which turned the Presbyterians royalist, Presbyterianism fell with the falling cause. The Scots made a desperate effort to save the situation. Parliament, in defiance of the General Assembly, who thought Charles's concessions insufficient, entered into the 'Engagement,' and the 'Engagers' invaded England, to suffer a crushing defeat at Preston (1648). Cromwell was now master of the situation, and Pride's Purge and the execution of Charles I. rapidly followed. But the Scots were not yet crushed. After the disastrous failure of the 'Engagers' the Covenanters seized the reins of government, excluded all non-Covenanters from official positions by the Act of Classes, and offered Charles II. the crown only on the most rigid and humiliating terms. Nevertheless they did offer him the crown, and prepared to fight for him, but stultified their efforts by first purging the army of 80 uncovenanted officers and several thousand uncovenanted men. The defeat of Dunbar in 1650 brought them to their senses; but even then the excluded soldiers were re-admitted to the army only under humiliating conditions, and the repeal of the Act of Classes rent Scotland with the strife of 'resolutioners' and 'protesters.' Cromwell's final victory at Worcester (1651) involved both in a common disaster; yet, though the General Assembly was dismissed in July 1653 after the manner of the English parliament, the minor Church courts continued to exist and the antagonism of resolutioner and protester rent Scotland during the rule of Monk.

In England also the régime of Cromwell was tolerant. The Rump Parliament having failed to touch the religious question, Cromwell had finally to take it up himself; and, as the Presbyterians outnumbered their colleagues in the ministry, Presbyterianism still existed in a shadowy way. The minimum of ecclesiastical machinery that continued to exist was Presbyterian; but what was left was the ministry rather than the system. In 1660 Monk set up Presbyterianism once more, but not for long: it was the calm before the storm let loose under Charles II.

(*a*) *England.*—To take England first: Charles would doubtless have tolerated Presbyterianism, if he could have secured for Roman Catholicism a share in the toleration; but the anti-Catholic and anti-Presbyterian sentiment of Commons and country was bound to prove too much for the easy-going king whose chief desire was to avoid further exile. The reluctance of the parties themselves foiled his efforts to secure a working agreement between presbytery and episcopacy. Bills introduced into parliament were of no avail; the Commons concluded a series of proceedings hostile to nonconformity generally by passing the Act of Uniformity, which became law on 19th May 1662, and signified the defeat of English Presbyterianism. About that time the rise of a latitudinarian school in the English Church which included such men as Benjamin Whichcote, John Moore, John Tillotson, and Edward Stillingfleet, and which based episcopacy on no higher ground than that of expediency, might have held out hopes for Presbyterianism; and Charles himself made various attempts to gain for the Presbyterians by the use of his royal prerogative what parliament refused to grant. But parliament pursued its course by passing the First Conventicle Act (1664), the Five Mile Act (1665), and the Second Conventicle Act (1670), and when Charles, on his own initiative, declared an Indulgence in 1672, parliament forced him to withdraw it within a year. The Test Act supervened in 1673. Neither the use of the prerogative nor occasional personal generosity on the part of the king arrested the fall of Presbyterianism; and the efforts of James VII. and II. produced no better result. The Presbyterians distrusted Indulgences which showed Roman Catholicism an equal kindness with themselves. On the accession of William III. they could not secure ascendancy nor even a working compromise with Episcopacy, but only toleration. Between 1660 and 1690 Presbyterianism and Congregationalism had drawn together in the wilderness of persecution—a movement apparent in local working agreements and in a lowering of Presbyterian Calvinism. Socinianism became rife; and in 1727 the ministers of the 'Three Denominations' (Presbyterian, Congregationalist, and Baptist) formed an organization. The Presbyterians who remained steadfast were few except in the north. During the time of nonconformist revival about the middle of the century the Presbyterians were of more intellectual than spiritual account, and they played a conspicuous part in the struggle for religious liberty about 1780. Before 1843 there were in England Presbyterians connected with the Established and with other Churches of Scotland—the first of these bodies retains its affiliation up to the present, while the others in 1876 united into the Presbyterian Church of England, which has 12 Presbyteries and nearly 400 congregations with missions in China.

(*b*) *Scotland.*—Turning now to Scotland, we find that the theocracy which had existed in 1638—a narrow theocracy with presbytery and the covenant in place of Christianity, hating alike prelacy and prelate, false faith and false believer, episcopacy and independency—had received a rude shaking at the hands of Cromwell. Worse was to follow under Charles II. The Restoration fell heavily upon Scottish Presbyterianism, as upon English. In 1661 the servile Scottish parliament enacted the royal supremacy in all causes, and in 1662 passed the Act Rescissory, which, by undoing the legislation of the previous twenty-seven years, destroyed at a blow all the work of the Covenanting period. The Presbyterians discovered all too soon how easily Charles II. could sacrifice his promises to his inclination or interest. Episcopacy was re-established in 1662; ministers were outed and replaced by curates, whose characters, in many cases, as ill fitted them as their scholarship to take the places of those who had been deprived. The outed ministers and their flocks took to holding conventicles; the system of dragooning them into

compliance began, and, as feeling on both sides was exasperated, the situation in Scotland grew steadily worse. Previous experience made the Presbyterians chary of attempted compromise, and such Acts of Indulgence as were passed did little to mollify the growing bitterness. On the one hand, we have Test Acts and the like, abuses of justice, persecution of the most odious kind, the doings of a Claverhouse in the field and a Mackenzie in the forum, torture, imprisonment, proscription, death. It is little wonder if we find, on the other, wild fanaticism and rebellion mingling with a singleness of purpose and an endurance that sometimes rise to the sublime. After the unsuccessful rebellion of 1679, when the victory of Drumclog was eclipsed by the defeat of Bothwell Brig, dissensions broke out among the persecuted Covenanters, and the fanatical societies came into existence with their Apologetic Declarations, their fondness for the OT as a guide to the treatment of enemies, and their desperate anticipation of what the English Revolution achieved ten years later. In the last few years of Charles's reign the persecution grew so fierce that the name of 'Killing Times' has been applied to the period; but the triumph of the Presbyterians came not long after, when James VII. and II. was deposed in favour of William III. Even then the issue hung in the balance for some time; but the sensitiveness of William III. to public opinion, coupled with the influence of Carstares, decided the establishment of Presbyterianism in Scotland. Since 1690 no Scottish Presbyterian has ever been called upon to suffer for the name. It would be easy to exaggerate the sufferings of the period from 1662 to 1690. Much of the country remained quiet; Kirk-Sessions, Presbyteries, and Synods continued to function under the bishops; the old Creed and worship were little interfered with; the bishops did not err on the side of worldly pomp; and a large proportion of the people had no objection to some features of Episcopacy. But where real antagonism existed, as in Galloway and in Fife, persecution steadily rendered it worse; incidents like the murder of Archbishop Sharp and the punishments which followed it could not be forgotten; the Covenanting and anti-Erastian element was too severely antagonized ever to be reconciled; and the sufferings under Charles II. have scored their mark deep upon the religious history of Scotland. To this day the suspicion with which the old Scottish Presbyterian looks upon anything that savours in the least of Episcopalianism remains a heritage from Covenanting times.

After the establishment of Presbyterianism the question of jurisdiction as between Church and State continued to be a source of strife, but the political sense of William III. rendered easier the smoothing over of difficulties. The last martyr to die the victim of opposed religious convictions was Aikenhead in 1697; the same year saw in force for the first time the educational ideas of the Scottish Reformers — the educational fruits of Episcopal enterprise under an Act of Parliament of 1633 having fallen into decay under Charles II. Presbyterianism by degrees justified its establishment in Scotland, its victory being largely helped by the contrast of its loyalty in the 'Fifteen' and the 'Forty-five,' with the undoubted Stuart sympathies of its Episcopalian and Roman Catholic rivals. Moreover, a better feeling grew up between the opposing bodies, so that Archbishop Denison of Canterbury, in a debate in the English House of Lords on the Act securing Scottish Presbyterianism, could say that

'he had no scruple against ratifying, approving, and confirming it within the bounds of Scotland; he thought the narrow notions of all Churches had been their ruin, and he believed the Church of Scotland to be as true a Protestant Church as the Church of England though he could not say it was so perfect' (W. Carstares, *State-papers*, Edinburgh, 1774, 759, 760).

The Toleration Act of 1712 lent the sanction of law to the new spirit of peacefulness; but the successful issue of the struggle with Episcopacy did not, any more than the victory over Roman Catholicism, end the troubles of the Scottish Church, for, in the same year, the Patronage Act introduced a new cause of discord which rent the Church in pieces. The first Book of Discipline had advocated the popular election of ministers; patronage, with the General Assembly as the final court of appeal in disputed cases, was decreed by parliament in 1567. Patronage was abolished in 1649, restored in 1660, abolished in 1690, and now restored in 1712—from which time onwards this ancient cause of strife assumes the position of chief disturber of the peace of the Church of Scotland. From time to time also the old question of civil and spiritual jurisdiction is raised. The result is to make the Church history of Scotland for the past two centuries a perfect kaleidoscope of separating and re-uniting sects. During all that period the Church remained singularly free from doctrinal troubles of any sort; the 'Marrow' case about 1720, the Simson case of 1729, and the Leechman case of 1744 represent all the heresy troubles of the Church until very recent times; but already in 1733 secession was at work. Troubles arose over the working of the Patronage Act—troubles encouraged by the indefinite practice of a perfectly definite law—and the strife between patron and people tended always to be fought out on the higher ground of spiritual *versus* civil jurisdiction. The Erskines, after taking the definite step of constituting the 'Associate Presbytery,' refused the concessions made to them by the General Assembly of 1734, and would not re-enter the Church which thus sought to make amends for their ejection; their final ejection by the General Assembly of 1740 confirmed their secession. Previous to this their 'Judicial Testimony' of 1736 had recalled all the old Covenanting bitterness; and, after the Cambuslang 'Wark' and the visits of Whitefield in 1741 and 1742, they produced 'The Declaration, Protestation and Testimony of the Suffering Remnant of the anti-Popish, anti-Lutheran, anti-Prelatic, anti-Whitefieldian, anti-Erastian, anti-sectarian, true Presbyterian Church of Scotland,' etc.—a document whose character is sufficiently indicated by its title. In 1746, when the 'Forty-five' had definitely failed, the Associate Synod itself split in two over the question of taking the Burgess Oath, and burgher and anti-burgher excommunicated each the other in 1747.

Meanwhile the question of patronage continued to agitate the Church of Scotland, which divided into the 'moderate' and 'evangelical' parties. Both objected to patronage; but the moderates believed in the enforcement of the existing law, while the evangelical party attached greater importance to the popular call. Disputed settlements resulted, often attended by painful scenes, and, as a consequence of one such disputed election, Thomas Gillespie, who had been deposed for refusing to assist at the ordination of an unpopular presentee to Inverkeithing, formed with Thomas Boston and Thomas Collier in 1761 the 'Presbytery of Relief.' Another sect was thus launched upon its career, but the kindly attitude of Gillespie towards the Establishment and his desire to get back to it contrast most favourably with the determined hostility of the Erskines. The moderates had the best of the battle within the Church; but their ascendancy was purchased at the cost of increased dissent; for, in 1764, there were 120 meeting-houses in Scotland, served by ministers

for whom the people had forsaken unpopular presentees and parish churches, and the rigid enforcement of the patronage law seemed of set purpose to aggravate the popular opposition. The moderates certainly pacified the Church, and put an end to the painful scenes only too common at unpopular settlements; by 1770 the people had learned either to submit quietly or to secede quietly, but secession was more frequent than submission. William Robertson, who led the moderate party to victory, was one of a group of brilliant men who adorned the Church of Scotland at that time; among others may be named John Home, the author of the tragedy of *Douglas*, George Campbell, who answered Hume, and Thomas Reid, who answered Locke. One result of the labours of the moderates was an improvement in the literary quality of Scottish pulpit work.

Towards the end of the century the burghers split into two—the Old Lights and the New Lights—over the question of the Covenant and the powers of the civil magistrate; the anti-burghers also divided into two Synods over the question of the civil magistrate; and, as the Cameronians, in their new Macmillanite form, contrary to expectation, remained aloof from the secession, forming the 'Reformed Presbytery' in 1743 and renewing the Covenants for the last time in 1745, the Church in Scotland was torn in pieces by the end of the 18th century.

The end of that century witnessed important changes—the slackening of the anti-popish spirit, the beginning of debates concerning creed-subscription, the shifting of population with the resultant need for new churches, the rise of a missionary spirit and of a sentiment of greater catholicity. Roman Catholic emancipation in 1829 and the Reform Bill of 1832 were symptoms of a wave of liberalism, which had its effect on the Church of Scotland. The Church's sore was still patronage, and from 1832 onwards overtures began to pour in from Presbyteries, asking for the restoration of the Call to its old place. The General Assembly of 1833 threw out the Veto Act, which conferred upon the majority of heads of families in any church the power to veto the appointment of any presentee on reasonable grounds—and this in spite of the powerful support of Thomas Chalmers. But this was the last victory of the moderates, who could not prevent the passing of the Veto Act and the Chapels Act the following year. Ten years of strife supervened. A number of *causes célèbres* brought the Assembly and the Court of Session into violent conflict, and the question was raised as to the competence of the Assembly to pass such Acts. The Claim of Right of 1842 took very high ground in regard to spiritual independence, and nothing less than total abolition of patronage, with complete independence of the civil power, became the claim of the extreme 'non-intrusionist' party. The quarrel over patronage had developed into the old quarrel over jurisdiction, and in 1843 occurred the great secession known as the Disruption. Out of 1203 ministers, 451 left the Church. In 1874 patronage was abolished; but the Churches in Scotland still continue their separate existence, though the signs of the times point to better things. Indeed, the tendency of nearly a century past has been, on the whole, towards the re-union of the broken fragments of the Scottish Church. To take the more important examples, in 1820 the two bodies of Old and New Lights coalesced into the United Secession Church; and, by the union of that body with the Relief Synod in 1847, the United Presbyterian Church was brought into existence. Thus the Secession Church became the pioneer of union; and in 1900 was consummated the wider union of United Presbyterian Church and Free Church into the United Free Church of Scotland. A remnant refused to enter the new Church, and was declared after an appeal to the House of Lords to be the legal Free Church. The latest statistics show that the Church of Scotland has 16 Synods, 84 Presbyteries, 1442 parish churches, 53 chapels with ordained ministers, 201 mission or preaching stations, 718,719 communicants, 2149 Sunday Schools with 19,662 teachers and 218,702 scholars, adult classes numbering 59,091 scholars, and a Christian liberality of £555,116, 16s. 10d. per annum. The United Free Church has 12 Synods, 64 Presbyteries, 1565 congregations, and 18 congregational missions with ordained ministers; communicants number 512,003, Sunday Schools 2224 with 24,055 teachers and 223,559 scholars, adult classes 2018 with 77,666 pupils; and the annual income is £1,046,049, 8s. 4d. In addition the Church of Scotland has a Synod in England, a Presbytery in British Guiana, and missions in Africa, India, and China, while the United Free Church has Presbyteries in the Italian and Iberian peninsulas and missions in India, Manchuria, Africa, and the W. Indies. The Free Church of Scotland has 4 Synods, 13 Presbyteries, and about 160 congregations (many of them vacant) with a mission in Africa. Of the smaller bodies, the Reformed Presbyterian Church, which is in full communion with the Reformed Presbyterian Churches of America and Ireland, has 11 congregations, and the Synod of United Original Seceders has 4 Presbyteries, 26 congregations, and a mission in India.

4. Ireland.—Presbyterianism in Ireland took its rise among the colonists who were settled in Ulster after the abortive rebellion of the early 17th century. These settlers were mainly of Scottish birth; and, as Episcopacy was just then enjoying one of its brief triumphs in Scotland, Ireland received her fair share of exiled Scottish ministers. Thus the spread of Presbyterianism was rapid. The Anglican Churchmen, poorly supported from England, could not in any case have made effective opposition; as it was, following the lead of Archbishop Ussher, they welcomed the Scottish ministers, and for a time Presbyterian and Anglican worked amicably together. Under the new conditions the original evil repute of the Ulster colonists was gradually lived down; but the growing success of Presbyterianism at length aroused the antagonism of the bishops, who, forsaking the spirit of Ussher for that of Laud, secured, for the time being, the suppression of Irish Presbyterianism. The process was complete by 1636. Five years later Scottish troops were sent into the country to aid in the suppression of a rebellion; and, as the completion of their task demanded a prolonged stay in Ireland, the chaplains of the force were able to re-introduce Presbyterianism. A Presbytery was formed at Carrickfergus on 10th June 1642, and within twenty years the Church numbered 5 Presbyteries, 80 congregations, and 70 ministers. This brief period of rapid expansion was followed by a century of persecution, which was interrupted by a short space of toleration and the institution of the Regium Donum under William III., only to be resumed under Queen Anne by the Test Act of 1704. The results were made apparent in a steady stream of American emigration, which drained Ireland of vast numbers of her best citizens; but not till near 1800 was the obnoxious Act of 1704 cancelled; and even since then Irish Presbyterianism has enjoyed freedom rather than privileges.

Two controversies have agitated the Church. The first of these gathered round the New Light movement, which, beginning in 1709 as a revolt against creed-subscription, resulted in a wide-spread

laxity of doctrine. The movement was not decisively checked till about 1750, when the arrival from Scotland of a sufficient number of rigidly orthodox seceders turned the tide. The Arian controversy broke out in the early half of the 19th cent., and, after a ten years' battle, Henry Cooke, a prominent figure on the orthodox side, forced matters to a decision in 1829. The secession of only 17 ministers was a sufficient proof of the triumph of orthodoxy. There followed in 1840 a union between the Secession Synod and the Synod of Ulster, and gradually the scattered congregations of the south and east came in, till, in 1854, there was only one Presbyterian Church in Ireland. From that time onwards progress has been rapid in every department of Church work. The Regium Donum was discontinued in 1869; but the loss has been more than balanced by the addition of a Sustentation Fund to the interest on the commutation of life-interests. The Irish Church has been of great influence, especially in Ulster, where powerful opposition has had to be faced, but also wherever Ulstermen have congregated abroad. It numbers at present 36 Presbyteries, 562 congregations, 653 ministers, and over 100,000 communicants.

5. Wales. — Alone among the Presbyterian Churches of the British Empire, the Welsh Church owes nothing to Scotland. Its formation resulted from an evangelical movement within the Anglican Church, which was begun by Howell Harris in 1735. As the movement grew and spread, societies were formed, and the treatment meted out to those societies by the Established Church at length drove them to separatist courses. The unwillingness of the episcopate finally forced the societies to seek ordination for their pastors elsewhere; and, after they had adopted the practice of ordination by presbyters (1811), the society organization speedily developed into a strong Presbyterian Church which has nearly 200,000 members to-day. There is also a Welsh Presbyterian Church in the United States of America with over 13,000 communicants.

6. France.—Early in the 16th cent. a movement of reform had begun in France under the impulse of the New Learning. Francis I., an enthusiastic patron of the Renaissance, was keenly interested, and the movement was fostered by men of weight and learning like Jacques Lefèvre, Briconnet, and Guillaume Farel, and by women of position like Margaret of Navarre. The prospects of reform were bright enough, until the outbreak of Martin Luther alarmed the Church in France as elsewhere. Francis passed over to the side of the enemies of reform, and from 1535 Protestantism was proscribed. Yet, during the persecutions under Francis I. and Henry II., Protestantism continued to make headway in France; and, as this was due mainly to the influence of the exiled Calvin, who, from Geneva, poured into his fatherland a steady stream of letters and messengers, it was the Calvinist form of Protestantism that gradually diffused itself throughout the country. In 1555 La Ferrière, a noble Frenchman, who desired baptism for his child, but could not visit Geneva for the purpose, succeeded with difficulty in persuading his immediate circle of friends to elect La Rivière, one of their number, as pastor, and thus form a congregation. So rapidly was this example copied that, in the three years following, 2000 congregations were formed throughout France. Church and king had hitherto seen in Protestantism no more than religious nonconformity; they now began to discern in it a political menace as well, and persecution was redoubled. On the other hand, as the result of a discussion at Poitiers, the Reformed Church in Paris summoned delegates from all over France to a meeting in the capital; and 150 delegates, assembling in due course in a private house in the Faubourg St. Germain, constituted themselves the First National Synod of the Reformed Church in France (26th May 1559). They adopted a Calvinist Creed (the Confessio Gallica), and, with such changes as the different conditions rendered necessary, reproduced in their constitution the polity of Geneva. Each congregation had a pastor, elders, and deacons; but the Genevan practice was departed from by regarding the diaconate as a spiritual office, and admitting the deacons to a seat in the Consistory which directed congregational affairs. The first set of these officials in each church was chosen by popular election, but subsequently such gaps as might occur were filled by the Consistory; and this 'aristocratic' method of election was long maintained in the face of popular opposition. To bind the congregations together, provision was made for a gradation of Church courts. Provincial Synods, composed of all the pastors within the bounds, with one elder or deacon from each congregation, were to meet twice a year, in order to decide upon appeals from congregations, to arrange and effect the translation of pastors, and generally to administer all competent affairs. General Synods, representing the whole Church, and composed of delegates from all the Consistories, were to be held as need arose. As time revealed defects in the system, means were devised to remedy these. A Colloque—the analogue of the Presbytery—was inserted between the congregational Consistory and the Provincial Synod; and, by the additional arrangement that delegates to the National Synod should be commissioned by the Provincial Synod instead of the Consistory, the Church was provided with a compact conciliar organization, which fitted it to play a part in the political sphere.

The Church had now a definite constitution; its members came to be known by the name 'Huguenots' ([*q.v.*] probably *Eidgenossen*, 'oath-companions'), and it found itself definitely linked with the party whose chiefs were Anthony, King of Navarre, Louis, Duke of Condé, and Admiral Coligny, as against their political and religious opponents, headed by the Guises, Duke and Cardinal. Henry II. died in 1559, the year of the first National Synod; and Francis II., the husband of Mary Queen of Scots and the tool of the Guise faction, did not live long enough to do serious mischief. During the minority of his successor, Charles IX., the regency was in the hands of Catherine de Medici, who pursued the policy of playing off the two parties in the realm one against the other. The Colloque of Poissy (1561), at which Beza pleaded the cause of Protestantism with an eloquence that drew a reluctant tribute from his opponents, was a consequence of this policy; and the result of the conference was the tolerant Edict of St. Germain (1562). But in March of that year a massacre of Protestants, inaugurated at Vassy by the Duke of Guise, transferred the issue from the council-chamber to the camp, and in the course of the next thirty years France was torn by no fewer than eight civil wars. The Roman Catholic party enjoyed almost invariably the military superiority, but the Huguenots were always formidable enough to extract good terms even from defeat and to renew the contest as need or opportunity arose. Sometimes, indeed, the Crown seemed about to lend them definite support, as, *e.g.*, in 1571–72, when Coligny was all-powerful at court, and the English marriage project and the union actually arranged between Henry of Navarre and the king's sister were devised to cement the alliance between Protestantism and the Crown. But the regent feared undue Protestant influence no less than the undue preponderance of the Guises and the reaction from this brief period of friendli

ness took the shape of the massacre of St. Bartholomew (24th Aug. 1572). Except in Rome and in Madrid this horrid butchery excited universal disgust; and, as a result of it and of the renewed civil war which followed, a large moderate party began to form in France. Toleration, however, had the same effect upon the extreme Roman Catholics as persecution upon the Protestants, viz. an increase of zeal; and war, conducted by leagues on the one side and on the other, each affiliated with sympathetic foreign powers, continued to distract the unhappy country. At length, in 1588, Henry III., seeing in the Guises the chief disturbers of the peace and the chief menace to the royal power, took the desperate step of having the duke and the cardinal assassinated; and the support of the Crown might, as a consequence, have passed speedily and definitely to the Protestant side, but for the assassination of the king in his turn by a fanatical Jesuit emissary (1589). Henry of Navarre, leader of the Huguenots since the death of Coligny in the great massacre, was now king; but, while he could and did win victories in the field, he could not, so long as he remained Protestant, conquer so definitely as to pacify France. Accordingly, he turned Roman Catholic (20th July 1593) and, after the peace of Vervins had ended a war with Spain which united all France for a common object, the Edict of Nantes (1598) was issued. The Protestants were given the right of public worship, except in Paris and a few other places; they still had to recognize the establishment of Roman Catholicism, but their own members had full civil and political rights; and they were given, besides an annual grant, full control of such towns and fortresses as had been in their possession the year before the Edict. In many ways the Reformed Church had suffered during the civil wars: the absence of many members in the field had woefully reduced the livings of the clergy, the number of congregations had shrunk from 2150 to 763, the influence of Henry of Navarre as leader was in sad and unspiritual contrast to that of Coligny. But the constitutional framework of the Church had been well looked to, and altogether 15 National Synods had been held during the wars. At one of these, held in La Rochelle (1571) under the moderatorship of Beza, the Creed and constitution of 1559 had been revised and renewed, and Presbyterian government formally adopted during the brief sunshine of royal favour. Thus, though the growth of the Reformed Church was checked, owing to many of the Huguenot nobility and gentlemen following the king's lead and turning Roman Catholic, a strong body remained staunch, and the growth of the Church's wealth was some compensation for its slower increase in numbers. The grant of 43,000 crowns per annum was devoted to the foundation and upkeep of theological colleges at Montauban and Saumur, and the independence of the French Church was rendered complete. After Henry's death in 1610 his work as a statesman was taken up by Richelieu, but Richelieu's fear of the Huguenots as a possible menace to the royal power gave his religious policy a reactionary character. An expedition was sent against Béarn, which had been a Protestant stronghold for sixty years, and a massacre of Protestants resulted in the re-establishment of Catholicism. In 1623 it was decreed that a royal commissioner must be present at all meetings of the National Synod to ensure that none but strictly ecclesiastical matters should be discussed. The policy culminated in a demand for the surrender of La Rochelle, which was refused; but the city was forced to capitulate after a year's resistance (1628), and, with the capture of the sadly-reduced stronghold, the political power of the Huguenots disappeared. Thereafter the Provincial Synods were suppressed; and the consequent removal of all organization told heavily upon the individual congregations. The Huguenot nobles were tempted with offices and political preferment, the pastors were tempted with higher stipends; and many yielded to these temptations. Under Louis XIV. and Mazarin the process was carried on: Colloques were suppressed in 1657, and in 1659 the Synod of Loudun was informed by the royal commissioner that Synods would be held in future only if the king considered it expedient — which of course the king never afterwards did. Yet, up to the death of Mazarin in 1661, the Huguenots continued to be numerous; for their commercial honesty enjoyed no less repute than their commercial skill, and, realizing their economic value to the nation, Mazarin did not push them to extremity. But he had deprived them of their last shred of organization, and, after his death, the king fell under the influence of Roman Catholic bigots, who used the opportunity to destroy the Huguenots. Bribery again did its work, backed now by the exclusion from office of all Huguenots; converts to Protestantism were banished, while converts to Catholicism were held in honour, and their former pastors forbidden even to speak to them. Protestant children were kidnapped in great numbers by Catholic priests, to be reared in the Catholic faith, and their parents had no redress. About 1681 the practice began of converting Huguenots by quartering upon them troops of dragoons, whose iniquities and licence were connived at. The desperate Protestants at length took to emigration as a relief from their troubles; but, after about 50,000 had got away, a royal edict stopped even that loophole of escape. Finally on 22nd Oct. 1685 the Edict of Nantes was formally revoked. All Protestant ministers were to leave France within fourteen days, all Protestant churches and schools were to be closed, and the children, after baptism by Roman Catholic priests, to be brought up in the Catholic faith. If any of the unhappy people were caught in the attempt to flee the country, the men were sent to the galleys and the women to prison, for life; seven months later the penalty was altered to death. Nevertheless, some 250,000 made good their escape to Holland, England, Germany, and America, and by forcing them to flee France committed economic suicide. In Toulouse, *e.g.*, only one-tenth of the skilled silk-workers remained, and, from first to last, 4,000,000 to 5,000,000 of France's best citizens were lost to her by senseless persecution. A small remnant held out in the Cévennes, where, as in the case of the Scottish Covenanters, the hard, uncertain life and the lack of educated pastors gave rise to wild fanaticism. Like all fanatics, these Camisards (*q.v.*) endured and fought well; with a total strength of 10,000 desperate men they held out during a three years' war against all the troops that France sent against them, and not till 1715 did the royal power feel justified in saying that persecution had done its work. But persecuted heresy dies hard, and in the same year began the work of Huguenot reorganization under Antoine Court. He was finally forced to flee the country when his growing success attracted attention; but from Lausanne he continued to send trained pastors and to direct operations. Persecution hindered the work, but could not stop it; the Huguenots increased in numbers, and spread their organization far beyond the Cévennes. Finally, when Voltaire had made religious indifference the fashion, the Protestants received their civil rights in 1787, and the Revolution shortly afterwards restored their religious rights as well; but very soon the orgy of secularism

which supervened drove Catholic and Protestant alike into the wilderness. Robespierre's death, however, brought saner counsels, and Protestantism received in 1795 the full measure of liberty which she has since enjoyed. Napoleon, from the absolutist standpoint, greatly modified the Presbyterian constitution of the Church in his enactment of 8th April 1802. Congregational Consistories and National Synods were abolished. Congregations were grouped into consistorial churches, each consisting of 6000 souls, and the Consistory for each was composed of all the pastors in the group, together with 6 to 12 elders, who were chosen from among the principal tax-payers. Five such consistorial churches were grouped into a Synod circle, and these Synods were made up of one pastor and one elder from each congregation; they required State permission to meet, and a State functionary had to be present at their meetings. Indeed, so many were the restrictions that, during Napoleon's reign, none of those Synods met; and no Church court intervened between the consistorial church and the minister of culture. The Reformed Church, thus hampered, fulfilled government expectations by giving no trouble, but she suffered from lack of organization.

Yet Protestantism grew in the country, and amid the excitement of 1848 a great national gathering, with representatives present from 89 out of the 92 consistorial bodies, ventured to meet and make an effort at re-organization. They set up the old Presbyterian system once more with the complete machinery of Church Consistories, General Consistories, Provincial Synods, and General Synods, and would, no doubt, have secured State sanction for their proposals, had not a secession occurred among them. During the long period of disorganization differences had grown up unchecked; and friction immediately resulted from the effort at closer organization, becoming acute over the question of theological belief. The representatives of the old theology, under Monod of Montauban, seceded, sacrificing State connexion and State grant, and setting up on a voluntary basis the Union of Evangelical Churches. Their organization is a mixture of Congregationalism and Presbyterianism; and, though their numbers remain small as compared with the parent body, they have increased to some extent and are notable for their evangelical zeal. The parent body obtained, within three years, all that they asked for except the National Synod; even that they obtained in 1872. But the concession was followed almost immediately by a dispute over the framing of a new Confession; and the government took away from the General Synod all legislative power. Nevertheless, the body continues to meet once every three years, and, if it does no more, it at least represents the unity of the Reformed Church, and crowns its organization. All along the Protestant Church in France has wielded an influence out of proportion to its numbers; and its divorce, in common with all the other Churches, from State connexion should not impair its future usefulness. It has always, like other Reformed Churches, been on the side of civil as well as religious liberty, and it would be interesting to investigate how much suppressed Huguenot aspiration found vent in the French Revolution. Huguenot refugees have been the best of citizens in every land of their adoption, and the martyr Church of France is entitled to occupy a place of pride among its Reformed neighbours. Between them, the two Evangelical Churches of France count about 80,000 members, of whom about 95 per cent are in the parent body.

7. **The Netherlands.** — The situation of the Netherlands on the borders of both Germany and France, together with the comparatively advanced state of education and independence of character among the Netherlanders, favoured the spread of the Reformation in that country. As early as 1st July 1523 the martyrdom of Henry Voes and John Esch at Brussels testified to the progress of the movement, which, Lutheran at first, but later markedly Calvinist, found from the outset a determined opponent in Charles v. The excesses committed by the Anabaptists during a rising in 1534 gave the authorities an excuse to intensify the persecution; the Inquisition was introduced into the land, and in 1550 the anti-Protestant movement culminated in a barbarous Edict against the possession of Protestant books, the reading or discussion of Scripture, and all connivance at such offences. If a man convicted of such offences repented of them, he met death by the sword; a woman in similar case was buried alive; any one persisting in error was burned. In spite of this climax to the measures of persecuting zeal, and the death in all of 30,000 victims during the reign of Charles v., Protestantism grew to such an extent that the need of a Creed and constitution began to be seriously felt, especially in the south. In 1559 Guido de Brès, who had been trained in Geneva and England, drew up a Creed modelled on the French Confession of the same year. This Creed, revised by Francis Junius, developed into the Confessio Belgica; in 1563 a Synod at Antwerp adopted a Presbyterian constitution, and later, when the southern provinces had relapsed into Romanism, this Creed and Confession were accepted in the northern provinces. Meanwhile Charles v. had abdicated (1555); but the accession of Philip II. brought no relief to the Protestants. Philip increased the number of Roman Catholic bishoprics in the Netherlands from 4 to 14, made merciless use of the Inquisition, drafted troops into the country, and began to interfere with the civil liberties and privileges of the people. These aggravations of the 1550 Edict gradually identified in the popular consciousness the causes of civil and religious liberty, and Protestantism developed from a party into a national movement. A goodly number of the younger nobles formed a league, and approached the regent—the Duchess of Parma—with the request that the Inquisition and the Edicts might be withdrawn. Pending the arrival of a rescript from Spain, the regent relaxed the severity of the laws; and a great wave of Protestant enthusiasm forthwith swept the land. Huge crowds, thousands in number, assembled to hear the Protestant ministers, and the resultant enthusiasm found vent in an outbreak of iconoclast fanaticism, which was responsible for the wrecking of some hundreds of churches, but fortunately avoided the reproach of bloodshed. Philip retaliated by sending the Duke of Alva into the country with 10,000 fresh troops, and he employed the most barbarous means to end the revolt. His Council of Disturbances, by the severity of its sentences, soon earned for itself the name of the Council of Blood. In three months nearly 2000 executions took place, and the incipient organization of the Protestant Church was broken up by the death or exile of the pastors. At this stage William of Orange, hitherto a Roman Catholic and a loyal supporter of Philip, was moved to change his religion and his allegiance together, and then began in earnest that struggle for independence which issued in one of the most obstinate and bloody wars known to history—a war which lasted, with brief intermissions, till 1609. In the course of the struggle the southern provinces were won over to Catholicism; but in 1579 the seven northern provinces, by the Treaty of Utrecht, banded themselves together, declared their inde

pendence, and launched the Dutch Republic upon its career, electing William of Orange their first Stadtholder. The organization of the Protestants had been shattered at Alva's first onset, but a number of the exiled pastors had met at Emden in 1571 and framed a set of Calvinist articles against the day of their return. They took up *inter alia* the question of the relation of Church and State, which they solved after the usual Calvinist fashion. But, when the improved situation in Holland soon after permitted their return, and they renewed their Emden Articles at the Synod of Dordrecht (1574), the Stadtholder and Council refused to recognize these. Lutheran and Zwinglian elements had played their part in the moulding of the Dutch Reformation; and, while the Calvinist theology was generally accepted, there were many, William of Orange among them, who were not prepared to concede to the Church the measure of independence demanded by Calvinism. William had set before himself the ideal of toleration, and he believed that this could best be secured if the State were supreme. Accordingly, he submitted to the Church in 1576 a set of proposals which combined a Presbyterian constitution with State control. But the Church rejected his proposals in their turn, and counter-proposals from the Synods of Dordrecht (1578) and Middelburg (1581) also failed to secure agreement. The situation was further complicated by the ecclesiastical independence of the seven provinces and the consequent diversity of views. Finally, the problem was solved by the omission of a National Synod from among the courts of the Church, which was organized under seven independent Provincial Synods. These Synods were made up of representatives from all the 'Classes,' the 'Classis' being a body which had the characteristics partly of a Kirk-Session, partly of a Presbytery. The civil power was dominant over all.

Although war went on till 1609, this settlement of the Dutch Church was followed by a marvellous outburst of intellectual activity. Between 1575 and 1650 five universities were founded—at Leyden, Franeker, Groningen, Utrecht, and Harderwyk—and the Netherlands speedily became the chief theological school of the Reformed Church. This intellectual activity disclosed itself in two great controversies—the Arminian and the Cocceian. Arminius combated the Calvinism of his day, as Pelagius 1200 years before had attacked the Augustinian theology. In 1603 he set forth the thesis that Christ died, not for the elect only, but for all, and that grace was not irresistible. This protest against the harsh doctrine of unconditional election was vigorously counter-attacked by Gomarus from the Calvinist standpoint, and interest in the controversy rapidly spread to all ranks of society. Nor was the battle merely doctrinal, for the Calvinists still held out for spiritual independence, while the Arminians were ready to accept a large measure of State control. The political situation added a third element to the complication. While the majority of the States favoured Arminianism, Maurice of Orange, who was suspected of aspiring to the supreme power, took the opposite side. Even after the death of Arminius in 1609 the trouble continued. In 1610 the Arminians, chief among whom were Grotius the theologian and Barneveldt the statesman, issued the Remonstrance; disquieting incidents occurred in various quarters, and finally, in 1618, the Synod of Dort was assembled to settle the matter. At this Synod were present 28 foreign delegates—from Germany, England, Scotland, etc. Early in the discussions the Arminians were ruled out of the house because they would not submit to the rules of debate; thereafter their positions were condemned under five chief heads. A persecution followed. Many of their pastors were exiled; Grotius was seized, but escaped; and Barneveldt, who was less fortunate, was executed. After the death of Maurice of Orange the exiles were permitted to return, and were given complete liberty of speech and action. They founded the dissenting Remonstrant Church, which, though it has produced some eminent theologians, has remained so weak in numbers as to confer a pragmatist sanction upon its Calvinist opponents. Even to-day it has not more than 5000 members.

The second great controversy—the Cocceian—was so named from its originator Cocceius, a professor at Franeker, who sought to save the Calvinist theology from traditionalism and scholasticism. He contended for a Biblical theology, and held that Scripture should be its own interpreter. Working along these lines, he arrived at the Federal Theology, with its doctrine of the OT covenant of works, which had been superseded by the NT covenant of grace. This Covenant Theology (*q.v.*) was vigorously opposed by Voëtius and others; but the spirit of the age was on the side of Cocceius, whose type of doctrine was accepted by the English Puritans, embodied in the Westminster Confession, and speedily became dominant in the Calvinist churches.

During the whole of the 17th cent. Holland was a refuge for oppressed Presbyterians from other lands, notably from Scotland. Many Scottish ministers were trained in Dutch universities; Scottish congregations flourished in many Dutch towns; and the influence of Dutch theology spread thus to Scotland, and to all the colonial Churches that own the Church of Scotland for their mother. This was also the century of Dutch colonial expansion, and Presbyterianism flourished in all the Dutch colonies.

Up to about 1800 the only interference with the old Presbyterian system was in the direction of more efficient ministerial supervision—an object secured by the appointment of a visiting committee in each Classis. But about 1800 the Netherlands was attacked by the prevalent disease of constitution-mongering, and the Church shared in the general disorganization for about two decades. The return of the House of Orange to power in 1813 brought the trouble to an end; and the Church constitution, as renewed in 1816, was thoroughly Presbyterian, the organization, moreover, being completed by the addition of a National Synod. The State supremacy, however, remained, and it was further strengthened by a decree of 1827 authorizing a permanent committee of the National Synod. This committee was composed of 7 members, chosen by the Crown, out of 14 nominated by the Synod. In 1852 the State adopted the policy of the concurrent endowment of all churches, and, except for the endowments, all connexion between Church and State has since been at an end. For the last century rationalism has been a marked feature in the Dutch Church. In 1816 the Synod sanctioned a change in creed-subscription whereby the subscriber accepted any doctrine, not *quia*, but *quatenus* it was contained in Holy Writ. The result was soon evident in a wide-spread relaxation of Calvinist rigidity; and the fear of this laxity on the part of the more orthodox Presbyterians has given rise to two important secessions (1837 and 1886). These have seriously weakened the parent Church in point of numbers, so that in times comparatively recent many of her pulpits were vacant; but a return to greater orthodoxy, coupled with a gratifying increase in the number of Divinity students, holds out a brighter hope for the future. The Reformed Protestant religion is professed by the Dutch

royal family and by about three-fourths of the Protestant population, and at the end of 1912 the Dutch Reformed, Walloon, English Presbyterian, and Scottish Churches had between them 1 Synod, 10 provincial districts, 44 Classes, 1362 parishes, and at least 700,000 communicants. Branches of the Reformed Church also exist in the E. and W. Indies.

8. Other Continental Churches.—By their sanguinary initial struggle for existence, and their widespread influence, the Churches in France and Holland have earned their title to pre-eminence among the Presbyterian Churches of the Continent. But other Presbyterian or partly Presbyterian Churches exist in Europe, which, by reason of persecution, politics, or geographical situation, have remained isolated until the recent creation of a General Presbyterian Alliance. Indeed, some are isolated still. The National Evangelical Church of Germany combines Lutheran and Presbyterian elements. The Decree of Augsburg (1555), by its adoption of the principle 'Cujus regio, ejus religio,' introduced into Germany a fruitful cause of religious hardship and ecclesiastical discord. In 1559 Frederick III., an enthusiastic Calvinist, succeeded to the sceptre of the Rhine Palatinate, and, in terms of the treaty, began the endeavour to make Calvinism the religion of his dominions. His methods, which were not above suspicion, failed in the Upper Palatinate, but were successful in the Lower; and, where they did succeed, he prevented the introduction of Presbyterianism in its entirety by keeping in his own hands a large measure of ecclesiastical control. The Presbyterianism of the Palatinate has made for itself an enduring monument in the Heidelberg Catechism, the work of Olevianus and Ursinus, which, intended originally for local use, speedily won ecumenical significance as a Calvinist standard. The Catechism softens the rigidity of Calvinism with regard to predestination and some other points, and is remarkable for its general moderation of tone. Among the duchies of the Lower Rhine Presbyterianism was planted by refugees from Holland, France, and Britain; Alva's persecution drove Dutchmen over the border in thousands, and the influx gradually changed the prevailing type of Protestantism from Lutheranism to Calvinism. Presbyterian Church government replaced the consistorial system, and the Presbyterianism of the district allied itself with that of the Palatinate. Synods were held, notably that of Emden (1571), when the Calvinist and Presbyterian Emden Articles were adopted. But the civil authorities have prevented Presbyterianism from ever fully realizing itself. When the map of Europe was readjusted after the fall of Napoleon in 1815, these Presbyterian provinces fell to Prussia; and 1817, the tercentenary of the Reformation, appealed to Frederick William II. as a favourable occasion for uniting the two Protestant Churches in his dominions. The united Church was called the National Evangelical Church of Prussia, and the Prussian lead was followed by most of the other German States. Each of the two uniting Churches retained its own standards and its own system of government, but modifications introduced from time to time have rendered it necessary for the stricter adherents of both Churches to secede. The Lutheran theology and ritual have made serious inroads on the Reformed Church, but the Presbyterian form of Church government has been equally successful in the invasion of the Lutheran body. The civil power, however, maintains its firm hold upon the Church organization as a whole.

In Bohemia a modified type of Presbyterianism existed long before John Calvin ruled in Geneva. The intestine wars of the Hussites (*q.v.*) about the middle of the 15th cent. led to the forming of the Unitas Fratrum, who, abhorring the idea of strife, repudiated both the warring sects, and contented themselves with a life of simple piety, seeking guidance from the Bible alone. A constitution essentially Presbyterian, embodying the eldership and the diaconate, was adopted in 1496, and testified to the presence in the Church of a strong lay element. But a distinctive feature was introduced into the government of the Church by placing the presidency of each Synod in the hands of a bishop elected by the pastors. In 1557 the Church was strong enough to assemble no fewer than 200 pastors in one of its Synods. It had indeed achieved the status of a national Church, and in Reformation times the most cordial relations were inaugurated and maintained between the Bohemian Church and John Calvin. At the beginning of the Thirty Years' War the abortive rebellion of the Protestant nobles and the crowning of Frederick V. the Elector Palatine by the rebels gave to the persecuting zeal of Ferdinand II. an excuse for increased severity, and his victory was followed by the ruthless suppression of Protestantism in Bohemia. Joseph II.'s Edict of Toleration (1781) gave the persecuted Church the first opportunity of renewing its activity, and, even after a century and a half of repression, the submerged Protestantism of the country soon blossomed forth into vigorous life and development only to be crushed again by the measures of a reactionary successor. A better constitution was granted in 1861; but the State, by means of its ecclesiastical Council, still keeps a firm hold upon the organization of the Church, and rules over its Synods and superintendents to the detriment of a complete Presbyterianism. The Church in Bohemia and Moravia continues small in numbers;[1] but its heroic past and its present zeal for Home Mission work and education hold out the hope that a more liberal policy on the part of the State may usher in a more prosperous time.

In Hungary, as in many other lands, Calvinism superseded in time the original Lutheran form of the Reformation, and, whereas a Synod at Erdöd in 1545 adopted the Augsburg Confession, the Synod of Debreczen (1567) made the Heidelberg Catechism and the Second Helvetic Confession the standards of the Church, which has since faithfully adhered to them. When Hungary fell into two separate political entities about the middle of the 16th cent., Transylvania came under the rule of Reformed or tolerant princes, and the Church grew unchecked till 1602, when Rudolf of Hungary conquered the principality, and began to persecute the Protestants. But the Treaty of Vienna (1606) restored Transylvanian independence and ushered in a period of seventy years' peace. The Church prospered till 1677, when Leopold I. of Hungary again subdued Transylvania, and persecution, marked by the imprisonment, exile, enslavement, and even death of Protestant pastors, plunged Protestantism into misery once more. The century of humiliation which followed ended only with the Toleration Edict of Joseph II. (1787), which conferred upon the Protestants a new lease of life. The Protestant Church has become strongly identified with the political aspirations of Hungary, and has been greatly benefited by the comparative independence which Hungary enjoys within the Dual Monarchy. Congregations to the number of 2000 and a membership of over 500,000 testify to the strength and prosperity of the Church. Up to 1881 the old territorial division of the Church was retained, but in that year the organization under five independent provinces was unified by the Synod of Debreczen. In her isolation this Church

[1] About 67,000 in 1912.

has developed distinctive features in her government. Each Tractus, or Church county, the body corresponding to our Presbytery, is presided over by a senior elected by the pastors, and a coadjutor curator elected by the elders. Similarly, each province has a clerical superintendent and a lay curator. This arrangement combines the benefits of Episcopal supervision with those of Presbyterian parity. The Church has been chiefly remarkable for its educational work; and its organization of parish schools, high schools, and colleges vividly recalls the 'devote imagination' of John Knox concerning Scottish education. In a land hemmed in by circumjacent Catholicism the work done by the Church in maintaining single-handed its army of some 5000 teachers with 300,000 pupils is of immeasurable importance for Protestantism.

The cantonal system of Swiss government has served to restrict the honour of Calvin in the land of Calvin's adoption. All the cantons except three —Geneva, Vaud, and Neuchâtel—favoured the Zwinglian rather than the Calvinist form of Church government; and in the three cantons named the Church remained isolated and quiescent till the beginning of the 19th century. The period of renewed activity which was then inaugurated had been characterized by secessions and divisions. In Geneva, on the occasion of a visit paid by the Scottish preacher, Robert Haldane, in 1817, a revival of evangelical zeal began. C. H. A. Malan, J. H. M. d'Aubigné, and others took up the movement, and the Church showed its resentment by deposing Malan. A separate ecclesiastical community at once began to gather round him. In 1832 d'Aubigné and others founded the Evangelical school of theology, and were deposed in their turn. At the same time the State was engaged in an attempt to destroy the independence of the Church; and the agitation finally issued in the formation of the Free Evangelical Church (1849). This Church is still weak in numbers, but it withdrew sufficient strength from the national Church to leave it at the mercy of the State, and since 1874 the national Church has really become Zwinglian.

In Vaud the famous theologian A. R. Vinet advocated the policy of separation between Church and State; and, when the State, as in Geneva, attempted to subordinate the spiritual to the civil power, 100 ministers seceded in 1845, forming the Free Evangelical Church of Vaud, which has been remarkable for its missionary zeal. The national Church is now controlled by the State, but not too rigidly.

In Neuchâtel a similar effort by the State to assume control of the Church resulted in a secession under F. Godet in 1873.

In Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Belgium 16th cent. Protestantism was strangled in its infancy; and only in the last century have more liberal ideas permitted the rise of a Reformed Church in those countries. The Italian Church, the descendant of the Waldensians, began its work in Piedmont in 1849, received an additional impetus when the unification in Italy under a constitutional government took place in 1861, and now exercises its semi-Presbyterian government over a membership of more than 20,000. In Spain the work was begun by Scotsmen in 1852. Persecution and exile followed in 1860, and the refugees, meeting at Gibraltar, took over the Westminster Confession, and adopted Presbyterian Church government. The revolution of 1868 permitted their return, and their work has since centred mainly in Seville and Madrid. This Church owes a great debt to the support forthcoming from Scotland and Ireland.

Belgium has recently become possessed of two Reformed Churches, each about 7000 strong, one of which has laid claim to a historic succession by adopting the Confessio Belgica. Small Reformed bodies also exist in Denmark, Alsace-Lorraine, Austria, Greece, and Poland; and, if we are justified in regarding democracy as the type of future government, we may confidently assume the present to be only the day of small things, and anticipate a great future for this sanely democratic variety of Church organization.

The total number of Presbyterian communicants in Europe is now well over 3,000,000—more than half of them in the British Isles.

iv. HISTORY OUTSIDE EUROPE.—When we come to consider Presbyterianism elsewhere than on the continent of Europe—*e.g.*, in America—we reach a new phase of Presbyterian history, in which petty obstruction takes the place of sanguinary persecution, in which battles and martyrdoms are replaced by slow development and construction; and, whereas in the heroic days of early European Presbyterianism the leader often bulked larger than the cause, in other continents Presbyterian progress was, on the whole, a triumph of principles rather than of individual men.

1. **America.** — To American Presbyterianism England, Holland, France, and Germany have all made their contribution, as is seen below; but the contribution of the Church of Scotland has been greatest of all. Episcopacy arrived in Virginia with the early colonists of 1604, and in 1620 the Pilgrim Fathers (*q.v.*) laid the foundation of Independency in America; but not till near 1700 did Presbyterians begin to arrive in considerable numbers, and not till after 1700 was the first Presbytery organized. The Presbyterian wing of English Puritanism was represented from the beginning, but its adherents were at first too scattered to make organization possible or profitable, and only when the persecutions under Charles II. began to drive men from Scotland and Ulster to the colonies did numbers to be organized and minds to organize them make their appearance in the American colonies. Emigration from Scotland was encouraged during the persecution, and from 1660 to 1688 a steady stream poured out of the country — often in compact bands of several hundreds. These settled mostly in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and the first church was built at Freehold, N.J., in 1692. By 1700 there were over 30 congregations—half of them in the two States above named; indeed, Presbyterianism soon became a feature in the life of the middle colonies. Francis Makemie, a licentiate of the Presbytery of Lagan in Ulster, had been sent out in 1683 in pastoral charge of a band of emigrants; and, combining in the land of his adoption the callings of itinerant trader and evangelist, he found in the country a sufficient number of Presbyterians to make organization worth while and enough Episcopalian opposition to make it expedient. In 1699 he was called to the charge of Snowhill in Maryland, and in 1706 seven ministers, with Makemie as leading spirit, founded the Presbytery of Philadelphia. Thereafter a rapid development took place. Appeals were made to Scotland, Ulster, Dublin, London, and considerable assistance was forthcoming, notably from the Synod and the University of Glasgow. While the home churches supplied ministers, the operation of Test Acts at home supplied the Church with a steady influx of emigrant members, and in 1716 she was strong enough to combine her four Presbyteries into the Synod of Philadelphia. The need of a Creed and a constitution soon made itself felt, but, when the Presbytery of Newcastle, alarmed at the lax doctrine of some of the incoming ministers, ordained in 1724 that all its future licentiates must subscribe the Westminster standards, and overtured

the Synod to make this rule general, the discussion in the Synod revealed the existence of two parties in the Church. In New England elements of Independency had been at work, and the native-born New England clergy looked askance at the more rigid Presbyterianism of Scots and Ulstermen. The resultant controversy lasted some years, and it was mainly the tact of Jonathan Dickinson that ended it in 1729. In that year a compromise was effected by the passing of the Adopting Act, whereby the Westminster standards were taken over as embodying in essence a sound system of doctrine and government, and their observance was enjoined upon the Church as far as circumstances might allow or Christian prudence direct. By this wise measure the Church was enabled to retain its historic connexions, to avoid Congregationalism, and to secure a degree of flexibility fitting it to deal with the conditions prevalent in a new and growing country. A fresh controversy soon arose over the question of ministerial education. The supply of ministers, both from the colony itself and from overseas, fell so far short of the demand that a lowering of the standard was hard to avoid. William Tennent, a Dublin emigrant, attempted to meet the case by founding a seminary, later known as the Log College; but his students frequently possessed more zeal and piety than education or culture, and filled the older Presbyterians with dismay. The visit of Whitefield in 1739 was followed by an outbreak of revivalism, and at length the un-Presbyterian methods of the Tennent school moved the Synod to insist upon Presbyterian discipline and a standard of education for all its ministers. A disruption resulted in 1745, when the Church split into the Synod of Philadelphia, or old side, and the Synod of New York, or new side. But the new side were quite alive to the benefits of education, and the old side not less alive to the blessings of evangelical zeal; and a sense of duty, combined with mutual esteem and a common interest, secured re-union in 1758. The cause of missions to the American Indians, which had been in operation since 1741, was warmly espoused by the re-united Church, which also interested itself deeply in the New Jersey College. When the Revolutionary war broke out in 1775, the Presbyterians of the middle colonies, who had not forgotten the history of their Church at home, took the colonial side almost to a man, and their devotion to the Revolutionary cause earned for the Church the lasting respect of the nation. John Witherspoon, who had come from Scotland in 1768, was the principal actor in the completion of the Church's organization, when, in 1789, 13 Presbyteries, meeting by their representatives at Philadelphia, constituted themselves the first General Assembly of the Church. They organized the Church on Scottish lines, and adopted the Westminster standards, making determinative the principle that 'God alone is Lord of the conscience.' At this stage the Church numbered 4 Synods, 13 Presbyteries, 186 ministers, and 419 congregations. About the end of the 18th cent. 'unions' and 'federations' were the order of the day; and in 1801 the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches drew up the 'Plan of Union,' which was really an effort to secure external and operative unity by ignoring the differences between the Churches. As a result the Presbyterian Church increased rapidly in numbers, but became thoroughly leavened with Congregationalism. Members poured in at the rate of 10,000 to 20,000 per annum; but the younger churches became lax in their adherence to Presbyterian doctrine, discipline, and tradition. A test case came at length in 1830, when Albert Barnes, a Congregational minister called to a Presbyterian charge in Philadelphia, was vetoed by the Presbytery on account of his known laxity of doctrine. This breach of the 'Plan of Union' ushered in seven years of ecclesiastical strife, which ended in the repudiation of the Plan in 1837. A disruption of the Church into old school and new school followed in 1838, and endured for thirty-two years. Feeling ran high in both schools over the slavery question; in 1857 the northern half of the new school repudiated their brethren of the south, and in 1861 the southern portion of the old school seceded. This fresh dismemberment drew the two northern bodies together, and they re-united in 1870. During the separation the two Churches had been vigorously engaged in Home Mission work, having sent out between them no fewer than 25,000 missioners; and the united Church followed up the work with enthusiasm. Foreign Missions had been inaugurated in 1810 as the result of undenominational activity, but in 1838 the Church took over her own. Early in the period of separation the new school reverted to the original plan, but in 1854 she resumed control of her own missions; and now the Church has missions in Mexico, Brazil, Africa, Syria, Persia, India, and China. With over 9000 ministers, almost 1,500,000 members, 300 missionaries, and a dozen seminaries, including such famous schools as Princeton and Union, this Church is, in point of size, the greatest single Presbyterian organization in the world.

Of the other Presbyterian bodies of British origin in the United States little need be said. The Presbyterian Church in the United States (South) was formed in 1861 by the union of the old and new schools in the southern States. It possesses missions in Mexico, Brazil, and India, but its principal mission work has naturally been among the emancipated negroes. This Church has upheld the conservative tradition of the South. Since the end of the Civil War it has become increasingly friendly with its northern neighbour, but re-union has not yet taken place. It has over 1700 ministers and nearly 300,000 communicants.

The Cumberland Presbyterian Church, which, with its Coloured Branch, numbers about 150,000 members, had its origin in the Kentucky revival at the end of the 18th cent., when doctrinal and ecclesiastical vagaries increased to such an extent that at length the General Assembly intervened, forbidding the Cumberland Presbytery to ordain illiterate men to the ministry. The consequent secession gave birth to the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, which retains the Presbyterian polity, but has lowered the standard of ministerial education, and has relaxed some of the severer Calvinist doctrines. The United Presbyterian Church of N. America represents the main stream of 18th cent. dissent in Scotland, and its membership is over 100,000 strong. It remains very strict in its adherence to old standards, but is notable for its great evangelical and missionary zeal.

Among the Presbyterian Churches in the United States which trace their origin to continental Europe it will suffice to mention two. The Reformed Church in America (*q.v.*), which till 1867 retained its historic name of the Dutch Reformed Church, enjoys the distinction of being the oldest Presbyterian body in the United States. The first congregation, with Jonas Michaelius as pastor, was formed in 1628 in what was still the town of New Amsterdam, and the Church grew and flourished under Dutch rule till 1664, when the colony passed into English hands and became New York. The English authorities confined the activities of the Church to the Dutch inhabitants of the colony; and by this restriction, which remained in force till about 1700, its expansion was checked. Thereafter the Church itself hampered

its own growth by the exclusive use of the Dutch language in its services and by retaining its affiliation to the Classis of Amsterdam. But in 1764 the use of English in the services was permitted, and in 1785 the Church declared its independence of the Amsterdam Classis as the Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church in America. Since then it has grown slowly and steadily to the number of 100,000 members. The Dutch element and influence in it have naturally decreased, but the old doctrine, government, and ritual are still adhered to, and the doctrinal standard, the Heidelberg Catechism, is expounded weekly in every congregation, the complete exposition covering a period of four years. Foreign missions in India, Japan, and China constitute an important feature of the work of this Church; and the efforts of the Scudder family have made Arcot (S. India) a perfect model of what a mission ought to be.

The German Reformed Church was founded by emigrants, chiefly from the Rhine Palatinate, about the end of the 17th century. These settled mostly in Pennsylvania, and in 1747 M. Schlatter and four other ministers formed the first Coetus or Synod under the Classis of Amsterdam. Schlatter paid a visit to Europe in 1751, and secured substantial help from Holland, England, and Scotland. The Church declared its independence in 1773, and since then it has grown to such an extent that it now numbers about 300,000 members. It is estimated that of the German immigration to America during the last century two-thirds have found their way into the Lutheran Church, and the remaining third into the Reformed Church. The German Church has retained its native language much more tenaciously than its Dutch neighbour. The Heidelberg Catechism remains the doctrinal standard, and German customs and ritual are strongly adhered to, particularly in connexion with the great festivals of the Christian year. The six Churches already spoken of represent well over 95 per cent of American Presbyterianism.

Presbyterianism stands third in order of numbers among the Protestant Churches of America—a very creditable position, considering the comparative smallness of Presbyterian immigration and the restriction that the Church has placed upon her expansion by her insistence upon an educated ministry. Her membership is increasing over 50 per cent faster than the population of the country; and in culture, influence, wealth, and catholicity of spirit she calls no American Church her superior. The huge sphere of labour presented by the United States prevents the overlapping caused by denominationalism in smaller countries, and this, together with the friendly rivalry that exists between the various bodies, is a happy augury for a prosperous union at some future date.

The history of Presbyterianism in Canada presents two main features—enthusiasm for unity and tenacity in the face of opposition. The Huguenots first attempted to lay the foundations of Presbyterianism in Canada, and, while the tradition of Henry of Navarre persisted, they were not unsuccessful; but the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685) made an end of their work and turned Canada into a Jesuit preserve. The second impulse began from Britain in the latter half of the 18th cent., and, since then, Scottish characteristics have been well to the front. The increase of immigration early presented a difficulty, which was solved by seeking for outside help, and all the home Churches, as well as the American, did what they could. In this connexion the work of the Glasgow Colonial Society in Nova Scotia is especially worthy of mention. In the early part of the 19th cent. Episcopal opposition had to be faced in Canada as elsewhere. One-eleventh of the unceded lands in Upper and Lower Canada had been set apart for the maintenance of a Protestant clergy, and it cost the Presbyterian Church twenty years of struggle to wrest its share from the grip of the Episcopalians. The battle raged from 1817 to 1840, at the end of which time the Presbyterians obtained a third of the 3,000,000 acres of 'clergy reserves.' In 1832, feeling the need of a training college, the Church applied to the government to endow additional chairs in King's College, Toronto; but, Episcopal opposition proving too strong to be overcome, the Church herself founded Queen's University in 1841.

The Disruption of 1843 aroused echoes in Canada, and this, with the territorial divisions obtaining till 1867, kept the Canadian Church divided. In 1845 there were seven principal bodies of Canadian Presbyterians; but mutual goodwill speedily developed, and in 1860 a succession of unions began. By 1875 only four separate Churches were left, and these united on 15th June of that year to form the Presbyterian Church in Canada. At present a scheme is afoot to bring about a wider union of Presbyterians, Methodists, and Congregationalists. The General Assembly approved the basis of union in June 1916, but a considerable minority left the house; and so far the matter is incomplete.

The Church does excellent work among the French Roman Catholics, but her finest and most productive activity has been along the line of Church extension in the West, where, especially since the opening of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885, a notable work has been done in what is practically a new nation.

The Church at present has 70 Presbyteries, 2336 congregations, 1769 ministers, and about 300,000 communicants.

2. Australia.—Four-fifths of Australian Presbyterianism is concentrated in New South Wales and Victoria. The Presbyterian Church of New South Wales came into existence as the original population was outnumbered and absorbed by the respectable immigration of later times. The first Presbyterian minister in the colony was John Dunmore Lang, who went in 1823 and some years later was instrumental in founding the Presbytery of New South Wales. In course of time certain ministers resented Lang's virtual dictatorship, and tried to end it by insisting upon punctilious observance of the rules of the Church of Scotland. Lang and his following, who considered such rigidity injurious to the prospects of a new Church in a new land, seceded in 1838. Union was restored in 1840, only to be broken by a similar secession in 1842. The Scottish Disruption produced a further split in the colonial Church. She did her best to remain neutral, but her dependence upon Scotland for men to fill her pulpits produced the inevitable division in 1846. At length, however, her growing independence, and the problems which she was called upon to face, paved the way for union; and since 1865 all sections have been united.

In Victoria the gold rush, and the situation created by the rapid influx of a certain type of population, brought about union in 1859; and by 1870 all the remnants had come in. Since 1886 there has been a federal union of the original six Australian Churches, with an annual Federal Assembly. Its 44 Presbyteries, over 600 congregations, and about 60,000 members witness to the strength of Presbyterianism in Australia.

3. New Zealand.—The first Presbytery of what became in time the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, occupying the north island and half of the south, was founded at Auckland in 1856. The personnel was largely drawn from the Church of Scotland, but comprised Irish and other elements. Since its early days this Church has done splendid

Home Mission work, and has grown with the growth of the colony. The Presbyterian Church of Otago and Southland resulted from a resolution of the New Zealand Company to ask the co-operation of the Free Church of Scotland in the settlement of the new colony. The Free Church accepted the proposal, and the experiment of founding a model colony was tried at Otago. The first batch of emigrants arrived in 1848, with a nephew of Robert Burns as their minister, and in 1854 the first Presbytery was founded. The gold rush of 1861 presented the Church with a problem which has been very satisfactorily solved. The united strength of the Church in New Zealand now totals 17 Presbyteries, 230 congregations, and 40,000 members.

4. S. Africa.—There was a Dutch Reformed Church in Cape Colony from 1652; but, in spite of the steady stream of Dutch immigration and an influx of Huguenots about the end of the 17th cent., the Church had practically no history for the first century of its existence. After British rule began in 1806, better days dawned for the Church; and a Synod was organized in 1824. A Dutch law of 1804 had given the Church a constitution, but had left the supreme ecclesiastical power in the hands of the State. Ministers of a later date found State control irksome, and agitated to such purpose that the obnoxious feature was abolished in 1843; in 1875 State support also was withdrawn. The mutual animosity of Briton and Boer caused great Boer treks, and the Presbyterian Church in S. Africa was split into a number of territorial fragments. The various Dutch Reformed Churches have a communion-roll of about 200,000, and the British Church numbers over 11,000 communicants.

Leaving out of account the spiritual, ethical, intellectual, political, and economic influence of its splendid history, and regarding it from the point of view of mere statistics, we may allow the following figures, reported to the last General Council, to vouch for the progress of Presbyterianism and to bear testimony to the fact that the seed planted in Geneva has become a great tree overshadowing the world.

Continent of Europe	1,451,423	communicants.
United Kingdom	1,615,492	,,
Asia	223,838	,,
Africa	281,715	,,
N. America	2,713,064	,,
S. America	12,234	,,
W. Indies	16,101	,,
Australasia	104,147	,,
Total,	6,418,014	,,

As the total for 1888 was only 3,721,680, it will be seen that the communion-roll of Presbyterianism has nearly doubled itself within the last thirty years—a happy earnest of further increase.

III. *NATURE AND WORKING OF PRESBYTERIAN SYSTEM.*—All forms of Church government are ultimately reducible to three—Prelatic, Congregational, and Presbyterian. The Prelatic type of government, exemplified in the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches, is characterized by the gradation of ministerial rank, by the institution of the diocesan episcopate, and by the emphasis laid on the distinction between clergy and laity. The Congregational type recognizes neither gradation of ministerial rank nor gradation of Church courts; it places all ministers on an equal footing, and makes of every congregation an independent judicature. It is the boast of Presbyterianism that it avoids the dangers of both its rivals; on the other hand, it has sometimes been charged with combining the evils of both without any admixture of their advantages. As opposed to prelacy, the Presbyterian type of government rests upon the equality of ministerial status, and seeks to give ecclesiastical power to the members of the Church instead of to clerical individuals or councils; as opposed to Congregationalism, it seeks to realize the unity of the Church, by entrusting to a carefully devised system of graded Church courts legislative, executive, and judicial, not merely advisory, powers. This distinction between the three main types of Church government turns, of course, purely upon questions of ecclesiastical polity, and Presbyterian Church government is not the necessary concomitant of Calvinist doctrine, any more than it implies any definite and particular type of Church worship. Examples occur even of ecclesiastical polities which combine features drawn from more than one of the three chief types mentioned above. It will be noted that in such cases the operation of some factor external to the Church, such as the civil power, has generally to be taken into account. Indeed, in the last resort, any given form of Church polity must logically be based upon some definite doctrine of the Church, and any such doctrine of the Church is bound, in its turn, to form part of some articulated and unified dogmatic system. Thus we find that, on the whole and in spite of exceptions, Calvinistic doctrine, Presbyterian Church government, and a simple type of service which lays great stress upon the homiletic aspect of worship go together; and, in most cases, these exceptions can be traced to some extraneous influence working against the free self-development of the Church. Presbyterianism is characterized by the attempt to combine in its organization the following three features: (*a*) parity of the clergy; (*b*) government of the Church by its membership as represented by presbyters or elders, ordained to rule; (*c*) unity of the Church, so far as the conditions of nationality, language, space, and numbers will permit of organization. It will thus be seen that we have here the attempt to steer a middle course between Prelacy, which has made much of the doctrine of office in the Church, and Congregationalism, which is given over to individualism.

In support of the theory and practice of Presbyterian Church government the *jus divinum* argument has been largely made use of. At the height of the controversy between Presbyterianism and Prelacy which divided Britain in the 16th and 17th centuries the argument was pushed to the extreme of identifying Presbyterianism in detail with the ecclesiastical polity of the NT—a position untenable under the conditions of modern historical research, which would prefer to find the justification of any ecclesiastical system in considerations of expediency or of development. Yet the Presbyterian still clings to the *jus divinum* in a modified form. He holds that the NT, which sets forth the basis of the Christian faith, must necessarily supply the basic ideas concerning the institution which has sought to embody Christianity and to mediate it to the world; and he contends that in the fundamental ideas and principles of Presbyterianism the spirit and ideas of the NT are more faithfully reproduced than in any other polity. He would no more lay claim to a divine succession of presbyters than to an apostolic succession of bishops; the laying on of hands by presbyters has for him no more significance than episcopal consecration as a kind of mechanical device for the transmission of ministerial grace; he would find the true apostolic succession in the successive possession of the apostolic spirit by generations of faithful Christian pastors. His idea is of the *jus divinum* as belonging to an institution which is spiritually the successor of the NT Church, seeking on the whole to retain its offices and its general type of organization while modifying them to meet new requirements in a different age.

The Presbyterian form of polity in modern times is based on the Calvinist doctrine of the Church. According to this view, the Church is a fellowship of believers which aims at realizing the fellowship of each member with the others and of all with Christ. Such an essentially spiritual idea of the Church renders it impossible for the Calvinist Presbyterian to unchurch any professed believer or body of believers on merely external grounds. The true Church is invisible, known only to God; and the mechanical exclusion of any man from salvation by reference to some fixed ecclesiastical theory is a presumption. In fact, evangelical Protestantism must place first the true preaching of the Word and the proper administration of the sacraments, and all Church government is justified only as a means to that end. Up to this point Presbyterianism and Congregationalism are agreed; they differ only as to the means by which the Church can best serve those ends and express her mind to the world. Presbyterianism recognizes more fully than Independency that, in order to secure the three general ends of true preaching, true administration of the sacraments, and true discipline within an orderly and united body of believers, a certain amount of organization is unavoidable, even if of secondary importance, and the founders of Presbyterianism went to the NT for their models. In so far as they attempted or claimed to effect an exact and mechanical reproduction of the NT Church, they were mistaken, but they may at least claim to have worked out a system as nearly like it as anything that can hope to adapt itself to modern times.

1. **Ecclesiastical offices and officials.**—In order to grasp the significance of ecclesiastical office it is no less important to see the connexion of 'gift' and 'office' than to distinguish between them. At first the ministry of gifts that prevailed in the primitive Church rendered office unnecessary and even impossible, but it was not long before the failure or the capriciousness of gifts rendered office inevitable in the growing community, and offices and officials were undoubtedly existent in NT times. Gifts, on the other hand, were the basis of office, the holding of which originally signified a recognition on the part of the Church that the official possessed eminent gifts. As the Church grew in numbers, and had to face heresy within and persecution without, officialism naturally assumed a position of ever-growing importance. Montanism, *e.g.*, was, from one point of view, a protest against the growth of officialism in the Church, and the reaction against Montanism fostered the very growth against which it protested in vain. Ordination—at first simply the setting apart to a special task of a man with special gifts for it—became a more formal thing; the ritualism of the act came to surpass in importance the prayer which was originally its essence; and gradually the right to confer ordination, from being a distinction between clergy and laity, became a distinction between superior and inferior orders of clergy. The whole tendency of mediævalism was in the direction of this growing sacerdotalism, the original freedom and spontaneity of the Church were crushed rather than preserved as the machinery of it became perfected, and the Reformers aimed at getting behind this perfection of lifeless mechanism to the simpler ideas and organization of primitive times, the earlier among them recoiling even from such harmless symbolism as the laying on of hands in ordination. The Calvinist and Presbyterian wing of the Reformation distinguished in the NT certain offices which were intended to be ordinary and permanent from certain others which were of an extraordinary and temporary character. These permanent offices were (*a*) the ministry of the Word, (*b*) ruling and discipline, (*c*) the care of goods, their distribution in needful cases, and the care of the poor and sick. Doctrine, discipline, and distribution were the distinguishing features of the three types of permanent official. Or a twofold classification might be made, into (1) elders, (*a*) teaching and (*b*) ruling, and (2) deacons. In the earliest times the Church modelled itself on the Synagogue rather than on the Temple, and the ruling body would naturally be the elders, the recognition of whom as a body of men possessed of special gifts of ruling soon became that of a body of men possessed of office. But, as some of them would be better teachers than others, and the need of sound teaching soon became apparent, the distinction between the teaching and the ruling types of presbyter is clearly marked at an early stage of ecclesiastical development. The needs of the Church, the disappearance of charisms, the rise of official doctrine and official books, fostered the need of competent teaching; such teachers would naturally be sought in the eldership, and the presbyter capable of teaching gradually assumed a position of greater distinctiveness—a distinctiveness emphasized by the fact that teaching power and business gifts form a sufficiently rare combination in the individual. Finally there comes about a clear distinction between the office of preacher and teacher and that of ruling elder; we find in Cyprian, *e.g.*, a clear recognition of the difference between teaching and ruling presbyters. The modern Presbyterian Church has always made a point of this distinction, which is very clearly brought out in the theory and practice of ordination. If ordination, as some have contended, admitted merely to order, then no special new ordination would be required to transform an elder into a minister. But the Presbyterian system regards ordination as admitting, not to order, but to office, and the requirement of a special ordination for a minister is a recognition of the different offices of teacher and ruler. Yet there has always been a certain confusion in the mind of Presbyterianism with regard to the exact relationship between the minister and the elder, the teaching and the ruling presbyter. Some, like John Calvin, followed by Gillespie, interpret 1 Ti 5^{17} as if preaching and ruling presbyters had held distinct offices from the very beginning; others, like Campbell, have considered the ruling elder simply as a lay coadjutor and councillor of the minister, his spiritual work being only such as might be done by any other pious member of the kirk; a third and more sensible group of thinkers hold that the distinction of office has arisen naturally out of a distinction of gifts in a Church faced by the problems of growth and maturing age. It is, in fact, better to consider the office of presbyter from the practical than from the theoretic and Scriptural point of view. The ruling elder, at the least, discharges the useful function of representing lay needs, ideas, and interests, and of keeping the minister in touch with the general life of the Church; and his tenure of an office which renders him of equal status with the minister as a member of any Church court is of immense practical value to the Church. Both offices declined in the Middle Ages, that of the ruling elder vanishing altogether. But at the Reformation the removal of the crushing burden of sacerdotalism caused both to revive. The minister as pastor, preacher, and teacher came into his own again, and, in the Presbyterian Church among the rest, he has ever since retained the highest place in the esteem of the membership. The office is ministerial, not sacerdotal, and, whatever 'presbyter' may be etymologically, it is certainly something quite different in practical

content from 'old priest writ large.' Regarding episcopacy and the episcopal office as a late development, unscriptural and unjustifiable, the Presbyterian reformers have always insisted upon the parity of the clergy, whose functions are preaching, the administration of the sacraments, and the exercise of discipline; and the sacerdotal side of the office has always been carefully kept in the background, lest the minister, in the guise of priest, should stand between God and men. The ruling elder disappeared, as has been said, in the Middle Ages; the attempt to trace him back to the Waldensian movement has not been successful; nor did he reappear in the Lutheran Church. From the beginning the need of a body of men to exercise Church discipline was recognized by the Reformers, who felt that, while the *jus episcopale* ought to be transferred, it must not be allowed to lapse. But the question at once arose as to whether these men should be chosen by the Church or by the civil authorities, and the first to see quite clearly that the Church ought to choose them was John Calvin. In this he differs from both Luther and Zwingli, who left the exercise of Church discipline to the civil power, and, alone among the Reformers, he insisted upon the exercise of discipline by means of an eldership, chosen by the people, founded upon the NT, and possessed of spiritual office for the discharge of a spiritual function. With this is bound up the theory of the relation between Church and State. It may be noted that the very alliance between Church and State in Geneva which realized one side of his ideal baulked him in the realization of its other half, viz. the maintenance of a distinct and separate sphere for both. In France, however, the hostility of the State reversed the case: alliance was impossible, but the Church was therefore free to develop along her own lines. And the same state of affairs obtained in Scotland. In these two countries, therefore, the Presbyterian eldership came to its full development, and the office is distinctive of Presbyterianism. The elders are chosen by the general body of the membership, and specially ordained to their office. At first they held office only for a limited period, and then resigned, usually by rotation, to make room for other representatives of the popular voice; but in later times the office has come to be held 'ad vitam aut culpam,' and Presbyterian Church government is by representation rather than by direct reference to the popular will. The elder is recognized as a spiritual functionary; and, while he is debarred from the ministry of the Word and sacraments, he has the right to assist in the administration of discipline and in the government of the Church, in whose courts his vote is of equal value with that of the minister. The work of the diaconate, since the decline of that office, has largely fallen to the eldership; and the assistance of a competent body of elders is invaluable to the minister.

Early in the history of the Church it was found advisable to take the work of almsgiving off the shoulders of men otherwise too busy to attend to it, and thus originated the office of deacon. It is an open question whether the 'Seven' of the Acts of the Apostles were the first of those to be chosen at all, whether we have here the first instance of their work being formally recognized by the Church as the work of ecclesiastical officials, or whether these seven were then chosen in the Gentile interest, because those already in office did not command Greek confidence. The Presbyterian deacon, so far as the office still exists, is a more faithful copy of his prototype than the deacon either of Roman Catholicism or of Anglicanism. The office was never generally regarded as a spiritual one, implying any spiritual function, though the French Church originally took that view; all that is implied in it is the application of spiritual principles to certain secular affairs. The originally unspiritual nature of the office may be gauged from the fact that, in spite of the disabilities of women for public speaking and the like, deaconesses were very early at work in the Church. Yet the deacon is more than a mere member of a managing board. He holds an ecclesiastical office to which ordination is necessary. We may describe the deacon of Reformation times as a secular Church official. The office has largely fallen into abeyance, especially where State connexion has eased the financial affairs of the Church, and the passing of the diaconal functions in such cases into the hands of the elder has done much to secularize the eldership.

Minister, elder, and deacon are the three ordinary and permanent officials recognized by Presbyterianism, but Calvin and the rest held that NT precedent would authorize the temporary use of extraordinary offices to meet special circumstances. The internal needs of the Church herself or the pressure of outside factors determined the nature and use of such special offices. In the earliest days of the Reformed Church, *e.g.*, there existed the office of teacher, as distinct from that of minister, an office which has quite naturally disappeared; for, with a growing knowledge of Reformed doctrine on the part of the people, and after the issue of Catechisms for the instruction of the young and comparatively ignorant, the special work of the teacher became unnecessary. Similarly, in John Knox's day the difficulty produced in Scotland by the inadequate supply of ministers to meet the national need gave rise to the two special offices of superintendent and reader, both of which disappeared as the ecclesiastical situation became settled. The chairmen of General Assembly committees and the Divinity students who spend their spare time in mission work represent the nearest survival of those two offices today; but it is noteworthy that, in Canada, a problem similar to John Knox's is responsible for the existence of superintendents at the present time, and for the use made of special-course men, who are virtually equivalent to readers. We have seen also that special officials exist in the Bohemian and Hungarian Churches, and, though a strict Presbyterian might, on the ground of these special offices, call in question the really Presbyterian nature of these Churches, it is interesting to find that the state of affairs in the Bohemian Church, *e.g.*, raised no qualms in the breast of John Calvin. Undue State interference has in many cases caused modifications in the Presbyterian theory and practice with regard to office; but the offices of minister, elder, and deacon are alone recognized or required as permanent in a thoroughgoing Presbyterian system, and even the deacon tends to disappear when the Church is prospering.

2. Church courts.—By the organization of her officials into a carefully graded system of Church courts Presbyterianism seeks to give expression to the unity of the Church. These courts exercise a threefold function: (*a*) legislative: they frame laws for the purpose of securing discipline, and for the proper control and dispatch of ecclesiastical business; (*b*) executive: they give effect to these laws; (*c*) judicial: they inflict and remove ecclesiastical censures; and the higher courts review the proceedings of the lower. The basis of these activities is, of course, the constitution of the Church, but the claim is made that both the constitution and the activities of the Church are ultimately based upon Holy Writ. In the Presbyterian Church the holding of a spiritual office is a necessary qualification for a seat in any of the

Church courts. Thus only teaching and ruling elders are eligible for membership, and the membership of any court must be composed of both. Congregational Church government is probably more directly popular in its nature, but Presbyterianism is also vigorously democratic; for both ministers and elders are popularly elected, and represent, in the last resort, the will of the people; nor is it more difficult to deduce the representative form of Church government from the NT than to deduce any other. In actual practice, even where the eldership of the Church is theoretically added to by co-optation, popular consent and approval form the basis of election; they are always aimed at, even if they are not considered indispensable.

All members of any ecclesiastical court are equal *qua* members; *e.g.*, it is open to lay elders to consider judicially even the most abstruse theological problems. In legislative work as well all members of any Church court have equal deliberative and voting power. But in the executive sphere there are certain duties which can be discharged only by an ordained minister—such as the pronouncement of censure or of its removal; and herein lies the explanation of the apparent anomaly that in a system of Presbyterian equality only ministers can normally preside over Church courts, and that the presence of at least one minister is therefore necessary to a quorum. This does not render the presiding minister a man of special rank; he is only temporarily *primus*, and even then a *primus inter pares*; and his primacy deprives him for the time of his deliberative vote.

In the Presbyterian system the courts of the Church are graded, the lowest being congregational in their representation and the scope of their activity, the highest national. The essential courts are the Kirk-Session, Presbytery, and Synod; if the Church is very large, a National Synod, General Synod, or General Assembly crowns the edifice. In this way the rights of the individual congregation are neither exaggerated nor minimized. The higher courts supervise and review the work done by the lower; and the distinctive feature of Presbyterianism lies in giving to its higher courts authoritative control over its lower, and not merely advisory powers. Moreover, it has now become the practice of the Church that these courts shall meet at regular intervals, and not merely when occasion seems to demand it. The idea of gradation can be justified from Scripture and is, besides, of so great practical value that Independency even follows it to the extent of giving the association power to cast refractory congregations out of fellowship. The grading of Church courts frees the individual from the fear of local prejudice, and at the same time serves to impress upon him the idea of the unity of the Church. Of course, the gradually matured and elaborate organization of Presbyterianism renders inevitable a certain externalism; but, so long as this does not drive men to mistake ecclesiastical sameness for Christian unity, no harm is done.

Of the various courts of the Presbyterian Church and their respective functions only a general outline can be given, which may be taken as broadly characteristic of the Presbyterian system. We need not enter in detail into exceptions.

(*a*) *Kirk-Session.*—At the foot of the scale of the Presbyterian Church courts comes the Kirk-Session, which consists of the ministers and elders of the individual congregation. Its numbers vary with the size and needs of the congregation, but they should be sufficient to secure efficient working; and, if the congregation is too small to provide a quorum for the dispatch of business, it is in the power of the Presbytery to attach an elder or elders for the purpose. The jurisdiction of the Kirk-Session extends over its own congregation, but it must act within the limits of the constitution, and its acts can be revised by a higher court. Subject to these limitations, it is a kind of parochial Presbytery. The Session supervises the congregation, takes charge of the communion-roll, and is responsible for its correctness. If necessary, it censures members, its findings being declared and its sentences executed by the moderator.[1] It is responsible, too, for admission to ordinances. The work of the minister is also looked after by the Session, which, if it sees fit, may bring before the Presbytery any matter connected therewith. In certain cases the Session also sees to the proper distribution of ecclesiastical goods.

Where a Deacons' Court exists, the last-named function naturally falls to it. The functions of the Deacons' Court are not of a spiritual nature; it is responsible directly to the Presbytery.

(*b*) *Presbytery.* — The Presbytery — otherwise known under the various names of Classis, Colloque, Tractus, etc.—is the unit of the Presbyterian system and the means of realizing Church unity upon the smallest scale. This court is a distinctive feature of Presbyterianism. The extent of its bounds and the number of individual congregations within its jurisdiction are matters of convenience. On the Presbytery are represented all the Kirk-Sessions within the bounds, the representation consisting of all the ministers, together with one elder for each Session. Thus, as the moderator, who is always a minister, has no deliberative, but only a casting vote, it may quite well happen that, if there are no collegiate charges within the bounds, the lay element will command a steady majority. Formerly a doctrinal discussion or the study of a portion of Scripture might form part of the proceedings of a Presbytery, but such study or discussion would take place now only under very special circumstances, and, for the most part, the court confines itself to purely business matters. This court has the power to grant licence and ordination, and also to take them away—subject, of course, to the laws of the Church and the revision of superior courts. It has in its hands the oversight and the refilling of vacant charges. The superintendence and review of the proceedings of lesser courts also belong to it—*e.g.*, in Scotland since 1639 it has been the practice of the Presbytery annually to examine the books and records of Sessions within its bounds—and it hears references and appeals from these courts. The Session as a body, individual elders, or ordinary members of a congregation may petition the Presbytery concerning a moderator of Session. In the ordinary way the proceedings of Presbytery are regularly submitted to the Synod of the province. But it is in the power of any Presbytery to submit a suggestion direct to the General Assembly by means of what is called in Scotland an 'overture'; and the converse of this appears in the Barrier Act of 1697, which forbids any General Assembly to pass an act affecting the constitution of the Church until it has submitted the proposal to all the Presbyteries, and their opinions on it have been received by a later Assembly. In the act of ordination only the ministerial members of Presbytery take part.

(*c*) *Synod.*—The Synod—in some cases called the Coetus—is of the nature of a larger Presbytery. It is composed of the sum of its Presbyteries, together with a minister and elder from each of any neighbouring Synods as corresponding members. As the court intermediate between the Presbytery and the supreme court of the Church, the Synod has a comparatively narrow range of functions. It reviews the proceedings of Presby-

1 'Moderator' is the name applied to the president of any ecclesiastical court.

teries, examines their records, can overture the supreme court, can call the attention of any Presbytery to errors and omissions of duty, and is directly responsible to the supreme court. Those three are the necessary courts of the Presbyterian system; and, where there is nothing higher, the Synod would, of course, have extended powers.

(*d*) *General Assembly.*—In all Churches of more than provincial extent the highest court is the General Synod, National Synod, or General Assembly. The General Assembly has unlimited power—subject to the constitution of the Church, the constitutional rights of inferior bodies, and the law of the land. Its aim is to be representative of the whole Church; but, while Kirk-Sessions are represented in the Presbytery and Synod, Presbyteries are represented in the General Assembly. The proportion of elders to ministers varies in the various Churches. In the Church of Scotland the scheme is as follows:

By an Act of Assembly, A.D. 1694,
(*a*) from Presbyteries of 12 or fewer parishes, 2 ministers, 1 elder;
(*b*) from Presbyteries of 12 to 18 parishes, 3 ministers, 1 elder;
(*c*) from Presbyteries of 18 to 24 parishes, 4 ministers, 2 elders;
(*d*) from Presbyteries of 24 or more parishes, 5 ministers, 2 elders.
By an additional Act of A.D. 1712,
(*e*) from Presbyteries of 30 or more parishes, 6 ministers, 3 elders;
(*f*) by a rule of Assembly enacted in 1893 every Presbytery sends one minister for every four ministers on roll of Presbytery and for a part of four, and one elder for every six ministers and for a part of six;
(*g*) 67 town council elders from royal burghs, and two from the city of Edinburgh;
(*h*) a representative from each university.

The Free Church simply took one-third of each Presbytery (ministers and elders alike); and every Church has its own scheme of representation. The personnel of General Assemblies necessarily varies much more than that of inferior courts from one meeting to another; and, as a consequence, any given Assembly may differ widely in its opinions from its predecessor. But the judicial findings of one Assembly cannot be reversed by another; *e.g.*, if the Assembly of 1889 has suspended a minister, that of 1890 may think its predecessor wrong, but can alter the decision of 1889 only by finding that the suspension has already been long enough to satisfy justice, or express its disapproval by coming to an opposite conclusion on a similar case. On the other hand, legislation passed by a previous Assembly—any act, indeed, which is not a judicial decision — can, subject to the usual limitations, be reversed, although, up to the time of its reversal, it is binding upon the Church. If the constitution of the Church is affected by any proposal, the Barrier Act prevents hasty action.

It will be seen from the above that in the lowest court, the Kirk-Session, the lay element must predominate; that in the next lowest, the Presbytery, it may; and that in the Synod the same state of affairs will prevail as in the sum of the Presbyteries. Not until we come to the highest court of all can a clerical majority ever be theoretically certain, though, as a matter of fact and practice, the ministerial element does usually predominate in every court higher than the Session. Still, when we consider that all ministers and elders eligible for a seat in any court of the Presbyterian Church are originally elected by the people, and must therefore, in the main, reflect popular opinion, and when we consider that such devices as the Barrier Act stand in the way of hasty and irresponsible decisions even on the part of the highest court of all, we cannot deny the right of Presbyterianism to be called a thoroughly democratic form of Church government.

The Presbyterian system did not spring suddenly into being full-grown, but is the result of long development, patient study, and long resistance to opposition. On the general lines above indicated it is in use in Great Britain, the colonies, and N. America; but differences occur in various Continental Churches, due either to their smallness or to undue interference by the civil power.

3. **Difficulties of the system.**—The comparatively elaborate organization of the Presbyterian Church is, on the whole, an advantage; but it has its disadvantages as well. When English Presbyterianism was subjected to persecution which it was unable to withstand, it could not, like Independency, simply go into hiding till the storm blew over. It had either to remain organized, in which case it became obvious and was crushed by force, or to sacrifice its organization and so cease to be Presbyterianism. On the other hand, when the successors of Richelieu set themselves to crush French Presbyterianism, they began by suppressing its organization, and the result justified their scheme. This is merely to say that close organization is an advantage in times of strength, but an inconvenience in times of weakness.

From the beginning the political influence of the Reformed Churches has been on the side of popular government, as has been noted in the case of France, Scotland, and Holland, where the Church found itself in conflict with the established ecclesiastical system and the civil power, and under the necessity of fighting for its existence. The action of the existent authorities in each case contributed to identify in the general mind the causes of civil and religious liberty; and modern democracy owes a heavy debt to the religious impulse of the Reformation. It is noteworthy, *e.g.*, that the American War of Independence found the Presbyterians practically solid for the colonial cause—a circumstance due as much to their settled belief in representative government as to their memory of past wrongs on the other side of the Atlantic. In the case of Geneva the people had already won their civil liberty, and were prepared to recognize the Church, so that events took another turn; and in certain Continental states the civil power, while recognizing the Church, has felt itself under the necessity of putting pressure upon Presbyterianism in the interests of its own supreme authority. Indeed, in every land where Presbyterianism has made good its footing the question of the relation between Church and State has arisen in a more or less acute form. Calvin's ideal was that the State and the Church ought to be in alliance, but that there should be no confusion between them. Each should have its own separate, clearly defined sphere of action: the State should not interfere with spiritual affairs, nor the Church with secular matters. But a Church member, who enjoys in that sphere a great measure of religious liberty and a share of ecclesiastical government, will not long be content with less in his civil capacity, and a king who believes in Divine Right, or an aristocracy clinging desperately to its privileges, cannot but look askance at a democratic Church. John Knox and Mary Stuart, Andrew Melville and James I., the Dutch and Philip II., must sooner or later find peace impossible; no theory of the independent spheres of Church and State could discount the truth, from his own point of view, of James I.'s shrewd saying, 'No bishop, no king.' But, even when that phase of the conflict is over, and the position of the Church secured, the difficulty remains of defining the respective limits of civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, a difficulty increased by the very fact that friendly relations exist between Church and State. For alliance without mutual interference is hard to secure; the members of the Church are in

another aspect the members of the civil community, and it is constantly hard to mark off a definite boundary between the secular and the spiritual. The same problem as vexed mediævalism on a European scale has recurred on a national scale in Presbyterian lands, and has been a fruitful cause of trouble and division. In Geneva Calvin experienced this difficulty of keeping alliance free from a confusion and conflict of interests; and in Scotland, where a fairly successful solution of the problem has at length been arrived at, this has been accomplished only at the cost of prolonged conflict and wide-spread secession. In spite of Calvin's desire for the alliance of Church and State, the modern tendency of Presbyterianism has rather been towards separation in the interests of peace and concord.

4. **Educational activity.** — The Reformers in general and the Calvinists in particular were from the first deeply impressed with the need for popular education; for a democracy must educate its citizens in the interest of sane self-government. Moreover, the Reformers believed themselves to be possessed of a system of doctrine so near to the absolute truth that it could challenge comparison with any other, and had only to be fully known in order to be accepted by intelligent and educated men. They therefore believed that an educated public was the best guarantee of a successful propaganda. Their doctrine and polity were new, and even among their own adherents many required some detailed and definite instruction in addition to the general considerations that had induced them to adhere. From the beginning, too, an educated ministry was one of the deepest desires of the Reformed leaders. To them the chief thing of all was that the Word of God should be properly expounded and properly understood. In this exposition and understanding, which called alike for an educated ministry and an educated people, lay the best hope, not only for the expansion of their Church, but also for the saving of souls. For all these reasons the Reformed Churchmen were ardent educationists. The school of Geneva, under Calvin's care, soon became famous throughout Europe; the first use that the French Church made of Henry IV.'s annual grant was to found and endow colleges; the settlement of the Dutch Church was followed by an amazing outburst of intellectual activity; and the destruction of John Knox's splendid scheme for Scottish education was a blow from which his country took long to recover. Knox advocated a scheme whereby every parish should have its school, and every considerable town its grammar school, and the scheme was to be completed by the maintenance of universities in certain important cities. The passing of likely pupils from the lower institutions to the higher should be in the public care, and, if need be, at the public expense. Knox shrewdly advocated compulsory education for the children of the very rich and the very poor; he seems to have trusted to the common sense of the middle class. One-third of the confiscated funds of the old Church was to be applied for purposes of education, but the greed of the nobles ruined the project, which became in sad fact a 'devote imagination'; and only in recent times, with her system of primary schools, secondary schools, and universities, with free and compulsory education as far as possible, and bursaries to help the needy scholar, has Scotland reached a stage of educational development resembling that devised by her great Reformer three-and-a-half centuries ago. It must not be forgotten that the educational schemes of the Reformers were devised in the religious interest. Knox, in his enthusiasm, even recommended that likely men should, if need be, be forced into the ministry. But, as time went on, the educational horizon widened; and, though for a time the Church became the victim of a scholasticism as deadly as the mediæval type, the principle of free inquiry, upon which the Reformation itself rested, could not for ever be denied. The Church, with her doctrinal system fixed and hardened, has not infrequently been unsympathetic and even cruel towards her intellectual offspring; but modern science, with much else that has been attacked by the Church, owes a greater debt to the underlying principles of Presbyterianism than is superficially apparent. Even the much-abused Higher Criticism is a truer spiritual child of the Reformation than the rigid orthodoxy which opposes it, for the Reformers were the higher critics and revolutionary Biblical students of their day; and there are encouraging signs that the Church, on the whole, is coming to see this. It is all to the credit of the Church that, having set on foot educational systems and institutions, she has been content to see other authorities take them over in their maturity, secularize them, and use them in a wider interest than the ecclesiastical, while she herself undertakes the religious education of her own. No part of the work of the Presbyterian Church does her more honour than her efforts on behalf of education.

5. **Morality.**—The morality which accompanies the Presbyterian form of Church government and the Calvinist form of doctrine is quite distinctive. It might be logically expected that a profound belief in the sovereignty of God, in election and irresistible grace, would fill the individual with a deep sense not merely of his insignificance but also of his helplessness, and would conduce to a fatalism destructive of all energy and activity. But in Calvinism we find the same paradox as in early Islām, viz. that a creed apparently inimical to all human activity has animated men to the most prodigious efforts. Calvin and Knox, and others of the same faith, when they considered themselves merely as men, were the humblest of creatures, giving God the glory for all that they did and were; but, when they considered themselves as instruments in the hands of God, they were filled with a sense of their usefulness in the world that made them marvels of energy and even of arrogance. Like Paul, they valued themselves little, but they magnified their office. This combination of personal modesty with diligence and fiery energy has always been characteristic of the best Calvinist morality. The Calvinist morality has generally been a little hard and unsympathetic, tending rather to the concealment and repression than to the consideration of personal feelings, and sometimes the Church's sense of official duty has driven her into tyrannical and inquisitorial interference with the private affairs of men; but a certain probity, a sturdy independence, a reluctance to act except from real conviction, a stiff-necked insistence upon just dealing, and the energetic will to make the best of any given situation have characterized Presbyterian morals throughout, and have made of the Presbyterian a sound and trustworthy business man, an excellent colonist, a soldier to be feared—indeed, a man to be reckoned with in any walk of life. Considering his creed, which makes the almost arbitrary will of God everything and man nothing, the Calvinist's fervency in prayer is as paradoxical as his energy and activity, but is equally a fact.

6. **Conclusion.**—It has frequently been made a reproach against the Reformation that it broke in pieces the unity of Christendom; and for this rending of the vesture of Christ the Reformed Churches have had to bear their share of the blame. But, as has already been pointed out, divergences existed in the Roman Catholic Church

before the Reformation which that crisis only brought to light, and, to a great extent, what occurred was really the substitution of spiritual unity under the headship of Christ for mechanical unity under the headship of the papacy. Moreover, the breaking up of the mediæval Church into national Churches was an inevitable result of the growth of nationalism in Europe; and, while Calvin and those who followed him were deeply impressed with the great truth of the unity of the Church, they found that circumstances prevented its realization in the meantime on any wider scale than the national. Yet, even when this is said, it must be admitted that the overscrupulous conscience of Presbyterianism has led to further divisions which are less justifiable, and not in the same degree necessary. The history of Scotland since 1700 affords abundant illustration of the truth of that statement. It must, however, be noted that, for the last century at least, the general tendency of Presbyterianism has been towards union and reconciliation, as the truth has been increasingly realized that the things which are common to the Churches are more important than the things which divide them. Apart altogether from the schemes which are now afoot in various quarters to unite Presbyterianism with other denominations, in Scotland, America, Canada, and elsewhere, the different Presbyterian bodies have been uniting and are pursuing the policy of union on a wider scale. In 1884 a significant Assembly took place, when for the first time the effort was made to hold an Ecumenical Council of Presbyterianism. Since that time ten such Councils have met in various centres, and one by one all the representatives of Presbyterianism in the world are being gathered in. The alliance has no authoritative control over the various independent Churches, but at least it serves to provide Presbyterians throughout civilization with a sense of the unity of the great Church to which they belong. The statistics collected become more and more full and accurate as time goes on, and it may be that the increasing influence of this pan-Presbyterian movement, and the increasing encouragement afforded by the results of its work, will one day lead to something closer by way of a bond between all Presbyterians the world over.

JOHN DALL.

LITERATURE.—I. *GENERAL.*—(*a*) **T. J. Crawford**, *Presbyterianism defended*[2], 2 pts., London, 1867; **P. Heylyn**, *Ærius redivivus: Hist. of the Presbyterians from 1536 to 1647*[2], do. 1672; **G. V. Lechler**, *Gesch. der Presbyterial- und Synodalverfassung seit der Reformation*, Leyden, 1854; **W. M. MacPhail**, *The Presbyterian Church: its Doctrine, Worship, and Polity*, London, 1908; **J. Macpherson**, *Presbyterianism*, Edinburgh, 1883; **J. N. Ogilvie**, *The Presbyterian Churches*, new ed., do. 1896; **W. Paterson**, *The Church of the New Testament: the Presbyterate*, London, 1903; *Proceedings of the General Council of the Alliance of Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian System*, Edinburgh, etc., 1877-1913; **R. C. Reed**, *Hist. of the Presbyterian Churches of the World*, Philadelphia, 1905; **P. Schaff**, *Hist. of the Creeds of Christendom*, London, 1877, vol. iii.; **E. W. Smith**, *The Creed of Presbyterians*, Toronto, 1902; **J. V. Stephens**, *The Presbyterian Churches*, Philadelphia, 1910.

(*b*) **H. Bonar**, *Catechisms of the Scottish Reformation*, London, 1866; **J. Cooper**, *Confessions of Faith and Formulas of Subscription . . . in the Church of Scotland*, Glasgow, 1907; **J. Donaldson**, *The Westminster Confession of Faith and the Thirty-nine Articles*, London, 1905; **W. Dunlop**, *A Collection of Confessions of Faith, Catechisms, Directories, Books of Discipline . . . of Publick Authority in the Church of Scotland*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1719-20; **W. M. Hetherington**, *Hist. of the Westminster Assembly of Divines*, do. 1878; **A. T. Innes**, *The Law of Creeds in Scotland*, do. 1902; **C. G. McCrie**, *The Confessions of the Church of Scotland*, do. 1907; **A. F. Mitchell**, *Catechisms of the Second Reformation*, London, 1886; **A. F. Mitchell and J. Struthers**, *Minutes of the Sessions of the Westminster Assembly of Divines*, do. 1874; **A. Stewart**, *Creeds and Churches* (Croall Lectures, 1901-02), do. 1916.

II. *HISTORY.*—i. SCOTLAND.—(*a*) **Lord Balfour of Burleigh**, *An His. Account of the Rise and Development of Presbyterianism in Scotland*, Cambridge, 1911; **P. Hume Brown**, *John Knox: a Biography*, 2 vols., London, 1895, *Hist. of Scotland*, new ed., 3 vols., Cambridge, 1911, 'Scotland from the Restoration to the Union of the Parliaments,' in *Cambridge Modern History*, v., Cambridge, 1908, p. 278 ff.; **J. Bryce**, *Ten Years of the Church of Scotland (1833-43), with Hist. Retrospect from 1560*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1850; **J. Hill Burton**, *The Hist. of Scotland*[2], 9 vols., do. 1873; **D. Calderwood**, *Hist. of the Kirk of Scotland*, 8 vols. (Wodrow Society), do. 1842-49; **H. Cowan**, *The Influence of the Scottish Church in Christendom* (Baird Lecture, 1895), London, 1896; **J. Cunningham**, *The Church Hist. of Scotland*[2], 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1882; **A. Edgar**, *Old Church Life in Scotland*, 2 vols., Paisley, 1885-86; **G. Grub**, *An Ecclesiastical Hist. of Scotland*, 4 vols., Edinburgh, 1861; **H. F. Henderson**, *The Religious Controversies of Scotland*, do. 1905; **W. M. Hetherington**, *Hist. of the Church of Scotland from the Introduction of Christianity to the Disruption*[7], do. 1853; **A. T. Innes**, *Studies in Scottish History, chiefly Ecclesiastical*, do. 1894; **R. Keith**, *The Hist. of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland, 1527-68*, 3 vols. (Spottiswoode Society), do. 1844-50; **M. G. J. Kinloch**, *Studies in Scottish Ecclesiastical Hist. in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, London, 1898; **J. Knox**, *Works*, ed. D. Laing (Wodrow Society), 6 vols., Edinburgh, 1846-64; **A. Lang**, *A Hist. of Scotland*, 4 vols., do. 1900-07, *John Knox and the Reformation*, London, 1905; **J. Lee**, *Lectures on the Hist. of the Church of Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution Settlement*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1860; **J. A. McClymont**, *The Church of Scotland*, Aberdeen, 1892; **C. G. McCrie**, *The Church of Scotland; her Divisions and her Reunions*, London, 1901, *Scotland's Place and Part in the Revolution of 1688*, Edinburgh, 1889; **T. McCrie**, *Life of John Knox* (= *Works*[2], vol. i.), do. 1855, *Life of Andrew Melville* (= *Works*[2], vol. ii.), do. 1856; **T. McCrie, Jr.**, *Sketches of Scottish Church History*[4], do. 1846; **H. Macpherson**, *Scotland's Battles for Spiritual Independence*, do. 1905; **W. L. Mathieson**, *Church and Reform in Scotland (1797-1843)*, Glasgow, 1916; **J. C. Moffat**, *The Church in Scotland*, Philadelphia, 1882; **P. M. Muir**, *The Church of Scotland*, London, 1891; **R. Rainy**, *Three Lectures on the Church of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1872; **J. Row**, *Hist. of the Kirk of Scotland* (Wodrow Society), do. 1842; *St. Giles' Lectures*, 1st ser., *The Scottish Church from the Earliest Times to 1881*, do. 1881; **H. Scott**, *Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, 6 vols., do. 1866-71, new ed. in progress, 1915-17; **A. P. Stanley**, *Lectures on the Hist. of the Church of Scotland*[3], London, 1879; **W. Stephen**, *Hist. of the Scottish Church*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1894-96; **A. Stevenson**, *The Hist of the Church and State of Scotland*[2], do. 1844; **R. H. Story**, *The Church of Scotland, Past and Present*, 5 vols., London, 1890-91; **W. R. Taylor**, *Religious Thought and Scottish Church Life in the Nineteenth Century*, Edinburgh, 1900; **J. Walker**, *The Theology and Theologians of Scotland chiefly of the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Cunninghame Lecture), do. 1872.

(*b*) **P. Bayne**, *The Free Church of Scotland: her Origin, Founders, and Testimony*, Edinburgh, 1893; **T. Brown**, *Annals of the Disruption*, new ed., do. 1884; **R. Buchanan**, *The Ten Years' Conflict*, 2 vols., Glasgow, 1849; **W. Ewing**, *Annals of the Free Church of Scotland, 1843-1900*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1914; **H. W. Moncreiff**, *The Free Church Principle: its Character and History* (Chalmers Lecture), do. 1883; **W. Nicholson**, *The Disruption*, London, 1883; **G. B. Ryley and J. M. McCandlish**, *Scotland's Free Church*, Edinburgh, 1893; **A. Turner**, *The Scottish Secession of 1843*, do. 1859; **N. L. Walker**, *Scottish Church History*, do. 1882, *Chapters from the Hist. of the Free Church*, do. 1895; **J. A. Wylie**, *Disruption Worthies: a Memorial of 1843*, new ed., do. 1881.

(*c*) **T. Boston**, *Memoirs of the Life, Time, and Writings of T. Boston*, Edinburgh, 1899; **J. MacKerrow**, *Hist. of the Secession Church*, new ed., 2 vols., Edinburgh and London, 1848; **D. Scott**, *Annals and Statistics of the Original Secession Church*, Edinburgh, 1886; **A. Thomson**, *Hist. Sketch of the Origin of the Secession Church and the Hist. of the Rise of the Relief Church, by G. Struthers*, do. 1848.

(*d*) **A. R. MacEwen**, *The United Presbyterian Church*, London, 1898; **R. Small**, *Hist. of the Congregations of the United Presbyterian Church from 1733 to 1900*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1904.

(*e*) **M. Hutchinson**, *The Reformed Presbyterian Church, 1680-1876*, Paisley, 1893; **R. Naismith**, *Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1877.

(*f*) **D. H. Fleming**, *The Story of the Scottish Covenants in Outline*, Edinburgh, 1904; **J. K. Hewison**, *The Covenanters*, 2 vols., Glasgow, 1908; **J. C. Johnstone**, *The Treasury of the Scottish Covenant*, Edinburgh, 1887; **A. Smellie**, *Men of the Covenant*, London, 1903.

ii. ENGLAND.—**J. Black**, *Presbyterianism in England in the 18th and 19th Centuries*, London, 1887; **K. M. Black**, *The Scots Churches in England*, Edinburgh, 1906; **H. W. Clark**, *Hist. of English Nonconformity from Wiclif*, 2 vols., London, 1911-13; *Digest of the Proceedings of the Synods of the Presbyterian Church of England, 1876-1905*, do. 1907; **A. H. Drysdale**, *Hist. of the Presbyterians in England*, London, 1889; **A. Gordon** (ed.), *Freedom after Ejection. A Review (1690-92) of Presbyterian and Congregational Nonconformity in England and Wales*, Manchester, 1917; **C. S. Horne**, *A Popular Hist. of the Free Churches*[2], London, 1903; **G. B. Howard**, *The Rise and Progress of Presbyterianism*, do. 1898; **T. McCrie, Jr.**, *Annals of the English Presbytery*, do. 1872; **D. Neal**, *The Hist. of the Puritans, or Protestant Nonconformists*, 5 vols., do. 1822; **J. G. Rogers**, *The Church Systems of England in the 19th Century*, do. 1881; **W. A. Shaw** (ed.), *Minutes of the Manchester Presbyterian Classis, 1646-60*, 3 pts. (Chetham Society), do. 1890-91, *A Hist. of the English Church, 1640-60*, 2 vols., do. 1900; **H. S. Skeats and C. S. Miall**, *Hist. of the Free Churches of England, 1688-1891*, do. 1891; **W. Wilson**, *Hist. and Antiquities of Dissenting Churches in London*, 4 vols., do. 1808-14.

iii. IRELAND.—P. Adair, *Rise and Progress of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, 1623–70*, Belfast, 1866; W. Cleland, *Hist. of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, Toronto, 1891; R. M. Edgar, *Progressive Presbyterianism*, Belfast, 1894; T. Hamilton, *Hist. of the Irish Presbyterian Church*, Edinburgh, 1887; C. H. Irwin, *Hist. of Presbyterianism in Dublin*, London, 1890, *Hist. of Presbyterianism in the South and West of Ireland*, do. 1890; W. T. Latimer, *A Hist. of the Irish Presbyterians*[2], Belfast, 1902; J. S. Reid, *Hist. of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland*, new ed. with notes by W. D. Killen, 3 vols., do. 1867; T. Witherow, *Hist. and Literary Memorials of Irish Presbyterianism*, 2 vols., do. 1879–80.

iv. FRANCE.—G. de Félice, *Hist. of the Protestants of France, from the Commencement of the Reformation to the Present Time*, Eng. tr., New York, 1850; J. G. Lorimer, *An Hist. Sketch of the Protestant Church of France*, London, 1840.

v. SWITZERLAND.—J. I. Good, *Hist. of the Swiss Reformed Church since the Reformation*, Philadelphia, 1913.

vi. NETHERLANDS.—P. H. Ditchfield, *The Church in the Netherlands*, London, 1892; J. L. Motley, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic*, 3 vols., do. 1896; W. Steven, *The Hist. of the Scottish Church, Rotterdam*, Edinburgh, 1833, *A Brief View of the Dutch Ecclesiastical Establishment*[2], Rotterdam, 1838.

vii. AMERICA.—(*a*) A. Blaikie, *Hist. of Presbyterianism in New England*, 2 vols., Boston, 1881; C. A. Briggs, *American Presbyterianism*, Edinburgh, 1885; E. B. Crisman, *Origin and Doctrines of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church*, St. Louis, 1877–80; R. V. Foster, *The Cumberland Presbyterian Church*, New York, 1894; E. H. Gillett, *Hist. of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America*[2], 2 vols., Philadelphia, 1873; W. M. Glasgow, *Hist. of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America*, Baltimore, 1888; G. P. Hays, *Presbyterians . . . Origin, Progress, Doctrines, and Achievements*, New York, 1892; C. Hodge, *Constitutional Hist. of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1706–88*, 2 vols., Philadelphia, 1839–40; J. M. Howard, *Creed and Constitution of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church*, Nashville, 1892; G. Howe, *Hist. of the Presbyterian Church of South Carolina*, 2 vols., Columbia, 1891; T. C. Johnson, *Hist. of the Southern Presbyterian Church*, New York, 1894; R. Latham, *Hist. of the Associate Reformed Synod of the South*, Harrisburg, 1882; B. W. McDonnold, *Hist. of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church*, Nashville, 1888; J. W. MacIlvain, *Early Presbyterianism in Maryland*, Baltimore, 1890; T. Murphy, *The Presbytery of the Log College: Cradle of the Presbyterian Church in America*, Philadelphia, 1890; J. H. Patton, *Popular Hist. of Presbyterian Church in United States*, New York, 1900; J. B. Scouller, *Hist. of the United Presbyterian Church of North America*, do. 1894; C. L. Thompson, *The Presbyterians*, do. 1903; R. E. Thompson, *Hist. of the Presbyterian Churches in the United States*, do. 1895; R. Webster, *Hist. of the Presbyterian Church in America*, Philadelphia, 1857; W. P. White and W. H. Scott, *Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia*, do. 1895.

(*b*) G. Bryce, *The Presbyterian Church in Canada*, Toronto, 1875; W. Gregg, *Hist. of the Presbyterian Church in Canada*, do. 1885.

viii. AUSTRALIA.—J. Cameron, *Centenary Hist. of the Presbyterian Church in New South Wales*, Sydney, 1905; R. Hamilton, *Jubilee Hist. of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria*, Melbourne, 1888.

III. *ORGANIZATION*.—(*a*) A. V. G. Allen, *Christian Institutions*, Edinburgh, 1898; D. D. Bannerman, *Worship, Order, and Polity of the Presbyterian Church*, 4 pts., do. 1894; J. Bannerman, *The Church of Christ*, 2 vols., do. 1868; J. Brown, *Vindication of the Presbyterian Form of Church Government as professed . . . in the Church of Scotland*, do. 1805; W. Cunningham, *Discussions on Church Principles—Popish, Erastian, and Presbyterian*, do. 1863; H. J. van Dyke, *The Church: her Ministry and Sacraments*, London, 1890; D. Fraser, *Sound Doctrine*, do. 1892; G. Gillespie, *Aaron's Rod blossoming*, Edinburgh, 1844; E. Hatch, *The Organization of the Early Christian Churches* (*BL*), London, 1881, *The Growth of Church Institutions*, do. 1887; C. Hodge, *The Church and its Polity*, do. 1879; D. King, *An Exposition and Defence of the Presbyterian Form of Church Government*[2], Edinburgh, 1854; R. King, *The Ruling Elder*, London, 1898; J. B. Lightfoot, 'The Christian Ministry,' in *Saint Paul's Epistle to the Philippians*, do. 1891; T. M. Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries*, do. 1902; C. G. McCrie, *The Public Worship of Presbyterian Scotland historically treated*, Edinburgh, 1892; J. McIlveen, *The Church's Worship*, London, 1906; D. Macleod, *The Doctrine and Validity of the Ministry and Sacraments of the National Church of Scotland* (Baird Lecture, 1903), Edinburgh, 1903; S. Rutherford, *A Peaceable and Temperate Plea for Paul's Presbyterie in Scotland*, London, 1642; G. W. Sprott, *The Worship and Offices of the Church of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1882; A. Wright, *The Presbyterian Church: its Worship, Functions, and Orders*, do. 1895.

(*b*) *Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1638–1842*, Edinburgh, 1843; *Annals of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1739–52*, do. 1840; W. G. Black, *The Parochial Ecclesiastical Law of Scotland*[3], do. 1901; T. Cochrane, *Handbook . . . to the Principal Acts of Assembly of the Free Church*, do. 1900; J. M. Duncan, *The Parochial Ecclesiastical Law of Scotland*, revised C. N. Johnston, do. 1903; W. Mair, *A Digest of Laws and Decisions . . . relating to the . . . Church of Scotland*[4], do. 1912; *Manual of the Practice and Procedure of the United Free Church*, do. 1917; A. Peterkin, *Records of the Kirk of Scotland*, do. 1837.

JOHN HERKLESS.

PRESCIENCE.—See PREDESTINATION.

PRESENTIMENT. — By 'presentiment' is meant a more or less vague anticipation or apprehension of an event, which befalls the individual himself or some one in whom he is interested; as a rule also it is implied that there are insufficient, if any, grounds in his conscious mind for the anticipation; and it is usually implied that the event is an evil, a misfortune. A vague apprehension is one in which the details, the particular mode of the event, are not consciously thought of; *e.g.*, a 'presentiment of death' implies that the manner of the death is not foreseen; it may be merely a feeling of depression, which suggests the idea, more or less definitely, of some unfortunate happening.

The Society for Psychical Research and corresponding bodies in other countries have investigated a large number of cases in which an individual, either in normal waking or sleeping state or in a hypnotic trance—either without apparatus or by means of a mirror, a crystal globe, a pool of ink, etc.—has been said to be aware of, and to have reported, an event about to happen to himself or to a relative, a friend, or even a stranger, which, after the report was recorded, took place as it had been described. The correspondence between the anticipation and the reality varies from the representation in the former merely of the emotional element of the latter, 'something terrible about to happen,' or of its central fact, 'A is going to die on the voyage,' up to the complete representation of date, place, and circumstances.

One of the most famous examples of this class is Williams dream of the murder of the Prime Minister, Perceval, in 1812, more than a week before it occurred (*Proc. Soc. Psych. Research*, v. [1889] 324, and at the end of Spencer Walpole's *Life of the Right Hon. Spencer Perceval*, 2 vols., London, 1874). Another is the painter Segantini's vision of his own death, thirteen days before it happened, which he represented in his last picture; a third, Countess Toutschkoff's dream of her father announcing to her the death of her husband at Borodino (Maeterlinck, *The Unknown Guest*, pp. 112, 158; *Memoirs of the Life and Labours of Stephen Grellet*, London, 1860, i. 434), three months before it occurred, that place being unknown both to her husband and to herself at the time. A case of simple presentiment is that of a lady who dreamt that 'something terrible' was going to happen to a friend, with various circumstances in the dream which were afterwards verified, along with the fact, not visualized in the dream, that the daughter of the person in question became insane.

It does not belong to this article to discuss the many problems that arise in connexion with this branch of psychical research. The question of evidence is all-important, and it may be said that in none of the cases is the evidence such as would satisfy the rigorous requirements of natural science; obviously the prevision, presentiment, or premonition must be fully recorded, before the event to which it refers occurs; the event must be such that it could not have been anticipated or inferred as probable, at least in its details, by the seer; even then we should have to exclude mere coincidence (*e.g.*, dreaming of a person's death, and the death occurring within, say, a week afterwards, would not be a premonition to a person who frequently had such dreams, but not, except in this one case, followed by the death of the person in question). Again, we must exclude cases in which there is a possibility that the presentiment or the dream has led to its own fulfilment—where, *e.g.*, nervousness caused by the presentiment of failure in a difficult or dangerous undertaking is itself a cause of such failure; in more extreme cases the death of the individual may be brought about by a belief, however caused, that it is going to take place on a given date at a given hour (*e.g.*, the death of C. C. Brooks, *Proc. S.P.R.* v. 291) Supposing, however, that all chances of error are excluded, and that either one perfect and unassailable case or a multitude of imperfect cases compels

us to assume the possibility of prevision, different explanations will still be available: (1) spiritualism: it is suggested that spirits, whether of the dead or of higher beings, have clearer vision and deeper intelligence than the living man, and therefore can anticipate more accurately what is to occur, and that they may transmit this knowledge by vision or otherwise to human beings in whom they are interested; (2) telepathy from one living mind to another, as when A dreams of an event happening or about to happen to B, the conditions leading to this event being present in B's mind and transmitted to A's without the intervention of the ordinary senses; and this view may be extended: facts of which B is only latently aware (whatever that may mean) may be transmitted to A and enter his consciousness as a dream or vision; (3) if there occur cases in which a future event, of which the conditions are not and cannot be present to any living mind, is yet foreseen, we must assume a power, perhaps in our subconsciousness, in the subliminal self, of reading the future in the present. The future, in this interpretation, exists in the present, as the present in the past; time, like space, is unreal; and to the perfect vision of God, of which perhaps our higher unconscious self may have partial glimpses, past, present, and future are seen in one glance. It is obvious that this mystical interpretation explains nothing; neither spiritualism, nor telepathy, in the sense defined, nor the supposed powers of the subconscious self, nor the possibility of seeing the future by any other means than the imperfect ones of inference and analogy can be admitted without evidence far more thoroughly tested and far more overwhelming than that which at present exists. Meanwhile we are left with three much less heroic and less attractive suggestions: (1) slight impressions which are felt, but not noticed in our waking life—*e.g.*, the onset of a disease—may force their way into fuller consciousness, in dramatic form, in a dream; we may then in the dream have a vision of what actually occurs, in the future, but through causes which are perfectly natural and normal; (2) we may be conscious at a given time of certain facts, without drawing from them the conclusion which they bear as to the outcome of the situation that they represent; the conclusion may be drawn subconsciously—*i.e.* in dissociation from our conscious personality, which it then affects either as a mere feeling with a vague sense of coming disaster or as dramatized into an actual vision of the conclusion realized; or (3) the conclusion may have been reached unconsciously, by a sort of summary intuition, by putting together a number of apparently disconnected facts; it may have been forgotten, and yet, again in dissociation from the self, may influence the latter as a presentiment or as a premonition, in any of the possible forms.

LITERATURE.—*Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research*, esp. vols. v. [1889], xi. [1895], xx. [1906]; F. Podmore, *Studies in Psychical Research*, London, 1897, ch. xi.; N. W. Thomas, *Thought Transference*, do. 1905; E. Bozzano, *Des Phenomènes prémonitoires*, Paris, 1914; M. Maeterlinck, *The Unknown Guest*, tr. A. T. de Mattos, London, 1914, ch. iii.

J. L. McINTYRE.

PRESTER JOHN.—The story of Prester John is woven of the fact and fancy of the Middle Ages, the fact warped by the varying aspects of European policy, the fancy coloured by Oriental imagination and tradition.

Until the 14th cent. the evidence points to Asia as the home of Prester John. In the 15th cent., after the conquest of Timur and the overthrow of Christianity in Central Asia, the African claim took hold of the popular imagination. But the true claim of Asia has never lacked support in the writings of explorers and scholars.

Prester John is no mythical personage, though myth and legend have gathered round his name. The simple uncoloured report of Friar Johannes e Monte Corvino in 1305 is historical evidence of the first order, and it is supported by many witnesses of the 12th and 13th centuries. This evidence supports the conclusion reached by J. B. Bury in his note to Gibbon (ch. lxiv.):

'Sir H. Howorth has shown very clearly (*Hist. of the Mongols*, i. p. 696 *sqq.*) that the Karaits were Turks, not Mongols. Their territory was near the Upper Orchon, between the rivers Selinga and Kernlen. They were Christians. Their chief Tughril received the title of Wang ("king") from the (Manchu) Emperor of Northern China for his services in 1193 against the Naiman Turks of the regions of the Altai and Upper Irtish. Chingiz also took part in this war, and his services were recognised by the title of Dai Ming, "high Brightness." For an account of Prester John—the name by which the Karait khans were known in the west—and the legends attached to him, see Howorth, i. cap. x. p. 534 *sqq.*' (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ed. Bury[2], vii. 2, n. 8).

I. *ASIA.*—1. **Otto of Freisingen (1145).**—In 1145 Prester John first appears as an Eastern priest-king who had established a wide dominion in Central Asia. This rests on the *Chronicle* of Otto of Freisingen (vii. 33, sub anno 1145 [*MGH* xx.]). The bishop of Gabala (Jibul in Syria) visited the papal court in 1145, and stated that not many years before a certain John, king and priest, who dwelt beyond Persia and Armenia, a Christian but a Nestorian, had made war on the kings of Media and Persia, the Samiard brothers, and had captured Ecbatana, the seat of their kingdom. He had then marched to the relief of the Church of Jerusalem, but was stopped at the Tigris. He was said to be one of the ancient race of the Magi, and had a sceptre of solid emerald.

2. **The letter of Prester John (1165).**—The letter was presented by the ambassadors of Prester John to the Greek emperor Manuel I. and the Western emperor Frederick Barbarossa (Albericus, in *Chron.* 1168).

In it Prester John, 'by the power and virtue of God and the Lord Jesus Christ King of Kings,' claims to be the greatest monarch under heaven. He desires to visit the Holy Sepulchre, and to fight against the enemies of the Cross. Seventy-two kings were under his rule. His empire extended over the three Indias, including Farther India, where lay the body of St. Thomas. In his dominions were the unclean nations whom Alexander the Great walled up among the mountains of the north, and who were to come forth in the latter days. Among the marvels of his territory were monstrous ants that dug gold, fish that gave purple, the Fountain of Youth, pebbles that gave light, the Sea of Sand, and the River of Stones. When he went forth to war, thirteen great crosses were borne before him, each followed by 10,000 knights and 100,000 foot. His palace was built after the model of that erected by St. Thomas for the Indian king Gondophoros. He was waited on by 7 kings and 365 dukes; 12 archbishops sat on his right hand, and 20 bishops on his left, besides the patriarch of St. Thomas, the proto-pope of the Sarmagantians, and the proto-pope of Susa, where the royal residence was.

This letter enjoyed great popularity in the West. Zarncke (*Der Priester Johannes*) refers to 100 MS copies of it, 8 in the British Museum, 10 in Vienna, 13 in Paris, and 15 in Munich (*EB*[11] xxii. 304 f.).

(1) The exaggerated style of the letter, the work of Nestorian imagination, was an appeal specially to the Byzantine court. The brilliant fêtes and tournaments of Manuel I. were renowned throughout Europe as the most magnificent spectacles of the kind ever seen (G. Finlay, *Hist. of the Byzantine and Greek Empires*, Edinburgh, 1854, ii. 179). There were also political reasons for the reception given to the embassy. The Seljûk Sultân of Iconium, Khilidy-Arslân II., was consolidating his power in Asia Minor, while the Greeks were steadily losing ground during the reign of Manuel (*ib.* p. 234). The Latin principality of Edessa had fallen in 1144 to the arms of Omad ed-din Zengi, the *atabeg*, or ruler, of Mosul. His son, Nur ed-din (1146-74), united the Muhammadan powers, added the kingdom of Damascus to that of Aleppo, and waged a long and successful war against the Christians of Syria. The Latins and Greeks alike looked favourably at the promise of Christian help against their foe (Gibbon, ch. lix.).

(2) The reference in the letter to Alexander the Great points to the influence of the Alexander romance in the colouring of the story. This romance is attributed to Callisthenes. It arose in Egypt about A.D. 200. It spread in Latin translations to the West, and in Armenian and Syrian versions to the East. These would be known to the Nestorian ministers of Prester John. It became very popular in the West in the 12th cent. through the

epic of Alberich of Besançon and the *Alexanderbuch* of the German 'Pfaffe' Lamprecht (*Chambers's Encycl.*, *s.v.* 'Alexander the Great').

(3) Two further references in the letter witness to the Asiatic origin of the story. The Three Indias are traceable in the geographical conceptions of the 12th century. The earliest MS of the *Ravenna Cosmography*, itself a work of the 7th cent., is of the 13th cent. (*Ravennatis Anon. Cosmogr.*, ed. M. Pinder and G. Parthey, Berlin, 1860), and is the source of the Three Indias (pp. 40, 44 f.).

(4) The reference to the Sea of Sand, taken in connexion with the Three Indias, points to the Great Desert of Central Asia, and not to the Sahara.

3. The letter of Alexander III. (1177).—Alexander III. was in the midst of his quarrel with Barbarossa when the embassy of Prester John was received by the emperors. The reconciliation between them took place at Venice on 24th July 1177. Alexander remained at Venice until Oct. 1177; it was there that he gave audience to an embassy from Prester John. Philip, a physician of the papal court, had travelled to the Far East and visited the court of Prester John. He had put forward the claims of the Western Church and had returned to Italy with letters from Prester John to Alexander. These letters are lost, but the letter from Alexander to Prester John is preserved in several English Chronicles. The best text is that of J. Brompton (Pagi, *Critica Historico-Chronologica*, in Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, iv. 650). Prester John not only had asked for instruction, but had requested to have a church in the city. This was conceded to him, with the right of an altar in the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem (*Chron. Joh. Brompton, ap.* R. Twysden, *Hist. Angl. Scriptores X.*, London, 1652, col. 1132 f.). The letter was entrusted to Philippus, who was commissioned to return to the East and deliver it to Prester John.

4. The conquest of Jenghīz Khan (1202).—The realm of Prester John was one of the first to fall before the conquering hosts of Jenghīz Khan. It was then ruled by his son David. Pagi gives three authorities: (1) the *Chronicle* of W. de Nangiaco, sub anno 1202; (2) Marinus Sanutus (lib. iii. 'Fidelium crucis,' pt. xiii. ch. iii.); and (3) the older authority, Vincentius Bellovacensis (*Spec. Hist.* ch. lxix.). They agree in assigning a wide dominion to Prester John before the conquest of Jenghīz; and Gibbon, on their testimony, states:

'The boldest chieftains might tremble, when they beheld, enchased in silver, the skull of the khan of the Keraites, who under the name of Prester John had corresponded with the Roman pontiff and the princes of Europe' (ch. lxiv.).

5. The letter of Philip to Gregory IX. (1237).—On the death of Jenghīz Khan in 1227 his son, Ogotai, was proclaimed Great Khan, or emperor, of the Moguls and Tatars. In the year 1237 a long report was received of the successful missions of the Dominicans among the Jacobites and Nestorian Christians in Asia. Matthew Paris (*Hist. Angl.*, sub anno 1237, ed. W. Wats, London, 1674, p. 372) speaks of it as 'jucundus rumor de Terra Sancta.' The report was sent to Gregory IX. by Philip, provincial of the Dominicans in the Holy Land, and was forwarded by Godfrey, the papal penitentiary, to the Dominicans throughout England and France. William of Montferrat with two others had studied the languages of Central Asia, and had received a promise from the archbishop of the Nestorians to submit to the unity of the Catholic Church. It is important to note, in view of the African claim, that Friar Philip had sent also to the patriarch of the Jacobites of Egypt, who had made the like promise. Matthew Paris adds:

'Huic subdita est minor India, Aethiopia et Libya cum Aegypto. Sed Aethiopes et Libyi non sunt subjecti Saracenis.'

The realm of Prester John is not therefore in Ethiopia, but in the Far East.

6. The report of Johannes e Plano Carpino (1246).—The annals of Matthew Paris between 1238 and 1245 record the ravages of the Tatar hosts under Batu and the terror which they inspired in the West. They were stayed at Neustadt in Austria by the valour of the Franks. In the winter of 1242 they withdrew to the east. This was in part due to the death of the Great Khan Ogotai in 1241. He was succeeded by his son, Kujuk.

Meanwhile the letter of Philip had stirred up the interest in the West, and the missions to the Nestorians opened the way for missions to the court of the Great Khan. This may also have been favoured by the policy of the Venetians, who were on good terms with the Mongols in the Crimea (Bury's note to Gibbon, vii. 15, n. 42).

Johannes e Plano Carpino was present at the enthronement of the new khan, and states that he was well-affected to Christianity and had many Christians in his service. There was a Christian chapel before his tent (Raynaldus, *Ann. Eccl.*, sub anno 1245, xiii. 595).

7. The mission of Friar Ascelinus (1247).—The hostility of the other leaders is illustrated by the mission of Friar Ascelinus to the Tatars of Persia. He had an audience with the Khan Bajothnoy in the Tatar camp. After suffering much ignominy, he returned with letters from Bajothnoy to the pope, Innocent IV. (*ib.* xiii. 642).

8. The Tatar embassy to Louis IX. (1248).—The Tatar embassy to Louis IX. at Cyprus throws much light on the position of the Great Khan and his relations to Prester John and the Christians of Central Asia. The embassy was sent by a Persian khan named Ercalthay, who had been for many years a Christian, but was not of the royal blood. David, the chief ambassador, had been baptized the year before. The Great Khan of Tartary had been baptized with his eighteen sons and many of his magnates three years before (*c.* 1245). The king asked many questions of the ambassadors. He was told that Ercalthay was anxious to join hands with the Christians against the enemies of the Cross, and that Bacho, the khan who had insulted the ambassadors of Innocent IV. in Persia, was a pagan and had Saracen councillors. They also reported that Quiothay, the mother of the present khan, was a daughter of Prester John (G. de Nangiaco, *Gesta S. Ludovici, ap.* A. Duchesne, *Hist. Francorum Scriptores*, Paris, 1636–49, v. 349, 354).

9. The mission of Rubruquis (1253).—In the narrative of Rubruquis the title of 'King John' is assigned to Kushluk, king of the Naimans, who had married the daughter of the last lineal descendant of the Gur Khans. Kushluk was son of a powerful king of the Naimans, whose name, Ta-Yang-Khan, is precisely 'Great King John' in Chinese. It is evident that Rubruquis supposed this king of the Naimans to be the original of this widely spread legend (Yule, *EBr*[11] xxii. 306[a]). Bury says that a new edition of Rubruquis is wanted. Gibbon (vii. 6) refers to the first volume of Hakluyt. Yule gives, among the chief points in the narrative of Rubruquis, the relation between the rulers of the Naimans and the Keraite khans and the habit of exaggeration common among the Nestorian writers.

10. The journey of Marco Polo (*c.* 1270).—The travels of Marco Polo brought him from Yarkand past Cherchen and Lob Nor to Tenduc. This is placed near the point where the Great Wall crosses the north-east portion of the great bend of the Hwangho. To the north and north-west lay the country of the Keraites with their old capital of Karakorum on the north edge of the desert of Gobi, on the bank of the upper reach of the Orchon river. It is here that he speaks of Prester John, whose kingdom, though still ruled by a

member of the same family, is tributary to the Great Khan of Tartary (*Travels*, i. 64, *ap.* Pagi, iv. 649).

11. **The mission of Johannes e Monte Corvino (1292–1305).**—Kujuk, the son of Ogotai, died in 1248. He was succeeded by his cousins Mangu and Khubilag, the grandsons of Jenghīz Khan. On the death of Mangu in 1257 Khubilag became the Great Khan, and on the conquest of N. China removed the royal residence from Karakorum to Peking (Cambaluc). It was here that Marco Polo met him, and it was at his court that the Minorite friar Johannes e Monte Corvino established his mission-centre in the Far East. The letter written to Clement V. in 1305 is valuable testimony to the successors of Prester John and to the realm which was still ruled by them as tributary to the Great Khan (Raynaldus, sub anno 1305, xv. no. 19 f.).

12. **The evidence from 1145 to 1305.** — The evidence for Prester John from Asiatic sources is continuous for 160 years, and the report of the last writer points to the old capital of Karakorum as being the seat in the early 14th cent. of the tributary kings of the dynasty. It is difficult, therefore, in the face of this evidence, to follow Yule in his statement:

'However vague may have been the ideas of Pope Alexander III. respecting the geographical position of the potentate whom he addressed from Venice in 1177, the only real person to whom the letter can have been sent was the king of Abyssinia. Let it be observed that the "honourable persons of the monarch's kingdom" whom the leech Philip had met with in the East must have been the representatives of some real power, and not of a phantom. It must have been a real king who professed to desire reconciliation with the Catholic Church and the assignation of a church at Rome and of an altar at Jerusalem' (*EBr*[11] xxii. 306[b]).

The Prester John of the 12th and 13th centuries was not the king of Abyssinia, but the name by which the Keraite khans were known in the West. It would seem to have shrunk from the wide rule of the Gur Khans in 12th cent. to the tributary rule of the khan of Karakorum in the early 14th century.

13. **The Tatar mission from 1308 to 1370.**—(1) The work of Friar Johannes was recognized by Clement V. in 1307 by the constitution of the archiepiscopal see of Cambaluc (Raynaldus, sub anno 1307, no. 29).

(2) In 1318 John XXII. took a further step in the organization of the Church among the Tatars by the founding of the archbishopric of Sultania for the empire of the Ilkhans of Persia. Sultania was situated south-west of Resht on the Caspian Sea, and north-west of Kazvin. Friar Francus of Perugia, a Dominican, was appointed to the see with six suffragans. His jurisdiction was to extend over Chagdo and India and Ethiopia (*ib.* sub anno 1318, no. 4). The juxtaposition of Ethiopia and India under the authority of the archbishop of Sultania is of importance in the development of the story of Prester John. It is to the work of this mission-centre that the transposition of the story from India to Ethiopia may be traceable.

(3) Raynaldus states that it was the policy of the West to favour the frequent exchange of letters and embassies to the Tatar khans as a check on the encroachments of the Saracens (sub anno 1322, no. 41).

(4) In 1326 Andreas de Perugia sends a report of his work in the Far East to the Father Guardian of Perugia. He states that, after many dangers by land and by sea, he reached Cambaluc in 1308, and consecrated John as archbishop. He stayed there for five years. Gerard was appointed bishop of Zaitun in Fukien. He was succeeded by Peregrinus, on whose death in 1322 he himself became bishop of Zaitun. Four of the brothers were martyred in India by the Saracens.

(5) Yule gives a further reference to Prester John about the same year (1326):

'Friar Odoric, about 1326, visited the country still ruled by the prince whom he calls Prester John; "but," he says, "as regards him, not one-hundredth part is true that is told of him"' (*EBr*[11] xxii. 306[a]).

(6) Johannes e Monte Corvino died in 1333. John XX. appointed as his successor another Minorite friar, Nicolaus. He wrote letters not only to the Great Khan but also to Secede Chigista, king of Corum, who may be a descendant of the Georgius referred to in 1305 (Raynaldus, sub anno 1333, no. 35).

(7) The last mission was in 1370. Urban V. in this year appointed the Minorite friar Guillelmus to the archiepiscopal see of Cambaluc. There are letters to the Great Khan and the people of Tartary (*ib.* sub anno 1370, no. 91).

The curtain then falls. The great conqueror Timur ascended the throne of Zagatai, and was crowned at Balkh in April 1369 (Gibbon vii. 46). Bury adds in a note to Gibbon:

'As the Mongol power in China was overthrown about the same time by the revolution which set the Ming dynasty on the throne (A.D. 1370), this period marks a general decline of Mongol influence in Asia' (*ib.* vii. 68, n. 74).

The conquests of Timur meant the overthrow of Christianity and the triumph of Islām in Central Asia.

II. *AFRICA.*—In the 15th cent. after the overthrow of the Christian missions in Asia by the conquest of Timur and the consequent difficulties of the land-routes to India, it seems that the Indian traditions of Prester John filtered into Europe through Aden and the African coasts of the Red Sea. India, in the popular imagination, lay behind and beyond Egypt and Ethiopia. But there is evidence also in the 14th cent. that the same tendency was taking place perhaps, as has been suggested (I. 13 (2)), through the grouping of India and Ethiopia under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Sultania.

1. **The 14th cent. evidence.**—Yule definitely states that the assertion of Ludolf in his *History of the Ethiopians*, that the ascription of the title Prester John to the Christian kings of Abyssinia was an invention of the Portuguese, is a mistake. He brings the following evidence to support his statement:

(1) The earliest witness that Yule gives is Friar Jordanus.

'Friar Jordanus "Catalani," who returned from the East before 1328, speaks of the emperor of the Ethiopians "quem vos vocatis *Prestre Johan*"' (*EBr*[11] xxii. 306).

Is this an example of the original source of confusion? In 1330 John XXII. wrote to the Nascarines of S. India, commending to them the Dominican friar Jordanus, whom he had consecrated bishop of Columbo, and the Dominican and Minorite friars who were associated with him in the mission. In a letter written the same year to John of Core, archbishop-elect of Sultania, the bishop of Columbo is referred to as one of his suffragans (Raynaldus, sub anno 1331, nos. 51, 57).

(2) Yule gives two witnesses *c.* 1350.

John Marignoli, apostolic legate in Asia, speaks of Ethiopia where the negroes are, and which is called the land of Prester John. And a Spanish work of the same date by an anonymous Franciscan states that the emperor 'Abdeselib, which means "servant of the Cross," is a protector of Preste Juan, who is the patriarch of Nubia and Ethiopia, and is lord of many great lands, and many cities of Christians' (*Libro del conocimiento de todos reynos*, Madrid, 1877).

(3) A fourth witness is Simone Sigoli.

He visited Cairo in 1384, and speaks in his *Viaggio al Monte Sinai* of 'Presto Giovanni' as a monarch dwelling in India, but it is the India which is conterminous with the dominions of the soldan of Egypt and whose lord is master of the Nile, to close or open its discharge upon Egypt (*EBr*[11] xxii. 306[a]).

It is on this evidence that Yule states that the title 'Prester John' had been used long before the name had ceased to be attached to the descendants

of the kings of the Keraites. The juxtaposition of India and Ethiopia under the archbishop of Sultania and the filtering in of Asiatic tradition through Aden at the close of the 14th cent. appear an adequate explanation of the difficulty.

2. The Ethiopian embassies of 1441.—Eugenius IV. in the previous year had sent the Minorite friar Albert on a mission to reconcile the Jacobite Christians of Ethiopia. In 1441 Andrew, abbot of St. Antony, and Peter the Deacon were sent to Italy as ambassadors to the pope on behalf of Constantine, king of the Ethiopians. They were received at the Council of Florence, and a 'form of union' was agreed upon. They then went to Rome with a letter of introduction to the canons and chapter of St. Peter's to allow them to see the Veronica. In this letter the title of Prester John is given to the emperor (Raynaldus, sub anno 1441, no. 2). In the same year another embassy from the Ethiopians was conveyed to Italy by Angelus Maurocenus. On their return Eugenius IV. gave to them a letter of commendation in which he again used the title (*ib.*).

On the occasion of these missions an oration was made before the council by the abbot Nicodemus, who presided over the Ethiopians residing in Jerusalem. In his address he alludes to the remoteness of their country as almost beyond belief, and distinctly asserts that their separation from Rome is due not only to this, but to the negligence of the popes for 800 years (*ib.* no. 3).

3. The map of Fra Mauro (1459).—Yule states:

'From the 14th century onwards Prester John had found his seat in Abyssinia. It is there that Fra Mauro's great map (1459) presents a fine city with the rubric, "Qui il Preste Janni fa residentia principal"' (*EBr*[11] xxii. 306[b]).

4. The Roman diary of Jacobus Volterranus (sub anno 1481).—Raynaldus refers to a mission to the Roman court under Sixtus IV. in 1481, on the authority of the journal of Volterranus. He speaks of it as a mission from Ethiopia, but says that the writer gives to Prester John the title of 'King of India' (Raynaldus, xix., sub anno 1481, no. 40 f.). Muratori publishes the *Diarium* from a MS in the library of Ferrara. There is nothing in the MS to indicate the country represented by the mission, no mention either of India or of Ethiopia. There is, however, a lacuna in the MS which may betoken some doubt in the writer. The brief record shows the interest aroused in Rome by the strange character of the mission (*Jacobi Volterrani Diarium Romanum*, sub anno 1481, *ap.* L. A. Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.*, Milan, 1723–51, xxiii. 156).

5. The quest of Prester John (1486).—John II. of Portugal made many attempts to get into communication with Prester John, hoping to form an alliance with him. Among other missions is that of 1486 entrusted to Alphonsus Paiua and Johannes Petreius. They travelled as merchants and at last reached Aden. There they heard of a Christian king in Ethiopia, but had doubts as to his identity, because they had been instructed that Prester John was a Christian king of India. It is clear from this doubt that the Asiatic tradition of Prester John still maintained its hold among the more educated circles in the West. To solve this doubt they thought it best to separate. Petreius sailed to India and left Paiua to await him in Egypt. The quest of Petreius was successful. He found among the Nestorians of S. India the tradition of the Prester John whose power had been overthrown by the Mongols (Raynaldus, sub anno 1486, no. 67).

6. Prester John of Ethiopia (*c.* 1500).—The quest of 1486 proves that in 1486 positive and negative evidence alike pointed to Prester John of Asia. The two travellers asserted that the king of Ethiopia did not correspond with the Prester John of history in dominion, in name, or in priestly office, and Petreius in India found the tradition of the Prester John whose power had ended with the Mongol conquests. But the 15th cent. in Spain and Portugal was an age of romance, and the fable of popular imagination triumphed over the facts discovered by the travellers of 1486. In Portuguese writings of the last years of the 15th cent. and the opening years of the 16th cent. the history of Ethiopia and Abyssinia is the story of Prester John. He is synonymous with the emperor of Ethiopia.

7. Christopher Marlowe (1587).—In the earliest English drama when Prester John takes his place in English literature he is Prester John of Africa, not of Asia. In the second part of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine the Great*, Techelles, king of Fez, relating his conquests to Tamburlaine, says:

> 'And I have marched along the river Nile
> To Machda, where the mighty Christian priest,
> Called John the Great, sits in a milk-white robe,
> Whose triple mitre I did take by force,
> And made him swear obedience to my crown'
> (pt. ii. act i. sc 3).

The drier facts of history have to stoop at times to the romantic claim of literature. Marlowe has given his authority to the African story, and the Prester John of literature still lives as an African priest-king in John Buchan's romance of *Prester John* (London, 1910).

LITERATURE.—E. Gibbon, *Hist. of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. J. B. Bury[2], London, 1900–04, v. 149, vii. 2, 15; C. Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, 12 vols., Rome, 1588–1607; O. Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, 9 vols., do. 1646–77; A. Pagi, *Critica Historico-Chronologica*, in Baronius; H. Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, 2 vols., London, 1866, and in *EBr*[11]; F. Zarncke, *Der Priester Johannes*, Leipzig, 1876–79; G. Oppert, *Der Presbyter Johannes in Sage und Geschichte*[2], Berlin, 1870; M. P. d'Avezac, *Recueil de voyages et de mémoires publié par la Soc. de Géogr.* iv. [Paris, 1839] 547–564; H. Howorth, *Hist of the Mongols*, London, 1876–88, i.

THOMAS BARNS.

PRIDE.—As a self-regarding passion or sentiment of self-love, pride is associated in popular speech with several related qualities of the selfish disposition such as arrogance, conceit, vanity, and egotism. Conceit or self-conceit is an exaggerated form of self-satisfaction; arrogance is an attitude of presumption manifested in temper and act and calculated to arouse resentment or disgust in others; vanity, as a showing off of one's supposed superiority, seeks the praise or good opinion of the world; and egotism is a habit of self-consciousness or self-regard which affects mind, manner, and speech, as in the case of the hero of George Meredith's *Egoist*, while the same writer's portraiture of Alvan in the *Tragic Comedians* is an exposure of vanity. On the other hand, in pride there is frequently no idea of a comparison or competition with the rest of the world. Pride is a habit of self-isolation or conscious independence, a perversity of will which is indifferent to the opinions and favours of others. It repudiates all idea of obligation. Cf. the hero of Scott's *Bride of Lammermoor* as a typical example.

'Pride, unlike vanity, does not involve belief in one's own superiority to others. The most deeply rooted pride may be connected merely with the conception of independence or equality and may be manifested mainly by a refusal to accept favours or to be under an obligation' (see *DPhP* ii. 339, *s.v.* 'Pride').

The distinction between arrogance and pride may be illustrated by the phrase, 'toujours arrogant, jamais fier,' which has been applied to the demeanour of the Prussian officers in defeat (see *Times Literary Supplement*, no. 740 [23rd March, 1916], p. 135, quoting G. Lenôtre, *Prussiens d'hier et de toujours*, Paris, 1916).

Again, pride as a self-regarding sentiment is to be differentiated (cf. W. McDougall, *Introd. to Social Psychology*[5], p. 191 f.) from 'self-respect'

by the fact that the latter is susceptible to the pressure of outside opinion or authority. Pride, on the other hand, is without this negative self-feeling, and, as a law unto itself, lives on the deference and admiration of others, while at the same time it is indifferent to moral praise or blame. One of its worst features is indifference to the sufferings of others (cf. J. S. Mill, *Essay on Liberty*, London, 1859, ch. v., who speaks of 'the pride which derives satisfaction from the abasement of others'). It is self-love opposed to due respect for humanity and based on a fixed sentiment of satisfaction with one's qualities, actions, views, powers, social status, and reputation. It is capable of elation when the verdict of others coincides with its own preconception and of resentment when this is otherwise. But it is of the essence of pride to be moved by scorn or ridicule rather than by moral censure.

'Pride desires from others an honour it refuses to them and shows, therefore, a spirit which is really abject and mean' (E. Caird, *The Critical Philosophy of Kant*, ii. 391).

There is a pride of race, a pride of birth, a pride of position; a pride of goodness, a pride of evil; a pride of ignorance, a pride of learning; a pride of eccentricity, a pride of conventionality, and so forth. The forms of self-satisfaction are innumerable. On the one hand, we have Sir Percivale in Tennyson's *Idylls of the King* (see *The Holy Grail*[1]) exhibiting the pride of monastic repression and holiness, to which the highest vision is denied; and at the other extreme in R. L. Stevenson's *Master of Ballantrae*, the hero personifying the pride of wickedness as a man who 'entirely loved all the parts and properties of himself: a sort of imbecility which almost necessarily attends on wickedness' (ch. ix.).

It may be useful to classify chronologically the treatment of pride and to discuss its place in ethical thought.

1. In pre-Christian ethics. — In Aristotle's famous characterization of the high-minded man (*μεγαλόψυχος*) in the *Nic. Ethics* (iv. 3, ed. Grant) we have a species of pride described as inseparable from this type of excellence. The high-minded man is not only worthy of great things, but holds himself to be worthy of them. His estimate of his own merits is independent of the verdict of others. If he holds himself to be worthy of great things when actually unworthy of them, he is vain (*χαῦνος*), while he who underestimates his own worth is mean-spirited. High-mindedness, then, is a mean between vanity and want of spirit. It is, in fact, a lofty type of pride which is its own star. It is without the sense of duty or moral obligation. Its motive is honour (*τιμή*) and it owes nothing to the instinctive sense of right. External honour is the best thing that the world can give to the high-minded man. He is glad to confer a benefit, but ashamed to receive one. If he does receive a benefit, he will wipe it out by doing a greater; he will remember those whom he has benefited, but not those by whom he has been benefited; he will be in want of no one; he will serve any readily; he will be proud (*μέγας*) to the great and prosperous, and lenient towards the lowly. He will not aim at the common objects of ambition; only for great honour or deeds will he strive; he will be open in friendship and hatred, disdaining timid concealment, contemptuously straightforward, really truthful, but reserved and ironical towards the common people. Indifferent to the praise and censure of others, he will bear no malice and be no gossip. On the whole, vanity is better than mean-spiritedness, which is to be condemned for its lack of energy. Aristotle mentions one thing that will provoke the resentment of the *μεγαλόψυχος*, and that is *ὕβρις*—calculated, if irrational, insolence. This is a form of pride much less subtle than the peculiar self-consciousness described by Aristotle in the above picture and more familiar to the Greek mind.

'Insolence or *ὕβρις* . . . has its root in want of reverence and want of self-knowledge . . . [and] is the expression of a self-centred will recognising no power outside itself, and knowing no law but its own impulses. . . . This Insolence in the Greek tragedy is the deepest source of moral evil. . . . It is opposed to both *αἰδώς* and *σωφροσύνη*' (S. H. Butcher, *Some Aspects of the Greek Genius*[3], London, 1904, p. 109).

In the *Antigone* of Sophocles the tragedy centres in the *ὕβρις* of Creon, the author of a cruel and stern decree which outrages the laws of humanity and results in the sacrifice of Antigone, who defies the decree at the bidding of sisterly love; while in the *Prometheus Vinctus* of Æschylus it is the *ὕβρις* of revolt or self-assertion of the human intellect against the supreme deity.

Theophrastus of Eresus (374–287 B.C.), the successor of Aristotle as the head of the Lyceum, gives us in his *Characters* a picture of the *ὑπερήφανος*, or arrogant man, defining arrogance as 'a certain scorn for all the world beside oneself.'[1] In the Stoic and Epicurean ethics there appears to be no distinctive treatment of the passion of pride as such. But the moral independence of the Stoic sage, his *αὐτάρκεια* (see art. CONTENTMENT) and his equality with Zeus in all but non-essentials (cf. Seneca, *de Prov.* 1) indirectly illustrate the defects of the self-regarding temperament. On the other hand, the tendency of Epicurean ethics favoured the cultivation of the social virtues and helped to tone down the exclusiveness of ancient manners by its emphasis on friendliness, beneficence, and gratitude.

In the OT, especially in the Wisdom literature, we find frequent condemnations of pride in the sense of self-exaltation as manifested by the wicked or foolish (cf. Pr 11^2 13^{10} 14^3 16^{18} 29^{23}), while the prophets inveigh against national pride—the presumptuous and scornful sense of power (cf. Is $2^{11.\ 12}$ 16^6, Jer 13^9 48^{29}, Zec 9^6 10^{11}), though the context occasionally suggests mere 'excellency' or 'greatness' without the implications of moral defect. In the later Wisdom literature the warning against pride recurs (see esp. the essay in Sir 10^{6-28}). Perhaps, however, the evil of pride is most clearly revealed in the character of outstanding individuals like Saul, Absalom, Joab, Rabshakeh, and others. As J. H. Newman says,

'[Saul's] temptation and his fall consisted in a certain perverseness of mind, founded on some obscure feelings of self-importance, very commonly observable in human nature, and sometimes called pride' (*Oxford University Sermons*, new ed., London, 1890, serm. 'Wilfulness, the Sin of Saul,' p. 158).

2. In Christian ethics, early and mediæval.—The Christian ethic shows a great advance on the highest Greek thought in its valuation of such virtues as humility, meekness, and reasonableness. The NT conception of love in association with the doctrine of the divine Fatherhood and in its supreme revelation of the humanity of Christ gave a new significance to the moral defectiveness of pride. In 1 Co 13^4 love is stated to be free from both arrogance and self-conceit. In Ro 1^{30} we find *ἀλαζονεία*, or proud speech, and *ὑπερηφανία*, vainglorious disposition, classed among the sins of paganism; but it is in the human character of Jesus as one who did 'not strive nor cry,' as 'meek and lowly of heart,' that we find a fresh and unique criterion of the sin of pride. Christianity is the apotheosis of self-surrender; and the Christian character cultivates an outlook upon the world entirely free from 'the pride of life' (1 Jn 2^{16}) or

[1] Cf. the lines beginning:

'O son, thou hast not true humility,
The highest virtue, mother of them all.'

[1] La Bruyère renders *ὑπερήφανος* by 'un homme fier superbe,' entitling the section 'De l'Orgueil'; cf. *Les Caractères ou les mœurs de ce siècle*, Paris, 1688.

the valuation of earthly possessions which disregards their transiency and insufficiency. Jesus is no respecter of persons, condemns the Jewish self-righteousness (cf. the parable of the Pharisee and the Publican) and exclusiveness, has no sympathy with the national prejudice against Samaritans, and in His conception of the brotherhood of mankind invests the claims and rights of one's neighbour with a new dignity. The soul of the individual has an intrinsic and eternal worth. Hence His emphasis on the laws of mercy and forgiveness, which are the foundation of His ethical teaching, His inculcation of *ἐπιείκεια*, or a gentle reasonableness, His eulogy of 'the poor in spirit' and of the voluntary surrender of power, His proclamation of self-repudiation as the condition of moral greatness, His warnings against self-assertion and self-advertisement. Pride is obviously a contradiction of the Christian ideal of unselfishness and stands condemned by the general spirit of the Christian ethic as well as by its positive precepts.

So deeply had these aspects of the teaching of Christ and His followers sunk into the consciousness of Christendom that Dante gives pride the first place in his seven sins. Earlier than Dante, Augustine had defined the unpardonable sin as a state of mind consisting of 'a desperate and impious obstination in sin, with a proud refusal to humble oneself before God' (*Epistolæ ad Romanos Inchoata Expositio*, § 23, quoted in W. Montgomery, *St. Augustine*, London, 1914, p. 198). Moreover, he had linked *superbia* with *voluptas* and *curiositas* in his analysis of the causes of sin (*Conf.* x. 36). But Dante derived his 'moral topography' from the *Summa Totius Theologiæ* of Thomas Aquinas (see *Summa*, II. ii. qu. 162, artt. 5–8), who regarded pride as a mortal sin and, further, as the first and most serious of all the sins. It is the first sin because every kind of sin springs from it, and the most serious because it involves non-subjection to God. It is most difficult to avoid because it takes occasion from our very virtues, so that some people are proud of their very humility. In art. 7 he asserts:

'Aversio a Deo quae formaliter complet rationem peccati, pertinet ad superbiam per se, ad alia autem peccata ex consequenti.'

Dante classes pride with envy and anger as sins of the spirit, and again follows his master in tracing it to that disordered love from which all moral evil flows.[1] In the first terrace (*Purg.* x.–xii.) Dante meets with those who represent respectively the pride of birth, the pride of intellect, and the pride of dominion. They are depicted as being pressed down by terrible weights and reciting a paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer for themselves and those whom they have left behind on earth. Others follow, drawn from mythology and history, sacred and secular. The poet describes them as sick in mental vision, putting trust in backward steps, and, in spite of their soaring thoughts, but insects and worms. Celestial voices chant, 'Beati pauperes spiritu,' the sin of pride is expiated, and Dante passes on his upward way.

3. In modern ethics.—Pride in its many phases is naturally a theme for moral reflexion, and it finds a place in the discourses of the essayists from Montaigne onwards. Montaigne (see *Essayes*, tr. J. Florio, London, 1603, bk. ii. 17, bk. iii. 9) has disquisitions on 'Presumption' and 'Vanitie,' while Bacon treats of 'Vain-glory' in his 54th essay. The English translators or imitators of Theophrastus, such as Joseph Hall (*Characters of Vertues and Vices*, London, 1608), Thomas Overbury (*Characters or Witty Descriptions of the Properties of Sundry Persons*, do. 1614), and John Earle (*Microcosmographie*, do. 1628, [6]1633), with the exception of the last-named, are not wholly successful as analysts of human nature.

Overbury, *e.g.*, 'in his chapter on *A Proud Man* has confused the characteristics of Haughtiness and Vanity which could hardly exist in such a union as he depicts' (see preface to Theophrastus, *Characters*, tr. R. C. Jebb, new ed. by J. E. Sandys).

Of the English ethical philosophers, Hobbes is the first to give a special moral value to pride. He regards it as an offence against 'the lawes of Nature,' which 'are immutable and eternal' (*Leviathan*, xv.). He repeats this in a subsequent chapter (xvii.):

'The lawes of Nature (as Justice, Equity, Modesty, Mercy and (in summe) doing to others as wee would be done to, of themselves, without the Terrour of some Power to cause them to be observed, are contrary to our Naturall Passions, that carry us to Partiality, Pride, Revenge and the like.'

But Hobbes's 'psychological egoism' was rejected by Shaftesbury, who sought to establish a harmony or balance of the various impulses or affections as conducive alike to private and social good. In his *Inquiry concerning Virtue or Merit* he states:

'If there be found in any creature a more than ordinary self-concernment or regard to private good, which is inconsistent with the interest of the species or public, this must in every respect be esteemed an ill and vicious appetite, and this is what we commonly call selfishness and disapprove so much in whatever creature we happen to discover it' (*Characteristics*, 2 vols., ed. J. M. Robertson, London, 1900, i. 248).

Pride would naturally fall into his class of 'self-affections' or 'self-passions' which, while aiming at private good, become harmful to society at the point where they are harmful to the individual. Butler follows Shaftesbury in recognizing the general good as the aim of conduct, but clearly regards 'reasonable self-love and conscience' as the chief regulative principles of human nature. Where self-love and conscience are in conflict, the obligation of duty has to supersede that of self-interest. Pride therefore, as a natural or deliberate form of self-love, falls under the condemnation of conscience as being opposed to the happiness of society. But there is no detailed analysis of pride in these writers comparable with the study of it in David Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature* (ed. L. A. Selby-Bigge[2], Oxford, 1896; see bk. ii., 'Of the Passions,' pt. i. § ii. p. 277 f.). He calls pride an 'indirect' passion—*i.e.*, it proceeds from the same principles as the direct passions (such as desire, aversion, grief, joy, fear, etc.), but by conjunction of other qualities. The indirect passions have the same object, namely self, which is not their cause. For the cause we have to distinguish between quality and subject, the latter being something related to us; *e.g.*, in a beautiful house beauty is the quality and house the subject which must be our property or contrivance. In such passions as pride in country, in friends, in family, in riches, etc., the relations of contiguity and causation are required. Pride is a pleasant feeling; consequently it is derived from the double relation of impressions and ideas. Hume further suggests that the transition from pride to love is not so easy as that from love to pride. He finds in contempt or scorn (see art. CONTEMPT) so strong a tincture of pride that hardly any other passion is discernible; whereas in esteem or respect love and humility are the prominent ingredients. Finally, he asserts that nothing invigorates and exalts the mind equally with pride and vanity. It is to be noted that the psychological analysis of the affections had also engaged the attention of Hume's predecessor, Francis Hutcheson, who had divided the affections into the 'calm' (or extensive) and the 'turbulent' (or narrow). The Scottish school of philosophy represented by Dugald Stewart and Thomas Brown continued the study. The latter, in his *Lectures on the Philosophy of the Human Mind*, arranged the emotions under the heads of immediate, retrospective, and prospective. The first he subdivided into those passions which do

[1] See Aquinas, *loc. cit.* art. 5: 'Superbia semper quidem contrariatur dilectioni divinae'; and cf. Dante, *Purg.* xvii. 112–118.

not involve moral affections, such as wonder, melancholy, etc., and those which are distinctive of virtue and vice, such as love and hate, pride and humility. It is clear from a study of the history of ethical thought that the individual treatment of the affections is coloured by the philosopher's ethical standpoint, whether utilitarian or intuitional. The hedonistic ethic of Hume, *e.g.*, is in violent contrast with the Kantian theory that the ends at which duty has to aim exclude all consideration of personal happiness—a theory which has powerfully influenced all subsequent schools of thought, Hegelian, neo-Hegelian, and Pragmatist alike. Kant places all inclinations and desires under the single term 'self-regard,' distinguishing between *philautia*, excessive fondness for oneself, and *arrogantia*, satisfaction with oneself (see *DPhP*, *s.v.* 'Pride').

It remains to add that in most of the great modern dramas of the soul pride has a prominent place as a passion destructive of the moral order. Both the Satan of Milton's *Paradise Lost* and the Mephistopheles of Goethe's *Faust* are incarnations under different phases of the pride of the evil will, the former taking the form of an obstinate hostility to good which will not brook defeat, the latter that of a conscious versatility in evil suggestion which is utterly scornful of the weakness of its instruments. If we pass from dramatic creation to actual history, we shall be reminded of the popular estimate of the character of Napoleon as one who was the embodiment *par excellence* in modern times of Dante's pride of dominion. Nor can it be denied that, as the result of scientific progress and our increasing control of the forces of nature, a pride of efficiency has developed in the civilized nations. Pre-eminently is this the case with Germany, whose consciousness of power, fostered by the philosophies of Nietzsche and Treitschke on the intellectual side and on the material side by an era of unexampled prosperity, is at the root of the militarism which plunged Europe into war in 1914. Scientific efficiency need not be divorced from ethics; but the progress of the war has shown that civilization is no safeguard against a recrudescence of barbarism when pride of power dominates the ideals of a nation. To sum up, pride, whether in an individual or in a nation, is an anti-social passion which disregards the rights of humanity.

LITERATURE.—There is a useful art. *s.v.* in the *DPhP* (see also bibliography under 'Emotion and Feeling,' vol. iii. pt. ii. p. 1040 ff.), and reference may be made to the *DAC* for an article on pride as treated in early Christian literature. The following works, some of which have been quoted in the course of the art., may be consulted: A. Grant, *The Ethics of Aristotle*[2], 2 vols., London, 1866; Theophrastus, *Characters*, tr. R. C. Jebb, London, 1870, new ed. by J. E. Sandys, do. 1909; Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Totius Theologiæ*; E. G. Gardner, *Dante*[3], London, 1903; W. Boyd Carpenter, *The Spiritual Message of Dante*, do. 1914; J. Butler, *Fifteen Sermons Preached at the Rolls Chapel* (esp. x. 'Upon Self-Deceit'), do. 1726; Lord Shaftesbury, *Inquiry concerning Virtue or Merit*, do. 1711; F. Hutcheson, *An Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections*, do. 1728; D. Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature*, 3 vols., do. 1739–40; D. Stewart, *The Philosophy of the Active and Moral Powers of Man*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1828; T. Brown, *Lectures on the Philosophy of the Human Mind*, 4 vols., do. 1820; I. Kant, *Kritik der praktischen Vernunft*, Riga, 1788, tr. T. K. Abbott, London, 1879; E. Caird, *The Critical Philosophy of Kant*, Glasgow, 1889, esp. bk. ii. ch. vii. p. 390 f.; W. McDougall, *Introd. to Social Psychology*[5], London, 1912.

R. MARTIN POPE.

PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD.

Primitive (G. LANDTMAN), p. 278.
Babylonian (T. G. PINCHES), p. 284.
Buddhist (A. S. GEDEN), p. 288.
Chinese (H. J. T. JOHNSON), p. 290.
Christian.—See MINISTRY.
Egyptian (A. M. BLACKMAN), p. 293.
Greek (W. J. WOODHOUSE), p. 302.
Hebrew (H. P. SMITH), p. 307.
Hindu (A. B. KEITH), p. 311.
Iranian (E. EDWARDS), p. 319.
Jewish (H. HIRSCHFELD), p. 322.
Mexican (L. SPENCE), p. 325.
Muhammadan (D. S. MARGOLIOUTH), p. 325.
Roman (G. J. LAING), p. 325.
Teutonic and Slavic.—See ARYAN RELIGION, vol. ii. p. 42 f.
Ugro-Finnish (U. HOLMBERG), p. 335.

PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD (Primitive). — Priesthood among uncivilized races includes not only the priests proper, who conduct the religious rites and communicate with the gods, but also magicians, sorcerers, etc., who practise magic, *i.e.* utilize impersonal supernatural forces acting in accordance with certain fixed rules. 'Priests' or 'magicians' of some kind or other appear among all peoples of whom we have adequate knowledge, and also among those of a very rude type (Australians, Bushmen, Hottentots, Andaman Islanders, Veddas, Fuegians, etc.). The origin of priesthood therefore goes back to a very early stage of social evolution; the first indications of a priest's or sorcerer's office can be traced back almost to the very origin of religious and magical practices. When comparing the origin of priesthood with that of social ranks generally, we become aware that priests and sorcerers everywhere differ from the mass of the population at an earlier period of culture than any of the lay classes: priests and sorcerers are, as a rule, found among all peoples, whereas among a number of peoples at a low stage of development no distinction whatever of social ranks exists.

1. The need of mediators with the supernatural world. — Priesthood, broadly speaking, owes its origin to the universal need felt by mankind of superhuman assistance in the struggle of life. Among all peoples the belief exists that, under certain circumstances, advantages of some kind or other are obtainable from the supernatural world. Man endeavours to influence by propitiation the powers which govern the universe, or to control the course of events by magical means. Not all the benefits supposed to be obtainable in either of these ways consist of positive blessings; on the contrary, they may in the first place imply the prevention of an evil. The desire for guidance in these matters has given rise to the various kinds of religious and magical practitioners among savage peoples who are to be considered as pioneers of an organized priesthood. But even among civilized peoples surviving traces of the same need characterize the authority of the priesthood. In spite of the universal belief in the existence of more or less infallible means of influencing fortune, certain persons are, as a rule, supposed to possess greater knowledge and power than others to secure the proper results. These appear to us in the form of priests and magicians.

In many cases savages think themselves unable to communicate directly with the gods. Acknowledging their inferiority in this respect, they regard the priests as the only mediators between them and the supreme powers. The priests are their only protectors; without them the ignorant population would be abandoned to the misfortunes

arising from the anger of the gods or from witchcraft (instances from the Kafirs, some American Indians, Eskimos).

The principal duty of the priests is to administer, or give advice as to, the worship of the gods. As all gods do not stand in the same relation to men, the assistance of the priests must often be called in to point out the special deities to whom the people should offer their sacrifices. Very generally the gods are believed to bear ill-will to men, and therefore it is also the duty of the priests to give directions as to the proper offerings. It is all the more necessary to know how to please the gods, as they are among certain peoples held to be very particular about the form of prayer and sacrifice (tribes in E. Russia and Siberia, Lapps, natives of Nias).

In short, the need of priests appears in the most various respects: they are required to influence the wind and rain, to cause good growth, to ensure success in hunting and fishing, to cure illness, to foretell the future, to work harm upon enemies, etc.

2. The first types of priests.—The worship of deified men is confined, as a rule, to the kindred group, and in the first place to the separate families. Owing to the exclusive character of ancestral gods in this respect, a regular priesthood, in the sense of universally acknowledged mediators with the gods, hardly occurs on the basis of mere family-worship. The authority of that member of the family who conducts the worship for his nearest relatives does not extend beyond the group worshipping the god to whom he is related, viz. the family itself.

Deification of ancestors, however, is not confined to families. Whole tribes also frequently worship the spirits of departed men, but in such cases the ancestral gods tend, in a way, to amalgamate with other classes of generally worshipped deities.

Whilst ancestor-worship originally tends to centralize the cult within families, or kindred groups, no such tendency is manifested by worship of gods in nature. Depending on the more or less general occurrence of the phenomena which give rise to the belief in gods of nature, such gods are likely to be worshipped within larger or smaller divisions of mankind, with little or no precedence given to certain kindred groups. Therefore the origin of the priesthood connected with the gods of nature is not influenced by any regard to family ties. These two forms of religion, however, are intermingled to a very great extent among most peoples.

In the earliest history of cult no proper priesthood existed. Although various kinds of priestly practitioners belong to a very early period of religious evolution, all conclusions point to the rule that originally everybody invoked the gods each for himself. Cult therefore existed in some form or other before there were any professional men entrusted with the duty of conducting the different religious observances. Among some peoples every individual still performs his religious or magical rites for himself without the assistance of professional priests (certain Papuans, Melanesians, Australians, and many more).

Among the people who in the early ages attempted to interpret the wishes of the gods and practise magical art the more expert who managed to gain the confidence of their fellow-tribesmen seem, in the course of evolution, to have attained a certain pre-eminence. Some men, more fortunate and more cunning in their predictions, acquired a local celebrity in the art; such men would soon be consulted by their neighbours, pupils or apprentices would be attached to them, and thus would be gradually formed a special class, which would assume the functions of intermediaries between the people and the gods.

Within the separate families, in which, as has been pointed out, ancestral gods are particularly worshipped, one member is generally invested with the duty of sacrificing for the whole family. As a rule, the priestly functions are put into the hands of the paterfamilias, and the reason seems to be that he is the oldest and most experienced male member of the family, who is generally believed to stand in closer communication with the ancestors than the other members (tribes in India, Africa, and Polynesia). Sometimes the oldest female member of the family may also officiate as priest (Serers in W. Africa). Among the Barais in India the deities are worshipped only by that member of the family who is under the influence of the special divinity—a fact shown by his getting into a state of ecstasy and uttering oracles. Among some lower Dravidian tribes the family-worship is conducted either by the head of the household or by the son-in-law or the brother-in-law. In the Tarawa and Apamama islands, of the Kingsmill group, every family that has a tutelary divinity has also a priest whose office may be filled by any young man of free birth able to recite prayers.

As regards the first appearance of priests, we can distinguish among some peoples certain classes of men who, owing to their unmistakable priestly affinities, seem to be forerunners of a regular priesthood.

(1) One group of persons who occasionally exercise priestly functions without being priests are those who, when in a state of ecstasy, are believed to be inspired by the gods. During their convulsive fits such persons are sometimes interrogated by the people as to the will of the gods, future events, etc., and the gods are believed to speak through them. These ecstatic individuals thus act as mediators with the supreme powers (peoples in India and Polynesia). From the idea of occasional inspiration it is an easy step to the conviction that certain persons are able to put themselves into communication with the gods whenever they like. On the whole, facts show that in the early ages of priesthood men often retain the office only for a specified time or with intermissions. Among some rude tribes, we are told, the priests take up their office and leave it, as they like (Todas, Khotas, Bodos and Dhimāls, Dophlās, Munda Kols).

(2) Another beginning of priesthood may be seen in the observance of 'sacred places' or other kinds of sanctuaries which, for some reason or other, are held in high veneration by the peoples in the neighbourhood. As a rule, they are thought to be the abodes of a god, and the men charged with guarding the sacred rooms naturally tend to become mediators between the people and these gods (Gonds in India, natives in Madagascar and Yap, certain Arabs, certain priests in ancient Greece).

(3) We have further to regard as a kind of forerunners to a regular priesthood the 'holy men' who, without being real priests, exercise a certain religious authority among some peoples. This class of men make themselves renowned by occasional miracles, or acquire the religious veneration of the people by their eccentric habits (Muhammadan peoples).

In early stages of cult the rites are naturally very simple, and consequently almost any one is able to undertake the performance of the priestly functions. In general a simple cult and a superficially-instructed, mutable priesthood seem to go together. And it is clear that, where every one is qualified to assume the priestly office, priesthood as such is not likely to be held in great veneration.

Of many peoples we are told that the priests do not form any distinct class, and that almost any man may become a priest (Maoris, tribes in India and Madagascar, Galla, some American Indians).

As ritual observances and magical practices gradually became too complicated for the average man to master, a professional priesthood became necessary. When the people were uncertain about the proper ceremonies, they applied to the more experienced practitioners, asking them to perform the ceremonies on their behalf (Cheremisses). Kindred customs seem to be one reason for the old men officiating as priests and sorcerers among several tribes (Kiangans in Luzon, tribes in India, Africa, and Australia). Certain facts show how, especially on important occasions, the task of performing religious or magical ceremonies seems to have been put into the hands of priests, or of those possessing most experience in the tribe; at the same time every one was supposed to know how to sacrifice for ordinary private purposes (Kafirs, Ostyaks, Lapps, ancient Teutons, and Finns).

The authority of the first semi-priests and semi-sorcerers evidently varied to a great extent. While some exercised only a local influence, the more fortunate and cunning among them gradually extended their fame over wide districts. In this way a class of priests and sorcerers common to whole tribes originated (tribes in Africa and Siberia, certain Eskimos and American Indians).

It is a remarkable fact that among many peoples the sorcerers of neighbouring races are held in greater awe than those of their own tribe. Whole tribes are in certain regions known as powerful wizards, whose services are frequently sought after by their neighbours. E. B. Tylor's[1] explanation is that nations with some education, who, however, believe in the reality of the magic art, cannot shut their eyes to the fact that it more essentially belongs to races less civilized than themselves. This theory, interesting as it is, does not explain the cases where, *e.g.*, certain tribes attribute to each other reciprocally a superior power of magic. The superstitious fear in which peoples in many parts of the world hold other tribes seems also to be connected with a universal belief that the secret powers of strangers are greater than those of well-known people.

3. **King-priests.**—A remarkable feature in the history of priesthood is the combination of priestly functions with royal authority. Instances of king-priests are met with throughout Polynesia and Melanesia, in India and other Asiatic countries, among many Negro and American Indian tribes, and in ancient Europe. J. G. Frazer[2] thinks that the priestly king has developed out of the public magician, the latter being a personage of such influence that under favourable circumstances he may easily attain to the rank of chief or king. When once a special class of sorcerers has been segregated from the community and entrusted by it with the discharge of duties on which the public safety and welfare are believed to depend, these men gradually rise to wealth and power, till their leaders blossom out into sacred kings. We may add that ancestor-worship also tends to invest the king or chief with sacerdotal authority. Similarly, as patriarchs of families conduct the worship on behalf of the family, so patriarchs of villages and provinces are the persons likely to perform the sacred offices on behalf of their respective clans or tribes. In the opinion of their followers they are often more intimately connected with the gods than any other individuals, being their nearest living relatives, and therefore all the more naturally can mediate between the gods and men.

[1] *PC*[3] i. 122 ff.
[2] *GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, London, 1911, i. 375.

Besides the union of a royal title and priestly offices there are instances of kings being worshipped as gods, which indicates the highest potentiality of the sacerdotal character of rulers. Frazer has called attention to various instances in which the divine king or priest is put to death by his worshippers, which he explains in the following way.[1] Primitive people sometimes believe that their own safety and even that of the world is bound up with the life of one of these human incarnations of the divinity. They therefore take the utmost care of his life. But no amount of precaution will prevent the divine king from growing old and feeble and at last dying. And, in order to avert the catastrophe which may be expected from the enfeeblement of his powers and their final extinction in death, they kill him as soon as he shows symptoms of weakness, and his soul is transferred to a vigorous successor before it has been seriously impaired by the threatened decay. But some peoples appear to have preferred to kill the divine king while he is still in the full vigour of life. Accordingly, they have fixed a term beyond which he may not reign, and at the close of which he must die, the term fixed upon being short enough to exclude the probability of his degenerating in the interval. E. Westermarck[2] has a somewhat different explanation, according to which the new king is supposed to inherit, not the predecessor's soul, but his divinity or holiness, which is looked upon as a mysterious entity, temporarily seated in the ruling sovereign, but separable from him and transferable to another individual. See, further, art. KING (Introductory).

4. **Qualifications for priesthood.**—Priesthood is generally a hereditary institution, although the rules of inheritance can rarely be strictly followed (Polynesians, Melanesians, Australians, peoples in the Malay Archipelago, India, Siberia, Africa, and America). Among certain peoples who have a hereditary priesthood the sacerdotal dignity is not assumed by the son of a priest; one generation is passed over, and the grandchildren are selected (Kafirs, tribes in W. Africa). Of other peoples we learn that priesthood is hereditary, but that the aspirant must in addition be qualified by certain necessary endowments. Thus the faculty to 'see the spirits' and converse with them is in some cases a further condition (Tlingits, Sioux); and the like power is often required of the priests where priesthood as a strictly hereditary institution is not heard of.

As the principal duty of the priests is to mediate between mankind and the higher powers, so the chief qualification requisite for entering the priesthood is the faculty of communicating with the gods. This faculty, however, may be proved in different ways. Thus, when certain wonderful things happen to a person—especially when he falls into a state of ecstasy—the people may think that he is under the influence of some spirit; and such a man is competent to become a priest (Kafirs). Among other peoples the supposed connexion between the priests and the spirit-world appears more particularly in the belief that the priests have one or more tutelary deities of their own, who always give them assistance when required. In some cases it is even stated to be a necessary qualification for priests to have such gods at their disposal (Eskimos, Algonquian Indians).

As the faculty of conversing with the gods is so very generally confined to the priests (other people being excluded from communication with the spirit-world), it is an easy step to the conclusion that the gods themselves have selected their repre-

[1] *GB*[3], pt. iii., *The Dying God*, London, 1911, p. 9 ff.
[2] *MI* ii. 607.

sentatives among mankind. In conformity with notions of this kind, many peoples believe that the gods confer divine powers upon certain men, and that the only way in which a person can become a priest is by being chosen by the gods (Eskimos, American Indians, Kafirs, tribes in Siberia, India, Borneo, Australia). Generally the gods communicate the necessary secrets to the priests in dreams (Australians, Sea Dayaks, Tunguses), but there are various other means by which the gods are believed to choose their favourites for the priestly vocation. Sometimes they intimate their wishes in a more or less peculiar way.

The Moxo in Brazil think it necessary that the aspirants to the priestly office should have been attacked and wounded by a jaguar, this animal being the visible object of their worship; they believe that he sets his mark upon those whom he chooses to be his priests. The Buriats in Siberia regard men who have been killed by lightning as chosen by the gods, who have thereby conferred a certain distinction on the family of the dead man; he is considered a shaman, and his nearest relative enjoys the right to shamanhood. In ancient Peru and among the Apache we meet with a kindred idea regarding lightning. The Munda Kols find out the proper *pahan*, or priest, to perform their sacrifices by such means as watching a frightened bull which stops before a certain house. When an additional priest is wanted in a village on the Gold Coast, a general meeting of the inhabitants is held, and a number of young men and women are made to stand in a circle. The fetish-priest, after weird and gruesome ceremonies, places on the head of each candidate a bundle of herbs and leaves. In most cases it happens that one or more of the youths and girls fall straightway into a kind of fit and appear to be possessed by some strange influence. This is taken as a sign that the fetish has spoken, and that the deity has chosen the person or persons so affected for his service.

Among the endowments requisite for aspirants to priesthood a very important one is the faculty of wonder-working. We are told in fact of many peoples that the would-be priests are expected to perform miracles, and that the candidate has to manifest his powers in that respect before he is admitted to the sacerdotal order. A person ambitious to become a priest will, *e.g.*, profess to have been told of future events by some spirit; should any of his predictions relating to something which greatly interests the people happen to come true, he is regarded as a duly inspired priest (Fijians, natives of the Isle of Pines, Mālers in Bengal, Siberian tribes, Greenlanders).

Some peoples judge from mere outward signs that certain persons possess mysterious powers and are able to act as sorcerers or priests.

Among the Ojibwa Indians individuals gain a reputation for witchcraft without making any pretensions to the art, merely because they are deformed and ill-looking; all esteemed witches or wizards among these Indians are, as a rule, 'remarkably wicked, of a ragged appearance and forbidding countenance.'[1] The Congo natives are said to number dwarfs and albinos among the priesthood.

Outward peculiarities in children are in certain cases believed to denote that they are bound to become priests—*e.g.*, being born with the eyes open (Australians), or bleeding at the nose or mouth (Tunguses in Siberia).

The mental disposition which is supposed to qualify a person for the priestly office reveals a very important feature of early priesthood. Among a great number of peoples the priests must display a considerable excitability of temperament; consequently certain qualifications of a pathological and psychological nature generally characterize the priests and sorcerers of uncivilized races. From several parts of the world we are informed that individuals of an eccentric disposition are considered to be specially apt for the sacerdotal vocation.

The Siberian shamans are recruited from a class of men distinguished by their habits of contemplation and insight into mysteries as well as by their ardent imagination, and their qualifications for shamanhood are further thought to appear in frequent fits of giddiness and fainting, besides other signs. Certain tribes in those parts believe that the influence of the evil spirit which compels a person to become a shaman makes itself known by continual yawning, shrieking, and leaping round, etc. The incipient shaman begins to see visions, endeavours to throw himself into the water or fire, and seizes knives to hurt himself, after which he declares that the spirits have ordered him to become a shaman. See artt. POSSESSION (Introductory and Primitive), SHAMANISM.

Instances of similar ideas are furnished by Polynesian, American Indian, and African tribes.

Among certain peoples the mere faculty of falling into convulsions or into a state of unconsciousness seems to be almost all that is required for becoming a priest.

It is stated, *e.g.*, of the Fijian priests that the power of receiving inspiration and of announcing the will of the deity during a violent fit of muscular or nervous shaking, supposed to betoken the possession of his body by the spirit, is a necessary qualification for the priestly office. Before a Fijian is acknowledged as priest, he has to undergo a trial and is required to show publicly that the spirit is entering into him. The proof of this is supposed to lie in shiverings, which appear to be involuntary, and in the performance of which none but an expert juggler could succeed.

Statements to the same effect refer to native tribes in Australia, Africa, S. America, India, N. Asia, etc.

The great importance attached to ecstasy as a symptom of divine visitation also appears in the numerous cases when priests before or at their initiation reduce themselves by special means (such as fasting or narcotics) to a state of delirium or trance which is supposed to indicate their sacred calling.

Would-be priests among the Eskimos, several American Indian tribes, as well as peoples in Africa, Asia, and Oceania, withdraw for a longer or shorter period to a solitary place, where they subsist without food until they begin to 'see into futurity.' Of narcotic or fiery drugs Siberian shamans use the fly-bane (*Amanita muscaria*), while the medicine-men of certain Indians in Guiana drink potions of strong tobacco-juice. The sorcerers of the Guarani Indians during their period of preparatory retirement live on pepper and roasted maize only.

It is natural to the savage mind to ascribe ecstasy to spiritual agency. The convulsive gestures and incoherent utterances of the inspired seem to show that his own will is absent, and that some strange being has taken possession of his body. A spirit or god is therefore supposed to speak through his mouth and to command his actions. This faculty of falling into an ecstatic condition is all the more necessary for would-be priests, as among savage peoples manifestations of a prophetic or divine delirium do almost universally accompany religious ceremonies.

The observation that an ecstatic disposition is universally associated with priesthood draws attention to the fact that in many cases insane persons are looked upon with superstitious awe. The main distinction between insanity and ecstasy seems to be that the former is generally ascribed to a permanent, the latter to a more casual, possession by a spirit. Some people believe the insane to be under the influence of demons, while others assume that they are inspired by good spirits. In conformity with the latter idea, great veneration is paid to the insane, who are also sometimes thought to possess the spirit of prophecy (Arabs, natives of Celebes, Polynesians, Melanesians, certain American Indian and Siberian tribes).

5. Initiation of priests.—As a rule candidates for the profession of priest or sorcerer have to undergo a preparatory instruction which is imparted by an expert practitioner (African, Siberian, Polynesian, American Indian, and Eskimo tribes). Not always, however, is instruction necessary, and it seems that those who have been inspired by the gods are less in want of information than those who are self-chosen. Among some tribes people assume the office of fetish-man after suitable training, but the priestly order is said in addition to be augmented by persons who can prove that the spirits have suddenly seized upon them (certain tribes in Africa, India, Siberia, Australia, and N. America).

[1] P. Jones, *Hist. of the Ojebway Indians*, London, 1861, p. 145 f.

The preparation of the novices in many cases begins at an early age.

Among the Eskimos and Aleuts the priests are brought up to their calling from their infancy. The Ojibwa Indians encourage their youths from the age of ten to manhood to fast, for in this way they obtain the favour of the gods. Boys destined to be *piaces* among the Panama Indians are taken at the age of ten or twelve to be instructed in the office.

Similar examples come from the Apurina Indians, and tribes in W. Africa and Borneo. It seems to be the rule that, where the priests are subjected to a regular course of instruction, the preparatory period commences early in life, whereas the more impulsive assumption of priesthood, with little or no previous training, is liable to take place at any age.

As a rule we can draw a distinction among most peoples between two different phases of the priestly education. (1) During one period the novice is generally under the care of some experienced priest who imparts to him the necessary religious instruction and initiates him into the practices of the profession. (2) Another phase of the preparation includes a course of self-training, during which the aspirant has to place himself in proper correspondence with gods.

(1) As regards the knowledge imparted to the candidates, mere theoretical learning is little thought of; according to our scanty reports, most importance is attached to practical knowledge which may be of use in the magical and religious performances.

In Greenland the teacher seeks, in the first place, to make the pupil entirely fearless and to direct his mind towards the spirit-world, to the horrors of which he must be rendered insensible. In the Mosquito tribe of Central America the sorceresses, during their preparation for the office, learn various tricks from their predecessors, such as allowing poisonous snakes to bite them, and handling fire. The priestly novice among the Indians of British Guiana is taught the traditions of the tribe, the medical qualities of plants, and to find where game is to be had. During his novitiate the medicine-man of the Bororo in Brazil has to learn certain ritual songs and the languages of birds, beasts, and trees. The priests of the Kukis in India first of all seem to have been taught the secret language which they have among themselves, while the rest of their knowledge is probably picked up during their practice. The instruction of the priests among some African tribes is said to comprehend a good deal of empirical knowledge and other secrets of the craft.

(2) The self-training of a candidate for the priestly office evidently has for its object the preparation of his mind for intercourse with the gods. During this period he generally lives for a longer or shorter time in retirement, whilst in some cases a rigorous asceticism is also prescribed, such as fasting or subsisting on a scanty diet. In certain tribes the novices are required strictly to refrain from connexion with the opposite sex.

With the Eskimos this phase of the priestly education consisted in strict fasting and invocation of the deity while dwelling alone in solitary places, until the soul became independent of the body and of the external world; finally the god appeared and provided the novice with a helping or guardian spirit.

Of a similar description is the self-preparation of the priests among certain American Indians as well as tribes in Africa, Australia, Siberia, and India. In some cases the neophytes use narcotics or stimulants in order to work themselves into a passion of excitement, during which they are supposed to hold converse with the spirits.

Among certain peoples candidates are admitted to the sacerdotal order through a special initiatory ceremony (Negroes, Waraus Indians, Siberian tribes, Laplanders). It is also stated that in certain cases the consecration of a priest takes place several times in succession as he rises from lower to higher degrees of the order (Buriats in Siberia, Moxo Indians).

6. The social position of the priest.—One circumstance which has powerfully tended to distinguish the priesthood from the community at large has been the fact that the priests and sorcerers are, as a rule, recruited from the most intelligent elements of their peoples. The scanty learning of savage races is almost exclusively confined to the priests, who are generally the only preservers of tribal traditions; they alone possess the knowledge of certain useful arts, and the whole character of their functions tends to develop their intellectual powers and to give them a superiority over their fellow-tribesmen.

It is frequently reported that the priests distinguish themselves from the rest of the people by a more or less considerable knowledge of certain natural phenomena, by means of which they secure the popular confidence in their powers. They have studied the use of medicines, the properties of herbs and other plants, the changes of weather, and the habits of animals; and this knowledge materially assists them in the maintenance of their authority (Negroes, Hottentots, Dayaks, Tahitians, Araucanians, Eskimos).

In order to preserve the faith of the people in their prophetic powers the priests often collect all kinds of information, and whatever they learn in this way they ostentatiously foretell as future events. In many cases they are also said to act in collusion with each other, in keeping the people under their influence (tribes in W. Africa, American Indians, etc.). When the priests exercise the precarious art of prophecy, great significance is attributed to their utterances. Hence we often hear that, in order to ensure that their predictions shall prove true, they make them sufficiently ambiguous or uncertain to admit of a variety of interpretations (tribes in Africa, some American Indians). If, in spite of all precautions, they fail to produce the effects promised by them, they generally have recourse to various excuses. The non-success is attributed, *e.g.*, to some defect in the medicine, or the applicant is labouring under the displeasure of the gods, who refuse to be appeased unless renewed and richer offerings are made (certain American Indians, Negroes, Hawaiians). A very general excuse is the counteracting influence of some demon (Dayaks, Oceanians, natives of Victoria, Hottentots). No less frequently priests and sorcerers who fail in performing miracles save their reputation by accusing other persons of having, by secret necromancies, frustrated their endeavours (tribes in N. S. Wales, India, N. America).

The respect which the priests and sorcerers enjoy is increased by the mystery in which they generally envelop their proceedings. They do their best to inspire the people with fear, if they think such a course necessary for the strengthening of their power. Thus they may threaten to send the spirits or some magic substance into those who disbelieve them (Tlingits, natives of Victoria), or in some other way let the spirits avenge even the slightest neglect or disobedience (Tahitians, Fijians). The bizarre external appearance of most priests among savage races also serves to a great extent to impress the popular imagination. By painting their bodies in all colours and dressing themselves in the most fantastical manner they inspire their tribesmen with feelings of mystery and awe, and sometimes this effect is expressly sought (Indians of Virginia, Siberian tribes). It is likewise beyond dispute that a strong impression of fear is produced upon the people by the ecstatic orgies which so often form an essential part of the rites of savage priesthood. The gestures and other morbid manifestations of the priests, vivid descriptions of which are given by numerous eye-witnesses, necessarily strike the bystanders with awe and terror. It is in this connexion interesting to note that the religious and magical rites of savages very generally take place in the dark, and in some cases darkness is even repre

sented as a necessary condition for success. The Siberian shamans perform their ceremonies in some gloomy place and generally at night, in order to appear more mysterious and terrible in the darkness; and the same is said regarding the sorcerers of the Eskimos, Waraus Indians, Congo natives, etc.

Among certain peoples the priests strengthen their authority by attaching themselves to the kings and noble classes in a community, while at the same time they are said in return to support the ruling system (Polynesians, Khonds in India, Kafirs, certain American Indians).

One of the most important methods by which the priests increase their influence is by convincing the people of their supernatural endowments through various miracles. There are reports from many peoples that confidence in the priests and sorcerers depends upon their supposed faculty of performing miracles—one successful instance often causes all previous failures to be forgotten. Priests and sorcerers strengthen their reputation through delusive demonstrations of their invulnerability—*e.g.*, by stabbing themselves with knives in different parts of the body (Ostyaks), by throwing themselves into the fire or seizing live coals with their hands (certain Tatar tribes), by allowing poisonous snakes to bite them, etc. (Mosquito Indians). How essentially the influence of the priesthood depends on their presumed power of wonder-working is shown by the fact that among several tribes priests who fail in their efforts, or otherwise lose the confidence of their people, at the same time forfeit their office and sometimes are subject to punishment (tribes in India and Africa, Andamanese). They are even liable to be killed by the enraged people; this may be due to the idea that worthless priests are of no use and therefore cannot hold the sacerdotal office, but, as they possess dangerous powers, they must be made away with. There are also grounds for connecting the killing of priests with the killing of the divine king.

The methods by which the priests and sorcerers of savage races acquire confidence and reputation among their countrymen raise the question whether, on the whole, we are to look upon them as a class of impostors or not. The opinion predominant in theoretical literature is that we cannot suppose that the priests and sorcerers of the uncivilized races are, generally speaking, impostors (Lord Avebury, J. G. Frazer, A. Réville, R. de la Grasserie, Julius Lippert). The opinions of travellers, again, are divided, but many of them have considered the question from different points of view. There is no reason to condemn the priests and sorcerers as deceivers because their proceedings seem meaningless to European observers, or because some travellers have ascertained, by experiments, that the savage mystery-men are not endowed with those miraculous powers which they claim to possess. The principal point is whether they believe in their own powers or not; this they very generally seem to do, although, on the other hand, impostors are undoubtedly met with among the priests at all stages of early beliefs. Cf. art. POSSESSION (Introductory).

7. Observances, etc., distinguishing priesthood.—Numerous practices and observances are among many peoples obligatory upon the priests and tend to separate them from the rest of the community, as they cannot in general be combined with the circumstances of ordinary life.

(1) There are certain ascetic regulations which apply to sexual life. The fact that persons devoted to religion are often obliged to live a single life has been ascribed to the notion that there is something impure and sinful in marriage, as in sexual relations generally. Among many peoples the members of the priesthood are forbidden to marry, and must keep themselves pure (several American Indian tribes, Kalmuks, Todas, etc.). Celibacy and chastity are, however, by no means universally required of the priests; on the contrary, they seem in some cases to be distinguished from the people as a whole by extraordinary liberties in sexual respects. The *ius primæ noctis* accorded to the priesthood among certain peoples exemplifies the sexual privileges which are sometimes enjoyed by the sacerdotal order. Among certain peoples the priestesses must not marry, for the reason that, belonging to the god, they cannot become the property of a man. But this prohibition extends to marriage only, and a priestess is not debarred from sexual commerce (tribes in W. Africa).

(2) Other ascetic regulations concern fasting and prohibited articles of food. Fasting generally seems to be observed when a person wishes to put himself in correspondence with the spirits performing some religious rite (Santals, Siberian tribes, some Melanesians and American Indians), and sometimes for the same purpose the priests reduce themselves by artificial means to a state of mind which is supposed to indicate their close communion with the supernatural world. Food restrictions of various kinds are imposed upon the priests.

(3) Among many peoples the priests are distinguished by a special costume and also by the colour of their dress.

The priests of the Sinhalese and in Siam are clothed in yellow; and in the Malay Peninsula the priestly magician shares with the king the right to make use of cloth dyed the royal colour, yellow. The priestesses of the Manipuris in India dress in white. Among the Peruvians the priest wore white when invoking the gods. The ordinary dress of the Zapotec priests was a full white robe, that of the Toltec priests a long black robe, and the common Totonac priests wore long black robes of cotton. In ancient Mexico a class of priestesses called 'maids of penance' ordinarily wore a habit all white.

(4) It is rather a general custom for priests to distinguish themselves by the length of their hair (certain tribes in N. America, India, and Africa). Frazer explains the custom of sacred persons leaving their hair long by referring to the dangers which, in the primitive view, beset the cutting of it.[1] Such dangers are common to all, but sacred persons have more to fear from them than ordinary people; the simplest way of evading peril is not to cut the hair at all.

(5) A remarkable fact is that the priests almost universally distinguish themselves from the community at large by means of a separate language which they use in the divine service or in intercourse with each other.

The *angakoks*, or priests, of the Greenlanders have a peculiar language, altogether different from the ordinary tongue of the country, and words of the general language they use in an opposite or metaphorical sense. This particular idiom they make use of only at their practices of witchcraft and when they are consulted by the people.

Similar reports are given of the priests among several tribes in N. and S. America, Africa, India, the Malay Archipelago, and Oceania.

8. Classification of priests.—Of the two classes of supernaturalistic practitioners the priests are those who represent the religion of a people; they exercise the duties incumbent on them by invoking the aid of the supernatural beings, and their power consists in influencing the will of the latter. Magicians, on the other hand, act independently of the supreme rulers, with whom they have no communication in the sense in which the priests have. By their magic they are themselves able to bring about the desired results, and the same means of coercion may be applied by them even to the gods.

But, although theoretically separated, the types of priest and sorcerer among uncivilized and semi-

[1] *GB*[3], pt. ii., *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, London, 1911, p. 258 ff.

civilized peoples almost inextricably blend into one another. Communication with supernatural beings is in no way confined to the 'priests,' nor do the 'sorcerers' monopolize the practice of magic. Very frequently it happens that practitioners in whom the priestly type preponderates have recourse to magic also, and that representatives of the type of sorcerer maintain a religious communication with spirits.

Certain writers associate the difference between priests and sorcerers with the occurrence of a benevolent and a malevolent class of priests among many peoples, the one group of functionaries helping the people, the other exercising a pernicious influence (Eskimos, certain American Indians, Kafirs, Buriats). There is on the whole a tendency to identify priests with protectors of the people, whereas magicians or sorcerers are represented as evil-doers who endeavour to inflict distress upon others. Facts go to prove, however, that the distinction between well- and ill-disposed classes of priests is often very arbitrary; sometimes 'priests,' *e.g.*, forfeit their sacerdotal dignity and are transferred to the class of 'sorcerers,' merely because they have lost the popular confidence in their goodwill (American Indians, Eskimos, tribes in Central Africa).

In a few cases distribution of function makes the types of priest and sorcerer distinct from each other. Thus weather-doctors, fortune-tellers, exorcists, and physicians, who form special professions of their own among certain peoples, also supply, in some cases, instances of the typical magician. Examples of such practitioners acting solely by magical means are, however, extremely rare—which can also be said of the occurrence of the unadulterated priestly type.

To a certain extent the numerous functions are performed by special classes of priests. Although the regular priests almost universally also practise divination, yet among many peoples the diviners form a distinct profession within the priesthood, and in a great number of such cases the performance is stated to take place through other means than consulting the gods.

In the Kafir tribes the *amatola*, who practise augury by burning certain roots, are distinct from other classes of the priesthood. In Uganda the *bahumu*, who foretell the future from the entrails of fowls, constitute a separate class of diviners. Among the Malagasy there is a class of men called *panandro*, 'astrologers,' who calculate and declare unlucky days and hours and foretell the destiny of children. The natives about the Altai mountains in N. Central Asia, besides shamans and weather-makers, have four separate classes of augurs distinguished from each other by different names and different methods of procedure.

Instances of a similar kind are given by the Kirghizes and several American Indian tribes.

The priests and physicians are very generally the same men, but cases of physicians forming a profession of their own in association with the priesthood are not rare among uncivilized races (Polynesians, Melanesians, tribes in India, Negroes, American Indians).

Weather-making is among the lower races universally associated with priesthood, although it is sometimes difficult to ascertain when this function refers to the regular priests and when to a special class of individuals. Among certain peoples, however, the weather-doctors are clearly identical with the priests (Greenlanders, some American Indians, Negroes, and Siberian tribes). In other cases the profession of a weather-maker is kept distinct from ordinary priesthood.

Among the natives of the Altai district there is a special class of shamans who profess to manage the weather by means of a magic stone. The Kirghizes have a class who not only foretell the weather but also have the power to cause or avert rain, wind, and lightning. Among the Yagas in Congo the *scingilli*, or rain-makers, form an inferior class under the *gangas*, or fetish-men. The Okanda Negroes have priests to whom the people apply for producing rain when a bad year is impending, and these have a special name. The rain-doctors of the Ganguelas in S. Central Africa are pronounced distinct from other classes of the priesthood. Among the Apache and certain other Indian tribes, weather-making and other priestly functions are distributed among different classes of the priesthood. A few peoples even make a distinction between different branches of weather-making as represented by different groups of priests (Maoris).

To the offices associated with the priesthood belongs the judicial authority with which its members are often invested. As a rule the rights of the priests in this respect are closely connected with their religious duties, their supernatural endowments being called into requisition for the administration of justice in the various communities. From the Congo, Loango, and other African countries, as well as from Hawaii, we hear that on such occasions the priests are the chief officiators at ordeals. Similarly, when a person is accused of practising witchcraft, the priests are the most competent to conduct the case (Greenlanders, E. African and Congo tribes). Thieves and other evil-doers are often detected by the assistance of the well-informed priests (Apache, Tlingits, E. African tribes). In a few cases the priests are entrusted with a regular judicatory dignity, as, *e.g.*, in Hawaii, where some appearance of judicial forms was preserved in cases of litigation.

Among the Badagry in Guinea 'the fetish-priests are the only judges of the people, and the statutes of their country are recorded in their own breasts only,' yet the people are said never to murmur against their decisions.[1]

From almost all parts of the world where uncivilized peoples live come reports that women also officiate as priests and sorcerers; in general no very great distinction seems to be made between the sexes as regards their qualification for priesthood. Often, however, men take precedence in the sacerdotal profession. Female priests or sorcerers are met with among the Greenlanders, American Indians, Negroes, some Siberian tribes, Fijians, Dayaks, etc. From some peoples we learn that all the great ceremonies must be conducted by men, or that the women are not admitted to the priesthood at all (certain Siberian tribes, Chippewa Indians, Andamanese, Australians).

The priestly offices to which women seem principally to devote themselves are foretelling the future (certain American Indians, Kamchadales) and healing diseases (Negroes, American Indians, Papuans). It is a widely-spread notion that women are endowed with mysterious powers in a much higher degree than men (Arabs, Negroes, tribes in India, Australians). Such ideas of the spiritual propensities of women account for the inclination displayed by many peoples to attribute witchcraft particularly to the female sex (Eskimos, certain American Indians, Hottentots, Siberian tribes, Arabs). In a few instances some peoples who have both male and female priests confine special classes of priestly functions to one or other of the two sexes exclusively.

LITERATURE.—W. W. Baudissin, *Die Gesch. des alttestamentl. Priesterthums*, Leipzig, 1889; J. G. Bourke, 'The Medicine-men of the Apache,' in *9 RBEW* (1892), p. 451 ff.; A. W. Howitt, 'On Australian Medicine Men,' in *JAI* xvi. [1886–87] 23 ff.; G. Landtman, *The Origin of Priesthood*, Ekenaes, 1905; J. Lippert, *Allgemeine Gesch. des Priesterthums*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1883–84; S. Maybaum, *Die Entwickelung des altisraelit. Priesterthums*, Breslau, 1880; A. Réville, *Hist. des religions*, 3 vols., Paris, 1883–85; H. Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, London, 1893–96, vol. iii. pt. vi. 'Ecclesiastical Institutions.'

GUNNAR LANDTMAN.

PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD (Babylonian).—In view of the great antiquity of their religion, going back, as it does, to over 4000 years before Christ, there is no doubt that the priesthood of the Babylonians, in most if not all of its numerous orders, was very ancient. It is impossible, however, to

[1] R. Lander, *Records of Captain Clapperton's Last Expedition to Africa*, London, 1830, i. 281.

estimate the dates of the institution of these orders, the more especially as they must have grown up rather than come into such sudden existence as founding by any power of the State or the people would imply. There seems to be no doubt that the remote antiquity of the Babylonian priesthood had brought to its members great influence and wealth, as well as the veneration of the people.

The number and the nature of the priestly offices and orders in Babylonia were determined by the requirements of their religion. Theology, mythology, legends of the gods and heroes illustrating their faith, and temple history were probably taught by the scribes (*tupšarru*), or by such of them as had been educated at and received orders through the temple schools. But the superstitions contained in their creed necessitated not only a full staff of sacrificial priests, conductors of special ceremonies, etc., but also numerous conjurors, soothsayers, magicians, etc., each with his special domain, which, however, in case of need, overlapped the others. The sacrificer, therefore, might perform incantations, and the spell-maker might interpret a dream.

1. Priests in general.—In all probability the most usual term for 'priest' in Babylonian was *šangû*, possibly a nasalized form of the Sumerian (non-Semitic) *sag*, 'head.' The Sem. plural was *šangê*, though the plural for professions of men, *šangûti*, was probably not excluded. The last would coincide in form with the abstract *šangûtu*, 'priesthood' in general—*i.e.* a man's priestly character, as in the case of a Babylonian or an Assyrian king, or the priestly body to which a man might belong. The Sem. form, *šangû*, seems to have been borrowed by the Sumerians, who attached it to the character *mes*, 'hero,' 'man of worth.'[1] It is this root that is found in the Sem. rendering of the Sum. *pa-te-si*, namely, *iššakku*, from the Sum. *ig-sag*, 'he who is at the head,' a word often rendered by 'priest-king.' Though probably often a priest, the *iššakku* was generally a kind of viceroy, under a royal ruler (*lugal-šarru*, 'king'), and took his title from the place which he governed, as *Gudea patesi Lagaš*, 'Gudea, viceroy of Lagaš.'

2. The high-priest.—Several words which may be thus rendered are known. A *šangû rabû* (so L. Delaporte), 'great priest,' is shown on the cylinder-seal published in his 'Cylindres orientaux' (*AMG* xxxiii. [1909]). This object, which is a talisman rather than a seal, shows Aššur-nimeli, the personage in question, standing before Ištar. His costume is that of an Assyrian of the higher class, and he wears wig and beard.

In what way the *šangû rabû* differed from the *šangû dannu*, 'mighty priest,' and from the *šangû-maḫḫu*, 'supreme priest,' is uncertain. In the Šurpu-series of incantations[2] (V./VI. 173) the last-named is spoken of as kindling the fire and the brazier, and throwing therein the means of loosing the spell. He is also spoken of as the holy libation-priest (*ramku ellu*) of Êa, and the messenger of Merodach. As a result of this and similar acts, the man on whose behalf the ceremony was performed would be saved and freed from his sin that very day. Evidently these high-priests had not the power of releasing a man from the effects of his sin, and uttering words of pardon, without these magical ceremonies.

During the period of the Sumerian dynasty of Ur the high-priest, or a similar temple magnate, was called *en*, 'the lord,' and was seemingly appointed by an oracle and invested by the king. Thus the 11th colophon-date of King Dungi records the proclamation of the lord true prince (*en nir-zi*) of Anu and the lord (*en*) of Nannar (the moon-god).[1] These two temple officials were invested two years later (*The Amherst Tablets*, London, 1908, vol. i. p. xiv). Other examples of similar investitures are Dungi's 31st and 46th dates, as calculated by H. Radau, and Bûr-Sin's 4th, 5th, 8th, and 11th, etc. *En* was apparently Semiticized as *ênu*, fem. *êntu*, written in Sum. *nin-dingir*, 'lady of the god' = 'priestess.'

3. The subordinate orders.—Unfortunately no trustworthy list of these exists, so that their rank and consequently their order of precedence are difficult to determine. Certain priests were attached to the palace of the Assyrian king, but, as their order does not coincide with what is given elsewhere, this list is of doubtful authority. We find in it seers, incantation-priests, magians (?), and, apparently, 'inquirers.' Another short list in a letter mentions the *aba*, probably 'temple scribe,' and then 'secretary' in general; the seers; the incantation-priests; the *âsê*, or 'physicians'; and the *dagil iṣṣurê*, or 'bird-prognosticators.' Here the order of their importance seems to be roughly indicated.

4. The priests' clothing, and the perfection of their persons.—Though the priests shown in the early cylinder-seals wear dresses practically identical—a fringed cloak reaching to the feet, leaving the right arm uncovered and therefore free, with bare feet and (generally) shaven head—there seems to be no doubt that distinctive clothing was worn. Thus the British Museum letter K. 626 (R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters*, Chicago, 1910, no. 24) describes the *mašmašu* as wearing a red robe and a mitre of the same colour (Behrens, *Assyrisch-babylonische Briefe kultischen Inhalts*). Details as to priestly clothing are meagre, but apparently the right garments had to be used, or the ceremony would be a failure. A list (*WAI* v. 28) gives the words *puliamu-têdiq bêli*, 'robe of a *bêlu*' (chief priest, Sem. for *en*, above), *ṣubat nikî*, 'dress of the sacrifice,' etc.

To appropriateness of dress was added, at least in the case of the higher orders, the highest perfection of birth and of person. He who aspired to the office of seer (*bârû*) and who was of the everlasting seed of Enweduranki (Euedoreschus, *ERE* vi. 642[b]), 'the king with the woollen garment of Šamaš,' should be the offspring of a parent whose forbear was holy, and he himself should likewise be perfect in form and feature. Such a one only might approach the presence of Šamaš and Adad (the sun-god and the wind-god), the place of the vision and the oracle. One not being thus holy and perfect, defective as to eyes (? squint-eyed), wanting teeth, mutilated of finger, with earth-grey flesh, filled with leprosy, etc., could not be keeper of the decrees of Šamaš and Adad, approach the place of Êa, Šamaš, Merodach, or Nin-êdina, or join the brethren at the decision of the seers. They could not reveal to him the word of the oracle, and he could not hold in his hand 'the cedar beloved of the great gods.'

5. Consecration and tonsure.—There are many references to priestly consecration, but nothing is known as to the distinctive marks which the priests bore. The seal-impressions show that they were often clean shaven, and it seems certain that this was part of the rite of consecration, which was performed by the priestly tonsure-cutter, *šuʾi* (Sum.) or *gallâbu* (Sem.). His work was probably performed before the statue of the deity to whom the

[1] 'Priest' also seems to be expressed by the simple word *âwêlu*, 'man'; cf. Assurbanipal's Cylinder A (col. vii. 48), where Nabû-qâtâ-ṣabat is called *âwêl Sîn*, 'man (priest) of the moon-god.' Awel-Marudak (Evil-Merodach) and many similar names may express the same idea.

[2] H. Zimmern, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der bab. Religion*, pt. i., 'Die Beschwörungstafeln Šurpu,' Leipzig, 1896.

[1] For a parallel cf. the use of the Heb. כֹּהֵן in Gn 14[18] etc.

neophyte was to be dedicated (*PSBA*, 1893, pp. 417–420). The importance of the ceremony is indicated by the fact that even the king might perform it:

'At the beginning of the tonsuring,[1] according to what was their command, (as for) the priest of the house of the junior food-distributor, Sennacherib tonsured him (*ugdallib-šu*)' (Letter K. 122, Harper, no. 43).

This was apparently followed by the giving of the priestly tiara. In another inscription Aššur-banî-âpli, after referring to the appointment of his eldest brother, Šamaš-šum-ukîn (Saosduchinos), to the kingdom of Babylon, states that his younger brother, Aššur-mukîn-palêa, was consecrated to be *uru-gallu* before Aššur, and his third brother, Aššur-êtil-šamê-êršiti-balâṭi-šu, to the same office before the god Sin. The word used is *ugdallib*, 'I (or he) tonsured.'

6. The priesthood and the king.—All the higher priests were naturally in close communication with the court, as many documents, especially the Babylonian and Assyrian letters, show. As has been foreshadowed in § 1, the king himself was (perhaps always) the great high-priest. His position as head of the State, however, must have prevented him from fulfilling many of his priestly functions, except those which had to do with his royal position. Specialists among the various orders of priests had naturally to instruct him with regard to the things which he could not go into thoroughly—lucky and unlucky days, celestial and terrestrial omens, the tablets to be used at the various ceremonies, and the time required for the performance of the rites, which sometimes extended over many days. The tall tiara which the king wore, and the cord behind, which, arising from its highest point, descended, in the case of the Babylonian rulers, to the hem of his robe, were also, probably, priestly signs or necessary portions of their dress. The cord probably has some analogy to that worn by the Parsis under their clothing.

7. The priesthood and the people.—Not less important was the connexion of the priesthood with the people, who were not only its justification, but also its main support. As intermediaries between the gods and the people, in sacrifice, propitiation, penitence, prayer, and oracle, they were the interpreters of all the religious texts, expounders of omens, and indicators of lucky and unlucky days and seasons. It is uncertain whether the judges were of priestly rank or not, but the priesthood had also much to do not only with the interpretation of moral and religious law, but also with many of the civil enactments.

That laymen, and even slaves, could take part in the temple services is shown by Harper's Letter no. 368, where we read that Ninqaya, the handmaid of the king's mother, is not suitable for the service (worship):

'She shall not enter (therein). As the mother of the king, my lord says, let her open the (money-) chest, let her perform the service.'

In other words, she had money, and could make a gift; let her do so, and then take part in the worship. Another letter asks the king whether certain women might enter the temple and take part in the worship, and, if so, would the king's instructions apply to a slave-woman who was with them. It seems probable that the ordinary citizen was merely a tithe-payer, and that the very poor and the landless gave labour. It is not impossible that certain of the more intelligent of the laity were initiated into the mysteries which the tablets show to have been common in the higher orders of the priesthood.

Besides offering sacrifices, the priests conducted the services, and arranged the *lectisternia*, or tables of offerings to the gods. It was also the duty of some of them to receive the tithes, and to certify that they had been paid (the tablets referring to these are very numerous during the early period). Some of them looked after the temple itself, while others arranged for the services and the processions. What proportion of the offerings the priesthood took for itself is uncertain, but, as the temples became enormously rich, there is no doubt that the priests who served them lived on the fat of the land, and even grew very wealthy. In their position, however, the possession of private means must have been a matter of indifference for all but the most avaricious, but many passed on what they could not use themselves to their family, relatives, or friends (cf. Bel and the Dragon, 19ff.).

8. The mâšu and mašmašu.—That these two classes of priests were closely allied is proved by the fact that the Sum. *maš* and *mašmaš* were both reproduced by the Sem. simple form *mâšu*. The *mašmašu* was the priest who had especially to do with ceremonies and ritual. He anointed the king's head, consecrated his couch, and drove forth the evil which had made its home in the royal abode. After this ceremony a procession was formed, in which torches and a lamb for sacrifice were carried, and it was the custom on these occasions to offer likewise many natural products. After the sacrifice came the purification of the palace. It was also the duty of the *mašmašu* to pronounce numerous incantations on these ceremonial occasions. The order seems to have been classed with that of the *bārē*, 'seers,' and the *âsē*, 'physicians.'

In Letter no. 23 of Harper a *mašmašu* is referred to as not having taken the tablets of the series 'the unpropitious day, the day not good: hand-raising,' *i.e.* 'act(s) of prayer.' These were apparently documents which he should have used in certain ceremonies. In Letter no. 118 *mašmašē* seem to be spoken of in connexion with the instruction of certain persons in the ceremonies. The writer, Arad-Gula, may have been a member of this order.

9. The ašipu.—Like the *mâšu* and the *mašmašu*, the *ašipu* was also one of the most important priests of the Babylonian hierarchy. The duty of the order was to make incantations, either for imposing a spell or for releasing a man therefrom. The latter is referred to in the book of the Babylonian Job, 'Lidlul the Sage,' and from the same work it seems that he was able to diagnose in cases of illness (Jastrow, *Die Rel. Babyloniens und Assyriens*, ii. 129. 5)—an indication that he belonged to the physician class. Another form of his name, apparently, is *išippu*, from the Sum. *išib*, and under that title the tablets refer to the *išippu ša ašnan*, 'grain- (or wheat-) magician.' The incantation-series Šurpu seems to indicate that there were priestesses of this class (*sal išib* = *âšiptu*, viii. 52). The lists indicate that the *ašipu* was also a *pašîšu*, 'anointer,' as well as a *bārû*, 'seer.' *Ašipu* is represented in Heb. by אָשַׁף, *aššāph*, from the same root (Dn 1^{20}, etc.). See *HDB* iii. 210.

10. The uru-gallu. — As this word translates the Sum. *mašmaš*, which is also rendered *mâšu*, the priest indicated seems to have been one of the same class. The meaning of the word is 'great protector,' and it seems to indicate several groups. A portion of his duties (those connected with the New Year festivities) had to be performed during the night:

'In Nisan, day 2nd, for an hour (double hour) of the night the *uru-gallu* shall rise up, and shall pour out the waters from the river (the Euphrates). He shall enter before Bel (Merodach). He shall let down the curtain (*gâdalalu*)—he shall utter this prayer before Bel.'

[1] *Gallubu*; but perhaps this word here means the whole ceremony, in which case the rendering would be 'consecration.'

Here follow the words of the supplication, in couplets, the first line Sumerian, and the second Babylonian in each case (see *ERE* vii. 3[a]). As priest of the temple of Belus (Ê-sagila, Merodach's temple), the *uru-gallu* glorified this god as 'the fortunate king, lord of the world, glorying in his strength,' etc. He ends his prayer by asking the god's favour on his city Babylon, and on Ê-sagila, his temple. As indicated above (§ 5), Aššur-banî-âpli's younger brother, Aššur-mukîn-palêa, was appointed to the position of *uru-gallu* of (apparently) the god Aššur.

11. The ša'ilu.—There is much doubt as to the real meaning of this word. Interpretations given are 'man of god' and 'man of the spell.' In both cases, however, a phrase like *âwêl ša'ili* would be expected, at least for the second alternative. Another word for this priest was *ensi* (Sum. and Sem.), rendering the characters *en-me-gub*, 'lord of the holy incantation,' or the like. His special province seems to have been the interpretation of dreams (see Zimmern, *ZA* iii. [1888] 233). His duties, however, as indicated by Lidlul the Sage, included offerings:

'The *ša'ilu* did not bring forward my cause by an offering.'

Modifications of the ideographic writing expressed the Sum. *engima* and *endib*, translated by *ša'ilu* and a word which Zimmern completes as *nuḫatimmu* and translates 'baker.' This, however, is doubtful, the more probable rendering being 'food-distributor,' or the like. The feminine is *ša'iltu*.

12. The pašîšu.—This was the 'anointing priest,' though the duty of anointing was apparently not confined to any one class. That early type of Noah, Zi-ûsuddu (Σισυθης in Lucian, *de Dea Syria*, xii.), is described as having belonged to this order, as did Adapa (*ERE* vi. 644). Jensen renders the word as 'the anointed one,' but there is no doubt that the real meaning is 'anointing priest,' or the like.[1] Divine priests of this class were regarded as dwelling in the Abyss (*pašiš apsî*, 'anointers of the Apsû'). As it was the custom to cleanse with oil the foundation-memorials of the Assyrian kings when restorations of buildings were made, the king himself, to judge from the inscriptions, acted as anointer, and may have been regarded, like the pre-historic rulers, as belonging to this same priestly order. Whether the *pašîšu*, who was not of royal race, anointed the palace foundation-stones or not is uncertain and unlikely.

The above deals with the Sum. group provisionally read *aḫ-me*, but *pašîšu* also renders the Sum. *laḫ* and *mar-maḫ*. *Laḫ* (*laḫḫa*) apparently means 'cleanser,' and then also 'anointer' for the purpose of producing some undesirable effect on a person believed to be hostile (see K. L. Tallqvist, *Die assyr. Beschwörungsserie Maqlû*, Leipzig, 1895, vi. 102 ff., 110 ff., where the fem. *pašîštu* occurs). These, however, were probably not the priestly anointers, but belonged to the sorcerer class.

13. The sukkallu.—This word, which comes from the Sumerian, is generally translated 'messenger' or 'minister' (of a god, etc.). There were many classes of *sukkallu*, with duties correspondingly various. As the ideograph expressing this office is *laḫ*, his work may have been originally analogous to that of the *pašîšu*, and, for this reason, he was regarded as an 'anointer.' The Babylonian physician, *âsû*, also called himself *sukkallu*, probably because anointing formed part of the medical treatment. In the sense of 'minister,' numerous gods bore the title or the name of Sukkallu (see § 23, below).

In W. Hayes Ward's *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, Washington, 1910, no. 52b, Uru-Nanpar appears as the *sukkal-maḫ* of the Babylonian (Urite) king Su-Sin (c. 2500 B.C.). The seal shows him shaven, thus indicating his priestly position.

[1] An 'anointer,' however, would probably be himself 'anointed' at (it may be supposed) his consecration.

14. The kisal-laḫ.—Semiticized as *kisal-laḫḫu*, this may be classed among the minor orders. The etymology of the word is *kisal*, 'oil-place,' and the above-named *laḫ*, 'to cleanse.' His duties must therefore have been similar to those of the *pašîšu* and the *sukkallu*, and he may have assisted the king on the occasion of his official building-consecrations.

15. The surru.—Priests bearing this title apparently belonged to one of the most important of the Babylonian sacerdotal classes, and might even aspire to the high-priesthood, as is indicated by the fact that the *sura-maḫ* is once rendered in Bab. as *šangamaḫḫu*, 'high-priest' (see § 2). The lists give also the word *sura-gal* (Sum.), 'great *surru*' (*WAI* ii. 21. 41, 46, 47c). The *surru* probably belonged to the highest class of the musician priests, as represented by the *kalû* (see § 16). Though read *šangamaḫ(ḫ)u*, it is really the *suramaḫu* who is spoken of as kindling the fire and the brazier (§ 2). In the list of priests, *WAI* ii. 32. 9, either as *suramaḫu* or as *šangamaḫu*, he is mentioned between the 'libationer' (*ramku*) and the *mašmašu* (see § 8).

16. The kalû.—A Semiticized form of the Sum. *gal*, dialectic *mulu*, this, like *surru*, stood for a variety of offices. From the inscriptions and the bilingual lists it is clear that he was, like the *surru*, a singer, a worker (? of ceremonies, *ga-ga*, dialectic *ma-ma*), an utterer of lamentation (*ir*), Anu's (or god's) fortress (*bad ana* or *bad dingira*), and the invoker of the oracle (*nunuz-pâ=ṭamû pirišti*). *Kalû* also explains the Sum. groups *sura* and *sura-gal*, 'great *surru*' (see § 15).

Besides being the temple singer, the *kalû* wrote astrological reports, with, probably, the forecasts derived therefrom; and the ceremony of making offerings was also part of his duty. In connexion with his musical duties, it is noteworthy that the god Êa, as patron of their order, bore the name of Lumḫa, the ideogram expressing which is regarded as a wedge-formed picture of a musical instrument, the lyre.

17. The nâru. — This was apparently the musician-priest *par excellence*. The god Êa is said to have had a special *nâru* of his own named Ḫasisu, 'the wise one,' and as the god of the *nârê* Êa bore the name of Dunga. They seem to have joined in the lamentations, and thus were classed with the mourners.

For representations of priests of this class (they were shaven), see Earl of Southesk's *Catalogue of Collection of Antique Gems*, London, 1908, ii. 64, and L. de Clercq, *Catalogue*, Paris, 1887 ff., no. 101. The *nârê* and *nârâte* of the historical inscriptions, like those sent to Sennacherib by Hezekiah, were evidently not connected with the temple services. See Music (Babylonian).

18. The gallâbu.—For the work of this priest see § 5, from which it would appear that the rite performed by him, which formed an essential part of priestly consecration, was sometimes, either wholly or in part, undertaken by the king. The *gallâbu* and the *âsû* carried the implements of their profession in cases of skin or leather (*WAI* v. 1. 2 ff.).

19. The bârû.—This was the most important or one of the most important of the orders of seers. Their duties are indicated shortly by Lidlul the Sage:

'The *bârû* forecast not the future by soothsaying.' 'The *bârû* has taken my forecasts away' (Jastrow, ii. 125, 169, 129, 4).

The Sum. corresponding word is *gaššu*, attached to a character with the general meaning of 'to pierce,' 'to open.' The bilingual lists give, as the groups which may express this word, the Sum. *uzu, azu*, 'physician'; *azu, zalzu, mezu*, meaning respectively 'water-knowing,' 'oil-knowing,' and 'voice-knowing,' the last referring, probably, to supernatural vocal revelations. Another group

means 'he who explains an oracle (or vision).' As indicated by Lidlul, his duty was to direct men by visions—*bārû ina biri ul uštēšir-šu*, 'the seer has not directed him (the troubled one) by a vision' (*WAI* iv. 22, 42b). To all appearance the *bārû* corresponds with the 'seer' of the Hebrews (*ḥozeh, roeh*).

The above descriptions of his duties corresponded with those of the חַרְטֻמִּים, *ḥarṭummim*, of the OT (Gn 41[8], etc.), but he had other duties of greater importance and dignity. Thus Martin's *Textes religieux* pictures him to us in the assembly of the other members of the order, when, raising a branch, he intoned the incantation beginning

'Šamaš and Adad, arise. In my supplication, the raising of my hands, whatever I do, let the invocation which I offer be the truth.'

When the presages were not satisfactory, and the god did not answer, he had to perform the ceremony of 'washing the mouth,' pronouncing afterwards the following prayer:

'Šamaš, lord of judgment, Adad, lord of the oracle, I bring you, I offer you, a pure fawn, the young of the gazelle, whose eyes are bright, face perfect, hoofs without defect.' (Here follows a list of the innocent pleasures which the fawn has enjoyed.) 'He does not yet know the stag's desire, and I offer him to you.

Samaš, Adad, arise, and in my supplication, in the raising of my hands, whatever I do, let the invocation which I offer be the truth.'

Priestly supplication was generally accompanied by the lifting of the hands. They seem not to have been raised on high, but simply to the level of the face, with the finger-tips approaching.

The rites accompanying the duties of the *bārû* were very numerous, as might be expected from priests of such ancient origin and important functions.

20. The abarakku.—Closely connected with the functions of the *bārû* were those of the *abarakku*, of whom, however, very little can be said. The word is written with the same character as is used for *îttu*, 'sign,' 'omen,' and the like, and was pronounced in Sum. *isikim*. A mutilated explanation implies also that it was rendered by *bārû*, 'seer.'

Abarakku is probably the אַבְרֵךְ, *abrek*, of Gn 41[43], and, if so, the proclamation made by the Egyptian heralds did not mean 'bow the knee,' but 'the (great) seer,' or the like. The existence of the word in Hebrew is due to Babylonian influence. It is doubtful whether the similar word *abriqqu*, from the Sum. *abrig*, has anything to do with this; but it may be noted that the last is expressed by the characters *nun-me-du*, 'prince (divine), command bringing,' or the like.

21. The âsû.—There may be some doubt as to this being a priestly order, but the leech in ancient times was so important that the Babylonian priesthood can hardly have failed to include the professors of the healing art among them. Nevertheless, in Ḫammurabi's Code, they came under the severest clauses of the *lex talionis*—a fact which may be taken to show that priests in general were not a privileged class before the law.

The etymology of *âsû* is interesting, as it comes from the Sum. *azu*, meaning, probably, 'water-knowing,' either from the medical 'waters' that he used or from the knowledge that he was supposed to have of the fluids of the body. Other Sum. words translated by *âsû* were *nizu* or *zalzu*, 'oil-knowing,' and *mezu* or *išibzu*, 'voice-knowing' or 'incantation-knowing' (see § 19). As *azu* also stands for *bārû*, 'seer' (§ 19), it is clear that he belonged to the same class of temple-official.

The severity of the *lex talionis* under which they practised proves that a knowledge of surgery was expected of them (see *ERE* iv. 259 f.). Herodotus (i. 197) says that the Babylonians made no use of physicians, as the people trusted to the advice of those who had already suffered from the maladies which afflicted them. The inhabitants of the capital at least therefore seem to have had unsatisfactory experience of their healing powers. The Assyrians, however, had not come to this conclusion, as many tablets (some of them letters) show. *Âsû* has passed into Heb.-Aramaic as אָסָא, *âsâ*, with derivatives.

It is possible that the *mugu* was also a physician (Harper, no. 108, rev. 3). The *rab-mugi* is probably the *rab-mag* of Jer 39 (Gr. 46)[3].

22. Other priestly classes.—Whether the *aba*, which is a similar formation to *azu*=*âsû*, was a priestly class or not is uncertain. It might be translated 'water- [*i.e.* medicine-] giver.' As a rule, he was a scribe or secretary (in Harper's 33rd Letter he heads a short list of priests). It is probably on account of his apparently secretarial duties that he has been regarded as one of the classes of scribes, *ṭupšarru*, the *ṭipsar* of Jer 51[27] and Nah 3[17]. Notwithstanding their various secular occupations, the scribes were often priests. Considerations of space prevent notice of various other priestly titles, but it is necessary to add to the list the temple-officials designated by the Sum. *tu-ê*, 'temple visitor,' or the like (*tu*, 'to enter'+ *ê*, 'house' or 'temple'). They had apparently considerable power, but it is not known in what their great influence originated. One of these, Nabû-šum-ukin, attached to the great temple of Nebo at Borsippa, married Gigîtu[m], daughter of Neriglissar (see *RP* II. iv. [1890] 101 ff.).

23. The heavenly hierarchy. — Though the priestly titles of the gods of the Babylonian pantheon were imitated from those of their earthly priesthood, it is probable that the Babylonians regarded the reverse as being the case. Thus Engur, mother of Êa, was the true *abrakkatu* (§ 20) of the heavenly (and the earthly) *ê-kura*, or temple; Nin-šaḫ was the supreme messenger or minister (*sukkal-maḫ*) of Anu, the god of the heavens; Eninna-ni-zi was the *sukkallu* of En-Urta ('Ninip'), one of the gods of healing; Azagasud was the *sura* (§ 15) of Enlilla, etc. All, or nearly all, of the great deities had their *sukkalê*, and Šamaš, the sun-god, had several—he of the right, he of the left, the one who was supreme (*maḫ*), and two *sukkal ša-kuššа*, 'heart-resting.' He had also a *gallābu* (§ 18), one who shore him (of his rays), either when he set or when he was eclipsed. The name of this deity was Engana, 'lord of repose,' or the like.

The great god of the various orders of priests seems to have been Êa, who was patron of the *kalê*, 'chanters,' *nârê*, 'musicians,' *âšipê*, 'incantation-makers,' *bârê*, 'seers,' *ṭupšarrê*, 'scribes,' *âsê*, 'physicians,' and *gallābê*, priestly tonsure-cutters.

The abode of Ereš-ki-gal or Allatu[m], goddess of the under world, was regarded as similarly organized. Namtar, or 'Fate,' was the goddess's *sukkalu*, and she had, as well, a divine (? and priestly) food-distributor (*mu* or *mu-ḫaltimmu*). The lists of gods also give certain divine titles, which may be priestly, but are not represented on earth.

LITERATURE.—Morris Jastrow, *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, Giessen, 1905–12; E. Behrens, *Assyrisch-babylonische Briefe kultischen Inhalts*, Leipzig, 1906; and the special lexical articles in F. Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, Leipzig, 1890; and W. Muss-Arnolt, *Concise Dict. of the Assyrian Language*, Berlin, 1905. As the subject is a very extensive one, notes on priestly titles are scattered throughout recent Assyro-Babylonian literature, the most noteworthy being F. Martin, *Textes religieux assyriens et babyloniens*, 1st ser., Paris, 1903.

T. G. PINCHES.

PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD (Buddhist).—For all purposes, ecclesiastical and social, the priesthood in Buddhism is conterminous with the order of monks (Saṅgha). Every ordained member of the Saṅgha is qualified to act as priest, and to perform those duties which in Buddhism may be considered to attach to the office. Of priestly function, however, in the narrower, more restricted sense of the term with which Western ecclesiastical

history is familiar, Buddhism knows nothing. The monk or priest, in so far as he has obligations and duties towards the laity, is the servant of all, for their edification and conversion. His relation to them is that of a minister to their religious necessities, and a confidant and guide on all the critical occasions of life, as they on their side serve his temporal needs and provide him with the requisite minimum of food and clothing. In neither of the great schools of the North and the South is there any suggestion of the thought that through a human intermediary man may or must approach unto God; and Buddhism has no order or ritual of sacrifice to require the services of an officiating priest with expert knowledge of the modes and significance of the rites. Whether, as in the Hīnayāna, in theory at least a man must rely solely upon his own endeavours and virtues to achieve salvation, or, as in the Mahāyāna, upon the merits and assistance of powerful *bodhisattvas* to sustain his faltering and wayward steps and to bring him to his goal, in neither case is deliverance through or by a human priest.

This was the view consistently adopted and enforced by Gautama Buddha himself, if the Pāli books rightly interpret the tenor of his directions and teaching. After his death the Law which he had given to his disciples was to be their guide. Each man might gain a knowledge of the truth by his own insight and exertions, as the Buddha himself had done; and there was no other road to emancipation and rest. If, however, the Mahāyānist teachers are right in maintaining the fundamentally mystical and esoteric character of his later instructions, he himself made provision for effectual external aid to be at the disposal of all who sought deliverance from suffering and wrong; but that deliverance was from a superior divine source and not mediated through a man.

The offices, therefore, which the Buddhist priests undertake for the laity are chiefly those of reading and exposition of the Scriptures. In most of the monasteries also, especially in Burma, instruction is given by the older monks or those appointed for the purpose in the elements of secular learning and the simpler doctrines of the faith together with narrative of the life or lives of the Buddha. In this service the Buddhist priests have been for many centuries the national schoolmasters; and in most Buddhist countries, except as undertaken and forwarded by European government authority or missionary enterprise, no other teaching has been available. On all important occasions, moreover, in the private life of the people, at marriages and births and especially in cases of sickness, the priest is summoned to perform ceremonies and prophylactic rites, to pronounce incantations, and by recitation of sacred texts to expel and keep at a distance evil influences. In some instances simple remedies may be applied. For the most part it is only in Vassa that formal exhortations or orations are made. The practice varies, however, in the different lands in which Buddhism prevails. Usually also the sermons or discourses are delivered not in the temples, which the laity are not expected to frequent for that purpose, but in private houses or in halls erected or lent for the occasion. The preaching work of the early itinerating monks seems to have been done to a large extent in the open air; but this practice obtains little if at all at the present day.

The services within the temples themselves can hardly be said to call for the exercise of any priestly function. They consist for the most part of invocation and recitations, in which all the resident members of the monastery share, but the laity are not present, unless as accidental spectators. The latter frequent the temples for worship and to present their offerings individually or in small groups. There are no general assemblies or combined devotional services. At the principal service of the day the senior monk or another to whom the duty is delegated will deliver a sermon or exposition on Buddhist doctrine or ethics; he acts, however, less by virtue of his position or office as priest than on account of the superior knowledge with which he is credited. From him the junior monks may expect to receive instruction in the right way of life. In his private capacity also the priest will give advice, and receives confessions.

The most elaborate ceremonial and suggestive ritual is to be found in Tibet. Here, at a service that has derived some at least of its main features from Christian example and the commemorative observance of the Last Supper, the Buddhist Lāma officiates as priest. Formal Buddhism, however, owns no doctrine of sacrifice or propitiatory offering. The Lāmaism of Tibet is Buddhist in little more than name, and the Lāma priest of high rank is endowed with more of priestly function and consideration than the Buddhist monk of other lands. The services in the temple include formal and elaborate liturgies, in addition to the ordinary recitations and instruction. At the frequent festivals the ritual observed is often intricate as well as highly ornate. Extra services also are held at the request of laymen, for which payment is made in the form of gifts to the monastery, the merit of which accrues to the donor. To a considerable extent these practices have been derived from the West through the agency of early Nestorian missionaries. The monks also visit the houses of the laity to perform ceremonies and to read portions of the Buddhist sacred books.

Among the various peoples professing the faith there is no great difference in the offices thus undertaken by the Buddhist priests. Recitation of the Scriptures and more or less formal and regular discourses in the temples on the topics of the Buddhist religion form the larger part of their recognized duties. Moreover, in all the northern countries at least Buddhist usage and ceremonial have been to a considerable extent modified, as in Tibet, by indigenous beliefs and practices. With this one exception the process has advanced farthest perhaps in China, where Buddhist and Taoist priests interchange facilities and mutually officiate in the temples of either faith. Chinese monks conduct the services and perform their duties in a very perfunctory manner. The Japanese priests, on the contrary, are alert and intelligent, often well-read and interested in the history and doctrines of their sect, and punctiliously observant of the duties that are incumbent upon them. In some sects they add to their other services that of an active missionary propaganda in defence of the faith. Between the Shintōist and Buddhist priests no interchange of ministry or office takes place at the present time, and the demarcation in manners and appearance, as in duty and ceremonial, is complete. The relations formerly must have been much more intimate and friendly, and Buddhism has taken over from the national faith functions which would seem to be entirely incompatible with its principles and creed. At funerals especially Buddhist priests are summoned to officiate; on the other hand, at marriages and births, on the more joyous occasions of the family life, the services of the Shintō clergy are in request. In the presentation of the ancestral offerings also the Buddhist priesthood takes an active and recognized part. The equipment and dress of the monks is similar to that found in China, and the same practice of branding at initiation into the order prevails. Whereas,

however, in China the branding is upon the shaven head, in Japan the mark is made upon the arm of the monk.

It is in Korea that the priesthood holds a position of least prominence, having maintained little authority or dignity. It was otherwise in the earlier centuries of the history of the country, when Buddhist priests took a leading part in the political as well as in the religious control of the people. More recently their influence diminished, and for a long time they have had little interest or concern in the national life. Their numbers do not increase, they live apart from the people, and are little honoured or consulted.

The service of the priest or monk therefore in Buddhism has been closely determined by the origin and early history of the faith, and, except where other conditions have been imposed by its environment, has not travelled beyond those limits. The absence of a doctrine of sacrifice, or of any recognized belief in a future life beyond this world, has necessarily placed a hindrance in the way of the development of a priestly office, and has retarded or altogether checked the growth of any felt need for the ministry of the priest. Notwithstanding, the Buddhist priest, although to a less extent than in Christianity or Hinduism or some other faiths, has a real place among his people, and his office carries with it prerogatives and an influence that are of much importance. It is true that the honour paid to his office has not always, any more than in other countries, been transferred to his person; and the order is sometimes recruited, as in China, from the lower classes of the population. There can be little doubt, however, that the ascendancy of the priest or monk has been a real and perhaps decisive factor in the history and development of the Buddhist religion.

LITERATURE.—R. S. Copleston, *Buddhism in Magadha and Ceylon*[2], London, 1908; J. Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*[2], do. 1893; H. Hackmann, *Buddhism as a Religion*, Eng. tr., do. 1910; R. F. Johnston, *Buddhist China*, do. 1913; H. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, Strassburg, 1896; M. Monier-Williams, *Buddhism*, London, 1889; K. J. Saunders, *The Story of Buddhism*, Oxford, 1916; Shway Yoe (J. G. Scott), *The Burman: His Life and Notions*[3], London, 1910; L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lāmaism*, do. 1895; see also art. MONASTICISM (Buddhist).

A. S. GEDEN.

PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD (Chinese). — The statement, which is so commonly made, that there are three religions in China is apt to convey a very misleading idea of the religious state of that country. Setting aside the members of the various Christian churches, and the adherents of Judaism and Islām, and perhaps the Buddhist monks and nuns, it would be hard to describe the average Chinaman as being an exclusive adherent of any of the three systems which are usually called the three religions of China—Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism. It would scarcely be too much to say that the basis of his religion is practically the same as that of his ancestors in the days before any of the three teachers from whom these systems professedly derive their origins had been born. As a clearly defined physical type of man has been in occupation of Eastern Asia since pre-historic times, so certain elements in the religious stratification of that area appear to have remained unchanged for an immense period. These elements are shamanism (*q.v.*) and ancestor-worship (see art. COMMUNION WITH THE DEAD [Chinese]). When we first meet with the Chinese, we find them practising shamanistic rites and paying honour to their ancestors, though in addition there appears to have existed belief in a supreme being. Under the Chou dynasty (1122–249 B.C.), when we are beginning to touch firmer ground, there appeared two remarkable ethical teachers, Confucius (551–478 B.C.) and Lao-tse, his elder contemporary, and a somewhat more shadowy personality, whose teaching exercised a great influence on the subsequent development of Chinese religion. It became separated into two currents: Confucianism, which is more correctly described as a moral than as a religious system, becomes the basis of the state cultus (for the sacerdotal functions performed by the emperor before the fall of the Manchu dynasty in 1912 see art. CONFUCIAN RELIGION); and Taoism, the more popular current, becomes to a large extent identified with the shamanistic substratum of Chinese religion, which de Groot terms 'universal animism,'[1] or the worship of the *shen*, departmental spirits animating the various parts of the universe. In the 1st cent. of the Christian era Chinese religion became profoundly modified by the advent of Buddhism, which now became influential in its northern form, the Mahāyāna, or 'Great Vehicle,' during the reign of the emperor Ming-ti (A.D. 58–76), though the first missionaries of the Indian faith may have reached China as early as 217 B.C. From Buddhism the national religion of Taoism borrowed the conception of monasticism, which now became acclimatized on Chinese soil by the votaries of the two faiths.

1. Primitive shamanistic priesthood.—From the earliest times there appear to have existed in China persons of both sexes credited with the possession of *mana*, or spiritual power (see art. MANA), of a kind found all over the world, which enabled them to wield extraordinary powers in the spirit-world. These shamans are for the most part to be identified with the *wu*, exorcists, mentioned in very early literary records. From the *Shu king*, or 'Canon of History,' it appears that they were entirely possessed by spirits of *yang* material, which represents the principle of light and warmth, according to the primitive dualist philosophy of the Chinese (see art. COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY [Chinese]). Their functions appear to have been threefold: (*a*) invocation of the spirits of the dead for the purpose of inducing them to partake of offerings; (*b*) prophecy by means of knowledge obtained from the possessing spirits; (*c*) exorcism of all evil; this they accomplished in virtue of the *yang* power which resided in them and enabled them to neutralize the *yin* element, or element of darkness. In this capacity they would accompany potentates when entering a house of death. Ch. xii. leaf 46, of the *Lī kī*, or 'Treatises on Ceremonial Usages,' says:

'When a ruler goes to the funeral rites of a minister, he has with him a *wu* and an invoker, holding respectively a piece of peachwood and reeds.' (The peach-tree was believed to be a source of terror to ghosts, and the bundle of reeds has a magical significance, being employed for the purpose of sweeping away evil.)

The *Cheu li*, or 'Book of Institutions of the Cheu Dynasty,' ch. xxv. leaves 30 and 39, says:

'When the sovereign pays a visit of condolence, the invoker for the funeral rites marches in front of him, in company of the *wu*'; and 'the male *wu* on the same occasion walks ahead of him with the invoker.'

In the time of the Shang dynasty (1766–1122 B.C.) these *wu* appear to have been a kind of order of singing and dancing dervishes. They danced at sacrifices to secure rain.

'At the altars raised to pray and sacrifice for rain,' says de Groot, 'the priestesses, representing the Yin or female part of the Universal Order, to which clouds and water belong, performed dances; and when disasters prevailed, they conjured the gods by means of chants expressive of grief and distress.'[2]

The early texts appear to suggest that the *wu* were the Chinese representatives of a primitive animistic priesthood found all over Asia, such as the dervish of Muhammadan countries, the Indian *faqīr*, and the shaman of the Siberian aborigines. When 'possessed,' they suffer convulsions and distortions. The possessing spirit is believed to endow them with the power of second sight and of

[1] *The Religious System of China*, vi. 1188. [2] vi. 1190.

exorcizing spectres. Some ancient texts refer to the male *wu* as *hih*. They also mention a class of persons called *chuh*, *i.e.* invokers or conjurers. In texts of the Han dynasty (*c.* 200 B.C.–A.D. 200) the expression *wu-chuh* occurs, thus indicating that the functions of the two classes had become assimilated. The *wu* were frequently employed by the emperors of this dynasty. Since disease was popularly ascribed to demoniacal possession, the *wu*, being exorcists, were much sought after as physicians. In this capacity they were employed in the 4th cent. A.D. to chase away foxes and lizards, which were believed to bring disease. What gave the *wu* their greatest influence, however, appears to have been the fact that in their mediumistic capacity they claimed to reveal to their clients the wishes of their departed ancestors. The southern provinces have always been the great stronghold of *wu*-ism. Its influence with women was enormous, and probably in early times there were more female than male *wu*. Any woman, married or unmarried, who felt herself capable of becoming a medium could do so. A state of ecstasy was induced by dancing, and perpetuated by monotonous music and the beating of drums. At certain periods *wu*-ism constituted a grave political danger, and, under the influence of its representatives, mandarins were induced to plot against the emperor. Its social influence was, moreover, so great that it led to the complete transgression of the canons of Confucian morality, by which women were forbidden to appear in public in the presence of men. Repressive edicts against *wu*-ism were therefore not infrequent. The *wu* were often employed as exorcists by the Tatar dynasty of Liao, but under the Ming dynasty which succeeded it (1368–1643) vigorous measures were adopted against them. Texts of the Ming period make it clear that the *wu* had temples and images of their own gods, to whom they offered sacrifice. They were no doubt the same as the thousands of village-temples existing in China at the present day. In all ages the *wu* appear to have been paid for their services in employing spells, and also for the crime of 'life-plucking,' *i.e.* dismembering a living body for the purpose of sorcery. At the present time their functions fall into three classes: (1) clairvoyance and soothsaying; (2) exorcism; (3) sacrificial work, with invocation and conjuration. Formerly there existed a division of labour, one class exercising each of these three functions separately, and this condition still exists in the province of Fukien and on Amoy Island. All over China, however, there is found a class of so-called *sai-kong*, which is almost exclusively occupied with sacrificial work and magical exorcism. In popular estimation this class is the most important branch of the *wu*-ist priesthood. The *sai-kong*, who are permitted to marry, wear no distinctive costume. Their houses are indicated to clients by sign-boards, on which are written the characters, 'There is a Taoist altar here,' showing that they regard themselves as Taoist priests.

In practice the *wu*-ist priesthood is more or less hereditary; it is usual for every *sai-kong* to design one of his sons for his own profession, as he does not like to initiate strangers into its *arcana*.

Before initiation the prospective *sai-kong* undergoes a fast or vigil. When the hour for the ceremony arrives, attired in clean underwear beneath a sacrificial robe, and with bare feet, he is carried on some one's back to the temple in which it is to take place. The reason for his being carried is that the earth is a great repository of *yin* substance, and contact with it might therefore be dangerous, as it might neutralize the *yang* substance within him. The ceremony of initiation is performed by a *wu* of advanced age, who is known as a *kao tsa*, 'chief of religion.' The chief portion of the ceremony of initiation consists in the candidate undergoing the ordeal of climbing a *to t'ui*, or ladder which has swords with the blades placed upwards for its rungs. While he undergoes this ordeal, a bundle of baby-clothes and some paper charms are fastened on his back; the latter he throws down when he reaches the top of the ladder, and the former are restored to their owner at the conclusion of the ceremony. After the ordeal of ladder-climbing is over, the neophyte kneels before the chief to receive the joyful news that he is now a fully qualified *sai-kong*. His influence will be proportionate to the number of rungs which he has mounted.

No *sai-kong* may adopt more than one pupil to succeed him in his profession. Each has a State diploma granting him permission to exercise its functions. This must be registered by the prefect and a fee must be paid. In Amoy the *sai-kong* belong to a club to which each member is bound to contribute, and has the privilege of drawing upon it in time of illness. A *sai-kong* will call himself a *tao shi*, or Taoist doctor, and most of his ritual is Taoistic in character. The work of the *sai-kong* is the propitiation of the gods, who constitute the *yang* part of the universe. The line of demarcation between *wu*-ism and Taoism is ill-defined. It was from the *wu* that the *tao shi* derived the art of exorcism.

'The difference between the tao shi and the wu class,' says de Groot, 'was finally effaced entirely when the older part of the function of the tao shi, viz. assimilation with the Tao by mental and bodily discipline in seclusion, was discarded, being incapable of being maintained by them against the competition of Buddhist monasticism, and against the oppression of ascetic and conventual life by the Confucian State.'[1]

A respectable *sai-kong* accepts what his employer offers him in the shape of money or kind in return for his professional services, but never demands payment. In officiating at religious ceremonies the *sai-kong* wears a square silk garment, resembling a chasuble in being without sleeves, and embroidered on the back. It is of magical significance, representing the shape of the earth according to primitive Chinese philosophy, and invests the wearer with the power of the order of the world or *Tao*, and enables him to restore that order. It is called *tō pō*, 'gown of the *Tao*.'

There exists also a class of youths known popularly as *ki-tong*, 'divining youths.' They are believed to possess *shen*. They usually acquire it at a religious ceremony in a temple, at which they suddenly begin to hop and dance, making strange gestures. When a youth behaves in this way, the bystanders realize that he has become 'possessed.' The case is investigated by a *sai-kong*, and the possessed youth begins to form a clientele, who employ him as a medium. The *ki-tong* are employed as exorcists. When an epidemic prevails, they are organized into processions, in which, stripped to the waist, and covered with blood flowing from self-inflicted wounds, they indulge in frantic dancing. They have even been seen carrying heavy pewter lamps, fastened to hooks thrust through their arms. Female *wu* are frequently mentioned in Chinese texts subsequent to the Han dynasty. De Groot knows of no female *sai-kong* in the Amoy district. Women, however, participate in other kinds of *wu*-ist work.

2. The priesthood in the State religion.—We learn from the *Cheu li* that at the time of its composition the *wu* were not the only priesthood in China; there was also a body of officials charged with the performance of rites and ceremonies, among which those connected with the State religion were the most important.

'Under the direction of a Minister, entitled Ta tsung poh or Superintendent of the Ancestry, . . . those officers had to direct the erection and conservation of the temples and altars of the State and the mausolea and tombs of the reigning House, furthermore, the celebration of sacrifices with music and dances, victims and implements, besides the funeral rites in the royal family, divination and auguration, etc. This ministerial department was undeniably a priesthood of Universal Animism, the gods whose worship they had to maintain and regulate being the shen which animate Heaven and Earth and their constituent parts and phenomena, as also the spirits of the dead.'[2]

[1] vi. 1254. [2] De Groot, vi. 1188.

This priesthood was in its inception an official creation, not a spontaneous development of the animistic substratum of Chinese religion.

It was probably the prototype of the *li-pu*, 'board of rites,' which in later ages supervised the ceremonial aspects of the State religion. The board of rites was the fifth in order of precedence among the eighteen boards to which the administration of the empire was entrusted prior to the Revolution of 1911, when it was suppressed, its functions being absorbed into those of the ministry of the interior. The *Cheu li* (xvii.–xxvii.) gives a list of the officials who served under the ministry of rites, with a description of their functions. They include the superior of the sacred ceremonies and his assistant, a master of the sacrifices, an officer in charge of the vases containing the libations and of the preparation of the sweet-smelling wine, an officer charged with providing the sacrificial cocks, an official who sets in their places the cups containing the libations at sacrifices, one to set in order the mats, a keeper of the ancestral hall of the imperial family, a keeper of the seals, a keeper of the imperial wardrobe, annalists and imperial secretaries, musicians, a grand augurer, invokers, and sorcerers. The last were the *wu*, who were already at that period incorporated into the State religion. The board of rites cannot, however, be regarded as a priesthood, since it was charged with the supervision of the State sacrifices merely, and was not a body charged with the task of mediating between God and man.

3. The Buddhist priesthood.—There is not in Buddhism any clearly marked distinction between the priest and the monk as in Catholic Christianity. In the latter religion the priest is one whose duty it is to officiate at the holy mysteries, while the monk is one who seeks to sanctify his soul by a life of retirement from the world, it being unusual during the earlier period of Christian monasticism for monks to be priests. In Buddhism, however, there is only one type of religious official whom we may call priests or monks, some of whom live in communities and some of whom do not. In the earliest form of Buddhism, which was agnostic, the idea of mediation was of necessity completely absent. In the first two and a half centuries after the introduction of Buddhism into China Buddhist monks were all foreigners, as it was not till the 4th cent. A.D. that Chinese subjects were permitted to adopt the monastic life. At the present time Buddhist monasteries in China are usually situated outside the cities in the open country, the ideal situation being a wooded height. Their inmates are for the most part recruited from the ranks of children, who are frequently sold to them by a necessitous mother after the father's death. Hackmann mentions a case in which twenty-five Mexican dollars (40s.) were paid for a child.[1] Only a few monasteries receive any appreciable number of adult novices. When in their seventh year, these children begin to be initiated into their religious duties. Their heads are completely shaved, and a special teacher is appointed to each. When the final consecration takes place, the novice is branded on the head as a sign of his willingness to endure hardship. Sometimes this branding is voluntarily repeated in later life. Nine vows are usually taken—to abstain from taking life, stealing, adultery, slander, reviling, lying, and feelings of jealousy, hatred, or folly. Sometimes others are added. Devotional exercises, which consist of invocations, praises, and the reading of extracts from the scriptures, usually take place three times a day. They are frequently accompanied by a sacrifice, in which the oblation usually consists of rice or tea. Meditation, both ambulatory and sedentary, is still continued in some monasteries, but it has widely fallen into desuetude. A moderate-sized community consists of about thirty to forty members. There is a well-organized domestic economy. All owe obedience to the abbot (*fang-chang*). The community is divided into an eastern and a western hall. The eastern deals mostly with secular matters. It includes a book-keeper, guest-master, commissioner of stores, superintendent of field labour, superintendent of water-supply, overseer of the kitchen, manager of the clothing department, another for giving out tea, superintendent of repairs, and others. The western division deals with the religious side of life, and includes sacristans, chanters, lectors, and monks, who expound the sacred science to laymen. Chinese monks wear trousers, stockings, and shoes, besides an undergarment extending from the waist to the knees, and a garment covering the whole body. A wide garment is worn over this for full equipment. Poverty has ceased to be enforced, and monks freely accept gifts. The average monk has no real knowledge of the Buddha's teaching. Penalties are imposed on those monks who commit ritual offences, but moral offences often go unpunished. Punishment is generally administered by flogging on the naked back by lay-brothers. The monks are for the most part at a low stage of intellectual culture, though a thousand years ago, when Europe was in the Dark Ages, the monasteries of China were filled with philosophers and scholars. A person of good family rarely becomes a monk. When he does so, however, he speedily attains to abbatical rank. Immorality is wide-spread, and this led to the suppression of all the monasteries in Fuchow in the years 1830–40. It is, however, unwise to generalize on this point, as the reputations of individual monasteries vary very greatly; that of the celebrated monasteries of Chiu-hua and Puto stands high. The use of opium is also prevalent among the monks. Individual monks of ascetic life are found, and even in recent times a monk has sometimes been voluntarily burnt alive on a funeral pyre. Monks are usually cremated at death. Besides the cœnobitical communities, Buddhist hermits are found in China. They dwell in poor huts or in holes in the mountains, and are maintained by alms or by a neighbouring monastery. The hermits do not shave their heads, but wear their hair long. Some who are more ascetic than their fellows live in small mountain caves, into which the sunlight never penetrates. When such a one dies, his body is embalmed in a special manner, and, after being painted and gilded, is set up in a temple as an object of veneration. There is no supreme authority over all the monks in China, each monastery being self-contained. The government has, however, bestowed an official status on some of the abbots, who act as intermediaries between it and the monasteries. These abbots are responsible to the government for the conduct of the monks. Any ordained monk may move at will from one monastery to another, on showing a pass issued by his abbot, or he may adopt an itinerant mode of life. Buddhist monks are usually known as *bonzes*, a Japanese term introduced into China by Roman Catholic missionaries.

4. The Taoist priesthood. — The indigenous religion of Taoism, which, though it professes to be founded on the ethical teaching of Lao-tse, nevertheless in some of its manifestations appears to merge imperceptibly into the popular animism of the country, began under the influence of Buddhism to evolve an organized priesthood and ritual soon after the opening of the Christian era. At

[1] *Buddhism as a Religion*, p. 218.

present there are two orders of Taoist priests, one celibate and one married, the latter, however, being composed of priests married before ordination. They reside in their own dwellings and wear the ordinary dress of the country. The Taoist priests do not shave the head like the Buddhist ones, but bind the hair on the top of the head. Many lead an itinerant life, and derive a livelihood from the sale of charms. They are for the most part as ignorant of the teaching of Lao-tse as are the Buddhists of the teaching of Śākya-muni. They study instead the pseudo-sciences of astrology and alchemy. Candidates for the Taoist priesthood study for five years. Before initiation they fast for three days, and bathe in water scented with orange-leaves; then, going into the presence of an image of Lao-tse, they seek his blessing. A licence has then to be obtained from a mandarin. The abbots of Taoist monasteries are called *sze-sze*. At the head of the Taoist Church is a patriarch who lives in the temple known as Shang-ch'ing-kung, on the Dragon and Tiger mountains in Kiang-si. He is descended from Chang-ling, a noted healer, who flourished in the province of Sze-ch'wen under the Han dynasty. His cures obtained for him a great reputation, and he healed a number of sick persons by inducing them to write down a confession of their sins on paper and swear not to sin again. When this had been done, he threw the confessions into the water. Chang-ling's cures attracted a great number of followers to him, and he instituted a semi-clerical caste, which appears to have been the genesis of the Taoist priesthood. His work was continued by his son Heng and his grandson Lu. It is said that the patriarch is chosen in the following manner. When one dies, all the male members of the clan assemble, and the names of each are engraved on pieces of lead, which are deposited in an earthenware vessel full of water. Priests then invoke the deities of the Taoist triad, to cause the piece on which the name of him whom the gods have chosen is inscribed to float to the top.[1] The services of the Taoist and Buddhist clergy are for the most part made use of quite indiscriminately by the population. The late empress-dowager once employed Buddhist priests to pray for rain at one altar and Taoists at another. At the funeral of Li Hung Chang priests of both religions officiated. Owing, however, to the elaborate eschatology evolved by Buddhist theologians, the priests of this religion rather than the Taoists are generally employed for the purpose of offering sacrifices to alleviate the sufferings of the departed.

5. The clergy and the State.—The monastic ideal was naturally alien to the Chinese temperament, with its deep inbred respect for the ties of family life, and this antipathy showed itself in the hostility of official Confucianism towards Buddhism on its arrival in the country. In A.D. 714 a fierce persecution broke out, during which 12,000 religious of both sexes were compelled to return to the secular state, while in a still more bitter persecution in the following century 4600 religious houses were closed and 200,000 monks and nuns were secularized. Buddhism, however, survived these persecutions and was very powerful in the 10th and 12th centuries. The Taoist church also felt the hand of the State, celibacy being enforced upon its clergy by the first emperor of the Sung dynasty. The legislation affecting the convents and clergy is embodied in the *Ta Ts'ing luh li*, 'Fundamental and Supplementary Laws of the great Ts'ing Dynasty.'[2] Many of the laws contained in this work are also found in the Ming code. It provides that, if any Buddhist or Taoist priest is ordained without a State diploma, he shall receive eighty stripes with a long stick. No abbot may administer the rite of ordination without governmental permission. Since this has been frequently refused, there has grown up a large body of unconsecrated clergy, who wear clerical dress. A Buddhist or Taoist priest is permitted to adopt one pupil on attaining the age of forty.

Hung-Wu, the founder of the Ming dynasty, who ascended the throne in 1368, ordained that all the clergy demanding State recognition should pass a competitive examination in the Confucian classics, thus creating an intellectual link between them and the national culture. Various edicts were issued by the Manchu emperors, restricting the growth of the clergy, though their services were often made use of during the rule of that dynasty. In the southern provinces Buddhist priests have frequently been employed by mandarins in rain-making ceremonies and in exorcizing swarms of locusts. Of late years, however, monasticism has declined rapidly, and the clerical profession is universally despised. A census taken by the Peking police in 1908 revealed the fact that there were in the capital only 1553 Buddhist and 133 Taoist priests. It seems most probable that one of the chief causes which have operated in checking the growth of a powerful sacerdotal caste in China has been the system of making admission to public offices dependent on the results of competitive examinations.

LITERATURE.—J. J. M. de Groot, *The Religious System of China*, 6 vols., Leyden, 1892–1910, *Sectarianism and Religious Persecution in China*, 2 vols., Amsterdam, 1903–04, 'On the Origin of the Taoist Church,' *Trans. of the Third International Congress for the Hist. of Religions*, Oxford, 1908, i. 138 ff.; *Le Tcheou-Li*, tr. E. Biot, Paris, 1851; H. Hackmann, *Buddhism as a Religion*, Eng. tr., London, 1910; J. H. Gray, *China*, 2 vols., do. 1878; R. F. Johnston, *Buddhist China*, do. 1913.

H. J. T. JOHNSON.

PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD (Egyptian).[1]—**I.** *INTRODUCTION.*—All the numerous communities that occupied the Nile valley just before the dawn of history possessed their respective local divinity or divinities.[2] Civilization had already so far advanced that the members of each political group would have been severally engaged in agricultural, industrial, or administrative occupations. Consequently the task of performing the services which every community as a whole owed to its gods would have devolved upon, or been deliberately deputed to, a special body of men. An Egyptian priesthood, therefore, may be described as a body of men separated from the rest of the community for the service of a god. At the head of the local priesthood or priesthoods was the local chief, members of whose family held all or some of the more important priestly offices.

This is presumed from what we know to have been the prevailing practice of the historic period, in accordance with which the nomarch, or chief official in a district, seems *ipso facto* to have been 'superintendent of the prophets' (*ḥmy-ʿ, ḥmw-nṯr*) of the local divinities.[3]

II. *THE POSITION OF THE KING.*—**1. The king as high-priest.**—In historic times, under the strongly centralized form of government instituted by Menes or his immediate successors, all the religious functions of the local chiefs, along with their political functions, were united in one person, the king. Thus the king became in theory the high-priest of all the local divinities. The

1 Gray, *China*, i. 103.

2 The Manchu dynasty, which gained possession of the throne in 1644.

1 The writer of this article is indebted to Dr. A. H. Gardiner for many valuable suggestions and references.

2 J. H. Breasted, *A Hist. of Egypt*, London, 1906, p. 30 f.

3 *E.g.*, K. Sethe, *Urkunden des ägyp. Altertums*, i. (Leipzig, 1903) 24 ff. (=J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, Chicago, 1905–07, i. 213 ff.); P. E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, London, 1893, i. 12; F. Ll. Griffith, *The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh*, do. 1889, pl. 3 ff.; Breasted, *Anc. Records*, iv. 787.

current beliefs about the divine nature of the king facilitated his assumption of all the high-priesthoods. He was not merely looked upon as the earthly representative of the god Horus, who, originally the local god of Buto, was early identified with the sun-god Rē‘ of Heliopolis,[1] but he was actually regarded as a form or manifestation of that god.[2] The king was therefore a god, and indeed was commonly spoken of as the ‘good god.’[3] Moreover, by the time of the Vth dynasty the king was believed to be the physical son of the sun-god, the State god of Egypt.[4] The king was thus the natural mediator between the gods and mankind—he was in fact the high-priest *par excellence*. In this capacity he built the temples; and in the reliefs which adorn their walls he alone is depicted as worshipping the gods and making offerings to them.[5] But it was impossible for the Egyptian king, who was the responsible head of a highly complex system of government, to exercise his high-priestly functions except on rare occasions; he accordingly was obliged to depute them to the heads, or higher members, of the various local priesthoods,[6] who were conceived of as the Pharaoh's representatives, or else to special emissaries.[7]

(*a*) The foregoing statement explains why a priest of Ḥarshef of Herakleopolis Magna is called ‘king of Upper Egypt’ (*nỉswt*).[8] One of the formulæ used in the daily service in the temple distinctly states that the officiating priest represents the king: ‘I am a prophet (*ḥm-nṯr*), the king has sent me to behold the god.’[9]

(*b*) The king always appears to have retained the right to appoint the high-priest of the temple, who was his deputy in a special degree (see § XII. 1).

2. The king as son of the divinity.—The king, as we have seen, was Horus, and also the son of Rē‘, the State god. Many of the local gods, in order to enhance their prestige, were identified with Rē‘.[10] Hence the king would not only be the high-priest of these local gods but also be regarded as their son. This idea of the sonship of the king would soon affect the relationship of the king with all divinities, male or female.[11] The living king, according to the characteristic theological conception of him, was Horus. But Horus was son of Osiris (=the dead king). Under the influence of the Osiris myth the relationship of the king with any god or goddess was conceived of as that of Horus with Osiris; accordingly every divinity was an Osiris for cult purposes.[12] The high-priests, or leading members of the local priesthoods, were, as we have seen, the king's deputies, and as such impersonated the king in the temple services. Occasionally, therefore, as will be seen in the two following sections, the priest appeared in the rôle of the son of the god whom he served, or he displayed some of the characteristics of sonship.

III. *THE PRIEST AS SON OF HIS GOD.*—1. **The ‘son whom he loves.’**—A priest with the title ‘son whom he loves’ figured in the ‘Opening of the Mouth,’ a ceremony performed on behalf of statues in what the Egyptians called the ‘House of Gold,’ *i.e.* the sculptor's studio.[1] The ‘son whom he loves’ represents Horus,[2] while the statue from the ritual standpoint is Osiris. At a very early date the use of this ceremony may possibly have been restricted to the statue of a dead king (=Osiris). In such a case the ‘son whom he loves’ would naturally have been the living king (=Horus). When the use of the ceremony was extended to all statues, the office of ‘son whom he loves’ necessarily devolved upon a deputy.

Thus Sḥetepibrē‘, a high official under Sesostris III., informs us that he ‘acted as son whom he loves in the procedure of the House of Gold’ at Abydos—*i.e.*, he took the part of the king at the consecration of a new statue of Osiris.[3] So also Ikhernofret, who was commissioned by the same king to superintend the making of a statue of Osiris and other accessaries of the Osirian cult.[4]

The fact that the *sem*, a title of the high-priest of Memphite Ptaḥ, plays a prominent part in the ‘Opening of the Mouth’[5] suggests that the ceremony originated in the sculptors' workshops, which, from an early date, were closely connected with Memphis and the great temple of Ptaḥ.[6] The *sem* figures not only in the ‘Opening of the Mouth’ but in all the funerary ceremonies (see § XIV. [*e*]), which, as is now generally recognized, were originally performed on behalf of the kings of the Memphite dynasties.[7]

‘Son whom he loves’ was also a title of one of the priests of Ḥarshef, the god of Herakleopolis Magna.[8] It was not a distinctively high-priestly title, for it was held by a *wē‘eb* of Ḥarshef.[9] Herakleopolis, it should be remembered, was the seat of the IXth and Xth dynasties, the successors of the feeble kings of the VIIth and VIIIth dynasties, who were Memphites.[10] That probably accounts for the presence of a ‘son whom he loves’ and a ‘king of Upper Egypt’ (see § II. [*a*]) among the priests of the Herakleopolitan god Ḥarshef.

For the mortuary priest as Horus, son of Osiris, see below, § VI. 2.

2. The *iḥy* priest of Ḥathor.—Ḥathor, the goddess of music and dancing, is often depicted with a small boy rattling a sistrum in front of her. This boy is her son, Ḥarsamtowi the child, also called ’Iḥy or ‘great ’Iḥy.’[11] The king, in the capacity of Ḥathor's son, similarly rattles a sistrum in front of her and is called ‘goodly ’Iḥy of the golden one of the gods,’ *i.e.* of Ḥathor.[12] Like the king whom they represented, Ḥathor's priests also impersonated her son Ḥarsamtowi, for *iḥy* occurs in the list of titles of the priests of Ḥathor of Dendereh.[13] A variant form, *iḥwy*, is applied to priests of Ḥathor, represented as dancing and clattering castanets, in the tomb-chapel of a Cusite nomarch[14] and in that of a Theban official.[15] The inscription attached to a similar scene in another tomb-chapel at Meir clearly shows that the *iḥwy*-priests there depicted belonged to the temple of Ḥathor of Cusæ.[16]

IV. *THE PRIEST EXERCISING THE FUNCTIONS OF THE GOD.*—In human families the functions of the parent often descend to the son. Does that

1 Sethe, *Zur altägyp. Sage vom Sonnenauge das in der Fremde war*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 5 f.
2 A. Erman, *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, Eng. tr., London, 1907, pp. 35, 37; Sethe, *Zur Sage vom Sonnenauge*, p. 5 f.
3 Erman, p. 36 f. 4 *Ib.* p. 37 f.
5 *Ib.* p. 52 f.
6 *Ib.* p. 53; N. de G. Davies and A. H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhēt*, London, 1914, p. 87 f.
7 *E.g.*, H. Schäfer, *Die Mysterien des Osiris in Abydos unter König Sesostris III.*, Leipzig, 1904, p. 10 ff.; see also § III. 1.
8 H. Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique de l'ancienne Egypte*, Leipzig, 1877–80, p. 1377; Sethe, *ZÄ* xlix. [1911] 33. The title of a priest of Min in the Dendereh list (Brugsch, p. 1374) which looks as though it were *bity*, ‘king of Lower Egypt,’ is probably, in view of W. M. F. Petrie, *Koptos*, London, 1896, pl. viii. line 2, the word generally determined with the seal-sign and translated ‘treasurer’ or ‘chancellor.’
9 A. Moret, *Le Rituel du culte divin journalier en Egypte*, Paris, 1902, p. 42 f., and cf. p. 55. Cf. also Davies-Gardiner, p. 57 f.
10 Erman, p. 57. 11 *Ib.* p. 52.
12 *Ib.* p. 45; see also art. PURIFICATION (Egyptian), § V. 4.
1 Davies-Gardiner, p. 57 f. 2 *Ib.* pp. 56, 59.
3 Breasted, *Anc. Records*, i. 746.
4 Schäfer, p. 15 f.; Breasted, *Anc. Records*, i. 667.
5 E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of Opening the Mouth*, London, 1909, i. 155 ff.; Davies-Gardiner, p. 59 f.
6 M. Stolk, *Ptaḥ: ein Beitrag zur Religionsgesch. des alten Aegyptens*, Berlin, 1911, pp. 12, 21.
7 Davies-Gardiner, pp. 55, 87.
8 Brugsch, pp. 1361, 1377; Schäfer, p. 16.
9 F. Ll. Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, Manchester, 1909, iii. 83, 108.
10 Breasted, *History*, p. 147.
11 E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, London, 1898–1908, pt. iv. pl. civ.; C. R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, Berlin, 1849–59, iv. pls. 33, 40, 52, 69*a–c*, 76, 79*c*.
12 Lepsius, iv. 11*b*; cf. A. M. Blackman, *The Temple of Bigeh*, Cairo, 1915, p. 25.
13 Brugsch, p. 1375.
14 A. M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, London 1914–15, i. 22 ff., pl. ii.
15 Davies-Gardiner, p. 94 ff., pl. xix. f.
16 Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir*, ii. p. 24 f., pl xv.

account for the titles of the high-priest (*a*) of Ptaḥ of Memphis, (*b*) of Rē'-Atum of Heliopolis?

1. **The high-priest of Ptaḥ.**—Ptaḥ was the craftsman of the gods[1] and the patron of craftsmen.[2] His high-priest was entitled 'he who is great at directing the craftsmen,' *wr ḫrp ḥmwt*; one of his duties was to supervise the work of the royal craftsmen, who were closely associated with the Ptaḥ temple.[3]

2. **The high-priest of Rē'.**—The chief title of the high-priest of Rē' was 'he who is great at seeing,' *wr mȝ*. He was also described as being 'over the mysteries of heaven,' or as 'he who sees the mysteries of heaven.'[4] A. H. Gardiner has suggested to the writer that the sun-god's high-priest bore these titles not because he was permitted to gaze upon the god, but because the god's function of unrestricted vision was transmitted to him as deputy of the king, to whom, as 'son of Rē',' this and other functions and qualities of Rē' were frequently assigned.[5]

V. *HONORIFIC PRIESTHOODS.*—A somewhat similar conception to that discussed in § IV. lies, perhaps, at the back of the honorific priesthoods of the Old Kingdom,[6] the holders of these priesthoods reflecting in their functions the character of the divinity whom they served. Thus the 'prophet of the great morning-god,' *ḥm-nṯr dwȝ-wr*,[7] seems to have been the king's barber, the god in question being the royal beard personified.[8] The 'prophet of Mē'et,' the goddess of righteousness and truth, was a judge;[9] the 'prophet of Ḥike',' magic personified, a magician;[10] the 'prophetess of Ḥathor,' the goddess of music and dancing, a dancer.[11]

VI. *IMPERSONATION OF DIVINITIES BY PRIESTS AND PRIESTESSES.*—Egyptian priests and priestesses not merely exercised the functions of divinities; they sometimes actually impersonated them.

The classic example of this is of course the Pharaoh himself. The primitive kings of Buto and Ombos were originally no doubt high-priests of their respective local gods, Horus and Seth. The historic Pharaoh actually *was* Horus and Seth (see above, § II.),[12] and his queen is called 'she who sees Horus and Seth.'[13] Similarly the king is the embodiment of the Upper Egyptian vulture-goddess of El-Kab and of the snake-goddess of Buto, and as such is called *nbty*, 'the two mistresses.'[14]

1. **Iun-mutef, 'pillar of his mother,' as is clearly shown by a number of inscriptions, is a name for the young god Horus.[15] Most of the representations of Iun-mutef, however, depict not the god, but a priest impersonating him.[16] Iun-mutef is always associated with the king, and he seems to represent Horus in the rôle of tutelary god[1] of the Egyptian Pharaohs.[2] In this capacity he officiated at the coronation,[3] and at the jubilee, or *sed*-festival,[4] walked in front of the king in the procession to the temple,[5] and acted as intermediary between the king and the gods.[6]**

(*a*) The divine status of Iun-mutef is strongly emphasized in his relations with the dead king, in whose presence he is often seen pronouncing the *ḥotp di nisut*[7] formula and making offering. Since Iun-mutef was Horus and the dead king Osiris, the latter would naturally be expected to appear in the rôle of the former's father. The reverse, however, is the case, and the dead Pharaoh is spoken of as Iun-mutef's son.[8]

(*b*) Iun-mutef represents Horus as a youth in Khemmis,[9] the supporter and protector of his widowed mother Isis. Iun-mutef, therefore, generally wears the side-lock of hair. Compare the name 'pillar of his mother' with the expression 'staff of old age,' used of a young man who is associated in office with his aged father in order to lighten the burden of his responsibility.[10]

2. **In the funerary ceremonies as originally performed[11] in the early Memphite age the parts of Osiris and his son Horus were duly filled by the dead and the living king. Since the king could not possibly officiate in the funerary temples of all his dead predecessors, the part of Horus the son would be deputed to the chief mortuary priests[12] (cf. §§ II. 2 and III.). When the funerary rites came into general use and all dead persons were identified with Osiris, every mortuary priest, when making offering to the dead, impersonated Horus.[13] Again, the embalmer (*wt*) impersonated Anubis—the god who embalmed Osiris, and hence the prototype of all embalmers—and accordingly often wore a jackal mask.[14]**

(*a*) **A funerary priest is therefore actually entitled 'Anubis the embalmer,' *'Inpw wt*.[15] The same title is also borne by Defaiḥap, ruler of the Lycopolite nome of Upper Egypt,[16] at whose capital Asyūṭ there was a temple of Anubis as well as one of Upwawet.[17] Defaiḥap held this title in his capacity of high-priest of Anubis, whom, in certain religious performances, he must have impersonated. In a funerary scene in a tomb-chapel at Meir a priest, instead of being labelled *wt*, 'embalmer,' is called 'he who presides in the god's booth,' a regular epithet of Anubis.[18] Similarly a priest, who seems to have officiated at the 'Opening of the Mouth' (see above, § III. 1), is entitled on his friend's stele[19] 'Anubis in the House of Gold.' Another priest (mentioned in the same stele), who was 'chief of the lectors in his town,' bears the appellation 'Anubis in the Good House,' *i.e.*, this priest impersonated Anubis in the embalmer's workshop (see below, § XIV. *b*).**

(*b*) **The officiants who wash the corpse during the process of embalming impersonated Horus and Thōth.[20]**

3. (*a*) **Two priests, impersonating Horus and Seth, or Horus and Thōth, and wearing appropriate masks,[21] sprinkled the king with water before he officiated in a temple.**

1 *E.g.*, Naville, *Das ägyp. Todtenbuch*, Berlin, 1886, i. ch. clxxii. line 32; Stolk, p. 13.

2 Stolk, p. 13.

3 Breasted, *Anc. Records*, i. 211, 239; A. Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, Eng. tr., London, 1894, p. 290 f., *Handbook*, p. 58 f.

4 A. Mariette, *Les Mastabas de l'ancien empire*, Paris, 1882–89, p. 149; Erman, *Life*, p. 290; cf. A. H. Gardiner, *ZÄ* xlvii. [1910] 92, pl. 1, line 1. For other titles of the high-priests of Rē' of Heliopolis see G. Daressy, *Annales du Service*, xvi. [1917] 193 ff.

5 *E.g.*, Breasted, *Anc. Records*, i. 747=H. O. Lange and H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des mittleren Reichs im Museum von Kairo*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1902–08, no. 20538, ii. line 11 f.; *Pap. Anastasi*, iv. 5, line 6 ff.=*Select Papyri in the Hieratic Character from the Collections of the Brit. Mus.*, London, 1844, pl. lxxxvi.; art. PURIFICATION (Egyptian), § V. 1 (*c*); cf. Breasted, *Anc. Records*, ii. 141 ff.

6 Erman, *Handbook*, p. 53. 7 Mariette, p. 366.

8 See art. PERSONIFICATION (Egyptian), 9 (*g*), 4.

9 Erman, *Life*, p. 290.

10 A. H. Gardiner, *PSBA* xxxvii. [1915] 261, xxxviii. [1916] 129.

11 Erman, *Life*, p. 290; Davies-Gardiner, p. 94 ff.; see also § VI. 4.

12 Sethe, *Zur Sage vom Sonnenauge*, p. 5.

13 Sethe, *ap.* J. Garstang, *Maḥâsna and Bêt Khallâf*, London, 1903, p. 28.

14 Sethe, *Zur Sage vom Sonnenauge*, p. 11.

15 Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv. [1905] 157=Breasted, *Anc. Records*, ii. 138; E. L. Lushington, *PSBA* vi. [1878] 527; J. Capart, *ZÄ* xli. [1904] 88 f.; A. Mariette, *Abydos*, Paris, 1869–80, i. pls. 28*a*, 31, 33, 34, ii. 54, 55; Lepsius, iii. 202 f., 206*e*.

16 An exception, perhaps, is Lepsius, iii. 128*a*.

1 Sethe, *Zur Sage vom Sonnenauge*, p. 5.

2 Cf. Lepsius, iii. 129, text behind Amūn, line 5.

3 Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, iii. pl. lxiii.; D. Randall-MacIver and C. L. Woolley, *Buhen*, Philadelphia, 1911, p. 52, pl. 20; cf. Lepsius, iii. 53.

4 Lepsius, iii. 36.

5 Mariette, *Abydos*, i. pl. 31; Lepsius, iv. 71*a*; Blackman, *Temple of Bigeh*, pl. xxvi.

6 Lepsius, iii. 123*a*; Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, pl. lix.

7 See Davies-Gardiner, p. 79 ff.

8 *E.g.*, J. F. Champollion, *Monuments de l'Egypte et de la Nubie: Notices descriptives*, Paris, 1844–89, ii. 436; Mariette, *Abydos*, i. pls. 28*a*, 33.

9 Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv. 157; Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, New York and London, 1912, p. 29 f.

10 Gardiner, *ZÄ* xlvii. 94; F. Ll. Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob*, London, 1898, p. 30.

11 Davies-Gardiner, pp. 55, 87. 12 *Ib.* p. 88.

13 Cf. Sethe, *Die altägyp. Pyramidentexte*, Leipzig, 1908–10. p. 11*a*.

14 Davies-Gardiner, p. 58; Naville, *Das ägyp. Todtenbuch*, pl. 11 f.

15 Lange-Schäfer, i. no. 20558, I. line 3.

16 Griffith, *Siût and Dêr Rîfeh*, pl. 4, line 23, pl. 10, line 1.

17 *Ib.* pl. 8, line 305.

18 Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir*, iii. 28, with note 12, pl. xxi.

19 Lange-Schäfer, ii. no. 20457.

20 G. Möller, *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind*, Leipzig, 1913 I. vi. 1 ff.; see art. PURIFICATION (Egyptian), § V. 2 (*e*).

21 Mariette, *Dendereh*, Paris, 1869–80, i. pl. 10; Blackman, *The Temple of Deir*, Cairo, 1913, pl. xlii.; Lepsius, iii. pl. 124*d*; see also art. PURIFICATION (Egyptian), § V. 1 (*d*).

(*b*) Atum and Month, or Rē'-Ḥarakhte and Amūn, may have been similarly impersonated by priests at the purification of the infant heir to the throne.[1]

(*c*) So probably also was the god Yaḥes, who officiated at the coronation.[2]

4. The priestesses of Ḥathor, who danced in her honour, consciously impersonated her.[3] They partook in consequence of the nature of the goddess, and were able to impart her qualities to her devotees.[4]

5. Two female mourners, called the 'great kite' and the 'little kite,' impersonated Isis and Nephthys in the funerary ceremonies.[5]

In two passages in the *Pyramid Texts* Isis and Nephthys are spoken of as two birds—the form which they assumed when they set out to seek for the missing corpse of the murdered Osiris.[6]

VII. *FURTHER RELATIONSHIPS OF PRIESTS AND PRIESTESSES WITH DIVINITIES.*—1. 'Father of the god.'—The relationship of the priest with the god could be other than that of son. A very common priestly title in the New Kingdom and subsequent age is 'father of the god,' *it nṯr*; the holders of this title, in the enumerations of priests of those periods, come between the prophets and *wē'eb*-priests.[7]

The appellation 'father of the god' primarily belonged to the king's father-in-law.[8] As a priestly title it probably meant that the holder had one or more daughters in the god's *ḥarīm*.[9]

2. The god's concubines.—Human concubines were assigned to certain gods—*e.g.*, Amūn of Thebes,[10] Onuris,[11] Iun-mutef;[12] also possibly Upwawet of Asyūṭ[13] and Khnum of Hermopolis.[14] These concubines are in a special degree a feature of the cult of Amūn, probably owing to his markedly sexual character; they are frequently referred to in the texts of the New Kingdom and subsequent period.[15]

It should be noted that the name of the great temple at Luxor is 'southern *ḥarīm* of Amūn,'[16] and that the inscription on the statue of Ibe[17] mentions Amūn's *ḥarīm* of concubines (*ip;t·f n ḫnryt·f*).

At the head of Amūn's concubines was the wife of his high-priest, her title being 'chief concubine of Amūn.'[18] The concubines were doubtless the female musicians (*šm'wt*)[19] who were attached to his, as apparently to every other, temple (see below, 3 [*b*], and § VIII. 3 [*d*] i.). The view that the female musicians of Amūn formed his *ḥarīm* is further supported by the fact that in one instance the wife of a high-priest of Amūn, instead of the regular title 'chief concubine,' bears that of 'singer (*ḫnt*) of Amūn.'[1]

3. 'The god's wife.'—(*a*) From the Vth dynasty onwards[2] the king was regarded as the physical offspring of the sun-god (*s; Rʿ n ḥt·f*, 'son of Rē' of his body').[3] According to the scenes and inscriptions in the XVIIIth dynasty temples of Deir el-Baḥri and Luxor,[4] Amūn, then identified with the sun-god,[5] assumed the form of the reigning Pharaoh,[6] had intercourse with the queen, and so begot the heir to the throne. The queen was therefore called 'the god's wife,' with the additional title of 'votaress of the god.'[7]

Possibly the union of Amūn and the queen was supposed to take place in Luxor temple, 'the southern *ḥarīm* of Amūn' (see above, 2);[8] that would explain the presence in this temple of the scenes depicting the birth of Amenophis III., by whom the greater part of the present building was erected. A statuette in the Cairo Museum[9] represents 'the god's wife,' 'the god's votaress,' Amenirdis, sitting on Amūn's lap; the pair mutually embrace.

(*b*) 'The god's wife' acted as chief priestess of Amūn,[10] and her duties, as we know from inscriptions, consisted in rattling the sistrum 'before his beautiful face.'[11] In performing this service she would be assisted by the concubines,[12] over whom she presided in her capacity of Amūn's legitimate consort.[13] The concubines, as we have seen, were probably the female musicians of Amūn (*šm'wt n 'Imn*), who are specifically stated to have been attached to the house of 'the god's votaress.'[14]

Perhaps the statement in Herodotus, i. 182, about the woman who 'lies in the temple of Theban Zeus,' refers to 'the god's wife' or to the chief concubine of Amūn.[15]

(*c*) 'The god's wife' is first mentioned in inscriptions of the early XVIIIth dynasty.[16]

After the fall of the XXth dynasty Thebes became a spiritual principality ruled by the high-priests of Amūn. But from the reign of Osorkon III. of the XXIIIrd dynasty to that of Psamtik III. of the XXVIth, Thebes was governed, not by the high-priest of Amūn, but by a succession of five 'god's wives.' 'The god's wife' was now no longer the queen, but a daughter of the ruling house, and she had to *adopt* a daughter to succeed her.[17]

(*d*) While Thebes was governed by these sacerdotal princesses, the high-priest of Amūn was merely a religious figure-head, all power being vested in the hands of individuals of minor sacerdotal importance, such as Menthemḥēt,[18] who was only fourth prophet of Amūn. Finally, upon her adoption by 'the god's wife,' Nitokris II., the first prophetship (high-priesthood) of Amūn was bestowed upon Psamtik III.'s daughter, 'Enkhnes-neferibrē'.[19]

1 A. Gayet, *Le Temple de Louxor*, Paris, 1894, pl. lxxv.; Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, iii. pl. lvi.; art. PURIFICATION (Egyptian), § V. 1 (*a*).
2 Naville, *Deir el Bahari*, iii. pls. lxiii., lxiv.; Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv. 262; Breasted, *Anc. Records*, ii. 99.
3 Davies-Gardiner, p. 95.
4 Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir*, i. 23 ff.
5 Lepsius, ii. 101*b*; J. J. Tylor and F. Ll. Griffith, *The Tomb of Paheri at el-Kab*, London, 1894, pl. vi.; Davies-Gardiner, p. 49; cf. Naville, *Das ägyp. Todtenbuch*, i. pl. iii.
6 Sethe, *Pyramidentexte*, 1255 ff., 1280 ff.
7 Gardiner, *ZÄ* xlviii. [1911] 94.
8 L. Borchardt, 'Der ägyptische Titel "Vater des Gottes" als Bezeichnung für "Vater oder Schwiegervater des Königs,"' in *Berichte der philologisch-historischen Klasse der königl. sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*, lvii. [1905] 254 ff.
9 *Ib.* p. 266 ff.
10 Erman, *Life*, p. 295 f., *Handbook*, p. 72.
11 J. Capart, *ZÄ* xli. 89.
12 *Ib.*
13 Griffith, *Siût and Dêr Rîfeh*, p. 113, line 29 f.; H. Brugsch, *Hieroglyph.-demot. Wörterbuch*, Leipzig, 1867–82, Suppl. 938.
14 Lange-Schäfer, i. no. 20025, *a*, line 7.
15 W. Wreszinski, *Die Hohenpriester des Amon*, Berlin, 1904, p. 10 and *passim*; A. Mariette, *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos*, Paris, 1880, no. 1137; *Annales du Service*, v. [1904] 95 f.; Gardiner, *ZÄ* xlv. [1909] 127, note 2.
16 Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv. 409; see Gardiner, *ZÄ* xlv. 127, note 2.
17 *Annales du Service*, v. 96; Breasted, *Anc. Records*, iv. 958 L.
18 Wreszinski, *loc. cit.*; Gardiner, *ZÄ* xlv. 127, note 2; Erman, *Handbook*, p. 72.
19 Erman, *Life*, p. 295 f., *Handbook*, p. 72.

1 Wreszinski, p. 9.
2 Breasted, *History*, p. 121 ff., *Anc. Records*, ii. 187 ff.
3 Lepsius, iii. 4*e*, 5*d*, and *passim*.
4 Naville, ii. pl. xlvi. ff.; Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv. 215 ff.; Gayet, *Temple de Louxor*, §§ 62–68, and 75; see also Breasted, *Anc. Records*, ii. 187 ff.
5 Erman, *Handbook*, p. 57 f.
6 Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv. 219, line 11=Breasted, *Anc. Records*, ii. 196.
7 Erman, *Handbook*, p. 72, *Life*, p. 296; Breasted, *Anc. Records*, iv. 521, 942 f., 958*c*.
8 See also E. Chassinat's remarks in *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire*, x. [1912] 191 f.
9 G. Legrain, *RTr* xxxi. [1909] 139 ff., *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers*, Paris, 1907–14, iii. no. 42199.
10 Cf. Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.* p. 1361.
11 *Ib.*; Breasted, *Anc. Records*, iv. 943; *Annales du Service*, v. 91 f.; cf. Schäfer, *Urkunden*, iii. 105, line 3.
12 Cf. Breasted, *Anc. Records*, iv. 958 L.
13 Erman, *Life*, p. 296.
14 Abbot, *Papyrus*, 3, 17=Breasted, *Anc. Records*, iv. 521; see also Erman, *Life*, p. 296.
15 See Legrain, *RTr* xxxi. 139 ff.
16 *E.g.*, Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv. 26=W. M. F. Petrie, *Abydos*, London, 1902–04, iii. pl. lii.; Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv. 29=Breasted, *Anc. Records*, ii. 110; Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv. 34=Breasted, *Anc. Records*, ii. 344; Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv. 396=Breasted, *Anc. Records*, ii. 360–362; see also Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv. 77; Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, i. 565; Erman, *Handbook*, p. 73.
17 Erman, *ZÄ* xxxv. [1897] 28 ff., *Life*, 165 f.; Breasted, *Anc. Records*, iv. 935 ff., 988 A ff.
18 Breasted, *Anc. Records*, iv. 957; Maspero, *Annales du Service*, v. 89 f.
19 Breasted, *Anc. Records*, iv. 988 D.

4. 'The god's hand.'—Below 'the god's wife' in rank, but above the chief concubine, was the priestess called 'the god's hand,' *ḏrt nṯr*.[1]

The fact that 'the god's hand' was also called 'the daughter of Amūn of his body, whom he loves,'[2] suggests that this title was perhaps originally assigned to a daughter of the queen.[3] Both titles were borne by 'Enkhnesneferibrē', a 'god's wife' in the Saitic period. Since, however, 'god's hand' comes last in her titulary,[4] it was possibly the title which she bore as the adopted daughter of Nitokris[5]—*i.e.* before she became 'god's wife' at Nitokris' death.

VIII. *THE CONSTITUTION OF THE PRIESTHOOD.*—1. The general term for 'priest.'—In ancient Egypt purity was considered to be essential in all persons and things associated in any way with the cult of the gods (see art. PURIFICATION [Egyptian], § V. 1, 5–8). Accordingly the general term for 'priest' is *w'b*, 'pure person.' The word was retained in Coptic to denote the Christian priest, and is written ϬΥΗΗΒ; hence *w'b* is to be vocalized *wē'eb*. The verb *w'b*, 'officiate as *wē'eb*,'[6] is used also to denote the service of the highest grades in the hierarchy.[7]

2. The two main classes of the priesthood.—The priesthood consisted of two main classes—the prophets, *ḫmw-nṯr*, being the higher, and the *wē'eb*-priests, *w'bw*, the lower.

(*a*) The word *ḫm-nṯr* (Coptic ϩΟΝΤ),[8] which, after the Greek custom, is usually rendered 'prophet,' literally means 'servant of the god.'[9]

(*b*) *Wē'eb*, besides being the name for a member of the lower class of the hierarchy, was also, as already stated, a general term for 'priest'[10] (cf. the general application of the verb *w'b* discussed above). Defaiḥap, a nomarch of the Lycopolite nome, and a 'superintendent of the prophets,' in an address to the governing body (*ḫnbt*) of the temple of Upwawet,[11] asserts that he is the son of a *wē'eb* like each one of them, though Defaiḥap's father and the fathers of some of the members of the *ḫnbt* almost certainly must have belonged to the higher order of priests.

(*c*) From the time of the New Kingdom onwards the members of the priesthood were roughly classified as 'prophets, fathers of the god, and *wē'eb*-priests.'[12] The 'fathers of the god' are to be regarded as belonging to the same class as the 'prophets,' the title 'prophet' being reserved for the higher members of that class. As Gardiner[13] points out, the rare titles, 'first father of the god' and 'second father of the god,' are synonymous with 'first prophet' and 'second prophet.'[14]

(*d*) The *Decree of Canopus* (hieroglyphic text, line 2 ff. = Sethe, *Urkunden*, ii. 126) gives the following correspondences between the Egyptian and Greek titles of priests: 'the superintendent of the temple' = ἀρχιερεύς,[15] 'high-priest';[16] 'the servants of the god,' *ḫmw-nṯr* = προφῆται, 'prophets';[17] 'those who are over the mysteries,' *ḥrγw-sšt'* = στολισταί';[18] 'the learned scribes of the god's book' = πτεροφόροι καὶ ἱερογραμματεῖς, 'feather-bearers and sacred scribes';[19] while 'the fathers of the god and the *wē'eb*-priests in their entirety' = οἱ ἀλλοι ἱερεῖς, 'the rest of the priests.' For the παστοφόροι, 'shrine-bearers (?)' = Egyp. *wnw*,[1] (shrine)-openers,'[20] who were functionaries below the class of *wē'eb*-priests,[21] see Otto, i. 96 f.

(*e*) A priest had to begin his career as a *wē'eb*, becoming a 'father of the god' before he passed on to the rank of 'prophet.'[1] Even a king's son had to serve as a *wē'eb* before he could be appointed to a prophetship.[2]

3. The staff of the temple.—The priesthood in each temple was called the 'staff (*wnwt*, lit. 'service') of the temple,' *wnwt nt ḥt-nṯr*. The *wnwt* seems to have included the 'prophets' as well as the *wē'ebs*. We find mention of the *wnwt* of royal mortuary temples.[3]

The word *wnwt* means 'regular service.'[4] According to the generally accepted view,[5] the *wnwt* consisted of 'lay priests.' But Defaiḥap of Asyūṭ speaks of the members of the *wnwt* as *wē'eb*-priests;[6] moreover the expression 'the entire staff (*wnwt*) of the temple' often sums up a preceding enumeration of priests among whom are prophets and *wē'eb*-priests.[7]

(*a*) *The phylæ, or courses, of priests.*—The temple staff with one or two exceptions (see below [*b*]) was divided into four courses (Egyp. *s;w wnwt*, 'courses *or* gangs of the service'), or, as the Greeks called them, φυλαί.[8] The priests of royal mortuary temples were also divided into phylæ.[9] Each phyle served one lunar month on end by rotation; thus every priest had an interval of three months between two periods of service.[10]

This system, probably already established under the Old Kingdom,[11] remained unaltered, except for the addition of a fifth phyle in the reign of Ptolemy III.,[12] till the middle of the 3rd cent. A.D., and probably till the fall of paganism.[13]

(i.) In the small temple of Amūn at Teuzoi each phyle consisted of twenty priests.[14] In Græco-Roman times each phyle in the comparatively small temple of Soknopaios numbered thirty-one members.[15]

(ii.) Middle Kingdom papyri from Illahūn show that every outgoing phyle drew up an inventory of the temple property; this was handed over to the ingoing phyle. Both parties verified the list, and the members of the incoming phyle appended their names to the document in token that it was found correct.[16]

(iii.) Over each phyle, in dynastic as in Græco-Roman times,[17] there was a phylarch, who changed every month with the phyle.[18] In the XIIth dynasty the phylarch was called *mty n s;w*, 'regulator of a phyle.'[19] In the New Kingdom the usual term for 'phylarch' is *ḫr s;w*, 'over a phyle.'[20] In the *Decree of Canopus* the phylarch is called 'great one of the phyle.'[21] The office of phylarch could be held by a prophet,[22] a *wē'eb*,[23] or even the high-priest himself.[24] According to the *Decree of Canopus*,[25] the phylarch must be a prophet. We have therefore good grounds for supposing that, in dynastic as in Græco-Roman times, the priests both of the higher and of the lower grades belonged to the phylæ.[26]

(*b*) *The permanent officials of the temple.*—From a Middle Kingdom papyrus found at Illahūn we learn that the 'superintendent of the temple' of Anubis (like the ἐπιστάτης of the Græco-Roman period)[27] and the 'chief lector' were permanent functionaries and not members of a rotating phyle.[28]

---

[1] See G. Legrain and E. Naville, *L'Aile nord du Pylône d'Aménophis III. à Karnak*, Paris, 1902, pl. xi. B.

[2] Brugsch, *Wörterbuch*, p. 1665.

[3] But the title 'god's wife,' not 'god's hand,' was borne by Nefrure', daughter of Ḥatshepsut, herself a 'god's wife' (Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv. 406).

[4] Legrain, *Statues et statuettes*, iii. no. 42205, p. 14; *Annales du Service*, v. 90 ff.

[5] Breasted, *Anc. Records*, iv. 988 A ff.

[6] *E.g.*, Legrain, *Statues et statuettes*, ii. no. 42155, *c*, line 2.

[7] *E.g.*, Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. 25 f.; probably also *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelæ, etc., in the British Museum*, London, 1911–14, i. pl. 54; cf. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el-Gebrâwi*, London, 1902, pt. i., pl. vii.; Davies-Gardiner, p. 86.

[8] G. Steindorff, *ZÄ* xlv. [1909] 141.

[9] Erman, *Life*, p. 289. [10] *Ib.*

[11] Griffith, *Siût and Dêr Rîfeh*, pl. 7, line 268.

[12] Gardiner, *ZÄ* xlvii. 94; Erman, *Life*, p. 293 f.

[13] *Ib.* [14] See also Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv. 483, 527.

[15] Cf. *ib.* ii. 153.

[16] W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenist. Ägypten*, Leipzig, 1905–08, i. 38 ff.

[17] *Ib.* i. 81.

[18] *Ib.* i. 83; the στολισταί could act as prophets, and they clearly belong to the class *ḫmw-nṯr* (see B. P. Grenfell, A. S. Hunt, and E. J. Goodspeed, *The Tebtunis Papyri*, London, 1902–07, ii. p. 61 f.).

[19] Otto, i. 87.

[20] Griffith, *Demotic Papyri*, iii., p. 55, note 5, p. 214, note 5; F. Ll. Griffith and U. Wilcken, *ZÄ* xlv. 105.

[21] Griffith, *Demotic Papyri*, p. 79 with note 6.

[1] Gardiner, *ZÄ* xlvii. 94; Erman, *Life*, p. 294; Breasted, *Anc. Records*, iii. 565; see also Legrain, *Statues et statuettes*, ii. no. 42155, *c*.

[2] Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv. 157, line 9.

[3] Breasted, *Anc. Records*, iii. 277.

[4] Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. 36, line 14 = Breasted, *Anc. Records*, i. 234; R. Weill, *Les Décrets royaux de l'ancien empire égyptien*, Paris, 1912, pp. 15, 33, 68, 70.

[5] Erman, *ZÄ* xx. [1882] 163 ff., *Life*, p. 291; Borchardt, *ZÄ* xxxvii. [1899] 89 ff.; Breasted, *History*, p. 171.

[6] Griffith, *Siût and Dêr Rîfeh*, pl. 6, lines 269 f., 281 f.

[7] *E.g.*, Lange-Schäfer, i. no. 20153, ii. no. 20775; Legrain, *Statues et statuettes*, iii. nos. 42211, *j*, 42218, *d*; see also Lange-Schäfer, i. no. 20093, and Legrain, iii. no. 42207.

[8] Otto, i. 26.

[9] *E.g.*, H. Schäfer, *Priestergräber . . . von Totentempel des Nê-User-Rê'*, Leipzig, 1908, pp. 34, 57, 82.

[10] Borchardt, *ZÄ* xxxvii. 89 ff., xl. [1902–03] 113 ff.; Griffith, *Demotic Papyri*, iii. 90, note 5; Breasted, *History*, p. 171.

[11] Cf. Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. 13, line 2, 14, lines 1 and 12, 36, line 15.

[12] Borchardt, *ZÄ* xxxvii. 94; Otto, i. 26. [13] Otto, i. 30 f.

[14] Griffith, *Demotic Papyri*, iii. 90, note 5. [15] Otto, i. 36.

[16] Borchardt, *ZÄ* xxxvii. 97; Erman, *Ägyp. Chrestomathie*, Berlin, 1904, p. 143 f.

[17] Otto, i. 25 f. [18] Borchardt, *ZÄ* xxxvii. 94.

[19] Lange-Schäfer, no. 20432; Schäfer, *Priestergräber . . . von Totentempel des Nê-User-Rê'*, pp. 57, 82; R. Engelbach, *Riggeh and Memphis*, vi., London, 1915, pl. xxvii.; Newberry, i. 12.

[20] Legrain, *Statues et statuettes*, ii. nos. 42189, 42217, 42218; Wreszinski, p. 11; cf. Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri*, p. 32.

[21] Sethe, *Urkunden*, ii. 36, line 11.

[22] Legrain, *Statues et statuettes*, ii. nos. 42189, 42217, 42218.

[23] Wreszinski, p. 11; Schäfer, p. 34.

[24] Newberry, i. 12. [25] *Loc. cit.* [26] Otto, i. 23 f.

[27] *Ib.* i. 38 ff. [28] Borchardt, *ZÄ* xxxvii. 94, xl 114.

The superintendent of the temple apparently often was identical with the high-priest (cf. ἐπιστάτης καὶ ἀρχιερεύς),[1] who also frequently held the office of chief lector or lector.[2]

Minor officials, such as the door-keepers and the temple-sweeper (*ḫ;wty*),[3] were also permanent.[4]

(*c*) *The governing body.*—(i.) *During the Middle Kingdom.*—The administration of an Egyptian temple at this time seems to have been in the hands of a small committee. The temple of Upwawet at Asyūt, *e.g.*, was administered by a body of ten priests called the *ḫnbt*[5] *nt ḥt-nṯr*, 'governing body of the temple,' at whose head was the nomarch in his capacity of high-priest or 'superintendent of the prophets.'[6]

(1) The members of this governing body are given their administrative, not their priestly, titles,[7] so that we do not know whether they were all prophets, or whether included among them were priests of the rank of *wʿēb* only. But they were certainly members of the priesthood.[8] Compare the list of members of an incoming phyle,[9] in which each individual is denoted not by his priestly rank, but by his special priestly function.

(2) The governing body of the XIIth dynasty might be compared with the committee of councillor priests (βουλευταὶ ἱερεῖς) of the Ptolemaic period,[10] who assisted the superintendent of the temple or high-priest (ἐπιστάτης καὶ ἀρχιερεύς) in the administration of the temple. The councillors, who changed every year, belonged to the phylæ of priests, by whom they were elected, each phyle contributing five members.[11] We have no information as to how the governing body of the temple was chosen in the Middle Kingdom.

(ii.) *Under the Empire.*—During the New Kingdom the high-priest had supreme control of the often great wealth of the temple, and was responsible for the administration of its estates, for the care of its buildings, and for the erection of new ones. He had a great host of officials of all grades serving under his almost autocratic rule.[12]

(iii.) *In the Roman period.*—Though there were still superintendents of the temples (ἐπιστάται) in the Roman period,[13] the temple administration generally was in the hands of the college of πρεσβύτεροι or ἡγούμενοι, who, like the βουλευταὶ ἱερεῖς, changed every year.[14] After A.D. 202 the temples lost all that still remained of their once specially privileged position and were placed under the administration of the municipal senates.[15]

(*d*) *Priestesses and the position of women in the temple.*—Women played a by no means unimportant part in the worship of the Egyptian divinities, and the assertion of Herodotus[16] that no woman could serve as a priestess is incorrect, and indeed does not agree with his own statements elsewhere.[17]

(i.) *Musician priestesses.*—All temples, apparently, had a number of priestesses attached to them, at the head of whom was a chief priestess with a special title,[18] followed by the attribute 'playing with the sistrum in front of him (her),' *i.e.* the divinity.[1] The chief priestess was doubtless in most cases the wife of the high-priest.[2] Evidently the principal duty of these priestesses was to rattle sistra and to dance and sing in honour of the deity whom they served.[3]

The musician priestesses in the Middle Kingdom were called *ḫnwt*, var. *ḫnyt*,[4] but from the New Kingdom onwards generally *šm'wt*; both words mean 'musicians.' In the New Kingdom women of all classes, from the highest to the lowest, were musicians at some temple or other.[5]

The functions of the priestesses of the Ptolemaic and Roman periods were doubtless mainly musical.[6] *The Decree of Canopus* (hieroglyphic text, line 33=Sethe, *Urkunden*, ii. 151) gives the title *wʿēb* to musician-priestesses (*šm'wt*), in the light of which, perhaps, are to be explained the *w'bt* of Upwawet[7] and the *w'bt* who was the wife of a soldier.[8] Ἱερεῖαι are commonly mentioned in Græco-Roman documents.[9]

(ii.) *Prophetesses.*—In the Old and Middle Kingdoms women of important families often bear the title 'prophetess.' It was nearly always the goddesses Ḥathor and Neith[10] that they served in this capacity.[11] Occasionally during the Old Kingdom we meet with prophetesses of a god or king; *e.g.*, the queen Meres'onkh was a prophetess of Thōth.[12] The royal acquaintance Ḥetpḥeres was prophetess of King Kheops.[13] Upon a certain Nitemḥē, the wife of a priest who lived in the XXVIth dynasty, was bestowed 'the share of the prophet of Khons.'[14] Griffith,[15] referring to Herod. ii. 35, presumes that Nitemḥē did not act as prophet of Khons, but that 'she only received the stipend while the duty would be performed by her husband.' But in the Vth dynasty we find the sons and daughter of a noble and high-priest all serving as prophet of their local divinity,[16] by rotation, and apparently exercising exactly the same functions.[17] In the reign of Psamtik III. the first prophetship (high-priesthood) of Amūn was held by the sacerdotal princess of Thebes (§ VII. 3 (*d*)). In the Ptolemaic period we meet with the daughter of a 'father of the god' who is described as a *wʿēb*-priestess of Amūn and a prophetess of Zēmi.[18]

(iii.) *Phylæ of priestesses.*—In the New Kingdom the musician priestesses, like the priests, were divided into phylæ with a priestess as phylarch.[19] The phylæ of the priestesses are often mentioned in Ptolemaic and Roman documents.[20] A priestess who married a priest remained in her original phyle.[21]

IX. *PAYMENT OF PRIESTS.*—The priests derived their incomes from two sources—the temple estates,[22] and 'all that enters the temple,' *i.e.* the daily and incidental offerings.[23]

1. **The temple estates.**—The revenue produced by the lands belonging to the temple of Amūn at Teuzoi was divided into 100 equal portions. Twenty portions, a fifth of the whole revenue,[24] went to the chief prophet, while one portion was assigned to each of the 80 priests who served under him.[25] These stipends seem to have been paid yearly.[26]

---

[1] Otto, i. 38 ff.; Sethe, *Urkunden*, ii. 126, 153; Erman, *Life*, p. 292. See, on the other hand, Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir*, ii. pl. xv. p. 24.

[2] *E.g.*, Griffith, *Siût and Dêr Rîfeh*, pl. 6, line 268, pl. 10, line 12; Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir*, i. 18, ii. 2, iii. 2; Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. 78, 120; Breasted, *Anc. Records*, iii. 542.

[3] J. Capart, *Bulletin critique des religions de l'Egypte, 1904*, Brussels, 1905, p. 39.

[4] Borchardt, *ZÄ* xxxvii. 94, xl. 114.

[5] The word *ḫnbt* is also applied to the Pharaoh's chief ministers of State (*Pap. Petersburgh*, 11163 *recto*, line 2=A. H. Gardiner, *Journ. of Egyp. Archæology*, i. [1914] 101). It is likewise used of a 'board' or 'bench' of judges (Erman, *ZÄ* xvii. [1879] 72).

[6] Erman, *Life*, p. 291 ff.; Griffith, *Siût and Dêr Rîfeh*, pl. 7, line 283 ff.

[7] Breasted, *Anc. Records*, i. 550.

[8] See Griffith, *Siût and Dêr Rîfeh*, pl. 7, line 288.

[9] Borchardt, *ZÄ* xxxvii. 97.

[10] Sethe, *Urkunden*, ii. 136. [11] Otto, i. 37 f.

[12] Erman, *Life*, pp. 104 f., 294; *ZÄ* xliv. [1908] 31, 33; Breasted, *Anc. Records*, iii. 564, 619, 627.

[13] See Grenfell, Hunt, and Goodspeed, no. 306.

[14] U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, Leipzig, 1912, p. 127; Otto, i. 50; cf. F. Krebs, *ZÄ* xxxi. [1893] 35; Grenfell, Hunt, and Goodspeed, no. 298.

[15] Wilcken, p. 115. For the working of these local senates see B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, London, 1898–1916, xii. 26 ff., esp. p. 29, note on lines 1–3 of papyrus no. 1412; see also p. 134, introd. to no. 1449.

[16] ii. 35. [17] ii. 54, 56, 171, 182; cf. i. 182.

[18] The antiquity of these titles is attested by the fact that the title of the chief priestess of Ḥathor of Cusæ was the same in the Old Kingdom as in Ptolemaic times (A. Kamāl, *Annales du Service*, xv. [1915] 214, 238; Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.* p. 1361).

[1] Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.* pp. 1361, 1368; Erman, *Life*, pp. 291, 295 f.; Lange-Schäfer, i. no. 20026, *c*, 9.

[2] *E.g.*, Wreszinski, p. 9 f., and *passim*; Kamāl, *Annales du Service*, xv. 214, 238; cf. p. 201. In the last instance Tiḥnt, who bears the title of the chief priestess of Ḥathor of Cusæ, is the *mother* of the high-priest mentioned here, but she was probably the wife of the previous high-priest.

[3] G. Maspero, *The Dawn of Civilization*, Eng. tr., London, 1894, p. 272 f.; Brugsch, *Dict. géogr.*, pp. 1361, 1368; Erman, *Life*, pp. 291, 295 f., *Handbook*, p. 72 f.; Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir*, i. 22 ff., ii. 24 f.; Davies-Gardiner, p. 94 ff.; Schäfer, *Urkunden*, iii. 105; Sethe, *Urkunden*, ii. 150 f.; see also § VII. 2, 3 (*b*).

[4] Blackman, ii. 24 f.; Lange-Schäfer, i. no. 20026, *c*, 9.

[5] Erman, *Life*, p. 295. [6] Otto, i. 92 ff.

[7] Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 162; Lepsius, ii. 100*b*.

[8] Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri*, text 21, 32. [9] Otto, i. 92 f.

[10] The wives of the Beni Ḥasan princes (Newberry, i. 14, 43) are prophetesses of Pakhet (P;ḫt).

[11] Erman, *Life*, p. 290; Newberry, i. 14, 43.

[12] Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 183. [13] *Ib.* p. 90.

[14] Griffith, *Demotic Papyri*, iii. 84. [15] *Ib.* note 6.

[16] Perhaps the woman was on the same footing as the men because the divinity in question was a goddess—Ḥathor.

[17] Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. 24 ff.

[18] Griffith-Wilcken, *ZÄ* xlv. 110.

[19] Legrain, *Statues et statuettes*, i. no. 42122, *d*, line 11.

[20] Otto, i. 35, 92.

[21] R. Reitzenstein, *Zwei relig.-geschichtl. Fragen*, Strassburg, 1901, p. 19.

[22] Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. 25=Breasted, *Anc. Records*, i. 217; Griffith, *Demotic Papyri*, iii. 98 ff.; Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 94 f.; cf. *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelæ, etc., in the British Museum*, i. pl. 54.

[23] Griffith, *Siût and Dêr Rîfeh*, pl. 7, line 284 ff.; Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. 25; Griffith, *Demotic Papyri*, iii. 45 (the last-mentioned enumerates the varied assortment of commodities forming the income of a prophet in the Saitic period).

[24] Cf. Grenfell, Hunt, and Goodspeed, no. 294, line 12.

[25] Griffith, *Demotic Papyri*, iii. 65, note 4, 90, note 5.

[26] *Ib.* p. 65.

In Roman times the temple estates became Crown property, which the priests could hold on lease from the State.[1] The temples were also supported by taxes and voluntary contributions.[2]

2. The offerings.—The offerings, or, as in the temple of Anubis at Illahūn (see below), a portion of them, seem to have been divided every day[3] among the priests proportionately according to their status.[4] On this principle the chief prophet of the temple of Ḥathor of Reōnet (Tehneh) received as his share a tenth of 'all that enters the temple.'[5]

The priest's daily rations consisted of bread, beer, and meat.[6] According to Herodotus,[7] they included 'a great quantity of beef and geese' and also wine. With this agrees a document of the Saitic period.[8] In the above-mentioned temple of Anubis at Illahūn the greater part of the daily offerings of bread and beer, 'after the gods were satisfied with them,'[9] was handed over to the *ka*-servants (see § XIV. [*a*])—of course in return for adequate remuneration[10]—for presentation to the dead, the priests getting what remained over.[11]

3. Other sources of income.—The priests could increase their incomes by performing periodical or daily services for the dead.[12]

4. Special perquisites of the high-priest.—In addition to receiving the largest annual stipend and daily rations, the high-priest of a temple evidently had special perquisites.

At Asyūṭ, *e.g.*, the superintendent of the prophets of Upwawet was entitled to a roast of meat for every bull slaughtered in the temple and a *sṯ*-measure of beer for every *ds*-vessel of beer offered on a day of procession.[13]

5. Stipends of the wives and daughters of priests.—According to the *Decree of Canopus* (line 35=Sethe, *Urkunden*, ii. 152 f.), an allotment from the temple revenue was due to the daughters of priests from the day of their birth. The same authority also informs us that the wives of priests received an allowance of bread.

X. *PRIESTLY PRIVILEGES.*—**1. Immunity from forced labour.**—The fact that a man was a *wē'eb* did not necessarily bring him exemption from compulsory State labour, such as work in the quarries or on the dykes and canals.

Thus the phylæ of *wē'eb*-priests of the Hermopolite nome are among those depicted dragging the colossal statue of Dhuthotp from the quarries of Ḥatnub to its appointed resting-place.[14]

Perpetual immunity from all such labour was granted to the priests of certain temples by special royal decrees.[15]

In the later Ptolemaic period the priests seem to have been immune from all compulsory State service. In Roman times they forfeited more and more of their old privileged position, being sometimes taken off by force for the cultivation of Crown land.[16] Only priests of important temples (λόγιμα ἱερά) enjoyed immunity from compulsory labour.[17]

2. Immunity from taxation and imposts.—In the Old Kingdom the temples were liable for imposts, such as the furnishing of government officials with supplies.[1] It appears that in the Saitic period the 'great temples of Egypt' at least were exempt both from the above-mentioned imposts and from taxation.[2]

Under the Ptolemys the majority of the temple estates were liable to taxation. Only the estates made over as a gift to the god and administered by the priests themselves were immune.[3] For the position of the temple estates in Roman times see § IX. 1.

3. Immunity from poll-tax.—The priests were free from poll-tax under the Ptolemys.[4] Under Roman rule all but a specified number of priests at each temple had to pay this tax.[5]

4. Right of asylum.—All temples possessed the right of asylum in the later Ptolemaic period.[6] Under Roman rule this right was severely curtailed.[7]

XI. *ADMISSION TO THE PRIESTHOOD.*—**1. Tendency of the priesthood to become hereditary.**—The priestly status, *i.e.* that of *wē'eb*, seems in some cases[8] to have been hereditary as early as the XIIth dynasty. But there are no grounds for supposing that then, as in Roman times, the priesthood was denied to all but persons of priestly descent.

(*a*) In the Middle Kingdom numbers of *wē'eb*-priests appear to have been the sons of non-priestly parents.[9] As late as the XXth dynasty we find that out of six sons two are priests and the rest officials.[10]

(*b*) It is not till after the XXth dynasty that the purely priestly families seem to have begun to come into being.[11]

(*c*) By the time of the early Ptolemys admittance to the priesthood seems to have been restricted to persons of priestly descent.[12] Possibly this restriction was already in force in the Saitic period.[13]

2. Tests for admittance to the priesthood.—In Roman times these were very strict.

(i.) No one could be admitted unless it was satisfactorily demonstrated that the applicant belonged to a priestly family;[14] he had to show that both his father and grandfather were priests.[15] It may here be noted that a priest the purity of whose birth had been challenged was considered to have satisfactorily proved his claim by being able to read a hieratic book produced by the ἱερογραμματεύς.[16]

(ii.) An aspirant to the priesthood had to be free from all bodily defects as well as of priestly birth.[17] Cf. perhaps the instructions of Psamtik I. with regard to the appointment of Peteēsi as *wē'eb* in various temples: 'Let Peteēsi be priest in them if it were fitting.'[18]

(iii.) By a law of Hadrian only priests might be circumcised.[19] If a candidate proved his priestly descent and his freedom from blemish, permission was granted to circumcise. Until he had been circumcised, no person could exercise the priestly office.[20] For full particulars of the procedure to be followed in order to obtain permission to circumcise see Grenfell, Hunt, and Goodspeed, no. 292, p. 58 f. See also art. CIRCUMCISION (Egyptian).

(iv.) It is probable that admission to the priesthood entailed circumcision as far back as the Old Kingdom, for even *ka*-servants, who probably were not as a rule *wē'eb*-priests (see

1 **Grenfell, Hunt, and Goodspeed, no. 302, note on line 8 and p. 88.**
2 *Ib.* no. 298, p. 75, and p. 81, note on line 34.
3 Not every month, as Borchardt wrongly asserts.
4 Borchardt, *ZÄ* xl. 114. 5 Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. 26.
6 Borchardt, *ZÄ* xl. 114; Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. 26; Griffith, *Siūṭ and Dêr Rîfeh*, pl. 7, line 286; cf. Petrie, *Koptos*, pl. viii. lines 6, 11.
7 ii. 37. 8 Griffith, *Demotic Papyri*, iii. 45.
9 Cf. Erman, *Handbook*, p. 47; *Egyptian Stelæ in Brit. Mus.*, i. pl. 47, line 3.
10 See Griffith, *Siūṭ and Dêr Rîfeh*, pl. 7, line 286.
11 Borchardt, *ZÄ* xl. 114.
12 Griffith, *Siūṭ and Dêr Rîfeh*, pl. 6 ff.=Breasted, *Anc. Records*, i. 538 ff.; Davies-Gardiner, p. 79 f.; T. E. Peet, *Annals of Archæology and Anthropology*, vii. [Liverpool, 1916] 82 f., pl. xv. line 9 f. (contract with the lector Intef); cf. Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. 25, 27 f.
13 Griffith, *Siūṭ and Dêr Rîfeh*, pl. 7, line 302 f.=Breasted, *Anc. Records*, i. 568 ff.
14 P. E. Newberry, *El-Bersheh*, London, n.d. [1905], i. pl. xv.
15 *E.g.*, Petrie, *Abydos*, ii. pl. xviii.; J. Capart, *Bull. critique des religions de l'Egypte, 1904*, p. 39 f.; Weill, *Décrets royaux*; A. H. Gardiner, *PSBA* xxxiv. [1912] 257 f.; A. Moret, *Chartes d'immunité dans l'ancien empire égyptien*, i. (Extrait du Journal asiatique, Juillet-Août 1912), Paris, 1912, ii. (Extrait du Journal asiatique, Mars-Avril 1916), do. 1916.
16 Wilcken, *Grundzüge*, p. 129. 17 *Ib.*

1 Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. 131, line 6; cf. Griffith, *Demotic Papyri*, iii. 109.
2 Griffith, *Demotic Papyri*, iii. 80, 108 f.
3 Wilcken, p. 95 with note 5; cf. Davies-Gardiner, p. 87, § 6, on the question of temple land-tenure in dynastic times.
4 Wilcken, p. 94.
5 *Ib.* p. 128; Grenfell, Hunt, and Goodspeed, pp. 61, 74 f.
6 Wilcken, p. 94. 7 *Ib.* p. 114.
8 Griffith, *Siūṭ and Dêr Rîfeh*, pl. 7, line 288=Breasted, *Anc. Records*, i. 552.
9 *E.g.*, Lange-Schäfer, i. nos. 20074, 20142, ii. nos. 20432, 20712. Cf. also no. 20545, according to which in the same family-group some members are *wē'eb*-priests and some minor officials.
10 Lepsius, iii. 231*a*.
11 *E.g.*, Legrain, *Statues et statuettes*, ii. nos. 42138, 42188, 42189, 42211, 42215; *RTr* xxvii. [1905] 73 ff.
12 *Decree of Canopus*, hieroglyphic text, line 14 f.
13 See Griffith, *Demotic Papyri*, iii. 80 f., 83 f., 97.
14 Grenfell, Hunt, and Goodspeed, no. 293, lines 17–22, 291, and the editors' statements on pp. 55 f., 58 f., and 61; Reitzenstein, p. 5; Wilcken, p. 218.
15 Reitzenstein, p. 17 f.
16 Grenfell, Hunt, and Goodspeed, ii. no. 291, lines 40–53.
17 Wilcken, p. 128.
18 Griffith, *Demotic Papyri*, no. ix. 8/18. 19 Otto, i. 214.
20 Wilcken, p. 128; Grenfell, Hunt, and Goodspeed, no. 293, lines 19–22.

§ XIV. [*a*] i.), were circumcised.[1] Griffith suggests that the descriptive label attached to one of the two groups in the scene in question, viz. *sbt ḥm-kȝ*, should be rendered: 'qualifying the *ka*-servants by circumcision.' For a full discussion of the circumcision of Egyptian priests see art. CIRCUMCISION (Egyptian).

With the scene in the temple of Khons at Karnak,[2] depicting two mothers presenting each a son to be circumcised, we might well compare Grenfell, Hunt, and Goodspeed, ii. no. 292.

(*v.*) We learn from the *Decree of Canopus* (hieroglyphic text, lines 14, 34 f.), that it was the king who admitted new priests. This seems to have been the custom also in Saitic times.[3] We know nothing about the regulations for admittance to the priesthood in the earlier periods.[4] In Roman times it was the ἰδιολόγος, or high-priest of all Egypt (the representative of the emperor in all religious matters), who, after the necessary particulars had been laid before him, granted permission to circumcise the candidate and then admitted him to the priesthood.[5]

(vi.) In Roman times a new priest, on being admitted to the priestly order, had to pay a fee to the State called τὸ τελεστικόν.[6]

XII. *APPOINTMENT TO PRIESTLY OFFICES.*—**1. High-priesthoods.**—High-priests seem regularly to have been appointed to their office by the king.[7] See below, **2** (*f*), and above § II. 1.

(*a*) When the central power was weak, the high-priesthoods, along with the local governorships, tended to become hereditary;[8] and in all periods, too, the high-priesthoods of certain famous temples seem frequently to have become vested in one family for several generations.[9] But even so the actual appointment to the high-priesthood seems still to have rested with the sovereign.[10]

(*b*) We have two instances of the high-priest of Amūn of Thebes being chosen by an oracle of the god himself.[11] In the first case the king confirmed the choice of the god; in the second we may presume that the king ratified the choice, as the new high-priest was his son.

2. Priestly offices below the rank of high-priest.—Such offices could be (*a*) assigned by the king, or (*b*) by his representative, the local governor and high-priest, (*c*) purchased, (*d*) conveyed by deed of transference, (*e*) bequeathed to descendants.

(*a*) A king of the XVIIIth dynasty promoted a certain Amenemḥēt from the rank of *wʿeb* to that of 'father of the god.'[12] He was perhaps later appointed prophet by the king.[13]

(*b*) The local governor and high-priest, as Pharaoh's representative, seems to have appointed persons to vacant priesthoods.[14]

(*c*) Priesthoods were bought and sold from the earliest times onwards.[15] Appointments to priestly offices in Roman times were usually obtained by purchasing them from the government.[16]

(*d*) Priesthoods could be conveyed by the holder while living to another person by deed of transfer.[17]

(*e*) Priestly offices were frequently obtained by inheritance.[1] In the case of mortuary priesthoods it is often specifically stated in the deeds of appointment that the offices are to be transmitted to the children.[2]

(*f*) In Roman times a person, on entering upon a priestly office, whether obtained by inheritance or otherwise, had to pay to the government a tax called τὸ εἰσκριτικόν.[3] This tax suggests that perhaps even in the dynastic periods all such appointments had to be ratified by the State—*i.e.* the king (cf. [*a*], [*b*]).

3. Investiture and installation of priests.—Ramesses II., on appointing Nebwenenef to the high-priesthood of Amūn, invested him with two gold signets and a gold (*ḏʿm*) staff.[4] At the installation of the chief priestess (*ỉḫyt*) of Amūn of Napata a silver pail for libations of milk[5] was placed in her right hand and a silver sistrum in her left.[6] Perhaps on his appointment or at his installation the high-priest of Ptaḥ of Memphis was invested with his curious chain of office.[7]

At the installation of 'the god's wife' and high-priestess of Amūn, 'Enkhnesneferibrē', 'the prophets, fathers of the god, *wʿeb*-priests, lectors, the staff (*wnwt*) of the temple of Amūn, were behind her and the great companions were in front thereof, performing for her all the customary ceremonies of the induction of the god's votaress of Amūn into the temple. The god's scribe and nine *wʿeb*-priests of this house fastened on for her all the amulets and ornaments of the god's wife and god's votaress of Amūn.'[8] The newly-appointed prophet of Amūn of Teuzoi had to 'anoint the hands' at his induction.[9]

XIII. *THE FUNCTIONS OF THE TEMPLE PRIESTS.*—The temple was the 'house of the god,' *ḥt-nṯr*, and the priesthood in certain aspects was regarded as domestic service.[10] The word *ḥm-nṯr* (Coptic ϩⲟⲛⲧ),[11] which we, following the Greeks, render 'prophet,' means 'servant of the god.' Similarly the tomb was the 'house of the *ka*,' *ḥt-kȝ*, and the mortuary priest was the '*ka*-servant,' *ḥm-kȝ*.[12]

1. Accordingly in the daily services the priest sprinkled the god with water—a ceremony derived from servants bathing their master[13]—fumigated him with incense,[14] clothed and anointed him,[15] applied cosmetics to his eyes,[16] and arrayed him in his various ornaments.[17]

(*a*) The formulæ that were repeated during the performance of these ceremonies are full of allusions to the legendary tales about Osiris and Horus, and brought every one of the priest's manual acts into relation with some episode in the Osiris myth.[18] The god was regarded as Osiris, and the priest (=the king) as his son Horus.[19]

(*b*) The daily duties of the prophet, or, as the chief daily officiant was sometimes called, the 'great *wʿeb*,'[20] involved opening the doors of the shrine containing the god's statue and taking the statue out of it.[21] He is therefore described as 'entering in upon' such and such a god or goddess, 'seeing him[22] or

---

[1] W. Max Müller, *Egyptological Researches*, Washington, 1906, p. 61 f.; J. Capart, *Une Rue de tombeaux à Saqqarah*, Brussels, 1907, pl. lxvi.

[2] F. Chabas, *Œuvres diverses*, Paris, 1899–1905, ii. 115 ff. (vol. x. of 'Bibliothèque égyptologique,' ed. G. Maspero, Paris, 1893–1909).

[3] Griffith, *Demotic Papyri*, pp. 88, 81, note 8.

[4] The statement of Amenemḥēt, high-priest of Amūn in the XVIIIth dynasty—'I was admitted to hear what the *wʿeb*-priests hear' (A. H. Gardiner, *ZÄ* xlvii. 93)—apparently does not refer to his admission to the priesthood, but to some special promotion that came to him after he had been a *wʿeb* for many years.

[5] Wilcken, p. 128; Grenfell, Hunt, and Goodspeed, ii. no. 292.

[6] Otto, i. 212; Reitzenstein, p. 10.

[7] Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. 26, 84 f., *ZÄ* xliv. 30 ff.; Breasted, *Anc. Records*, iii. 565 [7]; Brugsch, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegypticarum*, Leipzig, 1883–91, pp. 908 f., 942.

[8] Breasted, *History*, p. 126; Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir*, i. 9 ff.; Petrie, *Koptos*, pl. viii. lines 6, 12; Breasted, *Anc. Records*, iv. 787 ff.

[9] Sethe, *ap.* L. Borchardt, *Grabdenkmal des Königs Śaḥu-rē'*, Leipzig, 1910, ii. 162; E. Schiaparelli, *Cat. del Museo archeologico di Firenze: antichità egizie*, Rome, 1887, p. 201 ff.; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, p. 889 ff.; Breasted, *Anc. Records*, iii. 618 ff.; Brugsch, *ZÄ* xvi. [1878] 41 f.

[10] Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, i. 57 ff. = Breasted, *Anc. Records*, i. 622 ff.; Petrie, *Koptos*, pl. viii. lines 6, 12 = Breasted, *Anc. Records*, i. 778 ff.; Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. 84; Brugsch, *Thesaurus*, pp. 908 f., 942.

[11] Sethe, *ZÄ* xliv. 32 ff.; Erman, *ZÄ* xlv. 4.

[12] Gardiner, *ZÄ* xlvii. 93.

[13] *Ib.*, line 15 f. of text.

[14] *E.g.*, Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. 26; Griffith, *Demotic Papyri*, pp. 81 ff., 96 f.; cf. perhaps Breasted, *Anc. Records*, iii. 620.

[15] Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. 12, 36; Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri*, pl. xiii. line 19 ff., *Demotic Papyri*, iii. 44 ff.

[16] Wilcken, p. 127 f.; Grenfell, Hunt, and Goodspeed, nos. 294–297; Wilcken and Griffith, *ZÄ* xlv. 103 ff.

[17] Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri*, 29 = pl. xi. line 10 ff., *Demotic Papyri*, iii. 92 with note 2, 102; Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. 12, 36.

[1] Breasted, *Anc. Records*, iii. 624–626, 753 f.; Moret, *Rituel*, p. 105; Legrain, *Statues et statuettes*, iii. no. 42230, *u*; Grenfell, Hunt, and Goodspeed, no. 294, note on line 2; Herod. ii. 37.

[2] Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. 12, 36; Griffith, *Siût and Dêr Rîfeh*, pl. 6, line 269 ff.; cf. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, i. pl. xxv. line 99.

[3] Reitzenstein, 10, note 5; Grenfell, Hunt, and Goodspeed, no. 294, note on line 20; Wilcken, p. 128.

[4] Sethe, *ZÄ* xliv. 33.

[5] Cf. H. Junker, *Das Götterdekret über das Abaton*, Vienna, 1913, p. 9 ff.

[6] Schäfer, *Urkunden*, iii. 105.

[7] Erman, *ZÄ* xxxiii. [1895] 22 f.; M. A. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, London, 1905, i. pls. i., xxxvi.

[8] G. Maspero, *Annales du Service*, v. 85 ff.; cf. Breasted, *Anc. Records*, iv. 958 D.

[9] Griffith, *Demotic Papyri*, iii. 97 with note 1, 238 with note 5; cf. Gardiner, *ZÄ* xlvii. 93 [8].

[10] Erman, *Handbook*, p. 46 f., *Life*, p. 275.

[11] Griffith, *Demotic Papyri*, iii. 45, note 4; G. Steindorff, *ZÄ* xlv. 141.

[12] Davies-Gardiner, p. 78 f.; Erman, *Handbook*, p. 39.

[13] See art. PURIFICATION (Egyptian), § III. 1; Moret, *Rituel*, p. 171 ff.

[14] Moret, *Rituel*, p. 176 ff.; cf. art. PURIFICATION (Egyptian), § III. 1.

[15] Moret, *Rituel*, pp. 179–199.

[16] *Ib.* p. 179 f.

[17] *Ib.* p. 238 ff.

[18] Erman, *Handbook*, p. 45 f., *Life*, p. 274 f.; see also art. PURIFICATION (Egyptian), § V. 4.

[19] See above, § II. 2.

[20] Moret, *Rituel*, pp. 7, 42.

[21] Erman, *Handbook*, p. 45; Moret, *Rituel*, pp. 35 ff., 167.

[22] 'Her' in the actual inscription quoted, as the divinity in question is Ḥathor.

his beauty,'[1] and 'performing the ceremonies for him with the two arms.'[2]

(c) Another duty of the priests was to carry in procession the image of the divinity, placed in a boat-shaped shrine, on the occasion of a festival.[3]

2. The temple priests, in addition to the ordinary appellations prophet, father of the god, and *wē'eb*, which denoted their rank in the hierarchy, bore a number of titles,[4] many of which convey very little meaning to us or are quite unintelligible. These additional titles denote special administrative or special religious functions.[5]

(a) *Scribe of the temple.*—A very important functionary in each phyle was the scribe of the temple, who, during his term of office, kept all the temple accounts and made all the entries in the temple day-book.[6] He was certainly of priestly rank.[7]

(b) *Lector* (*ḫry-ḥb*).—There were 'ordinary lectors' (*ḫryw-ḥb ḫ'w*) and a 'chief lector' (*ḫry-ḥb ḫry-ḥ'.t*) on the temple staff.[8] The chief lector was on the permanent staff; ordinary lectors were members of the rotating phylæ.[9]

(i.) The chief lector ranked third on the staff of the Middle Kingdom temple of Anubis at Illahūn, only the phylarch coming between him and the superintendent of the temple, *i.e.* the high-priest.[10] The office of high-priest was often combined with that of lector or chief lector.[11]

(ii.) The priestly grade of the ordinary lectors seems generally to have been that of *wē'eb*.[12] A lector could also be a phylarch.[13]

(iii.) The duty of the lector was to recite the formulæ, to the accompaniment of which the rites in the temples were performed.[14]

(iv.) For the lector as a mortuary priest see under § XIV. (c); as a magician, see art. MAGIC (Egyptian), § 9, and Gardiner, *PSBA* xxxix. [1917] 31; as a physician, see under § XVI.

(c) *Dancers and musicians.*—Probably male as well as female dancers and musicians were attached to all temples;[15] they seem to have figured especially at festivals.[16] In the Middle Kingdom many of them were foreigners—chiefly Aamu—[17] and perhaps slaves.[18]

(d) *Door-keepers, etc.*—The temple staff included minor functionaries such as door-keepers and sweepers.[19] In the temple of Anubis at Illahūn these were permanent functionaries, not members of phylæ.[20] But a temple door-keeper could be a *wē'eb* and a second prophet of the endowment of the altar.[21]

XIV. *THE MORTUARY PRIESTS.*—The cult of the dead in many respects resembled that of the gods (see above, § XIII.). The officiants most commonly represented as performing the services required by the dead bear the titles '*ka*-servant,' 'embalmer,' 'lector,' 'chief lector,' 'treasurer of the god,' *sem*, *imy-khant*.

[1] Cf. Moret, *Rituel*, p. 55.

[2] Kamāl, *Annales du Service*, xv. 213; Lange-Schäfer, no. 20359. For further descriptions of the priest's daily duties see Breasted, *Anc. Records*, iii. 564; Lange-Schäfer, nos. 20359, 20530; cf. Schäfer, *Die Mysterien des Osiris in Abydos*, pp. 18, 19 with note 1.

[3] Erman, *Life*, p. 275 f., *Handbook*, p. 49 f.; cf. Griffith, *Siût and Dêr Rifeh*, pl. 6, line 274 f. = Breasted, *Anc. Records*, i. 540 f. (see also iii. 622).

[4] See M. A. Murray, *Index of Names and Titles of the Old Kingdom*, London, 1908; Lange-Schäfer, i., ii.; Legrain, *Statues et statuettes*, i.–iii.; Stolk, p. 35 ff.; Wreszinski, *Die Hohenpriester des Amon*; Chassinat, *Annales du Service*, xvi. 193 ff.; A. H. Gardiner and A. E. P. Weigall, *A Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs of Thebes*, London, 1903, p. 43 f.

[5] *E.g.*, Schäfer, *Priestergräber . . . von Totentempel des Nē-User-Rā'*, p. 34 (Schäfer's explanation is wrong; 'Inhtp was, of course, superintendent of the fishers and fowlers on the temple estates); Erman, *Life*, p. 291; Griffith, *Siût and Dêr Rifeh*, pl. 7; Borchardt, *ZÄ* xxxvii. 94, xl. 114.

[6] Borchardt, *ZÄ* xxxvii. 94.

[7] *E.g.*, Griffith, *Siût and Dêr Rifeh*, pl. 7; Legrain, *Statues et statuettes*, i. no. 42078, *e*.

[8] Borchardt, *ZÄ* xxxvii. 94; Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri*, pl. x. note on line 2; Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir*, iii. pl. xxiii. 2.

[9] Borchardt, *ZÄ* xxxvii. 94.

[10] *Ib.*

[11] § VIII. 3 (*b*).

[12] Erman, *Life*, p. 294 with note 1; Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv. 470; Wreszinski, p. 11; Erman, *ZÄ* xvii. 72.

[13] Wreszinski, p. 11.

[14] Erman, *Life*, pp. 289, 294; Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv. 261 (= Breasted, *Anc. Records*, ii. 239); Breasted, *Anc. Records*, i. 506, iv. 958 D; H. Junker, *Die Stundenwachen in den Osirismysterien*, Vienna, 1910, pp. 5, 33, 38, *passim*; cf. Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir*, ii. pl. ix., iii. 29, 32, pl. xxii. f.

[15] *E.g.*, Lange-Schäfer, no. 20026; Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri*, p. 59 ff.; Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir*, ii. 24; Davies-Gardiner, p. 94 ff.; N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna*, London, 1903–08, i. 31, pl. xiii.; see also under § VI. 4, § VII. 2 f.

[16] Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri*, p. 59 ff. [17] *Ib.* p. 60.

[18] *Ib.* pls. xii. line 10, xiii. line 15, xxx. line 35.

[19] Capart, *Bulletin critique des religions de l'Egypte, 1904*, p. 39.

[20] Borchardt, *ZÄ* xxxvii. 94. [21] Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv. 30.

(a) *Ka-servant* (*ḥm-k'*).—The *ka*-servant was responsible for the maintenance of the services (daily or periodical) performed on behalf of the dead in the tomb-chapel or 'house of the *ka*,'[1] as was the prophet, or 'servant of the god,' for those performed on behalf of a divinity in a temple;[2] and the same methods were employed to secure the services of both.[3] The daily or periodical services consisted mainly in the pouring out of libations, the burning of incense, and the presentation of offerings of food and drink to the deceased.[4] 'It is a man's *ka*-priest,' says Defaihap, 'who maintains his possessions (*'iḫwt*)[5] and his offerings.'[6]

(i.) Not unnaturally *ka*-servants were on the staff of the temple of Osiris at Abydos[7] and of Anubis at Illahūn;[8] but the impression gained from the majority of texts is that the *ka*-servants formed an organization distinct from the temple priesthood, as did the *choachytæ* (χοαχύται) of the Græco-Roman period.[9]

(ii.) The *choachytæ* (= Egyp. *w'ḥ-mw*, 'water-offerer')[10] fulfilled in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods the same functions as the *ka*-servants in earlier times. They were responsible for the upkeep of the tombs and for the safety of the mummies within them.[11] As their name shows, one of their chief duties was to pour out libations to the dead,[12] the ancient funerary offering having degenerated into little more than a periodical libation accompanied by the repetition of the prescribed formulæ.[13]

(iii.) Like the *choachytæ*,[14] the *ka*-servants were divided into phylæ,[15] and were under the direction of 'superintendents' and 'inspectors.'[16]

(iv.) Judging from the determinatives of *ḥmw-k'* (*ka*-servants) in Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. 11 ff., 36 (cf. 27 f.), the *ka*-servants, in the Old Kingdom at least, seem, like the *choachytæ*,[17] to have been of both sexes.

(v.) Both *ka*-priests and *choachytæ* were in the habit of disposing of their offices and the attached emoluments by will (or deed of transference) or by sale.[18] In Old and Middle Kingdom documents it is sometimes stipulated that the *ka*-servants are not to dispose of the endowments by sale or by will (*imyt-pr*)[19] to any people, but are to transmit them (of course with their attendant responsibilities) to their children.[20] Or, again, the *ka*-servant is to choose one particular son as his heir, and that son in his turn is to do the same.[21]

(b) *Embalmer.*—The embalmer (*wt*) is a familiar figure from the earliest times in the representations of funerals and other mortuary ceremonies.[22] The laboratory in which he exercised his art was called the 'place of purification' (*w'bt*),[23] or 'good house,'[24] or, more fully, the 'place of purification of the good house.'[25]

(i.) From the inscriptions accompanying a series of scenes in the tomb-chapel of Pepi'onkh at Meir,[26] the embalmers in that locality seem, like the *paraschistæ* and *taricheutæ* of Græco-Roman times, to have formed an organization or gild of their own under the direction of one or more 'inspectors' (*shḏ- wt*) and a superintendent (*imy-r' wt*). In the temple of Anubis at Illahūn, however, each phyle of priests appears to have contained one embalmer,[27] who therefore must have been at least a *wē'eb*.

(ii.) In the Ptolemaic and Roman periods the embalmers were called *paraschistæ* (παρασχισταί) and *taricheutæ* (ταριχευταί), the former making the necessary incisions, etc., in the corpse, the latter carrying out the embalming and wrapping.[28] At

[1] See A. M. Blackman, in *Journ. of Egyptian Archæology*, iii. [1916] 250 ff.

[2] Davies-Gardiner, p. 73 f.

[3] Cf. Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. 25 with i. 11 f., 36 f., and see Griffith, *Siût and Dêr Rifeh*, pl. 6, line 269 ff.; Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, i. pl. xxv. line 86 ff.; Erman, *Life*, p. 323 f., *Handbook*, p. 123 f.; Peet, *Annals of Archæology and Anthropology*, vii. 81 ff.; *Egyptian Stelæ in Brit. Mus.*, i. pl. 54; see also § IX. x.

[4] Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, i. pl. xxv. line 84 ff.; A. Moret, *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres*, Paris, 1914, p. 543; Davies-Gardiner, p. 73 ff.; Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir*, ii. pl. x., iii. pls. xxi.–xxiii.

[5] Or perhaps 'repasts' (H. Grapow, *ZÄ* xlvii. 106, note 37); but see *Sinuhe*, B 240.

[6] Griffith, *Siût and Dêr Rifeh*, pl. 6, line 269.

[7] Lange-Schäfer, i. no. 20093, ii. no. 20748.

[8] Borchardt, *ZÄ* xl. 114. [9] Otto, i. 99 ff.

[10] Griffith, *Demotic Papyri*, iii. pp. 16, 55, note 5.

[11] Otto, i. 100. [12] *Ib.* i. 99–101.

[13] See Blackman, in *Journ. of Egyptian Archæology*, iii. 33.

[14] Otto, i. 103 f. [15] Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. 13 f., 36.

[16] Murray, *Index of Names and Titles of the Old Kingdom*, pl. xxiii.

[17] Otto, i. 102; Griffith-Wilcken, *ZÄ* xlv. 104.

[18] Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. 12, 36; Griffith-Wilcken, *ZÄ* xlv. 103 ff.

[19] '*Imyt-pr* also means 'deed of transference' (see Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri*, p. 29 f.).

[20] Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. 12, 36.

[21] Griffith, *Siût and Dêr Rifeh*, pl. 6, line 272.

[22] *E.g.*, Lepsius, ii. pls. 4 f., 25, 35, 101*b*; Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir*, iii. pls. xvii., xxiii. 2.

[23] Davies-Gardiner, p. 45, note 3.

[24] Lange-Schäfer, nos. 20088, 20457; F. Ll. Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, Oxford, 1900, p. 29.

[25] Davies-Gardiner, p. 45, note 3.

[26] See Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir*, i. 6; Davies-Gardiner, p. 45, note 4.

[27] Borchardt, *ZÄ* xxxvii. 94. [28] Otto, i. 105 ff.

Library of
PACIFIC BIBLE SEMINARY
2606 EAST ANAHEIM STREET
LONG BEACH, CALIFORNIA

Memphis they and the *choachytæ* were united in one large group and their functions were interchangeable.[1]

For the embalmer's impersonation of Anubis see § VI. 2.

(*c*) *Chief lectors and lectors.*—These figure as prominently in the funerary as in the temple services. As mortuary officiants their duty was to direct the ritual of the embalmer's workshop and of the tomb-chapel, and to recite the accompanying formulæ. The functions of the lector and embalmer were not sharply differentiated. Thus a chief lector is described as being 'over the mysteries of the good house,'[2] and an ordinary lector is entitled 'Anubis in the good house, chief of the lectors'[3] or 'treasurer of the god, Anubis the embalmer.'[4]

This explains, perhaps, why Diodorus calls the chief embalmer a scribe, γραμματεύς,[5] and why the Greek rendering of *ḥry-ḥb*, 'lector,' is ταριχευτής, 'embalmer.'[6]

(*d*) '*Treasurer of the god.*'—The presence of a functionary bearing this title at funerary ceremonies[7] is a legacy from the time when they were performed for the Pharaoh only.[8] The 'treasurer of the god' was closely associated with the acquisition of precious commodities[9] such as turquoise,[10] the produce of Byblos and Punt,[11] stone from Hammamat for monuments,[12] incense, etc., from the Sudān;[13] he would naturally, therefore, play an important part in the royal obsequies, for he would have to supply many of the articles required for the embalming and burial of the king. 'Treasurer of the god,' as a mortuary title, could be combined with those of 'lector' and 'Anubis the embalmer.'[14]

(*e*) *Sem-priest.*—The funerary officiant with this title represents, of course, the high-priest of Ptaḥ of Memphis.[15] That ecclesiastic naturally pronounced the offering formula,[16] and burned incense and offered libation,[17] at the burial of a Memphite king. As was to be expected, the *sem* was the chief officiant in the 'Opening of the Mouth'[18]—a rite originally performed, perhaps, on royal statues,[19] and therefore in early times a function of the Memphite high-priest in his capacity of chief artificer, *wr ḥrp ḥmwt* (lit. 'great in directing the craftsmen').[20]

(*f*) *Imy-khant* (*imy-ḫnt*).—This priest is frequently figured in representations of funerary ceremonies, especially those of the Middle and New Kingdoms.[21] Sethe[22] thinks that *imy-ḫnt* means 'festival priest.' Connected with the Osiris cult at Abydos there was a '*great imy-khant*' who was also entitled 'prophet' and 'great *wē'eb*.'[23]

XV. *PRIESTS OF THE REIGNING KING.*—The *wē'eb* priests and prophets of the reigning Pharaoh[24] were a prominent feature of the Old Kingdom priesthood. We also meet with them later.[25]

XVI. *PRIESTS AS DOCTORS.*—The professions of physician and priest (*wē'eb* or lector) were often combined.[26]

A *wē'eb* who is also a physician (*swnw*) pronounces the sacrificial victim pure.[27] Priests of the goddess Sakhmet were regarded as especially skilled in the art of medicine.[28] The business of the priest of Sakhmet depicted with cattle in a scene in the tomb-chapel of a Cusite nomarch at Meir[29] was thus evidently to decide whether they were fit for sacrificial purposes or not. There was apparently a medical school at Sais attached to the temple of Neith. It was restored in the reign of Darius by a 'chief prophet of Neith' who was also styled 'great in medicine' (*wr swn*).[1] In a Ptolemaic bilingual an embalmer, ταριχευτής, is termed *syn*, 'physician,' in the Demotic version.[2]

XVII. *PRIESTS AS MAGICIANS.* — See art. MAGIC (Egyptian), vol. viii. p. 268; supplemented by A. H. Gardiner, *PSBA* xxxix. 31 ff.

XVIII. *PRIESTS AS JUDGES.*—Priests acted in this capacity in the New Kingdom. Of a board (*ḫnbt*) of ten judges who sat on one day, six were prophets (including the high-priest of Amūn, who presided), and three *wē'eb*-priests. Only one, a scribe, was a layman.[3]

XIX. *PURIFICATION AND PURITY OF PRIESTS.*—See art. PURIFICATION (Egyptian), § V. 7.

XX. *CLOTHING, ETC., OF PRIESTS.*—See art. PURIFICATION (Egyptian), § V. 7 (*g*), (*h*).

XXI. *THE PRIESTHOOD AS A CIVIL FUNCTION.*—The higher priestly offices were sometimes evidently civil appointments; *i.e.*, the holders of them were not professional priests.[4]

Defaiḥap, *e.g.*, a Middle Kingdom ruler of the Lycopolite nome and therefore *ipso facto* high-priest (superintendent of the prophets of the local divinity),[5] cannot have exercised his priestly functions for a considerable part of his career, as he was resident governor of the newly acquired territory in the Sudān, the administrative centre of which was the modern Kerma.[6] The same may be said of a local prince like Ameny of Beni Ḥasan, who, in addition to being very active as civil administrator of the nome, went on military and mining expéditions.[7] Similarly Seti, an important official in the reign of Ramesses II., combined with a number of important civil and military appointments several priesthoods, which must surely have been sinecures.[8] Cf. also the case of Peteēsi, a busy civil servant of the Saitic age, to whom was assigned 'the share of the prophet of Amūn of Teuzoi and his ennead of deities,' but who, apparently, never once officiated in this capacity.[9]

The offices of *sem*, 'son whom he loves,' and *sm*ʿ (?), in the case of Ikhernofret, were practically civil appointments, and were doubtless only temporarily held by him in his capacity of special envoy and representative of the king;[10] he was, as we can see from his titles,[11] not a professional priest. The same may be said of Sehetepibrē';[12] also of Menthḥotp,[13] who, though he bore several priestly titles,[14] was vizier and chief justice,[15] and held several other posts of secular administration.

LITERATURE.—This has been sufficiently indicated in the article. AYLWARD M. BLACKMAN.

PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD (Greek) (ἱερεύς, ἱέρεια, ἱερωσύνη).—1. General characteristics.—

The Greeks did not possess a priesthood, in the sense of a sacred caste or class of men through whose medium alone the gods could be approached. Priests and priestesses existed everywhere among them in great numbers, but their significance is quite other than that of a sacred order, such as was seen among the most highly developed of the surrounding nations. It is true that there are in Greece also considerable traces of ideas of a kind that might have led to similar hierarchic institutions. For the Greeks were familiar with the idea that certain individuals or classes of people possessed some inherent capacity for particular sacred functions—that women, *e.g.*, were the chosen medium of communication between gods and men at certain oracular seats, or that some men possessed inherent mantic powers, and the like; but this does not greatly affect the general Hellenic attitude, which was on the whole to refuse to define any department of life as tabu, but on the contrary to throw open all its possibilities to any and every individual claiming the name of citizen. This is true also of the Homeric

1 Otto, i. 105–107. 2 Lange-Schäfer, no. 20088.
3 *Ib.* no. 20457.
4 *Ib.* no. 20538, I. *d*, line 3; see also § VI. 2. 5 Otto, i. 105.
6 Griffith, *Demotic Papyri*, iii. 122, note 3.
7 *E.g.*, Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir*, iii. pl. xxiii. 2; Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, i. pls. xx., xxxv.
8 Cf. § III. 1, and see Davies-Gardiner, pp. 55, 87.
9 Erman, *Life*, p. 96. 10 Breasted, *Anc. Records*, i. 342.
11 *Ib.* §§ 351, 361. 12 *Ib.* §§ 297 ff., 388. 13 *Ib.* § 336.
14 Lange-Schäfer, ii. no. 20538, I. *d*, line 3; see also Otto, i. 105.
15 See Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, p. 3 ff.; Stolk, p. 35.
16 *E.g.*, Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, i. pls. xvii., xxxv.; Davies-Gardiner, p. 21; Griffith, *Siût and Dêr Rîfeh*, pl. 2.
17 *E.g.*, Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir*, i. pl. iii.; Junker, *Stundenwachen*, p. 5.
18 Davies-Gardiner, p. 59; Budge, *The Book of Opening the Mouth*, i. 155 ff.; cf. Schäfer, *Die Mysterien des Osiris in Abydos*, p. 18.
19 Davies-Gardiner, p. 57; see § III. 1.
20 Stolk, p. 13; see § III. 1.
21 *E.g.*, Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir*, iii. 22, 33, pls. xiv., xxiii. 2; Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el-Gebrâwi*, ii. pl. vii.; Davies-Gardiner, pp. 52, 54; Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, London, 1913, pl. vi.; Borchardt, *Grabdenkmal des Königs Śaḥu-rē'*, ii. pl. 19.
22 *Ap.* Borchardt, *Grabdenkmal des Königs Śaḥu-rē'*, ii. 96.
23 Lange-Schäfer, ii. no. 20514. See also K. Dyroff and B. Pörtner, *Aegyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine aus süddeutschen Sammlungen*, Munich, 1902–04, ii. 2 ff., pl. ii. = W. E. Crum, *PSBA* xvi. [1894] 132 f.
24 Erman, *Life*, p. 290.
25 *E.g.*, Borchardt, *ZÄ* xxxvii. 94.
26 See art. MAGIC [Egyptian], vol. viii. p. 268a; Kamāl, *Annales du Service*, xv. 244.
27 J. E. Quibell, *The Ramesseum*, London, 1896, pl. xxxvi.
28 Wreszinski, *Der Papyrus Ebers*, Leipzig, 1913, i. 99, 2 f.
29 Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir* iii. pl. iii.

1 Schäfer, *ZÄ* xxxvii. 72 ff.
2 Griffith-Wilcken, *ZÄ* xlv. 107
3 Erman, *ZÄ* xvii. 72; see also Breasted, *Anc. Records*, iii. 64 f.
4 See Erman, *Life*, p. 292.
5 Griffith, *Siût and Dêr Rîfeh*, pl. 6.
6 G. A. Reisner, *ZÄ* lii. [1914] 43.
7 Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, i. 21 ff.; Breasted, *Anc. Records*, i. 519 ff.
8 Breasted, *Anc. Records*, iii. 542.
9 Griffith, *Demotic Papyri*, iii. 82, 84, 92.
10 Schäfer, *Die Mysterien des Osiris in Abydos*, pp. 10, 15, 18 ff
11 *Ib.* p. 10. 12 Lange-Schäfer, ii. no. 20538.
13 *Ib.* no. 20539. 14 *Ib.* side i. lines 13–17.
15 *Ib.* side i. line 1.

poems, which, while admitting the claim of, *e.g.*, Kalchas to special mantic endowment (*Il.* i. 72), and indicating the high honour in which priests of various deities were held (*Il.* v. 78: *θεὸς δ' ὣς τίετο δήμῳ*; cf. xvi. 605), exhibit Nestor sacrificing to Athene with the assistance of his sons only, no priest being mentioned, and none, so far as we can see, finding any place in the ceremony (*Od.* iii. 430 f.). This accords with the facts of historical times. Priests and priestesses alike throughout the Greek world enjoy considerable social and civic distinction, which tends to increase rather than to diminish as Greek civilization develops, yet Isocrates can say, with but slight exaggeration, that any man might be a priest (ii. 7: *ὅτι βασιλείαν ὥσπερ ἱερωσύνην παντὸς ἀνδρὸς εἶναι νομίζουσιν*).

Whatever may have been, among the Greeks, in the ages below the historical horizon, the relations existing between priest, king, and community, in historical times the priesthood, like everything else, has had to submit to the all-embracing sway of the idea of the State, and has become to a very considerable degree secularized and is regarded almost purely from the politico-social point of view. This is clearly and emphatically asserted not only in regard to the administrative activities of the priest, but also in regard to his purely sacerdotal functions (Æschin. iii. 18: *διδάξω δ' ὑμᾶς πρῶτον ἐπὶ τῶν παραδόξων, οἷον τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τὰς ἱερείας ὑπευθύνους εἶναι κελεύει ὁ νόμος, καὶ συλλήβδην ἅπαντας καὶ χωρὶς ἑκάστους κατὰ σῶμα, τοὺς τὰ γέρα λαμβάνοντας καὶ τὰς εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐχομένους, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἰδίᾳ ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινῇ τὰ γένη*; cf. Dem. *in Neair.* 116; Plut. *Quæst. Gr.* 38). Only the actual sacred rites which priests perform escape from this secular control, simply because, being traditional, they dated from an age anterior to the birth of the historical State itself, and owed much of their force to that very fact. Hence the so-called *leges sacræ* are found to be confined to regulations touching qualifications for office, priests' perquisites, the establishment of additional ceremonies, etc.—just such details as fell to be regulated in connexion with purely secular offices; they teach us nothing of the details of ritual. In this sense, then, it is not incorrect to describe the Greek priest as in some sort a State official. The ultimate authority in a question concerning *τὰ ἱερά* is not a synod of priests, but the council and the assembly (Ar. *Ath. Pol.* 43).[1]

The Greek priest or priestess, then, is one who is charged with certain specific religious functions or ritual acts, directed godwards, in the due performance of which the State, either as a whole or through its organic groups (*gentes*, phratries, families, etc.), is vitally interested. These functions, based as they were mainly upon a traditional ritual, demanded a certain, often a high, degree of professional or technical knowledge, just as did many other departments of civic life; the priest is simply one who is 'skilled in the rules of sacrifice, prayer, and purification.'[2] Practically, therefore, the *ἱερεύς* implied the existence of a temple or some form of holy place dedicated to the particular deity in whose service he ministered. For the Greek priest was always the servant of a particular deity, and that at a particular shrine,[3] and at none other. There was no such thing as a priest with a general competence of sacerdotal functions at any and every shrine, or as minister to any and every deity, simply by virtue of his priesthood as such. For there was in fact no general or universally applicable use or style of worship, notwithstanding the large common element in the manner of making prayers and offerings.[1]

The existence of a priesthood, however, by no means abrogated the religious functions exercised by, and as a matter of course demanded from, laymen, such as magistrates of the State, heads of families or other organic groups within the State. It was, in fact, hardly possible to say where the layman stopped or the priest began. Nor, on the other hand, did the holding of a priesthood necessarily involve the surrender of all other occupations and interests on the part of the priest. Certainly this was not the case with many of precisely the highest and most distinguished priesthoods. In this respect there seemed, indeed, some room for improvement, as a matter of mere civic organization, and Aristotle proposes that one and the same individual citizen shall assume successively the functions of soldier, statesman, and priest, according to his time of life—the priesthood thus tending to be regarded as a dignified sinecure for men no longer able to serve the State in a more active capacity (*Pol.* iv. [vii.] 9. 4 f. = 1329 A).

The combination of sacerdotal functions with royal authority is as familiar as it was normal in the ancient world. In Homer the king with his own hand strikes the victim on behalf of the whole people (*Il.* iii. 249 f., 271 f.). In this sense the king was head of the State religion, as being capable of and responsible for the proper performance of the ritual acts designed to secure the favour of the deities that were in the strict sense national. Thus in Sparta, almost the only purely Greek State retaining monarchical government in historical times, all State sacrifices were offered by the kings, as descendants of the god (Xen. *Rep. Lac.* 15. 1: *ἔθηκε γὰρ θύειν μὲν βασιλέα πρὸ τῆς πόλεως τὰ δημόσια ἅπαντα, ὡς ἀπὸ θεοῦ ὄντα*; Ar. *Pol.* iii. 14. 3 = 1285 A: *ἔτι δὲ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀποδέδοται τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν*), one of the two kings holding the priesthood of Zeus Lakedaimon, the other that of Heavenly Zeus, with the usual perquisites (Herod. vi. 56; cf. Hom. *Od.* iv. 65). Sometimes, on the decay and abolition of the royal office, the descendants of the old kings were allowed to retain these immemorial sacred functions and privileges, and even at times also the honorary title of king (*e.g.*, Ephesus [Strabo, p. 633], Cyrene [Herod. iv. 161]). Or, again, the title and the functions might pass to one or other of the republican magistrates. Thus in Athens the second archon was called king (*βασιλεύς*), and his wife queen (*βασίλιννα*), both with religious functions, the king archon superintending the Eleusinian mysteries and the Lenaian Dionysia, there being assigned to him, as Plato says, 'the most solemn and most truly ancestral rites of the ancient sacrifices' (*Pol.* 290 E; cf. Dem. lix. 1370; Lysias, *Andoc.* 4: *ἄν . . . λάχῃ βασιλεύς, ἄλλο τι ἢ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καὶ θυσίας θύσει καὶ εὐχὰς εὔξεται κατὰ τὰ πάτρια*).[2]

Within the family itself, which had been in fact its starting-point, this primitive coincidence of sacred function (*θυσίαι πάτριοι*) and physical or legal headship continued undisturbed,[3] and was reflected in the larger groups, of phratries and *gentes*, which purported to be merely the family 'writ large,' and, indeed, in every sort of organization within the State, by the institution of priests of the particular association, that is to say, by the endowment of certain of its members with religious functions; for all such corporations had a religious as well as a political or social aspect,

[1] This is true even in cases where reference was made to an oracle, for such reference could be made, in a matter of State, only by properly accredited representatives; nor was such reference absolutely essential, though it was in harmony with Hellenic, and especially Athenian, sentiment to refer such matters to Apollo (cf. Plat. *Rep.* 427 C: *οὗτος γὰρ δήπου ὁ θεὸς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις πάτριος ἐξηγητὴς ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀμφαλοῦ καθήμενος ἐξηγεῖται*).

[2] Stob. *Ecl. Eth.*, ed. Gaisford, ii. 562: *τὸν γὰρ ἱερέα εἶναι δεῖν ἔμπειρον νόμων τῶν περὶ θυσίας καὶ εὐχάς, καὶ καθαρμούς, καὶ ἱδρύσεις καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα*. Perhaps the best definition is given in Plato, *Pol.* 290 C: *καὶ μὴν καὶ τὸ τῶν ἱερέων αὖ γένος, ὡς τὸ νομιμόν φησι, παρὰ μὲν ἡμῶν δωρεὰς θεοῖς διὰ θυσιῶν ἐπιστῆμόν ἐστι κατὰ νοῦν ἐκείνοις δωρεῖσθαι, παρὰ δὲ ἐκείνων ἡμῖν εὐχαῖς κτῆσιν ἀγαθῶν αἰτήσασθαι· ταῦτα δὲ διακόνου τέχνης ἐστί που μόρια ἀμφότερα*.

[3] Cf. Plat. *Laws*, 759 A: *λέγωμεν μὲν δὴ τοῖς μὲν ἱεροῖς νεωκόρους τε καὶ ἱερέας καὶ ἱερείας δεῖν γίγνεσθαι*. Large temples would have more than one priest, but one was the rule; cf. Diod. i. 73. 5: *οὐ γάρ, ὥσπερ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, εἷς ἀνὴρ ἢ μία γυνὴ τὴν ἱερωσύνην παρείληφεν, κτλ.*

[1] Though traces are not wanting of the tendency towards such universalism or panhellenic use. Cf. Ar. *Pol.* viii. (vi.) 8. 20 = 1322 B: *ἐχομένη δὲ ταύτης ἡ πρὸς τὰς θυσίας ἀφορισμένη τὰς κοινὰς πάσας, ὅσας μὴ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἀποδίδωσιν ὁ νόμος, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς κοινῆς ἑστίας ἔχουσι τὴν τιμήν· καλοῦσι δ' οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντας τούτους, οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς, οἱ δὲ πρυτάνεις*. For the sacred functions of the Athenian archons see Ar. *Ath. Pol.* 56–58.

[2] We merely mention here the curious religious polities found in Asia Minor in the Roman age, ruled by hereditary high-priests, or by royal and hierarchical families, sometimes of a not very religious type—*e.g.*, Komana (Strabo, pp. 559, 574). For these see J. P. Mahaffy, *The Greek World under Roman Sway*, London, 1890, p. 225 f. They, of course, fall outside the purely Hellenic institution here treated, just as the deities worshipped in such communities were Asiatic in character, though called by Greek names.

[3] Strictly taken, Plato's language (in *Laws*, 909 D: *ἱερὰ μηδὲ εἷς ἐν ἰδίαις οἰκίαις ἑκτήσθω· θύειν δ' ὅταν ἐπὶ νοῦν ἴῃ τινί, πρὸς τὰ δημόσια ἴτω θύσων, καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσί τε καὶ ἱερείαις ἐγχειριζέτω τὰ θύματα, οἷς ἀγνεία τούτων ἐπιμελής*) would indicate a desire to abolish these domestic worships. See W. L. Newman, *Politics of Aristotle*, i., Oxford, 1887, p. 179.

and had their special deities, rites, and religious observances.

Perhaps this very multiplicity of individuals invested with priestly or quasi-priestly functions did as much as anything to check the rise of a definite priestly class, the conception of sacerdotal function being too inextricably intertwined with that of civic life in general. Undoubtedly, also, much was due to the general sanity of Greek institutions, from which it resulted that the rites performed by the priesthood were, as a rule, not of such sort as to enthral the intellect by extravagant claims to a specially recondite or mysterious character. It was, in fact, partly by way of reaction against this somewhat threadbare simplicity that Orphic and Dionysiac mysteries won such vogue. A further powerful factor making against the rise of a priestly caste was the fact that temple funds were, as a rule, not controlled by the priests of the temple themselves; and at the same time the interpretation of sacred law was almost entirely beyond their control, being, at Athens, in charge of a special secular board of interpreters (*ἐξηγηταί* [see P. Ehrmann, *De iuris sacri interpretibus Atticis*, Giessen, 1908]). The significance of the last feature can hardly be overrated in this connexion. It meant that nothing of the nature of a school or course of training for priesthood could arise.

2. Qualifications for priesthood.—Plato, following doubtless the universal requirement, lays it down for his ideal State that a priest must be sound and perfect in body, and of pure and genuine civic pedigree (*Laws*, 759 C: *δοκιμάζειν δὲ τὸν ἀεὶ λαγχάνοντα πρῶτον μὲν ὁλόκληρον καὶ γνήσιον, κτλ.*). No alien could hold an Athenian priesthood or perform its rites—a rule that was probably general.[1]

The tendency was not to be content with this, but to put priesthoods into the hands of men of leisure and substance (just as, in Athens, the State services, or leitourgies, naturally fell to the same class). So Aristotle would have no husbandman or mechanic appointed, but only citizens, who, in his scheme, would be the sole landed proprietors (*Pol.* iv. (vii.) 9. 9=1329 A: *οὔτε γὰρ γεωργὸν οὔτε βάναυσον ἱερέα καταστατέον· ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν πολιτῶν πρέπει τιμᾶσθαι τοὺς θεούς*. Cf. Paus. VII. xxvii. 3: *κατὰ δόξαν γένους μάλιστα αἱρούμενοι*, at Pellene; D. 594. 10: *ὠνείσθω δὲ ὅς κα ᾖ ὁλόκλαρος καὶ ᾧ δαμιοργίας μέτεστι*, at Chalkedon). At Halicarnassus the priestess of Artemis Pergaia must be of full citizen pedigree on both sides for at least three generations (D. 601. 6: *ἀστὴν ἐξ ἀστῶν ἀμφοτέρων ἐπὶ τρεῖς γενεὰς γεγενημένην καὶ πρὸς πατρὸς καὶ πρὸς μητρός*). Good looks were a recommendation, in some cases an essential (Paus. VII. xxiv. 4 [the boy *νικῶν κάλλει*, priest of Zeus at Aigai]; cf. IX. x. 4 [Thebes]). Notorious vice naturally disqualified,[2] and Plato insists upon purity from the stain of blood and the graver offences. On the whole, the insistence is upon somewhat external or formal qualifications, identical with those demanded of candidates for purely secular offices; no great stress is laid on moral, and none at all apparently on intellectual, qualifications. In regard to the last point, it is to be remembered that a Greek priest was not called upon to deliver ethical teaching of any kind or to handle any problems of interpretation.[1] The case of the Delphian priesthood and that of the priests of certain great oracular healing shrines are somewhat special and do not affect the general validity of what is here said.

There was naturally great variety in the special qualifications for priesthoods of the different cults. These special qualifications are hardly referable to general principles. The hierophant at Eleusis, *e.g.*, must, in the time of Pausanias at any rate, be celibate; not so the hierophant at Phleious, although the latter mysteries professed to be based upon the Eleusinian (Paus. II. xiv. 1: *λαμβάνων, ἢν ἐθέλῃ, καὶ γυναῖκα· καὶ ταῦτα μὲν διάφορα τῶν Ἐλευσῖνι νομίζουσι, τὰ δὲ ἐς αὐτὴν τὴν τελετὴν ἐκείνων ἐστὶν ἐς μίμησιν*). The foremost place here must be assigned to ceremonial purity, especially chastity. In its strictest form the demand is for absolute virginity,[2] the priesthood being held by *παῖδες* or *παρθένοι*. There is no attempt to violate nature, as in the eunuch priesthoods of Kybele and the Ephesian Artemis and other Asiatic cults, which do not call for further consideration here. 'The same end was more wisely pursued by the selection either of the age when the passions are yet dormant, or that in which they have subsided' (C. Thirlwall, *Hist. of Greece*, London, 1835–47, i. 204). Examples are the priestess of Herakles at Thespiai (Paus. IX. xxvii. 6: *ἱερᾶται δὲ αὐτοῦ παρθένος ἐστ' ἂν ἐπιλάβῃ τὸ χρεὼν αὐτήν*); of Poseidon at Kalaureia (*ib.* II. xxxiii. 3: *ἱερᾶται ἰδὲ αὐτῷ παρθένος, ἔστ' ἂν ἐς ὥραν προέλθῃ γάμου*); of Athene at Tegea (*ib.* VIII. xlvii. 3: *ἱερᾶται δὲ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ παῖς χρόνον οὐκ οἶδα ὅσον τινά, πρὶν δὲ ἡβάσκειν, καὶ οὐ πρόσω, τὴν ἱερωσύνην*). Or, again, chastity during the term of office might be held sufficient, and this could be secured with care (cf. Plut. *de Pyth. orac.* 20: *νομίζεται τὸν ἱερώμενον ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ γυναικὶ μὴ ὁμιλεῖν· διὸ καὶ πρεσβύτας ἐπιεικῶς ἱερεῖς ἀποδεικνύουσι*—at the temple of Misogynos Herakles in Phokis). So Artemis Hymnia in Arcadia was served by a priestess *ὁμιλίας ἀνδρῶν ἀποχρώντως ἔχουσα*, a temple legend accounting for the change from a priesthood held by a *κόρη παρθένος* (Paus. VIII. v. 12; cf. what is told about the Pythia, Diod. XVI. xxvi. 6). Yet another form of this qualification is found in the condition that no woman more than once married could be priestess of Gē at Aigai (Paus. VII. xxv. 13—a curious test, by drinking bull's blood, applied to candidates). What proportion of Greek cults demanded a celibate priesthood, as compared with those which permitted marriage, is not known. It is to be remarked that the requirement of chastity stands in no sort of relation to the nature of the divinity, as is clear by comparison of *IG* ii. 550, married priestess of Athene, and Paus. II. x. 4, virgin priestess of Aphrodite of Sikyon (whose *νεωκόρος* also may no more *παρ' ἄνδρα φοιτῆσαι*). Nor, again, is there any necessary argument from the sex of the divinity worshipped to that of the minister (*e.g.*, Paus. II. xxxiii. 3 [*παρθένος* priestess of Poseidon], VIII. xlvii. 3 [boy priest of Athene]).

3. Regulations concerning age.—These were, of course, closely connected with the foregoing, and there is no general rule. Some cults demand ripe age in their ministers, especially in the case of priestesses (Paus. VI. xx. 2: *πρεσβῦτις ἡ θεραπεύουσα* in temple of Sosipolis at Olympia). In many temples the priesthood was held by a girl, until she reached an age for marriage (*ib.* II. xxxiii. 3 [Poseidon at Kalaureia], VII. xix. 1 [Artemis Triklaria], xxvi. 5 [Artemis at Aigeira]), or by a boy, up to the age of puberty (*ib.* VIII. xlvii. 3 [Athene at Tegea], IX. x. 4 [Apollo at Thebes], X. xxxiv. 8 [Athene Kranaia, near Elateia]). In such cases the functions of the holder of the priesthood must have been purely ceremonial, carried out under the guidance of a permanent temple staff which controlled also the administration of the temple. Under such a system abuses would be possible. Hence in a decree of Kos a stipulation of a minimum age is found (*Leges Græcorum Sacræ, e titulis collectæ*, ed. I. de Prott and L.

[1] Cf. Dem. lix. 1369: *εἶδεν ἃ οὐ προσῆκεν αὐτὴν ὁρᾶν ξένην οὖσαν*; W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Græcarum*[2], 3 vols., Leipzig, 1898–1901 (hereafter cited as D., followed by a number to indicate the running number of inscriptions quoted), 565. 3: *μὴ ἐξεῖναι καταρχεσθαι εἰς τὸ Ἡραῖον ξένῳ μηδενί* (Amorgos); Herod. vi. 81: *βουλόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν θύειν ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἀπηγόρευε, φὰς οὐκ ὅσιον εἶναι ξείνῳ αὐτόθι θύειν*—of the Spartan king Kleomenes at the Heraion of Argos. Foreign cults and religious associations authorized by decree would, one supposes, be served by their native priests (cf. inscr. from Peiraieus [A. Wilhelm, *Jahreshefte der Oest. Arch. Inst.* v. (1902) 127: *ἐπειδὴ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων δεδωκότος τοῖς Θρᾳξὶ μόνοις τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν τὴν ἔγκτησιν καὶ τὴν ἵδρυσιν τοῦ ἱεροῦ, κτλ.*]).

[2] Cf. Æschin. i. 188: *καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος ἀνὴρ ἱερωσύνην μὲν οὐδενὸς θεοῦ κληρώσεται, ὡς οὐκ ὢν ἐκ τῶν νόμων καθαρὸς τὸ σῶμα, κτλ.*

[1] Cf. F. de Coulanges, *La Cité antique*[11], Paris, 1885, p. 195: 'La doctrine était peu de chose; c'étaient les pratiques qui étaient l'important.' It should also be noted that there must have been a tendency, especially on the part of priests of limited tenure and priests by purchase, to lean upon the knowledge and experience of the permanent temple staff, just as the head of a government department must rely upon the trained experience of the civil service. This in part, doubtless, explains the importance of the neocorate in Asia Minor, where purchase of priesthoods was in vogue.

[2] No doubt this demand was reinforced by the idea, in some cults at any rate, that the priestly function implied in some sense union (*συνουσία*) with the divinity. Cf. Ar. *Ath. Pol.* iii. 5, for the marriage of the wife of the Athenian king archon with Dionysos.

Ziehen, pars altera, fasc. i., Leipzig, 1906, no. 133):[1] ἀ δὲ πριαμένα ἔστω ὑγιὴς καὶ ὁλόκλαρος καὶ μὴ νεωτέρα ἐτῶν δέκα· ἱεράσεται δὲ διὰ βίου; cf. 135, also of Kos, where the minimum age is laid down at fourteen years). It is to be remembered that this was not a matter of caprice, but that in many cases youth, and sometimes extreme youth, on the part of the priest or priestess was demanded by the cult itself (cf. the demand for a παῖς ἀμφιθαλής as essential in certain ceremonies). Often, no doubt, the temple legend would profess to explain such regulations, but these legends have mostly perished. Plato, naturally, has no patience with all this, and, going to the opposite extreme, would have all priests to be not under sixty years of age, and would allow them to hold office for a year only (*Laws*, 759 D).

4. Modes of access to priesthood.—(*a*) *Inheritance.*—Originally, perhaps, all cults were family worships, whether or not they were all cults of dead ancestors. In historical times many cults which have come to be national are demonstrably still closely connected with particular families,[2] which retain their priesthoods as a hereditary possession guaranteed by an appeal to legend. Some are perhaps really cases of blending, so that several families or clans maintain their representatives side by side, though not all on the same level, as hereditary cult officials (cf. Paus. IV. xv. 7, I. xxxvii. 1).

Such hereditary national priesthoods can be seen in the making. Thus the family of Gelo of Syracuse claimed to be hereditary hierophants of Demeter and Persephone at Gela because their ancestor Telines had originally possessed the sacred symbols (*ἱερά*) of the cult (Herod. vii. 153). So Maiandrios of Samos proposed to lay down his sovereignty on condition of his family being allowed to retain in perpetuity the priesthood of Zeus Eleutherios, whose cult he founded and endowed (*ib.* iii. 142; cf. the Battiadai at Cyrene [*ib.* iv. 161]). Inscriptions furnish examples of private foundations of this type (*e.g.*, the will of Epikteta of Thera [*CIG* ii. 2448, § 5: τὰν δὲ ἱερατείαν τᾶν Μουσᾶν καὶ τῶν ἡρώων ἐχέτω ὁ τᾶς θυγατρός μου υἱὸς Ἀνδραγόρας, εἰ δέ τί κα πάθῃ οὗτος, ἀεὶ ὁ πρεσβύτατος ἐκ τοῦ γένους τοῦ Ἐπιτελείας—the latter her daughter]).

How succession was arranged within the family itself in respect of these hereditary priesthoods is not always clear. Obviously, the ordinary rules of inheritance might sometimes give an unsatisfactory result. An inscription of Halicarnassus (D. 608) shows us that the priesthood of Poseidon had passed from brother to brother, thence to sons of the eldest brother in succession according to seniority, and so to sons of the next brother, and back again to grandsons of the eldest brother. Naturally, a priesthood arranged on principles of hereditary succession was just as liable as any other property to give rise to disputes. Such in Athens were settled in the court of the king archon (Ar. *Ath. Pol.* 57: κἄν τις ἱερωσύνης ἀμφισβητῇ πρός τινα· διαδικάζει δὲ καὶ τοῖς γένεσι καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τὰς ἀμφισβητήσεις τὰς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν ἁπάσας οὗτος). The oldest cults seem in general to retain this method of filling their priesthoods. The tenure under this system was naturally for life, subject to the proviso of sanity and a conduct that did not flout public opinion.

(*b*) *Election.*—Possibly the earliest example of this method occurs in Homer, where it is said of Theano that the Trojans had 'made' her priestess of Athene (*Il.* vi. 300: τὴν γὰρ Τρῶες ἔθηκαν Ἀθηναίης ἱέρειαν)—but the inference is not very rigid. The mutilation of the inscription D. 911. 5 instituting a priestess of Athene Nike (460–446 B.C.) ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ἁπάντων does not allow us to say whether pure election was employed in that instance. More commonly the practice was to elect by means of the lot (cf. D. 558.9: ὁ εἱληχὼς ἱερεὺς Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ Τγιείας, at Athens; and often in inscriptions). Often a mixed method, of election and lot, is used, the sortition being preceded by a selection from among the candidates (cf. Dem. lvii. 1313: προ-

[1] Hereafter cited as *L.S.*, followed by the number of the inscription.

[2] An excellent example of the process involved is afforded by *L.S.* 112, of the 4th cent. B.C., a decree relative to the transference of the ἱερά of the Klytidai of Chios—τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ κοινὰ ἐκ τῶν ἰδιωτικῶν οἰκιῶν εἰς τὸ κοινὸν οἶκον ἐνεγκεῖν; cf. Ar. *Pol.* viii. (vi.) 4. 19=1319b: φυλαί τε γὰρ ἕτεραι ποιητέαι πλείους καὶ φρατρίαι, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἰδίων ἱερῶν συνακτέον εἰς ὀλίγα καὶ κοινά, κτλ.; see Newman, iv. 524.

κριθὴν ἐν τοῖς εὐγενεστάτοις κληροῦσθαι τῆς ἱερωσύνης τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ. For Syracuse, Cic. *Verr.* ii. 126: 'lex est de religione, quae in annos singulos Iovis sacerdotem sortito capi iubeat, quod apud illos amplissimum sacerdotium putatur; cum suffragiis tres ex tribus generibus creati sunt, res revocatur ad sortem'; cf. Paus. VII. xxv. 13). In some cases a method of election seems to have replaced the older hereditary priesthood—*e.g.*, in the great inscription of Andania relating to the mysteries (D. 653), where the representative of the old sacerdotal family seems to have surrendered his rights to the State. In course of time lack of suitable candidates for election led to a partial revival of the older method (cf. D. 592 [priesthood of Asklepios of Pergamum confirmed to Asklepiades and his seed for ever by decree of the people]; *L.S.* 56 [decree of Gythion confirming the priesthood of Apollo to Philemon and his son and their descendants—εἶναι αὐτοὺς ἱερεῖς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἐκγόνους αὐτῶν ἀεὶ διὰ βίου καὶ εἶναι παραδόσιμον τὸ προγεγραμένον ἱερὸν τοῖς ἐκγόνοις αὐτῶν ἀεὶ διὰ βίου, in recognition of their munificence in restoring the cult and temple fallen on evil days]).

Even when reliance was placed upon the lot alone, it is probable that, in Athens at any rate, its frequent use, and perhaps not infrequent manipulation, in connexion with secular official life much impaired its significance as an indication of divine will, though that way of looking upon it might linger in formal expression (*e.g.*, Plato, *Laws*, 759 C: τὰ μὲν οὖν τῶν ἱερῶν τῷ θεῷ ἐπιτρέποντα αὐτῷ τὸ κεχαρισμένον γίγνεσθαι, κληροῦν οὕτω τῇ θείᾳ τύχῃ ἀποδιδόντα—but, he continues, the successful candidate must [subsequently?] be duly approved as ceremonially pure and of proper age, and the like; that is to say, in the eyes of Plato also the priesthood is on all fours with any ordinary secular office).

Under this method limited tenure was usual (cf. D. 609, 610), a year being the general term. Longer tenures, short of a life tenure, are found (*e.g.*, five years [Paus. X. xxxiv. 8: τὸν δὲ ἱερέα ἐκ παίδων αἱροῦνται τῶν ἀνήβων, πρόνοιαν ποιούμενοι πρότερον τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐξήκειν οἱ τὸν χρόνον πρὶν ἢ ἡβῆσαι· ἱεροῦται δὲ ἔτη συνεχῆ πέντε—boy priest of Athene Kranaia]) Such longer tenures are probably in all cases connected with the festival cycle of the particular deity, as is expressly asserted of the priesthood of Demeter at Keleai (Paus. II. xiv. 1: ἱεροφάντης δὲ οὐκ ἐς τὸν βίον πάντα ἀποδέδεικται, κατὰ δὲ ἑκάστην τελετὴν ἄλλοτέ ἐστιν ἄλλος σφίσιν αἱρετός—the celebration taking place δι' ἐνιαυτοῦ τετάρτου, every third year).

(*c*) *Purchase.*—This method was especially in vogue in the coast cities of Asia Minor and in the islands.[1] The earliest examples belong to Miletos, the home of Ionic free-thought; but it is unknown in Athens, the reputed mother of the Ionic colonies. The method does not necessarily imply the abandonment of older methods (*e.g.*, at Halicarnassus the priesthood of Poseidon Isthmios is held κατὰ γένος [D. 608; see above]). Possibly it is not unconnected with the general financial distress of the age after Alexander, though its origin undoubtedly lies much farther back.[2]

A long list of priesthoods sold at Erythrai, with the prices paid for each, is extant (D. 600; 3rd cent. B.C.), distinguishing several varieties, showing that the method was carefully organized from both a fiscal and a legal point of view. Three species are recorded—ἱερατεῖαι πραθεῖσαι, priesthoods sold as then vacant, with immediate possession; ἱερατεῖαι ἐπιπραθεῖσαι, eventual succession upon death of the existing occupant; διασύστασις, where the priest in occupancy purchases the right to appoint his own successor, that is to say, generally his own son. Prices show great variety, the highest being that paid for the priesthood of Hermes Agoraios, probably because it carried with it a claim to market dues (4610 dr.; the lowest price is 10 dr., for the priesthood of Gē; several run to over 1000 dr.). It is clear that purchase of a priesthood was simply one method of making an investment for a livelihood, or provision for one's family, with a sound title. Inferences as to a general decay of

[1] Proved, by inscriptions, for Erythrai, Miletos, Sinope, Chios, Priene, Magnesia, Mylasa, Chalkedon, Halicarnassus, Kos. It is to be observed that the vendor is always the State itself, which consequently takes a certain percentage (ἐπώνιον) of the purchase money, according to a sliding scale.

[2] The inscription given by Otto, in *Hermes*, xliv. [1909] 594 *f.*, from Miletos, belongs to the 5th cent. B.C., or at latest to the beginning of the 4th cent., and certainly refers to the purchase of priesthoods. Nor is this the only example to be referred to a date before that of Alexander. Whether the origin of this traffic lay in Eastern, non-Hellenic influences cannot as yet be determined, but it seems likely.

religious sentiment are beside the mark. Naturally, under this system the tenure was for life (cf. D. 595, 603, and many examples).

5. Duties of priests. — These were partly liturgical, partly administrative. The Greek priest was in no sense a teacher, or expounder of dogma. His duties for the most part began and ended within the precinct of his own temple. Firstly, he must conduct, or at least superintend, the sacrifices and other ceremonies offered by the State or by private persons, making or indicating the proper prayers and invocations as being the duly appointed expert (cf. the parody in Aristoph. *Birds*, 865 f. : *ἱερεῦ, σὸν ἔργον, θῦε τοῖς καινοῖς θεοῖς, κτλ.* ; D. 594, 601. 9 : *θύσει τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ δημόσια καὶ τὰ ἰδιωτικά*).[1] Secondly, the priest, like the dean of a cathedral nowadays, was personally responsible for the care of the fabric of the temple and the cultus image and contents of the shrine, and for conservation of the precinct (cf. D. 594. 24 : *κοσμεῖν δὲ τὸν ἱερῆ τὸν ναὸν κατ' ἀμέραν· ἐπιμέλεσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ τᾶς στοιᾶς τᾶς πὸτ τῷ 'Ασκλαπιείῳ ὅπως καθαρὰ ᾖ*—at Chalkedon). Where there was a *νεωκόρος* the priest's duties would be lightened (cf. D. 589. 6 : *καὶ ἐπαναγκάζειν τὸν νεωκόρον τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ ἐπιμελεῖσθαι*). Illicit use of the precinct by trespassing stock, and mutilation of the trees within it, evidently caused much trouble (cf. D. 568 ; Paus. II. xxviii. 7). The priest was also responsible for decent and orderly conduct on the part of visitors to his temple,[2] and for observance of its special regulations (D. 592. 24 : *ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ τῆς εὐκοσμίας τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν πάσης τὸν ἱερέα ὡς ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῇ καλῶς ἔχειν καὶ ὁσίως, i.e.* he is empowered to make by-laws. Cf. Herod. v. 72 [priestess of Athene Polias at Athens forbids the Spartan king Kleomenes to enter her temple — *οὐ γὰρ θεμιτὸν Δωριεῦσι παριέναι ἐνθαῦτα*], vi. 81 [a similar scene at the Argeian Heraion]). In the smaller temples and country shrines the financial administration also fell to his care (Ar. *Pol.* viii. (vi.) 8. 18 f. = 1322B), but in general this belonged to State officials or boards (*ταμίαι, ἱεροποιοί, ἐπιμέληται*, etc.). These took over most of the active administrative functions that once perhaps had been solely in the hands of the priests—repairs, provision of victims and accessaries, disposal of skins and offal, disbursements from the temple treasury, etc.[3]

Just as the administrative competence of the priesthood was much diminished in historical times, so also its ritual side in certain respects survived only in a somewhat mutilated form. In certain festivals it was still the duty of the priest or priestess of particular cults to don the garb and mask and to impersonate the divinity (cf. Paus. VII. xviii. 12 [priestess of Artemis impersonates the goddess in the procession in honour of Artemis Laphria at Patrai—*ἡ ἱερωμένη παρθένος ὀχεῖται τελευταία τῆς πομπῆς ἐπὶ ἐλάφων ὑπὸ τὸ ἅρμα ἐζευγμένων*], VIII. xv. 3 [priest wears mask of Demeter at Pheneos]). Sometimes also the priest must resume his primitive character as magician, and work spells, especially for rain (*ib.* II. xii. 1 [wind spells at Titane], VIII. xxxviii. 4 [rain spells by the priest of Zeus on Mt. Lykaion]). Both these occasional rôles are survivals of the primitive conception and the once normal duties of the priesthood.

A similar gradual narrowing of functions is observable when we consider more definitely what it was that the priest actually did in connexion with the act of sacrifice and worship.

In historical times his participation does not appear to have been essential on purely religious grounds, so as to make the sacrifice ritually effective ; for many inscriptions specifically guard against the practice, not infrequent on the part of economical worshippers, of performing the ceremonies without invoking the assistance of the priest, in order to save his perquisite (cf. *L.S.* 33. 6 : *μηδὲ καθαρμοὺς ποιῶσιν μηδὲ πρὸς τοὺς βωμοὺς μηδὲ τὸ μέγαρον προσίωσιν ἄνευ τᾶς ἱερέας* ; *ib.* 41. 7 : *παραβώμια δὲ μὴ θύειν μηδένα ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ*—a fine being imposed for breach of this regulation). He would, in the larger shrines at least, use his own discretion about participation, whether invited or uninvited, according to the importance of the occasion. In Herondas, 4, where two women offer the poor man's offering of a cock in the Asklepieion of Kos, we hear nothing of the priest, but only of the *νεωκόρος* (cf. *L.S.* 65 [Oropos]). The perquisite, however, must always be given.

Originally, there is no doubt, the priest must actually have performed the sacrifice, slaying the victim with his own hand and dismembering it for offering, assisted by the worshippers and the temple servants. So in Hom. *Il.* iii. 271 f. the king both initiates the sacrifice by the ritual cutting of hair from the victims' heads (*τρίχας ἀπάρχεσθαι*) and subsequently himself slays them (so also in *Il.* xix. 252 f. ; Eur. *El.* 791 f., where Aigisthos performs the sacrificial slaying, but by way of compliment invites Orestes to show his skill in flaying and dismembering the animal. Cf. Eur. *Iph. Taur.* 40 : *κατάρχομαι μέν, σφάγια δ' ἄλλοισιν μέλει*, and 623 f. : *ὁ δὲ σφαγεὺς τίς* ; . . . *εἴσω δόμων τῶνδ' εἰσὶν οἷς μέλει τάδε*, where the poet seems at pains to explain a departure from normal procedure). In the smaller temples the priest perhaps continued to perform this office ; in others there were apparently special slaughterers (Paus. VIII. xlii. 12 : *ἱεροθύται*, at Phigaleia ; D. 553. 19 : *τοῦ λητουργοῦντος θύτου τῇ πόλει*, at Magnesia).

The special function of the priest was thus reduced, it seems, in general, to the preliminary ceremony of dedication by cutting the hair from the forehead of the victim, and to the formal prayer or invocation (*κατευχή*) and the placing of the parts of the sacrifice in due ritual manner upon the altar (cf. Æschin. iii. 18, already quoted ; Herond. iv. 79 f.). The temple law of the Amphiareion at Oropos in fact thus expressly defines the duty of its priest (*L.S.* 65. 26 : *κατεύχεσθαι δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἐπιτιθεῖν ὅταν παρεῖ, τὸν ἱερέα, ὅταν δὲ μὴ παρεῖ, τὸν θύοντα, καὶ τεῖ θυσίει αὐτὸν ἑαυτοῖ κατεύχεσθαι ἕκαστον, τῶν δὲ δημορίων τὸν ἱερέα*).[1]

6. Privileges of priests.—Greek priests do not seem to have been able to claim any special privileges simply by virtue of their office, but such were freely bestowed. The inscriptions on the extant seats in the theatre of Dionysos (Athens) illustrate the grant of *προεδρία* ; for special place in religious processions cf. D. 653. 29 : *ἐν δὲ ταῖ πομπαῖ ἀγείστω Μνασίστρατος, ἔπειτεν ὁ ἱερεὺς τῶν θεῶν οἷς τὰ μυστήρια γίνεται μετὰ τᾶς ἱερέας, κτλ.* Freedom from taxes (*ἀτέλεια* ; cf. D. 592. 20), from war-service (D. 603. 14), right of *σίτησις ἐν πρυτανείῳ*, were some of the more highly prized privileges that might be bestowed upon particular priests.

[1] How far a priest had an exclusive right of sacrifice and prayer in his own temple is not quite clear ; on the whole it would appear that he had no right of exclusion, as a rule, against ordinary decent people, subject of course to such by-laws as were locally in force. A worshipper would always be well advised in inviting the co-operation of the recognized expert, under pain of finding his private sacrifice vitiated through neglect of some ritual detail (cf. D. 633. 8 : *καὶ μηθένα θυσιάζειν ἄνευ τοῦ καθειδρυσαμένου τὸ ἱερόν· ἐὰν δέ τις βιάσηται, ἀπρόσδεκτος ἡ θυσία παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ*—where note the absence of any sanction). In 396 B.C. Agesilaos of Sparta, on his way to Asia, attempted to sacrifice to Artemis at Aulis (Plut. *Ages.* 6 : *καὶ καταστέψας ἔλαφον, ἐκέλευσεν ἀπάρξασθαι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ μάντιν, οὐχ' ὥσπερ εἰώθει τοῦτο ποιεῖν ὁ ὑπὸ τῶν Βοιωτῶν τεταγμένος*). The Boiotarchs sent men to forbid it (*ἀπαγορεύοντες τῷ 'Αγησιλάῳ μὴ θύειν παρὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ πάτρια Βοιωτῶν*), and scattered his sacrifice from the altar. Here the ritual was confessedly irregular ; and political considerations also came in—the Boiotians had no very tender conscience in regard to Panhellenic sentiment in this domain (cf. Thuc. iv. 97 : *παραβαίνοντες τὰ νόμιμα τῶν 'Ελλήνων*) in 424 B.C.

[2] On the other hand, in the case of the temple of Aphrodite Pandemos in Athens this duty fell upon the *astynomoi* (D. 556) ; but there the circumstances were naturally somewhat special.

[3] For inscriptions relative to Athenian administration of temples see E. L. Hicks and G. F. Hill, *Manual of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, new ed., Oxford, 1901, p. 88 f. (Delos), p. 124 f. (inventories of the Parthenon treasures—of which lists there is an almost complete series extending from 434 to 404 B.C.). The financial management of great temples like that of Delos, with their vast accumulations of capital, was a matter of great importance ; see W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, London, 1911, p. 346 f.

[1] In Homer the two designations of a priest are *ἱερεύς*, as sacrificer, and *ἀρητήρ* (*Il.* i. 11, v. 78 : *ἀρητὴρ ἐτέτυκτο, θεὸς δ' ὣς τίετο δήμῳ*) as invocant, showing the importance of the latter aspect. So these two functions are pitched upon by Plato in his definition quoted above from *Pol.* 290 C.

Even more substantial, and more universal, were the rights of perquisite (*ἱερώσυνα, γέρα*).

These are carefully defined and enumerated in a large number of inscriptions. In general, the priest had a right to a leg (*σκέλος* or *κωλῆ*) of each victim, and very often to the skin;[1] to the skin not always, even in private sacrifices (cf. D. 601, 14), and in the case of the great State sacrifices, in Athens at least, the *δερματικόν* was an important item of State revenue (cf. D. 820). In some instances the priest receives also, from the worshippers, a small fee at each sacrifice, probably to cover incidental expenses,[2] for wood, oil, etc.—all of which small accessaries it was his duty to provide for those who wished to sacrifice (cf. Paus. v. xiii. 2 f. of the *ξυλεύς* at Olympia; D. 734. 39 [Kos]: *παρεχέτω δὲ καὶ ξύλα ποτὶ τὰν θυσίαν*). The priests of certain cults had also the right of *ἀγερμός*, street collection of alms (D. 666: *ὑπὲρ ὧν ὁ ἱερεὺς τῆς Ἴσιος ἔθετο τὴν ἱκετηρίαν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ ἐγνώσθη ἔννομος εἶναι ἀξιῶν τῇ θεῷ καθότι καὶ πρότερον ἀγείρειν, κτλ.*—evidently a case of appeal against restricting legislation; cf. Plat. *Rep.* ii. 364 B, and 381 D: *Ἤραν ἠλλοιωμένην ὡς ἱέρειαν ἀγείρουσαν*). This was mainly an Eastern custom which received little encouragement among the Greeks, and is somewhat strictly regulated—*e.g.*, in the case of the cult of Artemis Pergaia at Halicarnassus (D. 601. 26: *ἐν ᾧ δὲ μηνὶ ἡ θυσία συντελεῖται ἡ δημοτελής, ἀγειρέτω πρὸ τῆς θυσίας ἡμέρας τρεῖς ἐπ' οἰκίαν μὴ πορευομένη· ὁ δὲ ἀγερμὸς ἔστω τῆς ἱερείας*).

As a salaried office the priesthood is known in very few cases, notably in that of the priestess of Athene Nike in Athens, who receives fifty drachmai a year, together with the usual perquisite (*L.S.* 11; D. 911; Hicks and Hill, p. 59 f.). How far, if at all, the priest enjoyed the income from the temple endowment of lands, etc., is not known. The variety of the sources of wealth open to priests, as revealed to us from inscriptions, is very great (cf. Paus. I. xxxviii. 1). This, of course, gave them the means of enhancing the pomp of their processions, and of spending large sums upon the adornment of their temple, for which liberalities they were duly honoured, as appears from numerous decrees (*e.g.*, D. 558).

7. Minor points.—(*a*) *Tabus.*—These apparently did not differ from those imposed upon all who would use the temple—avoidance of impurity from contact with the dead (cf. Paus. IV. xii. 6 [Messene]; law of Kos, in *ARW* x. [1907] 400 f.), and avoidance of certain foods, either permanently or for a season (cf. D. 633. 3: *καθαριζέσθω δὲ ἀπὸ σκόρδων καὶ χοιρέων, κτλ.* See the curious regulation forbidding the priestess of Athene Polias to eat fresh Attic cheese [Strabo, p. 395: *τὴν ἱέρειαν τῆς Πολιάδος Ἀθηνᾶς χλωροῦ τυροῦ τοῦ μὲν ἐπιχωρίου μὴ ἅπτεσθαι, ξενικὸν δὲ μόνον προσφέρεσθαι, χρῆσθαι δὲ καὶ τῷ Σαλαμινίῳ*]; cf. Porphyr. *de Abstin.* iv. 5; *τοὶς τοίνυν ἱερεῦσι τοὶς μὲν τῶν ζῴων πάντων, τοὶς δέ τινων πάντως προστέτακται ἀπέχεσθαι βορᾶς, ἄν τε Ἑλληνικὸν ἔθος σκοπῇς, ἄν τε βάρβαρον*). The priest of Poseidon at Pylos might not eat fish (Plut. *Quæst. Conv.* viii. 8. 4), nor might the priestess of Hera at Argos eat red mullet (Plut. *de Sollert. Anim.* xxxv. 11; cf. the reluctance of the Homeric Greeks to eat fish [*Od.* iv. 368 f., and J. G. Frazer, *Comm. on Paus.* vii. 22. 4]). Probably similar tabus were operative to a much greater extent than is revealed by our literary sources. Yet regulations of the severity imposed upon the priest and priestess of Artemis Hymnia (Orchomenos) do not seem to have been in accord with general Hellenic practice, apart from the imported cults (Paus. VIII. xiii. 1).

(*b*) *Dress.*—Priests and priestesses wore no uniform distinctive dress, except that priests seem all to have worn the long ungirdled *χιτών* that once had been the ordinary civic dress (Thuc. I. 6; cf. sculpture, and especially vase-paintings). Fillets and chaplet were also probably worn by all, at least when officiating. Of the numerous titles borne by priests, according to the local usage, those of Stephanephoros and Daphnephoros are derived from distinctive accessaries (Paus. IX. x. 4: *ἐπίκλησις δὲ ἐστὶν οἱ δαφναφόρος· στεφάνους γὰρ φύλλων δάφνης φοροῦσιν οἱ παῖδες* [*sc.* the priest of Apollo Ismenios at Thebes]). The wreath, however, was as much a mark of the magistrate as of the priest. White was the usual colour of the dress, but purple is not infrequent—white being held appropriate for the heavenly powers and purple for chthonian deities (Plato, *Laws*, 956 A: *χρώματα δὲ λευκὰ πρέποντ' ἂν θεοῖς εἴη καὶ ἄλλοθι καὶ ἐν ὑφῇ· βάμματα δὲ μὴ προσφέρειν ἀλλ' ἢ πρὸς τὰ πολέμου κοσμήματα*). So the archon at Plataiai, who was also a priest, always wore a white dress, and was forbidden to touch iron, but exchanged his white for purple, and a sword, on the day on which he offered the great sacrifice to the spirits of those who fell in the Persian war (see Plut. *Arist.* 21 for the very striking ceremony). For various interesting regulations concerning dress see the Andania inscription (D. 653; cf. 939). The hair was worn long (Herod. II. 36: *οἱ ἱερέες τῶν θεῶν τῇ μὲν ἄλλῃ κομέουσι, ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δὲ ξυρῶνται*; cf. Plut. *Arist.* 5).

(*c*) Something of the nature of an enthronement, with accompanying festivities, seems to be alluded to in D. 594. 22: *ἐπεὶ δέ κα τὰν τιμὰν πᾶσαν καταβάλῃ, ἀνατεθησεῖται· τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα τὸ ἐς τὰν ἄνθεσιν παρεξεῖ αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ*, but we know nothing further of any ceremony of consecration or inauguration.

LITERATURE.—A. Boeckh, 'De sacerdotiis Græcorum,' in *Philological Museum*, Cambridge, 1833, ii. 449 f.; E. Curtius, 'Das Priesterthum bei den Hellenen,' in *Alterthum und Gegenwart*, Berlin, 1882, ii. 38 f.; P. Foucart, *Des Associations religieuses chez les Grecs*, Paris, 1873; J. Martha, *Les Sacerdoces athéniens*, do. 1882; H. Herbrecht, *De sacerdotii apud Græcos emptione venditione*, Strassburg, 1885; W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1905–08; P. Stengel, *Opferbräuche der Griechen*, do. 1910; W. Otto, 'Kauf und Verkauf von Priestertümern bei den Griechen,' in *Hermes*, xliv. [1909] 594 f.; I. de Prott and L. Ziehen, *Leges Græcorum Sacræ, e titulis collectæ*, fasc. i. 'Fasti sacri,' Leipzig, 1896, fasc. ii. 1, 'Leges Græciæ et insularum,' do. 1906; C. T. Newton, *Essays on Art and Archæology*, London, 1880, p. 136 f. (from epigraphic material).

W. J. WOODHOUSE.

PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD (Hebrew).—1. **Date of institution.**—Those portions of the OT which are most priestly in tone are latest in point of time. When we lay these aside and try to get a historic view, we discover that the earliest legislation[1] does not mention priests at all. It may be said that, where firstfruits and festival offerings are spoken of,[2] a priest is implied; but this is not necessarily the case. The earliest offerings, including tithes and firstfruits, were brought directly to the Divinity and presented to Him in a feast in which the worshipper and his family, with their invited guests, consumed the whole. For sacrifice it was not deemed essential to have any official. Many passages of the OT show that the ritual was familiar to every adult male of the clan and that any man could perform the ordinary acts of worship.

It does not follow, however, that priests were unknown even in the earliest stages of Israel's religion. For other purposes than sacrifice a priest is implied even in the earliest documents. When the Covenant Code provides that cases of dispute shall be brought before God,[3] it thinks of the sanctuary as a place where the will of the Divinity is made known. But this clearly implies that there is some person to interpret that will to men. When the narrator speaks of the perplexed Rebecca going to 'seek Jahweh,'[4] he has in mind an oracle and its interpreter. From this point of view we understand the primitive priesthood.

2. **Designations.**—The Hebrew word for 'priest' is *kôhēn*, and the corresponding Arabic word (*kâhin*) means 'a soothsayer'—more exactly, as we learn from the Arabic lexicographers, one who has a familiar spirit to tell him things otherwise unknown. This 'priest' is the familiar friend of a god or demon, and his interpreter to those who seek him.

The priestly caste, however, is designated by another word in Hebrew, the explanation of which is not so easy. To understand it, we must think of the many sacred places in the land which offer an asylum to fugitives or criminals. It would easily happen that the broken man, who was outlawed by his kin, one who had survived the massacre of his family, would settle in such a place under the protection of the god as his client. Gradually he would become acquainted with the customs of the place; if susceptible, he would receive intimations of the god's will in dreams of the night or visions of the day, and would serve as guide to strangers who resorted to the place. Thus the man would become an attaché of the

[1] So in Sparta the kings receive as perquisite the skins of all State sacrifices (Herod. VI. 56: *τῶν δὲ θυομένων ἁπάντων τὰ δέρματά τε καὶ τὰ νῶτα λαμβάνειν σφέας*. Cf. Hom. *Od.* iv. 65).

[2] In D. 591 (Kos) certain categories of worshippers apparently receive the privilege of paying a lump sum of five obols to cover all such incidental charges — *πέντ' ὀβολὸς διδούσαις ἀπολελύσθαι τῶν ἄλλων ἀναλωμάτων πάντων*.

[1] The Covenant Code, Ex 20–23.

[2] Ex 23[19]; the occurrence of tithes in the story of Bethel (Gn 28[22]) is parallel.

[3] Ex 22[7ff.].

[4] Gn 25[22f.].

place, a slave of the god, as he would doubtless delight to call himself. The Hebrew word for 'one attached to another' is *lēwî*, which we translate 'Levite,' but which originally meant one 'joined' to a person or place.[1] The Levite is the priest viewed as an attaché of a sanctuary; the *kôhēn* is the same person ministering as the interpreter of the oracle.

We may illustrate the state of things in Israel 3000 years ago by what is found in Syria to-day. That country, we are told, is full of local shrines dedicated to saints—Christian or Muhammadan. Each shrine has one or more attendants who are supported in part at least by the sacrifices, generally receiving the hide and one of the quarters of the slain animal. The office is usually hereditary, though cases are known where a boy is given to the saint and becomes his slave. Holy men connected with the shrines claim prophetic power.[2] So priests and prophets were both found at the sanctuaries in Israel. Samuel was a boy who was presented to the Jahweh of Shiloh, and he would have succeeded to the priestly office had the sanctuary not been destroyed. At the same time he developed prophetic powers which made him the vehicle of the divine will, though not bound to any one place.

Of the two Hebrew words *lēwî* and *kôhēn*, one came to designate the man qualified to act in divine things, the other described him as officiating at a sanctuary. This is well brought out by a narrative in the book of Judges (ch. 18).

> Here we read of a man named Micah who had an idol of precious metal. At first he set apart one of his sons as its attendant. But one day a stranger announced himself as a Levite from Bethlehem. Micah recognized his opportunity and engaged him. The way in which he congratulated himself on having a Levite for priest shows the light in which the professional was looked upon. There was nothing illegal in the ordination of the layman who had first undertaken the office, but it was in every way better to have a man who belonged to the gild.

If we may argue from this case, the Levite was often obliged to seek his living by entering the service of strangers, and we can see how the decline in the popularity of a sanctuary might force its attendants, or some of them, to emigrate.

3. Functions.—The earliest priests, then, were not sacrificers, but guardians of the sanctuary and its treasures—gold or silver images or utensils would need such—and interpreters of the oracle. The last point must be borne clearly in mind. It comes out in the story of Micah, for, when the Danites came to the house of Micah, they asked a response from Jahweh. So favourably were they impressed by this experience that they carried off image and priest and settled them in their new possession. In the history of Saul we find a priest with an ephod in the camp,[3] and no step was taken without the approval of the oracle. When the priests of Nob were massacred, the one who escaped brought the ephod to David and gave him counsel in the same way.[4] Whatever theory we may adopt concerning the ephod, we must recognize in it the instrument by which the priest ascertained the divine will. The ephod remained the property of the priest down to the latest time, as did the Urim and Thummim, which we know to have been the sacred lot.

The technical name for the instruction given by the priest is *tôrāh*. From the earliest to the latest period of Israel's history, it is assumed that *tôrāh* belongs to the priest. The severe arraignment of the priests by the older prophets specifies their neglect of the teaching function as their most serious crime.[1] The priests of other nations were supposed to have the same duty as those in Israel. When the Philistines were at a loss how to treat the Ark, they consulted their priests, who told them the proper method.[2] Jeremiah speaks of the priests as those who handle *tôrāh*, and, when Haggai wants to know about a matter of ritual cleanliness, he seeks *tôrāh* from the priest.[3] Even the Priestly documents, which lay stress on the sacrificial duties of the priest, speak of imparting *tôrāh* as one of his offices. The activity of the priest at the examination of the leper and at the ordeal of jealousy[4] is therefore in line with his earliest duties. From giving responses in answer to such legal questions as were brought before him, the priest easily assumed the office of judge. Both Deuteronomy and Ezekiel indicate that the priests act as judges, and the earliest picture drawn of Moses shows that he was as much priest as prophet in making known the decisions of Jahweh.[5]

4. Priestly and prophetical ideals.—The Levites early traced their origin to a common ancestor. Whether there was a clan or tribe that bore the name 'Levi' before the rise of the priesthood is a question on which scholars are not agreed. (*a*) In the *Testament of Jacob*[6] we find such a tribe spoken of in terms used of its brother tribes. It is coupled with Simeon in a denunciation which ends with the threat to scatter them in Israel. Of Simeon we know that he was ground to pieces in the struggles between Israel and the frontier Bedawīn. It is natural to think of Levi as scattered in a similar way. But this is not a necessary inference. The author of the poem, living in the time of Solomon, may have inferred the threat from the scattered condition of the gild—a fact which must attract attention from its singularity.

(*b*) The next mention of Levi shows a considerable advance in the esteem in which the tribe was held. It is contained in the poem called the *Blessing of Moses*. Here we read:

> 'Thy Urim and thy Thummim belong to the man of thy friendship
> Whom thou didst prove at Massah,
> For whom thou didst strive at the waters of Meribah;
> Who says of his father and his mother: I have not seen them;
> He does not recognize his brothers and does not know his sons;
> For they keep thy word
> And they guard thy covenant;
> They teach Jacob thy judgments
> And Israel thy *tôrāh*;
> They bring fragrance into thy nostrils
> And whole burnt-offerings upon thine altar' (Dt 33[8-10]).

The change of tone between this and the preceding must be evident. Here the tribe or gild is said to be isolated because its members have chosen to ignore father and mother, brothers and sons, for the sake of Jahweh. The priesthood is the reward of this disregard of the ties of kindred. And the great leader and prototype of this calling is Moses, who was tried at Massah and Meribah. We recall that Moses was an outcast for the sake of his devotion to his mission, and that he was priest as well as prophet. One thing more comes into view in this poem. This is that the Levites are now the ministers of the altar. They not only teach the *tôrāh*, but also burn the sacrifices. It is not asserted that they have an exclusive right to do this, and in fact it is very doubtful whether an exclusive right could have been established in the face of early example. The earliest legislation makes it the duty of every Israelite to erect a

[1] The writer of Nu 18[2-7] and 36[10] is aware of the original meaning of the word *lēwî*, and plays upon it (see A. Kuenen, *National Religions and Universal Religions* [*HL*], London, 1882, p. 83 f.).

[2] S. I. Curtiss, *Primitive Sem. Rel. To-day*, New York and London, 1902, p. 144 f.

[3] 1 S 14[18]; see RVm. [4] 1 S 22[20] 23[6] *et al.*

[1] Hos 4[1-10]; cf. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, p. 138.

[2] 1 S 6[2]. [3] Jer 2[8], Hag 2[11].

[4] Lv 13, 2 Ch 26[20], Nu 5.

[5] Kuenen, p. 90; also Ex 18[15] 33[7-11]. [6] Gn 49; see vv.[5-7]

plain altar of earth or unhewn stone in every place where he discovers traces of God's presence, and there to offer his sacrifices. The exclusive right could hardly have been established where this law was distinctly in mind. But it is clear that at the more conspicuous sanctuaries the ritual would, as it became more complicated, fall more and more into the hands of the official ministers.

(*c*) The *Blessing of Moses* was written some time after the division of Israel into two kingdoms. It shows that at that time the Levites were regarded as an organism, and that to them belonged preferential rights to minister at the altar as well as to manipulate the sacred oracle. The next document of importance is the book of Deuteronomy. To understand its position we shall have to recall the sharp polemic of the prophets against the popular worship. These preachers of righteousness believed that the cultus was useless because Jahweh required something very different, viz. righteousness between man and man; or else they believed it to be an abomination to Him because it was really offered to another divinity. In the condemnation which the prophets so emphatically utter the priests have their full share. The sanctuaries are represented as centres of moral corruption, and the priests are active fomenters of what by their calling they ought to oppose. The people perish for lack of knowledge, because the priests, whose business it is to teach the will of God, neglect their duty. This state of things is not confined to the northern kingdom. In Judah also we hear of priests who are drunken, ignorant, profane, violent, and addicted to lying.[1] Hosea, Isaiah, and Jeremiah are the witnesses to these charges.

The author of the book of Deuteronomy was a practical man. He was in sympathy with the prophetic ideas, but he saw that the cultus could not be dispensed with. Vested interests were on its side, and the craving of the heart for religion needed the traditional ordinances. His book therefore represents a compromise between prophets and priests. We learn from him that all priests belong to the class of Levites and that all are entitled to the same rights and privileges. In fact he usually speaks of them as 'Levite-priests.'[2] Although in some cases he uses the simple term 'Levite,' he nowhere intimates that there was any difference of function between a Levite and a Levite-priest. The Levites are called carriers of the Ark (the carrying of the Ark is elsewhere assigned to the priests); the Levite-priests have charge of the curious expiatory rite over the body of a man found slain; disputes are to be brought to the central sanctuary, there to be decided by the Levite-priests, such decision being, as we have seen, a distinctively priestly function. In a passage in Jeremiah, which is in the tone of Deuteronomy, we learn that the Levite-priests shall have the privilege of offering burnt-offerings and of performing sacrifice for ever; and in the same connexion we find the Levites described as the priests who minister to Jahweh.[3]

The thing that comes prominently into view in reading this author is the poverty of the class as a a class. While we may suppose that the great sanctuaries, especially those which had kings for their patrons, gave an adequate support to their officials, the mass of the Levites connected with the village high places were dependent on the charity of their neighbours. They are mentioned along with the widow and the fatherless, and commended to the benevolence of the people. The Levite is to be invited to the family feast, for 'he has no portion or lot with thee.' Tithes and free-will offerings are to be shared with the Levite, and every third year the tithe is to be wholly distributed among the needy, the Levite being expressly mentioned. This care for the Levite extends to the time when, as the author intends, the country sanctuaries shall be done away in favour of the exclusive right of the Jerusalem Temple. The privation that will thus be inflicted on the priests of these shrines is in the author's mind, and he directs in so many words that the deprived Levites shall be admitted to the service at Jerusalem on the same terms as the priests already in possession. This provision was never carried out, but the enactment shows what now interests us—that the author knew no difference between priests of one sanctuary and those of another.[1]

(*d*) As Deuteronomy exerted a great influence by its union of priestly and prophetic ideals, so the next step was taken by a man who united the two offices in his own person—Ezekiel, a priest by birth and a prophet by calling. He was fully possessed by the idea of the earlier prophets that the calamity which had overtaken Israel was the punishment for sin. But his priestly training made him look upon sin as a trespass upon ritual requirements. Ritual and ethical transgressions were alike violations of the holiness of Jahweh. The problem of the future was to prevent the intrusion of either on the isolation in which the Deity lives. The problem was solved in the programme drawn up by the prophet, the foundation principle of which is that only consecrated persons and consecrated things shall approach the place of worship.

The distinctness with which this matter is formulated shows that Ezekiel was conscious of introducing something new. In fact, the kings of Judah had been accustomed to have the inferior offices of the sanctuary performed by slaves of foreign origin, whom they presented to the Temple or to the priests. Ezekiel's statement and his correction of the abuse are combined in the following passage:

'Enough of all your abominations, house of Israel, that you have brought foreigners uncircumcised of flesh and uncircumcised of heart into my sanctuary to pollute it when you offered my bread, the fat and the blood, and broke my covenant by all your abominations! You did not keep guard over my sacred things, but set *them* as guards over my sacred things in your stead. Therefore thus says Jahweh: No foreigner uncircumcised in heart and uncircumcised in flesh shall enter my sanctuary. . . . But the Levites who departed from me when Israel wandered away after their idols—they shall bear their guilt; they shall be in my sanctuary, serving in the place of sentinels at the doors of the House and serving the House. They shall slay the burnt-offerings and the sacrifices and shall stand to serve them. . . . They shall not approach me to act as my priests to approach the most sacred things. . . . But the Levite priests, the sons of Zadok, who kept watch over my sanctuary when the sons of Israel wandered from me, they shall come near to serve me, and they shall stand before me to present fat and blood, says the Lord Jahweh. They shall come into my sanctuary, and they shall approach my table to serve me' (Ezk $44^{6\text{-}16}$).

The innovations which are thus made part of the new law are two. (1) The entrance of any but consecrated persons into the Temple is strictly prohibited; even the worshipping Israelite is debarred, as we learn elsewhere. (2) The consecrated persons are divided into two classes. For the first time the family of Zadok receives special duties and privileges. Below them stand the Levites, who are to have the menial offices once in the hands of the Temple-slaves. With regard to the promotion of the sons of Zadok, we may say that Ezekiel only sanctioned a *status quo*. This family was in hereditary possession of the Jerusalem priesthood. The book of Deuteronomy had

1 Hos $4^{1\text{-}12}$ 6^{9}, Zeph 3^{4}, Is 28^{7}, Jer 2^{8} 6^{13} 8^{10}.

2 Dt 17^{9}. 18 24^{8}; cf. Jos 8^{33}, Jer 33^{18}.

3 Cf. Dt 31^{25}, where the Levites are called carriers of the Ark, with Jos 3^{3}, 1 S 6^{15}, 2 S 15^{24}; further, Dt 21^{5}, Jer $33^{17\text{-}22}$, and D. 18^{5}.

1 Dt $18^{6\text{-}8}$ $12^{12.\ 18f.}$ $14^{27.\ 29}$ $16^{11.\ 14}$ 26^{11}.

demanded that the Levites from the country sanctuaries be admitted on an equality with those already in possession. But the most that the immigrants had been able to secure was admission to the lower offices. Ezekiel gave the stamp of his authority to this arrangement and thus introduced a new period of ecclesiastical history.

(*e*) What took place in Jerusalem in the time of Darius at the rebuilding of the Temple is not very well known to us, but one thing stands out distinctly: the chief priest at once assumed a prominent position in the community. This was inevitable, because the unity of the Jews was no longer political but ecclesiastical. There are, indeed, indications that Joshua, the chief priest, was the object of enmity on the part of some—whether rival claimants to the office or defenders of the rights of the secular authority cannot distinctly be made out. While Zerubbabel, a scion of the house of David, was civil governor, the community seems to have cherished the hope that the civil and ecclesiastical powers would work harmoniously[1] for the introduction of the Messianic kingdom. Perhaps for this very reason the Persians thought it unwise to retain Zerubbabel in office. His removal left the chief priest the highest Jewish dignitary in the country, and there was no check to the growth of his influence. This prominence of the chief priest was quite apart from Ezekiel's thought, for he makes no mention of such an officer.

(*f*) Nevertheless the ideas of Ezekiel did work. The evidence is found in the two documents which are dominated by the priestly ideal—the Priest Code, now embedded in the Pentateuch, and the books of Chronicles. They differ from Ezekiel in that he located his ideal commonwealth in the future, while they place theirs in the past. The divergence of their picture from the one drawn by earlier historical writers did not trouble them. They were not writing history, even when they seemed to themselves to be doing so; they were embodying an idea. That idea was Israel, not as a political community, but as a Church whose only business was to carry on the worship of God.

The central object in the wilderness wandering is therefore the Tabernacle, and the Tabernacle as nearly like the historic Temple as a movable building could be like one of stone. Its plan was exactly the same as that of the Temple, the dimensions being reduced one half. In ornamentation it was not inferior, for the imagination of the author was able to furnish gold and gems and the finest stuffs even in the desert of Sinai. This dwelling of Jahweh in the midst of His people is exactly the ideal of Ezekiel, though Ezekiel did not suppose it had been actual in the past. What immediately concerns us is that the staff of attendants assigned to this sanctuary also realizes Ezekiel's idea.

The Tabernacle has the whole tribe of Levi assigned to it to care for it, and the tribe is divided into the two classes of priests and Levites. In the representation made by the author the historic process is exactly reversed; *i.e.*, instead of the whole tribe being taken and then the family of Aaron being separated to their special duty, the family of Aaron is first consecrated to the priesthood and then the rest of the tribe is assigned to this family as helpers. The enormous number of Levites finds an ostensible justification in the necessity of taking down the Dwelling and transporting it. Yet the discrepancy between the three priests and the 22,000 Levites remains surprising and even grotesque.

Ezekiel ordains that the Levites shall camp about the Temple; so our author makes them camp around the Dwelling in the desert. The importance of having consecrated persons in this position to guard the sanctuary from the danger of pollution is seen in the consecration of the Levites. They are purified by the triple rite of sprinkling with holy water, washing of clothes, and a purificatory sacrifice. Thus prepared, they are 'waved' by Aaron in imitation of the presentation of a sacrifice. The significance of the whole is to indicate that the Levites are given to Jahweh by the Israelites, and by Him in turn given to Aaron and his sons to assist in the service.

The priesthood is the prerogative of Aaron and his sons. How Aaron came to take the place of Zadok, to whom Ezekiel gave the office, is still a mystery. Earlier indications are that Aaron was connected with the calf-worship of Bethel. Between Ezekiel and the time of the Priestly writer some influence of the northern kingdom must have made itself felt in Jerusalem. The fact stands out quite clearly that in the Priest Code Aaron and his sons are fully established in the priesthood. The whole responsibility for the service is theirs; they bring the blood of the sacrifice to the altar, burn the fat, offer the unbloody gifts. It is their duty to light the lamp in the sanctuary, to eat the 'bread of the presence,' and to burn incense within the Dwelling. For them the ritual of the great festivals and of the daily offerings is laid down.[1] For them also the author includes in his book the so-called Holiness Code[2]—a body of regulations drawn up in the Exile for the government of the priests in their daily life.

It will be seen that the office of the priest has now become mainly sacrificial. But the old theory of his duty as interpreter of the will of God still remains in such cases, *e.g.*, as the inspection of leprosy. Here the priest appears as examiner and judge of the kind of infection, and director of what is to be done for the ritual restoration of the afflicted person to the community. The difference between the present system and the earlier administration of the oracle is that now everything is laid down in a book by which the official must be guided. The result of thus formulating the cultus is to deprive it of its old character as an expression of joy and gratitude on the part of the worshipper, and to emphasize it as an *opus operatum* by which alone the relation between Jahweh and His people is kept intact.

The prominence of the chief priest in the post-Exilic community has already been spoken of. In the Priestly document his position is made sure by divine appointment. In him, in fact, the culmination of the sacerdotal system is found. It is he who represents the people before God, and whose ministration secures them the divine grace. He it is who once a year goes alone into the Most Holy place to restore the purity of the dwelling and of the people. No part of the OT is more familiar to Christian and Jewish students than the ritual of the great Day of Atonement. Its solemnity indicates the intercessory value of the high-priest. But the sacerdotal head of the community is also in this writer's mind the political head. His vestments are regal, and they are meant to be so. He wears a tiara which cannot be distinguished from a kingly crown, a robe of royal purple, gold and gems of untold value. In the theory of the code there is no one above him in rank. Moses, indeed, may be said to be his superior, in the sense in which the king-maker is above the king. But this is because Moses was the necessary inaugurator of the new state of things—a special organ of divine grace, who is to have no successor. The civil ruler in his relation to the high-priest is represented by

[1] Zec 3 and 4; cf. 6[11ff.].

[1] Lv 1 and 2; Nu 28 and 29.

[2] Lv 17–26, based no doubt on earlier tradition.

Joshua in his relation to Eleazar, and it is plainly one of inferiority.[1]

The book of Chronicles is wholly of the mind of the Priest Code in recognizing the difference between priests and Levites. But the author, who was perhaps himself a Levite, takes great interest in the lower clergy. In a part of his work we find (perhaps under the influence of tradition) the post-Exilic community divided into Israel, priests, Levites, Nethinim, and the sons of Solomon's servants. In another place the door-keepers and singers are found between the Levites and the Nethinim.[2] The Nethinim (*q.v.*) we know to be descendants of those Temple-slaves to whom Ezekiel objected, and the sons of Solomon's servants were one particular class of the same order. Ezekiel's regulation had not been able to overcome the traditional claim of these men to a place in the hierarchy. What actually took place was the absorption of all classes of lower clergy into that of the Levites. The Chronicler shows a purpose to defend this absorption and establish its legitimacy. This he does by dating the organization of the Levites (into gilds of singers and door-keepers) in the time of David.[3] His desire to magnify the office of the Levites leads him to vindicate for them the function of teaching the Law. He pictures them also as having in charge the sacred vessels of the Temple as well as preparing the shew-bread and the sacred ointment.[4]

The Levites never assumed the importance in actual life which they had in the system of the scribes. The inferior offices fell into the hands of the priests, while the high-priestly family formed an aristocracy which arrogated the higher functions to itself. In Maccabæan times and later we hear of higher and lower orders of priests, but scarcely any mention is made of Levites. The reason for this is not far to seek. The income of the Temple was never sufficient to support the large body of attendants provided by the Law; and what came to it was seized by the higher orders of the clergy. The economic situation is revealed by the list in the book of Ezra, which gives one in seven of the population of the restored commonwealth as priests. It was impossible for a poor people, who had to pay taxes to the Persian power, to support so large a body of Temple-servants.

5. Revenues.—In conclusion a word must be given to the matter of priestly income and support. In the earliest times there was no fixed income for the priest. Some portion of the sacrifice was given to him by the offerer, and the hide of the slain animal came to him from the nature of the case. Deuteronomy goes so far as to 'egislate on this as on some other subjects. It gives the priest the shoulder, the cheek, and the maw of the sacrifice.[5] In this book we also have mention of the firstfruits and the tithe. These were not given to the priest directly, but were brought to the sanctuary, where they were consumed in a joyful feast by the one who brought them—the priest being invited to share, no doubt. Every third year, however, this author directs that the tithe be distributed to the needy classes, among which the Levites were counted, as we have seen.[6]

The advance in ideas is seen in the Priest Code, which ordains distinctly that a tenth part of the produce of the land is to be given the Levites for their support. The firstfruits are also disposed of in the same way, the sin-offerings and trespass-offerings become the property of the priests, and a yearly tax of half a shekel is laid upon each male Israelite for the support of the sanctuary.[1] In fact the provision, if carried out, would have given adequate support to the whole sacerdotal caste. But the difficulty in collecting so heavy a tax must be evident. The theory of the Law gave the priests a tenth of the tithes collected by the Levites, and logically the high-priest would receive the tenth of what came to the priests, but this is nowhere enjoined.

A purely ideal construction is the assignment of cities with pasturage, though without farms, to the Levites, a certain number of them going to the priests. Almost all the towns of importance in the country are thus given to the Levites by the Priestly writer. The earlier historical writers know nothing of any such arrangement, and in fact to them the most striking mark of Levi is that he received no territory at the conquest and settlement of Canaan.

LITERATURE.—An enormous literature exists on this subject. The older view is to be found in J. H. Kurtz, *Sacrificial Worship of the OT*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1863; K. F. Keil, *Handbuch der bibl. Archäologie*[2], Frankfort, 1875, pp. 166–196; and A. Köhler, *Gesch. des AT*, Erlangen, 1875–85, i. 375–385. The critical view is indicated by J. K. W. Vatke, *Die Religion des AT*, Berlin, 1835, and is more fully developed by A. Kuenen, *The Religion of Israel*, Eng. tr., London, 1873–75, ii. 202–307. The best discussion is that of J. Wellhausen, *Proleg. zur Gesch. Israels*[6], Berlin, 1905, Eng. tr., *Prolegomena to the Hist. of Israel*, Edinburgh, 1885, pp. 121–164. More elaborate, but not more convincing, is W. W. Baudissin, *Die Gesch. des alttest. Priesterthums*, Leipzig, 1889. A. van Hoonacker attempts to establish an unhistorical view in a work of great learning entitled *Le Sacerdoce lévitique dans la loi et dans l'hist. des Hébreux*, Louvain, 1899. Mention may be made also of S. Maybaum, *Die Entwicklung des altisr. Priestertums*, Breslau, 1880; and the *Hebrew Archæologies* of W. G. H. Nowack (2 vols., Freiburg, 1894), and I. Benzinger (2do. 1907). Special points are treated by J. Braun, *Vestitus Sacerdotum Hebræorum*, Amsterdam, 1680; J. Selden, *De Successione in Pontificatum Ebræorum*, London, 1636; S. I. Curtiss, *The Levitical Priests*, New York and London, 1877 (a reply to Kuenen); further, a discussion on the origin of the Aaronite priesthood by R. H. Kennett and A. H. McNeile in *JThSt* vi. [1904–05] 161–186, and vii. [1905–06] 1–9. Recent discussions are luminously reviewed by Kuenen in an essay entitled 'Die Gesch. des Jahwepriestertums und das Alter des Priestergesetzes,' in his *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur bibl. Wissenschaft*, tr. K. Budde, Freiburg, 1894. The Jerusalem priesthood in the time of Christ is described by A. Edersheim, *The Temple: its Ministry and Services as they were at the Time of Jesus Christ*, London, 1874, pp. 88–78; and by E. Schürer, *GJV*[3] ii. 224–305, Eng. tr., *HJP* II. i. 195–272.

HENRY PRESERVED SMITH.

PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD (Hindu).—1. Rigveda.—As a collection of sacred poetry covering in all probability the period from 1200 to 1000 B.C., the *Rigveda* cannot be expected to afford any complete picture of the actual position occupied by the priests in the age in which the hymns composing it came into being. It represents only the priestly activity of a limited number of families among a certain body of Vedic tribes settled for the most part in the country later known as Madhyadeśa, and there is no probability that it completely mirrors that activity on all its sides. But the information which it does afford is consistent and, so far as it goes, gives a clear picture of the sacerdotalism of the period.

The priestly function appears to have lain entirely in the hands of a special class, to which appertained the duty of acting as the instrument of securing the divine favour. There is nothing in any hymn of the *Rigveda* to suggest that it was composed by a man of other than the priestly class, though of course it is impossible to prove that the authors were all priests. Later tradition[2] indeed asserts that the author of one hymn (X. xcviii.) was Devāpi Ārṣṭiṣeṇa, a prince of the Kuru family, but the hymn itself makes no such statement, and Devāpi appears in it in a purely priestly capacity. The tradition of the *Brāhmaṇas* treats occasionally as of royal origin great priests of the *Rigveda*, such as Viśvāmitra and the more

1 Nu 27[18 ff.]; cf. Jos 21[1].
2 Neh 11[3] 10[28]; cf. 1 Ch 9[17. 33]. 3 1 Ch 23[27].
4 Neh 8[4 f.], 1 Ch 9[25 f.]. The Levites even appear in this history as judges (1 Ch 26[29] 23[4], 2 Ch 19[8. 11] 34[13], Neh 11[16]).
5 Dt 18[3]. 6 Dt 12[17-19] 14[22. 29] 26[12].

1 Nu 18[21-24]. 2 Yāska, *Nirukta*, ii. 10.

mythic Pṛthī Vainya, and, still later, tradition ascribes several hymns to royal authorship, but none of these traditions has any support in the actual text of the *Saṁhitā*. On the other hand, the collection is full of references to the activity of the priests under the generic title of *brahman*, and to several different kinds of priests, and the hereditary character of the priesthood is attested by the word *brāhmaṇa*, 'descendant of a *brahman*.' Moreover, there is abundant proof in the *Saṁhitā* itself that, as in the immediately following period, the *brahmans* worked in the service of kings or wealthy nobles, whose generosity in sacrificial gifts is celebrated in the *dānastutis* appended to several hymns; the amounts of the gifts recorded are too great to be accepted as genuine records, but they at least prove that the priests already set upon their services the highest value. Side by side with these praises of the generosity of patrons and with broad hints to others to follow their example in the form of encomia on generosity, there are many proofs of the extremely good opinion of themselves entertained by the *brahmans*, though it is not clear in any passage that they had yet arrogated to themselves the description of gods on earth which they claimed shortly afterwards. They seem to have adhered as strictly as possible to their own occupation; if priests like Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra appear as assisting their princes in battle, doubtless it was by their priestly power, not by their prowess in arms. But the priestly sphere included in all probability medicine, for one poet declares (IX. cxii.) that his father is a physician—an occupation in which, to judge from all analogy, the use of spells would be of the highest importance. Naturally enough, the *Rigveda* contains very little of this side of priestly activity, but in its tenth and latest book there are found certain spells which touch on the medical art, one against the disease Yakṣma (X. clxiii.) and two to preserve the life of a man lying at the door of death (X. lviii., lx. 7 ff.). These hymns, with a few others, containing spells to procure offspring, to destroy enemies, and to oust a rival wife from a husband's affections, constitute, in conjunction with the funeral and wedding hymns, practically the only sign in the *Rigveda* that the activities of the priests extended to the ordinary affairs of human life, the domestic ritual which is of so great importance in modern India. It is probable that, as in the next period, the activity of the priests was confined in the main to the greater sacrifices and to such only of the domestic rites as had begun to assume special importance; the wedding hymn (X. lxxxv.) bears clear marks of comparatively late origin and is not primitive in character, and the funeral hymns exhibit a decidedly complicated and refined religious belief.

It has proved impossible to trace to the *Rigveda* the full sacrificial liturgy of the following period, but the hymns abundantly prove that there already existed much complication of ritual and subdivision of function among the priests. The main subject-matter of the *Rigveda* is clearly the *soma*-sacrifice, and it was precisely in this sacrifice that the greatest number of priests was required. In one passage (II. i. 2) to the god Agni are assigned the offices of *hotṛ*, *potṛ*, *neṣṭṛ*, *agnīdh*, *praśāstṛ*, *adhvaryu*, and *brahman*, as well as that of the lord of the house for whom the sacrifice is being performed. We hear also of an *upavaktṛ*, who is doubtless to be identified with the *praśāstṛ*, as his business is to give directions to the *hotṛ*, of an *udagrābha*, and a *grāvagrābha*, and of two *śamitṛs*. The latter are doubtless the slayers of the victim, who in the later literature rank merely as attendant priests, their function of killing probably having tended to lower them in rank compared with the ordinary priests, while the two former, whose functions, to judge from their names, must have been the drawing of the water and the taking of the pressing stones required for the sacrifice, disappear as special priests from the later ritual. There are also mentioned *sāman*-singers in general and the *prastotṛ* and *udgātṛ* in particular. These various priests fall clearly into three divisions, according as their main business was the recitation of hymns to accompany the offering, or the actual manual acts of sacrifice, or the singing of songs. It is probable enough that the original ritual was of simpler character, and that the actual sacrifice and the uttering of prayer were entrusted to one priest; this conclusion, based on *a priori* grounds, is strongly supported by the fact that the name for the reciter of hymns is *hotṛ*, a term which denotes the 'offerer' of the oblation, but the evidence of the Avesta agrees with that of the *Rigveda* in showing a multiplicity of priests, so that it is fair to conclude that the specialization of the ritual is prior to the separation of the Iranians and the Vedic Indians. At any rate in the *Rigveda* the *hotṛ* is the reciter of hymns celebrating the feats of the gods who are to partake of the offerings, and to him also we must assign the verses to accompany the actual offering, series of which occur in the *Saṁhitā*. Closely associated with the *hotṛ* was the *praśāstṛ*, at whose instigation the *hotṛ* recited his litanies; doubtless it is he who is meant when in the *āprī* litanies of the animal sacrifice the two *hotṛs* are referred to. The *brahman* of the *Rigveda* is probably the name of the priest later called *brāhmaṇāchchhaṁsin*, an assistant of the *hotṛ*. Of the second group of priests the *adhvaryu* is in the later ritual, and probably enough in the *Rigveda*, already the chief of the officiants at the actual sacrifice; the *potṛ*, or cleanser, is paralleled by the Avestan *āsnatere*, the *agnīdh* by the *ātarevakhsha*, who, like him, is charged with the care of the sacred fire, while the *neṣṭṛ*, or leader, may already have had the function from which he, later at least, derives his importance as the leader up of the wife of the sacrificer to play her part in a fertility ritual in the course of the *soma*-sacrifice. The *sāman*-singers had even in the *Rigveda* a double duty: on the one hand, they had to recite the addresses to Soma Pavamāna which are collected in the ninth book of the *Saṁhitā*, and, on the other, they had to sing songs addressed to the deities to which the *hotṛ* recited the hymns. The singing of *sāmans* was doubtless, in the form in which it occurs in the *Rigveda*, a much elaborated form of the ritual, and it is worthy of note that the list of priests given in II. i. 2 does not include any singer.

In addition to those priests who were engaged in the performance of special sacrifices for which they were selected by the sacrificer as occasion required, the *Rigveda* mentions the *purohita*, the domestic priest of the king or of some wealthy noble. It may be assumed that he himself performed the domestic ritual of the king, but at the great sacrifices he probably merely superintended the whole rite. There is, however, clear evidence that he might act as the chief of the priests, the *hotṛ*. Agni is both the *hotṛ par excellence* and the *purohita*; the two divine *hotṛs* of the *āprī* litanies are also called (X. lxx. 7) the two priests—the *purohitas*. Unlike the other priests, the *purohita* was not merely in the constant and intimate service of the king, but he was closely concerned with the king in his more worldly functions. Viśvāmitra, Vasiṣṭha, and others appear to have taken part in their priestly capacity in the wars of their kings, and the hymn X. xcviii. records the activity of Devāpi for his master Śantanu and its success. It was rather from the *purohitas* than from the

ordinary sacrificial priests that the high claims of the *brahmans* to priority in the State proceeded.

Great as the position of the priest clearly was in the Vedic community, he does not claim as yet to be powerful enough to constrain the gods to his will; it is probable enough that in his own view and that of the people he was possessed of magic powers; we have indeed in the *Rigveda* (x. cxxxvi.) the mention of a *muni*, one of those divinely inspired ascetics who figure in all the life of India. But on the whole the relation of the priests of the *Rigveda* to the gods is that of devout worshippers who seek by skilful song and well-paid offering to win the favour of the god for the sacrificer, in whose service they are.

2. Brāhmaṇas.—In the *Brāhmaṇa* literature, which covers the period up to the 6th cent. B.C., the priesthood appears quite definitely as a separate class, contrasted with the Kṣatriya, or warrior class, the Vaiśya, representing the main body of the people whether engaged in agriculture or trade, and the servile Śūdras. The priesthood was normally hereditary, but the class system at this period and much later still allowed marriages between priests and women of inferior castes, and, though priests might be despised, as were Kavaṣa Ailūṣa and Vatsa, for descent real or alleged from slave-girls, still they would not thus necessarily be regarded as excluded from priestly functions. Nevertheless, much stress is laid on descent from a *ṛṣi* and on purity of origin, and certain ceremonies could be performed only by priests who fulfilled the prescribed condition of birth in a family which for a number of generations had practised the rite. On the other hand, there are assertions (*e.g.*, *Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā*, xxx. 1) that what matters is not descent but learning, and we actually hear in the *Chhāndogya Upaniṣad* (iv. iv. 4) of Satyakāma Jābāla, who was allowed to be taken as pupil, though his parentage was uncertain, his mother being a slave-girl who had been connected with several men. This evidence, however, merely shows that the class was not absolutely closed by the rule of heredity. Nor was the practice of priestly functions absolutely restricted to the members of the priestly class. The legend which treats Viśvāmitra as a king of the Jahnus (*Pañchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa*, xxi. xii. 2; *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, vii. xviii. 2) is supported by the occurrence in the *Brāhmaṇas* of the terms *devarājan* and *rājanyarṣi*, referring to a seer of royal origin; all the stories which mention such kings are of a legendary character, but that does not alter their significance as evidence that the view of the priestly class of the time did not see any impossibility in kings composing poetry for the sacred rites.

As in the period of the *Rigveda*, the sacrifice is carried out for the profit of an individual, even in the case of the horse-sacrifice, which is formally an offering of the king alone, although intended to secure the prosperity of all classes of the people. To this rule the only exception is in the case of a *sattra*, or sacrificial session, which might last from twelve days to any number of years, and of which the most important form is the *gavāmayana*, lasting a whole year; in that offering all the participants must be consecrated and thus made for the time being priests, and the sacrifice is for the benefit of all and not merely of the sacrificer. The *sattra* is known as early as the *Rigveda*, and it is possible that we may have in it a trace of an earlier period when the sacrifice was a clan sacrifice, but of that we have no proof. As in the *Rigveda*, the sacrifice is conducted by priestly families, but the separate traditions of these families, though they are often recorded, are of relative insignificance in comparison with the general uniformity of the sacrifice throughout the texts, which indicate that a steady process of assimilation of customary usage was in progress. This assimilation was doubtless helped by the lack of temple worship and by the absence of any close connexion between the State and the cult, such as is so marked in the growth of early Greek religion.

The number of priests mentioned is greater than in the *Rigveda*, and more specific information as to those required for each type of offering is given. The *adhvaryu* alone is required for the *agnihotra*, the daily offering to Agni; for the *agnyādheya* and the new and full moon offerings the *agnīdh*, the *hotṛ*, and the *brahman* are required besides the *adhvaryu*; for the four monthly offerings also the *pratiprasthātṛ*, and for the animal offering, in addition to the *śamitṛ*, who does not rank as a priest in the full sense, the *maitrāvaruṇa*. In the *soma*-sacrifice the number rises to sixteen, classified in the ritual texts as *hotṛ*, *maitrāvaruṇa*, *achhāvāka*, and *grāvastut*; *adhvaryu*, *pratiprasthātṛ*, *neṣṭṛ*, and *unnetṛ*; *udgātṛ*, *prastotṛ*, *pratihartṛ*, and *subrahmaṇya*; *brahman*, *brāhmaṇāchchhaṁsin*, *potṛ*, and *āgnīdhra*. To this list the Kauṣītakin school added a seventeenth—the *sadasya*, who was charged with the duty of general surveillance of the sacrifice. The arrangement of priests does not, however, correspond to their actual employment in the ritual, in which the three assistants of the *brahman* and the *neṣṭṛ* are really assistants of the *hotṛ*, and not of the *brahman* and the *adhvaryu*. Of the priests the *maitrāvaruṇa* is identical with the *praśāstṛ* or *upavaktṛ* of the *Rigveda*, and bears his name because of his reciting litanies to the gods Mitra and Varuṇa: the *achhāvāka* is clearly a later addition, the *Brāhmaṇas* themselves (*Aitareya*, vi. 14; *Kauṣītaki*, xxviii. 4–6) emphasizing his exceptional character. The functions of the *unnetṛ* and *subrahmaṇya* are unimportant. On the other hand, the *brahman* is a priest of great importance, whose task it is to take charge of the whole rite and by his silent presence to make good any errors which may be made in the carrying out of the sacrifice. He is actually declared to be as important for the sacrifice as all the other priests put together, and the tendency to multiply the priestly functions evidenced in his appointment is curiously indicated by the addition by the Kauṣītakins of the *sadasya*, who would seem to have merely duplicated the work already performed by the *brahman*. The existence of the *brahman* in this capacity has been seen[1] even in the *Rigveda*, but the evidence for this view is extremely doubtful, unless perhaps in one of the latest hymns (x. cxli. 3). On the contrary, the evidence of tradition supports the view that the *brahman* as a special priest was an innovation of a comparatively recent period in the history of the ritual by the Vasiṣṭha family, and that for a time only one of that family could perform the duties of the office, doubtless because such a priest alone would be in possession of the special knowledge which constituted the characteristic of the post.

At the same time, the *purohita* steadily increased in importance; even the *Brāhmaṇas* are sufficient to show that he had become in temporal matters the constant adviser of the king; in some cases at least the same *purohita* acted for two or even three tribes, which placed him in a position of quite exceptional consequence and influence. The relation between king and *purohita* is most effectively described in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (viii. 27), where the formulæ of appointment are given; they are based literally on those of the marriage ceremonial; the *purohita* thus becomes for practical affairs the *alter ego* of the king, and

[1] See R. Pischel and K. F. Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, Stuttgart, 1888–1901, ii. 144 ff.

the duty of the *purohita* is made out to be the defeat of the king's enemies and the securing of the prosperity of the realm. The importance of the aid of the *purohita* in war is indicated by the fact that the gods in their struggles with the *asuras* repeatedly are worsted until they are able to summon to their aid Bṛhaspati, who is *par excellence* the *purohita* of the gods. The *Atharvaveda* (iii. 19) shows us the *purohita* engaged in a spell for success in battle. When a king, as often, is sent into exile by his people, it is his *purohita* who is expected to extricate him from his misfortune. In one respect, however, there is a change in the position of the *purohita* from that occupied by him in the earlier period: when in a sacrifice he takes the part of any special priest, it is not, as formerly, that of the *hotṛ*, but that of the *brahman*, as is proved by the concurrent testimony of two texts (*Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, III. v. 2. 1; *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, vii. 26)—a fact which stands in accord with the clear indications that the *hotṛ* has ceased to be the chief priest in the ritual.

The *Brāhmaṇas* claim for the *brahmans* high privileges. A priest deserves respectful reception and hospitable entertainment wherever he goes, and no limits are set to the amounts of the gifts which should be made to him at the several rites or portions of rites, one specially excellent sacrifice being that in which a man bestows all his wealth upon the sacrificial priests. On the other hand, the value of their services was maintained by the rule that no priest could accept gifts which another priest had rejected. The sacrificial offerings also fell to be consumed by the priest, as he alone was holy enough to partake of them; even in the royal consecration the king cannot partake of the *soma*, but only of a special drink prepared for the purpose. The priest also claims to be superior to the royal jurisdiction; when the king is proclaimed to the people, the proclaimer adds that the king of the *brahmans* is Soma. The king may not censure a *brahman*; when he gives away all the earth with what is in it, still he cannot include in that gift the property of a *brahman*. The crime of slaying a *brahman* is the only real form of murder, and it can be expiated only by the expensive horse-sacrifice. The fine for an insult to him is 100 cows or coins; for a blow, 1000. In a civil case the arbitrator must give his decision in his favour as against a non-*brahman*. But there is evidence in the *Pañchaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa* (XIV. vi. 8) that a treacherous *purohita* might pay for his sin with his life, and it appears from the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (vii. 29) that, as regards his place of abode, the priest was not exempt from the general power of the king to remove his subjects from their settlements at pleasure.

In return for their special position the priests were expected to show such qualities as kindness and gentleness, devotion to duty, and knowledge of the ritual. Intellectually their outlook on the sacrifice with which they were busied has undergone a profound change since the period of the *Ṛigveda*, and presents a curious admixture of magic and speculation. The principle of the sacrifice is not merely that of giving in expectation of a return; the priests assume that the return is compelled by the gift, and that they are complete masters of the universe through the mechanism of the sacrifice, if only that is duly performed. This power enables them not merely to assure to the sacrificer for whom they act what he desires, but at their pleasure, by the slightest error in the rite, to bring him to ruin. They are powerful by the sacrifice to heal dissent between the people and their princes; they are equally powerful to produce such dissent—a fact which explains clearly enough the rise of their influence in the land. On the other hand, the priests are theosophists, and find in the sacrifice the explanation and cause of the universe, which is daily renewed in the performance of the piling of the sacred fire, and from this speculative side of their efforts comes into being the priest of the schools which oppose themselves to the sacrificial ritual.

3. Upanisads, Buddhism, and Jainism.—From the time of the earliest *Upaniṣads*, dating about 600 B.C., a new function of the priest comes clearly into view, which differentiates him more and more from the sacrificial priest. The sacrifice ceases to be for some priests the chief object of their interest, which centres in the attempt to explain the nature of the universe and its relation to the self. The philosophy of the *Upaniṣads* is not in any sharp manner differentiated from the philosophy which commences with the doctrine of the unity of the universe in the sacrifice, but it is carried far beyond its first beginnings and to a certain extent the earlier *Upaniṣads* in particular hold aloof from the study of the Veda and the sacrifices; the former is shown not to be the true means of knowledge; thus in the *Chhāndogya Upaniṣad* (vii. 1) Nārada confesses that all his Vedic learning has not taught him the true nature of the self, and in the same text (vi. 1) Śvetaketu, despite his study of the Veda for the prescribed period, is merely conceited and not well instructed. The *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* contains (I. iv. 10, III. ix. 6, 21) several distinctly hostile references to the sacrifice, and the same spirit may be traced more faintly in the *Chhāndogya Upaniṣad* (i. 10 f.). At the same time, these *Upaniṣads* show no complete approval of the rival method of holiness, which undoubtedly existed at this time and was much in favour—asceticism. For the sacrifice, for Veda study, and for penance they substitute knowledge as the all-important thing, and the life of the *brahman* becomes concentrated upon study on the one hand and the teaching of pupils on the other. Stress is also laid on the fact that knowledge can be gained from others than *brahmans*; if the stories which ascribe the teaching of *brahmans* to kings like Janaka, Pravāhaṇa Jaivali, Aśvapati Kaikeya, and Ajātaśatru cannot be pressed into proof of the derivation of the doctrines of the *Upaniṣads* from the Kṣatriya class, as has been maintained, still they do show that intellectual activity was encouraged by free discussion, and the mention of women in the *Upaniṣads* as taking part in such discussions reveals a new feature in religious life; the sacrificial ritual knows of no woman priest, and the functions permitted to the wife of the sacrificer are even more limited than his own. The later *Upaniṣads*, however, show a distinct attempt to reconcile the claims of the study of the Veda, the sacrifice, and asceticism with the search for true knowledge, and, without making these things adequate means of discovering that knowledge, they treat them as a useful or necessary propædeutic. The same view is in effect already enunciated in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (IV. iv. 22), where we find the germ of the theory of the four *āśramas*, or stages of life, which an Aryan or at least a *brahman* should follow: the first is study of the Veda, the duty of the *brahmachārin*; the second sacrifice and almsgiving, the lot of the *gṛhastha*, or householder; and the third is asceticism, the lot of the *vānaprastha*, which later ingenuity unjustifiably divides into two states—that of the forest-dweller and that of the wandering and homeless beggar, *bhikṣu* or *parivrājaka*. The *Chhāndogya* (II. xxiii. 1) carries the matter a little farther: it ranks as three branches of duty sacrifice with Vedic study and the giving of alms, asceticism, and studentship with a teacher, and

then sets over against them the abiding in *brahman*, which is later developed into the fourth *āśrama*. The *Kena* (33) and the *Kaṭha Upaniṣads* (I. ii. 15) are equally clear in their recognition of the value of study and asceticism, and the *Kena* also mentions sacrifice expressly as a condition of true knowledge. The significance of these requirements is clear: in face of the tendency of the day to resort to asceticism and to abandon the use of sacrifice, which indeed in the Buddhist texts is regarded with much contempt, the Brāhmans were anxious to find due place and room for the different sides of human activities, even if their doctrines of the nature of the *ātman* were such as logically to deny all value whatever to Vedic study, asceticism, and sacrifice.

It is clear that great importance attached to the relation of pupil and teacher, especially as the doctrines of the philosophical schools were held to be specially sacred, such as could indeed be imparted in some cases only in the seclusion of the wild, whence the title *Āraṇyaka*, 'Forest Book,' for portions of the philosophic literature. The teacher is bound to impart all his knowledge to the pupil, who stays with him, and in return the pupil is bound to afford all possible assistance in the affairs of daily life to the teacher—to tend his cattle, to collect fuel, to guard the sacred fire, and to beg. The giving of payment for teaching is not approved by the texts, but the practice seems to have grown up under which at the termination of his studentship, which might extend over any period, twelve years being a common time, the pupil took leave of his teacher by presenting him with a gift proportioned to the pupil's means. Not only Brāhmans might go as pupils; the *Sūtras* formally contemplate members of the Kṣatriya and the Vaiśya class studying, but doubtless these cases were comparatively rare, just as the normal ascetic was the Brāhman, not one of the other two classes. The teacher was expected to perform for his pupil the formal rite of initiation by which his spiritual training commenced—an event which is the refined form of the puberty rites of new birth which are found wide-spread throughout the world. The relation of pupil and teacher is of special interest, as it forms the root of the Hindu veneration and deification of the *guru*.[1]

The relationship of the pupil and teacher doubtless led in many cases to the formation of schools of thought in which the views of a distinguished teacher gradually spread and attained considerable vogue, as we may judge from the frequent reference to teachers such as Āruṇi or Yājñavalkya. In two famous cases, however, the influence of the teacher has far surpassed normal limits, and given rise to the formation of a sect which has created a form of religion differing in essentials from Brāhmanism. The older and the more closely akin to Brāhmanism is undoubtedly Jainism, which represents a definite tendency to develop systematically the ascetic side of Indian views of life. The ideal is to reach the condition of perfection, which is the end of existence, by means of rising superior to all the needs of the ordinary life of man, and by laying aside all the passions which man feels. Hence the regulations which applied in the Brāhmanic system, and which enjoined abstinence from the taking of life, honesty, chastity, and the speaking of the truth, appear in Jainism in forms exaggerated out of all reality. The doctrine of *ahiṁsā* was a natural enough revolt from the absurd prodigality of life in the ordinary sacrifice, and its growth can be traced in the Brāhmanic literature; in Jainism it degenerates into an objection to the destruction of even the most infinitesimal insect life, which compels the most ridiculously minute precautions to be taken against harm to such life or even to the air itself. The doctrine against the taking of another's property is carried by Mahāvīra to a prohibition of attachment to any object or person, which counts as the fifth of the great vows of the priesthood. The Digambara sect of the Jains go farther, and carry out the principles of the school to the logical conclusion, which seems to have been adopted by Mahāvīra, of wearing no clothes

It was inevitable that the success of Mahāvīra and the spread of his doctrines among a far wider class than the followers of any particular Brāhman teacher should lead to the formation of a community with some distinctly original features Such a community followed the lines of the pre-existing system of pupilship; a formal initiation by a priest of the order acts as a preliminary to the adoption of the life of the Jain monk, who then becomes a homeless wanderer like the Brāhman ascetic, forbidden to possess any property, and compelled to beg his food, to live on what he thus obtains, to wear at most the rags that he can gather, and to avoid dwelling long in any one place save in the time of the rains. The necessity for fixed dwellings during the three or four months of the rainy season gave the impulse to the development of the quasi-monastic life, more or less permanent dwelling-places, though of the simplest kind, being allotted to the monks by the kindness of laymen. But the rule of wandering is still applicable. The essential duty of the monk is meditation and spiritual exercises, life being supported by begging, but in the course of its development the intellectual part of the discipline has become of less importance than the devotion of effort to avoid the destruction of life, and the provision of food. Moreover, from an early date, perhaps as early as the 2nd cent. B.C., a definitely Hindu element has been introduced in the form of idol-worship, accepted by both the Śvetāmbara and the Digambara sects, but rejected by the reforming sect of the Sthānakavāsī from the 15th cent. onwards. The introduction of this new element has added to the duties of the Jain monk a temple worship, consisting in the main of mental devotion and contemplation of the idol of the Tīrthaṅkara, accompanied by the singing of hymns in his honour. There has also arisen a temple priesthood, who in the case of the Digambaras must be Jains, and who perform to the idol the ordinary Hindu rites of washing, dressing, and adorning it, the waving of lights before it, the burning of incense, and the giving of offerings of fruit, sweetmeats, and rice. The Jain priest does not, however, eat the food thus presented, differing in this from the Brāhman priest and the Hindu temple-priest. In the temples of the Śvetāmbaras men who are not Jains, even Brāhmans, may be employed.

Besides the monks the Jains recognize an order of nuns, subject to the same general rules of life as the monks, and, what has been of the first importance for the persistence of the faith, orders of lay male and female adherents, *śrāvakas* and *śrāvikās*. This recognition gives the laity definite duties and obligations, based upon but modified from those binding on the monks and nuns. Among the vows undertaken by the laity are those of from time to time observing for a brief period the full restrictions incumbent on the *sādhu*, and of constantly helping the monks by gifts to them of the food and other articles which they are allowed to have, and the lending of such articles as they may not take for their own. Probably from the first these adherents have been largely of the mercantile class—a result contributed to by the fact that the Jain restrictions on the taking of life shut many avenues of profession even to the lay community (cf. art. MONASTICISM [Hindu]).

[1] See K. Glaser, *ZDMG* lxvi. [1912] 1-37.

Tradition, probably correctly, ascribes Mahāvīra to a Kṣatriya family, and the Buddha was undoubtedly not of Brāhman birth. Moreover, in the eastern country in which he preached there is evidence[1] that the Brāhmanical system was much less rigidly determined than in the west, and that the practice of Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas becoming ascetics was far more widely spread. But the Buddha in his precepts of life for his followers differed essentially from Mahāvīra in laying stress on avoiding extremes of asceticism, such as the religious suicide encouraged by Jainism; greater freedom was accorded to the monks to receive the aid of the laity, and no attempt of any kind was made to organize the laity into a community formally dependent on the order of monks. The admission of women as a special order of nuns was only grudgingly conceded, and subjected to such restrictions that the spiritual effect of the community of nuns on the faith cannot be discerned. But from the death of the founder there entered into the duty of the pious monk the obligation of paying reverence to the four places of special importance in his life—that where he was born, that in which he obtained enlightenment, that in which he decided to set going the wheel of the law, and that in which he entered *nirvāṇa*. The actual reverence of the relics of the departed Buddha was perhaps at first reserved to the lay adherents, but it passed naturally enough into that idol-worship which assimilated the worship of Buddha to that of a Hindu god. Moreover, the doctrinal development of Buddhism in the Mahāyāna school displaced the historical Buddha as the centre of Buddhism by mythological figures essentially divine.

In one important point both Buddhism and Jainism agreed—the introduction of the formal confession of sin as an essential part of the duty of the monk and in Jainism also of the laity. In both cases the fortnightly gatherings and the great yearly meeting of the monks were the specially fit occasions for the confession, but great stress was laid in Jainism on immediate confession to the *guru* in order to avoid by repression the accumulation of *karma*. For such systematic confession there was no place in Brāhmanism with its lack of defined tenets, though the importance of confession for certain ritual purposes was recognized. In these formal assemblies there was the possibility of the development of an ecclesiastical organization, but such an organization never developed itself any more than Hinduism has been able to produce a regularly organized hierarchy.

The Indian ascetic, whatever his religious belief, is credited with the attainment of magical powers of every kind, and this is true of both the Jain and the Buddhist—indeed in even a higher degree of the latter faith, for one of the four rules for monks in that belief is not to boast of the possession of such powers as they do not enjoy. This is the better side of the magical powers which ordinary Indian belief ascribes to the priest, and of which so much is made in the Brāhmanical literature.

4. Early Hinduism.—The two great epics of India, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, taken in conjunction with the early law-books and with the Buddhist and Jain scriptures, present us with a form of religion and custom to which the name of Hinduism can fairly be given as distinguishing it from the doctrines of the *Brāhmaṇas*. The religion of these texts is only in part the natural development of the religion of the *Brāhmaṇas*; it contains many elements of faith, doubtless as old as that religion, but appealing to different sections of the people; it is essentially a more popular faith than that which was concerned with the sacrificial ritual and the speculations arising out of it. Hence the priest of the sacrificial ritual is of less prominence, while the *purohita* comes forward. The priests of the epic may be divided into the ordinary priests, whose life is spent amid simple surroundings in the performance of their functions, and the spiritual advisers of the kings, who of course were often also the spiritual teachers of their youth. The office was one which tended to be hereditary in the same degree as the monarchy, and the mere fact that a priest might be at once the *guru* of the king and his *purohita* naturally exalted the claims to importance of the latter office. The boast of the *Brāhmaṇas* that the priests are the gods on earth is repeated with increased force; the gods are made out to be dependent on the priests, who, if need be, could create new gods. The power of the king is really derived from the priests, and they have the power to destroy a king who proves unwilling to meet their demands for gifts which have now grown beyond all measure; cows and land are expected as matters of course and even villages and districts, *i.e.* the revenues derived from these places. The assembly of the people, which is a real thing in the *Rigveda* and still seems to have lingered on in the age of the *Brāhmaṇas*, disappears in the epic, passing through the forms of the council of warriors and of priests, and finally becoming in effect the secret conclave of the king and the priest, who gradually was able to persuade the king that his advice was worth much more than that of the people or even of the warriors. Naturally enough, this view of the comparative value of the two elements for the purposes of State affairs was not accepted always by the warriors; the legends of disobedient kings like Viśvāmitra and Nahuṣa show, indeed, the terrible fate of those who were bold enough to question the position of the priests, but also indicate that there were kings impious enough to doubt the all-sufficiency of the priesthood. Naturally enough, the claims of immunity to punishment made by the priests are of the most wholesale character; even for the gravest crimes they insist that no corporal punishment of any kind can be inflicted on a priest, though, as in the *Brāhmaṇas*, kings seem to have felt themselves entitled to punish treachery by death. In return for this privileged position, the priests were evidently conscious of the need of providing themselves with all the learning possible to help them in the guidance of the king in his administration of justice and his executive government, as well as in the conduct of his sacred duties of sacrifice; the horse-sacrifice, as especially an imperial sacrifice, revealed the value of the skilled assistance of the priests. A priest, however, might also actually perform feats of arms, though the general rule is opposed to any active participation in fighting by the priest; of this there is a classic example in Droṇa, who combines, with the greatest success in each, spiritual and warlike functions, while his son, who was a warrior of no small fame, was taunted with impropriety in bearing arms against the rule of the priesthood. But it was not only by the legitimate arts of statesmanship that the *purohita* commanded so fully the obedience of the king; he was an expert in astrology and a soothsayer and magician, all of which features are given prominence in the tales of kings and their *purohitas* narrated in the *Jātakas*. Further, his position at court lent itself to intrigue of every kind, as is evidenced by the semi-mythical account of Chāṇakya's relations to his sovereign.

It is probably to this period that we must attribute the beginning of the division of the Brāhman class into different sub-classes divided by occupa-

[1] See Fick, *Die sociale Gliederung im nordöstlichen Indien*, p. 117 ff.

tion, though probably as yet still theoretically and in feeling one. The Buddhist texts show us Brāhmans as agriculturists, as engaged in pastoral occupations and in trade, and the *Dharma-sūtras* (*Āpastamba*, I. vii. 20. 12; *Gautama*, vii. 1 ff.) confirm this account to the extent of permitting these occupations, in certain circumstances of pressure, to the Brāhmans. It is possible also that in the eastern country, such as Magadha, Brāhmans went farther and undertook professions of a class never approved by the stricter schools: in the *Jātakas* (iv. 361 ff.) we find suggestions that they could act as hunters, and fulfil other menial tasks. It does not appear that Brāhmans who occupied themselves in these unpriestly functions at the same time devoted themselves to any priestly offices, whether sacrificial or intellectual; and we may therefore see in this adoption by priests of other than their appropriate functions the beginning of the breaking up of the unity of the class into castes determined in the main by hereditary occupation.

The attitude of the priesthood towards the gods as depicted in the epic is what might be naturally expected as the outcome of the theorizing of the *Brāhmaṇa* period. The priests then degraded the gods from all real importance except in their connexion with the sacrifice, and the priests of the epic have likewise no real respect for or belief in the minor deities of the pantheon, and to this rank even Indra and Varuṇa have sunk. The great gods of the epic are in the first place Viṣṇu, and in the second place, as the result of later working over, Śiva; both these gods are of essentially popular origin, but in the epic that popular worship has been overlaid by the philosophic pantheism which is most congenial to the temperament of the Brāhman. Even the devotion of the worshipper to the divinity, which was clearly prevalent in some sects, as reproduced in the epic, is overlaid with pantheistic elements.

5. Mediæval and modern India.—The priest of the middle age of India as revealed in the *Purāṇas* and in the classical Sanskrit literature presents essentially the same features as the priest of modern times. The chief distinction between this period and the epic age is that of the growing complexity of life and the progressive Hinduization of the centre and south of India. As a result the priestly class becomes split up more and more into different subdivisions which in effect constitute castes within the main class, between which there is no marriage possible and sometimes not even complete freedom of intercourse and commensality. The tendency of the Brāhmans to adopt very diverse modes of life, of which there are only traces in the earliest period, becomes more and more marked, and, combined with geographic differences, this fact has contributed to the growth in the number of the castes. Further support has been given to the development by the practice by which aboriginal deities have been taken over bodily into the Hindu pantheon, doubtless, at least in some cases, together with the priesthood attached to the deity, just as the ruling family of the tribe was taken into the rank of the Kṣatriyas. Hence arose innumerable subdivisions among the ten great divisions into which the Brāhmans are popularly divided—the Sārasvatas, Kānyākubjas, Gauras, Utkalas, and Maithilas north of the Vindhya range; and the Mahārāṣṭras, Andhras or Tailaṅgas, Drāviḍas, Karṇātas, and Gurjaras south of that range. But of these castes many have no priestly functions at all, and have devoted themselves to occupations of the most diverse type, ranging from the learned professions to the humblest duties of agriculture, and even trade. Even within the sphere of religion the differences between the different classes of Brāhmans is most marked. At the lowest level stands the village-priest, who is, however, of great importance in the life of the village, as his presence is requisite for the due performance of the religious ceremonies which make up so great a part of the life of a Hindu; at initiation, at marriage, at birth, and at death his presence is essential, even if other priests may be allowed to take part in the more important of these functions; and in return for his services he receives a fixed allowance of grain, with special presents on important occasions. The village-*purohita* is often also the astrologer, who prepares horoscopes, predicts the days for sowing and reaping, tells fortunes, and often as a magician averts disease and controls evil spirits. The important science of omens is also in the hands of the astrologer. Other Brāhmans, again, are engaged in the performance of the temple worship, though many of the functions of that worship are performed by men of lower caste. In its normal form the ritual of a great temple is mainly centred in the ceremonial treatment of the idol of the god whose temple it is. The daily round involves the awaking of the god from slumber, his dressing and undressing, bathing, anointing, and painting, and frequent feeding; the priests partake of the food, which through its consecration by the eating of it by the god is holy, and which is therefore sometimes given or sold in part to the people. Further, incense is burned, lights are waved, bells are rung, and flowers and other offerings as well as food are presented. During these performances Brāhmans often recite texts taken from the holy books of the religion of the god in question, mainly, in the case of Kṛṣṇa, the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, in the case of Śiva, the *Liṅga Purāṇa*, Śiva's most potent representation being in the form of a *liṅga*. The priests, however, while they superintend and control the performance of the temple ritual, do not claim for themselves the sole power to perform the acts of which it consists. The layman, on payment of the due fees, may be permitted to perform most if not all of the acts of worship.

As opposed to the Brāhmans who concern themselves with the temple worship, a far higher intellectual rank is occupied by those who are members of one of the religious schools, the abundance of which is attested throughout the period. These schools have naturally undergone numerous changes in the course of time; the devotees of the sun, who appear to have flourished in the time of Śaṅkara (9th cent. A.D.), have disappeared, and the Vaiṣṇava sects have attained much greater prominence since the revival of Vaiṣṇavism by Rāmānuja in the 11th cent. A.D. In the Vaiṣṇava schools the traditional respect for the teacher, which is seen in the claim of the Brāhmans in the Vedic age to be gods on earth, reveals itself in its highest form in the sect of Vallabhāchārya, in which the *gurus* are even in life treated as living embodiments of the god, and receive the formal marks of respect which are accorded to the images of the god whom they serve. But, even in the sects that carry the process of deification of the *guru* less far, the greatest importance is placed upon him, as he is the source from which alone the saving knowledge which will procure the heaven of bliss open to Vaiṣṇavas can be derived. The Sikh *guru* baptized the disciple and taught him the name of Hari, which alone can procure him salvation, and in return demanded and received the implicit obedience which raised the Sikh to so high a pitch of military power when its bent was definitely turned under Govinda to warfare with the Muhammadans. Common again to all sects of Vaiṣṇavism is the stress laid on the sacramental meal, which is decidedly a development of the

giving or selling of the sacramental food by the temple priests to outsiders, and which is the most definite sign of the belief, more or less clearly held by the Vaiṣnava teachers, that caste divisions were not ultimately in accord with the principles of their faith. Both in the practice of the sacramental meal and in the respect paid to the *guru* there has been seen the influence of Christian doctrines, but in the latter case at least the supposition is gratuitous, the respect being a natural Indian development.[1]

The teaching of the schools is not normally antagonistic to idol-worship, which it allows as a mode of approaching the divinity; even the Sikhs, who are in theory opposed to idolatry, make a fetish of the *Granth*, the sacred book of their scriptures, and guard it in a shrine, paying to it the same rites as are offered to Hindu idols. There is therefore no necessary incompatibility in the combination of the duties of priest in a temple and spiritual teacher, and the two functions are sometimes united. This is essentially the case with the priests of the Tantric rites, who themselves take a part in the performance of the rites which they approve, and to which they give in their theoretic teaching a symbolical signification. These priests are reckoned as gods by their followers, for their command of *mantras*, or spells, makes them superior to the gods, on whom again the whole world depends. The possession of magic power by the priest is a commonplace of later as of earlier Indian belief, but it is carried to its farthest extent in Tantrism, which in this aspect is closely allied to the Yoga philosophy. Another side of the same element of priesthood is seen in the varied classes of ascetics, who undergo severe penances of all kinds in order to produce ecstatic states, and many of whom are doubtless connected in origin with the ascetics of whom we hear in the Buddhist texts. The better side of asceticism shows itself in the persistence of the practice by which, after the performance of the duties of life as a householder, in old age the Brāhman, be he priest or politician, ends his days in the meditation of the *sannyāsin*.

In one respect there is a clear distinction between modern and epic and, still more, Vedic India. The Vedic sacrifice is all but extinct at the present day, and has clearly been moribund for centuries; in its place have come the temple worship on the one hand and the great popular festivals on the other. These festivals, such as the Makarasaṅkrānti, the Vasantapañchamī, the Holī, and the Dīpālī, are of essentially popular origin, and traces of them can be seen in the Vedic ritual, but in that ritual they have been deprived of their original nature and brought into the scheme of sacrifices performed by and for the profit of the sacrificing priests and their employers only. Doubtless outside the Brāhmanical circles they persisted in their simpler form, which can often be recognized in the ceremonials of the present day, though many elements of sectarian religion have found their way into these.

A certain distinction in the religious methods adopted by the priesthood may be observed between this and the earlier periods. In place of the schools of the Brāhman ritual or the wandering monks of the Buddhists or the Jains, we find the wandering monk of the type of Saṅkara, Rāmānuja, and Madhva, who go here and there challenging others to discuss the new theories of the *Vedānta Sūtra* which they have to propound, and retiring from time to time to a monastery for study and literary composition; these are obviously in spirit and in method a natural development of the philosophers of the *Upaniṣads*, but with their intellectual activity definitely directed by the authority of the *Vedānta Sūtra* and of the *Upaniṣads*. A very different method of religious propaganda appears in the Tamil south, at an undefined but certainly early date, in the shape of the itinerant poet, devotee, and musician, who wanders hither and thither with a large retinue, singing his own compositions in the vernacular in honour of the god whose shrine he frequents; this is a type of priest corresponding to the conception of *bhakti* and differing entirely from the type of theologian produced by the Brāhman schools, and of more popular origin. Rāmānanda, to whom is due the spread in N. India of the doctrine of Rāmānuja and the more definite rejection of the importance of caste, introduced the type, at once intellectual and popular, of the wandering theologian who could dispute with the most learned opponents, but was anxious to preach in their own tongue to the people and to express in vernacular verse the tenets and principles which he sought to inculcate. An attempt to strengthen this appeal to the popular mind was made by Chaitanya at the beginning of the 16th cent. by introducing from the south its ecstatic religious dancing and singing. The older method of Rāmānanda was, however, followed by Nānak (A.D. 1469–1538) and Tulsī Dās (A.D. 1537–1622); both of these were married men, as opposed to Rāmānanda, who was a monk—a fact which distinguishes the adherents of the *bhakti* cults from the Buddhists or Jains.

Since the beginning of the 19th cent. the influence of Christianity has produced considerable effects in the Hindu conception of priestly methods and ideals. Apart from the effects on doctrine, the general result of this influence has been, on the one hand, to create for Hinduism a feeling of unity and individuality hitherto not to be discerned; there has even been created a society, the Bhārata Dharma Mahāmaṇḍala, for the defence of Hinduism as such. It is, however, characteristic of the nature of Hinduism that no effort has been made to create a controlling spiritual centre, such as would assimilate Hinduism to the great Churches of the West. On the other hand, the minor reforming bodies have some conception of church organization, and in practically all aspects of Hinduism a strong impulse has been given to the priesthood to undertake the direction and support of various forms of social service.

6. **Animistic tribes.**—The primitive tribes have from the beginning of Indian history been continually falling under the influence of the higher culture of the tribes among them, and their conceptions of priesthood have been affected by the views and practices of these tribes. There are still, however, abundant traces of a more primitive view in which the priest is mainly a medicine-man, whose strength lies in his magical powers and his ability to become the subject of divine possession. In this view the priesthood is not, as in Vedic India, a hereditary profession based on sacred learning and knowledge of tradition, but a spiritual exaltation which betrays possession by the divinity. Thus among the Kols, when a vacancy occurs in the office of village-priest, the next holder of the office is determined by a process of divination. A winnowing-fan with some rice is used, and the person who holds it is dragged towards the man on whom the office of priest is to be conferred. A similar practice is observed among the Oraons. In N. India in addition to the professional exorcists there are others who do not learn their work from a *guru*, as do the professionals, but are naturally inspired by a spirit. In accordance with this view is the practice of the semi-Hinduized Dravidian tribes of the Vindhya range, who often worship Gansam or Raja Lakhan. The shrine of the god is in charge of the village-*baiga*, who is

[1] See R. Garbe, *Indien und das Christentum*, Tübingen, 1914, p. 276

invariably selected from among some of the ruder forest tribes such as the Bhuiya. Much of the work of the *baiga* is sorcery pure and simple, and for this purpose no doubt the most uncivilized person is the best adapted, as being in closer touch with the spirits in nature. Similarly the Kurumbas in the Nīlgiri Hills are employed by the Badagas, who are much above them in culture, for the sake of their special powers. So it is with the ordinary axe carried by the dweller in the jungle that the victim is slain at the shrine, the *baiga* then taking as his share the head, while the rest of the meat is consumed by the male members of the tribe. When the *baiga* in villages of the hill-country south of the Ganges desires to exorcize a disease-ghost, he attains the necessary divine possession by beating himself with the iron chain which hangs from the roof of the shrine of the village-god, and which among the Gonds is considered to be in itself divine. The same principle of divine possession is exhibited in the worship of Bhiwāsu, the regular Gond deity, who is identified with Bhīmasena, one of the Pāṇḍavas; once a year a special feast is held in his honour, at which the god inspires the priest, who, after leaping frantically round, falls in a trance. In an analogous manner throughout S. India priests in fantastic attire, often with masks human or animal, dance in order to cause the entry into themselves of some spirit, possessed by whom they can predict the future for those who make inquiry. Moreover, even the sacrifices in which the priests take part in large measure are obviously mere fertility-charms, as in the case of the famous human sacrifices of the Kandhs. The cult which they performed was simple in the extreme; the elaborate temples and formal worship of the Hindu gods is unknown in aboriginal religions, where the temple is often of the simplest possible formation, consisting merely of a heap of stones, while even in more advanced communities at most a small hut forms the abode of the priest of the god, who is aniconic. Of the development of higher religious conceptions among the aboriginal priesthoods we have no clear proof, as the occasional appearance of what may be considered higher beliefs may easily be explained by borrowing from the surrounding tribes which have fallen under Hindu influences. Among the Kandhs there are priests who have no other occupation than their sacred functions; others, again, can engage in other employments, but are forbidden in any event the profession of arms, just as in theory this profession was closed to the Brāhman. The Todas in the south have a celibate priesthood, but it is uncertain whether this conception is borrowed from Hinduism or is merely one instance of the superiority of the celibate for the exercise of functions connected with divinity, of which there are traces in the Vedic period itself, though the principle is not carried very far. In many cases, however, the penetration of Hindu practice goes very far; thus the out-caste tribe of the Tiyas in Malabar have since A.D. 1890 created for themselves a temple worship modelled on the ordinary Hindu type but served by non-Brāhman priests. A much older example of the same principle is probably to be seen in the growth of the Liṅgāyat (*q.v.*) sect of Śaivas in S. India, whose priests, *jaṅgamas*, are not Brāhmans, but may belong to any other caste.

LITERATURE.—For the Vedic period the chief authorities are: J. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, i.[3], London, 1890; H. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, Berlin, 1879; A. Weber, *Indische Studien*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1849–84, ix., x., and xiii.; H. Oldenberg, *ZDMG* li. [1897] 267–290, *Religion des Veda*, Berlin, 1894; A. Hillebrandt, *Ritual.-Litt.: Vedische Opfer und Zauber* (=*GIAP* iii. 2), Strassburg, 1897; M. Bloomfield, *The Religion of the Veda*, New York, 1908; A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *Vedic Index*, London, 1912; S. Lévi, *La Doctrine du sacrifice dans les Brāhmanas*, Paris, 1898; P. Oltramare, *L'Hist. des idées théosophiques dans l'Inde*, do. 1907; P. Deussen, *The Philosophy of the Upanishads*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1906. For Buddhism see H. Oldenberg, *Buddha*[5], Stuttgart, 1906; T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, London, 1903; R. Fick, *Die sociale Gliederung im nordöstlichen Indien zu Buddha's Zeit*, Kiel, 1897; L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme: Opinions sur l'hist. de la dogmatique*, Paris, 1909; for Jainism, Mrs. S. Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, London, 1915; J. G. Bühler, *On the Indian Sect of the Jainas*, Eng. tr., do. 1903. The epic material is dealt with by E. W. Hopkins, *JAOS* xiii. [1889] *The Religions of India*, London, 1896; the latter work deals also with Hinduism, as does A. Barth, *Religions of India*, Eng. tr., London, 1882; for Hinduism see also M. Monier-Williams, *Brāhmanism and Hindūism*[4], do. 1891; R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems* (=*GIAP* iii. 6), Strassburg, 1913; J. N. Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India*, New York, 1915. On the animistic tribes there are important notices in W. Crooke, *PR*, London, 1896, and E. Thurston and K. Rangachari, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Madras, 1909.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD (Iranian).—**1. Pre-Zarathushtrian times.**—That the religious beliefs and practices of the Iranians before the reform of Zarathushtra necessitated and actually commanded the services of a priestly class scarcely admits of any doubt, though, in the absence of direct records, the proof of this, as of so many other facts relating to the early life of the Iranians, rests upon indirect evidence. In the Avesta we find that the generic term for 'priest' is *āthravan*, clearly derived from *ātar*, 'fire'—a fact which is significant alike of the early origin and of the principal function of the sacerdotal office in Īrān. That reverence for fire was a marked feature of the religious life of the Iranians in the most primitive period is well established;[1] and, when taken in conjunction with the fact that the word *ātharvan* in the *Rigveda* has, among other related senses, the same connotation as the Iranian form *āthravan*, the inference becomes irresistible that both the office and its Avestan name are derived from Indo-Iranian days. Moreover, although *āthravan*, as the common appellation of the priests, suggests that they had as their chief care the maintenance and guardianship of the sacred fire, nevertheless it can hardly be supposed that even in the pre-Zarathushtrian period their duties were not more extensive. The old Iranian pantheon enshrined other highly venerated divinities,[2] whose cults would naturally require the mediation of priests. The cult of Haoma, to name only one, involving, as in all probability it did, in the earliest times a somewhat elaborate ritual, would afford a special opportunity for priestly intervention. Later tradition also, as reflected in *Ys.* ix. 1 f., lends support to this contention. In that passage the poet describes Haoma approaching Zarathushtra in the morning while he was chanting the *Gāthas* in the presence of the sacred fire, and entreating the prophet to pray to him, to consecrate his juice for libations, and praise him as the other sages or priests were praising him. Nor can there be any doubt that prayers, invocations, and sacrifices offered to all their gods at this period were mediated by their priests.[3]

Regarding the organization of the priesthood and the relation of the priests to the laity and to other classes in society at that period, we have but little data from which to draw any conclusions with absolute certainty. Although Firdausī's attribution of the establishment of the three orders of priests, warriors, and husbandmen to Yima belongs to the sphere of legend rather than to that of history, still the division itself represents an early stage in the development of the Iranian commonwealth. Moreover, the position of the priests at the head in every enumeration of these orders in the Avesta, suggesting the venera-

1 See art. ALTAR (Persian), vol. i. p. 347, with the references.
2 See art. GOD (Iranian), vol. vi. p. 291.
3 Cf. Herod. i. 132.

tion in which they were held, is in perfect accord with what we know of the deep moral earnestness and marked religious susceptibilities of the ancient Iranians.[1] There is no evidence, however, that the *āthravans* of Īrān were regarded or claimed to be regarded with the same superstitious awe and reverence as the Brāhmans of India arrogated to themselves. No superiority as regards descent or higher nature was ascribed to or demanded by the priests of Īrān. That priestly families[2] existed at this period, who handed down to their descendants the secrets of correct sacrificing and the approved forms of invocations, may very well have been the case, though nothing in the nature of a close priestly caste resulted in Īrān—at least during the period now considered. The high regard in which agriculture came to be held at an early period and the constant dependence of the community for its defence upon the warrior-class would in themselves militate against the development of castes in Īrān.[3] Moreover, the fact that, according to the Avesta,[4] Zarathushtra was the first priest, warrior, and agriculturist indicates that tradition at least did not regard the gulf between those classes in the earliest times as an impassable one.

2. The Zarathushtrian reform.—In the nature of things it was very unlikely that the great spiritual movement which is associated with the name of Zarathushtra should leave the priesthood unaffected. What its influence actually proved to be, so far as it is ascertainable, must be learnt from its reflexion in the hymns, or *Gāthas*, of the Avesta. In those hymns the *āthravans* are not once mentioned by name. In one passage,[5] it is true, the prophet applies to himself another old Aryan term for 'priest,' namely *zaotar* (Skr. *hotar*), which may serve to show that, however insignificant the sacerdotal element in the new movement proves to have been, he did not entirely renounce priestly functions. But the character of his reform helps to account for the recession of the *āthravans* into the background. It was a change in the basal truths of the religion more than in its external symbols. It was a question not of the manner of expressing their devotion to the deities, but rather of the object to whom their worship should be directed. It was a great prophetic and religious revolution, not a priestly transformation. New and more spiritual conceptions of deity were born, which were only afterwards to be clothed and expressed in ritualistic forms.[6] Still, no doubt the *āthravans* of the old religion, at least those of them who yielded themselves to the great reform, found a place in the religious life and ministry of the new Mazdæism; for the sacred fire continued to burn and was jealously guarded during the new and more spiritual epoch, even if it found a higher meaning and significance in the reformed religion. That all the old Iranian priests did not conform, as might naturally be expected, can be proved from the frequent references to the bitter opposition of the *kavis*, *usij*, and *karapans*.[7]

It should be observed that all that has been said so far has application, in all probability, to only eastern Īrān, our knowledge of the religious institutions of the west during this period being practically nil. On the other hand, in reference to the succeeding periods, matters are entirely reversed.

3. The Magi and the Iranian priesthood.—When we turn to Greek and Latin authors, the other important source for Iranian history, we find no evidence of any acquaintance whatsoever, on their part, with the priesthood under any equivalent of its Avestan name.[1] According to all the classical writers from Herodotus to Agathias, the sacerdotal office in Īrān was occupied by a tribe or caste of Medes called Magi (Old Pers. *Magu*, Gr. Μάγοι, Lat. *Magus*); and no suggestion is given that any other sacerdotal class shared with them the priestly functions at that period, or that they were the heirs of an earlier order of priests. But it should be observed that these writers speak mainly, if not exclusively, of Iranian religious rites as they existed among the Medes and Persians, or, speaking geographically, as they were found in western Īrān. Furthermore, with the exception of Herodotus, the classical authors in question wrote of events and at a date posterior to the condition of things represented by the earlier part of the Avesta.

Nevertheless, an additional explanation of the difference of nomenclature in the Avesta as compared with the writers of Greece and Rome is felt to be necessary when it is remembered that much of the so-called Later Avesta was written under the influence of, and probably by, the Magi themselves, and at a period contemporary with several of the Greek authors.

In this connexion it is to be remembered that even in late Achæmenian times the Magi had not outlived the prejudice which had become associated with their name in the mind of Persians since the revolt of Gaumata, and hence they had a strong motive to avoid the use of the term *magus* under all circumstances; while the preservation of the old term *āthravan* throughout the Avesta, besides being a convenient substitute for the offensive ethnic designation, may have been prompted by the desire to further establish the claim of the Magi to the succession of the ancient *āthravans* in the Iranian priesthood.

That the Magi were the recognized priestly order in western Īrān in the earliest Achæmenian times (and, probably, in pre-Achæmenian days, *i.e.* during the ascendancy of the Medes) cannot be doubted. What influence or authority they achieved and exercised later in eastern Īrān as a result of the conquests of Cyrus in Bactria we have no means of determining; and for the remainder of this article, therefore, *magus* and priest will be convertible terms,[2] and Īrān, in the main, coincident with Media and Persia.[3]

4. The organization of the Magian priests in late Avestan and post-Avestan times.—It is sufficiently established that the priesthood during this period possessed a more or less definite inner organization, though probably varying much in character and completeness at different epochs. Even in Achæmenian days the Magi seemed to have recognized a chief or head of their order. Diogenes Laertius,[4] quoting Xanthus the Lydian, speaks of a long succession (διαδοχή) of Magi between the time of Zoroaster and that of Xerxes, and names Ostanes, Astrapsychus, Gobryes, and Pazates. These, there can be little doubt, were among the chief priests who stood at the head of the sacerdotal order during that period.[5] In his succinct account of the Magi Ammianus Marcel-

[1] See W. Geiger, *Civilization of the Eastern Iranians in Ancient Times*, tr. D. P. Sanjānā, London, 1885–86, ii. 158.

[2] See M. W. Duncker, *Hist. of Antiquity*, tr. E. Abbott, London, 1877–82, v. 186; cf., however, J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, do. 1913, p. 194.

[3] For other reasons supporting this contention see F. Spiegel, *Erān. Alterthumskunde*, Leipzig, 1871–78, iii. 546 ff.; also Geiger, ii. 76 ff.

[4] *Yt.* xiii. 88 f.

[5] *Ys.* xxxiii. 6.

[6] See Moulton, p. 118.

[7] Cf. *Ys.* xliv. 20, etc.

[1] The one probable exception is Strabo, who says (xv. iii. 15) that in Cappadocia the Magi were also called *Pyraethi* (Πύραιθοι), which is, there can be little doubt, a Greek rendering of the Iranian *āthravanō*.

[2] Cf. Apuleius, *de Magia*, xxv.: 'Persarum lingua Magus est qui nostra sacerdos.'

[3] See art. MAGI, vol. viii. pp. 242–244.

[4] *Procem.* ii.

[5] It should be stated, however, that Pliny (*HN* xxx. 1 f.) regards these, and others whom he mentions, merely as distinguished teachers and not necessarily superior in priestly rank.

linus[1] says that the Magi tribe was at first a small one, and that the Persians, who were politically in the ascendancy, availed themselves of their services for the conduct of public worship. Gradually they increased in number and founded an exclusive class, with a special area for their dwelling-place and a proper constitution.

But the Later Avesta itself contains clear indications of the existence of a priestly organization, although there is much uncertainty as to the time to which they have reference. In *Ys.* i. 3–7,[2] where the names of the *gāhs*, or divisions of the day, are mentioned, the priestly writer proclaims his purpose to bring offerings at each *gāh* to a special divinity, and also to the *fravashi*, or spirit of a chief or holy person. One of the chiefs whose spirit is invoked is the *zarathushtrotema*[3]—*i.e.* the one most like Zarathushtra, or the successor of Zarathushtra. Now, the *zarathushtrotema*, as we learn from other passages,[4] being the spiritual (and, in Ragha, also the secular) head of the community, the Pahlavi commentators have inferred that the other chiefs whose *fravashis* are associated with the other *gāhs* also represented members of the same organization. These were *daqyuma*, or lord of the province; *zantuma*, or lord of the tribe; *vīsya*, or lord of the village or clan; *nmaniya*, or lord of the house. The interpretation is no doubt entirely fanciful, but it has served a valuable purpose in that it has preserved for us some vestiges of the organization of the priesthood as it seems to have existed at least in Sasanian times. At the head, according to the tradition embodied in this interpretation of the *Yasna* passages, we have the *zarathushtrotema*, who was a kind of supreme pontiff at Rai. Under him each satrapy or province (*daqyum*) had, as Darmesteter surmises, a superintendent of the cult, or *andarzpat*.[5] In each district (*zantu*) there was a bishop—*rat* or *ratu*; in each borough (*vīs*) a *mobed* or *magupat*.[6] Beneath the *mobeds*, and yet belonging to the priestly race, were the civil judges (*dātōbar*, Mod. Pers. داور). We know that the priesthood underwent a thorough re-organization under the Sasanians and at that period attained its fullest development.[7] Another classification of the priests is known to the Avesta,[8] not according to social or ecclesiastical rank, but according to their functions in regard to certain parts of the Mazdæan ritual. On this basis they were divided into eight classes, and their names for the most part indicate their special functions. The *zaotar* (now called *zōt* or *zōti*) had the supremely sacred duty of reciting the *Gāthas*. The *hāvanam* pressed out the juice of the *haoma*-plant, which was such a marked feature of the ritual in all ages. The *atarevakhsha* had as his primary charge the nourishing of the sacred fire, but in addition he was responsible for the washing of three sides of the fire-altar and making the responses to the *zaotar*. The *frabaretar*, besides his duties of preparing and handing the utensils to the *zaotar*, washed the fourth side of the fire-altar. To the *asnatar* was assigned the work of filtering and washing the *haoma*, while the *rathwiskare* made the mixture of *haoma* and milk. The *aberet*, in keeping with his name, brought the water necessary for all the priestly ceremonies. He bears also the name *dānazvāza*.[1] The eighth was the *sraoshavarez*, who seems to have superintended the whole ceremony. At the present time the functions of these eight priests are all performed by only two: the *zōt*, who has much the same functions as in earlier times (see below also), and the *rāspī* or *rathwī* (Pahl. *rāspīg*), who is in attendance upon the *zaotar*, while discharging the duties devolving upon the seven ancient assistant priests. Though taking his name from the Avestan *rathwiskare*, his chief functions correspond more nearly to those of the *atarevakhsha*.

This great reduction in the personnel of the priesthood resulted, there can be little doubt, in the first instance from the Arab conquest in the 7th century. The change is reflected in the tone of the *Bahman Yasht* and the *Dāṭistān-ī-Dīnīk*.

5. **The functions of the priesthood.**—The principal functions have already been touched upon incidentally. Performing the sacrifices, so long as they were practised,[2] mediating the offerings and all public worship, constituted the central and most characteristic parts of the priestly duties. No sacrifice, Herodotus[3] tells us, could lawfully be made without the presence of a Magus. Still the extent of the priestly intervention at these sacrifices, on the one hand, and of the lay-assistance[4] at these and other parts of ritual, on the other, seems to have varied at different epochs in Iranian religious history. In the days of Herodotus the part of the Magus in the sacrifice was confined to merely chanting the theogony or hymn; the person who brought the sacrifice both prepared it and disposed of the flesh after the ceremony. In Strabo's days the priestly duties at such sacrifices were more extended.[5]

The purifications constituted another primary function of the priesthood, and formed the most fruitful source of their revenue. Duncker maintains that even the purifications could be performed by a layman.[6] It is expressly stated in the *Vendīdād*,[7] however, that none could perform these ritualistic cleansings unless they had learnt the law from one of the purifiers or priests. It is scarcely probable that the priests would impart to many laymen the qualification which would enable them to share with themselves their already slender means of subsistence. It becomes very clear from the *Aērpatastān*[8] that the priestly revenue did not suffice to maintain the whole of their tribe, and as a result the participation in secular pursuits was legalized. It is true, their fees were substantially augmented by what they obtained from the practice of medicine. The art of healing was a priestly function in very early times in Irān, and, if not originally, yet ultimately fixed dues were attached to such services.[9] The priesthood, as we have already stated, was intimately associated with judicial functions in the Iranian commonwealth. 'To the Magians,' Duncker says,[10] 'belonged the judicial power.' It is quite legitimate to infer that the *zarathushtrotema's* position at Ragha, referred to before,[11] would entitle him to high legal authority among his other prerogatives. During the ascendancy of the Arsacids the Magi together with the members of the royal race formed the Council of the Empire,[12] and during the Sasanian period the Grand Magian performed the coronation of the kings.[13]

[1] xxiii. 6. [2] Cf. *Ys.* vii. 5–9.

[3] *Tema* is the superlative suffix. Spiegel, iii. 562, cites Lat. *maritimus* and *finitimus* as parallel instances.

[4] Cf. *Visp.* ix. 1, etc.

[5] Armenian writers of the Sasanian period attest the existence of this dignitary; see J. Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta* (=*Annales du Musée Guimet*, 21, 22, and 24), Paris, 1892–93, i. 31; *JA*, 6th ser. vol. vii. [1866] p. 114 f.

[6] *Magūpat* (Mod. Pers. *mobed* or *maubad*), as meaning 'head of the Magi,' indicates the existence of degrees in the priestly ranks. The name does not occur in the Avesta.

[7] See Duncker, p. 59 f. [8] *Vend.* v. 161.

[1] *Fragments of Nasks*, vi. (*SBE* iv. [1895] 355).

[2] See art. ALTAR (Persian), vol. i. p. 848. [3] i. 132.

[4] According to the *Aērpatastān* (ed. Bulsara, ch. iii. f.), even women and children were considered eligible to assist at the ritual.

[5] xv. iii. 13–15. [6] P. 189. [7] ix. 47–57.

[8] *Loc. cit.* [9] See Geiger, tr. Sanjānā, i. 215–218, ii. 59 f.

[10] P. 60. [11] *Visp.* ix. 1, etc. [12] Duncker, p. 56.

[13] See Agathias, ii. 26.

6. Qualifications and symbols of the priestly office.—However much or little at different periods racial or tribal descent may have counted as affording a right to exercise the priestly functions, the primary qualifications clearly and strongly insisted upon in the Avesta were of a moral and spiritual character. According to the *Vendīdād*, the priest must be patient, contented, satisfied with a little bread, and should eat what is offered to him.[1]

'Call him a priest, O pure Zarathushtra, who enquires of the pure intelligence the whole night of the wisdom which purifies from sin and makes the heart wide. . . . He who sleeps the whole night without praising, or hearing, or reciting, or learning, or teaching—call not such an one a priest.'[2]

The *Aērpatastān* speaks in the same tenor:

'Which member of the house shall proceed to the sacred calling? He who has the greatest thirst after righteousness, that is, he who is the truest friend unto the soul whether he be great or humble.'[3]

Diogenes Laertius,[4] after Sotion, says that the Magi were forbidden to wear ornaments or jewellery; their resting-place was the ground; vegetables, a little cheese, and bread their food. Nevertheless they possessed certain outward symbols of office. The first was the *paitidāna* (Parsi *penōm*), a cloth or napkin[5] with which they covered, and still do cover, the lower part of the face as they recited the Avesta and especially when tending the sacred fire, lest perchance any pollution of the fire should result therefrom. Secondly, they had the *khrafstraghna*, a leathern thong or strap with which they killed insects and other unclean creatures. They also carried the *urvara*, or staff, and the *astra mairi*, or knife, with which to kill snakes. But perhaps the most characteristic symbol was the *baresma*, or *barsom*, a bundle of slender rods or twigs of a specially sacred tree, but now substituted by a bundle of metal wires, which are held before the face at the prayers and sacrifices (see art. BARSOM, vol. ii. p. 424 f.; cf. Ezk 8^{17}).

7. The priesthood in modern times.—To-day the priesthood is a hereditary privilege, though it does not seem always to have been so.[6] All priests in India at the present time claim to be descended from a single priest, Minuchihr, who came from Persia with the first settlers in the 7th century. The unity of the priesthood is a cardinal doctrine among the Parsis. Every son of a priest, however, is not *ipso facto* himself a priest able and entitled to officiate. Although no consecration can make a layman a priest, still every acting member of the priestly family must pass through a series of symbolic actions to initiate him into the different grades of the sacerdotal office. There is in India a preliminary function called *nōzūd* (really meaning 'new *zaotar*'), which, although not a door to any stage of actual priestly grade, is essential to every aspirant to such dignity, and by which he becomes a recognized member of the Zoroastrian church or community—a *bihdīn*, a status corresponding to full membership in Christian churches, or, as Darmesteter observes, a בַּר מִצְוָה among the Jews. In Persia this ceremony is called *sudrah va kūstī dādan*, *i.e.* the investing with the *sudrah*, or sacred shirt, and *kustī*, or holy girdle, which are the outward distinctive marks of the Zoroastrian. The term *nōzūd* is employed by the Zoroastrians of Persia for the ceremony termed *nābar* by the Parsis of India, and is the function that makes a *mobed's* son into a priest of the lower grade called *herbed*[1] (Avestan *aithrapaiti*) and qualifies him for performing the ceremonies of the second grade. Before he is allowed to perform the *nābar* ceremony the candidate must have completed his fourteenth year, and must know by heart all the texts and formulæ connected with the sacrifices of the *Yasna*, *Vispārad*, and *Khurda Avesta*. He twice undergoes the great purification of nine nights called *bareshnum*, after which he is conducted to the temple by a *dastūr* and his patron, followed by his friends and other guests. He carries the *gurz i gavyānī*, or club, a reminder of that which was in the hand of Faridun, and a symbol of spiritual authority over the demons. The head of the assembly asks if they admit him as a candidate for the holy office, and, taking their silence for assent, he enters the *Izāshnah Gāh*, where he celebrates the *Yasna*—the *zōt*, or head priest, who initiates him, acting for the time being as his *rāspī*, or ministering priest. He performs the purification of *nīrang* and water for four successive days, and on the fourth day he has attained the degree of *herbed*, with a right to celebrate all the ceremonies of the *Khurda Avesta*. For exercising the more important ceremonies of the *Vendīdād* together with that of initiating other candidates to *nābar* it is essential that he should be a *mobed*, or fully qualified priest. To attain the *mobed*-ship he must have passed through the ceremony called in India *marātib* (pl. of Arabic مرتبت, meaning 'grade' or 'degree'). This consists of another nine nights' purification. On the morning of the succeeding day he performs the *Yasna* with a fully qualified priest. On the following or second day again he performs the sacrifice of the *fravashis* or that of the *srosh*; at midnight the *Vendīdād* is performed and henceforth the candidate is a *mobed* and entitled to all the privileges of a fully qualified priest.

Another frequent designation of the chief priest in India is *dastūr*. The name and office probably arose, as Darmesteter observes,[2] after the Arab conquest of Persia. The origin of the term is not altogether clear.[3] It is used in the translations to render the Avestan *ratu*. In the *Shāh-nāmah* it sometimes denotes a high ecclesiastical functionary; at other times a minister of State. To-day in India many *mobeds* assume and are accorded the title without any real or moral right to it. But it is frequently applied as a title of honour to a learned *mobed* who knows his Zend or Avestan and Pahlavi. But it specially and more correctly designates the priest attached-in-chief to a fire-temple of the highest order, *i.e.* an *ātash i bahrām*. The office is generally hereditary, but not necessarily so, inasmuch as the patron or founder of such a temple may choose his own *dastūr*. See, further, artt. SACRIFICE (Iranian) and WORSHIP (Iranian).

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works referred to in the article the following may be consulted: Anquetil du Perron, *Zend-Avesta*, Paris, 1771, ii. 529–619; A. Rapp, 'Die Religion und Sitte der Perser und übrigen Iranier,' in *ZDMG* xx. [1866] 68–77. Much further additional material may be found in the *Aērpatastān*, ed. S. J. Bulsara, Bombay, 1915, which could not be included in the compass of this article. Darmesteter's excellent Introduction to vol. i. of his *Le Zend-Avesta* already referred to, to which in the treatment of the modern period this article is greatly indebted, may be further profitably consulted.

E. EDWARDS.

PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD (Jewish).—1. Exclusiveness of the priesthood.—

According to the Levitical code, the Hebrew priest is born, not made. This principle has always been so rigorously upheld that, after the return of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity, all those who

[1] viii. 126–129. [2] xviii. 11–17.
[3] Ch. i. p. 4 f., ed. Bulsara. [4] *Procem.* vi.
[5] In Strabo's time we read that the Magus's headgear consisted of a high felt turban reaching down on either side of the face so as to cover the lips and cheeks (xv. iii. 15).
[6] D. F. Karaka, *Hist. of the Parsis*, London, 1884, ii. 285, says that the Parsi religion does not sanction the hereditary character of the priesthood, 'which is, indeed, contrary to the ancient law. The custom is merely derived from usage.' Duncker also (p. 189) strongly contends that the priesthood was not a closed caste in earlier Iranian times.

[1] *Herbed* did not originally designate a priest of inferior as opposed to one of superior degree, but only the master or instructor as opposed to *hāvishta*, or disciple. See *Dāṭistān*, xiv. 4.
[2] *Le Zend-Avesta* (= *Annales du Musée Guimet*, 21, p. lv).
[3] See Spiegel, iii. 596.

claimed priestly rank but were unable to produce documentary evidence of their descent from Aaron were disqualified (Ezr 2^{62}, Neh 7^{64}). In order to safeguard the purity of lineage for future generations, the Biblical laws regulating priestly marriages were not only strictly enforced, but also strengthened in various directions. Priests were forbidden to marry a *ḥalūṣāh* (childless widow whom the brother of the deceased husband had refused to marry), or a woman who had spent some time in captivity, or a freed slave, or the daughter of a proselyte, unless the mother was of Jewish descent (Mishnāh, *Bikkûrîm*, i. 5). The high priest was bound to be wedded to a pure virgin, who, however, was allowed to be of lay origin. These restrictive regulations, added to ancestral pride, gradually converted the priestly class into an exalted theocracy which, from the nature of public affairs, at the same time formed the social aristocracy. The priestly family of the Hasmonæans acquired royal dignity. Later the high priest was the president of the Sanhedrin. Thus power, both spiritual and temporal, and wealth accumulated in some priestly families.

2. **Classification.**—(*a*) The principal duties of the priests were those connected with the sacrificial service of the Temple in Jerusalem. It was also their business to prepare and kindle the 'perpetual lamp' daily and to arrange the shewbread on the golden table every Sabbath. From Biblical sources we know that the number of priests had in the course of time increased to such an extent that only a limited number could be employed in the Temple at the same time. The four clans mentioned by Ezra (2^{36-39}, Neh 7^{39-42}) numbered more than 4000 male members. It was, therefore, necessary to fix a rota of attendance, in order to give every priest an opportunity of discharging his duty at the service. For this purpose the whole priestly tribe was divided into 24 companies, probably irrespective of the 22 families mentioned in Neh 12^{1-7}. At what time this division was first made is uncertain, but the most reliable tradition seems to be that preserved in the Tôseftā (*Ta'anîth*, ii. 1; *Talm. Jer.* fol. 68*a*) to the effect that the classification was undertaken by the prophets. As both Jeremiah and Ezekiel were priests, it is not unlikely that they, especially the latter, had a voice in the constitution of the priestly order. Each section was called upon to do duty in the Temple for one week. Each company, officially called 'watch,' or *mishmār*, was again subdivided into several 'houses of Fathers,' each of which was probably composed of the members of one family. The *mishmār* was presided over by a 'head,' and the 'house' by the eldest member. Besides these there was a number of officers, but much uncertainty prevails as to their status and functions. In the older sources (Mishn. *Shekalîm*, v. 1; *Yômā*, ii. 1, iii. 1; Tôs. *Shek.* ii. 14) they are described as *m'munnîm* (sing. *m'munnēh*). One of them superintended the daily morning offering, determining by lot the share which each priest had in the ceremony. He also gave the signal for the beginning of the morning prayer. Others were keepers of seals, keys, stores, vestments, tapisserie, overseers of the manufacture of shewbread and perfume, musicians and choirmasters, criers and constables. Their number was 15, but not all of them seem to have held equal rank. Thus *m'munnēh* is a general description of office-holder rather than a fixed title.

(*b*) *'Amarkelîm.*—Of somewhat higher status seem to have been the seven *'amarkelîm* (*Shek.* v. 2; Tôs. *ib.* 15). The exact meaning of the word is doubtful, but it seems that they were the keepers of the keys to the sanctuary itself. The Targum uses the term for the translation of the 'keepers of the door' in 2 K 12^{9} and similar passages. The Tôseftā remarks that all seven *'amarkelîm* had to be present when the door was opened. We might infer from this that each one had a different key, so that the door to the Temple could never be opened without a certain amount of publicity, strict control being kept over every one who wished to enter. As the word is also employed in connexion with secular supervisors, it does not really describe any priestly function, although the officers who bore this title were priests. Together with the *'amarkelîm* are mentioned three *gizbārîm*, or treasurers, who were probably responsible for the golden vessels and the Temple funds.

(*c*) *S'gan.*—One of the highest offices was that of the *s'gan*, commonly believed to have been the high priest's lieutenant. Here, however, it should be noted that the Mishnāh (*Yômā*, i. 1), when speaking of the appointment of a deputy high priest for the Day of Atonement, does not use the term *s'gan*, but simply says 'another priest.' Other passages (*Yômā*, vii. 1; *Sôṭāh*, viii. 7 f.) have it that the *s'gan* stood next to the high priest and handed the scroll of the Law to him. The Talmud (*Yômā*, fol. 39vo) records a tradition on the authority of R. Ḥanīnā, himself a *s'gan*, that, if the high priest was suddenly disqualified from ministration on the Day of Atonement, the *s'gan* took his place. Now this Ḥanīnā is always called '*s'gan* of the priests' (in plural), which cannot mean that he acted as deputy to a priest of lower rank, or to one high priest only. It seems rather that he did duty to several high priests either by fixed appointment or by re-election. It stands to reason that at a time when many high priests were ignorant or neglectful of their duties an experienced assistant had to be near at hand to prevent them from making mistakes. The frequent change of high priest was most likely of less importance as long as a tried *s'gan* looked after the proper execution of his duties. He was probably also meant to be in constant attendance on the high priest in order to give greater dignity to his office. According to the Mishnāh (*Tāmid*, vii. 3), one of his duties was to assist the high priest whenever the latter ascended the staircase to burn the perfume. Then he took the flags and gave the Levites the signal to start singing.

(*d*) *High priest.*—The office of the high priest is characterized by his title. He was the spiritual head of the people, but since the period of the Hasmonæans he added the regal crown to the ecclesiastical mitre. His participation in the sacrificial duties during the year was left to his discretion, but he was supposed to act as offering priest on the Day of Atonement. There is no reason to assume that even on this day he nominated any other priest for his work, as otherwise the Mishnāh would have had no cause to describe the preparations which began a week beforehand, when he had to make himself familiar with the details of his task for the holy day. Even an emergency wife was appointed for the event of his wife's sudden death. His evening meal was restricted, and sleep was denied him entirely. Before entering the Temple hall he was solemnly warned by the lay heads of the Sanhedrin not to alter anything of the Pharisaic teachings. The service itself, which claimed his undivided attention and included the fast, five baths, and ten lavings of hands and feet, must have made great demands on his physical strength. When we add to this the anxiety not to commit a mistake, we can understand the Mishnāic allusion to the satisfaction expressed at the close of the day (*Yômā*, vii. 4) which is reflected in the glowing tribute given to the high priest by an eye-witness

in the person of Ecclesiasticus (ch. 50). Poetic descriptions by various authors form an integral part of the present liturgy for the Day of Atonement.

3. **Rules for the priesthood.**—There was one condition which all priests, high or low, had to fulfil, viz., they must be free from bodily defects, and the rules were as elaborate as their enforcement was strict. It made no difference whether the blemishes were chronic or temporary (Mishn. *Bekhōrôth*, vii.). The Mishnāh even forbade a priest whose hands were stained with dye to pronounce the blessing over the people (*Mᵉgillāh*, iv. 9). A careful compilation of these blemishes (amounting to 140) is given in Maimonides, *Mishnēh Tôrāh* (*Hilkhōth bi'ath hammiqdāshih*, viii.). Needless to say, the Biblical prohibition against drinking wine or any other intoxicant was most strictly enforced. The Talmud (*Ta'anîth*, fol. 17vo) strengthens these rules considerably for the company whose turn it was to attend the Temple service. A similar rule holds good for the present time as far as the public blessing is concerned.

4. **Remuneration.**—As the priests were allowed no share in the land (Nu 18^{30}), the Levitical law (vv.$^{8-19}$) assigned certain emoluments to them in compensation. These originally formed their sole source of income. On the basis of the passages just mentioned, the Tôseftā (*Ḥallāh*, ii. 7 f.) enumerates 24 classes of priestly 'gifts,' viz., 10 to be partaken of in the Temple premises, 4 within the precincts of Jerusalem, and 10 within the borders of the Holy Land. These 'gifts' consisted in the first instance of the flesh of sin-offerings and trespass-offerings, which was eaten by such male priests as were not debarred from so doing by Levitical uncleanness. None of it could be eaten outside the Temple. The officiating priests were also entitled to the skins, including those of the burnt-offerings. In view of the large number of 'heavy' sacrifices, the income derived from the skins must have been considerable. Of the lighter kind of sacrifices, such as peace-offerings and festival-offerings, the priests received only the breast and the right shoulder. These not only could be eaten within the boundaries of the holy city, but also could be shared with women, children, and even slaves. Another source of revenue was the cereal offerings, viz., the part of the meat-offerings which was not burnt on the altar, the shewbread, the *'omer*, etc. Priests who lived in the provinces were recipients of the *tᵉrûmāh*, the gift of fruits from field and garden. From the Levites they claimed the tithe of the tithes due to them from the people. To these were added the firstfruits and first-born domestic animals suitable for sacrifices. First-born sons had to be redeemed by the payment of five shekels, which belonged to the priest who performed the ceremony. The first-born of unclean animals were likewise subject to redemption according to the priest's estimate. To these were added gifts of the 'first dough' of wheat, barley, spelt, oats, and rye, and of the first cut of wool from a flock consisting of at least five sheep. All these regular imposts were occasionally supplemented by vows and free gifts either in kind or in the form of money. Lastly must be mentioned things 'devoted' (*ḥērem*), which no layman was allowed to touch.

Such was the income of the ordinary priest. If he was free from any physical blemish, he shared the emoluments of the sacrificial service twice a year. Priests who lived in Jerusalem benefited by the influx of the people for the celebration of the three festivals of pilgrimage. It may be assumed therefore that the majority of priests lived in or near the holy city, as the care of their families forced them to be in touch with clients who bestowed dues and gifts on them. In the nature of things there must have been a great disparity of income, and the social status of priestly families must have varied. The greater number probably remained poor. Many, as alluded to above, were obliged to practise some trade, in spite of the fact that the imposts seem to have been regularly paid (Neh $10^{35\,ff.}$). This is vividly illustrated by the Mishnāh (*Bikkûrîm*, iii.), which gives an account of the cutting and conveying the first-fruits to the Temple. Rich and poor joined in the festival procession, every one carrying his basket, and even the king, probably Agrippa I., handing his gift in person to the officiating priest, whilst reciting the prayer prescribed in Dt 26^{5-10}.

The revenue of the high priest was placed on a different level. His position demanded that he should be wealthy. If he came from a poor family, it was the duty of his brother priests to make him rich. Josephus (*Ant.* XX. viii. 8, ix. 2) speaks of the violent conduct of some high priests who sent their servants into the threshing floors of the people to take away the tithes so that their poorer brethren died from starvation. Unfortunately he mentions no names, but attaches this remark to the paragraph in which he tells of the appointment of Ismael b. Phabi II. as high priest. This, however, is the priest of whom the Mishnāh (*Sōṭāh*, ix. 15) relates that with him the lustre of priesthood came to an end. It is therefore probable that the censure of Josephus (who was himself a priest) was meant for Ismael's predecessor, the avaricious Ananias, son of Nedebaios, who was removed from office, and later met with a violent death at the hands of the people.

5. **High priest's legal status.**—Notwithstanding his exalted position, the high priest did not stand above the law, at least in theory. Both the Mishnāh and Tôseftā point out that, in the event of his committing breaches of the religious or moral laws, he was liable to be called before the court. No such case is recorded in the sources. High priests were occasionally removed from office, but for personal and political motives rather than for religious ones. In flagrant cases of defiance of the traditional teaching the people acted independently. The Mishnāh (*Sukkāh*, iv. 9) relates that one high priest (whose name is not given) who endeavoured to introduce Sadducean practices during the ceremony of pouring out water on the Feast of Tabernacles was done to death by the people, who pelted him with their citrons.

6. **Decline of the priesthood.**—The destruction of the Temple by the Romans not only put an end to the sacerdotal service, but also deprived the priests of their chief source of income. Although the laws connected with land-tenure remained in force, the Jewish population was so reduced in numbers and so impoverished that their tithes and gifts could not have amounted to much. The priests living in the Diaspora were reduced to a number of empty privileges, and only the redemption of first-born sons, which is practised to this day, preserved a remnant of monetary gift due to them. In the storm and stress of the times the real control of priestly pedigrees has been irretrievably lost, and is replaced by family tradition. Certain family-names, some of them being of considerable age and literary renown, carry an indication of the priestly descent of the bearers with them. In modern times the claim of priesthood has lost its title to social distinction. The religious duties of priests are limited to pronouncing the blessing (Nu 6^{24-26}) over the people during the public worship on festival days. The ancient rules of disqualification are still in force, with the exception of the preservation of Levitical cleanli-

ness, since the means of re-establishing the same no longer exists, and are merely intimated by the ceremony of washing of hands with the assistance of Levites. The prohibition of coming in contact with a dead person or a grave, with the exceptions mentioned before, is likewise still in force. There is still one privilege specified in the Mishnāh (*Hōrayōth*, iii. 8) to be mentioned, viz., the precedence of the priest over a Levite or an ordinary Israelite in every religious ceremony, especially in the order of persons 'called' to the reading of the lessons from the Pentateuch during public worship. The same paragraph holds up to contempt those high priests who held office not by virtue of learning and piety, but from worldly motives. It places them beneath the *mamzēr* in the Rabbinical sense (Mishnāh, *Yebhāmōth*, iv. 13). The historical background of this is undoubted.

LITERATURE.—J. Lundius, *Die alten jüdischen Heiligthümer, Gottesdienste und Gewohnheiten*, Hamburg, 1738; L. Herzfeld, *Gesch. des Volkes Jisrael*, Leipzig, 1863; H. Ewald, *Die Alterthümer des Volkes Israel*, Göttingen, 1866; A. Büchler, *Die Priester und der Cultus*, Vienna, 1895; A. Kuenen, 'De geschiedenis der priesters van Jahwe en de ouderdom der priestertijke wet,' in *ThT* xxiv. [1890] 1–42; A. van Hoonacker, *Le Sacerdoce lévitique dans la loi et dans l'hist. des Hébreux*, Louvain, 1899; W. W. Baudissin, *Die Gesch. des alttest. Priesterthums*, Leipzig, 1889; art. 'Priests and Levites,' in *HDB* iv. 67–97; E. Schürer, *GJV*⁴ ii. 267–363.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD (Mexican).—In ancient Mexico the priestly office had arrived at a condition of high complexity, the various grades of the priesthood being sharply differentiated. At first the priest was merely the tribal medicine-man, and in nomadic times had charge of the tribal god, the image of which he carried from place to place. The temporal and religious authorities were never quite distinct, the *tlatoani*, or king, being necessarily a man conversant with hierophantic as well as military practice. In the Mexican hierarchy proper, as apart from those of the surrounding and subject peoples, were two chief priests, each of whom was entitled Quetzalcoatl (the name of the god who was the founder of religious orders), but who were distinguished from one another by the titles of *totec tlamacazqui* and *tlaloc tlamacazqui*, and who were respectively the leaders of those castes which especially served the gods Huitzilopochtli and Tlaloc. These pontiffs were equal in grade and held their positions in virtue of their piety and general fitness. Occupying a lower rank was the *mexicatl teohuatzin*, head of the *calmecac*, or priestly college, and interpreter of ritualistic difficulties, in which duties he was assisted by the *huitznauac teohuatzin* and the *tepan teohuatzin*, the latter being executive educational officer. The rank and file of the priesthood consisted of two grades—the *tlañamacac*, or upper grade, and the *tlamacazqui*. Beneath these were the *tlamacazton*, or neophytes. The first grade included many special functionaries who served various deities or performed definite rites.

The costume of the priesthood in general consisted of a black mantle, the body being painted black, relieved, in some cases, with yellow designs. The hair was allowed to grow long, and the ears were torn and ragged from the practice of penitential blood-letting. The priest who performed the act of human sacrifice was garbed in red.

The offices of the Mexican priesthood were numerous; and, besides sacrifice, the care of the temples, and ritualistic labours, they were employed in astrological observation and divination. The *amamoatini*, a special class, were engaged in the preparation of the painted MSS which served the Mexicans as written records; and others were employed as singers and dancers. Ritual practice, however, occupied most of their time, especially incense-burning, which was performed several times a day. The education and preparation of a priest were severe. The neophyte commenced his priestly life at about the age of seven by sweeping the temple buildings and preparing the body-paint for the priests from pine-soot, gathering aloe spines for blood-letting, and making adobe building bricks. Later he made night pilgrimages to a holy mountain in the vicinity as a test of austerity.

The Mexican priests were, however, above all, diviners, and their practice in this respect is minutely outlined in the works of Sahagun. The basis of their calculations was the astronomical calendar known as the *Tonalamatl* ('Book of Days'), from which they cast horoscopes and foretold lucky days and seasons (see DIVINATION [American], CALENDAR [Mexican]).

LITERATURE.—B. de Sahagun, *Historia General de las Cosas de Nueva España*, 3 vols., Mexico, 1829; J. de Torquemada, *La Monarquia Indiana*, Madrid, 1723; F. S. Clavigero, *Storia Antica del Messico*, Cesena, 1780, Eng. tr. *Hist. of Mexico*, 2 vols., London, 1787; L. Spence, *The Civilization of Ancient Mexico*, Cambridge, 1912; T. A. Joyce, *Mexican Archæology*, do. 1914.

LEWIS SPENCE.

PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD (Muhammadan).—In the Muhammadan system there is properly no caste, class, or profession which monopolizes the performance of religious rites; when these were at first performed in public, the leader was properly the chief of the community, and the name *imām*, 'leader in prayer,' is therefore used for 'sovereign,' 'chief authority,' and the like. Taking the lead in the religious service of the mosque was therefore the duty of the sovereign in the capital and of his representative in the provinces; but in 'Abbāsid times we find the *ṣalāt*, or 'public prayer,' occasionally separated from the governorship and combined with another office—*e.g.*, the judgeship (Ṭabarī, *Chronicle*, Paris, 1867–74, iii. 378 [anno 156], 458 [anno 158]) or the headship of police (*ib.* iii. 469 [anno 159]). As mosques multiplied it became customary to make provision for an *imām*, and, if there was a Friday sermon, for a *khaṭīb* ('preacher'). Such a man was supposed to be of good character (*Aghāni*, Būlāq, 1868, xvii. 11), and of course had to possess sufficient learning to discharge his functions.

The legal aspect of the matter is treated by Mawerdi, *Constitutiones Politicæ* (ed. M. Enger, Bonn, 1853, pp. 172–185). A distinction is there made between royal and civil mosques; in the former the minister must normally be appointed by the sovereign, in the latter by the congregation; if there are more than one candidate, a majority are to appoint; if votes are equal, the sovereign is to do so. The founder of a mosque has not the right to lead prayer in it himself, but on this point there is a difference of opinion. Prayer may not be led by a woman, if there are any men in the congregation.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD (Roman).—Under the old Roman monarchical system the office of king included religious as well as secular functions. The ruler was both king and priest. But on the establishment of the Republic a line of cleavage was drawn, and, although religion remained a branch of the general State administration, all its technical phases were assigned to priestly organizations. The relation of the priestly colleges to the secular authorities was one of the characteristic features of Roman religion. The powers of the priests were not co-ordinate with those of the senate and the magistrates, but were subject to their control. They performed the routine duties of their office without special instructions, but, when unusual circumstances arose, it was only at the command of the State authorities that they became active. Neither *pontifices* nor *haruspices* took measures in

regard to prodigies until the senate had ordered them to do so; the *quindecimviri* were not permitted to inspect the Sibylline books except at the express command of the senate.

Of the numerous priestly organizations (*sacerdotes*[1] *publici populi Romani Quiritium*) four were of special importance (*sacerdotum quattuor amplissima collegia*): the *pontifices*, the *augures*, the commission in charge of the Sibylline books and of all ceremonies conducted 'ritu Graeco' (*quindecimviri sacris faciundis*), and the college which supervised the sacred banquets (*septemviri epulones*). Next to these in rank came the priestly *sodalitates*: the *fetiales*, the *sodales Titii*, the *sodales* of the *divi imperatores* (modelled on the *sodales Titii*), the *Salii*, and the *fratres Arvales*. There is evidence that the rank of the *fetiales* and of the *sodales Augustales* approached very closely that of the four great colleges; of the relative ranking of the *Arvales*, *Titii*, and *Salii* we have no definite indication. The runners of the Lupercalia (the *Luperci*) were inferior to the others. The *sodales Augustales* were founded A.D. 14; but all the other priesthoods mentioned, with the exception of the *septemviri epulones*, go back to the regal period. This fact is significant of the conservatism of the Roman national religion. Moreover, the *septemviri epulones* were organized (196 B.C.) merely for the purpose of relieving the *pontifices* of one of their functions; the priesthood did not represent any new religious ideas. There were, however, some minor priesthoods organized during the Republic to take care of the rites of some god or gods belonging to communities which the Romans had assimilated (*sacerdotes Lanuvini*, *sacerdotes Tusculani*, etc.). The Greek and Oriental cults introduced during the Republic and the Empire brought their own priests with them.

The qualifications for membership in any of the priesthoods were free birth, Roman citizenship, an unblemished civil record, and a physique free from infirmities. Originally, with the exception of the *quindecimviri*, all the old priesthoods were limited to patricians. But in the course of time this exclusiveness passed away, except in the case of the *rex sacrorum*, the *Salii*, the three great *flamines*, and later the *flamines* of the deified emperors. By the *lex Ogulnia* (300 B.C.) five of the nine places in the colleges of the *pontifices* and the *augures* respectively were reserved for the plebeians, while the four others were open to both orders. Wissowa[2] suggests that in all probability it was the *lex Ogulnia* that opened to the plebs the other priesthoods also. From the beginning of the Empire a new classification prevailed: senatorial and equestrian priesthoods. To the former belonged the four great colleges, the *sodales* of the *divi imperatores*, *sodales Titii*, *fetiales*, *fratres Arvales*, and *Salii*; to the latter the *Luperci*, the minor *flamines*, the minor *pontifices*, and the *sacerdotes Tusculani*, *Lanuvini*, etc.

The extent to which the accumulation of priesthoods in the hands of one man was customary varied with the kind of priesthood and with the period. As regards the combination of two of the four great priesthoods, we find examples in the earlier Republican period, but not in the later until the time of Cæsar, who was both *pontifex maximus* and *augur*. Moreover, the accumulation of priesthoods of this class did not become common till the 3rd and 4th centuries, except in the case of the emperors and other members of the imperial family. There was less objection to the combination of one of the great priesthoods with one or more of the *sodalitates*, and many examples occur. The *Salii*, however, could not hold any other priesthood. If they joined another, they ceased automatically to be *Salii*. Whether a *flamen* could hold any other priestly office is doubtful.

Priests were allowed to hold civil and military offices. This probably was not intended in the readjustment of civil and religious offices that took place after the expulsion of the kings, but gradually it became the regular practice. There were, however, exceptions. The *rex sacrorum* could not hold any civil or military office, and the *flamen Dialis* was virtually prevented from doing so by the numerous tabus which hampered his actions.

In the early Republican period the usual method of choosing members in the priestly colleges and *sodalitates* was that of co-optation, but in the year 103 B.C. the *lex Domitia* was passed, by which vacancies in the four great colleges were filled by election at the *comitia sacerdotum*, which consisted of seventeen (that is a minority) of the tribes, chosen by lot. The nominations to the sacerdotal *comitia* were made by the respective colleges, which after the election went through the form of co-optation. In the case of the *sodalitates* the old system of co-optation remained. Under the Empire the influence of the emperor in the appointments both to colleges and to *sodalitates* was almost unlimited. Appointment to a priesthood was generally for life. The Vestals and the *Salii* were exceptions.

The priests were provided by the State with funds for the maintenance of the various cults and for the performance of the duties of their office, and with attendants and slaves (*apparitores*, *lictores*, *tibicines*, *viatores*, *servi publici*). Some of them were furnished with residences—*e.g.*, the *rex sacrorum* and the Vestals. They had the privilege of wearing the *toga prætexta*, and, if they cared to take advantage of it, exemption from civil and military duties (*vacatio militiæ munerisque publici*).

1. **Collegium pontificum.**—(*a*) *Pontifices.*—While the old derivation of *pontifex* from *pons* and *facere* is probably sound, it is not possible, with the data available, to determine precisely the original significance of the term. It is not even known positively that *pons* here means 'bridge,' though scholars once more tend to interpret the word in that way, finding an explanation in those religious associations of bridge-building which are known to have existed in ancient times. The priesthood was not peculiar to Rome, but existed also in other places in Latium—*e.g.*, Præneste and Tibur.[1] According to the tradition, the *pontifices* were originally five in number. Including the king, however, who doubtless performed the functions which under the Republic fell to the *pontifex maximus*, there were six. Subsequently the number was increased to nine (300 B.C.), and later by Sulla to fifteen.

With the *pontifices* were closely connected certain other priests or priestesses: the *rex sacrorum*, the *flamines*, and the Vestals. So close was the association that from the beginning of the Republic all these were regarded as belonging to the college of *pontifices*. Towards the close of the Republic the *pontifices minores*[2] were also members of the college (cf. Cic. *de Har. Resp.* vi. 12).

The *pontifex maximus* was the president of the college and represented its authority. But it is a mistake to suppose that the other *pontifices* consti-

[1] We find this word used of the whole body of Roman priests as in this phrase, but it is not applied to the priests of individual Roman gods, with the exception of the municipal groups, *sacerdotes Lanuvini*, etc. It is used, however, of the priests attached to various Greek cults.

[2] *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], p. 492 f.

[1] See indexes to *CIL* xiv.

[2] The title of *pontifices maiores* was applied to the regular *pontifices* only towards the end of the 3rd cent. after Christ. The title was used to distinguish them, not from the *pontifices minores*, but from the *pontifices Solis*, the priesthood founded by the emperor Aurelian to supervise the worship of his sun god.

tuted merely an advisory body. A question submitted by the senate was discussed by the whole college, and the opinion of the majority prevailed, even if the *pontifex maximus* held a different view.[1] But along many lines he could act without reference to them. In the earlier period especially his power was very great; *e.g.*, he originally appointed the *rex sacrorum*, the *flamines*, and the Vestals, even against the wishes of the appointees. Later this power seems to have been modified, and in the case of the *rex* (Livy, XL. xlii. 4) and the *flamines maiores* (Tac. *Ann.* iv. 16) he made his appointments from a list of candidates nominated probably by the college, while Vestals were chosen by lot from a list of twenty whom he nominated (Aul. Gell. I. xii. 11). He had also the power to punish these priests: the *rex* and the *flamines* he could fine, and under some circumstances dismiss from office; in the case of the Vestals he had the right of corporal punishment, and originally of inflicting the death penalty.

It was the duty of the *pontifices* to conserve the body of Roman religious tradition. They were primarily theologians, professors of sacred law. They were the final authority on all questions pertaining to the old Roman gods, and on the proper methods of maintaining satisfactory relations with them. It was a fundamental belief in Roman religion that a benevolent attitude on the part of the gods could be secured only by scrupulous attention to all the minutiæ of ritual. With these minutiæ the *pontifices* were familiar. They knew not only the names of the gods, but also their attributes and the formulæ by which they should be addressed. They were consulted not only by the magistrates in regard to matters which concerned the State, but also by private citizens who found themselves under the stress of some religious problem.

They were not, however, merely authorities on sacred law. They themselves took an active part in religious services, and their sacerdotal functions are clearly indicated by the insignia of their office, which include the bowl for libations (*simpulum*), the sacrificial knife (*secespita*), and the axe (*securis*). It was, moreover, with special reference to their duties as officiating priests that, at least in the earlier period, they were subject to tabus similar to those which persisted with so much more rigour in the case of the *flamen Dialis*: they could not look at a corpse or mount a horse. The *pontifex maximus* in particular was not permitted to absent himself from Rome, or at any rate from Italy, for a period of any length. They officiated at the most important ceremonies in the public worship of Vesta and the *penates* as well as at those of the Capitoline triad, for with these cults, which embodied some of the oldest and most sacred of Roman religious ideas, they, as members of the ranking priesthood of the State, had especially close associations. They had the rare privilege of entering the inner sanctum of Vesta; the *regia*, the official headquarters of the *pontifex maximus*, was adjacent to the house of the Vestals, and he stood 'in loco parentis' to them. When Augustus became *pontifex maximus* (12 B.C.), he built a temple of Vesta close to his own residence on the Palatine. The cult of the Capitoline deities had an equal claim on the attention of the *pontifices*. They supervised the monthly sacrifices offered by the *rex* and the *flamen Dialis* on the kalends and the ides. On the ides of September and November the college celebrated a sacred banquet (*epulum Iovis in Capitolio*), till in the year 196 B.C. this function was transferred to the college of the *epulones*. Furthermore, the *pontifices* officiated at the ceremonies held in connexion with cults which, though recognized by the State, were not provided with special priests. And it was they who, in order to prevent the complete disappearance of the worship of certain ancient divinities like Angerona, Carna, Acca Larentina, and others who were fading out of Roman religious life, made annual libations and sacrifices in their honour. Moreover, they were in charge of certain ceremonies belonging to the category of lustration, as, *e.g.*, the Fordicidia on 15th April. They also took part in the rites of the *Argei* (in March and May).

On all these occasions the *pontifices* either officiated in person or were represented by subordinate priests. But there were many important ceremonies in which they participated merely as the advisers or assistants of the magistrates—*e.g.*, when vows were made on the outbreak of a pestilence or at the beginning of a war, or on the occasion of the annual vows on 1st Jan., which were pronounced by the consul or other magistrate, who repeated the words after the *pontifex maximus*.[1] When relations with the gods were endangered by a flaw in a ceremony, the *pontifices* were consulted and charged with the supervision of appropriate expiatory rites; when a prodigy (*monstrum, prodigium*) was reported to the senate, that body consulted the *pontifices*, who gave their opinion as to the best methods of placating the gods of whose anger the prodigy was regarded as a manifestation. At a comparatively early date, however, the *pontifices* relinquished for the most part the care of prodigies to the *haruspices* or to the priests in charge of the Sibylline oracles, reserving for themselves the expiation of certain ones only (*e.g.*, showers of stones, speaking oxen, etc.), in regard to which the efficacy of their methods had long been established. Moreover, the ceremony of consecration (*consecratio*) was performed by the pontiffs; *e.g.*, a new temple or altar was dedicated by the magistrate who had vowed it, or, if he was no longer in office, by a committee appointed for the purpose (*duoviri ædi dedicandæ*), but was consecrated by the *pontifices*. By the act of dedication the magistrate gave it up to the god; by the consecration the *pontifex maximus* or one of his colleagues declared it to be the property of the god (*res sacra*). To the *pontifices* also belonged the act of *consecratio capitis et bonorum*. A husband who had sold his wife, a son who had killed his father, or some other equally reprehensible offender could, after adequate investigation, be expressly consigned by the *pontifex* to this or that divinity or group of divinities ('Sacer esto'); and one who had been pronounced *sacer* could be killed with impunity by any one of those whom his crime had injured. In historical times, however, the punishment of one upon whom the sentence of 'Sacer esto' had been passed was left to the tribunes. Another ceremony in which the participation of the *pontifices* was indispensable was that known as devotion (*devotio*). The words in which the commander of an army, in the hope of extricating himself from a perilous position, devoted himself, or one of his countrymen, or the army of the enemy to the gods of the lower world were pronounced first by a *pontifex*; the commander repeated them, phrase by phrase, after him. Again, the *pontifices* supervised both the making of the vow of the sacred spring (*ver sacrum*) and, if necessary, its fulfilment. Through another activity they not only were brought into contact with political life, but sometimes influenced it to a very considerable degree. This was their supervision of the calendar. Besides providing for

[1] A case is cited for the year 200 B.C. by Livy, XXXI. ix. 7.

[1] Livy, IV. xxvii. 1: 'Dictator, praeeunte A. Cornelio pontifice maximo . . . ludos vovit,' XXXVI. ii. 3: 'id votum in haec verba, praeeunte P. Licinio pontifice maximo, consul nuncupavit.'

the proper observance of the festivals—a duty which was incumbent on them as the representatives of the rights of the gods—they had charge of the intercalations, and there is evidence that they sometimes manipulated them to further the aims of political leaders or parties.

In the early period of Roman society law and religion were inextricably intermingled, and so we find that the *pontifices* were authorities in the former as well as in the latter field. Even in later times, when the legal system had attained to independent development, the *pontifices* still retained functions that belonged to the sphere of law—*e.g.*, their participation in the marriage rite of *confarreatio*, in the kind of adoption known as *arrogatio*, and in the making of wills, as well as their control of burial, of sepulchres, and of the whole cult of the *manes*. In the case of an arrogation or the making of a will they convoked the people in the *comitia calata* in order to secure their approval of the act.

The archives of the college were in the *regia*. These included the formulæ which had to be used in appealing to the gods (*indigitamenta* [*q.v.*]); the forms for vows, dedications, etc.; the directions for the proper observance of all the details connected with sacrifices; the necessary instructions for the performance of expiatory rites, or, where the offence could not be expiated, for the infliction of the penalty; the calendar (*fasti*); and the annual transactions of the college (*annales maximi*), which, on account of the connexion of the *pontifices* with the political administration of the country, became so important an element in Roman historiography. But the archives contained other documents of even greater importance, namely the decrees and responses which the college formulated on questions submitted to them by magistrates or by the senate. These decrees dealt with the new problems which were constantly arising in regard to vows, dedications, sacred sites, festivals, the cult of the *manes*, and other phases of Roman religion which fell within the scope of the activity of the *pontifices*. These decrees formed a growing body of pontifical law.

(*b*) *Rex sacrorum.*—On the establishment of the Republic, while most of the spiritual activities of the king devolved upon the *pontifex maximus*, some of them were assigned to a priest whose office was instituted at that time, and who was given the name of *rex sacrorum*.[1] While the office, as we see from the name and know from other sources, was one of great dignity, it was vastly inferior to that of the *pontifex maximus* in power and influence. The *rex* could not hold any political office, and it is clear that appointment to the office was regarded as equivalent to political extinction. The incumbent was honourably but effectively shelved for the rest of his life.

He officiated at the *regifugium*, the ceremony held in the *comitium* on 24th Feb.; and the calendars show the notation *Q.R.C.F.* ('quando rex comitiavit, fas') on 24th March and 24th May. At the *regifugium* the *rex* sacrificed a victim as a sin-offering, and immediately after the sacrifice took to flight, apparently with the idea of escaping the taint.[2] The old explanation, by which the name of this rite was referred to the expulsion of the kings, is wholly without foundation. Equally unsatisfactory is the explanation usually given in regard to the functions of the *rex* on 24th March and 24th May. It is generally said that these two days were especially appointed for the making of wills (*testamenti factio*) and that on them the *rex* presided at the *comitia calata* convened for the purpose. No adequate evidence has ever been adduced to establish this theory, and in all probability, as Rosenberg[1] contends, *comitiavit* here means 'has come to the *comitium* (and sacrificed there),' and the ceremony in each case was, like that of the *regifugium*, of an expiatory character. The *rex* also made an offering on the Capitol on the nones of each month, when he announced the festivals to be held during the rest of the month (Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* vi. 28). Macrobius (I. xv. 9) tells us that in the early period the *rex* made sacrifice on the kalends, after the *pontifex minor* had announced to him the appearance of the new moon. But this ceremony apparently was given up. In fact the evidence of its ever having taken place is somewhat flimsy.

The *rex* was the special priest of Janus, and we have record of the offering which he made to that god in the *regia* on the occasion of the *agonium* on 9th January. It is partly in his capacity as priest of Janus, who presided over all beginnings, though partly also in recognition of his position as a representative of one phase of the royal power, that the *rex sacrorum* is given first place in the old ranking of Roman priests: *rex sacrorum, flamines Dialis, Martialis, Quirinalis, pontifex maximus.*

(*c*) *Flamines.*—The *flamines*[2] were special priests attached to the service of individual gods, and charged with the duty of officiating at sacrifices and other ceremonies in their honour. The name of the god is regularly indicated by an adjectival form: *flamen Dialis, flamen* of Jupiter, *flamen Martialis*, of Mars, and so forth. Only one exception is cited to this system of designation, namely the title of the *flamen* of the deified Septimius Severus: *flamen divi Severi.* The best attested form of the name of the office is *flamonium*, but *flaminatus* is also found.

The most important of the *flamines* belonged to the college of *pontifices*, and were fifteen in number: three *flamines maiores*, the *flamen Dialis, flamen Martialis*, and *flamen Quirinalis*, and twelve *flamines minores*, ten of whom are known to us: *flamen Carmentalis, Volcanalis, Portunalis, Cerialis, Volturnalis, Palatualis, Furrinalis, Floralis, Falacer, Pomonalis.* The *flamines maiores* were always patricians. This was true of the *flamines minores* also in early times, but later this office became plebeian. Under the Empire *flamines minores* were frequently members of the equestrian order.

In regard to the *flamen Dialis* we are reasonably well informed. He was chosen by the *pontifex maximus* out of three candidates, nominated by the college of *pontifices*, only those born of parents married by *confarreatio*, and themselves married by that rite, being eligible. He had many prerogatives (the right of the *toga prætexta*, of the *sella curulis*, and the services of a *lictor* and heralds), but was subject to galling restrictions and a long list of tabus. Although in the old list of priests his title appears before that of the *pontifex maximus*, and he had precedence over him at the priestly banquets, he was, so far as all the duties of his office were concerned, completely under his control. In the early period he was not allowed to spend a single night away from Rome, and even in later times his absence from the city was limited to two and afterwards to three nights. From the year 200 B.C. he was eligible for political office, but the rule that required his continuous presence in the city acted as a bar to his holding any office which required residence in the provinces.

[1] This is the form of the title attested by inscriptions. Latin authors use *rex sacrificulus* frequently. Livy, IX. xxxiv. 12, has *rex sacrificiorum.*

[2] Cf. the *populifugia* (5th July), where, from a similar motive, the people fled from a sin-offering.

[1] Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.*

[2] The derivation is uncertain. It has been connected with *flare*, 'blow' (from kindling the altar fire; Marquardt), with *flagrare, flamma* (Curtius, Corssen, Usener); with the Skr. *brahman*, 'priest' (Meyer).

The numerous tabus by which he was bound show the degree of sanctity associated with his office.

He could not touch, approach, or name any animal or object with which in Roman religious consciousness an idea of uncleanness was associated: a corpse, a bier, raw meat, beans, a dog, a goat, or a horse. He was forbidden to hear the sound of the flutes played at a funeral. In a word, he was excluded from every possible contact with death or with anything connected with the cult of the dead.[1]

Moreover, there was another series of tabus, which, while indicating the freedom of the *flamen* from the usual ties of human society, emphasized the extent to which he belonged to his god. He could not come in contact with anything that was tied or knotted,[2] or with a ring or chain. If he wore a ring, it had to be a broken one. His garments could be fastened only by safety pins (*fibulæ*), or some other device lacking continuity. He could not touch or name ivy on account of its tangled and intertwining fibres; he could not walk under a trellis or in a vineyard. If a man in fetters entered his house, he was immediately released and the chains, in order to prevent the pollution of the house, were thrown out through the *compluvium*. A slave could not touch him, and only a free man was allowed to cut his hair. He could be shaved only with a bronze razor. Furthermore, for him every day was a holy day, and he was not permitted to see any kind of work. On his walks an attendant always preceded him to warn workmen to desist from their labours while he was passing.

One of the chief duties of the *flamen Dialis* was to officiate at the sacrifice of a sheep to Jupiter on the ides of each month (*ovis idulis*). He himself laid the entrails of the victim on the altar fire. He officiated at the sacrifice of a lamb to the same god at the beginning of the vintage. His services, however, were not confined to Jupiter, for we find him participating in rites that pertained to the worship of other gods; *e.g.*, he took an important part in the expiatory ceremonies of February. It was from him that the *pontifices* received the materials which they used in the purification of the houses. He presided at the Lupercalia, and he officiated at the celebration of weddings by *confarreatio*. In short, he seems to have been not merely high priest of Jove, but, so far as actual participation in sacrificial and other rites is concerned, high priest of the whole national religion.

Like the *flamen Dialis*, the *flamen Martialis* was a patrician married by *confarreatio*, and the son of parents who had been wedded by the same ceremony. In the early period, when the power of Mars was not limited in men's thoughts to the operations of war, it is quite possible that the part of the *flamen Martialis* was an important one, but in historical times it seems relatively insignificant. He was not subject to the tabus which have been mentioned in connexion with the *flamen Dialis*, though originally some of them at least had applied to him. His comparative freedom from restrictions enabled him to hold political offices even in the provinces. Of his sacerdotal duties almost nothing is known. Curiously enough, he had very little to do with the numerous festivals of his god which were held in March.

In the case of the *flamen Quirinalis*, the requirements in regard to birth and marriage were the same as those of the other two *flamines maiores*. Though he ranked below the *flamen Martialis*, he is more frequently referred to as officiating at sacrifices. He sacrificed a dog to Robigus on the Robigalia (25th April); on 7th July and 21st Aug. he sacrificed at the subterranean altar of Consus in the Circus; on 23rd Dec. he made an offering at the tomb of Acca Larentina in the Velabrum. These functions are not so disconnected as at first sight they seem. Quirinus seems originally to have been a spirit of vegetation, and the ceremonies in which his *flamen* has just been described as taking part were connected with agriculture.

Of the other twelve *flamines* we know little more than their names. In some cases it is only a chance reference to the *flamen* that has preserved the name of the god.

The insignia of the *flamines*, besides the *toga prætexta*, were the *læna*, a short red cloak worn over the *toga*, and especially the *pilleus* or *galerus*, a conical cap, on the top of which was a small spike-shaped piece of olive wood, covered with wool. This was the *apex*, though the term is sometimes applied to the whole cap. The cap was provided with strings so that it could be tied under the chin, and would be less likely to vitiate a ceremony by falling off. It was made from the hide of an animal killed in sacrifice, and in the case of the *flamen Dialis* was white (*albogalerus*). The *apex* was not confined to the *flamines*; it was sometimes worn by *pontifices* and other priests, but was most closely associated with the *flamines*, and especially the *flamen Dialis*.

The *flamines* of the deified emperors (*flamines divorum*) also were attached more or less loosely to the college of *pontifices*. Down to the 3rd cent. a *flamen* was appointed for every emperor enrolled among the gods.

There were other *flamines* in Rome, who were not connected with the college of *pontifices*—*e.g.*, the *fratres Arvales* had a *flamen* (*flamen Arvalium*), and so too had each of the *curiæ* of the city (*flamen curiæ*).

The wife of the *flamen Dialis* (*flaminica Dialis* or merely *flaminica*) participated in the sacred duties of his office. She was not the priestess of Juno, as Plutarch supposed.[1] There is no evidence, for historical times at any rate, that the wives of the other *flamines* had sacerdotal functions.

(*d*) *Virgines Vestales.*—The Vestal virgins, six[2] in number, were attached to the public cult of Vesta. They were chosen by lot out of a list of twenty compiled by the *pontifex maximus*. At first they were drawn from patrician families, but later the daughters of plebeian houses were eligible, and under the Empire we hear of daughters of freedmen being admitted. Only those whose parents were both living were eligible. A candidate who had been chosen was formally accepted by the *pontifex maximus*.[3] She was then conducted to the house of the Vestals (*atrium Vestæ*); her hair was cut off[4] and hung on a lotus-tree, and she assumed the garb of the order. She was from six to ten years of age when she entered, and the term of service was thirty years. After its completion she was at liberty to leave the order and marry.[5] The thirty years of service were divided into three decades, in the first of which the priestess learned her duties, in the second practised them, and in the third instructed the novices. The eldest Vestal was the head of the order (*virgo Vestalis maxima*).

Like many others, the cult of Vesta, goddess of the hearth-fire, had begun in the family, but had subsequently become a State-cult also.[6] It was the duty of the priestesses to keep up the sacred fire. Once a year only was it allowed to go out and be rekindled (1st March). If it went out at any other time, the incident was regarded as a *prodigium*, and the Vestal on watch was liable to punishment. The fire could be rekindled only by the primitive method of the friction of sticks. The priestesses also brought water from a spring or running stream, with which they sprinkled the temple. They made daily offerings of simple food to the goddess, and each day prayed for the safety and prosperity of the people. Besides these daily duties the Vestals had others, some of them connected immediately with the cult of Vesta, but

1 The *flamen Dialis* Merula, before committing suicide, laid aside the insignia of his office, on the ground that it was technically inconceivable for a *flamen* to die in his costume.

2 Aul. Gell. x. 15: 'nodum in apice, neque in cinctu, neque in alia parte ullum habet.'

1 *Quæst. Rom.* 86.

2 In the days of King Numa, according to the tradition, four, but increased to six before the end of the regal period.

3 Aul. Gell. I. xii. 14, 19; the words of the *pontifex maximus* were 'Te, Amata, capio.'

4 The hair was an offering. The cutting was not repeated. The Vestals whose statues we have had long hair.

5 The number of cases in which this happened is very small.

6 For an interesting account of the Vestals see *GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, London, 1911, ii. 199 ff., where the author retracts the theory advocated by him in *JPh* xiv. [1885] 154 ff.

some pertaining to ceremonies not primarily or definitely belonging to that goddess. Chief among the former was the festival of Vesta on 9th June (Vestalia). At this season (from 7th to 14th June) the *penus Vestæ*[1] was open to matrons, who with bare feet thronged to the temple to ask a blessing on their households; offerings of food were sent to the temple; offerings of sacred salt-cakes (*mola salsa*) were made by the Vestals; the millers and bakers had a holiday, and donkeys and mills were adorned with garlands. On 15th June the temple was cleaned. In regard to the activities of the Vestals that seem to be outside the cult of Vesta proper it may be pointed out that it was they who kept the blood of the October horse and the ashes of the unborn calves sacrificed at the Fordicidia, giving them to the people for use in the ceremonies of lustration held on the occasion of the Parilia (21st April). They were present at the sacrifice of the sheep to Jupiter on the ides of each month.[2] On 15th Feb. they provided the *mola salsa* used at the Lupercalia. On 1st May they offered prayers to the Bona Dea. On 15th May they took part in the ceremonies of the *Argei*. On 21st Aug. they participated in the Consualia; on 25th Aug. they, together with the *pontifex maximus*, attended the secret sacrifice to Ops Consivia in the *regia*. Fowler (*Roman Festivals*, p. 149 ff.) has pointed out the connexion between these ceremonies and the food-supply, with which the Vestals from the earliest times were closely associated.

The Vestals enjoyed many privileges. A *lictor* attended them when they went out on the street, and even the highest magistrates had to make way for them; on certain occasions they could use a carriage in the streets of the city; if a criminal on his way to execution caught a glimpse of them, he could not be put to death; places of special honour were reserved for them at the public games; they could be buried within the city. But, on the other hand, the life was an exacting one. They were subject to discipline at the hands of the *pontifex maximus*, who could have them beaten for any negligence in their religious duties. It was he too who, in case of violation of the vow of chastity by any member of the order, pronounced the sentence by which she was buried alive in a chamber-tomb on the Campus Sceleratus near the Porta Collina.[3]

2. Augures. — The derivation of *augur* is as uncertain as that of *pontifex*. Ancient etymologists connected it with *avis* and *garrire*,[4] with *avis* and *gustus*,[5] with *avis* and *gerere*,[6] or with *augustus*.[7] Nor do modern scholars agree on the question. The present drift, however, is to see *avis* in the first part of the word (cf. *auspex* = *avi-spex*, a derivation about which there is no doubt), whatever may be the significance of the latter part.[8]

The kind of divination which the Romans called *disciplina auguralis* seems to have existed in Italy prior to the foundation of Rome. Its purpose was a narrower one than that of reading the future; it was intended merely to determine the attitude of the gods towards some action that was contemplated or even in process. The *augures* were authorities on the significance of the various signs by which the gods manifested their favour or disfavour.

The college of *augures* is attributed by some ancient writers to Romulus, by others to Numa—traditions that have no value except in the fact that they are indications of a general belief in the antiquity of the institution. From three the number of members was increased to six, afterwards to nine, and then by Sulla to fifteen.[1] Membership in the college was always highly esteemed, and the roll of members included many of Rome's most distinguished citizens. The presidency of the college was vested in the oldest *augur*, and the respect paid to seniority is attested by Cicero (himself an *augur* from 53 B.C.) in his *de Senectute*, xviii. (64).

The most weighty measures in Roman political life were undertaken only after the auspices indicated that the gods were favourable. The election of magistrates, their assumption of office, the beginning of a military campaign, the passing of laws by the assembly of the people, and other acts of a similar nature were all subject to this rule. The omission of the auspices or any irregularity in the procedure of the magistrate taking them nullified the act. The *augures* did not take the auspices, at any rate in the older period. That was the duty of the magistrates. But irregularities, on being reported to the senate, would be referred by that body to the college of *augures*. They, after investigation and discussion, drew up a reply (*responsum*, *decretum*) and sent it to the senate. If the reply established the presence of a flaw (*vitium*), the senate annulled the act. It should be noted that the response of the *augures* did not carry with it the annulment of the act. This took place only as the result of a *senatus consultum*, although the latter was based on the reply of the college. We do not know that the senate invariably followed the recommendation of the college, but it is certain that they generally did so.

A preliminary to the taking of the auspices was the marking off of the *templum* or place of observation. Then the magistrate, after announcing the *leges auspicii* (*i.e.* the rules that would govern his observation of the signs), stationed himself at that point of the *templum* prescribed by augural law, and, addressing Jupiter or other gods, asked for a certain, definitely specified sign or signs of the divine approval of the proposed action. Signs that were specifically asked for were called *auguria* or *signa impetrativa*, while signs that appeared without being asked for were known as *signa oblativa*. Quite apart from this classification, five different kinds of signs were recognized: from birds, from thunder and lightning, from animals (*signa ex quadrupedibus*), from the sacred chickens (*signa ex tripudiis*), and from incidental occurrences of evil omen (*diræ*). The birds were, in the language of augury, either *alites* or *oscines*. The former gave signs by their manner of flight, the latter by their songs or cries. Among the *alites* were the eagle and the vulture as well as the osprey (*avis sanqualis* or *ossifraga*), the *buteo* (a kind of hawk), and the *immusulus*. In the list of *oscines* were the raven (*corvus*), the crow (*cornix*), and the owl (*noctua*).[2] Some birds were included in both lists, and we hear of some that as *oscines* were believed to give favourable, but as *alites* unfavourable, signs, and *vice versa*.

The *signa ex cælo* (thunder and lightning) belong to a very early stage in the development of augury.

[1] The store-room of the house.

[2] Horace's words (*Od.* III. xxx. 8) may refer to this occasion: 'dum Capitolium scandet cum tacita virgine pontifex.'

[3] J. E. Harrison sees in this custom the survival of a ritual marriage to secure fertility for the crops (*Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway*, Cambridge, 1913, p. 144). Her theory is criticized by E. T. Merrill, *Classical Philology*, ix. [1914] 317.

[4] Fest. p. 2: 'ab avium garritu.'

[5] Suet. *Octav.* 7: 'ab avium gestu gustuve.'

[6] Fest. *loc. cit.*: 'Augur ab avibus gerendoque dictus, quia per eum avium gestus edicitur'; Serv. *Æn.* v. 523: 'Augurium dictum quasi avigerium quod aves gerunt.'

[7] Ovid, *Fast.* i. 609.

[8] See discussion by Wissowa, in Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.*

[1] Dio Cass. xlii. 51 speaks of a sixteenth member added by Cæsar.

[2] Cf. Festus, p. 197; Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* vi. 76; Pliny, *HN* x. 43; Cic. *de Div.* i. 53 (120).

Their precise interpretation involved a consideration not only of all the details connected with the appearance itself, but also of the nature of the occasion in regard to which the gods were being asked for a sign. The most favourable of the *signa ex cælo* was a flash of lightning passing from left to right of the observer. Yet even this sign, though generally auspicious, was unpropitious for a meeting of the *comitia*, and its appearance would prevent the holding of the meeting, or, if business had already begun, would result in its discontinuance. *Signa ex cælo* were used at a comparatively early date in the *auspicia* of the magistrates, not only as *signa oblativa* but also as *impetrativa*. By the end of the Republic they were practically the only *signa* that were used by the magistrates. It was not so much that they had crowded the others out as that in the general decay of the augural system they survived as the most convenient. Moreover, it was no longer regarded as essential that the magistrates themselves should take the auspices. A subordinate official, the *pullarius*, whose original function had been the care of the sacred chickens, could do so. The phrase 'servare ex cælo,' which we find used of this official's observation, is an indication of the kind of sign of which he was supposed to take cognizance. There is, however, abundant evidence that his announcement of a favourable sign had very little to do with any actual appearance. The auspices had become a mere form, and the nature of the announcement in regard to them was dictated by political exigency.

Of the other signs, the *signa ex quadrupedibus* never seem to have been very much used as *signa impetrativa*, though, when occurring as *oblativa*, they could not be left out of consideration. They had to do with the behaviour of animals appearing within the bounds of the *templum*.

The *signa ex tripudiis* were the signs derived from the sacred chickens. By the end of the Republic these were practically the only auguries that were observed by military authorities. They came to have in the camps a place similar to that which the *signa ex cælo* had in civil life. This was largely owing to the convenience of the method.

The chickens were brought in cages, and, after the general who was to take the auspices had placed himself at the door of the tent within the bounds of the *templum*, they were let out. He observed their manner of walking and especially the way in which they ate the food that was thrown to them. The most favourable omen that they could give (*auspicium solistinum*) was to let pieces of food fall from their beaks. When such an omen was wanted, it was easily obtained either by giving the chickens crumbly food or by starving them before they were liberated and so causing a degree of haste in eating that resulted in numerous manifestations of the kind desired.

The *diræ* were unexpected events of an untoward nature which occurred either during the taking of the auspices or afterwards during the action itself. The fall of some object, the sudden illness of some one present, the gnawing of a mouse, etc., belonged to the category of the *diræ*. All *diræ* were deterrent.

With all the possibilities involved in the numerous auguries mentioned above, it is easy to see that the magistrate taking the auspices would frequently find himself at a loss in regard to the proper interpretation. Moreover, till a comparatively late date the *augures* were not present to assist him. The statement made by some ancient authorities that he had assistants does not imply that these were members of the augural college. To be sure, the difficulties of his position were to a certain extent modified by his announcement of the signs for which he was watching. But *signa impetrativa*, which of course were always favourable, might be counteracted by the appearance of unfavourable *signa oblativa*, and the possibilities of conflict were endless. If he made a mistake or if he deliberately ignored manifest indications of the disapproval of the divine powers, there was danger of the business transacted being subsequently annulled by a decree of the senate. It was on this account, doubtless, that during the last century of the Republic the custom grew up of having *augures* present to help the magistrate with their professional advice at the taking of the auspices before the holding of the *comitia*. Whether they ever actually took the auspices themselves is not certain.[1]

The inauguration of persons and places was another important function of the *augures*. They themselves conducted this ceremony, and the evidence advanced in support of the theory that on the occasion of an inauguration they acted merely as assistants to the *pontifex maximus* is, as Wissowa has shown in his article in Pauly-Wissowa, wholly inadequate. After the expulsion of the kings the only persons who were inaugurated were priests. We have definite record of the inauguration of the *rex sacrorum*, of the *augures* themselves, and of the *flamines* of Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus, and the deified Julius. There is no record of the inauguration of *pontifices*, and probably the Vestals were not inaugurated. Livy (I. xviii.) describes the ceremony.

It took place on the *arx*. The *augur*, after indicating with his wand (*lituus*)[2] the regions of the sky within which he would make his observations, laid his right hand on the head of the candidate, and asked the god to show by a *signum ex cælo* whether the candidate was acceptable to him.

In regard to the places that had to be inaugurated, we find that the list includes all those intended for business which could be transacted only after the auspices had been taken. Among them we find many temples, and such places as the *rostra* and the *curia*. Moreover, the city itself was inaugurated as well as the land just outside the walls, as far perhaps as the first milestone. To this district the term *ager effatus* was applied. There were other *loca effata*, as we know from Varro (*de Ling. Lat.* v. 33), who gives the following list of five additional kinds of territory which were inaugurated so as to make possible the taking of auspices by magistrates absent from Rome: the *ager Romanus*, *Gabinus*, *peregrinus*, *hosticus*, *incertus*. The term *templum* in its technical sense is applicable only to an inaugurated place or building that is rectangular in shape. The city of Rome and the various territories referred to were not *templa*, strictly speaking, but *loca liberata et effata*,[3] in which also auspices could be taken. We know very little about the ceremonies with which places were inaugurated, beyond the fact that a star-shaped piece of metal was brought in as a sign of the completion of the inauguration.

Other ceremonies in which we find the *augures* officiating independently of the magistrates are the *augurium salutis*, the *vernisera auguria*, and the *augurium canarium*. The last-mentioned took place every year in midsummer, and was intended to gain the protection of the gods against the action of the heat on the crops. The ceremony was accompanied by a sacrifice of red dogs. The *vernisera auguria* probably had to do with the agricultural operations of the spring. In regard to the *augurium salutis* there is a good deal of uncertainty. Apparently the purpose was to procure from the gods some assurance of a continuance of the safety and prosperity of the nation. It could be held only when there was no Roman army in the field. Tacitus[4] speaks of its being celebrated in A.D. 47 after an interval of seventy-five years.

[1] Possibly they sometimes did in the last period of the Republic. Cicero (*de Leg.* ii. 20) apparently makes a claim to this effect.

[2] 'Baculum sine nodo aduncum' (Livy, I. xviii. 7).

[3] *I.e.* freed by the formulæ spoken by the *augur* from all previously existing religious associations.

[4] *Ann.* xii. 23.

The archives of the *augures*, which were kept in the *auguraculum* on the *arx*, consisted of *fasti* (a list of members past and present), *acta* (the record of the transactions of the college), and, most important of all, the *libri* or *commentarii* in which all the lore of the craft was contained. Both terms, *libri* and *commentarii*, are used indiscriminately of the traditional material and of the numerous accretions consisting of the responses given to questions submitted by the senate.

3. Quindecimviri sacris faciundis.—The third of the great priestly colleges is the *quindecimviri s(acris) f(aciundis)*. Originally it was a commission of two members (*duoviri s.f.*), and it was not till 367 B.C. that it became a *collegium* of ten, of whom five were patrician and five plebeian. In Sulla's time the number was increased to fifteen. Cæsar made it sixteen, and under the Empire others were added *supra numerum*. In the time of Augustus the college was administered by a group of five *magistri*[1] (chosen annually by the college from its own membership), later by one.[2]

While the priesthood is less ancient than the *pontifices* and the *augures*, it goes back as far as the Tarquin dynasty, and its foundation is one of the indications of the foreign influences at work in Rome during that period. Its activity was confined to the Sibylline books, to the cults introduced in accordance with their oracles, and to the ceremonies performed, after consultation of the books, to avert the wrath of the gods. But, as the Sibylline books were Greek oracles, the cults introduced through them were Greek, except in such a case as that of the Great Mother, which came from Pessinus in Asia Minor. The result of this was that the *quindecimviri* bore to all cults which were conducted according to Greek forms of ritual (*ritus Græcus*) a relation analogous to that of the *pontifices* to the cults whose ceremonies adhered to Roman tradition (*ritus Romanus*).

The Sibylline books contained the oracles of the Sibyl of Cumæ, to which perhaps some others from different sources were added from time to time.[3] When brought from Cumæ, they were placed in the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline, where they remained till the year 83 B.C., when they perished in the fire that destroyed the temple. A commission was sent to Greece to make a new collection, and returned with 1000 verses, which were deposited in the new temple of Jupiter that had been built on the Capitol. They were left there till Augustus moved them to the temple of Apollo which he had erected on the Palatine. Augustus made a careful inspection of the oracles and rejected such as bore evidence of having been introduced into the collection for political reasons. Tiberius subjected them to a similar inspection, and there are other indications that the books were sometimes manipulated in the interests of political factions.

No one had access to the books but the *quindecimviri*, and even they could not consult them except when authorized by the senate. Moreover, it was only on the occurrence of prodigies which seemed to be of special importance that the senate gave the order for the inspection. When the *quindecimviri* had consulted the oracles, they made a report to the senate, stating by what sacrifices or ceremonies the gods could be appeased. The senate then decreed the performance of these rites under the supervision of the *quindecimviri*.

The clearest indication of the nature of the activity of the *quindecimviri* is furnished by the list of divinities whose cults were introduced as the result of an inspection of the oracles. Among these are the cult of Apollo (with whom the oracles are most closely connected), Ceres, Liber and Libera (Demeter, Dionysus, and Kore), Mercury (Hermes), Neptune (Poseidon),[1] and Hercules.[2] At a later date came Æsculapius, Dis, and others. The *quindecimviri* did not themselves perform the sacrifices or rites, for the Greek cults had their own priests; but they supervised them. They had a similar supervision over *lectisternia*, *supplicationes*, and other ceremonies ordered by the books in expiation of prodigies. That Oriental cults were not regarded as lying outside the field of their activities is shown by the fact that they were in charge of the cult of the Great Mother (see art. MOTHER OF THE GODS), introduced in 204 B.C. in accordance with a Sibylline oracle. Their connexion with this cult was especially close. They actually participated in some of the rites,[3] and from the latter half of the 1st cent. after Christ they were thought of in two capacities: priests of the Great Mother and custodians of the Sibylline books.

4. Septemviri epulones.—This priesthood was instituted in 196 B.C., and to it was assigned the administration of the sacred banquets of Jupiter on the ides of September in connexion with the *ludi Romani*, and on the ides of November on the occasion of the *ludi plebeii*. The theory held by Marquardt[4] and others, that at the time of the organization of the priesthood the only banquet to Jove was that held in connexion with the *ludi plebeii*, and that the *epulum Iovi* at the *ludi Romani* was established much later, is highly improbable. The *epulum* of the *ludi Romani* is in all likelihood an old institution.[5] These banquets, though they were wholly independent of the *lectisternia* in origin, were doubtless strongly influenced by them.

At the banquets a *triclinium* was set up in the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol. An image of Jupiter reclining and images of Juno and Minerva seated were placed at the table, and food was put before them. The senators attended the banquets as representatives of the State, and had places at *triclinia* set up in front of the temple. In a word, this *epulum Iovis* was not merely an offering to the god; it was a communion of the god with his people. The practice of holding sacred banquets increased in frequency. They were given not only on the ides of September and of November, but on the occasion of triumphs, dedications, games, etc. Not only the senators but also the people in general participated in them, being accommodated at tables that were set up throughout the entire length of the *forum*. The strictly religious element in the institution receded into the background. They became great public banquets, but remained under the supervision of the *epulones*.

Before the institution of the *epulones* the *pontifices* had had charge of the *epulum Iovis*. It was the burden of their other duties that compelled them to relinquish this function, and the *epulones*, though an independent college and forming one of the four great priesthoods, were always regarded as supplementary to the pontifical college and to a certain extent subject to its influence.

When first instituted, the college had three members (*treviri epulones*). This number was subsequently increased to seven (*septemviri epulones*) and still later (by Cæsar) to ten. But even after this increase the college was known as

[1] Before 399 B.C.
[2] The cult of Hercules 'in circo Flaminio.'
[3] As in the laving of the sacred stone of the goddess, and during the 3rd and 4th centuries in the *taurobolium*.
[4] *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, iii. 349.
[5] Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, p. 217.

[1] The emperor himself was one.
[2] When this office was held by the emperor, a deputy (*promagister*) was also appointed.
[3] There is no real evidence that the *Carmina Marciana* formed part of the collection.

the *septemviri epulones*. An individual member of the college was called *septemvir epulonum*.

5. Sodales fetiales.[1]—The *fetiales* were the authorities on the *ius fetiale*, the sacred forms that should be observed in international relations. To them the senate or magistrates appealed in regard to questions pertaining to demands for redress, declaration of war, or conclusion of peace. It was they who served as the emissaries of the State to the country with which the negotiations were being carried on. In the discussion of problems submitted to them by the senate the whole *sodalitas*, which consisted of twenty members, took part. On the missions to foreign countries, however, a smaller number went. When the purpose of the embassy was the making of peace, the number of *fetiales* was two;[2] when redress was demanded, four were employed. That the *sodalitas* was a very ancient one is seen from the use of the stone (*silex*) in killing the victim. It was in fact an old Italic institution, for we hear of *fetiales* not only at other places in Latium but also among the Æquians, the Faliscans, and the Samnites. At Rome the priesthood ranked next to the four great colleges; and in A.D. 22 an effort, which, however, failed, was made to place it on an equality with them.[3] Its members were men of distinction during both the Republic and the Empire. Augustus himself was a *fetialis*, as were later emperors.

In Livy, I. xxiv., we are given some details in regard to the appointment and procedure of a deputation of *fetiales* on a peace mission.

The *verbenarius*[4] asks the king to authorize him definitely and specifically as the envoy of the Roman people.[5] The king formally gives the authorization requested. Then the *verbenarius* asks for the sacred herbs (*herba pura, verbenæ, sagmina*) and is instructed by the king to gather them on the *arx*. These herbs are the symbol of his office. The *verbenarius* then chooses another of the *fetiales* as *pater patratus*,[6] touching his hair with the herbs. The *pater patratus* is the plenipotentiary and spokesman of the deputation, and it is he who carries the sacred stone and the sceptre. The treaty is made in the presence of the commanders and of the armies by the *patres patrati* of the two nations. After the terms have been read, the *pater patratus* of the Romans, holding his sceptre and calling to witness the people present as well as the gods Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus, swears that his nation will keep the treaty.[7] Then he kills a pig with the sacred stone, calling upon Jupiter, if the Roman people shall be the first to break the treaty, to treat them as he treats the victim. After the sacrifice he throws away the stone, saying: 'Si sciens fallo, tum me Diespiter salva urbe arceque bonis eiiciat, ut ego hunc lapidem.'[8] When the same ceremony has been performed by the other *pater patratus*, the treaty is signed by both.[9] The fact that the stone is thrown away is distinctly favourable to the theory that it is nothing more than a primitive weapon that has survived from the stone age, and not, as W. Helbig[10] has suggested, a symbol of the god of lightning.

In the case of injury at the hands of citizens of some foreign power, *fetiales* were sent to demand redress.[11]

The *pater patratus* goes to the boundary of the enemy's territory and states his country's case, swearing to the justice of the claims which he makes.[12] Then, crossing the border, he repeats the claims to the first native of the country whom he meets. He repeats them again at the gate of the capital and in its *forum*. If the offenders are given up, he departs as a friend. If the nation addressed asks time for further consideration, he grants thirty days, publicly repeating his claims at the end of each ten days. After the expiration of this time, if satisfaction is not given, he solemnly calls the gods to witness, and, returning to Rome, reports the circumstances to the senate. If the senate decides on war, the *pater patratus* is dispatched again to the boundary, and in the presence of three adults throws into the enemy's territory a spear smeared with blood and charred at the end. Under the fetial law only a war declared in this way is *pium*.

Just as it was the duty of the *fetiales* to demand from another people those who had committed an offence against their nation, so also it was their duty to give up similar offenders among their own people.[1]

Octavian declared war against Cleopatra in 32 B.C. according to the fetial rite; the emperor Claudius concluded treaties (Suet. *Claud.* 25) as *pater patratus*; Marcus Aurelius declared war against the Marcomanni in this way. But it had long since become a symbolical act. In the war with Pyrrhus a piece of land near the Circus Flaminius at Rome had been legally conveyed to a captive. This was declared enemy territory, and into it the *pater patratus* flung the spear from the *columna bellica* near the temple of Bellona.

6. Fratres Arvales.—See art. ARVAL BROTHERS.

7. Salii.[2]—There were two groups of *Salii* in Rome, the *Salii Palatini* whose headquarters were in the *curia Saliorum* on the Palatine, and the *Salii collini*, or *Agonenses*, of the Quirinal hill. The former were the dancing priests of Mars, the latter of Quirinus. Each organization consisted of twelve members and had a *magister*, a *præsul*, and a *vates*. The *magister* was in general charge, the *præsul* was the leader of the dance, and the *vates* of the singing.

The period of their greatest activity was the month of March, with its many festivals in honour of Mars. Although the calendars specifically record only three days of the month (the 1st, 9th, and 24th) on which the *Salii* took down the sacred shields,[3] their processions seem to have taken place every day from the 1st to the 24th. Their dress consisted of *tunica picta* and *trabea*. On their left arm they carried the shield, which as they danced they struck with a spear or club held in the right hand. The dancing took place at certain sacred places in the city at which the procession paused. Each evening they halted at one of the *mansiones*, erected for the purpose, where the shields and other paraphernalia were kept till next morning. There also the priests dined together, their banquets being proverbial for their luxury. Next day the procession was resumed, and in the evening a halt was made at another *mansio*. After 24th March there was no procession of the *Salii* till 19th Oct., the *armilustrium*, when they danced on the Aventine. This ceremony corresponds to the *quinquatrus* of 19th March, which was originally a festival of lustration. After the *armilustrium* the shields were replaced in the *sacrarium*, and were not moved again till 1st March. The significance of this institution of dancing priests is variously explained. Wissowa claims that Mars was from the beginning nothing but a god of war, and in the shields and other equipment of the *Salii* he sees merely an appropriate costume for the priests of the war-god. The dance, he thinks, was a war-dance, and it was given in March and October because these two months were most closely associated with the beginning and the end of the annual campaign. On the other hand, those[4] who regard Mars as a spirit of vegetation classify the dance of the *Salii* among the warlike and noisy demonstrations which are frequently adopted by primitive peoples for the

[1] The Roman grammarians connected the word with *fides* (Varro), *fœdus* (Servius), *ferire* (Paulus); Lange derives it from an old substantive *fetis* (cf. *fateri, fari, fas*); Weiss compares the cult-title of Jupiter Feretrius.

[2] Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus*[2], p. 551, thinks that the number was afterwards increased to four, but his reasons seem inadequate.

[3] Tac. *Ann.* iii. 64.

[4] *I.e.* the bearer of the sacred herbs (*verbenæ*). How he was chosen is not known.

[5] 'Iubesne me, rex, cum patre patrato populi Albani fœdus ferire?'

[6] Wissowa plausibly derives this word from *patrare*, 'to make a father.' On this theory *pater patratus* is a father artificially created as opposed to a natural *pater familias*.

[7] The formulæ are given in Livy, I. xxiv. 7.

[8] Paul. p. 82 (Thewrewk de Ponor). [9] Livy, IX. v. 4.

[10] *Die Italiker in der Poebene*, Leipzig, 1879, p. 92.

[11] Livy, VII. vi. 7, xxxii. 1, X. xlv. 7.

[12] On the ethical element in the fetial rite see Tenney Frank, in *Classical Philology*, vii. [1912] 335.

[1] Livy, VIII. xxxix. 14. [2] From *salire*, 'leap,' 'dance.'

[3] It is not certain whether the shields (*ancilia*) were kept in the *curia* on the Palatine or in the *regia*.

[4] Mannhardt, Roscher, Frazer, Fowler.

purpose of frightening away the evil spirits that might harm the sprouting crops or interfere with the transmission of the vegetative principle from year to year.

8. Sodales Titii.—Of this priesthood we know almost nothing. Tacitus (*Hist.* ii. 95) tells us that it was organized by Romulus for the worship of the Sabine king, Titus Tatius.[1] Dionysius (ii. 52) makes a similar statement. It seems to have been defunct at the end of the Republic, but was revived by Augustus and lasted till at least the end of the 2nd century. The members belonged to the senatorial order or to the imperial house. We have no information in regard to its activities.

9. Luperci.—In the case of the *Luperci* we have a priesthood whose activity was confined to a single day of the year, 15th Feb., the date of the celebration of the Lupercalia. There were *Luperci Quinctiales* and *Luperci Fabiani*.[2] In 44 B.C. a third group, *Luperci Iulii*, was added in honour of Julius Cæsar, and of these Antony was *magister*. But this group did not last long, and it was omitted on the reorganization of the priesthood by Augustus. Membership in the order of the *Luperci* did not carry with it a distinction equal to that of the other priestly *sodalitates*. It was an equestrian, not a senatorial, priesthood. The festival lasted into Christian times, not being abolished till the pontificate of Gelasius (A.D. 494).

The meaning of the title *Luperci* has been the subject of a long discussion. Till recently the prevailing view was that the word meant simply 'wolves,' like *hirpi* (in the Sabine language 'wolves'), the name applied to the priests of the god (Soranus pater) worshipped on the top of Mt. Soracte; and it was claimed that we had here another manifestation of the vegetation-spirit, which often turns up in the shape of animals.[3] But this theory seems too fantastic for serious consideration, and the author of the latest detailed investigation of the cult (Deubner, *ARW* xiii. 482 ff.)[4] has returned to the old etymology (Serv. *Æn.* viii. 343) by which *Lupercus* is derived from *lupus* and *arceo* and means 'one who keeps off wolves.' Deubner's reconstruction of the festival is ingenious and in regard to many points very plausible.

The most important features of the celebration were as follows: (1) goats and a dog were sacrificed (perhaps to Faunus, though this is by no means certain); (2) two young men[5] were smeared on the forehead with the blood of the sacrifice, which was then wiped off with wool dipped in milk, whereupon they laughed; (3) the *Luperci*, in two bands, naked except for goat-skins stripped from the victims about their loins, ran round the base of the Palatine hill, and as they ran struck with strips of the same goat-skins all those (mostly women) who threw themselves in their way.

We have in the Lupercalia traces of a pastoral festival (implied in the protective measures against wolves), of a lustration of the community (seen in the encircling of the hill), and of a rite for fertilization (for which the striking with the thongs of goat-skin furnishes the evidence). According to Deubner, the course around the hill goes back to the early days of the Palatine settlement, when it was actually necessary to protect the sheep-folds from wolves, and individuals from certain families were appointed *luperci*, 'those who keep off the wolves.' The practice was not at that time connected with the worship of any god, but later was brought into relation with Faunus. The other elements in the festival, the striking with thongs and the wiping off of the blood, were, according to Deubner, subsequent additions, the latter belonging to the period of Augustus' reforms. That this is a final solution of the *Luperci* cannot be positively asserted, but that it is a more plausible theory than any that has hitherto been advanced may be confidently affirmed.

10. Sodales Augustales.—When Augustus died (A.D. 14), he was deified by senatorial decree, and a priesthood (*sodales Augustales*) was founded to pay the honours due to him as a god (*divus*). The *sodalitas* was organized on the analogy of the *sodales Titii*. It consisted of twenty-one regular members from the senatorial order and four[1] honorary members from the imperial family. This number, however, does not seem to have been rigidly adhered to, for there are references which indicate that in later times the membership was as high as twenty-eight. The *sodalitas* was administered by three *magistri*. It had charge of the games held in honour of Divus Augustus and of the ceremonies conducted in the temple erected to him near the north-west corner of the Palatine. Moreover, it took over the ancestral shrine of the Julian *gens* at Bovillæ and once a year held services and games there. At Bovillæ also the archives of the priesthood were kept, and we may assume that its official headquarters were there. When the emperor Claudius was declared *divus* by the senate, his cult was assigned to the same *sodalitas*, which, however, was now called *sodales Augustales Claudiales*. The close relations between the Julian and Claudian *gentes* justified such an arrangement. But a new situation arose on the deification of Vespasian, who belonged to the *gens Flavia*, and another priesthood was accordingly organized, the *sodales Flaviales*. This *sodalitas* also took care of the cult of Vespasian's son Titus when he was deified. It is probable that there was no change in its title during Domitian's reign, and that it was only after his death, when there was a recrudescence of the popularity of Titus, that the designation *sodales Flaviales Titiales* was used.[2] A third *sodalitas* was founded on the deification of Hadrian (*sodales Hadrianales*) and a fourth on that of Antoninus Pius (*sodales Antoniniani*). To the last were assigned the cults of all the subsequent emperors who became *divi*. For the empresses and princesses who were deified (and the number, especially in the first 150 years of the Empire, was considerable) special *sodalitates* were not instituted. Their worship was for the most part conducted by the *sodalitas* pertaining to their *gens*—*e.g.*, the cult of Livia by the *sodales Augustales*, that of Domitilla by the *sodales Flaviales*, and so forth. In addition to the *sodales* each *divus* had a *flamen*. It is probable that the *flamen* was not one of the *sodales*. Special priests were assigned also to some of the *divæ*.

11. State priests of municipal cults.—There were also, in addition to the *collegia* and *sodalitates* that have been discussed, some minor State priesthoods. These were organized to take care of the sacred rites belonging to certain Latin communities that had been absorbed by Rome. The incumbents were Roman citizens. The ceremonies took place sometimes in Rome, sometimes at the original seat of the worship. The list consists of the following: *sacerdotes Cabenses* (Caba), *sacerdotes Cœninenses* (Cœnina), *Albani* (Alba Longa),

[1] Tacitus' own information on the subject seems to have been somewhat vague, for in another passage (*Ann.* i. 54) he says that the priesthood was instituted by King Tatius for the purpose of keeping up the religious rites of the Sabines.

[2] It is generally assumed that the former represented the Palatine community, the latter the inhabitants of the Quirinal. But Fowler (*Roman Festivals*, p. 320) points out that this is inconsistent with the fact that the running of the *Luperci* was always around the Palatine only.

[3] W. Mannhardt, *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte*[2], Berlin, 1905, p. 318 ff.; *GB*[3], pt. ii., *Balder the Beautiful*, London, 1913, ii. 14 f.

[4] See also Fowler, *Religious Experience*, p. 478 ff.

[5] Perhaps the *magistri* of the *Luperci Quinctiales* and *Luperci Fabiani* respectively.

[1] Tiberius, Germanicus, Drusus, Claudius.

[2] This point seems established by a recent art., 'The Date of the Arch of Titus,' by D. McFadyen, in *Classical Journal*, xi [1915] 140.

sacerdotes Lanuvini (Lanuvium), *sacerdotes Laurentes Lavinates* (Lavinium and Laurentum), *sacerdotes Suciniani* (Sucinia?),[1] *sacerdotes Tusculani* (Tusculum).

In the municipalities throughout the Empire there were, besides the local priests, *sacerdotes publici* modelled on those in Rome: *pontifices*, *augures*, and for the imperial cult *flamines* as well as the organizations of the *seviri Augustales*. More important than any of these municipal priests was the provincial priest, *sacerdos*[2] *provinciæ*, who was elected by the provincial assembly, generally for a year, and who was the chief priest of the imperial cult in the province or group of provinces to which he belonged.

12. **Haruspices.**—Although the *haruspices* never became State priests, they played a part of considerable importance in Roman religion from the time of the war with Hannibal.[3] They were of Etruscan origin, and the field of their activities was threefold: (1) the scrutiny of the *exta* of sacrificial victims, (2) the explanation of portents, and (3) the interpretation of lightning. None of these was new in Roman religion. Examination of the *exta* of victims was made by members of the regular Roman priesthoods, portents were cared for by the *pontifices*, and the interpretation of lightning was included in the lore of the *augures*. But the *haruspices* supplemented the work of the Roman priesthoods, and along many lines showed a degree of specialization and an elaboration of detail which went far beyond that attained by the Roman priests; *e.g.*, the examination of the *exta*[4] by Roman priests was not intended to do more than to determine whether the god to whom the offering was made was propitious or not, but the *haruspices*, by means of a complicated system, one element in which was the charting of the liver in sixteen different parts,[5] claimed to read not simply the mind of one god on the subject, but the secrets of the future. In dealing with a portent they undertook to show what its meaning was. Their science of lightning transcended in detail and complexity that of the *augures*. The division of the liver into sixteen parts is obviously to be connected with the division of the heavens into sixteen regions upon which their interpretation of lightning was largely based.

The science of the *haruspices* was traditional in the noble families of Etruria, and so important was it considered by the Romans that in the 2nd cent. before Christ they took measures to assure its continuance in the chief cities of that country. For the *haruspices* whom the senate consulted were regularly brought from Etruria. Distinct from them were the *haruspices* who resided in Rome, and who were of two classes: (1) those attached to the service of officials and forming the *ordo haruspicum LX*,[6] and (2) private *haruspices* resorted to by citizens for advice on domestic problems. The status of these, especially the latter, was distinctly inferior to that of the *haruspices* summoned from Etruria.

Recent researches tend to show that the system practised by the *haruspices* in the examination of the *exta* is derived from Babylonia, and that its use in Rome constitutes an important channel of Oriental influence.

[1] This is a conjecture. No city of this name is known with certainty to have existed in Latium. See J. Toutain, in Daremberg-Saglio, iv. 948.

[2] In the East called ἀρχιερεύς, in the West *sacerdos* (in the three Gauls and elsewhere), or *flamen* (Spain, Gallia Narbonensis, Africa, etc.).

[3] There is no satisfactory evidence of the Roman Government having called in *haruspices* at an earlier date.

[4] While the term includes all the large internal organs, the science of the *haruspices* dealt chiefly with the liver.

[5] A bronze liver, found at Piacenza, shows this division.

[6] The earliest reference to this *ordo* is an inscription belonging to the end of the Republic (*CIL* vi. 32439).

LITERATURE. — Daremberg-Saglio; T. Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*[3], Leipzig, 1887, i. 76, ii. 18; J. Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*[2], do. 1885, iii. 218 ff.; E. de Ruggiero, *Dizion. epigraf.*, 2 vols., Rome, 1895–1910; Pauly-Wissowa; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], Munich, 1912, pp. 479–566; W. W. Fowler, *The Roman Festivals*, London, 1899, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, do. 1911; C. Bardt, *Priester der vier grossen Collegien*, Berlin, 1871; A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Les Pontifes de l'ancienne Rome*, Paris, 1871, *Hist. de la divination*, 4 vols., do. 1879–82; C. Schwede, *De pontificum collegii pontificisque maximi in Republica potestate*, Leipzig, 1875; I. M. J. Valeton, 'De modis auspicandi Romanorum,' *Mnemosyne*, new ser. xvii. [1889] 275 ff., 418 ff., xviii. [1890] 208 ff., 406 ff.; H. Diels, *Sibyllinische Blätter*, Berlin, 1890; K. Schultess, *Die sibyllinischen Bücher in Rom*, Hamburg, 1895; G. Henzen, *Acta fratrum Arvalium*, Berlin, 1874; E. Beurlier, *Le Culte impérial*, Paris, 1891; L. Deubner, 'Lupercalia,' *ARW* xiii. [1910] 481 ff.

GORDON J. LAING.

PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD (Ugro-Finnish).—The priests among the Ugro-Finnish people did not form a separate social class. Their importance in the community, generally speaking, was evident only at the sacrificial feasts. The office of priest was regarded as an honour, and usually brought no remuneration. We can best study the observance of the pagan sacrifice in the home among the Votyaks, who retain the relics of a sacrificial feast observed in the old native hut (*kuala*). Here the father of the family was the natural sacrificial priest. That dignity descended to his eldest son, and, in the absence of male lawful issue, to the nearest male relative. Besides the family sacrifice, we find a tribal sacrifice held in common by several families in a tribal hut called a 'great hut' (*budzim kuala*). These sacrifices were performed by a descendant of the progenitor of the tribe—an eldest son, if possible. One and the same Votyak thus belongs to two *kuala*-families, a smaller and a larger.

Sacrifices were also offered in sacred groves. Groves were dedicated both to underground spirits —*i.e.* the great men, princes, etc., of a community —and to great nature-gods. If a family, for some reason or another—usually when a great misfortune had befallen them—dedicated a grove to some great man who was dead, it was deemed right that the sacrifices should be continued in that group by his posterity. When the priestly office did not pass by inheritance, a priest was chosen from among the members of the family or tribe concerned. Nature-gods might be worshipped in a grove set apart by one particular village community, or in a common sacrificial place belonging to a number of communities—sometimes as many as twenty-five. For both, sacrificial priests were chosen. As a condition of appointment, the priest was required to have the respect of the community and also to be skilled in prayer. Often the sacrificial priest remained in office all his life.

When several animals were to be sacrificed at the same time, as many priests took part in the service as there were animals offered. In the groves used by several communities the service was usually performed by the priests of the larger towns or villages of the district. When several priests took part in the service, the people occasionally called the oldest among them the 'great priest'; and his duty was to supervise the 'small priests' in the discharge of their functions. The most general appellation for a priest was 'old man.' He had always one or more colleagues, to whom special duties in connexion with the sacrifices were entrusted. When an individual wished to sacrifice in the grove of his village, he summoned the priest to hold a service for him. The seer could also sometimes appoint the priest to make the sacrifice.

In earlier times, when shamanism prevailed, it was the duty of the shaman to attend to the sacrifices. The shaman priest was held in very high esteem among his people. It was said, *e.g.*, of the

Lapps that they always gave the shaman the best seat in the house, set before him the daintiest viands, and presented him with valuable gifts; indeed, sometimes they even paid tribute to him; and his opinion and advice were always highly esteemed.

It is uncertain whether the Ugro-Finnish priest wore a special sacrificial robe. It is known that he had to wash before every service, and to put on a new, or at least a perfectly clean and, if possible, white robe. Fasting before the sacrifice may also have been customary. Women, as a rule, could not take part in the sacrificial service, and were deemed unworthy of the priestly office.

LITERATURE.—M. A. Castrén, *Nordische Reisen und Forschungen*, i.–v., Petrograd, 1853–62; J. Krohn, *Suomen suvun pakanallinen jumalan palvelus*, Helsingfors, 1894; U. Holmberg, *Permalaisten uskonto, Tsheremissien uskonto, Lappalaisten uskonto*, Porvoo, 1914–15; K. Krohn, *Suomalaisten runojen uskonto*, do. 1915.

UNO HOLMBERG.

PRIMITIVE METHODISTS.—See METHODISM.

PRIMOGENITURE.—See FIRST-BORN, INHERITANCE.

PRINCIPLE.—1. **Philosophical.**—The word 'principle,' reproducing the Latin *principium*, is a translation of the Greek philosophical term ἀρχή. This term designated two very different kinds of facts—principles of knowledge and principles of reality (cf. Aristotle, *Met.* 995^{b}7). This double application of the term runs through English philosophical literature. Not only the axioms of logic — *e.g.*, the Law of Contradiction — to which Aristotle refers in the passage cited, but the fundamental truths of any body of doctrine are called its principles (cf. the title of the work *Principles of Mathematics*, by B. Russell). Sometimes by a redundancy of expression these are called 'first principles'—*e.g.*, in Herbert Spencer's work of that name.

Again, anything fundamental in the nature of things may be called a principle. Thus, when T. H. Green talks of 'the spiritual principle in nature,' or B. Jowett, translating Plato (*Dialogues*^{2}, Oxford, 1875, iv. 229), mentions 'a principle which is above sensation,' they refer to a real existent.

A principle in the sense of a principle of reality may be conceived of either as a cause or as a constituent. It is in the latter sense that water is the principle of all things in the philosophy of Thales. But, even when a principle is conceived of as a constituent, other things are usually supposed to be in some way causally dependent on it.

To be fundamental is the essential notion of a principle, of whatever sort that be. If we ask, How fundamental?, the answer is, Logically; the principle is that which comes first in the order of explanation, whether we are explaining the nature of a demonstration or the nature of a concrete fact. Thus, if the principle of the universe is spiritual, it is the existence of spirit that explains all other facts. On the other hand, the principles of morality are the truths about moral relations on which depend all our explanations of particular moral phenomena (cf. T. Fowler, *The Principles of Morals*).

2. **Popular.**—'Principle' has various popular significations which are directly derivative from the different philosophical uses of the term.

(1) We constantly speak of the 'poisonous principle' or 'bitter principle' in substances, meaning by that something concrete which is the source or origin of the definite character which these things possess. These are not far removed from such more philosophical expressions as the 'vital principle' or the 'spiritual principle in nature.'

(2) On the other hand, when we talk about the 'principle' of the steam-engine or of the electric motor, we mean the truth which gives the explanation of their working. Principle is here the formal and not the material cause of a fact. At the same time, while in this case principle means a scientific premiss for logical explanation, the use of the term is not wholly dissimilar from that which it has in the previous instance. By a principle is here meant the ultimate and simple truth which stands at the beginning of our explanation. Again, the fact expressed in our ultimate premiss is held to be the actual cause of the phenomena explained.

(3) Principles of conduct stand on a somewhat different footing. They are generalized rules of good conduct which form the logical starting-point when we deliberate upon the rightness and wrongness of a particular action. A 'man of principle' (cf. Carlyle, *Cromwell*, speech iv.) is one whose conduct is regulated by the agreement of his projected acts with the general laws of moral action. By a 'man of good principle' we mean little more, for it is assumed that, when a man regulates his conduct by testing its agreement with general maxims, he employs maxims which are morally excellent. A 'man of no principle' is one whose conduct is not regulated by being compared by him with a moral law. Regard for principle in politics is strictly analogous to what it is in the case of morals. It means the regulation of action by noting its agreement with a general rule which has been established as a law of social well-being, without taking into account the immediate advantages which the infringement of that rule might bring.

LITERATURE.—T. H. Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, Oxford, 1883; H. Driesch, *The Hist. and Theory of Vitalism*, London, 1913; B. Russell, *Principles of Mathematics*, do. 1903; T. Fowler, *The Principles of Morals*, Oxford, 1886–87.

G. R. T. ROSS.

PRISCILLIANISM.—The Priscillianists or Priscillians were a heretical sect charged with Manichæan and Gnostic opinions, which made its appearance under this name in Spain towards the end of the 4th cent., and, after exercising considerable influence in S.W. Europe, was confined within ever narrower limits until it disappeared after a history of about two centuries.

The sect took its name from Priscillian, its reputed founder, but it is very doubtful whether he is justly made responsible for the views which were held by his followers. The conditions of this problem have been altered since the discovery in 1885 and the publication by G. Schepss of the extant works of Priscillian. The other primary authorities are very scanty (a letter of Ambrose, a notice in Jerome, and a reference in Pacatus), but they support rather than contradict the evidence to be drawn from Priscillian himself, by which the witness of secondary authorities must be controlled.

Priscillian was a layman of good family, of fair education, and of considerable wealth, born probably at Merida, in Lusitania, shortly before the middle of the 4th century. He was attracted by that wide-spread movement of thought which found approval and safety when it went to the extreme of monasticism, but was exposed to the dangerous hostility of the ecclesiastical authorities when it gave itself to the cultivation of piety and an austere life apart from and not without criticism of the offices and officers of the Church. S.W. Europe had many groups of ascetically disposed Christians, known in some quarters as 'Abstinentes,' who nourished their faith not only on the canonical Scriptures but also on 'apocryphal' writings, such as the *Acts of Andrew, of Thomas*, and *of John*. In these it is probable that Manich

æan ideas and ascetic practices found a common root (see Babut, *Priscillien et Priscillianisme*, p. 231 ff.). One of the earliest works of Priscillian, the *Nonaginta Canones in Pauli Epistolas*, a series of contents-headings prefixed to groups of cognate sections of the Epistles, shows him in general sympathy with this movement, emphasizing those elements in St. Paul which look towards dualism and asceticism (canons 33 and 57), the 'carnal' character of the Law (can. 77), and the virtue of 'beata voluntaria paupertas' (can. 37). The first tendency of the movement was schismatic rather than heretical, and the fact that it captured several of the Spanish bishops—*e.g.*, Salvianus and Instantius—alarmed Idacius, bishop of Merida, who, after consulting Pope Damasus on the matter, summoned a synod at Saragossa for its consideration (A.D. 380).[1] No individuals were condemned by this synod, nor do its decisions and anathemas contemplate errors in doctrine of any kind; they are concerned with practical matters such as fasting, the use of the Eucharist, and the frequenting of conventicles. Priscillian took up the challenge thrown down by this synod, and, by accepting the bishopric of Avila, at once put himself in the forefront of the movement, and entered the lists against Idacius. Idacius proceeded to obtain from the emperor Gratian a rescript condemning in general terms 'pseudo-episcopos et Manichæos,' and authorizing the expulsion of all heretics from Spain. This he then applied to Priscillian in a circular to other bishops in Spain, and also in a letter to Ambrose. Through the latter an unfavourable reception was provided for Priscillian when he proceeded to Italy in company with the bishops Salvianus and Instantius 'cum uxoribus,' to lay their case before Damasus and Ambrose in turn. His *Liber ad Damasum* contains his apology, in which he repudiates every kind of heresy, and especially that of the Manichæans. Damasus probably refused to interfere, but an appeal to the emperor met with better success: the rescript was cancelled, and Priscillian returned to his diocese in peace (382).

The next two years formed a period of great and successful activity for Priscillian. Most of his tracts (iv.–ix.) were now produced, and the important *de Fide et Apocryphis*, in which the note of independence is distinctly heard.

The quotations made by Priscillian supply valuable evidence as to the pre-Hieronymian text of the Latin Bible. 'Le texte biblique de Priscillien présente tous les caractères des textes "italiens": il semble former la transition entre ces textes du ive siècle et leur rejeton, le texte "africain de basse époque" que nous retrouvons regnant à la fin du ve siècle dans l'empire des Vandales' (S. Berger, *Hist. de la Vulgate*, Paris, 1893, p. 8). The 'comma Johanneum' (1 Jn 57) has what is probably its earliest witness in Priscillian, tract. i. (ed. Schepss, p. 6). The *Canons* of Priscillian, often under the name of Peregrinus, and possibly modified in some respects by him, had a considerable vogue for several centuries in Provence and Spain (see Berger, p. 26 ff.).

The progress of the sect may be described in Babut's words:

'The government supported them, their adversary Ithacius was in flight, their influence was extending. The triumph of the spiritual and ascetic reform might well appear to them assured' (p. 167).

The swift disaster which overtook Priscillian and the whole movement was closely connected with the successful revolt of Maximus and the fall and death of Gratian. Ithacius (bishop of Ossonoba) had fled to Trèves, and there claimed the assistance of Maximus in suppressing the 'Manichæan' heresy in Spain. Maximus seized the opportunity of acquiring credit for orthodoxy. There was another possible motive in the wealth of the 'heretics,' reputed to be very great. The first step was to summon a synod at Bordeaux, before which Priscillian and Instantius were arraigned as prisoners. To the charge of heresy was added that of gross immorality and the practice of magic. According to Sulpicius, who is probably following the *Apology* of Ithacius, Priscillian refused to plead, and appealed to the emperor. Condemned by the synod, the accused were transferred to Trèves. There Priscillian, though still a bishop, was put to the torture, and the confessions so extorted from him were sufficient to condemn him then and ever since. Ambrose happened to be in Trèves on an embassy at the time, and was so indignant at the spectacle of bishops demanding the death of another bishop that he refused to communicate with Idacius and Ithacius, and was dismissed from Trèves in consequence (Ambrose, *Ep.* xxiv. 12). Having received from Maximus permission to proceed to a capital sentence, Evodius the prefect ordered Priscillian and his companions to be beheaded, and thus they perished—Priscillian, two of the clergy, Armenius and Felicissimus, Latronianus, a poet, and Euchrocia, the widow of Delphidius, the first heretics to be sent to the scaffold by the Church.

The execution of Priscillian was followed first by a reaction and then by a counter-reaction. The horror which was felt throughout the Church was marked by the indignant protests of St. Martin of Tours, the excommunication by a Spanish synod of Ithacius, the forced resignation of his bishopric by Idacius, and the sentence of exile pronounced upon both bishops by Theodosius. On the other hand, Latinius Pacatus pronounced a panegyric on the victims in the presence of the emperor; their remains were removed with all honour to Spain, and their names were inscribed on many sacramental lists there as martyrs. In Galicia the clergy and the people were almost wholly adherent to the movement.

Of the counter-reaction which followed we have no satisfactory record, beyond that which is indirectly given in the accounts of Priscillian and his followers which were circulated by Orosius and Turribius, and the judgment, probably based on Orosius, which was passed by Augustine. Councils held at Toledo (400 and 447) and at Braga (448 and 563) successively dealt with the Priscillianists. After the latter date they disappear. Isolated and persecuted, it is likely that they fell into heresy of the Manichæan or Gnostic type, but the evidence on which the movement in its early stage is labelled with either of these names is precarious. Much turns on the authenticity of a quotation from Priscillian given by Orosius (*Commonitorium*, 2 [*CSEL* xviii. 153]). Its genuineness has been taken for granted by most writers, and is maintained by Künstle and Lezius; but the searching criticism to which it has been subjected by Babut (p. 279 ff.) lays it under serious suspicion. All the other evidence points in the other direction—the silence of the synod of Saragossa, the express and repeated statements of Priscillian himself, the cautious judgment of Jerome, the protest of Ambrose, and the championship of St. Martin. The case was soon found to be weak, and the evidence of Priscillian himself turned against him by the assertion that he held and taught the duty of perjuring oneself in order to conceal dangerous views. This Augustine believed of him on the authority of Dictinnius, which is the authority of one who, having left the Priscillians and been reconciled to the Church, was seeking to demonstrate the completeness of his conversion.

[1] See Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Collectio*, iii. 635; *Priscilliani*, ed. Schepss, p. 35; 'nemo e nostris reus factus tenetur, nemo accusatus'; Sulp. Sev. *Chron.* ii. 47. 1.

LITERATURE.—i. *SOURCES.*—*Priscilliani quæ supersunt*, ed. G. Schepss (*CSEL* xviii.), Vienna, 1889; Jerome, *de Vir. Ill.* 121; Sulpicius Severus, *Chronica*, ii. 46–51 (see J. Bernays, *Die Chronik des Sulpicius Severus*, Berlin, 1861); Orosius, *Commonitorium* (*CSEL* xviii.).

ii. *CRITICISM.*—G. Schepss, *Priscillian*, Würzburg, 1886;

A. Hilgenfeld, in *ZWT* xxxv. [1892] 1–84; F. Paret, *Priscillian, ein Reformator des 4. Jahrhunderts*, Würzburg, 1891; F. Lezius, in *PRE*[3], *s.v.*; K. Künstle, *Eine Bibliothek der Symbole* ('Forschungen zur christl. Lit.,' I. iv.), Mainz, 1900; E. C. Babut, *Priscillien et le Priscillianisme* (*Bibl. de l'École des hautes études*, clxix.), Paris, 1909.

C. A. Scott.

PRISONS.—The one essential quality of every prison, ancient, mediæval, and modern, for untried and for convicted prisoners, for those confined for a fixed period or for life, a dungeon of the Inquisition or a modern establishment conducted on the most humane and enlightened principles, is that it is a place of detention, where the inmates are deprived of that personal liberty and volition which men and women, civilized and uncivilized, have risked life itself, in all ages of the world, to secure.

The vital importance of this obvious fact is generally ignored even by experts. Edmund F. du Cane, chairman of the Prison Commissioners for England and Wales, an eminent authority on prison history and management, wrote in a description of Elmira Reformatory in New York State:

'The prisoners enjoy a luxurious dietary, and many indulgences are granted to induce them to work, so that the penal element of a sentence of imprisonment is entirely absent.

If du Cane had opened the prison doors, he would have found that a cage is a cage, although the bars are gilded; not one inmate of luxurious Elmira, however miserable his circumstances outside, would have remained. To be under ocular inspection every hour of every day (door-knockers are unknown, but there are peep-holes in every cell door); to be compelled, in strict obedience to printed rules and verbal orders and on pain of punishment, day after day, month after month, year after year, to rise up and sit down, to eat, sleep, speak, listen, work, walk, read, write, and receive letters and visits, even from wife and children, at the will of another—such treatment, if long continued, permanently unfits a human being for membership of a free community; and all this in the most depressing surroundings—eating, day after day, the same kind of food, wearing the same clothes, seeing the same official or degraded people, and doing, without substantial remuneration and for the benefit of others, the same uninteresting tasks. It is more than difficult, it is impossible, for a free man to realize what it means to be distinguished not by a name but by a number; to be lost to the outside world, and its news and activities, nature's sights and sounds excluded with perverse ingenuity; to be deprived of all social intercourse or family life, receiving no acts of kindness and unable to do any.

A convict (the kind of man that the newspapers, the novelists, and the playwrights make copy of as 'a hardened ruffian') burst into tears when a prison visitor suddenly shook hands with him. 'I beg your pardon, sir,' said the man, 'but nobody has shaken hands with me for ten years.'

With initiative, self-respect, and self-reliance diminishing day by day, no wonder there come the prison look, sullen, apathetic, or furtive, like a hunted animal, and the prison manner, half abject and half defiant; no wonder that the released prisoner finds himself unfit to work, if indeed he can get anybody to employ him. Disqualified for re-absorption in the community, a useless machine, and a social alien, he turns to drink and vice to drown and divert his misery, and drifts through crime back again into prison.

John Howard's *State of Prisons in England and Wales, with an Account of some Foreign Prisons and Hospitals* was published at Warrington in 1777, but until early in the 19th cent. the treatment of criminals and the punishment of crime by Church and State had scarcely a point of contact with Christianity or civilization; it was not even consistent with the instincts of ordinary humanity.

The sentence pronounced in 1630 upon Archbishop Leighton's father, a physician and divine, for writing against Prelacy in terms no more extravagant and not less honest than those employed by his accusers against Presbytery, was an extreme instance, in degree, but not in kind. It ran as follows: (1) to be twice publicly whipped, (2) to be pilloried in Cheapside, (3) to have an ear cut off, (4) to have the nose slit, (5) to have both cheeks branded with the letters 'S.S.' ('Sower of Sedition'), (6) to pay £10,000, and (7) to be imprisoned for life.

How long old ideas survive may be inferred from the Children Act of 1908. By sections 102 and 103 of that great statute it is solemnly enacted that, in Great Britain and Ireland, no child (a child is defined as a person under the age of 14 years) shall be imprisoned or sent to penal servitude or the gallows. England obtained a Court of Criminal Appeal in 1907. But in Scotland, while a question of property of trifling value, tried in the civil courts, may be the subject of two, in some cases three, appeals, there is as yet, except in a case of conviction for habitual criminality, no appeal from the verdict of a jury, disposing, in the criminal courts, of a citizen's life or liberty.

For the system, the trail of which still impedes prison reform, a false theological view was partly responsible, along with an inadequate estimate of the sacredness of life and liberty. Lunacy and criminality were looked upon as works of the devil, to be exorcized by death, starvation, fetters, or the lash. That the State, by its own shameful neglect and its iniquitous laws, was itself largely responsible, along with the cynical indifference of the community, for both crime and lunacy was an idea as new as that insanitary conditions, permitted by the State, were the chief cause of disease. Original sin was an easy explanation of all abnormal conduct. So thought Mr. and Mrs. Squeers in *Nicholas Nickleby*.

'"That young Pitcher has had a fever." "No," exclaimed Mr. Squeers, "damn that boy, he's always at something of that sort." "Never was such a boy I do believe," said Mrs. Squeers, "whatever he has is always catching too. I say it's obstinacy, and nothing shall ever convince me that it isn't. I'd beat it out of him"' (ch. vii.).

Neither the pictures of Hogarth nor the arguments of Jeremy Bentham, neither the disclosures of John Howard, Mrs. Fry, and Thomas Fowell Buxton nor the eloquence of Samuel Romilly had much practical effect till the reform of Parliament in 1832. In the beginning of the 19th cent. Acts were passed abolishing gaol fees, ordering the appointment of chaplains, the erection of sanitary prison buildings, the classification of prisoners, the separation of the sexes, and the appointment of female warders for female prisoners. Yet, writing in 1812, James Neild, who followed in Howard's footsteps, said:

'The great reformation produced by Howard was merely temporary. . . . Prisons are relapsing into their former horrid state of privation, filthiness, severity and neglect' (*State of the Prisoners in England, Scotland and Wales*, London, 1812).

The movements for the amendment of the criminal law and the reform of prisons dated from the American and French Revolutions; and they were both connected with the growth of democratic ideas and institutions.

The importance of the subject, its human interest, and the difficulties which it presents cannot be exaggerated. There is no more difficult question, unless it be the labour question, the housing of the people, or the liquor question, with all of which the subject of crime is vitally connected. Unfortunately, most critics of present methods are purely destructive. Some ignore the responsibility of the community, and others seem blind to the large share played by poverty and unemployment, drink, gambling, and vice in the production of crime. The index to du Cane's *Punishment and Prevention of Crime* (London, 1885) does not contain the word 'poverty' or the word 'drink'; and J. Devon's original and interesting

study, *The Criminal and the Community* (London, 1912), breathes a spirit of despair. The subject has been canvassed at national and international congresses; and, in the United Kingdom, it has been considered by Government Commissions, royal and departmental, whose reports have resulted in a large number of valuable Acts of Parliament and prison regulations, each one advancing more and more in the direction of the treatment of prisoners as human beings, and not as things. Under these statutes and regulations the penal side of prison life has been diminished, and the reformative side increased, not, as sometimes ignorantly asserted, to gratify a sentimental humanitarianism, but in the best interests of the community, outside and inside the prison. Reformation is cheap at any price. It is a moderate estimate that a thief costs the community £150 a year, while at liberty. It is significant that in no single instance has there been any return to former less humane methods. Two hundred years ago, Montesquieu wrote:

'As freedom advances, the severity of the penal law decreases' (*Esprit des lois*, Paris, 1833, bk. vi. ch. ix.).

While prisons should not be beds of roses, neither should they be torture-chambers.

Experts have written on prisons and prison reform in every European language. Ex-convicts have described their experiences, with little value for the cause of prison reform, including aristocrats like Lord William Nevill, members of parliament like Michael Davitt, financiers like Jabez Balfour, ladies of fashion like Mrs. Maybrick, and literary men like Oscar Wilde. No subject is more in favour with the novel writer; it is staged by the playwright and discussed on the platform, in the pulpit, and in the press. Too often the case for reform is prejudiced by gross exaggeration. As in Oscar Wilde's powerful *Ballad of Reading Gaol* (London, 1898), pictures are drawn which depend for their point on hardships and cruelties no longer anywhere to be found. It is of little practical benefit to denounce present-day administrators. The question is one of system; it can be solved only by experiment on a large scale and over a prolonged period; and such experiments are being carried on by governments, by communities, and by individuals in the United Kingdom, the United States, and many European countries. Happily for the future, many prison problems will solve themselves, by the diminution and ultimate disappearance of persons requiring penal treatment, through the gradual removal of the chief causes of crime, namely, (*a*) unemployment and irregular employment, with attendant idleness, the formation of bad habits, lack of energy, and starvation; (*b*) drunkenness, one of the chief causes of poverty and crime, and likewise one of their most common and dehumanizing concomitants and effects; and (*c*) the failure to seclude the mentally deficient, the habitual drunkard, and the habitual criminal, so as to prevent the perpetuation of a degenerate race. It is no exaggeration to say that the greater portion of crime in this country is due to economic, rather than to directly moral, causes.

I. *PAST AND PRESENT-DAY PRISONS.*—Down to the beginning of the 19th cent. the time-honoured methods of dealing with criminals made the question of prisons and prison-management of small practical importance. Prisons were places in which the accused awaited trial and the condemned awaited execution. The old plan of getting rid of crime was to get rid of the criminal, as distinguished from the modern endeavour to reform him and to prevent crime by stopping the manufacture of criminals. This is obvious from a bare enumeration of the methods formerly in use: (*a*) capital punishment, (*b*) mutilation, (*c*) flogging, (*d*) the pillory, the stocks, and branding, (*e*) compensation payable to the injured or fines payable to the State, and (*f*) compulsory exile. Under the Jews, Greeks, and Romans, as also among the Saxons and Germans, the chief and usual punishment of crime consisted in the enforcement of compensation to the injured. For this rational procedure the feudal barons and the Church of the Middle Ages substituted imprisonment, torture, mutilation, and death.

By degrees, partly through the writings of men like Cesare Beccaria in Italy and Jeremy Bentham in England, partly because a greater value came to be put on human life, and partly through the necessities of colonization, while the judges continued to pass capital sentences for trifling as well as serious offences, the executive, especially in the case of young offenders, frequently remitted the extreme penalty. People may be better than their creed; and legislators and administrators have often been more humane than the laws which they enacted and executed.

These causes led to the system of transportation, which was introduced in the reign of Charles II. Criminals whose death-sentences were commuted were sent to the American colonies, along with those who were directly sentenced to transportation.

The old system, thus modified by transportation, continued till the loss of the American colonies in 1776, when ships, called 'hulks,' were established for convicts in the Thames, and at Portsmouth and Chatham. The first hulk was opened in 1778, and the system was not finally abandoned till 1857. Concurrently with the hulks a fresh field for transportation was found, in 1787, in the Australian colonies. In 1834, 4920 convicts were transported to W. Australia. The system of transportation continued till 1867, when the last batch of convicts sent to any British colony was prevented by the colonists from landing in W. Australia. Both systems, transportation and the hulks, were attended with misery, cruelty, disease, and loss of life, avoidable and unavoidable. In the hulks 'the inmates were herded together in unchecked association.' Vice, profaneness, and demoralization prevailed (du Cane, *Chambers's Encyclopædia*, *s.v.* 'Prisons,' viii. 418). It appears that about a fourth of the deaths in the hulks were due to a deadly, but preventable, malady called 'hulk fever.' Transportation was condemned in a Government report of 1838 in these terms:

'The system of transportation is unequal, without terrors to the criminal class, corrupting to both convict and colonist, and very expensive' (quoted by du Cane, *The Punishment and Prevention of Crime*, London, 1885, p. 139).

Yet, in view of the importance of emigration for those in danger of falling into crime, it is important to remember that many transported convicts, in new surroundings, away from old companions and temptations, and freed from poverty and idleness, became industrious and respectable citizens, and that some of their descendants overseas now occupy responsible positions in Church and State.

The next phase, concurrent for a time with the maintenance of transportation and the hulks, was the cellular prison and convict settlement, with the accompaniment either of solitary confinement by night and day or of solitary confinement by night and association at work and at meals during the day, but in both cases with silence by day and by night. It is doubtful whether England, Italy, or the United States is entitled to the credit or discredit of the origination of the cellular system, which had been advocated by John Howard as early as 1776, always, however, with the accompaniment of work, instruction, and moral and religious influences.

The cellular system, so far as involving isolation at night and continuous silence while the prisoners are in association, still remains in almost universal use in all European countries. But in the United Kingdom the accompaniment of solitary confinement during the day, except as a punishment for offences committed in prison, was abandoned in 1899 for prisoners with short sentences; it has also been abandoned in Scotland in the case of convicts, and reduced in England in 1910 to one month. So far as the present buildings and surrounding ground will allow, the prisoners work, eat, and exercise in association, but in silence.

1. **Kinds of modern prisons.**—The various kinds of prisons which, in the United Kingdom, have superseded the single prison of the past may be divided into seven classes; but it is not meant that there is any hard and fast distinction, so far as buildings are concerned.

(*a*) *Local prisons*, for those sentenced to not more than two years' confinement, are vested in and managed by three bodies of Prison Commissioners for England, Scotland, and Ireland respectively, created by the Act of 1878. There had been great waste of money, and also, except in a few cases of exceptional local interest and intelligence, great abuses, due to want of any uniform system of treatment, to inhumane or incompetent officials, to antiquated and inadequate buildings, and to the existence of a large number of small and unnecessary prisons. The differences in prison treatment were so great that criminals were known to select for their operations the locality of the gaol with soft beds, generous diet, and lax rules. The Prison Commissioners have always been hampered by want of funds in introducing humane and reformative methods; they have done much to minimize the disastrous effects of prison life, and their annual reports do not disguise their dissatisfaction with much that is done, and much that is left undone, under their administration. These reports show a progressive realization of the compatibility of humane and reformative treatment with good discipline.

(*b*) *Convict settlements*, for prisoners sentenced to what is called 'penal servitude' (first introduced in Great Britain by the Penal Servitude Act of 1853), that is to say, any period of imprisonment from three years up to a life sentence. There are three periods in a convict's sentence: (1) the first month, when he works alone in his cell, (2) the remainder of his period of detention, during which he works in association with other convicts, but in silence, and (3) the balance of his sentence, when he is outside on a ticket-of-leave, liable to be re-apprehended if he fails to report himself or breaks any of the other conditions of his licence. Penal servitude involves so much more food and so much more open-air work, in association with others and not in solitary confinement, that many 'old hands' prefer a sentence of three years' penal servitude (to be served in a convict settlement, such as Dartmoor in England, where the convicts are employed reclaiming ground and in farm-work, or at Peterhead in Scotland, where they quarry granite and build a harbour) to one of imprisonment for two years in an ordinary prison.

Comparative statistics of criminal offences and criminals require to be dealt with cautiously, and with intimate knowledge of the whole field, if one age or one country is to be fairly and accurately compared with another. The comparison between transportation and the hulks, on the one hand, and penal servitude, on the other, is not a complete one; but, subject to all deductions, it is encouraging that, whereas in the days of transportation there were, in 1837 (when the population of England and Wales was some 15,000,000), about 50,000 convicts, in the colonies or at home in the hulks, in 1869 the total number of convicts under sentence of penal servitude was only 11,660, of whom 9900 were men and 1760 women. This number under penal servitude was reduced in 1891 to 4978 (4654 men and 324 women), and in 1903 to 2799 (2669 men and 130 women). Taking local prisons and convict settlements together, it seems to be established that of first offenders about three-fourths never return, while of those convicted for the third time about three-fourths re-appear as prisoners in local prisons or convict settlements.

(*c*) *Preventive detention prisons*, or departments of prisons, established under the Prevention of Crimes Act of 1908 for convicts who have received a sentence of penal servitude, and who have also been proved to have been 'habitual criminals' at the time the offence was committed, engaged in no occupation except that of crime. These are the 'recidivistes' of France, the 'revolvers' of the United States. The period of preventive detention, which begins when the sentence of penal servitude ends, instead of being unlimited, as it ought to be as was proposed in the original bill, is limited to a maximum of ten years. In the discretion of the Prison Commissioners the convict may have to serve the full period of preventive detention named in the sentence or he may be liberated at any time on probation. This useful Act requires amendment, because the 'old hands,' when out of prison, even while truly pursuing a life of crime, take care to do just as much work as will make it impossible to convict them, under the definition in the statute, of being 'habitual criminals.'

(*d*) *Criminal inebriate prisons*, established under the Criminal Inebriates Act of 1898, to which habitual drunkards, falling into crime, may be sent for lengthened periods. It was recognized that the short sentences usually inflicted on the habitual drunkard were worse than useless, and that to send a man or a woman to gaol for a day, a week, or a month on, say, their 200th appearance is to make a laughing-stock of legal procedure. Such short sentences, while long enough to rehabilitate the drunkard for further excess, are too short to afford any opportunity for his or her permanent reform. Hitherto the results of the treatment in criminal inebriate prisons as a reforming agency have been disappointing. Legislation is wanted to enable these institutions to deal with criminals whose offences are directly connected with drink, but whose moral sense is not so obliterated as to make reform practically impossible. The unreformable habitual drunkard must be shut up for life.

(*e*) *Criminal lunatic prisons*, where prisoners convicted of crime, who were insane at the time the offence was committed, or when they were tried, or who become insane in prison, are confined 'during His Majesty's pleasure.' When deemed advisable by the Home Office or Secretary for Scotland, an inmate may be transferred to an ordinary lunatic asylum. On complete recovery from insanity, he may be handed over to his relatives, under proper precautions and guarantees.

(*f*) '*Borstal*' *institutions*, established under the Prevention of Crimes Act of 1908, pt. i., for persons between 16 and 23. Du Cane says that most habitual criminals have begun their malpractices before 20 years of age, and 60 per cent under 15 (see art. JUVENILE CRIMINALS).

(*g*) *Reformatories* for boys and girls under 16, convicted of crime, to be detained for not less than three or more than five years, of which there are 38 in England, 7 in Scotland, and 2 in Ireland (see art. JUVENILE CRIMINALS).

2. **Differences between the prisons of the past and the prisons of the present in the United King-**

dom. –(*a*) *Ownership and administration of prisons.*—The possession, or assumption, of judicial powers, and the use of dungeons attached to their castles and monasteries, formed one of the chief sources of the power of the landed classes, titled and untitled, and of the Church in the Middle Ages. After imprisonment by private persons was rendered illegal, there came the system of small prisons, which, while inadequately inspected by Government officials, belonged to, and were maintained and managed by, local bodies. In 1818, in 59 of the 518 prisons in the United Kingdom women were not divided from men, and in 445 there was no work of any kind for the prisoners to do. Some of these prisons were described as scenes of abandoned wickedness. In 1813 Mrs. Fry, on her first visit to Newgate, found 300 women, tried and untried, with their children, crowded together, in rags and dirt, and with nothing but the floor, without bedding, to sleep on. The Act of 1878 already referred to, which vested all prisons in Prison Commissioners appointed by the Crown, effected large savings in cost as well as improvement in the buildings and treatment, without sacrificing the benefit of local inspection.

(*b*) *Prison management.*—A writer (M. F. Johnston) in the *Fortnightly Review*, new ser., lxix. [1901] 560, says:

'The improvements which have been effected in recent years in prison management are of so radical a nature that they practically amount to a change of attitude towards the offender. . . . It has come to be recognised that hardships imposed for the sake of the suffering they entail do not act as a cure. They rather tend to brutalise the subject, and serve to intensify the anti-social instincts which led him, in the first instance, to raise his hand against his fellow-men.'

The old class of official and prison administrator not unnaturally, in view of his training, considered only what would maintain perfect prison discipline, and was not influenced by the fact that, while flogging and 'the black hole' undoubtedly crushed the prisoner into sullen and revengeful submission, these methods rendered him unfit, on release, to be re-absorbed into the decent part of the community. From every relaxation of the last century the old-time official has prophesied disasters, which have in no case occurred. He did so when it was proposed that the use of 'the black hole' should cease, with the crank (denounced by Charles Reade in *It is Never too Late to Mend*) and the treadmill; that windows should be increased in size and dim glass removed so that at least the sky, if not the earth, might be visible; when an effort was made to substitute for oakum-picking interesting and educative work; when flogging ceased, except for mutiny or gross violence on warders, and then only when authorized by a visiting magistrate or a Prison Commissioner; when work in association was introduced; when libraries were started; when, instead of everything being done to weaken the family tie (perhaps the only remaining motive for reform), prisoners were allowed to have their children's photographs in their cells; when a little bit of mirror, to promote tidiness, was fastened into the walls of their cells; when it was proposed to lay wooden floors over the miserably cold cement of which cell floors are constructed; when Swedish drill for women and ordinary drill for men were introduced, instead of, or in supplement to, the weary pacing round a circle in the prison-yard; when work in the fields was tried in connexion with local prisons; when a variety of food was substituted for the eternal 'skilly'; when good conduct marks, carrying a money value, were introduced; when magic-lantern lectures, which have been found a valuable aid to discipline, were first started. It is only fair to say that he has, in most cases, admitted that his fears were unfounded; to his amazement he has found that discipline can be maintained better by the stimulus of moderate rewards, judiciously given, than by the deterrence of the most severe punishment. In 1868, in English prisons, there were 61,000 ordinary punishments; in 1884, under the so-called 'humanitarian' methods, the numbers had fallen to 37,000—a figure which has been since steadily reduced. Convicts on whom the terrors of the lash or the dark cell produce no effect will stop their bad behaviour if they know that perseverance will deprive them of the magic-lantern lecture or cut off the right, recently conferred upon them, of spending a small portion of their earnings on margarine or confectionery. The old class of official still clings to the stereotyped prison in or near towns and within high walls, although he has to admit that reformatories for juvenile and Borstals for juvenile-adult criminals, not to speak of such startlingly successful experiments as George Montagu's Little Commonwealth in England, are conducted successfully in the country, without high walls, and with only a manageable number of attempts to escape.

Prison management is in the hands of the following officials:

(1) *Governor and matron.*—Prison rules are uniform all over the country; but the humanity and reasonableness of their execution depend on the head of the prison; the executive staff take their tone from him or her more than from the Prison Commissioners or from the chaplain or medical officer. No absolute rule can be laid down for the selection of governors and matrons. Admirable appointments have been made by promotion from the rank of warders; in other cases conspicuous success has been achieved by governors who have been in the army or in civil life, and by matrons who have had experience and acquired fitness in other employments, such as nursing. The modern governor and matron are as efficient in the routine part of their work, and they are more ready to make allowances for special weakness, mental and physical, and more anxious to secure the prisoners a fair chance for well-doing after their release. For the difficult duties of a governor or matron there are wanted a keen intelligence, shrewd judgment of character, a personal knowledge of the social conditions of the masses of the people, and a sympathetic heart.

(2) *Chaplain.*—In 1814 the legislature made the appointment of prison chaplains compulsory. Previously, and for some time after 1814, their chief work consisted in ministering to the prisoners under sentence of death and attending them to the scaffold. Till 1868 that spectacle continued to be a public disgrace, denounced by Dickens, but successfully upheld by Samuel Johnson.

'Tyburn itself,' Johnson said, 'is not safe from the fury of innovation. . . . The old method was most satisfactory to all parties. The public was gratified by a procession; and the criminal was supported by it. Why is it all to be swept away?' (quoted by du Cane, *Punishment and Prevention of Crime*, p. 22).

Nowadays the right kind of chaplain becomes the prisoners' friend, and keeps in touch with them after their release. Realizing acutely the share of responsibility of the community for their undoing and misdoing, he is at the same time fully alive to the prisoners' own share of blame. The present writer knows a convict settlement where nominally Protestant convicts have entered themselves as Roman Catholics in order to have the services of a particularly friendly priest. The chaplain, Protestant or Catholic, is not readily gullible, as the public believe. His disappointments do not arise from the prisoner's insincerity, but from his weakness of will, his want of friends, and the temptations which the State licenses or permits Prison-effected reformation may be quite

genuine at the time; but it is generally too tender a plant to stand the storm of temptation. Chaplains used to be appointed for life; short terms, which may be renewed, undertaken by local clergymen, are now found to secure greater freshness. The chaplain has in many cases the supervision of the educational work of the prison and of the library, and he organizes prison lectures. More money is spent on education and the prison library than formerly. Education does not make men and women moral or religious, but it prevents them from becoming criminal. In prisons persons of good education are almost as unknown as total abstainers. The library is one of the few things in a prison which preserve a prisoner's individuality. In Mountjoy Prison in Dublin the writer was told that Dickens is the favourite author among the men, and Annie Swan among the women.

(3) *Medical officer.* — The prison doctor's most important duty used to be to certify, in cases of hanging, that life was extinct, and, in cases of flogging, to see that death did not ensue. Now his observations of the mental condition of a man charged with murder may determine whether the accused is fully responsible and can be held to account as a normal human being, or whether, as to a certain extent mentally defective, he may have his crime, if proved, treated as one of manslaughter or culpable homicide and not of murder, or whether he is in such a mental condition that he is incapable of instructing a defence and must be committed to a criminal lunatic asylum. Every prisoner is seen at short intervals by the doctor, inside or outside the prison hospital; the doctor, particularly under Scotch administration, has a free hand in the increase or decrease of the prisoner's diet and in regulating his work; moreover, he soon acquires marvellous skill in detecting malingerers. Prison doctors have opportunities of studying medico-legal questions of scientific and practical importance, including the proportion of prisoners who have been from birth, or whose habits have made them, mentally and morally defective—a question which has an obvious bearing on punitive as well as reformative treatment.

(4) *Warders, male and female.*—

'The officer who has charge of prisoners has such power, for good or evil, over his fellow-men, that I do not think there are many positions more responsible. Nor are there many in which the officer is exposed to more temptation to neglect his duty, or abuse his trust' (du Cane, quoted by W. Tallack, *Penological and Preventive Principles*[2], London, 1896, p. 278).

The warders' daily routine, spent in an atmosphere of repression and degradation, is not favourable to the development of human sympathy; but in the general case no complaint can be made of the fairness of their treatment of prisoners. Instances of favouritism are due rather to the good conduct of the prisoners favoured than to any improper preference. As in lunatic asylums, cruel treatment by prison officers, which cannot be entirely prevented even under the best system of selection and supervision, is associated almost invariably with grievous provocation. Attempts in prison to commit suicide, which are seldom successful, are the fault of the system, not of those who administer it.

(5) *Prison visitors.*—It was not till the Act of 1899 that lady visitors were ordered for all local prisons where there are female prisoners. Religious and philanthropic visitors, who ought in all cases to have a special knowledge of the conditions of the classes from which prisoners come, are now welcomed to local prisons, under suitable regulations.

The English Prison Commissioners' report for 1915 'heartily endorses the praise bestowed on ministers of religion, lady visitors, aid societies, workers, secular and religious, who work day by day with patience and undiminished hope, for the rescue and reinstatement of the criminal of both sexes, and of all ages. . . . It is to this organized effort of charity and goodwill, which has been specially directed with increasing force during recent years to the visitation and after care of prisoners, that the yearly improvement of our criminal records, especially with regard to the young offender, is due' (p. 21).

Devon writes:

'The visits to prisoners on the part of people from outside are of great benefit; anything is that helps to break the monotony of the day, and give opportunity for conversation. They must have preserved many from desperation, and even insanity. They do something to keep up self-respect and to show the prisoner that he is not considered an outcast, impossible of redemption' (p. 237). As to prison lectures, 'anything that prevents prisoners from sinking into apathy, from brooding on the petty incidents that go to make up their lives in prison, from beating against the bars of their cage, is beneficial' (p. 241).

(6) *Prison work.* — The provision of work in prisons, which is a cardinal principle in the Prisons Act of 1898, is attended with great difficulties, if it is to be (1) sufficiently interesting to preserve the prisoner's humanity, (2) educative, (3) remunerative, or at least not productive of loss, (4) not competitive with philanthropic institutions, like blind asylums, and (5) not hostile to trade union rules and the legitimate interests of free labour. In connexion with the present European War, the writer has noticed with what increased industry, and even enthusiasm, work of a patriotic kind has been done by prisoners, toiling extra hours without remuneration other than the much-esteemed privilege of having the war news of the day read to them.

In connexion with prisoners working in association, the question of classification presents great difficulties. An effort is made to keep so-called 'first offenders' separate from so-called 'hardened criminals.' But in many cases the 'first offender's' act of fraud, or assault, is not his first offence, but only the first case which has been reported to the police or in which there was evidence to convict; and there are so-called 'hardened criminals,' more sinned against than sinning, whose moral nature is by no means totally depraved. It is a widespread and pernicious delusion that an assault implies normal quarrelsomeness or brutality, and that an indecent attack implies normally ungovernable lust; in both cases, apart from any question of provocation, the disgraceful conduct which has converted a respectable citizen into a felon may be the direct result of drink taken to such an extent (which may be far short of 'drunkenness') as to destroy self-respect and respect for the rights of others.

The difficult question of the universal enforcement of silence among ordinary prisoners in our local prisons and convict settlements remains for consideration. The difficulty consists in reconciling in practice the two principles, 'It is not good for man to be alone,' and 'Evil communications corrupt good manners.' In this important respect our prisons and convict settlements are more dehumanizing than transportation and the hulks in old days or than modern Siberian and Turkish prisons. But, then, it is said that suppression and not supervision is necessary, because conversation, however carefully regulated, is unavoidably subversive of discipline, and prisoners would abuse the privilege, if not for the concoction of plans of escape, at all events for corrupting communications about past and future villainies expressed in blasphemous and obscene language. The difficulties are admitted, but the rule might be relaxed in the case of well-conducted prisoners, furnished with the ordinary material for carrying on decent conversation, by access to newspapers as well as books after the day's work is over, as is done with good results at Borstals, among female convicts in England, and among male convicts undergoing preventive detention. The hardships as well as the pernicious effects of the present system are

so much felt that the writer knows at least one governor who, when dealing with prisoners' marks, does not count those bad marks which have been caused by a prisoner passing a harmless observation to his neighbour.

It is right to add, in regard to prison management generally, that no prison administrators, unless the most old-fashioned, are satisfied with the present system and its results. Therein lies the hope of the future.

(7) *Discharged Prisoners' Aid Societies.* — If efforts to reform are to be of permanent avail, the prisoner must, before release, be gradually prepared for approaching freedom, and must also, on leaving the prison, have work found for him and be otherwise befriended. More might be done in both directions, even under the present system. It is not enough to allow the prisoners to grow their hair of a normal length for a few weeks before their release. Additional relaxations would not be abused, because abuse would mean forfeiture of gratuity and of the period of remission. Opportunity is needed to overcome the shyness and nervousness and the reluctance to face the world which prolonged seclusion produces.

An Act of 1792, enlarged by the Gaol Act of 1823, made provision for discharged prisoners out of public funds. In 1802 the first Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society, 'The Hampshire Society,' was founded. Others followed; but it was not till 1862 that these societies obtained statutory recognition. Since 1887 every prison of any size has had a Discharged Prisoners' Aid Society working in connexion with it. In 1898 the Prison Commissioners issued schemes for the guidance of these societies, containing provisions as to grants in aid to their funds; and when, in 1899, lady visitors were appointed to all local prisons containing female prisoners, this was stated to be with the special object of aiding in the reformation of the prisoners and finding employment for them. In 1900, 39,413 discharged prisoners passed through the hands of 62 Aid Societies, of whom 2000 were found unworthy and 1100 refused assistance. These societies are doing admirable work despite inadequate funds and an insufficient number of voluntary helpers.

(*c*) *Prisoners with special privileges.*—The modern prison contains two classes of inmates who should not be confined in the same building as those convicted of actual crime, namely (1) untried prisoners, who are entitled to furnish their own rooms, wear their own clothes, provide their own food, carry on correspondence with persons outside, and receive visits from their friends, and (2) debtors (now, happily, under modern legislation, few in number), who have somewhat similar privileges. In the case of convicted prisoners in good health there is little respect of persons, in either accommodation, food, dress, or work. It was not so in former days. Just as, in mediæval warfare, all officers were, if possible, captured alive, that they might be made a source of profit to the captors, so imprisonment was then used as a means of obtaining what would now be called blackmail but was then known as ransom. In old days the wind was tempered in many ways to the *woolly* lamb, clerical and secular. The so-called 'benefit of clergy' was greatly abused; but, on the whole, like the right of sanctuary, it acted beneficially for the community, for it preserved the only cultured class from the brutal treatment to which secular persons were exposed. But for the benefit of clergy and the right of sanctuary, both history and literature would be poorer. The mediæval Church rivalled the State's brutal treatment of all prisoners, lay or clerical, charged with heresy; but its treatment of non-heretical prisoners was, on the whole, much more humane. Sometimes it was more than humane, if we can judge from Archbishop Bliss's *Constitutions* (dated in 1357):

> 'They are so deliciously fed in prison that the prison, intended for a punishment for their crimes, is turned into a refreshment and delicious solace, and they are pampered in their vices by ease and such inducements.'

(*d*) *Prisoners in modern prisons who were absent from old prisons.*—These are long-sentence prisoners. Long sentences were originally the outcome of the false theological view of sin already referred to. But it does not follow that prolonged imprisonments must cease. Under totally different conditions, they will continue in the case of the reformable, until the offender has shown that he may be released with safety to the interests of his fellow-citizens. In the case of those who have been proved, by repeated and prolonged trials, to be unreformable imprisonment for life will be substituted for the present absurd system, under which a prisoner, who has shown after a short period that he may safely be released, has to be maintained in prison, and his family in the poor-house, at the public expense to the end of a fixed sentence; and a prisoner is released at the end of a fixed sentence, even although he openly boasts that he means, on liberation, to resume his Ishmaelitish trade, his hand against every man.

(*e*) *Prisoners in old prisons who are not to be found in modern prisons.*—(1) Children convicted or untried. For centuries prisons were nurseries of crime. Children, some of them born and brought up in prison, were sent, for trifling offences, to the gallows, to Botany Bay, or to prison. In prison they became accustomed to the prison atmosphere and indifferent to it, and they left it 'gaol-birds,' with the prison-brand on them figuratively, and in some cases literally. The establishment of industrial schools for children under 14 in danger of falling into crime, and of reformatories for children under 16 who had been convicted of crime, and the marked success of these establishments had gradually reduced the number of children in our prisons. But, as already pointed out, it was not till the passing of the Children Act in 1908 that it was declared illegal to send any boy or girl under 14 in any circumstances to prison; and it was provided by the same statute that no sentence of imprisonment, except in a very limited class of cases, could be imposed on any offender under 16.

(2) Debtors. Literature has made great use of the abuses connected in old days with debtors' prisons, especially in England. The whole iniquitous system was terminated by the Abolition of Imprisonment for Debt Act, 1880. The number now imprisoned for debt is negligible. They consist, in England, of debtors who are able to pay, but will not, and, in Scotland, of debtors for Crown taxes and for aliment, these cases forming exceptions in the English and Scottish statutes abolishing imprisonment for debt in the two countries.

(3) Prisoners waiting for trial. In England it used to happen that the king's judges would not visit the place of trial for several years, during which prisoners languished in prisons, usually of the most insanitary kind, and their families, being deprived of their bread-winners, starved. Now, if a prisoner is not tried within a short time after apprehension, he is entitled to release.

(4) Prisoners acquitted of the offences for which they had been apprehended, but unable to pay the gaoler's fees, which were always extortionate, and often illegal. Now all gaolers' fees are abolished, and instant and unconditional liberation follows a verdict of acquittal.

(*f*) *Security of modern as distinguished from old prisons.*—In former times the facility of escape

from prison helped to explain some of the practices mistakenly quoted in evidence of our ancestors' brutality. Nowadays the safety of the community can be attained without taking away the criminal's life or mutilating him by blinding or by cutting off a limb, and, at the same time, punishment can be inflicted by imprisonment in place of the old sentences of flogging, the pillory, the stocks, or branding—either on the hand or on the face, as the statute of William III., passed in 1699, ordered. It was attempted to attain security by confinement in subterranean chambers, like the pits of Jeremiah and Joseph, and Daniel's den, or by thick walls, small and heavily-stanchioned windows, high above the ground, ponderous doors, and weighted fetters. It is now achieved by properly constructed buildings, constant personal supervision, and reliable warders. Our ancestors should not be blamed for practices which were forced upon them by necessity.

(*g*) *Hygienic conditions.*—Until the 19th cent. these were bad, beyond our power to realize. The inmates were starved, housed in a manner inconsistent with health and with decency, and they were in the absolute power, constantly abused, of keepers of brutal habits. In Henry Brinklow's *Complaynt of Roderyck Mors*, written about 1542, the monastic author says:

'I see also a pytyful abuse for presoners. Oh Lord God, their lodging is too bad for hoggys, and as for their meate, it is evyl inough for doggys, and yet, the Lord knoweth, they have not inough thereof!' (ed. J. M. Cowper, Early English Text Society, London, 1874, p. 27).

In the third edition of his great book, published in 1784, John Howard says:

'Many, who went in healthy, are in a few months changed to emaciated dejected objects. Some are seen pining under diseases, "sick, and in prison," expiring on the floors, in loathsome cells, of pestilential fevers and the confluent smallpox' (i. 4).

Gaol fever was one of the commonest as well as most deadly maladies.

Lord Bacon (quoted by du Cane, p. 43) spoke of 'the smell of the gaol the most pernicious infection next to the plague. When prisoners have been long and close and nastily kept, whereof we have had in our times experience twice or thrice, both judges that sat upon the trial, and numbers of them that attended the business, or were present, sickened upon it or died.'

Nowadays gaols are models of sanitation; prisoners are well fed; the death-rate is below that of the outside population; and the old moral evils, arising from the absence of separation between the sexes, are unknown. The outward reforms for which John Howard and Elizabeth Fry and their coadjutors worked have been thoroughly accomplished, and the crying abuses, physical and moral, which they denounced have been removed. Great attention has been paid to the cleansing of the outside of the cup and platter. But whether the proportion of prisoners who leave our prisons more inclined and better fitted to lead law-abiding lives than when they entered is greater or smaller than under the brutal systems of the past is by no means so clear. Dickens exaggerated the disastrous effects of the separate cell, and, since his day, it has been ameliorated by good libraries, the friendly visits of the chaplains and prison visitors, and in other ways, but it still remains true that in their dehumanizing effect modern prisons, with all their vast cost, their perfect discipline, and the good intentions and endeavours of the Prison Commissioners and the officials who manage them, are little better than whited sepulchres.

(*h*) *Reformatory methods.*—The modern definition of punishment by imprisonment is founded on the idea (1) of discipline so severe as to act as a deterrent, and (2) of such reformatory influences as religious and moral teaching, and good example and training in self-control, promoted by offering advantages for industry and good conduct, as well as punishment for the reverse. However inadequate this conception may be, it is at least a great advance on old ideas and methods. At first employed only for detention, imprisonment became one of many methods of punishment, and, ultimately, the only method of punishment, except hanging, flogging, and fining. What is said by F. Pollock and F. W. Maitland applies to the usages of all European countries:

'Imprisonment occurs in the Anglo-Saxon laws only as a means of temporary security. . . . Imprisonment would have been regarded in these old times as a useless punishment; it does not satisfy revenge, it keeps the criminal idle, and, do what we may, it is costly' (*Hist. of English Law before Edward I.*, Cambridge, 1898, i. 49).

H. de Bracton, who wrote in 1268, expressly states that prisons were to confine and not to punish:

'Carcer ad continendos et non ad puniendos haberi debet' (*de Legibus et Consuetudinibus Angliæ*, London, 1569, fol. 105).

Persons were often kept in prisons for lengthened periods and even for life, not as a punishment, but as a means of avoiding the prisoner's right to trial or in order to compel payment of fines or ransom, or to elicit testimony.

It must not be supposed that the idea of deterrence, which, along with expiation, is at the root of our modern system, was unknown in former times. Indeed, the principle of deterrence must have a place, large or small, in every criminal system and in all schemes of prison management. But its importance is usually exaggerated. Tested by the criminal records of all ages and in all countries, even the most savage punishments are conclusively proved inadequate either to stop the supply of offenders or to turn criminals into law-abiding citizens. On crimes of passion deterrence has not time to operate; in cases of deliberate crime the fear of detection and punishment only makes the criminal more wary. The question in the end must be, Are the results worth the expenditure, as our prisons, even the best of them, are at present carried on, that is to say, under a system so identified with exploded theories of punishment that the reformative elements which have been engrafted on to it do not have a fair chance of success? No doubt, persons who would be dangerous to the State if at large are withdrawn for periods more or less extended. On the other hand, thousands are housed, fed, clothed, and doctored by the State who, if at large, would be supporting themselves and their families, and adding by their work to the productiveness and wealth of the State. Some are benefited by good influences under which they come in prison, but, for one of these, there are scores who are brutalized by prison life and who come out worse than they went in. There are cases where, in their results, notwithstanding the best endeavours of their managers, our prisons may come under the condemnation pronounced by Mirabeau on the Old Bicêtre, which he called 'a prison to propagate crime and a hospital to propagate disease.'

It may be said that these are grave statements to be made by an administrator of the present system; but they are in accord with a growing section of expert opinion.

'It must be at once admitted,' writes A. G. F. Griffiths, H.M. Inspector of Prisons, 'that the system of isolation has produced no remarkable results. Solitary confinement has neither conquered nor appreciably diminished crime. . . . Cloistered seclusion is an artificial condition quite at variance with human instincts and habits, and the treatment, long continued, has proved injurious to health, inducing mental breakdown. A slow death may be defended indeed on moral grounds if regeneration has been compassed, but it is only another form of capital punishment' (*EBr*[11], s.v. 'Prison,' xxii. 863).

In 1895 a Departmental Committee reported:

'The great, and, as we consider, the proved danger of this highly centralized system has been, and is, that, while much attention has been given to organization, finance, order, health of the prisoners, and prison statistics, the prisoners have been

treated too much as a hopeless, or worthless, element of the community, and the moral, as well as the legal, responsibility of the prison authorities has been held to cease, when they passed outside the prison gates. The satisfactory sanitary conditions, the unbroken orderliness of prison life, economy, and high organization are held and justly held to prove good administration. But the moral condition, in which a large number of prisoners leave the prison, and the serious number of recommittals have led us to think that there is ample cause for a searching enquiry into the main features of prison life' (p. 7).

II. *THE PRISON OF THE FUTURE.*—The word 'prison' is used in this title. But in the criminal institutions of the future many of the features associated with the word will be eliminated. In the Children Act of 1908 'places of detention' (not 'prisons') are, by sections 102, 106, and 108, to be provided for certain classes of juvenile offenders. The criminal institutions of the future will be places of detention and reformation for the reformable, and places of detention for the unreformable. But this can be done only by the reconstruction, generally on new sites, of existing prisons, which were built to carry out erroneous ideas by methods now discredited. Instead of being situated in the country, with ample ground inside the bounds for the erection of workshops as occasion may demand, and ample ground outside for farm work and for exercise, existing prisons are generally situated in or near towns; the ground, originally insufficient, has been gradually encroached upon for the erection of workshops and other buildings to meet in some small measure the demands of prison reformers; and the only exercise possible is in Indian file, round and round a circle marked by stones on the ground—a ghastly travesty, euphemistically referred to in an English prison report as 'the prisoners enjoying exercise in the open air.'

It is true that there are important respects in which the prison of the future cannot hope to excel the prison of to-day. The large areas of ground that will be required and the ampler buildings will make the initial expense greater than the continuance of the present system; but thereafter, when the reformative methods get a fair chance to tell, the expense will rapidly lessen, until the premises are used only to detain those who, after repeated trials, have proved themselves hopelessly unable to be at large with safety to the community. The future prison will be less rather than more secure against escape, although the motives prompting escape will be materially lessened. No ingenious devices will be employed to prevent the inmates catching even a passing glimpse of earth and sky and sea; but in cleanliness, heating, and ventilation its buildings cannot improve on those at present in use. The prisoners of the future will not work for the benefit of the State, but for those whom they have defrauded and for the support of their own wives and children. There will be greater variety in food, but there can be no possible advance on the quality of the excellent, but unvarying, diet which at present prevails. The prisoners' clothes may be rougher than the present uniform, but they will not be such as to prevent any man with a shadow of self-respect from allowing his wife and children to visit him. The discipline may be less mechanically perfect, but it will not prevent such conversation as is necessary to keep the inmates human, nor will it be thought essential, in every ordinary interview between husband and wife, to interpose two sets of iron bars between the visitor and the visited, with a warder sitting in the intervening space. The discipline will not be lax, but it will allow some opportunity for the exercise of volition and initiative, the complete stifling of which under the present system renders prisoners on release unfit to stand alone and fight their own battles. Generally speaking, discipline will be maintained by just treatment and human kindness. 'Even a donkey will go farther after a carrot than when driven by a stick.'

The essential difference between the present prison and the prison of the future may be thus stated: in the prison of to-day the system is not wholly directed to detention and punishment, as it was immediately before Howard's time, yet it is primarily punitive and hardening, and only secondarily and remotely reformative, whereas, in the prison of the future, the whole effort will be directed to secure that, when the offender is released (if he ever is released), he shall be at least so far reformed as to make it safe that he should return, under friendly supervision and help, to be a free member of the community. Whatever be the precise system, it must be based on the comparatively modern discovery that a healthy open-air life, interesting and educative work, and wholesome moral and religious influences are the chief panaceas for human maladies—physical, mental, and moral. A Dutch proverb was a favourite of John Howard, 'Make men diligent, and you will make them honest.' Griffiths' well-known epigram is subject to the qualifications to which all epigrams and generalizations are exposed; yet there is some foundation for his statement that half the inmates of our prisons should never be let out and the other half should never have been let in.

There are certain classes of persons at present forming part of our prison population who will not be found in the prisons of the future, but in separate establishments:

(*a*) Persons accused of crime who have been either refused, or who have been unable to find, bail.

(*b*) Persons for whose offences fines are deemed sufficient, and who are, under the present system, sent to prison in default of payment. By recent legislation time is now given for payment of fines, and part payment of fines can be made, thereby reducing *pro tanto* the period of imprisonment. The result has been to lessen greatly the number of prisoners of this class. Such prisoners, whose offences, generally speaking, are not crimes, but only breaches of social discipline, are really detained for non-payment of debt; and, so far as it is necessary to deprive them of liberty, they ought not to be kept in an ordinary prison, but in an institution in which they could earn, by their work, the balance of the fine imposed upon them, without being branded for life as criminals.

(*c*) Mental defectives. These are now sent to prison because judges have to deal with all criminals, except lunatics and imbeciles, on the false basis (1) that they are normal, physically, mentally, and morally; (2) that they have had, and have made, a deliberate choice between good and evil; and (3) that they were in a normal condition when the act was done, the fact generally being that they were more or less under the influence of drink, which, like other drugs, can, during the time of its operation, completely transform the most law-abiding disposition. These persons are unable, with the facilities and temptations authorized for them by the State at their doors, and with their wretched surroundings, to refrain from drink, and they are unfit to earn an honest livelihood. The report of the Departmental Committee of 1895 says:

'Weak-minded persons spend their lives in circulating between the prison, the asylum and the workhouse' (p. 34).

When there is risk of injury to themselves or others, they ought to be confined in asylums; when there is neither homicidal nor suicidal tendency, their proper place is in farm colonies,

where, while prevented from committing crime and from perpetuating their degenerate stock, they will be saved the needlessly rigorous treatment to which they are at present subjected. Much in our present system contravenes the maxim that 'all unnecessary pain is cruelty.'

(*d*) Those whose cases can be met by placing them on probation under the supervision of probation officers, in accordance with the Probation of Offenders Act, 1907. This is known as 'conditional liberty, on probation,' first introduced in Massachusetts, as distinguished from the 'conditional liberation' accorded to prisoners after serving part of their sentences, but without any adequate provision for looking after them. Although the system has as yet been worked only imperfectly, it has already saved this country large sums of money, which would have been spent in maintaining offenders in prison and their families in poorhouses, and the country has had the benefit of the offenders' continued labour. The probation system is capable of great developments; and sooner or later the State will find it economical to employ, and adequately remunerate, probation officers. If people can be got to take charge of lunatics, it should be possible, for adequate remuneration, to provide for the guardianship, outside of prisons, of criminals who are sane. In England, among those who are known as juvenile-adults—those between 16 and 21—the commitments fell from 12,178 in 1900 to 3663 in 1915. Before long all committals to prison of persons under 21, when the offence is trivial and the antecedents of the offender are good, will be avoided by the extension of the system of supervision.

(*e*) Those who receive short sentences. The Borstal Committee for Wakefield Prison, reporting in 1915, state:

'There is not a single redeeming feature in a short sentence. It carries with it all the social stigma and industrial penalties of imprisonment, with no commensurate gain to the offender, or to the community. If there still survives in the minds of administrators of justice the obsolete and exploded theory that prison is essentially a place for punishment—and for punishment alone—for the expiation of offences in dehumanizing, senseless tasks, and arbitrary discipline, truly there could be devised no more diabolical form of punishment than the short sentence oft repeated' (*English Prison Commissioners' Report for 1915*, p. 18).

Yet, in spite of such views, which represent the opinion of all criminologists, there were in England, in 1914, 1106 sentences of one day.

Whatever improvements may be effected in the future in the system and methods employed to deal with crime in prison and to reform the criminal during detention there, to the extent at least of making him on his release a safe member of society, it must never be forgotten that these are merely palliatives to reduce the effects of a disease. It is an undoubted fact that the present system and the present methods have failed, and are failing, to rid the country of crime. If it is also true that no effective system of reformation is compatible with the conditions necessarily involved in imprisonment—because effectual reformation, to be permanent, requires retention of individuality, and retention of individuality involves innocent and wholesome social intercourse, which is practically impossible in prisons—then the claim for preventive, in preference to curative, measures becomes all the more manifest and urgent.

There is much to be said for that view, and, if it is sound, the main effort of the statesman and the philanthropist must evidently be to go to the fountain-head and to cut off the supply.

'Adopt, so far as possible, other means than imprisonment for the repression of crime. . . . The best economy of preventive and repressive effort must be that which reduces incarceration to the lowest extent compatible with public security, and which seeks its objects chiefly through influences to be applied outside the gates of jails, rather than within them. . . . Even the best prisons are in a certain sense evils. One of the chief aims of a wise Penology is to devise means for advantageously and safely dispensing with them' (Tallack[2], p. 299).

Every movement calculated to improve the social well-being of the people is a step to empty prisons and convict settlements and to reduce and extinguish crime. So far as trivial offences go, it is better not to punish at all than to send to prison. If prisons are to be emptied and crime is to be prevented, it must be done by the State securing (1) that no citizen shall, without fault or physical or mental feebleness on his part, be unable to earn a continuous living wage for himself and his family; (2) that every citizen shall be able to obtain such housing and surroundings as shall make it possible for him and his family to live decent law-abiding lives; (3) that every child capable of education shall receive an efficient physical, mental, and moral training; and (4) that, whether or not, in the interests of personal, social, and national efficiency, the sale of alcohol, like the sale of opium, should be prohibited except for medicinal use, the existing temptations to use alcohol either in moderation or in excess—such temptations being often found at the maximum where the power of resistance is at the minimum—shall be ended.

An eminent criminologist has said:

'The immense majority of cases that pass through our Courts arise out of sheer need, or wretched education and surroundings, and would disappear with the establishment of decent social conditions' (Edward Carpenter, *Prisons, Police, and Punishment*, London, 1905, p. 5).

Judges have often declared, as the result of long and varied experience in dealing with criminal cases coming from all parts of the United Kingdom, urban and rural, that but for the use of alcohol (although not necessarily to excess in the ordinary sense of the word) certain classes of crime would cease to exist, and all classes of crime would be greatly reduced.

If the State does its duty in these essential particulars, the Christian Church will not be slow to avail itself of the opportunity, which it has never yet had, of bringing to bear the power of the gospel of Christ, without the hindrances and pitfalls which at present, to so large an extent, render nugatory the best efforts of religion and philanthropy. The present generation will not see it; but the day will come when no member of any civilized community will be able to say to any judge what a criminal, young in years but old in crime, once truthfully said, before sentence, to the writer of this article, 'My lord, I never had a chance!'

LITERATURE.—See the works cited throughout the article.

CHARLES J. GUTHRIE.

PRIVATE JUDGMENT.—'Justification by faith' and 'the right of private judgment' are the two watchwords of the Reformation. Neither, of course, was new, but each expressed an old truth in a new way. And what gave them their power to open a new chapter in man's history came through the personality of Luther, from whose fiery soul faith burst forth as the destroyer of hierarchical religion. Paul and Augustine had felt before him the same urgency towards the assertion of the ultimate autonomy of the individual, but it remained for Luther to reap where they had sown. Pfleiderer[1] has expressed the relationship of the three in the remark that Augustine was a Romanized and Luther a Teutonized Paul. But Paul, in his turn, was a Christian individualist partly Judaized and partly Hellenized.

The two tyrannies which pressed on the religious man of the 16th cent. were those of the practical system of religion controlled by the hierarchy and of the scholasticism (*q.v.*) which had

[1] *Philosophy of Religion*, iii. 229.

been adapted from Aristotle to serve the theoretical ends of the Church's dogmatic system. The weight of these became more and more intolerable when the civil power allied itself with the hierarchy against all who claimed liberty to judge for themselves in matters of religion. It is true that in no century were there wanting men and groups of men who to some extent sought to think and speak with freedom. The names of Abelard (*q.v.*), Wyclif (*q.v.*), Roger Bacon, John of Goch, John of Wesel, John Hus (see HUSSITES), Jerome of Prague, and the Brethren of the Common Life (*q.v.*) will at once come to mind. Moreover, the protagonists of another movement, mysticism (*q.v.*), contributed perhaps even more than all others to the formation of a deep subconscious belief in the inherent right of the individual to formulate his religion for himself. Of the predecessors of the Reformation men like Hus and Savonarola assailed current ecclesiastical practice; John of Goch, Gerson, and John of Wesel devoted themselves to theological thought, while mystics such as Ruysbroek, Eckhart, Tauler, and Suso aimed directly at transcending in individual experience all the externals of religion, while treating these as convenient expressions of the independent life that they lived immediately with God.

In Martin Luther (*q.v.*) these three streams ran into one. A student of St. Paul and Augustine, he early became aware of the cleft between their doctrine and the scholasticism which had trained him. As an Augustinian he knew and practised the austerities associated with the monastic life; in Rome he performed all the exercises appropriate to pious pilgrims; Tetzel with his indulgences set the match to his latent zeal for reform. And Tauler and the *Theologia Germanica* taught him what spiritual power mysticism could exercise. The result of the three influences thus brought to bear on him was the assertion of the Christian principle of 'justification by faith'—a phrase which was but a theological variant of the philosophic principle of 'the right of private judgment' (see *ERE* vii. 619).

It is not in the realm of physics alone that the law of the equality of action and reaction holds good. In the forces which constitute history it also asserts itself. A powerful hierarchy and an authoritative dogmatic system had set themselves in the Middle Ages to crush all spontaneity of individual thought and practice which might seem dangerous to the ecclesiastical system. Luther thereupon did but give expression through his forceful personality to the inevitable reaction for which the minds of all in different degrees were ready. And in doing this he builded more wisely than he knew. The three factors which had gone to make him what he was again separated when his work was done. One gave the principle that lies explicitly or implicitly at the heart of all the Churches of the West which are out of communion with the pope, and is the source of the idea of the democratic State. The second has been the fruitful mother of all later science and philosophy, and has profoundly influenced theology. The third reappears in the lives and writings of all subsequent Christian mystics. But it is one and the same principle that appears in all three—'the right of private judgment.' A few words will suffice to set out the filiation.

1. Social polity.—The chief difference in the conceptions of the basis of all social order which ruled before and after Luther is that in the former the individual was the passive recipient of rights at the hand of the authority which ruled him *jure divino* in Church and State alike, while in the latter he is their active creator. Nor is the distinction more than obscured by the fact that to establish his rights he must co-operate with his fellows, for such co-operation is only a means to an end, and that end is the establishment of the principle that through the right of private judgment alone man attains his proper good. In all Protestant Churches and in all liberal States this principle has now 'stormed out into reality.' It is true that it did not triumph all at once; that Luther himself did not always give it its dominant position; that the substitution of the authority of the Bible as the written Word of God has for three centuries been every whit as tyrannical in its application as the older Inquisition (*q.v.*); that autocratic empires are but now being got rid of at the hands of democratic peoples; that the ideal of a free Church in a free State is not fully actualized; and that democracy is yet on its trial. But in spite of these short-comings the principle has so far triumphed that a return to the mediæval ideal is to the modern mind unthinkable, and survives only in relatively obscure coteries which are of the nature of atavistic survivals in bodies under the otherwise undisputed sway of the principle of the right of private judgment. 'A people's bible, then, a reading people, a preaching ministry'—these are characteristic of the modern Church.[1] 'One man, one vote,' and 'manhood suffrage' form their civic equivalent. Robert Browne's *Treatise of Reformation without tarying for anie* (Middelburg, 1582) is an early land-mark of the principle in English religion (see BROWNISM). The hanging of two men at Bury St. Edmunds in 1583 for circulating it was the counter-blow of the civil government, which had assumed the opposite principle of the papal court. The doctrine of the 'Manchester school'—the theory of *laissez faire, laissez passer*, in economics and politics which from 1845 to 1875 dominated political thought—shows the extent to which the principle of private judgment has swayed the minds of men.

2. Modern thought.—Though the free thought of to-day was prepared for by events prior to Luther, such as the invention of the printing-press, the rediscovery of Greek, and the opening up of the New World, yet to Luther still falls the credit of bringing to its support the forces of religion. The survival of mediæval dogmatism in the churches of the New Learning only serves to show how much harder would have been the progress of thought towards freedom had not Protestant Churches appeared to counteract the Catholic reaction known as Jesuitry. Milton states the case fairly when he says that it is a general maxim of the Protestant religion that 'no man, no synod, no session of men, though called the church, can judge definitively the sense of scripture to another man's conscience.'[2] Hence, where the right of private judgment is explicitly maintained, heresy is impossible, and a trial for so-called heresy is at bottom merely an action for breach of contract. In the room of the inquisitor now sits the schoolmaster.

Erasmus, in his controversy with Luther on the question of free will, asserted caustically that 'where Lutheranism flourishes the sciences perish.'[3] This could hardly be maintained to-day, especially of Luther's fatherland. Rather should we have to say that where Luther's principle of private judgment obtains there is the door opened for the full life of science and philosophy. Not that thought was inactive through the earlier period. The great Schoolmen were no mean thinkers, but they thought in blinkers. The end of their journey was prescribed at the start, and hence free thought was denied them. And thought

[1] T. H. Green, *Works*[5], iii. 285.
[2] *Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes*, p. 18.
[3] *Diatribe*, p. 4.

which is not free runs the risk at least of not being thought at all. It may under the guise of thought deliver us over to the 'double truth'—that of philosophy and that of theology—or rest in a delimitation of boundaries which is made by the assertion that dogma is not contrary to reason, but above reason. But the principle of the right of private judgment cannot stop short of the demand that 'faith and reason,' 'religion and science,' shall resolve their antinomies at the bar of reason and extend the right of reason to autonomous judgment over the whole domain of faith.

How far we have travelled along the road of private judgment, and with what difficulty, may be conveniently seen by comparing a declaration of 1633 with another of 1900. The Congregation of Prelates and Cardinals ruled in the case of Galilei that 'the doctrine that the earth is not the centre of the universe, and is not immobile, but is moved with a motion that is daily, is not only an absurd proposition but false in philosophy, and theologically considered at least erroneous in faith.'[1] On the other hand, Karl Pearson makes the assertion (*Grammar of Science*[2], London, 1900, p. 366), while deprecating its one-sidedness and exaggeration, that 'the chief motor of modern life with all its really great achievements has been sought—and perhaps not unreasonably sought—in the individualistic instinct.' And, though this instinct may need to be balanced by those of socialism and humanism, yet each of these, even while striving to promote individual or national co-operation in the place of competition, does so avowedly in the interest of the highest good of the individual, of all individuals.

It must not be assumed, however, that the right of private judgment, when asserted, triumphed at once or even in a short time. At first the civil power stepped into the place of the papal, and adopted its spirit. 'Where the individual appealed to the powerful (individual) spirit within him, Luther would have none of it. Further, in politics nothing was heard of save the good of the State, or the general weal.'[2] The National Church sought to clothe itself with the autocracy of the rejected Roman Church; little respect was paid at first to the rights of individual persons or individual communities. This transition spirit persisted in philosophy until Descartes (*q.v.*), by rejecting all authority and starting *de novo* from the thinking Ego as the basis of all philosophy, became the founder of all philosophy that is entitled to call itself modern. While philosophies are in conflict from generation to generation, they are agreed on one point, and that is, that the appeal of all philosophy is in the end to reason speaking through the individual thinker. In philosophy the right of private judgment is irrefragable. The most striking proof of this is given indirectly by the long sway of the political theories of Bentham and by his maxim that the end of government is to ensure the greatest good of the greatest number. Society exists to perfect the individual, and, if the individual is called on from time to time to sacrifice himself to society, it is only that he may find his life enriched by losing it.

3. **Mysticism.**—This third element has not enjoyed in modern times the same popular vogue as empiricism or rationalism, and indeed it may be questioned whether it ought not to be regarded as the inspirer of thought rather than as an independent and co-ordinate factor. In philosophy indeed it has its definite exponents in More and Cudworth. In religion it underlay Quakerism and the Wesleyan and Evangelical movements. It emerges in literature in poets such as Wordsworth and Shelley, and in writers such as Novalis, Amiel, Emerson, Walt Whitman, and Coventry Patmore. It inspires the pre-Raphaelites, and art-symbolists of every sort, and Henri Bergson and the pragmatist schools of thought. It is paramount in thinkers like Schlegel (alike in his 'ironic' stage and in his later, where he treats the individual as insufficient to himself, but progressing towards divinity), in Schelling (especially in his 'fourth period'), in the 'Scottish school,' which identified philosophy with the observation of the facts of consciousness, in Rousseau, in the *Wolfenbüttel Fragments* of Reimarus, in Jacobi, and in Jacob Boehme.

Finally, it should be observed that private judgment is properly or directly concerned not with matter of fact but with values. The discussion of matter of fact belongs to science, where private judgment has no legitimate place, but the values of things, whether partial or ultimate, are values for the individual. Interest in them is personal, and hence private judgment must in them assert itself. A good, to be a good to me, must be a good *for* me. But this is not to say that my private judgment is self-originated or self-sufficient. The social whole and the activities of nature play a large part in supplying the content of that self-consciousness of which private judgment is an inevitable expression. The perfect correlation, however, of the individual and the society remains one of the gravest problems which man has yet to solve.

LITERATURE.—John Milton, *Treatise of Civil Power in Ecclesiastical Causes*, London, 1659, reprinted in *Tracts for the People*, do. 1839; O. Pfleiderer, *The Philosophy of Religion*, tr. A. Menzies, 4 vols., do. 1886–88, iii. 227 ff.; T. H. Green, *The English Commonwealth*, in *Works*[5], 3 vols., do. 1906–08, iii. 277–284; J. E. Erdmann, *Hist. of Philosophy*[3], tr. W. S. Hough, 3 vols., do. 1902, esp. vol. ii.[5] [1910]; W. E. H. Lecky, *Hist. of Rationalism in Europe*, do. 1910; K. Ullmann, *Reformers before the Reformation*, tr. R. Menzies, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1855; Martin Luther, *First Principles of the Reformation*, tr. H. Wace, London, 1884; *Theologia Germanica*, tr. S. Winkworth, do. 1874; R. A. Vaughan, *Hours with the Mystics*[5], 2 vols., do. 1888; J. Tulloch, *Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in the Seventeenth Century*[2], 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1874.

W. F. COBB.

PROBABILIORISM. — Probabiliorism is a form of probabilism (*q.v.*). The principle may be stated thus: the *opinio minus tuta quæ libertati favet* may be followed to the detriment of the *opinio tuta quæ legi favet* when the former is more probable than the latter although it is not quite certain, *i.e.* when the reasons and the scholars militating in its favour have more weight than those militating in favour of the *opinio tuta*. There have always been probabiliorist casuists, but probabiliorism was peculiarly in favour during the first half of the 19th century. Among its defenders may be mentioned Thiels and Billuart. Thiels wrote a treatise in which he refutes the so-called reflex arguments upon which mainly the partisans of simple probabilism rest, viz. (1) 'lex dubia non obligat,' (2) 'lex dubia invincibiliter ignoratur,' (3) 'melior est conditio possidentis.' Billuart, after severely condemning simple probabilism and equiprobabilism (*q.v.*), declared himself in favour of probabiliorism with the help of arguments drawn from reason and from Pope Alexander VIII.'s condemnation of the following proposition: 'non licet sequi opinionem probabilissimam.' If we can follow the *opinio probabilissima*, which always implies a minimum of doubt, it follows, according to him, that we can also follow the simply *probabilior opinio* without the doubt which it leaves in existence sufficing to render it suspect. He demands, however, that the reasons for probabiliority should be very genuine. The resolutions of the assembly of the French clergy in 1900 also seem to him favourable to

[1] See Karl von Gebler, *Galileo Galilei und die römische Curie*, Stuttgart, 1876, p. 398 f.
[2] Erdmann, *Hist. of Philosophy*, § 264, p. 6.

probabiliorism. In the matter of the sacraments he leans towards tutiorism. During the second half of the 19th cent. probabiliorism was gradually forsaken. Gousset is inclined towards it, although he does not debar probabilism.

We cannot include in the number of probabiliorists the theologians who demand probabiliority only in certain cases—*e.g.*, when the doubtful law is a natural law, or a very important one—or those who, like Gury, demand it only 'ubi de solo honesto agitus,' *i.e.* in order that an action may be thought honourable, not when it is simply a question of 'licito vel illicito,' *i.e.* whether it is permissible or not. The only purpose of this distinction between the *honestum* and the *licitum* is to limit simple probabilism in appearance, by leaving consciences in reality free to adopt it.

The probabiliorists apply this principle only to the question of law, not to that of fact. In theory, we may follow the *opinio minus tuta* because it is more probable than the *opinio tuta*, but in order to make sure whether the concrete conditions, under which alone the surplus of probability exists, are realized or not, more than probabiliority is needed, viz. certainty; *e.g.*, the law forbids the eating of meat during Lent; nevertheless the contrary is more probable, viz. that in certain circumstances I can eat meat even then; from that time I can admit in principle that in these circumstances I can eat meat during Lent; I cannot, however, do it in a given case unless I am absolutely sure that I am in these circumstances.

LITERATURE.—Thiels, *De reflexis probabilismi principiis discussio*, Malines, 1844; C. R. Billuart, *Summa S. Thomæ hodiernis Academiarum moribus accommodata, seu cursus theologiæ juxta mentem divi Thomæ*, new ed., Paris and Lyons, 1837, vii. 407 ff.; T. M. J. Gousset, *Théologie morale*[12], Paris, 1867; L. Potton, *La Théorie du probabilisme*, do. 1874; J. P. Gury, *Compendium theologiæ moralis*[4], Paris and Lyons, 1885, i. 130 ff.

E. EHRHARDT.

PROBABILISM.—By probabilism is signified the moral system according to which, when there are divergent views as to the lawfulness of an action, for each of which solid arguments may be advanced, then, provided the lawfulness be alone in question, we are under no obligation to follow the more probable of the two views, but are equally free to adopt either course.

It is the teaching of all theologians that no one may do any action which he is not sure is right. If a man acts with a doubtful conscience—not knowing whether the thing he is doing is right or wrong—that alone suffices to make his action sinful; for it proves that he is willing to do it even though it should be wrong. He is deliberately exposing himself to the risk of committing a sin. And to expose oneself to the risk of sinning mortally is by common consent a mortal sin. Yet in the conduct of life cases are constantly arising in which we are uncertain whether a given course is forbidden or not. The problem, then, is to determine the conditions in which, notwithstanding this uncertainty, a man may act as though no prohibition existed, with full assurance that his action is morally right. The various moral systems, tutiorism (or rigorism), probabiliorism, equiprobabilism (*qq.v.*), probabilism, and laxism give the different answers to the question. Since immediate and direct certainty as to the lawfulness of the act is not to be had, each system appeals to some principle of morals to provide the required assurance. In this connexion these are termed principles of reflex certainty or, occasionally, 'reflex principles.'

In all the cases which we are considering there is said to be, on the one hand, a probable opinion in favour of the law, and, on the other, a probable opinion in favour of liberty, the respective probability of the opinions being determined according to the weight of the reasons which can be advanced on either side. In order to avoid misconceptions it seems desirable here to call attention to the fact that the meaning of the word 'probable' in theology differs somewhat from that now commonly attached to it. In the present sense of the term a thing is said to be probable only when it can claim a greater likelihood than the other alternatives. These are not said to be probable at all. Moreover, the idea suggested is in many minds linked up with the mathematical theory of probabilities (*i.e.* chance-happenings). In theology, on the other hand, the word is used in its etymological sense. An opinion is probable which commends itself to the mind by weighty reasons as being very possibly true. The idea of chance is altogether absent. Confining our attention, then, to the three systems which alone can be said to have had any actual importance in the theological schools, the probabiliorist theologians hold that we are free to follow the opinion in favour of liberty when and only when it is the more probable of the two. According to the equiprobabilists, in order that we may take this course it is necessary that the two opinions should have at least an equal degree of probability. The probabilist system teaches that, should there be a solid reason to suppose the action not prohibited, then we are free to follow that opinion, even though the reasons on the other side are more weighty, provided that the difference is not such as to render the existence of the law not merely probable, but morally certain.

Before giving the arguments on which the system is based, it will be well briefly to explain two points of importance: (1) what constitutes solid probability, and (2) the limits within which the system of probabilism is applicable.

(1) An opinion is said to possess *intrinsic* probability when the grounds on which it is based are such as to have serious weight with men of competent judgment. Moreover, the grounds must be such as to retain their value even in face of the reasons which can be adduced on the other side. By this it is not meant that they must be equally cogent. But they must be such that the opponent arguments do not render them nugatory. When the arguments on the two sides are drawn from different, and even from disparate, considerations, it will often be the case that those advanced for the less probable cause are in no sense invalidated by those which support the more probable. *Extrinsic* probability is that which belongs to an opinion by reason of the authorities who can be cited for it. Ordinarily speaking, it is held that, if five or six writers of recognized weight in the theological school can be reckoned as independently supporting a view, that view may be safely followed. The condition that the authorities quoted must be theologians of real weight is to be noted. An opinion does not acquire extrinsic probability because it is found in a few works which at one time or another have enjoyed some popularity.

(2) There are certain well-defined spheres of human activity in which probabilism has no place. If we are under obligation to ensure the validity of some act, it would be altogether unlawful to adopt means which will only probably be efficacious, should a safer course be open to us. In such a case we are bound to take the surest means at our disposal. Thus, probabilism is excluded (save in a few exceptional cases) in regard to the administration of the sacraments. If, *e.g.*, a man had some doubt as to whether there was not an ecclesiastical impediment of affinity to the marriage he was intending to contract, he would be bound to procure the necessary dispensation to proceed. The mere fact that there was a sound probability

against the existence of the impediment, and that the question would certainly never be raised, would constitute no justification for neglecting to take the precaution. So, also, probabilism is inapplicable where the rights of another person are concerned. We are under strict obligation not to wrong our neighbour, and it is unlawful to put ourselves in danger of so doing. There may be excellent reasons for thinking that a match thrown at random over the hedge will not fire the hayrick on the other side. But a man would be acting wrongfully if on the strength of those reasons he should take the chance of causing the damage. Finally, probabilism may not be employed when there is question of some end that one is absolutely bound to attain. No man may use merely probable means to ensure his eternal salvation; he is bound to take measures which he knows to be sufficient. It would be erroneous to speak of these as exceptions to probabilism. Probabilism is applicable only where the obligation itself is dubious. In all these cases, although there is a doubtful element in the situation, the obligation is certain.

The argument for probabilism can be stated very briefly. Whenever there is a solid reason for questioning the existence of a law, that law is *ipso facto* doubtful. But a doubtful law imposes no obligation on the conscience ('lex dubia non obligat'), and may therefore be treated as non-existent. This principle, that a doubtful law has no binding force on the conscience, seems scarcely to require proof. But two considerations may be advanced in its support. In the first place, a law binds only in so far as it is known. If, therefore, after taking all reasonable means to make certain, a man still does not know whether a given law exists, he is not yet under any moral obligation in its regard. For practical purposes, he is in the same position as a man who has never heard of it ('lex dubia invincibiliter ignoratur'). Secondly, it is urged that an obligation is always to be viewed as a restriction on a previous state of liberty. Liberty is in possession till the obligation is imposed. Since this is so, and since 'melior est conditio possidentis,' unless the obligation is absolutely certain, a man remains free. But in the cases which we are considering the obligation is not certain but dubious.

These reasons, it is urged, are conclusive, and put the validity of probabilism as a moral system beyond question. Hence, whenever there is a reason for doubt as to the law, a man may adopt the opinion in favour of liberty with absolute assurance that he is justified in doing so, even though there be greater probability on the opposite side.

Probabilism, it is manifest, is concerned solely with what is of obligation, not with what is the most perfect course of action. In other words, it belongs to moral, not to ascetical, theology. It is of no little importance to avoid confusing the two issues. A man is not bound to adopt the more perfect course in all his actions, and the attempt to impose what is most perfect as a matter of obligation always results at last in the total rejection of the moral law, as being too burdensome for flesh and blood. It seems necessary to call attention to this point, as probabilism has often been attacked on the ground that it proposes a low standard of perfection. The fact is that it is in no way concerned with perfection. The study of Christian perfection belongs to ascetical theology.

The first to enunciate clearly and to defend the principles of probabilism was the Dominican, Bartholomew de Medina, in his *Expositio in 1am 2ae D. Thomæ* (Salamanca, 1577). The rules given by previous moralists—*e.g.*, Navarrus—to enable a man to form a safe conscience for himself in doubtful cases were somewhat more stringent; but all were agreed that a confessor was bound to absolve penitents who should announce their intention of following a probable opinion, even though he himself should be aware that this opinion was the less probable of the two. In such a case the confessor had no right to tell the penitent that he was guilty of sin in not following the more probable view. Medina carried the principle to its logical issue in maintaining that a man is always free to adopt a probable opinion as a basis of action. His teaching found general acceptance in the schools, as being in full accordance with admitted principles; and from 1600 to 1640 it was, with a very few exceptions, the universal doctrine of moral theologians. Towards the middle of the century a change took place. The leading Jansenists were advocates of tutiorism in its extreme form, maintaining that in all cases of doubt a man was bound to put himself on the safe side by acting as though the law actually existed. They attacked probabilism as immoral; and, inasmuch as the Jesuit theologians had been extremely active in opposing their doctrinal novelties, they held the order up to obloquy because of the support accorded by its writers to this system. In 1657 Pascal, at the instance of Antoine Arnauld, composed his *Lettres provinciales* in the interests of Jansenism. The mordant caricature of probabilism contained in this work, remote though it was from the truth, was a controversial success of the first magnitude. It brought the system into disrepute for many decades, and, among those who know little of the points at issue, still passes current as a satisfactory account. From 1650 to 1750 the majority, perhaps, of theologians inclined to some form of probabiliorism, though there was always a succession of moralists of real eminence who were faithful to the probabilist solution. From the beginning of the 19th cent. nearly every name of real note may be reckoned among the probabilists—*e.g.*, Génicot, Ballerini, Lehmkuhl, Ojetti, and Slater. A few authors still defend a mitigated equiprobabilism; but there is little practical difference between the two standpoints.

LITERATURE.—A. Lehmkuhl, *Probabilismus Vindicatus*, Freiburg, 1906, *Theologia Moralis*, do. 1910; F. Ter Haar, *De Systemate Morali Antiquorum Probabilistarum*, Paderborn, 1894; A. Ballerini, *Opus Theologicum Morale*[3], Prato, 1898–99; J. M. Harty, *CE*, *s.v.* 'Probabilism'; T. Slater, *Short Hist. of Moral Theology*, New York, 1909.

G. H. JOYCE.

PROBABILITY.—There are certain phenomena of such a nature that their antecedents, being extremely complex, cannot be adequately comprehended by observation, however searching it may be; nor can they be subjected to any analysis that will disclose the causal elements to which the effect in question is due.

In the throwing of dice, *e.g.*, the antecedent shaking of the box and tossing the dice upon the table is about the same each time—at least the difference cannot be determined—and yet the results vary with each successive throw. The causal determination in each case is so complex as to be beyond computation; the initial position of the dice, the force of their ejection from the box, the height of the box above the table when they leave it, the inequalities of the table itself, a variation between the physical and geometrical centres of gravity of the dice, etc.—all make the antecedent so complex that a slight variation in any one of these conditions will affect the result. We find, therefore, double sixes at one time, a three and a four at another, and so on indefinitely.

Again, it sometimes happens that with perfect sanitary conditions an infectious disease will appear that has always been regarded, and that correctly, as due to imperfect sanitation, whereas an entire disregard of sanitary requirements and of all the laws of health may yet give rise to no disease of special moment. Certain conditions of temperature, atmospheric pressure, velocity and direction of the wind, may one day bring storm and rain, and, as far as observation can detect, similar conditions may again bring fair weather. So also the rise and fall in stock and money markets is extremely susceptible to the varying conditions of indefinitely complex forces wholly beyond all powers of determination or of prediction.

Such phenomena present a problem with which the methods of inductive inquiry cannot deal. Observation is not far-reaching enough to provide the data for the solution of the problem, and, even if it were, our methods of computation and determination are not adequate to solve problems of so many terms and of so complex a nature.

The causal connexion may be established beyond all reasonable doubt, and yet the cause obtains in the midst of so complex a setting that the problem is really this—to determine whether a cause, whose exact nature may be known or unknown, will prove operative or inoperative. The cause may be always present and even its exact nature may be known, and yet the complex circumstances attending it may be of such a character that one alone, or two or more combining, may neutralize the operation of the cause, and, on the other hand, a slight variation of the combined circumstances may promote and even accelerate the operation of the cause in question. The problem then is to determine how often the event happens, and how often it fails of happening, the complex and indeterminate antecedent being present in all the instances examined.

When we begin to count instances, we are reminded that we must be in the neighbourhood of the sphere of enumerative induction. Enumerative induction treats instances by noting the number of observed coincident happenings of the antecedent and consequent under investigation, no attempt being made to analyze their respective contents or to determine a causal connexion more definitely by means of any one or more of the inductive methods of research and verification. The result of such an investigation may be formulated in a proposition of the form, 'Every A is B.' This, strictly interpreted, has the force of 'Every A that has been observed is B.' There are cases, however, in which observation leads to a twofold result—a set of instances in which it is observed that the A's are B's, and another set of instances in which the A's are not B's. These instances are of such a nature that the observed A is an antecedent so extremely complex that the element within it, which is a cause capable of producing B, either may be absent without producing an appreciable change in the general nature of A or, being present, may be neutralized by some other element of A itself. The result gives a basis for a probable inference only; and the nature of that inference will depend upon the preponderance of the observed happenings or of the failure of the event under investigation.

The probability attached to such an inference, however, is different from the probability which characterizes the nature of enumerative induction. In the latter, when the observation has been widely extended and no exceptions noted, it is usual to say that the result expressed in the proposition, 'Every A is B,' has the force of a high degree of probability. But in the instances whose investigation shows the result that some A's are B's, and some not, and yet where the former far outnumber the latter cases, it may be inferred that the A's which in future we may meet will probably be B's; and the degree of probability expressed in such a proposition is commensurate with the preponderance of the number of observed affirmative instances over the negative. Here the probability refers to the validity of an inference concerning certain *particular* instances, be they many or be they few, which lie beyond the sphere of our present knowledge; in enumerative induction the probability is attached to the *universality* of the proposition affirmed as a result of observation that has not so far detected an exception. In the former case the question of the universality of the result is conclusively answered in the negative; there can be no universal proposition possible, as some instances give A and B together, others give A with the absence of B; and the question of probability that here arises, therefore, refers to individual cases not yet examined, as to whether they severally will more likely correspond to the set of affirmative or to that of the negative instances already noted.

The comparison of the number of happenings with that of the failures of an event affords a basis for several kinds of inference, all of them in the sphere of probability.

We find in such a comparison a basis for the calculation of the probability of a particular event happening when there is a repetition of the circumstances which, in former cases, have sometimes produced the event and sometimes failed to produce it. If, according to former observation, the event has happened, let us say, seven times, and failed three, the probability, expressed numerically, of its happening again is $\frac{7}{10}$. The rule is: to express the probability of an event, take as numerator the number of times which the event has been observed to occur, and as denominator the total number observed, both of happening and failure; the fraction thus expressed will represent the probability of the event happening. The counter-probability may be represented by the number of observed failures of the event divided by the total number of cases observed. The counter-probability *plus* the probability evidently is equal to unity. If, therefore, the probability is unity, the counter-probability will equal zero; *i.e.*, the probability in that case has merged into certainty. Zero, therefore, represents absolute impossibility. All fractions between the limits zero and one represent varying degrees of probability, from impossibility at one extreme to certainty at the other.

Not only may there be this inductive basis for the calculation of probability, arising from actually observed instances; there may be also a deductive calculation of probability based upon the known structure or nature of the phenomena themselves in advance of any observation as to their actual behaviour.

We say, *e.g.*, that the probability of a penny turning up heads is $\frac{1}{2}$. Knowing the form of the penny and that there are but two possibilities, heads or tails, and there being no reason why one is more likely to turn up than the other, we say that there is one chance favourable to heads against the two chances which represent the total number of possibilities under the existing circumstances. With a die, in the form of a perfect cube, we say there is one chance of its turning up the face marked 1 against the six chances represented by the six faces—the total number; here the probability is $\frac{1}{6}$. Thus the basis for the calculation of probability may be a theoretical as well as an empirical one.

In the estimate of the probability of an event in the actual conduct of affairs we seldom express that probability numerically; we express a degree of probability adverbially rather than numerically; *i.e.*, we say an event is *quite* probable, *very* probable, or *extremely* probable. The fact is that, as regards most phenomena, we do not keep an exact or even approximate memorandum of the number of happenings compared with that of the failures. We rather classify our observations in terms of more or less. Certain circumstances that we observe produce about as many failures as happenings of an event, other circumstances produce far more happenings than failures, others far less, and so on. Consequently we receive certain psychological impressions of varying degrees of intensity according to the preponderance of happening over failure, or *vice versa*; this impression becomes the basis for estimating the probability in question, and the degree of that probability is commensurate

with the intensity of the original psychological impression arising from concepts of more or of less. In such a sphere, however, as that devoted to the interests of betting, gambling, pool-selling, book-making, etc., probabilities are estimated according to observations and theoretical considerations whose conditions are expressed numerically; and the amount risked in each case is strictly estimated according to the exact ratio of probability to counter-probability under the existing circumstances.

The estimation of probability in terms of a greater or less degree is, however, more usual, and applicable to the conduct of human life generally (for the theory of probability as the guide of life see art. BUTLER). It has special force and utility as a mode of inference when the observed instances so far outnumber the exceptions as to create an impression of such a high degree of probability as to approximate practical if not theoretical certainty.

It has been noted over a wide field of observation that a second attack of scarlet fever is extremely rare. Exceptions have occurred and, therefore, by enumerative induction it is impossible to generalize the universal proposition that a second attack will never occur. It is, however, possible to assert with somewhat positive assurance that it is highly probable that a person will be exempt from a second attack.

The comparison of failure and happening of events based upon observation or theoretical considerations of structure and nature leads also to inferences concerning large numbers of instances considered together. If a memorandum is kept of the number of times an event has happened and of the number of times it has failed, and the total number of instances examined be sufficiently great, then the resulting ratio of favourable instances to the total number will be found approximately repeated if a second set of an equal number of instances be likewise examined. There is a law of tendency whereby Nature seems to repeat herself even when the attendant circumstances of an event are most complex and beyond all powers of accurate determination.

As the result of observations extending over thousands and thousands of instances, it is affirmed that about ½ of the children born in the world die before the age of sixteen. In a group of 10 children the ratio would perhaps be deviated from very materially; in a group of 100 the deviation is apt to be less; in a group of 1000, still less; and in a group of 100,000 the ratio as above given would be substantially realized. The approximation would be so near that the error would be insignificant as compared with total number of cases.

The following law, therefore, expresses this tendency—that, while in a small number of instances there is irregularity in the observed ratio between the number of times a given event has happened and its failures, still in a large number of instances this ratio tends towards a constant limit.

This is clearly seen in the pitching of a penny: 10 throws might very possibly result in 7 heads and 3 tails; in 100 throws, however, the ratio expressing the result as to heads and tails observed will be much nearer ½ than in the former case; while, if 1000 or 10,000 throws be observed, the result will approximate the ratio ½.

The comparison of observed cases with the number given by the calculation of the probabilities in question has been made by Quételet, and also by Jevons. Their results are most significant and interesting.

Quételet made 4096 drawings from an urn containing 20 black balls and 20 white. Theoretically, he should have drawn as many white as black balls, 2048 each; the actual drawings resulted in 2066 white balls and 2030 black. Jevons made 20,480 throws of a penny; the theoretical result should have been 10,240 heads; the actual result was 10,353 heads.

The tendency towards a constant ratio in aggregates containing a considerable number of instances is strikingly illustrated in the record of baptisms taken from an old parish register in England. The number of male baptisms registered to every 1000 females ran as follows for the respective years from 1821 to 1830: 1048, 1047, 1047, 1041, 1049, 1046, 1047, 1043, 1043, 1034. We see with what surprising accuracy the constant ratio was repeated substantially year after year.

A like regularity seems to pervade every department of life. The total number of crimes is approximately the same, year after year; the annual death-rate, the apportionment of deaths, moreover, to the several diseases as their evident causes, the number of missent letters each year, the annual number of suicides, of divorces—all these diverse events indicate a regularity in the long run, as regards their numerical estimate.

The results which are thus attained regarding aggregates cannot be stated as probable results. If a sufficiently large number of instances are taken, the result will be certain within a very small, and in many cases an insignificant, margin. In estimating the probability of a single event the question is whether it will happen or not happen, and the element of uncertainty is therefore prominent. In dealing with aggregates, however, no such element of uncertainty enters; the question is not whether or not there will be certain results, but concerns rather the degree of exactness with which the results will approximate a definite ratio. And the law of tendency is that the larger the number of instances, the greater will be the approximation of an accurate and definite result.

This is especially illustrated in the numerous insurance companies whose business is conducted upon the basis of an approximately constant death-rate. The general procedure is somewhat as follows:

Suppose 10,000 persons insure their lives at £200 per individual, and the annual death-rate observed over a wide extent of territory, and including a very large number of instances, amounts to 200 persons out of 10,000. The losses then to the insurance company will amount annually to £40,000 on such a basis. These losses, distributed among the 10,000 insuring in the company, would amount to £4 apiece. The company, therefore, has a numerical basis for calculating the amount which each person must pay in order to cover the annual losses and to provide an assured revenue for the company.

The problem has been stated in round numbers merely to illustrate in general the principle involved; the actual calculation is more complicated, because, in each particular case, the age of the individual and the varying death-rate for different years must be taken into account. The substantial standing of the innumerable insurance companies in our country bears witness to the fact that these enterprises are based upon a practical certainty regarding death-rates when applied to large aggregates. Chance is thus eliminated almost entirely; that which would be a serious risk as regards an individual is substantially void of all risk when large numbers are concerned.

Moreover, phenomena indicate a marked departure from the ratio of frequency as determined by prior observation or by theoretical considerations; then it is ordinarily inferred that a new cause has become operative, not before existent, or, if present, with its effect neutralized.

We would naturally expect a die to show the face 3, on an average, about once in six throws. But, if it repeatedly turns up 3 in succession, and if no other number appears, or appears but rarely, we are warranted in inferring that the die is loaded. The number of homicides in the United States in 1894 far exceeded the annual number observed for the several years preceding. This discrepancy is easily accounted for by the fact that the natural number was swollen by the deaths caused by the strikers and rioters in the month of July of that year. So also a marked departure from the annual death-rate of a large city is at once an urgent suggestion to the public health authority to start investigations that will unearth the hidden cause that one is constrained to believe must be present. Such causes as defective drains, prevalence of epidemics, etc., are again and again found to accompany an increase of the average death-rate.

Under such circumstances the method of investigation which should be pursued, when practicable, is to endeavour to break up the total into smaller groups of a specific nature. Thus, if the death-rate for the year is appreciably increased, examine the death-rate per month. See if any month shows a marked departure from the average. If so, this will suggest a careful investigation of the circum

statistics and characteristics of the month in question. Or it may be possible to make a geographical distribution of the total over different sections of the city under investigation. Some special locality may indicate an unusually large death-rate. Investigation, therefore, at that point may reveal a lurking cause of disease, otherwise unnoticed.

By similar considerations it is often possible to distinguish between a chance coincidence and a determinate cause which has produced the event in question. For, if the possibility of some one definite cause is considered out of the question, and if the origin of the event is found among complex phenomena of such a number and variety that they may form an indefinite number of combinations only one of which can possibly produce the event in question, then the probability that the event has actually been produced by such a chance combination is extremely small. We are then thrown back upon the other hypothesis, that, instead of one out of many possible combinations, there is some one determinate cause operative in the case. Its nature may not be definitely indicated, but at least the possibility of its presence is suggested.

This line of reasoning is illustrated in the following account of the discovery of the existence of iron in the sun, in the researches of Bunsen and Kirchhoff:

'On comparing the spectra of sunlight and of the light proceeding from the incandescent vapour of iron, it became apparent that at least sixty bright lines in the spectrum of iron coincided with dark lines in the sun's spectrum. Such coincidences could never be observed with certainty, because, even if the lines only closely approached, the instrumental imperfections of the spectroscope would make them apparently coincident, and if one line came within half a millimetre of another, on the map of the spectra, they could not be pronounced distinct. Now the average distance of the solar lines on Kirchhoff's map is two millimetres, and if we throw down a line, as it were by pure chance, on such a map, the probability is about ½ that the new line will fall within one-half millimetre on one side or the other of some one of the solar lines. To put it in another way, we may suppose that each solar line, either on account of its real breadth, or the defects of the instrument, possesses a breadth of one-half millimetre, and that each line in the iron spectrum has a like breadth. The probability, then, is just ½ that the centre of each iron line will come by chance within one millimetre of the centre of a solar line, so as to appear to coincide with it. The probability of casual coincidence of each iron line with a solar line is in like manner ½. Coincidence in the case of each of the sixty iron lines is a very unlikely event if it arises casually, for it would have a probability of only $(\frac{1}{2})^{60}$ or less than one in a trillion. The odds, in short, are more than a million million millions to unity against such a casual coincidence. But on the other hypothesis, that iron exists in the sun, it is highly probable that such coincidences would be observed; it is immensely more probable that sixty coincidences would be observed if iron existed in the sun, than that they should arise from chance. Hence, by our principle, it is immensely probable that iron does exist in the sun.'[1]

This principle is also illustrated in instances of circumstantial evidence. In such cases the observed combination of so many diverse circumstances, even as regards an indefinite number of minor details, precludes the hypothesis of casual coincidences, and suggests some one definite cause that will prove a unifying principle of explanation of all the attendant circumstances. As Bullen says:

'A presumption is very often more convincing and more satisfactory than any other kind of evidence. It is not within the reach and compass of human abilities to invent a train of circumstances which shall be so connected together as to amount to a proof of guilt without affording opportunities to contradict a great part, if not all of these circumstances.'[2]

In the various illustrations which have been given we find that the theory of probability provides a method of dealing with phenomena which cannot be subjected to the ordinary inductive methods. The phenomena are so complex that a specific cause cannot be determined, for the real cause in question is a correlation of many diverse forces, and, if only a few instances are examined, no causal connexion will be disclosed; it is necessary, therefore, to deal with large numbers, statistical averages, etc., in order to detect an emerging relation of a causal character, expressed by a constant ratio. This ratio once determined, it becomes a further test, as we have already seen, when the results widely depart from it, to suggest the presence of a new force outside of the combinations to which the effect would be naturally referred according to the indications of the probability-ratio. The latter mode of inference is akin to the method of residues, for the inference in question is based upon the fact that the probability-ratio will account for only a certain frequency of occurrence of the event under investigation; a marked excess must be accounted for by positing a definitely operative cause. And, if an antecedent of such a nature is known to be present, the suggestion at once arises in our thought that this in all probability is the cause producing this excess in the results.

LITERATURE.—J. Bertrand, *Calcul des probabilités*, Paris, 1888; G. Boole, *Investigation of the Laws of Thought*, London, 1854; A. A. Cournot, *Exposition de la théorie des chances et des probabilités*, Paris, 1843; E. Czuber, *Wahrscheinlichkeiten und Mittelwerthe*, Leipzig, 1884, *Theorie der Beobachtungsfehler*, do. 1891, *Wahrscheinlichkeitstheorie*, do. 1898; A. de Moivre, *The Doctrine of Chances*[3], London, 1756; A. de Morgan, *Essay on Probabilities*, do. 1838; D. Diderot, *Les Probabilités*, Paris, 1761 (=*Œuvres complètes*, do. 1875–77, vol. ix.); K. F. Gauss, *Theoria combinationis observationum*, Göttingen, 1823; J. von Kries, *Principien der Wahrscheinlichkeitsrechnung*, Freiburg, 1886; P. S. de Laplace, *Théorie analytique des probabilités*, Paris, 1812 (=*Œuvres complètes*, do. 1878–98, vol. vii.); H. Laurent, *Traité du calcul des probabilités*, do. 1873; J. B. J. Liagre, *Calcul des probabilités*, Brussels, 1852; J. S. Mill, *A System of Logic*[10], London, 1879, ch. xvii. f.; K. Pearson, *The Chances of Death*, 2 vols., do. 1897; H. Poincaré, *Calcul des probabilités*, Paris, 1896; R. A. Proctor, *Chances and Luck*, London, 1887; L. A. J. Quételet, *Letters on Probability applicable to Moral and Political Science*, Eng. tr., do. 1849; I. Todhunter, *Hist. of the Mathematical Theory of Probability*, Cambridge, 1865; J. Venn, *The Logic of Chance*[3], London, 1888; W. A. Whitworth, *Choice and Chance*[5], Cambridge, 1901.

JOHN GRIER HIBBEN.

PROBATION.—One of the most obvious and striking aspects of experience, one which forces itself upon a man's mind as soon as he begins to reflect at all, is its incomplete and fragmentary character. In the pursuit of truth he finds himself confronted sooner or later with unanswerable questions, face to face with insoluble mysteries. Knowledge may be real as far as it goes, but finality is not to be found. In the pursuit of the good, again, there is a perpetual discrepancy between the actual and the ideal, a constant failure of achievement. And the passion for the beautiful is never really satisfied, though its hunger may be partially stayed. In all these directions neither the mind nor the heart of man ever finds absolute satisfaction; his capacity finds neither limit nor adequate response.

The questions, then, are inevitably thrust upon us: Why is aspiration so far in advance of attainment? Has it always been so? Will it always remain so? The incomplete, the inadequate, the fragmentary, is abhorrent to us, æsthetically and spiritually, and we cannot 'sadly and soberly acquiesce' without at least attempting to find some explanation of this character of the given.

The theory of probation is an attempted answer to the above questions. We have seen that experience does not satisfy, that this world is not adequate to the complete realization of our desires. There is no doubt about that. But how if it was not meant to satisfy? How if its incompleteness and fragmentariness and apparent illusion were not errors and defects in the character of the world, as we are first inclined to think, but just those very qualities which give it such value as it

[1] W. S. Jevons, *The Principles of Science*[2], London, 1900, p. 244 f.

[2] *Famous Cases of Circumstantial Evidence*, New York, p. xv.

has? The world, as we perceive it, may be only a part of a larger universe; our temporal existence may be but a phase in an experience that is not to be numbered by years; in a word, this present world may be but a period of probation, a period, that is, whose explanation and justification lie beyond itself in the idea of an end to which it may serve as means, of a purpose of which all 'the change and chances of this mortal life' may be so many ways of fulfilment.

Now the probation of which this life is the scene is to be conceived not as a process that goes on impersonally, as it were, but as the direct work of the God and Father of mankind. The theory presupposes, then, that there has already been formed the conception of a personal God, with whom the spirit of man is in immediate contact. For probation is a teleological concept, and a purpose or end is the expression of the will of a person, and cannot have its source in a mere 'tendency, not ourselves, that makes for righteousness.' Hence it is an idea that seems very closely bound up with the belief in a personal God. Probation is a distinctively religious, not only a moral or philosophical, theory.

The ideas of discipline and purification are to be found in any religion which has any ethical quality at all, but that of probation does not seem to have been fully developed except among the Jews, of whose theology it is an important element, and whose history is interpreted by the prophets in the light of it. The history of the Jews, broadly speaking, is the history of a people whose high calling, to be in a special sense the medium of Divine revelation and blessing to the world, was equalled only by their failure, as a nation, to discern its import and to rise to its fulfilment. For this fulfilment all the vicissitudes of their history, as that of a 'chosen people' *par excellence*, were meant to fit them; all was meant, in Scripture language, to humble them, and to prove them, whether they would keep God's commandments or no (cf. Dt 8^2). 'Elect peoples,' it has been said, 'have tragic careers,'[1] and the tragedy is never more deep and complete than when the nation is spiritually blind to the meaning of its destiny, which is throughout recognized, by those who have eyes to see, to be of Divine appointment and plan. It was the unique relation of the nation to a personal God, known as such, that is, as a Being of moral nature, that gave their failure the further character of sin.

To regard this world as the scene of probation is to regard it from a point of view that throws light on much that is otherwise hopelessly obscure and inexplicable in experience; for instance, some such conception as probation, that is, of life as a time of testing and training the will rather than of complete moral achievement, seems the only possible direction whence the nearest approach to a solution of the problem of evil could come; it is along these lines only that we can justify the twofold deliverance of the religious consciousness, that evil and sin are temporally real, and yet that God is good and that He is almighty. The only justification for even the temporary existence of evil would lie in its being an essential condition of the attainment of an end which is of supreme value. If we may attempt to define the end for which this world was called into being as the realization of the conscious communion of every soul with the God and Father of that soul, then it at once becomes plain that from the beginning the possibility of evil must have been recognized, and recognized as worth while. For man can attain the Divine likeness and become in the fullest sense partaker of the Divine nature only by a process of probation, in which temptation plays an essential part. Character is an acquired product; no virtue or goodness is assured which has not been put to the test in some way or another, and such trial or probation is accomplished through an experience in which the necessity of a choice between good and evil is constantly presented. One of the most profound truths embodied in the OT narrative of the Fall is that man, though originally innocent, *i.e.* ignorant of the distinction between good and evil, can attain holiness only through such a process of probation and temptation.

'Goodness as a moral experience is for us the overcoming of experienced evil. . . . So, in the good act I experience the good as my evil lost in goodness, as a rebellion against the good conquered in the moment of its birth, as a peace that arises in the midst of this triumphant conflict, as a satisfaction that lives in this restless activity of inner warfare. This child of inner strife is the good, and the only moral good, we know. . . . No genuine moral goodness is possible save in the midst of such inner warfare. The absence of the evil impulse leaves naught but innocence or instinct, morally insipid and colourless. Goodness is this organism of struggling elements' (J. Royce, *The Religious Aspect of Philosophy*, Boston, 1885, pp. 452, 456, 459).

Goodness is not forced upon us; we make it our own by willing identification of our will with the good. Hence probation implies freedom, power to 'choose the good and refuse the evil.' This is not the place for a discussion of the interminable Free Will *versus* Determinism controversy. It is enough to point out what will be denied by none, that those who regard this life as a period of probation make the implicit assumption that man is free—an assumption which receives most emphatic confirmation from the witness of the moral consciousness. It would be futile to speak of the 'probation' of a being who could not be otherwise than unfailingly regular in the performance of duty; in fact, such an one could scarcely attach any meaning to the word. Freedom, as Kant pointed out once for all, is a fundamental presupposition of morality, and the belief in probation lays great stress on this side of truth. Hence probation is not consistent with determinism, Calvinistic or otherwise. This world is no scene of probation for *Johannes Agricola in Meditation*.[1]

If this life is a period of probation, it makes a constant appeal to the will to 'take sides with a cause not yet won'—that is the testimony of the moral consciousness, while yet the religious consciousness possesses the fundamental assurance that the victory is already accomplished. God's will shall be done; that cannot fail. But then arises the question as to the attitude of the individual, whether he will co-operate in its fulfilment or not. The constant pressure of this question is his probation.

And, just because the probation to which man is subject is an appeal to his willing spirit, it is no merely theoretic experiment to see what he will or can do, but is essentially practical, leading to definite issues for conduct, which can then be dealt with by way either of correction or of confirmation. It is a test or experiment not simply to increase the knowledge of the one who makes it, but continually carried on to affect the nature of the subject. This leading to a definite issue, whether for good or for evil, is an important aspect of probation. Indifference, neutrality, lukewarmness calls for the remedy of 'a piercing pain.'[2] Acts may be forgiven, but not even God Himself can forgive the hanger-back. 'At every instant, at every step in life, the point has to be decided, our soul has to be saved, heaven has to be gained or lost.'[3] Hence probation, even though it may

[1] A. B. Bruce, *Providential Order of the World*, London, 1897, p. 186

[1] Browning, *Poems*.

[2] R. L. Stevenson, *Poems*, 'The Celestial Surgeon'; cf. also Rev 3^{14-22}.

[3] R. L. Stevenson, *Lay Morals*, ch. iii.

result for the time in the choice of evil, is the first step of the way that leads through purification towards perfection.

The belief that this is the divinely appointed way for man finds its classic expression in the words of Job: 'He knoweth the way that I take: when he hath tried me, I shall come forth as gold.'[1] It may be objected that, in the case of Job at any rate, we see an instance of probation for purely theoretic interests. The drama represents Job's trials as being sent to supply an answer to the cynical question, 'Doth Job fear God for nought?' Here mere knowledge seems the end in view. But this is not really so. Two things must be remembered. First, Job's real devotion to, and trust in, God were practically tested, and the issue of his probation was a far higher, more deeply rooted, type of goodness than was possible to the merely prosperous, God-fearing man who is first depicted. His choice of the good becomes a perfect passion for right. Besides, 'the more righteous the man, the more urgent the demand for a testing experience.'[2] And, secondly, even if the testing had been unnecessary for Job himself, the results are never limited to the individual. 'Piety and prosperity must sometimes be dissociated, if it were only to let piety have an opportunity for evincing its sincerity,' and to 'silence doubt as to the reality of goodness.'[3] And the effects go even further than this, as the language of St. Paul makes abundantly clear.[4]

We have seen, then, that this life is meant to be a stage in the progress towards perfection, through probation and purification of the will and character.

'It looks as if this strange life of ours were made only for character. . . . For all other purposes—the making of fortune, the enjoyment of pleasure, the securing of worldly wealth or position or fame—this is a life ill-adapted. The flux of things, the uncertainties of fate, the varied unforeseen combinations of circumstances adverse to or destructive of health or wealth or happiness—all these make life a place obviously not formed primarily for these ends, the attempt to gain which is so easily and often thwarted, and which, even when gained, are held on so uncertain a tenure. This is really not the world for worldliness. But . . . all these conditions—this flux, this risk, this uncertainty—are the very conditions that help to form character. They make just the discipline by which a man may become tender and spiritual, patient and humble, unselfish and loving. The circumstances of life may defeat all other ends, but they cannot defeat, and they even must contribute towards, this end' (P. Carnegie Simpson, *The Fact of Christ*, London, 1900, p. 82 f.).

But we do not yet see probation taking effect in the complete purification of character, much less in its perfection. 'Life, as we know it, does not give full scope for the working out of individuality, ethical or intellectual.'[5] The gradual perception that this is so leads to two alternatives: either to a form of pessimism which stops short with the conviction that

'All my life seems meant for fails,'

or to a belief in immortality—a belief that is due not to a selfish desire to 'call into being a new world to redress the balance of the old,' or to a mere craving for continuance, but a belief that is seen to be not so much a postulate as a positive implication of morality. A spiritual being cannot be a mere temporary phenomenon. And probation, taken in its deepest implication, seems essentially a process that demands a sphere of completion. We can scarcely conceive that it should stop short with the bare judgment that the subject of the testing, having failed to discern its true meaning, is useless and unfit for the purpose it was meant to serve, and is therefore to be left as a 'castaway.' It is possible, of course, that the probation of a nation does stop short at such a point. But the case of the individual is scarcely parallel; here we do not judge that his value consists only in his capacity to be an instrument, and that, if at a given point he is a failure in this respect, no further effort will be made by his Creator. The relation of man to God is not exhausted by the category of the clay and the potter. Each individual is in himself of inestimable worth to God, at least from the Christian point of view. Probation, then, demands a future life for its completion, both for those in whose case the results are already evident and for those who as yet are still blind to spiritual issues. But, even with regard to such, 'life beyond death holds hope, the hope that under other conditions, through other experiences, the awakening may come, evil be renounced, and good chosen.'[1]

Such speculations, such deepest hopes, only serve to emphasize the supreme significance of that probation which is the key to temporal experience. After all, it is first for its illumination of the present that the theory has value. The belief is a marked characteristic of Browning's philosophy of life. A brief analysis of the argument of a poem, *Easter Day*, which is typical in this respect may help to throw some light on the doctrine itself.

'How very hard it is to be
A Christian!'

is the exclamation which opens the dialogue. In the admitted hardness lies the test; were it easy to be a Christian, easy to the flesh, to the mind, or to the spirit, it would be comparatively valueless. The difficulty is to see vividly and acutely, to grasp once for all, the relation between the finite and the infinite. Hence the need for faith. Now faith demands, not proof, but probability; it is satisfied

'So long as there be just enough
To pin my faith to, though it hap
Only at points: from gap to gap
One hangs up a huge curtain so,
Grandly, nor seeks to have it go
Foldless and flat along the wall.'

But the 'faith' that is a mere balancing of probabilities and choice of that which in the long run may prove to be the most profitable is by no means the true faith consisting in that strenuous attitude of will which is demanded by the facts of life as we find it. It is not to elicit a merely intellectual and cold selection of 'the safe side' that we are set in the midst of all that the world has to offer. To one who can penetrate beneath 'the shows of things' issues the most profound disclose themselves To the purged eyesight it becomes a marvel

'why we grudged
Our labour here, and idly judged
Of heaven, we might have gained, but lose!'

Such an one recognizes, in a moment of sudden, intense illumination, that the failure to choose heaven means choice of the world, that the refusal to renounce the finite and transitory is the rejection of the Infinite and Eternal, of which they are the shows and symbols.

'This world,
This finite life, thou hast preferred,
In disbelief of God's plain word,
To heaven and to infinity.
Here the probation was for thee,
To show thy soul the earthly mixed
With heavenly, it must choose betwixt.'

He finds that neither nature, nor art, nor culture, nor even love itself, taken as complete in itself, is enough to satisfy the spirit's hunger. The infinite hunger of a soul cannot be satisfied with the things of sense.[2] God alone is great enough to satisfy the heart of man. As St. Augustine says, 'Tu fecisti nos ad Te, Domine, et inquietum est cor nostrum donec requiescat in Te.' But God does not force this truth on any one; He sets us here to learn it for ourselves, through a manifold experience, upheld by the confidence that He is dealing with us as with sons.[3]

'And so I live, you see,
Go through the world, try, prove, reject,
Prefer, still struggling to effect
My warfare; happy that I can
Be crossed and thwarted as a man,

[1] Job 23^{10}.
[2] A. B. Bruce, *Moral Order of the World*, London, 1899, p. 239.
[3] *Ib.* p. 241.
[4] Cf. 1 Co 4^{9-16}, 2 Co 1^{6} 4^{8-12}, Ph 1^{12-14}, Col $1^{23, 24}$.
[5] E. M. Caillard, *Individual Immortality*, London, 1903, p. 65.

[1] Caillard, p. 92.
[2] Henry Jones, *Browning as a Philosophical and Religious Teacher*, Glasgow, 1912, p. 83.
[3] Cf. He 12^{7}.

> Not left in God's contempt apart,
> With ghastly smooth life, dead at heart,
> Tame in earth's paddock as her prize.'

This constant silent process of insight, of judgment, of appreciation and choice, is our probation. To be alive to its reality and significance is to interpret experience from the point of view of the man who judges the finite 'sub specie æternitatis.'

LITERATURE.—This has been cited throughout the article.

F. R. SHIELDS.

PROCESSIONS AND DANCES.—I. *PROCESSIONS.*—In the history of social ritual the procession occupies an important place. The most cultured and the most primitive society known to us alike lay stress on what is in the first instance merely the act of moving a body of the people from one place to another—a social mobilization or route-march, conducted with solemnity or in accordance with the emotions expressed by the purpose of the movement. Similarly, the return home is of a ceremonial character—a recession. Using the term 'worship' in the wide sense of all solemn social action, we may regard procession as being in itself an act of worship.

Besides the primary use of procession as a means to an end—the celebration of a particular ceremony—procession may have virtue in itself, and express a particular emotion or idea, or produce a particular effect. Again, it may serve to do honour to a person or thing carried in procession, or to exhibit to society the actual persons engaged. But these purposes cannot always be distinguished, and in many cases they are combined.

1. Types of procession.—Procession being employed for practically all social ceremonial, it is unnecessary to enumerate every ceremony served by it, but some types may be mentioned in which procession as such is emphasized.

Ceremonies which bind the individual life to the social, by making solemn the various physical crises, usually accompany in all cultures circumcision, marriage, burial, and the like. The lowest cultures, however, such as that of the Central Australians, do not celebrate these to any considerable extent, if at all. But at the stages represented by the ancient Hebrews, Greeks, and Italians, mediæval Europe, and modern Egypt, these and other occasions are emphatically celebrated, and the procession is an important feature. Some of these peoples may be said to live processionally. Very complete examples may be seen among the Chinese and the modern Egyptians.[1] Among funeral processions that of the ancient Roman *nobiles* is remarkable. The dead man was accompanied by all his ancestors, represented by persons resembling them in form and stature and wearing wax portrait masks (*imagines*). In Western civilization the funeral and the wedding processions survive in some completeness, while those celebrating other life-crises are more or less obsolete.

As social organization develops, the solemnity of the procession is applied (1) to the economic operations on which the existence of man depends—agriculture, owing to its sedentary character, being conspicuous for this feature of celebration—and (2), as social operations are gradually differentiated, to the various subdivisions of activity—religious, legal, social, royal, and even athletic.

2. Earlier processional forms.—The earlier forms of these applications throw light upon the meaning and purpose of procession. To expel the demon of cholera, a Chinese population marches in procession, with music and dances.[2] In such a case the idea is probably that of a demonstration in force, to show the strength of the community. In a more elaborate form we have the procession of the Roman *Salii*. The priests of this college were armed with peculiar helmets, shields, and staves, and their processional ritual was obviously a military pantomime, intended to overawe the demons of blight and infertility.[1] The processions of the *Perchten* in Austria were of a similar character.[2] It is possible that, besides their minatory aspect, such mobilizations of the people were intended to disseminate the virtue of vegetation-spirits, who may have been represented by certain of the performers.[3] Many processional rites have the object of exhibiting sacred things and distributing their potency.

Thus, in the ancient Greek world, the 'gardens of Adonis,' a vegetation-charm, were carried in procession.[4] In Egypt at the festivals of Osiris women carried in procession phallic images of the god, perhaps as 'a charm to ensure the growth of the crops.'[5] Greece and India have similar phallic processions.

But the meaning of the symbol may be simply minatory.

The human sacrifice of the Khonds of Orissa, the *meriah*, is clearly an agricultural charm, and his virtue was distributed to the inhabitants in solemn procession.[6] What Frazer terms 'the form of communion in which the sacred animal is taken from house to house, that all may enjoy a share of its divine influence,' is well illustrated by the rite of the Gilyaks. The sacred bear is taken in procession 'into every house in the village, where fish, brandy, and so forth are offered to him. . . . His entrance into a house is supposed to bring a blessing.'[7] The Hebrew Ark of the Covenant carried in procession served both as a protection and as a blessing.

The carrying of sacred sheaves, trees, and other innumerable symbols of corn and wine is a regular practice of agricultural ritual, which Frazer has abundantly illustrated.

3. Civic and religious processions.—The processional 'beating of the bounds' seems to have had primarily a purificatory intention. Processions of a disciplinary character, to inspire respect for law and custom, and so forth, are frequently combined with pantomime and mask-performance—*e.g.*, by such 'societies' as the Duk-duk and Mumbo-jumbo. In such cases as the fall of Jericho in early Hebrew story there seems to be implied a belief that procession round an object not only hems it in but also dominates it. The converse idea, illustrated by some uses of the magical circle (*q.v.*), is that procession round an object protects it. This idea may perhaps exist in the customs of beating the bounds and of civic processions round the city area. Of this character are mayoral shows, though originally derived from gild-processions, celebrating both the gild and its patron, and the Panathenaic procession of ancient Athens, in which the sacred *peplus* of Athene served as the sail of the ship carried or drawn on rollers through the city, perhaps symbolizing the maritime power of the Athenian empire. Magnificent processions of athletes, horses, and chariots introduced the performance of the great 'games' of Hellas; and the modern revival of Olympic games includes the procession. When crime was still expiated in public, a procession attended the malefactor to the place of punishment and execution. In this case there was a striking contrast between the outlying rabble and the procession itself, which should be 'an organized body of people advancing in a formal or ceremonial manner.'[8] In modern times the procession is retained to dignify the law, royalty, parliament, civic and municipal functions, and is a special

[1] See J. J. M. de Groot, *The Religious System of China*, Leyden, 1892 ff., *passim*, and E. W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, London, 1895.

[2] De Groot, vi. 981 f.

[1] *GB*[3], pt. vi., *The Scapegoat*, London, 1913, pp. 245 ff., 250.

[2] *Ib.* p. 233. [3] *Ib.* p. 250.

[4] *GB*[3], pt. iv., *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, London, 1914, i. 236 f.

[5] *Ib.* ii. 112.

[6] *GB*[3], pt. v., *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, London, 1912, i. 246.

[7] *Ib.* ii. 190, 192, 316.

[8] *EBr*[11], *s.v.* 'Procession,' xxii. 414.

instrument of public appeal by bodies with a grievance or desirous of demonstrating this or that political view. Friendly Societies and similar bodies make great use of it, and it is one of the chief instruments of the Salvation Army.

Procession is a simple means either of honouring or of degrading a person. The triumphal entry of Jesus balances the procession to Calvary. The 'triumph' of Roman generals was a very elaborate procession, including captives and spoils. It was remarkable for some peculiarities, which, in the opinion of Frazer, constitute an impersonation by the victor of the Jupiter Capitolinus to whose temple he was borne in procession. He wore the robes of the god, and his face was painted with vermilion. The custom survived the regal period into the republican.[1]

4. The procession in Roman Catholic ritual.—The procession and the recession, as modes of proceeding to and receding from a ceremony, and also as acts of worship in themselves, have always been of great importance in the organized religions. An exception is the Churches of the Reformation, which practically abolished, along with other ritual, every procession but the funeral,[2] and this is more or less extempore, and not arranged by the clergy. Ever since Christianity, as early as the 4th cent., adopted the procession from the existing religions, pagan rather than Jewish, and primarily for the funeral, the Roman Catholic Church has exploited it thoroughly. *Litaniæ*, *rogationes*, and *supplicationes* were processional functions.[3] After the time of Gregory the Great the processional entry of the celebrant and the procession to the station became regular. In processions to the stations of the Cross the Saviour's route to Calvary is represented and symbolized. The procession of the blessed sacrament is an old Roman Catholic function.[4] The rulings of the *Rituale Romanum* (tit. ix.) must be noted, as showing the continuity of processional ideas.

There are: '(1) *processiones generales*, in which the whole body of the clergy takes part; (2) *processiones ordinariæ* on yearly festivals, such as the Feast of the Ascension of the Virgin, the procession on Palm Sunday, the *litaniæ majores* and *minores*, the Feast of Corpus Christi, and on other days according to the custom of the churches; (3) *processiones extraordinariæ*, or processions ordered on special occasions—*e.g.*, to pray for rain or fine weather, in time of storm, famine, plague, war, or in *quacunque tribulatione*—procession of thanksgiving, translation of relics, the dedication of a church or cemetery. There are also processions of honour—*e.g.*, to meet a royal personage, or the bishop on his first entry into his diocese.'

5. The 'pardon' of Brittany.—Processions of a special character or unusual interest are numerous. Purificatory processions through fire, or in which the people walk upon fire, occur in agricultural ritual.[5] To the same sphere belong the processions of giant figures, carried to the burning, processions to the midsummer bonfires, and those in which torches are waved over the gardens and fields.[6] The carnival processions of France and the pardons of Brittany are remarkably developed. The latter play an important part in the religious and social life of the people.[7] In Normandy such festivals are rare; in Flanders they survive partially in the *Kermesse*, *e.g.*, of Brussels. It has been suggested that the Breton pardon is a survival of pagan feasts of the dead. But in the most famous, that of Notre Dame de Bon Secours at Guingamp, held about midsummer, there is certainly a connexion with the agricultural ritual of fire, the central act of the night procession being the lighting of a huge fire in the chief place of the town.[1] The pardon aptly links together pilgrimage and procession. It illustrates equally well the early connexion of religion with all spheres of social life. Fairs of all kinds are held during the pardon, and merry-making is interpolated between solemn functions.

'From far and wide the people crowd to this festival' (the Pardon of Guingamp). The chief procession is by night; 'down every dark street flowed a double file of lights, each casting a bright reflexion on the face of the person who bore it. Thus, most of the pilgrims being in black and their bodies not distinguishable from the darkness, it seemed a procession of white-capped white-winged cherubs of various ages, floating in mid-air, while in their midst appeared rich banners, reliquaries, statues of favourite saints, and finally Madame Marie de Bon Secours herself, in embroidered satin and sparkling jewelled crown.'[2]

Each parish procession is accompanied by its clergy, who lead the singing of ancient canticles. The several processions, as many as can be accommodated in the available space, halt round the great wood-pile, which is solemnly set alight by the priests.[3] The Godiva procession and the Bezant procession of mediæval England seem to be developments of the 'ridings' or 'watches' connected with agricultural worship.[4]

6. Procession and the drama.—Before referring to the accessaries of procession and its development by aid of the drama into such complex forms as the pageant or *trionfo*, some details of method may be noted. The most elementary forms of ceremonial procession perhaps are supplied by the performers in the *altherta* (corrobborees) and *intichiuma* dramas of the natives of Central Australia. They march in single file, chanting. On certain occasions they trot, using a curious high action of the knee.[5] Perhaps the most artistically dignified of processions were those in which the κανηφόροι maidens of Hellas figured as bearers of sacred things.[6] Such processions as those of the Greek Mænads and Thyiades may be regarded as among the most emotional.[7] The chorus of the Greek theatre came on the stage in procession (πάροδος), and left it in recession (ἔξοδος). Mediæval village festivals have been divided, as regards method, into two classes: (1) the processional dance (*e.g.*, in beating the bounds—this is the 'country dance'), and (2) the 'ronde,' or round movement round a worshipped object, such as the Maypole. Variation in the latter method was produced by moving either with or against the sun or clock, *deasil* or *withershins*.[8] The term of 'limping dance,' or halting rhythm, mentioned in the OT, was characteristic of Hebrew procession; hence the term *hajj* applied to pilgrimage,[9] which in essence is a prolonged procession.

A typical order is supplied by the *Rituale Romanum* (tit. ix.):

'Those taking part in procession are to walk bareheaded (weather permitting), two and two, in decent costume, and with reverent mien; clergy and laity, men and women, are to walk separately. The Cross is carried at the head of the procession, and banners embroidered with sacred figures—these banners must not be of military or triangular shape. Violet is the colour prescribed for processions, except on the Feast of Corpus Christi. The officiating priest wears a cope, or at least a surplice with a violet stole.'

It was probably the lack of great theatres capable of accommodating the whole population, such as those of ancient Greece, that led the mediæval peoples to make the 'mysteries' processional through the streets. The scenes were staged on moving platforms.[10] Another reason was the

1 *GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, London, 1911, ii. 174 f.
2 *EBr*[11] xxii. 416[b].
3 Du Cange, *Glossarium*, Niort, 1886, *s.v.* 'Processio.'
4 H. Thurston, in *CE*, *s.v.* 'Processions,' xii. 447 ff.
5 *GB*[3], pt. vii., *Balder the Beautiful*, London, 1913, ii. 4.
6 *Ib.* ii. 83, i. 107, 110, 113 ff., 184 ff.
7 The term 'pardon' is an application to the whole festival of a particular detail, not necessarily the primary feature, viz. the absolution obtained after pilgrimage to the shrine of the saint.

1 A. Le Braz, *The Land of Pardons*, Eng. tr., London, 1906, p. 22.
2 F. M. Gostling, *The Bretons at Home*, London, 1909, p. 23 f.
3 *Ib.* p. 25.
4 E. K. Chambers, *The Mediæval Stage*, Oxford, 1903, i. 118 f., 222.
5 Spencer-Gillen[s], pp. 173 ff., 618, and *passim*.
6 See L. R. Farnell, *CGS* v. 159.
7 *Ib.* pp. 153 f., 156.
8 Chambers, i. 164 f.
9 E. G. Hirsch, in *JE*, *s.v.* 'Dancing,' iv. 424 f.
10 C. Weatherly, *EBr*[11], *s.v.* 'Pageant,' xx. 450.

natural tendency to make processions dramatic. Two converse causes thus helped to unite the procession and the stage. The 'ridings' on St. George's Day and other occasions were 'glorified' by these pantomimic representations or dumb-show pageants.[1] These culminated, or rather reached an artificial climax, losing their folk-interest, when Elizabethan artists elaborated the pageant and the Italians the *trionfo*. A conspicuous example of such processional exhibitions, though the scenes were not apparently always acted, is the dance of death, *danse macabre*, *Todtentanz*, *trionfo della morte*. Cars, draped in black and white, were drawn through the streets. On these were the Angel blowing the last trump and Death with his scythe. Before and behind marched men robed in black and white, and wearing 'death masks.' Choirs chanted the *Miserere*.[2] This dance of death, and the possible origin of the Breton pardon in the funeral, taken with the fact that the earliest Christian procession was funeral, while it is to-day the latest to survive, show the funeral procession to be the most constant expression of the religious march.

II. *DANCES.*—Dancing and procession are sometimes confused terminologically—a result partly due to the existence of processional dances, or the enlivening of the procession by the dance. The heretic Albigenses called dancing the procession of the devil.[3] The bear dance (*ἀρκτεία*) of Athenian girls was probably processional rather than choric.[4] The 'dances' of the old Roman *collegia*, such as that of the *Salii*, were dignified processions with some variety of movement.[5]

1. Physical and psychical aspects.—Dancing[6] is an instinctive mode of muscular expression of feeling, in man and many animals, especially birds. In the social life of the human race it has played a part which touches every activity of the individual and society. Dancing may be described as 'play' in its absolute form. Rhythm is inseparable from its movements, as it is from any bodily function, and therefore belongs to it without saying. It is in the middle stages of culture that dancing is seen at its highest development. Here it is much more, and also less, than a 'poetry of motion,' or the 'silent poetry' of Simonides. It is rather life expressed in muscular movement. The human instinct of play is closely connected with the human love of excitement. The dance satisfies both, and its rhythmical character also makes it suitable for the expression of the most solemn and controlled emotions. It is at once the servant of Apollo and of Dionysus.

Dancing, in the proper sense, consists in rhythmical movement of any part or all parts of the body in accordance with some scheme of individual or concerted action. As Aristotle remarked, dancing is imitative; and in all its forms it is an artistic imitation of physical movement expressive of emotions or ideas.

In its simplest terms it has been described as 'merely the voluntary application of the rhythmic principle, when excitement has induced an abnormally rapid oxidization of brain tissue, to the physical exertion by which the overcharged brain is relieved.'[7]

The social importance of dancing depends on its instinctive causation and its results. It has been noted that the physiological effects of dancing are identical with the physiological results of pleasure.[1]

'Muscular movement, of which the dance is the most complex expression, is undoubtedly a method of auto-intoxication of the very greatest potency'[2] 'A girl who has waltzed for a quarter of an hour is in the same condition as if she had drunk champagne.'[3]

With regard to the muscular movements involved, the following has been observed of Kaffir dancing:

'The perfection of the art or science consists in their being able to put every part of the body into motion at the same time.'[4]

Sergi notes that it 'touches every vital organ.'[5] Of the Marquesan girls Melville writes:

They 'dance all over, as it were; not only do their feet dance, but their arms, hands, fingers, ay, their very eyes seem to dance in their heads. In good sooth, they so sway their floating forms, arch their necks, toss aloft their naked arms, and glide and swim and whirl.'[6]

'Primitive dancing . . . embraces all movements of the limbs and body expressive of joy or grief, all pantomimic representations of incidents in the lives of the dancers, all performances in which movements of the body are employed to excite the passions of hatred or love, pity or revenge, or to arouse the warlike instincts, and all ceremonies in which such movements express homage or worship, or are used as religious exercises.'[7]

Groos speaks of the 'self-created world of the dance,'[8] in which the dancer realizes himself in a physical improvisation. 'The sensation of motion,' says Kline, is 'a pleasure-giving sensation,' and Aristippus defined pleasure as a 'gentle motion.'[9] On the physiological side dancing develops energy and releases it; it promotes tumescence and effects detumescence.

'I have seen a young fellow's muscles quiver from head to foot and his jaws tremble, without any apparent ability on his part to control them, until foaming at the mouth, and with his eyes rolling, he falls in a paroxysm upon the ground.'[10]

In both individual and social functioning the dance is thus a translative engine of emotional energy. Philosophy has noted this, and Pythagorean mysticism found in it a replica of the movements of the stars in their courses, 'when the morning stars danced together.' Folk-lore has it that the sun dances on Easter Day. John Davies elaborated such fancies in his poem *Orchestra* (London, 1596).[11]

The dance is thus a natural method of celebrating anything, and of expressing individual or social emotions or ideas. Primarily mere physical play, it has developed in many spheres, gymnastic and artistic, as a pastime, and as a sexual stimulus; but in social evolution its main applications are the ceremonial and the dramatic, which of course may include various other functions of the dance. Thus, in the mimetic dances of the simpler cultures there are combined worship, drama, exercise, excitement, pastime, play, art.

2. Range of movements.—The range of movements in dancing is naturally very considerable, connecting on the one side with marching steps, 'parades,' and on the other with the gestures of the hands used in conversation. Metrical terms in versification are frequently derived from choric steps. In modern dancing as a pastime, movement is practically confined to the legs. But in earlier stages the rest of the body and especially the hands are employed.

[1] Chambers, i. 221, ii. 165 ff.
[2] C. G. Herbermann, in *CE*, *s.v.* 'Dance of Death,' iv. 617.
[3] W. C. Smith and A. B. F. Young, in *EBr*[11], *s.v.* 'Dance,' vii. 796[b].
[4] *CGS* ii. 436 ff.
[5] Livy, i. 20; Quintilian, i. 2. 18; Seneca, *Epp.* 15; Macrob. *Sat.* ii. 10.
[6] R. Voss, *Der Tanz und seine Geschichte*, Berlin, 1869, devotes twelve pages (3–15) to cited definitions of dancing.
[7] *EBr*[11] vii. 795[a].

[1] G. Sergi, *Les Emotions*, Fr. tr., London, 1901, p. 330.
[2] F. Lagrange, *Physiology of Bodily Exercise*, Eng. tr., London, 1889, ch. ii.
[3] *Ib.*; H. H. Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, iii., *Analysis of the Sexual Impulse*, Philadelphia, 1903, p. 44 f.
[4] Ellis, *loc. cit.*, citing W. C. Holden, *Past and Future of the Kaffir Races*, London, 1866, p. 274.
[5] Sergi, p. 288.
[6] Ellis, iii. 46, quoting H. Melville, *Typee*, London, 1903.
[7] *EBr*[11] vii. 795[a].
[8] K. Groos, *Die Spiele der Menschen*, Jena, 1899, p. 112.
[9] *AJPs* x. [1898] 62.
[10] Mrs. French-Sheldon, in *JAI* xxi. [1892] 366 f.
[11] W. W. Skeat, *Etym. Dict.*, Oxford, 1910, defines dancing 'to trip with measured steps.' This definition ignores all the body except the lower limbs. The word is connected with O.H.G *tinsen*, 'to draw or drag forcibly,' 'to trail along.'

The typical Malay movements are shuffling of the feet and swaying of the hands.[1] An old Roman writer speaks of the 'eloquent hands' of a pantomime dancer.[2] The funeral dancing in ancient Egypt included a curious outward twisting of the hands raised above the head.[3] The dancing of the Indians of Guiana 'consists chiefly in stamping on the ground, and staggering in different attitudes as if intoxicated.'[4]

Movements of the trunk are conspicuous in ancient and primitive dancing. National and racial differences in method are not fundamental, and the use of music and of paraphernalia, such as weapons and scarves, is an obvious aid to physical expression.

Most of the ancient Greek ball-games were dances. In a Malay dance the performers carry sheaves of areca-palm flowers, to which their movements give the appearance of being alive.[5]

In some of its aspects artistic dancing borders on the acrobatic and the juggling arts. The majority of social religious dances, on the other hand, are more akin to the procession, and consist largely of processional dancing, evolution, or pantomime.

That dancing is a development of physical play is shown by the familiar fact that some animals, especially birds, dance, not only as a method of courting, but at other times, as an individual expression of play, often combined into social dancing.[6] The dance of the argus pheasant, the 'waltz' of the ostrich, the bowing and scraping of the penguin, are well known. It has been observed that animal dancing is very human-like in appearance.[7] Insects and birds perform air-dances, and fishes water-dances. Dancing on skates is man's use of another element.

A dance of the Timagami Algonquins will typify the ordinary pastime dance of the simpler peoples and of peasantry generally.

'The common Round Dance is an outdoor performance generally performed at the camp. One man sings any one of a set of tunes, which seem to be mostly improvisations in which humorous passages are often introduced, accompanying himself upon a drum which is suspended from the branches of a tree. The dancers form a circle, generally with the men at the head of the line, some carrying rattles. Then they begin trotting around to the left quite close together, in time to the music. There is very little form to the dance. It seems to be for the most part merely a form of amusement in which women and children join for the sake of excitement. At irregular intervals the dancers may face right about and circle in the opposite direction a few turns.'[8]

This and other dances of the Timagami were still being performed in the ordinary course at the time of writing.

3. Auto-intoxication and ecstasy.—The powerful neuro-muscular and emotional influence, leading to auto-intoxication, is the key both to the popularity of dancing in itself and to its employment for special purposes, such as the production of cerebral excitement, vertigo, and various epileptoid results, in the case of medicine-men, shamans, dervishes, prophets, oracle-givers, visionaries, and sectaries even in modern culture. The similar results attainable by the normal person indicate that the dance with its power of producing tumescence was the 'fundamental and primitive form of the orgy.'[9] The effect of dancing 'among the spinning Dervishes or in the ecstatic worship of Bacchus and Cybele amounted to something like madness.'[10] It is probably due to some instinctive appreciation of these effects, as well as to the similar desire to retain self-possession and dignity, which is one of the chief causes of aversion from intoxication generally, that the ancient Greeks and Romans and many Oriental peoples confined dancing to professionals. Socrates danced for exercise only. Cicero observes that no gentleman dances unless intoxicated or mad: 'Nemo fere saltat sobrius nisi forte insanit.'[1]

The Bororo medicine-man, by dancing and singing for several hours and by incessant smoking, works himself up into a state of ecstasy.[2] In European folk-lore it was believed that witches danced unholy dances.[3] The Hebrew prophets often availed themselves of this method of inducing inspiration.[4] The spinning of the dancing dervish is paralleled by the 'dancing manias' of the Middle Ages and the performances of the Shakers in more recent times. The howling dervish would cut himself with knives and eat live coals. He was 'unconscious of the acts of his body.'[5] Russian sectaries, such as the Khlysti, produce religious excitement by wild dancing.[6] To induce possession it is a favourite method among all classes of shaman; and it was practised for this purpose by African kings.[7]

4. Courtship and dancing.—Just as the male bird of several species parades and dances before the female, with the object of producing tumescence both in himself and in her, so to the savage dancing is the chief means of courting a woman, and for the same reason. In both bird and man the 'intention' is unconscious; it is prompted and engineered by instinct. The 'showing off' of modern youth is equally instinctive. The dancing of the modern ball-room is of course one of the recognized means of bringing young people together. It is a refined form of stimulus, though, when the waltz was introduced into England about a century ago, it caused much popular indignation,[8] due mostly to the detail of mutual clasping by the dancers, practically unknown till then in social dancing. It is stated that the waltz was originally the closing act of a dramatic dance representing the 'romance of love, the seeking, and the fleeing.'[9]

In New Guinea courtship no words are spoken. The suitor, on convenient occasions, dances before the girl, making athletic bounds, and going through the movements of spearing and the like.[10] Conversely, the Minnetaree girl dances and then taps on the shoulder the man of her choice.[11] In Torres Straits, as elsewhere, a good dancer is admired by the women.[12] Here, as in masculine admiration for women-dancers, may be seen an example of how art and sex interact. The Australian natives, like many primitive peoples, celebrate with dancing various social ceremonies and solemn meetings.[13] This is often in group-formation, men and women *vis-à-vis*. Licence generally follows. Many peoples perform such dances at ceremonies celebrating sexual crises—*e.g.*, the Kaffirs at circumcision and marriage.[14] It is significant that intercourse of the sexes also follows group-dancing in Australian celebrations of peace.[15] In pastime dances for purposes of courtship or artistic dances for the excitement of spectators appropriate movements are naturally employed in the earlier societies. The Nias women emphasize the curves of the body, and undulate the flanks. A sarong is wound and unwound over the face and breast.[16] This is a typical basis for many such dances among various peoples. The *hula-hula* of Tahiti and the *danse de ventre* of N. Africa are well-known examples.

5. The war-dance.—The primary aim of the war-dance seems to be the development of physical excitement, and consequently courage, in the dancing warriors, and, secondarily, as magical ideas attach themselves, the aim of frightening the enemy by a demonstration of violence is added. But, throughout, the practical but unconscious result for the savage regiments is drill and a rehearsal of attack. The latter meaning also takes on the notions of imitative magic. In the same way a modern peasant soldier, rehearsing an

1 W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, London, 1900, p. 459.
2 L. C. Purser, in Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq.*[3], *s.v.* 'Pantomimus,' citing Cassiodorus, *Var.* iv. 51.
3 Lilly Grove (Mrs. J. G. Frazer), *Dancing*, London, 1895, p. 16.
4 W. H. Brett, *Indian Tribes of Guiana*, London, 1868, p. 349.
5 Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 466 f.
6 Grove, p. 16, referring to Darwin and W. H. Hudson; Ellis, iii. 23 ff., 29–34, citing authorities.
7 Ellis, iii. 34.
8 F. G. Speck, in *Geol. Survey of Canada*, Ottawa, 1915 (*Museum Bulletin*, no. 18, p. 70).
9 Ellis, vi., *Sex in Relation to Society*, Philadelphia, 1910, p. 222.
10 *EBr*[11] vii. 795[a].

1 *Pro Murena*, vi. [13].
2 *GB*[3], pt. iv., *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, ii. 71.
3 *Ib.*, pt. vi., *The Scapegoat*, p. 162.
4 E. G. Hirsch, in *JE*, *s.v.* 'Dancing,' iv. 425; cf. 1 S 10[10ff.] 19[20-24].
5 H. B. Tristram, *Eastern Customs in Bible Lands*, London, 1894, pp. 207–210; D. B. Macdonald, in *EBr*[11], *s.v.* 'Dervish,' viii. 75 f.
6 *GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, i. 408.
7 *Ib.*, pt. iv., *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, ii. 192 f.
8 Byron, *The Waltz*, London, 1813. 9 Ellis, vi. 48.
10 R. E. Guise, in *JAI* xxviii. [1899] 209, 214 f.
11 E. James, *Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, 1819–20, under Major Long*, London, 1823, i. 337.
12 A. C. Haddon, in *JAI* xix. [1890] 394.
13 E. J. Eyre, *Journals of Expeditions into Central Australia*, London, 1845, ii. 235; W. Marsden, *Hist. of Sumatra*, London, 1783, p. 230; *JAI* xxiv. [1894] 174.
14 Holden, p. 192. 15 *JAI* xxiv. 174.
16 E. Modigliani, *Un viaggio a Nias*, Milan, 1890, p. 549.

attack or practising with the bayonet, may imagine that he is actually fighting the spiritual forms of the enemy or some vague ghostly foe. There can be little doubt that the war-dances of barbarous peoples and even those of the ancient Spartans were, unconsciously, rehearsals of battle.[1]

War-dances are performed also for the purpose of combating supernatural influences of any kind.

The Arunta of Australia, after returning from an expedition of vengeance, dance an excited war-dance, by way of repelling the ghost of the man whom they have executed.[2]

In agricultural ritual the evil influences of blight, bad weather, and general infertility with its various causes are often assailed by a war-dance or similar demonstration.

Thus, in ancient Italy, 'the dancing priests of the god [Mars] derived their name of Salii from the leaps or dances which they were bound to execute as a solemn religious ceremony every year in the Comitium. . . . Similar colleges of dancing priests are known to have existed in many towns of ancient Italy.'[3] But their dancing was a war-dance with curious weapons (see above), more potent, doubtless, for expelling demons of infertility[4] than their high leaps were for making the corn grow high. The natives of French Guinea prepare the fields for sowing, thus: 'Fifty or sixty blacks in a line, with bent backs, are smiting the earth simultaneously with their little iron tools, which gleam in the sun. Ten paces in front of them, marching backwards, the women sing a well marked air, clapping their hands as for a dance, and the hoes keep time to the song. Between the workers and the singers a man runs and dances, crouching on his hams like a clown, while he whirls about his musket and performs other manœuvres with it. Two others dance, also pirouetting and smiting the earth here and there with their little hoe. All that is necessary for exorcising the spirits and causing the grain to sprout.'[5]

A remarkable Greek parallel to this is the agricultural ceremony of the ancient Magnetes and Ænianians termed *καρπαία*. Men ploughed and sowed, but acted as on the alert against robbers. The drama ended in a conflict and the repulse of the enemy.[6] The old English morris-dancers wore bells fastened to their legs to frighten away evil spirits.[7]

6. Agricultural dances. — In many such ceremonies at the operations of agriculture the movements of the performers may be supposed to stimulate, by the action of imitative magic, the growth of the crops, or the performers may be supposed themselves to represent the spirits of vegetation, and by their presence to disseminate virtue and fertility. It is not impossible that such ideas should have been combined. Many European cases are thus explained by Frazer:

They are 'intended both to stimulate the growth of vegetation in spring and to expel the demoniac or other evil influences . . . and these two motives of stimulation and expulsion, blended and perhaps confused together, appear to explain the quaint costumes of the mummers, the multitudinous noises which they make, and the blows which they direct either at invisible foes or at the visible and tangible persons of their fellows.'[8]

Where, however, the operations of agriculture are ceremonially imitated, the stimulation is probably not so much from the supposed presence of the corn-spirits or from any precise action of imitative magic as from the actual, practical result of a rehearsal, the instinct to which comes naturally from the human tendency to imitate and dramatize —in simpler terms, to play. Among the later developments of this instinct into 'magical' applications the most important seems to be the production of movement (or growth) in nature, following upon the movements of man. Many 'sympathetic' rites are explained by this idea, which is derived straight from the psychology of the dance.

Thus, appointed, though ceremonial, overseers may very practically inspire the workers and instruct them in the details of their work. In modern slang, they cause not only nature but the workers also to 'get a move on' by themselves moving.

The Cora Indians of Mexico at their sowing-festival depute two old women to represent the goddesses of sowing; they imitate in dancing the operations of digging and placing the seed.[1]

This kind of description may fairly represent the belief of the informants at the time, but, in view of the previous considerations and of others to be stated, it is probably one of the late sophistications of which folk-lore is full, and which obscure the natural origin of many social customs and ceremonies.

The Motu of New Guinea dance that 'there may be a large harvest. If the dancing is not given, there will be an end to the good growth.' These people hold that every dance has some material result; 'no dances are useless.'[2] The Kayans of Borneo dance in order to bring to the fields from its distant home 'the soul of the rice.'[3]

Simple folk have not always a reason to give for their instinctive acts, nor is it possible always to assign a reason except instinctive reaction to this or that desire. But the cases just cited fall in with others, which may be described as merely persuasive in intention. The dancer seems to be saying, 'I am energetic and am proving it; I pray thee, do likewise.' The idea that to be busy oneself will inspire other persons or things to be the same is the psychological explanation of many of these 'magical' processes, especially the 'sympathetic.'

In Scotland the farmer's wife danced at the harvest festival with 'the sheaf' on her back.[4] In the Danzig district the people dance round 'the Old Man' (the last sheaf), or the woman who bound it dances with 'the Old Man.'[5]

Dancing at agricultural festivals round a sheaf, tree, or pole, the May tree and the like,[6] is the commonest of those folk-dances which combine ritual with pastime. Dancing round an object may apparently have an honorific intention. The following is a type of a large number of agricultural dances:

To ensure a tall crop of hemp, it is the custom among the peasants of Franche Comté, Transylvanian Saxony, Baden, and Suabia to dance with high leaps. So in the case of flax and various cereals.[7] In such customs as this the notion that the higher the jumping the taller will be the crop is probably an after-thought.

There are numerous rites in which the sexual activity of human beings is supposed to assist the fecundity of nature. Sexual processes are often imitated in the dance, and may lead to magical ideas.

Thus, the natives of N.W. Brazil imitate in dance the act of procreation and 'are believed to stimulate the growth of plants.'[8]

Such dances seem to be in origin rather celebrations of the season or its work than magical charms, and, when the magical meaning is added, it is probably only half-serious. The permanent and original element is the vigour and movement of the dancers, representing the workers.

At the Matabele festival of the new fruits the soldiers danced round the king, who sometimes joined in. 'When he did so, the medicine-men and their satellites, armed with thorn-bushes, rushed about among the dancers and incited them to fresh efforts by a vigorous application of the thorns to the bodies of such as seemed to flag. The king's wives also sang and danced before him in long lines, holding the marriage-ring in their right hands and green boughs in their left.' Similarly at the Kaffir corn-festivals generally; in one of these the king dances 'in a mantle of grass' or 'of herbs and corn-leaves. This mantle is

[1] On war-dances see F. de Ménil, *Hist. de la danse à travers les âges*, Paris, 1905, pp. 217–235.
[2] Spencer-Gillen[a], p. 493 ff.
[3] *GB*[3], pt. vi., *The Scapegoat*, p. 232. [4] *Ib.* p. 234.
[5] O. de Sanderval, *De l'Atlantique au Niger par le Foutah-Djallon*, Paris, 1883, p. 230, quoted in *GB*[3], pt. vi., *The Scapegoat*, p. 235.
[6] G. E. Marindin, in Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq.*[3], *s.v.* 'Saltatio,' ii. 593.
[7] *GB*[3], pt. vi., *The Scapegoat*, p. 250 f. On morris-dancers see E. K. Chambers, i. 195, where the most probable derivation of 'morris' is given, from Morisco, a Moor, in reference to the blackened faces of the mummers.
[8] *GB*[3], pt. vi., *The Scapegoat*, p. 251 f.

[1] *GB*[3], pt. vi., *The Scapegoat*, p. 238, quoting K. T. Preuss, *Die Nayarit-Expedition*, i., 'Die Religion der Cora-Indianer,' Leipzig, 1912, pp. xcviii f., 61 ff.
[2] J. Chalmers, *Pioneering in New Guinea*, London, 1887, p. 181 f.
[3] *GB*[3], pt. v., *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, i. 186.
[4] *Ib.* i. 160. [5] *Ib.* i. 219.
[6] *GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, ii. 47, 52, 55, 65. [7] *Ib.* i. 138 f.
[8] *Ib.*, pt. v., *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, i. 111.

afterwards burnt and its ashes are scattered and trodden into the ground by cattle.'[1] Here the king acts as master of the ceremonies in a celebration of harvest. It is unnecessary to suppose that he definitely represents a corn-spirit; his costume is naturally adapted to the occasion.

7. Magical dancing.—The notion that dancing by reason of its vigorous movement can induce movement in the environment is illustrated by curious customs employed for rain-making.

In Morocco ball-games of the hockey type are played for this purpose; the rapid movements of the ball and the players are supposed to induce movement in the clouds.[2] Another case of ceremonial movement (which is of the essence of magical dancing) is that of the rain-maker of the Australian Arunta. To produce a shower of rain, he goes through a curious process of quivering in his body and legs, while his assistants chant in time with his movements. At day-break he makes a final and exhaustive effort.[3]

It has been suggested that the crane-dance (γέρανος) of Greek mythology records a magical dance for assisting the progress of the sun. This case is complicated.

'When Theseus landed with Ariadne in Delos on his return from Crete, he and the young companions whom he had rescued from the Minotaur are said to have danced a mazy dance in imitation of the intricate windings of the labyrinth; on account of its sinuous turns the dance was called "the Crane."'

In various parts of the world, pantomimic dances have imitated the flight of birds. This may be the case here. A similar dance was practised by the Romans, as 'the Game of Troy.' The maze-scheme for dancing evolutions, however, is quite common, and would easily attach to itself famous names and exploits. Frazer suggests that the intention of both was to imitate, and so to assist, the sun's progress through the sky.[4]

The data are insufficient to analyze such cases as that of the king of Onitsha, on the Niger, who danced annually before his people, possibly to show his physical fitness.[5] But, certainly, throughout what may be called the positive applications of dancing, personal vigour is demonstrated and invites attention. In many customs it may be said both to compel attention and to invite imitation.

Some applications of the dance are 'sympathetic' in the natural sense, without being necessarily magical.

Thus, it is recorded of old Madagascar that, 'while the men are at the wars, and until their return, the women and girls cease not day and night to dance. . . . They believe that by dancing they impart strength, courage, and good fortune to their husbands.'[6] So Yuki women danced continuously that their men might not be weary.[7] These very natural practices, such as children would instinctively develop, are not primarily magical. On the Gold Coast, when a battle is expected, the women at home have a kind of sham fight, in which they cut to pieces green gourds, as if they were the enemy.[8] The wives of soldiers, in all ages, have shown a fundamental desire to be fighting by the side of their husbands.

Dancing very frequently accompanies the funeral, and no less frequently is performed at or round the death-bed. These customs are still found to-day among the peasantry of Spain, France, and Ireland, as well as among such natives as those of the E. Indian islands, and N. and S. America.[9] Various beliefs attach to this application of the dance.

The Gauchos dance to celebrate the dead person's entrance into heaven.[10] In 1879 the congregation of a coloured church in Arkansas danced for three nights round the grave of their dead pastor, trying to bring him back to life.[11]

1 *GB*[3], pt. v., *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, ii. 70 f., 66 ff.
2 E. Westermarck, *Ceremonies and Beliefs . . . in Morocco*, Helsingfors, 1913, p. 121 ff.
3 Spencer-Gillen[a], p. 189 ff.
4 *GB*[3], pt. iii., *The Dying God*, London, 1911, p. 75 ff., quoting Plutarch, *Theseus*, 21[2], Julius Pollux, iv. 101.
5 *Ib.*, pt. ii., *Taboo*, London, 1911, p. 128.
6 E. de Flacourt, *Hist. de la grande Isle Madagascar*, Paris, 1658, p. 97 f.
7 S. Powers, *Tribes of California*, Washington, 1877, p. 129 f.
8 A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, London, 1887, p. 226.
9 Grove, pp. 4, 15, 19, 41, 61 f., 75–79, 116 f., 185, 275, 291, 329.
10 R. B. Cunninghame Graham, in *Sat. Rev.*, Christmas suppl., 896, p. 17.
11 *JAFL* i. [1896] 83.

8. The religious dance.—Dancing as a form or part of religious worship is a natural phenomenon, whatever may be the precise meaning or application of the particular occasion. In early Christianity bishops led the faithful in the sacred dances both in the churches and before the tombs of the martyrs. The practice was forbidden by the Council of 692, but the prohibition was ineffective. Centuries later the Liturgy of Paris included the rubric, *le chanoine ballera au premier psaume*. As late as the 18th cent. dancing by the priests on saints' days was practised in French provinces.[1]

The various ideas connected with dancing will be found latent in the religious dance. When David danced before the Ark, the act no doubt meant something more than the desire to honour the sacred object. In some cases where the intention is certainly to 'move' the deity, the vigorous movements of the dancer make the dance a real form of prayer. The following example is suggestive:

The Tarahumare Indians of Mexico hold that 'the favour of the gods may be won by what for want of a better term may be called dancing, but what in reality is a series of monotonous movements, a kind of rhythmical exercise, kept up sometimes for two nights. By dint of such hard work they think to prevail upon the gods to grant their prayers. . . . The Tarahumares assert that the dances have been taught them by the animals. . . . Dance with these people is a very serious and ceremonious matter, a kind of worship and incantation rather than amusement.'[2]

The honorific element pervades many customs. In some cases it is direct.

Thus, among the Timagami Indians the feast-dance is 'a celebration in honour of someone who has provided a feast for the camp. The guests are invited in the afternoon, and the food is shared from a common place where it has been spread upon the ground, each guest being provided with his eating utensils. Tobacco is distributed after the feast. When evening comes on, the chief performs the feast-dance in honour of the donor. He wears some extra apparel and carries a drum in his hand to accompany his singing. . . . While singing the feast-song, inserting a few words at times in honour of the feast-maker, and drumming, he dances before the assembly. Soon he threads his way in and out amongst the people, continuing his song, and when he has gone through the ranks of the spectators he dances back to the feast-ground and ends his dance.'[3]

9. Pantomimic dancing.—From the point of view of æsthetics dancing may be described as muscular music. Like music, it expresses primarily itself; secondarily it expresses whatever is within the scope and material of the art. In this secondary function dancing is pantomimic.

The pantomimic has the longest history of all forms of dancing. It is highly developed in the lowest cultures, such as the Australian, and it is popular in the highest civilizations of to-day. Like other forms, it is applied to various purposes and on various differing occasions. Many other forms (see examples cited above) are pantomimic. Practically all the ceremonial of the Arunta and other Australians is pantomimic, and special ornamentation and dress are usual accessaries.[4]

A good deal of mysticism is attached to the masked dances or pantomimes which have had so remarkable a development among the natives of N.W. America. They represent incidents in the lives of the guardian spirits of the tribe.

'The gift' of a dance 'means that the protégé of the spirit is to perform the same dances which have been shown to him. In these dances he personates the spirit. . . . The obtaining of the magical gifts [*e.g.*, the 'death-bringer,' and the water of life, as well as the dance itself] from these spirits is called *lokoala*, while the person who has obtained them becomes *naualaku*, supernatural, which is also the quality of the spirit himself. The ornaments of all these spirits are described as made of cedar bark, which is dyed red in the juice of alder bark. They appear to their devotees only in winter.'[5]

In so far as any worship is connected with such animal-dances, they will involve various religious emotions.

1 *Sat. Rev.*, 18th Jan. 1896, p. 52.
2 C. Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico*, London, 1903, i. 330 f.
3 Speck, p. 27 f.
4 Spencer-Gillen[ab], *passim*.
5 F. Boas, in *Report U.S. Nat. Hist. Mus. for 1895*, Washington, 1897, p. 396.

Thus, if no reason is given, we assume that, when the Yuchi Indians in some of their dances imitate the movements and cries of their totem-animals, they are doing them honour.[1] The Zuñi dance before sacred tortoises may be 'to intercede with the ancestral spirits, incarnate in the animals.'[2]

The secret societies of the Nass River Indians possess as heirlooms ceremonial dances in one of which the performers practise cannibalism; in another they eat dogs; in a third they break objects with a long club, paying for the destroyed property with property of higher value.[3] The last detail is akin to the system of potlatch.

In the bear-dance of the Timagami Indians the men and women form a large circle, with a leader to direct operations. 'The circle of dancers led by the chief, who carries a drum and sings the bear-dance song, then starts around counter-clockwise. The leader sometimes dances backwards, turns around, stoops, and in other ways imitates the bear. . . . The circling keeps up until the song is finished. The idea of this dance seems to be to honour the bear by imitating him.'[4] In another dance of the same people, the duck-dance, the movements of a flock of ducks and drakes are represented by the evolutions of the dancers, in swerving chain-figures. It is curious to note that such a dance is interlarded with European steps—'a modern waltz turn or two is introduced' between the movements. At the close the performers quack two or three times. 'This is purely a pleasure-dance.'[5]

Pantomime is recognized as an educative process in elementary schools to-day, simple operations, such as sowing and reaping, being represented by appropriate movements.[6]

A good illustration of the pantomimic dance as fine art with a touch of superstition remaining, or revived for artistic effect, is found among the Malays. In their monkey-dance pantomime represents the spirit of a monkey entering the girl-dancer as she is rocked in a cot. Then she imitates the behaviour of a monkey, and performs some remarkable tree-climbing.[7]

In pantomime itself the drama is more important than in pantomimic dancing, as it is, *e.g.*, in the ceremonial dances of the Australians and American Indians. The representation of a dramatic story in dumb show, with more or less of dancing movement, is the ballet of Europe and the pantomime of ancient Rome. Under the Roman Empire this form of dancing attained extraordinary popularity, superseding other shows, and with it remarkable artistic excellence. The *fabulæ salticæ* used plots from old mythology, a love-motive being the favourite. The best poets of the day were commissioned to write the scenarios, which seem at times to have been drawn from contemporary life. The modern cinema picture-drama is a close parallel, but in the *fabula saltica* an explanatory recitative was sung by a chorus accompanied by an orchestra.[8]

In another form, parallel to modern skirt-dancing, the dancer represented all the action of the various characters by the movements of his body and the manipulation of a long cloak.[9]

The modern ballet, in common with artistic dancing generally, dates from the 15th century. The great Renaissance included a new birth of dancing. Probably the tradition of the Roman *pantomimi* assisted the institution. From Italy the ballet passed to France, where it was perfected as the *ballet d'action*.[10]

[1] *GB*[3], pt. v., *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, ii. 76.
[2] *Ib.* ii. 179.
[3] E. Sapir, *Geol. Survey of Canada*, Ottawa, 1915 (Bulletin 19), p. 28.
[4] Speck, p. 28. [5] *Ib.* [6] See Ellis, vi. 74.
[7] Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 465.
[8] L. C. Purser, in Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq.*[3], *s.v.* 'Pantomimus,' ii. 334 f. See Sueton. *Nero*, 54, *Tit.* 7, *Calig.* 57; Macrob. ii. 7; Ovid, *Ars Am.* i. 595; Lucian, *de Saltatione*.
[9] Purser, *loc. cit.*
[10] *EBr*[11], *s.v.* 'Ballet,' iii. 269 f. It is there defined as 'a theatrical representation in which a story is told only by gesture, accompanied by music, which should be characterized by stronger emphasis than would be employed with the voice.' The etymology of *ballet, ballad, ball*, etc., is doubtful. Skeat and the *OED* refer them to L. Lat. *ballare*, 'to dance'; the former favours a connexion with the Sicilian Gr. βαλλίζειν, 'to dance,' but the origin of βαλλίζειν (? βάλλειν) is uncertain. Some derive from *balla* (ball) 'on the alleged ground that in the Middle Ages tennis was accompanied with dancing and song' (*OED*). Neither of the classic authorities on tennis (Julian Marshall, in *The Annals of Tennis*, London, 1878; J. J. Jusserand, *Les Sports et jeux d'exercice dans l'ancienne France*, Paris, 1901) corroborates the musical accompaniment of tennis. E. B. Tylor thought that these words came from the Græco-Roman ball-dance.

10. Dancing as a social pastime.—Artistic and dramatic dancing has frequently and among various peoples been placed under a social ban, in the same way and for the same reasons as the drama. More rarely this has been the case with dancing as a social pastime. Apart from ceremonial dancing in religious worship, Greeks and Romans and most Eastern peoples, while encouraging dancing as a form of entertainment—*e.g.*, at banquets—have refused to admit it as a social pastime. There is thus a professional class. The Malays never dance themselves, but will pay well for good professional dancing.[1] Roman dancers were *infames*.[2] But as a professional class they had an important though unofficial status, like that of the *bayaderes* of India, the *geishas* of Japan, or the *almehs* of Egypt. Even religious dancing developed a professional class, if the *qᵉdhēshóth, e.g.*, of Hebrew sanctuaries may be so described.[3]

In the history of the world's art the great dancing geniuses, such as Taglioni and Pavlova, are entitled to a position only second to that of great singers and musical composers.

The use of dancing as a social pastime is comparatively modern. Plato was in favour of boys and girls dancing together. The only approximation to this was the ὄρμος, in which boys and girls danced in counter-formation.[4] The 15th cent. renaissance of dancing in Italy passed to France, which has been termed 'the school' of the art of dancing, and Spain its 'true home.'[5] It is outside the scope of this article to discuss the development of this form of dancing, which belongs to the sphere of pastime. But it may be noted that the evolution of the art throws much light on the evolution of society and the individual, and in a more clear-cut manner than the evolution of music. For, in the case of dancing, the whole system is involved. As in music, so in dancing, stages of evolution, 'schools,' have developed a method, to be superseded by another. Among typical movements may be mentioned the *pavane*; its character was processional. The minuet has been described as the 'fine flower of the art.'[6] But actually it expresses merely an artificial code of courtesy. The type of pair-dancing is the waltz, a dance of uncertain origin.[7]

When in contact with European culture, native peoples throughout the world soon assimilate European dances; *e.g.*, the people of Ceram (E. Indies) have adopted the waltz.[8] Conversely, the higher cultures assimilate the dances of the simpler peoples, and the ephemeral popularity of the tango and 'ragtime' serves to illustrate the continuity of human physical evolution.

LITERATURE.—The authorities quoted in the article supply satisfactory data, but there are no treatises written on any scientifically comprehensive lines.

A. E. CRAWLEY.

PRODIGIES AND PORTENTS.—I. *INTRODUCTORY*.—1. Interpretation of prodigies.

—What fortune or misfortune the prodigy portends is determined for the individual by the culture to which he belongs. Its origin in the culture is properly matter of historical research, for the same interpretation may have had different origins, and different interpretations may have the same objective cause, the respective similarity and difference representing the varied reactions of the cultures in question. Were the interpretations given by differ-

[1] Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 458.
[2] C. L. Souvay, in *CE*, *s.v.* 'Dancing,' iv. 619.
[3] *JE* iv. 425.
[4] G. E. Marindin, in Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiq.*[3], *s.v.* 'Saltatio,' ii. 594; Plato, *Legg.* vi. 771.
[5] *EBr*[11] vii. 798[a]. [6] *Ib.* 797[b].
[7] *Ib.* 799[b]; French *volte*, from the *Volta* of Provence; German has *walzen*, 'to revolve.'
[8] J. G. F. Riedel, *De Sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, The Hague, 1886, p. 130.

ent cultures wholly arbitrary, they would not present such thoroughgoing, or even such partial, resemblance. Some of the resemblances may be attributed to cultural diffusion, where the phenomenon is really continuous in development, overflowing, as it were, the cultural bounds within which it orginates. The classical cultures are good instances, for here we have historical proof of the diffusion, such proof, in the nature of the case, being very difficult to obtain in primitive society, where tribal tradition is an unsafe guide. The spontaneous effect of the phenomena upon the mind is, however, in some cases such as, if not to rule out diffusion, at least to make this supposition superfluous. The eclipse and the earthquake, *e.g.*, never portend good. The reason is not far to seek: earthquakes never effect any good, and frequently leave disaster in their train; the completion of what the eclipse partly effects, in bringing about a diminution of light, would be the culmination of disasters; darkness has ever been the harbinger of evils which the garish light of day dissipates.[1]

In many other instances the prodigy points its own moral, though one largely determined by the predisposition of the people who interpret it (as, *e.g.*, Napoleon's 'sun of Austerlitz'). Whether or not the inference made is historically true, the following passage shows that the suggestion of the interpretation grows out of the nature of the event:

'At the time of the amplification and enlarging [of the village from which Milan grew] by Bellonesus there happened a very strange accident, which gave occasion of the denomination. For when it was new building, a certaine wilde Sow that came forth of an olde ruinous house very early in the morning, hapned to meet some of those that were set aworke about the building of the city. This Sow had halfe her body covered with hard bristly haire as other Pigges are, and the other halfe with very soft and white wool: which portentum, Bellonesus took for a very happy and ominous token, so that he caused the city to be called Mediolanum from the halfe-wooled Sow. What his reason was why he should esteem this strange spectacle for such a luckie token I know not but I conjecture it might be this: perhaps he supposed that the bristly haire might presage strength and puissance in his subjects, and the wooll plenty of necessary meanes that might tend to the clothing of their bodies.'[2]

2. The realm of the unknown.—The unknown is highly charged with mystic power. Many peoples, like the Thonga, have added faith in foreign medicines just because they come from a distant land.[3] For this reason the Bakongo seldom engage the medicine-man of their own village.

'They know too much about him to waste their money on him. They flout him and send for the medicine-man of another village of whom they know little or nothing.'[4]

In the skill with which iron is worked there is something mystical. Among the Bakongo, as among many of the tribes of Africa and of India, the blacksmith holds an honourable position, or is despised and feared. Similarly, the forge is often regarded as a sacred place, and respect is shown towards the anvil and the fire.[5]

In the Middle Ages this superstitious fear and dread attached to the higher learning and superior skill.

A good instance of this tendency is the attitude taken towards Michael Scot, an Irishman of the 13th cent. who narrowly escaped being an archbishop over the see of Cashel. 'He was so widely renowned for his varied and extensive learning that he was credited with supernatural powers; a number of legends grew up around his name which hid his real merit, and transformed the man of science into a magician. In the Border country traditions of his magical power are common. Boccaccio alludes to "a great master in necromancy, called Michael Scot," while Dante places him in the eighth circle of Hell'—all because his learning was beyond the comprehension of his fellows. In the 14th cent. similar magic powers were attributed to Gerald, the fourth earl of Desmond, solely on account of his learning.[1] In Ireland, during the witchcraft superstition, many women were put to death on the charge of using black magic solely because of their skill in simples and their knowledge of the medicinal value of herbs—just such skill and knowledge as have given rise to our present pharmacopœia

The realm of the unknown is peopled by many monstrous beings. This is especially true of the celestial regions and what are, for the people in question, the remoter parts of the earth. In the moon and on parts of the earth, say the Eskimos, are manlike creatures without head or neck, but having a broad mouth, armed with sharp teeth, across the chest.[2] Many tribes in Africa have similar beliefs. They prevailed in Europe until a century ago.[3] In fact, the disposition to make monsters out of the distant and poorly-known is as old as history. The early Babylonians reported an attack by a strange people who had the bodies of birds and the faces of ravens, whose dwelling-place was in the mountains to the north of Mesopotamia.

3. The psychology of prodigies.—(*a*) *Recognition of events as prodigious.*—What phenomena are recognized as prodigies and what importance attaches to them depends upon the state of mind, social and individual. The wise man, as Seneca[4] has expressed it, is not moved with the utmost violences of fortune, nor with the extremities of fire and sword, whereas a fool is afraid of his own shadow, and surprised at all accidents, as if they were all levelled at him. As Pliny[5] says, the Romans could not be sure of anything, not even that a person was dead; there are, in fact, many examples of the dead returning to life, in some cases after the funeral pyre had been lighted and the flames had proceeded too far to permit rescue. There are critical moments when the mind, group and individual, is especially liable to harbour hallucinations and to magnify the ordinary into something prodigious. Intense expectancy gives exaggerated proportions to every event which is extraordinary, and heightened anticipation leaps forward into supposititious realization. The politico-religious fervour of the down-trodden Jews affords many illustrations.

Prior to the revolt in Judæa which broke out in A.D. 66 this expectancy gave life and permanency to a host of terrifying rumours, which, in turn, fanned the fervour into greater vagaries. 'Men dreamed only of signs and omens; the apocalyptic hue of Jewish fancy stained everything with a bloody halo. Comets, swords in the sky, battles in the clouds, light breaking forth of itself from the depth of the sanctuary, victims at the moment of sacrifice bringing forth a monstrous progeny,—these were the tales told with horror from mouth to mouth. One day the vast brazen gates of the Temple had flown open of themselves and refused to close. At the Passover of A.D. 65, about 3 a.m., the Temple was for half an hour lighted as bright as day; some thought that it was on fire. Again, at Pentecost, the priests heard a sound as of many persons in the interior, making hasty preparations as if for flight, and saying to one another, "Let us depart hence!" The great disturbance of mind was itself the best of signs that something extraordinary was about to happen.'[6]

The devil you know is better than the devil you don't know, and the latter always excels in power and malignity.

An observer of the Iroquois has declared that no Iroquois lives who would not in the night-time quail at seeing a bright light the nature of which he did not understand.[7] The Jesuits who visited the Huron in 1653 found them entertaining 'a superstitious regard for everything which savored a little of the uncommon. If, for instance, in their hunt they had difficulty in killing a bear or a stag, and on opening it they found in its head or in the entrails a bone, or a stone, or a serpent, etc.,

1 Cf. F. Ratzel, *The Hist. of Mankind*, Eng. tr., i. 49.
2 T. Coryat, *Crudities*, London, 1611, i. 114.
3 H. A. Junod, *The Life of a S. African Tribe*, Neuchâtel, 1912–13, ii. 414; R. M. Lawrence, *Primitive Psycho-therapy and Quackery*, London, 1910.
4 J. H. Weeks, *Among the Primitive Bakongo*, London, 1914, p. 285.
5 *Ib* p. 93.

1 St. John D. Seymour, *Irish Witchcraft and Demonology*, Dublin, 1913, p. 52 f.
2 E. W. Nelson, in *18 RBEW* [1899], p. 442.
3 See, *e.g.*, Lord Monboddo, *Of the Origin and Progress of Language*, Edinburgh, 1774–92, i.; *PC*[3]; Ratzel, *Hist. of Mankind*.
4 *Quæst. Nat.* vi. 1. 5 *HN* vii. 53.
6 E. Renan, *The Anti-Christ*, Paris, 1876, ch. x.
7 *2 RBEW* [1883], p. 68.

they said that such object was an *oki*, that is, an enchantment which gave strength and vigor to the animal, so that it could not be killed; and they used it as the superstitious do reliquaries, in order to be always prosperous.'[1]

In many parts of England and of America a crowing hen is considered very unlucky and can by no means be permitted to strut and fret with impunity:

'A whistling woman and a crowing hen
Always come to some bad end.'

The Australian is somewhat afraid of the unique and weird 'Ha! ha!' and 'Hoo! hoo!' of the laughing jackass.[2] The Ainus find it wise not to imitate the cry of any unknown bird, for strange birds are often sent by the devil and carry about the seeds of disease.[3] Double fruits in bananas, nuts, etc., being somewhat out of the ordinary, are believed in N. Queensland to be made by certain invisible beings. The Romans were similarly impressed with the presence of a double 'head' of the liver of a victim, as also by the absence of a 'head.'[4]

When the devout Brāhman ascetic heard the elephant talking to a tree, he exclaimed in amazement, 'Ha! what is this wonder, that an elephant should speak with an intelligible voice, and that I should understand him?'[5]

Those trees are regarded as sinister and are considered inauspicious which are never propagated from seed, and bear no fruit.[6] It portends evil when the cultivated olive changes into the wild, and the white grape or fig becomes wild. It was an evil portent when, upon the arrival of Xerxes at Laodicea, a plane-tree was transformed into an olive and sank into the earth shortly before the civil wars of Pompeius Magnus began, leaving only a few of the branches protruding from the ground. The Sibylline Books were consulted, and it was found that a war of extermination was impending, which would be attended with greater carnage the nearer it approached the city of Rome. Another kind of prodigy is the springing up of a tree in some extraordinary and unusual place—*e.g.*, the head of a statue, an altar, or another tree. A fig-tree shot forth from a laurel at Cyzicus, just before the siege of that city; in like manner, at Tralles, a palm issued from the pedestal of the statue of the dictator Cæsar, at the period of his civil wars. So, too, at Rome, in the Capitol, in the time of Perseus, a palm-tree grew from the head of the statue of Jupiter—a presage of impending victory and triumphs. This palm having been destroyed by a tempest, a fig-tree sprang up in the very same place, at the period of lustration made at a time at which, according to Piso, 'an author of high authority,'[7] all sense of shame had been utterly banished. 'Above all the prodigies that have ever been heard of, however, we ought to place the one that was seen in our own time, at the period of the fall of the Emperor Nero, in the territory of Marrucinum; a plantation of olives, belonging to Vectius Marcellus, one of the principal members of the Equestrian order, bodily crossed the highway, while the fields that lay on the opposite side of the road passed over to supply the place which had been thus vacated by the olive-yard.'[8]

The fear of ghosts is universal.

When the supposedly dead Geraint, hero of the *Mabinogion*, rose up and slew one of the assembled company, 'all left the board and fled away. And this was not so much through fear of the living as through the dread they felt at seeing the dead man rise up to slay them.'[9] It was natural for Teigue O'Neill, the Irish blacksmith, when he discovered that the rider of the horse was a ghost, to 'recoil with a terrified prayer.'[10]

This fear is not a fear of physical injury, but a fear far transcending this. In this territory all natural restraint breaks down.

Horror was on the faces of the friends of a certain John Browne of Durley when, as he lay dying in the year 1654, they saw a great iron triple-locked chest, which stood at the foot of the bed, 'begin to open, lock by lock, without the aid of any visible hand, until at length the lid stood upright.'[11]

Horror would be on our faces too, if we accepted the fact that there was no natural explanation. There is no other attitude to take in the presence of events that shatter our every-day working categories.[12]

(*b*) *Religious aspect.*—The concepts and emotions that harbour prodigies, and find in them a wealth of mystic meaning, have much in common with the religious attitude. Disasters of all kinds are recognized as the inflictions of an angry god. Pindar's remark, 'I ween there is no marvel impossible if gods have wrought thereto,'[1] is profoundly true. The divine nature of the ruler himself was, from the time of Alexander the Great to that of the Roman emperors of the 1st cent. and even longer, evidenced by oracles, portents, and supernatural displays of various sorts.

The Christian army of Ferdinand of Spain, when besieging the Moors in the stronghold of Mochling, near Granada, discharged from their guns inextinguishable combustibles. 'One of these, which passed high through the air like a meteor, sending out sparks and crackling as it went, entered the window of a tower which was used as a magazine of gunpowder. The tower blew up with a tremendous explosion. . . . The Moors, who had never witnessed an explosion of the kind, ascribed the destruction of the tower to a miracle. Some who had seen the descent of the flaming ball, imagined that fire had fallen from heaven to punish them for their pertinacity. The pious Agapida, himself, believes that this fiery missive was conducted by divine agency to confound the infidels; an opinion in which he is supported by other Catholic historians.'[2] Thus each interpreted the event in a way that fitted in with his intellectual background, while both parties found in its superhuman and, for them, supernatural character something of the divine. When, later, the Spanish forces had suffered a year of discouraging reverses with scarcely a bright spot in all their campaigns against the Moors, the unusually severe storms which swept the land seemed to have a sinister meaning, and suggested visitations from on high. High winds prevailed and rains deluged the land, overflowing the valleys, undermining the houses, and drowning the flocks. '"A vast black cloud moved over the land, accompanied by a hurricane and a trembling of the earth. Houses were unroofed, the walls and battlements of fortresses shaken, and lofty towers rocked to their foundations. Ships, riding at anchor, were either stranded or swallowed up; others, under sail, were tossed to and fro upon mountain waves, and cast upon the land, where the whirlwind rent them in pieces and scattered them in fragments in the air. . . . Some of the faint-hearted," adds Antonio Agapida [the Spanish chronicler], "looked upon this torment of the elements as a prodigious event, out of the course of nature. In the weakness of their fears, they connected it with those troubles which occurred in various places, considering it a portent of some great calamity, about to be wrought by the violence of the bloody-handed El Zagal and his fierce adherents."'[3]

A like interpretation was given by the inhabitants of Constance, in Switzerland, of a terrific storm of rain and hail which came upon some encamped soldiers, on a Sunday night (8th May 1642), when 'all the tents were in a thrice blown over. It was not possible for any match to keep fire, or any sojor to handle his musket or yet to stand. . . . Our sojors, and some of our officers too (who suppose that no thing which is more than ordinarie can be the product of nature) attributed this hurrikan to *the divilish skill of some Irish witches.*'[4]

The catastrophic drives men to their wits' end, and even beyond the bounds of reason. He who is deterred by no clearly apprehended danger becomes panic-stricken in the face of mysterious forces. The feeling of human inability to cope with the situation intensifies the individual's helplessness. There is nothing to do but cringe and hope.

'For what can one believe quite safe,' asks Seneca, 'if the world itself is shaken, and its most solid parts totter to their fall? Where, indeed, can our fears have limit if the one thing immovably fixed, which upholds all other things in dependence on it, begins to rock, and the earth lose its chief characteristic, stability? What refuge can our weak bodies find? Whither shall anxious ones flee when fear springs from the ground and is drawn up from the earth's foundations? If roofs at any time begin to crack and premonitions of fall are given, there is general panic: all hurry pell-mell out of doors, they abandon their household treasures, and trust for safety to the public street. But if the earth itself stir up destruction what refuge or help can we look for? If this solid globe which upholds and defends us, upon which our cities are built, which has been called by some the world's foundation, stagger and remove, whither are we to turn?'[5]

When there is public alarm through fall of cities, burying of whole nations, and shaking of earth's foundations, what wonder that minds in the distraction of suffering and terror should wander forth bereft of sense? Indeed, on no occasion will one find more instances of raving prophets than when mingled terror and superstition have struck men's hearts. The Malakand tribes that attacked the British in 1897, under the leadership

[1] *Jesuit Relations*, ed. R. G. Thwaites, Cleveland, U.S.A., 1896–1901, xxxix. 25.
[2] R. Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, London, 1878, i. 25.
[3] J. Batchelor, *The Ainu and their Folklore*, London, 1901, p. 126.
[4] *HN* xi. 73.
[5] F. W. Bain, *The Ashes of a God*, London, 1911, p. 3.
[6] *HN* xvi. 45. [7] *Ib.* xvii. 38. [8] *Ib.*
[9] T. Bulfinch, *Age of Chivalry*, Philadelphia, 1900, pt. ii. ch. vii.
[10] Seymour, p. 72 ff. [11] *Ib.* p. 104.
[12] See W. D. Wallis, *AJRPE* v. [1912] 257–304, vi. [1913] 238–272, vii. [1914] 266.

[1] *Pyth.* x. 49 f.
[2] Washington Irving, *Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada*, 2 vols., Philadelphia, 1829, ch. xliii.
[3] *Ib.* ch. lxix.
[4] Seymour, p. 99, quoting T. Fitzpatrick, *The Bloody Bridge*, Dublin, 1903, p. 127.
[5] *Quæst. Nat.* vi. 1.

of the Mad Mullah, are one of many examples of a people assailed by supernatural terrors and doubts, lured by hopes of celestial glory, and taught to expect prodigious events.[1]

II. *HISTORY.*—**1. The Greek view of prodigies.**—According to Empedocles, the various parts of animals had a separate existence. Heads grew supported by no necks, arms wandered about detached from shoulders, and disembodied eyes pierced the solitudes. These several parts united, forming in some cases normal creatures, but, because of their vagarious juxtaposition, in some cases monstrosities, such as man-headed oxen. The normal ones, being better adapted to the conditions of life, survived, while the monsters perished because of their maladjustment.

The stress of the times always heightened the interest in prodigies. Thus, during the Peloponnesian War there were earthquakes unparalleled in their extent and fury, and eclipses of the sun more numerous than are recorded to have happened in any former age, if we are to believe Thucydides.[2] Again, while Xerxes was leading his army into Greece, prodigies of his defeat were not wanting: a mare gave birth to a hare, signifying, says Herodotus, that Xerxes would return fleeing for his life, and a mule brought forth a colt with the organs of both sexes.[3] Again, when the Persian army approached the temple at Delphi, numerous prodigies appeared: the sacred arms transported themselves outside the temple; thunder struck two crags above the heads of the barbarian force and brought them down upon the foe with considerable mortality.[4] Two days after the olive-tree in the Erechtheum had been burned down, a shoot a cubit long had sprung up from the stump.[5] Salt fish that were being fried leaped from the pan; this signified that the deceased Protesilaus would leap from the dead and avenge himself on the one who had wronged him.[6]

By reading the horoscope Greek astrologers were able to predict the birth of monstrosities. If there was disjunction (*ἀσύνδετα*) between all or most of the recognized proper positions of the planets, a monstrous birth might be expected. It would not be of human birth if the planets in question were in the sign of one of the animals.[7]

2. The Roman view.—The speculations of Empedocles found place in the philosophy of the Romans. The earth in the beginning produced various monsters that sprang up with wonderful faces and limbs. But these 'prodigies and portents' were generated to no purpose, for nature abhorred and prevented their increase.[8] Pliny[9] speaks of races having but one eye, and that in the middle of the forehead—veritable Polyphemoi. Some had their feet turned backwards; they could proceed with wonderful velocity, and wandered about indiscriminately with the wild beasts. Some peoples were partly male and partly female. Some had only one leg, but with a foot so large that they could lie down in the shade of it. Some had no noses, some no mouths, subsisting upon odours, and needing neither meat nor drink. Some lived to be 400 years old.

Livy relates three prodigious births: at Frusino, a lamb with a sow's head; at Sinuessa, a pig with a human head; among the Lucani, a foal with five feet.[10] Women gave birth to elephants, to serpents, to hippocentaurs.[11] The birth of more than three children at one birth was looked upon by the Romans as portentous. During the reign of Augustus the birth of four children at one birth was quickly followed by a famine.

In the troublous times following immediately upon Nero's reign, and inaugurated by it, there appeared through the Roman world loathsome spectres, monsters born of slime, and prodigies of every sort. Prominent among these were monstrous births, especially cases where several heads were possessed by the progeny. To the Roman mind each of these represented an emperor. Real or pretended hybrids were given a similar interpretation. A hog with claws like a hawk's was accepted as a perfect image of Nero.[1]

Bright lights sometimes proceeded from the heavens during the night-time, as though the day had suddenly ventured to intrude; a burning shield was seen to dart across the sky at sunset, from west to east, scintillating. In one case a spark fell from a star, increasing in size as it approached the earth, until it attained the magnitude of the moon, shining as through a cloud. It afterwards returned into the heavens and was converted into a *lampas*. Stars moved about in various directions.[2] A bow, or a circle of red, might suddenly appear about the sun.

In ancient Rome it rained milk, blood, a flesh which did not putrefy, wool, iron, and baked tiles. During the war with the Cimbri, and at other times, the air was filled with the rattling of arms and the sound of trumpets. Armies were seen marching, countermarching, and fighting, and the heavens themselves were seen in flames.[3] In the district of Mutina two mountains rushed together, falling upon each other with a very loud crash, and then receding; in the daytime flame and smoke issued from them. There was the usual great crowd of witnesses. All the farmhouses were thrown down by the shock, and many of the animals in them were killed. This heralded the Social War, which was even more disastrous for Italy. Near Harpasa, in Asia, was a large rock which could be moved by the finger, but not if the entire body was applied to it. Near the river Indus a certain mountain had such attraction for iron that, if shoes containing iron were placed on it, they could not be withdrawn, while another repelled iron to such an extent that the foot within a shoe containing iron could not rest upon it. In several places things pushed into the ground could not be pulled out.

Prodigies might appear at any time, but they were especially frequent in time of political or national danger or disaster. In the year in which Fabius Maximus was for the third time elected to the consulship the sea appeared on fire; at Sinuessa a cow brought forth a colt; the statues in the temple of Juno Sospita, Lanuvium, sweated blood, and a shower of stones fell in the neighbourhood of that temple.

'On account of this shower the nine days' sacred rite was celebrated, as is usual on such occasions, and the other prodigies were carefully expiated.'[4]

Prodigies announced from many places while Hannibal was threatening Rome augmented the terror. In Sicily several darts of the soldiers had taken fire; in Sardinia the staff of a horseman who was going his rounds upon a wall took fire as he held it in his hand; the shores were frequently ablaze; at Prænestе two shields sweated blood; at Arpi red-hot stones fell from the heavens; at Capena shields appeared in the heavens, and the sun fought with the moon; two moons rose during one day; the fountain of Hercules flowed with spots of blood; in Antium bloody ears of grain fell into the basket as the people were reaping; at

1 W. L. S. Churchill, *Story of the Malakand Field Force*, London, 1898, p. 38.
2 i. 23. 3 Herod. vii. 57. 4 *Ib.* viii. 37–39.
5 *Ib.* 55. 6 *Ib.* ix. 120.
7 A. Bouché-Leclercq, *L'Astrologie grecque*, Paris, 1899, p. 399 f.
8 Lucretius, v. 837. 9 *HN* vii. 2.
10 xxvii 37, xxxi. 12.
11 *HN* vii. 3; Val. Maximus, vi. 5, 1. 6.

1 Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 64; Phlegon, Περὶ Θαυμασίων.
2 *HN* ii. 29–37. 3 *Ib.* ii. 29–34, 57–59.
4 Livy, xxiii. 31.

Falerii the heavens appeared cleft as if with a great chasm, and from the cleft came a vast light; the prophetic tables suddenly diminished in size, and one fell out, on which appeared the inscription, 'Mars shakes his spear.' The statue of Mars at Rome, on the Appian Way, sweated at the sight of images of wolves; at Capua the heavens seemed to be on fire, and the moon appeared to be falling amid the rain. This must, indeed, have been good preparation for smaller wonders.

'After these,' says Livy, 'credit was given to prodigies of less magnitude: that the goats of certain persons had borne wool; that a hen had changed herself into a cock; and a cock into a hen; these things having been laid before the senate, as reported, the authors being conducted into the senate-house, the consul took the sense of the fathers on religious affairs. It was decreed that these prodigies should be expiated, partly with full-grown, partly with sucking, victims.'[1]

Later, in the Punic War, another flood of prodigies aroused new fear to supplement the old. Crows had torn some gold in the Capitol with their beaks and had eaten it; at Antium mice gnawed a golden crown; an immense quantity of locusts, coming apparently from nowhere, filled the whole country around Capua; at Reate a foal with five feet was born; at Anagnia scattered fires appeared in the sky and were followed by a meteor; at Arpinum the earth sank into an immense gulf, in a place where the ground was level; the 'head' of the liver was absent from the first victim immolated by one of the consuls. These prodigies were expiated by offerings and sacrifices.[2]

A circle of stars near the moon was visible when Augustus entered Rome, after the death of his father, to assume the name by which he was afterwards known.[3] Shakespeare is following ample precedent in announcing the ominous appearance of five moons immediately after the death of Prince Arthur.[4]

3. The early Christian view.—The spirit of evil, typified by the Roman power or by the violent party of Jerusalem, as the case may be, is a dragon which pours out a flood of water to sweep away the Church (Rev 12^{13-15}). The concept is possibly of Babylonian or Egyptian origin,[5] though it is found also in Mazdæism.[6] The false prophet or Antichrist is especially liable to representation as some prodigy. The 'false prophet' whom the writer of the Apocalypse represents as an ally of Nero is a wonder-worker who causes fire to fall from the sky, graven images to live and speak, and who puts the 'mark of the beast' upon men (13^{14-17} 16 19). Elsewhere (13^{11}) the false prophet is a monster, speaks like a dragon, and has 'two horns like a lamb.' Nor are there lacking elements of the prodigious in that hated Antichrist, the emperor Nero, whose life has been likened to the discordant cries of a grotesque witches' revel.

In the bloody troublous days of Nero meteors and celestial signs received heightened attention.

'Comets, eclipses, mock-suns, northern lights, in which appear crowns, swords, and streaks of blood, fantastic forms of clouds in time of heat, with traces of battles or strange beasts,—drew eager attention and seemed never to have been so vivid as in these tragic years. All the talk was of showers of blood, of wonderful thunder-bolts, of rivers flowing up-stream, or of bloody torrents. A thousand things never noticed in ordinary times came to have a high importance in the feverish excitement of the public mind.'[7]

Christ Himself had prophesied that nation would rise against nation, kingdom against kingdom; there would be earthquakes, terrors, famines, pestilences on all sides, and great signs in the sky (Mt 24^{6-8}, Mk 13^{7-9}, Lk 21^{9-11}). The prophecy had its ample fulfilment in the near future. The famine came in the year 68; inundation from the Tiber in 69 and from the sea along the coast of Lycia; the pestilence visited Rome in 65, carrying off 30,000 inhabitants; Lyons was swept in the same year by a devastating conflagration, and the Campania by scarcely less destructive cyclones and tornadoes; tempests spread terror broadcast, and nature seemed everywhere perverse. It was a prevalent belief that portents, hiding of the sun and moon in darkness, brandishing of swords in the sky, were to usher in the Messianic kingdom.[1] This view—that calamities were signs of the Messiah's approach—was in vogue among the Jews for many centuries after the time of Christ.[2]

Similar interpretations, inherited no doubt from Rome, were rife as late as the 9th cent., and persisted through the Middle Ages. It was during a wild storm that Cromwell passed away; for had not the devil come to carry off his soul? Numerous and more terrible were the omens heralding the death of Charlemagne, recounted by his contemporary and biographer, Eginhard:

There were frequent eclipses, both solar and lunar, and a black spot appeared for seven days on the sun, during the last three years of his life; the gallery between the basilica and the palace fell suddenly in ruin; accidental fire consumed the wooden bridge over the Rhine at Mayence—both gallery and bridge had been constructed by Charlemagne; during his last campaign into Saxony a ball of fire fell suddenly from the heavens with a great light. 'It rushed across the clear sky from right to left, and everybody was wondering what was the meaning of the sign, when the horse which he was riding gave a sudden plunge, head foremost, and fell.' His javelin was struck from his hand with a violence that sent it twenty feet away. The palace at Aix-la-Chapelle frequently trembled, the roofs of whatever buildings he tarried in kept up a continual crackling noise, the basilica was struck by lightning, and the gilded ball that adorned the pinnacle of the roof was shattered by the thunder-bolt and hurled upon the bishop's house adjoining.[3]

III. *ANIMALS.*—**1. Divination.**—Divination is by no means confined to the classical cultures.

It is practised by means of lice in the Torres Straits, and on the island of Mer is a divinatory shrine where omens are taken from the movements of insects, lizards, and other animals.[4] The Kirghiz divine by means of the shoulder-blade of a sheep; the Buriats use the shoulder-blade of a sheep or a goat in divining the cause of disease or for the discovery of a thief. A written law was given by God to the chief tribal ancestor of the Buriats, who, on his way home to his own people, fell asleep under a haystack. A ewe came to the stack and ate up all the law as well as the hay, but the law remained engraved on the ewe's shoulder-blade.[5] The Kayans of Borneo cast bears' teeth as dice by way of divination, and the Igorot resort to divination with chickens. Before going to battle the Samoans observe the movements of a lizard in a bundle of spears. If it runs about the points of the spears and the outside of the bundle, it is a good omen; if it works its way into the centre for concealment, it is a bad omen. If a lizard comes down on the bare post rather than on the matting which partly covers it, this is a bad portent; similarly if it crosses the path of a man going to battle.[6] The Thonga preserve, as useful for divinatory purposes, the astragalus of a smaller animal found in the stuhls of a hyena—'a most uncommon discovery.'[7]

See, further, artt. DIVINATION.

2. Omens.—Omens likewise are common among primitive people.

The flocking of vultures denotes impending war, it being the habit of these birds to prey upon the bodies of the slain.[8] The snake portends death to a Bushman.[9] Among the Thonga it is a bad omen for a mole to cross one's path.[10] The screech of the eagle informed the Takelma that some one would be killed

[1] xxii. 1. [2] *Ib.* xxii., xxx.
[3] *HN* ii. 28; Seneca, *Quæst. Nat.* i. 2; Vell. Paterculus, ii. 59.
[4] *King John*, act iv. sc. ii.
[5] C. Clemen, *Primitive Christianity*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1912, pp. 127–137.
[6] N. Söderblom, *La Vie future d'après le Mazdéisme*, Paris, 1901, p. 258.
[7] Renan, ch. xiv.

[1] G. F. Fisher, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, Edinburgh, 1878, p. 250; Clemen, pp. 137–139.
[2] Renan, ch. xiv.; Mishnāh, *Sôṭāh*, ix. 15.
[3] *MGH*, tr. S. E. Turner, New York, 1880, p. 72; see, further, *DCG*, *s.vv.* 'Wonders,' 'Earthquake,' and *DAC*, *s.v.* 'Dreams.'
[4] *Camb. Anth. Exped. to Torres Straits Reports*, Cambridge, 1901–12, v. [1904] 361; *Ethn. Coll. Brit. Mus.* 139.
[5] *JAI* xxiv. [1894] 99.
[6] G. Turner, *Samoa*, London, 1884, p. 47.
[7] Junod, ii. 499.
[8] A. B. Ellis, *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, London, 1894, p. 119.
[9] W. H. I. Bleek, *A Brief Account of Bushman Folk-Lore*, London, 1875, p. 20.
[10] Junod, ii. 321; see also R. H. Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, London, 1904, pp. 194–200; D. Kidd, *The Essential Kaffir*, London, 1904, pp. 272–274.

by an arrow. When a snake crosses a person's path, it is a sign that one of his relatives will die; if a rattlesnake bites a person's shadow, it is a sign that he will vomit.[1] The Yana declare it a bad sign if a fox 'talk' before daybreak.[2] If the rail-bird flies before a Samoan war party, it is a good omen; it is a bad omen if seen to fly in any other direction. If a certain fish swims rapidly, the Samoans go to battle cheerfully; but, if it turns round now and then on its back, the party would not dare to proceed.[3] The flight of the owl is a good or a bad omen according to the direction taken. If the cuttle-fish is close to shore when the party is about to set out, it is a good sign; if far away, a bad sign. Evil is portended when the sea-eel is driven upon the shore—as often happens after a gale—and the event creates a commotion throughout that locality. If the heron flies before the war party, it is a good sign; but, if it flies across the path, this is a bad omen. The appearance of the creeper-bird in the morning or in the evening means that one's prayers are accepted, while its failure to appear means that the god is angry. If the teeth of the sperm-whale, after being placed in position, lie east and west, it is a good omen; while, if they point towards the north or south, it is a bad omen. A war party will return if a lizard is seen crossing its path.[4]

In Borneo an expedition, prepared by months of labour, will turn homeward if bad omens are observed—*e.g.*, if a particular bird calls on a certain side or flies across the river in some particular fashion; and a newly-married pair will separate if on the wedding day the cry of a deer is heard near the house. Similar beliefs prevail among the Todas.[5]

In Holland, as early as 1611, the presence of a stork upon a house was looked upon as a good omen, and its leave-taking as a bad omen.[6]

3. The crow and the raven.—The English rustic who pronounces a curse on the ill-betiding croak of the crow might well be considered the inheritor of the Roman belief that the crow is a bird of ill-omened garrulity and especially inauspicious at the time of incubation, *i.e.* just after the summer solstice. In the Shetlands the raven is believed to keep close to a house in which there is a corpse, and in Northumberland the cry of the raven is an omen of ill-luck. In rustic England the raven has generally been considered a bird of ill omen. A similar belief is current on the west coast of Africa, where the white-breasted raven is called a man-eater, and magic medicine is manufactured from it. No rain falls when it lays its eggs—the exact contrary of the belief prevailing in the western part of the United States. Its flocking portends impending war.[7] Pliny declares that ravens are most direfully ominous when they swallow their voice, as if being choked. They are unique among birds in having a comprehension of the meaning of their auspices. When the guests of Medus were assassinated, all the ravens departed from the vicinity of Attica and the Peloponnesus. Both Alexander and Cicero were warned of approaching death by the raven. In some instances, however, the presence of the raven betokened divine favour.[8]

4. The owl.—In *Hiranyakeśin Gṛhyasūtra* the owl that flies to the abode of the gods is addressed with the words:

'Flying round the village from left to right, portend us luck by thy cry, O owl!'[9]

Striges, 'screech-owls,' was the Roman appellation for witches. The horned owl was especially funereal and greatly abhorred in all auspices of a public nature. Its appearance in the city was a dire omen, though its perching on a private house portended no ill. During the consulship of S. Palpelius Hister and L. Pedanius one entered the very sanctuary of the Capitol, in consequence of which the city was purified on the nones of March in that year, as also again in the consulship of L. Cassius and C. Marius (A.U.C. 647).[10] The note of an owl heard on the left annuls the auspicious note of other birds.[11] The note of the *strix* and the presence or cry of the *bubo* bode ill.[1] The Ainus say that the owl can bewitch people by its hoot, and its cry must not be imitated. The eagle owl is especially respected. To imitate its cry would be nothing short of blasphemy, though the bird is regarded as benevolent. Among the titles given it are 'divine little bird,' 'servant of the world,' 'mediator of the world.' When about to sacrifice one of them, the Ainus offer the following prayer:

'Beloved deity, we have brought you up because we loved you, and now we are about to send you to your father. We herewith offer you food, *Inao*, wine, and cakes; take them to your parent, and he will be very pleased. When you come to him say, "I have lived a long time among the Ainu, where an Ainu father and an Ainu mother reared me. I now come to thee. My father, hear me, and hasten to look upon the Ainu and help them."'[2]

In one Samoan village the god was said to be incarnate in the owl. If an owl flew ahead of a party going to fight, it was regarded as favourable; but, if it flew across the road or towards the rear, it was unfavourable.[3] Among the Yao the owl was a favourite companion of the witch, and Thessalian women used its feathers as a magic ingredient. In Shetland the old women say that a cow will give bloody milk if it is frightened by an owl, and will fall sick and die if touched by it. Screech-owls are ghosts among the Arapaho, and in many American tribes the owl is regarded as a bird of ill omen or of magic power, as, notably, in the south-west area. With the Navaho it is a sort of bugaboo used to frighten children into submission.

IV. *NATURAL PHENOMENA.* — **1. Aurora borealis.**—The Mandans say that the northern lights are occasioned by a large assembly of medicine-men and distinguished warriors of several northern nations who boil their prisoners and slain enemies in huge cauldrons. The Eskimos say that they are the ghosts of the dead playing football with a walrus skull.[4] To the Malecite they represented blood and portended war. The Tlingit share with the Eskimos the belief that the northern lights are the spirits of the dead at play,[5] while the Saulteaux say they are the spirits of the dead dancing.[6] The *aurora borealis* heralded the defeat at sea of the Lacedæmonians and the loss of their influence in Greece. This 'flame of a bloody appearance (and nothing is more dreaded by mortals) which falls down upon the earth'[7] appeared again when King Philip was harassing Greece. Pliny is inclined to interpret it as due to natural causes, but does not deny its association with untoward events:

'They have indeed been the precursors of great events, but I conceive that the evils occurred not because the prodigies took place, but that these took place because the evils were appointed to occur at that period. Their cause is obscure in consequence of their rarity.'[8]

2. Earthquakes. — According to Pliny,[9] the Babylonians attributed earthquakes to the influence of the stars when in a certain conjunction with the sun or with one another. The Greeks attributed thunder and earthquakes to one and the same cause, the former to agitation of the air above the earth, the latter to disturbances in the air beneath the earth. Yet, in spite of the scientific theories, such as we find in Aristotle[10] or Herodotus,[11] an earthquake was a portent by which

1 *JAFL* xx. [1910] 49.
2 E. Sapir, *Yana Texts* (*Univ. of Pennsylvania Museum Publications*), Philadelphia, 1910, pp. 22 f., 221–223.
3 Turner, p. 34.
4 Cf. *11 RBEW* [1894], p. 477 f.
5 W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, London, 1906, pp. 201, 273.
6 Coryat, i. 38.
7 R. F. Burton, *Mission to Gelele*, London, 1864, ii. 246 f.
8 *HN* x. 15. 9 I. v. 17. 3 (*SBE* xxx. [1892] 183).
10 *HN* x. 16 f. 11 Lucan, v. 295.

1 Tibullus, I. v. 51; Seneca, *Herc. Fur.* 688; Statius, *Theb.* iii. 510 ff.; Ovid, *Met.* vi. 431 f., x. 452 f., xv. 791; Silius Ital. viii. 637; Ovid, *Ibis*, 223. See E. W. Martin, *The Birds of the Latin Poets*, *s.vv.* 'Bubo,' 'Spinturnicium,' 'Strix,' *ap.* Leland Stanford, Jr., *Univ. Publications Stanford Univ.*, California, 1914, pp. 43–46, 200–203.
2 Batchelor, pp. 408–429. 3 Turner, pp. 24–26.
4 E. W. Hawkes, *The Labrador Eskimo* (*Anthropological Series of Geological Survey*, no. 14), Ottawa, 1916, p. 137.
5 *26 RBEW* [1908], p. 452.
6 *Coll. Minn. Hist. Soc.*, Minneapolis, 1886, i. 233.
7 *HN* ii. 27. 8 *Ib.* 9 *Ib.* ii. 81.
10 *Meteorology*. 11 vi. 98.

the deity intimated to men the evils that were about to befall them. During the 2nd cent. of our era, when earthquakes were both frequent and frightful in their destruction of cities, the Stoic philosophers, feeling the old explanation insufficient to account for such disasters, attributed them to the displeasure of the gods—a view which later Christian theology welcomed and made popular. The earthquakes which were so prevalent in the region of the Bay of Naples in the 1st cent. A.D. were interpreted by Christians as signs of divine wrath visiting deserved punishment upon the wicked and licentious Romans; and the latter also regarded them as supernatural. Lucretius, following Epicurus, Democritus (water and air), and Anaxagoras (fire and air), ascribes earthquakes to the fall of great substances beneath the earth as well as to air escaping from subterranean caverns. Seneca attributes them to escaping air.[1]

Earthquakes occurring during the day or a little after sunset are heralded by a long thin cloud extending over the clear sky. The water in wells is more turbid than usual and emits a disagreeable odour. Birds settle upon vessels at sea and give the alarm. Yet so ominous are earthquakes that Pliny, who is inclined to find their cause in subterranean winds, declares that the city of Rome never experienced a shock which was not the forerunner of some great calamity.[2]

The Japanese once held that the magnet loses its power during an earthquake or even immediately prior to one. They attributed earthquakes to movements of a tortoise, on which the earth rests, or to the flapping of a large subterranean fish, which, when it wakes, wriggles about and causes the vibrations. During a severe earthquake masses of people can be seen, robed in white, some of them on their knees, attempting to appease the wrath of the gods or demons who are responsible for the disturbance.[3] The Indians of the south-western part of the United States have a similar belief. They say that the shaking of the earth is caused by the wriggling of a large subterranean serpent or dragon. The Tlingit attribute them to Old-woman-underneath.[4] This is almost identical with the belief prevalent in Melanesia and Polynesia. The Arabs regard an earthquake as the will of Allah and resign themselves to it calmly, not anticipating any greater calamity. The Caribs attribute earthquakes to a subterranean people.[5] The natives of Bali and of the Pagi Islands attribute them to evil spirits, as do the Mao Naga. With these peoples, as also among the ancient Hindus and in ancient Rome, a tabu was placed on all ordinary occupations; a Brāhman might not read the Veda. Earthquakes were so common in Rome in the year 193 B.C. that all public business was blocked, and during the following year shocks lasting thirty-eight days called for a total cessation of business. As late as the time of the emperor Claudius an earthquake was always followed by the appointment of a holiday for the performance of sacred rites.[6] After the occurrence of an earthquake during a battle Earth would be appeased.[7] In the first centuries A.D. the pagan Romans usually attributed them to displeasure towards the Christians.[8] In the 8th cent., Bede[9] attributes earthquakes to the leviathan in his subterranean prison, who, in his indignation, shakes the earth. Aristotle's view was generally championed by the later mediæval theologians (as by Cardinal d'Ailly, *Concordia astronomicæ veritatis cum theologia*, Paris, 1483); yet in 1580, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, earthquakes were generally considered by the clergy as evidence of God's wrath—a view popular in the New England States as late as the last half of the 18th cent., and revived on the Pacific coast after the earthquake of 1906 which destroyed San Francisco.

1 *Quæst. Nat.* vi. 5-32. 2 *HN* ii. 83.
3 R. B. Hubbard, *U.S. in the Far East*, Richmond, Va., 1899, p. 108; W. Tyndale, *Japan and the Japanese*, New York, 1910, p. 151 f.
4 *26 RBEW*, p. 452. 5 *30 RBEW* [1915], p. 378 f.
6 Livy, i. 31, iii. 5, vii. 28, xxi. 62, xxv. 7, *et al.*
7 Florus, *Hist.* i. 19.
8 See W. E. H. Lecky, *Hist. of European Morals*[8], London, 1888, New York, 1910, i. 408.
9 *de Nat. Rer.* xlix. (*PL* xc. 275).

3. Eclipses.—The Chaldæans explained eclipses on the supposition that one half of the moon was bright, the other half dark. When she suddenly turned the bright side away from men and presented to them her dark visage, they had evidence of her displeasure. Some event of importance—a pestilence, a famine, a war, an earthquake—followed hard upon each eclipse. For the Greeks, similarly, an eclipse boded no good. It signified the turning aside of the face of the god and the approach of a dire crisis. The moon hid the sun, and the sun fell into a swoon, or ἔκλειψις (*défaillance*). The moon, assisted by the other planets, then provided the energy which the sun temporarily could not supply.

'Xerxes [remarking an eclipse of the sun] was seized with alarm, and, sending at once for the Magians, inquired of them the meaning of the portent. They replied: "God is foreshowing to the Greeks the destruction of their cities; for the sun foretells for them and the moon for us." So Xerxes, thus instructed, proceeded on his way with great gladness of heart.'[1]

An eclipse caused Cleombrotus to bring his army home.

'For while he was offering sacrifice to know if he should march out against the Persian, the sun was suddenly darkened in mid sky.'[2]

In 585 B.C. a sudden eclipse of the sun caused the fighting Medes and Lydians to lay down their arms and hastily make peace; and the Athenian expedition which was about to depart from Syracuse in 413 B.C., after ignominious defeat, was delayed by an eclipse of the moon which filled the soldiers with fear. Thales was reputed able to predict an eclipse of the sun and to account satisfactorily for the phenomenon. Pythagoras likewise explained eclipses as natural phenomena, as did Aristotle and Pliny. The Egyptians also attempted to explain them as part of normal celestial occurrences and to predict them.[3] Lucretius explains eclipses of the sun and moon in the modern way,[4] as do Seneca[5] and Livy.[6] Livy says that Caius Sulpicius Gallus, military tribune, 'lest they should any of them consider the matter a prodigy,' foretold to the army an eclipse of the moon on the following night. He refers also to the custom of making a din during an eclipse of the moon, presumably to frighten away the beast that is devouring it.[7] Pliny admits, with his prevalent inconsistency of reason and superstition, that many eclipses are portentous, especially such as are unusually long. This was the case when Cæsar was slain, as in the war against Antony, when the sun remained dim for almost an entire year. Driving away an eclipse by beating drums and cymbals is referred to by Tacitus.[8] The inhabitants of Turin long continued this practice.[9]

The Armenians believed eclipses of the moon to be caused by the interposition of a dark body between it and the earth during the earth's revolution about the moon.[10] Orthodox Hindus look upon an eclipse as the arrest of the sun by his creditors, Rāhu and Ketu. They accordingly

1 Herod. vii. 37. 2 *Ib.* ix. 10.
3 Bouché-Leclercq, pp. 43-49, 246, 333, 354, 581; H. R. Hall, *Ancient Hist. of the Near East*, London, 1907, p. 18; *HN* ii. 7.
4 vi. 753. 5 *Quæst. Nat.* i. 12.
6 xxxvii. 4. 7 xliv. 37, xxvi. 5, xxii. 1.
8 *Ann.* i. 28.
9 R. Ceillier, *Hist. gén. des auteurs sacrés et ecclésiastiques* Paris, 1858-69, xiv. 607.
10 *ERE* i. 797b.

give alms and observe a fast during the eclipse. There is another belief to the effect that it is caused by a demon, called Svarbhanu.[1] This is similar to the Chinese belief that the sun or moon is being swallowed by a dog or other beast. They accordingly beat gongs to rescue it by frightening away the devourer.[2] Since an eclipse of the sun portends some awful and mysterious event, the natives of Ceylon observe a fast on that day.[3] The Todas fire off guns and send up rockets to frighten away the snake that is trying to eat the hare in the moon, and accompany these demonstrations with shouts. They observe a fast also.[4] Shintō religion ordained that, at the time of an eclipse, certain jewels, regarded as amulets, should be suspended from the highest branches of the sacred *cleyera*, their brilliance being suggestive of the light of the sun which it was desired to restore.[5] The lighting of fires, doubtless for the same reason, will dispel an eclipse, and so will the crowing of cocks, as they are the usual heralds of the sun's return. The penultimate *sūrah* of the Qur'ān contains a spell designed to ward off the evil influences that normally accompany an eclipse.

Pierre Bayle argues in some detail that comets and eclipses do not presage ill. He refutes the doctrine of the ancients and that of his contemporaries, by showing that no more misfortunes came after the appearance of certain comets of his day (17th cent.) than before them.[6]

On the west coast of Africa an eclipse of the moon is attributed to the shadow of the sun, which is constantly in pursuit. The natives throng the streets, shrieking and shouting, 'Leave her! Be off! Go away!'[7] But Junod[8] declares that the Thonga are not much impressed with eclipses, being more struck with wonder at the supernatural knowledge of the white people than with fear of the phenomenon itself.

For the Maori an eclipse of the moon presages the fall of the enemy's fortress.[9] The Tahitians it filled with dismay. They supposed it under the influence of some evil spirit which was about to destroy it. They accordingly repaired to the temple and offered prayers for the release of the moon. Some said that the sun or moon, as the case might be, was swallowed by a god whom, through neglect, the celestial body had offended. Liberal presents were offered to induce the god to abate his anger and eject the luminaries of day and night from his stomach. The Tonga Islanders are content to explain the eclipse of the moon as due to a thick cloud passing over it.[10] The N. Queensland natives attribute an eclipse to the anger of spirits;[11] and the Sandwich Islander says that the moon is bitten, pinched, or swallowed.[12]

The Bellacoola believe that during an eclipse the moon paints her face black. At this time the moon performs one of the most sacred ceremonies of the *lsusuit*, which are thought to be very dangerous to the performers. The black paint with which her face is covered is supposed to be a protection against these dangers. Aialilaaya, the guardian of the moon, restores her to her full size, and cleans her face after an eclipse.[1] The Dakota discharge their rifles in the air to drive away the demon or evil spirit that is causing the eclipse.[2] The Eskimos of the Lower Yukon believe that a subtle essence or unclean influence descends to the earth during an eclipse. If any of it should be caught in utensils, it would produce sickness. To avert this, at the commencement of an eclipse every woman turns all her pots, wooden buckets, and dishes upside down.[3] The Navahos say that an eclipse is caused by the death of the orb, which is revived by the immortal bearers of the sun and moon. During an eclipse of the moon the family is awakened to await its recovery. Similarly, a journey is interrupted and work ceases during an eclipse of the sun. Songs referring to the *hozhoji*, or rite of blessing, are chanted by any one knowing them; otherwise the passing of an eclipse is awaited in silence. It is not considered auspicious to have a ceremony in progress during an eclipse of the sun or moon, and a ceremony is often deferred on this account. The rising generation, however, pays little or no attention to this custom.[4] The Tlingit say that the sun and moon are hiding their faces during eclipse, and they blow their breath towards them in order to blow away the sickness which the eclipse is bringing.[5]

4. Hail.—Hail was formed by the freezing of an entire cloud (Posidonius). At Cleonæ, according to Seneca,[6] were hail-guards appointed by the State to notify the people of the approach of hail. Upon such notification the people offered sacrifices, some a chicken, some a lamb. If these were not to be had, they pricked the finger with a well-sharpened stile and made atonement with their own blood.

Aristotle considered hail and snow the same in formation, differing only in size and shape.[7] For Pliny it was merely frozen rain, probably caused by the winds; but the star Arcturus scarcely ever rises without accompanying storms of hail.[8] Lucretius leans towards a similar interpretation, but his views of its formation are not clearly expressed.[9] Hail is the result of frozen rain-drops, said Bede;[10] but the *Lex Visigothorum*, the earliest Teutonic code, provides a penalty for those who, by incantations, bring hail-storms upon the fields and vineyards.[11]

Hail is often personified in N. American mythology, but the phenomenon is seldom regarded as of any special significance. Among the Nandi no work was permitted during the twenty-four hours following a hail-storm.[12] The Kafirs permitted no field work on the day following a hail-storm, for this would bring down more hail.[13]

5. Lightning and thunder.—Thunder, especially on a cloudless day, was the great omen of Zeus.

1 H. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, Berlin, 1879, p. 351.
2 E. H. Parker, *John Chinaman*, London, 1901, p. 346; Lady Susan Townley, *My Chinese Note Book*, do. 1904, p. 284 f.
3 M. E. Stewart, *Everyday Life on a Ceylon Cocoa Estate*, London, n.d., p. 39.
4 Rivers, p. 593.
5 *ERE* viii. 297 f.; *Kojiki*, tr. B. H. Chamberlain[2], Tokyo, 1906, p. 64.
6 *Pensées diverses, à l'occasion de la comète de 1680*, Rotterdam, 1682.
7 A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples*, London, 1890, p. 65 f.; A. Le Hérissé, *L'ancien Royaume du Dahomey*, Paris, 1911, p. 258.
8 ii. 282.
9 E. Tregear, *The Maori Race*, London, 1905, p. 336.
10 W. Mariner, *Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands*[3], ed. J. Martin, Edinburgh, 1827, p. 342; W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*[2], London, 1832–36, i. 331.
11 A. C. Bicknell, *Travel and Adventures in N. Queensland*, London, 1895, p. 102 f.
12 W. Ellis, iii. 171.

1 F. Boas, *The Myth. of the Bella Coola Indians* (= *Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.* ii.), New York, 1898, p. 31, *Jesup N. Pacif. Publ.* i.
2 D. C. Poole, *Among the Sioux of Dakota*, New York, 1881, p. 91.
3 Nelson, *18 RBEW*, p. 430 f.; for Labrador Eskimos see Hawkes, p. 156.
4 The Franciscan Fathers, *An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language*, Saint-Michaels, Arizona, 1910, p. 41.
5 *26 RBEW*, p. 452 f., *29 RBEW* [1916], p. 46, *30 RBEW*, p. 254 ff. For tabus imposed during eclipses see Hutton Webster, *Rest Days*, New York, 1916, pp. 42, 50 f., 99, 134 f., 152 f., 259. Greek, Roman, and Christian conceptions are described by Andrew D. White, *A Hist. of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom*, New York, 1910, i. 172 f.; and by Lecky, i. 67; see also J. Brand, *Observations on the Popular Antiquities of Great Britain*, ed. London, 1908, iii. 152.
6 *Quæst. Nat.* iv. 6 f.
7 *Meteorology*, i. 11.
8 *HN* ii. 39, 61.
9 *De Rer. Nat.* vi. 107, 157 ff.
10 *De. Nat. Rer.* xxxiv.
11 Bk. vi. tit. 2, 4.
12 A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*, Oxford, 1908, pp. 17, 20, 100.
13 Ratzel, i. 56.

If heard on the right, it was favourable, and therefore unfavourable to the foe, who would hear it on the left. The thunderbolt was cast by Zeus.

'All night Zeus the counsellor meditated evil against them, thundering terribly. And pale fear seized them and they poured wine from their cups upon the ground, nor did any one dare to drink before he had poured a libation to the exalted son of Kronos.'[1]

The Pythagoreans believed that lightning was intended to terrify the damned in Tartarus. The Persians considered it a missile of divine wrath.

Said Artabanus, the adviser of Xerxes, 'Thou seest how the Deity strikes with thunderbolt those beasts that tower above their fellows, but the little ones worry him not; and thou seest also how his missiles always smite the largest buildings and trees of such kind; for God loves to truncate all those things that rise too high. Thus, too, a large army may be ruined by a small one, when God in his jealousy hurls a panic or a thunderbolt, through which they are shockingly destroyed; for God permits none but himself to entertain grand ideas.'[2]

For the Romans thunder predicted the good or evil fortune attendant upon an undertaking, and might itself be compelled or invoked. According to an Etrurian legend, thunder was invoked when the territory of Volsinium was laid waste by the monster Volta. To perform the ceremonies improperly was to court death from the lightning—a punishment visited upon Tullus Hostilius for such shortcomings. Thunder on the left was propitious, for the not very enlightening reason that the east is on the side of the heavens. It is very propitious if the thunder proceeds from the north to the east and then returns to the north. The remaining quarters of the heavens are neither so propitious nor so much to be dreaded. When Marcellus was about to enter upon the duties of consul, it thundered. The augurs were summoned and declared the election invalid, whereupon the fathers spread abroad the report that the gods were displeased because of the election of two plebeians as consuls.[3] Seneca finds marvellous effects in lightning, which leave no doubt that a subtle divine power is inherent in it. But he discountenances the prevailing view that lightning has the sovereign power of destroying the force of other portents, and also the view of Cæcina that, when something is simmering in one's mind, the lightning-stroke either urges it or deters from it. The truth is, if one has a design, then the lightning that occurs counsels; but, if one has no such design, it warns. Nor does he agree that the bolt which occurs first after entrance on an inheritance, or when a city or an individual has entered upon a new phase of existence, embraces in its prognostication the series of events through the whole subsequent life. Sometimes it portends nothing, or at least nothing that we can discover—*e.g.*, if it strike in the sea or in the desert.[4] The Stoic Attalus, according to Seneca,[5] recognized a class of lightning portending nothing that concerns us, and a class intimating what does concern us. Of the significant lightning there are several varieties—a favourable, an unfavourable, and a neutral. The unfavourable portents may be (*a*) unavoidable, (*b*) avoidable, (*c*) such as may be mitigated, or (*d*) such as may be delayed. If benefits be foretold, they may be (*a*) abiding or (*b*) transient.

In violent storms at sea stars seem to settle on the sails. This is accepted as aid from Castor and Pollux. It is, says Seneca,[6] really a sign that the storm is breaking and the wind subsiding; otherwise the stars would flit about without settling. When Glyppus was on the voyage to Syracuse, a star appeared resting on the very tip of his lance. At other times stars rested on the points of the Roman spears.[7]

[1] *Iliad*, vii. 478–481.
[2] Herod. vii. 10. 5; see *HN* ii. 53, xxviii. 5; Cicero, *de Divin.* ii. 39; Suetonius, *Caligula*, li.; *Cod. Theod.* lib. ix. tit. xvi. l. 3; Eusebius, *HE* v. 5.
[3] Livy, xxiii. 31.
[4] *Quæst. Nat.* ii. 32–34, 39–49.
[5] *Ib.* ii 50–59.
[6] *Ib.*
[7] *Ib.*

The Mission Indians of California personify ball-lightning, which they generally regard as possessing malign power.

In the belief of the Saxons thunder on Sunday of a certain year betokens great bloodshed in some nation; on Monday, that a royal child shall be put to death; on Tuesday, failure of crops; on Wednesday, the death of the field labourers; on Thursday, the death of the women; on Friday, the death of sea animals; on Saturday, the death of judges and bed-fellows.[1]

The thunderbolt, according to mediæval belief, was of diabolical origin and eccentric in its workings. It would strike the sword in its sheath, gold in the purse, the foot in the shoe, leaving the respective coverings unharmed; it would consume a human being internally and leave the skin unscathed; it would destroy nets in the water, but not on land. This is in keeping with the belief that the thunderbolts with which the leaders of the Iapygians were stricken down were for a long time afterwards visible.[2]

The belief in thunder-stones, usually the stone implements of previous and forgotten peoples, is almost world-wide.[3] Bushman philosophy declares that it is the rain that lightens. The Bakongo say that thunder is the voice of a great fetish and the lightning the fetish itself.[4]

On the north-west Pacific coast of N. America the thunder-bird, which is associated with the thunder, plays an important part in mythology, in art, and in initiation ceremonies.

The Tlingit say that 'the thunder bird causes thunder by flapping its wings or by moving even a single quill. When it winks, lightning flashes. Upon its back is a large lake, which accounts for the great quantity of rain falling during a thunder-shower. . . . The thunder bird keeps on thundering and the sky continues cloudy until the bird catches a whale.'[5]

The Tewa say that 'lightning is produced by *'ōk'uwa*, who throw it from the clouds'[6]—a view prevailing throughout the Plains area, as also in Guiana.[7] The Mewan of S. California say that thunder is caused by two personages who entered the heavens in the form of birds. Another account attributes its origin to Mother Deer and Coyote-man, who made thunder by shaking the dry skin of the bear, while lightning was made from the eyes of boy fawns. To the northern Mewuk thunder is a prototype of the valley bluejay living down below to the west, in the San Joaquin valley, where the clouds are. The rumblings that come from him when he is angry are called thunder by human beings.[8] The Takelma caused thunder to cease rumbling by pinching dogs until they barked. Probably the dog's bark was supposed to frighten away the racoon-like animal whose drumming was the source of the thunder.[9] The Mandans attribute thunder to the flapping of the wings of a huge bird. When the bird flies softly, as is usually the case, it is not heard; but, when it flaps its wings violently, it occasions a roaring noise. It has two toes on each foot, one pointing ahead, the other behind. It dwells on the mountains, and builds nests there as large as one of the forts. It preys upon deer and other large animals, the horns of which are heaped up around the nest. The Hidatsa, similarly, attribute thunder to the flapping of the wings of a large bird which causes rain,

[1] T. O. Cockayne, *Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft* (Rolls Ser. xxxv.), London, 1864–66, iii. 169.
[2] Athenæus, xii. 24.
[3] See esp. White, i. 266 ff., 329 ff.; Brand, iii. 316 f.; John Evans, *Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain and Ireland*[2], London, 1897; W. Y. E. Wentz, *The Fairy-Faith in Celtic Countries*, do. 1911.
[4] Weeks, p. 287; Bleek, pp. 395–397; Ratzel, i. 56.
[5] *26 RBEW*, p. 454.
[6] *29 RBEW*, p. 59.
[7] *30 RBEW*, p. 269 f.
[8] C. H. Merriam, *Dawn of the World*, Cleveland, Ohio, 1910, pp. 173, 199, 223.
[9] E. Sapir, *Takelma Texts* (*Univ. Penn. Anthrop. Pub.*), Philadelphia, 1910, p. 95.

the glance of its eye when seeking prey giving rise to the lightning.[1]

The Australian native alleges that thunder causes tortoises to come out of the water and lay their eggs.[2]

6. Meteors, meteoric stones, and comets.—Meteors were generally portentous among the Greeks and Romans, and meteoric stones were venerated by them. In the Gymnasium at Abydos was a meteoric stone which Anaxagoras was said to have predicted would fall in the middle of the earth. Another was at Cassandria, formerly Potidæa, 'which from this circumstance was built in this place.'[3] Pliny reports seeing one which had been brought from the fields only a short time before, in the country of the Vocontii (modern Dauphine). He regards meteors as stars which are visible only when falling.[4] Alexander, in Lemaire,[5] gives the following definition:

'Meteora ista, super cervices nostras transeuntia, diversaque a stellis labentibus, modo aerolithis ascribenda sunt, modo vaporibus incensis aut electrica vi prognata videnter, et quamvis frequentissime recurrant, explicatione adhuc incerta indigent.'

The Aleuts and the Eskimos use meteoric stones as amulets, and the Dakota consider them imbued with mystic power. In Pechili and Manchuria they are worshipped because they come from heaven. In some parts of China they are supposed to originate from thunderbolts, and the fall of one is an evil omen.[6] In Japan meteorites were given over to the priest and were kept in the temple. They were offered annually to Shokujo on her festival, the seventh day of the seventh month. They were said to have fallen from the shores of the Silver River, Heavenly River, or Milky Way, after being used by the goddess as weights to steady her loom.[7]

It is not stars but fire that falls from heaven, declares Bede:

'It springeth off the heavenly bodies as sparks do from fire. In fact there are as many stars still in heaven as there were at the beginning when God created them.'[8]

The Chaldæans explained comets as special thunderbolts, flaming torches hurled by the thunder-gods. The Greeks held, among other views, that they were rockets formed of particles thrown off by the earth and set on fire in the higher regions of the sublunary world. Here they were consumed, and afterwards fell back to earth.[9] Aristotle held the much more advanced view that they were the result of a certain juxtaposition of the stars.[10] Pliny adopts in large part the classification of comets inherited from the Greeks:

There are the Crinitæ, 'as if shaggy with bloody locks, and surrounded with bristles like hair; the Pogoniæ, having a mane hanging down from their lower part, suggestive of a beard,' etc. 'There is also a white comet, with silver hair, so brilliant that it can scarcely be looked at, exhibiting, as it were, the aspect of the Deity in a human form. There are also some that are shaggy, having the appearance of a fleece, surrounded by a kind of crown.'[11]

The rising of a comet does not convey a threat of wind and rain in the immediate future, as Aristotle says, but casts suspicion over the whole year. Hence it is plain that the comet has not derived prognostications from its immediate surroundings to reveal them for the immediate future, but has them stored up and buried deep within by the laws of the universe. The comet which appeared in the consulship of Paterculus and Vopiscus fulfilled the anticipations of this kind entertained by Aristotle, and, for that matter, by Theophrastus; for there were everywhere prolonged storms, while in Achaia and Macedonia cities were overturned by earthquakes.[1] A meteor as big as the moon appeared when Paulus was waging war against Perseus. A similar portent appeared about the time of the death of Augustus, when Sejanus was executed, and before the death of Germanicus.[2] For the Roman sailor many shooting stars were the sign of a storm.

Shooting stars are the embers thrown down from the fires kept by spirits of the dead.[3] They are usually unpropitious. The Spartan ephors might depose a king at the end of eight years, if, during their vigil on a clear and moonless night, they saw a meteor or shooting star. Frequently they portend some important event:

'When beggars die, there are no comets seen;
The heavens themselves blaze forth the death of princes'
(Shakespeare, *Julius Cæsar*, act II. sc. ii.).[4]

7. The Milky Way.—The Jews thought of the Milky Way as a river flowing through the heavens, proceeding from the throne of God—an idea derived in its general conception from Babylonia.[5] The Japanese say that the River of Heaven or the Milky Way is a vast river in the sky, whose overflow is represented by the Yangtse. Across this river is neither bridge nor ferry, but once a year, on the seventh day of the seventh month, Kasapagi, an immense jay, comes to it and spreads its wings across. Over this bridge meet Kengin, the neatherd, who presides over arms, and Shokujo, the weaver, who presides over weaving and other feminine arts.[6]

A tradition current among the Micmacs states that the Milky Way was formed when the Virgin Mary, returning across the heavens with a pail of milk, stumbled and fell. The Tlingit say that the Milky Way was made by the culture hero Lq!ayak when journeying across the heavens.[7] The Tewa call it the backbone of the Universe Man.[8]

8. Perihelion.—The perihelion was explained by Aristotle as due to refraction from the sun,[9] and by Seneca as the reflexion of the sun in the heavens.[10] To the Romans it portended rain, and often some considerable misfortune. The Tlingit say that, if a mock sun goes down with the sun, good weather is portended; if it goes away before sunset, bad weather.[11]

Bishop Latimer in 1552 speaks of rings about the sun as signs of the approaching end of the world.[12]

9. Rainbow.—The Catawba (as also the Tlingit) call the rainbow the 'dead people's road.'[13] The Teton Dakota will not point at the rainbow with the index-finger, though they can point at it with the lips or elbow. Should one forget and point at it with the fore-finger, the bystanders laugh at him, saying, 'By-and-by, O friend, when your finger becomes large and round, let us have it for a ball bat.'[14] The Hopi and the Thompson Indians of British Columbia have a similar tabu. The Hidatsa call the rainbow 'the cap of the water' or 'the cap of the rain,' and attribute its formation to the claws of a red bird. The Mandans say that it is a spirit accompanying the sun.

The 'great snake of the underneath' is the rainbow-god of the Yoruba. It comes up at times to

[1] A. P. Maximilian, *Travels in the Interior of N. America*, Eng. tr., London, 1843, p. 399.
[2] J. Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, Melbourne, 1881, p. 96.
[3] *HN* ii. 59. [4] *Ib.* ii. 25.
[5] *Poetæ Latini minores*, Paris, 1824–26, i. 302.
[6] E. H. Parker, *Ancient China Simplified*, London, 1908, p. 269; Thomas Wright, *Travels of Marco Polo*, do. 1854, p. 304; C. J. L. de Guignes, *Voyage à Pékin*, Paris, 1809, i. 195–250.
[7] *TASJ* x. [1882] 199 f. [8] Cockayne, iii. 271.
[9] Bouché-Leclercq, p. 357 ff. [10] *Meteorology*, i. 4.
[11] *HN* ii. 22.

[1] Seneca, *Quæst. Nat.* vii. 3, 11, 1, 27, 2. [2] *Ib.* vii. 15.
[3] Swanton, *26 RBEW*, p. 452 (Tlingit).
[4] For an excellent account of the mediæval and later Christian view of meteors see White, i. 171 ff.; also Lecky, i. 367–369; Brand, iii. 241.
[5] Clemens, pp. 102, 167. [6] *TASJ* x. 199.
[7] *26 RBEW*, p. 452. [8] *29 RBEW*, p. 41.
[9] *Meteorology*, iii. 2, 3. [10] *Quæst. Nat.* i. 11–13.
[11] *26 RBEW*, p. 453.
[12] *Sermons*, Second Sunday in Advent, 1552 (*Sermons and Remains*, Cambridge, 1845).
[13] *JAFL* xxvi. [1913] 330. [14] *11 RBEW* [1894], p. 467

drink water from the sky. A variety of the python is the messenger of this god.[1]

Pliny gives a purely naturalistic explanation of the rainbow, denying that it is either wonderful or ominous, yet he admits that it means either war or a fierce winter which will make an end of men's work and injure the sheep.[2] Seneca tells us that a rainbow in the south portends a heavy fall of rain; one in the west, a dew or light rain.[3]

To the Arawaks the rainbow heralds the approach of white people from that quarter in which it appears. When the Caribs see it at sea, they accept it as a good omen, but, if it appears while they are on land, they hide in their homes, considering it a strange and masterless spirit which is seeking to kill somebody.[4]

10. Volcanic activity.—For the Romans volcanic activity presaged dire calamities.[5] Avernus, in Italy, was commonly thought the entrance into the infernal regions.

The old crater in Ceylon contained salt water which was considered the residue of the tears of Adam and Eve, who retreated here after their expulsion from paradise and for one hundred years copiously bewailed their sin.[6] Gregory the Great[7] saw the soul of Theodoric going down a volcano on the island of Lipari.

11. Waterspout.—The waterspout took the form of a great animal and was much dreaded by the Roman sailor.[8]

12. Will o' the wisp.—The Yorkshireman can elude a will o' the wisp by putting a steel knife into the ground, handle upwards. It will run round this until the knife is consumed, thus providing the pursued an opportunity to escape. The mysterious power of attraction which it possesses can be escaped by twining one's apron. In 16th cent. England many superstitions were associated with this phenomenon.[9]

Among the Micmac, as also among the Dakota, the word for will o' the wisp means also ghost. Both tribes believe that it will pursue one. The Dakota have a medicine which will protect the wearer from such pursuit. The Micmac elude it by putting a pin point upwards in their tracks; this the *skedégamutch* will not go past.[10] In Maryland the superstitious Whites believe that it is the evil eye pursuing them.[11]

V. *PHYSIOLOGICAL AND PSYCHIC PHENOMENA.*—**1. Albinos.**—The albino person or animal is often the object of religious reverence. The sudden and mysterious appearance of the white buffalo was the 'sign' for which the Fox Indians waited.[12] For many of the American tribes the white buffalo or the white deer portended some extraordinary fortune. The skin of the white buffalo cow was an eminent fetish with the Mandan and Hidatsa, worn on rare occasions and sometimes used as a sacrifice. The Crow have a superstitious fear of the white buffalo cow. When they meet one, they address the sun with these words: 'I will give her to you.' They then attempt to kill the animal, but leave the flesh untouched, saying to the sun, 'Take her; she is yours.' They never make use of the hide of such a cow.[13]

[1] Ellis, *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples*, p. 81.
[2] *HN* ii. 60.
[3] *Quæst. Nat.* i. 3–10; cf. White, i. 330, 388.
[4] *30 RBEW*, p. 268.
[5] *HN* ii. 110, quoting Theopompus; Verg. *Æn.* vi. 126 ff., 278 ff.
[6] Jürgen Andersen, *Reisebeschreibung*, Amsterdam, 1669, ii. 132.
[7] *Dial.* iv. 30. [8] *HN* ii. 50; Lucretius, vi. 425.
[9] See F. E. Hulme, *Myth-Land*, London, 1886, p. 122 f.
[10] *Coll. Minn. Hist. Soc.* ii. 153.
[11] Cf. Brand, pp. 395–411.
[12] M. A. Owen, *Folk-Lore of the Musquakie Indians*, London, 1904, p. 67.
[13] Maximilian, p. 310.

Throughout the Lower Congo an albino or the hair of an albino person is necessary to supply the needed magical power for the Ndembo society.[1] On the West Coast the albino is regarded as a sacred person, and is *ipso facto* a candidate for the priesthood.[2]

The white dog was sacred among the Iroquois and was sacrificed. In Siam the white elephant or white monkey was sacred and might not be killed—an inconvenient restriction to those who 'had a white elephant on their hands.' A white horse, a white pig, and a white cock were among the offerings at harvest-time prescribed by Shintō ritual. By virtue of such gifts the diviners obtained from the god of harvest the secret of a magical process which enabled them to save the imperilled crop. The white horse also served to establish the ruling house:

'As this white horse plants firmly his fore-hoofs and his hind-hoofs, so will the pillars of the Great Palace be set firmly on the upper rocks and frozen firmly on the lower rocks; the pricking up of his ears is a sign that your Majesty will, with ears ever more erect, rule the Under Heaven.'[3]

In the book of *Enoch*[4] the Messiah, at the conclusion of the world drama, appears under the figure of a white bull, and in this guise secures the respect and fear of all the heathen, who, thanks to this apparition, are converted to righteousness. He is feared by all the beasts. When all the other animals have become white, He changes into a buffalo with black horns.[5]

Xerxes sacrificed white horses and young men that the gods might give him victory.

2. Birth.—(*a*) *Supernatural birth.*—To assure the divine nature of the ruler, and as a logical result of his alleged divinity, his origin was attributed to some other than natural birth.

'It seems to me that a hero totally unlike any other human being could not have been born without the agency of the deity,' said the biographer Arrian, when discussing the parentage of Alexander the Great.[6] 'He to whom the gods themselves reveal the future, who impose their will even on kings and peoples, cannot be fashioned by the same womb which bore us ignorant men,' said the Augustan writer Arellius Fuscus in his discussion of astrologers.[7]

In N. America the concept of a supernatural origin is frequently held with regard to the culture hero or heroine, who often originates from a blood-clot or from menstrual blood.[8]

(*b*) *Twins.*—The Navaho accept twins as a divine gift, though the advent of twin colts is viewed as an evil omen and both mare and colts are killed. Many primitive peoples, however, consider twins uncanny and may kill one or both of them. Most of them regard triplets unfavourably, though in some instances they are welcomed.

3. Dreams.—The prophetic nature of dreams and their use as auguries are familiar themes to the student of Greek and Roman culture.[9] Prometheus, says Æschylus,[10] was the first to teach men what sort of dreams were destined to prove realities. In obedience to dreams the great emperor Augustus went through the streets of Rome begging.[11] Incubation was practised there as in the temples of China at the present time.[12] Pliny doubted the mind's knowledge of the future, when in sleep,

[1] Weeks, p. 159. [2] Cf. Wallis, *AJRPE* vi. [1913] 268.
[3] *Kojiki*, ed. Chamberlain[2], pp. 54, 58, 113.
[4] xc. 37 ff.
[5] R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, London, 1893, p. 258.
[6] *Anab.* iii. 3, iv. 9, vii. 8.
[7] *Ap.* Seneca, *Suas.* iv. 1.
[8] Cf. E. S. Hartland, *Primitive Paternity*, London, 1910, i. 110.
[9] Xenophon, *Anabasis*, iii. 1; *Iliad*, i. 62 f., ii. 8 ff.; *Odyssey*, xix. 541, 562; A. G. Keller, *Homeric Society*, London, 1913, p. 150 f.
[10] *Prom. Vinct.*, 442 ff.
[11] Suetonius, *Augustus*, xci.; see, further, Cicero, *de Divin.* i.; Val. Max. i., vii.; Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* i. 18. For Persian interpretation of dreams see Herodotus' description of the dream of Xerxes (vii. 12 ff.).
[12] J. L. Nevius, *China and the Chinese*, New York, 1869, p. 192 f.; Mary Hamilton, *Incubation*, St. Andrews and London, 1906.

but in spite of his amazing credulity he was an advanced sceptic.[1]

Muhammad, according to tradition, said:

'A good dream is of God's favor, and a bad dream is of the devil's; therefore, when any of you dream a dream which is such as he is pleased with, then he must not tell it to any but a beloved friend; and when he dreams a bad dream, then let him seek protection from God both from its evil and from the wickedness of Satan; and let him spit three times over his left shoulder, and not mention the dream to any one; then, verily, no evil shall come nigh him.' 'The truest dream is the one which you have about daybreak.'[2]

Specific and conventional interpretations are often given to dreams.

In Persia 'seeing bees in a dream indicates riches. To dream of eating grapes presages sorrow and flowing tears. To dream of buffaloes fighting means that the angels will come for the soul of some member of the family.'[3]

In Northumberland to dream of a hare means that you have an enemy; if one crosses your path, it is an omen of ill-luck. To see many eagles is to be warned of plots and intended assaults. If it be bees carrying honey, you will earn money from wealthy people. If the bees sting you, your mind will be tormented by foreigners. If bees fly into the house, the house will be destroyed. To dream of many fowls together is a sign of jealousy and chiding.[4] Any dream on the first night of the moon's age is a good omen, while the second and third nights are neutral. The following two nights betoken good. The dream of the sixth night should not be forgotten. That of the seventh is sure to be fulfilled. Whatever is dreamed on the eighth and ninth nights will become public. If it is unpleasant, turn the head towards the east and pray for mercy. Similarly, birth has its fortune embodied in the days of the lunar calendar, and each month, from the first to the thirteenth, has its particular portent.[5]

Dreams play an important part in the lives of most primitive peoples, and usually betoken something in harmony with their content. Among the Dakota to dream of the moon is unlucky. It is lucky to dream of hawks, but unlucky to dream of bears, for the latter are slow and easily wounded. A dream about snakes will be the result of killing one, and no good comes from snakes, they say (the Menominee have the same beliefs). As among all the Plains tribes, in the dance associations of the Eastern Dakota dreams play a prominent part. In the Buffalo society of the Santee only those who had had visions of the buffalo, or the sons of such, were entitled to membership.

'One man might dream that he was a buffalo and had been shot with an arrow so that he could barely get home. The arrow continued to whirl round in his body. He dreamt that the only way to recover was to go into a sweat-lodge. First he asked for one of four different kinds of earth to mix with water, drank the mixture inside a sweat-lodge, and then recovered. Such a man painted himself vermilion to represent the trickling down of blood. Another man dreamt of being shot with a gun. Such a one would act out his dream during a Buffalo dance. A third man dreamt that a bullet pierced his eye and came out at the back of his head. He announced his dream, and shortly afterwards was actually shot in that way. Still another man announced a dream to the effect that he was shot through his temples, and this also came true. While dancing, dreamers would call on outsiders to bear witness to the truth of their statements about such experiences. Once a *heyoka* (a Clown) challenged a dreamer's account, saying that no man could recover from a wound of the kind described. Straightway the dreamer offered to be shot by the Clown, who sent a bullet through him. The wounded man staggered off, went to a sweat-lodge, and actually recovered within a few days.'[6]

Among the Arapaho dreams were revelations. To the Omaha the moon would appear, having in one hand a burden strap, in the other a bow and arrows, and the man would be bidden to make a choice. If he reached for the bow, the moon would cross its hands and attempt to force the strap on him. If he should wake before taking the strap, or if he should succeed in capturing the bow, he would succeed in escaping the penalty attached to the dream. If he failed and the strap was taken, he would become like a woman, follow her vocations, and adopt her dress. Instances are reported in which the unfortunate dreamer, unable to ward off the evil influence, has resorted to suicide as the only means of escape. To the Menominee a dream about the moon brings long life, but a life that will end in misery. Such people are strong when the moon is full, weak and sickly when it is on the wane.[1] To the Huron the dream gives voice to the soul's desires.[2] Among the Hidatsa only those dreams that follow prayer, sacrifice, or fasting are portentous;[3] while for the Mandan dreams are always prophetic or ominous. A Mandan dreamt of fire-arms, and soon afterward the Whites arrived with them. They dreamt of horses in similar manner before they obtained any. For the fasting youth to dream of a piece of cherry-wood, or of any animal, is a good omen. The Thonga profess to be disgusted when any dream is fulfilled,[4] but this must depend somewhat on the nature of the fulfilment. The Kafir medicine-man acquires his powers through dreams, and the expectant mother learns by this medium the sex of her unborn child.[5] Similar predictions were made from dreams by the Maoris, by whom much attention was paid to the dreams of the war-chief or of the principal priest, especially on the night before an engagement. They were guided by the omens of which the dream was an index.[6]

The Japanese recognize a creature by the name of *baku*, whose particular function is the eating of dreams. The male *baku* has the body of a horse, the face of a lion, the trunk and tusks of an elephant, the forelock of a rhinoceros, the tail of a cow, and the feet of a tiger. The picture of the *baku* hung up in the house will secure the protection of the animal. The Chinese character representing its name used to be put in the lacquered wooden pillows of lords and princes. By virtue of this character on the pillow the sleeper was protected from evil dreams. When a man awakes from a nightmare, or from any unlucky dream, he should quickly repeat three times the invocation, 'Devour, O *baku*, devour my evil dream!' The *baku* will then eat the dream and change the misfortune into good fortune and rejoicing.[7] The Vedic texts direct one who has had an evil dream to wipe his face in order to get rid of its malign influence.[8] This is more simple than the Navaho remedy, which may call for a 'renewal' ceremony.

4. Epilepsy.—Many peoples attribute epilepsy to possession by a demon. This was the view held by the Hindus, and in the Vedic texts a ritual ceremony is prescribed for its exorcism. Its uncanny nature has generally been recognized. From the time of Edward the Confessor to that of Queen Anne epilepsy was considered curable by royal touch.[9]

5. Liver.—The liver has long been considered an unusual organ of the human body, and unusual qualities have been attributed to it.[10] In ancient Greece goose liver was used as being efficacious in medical

1 *HN* x. 98.
2 I. Adams, *Persia by a Persian*, London, 1906, p. 450.
3 *Ib.* p. 446.
4 Cockayne, iii. 169–177, 199–215; see also Mrs. Gutch, *County Folk-lore*, ii. London, 1901, pp. 202–208.
5 Cockayne, iii. 150–167, 177–197.
6 R. H. Lowie, in *Anth. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.* xi. [1913]; J. O. Dorsey, *11 RBEW*, pp. 479, 500.
1 A. Skinner, *Anth. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.* xiii. pt. i. p. 80.
2 *Jesuit Relations*, xxxix. 17 ff.
3 Dorsey, p. 516. 4 Junod, ii. 341. 5 Kidd, p. 156.
6 Tregear, pp. 338 f., 208, 40; E. Shortland, *Maori Religion and Mythology*, London, 1882, p. 36.
7 L. Hearne, *Kottō*, New York, 1910, pp. 245–251.
8 *ERE* viii. 318[a].
9 See White, ii. 46–49, and authorities there cited.
10 See Morris Jastrow, 'The Liver as the Seat of the Soul,' in *Studies in the Hist. of Religion, presented to C. H. Toy*, New York, 1912, pp. 143–168.

treatment;[1] the liver of the lizard would impart peculiar powers to the eater.[2] The Lushais eat the witch's liver in order to destroy the witchcraft,[3] and the Cochin-Chinese express their deepest hatred of a person by saying, 'I wish I could eat his liver.'[4] In ancient Arabia Hind, the wife of al-Fakih, inspired by similar motives, gnawed the liver of her arch-enemy Ḥamza,[5] while a modern Arab will eat the liver or heart of a snake in order to acquire an understanding of the language of birds. In N. Morocco the Jbâla bride and bridegroom partake at the wedding ceremony of the liver of a sheep, to make them 'dear to one another'; and in Andjra the bridegroom, though not the bride (for no woman may eat of it), partakes of the liver of the bullock.[6] Arabian influence may be reflected in the Apocryphal account of the evil spirit who loved Sarah and was exorcized by flames arising from the heart and liver of a fish which Tobit, by the instruction of the angel, burned on the evening of his wedding.[7]

Similar attribution of unusual powers to the liver of a person or an animal is wide-spread. The Veddas of Ceylon chew the dried liver of a man in order to imbibe his virtue, and the Sinhalese have a tradition to the effect that they formerly followed the same practice.[8] In Erub (Torres Straits) the liver, 'presumably of a deceased male,' was cut up and distributed among the young male members of the family to make them plucky.[9] The Koita of British New Guinea allowed only girls to partake of the liver of the wallaby, the virtues of this animal affording no enhancement to males.[10] In Australia the virtue elsewhere usually attributed to the heart or the liver resided in the fat around the kidneys.[11] The Maoris gave the liver of the *kalawi*-fish to a nursing child as a cure for flatulence. The liver is the seat of the affections, as also among the Greeks; and a piece of the liver of the first man slain must be offered, along with a piece of the heart and the scalp, to the goblin god, Whiro. So acute is the power of the liver that the Maoris call one of their implements for cutting wood the *kotiate*, 'liver cutter.'[12] The Tonga Islanders believe that turtle has a peculiar effect upon the liver and they will not eat it, fearing the enlargement of the liver which indulgence in this food will produce. The liver is the seat of courage, and therefore the largest livers pertain to the largest men. They have found also that in left-handed people it tends to shift to the left side, and in the ambidextrous it is in the median line of the body.[13] The Kayans of Borneo knew that the omen was bad if the under side of the liver of the pig was dark, good if it was pale.[14] So general was haruspication among the Borneans that W. Warde Fowler is convinced that its origin is common with that derived by the Romans from the Etruscans.[1] But, as the phenomenon is so common to savage culture, any theory of the connexion of the divination rites of the natives of Borneo and those of ancient Rome will have to take account of this fairly wide distribution of similar and related things in the larger world of savagery. The supposed uniqueness of the phenomenon does not exist, and the historical hiatus must be bridged by data that show the probability of actual contact between the two in the past.[2] Geographical proximity as well as early historical contact makes Africa a much more probable land of origin for Etruscan influence, especially since the ancient Arabians entertained such beliefs, and they are common among African tribes. Leo Frobenius[3] has attempted to establish the African origin of Etruscan culture, but the argument remains unconvincing to those who feel the need of historical demonstration.

Several tribes of Central Africa attribute special virtue to the liver—in some cases to the liver of the alligator.[4] It is the seat of the soul, and to eat of it is to enhance one's own spiritual being, though, as often happens, this beneficence is denied to women.[5] Accordingly, the Bakongo drink the blood and eat the liver of those killed in a fight.[6] For similar reasons the Kagoro (of Nigeria) evil-wisher will catch one's soul or take one's liver.[7] The pottery-makers of the Thonga (at least those dwelling near Morakwen) may not eat the liver of any animal. In the ceremonies and superstitions of this region the gall-bladder plays an important part, as does also the liver of the ox. When two parties not within the permitted relationship wish to marry, they must break the tabu by a ceremonial eating of the raw liver of this animal. They must first tear it out with their teeth, for it is tabu to cut it with a knife, and then eat it. 'You have acted with strong *shibindji*,' they say to those who are eating their way to matrimony, 'Eat the liver now!' (*shibindji* means both 'liver' and 'determination,' a history of the interdependence of the two).[8] When an ox is killed by the headman of the village for distribution among the villagers, the liver is given to the 'grandfather' and the old people, 'because it is soft and they have no teeth to gnaw the bones,' but doubtless, also, because it imparts, more than does any other portion, the strength of the animal.[9] The Ovaherero, of Damaraland, attribute their black complexion to the eating by their ancestors of the black liver of an ox killed when the first people emerged from the tree that gave them birth.[10] A Matabeleland native who wished to learn sorcery paid a big price to one of the recognized medicine-men in order to induce him to accompany the candidate to the grave of a recently buried person, unearth the body, cut it open, remove the liver, and, by its help, inculcate the desired instruction.[11] The Bechuana find effective, in their prescription designed to defeat the enemy, the gall of a black bull whose eyelids have been sewed up, the animal then being allowed to wander for three days. If they find little gall in the gall-bladder of an animal, they say that some ancestral spirit has previously sucked it out. A man often cleanses himself with the gall of an ox, and a chief will

[1] Mary Hamilton, p. 52.
[2] W. R. Halliday, *Greek Divination*, London, 1913, pp. 88, 101, 168, 193–204; see DIVINATION (Greek) and (Roman).
[3] J. Shakspear, *The Lushei Kuki Clans*, London, 1912, p. 109.
[4] G. H. von Langsdorf, *Voyages and Travels*, Eng. tr., London, 1813–14, i. 148.
[5] W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, new ed., London, 1903, p. 296.
[6] E. Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, London, 1914, pp. 101, 126.
[7] To 8.
[8] C. G. and B. Z. Seligmann, *The Veddas*, Cambridge, 1911, pp. 128, 190, 207.
[9] Haddon, in *Cambridge Anth. Exped. to Torres Straits Reports*, vi. [1908] 111.
[10] C. G. Seligmann, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*, Cambridge, 1910, p. 139.
[11] References to this belief will be found in G. C. Wheeler, *The Tribe, and Intertribal Relations in Australia*, London, 1910, p. 156.
[12] A. Hamilton, *The Art Workmanship of the Maori Race*, Dunedin, 1896, p. 186; Tregear, pp. 219, 472, 496, 48.
[13] Mariner[3], p. 342 f.
[14] A. Nieuwenhuis, *Quer durch Borneo*, Leyden, 1904–07, pp. 171–182; C. Hose and W. McDougall, *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, London, 1912, ii. 61 ff.

[1] *JRS* ii. [1912] 269 f.
[2] See Wallis, 'Divinations in Borneo and in Ancient Rome,' *The Classical Journal*, ix. no. 6 [1914], 272–274.
[3] *Und Afrika sprach*, Berlin, 1912.
[4] H. H. Johnston, *British Central Africa*, London, 1897, p. 81.
[5] *PRSE* xiii. [1884–86] 218 f. [6] Weeks, p. 38.
[7] A. J. N. Tremearne, *The Tailed Head-hunters of Nigeria*, London, 1912, pp. 171 f., 195.
[8] Junod, i. 245, 336, ii. 52, 96. [9] *Ib.* i. 299.
[10] A. Lang, *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, new ed., London, 1899, i. 171.
[11] *JRAI* xxxix. [1909] 533.

drink it to acquire strength to withstand his enemies. During the initiation ceremonies the boys eat a portion of the liver of an ox killed for that purpose, and thereby acquire courage and intelligence. Yet any one who eats a certain tongue-shaped lobe of the liver (the *lobus Spigelii*) will forget the past, and this is given only to the old women, who thus enter into forgetfulness of their sorrows.[1]

The liver—sometimes the heart—is spoken of by the Kafir as the seat of courage, the gall being the fluid that contains its very essence.

'Arbousset declares that the Basuto consider the gall to represent the anguish of death; but it seems problematical whether the natives have any conception of such an abstract thing as the anguish of death. The gall is regarded in most tribes as the seat of courage and boldness. When the natives wish to describe the bravery of a great man they say that he has a large liver. Perseverance, that elemental faculty in human nature, is coupled in the native mind with perspiration; and, as the first place this is seen is on the skin of the forehead, they frequently consider that its seat or "centre" (as physiologists would say) is there. Intelligence or enlightenment is also sometimes considered to reside in the liver; but I fancy the sort of intelligence that is referred to is that which is displayed in battle. . . . The man who is capable of enduring hardness is said to have a hard liver.'[2]

The Chukchis of Siberia, in order to bring sickness upon a murdered man's kindred, eat the liver of the corpse, and the Eskimo practised a similar rite that the dead man's relatives might not possess the courage to avenge his death.[3] Moreover, by eating the liver of the murdered man, they deprive the ghost of the power that he would otherwise have of rushing upon them.[4] A story given by Rink shows the importance attaching to the liver:

'At last there was silence; and during this, one of the two brothers stood forth, and, taking a bit of dried liver (this being exceedingly hard), raised his voice, saying, "I have been told that I have an enemy in Niakunguak." At the same time he tried to crush the piece of liver he held in his hand; but failing to do so, he again put it by. Silence still prevailed, when Niakunguak's son advanced, and, taking up the same bit, crushed it to atoms with his fingers, so that it fell like dust upon the floor. All were utterly amazed, and not a word was spoken.'[5]

Here some special significance seems attached to this crushing of the liver in the manner portrayed. It seems probable that liver was associated with magic power.

'They thus entered, and saw all the brothers stretched out at full length on the ledge, only their feet visible on its outer edge (a sign of wrath). They were treated to some frozen liver in an oblong dish; but when they had got only half through with it, the frozen roof fell in and covered the dish with turf-dust.'[6] 'When she had ended, Habakuk went closer to them, saying, "Well, take the skin of my seal with blubber and all, and the liver besides."'[7]

An *angakok* gave the liver of a seal caught by a lucky hunter to one who was unlucky, and the latter acquired the desired luck by slowly chewing and swallowing the flesh. In Greenland the mother giving birth to her first child might not eat the liver of any animal; in Labrador she might partake of a portion of it.[8]

The *chenoo* of Micmac mythology, an ogre, representing, not improbably, Eskimo influence, showed a special liking for the liver of a conquered foe.[9] The Chippewas were long ago admonished by the Crows to leave them the liver of the animal as part of their portion, and this custom is followed to-day.[10] The Siouan tribes of the Plains area attach great importance to the liver of the buffalo and, in some instances, to that of the dog. The Omaha eat the liver of the buffalo raw. It gives a man a clear voice and imparts courage.[1] Accordingly, the youth who has shot his first buffalo eats the liver with the gall over it as a potent dressing.[2] The Plains Cree warriors also, when they killed a bison, ate its liver raw.[3] The Northern Shoshone imparted additional power, and, in this case, malign power, to the liver by placing rattlesnake heads on hot coals in a hole in the ground. The liver was that of a wild animal and was covered with the gall. The liver absorbed the poison from the fangs and was then carefully preserved in a little buckskin bag carried by the owner.[4]

A society of 'Liver Eaters' is found among the Crow,[5] and members of the Bear clan of the Teton Dakota (Oglala division) sometimes eat the liver of the dog raw. A male must not eat the liver of a female dog, nor a female that of a male dog. Sores will break out on the face of an offender.[6]

The 'Dog-Liver-Eaters' Dance Association' is one peculiar to the Eastern Dakota.

It 'takes its name from the fact that the raw liver of the dog is eaten by the performers. It is not often performed, and only on some extraordinary occasion. The performers are usually the bravest warriors of the tribe, and those having stomachs strong enough to digest raw food.

When a dog-dance is to be given, the warriors who are to take part in it, and all others who desire to witness it, assemble at some stated time and place. After talking and smoking for a while, the dance commences. A dog, with his legs pinioned, is thrown into the group of dancers, by any one of the spectators. This is dispatched by one of the medicine-men, or jugglers, with a war-club or tomahawk. The side of the animal is then cut open and the liver taken out. This is then cut into strips and hung on a pole about four or five feet in length. The performers then commence dancing around it; smacking their lips and making all sorts of grimaces; showing a great desire to get a taste of the delicious morsel. After performing these antics for a while, some one of them will make a grab at the liver, biting off a piece, and then hopping off, chewing and swallowing it as he goes. His example is followed by each and all the other warriors, until every morsel of the liver is eaten. Should any particle of it fall to the ground, it is collected by the medicine-man in the palm of his hand, who carries it around to the dancers to be eaten and his hands well licked.

After disposing of the first dog, they all sit down in a circle, and chat and smoke a while until another dog is thrown in, when the same ceremonies are repeated, and continued so long as any one is disposed to present them with a dog. They are required to eat the liver, raw and warm, of every dog that is presented to them; and while they are eating it, none but the medicine-men must touch it with their hands. Women do not join in this dance.

The object of this ceremony is, they say, that those who eat the liver of the dog while it is raw and warm, will become possessed of the sagacity and bravery of the dog.'[7]

The Ainu have the custom of cutting up the liver of the bear, which is one of their sacred animals, and of eating it raw. If a Pima woman ate liver, her child would be disfigured by birth-marks.[8] The Zuñi hunter takes the liver from his captured game, and, while eating it, exclaims, 'Thanks!'[9] The Aztecs practised a well-developed system of haruspication, reading omens from the liver or other organs of the slaughtered animal, and the Araucanians of Chile were given to related practices. They dissected the body of a person of distinction in order to examine the liver. If it was found to be in a healthy state, the death was attributed to natural causes; if inflamed, malign magic had caused the death. The gall is extracted, placed in a magic drum, and, after various incantations, taken out and put over the fire in a carefully covered vessel. If, after sufficient roasting, a stone is found in the bottom of the pot, it is known to have been the cause of death.[10]

1 Kidd, pp. 310, 273, 258, 23.
2 *Ib.* pp. 278–280.
3 D. Crantz, *Hist. of Greenland*, London, 1820, i. 193.
4 H. Rink, *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1875, p. 366.
5 *Ib.* 6 *Ib.* p. 369. 7 *Ib.* p. 400.
8 *Ib.* pp. 54–56; Hawkes, p. 9.
9 C. G. Leland, *Algonquin Legends*, Boston, 1885, p. 244.
10 Lowie, in *Anth. Mem. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.* xi. [1913] 185.

1 A. C. Fletcher and F. La Flesche, *27 RBEW* [1911], p. 332.
2 *3 RBEW* [1884], p. 291 f.
3 A. Skinner, in *Anth. Mem. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.* xii. [1914] pt. vi.
4 Lowie, *Anth. Mem. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.* ix. 230.
5 *Anth. Mem. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.* xi. 164.
6 *11 RBEW* [1894], p. 496.
7 H. R. Schoolcraft, *The Indian Tribes of the U.S.*, Philadelphia, 1853–57, ii. 79 f.; Lowie, *Anth. Mem. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist.* xi. 110.
8 *26 RBEW*, p. 185. 9 *2 RBEW*, p. 37.
10 E. R. Smith, *The Araucanians*, London, 1855, p. 236.

Roman ideas have persisted to the present day. Vesalius recognized a natural spirit emanating from the liver, as a vital spirit came from the heart and an animal spirit from the brain. Mediæval belief attributed to the eating of the liver of a goat good sight after dark, for the goat could see as well during the night as during the day. In *Macbeth* the liver of a 'blaspheming Jew' is one of the concoctions used by the witches.[1] There was a curious belief to the effect that the liver of the mouse increased and decreased with the waxing and waning of the moon. The Saxons attributed many complaints, and some of them rightly enough, to disorders in the liver. Blood that was thick and saturated was spoken of as 'livery,' *i.e.* such as flows through the liver. They cured stomach and intestinal troubles by the application of a burned goat's liver 'rubbed somewhat small and laid on the womb,' or stomach.[2] In Italy at the present day a fresh human liver, especially that of a woman, is believed to confer magical powers upon the one who eats it.[3] This may be directly related to the belief recorded by Pliny that the liver of the weasel will cure pains in one's own liver.[4]

6. Sneezing.—From time immemorial the sneeze has been deemed worthy of notice and has usually elicited some form of salutation from bystanders or some expression from the agents. The phrase, 'not to be sneezed at,' has behind it an importance attaching to the act of sneezing to which the whole human race bears witness. Even children notice it as something peculiar and have sayings of their own, such as 'Scat!' or 'Shoo!' The origin of the importance attaching to sneezing is thus a question of psychological import as well as one of culture diffusion.

'It is,' as W. R. Halliday has remarked, '*per se* a startling phenomenon to find the body, which in normal action is the slave and instrument of its owner's will and intention, behaving in a way independent of his desire or volition. Simply because it is involuntary, the twitching of the eyelid or the tingling of the ear must be miraculous. And primitive man finds a significance in everything which attracts his notice, particularly in cases where there is no obvious cause.'[5]

This is good psychology, and ample facts could be adduced to support it. The superstitions connected with sneezing and the omens drawn from it are noticed in art. NOSE, vol. ix. p. 398, and need not be repeated here.

7. Miscellaneous. — Many of the American Indian tribes attach some significance to belching, crackling of the joints, ringing in the ears, twitching of the eye-lid or arm or leg. Thus the Navahos frequently omit or postpone a journey if the one intending it belches or has a ringing in the ears; a Micmac, however, considers belching a sign of good luck in hunting—the hunter will soon find game. European peoples, likewise, often attach some prophetic meaning to such bodily involuntary disturbances.

LITERATURE.—This has been indicated in the article. See also the *Encyclopædia of Superstitions, Folklore, and the Occult Sciences of the World*, Milwaukee, 1903, *s.vv.* 'Crow,' ii. 608–610, 'Owl,' ii. 670–675, 'Raven,' ii. 684–686, 'Earthquakes,' ii. 939 f., 'Eclipse,' ii. 940–943, 'Hail,' ii. 954, 'Ignis Fatuus,' ii. 951–953, 'Lightning,' ii. 956 f., 'Thunder,' ii. 1019–1023, 'Milky Way,' ii. 957, 'Rainbow,' ii. 979 f., 'Phenomena,' ii. 971 f., 'Mysterious Omens,' iii. 1299–1310, 'Volcanoes,' iii. 1032 f., 'Dreams,' i. 221–256, 'Itching,' etc., i. 257–345, 'Monsters,' iii. 1357, 'Moon Days,' iii. 1673–1675; F. Ratzel, *Hist. of Mankind*, Eng. tr., London, 1896, i. 56–59, 302–309.

W. D. WALLIS.

PRODUCTION (of wealth).—The contact of ethics and economics is more directly at the distribution (*q.v.*) and the consumption (*q.v.*) of wealth than at its production. Because it put production before them, the classical or formal economics has often been called soulless. But it was natural at that time to put stress on the increase of capital, and on the great merit of saving. And it was easy for readers to slip wrong meanings into the terms 'productive' and 'unproductive spending' and 'productive' and 'unproductive labour.' Nor did economists wrong the actual system; it, too, made production the measure of prosperity, regarded wages as the means of keeping labour efficient, and saw in high interest and profit the best guarantee for the upkeep of capital. Neither the economists nor the system were without good reason; for, whatever the best use and distribution of wealth, these are limited by the amount of it, and by the efficiency that can be given to the three agents that produce it—nature, capital, and labour.

It is through labour that the efficiency of nature and capital is discovered and made real. Capital is its product; and, while nature does all the work, it needs directing. One has only to compare the unimproved value of nature in land and beast, plant and mineral, heat and electricity, with the value that only minds can give. Hence two ethical topics are traditional in the text-books, when they are dealing with labour as producer. One concerns its quantity, the other its quality. The first is connected with the doctrine of Malthus (see MALTHUSIANISM), the second with education, and not merely technical education, but even more with its product in grit and conscientiousness. The two questions have now a unanimous answer from ethics and economics.

When, however, we ask about the fitness not of the labourer for the economic system, but of the system for the labourer, the question becomes critical. The division of labour that is essential in the system may mean to the man monotony, ill-health, and loss of the market for his skill. All the books, since the *Wealth of Nations*, discuss the advantages and disadvantages, but the only practical question now is how to meet the disadvantage from the gain. This has been the work of factory and other labour legislation. At first the argument for higher wages, for shorter hours, and for better health was their economy as measured by the work done. Labour, however, does not rely on this argument; it claims a better share on the ground of justice; it refuses to abide by the open market measure of its price. And it is still true, though less than before, that the harder and more debasing the labour, the worse it is paid. The reason is that the lower the grade, the greater the competition. There are two ways of reducing the competition: one by combination, the other by moving some of the stress from lower to higher grades. The latter is the perfect way. It has been universal in economics since the death of the iron law of wages; the doctrine that cheap labour is necessary has come so near its end that it has disappeared from press and platform; and the right way tends to make itself permanent and easier. But progress on it must be slow, and its results are mainly enjoyed by the next generation. And so, though it would be even more necessary in a socialistic system than in the present one, there is nothing like a militant spirit on behalf of it, as there is for the other way.

Here too the quarrel between ethics and economics has been settled. But one far more serious has opened between them, on the one side, and the actual working of the industrial system. It did not appear in the early days of capitalism, when competition was unchecked. This made for the greatest production of wealth, and to ethics it seemed that the rude justice of the market could be made more and more equitable by equalizing

[1] Hulme, pp. 16, 177.
[2] Cockayne, ii. 161–163, 198–217, 235, 251, 309.
[3] Evans, in *Popular Science Monthly*, xlviii. [1896] 82.
[4] *HN* xxx. 16; White, ii. 38.
[5] P. 175.

opportunity. Thus it was both the moral and the economic policy of the 19th cent. to keep the course open and see fair play. It was a new policy in that it deserted regulation for competition. But competition has become more and more regulated from within. The advantage of one large over many small units of production has led to aggregations of capital that give virtual monopolies; and the advantage of collective bargaining has brought an aggregation of labour, and another of employers to meet it. The original notion was that competition would give the best form of co-operation; it was a child-like faith that one hates to surrender. But the competition has come to a state of war in which the morals of war play havoc; and they do it without remorse, because a class conscience has made itself superior to private scruples and regret.

The concentration of capital has not in itself been prejudicial to production, for it seeks to regulate rather than limit the output; it obviates the waste and dislocation of too many plants and shops, and the advertising and other costs of commercial rivalry; and there is plenty of scope for competition within. The evils have been notorious: in company promoting, in crushing rivals, in controlling prices as buyer and as seller. And mere size may prevent the coming of a competition that would be healthy. But the best course is to accept the natural development from competition to amalgamation, and to meet the evils by developing regulation, from which, indeed, monopoly was never made exempt. Co-operation is always the final word. Competition is only a means, and a better means the less it is a jostle, and the more it is a directed course, where there is no loss in the struggle.

Unlike the concentration of capital, the concentration of labour easily becomes prejudicial to production. To over-time, piece-work, all speeding-up and labour-saving, there is opposition; and no measures are taken, as by the old gilds, to prevent fraud and incompetence. This is only another instance of the division of function, and nothing to condemn. But, again, it is a competition that has broken away from co-operation. The hostile relation of master and man is thought to be not incidental, but inevitable and permanent. The men see that it is the interest of the management to use as little labour as possible, and they think that the owners are an incubus, and dividends a tax on their wages. As well, therefore, try to instruct a nation at war in the arts of peace as point to the injury they do and the loss they suffer; they think the injury to be deserved, and the loss to be a sacrifice for their class. To many of them the crimes of syndicalism are no more criminal than machine-breaking was at an older day. There are several things that keep the war civilized; but the main consideration is failure or success; and in either event the damage to the oppressor is always a pleasure. In times of peace a union is always preparing for war; men who are not members are denied the right to work; and others of the old natural rights and duties are made subordinate. It has been futile to insist on them, for an unnatural system is thought to make right wrong.

The contentions against the system are often ignorant, but, as a rule, they are honestly urged; and so, as in the days of slavery, it is the system itself that holds the centre in an ethical view of industrial life. It is a late system, and the forces within it have always prevented it from resting where it is. But they may be directed, and it may grow, in either of two ways that have a very different moral value. The root of the system, and the directions in which it grows, may best be seen from its origin, and as a stage in the history of industry. The older forms are never quite superseded, and they may all be seen to-day.

In the earliest system the family was an industrial unit supplying nearly all its wants; there was a division of labour according to sex and capacity; with slaves and officials the unit grew large, but kept its unity even when the slaves were hired out, or were employed in producing for a market. When a family became too large for its land, it was natural for some members to learn skill in a trade, and to confine their labour to it, working for other families, often living with them till the job was finished, or having the work brought to their forge, oven, or loom. Thus came the formation of artisan families; and tools, skill, and custom passed down like the land. So far the payment is almost all for labour. At a later stage, when the workman began to keep a stock of raw materials, his profit included interest as well as wages; and he had apprentices and hired labour. The first great split in the industrial system was complete—the separation of the workman from the soil. Industrial capital increased, but there was not yet capitalism, for the owner took little risk of producing on the chance of a market; the customer was still the employer. Capitalism came when the risk was definitely undertaken. The *entrepreneur* was sometimes the manufacturer, oftener the merchant; but the work of those two —the work of making, moving, and selling the product—can be distinguished from the more invisible work of ordering it and finding a market. This is the work of the *entrepreneur* or business man. In the art. DISTRIBUTION it is explained how the business man is the pivot of the system, guarantees to all the other agents of production their share in the price, and pays himself from the residue.

Thus the second great separation of labour from the other agents was the separation from capital. It is often held that both separations were by dispossession, and that they were an evil. But no one looks for peace by undoing either—by replacing men on the land, or by giving them the capital that employs them, that each may employ himself. Nothing would give greater stability than for workmen to be shareholders in the enterprise that employs them, or in others; and it would be the best kind of revolution if unions tried to establish themselves in business. But the great majority of owners must always lend their capital instead of using it themselves. And, if we look from the owner to the real user, we find that the emphasis is on him, the acting capitalist, and not on the capital. Just so it is on the sculptor and the inventor, though nature does all the work that is done by the invention, and though the statue is all in the marble.

The process of production has become more and more roundabout; an ever greater distance has separated producer from consumer. The workman is bewildered by the number of intervening agencies; and to his divorce from land and capital he adds, for a general source of inequity, that the system allows many parasites to live on his product. He has been taught that the real value of a product comes from the labour spent on it, and he sees that, besides rent and interest—the extortions of the idle ownership of land and capital—money and middlemen lay hold on his work, and make a better living out of it than he does. He does not see that the production of a commodity is not complete—its value is not produced—till it is in the hands of the consumer. If advertising, drumming, and commissions do not help to sell it, they will not be employed. Useless measures of commerce are no more secure than labour that is made useless by a machine. It is through economy in

marketing, no less than in manufacturing, that large capital has its advantage. Everything useless and predatory tends to be expelled; for everything must be demanded by an employer, if it is to get its price; and, provided there is publicity and knowledge enough, he pays no more for it than he must. It is natural for those whom he employs to think his profit an extortion from them, and that 'what is somewhere gotten is somewhere lost.' But the profit of an enterprise is like the royalty from an invention, which gives more than it gets. Interest is different; it is like the royalty paid for mere ownership, and simply a burden. W. Smart thought that 'the community gets its employing done for it more cheaply than it gets any other service' (*Distribution of Income*[2], London, 1912, p. 159 f.).

If a system of production were more moral and progressive the more it crushed incompetence, again the present system could well defend itself. Its path of progress is by curtailing cost, and employers are driven on it by the competition of one with another, or with the consumer, who is the final employer. It is a precarious position for a working man, and the thing that really threatens the life of the system. He cannot but want to be a civil servant, and have his future a charge on the community instead of at the necessity or the mercy of competing employers. He is in the majority; and, however little we like it that the lives of men should centre on his livelihood, he has been given the power to bring that about. Wages-boards and courts of arbitration are useful, but they add evils of their own; animosity remains and preparation for war. To co-partnership and often to co-operation (*q.v.*) the war-spirit is actively hostile. The moral situation on the other side is no better; there it is thought that socialism must come, but that everything should be done to resist and postpone it. And both sides think that they are acting in the highest human interest, and that this consists in giving the freest scope that can be given to our spirit.

It is something that they make the same appeal, for so far the dispute becomes a question of means. The question breaks into two, one about the best management of the forces of production, the other about their ownership. The best management of an enterprise is from within; the bane that weakens a public enterprise is interference from without. Democracy has kept some of its self-denying ordinances fairly well, but it is far easier to refrain from interfering with the bench or the navy, where there are no profits and the voters are few, than with the conduct of a railway, and with industries that are less subject to mechanical regulation. If there were as little interference as that of the shareholders in a going concern, and if the same price were paid for ability, the efficiency and even the enterprise might be as great. Assuming the best in regard to management, would it be well to pool the stocks of every enterprise, and pay the owners a uniform rate of interest? This is what socialism recommends, because it assumes that there must be an annual surplus for the ordinary shareholder, the tax-payer.

A rapid change to such a system would intensify the moral chaos of the present; if it has any chance of working well, it must come gradually and through a long apprenticeship in the joint-stock system. And then, no doubt, the single amalgamation of socialism would lose its attraction. But the demand for it will persist in embittering the present relations of owners and workmen unless the number of owners is greatly increased. The best way to retain the freedom and efficiency of the present system is by such increase. It is a form of co-operation like that of the co-operative distributing societies, and, like them, would be far more effective than co-partnership and the co-operative ownership by workmen in the same enterprise; and it would give these a fairer field. If the thing were easy, it would have come long ago; but it was never less difficult than now; and it could be made easier. It would offer a stronger impulse to thrift than the fear of a rainy day has proved. The forecast of such a development is at least as historical as that of a single amalgamation, which is the hope and the fear now confounding every effort at amelioration; but it will not come of its own accord.

LITERATURE.—The general text-books on economics all devote a main division to production, and P. H. Gastberg, *Production*, London, 1907, shows that nearly the whole subject may be seen from this point of view. The earlier books dealt mainly with the three agents of production, the later with their organization. This is naturally approached through its history, and C. Gide, *Political Economy*, tr. C. H. M. Archibald, New York, 1914, well illustrates the closing of the old division between deductive and historical economics. The history of production from the point of view of organization can be read in C. Bücher, *Industrial Evolution*, tr. S. M. Wickett, New York, 1907, and can best be studied in the increasing literature of economic history which deals with particular periods, and publishes contemporary records. Recent collections are *Economic Annals of the Nineteenth Century*, 1801–20, ed. W. Smart, London, 1910, and *English Economic History, Select Documents*, compiled and ed. A. E. Bland, P. A. Brown, and R. H. Tawney, do. 1914.

W. MITCHELL.

PROFANITY.—1. Meaning and use of the term.—In popular usage the term 'profanity' is frequently limited to a verbal reference and identified with 'profane swearing.' It is perhaps unnecessary to say that such a limitation cannot be justified by historical and etymological investigation. It is undoubtedly true that an unfitting and frivolous use of certain verbal symbols has been almost universally included in the class of practices condemned as profane. The names of the gods in primitive religions and the name of the one God in more advanced religions have been considered as too sacred to be ordinarily employed, and even the sacred usage has been restricted to certain privileged persons. 'Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain' is one of the commandments, and the OT writers constantly warn the people against 'profaning the holy name' of Jahweh. Sacred formulæ have been, in all religions, rigorously safeguarded, and the employment of them by other than authorized persons at the proper time and place has been regarded as constituting the sin of profanity. It is true also that, by investigating those prohibitions having a verbal reference, we may approach an understanding of the ideas underlying the disapproval of the profane. The words which must not be carelessly used refer to a world which is separated by a wide and deep gulf from the world of the ordinary, and the fact that verbal formulæ are of a somewhat artificial origin indicates that the separation is to be maintained not so much by a recognition of rational distinction between the two worlds or an appreciation of the inherent superiority of the sacred as by elaborated and external regulations. Yet, notwithstanding all this, the term 'profanity' includes far more than mere indifference to the distinction in verbal matters, and the wider meaning must be clearly kept in view.

The etymology of the word 'profane' (lit. 'before *or* in front of the shrine') may give us a certain amount of guidance because of its spatial suggestiveness. There immediately arises in our minds the idea of a walled or fenced enclosure within which only peculiarly precious objects and specially privileged persons may remain, and outside of which there is a world of rigorously excluded persons and things having lesser assigned worth than those within. The same kind of suggestion comes to us from a consideration of the Greek

words, *βέβηλος* and *βεβηλόω*, which are used to indicate profanity in the NT, and which introduce the idea of 'threshold' — a threshold strictly guarded, which should not be crossed, but yet which is crossed by those to whom the epithet 'profane' applies. Such persons properly belong to the world outside the sacred edifice, but they illegitimately enter in.

2. The idea of artificiality.—As we consider these spatial implications, we arrive, first of all, at the idea of artificiality. There is no intrinsic reason why one particular place should be more sacred than another. If the temple had been founded a few yards away from its actual position, the ground which is now profane would have been rendered sacred, and that which is now sacred would have retained its common or profane character. In primitive religions the location of the sacred and, contrariwise, of the profane depends very frequently upon chance. The importation of reason for the distinction comes entirely from the outside. We are thus not surprised to find that, *e.g.*, in certain Australian religions the totemic animal or thing which is worshipped has no intrinsic value entitling it to special reverence. Profanity lies in a failure to recognize an imposed rather than an actual value. The sacred object has not such a position in a universal scheme as will entitle it to permanent reverence. It has not within itself a power of protection sufficient to guard its sacredness. It follows, more generally, that the religions which most commonly avail themselves of the distinction between the sacred and the profane are not those which have attained to the highest level of security. They are still at the stage of struggle. Their gods have still to compete with the gods of other tribes, and the people who worship the particular gods, and who thus acquire something of their sacredness, have to be preserved by external means from the infiltration and pollution of other tribes. Even in the OT the disapproval of profanity is closely connected with the giving of worship to other gods, as, *e.g.*, participation in the rites of Molech (cf. Lv 20^3). The house of Israel is profaned among the heathen because the people have disregarded the restrictions upon which the exclusiveness of the nation depended (cf. Ezk $36^{20.\ 23}$). The stage has not yet been reached at which it is recognized that all people may be sacred, and that there *are* no other gods who can come into rivalry with the God of Israel. It is therefore easily intelligible that the distinction between the sacred and the profane is based originally, for the most part, upon definite injunction and prohibition. The religion or the body of sacred things has to be zealously guarded by law, and the profane person is the man who transgresses the law protecting the sacred ideas and rites. Of course, in the more advanced religions these ideas and rites acquire a greater degree of intrinsic value, but within the region of thought, where the distinction between sacred and profane is most intensely regarded, such value either has not yet been recognized or has been forgotten, and we may use the word 'artificiality' in order to draw attention to this dependence of the distinction upon external support.

Perhaps the most striking illustrations of artificiality are to be found in connexion with the verbal formulæ, prescriptive of rite or expressive of doctrine, to which we have already referred. The connexion between the sacred character which they now possess and their inherent meaning is exceedingly weak, and it is just where this meaning is most completely overlooked or forgotten that the disapproval of an unauthorized use of the formulæ is most intense. The more elaborate a system of ceremonies is, and the more clearly it bears upon it the marks of artificiality, the more numerous are the injunctions against profanity. The more complex the rite, the stricter is the priestly monopoly regarding it. The danger of profanity seems to be regarded as in inverse proportion to the degree of intelligibility possessed by that which is liable to desecration.

Among the Australian tribes it is an act of profanity to speak the names of some of the totems, and even the men of certain tribes have a sacred name besides their ordinary name which must not be made known to women and children, and must not be used in every-day life. In Vedic times in India we find the doctrine of 'secret names' of the gods, and these names were so sacred that it would have been considered profanity to reveal them to the vulgar. In the same land also, even at the present day, it is considered a disgraceful thing for a wife to utter the name of her husband, and ceremonies of initiation are accompanied by the giving of a sacred formula, or *mantra*, which has value rather as given by the priest than as understood by the initiate, and which the initiate is forbidden to reveal to others if he wishes to escape the sin of profanation of sacred things.

3. The idea of separation.—Another idea, related to the foregoing and also suggested by the spatial etymology of the word 'profane,' is that of absolute, abrupt, and rigorous separation between the sacred and the profane. The sacred enclosure is definitely separated by wall or some other effective protection from the profane world, and access from the one world to the other is only through a rigorously-guarded portal. The dominant characteristic of the two worlds is their heterogeneity. The close connexion between the ideas of artificiality and separateness is obvious. It is the fortresses without natural strength that require the broadest and deepest moats. Risks of contact between the sacred and the profane must be avoided at all costs, and the mind of the worshipper must be kept constantly alive to the dangers of the profane.

(*a*) *Place.*—An exceedingly large class of prohibitions against the profane have reference to separateness of place. In many of the primitive religions we find emphasis upon the profanity of entering the place where the sacred emblems of totem-worship are deposited, and all ordinary work within the sacred enclosure is forbidden. We find the same attitude also in connexion with OT worship. Ezekiel, *e.g.*, prescribes elaborate measurements in order 'to make a separation between the sanctuary and the profane place' (42^{20}), and by the same prophet a certain portion of the city land is called 'profane' to distinguish it from the portion assigned to priests and Levites. One of the chief arguments brought against St. Paul by later Jewish orthodoxy seems to have been that he had profaned the Temple by bringing into it men of an alien or unprivileged race.

(*b*) *Time.*—Very commonly also profanity is held to consist in disregard of a strict division of time. The ordinary world is so separate from the sacred that the occupations of the former have to be altogether given up when the latter is entered. The time which is assigned to the sacred must be characterized by rest from the regular forms of labour. If at such a time work has to be carried on at all, this work must have an essentially religious character and be freed from connexion with utilitarian considerations. If it bears any resemblance to ordinary work, it can be redeemed from profanity only by the fact that it is performed by privileged persons. In Mt 12^5 the priests are said to be without blame when they profane the Temple, because, though performing on the Sabbath actions similar to those of ordinary life, they are yet absolved by reason of their sacred office from the sin of Sabbath desecration. This failure to observe the sacredness of the Sabbath and of other special times and seasons is, in the Jewish religion generally, one of the most frequent grounds for the accusation of profanity (cf. Neh $13^{17ff.}$, Ezk 22^8 23^{38}).

(*c*) *Tabu.*—An intense desire to keep the profane

at a distance is clearly seen in connexion with tabu (*q.v.*) and the religions in which this conception is important. The word connotes exclusiveness (being derived from a root *ta*, 'mark,' and *pu*, an adverb of intensity). It is opposed to *noa*, the general or the common. It is from this idea of tabu that the distinction between sacred and profane arises in many communities, and the rigour of the distinction owes much to the awe which the tabu inspires. Profanity is a grievous sin and at the same time more frequently possible where the transition from the ordinary world to the profane is made as difficult as possible. The constant demand is that all actions and interests belonging to the ordinary world must be left behind by the would-be initiate. Literal contact is of course forbidden, and the prohibition extends to the contact involved in the taking of food. The food of the profane must not be eaten by the initiated, and, contrariwise, the food of the priests must not be eaten by the profane. The latter must not even have the degree of contact which is implied in the sight of the sacred objects. In some communities certain instruments of worship are profaned if, *e.g.*, women catch the faintest glimpse of them. The whole idea of asceticism has originally a very close connexion with this idea of absolute separation. Everywhere also elaborate ritual is accompanied by the most zealous care for the separation of the priestly class from the ordinary community. Many of the uses of the word 'profane' in the OT have reference to this withdrawal. The priests are to symbolize their separateness by changes of garments 'when they enter into the inner court.' They are to avoid ordinary food and the ordinary forms of family relationship, and in many other ways prepare themselves to teach the people 'the difference between the holy and profane' (cf. Ezk 44^{17-25}). The erring priests are those who have themselves 'put no difference' (22^{26}).

4. Profanation of sacred doctrine.—The danger of profanity also attaches itself to an incautious use of the body of sacred doctrine. This is often regarded as the exclusive property of certain privileged classes. The ancient sacred scriptures of India, *e.g.*, are profaned if they are read or taught to people outside the prescribed classes. In various parts of the literature terrible penalties are announced for those who venture to teach the doctrines of the Vedas to a Śūdra.

'The ears of the Sudra who hears the Veda are to be filled with molten lead and lac' (Saṅkarāchārya, Commentary on *Vedānta-Sūtras*, I. iii. 38 [*SBE* xxxiv. 228]), and, if he dares pronounce them, 'his tongue is to be slit.'

Occasionally the idea is that the sacred doctrine is also to be kept strictly separate from other truths or opinions which are of lesser value. To mingle sacred and other knowledge is in itself profanity. Perhaps there is a lingering trace of this idea in the use of the word 'profane' in the First Epistle to Timothy. Timothy is urged to 'refuse profane and old wives' fables' and to avoid 'profane and vain babblings, and oppositions of science falsely so called' (1 Ti 4^{7} 6^{20}). The idea of a strict line of demarcation certainly persists in the mediæval distinction of sacred and profane learning.

5. Reasons for distinction between sacred and profane.—So far we have been content with noticing the character and the breadth of the distinction between the sacred and the profane. If we go farther and ask for reasons for the distinction—reasons which lie deeper than mere artifice—we shall find these partly in belief in a divine revelation and partly in tradition and the social custom and pressure enshrined in such tradition. Though we have emphasized the artificial character of many of the defences of the sacred, it does not follow that these may not have previously involved a clearer consciousness of the inherent value of what is regarded as sacred. The original reason for the consecration of certain experiences and disapproval of unauthorized incursions into the sphere which they occupy may have been a sense of a divine revelation, even though that reason may now have been forgotten. The sanctuary at Bethel may have, in later times, become a home of priestcraft, but none the less it was the vision of the angels of God ascending and descending that gave it originally a sacred character. Even in religions where a divine revelation is not recognized the artificial character of the interdictions against profanity is not the whole of the matter. These interdictions are not of recent growth; they enshrine tradition, and in this tradition we may perceive the embodiment of a social consciousness. The totem-animal is protected from profanity because it symbolizes the spirit of the clan and represents a social pressure which the individual recognizes as superior and authoritative. Among men more religiously-minded or more enlightened this law of the community is regarded as the law of God, and the profane person is one who transgresses the ordinance of God and deserves, like the prince of Tyre, to be 'cast as profane out of the mountain of God' (Ezk 28^{16}). But whether the divine origin of the law and its reference to an all-comprehensive divine community be recognized or not, the anti-social character of profanity seems to be an unmistakable reason for disapproval of it. The profane person is the anti-social person who refuses to recognize the code of the community, and therefore one upon whom the law falls. Esau is called a 'profane person' seemingly for the reason that he sold his birthright or despised his connexion with the community (He 12^{16}). In India the person who has broken through caste regulations becomes at once profane and a source of pollution for those who remain within the caste. The anti-social character of profanity is also illustrated by the frequency with which accusations of profanity are brought against those who indulge in magical practices. It is no doubt possible to speak of profaning a magical rite in the sense of doing it in an unaccustomed and ineffective manner, but, for the most part, magic as a whole is itself condemned as profane just because it indicates a separatist procedure and a contravention of the regularized and socially approved worship of the community. Otherwise it is difficult to see why magic rites, which have a considerable resemblance to religious rites, should be regarded with such horror as profane in those communities, at least, where a social worship has been firmly established.

6. An inadequate differentiation. — We have emphasized certain inadequacies in the distinction between the sacred and the profane, arising from the artificial and abrupt character of the distinction. But this must not blind us to the elements of enduring value associated with these conceptions. Among primitive peoples the idea of tabu has often been the foundation of morality, and in the more advanced communities the rigorous protection of the priests from possible profanation may indicate a regard for personal purity as well as for privilege. The development of the social consciousness which underlies the abhorrence of profanity has been an ethical asset, and the asceticism by which the heterogeneity of the sacred and profane worlds may be transcended has often been a first step towards personal holiness.

Yet it must be admitted that the distinction between sacred and profane, as it is usually applied, does not belong to the highest level of thought. It still betrays the dominance of merely spatial categories; it is still influenced by the idea

that the divine is limited in the sphere of its operation, that God sets a seal upon certain persons, places, and times, relating them with special closeness to Himself, and leaving the rest of the world to be reckoned as common and profane. We must transform the distinction if we are to retain its underlying value. We must be permitted to honour as sacred the whole of the world which God has made, and encouraged to condemn as profane, not certain specified places, things, or persons, but the spirit of the dweller, whether in the temple or in the street, whose vision is narrow and whose aim is low, who fails to recognize that the way to the Holy of Holies lies along the path of the good citizen, and that even in the lonely wilderness he may find 'the very gate of heaven.' See, further, artt. HOLINESS.

LITERATURE.—Cf. E. Durkheim, *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, Eng. tr., London, 1915; *EBr*[11], *s.vv.* 'Taboo,' 'Totemism'; W. S. Urquhart, *The Upanishads and Life*, Calcutta, 1916; J. M. Baldwin, *Genetic Theory of Reality*, New York and London, 1915, p. 132 ff.; V. R. Lennard, *Our Ideals*, London, 1913, p. 39 ff.

W. S. URQUHART.

PROPERTY.—See WEALTH, INHERITANCE.

PROPHECY.

American (L. SPENCE), p. 381.
Christian (E. K. MITCHELL), p. 382.
Hebrew (E. KÖNIG), p. 384.

PROPHECY (American).—Among both the semi-civilized and the savage aboriginal peoples of the American continent prophets were held in peculiar veneration, and on many occasions they have moulded the destinies of tribes and nations. The advent of the white man in America, we are informed by many authorities, was heralded by numerous prophecies, but in most cases the authentic character of these is open to the gravest doubt. The vision of Papantzin, sister of Mocteuzoma, Tlatoani of Tenochtitlan (Mexico), is a case in point. This princess, it is said, fell into a death-like trance, on emerging from which she said that she had been led by a spirit through a field littered with dead men's bones to a place where she had seen strange, bearded, white men approach the coast of Mexico in large vessels. Another prophecy appears to have been current in Mexico in pre-Columbian times, to the effect that Quetzalcoatl (a god whose worship differed in certain of its characteristics from that of the other native cults, and who had come from the Land of the Sun and had been driven from Mexico by hostile deities) would one day return. The coming of Cortes and his comrades was regarded by the Mexicans as a fulfilment of the prophecy, and the title of Teule ('godlike being'), conferred by them upon the Spaniards, is proof that the tradition really existed.

Among the Maya of Central America prophecies were delivered by the priests at stated intervals. Writings which profess to incorporate some of these are to be found in the so-called books of Chilan Balam (*q.v.*), and these also deal with the advent of Europeans. There are not wanting statements to the effect that in Incan Peru prophecies were current about the coming of white strangers, but the events alluded to in at least one of them are not in accordance with known facts.

In modern times numerous prophets have arisen among the N. American Indians, usually in periods of crisis in the history of the tribe. In 1675 **Popé**, a medicine-man of the Tewa (Pueblo Indians) near San Juan, New Mexico, was charged along with others with the crime of witchcraft. He preached the doctrine of independence from Spanish rule and the restoration of Indian customs, and instituted a wide-spread conspiracy to drive the Spanish colonists from the country. Popé, along with his disciples, Catiti, Tupatú, and Jaca, set apart 13th Aug. 1680 as the day of massacre. Extraordinary precautions were taken to ensure that no European should learn of the intended revolt, but the news leaked out, and Popé had perforce to strike three days before the time. Four hundred Spaniards were massacred and Santa Fé was besieged, but a successful sortie ended in the rout and discomfiture of the Indians. The Spaniards were, however, forced to abandon the town and to retreat to El Paso. Popé washed with a native preparation those of his followers who had been baptized into the Christian Church, burned the churches, and obliterated every remaining mark of Christianity. But his rule became so despotic and was followed by such misfortunes that he was finally deposed. He was re-elected, however, in 1688, and died in 1692.

Tenskwatawa ('open door') was a famous prophet of the Shawnees and a twin brother of Tecumseh. An ignorant and drunken youth, he was one day engaged in lighting his pipe when he fell back in a state of trance. His friends, believing him dead, were preparing for his funeral when he revived and stated that he had paid a visit to the spirit-world. In 1805 he assembled his tribesmen and their allies at Wapakonita, now in Ohio, and announced himself as the bearer of a new revelation from the Master of Life. He declared that, whilst in the spirit-world, it had been granted to him to lift the veil of the future and behold the blessedness of those who followed the precepts of the Indian god and the punishments of such as had strayed from his path. He vehemently denounced witchcraft and medicine practices, the drinking of 'fire-water,' the intermarriage of Indian women with white men, the wearing of European clothing, and all White customs and institutions. If these things were eschewed, the Master would receive the Indians into favour once again. He further announced that he had been granted the power to cure all diseases.

These statements caused great excitement among the people of his tribe, and those who dealt in witchcraft were boycotted. From time to time Tenskwatawa announced further wonderful revelations to his followers from his abode near Greenville, Ohio. He predicted an eclipse of the sun which took place in the summer of 1806, and this greatly enhanced his reputation as a prophet. His apostles travelled from tribe to tribe disseminating his doctrines, and a belief arose that within four years all those who did not credit his predictions would be overwhelmed in a great catastrophe. Shortly before the war of 1812 a confederacy was entered into for the purpose of driving out the Whites, but Harrison's victory near Tippecanoe destroyed both the faith and the movement connected with it. Tenskwatawa received a pension from the British Government. Although of somewhat forbidding appearance and blind of an eye, he had great gifts of fervour and personal magnetism.

Kanakuk, the prophet of the Kickapoos, received inspiration from the career of Tenskwatawa. In 1819 the Kickapoos ceded their extensive territory

in Illinois to the United States, and were assigned a reservation in Missouri. This region, however, was occupied by the unfriendly Osages, so that the Kickapoos were unable to take possession of it. Kanakuk exhorted his people not to abandon their territory and preached a moral code which forbade superstition, the use of alcohol, and internecine quarrels, promising them that, if they recognized it faithfully, they would in time inherit a land of plenty. He became chief of that remnant of them which remained in Illinois. He was in the habit of displaying a map or chart of the true path through which the virtuous must proceed, beset with fire and water, did they desire to attain the happy hunting-grounds, and he furnished his disciples with prayer-sticks engraved with holy symbols. Ultimately the tribe was removed to Kansas, but Kanakuk remained its chief until his death from smallpox in 1852.

Tavibo ('white man'), a Paiute chief and medicine-man, when his tribe was forced to retreat before the Whites, went into the mountains to receive a revelation, and prophesied on his return that the earth would swallow the Whites and that their possessions would be given to the Indians. But his followers were unable to entertain the idea of an earthquake that would discriminate between the Red Man and his enemies. He therefore sought a second vision, which revealed to him that, although the Indians would be engulfed along with the Whites, they would rise again and would enjoy for ever an abundance of game and provisions. Followers flocked around him and, when they became sceptical, he had a further revelation, which told him that only those who believed in his prophecies would be resurrected. He died in Nevada about 1870.

Wovoka, the son of Tavibo, was responsible for the 'Ghost-dance' religion and prophecies, perhaps the most important from a political point of view in the history of the relations of the Whites and Indians. This creed he nurtured among the Paviotso of Nevada about 1888. It spread rapidly until it embraced all the tribes from the Missouri to the Rockies and even beyond them. Wovoka (who was known to the Whites as Jack Wilson), like other native prophets, declared that he had been taken into the spirit-world, where he had received a revelation from the god of the Indians to the effect that they would be restored to their inheritance and united with their departed friends. They were to prepare for this event by practising song-and-dance ceremonies given them by the prophet. During these dances many of the Indians fell into a condition of hypnotic trance, and intense excitement usually prevailed. The movement led to an outbreak in the winter of 1890–91. It has now degenerated into a mere social function.

Smohalla was the originator of a religion current among the tribes of the Upper Columbian River and the adjacent region. The name (Shmoqula) means 'preacher,' and was conferred upon him after he had attained celebrity. In his boyhood (he was born about 1815 or 1820) he frequented a Roman Catholic mission, from which he appears to have derived certain of his religious ideas. Beginning to preach about 1850, he quarrelled with a rival chief, left his tribe, and wandered south as far as Mexico. On returning, he declared that he had visited the spirit-world, whence he had been sent back to deliver a message to the Indians. The substance of this was that they must return to their aboriginal mode of life and eschew the Whites, their teachings, and their customs. Smohalla found many adherents, and the sect which he instituted, known as 'The Dreamers,' and possessing an elaborate ceremonial, has maintained its religious organization.

The mysterious sect or secret society known in Central America as **Nagualists**, which had for its object the destruction of Christianity, numbered several prophets among its priests and adherents Jacinto Can-Ek, who led a Maya revolt at Valladolid, Yucatan, in 1761, prophesied the destruction of the Spaniards. Maria Candelaria, an Indian girl, headed a similar and previous revolt, and likewise falsely prophesied the Spanish downfall.

See also COMMUNION WITH DEITY (American), § 5, and SECRET SOCIETIES (American).

LITERATURE.—D. G. Brinton, *Nagualism*, Philadelphia, 1894; L. Spence, 'Magic and Sorcery in Ancient Mexico,' *Occult Review*, xxii. [1915] 145–152, *The Myths of Mexico and Peru*, London, 1913, pp. 6–9; J. Mooney, *14 RBEW* [1896], p. 670 ff.; J. G. Bourke, *9 RBEW* [1892], p. 451 ff.

LEWIS SPENCE.

PROPHECY (Christian).—**1. Primitive form.**—The opening of the Christian era was signalized by a remarkable awakening of the spirit of prophecy, and this was accepted by all believers as the fulfilment of Jl $2^{28f.}$ (Ac $2^{17f.}$). Moreover, our Lord Himself had seen in His own equipment and ministry the fulfilment of the promise of the Spirit (Is $61^{1ff.}$, Lk $4^{17ff.}$). And 'to the people he was a prophet, strong in action and in utterance' (Lk $24^{19f.}$; cf. 13^{32} 7^{16}, Mt 13^{57} etc.). Earlier still John the Baptist had attracted the multitude by the declaration that the baptism of the Spirit was at hand (Mk 1^{8}). And Zacharias and Simeon, Elisabeth, Mary, Anna, and many others who were 'looking for the consolation of Israel' had borne witness a generation earlier to the presence of the Spirit and His fuller advent as heralding a new era of divine grace (Lk $1^{55ff.}$ $2^{25ff.}$). Furthermore, the whole Jewish Apocalyptic literature of the period testifies to the general expectation of the dawning of 'the last days' and the bestowal of the spirit of prophecy.

The demonstration of the Day of Pentecost was the opening of a new era in the religious history of mankind (Ac $2^{16ff.}$). Tongues were loosened, and the impulse to prophesy spread like wild-fire among the converts to the new faith. This was natural and indeed inevitable under the circumstances. Believers were at once impelled and compelled to account for to themselves and to explain to others the things that were happening among them and what was about to come to pass. For the Day of the Lord had dawned, and they were all eager to know what it meant to themselves and to the world. Looking back over the history of Israel, they sought to trace the purposes of God, and they then projected them into the future in the light of the fresh dispensation of grace. This was Christian prophecy in its primitive form, and the apostles were its first exponents. But other voices were soon heard explaining the ways of God and expounding the gospel of salvation. Stephen arraigned the Jewish leaders for resisting the Holy Spirit, killing the prophets, and murdering the Son of man (Ac 7^{51}).

2. Spiritual gifts differentiated.—The persecution which followed the stoning of Stephen scattered the disciples widely and multiplied the number of those who sought to interpret 'the signs of the times.' It thus came about that each little community of believers had those among them who 'spoke as the Spirit gave them utterance' and were accounted as prophets of the Lord. Many were no doubt often overwrought and distraught and promised things that failed of fulfilment; but the fittest survived and held high rank among those who set themselves 'to minister unto the saints.' The freedom that prevailed everywhere in public assembly encouraged each disciple to exercise whatever gift the Spirit had bestowed upon him for the upbuilding of the brotherhood

As time went on, these gifts became distinguished from one another and more sharply outlined (1 Co $12^{28ff.}$).

It is St. Paul who gives us the first clear classification of 'spiritual gifts' and announces that they have been bestowed for the common good. 'God has set people within the Church,' he says, 'to be first of all apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers, then workers of miracles, then healers, helpers, administrators and speakers in tongues of various kinds' (1 Co $12^{28ff.}$; cf. $12^{1ff.}$, 1 Th 5^{20}, Ro 12^{6-8}, Eph 2^{20} $4^{11ff.}$, 1 Ti 1^{18} 4^{14}, 2 Ti 1^{6}). And yet these gifts were not bestowed singly and to the exclusion of all the others. For the apostles prophesied, taught, governed, and exercised their manifold ministry. And the prophets also taught and sometimes spoke in a tongue, wrought miracles, and healed. But the individual became classified by his most conspicuous gift, and each little community of believers looked to this one or that for the performance of his chosen function. Certain gifts, however, from their very nature, were unstable and intermittent—*e.g.*, speaking in a tongue, working miracles, healing, and even prophesying. On the other hand, there were gifts that were naturally stable and continuous—*e.g.*, teaching, administering, and governing. The intermittent, unstable gifts were liable to lapse in any given community. There were not enough accredited prophets, healers, or speakers in a tongue to go round; and, where genuine inspiration failed, the pretender often came to the front. St. Paul found it necessary to advise restraint and moderation in speaking in a tongue (1 Co $14^{2ff.}$); and he also warns against unrestrained prophecy: 'Let only two or three prophets speak, while the rest exercise their judgment upon what is said. Should a revelation come to one who is seated, the first speaker must be quiet. . . . Prophets can control their own prophetic spirits' (1 Co $14^{29f.}$).

3. The Church and 'false prophets.'—The freedom of the early years gradually came under the restraint of the general judgment of the Christian communities and their accredited leaders. The stable continuous functions in the life of the Church grew in influence and power. The apostles themselves saw to it that the churches were supplied with permanent leaders, such as presbyters and deacons, who should direct the affairs of the brotherhood and guard the purity of its life and teachings (Ac $6^{1ff.}$ $11^{27f.}$ 14^{23} $15^{2f.}$ $21^{10f.}$, 1 Th $5^{20f.}$, Gal $2^{2f.}$, 1 Co $14^{37f.}$, Eph 2^{20}, Col 2^{18}, 1 Ti 1^{18}). They were careful, however, not to put the ban on the exercise of any God-given power or to restrain any genuine effort to minister in the name of the Master. For every disciple was a member of the 'body of Christ' and under obligation to contribute to the welfare of all; to his own Lord he stood or fell. And yet abuses of freedom were sure to arise, and did occur. Not all saints were sanctified, and impostors and pretenders appeared here and there. The apostles began to recall that Jesus had warned them against false prophets (Mt $7^{15ff.}$ $24^{4ff.}$). And His forecast was soon fulfilled (Ac $20^{29f.}$, 2 Th $2^{2f.}$, Col $2^{4, 18}$, 1 Ti $1^{19f.}$, 2 Ti $2^{16f.}$ $3^{1f.}$, Rev 2^{20} and often, 1 Jn $4^{1ff.}$). The appearance of these false prophets, pretending superior wisdom, ere long created distrust and aroused the churches and their leaders to the dangers that threatened their welfare. But as yet there was no recognized 'form of discipline' adequate for the suppression of those would-be spokesmen and pretentious revealers of the secret counsels of God. There were no specific standards by which to test and try those 'spirits.' Standards, however, were sure to be found, and, if not found, then created, by the churches for their protection from vagaries in doctrine and aberrations in life. The apostles, whether in common councils or as individuals, were the first court of appeal. They based their judgments on the words of the Lord and the mind of Christ. Then the appointment of bishops (*i.e.* elders or presbyters) and deacons supplied the place of an apostle when he was absent. Letters were a substitute for personal presence. The disappearance of the apostles and the first disciples tended to leave the churches, now widely scattered, open to the invasion of presumptuous claimants to leadership, and the words of the Lord were not often specific enough to meet the case. And who could claim to have the 'mind of Christ'?

4. Warnings of the early fathers.—The rise and development of the monarchical episcopate was here and there favoured and fostered in the interests of sound doctrine and as a restraint against new-fangled notions, foreign to the faith. Hermas, *Pastor* (*Mand.* xi. and xii.), and Ignatius (*Eph.* vii., ix., and xvi., *Mag.* viii., *Tral.* vi., *Phil.* ii., iii., *Smyr.* iv., vii., *ad Pol.* iii.) are full of warnings and admonitions against false prophets and teachers; and Ignatius especially exhorts to obedience of the bishop. This was his hope for the maintenance of sound doctrine. Clement likewise relies upon the bishops (*i.e.* presbyters) for the preservation of the unity and purity of the Church (*1 ad Cor.* xlii.–xliv.). Prophecy, however, was not yet suppressed, but only repressed and somewhat regulated by the rising officials in the Churches. The *Didache* informs us that prophecy was still free and in good repute in Syria (or Egypt), although often counterfeited and condemned (xi. 7–12). Its days, however, were numbered, for it was soon to share the general distrust and opposition towards all extravagant claims to divine wisdom. The Gnostics and Marcion had prophets as well as the churches, and they were sometimes indistinguishable from each other (see artt. GNOSTICISM, MARCIONISM). Then the rise of Montanism (*q.v.*) was in some respects but a resurgence of prophetism. It was an effort to revive primitive Christian conditions where each believer was free to exercise his God-given gift.

5. Disappearance of the prophetic office.—The churches were now put on the defensive and they soon sought to co-operate in the maintenance of their apostolic heritage. Joint action in councils was the most effective means at hand. This brought the bishops together and greatly increased their prestige and power. The appeal to the words of Christ was enlarged to include an appeal to the teaching and writings of the apostles, and the use of the OT as a book of discipline and standard of doctrine grew in favour. The Law and the Prophets had sufficed for Israel, and the Old Covenant needed only to be supplemented by the New with its apostolic guarantees. Prophecy was thus placed under the restraint of written records, and it was considered more important to interpret the old prophecies than to utter new ones. All the unstable, intermittent spiritual gifts shared the fate of the prophetic. Tongues, miracles, healings waned; and by the end of the 2nd cent. they were all, including prophecy, under the restraint of the regular officials of the respective churches and subordinated to them. Prophecy as well as the rest was not denied its theoretic claims, but it must keep within the bounds of Holy Scripture and the standards of discipline. The pressing primitive need of interpreting the 'signs of the times,' however, seemed to have passed away. Men were now trying to adjust Christianity to its place in the world. There were sporadic efforts to reinstate prophecy as a special function in the life of the Church, but it had served its day (Iren. *adv. Hær.* ii. 32; Eus. *HE* v. 7). Its most important and essential element was absorbed by

the teachers and preachers, and the office practically disappeared.

LITERATURE.—A. Hilgenfeld, *Die Glossolalie in der alten Kirche*, Leipzig, 1850; G. N. Bonwetsch, 'Die Prophetie im apost. und nachapost. Zeitalter,' in *ZKWL* viii. [1887] 408 f., ix. [1888] 460 f.; A. Harnack, *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel*, Leipzig, 1884, pp. 119–131, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*[2], Leipzig, 1906, i. 296 ff.; H. Weinel, *Die Wirkungen des Geistes*, Freiburg, 1899; J. Armitage Robinson, *s.v.* 'Prophetic Literature,' in *EBi* iii. 3883 ff.; E. C. Selwyn, *The Christian Prophets*, London, 1900. E. K. MITCHELL.

PROPHECY (Hebrew).—**1. Soothsaying and prophecy.**—According to Cicero (*de Div.* i. 18), there were, traditionally, two kinds of divination, the one based upon an art or theory (*ars*), the other lacking such basis. The former consisted in the application of certain rules which earlier generations believed to have been drawn from the observation of occasional coincidences between certain appearances and certain subsequent occurrences; thus the Greeks (looking to the north) regarded a bird appearing on the left as of evil omen, and one seen on the right as a harbinger of good fortune (cf. Hom. *Od.* xv. 159, 173 f.; so 524, as contrasted with xx. 242), while the Romans, looking towards the south, saw a favourable sign in an *avis sinistra*. Those, again, who cultivated the second main type of divination are described by Cicero as perceiving the future beforehand by means of a certain agitation (*concitatio*), or unconstrained and free movement of the mind. The two modes of seeking to foretell the future are now usually distinguished as divination and prophecy. Now the historical writers of the OT, who have of late been frequently accused of suppressing the truth, do not conceal the fact that in almost every age the first type of prediction had a considerable vogue in Israel.

Thus (*a*) *'ōnēn* is forbidden in Lv 19[26], Dt 18[10], 2 K 21[6], Mic 5[12], Jer 27[9], Is 57[3]; the term seems to have denoted the observing of cloud-formations and of the weather in general, and certainly the practice of observing the configuration and colouring of the clouds played an important rôle among the Babylonians and Assyrians (cf. C. Bezold, *Nineve und Babylon*, Bielefeld, 1903, p. 85). Again, (*b*) the practice of rhabdomancy is deplored in Hos 4[12]; this form of divination, according to Herodotus (iv. 67), was found among the Scythians, and Tacitus (*Germ.* x.) describes the way in which it was practised among the Germans (see *ERE* iv. 827[a]). Further, (*c*) there were people in Israel who believed that they had a connexion with an *'ôb*, most probably 'one who returns' (cf. Fr. *revenant*), *i.e.* a spirit that could not rest in the grave, and might bring tidings from the under world; the pl. *'ôbôth* is used in Is 8[19] as a parallel of *mēthîm*, 'the dead,' and the word may be derived from Arab. *'âba*, '*redîit*' (cf. the form *qôm* instead of the regular *qām* [2 K 16[7]]; the *ō* may have been used also to distinguish the word from *'āb*, 'father'). Those who were believed to be connected with such a spirit imitated its supposed weak voice by hollow tones (Is 29[4]), like those of the ventriloquist, whence LXX sometimes gives ἐγγαστρίμυθοι.

This whole species of prediction, working with objects or persons as its media, was called *qesem*, the agent being the *qôsēm* (Is 3[2] etc.). The term is connected with Arab. *qâsama*, lit. 'to cut in pieces,' then 'to part,' and *qesem* would thus be what gives a decision regarding the future. The representatives of the lawful religion, however, were convinced of their superiority to the *qôsēm* in every respect (1 S 28[8], Is 3[3], Jer 14[14], Zec 10[2] etc.); and it was a principle of that religion that there was no *qesem* in Israel (Nu 23[23]), *i.e.* among those who were faithful to the lawful religion. The true religion of Israel nevertheless countenanced the second type of divination noted by Cicero, and actually traced its origin to those who bore the title *nābî'*—the meaning and history of which we must now investigate.

2. The vocation of the Hebrew prophet.—The nature of the prophetic calling can best be studied by starting from the name *nābî'*, pl. *nᵉbî'îm*.

The word means 'speaker,' being formed from the verb נבא, *nābā'*, which corresponds to the Arab. *nâba'a*, signifying 'to announce'; so, too, the Assyr. *nabû*, 'to call,' 'inform,' 'command'; cf. Nabû = Nebo (Is 46[1]), identified with Ἑρμῆς (Ac 14[12]), and the Eth. *nabâba*, 'to speak.' It is true that many scholars (*e.g.*, Kuenen, Wellhausen, Stade) connect *nābî'* with נבע, *nābā'*, 'to well forth,' 'to bubble up,' but this theory ignores the difference between the final gutturals, and severs *nābâ'* from its Semitic cognates; moreover, if *nābî'* meant 'bubbling up,' a 'prophet' would hardly have been blamed for 'boiling over' (*paḥăzuth*, Jer 23[32]; cf. Zeph 3[4]); while Kuenen's assertion (*De Profeten*, i. 50) that the sense of 'bubbling up' may have developed into that of 'speaker' still leaves it open that the *nebî'îm* were 'speakers' from the outset. The rendering 'speaker' is supported also by the fact that one's *nābî'* is sometimes styled his 'mouth' (Ex 4[16] 7[1], Is 30[2], Jer 15[19], 2 Ch 6[4]), and that a *nābî'* of God is also called His *mēlîṣ*, 'interpreter,' 'ambassador' (Is 43[27]). Cornill's interpretation of the word is but relatively different from that maintained here; from the Arab. *nâba'a* he infers that *nābî'* means 'authorized speaker'—wrongly, as the present writer thinks, since *nâba'a* signifies, not simply 'to speak,' but 'to inform,' 'to announce.' J. A. Bewer (*AJSL* xviii. [1901] no. 2) proposes to connect *nābî'* with Assyr. נבא, 'to carry off,' and to give it the sense of 'one who is carried away,' 'transported' (by a supernatural power), but Babylonian-Assyrian usage does not give the slightest hint of such a derivation; the divine name Nabû points rather to the derivation from the Bab.-Assyr. *nabû*, 'to name,' 'to call.'

While the *nᵉbî'îm*, accordingly, were 'speakers,' we must of course understand that they were such in a unique sense, *i.e.*, that they were heralds or messengers in the highest sphere of human interests, viz. religion. They were not, *e.g.*, legal counsel or advocates, as is asserted by H. Winckler (*Religionsgeschichtlicher und geschichtlicher Orient*, Leipzig, 1906, p. 23 f.); for the preparation of 'written contracts,' to which he refers, required not a speaker but a writer, and, while 'writers' are mentioned, as in the admittedly ancient Song of Deborah (Jg 5[14]), we never hear of a *nābî'* as spokesman or counsel in any record of judicial proceedings (Ex 18[13ff.], Jos 7[19ff.], 1 S 22[12ff.], Ru 4[1ff.]; cf. 2 S 15[3f.]). In the Code of Hammurabi, moreover, we find the *šibu*, 'elder,' 'assessor' (cf. *zᵉkēnîm*, Ru 4[1ff.]), and the *daiânu*, 'judge,' but there is no mention of the *nabiu*. We infer therefore that the Hebrew *nābî'* was the 'speaker' in the religious sphere, thus corresponding to the Greek προφήτης, originally 'the interpreter of the oracle,' and thus 'the expounder of divine revelation,' so that neither term at first connoted the idea of prediction.

If the Hebrew prophets, accordingly, were 'speakers' in the religious sphere, it is obvious that they were neither priests (*kōhănîm*) nor 'judges' (*shôphᵉṭîm*). It may not be quite so clear, however, whether they were poets, as they have recently been often called. The present writer would here refer to the conclusion at which he arrived in his *Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik in Bezug auf die bibl. Litteratur* (Leipzig, 1900, p. 308 ff.), viz. that, while the Hebrew prophets occasionally introduce lyrics (cf. Is 5[1-6] 23[16]), and often involuntarily break into the rhythm of the dirge (*e.g.*, Am 5[2]), they were otherwise speakers or orators. Further, the author of Ps 74, writing in the Maccabæan period (cf. 1 Mac 4[46] 9[27] 14[41]), could never have said (v.[9]) 'There is no more any *nābî'*,' had he—a poet—regarded himself as one; while, again, the poetic books of the OT are, in the Hebrew arrangement, kept quite apart from the prophetic writings. For similar reasons the *nᵉbî'îm* cannot be classed as philosophers. The Hebrews too had their philosophers, the *ḥăkhāmîm*, or 'wise,' whose literary productions are found, *e.g.*, in Proverbs, Job, and Ecclesiastes; but no prophet of the OT ever calls himself a *ḥākhām*—Isaiah (29[14]) indeed positively differentiates himself from the class—and in the Hebrew order of the OT books the *nᵉbî'îm* and the *ḥăkhāmîm* appear in different divisions.

3. The rise of Hebrew prophecy.—The present writer would begin here by giving the conclusion to which his own investigations have led him, viz. that prophecy was from the first, so to speak, the heart-throb of the lawful religion of Israel. This is just what we might expect, and, besides, it agrees with the testimony of the Pentateuchal

source E, which, while some scholars regard it as at least second in point of age, the present writer and others believe to be the oldest of all (cf. E. König, *Einleitung in das AT*, Bonn, 1893, pp. 200, 203 f.); thus E in Gn 20[7] calls Abraham a *nābî'* (as in Ps 105[15] the name is given to the patriarchs generally, and in Dt 18[15], Hos 12[13] to Moses). And, if other religions found a voice in some form of prophecy, why should this not have been the case from the first with the lawful religion of Israel?

A somewhat different view is taken by Cornill, who inclines to think that Arabia was the native soil of *nabî*-ism (*Der israelitische Prophetismus*[5], p. 12). He seeks to support this theory by pointing to the fact that the basal form of the verb corresponding to *nābî'* is not found in Hebrew. But Hebrew has many nouns that have no corresponding verb at all, as, *e.g.*, *dām*, 'blood,' *ṣaphîa'*, 'dung,' and these words certainly did not connote foreign or imported concepts. Moreover, while *kihhēn*, 'to act as priest,' the verb corresponding to *kōhēn*, is as much a mere *verbum denominativum* as *nibbā'* or *hithnabbē'*, 'to prophesy' (from *nābî'*), no one would ever deny that the priesthood was an ancient and indigenous institution among the Hebrews. Yet some scholars go even farther than Cornill; thus Wellhausen (*Die israel.-jüd. Religion*, Leipzig, 1906, p. 20) asserts that prophecy arose in Israel in the agitated period before the outbreak of the Philistine war. At first sight this view seems to find support in 1 S 9[9b]: 'the prophet (*nābî'*) of to-day was formerly called the seer' (*rō'eh*). The present writer is of opinion, however, that in the exposition of this passage certain points have not been fully taken account of.

(1) Samuel bears both titles—*rō'eh* in 1 S 9[11. 18f.] (cf. 1 Ch 9[22] 26[28] 29[29]), *nābî'* in 3[20]; and we need not attach much importance to Cornill's statement (p. 13) that he is always called 'seer' in the earliest source, for he is there also styled 'man of God' (9[6-8. 10]). Moreover, Hanani (Asa's reign, *c.* 900 B.C.) is still called a seer in 2 Ch 16[7. 10], and there, accordingly, it is not implied that the two terms belonged to different periods. In point of fact, the man of God might be described either as one who perceived, or as one who proclaimed, religious truth, so that the *nābî'* was subsequently also called *rō'eh* (Is 30[10]); and the prophet's act of reception or perception is always (from Am 7[1] onwards) denoted by the verb *rā'āh*, of which the *rō'eh* of 1 S 9[9b] is the active participle. Hence Wellhausen's idea of an absolute distinction between 'prophet' and 'seer' is unfounded.

(2) We must take into account the purpose of 1 S 9[9b], that purpose being to explain why Saul chose the term *rō'eh* (v.[11]), which is not used of Samuel in the previous part of the chapter. It seems very probable, therefore, that the LXX has here preserved the true reading (ὅτι τὸν προφήτην ἐκάλει ὁ λαὸς ἔμπροσθεν, ὁ Βλέπων); for (*a*) the Hebrew here presents a difficulty, and, even if we read *linebî' hayyóm*, this would mean 'the prophet of to-day'; (*b*) the adjunct *hayyóm* is never found in the many other references to changes of designation (cf., *e.g.*, Gn 17[5]); *hayyóm* might easily arise from *ha'am*, 'the people,' which is precisely the reading of the LXX, and certainly other passages (*e.g.* 1 K 3[2]) seem to speak of 'the people' in the special sense of 'the multitude.' Thus the statement that the *nebî'îm* appeared in Israel shortly before the Philistine wars finds but frail support in 1 S 9[9b].

That statement, moreover, is confronted by the fact that in the historical consciousness of Israel there had been *nebî'îm* long before the period indicated, as may be inferred from Gn 20[7] (already noted as belonging to E), from Nu 11[25f. 29] (J), from reminiscences of the prophetic function of Moses (Dt 18[15], Hos 12[13]), and from Jeremiah's utterance regarding the unbroken prophetic sequence from the Exodus (Jer 7[25]). Notwithstanding all this, however, the statement in question has been amplified by the assertion that prophecy in Israel was derived from the Canaanite religion. It was Kuenen (*De Profeten*, ii. 227 f.) who formulated the theory that in the closing period of the Judges the Canaanite phenomena of *geest-verrukking* ('ecstasy') passed over to the worshippers of Jahweh, and that Samuel placed himself at the head of the movement. This theory won the approval of Wellhausen and others, including W. R. Harper (*ICC*, 'Amos and Hosea,' Edinburgh, 1905, p. lv). (*a*) It is to be noted, however, that Harper himself (p. liv) does not deny that prophecy was indigenous to other Semitic religions, and it would be strange that Israel should be an exception. (*b*) It is extremely unlikely that the Israelites should borrow an institution from a religion which they despised and to whose gods and orgiastic practices they were bitterly hostile (Ex 20[3] 23[13] 34[12ff.], Dt 23[18f.] etc.). (*c*) Had the Israelites, in the period of the Judges, not possessed the institution which constitutes the deepest source of their religious power, then the Canaanites, with their superior external culture and an alluring form of religion, would almost certainly have absorbed them. (*d*) The statement of Wellhausen and his successors, viz. that prior to Samuel's time there was a whole host of *nebî'îm* in Israel, and that Samuel simply put himself at their head, finds no support in the sources. We read of no religious movement before Samuel's day, for we can hardly think of Samson in this connexion, while in Eli's time the Ark itself was not guarded against capture by the enemy (1 S 4[11]). Far from there having been a multitude of prophets before Samuel's day, we read that 'the word of the Lord was rare in those days; vision was not widely spread' (3[1]).

The actual situation, as it appeared to the historical consciousness of Israel, was, in contrast to the foregoing views, rather as follows. The fervour of faith in Jahweh as supreme among the gods (Ex 15[11] 18[11]), which had been kindled by the deliverance from Egypt, never wholly died out (Jos 24[31], Jg 2[10]); on the contrary, clear-sighted representatives of the true religion, such as Deborah (Jg 4[4]), and God-fearing men like Gideon (8[23]) had striven to maintain it. Nevertheless, the national and religious life sank to a very low level, and, in particular, the nation seemed about to be overwhelmed by the Philistines, who were constantly being reinforced from Crete (A. Noordtzij, *De Filistijnen*, Kampen, 1905, pp. 39, 123 f.). Even the high-priestly family fell into a state of complete degeneracy in Eli's sons, Hophni and Phinehas; the ancient symbol of the divine covenant was captured by the enemy; and a daughter-in-law of Eli, heart-broken at her people's calamity, gave her child the name Ichabod, 'dishonour,' 'ignominy' (1 S 4[19-22]). It was in this extremity that Samuel stood forth on behalf of his people; speaking as a messenger of his God, he brought them to repent, and to turn to Jahweh (7[3-12]). It was Samuel who once more raised the standard of religion and nationality, and this standard was then seized and carried far and wide by others. It is only after his great victory, which he commemorated by setting up the stone called Eben-ezer ('stone of [Jahweh's] help,' 7[12]), that we find traces of the 'prophetic companies' (10[5]).

4. The development of Hebrew prophecy.—(*a*) *Companies of the prophets.*—We would note here, to begin with, the operation of the general law according to which the great figures in the prophetic field draw round them numbers of emulative disciples. Thus Moses has satellites in Miriam, the prophetess, who led the women in their chant of victory at the Red Sea (Ex 15[20ff.]), and the elders who received a portion of his spirit (Nu 11[25ff.][J]).[1] In a similar way those who had been moved by the religious and patriotic spirit of Samuel drew round him as their leader. Such prophetic bands—often, though less correctly, called 'schools of the prophets'—come once more into special prominence in the struggle between Ba'al and Jahweh, when Elijah and Elisha stood forth as champions of the legitimate religion of their people. Even Amos (*c.* 760 B.C.) makes reference to 'sons of the prophets,' as such disciples or scholars could be called in the Hebrew idiom (Am 7[14]; cf. 1 K 20[35]). The status of the prophets Samuel, Elijah, Elisha, and Amos, in relation to the members of the prophetic companies, may to some extent be made out from the following references: the latter prophesied before Samuel (1 S 19[24]), or sat before Elisha (2 K 4[38]), and, as this mode of expression finds a parallel in the well-known affirmation of Elijah, 'the Lord, . . . before whom I stand' (1 K 17[1] etc.), we infer that they were the agents or pupils of the greater men; moreover, they addressed Elisha as 'man of God' (2 K 4[40]); and Elisha treats one of them as his servant (6[15-17]; cf. also 9[1]). In Samuel's time, again, we see the bands of prophets marching in procession to the sound of harp and timbrel, and from this fact, as from other references in the sources, we infer that the part which they played in the religious development was of a threefold kind: (1) they disseminated the ideas of men like Samuel, Elijah, and Elisha among the people (in 2 K 8[5] Gehazi recounts the great deeds of Elisha); (2) in chants expressing the great historic memories of their people they sounded forth the praise of God to the accompaniment of musical instruments; (3) in all probability they recorded the history of

[1] On the trustworthiness of the earlier strata of the Hebrew historical record cf. E. König, *Gesch. des Reiches Gottes*, p. 12 ff.

Israel in the spirit of the prophetic religion; and accordingly it would doubtless be in their circle that the book of Jashar (Jos 10^{13}, 2 S 1^{18}), the book of the wars of the Lord (Nu 21^{14}), and especially the many other prophetic writings mentioned as sources (1 Ch 29^{29} etc.) were composed. As regards the inner relationship between men like Samuel and these prophetic societies, we may say that, while the former were vehicles of revelation, the members of the latter were derivative or reproductive prophets. But a more important mark of distinction is the fact that, while these derivative prophets caught the excitement of the times and in their vehement movements would throw themselves half-naked (*'ārôm*, Is 58^{7} etc.) upon the ground (1 S 19^{24}), such enthusiastic and ecstatic behaviour is never ascribed to Samuel, Elijah, or Elisha; hence Stade, in attributing such action to the leading prophetic figures as well (*Bibl. Theologie des AT*, Tübingen, 1905, § 64), is speaking entirely without authority. Thus, to sum up what the sources tell us regarding a possible first step in the development of genuine Hebrew prophecy, we may say that the leading representatives became centres of groups or circles of emulative disciples who sought—sometimes, doubtless, in ways not wholly commendable—to spread the true light. This view contrasts with the genetic theory advanced, *e.g.*, by Wellhausen. This scholar speaks of the members of these prophetic unions (1 S $10^{5ff.}$), somewhat disparagingly, as 'swarms of prophets' (*Prophetenschwärme* [p. 20, etc.]), compares them to the modern dervishes of the East and to the Thracian Bacchantes of Greece, and regards them as having provided the raw materials from which the prophetic function of a Samuel or a Nathan was developed by a process of refinement. This now widely accepted theory (propounded also by K. Marti, *Gesch. der israelit. Religion*, Strassburg, 1907, p. 139), however, stands opposed to the statements of the sources. For (i.), as was shown above, Abraham and Moses were thought of as having been prophets, and Samuel is expressly called a *nābî'* (1 S 3^{20}). (ii.) None of the later prophets who occupied an independent position is ever described as having been previously a member of a prophetic society; thus Elisha was called from the plough (1 K 19^{19}), and Amos plainly declares that he was not the son (*i.e.* disciple) of a prophet, but a herdsman and a dresser of sycamore trees, the Lord having called him from following the flock ($7^{14f.}$). (iii.) It seems probable that the members of the prophetic companies, by reason of their national and more material points of view, became the popular prophets referred to in the passage of Amos just cited and in Is 3^{2} etc. Thus the theory of Wellhausen conflicts with the actual data, and in point of fact it rests upon the evolutionary hypothesis, which so many scholars of the present day treat as an axiom.

(*b*) *False prophets.*—A further distinction among those who claimed to speak for Jahweh was that between true and false prophets. A concrete illustration of this distinction will be found in the scene in which Ahab and his ally Jehoshaphat seek to ascertain the possibilities of an attack upon the Syrians (1 K $22^{3ff.}$). Four hundred prophets assured them of victory, but another, Micaiah the son of Imlah, predicted a different issue, and went to prison rather than keep silence regarding the defeat which his prophetic consciousness divined. Here, then, we find a cleavage which affected not merely the rank but also the spirit of the prophets. Other representatives of the class to which the four hundred belonged are those with whom Amos contrasted himself (Am 7^{14a}), those whose removal was predicted by Isaiah (Is 3^{2} etc.), and those who were denounced by Micah (Mic $3^{5ff.}$); cf. also the collision between Hananiah and Jeremiah (Jer $28^{1ff.}$).

How are we to explain the rise of this inferior type of prophet? It is not adequately accounted for by the desire of court favour or of material gain (cf. Am $3^{5ff.}$). The true explanation lies rather in the fact that the conception of God set forth by Samuel, Nathan, Elijah, Amos, etc., was unwelcome to many in Israel. Thus, while these greater prophets represent God as the stern patron of justice and the avenger of wrong-doing, and therefore as one who must often threaten retribution, others ventured to regard the Deity as a weakly indulgent being. These, accordingly, fawned upon the rulers and upon all who were inclined to violate justice within the State (cf. Is 28^{7} 'they reel in wine . . . they stumble in judgment'). From the period of the Assyrian invasion of Palestine (*c.* 733 B.C.), again, there emerged a fresh element of differentiation among the prophets of Jahweh. About that time the prophet Isaiah arrived at the conviction that it was not the task of those who had received the true religion to emulate worldly states in political undertakings or in amassing munitions of war. But, while Isaiah accordingly denounced alliances with Egypt and other countries ($30^{1ff.}$) and reprimanded the boastful display of military stores ($39^{2ff.}$), there were other prophets who sided with king and people and whom the people called their 'wise ones' ($29^{14.\ cf.\ 10}$). It was the habit of these counsellors to paint the horizon of external politics in the brightest colours (cf. Jer 6^{14} 'saying, Peace, peace; when there is no peace').

Now it can scarcely be doubted which of these classes represented the true Israel. For, while Harper (p. cx) says that the adversaries of the OT prophets should not be called 'false prophets,' this was precisely the designation applied to them by the characteristic representatives of the nation, who found the true prophets of Jahweh, *e.g.*, in Moses, not in Balaam; in Micaiah, not in the four hundred partisans of Ahab; in Isaiah, not in those who joined the wealthy in their dissipations (Is 28^{7}); in Jeremiah rather than in Hananiah (Jer $28^{1ff.}$). That Moses and his successors were given the pre-eminence appears from the fact that their words were preserved among the treasures of the national literature, and this procedure finds absolute justification in the circumstance that in the face of the people (who were acquainted with both classes) Isaiah stigmatized his opponents as drunken, and Micah (3^{11}) his as diviners 'for money' (cf. § 9). Our conclusion, accordingly, is that the prophets whose writings appear in the OT represent the true type of Hebrew prophecy, while their opponents were a degenerate species.

(*c*) *Idolatrous prophets.*—Not a few prophets among the Hebrews rendered homage to the cults of Ba'al and Astarte, personifications respectively of the sun and the moon; such were those who enjoyed the patronage of Jezebel (1 K $18^{19.25}$, 2 K 10^{19}, Jer 23^{13}). Other phases of the development are of less moment, and are discussed below.

5. The aim of the true prophets.—(*a*) The aim of the true prophets was not, as has recently been asserted (Wellhausen, p. 15; E. Meyer, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, Halle, 1906, pp. 82, 84, 136), the realization of the so-called 'Bedawī ideal.' The hypothesis is all the more inconceivable because there was in Palestine a non-Israelite clan, viz. the Rechabites (*q.v.*), whose great object it was to maintain the Bedawī mode of life, and who sought to honour their ancestral tradition by not building houses or planting vineyards (Jer $35^{6f.}$). But none of the Hebrew prophets adopted this principle, and even Elijah did not always live in the desert or in caves (1 K $17^{9ff.}$);

on the contrary, the genuine prophets appreciated the efforts and achievements of human culture, and accordingly we read in the OT that man is to subdue the powers of nature (Gn 1^{28}), and that he is permitted to enjoy the products of the land (Ex 3^{8} etc.), as well as the gratifications of adornment (Gn $24^{22ff.}$ etc.) and of the arts (Ex $15^{20f.}$ etc.). The 'Bedawī ideal' is surely something very different from the prophetic hope that in the coming age 'they shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig tree' (Mic 4^{4}). Nor did the prophets stand aloof from the common life of their fellows, or from their duties to the nation. As a matter of fact, their patriotism was one of their most characteristic qualities, as is shown by what we read of Abraham (Gn 14), Moses, Deborah, and Samuel. Isaiah identified himself so closely with his people that it wrung his heart to have to prophesy calamity (Is 6^{11}), and how sorely, with other prophets, did he mourn the political disruption of the nation (Is 11^{13}, Jer 3^{18}, Ezk $37^{15ff.}$, Hos 1^{11} 3^{5})! Jeremiah in particular was second to none in the intensity of his patriotic feeling (cf. Jer 4^{19} 9^{1} etc.).

(*b*) The real aim of the true Hebrew prophecy was to uphold the religion of Jahweh as the Eternal God, and to supply spiritual guidance to the nation which had been chosen to be the earliest focus of that religion. The function of the prophets, accordingly, was to perform a task in the highest sense religious, and to work for the loftiest ideals of human civilization.

6. The means employed.—(*a*) *Actions.*—It was natural that the Hebrew prophets, especially in the earliest times, should seek to reinforce their words by actions. In point of fact, Abraham, the herald of what became the recognized religion of Israel, championed it almost exclusively by his conduct, and his greatest service to it was his obedience to the impulse that led him to abandon his polytheistic neighbours (Gn 12^{1}, Jos 24^{2}) and to found a new home for his faith in a strange land. Moses himself was a man of deeds rather than a 'man of words' (Ex 4^{10}), and we note a similar energy of action in prophetic personalities like Deborah (Jg $4^{4ff.}$) and Samuel. The prophetic work of Elijah and Elisha (1 K 17–2 K 13^{14}) likewise consists almost entirely of actions. Now, while many features in the records of these actions may be regarded as later embellishments—for Hebrew history cannot claim to be free from what is a characteristic of all human tradition (cf. König, *Gesch. des Reiches Gottes*, pp. 7 ff., 37 ff.)—yet, before rejecting the marvellous deeds ascribed to the prophets, we should bear in mind the following points: (1) the Hebrew historical books contain many remarkable indications of trustworthiness (*ib.* p. 15 ff.); (2) the narratives regarding the patriarchs are free from the miraculous element; (3) we find Isaiah offering to King Ahaz an evidential sign from the upper or the under world (Is 7^{11})—here, therefore, a man of most discerning mind (cf. $5^{20ff.}$) thinks it not impossible that the Supreme Spirit should overcome other cosmic powers; (4) it is easier to accept the theory that the marvellous deeds have been embellished than to reject the substratum of the records relating to these deeds; there can be no husk without a kernel. The kernel in question here, however, consists in the deepest convictions of a whole people—a people, moreover, that stands at a relatively high stage in the development of human culture and was compelled by a destiny of the sternest character to test the objective validity of its religious position.

A link between deed and speech as media of the prophet's work is found in the symbolic action. Moses, during a battle with Amalek, holds up his rod towards the sky, thus pointing to the true source of help (Ex 17^{11}). Samuel pours oil upon the head of Saul (1 S 10^{1}), and so indicates the lamp of the sanctuary, which was fed with oil and symbolized the knowledge that streams from God. The prophet Ahijah, in meeting Jeroboam, rends his garment in twelve pieces in order to show that God is about to divide the kingdom (1 K $11^{30f.}$). In 1 K $20^{35ff.}$ we read that one of the sons of the prophets asked one of his fellows to strike him, so that by his wounds he might concretely depict the punishment which Ahab had incurred. Another action of a symbolic character is mentioned in 22^{11}, and still another perhaps in Am 9^{1}.

A peculiar group of such actions is furnished by the following passages from the Prophets: Hos 1. 3, Is 20^{2-4}, Jer 13^{1-11} 18^{1-6} 19. 25^{15-31} etc., Ezk $4^{1ff.}$ $5^{1ff.}$ $12^{3ff.}$ $21^{6.\ 14.\ 19-23}$ $24^{3ff.}$ $37^{16ff.}$, Zec $11^{4ff.}$. A key to the solution of the problem presented by these passages may perhaps be found in the narrative of Jer $25^{15ff.}$. Here the prophet is commanded to make a whole group of nations drink from the cup of God's fury—a command which could not of course be literally carried out, although the story runs as if it had been. Jeremiah's words would therefore simply imply that he had been prompted by his divine monitor to perform the action indicated, and that he performed it in his own consciousness; and the real aim of the narrative is to depict the corresponding determination of God in the clearest way (full discussion in *HDB* v. 174–176).

Another type of symbolic action brings us closer still to the distinctively prophetic media. This is found in the instances in which a symbolic name is given to a person or thing, as, *e.g.*, when Isaiah calls one of his sons Shĕ'âr-jāshûb, 'a remnant shall return,' in order that, when this son should pass through the streets of Jerusalem, he should be a silent yet eloquent witness to the hope that at least a minority of Israel would return to their God (Is 7^{3}; cf. 8^{3} 7^{14} $8^{8.\ 10}$ 30^{7}, Zec 11^{7}).

(*b*) *Speech and writing.* — The earlier Hebrew prophets, or 'prophets of action' (J. G. Herder, *Vom Geist der ebräischen Poesie*, in *Werke*, Carlsruhe, 1820–27, II. ii. 135), whose utterances consisted mainly of brief oracles, may be clearly distinguished from the 'literary prophets,' the authors of the distinctively prophetic literature that took its rise (*c.* 760 B.C.) in the composition of the primitive Obadiah (cf. König, *Einleitung*, pp. 360–362). The grounds of the literary development have been found mainly in one or other of the following factors: (1) the injunction to make a permanent written record of prophetic utterances (Is 8^{1} 30^{8}, Hab $2^{2f.}$, Jer 30^{2} 36^{2}), as was urged by Oehler (*Theologie des AT*, Tübingen, 1873–74, § 180); as a matter of fact, however, more than one book of prophetic discourses was extant prior to Is 8^{1}; (2) 'the more ethically reformative efforts of the prophets of the 8th century' (so Kuenen, *Einleitung in das AT*, Germ. tr., Leipzig, 1885–94, § 48. 1)—a theory that seems questionable in view of the powerful defence of morality made by men like Nathan and Elijah; while, again, the connexion between the reformative efforts of the prophets and the recording of their speeches is far from clear. The present writer's view is that the change was due not to a religious development at all, but to the general progress of civilization. As noted above, the utterances of the earlier prophets are of the nature of isolated sentences, and light is thrown upon this by the fact that, while the words of Balaam are described as *m'shālîm* (Nu 23^{7} etc.), the word *māshāl*, in this sense, never occurs in the prophetic books. Prophetic utterance, however, would naturally share in the progress which raised Hebrew literature in general to a higher level. At a time when such methodical and yet plastic historical works as J were being composed the

simple oracle of the prophets gave place to more elaborate discourses, and some prophets were now indeed writing books of their own.

7. Period and chronological sequence. — The chronological succession of the literary prophets as well as their actual date is a matter of great importance, since the historical background of the discourses furnishes the best commentary upon them. The chronological succession may be made out from certain indications both in the form and in the contents of the books. (1) Linguistically, we note, *e.g.*, that the ratio in which *'ānōkhî* and *'ănî*, the two Hebrew words for 'I,' occur in Samuel is 48 : 50; in Kings 9 : 45; and in Chronicles 1 : 30; and, again, that in Amos it is 10 : 1, in Hosea 11 : 10 (owing perhaps to a mid-Palestinian colouring of the work); in Isaiah (1–39) 5 : 8; in Micah 1 : 2; in Jeremiah 37 : 53; in Ezekiel 1 : 138; in Haggai 0 : 4; in Zechariah 1 : 8; and in Malachi 1 : 5. Here we notice that in the prophetic books, as thus arranged, the use of the form *'ănî* constantly increases. Now, as the three historical works named by way of example doubtless came into being successively in different centuries, it follows that these prophetical writings, running parallel to them in their linguistic character, must also have arisen in the order given.[1] (2) Still clearer indications of the date of a particular prophet are to be found in the political conditions to which he refers. Thus the discourses of Amos allude to a number of still independent states lying around Israel—Damascus (1^{3-5}), Gaza, *i.e.* Philistia ($^{6-8}$), Tyre ($^{9f.}$); while Samaria too is still independent ($7^{9ff.}$). Further, Amos (5^{27}) and Hosea (9^3 10^6 12^2) make but cursory allusion to Assyria as the power which was to execute judgment upon the unfaithful portion of Israel. In Isaiah ($7^{20ff.}$ $10^{5ff.}$ etc.), however, the allusion is quite unmistakable; Assyria, in fact, has now trodden Damascus (732 B.C.) and Samaria (722) under foot (10^9); in 20^1 mention is made of Sargon, the Assyrian monarch who, according to the cuneiform chronology, reigned 722–705 B.C.; and in the later discourses of Isaiah Judah is the only kingdom that still preserves its independence ($28^{5ff.}$). In Nahum and Jeremiah, again, we see the fall of Assyria and Babylonia's advance to the hegemony of W. Asia. The Exile, which Jeremiah had predicted (25^{11} etc.), was a fact of experience for Ezekiel ($1^{1f.}$ etc.); and, finally, Haggai, Zechariah (1–8), and Malachi refer to the Persian king, or to the viceroy (Mal 1^8) who now ruled in Jerusalem.

The mass of the prophetic literature, accordingly, arose in the period 760–460 B.C.; and, in the present writer's opinion, a group of five books (Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, Nahum) represents the golden age of Hebrew rhetoric, while other three groups (Jeremiah, Joel, Zephaniah, Habakkuk; Ezekiel, Deutero-Isaiah [40 ff.], Jonah; Haggai, Zechariah [1–8], Malachi) may, in view of their tendency to pleonasm and their less metaphorical style, be assigned to the silver age. The concluding portion of 'Isaiah' (55–66), while containing perhaps some literary remains of the prophet, will then, in its present form, probably be the work of a disciple (cf. 8^{16}); and 'Daniel' will be a recast of traditions and expectations connected with a historical Daniel (Ezk $14^{14.\ 20}$ 28^3), circulated during the Maccabæan wars with a view to exhorting the weak and comforting the godly (cf. Dn $8^{1ff.}$, and König, *Einleitung*, §§ 78–82).

Recently, it is true, the theory has been hazarded that the writings of all the Hebrew prophets were composed in the period 300–200 B.C. (so, notably, M. Vernes, *Essais bibliques*, Paris, 1891, p. ix, etc.)—a theory which demands some examination in view of the fact that certain scholars (Duhm, P. Haupt, etc.) assign portions of the prophetical literature (Is 24–27, Hab.) to the 2nd cent. B.C. Now (*a*) the type of Hebrew written *c.* 300 B.C. is found in Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah. It is true that Vernes (*Précis d'histoire juive*, Paris, 1889, p. 802) believes that the editor of these three books lived *c.* 150 B.C.; the latest hand in the composition of Nehemiah, however, closes the genealogy of the high-priestly family with Jaddua (Neh $12^{11.\ 22}$), a contemporary of Alexander the Great (Jos. *Ant.* XI. viii. 7), so that we must still assign the books in question to *c.* 330–300; and hence the prophetical writings, reflecting an older stage in the development of Hebrew, must be products of an earlier period. (*b*) It is easy to see why Hebrew contemporaries of Nabu-kudurri-uṣur (604–562 B.C.), king of Babylon, should reproduce his name in the form Nebukhadreẓẓar, which occurs 27 times in Jer. (21^2 etc.) and is the only form found in Ezk. (26^7 $29^{18f.}$ 30^{10}). If Jer. and Ezk., however, were written in the 3rd cent. B.C., *i.e.* some 300 years after the time of Nabu-kudurri-uṣur, the form Nebukhadreẓẓar is by no means so intelligible, quite apart from the fact that in Hebrew works which really date from the post-Exilic period the form Nebukhadneẓẓar is used. (*c*) It is surely mere caprice to say that the kingdoms of Damascus and Israel, Nineveh, the Babylonian monarchy, and the Persian empire would be made the historical background of books written (according to the theory) at a time when these political magnitudes were no longer in existence (for a full discussion of the theory cf. König, *Einleitung*, § 59).

8. What the true prophets actually accomplished.—(*a*) They upheld the lawful religion of their nation. We see this in Samuel, who by his appeal for loyalty to Jahweh moved the people to express their penitence by a common symbolical action (1 S 7^6). We see it in Elijah, who at a critical moment stood forth as the champion of the ancestral religion (1 K 17^1). We likewise find it in Amos, when, in his very first discourse, he presages a divine retribution upon Damascus for the evils which it had wreaked upon Israel (Am 1^3). Amos here assumes that the Disposer and Judge of all will act on Israel's behalf, and makes it clear, as by a lightning flash, that the nation was connected with the Eternal God by an ancient bond which it is the prophet's one aim to maintain. It was with the same conviction in their hearts that Hosea (11^1 etc.), Isaiah ($1^{2f.}$), and the other representatives of true prophecy came upon the scene. Hence the prophets of the 8th cent. B.C. were in no sense creators of a new era in religion, as is so widely held to-day—a view that reappears in Wellhausen (p. 23), while Marti (*Die Religion des AT unter den Religionen des vorderen Orients*, Tübingen, 1906, Eng. tr., London, 1907) finds three successive periods in the spiritual history of Israel, those namely of the 'Bedawī religion,' the 'peasant religion' (beginning with Israel's arrival in Canaan), and the 'prophetic religion' (from Amos onwards). This quite modern hypothesis, however, rests upon a misconception of the permanent and fundamental character of the lawful religion of Israel. This, even on the lowest estimate, comprises the following elements: (1) belief in the existence of a God who is not, like the Babylonian or Greek deities, a product of the cosmic process (Gn 1^1 2^{4b}, Is 31^3); (2) a thoroughgoing monotheism, involved in the universal scope of the religion that began with Abraham (Gn 12^{3b}, from an ancient Jahwistic source); (3) the thought of God as purely spiritual—there being at first no trace of an idol in the history of the earliest patriarchs (Gn 12^1–25^{18}); (4) the rejection of magic and soothsaying (Ex 22^{18}, Nu 23^{23}), etc. The supporters of the modern hypothesis assert that Amos made the idea of justice the main element in the conception of God. But, besides the fact that Amos himself says nothing of any such radical change and adopts no new divine name to signalize it, it must be remembered that the God of the prophets had all along been the patron of justice and law. Was it not in the name of this God that the great principles of justice found in the Decalogue were promulgated, that Moses instituted courts of law (Ex 18^{13-26} [E]), and that even royal transgressors were arraigned (2 S 12, 1 K 18)? All that can be said of Amos in this regard

[1] The distinctive linguistic characteristics of the prophets are fully discussed in the present writer's *Einleitung*, § 59.

is that he strongly emphasized the divine justice by proclaiming that the Eternal God would not pass over His own people when His day came (Am $5^{18ff.}$). What Amos did with reference to the justice of God was in fact precisely what, a little later, Hosea did with reference to God's love (cf. Hos $1^{2ff.}$ 11^{1}), and Isaiah with reference to His holiness ($6^{3ff.}$; as a sanction for universal righteousness, 1^{4} $5^{16.\ 24}$ etc.). Nevertheless, the prophets of the 8th cent., in thus emphasizing individual attributes of God, were certainly not the founders of a new religion.

(*b*) The prophets directed the affairs of the Kingdom of God. Originally and in principle God Himself was to be the sole ruler, and could be represented only by those who were filled by His spirit. When at length an earthly kingdom was sanctioned, the prophets still retained their religious jurisdiction, and acted as the conscience of the nation. This explains Samuel's conflict with Saul (cf. König, *Gesch. des Reiches Gottes*, pp. 133 f., 199 f., 202 f.); and even to a David prophecy in the person of Gad had to make clear that the king's part in external politics was to maintain the independence of the country and to avoid wars of offence (2 S 24). Solomon's political and religious obliquities were denounced by Ahijah the Shilonite (1 K $11^{29ff.}$), and Shemaiah and Elisha likewise intervened effectively in national affairs (1 K 12^{22-24}, 2 K 9^{1}). The most important factor here, however, was Isaiah's great utterance, 'In quietness and in confidence shall be your strength' (Is 30^{15}), and his assertion that by political alliances and material preparations for war Jahweh's people were only trying to rival the Gentile nations (v.^{16}, and the contemporary passages Zec $9^{9f.}$, Hos 2^{20}). The chosen nation must keep to its mission of being a light to mankind (Is 42^{6} $49^{5f.}$); and, if it had but obeyed this prophetic injunction, it would not only have preserved its existence as a state, but would have discharged a supremely great function in the world's history.

On similar lines the Hebrew prophets solved the related problem of their attitude to foreign nations. As was said above (§ 5 (*a*)), the true prophets were ardent patriots. Isaiah identifies himself fully with his guilt-laden nation (cf. 1^{9} 3^{12}), and Micah can but wail and howl for its calamities, deserved though they were (1^{8}). True patriotism, however, does not consist in pandering to the natural instincts of the masses—instincts but too easily directed to the conquest and exhaustion of alien peoples. The genuine patriot, on the contrary, must ever keep in mind the higher ideals of his nation. Hence the Hebrew prophets, with their unparalleled gifts of a spiritual leadership, brought all things under the moral and religious point of view, and it is this too which regulates their attitude to the great monarchies of their time. The prophet might hold over his own people the doom of foreign invasion, but the invader himself was only an instrument in the hands of the Supreme Disposer. Thus the Assyrian was the rod of God's anger (Is 10^{5}), and the evils which he wreaked upon Israel were an element in the retribution to which the majority of Jahweh's people were rightly liable by reason of their unfaithfulness. Similarly, foreign rulers are sometimes even called the 'servants' of God (Jer 25^{9} 27^{6} 43^{10}, Ezk 26^{7}). But, when such rulers in mere ruthlessness pass beyond the limits of their divinely appointed work of retribution, the prophet threatens them with judgments of the sternest kind (Is 10^{5} 'Woe to Asshur, the rod of mine anger!' [RVm], Jer $50^{7.\ 11.\ 17.\ 33}$, Ezk $38^{1ff.}$, *Enoch*, lxxxix. 69).

In view of the actual facts, it is strange that the old charge of unduly favouring the Chaldæans should recently have been once more brought against Jeremiah in particular (H. Winckler, *KAT*^{3} [1903], p. 170 f.). We can but repeat, however, that, as the sources make absolutely clear, Jeremiah demanded the submission of Israel to an alien domination only by reason of his divinely inspired conviction that God had so decreed it in order to punish the unfaithful majority (so, *e.g.*, K. H. Graf, *Der Prophet Jeremia*, Leipzig, 1862, and others, as cited in König, *Gesch. des Reiches Gottes*, p. 260 f.).

(*c*) A third phase of the prophets' activity appears in their preserving, expanding, and spiritualizing the Law. (1) That they loyally defended the legislative basis of the Jahweh religion scarcely requires proof. In view of certain modern theories, however, it may be well to state that Amos accused his people of rejecting God's Law and not keeping His statutes (2^{4}); and Hosea bitterly denounces the same evils (4^{6} 8^{12}). But, without adducing further testimony, we may affirm that what the prophets did with regard to the divine commandments was, in the first place, to guard the long-inherited religious and moral ideals of the community. They were primarily reformers, and their demand for repentance could never have appealed to the conscience of their contemporaries except upon the common ground of a recognized law. (2) That the prophets also expanded the Law, though not quite so obvious, is nevertheless distinctly shown by the following incidents: at the institution of the human kingship Samuel defined 'the prerogative of the kingship,' *i.e.* some kind of constitution, and deposited it 'before the Lord,' *i.e.* in the most holy place of the chief sanctuary of the time (1 S 10^{25}); in Hosea (2^{16}), again, we find the injunction that the designation 'Ba'al' (lit. 'owner,' 'husband') shall no longer be applied to Jahweh, the implication being that, in the critical days of the conflict between the Ba'al cult and the worship of the Eternal, the people must avoid what had previously ranked as an adiaphoron; once more, the law in Deuteronomy (23^{1} [Heb. ^{2}]) by which eunuchs were excluded from the community of Jahweh is repealed in the closing (Exilic) division of Isaiah (56^{3-5})—the result of a deepening sense of the ultimate universality of God's Kingdom. (3) The prophets spiritualized the Law by the emphasis which they laid upon religion and morality as the all-important factors in human life. This appears from a long series of prophetic utterances which begins with Samuel's great saying, 'To obey is better than sacrifice' (1 S 15^{22}), and is continued in the question of Amos (5^{25}), 'Did ye bring unto me sacrifices . . . in the wilderness forty years?' Devotion to God can find expression without sacrifice—a truth that is even more strongly insisted upon in Hos 5^{6} 6^{6} 8^{13} 14^{3}, Is 1^{12} 29^{13}, Mic 6^{6-8}, Jer $7^{22f.}$. Nor does even Ezekiel in any degree depart from this attitude. He severely reproaches his people with their impiety and immorality; he calls Israel 'a rebellious house' (2^{5} etc.); he insists above all things upon an inward transformation (11^{19} 36^{25-27}); he is anxious to prevent disloyalty in every form ($37^{15ff.}$); his zeal for the rebuilding of the Temple was a means of making Israel ashamed of its past transgressions (43^{10} $44^{3f.}$ 45^{9-15}); and one of his great aspirations was the benevolent treatment of aliens ($47^{22f.}$). If Ezekiel was also concerned for the ceremonial law, it was simply in order that by means of a regular order of worship the impious might be warned against a repetition of their former disloyalty. The prophets, moreover, sought to spiritualize the Law positively; thus, in contrast to the ordinance regarding fasting (Lv $16^{29ff.}$ etc.), we read in the prophets: 'Is not this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bonds of wickedness,' etc. (Is $58^{6ff.}$; cf. Zec 7^{5-10}), while, in place of the rending of garments as a symbol of mourning (cf. 2 S 3^{31}), Joel (2^{13}) bids the people rend their hearts (cf. König, *Gesch.*, p. 317 ff.).

(*d*) These three aspects of prophetic activity

with regard to the Law are now largely ignored, and the main emphasis is usually laid upon what the prophets say about the future. Here, however, it is to be noted that they were much less concerned with prediction (of concrete occurrences) than with true prophecy, *i.e.* the verbal portrayal of the great regulative lines of the future course of things. Sometimes, no doubt, they foretold special events, such as the fall of Shebna (Is $22^{15ff.}$), the withdrawal ($29^{1ff.}$) and the destruction (31^{8}) of the Assyrians, the death of Hananiah within the year (Jer $28^{16f.}$; cf. also Am 7^{9}, Jer $34^{6.\ 8}$ [2 K $25^{7.\ 27}$], Zec 7^{5}). In the main, however, prophetic utterances regarding the future were designed to set forth the fundamental lines upon which the divine kingdom would evolve.

The vistas of the future thus opened are manifold and glorious; a notable instance is the vision of the nations flocking exultantly to the Temple of Jahweh (Is 2^{2-4} || Mic 4^{1-3}). Still, these unveilings of times to come could not, in view of human guilt, but be sometimes full of menace, and it was only in rarer moments that the prophets could depict the splendours of the final consummation. It must be remembered, of course, that the more ominous forecasts were given conditionally, as Jeremiah (18^{6-10}) realized in the potter's house, though this conditional character extends no doubt to the promises as well. The conditional nature of prophecy is a fact of the utmost significance, for it serves as a preliminary explanation of that nonfulfilment or only partial fulfilment of certain prophecies which has led some recent scholars to disparage OT prophecy in general (cf. *e.g.* Kuenen, *De Profeten*, i. 114 ff., with König, *Der Offenbarungsbegriff des AT*, ii. 374 ff.). There are other explanations, no doubt, and the most important of them lies in the supreme achievement of the prophets in the distinctively prophetic sphere, viz. the *spiritualization of prophecy* relating to the future of the divine kingdom.

Of this spiritualizing process we may trace the following main indications. (1) The relation between the divine kingdom and its earthly sphere is more and more relaxed. The noteworthy circumstance that the patriarchs had no permanent possession in the Land of Promise except a burial cave (Gn 23^{20} etc., 47^{30} 49^{29}) seems to presage the later historical development—the restriction of the Davidic dynasty to the lordship of Judah and its immediate neighbourhood (*c.* 937 B.C.), and the final overthrow of that dynasty (*c.* 586 B.C.). Prophecy is often an eloquent commentary on these facts. Isaiah (11^{1}) had said that the perfect governor of the divine kingdom would spring from the root (not the top) of the Davidic tree, and Micah (5^{2}) added that he would be born in the ancestral village (not the capital) of the dynasty, while in the post-Exilic section of Isaiah (esp. 55^{3-5}) the Davidic line recedes into the background, and Malachi (3^{1}) makes no reference to the Davidic descent of the coming messenger. (2) Other indications of the growing spiritualization of prophecy are found in the increasing clearness with which the following truths were realized: the superhuman gifts of the coming leader (Is $9^{6f.}$ 11^{2}, Mal 3^{1}); suffering as an element in his work (Is 11^{1}, Mic 5^{1}, Zec 9^{9} 12^{10}, Is 53), and finally his priestly function (Ps 110^{4}, Zec 6^{13}); inward change as the necessary condition of salvation (Jer $31^{33ff.}$, Ezk 36^{25}, Mal $3^{23f.}$ [$4^{5f.}$]); the universalistic tendency of the divine kingdom (Zec 8^{23}, Mal 1^{11}). For a more detailed account of this process cf. König, *Gesch.*, pp. 267–278.

Notwithstanding these lofty ideals, the Hebrew prophets have in recent times been charged with one-sidedness and partiality, more especially by Kuenen, who (*De Godsdienst van Israël*, Haarlem, 1869–70, ii. 358 f., Eng. tr., *Religion of Israel*, London, 1874–75) exclaims: 'We will not let ourselves be robbed of the conviction that God rules in all history.' (1) This protest, however, does not really affect the design by which, according to the prophets, the human race was to be disciplined and redeemed. A father who permits his son for a time to go his own way cannot be accused of indifference regarding that son's welfare. So may the providence of the Heavenly Father encompass even the peoples whom He suffers 'to walk in their own ways' (Ac 14^{16}), and He actually does more: He instructs the husbandman (Is 28^{26}); in the heavens He manifests His glory to all (Ps 19^{1}); He instructs the nations and teaches man (94^{10}). (2) Nor do the destinies of Israel violate the justice of universal history. In Israel the law of equipoise as between rights and duties was maintained with remarkable strictness; here it held good that 'mighty men shall be mightily tormented' (Wis 6^{6}), and here were enforced the principles that 'to whomsoever much is given, of him shall much be required' (Lk 12^{48}; cf. Ro 2^{12}) and 'many shall be last that are first' (Mt 19^{30}). Exultation in the covenant with God is often stifled by sorrow for the frequent violation of that bond and the attendant penalties. (3) Friedrich Delitzsch (*Babel und Bibel*, Leipzig, 1903, ii. 38) asserts that in OT prophecy the history of the ancient world is looked at from a most oblique visual angle. Here, however, Delitzsch not only overlooks the facts just adduced, but ignores the universalism that forms the sublime element in the historical design unfolded by the prophets. He quotes Gn 12^{3a}, but omits ^{3b} (repeated in 18^{18} 22^{18} 26^{4} 28^{4}): 'in thee [or 'in thy seed'] shall all the families of the earth be blessed.' He likewise leaves out of account the excellence of the laws relating to aliens, in which the OT surpasses both the Code of Hammurabi and the Hellenic attitude to 'barbarians.' Nor has Delitzsch any real understanding of that lofty stage of culture from which sprang a passage like Is 2^{2-4} || Mic 4^{1-3} (see above). Our rejoinder to his strictures must therefore be that, on the universalistic side of OT prophecy, the history of the ancient world is surveyed from a pre-eminently ideal point of view.

The consummate achievement of OT prophecy, however, lies in the idea of the *new covenant*—a covenant which is to secure the effacement of human guilt, in which the fundamental law of acknowledging God is alone to prevail, and which is to be observed in hearts renewed by gratitude. This idea first emerges in Jer 31^{31-34}, and nothing could more clearly indicate the aspiration towards a higher stage in the development of the divine kingdom. The work of the Hebrew prophets thus culminates in a prospect which corresponds at once to the highest longing of the human heart and to the most perfect conception of God.

9. The inner sources of prophecy.—In the discourses of Micah (3^{8}) that prophet says, 'I am full of power, even the spirit of the Lord' (RVm), so expressing his conviction that his prophetic gift came from a superhuman source. Similarly Isaiah (8^{11}) says, 'The Lord spake to me with strength of hand' (RVm), implying that he felt himself profoundly influenced by something outside the range of ordinary forces. A like impression, as from the wave-beats of some 'immortal sea,' was known also to Jeremiah (23^{23}); and the Psalmist (Ps $104^{29f.}$) interprets these throbbings as the pulsations of a heart at the centre of things, and sees in them the source of cosmic movement. Now, reflexion upon the origin of this cosmic movement (*πρωτὴ κίνησις*) really brings us, as far as the present writer can judge, to the conclusion that—in agreement likewise with Aristotle—the truth that 'God is Spirit' (Is 31^{3}, Jn 4^{24}) contains the only reasonable solution of the primordial riddle of the universe. But, if we admit the possibility of an abnormal impulse proceeding from this focal energy, may not the consciousness of the prophet have been affected by it in an abnormal way? May not his power of spiritual vision have been peculiarly intensified? As a matter of fact, if the prophet's conviction of his being influenced by an unwonted spiritual impulse has a basis of reality, this increased sensitiveness is psychologically quite intelligible. Even in the sphere of ordinary experience, sense and memory may be strangely quickened by some unusual impression; thus, in moments when a man is suddenly brought face to face with the peril of death, scenes long forgotten will pass before his mental vision, and he may make discoveries that at ordinary times seemed beyond him. Hence it is in no sense incredible that a

soul, receiving, as it believes, an impression from a region otherwise unknown, should thereby be endowed with a capacity for a knowledge beyond the range of wonted experience.

The prophets also affirm that they are granted visions of what lies behind the ordinary process of events. This is implied in their repeated use of the expression 'I saw'—an assertion all the more significant because it is always expressed in a special way (over 30 times; Am 7^8 etc.). Thus the true prophets, when speaking of their abnormal visions, use the verb *rā'āh*, the Hebrew word for simple ordinary seeing, whereas, when referring to those who falsely claimed the title of prophet, they expressly denied that such could 'see' (*rā'āh*), saying of them that they 'follow . . . what they have not seen' (Ezk 13^3), and ascribing to them at most a certain power of 'beholding,' 'looking at' (*chāzāh*), *i.e.* a purely sensuous faculty, and not 'seeing' in the proper sense at all. That the true prophets were able to speak of others in this way argues a remarkable degree of conviction regarding their own powers of prophetic vision.

It may be asked, however, whether the prophets were not simply men like Swedenborg, who, *e.g.* (as we shall not deny, and as is admitted by Kant [*Werke*, ed. G. Hartenstein, Leipzig, 1838–39, x. 453 f.]), 'saw' a conflagration in distant Stockholm, a letter in a secret drawer, etc. But Swedenborg's clairvoyance (parallels to which may be found, *e.g.*, in Ezk 8^{14} 11^{13} 24^{21}) falls short of the true prophetic faculty of prescience. The prophets claimed to foretell new things before they sprang forth (Is 42^9), and they actually did foretell them. The prophecy, sometimes associated with the characteristics given on p. 390, anticipated the course of events, as shown in signal fashion by Is 55^{3-5}. Thus, too, Isaiah amazed his fellows by his conviction that Jerusalem would be delivered from the Assyrian beleaguerment in 701 B.C. (Is 29^{7-9}); he also foretold that the Assyrian host would be destroyed by a 'not-man' (31^8), *i.e.* a superhuman power, as actually took place on the Egyptian frontier (37^{36}; Herod. ii. 141). Similarly Ezekiel ($33^{21f.}$) knew of the fall of Jerusalem the day before it took place.

These examples suffice to furnish us with a principle that governs the relations of history and prophecy (cf. Kōnig, *Der Offenbarungsbegriff des AT*, ii. 278 ff.), viz. that, while the discourses of the OT prophets run parallel to history in form and matter (§ 7 above), history is not their source. Thus Jeremiah's conviction that he was called to a great religious task doubtless came to him during the Scythian invasion of W. Asia (*c.* 628 B.C.; Herod. i. 103–106); his work as a prophet, however, was not causally connected with that invasion, but is simply concurrent with it. The historical events of his day merely supplied him with imagery (Jer $1^{13ff.}$), but countless utterances of the prophet show that his commission was not derived from the course of events, and could not be so derived; cf. *e.g.* 20^7 (it is Jahweh who prevails over him) and $32^{8ff.}$ (the symbolical action with the deed of sale, expressing his conviction that the departed Israelites would return).

The knowledge of the future which we find in the words of Isaiah and other prophets cannot be explained as resting upon 'the interpretation of the historical revelation of God' (F. Wilke, *Jesaja und Assur*, Leipzig, 1905, p. 96). Isaiah certainly reproaches his people with disregarding the work of the Lord (5^{12}), but by that work he means the events that have already happened. His prophetic knowledge, however, was of a peculiar kind; cf. 28^{22} 'I have heard,' and the fact that, when the king's counsellors were at their wits' end (29^9), he himself knew what would happen, and was convinced of his superiority to the prophets whom the people called 'their wise men' (vv.10. 14). The present writer's belief that the insight of the prophets was something distinctive and exceptional is shared by such modern scholars as C. F. A. Dillmann, F. Bleek, S. R. Driver, R. Kittel, and C. von Orelli; and S. Oettli (*Die Propheten als Organe der göttlichen Offenbarung*, Berlin, 1904) puts the matter admirably when he says that 'to speak here of religious genius is merely to substitute one mystery for another.'

Here we must once more consider the judgment passed by the true prophets upon certain of their contemporaries who likewise claimed to speak in the name of Jahweh.

(1) As regards the commission of the latter, the true prophets held that it was not from Jahweh at all (Jer 14^{14} etc.). The motives of these pretenders were really of a material kind (Mic $3^{5.\ 11}$), and arrogance and presumption lay at the root of all that they did (Jer 23^{32}, Zeph 3^4 etc.)—'they follow their own spirit' (Ezk 13^3). (2) As regards the sources from which their utterances were drawn, these are stigmatized as 'lying visions' (Jer 14^{14}, etc.), 'what they have not seen' (Ezk 13^3 AVm), visions by night (Mic 3^6), *i.e.* mere dreams (Jer $23^{25.\ 28}$), or 'their own heart' (14^{14} 23^{16}, Ezk $13^{2.\ 17}$). As already said, these characterizations indicate a remarkable intensity of conviction on the part of the genuine prophets, all the more so because they were uttered in face of a public to which both classes were known.

The claim of the true prophets, nevertheless, is still being met with objections.

(1) It is said, *e.g.*, that Ezekiel suffered from temporary dumbness and hemiplegia (A. Klostermann, *SK* 1. [1877] 391 ff., 417 f., 422; A. Bertholet, R. Kraetzschmar [Commentaries on Ezekiel]; A. Jeremias, *Das AT im Lichte des alten Orients*^{2}, Leipzig, 1906). Klostermann finds symptoms of these diseases in the prophet's occasional dumbness (3^{24-27} 24^{25-27}) and his lying alternately on his left and his right side ($4^{4ff.}$). But this is assuredly mere caprice; for we must not isolate these occurrences from other actions of a kindred character imposed upon Ezekiel by God. What bodily idiosyncrasy would such critics associate, *e.g.*, with Ezekiel's shaving his head and beard (5^1), his baking with excrement for fuel (4^{12}), or his withholding his tears (24^{16})? (For a full discussion of the points at issue cf. *HDB* v. 175 f.; also König, *NKZ* iii. [1892] 650 ff., and J. Hermann, *Ezechielstudien*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 72.) The theory of bodily indisposition is in any case quite inadequate to account for the spiritual insight so characteristic of the prophets.

(2) A fairly common theory is that the prophets were subject to ecstasy, and a recent scholar of some eminence, F. Giesebrecht (*Die Berufsbegabung der AT Propheten*, Göttingen, 1897, p. 47), comes to the conclusion that their prophetic consciousness was in part due to the ecstatic state. The prophets in question, however—not to be confounded with the 'sons of the prophets' (§ 4 (*a*))—give no hint of any state of ecstasy, *i.e.* unconsciousness or frenzy. It is true that Jeremiah was said by one of his opponents to be mad (Jer 29^{26}). Hosea, again, referring probably to himself, says that the prophet is out of his senses (9^7); quite obviously, however, his meaning is that the iniquities of his people (cf. Is 1^{2-4}, Jer 2^{10-13} 8^{14}) were enough to derange the mind of a true prophet and patriot. It is clear, accordingly, that the theory of ecstasy finds no support in the passages cited, while we have the positive evidence that the prophets lived an ordered life in the family and the State, and that their discourses, alike in construction and diction, are the work of sane and sober minds. Moreover, even in the hour of their call, *i.e.* when most deeply moved by abnormal influences, they perfectly retain their self-consciousness and their memory; it was precisely in such experiences that Isaiah realized his own sinfulness (6^5), and Jeremiah felt that he was too young for the task set before him (1^6).

(3) The Hebrew prophets have also been charged with ignorance in matters of psychology. In answer to this we may recall Isaiah's severe strictures against the sophistical perversion of moral concepts (5^{20}) and the remarkable precision of his own ideas and judgments. How often does Jeremiah reprove his people for 'the stubbornness of their evil heart' (3^{17} etc.)! It is he too who speaks of his God as searching the heart and trying the reins (17^{10}), and it is most unlikely that such a mind would mistake its own phantasies for divinely-given convictions (cf. Cornill, *Das Buch Jeremia erklärt*, Leipzig, 1905, p. 420). This may be said also of Ezekiel, who (speaking in God's name) declares, 'I know the things that come into your mind' (11^5). Such utterances are not easily reconcilable with ignorance regarding the nature of the human spirit.

In point of fact, taking into account the precise intellectual distinctions and the delicacy of moral feeling displayed in the prophetic writings associated with the names of the prophets, we find it impossible to charge the prophets even with self-deception. Self-deception always implies some lack of discrimination and of religious and moral sobriety—the very opposite of the characteristics set forth above, to ignore which were to reject the one line of evidence that can avail in the question at issue.

Wellhausen (p. 15) has finely said that the individual upon whom the grace of God has come remains a mystery. In view of what the prophets

said and did, however, we must go beyond this and recognize that they were wrought upon by some mysterious force lying behind the veil of ordinary phenomena. Difficult as it may be for the modern mind to acknowledge this, there seems to be no other way of doing justice to the historical facts. After all, as the phenomena of life and of the human consciousness cannot be explained by reference to their antecedents, it need not seem strange that the paramount position of the true prophets in the spiritual history of the Hebrew people should defy every attempt to explain it on natural grounds.

10. Non-Israelite analogies.—(*a*) In Babylonia and Assyria divination, which was rejected by the prophetic religion of Israel (§ 1), was an organized function of the State (cf., *e.g.*, C. Bezold, *Die babylon.-assyr. Lit.*, Leipzig, 1906, p. 44 f.), the Babylonian-Assyrian religion being in this respect on a level with the religion of Egypt, Greece, and Rome, but assuredly falling far short of what we find in Israel. In Hebrew literature, moreover, we hear nothing of any person like Enmeduranki, to whom Babylonian literature traces the art of divination. But we must still ask whether, outside the recognized practice of divination in these lands, there were individuals of prophetic character who might be compared to the prophets of Israel.

A personality of this type has been found in Ḥammurabi (cf. art. LAW [Babylonian], vol. vii. p. 817 ff.), who, in a relief preceding his well-known Code, is depicted as standing before the sun-god (Shamash). From this, however, we are to infer that Ḥammurabi is not the pupil or prophet of that deity, as Bezold thinks (p. 3), but rather his counterpart; for in the introductory lines of the inscription we read:

'Anu and Bel called me, Ḥammurabi, the exalted prince, the worshipper of the gods, to go forth like the Sun . . . to enlighten the land,' etc. (R. F. Harper, *The Code of Ḥammurabi*, Chicago, 1904, p. 3).

Further, the particular laws are as often ascribed to Ḥammurabi himself as to the sun-god, and towards the close of the inscription we find such utterances as 'My weighty words I have written upon my monument' (Harper, p. 101), and 'My words are weighty, my wisdom (Harper, p. 103, 'deeds') unrivalled'—sayings which we cannot well imagine coming from Moses (cf. Ex $3^{11f.}$ [EJ], Nu 11^{29} [EJ] 12^{3} [EP], or from the literary prophets of a later age (cf. Is 5^{21}, Jer 23^{16a}, Ezk $13^{2.\ 17}$ etc.).

In the cuneiform literature of the 7th cent. B.C. another writer speaks of himself as follows:

'I, the servant, the prophet (?), of his lord the king, utter my prophecies for my lord the king. May the gods whose names I have enumerated accept and hear these prophecies on behalf of my lord the king; may they add to him more than his portion, and give to my lord the king! But may I, the prophet of my lord the king, stand before my lord the king, and with all my heart worship on my side (?). When my sides become weak, may I exert my power to the utmost by the power of my word. Who must not love a good lord? Surely it is said in the song of the Babylonians: "Because of thy gracious lips, my shepherd, all men look to thee"' (We follow the version of F. E. Peiser, in *MVG* iii. [1898] 257 f.; but the original term here rendered 'prophet' simply means 'servant,' 'worshipper.')

Winckler (*KAT*³, p. 170 f.) refers to this passage as exhibiting a Babylonian-Assyrian counterpart to the Hebrew prophet, as, *e.g.*, Jeremiah. In point of fact, however, a speaker who stands 'before the king,' and is obviously subservient to him in all things, rather suggests the 'prophets' who, while claiming to speak for Jahweh, were but the servile agents of King Ahab (1 K 22^{6}); or those who in the days of Isaiah were regarded by the ruling faction as 'their wise ones' (Is $29^{10.\ 14}$, Jer $28^{1ff.}$ etc.)—men from whom the representatives of the lawful religion of Israel distinguished themselves in the most decided way (1 K $22^{9ff.}$, Am $7^{14f.}$, Is 3^{2} 9^{15} 28^{7} $29^{10.\ 14}$, Mic $3^{5.\ 11}$, Jer 7^{25} 23^{1} etc.).

Winckler has also sought to disparage men like Amos and Jeremiah by speaking of them as 'political agents' (*Gesch. Israels*, Leipzig, 1895–1900, i. 95), and as the 'spies' or 'professional agitators' of the rulers of Nineveh or Babylon (*KAT*³, p. 170 f.). Thus Amos is said to have laboured on behalf of the policy of King Ahaz (Winckler, *Religionsgeschichtl. und geschichtl. Orient*, p. 38). In answer to this, however, we need only recall the fact that, when Amos was ordered by Jeroboam II. to leave Bethel, he asserted that he had been called to his religious office by God (Am 7^{15}), and in all his utterances we overhear his conviction that he is in the service of the Eternal (1^{3} 3^{7} etc.). As for Jeremiah, again, it is clear that the Monarch whom he believed himself to serve was none other than the King of kings, and that he regarded himself as belonging to that great succession which had championed the supreme interest of Israel throughout the ages (Jer 7^{25}). His patriotism and his attitude in political affairs have already been dealt with (§ 8 (*b*)). Jeremias (*Das AT im Lichte des alten Orients*², p. 35) suggests that the Hebrew prophets were the vehicles of Babylonian culture: 'Mercury is the morning-star; his name means "harbinger." Here we come upon the astral interpretation of the word *nābî'*, "prophet"; he is the harbinger or vehicle of a new age.' The Babylonian-Assyrian diviners, however, found their patron, not in Mercury, but in the sun-god (*KAT*³, p. 368), while the genuine Hebrew sources say nothing of any such connexion between their prophetism and Mercury, and in fact actually protest against divination in every form (§ 8).

If, therefore, we find in Babylonia and Assyria no direct evidence of the existence of prophetic personalities comparable to the Hebrew prophets, it remains to ask whether we have any indirect traces—such as might be afforded, *e.g.*, by the literature. Here, however, as in Assurbanipal's library, we find nothing higher than series of omen-tablets, in one of which, *e.g.*, we read:

'If in the month of Sivan (June) an eclipse occurs between the first and thirtieth day, vegetation throughout the land will lag behind.'

But where in the Babylonian-Assyrian literature do we find anything to compare with the profound religious ideas, the earnest moral exhortations, and the glowing anticipations of the future, so characteristic of the writings of the Hebrew prophets?

Attention has been directed to the following passage as indicating Babylonian visions of the future (F. Hommel, in *Glauben und Wissen*, i [1903] 9 f.):

The god Marduk, seeing a sick person, says to his father Ea: 'My father, disease has come upon man; I know not by wha means he may be healed.' Then Ea answered his son thus: 'My son, what may there be that thou knowest not? What new thing might I still teach thee? What I know, thou knowest, and what thou knowest, I know: go, my son, and break the spell upon the sick one.' Then come the directions for exorcizing the disease.

Now, while this may show that the Babylonian-Assyrian deities were regarded as ready to heal man, it is to be noted that the healing implied was only of a physical kind; and, besides, the passage is not really predictive at all. T. K. Cheyne (*EBi* iii. 3063), however, finds the predictive element in the following passage:

'Sea-coast against sea-coast, Elamite against Elamite, Cassite against Cassite, Kuthæan against Kuthæan, country against country, house against house, man against man. Brother is to show no mercy towards brother; they shall kill one another.'

But this prediction, referring probably to Ḥammurabi's triumph over the neighbouring kings, is a purely political one. It is hardly necessary to point to the contrast with Hebrew prophecy, which moved essentially in the sphere of religion, and for which the founding of a divine kingdom has as its supreme practical end the culture of the ethico-religious interest—assuredly the highest element in the life of a nation.

(*b*) E. Meyer (*Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, Halle, 1906, pp. 451–453) asserts that Hebrew prophecy was derived from Egypt, and cites a prophecy (partly from the earlier, partly from the middle, period of Egyptian literature, and recently more accurately deciphered) to the following effect:

'A wise man (or the inspired lamb) reveals to the king the future of Egypt, and then with his last word falls down dead, and is ceremoniously interred by the king. His prophecies,

however, are put on record and handed down to future ages. Their tenor is that there is coming, to begin with, a period of awful distress, in which everything in Egypt turns topsy-turvy—foreign peoples make inroads, servants become masters, people of position are slain, women enslaved, the entire social order subverted, temples plundered and desecrated, and their mysteries laid bare, while the king himself is carried away captive or forced to flee to a foreign land. Then follows an epoch in which the gods once more bestow their favour upon the country, and in which a just king, beloved of the gods and sprung from the sun-god Re', expels its enemies, restores its worship and its ancient order, subjugates the neighbouring lands, and enjoys a long and happy reign.'

Meyer maintains that this 'fixed traditional *schema*' was known to the Hebrew prophets, who, in fact, merely elaborated it in detail and applied it to the situation of the day. But there is certainly no positive evidence to show that Hebrew prophecy was based upon any such design. This *schema* was not followed even by the popular prophets, whose great watchword for the future was 'peace' (Jer 6^{14} etc.). The important point, however, is this: the distinctive features of Hebrew prophecy are that its predictions of good or evil were conditional upon the moral and religious bearing of men, and that it was concerned throughout with the founding of a peculiar divine kingdom, which was instituted in the call of Abraham (Gn 12^{1-3}) in order to establish in Israel a nursery of true religion and morality (Is 5^{1-7}), and so to open a fountain of blessing for all nations (42^{6} etc.). Egypt supplies nothing that may for a moment compare with this.

(*c*) Finally, as to a possible comparison of the Hebrew prophets with Muhammad, we find an OT scholar (J. Köberle, *NKZ* xvii. [1906] 202) giving expression to the view that their consciousness of their vocation loses significance when we look at Muhammad, who likewise, for that matter, regarded himself as a divine messenger. In answer to this we must carefully examine the qualities of the evidence which the Hebrew prophets themselves give regarding their mission. As the value of a witness's testimony may be measured with a fair degree of objectivity by certain of its characteristics, we shall compare the Hebrew prophets and Muhammad with reference to the following points.

(i.) *Clearness and definiteness.*—The clear conviction which underlies the utterances of men like Amos, Isaiah, etc., meets us everywhere in their works; they had distinct recollections of their call (cf., *e.g.*, Is $6^{1ff.}$), as also of a certain reluctance to respond to it (*e.g.*, Jer 1^{6} 20^{7}). Such definiteness is certainly not exceeded by the utterances of Muhammad. Moreover, scholars who, like A. Müller (*ThLZ* xii. [1887] 278 ff.), are anxious to do all justice to the latter speak of his 'indeterminate thinking,' his 'self-deception,' in that he claims a divine source for narratives which, like the 'Joseph' *sūrah* (xii.), are obviously mere plagiarisms.

(ii.) *Difficulty of the situation in which the testimony was given.*—The genuine prophets had to affirm a distinction between themselves and others who claimed to represent the same God (cf. § 9), while Muhammad had no such difficulty in what he said about himself—a contrast to which due weight has not yet been given.

(iii.) *Disinterestedness.*—The Hebrew prophets never strove for earthly honour or for material gratification of any kind; on the contrary, indeed, neither popular misunderstanding nor persecution on the part of the ruling classes turned them from their task (cf. 1 K $22^{26ff.}$, Jer $38^{4ff.}$, 2 K $21^{16ff.}$). We should also remember how, as the living conscience of their nation, they fought against the perversion of ethical concepts and against all immorality. In Muhammad, on the other hand, we find no such renunciation of worldly honours and enjoyments, or of material expedients for the furtherance of his plans. *Sūrah* xxxiii., relating the various exceptional privileges alleged to have been accorded to him in the matter of marriage, cannot but excite repugnance in any unprejudiced mind, and, as A. Tholuck (*Vermischte Schriften apologetischen Inhalts*[2], Gotha, 1867, p. 13) suggests, speaks less of a devout enthusiast than of a godless deceiver.

Even apart from the moral aspect, however, and regarded simply as an enthusiast, Muhammad still falls far below the true Hebrew prophets, in whom, as was shown above (§ 9 (2)), we find no trace whatever of fanaticism or ecstasy. So fearless a critic as Cheyne (*EBi* iii. 3854) was compelled to write:

'A *succession* of men so absorbed in "the living God," and at the same time so intensely practical in their aims—*i.e.*, so earnestly bent on promoting the highest national interests—cannot be found in antiquity elsewhere than in Israel.'

It is, moreover, a remarkable circumstance that in all that long succession no single prophet ever appealed to the words of another, while the fact that the succession came to an end all at once in the person of Malachi is another point that has not yet been sufficiently pondered.

Thus, when compared with Muhammad, the prophets of Israel still maintain their distinctive place in the history of religion, and we would summarize, in closing, the factors by which this historical position may be appraised. These are (1) the prophets' clear and definite consciousness of their vocation; (2) their unquestionable disinterestedness; (3) their achievement in the development of culture, *i.e.* their mediation of moral and religious principles which even to the present day compel the recognition of thinkers and scholars; and, finally—connected with the foregoing—(4) the relationship between their place in history and the appearance of Jesus, who nevertheless did not answer to their prophetic presentation of the future in any mechanical way, but with fresh and original power carried it to its most sublime consummation (cf. König, *Gesch.*, pp. 317–328).

LITERATURE.—**A. Kuenen**, *De Profeten en de Profetie onder Israël*, 2 vols., Leyden, 1875, Eng. tr., London, 1877; **E. König**, *Der Offenbarungsbegriff des Alten Testaments*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1882; **S. R. Driver**, *Sermons on Subjects connected with the Old Testament*, London, 1892, p. 50 ff.; **C. H. Cornill**, *Der israelitische Prophetismus*, Strassburg, 1894, [3]1898, Eng. tr., Chicago, 1898, [5]1906; **Borchert**, 'Die Visionen der Propheten,' in *SK* lxviii. [1895] 217 ff., esp. p. 241; **A. B. Davidson**, *Old Testament Prophecy*, Edinburgh, 1903; **E. König**, *Gesch. des Reiches Gottes bis auf Jesus Christus*, Brunswick, 1908.

E. KÖNIG.

PROPITIATION.

Introductory and Biblical (C. M. KERR), p. 393.
Greek (A. FAIRBANKS), p. 397.
Roman (A. C. PEARSON), p. 398.

PROPITIATION (Introductory and Biblical).—Propitiation (Lat. *propitiatio, propitius*, 'perhaps originally a term of augury meaning flying forward [*pro*] or well; cf. Skr. *pat*, to fly, Eng. *feather*' [Webster, *s.v.* 'Propitious']; cf. Eng. 'petition') may be defined as the appeasing of the wrath of one by another in order to win his favour; or the means adopted to that end. The root ideas of the term imply that he who propitiates feels himself in some manner to be lacking or at fault, and that the favour of him who is propitiated is worth the gaining. It further implies that he who

is propitiated is more powerful than he who propitiates; else the latter would not require to implore, either by entreaty or by offering, those things which he considers necessary to his welfare. It is with propitiation in its more definitely theological sense, *i.e.* as affecting the relations between God and man, that we have here to deal.

1. **The idea in primitive religion.**—Religion finds its origin in the conviction of man that his life is overruled by forces other and greater than those which he finds in himself. This power man has construed, from the earliest times, and according to his light, in the terms which he applies to his own life and personality. The only difference is that those characteristics which he recognizes to be rudimentary and fragmentary in himself are conceived of as existing in all their ideal perfection in the nature of the divine. In this sense all religions, whether their development be high or low, are anthropomorphic. Again, since man, in the earliest stages of his evolution, has little self-sufficiency, and is in all things closely dependent upon Nature and her forces, even for his bodily wants, he is instinctively impelled to find this superior power in every external object or circumstance affecting him. This is the stage of animism, when worship is paid to the spirit or spirits which reside in trees, fire, wind, cloud, or sky.

Yet the mere belief in the existence of those superior powers would not be sufficient in itself to give rise to religion. It is felt also that these powers are interested in the welfare of man; and, further, that their interest can be quickened, or restored when lost, provided that proper means be adopted to achieve this result. Primitive man attributes to his god the same feelings of like and dislike, of love and aversion, of friendship and hostility, as he finds to exist between himself and his fellow-men. Hence, from the first, there are present in religion the elements not merely of thought, but also of feeling and of will. In fact, it is due to the conjunction of these that religion ever came into being. Man does not merely think of his god; since, through nature, that god manifests his power often in terrible form, he conceives of him, now with feelings of utter dependence, now with awe and fear, as of one who smites and visits him with wrath and destruction. Yet the emotion is not entirely that of fear. Fear in itself has the effect of sundering and driving farther apart. But, in point of fact, religion is the expression of an exactly contrary effect upon the will. Viewed in its practical aspect, religion is the effort on man's part, not to flee from, but to draw near to his god.

While the beginning of religion is not to be attributed entirely to fear, it is unquestionable that that emotion played a great, and even a predominating, part in the awakening of the religious consciousness. The things by which primitive man is first prompted to think of the divine are generally those disastrous to himself or to the community. Any misfortune or disaster that he cannot trace to known human or natural sources he attributes to the direct agency of his god. Since, then, in primitive times the realm of the unknown was much wider than it is now, and since also, leaving out of count man's spiritual wants, even his bodily comfort was then more open to attack, there was all the more room for the working on him of that fear of his god which is the beginning of wisdom.

But, if fear thus awakens him to a knowledge of his god, it is his instinct of self-preservation that impels him to give to that knowledge a practical turn. The aim of religion is not solely to draw near to gods, nor even to propitiate them, but to secure the worshipper's well-being and happiness It is just because man recognizes his present happiness to be imperfect, because he feels that only through his god can that deficiency be supplied, that he ever seeks to win his favour. And the means which primitive man adopted towards this end were those which he employed in his dealings with his fellows — conciliation and petition. From this arose the ancient religious system of propitiatory sacrifice.

While the broad aim of sacrifice is thus to please the gods, the meaning and content attached to it are more clearly defined by reference to (*a*) the nature of the god who is to be propitiated and (*b*) the evil which renders propitiation necessary. It may happen that man identifies this evil not with himself, but with the essential being of his god. This god is conceived of as one who delights in violence and bloodshed, and who sends plagues, storms, and floods in order to satiate himself with the suffering of man. Man therefore offers such sacrifice as he imagines will appease this passion for blood on the part of his god, that the impending doom may be averted from himself. It is with this notion that some of the darkest rites of early sacrifice are associated. A degraded idea of the god leads to a degraded form of worship.

On the other hand, man may feel that the cause of his suffering lies not so much in the nature of his god as in his own misdoings or shortcomings. This was the idea that ultimately prevailed. Experience accumulated throughout the ages taught him that much of his misfortune was simply his own fault, and that by methods of forethought, of industry, and of hygiene he could avert many of those evils which formerly he traced solely to supernatural influence; and that which experience taught him to be true of part of his existence he came more and more to infer as true of the whole. Thus he reached the conception that, wherever his present happiness was marred, it was due not to the arbitrariness of his gods, but to his neglect to pay deference to them or to obey their commands. Once this truth emerged, the idea underlying propitiatory sacrifice assumed a new and more hopeful trend. Man aimed no longer at changing the original nature of his gods and bringing them into a temporary state of favour to himself; he sought rather to restore them to that normal condition of benevolence which, by his offence, had for the time being been disturbed. How, then, could he better accomplish this than by sacrificing a part of his goods and possessions, in order to show the gods that he valued their favour more than anything else? It is not, of course, contended that primitive man regarded his own confession as part of the propitiatory sacrifice. That idea lay as yet in the background. He still retained a mechanical conception of the relations between sin and punishment, between sacrifice and benefit. In his eyes not his repentance, but the material offering that he made, was the thing of propitiatory value as affecting his god. Yet, despite all this, in the higher sacrificial forms of primitive religion, in which man dimly confessed himself as the sinner and his god as the standard of righteousness and love, were embodied the rudiments of those truths concerning propitiation which were to receive a fuller and more spiritual meaning in ethical religions, and which at last attained to their perfection in Christianity.

2. **In the OT.**—In the religion of the Hebrews the intermediary stages of this evolution are clearly traceable. Man is now not merely conscious of the fact that he offends against God; that fact has taken on for him a moral significance—he is conscious of it as sin. Davidson (*The Theology of the OT*, p. 315 ff.) points out how in the OT a distinc

tion comes to be drawn between (*a*) sins of ignorance or inadvertence and (*b*) sins done with a high hand or of purpose.

(*a*) *Sins of ignorance or inadvertence.*—To these alone do the Levitical sacrifices apply. In this there is a certain natural fitness. The idea of sacrifice in general arose at that stage in man's development when he conceived of his relations to God as being semi-mechanically rather than morally conditioned; when, too, he imagined that the Deity could be propitiated in a correspondingly mechanical fashion, by material offerings. The Hebrew priests merely carried forward this idea and gave it a greater symbolism and elaboration. In the first place, the moral sense being as yet imperfectly developed, there was in their conception of sin no element of personal guilt. The idea of sin was attached to no specific acts of which the perpetrators were conscious at the time that they were wrong; it belonged rather to the entire nature of man, as being tainted and impure. Thus sin was placed by them in that region intermediate between the purely physical and the definitely moral; *i.e.*, it belonged to the region of the æsthetic, and partook of the nature of uncleanness. Again, corresponding to this view of sin as uncleanness was their view of the manner in which it offended against God. Being not yet definitely of the moral, not yet a wilful transgression of God's law, it did not violate God's righteousness, and so did not provoke His wrath. It was rather an offence against God's holiness. These are the considerations which lie at the root of the ancient Jewish sacrificial system. They explain how the priestly offerings were regarded as atoning not for definite misdoings, but for the whole life as being imperfect or impure. They explain, too, how the symbolical 'covering,' or 'wiping out'—the root ideas of the Hebrew word כִּפֻּר, which stands at the centre of Levitical thought on sacrifice (cf. *HDB*, *s.v.* 'Propitiation,' vol. iv. p. 131)—had in itself a propitiatory value as affecting God. Since God's justice had not been offended, and His actual wrath had not been provoked, there was no need that any positive recompense should be made. There was need only that the cause of offence to His æsthetic nature, *i.e.* to His purity and holiness, should be removed. That being accomplished by the priestly sacrifices, complete harmony was established. And, lastly, though no definite explanation is given in the OT itself, these considerations may help to make clear why special emphasis was laid on the efficacy of the blood-sacrifice as a means of propitiation. Since 'the life of the flesh is in the blood' (Lv 17^{11}), so the offering to God is the effort on man's part to make propitiation not for certain sins, but for the whole soul or person. Again, the blood, as it is sprinkled on the altar, symbolically wipes out, or cleanses away, impurity and uncleanness. God is thus enabled to look on the inadvertent sins of His people as covered or non-existent; He is propitiated in this negative sense, in that the stain offensive to His holiness is washed away, and His favour is restored.

(*b*) *Sins done with a high hand or of purpose.*—Just as the sense of personal guilt implies a new stage in the growth of the moral personality, so also does it lead to a higher conception of the divine nature and of the means of propitiation. The relationship between man's offence and the wrath of God is uplifted from the physical and the æsthetic to the moral and the spiritual. Material sacrifices are felt to be no longer available to propitiate God. But the need for propitiation is even more poignantly felt. This was the class of sins with which the prophets especially dealt; and for them the only remedy was for sinners to cast themselves upon God's mercy, when He Himself would cover their sins (Ps 65^{3}). Here the propitiation is effected not by any offering on man's part, but by some transaction within the being of the Divine. God's mercy prevails over His justice, so that His wrath is done away. But no hint is given that this victory of God's love or mercy is won at any cost to itself. At the same time, it is dimly suggested that the self-surrender of the soul in repentance and prayer to God possesses an element of propitiation—'A broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise' (Ps 51^{17}).

The last idea emerges into clearer consciousness when the intimate connexion between suffering and sin is recognized. Since sin is the cause of suffering, the thought inevitably arises that suffering may in turn have some propitiatory value. But the ethical note is not lost sight of. Thus it is essentially the sufferings of the righteous that are regarded as having expiatory value. This coupling of suffering with merit as having power, by vicarious means, or in a substitutionary sense, to propitiate God is witnessed to in the frequent OT references to the trials of Abraham and other patriarchs and prophets, and reaches its culmination in the passage describing the Suffering Servant of Is 53. Yet even there the idea is not fully wrought out. It is simply stated that 'it pleased the Lord to bruise him' (v.^{10}), and that 'with his stripes we are healed' (v.^{5}). Thus the relationship between the propitiatory act (the bruising) and the beneficial effect (the healing) is still regarded as in great part mechanical; and to mankind, apart from the Servant, is relegated simply the part of the passive onlooker, who reaps the results, but who himself has no vital or active part in the transaction.

3. **In the NT.**—It has been indicated how in the OT the idea of propitiation developed in its higher aspects along two different lines of thought: on the one hand, the consciousness of personal guilt led to the casting aside of material sacrifice and to the surrendering by the sinner of his soul to the mercy of God; on the other, the connexion between sin and suffering gave rise to the thought that suffering, and especially the suffering of the righteous, possessed a propitiatory value. Yet both these conclusions were deficient. The former certainly recognized the need for a change in the attitude of the soul; but it did not give sufficient consideration either to God's justice or to the demands of His wrath. It simply made God's mercy take the place of the Levitical sacrifice, in that the mere exercise of that mercy was sufficient to wipe out all past transgressions, even those done with a high hand. No account is taken of the fact that not merely God's holiness, but also His righteousness, has been offended, and that this violated righteousness demands a certain satisfaction before His mercy can intervene. In the latter there is a procedure to the other extreme. Emphasis is now laid upon God's just indignation, and how it is by suffering that it is propitiated. Yet this is viewed wholly in a vicarious sense, and no vital organic connexion is traced between the propitiation rendered to God and the spiritual change effected in man. It will thus be seen that the two trends of thought are in a sense complementary. The connecting link between them consists in this, that both lead up to the idea that propitiation is in itself a divine act, and consists in the interaction of certain aspects of, or certain personalities in, the godhead. Such was the truth embodied in the Incarnate Christ; and a consideration of the NT passages where He is referred to under the heading of 'propitiation' will render this clear.

(1) In 1 Jn 2^{2}, ἱλασμός ἐστιν περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν, Christ is simply stated to be 'the propitiation for our sins.'

(2) In 1 Jn 4[10] this idea is elaborated. The main thought of the passage (vv.[8-21]) is that God is love, and that God is fully Himself only when that love is completely exerted. But the realization of the divine love is checked by the presence of sin in man, which produces in him fear (v.[18]) and want of love towards God (v.[8]). Thus, though the situation or the occasion for propitiation is created by man, it is in God that the active stimulus and the felt need for reconciliation initially arise. 'Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us'; *i.e.*, it is not so much that man feels himself alienated from God as that God feels Himself alienated from man. In the same way, it is not man, but God, who not only feels the need but also provides the means or the instrument of propitiation. Here, then, is repeated the OT priestly idea of God's mercy or love 'atoning' or 'covering' the sins of His people. But it is no longer stated in bald terms that God's mercy or love simply prevails over His righteousness. That victory is effected at the cost to His love of sending His own Son. There is further this new idea, prominent in the teaching of St. John, and in many ways the dominant note of the NT, that the sending of Christ is not merely in satisfaction to God's justice, but also—and this thought received from St. John far greater emphasis—exerts a propitiatory effect upon man, in that it shows forth, or exhibits, God's love to him, and so wins him to draw near to God. By this indication of the vital, dynamic connexion between the divine propitiatory act and its spiritual effect on man does St. John supply the other deficiency in the OT theory of atonement (cf. above on Is 53). It is God's love that stimulates Him to send His Son, and this exhibition of His love in turn stimulates man to love God. Hence, for St. John the immediate propitiatory effect of the gift of Christ is not upon God, but upon man. But this is not the ultimate end of propitiation. Once this immediate effect is accomplished in the awakening of man's love through faith in Christ, then God's love assumes its proper function of bestowing upon man eternal life (Jn 3[16]). Thus God's love first treats itself as a means, in order that it may return to the normal mode of its activity, in which it is at once the means and the end of its own existence, and in which alone it realizes its complete self-satisfaction.

(3) He 2[17], *πιστὸς ἀρχιερεὺς τὰ πρὸς τὸν θεόν εἰς τὸ ἱλάσκεσθαι τὰς ἁμαρτίας τοῦ λαοῦ*. If in the second reference prominence is given to the 'covering,' or 'annulling,' of sin by God through Christ, emphasis is here laid upon the element of suffering in propitiation. According to the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, the qualifications of a true high-priest are divine appointment to his office (5[1]) and 'at oneness' with his people (2[11]). To this high-priest Christ is now compared (2[17]). But Christ's appointment is ratified, and His identification with His people is sealed, by the fact that He is 'made like unto them' in undergoing the experience of suffering (2[10. 17]). Thus it is in virtue of His sufferings that Christ is qualified to make propitiation for the sins of His people. In this there is a correspondence with the thought of Is 53. But the aim of the writer to Hebrews is now to develop this thought and show how Christ's sufferings produce this effect. The underlying idea is not that suffering in itself gives satisfaction to God. For what God supremely and ultimately desires is to 'bring many sons unto glory' (2[10]). But sin is the barrier which stands in the way of this perfection, and suffering is the only means by which it can be removed (cf. 2[14]); hence, in this derivative sense, suffering does possess a pleasing aspect in the eyes of God. Again, since Christ's sufferings bring Him into greater sympathy with His brethren, and so enable Him to render them greater help (2[18]), suffering has the additional propitiatory effect upon God in that it furthers the attainment of that by which God is completely satisfied.

It has been suggested that the view taken by the writer to Hebrews regarding Christ's sacrifice may be that its propitiatory value lies not in its suffering but in its obedience (cf. W. P. Paterson, *HDB*, *s.v.* 'Sacrifice,' vol. iv. p. 345). Yet it is not necessary to place these two views in so sharp a contrast. In the interpretation of the writer to Hebrews, suffering and obedience both possess a propitiatory value, but in a different sense. The immediate purpose of suffering is not to please God. Its direct effect is (*a*) upon Christ, to teach Him obedience (cf. 2[10] 5[8]) and to create in Him sympathy towards man, (*b*) upon man, awakening his trust and confidence in Christ (4[16]). This confidence then passes into obedience; and in this way does Christ become the author of man's eternal salvation (5[9]). Thus suffering is propitiatory only as a means; but obedience—the end towards which suffering is directed—is propitiatory in itself, as being that by which God is immediately satisfied.

That this is the view of the writer to Hebrews regarding suffering is corroborated by the manner in which he relates Christ's sacrifice to sin. The class of sin for which Christ is the propitiation is not so much a wilful transgression of God's law as a state of moral or spiritual uncleanness (cf. 10[22]). Because sin, then, while it offends God's holiness, does not offend His justice, there is attached to suffering no idea of expiation, *i.e.* as satisfying the divine wrath. The death, or the blood, of Christ is interpreted rather along the line of the OT Levitical sacrifices (cf. He 9). His perfect and spotless offering suffices to sprinkle men's hearts from an evil conscience and to wash their bodies with pure water (9[14] 10[22]). That being accomplished, 'their sins and iniquities will God remember no more' (10[17]). But just as, according to the Mosaic law, there were certain sins to which the priestly sacrifices could not apply, so also, according to the writer to Hebrews, there is one especial sin for which not even Christ can atone, and that is wilful transgression after knowledge of the truth (cf. Dt 17[1-7] with He 10[26]). It is only when the unpardonable sin of rejecting Christ's sacrifice has been committed that God punishes man in wrath. But the suffering which this punishment involves, being not disciplinary but penal, in no way leads to any reconciliation between man and God. The sending of it is indeed in satisfaction of God's wrath; but the enduring of it by man does not tend towards the appeasing of that wrath or to the restoration of God's favour. It comes upon man only in utter condemnation—'It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God' (10[31]). Thus again it is seen that for the writer to Hebrews there is no propitiatory value in suffering except as it is borne in the spirit of obedience and leads to a further development of that virtue.

(4) Ro 3[25], *ὃν προέθετο ὁ θεὸς ἱλαστήριον διὰ πίστεως ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ αἵματι*. In the passage Ro 3[19-26] St. Paul also takes his starting-point from the OT. But Christ is now regarded not as a high-priest, the active agent who through His suffering unto obedience propitiates, but as the passive means or place through which that propitiation is wrought, and in which God's righteousness is declared. This may be the reason why St. Paul uses the Greek word *ἱλαστήριον* instead of *ἱλασμός*. In further contrast to the writer to Hebrews, his aim is not so much to win men to accept Christ as the sacrifice as to show the necessity for that sacrifice in the nature of the godhead.

While the teaching of the writer to Hebrews concerning suffering is a great advance upon that of Isaiah in that it explains its educative value, it does not sufficiently make clear the divine aspect of suffering, as being a law immanent in the very being of God. It treats it rather as something extraneous to the divine nature, and merely imposed upon man to bring him to obedience. This defect, as is indicated above, is a consequence of the view which the writer to the Hebrews takes of sin as uncleanness and of God as essentially holy. Thus for him God is still in great part the God of the OT, who accepts the offering made by Christ, and who, at no cost to His own nature, simply pardons or forgets the sins of His people. These defects, then, St. Paul sets himself to correct. In the first place, he takes a more serious view of the nature of sin. It is not simply uncleanness, but a definitely moral disorder, and is connected with the will. In the second place, he makes the chief attribute of God's being to consist in righteousness. With these two principles alone no atonement would, according to OT theory, be possible. But St. Paul finds a way out of the dilemma by putting a new construction upon suffering. He treats it no longer as external to the godhead and operative merely upon man, but as a vital principle of the divine nature itself. Suffering, in so far as it falls upon man in consequence of his sin, is simply the working out of his condemnation. But, if that suffering be assumed and vicariously endured by one who is himself sinless, the demands of God's wrath will be appeased, and that reconciliation with God will be effected which man by his own efforts or by his own suffering cannot achieve. This is the view which St. Paul expounds. It is because Jesus Christ is the setting forth or the declaration of this truth that He is the propitiation for our sins (Ro 3[19-26]). Further, since God is the one who requires to be propitiated, and is both the provider and the offerer of the sacrifice, He is at once just to Himself, or true to His own righteousness, and the justifier of the man who believes in, who accepts, or who appropriates that sacrifice as made on his own behalf.

4. Summary and conclusion.—The form of the idea of propitiation, from its appearance in early religion to its presentation in the theology of the NT, is constant: God has been offended, and means must be found whereby His wrath may be appeased and His favour restored. It is in the content given to that form that the development takes place. Man seeks first to propitiate God by material offerings. To these, and especially to the blood-sacrifice, a symbolical meaning is afterwards attached, as representing the offering by man of his own life to God. A clearer understanding of the nature of sin then leads to the casting aside of material sacrifices and to the idea that God is pleased only with repentance and personal obedience (cf. Is 1[11-20]). Side by side with this, the connexion between sin and suffering suggests the thought that suffering may possess in itself a propitiatory value. A further stage is reached when man begins to realize that he is utterly unable of himself to make any offering sufficient to recover God's favour. Hence the idea emerges that God Himself must provide the sacrifice. But, if God is the provider of the sacrifice, it cannot be the whole of His nature which is the object of propitiation. He is no longer simply the God of holiness, or the God of righteousness; but He partakes of the complex nature of a personality. Thus it is only one aspect or attribute of that personality which is propitiated, while another aspect or attribute provides the propitiation. But this in itself would

lead to nothing further than that God becomes reconciled to Himself. Yet it is in the interests of man that God's love seeks to propitiate His righteousness; and therefore man must also be involved in the transaction. Two difficulties, however, stand in the way of his inclusion. The first is that recompense must be given for his past sins; and the second is that, since man's natural state is sinful, therefore there must be infused into him that divine life which alone can make him acceptable to God. The theories of St. John, of the writer to the Hebrews, and of St. Paul are all endeavours to show how in Jesus Christ these difficulties are met and overcome. St. Paul alone lays emphasis on the first. It is by the vicarious suffering of Jesus Christ that the wrath of God, aroused by the sin of man, is appeased. St. John and the writer to the Hebrews deal principally with the second. According to St. John, God's love, made manifest in Christ, appeals to man's love, and so induces him to lay open his heart to the inflow of the divine life. According to the writer to the Hebrews, suffering, borne in the spirit of and under the guidance of Jesus, is that which makes man perfect. It is to be remembered, however, that St. Paul also gives consideration to this second difficulty. Faith is the contribution that man must bring before the process of propitiation is finally completed. It may thus be concluded that the propitiation made by Jesus Christ acts both upon God and upon man. It acts upon man in that it is a revelation to him of the immensity of God's wrath and of the intensity of His love. It thus wins him to draw near to God in reverence and humility, yet in faith, trusting in the efficacy of the sacrifice made on his behalf. It acts upon God in that it satisfies His offended justice, and enables His love to go forth in all its fullness to the man who now has a share in the righteousness and life of Jesus Christ. Finally, just as the 'appeasing of wrath' is only the first term in propitiation in order that 'favour may be restored,' so the ultimate end of Christ's sacrifice is that God may be able to say of each of his children, 'This is my beloved son, in whom I am well pleased.'

LITERATURE.—F. B. Jevons, *The Idea of God in Early Religions*, Cambridge, 1910; J. A. MacCulloch, *Religion, its Origin and Forms*, London, 1904; A. B. Davidson, *The Theology of the OT*, Edinburgh, 1904, pp. 306–356; A. Ritschl, *The Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation*, Eng. tr., do. 1900; G. B. Stevens, *The Christian Doctrine of Salvation*, do. 1905, pp. 61–63, 76–77, 108–110, 425–432, *The Theology of the NT*, do. 1899, pp. 412–414, 589–590; R. C. Moberly, *Atonement and Personality*, London, 1901; B. F. Westcott, *The Epistles of St. John*, do. 1883, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, do. 1889; Davidson, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, Edinburgh, 1882; W. Sanday and A. C. Headlam, *The Epistle to the Romans*[5] (*ICC*), do. 1902; *HDB*, *s.vv.* 'Propitiation,' 'Sacrifice.' C. M. KERR.

PROPITIATION (Greek). — The nature of divine anger, as conceived by the Greeks, has been considered in the art. EXPIATION AND ATONEMENT (Greek); the special rites for allaying the anger of the gods remain to be treated under the present heading. Briefly stated, calamities not easily traceable to human causes are referred to the gods—failure of the crops, plagues and diseases, childlessness, disaster at sea, and defeat in battle—and, when they occur, the anger of the gods is assumed. It is necessary first to remove the causes of divine anger, and then to propitiate the gods, as in the first book of the *Iliad* Chryseis must be returned to her father, the army purified, and sacrifices offered to Apollo who had sent the plague. While the thought of possible anger and its propitiation was doubtless present in all worship, the proper sacrifices to an angry god were totally different from the normal worship to the Olympian deities. The normal form of sacrifice was the communion meal, in which the animal was consecrated to the god, certain portions were burned on the altar, and the remainder was cooked and eaten by the worshippers. This form of sacrifice (*θυσία*) was frequently described in the Homeric poems (*e.g.*, *Il.* ii. 421 f.), and with slight variations it was the typical form of worship to the greater gods of Greece. In sharp contrast with it is another type of sacrifice, called by a different name (*σφάγια*; cf. *ἐναγίζεσθαι*, *ἐντέμνειν*, etc.) and decidedly different in character. Ordinarily it took place at night rather than in the morning; the animal prescribed was often black; when its throat was cut, the blood was allowed to flow on the ground; the altar was a low mound (*ἐσχάρα*), not the structure used in ordinary sacrifice (*βωμός*); and the body of the animal was never eaten, but was usually entirely consumed by fire. Animals not suited for food, like the dog, were used for these sacrifices at times; but offerings of food as such, grain or cakes, found no place in them. These sacrifices, however, were not reduced to one definite type, but retained variations peculiar to the god to whom they were offered and the occasion of the offering. Similarly, the libations to angry gods or gods prone to anger differed from the usual libation to Olympian gods, in that wine was regularly used for the latter but never for the former; honey and milk were the more fitting to soothe angry deities (*μειλίγματα*).

According to tradition in Greece, human sacrifice was at times demanded to soothe the anger of the gods. Agamemnon, who had offended Artemis by slaying a hind in her sacred precincts, was prevented from sailing for Troy till he had sacrificed to the goddess his daughter Iphigeneia; and the death of Polyxena alone made it possible for the Greeks to start on their homeward voyage. A sacrifice of Egyptian youths was attributed to Menelaus as a means of stilling winds that prevented his voyage (Herod. ii. 119; cf. Æsch. *Agam.* 146 f.); and it seems possible that *σφάγια* offered in later times to secure favourable winds (cf. Plut. *Ages.* 6; Herod. vii. 191) were substitutes for human sacrifice. According to Plutarch (*Aristid.* 9, *Them.* 13), three captive Persians were sacrificed by Themistocles before the battle of Salamis. In myth similar sacrifices to secure success in battle were demanded by the oracle of Creon (Eur. *Phœn.* 890 ff.), of Erechtheus (Apollod. *Bibl.* III. xv. 4; Lycurg. *Leocr.* § 99), of Aristodemus (Paus. IV. ix. 2, 5), and of other heroes. It is Greek tradition that the oracle at Delphi commanded human sacrifice on the occasion of pestilence to allay divine anger. Human sacrifice is also reported as part of the regular worship of Zeus Lykaios in Arcadia, of Apollo Katharsios in Leucas, and of Apollo at the Athenian Thargelia. The explanation given (Eus. *Præp. Evang.* iv. 16, p. 156[d]; cf. Eur. *El.* 1026; Virg. *Æn.* v. 815) is that the anger of a god which threatens to destroy a whole people may perhaps be satisfied by the voluntary sacrifice of one of their number. The Greek practice, however, was to substitute an animal for the man, as a deer is said to have been substituted for Iphigeneia (cf. the calf treated like a child and sacrificed to Dionysus at Potniæ [Paus. IX. viii. 1]).

The gods who received propitiatory sacrifice regularly were not the Olympian deities, but spirits who had shown their anger or who were easily stirred to anger. Such were the Eumenides at Athens, whose very name of 'kindly ones' was a euphemism to denote the blessings which the Furies might send when propitiated (cf. Æsch. *Eumen.*, *passim*); the *θεοὶ μειλίχιοι* of Myonia (Paus. X. xxxviii. 4); Hecate, goddess of spirits of the night; the winds and in particular Boreas, the north wind (Paus. II. xii. 1; Xen. *Anab.* IV. v. 4);

gods of the sea (Arr. *Anab.* VI. xix. 5) and of rivers (I. de Prott, *Leges Græcorum sacræ*, i., *Fasti sacri*, Leipzig, 1896, p. 14, no. 5, line 36 f.). The spirits of the dead received sacrifices similar in character, doubtless to prevent evil results that might be caused by their anger (Herod. v. 47), and it was the regular method of worshipping local heroes who might send special blessings, but whose anger was terrible if they were neglected. When σφάγια were offered to Olympian deities, as not infrequently occurred, it was because of some special reason for fearing their anger. Zeus Meilichios, feared like the θεοὶ μειλίχιοι, received holocausts of pigs to allay his possible anger and secure his blessing (Xen. *Anab.* VII. viii. 4, and accounts of the Diasia at Athens), and Zeus Chthonios, a god of agriculture, received propitiatory offerings at Myconos. In Ionian regions these sacrifices were offered to Apollo to avert danger from the crops, as in general they were offered to him to get rid of pestilence (G. Kaibel, *Epigr. græc.*, Berlin, 1878, no. 1034; Paus. II. xxiv. 1, and *passim*). Before the battle they might be offered to Artemis (Xen. *Hell.* IV. ii. 20). Some of the peculiar sacrifices to Dionysus (Paus. IX. viii. 1) and Demeter (Diod. Sic. V. iv. 2, IV. xxiii.) as well as to Poseidon (Arr. *Anab.* VI. xix. 5) should also be classified as propitiatory in nature. That propitiatory sacrifice found no larger place in the worship of the Olympian gods is due to the intimate and normal relation which existed between these gods and their worshippers, a relation that found fit expression in the communion meal sacrifice.

The occasion for propitiatory sacrifice was the presence of calamity or the fear of calamity. A pestilence that attacked men, herds, or crops, or the fear of possible calamity before battle, a voyage, or any important undertaking, furnished such an occasion. These sacrifices were offered in Athens before marriage and childbirth (Æsch. *Eumen.* 835). In agriculture specific dangers threatened the crops at certain seasons, and at these times rites to avert them were performed. Finally, as dangers or blessings might at any time be expected from such spirits as the Eumenides and heroes and souls of the dead, propitiatory sacrifices to them occurred both at stated intervals and on special occasions.

The meaning of this type of sacrifice, in so far as one type is found, is clear from its form. While in the communion meal the victim was shared by god and worshippers together and the rite strengthened the actual bonds that united them, the propitiatory sacrifice assumed no such bond, but rather the opposite. The rite here seems to centre in the death of the animal, sometimes clearly the death of an animal as a substitute for a man; its life-blood is poured out to appease the gods, and it only remains to dispose of the body by burning it or casting it into the sea. When Polykrates followed the advice of Amasis (Herod. iii. 41) and threw into the sea the ring that was his most valued possession, he acted on the naive principle that too much prosperity was likely to bring calamity from the gods, and sought to propitiate them. In the Greek divine world were many powerful spirits who were easily offended, be it by too much prosperity, by neglect, or for some reason not clear to men. If their anger could be anticipated and allayed, its effects might be escaped; accordingly, propitiatory sacrifices were offered before important undertakings and even at regular intervals. It was the same principle that led men to bring votive offerings to the gods that the gods might not look with disfavour on the undertakings which they had in view. When the calamity was present, the need of propitiatory sacrifice was so much the greater. The life of the animal was given to the god, sometimes clearly as a substitute for the life of the man, in the hope that thus divine anger might be allayed. It is the peculiarity of Greek religion that ordinarily men feared the anger of other than the Olympian gods, and that therefore propitiatory sacrifice to the great gods of Greece was unusual.

LITERATURE.—E. von Lasaulx, 'Die Sühnopfer der Griechen und Römer,' *Akad. Abhandl.*, Würzburg, 1844, p. 236 f.; R. Suchier, *De victimis humanis*, Hanau, 1848; P. Stengel, in *Jahrb. für Philologie*, 1883, p. 361 f., and *Die griechische Kultusaltertümer*², Munich, 1898, p. 110 f.; A. Fairbanks, 'The Chthonic Gods of Greek Religion,' *Amer. Journ. of Philology*, xxi. [1900] 253 ff.

ARTHUR FAIRBANKS.

PROPITIATION (Roman).—If we accept the definition of religion as an 'effective desire to be in right relation to the Power manifesting itself in the universe' (W. Warde Fowler, *Religious Experience of the Roman People*, p. 8), propitiation in its widest sense is co-extensive with religion. Every utterance of prayer and every act of sacrifice, as being religious, is necessarily propitiatory. But it is unnecessary to make this the occasion for a general survey of the Roman attitude towards religion, more especially since the ambit of propitiation is usually confined to the placation of an offended deity, as distinguished from the effort to secure a continuance of divine good-will. On the other hand, propitiation is a religious act which assumes the personal intervention of a deity, and has nothing to do with the objects and methods of tabu or magic. Thus, certain ceremonial practices of which we have a record from historical times may be survivals from an era antecedent to the development of the national religion. Horace's *triste bidental* (*Ars Poet.* 471), the walled enclosure preventing ingress to the spot where a thunderbolt had fallen, is an example of a permanent tabu not associated with any particular cult. But a definite act of propitiation is involved in the sacrifice of two black lambs to Summanus by the Arval Brethren, which took place whenever the grove of the Dea Dia was struck by lightning at night (W. Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, Berlin, 1874, p. 146). For Summanus, though an obscure personality (Ov. *Fast.* vi. 731), was associated with Jupiter as lord of the thunderbolt, and his name appears occasionally as an epithet of that god (G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, p. 124, n. 4). Another example may be quoted to show the difficulty of tracing the history of the most primitive Roman cults. The mysterious rite of the 14th of May, on which day 27 straw puppets known as *argei* were thrown into the Tiber from the *pons sublicius*, is sometimes interpreted as a magical ceremony whose chief intention was to serve as a spell ensuring an adequate rainfall in the coming summer (Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, p. 119). In that case it would be unnecessary to suppose that any deity was specially concerned with it. Much the same may be said of the rite of the *lapis manalis*, which is nowhere definitely associated with Jupiter Elicius (*ib.* p. 233). But the above-mentioned explanation of the *argei* is not generally accepted, and an alternative view treats the puppets as substitutes for human victims, holding that on some occasion of stress during the 3rd cent. B.C. a piacular sacrifice of foreigners ('Αργεῖοι) was introduced on the advice of a Sibylline oracle (Wissowa, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, p. 228). We should then be in possession of a parallel to the otherwise isolated sacrifice of two Gauls and two Greeks, who were buried alive in the *forum boarium* in the year 216 (Livy, XXII. lvii. 6).

A few examples of propitiatory rites which go back to the oldest stage of the native religion may now be mentioned.

On the 25th of April, in order to remove from the crops the danger of mildew or red rust, a procession marched to the grove of Robigus near the fifth mile-stone on the Via Claudia, and a dog was sacrificed by the *flamen Quirinalis* (Ov. *Fast.* iv. 905 ff.; Pliny, *HN* xviii. 285). On the 15th of April at the Fordicidia pregnant cows (*fordæ boues*) were sacrificed to Tellus as well in the several curies as by the *pontifices* on the Capitol (Ov. *Fast.* iv. 629 ff.). The unborn calves were torn from their mother and burnt, with the object of securing the fertility of the corn then lying in the womb of the earth (Warde Fowler, *Roman Festivals*, p. 71). Volcanus, the god of fire, had his special festival on the 23rd of August at a time of the year when the danger of fire was particularly to be dreaded for the new grain. The antiquity of his cult is shown by the existence of the *flamen Volcanalis*, but, beyond the appearance of the Volcanalia in the calendar, very little is known about it. Domitian probably followed ancient precedent when, in erecting an altar to Volcanus in commemoration of the fire in Nero's time, he ordered the sacrifice of a red calf and a boar on the day of the Volcanalia (*CIL* vi. 826). We also have the curious information that on this day it was the custom to throw living fish into the fire as a piacular offering (Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* vi. 20; Fest. p. 238).

Although the institution of *flamines* marks the establishment of a State religion, the earliest cults indicate its development from a worship by the family intended to secure the prosperity of each of its members. The powers to be propitiated were spirits originally nameless, which were severely limited in the extent of their operations, and only by degrees acquired a distinct identity (Warde Fowler, *Religious Experience*, p. 117). It is noticeable, however, that there had arisen a tendency to group the divinities in pairs, a male and a female, Faunus and Fauna, Liber and Libera, Quirinus and Hora, and that there were grades of dignity among them, as is shown not only by the distinction between *flamines maiores* and *minores*, but also by the fact that piacular offerings were made to the *famuli diui* as well as to the *diui* themselves (Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus*, p. 19). Even the great gods of the city, Mars, Jupiter, and Quirinus, being disconnected from any traditional mythology, were, as originally worshipped, devoid of any personal characteristics (E. Aust, *Religion der Römer*, Münster, 1899, p. 19). Thus propitiation was only in a limited sense possible for the Romans, who, apart from Etruscan and Greek influences, had no conception of anthropomorphic deities. Varro (*ap.* Augustine, *de Ciu. Dei*, iv. 23) made a very instructive comment on the spirit of the old Roman religion when he stated the remarkable fact that for a period of 170 years, that is to say, up to the time of the building of the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, the old Romans worshipped the gods without making images of them, and added that the man who first made such images for the people not only destroyed the fear of God, but introduced a source of distraction.

Whatever possibilities of spiritual growth lay in the recurring festivals of the old agricultural communities were conducted in a particular direction by the rapid development of the city-State and the increasing influence of the priestly colleges. The general tendency of Roman religion to place every department of human life under the protection of a separate *numen*, which is displayed in its most conspicuous form in the pontifical classifications of the *indigitamenta*, and the practical and utilitarian outlook of the average Roman, who desired to settle his relations to the gods upon fixed and definite terms, combined to produce that rigid system of formalism which made the *ius diuinum* a series of precise regulations adapted to secure the *pax deorum* upon every possible contingency. It has been succinctly stated that the general object of the Roman festivals was so to propitiate the gods as to forestall any hostile intention by putting them under an obligation (C. Bailey, in *EBr*[11] xxiii. 578). It was the interest of the State to see that its concord with the gods remained unbroken. This purpose was secured in particular by the periodical observance of lustrations, which served both to purify their object from all contracted stains and to ensure a renewal of divine protection against the danger of further contamination. The lustration was accomplished by symbolic acts of cleansing with water or fire, or by a procession conducting the sacrificial victim round the area which required purification. The former method was observed at the Parilia (Prop. iv. 4. 75 ff.), the latter at the Ambarvalia (Cato, *de Re Rust.* 141; Verg. *Georg.* i. 343 ff.), and both together at the Lupercalia (Plut. *Rom.* 21). Besides these annual celebrations, lustration was required on special occasions, such as the invasion of an enemy's territory or the departure of a fleet. Above all, it became necessary when special notice had been received by means of extraordinary portents that the *pax deorum* had been broken and the anger of the gods incurred. Among these signs were thunder and lightning, solar eclipses, showers of stones and of blood, and monstrous births, all of which are frequently recorded in the pages of Livy (*e.g.*, XXII. i.). On the announcement of such an occurrence the first duty of the senate was to determine whether the report was trustworthy, and, if so, whether the event had happened within the limits of the public jurisdiction (cf. Livy, XLIII. xiii.). If these questions were answered in the affirmative, the duty of *procuratio* fell to the consuls, who would take the advice of the sacerdotal authorities so far as might be necessary. Before the innovations consequent upon the introduction of the *ritus Græcus*, the usual means adopted was the *lustratio urbis* (Lucan, i. 592 ff.), *i.e.* an additional celebration of the *amburbium* annually held on the 2nd of February (Wissowa, in Pauly-Wissowa, i. 1817). Old-established tradition required that the portent of a shower of stones should be purged by a *nouemdiale sacrum* (Livy, I. xxxi. 4). The introduction of the *ritus Græcus* at the suggestion of the Sibylline oracles prepared the way for the employment of new methods in the placation of divine disfavour. The most remarkable of these was the *lectisternium*, or the symbolical entertainment of the six Greek gods, Apollo and Latona, Hercules and Diana, Mercurius and Neptunus, in some public place (Livy, XL. lix. 7) by serving a banquet before their images, each of which reclined on a sacred couch (*puluinar*). It is expressly recorded by Livy that the first institution was due to a severe pestilence in the year 399 (v. xiii. 6). After the disaster at Trasimene in 217, when the altogether exceptional consecration of a *uer sacrum* was vowed, a *lectisternium* of unusual magnificence was celebrated in honour of six pairs of deities who were identical with the twelve great Olympian gods of Greece (Livy, XXII. x.). Another method adopted for restoring the *pax deorum* in times of national crisis was the *supplicatio*. On such occasions the senate had always been accustomed to decree extraordinary *feriæ*, during which the people, clad in suitable garb, passed from temple to temple imploring the assistance of heaven (Livy, III. v. 14, vii. 7). But the systematization of the practice was a development of the *ritus Græcus*, as is shown by the regular mention of *puluinaria*, by the fact that it was usually the result of an application to the Sibylline books, and by the responsibility for its administration being given to the *decemuiri sacris faciundis* (Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus*, p. 358). Among the details of the celebration may be mentioned the wearing of wreaths and the carrying of laurel branches by the participants (Livy, XL. xxxvii. 3) and the public oblation of wine and incense (X. xxiii. 1). The solemn invocation of help (*obsecratio*), a chant led by the magistrates and repeated by the people,

was the climax of the whole proceedings (IV. xxi. 5).

The portent of a monstrous birth at Frusino in the year 207 was made the occasion for a procession of maidens, 27 in number, who marched from the Carmental gate to the temple of Juno Regina, preceded by two white cows, and followed by the *decemuiri* crowned with laurel and wearing the *prætexta*. Behind the maidens were carried two images of Juno Regina made of cypress wood. A halt was made in the Forum, while the maidens, all holding to a rope which passed from hand to hand, sang a hymn composed for the occasion by Livius Andronicus and accompanied their singing with appropriate dances (Livy, XXVII. xxxvii. 7-15). The Greek origin of this rite, which in certain of its details is identical with the ceremonies described in Horace's *Carmen Sæculare*, is manifest (H. Diels, *Sibyllinische Blätter*, Berlin, 1890, p. 89 ff.).

The various modes of restoring the former goodwill of the gods which have been enumerated are often described as piacular—a nomenclature which was sometimes adopted even by the Latin authorities (Livy, XL. xxxvii. 2). But, according to the strictest acceptation of the term, a *piaculum* is not a prayer for divine protection or renewed favour, but a compensation rendered for a breach of the *ius sacrum*, arising out of a fault either of commission or of omission (Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus*, p. 329). Every sacred ordinance had to be carried out with the utmost precision and accuracy, and even the slightest irregularity in the ritual proceedings, however little deliberate, constituted an offence which might have serious consequences. To avoid such dangers precautions were sometimes taken before the beginning of a festival, as when a *porca præcidanea* was offered to Ceres before the gathering in of the harvest with the object of purging the celebrant from the effects of any offence which might have been previously committed by him in the performance of the funeral rites of any member of his household (Aul. Gell. IV. vi. 7 f.). The immediate result of the breach of contract was to give a claim for compensation (*postilio* [Cic. *de Har. Resp.* 20]) to the god whose interests were involved. The occurrence of a portent was a notification to the citizens that the claim must be made good. It followed as a matter of course that the celebration of the rite where even a slight irregularity had occurred became null and void, and it was essential that the whole of it should be repeated. Hence Cicero remarks in reference to the Megalesian games:

'If a dancer halts, or a flute-player suddenly stops, or if the carefully selected youth who drives the sacred car slips from his seat or drops the reins, or if an aedile misses a word or uses the wrong vessel for libation, the whole celebration becomes irregular, the mistake must be expiated, and a renewal is necessary to appease the wrath of heaven' (*de Har. Resp.* 23).

The same circumstances caused Plutarch to marvel at the scrupulousness of Roman piety:

'If one of the horses that draw the chariots in which are placed the images of the gods, happened to stumble, or if the charioteer took the reins in his left hand, the whole procession was to be repeated. And in later ages they have set about one sacrifice thirty several times, on account of some defect or inauspicious appearance in it' (Plut. *Coriol.* 25).

But the public renewal did not exonerate the individual whose fault had made it necessary. If his sin was wilful, he became *impius*, and the favour which he had forfeited could not be restored to him (Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* vi. 30). If the act was inadvertent, or performed at the bidding of an inevitable need, it could be expiated by an appropriate offering, as when the sacrifice of a dog was prescribed as compensation for the performance of pressing agricultural duties during *feriæ* (Colum. II. xxii. 4). The particular sacrifice necessary was generally fixed by precedent; but all cases of doubt were referred to the pontiffs for decision (Livy, XXIX. xix. 8). In this connexion it may be remarked that there was a noticeable tendency to act liberally in the matter of sacrifices required for expiatory purposes. Thus the complete offering of *suouetaurilia* was reserved for lustrations (Tac. *Ann.* vi. 37, *Hist.* iv. 53), whereas in the expiation of prodigies *hostiæ maiores* were the rule, and often in considerable numbers (Livy, XLIII. xiii. 7, XXII. x. 7). In the case of the failure of an ordinary sacrifice, a second victim of the same kind as the first was required as a *piaculum* (*hostia succidanea* [Aul. Gell. IV. vi. 6]).

LITERATURE.—J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, iii.[2], Leipzig, 1885; W. Warde Fowler, *The Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, London, 1899; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, Munich, 1902, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur römischen Religions- und Stadtgeschichte*, do. 1904; W. Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, London, 1911; C. Bailey, art. 'Roman Religion,' in *EBr*[11] xxiii. 577-580.

A. C. PEARSON.

PROSELYTE, PROSELYTISM.—1. Meaning of term.—The term 'proselyte' is usually employed in both a wider and a narrower sense to include one who is attracted by, and inclines less or more to, another form of faith, as well as one who has altogether come over and been incorporated. The half-proselyte, or the quasi-proselyte, who accepts a part but not the whole, is to be distinguished from the full and strict proselyte, who becomes even as one born in the faith. An extremely comprehensive use of the term is recognized by A. C. Lyall:[1]

'. . . if the word proselyte may be used in the sense of one who has come, and who has been readily admitted, not necessarily being one that has been invited or persuaded to come.'

This permits consideration of specific forms of religion whose growth is by agglomeration over and above extension by missionary zeal, and the inclusion of religions non-proselytizing in character as well as those which are admittedly proselytizing.

2. Scope of article.—The scope of this article is restricted by leaving out of account religions that are professedly missionary—*e.g.*, Christianity and Muhammadanism, which have been already treated (see artt. MISSIONS). The proselytism of sects may also be omitted as falling to be dealt with in the numerous articles under this head (see artt. SECTS). Inasmuch as the gain resulting from missionary propaganda is concurrent with loss to the religion or religions forsaken, the converse of proselytism is to be found in apostasy (see art. APOSTASY).[2]

In this way it is possible to narrow down consideration of the subject to nearly the usual limit of articles on 'Proselyte' appearing in Bible dictionaries, which have treated of proselytism solely as a feature of the Jewish faith. At the same time it is fully recognized that the religion which has given the name (proselyte) to the world has not stood alone in the practice of the thing. Within Judaism itself the period of missionary activity, during which proselytes were sought and found, is comparatively short. It is generally recognized as having ended in the beginning of the 2nd cent. after Christ, when the Jews were forbidden by the laws of Rome to make proselytes, and when they also ceased to desire additions to their number and retreated more and more upon themselves. The rise of proselytism is found in post-Exilic influences, particularly the Dispersion, and the period of its bloom is set in the age of Hellenism.

A great deal of our information regarding proselytes is subsequent to this period of activity, being stored in the Talmud and reflecting the views of the Rabbis upon the past, with or without historical basis. The distinction between 'proselytes of righteousness' and 'proselytes of the gate,' full as opposed to quasi-proselytes, was evolved by the later Rabbis, but is to be regarded as without

[1] *Asiatic Studies*, i.[2], London, 1907, p. 136.

[2] Cf. Philo, *de Pœnit.* 2, where proselytes are contrasted with apostates.

meaning for the life of the past.[1] The distinction may be still binding upon the orthodox of the Jewish faith (see art. JUDAISM, vol. vii. p. 592[b]; cf. vol. iv. p. 245[a])—although for various reasons the proselytes of the gate have ceased to be recognized in Judaism[2] — and until recently it won acceptance with most Biblical scholars. To E. Schürer belongs the credit for the discovery of the right historical perspective in this matter. With the fall of such a main prop the greater part of the superstructure collapses. 'Proselytes of the gate,' once employed as a 'convenient anachronism,'[3] is now dismissed as a 'misnomer.'[4]

In view of the restrictions imposed both from without (chiefly on account of persecution) and from within (because of insistence upon circumcision) proselytism might be regarded as almost non-existent in Judaism throughout the Christian era from the 2nd cent. onwards. A modern Jewish writer has collected the evidence for the survival of proselytism in spite of adverse circumstances, and he affirms that within the last half-century tens of thousands of proselytes have entered the Jewish fold, notwithstanding the *laissez-faire* attitude of modern Judaism towards the proselyte question.[5] The strict adherence to the traditions received from the fathers may be judged from the fact that until the last decade of the 19th cent. no official sanction was given to relaxing the bond by which the proselyte was fully initiated to the Jewish (Reformed) faith (see art. CIRCUMCISION, vol. iii. p. 664[a]). It is only in a wider sense, therefore, that proselytes have been added. Intermarriage has accounted for most of the gains,[6] yet has given occasion for some losses.[7]

3. Materials essential for the study.—Although the term 'proselyte' is now universally employed, we must still seek the materials essential for the study of proselytism in the centuries immediately preceding and following the coming of Christ to earth. An introduction is generally found in a discussion of the position of the *gēr*, the 'stranger,' or rather the 'client' (*ERE* vi. 77[b]) of OT. The LXX reproduces this word some 75 times by προσήλυτος, and in a few cases by other Greek substantives, but a detailed examination of all passages would fail to disclose a scientific discrimination on the part of the translators which might in any way be compared with the results yielded by the modern documentary theory. The term προσήλυτος seems to have been already so familiar to the LXX translators that it was made by them to do duty for nearly all occasions, even when the current sense of the term failed to suit past historical circumstances (*e.g.*, the Israelites are called προσήλυτοι in Egypt).[8] Commenting on the difference between D and P regarding the *gēr*, S. R. Driver states:

'In P the term is already on the way to assume the later technical sense of προσήλυτος, the foreigner who, being circumcised and observing the law generally, is in full religious communion with Israel.'[9]

W. C. Allen concludes[10] that in the LXX a later meaning like that of the Mishna was read into the word. But no strict law can be laid down when it is so evident that the word προσήλυτος was made to do duty for most cases, and it seems better to regard the LXX usage as on the whole dictated by the freer conditions of the Hellenistic period, when proselytes were recognized in both the wider and the narrower sense. The usage of Philo, Josephus, and NT (Acts) will be found to accord with this.

Those who were in reality but half- or quasi-proselytes are considered by Schürer[1] to be denominated by the phrase φοβούμενοι or σεβόμενοι τὸν θεόν (Ac $10^{2.\ 22}$ $13^{16.\ 26.\ 43.\ 50}$ 16^{14} $17^{4.\ 17}$ 18^{7}), in which opinion he stands opposed to Bertholet, who endeavours to prove at length that they are equal to προσήλυτοι in the narrower sense.[2] Apart from the question of a specific term for each, we may admit the existence of two main classes, and we then find the crucial difference to be that the one class adhered to the Jewish theological and moral code, while the other were bound by the ritual also, in particular having submitted themselves to circumcision.[3] It is conceivable, indeed, that there were not two but many kinds of proselytes, according to the degree of affiliation and the amount conceded by the one party or required by the other.

In the provinces and among the Jews of the Dispersion the proselytes, or quasi-proselytes, would have laboured under slight disability, but in Jerusalem within the Temple precincts they would have been barred, lacking circumcision. The Greeks of Jn 12^{20}, *e.g.*, seem to have been proselytes in the wider sense, yet they had to stand without the *chēl*, or terrace, like other Gentiles (cf. Ac $21^{26ff.}$).[4] It is not to be supposed that at the very centre of the faith born Jews would have stopped short at any intermediate stage in their efforts to make proselytes, yet in general their own position among the nations was such that they had to content themselves with what they were able to secure.[5] That there were Judaizers before the time of St. Paul is not to be denied; even Hellenized Jews remained Hebrews, with a zeal for the whole law.[6] Yet in the main there was a cleavage between Palestinian Judaism, a religion of law, and Hellenistic Judaism, a religion of hope, and, corresponding thereto, there were particularists *v.* universalists, legalists *v.* apocalyptists, literalists *v.* spiritualists.[7] The atmosphere of Mt 23^{15} is suggestive of the one, and of Acts (see reff. above) of the other. A way of reconciling such difference has been sought by supposing that the proselyte of Mt 23^{15} is a proselyte to the sect of the Pharisees, not to Judaism in general;[8] but this is against the meaning of the word προσήλυτος,[9] or at least is pressing it to an extreme.

The rivalry of the Jewish sects of the period has indeed to be reckoned with, and even the exclusive and separatist Pharisees must be credited with a zeal to win converts, who, it is true, had to come over wholly or not at all. The Essenes secured proselytes notwithstanding a strict and prolonged novitiate, and they even adopted children to ensure additions to their number (see art. ESSENES, vol. v. p. 397 f.). For the methods employed by the sects in order to gain adherents there is but slight evidence, but it is otherwise with regard to the propaganda of Judaism as a whole. The testimony of Josephus as to the outcome of

1 E. Schürer, *GJV*[3] iii. 127 ff.
2 P. Goodman, *The Synagogue and the Church*, London, 1908, p. 90.
3 J. B. Lightfoot, *Galatians*[5], London, 1876, p. 296 n.
4 A. C. McGiffert, *A Hist. of Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, Edinburgh, 1897, p. 101, n. 2.
5 Goodman, p. 104 f.
6 *EBr*[11], art. 'Proselyte,' and M. Fishberg, *The Jews: a Study of Race and Environment*, London, 1911, p. 179 ff.
7 Goodman, p. 380.
8 A. Bertholet, *Die Stellung der Israeliten und der Juden zu den Fremden*, Freiburg and Leipzig, 1896, p. 260; Schürer, p. 125 n.
9 *Deuteronomy*[2] (*ICC*), Edinburgh, 1896, p. 165.
10 *Exp* x. [1894] 264–275.

1 P. 123 ff. 2 Pp. 328–334.
3 A. Harnack, *The Expansion of Christianity*[2], i., London, 1908, p. 10 f.; cf. *DAC*, art. 'Hellenism,' sect. 3 (*c*).
4 *PRE*[3], art. 'Proselyten' (von Dobschütz), sect. 3.
5 Schürer, p. 122: 'Der jüdische Bekehrungseifer hat sich eben mit dem Erreichbaren begnügt.'
6 W. M. Ramsay, *The Letters to the Seven Churches*, London, 1904, p. 151.
7 W. O. E. Oesterley, in *The Parting of the Roads*, ed. F. J. Foakes Jackson, London, 1912, p. 81 ff.
8 A. Plummer, *An Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel according to S. Matthew*, London, 1909, p. 317 f.; A. Edersheim, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*[4], London, 1887, ii. 412.
9 *Expositor's Greek Testament*, i. [1897] 281.

Library of
PACIFIC BIBLE SEMINARY
5836 EAST ANAHEIM STREET
LONG BEACH, CALIFORNIA

such efforts is clear,[1] while beneath the contempt in the allusions of classical writers[2] to the Jews we can detect the measure of their success in making converts. This, it must be remembered, was accomplished in spite of the obloquy to which the convert exposed himself—a point elaborated by Philo.[3]

With the exception of one short period during the Maccabæan triumph, when force was employed to bring over the Idumæans and Ituræans to Judaism,[4] the propaganda made headway through the inherent merits of the Jewish system of religion and morality. As to the ritual, Josephus specifies that both Greeks and heathen learned to copy the observance of the Sabbath, fasts, kindling of lights, and many restrictions in the matter of food.[5] These last invite comparison with certain of the decrees of the Council of the Apostles in Jerusalem (Ac 15^{20}) and with the 'Seven Noachian Laws' (see art. NOACHIAN PRECEPTS, vol. ix. p. 379[b]), but in neither case can identity be established. None of the items specified by Josephus touches the vital point, which is circumcision, and the conclusion to be drawn is that relatively few of the adherents proceeded to the utmost. The preponderance of female proselytes is taken to indicate the unwillingness of males to fulfil all that the law required of them.

According to the Talmud, three things were required of the full proselyte: (1) circumcision (*mīlāh*), (2) baptism (*ṭĕbīlāh*), and (3) sacrificial offering (*harṣā'ath, dāmim, ḳorbān*), all of which may be taken to have been in operation at the time of Christ. (3) fell into disuse with the destruction of the Temple, although substitutes for it were found. (1) has already been referred to as essential at all times for full proselytes. (2) would have passed unquestioned as a requirement of the ceremonial law but for the dispute which arose in the 18th cent. regarding the priority of Christian *v.* Jewish baptism (see art. BAPTISM, vol. ii. pp. 378[a], 408 f.). It may be assumed that the instruction of proselytes was a necessary preliminary to these ceremonial acts (see artt. CATECHUMEN, vol. iii. p. 256[b], n. 3; INITIATION [Jewish], vol. vii. p. 324[b]; HILLEL, vol. vi. p. 683[b]).

4. Historical sketch.—The limits of the period of missionary activity in Judaism have already been assigned. The Rabbis afterwards maintained that the Dispersion was with a view to securing proselytes, but the truth is rather that in the cosmopolitan atmosphere of the Dispersion the Jews first gained the incentive to add to the number of the faithful. The evidence for the existence of proselytes among the Jewish colony at Elephantine in Egypt (5th cent. B.C.) is doubtful.[6] The nature of the records prevents us drawing any conclusion as to the conditions among the Jews in Babylonia at the time of Ezra.[7] During the period of Hellenistic influence the development of proselytism was rapid, the influence of Jewish colonists and their synagogue worship in every place being supplemented by literary aids of many kinds: the LXX translation of OT, commentaries on Scripture, philosophical and historical books, apologies and even forgeries after the manner of the Sibylline Books.[8] The issue of all this is plainly to be seen in the many cities and towns in which proselytes are expressly mentioned as being found (see reff. to Acts already given). At the time of Christ a keen missionary spirit prevailed among the Jews, their trading proclivities going hand in hand with religious propaganda. Until the destruction of the Temple (A.D. 70) they persevered in their efforts to secure converts.[1] With the Hadrian persecution and the bitterness engendered by the subsequent revolt against Rome, the Rabbis were prompted to change their attitude towards the outside world, and henceforth the terms of conversion were made as difficult as possible.[2] The missionary epoch may be said to close with the prevalence of Gentile over Judaistic Christianity, or, from another point of view, when Pharisaism conquered Hellenism.[3]

A remarkable parallel to the general course of the history of Jewish proselytism will be found in the account given of Zoroastrian missions (see art. MISSIONS [Zoroastrian], vol. viii. pp. 749[b], 751[b]).

5. Numbers and outstanding instances.—The number of proselytes made during the centuries of missionary zeal was doubtless very large—amounting to millions, although there is reason to believe that they were mostly adherents, and not members in the proper sense.[4] Syria appears to have been the most fruitful field,[5] but it was in Jerusalem at the time of the feasts that the most striking testimony to the power and results of Jewish propaganda could be obtained (Ac $2^{9ff.}$).

Outstanding proselytes in the wider sense are to be recognized in the centurions of Lk $7^{1ff.}$ and Ac $10^{2ff.}$ and the eunuch of Ac $8^{27ff.}$. The most complete triumph of Judaism is to be seen in the conversion of the royal house of Adiabene,[6] the story of which is instructive as revealing a temporizing spirit among the leading Jews of the time on the question of the chief ceremonial requirement. Among the imperial family there have been reckoned as converts Flavius Clemens, cousin of Domitian, and his wife Flavia Domitilla (see art. JUDAISM, vol. vii. p. 592[b]), although most authorities incline to regard them as converts to Christianity.[7] A historical instance, which might be brought within the Rabbinical category of 'Esther'-proselytes (whose motive in conversion was fear), is forthcoming in the Roman general Metilius.[8] Instances within the department of literature are Aquila (Onḳelos), 2nd cent. A.D., translator of the Scriptures into Greek, and (doubtfully) Theodotion.[9] Within the realm of Rabbinism are R. Aḳiba, R. Meir (son of a proselyte), and other Talmudic sages.[10]

6. The ethics of proselytism.—In judging of the motives which led the Jews to seek for proselytes during the period of their missionary zeal we must believe that they were actuated chiefly by a desire to impart to others that best form of religion which they felt they had received of God. This serves to explain their keenness as missionaries. The agents whom they sent forth to make proselytes were imbued with the same earnestness to convert the world as were the first Christian apostles. Their propaganda succeeded, they believed, because of the inherent power of their laws.[11] While they accommodated themselves so far to those whom they sought to win as to present first the most attractive features of their faith, as judged from the outside, they steadily kept in view the ultimate purpose, which was to make the converts as themselves, filled with a zeal for the whole law and willing to make sacrifice of themselves in body

[1] *BJ* VII. iii. 3, *c. Ap.* ii. 39.
[2] Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 5; Juvenal, *Sat.* xiv. 96–106; Horace, *Sat.* I. iv. 142 f.
[3] Reff. in Bertholet, p. 285 ff.; cf. F. C. Conybeare, *Myth, Magic, and Morals*, London, 1910, p. 154 ff.
[4] Jos. *Ant.* XIII. ix. 1, XIII. xi. 3. [5] *c. Ap.* ii. 39.
[6] A. van Hoonacker, *Une Communauté judéo-araméenne à Éléphantine* (Schweich Lectures), London, 1915, p. 24 f.
[7] S. Daiches, *The Jews in Babylonia in the Time of Ezra*, London, 1910, p. 30 f.
[8] O. J. Thatcher, *A Sketch of the Hist. of the Apostolic Church*, Boston, 1893, p. 26 ff.; Schürer, § 33.

[1] M. M. Kalisch, *Bible Studies*, London, 1877–78, ii. 95.
[2] *JE* x. 223, art. 'Proselyte.' [3] Thatcher, p. 23.
[4] Schürer, pp. 115, 125 f. [5] Jos. *BJ* II. xx. 2, VII. iii. 3.
[6] Jos. *Ant.* XX. ii.–iv. etc.
[7] Schürer, p. 118, n. 53; Bertholet, p. 301; *PRE*[3], art 'Proselyten,' sect. 3.
[8] Jos. *BJ* II. xvii. 10; Bertholet, p. 341.
[9] Schürer, p. 318 ff. [10] Goodman, p. 89.
[11] Jos. *c. Ap.* ii. 39.

and estate. Being of a subject race and in a hopeless minority among the nations, they were under no temptation to employ violent methods. The proselytes when made were, in theory at least, subject to no disability, save that which must ever attach to the naturalized as compared with the native born. In actual life and practice disabilities must have existed,[1] although these are not brought to light until Talmudic times, when they may no longer have been operative.

It cannot be supposed that there were not disinterested motives present in the seekers any more than in the sought. The gifts of the converts helped to swell the riches of the Temple,[2] and Josephus openly allows an instance of misappropriation by a Jew and his accomplices of purple and gold made over for this purpose by Fulvia, a Roman convert of great dignity.[3] In other ways the Jews doubtless invited others to follow them ostensibly for their soul's good, yet with an actual view to the material advantage to be reaped by themselves and their nation.

Those who were the sought were for the most part in a position to invite themselves, if they felt thus disposed. They were Roman citizens, or under the protection of the conquering power of that time, or else were inheritors of the professedly superior culture of the Græco-Roman world. Yet many of them voluntarily surrendered themselves to Jewish influence, abandoning the gods in whom they had ceased to believe, and finding in the higher morality of Judaism a refuge from the licentious spirit of the age. The latter motive is said to have had special weight with heathen women. The monotheism and moral purity of Judaism held a powerful attraction for minds of a philosophic cast in every province. Considering the obloquy to which the converts were exposed, and the persecution of a later day, which led many to profess the Jewish faith in secret, proselytism must have been attended by a greater or less measure of conviction. Josephus admits that not all who came over continued in the faith; some had not courage and departed.[4] Yet 'the vast majority of devout Gentiles certainly sought in the synagogue nothing but the true God.'[5]

On the side of the proselytes also certain unworthy exceptions must be allowed for, viz. those who came over to avoid military service (from which the Jews were exempt), those who were actuated by superstitious motives, and those who thought to secure commercial privilege or social advantage through marriage with a noble or wealthy Jewess.[6]

The judgment of the outside world upon the proselyte movement, as conveyed by classical writers (reff. above), counts for little. The most grievous charge they make, viz. atheism, has no foundation, nor yet has the scoffing dictum of Seneca:[7] 'Victi victoribus leges dederunt.' The references in NT are favourable to proselytes, with the single exception of Mt 23[15], which after all is more a condemnation of the leaders than of the followers, and that perhaps within a sect only.

The most abundant materials for forming a judgment on the ethical value of the proselyte appear to be found in Talmudic literature, but their worth is discounted by the fact that they are often contradictory (*e.g.*, stories of Hillel *v.* Shammai),[8] that they were evolved apart from actual historical conditions, and that in the main they are disparaging. They 'chiefly serve to illustrate the strong animus which a large section of post-Christian Jews displayed against proselytizing and proselytes.'[1]

The judgment of the present day is determined according as one belongs to a religion which considers proselytism, in the modern sense, to be 'an essential and a sacred duty,'[2] or to a religion, such as the Jewish, which reckons that the fulfilment of its mission does not require the support of numbers.[3]

Christian opinion is largely moulded by a sense of indebtedness to proselytes, for they, in the wider acceptation, were the feeders of Christianity at the beginning. By this standard of judgment the 'God-fearers,' regarded as proselytes, are superior to those—their number relatively few—who became punctilious in observing all the ceremonial requirements of the law. In the case of these the saying, 'the more converted the more perverted,'[4] may well have been true. Proselytes in the strict sense formed no link between Jew and Gentile, and did not prepare the way for Christianity.[5] All that legal Judaism achieved over against Christianity, which came after, has been pithily summed up by Stopford A. Brooke thus:

'A few swallows do not make a summer, nor a few thousand proselytes a regenerated world.'[6]

Modern Judaism is concerned to clear itself of the reproach that by its very constitution the Jewish religion is, and has ever been, hostile to the reception of proselytes. It points to past successes in this respect, to the debt which Christianity owes to Judaism for providing it with universalistic sympathies,[7] and it further maintains that willing proselytes are still freely received, once their good faith has been proved.[8] But the missionary zeal has departed from Judaism, and indifference as to increase of numbers prevails. How great the change is between the present and the era of proselytism, which has been considered, appears to be reflected in the following condemnation of the missionary methods of Christianity and Muhammadanism:

'History and experience teach us that the proselytizing spirit, which is bred by the craving after universality, generally engenders a tendency which develops into an indirect negation of human brotherhood.' 'To the Moslem as to the Christian, questions of love or humanity were of little moment in the spread of their religion; the stranger could only become their brother-in-faith, or remain their implacable foe.'[9]

While remitting nothing from the duty to strengthen the confederation of Christians over against the world as still lying in unbelief, the apologist for Christianity is free to admit the presence and operation of an objectionable proselytism, whose root is found in particularism, not universalism.[10]

A judicial estimate of the principles and methods governing Christian and Muhammadan propaganda will be found in art. MISSIONS, vol. viii. pp. 743 f., 748b.

LITERATURE.—*ERE*, art. 'Judaism' (H. Loewe) and other artt. quoted above; artt. *s.v.* in *HDB* (F. C. Porter), *SDB* (J. Gilroy), *EBi* (W. H. Bennett), *PRE*[3] (E. von Dobschütz), *EBr*[11] (I. Abrahams), and *JE* (E. G. Hirsch).

Of the works cited in the footnotes those by Bertholet, Schürer, Hausrath, Harnack, Kalisch, Thatcher, and Goodman (from Jewish standpoint) may be selected as giving a more or less detailed treatment of the subject, and to these may be added A. Edersheim, *Hist. of the Jewish Nation*, London, 1896, pp. 85–88, 293 f.; G. Hollmann, *The Jewish Nation in the Time of Jesus*, London, 1909, p. 15 ff. See, further, the extensive bibliography in Schürer, *GJV*[3] iii. 115 n., *HJP* II. ii. 304 f.

W. CRUICKSHANK.

1 Schürer, p. 133 ff.
2 Jos. *Ant.* XIV. vii. 2.
3 *Ib.* XVIII. iii. 5.
4 Jos. *c. Ap.* ii. 10.
5 A. Hausrath, *A Hist. of the NT Times: The Time of the Apostles*, Eng. tr., London, 1895, i. 127.
6 Jos. *Ant.* XX. vii. 3; cf. XVI. vii. 6.
7 *Ap.* Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, vi. 11.
8 Bertholet, p. 319 ff.

1 *EBi*, art. 'Proselyte,' sect. 5; cf. Bertholet, pp. 339–345.
2 Lyall, p. 141.
3 Goodman, p. 108.
4 *Expositor's Greek Testament*, i. 281.
5 *HDB*, art. 'Proselyte,' sect. iv.
6 *Christ in Modern Life*, London, 1872, p. 38.
7 Goodman, p. 100 f.
8 *EBr*[11], art. 'Proselyte.'
9 Goodman, p. 110 f.
10 H. Martensen, *Christian Ethics*, iii., Edinburgh, 1892, p. 34.

PROSTITUTION.

Greek (W. J. Woodhouse), p. 404.
Indian (W. Crooke), p. 406.
Roman (W. J. Woodhouse), p. 408.
Semitic. — See Chastity (Semit.-Egyptian), Hierodouloi (Semitic and Egyptian).

PROSTITUTION (Greek).—The Greeks had but little notion of moral purity in the modern sense of the term. The virtue of chastity with them was confined within very narrow limits,[1] being obligatory upon the wife (or daughter), while the husband (or son) was required only to refrain from adultery, *i.e.* from violating the family rights of his neighbour. The husband's honour was fully protected by law, but the wife had no legal remedy against her husband's irregularities;[2] nor did public opinion, capricious and ineffective at best, supplement the law's deficiencies, except in cases of gross neglect and outrage of the forms of respectability.[3] Morally, according to the opinion of the day, this sort of indulgence was upon exactly the same plane as any other satisfaction of appetite. The question was one simply of more or less. Self-control,[4] if not itself carried to undue lengths, was, it is true, something to be admired, and by common consent must be a main element in that careful and worldly-wise balancing of competing desires to which Greek thought and practice reduced the art of correct living (cf. the saying *μηδὲν ἄγαν*).

The philosophers themselves took no higher ground than this (see, *e.g.*, Socrates in Xen. *Mem.* I. iii. 14, and *Sympos.* iv. 38, where he lays down the rule with his accustomed crudeness and simplicity). Even Plato practically goes no farther than to say that a wise man will attach no great value to these particular forms of pleasure (*Phædo*, 64 D); and in his *Republic* he would so far consult the weakness of the flesh as to allow promiscuous intercourse to both sexes when past the age for rearing children for the State—always provided that incest be avoided, and that no child be born of such unions (*Rep.* 461 B: *ὅταν δὲ δή, οἶμαι, αἵ τε γυναῖκες καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες τοῦ γεννᾶν ἐκβῶσι τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἀφησομέν που ἐλευθέρους αὐτοὺς συγγίγνεσθαι ᾧ ἄν ἐθέλωσι, κτλ.*). In the *Laws* he hopes to be able to restrict such intercourse to persons legally married, or at least to enforce a regulation that in other cases it shall be covered with a decent veil of secrecy (*Laws*, 841). Aristotle is of the same mind (*Pol.* iv. (vii.) 16. 17=1335b: *τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ὑγιείας χάριν ἢ τινὸς ἄλλης τοιαύτης αἰτίας φαίνεσθαι δεῖ ποιουμένους τὴν ὁμιλίαν*).

In this matter, then, the Greeks are to be pronounced not so much immoral as non-moral. Their practice was due to the simple directness with which they regarded the facts of life and human nature. There were few facts of human nature for which they felt it necessary to apologize. In a very literal sense they were naked and not ashamed. Not that they interpreted life simply in terms of animalism, though there were among them also plenty of men to whom bodily indulgence was the sole end or the chief end of life; for the average man, as for the better sort also, it meant just the sober exercise of natural faculties and the moderate enjoyment of natural pleasures. Taken in the mass, the Greeks were probably just as far from being sensualists as from being ascetics. Aristotle's somewhat mechanical doctrine of virtue as a mean expressed a deep-rooted instinct of the race.

[1] This is so in Homer also, where Odysseus hangs his incontinent handmaids simply on the ground that their unchastity has dishonoured his family (*Od.* xxii. 418: *αἵ τέ μ' ἀτιμάζουσι*; and 424 f.: *ἀναιδείης ἐπέβησαν, | οὔτ' ἐμὲ τίουσαι οὔτ' αὐτὴν Πηνελόπειαν*).

[2] Cf. Arist. *Eccles.* 718 f.: *ἔπειτα τὰς πόρνας καταπαῦσαι βούλομαι | ἀπαξαπάσας, κτλ.*

[3] *E.g.*, the case of Alcibiades (Andoc. iv. 14: *οὕτως ὑβριστὴς ἦν, ἐπεισάγων εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν οἰκίαν ἑταίρας, καὶ δούλας καὶ ἐλευθέρας, ὥστ' ἠνάγκασε τὴν γυναῖκα σωφρονεστάτην οὖσαν ἀπολιπεῖν, ἐλθοῦσαν πρὸς τὸν ἄρχοντα κατὰ τὸν νόμον*). It is evident from the sequel that his wife had no legal remedy.

[4] Cf. Xen. *Mem.* I. v. 4: *ἆρά γε οὐ χρὴ πάντα ἄνδρα ἡγησάμενον τὴν ἐγκράτειαν ἀρετὴν εἶναι κρηπίδα, ταύτην πρῶτον ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ κατασκευάσασθαι*; κτλ. and *Mem.* IV. v. 5: *τὴν κακίστην ἁπασῶν ἀκρασίαν οἱ ἀκρατεῖς δουλεύουσιν, κτλ.*

This purely naturalistic or humanistic attitude of the Greeks towards life was reinforced not only by their ingrained selfishness but by certain facts of political and economic significance. The net result was that, from the point of view of morality and social institutions, and the place held therein by women, two distinct types of life were found among them. Without, of course, asserting an absolute and rigid distinction, we may recognize, on the one hand, a Dorian or Achæan (Æolian) type, in which women enjoyed a relatively large degree of freedom, and, on the other hand, an Athenian (Ionian) type, in which women were mostly restricted, if not to the *γυναικωνῖτις*, at any rate to the house and its precincts,[1] with but rare opportunity of mingling with external life, and none at all of social significance (cf. the question put to Critobulus in Xen. *Œc.* iii. 12: *ἔστι δὲ ὅτῳ ἐλάττονα διαλέγει ἢ τῇ γυναικί*; and his reply—*εἰ δὲ μή, οὐ πολλοῖς γε*).

Typical of the one sort are Sappho and Corinna, the latter five times the successful rival of Pindar; the spirit of the other mode breathes in the oft-quoted words put by Thucydides in the mouth of Pericles:[2] 'Hers is the greatest glory, of whom men speak least whether for good or bad' (*Thuc.* ii. 45: *μεγάλη ἡ δόξα, καὶ ἧς ἂν ἐπ' ἐλάχιστον ἀρετῆς πέρι ἢ ψόγου ἐν τοῖς ἄρσεσι κλέος ᾖ*)—words which must surely have sounded strangely, coming from the lips of the professed lover of the most noted courtesan of the day! Within each of these types of society irregular sexual intercourse, in different forms, exercised a most profound and far-reaching influence. The actual physical facts of that intercourse were necessarily the same then as to-day, but their relation to public and private life was to a large extent peculiar to the Greek people, and has in fact never been reproduced in the world in quite the same colour. The low standard of intellectual attainment of Athenian women (due to a defective education,[3] which was itself but one consequence of a defective social system), standing as it did in startling contrast with the multifarious and hyperpoliticized interests of masculine life, no doubt partly explains and partly excuses the reluctance and inability of men to find satisfaction in the home circle. We must, however, be on our guard against attaching too much importance to this excuse, for after all it is a fact that the majority of the *ἑταῖραι* with whom a man associated were, apart from their superficial accomplishments, just as uneducated as his own wife or sisters. The sensuous appeal was, then as now, primary. The main reason for the failure of home life to hold men was that the social code did not permit a man to entertain his male friends in his own house, at any rate in the bosom of his family.

In Athens comparatively few native-born women had to earn their own living, the system of dowry and marriage making them, generally speaking, economically independent (see art. Marriage [Greek]), though there were of course instances in which the ravages of war or other disaster had driven native Athenian women to rely upon their own industry.[4] The case of alien women

[1] Cf. Menand. in Koch, iii. 546: *τοὺς τῆς γαμετῆς ὅρους ὑπερβαίνεις, γύναι, | τὴν αὐλίαν· πέρας γὰρ αὔλειος θύρα | ἐλευθέρᾳ γυναικὶ νενόμιστ' οἰκίας· | τὸ δ' ἐπιδιώκειν εἰς τε τὴν ὁδὸν τρέχειν, | ἔτι λοιδορουμένην, κυνὸς ἐστ' ἔργον*, 'Ρόδη. In the same strain Lykurgus, describing the panic in Athens after Chæroneia, says (*c. Leocr.* 40): *ὁρᾶν δ' ἦν ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν θυρῶν γυναῖκας ἐλευθέρας περιφόβους κατεπτηχυίας.*

[2] Cf. Æsch. *Sept.* 182 f.: *μέλει γὰρ ἀνδρί, μὴ γυνὴ βουλευέτω | τἄξωθεν· ἔνδον δ' οὖσα μὴ βλάβην τιθῇ*—where Eteocles is made to speak quite in the manner of a 5th cent. Athenian, and even to repeat the stock gibe at the sex in line 242.

[3] Cf. here the curious symptom of the way in which women lagged behind the intellectual standard of their men-folk, in Plato, *Crat.* 418: *οὐχ ἥκιστα αἱ γυναῖκες, αἴπερ μάλιστα τὴν ἀρχαίαν φωνὴν σώζουσι.* See also the intolerable condescension and priggishness of Ischomachus, the model Greek gentleman (*καλός τε κἀγαθός*), in Xen. *Œc.* vii. 1 f.

[4] See the inscriptions published in *BSA* viii. [1901–02] 197 f.; Dem. lvii. 30 f.: *παρὰ τοὺς νόμους, οἳ κελεύουσιν ἐνοχον εἶναι τῇ κακηγορίᾳ τὸν τὴν ἐργασίαν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἢ τῶν πολιτῶν ἢ τῶν πολιτίδων ὀνειδίζοντά τινι· ἡμεῖς δ' ὁμολογοῦμεν καὶ ταινίας πωλεῖν, καὶ ζῆν οὐχ ὁντινα τρόπον βουλόμεθα*—an important passage (the speaker is a lone woman) as showing the suspicion

resident in Athens was very different. Coming, as most of them did, from Asia Minor, traditionally accustomed to a larger measure of freedom than the native-born women, they for a time bade fair to bring about a radical alteration in the attitude of Athenians towards women and the question of their place in society. Suddenly this normal development of liberalism received a rude check. The purifying Acts of 451 B.C. (Plut. *Per.* 37; Ar. *Ath. Pol.* 26. 4), rigidly defining the conditions of Athenian citizenship, had the further effect of drawing a sharp line between alien and native-born, making it impossible for the children of mixed unions to attain citizenship. This vitally affected the general relationship of alien women to Athenian male citizens, and virtually compelled a large number of women to rely upon their own physical and mental endowment as a means of livelihood.[1] From this period, then, dates the beginning of the enormous expansion and social importance of the class of *ἑταῖραι* in Athens, and through Athens in Greece generally. For the main profession henceforth open to such alien women was, in fact, that of 'companion' (*ἑταίρα*). From this time on the professional 'companion' played a definitely recognized and accepted rôle in Greek society, and one thoroughly in accord with the economic and spiritual factors of the age. Hence there is nothing surprising in the naive and striking definitions expressed by Dem. lix. 122:

τὰς μὲν γὰρ ἑταίρας ἡδονῆς ἕνεκ' ἔχομεν· τὰς δὲ παλλακὰς, τῆς καθ' ἡμέραν θεραπείας τοῦ σώματος, τὰς δὲ γυναίκας τοῦ παιδοποιεῖσθαι γνησίως καὶ τῶν ἔνδον φύλακα πιστὴν ἔχειν—

definitions which ought to preserve us from illusions as to the real nature of the demands which the class of *ἑταῖραι* existed to satisfy.

By Sappho the word *ἑταίρα* is used without any opprobrious significance (cf. the similar fate of the English word 'mistress'), just as even in the days of Athenæus (end of 2nd cent. A.D.) girls applied it to their female friends (Athen. 571 D: *καλοῦσι γοῦν καὶ αἱ ἐλεύθεραι γυναῖκες ἔτι καὶ νῦν καὶ αἱ παρθένοι τὰς συνήθεις καὶ φίλας ἑταίρας ὡς ἡ Σαπφώ*). As early as the time of Herodotus, however, it was applied by way of euphemism to a woman who followed a life of promiscuous intercourse for gain, for whom the proper word was *πόρνη* (*πορνίδιον*), 'whore' (Herod. ii. 134 f., where he sketches the history 'Ροδώπιος *ἑταίρης γυναικός*, with whose fame Hellas rang).[2] A long list of synonyms for the class is to be gathered from Hesych. and Pollux, vii. 201. In this sense the word *ἑταίρα* had a wide range, from the concubine (properly *παλλακή*), who was wife in all but legal status (like Aspasia), through the *ἑταῖραι πολυτελεῖς* (*μεγαλόμισθοι*) to the lowest prostitute that was *κοινὸν ἅπασι*, for which the Greek language, rich in opprobrious epithets, had a great variety of terms of terrible significance. These were doubtless appropriated to infinite fine gradations of the profession.[3]

Athens, as a centre of maritime trade, was probably from the earliest times familiar with women of this class. Drakon (Athen. 569) seems to have legislated against them, but after his time the State not only tolerated and protected, but even to a certain extent exploited, them. The change was traditionally fathered upon Solon, who is said to have established State houses of prostitution, and to have built a temple of Aphrodite Pandemos from the profits:

στῆσαι πριάμενόν ποτε γυναῖκας κατὰ τόπους κοινὰς ἅπασι καὶ κατεσκευασμένας (Athen. 569).

However this may have been, it is the fact that in post-Solonian Athens those who followed this profession paid a licence fee to the State, which was farmed out in the usual way to *τελῶναι* (also *πορνοτελῶναι*).[1]

The superintendence of this tax was one of the duties of the *ἀστυνόμοι*.[2] The non-existence of contagious disease for which they were responsible made the policing of prostitutes in ancient times a comparatively simple problem.

The vase-paintings of the early 5th cent., and later, indicate the great importance of the *ἑταῖραι* in the social life of the time,[3] and furnish a score of names of courtesans then flourishing (see W. Klein, *Die griech. Vasen mit Meistersignaturen*[2], Vienna, 1887, *passim*, or P. Hartwig, *Die griech. Meisterschalen*, Berlin, 1893, *passim*). Sparta naturally stood in great contrast, because her men had little time and little money to spend on such things (Plut. *de Fort. Rom.* 4: *ὥσπερ οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται τὴν Ἀφροδίτην λέγουσι, διαβαίνουσαν τὸν Εὐρώταν, τὰ μὲν ἔσοπτρα καὶ τοὺς χλιδῶνας καὶ τὸν κεστὸν ἀποθέσθαι, δόρυ δὲ καὶ ἀσπίδα λαβεῖν κοσμουμένην τῷ Δυκούργῳ*); and Keos boasted, or others did for her, of her poverty in this respect (Athen. 610: *ἐν ταῖς Κείων πόλεσιν οὔτε ἑταίρας οὔτε αὐλητρίδας ἰδεῖν ἔστι*). On the other hand, Corinth was notorious throughout the Greek world for her *ἑταῖραι*, most of whom were in the service of the great temple of Aphrodite there (cf. the saying, *οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐς Κόρινθον ἐσθ' ὁ πλοῦς*; see art. HIERODOULOI [Græco-Roman]).[4]

Among the Athenian *ἑταῖραι* two main classes must be distinguished. Probably by far the greater number were slaves[5] bought or otherwise obtained by owners, male and female, who as *πορνοβοσκοί* kept them in a *πορνεῖον* (also *οἴκημα*, *ἐργαστήριον*, and many other terms)[6] *ἐργαζόμεναι ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος*. These would be under the general conditions

attaching to such cases. See also the interesting experiment in domestic production, suggested by Socrates, in Xen. *Mem.* ii. 7 f.: cf. Hom. *Il.* xii. 433 f.: *γυνὴ χερνῆτις ἀληθής . . . ἵνα παισὶν ἀεικέα μισθὸν ἄρηται*, and Aristoph. *Thesm.* 445 f. (a widow with five children who earns her living *στεφανηπλοκοῦσα ἐν ταῖς μυρρίναις*).

[1] Cf. Amphis, in Meineke, *Frag. Com. Gr.*, Berlin, 1839–57, iii. 301=Athen. 559 A (contrasting the *ἑταίρα* with the *γυνὴ γαμετή*): *ἡ μὲν νόμῳ γὰρ καταφρονοῦσ' ἔνδον μένει, | ἡ δ' οἶδεν ὅτι ἡ τοῖς τρόποις ὠνητέος | ἄνθρωπος ἐστιν ἢ πρὸς ἄλλον ἀπιτέον*—which puts the matter crudely, as simply one of supply and demand and market competition.

[2] Rhodope (or Rhodopis), a Thracian slave at Naucratis in Egypt, was ransomed by Charaxus, brother of Sappho, who 'roundly rebuked him in a poem' (Herod. ii. 135). According to Strabo, p. 808, the name of the *ἑταίρα* to whom Charaxus fell a victim was Doricha, and, according to Athen. 596, it was Doricha whom Sappho attacked, and not her brother, Doricha and Rhodopis being two different persons. The poem first published in *Oxyrh. Pap.* i. [1898] 10 f. (see also J. M. Edmonds, in *Class. Quart.* iii. [1909] 249) must allude to this. Herodotus (ii. 135) mentions also a courtesan Archidice who became *ἀοίδιμος ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα*. He was evidently interested in the subject, and in this respect is a forerunner of a large number of writers who afterwards wrote many books *περὶ ἑταιρῶν*, or *περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησιν ἑταιρίδων*, which were the sources from which Athenæus gathered the material of his own 13th book on 'Courtesans.'

[3] Cf. what Antiphanes says in his *Hydria*, frag. 1 (Meineke, iv. 124), speaking of an *ἀστή* turned *ἑταίρα*: *ἠθός τι χρυσοῦν ψυχὴ ἀρετὴν κεκτημένης, | ὄντως ἑταίρας· αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι τοὔνομα | βλάπτουσι τοῖς τρόποις γὰρ ὄντως ὂν καλόν.*

[1] Cf. Æsch. i. 119: *ἀποθαυμάζει γὰρ εἰ μὴ πάντες μέμνησθ' ὅτι καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ἡ βουλὴ πωλεῖ τὸ πορνικὸν τέλος, κτλ.*

[2] So also apparently in Corinth; cf. Justin xxi. 5: 'apud aediles adversus lenones jurgari.' As regards Athens there is some confusion. Speaking of the Astynomoi, Aristotle says, in *Ath. Pol.* 50: *καὶ τάς τε αὐλητρίδας καὶ τὰς ψαλτρίας καὶ τὰς κιθαριστρίας οὗτοι σκοποῦσιν ὅπως μὴ πλείονος ἢ δυεῖν δραχμαῖν μισθωθήσονται, κτλ.*, but he does not mention prostitutes. According to Suid. *s.v.* *διάγραμμα*: *διέγραφον γάρ, ὅσον ἕδει λαμβάνειν τὴν ἑταίραν ἑκάστην*, the Agoranomoi (*sic*) fixed the *tariff* of the licensed prostitutes; this must surely be a mistake (*λαμβάνειν* for *καταβάλλειν*) for the amount of *tax* to be paid by them—if, indeed, the notice refers to Athens at all. There was a similar tax in Roman Egypt (B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, *Gr. Pap.* ii. [Oxford, 1897] 67 f.).

[3] Cf. Athen. 576, where Themistocles is said to have driven through the Athenian Agora with the courtesans Lamia, Nannion, Satyra, and Skione. See also Athen. 533: *οὕτω Ἀθηναίων μεθυσκομένων οὐδ' ἑταίρας χρωμένων, ἐκφανῶς τέθριππον ζεύξας ἑταιρίδων διὰ τοῦ Κεραμεικοῦ πληθύοντος ἐώθυνὸς ἤλασεν*—a fact vouched for, he says, by Idomeneus, who, however, did not make it quite clear whether the *ἑταῖραι* were on the car or were themselves yoked to it!

[4] Although the information about it comes to us through Greek sources, and the practice prevailed among many who doubtless counted themselves genuine Greeks, we do not here treat of what may be called 'sacred' prostitution, in which before marriage, or for a season, respectable women must give themselves up to promiscuous intercourse (*e.g.*, in Cyprus [Herod. i. 199]; in Lydia girls earned their dowry by this means, though that was probably not the *raison d'être* of the practice [*ib.* i. 93; Athen. 515]). Cf. W. M. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, Oxford, 1895, i. 94 f., and J. G. Frazer, *GB*[3], pt. iv., *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, London, 1914, i. 36 f., 57 f.

[5] Hence in Aristoph. *Eccl.* 721 f.: *καὶ τάς γε δούλας οὐχὶ δεῖ κοσμουμένας | τὴν τῶν ἐλευθέρων ὑφαρπάζειν Κύπριν.* The temple prostitutes were simply a variety of this class, for the most part—certainly all those in Corinth.

[6] Akin to these places were the taverns (*καπηλεῖα*) in which also *πόρναι* were to be found. Cf. Sanger, *Hist. of Prostitution*, p. 560. In Strabo, p. 578, at Karoura in Asia Minor *φασὶ πορνοβοσκὸν αὐλισθέντα ἐν τοῖς πανδοχείοις σὺν πολλῷ πλήθει γυναικῶν νύκτωρ γενομένου σεισμοῦ συναφανισθῆναι πάσαις.* But perhaps this was an itinerant company.

governing the institution of slavery in Athens and elsewhere (see art. SLAVERY). This class must have been largely recruited from the number of female infants 'pot-exposed,' *i.e.* cast out to their fate by fathers unwilling to rear them.[1] Of this sort, perhaps, were the seven *παιδίσκαι* brought up by the freedwoman Nicarete to stock her brothel (Dem. lix. 18 f.), she being *δεινὴ φύσιν μικρῶν παιδίων συνιδεῖν εὐπρεπῆ, καὶ ταῦτα ἐπισταμένη θρέψαι καὶ παιδεῦσαι ἐμπείρως, τέχνην ταύτην κατεσκευασμένη καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων τὸν βίον συνειλεγμένη*. She called them her daughters, apparently a common deception—to enhance the price.

Often such slaves were instructed in accomplishments, and were then hired out as flute-girls, harpists, dancers, etc., at banquets, where, as we see from countless vase-paintings and literary references, ample opportunity was as a matter of course given for other services. This species of more or less educated prostitute trenches upon the second great class, and, indeed, under the conditions of Greek slave life, it was possible to rise from the one class to the other. This higher class consisted partly of freedwomen, partly of free-born aliens, more rarely of native-born Athenians,[2] who for various reasons adopted this profession on their own account. The story told by Sino in Terence (*Andria*, 69 ff.: 'ita ut ingeniumst omnium hominum ab labore proclive ad lubidinem' [77]) was doubtless as familiar then as now; and that of Corinna, daughter of Crobyle, forced by her mother into a life of shame (Luc. *Dial. Mer.* 6), perhaps not less common. These independent courtesans, again, fell into varieties—from the *τριᾶντος πόρνη* of Hesychius to the *ἑταῖραι μεγαλόμισθοι* (Athen. 569) at the head of the profession in the hey-day of their charms (cf. the story of Demosthenes and Lais, in Aul. Gell. *Noct. Att.* i. 8).

In spite of her would-be apologists, Aspasia (of Miletus?) the concubine (*παλλακή*) of Pericles, must still be taken as a type of this higher grade of *ἑταίρα* in the 5th century. The most absurd claims have been made on her account, both in ancient and in modern times (*e.g.*, in the *Menexenus*, generally ascribed to Plato, she is a rhetorician, instructress of both Socrates and Pericles. Cf. Xen. *Œc.* iii. 14: *συνήσω δέ σοι ἐγὼ καὶ Ἀσπασίαν, ἣ ἐπιστημονέστερον ἐμοῦ σοι ταῦτα πάντα ἐπιδείξει*, says Socrates, referring to the subject of female education—but surely he is speaking with his accustomed irony). She was doubtless highly gifted and highly educated, but withal an adventuress with a very practical turn of mind; but that does not imply our acceptance of the gross stories and epithets applied to her by the comedians and others (*e.g.*, Aristoph. *Acharn.* 524 f.; Plut. *Per.* 24 f.). Far more illuminating as to this whole class of what may be called 'respectable' *ἑταῖραι* is the conversation of Socrates with the *ἑταῖρα* Theodote, in which he discourses with her pleasantly and quite as a matter of course upon the rationale of her profession (Xen. *Mem.* iii. 11. 1 ff.). But not all interviews with *ἑταῖραι* were of so innocent a sort.

It is to the 4th cent. B.C., and later, that the most famous names of *ἑταῖραι* belong—*e.g.*, Phryne (story of the orator Hypereides unveiling her bosom before the jury, and so securing her acquittal as *τὴν ὑποφῆτιν καὶ ζάκορον Ἀφροδίτης*, in Athen. 590, where also are other examples of her insolence and extravagance); Thais, the evil genius of Alexander the Great at Persepolis (burning of the palace at Persepolis at her suggestion [Athen. 576]); Lamia, who for years held Demetrios Poliorcetes in thraldom; Pythonice and Glycera, who went to Babylon to Harpalus, Alexander's treasurer, who decamped with over a million and a quarter in gold; these and scores of other courtesans were, for the most part, products of Athens, who in this way repaid her long-standing debt to Asia; for in this age Athens 'became to Hellenistic potentates what Miletus and the Ionian towns had been to the Lydians and the Persians—the most popular source of their supply of "pleasure women"' (W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, London, 1911, p. 70).

'There was perhaps no business more capitalistic in its organization and international in its scope than the traffic in courtesans, so that, despite its losses, the Athenian *demi-monde* maintained its lead and its reputation' (*ib.* p. 71).[1]

Into this world of superficial accomplishment, tawdriness, vulgarity, and heartlessness, in which men and women frankly preyed upon each other for what each could offer, Athenæus in his 13th book gives us more than a glimpse. In a sense it is true that the *ἑταῖρα* was the one free woman in Athens; moreover, it is probable that the general simplicity of ancient life was itself a check upon the *descensus Averni* which inevitably characterizes this class in modern times. The comparative feebleness, and almost non-existence, of the sense of degradation in the career of the *ἑταῖραι* must also have tended to keep them individually upon the social plane to which their respective intellectual and physical qualifications, that is to say, their true economic measure, raised them; so that the more terrible issues of prostitution remained unrevealed to the Greeks. To the Greek *ἑταῖρα* Lecky's famous phrase is thus only partially applicable; 'eternal priestess of humanity' she was, it is true, but hardly 'blasted for the sins of the people' (*Hist. of European Morals*[9], London, 1890, ii. 283).

LITERATURE.—K. Schneider, art. 'Hetairai,' in Pauly-Wissowa, is very complete on the archæological side; W. W. Sanger, *The Hist. of Prostitution*, new ed., New York, 1913 (uncritical and superficial in dealing with the ancient material); W. A. Becker, *Charicles*, tr. F. Metcalfe, London, 1845, is still perhaps the most complete collection of material, outside the 13th book of Athenæus, our chief source of information. Nothing very recent seems to have been written on the general subject, which requires investigation from the point of view of economics and female industries.

W. J. WOODHOUSE.

PROSTITUTION (Indian).—**1. Early history of prostitutes.**—As was the case in other parts of the world, the trade of the prostitute has been practised in India from a very early period.

(*a*) *The Vedic period.*—Prostitution is found in the *Rigveda*, but its extent is disputed. Brotherless girls were frequently compelled to earn their livelihood in this way, and the putting-away of an illegitimate child is mentioned (I. cxxiv. 7, IV. v. 5, II. xxix. 1). Terms like *puṃścalī*, *mahānagnī*, and *rāma* clearly mean 'harlot,' and there are unmistakable references to the trade. Expressions like *kumārī-putra*, 'son of a maiden,' and *agrū*, 'son of an unmarried girl,' point in the same direction. The *Vājasaneyi Saṃhita* seems to recognize prostitution as a profession; but the exact meaning of the references collected by R. Pischel and K. F. Geldner (*Vedische Studien*, Stuttgart, 1888–89, I. xxv. 196, 275, 299, 309 ff., ii. 120) is not certain (A. A. Macdonell and A. B. Keith, *A Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, London, 1912, i. 395 f., ii. 480 ff.). In the case of a widow the custom of *satī* seems to have been in abeyance; in some cases she was burned with her dead husband (*Atharvaveda*, XVIII. iii. 1), but in other cases the levirate prevailed and, as she married the brother of her late husband, this

[1] Cf. Aristoph. *Frogs*, 1190: *ἐξέθεσαν ἐν ὀστράκῳ*, and *Clouds*, 531: *παῖς δ' ἑτέρα τις λαβοῦσ' ἀνείλετο*. Opinions differ widely both as to the probable number of children thus exposed and as to the proportion of those who were rescued from death as a speculation. Naturally, no conclusion at all, beyond the bare fact that such rescue sometimes took place, can be drawn from the frequency of this motive in the New Comedy.

[2] That native-born Athenians did sometimes sink into the class of *ἑταῖραι* is certain, from Antiphanes, *Hydr.* frag. 1 (Meineke, iv. 124): *ἰδὼν ἑταίρας εἰς ἔρωτ' ἀφίκετο, | ἀστῆς ἐρῆμον δ' ἐπιτρόπου καὶ συγγενῶν*, as well as from the apologies put forward in Dem. lvii. 34 f., already quoted—even if we were not told that one famous *ἑταίρα*, Lamia, a mistress of Demetrios Poliorcetes, was daughter of Cleanor an Athenian, and presumably therefore herself of free birth (Athen. 577).

[1] But the predominance of the courtesan in the New Comedy must not destroy our sense of proportion. It was, in part, a necessary outcome of the convention which laid the scene always in the street, into which respectable women could not venture, except under escort and upon rare occasion. Hence the plays mirror social, but not domestic, life, and work threadbare a few stock motives.

source of prostitution may have been generally closed (Macdonell and Keith, i. 488).

(*b*) *In the law-books.*—Manu (*Laws*, ix. 259) directs that harlots are to be punished, and a Brāhman is forbidden to touch food given by harlots, which excluded him from the higher worlds (iv. 209, 219). The same prohibition applies to food given by an unchaste woman, and libations of water are not to be offered to women who through lust live with many men (iv. 211, 220, v. 90).

(*c*) *In the Buddhist age.*—A Brāhman was forbidden to witness dancing or hear music, the trade of the *ĕraĭpa* (T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, London, 1903, p. 185 f.). But numerous references to prostitutes in the *Jātaka* show that they were tolerated and to a certain degree held in respect. The fees paid to some of them were exceedingly high (*The Jātaka*, Eng. tr., Cambridge, 1895, ii. 40, 261, iii. 283, iv. 157); 700 courtesans are found in the palace of a king (vi. 145). Sakka, after giving money to a harlot, does not visit her, but rewards her continence by filling her house with jewels of seven hoards (ii. 259 f.). One of this class is said to keep the five virtues (ii. 251). On the other hand, the roguery and rapacity of prostitutes are referred to, and it is regarded as a misfortune for a virtuous man to be reborn in a harlot's womb (vi. 117). Somadeva, who used much Buddhist material, writes:

'Thus, O King, even hetairai are occasionally of noble character and faithful to kings as their own wives, much more than matrons of high birth'; he also speaks of the famous *ĕraĭpa* of Ujjayini, Devadattā, who had a place worthy of a king (*Kathā-sarit-sāgara*, ed. C. H. Tawney, Calcutta, 1880, i. 354, ii. 621).

In the Buddhist legends we read of Ambāpatā, the famous courtesan of Visala, and the princess Salawatī takes this profession (R. S. Hardy, *A Manual of Budhism*, London, 1853, p. 244). An inscription of the W. Chalukya dynasty of Bādāmi, early in the 8th cent. A.D., records gifts made by a prostitute to a temple (*BG* i. pt. ii. [1896] 372, 394).

At the present day prostitutes are tolerated in India to an extent which can hardly be paralleled in any other part of the world. It is considered lucky to meet a prostitute at the beginning of a journey, probably because she can never become a widow, whose appearance is an evil omen (E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of S. India*, Madras, 1909, ii. 139). One class of dancing-girls, known as *mātangi*, are held in much respect, and among those castes in which girls are prostituted this is done after a regular session of the council (below, § 3).

(*d*) *Under Muhammadan rule.*—The Muhammadans kept prostitutes under supervision.

Under Akbar 'the prostitutes of the realms (who had collected at the capital, and could scarcely be counted, so large was their number) had a separate quarter of the town assigned to them, which was called Shaitānpura, or Devilsville. A Dāroghah [superintendent] and a clerk were also appointed for it, who registered the names of such as went to prostitutes, or wanted to take some of them to their houses. People might indulge in such connexions, provided the toll collectors heard of it. But, without permission, no one was allowed to take dancing-girls to his house. If any well-known courtier wanted to have a virgin, they should first apply to His Majesty, and get his permission' (Abul Faḍhl, *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, tr. H. Blochmann, Calcutta, 1873–94, i. 192).

Khāfī Khān (*Muntakhabu-l-lubāb* [H. Elliot, *Hist. of India*, London, 1867–77, vii. 283]) states that 'the minstrels and singers of reputation in the service of the Court were made ashamed of their occupation, and were advanced to the dignity of *manṣabs*. Public proclamations were made prohibiting singing and dancing. It is said that one day a number of singers and minstrels gathered together with great cries, and having fitted up a bier with a good deal of display, round which were grouped the public wailers, they passed under the Emperor's *jhārokha-i-darśan*, or interview window. When he enquired what they intended by the bier and the show, the minstrels said that Music was dead and they were carrying his corpse for burial. Aurangzeb then directed them to place it deep in the ground, that no sound or cry might afterwards arise from it.'

According to Manucci (*Storia do Mogor*, ed. W. Irvine, London, 1907, ii. 9), 'in the reign of Shāhjahān dancers and public women enjoyed great liberty, and were found in great numbers in the cities. For a time, at the beginning of his reign, Aurangzeb said nothing, but afterwards he ordered that they must marry or clear out of the realm. This was the cause that the palaces and great enclosures where they dwelt went to ruin little by little; for some of them married and others went away, or, at least, concealed themselves.'

The elaborate organization of the brothels at Vijayanagar in the 15th cent. is described by Abdur-razzāk, *Matla'us-sa'dain* (Elliot, iv. 111 f.).

2. Temple-dancers.—The appointment of women as dancers and courtesans in connexion with the greater Hindu temples is not peculiar to India (*GB*[3], pt. iv., *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, London, 1914, i. 57 ff.). Such women are known in India as *dēvadāsī* or *devaratiāl*, 'slaves of the gods,' or in Travancore as *kudikkar*, 'those who belong to the house.'

'The rise of the caste and its euphemistic name seem both of them to date from about the 9th and 10th centuries A.D., during which much activity prevailed in S. India in the matter of building temples and elaborating the services held in them. The dancing-girls' duties, then as now, were to fan the idol with Chāmaras, or Tibetan ox-tails, to carry the sacred light called Kumbārti, and to sing and dance before the god when he was carried in procession. Inscriptions (*South Indian Inscriptions*, ed. E. Hultzsch, Madras, 1890–1903, ii. pt. iii. p. 259) show that in A.D. 1004 the great temple of the Chola king Rājarāja at Tanjore had attached to it 400 *taḷic'cheri pendugaḷ*, or "women of the temple," who lived in free quarters in the four streets round it, and were allowed tax-free land out of its endowments. Other temples had similar arrangements. At the beginning of the last century there were one hundred dancing-girls attached to the temple at Conjeevaram[1] (F. Buchanan, *Journey from Madras*, London, 1807, i. 12 f.), and at Madura, Conjeevaram and Tanjore there are still numbers of them who receive allowances from the endowments of the big temples at those places. In former days the profession was countenanced not only by the Church but by the State. Abdur Razāk, a Turkish Ambassador to the Court of Vijianagar in the 15th cent., describes women of this class living in State-controlled institutions, the revenue of which went towards the upkeep of the police. [A similar account of the State regulation of prostitution at Golkonda is given by J. B. Tavernier, *Travels in India*, ed. V. Ball, London [1889], i. 157 f.] At the present day they form a regular caste, having its own laws of inheritance, its own customs and rules of etiquette, and its own panchayats [caste councils] to see that all these are followed, and thus hold a position which is perhaps without a parallel in any other country. Dancing-girls dedicated to the actual profession are generally married in a temple to a sword or a god, the *tāli* [gold trinket worn round the neck as a symbol of marriage] being tied round their necks by some man of their caste' (*Census of India, 1901*, xv., 'Madras,' Madras, 1902, i. 151 ff.; for full accounts of the *devadāsis* see Thurston, ii. 125 ff.; J. A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*, Eng. tr.[3], Oxford, 1906, pp. 337, 584 ff.; *Census of India, 1901*, xxvi., 'Travancore,' Trivandrum, 1903, i. 276 f.; V. Nagam Aiya, *Travancore State Manual*, do. 1906, ii. 383 ff.; R. V. Russell, *TC Central Provinces*, London [1916], iii. 374 ff.; for other references see *GB*[3], pt. iv., *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, i. 61 ff.).

In W. India this class of women is known as *bhāvin* (Skr. *bhāvinī*, a handsome, wanton woman), *devlī* (Skr. *devala*, an attendant on an idol), or *nāikin*, 'mistress,' 'procuress.' They are said to be descended from the female servants of the Sāvantvādī or Mālvan chiefs, but some of them are of earlier origin, and their ranks have been recruited from the households of the chiefs—women of other Śūdra castes, besides Marāṭhas and Bhandāris, who may become *bhāvins* by pouring water from the god's lamp in a temple over their heads.

When a *bhāvin* girl attains puberty, she undergoes a form of marriage with the god, the rite being performed both at the girl's house and in his temple by the officiant (*gurav, rāul*). These and other servants of the temple go in procession to the house of the girl, taking with them a dagger and the mask of the god. The marriage rites are performed in the usual way, with the lighting of the sacred fire (*homa*), the mask taking the place of the bridegroom. The rite involves considerable expenditure, and in some cases, with a view to economy, the girl worships Gaṇapati or Gaṇeśa, god of enterprises, and goes to the temple accompanied by a party of her own caste and temple servants, taking in her hand a coco-nut and a packet of sugar. She places these things before the image of the god and bows to him. The *gurav* and other temple servants then invoke on her the blessing of the god, and the ceremony ends.

The *bhāvin* practises prostitution, and differs from common prostitutes only in being dedicated to the god. From her children she chooses two or three to succeed her as temple servants. In the social scale she ranks below the *kulāvant*, the

[1] See art. KĀÑCHĪPURAM

higher class of courtesan, who is not allowed to sing and dance in public. Her duties in the temple are to sweep and purify the floor by washing it with cow-dung and water, and to wave a fly-whisk before the god. The male members of the caste, known as *devlī*, blow the temple horns and trumpets to wake the god from his slumbers. They are paid partly in cash and partly by a share of the offerings (*Ethnographic Survey, Bombay*, monographs 60, 92, Bombay, 1907–09; *BG* x. [1880] 128). In Mārwār a class of dancing-girls and prostitutes is known by the ironical title of *bhagtan* or *bhagtānī*, 'wives of a *bhagat*, or holy man.'

'It is necessary for a daughter among them to be nominally married before she enters on her profession, as it is considered a sin to allow their maiden girls to offer themselves to their infamous employment before the ceremony of marriage is performed. No betrothal takes place in such cases, and the girl is only nominally married to a Sādhu [one of the Hindu ascetic orders], who is always prepared to give up every connection with his bride on payment of a rupee and a half. If, however, no Sādhu is available, the ceremony of *phera* [circumambulation round the sacred fire] is performed by procuring the portrait of Ganesh, a Hindu divinity, invoked at the commencement of every affair' (*Census Report Mārwār, 1891*, Jodhpore, 1894, ii. 124).

3. Prostitutes under British rule.—Since the abolition of the Contagious Diseases Act there has been no regular supervision of prostitutes, and, as it is impossible to draw the line between those who practise the trade as profession and those who prostitute themselves in a surreptitious way, no statistics are available. At the last census they were included in the class of unproductive labour, with beggars, vagrants, receivers of stolen goods, and cattle poisoners (*Census of India, 1911*, i., 'India,' pt. ii. [Calcutta, 1913] 432). At the present day prostitutes in N. India are known as *ṭawāif* (pl. of Arab. *ṭāifa*, 'troop,' 'band'), *pātar, pātur, paturīya* (Skr. *pātra*, 'an actor'), *kanchan*, 'golden,' *raṇḍī*, 'widow,' or *kasbī* (Arab. *kasb*, 'acquiring,' 'earning'), while those who practise the trade secretly are called *khanagī*, 'those of the house,' or *harjāī*, 'gadabout.' They are often recruited from widows or women expelled from caste for immorality or other misconduct. In the port towns, like Calcutta and Bombay, they are sometimes Eurasians or foreign women, mostly French or Austrians. Native prostitutes often live in brothels managed by a procuress (*nāika, sāgin, bhangerin*) who treats her customers to tobacco and various compounds of opium or hemp (W. Hoey, *Trade and Manufactures in N. India*, Lucknow, 1880, p. 176). Many of the gypsy-like nomadic tribes in N. India prostitute their girls. Thus, the Beḍiyās of N. India reserve nearly all their girls for prostitution, and the men keep concubines drawn from other castes; in some places, if a man marries a girl of the tribe, he is expelled, and if he marries a girl who has been reserved for prostitution, he is fined by the council (Crooke, *TC*, Calcutta, 1896, i. 245). The Kolhātīs of Bombay are to a large extent dependent on the prostitution of their women, a girl on attaining puberty being allowed to choose between marriage and prostitution; if she chooses the latter occupation, she appears before the caste assembly, and, with the consent of its members, becomes a prostitute; the tribe is now kept under supervision, as they sometimes kidnap high-caste girls to bring them up as prostitutes. The same is the habit of the Hārnis, Berads, and Māng Gārudas of the Deccan (M. Kennedy, *Notes on the Criminal Classes of the Bombay Presidency*, Bombay, 1908, pp. 13, 122, 274, 283). The Dombar, a caste of acrobats in Mysore, are notorious for dedicating their smart and good-looking girls as prostitutes. In a troupe one girl is generally reserved for this trade.

The dedication is made when the girl comes of age, when, on an auspicious day, the caste people assemble by invitation. The girl is bathed and seated on a rice-pounder before the assembled caste people. Married women or dedicated prostitutes smear her with red powder and turmeric, pour rice over her, and fill her garment with coco-nuts, rice, and other lucky substances. On rising, she bows to the elders of the caste and receives their blessing. She is then taken in procession to the temple of Anjaneya or Yallammā, a man beating a drum and the women singing. She is given holy water (*tirtha*) by the priest, and she is again seated on a rice-pounder in the midst of her caste people. Rice is poured over her by *basavī* prostitutes and married women, and the ceremony ends with a feast. She is then made over to her first lover.

Such women are said to remain faithful to their protectors when kept as concubines, and it is asserted that they may be flogged and fined by the castemen if they prove false. A woman who does not enter into a connexion more or less permanent with a man is free to consort with other men, provided her lover be not of a caste lower than her own. A *basavī*, or dedicated prostitute, if she wishes to live a chaste life, can be married, and she then ceases to perform acrobatic feats in public. Her children born before the marriage are left with her relatives (monograph 13, *Ethnographic Survey, Mysore*, Bangalore, 1908, p. 12 f.). In the same province the Bedā, Gollā, Kurubā, Mādigā, and other castes often dedicate their eldest daughter, in a family where no son has been born, as a *basavī* prostitute; and a girl falling ill is likewise vowed to be left unmarried, with the usual result (B. L. Rice, *Mysore*, rev. ed., Westminster, 1897, i. 256).

LITERATURE.—The authorities have been quoted in the article; see also Al-Bīrūnī, *India*, ed. E. C. Sachau, London, 1910, ii. 142 ff.

W. CROOKE.

PROSTITUTION (Roman).—The difference between Roman and Greek views on this subject flows not so much from a deeper appreciation of the family[1] on the part of the former as from a deeper conception of personality and of the value of the individual citizen as such, independent of sex. Doubtless there was hence reflected back upon the family a sentiment that contributed much to the enhancement of its dignity and authority; but the primary result was to create an attitude of mind, on the part of men, towards free Roman women in general, and especially towards them as wives, entirely different in quality from that exhibited among the Greeks. This is not to say that the legal position of the Roman woman was actually very different from, though it was certainly superior to, that of her Greek sisters. Especially as wife and mother (*materfamilias*), her position was one of dignity and esteem; she was not servant, but mistress ('ubi tu Gaius, ego Gaia,' ran the old marriage formula). She was denied neither freedom of movement nor share of social intercourse, within or without the house.[2] Custom debarred her from direct access to public affairs, but her position was free from any suggestion of intentional personal abasement, though it was true that in the older Roman system she was subject in law in the strictest degree to her husband or other male *tutor* (see T. Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome*, Eng. tr., new ed., London, 1901, i. 74 f.).

The Greek influence, when it was finally brought to bear upon Roman society, proved one of its

[1] Cf. Cic. *de Off.* i. 54: 'nam cum sit hoc natura commune animantium, ut habeant lubidinem procreandi, prima societas in ipso coniugio est, proxima in liberis, deinde una domus, communia omnia; id autem est principium urbis et quasi seminarium rei publicae.'

[2] Cf. Corn. Nepos, *Præfat.*: 'Contra ea pleraque nostris moribus sunt decora, quae apud illos turpia putantur. Quem enim Romanorum pudet uxorem ducere in convivium? aut cuius materfamilias non primum locum tenet aedium, atque in celebritate versatur? quod multo fit aliter in Graecia. Nam neque in convivium adhibetur, nisi propinquorum; neque sedet, nisi in interiore parte aedium, quae *gynaeconitis* appellatur, quo nemo accedit, nisi propinqua cognatione coniunctus.' For freedom of social intercourse see Cic. *pro Cœl.* 20: 'qui dicerent uxores suas a cena redeuntes attrectatas esse a Caelio'; cf. Plut. *Rom.* 20: Ἄλλα μέντοι πολλὰ ταῖς γυναιξὶν εἰς τιμὴν ἀπέδωκαν . . . ἐξίστασθαι μὲν ὁδὸν βαδιζούσαις, κτλ.; Cic. *Verr.* i. 94.

most powerful solvents, so that the tone of those grades of society which find expression in the literature of the Empire was in complete disaccord with that of the early Republic. It is, in fact, a striking phenomenon that, while the Greeks, on the one hand, made no pretensions to any loftiness of principle in reference to the intercourse of the sexes, but maintained upon the whole a high degree of outward decency, the Romans, on the other hand, whose principles, and for a long time their practice, were upon a higher plane, exhibited a declension which apparently reached a depth far below that ever attained by the Greeks, save in isolated cases. This difference must, in part, be explained by the existence in the Roman of some deep-lying coarseness of instinct, due perhaps to some early racial (Etruscan?) infusion. A curious result was that in Greece it was the free lances of love (the ἑταῖραι) who in individual cases attained to great wealth and to social and political influence; in Rome the class of professional prostitutes remains throughout in the shadows of the background,[1] the adventuresses whose charms make them a power in politics being drawn exclusively from the ranks of free-born Roman society ladies (*e.g.*, the fascinating Clodia, the notorious sister of Cicero's enemy, P. Clodius; see G. Boissier, *Ciceron et ses amis*[7], Paris, 1884, p. 174 f.). The economic emancipation of Roman women, the relaxation of the family tie, and the vogue of the laxer forms of marriage are symptoms of a moral disintegration that has no parallel in the history of society in Greece, and one all the more grave as it was for the most part independent of economic pressure.

As a matter of strict principle, then, among the Romans prostitution was *per se* shameful (*flagitium*)—for both parties. That this was the Roman sentiment, at its best, is clear enough even from the passage in which Cicero, with his usual verbose insincerity as an advocate, denies it (*pro Cœl.* 48: 'Verum si quis est, qui etiam meretriciis amoribus interdictum iuventuti putet, est ille quidem valde severus—negare non possum—sed abhorret non modo ab huius saeculi licentia, verum etiam a maiorum consuetūdine atque concessis. Quando enim hoc non factum est? quando reprehensum? quando non permissum? quando denique fuit ut quod licet non liceret?').[2] Perhaps from the earliest times there was in use in Rome a system of police registration analogous to that found now in most European countries. Women adopting the career of a prostitute (*meretrix, scortum, prostibulum, amica*) were required to register themselves at the ædile's office, and to take out a licence upon payment of a tax. The register gave full personal details of the licensee, with her professional name and price, etc. Once placed upon the register, the name could never be erased, but remained as a perpetual memorial of shame. That is to say, the moral turpitude of the act of prostitution itself (*quæstum corpore facere*) was felt to override completely all other aspects, so that recovery of status was for ever foreclosed. The unwillingness of the Roman mind to draw upon its own facility of legal fictions in order to open a way to repentance and recovery for the prostitute is in startling contrast to the humane and reasonable attitude of the Greeks towards this class. From this same thoroughgoing attitude of the Romans sprang also the minute regulations which imposed upon prostitutes a distinctive dress,[3] dyed hair, or yellow wig, and other civil disabilities, designed to mark them out for public reprobation and to penalize their profession.

As wealth and luxury increased, and the spiritual strength of the Republic decayed, while Greek, and especially Oriental, models of profligacy, springing from a quite different religious and social conception, poured into Italy in an ever-swelling flood, these repressive regulations were of no avail to prevent the recruiting of the ranks of open or secret prostitutes from even the upper strata of society. Amid the general depravity prostitution ranked merely as one form, and that not the gravest, of immorality. As emperor, Tiberius tried to check it by more stringent enactments,[1] but his own *libido effrenata et indomita*, real or suspected, made it impossible for him to exercise any authority over the licence of the age.[2] Caligula even exploited the registered prostitutes as a source of revenue.[3] The prostitute's tax continued to be levied until the time of Theodosius in the 4th cent., and was not finally abolished until a century later, by Anastasius I., when the old registers of the prostitutes were also consigned to destruction. Justinian, in the 6th cent., removed some of the civil disabilities of prostitutes (possibly only to enable himself to marry the reformed prostitute Theodora; see E. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ed. J. B. Bury, London, 1898, iv. 215).

Probably the influence of Theodora is to be seen in the interesting experiment made by Justinian, who converted a palace on the Asiatic side of the Bosporus into a monastery as a rescue home for 500 reclaimed prostitutes of the capital. Here, to be saved from themselves, they were kept in a perpetual seclusion, to which many preferred suicide, so that the experiment was a failure. It marks, however, an approach to the modern attitude of charity and sympathy in dealing with the class, as contrasted with both its theoretical repudiation by the Romans and its frank acceptance by the Greeks. So far as our scanty knowledge goes, neither the Greeks nor the Romans had to face the problem of dealing with prostitution in the interests of national hygiene. The Roman system of registration and public supervision is of interest in that it represents practically the utmost that, as yet, appears possible in dealing with this problem. With the exception that there is no tax, and that the door to recovery is not legally closed, the procedure of most of the Continental peoples is simply a reversion to the Roman system. The object of both is the same, namely, outward control of the phenomenon in the interests of public order and decency; to this, for modern societies, the protection of public health falls to be added as a further complication, towards the solution of which the ancient procedure can offer no suggestion.

LITERATURE.—Save for incidental references, mainly upon the general subject of social morality under the Republic and the Empire, nothing dealing with this specific topic is known to the present writer.

W. J. WOODHOUSE.

PROTAGORAS.—Protagoras was the most famous of the Greek sophists of the 5th cent. B.C. (see SOPHISTS).

1. Life and writings.—Protagoras was a native of Abdera in Thrace. Plato, our best authority, tells us that he was seventy years old when he died, and that he had spent forty years in the practice of his profession (*Meno*, 91 E), and he visited Athens not for the first time after the production (in 420 B.C.) of a play by Pherecrates. With such data as we have, his birth seems to fall between the limits 490 and 480 B.C. The subjects

[1] Of course they are frequently alluded to, especially by the poets, but not in such a way as to reveal any specifically Roman details, or to make it necessary here to multiply quotations which do little more than prove the existence and wide prevalence of vice in Roman brothels and other meeting-places.

[2] When it suits his purpose, his language is very different; e.g., *pro Mil.* 55: 'ille, qui semper secum scorta, semper exoletos, semper lupas duceret,' and cf. *Cat.* ii. 10.

[3] Prostitutes might not wear the matron's *stola*, but must wear a *toga* of sad stuff (*toga pulla*); cf. Juv. *Sat.* ii. 69 f.: 'talem non sumet damnata togam'; Hor. *Sat.* I. ii. 63: 'quid interest in matrona, ancilla peccesne togata?', and cf. Cic. *Phil.* ii. 44: 'qui te a meretricio quaestu abduxit et, tamquam stolam dedisset, in matrimonio stabili et certo conlocavit.'

[1] Tac. *Ann.* ii. 85: 'gravibus senatus decretis libido feminarum coercita cautumque, ne quaestum corpore faceret cui avus aut pater aut maritus eques Romanus fuisset. Nam Vistilia, praetoria familia genita, licentiam stupri apud aediles vulgaverat, more inter veteres recepto, qui satis poenarum adversum impudicas in ipsa professione flagitii credebant'; cf. Suet. *Tib.* 35: 'feminae famosae, ut ad evitandas legum poenas iure ac dignitate matronali exsolverentur, lenocinium profiteri coeperant.'

[2] Cf. W. E. H. Lecky, *Hist. of European Morals*[9], London, 1890, ii. 303: 'There have certainly been many periods in history when virtue was more rare than under the Cæsars; but there has probably never been a period when vice was more extravagant or uncontrolled.'

[3] Suet. *Cal.* 40: 'ex capturis prostitutarum quantum quaeque uno concubitu mereret,' etc.

that he taught included oratory, grammar and the right use of words (Plato, *Phædr.* 267 C; Diog. Laert. ix. 53), the interpretation of the poets (Plato, *Protag.* 339 A ff.), and, generally, those accomplishments which enabled a Greek to take a prominent part in the politics of his native city (*ib.* 319 A). His popularity was unbounded (*ib.* 309 C, *Theæt.* 161 C): Plato even pits him against Homer as an authority on the education and improvement of mankind (*Rep.* 600 C). At the same time, like Socrates, Protagoras incurred the dislike of certain sections of society typified by the demagogue Anytus (*Meno*, 91 B–92 C). The publication of a work on the gods is connected with the traditional story which we find in Cicero (*de Nat. Deor.* i. 63) and earlier still in Timon (Sext. Emp. *adv. Math.* ix. 55–57), that the Athenians condemned Protagoras and publicly burnt all the copies of his book which they could collect; and that he saved himself by flight, but on the voyage to Sicily was drowned at sea. This account receives some slight support from the words *ἀνακύψειε . . . καταδύς* in Plato (*Theæt.* 171 D).

A few fragments, or at least the titles, survive of some sixteen works attributed by the ancients to Protagoras (Diog. Laert. ix. 55; H. Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*[2], Berlin, 1906–10, p. 536). They dealt mostly with literature, rhetoric, or education. The title of the work, which contained the famous maxim that man is the measure of all things, is quoted by Sext. Emp. (*adv. Math.* vii. 60) as *καταβάλλοντες* (*sc.* *λόγοι*), but the reader of Plato is forced to infer from many allusions that the work was commonly known as the *Truth* of Protagoras (J. Bernays, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Berlin, 1885, i. 117–121). Considering his great fame, it would be interesting to recover some specimens of his style; Gomperz conjectured that the apology for medicine, one of the tracts in the Hippocratean corpus, is by Protagoras. With greater certainty peculiarities of his stately method can be inferred from Platonic imitations (*Protag.* 316 C ff., 320 C–322 D, 333 D ff., 339 A–D, perhaps even 342 A ff., *Theæt.* 165 E–168 C) and from the unmistakable allusions of Aristophanes in the *Clouds* (112–114, 658–671, 677–679), though the sophist is not named in that play.

2. Doctrine.—In the dialogue of Plato named after him Protagoras appears as an exponent and champion of customary morality—Plato's *δημοτικὴ ἀρετή*. The human instincts of reverence and right (*αἰδώς, δίκη*) are the weapons by which helpless man has been protected against the teeth and claws of other animals (*Protag.* 322 C, 329 C). Man's history is a record of progress; the criminals of a civilized society would be virtuous if compared with downright savages (*ib.* 327 D). Hence the aim of legislators and educators is to displace harmful opinions by wholesome and profitable ones (*Theæt.* 167 A ff.). Hence, too, the aim of punishment should be to reclaim the offender and to deter others from his offence (*Protag.* 324 A ff.). Virtue is inculcated in an enlightened community by public opinion, by good laws and institutions, forces working silently (*ib.* 324 D ff.). Of the vagueness and contradictions of this unwritten code the sophist has little conception. Indeed, when the Platonic Socrates offers him a foundation in the shape of a hedonistic first principle (*ib.* 351 C ff.), he declines to accept it, and even argues against it. The same vagueness is shown in the sophist's claim to turn the 'weaker' into the 'stronger' case (*τὸν ἥττω λόγον κρείττω ποιεῖν*). The desire to excel was a passion with Greeks, especially to win forensic honours; why should the pursuit of this branch of excellence impair another — a scrupulous regard for right? Absolute inability to see where the Socratic elenchus will land him is a main feature of comic relief in Plato's presentation of Protagoras, as of other early sophists. Among other tendencies of his time, Protagoras took part in the protest of philosophers against the theological opinions of the poets. His famous utterance runs thus:

'Of the gods I cannot say whether they exist or not, nor of what nature they are. For there are many obstacles to inquiry, especially the obscurity of the problem and the shortness of life' (Diog. Laert. ix. 51).

Here the nature of the gods is obviously the real problem, and frank agnosticism, however provocative of odium, was in keeping with the highest thinking of an era of 'enlightenment.' The most original opinion ascribed to Protagoras is of course that man is the measure of existence and non-existence. Ever since its publication this maxim has been a subject of controversy, as Plato's *Theætetus* proves. It seems to be an affirmation of the subjective element in all experience, all thought and language. There may have been need for such emphasis in Greece, but in Rome the very forms of giving evidence (*arbitror, videtur mihi*) were a perpetual reminder that in the law-court, at any rate, in the investigation of facts, it was impossible to go behind the individual. Some say that the maxim amounts to a recognition of the relativity of knowledge. It should rather be 'of opinion.' There is nothing in it to forbid the conclusion that absolute knowledge is impossible, but that opinions are relatively true; and so Plato seems to have understood it. That its author never intended it to bear any destructive practical consequences is admitted by Plato (*Theæt.* 165 E–168 C). Nor would it be fair to link it up, as Plato has done, with Heraclitean doctrine—'all things are as they seem to all,' for 'all things flow like a stream'—or with a subtle theory privately imparted to disciples (*Theæt.* 155 ff.); and, though Sextus fathers this theory on Protagoras (*Pyrrh. Hypotyp.* i. 217), he cites no authoritative work, and may therefore be presumed to be drawing upon Plato. Lastly, the brilliant defence put into the mouth of Protagoras by his critic (*Theæt.* 166 C ff.) suggests that the author of the dialogue had become conscious that his handling of the maxim had been somewhat too free, and that he wished to redress the balance. Generally speaking, it is most improbable that the first framer of such a maxim could have foreseen, much less intended, all that acute metaphysicians like Plato and Aristotle have deduced from it. Even the psychological implications of the doctrine were but imperfectly understood at a time when no one could explain why perceptions of tastes and flavours were variable, while men agreed in their perception of weight. It seems safest, therefore, to make of Protagoras neither a positivist nor a pragmatist, whatever superficial analogies to these later doctrines may be ingeniously read into his maxim.

LITERATURE.—E. Zeller, *Philosophie der Griechen*[4], 3 vols., Leipzig, 1876–1903, Eng. tr., London, 1881–1903; T. Gomperz, *Griechische Denker*, 3 vols., Leipzig, 1896–1909, Eng. tr., London, 1901–12; J. Burnet, *Greek Philosophy*, pt. i., London, 1914; G. Grote, *Plato*, 3 vols., do. 1868; B. Jowett, *The Dialogues of Plato*[3], 5 vols., Oxford, 1892. From a mass of monographs may be cited H. Jackson, *JPh* xiii. [1885] 242 ff.; F. C. S. Schiller, *Plato or Protagoras?*, Oxford, 1908. See also the literature of art. SOPHISTS.

R. D. HICKS.

PROTECTION.—See ECONOMICS.

PROTESTANTISM.—1. Derivation and definition.—The Lat. *protestari*, a post-Augustan word found in Quintilian and frequent in law, means 'to profess,' 'bear witness (or declare) openly,' so that it is nearly equivalent to *profiteri*; in both cases the preposition adds the idea of openness or publicity to that of witness or declaration. It has no inherent negative force as a protest against

something, though it is often used in law as a declaration that the speaker's meaning has been misunderstood.

Of the cognate English words, we find 'protestation' in Hampole (*c.* 1340), and thenceforth they imply, like the Latin, an open declaration.

Thus in Shakespeare, *Much Ado about Nothing*, v. i. 149: 'Do me right, or I will protest your cowardice'; *Macbeth*, v. ii. 11: 'Youths that even now protest their first of manhood.'

The negative meaning common in modern English came in later. Thus a bill might be 'protested' (from 1622), *i.e.* an open declaration made that it had been presented and not paid. There were also 'protestations' (later 'protests') in the Lords from 1626 and in the Civil War, though they were not common till after the Restoration. Johnson, however (1755), still defines 'protestation' as 'a solemn declaration of resolution, fact, or opinion,' though he notices the negative meaning under the noun 'protest.'

2. **Theological meaning.**—The word received a technical meaning in theology from the protest made by the Lutheran princes and some free cities before the Diet at Speyer in 1529. An earlier Diet at Worms in 1521 had put Luther to the ban of the Empire and ordered the suppression of heresy. But the heresy spread nevertheless, and, when another Diet met at Speyer in 1526, it was supported by strong princes, and a compromise had to be made on the principle of 'Cujus regio, ejus religio.' It was decided, and that unanimously, that, till a General Council met, every prince should be free to make religious changes if he thought fit. But by a second Diet at Speyer in 1529 the compromise was annulled; all further innovations were forbidden to Lutheran princes, and the Zwinglian doctrine was made unlawful. Hereupon (19th April) the 'protestation' was drawn up. In it the princes (of Saxony, Brandenburg, Brunswick-Lüneburg, Anhalt, Hesse) and fourteen cities (some of them Zwinglian) declare that they will not carry out the new edict or tolerate the Mass in their dominions, further maintaining that the unanimous decision of one Diet could not be reversed by a mere majority in another, and that, as they had acted according to Scripture and conscience, they could not in any case admit the right of a majority to control them. There is no question here of any particular doctrines—only an assertion of the liberty of particular churches; the actual doctrines of the princes were set forth next year in the Confession of Augsburg.

3. **Lutherans and Calvinists.**—Thus 'Protestants' at first meant Lutherans as opposed alike to Papists and Zwinglians. The word was convenient from a political standpoint, and came into use in spite of Luther's own dislike of it, so that it soon became the current name for Lutherans in Germany and England. Then came a double development. On one side the Romanists persisted in stigmatizing the heretics of the Reformation all over Europe as Lutherans; on the other the heretics themselves came to adopt from the Lutherans the common name of Protestants. The unifying force was the consciousness of a common cause against Rome; but it worked slowly. The breach between Luther and Zwingli in 1529 was never made up. So four of the fourteen cities presented a separate Confession (*Tetrapolitana*) at Augsburg, and Zwingli sent a third. Calvin some years later signed the Augsburg Confession of his own accord; but all through the second half of the 16th cent. Lutherans and Calvinists hated each other almost as they hated Rome. The Lutherans established their principle of 'Cujus regio, ejus religio' at the Peace of Augsburg in 1555, and henceforth were (so to speak) respectable heretics, but the Calvinists had no protection. They bore the brunt of the battle with Rome, and they gained on the Lutherans in Germany. So the quarrel was bitter, and the misfortunes of the first period of the Thirty Years' War (1618–24) were in great part caused by the unwillingness of Lutheran princes to help Calvinists, and it was only under the pressure of the calamities which followed that they learned to sink their differences under the common name of Protestants.

4. **Anglican usage.**—In England the Lutherans had little influence after the time of Henry VIII., and their consubstantiation is repudiated in Art. xxviii. ('*only* after an heavenly and spiritual manner'). The Reformers looked to Bullinger and Calvin, rather than to Melanchthon and Chemnitz. In doctrine, then, the Church of England leaned more to Calvin; but it had a political tie with Lutheranism. Among the ever-changing phases of Elizabeth's policy in her early years was the idea of gaining something from the Peace of Augsburg, by trying to pass herself off as substantially a Lutheran ruler ordering the religion of her own people like the German princes. The strange tricks in her private chapel indicate this policy rather than any leaning to Romanism. Moreover, she appreciated the Erastian obedience of the Lutherans, and detested the ecclesiastical independence of Calvinism. Thus there was a true affinity between the Erastian church of Elizabeth and the Erastian churches of N. Germany, and English Churchmen of the official sort learned to call themselves Protestants like the Lutherans, while the Puritan section clung to Geneva, and was not forward to adopt the name. It is not found in any revision of the Book of Common Prayer, nor in Jewel's *Apology* (London, 1567), and even the Canons of 1604 only claim that the Church of England is 'a true and apostolical church.' But by 1608 we find mention of 'Papists, Protestants, Puritans, Brownists,' where the word is used strictly of the Church in opposition to Puritans as well as Romanists. In this sense it became a watchword of the Caroline divines, and was frankly adopted by Laud himself. Even Chillingworth's *Religion of Protestants a Safe Way to Salvation* (Oxford, 1638) has the Church in view, and forms a transition to a wider meaning only because the supremacy of Scripture is the doctrine of all the Churches of the Reformation. So, too, when Charles I. declares his attachment to the Protestant religion, he is disavowing Popery and Puritanism together. So also Laud. But what the Thirty Years' War did for Germany was done for England by the Puritan policy of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate and by the Romanizing policy of the Stuarts. In different ways both brought the Nonconformists nearer to the Church in a common consciousness of antagonism to the common enemy, so that they began to be known as Protestant dissenters in contrast with Popish recusants and some of the extreme sectaries. Thus Protestantism became a general name for every sect sprung from the Reformation which could be considered passably orthodox. The Quakers were included, but the claim of Socinians and Deists was more doubtful. They are not among the Protestant dissenters relieved by the Toleration Act. We find 'Protestant dissenters' in a bill of 1672, and constant mention of the Protestant religion or the Protestant interest. At the Revolution the Prince of Orange declares (10th Oct. 1688) that he comes over because the Protestant religion is endangered; Delamere in Cheshire rises in defence of it; and the Bill of Rights limits the Crown to such persons as 'being Protestants' shall make the declaration imposed on members of Parliament in 1678 denying transubstantiation and disavowing the worship of the

Virgin Mary or any other saint and the sacrifice of the Mass as 'superstitious and idolatrous.' By the Act of Settlement the sovereign must be a Protestant—perhaps a Lutheran like George I.—but he must 'join in communion with the Church of England as by law established.' So the law still remains, except that the declaration of 1678 was abolished for members of Parliament in 1829, and softened for the King in 1911, though he is still required to be a Protestant.

5. **The modern view.**—The word has undergone no serious change of meaning since the end of the 17th century. But, being now opposed to Romanism instead of to Puritanism, it was disliked by some of the High Churchmen a century ago, such as Alexander Knox; and it is now cordially detested by the Tractarians and their successors, not only as summing up most of the things that they chiefly hate, but even more as linking the Church of England with Churches of Christ which they count no better than unlawful assemblies. But, if we look at the general position—at things instead of words—there can be no doubt that the official doctrine of the Church of England is as definitely Protestant as it can well be. To sum up in the words of Bishop Stubbs of Oxford:

'While, however, I distinctly claim for our Church her full Catholic character unembarrassed by any such committal [to the dogmatic utterances or disciplinary machinery of any of the communities that have called themselves Protestant], I would in the strongest way condemn the idea that would repudiate the name of Protestant as a mere name of negation, as well as the notion that the maintenance of Protestant negation is the whole or the most important part of our religious work and history. I should unhesitatingly reject the theory that regards Protestantism by itself, either at home or abroad, as a religious system devoid of spiritual constructive energy' (*Visitation Charges*, London, 1904, p. 342).

LITERATURE.—It will be enough to name *OED* vii. 1504 f.; W. Wace, in *Church and Faith* (Essays on the teaching of the Church of England by various writers), Edinburgh and London, 1899; the ordinary histories of the Reformation, and for the Continent the elaborate art. by F. Kattenbusch, in *PRE*[3] xvi. 135 ff.

H. M. GWATKIN.

PROVERBS.—1. Definition.—While the formal definition of a proverb is difficult to frame, and every authority attempts to give his own, there is a general agreement as to the chief characteristics of proverbial sayings. Four qualities are necessary to constitute a proverb: brevity (or, as some prefer to put it, conciseness), sense, piquancy or salt (Trench), and popularity. Aristotle, in writing of proverbs, embodied three of these properties in defining them as 'remnants which, on account of their shortness (*συντομίαν*) and correctness (*δεξιότητα*), have been saved out of the wrecks and ruins of ancient philosophy.'[1] More modern definitions, such as 'a short pithy saying in common and recognized use,'[2] or 'much matter decocted into a few words,'[3] or 'the wisdom of many and the wit of one,'[4] set forth the same elements in slightly varying phraseology. Mere brevity, however, will not give an expression the force of a proverb; it must in every case present a serious thought, and expressions dealing with trivialities can never gain the force and prestige of proverbial sayings. By piquancy or salt we understand the wit that is embodied in a genuine adage. In its wit the proverb expresses a pungent criticism of life which frequently has a flavour of cynicism about it. On this quality depends the power of a proverb to do more than amuse the hearer. Its wit, like the barb of an arrow, makes the maxim stick in the memory. There are many sayings in all literatures which are not recognized as proverbs because they lack the element of popularity. To attain the rank of a proverb, a saying must either spring from the masses or be accepted by a people as true. In a profound sense it must be the *vox populi*. Eiselein, a German collector of proverbs, has emphasized this element in his definition: 'A proverb is a sentence coined with the public stamp, current, and of acknowledged value among the people.'[1] To put it more briefly, a proverb is a household word of the people. James Howell, an English parœmiographer, incorporated in his collection 500 proverbial sayings which he himself invented, but, as they were not coined with the public stamp, they have never been used or quoted.[2] A true proverb, then, is a spontaneous growth out of the soil of national character; it is in a sense autochthonous, and among the people who gave it birth it possesses a finality from which there is no appeal. This popular element is implied in the etymology of both the Latin and Greek terms. In the former language the term was *proverbium*, signifying 'a word uttered in public.' The synonym *adagium*, which is usually traced to the phrase *ad agendum aptum*, and from which we get our English 'adage,' besides suggesting this popular origin, also suggests a moral tone and brings out the practical nature of the proverb. The Greek correlative is similar in import, *παροιμία*, signifying a trite roadside expression.

The stamp of public approval gives proverbs a profound influence even when they convey a false morality. A genuine proverb may not embody a true ethical principle, yet it is an index to what the people regard as true, and presents their ideals of life and conduct. Certain groups of proverbs have a peculiar authority for a special, and in a sense an artificial, reason. All the sayings of the canonical book of Proverbs among Jews and Christians, those of the Vedic writings among the Hindus, and those that are embedded in the Qur'ān among Muslims have wielded a tremendous authority, on account of the inspiration claimed for these books. Many of the sayings of Jesus are in the form of proverbs, and He frequently used proverbs to make His teaching impressive. He took some from Jewish literature and others from the current speech of the people; still others He coined Himself. The authority of these and their influence on ethics and religion are due to the unique position of authority in which the Founder of Christianity is acknowledged to stand. In the sphere of religion the proverbial sayings of Jesus have exercised the widest and most pervasive influence of any group of proverbs.

2. **Origin.**—In discussing the origin of proverbs it is necessary to make a sharp distinction between the popular proverbial saying and the literary proverb, or gnome. The latter is the product of reflexion, and its final form is likely to be the result of considerable literary polishing, while the former is naive and was originally uttered spontaneously and in connexion with some occasion or event that stirred the imagination. It is in keeping with its popular origin that the author of a genuine proverb is unknown; it is a spontaneous utterance which has been called forth by an unusual and stirring incident or experience. It originated with the people and has gained circulation and authority through universal acceptance of its

[1] According to Aristotle, proverbs are important for the following reasons: *ὅτι παλαιᾶς εἰσι φιλοσοφίας ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις ἀνθρώπων φθοραῖς ἀπολομένης ἐγκαταλείμματα περισωθέντα διὰ συντομίαν καὶ δεξιότητα* (ascribed to Aristotle by Synesius, *Encomium Calvitii*, ed. 'Turneh,' p. 59).

[2] *OED*, *s.v.*

[3] Thomas Fuller, *Gnomologia, Adagies, and Proverbs*, 2 vols., London, 1732, pp. 1728–31.

[4] Lord John Russell (1792–1878).

[1] J. Eiselein, *Sprichwörter des deutschen Volkes*, Freiburg, 1840, p. x: 'Das Sprichwort ist ein mit öffentlichem Gepräge ausgemünzter Satz, der seinen Curs und anerkannten Werth unter dem Volke hat.' In this connexion the famous definition of Erasmus (*Adagiorum Chiliades tres*) may be given: 'Celebre dictum, scita quaplam novitate insigne.' The second part of this definition is not generally accepted by recent investigators.

[2] *Proverbs and Old Sayed Saws and Adages*, London, 1659.

truth. The sages of Israel may have started with the popular proverb as the basis of their work, but their finished product shows evidence of careful literary workmanship. The literary flavour of the gnome is unmistakable, and its lineage can very frequently be traced. If this distinction is maintained, the polished gems of the canonical book of Proverbs are gnomes. They are fruits of long reflexion.

The genuine popular proverb takes us back to the infancy of races and civilizations; in their origins they belong to the age which gave birth to the folk-song and the ballad. The OT reveals the manner of the genesis of the folk-proverb. An impressive event called it forth. The incongruity of the situation when Saul fell under the influence of the prophetic ecstasy produced such a profound impression on the popular mind that it led to the utterance of the proverb, 'Is Saul also among the prophets?' (1 S $10^{9ff.}$). We also know an ancient Egyptian proverb which owes its origin to some historical event. Alluding to Merenptah's fame in Libya, it runs: 'The youth say to youth, concerning his victories, "It has not been done to us before since the time of Re."'[1] Freytag thinks that many of the oldest Arabic proverbs arose in connexion with some notable event in the history of a tribe or some striking personal experience.[2] The historical occasion that gave birth to famous popular proverbs is more easily traced in the Greek and Latin literatures. With the words, 'Don't move Camarina' (*μὴ κίνει Καμάριναν*), the Greeks were accustomed to caution each other to give questions fraught with uncertain issues a wide berth. The allusion is historical and refers to the draining of the lake north of Camarina contrary to the advice of the oracle, thus weakening the defences of the city. The famous Latin adage, 'Romanus sedendo vincit,' sprang from the effective tactics of Hannibal's opponent, Fabius Maximus. The popular proverb, 'When you go to Rome, do as Rome does,' is an interesting instance of how an aphorism may grow out of an incident which was subsequently forgotten. Few who use it know that it had its origin in connexion with Monica, the mother of St. Augustine. As the Sabbath was a feast day in Milan according to prevailing Roman usage, but a fast at her native place of Tagaste, Monica was perplexed as to her course and her conscience troubled her. St. Ambrose settled the case of conscience by uttering this oft-quoted adage.

Another group of proverbs were derived from riddles (*q.v.*), and it may well be that many of the maxims of the OT canonical collection originated in this way. The adage of Pr 22^{1}, 'A good name is rather to be chosen than great riches, and loving favour than silver and gold,' is probably the finished form of an answer to a riddle. The riddle was probably propounded as follows: 'What is worth more than gold?'; the answer would be, 'A good name.'[3] Again, a proverb may be the condensation of a fable or parable into a single phrase. Thus arose the popular Greek adage, 'To play the fox to another fox' (*ἀλωπεκίζειν πρὸς ἑτέραν ἀλώπεκα*). A popular maxim even in modern times, 'Every cock on his own dunghill,' can be traced back to Seneca, who thus summed up the quintessence of one of Æsop's fables ('Gallus in suo sterquilinio plurimum').[4] This process accounts for the genesis of English aphorisms like 'sour grapes' and 'dog in the manger.'

[1] J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, Chicago, 1905–07, § 611.
[2] G. W. F. Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, Bonn, 1843; cf. esp. iii. 2, pp. 221–323.
[3] Cf. H. Oort and I. Hooykaas, *The Bible for Learners*, Boston, 1878–79, ii. 80.
[4] *Apocol*

Famous proverbs which owe their popularity to their well-balanced symmetrical phraseology have long individual histories behind them. This literary development frequently cannot be traced in the languages of antiquity. But the process by which a popular saying was cut and polished into a gem by a succession of artists may be seen in the case of Sterne's famous adage, 'God tempers the wind to the shorn lamb.' Sterne found it in the writings of George Herbert (1640) in the form, 'To a close-shorn sheep God gives wind by measure'; Herbert in turn borrowed it from the French, and it has been traced back to the Latin.

3. Form. — While the folk-proverb, when it originates, may not circulate in poetic dress, yet well-established proverbs and gnomes are almost invariably expressed either in rhythmical language or in poetry proper. The Hebrew proverbs of the OT canon, as well as those of Sirach,[1] possess all the characteristic features of Hebrew poetry, the most notable of which is parallelism. Sumerian proverbs, among the most ancient that have come down to us, display the same characteristic. Arabic proverbs are couched in the various rhymes of Arabic poetry. Gnomic poetry forms a large section of the ethical side of Sanskrit literature. The Chinese proverbs are in the form of couplets. With this people it has been a favourite practice in the schools for the teacher to give one line and the scholar to furnish the second.[2] The majority of Greek proverbs are metrical in form. The Greek gnomic poets, like Theognis and Solon, did for Greek literature what unknown poets did for the Hebrew—gave many of the popular proverbial sayings a literary setting and thereby invested them with a permanent influence. The usual metres of Greek proverbs are the anapæstic, iambic, trochaic, and dactylic.[3] In modern literatures proverbs usually assume poetical form, for rhyme and alliteration lend charm not only to English proverbs but also to those of all modern nations. A few samples must suffice: 'A king's face should give grace'; 'Slow help is no help'; 'Who goes a-borrowing goes a-sorrowing'; 'Qui prend, se rend'; 'Chi và piano và sano, e và lontano'; 'Gutes Wort find't gute Statt'; 'Wie die Arbeit, so der Lohn.' A popular Italian proverb combines the three qualities of brevity, rhyme, and alliteration: 'Traduttori, traditori,' 'Translators, traitors.' Proverbs abound in certain figures of speech which add to their impressiveness. The two most characteristic of these figures are hyperbole and paradox. The forcibleness of the proverb is largely due to the employment of these figures of speech, which the Oriental especially affects. As an example of hyperbole let us cite an Arabic proverb: 'Fling him into the Nile and he will come up with a fish in his mouth,' or the German 'Wer's Glück hat, dem kälbert ein Ochs' ('The lucky man's ox calves'); as a paradoxical proverb, note 'No answer is also an answer.'

4. Occurrence.—Proverbs are of universal occurrence; there is no speech or language in which they are not found. Going back to the remotest antiquity, we discover them embedded in the literary remains of Babylonia and Egypt. The oldest are found in a Sumerian text. Rawlinson, ii. 16, is the copy of a tablet inscribed with examples for instruction in Sumerian grammar, and a number of these examples consist of ancient Sumerian proverbs. In all, this tablet has preserved eighteen proverbs and riddles, some of which are very

[1] In addition to commentaries on the Apocrypha, consult art. 'Sirach,' in *HDB*.
[2] A. H. Smith, *Proverbs and Common Sayings from the Chinese*, Shanghai, 1902.
[3] An excellent art. on classical proverbs is to be found in *Quarterly Review*, cxxv. [1868] 217 ff.

similar in structure to those of the OT.[1] Among the Egyptians the viziers Kegumne, Imhotep, and Ptahotep, of the VIth dynasty, put their wisdom into the form of proverbs. As these officials belong to the Old Kingdom, *i.e.* prior to 2500 B.C., some conception may be gained of the antiquity of proverbial literature among the Egyptians. Long before the days of Confucius the Chinese had embodied their wisdom in gnomes, and they were a favourite vehicle for moral instruction with that sage. The proverb had reached a position of commanding influence among the Greeks prior to the great gnomic poets, Solon, Phocylides, and Theognis. The great lyric poets who preceded them, and the seven so-called wise men who followed, put into literary form the popular wisdom of preceding generations. An adequate testimony to this fact is the famous anthology, *Sarngadhara-Paddhati*, of the 14th cent., containing 6000 verses culled from 264 different writers.[2] Böhtlingk collected 7613 verses of Sanskrit gnomic poetry and published them under the title *Indische Sprüche* (Leipzig, 1870–74). Aphoristic ethical poetry was zealously cultivated among the Hindus. Turning to one of the standard collections of proverbs, such as *La Sapienza del Mondo* by G. Strafforello, a monumental Italian dictionary of proverbs, we find catalogued in it proverbial sayings from every nook and corner of the world. No race, whether high or low in the scale of civilization, has been without them. Nations renowned for the cultivation of literature have treasured their proverbial inheritance and have polished their adages until they have become gems. Non-literary people, the savages of primitive culture, have had their proverbs, which have been learned only through direct intercourse with the people. The missionary and the adequately equipped traveller have collected these for us. A notable anthology of this kind is R. F. Burton's *Wit and Wisdom from W. Africa* (London, 1865). C. M. Doughty, in the classic *Travels in Arabia Deserta* (Cambridge, 1888), records a few that he heard in conversation with the Bedawīn. While proverbs are universal in their occurrence and are found to take local form and colour even in the dialects of modern languages, yet they are especially beloved by Oriental peoples, and it is among them that they were seriously cultivated. In the modern world of Europe and America the folk-proverb still wields a potent influence among the masses, while the gnomic saying which has behind it the authority of great literary genius is often quoted by the cultivated.

5. Value and significance.—Proverbs and gnomic literature are worthy of serious study for two principal reasons: (1) they have had a subtle and pervasive influence on popular opinion; (2) they are trustworthy witnesses to the social, political, ethical, and religious ideals of the peoples among whom they originated and circulated. Gerber says:

'The significance of the proverb in its influence on the formation and preservation of the modes of thought is to be rated very high. Its influence on the civilization of nations is exceedingly far-reaching. With silent guidance it moulds public opinion as powerfully and as manifoldly as the estimate of the relations of private life, indeed even the reflections of the highly cultured' (*Die Sprache als Kunst*, ii. 405).

The greatest literary geniuses have set the seal of their approval upon popular proverbs and made them household words by quoting them or placing them in the mouths of their characters. Among the Greeks many of the earliest proverbs were responses of oracles; their poets were fond of quoting and coining maxims and proverbial sayings. All the great writers of Hellas affect them. They are found in the verses of Hesiod and Homer, among the lines of the lyrist Pindar, the gnomic poets Solon and Theognis, the great tragedians and comic poets.[1] The moral of many of the stories of the Homeric poems was summed up in a single line which gained currency as a proverb. The great Latin poets loved the proverb, and many proverbs that are common in the modern world go back to Horace, Juvenal, or Terence; *e.g.*, the Frenchman characterizes the favourite of fortune as 'le fils de la poule blanche,' a phrase which can be traced to Juvenal's 'gallinæ filius albæ.'[2] Shakespeare has given popularity and authority to many a striking sentence which has become a proverb in cultivated circles. Two may be mentioned: 'Something is rotten in the state of Denmark,' and 'All's well that ends well.' Dante's 'Lasciate ogni speranza,' Molière's 'Vous l'avez voulu, George Dandin,' and Schiller's 'Die schönen Tage in Aranjuez sind nun zu Ende' are examples of proverbial sayings which have become household words through the popularity of national poets.

The great philosophers of antiquity did not disdain proverbs. The pages of Aristotle and Plato are liberally sprinkled with terse, pithy sayings, and Cicero's writings teem with proverbs. More than this, proverbs and gnomic literature were two of the seed-plots of Greek philosophy. The political and moral philosophy of the Hellenic race had its origins in the isolated maxims and gnomes of the seven sages of Greece and the gnomic poetry of Theognis and his contemporary, Phocylides (6th century B.C.).[3]

While Greek philosophy outgrew these humble beginnings and developed into an elaborate metaphysical system, the spirit that produced the proverbs of Solomon and Sirach reached its full development within the pale of later Judaism. The number of proverbs was legion, and they were used by the learned rabbis, were current in social intercourse, and were the favourite means of imparting ethical instruction to the youth. The two Talmuds, Jerusalem and Babylonian, the Mishnāh, and the Midrāshim, as well as the Targums, are rich in proverbs and proverbial sayings. They occur both in Aramaic and in Hebrew, touch upon almost every conceivable subject, and extend over a period of more than 800 years of Jewish history, from Simon the Righteous (high priest, 310–291 B.C.) down to Rabbi Asher. The best known and most popular collection of Jewish proverbs is found in the Mishnic tract entitled *Pirqē Ābhôth* ('Sayings of the Fathers').[4] Another famous collection is the *Ābhôth de R. Nathan*. The former, usually bound with a Jewish prayer-book, contains the sayings and proverbs of 63 rabbis and teachers arranged chronologically and covering a period of 500 years, from 300 B.C. downwards. Its importance may be judged from the rule requiring a reading of one of its sections each Sabbath. The *Ābhôth de R. Nathan*, a Tôseftā or Haggādā of the Mishnic tract *Ābhôth*, consisting of 41 chapters which contain proverbs and their explanations, reached its final form in the 8th century A.D.

The Jews of this period delighted in gnomes. A quotation from the *Midrāsh Rabbāh* to Canticles will give an idea of the esteem in which they were held:

'Let not a proverb be despised in thine eyes, for by means of a proverb one is able to understand the words of the Torah (*Midr. Cant.* 1*b*).

It was all the more highly esteemed if it could be supported by a proof text from the OT. In this

[1] M. Jäger, 'Assyrische Räthsel und Sprüchwörter,' *BASS* ii. [1891] 274 ff.

[2] This Sanskrit work is analyzed in *ZDMG* xxvii. [1873].

[1] Menander's collection entitled *Sententiæ Monostichæ* was famous in antiquity.

[2] xiii. 141.

[3] E. Zeller, *Philosophie der Griechen*, Leipzig, 1892, i. 105 ff.

[4] *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers*[2], ed. C. Taylor, Cambridge 1897.

case it was introduced by one of two formulæ: (1) 'There is for it a proof text' (יֵשׁ לוֹ מִקְרָא), or (2) 'Lo! it is a verse of the Scripture' (הֵא מִקְרָא הוּא). So popular was it, and so highly esteemed, that it was used to elucidate problems in almost every sphere and circumstance of life. Proverbs were considered efficacious in removing doubts and difficulties; they were quoted to elucidate names and obscure passages of Scripture; amid sorrow they shed comfort, and in social gatherings they increased the good cheer. With a *māshāl* it was customary to speed the parting guest, and with one a literary man found an appropriate close for his book.

In this period of Jewish history a careful distinction was drawn between the proverb of the scholar and the folk-proverb, and a distinctive formula was used to introduce each kind. To the former was prefixed one of the following formulæ: 'a proverb in the mouth of the rabbis,' 'the rabbis teach,' 'they teach,' or 'some say'; to the latter: 'according to the words of the people,' 'so speak the people,' 'the Judæans say,' 'the Galilæans say.' If the proverb happened to occur in Scripture, there was a special introductory formula: 'the proverb runs' (מָשָׁל אוֹמֵר). To the folk-proverb belong the maxims of the trades and gilds, for each such organization or profession had its own special proverbs; to the former belong the gnomes of the collections mentioned in the preceding paragraph. To gain an adequate idea of the scope of the topics embraced in Jewish proverbs and to form an estimate of their influence, one must turn to J. R. Fürstenthal, *Rabbinische Anthologie* (Breslau, 1835), L. Dukes, *Rabbinische Blumenlese* (Leipzig, 1844), or J. Fürst, *Perlenschnüre Aramäischer Gnomen und Lieder* (do. 1836).

It is worthy of note that, among the Chinese, proverbs and proverbial sayings enjoy a similar position of high esteem and a far-reaching influence. The classics of the Chinese abound in them, and ignorant peasants are said to coin them. We have noted above that the schoolboy is furnished with one line and, as an exercise, is required to complete the couplet. Every class of society takes delight in the proverb, from the emperor on his throne to the beggar in his hovel. There is no conceivable situation in life for which the proverbial wisdom of the Chinese cannot furnish some apposite citation.

Among the nations of the Occident gnomic poetry does not flourish, and proverbs are not used in the formal instruction of the philosophical schools, yet the popular proverb has been of importance in the formation of the standards of public morality. Proverbs like the following are valuable ethical precepts which have kept high ideals before the masses: 'A lie has no legs' (the Spaniard says: 'A lie has short legs'; the Swiss: 'It takes a good many shovelfuls of earth to bury the truth'; a Spanish parallel runs: 'Tell the truth and shame the devil'). On the other hand, there are proverbial sayings accepted by the masses as current coin of the moral realm which have been very pernicious in their influence. Trench strikingly terms them 'scoundrel maxims' (*Proverbs and their Lessons*, p. 102). They are frequently quoted to justify sin and immorality. Outstanding examples are: 'Every man has his price' (Dutch: 'Self's the man'); the German 'Einmal keinmal,' which has had a very vicious influence in defence of sin; similar to it is the Italian: 'A sin concealed is half forgiven.'

Some proverbs are distinctly Christian and reach the heights of evangelical morality: 'Love rules his kingdom without a sword' (Italian); 'The way to heaven is by Weeping Cross' (English); 'God never wounds with both hands' (Spanish); 'Every cross hath its inscription' (English).

Our investigation leads to the conclusion that among Orientals and peoples of primitive culture a gnomic literature forms the foundations of moral and political philosophy. In races of advanced civilization and culture it plays no part in the teaching of formal schools, but continues to exercise a potent influence on popular ideals of conduct and conception of character. Proverbs continue to be employed by poets and religious teachers to impress upon the minds of the masses fundamental principles of morality and noble living. The authority of proverbs is acknowledged by the people generally because they constitute the hoard of a nation's wisdom, the silent unconscious accumulation that grows up in a long lapse of time.

LITERATURE.—R. C. Trench, *Proverbs and their Lessons*, London and New York, 1905 (the best general work in English, with a valuable bibliography including a list of proverbial collections in various languages); G. Gerber, *Die Sprache als Kunst*, Berlin, 1885 (the author discusses the proverb as a literary form, ii. 397–442); Erasmus, *Adagiorum Chiliades tres*, Venice, 1508 (a great treasure-house of classical proverbs from which all subsequent writers and collectors have borrowed); G. Strafforello, *La Sapienza del Mondo*, 3 vols., Turin, 1883 (an elaborate collection of proverbs from every quarter of the globe translated into Italian); H. Bois, *La Poésie gnomique chez les Hébreux et chez les Grecs*, Toulouse, 1886. Other important works have been mentioned in the article and notes.

JAMES A. KELSO.

PROVIDENCE.—I. *USE OF THE WORD.*—The English word 'providence,' meaning by derivation foresight, is in practice applied to thoughtful preparation for future needs. As used in religion, Providence is understood in a theistic sense to denote the care of God for His creatures, His general supervision over them, and the ordering of the whole course of things for their good. There is no corresponding word in Hebrew, though the thought is present throughout the OT. In Greek πρόνοια is used freely in classical literature for forethought, human and divine. It is employed absolutely in Xenophon and Plutarch for the watchful care of the gods, and it forms one of the names under which Athene was worshipped at Delphi. It occurs twice in Wis (14[3]: 'Thy providence, O Father, guideth' the vessel amidst the waves, and 17[2]: lawless men are said to be 'exiled from the eternal providence'). In the NT πρόνοια is found twice only (Ac 24[2], Ro 13[14]), in both cases to describe human prevision. But the doctrine of the Divine ordering of the affairs of the world pervades all the NT writings. In a very wide sense some such idea would seem to be indispensable to religion, although—as in Buddhism and some forms of pantheism—the word 'providence' cannot be legitimately used as of a relation between 'God' and 'the world.' In popular parlance it has too often included superstitions and unworthy ideas of deity, which responsible teachers would not countenance.

In the more restricted area of Christian theology Divine Providence is theoretically distinguished, on the one hand, from God's preservation of all His creatures, including man; and, on the other, from His moral government. The latter is said to concern the character and education of men as moral creatures, their welfare and destiny, while Providence is concerned with the affairs and events of life and the way in which a Divine purpose is accomplished in and through them. The two are, however, almost inseparable even in thought. The Christian doctrine is one of faith, resting upon the attributes and character of God generally, but especially as made known in Christ. Providence implies a God of unbounded wisdom, power, and goodness, who unceasingly directs human affairs, great and small, for the accomplishment of the highest spiritual ends. Divine action depends on a Divine purpose; and this perfectly expresses the Divine nature and perfections. Christian faith holds that God rules and overrules all that

takes place in the universe, so as ultimately to realize His own eternal purposes. It is always to be understood, however, that such language implies a measure of symbolism. As in creation God is not a Divine 'artificer,' though the phraseology employed may seem sometimes to imply this, so in Providence He does not need to 'plan' and scheme as men do; He views all things *sub specie æternitatis*. But, allowing for the imperfection of human speech, the truth as to the relation between God and the world is best conveyed by some such phraseology.

II. *HISTORICAL.* — **1. Introductory.** — Beliefs implying some kind of living relation between divine and human beings are found in all religions; in proportion as these die down, the character of the system changes from a religion to a philosophy. Even in fetishism, or in Caliban's description of Setebos, some kind of purpose is discernible, some measure of protection is granted to worshippers who take the steps necessary to propitiate the ruling powers. In polytheism, with its 'gods many and lords many,' such a word as 'Baalim' may stand simply for unknown forces in nature or for particular deities who quite arbitrarily reward their favourite devotees. But, as in Greek mythology, an order may be discernible in the pantheon. Such a measure of superiority may be assigned to Zeus that his decrees may run, and his rewards and punishments be distributed, as those of a kind of secondary Providence. Above him may stand, or hover, a dim figure—Μοῖρα, Θέμις, or Ἀνάγκη—so that it is often difficult to say whether the rudimentary control of all things, as thus outlined, is blind or intelligent. The Buddhist idea of *karma* —the inexorable linking of all acts with their consequences—excludes Providence. *Karma* does not indeed, as has been said, necessarily lie outside the pale of religion proper. A moral order may be bound up with it; a saviour of a sort may appear, and there may be, in other ways than by *nirvāṇa*, an end beyond the end. But in none of these cases can the word 'Providence' be applied in its usual acceptation, since this implies intelligent purpose and an end presumably good and beneficent, together with active and constant operation for the attainment of clearly conceived designs.

2. In the OT.—The OT conception of life is dominated by the thought of Divine Providence in some sense, but progress is discernible in the ideas entertained of God's purposes and methods and of man's relation to them. In the early stages of Israel's history these were necessarily crude and partial. Tribal and national ideas of deity prevailed, and only after the Exile was the God of Israel identified with the God of the whole earth. Without attempting in this sketch accurately to distinguish the stages of development, it may be said that, throughout the whole, God is recognized as accomplishing His purposes for men (1) in the ordinary course of nature, and (2) by means of special interventions, or miracles. Ps 104 gives a striking illustration of the belief that God in nature works for the benefit of all His creatures, making winds His messengers and flames of fire His ministers. In Jer 31^{35} 33^{20} the succession of day and night is viewed as part of a beneficent Divine 'covenant' with man, which cannot be violated or modified. The great symbolic picture of the chariot in Ezk 1 portrays the glory of sovereign Providence. Miracles are special proofs that God, who can do whatever He wills, makes all forces to subserve His designs, especially for His own people. He works, however, not as fate, nor as mere abstract law. Man's power of choice and voluntary action is presupposed; appeals are made for obedience, and disobedience will be punished. Ultimate control, however, lies with the All-Sovereign, who moulds His material as a potter the clay; in dealing with the headstrong wills of men God rules—and overrules. The story of Joseph shows how actions intended for evil were made to accomplish good. The moral of this and nearly all OT stories is summed up in Pr 16^{9} 'A man's heart deviseth his way: but Jahweh directeth his steps.'

Even where exceptions arise so serious that it would appear either that the idea of superintendence is a mistake, or that God has forgotten, or that 'my way is hid from Jahweh,' the godly man will not lose his confidence. In the later history certain standing riddles of Providence were explicitly raised—*e.g.*, the visiting of the sins of the fathers upon the children, the sufferings of the righteous, and the prosperity of the wicked. These problems were faced by the prophets Jeremiah and Ezekiel, in certain Psalms, and in the book of Job, more or less unsuccessfully. The book of Ecclesiastes stands by itself, and its main drift has always been disputed. Its presence in the canon is probably due to the view that the awkward knots presented in earlier chapters were cut by the sharp knife applied to them all in $12^{13f.}$ But some of the sceptical suggestions made in Qoheleth were recognized in passing moods by the writers of such Psalms as 49, 73, 77, and 88, who nevertheless did not abandon their belief in a Providence both wise and kind.

3. In the extra-canonical writings.—In the extra-canonical writings of the 1st and 2nd centuries B.C. Greek and other external influences are occasionally manifest, but they show no weakening of belief in God's righteous government of the world. Anthropomorphic expressions become less frequent, and the transcendence of God is emphasized, but the moral qualities of the Deity—righteousness and loving-kindness—are as fully maintained as in the canonical books. In Wis 8^{1} Divine wisdom is identical with Providence, which 'ordereth all things graciously,' and in 11^{20} the same power is said to have 'ordered all things by measure, number and weight.' Delays in the execution of judgment are due to the fact that 'Thou, being sovereign over thy strength, judgest in gentleness, and with great forbearance dost thou govern us' (12^{18}). A power of choice is given to man, for the Lord who made him 'left him in the hand of his own counsel,' so that 'before man is life and death; and whichsoever he liketh, it shall be given him' (Sir 15^{17}). The language of Josephus in a much-quoted passage is not quite clear, but he seems to ascribe to the Pharisees a belief in 'fate, which co-operates in every action,' while the Sadducees 'ascribe all evil to man's free choice' (*BJ* II. viii. 14, *Ant.* XIII. v. 9). The chief differences, however, in the Jewish doctrine of Providence during this period are due to a growing belief in a future life and in judgment beyond the grave, as well as to the general tenor of Apocalyptic teaching concerning the relation of the present and the coming age. In 2 Mac 7 the hope is several times reiterated that 'the King of the world will raise up those who have died for his laws unto an eternal renewal of life' (vv.$^{9.\ 36}$ etc.).

4. In the NT.—The NT is continuous with the OT, but its doctrine of Providence is more minute, more personal, more tender. The teaching of Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount strikes the key-note. Not the Lord of heaven and earth, mindful of Israel alone among the nations, is there celebrated, but 'your Father which is in heaven,' who clothes the lilies with beauty, and without whom not even a sparrow falls to the ground. The Lord's Prayer is addressed to a Father who can and will care for both the bodies and the souls of His children. The impartiality of the Creator

under a 'reign of law' is recognized in Mt 5^{45}, as well as the special response which He makes to the believing prayer of true disciples (Mk 9^{23} 11^{22-24}). Rash conclusions concerning the character of those upon whom grievous calamities have fallen are condemned (Lk 13^{1-5}); the anomalies and inequalities of earthly conditions will be rectified at the great Judgment that is to come, by the rewards and punishments then to be allotted. The parables of the Tares, of Dives and Lazarus, and those recorded in Mt 25 are sufficient indications of this.

The Apostles in their teaching follow the lines thus laid down. St. Paul occasionally affords a glimpse into his philosophy of history, as in Ro 9–11 and 1 Co 15^{20-28}. The teaching of 1 Peter on suffering, of Hebrews on the two Covenants and their issues, of 2 Peter on Divine forbearance, and of the Apocalypse on present and future judgments shows how largely the early Church in times of severe persecution found its theodicy in expectations of a coming age. The OT teaching concerning the Divine purposes in ordering the course of this world is for the most part preserved in the NT with special emphasis on the redeeming love, as well as the judicial righteousness, of God. But nothing less than a revolution was created by the revelation of a future life and the Resurrection and Second Coming of Him who had 'abolished death and brought life and immortality to light through the gospel.' Whilst the same elements are preserved in the spiritual landscape, the focus of the picture is so altered, and its proportions and values are so different, that the effect is wholly new. Problems of Providence almost disappear in the light of grace and the glory which shines into the present life from beyond the grave.

5. In Græco-Roman teaching.—Græco-Roman teaching on what corresponds to a doctrine of Providence is chiefly represented in the Stoic schools. Earlier traditions are found in popular mythologies, which present for the most part a superficial view of life and human affairs. The schools of philosophy represented by Herakleitos and Anaxagoras inculcated a belief in the Eternal Reason, while lofty views of justice and retribution appear in the great Greek dramatists. Plato stands for the supremacy of the Right and the Good, for a World-Reason, and a World-Process, the teleological character of which he maintained. But he taught no doctrine of the personal care of a personal God. Aristotle followed on similar lines, and may be said to have taught monotheism without God. He believed in order, harmony, unity of control in the course of the world, but the fact that his interpreters still debate concerning the connotation of the term 'God' in his writings speaks for itself. Cicero represents the best side of paganism when he makes Balbus say that, granted the existence of the gods, it must be acknowledged that the administration of the world is carried on 'eorum consilio' (*de Nat. Deor.* ii. 30).

Epicurus and Zeno represent opposite poles of thought. The Epicurean held that fear of the gods was servile, that those who wish to live in serenity care nothing for the gods, as the gods, if there be such, care nothing for them. The Stoic, on the other hand, emphasized the unity of life and often spoke of Providence, though without theistic implications. His doctrine was a philosophic monism, the world being a single substance, a kind of self-evolution of the Deity. God was but a mode of matter, or matter a mode of God. The resemblance between Stoicism and Christianity is superficial and largely a matter of phraseology, though the coincidence of words and phrases is often very striking. Lightfoot, in his essay on Paul and Seneca (*Philippians*[4], London, 1878, pp. 270–328), has illustrated this subject at length. Parts of Cleanthes' *Hymn to Zeus* might be used by a theist believing in Providential government. But the God of Stoicism is synonymous with nature, necessity, fate, the all. The Stoic said 'God is spirit,' but his πνεῦμα was an etherealized form of matter, and for him the universe itself is alive. The Providence of the Stoics was a kind of causal nexus running through the whole universe. All that happens is through determination, εἱμαρμένη, that which is fixed by fate. The glorification of ἀπάθεια, which was characteristic of the school, shows that no personal interest or care was ascribed to the abstraction called God. To 'live according to nature' meant that each man formed part of a mighty and orderly system, in harmony with which it was his duty to live, submissive to that *universum* of which Marcus says:

> 'O Nature! From thee are all things, in thee all things subsist, and to thee all tend' (*Meditations*, iv. 19).

Neo-Platonism exhibits more affinity with Christianity on the mystical side, but its speculative doctrine of an ineffable and absolute deity stands diametrically opposed to such a relation between God and the world as is implied by a fatherly Providence.

6. Patristic and Scholastic.—In the Patristic and Scholastic periods of the Christian Church interest, so far as our subject is concerned, circles chiefly round the great standing problems of the existence of evil and of predestination *versus* free will. A general doctrine of Providence is assumed by Christian teachers as essential to belief in God. The Greek Fathers from Clement and Origen onwards taught human freedom and responsibility, and were disposed to explain the presence of evil in the world by describing it as negative, not a substance. The teaching of predestination in the West was in practice held side by side with a belief in Providence, Augustine furnishing a striking example of this. In a famous passage (*Conf.* bk. vii. chs. 11, 13) he describes God as the only reality, evil being at the same time 'unreal' or 'partial good' (see also *Soliloq.* i. 2f.). But, combined with these distinctly Neo-Platonist elements, Augustine taught a clear and elaborate doctrine of Providence as controlling events in their utmost details. His treatise *de Civitate Dei* formulates a philosophy of history based on this fundamental conception. Scholasticism, by its intimate blending of philosophy and theology, did much to develop Christian doctrine on the relation between God and the world. Thomas Aquinas brought all his resources to bear on questions of this kind. His position is that of a modified predestinarianism. 'The Divine foreordination which he teaches leaves room—at the expense of some inconsistency—both for human free will and for a doctrine of Providence which theoretically embraces all details in human history. Roman Catholic doctrine as formulated at Trent is based on Aquinas, and exhibits God as Ruler and Guardian of men in the minutiæ of individual life, as well as in the broad outlines of national history.

7. Protestant.—Protestantism manifested little divergence on the great fundamental questions of natural theology. Luther, Calvin, and Zwingli alike understood by Providence a Divine foreordination, which included the operations of man as well as the course of nature. They believed that the actions of wicked men are so overruled by Divine wisdom and power that the presence of evil in the world is no blot upon God's character and government. Few attempted to work out these general theories in detail. The 'occasionalism' (*q.v.*) of Malebranche, which implied the continuous interposition of the Deity and treated finite things as

affording only 'occasions' for Divine operations, may be mentioned as one hypothesis. It was not accepted by many, and was obviously open to the charge of implying a kind of perpetual miracle. It made way for the more reasonable theory of 'concurrence' (see below). The rationalism (*q.v.*) of the 18th cent. produced both the *Theodicée* of Leibniz, with its picture of the world as, in spite of all its imperfections, the best of all possible worlds, and the caustic scepticism of Voltaire, who in *Candide* satirized an optimism which could accept the earthquake of Lisbon with a light heart. It was left for the 19th cent. to show that neither the faith of the optimist nor the sneer of the cynic was adequate to deal with the facts of life and history.

III. *Modern conceptions.* — **1. 19th cent. theology.**—The changes discernible in the course of the 19th cent. were produced in the main by the following causes, themselves more or less closely connected: (1) a change in the conception of God, which may be described as a passing from deism to theism, from a belief in a transcendent Deity, set over against the world which He originally created, to a God immanent as well as transcendent, informing and sustaining a created universe, which continues to be entirely dependent on His indwelling power; the cold rationalism which was satisfied with a mighty absentee Deity was displaced by belief in One who meets the craving of the human spirit for union and communion with the living God; (2) the influence of modern physical science, which in the first instance attempted a mechanical explanation of the universe, but which ultimately, through its doctrine of evolution, revealed the world as an organism developing under the influence of indwelling life; (3) philosophical tendencies of an idealistic type, operative mainly at the close of the century. These affected very deeply the view taken of the relation between God and the world, and consequently the meaning of Providence. As a matter of fact, in the Christian theology of the period the name 'God' covered various undefined meanings, ranging from bare theism to views which approached pantheism. The prevalent orthodox opinion was described by the term *concursus*, adapted from the Schoolmen, implying a joint activity of God and man, so that the effect of every act is produced not by God alone, nor by an independent creature. There is one efficiency of God and the creature, the evil in sinful deeds being due to man alone.

2. The crucial question of to-day.—The significance and bearings of 'concurrence' had certainly not been thought out. The scientific discoveries and philosophical activities of the 19th cent. forced upon theologians a number of questions which they were only partly prepared to answer. The worlds of theology, philosophy, physical science, and ordinary practical life had been so far apart that what may be called the necessary exosmosis and endosmosis of ideas was not effected. Such intercommunication is still far from complete, but the process has been carried far enough to show that the complex questions raised by the term 'Providence' can be answered only by a deeper understanding of the relations between God and man.

Hume, among other questions which roused men from dogmatic slumber, put this very searching one—Is the philosophy of the universe to be wholly empirical? If so, all depends on the definition of 'experience.' What are the facts on which an inquiry into Providence—in the sense of belief in an Orderer of human life, both omnipotent and benevolent—is to be based? Physical facts are clearly insufficient. The whole experience of man must be taken into account, and mere colligation of happenings will not suffice. Their interpretation is all-important, and in the process postulates are employed concerning which fundamental differences of opinion exist. The hypothesis of blind force as the originating and sustaining cause of the universe may be read into what are called facts, as well as the hypothesis of a celestial Artificer, or of an indwelling as well as overruling Deity. Issue between them can be joined only on the question, Which of these theories best accounts for *all* the facts of human experience, and what doctrine of Providence, or the maintenance of a Divine purpose in human affairs, is warranted in the light of the best modern knowledge? Granted that the doctrine is one of faith, is the faith reasonably based upon all the facts, physical, moral, and spiritual, of human life? It is from this standpoint that the subject has been approached during the close of the 19th and the opening of the 20th century.

Does the theory of an overruling Providence, all-wise, almighty, and all-good, 'work'? That is, does it give a permanently satisfactory account of the facts of life, and result in a permanently satisfying explanation of them from a moral and spiritual point of view? If it be granted to the theist that there is a God, who operates within, as well as over, the existing order, do the facts warrant a belief that He has power and wisdom enough to co-ordinate the whole and accomplish a purpose beneficent enough to bear out the statement that He is as gracious as He is powerful and wise? No doctrine of Providence can satisfy the modern mind which cannot frankly meet this question. But the issues raised are so vast and complex, and they are so distinctly personal and ethical, rather than philosophical and scientific, that they are, as they always have been, differently determined by different inquirers.

3. 'General Providence.'—The answers given by the best representatives of modern Protestant theology may be described under two headings—general and special (or particular) Providence. Certain general principles in the ordering of human affairs which imply a controlling Deity are such as these: (1) God works by law, *i.e.* by a regular and uniform, not by an irregular and arbitrary, method; and this recognized order, while it raises serious difficulties in particular cases, is obviously advantageous to the welfare of the whole. But the Divine operation in question is exerted not upon a plastic material substance, but upon the partially independent and largely recalcitrant wills of men. Hence conflict is discernible, contradictions appear, and at best delay arises in the accomplishment of results. The principles of (2) solidarity and (3) sacrifice are also discernible. These imply that men as a race stand or fall together; that, in the family, in society, in the nation, and as time advances in the history of the race, individuals are made to realize the importance of self-denial, self-suppression, and it may be self-surrender, for the good of the whole. The relation between the parts and the whole in the organism, imperfectly understood at first, and still ignored in thought and practice by many, becomes increasingly clear as the knowledge and experience of mankind extend. And the twin principles of solidarity and sacrifice are pillars upon which any doctrine of Providence must ultimately rest. (4) While advance in the accomplishment of Divine purposes is slow and is retarded by only too obvious retrogression, progress is on the whole discernible, though the goal which by hypothesis is being aimed at can be reached only by advance of an admittedly gradual and imperfect kind. The above considerations belong to natural theology. (5) The believer in a special Christian revelation turns naturally to that as normative and determin-

ative amidst the baffling complexities of human history. Faith in Christ holds a clue to the labyrinth which unaided reason disdains to use. Whether Christian faith can be proved to be in itself reasonable or not depends upon the extent to which the Christian solution, resting upon the Incarnation, the Cross, and the Resurrection, can be shown to meet the demands made upon it.

4. 'Special Providence.' — The term 'special Providence' dates from the time of the Schoolmen, who distinguished between Providence universal, general, particular, special, and most special. Discredit has been brought upon the idea by the way in which it has been interpreted and the inferences drawn from supposed Divine intervention in particular cases. But it is obvious that the Providence which does not concern itself with *species* and *genus* as well as with *universum*, and with the individual as well as with the race, is none at all. A deity who is 'careful of the type' and 'careless of the single life' does not exercise providence in the usual acceptation of the word. The doctrine of special Providence means that God is able and willing, not only to promote general well-being, but also to secure to every one who trusts and obeys Him that all things shall work together for his true personal welfare. God does not generalize without particularizing. Such a process is as meaningless in the realm of intellect as it is iniquitous in the realm of morals. The Father in heaven makes His sun to shine on evil and good alike; He operates by general laws. But He also so orders their working in the natural and spiritual worlds taken as one whole that all things are made, sooner or later, to contribute to the abiding welfare of the faithful servant of God. In this ordered whole there is no distinction of small and great, as the words are often understood. The criterion of magnitude and importance is to be found in the spiritual world. The care for the welfare of the individual does not abrogate general laws. A doctrine of special Providence does not imply the deliverance of the individual from specific dangers or the granting to him of specific advantages. The same event has a totally different significance for different men. Opportunities proverbially come to him who is ready to use them. And all things may 'work together for good to them that love God' in a sense that is not, and cannot be, true for those who are not found in union with Himself and in harmony with His great designs.

It may be said that some belief of this kind is essential to a theistic religion. It is tested in practice by a belief in the efficacy of prayer and by a corresponding doctrine of values in personal, social, national, and racial life. It cannot be proved by *a priori* reasoning or established by a complete induction from the events of experience, especially as understood by those for whom the word 'spiritual' has little or no meaning. But it represents a reasonable faith, not a credulous or superstitious attitude towards the universe, because it is open to receive all well-attested facts and furnishes the best explanation of experience as a whole, when studied from a moral and spiritual point of view.

IV. *PROBLEMS RAISED.*—The difficulties in the way of the acceptance of a doctrine of Providence are in the main those raised against theism (*q.v.*). Theists maintain their view of God and the world in spite of the prevalence of pain, failure, death, and other factors of existence, of which under the rule of a perfectly good God only partial explanations can be given. The doctrine of Providence is the feature of theism most frequently assailed and most difficult to defend, making, as it does, the lofty claim that all human activities are subordinated to the accomplishment of the Divine will and to purposes of perfect benevolence. Some of the problems raised are metaphysical and concern the relation of the One to the many, or the compatibility of Divine foreknowledge with human free will. Others are ethical and can be satisfactorily dealt with only as parts of a complex whole (see art. GOOD AND EVIL). Others can only be described as standing difficulties, which must always attach to what Butler described with characteristic caution as 'a scheme imperfectly understood.' To relegate a portion of the problems of Providence to this category is not an unworthy evasion, because these proofs of human ignorance remain on any alternative theory of the universe and are—as the theist holds—far less satisfactorily dealt with on the hypotheses (say) of naturalism, deism, or pantheism. The essential conditions of human existence make a measure of ignorance concerning what may be called the plans and methods of Providence to be inevitable, and all reasonable theories of the universe allow for it. None the less, no doctrine of Providence can be defended, or is likely to be generally accepted, which does not find a place for great catastrophes —the earthquake of Lisbon, the eruption of Krakatoa, the Black Death, or the colossal world-war of 1914– . It does not come within the scope of the present article to do more than indicate some of the ways in which outstanding problems of Providence may be, not solved, but reasonably met.

1. Evolution and design.—Evolution as part of the Divine method in the genesis and history of life is not inconsistent with teleology. Mode does not exclude purpose. The study of processes need not interfere—though in practice it may often do so—with a belief in ends. The principles of evolution as traced in the lower organisms can be applied to human society only with very important modifications; but, so far as evolutionary methods are discernible, they do not interfere with design. Though they may destroy the evidence for certain separate and specific designs and ends, they help greatly in building up a conception of one vast purpose, which as yet only dimly looms in view. Man is on this planet the consummation of life, and it is quite consistent with all that is known of his development to hold that by the operation of Providence the history of mankind is being so ordered that the race may realize its highest conceivable capacity.

2. Immanence and transcendence.—The idea of Divine immanence, which has gained such hold of recent years, may seem to undermine belief in Providence—a doctrine essentially dependent on Divine transcendence. The theist claims to maintain both doctrines side by side. If immanence is accepted as sometimes taught, it approaches pantheism, and the possibility of Providence proportionally disappears. A professed theist, who yet ignores or denies the transcendence of a personal God, has no real belief in Providence. But even Matthew Arnold's 'The Eternal, not ourselves, that makes for righteousness' at least prepares the way for a doctrine which Shakespeare's 'divinity that shapes our ends, rough-hew them how we will,' carries a stage further. Also, 'immanence' is a word only recently adopted to express, not quite happily, the fact that the Divine relation to the creature, and especially the course of human history, is not purely external. This may, and in contemporary writers frequently does, imply movement in one or more of the following directions: (*a*) a protest against undue reliance on Divine intervention from without, especially on miracle, as the chief evidence of Divine action; (*b*) the acceptance of self-limitation on the part of the Deity as beginning in creation and continuous

throughout in His relation with the creature; (*c*) hence the admission that the course of human history, whilst ordered for good, is not the best possible or conceivable. Man has a measure of power to delay, or mar, a Divine work which he cannot ultimately prevent. If the action of Providence is discernible in the destruction of the Armada or the banishment of Napoleon to St. Helena, account must also be given of the murder of Lincoln at a critical moment in the history of the United States and the cutting short of the career of the German Emperor Frederick III. and the succession of so different a ruler as William II. (*d*) Arguments for or against a belief in the Divine control of human affairs can never be satisfactorily based on isolated events. It is the power to compel all seeming and real discords into ultimate harmony that is asserted; and this by means of an indwelling life, rather than a merely external control and mastery.

3. Divine omnipotence.—Discussions concerning the nature of Divine omniscience and omnipotence, and the relation of these to man's freedom of choice, cannot be dealt with here (see FREE WILL, GOD, PREDESTINATION). It may be said, however, in a word that the doctrine of omnipotence has often been seriously misunderstood; that the creaturely will may be real and operative within limits without impugning the doctrine of Divine control. As Herbert puts it,

> 'Either thy command, or thy permission,
> Lay hands on all: they are thy right and left'
> (*The Temple*—'Providence').

A line in the context of the same poem puts the truth still more succinctly,

> 'All things have their will, yet none but thine.'

4. Some moral problems.—One large class of perpetually recurring problems arises from the constitution of nature as a whole, man forming only a part of this, and sometimes a distinctly subordinate part. The phenomena of physical pain and death fall to be considered under this heading. The theistic contention is that the facts point not to essential dualism in the order of nature, but to the development of designs which include the welfare of the human race as a whole, but as a relative rather than as an absolute end. The existence and course of moral evil in the world constitute a still graver difficulty, which is discussed in art. GOOD AND EVIL, but which does not necessitate either, on the one hand, an explanation of sin as mere negation or, on the other, a denial of the holy love of God.

5. Immortality.—No doctrine of Providence can be complete which does not deal with the question of immortality. If life beyond the grave is wholly denied, our estimate of human nature and the significance of human life is altogether changed. Natural theology cannot prove immortality, but it can build up a strong argument in its favour, 'since a contrary supposition is negatived by all that we know of the habits and methods of the cosmic process of Evolution' (J. Fiske, *Life Everlasting*, London, 1901, p. 86 f.). But, at the best, strong and confident hope is all that can be reached on the basis of natural theology, and hope cannot be used to establish a doctrine of Providence. If, however, the Christian revelation is to be trusted, the solution of the most perplexing problems in relation to the Divine government of the world may be postponed until the dawn of a future life illumines them. Enough if it be true concerning God as revealed in Christ that 'of Him, through Him, and unto Him are all things,' and that the 'one far-off Divine event to which the whole creation moves' will be realized in the End beyond the end, when the Son has delivered up the Kingdom to the Father and God is all in all.

LITERATURE.—For the OT the well-known handbooks of **G. F. Oehler** (*Theol. of the OT*, Eng. tr., 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1874–75), **H. Schultz** (*OT Theol.*, Eng. tr., 2 vols., do. 1892), and **A. B. Davidson** (*The Theol. of the OT*, do. 1903). For the later Jewish period **E. Schürer**, *HJP*, 5 vols., do. 1886–90; also **H. J. Wicks**, *The Doctrine of God in the Jewish Apocr. Literature*, London, 1915; **W. Bousset**, *Die Religion des Judenthums in NT Zeitalter*, Berlin, 1903. For NT theology the text-books of **B. Weiss** (*Biblical Theol. of the NT*[3], Eng. tr., 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1882–83), **W. Beyschlag** (*NT Theol.*, Eng. tr., 2 vols., do. 1895), and **G. B. Stevens** (*The Theol. of the NT*, do. 1899). For pagan thought **Cicero**, *de Nat. Deor.* ii., *de Finibus*, iii.; **Seneca**, *de Providentia*.

For the history of Christian doctrine **R. Seeberg**, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1895–98; **Leibniz**, *Essais de Theodicée*, Amsterdam, 1710; **S. Charnock**, *Treatise of Divine Providence*, London, 1683; **J. Martineau**, *A Study of Religion*, Oxford, 1888; **A. B. Bruce**, *The Providential Order of the World*, London, 1897, *Moral Order of the World*, do. 1899; **S. Harris**, *God the Creator and Lord of All*, Edinburgh, 1897; **W. N. Clarke**, *The Christian Doctrine of God*, do. 1897; **W. Adams Brown**, *Christian Theology in Outline*, do. 1907 (see ch. xiv. 2); **A. C. Fraser**, *Philosophy of Theism*[2], Edinburgh and London, 1909; **W. L. Walker**, *Christian Theism and a Spiritual Monism*, Edinburgh, 1906; **J. Oswald Dykes**, *The Divine Worker in Creation and Providence*, do. 1909; **J. Le Conte**, *Evolution in Relation to Religious Thought*[3], London, 1901; **V. F. Storr**, *Development and Divine Purpose*, do. 1906; **R. Otto**, *Naturalism and Religion*, Eng. tr., do, 1907; **J. Telford**, *Man's Partnership with Divine Providence*, do. 1908; **J. Ward**, *The Realm of Ends; or Pluralism and Theism*, Cambridge, 1911; **C. C. J. Webb**, *Problems in the Relations of God and Man*, London, 1911, *Studies in the Hist. of Natural Theology*, Oxford, 1915; **C. F. D'Arcy**, *God and Freedom in Human Experience*, London, 1915. Useful essays on the subject are found in *The Faith and the War*, ed. **F. J. Foakes-Jackson**, do. 1915.

W. T. DAVISON.

PRUSSIANS.—See OLD PRUSSIANS.

PSALMODY.—See HYMNS, MUSIC (Christian).

PSYCHICAL RESEARCH.—During the ages of universal belief in ghosts and spirits unusual phenomena were commonly attributed to their agency. In antiquity visions, haunted houses, and clairvoyance were, as a matter of course, referred to spirits. The old Romans practised crystallomancy and hydromancy, *i.e.* clairvoyance by gazing in crystals and at the surface of still water. They knew also the 'divining rod' in the form of the *pendule explorateur*. The forked rod has for centuries been used to discover treasures, and even to trace criminals to their hiding-places; and the belief in premonition, received in dreams or in apparitions of waking life, was current ages before Gurney's 'Census of Hallucination.'

But these and other unusual phenomena, real or alleged, readily explicable through spirits while the belief in their existence was unshaken, grew mysterious in the extreme as soon as that simple form of explanation became open to suspicion. Scepticism regarding the existence of spirits led in 1882 to the foundation of the now well-known Society for Psychical Research (S.P.R.), the purpose of which was officially expressed as the investigation of 'various alleged phenomena apparently inexplicable by known laws of nature and commonly referred by Spiritualists to the agency of extra-terrene intelligence, and by others to some unknown physical force.' And Andrew Lang could state in a presidential address that 'the Society, as such, has no views, no beliefs, no hypothesis, except, perhaps, the opinion that there is an open field of inquiry; that not all the faculties and potentialities of men have been studied and explained up to date, in terms of nerve and brain.'

The society counts among its leaders men of the first rank; in science William Crookes, Oliver Lodge, W. F. Barrett, and Charles Richet; in philosophy and letters Henry Sidgwick, William James, A. J. Balfour, Andrew Lang, and F. W. H. Myers. These names are sufficient warrant that its work is carried out with great seriousness and ability. The 27 volumes of its *Proceedings* already

issued contain extensive reports upon telepathy (thought- and feeling-transference), automatism of various sorts (divining-rod, table-moving, automatic writing, slate-writing, etc.), clairvoyance, haunted houses, premonitions, spirit-communications, and other topics.

For convenience' sake the facts studied may be roughly classified as physical and psychical. The first class includes levitation and translation (of tables, chairs, human bodies, etc.) and materialization (of ghosts and other objects), the production of noises, music, etc. To the second class belong premonitory or otherwise significant visions (crystal-gazing, apparitions), the discovery of objects by means of the divining-rod or the pendulum, slate-writing, and the alleged 'messages' from spirits expressed through a 'medium.'

The outcome of the work of the S.P.R. with regard to the physical phenomena may be conservatively summed up as the establishment of the improbability of there being anything in them but conscious or unconscious fraud—unconscious when the medium performs while in a trance. The evidence for this unfavourable verdict cannot be adequately given here. But, in order to illustrate the conditions under which the performances of 'physical' mediums are conducted, the difficulty of obtaining their consent to satisfactory test-conditions, and what happens when those conditions are accepted, we shall consider briefly the case of the latest and best studied great claimant to the possession of mysterious power, Eusapia Palladino.

Palladino, an Italian peasant woman, who had from her early youth shown mediumistic powers, became widely known by the report in 1913 of a series of sittings held in Milan before a number of distinguished scientists. She submitted thereafter to numerous investigations conducted in several countries by men of international reputation. Already, in Milan, fraud had been shown to be the probable explanation of some of her feats. Placed on a balance, she would gradually lose 17 lbs. of her weight (a more accurate balance decreased considerably the loss of weight), and then recover it, also gradually. This startling fact lost much of its mysteriousness when it was observed that, whenever her dress was prevented from touching the floor beyond the balance, no change in weight occurred.

Palladino's performance before a committee of the Institut Général de Psychologie uncovered not only a number of tricks, but also her rooted aversion to really scientific control, and the impotency to which she is reduced when she submits to conditions satisfactory to the investigators. One of the interesting discoveries of this committee was made by means of a device recording, unknown to the medium, the weight of the chair in which she sat during the table-levitation performances. It was found that, whenever the two feet of the table nearest to her, or three, or all four feet were lifted, there was an increase in her weight, corresponding to the weight of the table; and, whenever the two feet opposite the end at which she was seated were lifted, a decrease in her weight was recorded by the apparatus. This is just what would be expected on the supposition that in the former cases the weight of the table rested on her body, and in the latter she pressed upon the near end of the table in order to cause the raising of the opposite end. Her success in deflecting 'without contact' a delicate balance gave way to complete failure when it was protected in various ways. It was, moreover, discovered that a long hair and a pin were among the apparatus apparently required for the performance of this feat.

These and similarly suspicious or condemnatory tests might, it seems, have convinced the committee that they were investigating merely a very clever prestidigitator; yet their report admits the possibility of Palladino's possession of an unknown power. It is argued that deception in a medium does not preclude the possession of supernormal power, and that the detection of occasional or even frequent deception is not sufficient warrant for judging all the feats to be tricks. The answer to this argument is that a combination of frequency of deception, kinds of performance, and nature of the required conditions may be realized which would decrease to the vanishing point the probability of the presence in the medium of a supernormal force. This combination of factors is realized in Palladino's case.

Before the French investigators she operated under the following conditions. The room in which the experiments were made was darkened, and, at times, quite dark. The darker the room, we are told, the more remarkable the performance. The control of the medium's hands was theoretically secured by two persons, each holding one of hers; but in practice she insisted, when she chose, upon the right to place her hands on those of the controllers, and even, at times, to give them gentle taps instead of remaining in uninterrupted contact with them. Corresponding conditions existed as to the control of her feet. During the sittings her hands were in motion carrying with them those of the controllers. She refused to have pieces of tape seven centimetres long sewed between her sleeves and those of the controllers. She refused to allow observers to be stationed in the room elsewhere than around the table. After the first flash-light photograph had been taken, she refused to permit any to be taken without warning, on the ground that it caused her a most painful shock. She did not propose to wear dark glasses, but expressed a willingness to give the signal herself, '*Fuoco*!'

Together with these facts must be weighed two important considerations: (1) the performances in which she was not caught at tricks are of the same sort as those in which she was; (2) every one of the conditions that she maintained against the wish of the investigators favours deception. Why is it so? Why must there be a cabinet closed in front by a curtain? Why must the stand, the clay, and other objects be within reach of her hands or feet? Why the poor illumination? Why was she not willing to suffer the annoyance of an unexpected flash of light and of a safe control of her hands and feet? Were she occasionally honest, she might, it seems, occasionally dispense with some or all of these suspicious conditions. That certain requirements must be observed in order to make possible the manifestation of any power is not disputed. But why is it that those demanded here are precisely those that would afford the medium a chance to deceive?

We need not be deterred from a negative conclusion by the sitters' declaration that they cannot possibly understand how, in light sufficient for observation and with her hands and feet under control, Palladino could by normal means accomplish certain of the things which they have seen her do. Photography shows how unable they were to realize what was going on. In the only photograph taken without warning Palladino is seen actually lifting the table with her hands, while the controllers have theirs upon hers, and yet they were not aware of her action. In another photograph the stand which they thought they had seen floating freely in the air appears supported on the medium's neck and head. Their judgment as to the sufficiency of light and the occupation of the medium's hands while under control can evidently not be relied upon.

What is true of Palladino is true in substance of all mediums, so far as the production of physical phenomena is concerned. Every one of them, with the single exception of Daniel Dunglas Home, has been detected in deception. The distinguished personality of this famous medium inspired too much respect among the small and carefully selected circle before whom he performed to permit of the suspicion of trickery. He was, therefore, spared the humiliation of an investigation implying the possibility of fraud.

Certain of the wonder-exciting phenomena recently subjected to scientific study are complicated by automatism and by the possible presence in the agent of unusual susceptibility to certain sensory stimuli. It has been established, *e.g.*, that the movement of the rod which indicates the presence of water is unconsciously imparted to the rod by the dowser; and that the finding of a hidden object, by a person in contact with one knowing its location, is achieved by the 'reading' of slight unconscious movements. But automatism is only the beginning of an explanation of these phenomena. Why should the hands of the dowser move when over water, and how is it that movements seemingly too slight to offer any guidance are, nevertheless, in the experiments referred to, sufficient to lead the percipient to the hidden object? The existence in the percipient of an extraordinary delicacy of sensory perception is, in most cases of the kind, the pertinent explanation. Should cases occur which this explanation does not fit, the possibility of telepathic communication between the persons in contact, or even perchance between the percipient and some one else than the person in contact with him, would have to be considered. Neither one nor the other of these explanations is applicable to the dowser. Vision, or another kind of perception of the water or the ore, through the intervening opaque media, has been suggested as a possible explanation; but, before recourse is had to clairvoyance, it may be demanded that the fact itself be more firmly established than it now is. The doubter must, however, admit that the reported experiments (W. F. Barrett, 'On the so-called Divining Rod,' *Proc.*

S.P.R. xiii. [1897] 2–280, xv. [1900] 130–383) establish at least a presumption in favour of the possession by certain persons of a peculiar aptitude for this sort of discovery—an aptitude not dependent upon knowledge of an acknowledged kind.

The greatest achievement of the psychical researchers is the well-nigh unquestionable demonstration of occasional communication between living persons without any known intermediary (telepathy). The evidence is now of such quality and quantity that even particularly sceptical investigators find it impossible to deny its adequacy. The evidence consists of experimental and of spontaneous communications. Among the notable experiments are those conducted by Prof. and Mrs. H. Sidgwick, in which a percipient named numbers of two digits taken out of a bag by the former. Of 644 trials 133 were entirely successful—*i.e.* the two digits were correctly given; and in 14 trials the right digits were given, but in the reverse order. None of the tricks known to the professional prestidigitator could apparently find application in this, or in several other instances of the same sort.

In *Phantasms of the Living* Edmund Gurney has published over 200 well-attested instances of spontaneous communications. His 'Census of Hallucination' and the subsequent more elaborate census of a committee of the S.P.R. apparently prove that the number of veridical hallucinations is much greater than is indicated by the rule of chance (*Proc. S.P.R.* x. [1894] 393). It must, moreover, be acknowledged that, when hallucinations include several veridical incidents not logically connected, none of which is ordinary or to be naturally expected by the percipient, a small number of them seems sufficient to exclude coincidence as an explanation.

But, even were it possible to dismiss these spontaneous, premonitory hallucinations as due to coincidence, mistake, or deceit, there would yet remain the weighty experimental evidence for thought-transference. Nevertheless, the critical investigator may well stop short of complete assurance when he considers that these experiments are only sporadically successful. The only persons able to produce, whenever desired, alleged telepathic feats either are definitely known to be deceivers or are open to serious suspicion. No fact may be incorporated in any science unless the conditions of its appearance are known sufficiently to make possible either its reproduction or the circumstantial prediction of its reappearance. Conviction of the reality of telepathy will not become general among men of science until one or the other of these conditions is realized.

As to the tentative explanation of telepathy, we may say here merely that the dominant tendency is to seek for a physical explanation on the analogy of the wireless transmission of electric energy. Vibrations of some sort, produced by a brain in a particular physiological state, are supposed to be transmitted to another brain in a condition that makes it an appropriate receiver. The main difficulty in the way of this theory seems to be the distance (half the circumference of the earth) through which these waves would at times reach the receiving brain. But, until we know more about this supposititious brain-energy, there is little force in the objection that its energy is insufficient.

Clairvoyance, or, as it is also called, telæsthesia, is commonly produced by gazing in a crystal or at other polished surfaces (cf. art. CRYSTAL-GAZING). The percipient sees, often with great clearness of detail, objects and happenings at practically any distance. This very old belief has been neither placed on a secure scientific foundation nor discredited by the labours of the S.P.R. If the numerous well-authenticated reports of telæsthesia are to be accepted at their face value, we are in the presence of a problem the solution of which is clearly beyond our present knowledge. This remark is applicable also to the preposterous accuracy in the estimation of time-intervals displayed by some persons, either in the normal condition or in hypnosis (see the experiments of J. Milne Bramwell, *Hypnotism: its History, Practice, and Theory*, London, 1903, pp. 119–139).

The wonderful physical phenomena to which we have referred, the no less wonderful clairvoyance, supernormal time-estimation, and telepathy might all be what they seem, and yet the problem of survival after death remain untouched. But there is another class of phenomena—the alleged 'spirit-messages'—which are not so easily detached from the spiritistic hypothesis. The most famous of the living spirit-mediums is doubtless Mrs. Piper of Boston. No other medium has been so long and carefully studied by so many able investigators, and none has contributed so much that seems beyond the ingenuity of any one to explain. The stage-setting of these séances is somewhat complicated. The medium passes into a trance and speaks or writes automatically messages purporting to come from some spirit; but this communicating spirit is introduced and superintended by a familiar spirit called the 'control.' Mrs. Piper's reputation for honesty has never been shaken.

We need not enter into a critical analysis of Mrs. Piper's utterances, but pass on to the more decisive experiments in cross-correspondence, the latest and most promising of a settlement of the question of survival after death. The theory of cross-correspondence is that, if several persons receive messages which are singly unintelligible, but have meaning when combined, we ought, it seems, to admit—on the supposition that fraud is excluded—that these messages have been suggested to the percipients by a single mind. If, moreover, the thing communicated does not seem to have been possibly within the knowledge of any one of the percipients; and if it is discovered that some dead person possessed that knowledge when on earth; and, finally, if that person is mentioned by name as the communicator in one or several of the unintelligible parts of the message, then at least a strong presumption in favour of the existence of that spirit may be regarded as having been established.

The experiments in cross-correspondence (*Proc. S.P.R.* xx. ff. [1906 ff.]) have been conducted chiefly through three English ladies, one of them residing in India, and Mrs. Piper. Chance coincidence is absolutely insufficient to account for the results secured, and collusion is rejected by all those who know something of these persons and of the conditions of the tests. There is apparently no escape from the conclusion reached by that acute critic and tenacious sceptic, Frank Podmore:

> 'The automatists unquestionably show that they possess information which could not have reached their consciousness by normal means' (*The Newer Spiritualism*, p. 302).

Whether the explanation of these mysterious cross-correspondences will be found in telepathy acting at any distance, taken together with the well-known fact of the reappearance in certain mental states (*e.g.*, in trance-consciousness) of things once known but long forgotten, even of things of which we never had more than an imperfect knowledge and should at no time have been able to reproduce correctly, remains for future investigations to disclose. As long as we can affirm with Podmore that 'the trance personalities have never told us anything which was not possibly, scarcely anything which was not prob

ably, within the knowledge of some living person' (p. 312), telepathy will appear the more plausible and the less revolutionary hypothesis. But who will venture to formulate the test which will mark particular messages as not within the 'possibly known' to some one living anywhere on the surface of the globe?

The telepathic hypothesis of spirit-messages receives support from the unexpected meaninglessness of the 'revelations' made by the alleged spirits regarding their state and the circumstances of their existence. They have been fairly loquacious; yet none of them, not even those from whom much could have been expected, have revealed anything at all. More significant still than the insignificance of their remarks concerning the other life is the pertinacious effort of these alleged spirits to avoid answering the many and pointed questions addressed to them on that subject. From Richard Hodgson, the late secretary of the S.P.R., nothing enlightening has been learned, despite his haste in giving sign of his existence. For several years after his death Mrs. Piper scarcely held a sitting without some manifestation of what professed to be Hodgson's spirit. Of trifling incidents which may be useful in establishing his identity he talked abundantly; but, when questioned concerning the circumstances of his existence, he either drivelled or excused himself clumsily and departed. Frederic Myers and William James have been equally disappointing.

It has been urged that the spirits may find it difficult to work with the muscular mechanism of the medium; a disincarnate soul may be inefficient in the matter of bodily control; he may also be for a time not fully conscious and muddled. The fact is, however, that spirits do communicate a great many things; it takes volumes to record their utterances! The difficulties are apparently of such peculiar nature that nothing concerning the other life, and only things that have taken place on this earth, transpire. None of the hypotheses offered accounts for this puzzling aspect of the communications—not even the latest suggestion which would shift the blame from the spirit to the medium. Here we are asked to admit that, because of the peculiar condition of spirit-existence, the spirit's mental content is transmitted whole to the medium—in a lump, as it were—instead of coming out in the organized and selected form which is ensured by normal speech. Were it so, it would be small wonder that the medium should grow confused, contradict himself, and speak irrelevantly. But why, when he knows that the sitter seeks information on things above, does the medium not succeed once in a while in choosing in the total consciousness of the spirit something which would gratify the sitter's curiosity? Why are the things picked out always trifling, meaningless, or ridiculous? To this pertinent question no satisfactory answer has ever been given. The limitation of the knowledge of the alleged spirits to earthly facts points to an earthly origin of the medium's information.

One may, perhaps, venture to quote William James as a fair representative of those among the well-informed who regard the mystery of death as unsolved. Shortly before his death he wrote:

'For twenty-five years I have been in touch with the literature of Psychical Research, and I have been acquainted with numerous Researchers . . . yet I am theoretically no further than I was at the beginning' (*American Magazine*, lxviii. [1909] 580).

As to those who regard the results of the S.P.R. as proving survival, they must admit that no amount of optimism and ingenuity in explanation can hide the repulsiveness of such glimpses of the future life as they think they have caught and its lack of the essential features of the Christian conception. In any case, then, the belief in the Christian hereafter, elaborated by humanity under the pressure of exalted desires, remains entirely unsubstantiated.

If, after thirty-four years of activity, many of the mysteries which the S.P.R. set out to explore are still unfathomed, much has, nevertheless, been explained. Thus the mischief which mystery works upon credulous humanity has been decreased by the extension of the field of scientific control. This is particularly true with regard to the various forms of automatism. But the greatest accomplishment to record is the approximate demonstration that, under circumstances still mostly unknown, men may gain knowledge by other than the usual means, perhaps by direct communication between brains (telepathy) at practically any earthly distance from each other. This dark opening is indeed portentous. It may at any time lead to discoveries which will dwarf into insignificance any of the previous achievements of science.

LITERATURE.—Among the important literature may be mentioned: *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research*, London and Glasgow, 1883 ff.; *Proceedings of the American Society for Psychical Research*, New York, 1907 ff.; E. Gurney, F. W. H. Myers, and F. Podmore, *Phantasms of the Living*, 2 vols., London, 1886; F. Podmore, *Apparitions and Thought Transference*, do. 1894, *Modern Spiritualism: a History and a Criticism*, 2 vols., do. 1902, *The Newer Spiritualism*, do. 1911; T. Flournoy, *Des Indes à la planète Mars*[4], Geneva, 1910 (a very interesting account of a case of somnambulism and glossolalia); F. W. H. Myers, *Human Personality*, 2 vols., London, 1903; Oliver Lodge, *The Survival of Man*[2], do. 1909.

JAMES H. LEUBA.

PSYCHOLOGY.—I. *DEFINITION AND SCOPE.*—**1. Psychology the study of the world of experience.**—A cursory survey of the literature of this subject shows that it deals chiefly with the direct impressions of sense, such as colours, sounds, tastes, and smells; with their complex integrations, such as visual forms in one, two, or three dimensions, groups of consonant and dissonant tones, tonal intervals, melody, and the localization of these sensory experiences; with our apprehension and appreciation of space; with our perception of objects and our general notions regarding them; with memory, imagination, thinking; with feeling, emotion, and sentiment; with voluntary activity of all kinds, whether ideational or practical; and with a number of general questions arising out of these topics. It does not deal with the parts and processes of the material world, but with all our awareness of, and our activity and interest in, the world. Or, if the difficulty of separating the material objective world from our activity with it is pointed out, we may say that psychology deals with all of the world that is immediately or directly before us; or with the world in so far as it is momentarily dependent upon our own activity; if we shut our eyes, all colours and their forms and localizations vanish from us as actualities; if we cease to remember, the things of the past are no longer with us; when love takes the place of hate, the incompatibility of another person with us vanishes like a frown and there is only agreement and harmony. But we do not therefore suppose that the things that appeared coloured, or the past, or our neighbour, have momentarily vanished or have been replaced by others.

This obvious distinction between the world in so far as it is dependent upon itself and upon us is commonly expressed by saying that, whereas the natural sciences study the world of nature, psychology studies the world of experience. The objects which psychology studies are known as experiences. There are many other special sciences that deal with experiences; but psychology is the fundamental one. It holds the same place in the world of mind as physics does in the world of nature. It is the basal mental science.

In such a statement of the subject-matter of psychology as this three terms inevitably emerge into prominence: 'nature,' 'experience,' and 'self.' The world appears to us in experience. Experience is that aspect of the world that is (momentarily) dependent upon *our* activity. The world is that mass of implications of experiences that is not momentarily dependent upon our activity. We are that which, over against the fleeting medium of experience, partakes somewhat of the permanence of the world.

Now, if it is commonly admitted that the primary object of psychology is the study of experience, the further question must arise as to what concern psychology has with the relation of experience to the world and to the self.

2. Relation of experience to the world.—(*a*) *Psychology and epistemology.*—In its broadest form the relation to the world is the problem of epistemology—not, How in actual fact do we become aware of the world? (that is a purely psychological problem), but, By what right do we assert the existence of a world independent, to whatever extent, of experience (and of the self)? It might well be asserted that the only possible answer to the question of right is the correct answer to the question of fact. But an artificial distinction is often made to the effect that psychology can have no legitimate concern with truth or error. It is the business of logic to establish correct conclusions, and perhaps to classify fallacies; psychology will record and describe with impartiality the correct conclusion drawn by one man and the wrong conclusion drawn by another. Because the problem of psychology includes both the 'correct' and the 'false' process, it will make generalizations valid for both, and therefore invalid for what is logically true or rational. And in any case it requires a separate, not descriptive but normative, discipline to distinguish between the true and the false. That seems to be the line of argument taken by those who hold this view. They often give further support to their view by reference to the unconcern of natural science for truth, beauty, good, or weal. Two stars disrupt each other—it is a case of impact or tidal motion. The beauty of a rose is a problem in the minute chemistry of coloured compounds. The woe of mortal disease may be the struggle of two forms of life-force equally valid as biological energies.

That is all quite true, of course. But, though the sciences of medicine study health and disease impartially—if not indeed disease rather than health—and make generalizations valid for both, do they not also strive to win a special body of generalizations valid for health alone? Similarly, though the psychology of cognition will speak of the forms common to both truth and error, will they not also separate the variations peculiar to truth from those peculiar to error? If there is none such, how then does the other discipline proceed to distinguish between truth and error? If a general, reflective method, not regulated by the general methods of scientific procedure, can gain knowledge of the ways of truth, will not a special, introspective, experimental method that looks microscopically through the experience of single thinkers, fulfil the required task better in the end? If a man by introspection cannot discern the forms of truth, how will they ever be discerned? And, if the method is introspective, will it not be improved as much by the exact methods of psychology as other special problems of psychology have been? The discipline that distinguishes between the true and the false does not *make* or create the truth any more than it makes the falsehood or than a chemist makes or creates new organic compounds. And yet this, of course, does no prejudice to the possibility that there may be many aspects of knowledge that are much broader in their scope and relations than are the minute aspects of knowledge, such as come within the range of a few seconds' duration. These broad aspects may be studied by special broad methods, just as certain broad aspects of health are studied by certain broad (statistical) methods which ignore the single individual. But the broad aspects rest in the end scientifically upon the narrow ones in all regions.

Psychology, therefore, has full right to all that it can accomplish regarding the relation of experience to the world, and no discipline that concerns itself with that relation can afford to ignore the relevant work of psychology.

(*b*) *Psychology and physiology.*—In so far as psychology is concerned with the *proximate* relation of experience to the world—the relation to the body and specially to the nervous system of the individual—its science merges into that of psychophysics. The science which holds the other end of the relation is physiology. Much obscurity prevails regarding the relation of physiology and psychology, so that it is necessary to review it here in spite of its essential simplicity.

Psychology is the scientific study of experience, physiology that of the functions or activities of the body. Whatever asserts the existence, the time, the manner, the properties, or anything whatever, directly about an experience is an item of psychological science. Whatever asserts anything about the body or a part of it other than its topography and morphology is an item of physiological science. Consequently, the work of psychology consists in the increase of psychological science, in the increase of statements about experiences. An assertion regarding a touch-organ, an eye, an ear, or a nerve is an item of physiology, no matter how it was gathered, whether by the microscopical examination of the organ, or by inference from the observation of sensations of vision or of sound, or of loss of memory, or what not.

This obvious distinction is not in itself important in an exposition of psychology. Most people would agree to it at once. But they generally omit to draw the equally obvious deductions from it, and so to dispel their favourite prejudices. It is, *e.g.*, a common prejudice of scientists especially interested in physiology that psychology claims to be able to do what they already know they cannot yet do. It tries to show how consciousness arises, how the brain senses, feels, thinks, and acts; but with flimsy, superficial methods, such as the asking of questions, the recording of reaction times; ignoring all the while, *e.g.*, such a flagrant fact as that the occurrence of intelligence is dependent upon the proper functioning of the thyroid gland, and so on. It is in face of such a mistake that it is so necessary to point out that the fact regarding the thyroid gland belongs to psycho-physics, and that it does not add anything to our knowledge of experience as such. Many physiologists have definitely excluded any consideration of experiences from the scope of reference of their science. That is all the more reason why they should admit the scientific study of the field of experience as the task of others.

Another application: experimental psychologists are rightly highly impressed by the importance of physiology. The first foundations of the physiology of the senses are easier of access than are the foundations of a psychology of the senses. This difference of bulk and systematic coherence in the two spheres of knowledge relating to sensory life creates a prejudice in their minds, so that, when they proceed to study sensory experiences, they apply their own psychological methods to the

gathering of facts of observation, but, when they come to the problem of explanation, they are often completely diverted to the terms of physiological explanation, ignoring, it may be, altogether their duty of giving a psychological systematization of the facts gathered—in other words, a psychological explanation. This prejudice commonly governs professed psychologists even in dealing with questions relating to higher experiences, such as memory, feeling, emotion, etc. In the field of sensory experience it is almost universal.

The physiologist is correct in holding that, if he, specially active in the direct study of the functions of the body, and not ignorant of the indirect sources of physiological knowledge, cannot advance a true theory of neural action in some special department, such a theory will hardly be deduced solely or chiefly from indirect sources. On the other hand, the psychologist, who is specially active in the direct study of experiences, is more likely to be able to systematize these completely in his special department, and so to explain them psychologically, than he is to be able to deduce from them, in their unsystematized and therefore unregulated and perhaps incomplete form, a scheme for the completion of the knowledge and for the systematization of a neural field that has not been specially the object of his direct study. All this is, of course, without prejudice to the fact that one man may be equally fitted for, and may do equally complete, work in some field of both psychology and physiology. If so, he is merely formally two scientists in one, and must in both capacities work as perfectly, without prejudice, in the interests of each science as he would if he were a specialist in one only.

Psychology, then, is primarily a pure psychology, the scientific study of experiences in terms of experiences, involving their complete description, analysis, classification, and systematization. In the connecting science of psycho-physics it has equal rights with physiology. In the connecting science of epistemology it has equal rights with any philosophical discipline which may concern itself with that science—and so on for all other sciences through which psychology may be related to other sciences.

3. Experience in relation to the self.—Having dealt thus with experience in itself and in relation to the world, we have now only to deal with experience in relation to the self. But there is this difference between the world and the self, that, whereas there are highly developed sciences other than psychology that deal with the world, there is no other distinct science than psychology that deals with the self. In fact, psychology is by name the science of the soul, or self, that which is of the nature of experience perhaps, but certainly transcends the single, momentary, fleeting experience. We might, then, expect psychology to include a special field devoted to the study of the self. A survey of psychological literature, however, will hardly reveal this field. In fact, there are many who flatly deny that there is any such thing strictly as a self, distinguishable from the sum total, or field, or stream, of experiences. And, where there is no dispute as to the existence, there is frequent difference of view as to the nature, of the self.

About the popular view there is no doubt. The self is something more than the experience of any moment. Though in sleep its activity is temporarily suspended, yet it persists in consciousness of itself through years, and it is the leader of all the mind's activity. *It* thinks, observes, feels, and senses. And yet common sense in this region often gets into difficulties; it has to distinguish between the true and false, better and worse, selves. Its doubts about the independent nature of the self reveal themselves in frequent scepticism as to the survival of the self beyond the life of the organism.

The popular self, then, is quite problematical. After Hume's leading it is commonly agreed that no unitary self is distinguishable among the objects of introspection. What we mean by the self may therefore be the unity of experience in detail, or the continuous unity of it throughout life, or a certain logical or real implication of experience.

(*a*) *Self as the fount of unity.*—It is a common argument against the view that the self is to be identified either with the sum total of experience or with the stream of experience that by no conceivable means could a mere series of experiences turn into a consciousness of that series as a unity. Hence the sum total of experience simply could not exist as a sum total, unless we suppose that some miracle of unification is perpetually happening. The stream of experiences can be unified only in so far as it is a stream-for-a-self. It is only through the presentation to one self, through the common relation to one self, that the mass becomes individual.

It is true that we cannot rationalize the process of unification or synthesis that we find broadcast throughout our experience; nor can we rationalize the synthesis of atoms to a molecule, of molecules to a cell, or of cells to an organism. But, admitting that, we have the strength to perceive that a reference to one subject is impotent and irrelevant. It is irrelevant because it blandly begs the question. How do experiences ever arrive before one subject's gaze? And what is this gaze? It is impotent, because no amount of reference to one subject will explain the great variety of forms in which experiences integrate to unities, or the laws of their integration. If it is difficult to conceive of an experience by itself having an object, it is just as difficult to conceive the rationality of a subject thinking objects through experiences. In short, the hypothesis of the self as a unifying form, though it undoubtedly gives a sense of great comfort and satisfaction to many minds, is nevertheless useless. It is of no service whatever in a scientific sense, and that must be the final test in a science of psychology. Its acceptance cannot be advocated on this ground.

The doctrine is really an inheritance from Kant. The leading idea of his philosophic reconstruction of experience was the postulation, not of one single-all-important synthesis (Hume), but of a whole hierarchy of them, forming an easily exhaustible system. But Kant failed to draw the proper inferences from this idea and from what success he achieved in applying it in detail. He failed especially to see that the data of experience and the forms that emerge from them must synthesize themselves *from below upwards* according to common laws. In the search for a source of synthesis he then looked upwards in experience instead of downwards, and found the synthetic unity of apperception, the consciousness of 'I think.' The efficacy of that notion, however, is nothing but the notion of synthesis itself; and so nothing was gained by his whole procedure. At the same time, almost everything was lost. For the confusion into which Kant worked himself in his various deductions left the almost indelible impression that all such deductions are hopeless undertakings. So the very valuable idea with which Kant started was emasculated beyond further usefulness. In his successors, and especially in Hegel, it was degraded to a scheme of purely fanciful and imaginary forms, whose only claim to actuality was the vague atmosphere of logical connexion that pervaded them. At the same time, the universal function ascribed by Kant to the synthetic unity of apperception was exaggerated until the real world seemed to fade utterly away and only

the self remained in its universe of experience. Had Kant succeeded in solving the problem of the scheme of synthesis in experience from below upwards, there is no doubt that he would never have developed his phenomenalism, nor would the idealistic extravaganzas of his successors ever have been propounded.

(*b*) *The metaphysical Ego.*—So much, then, for the self as the fount of unity in experience in its details. There is, of course, just as little reason for assuming the existence of a self in order to give unity to the data of experience of a lifetime. If experience cannot raise its own unity upon its own foundations and upon the hierarchy of special integrations just discussed, no notion of self will ever inspire the data of experience, which are as the sands of the sea for number, into one coherent whole. All this mysticism of the self is nothing but a failure to grasp the problem of the system of experience positivistically and scientifically. As it stands, and is expounded still, it is a distinct barrier to proper progress in psychology. For it cannot yield any fruit of detail problems, and so it clogs the minds of those who hold it.

As to the implications of experience, they are rather the result of psychological study than a part of its subject-matter. If the psychologist is concerned to draw all legitimate inferences from his data, implications regarding the self, whether they be logical or real, will follow of themselves. There is no fear of anything being ignored here. The intensity of the individual's struggle for existence and his desire to survive indefinitely will coerce him into probing for all possible reasons for believing in the perpetuation of his self. Every possible reason, however improbable, will be hopefully contemplated and appraised.

It is, finally, sometimes said that psychology does not fulfil its duty, which is to study the self and its states, not to study the objective contents of experience, such as colours, sounds, concepts, thoughts, and memories. Quite possible; but the other things are more clearly there, and call for study. They are what most psychologists now study chiefly. If any one can develop a method of demonstrating the existence of the self, in some sense clearly distinguishable from experience and its syntheses, of studying its states, and of making our knowledge of it progressively larger, his success will surely be highly acclaimed. Thus far, however, in the opinion of the writer, no one has done so. The field of psychology, therefore, is properly described exclusively as a study of experiences in the systems in which we find them and of the relations of these experiences and their systems to the fields which in the universe surround experience or rest in part upon it. These are, apart from the biological (process) sciences already referred to, the (product) sciences of history, linguistics, æsthetics, and the like, and the social sciences of political philosophy, and economy, social economics, etc. (cf. art. CONSCIOUSNESS for fuller discussion from opposed point of view).

II. *THE SENSORY-COGNITIVE SYSTEM.* — **1. Theories as to the constituents of experience.**—The task of psychology, as Ward has said,[1] is to ascertain the ultimate constituents of all experiences and to determine the laws of their interaction. The matter is still under dispute, but it is possible to maintain with perhaps increasing show of probability that the ultimate constituents of all experiences are sensations. Where this theory goes upon the assumption that all experiences that do not directly reveal themselves as sensations are in some subtle way aggregates of more or less obscure and attenuated sensations, we have the ancient doctrine of sensationalism. That doctrine is now commonly held either to be insufficient to account for the facts or to involve too great assumptions regarding the variability of appearance of sensations in aggregations. Obviously, too, the proof of the presence in all experiences of a complement of sensations, approximately co-extensive with the experiences discerned in aggregate—which is the chief line of proof followed by sensationalists—does not exclude the alternative theory that all experiences are either single or multiple sensations, or special integrative complexes of sensations. Here the only interest in the sensation is that it is the lowest rung on an indefinite ladder of integrative processes, one that cannot be further resolved by us.

Another line of theorists hold that there are other ultimate, irreducible constituents of experience than sensations—feelings, thoughts, etc. But this type of theory need not be taken to have proved anything more than that feelings, thoughts, and the rest are special points, units, or parts of a certain range of experience, just as cells are special and, in many senses, unique parts of the body, and are held by many to be irreducible wholly to the next lower units of matter—molecules and their laws. The burden of proof lies heavy on any school that draws such limits. For it has for its task a negative proof. The best policy for united work is obviously the plea that, while feelings and thoughts may be reducible to lower grade units, this reduction has not yet been satisfactorily accomplished. Thus all theorists may work forward together, each supplementing the other's outlook, observation, and interpretation. Whatever the outcome may be, the theoretical work of psychology may well be set up as if it would ultimately converge on the sensationalistic ideal, when that is re-animated by the substitution of integration for aggregation.

Certain other theories refuse to consider any such analytic, dissecting, and devitalizing outlook as these. They stand fast by the indivisibility and qualitative unity of experience, its ever changing and developing wholeness and completeness, which are only brought to the inert forms of the above theories by the destructive work of the abstracting intellect. In its older form this group of theories made great use of the earlier notions of the biologists. The organic unity of experience was constantly emphasized. Experience is an organism in which every part detectable by abstraction stands in living, moving interaction with every other, and is inseparable from it without the destruction of the (spirit of the) whole. Doubtless; but modern biologists are not deterred by this thought from a progressive analysis and synthetic reconstruction of the wonderful life of the organism. They do not allow themselves to be held up in their progress by the contemplative admiration of completeness and unity. A recent form of this type of theory clothes itself anew in biological terminology, taking as its prototype of action the mystic unity and the insight-without-intellect of the instinct—a very fine doctrine for those who love to linger on the hill-tops of philosophy, chanting the wonders of the stars, the clouds, the trees, and the clover, and yearning to embrace the universe in a great wave of life, and very refreshing to the tired mind, but hardly the way of progress. The world, no doubt, is full of wondrous forces; but we happen to be soldiers of the intellect and must do what we best can.

A third group of theories, which also lie somewhat aside from the main drift of psychological work, looks upon experience as not ours, not subjective or mental, coming between our self and a real world; but as really of the world, objective, physical, the same in stuff as the things that we

[1] *EBr*[11], *s.v.* 'Psychology,' xxii. 548[b].

call material. In a certain sense the difference is only a matter of words, and, provided such a theory has the interest to study experiences or objects in detail, the same results will emerge as are found by the more 'orthodox' psychologist, so to speak. But in its older form of objective idealism this line of doctrine acted almost as an excuse for not investigating the minute, systematic build of objects (experiences). If the alleged experiences were really objects, the study of them might well be left to the scientists. And, if there were a science that might be called experimental psychology, then that title was in a sense a misnomer; the science was really a branch of physiology, obviously not part of the work of a philosopher. In a recent form the theory shows a special interest in the minute build of objects or of the first physical data. For knowledge is required to show how these data are so directly related to, or continuous with, the material things of science as they seem to our common sense to be. This group of theorists is obviously forced into the attempt to make a special plea for, and a special study of, the self. For one can hardly solemnly go the length of asserting that there is nothing in the world but the objective, the physical, and its complexities—no self and no personal activity. These views evidently carry us back to the problem of the self already discussed. They do not yet affect the detail work of psychology (or of this new physics that the physicists do not promote). If the field of work and the drift of fact and theory are clear, psychology may leave the classificatory names to the wider comprehension of philosophy. When we have all the knowledge of fact required for exhaustive systematization and understanding, we shall hardly object seriously to any useful drawing of boundaries and naming of provinces.

2. Sensations and their attributes.—The ultimate constituents of all experiences, then, are probably sensations. Sensations are indicated in the universe of things as being the simplest experiences that are directly dependent upon the stimulation of a sense-organ or of a sensory nerve. They are familiar in the five senses of man; but the work of later years has increased that number considerably. The senses may be divided into three groups.

(*a*) *Simplest senses of the skin.*—The first contains the simplest and perhaps more primitive senses of the skin and, in an irregular way, of the viscera. They are four: pain, touch, cold, and warmth. Itch and tickling are related to pain and touch respectively. The problem of the psychological description of the simplest experiences of these senses is a useful preliminary and guide to the psychological definition of sensation in general. It is the important problem of the attributes of sensation.

There are at least six attributes. (1) *Quality* is the name for the radical difference between the sensations of different senses—*e.g.*, colour, sound, touch. And touch, pain, warmth, and cold are all qualitatively different. (2) The variant known as *intensity* is too familiar to require any indication. These two attributes have been universally admitted and are readily acceptable by all as direct properties of, or variants in, these simplest experiences.

The next most frequently admitted attribute is (3) *extensity*. A colour mass is extensive; so is the warmth felt in a bath or the pain of colic, as compared with the coldness of a drop of rain or the pain of a pin-prick. Some folk feel a repugnance of a kind to the assertion that our experiences are extended or spread out. But that is merely traditional prejudice. Thought may not be extensive, but sensations certainly are; only it is not the spatial kind of extensity that is meant, but another 'kind' or sub-class of extensity. The attribute of extensity has not always been admitted. Some have tried to derive it from groups of qualitative and intensive differences; but the attempt was never convincing; hence the gradual recognition of the primacy of extensity.

Now, those who thus admitted extensity usually proceeded to attempt to develop a further attribute of *localization* out of those three. The cover for the act of conversion involved in this attempt has been since Lotze's time the term 'local sign,' the idea being that the skin is of such different texture, etc., at different parts that a touch at one part would be distinguishable from another at another part of the total extent by its qualitative and intensive differences. But the same futility attaches to this attempt at derivation as to the previous one. The intellect can by no device convert into local signs what are after all only groups of items devoid of any sort of arrangement. These must remain what they are, unless the intellect can correlate them with a spatial order otherwise provided. And then the spatial order so obtained would not become inherent in the sensory complex, as would be required. No, mere extensity is insufficient. For it implies no definite construction, form, shape, or extent, but only extensity as a variable magnitude. If this magnitude is at the same time to have form or shape, it must be supposed to include orders implicitly or explicitly. And the magnitude cannot be definite without the help of explicit orders. This is, then, the fourth attribute—(4) *order*. It is not to be confounded with spatial order, as which it appears most definitely before our cognition in the sensory experience of the skin. It is the basis of the spatial construction. Space, as we shall see, is a form or complication of sensory order.

Two other parallel attributes are the basis of our temporal differentiation of sensory experience, namely (5) *duration* and (6) *temporal order*. The former order may be distinguished from (6) as systemic order, because it is the kind of order that depends psycho-physically upon a system of elementary sense-organs (receptors).

Another attribute has been proposed by Titchener—*clearness*. But there are great difficulties in the way of its acceptance. A sensationalistic system, of course, as already indicated, requires some primary variant to account for the apparently great difference between the higher psychical complexes and any obvious aggregates of sensations. But an integrative system, full of variously directed streams of action and of different levels, the one more remote from the other than a third, can probably account for all the facts without such a difficult attribute.

This first easy group of sensations has an appendage in the sense or senses of taste. No new primary fact is met in it.

(*b*) *Articular, muscular, and organic senses.*—The second group of senses differs from the first in offering in each case some feature of obscurity or difficulty. The senses here are the articular, the muscular, and the organic (a medley of hunger, thirst, lust, nausea, etc.). The difficulty consists in properly classifying the attributes of each and the obscurity in detecting their presence. Thus the quality of articular sensations has been generally held to be their indication of position. And a class of positional qualities has even been distinguished from a quality of movement. But the 'positional' variation must be classed as the ordinal attribute, while the difference of movement does not constitute a separate sense at all, as we shall see later. The obscurity attaching to articular sensations, on the other hand, concerns their intensity. But we can with care produce

intensive differences in this sensation, and we then recognize that the obscurity is not in Titchener's sense attributive, but is only apparent. Failing to recognize the fact that the physiological basis of intensive differences in this sense is almost lacking —from the nature of the case—and expecting intensive variations that we do not find, we call these variations obscure, just as visual presentations are when we try to read in the gloaming. We feel that we cannot detect fully all that is there. But when we cease to expect more than there is, we also drop the term 'obscure.'

(*c*) *Senses of sound, sight, and smell.*—The third group of senses presents very complex and very difficult cases that can be made to conform completely to the formula of attributes only after elaborate study. The senses here are sound, sight, and smell.

The present writer has given[1] a re-interpretation of the sense of sound on the basis of the formula of the six attributes which completely alters our view of this sense and brings it into perfect conformity with the psychology (and, by inference, with the physiology) of the other senses. It may be dogmatically indicated here. There is one quality in sound, that which distinguishes sight from sound. Intensity is familiar. The difference generally classed as quality—pitch—is really the attribute of order, while the extensity of sounds is apparent in their volumes, which run parallel to the pitch series, low tones being large and bulky, high tones thin and small. These volumes, however, are really extents or masses of sensation, so that tones are not the primary particles of this sense, but are well-rounded, balanced, symmetrical masses of sound, in which one (hypothetical) particle (or a few) is prominent in a central position, and is known as the pitch of the tone. Thus all audible tones may be reduced to a single series of particles of sound sensation, the lowest tone involving the whole series, and the higher ones progressively less and less of the series, the end particle on one side being common to all tones. This is only another way of expressing the fact that, as we rise in the tonal scale, the pitch series moves progressively to one side.

There is no need to attempt to reduce noises to tones. For noises are themselves masses of sound-particles. They differ from tones only in their irregularity and want of balance and in their lack of a prominent ordinal centre, *i.e.* pitch. All degrees of variation, however, from tone to noise are obviously possible.

In the sense of vision the systemic attributes of extensity and order offer no difficulty. That attaches only to the attributes of intensity and quality. We have interesting and highly developed physiological theories of vision, of which the most familiar are those of H. L. F. von Helmholtz and of E. Hering. But we have still to get a satisfactory psychological account of the elements of this sense.

The sense of smell is specially peculiar because of the fact that we seem unable as yet to give a complete survey of its qualities. We are unable to tell whether the enumeration that we already have is complete. This merely means that we have not yet got the key to the psychological analysis of this sense.

In spite of these outstanding difficulties, we may look forward to bringing the attributes and varieties of aggregation of the elements of all the senses some day finally into full agreement with one another. This solution may be expected to conform at least closely to the formula of six attributes indicated above.

3. Modes and laws of integration.—The other task of pure science in psychology is to ascertain the laws of the interaction of these probable ultimate constituents of experience; or, better, to determine their modes and laws of integration. The problem of these modes has been before the minds of psychologists for some time in the form of the figure-qualities described by C. von Ehrenfels. A melody, *e.g.*, must be something more than the sum or sequence of the tones that form it. For it remains the same melody even when it is raised or lowered in pitch so far that none of the tones of the first version occurs in the second. And a square is a square, whether it be given in blue colour or red, or even in tactual sensation. Similar distinctions and arguments are found in older philosophical literature. Kant's forms of sense and of understanding are essentially the same idea. They are something more than any data that they may include or synthesize; they are the mind's own work or contribution to the build of knowledge; they cannot come from without; they are, as we may say, purely integrative 'processes' of experience.

Following Kant's suggestions farther, we may think of these integrations as a hierarchy co-extensive with experience—a scheme that, as being in experience, is directly before our observation and may well be completely described by our science before very long. Moreover, it is one that should bring with its gradual discovery a sense of its own completeness and 'necessity.'

Unlike Kant, however, we cannot hope to succeed unless we can put our scheme of integrative processes into relation to the properties or attributes of the elementary data of experience—the sensations. This connexion is expressed in the following two laws. (1) The integrative product must bear a close resemblance to the lower-level product or to the attribute upon whose integration it rests. We cannot, *e.g.*, expect localizations to rest upon differences of intensity or of quality or of both, but only upon differences of order. In such a connexion there would be no inner coherence, insight, 'necessity' (Kant), or whatever it might be called, that makes our experience coherent in all its parts instead of a mere mechanical conglomeration. (2) Wherever similar attributes (or integrative products) integrate (anew), there we must expect to find products both introspectively and functionally similar to one another. Thus, if the integration of visual orders gives systemic intervals and motions, then, if pitch is really properly classified as ordinal, we must expect to find differences of pitch integrating to similar products. And these are to be found, namely, (tonal) interval and (a certain aspect of) melody.

(3) A third law states a fact that has already been referred to and is of the greatest importance, namely that the integrative product is an addition to the mass of integrating experiences, whose existence and continuance within the integrative process it in no way impairs. It is this fact that makes such a profound difference between the scheme of sensationalism and that now expounded. At the same time, this addition to experience gives a place within experience to all that has been claimed and taught regarding the creative synthesis or evolution of experience. But this interpretation or description of experience may claim to be more scientific than others, in so far as it is more positivistic. It does not gather all the creative talents of experience in a greedy hand and bestow them upon a single agent—the brain, or the soul, or apperception, or what not. It leaves them all in their places. It lets psychical creation come forth in its order, just as the natural and biological sciences set forth the order of natural creation.

4. Scheme of integration forms.—No proper

[1] *The Psychology of Sound.*

exposition of the different forms of sensory and of cognitive integration can be given in this short article. But a scheme of those forms may help to bring some comprehensive arrangement into the mass of data that the reader will find in the chapters of textbooks of psychology dealing with sensory and cognitive experience. Of the six attributes the chief integrating one is order. Differences in systemic order alone give systemic distance, differences in temporal order temporal distance or time interval. The unity of simultaneous and progressive differences in these two ordinal attributes is motion. These three integrates all vary in magnitude — size or speed. Distances are found in all the senses that show distinct variations in the attribute of order—touch and the other skin sensations, articular sense, sound, and sight. All senses give differences of temporal order, but some give them much better than others. So we have specially temporal, or rhythmic, senses. Obviously motion will be limited to the senses that give distance well. No other attribute than order integrates well, or even at all perhaps. An exception seems to occur in vision, where lustre is found to involve differences of brightness and seems to be a new character supervening upon these differences. It also obeys a further law of integration in that it supervenes both upon simultaneously (binocularly) and upon successively (uniocularly) presented differences. This law appears to be observed in all integrations that do not involve differences in temporal order, which, as we know them, are always successive. But the problem of lustre is not quite clear; lustre may, in fact, belong to the next level of integration, which is called bisystemic, because it involves two systems of elementary sense-organs, or two ordinal systems, of the same kind—*e.g.*, two eyes, two ears.

This bisystemic level gives, in vision, a new third dimension to the forms that are found in the plane field of vision of one eye. With two eyes simultaneously, or with one eye successively, we see solidity, *i.e.* stereoscopically. Binaural hearing is similar, but simpler. It gives a new (transverse) line of orders. The pitch series of each ear is a single (longitudinal) dimension. The combined use of these two (not mathematical, but merely narrow) lines allows of (transverse) oscillation of emphasis from one side (or ear) to the other, and so provides a basis, though a very imperfect one, for our correspondingly weak power of localizing sounds round the head.

The next level of integration is intersystemic; it holds between systems of different kinds of senses. This kind of integration is still more difficult for the individual to acquire than the preceding. We may express the problem materially by asking how the impressions of the different senses ever meet together in the vast brain, so as to form a unitary whole. Although the problem has been perpetually ignored, the same question must be asked about the (vast) mind. How do the systems of the different senses become reconciled and correlated with one another? How do the impressions of the different senses ever meet together 'in the mind'? The question becomes specially acute when we turn to examine the psychological origin of the 'object.' Take the old stock example of the 'orange.' How do the different sensations given by an orange hitch on to one another in the child's mind? Not by mere simultaneous association, for not all things that are merely together in the mind associate together. There must be a specific basis that regulates association.

A minute study of visual bisystemic integration shows that this basis is the identity or similarity of the plane forms or figures that appear in the integrating systems of the two eyes. Similarly, the systems of the different senses may be supposed to unite to form our sensory space only by the integration of their systems by means of the very similar forms and motions that are impressed upon the different senses by one and the same real object. Thus too the contributions of the different senses are brought together to form units of perception—*e.g.*, 'orange.'

The interaction of the distances and forms presented within the system of a single sense offers a rich field for study. This is most apparent in the many visual illusions (*q.v.*) now so familiar. These figures are illusions simply because their parts, when presented together, modify one another and so appear otherwise than they do when presented alone. They are chiefly illusions of distance or size, and of direction—a derivative of distance.

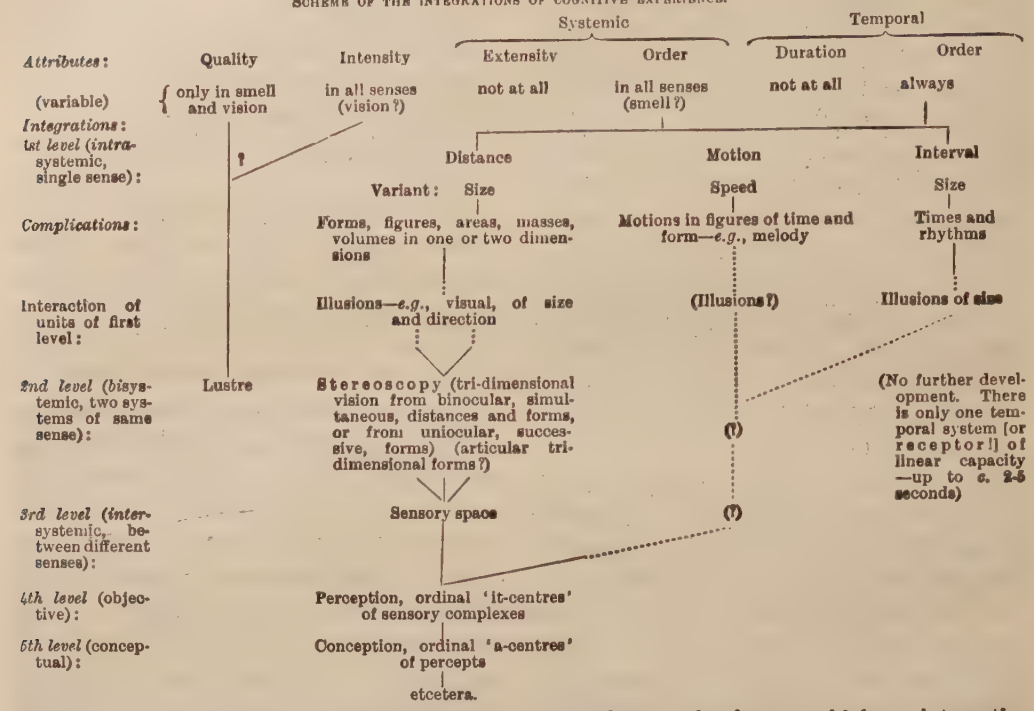
The scheme of sensory cognitive integrations may be summed up schematically as on next page.

5. **The higher cognitive powers.** — (*a*) *The psycho-physical problem.* — The cognitive work of experience thus appears as a great hierarchy, developing upwards by its own initiative from the data given by the senses—we say 'by its own initiative,' because in such a scheme we do not need to postulate any sort of developing agent to work or even to guide development. We can study the whole process positivistically, just as the physical, chemical, and biological sciences study the course of development within their spheres. We may speak of 'development' because the 'higher' unities are more comprehensive and also (we may confidently assert) *later* than the unities of the lower levels.

Thus, *e.g.*, we need make no speculative references to the brain for a basis of integration. Whether there is in the brain a parallel or preceding, real, unifying process or not is a question for the physiologist to settle. An answer to it, whether positive or negative, can in no way affect the work of psychology in the study of the integrative process as it is in experience. Whether parallelism or interaction be the true answer to the psycho-physical problem is not very important for the present, for the simple reason that it will be very long before proper material for an answer is to hand. On the other hand, a psychical agent, such as the soul, is quite useless. Even the spy-glass rôle of thought may be dispensed with. In that theory thought is held to be an indispensable accompaniment or attribute of sensation. It comes with it in some germ-like form, and over and through sensation, as it were, it spies out the object or cause of sensation. How could an experience have or know an object, if it were not so? How could it even if it were so? we may ask in reply.

The scheme propounded, on the other hand, offers a direct basis for constructive work on the 'references' of thought. An integrated state is always attached to, and so refers to, the basis upon which it is integrated. A melody is not a unity that is just present along with tones, as the title-name of the melody more or less is. It is intimately blended into the being of the tones, as it were. It is this intimacy of connexion that makes a psychologist like Titchener altogether overlook the presence of something new in the melody-total (or in a square) beyond the ultimate data of sense. In the same way in a perception each sensation which enters into the unity is equally 'it.' The colour of the orange is 'it,' and so are the taste, the smell, and the feel (of 'it'). And, on the other hand, the 'it' of the perception refers to each of these.

SCHEME OF THE INTEGRATIONS OF COGNITIVE EXPERIENCE.



The stage of perception (*q.v.*) at which the cause of a percept comes into view is certainly not the earliest form of perception, where the integrate is nothing but an it-centre of sensory experience, but a rather advanced stage in which there is some conceptual concentration of individual perceptions and some of the 'knowledge about' that then supervenes. This 'knowledge about' is not the result of an excursion or observation beyond the confines of experience, as the cause-idea might suggest, but merely the attachment to one another of experiences above the first perceptual stages by the same or similar mechanism as produced these first stages, whereby the higher integration is attained that we know as abstract knowledge or conception (*q.v.*). All these abstract units must not, however, be supposed to have to hang in the air above the sensory levels of integrations, as if they were the gases of corruption mounting upwards from them. They are attached or refer downwards to their basis through a continuous line of integration, just as the other integrative products do. And it is just this attachment which puts substance, cause, and interaction, particles or parts of various levels—atoms, molecules, and the rest—*into* the objects of perception.

(*b*) *Development in man and animals.*—The study of development (*q.v.*) is readily accessible in this way. If a certain level of integration can by indirect evidence—of conduct, learning-by-experiment, and so on—be proved to exist in any animal, we know what earlier levels of experience are implied in it. Research thus far seems to have shown conclusively that no animal other than man shows any evidence of commanding the conceptual level of integration. But recognition and, still more, perception are by no means excluded among the higher animals. The task of deciding in each particular case is very difficult, involving a great deal of very elaborate and precautious experimentation.

To the further important question why every animal that is well endowed with efficient sense-organs does not develop to as high an integrative level of experience as man, psychology is unable as yet to give a definite answer. This appears the more strange as man seems in certain respects to be possessor of senses which compare unfavourably with those of many other mammals. This is especially so in the case of smell and of hearing. In vision we are relatively efficient. But in one important respect we have a great advantage; we are possessors of mobile hands and fingers. The significance of this is that it endows us with a second highly elaborate and clear field of tri-dimensional forms, namely the tactual-articular. The other mammals, with the exception of our nearest relatives, use their articular sense almost only for the general purpose of postures and bodily movement, while their touch is imprisoned behind their masses of fur.

There can be no doubt that the possession of a plurality of tri-dimensional senses is highly important for development. For hearing is only weakly dimensional, and smell in ourselves (and possibly in the other mammals as well) is not so at all. All our other senses, apart from the visual and articular, are only vaguely dimensional, inactive, and of poor discriminatory power. But, as we have seen, the correlation and integration of active and complex dimensional senses are required for the proper development of sensory space, and that in its turn is the gateway to the higher cognitive powers. So we may maintain as probable the view that the height of development of the 'mind' depends largely upon the extent of variation given in the elementary data of the senses. And we should, therefore, expect to find that the size of the brain depends not so much upon the room required for the cerebral mechanisms of conception as upon the size of the parts required for the bi- and tri-dimensional senses of fine discrimination. Of course neural centres may also be required for all integrative levels. But these are problems which we must leave to the physiologist.

6. Memory and imagery.—With memory (*q.v.*)

another aspect of experience comes into view that is of the greatest importance. It seems clear that there can be no memory work except upon the basis of the spontaneous integrations of experience. Memory is not mechanical association of contiguous parts of an aggregate, as sensationalism is compelled to suppose. Much, if not all, has yet to be done before the springs of memory are clearly exposed. But there is a growing tendency of evidence and conviction to show that memory presupposes some form of integrative activity which makes the old form of contiguous association untenable except as a formula that presupposes but ignores this integrative activity.

But, if this is granted, there seems no doubt that association gives experiences a new grip of one another, so that, even when an integrative unity is dissolved by lapsing as an actuality, it can be reinstated from a part of its original foundations by the extra bond established before the integration lapsed. And, as we know, repetitive contemplation of the integrative complex helps to make associations more powerful and enduring. The experimental study of memory in recent years has greatly extended our knowledge of the conditions affecting strength of association. By association, too, we can extend the scope of integrations, so as to make them include a wider scope of experiences than they otherwise would spontaneously at any one moment. If integration gives height of growth to experience, as we might say, then memory gives it breadth. And the growth that can be attained in breadth by effort is enormous.

At the same time this redintegrative action of memory makes it possible for an integrative product to be revived from the side, as it were, instead of by its full conditions from below. And the revival of these lower springs does not seem to be necessary in memory work. A concept, *e.g.*, can never be got originally except from below. And yet in the fluent operations of thought, which depend so much upon the work of memory, that concept may be revived, and used as an essential link in the process of thought, without the revival of any of its sources of integration, even in the form of imagery.

And from this issue we may pass directly to the question of the value of imagery. An older evaluation of imagery considered it as a mere trace or record of previous direct impressions of sense-sensations now called up accidentally owing to the associative linking that supervened to bind it and the present reviving sensation together when both were previously present as sensations. But that view is almost certainly wrong. Imagery is revived more often because of the integrative complexes into which it was as sensation wrought up, and because it is now wanted for the redintegrative and new integrative processes of thought. Thus, when one is asked, 'Does the water-line of a ship rise or fall as it passes from fresh water to salt?', the reason why an image-scene of a ship passing from a river-mouth to the sea appears in some form or other in almost every one's mind is that such a scene presents all the material of the question in a natural and familiar scheme, each concept attached to its own peg. The memory has then to work upon the instructions given in the question and to revive what material is readily available in it, so that some of that material may perhaps cohere well with the points of the question and thus yield the answer. And, according to the drift of this work of memory and coherence (thought), so a person will even *see* the ship rising or falling in his mind's eye. Compare with that easy question such a one as this: 'John is twice as old as Mary was when he was as old as Mary is. If John is 21, how old is Mary?' Conceptually the two questions are probably equally easy; but no image is readily forthcoming in the second to hold all the concepts and their relations together in the mind and make action between them easy. When that action is easy, the answer to the question is its outcome, or rather is the verbal expression of its outcome. The thought involved in answering the question is partly the memory work, partly the trying of the concepts and the memory additions together to see if they will not give the definite complex implied by the question.

Now, one is tempted to elaborate the point and to show the question groping for its answer, like the tentacles of an octopus searching in some dark cave for what is movable and appetizing. And the reader may feel impatient at the futility of trying to make the mind work like a machine. It is the self that thinks and searches, is it not? The self is the groper that searches and sees fitness and judges? It is the self that attends, at least, for sure? It is difficult to see how one self could do so many different things. We ought at least to have the case for the self put more convincingly before us than hitherto. This will doubtless be done, if it can be done. But this much may be said, that recent psychologists in general do not seem to find that line of construction the most hopeful at the present time. Of course, very much further study by experimental and systematic methods is required if the complex field of cognitive activities is to be fully understood.

III. *EMOTIVE ASPECTS.* — Thus far we have dealt with the sensory-cognitive range of experience. We have now to consider the emotive aspects of it.

1. Integrative theory of feeling.—One of the most familiar views of feeling is incorporated in the three-aspects theory, according to which every experience has three aspects—cognitive, emotive, conative; knowing, feeling, and will. Or these three are merely one and the same experience from different points of view. Now there can be no hesitation about rejecting this theory so far as concerns feeling. Feeling is not an aspect of every experience; it is an experience definitely distinguishable from every other. Nor does it even accompany every other kind of experience regularly. Any one familiar with the experimental practice of introspection knows that he is not constantly feeling pleasure or displeasure. In fact, he will have found that he is in a state of feeling rather seldom than otherwise. Whole complexes and trains of experience pass by without any feeling of pleasantness or of unpleasantness appearing. It is for this reason that the theory of feeling as an attribute of sensation has also been rejected.

The difficulty has been at all times to know where to place feeling. The attributive theory is the only attempt that has been made to give it a definite place in the sensory cognitive range. The older sensationalists tried to work it into their field as a definite sensation or by the device known as mental chemistry. In this a group of sensations was held to turn by combination into an experience that did not at all resemble sensation, just as the gases hydrogen and oxygen combine to form the very different liquid water. So feelings might really be groups of tactual or organic sensations and yet not appear as such. That theory has been rightly rejected by everybody and has wrongly created a prejudice against every inclination to gather ideas towards the elucidation of experience from such a science as chemistry.

But even in recent times an attempt has been made to show that feeling is psychologically a sensation. It has quality—pleasantness and un-

pleasantness—and intensity; and the two problematical attributes of extensity and 'localization' (supposed in this theory to be an attribute) can be made plausible with an effort; feeling is not located at the beautiful picture and in the beautiful sound, but it seems to be spread out in the head more or less indefinitely. If no sense-organ of feeling is known, at least we may suppose that one does exist. Only it would not appear on the periphery, but would probably be concealed within the peripheral sense-organs or within the central nervous system, revealing to us how these organs are being affected, whether as usual (pleasantly) or far away from the range of their normal functions (unpleasantly).

This theory of feeling-sensations has not found many supporters—not that it has been definitely proved to be wrong; but it is too suppositious and speculative. Something as plausible and more in accord with the psychical facts is imaginable.

We need not discuss the theory that looks upon feeling as an irreducible element of experience. This view is the natural outcome of many fruitless attempts to resolve feeling into sensations or the like. But it does not preclude renewed attempts at reduction in general, and in particular an integrative theory of feeling is still a possibility.

Titchener has attempted to carry this theory of feeling as an element to its logical conclusion—a psychological definition of feeling as characterized by a different set of attributes from that peculiar to sensation. His important point is that feeling lacks the attribute of clearness possessed by sensation. We shall not renew the discussion of clearness. What we may notice now specially is the subtle difficulty of positing elements of experience of which one possesses attributes that another lacks. Besides, in this talk of the non-clearness or unclearness of feeling and of the difficulty of observing feeling are we not looking for a mare's nest, as it were? Suppose motion were regarded as a specific experience by such a theorist as Titchener. What would he say about its quality and intensity? Would they be non-existent or non-clear? And would motion, then, have only two attributes of extensity and localization? Or would it also be said to lack clearness? Probably no one is ever in doubt as to whether he is pleased or not. Where, then, is the non-clearness? Nor is he in doubt about how pleased he is. Then, if all that and nothing else is clear, probably there is nothing else in feeling to be clear about. Feeling would then be very like motion, as it appears within an integrative theory. It is just motion (its quality, if you like), and it has magnitude—speed. So feeling has quality and magnitude—intensity.

The work of an integrative theory of feeling really begins when the double basis of feeling has to be shown up, and also the difference in the parts of that basis that integrates to form feeling. There are many lines of evidence that converge to support this theory and to make it at least probable as an advance beyond the more conservative theory of feeling as an irreducible element of experience. But their exposition is too long to be given here.

2. Problem of the emotions.—We may consider briefly the other great division of the emotive life—the emotions proper. The feelings are only slight movements of the soul, as it were; emotions are rolling waves and storms whose troubles reach far down into the deep waters. And the scientific problems of emotion are equally deep and agitated.

Even the enumeration of the emotions is by no means settled. Of course about the great emotions—fear, anger, and love—there is hardly a doubt. Questions are sometimes raised about the primacy of love—the attempt may be made to attach it so closely to the sexual instinct as to endanger its dignity as an emotion—whereas there is no such introductory function of bodily origin for the emotions of fear and anger; they come upon us like the thunder-storms of summer.

This absence of a bodily preparation serves to distinguish the emotions from the instincts, which are concerned with the great functions of reproduction, nourishment, self-protection, and the like. But there are those who tack on special 'instincts' to the emotions in order to explain the typical and neurally inherited expressions of the emotions—*e.g.*, fear and the instincts of flight and concealment, anger and the instinct of pugnacity.

Other disputed emotions are sorrow, pride, humility, parental emotion, disgust, curiosity, loneliness, etc. No one would dispute the presence of an emotive state in these affections. The question rather is: Are they primary emotions or are they variant forms of a few generic emotions that differ only in the objects to which they refer?

This *object* of emotions offers as many hard problems as does the object of cognition. Not only is it hard to see how emotion comes to be directed upon an object at all—on that rock the James-Lange theory of the emotions, *e.g.*, foundered—but the peculiar individuality of the object is puzzling. Of the object of cognition we know at least that it only gradually emerges into clear view, and we can form plausible theories of the gradual emergence of a definite objective relation. But in emotion the object may appear suddenly upon the mental horizon without any sort of previous preparation, and lo! the emotion is directed upon it at once in full force. This peculiarity is found also among the instincts. Many insects seem to be born with a nervous system prepared specifically for attention to special objects. The physiological difficulty lies in the complicated process that seems required to account for the 'perception' of those special objects. Animals may 'recognize' their other sex by simple smell-impressions. But how should a wasp recognize a certain kind or size of caterpillar in that way? Hence even the possibility of innate ideas has been seriously considered to be re-admissible. But that way out of the difficulty seems to the writer intolerable in science.

Then, again, the emotions renew the psycho-physical difficulty. They are held to be strange phases of the spirit, as strange and unaccountable as the sensations of red and yellow in their dependence on etheric wave-lengths. The feeling of fear is said to be an experience for which we cannot account by relating it to other experiences; it is a gift from the brain; something happens in some remote corner of that vast mechanism, some subtle neural congestion, and the colour of our mood is determined by it in accordance with unknown psycho-physical laws. This doctrine may be illustrated by an example from another region: we draw the hand away from heat because of the pain, so we think; that is an illusion; the real reason for drawing the hand away is neural mechanism; we should draw the hand away in just the same way if even pleasure were substituted for pain; and we should then think, as now, that we drew it away because of the pleasure of it.

The writer is firmly convinced that this is a doctrine disastrous to any form of psychological science and a mockery to the sense and coherence of the whole of experience. For, if it is a doctrine applicable anywhere—*e.g.*, in the emotions—it is applicable everywhere. And then, as has been so often deduced, Shakespeare's work is the accidental product of a swarm of chance variations

As well might one truly think that, if a fount of type were cast into the air often enough, it would come down one day as *King Lear*. These reminiscences of scientific speculation carry us back to a line of thought that is far from rare, although it was probably much more universal among biologists a decade or two ago than it is now. But, as far as the outlook upon pure psychology is concerned, it has changed very little. It means, after all, only that a coherent sphere of law has not yet been recognized in experience, and that the recognition of it as such has been made very much less likely by the success of the theory of chance variations in the neighbouring sphere of biology. It is pleasant to think that such an absurd doctrine has so often been rejected by the professed philosophers of the mind.

But we must not be content with vague 'spiritual' terms and generally 'ideal' expressions. We must carry over the methods and spirit of the natural sciences into the systematic, constructive work of psychology and show how purely psychical laws will yield us a satisfactory understanding of the world of spirit, just as purely material laws give us a satisfactory knowledge of the world of matter. The evolutions and actions of the material world can be worked by no agents or guides, so far as science is concerned at least. Of course, science is only the systematic mirroring of realities in cognition. Being other than what it pictures, it can hardly repeat the inner spontaneity and being that are the essence, as against the form, of its objects. Nor can psychical evolutions and actions be worked by spiritual agents or guides, so far as the science of mind is concerned. We can only hope to find general laws of mind or of psychical stuff and to explain particular psychical phenomena properly according to them, as the ways of science demand. Then we may let matter and mind come into cognitional harmony with one another, as they undoubtedly can and will, in due course.

And a psychology on these lines of construction is in no sense a descent to a lower level, an abandonment of higher ideals. It is rather a confidence and claim in the equal primacy of the sphere of experience as a basis for the derivation of laws alongside any other part of the scientific universe. We have every right to expect that the world of experience will be as amenable to the strict ways of science as the world of matter upon which it is, as we know it, dependent.

IV. *CONATION.*—The only other sphere of experience to be mentioned is conation. In so far as that is conation within experience, as in attending, remembering, thinking, and the like, the study of it is continuous with that sketched in the preceding pages. In so far as conation involves muscular movement, we enter upon a new region of special difficulty. Here psychology is still struggling with the barest facts and first principles, as the dearth of information on the topic in any of the textbooks indicates. The reader must simply be referred to special treatises on the subject.

The primary question is an introspective one: What precisely lies before the mind's observation in the case of voluntary movement? And how can we make a coherent, systematic whole of all the facts gathered by the experimental pursuit of this problem? One of the common earlier answers to the question has been disproved. We do not necessarily anticipate our voluntary movement in a mental image of it and will movement from that basis. But the true psychological formula of voluntary movement has still to be determined. The way to knowledge is probably blocked in this, as in other regions of experience, by the confused notions left from the wrecks of previous theories. We may expect the right key to unlock the door quite easily.

The problem of conation makes possible a reference to the line of thought that distinguishes the content, or objective side, of an experience from its subjective side or the act of it. Those two sides can be distinguished in all experiences. So we have for the series of sensum, percept, concept a corresponding series of acts—sensation, perception, conception. This distinction carries us back again to the distinction of the objective aspect of experience from the self which acts experience or does it. It is in fact only a variant upon this theory. Ingenious attempts have been made to build up a science of these acts—sensing, perceiving, remembering, imagining, etc.—which deserve serious consideration. But the writer, at least, is not convinced of the validity of the results claimed or of the merits and necessity attributed to this line of construction. At the same time, he is aware that a psychology 'without a soul,' and still more without such a series of acts, may seem to many to be a wooden affair. It seems to him that the dispute is not one which as yet makes great difference to the detail work of psychology, and he inclines to think that the difficulty discussed is the appearance in psychology of the difficulty of substance and action, matter and energy, that runs throughout all the sciences of the real. Content and act are, then, rather inseparable aspects of one reality—the reality described statically by the titles of its distinguishable unities and dynamically by the titles of the chief interactions of its parts—rather than the waters of matter and the spirit that hovers over them to divide them hither and thither.

LITERATURE.—The following works will introduce the reader in detail to the methods, facts, and theories upon which this article is based: C. S. Myers, *A Text-book of Experimental Psychology; with Laboratory Exercises*[2], Cambridge, 1911; E. B. Titchener, *A Manual of Laboratory Practice*, 4 vols., London, 1901–06; G. M. Whipple, *Manual of Mental and Physical Tests*, Baltimore, 1910; F. Aveling, *On the Consciousness of the Universal and the Individual*, London, 1912; W. McDougall, *An Introd. to Social Psychology*, do. 1908; A. F. Shand, *The Foundations of Character*, do. 1914; Titchener, *Lectures on the Elementary Psychology of Feeling and Attention*, New York, 1908, *Lectures on the Experimental Psychology of the Thought-Processes*, do. 1909; H. J. Watt, *The Psychology of Sound*, Cambridge, 1917; W. James, *The Principles of Psychology*, 2 vols., London, 1891; W. B. Pillsbury, *The Fundamentals of Psychology*, do. 1916; G. F. Stout, *A Manual of Psychology*[3], do. 1913; Titchener, *A Text-book of Psychology*, New York, 1909–10; J. Ward, art. 'Psychology,' in *EBr*[11]; J. B. Watson, *Behavior; an Introd. to Comparative Psychology*, New York, 1914; S. Alexander, 'Foundations and Sketch-plan of a Conational Psychology,' *British Journal of Psychology*, iv. [1911] 239–267; McDougall, *Body and Mind*, London, 1911; B. Russell, *Our Knowledge of the External World as a Field for Scientific Method in Philosophy*, do. 1914; Stout, 'The Nature of Conation and Mental Activity,' *British Journal of Psychology*, ii. [1906] 1–15.

HENRY J. WATT.

PSYCHO-THERAPEUTICS. — This is the name employed for the processes by which man attempts to influence disease by measures acting through the mind. It is a subject which brings out more prominently than any other the close relation which has existed throughout its whole history between medicine on the one hand and magic and religion on the other. The earliest modes of healing of which we know are psycho-therapeutic, and, if the remedies of existing peoples of rude culture provide any indication of primitive modes of thought and action, psycho-therapeutics would seem to be the oldest branch of medicine. A distinction must be made, however, between the use of measures for the cure or amelioration of disease which act through the mind and the recognition of their psycho-therapeutic character. Though psycho-therapeutics may have been the earliest form of medicine, it has been the last to be brought within the scope of scientific treatment, the last to undergo that process of rational-

ization and foundation upon scientific principles which is the essential feature distinguishing medicine from those social processes with which it has been closely allied throughout its history.

A study of the behaviour of savage man towards disease shows that it consists almost exclusively of measures which, when successful, must have acted through the mind, especially by means of faith and suggestion. A leech who treats a case of headache on the assumption that it has been caused by the magical actions of a sorcerer, and either performs counter-charms or induces the sorcerer to remove his spell, is evidently acting purely through these agencies. In other cases faith and suggestion only assist a process which acts in some other way. Thus, a leech who treats a case of constipation on the assumption that the trouble is due to the presence of a snake or octopus in the abdomen will produce a good effect by the mechanical action of manipulations designed to destroy the imaginary animal, but in such a case faith and suggestion also play a great part. In most of the cases in which leaves, bark, or roots are employed by lowly peoples to cure disease we can be confident that success is due purely to faith and suggestion. The history of pharmacology reveals a process, still far from complete, in which medicaments supposed to act upon disease have failed to justify their reputation when subjected to scientific study and have evidently owed their reputation for medicinal virtue to faith and suggestion. While faith and suggestion are processes inextricably interwoven with the employment of therapeutic measures from the earliest stages of medicine down to the present time, these agencies have taken many other and more direct forms. The modern explanation of miraculous cures given by those who rationalize religion is that they act through faith and suggestion, and the systems of healing which are continually coming into existence in opposition to the orthodox medicine of modern civilized peoples owe their success largely, if not entirely, to the power and efficacy of these agencies. The large measure of success which these movements obtain in popular opinion is due to their exploitation, wittingly or unwittingly, of processes which orthodox medicine has failed adequately to recognize.

1. **Scope.**—It is often supposed that psycho-therapeutics, whether belonging to orthodox medicine or to some form of faith-healing, is especially applicable in cases of hysteria or similar diseases. There is, however, hardly a variety of disease for which this mode of treatment may not be useful. It is customary in medicine to distinguish between organic and functional disease, though these are, in fact, merely categories convenient for practical purposes, which pass insensibly into one another and are difficult to define. Roughly, by functional disease is meant disease for which existing knowledge does not allow us to assign any structural or chemical basis, which has been found by experience to tend towards recovery. There are other diseases, such as so-called idiopathic epilepsy, of the physical basis of which we are ignorant, which are characterized by a tendency towards permanent loss of function and death, and these diseases are not usually included in the functional category. Organic diseases, on the other hand, are those whose structural or chemical basis has been discovered. They again fall into two main groups: those which tend towards recovery and those which tend towards loss of function and death. In addition many mixed forms occur. Nothing is more frequent than the occurrence of functional disturbance as an accompaniment of organic disease, the real nature of which it often conceals or obscures.

It is in the treatment of functional disease and of the functional accompaniments of organic disease that psycho-therapeutic measures are most obviously applicable, but the scope of their usefulness is far from being limited to these. When it is claimed that some psycho-therapeutic measure, employed by physician or priest, has cured a case of organic disease, it will often be found that all that has been done is to remove the functional disorders which so often accompany organic disease. Psycho-therapeutic agencies can certainly influence organic conditions themselves, though the investigation of cases like these is attended by such difficulties that the mode of action is still surrounded by much doubt. We know that suggestion, especially in the form of hypnotism, can produce changes in organic processes and especially in the circulation. If such an organic change as a blister can be produced by suggestion, it is easy to understand how other organic changes can be ameliorated or removed by similar means.

A more frequent cause of the success of psycho-therapeutic measures in organic disease depends on the fact that many forms of progressive organic disease—even so grave an illness as cancer—are liable to periods of retardation or quiescence. Disease usually depends on a struggle between some noxious agent which has found its way into the body and the mechanism of the body itself. Progressive disease is that in which the external agents have the upper hand in this struggle. Any factor which raises the efficiency of the intrinsic forces, or, in other words, which reinforces the vitality of the patient, may diminish the ravages of the destroying agent and lead to retardation or quiescence of the disease; or may even in some cases turn the balance in the direction of recovery. It is thus intelligible that psycho-therapeutic measures should be capable of the beneficial action upon organic disease so often imputed to them by leech or priest, quite apart from the mere removal of functional complications. The scope of psycho-therapy is therefore as wide as medicine itself. It is especially applicable, however, in those states which depend on diminished efficiency of the nervous system and are classified together as neuroses.

2. **Basis.**—Certain principles are now widely recognized as of universal application in the domain of therapeutics, while others have been put forward to support special systems.

One widely-accepted principle is that psychical disorders and bodily disorders due to psychical conditions require psychical remedies. There are, of course, limits to the application of this principle. The influence of abnormal bodily conditions upon psychical states stands beyond all doubt. If there are morbid states of the body which are capable of being treated by physical means, it is essential that they shall be put right as a preliminary or accessary to the employment of psychical measures. In many cases, however, it is far from easy to estimate the need for the two kinds of treatment. Thus, there is no doubt that the retention in the body of waste products consequent upon constipation influences mental states, but in many cases the constipation itself is largely or altogether due to psychical conditions. As in every other branch of medicine, the essential preliminary to successful psycho-therapy is a correct diagnosis. When we have estimated correctly the relative shares taken by bodily and mental conditions in the production of an illness, there will be no difficulty in deciding how far the patient is to be treated by measures acting through the body and measures acting through the mind respectively.

A second principle which is now coming to be widely accepted is that in disorders of the mind or

affections of the body due to mental conditions it is necessary to discover the causes by which this morbid state has been produced. The history of medicine has been one of gradual progress from the treatment of symptoms to the treatment of the conditions by which symptoms are produced. In this progress the treatment of disorders of the mind has lagged far behind that of bodily disease. There are many practitioners of medicine who, although fully recognizing the importance of ætiology in bodily disease, fail to recognize that it applies equally to the mind, and they continue to treat symptoms as they arise or practise a purely empirical system of therapeutics.

To those who accept the two principles which have just been considered, every case of mental disorder or of bodily disorder consequent upon mental conditions is the outcome of the mental life-history of the patient, and the conditions to which it is due can be discovered only by the investigation of that history.

A third principle, now widely accepted by workers who otherwise differ greatly from one another, is that mental disease is predominantly due to disturbance of the emotional and instinctive aspects of the mind. It is believed that in the search for the conditions which have produced an abnormal mental state it is necessary to get back to experience which has been associated with a strong emotional tone, and it need hardly be said that either this emotional tone must have been of an unpleasant kind in itself or the unpleasantness must have arisen out of consequences which the experience has brought in its train.

Closely associated with this view is that according to which the intellectual disturbance in a case of mental disease depends on a process of rationalization through which the patient endeavours to account to himself for his morbid emotional condition. The direction taken by this process of rationalization is often such as leads to the formation of those beliefs at variance with reality which we call delusions.

A principle which actuates more than one system of psycho-therapeutics, but is still far from meeting with general acceptance, is that mental disorder is predominantly due to experience which has passed out of manifest consciousness. It is customary to speak of the body of experience which does not enter into manifest consciousness as the unconscious mind which shades off into manifest consciousness through an intermediate region of subconsciousness.

Putting aside the largely verbal question whether this body of apparently forgotten experience is or is not to be regarded as forming part of the mind,[1] we are met with the far more vital problem concerned with the distinction between experience which is merely lying dormant, ready to appear in manifest consciousness whenever the suitable stimulus arises, and experience which has come to stand in that relation to manifest consciousness which is known as dissociation. A dissociated body of experience is one which has been separated from the body of experience making up manifest consciousness through some kind of active process—a process resembling in many respects that known as inhibition in neurology. Such dissociated experience is not recalled even by otherwise suitable stimuli in normal mental conditions, but requires abnormal or at least unusual conditions to bring it to the surface. A good example of such a dissociated mental state is that which occurs in the deeper stages of hypnotism. One of the most vexed problems of psycho-therapeutics turns on the question how far such dissociated bodies of experience, when accompanied by an unpleasant tone of feeling, act as the basis of bodily and mental disorder. One theory of the rôle taken by such unconscious experience in the production of mental disorder which is now especially prominent is that of Freud.

[1] Cf. *Lancet*, 16th June 1917.

Freud's theory of the unconscious.—From the point of view which concerns psycho-therapeutics, the most important part of Freud's system is his theory of forgetting. According to Freud, forgetting is not a passive process, but one which, at any rate in so far as unpleasant experience is concerned, depends on an active process of repression. It is held that unpleasant experience which has passed out of memory to such an extent that it does not enter into the manifest consciousness of everyday life has not ceased to exist, but continues to exert an influence upon the mind. It may express itself more or less continuously in the form of a phobia, a tic, stammering, dreams, etc., or, after a long period of quiescence, it may show itself under the influence of some shock or strain as a paralysis, contracture, affection of sensibility, or some form of mental disturbance. The disturbance, whatever may be its nature, is held to be the result of a conflict between a suppressed body of experience, now generally known as a 'complex,' and the general personality of the patient.

Freud has not been content merely to ascribe abnormal bodily and mental conditions to such conflict, but has put forward an elaborate theory of the mechanism by which the suppressed experience or complex produces its effects. He supposes that its modes of expression are governed by a mechanism of control which, using a metaphorical simile, he terms the 'censor.' This censorship allows the suppressed body of experience to find its way to manifest consciousness only in some indirect and often symbolic manner.

Two special features of the psychology upon which the Freudian system of therapeutics is based may be considered here: (*a*) the importance of the experience of childhood and (*b*) the rôle of sexuality in the production of morbid mental states.

(*a*) According to the earlier views of Freud, the suppressed experience of childhood forms the chief factor underlying morbid mental states, whether these express themselves explicitly in the form of mental symptoms or as paralyses, contractures, or other bodily affections. These states, he argues, depend on complexes dating back to early childhood, or even, in the more grotesque forms of the theory, to parturition or ante-natal experience. Freud has himself acknowledged the unsatisfactory character of much of the evidence upon which he originally based his belief in the importance of the experience of early childhood. The trend of modern work has been to accentuate the importance of recent traumata in the production of morbid mental states and to make of less account the experience of early life. This movement should not be allowed, however, to go too far and obscure the great extent to which early experience is responsible for the phobias, tics, and tendencies to morbid modes of thought, and still more of feeling, which form so fertile a soil for the growth of morbid mental states in later life.

(*b*) Another principle of the Freudian psychology which has led to much controversy, and has through the exaggeration of its importance gone far to wreck the immediate success of the whole construction, is concerned with the rôle of the sexual in the production of morbid mental states. Freud has come to the conclusion that the bodies of suppressed experience which he believes to underlie mental disorder invariably centre in incidents of the sexual life. So far as he himself is concerned, the form thus taken by his psychology of the morbid rests largely on an extension of the

connotation of the term 'sexual' far beyond the customary, but, in the hands of his disciples and to a large extent in his own, the theory has come to deal almost exclusively with crude sexual experience, morbid mental states being ascribed to the working of repressed sexual trends and especially of perverse tendencies. There is no question that disorder of the sexual life, especially when its nature leads to repression, takes a vast part in the causation of mental disorder and of functional affections of the nervous system. It can also be granted that Freud and his followers have made definite advances in our knowledge of the sexual life, but, following the ordinary lines of scientific progress, the importance of the sexual has been so exaggerated by its advocates that it has produced a wide-spread failure to recognize the undoubted merits of the Freudian psychology and of the system of psycho-therapeutics founded upon it.

When regarded dispassionately, Freud's theory is only an extension and systematization of a principle, now widely accepted, that mental disorder, in the broadest sense, is not merely the result of the shock or strain which seems to be its immediate cause, but is the outcome of life-long processes by which the mental life has failed to adapt itself to its social environment. Every case of mental disorder is the product of two factors—a shock or strain, on the one hand, and the body of experience making up the mental constitution of the patient, on the other hand. The main principle upon which any system of psycho-therapeutics must be based is that this mental constitution must be studied and analyzed so as to discover the elements of weakness which have allowed the shock or strain to produce a morbid effect. The great merit of Freud's theory is that it provides a scheme of mental structure which, though it will doubtless have to be greatly modified, yet furnishes a most useful hypothesis from which to start in the study of mental disorder and of the measures by which its effects may be combated.

3. Psycho-therapeutic agencies.—The measures employed by those who practise psycho-therapeutics, whether they be leeches, sorcerers, or priests, depend on belief in certain agencies, though, as a matter of fact, the vast majority of practitioners employ their remedies without definitely formulating to themselves, or even without being at all aware of, the nature of these agencies; or, if the practitioner has definite notions concerning the mode of action of his measures, the agencies upon which his success really depends are often different from those in which he places his trust. The chief agencies upon which psycho-therapeutic measures are based are supernatural agency, direct human agency, faith and suggestion, and three agencies of especial importance which may be called catharsis, autognosis, and sublimation, while more subsidiary rôles fall to reasoning, sympathy, and occupation.

(*a*) *Supernatural agency.*—The belief that supernatural beings are able to act upon disease is common to nearly all, if not all, the religions of the world. Everywhere man believes, or has believed, that beings with powers superior to his own can be induced to influence the course of disease if they are approached by suitable rites. This belief applies not only to beings who can be regarded as gods, but also to the spirits or ghosts of the dead, and especially of dead ancestors, the cult of which forms the essential element in the religious systems of most of the peoples of the earth. In the ruder forms of religion the efficacy of the rites which make up the cults of the gods, the ancestral ghosts, or other spiritual agents is universally ascribed to the direct action of these beings upon disease, but in the more developed forms of religion it is recognized more or less explicitly that the supernatural being works through some natural agency, such as faith. The modern belief that supernatural agents do not directly influence the course of disease depends on the wider belief in the universality of natural causation which is the foundation of science. This belief is supported by the experience that the more closely we examine cases in which the cure of disease is ascribed to supernatural intervention, the smaller becomes the residue which cannot be ascribed to some category of natural causation. The more highly developed the religion, the more do its leaders themselves adopt the theory of natural causation and ascribe successful results of their rites to the working of faith and suggestion.

(*b*) *Human agency.*—There is a wide-spread belief among the peoples of the earth that human beings are able to cure disease by their own powers. This is usually associated with the belief in the production of disease by magical rites, manual and verbal. In such cases the cure is effected either by inducing the sorcerer to remove his spell or by employing some other human agent, believed to be more powerful than the sorcerer, to counteract the spell or avert its consequences. In many of these cases the belief attaches in large measure to the objects or words which are used in the curative rites, and it is probable that the powers ascribed to these objects and words can often be traced back to a belief in divine or ghostly agency. It is certain, however, that efficacy is largely ascribed to the personality of the sorcerer. Some degree of confusion between personality and measures runs through the whole history of medicine. Even at the present time, and in the most civilized communities, the efficacy of therapeutic measures and of religious rites in connexion with disease is largely ascribed by the less educated members of the community to the personality of the physician or priest. Here, even more clearly than in the case of supernatural agency, the trend of modern opinion is to ascribe the efficacy of personality to the action of faith and suggestion.

(*c*) *Faith and suggestion.*—In modern writings on therapeutics and allied subjects it is not customary to distinguish between faith and suggestion, or, if they are distinguished, faith is regarded as a form of suggestion or is held to act through suggestion. This attitude is the result of a tendency to make the scope of suggestion so wide as to include nearly every process by which one mind is acted upon by another mind, by an object of the environment, or even by itself (auto-suggestion). When it is said that faith acts through suggestion, it is meant that through the process of belief, which is the main element in faith, a deity, person, or object produces a certain effect upon the mind which is classified with other effects ascribed to suggestion. Belief is an active and conative process, differing fundamentally from the condition of passive receptiveness which is the essential feature of the cases for which the concept of suggestion was originally framed. Though the two processes are poles apart psychologically, they are often combined. Suggestion often produces its effects through faith, but this is very different from explaining faith by suggestion. We could just as well, or perhaps with more justice, say that suggestion is explained by faith. The fact is that they are two distinct processes, differing essentially from one another in psychological character and producing their effects in very different ways.

Both faith and suggestion are of the greatest importance in psycho-therapeutics. It is undoubtedly to them that the remedies employed by savage and barbarous peoples owe their efficacy,

and they continue to be operative in the most modern forms of medicine where the confidence of the patient in his physician is generally acknowledged to be the first and most important step towards therapeutic success. Throughout the whole history of medicine from the stage of its close association with magic or religion to its full emergence as an independent social institution, the personality of the healer has been of predominant importance. It is through faith in this personality and its influence in directing the process of suggestion that therapeutical measures attain a large proportion of their success.

The influence of faith and suggestion pervades the whole system of treatment of the sick. Not a dose of medicine, not even a measure of diagnosis, can be used without bringing them into action. Their effect often begins even before the physician has seen his patient, and usually they are the more efficacious the more unwittingly they are employed. There are many practitioners of medicine, among both savage and civilized peoples, whose measures would lose most of their efficacy if they realized the true mode of action of the remedies in which they have so profound a faith. Here, as in so many branches of social life, it is half-measures that are especially likely to fail. A physician who understands the real nature of psycho-therapeutic activity and one who is wholly ignorant in this respect will succeed. The unsuccessful practitioner will be one who knows enough to destroy his faith in his medicaments and diatetic remedies without having acquired a sound knowledge of the processes upon which the success of these remedies so largely depends.

(*d*) *Catharsis.*—The two factors, faith and suggestion, run as manifold threads throughout the whole texture of psycho-therapeutics. They are of special importance where the mind is intact or where, more correctly, the mental disorder shows itself by some physical manifestation rather than in some overt disorder of the mind itself. The agency now to be considered is of especial importance where disorder of the mind is due to some mental injury which produces a condition of anxiety. Catharsis is the most important psycho-therapeutic agent in the process of confession, whether this form part of a religious rite or of a manifestly medical procedure. The process relieves a condition of mental tension produced by some trouble which gives cause for anxiety, grief, or other emotional state associated with an unpleasant feeling-tone. In cases where a person has nothing with which to reproach himself the relief produced by communication with others is well recognized. Where the grief due to pent-up trouble is combined with shame the relief is even greater, though the obstacles to the employment of this means of relief are greater.

The term 'catharsis' should properly be limited to the agency by which a pent-up grief, anxiety, or shame is relieved by the process of confession and that in which a mental conflict is resolved by measures which bring to manifest consciousness some element of suppressed experience.

(*e*) *Autognosis.*—Another most important element, both in confession and in the revival of forgotten experience, is that the subject learns the better to know himself. An important factor in the production of mental disorder, still more important in keeping it in being when it has already been produced, is that the patient fails to understand his condition. His whole disorder is enveloped by a sense of mystery which greatly accentuates the emotional state upon which his troubles primarily depend. The process by which the patient learns to understand the real state of his mind and the conditions by which this state has been produced forms a very important therapeutic agency which may be called 'autognosis.'[1]

Autognosis as a therapeutic agency includes a large number of processes. Owing to the ignorance of the elements of physiology and psychology which is general even in the most highly civilized communities, persons suffering from mental and functional nervous symptoms often wholly misunderstand, or vastly misrate the importance of, any unusual mental or bodily experience. Thus, the more or less normal hallucinations of the state between sleeping and waking (hypnogogic hallucinations) may give rise to apprehensions of approaching insanity, or normal physiological occurrences may be regarded as symptoms of serious disease—a misconception often greatly assisted by the teaching of quacks or ill-educated medical practitioners. In such cases the process of autognosis consists in imparting elementary knowledge for which the patient should not have waited until he has become the subject of some mental stress.

Another value of autognosis depends on the wholly mistaken estimate of the gravity of offences against morality which frequently accompany states of mental disorder. It is noteworthy that those who suffer in this way are not habitual offenders, who seem to pass as a rule through periods of mental stress without suffering. The persons whose neurasthenic or melancholic state centres in some old moral delinquency are usually persons of undue sensitiveness who may perhaps have only once lapsed from virtue, or may have been only innocent partners in, or even mere spectators of, some immoral act; sometimes they have offended only in thought and not in deed. It is in such cases that the process of autognosis is especially valuable, though to have a fair chance of success it should be employed in the early stages of the malady before the condition of anxiety has become habitual and some unnatural explanation has been systematized to form a delusion. Old injuries of this kind usually produce their effect after some strain and stress which lower vitality and produce disorder of various bodily processes. The awakening of the old mental injury only serves to aggravate and perpetuate this state, thus producing a vicious circle in which the trauma brought to the surface by a pathological condition accentuates the condition by which it has been produced. By the process of autognosis this vicious circle may be broken or weakened and an opportunity given for a movement towards recovery.

Of greater interest and of more importance is the process by which the patient is led to understand how his disorder has developed. Many mental disorders are only exaggerations of tendencies towards modes of feeling, thought, and action which go far back into the life-history of the sufferer. If he can be led to see where he has strayed from normal paths and can learn to know the factors to which this straying has been due, a long step will have been taken towards recovery. If the patient learns that his disease is only the expression of an exaggeration of a wide-spread trend of feeling, thought, or action, his condition will no longer appear mysterious, terrifying, or horrible, but will assume proportions which can be faced rationally and dispassionately.

The instances of autognosis just considered are examples in which mental conditions underlying pathological states are present in a manifest form. One of the leading problems of psycho-therapeutics at the present time is to discover how far the process of autognosis can be extended to include past experience which has wholly disappeared from the conscious mental life. It stands beyond

[1] The present writer owes this term to Dr. William Brown.

all doubt that past experience which has taken so little part in the conscious mental life of a person that it seems to be wholly forgotten may reappear in consciousness during the state of anxiety following some period of physical and mental strain. Moreover, this experience, supposed to have been forgotten, may come to dominate consciousness so as to dwarf all other mental content. All gradations occur between cases in which the memory of an unpleasant experience has never long been out of consciousness and experience which has been so nearly forgotten that the patient may not remember its coming to consciousness, perhaps for years before the period of stress which again brings it to the surface. The doubtful point is whether this series can be extended to include past experience which has so wholly passed from consciousness that it can be brought to the surface only by special means, such as hypnotism, or by the process called psycho-analysis.

(*f*) *Sublimation.*—Of the agencies common to the work of physician, priest, and teacher none is more important than that to which the name 'sublimation' has been given. The process of autognosis often shows the presence of some faulty trend of thought and action which is capable of being turned into a more healthy channel. Many nervous and mental disorders depend, at any rate in part, on tendencies which are altogether anti-social, or, while suitable to one kind of civilization, are out of place in the society into which the sufferer has been born. In such a case sublimation furnishes an alternative to satisfaction or repression.

One of the chief directions which may be taken by the process of sublimation is towards religion. The specific group of sentiments and emotions which make up the psychological basis of religion can often be substituted for those associated with the anti-social trend. Less frequently the sentiments and emotions associated with art can be utilized, or the morbid energy may be directed into some other channel of activity. The great importance of religion in the process of sublimation, and in the whole field of psycho-therapeutics, is that it is able to satisfy both emotional and practical needs, its specific emotions satisfying one kind of need while its many practical activities satisfy others. An additional value which attaches to religion as a means of sublimating morbid energies is due to the fact that in their historical development modern religious systems have brought religion and moral teaching into close relation with one another, so that a definite system of beliefs opposed to various anti-social trends serves to rationalize and fortify the process of sublimation. The relative failure of art, as compared with religion, in the process of sublimation is largely due to the absence of any such association between its specific emotion and moral teaching, most followers of art explicitly denying the connexion with morality which forms so definite a part of modern systems of religion.

(*g*) *Reason.*—One of the most difficult problems of psycho-therapeutics is to assign its proper place to reason as a therapeutic agency. It is a universal experience of those who have to deal with the insane that it is useless to attempt to reason a patient out of his delusions, and this holds good also to a large extent of the obsessions and hypochondriac fancies which are so frequent a feature of the broad borderland between sanity and insanity. By such reasoning the sufferer is often driven to adopt the rôle of an advocate, so that the only result may be the strengthening of his delusion or fancy. Where reasoning does good, it is often only through the influence of faith and suggestion, in which case the reasons given by the physician or priest only reinforce processes of other kinds which act through emotional or instinctive channels. While reason is thus of little direct use, and may even be harmful, it forms a most important element in other psycho-therapeutic agencies, and especially in autognosis. Once the true emotional cause of a morbid state has been discovered and explained to the patient, the exercise of his own reason comes to form an essential element in his amendment or recovery. There is all the difference in the world between the use of reason by one who does not understand the real underlying conditions of the malady and reason exerted when these conditions have been discovered and are themselves the material from which the reasoning starts and upon which it acts. As with other therapeutic agencies reason is useless or harmful only when it is employed in ignorance of the real nature of the morbid state upon which the physician or priest is acting. Here, as in other branches of medicine, the proper use of the remedy depends on the exactness of the diagnosis.

(*h*) *Sympathy.* — The nature of the action of sympathy in psycho-therapeutics raises a problem of considerable difficulty. The sympathy of the physician is essential in gaining the confidence of his patient and is thus an important element in psycho-therapeutics, but, unless very judiciously expressed, sympathy will have a bad effect. It has long been recognized that removal from his or her ordinary surroundings is in most cases essential if a neurasthenic or hysterical patient is to have the best chance of recovery. One very important reason for this is the necessity of removal from the almost invariably injudicious sympathy of relatives and friends by which the attention of the patient towards his symptoms is accentuated. The physician himself should always be on his guard lest an excess of sympathy should increase the attitude of self-regard which is one of the main characteristics of many forms of neurosis. Cases are frequent in which at one stage or another it may be useful to act towards a patient in an apparently unsympathetic manner. In so far as sympathy can be regarded as a direct therapeutic agent, it is as capable of harm as of good. It is in paving the way towards the employment of other agencies that its importance in psycho-therapeutics is most definitely shown.

(*i*) *Occupation.* — In some systems of psycho-therapeutics work has been put in a foremost place. It has been held that the chief need in cases of neurosis is that the mind should be occupied in work of a kind which will direct the attention of the patient away from the morbid activities of his mind and body.

Since a prominent feature of many cases is abnormal preoccupation in some unhealthy trend of thought and feeling, such a course would seem at first sight to be sound, if not obvious. In practice, however, the will to work is present perhaps in excess among persons suffering from neurasthenia or other states which call for psychical treatment, while in a still larger number there is such a lack of interest or such bodily or mental weakness as to make the effort to work even harmful. In such cases it is necessary to restrain rather than encourage activity. In most cases, however, there comes a stage at which the patient is in danger of acquiring a habit of inactivity, and occupation then becomes a most important therapeutic agent. In other cases in which the process of autognosis shows the presence of sloth or misdirected energy the regulation of occupation becomes of the utmost importance in psycho-therapeutics.

4. Psycho-therapeutic measures.—The lines of treatment adopted by one who practises psycho-

therapeutics will depend on his beliefs concerning the nature of the agencies by which disease is produced and cured. If he believes in the efficiency of superhuman agency, his treatment will consist of religious rites of prayer, sacrifice, and propitiation, together in many cases with other rites, such as those of purification, confession, penance, and atonement, designed to put both patient and priest in a proper relation towards the superhuman being whose help is being sought. By some Churches these various rites have been combined so as to form organized systems in which large numbers of the sick undertake pilgrimages to places believed to have miraculous efficacy in the cure of disease.

Similarly, if one believes in human agency as the cause of disease and the means for its removal, either he will adopt measures designed to propitiate the person by whom the disease is believed to have been produced or he will employ, or induce others to employ, measures designed to neutralize those of the sorcerer to whose actions the disease is ascribed.

If the physician believes in suggestion, he will employ this agency wittingly in one of its many forms. If he believes in the value of autognosis, his treatment will consist chiefly in measures designed to bring the patient to a sound knowledge of himself and of the conditions by which his disease has been produced and can be remedied. If he believes in occupation, he will set the patient to tasks designed to turn the morbidly directed energy into this channel.

The discussion of psycho-therapeutic agencies in the preceding section will have pointed the way to other modes of treatment, but a few measures may be more fully considered.

(*a*) *Hypnotism.*—It is now generally accepted that hypnotism as a therapeutic measure is only a mode of utilizing suggestion, the chief feature of the hypnotic state being a condition of heightened suggestibility. Closely allied to hypnotism is the condition, known as hypnoidal suggestion, in which a patient is placed under conditions especially designed to enhance his receptiveness for the influence of suggestion.

A prominent characteristic of hypnotism is the production of a state of dissociation, so that, on coming out of the state, the patient has no conscious recollection of any suggestions which may have been made or of any other events which have occurred during the hypnotic state. Nevertheless the suggestions will act in the manner intended by the hypnotizer, and other events may be recalled when the patient is again hypnotized or may revive in dreams or under other conditions. In the state of hypnoidal suggestion there may also be some degree of dissociation, but the patient, at any rate in its slighter degrees, is aware of the suggestions and other experience.

Perhaps the most debated question of psycho-therapeutics is how far it is legitimate to practise hypnotism and hypnoidal suggestion. The physician who recognizes that every word that he utters may carry a suggestion will naturally utilize this agency as much as possible. The question which is disputed is how far it is legitimate to accentuate the influence of suggestion by the production of the dissociation which characterizes the hypnotic state, or to give suggestions to the patient in such a way that he is led to believe that some force with an element of mystery is being employed. One of the points on which the question turns is how far hypnotism produces a harmful effect. It is generally acknowledged that a person who has once been hypnotized can be more easily hypnotized a second time, not only by the original hypnotizer, but also by others if a definite counter-suggestion has not been given. This definite change in the character of a person can hardly be altogether for the good, to say the least. Moreover, it often happens that a definite craving to be hypnotized is set up, though it is claimed by advocates of hypnotism that this happens only when the agency is employed unskilfully. Since, however, we can be confident that, if hypnotism became a regular part of medical practice, it would often be employed unskilfully, a vista of possibilities is opened which it is not pleasant to contemplate.

These arguments are especially directed against the habitual employment of hypnotism as a remedy for minor ailments or for ailments which experience has shown to be amenable to other measures. There are certain conditions, however, long the despair of medicine, for which the success of hypnotism is undeniable. Such conditions include dipsomania, morphinomania, and other forms of drug-habit, as well as certain forms of sexual aberration. These states, being desperate, may require desperate remedies, and, when they have failed to react to other modes of treatment, it would be difficult for the most strenuous opponent of hypnotism to deny its use. A more doubtful category is that of cases of functional disease due to shock such as have been so frequent in the great European war. There is no question that symptoms can be removed, sometimes by a single hypnotic treatment. It may be argued, on the one hand, that experience has shown that these cases tend to recover quickly by other means. On the other hand, it may be argued that the cases, having been produced by a sudden shock quite foreign to the experience of everyday life, should be treated by some equally drastic remedy. We do not know enough at present of the history of such cases to allow any decisive answer concerning this problem. We must await the investigation of the after-history of the many cases in which hypnotism has been employed during the war.

The chief objection to the employment of hypnotism is not, however, its possible harmfulness or the dangers of unskilful application, but rests on the fact that the use of suggestion and hypnotism ignores a fundamental principle of medicine in that these agencies are directed towards the symptoms of disease and do not touch the morbid process to which the symptoms are ultimately due. The action of a physician who hypnotizes for headache and sleeplessness is to be classed with that of the practitioner who administers aspirin or morphia for these symptoms without inquiring into the conditions by which the headaches and sleeplessness are being produced. Both actions are examples of a slipshod and short-sighted employment of therapeutic agencies. The most recent systems of psycho-therapeutics hold that in the treatment of mental disorder, as in other branches of medicine, it is our duty to discover causes and to remove or amend symptoms by discovering and attacking the deeper and less obvious states upon which the symptoms depend. Hypnotism may be used to discover causes and may thus be an instrument in autognosis, but, as more usually employed, it merely touches the surface and ignores, or may even obstruct, inquiry by which the real nature of the malady may be revealed.

(*b*) *Psycho-analysis.*—This word has been very unfortunately chosen, for every physician who endeavours to discover the conditions which have produced an abnormal mental state must of necessity carry out a process of psychical analysis. The term is so widely used, however, for the system initiated by Freud that its use can hardly be avoided. By psycho-analysis is meant primarily the process by which the physician discovers the 'complex' or body of forgotten experience which

is believed to underlie abnormal mental states or abnormal bodily states ascribed to mental conditions. The word applies primarily to the method of diagnosis by which the conditions underlying a morbid mental condition are discovered. Since, according to the earlier ideas of the Freudian school, the diagnosis is itself sufficient to bring about a cure, its use included also a system of therapeutics. According to Freud, a complex cannot be discovered by the ordinary methods of introspection, but expresses itself in dreams, in such abnormalities of conduct as forgetting, slips of the tongue or pen, and apparently meaningless acts. The investigation of these processes forms one of the chief departments of psycho-analysis.

In addition to these more or less indirect means of analysis, two other methods have been widely employed. In one, known as the method of free association, the patient has to express freely every thought that comes into his mind in response to an idea suggested by his symptoms. In another method, which is due especially to Jung, the patient is given a number of words in succession and is asked to express as rapidly as possible the ideas that each word calls up in his mind. It is found that there is a delay, or even total failure to respond, if the given word arouses ideas in close relation with the complex; and, if a series of words is repeated, the responses on the second occasion will not agree with those of the first when the words have aroused the complex. In the method of free association the patient is put into as tranquil a state as possible and the experience succeeds the better the more the condition approaches a minor degree of the hypnotic state, in which thoughts aroused by immediate association are controlled as little as possible by volition.

The method of closed association with reaction-time has a far narrower scope and is chiefly useful in providing clues for other lines of analysis. If employed without full knowledge of its purpose on the part of the patient, it savours too much of the methods of the detective and may do harm by interfering with the state of confidence between physician and patient which is the first condition of success in psycho-therapeutics.

(*c*) *Re-education.* — This term is used for the body of measures which the physician employs as the result of the processes by which he has led his patient to a knowledge of himself and of the conditions which have produced his morbid state. In rare cases a patient may be so intelligent and balanced that the mere acquirement of such knowledge may itself be sufficient to enable him to shake off his morbid symptoms and set him on the path leading to a healthy mental life. This holds good, not only when the experience which he has come to understand belongs to his fully conscious mental life, but also, and perhaps still more conspicuously, in those cases in which the process of psycho-analysis has brought to light some long-forgotten experience. In most cases, however, the full therapeutic value of autognosis is brought out only through a process of re-education in which the patient is led to understand how his newly acquired knowledge of himself can be utilized. He has to be shown how to readjust his life in the light of his new knowledge and how to turn energy, hitherto morbidly directed, into more healthy channels.

The processes which have been considered in this article under the headings of autognosis and re-education are as applicable to moral defects as to those more usually held to lie within the sphere of medicine. Recent movements in psycho-therapeutics go far to bridge the gulf between medicine and moral teaching and will help us to co-ordinate and reduce to common principles the work of the physician, the teacher, the social reformer, and the priest. It is the prospect that principles of action and modes of inquiry discovered by any one of these may be helpful to the others that makes these movements so full of promise. Some of the modern measures of the physician are little more than his adoption of modes of treatment which have long been familiar, in the form of confession, to the priest. While the physician may learn much from the long accumulated experience of the priest, the priest may in his turn be helped by such a study of the psychology of confession as his special knowledge and experience allow the physician to undertake. Moreover, the experience of both priest and physician may be utilized by those who have to do with mental and moral training or with the amendment of faulty moral tendencies which have led to the commission of crime. Using the term in the widest sense, psycho-therapeutics may furnish a body of organized knowledge which can be utilized by all those who are interested in the regulation and improvement of social conditions.

The great interest of modern trends in psycho-therapeutics is that at this late stage of social evolution they seem to be again bringing religion and medicine into that intimate relation to one another which existed in their early history. We have here a typical case of social evolution in which social processes once so closely combined as to be with difficulty distinguished from one another have followed widely divergent paths only to meet again as each has come to spread its branches widely over the whole field of social activity.

Cf. also artt. BODY AND MIND, BRAIN AND MIND, FAITH-HEALING, HYPNOTISM.

LITERATURE.—P. Dubois, *Les Psychonévroses et leur traitement moral*[3], Paris, 1908, tr. S. E. Jelliffe and W. A. White, *The Psychic Treatment of Nervous Disorders*, New York and London, 1906; J. Dejerine and E. Gauckler, *Les Manifestations fonctionnelles des psychonévroses*, Paris, 1911, tr. S. E. Jelliffe, *The Psychoneuroses and their Treatment of Psychotherapy*, Philadelphia and London, 1913; S. Freud, *Selected Papers on Hysteria and other Psychoneuroses* (Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph Series, no. 4), New York, 1912; C. G. Jung, *Diagnostische Assoziationsstudien: Beiträge zu experimentelle Psychotherapie*, i., Leipzig, 1905 ([2]1911), ii. 1910, tr. M. D. Eder, *Studies in Word-Association*, in the press, *The Theory of Psychoanalysis* (Nervous and Mental Disease Monograph Series, no. 19), New York, 1915; B. Hart, *The Psychology of Insanity*, Cambridge, 1912; G. Elliot Smith and T. H. Pear, *Shell-shock and its Lessons*, Manchester, 1917.

W. H. R. RIVERS.

PUBERTY.—Puberty is the period of life at which reproductive power is attained. Its commencement is marked by certain external signs,[1] and it is characterized by certain changes, structural and organic, intellectual, emotional, and moral.[2] The age at which it is reached varies considerably in the case of both sexes;[3] and these variations occur not only in different races but in different individuals of the same race.[4]

I. *INITIATION AND PUBERTY.*—It is a familiar feature of uncivilized societies that those of their members who are of the same sex, age, or occupa-

[1] Of these the most marked are, in females, enlargement of the breasts, the growth of hair on the pubes and armpits, and the menstrual flow; and, in males, the breaking of the voice, and the growth of hair on the armpits, pubes, and face.

[2] As to the changes and the disorders of mind and body to which puberty has special relation, see art. ADOLESCENCE and authorities therein cited. See also A. E. Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, London, 1902, p. 198.

[3] A. van Gennep, *Les Rites de passage*, p. 95 ff. These variations are due to many causes, among which may be reckoned race, climate, diet, housing, clothing, occupation, temperament, mode of life, and state of health (H. Ploss and M. Bartels, *Das Weib in der Natur und Völkerkunde*[10], i. 421 ff.).

[4] Thus, in Egypt, the average age at which menstruation begins is, according to one authority, 9–10 years, according to another 10–13 years, while, among the Somali, it is 16 years. For 584 women of Tokyo the figures were: at 11 years, 2; at 12 years, 2; at 13 years, 26; at 14 years, 78; at 15 years, 224; at 16 years, 228; at 17 years, 68; at 18 years, 44; at 19 years, 10; at 20 years, 2 (Ploss and Bartels, i. 437 ff.; van Gennep, p. 95).

tion, or who have been participants in the same rite at the same time, or who are affected by interests common to all of them, tend to form themselves into subordinate social groups, membership of which confers special rights, imposes special duties, secures special privileges, and exposes to special supernatural influences. To attain egress from or entrance into such a group requires as its necessary *prius* the observance of certain customs or the performance of certain rites;[1] and we find, accordingly, that, in many instances, admission into the ranks of the mature is restricted to those who have undergone the appropriate preparation.[2] It is a common practice to give to the rites which mark separation from childhood and entrance upon manhood or womanhood the name of 'rites of puberty.' And yet it is only to certain of those rites that the name can be accurately applied; for admissibility to the ranks of mature persons is, in many instances, determined not by arrival at puberty, but by something having no necessary connexion with it, such as attainment of a certain age[3] or possession of a certain capacity or quality.[4] Objection upon these grounds to an indiscriminating use of the name has, we venture to think, been pushed too far by van Gennep.[5] At the same time, he has done good service in insisting on the limits of its applicability; and, accordingly, we shall confine our employment of it to those rites whose celebration is determined in point of time by reference to puberty.

It is, however, to be kept in view that, in some instances, a rite which is undoubtedly a rite of puberty does not take place until full development of puberty is attained,[6] while, in others, it is postponed for reasons of convenience or by force of circumstances.[7] In cases in which initiation is spread over a long course of years it may be that none or some only of the rites are puberty rites;[8] and sometimes a puberty rite loses its original significance by being merged in a rite of another kind.[1]

II. *DESCRIPTION OF PUBERTY RITES.*—A rite of puberty is sometimes a simple rite, consisting merely of a dance,[2] a feast,[3] or a procession through the street,[4] and sometimes it is a complex rite, including within it or accompanied by subordinate ceremonies.

Thus the northern tribes of Central Australia celebrate two rites[5]—circumcision and subincision—which are obligatory on all males, and which always take place at puberty.[6] In the Urabunna tribe the novice who has undergone both operations is shown some of the sacred totemic ceremonies, and receives instructions as to his conduct. He must give a present of food to the operators; and they, by touching his mouth with a piece of meat, release him from the ban of silence.[7]

In one of the northern central tribes—the Larakia—the novice is subjected, not to any mutilation, but to hard usage such as kicks and blows, and to tests of strength, endurance, and courage;[8] and finally he is shown and given a sacred bull-roarer which he may not show to his younger brothers or any woman.[9] Among the Yuin of S.E. Australia, who practise neither circumcision nor subincision, a tooth is knocked out[10] by a medicine-man.[11] During the ceremonies the bull-roarer is frequently heard. Its sound represents the thunder, which is the voice of Daramulun.[12] The chief rite is followed by dances, pantomimic representations, and other solemnities, of which one of the most important is the mock burial and resurrection of a tribesman.[13] The novices are subjected to certain food restrictions. Charcoal dust is the appropriate covering during the ceremonies; and, when they close, it is washed off as an indication that everything connected with them is done with. The youths are painted and invested with the belt of manhood, and retire into the bush, where the men who have had charge of them during the rite instruct them and give them their totem names. The novices do not take their place as men in the community until the medicine-men are satisfied of their fitness. Then they are permitted to marry.[14]

Among some of the Victorian tribes the chief rite consists of a fight between the novices of two tribes which are at feud,

[1] Van Gennep, p. 35 f.; H. Schurtz, *Alterklassen und Männerbünde*, p. 52 f.; artt. INITIATION.

[2] In Fiji uncircumcised youths were regarded as unclean (B. Thomson, *The Fijians*, London, 1908, p. 216); and among some of the hill tribes of Central India an uninitiated person was tabued. Thus, a child who had not undergone the rites of hair-shaving or ear-piercing was treated as *bhūt*, or devil, not subject to tribal restrictions as to food, etc. (W. Crooke, 'The Hill Tribes of the Central Indian Hills,' *JAI* xxviii. [1898] 246). E. J. Eyre (*Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia*, London, 1845, ii. 201) says of a S. Australian blackfellow: 'He is a stupid idiotic sort of man so that the natives have not deemed him worthy of receiving the honours of their ceremonies, and still call him boy or youth, although he is an oldish man' (see A. W. Howitt, *The Native Tribes of S.E. Australia*, London, 1904, p. 530).

[3] As in ancient Rome (see F. C. von Savigny, *System des heutigen römischen Rechts*, Berlin, 1840, iii. 56; B. W. Leist, *Graeco-italische Rechtsgeschichte*, Jena, 1884, p. 65 ff.).

[4] Such as ability to carry arms (J. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*[3], Göttingen, 1881, p. 413) or prowess in war or foray (van Gennep, p. 125).

[5] P. 93 ff.

[6] See the account of the ceremony of the Yuin tribe (below, II.), and W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the N.W. Central Queensland Aborigines*, Brisbane and London, 1897, p. 170 ff.

[7] It is postponed sometimes until a sufficient number of candidates has been collected (L. Fison and A. W. Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, Melbourne, 1880, p. 192), and sometimes until sufficient food has been procured for the feast which forms part of the ceremony (M. Krieger, *Neu-Guinea*, Berlin, 1899, p. 167; W. S. and K. Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People: the Akikuyu of British E. Africa*, London, 1910, p. 151), or to pay the superintendent of the rite (B. T. Somerville, 'Notes on some Islands of the New Hebrides,' *JAI* xxiii. [1893–94] 5), or until the chief's son is old enough (G. McCall Theal, *Hist. of S. Africa*, London, 1888–93, ii. 205). In some instances the ceremony takes place only every four or five years (H. A. Junod, *The Life of a S. African Tribe*, London, 1912, i. 74; W. C. Willoughby, 'Notes on the Initiation Ceremony of the Becwana,' *JAI* xxxix. [1909] 229), while in others it is suspended owing to the occurrence of a calamity (Theal, *loc. cit.*), such as war, famine, or plague (L. Fison, 'The Nanga, or Sacred Stone Enclosure, of Wainimala, Fiji,' *JAI* xiv. [1885] 19).

[8] Spencer-Gillen[a], p. 212 f. Among the A-kamba the children of both sexes are circumcised when about five or six years old, and a second ceremony is performed at puberty (C. W. Hobley, *The Ethnology of the A-Kamba and other E. African Tribes*, Cambridge, 1910, p. 68). Similarly, among some of the northern tribes of Central Australia the throwing up ceremony precedes circumcision and subincision (see below, II.).

[1] See below, III. 1 (*f*) note, and J. Kohler, 'Das Recht der Papuas,' *ZVRW* xiv. [1900] 361 (Tami Islanders).

[2] See S. Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, Berlin, 1907, p. 101 f.

[3] E. Beardmore, 'The Natives of Mowat, Daudai, New Guinea,' *JAI* xix. [1890] 460; H. H. Bancroft, *NR*, London, 1875, i. 584 (Ceris and Tepocas). In the Marshall Islands the occurrence of first menstruation is celebrated by festivities, accompanied with singing and gifts of flowers (J. Kohler, 'Das Recht der Marschallinsulaner,' *ZVRW* xiv. 437).

[4] B. Cruickshank, *Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast of Africa*, London, 1853, ii. 193 f.

[5] Among some tribes these rites are preceded by a ceremony in which the novice is thrown up in the air and caught in the arms of the men (Spencer-Gillen[b], p. 337; cf. Spencer-Gillen[a], pp. 214–218).

[6] Spencer-Gillen[b], p. 328 f. Among some of the tribes of N.W. Central Queensland (Roth, p. 170 ff.) and S.E. Australia (Howitt, p. 530, note 2) the ceremonies are performed at full development of puberty, when the moustache and beard begin to show. In the case of the Narrinyeri the principal rite of admission to the ranks of men consists in plucking out the beard and moustache (*ib.* p. 674). In the Yerkla-mining tribe circumcision does not take place till about the eighteenth year (*ib.* p. 664), while among the Dieri it is performed at the age of nine or ten years, when the novice receives a new name, and it is followed some years afterwards by subincision, in virtue of which the youth becomes a 'thorough man' (*ib.* p. 656 f.). In the case of the Arunta and other tribes the rite of painting the boy and throwing him up takes place when he is ten or twelve years of age. He may be circumcised at any time after puberty (Spencer-Gillen[a], pp. 214–218).

[7] Spencer-Gillen[b], p. 334 f. [8] *Ib.* p. 331 f. [9] *Ib.* p. 332.

[10] Where the practice of knocking out teeth prevails among the northern central tribes, it has, at the present day at all events, nothing to do with initiation (*ib.* p. 329).

[11] In the case of the ceremony in which Howitt took part there were three novices, of whom two were fourteen or fifteen years of age, while the third was older and had an incipient moustache (Howitt, p. 531; cf. p. 530, note 2).

[12] Among some of the northern central tribes the women and children believe that the sound of the bull-roarer is the voice of a spirit who devours and subsequently restores the novice (Spencer-Gillen[b], pp. 366, 501; cf. pp. 343, 499). Beliefs fundamentally the same are found in all Australian tribes (Spencer-Gillen[a], p. 246, note 1; Howitt, pp. 538, 628, 631 ff.; cf. p. 596). See also Krieger, p. 167; J. Holmes, 'Initiation Ceremonies of the Natives of the Papuan Gulf,' *JAI* xxxii. [1902] 419 f.

[13] 'The ceremonies are intended to impress and terrify the boy in such a manner that the lesson may be indelible, and may govern the whole of his future life. But the intention is also to amuse in the intervals of the serious rites' (Howitt, p. 532).

[14] Howitt, pp. 556–561.

among others, of painting the novices and cutting their hair in a peculiar fashion, while, in some instances, plucking out the hair accompanies the rite of knocking out teeth.[1]

Women, while usually taking part in the preliminaries to, and accompaniments of, the rite, are excluded from its actual performance.[2]

As to the initiation of girls, we may observe that the ceremony of rubbing the breasts with fat and ochre,[3] and the operation of cutting open the vagina, followed by sexual intercourse with men who stand to them in certain relationships,[4] appear to be the equivalents of the ceremonies of throwing up in the air and subincision. Among the Arunta and Ilpirra tribes, a girl, during her first menstruation, is secluded at a spot apart from the women's camp, unvisited by men,[5] while at Upper Yarra she is, at the same period, tied with cords so tightly as to cause her acute pain. These are not removed until the flow has ceased.[6] Among the Dieri the practice of knocking out two of the lower middle front teeth is not confined to boys.[7]

III. *CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF PUBERTY RITES.* — In the preceding paragraph we have noted the main characteristics of a few of the puberty rites practised by some of the Australian tribes, and found that they included mutilations, the imposition and removal of tabus, tests of endurance, strength, skill, and courage, ceremonial painting, decorating, hair-cutting, and the like, dances and pantomimic representations, ablutions, naming anew, seclusion, instruction, investiture with a new dress, sexual intercourse, and certain other usages, which we shall now proceed to consider.

1. **Mutilations.**—(*a*) *Circumcision.*—This operation frequently serves as a rite of puberty either alone[8] or in conjunction with other rites.[9] It is employed sometimes in the case of males only[10] and sometimes in the case of females as well.[11] It takes place sometimes on arrival at puberty,[12] or full puberty,[13] and sometimes at stated intervals.[14] Occasionally it is postponed owing to special circumstances.[15]

(*b*) *Knocking out teeth.*—Among the Murrumbidgee, Murray, and Goulburn tribes two of the incisor teeth of the lower jaw are knocked out in the case of boys on arrival at puberty;[16] and among the Batoka there prevails the custom of knocking out upper front teeth of both girls and boys at the same period.[17]

(*c*) *Filing the teeth.*—In Makisar the teeth of both sexes are filed at puberty, and a five days' tabu in respect of certain foods is imposed.[1] It is said that among the Kedah Semang the teeth are filed at puberty irrespective of sex;[2] and a similar custom is practised by the Malays at or about the same time of life.[3] The custom of pointing the teeth of the Thonga girls at puberty is dying out.[4]

(*d*) *Perforating the lips or ears.*—Puberty rites in the case of girls include the boring of the lower lip for the later insertion of an ornament among the Tlingits,[5] and the piercing of the ears among the Tsimshians.[6] The ears of the Thonga boys were pierced at puberty.[7]

(*e*) *Scarification, tatuing, etc.*—Among the Ba-Mbala scars are made on the face and body of both males and females at puberty.[8] Part of the puberty rites to which the girls of the Abipones are subjected consists in pricking them with thorns, ashes mixed with the blood being rubbed into the punctures so as to render them indelible. The operation must be borne without wincing.[9] Very similar accounts are given of the rites in the case of girls among the Charruas, Minuanes, and Payaguas,[10] the Tupis,[11] and certain tribes of the Orinoco.[12] The Orāon girls, when adult or nearly so, are tatued on the arms and back.[13] In British New Guinea the completion of a girl's tatuing is a sign of her maturity;[14] and in Raiatea, one of the Society Islands, it was considered a disgrace to be without the tatu marks of puberty.[15] Among the Bushmen incisions were made on the forehead and between the shoulders, and charcoal was rubbed into them, as the final puberty rite in the case of boys;[16] and among the Ba-Ronga women tatuing seems to have connexion with marriage or, at least, nubility.[17]

(*f*) *Dilatatio vaginæ, artificial defloration.*—In the case of girls in Azimba Land, the vagina is enlarged on arrival at puberty;[18] a similar practice prevails among the Wa-yao of British Central

[1] Howitt, pp. 602 f., 610, 613.

[2] Spencer-Gillen[b], p. 358. The Warramunga tribe is an exception (*ib.*); see also Roth, pp. 171, 177.

[3] Spencer-Gillen[a], pp. 269, 459 f.; Spencer-Gillen[b], pp. 474–476.

[4] Spencer-Gillen[b], p. 133 f.; Spencer-Gillen[a], p. 92 f.; Roth, p. 174 f.

[5] Spencer-Gillen[a], p. 460; Spencer-Gillen[b], p. 601.

[6] R. Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, London and Melbourne, 1878, i. 65; see also p. 61 f. as to another curious practice.

[7] Howitt, p. 655. The operation takes place when the child is from eight to ten years of age.

[8] Mungo Park, *Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa*, London, 1799, p. 265 (Mandingoes); B. Thomson, p. 216 (Fijians); G. H. von Langsdorff, *Voyages and Travels in Various Parts of the World during the Years 1803–07*, Eng. tr., London, 1813–14, i. 158 (Nukahiva).

[9] Routledge, p. 151 ff.; H. R. Tate, 'Further Notes on the Kikuyu Tribes of British East Africa,' *JAI* xxxiv. [1904] 265 (Akikuyu); H. H. Johnston, *British Central Africa*, London, 1897 (Wa-yao); J. Roscoe, 'Notes on the Bageshu,' *JAI* xxxix. 185 f.; Junod, i. 71 ff. (Thonga); Theal, p. 205 (Kosa); D. Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in S. Africa*, London, 1857, p. 146 f. (Bechuana and Kafir tribes); Krieger, p. 167 (Kaiser Wilhelmsland).

[10] Krieger, p. 167; Junod, i. 78 ff.; K. Endemann, 'Mittheilungen über die Sotho-Negrer,' *ZE* vi. [1874] 37 f.; von Langsdorff, p. 158; B. Thomson, p. 216.

[11] Park, p. 265; Routledge, p. 154 f.; Tate, p. 265; Hobley, p. 68; S. Bagge, 'The Circumcision Ceremony among the Naivasha Masai,' *JAI* xxxiv. 167–169.

[12] Park, p. 265; Bagge, *JAI* xxxiv. 169 (girls); E. Torday and T. A. Joyce, 'Notes on the Ethnography of the Ba-Yaka,' *JAI* xxxvi. [1906] 46; Johnston, p. 409 f.; von Langsdorff, i. 158; B. Thomson, p. 216 (Fiji; in heathen times it took place at an earlier date).

[13] J. Macdonald, 'Manners, Customs, Superstitions, and Religions of S. African Tribes,' *JAI* xix. [1890] 268.

[14] Bagge, *JAI* xxxiv. 67; Junod, i. 74 f.; Endemann, p. 37; Willoughby, *JAI* xxxix. 229.

[15] Willoughby, *loc. cit.*; Routledge, p. 151; Theal, ii. 205.

[16] Brough Smyth, i. 62–65.

[17] Livingstone, p. 532 f. A somewhat similar usage is practised by the Seri in the case of girls before marriage.

[1] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, The Hague, 1886, p. 418. As to the practice in Ceram see Riedel, p. 137, and in S. Celebes see B. F. Matthes, *Bijdragen tot de Ethnologie van Zuid-Celebes*, The Hague, 1875, p. 70.

[2] W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, London, 1906, ii. 33 f.

[3] *Ib.* [4] Junod, i. 183.

[5] A. Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer*, Jena, 1885, p. 218; A. Erman, 'Ethnographische Wahrnehmungen und Erfahrungen an die Küsten des Berings-Meeres,' *ZE* ii. [1870] 319. The Tlingits are called 'Kolushes' by Erman and other writers (T. Waitz and G. Gerland, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, Leipzig, 1859–72, iii. 316).

[6] F. Boas, 'First General Report on the Indians of British Columbia,' in *Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1889*, London, 1890, p. 837.

[7] Junod, i. 95 f. It may be noted that among the Incas the ears of the youths were pierced on admission to knighthood (Garcilasso de la Vega, *First Part of the Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, ed. C. R. Markham, Hakluyt Society, London, 1869–71, ii. 176).

[8] E. Torday and T. A. Joyce, 'Notes on the Ethnography of the Ba-Mbala,' *JAI* xxxv. [1905] 403.

[9] M. Dobrizhoffer, *An Account of the Abipones*, Eng. tr., London, 1822, ii. 20 f.

[10] F. de Azara, *Voyages dans l'Amérique méridionale, 1781–1801*, Paris, 1809, ii. 10, 33, 127 f.

[11] *The Captivity of Hans Stade of Hesse, 1547–1555, among the Wild Tribes of Eastern Brazil*, ed. R. F. Burton, Hakluyt Society, London, 1874, p. 144.

[12] J. Gumilla, *Hist. naturelle, civile et géographique de l'Orénoque*, tr. from Spanish by M. Eidous, Avignon, 1757, i. 184.

[13] E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1872, p. 251; see also pp. 248, 252.

[14] Krieger, p. 296.

[15] J. R. Forster, *Observations made during a Voyage round the World*, Eng. tr., London, 1778, p. 433 f.; cf. B. Thomson, p. 218; G. Brown, *Melanesians and Polynesians*, do. 1910, p. 103 (Samoa).

[16] Passarge, p. 101, who thinks it probable that the marks on the forehead were tribal marks.

[17] Junod, i. 180.

[18] H. Crawfurd Angas, 'The Chensamwali, or Initiation Ceremony of Girls as performed in Azimba Land, Central Africa,' *ZE* xxx. [1898] 480. As to the practice among the Australian tribes see above, II.

Africa;[1] and in the Pelew Islands[2] the girls are frequently deflowered at or a little before puberty.[3]

2. The imposition of tabus.—(*a*) *Exclusion of women from rites, etc.*—Among the tribes of Central Australia women are excluded from the actual performance of circumcision and subincision to which the males are subjected.[4] Among the Thonga the lodge (*sungi*) where the initiatory ceremonies take place is tabu to them;[5] and, in many instances, the novice must avoid women during the rites.[6] Among the Narrinyeri he may not taste of food belonging to a woman;[7] and the Kurnai do not permit him to eat of a female animal.[8]

(*b*) *Exclusion of men from rites, etc.*—It may be regarded as a regulation of almost universal prevalence that, during a girl's ceremonial seclusion at her first menstruation, she is not permitted to see or be seen by men, or to hold any communication with them.[9] Among the tribes of the Tanganyika Plateau an exception seems to be made in favour of a father of twins.[10]

(*c*) *In relation to food.*—The novices are in many instances subjected during the rites to certain food restrictions. In some cases a certain food is forbidden,[11] while in others a special food is prescribed.[12]

(*d*) *In relation to speech.*—We have seen that among some of the northern tribes of Central Australia the novices are under a ban of silence.[13] A similar prohibition prevails at Tutu, Torres Straits,[14] in the Elema District, Papuan Gulf,[15] and among some of the Brazilian tribes.[16] Sometimes speech with certain persons only is permitted,[1] or it is confined to whispering.[2] In other cases archaic or foreign words are used during the ceremonies.[3]

(*e*) *Miscellaneous.*—Instances are to be found in which the novices are prohibited from feeding themselves,[4] scratching themselves with their hands,[5] touching the hair or face,[6] touching the ground with their feet,[7] looking upon the sun[8] or fire,[9] lighting the fire,[10] looking back,[11] washing,[12] working,[13] or sleeping.[14]

3. Tests of endurance, etc.—In many cases the novices are forced to practise a rigid fast.[15] Thus, among the Musquakie Indians, the youth undergoes a prolonged fast at puberty, wandering alone until he dreams what his medicine is to be, and, sometimes, what his vocation is.[16] Sometimes the novices are forced to remain in deep water,[17] or to thrust their heads through collars of thorns,[18] or are gashed[19] or scarified[20] or beaten[21] with supple wands[22] or stinging nettles,[23] or are exposed to the bite of venomous ants,[24] or are deprived of sleep,[25] or are bound so tightly as to suffer great pain.[26] Among the Thonga they must suffer cold, thirst, and cruel punishments.[27] Sometimes they must show their prowess by killing a man,[28] or their intelligence by deciphering picture riddles;[29] while, in some instances, austerities in the case of women are designed to serve as remedies rather than as tests.[30]

1 Johnston, p. 410.

2 J. Kubary, *Die socialen Einrichtungen der Pelauer*, Berlin, 1885, p. 50 f. It is very doubtful if this instance refers to a puberty rite.

3 It has been observed that 'when marriage follows closely after puberty it is difficult to determine whether the custom really belongs to the puberty rites, or to those of marriage. . . . It will be admitted that as puberty rites gradually became simplified or altogether obsolete such a custom [as defloration] could only maintain existence as part of the marriage rites' (E. Sidney Hartland, 'Concerning the Rite at the Temple of Mylitta,' in *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor*, Oxford, 1907, p. 198; cf. Crawley, p. 313; G. A. Wilken, 'Plechtigheden en gebruiken bij verlovingen en huwelijken bij de volken van den Indischen Archipel,' in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie*, v. i. [1886] 441.

4 See above, II. 5 Junod, i. 77.

6 Somerville, *JAI* xxiii. 4; Howitt, p. 670; Holmes, *JAI* xxxii. 420 f. Holmes tells that the novices are permitted to walk abroad, but that, when they do so, they are encased in plaited palm-leaves and are under a bond of silence.

7 Howitt, p. 674 8 *Ib.* p. 633.

9 S. Powers, 'Tribes of California,' in *Contributions to N. American Ethnology*, Washington, 1877, iii. 235 (Wintūn); G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence*, London and New York, 1904, ii. 236 (Hupa); *NR* i. 278 f. (Spokane); Krause, pp. 218, 310 (Tlingits, Haidas); Boas, in 1889 *Report of the British Association*, p. 837 (Tsimshian); C. Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition, 1838–42*, London, 1845, iv. 455 (Pend 'Oreilles); C. G. Seligmann, in *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, Cambridge, 1901–12, v. 201 f.; Endemann, p. 33; Junod, i. 177 f.; Angas, p. 48 ff.; H. Zache, 'Sitten und Gebräuche der Suaheli,' *ZE* xxxi. [1899] 71; L. Decle, *Three Years in Savage Africa*, London, 1898, p. 78; J. Macdonald, 'Manners, Customs, Superstitions, and Religions of S. African Tribes,' *JAI* xx. [1891] 117.

10 C. Gouldsbury and H. Sheane, *The Great Plateau of Northern Rhodesia*, London, 1911, p. 159.

11 C. G. Seligmann, pp. 202, 204; Holmes, *JAI* xxxii. 422; R. E. Guise, 'On the Tribes inhabiting the Mouth of the Wanigela River, New Guinea,' *JAI* xxviii. 207; Powers, iii. 85; Howitt, p. 633; Spencer-Gillen[2], p. 256; Passarge, p. 101; G. McCall Theal, *Kaffir Folk-Lore*[2], London, 1886, p. 218; *NR* i. 242; C. Hill-Tout, 'Ethnological Report on the Stsēlis,' etc., *JAI* xxv. 320, 'Report on the Ethnology of the Stlatlumh,' *JAI* xxxv. 136; cf. *Census of India, 1901*, Calcutta, 1903, iii. 64 (Andamans, where the abstention is voluntary); Riedel, p. 418 (Makisar).

12 Powers, p. 235 f.; R. H. Schomburgk, *Reisen in Britisch Guiana, 1840–44*, Leipzig, 1847–48, ii. 316, 481; R. Sutherland Rattray, *Some Folk-Lore Stories and Songs in Chinyanja*, London, 1907, p. 102; Passarge, p. 101.

13 See above, II. 14 Seligmann, p. 210.

15 Holmes, *JAI* xxxii. 419 ff.

16 J. F. Lafitau, *Mœurs des sauvages amériquains*, Paris, 1724, i. 292.

1 Roth, p. 171.

2 J. Macdonald, *JAI* xx. 117; E. W. P. Chinnery and W. N. Beaver, 'Notes on the Initiation Ceremonies of the Koko, Papua,' *JRAI* xlv. [1915] 75; Howitt, p. 668.

3 Junod, i. 80. 4 Seligmann, pp. 201, 204.

5 Riedel, p. 137 f. (Ceram).

6 Stanley Hall, ii. 236 (Hupa).

7 Schomburgk, ii. 431 (Caribs); Lafitau, i. 292 (Brazilian tribes); Seligmann, p. 204; B. Danks, 'Marriage Customs of the New Britain Group,' *JAI* xviii. [1889] 285; Rattray, p. 103 (Central Angoniland); see *GB*[3], pt. vii., *Balder the Beautiful*, i. 1 ff.

8 Krause, p. 218 (Tlingits); G. M. Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, London, 1868, p. 94 (Ahts); F. Boas, 'Third Report on the Indians of British Columbia,' in *Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1891*, London, 1892, p. 418 (Bilqula); Seligmann, p. 204 f.; Stanley Hall, ii. 236 (Hupa). According to Powers, p. 85, the Hupa girl is blindfolded; *GB*[3], pt. vii., *Balder the Beautiful*, i. 18 f.

9 Sproat, p. 94; cf. Lafitau, i. 263.

10 Passarge, p. 101 (Bushmen).

11 Stanley Hall, ii. 236 (Hupa).

12 Somerville, *JAI* xxiii. 4 (New Hebrides).

13 R. E. Dennett, *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*, London, 1906, p. 67 f. (Bavili).

14 Junod, i. 91 (Thonga); Howitt, p. 674 (Narrinyeri).

15 Renaud des Marchais, *Voyage en Guinée, aux iles voisines, et à Cayenne fait en 1725–27*, Paris, 1730, iv. 363; J. B. du Tertre, *Hist. générale des Antilles*, do. 1667–71, i. 371, 376; Riedel, p. 76; Garcilasso de la Vega, ii. 169. See art. FASTING (Introductory and non-Christian), § 5.

16 M. A. Owen, *Folk-Lore of the Musquakie Indians*, London, 1904, p. 67 f. As to other tribes see Lafitau, i. 336; Hill-Tout, *JAI* xxxv. 136; G. Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of the North American Indians*, London, 1841, i. 36; P. F. X. de Charlevoix, *Journal d'un Voyage . . . dans l'Amérique septentrionale*, Paris, 1744, vi. 67, 69. See art. CALENDAR (American), § 3. Among the southern Californians the youth was intoxicated and harassed with questions (*NR* i. 414; see Stanley Hall, ii. 238, as to this use of intoxicants among Tuscaroras and other tribes).

17 E. Gottschling, 'The Bawenda,' *JAI* xxxv. 372 f.; Junod, i. 177 f.; Rattray, p. 103.

18 Gouldsbury and Sheane, p. 159.

19 Schomburgk, i. 168, ii. 431; du Tertre, i. 376; Gumilla, i. 184; J. Lery, in J. de Bry, *Hist. Americæ . . .*, Frankfort, 1592–1602, pt. iii. ch. xvi.; Lafitau, i. 291.

20 Seligmann, p. 215; see also Junod, i. 179; and Dalton, pp. 248, 251.

21 Junod, i. 82.

22 Schomburgk, ii. 316; A. R. Wallace, *A Narrative of Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro*, London, 1853, p. 496 f.; J. Macdonald, *JAI* xix. 268; Livingstone, p. 146.

23 *NR* i. 414.

24 *Ib.*; des Marchais, iv. 365 f.; cf. E. F. im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, London, 1883, p. 221.

25 J. Macdonald, *JAI* xix. 268.

26 R. Brough Smyth, i. 65; cf. Schomburgk, ii. 431.

27 Junod, i. 82 f.

28 J. L. Krapf, *Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labours in Eastern Africa*, London, 1860, p. 147.

29 Hobley, p. 71 f.

30 K. von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*, Berlin, 1894, p. 197. Among these tribes menstrua-

4. Ceremonial daubing, masking, painting, etc.; ceremonial dress.—We have seen that charcoal dust is the appropriate covering during some of the Australian ceremonies.[1] It is put to a similar use in Yam and Tutu.[2] The face, shoulders, and chest of the Indian youth seeking to find his medicine are blackened.[3] So are those of the girls among the Kolushes,[4] while, among the Sotho Negroes, they are smeared with ashes.[5] The Kosa,[6] the Wanyika,[7] and other African tribes[8] daub the boys with white clay. In some instances the novice is masked,[9] while among some of the tribes of Central Australia he is painted with distinctive patterns.[10] Among the Hupa,[11] the Tlingits,[12] the Bechuanas, and the Kafirs[13] the girls—and, among the Kosa,[14] the boys—wear a distinctive dress; in N.W. Central Queensland the novices are decorated with necklets and feathers.[15]

5. Dances and pantomimic representations.—Dances are sometimes the sole ceremony at puberty,[16] and much more frequently form an important part of puberty rites.[17] Elaborate pantomimic representations take place during the Central and S.E. Australian solemnities,[18] one of the most important of which is that of mock burial and resurrection.[19] Elsewhere we find mimic combats[20] and symbolic practices representing defloration[21] and new birth.[22]

6. Naming anew.—Among the Wa-yao a new name is given at circumcision, and the old name is discarded.[23] The Andamanese girl is given a flower name after the one of the sixteen selected trees which happens to be in bloom when she arrives at puberty.[24] On the occurrence of the same event the Inca girl received a name from her chief relative;[25] and among the Jakun of Johor[26] and some of the E. African tribes[27] names are changed at puberty. Among some of the Australian tribes an individual[28] or a sacred[29] name is given at initiation; and instances of change of name at puberty might easily be multiplied.[1]

7. Seclusion.—Among the Tlingits a girl at her first menstruation was shut up in an isolated hut of boughs for a year. She might not leave it except at night nor be visited by any but her nearest female relatives.[2] Similar practices prevail among many of the Indian tribes of N. America,[3] among the Koniagas,[4] the Malemut and Unalit,[5] and the Aleuts,[6] and in some of the islands of Torres Straits.[7] Among the Caribs,[8] the tribes of the Upper Amazon,[9] the River Plate,[10] and French Guiana,[11] and the Macusis the girl's hammock is slung close under the roof, where she is exposed to the smoke, which is increased as much as possible.[12] In New Britain girls are placed in cages at an early age, and kept there until marriageable.[13] We find less rigorous forms of seclusion among the Hupa and Wintūn,[14] the Pend 'Oreilles,[15] and the Tsimshian[16] and Musquakie Indians,[17] at Ceram in former times,[18] and among many African tribes.[19]

Boys are secluded sometimes in the bush,[20] sometimes in isolated huts,[21] and sometimes in a lodge constructed for the occasion.[22]

8. Instructions.—The instructions given to novices differ in different cases in nature, scope, and value. Sometimes they are concerned with the sacred mysteries[23] or tribal legends;[24] sometimes they deal with the duties of a tribesman towards the women of the tribe, the aged, and the poor,[25] or towards the community[26]—*e.g.*, in time of war;[27] and sometimes they embrace politics and government,[28] economic regulations,[29] or matters such as tribal etiquette and decorum,[30] intercourse between the sexes,[31] or domestic duties;[32] or they inculcate such lessons as that pain must be endured,[33] and that selfishness[34] and greediness[35] must be avoided. Very frequently the duties of implicit obedience during the ceremonies and of never divulging what he sees or hears[36] are strongly impressed upon the novice.

9. The final ceremonies.—(*a*) *Investing with a new dress, ornaments, etc., ceremonial washing,*

tion is regarded as a disease; and elsewhere as the result of connexion with the moon in the shape of a young man (Seligmann, p. 206; cf. J. Roscoe, 'Further Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda,' *JAI* xxxii. 39). For other explanations see Crawley, pp. 10 f., 192, 196.

1 See above, II. 2 Seligmann, pp. 202, 209.
3 Charlevoix, vi. 67; see Lafitau, i. 336.
4 Erman, p. 318. 5 Endemann, p. 38.
6 Theal, *Hist. of S. Africa*, ii. 205.
7 Krapf, p. 147. 8 Macdonald, *JAI* xix. 268.
9 Holmes, *JAI* xxxii. 419; Junod, i. 92.
10 Spencer-Gillen[a], pp. 215, 221, 242.
11 Stanley Hall, ii. 236. 12 Krause, p. 218.
13 Livingstone, p. 149. 14 Theal, *loc. cit.*
15 Roth, p. 170. 16 Passarge, p. 101.
17 L. T. Moggridge, 'The Nyassaland Tribes, their Customs and their Poison Ordeal,' *JAI* xxxii. [1902] 470; Johnston, p. 409 f. (Wayao); Gottschling, *JAI* xxxv. 372 f. (Bawenda); Roscoe, 'Notes on the Bageshu,' *JAI* xxxix. [1909] 186 f.; Livingstone, p. 146 (Bechuana, etc.); Dennett, p. 69 f. (Bavili); H. Cole, 'Notes on the Wagogo of German East Africa,' *JAI* xxxii. [1902] 308 f.; *Census of India, 1901*, iii. 64 (Andamanese); Seligmann, pp. 202, 204; Krieger, p. 297 (British New Guinea); Roth, p. 171; Brough Smyth, i. 62; Powers, iii. 85, 235 f. (Hupa, Wintūn); cf. *NR* i. 415.
18 See Spencer-Gillen[a], chs. vii.-xi.; Howitt, ch. ix. f.
19 Howitt, p. 554 ff.; see above, II. Similar conceptions receive ceremonial expression in certain initiatory rites, which cannot be classed as puberty rites; see Spencer-Gillen[a], p. 523 f.; Spencer-Gillen[b], p. 480 ff.; Riedel, p. 107 ff. (Ceram); L. Fison, *JAI* xiv. [1885] 14 ff. (Viti Levu); cf. G. Dale, 'An Account of the Principal Customs of the Natives inhabiting the Bondei Country,' *JAI* xxv. [1896] 188 f.
20 Roth, p. 170; Hobley, p. 70; Chinnery and Beaver, *JRAI* xlv. 74.
21 Riedel, p. 133, 'Galela und Tobeloresen,' *ZE* xvii. [1885] 81 f. (Ceram and Halmahera); see Crawley, p. 308 f. Frazer (*GB*[3], pt. vii., *Balder the Beautiful*, ii. 248) takes a different view.
22 Routledge, p. 151 f. Among the A-Kamba the novices are thrust through an open door and told to proceed through a new gate along a new road to the forest, and to return by the same way. The door and gate are never used again (Hobley, p. 74; Frazer, *loc. cit.* ii. 248 and 251 ff.).
23 Johnston, p. 409. 24 *Census of India, 1901*, iii. 64.
25 C. de Molina, 'The Fables and Rites of the Incas,' in *Narratives of the Rites and Laws of the Yncas*, tr. and ed. C. R. Markham, Hakluyt Society, London, 1873, p. 53 f.
26 Skeat and Blagden, ii. 53.
27 Duff Macdonald, *Africana*, London, 1882, i. 126.
28 Roth, p. 171. 29 Spencer-Gillen[b], p. 581.

1 See Crawley, pp. 270, 299, 300, 435.
2 Krause, p. 218; Erman, p. 318 f.
3 Krause, p. 310 (Haidas); Sproat, p. 93 f. (Ahts); *NR* i. 117 f. (Chippewas); Hill-Tout, *JAI* xxxiv. 319 f., xxxv. 136.
4 *NR* i. 82.
5 E. W. Nelson, 'The Eskimo about Bering Strait,' *18 RBEW* [1899], p. 291.
6 See art. ALEUTS. 7 Seligmann, p. 203 f.
8 Schomburgk, ii. 481.
9 H. W. Bates, *The Naturalist on the Amazons*[3], London, 1873, p. 382.
10 Lafitau, i. 263. 11 Des Marchais, iv. 363.
12 Schomburgk, i. 315 f. 13 Danks, *JAI* xviii. 285.
14 Powers, pp. 85, 235 f. 15 Wilkes, iv. 456.
16 F. Boas, in 1889 *Report of the British Association*, p. 836 f.
17 Owen, p. 70. 18 Riedel, p. 138.
19 Cole, *JAI* xxxii. 309; H. S. Stannus, 'Notes on Some Tribes of British Central Africa,' *JRAI* xl. [1910] 297; J. Roscoe, *The Baganda*, London, 1911, p. 80; Junod, i. 177 f.; Decle, p. 78; J. Macdonald, *JAI* xx. 116; Theal, *Kaffir Folk-Lore*[2], p. 217; Endemann, p. 38; Peschuel Loesche, 'Indiscretes aus Loango,' *ZE* x. [1878] 23; Dennett, p. 69 f.; R. M. Connolly, 'Social Life in Fanti-land,' *JAI* xxvi. [1897] 143; Gouldsbury and Sheane, p. 159.
20 Stannus, *loc. cit.*; Spencer-Gillen[a], p. 223; see above, II.
21 J. Macdonald, *JAI* xix. 268.
22 Junod, i. 76 f.; Somerville, *JAI* xxiii. 4.
23 Spencer-Gillen[a], p. 229; Spencer-Gillen[b], pp. 339, 361; E. Tregear, 'The Maoris of New Zealand,' *JAI* xix. 99 f.
24 Brough Smyth, i. 64 (Victorian tribes); Johnston, p. 410 (Wa-yao).
25 Johnston, p. 410; Howitt, p. 594 (Kamilaroi); C. Hill-Tout, 'Report on the Ethnology of the Siciatl,' *JAI* xxxiv. 32.
26 Holmes, *JAI* xxxii. 419 f.; Johnston, *loc. cit.*
27 Johnston, *loc. cit.* 28 Livingstone, p. 147.
29 *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, vi. [1908] 284 (Murray Islands).
30 Gottschling, *JAI* xxxv. 372; Gouldsbury and Sheane, p. 159.
31 Angas, p. 48 f.; Johnston, p. 409.
32 Gouldsbury and Sheane, *loc. cit.*; Livingstone, p. 149.
33 Gottschling, *loc. cit.* 34 Johnston, p. 410.
35 Hill-Tout, *JAI* xxxiv. 32.
36 Spencer-Gillen[a], p. 221; Howitt, pp. 586, 630, 668.

hair-cutting.—The Tupi girls wore cotton strings round wrist and waist to show that they were marriageable,[1] and the girls of Jap[2] and among the Herero received a special dress at puberty.[3] When an Orāon girl approaches maturity, she gathers up her hair in a knot,[4] and among the Southern Slavs a girl at the same period winds her hair under her fez.[5] Among the Musquakie Indians a girl is secluded at puberty, and at the close of her seclusion is washed and dressed in new clothes;[6] and the practice of clothing, ornamenting, and decorating the girls at the conclusion of the ceremonies is widely prevalent.[7] Sometimes the novice is marked on the forehead with a spot of blood,[8] or with the symbol of the shaman's familiar spirit.[9] In many instances the boys receive some badge of manhood on the completion of the rites, and are clothed in new garments, anointed, and decorated.[10]

In one case the novice must, after the completion of the ceremony, visit another tribe and is feasted on his return.[11]

Bathing or washing frequently forms part of puberty ceremonies,[12] especially at the final stage. Thus, among some of the Victorian tribes, the novice is given over to the women, who wash off the clay and charcoal with which he has been daubed, paint him, and dance before him. He is now a man.[13] Similar practices prevail in Kaiser Wilhelmsland,[14] at Torres Straits,[15] and among many African tribes.[16] Among the Swahili the girl is symbolically cleansed by being rubbed with powdered sandal-wood.[17]

Ceremonial hair-cutting takes place sometimes at the commencement[18] and sometimes at the close[19] of the ceremonies. Among the Narrang-ga tribe the hair and beard of the novice are plucked out on three successive occasions.[20]

(*b*) *Feasting, saturnalia.*—In many instances the end of the ceremonies is marked by feasting[21] and dancing,[1] and is frequently made the occasion of great licence.[2]

(*c*) *Disenchantment, religious service.*—Sometimes the final ceremony consists in purification[3] or disenchantment[4] by a medicine-man, or in performing a religious service over the novice.[5]

(*d*) *Sexual intercourse.* — In many instances sexual intercourse completes the rite.[6]

10. Destruction of things used during the ceremonies.—Among the Pitta-Pitta tribes of Queensland[7] and the Thonga of E. Africa[8] the enclosure used during the rites is burnt when they are ended; and the Macusis destroy everything that the novice has used during her seclusion.[9] A similar practice prevails among some of the tribes of S. Africa.[10]

11. Privileges secured by initiation. — Among the most important of these are the rights to eat certain articles of food previously forbidden,[11] to join the young men's camp,[12] to take part in the sacred ceremonies[13] and in the dances and deliberations of the men,[14] to marry,[15] and, in many instances, to assume the position of a full-grown man.[16] Frequently initiation entitles the youth to wear a distinctive dress, ornaments, or other decoration.[17]

IV. *OBJECT OF THE RITES.* — We have seen that a rite of puberty may include or indeed consist of a ceremony which is not exclusively employed as such a rite. Circumcision, *e.g.*, serves many other ends than to indicate an important epoch in the life of a member of a community. But, where it is practised as a rite of puberty, while it may and frequently does continue to serve those ends, it marks or operates a momentous change, by which the novice is severed from the things of childhood and enters upon the rights and duties of manhood or womanhood. It is easy to trace this conception in the symbolism of mock burial and resurrection, in the passing through a new gateway and along a new road, in festivities preceded by seclusion, in the washing off of a ceremonial covering of charcoal or clay, in the reception of a new name, in the investiture in new clothing or ornaments and the like. Such practices may be intended to effect purification or change of identity or purposes other than those of a rite of puberty. Still, when employed as such a rite, they express the notion of severance from the past and entrance upon a new life. In the tests of endurance, in

1 See *The Captivity of Hans Stade of Hesse*, p. 143, note 4.
2 A. Senfft, 'Die Rechtsitten der Jap-Eingeborenen,' *Globus*, xci. [1907] 142. They also have their teeth blackened and receive gifts.
3 J. Kohler, 'Das Recht der Herero,' *ZVRW* xiv. [1900] 314.
4 Dalton, p. 252.
5 F. S. Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch der Südslaven*, Vienna, 1852, p. 93.
6 Owen, p. 70. They, too, receive presents.
7 Riedel, p. 137 (Ceram); Seligmann, pp. 202, 204 (Torres Straits); Connolly, *JAI* xxvi. 143 (Fanti); Angas, p. 48 f. (Azimba Land); Dennett, p. 69 f. (Bavili); Gouldsbury and Sheane, p. 160 (Tanganyika Plateau); Schomburgk, i. 168 (Warraus); Nelson, p. 291 (Malemut).
8 Hobley, p. 73. 9 Hill-Tout, *JAI* xxxv. 136.
10 Howitt, p. 558; Somerville, *JAI* xxiii. 5 (New Hebrides); Seligmann, p. 211; Guise, *JAI* xxviii. 207 (New Guinea); Junod, i. 91 (Thonga); J. Macdonald, *JAI* xix. 268 (S. Africa); Garcilasso de la Vega, ii. 176 (Incas). At Rome the assumption of the *toga prætexta* was a public declaration of arrival at legal puberty (see F. C. von Savigny, iii. 59 ff.); and in China the man's hat and the woman's hairpin mark maturity (J. Kohler, 'Aus dem chinesischen Civilrecht,' *ZVRW* vi. [1886] 364).
11 J. L. van Hasselt, 'Die Noeforezen (Gewink Bay, New Guinea),' *ZE* viii. [1876] 185.
12 Stanley Hall, ii. 235 (Hupa). In the case of this tribe repeated bathing forms a principal part of the rite.
13 Brough Smyth, i. 61; cf. Howitt, p. 556 f.
14 Krieger, p. 171.
15 Seligmann, pp. 202, 204, 211.
16 Junod, i. 91 (Thonga). With his account of the Tilorela custom (p. 94) cf. A. Bastian's somewhat cryptic note (*Die Rechtsverhältnisse bei verschiedenen Völkern der Erde*, Berlin, 1872, p. 181, note 1); Angas, p. 48 f. (Azimba Land); Hobley, p. 70 (Akamba).
17 Zache, *ZE* xxxi. 71; cf. Dennett, p. 69 f.
18 Lafitau, i. 291 (Brazil); Schomburgk, i. 168 (Warraus); *Hans Stade*, p. 143 f. (Tupis); R. Brough Smyth, i. 60 (Victorian tribes).
19 Angas, p. 48 f. (Azimba Land); Junod, i. 92 (Thonga); Rattray, p. 103 (Central Angoniland).
20 Howitt, p. 674.
21 F. Boas, in 1889 *Report of the British Association*, p. 837 (Tsimshian); Krause, p. 218 (Tlingits); *NR* i. 584 (Ceris and Tepocas); Riedel, p. 138 (Ceram); Krieger, pp. 171, 296 (New Guinea); Somerville, *JAI* xxiii. 5 (New Hebrides); J. L. Krapf, p. 147 (Wanyika); J. Macdonald, *JAI* xix. 270; Theal, *Kaffir Folk-Lore*[2], p. 218.

1 Powers, p. 235 f. (Wintūn); Gottschling, *JAI* xxxv. 372 f. (Bawenda); J. Roscoe, *JRAI* xxxix. 186 f.; Krieger, p. 297 (British New Guinea); Schomburgk, i. 168 (Warraus); Seligmann, p. 204 (Mabuiag).
2 Among the Sotho Negroes the girls wear men's clothing, carry arms, and indulge in mad pranks and lewd conduct (Endemann, p. 38). See also Roscoe, *loc. cit.*; Theal, *Kaffir Folk-Lore*[2], p. 218, *Hist. of S. Africa*, ii. 206; J. Macdonald, *JAI* xx. 117. In some instances the novices are permitted during the ceremonies to steal, provided that they are not caught (Theal, *Hist. of S. Africa*, ii. 205; Seligmann, p. 204); in others sexual licence prevails during the same period (Chinnery and Beaver, p. 77; J. Macdonald, *loc. cit.*). In some cases obscene language, not permissible at other times, is used during some of the ceremonies (Junod, i. 79).
3 Hill-Tout, *JAI* xxxv. 136 (Stlatlumh); cf. Junod, i. 91 (Thonga).
4 Schomburgk, i. 316.
5 I. H. N. Evans, 'Notes on the Religious Beliefs . . . of the Dusuns,' *JRAI* xlii. [1912] 387.
6 Duff Macdonald, i. 126; Johnston, p. 410; Rattray, p. 501; Angas, p. 48 ff.; Riedel, p. 138.
7 Roth, p. 170. 8 Junod, i. 92.
9 Schomburgk, ii. 316. So, too, the Tlingit girl's old clothes are destroyed (Krause, p. 218).
10 J. Macdonald, *JAI* xix. 269, xx. 119.
11 Howitt, p. 592; Brough Smyth, i. 62; Wallace, p. 496.
12 Howitt, p. 592; Spencer-Gillen[a], p. 215 f.
13 Spencer-Gillen[b], p. 328. 14 Passarge, p. 101.
15 Roth, p. 171; Howitt, p. 592; Spencer-Gillen[b], p. 330; Brough Smyth, i. 65 f.; Passarge, p. 101; Krieger, p. 171; Junod, i. 177 f.; Decle, p. 78; Schomburgk, ii. 316; Wallace, p. 496.
16 Gottschling, *JAI* xxxv. 372 f.; J. Roscoe, *JRAI* xxxix. 185; J. Macdonald, *JAI* xix. 269; Howitt, pp. 661, 639.
17 See above, III. 9 (*a*); Roth, pp. 171, 174; cf. Decle, p. 78.

some, at all events, of the mutilations inflicted, and in the instructions given we see a preparation for this new life—an attempt to form the character and educate the novice for the duties of full membership of society; and we see in the feasting, dancing, and sexual intercourse which frequently take place as the final stages of the ritual his introduction into the corporate life of the community.

LITERATURE.—H. Ploss and M. Bartels, *Das Weib in der Natur und Völkerkunde*[10], Leipzig, 1913; J. G. Frazer, *GB*[3], pt. vii., *Balder the Beautiful*, London, 1913, i. 1 ff.; A. E. Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, do. 1902, pp. 10 f., 294 ff.; A. van Gennep, *Rites de passage*, Paris, 1909, p. 93 ff.; H. Schurtz, *Alterklassen und Männerbünde*, Berlin, 1902, p. 95 ff.

P. J. HAMILTON-GRIERSON.

PUBLICANI, or Popelicani (a corrupted form of Paulician).—This is the designation under which the Cathari (see ALBIGENSES) are frequently referred to by both French and English writers in the 12th and 13th centuries. Schmidt considers that the name, in this form, was introduced by the Crusaders, in evidence of which he cites Tudebod (*Recueil des historiens des croisades*, iii. [1866] 26) and G. de Villehardouin (J. A. C. Buchon, *Collection des chroniques nationales françaises*, Paris, 1824–28, iii. 156).

J. BASS MULLINGER.

PUNISHMENT.—See CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS, REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS.

PUPPETS.—From the earliest times human effigies of a varying degree of realism have been fashioned by man which, from their character or their purpose, do not fall within the categories of idols, votive offerings, or purely artistic products. What may have been the object of the ivory and bone human figures of the palæolithic age cannot be stated with any certainty, but it is not improbable that they had a magical intent. The physical peculiarities which they exhibit, dividing them into two groups, one of which shows marked steatopygia, indicate that the aim of the artist was a realistic reproduction of the human form. In this respect the figures of the palæolithic period differ from many human effigies produced by primitive peoples which, whether from lack of skill or indifference, often show signs of little attention to accurate reproduction of form.

Among the ancient Egyptians models formed a regular feature in the sepulchral ceremonial of wealthy or important personages. These figures, representing men engaged in occupations of a menial type such as agriculture, domestic work, or baking, as well as the oarsmen of the model boat, were buried with the dead to serve as his ministers in the after life, while the *ushabti* figures were intended to take his place as labourers in the sacred fields of Osiris. They were a substitute for the slaves and other members of the household who, in accordance with primitive custom, were once sacrificed at the death of the master of the house. This substitution of a puppet or doll for human or animal sacrifice is not confined to Egypt. In the Malay Peninsula the sacrificial tray which is prepared on all ceremonial occasions for the propitiation of the spirits holds, among other offerings, coco-nut-leaf models of animals and dough models of human figures. Their intention is clearly indicated by the fact that the dough models of human beings are actually known by the name of 'substitutes' (*tukar ganti*) (W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, London, 1900, pp. 72, 432). In India the Lushei Kuki clans, in a very solemn, but rare, form of sacrifice to the spirits of woods and streams in cases of sickness—a sacrifice of which use is made only when other means have failed—prepare two small clay figures representing a man and a woman, which are placed on a platform; they then sacrifice a pig and make the blood run over the platform. The flesh of this victim may not be eaten in a house (J. Shakespear, *The Lushei Kuki Clans*, London, 1912, p. 74). On the Nile a doll is thrown into the river when the rise is delayed, and a similar ceremony took place on the Tiber, where a straw puppet was employed, in each case in substitution for a human being (*GB*[3], pt. v., *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, London, 1912, ii. 107).

The spiritual basis of the use of models as substitutes appears in other connexions.

In cases of serious illness in the Malay Peninsula the wandering soul is charmed into a dough figure as an intermediate step to its restoration to the body;[1] or dough figures, animal as well as human, may be made the receptacle of 'mischiefs' resident in a human patient, a thread acting as the conductor under the influence of a charm (Skeat, pp. 432 f., 452 f.). Among the Achewa of Central Africa spirits of the dead wandering in the bush are supposed to annoy the living until they have been confined by the medicine-man in a receptacle consisting of a few short pieces of wood bound together with a scrap of calico in the semblance of a child's doll. Inside the figure is a box made of the handle of a gourd-cup which is the actual resting-place of the ancestral spirit (A. Werner, *Natives of British Central Africa*, London, 1906, p. 69). It is possible that a curious custom followed by the Thonga chiefs may be connected with this belief. It was their practice to carry about with them wooden images called *angoza*, representing men, women, and animals. These were little more than sticks with heads carved at one end. They were lodged in the house of the chief wife and were displayed only on special occasions. When important cases were being discussed, they were planted in the ground at a little distance, and they also accompanied the chief on a journey (*ib.* p. 68 f.). It has been suggested that they were emblems of authority. Possibly, if this were the case, they are to be regarded as an embodiment of the chief's ancestral spirits.

The association of an ancestral spirit with a doll also appears in the shamanistic cults of N. Asia. In some tribes the shaman's powers were regarded as closely connected with his shamanistic ancestors and as originating at their call. The shaman's coat was an object of peculiar reverence; it was an essential concomitant of the vocation, and in use it was both a protection and a source of inspiration (see art. SHAMANISM). Potanin records that among the Uriankhai tribes a small doll was attached to the coat which represented the shaman's ancestor (M. A. Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia: a Study in Social Anthropology*, Oxford, 1914, p. 217).

In European folk-custom the belief in the embodiment of a spirit in a puppet appears in the custom of fashioning a doll from the last sheaf at harvest-time—a belief which in various forms is wide-spread among primitive peoples (see art. HARVEST). Among the Akikúyu a sun-dried clay figure is produced at the dance following the maize-harvest (W. S. and K. Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People*, London, 1910, p. 190 f.), which may with probability be regarded as the analogue of the corn-doll, the material abiding-place of the corn-spirit. This view of the custom, however, is a matter of inference, and the fact that the dancers appear to regard the figure with adoration when elevated before them would suggest that it is passing into the category of idols. On the other hand, the fetishes in human form of W. Africa owe their virtues to the medicines placed in or on them. A wooden fetish figure, *e.g.*, of Bambala origin, now in the British Museum, is said to have no supernatural value unless plastered with the special magical clay (*British Museum Handbook of the Ethnographical Collection*, London, 1910, p. 266).

How far the belief in the endowment of a puppet with a personality may be carried appears in the customs connected with the female fetish Nantaba, an appanage of the king in Uganda, which has to be provided on his accession by his father's mother's clan.

This fetish consists of a gourd in which the wind is supposed to be caught at a ceremony in which a tree is cut down and a goat sacrificed. The man who carries the fetish back to the king conducts himself as, and imitates the appearance of, a woman who is *enceinte*. The image is provided with a hut and a guardian—a wife of the king—whose duty it is to attend Nantaba and carry her into the sun when she desires it. The king's wives come and sit around her, hoping thus to gain favour and have children. At the death of the king the fetish is thrown away (J. Roscoe, 'Nantaba, the Female Fetich of the King of Uganda,' *Man*, viii. [1908], no. 74).

The relation of Nantaba and fertility can be paralleled by the use of puppets to promote fertility and well-being in other connexions, but especially in relation to the crops. One instance, that of the corn-doll and the corn-spirit, has been mentioned above.

In Liberia steatite figures are employed to promote the fertility of the farms. These figures are the relics of an earlier culture, but, when found in tumuli or elsewhere by the present natives, they are buried in their fields. Sometimes the image is placed on a platform, usually an old ant-hill, and the farmer and his household march round it, striking it with a whip and chanting an appeal for a good harvest (T. A. Joyce, 'Steatite Figures from W. Africa in the British Museum,' *Man*, v. [1905], no. 57). In S. India, when rain fails, a puppet of ashes from the potter's field figures in ceremonies performed by Kapu women; they model a small figure of a naked human being, which they carry from door to door, asking gifts and singing indecent songs. After this collection of alms, which may last for three or four days, the image, which is called Jokumara, the rain-god, is thrown away in a field. A cultivator may also make a figure himself and place it in the fields, after spreading

[1] For further instances elsewhere see *GB*[3], pt. ii., *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, London, 1911, pp. 53 f., 62 f.

on them leaves, ashes, and flowers which he has received in return for alms from Barike women (E. Thurston, *Omens and Superstitions of S. India*, London, 1912, p. 307).

In these cases the image is one element in a whole which forms the fertility charm. It may, however, also be employed purely for protective purposes.

In S. India the crops are protected against the supposed dangers of an eclipse by images made, as in the rain-charm, of ashes from a potter's field—a material apparently regarded as peculiarly efficacious. The figures are placed on four sides of the field (Thurston, p. 44). The parallel with the *terminalia* and other protectors of the fields in Roman religion is rendered closer by certain physical peculiarities in the effigies used for protective purposes in other connexions mentioned below.

Puppets are used to ward off evil influences of various kinds.

In Car Nicobar a wooden figure is used to scare evil spirits (*British Museum Handbook of the Ethnog. Collection*, p. 77). In the case of an epidemic among the Lushei Kuki clans a village to which it is feared the disease will spread is protected by a gateway across the road on which are straw figures of men armed with dahs and spears (Shakespear, p. 76). The closest parallel to the Priapus figures, however, is found in S. India, where, at the Mangalore races, a figure of a man with enormous genitalia is carried in procession, or at the Canara races, where the procession is headed by figures of a man and woman *in coitu*, and in the indecent figures on the temple cars (Thurston, p. 114). In this district, again, the employment of puppets to avert misfortune is closely connected with the 'evil eye.' Dolls made of straw and covered with black cloth, splashed with white and black paint, sometimes representing a man and woman embracing, are hung on poles in gardens or fields near the road to scare away birds, but principally to avert the 'evil eye.' Figures of all kinds, but especially grotesque, indecent, or hideous human forms, are hung on houses or shops, particularly when in course of erection, to catch the eye of the passer-by, and distract it from the main structure (*ib.* p. 111 f.). It is hardly necessary to point to the Gothic gargoyle as an obvious European parallel to this form of the custom of averting the evil eye by some peculiarity or protective sign.

A familiar use of the doll in magic depends upon sympathetic action. The employment of the waxen image which was melted, pricked by pins, or otherwise injured was one of the commonest practices attributed to witches in European superstition. It is one of a number based on the belief in the possibility of harmful action on a human being at a distance.

In Japan nails are driven into a straw image, which is buried under the place on which the victim sleeps. In order to make a debtor pay his debts a broom, inverted, is made into a lay figure to represent him; it is then knocked down and belaboured. This will make the debtor dream of his delinquency and come to pay his debt. A wife punishes her husband for infidelity by nailing his effigy to a tree (W. L. Hildburgh, 'Notes on some Japanese Magical Methods for injuring Persons,' *Man*, xv. [1915], no. 65). Similarly, in S. India, when a Parivaram woman commits adultery with a man outside the caste, she is punished with excommunication and an image is made of her into the eyes of which thorns are driven before it is thrown away outside the village. As a protection against witches a wooden figure is made, into which nails are driven, a hole cut above the navel, into which a lead plate, with the name and star of the person and a charm written on it, is sometimes inserted, and it is cast into the sea. A favourite practice of the S. Indian magician, however, is to mould an image of a plastic material, such as dough or clay, which is buried at night in the Hindu cremation ground after thorns or nails have been driven into it, or is nailed on a tree. Sometimes the corpse of a child, which is dug up and reburied, is used instead of a figure (Thurston, pp. 245, 247, 254). The Lushei Kuki clans use bamboo splinters to drive into the limbs of clay figures, and in the Malay Peninsula wax figures are buried while powerful charms are recited (Shakespear, p. 109; Skeat, pp. 430, 569 f.).

The interest of the ceremonial and magical use of the doll has tended to divert the attention of observers from its use as a child's plaything. Not only is this use wide-spread, but it is also of great antiquity.

Among the objects which have been found in children's graves in Egypt are dolls both of animal and of human form which show some considerable degree of development; the limbs are movable and one of them apparently had an apparatus for emitting a squeak (*Guide to Egyp. Collection in British Museum*, London, 1909, p. 78). Children's dolls have also been found in the graves of the early inhabitants of Peru (T. A. Joyce, *S. American Archæology*, London, 1912, p. 147), and it has been pointed out that some peoples, such as the Zuñi of N. America, give ceremonial dolls to their children as playthings when no longer required for ceremonial purposes (see E. Lovett, *The Child's Doll: its Origin, Legend, and Folklore*, London, 1915, p. 10).

It has been suggested that the child's doll is a derivative from the ceremonial doll. In some cases, it is held further, the form would support this view.

Among the Yao of Central Africa, *e.g.*, the dolls show very little resemblance to the human form and may have been originally fetishes like the *angoza* of the Thonga chiefs already mentioned (Werner, p. 69).

On the other hand, it must be remembered that both the savage and the child indulge freely in make-believe, and indeed very few of the children's dolls show much resemblance to human beings.

In the Sūdān a piece of stick with lumps of clay for the head and the swell of the hips is dressed up in native costume (E. A. Gates, 'Soudanese Dolls,' *Man*, iii. [1903], no. 22). On the Congo a piece of firewood or a manioc root serves the purpose, and these were even preferred to more realistic European dolls (J. H. Weeks, *Congo Life and Folklore*, London, 1911, p. 350). In Australia gum cement figures are sometimes modelled to resemble women, but just as commonly pieces of forked cane with joints manipulated to imitate the limbs are carried round the neck like real babies, while pieces of grass wrapped in bark are also used (N. W. Thomas, *Natives of Australia*, London, 1906, p. 132 f.).

Even granting that the use of dolls in ceremonial may have originated the use of the doll as a child's toy, imitation and the almost instinctive desire to train for the business of life which appears in a large number of children's games is probably almost equally responsible.

On the Lower Congo a doll made of a piece of firewood or a root is washed in an old saucepan and hung out in the sun to dry by the little girls just as they themselves have been treated by their mothers. They dress them in strings of beads, hang a few charms around them, and tie them on their backs as babies are carried (Weeks, p. 350). The Boloki girls, in fact, call their dolls *bana*, 'babies' (Weeks, *Among Congo Cannibals*, London, 1913, p. 149), while the Yao name for a kind of wooden doll with the rounded end covered with scarlet seeds, fitted on like a wig, is *mwali*, 'girl' (Werner, p. 113). The Bathonga children imitate their mothers in playing with dolls made of a banana-stem or a hollowed spherical fruit fitted on a stick and with knotted string for hair (H. A. Junod, *Life of a S. African Tribe*, Neuchâtel, 1912–13, i. 173).

In Tunis among the Hausa the use of a doll as plaything is carried further. The offerings in the medicine-house to the younger *bori*, 'the children of spots,' which cause rashes and sore eyes, consist of nuts, sugar, toys, and sweets, covered with a white cloth, to which are attached two dolls, 'the playthings of Mai-Nassara.' These *bori* in all probability are spirits of dead children (A. J. N. Tremearne, *The Ban of the Bori*, London, 1914, pp. 269, 275).

Puppet-plays resembling the *fantoccini* and *Punchinello* are not uncommon among primitive peoples. In the Indonesian area they are a constant entertainment. Leather figures are used for shadow-plays which represent historical dramas (*Brit. Mus. Handbook Ethnog. Collection*, p. 101). The *dubbo dubbo* of W. Africa is almost an exact parallel to the Punch and Judy show, presenting a number of scenes in which Kachella Dambulla, like Punch, when called upon to meet his obligations, evades payment and maltreats his creditors (D. Alexander, 'Dubbo Dubbo; or Notes on Punch and Judy as seen in Bornu,' *Man*, x. [1910], no. 85).

LITERATURE.—See the works cited throughout.

E. N. FALLAIZE.

PURĀṆAS.—1. Introduction.—The *Purāṇas* form a class of books written in Sanskrit, expounding ancient Indian theogony, cosmogony, genealogies, and accounts of kings and *ṛṣis*,[1] religious belief, worship, observances, and philosophy, personal, social, and political ordinances, and opinions about all kinds of miscellaneous matters—the whole illustrated and enforced by tales, legends, old songs, anecdotes, and fables. They present the general or popular exposition of those subjects, while the Vedic literature contains the strictly Brāhmanic thought and teaching in religious matters. The *Purāṇas* are always reckoned as eighteen in number. No *Purāṇa*

[1] The word *ṛṣi* denotes in the *Purāṇas* a holy and ascetic sage, sometimes semi-divine but, when human, generally a Brāhman. *Muni* means much the same, but is always human, and often of lower rank than *ṛṣi*.

treats of all those subjects, though some are very wide indeed in their scope, while others confine themselves to narrow limits; but, taken collectively, they may be described as a popular encyclopædia of ancient and mediæval Hinduism, religious, philosophical, historical, personal, social, and political.

The word *purāṇa* is Sanskrit and means 'ancient'; and the title *Purāṇa* signifies 'Ancient Lore,' indicating that these books profess to declare ancient lore as handed down for the most part by tradition. Its fuller form is *Purāṇa-saṁhitā*, 'Collection of Ancient Lore.' The eighteen *Purāṇas*, according to the list which occurs most often, are these—the *Brahma*, *Padma*, *Viṣṇu*, *Śiva*, *Bhāgavata*, *Nāradīya*, *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Agni*, *Bhaviṣya*, *Brahmavaivarta*, *Liṅga*, *Varāha*, *Skanda*, *Vāmana*, *Kūrma*, *Matsya*, *Garuḍa*, and *Brahmāṇḍa*. This list omits the well-known *Vāyu*, but there can be little doubt that the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* were one originally and have become differentiated; for they agree, almost word for word, in the great bulk of their contents. The name *Brahmāṇḍa* then in that list must be taken to include its twin, the *Vāyu*, and the *Kūrma* calls it by both names, the *Vāyavīya Brahmāṇḍa*. The *Matsya*, *Garuḍa*, and *Vāyu* treat them as distinct, and, in order to preserve the total eighteen, omit one of the others, the *Śiva* or the *Vāmana*. Altogether, then, there are really nineteen. The *Matsya* (liii. 11–58) declares the number of verses in each *Purāṇa*, and so also the *Vāyu* (civ. 2–11), but not quite completely. They agree, or nearly agree, as regards most of them, but differ widely about the *Brahma*; and the *Matsya* alone gives the length of the *Viṣṇu*, *Agni*, and *Liṅga*; both omit the *Śiva*. These figures, however, do not altogether agree with the dimensions of the present *Purāṇas*, being generally excessive, and are merely round totals mostly reckoned in thousands. Each *Purāṇa* is constructed as a discourse delivered by some person of authority to one or more hearers; the subjects are expounded, often in the form of question and answer, and not always methodically; and into the narration are woven stories and discourses uttered by other persons—with the result that the whole often appears involved, defective in consistency, and marred by anachronisms. They are mainly in verse, which is generally the common *śloka* or *anuṣṭubh*, but passages sometimes occur in prose.

2. Origin and development.—An account of how the *Purāṇas* came into existence is given by the *Brahmāṇḍa* (II. xxxiv. f.), *Vāyu* (lx. f.), and *Viṣṇu* (III. iv., vi.); that in the *Bhāgavata* (XII. vii. 4–7) is late and untrustworthy. The great *ṛṣi* Kṛṣṇa Dvaipāyana divided the single Veda into four Vedas and arranged them. Hence he obtained the name Vyāsa, 'the arranger,' by which he is generally known. He lived and did that about the end of the Dvāpara age, about the time of the great Bhārata battle. He then entrusted them to his four Brāhman disciples, one to each, and thus Paila became the teacher of the *Rigveda*, Vaiśampāyana of the *Yajurveda*, Jaimini of the *Sāmaveda*, and Sumantu of the *Atharvaveda*. Then with tales, anecdotes, songs, and lore concerning the ages he compiled a *Purāṇa-saṁhitā*, and taught it to his fifth disciple, the *sūta*, or 'bard,' Romaharṣaṇa or Lomaharṣaṇa (the two names are the same). After completing that work he composed the great epic, the *Mahābhārata*, and made Romaharṣaṇa his disciple in both the *Itihāsa* (by which is generally understood the epic) and the *Purāṇa*. Statements occur sometimes that he taught a particular *Purāṇa* to his Brāhman disciples, but these appear to be late assertions. The *sūta* Romaharṣaṇa divided that *Purāṇa* into six parts or versions and taught them to his six disciples, Sumati Ātreya, Agnivarchas Bhāradvāja, Mitrayu Vāsiṣṭha, Akṛtavraṇa Kāśyapa, Sāvarṇi Saumadatti, and Suśarman Śāṁśapāyana. The last three made each a further *saṁhitā*, or collection. The *sūta's* sixfold *Purāṇa* was called the *Romaharṣaṇika* collection (*saṁhitā*), and those of his three disciples were named after them, the *Kāśyapika*, *Sāvarṇika*, and *Śāṁśapāyanika* collections. Vyāsa's original *Purāṇa* is not further mentioned and may have been merged in the *Romaharṣaṇika*. The collections made by the *sūta* and his three disciples were regarded as the four original collections, the '*root-saṁhitās*' as they were called. They were all to the same effect, but differed in their diction. Sāvarṇi's version was noted for the correctness of its expressions, and Śāṁśapāyana's for its stirring style. All were divided into four parts, and all except Śāṁśapāyana's contained 4000 verses. None of them is now in existence, but several of the disciples appear in some of the present *Purāṇas*. The *sūta* had a son called Ugraśravas and *sauti* Raumaharṣaṇi, 'son of the *sūta* Romaharṣaṇa,' and taught him also the *Purāṇa*. Such is the account given, and it is not improbable. The *sūta* was a bard, and the origin of the *sūtas* is placed in remote antiquity, for the first *sūta* is fabled to have come into existence at the sacrifice of a primeval king, Pṛthu, son of Vena (e.g. *Vāyu*, lxii. 137–148), whose stories are often narrated. The antiquity is, of course, genuine, because bards have existed from the earliest times. The term *sūta* was afterwards applied to denote the offspring of a father of the Kṣatriya, or military caste, and a Brāhman mother, but he had nothing to do with the original *sūtas*. It was their duty, as the *Vāyu* (i. 31 f.) and *Padma* (v. i. 27 f.) explain, to preserve the genealogies of the gods, *ṛṣis*, great kings, and famous men. These were matters of ancient tradition, for which the *Purāṇa* and *Itihāsa* would be the appropriate receptacles, and thus these works would be naturally entrusted to the *sūta* Romaharṣaṇa. His descendants had the right of reciting the *Purāṇa* for their livelihood, but the account states that the *Purāṇa* passed into the hands of his disciples, of whom five at least were Brāhmans, and was multiplied by them.

The foregoing account does not say how the present eighteen *Purāṇas* were developed, and their origin is explained by another and inconsistent statement, that there was originally one *Purāṇa*, and Vyāsa himself divided it into eighteen (e.g., *Matsya*, liii. 9 f.). This is certainly spurious, and the reason for it seems to have been rivalry between the advocates of the Vedas and those of the *Purāṇas*, the eighteen *Purāṇas* being thus made coeval with the four Vedas. Every *Purāṇa*, in fact, says that it is 'of equal measure with the Veda,' thus placing itself in the same rank as the Vedas, and indeed the *Purāṇa* is sometimes called the fifth Veda (*Vāyu*, i. 18). In the *Purāṇas* teaching of all kinds is often put into the mouth of the chief gods, so placing it beyond cavil; indeed, the *Vāyu* (i. 200) and *Śiva* (v. i. 35) aver that a Brāhman was not really wise if he did not know the *Purāṇa*. Further, the Brāhmans put forward a claim to primeval antiquity for the Vedas, and the *Purāṇas*, while acknowledging that, answered it with a claim on their own behalf to equal or prior antiquity. Thus the *Mārkaṇḍeya* (xlv. 20 f.) says that in the very beginning it and the Vedas issued from Brahmā's mouths; and the *Brahmāṇḍa* (I. i. 40), *Vāyu*, (i. 60 f.), *Matsya* (liii. 3), *Padma*, and *Śiva* assert that he remembered the *Purāṇa* then, the first of all the scriptures, before the Vedas issued from his mouths. Moreover, the Brāhmans claimed the monopoly of religious revelation and worship, and the *Purāṇas* outbid that

by declaring that to recite or even listen to them delivered a man from all sin, the *Mārkaṇḍeya* proclaiming that by acquiring it a man attains to a benefit superior to all the Vedas. There was thus a clear rivalry between the *Purāṇas* and the Vedas, and, in asserting priority for the *purāṇa*, or ancient, tradition over the Vedas, the *Purāṇas* were right to this extent that ancient tradition unquestionably existed before the Vedas, for the Vedic hymns allude to bygone persons and events (mentioned also in the *Purāṇas*), which could have been remembered only through tradition. Tradition has always existed from the remotest antiquity, as far back as man preserved any memories of his ancestors. This is a platitude, yet it must not be overlooked when examining the *Purāṇas*, though what value the present *Purāṇas* have in that respect is a different question (see below, § 13).

In accordance with such exalted claims, all the *Purāṇas* except three, the *Liṅga*, *Nāradīya*, and *Vāmana*, assert that they were originally declared by some god in primeval time. Those three say that they were first declared by some great *ṛṣi*. Accordingly, each *Purāna* had to provide a succession of persons through whom it was handed down. Most of them form the chain perfunctorily of a few links, but the *Brahmāṇḍa* (IV. iv. 58–66) and *Vāyu* (ciii. 58–66) give a long list of 29 names, which occur, partly at least, in chronological order. Apart from fabulous occasions, nearly every *Purāṇa* particularizes the occasion when professedly it was actually recited. The *Vāyu* gives this circumstantial account:

After the great Bhārata battle the Pāṇḍavas were succeeded on the throne of the Pauravas at Hastināpura (on the Ganges, north-east of Delhi) by Arjuna's grandson Parikṣit, and he by his son Janamejaya, to whom the *Mahābhārata* was professedly recited. The *Vāyu* says that the *ṛṣis* dwelling in Naimiṣa forest on the river Gomatī (the modern Goomti in Oudh) offered a long sacrifice on the bank of the river Dṛṣadvatī (the modern Chitang approximately) in Kurukṣetra (the country 70 miles north-west of Delhi), and the *sūta* Romaharṣaṇa went there and at their request recited it to them, during the reign of Janamejaya's great-grandson Adhisīmakṛṣṇa—*i.e.* a century or rather more after the great battle (i. 12–28, xcix. 258 f.).

The *Matsya* says almost the same of itself, and the *Brahmāṇḍa* suggests much the same. The other *Purāṇas* fall off from this account, and the measure of their falling off agrees in a way with their probable posteriority. Most of the others lay the scene in Naimiṣa forest, and the late *Bhāgavata* makes the sacrifice last 1000 years. The *Nāradīya* removes the scene to Siddhāśrama on the Ganges, and the *Varāha* gives no particulars. Four *Purāṇas* drop that account altogether. The *Viṣṇu*, *Mārkaṇḍeya*, and *Vāmana* say that they were declared by the *ṛṣis* Parāśara, Mārkaṇḍeya, and Pulastya respectively, and the *Bhaviṣya* says that it was recited by Vyāsa's Brāhman disciple Sumantu to Janamejaya's son, King Śatānīka.

3. The five original subjects.—Most of the *Purāṇas* declare that a *Purāṇa* should treat of five subjects: original creation (*sarga*), dissolution and re-creation (*pratisarga*), the periods of the Manus (*manvantara*), ancient genealogies (*vaṁśa*), and accounts of persons mentioned in the genealogies (*vaṁśyānucharita*). These appear to have been the original subjects of the *Purāṇas*, and were so specially their province that the epithet 'having five characteristic subjects' was an old synonym of the title *Purāṇa*; hence religious instruction apart from these subjects was not one of their primary aims, nor do they appear to have been composed for sectarian purposes originally. Sectarian designs seem rather to have been an after-modification, except in the latest *Purāṇas*, which are frankly sectarian.

The first three of these subjects are closely connected and may be considered together. The teaching is neither uniform nor consistent, but seems to combine different schemes. Its general purport may be stated thus:

It postulates the primordial essence called *prakṛti* and *pradhāna*, spirit called *puruṣa*, and the god Brahmā (or Brahma), with whom both *prakṛti* and *puruṣa* are sometimes identified. *Prakṛti* contained the three qualities, goodness (*sattva*), passion (*rajas*), and darkness (*tamas*), in equilibrium. It first evolved the great intellectual principle (*mahat*) as the first stage. From this was evolved the principle of individuality (*ahaṅkāra*), and from this the five subtle elements (*tan-mātra*), sound, touch, form, taste, and smell, which became manifest respectively as the five elements (*bhūta*), ether, air, light, water, and solid matter. This was the second stage, the elemental creation (*bhūta-sarga*). In the third stage the ten organs of sense and action and the mind proceeded from the intellectual principle. These three stages were the creation from *prakṛti* (*prākṛta-sarga*). All these principles and elements, through the influence of spirit, combined and formed an egg, the egg of Brahmā, wherein he, assuming the quality of passion, became active. He brought the world into existence as the fourth stage, and through meditation originated, fifthly, the animal kingdom, sixthly, the gods, seventhly, mankind, eighthly, the intellectual notions called *anugraha*, and, ninthly, Sanatkumāra and other semi-divine mind-born sons who remained celibate, whence this creation is called *kaumāra*. In all these the three qualities existed in different states of predominance.

In the main this account follows the ideas of the Sāṅkhya philosophy, but other accounts are added which seem more primitive.

Brahmā assumed four different forms in succession and from them were produced the demons, the gods, the forefathers (*pitṛs*), and mankind; and, afterwards assuming another form, he produced from his limbs all other living beings, creatures, and vegetation. But those beings did not multiply, and he created from his mind sons, whose number is variously given as seven, nine, ten, or eleven, Bhṛgu, Marīchi, Dakṣa, etc., all known as *ṛṣis*, and also the deities called Rudras. Seven of these sons were specially known as 'the seven *ṛṣis*' (*saptarṣi*), who hold a unique and permanent position in cosmogony. The Rudras are generally identified with Śiva. Next Brahmā created the first Manu Svāyambhuva and a woman Śatarūpā. These two had two sons, Priyavrata and Uttānapāda, and a daughter. Dakṣa married her and had 24 daughters, of whom 13 were married to Dharma (righteousness) and bore Love and other personified feelings; 10 were married to the other mind-born sons and Agni (fire) and the forefathers, and one named Satī became Śiva's wife. But this account is complicated by a further story that Dakṣa was re-born in Uttānapāda's lineage as Dakṣa Prāchetasa, and then created movable and immovable things, bipeds and quadrupeds, and also begot 60 daughters, of whom 10 were married to Dharma, 13 to Marīchi's son, Kaśyapa, 27 to the moon, and 10 to others. Then Kaśyapa by his wives begot the gods, good and evil beings, animals, birds, and trees; and thenceforward living creatures were engendered sexually.

Creation naturally involves the question of the ages.

Time is divided into various great periods. A human year is a day and night of the gods, and the divine year consists of 360 human years. Of divine years 12,000, *i.e.* 4,320,000 human years, constitute a 'four-age' period (*chaturyuga*), in which the four ages (*yuga*) are, first, the Kṛta of 1,440,000 human years, then the Tretā of 1,080,000 years, the Dvāpara of 720,000, and lastly the Kali of 360,000; and each of these ages is preceded by a twilight (*sandhyā*) containing as many hundreds of years as the age has thousands, and is followed by a twilight (*sandhyāṁśa*) of like duration. This 'four-age' period repeated a thousand times is a day of the god Brahmā and is called a *kalpa*. Creation takes place and lasts during his day, and at its close the three worlds are dissolved for the same length of time, which constitutes his night. His year consists of 360 such days and nights, and 100 such years is the length of his life, which is called a *para*. Further, a day of Brahmā comprises the periods of 14 Manus (*manvantara*), a Manu being a mythical regent of his period and progenitor of life therein. Each *manvantara* thus comprises 71 'four-age' periods, with a surplus, which is due to the impossibility of dividing 1000 'four-ages' exactly by 14, and is sometimes accounted for by assigning it to the intervals between the *manvantaras*. This is the reckoning generally set out, but variations are sometimes introduced incidentally, and the terms *yuga* and *kalpa* are sometimes used loosely. While most *Purāṇas* agree about Brahmā's duration and hold that Viṣṇu and Śiva outlive him greatly, they differ as to which of these two endures longer according to their view whether Viṣṇu or Śiva is the greater.

One 'four-age' period succeeds to another. When a *manvantara* closes, an interval occurs during which life ceases in the world, and the Manus, minor gods (all save Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva), the seven *ṛṣis*, and the forefathers depart upwards to a high celestial sphere, and remain there for the duration of a Kṛta age in order to preserve life. Then they resume their activities as new persons under new names, and introduce the next *manvantara*, restoring all life in the world. So the *manvantaras* succeed one another, and at the end of the fourteenth, when Brahmā's day closes, occurs the great dissolution, called *naimittika pratisarga*. The three worlds are burnt

up by fire, and a deluge of rain dissolves everything into one vast ocean; life is reabsorbed into the god who sleeps on that ocean, and the three qualities become inactive in equilibrium; yet the seven great *ṛṣis* are said to persist in certain celestial worlds through his nights, watching him as he sleeps. Such is the close of the *kalpa*. When his night ends, he awakes and begins to create again. That dissolution does not involve the elementary principles evolved during the first three stages of creation, and as regards them a further dissolution is spoken of, called the *prākṛta pralaya*, wherein everything evolved from *prakṛti* disappears. Half of Brahmā's life has expired, and the second half has begun in its first *kalpa* called the *vārāha*, in which six Manus have passed away, namely Svāyambhuva, Svārochiṣa, Auttama, Tāmasa, Raivata, and Chākṣuṣa; and Vaivasvata is the present Manu. The theory of the succession of the *kalpas*, *manvantaras*, and ages developed into the doctrine that succession implied repetition, that everything repeated itself in essentials in the *manvaṇtaras* and in the 'four-age' periods. Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva outlived the dissolutions, and their existence was so vast that they were regarded as practically eternal; but Indra and the other gods were subordinate and temporary, holding their deity for a *manvantara* only. Each *manvantara* thus has its own subordinate gods and its own Manu, great *ṛṣis* and kings, who all come into existence at its beginning and pass away at its end. This scheme is carried out into such detail that their names are set out, not only for the present *manvantara*, but also for the past six and the seven that are yet future.

Since the Vedas were arranged and the *Purāṇa* compiled at the end of the Dvāpara age, this theory required that the same had been done in every Dvāpara age of the 'four-age' periods, and that a Vyāsa had appeared for that purpose. Hence it was necessary to propound a list of those Vyāsas. The list (mentioned above) of the 29 persons who handed down the *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Vāyu*, reduced to 28 by combining two names at one stage, seems to have suggested the idea that 28 Dvāparas had occurred. Certainly, however, that list (e.g., *Vāyu*, xxiii. 114 ff.), with a few variations, agrees with the names of the 28 Vyāsas; and consequently 27 'four-age' periods have elapsed in the Vaivasvata *manvantara*, and we are now living near the end of the Kali, or last age of the 28th period.

Manu Svāyambhuva's son Priyavrata, mentioned above, had seven sons, who became sovereigns of the seven continents (*dvīpas*) of which the earth consists, and their progeny peopled them. Thus the subject of geography is introduced. It is not always treated fully, but the general scheme stands thus:

The earth consists of a central circular continent named Jambu-dvīpa, around which the other continents form a series of concentric rings, namely, Plakṣa, Śālmala, Kuśa, Krauñcha, Śāka, and Puṣkara, the outermost; and these continents are separated by a similar series of six circular oceans alternating with them, namely, of salt water, sugarcane-juice, wine, clarified butter (*ghī*), curdled milk, and milk respectively. Each continent and each ocean is twice the size of that which it encircles. The central continent Jambu is alone subject to the law of the four ages. It was assigned to Priyavrata's son, Agnīdhra, and has nine countries which were named after his nine sons. Ilāvṛta is in the middle, and is flanked on the west by Ketumāla and on the east by Bhadrāśva. Along the north of these lie Ramyaka, the Northern Kurus, and Hiraṇmaya; and along the south lie Harivarṣa, Nābhi, and Kimpuruṣa. In the middle of Ilāvṛta is the immense fabulous mountain Meru, on which are the gods' abodes, with Brahmā's in the centre. Various mountains, forests, and lakes are mentioned in those countries. The Ganges flows down Meru and divides into four great streams, which flow away, the Sītā east, the Alaknandā south, the Vaṅkṣu west, and the Somā, or Bhadrā, north. Nābhi's country was named Bhārata after his grandson Bharata, but this is a mere fancy. Bhārata again has nine divisions named Indra-dvīpa, Kaśerumant, Tāmravarṇa, Gabhastimant, Nāgadvīpa, Saumya, Gāndharva, Vāruṇa, and another which appears to be India proper and is more strictly called Bhārata. The accounts then deal with India itself, its dimensions, mountains, rivers, and peoples, which some *Purāṇas* set out in copious lists. The subject of cosmogony leads, on the one side, to a notice of the nether regions with sometimes a description of the hells, and, on the other, to a description mainly mythological of the sun, moon, planets, stars, and the celestial worlds.

The remaining two of the five special subjects of the *Purāṇas* are ancient genealogies and accounts of persons mentioned therein. They profess to give ancient history as handed down by tradition, and they certainly give the only approach to connected ancient history that is to be found in Sanskrit books. They are full of interest, but lie rather outside the scope of this article, and can therefore only be touched briefly. They begin with the progeny of the great *ṛṣis*, which is mythical, and pass on to the genealogies of the chief dynasties of kings who reigned for centuries in N. India and lists of the great Brāhman families. That the genealogies are not spurious but have some historical value is proved by the fact that they (and they alone in Sanskrit books) furnish an account of how the result that is known as the Aryan occupation of India took place through the growth and conquests of a distinct race, which they call Aila, and which they suggest entered India from the north.

Of the five subjects proper to *Purāṇas* the first three concern early religion and mythology, and the other two deal with traditional history—subject, of course, to later co-ordination, restatement, and amplification in both groups. The former were the general product of speculative thought, but the latter were based on actual history, though both are now open to the doubt how far tradition has preserved early beliefs and historical facts faithfully and correctly. The former were naturally shaped out and transmitted by religious teachers for general instruction; the latter were composed by royal bards and ballad-makers, *i.e.* *sūtas*, and were handed down by them. The distinction is important. The *Purāṇas* thus drew their subject-matter from two sources. These old subjects (*paurāṇikī kathā*) provided general instruction and pleasure, and it is often said that princes and *munis* entertained themselves with their recital. The traditions found in the *Purāṇas* were not primarily borrowed from the *Mahābhārata*, for they contain old tales and genealogies which are not to be found in that epic, and the stories which appear in both are not always narrated in the same way. Both are based on the same body of ancient tradition, and the *Purāṇas* incorporated old matters independently, though probably later additions to the *Purāṇas* have been borrowed from the epic, and possibly also *vice versa*. Of the stories told about ancient kings and *ṛṣis* some appear to be ancient, but others are certainly either later fabrications or at best genuine tradition seriously corrupted. They may generally be broadly divided into two classes: those that appear to be Kṣatriya stories, *i.e.* stories narrating occurrences from the point of view of the royal and military class (which often appear to be ancient), and those that are Brāhmanical, the difference between them being similar to the distinction between tales of chivalry and legends of the saints. References to the heroes of the epic are not infrequent, but its story is not narrated except in the few cases where an abstract of it is given, as in the *Agni*, *Padma*, and *Garuḍa*, which also summarize the *Harivaṁśa*.

4. Additions, interpolations, and losses.—The *Purāṇas*, like the epic, have grown by continual additions and interpolations, as abundant evidence shows, both direct and indirect. The *Liṅga* (II. lv. 36 f.), *e.g.*, says that it contains 108 chapters in its first part and 46 in its second; this is correct as regards the former, but the latter now contains 55 chapters. Again, the *Bhaviṣya* (I. i. 103–105) says that it contained 12,000 verses and was augmented by various stories to 50,000, just as the *Skanda* was amplified. The indirect evidence is of various kinds. (*a*) Many *Purāṇas* mention the eighteen *Purāṇas*, which they could not all do unless the enumeration were an addition made after all the eighteen had become established. In the *Padma*, which professes to have been recited by the *sūta*, pt. vi. continues pt. iv., ignoring pt. v., which begins as a separate *Purāṇa* recited by the *sūta's* son. (*b*) The same matter is sometimes told more than once; thus the story of the sun is told twice in the *Mārkaṇ-*

deya and that of Jalandhara is told twice in pt. vi. of the *Padma*. (*c*) Some of the stories are manifestly late, such as the portion of the *Brahma* which dilates on the sanctity of Puruṣottamakṣetra in Orissa. (*d*) There are differences in language in some *Purāṇas*, certain passages being marked by irregularities in grammar and metre not found in the remainder of the same work. (*e*) Different and sometimes inconsistent doctrines occur in various places even in one and the same *Purāṇa*, as is noticeable in the two parts of the *Kūrma*. Addition and interpolation have been practised continually; thus the *Garuḍa* quotes from the *Mārkaṇḍeya* and Yājñavalkya's law-book; and, since the *Bhaviṣya* professes to deal with the future, the edition published lately in Bombay has boldly brought its prophetic account down to the 19th cent., besides incorporating a summary of the Biblical account from Adam to Abraham. It often happens that the same passage is found in several *Purāṇas*, so that they either borrowed from one another or borrowed from a common original. Indeed, it almost seems from many peculiarities, such, *e.g.*, as that noticed above in the case of the *Padma* and the triple structure of the *Vāmana*, as if there had been different *Purāṇas* bearing the same name, or as if a particular *Purāṇa* existed with different versions, and that they were brought together and formed into a whole. On the other hand, there have been losses, as much evidence shows. In the *Padma*, *e.g.*, pt. v. says that the *Padma* which it introduces consisted of five sections, but that part contains only the first section called the *Pauṣkaraparvan*, and the other four appear to be missing, while the entire *Padma* has six parts. Again, a comparison of *Brahmāṇḍa*, III. lxxiv. 103 f., with the corresponding passage in the *Vāyu* (xcix. 101–291) shows that about 190 verses have been lost in the former. The arrangement of the contents of the *Purāṇas* accords with these conclusions, for in several there is no logical scheme, and matters are expounded piecemeal as if by additions. On the other hand, some *Purāṇas* deal with their subject-matter on a consistent plan, such as the *Viṣṇu*, *Agni*, and *Bhāgavata*, betraying apparently a late stage, when the matter had been co-ordinated and systematized. The *Viṣṇu* is one of the best arranged, yet it hardly professes to be early, for it declares that it was compiled out of the four 'root-*Purāṇas*' mentioned above.

5. Additional subjects.—The *Purāṇas* claim to expound, besides the five characteristic subjects, the four subjects which comprise all human endeavour—righteousness (*dharma*), wealth (*artha*), love (*kāma*), and final emancipation from existence (*mokṣa*). These, with the copious religious teaching now found in the *Purāṇas*, are Brāhmanical additions to the original five subjects. Of the four ages the Kṛta was the golden age when righteousness was perfect, but it deteriorated through the Tretā and Dvāpara, until it has well-nigh perished in this evil Kali age. This is figuratively expressed in the adage that *dharma* had four legs for its support in the Kṛta age, three in the Tretā, two in the Dvāpara, and has only one in the Kali age.

6. Theology.—The theology taught is heterogeneous, and most deities that enjoyed a certain amount of popular acceptance can be found praised in the *Purāṇas*. Of the Vedic gods, Indra and Agni retain a prominent position, and Indra is the chief of the gods, *i.e.* generally of the subordinate gods, those other than Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva. Varuṇa is the god of the ocean and appears at times, but Mitra has disappeared. The sun (Sūrya) holds an important position, and the names Vivasvant, Savitṛ, Āditya, and Pūṣan are freely given to him. He is highly extolled in the *Brahma*, *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Agni*, *Padma*, and *Garuḍa*, but his worship is most fully inculcated in the *Bhaviṣya* (I. xlviii. ff.), which says that it was introduced with the sun's priests from Śākadvīpa into the Panjāb by Kṛṣṇa's son, Sāmba, who suffered from leprosy and was cured by worshipping the sun. It calls the sun's priests *magas* and *bhojakas*. The sun's children were Manu Vaivasvata, Yama, and the Aśvins, who are celestial physicians. Yama is the god of the dead, especially of the wicked dead, and holds a dread position as the punisher of sinners in his hells. Vāyu, also called Mātariśvan, is a god of some note. Soma is the moon. Bṛhaspati is the divine priest. The *gandharvas* are celestial musicians, and the *apsarases* are celestial nymphs and courtesans, who often play the part of beguiling *ṛṣis*, whose austerities (*tapas*) awakened fear in the gods. On the evil side were the *asuras*, who were demons. *Daityas*, *dānavas*, and *rākṣasas* meant in the earlier traditions hostile races, sometimes uncivilized and always hated and dreaded; hence these names took on the meaning of 'demons,' especially in passages that appear to be late, where they and also *asura* are treated sometimes as interchangeable. Midway was Kubera Vaiśravaṇa, the god of riches, whose attendants were the *yakṣas* and *guhyakas*. In late *Purāṇas* or passages local cults are commended, such as the worship of Manasā, the goddess of snakes, and the *tulasī*-plant, the holy basil; and the veneration of the cow is noticed in the *Padma* (v. xlv. 122–190).

The three chief gods are Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva. Brahmā is the creator of the world, Viṣṇu its preserver, and Śiva its destroyer. Brahmā is sometimes extolled as the highest, as in the *Mārkaṇḍeya* (xlv. f.), but is generally held to be inferior to Viṣṇu and Śiva, and the relative supremacy of these two is the higher theology taught. The *Purāṇas* are sometimes classified according to their teaching on this subject and the three qualities, goodness, passion, and darkness. The *Matsya* (liii. 68 f.) says that the *Purāṇas* which extol Viṣṇu as supreme are called *sāttvika*, 'characterized by goodness'; those that extol Śiva and Agni are *tāmasa*, 'characterized by darkness'; and those that extol Brahmā are *rājasa*, 'characterized by passion'; but these distinctions are purely fanciful. It adds a fourth class, those which extol the goddess Sarasvatī and the forefathers (*pitṛs*) and which it calls *saṅkīrṇa*, 'mixed'; but no *Purāṇas* display this character, though Sarasvatī is praised here and there and a high position is assigned sometimes to the forefathers (see below, (*c*)). The *Padma* (VI. cclxiv. 81–84) says much the same, and distributes the *Purāṇas* in sixes thus—as *sāttvika*, the *Viṣṇu*, *Nāradīya*, *Bhāgavata*, *Garuḍa*, *Padma*, and *Varāha*; as *tāmasa*, the *Matsya*, *Kūrma*, *Liṅga*, *Śiva*, *Agni*, and *Skanda*; and, as *rājasa*, the *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Brahmavaivarta*, *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Brahma*, *Vāmana*, and *Bhaviṣya*. The *Vāyu* must be understood to be included in the *Brahmāṇḍa*. But this division is only roughly true, because the *Agni*, *e.g.*, gives instruction about the worship of both Viṣṇu and Śiva. The *Padma* (*loc. cit.* 85) further declares that the *sāttvika* lead one to final emancipation from existence, the *rājasa* to heaven, and the *tāmasa* to hell; but this estimate is merely Vaiṣṇavite, for the *Śiva* (II. ii. 63), which is classed lowest as *tāmasa*, declares that a man who reads it completely and respectfully attains final emancipation even while he is alive, and that the gods attain thereto only by attaching themselves to Śiva. The Śaivite *Purāṇas* show a difference from the Vaiṣṇavite in that, though they make Śiva supreme, yet they also extol Viṣṇu highly; and they almost suggest that the exaltation of Śiva was a later doctrine imposed on that of Viṣṇu's supremacy, as appears indeed to be implied in the *Śiva Purāṇa* (I. ii. 5–11).

The rival advocacy of Viṣṇu and Śiva was carried to the farthest length, and the partisan *Purāṇas* sometimes introduce these gods themselves, each as explicitly declaring the other's supremacy. The rivalry thus reached an impasse, from which the only escape was to affirm that both were one and the same god, in different persons. This is often taught and, with the corollary that Brahmā also was one with them, constituted the highest theology inculcated—the triple manifestation (*tri-mūrti*). Thus the three were one, yet it was open to a partisan to maintain that Viṣṇu or Śiva was the true and chief person, of whom the other was a manifestation; and so a *Purāṇa* is able to extol one or the other as supreme, while affirming their unity. This monotheistic conclusion carried the teaching to the Vedānta standpoint, that God alone really exists, eternal, immutable, that He is everything, and that everything animate and inanimate is but a portion of Him. This doctrine is elaborated and enforced most in Vaiṣṇavite *Purāṇas*, and is stated fully and clearly in the *Viṣṇu*. It is essentially the same as that expounded in the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, except that it does not go so far in enunciating that the whole world is *māyā*, 'illusion'—a view which is mentioned in places, but is stigmatized as Buddhistic and bad by the *Padma* (VI. cclxiii. 70). The highest religious philosophy is therefore monotheistic and pantheistic; its popular presentment is polytheistic. The doctrine of transmigration is involved in it and is thoroughly inculcated, both as a consequence entailed on all human beings by their actions (*karma*), often with elaborate and fanciful apportionments of particular evil conditions to particular sins, and as an explanation of misfortunes, serving to solve or justify distressing situations and perplexing problems.

(*a*) *Viṣṇu.*—Viṣṇu is said to have ten incarnations. The lists have some variations, chiefly as regards Buddha; but the following list is a general one. In it the first five incarnations are mythological, the next four have a historical basis, and the tenth is still future:

(1) As a fish (*matsya*), when he saved Manu Vaivasvata amid the deluge; and when the *Matsya* says it was declared by him to Manu; (2) as a tortoise (*kūrma*), when he supported the mountain Mandara at the churning of the ocean, and Lakṣmī, divine nectar, and other things were produced; the *Kūrma* says that in that form he declared it; (3) as a boar (*varāha*), when he raised up on his tush the earth that had sunk to the bottom of the universal ocean; and when the *Varāha* says he declared it to the earth; (4) as the man-lion (*nara-siṁha*), when he delivered the gods from Hiraṇyakaśipu and other demons who had vanquished them; (5) as a dwarf (*vāmana*), when he delivered the gods from the demon king Bali, and accomplished his purpose by obtaining from Bali the boon of having as much space as he could cover in three steps; (6) as the Brāhman Rāma, son of Jamadagni (sometimes called Paraśu-Rāma, 'Rāma with the axe'), who destroyed all the Kṣatriyas off the earth twenty-one times, in revenge for the murder of his father by the sons of Arjuna Kārtavīrya, king of the Haihayas; (7) as Rāma, son of Daśaratha, king of Oudh (sometimes called Rāmachandra), whose wife was Sītā, and whose story is the subject of the great epic, the *Rāmāyaṇa*; (8) as Kṛṣṇa, who reigned at Dvārakā in Gujarāt over the Yādavas, the friend of the Pāṇḍavas and one of the chief figures in the *Mahābhārata*; (9) as Buddha, who founded Buddhism; (10) as a warrior, Kalki or Kalkin, who will appear at the close of this Kali age, overthrow all adversaries, and re-establish pure Hinduism.

All these incarnations are often mentioned, and sometimes described at great length. The sixth often appears in the Haihaya genealogy. The seventh is narrated in the *Agni* and *Padma* as a condensation of the epic, and the *Padma* (IV. cxii.) relates what it calls the ancient *Rāmāyaṇa*. The ninth is least often mentioned. The eighth, the story of Kṛṣṇa, is a favourite topic; his life, doings, and youthful frolics are often described at very great length; and his favourite shepherdess, Rādhā, is deified in the *Brahmavaivarta* and the *Padma*. Kṛṣṇa is completely identified with Viṣṇu—so much so that his name, his patronymic Vāsudeva, and others of his epithets are habitually used as synonyms of Viṣṇu in his purely divine character. These are the well established incarnations, but others less acknowledged are also mentioned—indeed, the *Garuḍa* and *Bhāgavata* mention 22, and add that his incarnations were really innumerable. The superlative work attributed to Vyāsa naturally created the belief that he was no ordinary *ṛṣi*, but a divine incarnation of Viṣṇu, and so also all the other Vyāsas mentioned above; while the *Kūrma* in its second part (xi. 136 f.) makes him an incarnation of Śiva also.

(*b*) *Śiva.*—The position of Śiva differs markedly from that of Viṣṇu. Viṣṇu is celestial and takes no immediate part in terrestrial affairs except when incarnated, but Śiva is largely a terrestrial god. He is often spoken of as dwelling humanwise on the Himālayas or in Benares, and as practising human asceticism. Similarly with their wives. Viṣṇu's wife, Lakṣmī, is a beautiful abstraction, but Śiva's wife, Umā or Pārvatī, is very realistic. She was Satī re-born as the daughter of the Himālaya range. Śiva's wooing and wedding of Pārvatī and their conjugal life and conversation are often introduced and sometimes narrated at length, yet always in wholly human fashion. They had two sons, Skanda or Kārttikeya, and Gaṇeśa, the god of wisdom. Śiva takes part in terrestrial affairs and especially in contests between the gods and the demons, who are always terrestrial, even when the nether world is their special abode. Śiva and Rudra are synonymous. Pārvatī, especially in her terrible forms, and Skanda also join in the battles. Stories of this kind are often narrated, such as the destruction of Tripura and of the demons Andhaka, Śumbha, Niśumbha, Mahiṣa, and Jalandhara. Her victory over the demons is the theme of the *Devīmāhātmya* in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*—a gruesome story much esteemed by the worshippers of Kālī, who is identified with her; and the worship of her as Durgā is inculcated in the *Padma*, *Brahmavaivarta*, and *Garuḍa*. Śiva was worshipped as Paśupati, 'the lord of cattle,' beneath whom all the gods and all creatures ranked as mere cattle; and this Pāśupata cult is commended in Saivite *Purāṇas*, but reprobated in others. Śiva had thus no genuine incarnations, yet his worshippers propounded that he had 28 incarnations contemporary with the 28 Vyāsas, and their names are mentioned in the *Vāyu* (xxiii. 114 ff.), *Liṅga*, and *Śiva*, but they were merely *ṛṣis* who expounded *yoga*, 'ascetic devotion.' Śiva's *liṅga*, the phallus, is often mentioned and extolled, and its worship is well established in *Purāṇas* that appear to be late, and especially in the *Liṅga* (II. xlvi. 13–21), which exalts Śiva in this form as above all gods and as containing everything. Instructions are given about its construction, establishment, and worship. The female counterpart, the *yoni*, is not noticed much, and then only in late *Purāṇas*. The *Vāmana* identifies it with Pārvatī, but the *Padma* with Sītā. The *śaktis*, 'female energies,' are not often mentioned and then generally as somewhat abstract conceptions. They proceed from Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Śiva in the *Varāha* (xc. ff.) and *Mārkaṇḍeya* (lxxxviii.); they are identified with, or related closely to, Pārvatī in the *Kūrma*. The worship of the *śaktis*, however, existed, for the *Kūrma* (I. xxx. 25) reprobates the Vāmāchārins, or obscene left-hand votaries.

(*c*) *Pitṛs.*—As already mentioned, the forefathers (*pitṛ*, 'father') are accorded high dignity sometimes. This term means a man's dead ancestors, but in this connexion denotes a class, comprising seven groups, of abstract forefathers, divine yet hardly personal, for they are always spoken of

collectively. The *Brahmāṇḍa* (II. xxi., III. ix.–xii.) and *Vāyu* (I., lvi., lxxi.–lxxvi.) especially magnify them, and similar references occur in the *Matsya* (xiii., xv.), *Mārkaṇḍeya* (xcvi. f.), *Padma*, and *Garuḍa*. They are ranked with the gods and even called the earliest gods; they and the gods stand to each other in reciprocal relationship as fathers, and they are also the gods' gods, to whom the gods offer sacrifice. They and the gods come into existence with each *manvantara*, and pass upward to a high celestial world at its close, but apparently do not perish till the universal dissolution. They perpetuate in some undefined way the existence of mankind through the ages. They have a path in the sky between the sun's southern course and the star Canopus, and Yama is their king. They are particularly connected with the *śrāddha* — the sacrifice offered in honour of and for the benefit of one's dead ancestors—and thereby confer blessings on their worshippers. This teaching appears to be ancient, and is not found in the latest *Purāṇas*. See ANCESTOR-WORSHIP (Indian).

(*d*) *Heresy.*—Heretics and heretical teaching are often alluded to. Such teaching is always sharply and contemptuously reprobated, especially in the form of Jainism and more particularly Buddhism, though often without being named; and the distinction between them is not always made or observed. Books that teach heretical doctrines are called *moha-śāstras*, 'scriptures of delusion,' and are accounted for as the work of Viṣṇu or Śiva or both, or Pārvatī, intended to beguile haters of the gods and Vedas to destruction. The longest notice of such teaching occurs in the *Viṣṇu* (III. xvii. f.), but is largely fanciful, for it makes both Jainism and Buddhism originate in the Narbadā valley. The *Garuḍa* (I. 32) says that Viṣṇu became incarnate as a Jina's son named Buddha in Behār; and the *Agni* (xvi. 1–3) says, as Śuddhodana's son who beguiled *daityas*, 'demons,' to become Buddhists. The *Kūrma* (I. xvi. 117) denounces also the Pañcharātras (who are followers of Viṣṇu) and more particularly the Śaivite sects, Kāpālas, Bhairavas, Pāśupatas, and Yāmalas. The *Brahmāṇḍa* (III. xiv. 39–42) and *Vāyu* (lxxviii. 30–33) class contemptuously among 'the naked and such like' both Buddhist and Jain orders, also Brāhmans who pretentiously wore matted locks or shaved their heads, and those, too, who pretentiously observed religious exercises or uttered prayers.

7. **Dharma.**—Under the head of *dharma*, 'righteousness,' the *Purāṇas* provide a great deal of religious teaching, both popular and what is more strictly Brāhmanical. All deeds, both good and evil, produce necessary consequences, which a man must undergo. Good deeds may raise a man after death to *svarga*, 'heaven'; evil deeds certainly entail punishment. The doctrine of sin and its punishment is clearly laid down. At times lists of sins are set out, together with the penances by which they may be expiated and the specific punishments provided for them in the various hells. Also, and sometimes in this connexion, a description of the hells is given with more or less fullness and ingenuity. As regards the popular teaching, the most striking features are catholicity and the provident care to make religious practice and the acquisition of blessings easy for all. It deals with sacred places (*tīrthas*) and pilgrimages to them, religious exercises, gifts, prayers, and spells, and miscellaneous observances; many of the provisions are expressly declared to be available to women and the lowest classes, thus disregarding mere caste and personal limitations.

8. **Tīrthas, etc.**—The subject of *tīrthas* and the benefits which they confer on pilgrims occupies a very large space, being a favourite subject, for it offered absolutions and indulgences to the people and brought profit to the Brāhmans. Sometimes itineraries are set out, instructing the pilgrim what he should do at each place and what benefits he would gain thereby; and at other times these matters are woven into a discourse on some point of belief or conduct as edifying illustrations. Some *Purāṇas* deal with *tīrthas* comprehensively, while others advocate the merits of particular spots; and in connexion with each important *tīrtha* is generally narrated the tale which explained its fame and merits. The sacred places in N. India receive most attention and praise; Benares, Allahābād, and Gayā were the chief centres, while the Ganges is often pronounced supreme. But the doctrine of *tīrthas* was firmly established in the Deccan also, and many places there are extolled. The rivers Narbadā and Godāvarī attained a sanctity hardly inferior to that of the Ganges, and were crowded with *tīrthas*. The merits of the Narbadā are expounded in the *Matsya* (clxxxvi.–cxciv.), *Agni* (cxiii.), *Padma*, and *Kūrma* (II. xxxix.–xli.), and those of the Godāvarī in the *Brahma* (lxx.–clxxv.) especially. The explanatory tales are sometimes simple, with possibly a real basis, but generally are mythological or fanciful; and all the resources of Hindu mythology with its myriads of divine and semi-divine beings, together with accretions from Dravidian beliefs such as the reverence towards the monkey Hanumān, were available either for the new localization of some old legend or for the fabrication of pious fables, in order to furnish a *tīrtha* with a title to sanctity. Pilgrimages were open to every one; and, though the toil and expense may have been burdensome sometimes, yet these were far outweighed by the benefits promised. Some places conferred heavenly joys hereafter, others delivered the pilgrim from the evil of being born again, and others bestowed plenary absolution from all sin; and many shrines proclaimed their power to free even from the deadly sin of brahmanicide. Gifts also procured blessings for the donors and were lucrative to the Brāhmans. The making of gifts is warmly commended and sometimes expounded with great detail, as in the *Bhaviṣya* and *Matsya*, as regards both their manifold varieties, from the most costly munificence to simple almsgiving, and also the occasions when and the procedure with which they should be made. Further, various religious exercises (*vrata*) are lauded as procuring benefits, especially those prescribed for certain auspicious days and months, and this subject is sometimes expounded minutely, as in the *Matsya*, *Agni*, *Garuḍa*, *Padma*, and *Bhaviṣya*. Even occult practices to effect both good and harm are commended and explained, such as mystical formulæ, magical spells, and prophylactic verses, in the later *Purāṇas* such as the *Agni*, *Brahmavaivarta*, and *Garuḍa*.

The readiness displayed in all these ways to provide relief from sin and enable every one to acquire substantial future blessings was carried so far that in the *Matsya* (lxix. 2) and *Padma* (III. i. 5) the question how a man could gain final emancipation from existence with the least amount of asceticism is naively asked and soberly answered. It may well be surmised that these features of popular religion were not haphazard. Brāhmanism evidently found it expedient to smooth the path of religion for the people, and this suggests that it was outbidding other claims to popular favour. But, whether deliberately provided or not, these easy ways of practising religion and reaping blessings must have presented strong attractions, compared with the self-regimen that Buddhism required of its adherents in this life and the dreary

future existences that it announced for the ordinary man. It is probable, therefore, that all this popular teaching contained in the *Purāṇas* materially helped the Brāhmans to stem the spread of Buddhism and finally to oust it from general acceptance.

9. **Caste and ritual.**—The more special Brāhmanical instruction lays down the rules governing the castes. Ordinarily the castes are taken as four—the ancient theoretical number—viz. the Brāhmans, the Kṣatriyas, or military body, the Vaiśyas, or trading classes, and the Śūdras, who comprised all the lowest strata; yet the existence of other castes, whose origin is theoretically explained as the intermixture of those four castes, is noticed at times, though only in a general way. For the most part it is the Brāhman's life that is considered worthy of description, and the duties of the other castes are summed up briefly. The Brāhman's four stages, as the religious student, the married householder, the forest recluse, and the ascetic mendicant, are explained, often at much length. Directions are often given about sacrifices, purifications, sacred texts, and various rites and ceremonies, especially the *śrāddhā*. Information is offered about images and their worship in the *Matsya*, *Bhaviṣya*, and *Varāha*. Elaborate instruction is sometimes set out about 'virtuous custom,' or correct behaviour in all matters, religious, social, and personal. All these subjects appear to be later additions, and are generally expounded in the encyclopædic *Agni*.

10. **Kāma.**—Next may be mentioned the subject of *kāma*, 'love,' in so far as it is noticed in the *Purāṇas*. It may be regarded as illustrated by many stories. Such treatment as it receives deals mainly with women. Rules are laid down about marriage, and personal characteristics are sometimes described. The care that a wife should show towards her husband and relatives is explained in the *Bhaviṣya*; and as examples of perfect wifehood are often cited Sītā, the much-tried wife of Rāma, and Sāvitrī, who saved her husband Satyavant by her devotion. The practice of *satī*—a widow's immolating herself on her husband's funeral pyre—is alluded to sometimes, but ordinarily the subject of widowhood is left untouched, as if it needed no particular notice. Lastly, rules are laid down even for courtesans, which it is said were originally given to Kṛṣṇa's wives after his death.

11. **Artha, etc.**—The subject of *artha*, 'wealth,' is not itself discussed in the *Purāṇas*, but the welfare of a king and his subjects falls partly under this title and partly under *dharma*, and is the subject of works called *artha-śāstras*. This is dealt with under the title of *rāja-dharma*, 'the righteous functions of kings,' and is expounded with regard to a king's personal and religious duties, civil, criminal, fiscal, and military administration, the conduct of war and peace, and the safeguarding of his realm from calamities. The *Matsya* treats the subject fully, and so also the *Agni*, as expounded by Puṣkara; while the *Garuḍa* lays down wise maxims, both generally and with special reference to kings. Here may be also noticed various other subjects that are sometimes expounded. The *Agni* and *Garuḍa* treat of medicine and veterinary science, architecture (which is also in the *Matsya*), the scrutiny of gems, astrology, and grammar. The *Agni* further treats of archery, poetry, metre, the drama, and dancing. Many *Purāṇas* (e.g., *Vāyu*, lxxxvii.) discourse on music, generally in connexion with the fabled visit of an ancient king of Gujarāt to Brahmā's court, where the *gandharvas* were the musicians.

12. **Mokṣa.**—The fourth additional subject is *mokṣa* (*q.v.*), 'final emancipation from existence.' Transmigration was believed in unquestioningly, and every man had to experience and so consume the consequences of his actions in subsequent lives. Some shrines promised deliverance from existence, but generally religious rites and observances, pilgrimages, and such like conduced merely to amelioration of future existence. That was as much as the ordinary man was capable of, but did not satisfy earnest souls who desired to be rid of re-birth and obtain absorption into the Supreme Soul. To attain to this was the highest aim of philosophical religion, and two ways to this end were taught, namely, *yoga*, 'complete ascetic mediation on and devotion to the Supreme Soul,' and *bhakti*, 'loving faith.' Pure ascetic self-mortification (*tapas*) could enable a man to acquire and exercise superhuman knowledge, faculties, and powers; and that is often described and held up to admiration in the marvellous stories of the ancient *ṛṣis*; but there its fruit is treated rather as an object in itself, for the doctrine of final emancipation was not the highest aim of human aspiration in ancient times as it became established later. The *yoga* that achieved final emancipation was twofold: (1) *jñāna-yoga*, 'the *yoga* of spiritual knowledge,' which was exclusive, ascetic, and contemplative devotion, rejecting all works; and (2) *karma-yoga*, 'the *yoga* of works,' which consisted in the full and single-minded performance of all one's earthly duties, and was also called *Sāṅkhya-yoga*. Both kinds are taught and are contrasted sometimes, but on the whole the *yoga* of spiritual knowledge is more highly commended. The *Vāyu*, *Brahma*, *Viṣṇu*, and *Liṅga* give instruction about *yoga*, especially the *yoga* of spiritual knowledge, and the *Viṣṇu* extols it highly. On the other hand, the *Matsya* (lii.) lauds the *yoga* of works as far superior to that of spiritual knowledge, and declares that it is the *yoga* of works that produces such knowledge and the *yoga* of such knowledge, and that there can be no spiritual knowledge without it. The *Kūrma* (I. iii. 21–27), however, commends a middle course in a combination of both, because works lead on to spiritual knowledge. The other path, *bhakti*, is connected indeed with Śiva, but more especially with Viṣṇu and Kṛṣṇa, who are completely identified. Faith in Śiva is alluded to incidentally in various *Purāṇas*, and is inculcated in the *Liṅga* (I. viii.) and in the *Śiva* (VI. viii.), which bases it on knowledge. Faith in Viṣṇu is not only alluded to often, but is enjoined in the *Brahma*, *Brahmavaivarta*, and *Garuḍa*, is expounded in its various forms in the *Padma* (IV. lxxxv.), and is the special theme of the *Bhāgavata*. The *Brahma* (ccxxviii. 8–13) says that one rises through faith in Agni, the sun, and Śiva successively to faith in Viṣṇu, that men of even the very lowest classes can possess it, and that man fails to reach it because of Viṣṇu's *māyā*, 'illusion.' The teaching of the *Bhagavad-Gītā* on these subjects is summarized in the *Agni* (cccIxxx.), *Garuḍa* (ccxix.), and *Padma* (VI. clxxi. ff.). Faith in Brahmā also is expounded in the *Padma* (V. xv. 163–192) similarly to faith in Viṣṇu; and faith in the sun is inculcated in the *Bhaviṣya* (I. xlviii. ff.). The *Padma*, moreover, in a late allegory personifying *bhakti* as a woman, says:

> Bhakti was born in Drāviḍa, grew up in Karṇāṭaka, became worn out in Mahārāṣṭra and Gurjara, sought refuge with her two sons, Jñāna (spiritual knowledge) and Vairāgya (passionlessness), in Vṛndāvana, and regained her vigour there (VI. clxxxix. 51–56); and it concludes, 'Enough of vratas, tīrthas, yogas, sacrifices and discourses about knowledge, faith alone indeed bestows final emancipation' (VI. cxc. 22).

13. **Age of the Purāṇas.**—The age of the *Purāṇas* is a question much disputed and quite unsettled. In a general way it is not difficult to perceive differences of age in the *Purāṇas* collec

tively and in the component parts of a single *Purāṇa*; but the *Purāṇas* (except the latest), as they exist now, can hardly be assigned to any definite age, because additions and modifications have been made, as shown above, and they now present the combined results of many centuries. While, then, it is required that the different strata in their contents should be distinguished as far as possible, the important question is, not so much What date do the latest additions prove for any *Purāṇa*? as What dates do its earliest features indicate? Tradition says, as already mentioned, that Vyāsa, who was alive at the time of the great Bhārata battle, and his disciple, the *sūta*, compiled the first *Purāṇa*. That a collection of ancient traditions was made not long after that period receives strong confirmation from two patent facts: (1) that the royal genealogies (which are given in most *Purāṇas*) terminate at that stage, the three chief lines only being continued later in a few *Purāṇas* and then professedly as a prophetic addition; and (2) that stories of the kings mentioned in the genealogies stop short at that stage except as regards the next two Paurava kings, Parikṣit and Janamejaya. These two facts suggest strongly that the period following the great battle was the time which determined the lower limit of ancient tradition, *i.e.* when ancient tradition was collected regarding genealogies and stories about kings—the two out of the five subjects characteristic of *Purāṇas* that admit of chronological scrutiny. Hence it is probable that the first *Purāṇa* was compiled about that time, and the four 'root-*Purāṇas*' soon afterwards. Those original *Purāṇas* do not exist now as such; the present *Purāṇas* have been developed out of them, as the *Viṣṇu* expressly asserts about itself; yet portions of those *Purāṇas* may survive embedded in existing *Purāṇas*, and there is no good reason to doubt that the royal genealogies and their incidental notices of kings mentioned therein are really ancient matter. *Purāṇas* are cited as authorities, and a *Bhaviṣyat* in particular, in the *Āpastamba Dharmasūtra*, which is not later than the 3rd cent. B.C. and may be nearly two centuries older. Moreover, epigraphic evidence, in the shape of verses quoted in land-grants which are dated, shows that even *Purāṇas* which do not appear to be early must have been in existence in the 4th cent. A.D. at the latest. On the other hand, some *Purāṇas* are no doubt later still, and the *Bhāgavata* (probably not before 8th cent. A.D.) is the most striking instance of such. Further, whatever the age of any *Purāṇa* may be substantially, it has undoubtedly been augmented and modified later than the 4th century. Various points which touch the relative age of the *Purāṇas* have been noticed in the course of this article, but, until the *Purāṇas* have been studied far more carefully than they hitherto have been (and they deserve such study), it is impossible to affirm anything positive about their ages. A preliminary estimate of the older matter, however, may be offered thus. The oldest appear to be the *Brahmāṇḍa* and *Vāyu*, and the *Matsya* also, though it has large later additions. The latest seem to be the *Brahmavaivarta*, *Śiva*, *Vāmana*, and *Bhāgavata*, the last of which may be called 'the Bible of the worshippers of Viṣṇu.' The others appear to be intermediate, and among them an early place may probably be assigned to the *Mārkaṇḍeya* and *Brahma*, the last often styled the *Ādipurāṇa*, 'original *Purāṇa*,' though a large part of its contents is certainly not ancient. The *Padma* has old matter in so far as it has affinities with the *Matsya*, but the bulk of it is late, and some of its tales show a stage of transition to the moral fables of the *Pañchatantra* and *Hitopadeśa*.

14. **Upapurāṇas.**—Besides the *Purāṇas* proper there is a class of similar but later and inferior works called *Upapurāṇas*, 'minor *Purāṇas*.' They also are said to be eighteen in number, and their names are given thus in the *Kūrma* (I. i.), *Garuḍa* (ccxv.), and *Padma Purāṇas* (IV. cxi.) *Sanatkumāra*, *Nārasiṁha*, *Skanda*, *Śivadharma*, *Durvāsas*, *Nāradīya*, *Kāpila*, *Vāmana*, *Uśanas*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Vāruṇa*, *Kālikā*, *Māheśvara*, *Śāmba*, *Saura*, *Parāśara*, *Mārīcha*, and *Bhārgava*. The *Kūrma* and *Garuḍa* say that these were declared by the *munis*, but the *Padma* attributes them to Manu to give them spurious antiquity. Some of them have been published, but they have not been studied.

LITERATURE.—Mainly the *Purāṇas* themselves. See also H. H. Wilson's tr. of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, ed. Fitzedward Hall, 5 vols., London, 1864–70, preface; *Le Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, ed. E. Burnouf, Paris, 1840, i., preface; M. Monier-Williams, *Indian Wisdom*, London, 1875, pp. 489–501; A. Holtzmann, *Das Mahābhārata und seine Theile*, Kiel, 1892–95, iv. 29–58; A. A. Macdonell, *Hist. of Sanskrit Literature*, London, 1900, pp. 299–302; M. Winternitz, *Gesch. der indischen Litteratur*, Leipzig, 1909, i. 440–488.

F. E. PARGITER.

PURGATORY.—See STATE OF THE DEAD.

PURIFICATION.

Introductory and Primitive (E. N. FALLAIZE), p. 455.
Babylonian (C. H. W. JOHNS), p. 466.
Buddhist (C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS), p. 468.
Chinese (R. F. JOHNSTON), p. 470.
Christian (H. C. TOWNSEND), p. 474.
Egyptian (A. M. BLACKMAN), p. 476.
Greek (L. R. FARNELL), p. 482.
Hebrew (S. M. COOKE), p. 489.
Hindu (J. JOLLY), p. 490.
Iranian (A. J. CARNOY), p. 491.
Jain (M. STEVENSON), p. 493.
Japanese (T. HARADA), p. 495.
Jewish.—See 'Hebrew.'
Muslim (W. POPPER), p. 496.
Roman (J. S. REID), p. 500.
Teutonic (B. S. PHILLPOTTS), p. 503.

PURIFICATION (Introductory and Primitive).—**1. Introductory remarks.**—Among the more prominent factors both in the regulation of primitive life and in the determination of the character of religious ritual are the conception of the state of purity and the attendant ceremonies requisite for the preservation of that state, and for its recovery should it be impaired. It must be noted, however, that purity as conceived by the primitive mind has a wider significance than is usually attached to the modern use of the term among civilized peoples, in which emphasis is laid on the positive side of its meaning, purity being almost regarded as the equivalent of continence or chastity. The difference is sometimes expressed by applying to the primitive idea the epithet 'ceremonial,' and further by pointing out the non-ethical character of ceremonial purity or 'ceremonial uncleanness.' But, apart from the question whether it is correct to deny the term 'ethical' to any body of rules governing conduct, it would be more correct to describe ceremonial purity as pre-ethical in that, as will appear, in certain respects it provides the basis for higher moral codes.

Owing to the emphasis on the negative and

inhibitory aspect, which is generally characteristic in primitive rules of conduct, it is as a negative state rather than a positive ideal that purity governs primitive action, while purificatory ceremonies have as their object protection from harmful influence rather than the attainment of righteousness even of a ceremonial kind. The state of purity would be defined by the primitive savage as one which resulted from such a course of action that defilement, whether by intentional or by inadvertent act, had been avoided.

Ceremonial purity is closely bound up with the class of ideas and rules of conduct described by the generalized term 'tabu.' Infringement of tabu, whether voluntary or involuntary, renders the individual subject to spiritual influence or, to use the Melanesian term, an adverse *mana*. As such he not only is a danger to himself, but may transmit the danger to others, and may affect the whole community. Hence certain restrictions are imposed upon him: he is isolated, his actions are regulated that they may not affect the well-being of the community—*e.g.*, in such a matter as the food supply—until such time as he has been freed from danger by a purificatory ceremony or, in a case in which defilement is so great that the interests of the community are paramount, the adverse influence has been removed by his outlawry or death.

2. Loss of purity by defilement.—(*a*) *Death.*—Ceremonial defilement is closely connected with the occasions of crisis in human life, both social and natural, such as birth, initiation, puberty, marriage, and death. The ceremonies which accompany these crises are to a great degree both directly and indirectly purificatory in intent.

Death to the primitive mind is the greatest pollution of all—so much so that it commonly puts an end for a time to all activity over a social circle of varying extent. As the Bathonga say, 'the uncleanness of death kills if it is not properly treated.' Not only the corpse, but the possessions of the deceased, are regarded as infected with danger, which must be averted by ceremonial treatment. Many customs testify to the peril which is supposed to attach to contact with a dead body. There is a reluctance to handle it.

Among the Lillooets of N. America the last offices of preparing the body for the grave are performed by the shaman, whose innate magical qualities are regarded as in themselves sufficient to secure his immunity from harm. Among other Indian tribes of the north-west the duty of disposing of the body is performed by grave-diggers, who themselves become unclean and must for some days observe certain restrictions with regard to food, relations with their wives, and the like.[1] Among the Bathonga the grave-diggers, who are employed because of the great danger involved should relatives handle the body, plug their nostrils with the leaves of a strongly-scented plant as a protection against the dangerous influences of the corpse. They must undergo a rite of ablution and, with their wives, they are subjected to vapour baths. They also suffer from disabilities such as those mentioned in the case of the N. American Indians. They eat with special spoons, and for five days must not take food from the common plate.[2]

The wide-spread custom of placing implements, weapons, etc., in the grave for the use of the spirit is also no doubt to some extent an outcome of an idea that they are 'unlucky,' while the custom, almost equally wide-spread, of avoiding the use of the name of the deceased is based on a disinclination to afford an opportunity for an adverse influence to make itself felt by the use of a word which is associated with the 'unclean.' Such possessions as are not devoted to the spirit of the dead are frequently destroyed.

The Loucheux crush and break the dead man's beads. Among the Thompson Indians the *tepee* in which a man died is burned, or, if death took place in the more permanent hut, it is washed with water in which juniper or tobacco has been steeped. In the lodge no one sleeps in the dead man's place for a considerable period.[1] In Uganda the hut in which the queen, the king's mother, or one of his wives had died was destroyed. When a man dies, the main post of his house is taken down by his sister's son and is partially burned in the fire.[2] Among the southern clans of the Bathonga the crown of leaves which tops the hut is taken down and used to block the doorway, where it remains for some time until the hut is ceremonially cleansed. The food and the gardens belonging to the dead man must also be purified.[3]

In these instances, which could be multiplied indefinitely, it is clear that material things which have been in intimate contact with the deceased are dangerous to those who handle them. The same danger attaches with added intensity to human beings, first those in his immediate circle—his wives, who are especially impure, and his relatives — and ultimately the whole community. Each is a centre of danger to others until a purificatory ceremony has removed the defilement. Hence the restrictions which surround any one who has become polluted aim at segregating him or her from the remainder of the community. Certain mourning customs, signs of grief and bereavement, such as allowing the hair and nails to grow and the wearing of special clothes, mark the mourners as a class apart;[4] the resumption of their ordinary appearance and attire marks their return to a state of purity.

In addition to the custom of segregation, general among primitive peoples, special regulations, varying according to the locality and people, may have to be followed.

Among the various tribes of the Déné and Salish the segregation period extends in the case of mourners to a period of two moons, but in the case of widows for twelve months. The possibility that they may affect the food supply adversely by their action is recognized, and precautions against such a contingency are taken. They must observe a period of fast, varying from four days to four months, during which no fresh meat or hot food must be eaten; food must not be handled or cut, but must be torn by the teeth, and a special birch-bark cup, which is thrown away after four days, must be used for drinking. Not only must a widower refrain from eating venison, flesh of any kind, or fresh fish, and from smoking, but, should he touch another man's net or fish from his place, the net and the station become useless for the season. Both widows and widowers are regarded as specially unclean; the former may retire to the woods for a period of one year, performing purificatory ceremonies, bathing in streams, and taking sweat-baths, while the latter must in some cases watch the place where the corpse was buried for a like period, eating no fresh meat in that time.[5]

Among the Bathonga widows form a secret society. Until the great mourning the chief widow lives in a special hut in front of the mortuary hut, and the period of mourning of all the widows lasts for one year. Before another husband could be taken, the ceremony of 'throwing away the malediction of death' had to be performed, in which a stranger, ignorant of the circumstances, was deceived by the woman, and, by a ceremonial sexual act in the bush which was not completed, took upon himself the pollution and had to be purified in turn. Pollution by death is sufficiently strong to attack the members of the family who are absent even so far away as Johannesburg. A relative who returned home even months after the death could not enter the village or eat any food in it until purified. This people in fact recognize grades of impurity following on death, in which the degrees are first the widows, then the grave-diggers, thirdly the community, and lastly relatives and wife's relatives in other villages. At the death of the headman the village was abandoned, and, although the pollution in the case of an ordinary death was not sufficiently grave to require such an extreme measure, the community was affected in a certain degree. No sexual relations were allowed, and the warriors were unable to go out to battle until they, holding their assegais, had taken part in a purification ceremony in which the whole of the community was aspersed by the medicine-man. No fire could be kept burning in the village except that which had been kindled in the open by the medicine-man with fire from the mortuary hut. This was used by the whole village for its requirements until the fifth day, when it was put out by the medicine-man and a new fire kindled, from which the people lighted their fires. This was a part of the ceremonial purification of the village.[6]

[1] C. Hill-Tout, *British N. America*, i. *The Far West*, London, 1907, p. 199 f.
[2] H. A. Junod, *The Life of a S. African Tribe*, London, 1912-13, i. 138 f.

[1] Hill-Tout, pp. 192 f., 206 f.
[2] J. Roscoe, *The Baganda*, London, 1911, pp. 116, 121.
[3] Junod, i. 144 f.
[4] This is not incompatible with the explanation that mourning clothes are a disguise against spirits. This aspect of the custom emphasizes the danger to the infected person.
[5] Hill-Tout, p. 193 ff. [6] Junod, i. 135, 197 f.

Among the Greenland Eskimo the restrictions which followed death were very distinctly of a protective character. Not only was the corpse buried as quickly as possible, but the relatives were secluded for five days, and every one avoided crossing the tracks of those who had dragged the corpse to its burial-place. No man who was in a state of pollution by death was allowed to disentangle the dog traces; a boy accompanied every expedition to perform this office. During the five days' seclusion there was no hunting or fishing, and no work was done; but, if any sewing was necessary, the eyebrows were blackened.[1]

Among the Todas, owing to the peculiar ritual importance of the dairy and the susceptibility of the cattle and the milk to ceremonial defilement, great stringency prevails in the regulations to be observed after a death. A special hut is provided for the corpse, or (among the Tatharol division of this people) a special dairy with three rooms is set aside for mortuary purposes. All who are near the corpse are impure, while the whole family of any one who comes to the village in which the relics of the deceased—a lock of hair and a piece of skull—are kept, in the period between the first and the second funerals, are polluted. All who attend the funeral, unless they take up their position at a distance, are affected in like manner, while the *wursol* (dairyman-priest) who attends to kill the sacred buffalo loses his office. The *pep*—the ceremonial portion of the dairy product which preserves ritual continuity from day to day—is thrown away, and new *pep* is prepared. Relatives of the deceased remain in a state of impurity until the moon after the second funeral.[2]

The break in continuity brought about by death, which is marked among the Todas by the casting away of the *pep* and the preparation of new *pep*, frequently finds expression in a cessation of all normal activities. Action is rendered unlucky or useless by the defilement. All work done by the Basutos on the day on which a chief dies is defiled.[3]

The pollution of death is intensified if it be due to violence, even though the killing may be justifiable or accidental.

In the Cameroons an accidental death must be followed by a purificatory ceremony,[4] while among the Akikuyu, although the death of a member of another tribe entails no disabilities, the killing of a fellow-tribesman requires atonement by a ceremony in which the slayer eats with the brother of the slain, and the ghost, in the shape of a wild cat, partakes of part of the food placed for it at the foot of a tree.[5] Even warriors are not immune from the consequences of their act. As the Bathonga say, 'they are black, the black must be removed.' Consequently, Bathonga warriors, on their return from an expedition, must remain at the capital for some days, wear old clothes, eat from old or broken vessels, and have special food, partaking of no hot meals until they have been purified.[6] The Awemba warrior must not sleep in the hut until he has washed in a stream and been smeared with medicine,[7] while the Basuto must be purified by his chief.[8] On the Wanigela river, British New Guinea, the man who is guilty of blood sits apart on the 'logs of sacrificial staging.' He is then placed apart in a special hut in charge of two or three boys, and is re-admitted to the community only after a hunt in which a kangaroo is killed, with the spleen and liver of which he is smeared.[9] The Chinook murderer is strictly quarantined; no one eats with him, nor is he allowed to see any one eat until he has been purified.[10] The Pima Indian who has slain an Apache is not allowed to look at a blazing fire during the whole of the sixteen days in which he is undergoing purification.[11]

Contact with the murderer may transfer his unclean state to others.

Among the Akikuyu, if a homicide sleeps and eats in a village, those who entertain him are polluted to such a degree that they must have recourse to the medicine-man.[12]

Some form of penalty may be imposed, whether the killing is regarded as sin or not.

In Rajmahal, if two men quarrel and one wounds the other, the guilty man is fined a hog or a fowl, but the intention is purificatory as well as penal; the blood of the fine is sprinkled over the wounded man to prevent him from being possessed by a devil.[13]

It has sometimes been thought that the disabilities which follow murder are an expression of horror at the intentional spilling of that precious substance, blood. Now, while it is undoubtedly true that blood is highly tabu, and while the importance attached to it in various purificatory ceremonies shows its sacred character and ceremonial value, yet the explanation of the ceremonies and disabilities given by natives themselves appears to minimize the importance of the spilling of blood in death by violence, while emphasizing the fact that those who are guilty of the death of a human being are subject to attacks from the spirits of those whom they have slain, and that through them the danger may be transmitted to the whole community. The penalty, *e.g.*, which follows omission of the purificatory ceremony is usually madness caused by the spirit of the dead.

The Bathonga warriors are pursued by their slain enemies, who would drive them mad if the proper precautions were not taken. The Basuto warriors are anointed with the gall of a sacrificial ox, this preventing the ghost from pursuing them.[1]

On the other hand, there is a connexion between the ghost and blood in the explanation given by the Kai of German New Guinea.

They say that the souls of the slain follow the returning warriors to recover those parts of the souls which cling to the blood clots on the clubs.[2]

Not only is it the souls of those slain in battle that are feared; the soul of the murdered man pursues his murderer.

Among the Eskimo of N. Greenland the victim's soul drives the murderer mad, or it may tear him to pieces, should he venture far on the ice.[3]

It would be possible to multiply instances to show that that which renders the man unclean—unfit to re-enter on the life of the community—is not the fact that there is blood upon him, that he is physiologically unclean, but the fact that he is the storm-centre of a dangerous force which, unless appeased or sterilized, will prove harmful to himself and to all with whom he comes into contact. When these conditions may arise after any death for which an individual is responsible, it is clear that intention, which constitutes the murder, is, from a ceremonial point of view, of little importance. Such a conception belongs to a different code, and only gradually rises into prominence in the development of moral ideas.

This view of the primitive theory of the consequences of murder is supported by the ideas which prevail about the killing of animals.

The Hottentots, *e.g.*, purify themselves after slaying animals. The character of the beliefs held by the Bathonga makes it clear that the source of the danger is the spirit of the animal. Purificatory ceremonies, closely resembling those to which returning warriors must be submitted, must follow the killing of certain animals, under penalty of persecution by the soul of the animal which has been killed. Some animals are more dangerous than others. Unless the medicine-man performs a purificatory ceremony after the killing of an eland, madness follows, while, if the man is accompanied by his wife, she shares his impurity; a bracelet of the skin must be made for her, or they cannot eat together, and on the following day the couple must repair to an anthill and there set fire to the bracelet.[4]

Cf. also art. DEATH (Introductory and Primitive).

(*b*) *Childbirth.*—Childbirth is another of the important crises of human life; it is marked by its intimate and peculiar character and by experience as requiring special measures for the protection of the mother and child, sometimes of the father, and of the other members of the community.

In the Malay Peninsula it is believed that mother and child are the special objects of attack of certain spirits of an extremely virulent and dangerous character, themselves women who have died in childbirth or have lost their children at birth. The belief in the danger of attack by these and other spirits is probably to be regarded as the explanation of the peculiar custom which requires the Malay mother for the whole period of impurity, lasting for 44 days after labour, to mount daily (and sometimes two or three times a day) a platform upon

1 K. Rasmussen, *The People of the Polar North*, Eng. tr., London, 1908, p. 113 f.
2 W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, London, 1906, p. 368 f.
3 E. Casalis, *The Basutos*, London, 1861, p. 275.
4 F. Autenrieth, 'Zur Religion der Kamerun-Neger,' *Mitteil. Geogr. Gesellsch.* xii. [1893] 93.
5 C. W. Hobley, 'Kikuyu Customs and Beliefs,' *JRAI* xl. [1910] 438.
6 Junod, ii. 453.
7 J. H. W. Sheane, 'Wemba Warpaths,' *Journ. African Soc.* xli. [1911] 31.
8 Casalis, p. 258.
9 R. E. Guise, 'On the Tribes inhabiting the Mouth of the Wanigela River, New Guinea,' *JAI* xxviii. [1898] 213 f.
10 F. Boas, *Chinook Texts*, Washington, 1894, p. 258.
11 Bancroft, *NR* i. 553. 12 Hobley, *JRAI* xl. 431.
13 T. Shaw, 'On the Inhabitants of the Hills near Rajamahall,' *Asiatic Researches*, iv. [1807] 78.

1 Casalis, *loc. cit.*
2 C. Keysser, quoted by J. G. Frazer, *Psyche's Task*[2], p. 121.
3 Rasmussen, p. 127 ff. 4 Junod, ii. 57 f.

which she is subjected to intense heat from a fire for a considerable period and, after returning to bed, to have a heated stone from the furnace applied to her stomach.[1]

That expectant mothers are regarded as impure and a source of defilement to others is indicated by the period of seclusion imposed upon them by the customs of many peoples.

Among the Kota of the Nilgiri Hills the wife dwells in three different huts in the first three months of pregnancy, staying for one month in each, then for a time in the house of a relative, while the husband purifies himself with water and smoke.[2] A period of segregation also follows after birth. In N. India husband and wife are separated, and the mother is unclean for a period of five weeks.[3] The Basuto father is separated from his wife for four days, when the medicine-man performs a ceremony in which the woman, sitting on the *lepheko* (a log four or six feet long), and the man, sitting opposite with his legs touching her legs, are anointed with a preparation of roots and fat, and drink healing water.[4] Among the Bulgars birth is followed by a rigorous tabu period of 40 days. At the end of this period the woman goes to church with the child. On her return she visits three houses, where the people make gifts to her and sprinkle the child with flour. On the next day the relatives visit the mother's home, and she sprinkles with holy water all the places in the house and courtyard where she has been during her 40 days' seclusion.[5] Segregation among the Todas takes place in the fifth month of pregnancy; the mother retires from the village, the distance being determined by the degree of sanctity of the village. A special hut is built for her, where she is visited by the relatives, who, however, may not come near her. When she enters into seclusion, her wrist is burned ceremonially after the erection of an artificial dairy, and then, when she has stayed in the hut for a month, a second ceremony called 'to the village buttermilk we pour' is performed, after which she returns to her ordinary hut. For the next 30 days she lives on a diet of buttermilk and food cooked in buttermilk. After the birth mother and child go to the seclusion-hut again. On her way the mother steps over a leaf on which are some threads from the garment of the dairyman known as *wursol*, and water from an artificial dairy erected for the ceremony is poured over a calf and given her to drink, while a few drops are sprinkled over the child. In the procession to the hut of seclusion the woman holds up a leaf umbrella, does not look at the sun, and avoids looking at the star or other body called Keirt, which is believed to be near the sun. The ceremony is intended to avoid and avert the evil of Keirt. Among the Teivaliol division of the Todas the husband assists his wife in her journey, and thereby himself becomes unclean and must remain with her at the hut.[6] The intention of some of these Toda customs is obscure, but the ceremonial of stepping over a leaf and part of the garment of the holy man appears to be a case of transference of evil, the wrist-burning is purificatory, while the 'buttermilk ceremony' is a ceremonial re-introduction of a person in a transitory state to a sacred substance. The use of an umbrella by the Toda woman to keep off the rays of the sun is connected with a wide-spread belief, which also appears in connexion with female puberty, that neither the mother nor her offspring must see the sun. In Korea the rays of the sun are excluded for 21 or 100 days after birth, according to the rank of the family.[7] New Guinea tribes confine the mother to the house for a month; when she leaves it, unless she covers her head with a mat, a male relative will die.[8]

The object of the Eskimo customs is less obscure. Here too there is segregation. The expectant mother must leave the house which she inhabits with her husband. Her conduct may affect the well-being of the community, especially in the most important item of food. Therefore on the day of birth she must eat only meat fried in fat on a flat stone. After the first night following the birth she must make herself new clothes, as her old clothes must be thrown away, and immediately after the birth she must wash from head to foot. Women who have fewer than five children may not eat young rough seals, eggs, entrails, heart, lungs, or liver.[9]

The impurity of the mother extends to the child. For ceremonies admitting the child and re-admitting the parents to society see art. BIRTH (Introduction).

(*c*) *Puberty.*—In the ceremonies which mark the introduction of the individual to full sexual and tribal life, at puberty or at initiation, purificatory rites in some form or another are usually a prominent feature. These rites, which present certain general resemblances, by such observances as a period of seclusion, a special diet, frequent ablutions, the use of pigment for the body, and bodily mutilation such as circumcision or the loss of a tooth, emphasize or, as the primitive mind would regard it, bring about the separation from a former status and the entry on a new phase of life.

In some cases among the tribes of Australia the novices are regarded as having died. Among the American tribes (*e.g.*, the Shawanese) not only did the initiates observe a special dietary, but they also took an emetic at regular intervals—an obvious and common method of purification.[1] In the Kurnai initiation mothers and sons sprinkled one another with water to mark the separation.[2] Further, it was a common custom to take a new name at initiation. In the Fijian *nanga* rites, at the close of the ceremonies, all the initiates went to the river bank and washed off the black paint with which they had been smeared.[3]

As in the case of mothers after childbirth, pubescent girls during their period of impurity were rigorously secluded from the rays of the sun, and frequently were not allowed to touch the earth with their bare bodies. This was the case in Loango.[4] Girls of the Zulu and kindred tribes, should they perceive that they have attained puberty while away from home in the fields, were required to hide in the reeds lest they should be seen by a man, and to cover their heads lest the sun should shrivel them up. At nightfall they ran home, avoiding the paths, and were secluded for a fortnight, during which time they and the girls who waited on them were not allowed to drink any milk, lest the cattle should die.[5] In New Ireland pubescent girls were confined for four or five years in cages, in which they were kept in the dark, and were not allowed to set foot on the ground.[6]

In the Bathonga nubility customs followed in the case of girls among the northern clans a period of seclusion took place at the appearance of the menses. Three or four girls who ran away to an adoptive mother lived in association; each morning they were covered with a cloth and led to a pool in which they were immersed to the neck. On their return from the pool they were imprisoned in a hut, where they received instruction. Any man who saw them during this period was smitten with blindness.[7] In the case of boys, on leaving the village for their period of seclusion, they leapt over a fire of scented wood which had been made in the road; every morning while they were in the school they were smeared with white paint as a mark that they had abandoned the darkness of childhood. Before the end of the school the medicine of purification was administered to them in a mouthful of beer, and on the last day their foreskins were burnt and made into a powder which was smeared on the pole which stood in the place of seclusion. Finally, all the paraphernalia of the school were destroyed by burning—an act in which 'all the filth and ignorance of childhood was burnt.' The boys were then led to a stream, where they washed off the white clay, cut their hair, anointed themselves with ochre, and put on new clothes.[8]

Circumcision, like other forms of initiation, being a ceremony introducing the novice to a new status in life, is usually found to be accompanied by some period of seclusion or withdrawal, in itself a purification, but it also as a rule included some element of a more obvious kind, such as the taking of emetics, washing, plastering with clay, the individual being thus prepared to face the new spiritual influences with which he or she was to be brought into contact. The position of the uncircumcised in Fiji was indicated by the fact that they were regarded as unclean and not allowed to carry food for the chief.[9]

(*d*) *Marriage.*—The ritualistic observances which precede, accompany, and follow the marriage ceremony are of such a character as to indicate that, when this important stage in the individual life is reached, the parties immediately concerned are particularly liable to spiritual influences. Although some of the practices are more obviously of a purificatory character than others, as a whole they are intended to minimize the danger (1) of contact between the individuals, and (2) of the entry into a new set of conditions and a new phase of life. On both grounds marriage is brought

1 W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, London, 1900, p. 342 f.
2 H. Ploss and M. Bartels, *Das Weib*[8], Leipzig, 1904–05, ii. 413.
3 W. Crooke, in *NINQ* i. [1891] 277.
4 H. Grützner, 'Über die Gebräuche der Basutho,' *Verh. der Berl. Gesellsch. für Anthrop.* ii. [1877] 78.
5 A. Strausz, *Die Bulgaren*, Leipzig, 1898, p. 291 f.
6 Rivers, p. 313 ff.
7 Mrs. Bishop [Isabella L. Bird], *Korea and her Neighbours*, London, 1898, ii. 248.
8 J. L. van Hasselt, quoted in *GB*[3], pt. vii., *Balder the Beautiful*, i. 20.
9 Rasmussen, p. 119 f.

1 A. Featherman, *Social Hist. of the Races of Mankind*, London, 1881–91, iii. 182.
2 L. Fison and A. W. Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, Melbourne, 1880, p. 197.
3 B. Thomson, *The Fijians*, London, 1908, p. 155.
4 E. Pechuel-Loesche, 'Indiscretes aus Loango,' *ZE* x. [1878] 23.
5 D. Kidd, *The Essential Kafir*, London, 1904, p. 209.
6 B. Danks, 'Marriage Customs of the New Britain Group,' *JAI* xviii. [1889] 284.
Junod, ii. 178 f. 8 *Ib.* i. 75 f. 9 Thomson, p. 216

within the category of the crises in human life which require the observance of purificatory rites.

The measures taken to guard against the first-named danger usually take the form of seclusion. It is almost invariably the case among primitive peoples that, from the time of betrothal until the actual ceremony, bride and bridegroom do not meet, repeating in the individual the segregation which takes place between the sexes as a whole at puberty or initiation.

In New Guinea betrothed persons may not see one another.[1] The Menangkabauers allow no communication before marriage,[2] while the Malay *fiancée* makes every endeavour to avoid her future husband.[3] The Wa-taveta bride is 'sealed' to the bridegroom by the payment of the first ox of the bride-price, and until the price is complete must see no man.[4]

Measures may be taken to prepare for contact between the parties, just as initiation prepares for sexual maturity.

Loanda girls, *e.g.*, are excised eight days before marriage by the medicine-man, while the ceremony performed on girls at puberty among Central Australian tribes is actually the marriage rite and initiation ceremony.[5]

It is significant that re-marriage of a widow or widower requires less elaborate ceremony.[6] This, especially if taken in conjunction with the fact that intercourse with a medicine-man or other person of essentially magical quality, such as a chief, is sometimes exacted from a virgin, and precedes marriage, suggests that the ritual precedent on marriage is a preparation for the entry on a new state. It is also no doubt the result in some degree of the conception that the sexual act involves uncleanness.

The ceremonies which accompany the marriage rite indicate that those who are in contact with the bride are also involved in the danger. It is usual to take some measure of precaution to avert the influence of the spirits during the marriage procession.

In Nizhegorod the 'best man' walks three times round the party, against the sun, holding a holy picture. He then scratches the ground with a knife, cursing evil spirits and evilly-disposed persons.[7] Guns are fired during the progress to or from the church—a custom at one time followed in the north of England.[8] In Manchuria the bridal procession is preceded by two men, each of them holding a red cloth to ward off evil, the arrival of the bride's sedan-chair at the groom's house is signalized by firing crackers, and the chair itself is afterwards purified with incense.[9]

A common preliminary is lustration.

In S. Celebes the bridegroom bathes in holy water, and the bride is fumigated.[10] The Matabele bride pours water over the man on arriving at his house,[11] while among the Malays lustration continues for three days after the ceremony; at the actual wedding the first operation is the fumigation of the bride and groom with incense and the smearing with the neutralizing 'rice paste,' which forms such an important element as a purificatory or protective agent in all the magico-religious observances of Malay life.[12] In all Muhammadan countries purification by water in the bath and painting with henna are among the more important of the preliminaries to the wedding rite. The bath usually takes place a day or two before the departure for the groom's house. In Egypt the bride goes in state through the streets in a procession as elaborate as means allow, accompanied by her friends.[13]

The custom of cutting the hair or of wearing old clothes, which in other connexions marks an occasion for, or forms part of, a purificatory rite, also occurs in connexion with marriage.

Among the Muhammadan tribes of N.W. India both bride and bridegroom wear old clothes for some days before marriage.[1] The head of the Kafir bride is shaved, while the Fijian bride cuts off a long lock of hair or shaves her head.[2]

Notwithstanding the great variety of marriage rites and ceremonies, they agree to a great extent in the same manner as the preliminary rites in having as their object the prevention of the transmission of harmful influence from one individual to another and the aversion of the influence of malicious spirits. The ceremonies may be supplementary to those preliminary rites, marking especially the separation from the former life with all its circumstances and magical influences. Of such, lustration, cutting the hair, and the abandonment of old clothes are significant instances. Or they may be protective, as the use of the veil and of fire-arms, or the custom of Muhammadan countries, where one of the most important days of the wedding ceremony is that on which the smearing of hands and feet with henna, antimony, etc., takes place.[3] Another form of protective rite at marriage occurs in Morocco in the tapping of the bride with a sword on the wedding night by the bridegroom to drive away evil spirits.[4]

Finally, the wedding observances may be purificatory in neutralizing or preparing the individual for the new existence upon which he or she is about to enter. In this category would fall such customs as the ceremonial intercourse by men of the tribe, as in Australia, or by the chief or the medicine-man, as in America,[5] sometimes by friends of the groom, as among the Wa-taveta.[6] The customs of substituting a bride, which occurs, *e.g.*, among the Beni Amer, and of marriage to a tree preceding the actual marriage, such as occurs among the Mundas,[7] have the same protective and preparatory object.

After the ceremony bridegroom or bride or both may still continue to be regarded as impure and a danger to others. It is not uncommon for a further period of seclusion to follow marriage.

Among the Arabs of Mount Sinai the bride must remain in her hut for a fortnight.[8] In the Aru Islands and Ceramlaut the pair are shut up for some days,[9] and among some of the Bedawin the wife may not leave the house or touch any work for three years.[10]

(*c*) *Sexual relations.*—Notwithstanding the pre- or post-nuptial looseness of sexual relations found among many peoples, among others irregularities, and in particular incest in the wider sense in which it includes all the rules of exogamy, are regarded as a great pollution especially to be avoided on account of its effect not merely upon the individual but upon the life of the community. The infecting influence is removed by death, segregation, casting out from the community, or other purificatory process, such as sacrifice, smearing with the blood of the victim, lustration, etc. This class of crime is closely connected with the well-being of the crops. At certain periods of the crops' growth married couples live apart.

[1] J. L. van Hasselt, 'Sitten und Gebräuche der Noeforezen Neu Guinea,' *ZE* viii. [1876] 180.
[2] A. L. van Hasselt, *Volksbeschrijving van Midden-Sumatra*, Leyden, 1882, p. 275.
[3] Skeat, p. 366.
[4] J. Thomson, *Through Masai Land*, London, 1885, p. 61.
[5] Ploss-Bartels, i. 384; Spencer-Gillen[a], p. 93.
[6] See E. Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, London, 1914, p. 328 f.
[7] J. Abercromby, 'Marriage Customs of the Mordvins,' *FL* i. [1890] 445.
[8] W. Henderson, *Notes on the Folk-lore of the Northern Counties of England and the Borders*, London, 1879, p. 38.
[9] J. H. Stewart Lockhart, 'The Marriage Ceremonies of the Manchus,' *FL* i. 487.
[10] B. F. Matthes, *Bijdragen tot de Ethnologie van Zuid-Celebes*, The Hague, 1875, p. 21.
[11] L. Decle, 'On some Matabele Customs,' *JAI* xxiii. [1894] 84.
[12] Skeat, p. 353 f.
[13] E. W. Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*[3], London, 1846, i. 217; Westermarck, p. 136 f.

[1] W. Crooke, *PNQ* ii. [1884–85] 960.
[2] J. Shooter, *The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country*, London, 1857, p. 75; Featherman, ii. 283.
[3] Westermarck, pp. 95, 105, etc. [4] *Ib.* p. 235, etc.
[5] Spencer-Gillen[a], p. 93; *NR* i. 82, 584.
[6] Mrs. French-Sheldon, 'Customs among the Natives of E. Africa from Teita to Kilimegalia,' *JAI* xxi. [1891] 365.
[7] E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1872, p. 194.
[8] Featherman, ii. 142.
[9] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, The Hague, 1886, pp. 262, 172, quoted in A. E. Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, p. 333, where additional instances are given.
[10] W. Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, Schaffhausen, 1864, p. 148.

In ancient Greece the olive was planted by virgins or pure boys, and, in default of such workers, the crop was gathered by men who had taken oaths of their marital fidelity.[1] The Karens believed that illicit love blighted the crop; the guilty man in his prayer in the course of the ceremony of purification accused himself of having destroyed the productiveness of the country, and went on to say: 'Now I repair the mountains, now I heal the hills and the streams and the lands. May there be no failure of crops.'[2] In Rajmahal the adulterer furnished a hog to avert plague and the ravages of tigers.[3]

In some cases incest was regarded as the cause of barrenness.

This was the case among the Dinkas and Bathonga, while among the latter people as well as among the Akikuyu marriage of cousins, being within the forbidden degrees, required a special ceremony which purged the uncleanness and loosed the bond of relationship.[4] In Borneo first cousins could marry only after the ceremony of *bergapût*.[5] The Sulka of New Britain considered the pollution of pre-nuptial unchastity so great that not only was it fatal to the parties unless they were purified, but their mere presence was sufficient to tarnish the instruments of the sacred dance,[6] while among some Dayak tribes the family was made responsible for any death by drowning which happened a month before the atonement.[7]

The frequency with which death by drowning or the use of substitutes, either sacrificial animals or personal possessions, follows sexual crime, and especially incest, is due to the fact that the degree of defilement is so great that even shedding the blood of the guilty is avoided in order that the earth may not be polluted. Consequently among the Torajas of Celebes adultery was expiated by the sword, but incest by clubbing or throttling.[8]

The importance of sexual purity is further indicated by the numerous occasions upon which it is emphasized as a condition of a certain course of action or its absence is regarded as a deterrent.

In Morocco no man who is not clean in regard to sexual matters may enter a granary or vegetable-garden.[9] No sexual act may be committed in a holy place, nor must a person so polluted present himself in a holy place until he has washed; otherwise he will go blind, become lame, or go mad, he or his family will die, or he will lose some of his animals or his crop. A person sexually unclean may not pray. An act usually considered sacred will lose its magical efficacy if performed by a sexually unclean person.[10] Among the Romans a cook or butler might not handle food or butter while unclean. Reference has already been made to the cultivation of the olive in Greece and the incense tree in Arabia. During the Cherokee New Year Feast[11] sexual relations were forbidden, and the same regulation is found in the Bathonga community after the death of a headman and when a village is removed.[12] Among the Todas the relations of the dairymen-priests were regulated according to the degree of sanctity of their grade of office. The number of nights they might sleep in their village huts varied according to their grade, but the highest grades, the *pohkartpol* and the *palol*, were required to avoid women altogether while holding office.[13]

(*f*) *Relations of the sexes.* — The regulations governing the relations of individuals and of the sexes are based upon the idea of the transmission of evil either maliciously or inadvertently from one person to another. The danger may be permanently present, but in any case is considered to be peculiarly acute at particular times, such as the performance of natural functions, eating, drinking, etc., or at natural crises. The penalty for the infringement of the tabus which regulate action and intercourse is of such a character, or the consequences are averted by such means, as to indicate that disregard of the tabu entails pollution. A widely-recognized danger lies in contact with the inferior female sex. Violation of the rules governing the relations of the sexes usually requires some ritual act of expiation. Although in some cases such violations may be regarded only as breaches of correct social behaviour, the observances and the ritual are such as to appear to be derived originally from a tabu connected with danger, and especially with danger arising out of impurity.

A typical attitude finds its expression in Morocco, where women, because of their uncleanness, are subject to many tabus. They are forbidden to enter the threshing-floor or granary for fear of destroying the virtue of the corn; some tribes do not allow them to work in a vegetable-garden or to ride beasts of burden, and they are injurious to bees and must not handle them. In some places, should they enter a shop, its prosperity will be destroyed, and they are not allowed to visit certain holy places or to attend the feasts of the saints who died fighting Christians.[1]

In Nukahiva, if a woman sat on or passed near an object which had become tabu by contact with a man, it could not be used again, and she was put to death.[2] Among the people of Rajmahal, if a man detects a woman sitting on his cot, he kills a fowl furnished by the woman and sprinkles the blood on his bed. For the converse the man pays a fine of four fowls to the woman.[3] Among the Samoyeds and Ostyaks a wife may not tread in any part of the tent except her own corner, and, after erecting the tent, she must fumigate it.[4] The club-houses which form a feature of social life in the Pacific are sometimes tabu to persons of the opposite sex. In the Marquesas, should a woman pollute the men's house by her presence, the penalty is death.[5]

The differentiation which extends to occupation is also in many cases enforced by consequences which are explicitly stated to involve either a condition of impurity or something analogous to such a condition.

Pastoral and cattle-keeping peoples, especially in Africa, frequently debar their women from tending the flocks and herds. The Todas, with their rigorous exclusion of women from the work of the dairy, and the tabu which keeps them and their characteristic domestic implements apart from contact with the cattle and the dairymen and even forbids their use of the cattle paths, are a case in point.[6] Among the Bantus of S. Africa women are not allowed to touch the cattle.[7] As already stated, pubescent Bantu girls and their attendants were not allowed to touch milk. Some of the pastoral tribes of the Sûdân and E. Africa forbade women, especially at certain times, and those sexually impure to come into contact with the milk, and among the Dinkas even old men were not allowed to milk the cows, this duty devolving on boys and girls who had not yet attained the age of puberty.[8] The same applies to men in the case of women's occupations. *Tapa*-making, *e.g.*, is tabu to men, while the use of canoes is forbidden to women.[9] In the case of man's most important occupations—hunting and fighting—a certain precaution must be observed in relation with the other sex; continence for a varying period is often a necessary preparation. In certain S. African tribes the warriors must abstain from women.[10] Among the Nutka Indians a preparatory abstinence of some weeks is required.[11] In New Guinea warriors are not allowed to see or approach a woman.[12]

In both hunting and war success depends upon the observance of these regulations. The purificatory ritual underlying these disabilities and exclusions is still more clearly indicated when it appears that women are debarred from participation in religious ceremonies.

In the Sandwich Islands women were not allowed to share in religious worship because their touch polluted the offerings; while, if a Hindu widow touched an image, its divinity was

[1] *GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, ii. 107, quoting Palladius, *de Re Rustica*.
[2] F. Mason, 'On Dwellings, Works of Art, Law, etc., of the Karens,' *JASBe* xxxvii. [1868] pt. ii. p. 147.
[3] Shaw, *loc. cit.*
[4] *ERE* iv. 709; Junod, i. 243 f.; Hobley, *JRAI* xl. 488.
[5] H. Ling Roth, 'Low's Natives of Borneo,' *JAI* xxi. 133.
[6] P. Rascher, 'Die Sulka,' *AA* xxix. [1904] 211.
[7] Spenser St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*[2], London, 1863, i. 63.
[8] Frazer, *Psyche's Task*[2], quoting N. Adriani and A. C. Kruijt, p. 53.
[9] Westermarck, *Ceremonies and Beliefs connected with Agriculture, certain Dates of the Solar Year, and the Weather in Morocco*, Helsingfors, 1913, p. 17.
[10] Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies*, p. 334 f.
[11] Featherman, iii. 157.
[12] Junod, i. 290 f.
[13] Rivers, p. 236.

[1] Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies*, p. 339 f.
[2] J. S. C. Dumont d'Urville, *Voyage autour du monde*, Paris, 1834–35, i. 505.
[3] H. T. Colebrooke, in *Asiatic Researches*, iv. 88, quoted by Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, p. 36.
[4] J. G. Georgi, *Les Nations samoyèdes*, Petrograd, 1777, pp. 15, 137, quoted in Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, p. 37.
[5] H. Melville, *Four Months among the Natives of the Marquesas Islands*, London, 1846, pp. 101, 210.
[6] Rivers, p. 245.
[7] E. Holub, 'On the Central S. African Tribes, from the South Coast to the Zambesi,' *JAI* x. [1881] 11.
[8] C. G. Seligmann, 'Some Aspects of the Hamitic Problem in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan,' *JRAI* xliii. [1913] 656 f.
[9] Melville, pp. 13, 245.
[10] J. Macdonald, 'Manners, Customs, Superstitions, and Religions of S. African Tribes,' *JAI* xix. [1890] 284.
[11] *NR* i. 189.
[12] J. Chalmers, *Pioneering in New Guinea*, London, 188? p. 65.

destroyed and it had to be thrown away.[1] Australian women were not allowed to see a *bora* under pain of death, and in Fiji they could not enter any temple.[2]

Reference to the customs attendant on the attainment of puberty, to initiation ceremonies—rites in themselves largely of a purificatory nature—will show the importance attached to the protection of one sex from the evil of the other, even when conveyed by such a means as the sight.

Among the Basutos, *e.g.*, no woman may come near the boys at their initiation.[3] The practice alluded to above of confining pubescent girls in seclusion both protects them from harm—barrenness appears to be the consequence most generally feared—and at the same time prevents defilement being conveyed to others. In New Ireland girls are kept in cages from puberty to marriage; during this period they must be seen by no males except their relatives;[4] and in Ceram no male must come near girls at the puberty ceremonies.[5]

The aim of preserving purity is, however, most clearly marked in the case of sexual crises such as menstruation, when both segregation and a subsequent ceremony are almost invariably practised.

Among the Pueblo Indians a man will fall ill if he touch a woman during menstruation or pregnancy.[6] In the Island of Yap there are special houses for menstruous women.[7] Among the Bathonga the woman separates from her husband, wears old clothes, which she brought from her home at her marriage for the purpose, and at the termination of the period purifies her hut.[8]

(*g*) *Contact of sacred and profane.*—Apart from the impurity which is the result of some specific act or contact, there is also an impurity which attaches normally to the individual, and becomes especially pronounced when he is brought into relation with things or persons of a tabu or 'sacred' character. This belief is responsible for such regulations as those which govern the relations of castes in India and for the secrecy surrounding the practice of the rites of the mystic religions of Greece, which found expression in a warning cry addressed to non-initiates, such as the 'Procul este, profani' of the Sibyl.[9] Instances of such beliefs are of frequent occurrence among primitive races.

Among the Polynesians the tabu character of a chief is violated by the touch of an inferior, although in this case the danger falls upon the inferior. On the other hand, in Efate the 'sacred man' who comes into contact with *namim* (ceremonial uncleanness) destroys his sacredness.[10] In Uganda, before building a temple, the men were given four days in which to purify themselves.[11] On the other hand, the chief and his belongings are very often regarded as sacred and therefore as dangerous to others of an inferior rank. In Tonga Island any one who touched a chief contracted tabu; it was removed by touching the sole of the foot of a superior chief.[12] The sacred quality of the chief in the Malay Peninsula also resided in the royal regalia, and any one touching it was visited with serious illness or death.[13]

Even the ordinary individual may in some degree possess this quality.

In New Zealand any one who touched the head of another received 'sacredness' from the contact.[14]

The impurity of the ordinary individual is responsible for the purificatory element in a number of ceremonies.

In the case of the ceremony of pouring drugs on the roof of the hut practised by the Thonga hunter the purification takes on a protective character. In the Mambura ceremony which precedes the circumcision of Kikuyu youths in the Masai fashion those who were present purified themselves by licking a little of the diatomaceous earth used in their purification ceremonies and then smearing themselves on throat and navel. The candidates themselves were purified by an elder with his principal wife, two sisters, and another elder; after smearing them with the white earth, he sprayed honey-beer upon them from his mouth. This purified them and at the same time protected them from any *thahu* which might otherwise pass from spectator to candidate.[1]

A most striking example of the influence of the relation of a sacred substance and profane society is to be found among the Todas, the whole of whose elaborate ritual and (it would not be too much to say) the whole basis of whose social organizat on are directed towards securing the ceremonial purity of the sacred herds, the sacred dairy, the vessels, and the milk, and of those whose duty it is to minister, the strictness and elaboration of the rules and methods to attain this object varying according to the degree of sacredness of each dairy. In the *ti* dairy, *e.g.*, the sacred vessels are always kept in a separate room, and the milk reaches them only by transfer to and from an intermediate vessel kept in another room. The priests or dairymen, of whom there are four grades, are admitted to office only after an elaborate ordination, which in effect is a purification, removing them from the ranks of ordinary men to a state of fitness for sacred office, while their conduct is governed by regulations such as those which permit only certain grades of priest to sleep in the village and only at certain times, or that which entails that a priest who attends a funeral should cease from that time from his sacred function. On the other hand, the milk, a sacred substance, is to be used by the profane, and in the migration ceremonies, when the dairies are moved from one village to another, the sacred vessels are open to profane view. It has therefore been conjectured that the aim of much of the ritual is to avert the dangers of profanation and prepare or neutralize the sacred substance for consumption by those who are themselves unclean.[2]

(*h*) *Contact of old and new; strangers; strange countries.*—It is a familiar dogma of primitive thought that anything new or doing anything for the first time entails peculiar dangers. Reference has already been made to this belief in connexion with other matters above. Its importance lies in the fact that it involves an endeavour to protect the agent by a purificatory ceremony in which the pollution of the former state is cast off. This is especially the case in seasonal festivals such as harvest, when it is held desirable to avoid all contact between the new crops and the old, or the influences connected with the old, in order that the former may not lose their virtue or harm those who consume them.

The peculiar *nanga* rites of the Fijians appear to have been in part an initiation and in part a firstfruit ceremony. In certain elements they were purificatory.[3] The firstfruit ceremonies of the Cherokee were accompanied by the clearing out and purification of the whole village, the taking of emetics, the throwing away of old and the wearing of new clothes, and other measures. The devil-driving ceremonies at harvest or at the end of the old year or beginning of the new year were sometimes a similar protection and sometimes a remedy for indifferent crops.

On the other hand, it is not only necessary to observe certain precautions to safeguard the virtues of the new crop; it is almost equally important that it should be neutralized or prepared for consumption by a purificatory process. This is the object of many of the firstfruit ceremonies which are observed.

The Bathonga regard it as dangerous for the subjects of the king to eat certain foods before they have undergone the *luma*, or purificatory process, in which they are mixed with royal drugs. The most important of these rites is the *luma* of Kafir corn, the staple crop.[4]

Another instance in which entry upon a new state requires special preparation is on the removal of a village from one site to another, when each dwelling and the community as a whole must be purified.[5]

A related idea, which, however, in its application is the converse of these practices, governs the precaution that must be taken in entering new ground or a new country. Here it is not a case of the new being protected from the profanation of the old, but those who are passing into it must be protected from its dangers. It is therefore customary for a purificatory ceremony to be performed before

1 W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*[2], London, 1832, i. 129; W. Ward, *A View of . . . the Hindoos*, London, 1817–20, ii. 13.
2 W. Ridley, 'Australian Languages and Traditions,' *JAI* ii. [1873] 271; T. Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*[2], London, 1860, pp. 232, 238.
3 K. Endemann, 'Mitteil. über die Sotho-Neger,' *ZE* vi. [1874] 37.
4 Danks, *JAI* xviii. 284 ff.
5 Riedel, p. 138.
6 *NR* i. 549.
7 A. Senfft, 'Ethnogr. Beiträge über die Karol. Yap,' in *Petermanns Mitteil.* xlix. [1903] 53.
8 Junod, i. 187.
9 Vergil, *Æn.* vi. 258.
10 D. Macdonald, *Oceania*, Melbourne and London, 1889, p. 181.
11 Roscoe, p. 293.
12 E. Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand*, London, 1843, ii. 105.
13 Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 23 f.
14 E. Shortland, *The Southern Districts of New Zealand*, London, 1851, p. 68.

1 Hobley, *JRAI* xl. 444 f.
2 Rivers, p. 231 ff
3 Thomson, *Fijians*, pp. 146 ff., 216 ff.
4 Junod, i. 366 f.
5 For a description of the elaborate Bathonga ceremonial see Junod, i. 290 f.

crossing the borders from the known to the unknown. That that which is outside or strange is powerful for evil unless neutralized is a familiar belief.

Among the Bathonga it is believed that those who travel outside their own country are peculiarly open to danger from foreign spiritual influence, and in particular from demoniac possession.[1] Strangers are tabu because, worshipping strange gods, they bring strange influences with them. They are, therefore, fumigated or purified in some other way.[2] In the Dieri and neighbouring tribes even a member of the tribe returning home after a journey was treated as a stranger, and no notice was taken of him until he sat down.

In the same manner those entering a house from the outside world should perform some ceremony, even if it were only to remove their shoes, which would purify the incomer from the evil with which otherwise he might contaminate those within, while the threshold, door-posts, and lintel—important as points of contact with the outer world—are smeared with blood or sprinkled with water when any member of the household or of the community has become a source of pollution, or a horseshoe is suspended over the door to keep out evil and bring good luck.

The danger of entering a new country is as great as that which attaches to those who come thence.

In Australia, when one tribe approaches another, the members carry lighted sticks to purify the air,[3] just as the Spartan kings in making war had sacred fires from the altar carried before them to the frontier, where they sacrificed. This attitude towards a foreign country and those who belong to it is perhaps best expressed in that passage in the Vedas which is the basis of the rule that higher castes lose caste if they cross the sea or sojourn beyond the recognized borders of their land. Manu[4] says: 'That land on which the black antelope naturally grazes is held fit for the performance of sacrifices; but the land of foreigners is beyond it. . . . Let the three first classes [Brāhmans, Kṣatriyas, and Vaiśyas] invariably dwell in the above-named countries; but a Śūdra may sojourn wherever he chooses.' In the *Brāhmaṇas* it is said that Agni, the fire-god, flashed with fire over five rivers and as far as he burnt the Aryas could live.[5]

(*i*) *Illness.*—Illness, frequently attributed to the influence of spirits or to violation of the regulations of ceremonial purity, may itself be regarded as a source of defilement for others.

In Borneo the Kayans hang leaves of *long* (a species of caladium) and a large sun-hat on the door of a sick-room to signify that it is tabu. In returning thanks for recovery from a long illness an altar consisting of a bamboo is set up; the upper part is split and a fresh fowl's egg inserted.[6]

While the use of the egg suggests a propitiatory offering to the *toh*, or spirits, upon whom rests the responsibility for punishing the infringement of any tabu, the use of the split bamboo may be compared with the split bamboo through which the mourners step in a funeral ceremony (see below), and further with the custom of passing through a fissure in a tree as a charm in the case of deformity or illness.[7] The purificatory intention of the ceremony in which propitiatory offerings of eggs and fowls are made to the *toh* when a tabu is infringed is indicated by the sprinkling of the culprits with the blood of young fowls or pigs, which is performed by the chief.[8] As a rule, however, the purificatory element in observances connected with illness, whether directed against the dangers of contact or intended for the benefit of the sufferer, can be readily distinguished.

The Beni Amer cure their sick by bathing them in the blood of a girl or some animal; or the blood of a goat is poured over the man's head or body.[9] Changing the name, a method of putting away the past at a critical moment, was one means employed by the Dayak to rid himself of dangerous influences after a serious illness.[1] In Fiji disease was often introduced by foreigners, and strangers were therefore quarantined and sometimes killed. In the Marquesas on one occasion the natives of Kau Atolls disinfected or disenchanted the crew of a European vessel at the end of a conference held at sea; one man in each Marquesan canoe held a handful of ashes wrapped in leaves, which he scattered in the air at the close of the interview. In Normanby Island, in the D'Entrecasteaux group, the natives would not hold parley with an exploring party until an old man had chewed a scented bark and spat it over the visitors and his own party.[2] The use of the sweat-house in America as a cure for disease is largely, though not entirely, magical; its use in ceremonial purification is frequent. The vapour bath also appears in African ceremonial. Among the Bathonga it is employed both as a cure for certain complaints, especially when a ritual defilement is feared, and after a death. Further, among the same people an obligatory ceremonial purification, in which the patient, sitting on a mat, rubs himself with *psanyi* (the half-liquid contents of a goat's stomach) mixed with drugs, follows a successful treatment of a serious disease 'to disperse the bloods which have made him sick so that they cannot return to him violently.' This ceremony is also obligatory after weaning. The drugs themselves of the medicine-man are subjected to an annual ceremony in which they are purified and renewed by the addition of new material (part of which is dried and part roasted, the whole village assembling to inhale the smoke); a goat is sacrificed, and *psanyi* squeezed on the burning drugs to put them out. The ceremony of renewing the drugs cast away the evils and misfortunes of the old year and prepared the community for the year to come, in the words of the medicine-man, 'that it may not be too heavy for us.'[3]

3. **Results following from ceremonial impurity.**—The consequences which are thought to follow upon an act involving loss of purity or upon failure to remove pollution when incurred help to throw light upon the nature of the conception as it exists among primitive peoples. Not only is the ceremonial character of these beliefs clear, but at the same time it is apparent that any attempt to ward off these consequences is frequently undertaken as much in the interest of the community as in that of the individual.

Sometimes the consequences of impurity are conceived only in a vague way: ill-luck or danger follows transgression. At other times the form which the danger will take is precisely defined.

One form of evil which frequently follows loss of purity, especially after contact with a corpse, is illness and death. The danger may be general, affecting the whole community, or it may attack the individual and spread from him to others, or it may be confined to the one person contaminated.

An instance in the first category occurs in Rajmahal, where incest is followed by plague or the ravages of tigers.[4] The same offence among the Khasis, in this case in the form of contravention of the laws of exogamy, leads to great disasters, people being killed by lightning and women dying in childbed.[5] On the other hand, such an individual misfortune as barrenness may be the consequence. The Dinkas and the Bathonga regard incest as the cause of barrenness,[6] while among the Sulka of New Britain the death of both guilty parties ensues as a result of the fatal pollution that they have contracted.[7] Barrenness is frequently regarded as a consequence of the infringement of regulations governing conduct at puberty. It is necessary that a Baganda girl should immediately inform her parents of her condition, that her father may perform the ceremonial act of jumping over her mother at the end of the period; otherwise barrenness followed. The Akamba hold that a like result follows from disregard of the prohibition of the use of public paths to girls at their first menstruation. This comes about if they should leave a spot of blood on the path and a man have connexion with a woman after stepping over it.[8] Among the Thompson Indians, again, should any of the purificatory ceremonies and prohibitions which should follow a death be omitted or neglected, it is believed that the culprits will suffer from sore throat, loss of voice, or loss of sight.[9] An Akikuyu who is under the ban of *thahu* must be relieved, or he will suffer from boils and probably die.[10] In New Zealand the breaking of a tabu entailed punishment by the *atua*, or spirits; this took the form of deadly sickness or disease.[11] A Thonga hunter who failed to perform the requisite rites after killing an eland ran the risk of losing his head and of being unable to find the way home, while a similar neglect, if his wife were travelling with him at

[1] Junod, ii. 433 f. [2] Crawley, *FL* vi. 136 f.
[3] R. Brough Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*, Melbourne and London, 1878, i. 134.
[4] ii. 23 f.
[5] For discussion of this point in relation to caste see R. V. Russell and Rai Bahadur Hīra Lāl, *The Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, London, 1916, i. 16 ff.
[6] C. Hose and W. McDougall, *The Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, London, 1912, ii. 7 f.
[7] See *GB*[3], pt. vi., *The Scapegoat*, p. 54 f.
[8] Hose-McDougall, ii. 8, 26. [9] Munzinger, p. 310.

[1] St. John[2], pp. 1, 78. [2] Thomson, *Fijians*, p. 243 ff.
[3] Junod, ii. 416, 426 f. [4] T. Shaw, *loc. cit.*
[5] P. R. T. Gurdon, *The Khasis*[2], London, 1914, p. 94.
[6] Seligmann, *loc. cit.*; Junod, i. 242.
[7] Rascher, *loc. cit.*
[8] Roscoe, p. 80; C. W. Hobley, *The Ethnology of A-Kamba and other East African Tribes*, Cambridge, 1910, p. 65.
[9] Hill-Tout, p. 209. [10] Hobley, *JRAI* xl. 428.
[11] *Old New Zealand*, by a Pakeha Maori, London, 1863, p. 94.

the time, brought misfortune on their child, which became weak, miserable, and emaciated. Ritual defilement was also held by this people to be the cause of many forms of disease, but in particular of swelling of the hands, feet, and joints, and of pains in the bones.[1] Among the Basuto, if the medicine-man did not perform the purificatory ceremony which should follow childbirth, the father swelled up and died.[2]

Insanity not infrequently followed as a consequence of a death by violence unless atonement by purification were made.

Among the Awemba the slayer of a man was believed to go mad.[3] In Fiji, should any of the uninitiated see those who are being initiated in the *nanga* rites, they become insane.[4]

This form of penalty is not uncommonly associated with the idea that vengeance for the violation of the tabu is the work of the spirits of the dead.

Thonga warriors, until purified, are in great danger from the spirits and run the risk of becoming insane, and for the same reason after a death all members of the community cut their hair to a degree of shortness determined by their connexion with the deceased.[5] Among the Greenland Eskimo the spirit of a murdered man will torment his murderer until it frightens him to death, or, if he goes on the ice after neglect of the rites and regulations following death, may tear him to pieces.[6]

That the fear of ghosts or spirits lay at the root of the purificatory ceremony and that those who were ceremonially impure were peculiarly susceptible to their attacks is in many cases either expressly stated or implied. In addition to the cases already mentioned in which insanity, disease, or death caused by spirits is to be feared, attention may be called to the ceremonial as a whole of those Indian tribes of N. America to which reference has already been made. In some matters it is directly stated that the danger apprehended comes from the ghost; in others the character of the belief is such as to justify the same explanation.

The guests at the funeral feasts, *e.g.*, would not eat, drink, or smoke in the open air after sunset, nor did they sleep for four days for fear of ghosts. Widows underwent a ceremonial purification in order that they might be long-lived and innocuous to their second husbands, while among some tribes a protective breech-cloth was worn for some days. The sleeping-place of a dead man in the hut was not occupied for a considerable period, and then first by an adult male for four nights in succession.[7] In Africa—*e.g.*, in Uganda, among the Basutos, and among other peoples — the purificatory ceremonial is intended to lay the ghost and prevent its troubling those upon whom lies the responsibility of causing death.[8]

That fear for the community rather than for the individual is the more potent influence is suggested by the number of prohibitions connected with food and the precautions taken to preserve the food-supply from contamination. Food should on no account come into contact with impure persons.

No Basuto who is unclean should handle the corn when it is exposed to view.[9] Reference has been made above to the precautions taken in Morocco to protect the corn from the adverse influence of women and those polluted by sexual intercourse. After a death the Bathonga perform a ceremony purifying the food which belonged to the dead man.[10]

Everywhere, in eating and drinking, the impure must avoid touching food with their hands or follow certain rules which mitigate the danger.

Among the American Indian tribes those who take part in a burial or who are nearly related to the deceased must refrain from fresh meat for a period; their food should be cold and not cut with a knife, but torn with the teeth; they must be fed by others or eat with the help of a twig, and must drink from a special vessel which they carry with them.[11] In Samoa relatives of the deceased must be fed by others. The Bathonga require those who are unclean—*e.g.*, widows, those who have helped to bury the corpse, or those suffering from a disease which is the result of defilement—to eat with spoons and drink from their own cups, while victorious warriors who have killed eat with special spoons from special plates or broken pots and take their food cold, lest, being hot themselves, they swell internally.[12] Among the Thompson Indians, if an unpurified widow gathered berries, the whole crop would fall off the bushes or wither up. If a widower transferred a trout from one lake to another, he had to remove the pollution of his touch by chewing deer-fat and spitting some of it on the fish before he let it go, bidding it farewell and telling it to propagate its kind.[1]

The implication in these cases is that contact with pollution would endanger a whole species or class.

It is, however, particularly in connexion with sexual impurity that the prosperity of the crops is involved. Illicit love is held to blight the crops, while at certain seasons legitimate relations must be suspended.

In Arabia those who tended the incense-trees were required to be free from the pollution of sexual relation and of death. Ceremonial purity increased the crop.[2] Among the Karens bad crops were the consequence of adultery.[3] If the Battak found an unmarried woman with child, she was married at once; otherwise the crops failed.[4] The purificatory ceremony of Celebes in which the blood of the sacrificial goat or buffalo, substituted for the human victims guilty of incest, was poured on the field was intended to preserve or restore their fertility.[5] Among the Dayaks incest and bigamy, and among the Torajas of Central Celebes unnatural unions, were believed to be the cause of incessant rainfall.[6]

Laxity in sexual matters or acts in contravention of sexual tabus involved other penalties, in particular through sympathetic ties. The belief that the conduct of the wife affected the success or safety of the husband while he was absent at war or on the chase is of frequent occurrence.

The Dayaks believed that, if the wife was unfaithful, the husband would lose his life.[7] A somewhat similar example, in which the consequence by sympathy falls upon another as well as the guilty party, occurs among the northern Bathonga. When a community moves its village to a new site, sexual relations are forbidden until renewed ritually as part of the purification of the community in its new quarters. Any violation of this tabu is followed by the illness or paralysis of the headman, while the woman herself becomes barren, and the work of removal must begin again.[8]

4. **The purification ceremony.**—(*a*) *Water.*—One of the mediums most frequently employed to dispel impurity, as well as one of the simplest, is water either in aspersion or in ablution.

On the fifth day after handling a corpse the Samoan, who between that day and the time of the pollution was not allowed to handle food but was fed by others, bathed his face and hands with hot water.[9] After an interment on the Gold Coast those who have touched the corpse go to the nearest brook and sprinkle themselves with water.[10]

Water is frequently used as a purifying agent in other cases in which also the idea of its cleansing properties is prominent, as, *e.g.*, after childbirth, when both mother and child are thoroughly washed.

One of the duties of the Eskimo mother is to wash herself completely after the birth.[11] The Malays purify mother and child by washing them in warm water, and this is repeated every morning and evening for some time.[12] The first act of the Uganda mother, on leaving the hut after seclusion, is to wash herself; the sponge which she uses is sent to her husband, and with it he washes the private parts of his body.

Bathing at the public bath has already been mentioned above as one of the most important items in the ceremonial preceding marriage in Muhammadan countries. In Morocco at Fez the bride is purified with water and henna. On the fifth, fourth, and third days before the wedding she goes to the hot bath, and on the last occasion seven buckets of lukewarm water are poured on her by seven women, 'so that she shall have no quarrel with her husband.'[13] In S. Celebes the bridegroom bathes in holy water, while the bride is fumigated.[14] In Abyssinia for several days before the marriage the bride performs ablutions and restricts her diet,[15] while the Matabele bride, on arriving at the bridegroom's hut, pours water over him.[16]

The physical contact in such cases probably both suggests the remedy and is responsible for its

1 Junod, ii. 58, 426.
2 Grützner, *loc. cit.*
3 Sheane, *loc. cit.*
4 Thomson, *Fijians*, p. 155.
5 Junod, i. 145, ii. 453.
6 Rasmussen, pp. 128–130, 133 f.
7 Hill-Tout, p. 203 ff.
8 See H. H. Johnston, *The Uganda Protectorate*, London, 1902, ii. 743 f.; Casalis, p. 258; Junod, ii. 453; see also *GB*[3], pt. ii., *Taboo*, p. 165 f.
9 Casalis, p. 252.
10 Junod, i. 146.
11 Hill-Tout, p. 206.
12 Junod, i. 145, ii. 434, 453.

1 Hill-Tout, p. 209.
2 Pliny, *HN* xii. 54.
3 Mason, *JASBe* xxxvii. pt. ii. p. 147 ff.
4 J. B. Neumann, quoted in *GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, ii. 108.
5 Kruijt, quoted by Frazer, *Psyche's Task*[2], p. 53.
6 H. Ling Roth, *JAI* xxi. 113 f.; A. C. Kruijt in *Tijd. voor Ind. Taal.* xliv. [1901] 4.
7 F. E. Hewitt, 'Some Sea-Dayak Tabus,' *Man*, viii. [1908] 187.
8 Junod, i. 290 f.
9 G. Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, London, 1861, p. 228.
10 A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of W. Africa*, London, 1887, p. 241.
11 Rasmussen, p. 120.
12 Skeat, p. 334 f.
13 Westermarck, *Marriage Customs in Morocco*, p. 136.
14 Matthes, p. 21.
15 Featherman, iii. 604.
16 Decle, *JAI* xxiii. 84.

simplicity. On the other hand, simple lustration may be employed where the idea of superficial contact has given way to one of ingrained and essential impurity.

In Ireland, according to the legend, in the kingdom of Munster, the crops were blighted by the incest of the king and his sister. The nobles demanded their offspring in order that they might be burned and their ashes cast into the stream. One of the princes was saved by being sent out of the kingdom to a Druid, who purified him daily by placing him on a white cow with red ears and pouring water over him.[1]

Water may be used, possibly to some extent in a symbolical sense, as the final mark of separation from a previous state at a critical stage in the life-history of the individual. As has already been stated, initiation ceremonies usually include, as part of their ceremonial, some form of purificatory operation.

The Kurnai initiation ceremony, in which the boys and their mothers sprinkle one another with water, signifies, it is said, that the boys are no longer under their mothers' control.[2] The Hausas of Tunis practise a ceremonial purification of half-a-dozen boys and girls before the harvest. They are shut up in a large house for a period during which they are stuffed with food to make them strong, and taught the Bori dances as well as their duty to totem and clan. At the end of the period the medicine-man washes the boys and the medicine-woman washes the girls in the forest. In both cases the washing is medicinal.[3]

The last instance presents two features which commonly occur: (1) the fortification of the purificatory agent by medicine, and (2) the intervention of the medicine-man, the expert in these sacred matters. Both these elements tend to become more prominent as greater attention is paid to the spiritual or magical side, the manifestation of which, however, is still conceived as material and to be treated on material lines.

At a Boloki funeral a trench about 20 ft. long is dug, and the mourners take up their position on the side nearer the grave. The medicine-man's assistant pours water into one end of the trench, and the medicine-man then helps the mourners over the trench as the water runs down.[4]

In this ceremony the idea of the cleansing power of water has given way to that of the magical efficacy of running water as a barrier which the noxious influence of the ghosts is unable to pass. On the other hand, the two ideas combine in the Thonga cure for childlessness in which the medicine-man pours water over a married couple who have no children.[5] The class of regular or professional hunters also fortified with drugs the water used in the purificatory ceremony performed before they set out on a journey.

A pot of drugs was cooked, in the froth of which the hunter washed himself. He then poured the contents of the pot on the roof and allowed the water to drip on him as he entered the hut. The medicine-man at the same time uttered a prayer and incantation: 'Go and be happy. Though the rain will fall on you, though the dew make you wet, when you sleep you will be everywhere as in a hut,' and so forth, making it clear that the object of the ceremony was to protect him from the dangers of the bush.[6]

That this ceremony is purificatory rather than protective, as might be thought from the character of the prayer, is indicated by the further condition which must be observed to secure not merely success but also safety in hunting. Sometimes a fowl is sacrificed, but only children may eat it; the hunter must not partake, must not touch salt, and must abstain from sexual relations; *i.e.*, he must in all respects be pure.

Water is used in various ways in a number of ceremonies connected with special seasons of the year. In many places, *e.g.*, a water fight follows the bringing in of the harvest or the last sheaf, or an individual may be attacked with water, usually by women. As a general rule these practices must be regarded as rain charms. Sometimes, however, they have a purificatory intention.

In Burma, at the end of the solar year in April, when a great feast lasting several days took place, in order to wash away the impurities of the past and commence the new year free from stain, it was the custom on the last day for the women to throw water over every man they met, and for the men to retort. A visitor, on entering the house of a dignitary, was met by the family and presented with a bottle of rose-water, a little of which was poured into the hand of the host, who sprinkled it over himself. The mistress of the house poured a little rose-water over the host, and then over each of the guests, after which a water fight began.[1]

(*b*) *Other detergents.*—In the use of water as a purifying agent it would be reasonable to assume an obvious connexion in idea with its effect in cleansing physical impurity. The same idea may be at the root of the use of other materials.

In the Kai Islands the warriors smear themselves with the juice of a disinfecting plant. The Akikuyu remove *thahu* by a process of lustration which in the more serious cases is performed by the medicine-man or the native council. The slaughter of a sheep accompanies the ceremony, and they smear themselves or are smeared by the medicine-man with the contents of the stomach and with a white diatomaceous earth.[2] Such a custom as the complete smearing of a Kafir woman with green and red clay after childbirth[3] is perhaps connected with the custom of donning new clothes at the end of mourning or after a period of seclusion due to ceremonial impurity. In New Britain men guilty of unchastity may rid themselves of the taint by drinking sea-water in which cocoa-nut and ginger have been shredded. They are then thrown into the sea and, on emergence, throw away their dripping clothes.[4]

(*c*) *Changing clothes, cutting hair, nails, etc.*—

The Eskimo mother after childbirth begins to make herself a new suit of clothes.[5] The Thonga woman is rigorously secluded from her husband at the regular periods, sleeps on a special mat, and wears special clothes which she brought with her at her marriage. At the end of the period she puts on her ordinary clothes once more. A woman who loses an infant is deeply defiled, and after a period of impurity of some two or three months' duration she undergoes purification in a ceremonial sexual act by her husband, and then buys new clothes.[6]

New clothes, however, are rather a sign of the termination of a period of uncleanness than a purification. In mourning they mark the close of the period of danger to others—the final putting off of the pollution of death.

At the end of the Thonga purification of the warriors everything that they had used during the tabu period was tied in a bundle with their clothes and hung on a tree at some distance from the village, and left to rot.[7] Among the Kayans, after the termination of the mourning in a ceremony for which a freshly-taken human head was required and in which every one had been sprinkled with the blood of a sacrifice of pigs and fowls, mourning garb was laid aside and new clothes put on.[8]

The complete severance with the old and impure life which is brought about by the purification ceremony is further marked in some cases by changes or modifications of the toilet.

On the death of a relative the eyebrows or head may be shaved, as in the case of the Baganda warriors mentioned above, whose heads are shaved on their return from battle; or, on the contrary, the hair and finger- and toe-nails may be allowed to grow. The Bathonga cut their hair completely for the death of a near relative, the operation being performed by a doctor or some one who knows the correct method.[9] The father and mother of twins among the Baganda allow their hair and nails to grow until the purification ceremony, when they are cut and wrapped in bark cloths. They are kept until the men go to war. At the end of the period of mourning for the king all shaved their heads, cut their nails, and put on new clothes.[10] The Lillooets on the fifth day after a burial—a period spent in fasting and ceremonial ablution—had their hair cut by the mortuary shaman who prepared the corpse for burial. They then returned to their homes and painted their faces, while the hair which had been cut was rolled up into a ball, taken into the forest, and fastened to a tree.[11]

(*d*) *Artificial stimulation of natural processes.*—Other methods, based in an equal degree on getting

[1] G. Keating, *The Hist. of Ireland*, Eng. tr., New York, 1857, p. 337 ff.
[2] Fison and Howitt, p. 197 *f.*
[3] A. J. N. Tremearne, *The Ban of the Bori*, London [1914], p. 110 *f.*
[4] J. H. Weeks, *Among Congo Cannibals*, London, 1913, p. 102 *f.*
[5] Junod, ii. 426.
[6] *Ib.* ii. 58.
[1] M. Symes, 'Account of an Embassy to . . . Ava . . . in 1795,' in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, London, 1808–14, ix. 434 *f.*
[2] Hobley, *JRAI* xl. 429.
[3] J. Maclean, *A Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs*, Cape Town, 1866, p. 94.
[4] Rascher, *AA* xxix. 211.
[5] Rasmussen, *loc. cit.*
[6] Junod, i. 187, 190.
[7] *Ib.* ii. 453.
[8] Hose-McDougall, ii. 38.
[9] Junod, i. 146.
[10] Roscoe, pp. 68 *f.*, 119 *f.*
[11] Hill-Tout, p. 200 *f.*

rid of all influence of the past, depend upon an artificial stimulation of natural processes.

Before the new season's corn can be eaten, an emetic must be taken.[1] In Fiji one of the first acts after a birth is to give the infant an emetic.[2] Pastoral and cow-keeping tribes in Africa, such as the Masai or the Nandi, require a certain period of time to elapse between the eating, in some cases, of meat, in others, of vegetables, and the drinking of milk.[3] The Shawanese boys during the period of their preparation for initiation took an emetic at regular intervals. The Seminoles took 'black drink,' which was supposed to efface from their minds all wrongs that they had committed and to endue them with courage.[4] The Lillooet widower induced vomiting by means of a stick thrust down the throat.[5]

(*e*) *The sweat-bath.* — Among N. American Indians the employment of the sweat-bath is almost universal as a means of removing physical impurities. It also serves by analogy to remove spiritual influences, to cure illness, and to remove ceremonial impurity. A widower during the period of seclusion is required to bathe frequently in a special sweat-house erected near a stream.[6]

(*f*) *Beating and other forms of expulsion of material evils.*—A method which showed a combination of the belief in the material and spiritual character of defilement was followed in Car Nicobar.

A man possessed of devils was rubbed all over with a pig's blood and beaten with leaves, the idea being that the devils were swept off by the leaves, which were then folded up and tied tightly with string. Before daybreak all the packets of devils were thrown into the sea.[7]

The purificatory ceremony of driving out the devils is sometimes practised on an extensive scale, especially at critical seasons of the year such as before or after a harvest.

The Iroquois practised an annual expulsion of evils, while at the Cherokee New Year festival all old clothes were burnt and pots, pans, and utensils were broken, all cabins swept clean, provisions destroyed, and all fires extinguished. The warriors took medicine and fasted for three days, abstaining from sexual intercourse, while all malefactors were pardoned. On the festival day new clothes were donned, new fires lighted, and the new corn cooked and eaten.[8] On the other hand, the Nicobarese method of dealing with the physical side of the belief finds its analogy in the Navaho custom of scraping the body with a bundle of stuff and blowing away the evil from the bundle through the smoke-hole of the dwelling;[9] or the New Hebrides custom of sprinkling or pouring water from a coco-nut or of drawing a forked branch of a particular plant over the body.[10] The tribes of N.W. Canada — *e.g.*, the Thompson Indians—after a death passed through rose-bushes, the object no doubt being to leave the impurity behind them as the thorns entangled their flesh or garments. The rose-branches that formed part of the beds on which they slept during the period of impurity were in like manner doubtless intended to entangle the ghosts whose attacks they feared. They also cleaned themselves with fresh fir-twigs morning and evening for a period of one year.[11]

(*g*) *The use of blood.*—Blood, being of extreme importance in ritual, not unnaturally figures prominently in many purificatory acts, both as a cleansing agent and as a symbol.

The Caribs washed the new-born infant in some of the blood of the father.[12] But the blood with which the ceremony is performed is more commonly that of the victim offered by the guilty or unclean in part as an expiation of their offence. In cases of adultery—*e.g.*, that in Rajmahal cited above—both parties are sprinkled with the blood of the hog furnished by the lover. Among the Dayaks the incessant rain caused by sexual irregularity is stayed by the use of the blood of a pig to purify the earth and atone for the moral guilt.[13] The pollution may attach more particularly to the dwelling. The Batang Lupar Dayaks, in cases of a daughter's frailty, sacrifice a pig and sprinkle blood on the doorway to wash away the sin.[14] For incest the tribes of Borneo purify the household with the blood of pigs and fowls, the property of the offenders,[1] while in Ceram every house in the village is smeared with blood.[2]

Blood is also used as a medium of purification in other cases than sexual impurity—*e.g.*, death from other than natural causes, when the blood of a sacrificial animal may be used.

In the Cameroons an accidental death is expiated by the sacrifice of an animal, with the blood of which the relatives of both slayer and slain and all present are smeared.[3]

Blood is also used in the interesting ceremony called 'the purifying' which forms a part of the complicated Toda funeral rites.

At the second funeral, which takes place some time after the first and simpler ceremony, the blood of a buffalo is mixed in a cup with powdered *tudr*-bark. A Teivali man, dressed in the mantle of the deceased and many ornaments, accompanied by a *wursol* (dairyman-priest), walks to a female buffalo-calf under one year old, the *wursol* throwing the blood from the cup as he goes before and behind him. On reaching the calf, the Teivali man hangs a bell on its neck, and the *wursol* touches the remains three times with bow and arrow. The calf is driven away, and all fall down touching the earth with their foreheads. The skull and hair of the deceased are then rubbed with the blood and *tudr*-bark. The object of the ceremony is apparently that any one who in his lifetime has not been purified by the sacred *tudr*-bark, which is used in the ordination of the dairyman-priest, should be so purified after death.[4]

(*h*) *Death or excommunication of offender.*—The use of blood in purification ceremonies appears to be due to one of two distinct trains of thought. In some cases, such as those already cited, the use of blood seems to be dictated largely, if not entirely, by a belief in its purificatory qualities. If, however, these instances are examined more closely and especially in relation to the general character of the belief in purification, it will appear that this belief in all probability is a growth from the desire to rid the community of an individual whose conduct has endangered himself and the community in which he lives. As this usually involves in serious cases the death or exile of the offender, what is objectively a purification of the community becomes subjectively a punishment. This connexion between punishment and purification is particularly apparent in the case of sexual crime. While the purificatory ceremony involves the use of sacrificial blood, the animal to be sacrificed must be furnished by the offenders. This may in itself be regarded as a punishment by fine.

In Rajmahal, as stated, the pig required by the ceremonial is furnished by the adulterer. Among the Nias of Sumatra, who regard rain as the tears of the god weeping at adultery or fornication, the culprits are buried in a narrow grave with their heads projecting and are then stabbed in the throat with knives; then the grave is filled up; or they may be buried alive.[5] Among the pagan tribes of Sarawak a bamboo is driven through the hearts of the offenders into the ground, where it is left to take root. But it is said that this is rarely done, because it is difficult to get any one to assume the responsibility of taking life. Therefore a commoner method is to put the offenders in a cage and throw them into a river.

(*i*) *Substitution of expiatory victim.*—Among the Torajas of the Celebes adultery is punished by the spear, but incest by throttling. This aversion from shedding the blood of the incestuous is not infrequent and is, it is to be presumed, to be attributed to a fear that the blood of a person already infected is noxious in an enhanced degree — so much so that sometimes a goat or buffalo is sacrificed and the blood mixed with water is poured on the fields to appease the spirits and restore fertility.[6] This doctrine of substitution is frequently encountered in connexion with sexual crimes. It is clear that it is a case of substitution arising out of a disinclination to spill the blood of the guilty, and not primarily a propitiatory offering.

---

[1] See art. HARVEST.
[2] Thomson, *Fijians*, p. 211.
[3] See art. PASTORAL PEOPLES, § 4 (*e*).
[4] Featherman, iii. 171, 182.
[5] Hill-Tout, p. 203.
[6] *Ib.* p. 202.
[7] V. Solomon, 'Extracts from Diaries kept in Car Nicobar,' *JAI* xxxii. [1902] 227.
[8] Featherman, iii. 187. For further reference to purification by the public expulsion of evils see *GB*[3], pt. vi., *The Scapegoat*, p. 128 ff.
[9] W. Matthews, 'The Mountain Chant, a Navajo Ceremony,' *5 RBEW* (1887), p. 420.
[10] B. T. Somerville, 'Notes on some Islands of the New Hebrides,' *JAI* xxiii. 12.
[11] Hill-Tout, p. 208 *f.*
[12] J. G. Müller, *Gesch. der amerikan. Urreligionen*, Basel, 1867, quoted by Jevons, p. 76.
[13] H. Ling Roth, *loc. cit.*
[14] St. John[2], i. 63.

[1] Hose-McDougall, ii. 198.
[2] A. Bastian, *Indonesien*, Berlin, 1884–89, i. 144.
[3] Autenrieth, *Mitteil. Geogr. Gesellsch.* xii. 93.
[4] Rivers, p. 372 ff.
[5] H. Sundermann, *Die Insel Nias*, Barmen, 1905, p. 34.
[6] Hissink, quoted in Frazer, *Psyche's Task*[2], p. 58 f.

In the Dayak ceremony of *bergapüt*, preparatory to the marriage of first cousins,[1] the couple go to the river and fill a small pitcher with personal belongings and sink it in the river. They also fling a plate and chopper into the water. A pig is sacrificed on the bank, and the carcass, when drained of blood, is thrown into the water. The pair themselves are then pushed into the water and made to bathe together. Finally a joint of a bamboo is filled with blood, and the couple parade the country sprinkling blood as they go.[2] In another case, among the Kayans, in a closely analogous practice, the idea of substitution or mitigation is still more clearly indicated. The property of the pair is smeared with blood, eggs are sent floating down stream, and the pair, as they come out of the water, are attacked with grass blades representing spears.[3] A still more significant case is that of the Tomori expiatory (purificatory) ceremony for the marriage of uncle and niece—again a case of incest—in which a garment of each is laid on an open vessel, the blood of a sacrificed animal is allowed to drip on to them, and the vessel with its contents is set to float down the river.[4]

(*j*) *Parts of victim other than blood.*—An act of purification may be performed with parts of the sacrificial animal other than the blood.

After the bathing of the returned Basuto warriors in the stream it is sometimes the custom of the chief to complete the ceremony by the sacrifice of an ox in the presence of the army, with the gall of which the warriors are smeared.[5]

On the Wanigela river in British New Guinea a man who has taken life is unclean and is segregated from the community until he has undergone certain ceremonies. As part of the ceremony he hunts and kills a kangaroo, which is cut open and whose spleen and liver are rubbed over his back. He then goes to the nearest water and washes himself straddle-legged, while the young warriors of the village swim between his legs.[6]

A custom of interest in connexion with the reverence for grass which exists among pastoral peoples is found among the peoples of the eastern side of the African continent, extending from the Dinkas in the north to the Bathonga in the south. This is the use in nearly all the purification ceremonies of the half-digested grass found in the stomachs of goats, bullocks, or sheep, when killed, with which the person undergoing the ceremony is smeared. In cases of incest among the Dinkas, the abdomen of the guilty man or woman is smeared with the contents of the large intestine of a bullock. Among the Bathonga cousins who marry are purified and saved from the consequence of their sin by a ceremony in which they are smeared with *psanyi*. A hole is cut in the goat-skin, in which the heads of the pair are inserted. The medicine-man's assistants take *psanyi* and place it on the head of the bride, saying, 'Go and bear children.'[7] The use of cow-dung—*e.g.*, by the Kavirondo in the purification of warriors returning from war in which they have killed, when they are smeared with this substance by their friends and their heads shaved, or among the Wa-wanga when the warrior must smear with dung the cheeks of his wives and children as he enters the hut—not improbably must be traced to the same idea as inspires the use of *psanyi*.[8]

The custom of clothing the subject in the skin of the goat or sheep or making an anklet or wristlet of the skin is also frequent among these tribes. The Thonga hunter made one for his wife if he killed an eland while bringing her home.[9] Among some of the Indians of N. America it is also customary to wear a circlet of willow withies round the waist or a thong of buck-skin round the wrist, ankle, neck, or knee.[10]

(*k*) *Fire and fumigation.*—Fire, or the concomitant smoke, and incense are other means which are held to be efficacious in dealing with defilement.

The less serious *thahu* are removed by means of smoke among the Akikuyu.[11] In the Kakadu tribe of Australia after a death a circle of grass is made, in the middle of which is placed the bark in which the corpse was wrapped when it was carried to the grave. All the possessions of the camp, but especially the dilly bags of the women, are then purified by smoke from the fired grass, while the men of the tribe pour water over one another and rub themselves with charcoal.[12] Jumping across a fire in preparation for a journey was at one time practised in Persia,[13] and the custom has already been noted above in connexion with the boys' seclusion among the Bathonga. The great fire festivals of the European peasantry, as well as the fire-walking ceremony, appear in like manner to have for their object the general freeing of the community in the districts from evil influences and evil spirits, and therefore, like the devil-driving or devil-clearing ceremonies, may be regarded in a broad sense as purificatory in intention.[1]

(*l*) *Transference of impurity; the scapegoat.*—The principle of the transmissibility of impurity was sometimes called into play in order to remove the defilement. It was transferred to some one who was already tabu.

In New Zealand, if any one touched the head of another, the head being a peculiarly 'sacred' part of the body, he became tabu. He purified himself by rubbing his hands on fern-root, which was then eaten by the head of the family in the female line.[2] In Tonga, if a man ate tabued food, he saved himself from the evil consequences by placing the foot of a chief on his stomach.[3]

The idea of transmission also appears in the custom of the scapegoat.

In Fiji a tabued person wiped his hands on a pig, which became sacred to the chief,[4] while in Uganda at the end of the period of mourning for a king a 'scapegoat,' along with a cow, a goat, a dog, a fowl, and the dust and fire from the king's house, was conveyed to the Bunyoro frontier, and there the animals were maimed and left to die. This practice was held to remove all uncleanness from king and queen.[5]

The same idea underlies the practice of sin-eating (*q.v.*), by which the sins of the dead are assumed by any stranger who may eat of a cake and other food prepared for the purpose.[6]

LITERATURE.—A. E. Crawley, 'Taboos of Commensality,' *FL* vi. [1895] 130 ff., *The Mystic Rose*, London, 1902; L. R. Farnell, *The Evolution of Religion*, do. 1905; J. G. Frazer, 'On Certain Burial Customs as illustrative of the Primitive Theory of the Soul,' *JAI* xv. [1886] 64 ff., *GB*[3], London, 1911–15, pt. ii., *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, pt. i., *The Magic Art*, ii., pt. vi., *The Scapegoat*, pt. vii., *Balder the Beautiful*, *Psyche's Task*[2], do. 1913; F. B. Jevons, *An Introd. to the Hist. of Religion*, do. 1896; A. van Gennep, *Les Rites de passage*, Paris, 1909; E. Westermarck, *MI*, 2 vols., London, 1908.

E. N. FALLAIZE.

PURIFICATION (Babylonian).—Purification may be considered as including any ceremony or ritual observance undertaken with a view to purging or cleansing a person, place, or thing from the ritual consequences of impurity. Impurity was a bar to communion with the deity, often to social intercourse, and was sometimes a real danger to the health and well-being of the person or community. Most writers who refer to purification among the Babylonians and Assyrians are influenced by the OT views on the subject, for which see PURIFICATION (Hebrew). Consequently, some chiefly seek for parallels to the Hebrew treatment of clean and unclean. Others take a wider view and compare the usages connected with purification in all the religions and civilizations where they can be recognized. The subject of rites, exorcisms, and other ritual ceremonies is already dealt with in art. BABYLONIANS AND ASSYRIANS, vol. ii. especially pp. 316–318. For the Babylonian attitude to offences against chastity the art. CHASTITY (Semit.-Egyptian), vol. iii. p. 498, § 3 should be compared with CHASTITY (Introductory). For the Babylonian conception of sin and the need to be purified from it compare CONFESSION (Assyro-Babylonian), vol. iii. pp. 825–827. The way in which disease was regarded may be gathered from art. DISEASE AND MEDICINE (Assyro-Babylonian), vol. iv. pp. 741–747. The connexion of expiation and atonement with purification is brought out in art. EXPIATION AND ATONEMENT (Babylonian), vol. v. pp. 637–640. HOLINESS (Semitic), vol. vi. pp. 751–759, illuminates the ideas of cleanness and purity, and their opposites.

No formal treatise on the subject has come down to us amid the mass of cuneiform literature, mostly fragmentary, which, however, supplies instruction

---

[1] See above, p. 460. [2] H. Ling Roth, *JAI* xxi. 133 f.
[3] A. W. Nieuwenhuis, *Quer durch Borneo*, Leyden, 1904–07, p. 367.
[4] Kruijt, quoted by Frazer, *Psyche's Task*[2], p. 53.
[5] P. Porte, 'Les Réminiscences d'un missionnaire du Basutoland,' *Les Missions catholiques*, xxviii. [1896] 371.
[6] R. E. Guise, *loc. cit.*
[7] Seligmann, *ERE* iv. 709; Hobley, *JRAI* xl. 429; Junod, i. 243–245.
[8] H. H. Johnston, *loc. cit.*; K. R. Dundas, in Frazer, *Psyche's Task*[2], p. 121.
[9] Junod, ii. 58. [10] Hill-Tout, p. 210.
[11] Hobley, *loc. cit.*
[12] B. Spencer, *Native Tribes of the Northern Territory of Australia*, London, 1914, p. 243.
[13] 'Extracts from the Travels of Pietro delle Valle in Persia,' Pinkerton, ix. 11.

[1] See, for instances and discussion of object of fire ceremonial, *GB*[3], pt. vii., *Balder the Beautiful*, i. 329 ff.
[2] Shortland, p. 68.
[3] W. Mariner, *An Account of the Natives of Tonga Islands*[2], London, 1818, ii. 220.
[4] Crawley, p. 231, quoting C. Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition, 1838–42*, Philadelphia, 1845, ii. 99 f.
[5] Roscoe, p. 108 f. [6] *GB*[3], pt. vi., *The Scapegoat*, p. 43.

and formulæ for many cases presumably involving the need for purification. From this mass of exorcisms, medical receipts, prayers, hymns, spells, and magic ceremonies we have to deduce what was the Babylonian view of impurity and what was the method of cleansing or removal of that impurity.

This is a long and by no means easy task—long because of the enormous amount of material to be considered, difficult because so much of it is merely implicit and admits of so many different estimates of its implications. We have rarely much security that we estimate rightly the intention of the ceremony, which may really have been directed to a completely different aim.

The sufferer may have been the victim of some affliction and quite mistaken as to its origin and cause; indeed, it is likely after all to have been purely imaginary. If the supposed or implied cause of his distress was really what he suspected, we may fairly charge the ancient Babylonian with being very nervous about himself. But we may well believe that the Babylonian ministers of religion exercised their ingenuity in inventing many cases of conscience and providing remedies for them to an extent far beyond the demands of those who came to them for help and comfort. To judge from what we already know, every abnormal experience must have given the Babylonian uneasiness, as to his health of body or soul. Certainly the belief in demons and their power to plague humanity, the suspicion of having offended the gods, or broken tabu, must have added many terrors to the natural feelings of discomfort and apprehension, the prickings of conscience or despondency. To the average layman it was by no means easy to say wherein he had offended, nor against whom, and his good intentions were but a slight solace to a man who believed that he might be called to suffer not only for unwitting misdeeds but also from the malice of devils or men. So he hastened to the priest or soothsayer, the magician or astrologer, to discover for him his offence or the evil influence that was upon him. He may have gone in turn to all and certainly was called upon to suffer many things of them.

Whatever their diagnosis of his evil case, it seems probable that purification was the first requisite. But that was not all. When the thing to be removed from the man had been recognized as sin, disease, anger of the gods, possession by devils, or the spell of some witch, a further treatment appropriate to the case awaited the victim. An obstinate case might have to undergo all the treatments in turn. But none was likely to take effect if he had not been purified.

In itself purification might be a washing with pure water. This requirement was strongly insisted upon. Pure water must be procured from the Tigris or the Euphrates or, even better, from the mouth of the rivers, where their waters met and where were the Isles of the Blessed. The water must have been kept in a pure place 'preserved faithfully in the abyss.' The abyss, *apsu*, was properly the cosmic sea which underlay the whole earth, on whose bosom the earth rode, to which the kings boasted that they had dug down their palace foundations, the fresh water sea from which arose the springs and rivers. But in every great temple stood the 'great sea'—the laver, also called *apsu*, like Solomon's brazen sea. Doubtless, it is this temple abyss which held the pure water referred to. It is called the water of Eridu, 'the sweet or good city.' But, in default of such holy water, the water of wells was allowed, if only it were consecrated by a correct incantation.

Pure water was often modified by the addition of herbs or aromatic woods. What these were is difficult to ascertain from their names, such as *bînu*, 'herb of Dilbat' (perhaps the place of Venus-Ishtar), a date-stone, straw, *gatstsu*, *unqu aban nisikti* (perhaps a ring, set with precious stones, possibly as fee to the priest), *GAM-GAM* scent, *burashu* (possibly cypress). The *bînu* plant is thought to be 'tamarisk.' It is probable that such additions had magical efficacy. The washing of the hands was repeated often, accompanied by different incantations, usually cited by their first lines, of which we often know no more, but which we may hope gradually to know completely. But to follow out in detail the various accompaniments of the hand-washing would demand a treatise.

It does not seem in any case to have been necessary to bathe the whole person; usually the hands sufficed, though the head or forehead is sometimes ordered. Special cases demanded a cleansing of the mouth, and the water was sometimes drunk. Sprinkling sufficed occasionally. A proper time had to be determined, which was the object of divination and the subject of omens. The literature of these fit times is extensive and usually obscure. Often it is prescribed that the ceremony shall be performed in a clean place; the open country or the desert would do. But for perfect security a *bît rimqi* was built. This was a 'washing-house,' or lustration-chamber, and was often attached to a house in the city, possibly to a priest's house or for the convenience of any who could pay for its use. There was a distinct ritual for the *bît rimqi*, whither the polluted should be taken. The ceremony was performed in special vestments of a sable hue, worn both by the suppliant and by the minister.

Apparently the motive of the washing was the symbolical removal of the contamination and often its symbolical transfer by the water to some object, rendered by incantation a representation of the supposed author of the trouble—*e.g.*, a clay or wax image of the witch. This image could then be buried, burned, or otherwise destroyed, and the sufferer freed from his uncleanness. But in this case also the methods are most varied, and no exhaustive treatment is possible here.

It is not clear just how much of the treatment was merely purification. A sick person had to be purified before he could be cured, for without purity he could not expect the cure to work at all. But the full cure may be regarded in his case as a purification. Hence the word has been used to cover all the process by which a man who believed that his distress came under the head of uncleanness was relieved of his ailment. As he did not confine the idea of uncleanness to any very simple category, it is hard to say what cleansed him of it, and the whole of the above-named articles must be read to exhaust the already recognized ideas of purification. It is dangerous to attempt classification of the kinds of uncleanness. But analogy suggests some classes.

Sexual impurity is very hard to define. On the one hand, all sexual intercourse involved the necessity for purification. But, on the other hand, the Babylonians seem to have allowed even homosexuality. It is difficult, therefore, to state wherein consisted the impurity of irregular intercourse. Possibly excess, leading to the reaction of lassitude, was productive of the suspicion that the patient was under a spell or a demon. This may have been extended by fear to all cases of indulgence. But we must know more before we can fairly generalize, and our material, with all its fullness, has many omissions, which may or may not be significant.

Fear of consequences, when there was so much to fear, hard to distinguish from consciousness of wrong-doing, was evidently the motive to declare

oneself unclean and seek purification. The spiritual director would move the penitent to confession and quite honestly prescribe a treatment deemed likely to be effective.

LITERATURE.—The literature quoted in art. BABYLONIANS AND ASSYRIANS and the relevant sections of artt. CHASTITY, CONFESSION, DISEASE AND MEDICINE, EXPIATION AND ATONEMENT, etc., is ample for a preliminary treatment of the subject. Much further research is needed before a clear and consistent view can be set out, if that can ever be attained now. Distinction will have to be made between the usages of different periods, and changes of view may be detected.

C. H. W. JOHNS.

PURIFICATION (Buddhist).—The religious movement which is known as early Buddhism did not take as its central doctrine an ideal of purity to be aimed at by a system of ritual purification. Its own keynotes are those of individual enlightenment, of release, of spiritual vision, and of movement to a goal discerned thereby. But early Buddhism largely made itself felt as a protest and reaction against a system, or systems, of elaborate rites and practices cultivated for the express purpose of obtaining absolution and purification from the impurities inherent in this fleshly mechanism and in the deeds wrought by it. As formulated doctrine, a religion was referred to as *dhamma*, but, as end gained by ritual works, it was referred to as *suddhi* (or *visuddhi*, 'purity,' 'purifying,' 'cleansing'). Buddhism laid down its own *dhamma* as insight into truth, and as path or means of attainment. But we see it turning aside from these to take account of the prevailing notion of ritual purification. It condemned the methods in practice; it substituted 'inward spiritual grace' for external symbols, and upheld its own 'vision' and 'way' as the true *κάθαρσις*.

Salvation envisaged as (*vi-*)*suddhi*, when Buddhism arose, appears in many of the early Pali documents, as the belief or 'view' of Brhāmans and recluses:

'The views of recluses and brahmins, not of us, who deem that *suddhi* is by moral conduct, that *suddhi* is by ritual, or by both' (*Dhamma-saṅgaṇi*, § 1005).[1]

'With us alone is *suddhi*, so they declare; not in other norms (*dhammas*) is Visuddhi' (*Sutta-Nipāta*, 824).[2]

'Not so
Were pure (religion) to be reached'
(*Psalms of the Brethren*, 893).[3]

'The celebrant in many a sacrifice,
I fostered sacred fire, oblations made;
"These be the pure and holy rites!"[4] methought'
(*ib.* 341).

'Some recluses and brahmins hold that purity is by dieting . . . by transmigration[5] . . . by rebirths . . . by sphere of being . . . by oblations . . . by tending a (perpetual) fire' (*Majjhima-Nikāya*, i. 80 f.).

'Lo! ye who blindly worship constellations of heaven,
Ye who fostering fire in cool grove wait upon Agni,
Deeming ye thus might find purification (*suddhi*)' . . .
(*Psalms of the Sisters*, 143).

The rites and practices to gain *suddhi*—otherwise referred to as release (*mokṣa* [*q.v.*]) from demerit—most frequently condemned in Buddhist scriptures are of three kinds: (1) asceticism, (2) fire-ritual, (3) baptism, or frequent immersion in any convenient (usually) running water. Thus the 'dieting' alluded to above consisted in reducing the daily food to a minimum vegetable diet, even to a single bean. There was, again, the *tapas* ('austerity') of the five fires (one on each side and the sun overhead), and all the petty acts of self-thwarting and self-denial enumerated in *Dīgha-Nikāya*, i. 165 f. (*Dialogues of the Buddha*, i. 226 f.), and elsewhere. They were less characteristic of Brāhmans than of recluses generally, whether these were Brāhmans or not. Nevertheless in the anthologies a Brāhman is made to say:

'Painful the penances I wrought for heaven,
All ignorant of purity's true path'
(*Psalms of the Brethren*, 219).

Protest against the belief that such practices made for real purity finds expression in a *sutta* describing the Buddha resting in the sense of enlightenment and of deliverance from his own self-torturing exercises that had brought him no light. The tempter assails him by suggesting doubt:

'His penitential tasks abandoning,
Whereby the sons of men are purified,
The impure fancieth that he is pure,
When he hath strayed from path of purity.

[*The Buddha*:]

Full well I understood how any rites
Austere, aimed at the overthrow of death,
Belong to matters useless for our good.
Yea, nothing good they bring along with them,
Like oar and rudder in a ship on land.
But morals, concentration and insight—
The Path to Enlightenment—these were my tasks;
That Path creating and developing,
Have I attained the purity supreme'
(*Saṃyutta*, i. 103).

A more typical Brāhman view, however, is that of the Bhāradvāja referred to as Suddhika ('purity-man,' 'puritan'):

'Though he be virtuous and penance work,
There is in all the world no brahmin found
Thus rendered pure.
In Veda-lore expert and in the course
His class lays down:—thus is he purified,
Unique 'mong men' (*ib.* i. 166).

This expertness in the latter field (*charaṇa*, explained by the commentary as *gotta-charaṇa*, the practice of the clan or *gens*—in Sanskrit, *chāraṇa*) includes (*a*) all religious observances peculiar to the Brāhmans, and (*b*) all 'colour' or class regulations. The specific differences marking off the four social classes of early India one from another are called 'colour-purity' (*chatu-vaṇṇī suddhi*) in *Majjhima*, ii. 132. The Brāhman claimed priority in class 'on account of his pre-eminence, of the superiority of his origin (Brahmā), of his observance of restrictive rules, and of his particular sanctification' (*Laws of Manu*, x. 2 [*SBE* xxv. (1886) 402]). The Buddha, as against such a claim, affirmed that social worth depended solely on character and quality of work. There was no 'colour' bar to purity, social or religious:

'And be he noble, brahmin, commoner,
Or labouring man, or of a pariah class:—
Who stirs up effort, puts forth all his strength,
Advances with an ever-vigorous stride,
He may attain the purity supreme'
(*Saṃyutta*, i. 166).

Of religious observances, which every Brāhman house-father was qualified to celebrate (see art. BRAHMAN), none appeared to incur the protestant disapproval of early Buddhism so often as those of oblations to fire and of ceremonial bathing. Both are denounced as merely external, and therefore misdirected and futile. Let the *suttas* speak for themselves:

[*The Buddha*:]

'Nay, brahmin, deem not that by mere wood-laying
Comes purity. Such things are all external.
To him who thus purification seeketh
By things without, none is made pure, the wise say.

I lay no wood, brahmin, for fires on altars.
Only within burneth the fire I kindle.
Ever my fire burns, ever tense and ardent,
I, Arahant, work out the life that's holy'
(*Saṃyutta*, i. 169).

Again, to a matron who was making her regular food-offering to Brahmā, while her son, a saintly *bhikkhu*, stayed without on his round for alms, the Buddha says:

'Far hence, O brahminee, is Brahmā's world, . .
And Brahmā feedeth not on food like that . . .

[1] Ed. *PTS*, London, 1885; *Dhamma-Saṅgaṇi: a Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics*, ed. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, London, 1900.
[2] Ed. *PTS*, London, 1913.
[3] *PTS*, ed. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, London, 1913.
[4] Lit. 'this is *suddhi*.'
[5] Cf. *Jātaka*, iv. (tr.) 117.

Lo here! this Brahmadeva, son of thine,
A man who past the gods hath won his way, . . .
. . . hath come up to thy house for alms . . .
Meet for oblations from both gods and men, . . .
By evil undefiled, grown calm and cool, . . .
His heart at utter peace, all vices purged . . .
Let him enjoy the choice meats thou hast served'
(*ib.* i. 141).

Another of the ritualistic Bhāradvāja clan invites the Buddha to go bathing in the Bāhukā river.

The Buddha asks: 'What of the river, brahmin, what can it do?' The reply is: 'Many consider it as a means of deliverance and of merit; many people let it bear away their evil deeds (*karma*).'

[*The Buddha*:]
'What boots the Bāhukā, or the Gayā? . . .[1]
For ever and a day his foot may plunge
Therein, yet are his smutty deeds not cleansed.
They will not purge the man of passions vile.
To him that's pure, ever 'tis Phalgu-time,
To him that's pure, ever 'tis Sabbath-day,
To him that's pure and in his actions clean,
Ever his practices effectual prove.
Here, brahmin, is 't that thou shouldst bathing go:—
Become a haven sure for all that breathes;
Speak thou no lies, harm thou no living thing,
Steal nought, have faith, in nothing be thou mean.
So living, what are river-rites to thee?'
(*Majjhima-Nikāya*, i. 39).

To another Brāhman who confesses to belief in the moral cleansing power of water, the rebuke takes this form:

'The Norm's a lake, its strand for bathing virtue,
Clear, undefiled, praised by the good to good men,
Wherein in sooth masters of lore come bathing.
So, clean of limb, to the beyond pass over'
(*Saṃyutta*, i. 183).

In the anthologies Sister Puṇṇā pours ridicule on a Brāhman seeking a shivering purity in the water, in which he must inevitably be excelled by any animal having its habitat in that element (*Psalms of the Sisters*, lxv.).

The quoted passages throw some light on the advocacy by Buddhism of ethical purity unaided by ritual symbols. Some further testimony will assist in bodying out their ideas of purity, and their application of it to their own specific doctrines.

We find the purification idea applied to the possibility of melioration in all rational beings. The Buddha maintains, against a current sceptical doctrine, that beings either deteriorated ('became defiled') or advanced ('became purified') through a sufficient cause. This was the hedonically mixed nature of the factors of life. In other words, our experience is sufficiently pleasant to make the things of this world seductive, and sufficiently painful to make us long for something better (*Saṃyutta*, iii. 69 f.). This is called the 'twofold doctrine hard to penetrate' (*Dīgha*, iii. 274).

How did Buddhism conceive the nature of defilement (*saṅkilesa, upakilesa*) and its opposite? Consciousness, or heart (*chitta*), was not considered as intrinsically impure. Though 'formless' or immaterial, it was likened to a radiant or flashing clarity, infinitely swift and plastic in procedure, but liable to defilement by adventitious influences (*Aṅguttara*, i. 5–11). These made their advent on occasion of sense. In reacting to sense-impressions, a number of mental adjuncts were held to come into play, such as feeling, volition, emotions, etc. Prominent among these were the three radical conditions ('roots') of immoral activity—appetite or lust, enmity, dullness or unintelligence. The corresponding three opposites might come into play instead—disinterestedness, love, intelligence or insight. The *karma* from previous lives would decide this in the first instance; nurture and training would modify the adjuncts during life. But defilement consisted in the three immoral conditions exerting themselves in response to the calls of sense. That defilement is fully described, *e.g.*, in the *Āmagandha Sutta* (*Sutta-Nipāta*, *SBE* x. [1881] 40 f.), as consisting in violence and injustice, sensuality, covetousness, and deceit, obstinacy and conceit, etc. Again, sixteen forms of *chitta*-defilement are given in the *Vatthūpama-Sutta* (*Majjhima*, i. 36 f.).

Purification from all these spiritual defilements consisted, as the latter *sutta* shows, in a mental awakening (1) to new ideals, (2) to the nature of defilement as such; and in an emotional upheaval and subsequent tranquillization, the defiling tendencies having been ejected. The process of course took time, and was held to be perfected only by progress along the 'Four Paths,' *i.e.* stages of the path, to saintship. It is illustrated (*ib.*) negatively and positively by a well-cleansed cloth taking on a fine dye, or again by refining in fire:

'Little by little, one by one, as pass
The moments, gradually let the wise,
Like smith the blemishes of silver, blow
The specks that mar his purity away'
(*Dhammapada*, 239).

Another favourite purity simile is that of moon or sun getting free from cloud, resplendent in a clear sky:

'Passionless, purified, undefiled as the moon when clear of blotting (cloud)' (*Sutta-Nipāta*, 636).

We have seen Buddhism using purity ritual as metaphor to emphasize the inwardness of its ideal. More appropriate is the figure borrowed from that craft on which its central doctrine was modelled, to wit, medicine. The possible cure of certain ailments for which the physician prescribes purging and cathartics (*vamana, virechănă*) are compared (*Aṅguttara*, v. 218 f.) with the sure remedy for all suffering in the 'Ariyan Eightfold Path' of the perfect life. The convalescent is described, not as purified, but as emancipated or released—a more characteristic Buddhist ideal, as has been stated above, than that of purification.

Once annexed, the ideal of purity was applied to every kind of proficiency of heart and head. The acme of purity (*koṭi-parisuddha*) in conduct was to exercise self-reference—not to do unto others what would be disagreeable if done to one's self (*Saṃyutta*, v. 252 f.). The inward purifying fire referred to by the Buddha (see above) is explained as his insight. Vision and insight have to be 'cleansed,' but different temperaments are stated to attain this ideal in different ways (*ib.* iv. 191–195). Mystical or supernormal sight and hearing are also defined as purified or clarified (*visodhita*) as well as 'divine' (*dibba*, 'godlike,' or 'angelic').[1] Achievements of this kind are attributed, in varying degrees, to recluses graduating in saintship. But none of the emphasis of Christian mysticism on the purity or clarity as such is to be found in the Buddhist canon.

Finally, three special applications of the purity ideal may be noted, namely, to morals, to the work of teaching, and to the *summum bonum*.

Thus observance of the five sets of rules for the order are technically called 'the five purities' (*Vinaya*, v. 132; cf. *Vinaya Texts* [*SBE* xiii. (1881)], i. 15, 55, etc.).

'Perfectly pure teaching' is such as is undertaken because of the excellence of the doctrine's ideal and method, and out of love and compassion felt by the teacher (*Saṃyutta*, ii. 199).

'Purity' is again annexed as one of the 44 synonyms for salvation or *nibbāna* (*ib.* iv. 372), and this is at times referred to as 'the purity supreme.' Thus envisaged, the sovereign means of attaining it was that of the exercises in self-knowledge known as the 'Four Applications of Mindfulness' (*Dialogues*, ii. XXII.):

'the path that leads only to the purification of beings . . . to the realization of Nibbāna.' (The translation 'one and only path' in that work (*ekāyano*) is not correct.)

[1] The typical ceremonial bathing was in the Gayā, at the spring-festival of Phalgu (*Psalms of the Brethren*, p. 181).

[1] See, *e.g.*, *Dialogues*, i. 89, 91.

Insight into impermanence, suffering, and non-existence of soul are called no less 'the path to purity' (*Dhammapada*, 277-279; *Psalms of the Brethren*, 676-678)—a phrase that became immortalized for all Buddhists of the Theravāda teaching down to the present day as the title of Buddhaghoṣa's classic work, the *Visuddhi-Magga*.

LITERATURE.—All the texts and translations quoted are named in the text, and all, except those in *SBE* and in *SBB*, are among the Pali Text Society's publications.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

PURIFICATION (Chinese).—The technical term usually employed by the Chinese to denote the rites connected with ceremonial purity is a word which in modern Pekingese is pronounced *chai*. The word is used, especially among Buddhists, to denote the practice of abstinence from animal food; but it implies much more than this. The written character for *chai* is a modification of another character *ch'i* (radical 210); indeed, in classical literature *ch'i* is used where modern writers would use *chai*; and this fact provides us with an unmistakable clue to the original ideas which the term was intended to convey. *Ch'i* means 'to regulate,' 'to arrange in order,' 'to make even,' 'to equalize,' 'to establish uniformity'; and, when used in an ethical sense, it implies the due regulation or adjustment of the whole personality—physical, intellectual, and moral. The process of adjustment (*chai*) was regarded as an essential preliminary to the exercise of priestly or sacrificial functions, and it implied fasting, self-control, and an inward purity of which physical cleanliness and spotless raiment were outward and visible signs.[1]

1. The State ritual.—The principal authority for sacrificial and other religious rites in ancient China is the *Li Chi* (*SBE* xxvii. and xxviii. [1885]). In that Chou dynasty classic we find the greatest stress laid on the necessity for gravity, sincerity, and reverence in all who take part in such rites. We are told that sacrifice is not 'a thing coming to a man from without; it issues from within him, and has its birth in his heart.' Religious ceremonial is not merely an external show, nor should it be carried out for selfish reasons or in expectation of reward; it is the outward expression of inward feelings, and, unless those feelings are of a pure and disinterested character, the ritual in which they find expression will necessarily lack dignity and impressiveness. Hence it is only men of exalted virtue who should presume to officiate at sacrifices (*SBE* xxvii. 61 f., xxviii. 236 f.). But even men of the noblest character must not occupy themselves with sacred things without scrupulous self-preparation; hence, 'when the time came for offering a sacrifice, the man wisely gave himself to the work of purification' (*SBE* xxviii. 239). To effect this purification, he had to guard himself against all noxious and unclean things and to keep his desires under strict control. He shunned music, because music would cause mental distraction and excitement. He kept all wayward thoughts out of his mind, and concentrated his attention on the way of rectitude. He refrained from unnecessary movements of his hands and feet. He strove to bring his intellect and his moral sentiments to the highest degree of clarity and refinement. When he had succeeded in conducting himself in this manner for the required number of days, he was in a fit condition to enter into communion with spiritual beings (*ib.* 239 f.).

Of this purificatory process there were two stages. The lower stage, known as *san chai*, 'lax purification,' lasted for seven days; the higher, known as *chih chai*, 'strict purification,' occupied the three days immediately preceding the performance of the sacrificial ceremony. The process involved bathing (*mu yü*), the wearing of clean raiment, restriction to the simplest food, and abstinence from sexual relations. The person undergoing 'strict' *chai* separated himself from his family, and lived by himself in apartments other than those which he usually occupied. He wore unadorned garments of a black colour, because these were regarded as consonant with, or symbolical of, the solemn nature of his thoughts, which should be concentrated on the unseen world (*SBE* xxvii. 448; see also J. Legge, *The Chinese Classics*[2], i., Oxford, 1893, p. 248). Great stress was laid on the inutility of attending merely to the external aspects of the purificatory rites. Mencius implies that a well-regulated mind was far more important than outward comeliness and correctness, when he tells us that even a leper (or a person of external repulsiveness) may sacrifice to God, provided he carried out the rules of *chai* in the proper spirit.[1]

The sacrificial rites for which purification was and still is considered necessary are mainly those connected with the cult of ancestors, and purification is therefore theoretically binding upon all heads of families and others whose business it is to lay sacrificial offerings before the family tombs or the spirit-tablets in the ancestral temple. But the rule applies with equal force to the stately ceremonies which are or were conducted by the emperor or his deputies in connexion with the cult of canonized sages and heroes such as Confucius, Kuan-Ti, and Yo-Fei; the worship of the Supreme Deity and the divinities of earth, mountains, rivers, and other nature-spirits; and the propitiation of the spiritual beings whose function it is to distribute the rainfall, to ward off pestilences and other calamities, to promote the growth of crops, and to regulate the seasonal changes. The impressive ceremony of the worship of Shang-ti (the Supreme Being) at the winter solstice took place at the marble Altar of Heaven, which is situated in the midst of a wooded park in the southern section of the city of Peking. The theoretical sanctity of the emperor's person did not exempt him from the duty of undergoing *chai* before he was qualified to act as high-priest for myriad-peopled China.

Three days before the ceremony his majesty moved into a building called the *chai kung*, 'purification palace,' situated within the 'forbidden city.' Here, in cloistral stillness, he was expected to remain two days and nights. On the third day he proceeded to the sacred enclosure of the Altar of Heaven, and was conducted to another *chai kung*, where he kept solitary vigil during the last of the three nights of 'strict purification.'

Similar purificatory rites were in ancient times performed by the emperor at the beginning of the four seasons.

Three days before the festival of Li-Ch'un ('Beginning of Spring') the Grand Recorder informed the emperor that 'on such and such a day the spring will begin.' Thereupon 'the son of Heaven devotes himself to self-purification, and on the day he leads in person the three ducal ministers, his nine high ministers, the feudal princes (who are at court), and his Great officers, to meet the spring in the eastern suburb.'[2]

The emperor's duties and prerogatives in connexion with these State rituals were to some extent shared by his consort, though the imperial pair were separated from one another during the period of purification.[3] In the third month of spring a ceremony took place in which the empress acted alone.

'In this month orders are given to the foresters throughout the country not to allow the cutting down of the mulberry trees and silk-worm oaks. . . . The trays and baskets with the

[1] Cf. art. FASTING, vol. v. p. 761, § 4.

[1] J. Legge, *The Chinese Classics*[2], ii., Oxford, 1895, p. 330. For the translation of 'leper,' which is doubtful, see H. A. Giles, *Confucianism and its Rivals*, London, 1915, p. 93. Legge's tr., 'wicked,' is unsupported by the commentators and is inappropriate.

[2] *SBE* xxvii. 253. For similar observances at the other seasons see *ib.* pp. 269, 284, 297. For a reference to the emperor's restricted diet when undergoing purification see E. Biot, *Le Tcheou-Li*, Paris, 1851, i. 72 f.

[3] See, *e.g.*, *SBE* xxviii. 433; cf. Biot, ii. 15, 18 f.

stands (for the worms and cocoons) are got ready. The queen, after vigil and fasting, goes in person to the eastern fields to work on the mulberry trees' (*SBE* xxvii. 265; cf. xxviii. 223 f.). This was done in order that the women of China might be encouraged to feel that, when they laboured at one of the great national industries—the production of silk—they were following the example and carrying out the precepts of the first lady in the land. Similar recognition was accorded by the emperor to the industry of agriculture; for the custom was that in the first month of spring the emperor prayed to heaven for bountiful harvests, and then, with his own hand on the plough, turned up three furrows (*SBE* xxvii. 254 f.). This rite has been kept up till our own day.

2. Purification in Confucianism.—A modern writer has hazarded the statement that in Confucianism fasting is perhaps 'wholly unrecognized' (*EBr*[11] x. 193). This remark is by no means accurate, for ritual fasting is an essential part of the rites of purification referred to in the *Li Chi*, and the *Li Chi* ranks as a Confucian classic. In bk. xxix. we find the following remark attributed to Confucius himself:

'Vigil and fasting are required (as a preparation) for serving the spirits (in sacrifice); the day and month in which to appear before the ruler are chosen beforehand;—these observances were appointed lest the people should look on these things without reverence' (*SBE* xxviii. 331).

From other sources also we have ample evidence that Confucius by no means ignored these ritual observances. In a classical passage we are told that there were three things which Confucius took very seriously and in regard to which he showed the greatest reverence and circumspection. These were purification (*chai*), warfare, and disease (Legge, i. 198). The selection is not so whimsical and arbitrary as may be supposed. The third, it will be observed, concerns the individual human life, which it mars or cuts short; the second affects the welfare of society and the rise and fall of states; while the first is associated with the solemn rites that are believed to open a channel of communication between living men and the spiritual world. From another passage we learn that Confucius 'purified himself with water' before going to court to announce the murder of a feudal prince. Legge rightly points out in connexion with this passage that the Chinese phrase (*mu yü*) represented by these words 'implies all the fasting and all the solemn preparation as for a sacrifice or other great occasion' (i. 284). In the same classic (the *Lun Yü*) we read that Confucius, when undergoing *chai*, arrayed himself in clean linen cloth, changed his diet, and sat elsewhere than in his usual seat (Legge, i. 232). In the classic usually known to Europeans as *The Doctrine of the Mean* Confucius is represented as having uttered the following words:

'How actively do the spiritual beings manifest their powers! They are beyond the ability of eyes to see or ears to hear, yet they are immanent in all things. It is for them that men purify themselves and don rich array and establish the rites of sacrifice and worship.'

Not only was purification known to and practised by Confucius and his disciples and contemporaries; it also forms part of the ritual of the cult of which Confucius himself is the central figure. The chief seat of this cult is the imposing temple at Ch'ü-fou in Shantung. The temple stands near the enclosure which contains the sage's tomb, and adjoins the palace of the ennobled representative of the Confucian family—the Yen Shêng Kung, 'duke of extended sagehood.' As the rites of the Confucian cult throughout the empire are modelled on those practised at Ch'ü-fou, special interest is attached to a book called the *Shêng Mên Li Yo Chih*, 'Records of the Ritual and Music of the Holy Temple,' which is in two small volumes printed from wooden blocks preserved in the temple precincts. The latest edition of this work was published in 1887 under the editorial supervision of a committee composed wholly of the sage's reputed descendants. From this handbook we may gather authoritative information concerning the place occupied by purificatory rites in the Confucian ceremonial.

Fifteen days before the date fixed for the sacrificial ceremony the duke (as hereditary custodian and superintendent of the temple and its rituals) carries out a rite technically known as *ti shêng*, 'the purification of the sacrificial animals' (ox, sheep, pig, etc.). The duke and his assistants, arrayed in their robes of office, go to the park in which the animals are kept (the *hsi-shêng-so*) and select unblemished and well-conditioned victims for the forthcoming sacrifice.[1] These animals are then ceremonially washed with warm water; and every day thereafter, until the time comes for the sacrifice, this cleansing rite is repeated. On the same day a proclamation is issued at one of the temple-gates, called the Yang-kao-mên, 'the gate of gazing upwards,' whereby the temple officials and all whose duty it is to take part in the ceremonies are called upon to prepare themselves for the rites of purification, which in their 'lax' form begin on the tenth day before the sacrifice. From the tenth day onwards the temple-officers go daily to the temple and carry out a thorough cleansing of it. The courtyards are weeded, and all dust and rubbish are carefully removed. This process is technically known as *sa sao*. On the third day before the ceremony the ministrants enter upon the period of 'strict' *chai*. At noon on this day there is a solemn procession of robed officials, headed by the duke himself, to one of the temple-gates known as the T'ung-wên-mên, where they stand in order of precedence. The persons who are to officiate at the ceremony, and who are therefore about to enter upon three days' *chai*, then perform the treble obeisance (*kotow*), while a herald (*hsüan-tu-shêng*) reads aloud the *chieh-tz'ü* and *shih-tz'ü*, *i.e.* the vows (*shih*) by which the ministrants bind themselves to a faithful observance of the rules of abstinence (*chieh*).[2] After this ceremony the candidates for purification proceed to the special pavilions set apart for their use—buildings known as *chai-su-so*, 'purification lodgings.' Between the hours of 3 and 5 on the same day they must bathe and array themselves in clean garments made of plain black cotton. They then walk to the Hall of Poetry and Rites (one of the main temple-buildings), salute each other decorously, and carry out certain duties connected with the arrangement of the sacrificial vessels. Their nights have to be spent in the 'purification lodgings,' where they are under the supervision of officials who after dark go their rounds with lamp in hand to see that there is no unseemly breach of rules.

Into the details of the sacrificial ceremony itself we need not enter. The culminating moment arrives when the sacrificial articles are solemnly placed in front of the 'spirit-tablets' of Confucius and his canonized associates. This can be done only by persons in a state of ceremonial purity, and the privilege falls therefore to those who have just completed their three days' strict *chai*. Even they, however, are not allowed to approach the altars with the sacrificial meats and fruits until a final ceremony of purification has duly taken place. From a richly-garnished vessel (*chin lei*) a ministrant takes a ladleful of clean water and transfers it to a smaller vessel (*kuan-p'ên*), which is simply an ordinary washing basin placed on a four-legged wooden stand. The officer (*chêng-hsien-kuan*) who is to take the offerings up to the altars then goes through the form of washing his hands. One of the ministrants takes a long narrow strip of fringed cloth from a bamboo basket (*ssü*), kneels down, and passes the cloth to the *chêng-hsien-kuan*, who uses it to dry his hands.[3] The latter then proceeds to wash seven goblets (*chio*) which are to hold the sacrificial wine. The *chio* is a three-legged cup with two ears and a projecting lip. Three of the seven are intended for the altar of Confucius; the other four are destined for the altars of the four subordinate sages who are associated with Confucius in the sacrificial rites. These are Yen Hui (the favourite disciple), Tsêng Tzŭ, Mêng Tzŭ (Mencius), and Tzŭ-ssŭ.

There are various rules of discipline which have to be observed by all persons who occupy permanent posts in connexion with the Confucian rites. Among the offences which entail dismissal from office two are of interest as bearing on our present subject. One is the offence of *ju miao pu chai*, entering the temple (to perform duties connected therewith) without having undergone purification. The other is the offence of *ni sang ju miao*, entering the temple while in a state of mourning, and concealing the fact. The temple-ministrant

[1] For references to similar functions carried out in ancient times by the monarch see *SBE* xxviii. 222 f.; cf. Biot, i. 455 f.

[2] For a similar custom in ancient times see Biot, ii. 107 f.

[3] For further references to hand-washing as a ritual act in China see Biot, i. 466 f., ii. 230. It will be seen that there were occasions on which the ablution had to be performed by the emperor himself. For observations on the religious significance of the rite, and its use in other parts of the world, see ART. HAND, vol. vi. p. 498 f.

who is in mourning is expected to notify the fact without delay to his official superiors, in order that arrangements may be made to have his duties temporarily delegated to some one else.

There are several references in ancient Chinese religious literature to a curious belief that, when the rites of strict purification had been scrupulously fulfilled, the purified worshipper would see the spirits to whom his sacrifice was to be offered and on whom his thoughts had been concentrated (see, *e.g.*, *SBE* xxvii. 448, xxviii. 211). This rather startling statement should not be taken as the expression of a literal belief that the spirits would present themselves before the worshipper's bodily eyes. It is not impossible, indeed, that statements of this kind indicate the survival of pre-historic beliefs similar to those which existed down to our own time among the Eskimo or the American Indians, who believed that the fastings and other austerities which a youth underwent at puberty would enable him to see his guardian-spirit.[1] It is also possible that among the ancient Chinese, as among many sects known to Christendom, fasting and other ascetic practices were the cause of psychical disturbances which resulted in 'visions.'[2] An interesting parallel to our Chinese text is to be found in the 'oracle' of the Montanist prophetess Priscilla, which declared that 'purity unites (with the Spirit), and they (the pure) see visions, and bowing their faces downward, they hear distinct words spoken.'[3] The Chinese, however, under the sober influences of Confucianism, have shown little inclination to carry their religious austerities to morbid extremes; indeed, worshippers are told that they should not emaciate themselves till the bones appear, nor should they let their seeing and hearing become affected by their austerities.[4] Confucian Chinese, therefore, prefer to interpret the classical references to the visibility of spirits in a sense similar to that in which the term *t'ien yen* ('heavenly eye') is understood by Buddhist mystics. This 'heavenly eye' is much the same thing as Plato's 'eye of the soul' when it is turned towards reality, or the 'mind's eye' and 'heart's eye' of Gregory of Nyssa and St. Augustine. When our Chou dynasty enthusiast expressed his belief that the spirits would become visible to their faithful and purified devotee, he probably meant exactly what was in the mind of the 15th cent. Christian mystic who said:

'Si tu esses intus bonus et purus, tunc omnia sine impedimento videres et bene caperes. Cor purum penetrat caelum et infernum' (*de Imit. Christi*, ii. 4).

3. Purification in ancestor-cult.—Strict purity has always been enjoined on those who officiate at the sacrifices to the dead.

'When a filial son is about to sacrifice, he is anxious that all preparations should be made beforehand. . . . The temple and its apartments having been repaired . . . the husband and wife, after vigil and fasting, bathe their heads and persons and array themselves in full dress.'[5]

Purity is indicated by the very name of the great spring festival of Ch'ing-ming, at which the family graves are visited, repaired if necessary, and swept clean; for *ch'ing ming* means 'pure and bright.' This phrase contains an allusion to the belief that on this day all nature achieves a general purification and renewal. This was symbolized by the lighting of 'new fires' to take the place of the old fires which, in accordance with ancient custom, had been extinguished on or before the preceding day. The term *han shih* ('cold eating') was applied to the day (or to the three days) preceding the Ch'ing-ming festival because, as the old fires had been put out and the new ones were not yet lighted, it was impossible to do any cooking.[1] The ceremony of lighting new fires is almost forgotten now, but there is ample evidence that it once took place and that it was regarded partly as a purificatory rite by which evil was extinguished and the old life transformed into something new and clean.[2] Both 'pure water' and 'pure fire' occupied a place in the ritual offerings of ancient China.[3] Frazer, referring to a certain fire-ceremony still celebrated in the province of Fuhkien, records the significant fact that 'the chief performers in the ceremony . . . refrain from women for seven days, and fast for three days before the festival.'[4] The well-known custom of letting off fire-crackers, which is intended to exorcize evil spirits and effect a general purification, is still well known throughout China. 'Disembodied spirits,' as de Groot says, 'are afraid of fire.'[5] The original meaning of the Ch'ing-ming festival has been obscured in China by the fact that the day came to be regarded as the appropriate occasion for the performance of the spring ceremonies in honour of deceased ancestors; and the importance of the ancestral cult naturally caused the other associations of the festival to recede into the background. But the idea of purity is associated with the performance of the ancestral rites no less closely than with the renewal of nature's activities, though, as we shall see below, pollution of a distinctive kind was believed to be inseparable from the mere fact of being in mourning or of having come in contact with death. The ancient customs forbade any approach to the tombs or the spirit-tablets by any member of the family who had sullied the honour of his house by committing a crime, or who had brought disgrace upon himself or his ancestors.[6] This is interesting as showing that something better than mere 'ritual purity' was expected of those who paid religious honours to the dead.

4. Popular purificatory rites.—Apart from the State rituals and the national cults of Confucius and of ancestors, there are many occasions on which ceremonial purification in some form or other was formerly practised by the people, though in modern times most of these rites have tended to become obsolete. At an ancient triennial drinking festival described in the *Li Chi* there was a ceremonial washing of hands and rinsing of cups (*SBE* xxvii. 56, xxviii. 435 f.). In the Confucian *Analects* there is an interesting passage which, according to the commentators, contains a reference to an old custom of 'washing the hands and clothes at some stream in the third month, to put away evil influences' (Legge, i. 249). Purification ceremonies, whereby

[1] See artt. FASTING, vol. v. p. 761 f., AUSTERITIES, vol. ii. pp. 228, 230b, 231a.

[2] See H. Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, London, 1876–96, i.[4] 261; Tylor, *PC*[4] ii. 410 f.; J. B. Pratt, *The Psychology of Religious Belief*, New York, 1908, pp. 65, 97; see also art. FASTING, vol. v. p. 759.

[3] Quoted by Rufus M. Jones, *Studies in Mystical Religion*, London, 1909, p. 52.

[4] *SBE* xxvii. 87. We may refer to the book of Mencius, however, for a curious case in which fasting and purification *were* carried to a morbid extreme (see Legge, ii. 284 f.).

[5] *SBE* xxviii. 214; cf. 292 and see xxvii. 87. For observations on the ritual washing of the head see art. HEAD, vol. vi. p. 538 (§ 7 (*b*)). The Chinese phrase here used is *mu-yu*, which is the term ordinarily employed to denote ritual ablutions and includes washing of the head (see Legge, i. 284).

[1] See R. F. Johnston, *Lion and Dragon in Northern China*, London, 1910, pp. 185–187. There is a well-known Chinese legend which professes to trace the Han Shih festival to an episode attributed to the 7th cent. B.C., but it was probably invented to explain a ritual of which the original meaning had been lost. See L. Wieger, *Moral Tenets and Customs in China*, Ho-Kien-fu, 1913, p. 427 f.; and H. A. Giles, *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary*, London, 1898, no. 353.

[2] See *PC*[4], pp. 194 f., 297, 429, and *GB*[3], pt. vii., *Balder the Beautiful*, London, 1913, i. 136 f., ii. 3; cf. art. FIRE, FIRE-GODS, vol. vi. p. 28.

[3] Biot, ii. 297, 316, 331 f.; *SBE* xxvii. 445.

[4] *GB*[3], pt. vii., *Balder the Beautiful*, ii. 3; see art. FIRE-WALKING, vol. vi. p. 30; cf. Virgil, *Æn.* xi. 786–788.

[5] J. J. M. de Groot, *The Religious System of China*, Leyden, 1892–1910, bk. i. p. 355; see also bk. ii. pp. 941–952.

[6] For an early Chinese discussion and criticism of this custom see Wang Ch'ung's *Lun Héng*, tr. A. Forke, Berlin, 1911, pt. ii p. 379.

disease and other things of ill omen were expelled from the house or locality, were regularly practised in the Chou dynasty, as we know from the *Chou Li* (Biot, ii. 225); and in various forms similar rites are still performed on New Year's Eve and other great occasions, and at some of the village festivals.[1] Purification and fasting formerly took place when marriages were announced to the spirits of the ancestors (*SBE* xxvii. 78). Before marriage the bridegroom went through 'fast and vigil,' and wore a dark-coloured cap to signify the solemnity of his thoughts (*ib.* p. 441). At one time it appears to have been the custom for a father to fast on the occasion of the birth of a child.[2] Purification was resorted to in cases of extreme illness.

'All about the establishment was swept clean, inside and out. . . . Males and females changed their dress' (*SBE* xxviii. 173).

The patient himself, if recovery was deemed hopeless, was clothed in new raiment.

In China, as in many other parts of the world, contact with death has been supposed to cause pollution. We have already seen that a person in mourning is forbidden to take part in the rituals of the Confucian worship, and that, if he conceals the fact that he is in mourning, he is liable to the punishment of dismissal. Purification is sometimes undergone by those who have merely paid visits of condolence to a bereaved household, though purification of this kind is probably carried out as a matter of local custom only, and in a perfunctory manner.

'Some condolers,' says de Groot, 'hide a few garlic roots under their garments, convinced that the strong smell will prevent the influences of death from clutching to their bodies; on leaving the house they throw the roots away in the street. Others, on re-entering their dwelling, purify themselves by stepping over a fire, or over some burning incense powder of a kind considered especially suitable for this and similar ends and therefore styled *tsĭ'ng hiung*, "purification incense."'[3] The same writer mentions cases where pollution caused by contact with a corpse is removed 'by passing through a small fire of straw kindled on the pavement.'[4]

It seems not improbable that the well-known custom of Government officials, after the death of a parent, vacating their posts and retiring into private life until the period of mourning is over (three years in theory, 27 months in practice) was based not merely on the traditional doctrines of filial piety but also on a belief that the interests of the State would suffer if persons who were in mourning, and therefore ceremonially impure, were allowed to take part in public affairs.

5. Buddhist rites.—Buddhism has various purificatory rites of its own, and the rituals of all the sects make provision for ceremonial ablutions and other cleansing rites; but, as these do not materially differ from the ceremonies already described, it is unnecessary to mention them in detail. Reference has been made to the fact that *chai* is used by Buddhists to denote abstinence from animal food. Pilgrims to sacred hills and famous shrines are known in some places (*e.g.*, the Wu-tang mountain in Hupei) as *chai kung*, a term which indicates that such pilgrims have undertaken to confine themselves to a vegetarian diet until their pilgrimage is over. To certain bands of rebels and revolutionaries the curious name *chai fei*, 'fasting robbers,' has been applied. The term is derived from the fact that the illicit societies which were responsible for some of the anti-dynastic movements of modern times often assumed the guise of quasi-Buddhist sects, or borrowed certain Buddhistic usages and formulas for the purpose of throwing an air of religious mystery over their secret rites. Such was the White Lotus Society, which was the cause of an immense amount of bloodshed in the reign of Ch'ien-Lung.

6. Taoist view of purity.—In the Taoist system purity and purification are regarded from a point of view which differs very considerably from that of Confucianism. *Chai hsin*, 'the fasting (or purified) heart,' is strongly contrasted with the *chi sstĭ chih chai*, the ceremonial purification, which may be merely external and fictitious. But, when Chuang Tzŭ and other Taoist writers speak of the 'fasting heart,' they do not mean exactly what the Confucian means when he insists, as we have seen, that true purification must be internal as well as external. For the Taoist the only thing worth fastings and purifications is the attainment of *Tao*, and for the single-minded seeker after *Tao* all ceremonies are superfluous and meaningless. The 'fasting heart' is a negative state in which the individual shuts himself off from sense-contact with the outer world, and, by discarding everything that is treasured by ordinary mankind, fits himself for the reception of the only thing that endures and is incorruptible—the transcendental *Tao*.[1] 'The height of self-discipline,' says the Taoist, 'is to ignore self.'[2] But the orthodox Confucian cannot ignore self (so the Taoist would argue) so long as he lays stress on outward observances and attributes importance to the correct fulfilment of 'rites.' Moreover, ceremonies imply activity—and activity of a kind which, from the Taoist point of view, is useless. Man's function is to be rather than to do. The true sage 'does nothing, and therefore there is nothing that he does not do.'[3] He is one who has cleared away all the impurities that dimmed the lustre of his true self and who knows that he has transcended the limitations of his phenomenal Ego. His perfectly purified nature is in complete conformity with the ineffable *Tao*, which is never so fully possessed as when it eludes all observation and makes no outward manifestation of its presence. At the outset of his search for *Tao* the sage usually retires to the lonely hills, where he makes himself a romantic hermitage among the rocks and woods and lives on wild herbs and the pure water of the mountain streams. The beauty and wonder of his surroundings gradually enter into his soul and teach him that all the most glorious manifestations of external nature are but signs and symbols of spiritual glories that lie far beyond the range of unpurified vision. As he grows in spiritual stature, he catches fugitive glimpses of that loveliness, and after a long upward struggle he learns at last 'to ride upon the glory of the sky, where his form can no longer be discerned.'[4] He is now a *hsien-jên*—a Chinese term which etymologically means nothing more than 'a man of the mountains,' but which in Taoist lore means one who has attained the immortality and the spiritual graces which *Tao* alone can confer. One of the highest grades of this transcendent state is that of the *chên-jên*, the 'true man,' one who 'fulfils his destiny. He acts in accordance with his nature. He is one with God and man.'

He is a being 'whose flesh is like ice or snow, whose demeanour is that of a virgin, who eats no fruit of the earth, but lives on air and dew, and who, riding on clouds with flying dragons for his team, roams beyond the limits of mortality.'[5]

Such is the language in which the old Taoist mystics strove to express the inexpressible—language

[1] Cf. H. Doré, *Recherches sur les superstitions en Chine*, Shanghai, 1911–15, iv. 416; Johnston, pp. 179, 183, 193 f.

[2] *SBE* xxvii. 471; for instances of this in other countries see art. FASTING, vol. v. p. 759 f.

[3] De Groot, bk. i. p. 32; see also pp. 162, 209 f., 231, 640 f.; cf. *SBE* xxviii. 151 f.

[4] De Groot, bk. i. p. 137. The steps taken to purify a house in which a death has occurred are described by the same writer (bk. i. pp. 107–110), but the description does not apply to all parts of China. Purging the grave with incense and by means of various rites and incantations (described by de Groot, bk. i. p. 209 f.) is practised in some localities (cf. *PC*[4] ii. 436 f.).

[1] Cf. H. A. Giles, *Chuang Tzŭ*, London, 1889, pp. 42 f., 282; *SBE* xxxix. [1891] 208 f.

[2] Giles, p. 205.

[3] *Ib.* pp. 97, 121, 138, 209; see also the *Tao-tê-ching*, *SBE* xxxix. 26, 48, 79–90, 106 f.

[4] Giles, p. 151.

[5] *Ib.* pp. 7, 151.

which led in later ages to pitiful misunderstandings, and which fostered the growth of that degraded modern Taoism which is a hotch-potch of magic, ritualism, priestly mummeries, and demonology. The priests of the cult are, for the most part, comparatively harmless members of society—if, indeed, it is possible for uselessness and harmlessness to co-exist. But they are ignorant, unenterprising, and superstitious; and, though they may know a good deal about the mysteries of talismans and exorcisms, it must be confessed that they show very little knowledge of, or interest in, the 'mystic way' of philosophic Taoism.

See also CHASTITY (Chinese), vol. iii. p. 490.

LITERATURE.—This has been indicated in the article.

R. FLEMING JOHNSTON.

PURIFICATION (Christian).—Purification of course implies defilement. It is the act or operation of cleansing, and may be spoken of in regard to things physical or things spiritual.

The sense of sin, which has from very remote times oppressed man's understanding, has led to a general consciousness of unworthiness in relation to the Deity; and this consciousness is developed in proportion to the increasing realization of the holiness of God.[1] The purer the religion, the stronger the conviction of separation—far-offnsse—from the Deity, through personal defilement. In Christianity, therefore, we may expect to find this sense-impression at its highest.

1. NT modification of Jewish teaching. — Formerly, when religion itself was regarded more or less as an external thing, external purification was considered essential and adequate. Rites of purification—ceremonial cleansing—are common to all ancient religions. The Jewish religion had many elaborate rites of this nature. The references to ceremonial purification which are found in the NT are purely Jewish, and therefore do not call for consideration here.[2] It is, however, quite otherwise as regards the teaching. Examination of our subject from a specifically Christian standpoint must start from the controversy about purifying between Christ and the Pharisees, of which a record is preserved in Mk 7 (cf. Mt 15). The teaching of Christ here, as always, is concerned with the inward rather than the outward. It is true that this was not 'a new teaching' (cf., *e.g.*, Is $1^{11\text{-}17}$), yet so far had the Jewish teachers of the time departed from the higher ideals of their own prophets that it might well seem so to the majority of people who heard it. We take Mk 7, then, as the *locus classicus* for the Christian principle of purification.

The ceremonial rites of Judaism, though not formally abolished, are here relegated to their proper subordinate position.

'It cannot be too carefully noticed that no condemnation is passed upon these rites of purification in themselves. Had the Pharisees recognised their symbolism and deep moral significance: had Jesus been certain that when they washed their hands they thought of or prayed for purity of heart and life, He would have been the last person to rebuke them, however much they multiplied external forms and ceremonies. These are useful as stepping-stones to higher things; but the moment they begin to satisfy in themselves they become snares, and lead to superstition.'[3]

Henceforth there can be no ceremonial, but only moral, defilement. It is sin alone that defiles a man and renders him impure. It is from sin, therefore, that purification must be sought and obtained. Unless ceremonial purification is truly symbolic of that which is much higher, much holier than itself, it is indeed a vain thing.

Thus purification becomes entirely symbolic for Christians.[1] St. Paul's treatment of the question of circumcision illustrates his attitude towards purification and shows that he had grasped the principle of Christ's teaching in this matter.

2. The sacraments.—The primary significance of baptism seems to have been that of cleansing, and usually, though not always, it was understood in a more than material sense. The Pauline Epistles throughout regard baptism as a cleansing from sin. It has been said that the idea of purification attains its highest form in the Christian rite of baptism; certainly it is on the spiritual purification that the emphasis is now laid.

As 'baptism had in Judaism come to mean *purificatory consecration*, with a twofold reference—from an old state and to a new—so was it in Christianity.'[2]

The gift of the Holy Spirit does not seem at first to have been associated with the baptismal ceremony (cf. Ac 8^{16}). The rite seems to have been regarded by the primitive Church simply as a cleansing from sin, bringing about the renewal of a former undefiled state. The convert must be purified in the laver of regeneration,[3] as a preparation for the reception of that which is to follow.[4] So effective is the purification here that it can be regarded as 'a death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness'—not a generation, but a regeneration. This conception is maintained in the Baptismal Office of the Church of England in the prayer for the sanctification of the water to the mystical washing away of sin and in the vow of renunciation.[5]

'Since the middle of the second century the notions of baptism in the Church have not essentially altered. The result of baptism was universally considered to be forgiveness of sins, and this pardon was supposed to effect an actual sinlessness which now required to be maintained.'[6]

This maintenance was supplied by the second great sacrament, which, offering the means of communion with God, through outward and visible signs, became the recognized channel for the conveyance of grace and strength to the soul, purified already in baptism, and a guarantee of the continuance of that purification. Yet it was soon realized that the flesh still remained weak and continued to act as an instrument of defilement to the spirit. Thus, just as it was necessary that the purification of baptism should cleanse from sin and so prepare for the gift of the Holy Spirit, so it became necessary that a formal purification should precede, cleanse, and prepare for the gift received in Holy Communion. Hence the further sacrament of penance (*q.v.*) and absolution, which was entirely a rite of purification in its conception and effect.[7]

'The original position was that baptism alone was the cure for sin; it was in itself sufficient for the needs of the believer. Experience, however, showed the difficulty of this position; it became more and more clear that Christians were not immune from the attacks of sin, and if sinlessness were really required from them as a condition of salvation few indeed would be saved. Sin after baptism thus became a practical problem; a

---

[1] Only the greatest saint can realize that he is the greatest sinner.

[2] *E.g.*, Jn 2^6 3^{25}, Lk 2^{22}, Mk 1^{44} 7^8, Lk 5^{14}, Ac $21^{24.\ 26}$, etc.

[3] H. M. Luckock, *Footprints of the Son of Man as traced by Mark*, ed. London, 1902, p. 149 f., on Mk 7. Not only does Christ not condemn, but, on occasion, He orders the observance of rites of purification (cf. Mk 1^{44}). Yet it should be remembered that He did not always Himself observe the traditions in this respect (Lk 11^{38}), nor did His disciples (Mk 7^2).

[1] Cf. esp. Tit 1^{15}, Ro $14^{14.\ 20}$, 1 Co 6^{11}, 2 Co 7^1, 1 Jn 3^3, 1 P 1^{22}, Ac 15^9, Eph 5^{26}, He $9^{13f.}$, Ac $10^{14f.}$.

[2] *ERE* ii. 377b, art. BAPTISM (New Testament); cf. also Chrysostom's οἱ αἱρετικοὶ *βάπτισμα ἔχουσιν, οὐ φώτισμα*, *ap.* Suicer, *Thesaurus*, Amsterdam, 1728, *s.v. φώτισμα*.

[3] At a much later period Cyprian speaks of 'lavacrum regenerationis et sanctificationis' (cf. Cyprian, *Ep.* lxxiv. 7, 6, *de Bono Patientiæ*, 6; also Tertullian, *de Res. Carnis*, 47; for other references in Cyprian to purification in baptism see *de Hab. Virg.* 2, 23, *Ep.* lxviii. 15, lxxiii. 18.

[4] Cf. 1 Co 6^{11}, He 10^{22}.

[5] Note also the prayer, 'We call upon thee for this infant, that he, coming to thy holy Baptism, may receive remission of his sins by spiritual regeneration.'

[6] A. Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr., London, 1894–99, ii. 140.

[7] Note the comprehensiveness of the words of absolution: 'by his authority committed to me, I absolve thee from *all* thy sins.'

second baptism, suggested by some, was regarded as impossible, but nevertheless analogous rites—in so far as they were looked upon as sacraments—were established. Penitence (or Penance, to use the more customary word) and the Mass came to be used as the sacramental means whereby Christians could be cleansed from the stains of post-baptismal sin, and the ministry of the Church developed into a great system for their administration, in order to heal and comfort souls stricken with sin and calling for the care of a physician.'[1]

The Roman Church to this day insists upon this formal purification for the individual before allowing access to the second great sacrament. It is impossible not to recognize in the provision for frequent and continual purification of a formal kind, even apart from any particular material ceremony, a dangerous resemblance to the older and pre-Christian usages.[2] The Church of England has never insisted upon this pre-communion purification, yet has rightly recognized the essential idea in the collect at the opening of the Communion Office: 'Cleanse the thoughts of our hearts . . .,' and in the confession and absolution which must precede the reception of the sacrament. It is on these lines that purification is treated in the other offices and prayers of this Church.[3]

3. Purification and the contemplative life.—The idea that underlies purification has always appealed most strongly, as we have already hinted, to the more earnest and sincere Christian. It has been the initial cause of many great movements, both within and without the orthodox body; the Novatian and the Montanist movements, *e.g.*, were attempts to realize this idea. But it is above all in mysticism (*q.v.*), with its passionate desire for communion with God, that we find the greatest stress laid upon purification. It is an essential part of the system. It is the earliest path—'the purgative way'—which alone can lead to 'illumination.' To those who follow it will come indeed many a 'dark night of the soul,' until the end is reached and the achievement of purification brings light. The process is a gradual advancement, step by step, at each of which something is left behind. As the runner strips himself of one garment after another in order to attain the goal that is set before him, so the mystic must disencumber himself of all material or spiritual hindrances, as he strives after purification.

'Now be assured that no one can be enlightened unless he be first cleansed or purified and stripped. . . . Thus there are three stages: first, the purification; . . . The purification concerneth those who are beginning or repenting, and is brought to pass in a threefold wise; by contrition and sorrow for sin, by full confession, by hearty amendment.'[4]

This notion of purification as an absolutely essential element in the religious life was the immediate cause of monasticism (*q.v.*). It was in order to escape the defilement which, it was thought, was almost necessarily incurred in living the ordinary life of men that the extraordinary life was adopted. There were fewer enemies to contend with in the seclusion of the cell or the monastery, and against these the most severe measures were taken—fastings, self-mortifications, and constant prayer. Only a state of purification could bring about that condition of holiness which is the passport to eternity.[5] The practice and exaltation of celibacy most probably find here their root motive. Thus the two greatest developments of the contemplative life—mysticism and monasticism—may fairly be said to be developments of the Christian idea of purification.[1]

4. Purification through suffering.—No article on Christian purification would be complete without consideration of the purificatory influence inherent in suffering. Perhaps the best illustration of this to be found in literature is contained in the beautiful poem of Mrs. Hamilton King, *Ugo Bassi's Sermon in the Hospital.*[2] It is not given to many to attain purification in this way, though opportunity is rarely lacking.

'It is only those who are already far in the path of spiritual growth who are purified by suffering, even as the Captain of our Salvation was thus made perfect.'[3]

Those, however, who do through suffering win the peace of God which passeth all understanding reach a level of purification which is higher and more perfect than that which can be attained in any other manner.

The suffering which comes to us through the fault of another would seem to possess a very high capacity for purification. This kind of purification embraces the idea that lies at the root of atonement. It is exemplified in its most perfect form in the life of Christ Himself,[4] and it is on these lines only that it is possible for men to become pure even as He is pure and, in so scaling the rugged heights of true Christian purification, to win for themselves the beatific vision of the promised land which lies beyond—'the glory that shall be revealed.'

5. Cleansing of the conscience.—When it has been once realized that it is no longer purification of the body but purification of the conscience and character that is the really essential thing,[5] it will be seen that the need for purification may exist even when the act which would render the person obviously impure has not been committed. This is indeed definitely taught by Christ Himself in the Sermon on the Mount.[6] Many other nations besides the Jews have required a ceremonial purification of the body after deeds of lust and bloodshed. Christianity, if it is to follow the conception of its Founder, requires the purification of the conscience after the 'will' to commit such deeds, even when the opportunity of actually doing them has been lacking. Again, non-Christian ceremonial purification can be and sometimes has been refused, but Christian purification can never be refused to the true penitent who seeks for it.

6. Ceremonies of purification still observed in Christianity.—The Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary is still observed by the Church. But the ceremony which it commemorates was a purely Jewish rite, though it has been taken over by Christianity in the Office for the Churching of Women after childbirth. The notion of legal uncleanness, which prevented the Jewish mother from appearing in public until after the ceremonial purification had been performed, has been dropped.[7] The many women who still insist very strongly on going to this service before going elsewhere do so from the notion of thanksgiving rather than from that of purification. They have no idea of being legally unclean. The offering of the lamb, pigeon, or turtle-dove which was connected with the purification idea has given place to a money-offering, which, though forming

[1] Kirsopp Lake, *The Stewardship of Faith*, London, 1915, p. 116.

[2] Cf., *e.g.*, Eur. *Ion*, 96,

> . . . καθαραῖς δὲ δρόσοις
> ἀφυδρανάμενοι στείχετε ναούς.

[3] Cf., *e.g.*, the Collect for the Sixth Sunday after Epiphany: 'Grant us, we beseech thee, that, having this hope, we may purify ourselves, even as he is pure'; see also Clem. Rom. xxix. 1, and many references in *The Shepherd of Hermas*.

[4] *Theologia Germanica*, tr. S. Winkworth, London, 1854, cn. xiv.

[5] Cf. Mt 5[8]: 'Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God.'

[1] For many references to purification in mysticism see E. Underhill, *The Mystic Way*, London, 1913.

[2] H. E. Hamilton King, *The Disciples*[9], London, 1887, pp. 96–121. See also J. R. Illingworth, 'The Problem of Pain,' in *Lux Mundi*, do. 1889, pp. 113–126.

[3] W. Temple, *Church and Nation*, London, 1915, p. 65.

[4] He 2[10]; cf. Rev 7[14]. [5] Cf. Ja 4[8], 1 P 1[22].

[6] Cf. Mt 5[22. 24. 28].

[7] Innocent III., in the canon law (*Cap. unico de Purif. post partum*): 'If women after child-bearing desire immediately to enter the Church, they commit no sin by so doing, nor are they to be hindered.'

an actual part of the service, again emphasizes the thanksgiving motive.

7. Purification of churches after suicide, sacrilege, etc.—Ceremonies of purification are still observed in many churches for reasons of this nature. The idea is that of restoration to the former state of holiness conveyed by consecration.

8. Purification of the sacred person. — The Church of Rome has many elaborate directions for the purification of the individual priest after accidental or unconscious defilement.

LITERATURE.—See the works mentioned in the article.

H. C. TOWNSEND.

PURIFICATION (Egyptian).—I. *INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS.*— Owing to the prevailing climatic and geographical conditions the entire water-supply of Egypt is derived from the river Nile. When the weather is hot, the modern Egyptian bathes at least once a day either in a bath in his house or else in the river or a canal. The heat and dust combined make washing essential for health and comfort. Washing, therefore, must have been one of the common acts of daily life in ancient no less than in modern Egypt.

The ground that the Nile cannot reach by irrigation, inundation, or percolation is to all appearances dead—a barren and dusty tract of crumbling clods. But, when once this ground is inundated or irrigated, it soon begins to show signs of life and grows green with vegetation in a remarkably short space of time.

Thus the same Nile waters both cleansed and vivified—a phenomenon that seems to have profoundly influenced the ancient Egyptians' ideas about purification (see below, esp. V. 1, 3).

II. *MATERIALS AND VESSELS EMPLOYED FOR PURIFICATION.*—**1. Materials.**—Water was the most usual as well as the most natural purificatory medium. Natron, *i.e.* native carbonate of soda[1] (variously named *ḥsmn*, *smn*, *smỉn*, *ntr*, *bd*),[2] was often dissolved in the water to enhance its cleansing properties.[3] Natron was also used dry (see below, V. 2 (*d*), 7 (*a*)); a box of this substance is included among the requirements of the dead in certain Middle Kingdom funerary prayers.[4] Incense was used for fumigation, but was apparently also employed like the dry natron (see below, V. 2 (*e*) (ii.)). Sand was likewise regarded as purificatory (see below, VI. 4), and so, in a secondary sense, were food and drink (see below, V. 1 (*d*)).

2. Vessels.—Two varieties of metal ewer and a basin were used for washing the hands.[5]

The tall thin ewer was named *snb·t*,[6] the squat one, apparently, *'pr·t*[7] or *ḥsmny*;[8] the basin was named *b;w*[9] or *š'wty*.[10]

The same kind of basin was used for feet-ablutions,[11] but the ewer employed for this purpose was of a very curious shape.[12]

All these vessels could be made of gold or silver, but were more usually of copper.[13] For bathing or sprinkling purposes, earthenware pitchers were employed; also a metal vase named *ḥs·t*, or a *snb·t*-ewer.[1]

The pitchers, variously designated *nms·t*,[2] *dšr·t*,[3] and *;b·t*,[4] were sometimes of gold.[5] The *ḥs·t*-vase was usually copper, but sometimes gold or silver.[6] *Piankhi Stele*, line 112, mentions 'all the vessels for the purification of a king, of gold and every precious stone.' The stone vessels would perhaps be those originally made of pottery. For fuller details and a number of useful references see Kees, *Der Opfertanz des ägyptischen Königs*, Leipzig, 1912, pp. 54 ff., and 212–214.

III. *SECULAR WASHING, SANITATION AND SANITARY OBSERVANCES.*—In an Old Kingdom palace the toilet-rooms were designated 'House of the Morning' (*pr-dw;·t*), in a noble's house of the Middle Kingdom 'Cabinet of the Morning' (*ḫnwty dw;·t*). They would have comprised from quite early times a privy[7] and a bathroom,[8] of which excellent examples (XVIIIth dynasty) have been unearthed at El-Amarna.[9] The 'House' or 'Cabinet of the Morning' was probably so named because, as in modern Egypt, ablutions were performed immediately upon rising.

Morning ablutions were so much a matter of course that a 'wash' (*i'w*) is not an uncommon term for a light morning repast—a *petit déjeuner* doubtless being served directly the morning toilet had been completed.[10]

The compound *pr-dw;·t*, 'House of the Morning,' obsolete after the Old Kingdom, survived right down into Ptolemaic times as the name of the temple vestry.[11]

1. Bathing.—A Pharaoh or noble, when he took a bath, seems to have squatted or stood in a tank, or upon a stone slab or pedestal, while servants poured water over him;[12] the water often contained natron.[13] Two attendants rubbed him dry,[14] after which he was sometimes fumigated with incense.[15]

2. Purification of the mouth.—The mouth was ceremonially purified by chewing natron (see below, V. 2 (*e*) (ii.), 7 (*a*)); but this was doubtless also a secular practice. Incense was apparently put to a similar use. The mouth, one would imagine, was afterwards swilled out with water. The natron was certainly spat out.[16]

After the mouth had been cleansed with natron, it was said to be like the mouth of a sucking calf on the day it was born.[17] A light repast, consisting of a loaf of bread and a jar of drink, was called *i'w-r;*, 'a mouth-wash.'[18] Perhaps the word *i'w*, 'breakfast,' mentioned above, is an abbreviation of *i'w-r;*. If so, the official in charge of 'all the places of the king's mouth-ablution'[19] was not a courier who assisted at the royal toilet, but, as Sethe supposes,[20] the person responsible for the proper serving of the Pharaoh's breakfast.

3. Washing of the feet.—The feet would have been frequently washed, as in the modern East;[21] there was a special ewer for feet-ablutions (see above, II. 2).

[1] See A. Lucas, *Journal of Egyptian Archæology* i. [1914] 120.

[2] *E.g.*, K. Sethe, *Die altägyp. Pyramidentexte* (hereafter cited as *Pyr.*), Leipzig, 1908–10, 26 f., 849, 2015.

[3] *E.g.*, P. E. Newberry and F. Ll. Griffith, *El-Bersheh*, London, n.d. [1895], i. pl. x.

[4] P. Lacau, *Sarcophages antérieurs au nouvel empire*, Paris, 1903–07, i. 203, ii. 56, 58; Newberry-Griffith, *loc. cit.*

[5] N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd*, London, 1901, pl. ix.; A. M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, do. 1914, iii. pls. xxiv. 2, xxxviii. 2; Lacau, figs. 37, 38, 46–48.

[6] *Pyr.* 1179*b*. [7] Lacau, 28118, no. 32, fig. 46.

[8] *I.s.* 'the thing that belongs to *or* contains natron (-water)' (Lacau, 28024, no. 25, 28027, no. 26).

[9] *Pyr.* 1322*a*; *Book of the Dead*, clxxii. 32 f.; *Book of the Dead*, unless otherwise specified, stands for E. Naville, *Das ägyptische Todtenbuch der xviii. bis xx. Dynastie*, Berlin, 1886.

[10] Lacau, 28024, no. 26, 28027, no. 26.

[11] *Book of the Dead*, *loc. cit.*

[12] Lacau, 28035, nos. 27, 28, 28037, nos. 37, 38, fig. 38; Sethe, *ap.* L. Borchardt, *Grabdenkmal des Königs Śa;ḥu-rē'*, Leipzig, 1910, ii. 93.

[13] Lacau, 28024, nos. 25, 26, 28123, nos. 41, 42; *Book of the Dead*, *loc. cit.*

[1] Newberry-Griffith, i. pl. x.: C. R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, Berlin, 1851–59, iii. pl. 231*b*.

[2] *Pyr.* 1180*a*; Lacau, figs. 53, 56. [3] Lacau, fig. 55.

[4] *Pyr.* 1116*b*. [5] H. Kees, *RTr* xxxvi. [1914] 7.

[6] Lacau, 28024, no. 29, 28027, no. 27.

[7] For a IInd dynasty tomb latrine see *British Association Report* for 1914, p. 215.

[8] N. de G. Davies and A. H. Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhēt*, London, 1914, p. 74; A. Mariette, *Les Mastabas de l'ancien empire*, Paris, 1882–89, D47, p. 308; Gardiner, *RTr* xxxiv. [1912] 198.

[9] Borchardt, *Mitt. der deutsch. Orient-Gesellsch.*, no. 50 [1912], p. 20 f.

[10] *Pyr.* 716*a*, 1876*a*, *b*; F. Ll. Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob*, London, 1899, pp. 8, 101; A. Erman, *Gespräch eines Lebensmüden mit seiner Seele*, Berlin, 1896, p. 60, n. 1.

[11] *RTr* xxxiv. 196–198, xxxvi. 1 ff.

[12] Newberry-Griffith, i. pl. x.; see below, V. 2 (*c*) (*d*), 7 (*b*).

[13] Newberry-Griffith, *loc. cit.*

[14] *Pyr.* 519*b*. [15] *Ib.* 1164*c*, 1181*b*, 2066*b*.

[16] *Ib.* 26*c*, *d*. [17] *Ib.* 27*d*.

[18] *E.g.*, M. A. Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas*, London, 1905, pls. xxi. xxiii.; *Pyr.* 60*a*. There is a variant, *'bw-r;*, 'purification of the mouth.' Accordingly, Inēni, an XVIIIth dynasty magnate, says: 'I was supplied from the table of the king, with bread of the king's mouth-purification' (Sethe, *Urkunden des ägyp. Altertums*, iv. [Leipzig, 1906] 59; Griffith, *The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh*, London, 1889, pl. i. lines 44, 51).

[19] Mariette, p. 229; cf. p. 185. [20] *Ap.* Borchardt, ii. 93.

[21] *Book of the Dead*, clxxii. 33, 41.

4. Cleaning of nails.—Care was taken to keep the finger- and toe-nails clean.[1]

5. Shaving.—(*a*) *The face.*—From the time of the early Old Kingdom[2] and onwards the custom was to shave off all facial hair, a false beard being assumed on special occasions.[3] The moustache is very rare.[4]

(*b*) *The head.*—From early Old Kingdom times the hair of the head was either closely cropped or shaved off entirely, wigs being worn by the upper and well-to-do classes.[5]

For cooks and personal servants with their heads close shaven for the sake of cleanliness see Blackman, *Rock Tombs of Meir*, ii. pl. xviii. 16, iii. p. 31, pls. xxiii. 1, xxv. xxvi.; Newberry-Griffith, *El-Bersheh*, i. pl. xiii.; P. Virey, *Le Tombeau de Rekhmara*, Paris, 1889, pl. xlii.; W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyp. Kulturgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1914, pl. 7*a*. For representations of barbers shaving men's heads see Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, ii. pls. iv., xiii. Razors (?) formed part of the burial equipment in the IIIrd dynasty.[6]

6. Depilation.—There is evidence for thinking that depilation was practised by the upper classes and priests in the Old and Middle Kingdom, as it certainly was by the priests in later times (see below, V. 7 (*f*)).

There is a passage in *Sinuhe* (line 291 f.) which suggests that part of that exile's toilet upon his return to civilization consisted in the removal of body-hair.[7] It should be noted, too, that the modern Egyptian peasants of both sexes shave off their pubic hair.

7. Purification before a meal.—The Egyptians, in ancient as in modern times, purified themselves before partaking of food; indeed, as Griffith points out,[8] 'purify oneself' is equivalent to 'take a meal.' This purification would usually have consisted merely in the washing of the hands.

'Thy hands are washed . . . thy *ka* washes himself, thy *ka* sits down, he eats bread with thee.'[9] Even before drinking a cup of beer, a man would have his hands washed by his wife.[10] The washing of the hands was often followed by fumigation with incense.

In the list of requisites for a banquet[11] 'water for washing the hands' is immediately followed by 'incense.' Davies[12] shows two servants, one of whom pours water from a ewer into a basin, while the other holds a brazier of burning incense.[13] Table servants were required to have clean hands.[14]

IV. *SOCIAL PURITY AND PURIFICATION.*—By this is meant the avoidance or removal of impurities which impair man's relations with the community.

1. Circumcision.—See art. CIRCUMCISION (Egyptian), vol. iii. p. 670 ff.

2. Purification at birth.—A child was washed immediately after birth.[15] The cutting of the umbilical cord seems to have been associated with purification and is given a religious signification in *Book of the Dead*, xvii. 19.[16]

3. Purification after sexual intercourse.—The modern Egyptian men of the peasant class are very scrupulous about purifying themselves after sexual intercourse or after a nocturnal emission, sometimes having a bath, and always washing the genital organs.

Perhaps this explains why the citizen (*nds*) regularly bathed in the pool after spending the day with the wife of Ubaõner in the pavilion.[1]

4. Purification of women.—(*a*) *During menstruation.*—The Egyptian women washed themselves with water containing natron during their periods.[2]

The Egyp. for 'menstruate' is *ir ḥsmn*, 'make a purification with natron' (for *ḥsmn* as an active verb, 'purify,' see H. Brugsch, *Hieroglyph.-demot. Wörterbuch*, Leipzig, 1867–82, p. 996; *RTr* xvi. [1897] 56 f.).

The women evidently performed these particular ablutions in a special part of the house.[3] This, and the women's quarters in general, seem, as in a modern Egyptian house, to have been upstairs.[4]

(*b*) *After childbirth.*—Women purified themselves for fourteen days after childbirth. When this purification was accomplished, they could resume their household duties.[5] The purification consisted in washing and in fumigation with incense,[6] also perhaps in eating a special kind of cake.[7] The *pr-mst*, 'birth-house,' also called *ḥt-ʾbw*, 'house of purification,' attached to Ptolemaic temples of goddesses, suggests that a woman remained secluded in a special apartment during her *accouchement* and subsequent purification.[8] Chassinat believes that this seclusion extended also over the whole period of pregnancy.

V. *RELIGIOUS PURITY AND PURIFICATION.*—By this is meant the avoidance or removal of impurities which impair man's relations with the gods.

1. Purification of the living Pharaoh.—Many ceremonies and beliefs which originally were connected with the king alone obtained, during the feudal period, a general use and application; unless this is recognized, their true significance is often obscured.

(*a*) *In infancy.*—The Pharaoh was apparently fitted for the kingship by a purification undergone in early childhood. The officiants, according to the XVIIIth dynasty accounts, were supposed to be the gods Atum and Month, or Re-Harakhte and Amūn.[9] The ceremony, which consisted in sprinkling the child with water, was not merely purificatory; it endowed the prospective ruler with vital force and certain divine qualities.[10] It is possible that in early times royal children were washed at birth in the sacred pool of the State god.[11]

(*b*) *Before coronation.*—Piankhi, on his way to Heliopolis, 'was purified in the midst of the Cool Pool,' and 'his face was washed in the water of Nun in which the sun-god washes his face.'[12] By this act Piankhi was brought into close association with the sun-god, who was about to be asked to recognize him as his son. Like the pilgrimage to Heliopolis itself, it probably formed part of a procedure followed by every Pharaoh.[13] It was with a view to his being affiliated to the sun-god that the deceased Pharaoh, apparently reborn, is said to bathe, or be washed by Atum, in the sacred Heliopolitan waters.[14]

[1] *Pyr.* 1368*a*, 2015*d*; cf. below, V. 2 (*d*), 7 (*e*); for a pedicurist attending to a man's toe-nails see Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, London, 1893–1900, ii. pl. iv. reg. 2, left end.

[2] J. E. Quibell, *Tomb of Hesy*, Cairo, 1913, pls. xxix.–xxxii.

[3] Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, Eng. tr., London, 1894, p. 225.

[4] *Ib.*; G. Elliot Smith, *The Ancient Egyptians*, London, 1911, p. 124.

[5] See Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 219 ff.

[6] Quibell, p. 33 f., figs. 14, 15.

[7] A. H. Gardiner, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, Paris, 1916, p. 111 f.

[8] *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the J. Rylands Library*, Manchester, 1909, iii. 82, with n. 11; see also his *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, Oxford, 1900, p. 44.

[9] *Pyr.* 788*c*–789*c*; cf. Virey, p. 127.

[10] *Pap. D'Orbiney*, xii. line 8 f.

[11] Murray, pl. i.

[12] *Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd*, pl. ix.

[13] See also Blackman, *ZÄ* l. [1912] 66 ff.

[14] A. H. Gardiner and A. E. P. Weigall, *Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs of Thebes*, London, 1903, p. 24, nos. 92, 101, p. 32, no. 176, p. 38, no. 238.

[15] Erman, *Die Märchen des Papyrus Westcar*, Berlin, 1890, i. 63; cf. H. Grapow, *Urkunden des ägyp. Altertums*, v. [Leipzig, 1915] p. 23, line 15, p. 24, line 18.

[16] See Grapow, Germ. tr., p. 10, n. 1.

[1] Erman, *Märchen des Pap. Westcar*, pl. ii. lines 10–12, 24 f., pl. iii. line 13; cf. below, V. 8, and Herod. ii. 64.

[2] Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests*, p. 88 f.

[3] E. Revillout, *Chrestomathie démotique*, Paris, 1880, p. 233; J. J. Hess, *Roman von Setna Ḫa-m-us*, Leipzig, 1888, p. 24.

[4] Erman, *Märchen des Pap. Westcar*, i. 68; Hess, *loc. cit.*

[5] Erman, i. 67.

[6] E. Chassinat, *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale*, x. [Cairo, 1912] 190.

[7] *Ib.* p. 184; cf. below, V. 1 (*d*) and 3. [8] Chassinat, p. 185 ff.

[9] A. Gayet, *Le Temple de Louxor*, Paris, 1894, pl. lxxv.; E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari*, London, 1895–1908, iii. pl. lvi.; J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, Chicago, 1906, ii. 216; Sethe, *Urkunden des ägyp. Altertums*, iv. 242, Germ. tr., p. 112.

[10] Naville, *loc. cit.*, and see below, (*c*) (*d*).

[11] See *Pyr.* 211 ff.; *Book of the Dead*, ch. 17, lines 20–23; Grapow, *Urkunden*, v. 22–25; see also below, (*b*) and 8 (*b*).

[12] H. Schäfer, *Urkunden des ägyp. Altertums*, iii. [Leipzig, 1908] 37; Breasted, *Ancient Records*, iv. 870.

[13] Breasted, *Ancient Records*, ii. 222.

[14] *Pyr.* 211 f.; cf. also *Book of the Dead*, clxix. 19 f., and see above, (*a*).

(*c*) *At coronation.*—The coronation purification was a renewal of that undergone in infancy. It was performed before the diadems were placed upon the Pharaoh's head,[1] by a priest impersonating the god Yahes (*Ỉ;hs*).

The god thus addresses the king: 'I purify thee with the water of all life and good fortune, all stability, all health and happiness.' The Pharaoh, therefore, was not only purified, but endowed with the qualities which fitted him for his new position, and which he possessed, *qua* Pharaoh, in common with the sun-god.[2] Perhaps this ceremony and that of (*a*) above have some connexion with the primitive ideas about kingship and fertility. In both scenes[3] the water issues from the vessels as strings of symbols of life, ☥.

(*d*) *Before officiating in a temple.*—Before he could enter a temple to participate in any ceremony, the Pharaoh had to be purified by two priests impersonating Horus and Thōth[4] or Horus and Seth.[5] Cf. 'Horus and Thōth hold out their hands to receive thee when purifying thy body.'[6] This purification, which took place in the House of the Morning,[7] consisted, when the full procedure was carried out, in sprinkling the king with water, which sometimes contained natron,[8] fumigating him with incense, and presenting him with natron to chew[9] and thereby cleanse his mouth (see below, V. 2 (*d*) (*e*)); he was also offered food and drink.[10]

The water, called the 'water of life and good fortune,'[11] and 'that which renews life,'[12] was brought from the sacred pool with which every temple seems to have been provided.[13] The purification, therefore, besides cleansing the Pharaoh, imbued him with divine qualities; it also reconstituted him, as is shown by other formulæ pronounced during the ceremony, which are like those accompanying the funerary purifications. Food and drink were also purificatory in this secondary sense, for they possessed similar virtue to that of water and incense.[14]

Probably on ordinary occasions the king merely washed his hands,[15] after, perhaps, being lightly sprinkled with water by the two priests. It is unlikely that the fumigation with incense was ever omitted.

The king is described as 'pure of hands when performing the ceremonies.'[16] For a realistic representation of the king washing his hands in the House of the Morning see Lepsius, iv. pl. 4*a*. In the sun-temple of Nuserrē some or all of the ablutions were probably performed in the two basins which are sunk in the pavement just outside the door of the vestry, one on either side of it.[17]

(*e*) *At a Sed-festival.*—At this festival special importance seems to have been attached to the washing of the king's feet[18] and hands.[19]

In the mutilated scene from the sun-temple part of the special can for feet-ablutions is still recognizable.[20]

2. Purity and purification after death.—Many of the funerary texts found in general use during and after the feudal period treat of what was once considered the destiny of the royal dead only (see above, under 1).

As the Pharaoh during his lifetime had to be purified before entering a temple, so after death he had to be purified before he could enter the solar, or Osirian, kingdom, the inhabitants of which, and all things connected with them, were pure.

Examples are the abodes of the sun-god,[1] those who sail in the boat of Osiris,[2] the lotus-flower which the sun-god holds to his nose,[3] and the deceased's throne in heaven or his seat in the sun-god's bark, either of which he can occupy only if he himself is pure.[4]

Purity was therefore the only passport to posthumous happiness.

Accordingly, the dead Pharaoh's ascent to heaven did not take place until his purity was assured. 'Thou art pure, thou ascendest unto Re.'[5] 'Piōpi is pure . . . this Piōpi ascends to heaven.'[6] The guardians of the gates of the under world allow the deceased to cross their thresholds because he is pure.[7]

This purity as originally conceived was to a large extent physical.

Before Thōth and the sun-god can draw the dead king up to heaven, it must be said of him: 'The mouth of N. is pure, the Great Ennead have censed N., and the tongue which is within his mouth is pure. What N. abhors is dung, N. puts urine far from him. N. abhors this. N. eats not this abomination.'[8]

The purity demanded by the gods of the dead Pharaoh, according to the Pyramid Texts, was not incompatible with gross sensuality or flagrant immorality.[9] It is, however, occasionally stated that something more than physical cleanliness was expected of him.[10] From the time of the VIth dynasty onwards[11] the claims made by the dead to moral integrity and purity become more and more prominent; they find, perhaps, fullest expression in the *Book of the Dead.*

In ch. cxxv., the 'Assertion of Sinlessness,' among the many sins which the deceased claims to be innocent of are fornication, masturbation ('Introduction,' line 15), and adultery ('Confession,' line 20).

In their conceptions of moral purity and righteousness the Egyptians very rarely, at any stage of their religious development, lost sight of the sanitary observances in which they had their origin.

'Let me pass,' says the deceased to certain gods who block his way, 'I have purified myself upon this great *w'r-t*, I have put away my evil, I have banished wrong, I have driven to the earth the evil appertaining to my flesh.'[12]

There were several ways of attaining that purity upon which the welfare of the dead so entirely depended.

(*a*) *Ceremonial acts performed by the deceased in his lifetime.*—These acts, which had associated, or identified, him with certain divinities and so rendered him pure, are (i.) bathing in sacred waters or pools (see V. 1 and 8 (*b*)); (ii.) participation in the Osiris mysteries (see V. 8 (*c*)).

(*b*) *Spells*, asserting (i.) that those acts had been performed;[13] (ii.) that all impurities had been avoided.[14] By means of these potent formulæ the things alleged, however untrue they might be, became actualities.[15]

(*c*) *Ablutions performed after death by the deceased himself* (i.) on earth: in the 'water of

[1] Naville, *Deir el-Bahari*, iii. pls. lxiii., lxiv.; Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv. 262; Breasted, *Ancient Records*, ii. 99.
[2] *E.g.*, D. R. MacIver, *Buhen*, Philadelphia, 1911, p. 34 (188), and *passim* in the temple reliefs.
[3] See Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv. 262, note (*b*).
[4] Mariette, *Dendereh*, Paris, 1869–80, i. pl. 10; Blackman, *Temple of Derr*, Cairo, 1913, pl. xliii.
[5] Lepsius, iii. pl. 124*d*. [6] Mariette, *Dendereh*, pl. 9.
[7] See above, III.; also Kees, *RTr* xxxvi. 1 ff.; Schäfer, *Urkunden*, iii. 35–37; Breasted, *Ancient Records*, iv. 866, 871.
[8] Mariette, *Dendereh*, i. pl. 10, inscr. left of scene.
[9] Cf. A. H. Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, London, 1909, p. 76.
[10] Kees, *RTr* xxxvi. 6–9; and cf. Chassinat, p. 183 *f.*
[11] Mariette, *Dendereh*, i. pl. 10; Lepsius, iii. pl. 124*d*.
[12] Mariette, *ib.*, inscr. behind Thōth.
[13] J. Dümichen, *Bauurkunde der Tempelanlagen von Dendera*, Leipzig, 1865, pl. viii.
[14] J. H. Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, New York and London, 1912, p. 60; cf. Blackman, *ZA* l. 69 ff.; see below, V. 3.
[15] Kees, *RTr* xxxvi. 5.
[16] Mariette, *Dendereh*, ii. pl. 59*b*.
[17] Borchardt, *Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-Woser-Re*, Berlin, 1905, pp. 15 *f.* and 49 with fig. 42.
[18] *Ib.* p. 15 *f.*; *ZA* xxxvii. [1899] pl. i.
[19] Naville, *The Festival Hall of Osorkon II.*, London, 1892, pl. xi.
[20] See above, II. a., and Newberry-Griffith, *El-Bersheh*, i. pl. x.

[1] *Pyr.* 1359*b*. [2] *Ib.* 1201*c*.
[3] *Book of the Dead*, lxxxi.A, 3.
[4] *Pyr.* 710*a–c*; *Book of the Dead*, clxxxi. 10.
[5] *Pyr.* 733*c*. [6] *Ib.* 1411*a, b*.
[7] *Book of the Dead*, cxlv. [ed. Lepsius, Leipzig, 1842] 3 *f.*; see also ciii. 4.
[8] *Pyr.* 127*a*–128*a*.
[9] Breasted, *Religion and Thought*, p. 177.
[10] *Ib.* p. 171 *f.* [11] *Ib.* p. 168 ff.
[12] *Book of the Dead*, lxxxvi. 7 *f.*; see also cxxv. ['Conclusion'] 12 *f.*, 17–20, clxxxi. 13–15; P. J. de Horrack, *Le Livre des respirations*, Paris, 1877, pl. i., § 2.
[13] *Book of the Dead*, xvii. 20–23, cxxv. ['Conclusion'] 17–20, cxlv. *passim*, i. 3, 8–10, 13 *f.*, clxxxi. 13 ff., and see below, 3 (*c*).
[14] *E.g.*, the 'Assertion of Sinlessness,' *Book of the Dead*, ch. cxxv.
[15] Cf. Gardiner's remarks about the ceremonial voyage to Abydos (Davies-Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhēt*, p. 47 *f.*); cf. also *Pyr.* 921, which describes the followers of Horus not only as washing the dead king, but as reciting spells whereby he was rendered righteous and so might ascend to life and happiness (Breasted, *Religion and Thought*, p. 171 *f.*).

Khereḥa,'[1] the two pools at Herakleopolis Magna;[2] (ii.) in the other world: he might, like the sun-god, cleanse himself in the Field or Pool of Earu,[3] or squat on a stone (cf. below, V. 7 (*b*)) beside the Pool of the God and wash his feet.[4]

(*d*) *Ceremonies performed for him by the gods* (i.) on earth: the deceased might be washed by Satis in the waters of the First Cataract—the source of the Nile, according to tradition,[5] and therefore especially pure and sacred[6]—or by Atum at Heliopolis;[7] (ii.) in the other world: in the Field of Life, the birth-place of the sun-god, Kebḥōwet, daughter of Anubis, might empty her four pitchers of water over the deceased and then fumigate him with incense.[8] He might bathe with the sun-god in the Pool of Earu and then be rubbed dry by Horus and Thōth,[9] or wash his feet in the sun-god's own silver basin which had been fashioned by Sokar.[10] He is described as sitting upon the lap of Mekhentirti while his mouth is purified with natron (see below, (*e*) (ii.)) and the gods clean the nails of his fingers and toes.[11] Again, he is shaved by Duawer,[12] and his face is washed by that god and massaged by Sokar.[13]

(*e*) *Ceremonies performed by the living.*—Purificatory rites figured prominently in the funerary ceremonies, in which the deceased (originally the dead Pharaoh) was identified with Osiris[14]—the officiants impersonating Anubis, Horus, and other divinities.[15] Doubtless it was believed that the purifications supposed to be performed by the gods in the other world actually were performed if they were faithfully mimicked on earth and the proper formulæ recited.[16] One of the funerary libation formulæ describes the washing of the dead Pharaoh by Horus.[17]

(i.) In the *w'b-t*, 'Place of Purification,' *i.e.* the embalmer's workshop,[18] the corpse was washed with water in which various kinds of natron had been dissolved,[19] and with wine, milk, and beer.[20]

(ii.) At the 'Opening of the Mouth' in the 'House of Gold,' *i.e.* the sculptor's studio,[21] and at the burial and periodical services in the tomb-chapel, various purification ceremonies were performed on behalf of the deceased. These consisted in sprinkling the mummy, or its substitute, the statue, with water, fumigating it with incense, offering it libations, and holding up to its mouth (see III. 2, V. 2 (*d*), 7 (*a*)) balls of natron and incense.[22]

3. The significance of the posthumous purifications.—As Junker has clearly shown in his *Götterdekret über das Abaton* (Vienna, 1913), the object of the ceremonies performed on behalf of Osiris was to furnish the god with never-failing supplies of vital force and so keep him perpetually rejuvenated, thereby securing a high Nile and a fruitful season. Since every person (originally only the Pharaoh) became at death an Osiris, the same ceremonies were performed for the dead as for the god.

The funerary washings, sprinklings, fumigations, etc., possessed, therefore, a secondary, what we might term sacramental, significance; they both helped to reconstitute the deceased and, together with the food- and drink-offerings, supplied him with nutriment which enabled him to continue his existence and to maintain unimpaired all his reconstituted faculties and powers.

(i.) The water with which the corpse or statue was washed or sprinkled not merely cleansed the deceased from his impurities but brought together the head and bones and made the body complete (*tm*) in every particular.[1] Accordingly either stream of water that flows about the figure of the dead User[2] terminates in a large symbol of life, ☥ (see above, V. 1). With the offering of libation-water to the deceased is associated the giving to him of his spirit (*ḳ;b*) and his power (*sḫm*), and at the same time he is bidden to stand upon his feet and to gather together his bones.[3]

(ii.) Incense-smoke had the same effect, cleansing the dead 'from all the evil appertaining to him,' and making him 'strong and powerful above all gods.'[4]

(iii.) For the mysterious virtue of the food- and drink-offerings see Breasted, *Religion and Thought*, p. 60.

(iv.) The deceased was also, of course, supposed to be similarly reconstituted by the purifications that he underwent in the other world. After ablutions in the Field of Earu he received 'his bones of metal' (*bi;*) and 'stretched out his indestructible limbs which are in the womb of the sky-goddess.'[5] By the washings of Horus and Thōth and other divinities the dead was cleansed from all impurities, moral and physical, his body came together again or was entirely refashioned, and he was fit to enter heaven or the Tēi, *i.e.* under world.[6]

4. Purification of divinities in the temple ritual.—Owing to the influence of the Osiris myth, and to the fact that the Pharaoh was Horus and every god was conceived of as his father, the ceremonies performed in the temple and tomb-chapel were in many respects identical. Every divinity, for cult purposes, was treated as an Osiris, and his or her statue was purified like that of a dead person—and for the same reasons.

When his statue was sprinkled,[7] Amūn was acclaimed not merely as pure but as reconstituted: 'Unite unto thee thy head, unite unto thee thy bones, make fast for thee thy head unto thy bones . . . what appertains unto thee is complete; pure, pure is Amūn, Lord of Karnak!'[8] The libation-water also is 'life-renewing.'[9] The incense both purifies the god[10] and imbues him with life and vigour.[11]

5. Purity and purification of offerings to gods and dead.—(*a*) *Purity.*—All offerings made to the gods and dead, and everything used in their service, had to be pure.

The door-posts of temples often bear the following, or a similar, inscription: 'The offerings and all that enters the temple of such-and-such a divinity—it is pure.'[12] The living pray that the mortuary equipment of the dead may consist of 'every good and pure thing.'[13]

---

1 *Book of the Dead*, clxix. 19 f.
2 W. Wreszinski, *Aegyp. Inschriften . . . in Wien*, Leipzig, 1906, p. 63; Grapow, *Urkunden*, v. 23.
3 *Pyr.* 918*a*, 1408 ff., 1421, 1430.
4 *Book of the Dead*, cxxvii. 42.
5 Cf. Herod. ii. 28.
6 Breasted, *Religion and Thought*, p. 103.
7 *Pyr.* 211; see V. 1 (*a*), 8 (*b*).
8 *Pyr.* 1189 ff. Incense, like the water, is purificatory (*ib.* 1017*a*, *b*, 2066*a*, *b*), and upon a cloud of purifying incense-smoke the deceased is wafted up to heaven (*ib.* 2053 f.; cf. 365*b*).
9 *Ib.* 519*a–c*; cf. 1247*a–d*.
10 *Book of the Dead*, clxxii. 32 f.
11 *Pyr.* 1367*c*-1368*b*.
12 *Ib.* 1428*a*; see Sethe, *ap.* Borchardt, *Grabdenkmal des Königs Saḥu-rē'*, ii. 97.
13 *Pyr.* 2042*a*, *b*.
14 Cf. Blackman, *The Temple of Bigeh*, Cairo, 1915, p. 28, *e*.
15 Davies-Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhēt*, p. 55.
16 Cf. the employment of models (*Book of the Dead* [Pap. Nu.], rubrics of chs. 133, 136A), or pictures (H. Junker, *Die Stundenwachen in den Osirismysterien*, Vienna, 1911, p. 6 f.); cf. G. Möller, *Die beiden Totenpapyrus Rhind*, Leipzig, 1913, 1. vi. line 1 ff.
17 E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of Opening the Mouth*, London, 1909, ii. 85 f.
18 Davies-Gardiner, p. 45.
19 Junker, *Stundenwachen*, p. 82; Möller, 1. vi. lines 1–4; cf. Horrack, pl. i. § 2; *Book of the Dead*, clxix. 18 f.
20 Junker and Möller, *locc. citt.*; *Book of the Dead*, clxix. 6–8.
21 Davies-Gardiner, p. 45.
22 Budge, *Book of Opening the Mouth*, i. 14 f., ii. 2 ff.; E. Schiaparelli, *Il Libro dei Funerali*, pt. i., Turin, 1882, pt. ii., Rome, 1890, i. 30 ff.; Budge, *The Liturgy of the Funerary Offerings*, London, 1909, pp. 42 ff., 151 ff.; Davies-Gardiner, pp. 55 ff., 76 ff.; G. Maspero, *La Table d'offrandes des tombeaux égyptiens*, Paris, 1897, pp. 4–12.

1 Junker, *Stundenwachen*, p. 103 f.; Budge, *Book of Opening the Mouth*, ii. 4, 80; Schiaparelli, i. 81–83, ii. 128–130; *Pyr.* 10, 837–843, 1908, 2043*c*.
2 Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, London, 1913, pl. xxi.; cf. *Louvre Stele*, C. 15 (= E. Gayet, *Stèles de la XIIe dynastie*, Paris, 1886, pl. liv.); A. Moret, *Mystères égyptiens*, do. 1913, pl. i., and see also Davies-Gardiner, p. 57. The water is apparently being poured through a sieve, in order to break up and distribute the flow all over the man who is being washed. See also Virey, pl. xx.; J. J. Tylor, *El-Kab: the Tomb of Renni*, London, 1900, pl. xi.
3 *Pyr.* 857 f.
4 Junker, *Stundenwachen*, p. 90; cf. Blackman, *ZÄ* l. 71 ff.
5 *Pyr.* 529 f.; cf. 749*b*, 1454, 2051*d*.
6 *Ib.* 211*c*–213, 519, 921–923, 1141 f., 1247, 2170 f.; Möller, 1. vi. lines 1–9; Horrack, pl. i. § 2.
7 Cf. Lepsius, iii. pl. 66*c*; Naville, *Deir el-Bahari*, ii. pl. xlv.
8 *Ritual of Amon*, xxvii. 2 f.; see also Mariette, *Dendereh*, ii. pl. 59*a*, where the water of the *nms-t*-pitchers is said to 'rejuvenate her [Hathor's] body.'
9 Mariette, iii. pl. 62*a*; cf. Junker, *Stundenwachen*, pp. 79 f., 82, *Götterdekret über das Abaton*, p. 14 f.
10 *Ritual of Amon*, viii. 2.
11 *Ib.* xii. 8–xiii. 8; see also *ZÄ* l. 71 ff.
12 *E.g.*, MacIver, pl. 17, p. 49; Naville, *Deir el-Bahari*, iv. pl. xcv.
13 Griffith, *Siût*, pl. i.; Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, i. pl. xx., and *passim* on the funerary stelæ.

Herodotus[1] describes the measures taken to ensure the ceremonial purity of victims offered to the gods, and in Græco-Roman times this was reckoned a matter of supreme importance.[2] The testing of at least funerary victims was customary as far back as the Old Kingdom.[3]

In A.D. 122–123 a regulation was introduced forbidding the officiating priest to offer a victim until he had received a written certificate of its purity.[4] For an extant example of such a certificate see L. Mitteis and U. Wilcken, *Grundz. und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, Leipzig, 1912, I. ii. 'Chrestomathie,' p. 118, no. 89.

(*b*) *Purification.* — Offerings were purified by pouring libations over them and by fumigating them with incense.[5]

Virey (pl. xxv.) shows a lector pouring water over the carcass of a victim which a butcher has begun to dismember. Offerings presented to the dead could be washed or sprinkled with water containing natron, the purifying qualities of which were thus transmitted to the dead.[6]

The purification of the offerings possessed the same significance as the other purificatory rites.

As already seen (V. 3), the water used in lustrations and libations, incense-smoke, and food- and drink-offerings were endowed with mysterious reconstructive powers. The soaking in the liquid, therefore, and the fumigation added to the already existing virtue of the food, and, when the formula of presentation was recited, the combined qualities were imparted simultaneously to the god's (or dead person's) soul (*bꜣ*).[7]

The table or altar upon which the offerings were placed had first to be purified with water and incense.[8]

The following formula shows that the water might contain natron: 'It is pure. Purified is the offering-stand (*wḏḥw*) with natron, with cool water (*ḳbḥw*), with incense . . . for the *ka* of the Osiris N.'[9]

6. Purification of temples and of buildings used for religious ceremonies.—(*a*) *Consecration of a new temple or shrine.*—A new temple was solemnly purified before it was handed over to its divine owner.[10]

The two chapels or booths of Upper and Lower Egypt that figure in the funerary ceremonies appear to have been purified by having water sprinkled over them.[11]

(*b*) *Renewal of purification.*—It was sometimes thought advisable to purify a temple afresh.

A certain Sebekḥotp informs us that he was sent by Sesostris II. to purify the temples in the Theban nome 'for the sake of the pure celebration[12] of the monthly festival and the clean observance of the half-monthly festival.'[13]

Purification would naturally be necessary after the profanation of a temple or sacred city.

The day after Piankhi had taken Memphis by assault 'he sent men into it to protect the temples of the god, hallowed (?) the sanctuaries of the gods, offered to the community of gods (*dꜣdꜣ·t*) of Hetkeptaḥ, purified Memphis with natron and incense.'[14] So also Mentemḥēt 'purified all the temples in the nomes of all Patoris, according as one should purify violated temples,' after the Assyrian invasion in 667 B.C.[15]

7. Purity and purification of the priests.—The characteristic mark of the priest, from the earliest down to the latest period, was his purity. This appears in the ordinary word for priest, *wē'eb*, 'pure one,' Coptic ογннв.

The retention of the word by the Christian Egyptians suggests that even with them it was still his purity, rather than his sacrificial and intercessory functions, that separated the priest from the layman.

A number of measures were taken by the priests to ensure their absolute purity.

(*a*) In the Græco-Roman period a priest had to purify himself for several days before entering upon his course[1]—a practice that is evidently very ancient.[2]

Pap. Turin, pl. 57, line 9 ff. (*temp.* Ramesses IV.–V.) shows that this prefatory purification comprised drinking natron for a specified number of days; until they were accomplished, the priest could not enter certain parts of the temple precincts nor carry the image of the god.[3] The wailing women who bemoaned Osiris had to purify themselves four times before they could stand within the 'door of the Broad Hall';[4] they also washed their mouths and chewed natron (see V. 2 (*d*), (*e*)), and fumigated themselves with incense, in order that both they and the lamentations with which they 'spiritualized' the dead Osiris might be pure.[5] A passage in Gardiner, *Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage* (p. 76), suggests that the bread eaten by a priest during his prefatory purification and his course must be white bread (*ḏ:ḥa*).

(*b*) Priests and priestesses had always to wash or sprinkle themselves before entering a temple or engaging in a religious ceremony; every temple seems to have possessed a tank or pool set apart for this purpose (cf. V. 1 (*d*)).

A priest pronounced a special formula when entering the temple 'after making his purification in the pure pool.'[6] During the service he continually refers to his purity.[7] G. Legrain and E. Naville (*L'Aile nord du pylone d'Amenophis III.*, Paris, 1902, pl. xi. B) reproduce a mutilated relief depicting priests and priestesses purifying themselves before entering the temple. They seem to be standing in two shallow pools or tanks, while water is poured over them.[8] The descriptive text reads: 'Going down to wash by the prophets, the god's wife, the god's hand (*dr·t ntr*), in the Cool Pool, (and then) entering into the temple.' According to Herodotus,[9] the priests washed in cold water twice every day and twice every night.

Legrain found at Karnak an alabaster pedestal—bearing a dedicatory inscription of Tethmōsis III.—on which the priests stood while they purified themselves.[10] Cf. the stone beside the Pool of the God on which the deceased washed his feet.[11]

(*c*) The priests also perhaps fumigated themselves with incense before officiating in the daily service (see (*a*) and V. 1 (*d*)).

Before taking hold of the brazier, which was to contain the burning incense, the priest said: 'Hail brazier . . . I am cleansed by the Eye of Horus.'[12] 'Eye of Horus' in this context must surely mean incense.

(*d*) Great emphasis is laid upon the purity of the priest's hands.

Ikhernofret says of himself: 'I was pure handed in adorning the god, a *sem*-priest with clean fingers.'[13] 'Pure of fingers' is the oft-recurring epithet of priests.[14]

(*e*) *Paring the nails.*—The priests cut their nails short so as not to harbour dirt which would render them ceremonially unclean.[15]

Reliefs in the *mastaba* of 'Enkh-me'-ḥōr, a *sem*-priest and

---

1 ii. 38 f.

2 W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten*, Leipzig, 1905–08, i. 62 f., ii. 79; A. Wiedemann, *Herodots zweites Buch*, Leipzig, 1890, ii. 180–183; R. Reitzenstein, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete*, ii. [1902] 8.

3 J. E. Quibell, *The Ramesseum and the Tomb of Ptah-hotep*, London, 1896, pl. xxxvi.; Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 289.

4 Otto, i. 62 f.

5 Lepsius, iii. pls. 66*c*, 180*b*; Blackman, *Derr*, pl. xxxvi., *Meir*, ii. pl. x.; *RTr* xxi. [1899] 142, xxii. [1900] 87; see also Schiaparelli, ii. 164; Budge, *Book of Opening the Mouth*, ii. 94; Junker, *Götterdekret über das Abaton*, pp. 10 ff., 20, 30.

6 Blackman, *Meir*, iii. 31 f.; *Pyr.* 1112*c*, *d*.

7 Junker, *Götterdekret über das Abaton*, p. 14 f.

8 Schiaparelli, ii. 157; Budge, *Book of Opening the Mouth*, ii. 90 f.; Virey, p. 125.

9 Lacau, *Sarcophages antérieurs au nouvel Empire*, ii. 50. The same formula occurs in *Cairo*, no. 20455 (= H. O. Lange and H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des mittleren Reichs*, Berlin, 1908, ii. 49), with the word 'natron' omitted.

10 F. W. von Bissing, 'Die Reliefs vom Sonnenheiligtum des Rathures,' *SBAW*, 1914, p. 8; cf., perhaps, Gardiner, *Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, p. 76.

11 Virey, pl. xxvi.

12 For this use of *w'b* and *twr* cf. *Book of the Dead*, clxxxi. 13.

13 *Egyptian Stelæ*, iv. pl. 7.

14 Schäfer, *Urkunden*. iii. 34 f.; Breasted, *Ancient Records*, iv. 865.

15 Breasted, *Ancient Records*, iv. 902, 905.

---

1 Otto, i. 25.

2 Gardiner, *Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, p. 76 f.

3 The present writer is indebted to Dr. A. H. Gardiner for this reference; cf. Blackman, *Bigeh*, p. 47.

4 Junker, *Stundenwachen*, p. 6.

5 *Ib.* p. 70 f.; cf. *Festival Songs of Isis and Nephthys*, i. 2 f. = Budge, *An Egyptian Reading Book*, London, 1896, p. 39.

6 A. Moret, *Le Rituel du culte divin journalier en Egypte*, Paris, 1902, p. 8, n. 1, p. 79, n. 2.

7 *Ritual of Amon*, i. 5, 7 f., ii. 2, *et passim*.

8 Cf. , the wood-sign for *wē'eb*, 'priest.'

9 ii. 37.

10 *Annales du service*, iv. 225 f.

11 *Book of the Dead*, clxxii. 41 f.

12 *Ritual of Amon*, ii. 1.

13 Schäfer, *Die Mysterien des Osiris in Abydos unter König Sesostris III.*, Leipzig, 1904, in Sethe's *Untersuchungen zur Gesch. und Altertumskunde Aegyp.* iv. 18 f.; Breasted, *Ancient Records*, i. 668.

14 Newberry-Griffith, *El-Bersheh*, ii. pl. vii.; Lange-Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des mittleren Reichs*, ii. 148 [7], 155 [10]; Gardiner-Weigall, *Catalogue of the Private Tombs of Thebes*, p. 43; Wreszinski, *Aegyp. Inschriften . . . in Wien*, p. 22; cf. p. 132.

15 Moret, *Rituel du culte divin journalier*, p. 170 = *Ritual of Amon*, xxvi. 7–10; cf. V. 2 (*d*), ii.

lector,[1] possibly depict the cutting and cleaning of priests' finger- and toe-nails, and not, as has been suggested, surgical operations.

(*f*) *Depilation.* — Herodotus[2] states that the priests in his day shaved their whole body every third day to ensure ceremonial purity.

Depilation seems to be an ancient practice (see above III. 6). The depilation of a priest is perhaps depicted in the *mastaba* of 'Enkh-me'-ḥōr:[3] the man's leg is being rubbed to remove hair. The adjacent scene possibly represents a priest having his back scrubbed to render it ceremonially clean. It is said of the women who impersonated Isis and bewailed Osiris: 'Their body is pure . . . the hair of their body has been removed.'[4]

(*g*) *Shaving.*—The clean-shaven head does not appear to have become the distinguishing mark of the priestly caste[5] till towards the end of the XVIIIth dynasty.[6] In the Græco-Roman period the regulations about the priests shaving their heads were very strict.[7]

(*h*) *Dress.*—From the time of the New Kingdom onwards the priests seem to have been very punctilious in the matter of dress.[8] As early as the IXth to Xth dynasties we learn that a priest during his period of service had to wear white sandals.[9]

(*i*) *Circumcision.* — See art. CIRCUMCISION (Egyptian), vol. iii. p. 670 ff.

8. Purity and purification of the laity.—(*a*) *Purification before entering a temple or sacred place.*—Until the Græco-Roman period we know practically nothing about the purification of the lay people before entering a temple,[10] but we may be certain that ablutions of some sort were deemed necessary. There is possibly a reference to this practice in an inscription dating from the reign of King Teti of the VIth dynasty.[11] In the Old Kingdom it also appears to have been reckoned impious for those who had eaten an impure thing, *bwt*,[12] or who were still purifying themselves, *m 'bw-sn*,[13] to approach the portrait-statue in a tomb-chapel, or indeed enter the building (cf. below, VI. 1). Ch. lxiv. of the *Book of the Dead*, line 46, speaks of a worshipper's hands as pure when praising the god. Herodotus[14] says that a man had to discard his woollen cloak before entering a temple.

Hero of Alexandria (fl. *c.* 250 B.C.) says that 'stoups (*περιῤῥαντήρια*) for the sprinkling of those who enter' stood at the entrances to Egyptian temples.[15]

Perhaps we have examples of the *περιῤῥαντήρια* of Hero in certain large stone vessels of the Ptolemaic age, which, as the inscriptions show, came from temples, and which, apparently, were meant to hold water. Some of them are decorated on the inside with the symbols , 'good fortune, life, stability,' which are associated (see above, V. 1) with religious ablutions.[16]

Hero also speaks of bronze wheels, which were apparently fixed to the doors of temples, and were turned by those entering 'because it is thought that bronze cleanses.'[1]

This is quite an un-Egyptian device, and was probably imported from the East.[2] Von Bissing describes what may be an actual example of one of these wheels and gives a drawing of it.[3]

An inscription of the Ptolemaic period[4] states that people who had become impure through sexual intercourse,[5] birth, miscarriage, menstruation, etc., had to pay dues before being admitted into the temple of Asklepios at Ptolemais. These were apparently paid into a money-box (*θησαυρός*) at the entrance to the temple.[6]

A bronze wheel was sometimes, it seems, associated with the money-box; thus a person paid his or her dues and then was purified by turning the wheel. Hero[7] proposes to make a combined money-box and wheel; the former is to be surmounted by a bird which will sing when the wheel is turned.[8] We also learn from Hero[9] that bronze wheels were set up near the water-stoups. He therefore proposes to make a 'contrivance of such a kind that when the wheel is turned the water runs out of it for the sprinkling.'[10] For further particulars as to these two contrivances, the former of which was a penny-in-the-slot machine worked by 5-drachma pieces, the latter an ingenious swivel tap, see Rochas, *Annales du Service des Antiquités*, xi. [1911] 95 ff.

(*b*) *Purification in sacred waters and pools.*—(i.) Near Khereha (the Græco-Roman Babylon) there was a pool connected with the Heliopolitan sun-cult. In its waters the sun-god washed his face, and it was of advantage to mortal men to do the same.[11]

(ii.) At Herakleopolis Magna there were two great pools in the precincts of the temple of Ḥarshef, called the 'Pool of Natron' and the 'Pool of Mē'et.'[12] The worshippers of the god washed in these pools and so were cleansed from their sins; their offerings were washed in them also.[13]

An official of the Saite period records that he built a wall 'behind the Pool of Mē'et.'[14]

(iii.) The water at the First Cataract, the traditional source of the Nile,[15] was believed to be endowed with special cleansing properties, and therefore was used (or supposed to be used) for all the lustrations and libations offered to the gods and the dead.[16] The fact that the dead go there to be bathed by the goddess Satis[17] suggests that the living also performed ablutions there.[18]

(*c*) *The Osirian mysteries.*—Participation in the Osirian mysteries[19] was productive of religious purity. This is suggested by certain statements in the *Book of the Dead*.

E.g., the deceased thus addresses the gods in the other world: 'I am pure of mouth, pure of hands, one to whom is said "Welcome, welcome" by those who see him; for I have heard those words which the ass spake with the cat' (cxxv. ['Conclusion'] 13 f.). Again he says to his *ka* who stands in his way: 'Let me pass, for I am pure. I have made Osiris to triumph against his foes' (cv. 8); see also i. 3, 8–10, 13 f., clxxxi. 13 ff.

9. Purification before going into battle.—Apparently the only reference to this custom in Egyptian writings is *Pyr.* 2190*a*–2191*b*,[20] which says:

'Horus comes forth from Khemmis. Buto Town arises for Horus, and he purifies himself there. Horus comes pure that he may avenge his father.'

1 J. Capart, 'Une Rue de tombeaux à Saqqarah,' in *L'Art égyptien*, Brussels, 1907, pl. lxvii.; W. Max Müller, *Egyptological Researches*, Washington, 1906, pl. 105.
2 ii. 37. 3 Capart, pl. lxvi.; Müller, pl. 105.
4 *Festival Songs of Isis and Nephthys*, i. 2 f. = Budge, *Egyptian Reading Book*, p. 49.
5 *E.g.*, Lepsius, iii. pl. 128*b*.
6 See Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna*, London, 1903–08, i. pls. viii., xxii.; also Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 250, 298.
7 Otto, i. 63, ii. 78.
8 Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt* p. 297; Herod. ii. 37; Otto, ii. 78, 256.
9 *Pap. Petersburg*, 1116 A, recto line 64 [Golénischeff, *Les Papyrus hiératiques No No 1115, 1116 A et 1116 B de l'Ermitage Impérial à St. Pétersbourg*, Petrograd, 1913, pl. xi.] = *Journal of Egyptian Archæology*, i. 27; cf. below, VI. 1.
10 See Erman, *Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, Eng. tr., London, 1907, p. 40.
11 Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. [Leipzig, 1903] 87.
12 *Ib.* i. 58; cf. *Piankhi Stele*, lines 147–153.
13 Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. 49, 50, 142; H. Sottas, *La Préservation de la propriété funéraire dans l'ancienne Égypte*, Paris, 1913, p. 9 ff.
14 ii. 81. 15 Otto, i. 396; Hero, *Pneumatika*, i. 32.
16 Erman, *ZÄ* xxxviii. [1900] 54; Wiedemann, *PSBA* xxiii. [1901] 270–274.

1 i. 32; Erman, *ZÄ* xxxviii. 53.
2 C. C. Edgar, *ZÄ* xl. [1902] 140 f.
3 *ZÄ* xxxix. [1901] 144 f.
4 *RA*, 3rd ser., ii. [1883] 181; cf. 3rd ser., xiii. [1889] 70 ff.
5 Cf. Herod. ii. 64.
6 Otto, i. 396; see also Edgar, *loc. cit.*
7 i. 32. 8 *ZÄ* xxxviii. 54. 9 i. 32.
10 *ZÄ* xxxviii. 53; see also Otto, i. 397.
11 *Piankhi Stele*, line 101 f.; Breasted, *Ancient Records*, iv. 870; cf. *Book of the Dead*, clxix. 19 f.; *Pyr.* 211*c*–213; see V. 1, 2 (*a*).
12 *Book of the Dead*, xvii. 21; Grapow, *Urkunden*, v. 23–25.
13 *Book of the Dead*, *loc. cit.*
14 P. Pierret, *Recueil d'inscriptions inédites du musée égyptien du Louvre*, Paris, 1878, p. 16.
15 Breasted, *Religion and Thought*, p. 103.
16 *Pyr.* 864*b*, 1908*a–c*, and *passim* in the religious texts.
17 *Ib.* 1116*a*, *b*.
18 See *Egyptian Stelæ in the British Museum*, ii. pl. 9, line 3 = Breasted, *Ancient Records*, i. 611.
19 See Breasted, *Religion and Thought*, p. 285 ff.
20 *Ib.* p. 29.

VI. *PURITY AND PURIFICATION IN MAGIC.*—1. The reciter of a spell and a magician must be pure. He who would recite ch. cxxv. of the *Book of the Dead* must be pure (*w'b*) and clean (*twr*), must be clothed in the finest linen and shod with white sandals (cf. above, V. 7 (*h*)), have his eyes painted with stibium, and be anointed with the finest unguent.

The purity demanded of the reciter could be obtained by washing with water containing natron[1] or by washing and fumigation in the sunlight.[2] Impure food, such as venison and fish, and sexual intercourse are to be avoided.[3] In the case of one spell the reciter, and his servants also, are directed to purify themselves for nine days.[4]

To be successful in 'spirit-gathering' the magician must be pure.[5]

In vessel-divination by the moon the magician, if a medium is not used, must be 'pure for three days.'[6] In divination by a lamp without a medium the magician, who must be 'pure from a woman,' is directed to lie down on green, *i.e.* fresh, reeds.[7]

2. Purity of the medium.—In 'spirit-gathering' the medium must be a 'boy, pure, before he has gone with a woman.'[8]

3. Purity and purification of the objects used.—The papyrus upon which a spell is written must be pure.[9] The table used in 'spirit-gathering' is to be 'of olive-wood, having four feet, upon which no man on earth has ever sat.'[10]

In lamp-divination the lamp must be a white one 'in which no minium or gum-water has been put, its wick being clean'; it is to be filled with clean genuine Oasis oil, and is then to be set upon a new brick.[11] The *Book of the Dead*, ch. cxxv., rubric, directs that the representation of the Hall of the Two Truths be drawn upon a pure tile of porcelain fashioned of earth upon which no pigs or small cattle have trodden. The canopy (?) placed over the model of a boat used in a magical ceremony is to be purified with natron and incense.[12] In Griffith-Thompson, xxviii. 4, we learn that the bronze vessel used in divination is to be washed with water of natron.

4. Purity and purification of the place where the ceremony was performed.—The place where the magic rite was to be performed must be clean.[13] Sometimes it had to be both 'clean' and 'dark without light,'[14] and in addition must be purified with natron water[15] or sprinkled with 'clean sand[16] brought from the great river.'[17] Furthermore, it is laid down that there is to be no cellar underneath it.[18]

VII. *PURITY OF THOSE WHO WISHED TO HAVE AUDIENCE OF THE PHARAOH.*—In the *Piankhi Stele*, lines 147–153, we are informed that of the four princes who came to the Pharaoh to pay homage three, being fish-eaters, were not admitted to the royal presence. Perhaps this scrupulosity on the part of Piankhi was due to the fact that he had just been affiliated to the sun-god (see above, V. 1 (*b*)), to whom fish was evidently supposed to be an abomination.[19]

LITERATURE.—This has been sufficiently indicated in the article. AYLWARD M. BLACKMAN.

[1] *Book of the Dead*, ch. xx., rubric.
vol. viii. p. 267a.
[2] *Ib.* cxxxv. A, rubric.
[3] *Ib.* ch. lxiv., rubric; cf. rubric of ch. cxxv., and *Piankhi Stele*, line 151 f.; cf. V. 8 (*a*), VII.
[4] Naville, *PSBA* iv. [1876] 16; see art. MAGIC (Egyptian).
[5] F. Ll. Griffith and H. Thompson, *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden*, London, 1894, iii. 6.
[6] *Ib.* xxiii. 23. [7] *Ib.* v 32. [8] *Ib.* iii. 11, xxvii. 15
[9] *Book of the Dead*, ch. c., rubric.
[10] Griffith-Thompson, iv. 1 f.
[11] *Ib.* vi. 2–10; see also xvi. 21–25, xxiii. 31, xxv. 8–16, xxix. 1–3, 30.
[12] *Book of the Dead*, ch. cxxxiii., rubric [*Pap. Nu.*]=E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of the Dead* [Hieroglyphic Text], London, 1898, p. 291.
[13] Griffith-Thompson, iv. 3.
[14] *Ib.* vi. 1 f. [15] *Ib.* v. 3 f., xvii. 23.
[16] Cf. the mound of sand upon which the statue is to be placed for the ceremony of 'opening the mouth' (Davies-Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemhêt*, p. 58; Budge, *Book of Opening the Mouth*, i. 9, 148, ii. 1 f.). An Egyptian Muslim uses sand instead of water for the ablutions preceding prayers, if no water is obtainable (cf. art. PURIFICATION [Muslim]).
[17] Griffith-Thompson x. 9 f. [18] *Ib.* xxv. 16–18.
[19] See *Book of the Dead*, lxv. 11 ff.; Grapow, *ZA* xlix. [1911] 51; Lacau, *Textes religieux égyptiens*, Paris, 1910, i. 91 [xliv.].

PURIFICATION (Greek). — All the lower religions and most of the higher are concerned with the ritual of purification in its manifold forms; the higher are also deeply interested in purity as a spiritual ideal. The history of Greek religion falls into line with the general history of religions in both these respects. Its 'cathartic,' or purificatory, ritual agrees in essential respects with that of the other communities noted in the various sections of this article; it agrees also with the history of the higher religions in that a spiritual ideal, appealing to the more exalted or more sensitive minds, emerged from that ritual. Nevertheless, the phenomena of Greek purification, the ideas and the value attaching to it, bear the impress of the unique temperament of the people, and especially illustrate the pliancy with which the Greek communities could adapt the traditions of ritual to serve the purposes of legal and ethical development.

The student of this department of Greek religion is at once confronted by a chronological question that is also a question of origins: At what period and from what source did the cathartic system arise in Greece? It has been maintained that the whole of it was post-Homeric, and that in origin it was non-Hellenic, being derived from some Oriental or Anatolian source—*e.g.*, from Lydia.[1] This view rests mainly on Homer's supposed silence concerning it, and his silence is explained by his ignorance of any such ritual, which therefore could not have existed in the period when the poems were composed. But we have now learned that Homer's 'silence' has to be carefully and critically judged and interpreted before it can be accepted as certain evidence that what he is silent about did not exist in his time. Also the statement that the Homeric poems are wholly silent concerning any ritual of purification from stain ignores the plain or the probable significance of certain texts. We read that Odysseus purifies his hall with fire and sulphur after the slaughter of the suitors;[2] we may suspect a religious sense of impurity as a motive, though we cannot prove it. But Hektor's words, 'It is not meet for a man stained with blood and grime to offer prayers to God,'[3] cannot but be interpreted in relation to a contemporary simple rule of ceremonial purity—the same religious rule that compels Achilles to wash his hands in lustral water before raising them in prayer to Zeus,[4] or Telemachos to wash his hands in sea-water before praying to Athene.[5] Also, we find the χέρνιψ, or lustral water, the purificatory value of which cannot be doubted, a constant concomitant of the Homeric sacrifice and libation.[6]

Again, we should consider the purification of the Achæan camp, ordered by Agamemnon as a method of expelling the plague, as by no means a merely sanitary or hygienic act, but as inspired by dæmonic or divine fear and therefore as a religious act of purgation; for it is the immediate preliminary to a sacrifice to Apollo, and the Achæans throw the λύματα, the articles with which they had purified themselves and their tents, into the sea; and this is a formal act suggesting that these things are tainted with a curse or religious contagion or the μίασμα of evil spirits.[7]

Therefore the evidence of the Homeric poems does not allow us, still less compel us, to suppose that the Greeks of the Homeric period were wholly destitute of purificatory ceremonies; had they been so, we should have to regard them, in the light of

[1] G. Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, 10 vols., London, 1888, i. 22; P. Stengel, *Die griechischen Alterthümer*, p. 114.
[2] *Od.* xxii. 481 f. [3] *Il.* vi. 267 f.
[4] *Ib.* 228. [5] *Od.* ii. 261.
[6] *e.g.*, *Il* i. 449, xxiv. 305; *Od.* iii. 440.
[7] *Il.* i. 314; cf. the throwing into the sea of the slaughtered boar upon which the oath-curse had been laid (*Il.* xix. 267 f.).

modern anthropology, as in this important respect distinguished from all the other races of the world. Doubtless the invaders from the north, whose blending with the southerners, the people of the Minoan culture, generated the Hellas of history, brought with them their own cathartic ideas and practices; and the evidence of legends and accounts of festivals recorded by the later Greek writers suggests that they found on the soil of Greece and in Crete a more elaborate system of the same significance and of immemorial antiquity.

But there is indeed a marked difference between Homeric society, so far as that is mirrored in the Homeric poems, and the succeeding periods of Greek life; and this difference should be noted at the outset before we proceed to the details of the subject. If we call the people to whom those poems were originally addressed the Achæans, we may venture to say that the Achæan conscience took its cathartic duties, such as they were, very easily and lightly; on the other hand, the later Hellenic conscience became anxious and at times even sombre in regard to such matters, and was often haunted by terrors of the ghostly world and by the feeling that certain acts, especially homicide, might arouse the wrath of unseen spirit-powers or ghosts, and that such dangers could be averted only by an elaborate prophylactic ritual of purification. There is a wide cleavage between the Achæan and the later Attic religious consciousness in this vital respect, as wide as that between the genius of Homer and the genius of Æschylus. The Homeric ghost is impotent and piteous, of no power in the social-religious world, no shadow on the brightness of that early epoch.[1] And nothing more vividly illustrates the moral light-heartedness of the Homeric world, so splendidly endowed in most respects, than its normal indifference concerning ordinary homicide. Man-slaying was regarded in certain cases as a sin and might at times concern the whole community; but nowhere in the poems is there any hint of the need of purification from the stain of bloodshed, which in later Attic law was prescribed even for the accidental slaying of a slave. Tlepolemos, who has committed the sin of shedding kindred blood, has merely to flee from the wrath of his kinsmen;[2] the suppliant who has fled from his home for having killed a man is at once admitted by Telemachos at the moment of a religious service.[3]

Now, much that appears post-Homeric, merely because the first record of it belongs to the later period, may be an ancient inheritance of the pre-Hellenic stock that was submerged temporarily by the wave of northern invasion but rose to the surface again and re-asserted its traditions. So the later prevalence of a cathartic system, especially elaborated in regard to bloodshed, may only be another example of revival.

Such a revival would receive strong stimulus from the diffusion from Thrace through Greece of the religion of Dionysos, a religious phenomenon of great import for the spiritual history of the race. The cult had begun its Hellenic career already in the earlier 'Homeric' period, but had finally established itself in most parts of the Greek-speaking world, and especially at Thebes, Delphi, and Athens, at the close of the later migratory and colonizing movement. The god was aboriginally associated with the ghostly world and some part of his ritual was 'cathartic'; and this aspect and function of his cult were strongly proclaimed by the brotherhoods of 'Orpheus,' who were propagating doctrines and establishing their influence in Greece perhaps as early as the 7th cent. and with marked success in the 6th and 5th. And the religious-philosophic system known as Pythagoreanism, maintained by the Pythagorean brotherhoods which played a prominent part in the religious and political world of those two centuries, bore the closest affinity to Orphism, agreeing with it on the whole in its views as to the destiny of the soul and the need of an elaborate ritual of purification and a careful rule of purity.[1] Fortunately the Orphic-Pythagorean mission did not succeed in capturing the Greek democracies or the chief centres of the national worship; but it undoubtedly helped to render the general religious consciousness more sensitively anxious concerning purity and impurity; and Aristophanes warmly acknowledges, in terms that are doubtless too sweeping, the deep indebtedness of his countrymen to 'Orpheus' for much of their spiritual life.[2]

We may now review briefly the details of Greek *κάθαρσις* and consider the ideas attaching thereto; our records are mainly late, the literature from the 5th cent. onwards and certain later inscriptions; but we must always bear in mind that a fact is not necessarily 'late' because the earliest record of it is.

The technical inquiry is concerned always with two questions: (*a*) What are the acts, states, objects, agencies, seen or unseen, that are supposed to leave a stain on the soul or body of a person, which unfits him for intercourse with man or deity because he is spiritually, not merely physically, unclean and is liable to infect others and render nugatory any divine service by his *μίασμα*? (*b*) What are the cleansing, purgative, or cathartic processes, material or spiritual, by which he can rid himself of that stain?

The Greek evidence on these two questions, which is very multifarious and scattered, may be briefly summarized thus. (*a*) The causes of impurity were bloodshed, the presence of ghosts and contact with death, sexual intercourse, child-birth, the evacuations of the body, the eating of certain food such as pea-soup, cheese, and garlic, the intrusion of unauthorized persons into holy places, and, in certain circumstances, foul speech and quarrelling. (*b*) The purgative means, usually called *καθάρσια* by the Greeks, were lustral water, sulphur, onions, fumigation and fire, incense, certain boughs and other vegetative growths, pitch, wool, certain stones and amulets, bright things like sunlight and gold, sacrificed animals, especially the pig, and of these especially the blood and the skin; finally, certain festivals and festival rites, especially the ritual of cursing and the scapegoat (*q.v.*). More exceptional methods might be cutting off the hair of the polluted person, or sacrificial communion with the deity. To philosophize on these bizarre phenomena belongs to the more general exposition of the theme; and little study is needed to convince us that they concern in the first instance the sphere of primitive psychology rather than ethics; but, if we look more carefully into their history, we shall find how closely they are interlinked with the higher moral and religious life of the people and states.

1. **The causes of impurity.**—The deepest impurity was that caused by the shedding of human blood in certain circumstances; and the growing sensitiveness of conscience in this matter was a vital force in the development of society. We have noted the weakness of the sentiment in the Homeric world, and that world was still barbaric in its rules regarding homicide. The first record

[1] The ghost of Elpenor backs up his prayer to Odysseus by the threat of the gods' wrath, not his own, if the latter neglects it (*Od.* xi. 73).
[2] *Il.* ii. 661–666. [3] *Od.* iii. 222–281.

[1] See *ERE*, vol. ix. p. 80; also art. PYTHAGORAS; E. Rohde *Psyche*[2], Freiburg, 1898, ii. 38–56, 103–136.
[2] *Frogs*, 1032.

of a change in feeling is the citation of an incident in the *Aithiopis*, an epic poem by Arktinos of Miletos, composed probably near the close of the 8th century B.C. Achilles, provoked by the gibes of Thersites, slew him and was thereupon obliged to quit the army for a time and to retire to Lesbos, where he was purified by Apollo and Artemis.[1] It is very doubtful if the poet of the *Iliad* or *Odyssey* would have comprehended this. Thersites was no kinsman to Achilles, and at most only a degraded member of the same Achæan stock. Yet the Milesian poet feels that his homicide, however justifiable, deeply concerns the whole army and is a stain upon Achilles, who must be purged by a religious ritual at some distant place before he can safely resume fellowship with his compatriots. The legend represents, no doubt, the contemporary State law of Miletos, and exhibits that State as having advanced soon after its foundation beyond the stage of culture wherein homicide is only a matter of the blood-feud and the *wergild* to the higher religious thought that the slaying of any member of the community brought a stain on the slayer and a danger on the whole society against which it must protect itself. We are still very far from the establishment of advanced secular law; the various stages of progress in later Greece and the ideas that inspired and assisted it are obscure and difficult to trace. On one point we may form a probable hypothesis. As ideas of purity and impurity are closely related to natural sensations of horror and aversion, and in Greece as elsewhere these feelings were most strongly excited by the shedding of kindred blood, it is probable that this type of homicide was the first occasion for the institution of an elaborate ritual of purification. Some of the few legends concerning its origin and vogue convey this impression. Ixion, who slew his father-in-law treacherously, figures in Greek mythology as the first murderer, and he is also the first suppliant who is pitied and purified by Zeus Ἱκέσιος, the god who hears the prayer of the suppliant and outcast. Bellerophon was purified by King Proitos for the accidental slaying of his own brother; Theseus, who slew the robber Sinis most justifiably, had to be purified from the stain, as Sinis happened to be his cousin; and the typical exemplar of the divine law of purification is the matricide Orestes.[2] But, if the law was in origin limited to this special kind of homicide, it had already enlarged its scope at some indefinitely early period. The law of Miletos, as illustrated by the passage referred to above in the poem of Arktinos, attests such an enlargement for the 8th cent.; and the legends that Athens purified Herakles from the blood that he had copiously shed,[3] and that Apollo himself, the pure god, had to be purified in Crete from the blood of Pytho,[4] bear the same significance, and may have arisen in the same early period. To explain this extension of the ritual we might suppose that the sphere of kinship, in which it originated *ex hypothesi*, was enlarged when the city-State was built up and included various kins within its union, until the slaying of any member of the political community came to be regarded as a stain similar to that of kindred-slaughter. But this would not explain the belief, which some of the legends cited attest, that the same impurity might be contracted by the slaying of an alien enemy, unless we are to attribute to the Greeks of an early period the advanced conceptions of the kinship of the whole human race and the sacredness of all human life. But no one would hazard such a theory to explain any evolution of the early post-Homeric epoch; and we may seek a more probable explanation in the increasing terror of the ghost-world; for we have the evidence of the later funeral laws and ritual, confirmed by many legends, to suggest that this was more potent in the post-Homeric than in the Homeric and Mycenæan periods. Given an intensified belief in the dangerous power of the ghost, and the conviction that purification from bloodshed was the only safeguard both to the individual and to the community against the wrathful spirit of the slain, we can well understand the wide extension of the law, until it covered the slaying of a slave; for even the ghost of a slave might be dangerous.[1] The miasma emanating from a ghost was supposed to attach also to inanimate objects that had caused the death of a man; the civilized Attic law required that the axe which had slain the sacrificial ox of Zeus Πολιεύς should be formally tried and cast into the sea—a means of purging and purifying the land;[2] solemn purification ceremonies were performed over the head of the bronze ox at Olympia that fell upon a boy and killed him.[3]

This sensitiveness to bloodshed and death may become extravagant and morbid, and has at times evoked such strange vagaries of the ritual law of purity as may half-paralyze the life of a community; but the Greek was saved from this by his moderation and a certain secular common sense, which protected him from the extreme logic of the view that all bloodshed was impure. We are not sure that any purification was imposed by Greek State law or social custom upon a man who had slain an alien in foreign lands; that would depend on his own sensitiveness or on his desire to be initiated at any of the great mysteries, which would demand a *κάθαρσις* from such a stain. Nor have we any record proving or suggesting any rule, such as prevailed with stringency among the Hebrews or still more and with detrimental results among the Indian tribes of N. America, requiring the purification of the army returning from battle;[4] the Greek soldier was probably content with an ordinary washing, sufficient for the purposes of refinement. Nor, again, was the ordinary Greek troubled by over-sensitiveness in regard to the blood of animals shed for sport, for food, or for sacrifice; there is no hint that the butcher or, as a general rule, the sacrificer incurred impurity.[5] At least, the only evidence that can be quoted of some such feeling is isolated and peculiar; the priest who slew the sacred ox in the Attic Bouphonia had to go for a time into exile; but this ox was a mystic, 'theanthropic' animal, charged with the divine spirit of the altar, and the priest had shed divine blood;[6] there is no reason to believe that at any time the Attic people regarded the slaughter of an ordinary ox as a heinous impurity. We may note also the fact that a certain altar of Apollo in Delos was specially called *ἀγνός*, 'the pure,' because the offerings and ritual were bloodless, no animal-sacrifice being allowed;[7] this is no proof of ordinary Greek feeling, but suggests rather some peculiar sacerdotal development of thought concerning blood.

Not bloodshed alone, but any contact with death and the ghost-world was a strong source of im-

[1] G. Kinkel, *Epicorum Græcorum Fragmenta*, Berlin, 1877, p. 33.

[2] See *CGS* i. 66–69.

[3] *CIG* 2374, i. 29.

[4] Paus. II. vii. 7, xxx. 3; Eus. *Præp. Evang.* v. 31; cf. Paus. x vi. 7.

[1] Antiph. *Or.* vi. p. 764; Eur. *Hec.* 291 f.

[2] Demosth. κ. Ἀριστοκρ. § 76, p. 645; cf. *CGS* i. 56 f.

[3] Paus. v. xxvii. 9 f.

[4] The Macedonian army was purified in spring before the campaign (Livy, xl. 6); a similar Bœotian custom described by Plutarch (*Quæst. Rom.* 111) may have had a similar significance.

[5] As regards the hunter, there is a passage in Arrian, *Kyneg.* 32, recommending the purification of the hounds and the huntsmen after the chase in accordance with ancestral rule; but the text is not well preserved.

[6] See *CGS*, *loc. cit.*

[7] Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 848 P; cf. *CGS* iv. 432, R. 276.

purity or μίασμα. The household to which the corpse belonged was impure; even the friends and others who attended the funeral were impure. In the tolerant Greek world this did not mean that they were severely boycotted, but only that they were unfit to approach the altars and to take part in divine service with others, also that it might be unlucky for them to carry on any serious business while in that state; Hesiod is our first witness to a superstition which descends from a far older period, that it was unlucky for a man returning from a funeral to try to beget a child.[1] The inscriptions and other evidence show that the period of impurity varied in the different states; at Lindos in Rhodes (in the time of Hadrian) it lasted for forty,[2] at Eresos in Lesbos for twenty days.[3] Those who merely attended the funeral were under the tabu for three days at Eresos, but at Pergamon they could recover purity on the same day by means of lustration.[4] The fear of the ghost-world, implying a shrinking of vitality in the living and a general sense of bad luck abroad, explains much of the funeral ceremonies of the Greeks, which show indeed the desire to please the ghost and to assure it of the family affection, but at the same time the determination to keep it at a distance and especially to prevent it following the mourners back to the house; one day of the Attic Anthesteria was devoted to an All Souls' celebration, when the spirits of the dead kindred were formally invited to an entertainment within the houses, but great care was taken to purify the dwellings at the end and to effect a complete riddance of them;[5] meantime the whole day was μιαρά, impure and unlucky. The same feeling explains the elaborate ritual to which the δευτερόποτμος must submit, the person who had been reported to be dead and had had funeral ceremonies performed over him and was then found to be alive and desirous of returning; society was afraid of such a person, for, though he had not really been in the ghost-world, yet the unnecessary funeral ceremonies had put that contagion upon him, which must first be washed off before he could be received back.[6] Such was the condition of Alkestis, when Herakles had rescued her from Death and was placing her in the hands of Admetos. Even those who performed the rites known as ἀποτρόπαια, rites for 'turning away' evil spirits, including ghosts, were constrained to wash their persons and garments before returning to their homes.[7]

There were certain occasions when the whole community performed cathartic ceremonies to purge itself of such evil influences of the unseen world. Such occasions were either periodic and regular or exceptional owing to a crisis that had arisen. In spring, when the new vegetation was beginning, or when the early harvest was ripe for gathering and the firstfruits ready for consecration, the feeling that this was the proper time to cleanse the whole city of the evil influences that had accumulated throughout the old year inspired such festivals as the Thargelia[8] in May and probably the Dionysia in February–March, the former certainly, the latter probably, possessing a cathartic value. It inspired also the frequent practice at the end of the old year and the beginning of the new of the extinction and rekindling of fires, especially the fire on the city's hearth,[9] and the washing of the statues of the tutelary divinities. The Attic Plynteria, held in May, is the best known example of the last ceremony, when the vestments and probably the idol of Athene were solemnly washed, and its day was μιαρά, the air being temporarily dangerous when contagion was being expelled.[1] Resort was had to the same sort of ritual at some momentous crisis or emergency. The Persian invasion had polluted the Greek temples with the presence of the stranger,[2] itself a source of defilement to the national deities apart from any outrage committed against them; therefore the first care of the Greeks after the victory of Platæa was the purification of the holy places.[3] The presence of the matricide Orestes was supposed to pollute the Tauric image of Artemis, which therefore needed washing in the sea.[4] Another momentous crisis was the foundation of a new city, and we have some indication that the ground was first carefully purified so that the settlement might start under good auspices purged from evil dæmonic agencies.[5]

The gravest crisis of all was one that was only too frequent in the life of the Greek states—the outbreak of civic massacre, when kindred blood was shed, the sense of guilt weighed on the citizens, and the atmosphere was charged with the miasma of wrathful ghosts. This was the condition of things at Athens in the 6th cent. B.C., when Kylon and his adherents had been sacrilegiously slain, and the people appealed to the aid of the Cretan prophet Epimenides, who came over and purified the whole city, the fields, and the homesteads; the recollection of this historic event lingered late in Attic tradition and gave rise to the erroneous belief that it was this prophet who first taught the Athenians the ritual of purification and its value.[6]

As regards sexual intercourse, we have evidence that the Greeks, like other primitive and advanced peoples, regarded the act as an occasional source of impurity and held the belief that abstinence had a certain value and efficacy for some religious or magical ritual. A deeper and more interesting question arises when we consider purity in the abstract and the Greek view of chastity as a religious duty and ideal. The law of purification in this matter was very simple and easy; such an act was supposed to render the person unclean in the religious sense, but the uncleanness could be immediately removed by washing and anointing, and some temple codes might allow the person to approach the altar on the same day, others might impose a tabu of one day or even more; for the catechumens of the mysteries and for certain lengthy ceremonials such as the Thesmophoria a longer abstinence might be required. In the later inscriptional records we are interested to mark the glimmer of an ethical idea; for the impurity is regarded as greater and the period of tabu imposed longer in the case of irregular and lawless indulgence;[7] and by Attic law the adulteress was permanently excluded from temple worship.[8] But, on the whole, the temple rules in regard to this act are concerned not directly with morality, but with a superstition arising from a primeval feeling that has evolved our modern social laws of decency; and the non-ethical standpoint is sufficiently revealed in some of the special rules and some of the phrasing of the temple-inscriptions: in the inscription from Eresos a longer tabu is imposed in cases

1 *Works and Days*, 735.
2 W. Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Græcarum*, Leipzig, 1888, no. 567.
3 *CIR* xvi. [1902] 290.
4 Dittenberger, no. 566.
5 *CGS* v. 214–224.
6 Plut. *Quæst. Rom.* 5; Hesych. *s.v.*
7 Porphyry, *de Abst.* ii. 44.
8 *CGS* iv. 268–284.
9 *Ib.* v. 383 *f.*

1 *CGS* i. 261 *f.*
2 The impurity of the stranger is illustrated by the phrase in Greek ritual inscriptions, *ξένῳ οὐ θέμις*.
3 Plut. *Vita Arist.* 20.
4 Eur. *Iph. Taur.* 1193.
5 See *CIR* xxvii. [1913] 90.
6 Diog. Laert. i. § 110. Crete was from time immemorial pre-eminent for its cathartic lore; Apollo had resorted thither to be purified, and an Orphic sect with a punctilious code of purity was early established there.
7 Cf. Dittenberger, nos. 566, 567.
8 Demosth. κ. Νεαίρ. §§ 85–87; cf. Stobæus, *Flor.* 74, § 66 (Meineke, 3, 64).

of loss of virginity than in other sex-indulgence,[1] and in the rules of ἁγνεία, or 'purity,' demanded of the visitants to the altar of Zeus Κύνθιος and Artemis Κυνθία at Delos the prescription of temporary chastity was put on the same footing with abstinence from salt-fish and meat.[2] The priest was concerned, not with society in general, but with safeguarding the purity of the temple. Therefore the sexual act, by which a stain was incurred that must be washed off before the person could safely approach the altar, became immeasurably more heinous if committed within the precincts of the temple; in the Greek legends that relate such exceptional incidents the whole community suffers divine punishment until expiation is made.[3]

The same feeling prescribed the law, which is practically universal, against the defilement of the temple or the temple-precincts with the evacuations of the human body; and some of the sacred codes carefully proscribed the entrance of cattle into the *temenos* for the same reason.[4] It may also explain the rule prevailing in some of the Greek temples against the wearing of sandals in the holy place, the rule which is universal in Muslim communities;[5] the source of it may be sought in the fact that the sandals are made of the skins of dead animals and that therefore they bring the impurity of death into the shrine.[6]

From the same prompting of primeval feeling, child-birth has been generally regarded as a strong source of impurity to both the woman and the man of the house,[7] not because it is the result of the sexual act, but because of its concomitants and the awe attaching to it; nor did the civilized Hellenic societies differ in this respect from the savage, though their tabu and rules of purification were much milder and easier. Such an event was not likely to happen within the temple itself; but we are familiar with the law that required the removal from Delos of any woman who was approaching her time, lest the island of the pure god should be polluted. The ordinary temple codes would be concerned only to prescribe the period during which the woman should be in tabu after travail;[8] it is noteworthy that in one example we find the abnormally long period of forty days imposed in the case of miscarriage, the more unnatural event producing the greater sense of strangeness and awe to which the idea of religious uncleanness is so closely linked. In the ἱεροὶ νόμοι of the Greek temples we might have expected to find under this head some rule of tabu concerning menstruous women, about whom the code of Leviticus is anxiously severe; but no direct evidence touching this matter has yet been found,[9] and probably none will be; for the Greek religious mind was more easy and tolerant than the Hebrew, and the vast number of Greek priestesses would make the application of any such rule very difficult.

As regards impure food, the Greek world was happily free from the severe scrupulousness of some other religions, nor was the distinction between clean and unclean animals natural to the Greek mind; the Greek inscriptions that preserve certain temple laws only indicate that it was desirable, in order to attain the ἁγνεία necessary for participation in religious service, to abstain for a short time beforehand from certain foods. What these were the various codes probably did not agree in determining, and it would be hard to find a common principle explaining all. In some we seem to detect the natural feeling that foods which left an unpleasant odour attaching to the person ought to be avoided before worship; hence would arise a tabu on pea-soup, salt-fish, cheese, and garlic;[1] for evil smells have much to do with the sense of uncleanness and with the belief in the presence of evil spirits. Again, the rule sometimes enjoined abstinence from certain animals because they were specially dear to the divinity, and the question of the origin of such rules involves a discussion of totemism (*q.v.*).

As speech suggests action, it was natural that the same law should apply to foul speech as to impure act, and that evil words should be considered to mar the purity of the divine service; hence the universal Greek rule that before the sacrifice began the command for εὐφημία should be proclaimed to the people; this word, at first meaning 'auspicious speech,' became indirectly a synonym for 'silence'; for, as it was difficult for each member in a vast concourse to be sure what word was auspicious and what not, it was best for general silence to prevail.[2]

In accordance with the same idea, the purity of the ritual would be disturbed if any quarrelling or altercation arose, for quarrelling suggests bloodshed. Hence during festivals of exceptional solemnity, such as the Eleusinia, by Attic religious law no legal action could be taken, no creditor could distrain, even a person aggrieved by the State might not lay a suppliant-bough on the altar; for all this implied strife.[3]

2. The means of purification.—The means of purification are of two kinds, (*a*) mechanical, and (*b*) religious or quasi-religious; and the two may be used together. Among the former we find in Greece, as elsewhere, such natural purgative media as water, fire, sunlight. To the examples already noted of the first may be added the Attic custom of purifying the bride with water from the sacred spring before the marriage ceremony.[4] It is not clear that there was any ceremonial purification of the new-born infant with water equivalent to our baptism. The need was fulfilled some days after birth by an interesting ceremony called ἀμφιδρόμια, 'the running around,' in which the new-born infant was carried at a running pace round the fire of the domestic hearth;[5] and with this we may compare the Eleusinian legend that the goddess Demeter tried to purge away by fire the impure and mortal parts of her fosterling Demophon.[6] The use of fire in certain Greek rituals, such as that of the Mænads who sprang through the fields with torches, may be supposed to have the cathartic effect of driving away evil influences or spirits,

[1] *CIR* xvi. 290.

[2] I. de Prott and L. Ziehen, *Leges Græcorum sacræ*, Leipzig, 1896–1906, ii. 1, nos. 91, 92.

[3] *e.g.*, Paus. VII. xix. 1–6.

[4] *e.g.*, Dittenberger, nos. 560, 561, 570. [5] *Ib.* no. 560.

[6] This is supported by the rule at Eresos that neither shoes nor any other leather garment were to be brought into the temple, and by the regulation of the mysteries at Andania that women should wear sandals and garments of wool (Dittenberger, no. 653. 22).

[7] Cf. inscr. from Eresos (*CIR* xvi. 290); Eur. *Iph. Taur.* 382; Theoph. *Char.* xvi. 9; Porph. *de Abst.* iv. 16.

[8] At Eresos this seems to have been ten days; Censorinus, *de Die Nat.* 11, § 7, in a doubtful passage speaks as if the Greek rule excluded the woman eighty days, forty before child-birth and forty after.

[9] The only Greek inscription known to the present writer dealing with these cases refers to the cult of the Phrygian god Men (Dittenberger, no. 633).

[1] Dittenberger, nos. 564 (inscr. from Delos, wine tabued), 567 (Lindos, pea-soup, goats' flesh, cheese), 633 (Sunium, Men Tyrannus, garlic and pork, ?Oriental influence); Prott-Ziehen, ii. 1, no. 91 (Delos, temple of Zeus Κύνθιος and Athene Κυνθία, all flesh forbidden), no. 92 (Delos, shrine of Artemis, salt-fish). The rules of ἁγνεία in the mysteries were much severer than in ordinary cult—*e.g.*, Porph. *de Abst.* iv. 14; Libanius, *Orat. Corinth.* lv. 356 (Reiske).

[2] Cf. *Il.* ix. 171; Arist. *Thesm.* 294; Eur. *Hec.* 530.

[3] Andoc. *de Myst.* 110; cf. Demosth. κ. Μειδ. § 10–11, p. 517; cf. schol. Demosthenes, 22, § 68 (L. R. Farnell, *Greece and Babylon*, Edinburgh, 1911, p. 287).

[4] Schol. Pind. *Ol.* xi. 58.

[5] Schol. Plat. *Theæt.* 160 E; I. Bekker, *Anecdota Græca*, Berlin, 1814–21, p. 207, l. 13.

[6] Hom. *Hymn. Demet.* 239–261.

though other explanations are possible, and we are told that the torch was used in the purification of cities.[1] The idea of the purity of fire is strikingly illustrated by the annual rite practised by some of the Greek states of renewing the purity of their hearth-fires, both public and private, by bringing new fire from some specially pure source, such as the altar of Apollo at Delos or of Hephaistos in the Academy at Athens.[2]

The use of incense at the sacrifice, as a mode of purifying the air by fumigation, which Greece adopted from Assyria in the 8th cent. B.C., had in the East a strong cathartic power against demons, who are generally supposed to be attracted by evil smells and banished by good; and, though its pleasing odour would cause it to be maintained merely as an attractive concomitant of worship, we may believe that at least the earlier Greeks were aware of its original significance.[3] Fumigation by sulphur had an obvious purificatory value; for, though its odour is not pleasant in itself, its pungency is such as to overpower other smells which might be dangerous; hence Homer calls it κακῶν ἄκος, 'a healing of evils.'[4]

The boughs of certain trees, probably on account of their smell or colour, possessed a cathartic value, such as the laurel at Delphi, which Apollo was supposed to have brought back from Tempe after his purification there from the blood of the Python,[5] the withy-bough, or λύγος, which the Attic women used as a purifying medium in the Thesmophoria,[6] and especially the squill, or σκίλλη, which was used in the general purification of cities and for beating the scapegoat in the Thargelia,[7] a ritual of purification or expulsion of evil; therefore the Arcadian rite in which the image of Pan was beaten by boys with squills must be interpreted as cathartic.[8] When the Athenians on one day in the Anthesteria stuck branches of buckthorn at the entrances of their houses, this was a mechanical means of purification, its object being to keep out ghosts;[9] for its thorns would naturally embarrass the ghost, as would the sticky pitch with which the citizens at the same time smeared their doorposts.

Thunder-stones in certain religious circles had a recognized cathartic value, which their mysterious origin and perhaps their connexion with fire would naturally attach to them.[10] Perhaps it was a stone of this kind that, according to a Bœotian legend, Athene dashed at Herakles to cleanse him of his madness after he had slain his children.[11] There is also an Arcadian story about the sacred stone called Zeus Καππώτας, evidently from its name meteoric, by sitting on which Orestes was healed from his madness.[12]

There is some evidence that gold, the pure and bright metal, was regarded as purificatory;[13] also among the mechanical cathartic media we must include amulets, which were as much in vogue in the later periods of classical antiquity for keeping ghosts and evil spirits at a distance as they were in Christendom; some of the Greek types, such as the φαλλός and the pointed finger have no connexion with religion; others might be carved in the form of divinities, but their working was mechanical magic.

The other type of purificatory methods consists of those that may with more right be called religious, as connected directly and indirectly with the worship of the divinities or with their influence. The use of certain animals—their blood or skin or whole carcass—was perhaps the most common method of purification from bloodshed and other taints. The fleece of the ram offered to Zeus Μειλίχιος, the god who had specially to be appeased when kindred blood had been shed, was used for the purification of the catechumens at Eleusis, upon whom the stain of blood rested and who knelt on the 'fleece of God,' the Διὸς κώδιον—as it was called—while the purgation ceremony was performed over them.[1] In the mysteries of Andania we hear of the 'ram of goodly colour' used for the purification of the initiates.[2] Plague might be averted from a city by a priest carrying round its walls the ram of Hermes.[3] But the most usual animal employed for purification was the pig, of special potency in the Eleusinian mysteries. The Athenian assembly was purified before its meeting by a ceremonial procession of little pigs;[4] and no other purgation was of such avail for the homicide as pig's blood. Hence on one vase representation we see Apollo himself purifying Orestes by holding over his head a pig dripping blood.[5]

Now, we have strong evidence that in the magic rites of purification practised by many modern savage societies the blood of animals—the goat, the bullock, or swine—has an intrinsic mysterious potency in itself, wholly unconnected with sacrifice or divine worship; and this primitive feeling may have survived here and there in historic Greece. But that this is in general a sufficient explanation of the Greek ceremonies is not credible. The ram's fleece and the pig's blood in Hellenic purifications were suggested by their intimate sacrificial association with the high god and the great goddesses and powers of the lower world; just as the αἰγίς, or goat-skin, of Athene, wherewith her priestess at Athens visited the newly-married couples for cathartic or fertilizing purposes, derived its efficacy from its contact with Athene.[6] In Hellas the pig was the sacred animal of Demeter and Kore, the powers of the world of spirits; the pig's blood was charged with a portion of their divinity, and therefore the homicide who had offended those powers could recover grace by its contact, in fact by a sort of communion with them.[7]

A different type of communion, serving a cathartic purpose, is suggested by a record of Plutarch that at Argos the period of mourning for a death in the family lasted thirty days, and that at the end of that time the mourners regained their original status by a sacrifice to Apollo; we may interpret this to mean that by communion with the pure god they finally wiped off their impurity.[8]

It has been observed that cathartic features, often overlaid and obscured by other accretions, attached to some of the complex Greek festivals; the Thargelia at Athens and elsewhere is an example of this, as the driving out of the scapegoat, which was its central act, effected a κάθαρσις of the whole community from sin and other evil.[9] Another curious but not unique accompaniment of certain Hellenic ritual and festivals was the employment of curses, ribaldry, satire, and abuse:

1 Dio Chrys. ii. 144 (Dind.). 2 See above, p. 485.
3 Farnell, *Greece and Babylon*, pp. 233, 306.
4 See above, p. 482b, note 2; cf. Theokr. *Id.* xxiv. 94 f.
5 *CGS* iv. 294 f. 6 Pliny, *HN* xxiv. 59.
7 Dio Chrys. *loc. cit.*; Tzetz. *Chiliad.* v. 736.
8 Theokr. *Id.* vii. 106 f. 9 Phot. *s.v.* Μιαρὰ ἡμέρα.
10 See J. E. Harrison, *Themis*, Cambridge, 1912, pp. 56, 61.
11 Paus. ix. xi. 2 (the stone was called Σωφρονιστήρ, 'the restorer of reason').
12 *Ib.* iii. xxii. 1.
13 See *ARW* x. [1907] 402 (inscr. from Kos, 3rd cent. B.C.—the priestess of Demeter is to purify herself from any pollution ἀπὸ χρυσίου).

1 Suidas, i. 1, p. 1404, Διὸς κῴδιον; Eustath. p. 1935. 8; *CGS* i. 64–66.
2 H. Sauppe, *Die Mysterieninschrift von Andania*, Göttingen, 1860 (*CGS* iii. 365 f.).
3 Paus. ix. xxii. 1.
4 Schol. Æschin. κ. Τιμαρχ. (Dind. p. 13); Photius, *s.v.* Περιστίαρχος.
5 Roscher, iii. 983; cf. Apoll. Rhod. iv. 478.
6 Suidas, *s.v.* αἰγίς.
7 The hound used in the purification of the Bœotian army had also a chthonian significance.
8 Plut. *Quæst. Græc.* 24. 9 *CGS* iv. 268–284.

in the solemn procession along the sacred way to Eleusis the aspirants to the mysteries were ceremonially abused and ridiculed by the crowd at one point;[1] in the Thesmophoria the men abused the women and the women the men;[2] and that such badinage had a cathartic purpose—the averting of *νέμεσις* or of evil spirits—is a reasonable theory confirmed by a text in Suidas that the people of Alexandria in old days purged the city of ghosts by going round in waggons to the doors of the houses and proclaiming the sins and misdoings of the individuals within.[3] This humorous procedure may be regarded as a kind of vicarious confession; the cathartic character of confession has been long recognized, but confession in our sense, a private and personal revelation of one's sins to a priest, was alien to the old religious system of Greece.[4] The purgative value of personal satire may have been one motive for its dramatic development in the Dionysiac festivals.

The religious aspect of the Greek system of purification was further emphasized by its close association with certain high divinities, especially Zeus Meilichios and Apollo of Delphi. The former deity belongs to the older stratum of Greek religion, but retained his function of granting or withholding purification from kindred and civic bloodshed throughout the later centuries.[5] The Delphic-Apolline *κάθαρσις* has been a subject of much dissertation and cannot be even summarized here.[6] But it may be noted that it was the claim of the Apolline priesthood to deal with the question of purification from bloodshed that led to the establishment of one of the most important law-courts in Athens to deal with the plea of justifiable homicide, whereby the civilized Athenian State approached the level of modern equitable law.[7] But, though power was thus taken out of the hands of the priesthood, the secular court at Athens that dealt with homicide remained strikingly religious in their procedure; and it is mainly their strong infusion of cathartic ideas concerning the miasma of blood that differentiates them from the modern tribunal.

A side question that may be glanced at under this section is whether Greek feeling about impurity was always associated with a belief in ghosts and evil demons as its cause. The question is important because an overstrong susceptibility to the terrors of the demon world can vitally affect the religious and scientific development of a race. We have seen that the sense of the impurity of bloodshed in Greece was connected with the fear of the ghost and that ghosts made a household impure; but we have no reason to believe that this fear or any clear belief in evil demons accounted to the Greek of the 'classical' period for the other sources of impurity. It is true that Porphyry declares that the chief motive for the various *ἁγνείαι*, or methods for obtaining purity, was to drive away the evil spirits which cling to certain kinds of food.[8] But Porphyry is no true witness for the earlier Greek thought, as he represents the later demonology that swept over the Mediterranean world from the East and found expression in Neo-Platonism and the Hermetic literature. But in the earlier Hellenic spiritual world there was no true dualism of good and evil spirits; nor was the average Hellene of the earlier centuries ghost-ridden or demon-ridden or much dependent on the exorcist for his peace of mind; and this is one of the most salient differences between Greece and Babylon.[1]

3. The idea of purity.—It remains to consider briefly certain religious and moral aspects of the idea of purity. This was expressed by the Greek *ἁγνεία*, meaning originally a state of the body and the person that fitted an individual for communion with the deity, and this state could be obtained by certain ceremonies and abstinences. It was required with peculiar insistence of the Greek priesthood and as a condition of participation in the greater mysteries, which offered to the initiated the promise of posthumous happiness. Hence the idea could gain ground that a state of purity, as it qualified a person in this world for divine fellowship, might also be a potent means of grace and salvation in the next. It was the Orphic sects that developed this view with the greatest zeal in Greece. They preached and practised a specially stringent code of abstinences, and based on this their claim to happiness in the next world. *Ἔρχομαι ἐκ καθαρῶν* was the Orphic password in the portals of Hades—'I come from the pure.'[2] But most of our ancient evidence concerning Orphism suggests a ceremonial and Pharisaic 'purity,' rather than an ethical, and an exclusive sect-prejudice which demanded even a separate burying-ground for the votaries. And we cannot allege that it was wholly or mainly from their influence that the ideal of purity of soul permeated at last the higher mind of Greece. Its earliest testimony is in the 5th cent. B.C., a phrase of Epicharmos, 'If thy mind is pure, thou art pure in all thy body';[3] and the elevated ethical thought that purity of soul was of more avail than all lustration and mere washing of hands was proclaimed later by the Delphic oracle and the Pythagorean literature near the beginning of our era;[4] and even some of the later codes of temple ritual adopted it in their formulæ.[5] This 'purity of heart' connoted to the Greek the absence of any stain on the conscience and of evil purpose or thought; it is important to note that the idea of sexual purity, which is often the sole significance of our English word, was not the dominant idea in the Greek *ἁγνεία*. The Greek philosophers and ethical teachers, who preached *σωφροσύνη*, or self-restraint, the Greek priesthood, who required occasional chastity under special circumstances, never preached chastity in general as an ideal of life. The Greek priest and priestess were usually married; chastity was enforced very rarely upon the priest, still rarely though more frequently upon the priestess, who was probably in this case considered the bride of a jealous god, and whose position was only temporary. The Greek priest had to be of unblemished body, and led the normal life of a citizen; the eunuch played no part in Greek religion, which was saved by its sanity from the morbid anti-sexual excesses of the Phrygian. Even the worship of Artemis, apart from its mythology, could not and did not attempt to establish among the Hellenic people any conception of the chaste life as spiritually more perfect and dearer to God.

LITERATURE.—Besides the works cited throughout, see G. F. Schoemann, *Griechische Alterthümer*[2], Berlin, 1861–63, ii. 337–354; P. Stengel, *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer* (=I. Müller, *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, v. iii.), Munich, 1890, pp. 106–114; E. Fehrle, *Die kultische Keuschheit im Alterthum*, Giessen, 1910; art. CHASTITY (Greek).

LEWIS R. FARNELL.

[1] *CGS* iii. 172. [2] *Ib.* iii. 104.
[3] Suidas, *s.v.* *τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἁμαξῶν σκώμματα.*
[4] It was demanded of the candidates for initiation into the Samothracian mysteries, but these were in origin non-Hellenic (see art. KABEIROI).
[5] *CGS* i. 64–69. [6] *Ib.* iv. 295–306.
[7] *Ib.*; cf. Farnell, *Evolution of Religion*, London, 1905, p. 151 f.
[8] Eus. *Præp. Evang.* iv. 22.

[1] See Farnell, *Greece and Babylon*, pp. 206–208.
[2] J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*[2], Cambridge, 1908, ch. xi.
[3] Clem. Alex. *Strom.* p. 844.
[4] Farnell, *Evolution of Religion*, p. 136 f.; *CGS* iv. 212.
[5] U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, *Isyllos* (=*Philolog. Untersuchungen*, ix. [1886] 6; *Anth. Pal.* Adespota, ccxxxb; *CIG*, *Ins. Mar. Æg.* i. 789; Dittenberger, ii. 563.

PURIFICATION (Hebrew).—The term 'purification' is applied to those ritual observances by means of which an Israelite was absolved from the taint of uncleanness. This article deals exclusively with the Jewish laws and customs relating to purification; to estimate the methods by which the Israelite probably reached his conception of it, it will be necessary to refer to the other articles in this series.

W. Robertson Smith (*The Religion of the Semites*[2], London, 1894, p. 425 f.) points out that, 'primarily, purification means the application to the person of some medium which removes a taboo, and enables the person purified to mingle freely in the ordinary life of his fellows'; he shows that the normal life of the holy people was a holy life, and therefore 'the main use of purificatory rites is not to tone down, to the level of ordinary life, the excessive holiness conveyed by contact with sacrosanct things, but rather to impart to one who has lost it the measure of sanctity that puts him on the level of ordinary social life.' Speaking of blood as being one of the media of purification, he says (p. 427): 'In the most primitive form of the sacrificial idea the blood of the sacrifice is not employed to wash away an impurity, but to convey to the worshipper a particle of holy life. The conception of piacular media as purificatory, however, involves the notion that the holy medium not only adds something to the worshipper's life, and refreshes its sanctity, but expels from him something that is impure.'

We must first consider in what ways the uncleanness was produced or contracted, and then the observances by which purification was effected. And we shall see that there were ritual ordinances in regard both to persons and things and to a land defiled.

1. Uncleanness and its penalties.—Uncleanness was contracted in various ways.

(*a*) *Sexual uncleanness*, in the functions of reproduction (*e.g.*, Lv 18[20. 23f.], Nu 5[13ff.]), by issues in both sexes (Lv 15[4ff.]), in menstruation.

The functions of reproduction 'early excited the superstitious awe of mankind, which invested the organs and their activities with mysterious powers. Sexual intercourse was widely regarded as producing uncleanness' (A. S. Peake, in *HDB* iv. 827). The period of separation lasted seven days, and the uncleanness was communicated to the bed or seat, contact with either produced uncleanness until the evening, and required the washing of the body and clothes (Lv 15[18], 2 S 11[4]). It is worth observing that 'holiness' and 'uncleanness' were regarded as infectious and demanded similar ritual purification, and instances occur in which a condition of sacredness necessitated abstinence from sexual intercourse, as, *e.g.*, prior to the approach of Jahweh at the giving of the Law (Ex 19[15]); the holy bread of the sanctuary could be eaten by David's men in 1 S 21[4] only if they had strictly observed this abstinence; and the same regulation applied to men on active military service, for war was regarded as a sacred act (cf. the expression מַדֵּשׁ מִלְחָמָה [Jer 6[4] 22[7] 51[27f.]], from the custom of opening a campaign by sacrifice). The same idea obtains probably in the case of the first year of marriage, when a man is exempted from military service (cf. Lk 14[20]); and in Uriah's refusal in 2 S 11[8-13] to obey the king's order. In ordinary cases the uncleanness lasted till the evening (Lv 11. 15[5ff.]), but in menstruation, at the end of seven days from the cessation of the symptoms, in the evening, the candidate for purification performed an ablution both of the person and of the garments, and on the eighth offered two turtle-doves or two young pigeons, one for a sin-offering, the other for a burnt-offering. The same means of purification applied to males with abnormal issues. And so infectious was the condition in such cases that contact with such persons or contact with their clothing or furniture involved uncleanness and necessitated ablution on the day of the infection. In lesser cases of issue, such as *gonorrhea dormientium* in males, a condition of uncleanness was involved until the evening, and the ablution of the person and of the defiled garments was necessary.

(*b*) *In childbirth.*—J. G. Frazer (*GB*[2], London, 1900, iii. 463) informs us that 'women after childbirth and their offspring are more or less tabooed all the world over.' With regard to purification after childbirth, a difference was made between the birth of a boy and that of a girl; in the case of the latter the period of uncleanness was doubled, as it was commonly held that in this case the symptoms of infection continued much longer. In the case of the birth of a boy the mother is unclean for a week, during which time she would be infectious, and she continues 'in the blood of her purifying' for thirty-three days (during the latter period she would not presumably be infectious). During the whole forty days 'she shall touch no hallowed thing, nor come into the sanctuary.' At the expiration of the forty days she was required to offer a yearling lamb for a burnt-offering, and a young pigeon or turtle-dove for a sin-offering. In the case of poverty she was permitted to substitute a second pigeon or turtle-dove (*e.g.*, Lk 2[24], Lv 12[8]).

(*c*) *Ceremonial uncleanness.*—(1) Caused by contact with death, by contact with carcasses of unclean animals (Lv 11[24ff.]) or with any carcass (17[15]), by eating a carcass (22[8]), by contact with the dead (Nu 6[9-12], Ezk 44[25]). Such contact involved uncleanness till the evening. The eating or the carrying of a carcass involved, besides uncleanness till the evening, the necessity of washing the clothes, and in some cases (Lv 17[15]) the washing of the person. In the case of a Nazirite coming in contact with the dead it was necessary to shave the head, and to offer two turtle-doves, for a sin-offering and for a burnt-offering, and a lamb for a trespass-offering.

(2) Caused by contact with one unclean by the dead (Nu 19[22], Hag 2[13]), or by contact with one unclean from whatever cause (Lv 5[3] 22[5]), or with some thing unclean (22[6]). The purificatory observance in these cases involved the ordinary condition of uncleanness until the evening, the confession of guilt, and the offering of a trespass- and sin-offering (5[5-10]).

(3) Caused by contact with creeping things (22[5]) or by eating creeping things, or with certain animals which were always unclean (11[26f.]: 'every beast which divideth the hoof, and is not cloven-footed, nor cheweth the cud . . . and whatsoever goeth upon his paws, among all manner of beasts that go on all four'). The purification in these cases was principally that of remaining unclean until the evening.

(4) Caused by leprosy. The full regulations are dealt with in Lv 13 and 14, in regard to the disease in the person, the garments, and the house.

The ceremonial of purification consisted of various elements. (α) After the examination by the priest, two living birds were to be brought, together with a rod of cedar (juniper)-wood, scarlet wool, and hyssop; one bird was to be killed over water from a running stream, and the leper was to be sprinkled seven times with the blood of the bird, signifying the new life imparted to one who was regarded as 'dead,' and the living bird was to be released, a symbol of the removal of the evil. (β) The washing of the clothes, shaving off all the hair, and bathing. It was also necessary to remain outside the house for seven days, and the shaving and ablutions were also repeated. (γ) On the 8th day the final offering was made at the 'Tent of Meeting,' and consisted of (i.) a guilt-offering and a consecration of the cleansed leper by the priest placing oil on parts of the body and pouring it on his head. 'This offering was a reparation to God for the loss of service during the time of his seclusion'—the blood of the victim (a lamb) and the oil being symbols of atonement and reconsecration (R. A. S. Macalister, in *HDB* iii. 98); (ii.) a second he-lamb as a sin-offering before readmission into the congregation; (iii.) a ewe-lamb as a burnt-offering and three-tenths of an ephah of flour as a meal-offering; special provision was made for the poor by the substitution of doves for the lambs, and a reduction in the quantity of the flour for the meal-offering.

(*d*) *Uncleanness in religious matters.*—Uncleanness might be caused by idols (Ezk 22[3]), conceived

as whoredom (Hos 5^3, Ezk $20^{30f.}$), by necromancers (Lv 19^{31}), or by sacrificing children to idols (Ps 106^{37-39}). The prohibition rings out clearly in such cases, but it is often disregarded. But what is the purification? Jahweh takes the matter into His own hands. The only purification possible is punitive; such sins need the smelting in the furnace of Jahweh's wrath: 'And ye shall know that I the Lord have poured out my fury upon you' (Ezk 22^{22}). Sacred places were also defiled by Israel through the sacrifice of children (Lv 20^3, Ezk $23^{38f.}$), and Jahweh 'defiled' him thereby, and made him desolate to the end that Israel might 'know' Jahweh. Josiah 'defiled' the idolatrous places of worship by destroying them and making them unfit for use (2 K $23^{8f.}$). Death, stoning, excommunication, the opposition of the face of Jahweh, could be the only purification.

(*e*) *Uncleanness of land or country.*—Again, a land or country is defiled by the sexual impurities of the people, by spiritual whoredom (Lv 18^{28}, Ezk 23^{37}). Israel is warned repeatedly against this contamination: it was the sin of the nations driven out by Jahweh; Israel had been and will be visited for such, and the very land itself 'vomiteth out her inhabitants.' The antidote is the observance of the divine statutes, the remembrance that Jahweh is their God, and the purifying punishment is the cutting off of the souls from among the elect people, and the raising up of the divine instruments of judgment, the Babylonians, etc. A land may also be defiled by the shedding of innocent blood (Nu 35^{34}). The purifying punishment of the land is the shedding of the blood of the murderer; the land is sacred because Jahweh dwells among His people; there can be no expiation for the land except by the shedding of the murderer's blood. A land may not be defiled by allowing a murderer to hang upon the tree all night; the body shall be buried on the day of execution; the land is sacred because it is the inheritance of the people sacred to Jahweh (Dt $21^{22f.}$). A land was defiled by idolatrous practices (Jer 2^7, Ezk $36^{17f.}$); it was a goodly land that Israel had inherited, and the people, priests, and rulers had made it an abomination by idolatry; their way was before men, כְּטֻמְאַת הַנִּדָּה; the outpouring of Jahweh's wrath and captivity among the heathen were the punitive, purifying remedies.

2. Purificatory media.—We have seen that there are various media of purification, and various acts of ritual to be observed. Speaking of cathartic sacrifices, Robertson Smith says:

'Purifications are performed by the use of any of the physical means that re-establish normal relations with the deity and the congregation of his worshippers—in short, by contact with something that contains and can impart a divine virtue. For ordinary purposes the use of living water may suffice, for, as we know, there is a sacred principle in such water. But the most powerful cleansing media are necessarily derived from the body and blood of sacrosanct victims, and the forms of purification embrace such rites as the sprinkling of sacrificial blood or ashes on the person, anointing with holy unguents, or fumigation with the smoke of incense, which from early times was a favourite accessory to sacrifices. It seems probable, however, that the religious value of incense was originally independent of animal sacrifice, for frankincense was the gum of a very holy species of tree, which was collected with religious precautions. Whether, therefore, the sacred odour was used in unguents or burned like an altar sacrifice, it appears to have owed its virtue, like the gum of the *samora* tree, to the idea that it was the blood of an animate and divine plant' (p. 426 f.).

The principal media of purification would thus be water, blood, ashes, herbs, incense, oil, shaving the hair, seclusion, confession, and punitive destruction.

(*a*) *Water.*—In regard to water it should be observed that sacred wells, fountains, and streams are often found near sanctuaries in Arabia, Phœnicia, and Syria.

Robertson Smith points out (p. 178) that 'the one general principle which runs through all the varieties of the legends [about sacred waters], and which also lies at the basis of the ritual, is that the sacred waters are instinct with divine life and energy . . . their main object is to show how the fountain or stream comes to be impregnated, so to speak, with the vital energy of the deity to which it is sacred.' And, again, in regard to the healing power of the sacred spring, he says (p. 183): 'Beyond doubt the first and best gift of the sacred spring to the worshipper was its own life-giving water, and the first object of the religion addressed to it was to encourage its benignant flow. But the life-giving power of the holy stream was by no means confined to the quickening of vegetation. Sacred waters are also healing waters.' And once more (p. 184): 'The healing power of sacred water is closely connected with its purifying and consecrating power, for the primary conception of uncleanness is that of a dangerous infection. Washings and purifications play a great part in Semitic ritual, and were performed with living water, which was as such sacred in some degree.'

(*b*) *Blood.*—For the cathartic nature of blood reference should be made to artt. SACRIFICE. Here we need only quote the words of the Epistle to the Hebrews (9^{22}): 'Without shedding of blood is no remission.'

(*c*) *Incense.*—For incense used in purification see above, and Robertson Smith, p. 426 f. Cf. Nu $17^{11ff.}$ [EV. $16^{46f.}$] for its atoning efficacy.

(*d*) *Confession.*—For instances of confession cf. 1 K $8^{33.\ 35}$, Ps 32^5, Pr 28^{13}, Ezr 10^1, Neh 9^3, Dn 9^4, Lv 16^{21} (P) $26^{40(ff.)}$, Nu 5^7 (P), Lv 5^5 (P), Neh 1^6 9^2, Jos 7^{19}, and especially the ceremony of the scapegoat (*q.v.*). The idea is both corporate and individual, as these instances will show. For the idea of lamentation cf. Is 15^2, and Robertson Smith, p. 430 ff.

(*e*) *Ashes.*—The term אֵפֶר is frequently used as a token of humiliation and penitence (Job 42^6, Is 58^5, etc.). In Nu $19^{9f.}$ (P) it denotes the mixture composed of the ashes of the red heifer and those of 'cedar wood, hyssop and scarlet,' and used for the preparation of the 'water of separation' (cf. G. B. Gray, *Numbers* [*ICC*], Edinburgh, 1903, pp. 241–247; for ashes of the red heifer cf. *HDB* iv. 207 f.).

(*f*) *Herbs.*—For the use of herbs, especially the hyssop, for the act of sprinkling blood in ceremonies of purification cf. Ex 12^{22}, Lv 14, Nu 19^6, Ps 51^7; it is spoken of literally in 1 K 4^{33}. G. E. Post (*HDB* ii. 442) identifies it with *Origanum Maru*, which is eminently adapted for the purpose of sprinkling. He points out that in certain of the ceremonial sprinklings, as in the case of leprosy, there was added to the bunch some cedar-wood, scarlet wool, and a living bird. Gray (p. 251) contends that it was used 'on account of its cleansing properties,' and he adds:

'The scarlet thread was presumably selected for its colour, for the same obscure reason that required the cow to be red; the cedar, perhaps, on account of its soundness and endurance, and its supposed property of imparting these qualities.' He reminds us that Pliny mentions 'numerous medicinal qualities with which cedar and hyssop were credited in the ancient world' (*HN* xvi. 76).

LITERATURE.—The authorities are cited throughout the article.

S. M. COOKE.

PURIFICATION (Hindu).—There is nothing that an orthodox Brāhman, or Brāhmanized castes generally, will shun so much as external defilement. 'The predominating idea in their general conduct, and in their every action in life, is what they call cleanness,' says J. A. Dubois.[1] The rules regarding impurity (*āśaucha*) and purification (*śuddhi*) occupy, therefore, a conspicuous place in the Sanskrit law-books, and there are many special treatises in Sanskrit on this subject—the *Aśauchanirṇaya*, *Śuddhitattva*, *Śuddhimayūkha*, etc. The horror or superstitious dread inspired by the sight of a corpse becomes particularly manifest in these rules. The impurity of a Brāhman caused by the death of a relative is declared to last in general ten days. Those who have carried out a dead relative and burnt his

[1] *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*[3], p. 179.

corpse are required to plunge into water, dressed in their clothes. During the period of impurity they must sleep on the ground and practise other austerities, and must give up all intercourse with other people in order to avoid defiling them. When the impurity is over, they must bathe, sip water, and make gifts to Brāhmans. Even those who have merely come near the smoke of a funeral pyre must bathe. Childbirth is an occasion of impurity in the same way and for the same length of time as death. Menstruating women are considered unclean, and their touch contaminates. They become pure after four days by bathing. A bath is also ordained for a man who touches such a woman, or the carrier of a corpse, or members of the lowest castes, or the corpses of certain animals, or one who has had his hair cut, or has vomited or been purged, etc. If the lower part of the body has been defiled by one of the impure excretions of the body, it is sufficient to cleanse the limb in question with earth and water. In minor cases of pollution, as after spitting or sneezing, one has to sip water. The ancient and popular story of King Nala shows how one neglecting such purification was supposed to be liable to be possessed by a demon. Even before birth men were believed to be tainted with uncleanness, and the various *saṁskāras*, such as tonsure, investiture with the sacred thread, marriage, etc., were regarded as purificatory ceremonies capable of removing that taint (Manu, ii. 27).

Purity in regard to food was considered even more essential than external purity, and the rules concerning allowed and forbidden food are very numerous (see FOOD [Hindu]). Drinking alcoholic drinks was reckoned as a mortal sin, like killing a Brāhman or incest. Any one offering spirits to a Brāhman was liable to capital punishment, and one offering forbidden food to such had to pay a heavy fine (*Viṣṇu*, xxxv. 1, v. 98 ff.). A Brāhman tasting the food or water of, or eating with, a Śūdra or other person of low caste had to perform a penance, such as the *parāka* (fasting for twelve days) or *sāntapana* (subsisting for one day on the five products of a cow, including her urine and dung, and fasting the next day). Another set of rules concerns the purification of inanimate objects (*dravyaśuddhi*). Spirituous drinks and the impure excretions of the body are declared to cause the worst kind of pollution. If an iron vessel has been defiled by them, it should be cleansed by heating it in fire; utensils made of stone or shells should be dug into a pit for seven days; objects made of horn, ivory, or bone should be cleansed by being planed; but wooden or earthenware vessels should be thrown away. In lighter cases of pollution the defiled object should be washed or sprinkled with water, or rubbed with earth or ashes, etc., the general rule being that earth and water should be constantly applied as long as the scent or moisture caused by an unclean substance continues on the defiled object. Specially purifying qualities are attributed to cows, the cow being considered a sacred animal. Thus not only are the five products of a cow (*pañchagavya*) swallowed, but a piece of ground may be cleansed by allowing cows to pass some time on it or by plastering it with cow-dung; stagnant water is pure if a cow has drunk from it; and even drops of water trickling from a cow's horn are said to have an expiatory power. The detailed provisions regarding a man's daily bath, which include the recitation of prayers and other religious ceremonies, also fall under the head of purificatory rules. Bathing in a sacred river is believed to be specially purifying, and the water of the Ganges is considered the purest of all kinds of water.

The Buddhists, Jains, and other religious sects have each their own code of defilements and purifications. Nor have these ancient notions of purity and impurity died out in modern India. Thus, according to Dubois (in India from 1792 to 1823), the Hindus immediately after a funeral 'hasten to plunge themselves into water . . . even the news of the death of a relative . . . produces the same effect.'[1] The ten days' period of mourning or impurity is still observed, and during all this time the mourners must neither take more than one meal a day, nor shave, nor perform domestic worship, nor use dainties or spices. A sick person is entirely excluded from some religious ceremonies. Married women near the period of confinement are taken into a small room or shed, where they are shut up for a whole month, during which period they must touch neither domestic utensils nor clothes, still less any person. The same rule is observed during the monthly sickness of a woman. The time of seclusion being over, she has to take a bath, or else a large quantity of water is poured over her head and body. If a woman miscarries, the family become impure for ten days. 'A scrupulous Brahmin,' Dubois says, 'would be defiled and obliged to bathe if by accident his feet should touch a bone, a piece of broken glass or earthenware, a rag, a leaf from which any one had eaten, a bit of skin or leather, hair, or any other unclean thing. . . . but any one may sit on the ground without fear of defilement, if the place has been recently rubbed over with cow-dung.'[2] Here we have a modern instance of the veneration paid to the cow. A mediæval instance of it may be found in al-Bīrūnī, where he speaks of Hindus returned to their homes from Muslim captivity, when, after fasting by way of expiation, they were buried in the dung, stale, and milk of cows for a certain number of days, and given similar dirt to eat afterwards. The fear of personal contact with people of a different caste is gradually dying out in this age of trams and railways, but there are even now depressed castes—*e.g.*, in Kashmīr—which are obliged to live outside of the villages, and must make a sign to persons of high caste from a distance so as to avoid meeting them (see PARIAH). Many of the ancient rules regarding food and commensality are still in force, and nothing is so apt to cause loss of caste as a breach of these rules. The rumour that the British Government was conspiring to rob the Sepoys of their caste by greasing the cartridges of the guns with offensive fat was among the causes of the Mutiny of 1857. Earthenware vessels have to be destroyed in case of defilement, whereas metal ones may be purified by washing.[3] It is true that Brāhmans and rich Śūdras are gradually abandoning the use of earthenware vessels for cooking. Silk and cloth made of the fibres of certain plants are and were believed to remain always pure. It is for this reason that the ancient Brāhman hermits used to wear clothes made of such material, and that a modern Brāhman doctor, when feeling the pulse of a Śūdra, first wraps up the patient's wrist in a small piece of silk so that he may not be defiled by touching his skin.[4] The prevailing belief in the sanctity and purifying power of Ganges water is too well known to require illustration.

LITERATURE.—*The Institutes of Viṣṇu*, tr. J. Jolly in *SBE* vii. [Oxford, 1900]; *The Laws of Manu*, tr. G. Bühler, *ib.* xxv. [do. 1886]; J. A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*[3], tr. H. K. Beauchamp, Oxford, 1906; J. Wilson, *Indian Caste*, Bombay, 1877; S. C. Bose, *The Hindoos as they are*, Calcutta, 1881; al-Bīrūnī's *India*, tr. E. Sachau, 2 vols., London, 1888; *BG*, *passim*.

J. JOLLY.

PURIFICATION (Iranian).—In the less developed religions of the world purification means

[1] *Loc. cit.*
[2] *Ib.* p. 182 f.
[3] *Ib.* p. 181.
[4] *Ib.* p. 181 f.

the expulsion of the contagion of a ritual pollution. In higher religions it is above all the liberation from an ethical depreciation. Mazdæism combines both conceptions. The annulling of sin is primarily to be obtained by outweighing the evil deeds, evil words, evil thoughts by good deeds, good words, good thoughts (*huŝkyaothna, hūkhta, humata*). A penitential formula (*paitita*) was also recited before the *dastūr*.[1] The term *paitita* expresses the balance of merits and sins,[2] and in later texts seems to be applied to the state of mind of the penitent renouncing the sin, and saying, 'Henceforth I will no more commit the sin.'[3] But there is no remission—or, more exactly, neutralizing—of the sin unless by good actions in compensation for the evil inflicted on good creation by the evil act. In the *Vendīdād* these works are enumerated; they consist in building bridges, gifts to the priests, purification of defiled good beings, etc. More often regular penances are provided, in the form of strokes by means of a whip of discipline (*ashtrā, sraoshō-karana*). The rate of strokes is given in several passages of the *Vendīdād*. In later times, as a substitute for the strokes, silver coins were paid by the penitent, and a scale of fines was established.

Often, also, spells had to be recited, expiatory offerings had to be presented, or purifications performed;[4] and here we have prescriptions connected with the more materialistic conception of purity and purification, as we find it in lower religions, where sin is but one of the many pollutions that may be inflicted upon man and have to be wiped off by means of some ritual process.[5] Mazdæism gives to purity and purification as much importance as any lower religion, because those conceptions have been made to fit into the dualistic system. Pollutions come from contact with impure beings or are ascribed to demons, exactly as in the beliefs of primitive people, but they are considered at the same time as an achievement of Ahriman, the evil spirit, creator of the evil creation, source of every evil, material or moral. When those defilements are suppressed by means of water, *gōmēz*, and other substances, or by rituals completely similar to those used for that purpose in all magical proceedings, it is inasmuch as these elements are endowed with the purifying power emanating from Ormazd, the producer of good creation. In all this we have to do with aspects of the great struggle between the two principles. The material and the moral aspects of purity are wholly intermingled in Mazdæan conceptions.

The verb *yaozhdā*, 'to purify,' is akin to Lat. *jus* and Skr. *yosh*. It refers to all that is fine, good, or right—all that is as it should be. In the *Gāthās* the word is found only once and means 'to accomplish,' 'to make perfect,' 'to put in good shape.'[6] It is used of the *daēna*, the conscience, the soul of the faithful, while in the *Vendīdād* we find it used of the body and of all kinds of material beings susceptible of being polluted.

Darmesteter[7] compares this double meaning to that of 'cleanliness' in English, which is a moral as well as a material virtue—'cleanliness is next to godliness'; and he adds with much reason that, for a Zoroastrian, cleanliness is an aspect of godliness, since it is the state of a being belonging to Ahura Mazdāh. In most cases one has to do with pollutions that are real infections or defilements. But they not only soil; they also put one in the power of the evil spirits. Impurity most nearly resembles the contagion of a disease; it extends by contact and dooms the victim to perdition unless it be redeemed by a purification that gives it back to the realm of Ormazd. The conception of purity comes fairly near to that of health. All that is unhealthy or abnormal in the body is impure: disease, menstruation, childbirth, death of the whole body or of parts of it; and, after all, sin is a kind of disease also—a folly in contrast with wise conduct (*ārmatay*) or the right kind of mind (Vohu Manah).

It is therefore not surprising that Mazdæism professes that wise conduct and good teaching purify man's life (*Yaozhdao mashyāi aipi zanthem* [*Ys.* xlviii. 5]).

The worst impurity is that which arises from contact with a corpse. For a Mazdæan, to die was to pass into the power of the *druj* Nasu (νεκύς). Hence it is necessary to minimize the evil produced by this demon by protecting all good beings and substances from its power, and, if contact has taken place, it is urgent that the defiled substance should be freed as soon as possible from the grasp of the *druj*. The first process of purification applied in that case is the *sag-dīd*, or the look of a dog, preferably of one with yellow ears and four eyes (*i.e.* with spots near the eyes). This, however, is not sufficient to destroy the impurity inherent in the corpse, and every person and thing that has come in direct or even indirect contact with it must be purified. The contact is greater on soft and wet ground and where decomposition has set in. The corpse is therefore deposited on a flat stone around which the *nasā-sē-lār* traces with a knife three deep circles to prevent the Nasu from infecting the surroundings. The corpse has to be stripped of its soft and liquid parts by the action of vultures or other animals of the evil creation. It is therefore deposited in some remote and dry place far from the cultivated fields or on a *dakhma* till it is completely dried up. Then it is presumed to be no longer infectious. All kinds of purification are prescribed for the people who perform the duties connected with the dressing of the corpse and its transportation. See, further, art. DEATH, etc. (Parsi).

Next to death, the worst impurity is menstrual blood. The *dashtān*, 'woman during her courses,' must be kept indoors in a special room (Pahl. *armēsht-gāh*), where food is handed to her from a distance by means of a stick. The woman after childbirth is treated in the same way, and must be confined during forty days in the *armēsht-gāh*, which greatly increases the mortality among Parsi women.

All that is detached from the body, being dead, is impure. Hence the ceremonies prescribed for cutting the hair or the nails (*Vend.* xvii. 1–9). This is also the reason why the priest wears the *paitidāna*, or piece of gauze, before his mouth when he comes near the sacred fire—lest he should soil it by his breath.

All that has been touched by one of the defiling substances has to be purified, and the greater part of the *Vendīdād* is devoted to the description of the ritual processes securing the purification of all kinds of elements or materials, such as wood (*Vend.* vii. 28), corn (*ib.* 32), water (vi. 26), fire (viii. 73 ff.), earth (vi. 1–24), the house of a dead man (viii. 3) or the road followed by the carriers of the corpse (*ib.* 14, 22), household utensils (vii. 74), clothes (*ib.* 10 ff.), and animals—*e.g.*, the cow that has eaten from a corpse (*ib.* 76 f.). Soft and porous substances require a more complete cleansing than hard and dry ones, and purifications are more elaborate in winter than in summer.

The cleansing substances are the same as are used in all rituals of the same kind, viz. above all, water, and next to it *gaomaēza* (Pahl. *gōmēz*),

[1] Cf. L. C. Casartelli, *The Philosophy of the Mazdayasnian Religion*, Eng. tr., Bombay, 1889, p. 169.
[2] C. Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wörterbuch*, Strassburg, 1904, *s.v.*
[3] *Shāyast-lā-Shāyast*, viii. 8; Casartelli, p. 170.
[4] *Vend.* xiv. 7 ff.
[5] Cf. art. MAGIC (Iranian).
[6] *Zend-Avesta*, ii. p. x.

or urine of cattle. A *rivāyat* quoted in Darmesteter (*Zend-Avesta*, ii. 266) explains that, when Jamshēd (Yima Xshaēta) extracted Tahmuruz from the body of Ahriman, he had soiled his hands; but, a drop of *gōmēz* having by chance fallen on them, they immediately recovered their fine aspect. Earth is also mentioned at times as a purifying element (*Vend.* vii. 14, 74).

As for fire, it is generally considered to be the purifying element *par excellence*; it has been exalted so high in Zoroastrianism, as the purest offspring of the good spirit, that it cannot be used as a purifier. It must never come in contact with anything impure.

For some specially serious cases of contamination there was provided an extensive ceremony—the *barashnūm*, or purification of the nine nights, described in *Vend.* viii. 35–72 and ix. 1–57. The ground had to be prepared by cutting down trees in a dry place. Then holes had to be dug, and furrows drawn. The unclean person had to walk to the holes, recite a prayer, and be sprinkled with water and *gōmēz* on all parts of his body in succession.

LITERATURE.—Besides the works mentioned throughout, see J. Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, 3 vols., Paris, 1892–93 (esp. the introd. to the *Vendîdâd*); C. P. Tiele, *Gesch. van den Godsdienst in de Oudheid*, Amsterdam, 1895–1901, ii.; H. Oldenberg, *Die iranische Religion* (= *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, I. iii. pt. i.), Leipzig, 1906, p. 77; F. Spiegel, *Die traditionelle Litteratur der Parsen*, do. 1860; W. Geiger, *Ostîrânische Kultur im Altertum*, Erlangen, 1882.

ALBERT J. CARNOY.

PURIFICATION (Jain). — **1. Introductory remarks.**—The Jains of to-day are rightly proud of the old saying that a Jain might be trusted in the zenana of a king; so great, indeed, was their character for purity that it won for them the epithet of *paraghara pavesā*, 'worthy to enter another's house.' There can be little doubt that this splendid reputation was due to the ethical character of their religion, though even to-day the ethical nature of Jainism is insufficiently realized by European scholars, and too little appreciated even by the Jains themselves. It is in accordance with this ethical tradition that sins against purity of any kind are never glossed over, but always treated with the greatest severity. Adultery is accounted one of the most heinous sins, equivalent to taking life (*jīva himsā*), and the layman or monk who breaks the vow of chastity is held to have broken all his vows. Every sin of impurity, whether it lie in thought, word, or deed, or in causing others to offend against the law of chastity in thought, word, or deed, must be confessed to one's director (*guru*) as soon as possible, and the penance imposed by him performed. The usual penalty for unchastity is for a monk nothing short of expulsion from the order, and he must undergo long fastings before he can hope to obtain reordination. A layman guilty of impurity is held to have slipped back on the ladder of rebirths and fallen below the stage not only of being a Jain but even of being human, and he must observe the strictest fasts with the idea of torturing the body which led him to commit such crimes before he can win back again the birthright which he has forfeited. If the sin be not repented of and confessed, the most hideous torments await the offender in a future rebirth as a hell-being. With regard to women who sin against the law of chastity, a Jain husband can never divorce his wife, but, if she prove unfaithful, he would very probably separate from her, and though, as a rule, the practice of taking a second wife is much looked down on, it would be considered pardonable in such a case, and the woman would look forward with dread to being widowed in her next existence.

The idea of purity differs of course for a monk and a layman. The monk must observe the most rigorous celibacy, never looking at, thinking of, speaking to, or touching a woman, never even sitting where a woman has sat or stroking a female animal. It is interesting to notice that these laws are enforced in their sacred books not only by every religious sanction present and future, but also by appealing to the natural laziness of the monk, warning him of the burdens and cares of married life.

A layman vows to maintain his wife in all honour and loyalty and to renounce the society of other women. It is customary for a devout layman to observe celibacy before any of the great Jain festivals or fasts, before going on pilgrimage, and for twenty days in every month, and, as he advances in holiness, he at last renounces entirely the society of his wife (*brahmacharya pratimā*).[1] All unnatural sins against purity are punished in this life by heavy penances, or after rebirth by the most hideous tortures.

The Jains are also proud of the purity of their worship, for courtesans are not to be found connected with their temples, nor does their religion permit any *śakti* or *vāma mārga* orgies, and their entire sacred literature contains nothing approaching to the Tantras of the Hindus.

With regard to ritual purity and purifications, the Jains themselves say that they have borrowed their rites from the Hindus and especially from the Brāhmans; so it will be interesting to compare the two systems on this point. A Jain is always most anxious to maintain ceremonial purity, for only when in a state of ritual holiness can he go to temple or monastery, or perform any of his religious duties, such as meditation, adoration, or reading the sacred books; but ceremonial pollution is very difficult to avoid, accruing, as it does, in so many minor ways,[2] and especially on the occurrence of any birth or death in a family.

2. Birth impurity (*vṛddhi sūtaka*).—Before the birth of the first child the young mother goes to her own old home, where she must stay for at least a month and a quarter after the child's birth; during all this time she is considered ceremonially impure and 'untouchable,' and her husband is not allowed to see her or to enter the house where she is living.[3] The child, when born, is considered impure, and the midwife bathes it with all possible speed, for, if it dies before being thus purified, it might have to be buried somewhere in the compound of the house instead of in the children's cemetery reserved for infants dying when less than eighteen months old, which is situated near the burning ghāt.

There are four distinct stages in the progress of the mother back to ceremonial purity:

(*a*) *On the tenth day* after the child's birth she bathes in the house and on the very bed on which she gave birth to the child; her forehead is marked with an auspicious mark (*chāndalo*) in red powder, and a change is made in her diet. She is not allowed to touch milk during the whole forty days of her impurity, and the first day after the child's birth she has to observe as a fast; if she rebels very much against this, she may be given a native dish called *rāba* (a gruel made of wheat-flour, *ghi*, and molasses). Up to the tenth day she is allowed to eat only a favourite Jain dish called *śiro* (the same ingredients as *rāba*, but less liquid), but after the tenth day she may take bread and the curried vegetables which she so keenly relishes, and several different kinds of gruel.

(*b*) *On the twentieth day* the mother again bathes in the house, and on the same bedstead, which is then washed and put in the sun; and the earthen floor and sometimes the walls of the room are freshly plastered with the usual mixture of clay, cow-dung, and water. An auspicious mark is again put on her forehead (she had not been allowed to do this during the intervening days), and, though she is still 'untouchable,' and must sit apart and eat apart, she may now be allowed to sweep the house, but

[1] See M. Stevenson, *Heart of Jainism*, p. 223.

[2] *Ib.* p. 258.

[3] If, however, he is very anxious to see his first-born, it may be brought outside the house for him to look at after it is twelve days old.

must not go outside (unless the family is so poor that she must help with the work). On this particular day she may again eat *śiro* and, according to some Jains, she may now begin to tell her beads.

(*c*) *On the thirtieth day*, or on the Thursday nearest to the thirtieth day after the child's birth, the mother bathes in the ordinary bathing-place of the household, whether it be in a room or in the courtyard, and again is decorated with the auspicious mark and given *śiro* to eat; she is now considered less unclean and allowed to go outside the house, though she still must not touch any one or go to the nunnery or temple.

(*d*) *On the fortieth day*, or on some convenient Sunday, Tuesday, or Thursday nearest the fortieth day, the mother bathes again in the household bathing-place, and is at last considered ceremonially pure; she is now allowed to touch the household water-pots, the family hearth, and the hand-mill, and may cook for her friends. If during these forty days she has used earthen pots, they will be thrown away, but the brass vessels that had been kept apart for her use will be cleansed by fire or ashes, and taken into general use. After bathing, the mother is marked with the *chāndalo* and is given *śiro* or some specially dainty dish to eat, perhaps *kaṁsāra* (a dish resembling *śiro*, but not cooked with *ghī*). She then goes to her mother-in-law's house (which is probably her husband's house also), does obeisance at the feet of her mother-in-law, and offers that much-feared lady a present of money, which varies according to her purse. Very often the daughter-in-law gives two rupees if a son has been born to her, and eight annas if it is only a daughter. After this her husband may permit her to return to her own mother's house for a varying period lasting probably six months—this seems the 'correct' thing to do, as it is the Brāhman custom—or he may summon her at any time.

Among most of the Jains the child's father is considered impure for ten days, and for that length of time he is not allowed to go to the temples or perform any religious duties; and all his near relatives that bear his surname are in the same state of ceremonial impurity (though, unlike the Brāhmans, they are allowed to celebrate weddings during that period). The impurity is removed at the end of ten days by simply bathing in the ordinary way. In cases of necessity, however, the father and his relatives may purify themselves by ordinary bathing the day after the child's birth.[1] Though the Jains are anxious that the mother should not die before the purification is complete, yet, if she should not survive, they do not have to perform that pathetically tragic rite of bathing the young mother's dead form one hundred and eight separate times, as the Nāgar Brāhmans do. It is good to know that human nature is stronger than tradition, and the writer's Indian friends have assured her that, if their wives were to die in childbirth, they would now break through every custom and insist on being with them at the last.

3. Death defilement. — The defilement which death brings on a household (*mṛtyu sūtaka*) is far heavier than that of a birth. During the time the pollution lasts the Jains, like the Brāhmans, can celebrate no marriage, hear no music, eat no sumptuous meals, and perform no religious duties, and they must wear only white turbans, but, unlike the Brāhmans, they need not shave off their moustaches.

When a Jain is dying, he is placed on the floor, which has been newly plastered with cow-dung and clay (if Hindu influence is strong, the cow-dung will probably have been mixed with water from the river Ganges), and the patient is so arranged that his head is towards the north and his feet towards the south. Great attention is paid to the purification of the dying man's soul, and, with this in view, he is urged, even before he has been placed on the floor, to take certain vows, especially that of religious suicide (*santhāro pāṭha*),[2] in which he promises never to eat or drink again while he lives; he also gives away much in alms for feeding cattle and the poor; and, the moment he dies, his heirs offer further alms in his name. Still with the object of purification, a lamp fed with melted butter is lit close to the man when he is on the point of death, and is kept constantly burning till the dead body is carried out of the house. The corpse is not usually bathed, but, in the case of a woman dying while her husband is still living, the big toe of her right foot is bathed, and her forehead is smeared with red powder.

Every one in the house is considered unclean; the men of the family go with the corpse to the burning-ground and bathe before returning.[1] The women leave the house to go and bathe in a river or tank after the corpse has been carried out, but they must be careful to return before the men. The period of ceremonial impurity lasts for seven or nine days, and is broken on a Monday, Thursday, or Friday nearest the seventh day, when the men all go to the river and bathe, and then shave for the first time since the death occurred. The women bathe in the house, wash their hair, and change their clothes.[2] The house has also been impure during the week, and no outsider would drink water in it; but now it is all cleansed and re-plastered with cow-dung. The room in which the person died is re-plastered with special care, and, if Hindu influence is strong, it will be further purified by having cow-urine sprinkled on the floor. All the clothes worn during the seven days have to be washed, the vessels used purified with ashes and water, and the cooking-hearth cleansed with water and cow-dung. The funeral ceremonies end with a feast to all the caste-fellows, whether Vaiṣṇava, Jain, or Svāmi Nārāyaṇa by religion.

4. Special impurity of women.—The birth and death *sūtaka* are the two great periods of impurity for a man, but a woman contracts ceremonial pollution more frequently, and is regarded as untouchable for four days in every month. During this time she must sit apart either on a thick cloth or on a hassock made of sacking, and, though she may sleep on a bed, it must not have the mattress spread over it, but only sacking or thick cloth. She must eat apart, and may not touch copper or bronze vessels, though she is allowed to use brass or crockery, but all the vessels that she touches are regarded as impure and have to be cleansed at the end of the four days. She should not go out of the house, if she can possibly avoid doing so, and of course cannot visit temple or nunnery; nor may she perform any of her religious duties, such as meditation or confession, even in the house. During these days she must not cook for the family or touch the hearth or the water-pots. At the end of the fourth day she bathes, changes her clothes, and washes her hair. On the occasion of first attaining puberty, however, the purification ceremonies are more elaborate. The girl, who, though married, is probably still living in her mother's house, bathes after the fourth day and puts on a simple green bodice and red *sārī* (two auspicious colours) that her mother has prepared for her, and then starts out for her mother-in-law's house; but, just before she leaves, her mother puts some molasses in her mouth. Arrived at her destination, she makes her reverence at her mother-in-law's feet and offers her two rupees; and the old lady, if gracious and kindly, presents her daughter-in-law with a more elaborate green bodice fashioned of silk. Then the mother-in-law invites her to a feast of specially nice food, which will include a dish of wheat, treacle, and *ghī* (*lāpasī*). The girl can be summoned any time after this to go and live with her husband in her mother-in-law's house, and the sewing of the trousseau will be hastened, for she must not go till this is completed. Prob-

[1] The mother's own brothers are not considered ceremonially impure, though they may have been in the house where the child was born.

[2] See Stevenson, p. 221.

[1] It is interesting to notice that, though the body may be carried out through the ordinary house-door, there are usually certain city-gates through which a corpse may not be borne.

[2] Near relatives, even if living in a distant village, are obliged to go and bathe in a stream immediately after hearing of the death.

ably, despite all the bowing that she has done and will do at her mother-in-law's feet, the last thing that her own mother will whisper in her ear will be the proverb, 'Don't be as bitter as a *nīm*-tree, or you will be spat out; but don't be as sweet as sugar, or you will be eaten up [with the work they will put on you].'

5. **Accidental pollution.**—A Jain, however, may also acquire pollution in his ordinary life, and especially through what he eats and drinks. The worst fault that a man can commit is to eat meat, and, if this were done openly and persistently, he would be put out of caste absolutely and never be allowed to eat with his equals again. If, however, it were done accidentally and repented of, the offender would confess it to his director and have to observe very strict fasts before he would be regarded as purified. The rule is the same for drunkenness: even moderate wine-drinking is absolutely prohibited on account of the entry of life by fermentation, though eating opium and smoking tobacco (while not approved of) do not render a man impure.

Pollution is also acquired by touching an out-caste (an untouchable), and, after sitting beside one in a train or brushing against one, Jains purify themselves either by bathing and changing their garments, or, if less particular, by just sprinkling water over their clothes; village Jains are content with simply touching a Muhammadan by way of purification. If an out-caste passed very near their house or accidentally entered a room, Jains would purify it by sprinkling water, and, if he brought them wood, they would sprinkle water on the faggots; in the same way, after walking through an out-caste quarter of the town, they would purify themselves by bathing or by sprinkling. The rule seems to be that a very particular Jain purifies himself by immersion or, rather, affusion, and a less strict one does it just as effectually by aspersion—an interesting parallel to the varying methods of Christian baptism.

Bronze and copper vessels are treated with great respect; if they should, despite every precaution, be defiled, they are put into the fire to be cleansed. Brass vessels can be purified with fire or more simply with ashes, crockery by being washed in warm water; but the writer was shown in one house the glass that a Muhammadan visitor frequently drank from, kept in a special niche in the garden wall. In schools, in the same way, the vessels used by Muhammadans are kept separate from those belonging to Hindu or Jain children.

If the whole of a house be defiled—by a dog bringing a bone into it or a crow dropping some meat in the courtyard—the householder summons a Muhammadan or some meat-eating Hindu, such as a Kolī, to take it away and himself purifies the house by sprinkling water and cow-urine where the meat had lain.

Unlike the Hindus, the Jains do not become impure during an eclipse, but, where Vaiṣnava influence prevails, they throw away their earthen cooking-pots when the eclipse is over and bathe in a river.

Like the Hindus, the Jains perform ceremonial bathing and teeth-cleansing every morning, and until their teeth have been rubbed with the tooth-stick they will not swallow a drop of water.[1] Monks and nuns, once they are professed, may never bathe, lest they should injure the water-*jiva*. Naturally cleanly ascetics, however, evade this by rubbing themselves over with a cloth which has been moistened in warm water. But they must never clean their teeth. Before they are professed, they bathe in the ordinary way, and then their heads are shaved except one lock of hair which they must themselves pull out. Every year afterwards they have to pull out their hair[1] before the great annual confession—a custom which is believed to be peculiar to the Jains.

[1] Cutch and Mārwār Jains do not, like other Jains, bathe daily as a religious duty.

The idols in the temples are also bathed every morning, but the most elaborate idol-bathing is that which takes place every twenty-five years at Śrāvaṇa Belgolā (see art. FESTIVALS AND FASTS [Jain]). Before a man can worship in a temple, he must bathe; and, if he wishes to penetrate the inner shrine, he must bathe at the temple and don the special pure clothes provided at the cost of the community and kept in a particular room attached to the temple. In Kāthiāwār the Jains seem to be able to go to England without going through any special purification on their return, but in other places where Vaiṣnava influence is strong a Jain goes and bathes in a sacred river, such as the Ganges, the Godāvari, or the Narbadā, and, under the pressure of Hindu opinion, he might even sip the fivefold nectar which consists of butter, curds, milk, sugar, and honey. He would also probably have to go on pilgrimage to Pālitānā, Girnār, or some other sacred place. All this trouble, however, is sometimes avoided by a well-understood and useful fiction—the man simply giving out that he is going on pilgrimage, and then quietly proceeding to Europe, but returning *via* the pilgrim resort.

E.g., a well-known Jain gentleman was travelling in Germany at the outbreak of the war and suffered all sorts of difficulties before he was able to leave for India. He was careful, however, to return to his native place by way of a sacred hill; and it was apparently assumed that he had spent the whole time there, though his hearers must have found it difficult to reconcile the stirring adventures, alarms, and excursions under the Kaiser's tyranny, which he openly recounted to every one he met, with the peaceful happenings incident to a pilgrimage, which ought to have composed his story. Anyhow, no purification was demanded.

LITERATURE.—The information contained in the above article has been derived directly from Jain informants. See also the present writer's *Notes on Modern Jainism*, Oxford, 1910, *The Heart of Jainism*, do. 1915; and *SBE* xxii. [1884] and xlv. [1895].

MARGARET STEVENSON.

PURIFICATION (Japanese).—As cleanliness or purity is the dominating ideal of Shintō, rites and ceremonies of purification make up a considerable portion of the 'way of the gods.' The most important among these are the two ceremonies known as *harai* and *misogi*.

Their origin is said to date from pre-historic times as far back as Izanagi and Izanami, the male and female creators of the land of Toyo-ashi-hara, as Japan was anciently called.

Izanami died and departed to the land of *yomi*, or darkness; her husband followed her and, behold, 'her body was already putrid, maggots swarmed over it . . . and Izanagi, greatly shocked, exclaimed, "What a hideous and polluted land I have come to unawares!" So he speedily ran away.' He threw aside the stick with which he had touched the dead, and his belt, garments, waist-cloth, hat, and bracelet, thus sweeping off everything that had clothed his body. The action was called *harai*, literally the 'sweeping off.' Thereafter he jumped into the sea and cleansed his body with its water. This was termed *misogi*, 'watering' the body, in token of the removal of all impurities. Thus *harai* and *misogi* became integral parts of court ceremony and consequently of Shintō ritual.

There are various kinds of *harai*, named according to their purpose and importance: *yoshino-harai, akuno-harai, ō-harai, kamino-harai, nakano-harai, shimono-harai*, etc. *Yoshi* means 'good,' and *yoshino-harai* is to secure the good; *aku* means 'evil,' and *akuno-harai* is to avoid evil; *ō* means 'great,' and *ō-harai* is the most important of all; *kami, naka*, and *shimo* mean respectively 'upper,' 'middle,' and 'lower,' thus indicating their grade of importance.

The *ō-harai*, or great purification, is a ceremony intended to cleanse from all the evils and pollutions experienced since its last celebration. It is observed twice a year (at the end of June and the

[1] Stevenson, p. 165 f.

end of December), when the official in charge, after the proper purification of his own body, offers flax and a sword. The most important part of the ceremony is the reading of the formula known as the *Nakatomi-no-norito*, so called from the fact that in the beginning the family of Nakatomi had charge of the reading. The formula first announces to all whom it may concern the celebration of the ceremony, then enumerates the evils and impurities which have been incurred, and concludes with the statement that these all shall be purged away by the virtue of the rite.

The *ō-harai* was usually performed at the southern gate of the royal palace in Kyoto. Special messengers were sent by the court to all parts of the empire, and the same ceremony was performed in various Shintō temples. Regulations governing the details of the ceremony were formulated from time to time, but these tended not to perpetuate the ceremony but to hasten its decline. For several hundred years previous to the restoration of 1868 the observance of these ceremonies was much neglected by the court; but with the restoration, together with many old forms, they were again brought into more or less prominence.

Special occasions of public calamity, such as the outbreak of pestilence, famine, or destructive fires, also call for the observance of *ō-harai*. Local and individual *harai* are at times observed for various reasons upon a much smaller scale. Individual *harai* has at times been looked upon as a penalty for certain offences, and in A.D. 801 was carried to such an extent that the court issued an ordinance regulating its use.

Saikai, or *monoimi*, is a form of self-purification in preparation for worship. When the worship has been duly performed, the worshippers discontinue the *saikai* by a ceremony of *kai-sai*, dismissing the *sai*. While under *saikai*, certain things are forbidden, such as attending funerals, visiting the sick, sentencing a criminal or putting him to death, playing upon a musical instrument, or taking part in any impure or desecrating act. The length of the observance may vary from one day to a month, according to the importance and nature of the occasion.

The *Yengishiki*, or 'Book of Ceremony,' published during the Yengi era (901–923), has the following regulations concerning those who are to be regarded as polluted by various acts of impurity and who are therefore to be prohibited from taking part in Shintō worship. Pollution from the human dead shall debar for thirty days from the day of the funeral; pollution from human birth for seven days; pollution from animal dead for five days; and from animal birth, not including chickens, for three days. Those who ate the flesh of beasts were impure for three days. Participation in the re-burial of the dead rendered one impure for four months or longer. Those who had attended a funeral, visited the sick, or been present at a memorial service were forbidden to enter the royal gate on the same day. Buddhist priests and nuns and those in mourning were forbidden to enter the palace during the *saikai*, and both before and after the chief festivals such as *kinen*, *kanname*, and *niiname*.

Court ladies in pregnancy were obliged to withdraw from the court during the time of *saikai*, as also were those temporarily incapacitated at the time of the ceremony itself. A conflagration rendered those within the house impure for a period of seven days. Complicated regulations, as has been said, were formulated governing all possible cases; but in practice the observance has gradually decreased, so that at present slight attention is paid in general to ceremonies of purification.

Various symbols of purification are still more or less common. People returning from a funeral are not infrequently greeted with salt, that they may be freed from all impurity before entering their homes. Spitting or breathing on them is thought to remove contamination from sights and objects near at hand. Shaking the *gohei*, strips of white paper attached to a rod, is an act of purification, and the *shimenawa*, or straw rope above the entrance gate, is likewise thought to protect the dwelling from impure influences.

LITERATURE.—W. G. Aston, *Shinto: the Way of the Gods*, London, 1905; B. H. Chamberlain, *Things Japanese*[3], do. 1901; T. Harada, *The Faith of Japan*, New York, 1914; artt. relating to Shintō temples and ritual in *TASJ*.

TASUKU HARADA.

PURIFICATION (Muslim). — **1. The ritual of purification.**—The Muhammadan ritual of purification is based primarily on the late Qur'ānic passage, v. 9, repeated with slight variations from iv. 46:

(*a*) 'O believers, when ye come to fulfil the prayer, wash your faces, and your hands as far as the elbows; and rub your heads, and your feet unto the ankles'; (*b*) 'and if ye be polluted then purify yourselves' (*faṭṭahharū*; but iv. 46, 'wash yourselves,' *taghtasilū*); (*c*) 'but if ye be sick, or upon a journey, or one of you come from the privy or have touched a woman, and ye find no water, then take pure earth and rub your faces and hands therewith.'

With the help of traditions, the variations in the two versions of this law have been harmonized, certain verbal and logical obscurities removed, and the details elaborated into a ritual of practice as follows.

(*a*) *Wuḍū', or waḍū', the minor ablution, of the appendages (not the trunk) of the body.*—It is performed regularly before each of the five daily prayers, whether at home or in the mosque; but it may be omitted if the worshipper is sure he has in no way become polluted since the last *wuḍū'*, as, *e.g.*, when he continues praying from one period without interruption into the next. It is usual also before touching the Qur'ān and at the approach of death; and it forms an integral part of the major ablution.

The *wuḍū'* is performed at a tank (*miḍa'ah*) or reservoir (*ḥanafiyah*) provided with spouts; after a declaration (*niyah*) that the intended act is for purposes of purification, the Muslim, with sleeves tucked above the elbow, performs each of the following acts three times: washing the hands; rinsing the mouth (here the tooth-pick also is used); compressing each nostril with the left fingers and snuffing up water from the right hand, followed by expulsion of the water; washing the face; washing the right arm and permitting the water to run from the palm to the elbow; washing the left arm similarly. Then follow once each: passing the wetted right hand over the upper part of the head, the turban being pushed back with the left; combing the beard with the wetted fingers; inserting the tips of the forefingers into the ears and passing the thumbs around the back of the ears; wiping the neck with the back of the fingers of both hands; washing each foot as high as the ankle and passing the fingers between the toes (Shī'ites, however, conform more literally to the Qur'ānic passage by rubbing [*masḥ*] the feet with the wetted hand instead of washing them; see also *masḥ*, under *taṭhīr*, p. 497[a]).

(*b*) *Ghusl, the major, total ablution of the body.*—As based upon the Qur'ān, it is demanded in the case of certain physical pollutions, specified by tradition to be those of coition, nocturnal pollution, menses, and childbirth, the period of uncleanness in the last (*nifās*) continuing for forty days according to Sunnite law, for ten according to Shī'ite. As based upon tradition only, and hence called *ghusl masnūn*, it is demanded in the case of conversion to Muhammadanism; before the prayers of Friday and the festivals; after washing a corpse; after blood-letting; after death (performed by the *mughassil*, or washer of the dead). It must be performed in more than a certain minimum of water, which must touch every part, every hair, of the body, and hence takes place usually in the *ḥammām*, with its plunge bath. *Ghusl* includes also the *wuḍū'*, though the washing of the feet should be deferred by a *niyah* to the end of the

entire ablution; in the case of the *wuḍū'* as part of the *ghusl* of a corpse the mouth and nose are stopped with cotton instead of being washed.

(*c*) *Tayammum, the minor purification with dust in place of water.*—It may be performed when water cannot be secured within two miles or without incurring danger; in case of sickness, open wounds, or fractured bones; because of lack of time for the proper *wuḍū'* before the prayer on festival-days and at funerals. It consists of the declaration of intention, and of clapping dry dust or sand upon the face and hands.

(*d*) *Various practices of personal cleanliness.*—Some of them, together with *wuḍū'* and *ghusl*, are classed under the general term *ṭahārah*, 'purification,' some of them form part of the regular *wuḍū'* also, others are practised as occasion demands; in so far as they are not mentioned in the Qur'ān, they are declared to have been sanctioned by the Prophet as *fiṭrah*, lit. 'nature,' the natural religion in which man was created (xxx. 29), interpreted also as 'customs of the [previous] prophets.' These are use of the tooth-pick (*miswāk*)—an insistent practice of Muhammad; cleansing the nose and mouth with water (*istinshāq*); clipping the ends of the moustache to prevent them from entering the mouth; clipping the finger-nails; cleaning the finger-joints; depilation of the armpits; shaving of the pubes; abstersion (*istinjā'*) with water or dry earth or a piece of stone after evacuation and urination. Washing the hands before and after meals is also declared sometimes to have been demanded by a *ḥadīth*; and it is quite generally practised. Another enumeration of five usages of *fiṭrah* includes circumcision, which in usage is also regarded as an act of purification, and hence the term *taṭhīr* (see below) applied to it; it is nowhere mentioned in the Qur'ān, however, nor is it absolutely necessary in the case of an adult converted to Muhammadanism.

(*e*) *Taṭhīr, the purification of objects which have become ritually unclean.*—This is based on *ḥadīth* only; like personal purification, it may be performed with dry earth instead of water. One of the most important rules of *taṭhīr* is that termed technically *mash*, the purification of the inner boots; according to Sunnite law, if they cannot be cleansed of filth by rubbing dry earth upon them, they may still be made ceremonially clean (and worn during prayers) by stroking (*mash*) them with the wetted fingers three times; Shī'ites, however, deny that the boots may be worn at all during prayers. Some of the other numerous details of *taṭhīr* are the following:

Any spot can be made ritually fitted for prayer by spreading a clean rug or garment upon it; but the ground itself is clean when dry. Handling forbidden animals, such as dogs, pigs, and rats, requires purification of the person and garments. Dishes which have contained wine or the flesh of swine (conditions which may exist when such dishes have belonged to Jews or Christians) must be purified before a Muhammadan may eat from them. A vessel from which a dog has drunk must be washed seven times; a mosque defiled by a dog can be purified with water or earth together with recitations from the Qur'ān; it should be noted, however, that the mere presence of the animal, if dry, does not render unclean, while, on the other hand, if wet, the mere contact of its nose with the clothes requires (so the Shāfi'ites hold) that the clothes be washed seven times, each time in fresh water, and be rubbed once with earth; even Muhammadans less strict hold that body and clothes are defiled by a dog's saliva, and naturally by its micturition; many will not use mattresses made of dogs' hair. Another tradition declares that any considerable amount of fleas' blood defiles a garment. To a certain extent the ordinary washing of clothes is considered an act of purification, since the operation is concluded by pouring clean water upon them and reciting the *shahādah*, or testification of faith.

The water used for purificatory purposes must itself be pure, *i.e.* clean. Therefore rain-water is preferred and regarded as specifically recommended in Qur'ān, viii. 11:

'Remember when . . . He sent down upon you rain from heaven to purify you therewith and remove from you Satan's pollution' (*rijz*; perhaps intended rather in the sense of 'temptation [to desertion and idolatry]').

On the basis of *ḥadīth*, water from other sources may be used; that of the sea, springs, wells, rivers, hail, snow, and ice (but not ice itself), providing colour, smell, and taste give no evidence of pollution; with those restrictions, running water may be used even if a dead body or other unclean thing has fallen into it. The same permission is given in the case of standing water of more than a certain volume; but, if an animal falls into a well, at least 300 bucketfuls of water must be drawn, and the well must not be used for a day, or, if putrefaction of the body has set in, for three days. Earth or sand used for purification must not be damp.

2. Origin and motive.—The details of these purificatory practices were derived by Muhammad and the elaborators of his laws from pagan Arab, from Jewish, and from Christian sources. Occasionally a tradition seems to show that the Prophet (or those speaking in his name) was still under the influence of the primitive superstitions which gave rise to the particular practices in question; some traditions show an appreciation of the religious and ethical transmutations of Judaism and Christianity; others a mere toleration of existing customs in so far as they were free or could be freed from idolatrous implications. But to the extent that there was any logical purpose in his eclecticism at all, that purpose seems to have been partly rationalizing and disciplinary, mainly æsthetic. For it would seem that filth in any form was repugnant to Muhammad, particularly to his olfactory sense. This abhorrence of filth and keenness of smell may well have been due in part at least to his early Bedawīn apprenticeship, for both are very pronounced in the true Bedawīn. At any rate tradition is insistent in ascribing them to Muhammad.

Thus one *ḥadīth* declares that he demanded that any one who had eaten garlic or onions should avoid his presence (a variant reading restricts the prohibition to prayer-time); another tradition, accounting for the institution of the *ghusl* as a regular Friday practice, declares that he ordered it on an occasion when the people had performed their daily labour while wearing blankets and had perspired to such a degree that the odour from their bodies had become disagreeable. Again, he is reported to have said that in paradise all bodily excretions will be carried off as a perspiration with the odour of musk; that only the sensing of an odour or the hearing of a sound must be considered an interruption of the required absorption in prayer; and, still more significant, that, when a man tells a lie, the foulness of its odour drives his guardian angels a mile away.

It is possible, of course, that underneath the selfish æsthetic motive there was a trace of that sublimated anthropomorphic conception which leaves to the deity a gratification in the odour of sacrificial smoke or of incense, and hence might ascribe to God man's own aversion to foul odours. Indeed, there is even a tradition which declares that the sacrificial blood itself reaches Allāh's acceptance before it touches the ground; but, as far as Muhammad himself is concerned, this evidence is nullified by the Qur'ān (xxii. 37):

'Their flesh will never reach to Allāh, nor yet their blood, but your piety will reach him.'

The tradition cited probably represents merely a popular expression of the surviving primitive superstitious conception; still more primitive in conception is the declaration that the nasal purification was instituted for the purpose of driving out the evil spirit which lodges in the nostrils during the night. From the Qur'ān itself the impression is derived that Muhammad's purificatory ordinance was perhaps merely an expression of the feeling which, superstitious origins forgotten, still demands a certain decency and comeliness on the part of the worshipper; for the ordinance in

question follows immediately the rational injunction, 'Come not to prayer while ye are drunk, until ye understand.' The rationalizing tendency of Muhammadanism in the purificatory ordinances is seen also in the limitation of contactual ritual contamination to cases of actual physical transference of perceptible impurity. There is evidence that the strictness of Hebrew legislation in regard to the menstruous woman was shared at least in part by the pagan Arabs (in the earlier Arabic usage the only clear equivalents to the Hebrew *ṭāmē* and *ṭāhōr*, 'unclean' and 'clean,' seem to be *ṭāmith* and *ṭāhir* as applied to the menstruous and the 'clean' woman); but several traditions show that Muhammad, in accepting the general principle and some particular details from both sources, modified the severity and declared that mere contact with a woman in this condition need not be avoided. Nor does touching a corpse render unclean any one except the person who washes it for burial; still less does mourning in general, or contact with sacred objects. The same tendency to identify ritual uncleanness exactly with physical malodorous uncleanness, with excretions, dampness, and putrefaction, is evidenced in some of the definitions cited above; *e.g.*, a dog's contact defiles only if the animal is wet; earth is clean (and cleanses) if not damp. The tradition declaring that the micturition of a 'clean' animal does not defile is, of course, not of this rationalizing tendency.

3. Connexion with expiation.—There are a few isolated indications that purification might by some have been regarded as having expiatory or atoning force—that it washed away guilt. Whether any such idea attaches to a tradition that in paradise the faithful will be distinguished by the marks of purification on hands and forehead is doubtful; the *ḥadīth* that he who performs the *wuḍū'* thoroughly will extract all sin from his body, even though it may lurk under his fingernails, is clear. And such an idea may have been present in the mind of the governor of Kūfah who ordered the pulpit of its mosque to be washed because his predecessor, who had been guilty of immorality and injustice, had occupied it. But such a conception of purification from sin is not found in the Qur'ān, nor has Muslim theology developed it. Even prayer, for which ablution is only a preparation, absolves only from the minor sins (those inherent in human nature and hence more or less unconsciously performed) and not from the major sins (including all crimes, usury, lying, disobedience to parents, and the frequent commission of minor sins); one looks in vain for evidence that the ablution of a convert represented a baptism into new birth, or that circumcision was really regarded as an act of purification. Neither blood nor fire appears as a purificatory medium. Nor does the use of earth as a substitute for water indicate that purification was a symbolic act; for earth or sand was regarded as an actual sanitary hygienic medium; in the case of sickness the avoidance of water was due apparently to an old and still persisting belief that water poisons wounds and, when cold, causes fever; though here again there is a contrary tradition that Muhammad thought his own fever was due to a spark from hell-fire and might be cured with cold water.

4. Application to food.—Muhammad's treatment of the subject of animals used as food seems to support the view that he did not place much emphasis on the ritualistic, technical distinction between clean and unclean, for he did not use the terms at all in this connexion. To him permitted foods are merely *ṭayyibah* (lit. 'good,' 'pleasant,' then 'sound,' 'healthful': ii. 269, v. 6, xxiii. 53). Forbidden animals are not specifically mentioned in the Qur'ān (except the swine); later law, however, characterizes various animals with the legal terms *ḥalūl* ('lawful'); *mubāḥ* ('permitted'; legally indifferent); *makrūh* ('disliked' or 'abominable'; disapproved, but without penalty for use); *ḥarām* ('forbidden'); the various legal schools differing in the assignment of certain animals to specific classes. Quadrupeds that seize their prey with their teeth are absolutely prohibited; included in this class are the elephant, the weasel, the ass, the mule; according to Ḥanifite law, also the hyena, the fox (but these are regarded as lawful by the Shāfi'ites), and the horse (held to be indifferent by the Shāfi'ites, while Mālikite law agrees with Ḥanifite). Birds which seize their prey with their talons, such as ravens and some crows, are also forbidden. According to some interpretations, all aquatic animals except fish are unlawful (though the Mālikites permit them). Included in *makrūh* are pelicans, kites, crocodiles, otters, and insects (except locusts, which are permitted); in *mubāḥ* are hares, crows that feed on grain, magpies. But all animals used for food (except fish and locusts) must be slaughtered by drawing the knife across the throat in such a manner as to sever windpipe, carotid arteries, and gullet; and at the moment of slaughter (in the case of prey at the moment when the weapon is discharged, or, in hunting with dogs, when the animal is let slip [v. 6]) the words, 'In the name of Allāh, Allāh is most great,' must be recited. And all food is forbidden if slaughtered by an idolater or an apostate from Muhammadanism.

It seems evident from the Qur'ānic passage on which this legislation is based (ii. 167) that Muhammad's own restrictions had as their purpose the avoidance of any participation in idolatrous worship and the insistence upon freshly slaughtered food; in speaking of fish used for food he emphasizes the latter idea:

'He hath subdued the sea that ye might eat therefrom flesh that is fresh' (*ṭarrī*; xvi. 14).

He refused to accept all the ritualistic restrictions of the Jews:

'All food was allowed to the children of Israel (except what Jacob forbade himself), ere the Law was sent down' (iii. 86); and (iii. 44): 'I have come to . . . allow you part of that which had been forbidden you.'

In this permission interpretation includes the eating of fish without fins or scales, of the caul and fat of animals, and of camel's flesh; indeed, Muhammad probably intended in general that his followers might eat whatever was customary to them. There is a tradition that on one occasion he refused to eat of roast lizard when it was placed before him; being asked whether it was forbidden as food, he replied: 'No, but, as there are none in my native place, I feel a repugnance against eating thereof.'

5. Value of the ritual.—The prescription of ritual practices and distinctions belongs to the later period of Muhammad's life; and it may be concluded that his priestly or legal, as distinct from his prophetic, activity was one of secondary importance to him, adopted, at least in part, because of the demands for definiteness in creed, code, and practice which the mass of believers demands. Moreover, the ritualistic prescriptions provided a certain discipline of unifying value; and they were the more demanded in that his religious system dispensed with priests, and fixed personal responsibility upon each individual.

As a sanitary code which made cleanliness not next to godliness but a part of it (in a tradition: 'Cleanliness . . . is one half of the faith'), the purificatory ritual had a decided value; it has raised the standard of cleanly and healthful living among all classes of observant Muhammadans. Some Bedawīn, it is true, are little observant of

ceremonies; Burton[1] quotes the Bedawīn saying: 'We pray not, because we must drink the water of ablution'; nevertheless they show an innate eagerness to bathe at every opportunity. A more serious neglect is frequently noticed in the case of children, who are purposely left uncared for out of fear of the 'evil eye.' But in general those who have lived in the Muhammadan East support the emphatic verdict of Burton and Lane that there is a marked contrast between Muhammadans and non-Muhammadans in this matter of refinement.

6. Its defects.—On the other hand, Muhammadanism by its emphasis on ritual has subjected itself to the danger of making cleanliness not a part but the whole of godliness. In the effort to prevent this the ritual provides that each act of the *wuḍū'* should be followed by a short prayer making the act at the same time the symbol of some ethical or religious idea.

Thus, after the rinsing of the mouth the prayer is: 'Oh Allāh, assist me in the reading of Thy book, in thanking Thee through worshipping Thee well'; on washing the ears: 'Oh Allāh, make me to be of those who hear what is said and obey what is best.'

As a matter of fact, however, many Muhammadans neglect these intermediate prayers and finish the entire *wuḍū'* in two or three minutes (despite the exactness of regulation, there is a decided difference in the manner of performance by an educated and that by an uneducated Muhammadan); and, when the prayers are recited by non-Arabic speaking peoples, they may be little better than meaningless.

7. Outward and inward purity. — But these defects are not necessarily to be regarded as of the essence of Islām; they are rather inherent in any system which gives to unthinking masses fixed forms and ceremonies. It might even happen in more advanced circles of thought that the Qur'ān, by making clearer the distinction between forms and faith — *e.g.*, by making of the purification ritual merely a divinely-ordered sanitary ordinance clear of superstitious connotations—might lead to a lofty spiritual conception. But it is the misfortune of any theocratic code which must provide for all the life of man that the distinction between police ordinance and moral precept is easily obscured — that, perhaps contrary to intention, emphasis is misplaced upon the easily comprehended ritual to the neglect of less specific exhortations to moral righteousness. In the Qur'ān, as a matter of fact, the ritual of physical purity is a subject of but few passages; it is not mentioned at all in the definition and summary of true piety found in ii. 172. References to religious, ethical, and moral purity, however, are many, though the exact meaning of the term 'purity' is sometimes difficult to determine. On the whole, 'purity' is a negative term, denoting the absence of what is foreign and obnoxious to the normal, natural, or simple state.

Man was created in purity; though of clay, even the angels bow to him (xv. 30); and 'purity of faith' to Muhammad was merely freedom from idolatrous corruptions and superstitions which had crept into the natural, original faith of Adam. Purity of the heart is demanded under varying forms of expression. As idolatry is uncleanness (*najs*), firm belief in Allāh is purity; thus, in v. 45, 'those whose hearts Allāh does not please to purify' (*yuṭahhir*) are those who do not believe sincerely and without hypocrisy; in xcviii. 2 the Qur'ān itself is 'pure' (*muṭahharah*), *i.e.* freed from falsehood; at least according to tradition (lvi. 78, 'none shall touch it [the Qur'ān] except the purified') means 'none shall understand it except those who are pure of heart.' Another word for 'purity,' one normally not used in the ritual sense, appears in ii. 146: 'And we sent you an apostle from among yourselves to read unto you our signs and purify you (*yuzakkikum*) and teach you the Book and wisdom,' in which the purification evidently refers to faith; so also xci. 9: 'Well for him who has purified it [his soul, *zakkāha*]; ill for him who has defiled it.' Or the pure heart (in the religious sense) is the 'sound heart' (*qalb salīm*: xxvi. 89, xxxvii. 82), while hypocrisy is found in those 'in whose hearts is sickness (*fī qulūbihim maraḍun*)'; the sincere in heart are those who 'clarify their faith' (*mukhliṣīna 'd-dīna*: xl. 14); and cxii. is the '*Sūrah* of Sincerity' (*Sūratu 'l-ikhlāṣi*). Vaguely the same idea is expressed in *barr*, 'pious' (ii. 41, 172), which in Hebrew is 'pure.'

Purity of purpose is demanded in many passages where no specific term is used; thus ix. 28 is directed against those who out of fear of loss of trade were willing to make concessions to idolaters; lxxiv. 6 inveighs against those who, when they do a kindness, have in their hearts the hope of receiving in return. From the negative side purity of intention is emphasized in the teaching that no sin attaches to one who under compulsion eats forbidden food, provided that he is 'without lust or wilfulness' (ii. 168). And this Qur'ānic insistence upon purity of intention is embodied in the purification ritual itself, which, like every act of devotion, must begin with the *nīyah* ('intention'), the thought or the words, 'I purpose to offer up to God only with a sincere heart'; and it is expressed doctrinally in the statement that 'the fundamentals of Muhammadanism are sincerity of belief (*ṣiḥḥat al-'aqd*), truth of intent (*ṣidq-al-qaṣd*), observance of the lawful limit, and keeping of the covenant' (so stated in the Shāfi'itic exposition of Muhammadanism put in the mouth of the learned slave-girl Tawaddud in the 443rd night of the *Thousand and One Nights*). The Sayyid Amīr 'Alī quotes, against those who find in the Qur'ān only physical purity as a prerequisite for prayer, vii. 204:

'And think within thine own self on Allāh, with lowliness and with fear, and without loud spoken words, at even and at morn.'

8. Moral purity.—In the moral (sexual) sense it is difficult to fix a definite value for the term 'purity'; the relativity of the term, as denoting sexual self-restraint within varying limits of indulgence, is expressed in the *Thousand and One Nights* (night 915) in these words:

'As for the lust of reproduction, that which pleaseth Allāh thereof is, that it be of that which is permitted, and that which he dislikes is that which is forbidden.'

As compared with previous conditions, the Qur'ān (see CHASTITY [Muslim], LAW [Muhammadan]) narrowed the legal limits of indulgence; but it left them much wider than the ideal limits set by Christianity, *e.g.*, in that it specifically permitted monogamy and concubinage, and made divorce easy, especially for the male. In so far as this freedom was based only on the Semitic desire for numerous offspring, it does not involve the question of moral purity, though it might perhaps be suggested that Muhammad should by analogy have deduced the doctrine of purity in morality through monogamy from that of the purity of religion through monotheism. But Muhammad in his legislation was mainly an opportunist, a compromiser, satisfied to ameliorate the most evidently vicious social evils to the extent that he could without jeopardizing the success of his main purpose. It is doubtful, indeed, whether monogamy, if desirable, was possible of achievement under the social conditions of the Arabia of his day. And, in general, it is even possible that, by permitting a lower standard of moral purity and making it possible of attainment by those whom his mission reached, he achieved a greater amount of social good than he otherwise would have achieved. At any rate, he raised the standards of moral purity among many primitive peoples which other systems had not before, and have not since, been able to affect seriously or permanently. And, in trying to estimate how far Islām lags behind the more enlightened social systems in this matter, it is again necessary to consider not only standards of monogamy but also to what extent those standards are reached. In the first place, not even

[1] *Pilgrimage*, ii. 110.

a strictly observed monogamous relationship of necessity denotes 'purity' defined as self-restraint in sexual indulgence. Moreover, there are some who doubt whether the amount of indulgence through the lax interpretation of laws of divorce (but more especially through the legal and social toleration of prostitution) is relatively smaller among non-Muhammadan Europeans than among Muhammadans. For polygamy and concubinage, owing to imposed conditions and natural difficulties, are by no means practised by even a majority of Muhammadans; and, while the legalization of the double standard implies a lowering of the general ideal of womanhood, it has meant the saving from absolute moral degradation of a considerable portion of womanhood. For the punishment for transgressing legal bounds is strict; and the seduction of Muslim women is exceedingly rare. Legal restrictions, however, are of no avail in checking those outbursts of sexual violence which accompany the riots of mobs inflamed by racial or religious fanaticism or jealousy, whether in Muslim or in non-Muslim lands, and which are directed against the women of the persecuted race. It is in such crises, perhaps, that the moral shortcomings of Islām stand out prominently, because the Qur'ānic permission for cohabitation with female captives (iv. 28, xxiii. 5, xxxiii. 49), Jewish and Christian, furnishes a ready excuse for reactionary and fanatical Muslim leaders who are willing to make lust serve the purposes of religious hate.

In so far as 'purity' is used not only of actions but also of thought and word, it is again a relative term. In Islām, since matters of sex-relations in themselves are not considered to be impure, the thought or mention of them in literature or conversation is not in itself regarded as evidence of moral depravity. Here also, if the standard of purity be made the amount of sexual stimulation produced, it is doubtful if the natural frankness of Muhammadans is worse in its results than the veiled suggestiveness permitted elsewhere; it is extremely difficult, *e.g.*, to judge what the actual effect of Muhammad's picture of the pleasures of paradise is upon the mind of the Muhammadan.

At all events a high ideal and voluntary practice of moral purity are not impossible even when the law permits (but does not command) extremes of indulgence. The interpretation of Qur'ān (and Scripture) is often more important than the letter; and, while there are not many Muhammadans who have attempted to allegorize away the sensualism of the Prophet's paradise, there are many of high moral standards who have found and emphasized other texts in the Qur'ān (see, *e.g.*, the passages quoted in art. CHASTITY [Muslim]; it may be added that in the popular version of the Shāfi'ite teaching presented by the *Thousand and One Nights* the 'super-structure of Islām' is said to include 'striving against the lusts of the soul and warring them down,' while prayer 'restraineth from lewdness and frowardness'). It is, of course, of more significance that certain Muhammadan teachers find in such passages the highest ideal of purity demanded than that detractors of Muhammadanism deny the possibility of such ideals within the faith; it is hopeful that such a passage, *e.g.*, as xxxii. 17, 'No soul knoweth what joy [or 'satisfaction'; lit. 'coolness'] of the eyes is reserved (for the good) as a reward for their works,' together with the frequent promise of the 'grace of Allāh' (lit. 'additional recompense'), is explained by some to refer to a higher reward reserved for those who are most worthy, namely, the joy of gazing upon God's face and in this spiritual pleasure forgetting the lower, sensual pleasures of paradise. In a similar way Ghazālī taught that there are degrees of purification: that of the body from pollution and filth, of the actions from wickedness and injustice, of the heart from immoral desires and vicious promptings, of the mind from irreligious ideas and worldly distractions. Graded lessons are taught also in the matter of polygamy; there is nothing in the Qur'ān (as there is nothing in the OT) to inhibit those Muhammadans who are insisting upon higher standards of moral purity through the voluntary relinquishment of polygamy and slavery.

LITERATURE.—*DI*, *s.v.* 'Purifications' and the other artt. there cited, 'Water,' 'Wells,' 'Food,' 'Clean and Unclean Animals,' 'Dogs,' 'Circumcision,' 'Fiṭrah'; E. W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*[5], London, 1860, Index, *s.vv.* 'Wudoo,' 'Ghusl,' 'Cleanliness,' 'Death,' 'Dogs'; R. F. Burton, *The Book of the Thousand and One Nights*, 10 vols., Benares, 1885, Index, *s.v.* 'Wuzu-ablution'; al-Bukhārī, *Les Traditions islamiques*, tr. O. Houdas and W. Marçais, Paris, 1903–08, vol. i. *passim*, and nos. 460, 676; Hadji Khan and W. Sparroy, *With the Pilgrims to Mecca*, London, 1905, p. 33; D. S. Margoliouth, *Mohammed and the Rise of Islam*, New York, 1905, pp. 101, 103; Ameer Ali, *The Spirit of Islam*, Calcutta, 1902, p. 143; Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah*, do. 1893, ii. 109, 190; J. Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*[2], Berlin, 1897, p. 167 *f.*; G. Sale, *The Koran*[8], Philadelphia, 1888, 'Preliminary Discourse,' pp. 73–77; J. M. Rodwell's tr. of the Qur'ān is quoted, with slight variations. WILLIAM POPPER.

PURIFICATION (Roman).—**1. Early history of the idea.**—In the earlier ages of Rome the feeling for purity and the need for purification depended mainly on a yearning after ceremonial exactitude, in order to avert resentment of supernatural beings because of flaws in the forms of service which they required from mortals. The beings whose discontent would be dangerous were very dimly apprehended, sometimes as ghosts, sometimes as *numina*, divine forms hardly recognized with clearness as persons. Anthropomorphic ideas of the supernatural slowly made their way into Rome and came principally from without, through foreign channels. Consciousness that duty towards existences not of this world had been imperfectly performed did produce a sense of defilement, which weighed upon the soul, even when the wrong done was involuntary. At first the foulness arising from conduct, except in extreme cases, was hardly regarded as belonging to the spirit. But the use of the words *purus*, *puritas*, like that of terms cognate in meaning, such as *castus*, *sanctus*, shows a progressive development in the spiritual direction. The notion of impurity accidentally incurred, and independently of the will, tended to pass away from the religion of the educated class, and to retain its force mainly among the rude and the rustic.

Although the apprehension of divinities in the earlier days was but dim, their power to protect the household and the State was real. The strong sense of law which was characteristic of the Roman in all ages led him to conceive the relation between himself and the god or the ghosts in terms of a bilateral contract. If he did his duty by them, they were bound to do their duty by him, and to hold him free from harm. There was in time elaborated a complicated code of divine law (*ius divinum*) parallel to the human law (*ius humanum*). Originally, those who knew and expounded both forms of this law were the same, the college of *pontifices*. It is too much, however, to say, as has often been stated, that the primitive idea of obligation towards divine creatures was entirely non-ethical. The horror inspired by murder, especially of the atrocious kind called *parricidium*, and even by lesser offences, such as wrongful treatment of a client by his patrician patron, placed the offender under a ban, and rendered him accursed (*sacer*) and deprived him of civil rights.

2. Common acts of purification.—The necessity of purification ran through the life of the indi

vidual. In a sense the new-born babe was impure, and was the subject of various ceremonies. The day on which a child received its name was its *dies lustricus*, 'day of purification' (Macrobius, i. 16: 'dies lustricus quo infantes lustrantur'). The cleansing operation was probably at first conceived as a protection against spirits which might otherwise be malignant. Lustral rites were also accompaniments of marriage. The farm and the herd had in like manner to be protected by a ritual which Cato the Censor describes (*de Re Rustica*, 141). When a death occurred in a house, a cloud hung over it, which could be dispersed only by elaborate purification. Without it the family would continue to be *funesta*, *i.e.* at variance with the world of spirits. The *pontifices* evolved elaborate rules to bring this condition to an end (Cicero, *de Leg.* ii. 55: 'finis funestae familiae'). Until this was accomplished, a branch of cypress was hung at the door, or in poorer houses a bundle of fir twigs, to warn from entering those who were specially bound to purity—in particular, priests and Vestals. A *pontifex* was not permitted to look on a corpse (Tac. *Ann.* i. 62, and many other passages in literature). It may be that the burning of the body on the pyre had a cathartic effect (Rohde, *Psyche*[2], ii. 101). The period during which the house was *funesta* ended with the curious ceremony called *ossilegium*, which affords a remarkable example of the Roman unwillingness to break entirely with the past. What was called 'the gathering of the bones' was, after the introduction of cremation, practically the collection of the ashes, but one finger-joint remained unburned, in order to do homage to the more ancient custom. All unpurged contact with the dead would bring with it foulness and a liability to misfortune. A Roman poet makes the spirit of a wife who died early say that the torch which graced her marriage must have been lit at a funeral pyre (Propertius, v. iii. 13; cf. Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 577). The prohibition (general in the Roman empire) against burying within the walls of a city probably had its origin more in the dread of ghosts than in sanitary considerations.

Parallel to the *lustratio* of the house is the periodical purificatory ritual applied to a country district (*pagus*). The *lustratio pagi* consisted in a religious procession right round its boundaries, with sacrifice. There seems to have been in ancient days a similar procession round the walls of a city, called *amburbium*. In historical times special purification of the city (*lustratio urbis*) was carried out when calamity called for it—*e.g.*, after the early disasters in the Second Punic War (Livy, xxii. 20). The object of all such expiations was 'to seek reconciliation with the gods' ('pacem deum exposcere,' of frequent occurrence in Livy). A lustral ceremony accompanied the foundation of a colony (Cicero, *de Divin.* i. 102). The *Terminalia*, protective of boundaries, and the *Compitalia*, of streets in the city, were also probably lustral in their origin. Down to a late period the priests called *Luperci* perambulated the boundaries of the earliest Rome, the settlement on the Palatine (Tac. *Ann.* xii. 24). That archaic priesthood, the Arval brotherhood (see ARVAL BROTHERS), was concerned with an annual solemn progress round the limits of the most ancient *Romanus ager*, the territory of the primitive city. The ceremony was called *Ambarvalia*, and it was distinctly piacular. When Roman territory was expanded, no corresponding extension of the lustral rite seems ever to have been made. These roundabout piacular surveys were common elsewhere, inside as well as outside of Italy, and particularly in Greece. The solemn words and prayers of the traditional chant, duly gone through without slip of tongue, seem to have had a sort of magical effect. Any error in the pronouncement of these forms would involve a need of reparation, just as in the earliest Roman legal system the mispronunciation of the established verbal forms would bring loss of the law-suit. At Iguvium in Umbria there was a solemn lustration of the city, the details of which are contained in the great and very ancient record in the Umbrian dialect, preserved in the *Iguvine Tables*. It may be noted that, from the commonness of these lustral perambulations, the verb *lustrare* acquired its secondary sense of surveying a scene with the eyes.

Other forms of quaint ancient ritual were connected with the piacular conception. The *Salii*, ancient priests of Mars, made a journey at certain times round a number of stations in the city. They also had a 'cleansing of the weapons' (*armilustrium*) and a 'cleansing of the trumpets' (*tubilustrium*), which testify to a primitive notion that the efficiency of the army's weapons required the use of religious as well as secular means. The 'washing' (*lustrum*) with which the census ended was in essence military; for it was connected with the *comitia centuriata*, which is merely the army in civil garb (*exercitus urbanus* [Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* vi. 88]). A *lustratio exercitus* was often performed when the army was in the field, to remove a superstitious dread which sometimes attacked it; at other times it was merely prophylactic. There was also a lustration of the fleet (Livy, xxxvi. 42; Appian, *Bell. Civ.* v. 96). We very seldom find the *lustratio* referred to particular divinities. But Virgil represents the host of Æneas as offering a piacular ceremony to Jupiter on landing in Italy (*Æn.* iii. 279).

3. Irregular occasions.—In almost all the instances given above the cleansing operation is frequent and ordinary. But often it was occasional and irregular. Religious officers, particularly the *flamen* of Jupiter (*flamen Dialis*), were beset by many tabus, the breach of which would involve expiation. So, when the Arval Brothers took an iron implement into their sacred grove to cut down or trim the trees, atonement had to be made. The erring Vestal, if unpunished, brought calamity on the whole people. Individuals who made unauthorized compacts with the enemy, as the compacts rested on religious sanction, involved the nation, unless the nation, on repudiating the agreements, handed over the authors to the foe—a cheap form of expiation, adopted, *e.g.*, in the case of the officers responsible for the agreement made after the disaster at the Caudine Forks, and in that of Hostilius Mancinus in Spain. On one notable occasion the irregular shedding of blood in political strife at Rome spread a sense of impurity among the people, which the senate thought it well to remove. The murderers of Tiberius Gracchus (a sacrosanct tribune) professed to have secular justification for their crime, but, on the advice of the keepers of the Sibylline books, a sacred embassy was sent to the temple of Ceres at Henna in Sicily, and a choir of twenty-seven maidens sang in procession at Rome (Cicero, *in Verr.* iv. 108; Obsequens, 27). The need of purificatory ceremonial was especially felt in times of national disaster, particularly those entailed by war or pestilence. The people's souls were harrowed by extraordinary occurrences, which long experience had shown to be signs of divine wrath. Elaborate regulations were evolved for averting the consequences. The experts of Roman origin were the *pontifices*; but from Etruria came the *haruspices*, and Greek influence established firmly the college of the *decemviri* (later *quindecemviri*), who had charge of the Sibylline oracles. Prodigies or portents of the less serious kind were expiated after consultation

Library of
PACIFIC BIBLE SEMINARY
4335 EAST ANAHEIM STREET
LONG BEACH CALIFORNIA

with the *pontifices* or *haruspices*; extraordinary signs led to an examination of the Sibylline books (Livy, xxii. 9: 'tetra prodigia'). But the priests in all these circumstances had no initiative; they had to wait until they were asked by the senate to give an opinion. There was a fixed ritual for making appeasement when a thunderbolt struck the ground or killed a man. The spot became banned. Rain or thunder cut short the meetings for public business in Rome, as in Athens, and in other ancient states. If affairs were carried on in defiance of the sign, guilt would be incurred and a piacular offering would be due. Some ceremonies which have been deemed by scholars to have an expiatory significance can only doubtfully be so regarded. Whether the curious ceremony of driving in the nail in the temple of Minerva every hundred years was purificatory in character is uncertain. But the *ludi sæculares* certainly were, as is abundantly shown in the records of the elaborate celebration by Augustus in 17 B.C. The ceremony was a sort of larger *lustrum*, a great amplification of the censor's performance, which came every five years.

4. Dies atri et religiosi.—In Rome certain days in the year were called *atri*, such as the anniversary of the battle of the Allia, and others *religiosi*, on which public business was prohibited and many private affairs would be suspended. Even on a *dies nefastus*, the chief sign of which was that the law-courts were closed, a *prætor* who opened court incurred a piacular offering (Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* vi. 30).

One form of taint from which both private families and the State were careful to keep free, by forms of purification and appeasement, was derived from contact with unsatisfied spirits of the dead, who were conceived as in a sense divine and described as *di parentum*. The month of February was in part devoted to observances of the kind, and derived its name (Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 19) from *februa*, which in the ancient tongue meant 'expiations' (*piamina*). Another application of *februa* was to the leathern thongs wielded by the *Luperci*, when in February they ran their rounds and freed from sterility the women who sought to be smitten by their blows. From the 13th to the 21st day of February was a time of ceremonial gloom. These were the *dies parentales*, and the ritual of offerings to the dead was *parentatio*. All temples were closed, all marriages forbidden, and the magistrates divested themselves of the purple-bordered robe (*prætexta*) and other marks of office. Family ceremonies called *parentalia* also took place on anniversaries of the birthdays or death-days of deceased members. In the imperial period there were in May or June two days of flower-offerings for the spirits—a 'day of the rose' (*dies rosæ*) and a 'day of the violet' (*dies violæ*). Of these there is frequent mention in inscriptions. The 21st of February was called *Feralia*, when appeasement was an affair of State. The following day was one of joyful family feasts, and bore the name of *Caristia* or *Cara Cognatio*. The characteristics of the three days in May when the ritual called *Lemuria* was performed resembled those of the gloomy *dies parentales* in February. It has been supposed that the wild festival of the *Saturnalia*, held in December, was originally directed to keeping the ghosts aloof. The theory is very doubtful; even if it is sound, the Romans early lost all memory of the origin of this revelry. Other ancient practices have been held by eminent scholars to have a purificatory character. Specially may be mentioned the custom of passing prisoners of war under the yoke, which is best known from the story of the disaster to the Roman arms at the Caudine Forks. So, too, with the passage of the triumphing general under the *porta triumphalis*, and with the *sororium tigillum* which figures in the tale of Horatius. All these ceremonies have been believed to be modes of purging away the stain of bloodshed. The present writer is not convinced of the correctness of this explanation.

5. Means for assuring purity.—The signs of purity and the means of purification were very various. The service of the gods often required abstinence, especially from sexual indulgence. Priests were of course under stricter rules than ordinary worshippers. The innocence of young boys and maidens was welcome to divine beings who had to be propitiated. Those who took part in worship as singers or in other ways were called *camilli* or *camillæ*; from this usage Virgil's Camilla takes her name. Only such children as had living parents were permitted to serve, and these were designated as *patrimi et matrimi*. The Vestals were in touch with purificatory rites. The sacrificial offerings on such occasions were of many different kinds. In great public expiations the sacrifice of a pig, a sheep, and a bull (*suovetaurilia*) was common. The pig was offered in private as well as public expiations. Water, fire, and incense (*suffimenta*) had lustral power. Bodily impurity, and also the defilement of a bad dream, could be removed by running water (Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 35 ff., 623 ff.; Persius, *Sat.* ii. 15). Many herbs were believed to exert a purifying influence. The laurel originally worn by the triumphing general, and later by the emperors, has often been believed to have been a means of cleansing the stain of blood shed in war; and the *verbena*, which the *fetiales* carried with them, has been supposed to be of lustral efficacy. These beliefs are very questionable (see the present writer, in *JRS* ii. [1912] 45 ff.). Myrtle was in customary use in connexion with the dead and also in the marriage ceremony, and it is possible that *lustratio* was the cause. The willow (*agnus castus*) was supposed to have purifying power, because its name was in popular etymology connected with *ἁγνός*.

6. Ethical aspects of purification.—In the belief of the rustic Italian personal purity was needed to give full effect to many operations. The birth of bees was supposed to be non-sexual; therefore the bee-keeper, when dealing with his bees, must be 'pridie castus ab rebus venereis' (Columella, ix. 14. 3). Especially did the efficacy of medicinal herbs depend on the purity of the persons who gathered or applied them. To assure this, a boy or maiden might be employed (Pliny, *HN* xxii. 27, xxiii. 130, xxvi. 93, and many passages in medical writers).

Purification was not merely ceremonial or mechanical. That an ethical element entered into it, even in very early days, is indisputably shown by the fact that some taints were inexpiable. All those to which the vague penalty 'Sacer esto' was attached were of this kind (Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 35, is in error). There were some offenders with whom the gods would make no peace (Cicero, *de Leg.* i. 40, ii. 22). In literature from the late Republic onward a strong distinction is constantly drawn between material and spiritual purity. It is true, however, that the yearning after a clean heart which in Greece afforded an opportunity to quack purveyors of *καθαρμοί* was not natural to the ancient Italic peoples. Faith in the old forms was gradually lost. The calamities of the Second Punic War spread among the people a conviction that a stain lay on the nation and could be washed away only by extraordinary expiations; but the much greater horrors of the Social War, followed by the long series of civil wars which ended with the triumph of Augustus, produced no such consequences. Although there was a feeling that the Romans were steeped in guilt—a feeling to which

much in Augustan literature testifies—there was no popular response to the restoration of archaic ceremonial which Augustus promoted. There was a desire for other and more effectual modes of cleansing. Josephus remarked in the early imperial age that, while old ritual was dying, new rites were sought after which were characterized by 'all manner of purifications' (*c. Apionem*, ii. 35 : καθάρσεσι παντοδαπαῖς). The new tendency was towards purity of a more intimate and inward character, which would bring men closer to the divine. Hence the great invasion of Eastern cults; those of Isis, the Magna Mater, and Mithras especially made a strong appeal to the Western world. Purification by sprinkling with the blood of victims in the ceremony called *taurobolium* affected worshippers profoundly. They testified to a conviction that they were 'born anew for ever' (so repeatedly in inscriptions). Christian writers considered that the devil inspired this belief, out of spite for the purification effected by the blood of Christ (Firmicus Maternus, xxvii. 8). The Pythagorean and Neo-Platonic philosophies did much to spread among educated classes in the West an idea of spiritual purity which powerfully assisted the Christian propaganda.

LITERATURE.—J. G. Frazer, *GB*[3], London, 1911–14, contains a rich store of material for the study of purificatory rites in all ages; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*[2], Munich, 1912, and J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, Leipzig, 1874–78, iii., contain abundant references to authorities. The separate artt. in Pauly-Wissowa and in Daremberg-Saglio are often important. In W. Warde Fowler, *The Roman Festivals*, London, 1899, and *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, do. 1911, all matters connected with Roman lustration are admirably handled. Many sidelights are thrown on the subject by E. Rohde, *Psyche*[2], 2 vols., Freiburg, 1898. Two recent works of interest are E. Fehrle, *Die kultische Keuschheit im Alterthum*, Giessen, 1910, and S. Eitrem, *Roman Festivals, Expiatory and Purificatory*, Christiania, 1913–17.

J. S. REID.

PURIFICATION (Teutonic).—The religion of the Teutonic peoples, as it is presented to us by our sources, was not a religion of fear. To a very considerable extent those peoples appear to have ignored the possibility that supernatural powers might exist who were hostile to mankind, and accordingly they aimed at securing the assistance of their friendly anthropomorphic gods by the positive method of sacrifice rather than by the negative process of avoiding ceremonial impurity and the resulting defencelessness against supernatural dangers. We must remember, however, that our sources paint the picture of Teutonic religion either from the point of view of the missionary, whose attention is focused on the more active forms of heathenism, or, in the case of the Icelandic sagas, from the angle of vision of the upper classes. The practices of the modern rural populations of Teutonic countries must suggest to us that the conceptions of tabu and of ceremonial purity[1] were by no means so foreign to Teutonic religion as we are inclined to believe. An examination of the older evidence in the light of modern customs will not yield very much, but the results will not be entirely negligible.

1. Birth.—In the life of the primitive individual purificatory ceremonies cluster round birth, puberty, marriage, and death. The sprinkling of water on a newly-born infant, which the sagas state to have been customary in Iceland in pre-Christian times, is clearly a purificatory ceremony, and there is no reason to suppose that it is merely a late imitation of the Christian rite of baptism. The ceremony was performed by the father; and, until it was done, the infant enjoyed no rights as a human being, for the father could refuse to have it reared.[2]

1 See art. PURIFICATION (Introductory).

2 See art. ABANDONMENT AND EXPOSURE; R. Cleasby and G. Vigfusson, *Icelandic-English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1874, *s.v.* 'Ausa.'

2. Puberty.—Of the ceremonies performed at the period of puberty we know nothing, and we must assume that they played a negligible part in the life of the individual. They seem, however, to have existed, for we are told that an Icelandic chieftain, Thord gellir, was taken to the cross-knolls held sacred by his family, at the time when he was 'introduced into manhood.'[1] It appears that the ceremony was connected with ancestor-worship, for it was the belief of this family that they 'died into' the knolls.

3. Marriage.—For marriage ceremonies we are referred almost entirely to more modern accounts, beginning with that of the Swedish archbishop Olaus Magnus, of the 16th cent., who describes the bridal hot-air bath, taken in the communal bath-house, to which the bride and her female friends walk in procession, preceded by men carrying jars of ale or wine, bread, sugar, and spices. On their return the party wear wreaths.[2]

A number of other Scandinavian customs, but recently extinct, show that the people have clung obstinately to the idea that by marriage they incur a kind of ceremonial impurity which lays them open to supernatural dangers. A device clearly intended to avert those dangers is that of introducing another make-believe couple to act, as it were, as scapegoats. This pair, fantastically dressed, one of them a man got up as a woman, make their appearance in various parts of Sweden during the wedding festivities, are received with much honour, have a collection made for them, and finally are driven from the house. Sometimes it is only the bridegroom who has a 'double.' In some parts of Sweden the bridegroom is driven by a grotesquely disguised 'coachman,' who sits in front of him on the sledge; and in Västmanland a kind of mock bridegroom, who was expected to amuse the company, used to be thrown into the nearest stream on the third day of the feast. In Würtemberg there was no substitute for the bridegroom in this part of the ceremony, and he was obliged to choose between 'wine and water.' If he chose wine, he had to treat the company; if water, he was ducked.[3]

In other parts of Sweden the youngest bridesmaid walked round the table at which the guests were seated, 'in order to remove all evil.'[4] In Norway the bride was regarded as specially open to the attacks of chthonic deities, who had to be frightened off by the hallooing and pistol-shooting of the wedding-party.[5] Possibly the custom mentioned by Olaus Magnus,[6] of celebrating weddings on small islets, has its roots in a similar fear. Both in Norway and in Sweden weddings were usually celebrated at midsummer, when the powers of darkness were weakest.

In both ancient and modern wedding customs the wedding ale seems to have had a prophylactic or purificatory value. A Norwegian bishop of the 12th cent. has to assure his flock that a wedding is legal even though celebrated with whey; and the belief in the special virtues of wedding ale seems to survive in a superstition current in some parts of Sweden, that it is unlucky to call the banns 'on an empty cask,' *i.e.* before the wedding ale is brewed.[7] In Sweden it was customary for the bride and bridegroom to drain a beaker before entering their house on their return from church.

1 *Landnáma*, ed. Finnur Jónsson, Copenhagen, p. 158.

2 *Hist. om de nordiska Folken*, 1555, bk. xv. ch. 35 *f.*, Swedish tr., published by St. Michael's Guild, Upsala, 1909– .

3 N. E. Hammerstedt, in *Maal og Minne*, Christiania, 1911, p. 339 ff.

4 Lundgren, 'Frieri, Trolofning och Bröllop i Vingåker,' in *Sverige, Fosterländska Bilder*, 1877–78, p. 15.

5 K. Visted, *Vor gamle Bondekultur*, Christiania, n.d., p. 235.

6 Bk. xiv. ch. 10.

7 L. F. Rääf, *Samlingar . . . till en Beskrifning öfver Ydre härad i Östergötland*, Linköping, 1856, p. 110.

The bowls used for the purpose were often apparently the property of the commune.[1] In Dalecarlia a large tree was brought into the house and 'slaughtered' by having branches lopped off it, and the company drank the 'ox-blood'—coffee and brandy.[2] In some parts of Sweden the 'wedding tree' was flung into a stream or pond at the end of the festivities.

4. Death.—In the more primitive communities purificatory ceremonies are regarded as especially necessary in the case of association with death. This idea is not actually expressed in our sources, but the customs of destroying, burning, or burying a dead man's personal property, of sending the corpse out to sea in a ship, etc., may have their *raison d'être* in some such conception. The custom of *sati*, which appears to have been at least occasionally practised, is probably connected with the fear of pollution from a dead man's personal belongings. Some traces of this fear can be found in the Norwegian custom of solemnly burning the straw of a dead man's bed. The old town-law of Bergen, while prohibiting all other bonfires, specially exempts such fires, kindled in the streets. In recent Norwegian custom the sledge on which a coffin was conveyed to the churchyard was left to rot or used as firewood by the poor.[3]

Ancient Teutonic religion offers but few traces of this feeling of pollution on contact with death in general. But from ecclesiastical prohibitions of unseemly laughter, songs, dances, story-telling, and mask-wearing at the memorial feasts for the dead we can guess that in the Germany of Charlemagne such observances aimed at averting the dangers of association with the dead. In Scandinavia this feast seems to have been more orderly and its original significance more obscured.

But the necessity for purification was still keenly felt in regard to persons who had been of an evil disposition during life. An Icelandic saga tells us that, when the wicked Thorolf bægifot dies in his chair, his son breaks a gap in the house wall and has him carried through it, so that the ghost may not find the way back.[4] In spite of this precaution, the ghost 'walked' until the corpse was burned and the ashes were blown out to sea. We do not hear of any actual purificatory rites performed in houses subject to ghosts, for the account in *Eyrbyggja Saga* of the legal proceedings resorted to was probably intended by its author as farce rather than history. Here the ghosts are summoned in turn, and an adverse verdict is given against each. This saga, however, gives an example of the belief that the properties of the dead are dangerous: as long as the bed-hangings of Thorgunna were unburned, the household was a prey to every kind of misfortune. We may assume that here, as elsewhere, dead persons who had not received the proper rites were regarded as a danger to the community; for, according to Icelandic law, a man who killed another became an outlaw if he failed to cover up the body with stones or earth. In this connexion we may mention the wide-spread belief which makes it obligatory on every passer-by to add a stone to the cairn raised over some person who had died a violent death. This custom was observed until last century in some parts of Sweden.[5]

5. Harvest.—The various purificatory observances connected with harvest or other seasons of the year can be traced only in modern custom and can be best studied in Frazer's *Golden Bough*. An exception is the need-fire (*q.v.*), which is first mentioned as early as 742.[6] It seems to have been the most characteristic example of purificatory rites to be found in Teutonic custom. Leaping over the fire, usually on Midsummer Eve, was believed to avert disease, and the cattle were driven through the flames with the same intention. A similar purificatory rite, vouched for only in modern Sweden, is the custom of grinding down the edges of flint axes—'Thor's hammers,' as they are called in Sweden—and mixing them with the fodder for the cattle.

6. The scapegoat.—The scapegoat idea, in which the conception of the purification of the community finds its most characteristic expression, is perhaps not formally recognized in Teutonic religion. Akin to it is the expulsion or death of guilty members of the community, which can be traced in Tacitus's account of the driving out of an unfaithful wife[1] and in the clause of the Old Frisian law which enjoins the mutilation and drowning of a sanctuary breaker.[2] A similar conception probably inspired the slaying of a king in time of famine, of which Swedish tradition records two examples.

7. Festivals and idols.—In the ceremonial of religious festivals purificatory rites play only a small part. The sprinkling of the blood of the sacrificial victim upon the assembled worshippers, which appears to have been an integral part of Scandinavian festivals, may possibly have had a purificatory intention. The purification of the deity herself, reported by Tacitus in his account of the goddess Nerthus, is frequently held to have been nothing more than a rain-charm. Once a year, says Tacitus, the goddess Nerthus emerged from her retirement in a sacred grove, and was driven round the country with her priest, amid general rejoicings, after which the chariot and the goddess herself were laved in a sacred lake.[3] From what we know of deities of fertility in general, and in especial of the Scandinavian god Frey and his human spouse, we are justified in considering the possibility that the immersion of the goddess was of the nature of a bridal bath. It is worth noting that a little wooden figure of a bishop which used to stand in the church at Eidsborg in S. Norway, and which the peasants called Nikuls, used to be carried down to the lake below the church every midsummer and solemnly washed. The sweat which appeared on the wood after this ceremony was believed to heal all diseases.[4] Similar idols, without the ecclesiastical connexions, are known to have been in the possession of Norwegian families far into the 18th cent., and to have had ale offered to them at Christmas. One of them is said to have been washed every Saturday. The direct descent of these figures from heathen idols seems to be proved by the fact that one of them is said to have been regularly rubbed with fat as late as the 19th century.[5] According to a late saga, this treatment was accorded to a wooden image of the god Balder.[6] It is possible that this ceremonial rubbing of idols with fat was intended to avert some dangers from the idol.

Such traces of purificatory rites as we find among the Teutonic peoples seem to have been fragmentary survivals of an attitude to religion more primitive and more mystical than we find among the upper classes in the last days of heathendom. The lack of insistence on ceremonial purity is probably connected with the absence of any highly specialized priesthood, resulting in what we must regard as an enlightened

[1] Hammerstedt, p. 504 f.
[2] *Ib.* p. 492.
[3] Visted, p. 245 ff.
[4] *Eyrbyggja Saga*, ch. 33.
[5] Rääf, p. 90.
[6] Saupe, *Indiculus Superstitionum*, Leipzig, 1891, p. 21.

[1] *Germ.* 19.
[2] K. von Richthofen, *Fries. Rechtsquellen*, Berlin, 1840, p. xlii.
[3] *Germ.* 40.
[4] Nicolaysen, *Norske Fornlevninger*, Christiania, 1862–66, p. 227 f.
[5] Visted, p. 184.
[6] *Fornaldar Sögur*, ed. CC. Rafn, Copenhagen, 1829, ii. p. 86.

freedom from formalism, shown also in the contempt of the upper classes for magical practices. On the other hand, it may be pointed out that regard for ceremonial purity may develop into the conception of ethical righteousness, a conception to which the heathen Teutonic mind can hardly be said to have attained.[1]

LITERATURE.—See the works cited throughout.

B. S. PHILLPOTTS.

PURIM.—'Purim' is the name given to a festival in the Jewish Church, celebrated for two days, on the 14th and 15th of the month of Adar, the last month of the Jewish lunar calendar. The supposed origin of the festival, which is of a distinctly popular character, marked by merry-making, feasting, masquerading, and exchange of gifts, is given in the book of Esther, forming part of the OT canon. According to this book, the festival marks the miraculous deliverance of the Jews resident in Persia from the destructive designs of Haman, the grand vizier of King Ahasuerus, *i.e.* Xerxes (485–465 B.C.), who had planned a general massacre of the Jews for the 13th of Adar in the 12th year of the king's reign, corresponding to the year 473 B.C. Through the intervention of Esther, a Jewess whose beauty led her to the king's *harîm*, where she rose to the rank of queen, the plan was frustrated. Haman and his sons were condemned to the gallows, while Mordecai, the uncle of Esther, was raised from his humble station to become the second in the extensive kingdom of the Persian king. Instead of being slaughtered, the Jews were permitted to slay those who attacked them on the day set aside for the massacre, which they did with great vigour; and in commemoration of the deliverance a two days' festival was instituted. The only religious feature of the festival, however, is the reading of the book of Esther in the synagogue at the evening service for the two days in question. The otherwise purely secular observance itself points to a non-Jewish origin for the festival.

It is now universally recognized by scholars that the book of Esther is a pure romance to which a quasi-historical setting is given. From the silence of Ben Sira, the author of Ecclesiasticus (*c.* 180 B.C.), who does not mention Esther in his enumeration of the sacred writings known to him, the conclusion is justified that its composition cannot be placed before the middle of the 2nd cent. B.C., and was perhaps as late as 100 B.C. Apart from the fact that there is nothing to warrant the belief that in the days of Xerxes there was any persecution of the Jews in Persia, or, in fact, that there was even an extensive Jewish settlement in that country, and apart from the inherent improbability of the story itself, the chronological discrepancy in making Mordecai one of those carried into captivity by Nebuchadrezzar in 597 B.C. and yet still living 125 years later suffices to show that we are dealing with pure fiction. It so happens also that we know from Herodotus (ix. 109, 112) that the queen of Xerxes at the very time when Esther was supposed to occupy this distinction was Amestris, the daughter of a Persian general.

If, then, the book of Esther is pure romance in a quasi-historical setting but without any historical basis, it follows that the origin of the festival as given in this book is equally fictitious, and we are thrown back upon investigations independent of the festal legend to solve the problem involved. The author of the book of Esther, by his evident desire to connect the name 'Purim' with a non-Hebrew word *pûr*, supposed to mean 'lot' (3^7 $9^{24.\ 26}$), recognizes the name as foreign. In view of the Persian setting of the festal legend, suggesting that the author of the book of Esther was a Persian Jew, one naturally thinks of a Persian origin for the festival, and, if there were a Persian word *pûr* meaning 'lot,' the necessary proof would have been furnished that the author of the festal legend at least had in mind the adaptation of a Persian festival to the Jewish festival cyclus. No such Persian word as *pûr* exists, however, and all attempts to find in it some adaptation of a Persian term (see L. B. Paton, *Commentary on the Book of Esther*, pp. 84–86, for various conjectures and suppositions, all, however, rejected by Paton and properly so) have failed. On the other hand, the possibility that the author of the book of Esther, in connecting the name 'Purim' with *pûr*, had in mind a Babylonian term must be admitted, especially as a word *pûru* exists with various meanings, among which those of 'lot' and 'term of office' are possible, though not certain (see H. Zimmern's discussion in *KAT*[3], p. 518; P. Haupt, 'Purim,' in *BASS* VI. ii. [1906] 20; and art. CALENDAR [Babylonian], vol. iii. p. 77[a]). The names of the two chief personages in the festal legend, Mordecai and Esther, carry us distinctly to Babylonian soil; for Mordecai is clearly identical with the Babylonian deity Marduk, the head of the pantheon after the rise of his patron city, Babylon, to be the capital of the united districts of the Euphrates valley, while Esther is quite as unmistakably the Babylonian goddess, Ishtar, the chief female deity and as such directly associated with Marduk. Even rabbinical exegesis connected Esther with the planet Venus (Istahar=Ishtar [Talmud Bab. *Megillāh*, 13*a*]), with which Ishtar was identified by the Babylonians. According to P. Jensen, who first called attention to this double identification, Mordecai=Marduk, and Esther=Ishtar, the two other names, Haman and Vashti (the queen whom Esther displaces) are Elamitic deities, Humman (or Humbar) and Mashti, skilfully disguised or connoted ('Elamitische Eigennamen,' in *WZKM* vi. [1892] 47 ff., 209 ff.). These two identifications, however, are less certain; and to go a step farther and assume that the story of the book of Esther rests upon a Babylonian myth, relating a conflict between Marduk and Ishtar, the gods of spring and light, against hostile powers symbolizing winter and darkness, and therefore identified with 'foreign' deities or as modifications of Kingu and Tiamāt, who in the main Semitic-Babylonian version of creation are the personifications of primeval chaos and discord, who must be overcome by Marduk, the establisher of order in the universe—to do this is to enter the province of pure conjecture. Until some fortunate chance reveals to us the story of such a conflict with all four names unmistakably introduced, we must content ourselves with the definite proof that at the foundation of the book of Esther, or at all events as an element in it, we have some Babylonian tale of the gods in which Marduk and Ishtar play the chief rôles, and that this tale was transformed in such a manner by the Jewish author of the book of Esther as to make it the basis for an elaborate festal legend to justify the adoption of a 'foreign' festival into the Jewish calendar. The character of this festival is unmistakable. Its occurrence in the middle of the last month of the winter season and just before the beginning of the spring, the natural beginning of the year, points to its being the beginning of the celebration of the conquest of the winter by the youthful sun-god of the spring—as Marduk is regarded in various Babylonian myths. The rejoicing and merry-making of Purim fit in with such a spring festival, while the fast added at a much later date for the 12th of Adar—it cannot be traced farther back than the 9th century—is the percursor to the festival which afterwards takes on a sombre hue as a preparation for the feasting to follow. As Haupt aptly puts

[1] See art. ETHICS (Teutonic).

it (p. 1), 'shroving was preceded by shriving.' That the Babylonians began the year in the spring follows, apart from other evidence, from the order of the months adopted by the Jews, which begin with Nisan, the time of the spring equinox; and we know that the Babylonian New Year festival known as Zagmuk, and celebrated during the first eleven days of Nisan, became primarily the festival of Marduk and his consort in the days of the united Babylonian Empire (see CALENDAR [Babylonian]). The circumstance that in the 2nd book of Maccabees (15^{36}) the Purim festival is designated as Μαρδοχαικὴ ἡμέρα, *i.e.* 'Marduk (or Mordecai) day,' is a significant testimony to the association of Purim with the Babylonian New Year period, bound up with the Marduk cult. The middle of the month preceding the 1st of Nisan would thus mark the preparation for the period of rejoicing at the approaching triumph of the god of spring, Marduk, over the hostile and destructive forces of the winter and rainy season. The Jews in Babylonia and Persia, subject to the influences of their environment, would naturally be led to take part in a merry-making season, just as at the present time Jews in Europe and America participate in Christmas festivities and in New Year's exchange of felicitations, despite the fact that the old mid-winter festival has been given a Christian interpretation and that the Jews still observe a religious 'New Year' in autumn (*Rōsh Hashshānāh*, 'beginning of the year') on the first of Tishri, the seventh month, pointing to an older calendar, in which the year began in autumn.

Corresponding to the festal legend set forth in the 1st book of Maccabees for the celebration of the Roman Saturnalia or mid-winter festival at the time of the winter solstice (adopted by the Jews under Græco-Roman influence and converted into a Jewish festival by association with the victory of Judas Maccabæus and his army over the Greek forces), the romantic tale in the book of Esther was composed to provide a justification for the participation of the Jews in the general rejoicing indulged in in Babylonia and in lands where Babylonian influences prevailed, at or near the beginning of the vernal equinox. The one link missing in the chain of evidence connecting Purim with the period of merry-making in honour of Marduk and Ishtar is evidence of a celebration in Babylonia or Persia in the middle of Adar—just before the New Year's season proper two weeks later. Until such evidence is forthcoming, the view here set forth lacks definite confirmation. It may well be, however, that with the coming of the Persians into Babylonia in the second half of the 6th cent. B.C. a Persian New Year's festival celebrated at the period of the vernal equinox, and fixed for a time somewhat preceding the date selected in the Babylonian calendar for the Zagmuk, became the current New Year's season of rejoicing. The natural tendency would be to bring this Persian New Year into close affiliation with the Babylonian festival. Purim would thus represent the result of such a combination of Persian and Babylonian customs and festival rites. To this day the New Year's season is a time of rejoicing and festivity in Persia. The New Year's day, known as Nauroz, is fixed for the first day after the sun has crossed the vernal equinox, and is therefore a movable feast, like the Christian Easter, likewise an old New Year's festival. The festivities incident to the Nauroz last a week. It is to be noted, also, that in the Jewish calendar the tendency is to fix festivals connected with the transition of one season to the other either in the middle of the month (*e.g.*, the spring festival Pesaḥ and the harvest festival Sukkōth on the 15th day of Nisan and Tishri respectively) or at the beginning of the month, as, *e.g.*, the Rōsh Hashshānāh. The 15th of Adar would thus be fixed as corresponding to an average date for the vernal equinox. Finally, we find evidence that in the 2nd cent. B.C. the Jews of Palestine also celebrated the 13th of Adar as a festival and that, under the same tendency to give to popular rejoicings, when adopted from foreign sources, a Jewish setting, this festival was associated with the victory of Judas Maccabæus over the Syrian general Nicanor of Adasa in the year 161 B.C., and in consequence became known as 'Nicanor's Day' (1 Mac 7^{39-50}; Jos. *Ant.* XII. x. 5 [409]; see FESTIVALS AND FASTS [Hebrew], vol. v. p. 866[a]). The book of Maccabees thus furnishes the festal legend for two holy days adopted by the Jews: (1) the Saturnalia, or mid-winter festival, at the time of the winter solstice, celebrated for a week, which became the Jewish Ḥanukka, in commemoration of the supposed restoration of the Temple at Jerusalem to Jewish worship after the victories of Judas Maccabæus; and (2) the spring festival in the middle of Adar, adopted under Babylonian-Persian influences and associated by the festal legend with a specific occurrence in the so-called wars of the Maccabees.

Nicanor's Day and Purim thus represent the same festival. To the one a Jewish aspect was given by making it a commemoration of a victory gained over the enemy at a critical period in Jewish history, while for the same festival adopted under Babylonian-Persian influences a festal legend was composed which transformed a Babylonian myth, celebrating the deeds of Marduk and Ishtar, into a Jewish romance. It may be also that the Jews of Persia suffered some annoyance from hostile officials, and that a liberation through the dismissal of an offensive vizier suggested some of the incidents in the festal legend, which, in accord with the tendency of legendary compositions, would give to a comparatively insignificant episode an exaggerated importance. All this, however, is purely conjectural, and it must be frankly admitted that there is no evidence for any persecution of the Jews under any of the Persian rulers, who, on the contrary, appear to have been at all times favourably disposed towards them. The main thesis in connexion with Purim, that it is a foreign festival, a precursor of the Babylonian New Year's festival or the Persian New Year adopted by the Hebrews, is not affected even if we assume some historical occurrence to be a factor in the composition of the romance, which was written to give a Jewish setting to a celebration that had become popular among the Jews of Rome and Babylonia and had spread to other countries where Jews had settled. The sad experiences of the Jews, encountering hostility and frequent persecutions in the Diaspora, tended to increase the popularity of Purim. The story in the book of Esther became typical of the sufferings of the Jews in many lands. There were Hamans everywhere who tried to work injury to the Jews, and the celebration of Purim helped to maintain their trust during the dark days in the ultimate deliverance from the dangers and difficulties besetting them. The merry-making at Purim also afforded an outlet for pent-up feelings, and furnished a much-needed relief from the serious life led during the greater part of the year.

All the festivals of the Jews except Purim take on a sombre hue, even those which, like the Passover and the Festival of Booths, were in their origin distinctly joyous occasions. The somewhat cruel and vicious spirit of the book of Esther, reciting with evident satisfaction how the Jews avenged themselves on their enemies by slaughtering thousands of them (9^{1-10}), was overlooked in the abandonment to joy that marked the two days of Purim.

Masquerading and games became one of the features of the popular rejoicing. Presents were exchanged and drinking was enjoined almost as an obligation. Sober and serious-minded persons gave themselves over to the joy of Purim, and it was regarded as quite proper to put oneself in such a condition at Purim time that one could not distinguish between 'Cursed be Haman' and 'Blessed be Mordecai' (Talmud Bab. *Mᵉgillāh*, 7*b*), though naturally a playful allusion of this kind must not be forced beyond the point of showing that, as far back as Talmudic days, Purim was regarded primarily as a time of jollification, devoid of any genuinely religious character. The exceptionally secular nature of the festival is also shown by the express permission of the rabbis (*Mᵉgillāh*, 18*a*) that the roll of the book of Esther may be read in any language in the synagogue, while otherwise, as a matter of course, only Hebrew was to be used in the service. Even the synagogue service in connexion with Purim acquired some of the boisterous character of the festival; for at the mention of Haman and his sons the congregation stamped with their feet or made a noise with rattles or by knocking two sticks on which the name of Haman was written against one another until the name was erased. Such customs are to be regarded as popular survivals of endeavours to drive away evil demons by noises or by some form of sympathetic magic. They are closely bound up with the popular view that at transition periods—and such the New Year's festival is—the evil spirits were particularly malevolent, lying in wait for victims. Masquerading is also to be viewed under this aspect as a means of disguising oneself from the evil spirits or of deceiving them. Another interesting trace of the original character of Purim as a New Year's festival is to be seen in the persistency with which the idea of its being connected with 'drawing of lots' clings to it, for, whatever the etymological origin of the word *pûr*, there is no reason to question the correctness of the tradition as set forth in the book of Esther which connects it with 'casting lots.' At the New Year's period, according to the Babylonian view, the gods sit in the council chamber of fate and decide the lot or portion of individuals in the year to come; and from the Babylonians this view passed to the Jews, for whom the ten days of the New Year's month are days of probation, corresponding to the ten or eleven days of the Babylonian Zagmuk period. On the 10th day, the Day of Atonement, the fate of the individual is definitely inscribed in the book of fate and sealed. The exchange of presents on Purim also rests ultimately on an association of ideas between 'lot' and 'portion' as something set aside for some one. The term used for 'presents' (*manôth*) in the book of Esther ($9^{19.\ 22}$) in connexion with the description of the custom is precisely the word which means 'portions,' while *pûr* is specifically explained in a gloss (9^{24}) as *ha-gôrāl*, *i.e.* the common term for 'lot.'

LITERATURE.—See FESTIVALS AND FASTS (Hebrew) and (Jewish); L. B. Paton, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Esther* (*ICC*), Edinburgh and New York, 1908, pp. 1-118; P. Haupt, 'Purim,' *BASS* VI. ii. [1906].

MORRIS JASTROW, Jr.

PURITANISM.—1. Definition and application of the term.—The widely divergent estimates of Puritanism still current unite in recognizing its significance as a formative factor in the life and character of the English people. Probably no other religious movement has left so deep an impress on the history of England. Some of the Puritan positions have been embodied once for all in the constitutional development and Church life of the country; others of their contentions may yet be realized. In a modified form, the Puritan ideal of a Church at once national and self-governing may be the subject of a modern revival. But whether or no the ecclesiastical programme of Puritanism has a future, reverence for the very letter of the Puritan tradition lingers in many minds, while its inner force is by no means spent.

It would conduce to clearness in historical studies if the term 'Puritanism' could be confined strictly to the movement for further reform of the Church of England whose history falls within the century from the Act of Uniformity of 1559 to the Act of Uniformity of 1662. The Puritan party consisted of all those who believed in the maintenance of one National Church in England, and who desired that Church to be reformed after the model of Geneva. According to Thomas Fuller[1] (*Ch. Hist. of Britain*, London, 1655, bk. ix. § 66 f.), 'the odious name of puritans' was first applied in 1564 to those who resisted the attempt of the bishops in that year to enforce uniformity in ritual and in the use of vestments. A passage in John Bunyan's *Life and Death of Mr. Badman* (written in 1680)—'The man was a godly old Puritan, for so the godly were called in time past'—suggests that the term began to fall out of use as a distinct party label after the overthrow of Puritanism at the Restoration. It is confusing to extend the use of the term either backwards, as S. R. Maitland does (*The Reformation in England*, ed. London, 1906), to include early reformers of the time of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Mary, or forwards, to cover later dissent. The kinship of Puritanism with earlier elements in the English Reformation is as obvious as is the indebtedness to it of the Free Churches. But Puritanism stood primarily for an ecclesiastical ideal which was not definitely adopted by any distinct body of Englishmen before the time of the Elizabethan settlement, and which was not accepted by the Nonconformist churches of later times. Puritanism is most simply defined as the movement for Church reform whose first great leader was Thomas Cartwright and whose last was Richard Baxter.

A wider application of the term 'Puritan' to all who attempted a greater sobriety of life than was customary in Elizabethan England became familiar in the 17th cent., if not earlier. Richard Baxter says that his father was dubbed a Puritan by his neighbours because he disliked the village custom of dancing round the May-pole on Sundays, and preferred to pass his time at home, reading the Bible and the Prayer-Book:

'For my Father never scrupled Common-Prayer or Ceremonies, nor spake against Bishops, nor ever so much as prayed but by a Book or Form, being not ever acquainted with any that did otherwise: But only for reading Scripture when the rest were Dancing on the Lord's Day, and for praying (by a Form out of the end of the Common-Prayer Book) in his House, and for reproving Drunkards and Swearers, and for talking sometimes a few words of Scripture and the Life to come, he was reviled commonly by the Name of *Puritan*, *Precisian*, and *Hypocrite*.'[2]

The wider aspect of Puritanism revealed in this application of the term cannot be ignored in any account of the subject, because the effort after a sober godly life which drew down this reproach was part of the whole religious movement of which Puritanism in the strict sense was the narrower ecclesiastical expression. It is worth noting incidentally that the name 'Puritan,' like the words 'Christian' and 'Quaker,' was a term of insult which became a title of honour.

2. Puritans as a party in Church and State.—(*a*) *The Prayer-Book controversy.*—When Elizabeth came to the throne in 1558, the hopes of reformers ran high. It was certain that she would reverse the religious policy of her predecessor. The burn-

[1] J. Stow's still earlier application of the term to some Anabaptists is rightly rejected as erroneous. See *OED*, s.v. 'Puritan.'

[2] *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, London, 1696, p. 3.

ing of heretics would cease, and subserviency to the pope would be ended. Though the number of convinced Protestants was not large, the country as a whole was prepared for a considerable change. In some sense England would become a Protestant power. But how far was the queen prepared to go? It was thought that she would at least re-establish the standard of reform set up by Edward VI.; it was hoped in some quarters that she would go much farther. For, while many were content with the measure of advance embodied in the Prayer-Book of 1552 (and indeed the martyrdom of some of the authors of the Prayer-Book had consecrated it in the eyes of its users), others who had been in exile on the Continent had come under the spell of Geneva, and desired a more thorough reform along the lines laid down by Calvin. The Protestant world had not stood still since the days of Edward VI., and it seemed absurd to be content with something obviously limited and faulty like the work of Cranmer. The position of many of the leaders like John Jewel, Edwin Sandys, and Edmund Grindal, who were among the first of the Elizabethan bishops, was that they would gladly go back to the system set up in the time of Edward VI. as a starting-point, but that they hoped to be allowed to make it the basis of a further development. The convenience of adopting the English Prayer-Book of 1552 was manifest. It obviated the necessity of thinking out at short notice forms of service and of government for the Elizabethan Church, and it gave a sense of continuity in the work of the Reformation in England. There was therefore no surprise or regret when the Act of Uniformity re-imposed the use of the second Prayer-Book of Edward VI.

The Act of Uniformity was preceded by the Act of Supremacy, which made Elizabeth chief governor of the Church of Christ in England. Her authority she was to exercise in the first instance through an ecclesiastical commission until a regular administration by duly appointed bishops should be possible. These two Acts ensured lay control of the Church, abolished papal authority and the Mass, and restored the English liturgy. So far, so good; but what was to be the next step?

When the revised Prayer-Book was issued, it contained one or two features which occasioned disquiet among the more radical reformers. The clause in the Litany praying for deliverance from 'the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities' had vanished. The sentences appointed for the use of the priest in delivering the elements at communion included those from the Prayer-Book of 1549 which were capable of being interpreted to imply the doctrine of transubstantiation. Moreover, into the Prayer-Book was inserted, apparently at the last moment and without the knowledge of Parliament, an additional rubric directing that[1] 'the minister at the time of communion and at all other times in his ministrations, shall use such ornaments in the church as were in use by authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI.' In accordance with this rubric, ministers in the communion service were to put on 'a white Albe plain, with a vestment or Cope'—the garments used in the celebration of the Mass.

This was the starting-point of a renewed vestiarian controversy. To the dismay of the reformers, the queen was determined that her clergy should wear a distinctive dress in ordinary life, and should continue to use the vestments of the unreformed Church. When Archbishop Parker, under pressure from the queen, determined in 1566 resolutely to enforce uniformity in the use of vestments, the formation of a distinct Puritan party was inevitable. Some ministers resigned their cures rather than wear the prescribed dress. Small groups of parishioners in London went so far as to set up separatist meetings. The majority of men with Puritan sympathies remained in the Church, but began to entertain a doubt as to the bishops' hopes of further reform, and to subject the Elizabethan settlement to a more searching criticism.

(*b*) *Protests against popish abuses.*—The broader Puritan position was championed by Thomas Cartwright, Lady Margaret professor of divinity at Cambridge, who in lectures on the Acts denounced the government of the Church of England as unscriptural and illegitimate. The hierarchy, he held, was as clearly popish and anti-Christian as the vestments. Cartwright was deprived of his professorial chair in 1570, but his views found expression in two 'Admonitions' presented to Parliament in 1572. The first, written by John Field and Thomas Wilcox, is a singularly effective and vigorous statement of the Puritan programme of ecclesiastical reform.

The authors begin by laying down the essentials of the Puritan standpoint, which consist in 'abandoning al popish remnants both in ceremonies and regiment,' and 'also in bringing in and placing in Gods church those things only, which the Lord himself in his word commandeth.' The Puritans stood for making the breach with Rome as complete as possible, and the approach to the NT Church as close as possible. The writers of the Admonition then proceed to survey the condition of the Church in England in the light of the requirements of a true Christian Church, which are 'preaching of the worde purely, ministring of the sacraments sincerely, and ecclesiastical discipline which consisteth in admonition and correction of faults severelie.' With regard to the ministry, the Puritans maintained the clergy to be quite inefficient. Large numbers of the clergy were mere 'Vicars of Bray,' who had accepted every change in religion from Henry VIII.'s time onward. Many were unlearned and incapable of teaching. They were men without any call to the ministry, and the method of their ordination and appointment was irregular and unchristian. Men who could preach were discouraged, by being made subject to a special licence, and by being bound down 'to a prescript order of service.' The ordinary ministry was starved, in order to maintain an expensive hierarchy, while the abuses of pluralism deprived godly ministers of opportunities, compelled congregations to go without preachers, and were yet inevitable because the incomes of many livings did not suffice to keep the incumbent. The contrast between the Elizabethan ministry and the primitive evangelists and pastors was glaring. 'Then, as God gave utterance they preached the word onely: now they read homilies. . . . Then feedyng the flocke diligently: now teaching quarterly. Then preaching in season and out of season: now once in a month is thoght sufficient, if twice, it is judged a worke of supererogation.' For a thorough reformation, it was necessary to 'displace those ignorant and unable ministers already placed, and in their rownes appoint such as both can, and will by Gods assistance feed the flock.'

Passing from preaching to the sacraments, the Puritans objected to many details in the communion service, which they regarded as popish and out of harmony with primitive Christianity. Beyond their criticism of details, they complained of private communions and baptisms. This private use of the sacraments ignored their essential character as acts of Church-fellowship, and in effect 'tied the necessitie of salvation to the sacraments.' An even worse abuse was the readiness with which men were admitted to the Lord's Supper and indeed obliged by law to partake of it. 'They [the early Christians] toke it with conscience. We with custume. They shut men by reasen of their sinnes, from the Lordes Supper. We thrust them in their sinne to the Lordes Supper.' One of the most urgent reforms is 'that papists nor other, neither constrainedly nor customably, communicate in the misteries of salvation.'

In dealing in the third place with ecclesiastical discipline, the authors of the Admonition claimed that 'the whole regiment of the church' is to be committed to 'Ministers, Seniors, and Deacons.' The existing hierarchy is to be removed. In particular the exercise of discipline must no longer be left in the hands of one man—the monarchical bishop acting through chancellors, archdeacons, proctors, and what not. There was a sad confusion, they felt, between ecclesiastical and civil jurisdictions, both in procedure and in penalties. The use of excommunication should be more sparing and more solemn.

This outline of necessary reforms was supplemented by 'A View of Popishe Abuses yet remaining in the Englishe Church,' whose presence prevented the Puritan clergy from subscribing an article to the effect that the Prayer-Book contained nothing repugnant to the Word of God.

[1] See T. M. Lindsay, *Hist. of the Reformation*, Edinburgh, 1907, ii. 405 f.; and H. Gee, *The Elizabethan Prayer-book and Ornaments*, London, 1902.

The chief Puritan criticisms of detail may be summarized as follows:

(1) The Prayer-Book stands for a reading ministry as contrasted with a preaching ministry. (2) It enjoins the use of homilies which have not yet appeared, and which consequently cannot be approved. Those homilies, too, are to discourage preaching—the main work of the minister. (3) It provides for the keeping of saints' days—contrary to the Fourth Commandment. (4) The order of the communion insists on the communicants kneeling instead of sitting when they receive the elements. The book, moreover, retains the term 'priest' in this connexion, and allows private communion. (5) The sacrament of baptism is divorced from teaching, and may be administered in private even by women. Public baptism is also 'full of childishe and superstitious toyes,' as in suggesting that God has sanctified water to wash away sins. Other 'toyes' are the impossible promise made by godparents, the interrogatories uselessly addressed to infants, and the use of the sign of the cross. (6) In the marriage service the Puritans objected to the wedding-ring, and to the phrase 'with my body I thee worshippe,' whereby a man 'makes an idol of his wife.' Other superstitious customs are associated with the ceremony. (7) Confirmation is bestowed on those 'that lacke both discretion and faithe,' and is wrongly confined to bishops. (8) The burial service maintains prayer for the dead, and is associated with many undesirable customs. (9) The order of service for the churching of women 'smelleth of Jewishe purification.' The Holy Scriptures are profaned as in the use of Ps 121, the Benedictus, Nunc Dimittis, and Magnificat, which are quite unsuited to the condition of those who constantly use them. (10) 'In all their order of service there is no edification . . . but confusion.' The standing up for the Gospel, and not for the Old Testament, shows that they 'are ignorante that the scriptures came from one spirite.' The bowing and scraping at the name of Jesus is equally unjustifiable. (11) Their Pontifical is simply popish. 'As the names of Archbishops, Archdeacons, Lord bishops, Chancelers, etc., are drawne out of the Popes shop togither with their offices. So the governement which they use, by the life of the Pope which is the Canon law is Antichristian and devilishe, and contrarye to the scriptures.' (12) The titles of honour assumed by the great ecclesiastics are against the Word of God, as is also the practice of joining civil with ecclesiastical offices. (13) The remaining criticisms concern the exercise of discipline and the appointment of ministers. The bishops' authority spoils the pastor of his normal power of discipline. Ministers are made at random by the bishops, and the men ordained rashly have to seek for livings by dishonourable means. The cathedral churches maintain an idle and useless ministry at the cost of an effective parochial ministry. The whole system of patronage is wrong and encourages self-seeking among the clergy. The bishops' courts and methods of discipline, their licences, dispensations and excommunications, are also unscriptural; for their administration is secular in temper, and is far removed from the brotherly reproof and admonition which should prevail among Christians. (14) As an after-thought, they add a protest against what they hold to be the blasphemous use of the sentence 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost' in the ordination service.[1]

(c) *Puritan position defined.*—The foregoing analysis will suffice to bring out the negative aspect of Elizabethan Puritanism, as revealed in this series of objections to the Prayer-Book. A more attractive positive statement of the Puritan view may be found in Walter Travers, *Ecclesiasticæ Disciplinæ. . . . Explicatio* (La Rochelle, 1574, Eng. tr. by Cartwright, n.p., 1574). Travers had certain peculiarities of his own, but his book is broadly representative.

Travers begins by emphasizing the importance of good discipline, *i.e.* sound government, to all human societies. The Church, like the State, cannot continue in health without discipline. He then urges that the discipline essential for the Church must be discovered from the Word of God. If God prescribed laws for the Jews—laws to which they were not allowed to add and from which they might not subtract—it follows that He will have laid down a platform of government for the Church of Christ. If the civil ruler may determine the constitution of the Church at his or her pleasure, what becomes of the sovereignty of Christ over His own subjects? If Christ is lawgiver and king, He cannot have left the ministry and government of His Church indeterminate. There is, moreover, a clear system to be discerned in the NT—a system which must derive from Christ Himself and may not be changed. And the adoption of this system is essential to the work of reformation. For doctrine and discipline go together. The Church of England has reformed the former, but retained the latter in its old popish character. Such a half-hearted reform cannot last.

What, then, is the nature of the ecclesiastical discipline laid down in the NT? Before we discuss the particular offices of Christ's Church, we may note one general characteristic. No function is lawful in the Church apart from vocation. The office and the mode of appointment to it must be of Divine ordering. A true vocation requires that a man be called to some certain place or church (*i.e.*, he must not be ordained a deacon or a priest in general, but must be ordained to serve a particular community). A further requirement of a true vocation is that those called be faithful in the discharge of their office. There are two parts in vocation, viz. election and ordination. In election the elders should lead the congregation, but the assent of the congregation is necessary. It is essential that the men elected be fitted for the office for which they are chosen. This points to the necessity of careful examination of those who are to bear office, and the qualifications that they are to possess may be learnt from the Pastoral Epistles. Ordination consists of public prayer together with the laying on of hands. The latter feature of the ceremony belongs of right to the whole eldership.

Turning to the particular offices, we find two kinds of ordinary official, viz. bishops and deacons. The bishops and presbyters, or elders (for they are one and the same in the NT), are appointed to look after particular churches. They are of two kinds, doctors and pastors. Ability to teach and to pray is the chief qualification of the former; the latter's duty is to speak the word of exhortation needed on particular occasions and to administer the sacraments. The deacons, according to Travers, are also of two kinds, the first being treasurers and almoners, and the second overseers or elders responsible for the discipline of the individual members of the church. The diaconate of the NT has nothing in common with deacons' orders in the Church of England. For the latter is but a step towards the priesthood, while the former is a distinct and permanent office. These are the only offices required or, indeed, permitted in the Christian Church. It is true, the NT mentions other offices, such as apostles, prophets, and evangelists; but these were extraordinary functions either peculiar to the first age of the Church or only revived in special circumstances of reform and advance, and consequently out of place in settled churches. The ordinary officers are bishops and deacons.

Travers proceeds to develop another point to which the Puritans attached great importance. The higher government of the Church belongs, not to particular officials, but to a compound office, *i.e.* not to individuals set over and above ordinary ministers, but to synods of the ministers themselves. The eldership or assembly gathered from the three chief orders—*i.e.* pastors, doctors, and overseers, or elders—exercises the highest authority. These synods are responsible for elections and depositions of Church officers. They are also responsible for discipline, alike in giving admonitions and in suspending members from communion or in pronouncing complete excommunication. The essential point is the corporate character of authority in the Church, and the corollary which the Puritans drew was to the effect that the monarchical episcopate is contrary to the spirit of early Christianity and to the letter of such passages as Mk $10^{42f.}$ and Mt 23^{8-12}.

(d) *The break with Anglicanism.*—The First Admonition to Parliament and the tract by Travers afford an excellent survey of the Puritan case regarding the liturgy and government of the Church of England. The whole field was covered in the long and embittered controversy that followed between Cartwright and Whitgift, in which both writers displayed great learning, much animosity, and an inadequate sense of proportion. But their works were overshadowed by Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, perhaps the noblest piece of controversial literature in the English language. It is not possible to trace the development of the controversy in detail. The Puritans failed to secure any part of their programme in the time of Elizabeth. Indeed, the administration of the bishops, especially under the leadership of Whitgift, rendered their position more and more difficult. No relief was given to their consciences in respect of the details to which they objected in the liturgy. They were expected, not only to conform, but also to profess themselves satisfied that the details in question were not repugnant to the Word of God. The queen was mainly responsible for this severe repression of Puritanism, and those who sympathized more or less with the Puritans were unwilling to disturb the closing years of her reign by opposing her. Hooker's searching analysis of the Puritan presuppositions and his finely tempered defence of the Prayer-Book also served to raise a barrier of moderate opinion against the advance of Puritanism. The movement as a whole became more restrained and more modest. The Millenary Petition, presented to James I. in 1603, contains no sweeping programme of reform. The demand for a complete change of Church govern-

[1] The First Admonition may be read *in extenso* in *Puritan Manifestoes*, ed. W. H. Frere and C. E. Douglas for the Ch. Hist. Soc., London, 1907, pp. 8–55.

ment is abandoned. On the whole side of the Puritan case embodied in Travers the petition is silent. Instead, the desires of the petitioners are grouped under four heads:

The first reproduces the following details from among the changes urged in the First Admonition:[1] 'In the church service, that the cross in baptism, interrogatories ministered to infants, (and) confirmation, as superfluous, may be taken away. Baptism not to be ministered by women, and so explained. The cap and surplice not urged. That examination may go before the communion. That it be ministered with a sermon. That divers terms of priests and absolution and some other used, with the ring in marriage, and other such like in the book may be corrected. The longsomeness of service abridged. Church songs and music moderated to better edification. That the Lord's day be not profaned: the rest upon holidays not so strictly urged. That there be an uniformity of doctrine prescribed. No popish opinion to be any more taught or defended: no ministers charged to teach their people to bow at the name of Jesus. That the canonical scriptures only be read in the church. In the second place, the petition urges the importance of a preaching and resident ministry. Thirdly, they protest against the abuses of pluralities and impropriations of tithe. Under the fourth head they ask that enormities of discipline and excommunication may be redressed. They particularly desire that excommunication may not be issued by laymen, nor employed for trivial offences. They criticize the fines and the fees, and the delays in ecclesiastical courts. The oath ex officio,[2] whereby men are forced to accuse themselves, should be more sparingly used.'

In the Hampton Court Conference the Puritan representatives went somewhat farther. The uniformity of doctrine which they desired was to be found in the famous Lambeth Articles of 1595, which embodied the most rigid form of Calvinism. They desired corresponding changes in the other articles. Their plea for the association of ordinary ministers with the bishops in discipline drew from the king the famous and fatal aphorism, 'No bishop, no king.' Some minor concessions were made to the Puritans as a result of the conference, but, broadly speaking, their position was not eased. If the bulk of their more moderate demands had been conceded, or if some latitude in the use of ceremonies had been permitted, the danger of schism might have been averted. As it was, the Puritans became the party of constitutional reform, attacking alike the abuses of the royal prerogative and the claims of the monarchical episcopate. Under Laud the tide of feeling against episcopal rule steadily rose. 'Sion's plea against prelacy' commanded an ever more respectful hearing. In the Long Parliament the movement for ecclesiastical reform was no longer directed towards modifying episcopal control or securing detailed changes in the Prayer-Book; the hierarchy was to be destroyed root and branch, the Prayer-Book displaced by the Directory for Public Worship. That, however, is not the final phase of the Puritan ecclesiastical ideal. At the Savoy Conference in 1661 they put forward somewhat sweeping pleas for a reformed liturgy, and expressed their willingness to accept Archbishop Usher's scheme of a constitutional episcopate—a scheme under which the bishops governed with the assistance of representative church councils. The Puritans were out-manœuvred at this conference. They were asked to state their full demands, and they did so, in good faith; and then the boldness of their demands was used as a justification for refusing all concessions. They would have been content with less than they asked; as it was, they got nothing but expulsion, and thus regretfully they turned their backs on the National Church and on their ideal of such a Church, and set themselves to create their own religious organization. Puritanism as a definite movement for the reform of the Church of England was ended.

[1] G. W. Prothero, *Statutes and Political Documents* (*1558–1625*), Oxford, 1898, p. 414.

[2] This was the device which had enabled Whitgift to detect and repress Puritan clergy. In virtue of their office, ministers had been compelled by Whitgift in 1584 to answer certain questions and subscribe certain articles—thus becoming their own accusers. Cartwright's claim to have been a champion of religious liberty has been questioned (see F. Paget, *An Introd. to the Fifth Book of Hooker's Treatise*[2], Oxford, 1907, p. 41), but at least his refusal to take the oath 'ex officio mero' must be counted unto him for righteousness. It is remarkable that the reference to this detested and arbitrary procedure in the Millenary Petition should be so restrained in character.

3. The influence of Puritanism as a tendency on religious and social life.—How far were the Puritans right in their ecclesiastical aims? Did they form a correct estimate of the needs and possibilities of the English Reformation? Were their criticisms of the Elizabethan settlement justified in detail and in principle? Any answer to these questions involves the introduction of the personal equation, but some answer must be attempted nevertheless.

(*a*) *Elizabeth's ecclesiastical policy.*—The assumption that the queen gauged the temper and wishes of the country with singular sagacity is part of the persistent legend of Good Queen Bess. Elizabeth is supposed to have given the National Church exactly the form that the mass of the people desired. In suppressing the Puritans she was restraining short-sighted extremists who would have broken the national unity, and given to the Church of England a rigid constitution which would have offended the Englishman's love of compromise. This view is frequently taken for granted, but it is really open to question. It would be truer to say that the country was prepared to accept almost any Church that Elizabeth liked to set up, provided it was more or less definitely Protestant, than to say that Elizabeth gave the country precisely the Church that it instinctively desired. No doubt the people generally would have revolted against any attempt to establish the Genevan model in England, but there is equally no doubt that, if Elizabeth had cared to go farther than she did in the Puritan direction, she would have had the approval and support of the majority of her first group of bishops and of many of her leading statesmen and favourites, including Burleigh and Leicester. Very little encouragement would have sufficed to make the clergy predominantly Puritan. As it was, a considerable and influential section of the clergy sympathized with the Puritan position. A majority in Parliament could have been found at almost any time to advocate and sanction further reforms.[1] There is no reason to suppose that in the matter of religion Elizabeth possessed any special genius for interpreting the mind of her subjects. The rank and file, like their leaders, would put up with almost anything from the queen, because the maintenance of her throne was essential to the national safety and independence. But, had she insisted on a more Calvinistic reform, the change would certainly have been accepted as readily as the actual settlement, and in all probability a more fully reformed Church would have evoked greater enthusiasm.

The limits which Elizabeth set to reform in England cannot be regarded as an inspired expression of the national mind in religion either then or since. It is possible to claim for Elizabeth's ecclesiastical policy that it was determined by a diplomatic skill to which Puritans were strangers. The retention of the ornaments may have been intended, as Lindsay suggests,[2] to give a Lutheran character to the Church of England and to secure for it from the emperor and the pope the toleration extended to Lutheranism by the Peace of Augsburg. The ornaments rubric and the other little changes in the second Prayer-Book of Edward VI. also conveyed to the pope and to Philip II. of Spain the suggestion that England might return to the Catholic fold at any moment and at short notice. No doubt such an impression was intended, and

[1] Cf. Prothero, p. xxxiii. [2] ii. 408.

one cannot but admire the skill with which Elizabeth used her ecclesiastical settlement to minimize the dangers which she had to face in her foreign policy. But the element of statesmanship counted for less than the element of personal caprice. Diplomatic reasons justified a cautious beginning—they did not suggest an absolute halt—in the work of reform. After the pope had excommunicated her, and still more after the failure of the Armada, reasons of State counselled a stiffening of England's Protestantism rather than the reverse. If statesmanship had been the determining factor, Elizabeth might have held back the Puritans at first; she would almost certainly have encouraged them later. She did not do so, because she was a Tudor and liked her own way. She meant to have the Church reformed according to her taste, and the Puritans were not to her liking.

One reason for the queen's personal animosity to the Puritans was her indifference to religious truth. She was consequently at variance with the Puritans on the question of a preaching ministry. The queen did not greatly care whether the people were instructed in the faith or not. To the Puritans it seemed all-important that a reasoned statement of the Protestant position should be popularized. If it was desirable that the country should become Protestant at all, then undoubtedly the Puritans were right in desiring an intelligent conversion and a learned preaching ministry. On this issue Elizabeth was obscurantist; the Puritans were standing for enlightenment and education, however narrow the views may have been which they would have propounded ostensibly for popular acceptance, and in effect for popular discussion.[1] Elizabeth, in attempting to starve thought and stifle discussion, was a sheer reactionary, and one of the most short-sighted measures on which she insisted was the suppression of the prophesyings—a measure against which Archbishop Grindal vigorously protested, to his eternal honour. There is no reason to doubt that the Puritan demand for a preaching ministry could have been very largely realized, had the queen wished it. There can be no question that the maintenance of an educated ministry would have been in the best interests alike of Church and of State. Even the instruments and defenders of the queen's policy admitted that. The main obstacles to the creation of such a ministry were the avarice and prejudice of the queen.

In some particulars the Puritan leaders certainly showed a truer appreciation of the religious needs of England than did the queen. Events soon proved that they saw farther than their fellow-reformers, when they urged that reformed doctrine would not co-exist for long with unreformed discipline and worship. The apologists of the Elizabethan settlement pointed to the pure standard of reformed theology enshrined in the articles. Further reform of the liturgy or of Church government they held to be superfluous. The Puritans declared that the unreformed liturgy would undermine the reformed doctrine, and they were clearly justified in holding this view. If the Church of England was intended to be unmistakably Protestant, as the rulers of it claimed, then the Elizabethan settlement was a fatal compromise, as the critics of it urged.

(*b*) *The Puritan polity.* — The details of the Puritan criticism of the Prayer-Book need not detain us. Some of the weightiest charges given in the First Admonition apply not so much to the book itself as to misuse of it and to the association of superstitious customs with its rites and ceremonies. Some of the Puritan criticisms seem now unimaginative if not captious (*e.g.*, their objection to the ring in marriage or to the use of the Magnificat in public worship). Others seem obvious, and have been more or less recognized. Thus, their demand for a revised lectionary was valid for other reasons besides the reverence for Scripture which dictated it. The protests against the strict observance of saints' days and the lax observance of the Sabbath were also necessary, though both may have been pushed too far. The 'longsomeness of matins' is likely to be taken into account in any future liturgical reform But, in general, such reform, when it comes, will probably not owe much to Puritan criticism.

It is more important to notice that Puritan ministers might have been accorded the liberty to omit or vary unessential details, not only with great relief to their consciences, but also with advantage to their congregations. The denial of liberty of conscience to the Puritan clergy in things indifferent is not excused either by the probability that such concessions would not have contented them or by the fact that, as a party, they were as much possessed by the craving for outward uniformity as the queen and the bishops.

With respect to the ministry and government of the Church of England, the Puritans were clearly right in pleading for a better educated, a better paid, and a more carefully appointed ministry. They had good grounds for protesting against the abuses of pluralism and patronage. The system and methods of ecclesiastical discipline lay open to the charges which the Puritans made against them. By 1662 all England agreed with them as to the necessity of separating civil and ecclesiastical offices, and Laud has had no successor in the position that he secured in the councils of State. The impression that Hooker completely disposed of the Puritan case owes not a little to the neglect of the incomplete posthumous books of the *Ecclesiastical Polity*—vi., vii., and viii. When he came to grips with the Puritan criticisms of the actual working of episcopacy, Hooker was obliged to make large concessions to his opponents, and, where he would not make concessions, he did not find it easy to maintain his defence. There was, indeed, no answer to some of the main criticisms which the Puritans passed on the state of the ministry, and the only kind of reply possible was to deprecate haste in reform and to urge that the bishops were doing their best—the real obstacles being the intransigence of the queen and the vested interests of some highly placed laymen.

The platform of Church government which the Puritans drew from the Scriptures, and the appeal to the Scriptures on which it was based, raise further points of interest. As interpreters of the NT, Puritan scholars were not at fault in contrasting the diocesan episcopate with the NT bishops who were in charge of particular churches and were the same as presbyters. It was fair to insist upon the difference between the primitive diaconate—a distinct office alongside of the eldership—and the later use of the diaconate as a mere stage in the evolution of the presbyter or priest. The element of corporate action and responsibility, alike in the choice of officials and in the maintenance of discipline, undoubtedly existed in NT times, and was rightly emphasized by the Puritans. In restricting membership to communicants, and in making strict examination before communion the instrument of discipline, the Puritans were also keeping close to the early Church. It is disputed whether they were correct, as a matter of scholarship, in claiming presbyterial ordination as the normal primitive practice, and it is doubtful whether their division of NT Church offices into extraordinary and ordinary can be legitimately

[1] See Douglas Campbell, *The Puritan in Holland, England, and America*, London, 1892, i. 458.

maintained. But the point on which their position has been most effectively challenged is the assumption that there must be laid down in the NT a final form of Church government, to be rigidly enforced at all times and in all places. The Puritans took great pains to prove that 'God must have delivered in Scripture a complete particular immutable form of church polity.' Otherwise, they said, the Christians would be worse off than the Jews, and God would be negligent if He did not provide for the least detail of Church order. Hooker is never happier than when undermining this *a priori* dogmatism, in which the Puritans so frequently indulged:

'In matters which concern the actions of God, the most dutiful way on our part is to search what God hath done, and with meekness to admire that, rather than to dispute what he in congruity of reason ought to do. The ways which he hath whereby to do all things for the greatest good of his Church are more in number than we can search, other in nature than that we should presume to determine which of many should be the fittest for him to choose, till such time as we see he hath chosen of many some one; which one we then may boldly conclude to be the fittest, because he hath taken it before the rest. When we do otherwise, surely we exceed our bounds; who and where we are we forget; and therefore needful it is that our pride in such cases be controlled, and our disputes beaten back with those demands of the blessed Apostle, "How unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out! Who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who was his counsellor?"'[1]

It would now be generally conceded that the government of the Church to-day cannot helpfully be made to reproduce exactly the features of the NT polity, even if we knew more accurately than we do the character of that polity. It is probable that no uniform system existed in the early Church, and Church institutions have necessarily been developed and adapted to changing conditions. The Puritan hypothesis of a divinely ordained and unalterable form of Church government is not tenable. Yet their appeal to the primitive Church was not fruitless, and is still a necessary safeguard against the easy assumption that, in the development of Church order, whatever is is right. Growth in Church organization is inevitable and desirable, but not every development is suited to the genius of Christianity, and none can escape criticism in virtue of its mere existence. When we refuse to follow the Puritans in denying the legitimacy of development in the realm of Church life, we have still to consider whether they were not justified in condemning particular developments as alien from the temper revealed in the arrangements adopted by the primitive Church. When the Puritans criticized the monarchical episcopate, as involving a social distinction and a secular greatness incongruous with the Christian ministry, and as exercising an arbitrary authority unsuited to the Christian brotherhood, they were occupying ground from which it was very difficult to dislodge them. The difficulty is at once apparent in Hooker's ineffective discussion of the phrase, 'it shall not be so among you' (Mt 20^{26}).[2] In origin and in character the institution of diocesan episcopacy was not specifically Christian. Moreover, the representative and democratic element in early Church order cannot be dismissed as accidental. There was and there is something vital to the expression of Christianity in the presence of just that element. And, above all, the Puritans rendered a service at once to Christianity and to liberty, when they in effect set limits to the authority of the sovereign in ecclesiastical matters. At the heart of their position was the belief that the Church has a constitution of her own, which she is to determine for herself, and which is not to be shaped to suit the diplomacy of States or the caprice of princes. This challenge to the royal prerogative roused the resentment of Elizabeth. It also turned the Puritans, almost against their intentions, into the champions of constitutional government and political liberty.

[1] *Eccl. Pol.* bk. III. ch. xi. § 21. [2] Bk. VII. ch. xvi.

(c) *Influence on English life and character.*—After the failure of their ecclesiastical hopes and their loss of political power the Puritans did not cease to influence England. The movement left its mark, for good and ill, on popular religion and, indeed, on every department of national life. In attempting to characterize the broad effects of Puritanism on English life and character, we may begin with its appeal to the Scriptures.

'Puritanism carried the genius of the Scriptures into the very heart and soul of England.'[1]

As is apparent from the contemptuous protest of the First Admonition against showing special reverence for the Gospel lessons, the Puritans were more impressed with the unity of the Bible than with the difference between Law and Gospel. They recognized development, but they tended to attribute an equal authority to all books of the Bible as coming from the one Spirit. They sent men to the Bible as the Word of God, and bade them seek there comfort and guidance for every occasion. They championed the view that the Bible was the people's book, and their appeal to Scripture did in effect guarantee the religious independence of humble folk. Unlearned men could read the book and appropriate its treasures for themselves. The Puritans were sometimes shocked at the results of the Bible study which they advocated, but they could not undo the consequences of their own principles. The setting up of the Scriptures as the authority in religion favoured liberty of thinking and developed personal religion. The concentration of attention on the Bible had a remarkable educative effect on many minds. Unconsciously men like Bunyan acquired literary taste and power, because their reading was confined almost exclusively to one really great book. Dowden claims that by this means certain popular sympathies were fostered in literature:

'A homely strength, a genial warmth, a respect for man as man, a breadth of human interest, a humour that is not supercilious, a pity which is not condescending.'[2]

It is difficult to overestimate the gains, intellectual and spiritual, derived from assigning this premier position to the Bible.

There is, no doubt, a considerable discount on the services of Puritanism in this regard. In demanding direct Scripture warrant, not only for creed and Church order, but also for every act of daily life, the Puritans were in danger of depreciating ordinary reason, as Hooker declared, and they were also in danger of troubling tender consciences. Whatsoever is not of faith is sin, they urged, and whatsoever is not grounded on the Word of God is not of faith. Hooker's second book brings out admirably the dangerous exaggeration to which Puritan reverence for the Scriptures committed them:

'Admit this [that it was the drift scope and purpose of Almighty God in Holy Scripture to comprise all things which man may practise] and what shall the Scripture be but a snare and a torment to weak consciences, filling them with infinite perplexities, scrupulosities, doubts insoluble and extreme despairs?'[3]

Another result of this admission was to set man wresting the Scriptures in order to get from them the guidance and assurance that were not on the surface. It also enhanced the temptation to fill up the lacunæ of the NT by moral precepts and civil laws derived from the OT: the uncompromising attitude of the Puritans towards popery was duly defended by the directions to the Children of Israel to destroy the Canaanites utterly; Sabbatarianism, intolerance, and the belief in the death

[1] E. Dowden, *Puritan and Anglican*, London, 1900, p. 15
[2] P. 33. [3] Bk. II. ch. viii. § 6.

penalty for witches were strengthened by this appeal to the OT; the wide acceptance in Puritan circles of the theory that heathen virtues are splendid vices may also be traced to the same root. If the English are essentially an OT people, the Puritans are largely responsible for it.

(*d*) *Puritan theology and ethics.*—Puritan theology was simply Calvinism, ultimately worn thin. It is not necessary to describe the system, and it is not possible here to trace its development in detail. It petrified into a series of dogmas, known as the five points of Calvinism, which dealt with election and reprobation, the limited scope of the atonement, total depravity, irresistible grace, and final perseverance. Since the English people ceased to be familiar with these doctrines, they have ceased to possess a definite theology, and their thoughts on ultimate questions have become chaotic and vague. The main principles affirmed in Puritan teaching were the sovereignty and righteousness of God and the sinfulness and all-pervading character of sin. The emphasis on original sin and total depravity made mortification of sin one of the central duties of the Christian life, and this lent to Puritan devotion and Puritan sainthood a somewhat sombre and gloomy character. The devout Puritan was very different from earlier Franciscans or later Methodist saints like Billy Bray. The Puritan did not normally attain to the sense of being at home with God, which may be found in the Franciscan and in some sections of the Evangelical movements. On the other hand, he had a strong sense of responsibility, and the religion which he embraced had an individualizing influence.

'The unvarying central element in Puritanism was the belief that the relation between the invisible spirit of man and the invisible God was immediate rather than mediate.'[1]

The true Puritan stood ever in the great Taskmaster's eye. He learned to fear God and found that he had nothing else to fear.

This stern creed was not without its consolations. Once convinced of the supremacy of God, men and women could face terrible things, confident that even these things would be overruled for righteousness. Mark Rutherford says with reference to this side of the subject:

'Confess ignorance and the folly of insurrection, and there is a chance that even the irremediable will be somewhat mitigated. Poor!—yes; but it is genuine; and this at least must be said for Puritanism, that of all the theologies and philosophies it is the most honest in its recognition of the facts; the most real, if we penetrate to the heart of it, in the remedy which it offers.'[2]

It was a creed which enabled men to face disappointment and disaster without despair.

Submission to God's will expressed itself in self-control. Indeed, Puritan emphasis on God's sovereignty and man's depravity necessitated a stern and repressive moral discipline. As the advantages of his training in a Puritan home, Mark Rutherford mentions two things: (1) an abhorrence of lying, and (2) the conviction that unchastity is a sin and not a venial weakness. Those were elementary features of Puritan morality. With regard to the first, the Puritan tradition tended to err through literal-mindedness. It became prosaic and distrusted works of imagination, alike poetry and romance, though the latter was more especially apt to be banned. But this insistence on literal truthfulness has probably not been without its effect in developing the scientific temper. The second point constitutes perhaps the greatest service rendered by Puritanism to social life. It was and remains the head and front of the Puritans' offending in the eyes of many who resent the restriction of natural pleasures. Yet even what may seem the over-scrupulousness of Puritanism on this subject is not without its value.

'To Puritanism we owe the characteristic which, in some other countries, is expressed by the term English prudery, the accusation implied being part of the general charge of hypocrisy. It is said by observers among ourselves that the prudish habit of mind is dying out, and that is looked upon as a satisfactory thing, as a sign of healthy emancipation. If by prude be meant a secretly vicious person who affects an excessive decorum, by all means let the prude disappear, even at the cost of some shamelessness. If, on the other hand, a prude is one who, living a decent life, cultivates, either by bent or principle, a somewhat extreme delicacy of thought and speech with regard to elementary facts of human nature, then I say that this is most emphatically a fault in the right direction, and I have no desire to see its prevalence diminish.'[1]

Beyond any doubt Puritanism made possible and common a sound home-life in England, so far as its influence on sexual morality is concerned.

Its effects on the relations of parent and child were not altogether admirable. The doctrine of original sin led to an utter distrust of child nature. Even Bunyan bids parents remember that children are cursed creatures. The wills of children, being evil, were to be broken, and children were to be taught to keep their distance. Home discipline was to be strict, and the rod was not to be spared. The relative justification for this attitude is sometimes overlooked by those who criticize Puritan home training and education. Thus Samuel Butler, in *The Way of all Flesh* (London, 1903), looks back with regret to 'the spacious days of Queen Elizabeth.' Then the relations between parents and children seem on the whole to have been more kindly.

'The fathers and the sons are for the most part friends in Shakespeare, nor does the evil appear to have reached its full abomination till a long course of Puritanism had familiarized men's minds with Jewish ideals as those which we should endeavour to reproduce in our everyday life.'[2]

As a matter of fact, in the days of Elizabeth the friendship of father and son often meant the initiation of boys into vice in very tender years. The advantages of sowing wild oats were firmly believed in. Children who would now be at a kindergarten were sometimes familiarized with drinking and swearing, while youth was encouraged to see life. The pages of Ascham's *Scholemaster* afford a sufficient revelation of the moral laxness and parental irresponsibility against which Puritanism reacted, and no one who knows that side of Elizabethan social life would wish to return to it. The main defect of Puritanism in this connexion was its depreciation of childhood; its chief merit was its insistence on a sense of duty—on the need of making a serious use of life. It has yet to be shown that the belief in original sin, which E. G. A. Holmes[3] regards as the root of all evil in education, and which did in fact involve a distrust of child nature,[4] can really be abandoned without losing an element of truth and hardness which made for strength of character and purity of life.

(*e*) *Influence on education and industry.*—In the matter of education the Puritans had to provide for themselves after 1662, and they made no small contribution to educational progress. As a reforming party they sat loose to the mediæval and classical traditions to which the universities and grammar schools were still wedded. They were readier for changes both in method and in curriculum. It was in Puritan circles that Comenius attracted attention and sympathy in England. The Long Parliament seems seriously to have considered entrusting to him the task of reforming national education. The dissenting academies of

[1] Dowden, p. 11.
[2] *The Revolution in Tanner's Lane*, London, 1887, p. 127.
[1] G. Gissing, *The Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft*, London, 1903, p. 280.
[2] P. 21 *f.*
[3] See *What is and what might be*, London, 1911, *passim*.
[4] The general tendency to distrust natural feeling may be illustrated further from the records of Evangelicalism—*e.g.*, the story of Augustus Hare's upbringing by his aunt, Maria Hare, or the tragedy of Henry Martyn's love-story.

the 18th cent. compared favourably with the older universities alike in expense, morals, and intellectual keenness. It was in these academies that the teaching of modern subjects was begun.[1] The Puritans are being blamed nowadays for having been too exclusively intellectual, and it is true that 18th cent. deism and rationalism may be regarded as the children of Puritanism. But this strong intellectual tendency was really a virtue, in spite of its limitations. In the States it was the Puritan colonists who cared for education. The colonists of Virginia took no such interest in the subject, as witness the sentence of W. Berkeley, governor of Virginia in 1671 :

'I thank God there are no free schools or printing, and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years.'[2]

After all, the sermon itself, on which the Puritans set such a high value, is an appeal to the reason of the common man, and is an instrument of education. It assumes that religion must capture the head as well as stir the feelings. And so far the Puritan appeal to reason made for a higher intellectual life and activity. The independence of character which Puritanism fostered also helped to produce pioneers in educational reform.

The moral discipline enforced by Puritanism had a considerable reaction upon industry. The Christian life was regarded as essentially an ordered life. The passions were to be under rational control. Puritanism cut men off from wasteful expenditure and worldly pleasure. Forms of indulgence which dissipated both wealth and energy were sternly denounced and repressed. Time and talents were not to be wasted. On the contrary, the Christian's first duty was to make the most of his powers and possessions in whatever might be his calling. Idleness was a sure sign that one's standing in grace was doubtful. No one should be unemployed ; even the man of leisure should find some occupation which would be of service to the common weal. Puritan pressure in these directions certainly tended to develop the spirit of enterprise and industry characteristic of modern capitalism. Both by inculcating frugality and by strengthening home ties, Puritanism encouraged thrift and the accumulation of capital. Moreover, by insisting on a careful use of time and on self-control, it helped to form those regular habits on which the conduct of modern industry depends. The business virtues, viz. honesty, punctuality, and steady application to work, were reinforced by the ethic of Puritanism. Once again, the emphasis on personal responsibility which was characteristic of the movement served to make men bring an independent judgment to bear on their business problems, and so increased the power of individual initiative. After 1662 the influence of Puritanism was thrown still more clearly on the side of economic freedom. For the Puritans, having lost power, naturally distrusted State control, while they were in any case convinced opponents of State absolutism. Their first concern was toleration, and they became the champions of the movement for limiting State interference in every direction.[3]

(*f*) *Puritanism and art.* — The relations of Puritanism to art and literature are not easy to define. The movement has been wrongly held responsible for the general degradation in taste, especially in architecture, which took place in the 18th century. Much vandalism has been attributed to Puritans in which they only shared or did not share at all.[1] It is of course clear that Puritanism tended to dissociate itself from certain forms of art, particularly the dramatic art and the stage, which it treated as hopelessly corrupt, and whose moral recovery it consequently tended to retard. It is also of the essence of Puritanism that it depreciated the outward. Calvinism has been called 'the ugliest of all religions.'[2] Its symbolism is of the plainest. Dependence on the outward is discouraged. The central emphasis on God's righteousness still further contributed to a neglect and a distrust of the merely beautiful. The Puritan was intensely preoccupied with moral issues, and, as a result of the Puritan tradition, many have neglected and stunted the artistic sides of their nature. And yet this very concentration on the moral life and on the supremacy of God's righteousness has not been without its vivifying influence on art and literature. The deepening of the inner life due to Puritanism was bound to find expression.

'Puritanism in itself is ill-fitted to produce a great art. Yet the inward life of the soul may be intense and the more intense because it does not readily distribute itself through appointed forms ; and absorbing thoughts and passions cannot fail in some way to discover or to create that outward vehicle through which alone they can secure a complete self-realisation.'[3]

Nor is the self-discipline of the Puritan unfavourable to art.

'For the maintenance of high passion the habit of moral restraint is in the long run more favourable than the habit of moral relaxation.'[4]

And it may be urged that, in the last resort, art reaches its highest achievements precisely through the practice of moral renunciation, *i.e.* through the Puritan acknowledgment of the supremacy of God's righteousness.

'No man does real justice to beauty till he feel the moral beauty of resisting beauty—upon due occasion. There is something incomplete in artistic taste till it see, with so great an artist as Plato, the beauty of Puritanism.'[5]

4. **Summary.**—To sum up, the Puritans stood for an ecclesiastical ideal, the chief importance of which lay in asserting that the Church must not be made the tool of the State. In thus maintaining the independence of the Church, and also the necessity of a democratic element in Church government, the Puritans promoted constitutional liberty and very powerfully influenced British ideals of government. These ideals they carried with them into the colonies which they founded in America, where their conception of Church and of State found freer expression. Through the United States Puritanism has perhaps exerted an even greater influence on the Anglo-Saxon world than it has through its effects on British character. By means of a definite if narrow theology Puritanism has shaped the thinking of generations of Englishmen on the great themes of religion. By its insistence on strict self-discipline it has inculcated 'a steady and almost stolid dutifulness,' which has expressed itself largely in industry and in industrial progress, but which is apparent in all professions and careers in the men and women who have come under the influence of the Puritan tradition. If Puritanism has favoured the growth of democracy, it has also developed those qualities of self-control and of devotion to duty without which no democracy can be preserved from corruption. In temper and outlook Puritanism has shown some of the defects associated with the somewhat parallel Jewish movement known as Pharisaism. The Puritans leaned too much to the OT. Their belief in

[1] See Irene Parker, *Dissenting Academies in England*, Cambridge, 1914.
[2] Cf. D. Campbell, *The Puritan*, i. 32.
[3] See on this subject Max Weber, 'The Ethic of Protestantism and the Spirit of Capitalism,' two artt. in *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft*, xx. [1903], xxi. [1904] ; E. Troeltsch, *Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen*, Tübingen, 1912 ; H. Levy, *Economic Liberalism*, London, 1913 ; and an essay by H. G. Wood, in *Property : its Rights and Duties*, London, 1915.

[1] See J. Crouch, *Puritanism and Art*, London, 1910.
[2] Tiele, *ap.* W. B. Selbie, *Life of A. M. Fairbairn*, London, 1914, p. 105.
[3] Dowden, p. 9. [4] *Ib.* p. 30.
[5] P. T. Forsyth, *Christ on Parnassus*, London, 1913, p. 280.

original sin led to a too sweeping depreciation of human nature and to harsh, unsympathetic judgments on opponents. Their religion tended to lack gladness, and their 'cardinal error lay in a narrow conception of God as the God of righteousness alone, and not as also the God of joy and beauty and intellectual light.'[1] But no movement of religious thought could fail to ennoble human life and to possess permanent worth which, like Puritanism, was inspired with the conception of the chief end of man as being to glorify God and enjoy Him for ever.

LITERATURE.—Besides the works mentioned in the article, the following should be consulted: i. *GENERAL HISTORIES.*—D. Neal, *The Hist. of the Puritans*, 3 vols., London, 1837; B. Brook, *The Lives of the Puritans, to 1662*, 3 vols., do. 1813; J. B. Marsden, *Hist. of the Early Puritans, to 1642*, do. 1850, *Hist. of the Later Puritans, 1642–62*, do. 1852; W. H. Frere, *The English Church in the Reigns of Elizabeth and James I. (1558–1625)* (=*Hist. of Eng. Church*, v.), do. 1904; W. H. Hutton, *The English Church from the Accession of Charles I. to the Death of Anne (1625–1714)* (=*Hist. of Eng. Church*, vi.), do. 1903; J. Brown, *The English Puritans* (Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature), Cambridge, 1910.
ii. *ELIZABETHAN PURITANISM.*—*The Seconde Parte of a Register*, ed. A. Peel, 2 vols., Cambridge, 1915; R. G. Usher, *The Presbyterian Movement, 1582–89*, London, 1905; W. Pierce, *An Hist. Introd. to the Marprelate Tracts*, do. 1908; *The Marprelate Tracts*, ed. W. Pierce, do. 1911.
iii. *PURITANISM IN STUART PERIOD AND COMMONWEALTH.*—W. A. Shaw, *Hist. of the English Church during the Civil Wars and under the Commonwealth, 1640–60*, 2 vols., London, 1900; G. B. Tatham, *The Puritans in Power*, Cambridge, 1913, *Dr. J. Walker and the Sufferings of the Clergy*, do. 1911; E. Calamy, *Abridgement of Richard Baxter's Hist. of his Life and Times*[2], do. 1713; S. R. Gardiner, *The first two Stuarts and the Puritan Revolution, 1603–60*[3], do. 1888.

H. G. WOOD.

PURITY.—A fine passage from the works of the Cambridge Platonist Henry More (1614–87) will give a good idea of the wide meaning which the gospel attaches to the word 'purity':

'By purity I understand a due moderation and rule over all the joys and pleasures of the flesh, bearing so strict an hand and having so watchful an eye over their subtle enticements and allurements and so firm and loyal affection to that idea of celestial beauty set up in our minds, that neither the pains of the body nor the pleasures of the animal life shall ever work us below our spiritual happiness and all the compatible enjoyments of that life that is truly Divine; and in this conspicuously is contained whatever either moral temperance or fortitude can pretend to.'[2]

To this large conception of the meaning of purity corresponds the view of Augustine that the purity of heart mentioned in Mt 5[8] means single-heartedness or simplicity:

'Hoc est mundum cor quod est simplex cor.'[3] 'Ille est vere castus qui Deum attendit, et ad ipsum solum se tenet.'[4]

It thus appears that 'purity,' like 'temperance' and 'sobriety,' has, properly speaking, a wider sense than is usually connected with the word. It connotes the singleness or simplicity of a nature which finds the perfect satisfaction of its desires in God. The opposite of purity is uncontrolled or misdirected desire; and the characteristic reward of purity is the vision which is man's true life: 'Vita hominis visio Dei.'[5]

The origin and usage of the word are sufficiently dealt with in *HDB*, *s.v.* It will suffice to recall the obvious fact that the idea of purity, like that of holiness, gradually passed over from the material and ceremonial sphere into the range of ethical ideas; the notion of outward consecration or dedication to the service of the Deity gave way in process of time to that of inward sanctity. In this process the teaching of the Hebrew prophets played a conspicuous part.[1] The culminating point is perhaps marked in our Lord's teaching recorded in Mk 7[14-23] (Mt 15[10-20]). Christ's saying about the thing that 'defileth a man' in fact distinguishes between two spheres, the physical and the spiritual, which men had hitherto tended to confuse. Henceforth, as Christians were led to perceive, '"pollution" (τὸ κοινοῦσθαι) in the sense contemplated by the Scribes can be predicated only of that which affects man's moral nature.'[2] It is interesting to trace anticipations of this principle in ancient writers—*e.g.*, Cicero:

'Caste jubet lex adire ad deos, animo videlicet, in quo sunt omnia: nec tollit castimoniam corporis; sed hoc oportet intelligi, cum multum animus corpori praestet, observeturque, ut casta corpora adhibeantur, multo esse in animis id servandum magis. Nam incestum vel aspersione aquae vel dierum numero tollitur; animi labes nec diuturnitate evanescere nec amnibus ullis elui potest.'[3]

As in the case of other virtues which re-appear in Christian ethics, the idea of purity directly depends upon the Christian conception of God as a Being to whom 'all hearts are open and all desires known.'[4]

1. Purity in the narrow sense of freedom from sensual pollution was a virtue which, before the coming of Christ into the world, held at best a precarious position. Israel cannot be said to have been very far above the general level of the ancient world in this respect. Where polygamy is not condemned, no very high standard of purity can be expected, and grave lapses from chastity in OT times were of frequent occurrence. These were often closely connected with Israel's inveterate tendency to idolatry, and in fact the prophets usually describe the apostasy of the nation as 'adultery' (Hos 2, Jer 3, Ezk 16, etc.). As regards the Gentile world, heathen moralists could inculcate purity only by appealing to self-regarding and prudential motives. They had no resources for taming or restraining the force of human passion. Purity was a virtue of which men despaired. St. Paul in his sombre picture of heathen degradation regards the Gentiles as actually given over to an abandoned mind (Ro 1[24-28], Eph 4[19] 5[11f.]). Religion itself was corrupted at the source; the current mythology was a chief factor in the general demoralization. The better elements in the ancient religion passed over into the mysteries (*q.v.*), which at least appealed to the sense of moral defilement, though they could not appease it. These bore their own imperfect witness to the truth that purity of life was needed for acceptable approach to God.

Now, Christianity dealt with the evil which was too strong for the heathen world by re-emphasizing, with sanctions peculiar to itself, the Stoic doctrine of the sanctity of the human body. Seneca had spoken of God as 'near us, with us, within us,' 'lodging in the human body.'[5] Epictetus had said:

'Thou bearest God about with thee, within thyself; and thou dost not realize that thou art outraging Him with thy impure thoughts and thine unclean deeds, . . . God Himself being present within thee and overlooking and overhearing all,' etc.[6]

St Paul points to the body as the actual 'temple' of the Holy Spirit (1 Co 6[19]); the bodies which are misused in sin are 'the members of Christ' (1 Co 6[15]). The sin of uncleanness does despite to the indwelling presence of the Spirit; it outrages that nature which the Son of God made His own and hallowed by contact with His deity; henceforth

1 Dowden, p. 11.
2 'Of the Divine Life,' ch. xii. (*Theol. Works*, London, 1708, p. 37).
3 *De Serm. Dom. in Monte*, I. ii. 8.
4 *De Beata Vita*, 18; *cf.* John Smith, *Select Discourses*, London, 1660, p. 432: 'Every particular good is a blossom of the First Goodness; every created excellency is a beam descending from the Father of lights; and, should we separate all these *particularities* from God, all affection spent upon them would be uncha ste and their embraces adulterous. We should love all things in God, and God in all things, because He is all in all, the beginning and original of being, the perfect idea of their goodness and the end of their motion.'
5 Iren. IV. xx. 7

1 See *HDB*, *s.vv.* 'Unclean, Uncleanness,' 'Holiness.'
2 H. B. Swete, *The Gospel according to St. Mark*[2], London, 1902, p. 152, on Mk 7[18 f.].
3 *De Leg.* II. x. 24.
4 See R. C. Trench, *Synonyms of the NT*, Cambridge, 1854 § lxxxv., εἰλικρινής, καθαρός.
5 *Ep. Mor.* xli., xxxi., quoted in J. B. Lightfoot, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians*[4], London, 1878, p. 280.
6 *Diss.* II. viii. 11 f., quoted in Lightfoot, p. 314 f.

the body is 'for the Lord, and the Lord for the body' (1 Co 6[13]). We find an echo of this language in Tertullian's passionate assertion of the sanctity and dignity of the material which the Son of God has condescended to assume and to hallow.

'God forbid that He should abandon to everlasting destruction the labour of His own hands, the object of His care, the receptacle of His own Spirit, the queen of His creation, the heir of His liberality, the priestess of His religion, the soldier of His testimony, the sister of His Christ.'[1]

Christian purity is in fact sanctioned by motives peculiar to the religion of the Crucified. It forms a part of that self-control (ἐγκράτεια) which is the most characteristic element in Christian morality, and which was 'primarily identified with sexual purity, and then extended to include renunciation of the world and mortification of the flesh.'[2] Purity is the spirit which strives to bring every bodily impulse, every affection, every passion, every faculty—thought, imagination, memory—into subjection to Christ. But it is important to remember that purity implies not mere abstinence from illicit pleasure but the positive dominion of the Holy Spirit in man. The way to purity lies through the practice of self-control in all things great and small (1 Co 9[25]). This is pointed out more at length elsewhere (see art. TEMPERANCE).

There are certain safeguards of purity which may be mentioned here.

(*a*) Of *religious faith* something has already been said. The gospel supplied a new and powerful motive to purity in teaching the sanctity of the body, hallowed by the Incarnation and redeemed by the Passion of the Son of God. That which He had worn as a vesture, exalted to the throne of heaven and made the temple of the Spirit, could no longer be employed as an instrument of sin (Ro 6[11-13]).

The prominence of this doctrine in the NT is a proof of 'the intense desire which religion has to protect the founts of life against whatever might destroy, waste, or pollute them.' Christianity 'erects a sacred fence round the most dangerous places in our life.' It does not despise the body, but labours 'to preserve and increase vitality. With this motive, it visits with its sternest censure any assertions of the individual's right "to do what he will with his own" body.'[3]

Further, if purity implies the right direction of desire, the gospel brought to bear upon the force of passion 'the expulsive power of a new affection' in so far as it inspired and developed the love of God and of man for God's sake.

(*b*) Christ's law of *mortification* has an obvious bearing on the process of self-purification. 'If thine eye offend thee, pluck it out.' Mortification implies something more than mere self-restraint, the habit of which in other matters is so essential a condition of victory over fleshly sin. It implies the cutting off of even innocent pleasures that are found perilous to purity. It implies the use of what Jeremy Taylor[4] calls 'some rudenesses' towards the body (cf. 1 Co 9[27], ὑπωπιάζω, δουλαγωγῶ) —spare diet, occasional fasting, habitual abstinence, and other wholesome austerities; it means also continual watchfulness against the beginnings and least occasions of evil.

(*c*) *Occupation* is also a valuable and necessary safeguard. While sloth and ease are the frequent forerunners of impurity, any kind of employment which leaves few vacant spaces of time is of great benefit.

(*d*) Of the power of *prayer* and of the recollection of the Divine presence it is needless to speak. Without them purity in its perfectness is impossible. One particular remedy may, however, be mentioned, namely, recollection of the sympathy of Christ with the tempted. He has felt the full pressure of temptation, yet without sin (He 4[15]), and one great aid to purity is the thought of His example, of the travail which He underwent in order to be made in all things like unto His brethren, and of the cross on which He endured the open shame which is the appropriate penalty of secret sin (He 12[2]).

(*e*) Finally, we must bear in mind that the desire which occasions the sin of impurity finds its appropriate hallowing in marriage.

'Honourable marriage hath a natural efficacy, besides a virtue by divine blessing, to cure the inconveniences which otherwise might afflict persons temperate and sober.'[1]

2. Purity in the larger sense is virtually equivalent to 'simplicity' or 'single-mindedness.'

'It carries on to the whole of our nature that watchful reserve and restraint which it imposes upon the body.'[2]

Purity means the integrity of a will dedicated to God in perfect simplicity of purpose; it implies not the sacrifice of innocent desires, but the consecration of them; not the effort to acquire a single virtue, such as chastity or purity in the narrower sense, but the striving after goodness in the widest sense. Purity of intention consists in seeking to please God in all things and to make His glory the object of every act and word. The pure heart is that which is continually seeking God, passing through all things onwards and upwards to God, embracing one only object of life, and holding fast to a single purpose amid the bewildering multiplicity of calls and duties, claims and responsibilities, which make life difficult and complex. The pure heart is undivided, undistracted, unsophisticated. It imparts to character that 'moral unity' which Christ in a supreme degree exhibits, the unity which springs from devotion to a single end—the love and service of God.

And the reward of this purity is vision, insight, illumination (Mt 5[8]). 'Cor purum penetrat caelum et infernum.'[3] Aquinas connects the beatitude 'Beati mundo corde,' etc., with the Holy Spirit's gift of 'understanding.' The reward of purity is a certain freedom from intellectual illusion and error; by purity of heart, 'etsi non videamus de Deo quid est, videmus tamen quid non est.'[4] The perfect vision which shall satisfy not only the intellect but every element in man's complex nature is the consummation of a process that begins in this life—the cleansing of the heart and conscience from all lower aims than the service of God. Purity, in fact, in its completeness is the effect on the character of true faith in God (Ac 15[9]), the faith that works by love (Gal 5[6]). So Bernard makes it to consist in two things which are both different aspects of love: 'in quaerenda gloria Dei et utilitate proximi.'[5] For purity is, as we have already noticed, not mere abstinence, not the mere cleansing of the heart from wrong or inordinate desires, but desire or love directed aright, and finding in God and His service the one true and satisfying end of human life. The pure heart seeks not God's gifts merely, but Himself. It thinks of Him as the only adequate response to the deepest yearnings of human nature. It believes that what He is, rather than what He gives, is the true life of man.

'Ille non aliquid ex iis quae condidit; sed se ipsum tibi dat ad fruendum, se ipsum omnium conditorem.'[6]

LITERATURE.—Art. 'Keuschheit' in *PRE*[3]; Augustine and others on the Sermon on the Mount; G. Congreve, *Christian Life*, London, 1899; F. W. Robertson, *Sermons*, ser. iii., do. 1876, no. 10; E. Caird, *Lay Sermons and Addresses*, do. 1907, p. 205 ff.; W. P. du Bose, *The Gospel in the Gospels*, do. 1906, p. 112 ff.

R. L. OTTLEY.

[1] *De Resurr. Carn.* 9.
[2] A. Harnack, *The Expansion of Christianity*, Eng. tr., London, 1904, i. 111.
[3] W. R. Inge, *Truth and Falsehood in Religion*, London, 1906, p. 74.
[4] *Holy Living*, ch. ii. sect. 3.

[1] J. Taylor, *Holy Living*, ch. ii. sect. 3, *ad fin.*
[2] G. Congreve, *Parable of the Ten Virgins*, London, 1904, p. 108.
[3] Thomas à Kempis, *de Imit. Christi*, ii.
[4] *Summa*, II. ii. qu. viii. art. 7, resp.
[5] *De Mor. et Off. episc.* iii. 10.
[6] Aug. *Serm.* cclix.. 'in Oct. Pasch.,' 3.

PURUṢA.—*Puruṣa* signifies in Sanskrit 'man,' then 'the living principle in men and in other beings,' and finally 'the supreme Spirit,' both the supreme personal God of theism and the impersonal world-soul in a pantheistic sense.

As early as the Rigveda (x. 90) there is found a hymn, which reappears with several variations in later Vedic texts, wherein the *puruṣa* is described as the primeval Being, as the personification and starting-point of the whole universe. The heavens, the atmosphere, and the earth proceed forth from the *puruṣa*, also the sun and moon, gods, men, and animals. From the head, the arms, the legs, and the feet of the *puruṣa* respectively are derived (according to vv. 11, 12) the four castes of men, which are here mentioned for the first time in Indian literature. Since in this hymn, though only in mythological fashion, the thought of man's identity with the universe is expressed, we may see in it an anticipation of the main teaching of the Upaniṣads and the Vedānta (*qq.v.*), that is, of the doctrine of the essential identity of the inner man, the soul, with Brahman, or the soul of the universe.

In the philosophical systems of India the word *puruṣa* is used in the same sense as the more common *ātman* to denote the souls of living beings; and this is done independently of the particular meaning attached to the word, whether, as in the Vedānta, the individual souls are conceived as one with the indivisible soul of the universe or, as in the Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Vaiśeṣika, Nyāya (*qq.v.*), as existing in infinite numbers.

LITERATURE.—P. Deussen, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Philosophie*, Leipzig, 1894, i. 1, pp. 150 ff., 288 ff., Eng. tr., *The Philosophy of the Upanishads*, Edinburgh, 1906; F. Max Müller, *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, London, 1899, pp. 331–343.

R. GARBE.

PUSEY.—Edward Bouverie Pusey (1800–82), scholar and divine and leader of the Oxford Movement (*q.v.*) in the Church of England, later known as the Catholic Revival, was regius professor of Hebrew in the University of Oxford from 1828 to his death. This crown appointment, combining with it a canonry of Christ Church, gave him a central and independent position, from which he was able, by books, sermons, and individual personal dealings, to give a unity of character and aim to the Movement, both in its earlier and to a great extent also in its later phases.

1. His place in English life.—Pusey was by birth an English gentleman 'of the old school' (cf. the anecdote in Liddon's *Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey*, i. 186), and it may be said that some of the best influences of his time had combined in the formation of his mind and character. He was one of the first English theologians to study German, and in two long visits to Berlin, Bonn, and Göttingen in 1825-27 he worked under Freytag, Ewald, Tholuck, Schleiermacher, and Eichhorn, and came to know what scholarship meant to them.

'From Eichhorn Pusey learnt the vastness of the world of modern learning and the standard of work which was necessary in order to explore it. When in later years he would say, "A German professor would think nothing of doing so and so," he meant Eichhorn' (Liddon, i. 74).

Pusey was a fellow of Oriel at the time when this common-room was the intellectual centre of Oxford, and until his wife's death in 1839 he mixed freely in all the varied life of the university. Even in the deep seclusion from ordinary society which he inflicted upon himself after that date he was in touch through his family with the life of the English upper classes, and such sermons as that entitled 'Why did Dives lose his Soul?' (preached in All Saints', Margaret Street, on Ash Wednesday, 1865), or 'Our Pharisaism' (delivered in St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, on Ash Wednesday, 1868), show his unerring insight into their spiritual needs. This is an important element in Pusey's life, which has not always been sufficiently recognized. In social life no less than in scholarship he was a man whom none could patronize or despise, and he knew how to speak to Victorian society about its vulgarity and worldliness with a searching directness which could not be evaded or ignored (cf. his rebuke to a lady in *Spiritual Letters of Edward Bouverie Pusey*, London, 1898, p. 77, and to the heads of houses in Oxford for their luxury [Liddon, ii. 110]). Students of 19th cent. manners would find a great deal of material in his sermons. In Liddon's *Life*, i. 51, there is a charming account of Lady Emily Herbert, who was married to his brother Philip in 1822, and of her relations with Pusey, which helps to put this side of his life into true perspective.

2. His part in the Oxford Movement.—In the Church revival which began in 1833 the acknowledged leaders were Pusey, Keble, and Newman, and Pusey's special part in the work may best be understood by comparing his mind and temperament with those of his two friends. Imagine, then, a young man, interested in religion, but inclined to scepticism, coming into contact with the three leaders of the Movement in its early days, and starting some controversial subject, such as the difficulty of believing that there can be only one true Church. Keble, we can imagine, jealous for the truth of God, and looking at the matter from a high mystical plane, would make some shrewd and unanswerable remark in very simple language, which would silence and perhaps somewhat abash the questioner, even if it did not altogether convince him. Newman would instantly throw his mind sympathetically into the problem, and work it out speculatively, as if trying to arrive at the truth about it for himself. Pusey, on the other hand, would concentrate his attention on the questioner, would study his character, and begin to try to convince him of the truth. He had, that is to say, pre-eminently the mind of a pastor, and had no taste or capacity for speculation. Thus in a religious movement his would not be the mind to originate the ideas, or even to give them striking expression. His work would be to translate them into action and to press them upon men's attention. Pusey's eminence lies in his immense strength of character and of conviction. To this he added very great learning, and the power of bringing it to bear upon the matter in hand in that cumulative and somewhat uncritical manner which was more controversially effective in those days than it would be in ours.

'Pusey,' said R. W. Church, commenting on the significance of his adhesion to the original Tract writers, 'knew the meaning of real learning. In controversy it was his sledge-hammer and battle-mace, and he had the strong and sinewy hand to use it with effect' (quoted in Liddon, i. 358).

The most striking contemporary appreciation of his personality and influence is in an essay by J. B. Mozley about the sermon which he preached on 'The entire Absolution of the Penitent,' at the close of his two years' suspension (1st Feb. 1846).[1]

The religious principles and ideas which it was Pusey's work to press home in this way into the unresponsive soil of Victorian England were not anything which he had acquired as the result of a sudden conversion; nor had they been adopted in any way as a working hypothesis to be tested by their success; they were part and parcel of his whole self, acquired by tradition in childhood, and confirmed by all the experiences and studies of early manhood. He never had any temptation to doubt, and was always in the mental position of a teacher. If the truth which he thus held so con-

[1] Liddon, iii. 59, and J. B. Mozley, *Essays, Historical and Theological*[2], i., London, 1884.

fidently were attacked, his nature would rise up to defend it with all the ardour of a crusader, and he would be ready to face all reverses and difficulties with the uncompromising courage of an early Christian martyr. Church's judgment about him was that he was 'a man after all to rank with religious leaders of high mark in all ages.'[1] His temperament was thus essentially that of the ecclesiastic, and he was mercilessly severe to anything that seemed to him like a dilettante attitude towards religion, but genuine unbelief he was quite able to understand and to meet sympathetically. While still an undergraduate, he had tried unsuccessfully to win an old school friend from atheism, and this experience left a deep and very important mark upon him (Liddon, i. 46). It is true, indeed, of all the early Tractarians that they felt themselves to be striving not for the triumph of one particular form of Christianity, but for the maintenance of genuine religion as a whole. In this they were far in advance of their time, and it is one reason perhaps for the strong prejudice which they had to overcome. Soldiers are not popular in countries which think themselves secure (cf. the striking speech made by Lord Salisbury after Pusey's death [Liddon, iv. 391 f.]). This may have been also in part a cause of that simplicity in Pusey's outlook which made him, as a Roman Catholic writer says, unable ever 'to calculate the effect of his arguments on any who differed from him.'[2] With this directness and intensity of character he combined an equally strong capacity for affection. The controversies and work of the Tractarians must never be thought of apart from that *ἐκτένης ἀγάπη* (1 P 4^8) which bound them to each other, and the refined family life which was the permanent background of all their activities. The movement had indeed its centre in a university, but there was none of that easy tolerance or that cold-blooded aloofness from the real world in its leaders which make religious people rightly suspicious of the word 'academic.'

3. Theological position.—The foregoing considerations are necessary for a right understanding of Pusey's theology. The Tractarians were practical religious reformers, and the moral struggle against unbelief was always before them. They were never sitting, as it were, calmly in the study, as historians or critics or compilers of dogmatic systems. They were not, like the Scholastics, the products of a settled ecclesiastical world, nor, like the modern Biblical scholar, did they stand aside from the problems of practical religious endeavour. Their theological work was all called out by the needs of a religious revival and by the combat with teachers whom they felt to be hindering it.

Pusey's lasting contribution to the religious thought of his time is the conception of Christianity as being necessarily a single whole. This was the natural result of the apologetic preoccupation noticed above. God is one, and Jesus Christ is one, and the Word of God through Jesus Christ is one. So also must be the life of the Church and the faith of the Church. These are almost commonplace assumptions with Christians nowadays, but they are to a very great extent the legacy of the Tractarians and the result of the conflict of the Tractarians with the leading tendencies of their time. A recent Broad Church writer, V. F. Storr, charges Pusey and the other Tractarian leaders with having had a narrow outlook on their time, with being out of sympathy with its aims, and lacking insight into its fresh problems.

'For them, theology was not the science of the living God who was fulfilling Himself in many ways, but rather the formal study of the defined beliefs of the Christian Church at a certain period of its existence: a period which they assumed was to be the norm and pattern for all time. The object of their endeavour was, confessedly, not to construct a new theology, but to recover an old one' (*The Development of English Theology in the Nineteenth Century, 1800–1860*, London, 1913, p. 257).

To write like this is to be blind to the whole moral aim and achievement of the Oxford Movement on its theological side. It is like blaming pioneers among brushwood for not raising crops as quickly as their neighbours on the prairie. Pusey and his friends found the ground occupied by the two formidable obstacles of Bible-worship and rationalism, and they had not only to expose their logical weaknesses, but also to overcome the obstinate self-satisfaction with which they were rooted in men's minds. Pusey's careful study of the way in which Christian thought in Germany was being dissolved by rationalism made him keen to observe its symptoms elsewhere, and in his first big work, the tract on baptism,[1] he pointed out in masterly fashion that the evangelical appeal to the Bible suffered from precisely the same logical inconsistencies.

By rationalism he meant, says his biographer, 'that attitude of mind which allows Reason to limit the possibilities of Revelation, instead of confining itself to its legitimate work of testing its evidence and understanding its moral weight' (Liddon, iv. 4).

And in his first public controversy, in 1836—the protest against the appointment of R. D. Hampden as regius professor of divinity—Pusey defined the principle of rationalism, against which they were fighting, thus:

'The assumption that uncontrolled human reason in its present degraded form is the primary interpreter of God's Word, without any regard to those rules or principles of interpretation which have guided the judgments of Christ's Holy Catholic Church in all ages of its history and under every variety of its warfare' (*ib.* i. 378).

That the evangelicals were logically not different from the rationalists he showed from their rejection of the plain sacramental teaching of Holy Scripture on the subject of baptism (*ib.* i. ch. xv.) because it does not fit in with their preconceived notions of 'spiritual' or 'gospel' truth.

'A great deal of the Bible,' he declared, 'is thus nowadays read with what, if men examined it, they would find to be the very spirit of unbelief' (*Scriptural Views of Holy Baptism*, p. 150).

He argued that the evangelicals, in that they rejected the sacramental view of baptism, while accepting the doctrine of the Incarnation, 'although the one doctrine is declared in Holy Scripture as explicitly, as incidentally and as variously' as the other, were applying a rationalistic 'solvent' to the totality of Bible truth. This eclectic method of dealing with the Bible was justified in evangelical circles on the ground that they were fixing their attention upon the 'kernel' of the gospel. Pusey meets this contention in a finely indignant passage, which might be quoted as a motto for the whole Tractarian teaching:

'I would by the way,' he says, 'protest against such illustrations, whereby men, too commonly, embolden themselves to call any portion of God's institution for our salvation "husk" or "shell" or the like; let it seem to us never so external, it can in no stage of the Christian course be dispensed with, which these similitudes would imply. Rather if we use any image, we might better speak of the whole Gospel as an elixir of immortality, whereof some ingredients may be more powerful than the rest, but the efficacy of the whole depends upon the attemperament of the several portions; and we, who formed neither our own souls, nor this cure for them, dare not speak slightingly of the necessity of any portion' (*ib.* p. 5, quoted from *Tracts for the Times*[4], London, 1842, vol. ii. pt. ii.).

4. The appeal to antiquity.—Pusey's primary contention, in other words, was that Christian truth must be treated as a whole, and that it must be approached, like any other subject-matter, with a scientific submission to fact and in a historical spirit, instead of with arbitrary assumptions. However much men may differ from him as to the application of these principles, they should at any

[1] *Life and Letters of Dean Church*, London, 1895, p. 182.
[2] W. Barry, 'Pusey and Puseyism,' in *CE* xii. 583.

[1] *Scriptural Views of Holy Baptism*, Oxford, 1835 (containing nos. 67, 68, and 69 of the *Tracts for the Times*).

rate give him credit for having in this way cleared the ground for the intelligent modern study of theology.

Every one in that day looked on the Bible as the source of religious truth, and for the most part he did not need to go behind that. Pusey's contention merely was that the Bible must be studied in its proper historical context of the early undivided Church. If it were objected to him by Evangelicals that by this deference to the Fathers he was thereby setting up an authority other than that of Holy Scripture, he would answer:

'The contrast in point of authority is not between Holy Scripture and the Fathers, but between the Fathers and *us*; not between the book interpreted and the interpreters, but between one class of interpreters and another; between ancient Catholic truth and modern private opinions; not between the Word of God and the word of man, but between varying modes of understanding the Word of God' (Liddon, i. 418).

This appeal to antiquity was not with Pusey, it should be noticed, something that could be applied in a mechanical way. It was an appeal to the whole mind of an age 'which had deeper and truer thoughts, an altogether deeper way of viewing things than moderns' (*ib.* i. 410), and the early Christian writers are of permanent value not as supplying an infallible authority in matters of either faith or practice, but as being a great reservoir of true Christianity, in which those who would understand Holy Scripture for themselves should first be steeped. This standard is, of course, very difficult to apply to individual questions at any particular moment, and is perhaps difficult to defend in the face of a hard unsympathetic logic, whether from Roman Catholics or from sceptics, but Pusey believed that it represents a truly spiritual and theologically satisfactory conception of the authority of the Church, within which all that is true both in Romanism and in Protestantism is seen to be embraced. The effect of this line of thought upon an able young man who had been brought up as a Methodist may be seen in Gregory's autobiography,[1] and a clear sketch of the practical conclusions to which it led is given in a letter of Pusey's in 1840 answering the question, 'What is Puseyism?' (Liddon, ii. 140). For an account of the 'Library of the Fathers,' edited by Pusey and his friends, in order to make the chief Patristic writings available for English readers, see *ib.* i. ch. xviii.

5. Attitude towards science and criticism.—Within the limits of space available in a work like the present it has seemed better to draw out these broader aspects of Pusey's teaching than to go into the detailed controversies which accompanied the application of his principles to the life of the Church of England. A list of the main controversies is given for reference below.

The Oxford Movement proper was previous to the theological difficulties connected with evolution and other scientific hypotheses, and Pusey was the only one of its leaders who lived on into that new period. He describes the change that had taken place in thought in an interesting letter to his old pupil J. B. Mozley when he returned to Oxford in 1871 as regius professor of divinity (*ib.* iv. 221). Pusey was always a good friend to the teaching of natural science when he felt it was not being used to undermine religion, and he was much more alive to its importance than many of the 'liberal' theologians of his time. In 1855 the final vote of £30,000 for the construction of the museum at Oxford would have been lost if he and his friends had not supported it (*ib.* iv. 332). One of his last sermons bore the characteristically cumbrous title *Un-science, not Science, adverse to Faith* (London, 1878), and is described by his biographer with good reason 'as a permanent and most valuable contribution to the right understanding of the relations between Religion and Science' (Liddon, iv. 335; cf. p. 80). In regard to the science of Biblical criticism Pusey, it is well known, withdrew his first book, *The Theology of Germany*, from circulation (*ib.* i. 175) and never relaxed from an attitude of inflexible conservatism. It should be noted, however, that this was due not to any obscurantist aversion to free inquiry, but, like everything else in his life, to his preoccupation with practical religion and to his convictions about the truth and unity of the Christian Revelation. The new views, he felt, were in large measure the products of an intellectual atmosphere in which the truth of the Incarnation was ignored or denied, and the writers tended to be 'totally insensible to the religious import' of the literature with which they were dealing (*ib.* i. 73, iv. 65, 74). His 'Fabian tactics' in regard to their work have probably contributed much more than would often be acknowledged towards the creation of the far more satisfactory atmosphere in which English theologians are able to work to-day.

6. Practical interest in church work.—Pusey's work has left a considerable mark upon the institutions and methods of the Anglican Church, no less than upon her theology. Of these the revival of the 'religious life' is the most remarkable. His desire for sisterhoods sprang perhaps originally from his sense of the spiritual needs of the great cities and of the lack of outlet for the religious energies of unmarried women rather than from any deliberate intention to re-establish monasticism, but his Patristic studies (Liddon, iii. 2) had made him feel that the life of virgin self-consecration was an essential feature of the Catholic tradition, and so the two motives were closely combined. He had made it a subject of prayer for some years, and this seemed to find its first answer in the strong desire of his eldest daughter Lucy, who died in 1844 at the age of 15, to devote herself to a single life and to work for the poor. He wrote from her deathbed to Newman:

'I ventured to give her in charge to pray for us all in the presence of her Redeemer, and, if it might be, for those institutions to which she had herself hoped to belong' (*ib.* ii. 386).

Marian Hughes, who died in 1913 as mother of the Convent of the Holy Trinity in Oxford, dedicated herself to the 'religious life' as early as 1841 (*ib.* iii. 10), and the first community for women was founded on 26th March 1845. Its superior, Miss Langston, was later one of the nurses taken by Florence Nightingale to the Crimea (Maria Trench, *Story of Dr. Pusey's Life*, London, 1900, p. 279). R. M. Benson, the founder of the first revived community for men in 1866, was also one of Pusey's intimate friends (*Letters of Richard Meux Benson*, Oxford, 1916, pp. 6, 206, 328).[1]

Pusey's overwhelming sense of the failure of the Church to minister to the great cities showed itself also in relation to the ordinary parochial system. At the time when he was composing the tract on baptism in 1835 he wrote an article on the need for new churches in London which gave the stimulus to Bishop Blomfield's Metropolitan Churches Fund.[2] He and his wife gave up their carriage, and started to live much more simply in order that he might subscribe to the fund. In 1845 he founded anonymously the Church of St. Saviour's, Leeds, which was consecrated in the same month as Newman seceded, and the course of nineteen sermons which were preached during the octave of the consecration was the first of those 'parochial

[1] *Robert Gregory, 1819–1911: being the Autobiography of Robert Gregory, D.D., Dean of St. Paul's*, London, 1912.

[1] Cf. also Russell's *Dr. Pusey*, 108 ff.; for the only complete account of modern Anglican communities see S. L. Ollard and G. Crosse, *Dictionary of English Church History*, London, 1912.

[2] Liddon, i. 329, and iv. 82.

missions' which have now become an ordinary feature of English church work.[1] In connexion with this absorbing interest in the spiritual welfare of the great cities may be mentioned the personal help that Pusey gave in Bethnal Green during the outbreak of cholera in 1866.[2]

The personal reminiscences recorded by those with whom he worked there give a pleasant and vivid impression of his personality.

'I served on the Committee of the hospital with Dr. Pusey,' wrote a clergyman, 'and very often I met him at the bedside of the patients—simple, tender-hearted, and full of sympathy. If the word "sweet" had not become somewhat canting—I should say there was something inexpressibly sweet in the smile and quiet laughter which so brightened his face when he was pleased and hopeful' (Liddon, iv. 143). This smile of Pusey's, it may be noted, was appreciated also by one who was far from being his admirer in other ways. 'Jenny Lind,' wrote Dean Stanley in 1848, 'has been in Oxford for three days. When animated she is perfectly lovely, and her smile is, with the exception of Dr. Pusey's, the most heavenly I ever beheld' (*Letters of J. B. Mozley*, London, 1885, p. 196; cf. also Liddon, iii. 108).

Pusey's influence upon individuals was very great. From 1838 onwards he heard confessions from persons in every rank of life (Russell, p. 78), and, though strongly opposed to any idea of making private confession compulsory, he used frequently to urge its practical necessity in the case of certain sins.[3] His adaptations of Roman Catholic books of devotion, such as Scupoli's *Spiritual Combat*,[4] though much criticized at the time,[5] have greatly enriched the spiritual life of Anglicans, and helped to break down a great deal of the prejudice which is due to ignorance against the Roman Church. In 1856 he held a devotional conference of clergy for a week in his house, and was one of the pioneers in beginning systematic 'retreats' (*q.v.*).[6] In this connexion also should be mentioned his commentary on *The Minor Prophets* (Oxford, 1877), and his little volume of *Private Prayers* (London, 1883), which shows the simplicity and fervour of his own devotional life. No undertaking for which he was responsible was nearer to his heart than the 'Companions of the Love of Jesus, engaged in Perpetual Intercession for the Conversion of Sinners,' and the volume of *Eleven Addresses* (Oxford, 1868) given in a retreat for this gild would suggest why a place has been sometimes claimed for him among the English saints.[7]

7. Pusey's principal controversies.—

1841–46. Jerusalem bishopric—the relation of the Church of England to Lutheranism.
1843. . His sermon on the Eucharist condemned.
1845. . Letter to the *English Churchman* on Newman's secession.
1846. . The condemned doctrine of the Eucharist reasserted and not challenged—'the power of the keys.'
1847. . The Gorham judgment—the doctrine of baptism.
1854. . The Denison case—the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist.
1860. . *Essays and Reviews.*
1865–70. Reunion with the Roman Church.
1870. . Use of the Athanasian Creed.
1871. . The Purchas case—ritual questions (see also Liddon, iv. ch. viii.). For Pusey's attitude towards changes in religious ceremonial cf. also *ib.* ii. 142, iv. 210, 369.
1873. . Declaration on confession and absolution.
1879. . Dean Farrar's *Eternal Hope.*

LITERATURE.—H. P. Liddon, *Life of Edward Bouverie Pusey*[4], 4 vols., London, 1893–94; G. W. E. Russell, *Dr. Pusey*, 'Leaders of the Church' series, do. 1907 (popular and throwing much fresh light on his personality, esp. chs. xii. and xiii.); a complete bibliography of Pusey's printed books, pamphlets, and sermons is given in Liddon, iv. 395–453. Special mention may be made of *The Church of England leaves her Children free to whom to open their Griefs*[2], Oxford, 1850, *The Doctrine of the Real Presence as contained in the Fathers*, do. 1855, *What is of Faith as to everlasting Punishment?* do. 1880. For letters to the archbishop of Canterbury (1842) and to the bishop of London (1851) see Liddon, ii. 278, iii. 297.

ALBERT WAY.

[1] Liddon, ii. 497. [2] *Ib.* iv. 141. [3] *Ib.* iii. 68, and iv. 265
[4] L. Scupoli, *The Spiritual Combat, with the Path of Paradise*, Eng. tr. [by E. B. Pusey], London, 1846.
[5] Liddon, ii. 394. [6] *Ib.* iii. 377.
[7] Cf. a letter of Newman's about him, quoted in Liddon, i. 389.

PYGMIES.—See DWARFS AND PYGMIES, NEGRILLOS AND NEGRITOS.

PYRRHONISM.—See SCEPTICS.

PYTHAGORAS AND PYTHAGOREANISM.—1. Pythagoras.—Pythagoras was regarded as more than human by the members of the society which he founded, and all differences between them were supposed to be settled by the formula *αὐτὸς ἔφα, ipse dixit.* On the other hand, he had left no written statement of his doctrine, and little more than a century after his death the most divergent accounts of it were already current. We find some Pythagoreans denying that the practice of abstinence formed any part at all of the master's teaching, while others gave it the first place. This divergence seems to have arisen from the ambiguous character of the society, which was from the first at once a religious order and a scientific school. We shall see grounds for thinking that the two things were one in the mind of Pythagoras himself, but the scientific side of his doctrine inevitably attracted some, while others clung to his religious beliefs and practices. By the 4th cent. B.C. the divergence had become so great that it is hard to find anything in common between the two sects except their reverence for the name of Pythagoras. As is natural, we have no direct testimony from the Pythagorists of the strict observance, though the denials of the more enlightened members of the society would sufficiently prove their existence. Fortunately, however, they were a favourite subject of ridicule with the 4th cent. comic poets, and we still have a considerable number of fragments in which they are made fun of for their squalid and penurious ways. It is perfectly plain that they did, as a matter of fact, abstain not only from meat but from fish, and that they wore a peculiar costume and went barefooted. They also looked for a privileged position in the next world, and regarded their present life as a sojourn in a strange land (*ἀποδημία*). For the rest, they are said to have been lousy and dirty, which is the impression that ascetics are apt to make on men of the world.

This is a matter of such importance for the history of Greek religion that it may be well to give translations of a few fragments. The originals will be most readily found in A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *Select Fragments of the Greek Comic Poets* (Oxford, 1900), to which references are added. Aristophon, in his *Pythagorist*, says: 'In heaven's name, do you think the men of former days that turned Pythagorists were so squalid because they liked it, or that they enjoyed wearing coarse cloaks? Not a bit of it, in my opinion. It was from necessity, seeing they hadn't a thing, that they invented a fine pretext for economy, and established canons useful to the poor. Why, serve up to them fish or meat, and if they don't eat it up toes and all, I'm ready to be hanged ten times' (Pickard-Cambridge, p. 69). And again: 'He said he had descended to the dwelling-place of those below and had beheld each class of them, and that the Pythagorists had a great advantage over all the dead. He said that Pluto would eat with them alone because of their piety'—'The god is not particular, then, if he likes to keep company with such dirty fellows!' . . . 'And they eat vegetables and wash them down with water, and none of our young men would put up with their lice and their old cloaks and their avoidance of baths' (*ib.* p. 70). In the *Tarentines* of Alexis, the following dialogue occurred: 'The Pythagorisers, as we are told, neither eat fish nor anything else with life in it (*ἔμψυχον*), and they alone drink no wine.'—'Epicharides eats dogs, though, and he is one of the Pythagoreans.'—'Yes, but he kills them first; for then they no longer have life in them.'—'They live on Pythagorisms and subtle words and chiselled thoughts (*φροντίδες*), and their daily fare is this. A fresh loaf for each and a cup of water, that's all.'—'Why, that is prison fare!' (*ib.* p. 86). Other extracts will be found in Diels, *Vorsokratiker*[3], Berlin, 1912, i. 373. It will be observed that the comic poets of the 4th cent. speak of the Pythagorists very much as Aristophanes speaks of Socrates. The reference of Aristophon to the Descent into Hades (*καταβασις εἰς Ἀιδου*) is of special importance for the reconstruction of the system. The passage about the *ἀποδημία* will be referred to later in another connexion.

On the other side, we have the statements of Aristoxenus of Tarentum, who had been personally acquainted with the leading Pythagoreans of the beginning of the 4th cent. B.C., and who had been

a disciple of the Pythagorean Xenophilus before he joined the school of Aristotle. He affirmed that Pythagoras only enjoined abstinence from the flesh of the ploughing ox and the ram; and, with respect to the mysterious tabu on beans, he said that, as a matter of fact, they were the favourite vegetable of Pythagoras, who valued their laxative properties. He also said that Pythagoras had a weakness for the flesh of young porkers and tender kids. In a similar spirit, though without the characteristic exaggeration of Aristoxenus, Dicæarchus of Messene, another disciple of Aristotle, who maintained even against his master the superiority of the active to the contemplative life, endeavoured to represent Pythagoras as a legislator and statesman.[1] No doubt it is this divergence that accounts for the almost total silence of our earliest authorities about Pythagoras himself. Plato was very deeply interested in Pythagorean doctrine, and it is a very remarkable fact that the name of Pythagoras occurs once only in his writings,[2] and all that we are told in that passage is that he won his followers' affection in an unusual degree (*διαφερόντως ἠγαπήθη*) by teaching them a 'way of life.'

'Even at the present day,' adds Socrates, 'their successors are conspicuous by their manner of life, to which they give the name of Pythagorean.'

So far as it goes, this is evidence that, at the supposed date of the conversation reported in the *Republic*, some time before the close of the 5th cent., the 'Pythagorean life' was known at Athens and regarded as an original part of the system. Even the scientific Pythagoreans are mentioned only once in Plato by that name, in the passage where Socrates is made to say that the Pythagoreans (Πυθαγόρειοι) regard music and astronomy as sister sciences.[3] On the other hand, Plato has a great deal to say about the views of people whom we know from other sources to have been Pythagoreans; the strange thing is that, for all Plato tells us, we should only have been able to guess this even of such leading men as Philolaus and Echecrates. Generally he introduces Pythagorean philosophical views anonymously as those of 'ingenious persons' (*κομψοί τινες*), or the like, and he does not even say that Timæus the Locrian, into whose mouth he has placed an unmistakably Pythagorean cosmology, was a member of the society. We are left to infer it from the fact that he comes from Italy. This reticence must surely be deliberate, and Aristotle imitates his master's caution. The name of Pythagoras occurs only twice in the genuine Aristotelian writings that have come down to us. In one passage[4] we are told that Alcmæon was a young man in the old age of Pythagoras, which is a useful piece of information; the other[5] is a mere quotation from Alcidamas to the effect that 'the men of Italy honoured Pythagoras.' When Aristotle has to discuss definite Pythagorean theories, he uses studiously vague phrases like 'the men of Italy who are called Pythagoreans.' By great good fortune, however, he also wrote a special treatise on the Pythagoreans, which is lost, but is quoted by later writers. These quotations are invaluable; for they are evidence that the miraculous legend of Pythagoras was not, as might have been supposed, the invention of a far later age, but was known at Athens in the 4th century. It may be assumed that Aristotle heard it from some of the Pythagorists of whom the contemporary comic poets made fun. Pythagoreanism was not at all congenial to him, and he probably wished to represent Pythagoras as a charlatan.

1 For references and a discussion of the sources of the traditional life of Pythagoras see Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*[2], London, 1908, p. 102 ff.

2 *Rep.* x. 600 B.

3 *Ib.* vii. 530 D.

4 *Met.* A. 5, 986[a] 29.

5 *Rhet.* B. 23, 1398[b] 14.

The intention of Aristotle seems to be shown by his statement that Pythagoras busied himself with the theory of numbers, but that 'he did not break with the miraclemongering of Pherecydes' (*τῆς Φερεκύδου τερατοποιίας οὐκ ἀπέστη*).[1] At a later date Apollonius of Tyana (*q.v.*) and Iamblichus were delighted to be able to quote Aristotle's authority for the miracles of Pythagoras, and in this way that philosopher unwittingly became one of the founders of Neo-Pythagoreanism—a thing which was enough to make him turn in his grave.

The earliest reference to Pythagoras is a practically contemporary one. Xenophanes, like Pythagoras himself, was one of the Ionian *émigrés* who found a home in the West 'when the Mede appeared'; and some verses from an elegy of his are quoted by Diogenes Laertius,[2] in which we are told of Pythagoras that he once heard a dog howling and appealed to its master not to beat it as he recognized the voice of a departed friend. It is true that Pythagoras is not named in the verses themselves, but Diogenes, or rather the writer from whom he is excerpting, is more than usually precise in his method of citation; for he says that they occurred in the elegy of which the first line is a verse which he quotes. It is clear, then, that he had the whole elegy before him, and he can hardly have been mistaken when he said it referred to Pythagoras. If that is so, we have contemporary evidence of the fact that Pythagoras taught the doctrine of transmigration or rebirth (*παλιγγενεσία*). The verses are satirical, as we should expect from Xenophanes, and the next reference to Pythagoras is hostile too. Heraclitus said of Pythagoras[3] that he had carried scientific inquiry (*ἱστορίη*) farther than any one, that he claimed its results as a wisdom of his own, and turned them into an art of mischief (*κακοτεχνίη*). Later still, though within a century of the time of Pythagoras, Herodotus[4] speaks of him as 'not the weakest sophist (*i.e.* scientific man) of the Hellenes,' and says he had been told by the Greeks of the Hellespont that the legendary Scythian Salmoxis had been a slave of Pythagoras, son of Mnesarchus, at Samos, and had learnt from him the strange doctrine of immortality. Herodotus does not believe this, for he is of opinion that Salmoxis lived many years before Pythagoras; but the story is evidence that Pythagoras was well known in the 5th cent. both as a man of science and as a preacher of immortality, and that is what we want to know.

The Life of Pythagoras by Diogenes Laertius is a farrago of Alexandrian erudition and speculation, while those by Porphyry and Iamblichus are subsequent to the romantic reconstruction of the story by Apollonius of Tyana. They all contain, however, a good deal of material derived from Aristoxenus and Dicæarchus, which may embody genuine tradition in such statements as have no connexion with the particular views regarding Pythagoras which they were anxious to propagate. The historical setting came mainly from Timæus of Tauromenium in Sicily, who was anything but a trustworthy historian, but who had special means of access to original sources for the history of the West. The facts that we can really be said to know may be very briefly stated. Pythagoras, son of Mnesarchus, was a Samian, and the period of his activity fell in the second half of the 6th century B.C. According to Aristoxenus, he emigrated from Samos because he would not submit to the tyranny of Polycrates, which seems probable enough, though we do not require any special explanation for the emigration of Ionians to the west at this date. He found a new home at Croton, a powerful Achaian colony in the Gulf of Tarentum, famous for its healthy climate and the number of Olympic victors it produced. Here he established his society, which was at once a religi-

1 Aristotle, frag. 191 (Rose).

2 viii. 36.

3 Frag. 17 (Bywater).

4 iv. 95.

ous order and a school of science. It soon acquired a dominant position in Croton and the other Achaian states of these parts, and this naturally called forth a strong opposition, which was led by Cylon, a wealthy noble. It seems certain that Ephorus and Timæus connected the outbreak of opposition to Pythagoras with the war between Croton and Sybaris, which ended with the destruction of the latter in 510 B.C. In any case, Timæus said that Pythagoras lived at Croton for twenty years, and then emigrated to Metapontum, where he died. He also said that the Metapontines consecrated his house as a temple; and Cicero tells us[1] that, when he visited Metapontum, he refused to go to the house where he was to stay till he had seen the place where Pythagoras died. The opposition of the partisans of Cylon to the Pythagorists was carried on after their founder's death, and ended in a regular massacre, from which very few of them escaped. Polybius tells us[2] that the days when they set fire to the lodges (*συνέδρια*) of the Pythagoreans were followed by a period of disturbance in Magna Græcia, 'as was natural, seeing that the leading men of every state had so unexpectedly perished,' and the Greek cities of S. Italy were filled with bloodshed, civil war, and confusion of every kind, till at last they got the assistance of the Achaians in the Peloponnese, whose colonists they were, in restoring tranquillity. No date is given anywhere for this persecution, but Aristoxenus said that only two of the Pythagoreans in Croton escaped, Lysis and Archippus—for whom Plutarch[3] substitutes Lysis and Philolaus. We know that Lysis was the teacher of Epaminondas at Thebes, and, as Epaminondas cannot have been born much before 420 B.C., Lysis must have been still living in 400 B.C. We must assume, then, that the great persecution took place somewhere about the middle of the 5th century. On the other hand, it must have been before the establishment of a Panhellenic colony by Pericles near the deserted site of Sybaris (444 B.C.), or we should have heard of these troubles in that connexion. It is evident from Plutarch that the Pythagoreans played a very important part at Thebes, and that it was now one of the chief seats of the society. We know from Plato's *Phædo*[4] that Philolaus was resident there some time during the last twenty years of the 5th cent., and also[5] that Echecrates and others, whom we know from Aristoxenus to have been Pythagoreans, were settled at Phlius near Sicyon. Some time before the death of Socrates, however, it must have become safe for the Pythagoreans to show themselves in S. Italy again, for we gather that Philolaus had already left Thebes by that time, and we know that he settled at Tarentum, henceforth the chief seat of the society, where it is represented in the next generation by the distinguished mathematician, statesman, and general, Archytas, the friend of Plato. The Pythagoreans of Tarentum were the centre of the opposition to Dionysius I. of Syracuse, and it was at their request that Plato undertook the education of his successor, Dionysius II. The story of Damon and Phintias, which Aristoxenus said he was told by Dionysius himself when in exile, belongs to this period.

The uncertainty of the chronology is a great difficulty. The dates usually given for Pythagoras himself were obtained by the usual process of synchronizing his fortieth year (his *ἀκμή* or *floruit*) with the most important event of his middle life. This was taken to be his emigration to Italy; and, on the basis of the statement of Aristoxenus referred to above, that was dated by the era of Polycrates (532 B.C.). It is also clear that some estimates were based on the dates of the previous incarnations of Pythagoras as Aithalides and Euphorbus.[1] If we could be quite sure that Timæus and Ephorus were right in connecting Pythagoras with the war between Sybaris and Croton (511 B.C.), that would be a fixed point, though we cannot tell how old he may have been at the time. The residence of the leading Pythagoreans at Thebes towards the end of the 5th cent. is also a fact, and it is not going too far to suggest that the brilliant career of Epaminondas and the brief supremacy of Thebes in Greece may be traced to their inspiration. At any rate Aristotle[2] quotes from Alcidamas the remark that, as soon as the 'philosophers' became the leaders of the Thebans, the city prospered. Plutarch, who knew his Bœotian history and who made use of Bœotian writers, in his dialogue *de Genio Socratis* describes the conversation that took place among the conspirators on the winter night of 379 B.C., when Pelopidas freed Thebes by seizing the Cadmea. He tells us that the conspirators had met in the house of Simmias, the Pythagorean disciple of Socrates whom we know from the *Phædo*, and that, while they were talking, Epaminondas, who disapproved of their project, introduced a Pythagorean from Italy, Theanor of Croton, who had come to pour libations on the tomb of Lysis, whose spirit had appeared to the brethren and told them of his death. He relates how, after the massacre at Metapontum, from which only Lysis and Philolaus escaped, it was unknown where Lysis was, till Gorgias of Leontini reported having met him at Thebes. The Pythagoreans in Italy wished to send for Lysis or to recover his remains if he were dead, but were prevented by the civil wars and tyrannies prevailing at the time. Theanor did not, however, intend to disturb his body now; for he had heard a voice while he watched by the tomb bidding him leave it where it was, and he saw that Epaminondas had given Lysis a proper Pythagorean burial down to the most secret details. No doubt this may be a romance, but it implies a very definite historical background in the mind of Plutarch, and he knew what he was talking about.

Pythagoras was an Ionian, and it is absurd to make him the champion of the 'Dorian aristocratic ideal,' as most German writers since A. Boeckh and O. Müller have done. To begin with, what they mean by the 'Dorian ideal' is really a fancy picture of the Spartan and Cretan ideal invented by Athenian conservatives of the 5th cent. and popularized by Athenian philosophers. Corinth and Syracuse were as purely Dorian as Sparta, and probably more so, and they will not fit into this picture. The source of the impression that there is something Dorian about Pythagorism is simply that the few fragments of genuine Pythagorean writing that survive belong to the generation when the Dorian Tarentum was the chief seat of the school, and were naturally composed, not indeed in the local dialect of that city, but in the 'common Doric' which was the literary language of Sicily and S. Italy at the time. The very numerous forgeries of Pythagorean writings naturally followed this model, and so there has come to be a sort of Doric veneer on the surface of Pythagorism. But Croton, Metapontum, and the other original seats of the society were not Dorian, but Achaian, and there was no love lost between Dorians and Achaians, especially in Italy. Herodotus tells us[3] that the Sybarites accused the Crotoniates of getting the better of them by Dorian help—a suggestion which the Crotoniates repudiated with indignation. Besides, if a Crotoniate at this date had anything important to say, he would have written in Ionic (as Alcmæon of Croton, who was a young man in the old age of Pythagoras, appears to have done); for Ionic was the recognized dialect for serious works, and even the Dorians used it. The literary use of Doric, except for farces and satires, dates only from the reaction against Athens caused by the Peloponnesian War. Grote protested long ago against the annexation of Croton to the Dorians by Boeckh, and his protest has at last been listened to in Germany by Eduard Meyer.[4]

Nor is there any evidence that the Pythagorists espoused the cause of the aristocracy. They were a religious association, and we are told a good deal about the severe tests applied by Pythagoras to aspirants to the novitiate, but there is no hint that birth or wealth was essential. The character-

[1] *De Fin.* v. 2 (4).
[2] ii. 39.
[3] *De Genio Socratis*, 583 A (13).
[4] 61 D. Simmias and Cebes are young men in 399 B.C., and had been disciples of Philolaus at Thebes.
[5] 57 A.

[1] Laqueur, in *Hermes*, xlii. [1907] 530 ff.
[2] *Rhet.* B. 23, 1398b 18.
[3] v. 44.
[4] *Gesch. des Altertums*, Stuttgart, 1884–1902, vol. ii. § 502, note.

istic of such associations in Greece and elsewhere is just that any one is admitted to membership who is able and willing to fulfil their requirements, whatever his condition may be. The prominent part played in the society by women from the very first depends on this. It is probably true that Pythagoras dissuaded the Crotoniates from giving up the refugees from Sybaris, but that was surely because they were suppliants, and not because they were aristocrats, if indeed they were, of which there is no evidence. Aristoxenus said expressly that Cylon, the leader of the opposition to Pythagoras, was a man distinguished by birth, position, and wealth, not a popular leader, as modern writers assert. Moreover, when the Pythagoreans did return to Italy, they settled at Tarentum, which was an extremely democratic state, and it is hard to see anything else that could have recommended a Dorian city to them. It is true that Archytas was at the head of the Tarentine government for years, but he owed his position to popular election. Lastly, though Empedocles (*q.v.*) may not have been a member of the Pythagorean society, he was certainly an enthusiastic admirer of Pythagoras, and seems to have taken him as his model; and Empedocles was the leader of the democratic party in another Dorian state, Agrigentum.

It is no doubt possible that there is some truth in the statement of some authorities that the family of Pythagoras was descended from a certain Hippasus, who left Phlius rather than submit to the conquering Dorians. The exiles settled first at Lemnos, from which island they were afterwards expelled by the Athenians, when the family of Pythagoras settled at Samos. Pausanias[1] heard this account of the matter at Phlius itself, and it is noteworthy that Echecrates and other Pythagoreans settled at Phlius in later days, and that the name Hippasus is well known as that of a Pythagorean who revealed the secrets of the society. That makes no difference, however, to the Ionism of Pythagoras; for the exiles from Phlius belonged to the original population who were settled in the Ægean before the Achaians came, and whom we must identify with the Arcadians on the one hand and the Ionians on the other. If the family of Pythagoras preserved the memory of these things, he would be less than ever inclined to sympathize with 'Dorian ideals.' Nor were the Achaians Dorians. It may be that they spoke a very similar dialect, though we have not sufficient remains of it to be sure, but that can be sufficiently accounted for if we suppose that they both adopted the language of the original population before the not very remote date when the Ionians took to saying *Elis* instead of *Valis*, for instance. The retention of the old pronunciation by backward communities is normal. The whole question has been needlessly complicated by the unwarranted assumption that the Arcado-Cypriote dialect is Achaian, whereas it is most closely akin to the dialect of Homer. It has actually been said that Pythagoras changed his name from Pythagoras in order to signify his adhesion to the 'Dorian ideal'! Of course the form is due to the fact that we generally read of him in Attic writers who use the Attic form, and there is no reason to suppose that he ever called himself anything else but Πυθαγόρης, as he was still called by Democritus.

2. Pythagorean religion.—In the light of modern anthropology, the Pythagorean religion has become a good deal easier to understand than it was. We can see that, so far as the leading ideas on which it was based are concerned, it might have arisen anywhere; for those ideas are primitive and world-wide. The first of them is that the soul can leave the body temporarily or permanently and take up its abode in another body. The second is the kinship of men and beasts, which makes it possible for the same soul to inhabit the bodies of either. The third is the necessity of observing certain abstinences or tabus. To make a religion out of these ideas, it only requires a great teacher to give them an ethical character which they do not inherently possess, and that is why we find so many resemblances in Pythagorism to systems which can have no historical connexion with it. Some of these had already struck people in the 5th century. Herodotus[2] notes the agreement of the Pythagorean rule to bury the dead in linen with the Egyptian practice of excluding wool from temples, and he hints[1] that not only this, but the belief in immortality and transmigration, came from Egypt. The rule about linen is simply, of course, a consequence of the tabu on wool as an animal product, and may arise independently in many places; and Herodotus was wrong in supposing that the Egyptians believed in transmigration. It was probably an impression that he gathered from the semi-animal figures on the monuments. As the geographical horizon became wider, Pythagoras was sent farther and farther afield for his religious instruction—to the Chaldæans and the Druids and other peoples. In modern times his system has been derived from China, and even now there are those who think it came from India. Now there are certainly some striking resemblances between Pythagorism and Buddhism, though the differences are more striking still. That can be explained quite naturally, however, when we remember that the Hindus, like the Greeks, had a bent for philosophy, and that the operation of philosophical speculation on the same basis of primitive belief would naturally yield somewhat similar results. The question of Egyptian influence is on rather a different footing; for it is historically possible, and, if we remember the close connexion between Polycrates of Samos and Amasis of Egypt, it will seem quite likely that Pythagoras visited Egypt. If we could find any real trace of Egyptian influence, we should not hesitate in admitting it. It is strange, however, that Herodotus does not say that Pythagoras had ever been in Egypt, and that the first statement that he had occurs in a work which expressly disclaims any historical character, the *Busiris* of Isocrates, and in a passage obviously based on the somewhat obscure remark of Herodotus. We must remember, too, that what Pythagoras might have learnt in Egypt at that date would have been the confused and artificial theology of the Saite period, and we can find no trace of that. We shall see that the religion of Pythagoras, like everything else about him, has a definitely Ionian character, and that the doctrine of rebirth or transmigration was known in the Ægean before his time.

The word 'metempsychosis,' by which this doctrine is generally known, has only very late authority, and is based on a confusion of ideas; for it would mean that the same body was inhabited successively by different souls. The correct term would have been μετενσωμάτωσις, which is actually used by Plotinus and the Christian apologists. The proper expression is undoubtedly παλιγγενεσία, or rebirth.

The first point to notice is the intimate association of Pythagorism with the cult of Apollo at Delos. We know from the Homeric *Hymn* that the Apollonia (*q.v.*) at Delos had become a meeting-place for all Ionians long before the time of Pythagoras, though their official chief deity was the Minyan god Poseidon Helikonios, who presided over the Panionion at Mycale. Now, as L. R. Farnell has rightly insisted, Apollo Lykeios, the wolf-god (who has nothing to do with the sun in classical Greek literature) comes from the north, and his connexion with Lycia, which may have been called after him, is secondary, and due to Achaian colonization in those parts. Everything points to his having been a god of the northerners who took the place of the old Ægean rulers in the 14th century B.C. There is nothing strange in his having been adopted by the Ionians. When great sanctuaries like that at Delos are established, the seats of the gods become fixed, even though the people to whom they originally belonged have disappeared or been absorbed, as the Achaians were by the Ionians of the Ægean. In much the same way, those Achaians who were able to maintain their separate nationality after the Dorian conquest of

[1] ii. 13. 1. This explains why Aristoxenus called Pythagoras a 'Tyrrhenian.' In the 4th cent. B.C. the 'Pelasgians' whom Miltiades expelled from Lemnos were called 'Tyrrhenians.'

[2] ii. 81.

[1] ii. 123.

the Peloponnese, when they expelled the Ionians from the southern shore of the Corinthian Gulf, took over the worship of Poseidon Helikonios which they found there. The most interesting trace of the northern origin of Apollo is the bringing of the offerings of the Hyperboreans to Delos every year by one or more ancient routes, and Apollo himself was supposed to revisit the Hyperboreans annually. Now Aristotle wrote in his work on the Pythagoreans that the citizens of Croton gave the name of Apollo Hyperboreus to Pythagoras.

For the Hyperboreans and their offerings see Farnell, *CGS* iv. 99 ff. They are found in the legend of Delphi too. The story told to Herodotus at Delos was as follows: 'The holy things wrapped in wheaten straw were carried from the Hyperboreans to the Scythians, and were passed on by them from people to people till they reached the Adriatic. Thence they were sent southwards and were received by the men of Dodona, who were the first of the Hellenes to receive them. From Dodona they came down to the Malian Gulf and crossed to Eubœa, whence they were passed on from town to town till they reached Carystus, and from Carystus they were conveyed by the Carystians to Tenos, without touching at Andros, and the Tenians handed them on to Delos.'[1] Pausanias[2] mentions another route by way of Sinope which has puzzled scholars. If it should prove to be the case that the Hittites spoke an Indo-European tongue of the same type as the Italo-Celtic, the meaning of this will be clear enough, and, in view of that, which seems to be more than a possibility, the Achaian character of Apollo becomes important. Now, in discussing another Hyperborean institution, the Olympian crown of wild olive, Pausanias gives us the following information:[3] 'Olen the Lycian, in his Hymn to Achaiia, was the first to affirm that there are men who dwell beyond the North Wind; for in that hymn he says that Achaiia came to Delos from the Hyperboreans. Afterwards Melanopus of Cyme composed an ode on Opis and Hecaerge, in which he said they too had come to the Hyperboreans before Achaiia did so.' It does not matter for our purpose here whether Olen is a historical person or not; for it is at least clear that these statements were made in Delian hymns. It may be noted further that the Homeric *Hymn* represents Apollo as ruling over many places which were not Ionian at a later date, but which formed part of the Achaian land in the heroic age. This may possibly help to explain the similarities between Pythagorism and Druidism which made such an impression on the Greeks and Romans of a later date. W. Ridgeway[4] holds (the present writer believes rightly) that the Achaians were Celts, and it seems plain that the Druids (*q.v.*) did teach the doctrine of transmigration.[5] We do not know how sophisticated these Druids (who used the Greek alphabet) may have been, but there is after all a fairly general agreement that a new view of the soul reached the Greeks from the north (see art. Soul [Greek]), and there are certain elements in the Delian legend which seem definitely Celtic, such as the singing swans so beautifully described by Aristophanes.[6] Now these, as every one knows, occur in Plato's account of the death of Socrates,[7] where Socrates is made to say he is a fellow-servant of Apollo's swans.

If we follow up the clue suggested by the identification of Pythagoras with Apollo Hyperboreus, we shall find many confirmations of the hypothesis that Delos was the source of his inspiration. In the first place, his very name suggests some family connexion with the worship of Apollo; for the most obvious etymology of it is that it means an envoy to the sister sanctuary at Pytho (cf. the πυλαγόραι who were sent to the Amphictyonic Council). We note further that the Hyperboreans are represented as vegetarians, and that the oldest altar of Delos, that of Apollo the Father (γενέτωρ), was reserved for fireless oblations of vegetable offerings like the firstfruits of the Hyperboreans. We read in Diogenes Laertius[8] that Pythagoras worshipped at this altar only, and, though this may not be genuine tradition, it is probable enough that, in his preaching of abstinence from animal flesh (ἀποχὴ ἐμψύχων), he should have appealed to this ancient worship of his people. Moreover, purification (κάθαρσις) was one of the leading ideas in Pythagorism, and it certainly was a prominent feature of the cult of Apollo. There are, indeed, reasons for thinking that it was not an original feature of this cult, but there is no doubt that, by the time of Pythagoras, Apollo was regarded as the cathartic god *par excellence*.

Further, there are indistinct memories of earlier missionaries of Apollo than Pythagoras. Herodotus tells us[1] of Abaris the Hyperborean, a holy man who travelled from country to country with a golden arrow in his hand. He tasted neither food nor drink, and averted plagues and earthquakes by his spells. Pindar said this was in the days of Crœsus, only a generation before his own birth. Herodotus also speaks[2] of Aristeas of Proconnesus, who, when 'rapt by Phœbus' (φοιβολαμπτὸς γενόμενος), visited the northern peoples. His soul could leave his body, and he was seen in far distant places. Like Pythagoras, he found his way to the Achaian colony of Metapontum, and told the men of that city that to them alone in Italy had Apollo come. There was a statue of him beside that of Apollo in the market-place there. To the same circle belongs Hermotimus of Clazomenæ, who could leave his body for years at a time, and bring back prophecies of the future, till once his enemies burned his body in the absence of his soul and he was seen no more. It is plain that Pythagoras was not without predecessors, and that he had no need to visit remote regions to learn the view of the soul on which his doctrine was based.

On the cathartic element in the religion of Apollo see *CGS* iv. 295 ff. Purification (κάθαρσις) came to be so closely associated with Apollo that Socrates, in Plato's *Cratylus*,[3] proposes to derive his name from ἀπολύων or ἀπολούων, or both.

But we can go further than this; for we can show that Pythagoras had Ionian predecessors in his cosmogony as well as in his doctrine of the soul. There are traces of cosmogonical theory even in Homer,[4] and it is plain that Hesiod did not invent the cosmogonical figures at the beginning of his *Theogony*; for he introduces Chaos and Eros without a word of explanation, and there is no indication of the parts they played in the creation of the world. As Gomperz[5] very justly observed, 'Hesiod's system is a mere husk of thought which must once have been filled with life.' Moreover, his doctrine[6] that the men of the Golden Age have become 'holy spirits' (δαίμονες ἁγνοί) who watch over mortal men goes far beyond primitive belief, though we can hardly suppose that Hesiod invented that either. Such doctrines are obviously the fruit of what we must call theological speculation, and that raises a great difficulty. It is generally evaded by attributing all such speculations to the Orphics, and there is no doubt that they held cosmogonical doctrines and entertained beliefs about the soul of the very type that we are now considering. On the other hand, there is no evidence that the Orphic communities existed at so early a date as we should have to assume if we are to account for the facts in this way. Moreover, so far as we can see, Orphism was the religion of humble people, and we know of no great Orphic teachers whom we can credit with the origination of such daring speculations. It seems as if Orphism, when it did arise, was rather a parallel phenomenon to Pythagorism than its source. It must be remembered that the Orphic god is Dionysus, not Apollo, and the worship of Dionysus is of much more recent date than that of Apollo. It certainly became tinged with mysticism like that of Apollo, and to some extent that of Demeter at Eleusis, but the problem of the origin of this mysticism remains, and it is not easy to rest content with the view that it is Thracian. The belief in ecstasy may well have been so, but that does not take us very

1 iv. 33. 2 i. 31. 2.
3 v. 7. 8. Cf. Pindar, *Ol.* iii. 16, where we learn that the Hyperboreans were settled on the Danube.
4 *The Early Age of Greece*, Cambridge, 1901, i. 337 ff.
5 Cæsar, *de Bell. Gall.* vi. 14. 5. 6 *Birds*, 769.
7 *Phædo*, 84 E. 8 viii. 13.

1 iv. 36. 2 iv. 13.
3 405 B. 4 *Il.* xiv.
5 *Greek Thinkers*, Eng. tr., London, 1901–12, i. 40.
6 *Works and Days*, 122 f.

far; for what we have to account for is the existence of cosmogonical speculation and an elaborate doctrine of the soul, which presents many common features in all the religious movements of the time, so far as we know anything about them.

The obvious affinities of *Iliad* xiv. and *Odyssey* xi. with Orphic doctrine have led some scholars to suppose that they are later additions to the Homeric poems, but they would have to be so late that the theory loses all plausibility. The view that Hesiod is the originator of Greek cosmogonical speculation, which we all held in the 19th cent., is shown by a close examination of the *Theogony* to be wrong. Hesiod is certainly repeating those things at secondhand. It is of great significance that Dionysus is not any more important for Hesiod than he is for Homer. It is mentioned in passing that he is the son of Zeus and Semele, but there is no hint that he is an important god. That seems fatal to the view that there are Orphic elements in Hesiod.

Since the close of the 19th cent. it has been possible to look at these things in another light, though it is not easy to adjust our vision to the new perspective. We know now that there was a highly developed civilization in the Ægean dating from the Neolithic Age, and excavations at Menidi and Miletus have shown that it passed by gradual transition into the early Ionic civilization. There is not the slightest ground for regarding the semi-barbarous invaders from the north as the main stock of the Greek people, *i.e.* the people to whom we owe Greek civilization and everything that makes Greece of value to us to-day. Every day brings fresh confirmation of the view that the Achaians or Hellenes, or whatever they called themselves, adopted the language and civilization of the conquered Ægean people and were ultimately absorbed by them. Now we can have no difficulty in supposing that the people who created the Ægean civilization were capable of theological speculation. Nor is there any need to suppose that they were dependent on Egypt or Babylon in any way for this. The Ægean civilization is as old as that of Babylon or Egypt, and in many ways superior to either of them. The Achaians and Hellenes did not bring civilization to the Ægean, but in some ways set it back. What they did bring was apparently the Olympian gods and the war-chariot and the chivalrous ideal as we find it in the poems of Homer. In that way, no doubt, the incursion of the northerners introduced a new and valuable element into the life of the Ægean, but for most things they were dependent on the higher civilization of the people whom they had conquered. The coming of the Achaians marks the beginning of the Greek Middle Ages, but there was a long antiquity behind that.

It is most unfortunate that we cannot discuss Pythagoras adequately without constant reference to ethnological problems, but that is forced on us by the treatment of the subject in most recent works. It is necessary at this point to say that it seems impossible, in view of recent discoveries, to maintain the view that the Greek language reached the Ægean from the north. Its affinities are closest with the languages of Irān and India, and not with those of the Italo-Celtic type. This appears clearly from its system of declension and conjugation. The Greek, Sanskrit, and Avestan verbs are inflected on identical principles, and in particular they alone possess the augment, save for some survivals in Armenian—an exception that proves the rule and gives us a hint of the route by which Indo-European speech may have reached the Ægean. It is the fact that the oldest datable traces of Indo-European speech are to be found in Asia Minor, and this is so whether the new view of the Hittites proves to be sound or not. Hittite, if it has been correctly interpreted, is a language of the Italo-Celtic type, and has no special affinities with Greek. The distinction between *centum* and *satem* languages, of which so much has been made, is a futile one, since the sibilization of *k* is a secondary phenomenon which may occur anywhere and at any time. The Romance languages have become *satem* languages in historical times. Now, if these views are sound—and every fresh piece of evidence seems to confirm them—there is no difficulty at all in supposing that an older form of Greek was spoken in the Ægean in the Bronze Age, and that it was adopted from the original population by the Achaians and Dorians from the north, who must originally have spoken a form of Celtic. Of course they would introduce a number of their own words, notably *θεός*, which is inexplicable as a native Greek formation. The continuity of early Ægean and Ionic speculation, which is being assumed in this article, has, therefore, nothing startling about it. In this respect, at least, Ridgeway saw how the land lay when there was much less evidence than there is now.

If this view is correct, we can easily understand how there came to be 'theologians,' as Aristotle calls them,[1] in Ionia long before the time of Pythagoras. We still have a priceless fragment of one of the latest of these, Pherecydes of Syros, an island close to Delos (see art. COSMOGONY AND COSMOLOGY [Greek]). It is the oldest piece of Greek prose in existence, and was already known in part from Clement of Alexandria, while the beginning and some of the continuation of it have been recovered from an Egyptian papyrus published by Grenfell and Hunt. This introduces us to speculations which are most easily understood if we suppose them to be old Ægean in character, such as that of the cloak (*φᾶρος*), embroidered with 'Land and Ogenos and the homes of Ogenos,' which Zas (Zeus) gave to Chthonie (Earth) at their 'holy marriage,' and which was spread over a 'winged oak' (*ὑπόπτερος δρῦς*). For us the important point is that our earliest authorities, including Aristoxenus, who was not anxious to emphasize the mystical side of Pythagoras, agree in representing him as the disciple of Pherecydes. Aristotle too, as we have seen, spoke of his attachment to the miracle-working (*τερατοποιία*) of Pherecydes. This means at least that Pythagoras was acquainted with a speculative cosmogony, and probably with a doctrine of the soul's immortality rather less primitive in character than any we can attribute to Aristeas or Abaris. At any rate the discovery of an actual fragment of Pherecydes in Egypt makes it much more likely than it seemed before that later ages had some real knowledge of his doctrine, and that Cicero may have had good authority for his statement that he taught the immortality of the soul.

The fragments of Pherecydes will be found in Diels, *Vorsokratiker*[3], vol. ii. p. 202 ff. The present writer cannot believe that Pherecydes was influenced by Anaximander, as Diels supposes. The 'winged oak' points to Arcadia or Dodona rather than Miletus. Nor can it have any connexion with Babylon, where there never were any oaks. The scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, i. 645, quotes Pherecydes for the statement that Aithalides, the herald of the Argonauts, received from Hermes the boon that his soul should be at one time in Hades and at another on earth, and from Apollonius himself we learn that he had also the gift of remembering his former lives. If we can trust this, it is very important; for Hermes is an Arcadian (and therefore pre-Achaian) god, and the Argonauts are Minyans. Now Aithalides was regarded as a previous incarnation of Pythagoras, Euphorbus being the next. The statement of Cicero[2] is that Pherecydes was the first to teach the immortality of the soul, which only means that he was the first extant writer to do so. The immediate source of the statement is probably Posidonius.

There is no reason, then, for supposing that the doctrine of rebirth or transmigration was the original contribution of Pythagoras to religion, and the same may be said of his detailed prescriptions as to the avoidance of certain acts and the observance of certain abstinences. There can, in fact, be no doubt that most of the Pythagorean precepts are tabus of a thoroughly primitive type, and many of them can be matched among savage peoples to-day. Later writers, of course, interpret these *ἀκούσματα*, as they are called, as symbols or allegories of moral truth; but that view will not easily be accepted now, in view of our increased knowledge of such things. It is natural to suppose that, to many of the followers of Pythagoras, these precepts were the most important of his teachings, and that there was a rift between the higher and the lower Pythagorism from the first. That is only human nature, and it seems to be the explanation of much that we are told about the hierarchical organization of the society. It is very significant that one of the names given to the lower grade is *ἀκουσματικοί*, which can hardly mean

[1] *Met.* Λ 6. 1071[b] 26, the first occurrence of this fateful word.
[2] *Tusc.* i. 16 (38).

anything else than those who made the precepts, or *ἀκούσματα*, the principal thing. The distinction between Pythagoreans and Pythagorists has no doubt a similar origin. It is probable that modern scholars are right in holding these distinctions to be of late date, but the difference between those who were capable of assimilating only the external side of the religion and those who could reach its inner meaning must have been present from the first, and, as we have seen, it soon became so accentuated that it split the society in two. The same consideration throws light upon what we are told of the obligation of secrecy imposed on the members of the society. As usually stated, that is clearly an attempt to explain how certain doctrines were apparently unknown to the mass of the members, and so far it is unhistorical. Pythagorean doctrines were apparently quite well known, and influenced outsiders from an early date. At the same time, it is quite credible that novices were bound to silence for a period. That is too common everywhere to excite surprise, and the words which are used to describe this obligation, *ἐχεμυθία* and *ἐχεῤῥημοσύνη*, suggest this rather than the *disciplina arcani*. Now these words are distinctly Ionic in character, and that is a good reason for believing that they have come down from the early days of the society.

The following may be quoted as specimens of the *ἀκούσματα*: 'Not to pick up what has fallen,' 'Not to break bread,' 'Not to stir the fire with an (iron) sword,' 'Not to eat from a whole loaf,' 'Not to let swallows share one's roof,' 'Not to look in a mirror beside a light.' There can be no doubt how precepts of this kind are to be classified, and we cannot take seriously the later explanations such as that 'Not to stir the fire with a sword' only means that we should not further provoke an angry man.[1]

But all this, however largely it bulked in his teaching, was only a part, and not the most important part, of the contribution of Pythagoras to religion. There must have been something to account for the striking difference between the development of the Orphic and Pythagorean sects. The former seems to have become utterly corrupt in a very few generations; and in a conversation supposed to take place well before the close of the 5th cent. Plato makes Adimantus condemn the Orphic religion as a mere traffic in pardons and indulgences.[2] We know that there were Pythagorists at Athens in the 4th cent., but nothing of the kind is suggested of them; they are only laughed at for their abstinence and their devotion to the simple life. On the other hand, there were at the same date a number of eminent scientific men, calling themselves Pythagoreans, who paid no respect to these external observances, and even tried to explain them away. Now the one great difference that we can discern between the Orphics and the Pythagoreans is just this—that the Pythagoreans all agreed in tracing everything to the inspiration of a great individual, while we do not hear of any great Orphic teacher at all. Those whose names have come down to us, like Onomacritus, are known chiefly because they were suspected of literary frauds. We may reasonably infer from this that the higher side of Pythagorean religion came from the founder himself.

It is not possible, of course, to prove conclusively what this higher doctrine was, but an examination of our earliest evidence will afford us some positive indications. In the *Phædo*[3] Plato makes Socrates express surprise that Cebes and Simmias have not been taught by Philolaus the true reason why it is unlawful for a man to take his own life. The first reason, which he says is a 'high doctrine' and not easy to understand, is that our souls are bound in the prison-house (*φρουρά*) of the body, and we have no right to try to escape till God gives the signal. There is a further doctrine, which Socrates accepts, that we are the chattels (*κτήματα*) of the gods, and they watch over us. There can be no doubt that Plato means us to understand all this to be Pythagorean; for Philolaus was the most distinguished Pythagorean teacher at the time of which he is speaking. We are also told that he did not give any clear account of this doctrine, which was therefore presumably one which he had inherited from his predecessors. Now it will be seen that it has a distinctly ethical tendency, such as we do not find in anything that we know of Orphism. The imprisonment of the soul in the body has a disciplinary character, and the gods or God (the two forms of expression are used quite indiscriminately) have imposed it on us for the good of our souls, so that it is our duty to submit. So much we may fairly infer from this passage, which is really our oldest and best authority.

If we may also regard the famous description of the true philosopher in the *Theætetus*[1] as inspired by Pythagorean teaching, we may go a step further and attribute to Pythagoras the doctrine that the end of man is to become like God (*ὁμοιώσις τῷ θεῷ*). We are not able to prove this indeed, but it is so far confirmed by the fact that Aristoxenus makes the 'following of God' (*τὸ ἀκολουθεῖν τῷ θεῷ*) the keynote of the Pythagorean system as expounded by him; and an unknown writer excerpted by Stobæus[2] gives 'Follow God' (*ἕπου θεῷ*) as a Pythagorean precept, and calls attention to the agreement of Plato with it. It is obvious that this is on a different level from 'Do not stir the fire with iron' and the rest of the *ἀκούσματα*, and it appears to furnish a clue to the real meaning of Pythagoras. It gives Pythagorism something more than the mainly negative attitude to life of Buddhism, and distinguishes it from Orphism, which emphasizes 'release' (*λύσις*) above everything else. To the Orphic the body was the tomb of the soul (*σῶμα σῆμα*), and what we call life was death; and that is a very different thing from regarding the body as a house of correction. There is, in fact, no evidence that the idea of a final release from the 'wheel of birth' played any part in Pythagorism. That is admitted by Rohde, who attributes it to the defectiveness of our information. Pythagorism without a final release, he says, would be like Buddhism without a *nirvāṇa*.[3] The present writer would suggest that, imperfect as our information may be, it would be extraordinary that it should afford no evidence of this doctrine, if it had ever existed. We have the excellent authority of Aristotle for saying that the Pythagoreans divided rational living things into gods and men and 'such as Pythagoras,'[4] and so it would seem that the fully purified soul becomes incarnate in a philosopher and religious teacher who seeks to raise others to his level. So far as we can judge from the *Phædo*, its final destiny is not any sort of *nirvāṇa*, but 'to dwell with the gods.' It is an interesting point that the purified soul remembers its previous incarnations. It is said that Pythagoras remembered that his last incarnation had been as Euphorbus the Dardanian, who, by Apollo's help, wounded Patroclus (*Il.* xvi. 804 ff.). It is not necessary either to disbelieve this or to attribute it to imposture. Men were very exalted in those days, and it is perfectly possible that Pythagoras was in dead earnest when he saw the shield of Euphorbus dedicated by Menelaus at Argos, and recognized it as that which he had borne in Apollo's service in a former life. We may gather from this the further information

[1] See Burnet[3], p. 106. [2] *Rep.* ii. 364 E. [3] 61 D–62 B.

[1] 176 B–D.

[2] *Ecl.* ii. 249. 8 (Wachsmuth); cf. Aristoxenus, *ap.* Iambl. *Vita Pyth.* 137.

[3] *Psyche*[5], Tübingen, 1910, ii. 165, note 2.

[4] Frag. 192 (Rose): *τοῦ λογικοῦ ζῴου τὸ μέν ἐστι θεός, τὸ δὲ ἄνθρωπος, τὸ δὲ οἷον Πυθαγόρας.*

that there was an interval of several generations between each rebirth, which, if we regard the myths which Plato puts into the mouth of Socrates as Pythagorean, were spent in purgatory, the very name of which has a definitely Pythagorean sound.

For the doctrine of the body as the tomb of the soul see Plato, *Cratylus*, 400 C, where we are told that the body is called σῶμα, *i.e.* σῆμα, 'on the ground that the soul is buried in the present life.' Socrates goes on, however, to give it as his own opinion that the Orphics (οἱ ἀμφὶ Ὀρφέα) really called the body σῶμα, because the soul is now paying the penalty for 'those things for which it pays the penalty,' and that it has a covering (περίβολος) in the likeness of a prison (δεσμωτηρίου εἰκόνα) 'so that it may be kept safe' (ἵνα σῴζηται) till it has paid in full all that it owes. The word σῶμα is on this view derived not from σῆμα but from σῴζω. This looks very like an attempt to explain the Orphic doctrine in terms of the Pythagorean.

3. Pythagorean science.—This is not the place for a full discussion of Pythagorean science, but it is necessary for our purpose to establish its Ionian character—which will prove that it goes back to Pythagoras himself—and it is desirable that it should be shown, if possible, in what, if any, relation it stood to Pythagorean religion. The subject is difficult because, while the religion of Pythagoras underwent no important development, as far as we know, Pythagorean science was extremely progressive. That, again, is because, while the leading Pythagoreans took their religion for granted or neglected it altogether, they were obliged to defend their scientific teaching against criticism of all kinds, and of course it became greatly modified in the process. In particular, we see that it was necessary to account for the 'four elements' of Empedocles, which had become the foundation of medical science, and above all to take up a definite attitude towards Zeno's very serious criticism of the Pythagorean view of space and the unit. We are safe in referring theories which show a preoccupation with problems of this kind to a later generation of the school. On the other hand, Parmenides, who describes himself as a youth in his poems, must have written not very long after the death of Pythagoras, and there is clear evidence that he had been a Pythagorean. The cosmology which he expounds in the second part of his poem, and which he tells us has no truth in it, cannot well be anything else than Pythagorean, and, considering the time at which he wrote, it must be practically the doctrine of Pythagoras himself. Unfortunately we have only fragments, though they are instructive enough, and show pretty clearly which parts of the Pythagorean cosmology may be regarded as original. In view of the relation of Pythagoras to Pherecydes, it is not surprising that his expositions should have taken the form of a cosmogony, and we even gather from a chance remark of Plato[1] that it contained stories about the gods such as were usual in cosmogonies. The cosmogonic Eros is mentioned in a fragment that survives. It is clear, however, that the leading ideas of the system came from quite another source than Pherecydes. In the first half of the 6th cent. B.C. science, as we understand the word, had arisen for the first time in the world's history at Miletus on the mainland not far from Samos. Thales, Anaximander, and Anaximenes had been busy with the question of the stuff of which the world is made, and this had been defined as a limitless something (ἄπειρον), ultimately held to be air, which at that time was supposed to be a vapour and identified with steam and mist. Water and earth and other solid substances were explained as condensed air, while fire was air still further rarefied. In this limitless mass there were innumerable worlds, each with its earth, sun, moon, and stars, and these arose and passed away like bubbles in the limitless mass of vapour. Moreover, Anaximander, the second of the Milesians, had put forth a daring theory of the earth and the heavenly bodies, which was rejected by his successor Anaximenes, but evidently left its mark on the mind of Pythagoras. According to this, the earth hung free in space in the centre of the world, and it kept its place because there was no reason why it should fall in one direction rather than another. On the other hand, Anaximander was not able to shake himself free from the idea that we are living on a disk, and he was thus led to picture the earth as cylindrical, with another disk antipodal to ours. He further explained the sun, moon, and stars by supposing that they were rings of fire enclosed in air, with the fire escaping at a single orifice where we see the luminary. This was the earliest form taken by the notion of a planetary orbit. The school of Miletus had also formulated some very elementary geometrical propositions about triangles which gave them the means of calculating the distance of inaccessible objects, such as ships at sea. The influence of all this is clearly marked on the system of Pythagoras, though it is evident that he went far beyond his teachers. He was the real founder of arithmetic and geometry, and he may fairly be credited with a large part of the first six books of Euclid. The proposition about the square on the hypotenuse still bears his name, though we happen to know that the proof of it given in Euclid, i. 47, is not the Pythagorean one. It is probable that the original proof was of a more arithmetical character, and was connected with a very old piece of traditional knowledge, namely, that a triangle of which the sides are as 3, 4, 5 has always a right angle, and $3^2+4^2=5^2$. This proposition solved the problem of the duplication of the square, but it also brought up the difficulty of incommensurability, since the side and the diagonal of a square have no common measure. For that reason a number of problems which we should deal with algebraically are treated geometrically in Euclid, ii., which is in substance Pythagorean. It is also certain that Pythagoras is to be credited with the discovery of the spherical shape of the earth, which was a commonplace of Italian science in the 5th cent., though the Ionians refused to accept it, and even Anaxagoras and Democritus maintained that the earth was flat. This was closely connected with the explanation of lunar eclipses, which may also be confidently ascribed to Pythagoras, though it was not known in Eastern Hellas till a later date. To judge from the poem of Parmenides, Pythagoras also retained the theory of planetary rings, and indeed there is no evidence that spheres were substituted for rings before Eudoxus. Like Anaximenes, he regarded the stuff of which things are made as air (*i.e.* mist or darkness), and he must have said that the world inhales this from without; for Xenophanes already ridiculed the idea. What differentiates him completely from all his predecessors, however, is that he paid more attention to the form or limit of things than to the limitless something of which they were made. Later Pythagoreanism identified this with abstract space, but there is reason to believe that this is a more recent development. It is the fact that Pythagoras introduced the idea of the limit (πέρας) as the correlative of the Milesian limitless (ἄπειρον) that gives him his place in the history of science and affords a clue to his apparently strange doctrine that things are numbers. According to this, the limitless once limited gives us the point, twice limited the line, thrice limited the plane, and four times limited the solid; and all things are made of such geometrical solid figures in various arrangements. It will be seen that the weakness of this view is that the point is identified with unity,

[1] *Symp.* 195 C.

instead of with zero, as it should be, and this is where Zeno's criticisms proved fatal. The definition of the point as 'unity having position' enabled Pythagoras to treat geometry as a form of arithmetic up to a certain point; but Zeno showed the difficulties of this, and the later Pythagoreans had to abandon the doctrine that things *are* numbers and to substitute the statement that things *are like* numbers. Nevertheless it was a magnificently daring conception of reality and, but for the necessary imperfections of its first statement, it is substantially the same as that of Descartes.

For all this the reader is referred to Burnet's *Early Greek Philosophy*[2], chs. I., ii., and vii., with the modifications contained in his *Greek Philosophy*, pt. i., *Thales to Plato* (London, 1914), chs. ii. and v. As a proof of the remarkable scientific insight of the Pythagoreans, it should be mentioned here that the successors of Pythagoras (though not, so far as we can judge, Pythagoras himself) held that the earth and the other heavenly bodies revolved round a central luminary. This was not, indeed, identified with the sun, which was supposed to be a planet like the earth, but it was a very great step to regard the earth as a spherical planet.

Pythagoras carried his theory a step further by his great discovery that the intervals of the scale recognized in his day—the fourth, the fifth, and the octave — could be expressed by simple numerical ratios. This discovery was no doubt based on measurements of the length of the string which corresponded to these intervals, and it suggested a solution of another Milesian problem. The Milesian system had been dominated by the idea of the 'opposites,' especially hot and cold, wet and dry, which appeared to be at war with one another, and Anaximander had spoken of the observance of a due measure between these as 'justice' (δίκη). This Pythagoras thought he could explain from his great acoustic discovery. If high and low pitch can be brought together in a perfect attunement (ἁρμονία), it was natural to suppose that all other opposites could be similarly treated and that all stable reality would prove to be a 'blend' (κρᾶσις) of opposites in proportions which could be numerically expressed. There were certain 'means' (μεσότητες) between each pair of them, of which the arithmetical mean (corresponding to the octave) is only one. It is the same idea of combination in fixed proportions that Dalton introduced into chemistry. Pythagoras thought it was the key of the world, and perhaps it is. He applied it among other things to the problem of the relative distances of sun, moon, and stars, which he expressed in terms of the intervals of the scale. That ideas of this kind need not be altogether futile is shown by the fact that Bode's law of the planetary distances, which is based on a similar conception, has been of use in giving a direction to astronomical research, though it has not been empirically verified, and that Mendeléeff's periodic law has actually led to the discovery of new elements. The meaning of the statement of Socrates in Plato's *Republic*,[1] that the Pythagoreans made music and astronomy sister sciences, will now be plain.

It was in medicine that the other great application of this principle was made, chiefly, it would appear, by Alcmæon of Croton. Health was regarded as the proper tuning (ἁρμονία) of the body, so that the right proportions between hot and cold, moist and dry, were preserved. Disease was just the disproportionate expansion of one of them. Alcmæon expressed this further by comparing health to the reign of equal laws (ἰσονομία), and disease to monarchy. This is the original sense of the doctrine of the 'temperaments' which played so great a part in the history of medicine; for *temperamentum* or *temperatura* is but a translation of the Pythagorean term κρᾶσις.

[1] vii. 530 D.

So far we have been dealing with those 'anticipations of nature' to which after all science owes its most striking advances, but at this point the religious teacher and mystic comes into contact with the man of science. If the sun, moon, and stars really correspond to the fourth, the fifth, and the octave, they must give forth sounds like the tuned strings of the lyre. If we do not hear these notes, that is because our souls are out of tune and do not vibrate in unison with them. This is the theory generally known by the misleading name of the 'harmony of the spheres'—an expression which is meaningless as applied to astronomy before Eudoxus. It has had a great history and inspired not only Shakespeare and Milton, but even Kepler; and it seems to give definite meaning to the precept 'Follow God.' It explains at once the remark of Aristoxenus that the Pythagoreans used medicine to purge the body and music to purge the soul. Alcmæon of Croton said the soul was immortal 'because it was like to things immortal,' and it had this likeness in virtue of its being always in motion; 'for all divine things, the moon, the sun, the stars and the whole heavens are in continuous motion.'[1] He also said that the reason men die is that 'they are not able to attach the beginning to the end,'[2] as the heavenly bodies do in their revolutions. We find the same doctrine of the circles of the heavens and the circles of the soul in Plato's *Timæus*, which is in the main a statement of the later Pythagorean doctrine, and we may infer that the saying quoted by Socrates in the *Phædo*, that 'philosophy is the highest music,' is Pythagorean too. If that is so, we have found the connecting link between Pythagorean religion and Pythagorean science. The highest purification (κάθαρσις) of all was just science, and especially mathematical science.

In the *Ode on the Nativity* Milton of course introduces the 'crystal spheres,' and in other respects gives us a later form of the doctrine. Shakespeare's statement of it is put into the mouth of Lorenzo in the fifth act of the *Merchant of Venice*. In the *Book of Homage to Shakespeare* (London, 1916) the present writer has tried to throw some light on the channels through which a knowledge of Pythagorean doctrine may have reached the England of Shakespeare's youth.

The doctrine was capable, however, of being applied in a way that Pythagoras can never have intended, and this was the chief cause of the breakdown of Pythagorism as a religion. It was only a step to say that the soul was itself an attunement (ἁρμονία) of the body, and that was fatal to the doctrine of its immortality. We are told distinctly in the *Phædo* that this tenet was maintained both by the Pythagoreans of Thebes and by those of Phlius at the end of the 5th cent., and Aristoxenus continued to maintain it even after he had become a member of the school of Aristotle. This may account for the vagueness of Philolaus on such subjects as reported by Cebes and Simmias, and it is noteworthy that Plato represents Socrates as refuting the theory on his dying day. It seems clear that the preoccupation of the Pythagoreans with medicine had led them to regard the soul more and more as a function of the body, and it has recently been ascertained that Philolaus wrote on medicine and played a considerable part in the development of that science. That was the end of the Pythagorist religion among the more enlightened members of the order, though the old practices and beliefs were continued underground, as it were, by other followers of Pythagoras, who handed them on to the Neo-Pythagoreans and the Neo-Platonists (*qq.v.*), who revivified them by bringing them into touch with the Platonic tradition. In fact Plato was the true successor of Pythagoras, whose doctrine was represented in a one-sided way by

[1] Aristotle, *de Anima*, A. 2. 405[a] 29.
[2] Arist. *Probl.* 916[a] 33.

both sects of his nominal followers. In this way scientific Pythagoreanism became merged in the Academy (*q.v.*), while religious Pythagorism had a good deal to do with the rise of Cynicism (*q.v.*).

4. Pythagorean ethics.—It would, of course, be an anachronism to speak of a Pythagorean system of ethics. The constitution of such a system was the work of the schools of Athens and, with the exception of some indications of ethical theory in the fragments of Democritus (*q.v.*), of them alone. On the other hand, it is necessary to insist that the ethics of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle were based on a Pythagorean foundation, and are not fully intelligible unless we bear this in mind. It may be added that Democritus too was a pupil of the Pythagoreans and wrote a book entitled *Pythagoras*.

Being a religious community, the Pythagoreans had of course a rule of life, and it has recently been urged with great plausibility that certain hexameter verses, which are quoted at a fairly early date, and which may have been derived from the work of Timæus of Tauromenium, are actual fragments of this rule. The *Golden Verses* are spurious, of course, but they may well have been modelled on an older original. In particular, it seems certain that the members of the society had to make an examination of conscience morning and evening. They had to go over the events of the day that was past and ask themselves, 'In what have I transgressed, what have I done that I ought not to have done, and what have I left undone that I ought to have done?' It is obvious that a rule of this kind would be favourable to the rise of speculation on ethical subjects.

For the probability that there was a rule such as that described see A. Delatte, in *Revue de Philologie*, xxxiv. [1910] 175 ff. Delatte has been misled by some of his German authorities when he says that the original dialect of Pythagoreanism was Doric and that the original form of the doctrine was that things are like numbers, but he makes out a good case for the thesis that verses like *πῇ παρέβην; τί δ' ἔρεξα; τί μοι δεόν οὐκ ἐτελέσθη;* are really as old as the 5th cent., and formed part of a 'rule' in hexameter verse. Five verses (including the above) are quoted in Porphyry's *Life of Pythagoras* (40 Nauck) and give a description of the Pythagorean examination of conscience.

Now, we find that the ethical theories of Plato and Aristotle everywhere take for granted a classification of human lives into wisdom-loving, honour-loving, and gain-loving; and this is closely bound up with what is usually called the doctrine of the tripartite soul as expounded in Plato's *Republic*. It seems very difficult to doubt that it is Pythagorean, and, as a matter of fact, Posidonius[1] said that he had found the doctrine of the tripartite soul in the writings of the successors of Pythagoras. The story was that Pythagoras himself had used the word *φιλόσοφος* for the first time in a conversation with Leon, tyrant of Phlius or Sicyon, and it is everywhere implied in Plato that it was perfectly familiar to Socrates and his circle. 'Is not Euenus a philosopher?,' asks Socrates in the *Phædo*,[2] and the answer comes at once, 'I think so.' It seems to mean a man who holds a certain doctrine about the soul, and to have a much more specialized sense than the corresponding verb, as it is used in Herodotus. Life, Pythagoras is said to have told Leon, is like a gathering (*πανήγυρις*) such as that which comes together for the Olympic Games. There are three classes of visitors. The lowest are those who come to buy or sell, and next above them are those who come to compete; the best class, however, are those who come to look on (*θεωρεῖν*). If this is really the teaching of Pythagoras himself, we can see at once that it is the foundation of all subsequent Greek ethics, and in particular of the doctrine of the primacy of the theoretic life (lit. 'the life of the spectator'), which was held by Plato, with important reservations as to the duty of philosophers to take their turn in descending into the cave from which they had escaped (*καταβατέον ἐν μέρει*), and by Aristotle with no reservations at all.

The importance of Pythagoreanism in connexion with the rise of Greek ethical theory has been too much neglected, as is well shown by J. L. Stocks in his paper, 'Plato and the Tripartite Soul,' published in *Mind*, no. 94, new ser., xxiv. [1915] 200 ff. Important evidence of the Pythagorean origin of these ideas is furnished by a fragment of the *Tarentines* of Alexis,[1] where some one, presumably one of the Pythagoreans who are the subject of the comedy, says: 'No man of sense could bear a grudge against us with reason, seeing that we do no wrong to our neighbours. Dost thou not know that what is called living is but a name, a euphemism for our human lot? For myself I cannot tell whether any one will say that I judge rightly or wrongly, but the view I take on reflexion is this, that all human affairs are wholly insensate, and that we that are living have as our portion merely a sojourn in a strange land (*ἀποδημία*), like men released for a gathering (*πανήγυρις*) from death and darkness to this passing of time and to this light that we behold.' The moral drawn from these considerations is that we should eat, drink, and be merry, which is not exactly Pythagorean, but the point may well have been the inconsistency between the doctrine and the practical inferences from it. That has always been a favourite subject of comedy. The verses are quoted here only to show that the idea of the *πανήγυρις* (Vanity Fair) and the *ἀποδημία* are Pythagorean.

This, then, seems to be the source of the view of life which is common, *e.g.*, to Plato's *Phædo* and bk. x. of Aristotle's *Ethics*, but there is a further side of their ethical doctrine which is derived from Pythagorean science rather than Pythagorean religion—the doctrine that goodness is the health of the soul, and that the soul's health is determined by a mean. This is generally associated with the name of Aristotle, but Aristotle got it in the main from Plato's *Philebus*, and Plato distinctly gives us to understand that it is of Pythagorean origin.[2] In this connexion it is very significant that Socrates is the chief speaker in the *Philebus*, though it is one of Plato's latest dialogues and he had for a long time given up his early custom of making Socrates the central figure. Already in the *Phædo* he makes Socrates use the doctrine that goodness is an attunement (*ἁρμονία*) of the soul, to refute the theory that the soul is an attunement of the body. That would land us with an attunement of an attunement, which is absurd. Socrates evidently expects the Pythagoreans to accept this explanation of goodness as an attunement at once, and that is just the meaning of the doctrine of the mean as we find it in Aristotle's *Ethics*. There is a fragment of Archytas in which he speaks of *πλεονεξία* and *ἰσότης* very much as Socrates is made to do in the *Gorgias*,[3] though it breaks off just before it comes to the point, if it ever did. But, after all, it is not a far cry from what Alcmæon says about the health of the body to the doctrine of the mean as determining the health of the soul, and it may be that this step was already taken in the Pythagorean society. In any case it is based on Pythagorean ideas, and was implicit in the teaching of Pythagoras from the first.

It is certain that Pythagoras is entitled to be called the father of science, and it becomes more and more clear that all European religion and ethics, so far as they do not originate in Palestine, can also be traced back to him. There is still a great deal of work to be done, however, before we can grasp his historical character firmly. Most recent advances in our knowledge of the subject have been due to discoveries in other fields which have thrown a quite unexpected light on Pythagoras. What is now required is a thorough examination of all the forged Pythagorean documents of later days in the light of this new knowledge. Undoubtedly they are forgeries, and there is no chance of their being rehabilitated as genuine documents. At the same time, it is clear that

[1] *Ap.* Galen, *de Hipp. et Plat.* 478. [2] 61 C.

[1] Pickard-Cambridge, p. 86 [2] Plato, *Philebus*, 16 C ff.
[3] Archytas, frag. 3 (Diels). Cf. Plato, *Gorg.* 508 A.

they are the work of men who knew a good deal more about Pythagoreanism than we do, and they would have had no chance of passing off their productions as genuine if they had not been careful to give them an air of verisimilitude. It is not enough to condemn them because they contain ideas and use terminology which we are accustomed to regard as Platonic or Aristotelian; for nothing is more certain than that Pythagoreanism is the basis of Athenian philosophy, and some even of Aristotle's terminology is demonstrably of Pythagorean origin. That, so far as can be seen, is the direction which research may most profitably take at present.

LITERATURE.—The older works on Pythagoras and his school are antiquated, and the time has not yet come for a new synthesis. A. E. Chaignet, *Pythagore et la philosophie pythagoricienne*, 2 vols., Paris, 1873, was an attempt to apply reasonable principles of criticism to the subject, but it was premature. An intelligible historical view of the subject was first made possible by Erwin Rohde's 'Die Quellen des Iamblichus in seiner Biographie des Pythagoras,' *Rheinisches Museum*, xxvi. [1871] 554 ff., xxvii. [1872] 23 ff. These made clear for the first time the position of Aristoxenus and Dicæarchus. The same writer's *Psyche*[5], Tübingen, 1910, throws much light on the subject too. The interpretation of Pythagoreanism as a system has been possible only since the publication of Paul Tannery's *Pour l'hist. de la science hellène*, Paris, 1887. Among the works which may be said to have issued from the school of Tannery, G. Milhaud, *Leçons sur les origines de la science grecque*, Paris, 1893, and *Les Philosophes-Géomètres de la Grèce*, do. 1900, deserve particular mention and may be specially recommended to those who desire a lucid exposition of the mathematical side of the doctrine. The histories of philosophy (E. Zeller, T. Gomperz, etc.) generally give a fair view of the state of the question at the time of their publication, though it must be said that German writers, to their own great loss, have done scant justice to the admirable work produced in France.

JOHN BURNET.

Q

QĀDIĀNĪ.—Qādiānī was the name originally given to the followers of Mīrzā Ghulām Aḥmad of Qādiān, Gurdaspur District, Panjāb, in order to distinguish them from orthodox Muslims. In 1900 they were, at their own request, entered in the Government census lists as Aḥmadīya Muslims, and they have since been called by that name. Mīrzā Ghulām Aḥmad (1839–1908) was a man of some learning and unusual powers of leadership. In 1889 he announced that he possessed the right to receive *bai'at* ('homage') from his followers. Two years later he declared himself to be the 'promised Messiah' of Jews, Christians, and Muslims, and the Maḥdī expected by Muslims at the last day. In asserting that he fulfilled in himself the prophecies relating to both the Messiah and the Maḥdī, he controverted the usual Muhammadan belief that the two will be distinct personalities with different missions. He said that he had come 'in the spirit and power' of Jesus and of Muhammad, and he later declared that he was greater than Jesus, since he was the Messiah of Muhammad, as Jesus was of Moses. Shortly before his death he announced that he was likewise the final incarnation (*avatāra*) of Viṣṇu, whom Hindus had been expecting; and since his death his followers have added the further claim that he was 'the latter-day reformer of Parsis' and 'the Buddha of the East.'

The proofs by which he sought to establish his claims were declared to lie in revelations and miracles, the latter chiefly taking the form of prophecies of the death or discomfiture of his enemies among orthodox Muslims, Christians, and members of the Ārya Samāj. After the sinister fulfilment of one of these prophecies, in the death under suspicious circumstances of a prominent leader in the Ārya Samāj, the Mīrzā was compelled by order of the Deputy Commissioner of Gurdaspur District, dated 24th Feb. 1899, to refrain from further predictions involving the death or disgrace of another. One of the so-called miracles, which served to prepare the way for the announcement of the Mīrzā's Messianic office, was the alleged discovery, through a divine revelation, of the existence of the tomb of Jesus Christ in Srīnagar, Kashmīr. Jesus was said to have been taken down from the cross in a swoon and healed by the miraculous 'ointment of Jesus' (*marham-i-Isa*). He then set out on a mission to 'the lost sheep of the house of Israel' in Central Asia and Kashmīr, finally dying, at the age of 120, in Kashmīr, where his tomb in time became confused with that of a local saint named Yus Asaf. No serious evidence has been brought forward in proof of this novel theory, on which the whole claim of Mīrzā Ghulām Aḥmad and his followers admittedly rests.

Regarding his claim to be the expected Maḥdī, the Mīrzā was constrained perhaps by political considerations to make known a revelation alleging that the Maḥdī was not to be 'a man of blood,' as had been universally supposed, but was rather to lead Islām to triumph by means of a *peaceful* holy war (*jihād*). In this connexion he made much of his loyalty to the British Government. In further substantiation of his manifold claims he pointed to the corrupt condition of modern society and of the character of the accepted priests and teachers in every religion, which called for a great reformer and prophet, like himself, to bring to all hearts a new and quickening certitude in things religious. He drew a sharp line of demarcation between his followers and orthodox Muslims by enjoining all true Aḥmadīs to refrain from following orthodox *imāms* in their prayers, attending non-Aḥmadī funeral services, and giving the hands of their daughters to non-Aḥmadī husbands, though their sons might marry non-Aḥmadī girls. He also turned his face resolutely against all political controversy, and denounced as mischievous the activities of the All-India Moslem League and the Muhammadan Educational Conference.

The movement has grown steadily since its inception in 1889. In 1896 it claimed 313 members. In the 1901 Government census 1113 males were returned for the Panjāb, 931 for the United Provinces, and 11,087 for the Bombay Presidency (obviously an inaccuracy). In 1904 the Mīrzā claimed 'more than 200,000 followers,' and before his death he estimated the total number of his followers at 500,000. Against this manifest exaggeration must be placed the returns of the census for the Panjāb in 1911, viz. 18,695 Aḥmadīs. Probably 60,000 would be a liberal estimate of the total strength of the movement throughout India to-day. There are also a few scattered followers in other countries.

Before his death in 1908 Mīrzā Ghulām Aḥmad appointed his close friend and early disciple, Ḥakīm Nūr al-Dīn, as his successor, the 'first *khalīfah*' of the movement. Under the direction of the *khalīfah* the work was to be carried on by a board called the Ṣadr-Anjuman-i-Aḥmadīya. During the ensuing six years, before Nūr al-Dīn's death in 1914, a schism developed within the sect. One party, led by Khwājah Kamāl al-Dīn, a

prominent barrister, began to take part in political controversy, and in its religious literature showed a leaning towards the rationalism of Sir Syed Aḥmad Khān, the founder of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Alīgarh. The other party tended to magnify the supernatural claims and unique position of Mīrzā Ghulām Aḥmad, and continued to emphasize the evils of present-day Islām and its priests. In short, the former wing sought to bridge the chasm separating the sect from Islām generally, whereas the latter stressed the points of difference as fundamental. When Nūr al-Dīn died, the split widened. The son of the Mīrzā, Hazrat Maḥmūd Aḥmad, now hailed as 'the promised son of the promised Messiah,' was hastily elected the second *khalifat ul-Masih* by a group of his adherents at Qādiān. The rationalistic party forthwith seceded, and founded a new society in Lahore called the Anjuman-i-isha'at-i-Islām, whose interests were vested in a group of men rather than primarily in a single individual. Two of the members of this group, Khwājah Kamāl al-Dīn and Maulvi Sadr al-Dīn, are the founders of a Muslim mission at Woking, England, through the instrumentality of which some scores of English people, including one peer, Lord Headley, have announced that they have become Muslims. A monthly paper in English, *The Islamic Review and Muslim India*, is published at Woking, and it is worthy of note that no trace of Aḥmadīya influence is to be found in it, save perhaps in the evident anti-Christian animus.

The Qādiān party continues to publish *The Review of Religions* in English, and several vernacular papers, conducts a successful high school, and carries on considerable missionary work. It can truly claim to embody the real spirit and tradition of the founder and his original followers.

J. N. Farquhar thus succinctly sums up the position and importance of Mīrzā Ghulām Aḥmad's teachings in relation to similar movements in India to-day:

> 'Apart from these personal claims, his teaching is an attempt to find, amidst the irresistible inrush of Western education and Christian thought, a middle path between impossible orthodoxy and the extreme rationalism of Sir Syed Aḥmad Khan' (*Modern Religious Movements in India*, p. 146).

Recent events indicate that the middle path was destined to end speedily in cross-roads.

LITERATURE.—H. D. Griswold, *Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, the Mahdi Messiah of Qadian*, Ludhiana, 1902, 'The Aḥmadiya Movement,' in *The Moslem World*, ii. [1912] 373 ff.; J. N. Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India*, New York, 1915, p. 137 ff.; M. T. Houtsma, in *RMM* i. [1906] 333 ff., and in *EI* iv. 206; H. A. Walter, *The Aḥmadiya Movement* ('Religious Life of India' series), Calcutta, 1918, 'The Aḥmadiya Movement To-day,' in *The Moslem World*, vi. [1916] 66 ff.; Mīrzā Ghulām Aḥmad, *The Teachings of Islam*, Qādiān, 1896; *The Review of Religions*, published monthly since 1902; and numerous periodicals and controversial pamphlets in the vernacular.

H. A. WALTER.

QARO.—Joseph ben Ephraim Qaro, a famous codifier of Rabbinical Judaism, was born in Spain in 1488, and died at Safed, Palestine, in 1575. On the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, which sent many scholars to other lands and diffused Rabbinical culture more widely, his parents went with him to European Turkey, settling first in Nicopolis. Here he received thorough instruction in the Talmud from his father, who was eminently qualified to be his teacher. Later he lived in Adrianople, Salonica, and Constantinople—successive steps in his long-cherished journey to Palestine, which he reached about 1535, Safed becoming his place of residence.

It was an age of mystical tendencies in Judaism, which is so inherently opposed to such influences from the earliest times. Owing undoubtedly to long periods of persecution, which reached its climax in Spain, an added stimulus was given to Kabbalistic dreamers, whose fantasies took firm hold on many susceptible minds which had lost judgment and balance under the burden of exile and wretchedness. Turkey, which opened its dominions to the oppressed, and where large and fairly prosperous communities could be found, attracted all types of Jews, the visionaries in goodly number. Safed in particular proved a seat of mystics, and Qaro's early fantasies were revived and strengthened by the new environment. He had met some years before Solomon Molcho, who strove to play the part of a Messiah and suffered death at the stake in 1532, and he gave full vent to his mystical ideas which, long cherished, were clamouring for expression. He was so far overwrought as to invoke a familiar — even in his Nicopolis days—and for fifty years he kept a diary which recorded his discussions with this imaginary genius. The book of visions, called *Maggid Mesharim*, whether actually written by him or merely ascribed to him by a zealous disciple, as occurs not rarely in literary history, makes him a double personality—a mystic as well as a codifier. Happily, and as one evidence that the diary or collection of desultory notes is not entirely genuine, the comprehensive works upon which his fame is really based show no mystical influences. Whatever his reverence for the *Zōhār* as authority for the Kabbalistic dreamer of dreams, he gave undisputed first place to the Talmud, with his logical mind, and was impelled by the needs of the times to popularize and strengthen its hold on the life and thought of Judaism. He was not the first intellectual whose imagination was to prove an incentive, not an opiate.

Qaro's fame depends chiefly on his two digests of Rabbinical law. He wrote these in an age of dispersion when in the Jews' new settlements, which were never wholly secure, the fundamental law and authority of Judaism were imperilled as much by the violent and arbitrary changes in environment as by the half-knowledge of leaders and the almost total ignorance of the people. Considering these conditions, one can understand how his passion for saving from destruction the traditional creed and customs worked upon a susceptible nature and fostered fantastic reveries as well as lofty ambitions. If he could not be a Messiah in the popular sense, he could save his people none the less by inculcating the authority and permanence of the law.

As early as 1522 in Adrianople, he began the first of his great works, *Beth Yosef*, 'House of Joseph,' which, completed in 1542 at Safed and published in 1550–59, raised him to the front rank of Talmudists of his own age or earlier. This work, while a commentary on Jacob ben Asher's *Arba'ah Ṭurim*, 'Four Orders,' whose method he closely followed, is more than a digest of the authorities cited therein. It gives a careful critical view of many Rabbinical opinions not quoted by his predecessor. Hence it furnishes an unsurpassed wealth of material. The range of reading displayed, in both Talmudic and post-Talmudic literature, together with the critical sagacity in the study and comparison of authorities, leaving little uninvestigated, gives a monumental character to the work. A sturdy independence is exhibited in the discussions, although the standard authorities, al-Fasi, Maimonides, and Asher ben Jehiel, are accepted. Qaro's aim throughout was partly to familiarize the Rabbi with the duties that devolved upon his high office as leader in Israel, and partly to explain to the student clearly and methodically how laws are developed from the Talmud through later Rabbinical literature. It was not merely to answer the Epicurean, but to stimulate to study and research, and to gain for practical life an intelligible,

harmonious system which would maintain the old faith for all time.

Not wholly satisfied with *Beth Yosef*, in later years he wrote his second great code, *Shulḥan Arûkh*, 'Prepared Table' (1565; according to Steinschneider,[1] 1555). It is possible that he underestimated its value and character, for in the introduction he speaks of having prepared it for young students, thus stamping it as elementary. He preferred the other digest in his decisions—it was for experts, for Rabbis deep in the law. Yet the *Shulḥan 'Arûkh* has rapidly outdistanced the earlier code as authority. Despite continuous controversy—in fact largely by reason of the attacks made upon it—it has become the Rabbinical code which defines Judaism to our own day in the lives and opinions of the great majority of Jews throughout the world. For almost a hundred years the contest waged—it was a bloodless battle of the books, however—the chief opposition being on the part of Talmudists who were Ashkenazim, of German stock, as contrasted with the Sephardim, or Spanish, to whom Qaro was naturally acceptable. It is the opinion of L. Ginzberg[2] that the Ashkenazim regarded the work as an unquestioned authority only after Isserles, who adduces still later views, had subjected it to criticism and extensive supplements. After the period of censure came the age of admiration, with a host of commentators that made it a household word in the 17th cent. and to our age. Its authority was firmly established, with here and there an eminent Rabbi, with a bent to individualism, who refused to recognize its guidance as binding.

Since the development of Reform Judaism and the rise of modernism in various lands there have been countless attacks on Qaro and his code. On the whole, most of these have been rather unjust; for he is not responsible for laws, opinions, and customs that have existed in Israel from grey antiquity. His function was to photograph Jewish tradition, to record and interpret it according to the authorities, so as to weld still more firmly past, present, and future. His office was not that of an apologist, but that of a codifier. Graetz[3] claims that Qaro erred in citing all opinions, however transient and trifling, and made his work a store-house of views which do not always reflect credit on Judaism and have really furnished biting texts, if perverted, for the anti-Semite. There is undoubted force in this contention, but Qaro's candour and fullness are not to be underrated. He had nothing to conceal or to extenuate. It must also be stated in his vindication that he lays no claim to absolute authority, asserts no doctrine of infallibility. Far from forging an iron bond, he rescued Jewish thought from stagnation and promoted the conflict of opinion, eminently healthful for a creed that claims to be intelligent.

The work consists of four parts, called *Orah Hayyim*, 'Path of Life,' *Yoreh De'ah*, 'Teacher of Knowledge,' *Hoshen ha Mishpat*, 'Breastplate of Judgment,' and *Eben ha Ezer*, 'Stone of Help.' The first deals mainly with prayer, the blessings, Sabbath and holy days, and their prescribed observances. The second concerns itself with food and its preparation, and the slaughtering of animals for food, Jew and non-Jew in their relations to each other, duties to parents and charity, religious customs connected with agriculture, and the rites of mourning—a rather extended and diversified list of contents. The third part treats of marriage and divorce from the civil and religious points of view. The fourth and concluding section discusses legal proceedings, laws as to business, and the relation of man to man in an everyday working world. All life in its variety and complexity was thus considered as part of the concern of religion. In the dark ages that were upon the Jew as the 17th and 18th centuries arrived the work preserved him from disintegration. Whether its influence was to be as salutary, with the spreading of civil and religious liberty among the nations and the gradual passing away of the Ghetto and its necessarily narrowed life, if not vision, cannot be so summarily answered. All depends upon the point of view.

Qaro's life in Safed was much influenced for a time by R. Jacob Berab, one of his most learned associates in that place. The recognized head of its Jewish community about 1535, he was the centre of a number of disciples and was called 'teacher' by Qaro. In 1538 he attempted to restore the rite of ordination, with no less an object in view than the re-establishment of the Sanhedrin in Palestine as seat of the highest authority in Israel. Qaro was elated by the idea and became one of the four disciples to be ordained without delay. Unfortunately Berab died two years later and the grandiose scheme failed to be realized. Qaro, with all his ardent leanings towards the Messianic rôle, sensibly preferred his work as teacher and author. He lived until 1575, and had the satisfaction of seeing his fame and authority more and more generally acknowledged, while hundreds of students, some of high distinction, thronged his lecture-hall to hear his opinions and interpretations.

In addition to his two codes Qaro published in his life-time *Kesef Mishneh*, 'Double Money' (Venice, 1574–75). After his death appeared *Bedeḳ ha Bayith*, 'Repairing of the House,' supplements and corrections to his *Beth Yosef* (Salonica, 1605); *Kelale ha Talmud*, 'Principles of the Talmud' (do. 1598); *Abḳat Rokel*, 'Powder of the Merchant, Decisions' (do. 1791); *Maggid Mesharim*, 'Who preaches Righteousness' (Lublin, 1646, with supplements, Venice, 1654). Some fragments in the Bodleian, a few sermons in the collection *Oz Ẓaddiḳim*, 'The Strength of the Righteous' (Salonica, 1799), and a number of commentaries on the Mishnah and on Rashi's and Naḥmanides' Pentateuch commentaries, which seem to have disappeared, complete the list.

LITERATURE.—H. Graetz, *Gesch. der Juden*, Leipzig, 1866–78, ix., Eng. tr., London, 1891–92, iv.; S. Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, 2nd ser., London, 1908, pp. 210–236; M. Gaster, 'The Origin and Sources of the Shulchan Aruch,' in *Report of Lady Judith Montefiore College*, London, 1893; L. Ginzberg, *s.v.* 'Caro,' in *JE* iii.; D. Cassel, 'Josef Karo und das Buch Maggid Mesharim,' in 6th *Jahresbericht der Lehranstalt für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, Berlin, 1888.

A. S. ISAACS.

QUAKERISM.—See FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF.

QUEEN OF HEAVEN. — This expression occurs in the AV of Jeremiah (7^{16-20} 44^{15-30}) and seems to be the natural rendering of the Hebrew when vocalized *malkat haššāmayim*, and is strongly supported by the versions. But the view that the expression should imply the same idea as the often mentioned 'host of heaven' apparently suggested a different derivation, from *meleket* in the sense of 'work' or 'cult,' and led to a different vocalization which influenced other versions.

The ritual as ascribed to the worshippers of the Queen of Heaven by the prophet Jeremiah lays emphasis on the offering of 'cakes.' The Jewish women made these cakes with much ceremony; the boys of the family gathered firewood, the adult males kindled the fire, and the women kneaded the dough. The offering was made 'by fire' accompanied by libations. Jeremiah alleges this to have been a common cult in the cities of Judah and the streets of Jerusalem. It may not be wise to insist too strongly on the details, as the prophet's indignation may have led him to caricature to some extent, but this and the name are all that we have by which to identify the cult.

[1] *Catalogus librorum Hebræorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana*, Berlin, 1852–60, col. 1480.
[2] *JE* iii. 586.
[3] *Hist. of the Jews*, iv. 652.

The cakes, *kawwanim*, which the LXX transcribes and the Vulgate renders *placenta*, are not without parallel in Greek cults. But it is precarious to argue as to their form or significance from such parallels. The name is literally the same as the Babylonian *kamānu*, denoting the cakes or biscuits used in the cult of Ishtar. Whether the reference to fire in the word *kiṭṭer* demands burning of the cakes in the act of offering or refers to the process of their manufacture is not easily decided; but it can hardly mean to burn incense as an accompaniment of the offering.

The difficulty felt in identifying this expression as a name of Ishtar is largely due to the fact that, while Ishtar is frequently called *belit šamê* or *šarrat šamê*, 'lady *or* queen of heaven,' *malkat šamê* has not yet been found as her epithet. That *malkatu* is an equivalent of *šarratu* cannot be denied, but the question remains open whether we have in this worship a mere transfer of a Babylonian cult of Venus or a local variation of the same. The Tammuz worship which Ezekiel mentions (8^{14}) makes it likely that we have to do with a Venus cult here. On the other hand, a connexion of *meleket* with the configuration of the sky would agree with the astral theory. The form is difficult to account for as a Hebrew word, but would be correct as a transliteration of the Babylonian; only this supposed Babylonian prototype is not yet authenticated. Still the cakes are very suggestive.

There is nothing to suggest an identification of the Queen of Heaven with the moon, which is a male deity in the Semitic world.

LITERATURE.—*EBi* and *HDB*, *s.v.*; *KAT*[3], p. 441 ff. and *passim*; A. Jeremias, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East*, Eng. tr., London, 1911, i. 60, 98 f., 118 f., ii. 232, and *passim*; S. Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, Oxford, 1914, pp. 71, 94.

C. H. W. JOHNS.

QUESTIONS OF KING MILINDA.—See MILINDA.

QUICHES.—See MAYANS, POPOL VUH.

QUIETISM.—Quietism may be defined as the exaggeration and perversion of the mystical doctrine of interior quiet. Viewed as a tendency, it is co-extensive with the history of mysticism (*q. v.*), and it might successfully be argued that some early and mediæval mystics were more definitely 'Quietistic' than most of the members of the post-Reformation group known as Quietist. Viewed as a specific movement, Quietism swept over the religious life of Europe in the latter part of the 17th and the early part of the 18th cent., gaining sway in many countries and taking deep root within both Catholicism and Protestantism.

1. *DOCTRINES.*—**1. Passivity.**—On the surface it is not easy to distinguish between the Quietist doctrine of passivity and the 'orthodox' mystical doctrine of quiet, and we find so competent an authority as Heppe asserting that the teaching of Molinos was substantially identical with that of St. Teresa;[1] but it might with more justice be asserted that the characteristic doctrines of Molinos are traceable, not to his appropriation of St. Teresa's doctrine of the orison of quiet, but to his deflexions from it.

(*a*) *St. Teresa.*—For St. Teresa, as for the mediæval mystics, the state of quiet is that 'busy rest' in which the soul abandons all superficial activity in order that it may engage in the deeper activity of opening itself to God. It contains of necessity a passive element, for the soul that would hold the Divine Word as a shell holds the ocean must be self-emptied and set a watch upon its undisciplined impulses even when they urge it towards the divine. But such 'wise passiveness' does not exclude the active aspect of 'stretching' towards God. Its stillness—to use the fine simile of D. A. Baker,[1] the Benedictine mystic—is the stillness of the soaring eagle, which cleaves its way through the blue with motionless wings. It is 'the rest [that] springs . . . from an unusually large amount of actualized energy,' the rest that 'is produced by Action "unperceived because so fleet," so near, so all fulfilling.'[2] Moreover, such mystic quiet is not an end, but a means—not a goal, but 'like the repose of a traveller who, within sight of the goal, stops to take breath and then continues with new strength upon his way.'[3]

(*b*) *Molinos.*—When we turn from St. Teresa to Molinos, we find that, while the latter, in his *Guida Spirituale*, says much about interior quiet that is in complete accord with the conceptions of classic mysticism, the main trend and ultimate teaching of the book is Quietistic; *i.e.*, the quiet for which he contends is in the last resort the negative, impassive, sterile state which Ruysbroeck[4] castigated so severely in its earlier manifestations. In common with most mystical writers, Molinos distinguishes between meditation, in which the reason is active and the mind occupied with definite aspects of Christian faith and life, and contemplation, which may be defined as an absorbed, loving intuition of divine things, a direct spiritual apprehension of God and adhesion to Him.

To quote St Thomas Aquinas,[5] as epitomized by Luis de la Puente, contemplation is 'a simple view of eternal truth without variety of reasoning, penetrating it by the light of heaven with great affections of admiration and love at which ordinarily no man arrives but by much exercise of meditation and discourse (*i.e.*, reasoning, or analysis and synthesis).'[6]

But, while the great mystics insist that pure contemplation is of necessity incomplete and intermittent and that, while discursive reasoning is suspended, the intellect (higher reason) is present and active,[7] Molinos demands a Stoic ataraxy in which intellect as well as feeling is uncompromisingly renounced:

'Inner Solitude consists . . . in a perfect abnegation of all purpose, desire, thought and will. . . . For if the Soul does not detach herself from her own appetite and desire, from her own will, from spiritual gifts and from repose, even in spiritual things, she never can attain to this high felicity. . . .[8] Undeceive thyself, and believe that if thy Soul is to be wholly united to God, she must lose her self and renounce life, feeling, knowledge and power; whether living or not living, dying or not dying, suffering or not suffering; without thought, or reflection. . . .[9] Their lives [*i.e.* the lives of true contemplatives] are so detached, that although they continually receive many supernatural Graces, yet they are not changed nor affected thereby, being just as if they had not received them, keeping always in the inmost of their Hearts a great lowliness and self-contempt dwelling humbly in the abyss of their own unworthiness and vileness. In the same way they are always quiet, serene and even-minded in Graces and in extraordinary favours as also in the most rigorous and bitter torments. No news causes them to rejoice, no event saddens them. Consider nothing, desire nothing, will nothing, endeavour after nothing, and then in everything thy Soul will live reposed in quiet and enjoyment.'[10]

(*c*) *Madame Guyon.*—In the writings of Madame Guyon the same tendency is traceable, though in a logically undeveloped form. The highly emotional character of her work and its loose and inconsistent use of language make it difficult to determine the precise extent of her Quietistic convictions. While emphasizing the active element in the orison of quiet,[11] her writings abound in passages which can be construed only in an explicitly Quietistic sense.

1 *Sancta Sophia*, Douai, 1657, Eng. tr., London, 1908, treatise iii. § iii. ch. vii.
2 F. von Hügel, *The Mystical Element of Religion*, ii. 132.
3 St. Teresa, *The Way of Perfection*, ch. xxxiii.
4 *Adornment of the Spiritual Marriage*, bk. ii. ch. lxvi. f.
5 *Summa Theol.* II. ii. qu. clxxx.
6 L. de la Puente, *Meditations*, Eng. tr., London, 1852-54, i., Introd. p. 53.
7 When, *e.g.*, St. Teresa uses the expression 'the silence of the understanding,' she refers to the cessation of what she calls 'the eliciting from one subject many thoughts or reflections' (*Life of St. Teresa*, tr. David Lewis, London, 1870, ch. xiii. p. 82).
8 *Guida Spirituale*, III. xii. 119, 126.
9 *Ib.* III. vii. 71. 10 *Guida Spirituale*, III i. 5.
11 *Le Moyen court*, ch. xxi.

'My prayer from this moment was without forms, ideas and images [*i.e.* of any definite thoughts]. . . . All distinctions were lost to give room for more expansion without motives or reasons for loving. That sovereign of the powers—the will—swallowed up the two others and took from them every distinct object to unite them the better in it.'[1] 'The killing pain which one feels when one loses the definite consciousness of the Divine Presence shows that one has not yet become perfectly *indifferent* and that one is still tied to *gifts* of God.'[2] 'I had no more a will to submit; it had, as it were, disappeared, or rather passed into another Will. It seemed to me that this powerful and strong One did all that pleased Him, and I no more found that soul which He formerly conducted by His crook and staff with an extreme love. He appeared to me alone and *as if the soul had given place to Him or rather had passed into Him, henceforth to become only one same thing with Him.*'[3]

This losing of the soul in transcending the state in which it is shepherded by the divine love marks the extreme of Quietistic theory, and, while Madame Guyon's language cannot be pressed too far, its general tendency is unmistakable.

(*d*) *Fénelon.*—In Fénelon Quietism found its apologist. His *Maxims of the Saints* was written with the express purpose of defending Quietism against the popular charges of 'idle basking in the Divine Presence' and of immoral apathy. It is all the more significant that, in the very act of seeking to distinguish between true mysticism and Quietism, he moves in that atmosphere of negation and abstraction which is the logical presupposition of Quietism in its most extreme and exaggerated form.

'Pure contemplation,' he says, 'is negative, being occupied with no sensible image, no distinct and nameable idea; it stops only at the purely intellectual and abstract idea of Being.'[4]

That he makes this idea include as distinct objects all the attributes of God, the Trinity, the humanity of Christ, and all His mysteries is only one instance of the contradictions which make his work of comparatively little value as an authoritative contribution to the literature of Quietism.

2. The one act.—In close logical connexion with the Quietistic conception of passivity as a negative and abstract state is the doctrine that the soul's surrender to God is made once for all in an act not to be repeated. Molinos is emphatic in his assertion that the soul that has once made the great surrender to God 'by means of the act of pure Faith' remains in an indefectible state of union with God.

He contends that the soul 'may persevere in prayer though the imagination be carried about with various and involuntary thoughts.'[5] For, according to Quietist doctrine, 'Faith and Intention are sufficient, and these always continue . . . nay, the more simple is that remembrance, without words or thoughts, the more is it pure, spiritual, internal and worthy of God. So that so long as thou retractest not that Faith and Intention of being resigned, thou walkest always in Faith and Resignation, and consequently in Prayer, and in virtual and acquired Contemplation, although thou perceive it not and remember it not, neither makest new acts and reflections.'[6]

3. Pure or disinterested love.—The doctrine of a continuous and 'habitual' state (as distinct from occasional aspirations, which Roman Catholic theology has always counted among the highest exercises of the soul) of loving God purely (*i.e. secundum Se*, without hope of reward or dread of punishment or any regard to even His most spiritual gifts) attained special prominence through the famous controversy upon the subject between Bossuet and Fénelon. Bossuet's point of view is summed up in his extraordinary assertion:

'Pure love is opposed to the essence of love, which always desires the enjoyment of its object, as well as to the nature of man, who necessarily desires happiness.'

Against this view Fénelon urges that a selfish or mercenary love is obviously a contradiction in terms. This is, of course, the normal Christian view, but Fénelon passes beyond it to an explicitly Quietistic interpretation.

He declares that 'a man's self is his own greatest cross. . . . Uncompromising renunciation of this wretched self—that is the true crucifying of the flesh.'[1] He goes so far as to say that 'all generosity, all natural affection, is only self-love of a more subtle, delusive . . . and diabolical quality. One must wholly die to all friendship.'[2]

Love, he contends, loves no particular thing or object and asks for no return, even in kind. His definition of sanctification, as a state of holy indifference and utter non-desire, applies equally to his conception of disinterested love. And, while he seeks to guard against the Quietist error by insisting with St. Paul that hope, as well as love, must abide, his whole teaching implies an indifference to salvation which robs the term 'hope' of every true meaning. Conceived with greater mental stability and expressed with more caution, his position is ultimately very much the same as that of Madame Guyon when she declares that the soul must become dead to all desire, even to its desires for spiritual gifts and graces and for salvation itself, and that it must learn to love God and prove its love by the utmost self-sacrifice and devotion, without being concerned whether He cares or responds.[3] The whole trend of his teaching is towards a Stoical or Buddhistic conception of self-renunciation and non-desire which logically excludes love of any kind, whether 'pure' or interested.

4. Summary.—The Quietistic doctrine of passive contemplation, of which the doctrines of the one act and of disinterested love are corollaries, is based upon the Neo-Platonic *via negativa*, which from Dionysius onwards took an Asiatic rather than a Greek form, representing 'a sense of the divine transcendence run riot.'

Molinos appeals to Dionysius in teaching that 'we know God more perfectly by negatives than by affirmatives. We think more loftily of God by knowing that He is incomprehensible than by conceiving Him under any image.'[4]

But, while the roots of 17th cent. Quietism are struck deep in metaphysical soil, it must be borne in mind that the controlling motive of post-Reformation mysticism in general and of Quietism in particular was not metaphysical, but theological. Seventeenth century Quietism is the mystical expression of the doctrine of the total depravity and helplessness of human nature, which Protestant theology and the counter-Reformation had sharpened to a despairing conviction of 'the utter miserabilism of the "creature."' Fénelon expresses this conviction in characteristic fashion:

'As the sacristan at the end of the service snuffs out the altar candles one after another, so must grace put out our natural life; and as his extinguisher, ill applied, leaves behind it a guttering spark that melts the wax, so will it be with us if one single spark of natural life remains.'[5]

It is abundantly clear that such a sentiment is derived from Augustine rather than from Dionysius, to whom any counsel to abhor the self that is God's temple was entirely foreign. Moreover, while the 'nothingness' of Dionysius refers to that 'divine dark' in which the soul perceives and apprehends the ineffable, the nothingness of Molinos is a nothingness of the soul itself, and amounts to annihilation of all that is capable of union with God in any real sense. None the less we may see in Quietism the negative method, stimulated to its 'dying spasm'[6] by Reformation influences. Its exaltation of an empty consciousness—an experience without differentiations in which distinction of actions vanishes[7] and the soul can neither will nor not will—paralyzes morality.

[1] *Autobiography*, tr. T. T. Allen, 2 vols., London, 1897, pt. i. ch. viii.
[2] In a letter to Fénelon (M. Masson, *Fénelon et Madame Guyon*, lettre xiv.).
[3] *Autobiography*, pt. i. ch. xxviii.
[4] *Maxims of the Saints*, ch. xxvii.
[5] *Guida Spirituale*, i. xiv. 99, 102. [6] *Ib.* i. xiv. 103, 105.

[1] Letter to Madame de Maintenon (*Correspondance*, Paris, 1827–29, v. 466).
[2] *Ib.* [3] *Les Torrents spirituels*, ch. v. sect. 19.
[4] *Guida Spirituale*, preface, § 8.
[5] *Spiritual Letters*, cciii. [6] Inge, p. 238.
[7] Madame Guyon, *Les Torrents spirituels*, ch. ix. sect. 7 f.

It resolves religion at its highest into an experience in which the soul is translated to a region 'beyond good and evil,' and so cuts the nerve of morality, which always implies a clear vision of the distinction between good and evil and a definite choice in which the whole personality is active. In its consistently logical form Quietism makes communion between man and God an impossibility by annulling the distinction between them, ultimately reducing God to a vague and empty abstraction, and dehumanizing man. Its radical acosmism 'conceives the Good outside of humanity and removes conduct to a sphere of fictitious interests where the will cannot act.'[1] Although Christian Quietists have always to a greater or less extent formulated their doctrines in terms of Jesus Christ and His gospel, Quietism *per se* is fundamentally opposed to incarnational religion. On the practical and devotional side, it resolves itself into pure fanaticism, *i.e.* 'the fanaticism of expecting from God a grace which He never gives.'[2] Its determining motive—the desire to cleanse religion from selfishness and to emphasize an inwardness which seeks the Giver above even His most precious and purely spiritual gifts—is a valid one. While the antithesis between gift and giver as applied to God is largely false, and rests upon a conception of 'grace' which externalizes it into something 'given' by God and separable from His self-giving, Quietism represents a genuine and still much-needed protest against a theology which debases grace to a form of magic and imports the crassest self-interest into the soul's commerce with God.

II. *HISTORY.*—The term 'Quietist' was first used in the 14th cent., when its Greek form, *Hesychastai*, was applied to a certain community of monks on Mount Athos who, *inter alia*, indulged in trance-experiences not unlike those of the Indian Yogi. Quietistic teaching was first popularized by the Beghards and the Brethren of the Free Spirit (*q.v.*). Condemned by the Council of Vienna in 1311 and sorely persecuted, these mystical groups persisted for more than a century and familiarized the common people with Quietistic conceptions of religion. Eckhart was included in the ecclesiastical disapproval of Quietism, Pope John XXII. condemning his views on interior quiet in 1329; and the castigations of Quietism in the writings of Ruysbroeck and Tauler show how wide-spread the doctrine was and how disastrous in its extreme and debased forms. It must be borne in mind, however, that the primary motive of the official opposition to Quietism was ecclesiastical rather than religious. The Church authorities recognized its anti-institutional character, and no expedient was deemed too cruel or too mean, provided it bade fair to secure the extinction of Quietist sects.

But, while large tracts of pre-Reformation and counter-Reformation mysticism admit of a Quietistic interpretation, it needed the impulse of a mighty religious movement to develop the implications of what were, after all, only latent or sporadic tendencies. Such an impulse was provided by the new religious spirit, the new demand for inwardness, which found expression in the Reformation (*q.v.*). The 17th cent. Quietists were, for the most part, devoted Roman Catholics and derived their immediate inspiration and authority from the great mystics of the counter-Reformation, one of whom at least, St. John of the Cross, was more radically anti-institutional than Molinos himself. Yet they were essentially a fruit of the Protestant spirit—a fact which Rome was swift to discern.

While by common consent Quietism, in the strictest sense of the term, is taken to begin with Molinos, the first half of the 17th cent. already exhibits individuals and groups representing strongly Quietistic convictions. Prominent among such were the Spanish mystic, Juan Falconi (1596–1638), who attracted a large following, and whose *Alfabeto et Lettera* prepared the way for the *Guida Spirituale*; Marie de l'Incarnation (1599–1672), an Ursuline of Tours, afterwards of Quebec, whom Bossuet called 'the St. Teresa of our times and of the New World';[1] the saintly layman, Jean de Bernières Lovigny (1602–59), Treasurer of France and greatly admired by Fénelon; the influential writer, Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin, first Chancellor of the Académie Française (1595–1676); the profound but often fanciful secular priest, Henri Marie Boudon (1624–1702); the gifted ascetical writer, Jean-Joseph Surin (1600–65), formally approved by Bossuet; and many others. The Pelagini (a society called after its founder, Giacomo Filippo di Santa Pelagia, a layman of Milan) were largely a recrudescence of the 16th cent. group of the Alombrados or Illuminati, which had been crushed out by the Inquisition for holding that one could dispense with the ordinances and ignore the requirements of the Church. That there was a vigorous Quietistic movement in France at least twenty years before the term 'Quietist' was first applied to the followers of Molinos in 1681 is shown by Nicole's rare book, *Les Imaginaires et les visionnaires*—an attack on the 'new heresies,' published as early as 1667.

When, in 1675, Miguel de Molinos published his *Guida Spirituale*, Juan Falconi's *Alfabeto et Lettera* had prepared thousands of earnest souls in Spain, Italy, and France to welcome the new doctrine. Born in Saragossa in 1640, Molinos took the degree of Doctor of Theology at Coimbra and migrated to Rome in 1669 or 1670. His piety, learning, and sympathetic personality soon made him one of the most sought-after spiritual directors and a noted figure in Roman society. Among his friends were many of the cardinals, including Cardinal Benedict Odescalchi, afterwards Pope Innocent XI., who sanctioned his position as the most esteemed confessor in Rome by giving him lodgings in the Vatican. Cardinal D'Estrée, the representative of Louis XIV., also approved of him in those days, and, when his *Guida Spirituale* appeared, it bore the approbation of various distinguished ecclesiastics, among them four inquisitors. Priests advised their penitents to discard formal prayers and devotions for the simple method of Molinos; societies for the study of this method were formed everywhere, and within six years the *Guida Spirituale* had passed through twenty editions in Italian, Spanish, French, and Latin. But soon the Jesuits realized that a method of prayer which deprecated Masses and formal devotions was contrary to the interests of the Church. Father Paul Segneri, one of their ablest and most popular preachers, was selected to confute Molinos. He did so in a small book entitled *Concordia tra la Fatica e la Quiete nell' Oratione* ('The Harmony between Effort and Quiet in Prayer'), which was published five years after the *Guida Spirituale*. But so firmly was Molinos entrenched in popular favour that Segneri, hitherto the idol of the people, was overwhelmed with scorn and denunciation, and there is reason to believe that even his life was in danger. A commission was convened in 1682 to inquire into the writings of Segneri and Molinos, as well as into a book entitled *La Contemplazione Mystica Acquistata,*

[1] E. Récéjac, *Essay on the Bases of the Mystic Knowledge*, Eng. tr., London, 1899, p. 218.
[2] J. C. Hedley, 'Prayer and Contemplation,' *Dublin Review*, xxvii. [1876] 337.

[1] *Etats d'oraison*, bk. xix. 3.

written by the saintly Cardinal Petrucci, a loyal friend of Molinos. As a result Segneri's book was condemned, Petrucci was made Bishop of Jesi, and the teaching of Molinos was triumphantly vindicated. The Jesuits, however, were determined to gain the victory, and, seeing that the Vatican protected Molinos, they appealed to Cæsar in the shape of King Louis XIV. Through his confessor, Père La Chaise, they roused the apprehensions of the king, and induced him to bring pressure to bear upon the pope. Innocent XI. was induced to refer the matter once more to the Inquisition, and this decided the fate of Quietism within the Roman Church. Molinos and Petrucci were summoned before the Inquisition in 1685, and the former was cast into prison; but it was not until two years after, when the popular indignation against his imprisonment had spent itself, that the Jesuits determined to strike. In 1687 about 200 persons, including many members of the aristocracy and some priests, were arrested and imprisoned. A commission of inquiry regarding Quietism in monastic houses resulted in the discovery that many monks and nuns had exchanged the prescribed devotions of the Church for the 'Prayer of Quiet.' A panic was created among the orthodox. Molinos was formally charged, on the ground of 68 propositions, extracted partly from his writings, partly from the declarations of his followers, with grave errors in doctrine and serious offences against decency and morality. He was also stated to have himself confessed having committed improper acts, and the populace that had once idolized him now clamoured for his execution. In the end it was announced that he had confessed his sins and was willing to abjure his heresies, in consideration of which he had been sentenced to life-long imprisonment. The recantation took place with all the pomp of ecclesiastical procedure. Nothing more is known of the fate of Molinos except that he died in prison in 1697. His books and papers were burnt; persons known to have been attached to him or in sympathy with his teaching were hunted down throughout Spain and Italy; and all writings of a Quietistic character were rigorously suppressed. Among those who fell victims to this relentless persecution was the blind mystic of Marseilles, François Malaval, whose *La Pratique de la vie vraie: théologie mystique* was first published in 1670.

In France the drama of Quietism played itself out in an atmosphere of political intrigue and personal animosity. Its central figure was **Madame Guyon.** Born at Montargis in 1648, Jeanne-Marie Bouvier de la Motte Guyon showed an early bent towards mysticism and asceticism, and as a child desired to enter the Order of the Visitation. Her parents had other plans for her, however, and in 1662 she was married to Jacques Guyon, Seigneur de Chesney, a wealthy man, twenty-two years her senior. It was, as might have been expected, an exceedingly unhappy marriage, sorely aggravated by the petty tyranny of a malignant mother-in-law, and the highly-strung girl turned more passionately than ever to the spiritual world. She had no difficulty in finding guides and helpers in her search for the inward way to God, since the France of her day abounded in souls of a genuinely mystical type; and, at the age of twenty, the words of an obscure young Franciscan to whom she turned in her need and who bade her seek God within her own heart finally started her on her spiritual pilgrimage. Her mystical experience was exceptionally sharply defined, falling into three distinct stages. The first was marked by an almost overwhelming influx of the Divine Presence, 'without word, thought or image,' which awoke in her soul a fierce joy of possession. This was succeeded by a period of dryness and derelict̃ion, during which outward troubles as well as inward trials increased. Her father, husband, and daughter died in quick succession; her son turned against her; small-pox destroyed her beauty, and was followed by one disease after another. But suddenly, in 1680, her 'obscure night of the soul' gave place to a 'unitive' state, in which she recovered all the joy that she had lost, and experienced in addition a sense of infinite freedom—a new 'God-me' taking the place of the old 'self-me.' This state was entered upon under the influence of a Barnabite monk, Francis La Combe, superior of the Barnabite Order at Thonon, who proved to be her evil genius. A man of quite mediocre mentality, deficient in moral sense, and of an unstable, neurotic temperament, he yet succeeded in exercising a hypnotic influence upon her. It was during the La Combe period that her two most original books were written—*Les Torrents spirituels*, composed largely in a state of automatism, and *Le Moyen court et très facile de faire oraison*—books which are characterized by profound spiritual insight, but which none the less exhibit some of the fatal weaknesses and extravagances of Quietistic piety. Her consciousness of an apostolic mission to found an 'interior' Church and inaugurate a world-wide spiritual reformation also dates from this period. Taking the form of a sense of spiritual 'fecundity' or 'maternity' involving much suffering ('I can bring forth children only on the cross'), it was accompanied by certain unpleasant hysterical and neurotic symptoms which brought constant ridicule and persecution upon her.

In 1681 it seemed as if she had found her vocation as the head of the newly-founded community of Les Nouvelles Catholiques at Gex—an institution for the training of the daughters of Protestants and other converts to the Catholic faith. But the work proved uncongenial, and it was not long before she abandoned it, taking refuge with the Ursulines of Thonon. From 1681 to 1688 her fortunes were closely intertwined with those of La Combe, who, in the autumn of 1687, accompanied her to Paris, only to be arrested on his arrival by order of the archbishop as an alleged follower of the ill-starred Molinos. Madame Guyon herself was arrested in the following January, but was released after eight months, thanks to the influence of Madame de Maintenon, who was profoundly impressed by her piety. As the *protégée* of Madame de Maintenon, she soon became a prominent figure in the inner spiritual circle of the court of Louis XIV. It was at this time that she first met Fénelon.

François de Salignac de la Mothe Fénelon was at that time a rising young ecclesiastic with a growing reputation as a director of consciences whose spiritual genius, religious fervour, and magnetic personality attracted the *belles âmes* of Paris. He was superior of the society of Les Nouvelles Catholiques, in which capacity he wrote his manual *De l'Éducation des filles* (Paris, 1687), and had been on a six months' mission to the Protestants of Poitou, which he conducted with characteristic tolerance. In Madame Guyon he saw not merely a woman of commanding gifts, but also a saint, and his championship of her cause was wholehearted and generous. She, on her part, recognized in him the spiritual 'child' of her dreams, and the extraordinary correspondence which passed between them bears witness to what Rufus M. Jones describes as 'a subtle conquest,'[1] designated by Madame Guyon herself as 'spiritual filiation,' and abounding on her side in neurotic features. Fénelon was the cool and cautious partner in this intense relationship. His pastoral instinct and

[1] *Harvard Theological Review*, x. 41.

sound sense warned him against a spiritual condition which took its own impulses for divine movings, and he never allowed himself to forfeit reason or judgment in his admiration of Madame Guyon's spiritual genius.

In 1689 Fénelon was appointed tutor to the young duke of Burgundy, for whom he subsequently wrote *Les Aventures de Télémaque* (Paris, 1699). His success as an educator of princes brought him into high favour at court, and in 1695 he was made archbishop of Cambrai. Meanwhile, in 1693–94, the storm which had been gathering round Madame Guyon broke, and involved Fénelon in a bitter and ignoble conflict which ultimately drove him into exile. Madame Guyon's doctrines had penetrated to Madame de Maintenon's school at Saint Cyr, and this roused the suspicions of Bossuet.[1] He subjected her to a stringent examination, extending over six months and ending in her imprisonment as a heretic. Fénelon never saw her again, and he might easily have extricated himself from a very difficult and perilous position had he consented to join in signing her condemnation. This he refused to do—a refusal which lost him his many influential friends, including Madame de Maintenon.

There ensued the stormy controversy between Bossuet and Fénelon which stirred all France. In his *États d'oraison* Bossuet had condemned 'pure' faith (*i.e.* faith without content), disinterested love, and the prayer of quiet. Fénelon replied by publishing his famous *Explication des maximes des saints sur la vie intérieure*, in which he restated Madame Guyon's fundamental convictions in a more sober and cautious way. The book, which, in spite of its dry, guarded, and not always lucid manner, teaches Quietistic mysticism in an extreme and extravagant form, created intense excitement, and divided France into two opposing camps. Bossuet attacked its author with a personal animosity which amounted to persecution, and the court ranged itself on his side. Although Fénelon had the support of the Jesuits and the secret approval of the king's confessor, the clergy sided solidly with Bossuet, and in the end Fénelon was ordered to leave Versailles and banished to Cambrai. He appealed to Rome and, after long hesitation, the mild and cautious Pope Innocent VIII., impelled by urgent pressure on the part of the king and Bossuet, condemned as erroneous certain propositions extracted from the *Maximes*. Fénelon spent the remaining eighteen years of his life quietly in his diocese, devoting himself to the welfare of priests and people alike, and dying at the age of sixty-three, greatly beloved and lamented.

Madame Guyon suffered successive terms of imprisonment, and, after being liberated from her last prison in the Bastille in 1703, passed her remaining years in quiet seclusion at Blois, where she died in 1717.

Among the minor prophets of Quietism **Antoinette Bourignon** (1616–80) occupies a distinctive place. Born at Lille, she was, like Madame Guyon, a precocious child with an abnormally developed religious instinct. As a girl she wished to become a Carmelite, but was soon disillusioned regarding cloistral religion and set herself to find a better way of retirement from the world. When, in 1636, her father tried to force her into marriage, she escaped from home in male disguise. After some curious adventures she was brought back, but finally fled to Mons, where she placed herself under the protection of the archbishop, and under his patronage made a short-lived attempt to establish an ascetic community on primitive lines. On the death of her father she brought a successful lawsuit against her step-mother, securing his entire property for herself. About this time she fell in with a decidedly questionable admirer of mystical religion, Jean de Saint Saulieu, who induced her to found an orphan home for girls, which she subsequently placed under Augustinian rule. The experiment came to an abrupt end in 1662, when she was accused of gross cruelty to her young charges and had to take flight. Her enforced wanderings took her to Mechlin, where she found her first 'spiritual child,' Christian de Cort, superior of the Oratorians. By this time she had developed her system (if such it can be called), which embodied the characteristic features of extreme Quietism in a fantastically exaggerated form. As in the case of Madame Guyon, 'spiritual maternity' occupied a central place in her consciousness. She was 'the woman clothed with the sun,' 'the bride of the Holy Ghost,' God's chosen vessel who would restore 'the Gospel spirit' to the world, 'the virgin who would bear many sons' and found a communistic, priestless brotherhood.

In 1662 she went with de Cort to Amsterdam, where she spent a period of happy intercourse with the many heretics who had made that city their Cave of Adullam. An attempt, inspired by de Cort, to found a community house for her spiritual children on the island of Nordstrand in the North Frisian Sea, and the long series of difficulties and complications to which it gave birth, occupied the rest of her stormy life. The mad scheme involved de Cort in financial difficulties from which only a premature death—in prison—released him, and embittered her remaining years. Her capricious, overbearing, stingy disposition and her entire impracticability involved her in endless legal proceedings, and finally forced her to flee once more. A few years later a printing-press which she had set up at Husum brought her into conflict with the authorities and revived the flame of persecution. For a time it seemed as if she had found a refuge with another of her spiritual sons, the eccentric Colonel La Coste. But a miserable quarrel led to his formally accusing her of sorcery in 1679, and once more she had to flee to escape arrest. She remained in hiding until her death in the following year. Her voluminous writings, which she professed to have 'received' inwardly by inspiration, abound in fantastic and neurotic elements, yet she exercised a remarkable influence over minds finer than her own, among them Comenius and Jean de Labadie. Indeed, her extraordinary influence extended to almost every land and continued long after her death. In Scotland especially she had so many followers among the clergy that from 1711 until recently 'Bourignonism' was included in the list of heresies which candidates for ordination in the Church of Scotland were required formally to forswear.

Among those who represented the practical and devotional aspect of Quietism as it appealed to the unlearned, **Nicolas Herman of Lorraine** (Brother Lawrence) is the classic example. Born about 1610, he was first a soldier, then a gentleman's servant, and finally a lay brother in a Carmelite monastery, where he was charged with the humble duties of the kitchen. His *Practice of the Presence of God*, as set forth in his letters, which is to-day among the best-known devotional books, expounds the central doctrines of Quietism with a winsome simplicity and a rare degree of practical wisdom. His *Maxims* give further instruction to those who would realize the presence of God along the same homely and wise lines. He died in 1691.

[1] La Combe, whose mind had gradually given way under imprisonment, had confessed to improper relations with Madame Guyon, but the very careful investigations made by Bossuet and his fellow-inquisitors could show no ground for questioning her moral integrity.

LITERATURE.—i. *GENERAL.*—The standard work is H. Heppe, *Gesch. der quietistischen Mystik in der katholischen Kirche*

Berlin, 1875 (the most valuable and authoritative study on the subject, containing the text of many important and now lost documents); J. B. Bossuet, *Instruction sur les états d'oraison*, Paris, 1687; *Recueil de diverses pièces concernant le quiétisme et les quiétistes*, Amsterdam, 1688; P. Nicole, *Refutation des principals erreurs des quiétistes*, Paris, 1695 (see also his *Les Imaginaires et les visionnaires*, do. 1667); J. de la Bruyère, *Dialogue posthume . . . sur le quiétisme*, do. 1699; J. W. Jaeger, *Examen Theologiæ Mysticæ veteris et novæ*, Frankfort and Leipzig, 1708; G. Burnet, *Some Letters containing an Account of . . . Switzerland, Italy, some Parts of Germany*, etc., London, 1708; H. Robillard d'Avrigny, *Mémoires chronologiques et dogmatiques pour servir à l'hist. ecclésiastique*, 4 vols., Paris, 1723; *Actes de la condamnation des quiétistes* (in *Œuvres de J. B. Bossuet*, vol. xxvii., Versailles, 1817); Gennari, *Del falso Misticismo*, Rome, 1907; R. M. Jones, 'Quietism,' *Harvard Theological Review*, x. [1917] 1 ff. The following should also be consulted: J. Dénis, *Mémoires de l'Académie de Caen* for 1894; H. Joly, *La Psychologie des saints*, Paris, 1897, Eng. tr., London, 1898; W. James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, London and New York, 1902; J. H. Leuba, 'Tendances fondamentales des mystiques chrétiens,' in *RPh* Liv. [1902]; E. Murisier, *Les Maladies du sentiment religieux*[2], Paris, 1903; A. Poulain, *Des Grâces d'oraison*[6], do. 1909 (contains an excellent bibliography); F. von Hügel, *The Mystical Element of Religion*, 2 vols., London, 1908 (contains a detailed and luminous discussion). See also relevant sections in A. Ritschl, *Gesch. des Pietismus*, 3 vols., Bonn, 1880; A. Harnack, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*[4], 3 vols., Tübingen, 1909–10, Eng. tr., 7 vols., London, 1894–99; and E. Caird, *The Evolution of Theology in the Greek Philosophers*, 2 vols., Glasgow, 1904 (on Plotinus and the *via negativa*).

ii. *MOLINOS.*—Paul Segneri, *Concordia tra la Fatica e la Quiete nell' Oratione*, Bologna, 1681; G. Burnet, *Three Letters concerning the Present State of Italy, written . . . in 1687*, London, 1688; F. D. Posadas, *Triumphos de la Castidad contra la Luxuria Diabolica de Molinos*, Cordova, 1698; C. E. Weismann, *Memorabilia Ecclesiastica*, ii., Stuttgart, 1745; J. F. Beuzenberg, *Nachrichten von M. de Molinos*, etc., Düsseldorf, 1844; K. E. Scharling, *Mystikeren M. Molinos Laeren og Skjaebne*, Copenhagen, 1852; F. Reynier, *Étude sur la doctrine de Molinos*, etc., Paris, 1856; M. Menendez Pelayo, *Hist. de los heterodoxos Españolas*, Madrid, 1880–82; John Bigelow (the elder), *Molinos the Quietist*, New York, 1882; Kathleen Lyttelton, *The Spiritual Guide of De Molinos*, London, 1907, Introd. See also artt. in *EBr*[11], *PRE*[3], and *CE*.

iii. *MADAME GUYON.*—(*a*) *Texts*: *Œuvres complètes*, 40 vols., Paris, 1789–91; *Vie de Madame Guyon écrite par elle-même*, 3 vols., do. 1791; *Lettres chrétiennes et spirituelles*, ed. P. Poiret, 5 vols., do. 1768; *Recueil de divers traitez de théologie mystique*, do. 1699; *Les Opuscules spirituelles*, 2 vols., Cologne, 1704. (*b*) *Monographs*: J. B. Bossuet, *Quakerism à la mode, or a Hist. of Quietism, particularly that of . . . Madame Guyone, containing her Life, Prophecies and Visions*, London, 1698; Christoph Sonntag, *Gyonismus Confutatus*, Altdorf, 1717; L. M. Francis, *The Biographies of Lady Russell and Madame Guyon*, Boston, 1832; C. Hermes, *Züge aus dem Leben der Frau von Guion*, Magdeburg, 1845; T. C. Upham, *Life, Religious Opinions, and Experience of Madame de la Motte Guyon*, 2 vols., New York, 1847 (new ed. with introd. by W. R. Inge, London, 1905); A. Griveau, *Étude sur la condamnation du livre des Maximes des Saints*, Paris, 1878; L. Guerrier, *Madame Guyon, sa vie, sa doctrine et son influence*, Orleans, 1881; H. T. Cheever, *Correspondencies of Faith and Views of Madame Guyon*, New York, 1885; M. Masson, *Fénelon et Madame Guyon: documents nouveaux et inédits* (consisting mainly of the *correspondance sécrète* between Fénelon and Madame Guyon during 1688–89), Paris, 1907; H. Delacroix, *Études d'hist. et de psychologie du mysticisme*, do. 1908 (contains a masterly analysis of Madame Guyon). See also artt. in *EBr*[11], *PRE*[3], and *CE*.

iv. *FÉNELON.*—(*a*) *Texts*: *Œuvres*, Saint Sulpice ed., 10 vols., Paris, 1852 (the best ed., containing Abbé Gosselin's excellent *Analyse de la controverse du quiétisme*). (*b*) *Monographs*: Y. M. M. de Querbœuf, *Vie* (in Querbœuf's ed. of Fénelon's *Works*, 9 vols., Paris, 1787–92); L. F. de Bausset, *Hist. de Fénelon*, 4 vols. (in the Saint Sulpice ed.); A. Bonnel, *De la Controverse de Bossuet et de Fénelon sur le quiétisme*, Paris, 1850; J. Matter, *Le Mysticisme en France au temps de Fénelon*[2], do. 1866; A. Griveau, *Étude sur la condamnation du livre des Maximes des Saints*, do. 1878; L. Crouslé, *Fénelon et Bossuet*, 2 vols., do. 1894; A. M. Ramsay, *Hist. of the Life of Fénelon*, Eng. tr., London, 1897; S. H. Northcote (Viscount St. Cyres), *François de Fénelon*, do. 1901; E. K. Sanders, *Fénelon, his Friends, and his Enemies*, do. 1901; M. Masson, *Fénelon et Madame Guyon: documents nouveaux et inédits*, Paris, 1907; H. Brémond, *Apologie pour Fénelon*, do. 1910; M. Cagnac, *Fénelon: études critiques*, do. 1909; P. A. Sanvert, *Fénelon: étude d'âme*, do. 1911; Paul Janet, *Fénelon: his Life and Works*, tr. V. Leuliette, London, 1914; L. Navatel, *La Confrérie sécrète du pur amour*, Paris, 1914. See also artt. in *EBr*[11], *PRE*[3], and *CE*.

v. *ANTOINETTE BOURIGNON.*—*Œuvres*, 19 vols., Amsterdam, 1679–86; *La Parole de Dieu, ou sa Vie intérieure* (*1634–63*), Mechlin, 1663; *Sa Vie extérieure* (*1616–61*), Amsterdam, 1668: P. Poiret, *Sa Vie continuée* (appended to later edd. of preceding); A. van der Linde, *Antoinette Bourignon, das Licht der Welt*, Leyden, 1895; A. R. MacEwen, *Antoinette Bourignon, Quietist*, London, 1910.

E. HERMAN.

QUR'ĀN (Koran, Alkoran, etc.).—**1. Names.**—The names of this, the sacred book of the Muslims, are reckoned at fifty-five, of which the most familiar and the most frequently used in the book itself, *al-Qur'ān*, seems to mean 'The Lesson,' being the abstract noun of the verb *qaraa*, 'to read,' 'to recite,' occasionally employed in the original sense.

E.g., lxxv. 17: 'Verily upon us is the collecting and the reading (*qur'ān*) thereof; and when we read it, follow thou the reading (*qur'ān*) thereof'; xxviii. 85: 'He who enjoined on thee the reading'; x. 62: 'Thou dost not recite any reading thereof,' where the word *qur'ān* is used as the verbal noun of the synonymous verb *talā*, 'to read.'

The word is normal in formation (cf. *kufran*, *ghufran*, *rujḥan*), and is not borrowed from any other language, though it may be an imitation of the Hebrew *miqrā*, applied by the Jews to the Bible, of which the Arabic analogue *maqra'* is occasionally used for 'reading.'[1] Other etymologies are collected by Suyūṭī (see below), but they are fanciful, though it is worthy of note that a grammarian of eminence pronounced the word *quran* as though the root were *qrn*, 'to associate'; and his interpretation 'collection' is at least suggested by lxxv. 17 (cited above). The word is not used by Muslims except of their sacred book, but Jews and Christians sometimes employ it as a designation of their Bible. Almost as familiar is the name *Muṣḥaf*, which is said to have been invented by the Khalīfah Abu Bakr, and is evidently the Ethiopic for 'book.' The word *kitāb* (Arabic for 'book') is often used as a name of the Qur'ān in the work itself and in the principles of jurisprudence, but ordinarily requires some eulogistic epithet (*e.g.*, 'the perspicuous book'). Both this word and *Qur'ān* can be used of separate texts as well as of the whole. The name *Mufaṣṣal* is applied to the last seventh of the Qur'ān, but, as it repeatedly described itself as a book 'whose texts are distinct' (*fuṣṣilat*), there seems no reason why it should not be applied to the whole work;[2] and indeed there are various opinions as to the portion of which this name may be used.[3] The etymology of the name *Furqan* in xvii. 107, 'A Qur'ān, which we have divided up (*faraqnāhu*) that thou mightest recite it unto the people leisurely,' is probably correct, this name being more properly applied to a book supposed to have been revealed to Moses and Aaron, Hebrew *p'rāqim*, *i.e.* 'sections'; but this particular form is Syriac and means 'deliverance'—a sense which it sometimes has in the Qur'ān. The Hebrew *Mishnah* (Aram. *Mathnitha*) seems to underlie the name *Mathānī*, said to be the plural of *mathnāt*, which appears to be used of the whole Qur'ān in xxxix. 24, whereas in xv. 87 the Deity states that He has given the Prophet seven *mathānī* and the mighty Qur'ān. The interpretations of this passage are very numerous and divergent, as may be seen from Lane, p. 300. Other names are descriptive or eulogistic—*e.g.*, 'The Guidance,' 'The Wise Record,' 'The Revelation.'

The chapters of the Qur'ān are called by the enigmatic name *sūrah*, plural *suwar*, of which no satisfactory account has as yet been given. It is sometimes explained from the Hebrew *sōrāh* (Is 28[25]), 'row,' 'order,' used in the Jewish oral tradition for a row or rank of men,[4] but this seems to violate a sound-law. It is said to be used for a row of bricks in a wall, in which case it is clearly derived from *sūr* (Heb. *shūr*), 'wall,' and its transference to the region of literature might be analogous to that of 'column.' In the Qur'ān it evi-

[1] *E.g.*, by Sakhāwī, *Tibr Masbūk*, Cairo, 1896, p. 217.
[2] As by Ṭabarī, *History*, Leyden, 1898, i. 3007.
[3] Collected by E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, London, 1863–93, p. 2407.
[4] See J. Levy, *Neuhebräisches . . . Wörterbuch*, Leipzig, 1876–80.

dently means 'homily,' 'discourse,' and is usually construed with the verb 'to send down.' Thus xxiv. styles itself 'a *sūrah* which we have sent down and ratified and wherein we have sent down clear signs.' Probably both sense and form are adequately accounted for by identification with the Syriac *sbharta*, 'preaching,' 'gospel,' 'message,' as in the title of Mark 'the Holy Gospel, preaching (*sbharta*) of Mark,' etc. The separate texts are called *āyah* (plural *āy* or *āyāt*), often used for 'sign' or 'miracle,' and clearly identical with the Hebrew *ôth*, 'sign,' 'letter,' 'miracle.' Its sense 'letter' is perhaps retained in the opening verses of certain *sūrahs*, where after a series of letters of the alphabet there follow the words, 'Those are the signs of the perspicuous book,' etc.

2. Contents.—Owing to the miscellaneous character of the work, which professes to contain 'a detailed account of everything' (xii. 111), the rapidity of its transitions, and its interminable repetitions, an analysis of its contents cannot easily be made. Those who furnished the chapters with names called them after the first words or letters, after some striking word or phrase occurring within the homily, or after some subject which occupied a prominent place in it. A certain amount of variety still exists in the naming of particular *sūrahs*, and in earlier times there seems to have been yet more. In the case of *sūrah* xii., which is called after Joseph, very nearly the whole homily is occupied with the story of the patriarch; but the second *sūrah*, which is of 286 verses, is called after 'the Cow,' described in four verses (63–66); while *sūrah* xxvi., of 228 verses, is called after 'the Poets,' with whom only three verses at the end deal; *sūrah* xvii. is called 'Asra' after a word occurring in the first verse, *sūrah* xxiv. 'Light' after verse 35. When a *sūrah* is called after a particular person, it must not be inferred that the homily deals exclusively with that person, or even gives his history more fully than it is given elsewhere.

The contents are mainly warnings, remonstrances, and assertions of or arguments in favour of certain doctrines, the narrative portions being for the purpose of enforcing morals. These narratives are for the most part of events in the remote past; but allusions to contemporary history and to the Prophet's own experiences are frequent, their purpose being to warn or to apologize. The two final *sūrahs*, each of a few words only, are incantations; cxi. is an imprecation on a contemporary foe, and lxxx., lxxxiii., and civ. are similar in purport, though the enemy is not named. The warnings being mainly of future punishment, the book abounds in realistic descriptions of both the pains of hell and the delights of paradise.

Legislation occupies a very small place in the work; hence its claim to give a 'detailed account of everything' occasions trouble even when 'everything' is restricted to the region of law.[1] Collections of commandments are indeed to be found in various places—*e.g.*, vi. 152 f.—and precepts on various subjects are scattered throughout the work, the most detailed being probably those connected with inheritance in iv. 12–16, to which verse 175 is a supplement, and those in xxiv. 2–9 dealing with adultery and accusations of it. Enactments on various subjects are also to be found in *sūrah* ii. The character of the Qur'ānic legislation resembles rescripts (*fatāwā*) — *i.e.* answers to special questions—rather than a code; and that the collection contains contradictory rulings on the same subjects is admitted by jurists, though this is variously explained. Where narratives occur in a series, there is at times an attempt at maintaining chronological order, but at other times it is neglected.

The narratives most frequently recounted are those connected with Noah, Abraham, Lot, Moses, and the otherwise unknown prophets Hūd, Ṣāliḥ, and Shu'aib. The story of Adam is told in ii., vii., and xx., that of the nativity of Christ in iii. and xix.; numerous stories are told only once—*e.g.*, that of Ṭālūt (a combination of Gideon and Saul) in ii., that of the Queen of Saba and King Solomon in xxvii., that of the Seven Sleepers in xviii., which also contains a fresh story about Moses and one about Dhu'l-Qarnain, thought to be Alexander the Great. Of the OT prophets the Qur'ān knows Elijah and Jonah; it also contains some information about David and Job. Of Arabian history it knows the name Tubba' (xliv., l.); the ruin of the Sabæan empire (xxxiv.); the persecutions of the Christians in the Jewish state of S. Arabia (lxxxv.), if the last passage is correctly interpreted; and the Abyssinian attack on Meccah (cv.), if the interpretation be correct and the attack historical. Of contemporary history outside Arabia, it notices the Persian invasion of the Nearer East.

Where the same story is repeated, the various versions at times contain fresh details; thus *sūrah* xl., 'the Believer,' is called after a believing subject of Pharaoh who delivers a monotheistic homily, but does not figure elsewhere; and in xi. 46 there is an account of a disobedient son of Noah who perishes in the Flood, and who also is not mentioned elsewhere in connexion with the patriarch. Though the story of Moses is often told, his adventures in Midian are recounted only in *sūrah* xxviii. These repeated versions, then, to some extent supplement one another, though they cannot always be harmonized.

The tendency of the author is to prefer the apocryphal accounts to the plainer narratives in the canonical Scriptures, whence Solomon is represented as understanding the language of the lower animals and having at his disposal the forces of the *jinn*; the mountain is said to have been raised over the heads of the Israelites, and Jesus to have made birds of clay and animated them.

Descriptions of the phenomena of nature are not uncommon, though usually exceedingly brief; their purpose is of course not scientific, but the demonstration of monotheism.

A certain amount of the matter is introspective, taking (as usual) the form of personal addresses by the Deity to the Prophet. The consolatory *sūrahs* (xciv. and xciii.) are striking specimens of this class; lxxiii. and lxxiv., which contain exhortations to the Prophet, are similar; lxxii. describes a personal experience which the Prophet is told to repeat; it is how certain of the *jinn*, hearing the Qur'ān recited, were converted. Three *sūrahs* deal with his domestic affairs, which of course were of importance to the whole community, and in one of these (xxxiii.) his wives are apostrophized. The only names of contemporaries mentioned in the book are those of his adopted son, Zaid, and his unbelieving uncle, Abu Lahab. Allusions to others occur, but reliance has to be placed on the tradition for their identification.

Owing to the intensity of the Prophet's loves and hates and other emotions, and the frequency with which the expression of these takes the form of a revelation, the Qur'ān might in many parts be described as the author's diary or commonplace-book; it records doubts felt by himself as to the reality of his mission and its likelihood of success, critical situations at different times in his career, what he said when they occurred, and hard blows which he received and gave. It thus constitutes the most important set of materials for

[1] See Ghazālī, *Mustaṣfā*, Cairo, 1324, ii. 256.

his biography, its utility being somewhat impaired by the absolute want of chronological arrangement, which has to be conjecturally restored chiefly on the basis of the later official biography, which is itself largely based on the Qur'ān.

3. Sources.—That the material of the Qur'ān is in the main identical with that of 'the Former Leaves,' *i.e.* the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, is admitted in the work itself; these 'Leaves,' more accurately described as 'the Leaves of Moses and Abraham who was faithful,' are quoted in liii. 37–55 for a variety of matters.

The first, 'that no burdened soul shall bear the burdens of another and that there is nothing accounted to a man save what he has wrought,' comes from Ezk 18^{20}; verse 45, 'and that he causeth to die and maketh alive' is from 1 S 2^{6}, which is followed by a clause cited with fair accuracy in verse 49 as 'He enricheth and causeth to possess.' Further, verses 53 and 54 refer to Genesis, where the destruction of the 'people of Noah' and of the 'overturned cities' is described. Verse 50, 'that He is the Lord of Sirius,' may be identified with Job 9^{9}, the name of the star being altered for the rhyme.

The narratives of the destruction of the tribes 'Ād and Thamūd, also quoted from these 'Leaves,' are certainly not to be found in the Christian Scriptures; but this is not a serious inaccuracy. 'The Law' (*Taurāt*) is quoted in verse 49 for the rule, 'soul for soul, and eye for eye, and nose for nose, and ear for ear and tooth for tooth'; the reference is to Ex $21^{23f.}$, where, however, 'hand' and 'foot' are found instead of 'nose' and 'ear.' The Psalms (*Zubūr*) are quoted in xxi. 105:

'We have written in the Psalms after the Record: My pious servants shall inherit the earth.'

The reference is to Ps 37^{29}, but the phrase, 'after the Record,' is most obscure. The Mishnāh of *Sanhedrin*, iv. 5, is cited in v. 35:

'On account of this we have written for the Children of Israel that whosoever slays a soul save for a soul or for mischief in the land, it is as though he had slain all mankind; and whosoever saves one, it is as though he had saved all mankind.'

The exceptions are not found in the text of the Mishnāh, but otherwise the citation is accurate. A somewhat vaguer reference to the Law and the Gospel is in xlviii. 29:

'That is their likeness in the Law and their likeness in the Gospel: like the seed which putteth forth its stalk, then strengtheneth it and it groweth stout, and riseth upon its stem, rejoicing the husbandman.'

The reference to the Gospel appears to be to Mk 4^{26-29}; perhaps that to the Law is to Ps 72^{16}.

These are probably the only actual quotations; reproduction of matter or of phrases occurring in the OT, the NT, the Talmud, or the NT Apocrypha is found throughout the Qur'ān, and this is at times sufficiently close to render the term 'quotation' not inappropriate.

Noticeable cases are vii. 39: 'Nor shall they enter Paradise until the camel passeth through the eye of the needle' (Mt 19^{24}); xxi. 104: 'The day whereon we shall roll up the heaven as the scribe (?) rolleth up the book' (Is 34^{4}); xxviii. 76: 'We gave him [Corah] treasures of which the keys would weigh down a company of strong men' (B. *Pesaḥim*, 119*a*: 'The keys of the treasures of Corah were a burden for three hundred white mules'); xxxi. 26: 'If all the trees that are upon the earth were to become pens, and if God should after that swell the sea into seven seas [of ink], His words would not be exhausted' (Midrash *Rabbāh*, Ca 1^{2}: 'If all the seas were ink, and the thickets pens, the heavens and the earth scrolls, and all mankind scribes, they would not suffice to write the Law').

From these quotations and borrowings it would not be permissible to infer that the author of the Qur'ān had direct access to the Bible, Apocrypha, and Talmud; still less would it be permissible to infer from their inaccuracies that he had no such access; for the limits to inaccuracy in quotation cannot be fixed, and even in our own time, when numerous appliances make the verification of quotations exceedingly easy, we find experts in Homer confusing Andromache with Penelope, etc., and Biblical experts confusing Joseph with Daniel, etc. When verification was a cumbrous process, the standard of accuracy was far lower. Now, the Qur'ān exhibits intimate acquaintance with the books of Genesis and Exodus, out of which it reproduces numerous chapters—sometimes, it is true, mixed up with Midrashic matter; and this reproduction is often accompanied with serious inaccuracy, as when Moses is said to be sent to Pharaoh, Haman, and Qarun (Corah). In both matters its method resembles that of the NT, where, *e.g.*, Stephen confuses Abraham with Jacob (Ac 7^{16}), and Paul uses Midrash as though it were Scripture (1 Co 10^{4}), though doubtless it differs in degree. The latter practice seems to come from the constant association of certain comments with the text, and has its parallel in professedly scientific works of our own time, where, *e.g.*, the statements of the Homeric poems are mixed up with inferences drawn from them by later authors. The most natural conclusion would be that the Prophet had at some time studied those two books (Genesis and Exodus) with the aids current among the Jews, and had afterwards reproduced his information without verifying his references. His acquaintance with other parts of the OT is much slighter, yet he displays some with the books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings. In these cases, too, Midrash is mixed up with Biblical matter, and the attempt to reproduce the story of the scene between David and Nathan (xxxviii. 20–23) suggests that he had known the story at one time, but had afterwards forgotten its context and many important details.

Of the NT he clearly knows far less, the only personages belonging to it whose names he mentions being Zacharias, Yaḥyā (John the Baptist), Maryam (the Virgin), 'Isā (Jesus), and the angel Gabriel. Maryam is the daughter of 'Imrān (Amram), and the sister of Hārūn (Aaron). His 'Gospel of the Nativity' (in *sūrahs* iii. and xix.) is similar to what is found in the *Protevangelium Jacobi Minoris*, but contains certain details drawn from other sources; one of these, that the Virgin supported herself on a palm-tree during her throes, is clearly traceable to the Greek myth of Leto. The employment of the title 'Word' (*kalimah*) for Christ must go back to the Fourth Gospel.

The difficulty of assuming that the Biblical matter of the Qur'ān was got at first hand from books lies in the fact that there is no evidence of any parts of the Bible having been translated into Arabic before Islām—even the tradition that Khadijah's relative Waraqah translated a Gospel is obscure, and may mean merely that he copied it—and none of the Prophet having studied any language but his own, coupled with the circumstance that both the proper names and the names of religious technicalities in the Qur'ān belong to some four different languages. Thus *Jahannum* (Gehenna) is Hebrew, *Nūḥ* (Noah) Syriac, *Alyās* (Elias) and *Yūnus* (Jonas) Greek, *Shaiṭān* (Satan) Ethiopic. Of the form used for Jesus no satisfactory explanation has as yet been given. The assertions made by the Meccans, viz. that the Prophet had gone to school (vi. 105), that he had assistants (xxv. 5), or one foreign teacher (xvi. 103), and that his helpers dictated to him morning and night, though probably containing some truth, fail to account for all the facts.

A curious Hebraism is to be found in the name for Christians, *Anṣār*, explained (with reference to the apostles, whose name in the Qur'ān is Ethiopic) as 'Helpers of God'; this is evidently the Hebrew *Nosᵉrim*, 'Nazarenes,' which, however, might be rendered 'protectors'; the Arabic sense 'helpers' is very close. The name for 'the Law,' *Taurāt*, is also Hebrew; probably it should have been pronounced (as it is written) *Torah*. That for the Gospel, *Ingīl*, is near, but not quite identical with, the Ethiopic *Wangel*; that for the Psalms, *Zubūr*, appears to be derived by popular etymology from

the Syriac *Mazmūrē*. Names which seem to be Biblical but cannot be identified with certainty are those of the prophets Idrīs, Dhu'l-Kifl, and Dhu'l-Nūn. The subject from which *sūrah* v., said to be the latest, derives its name, 'the Table,' appears to exhibit a strange conflation of different matter; the apostles (v. 112) ask 'Isā to pray that a table be sent down to them from heaven, and he, after rebuking them, prays that it may be sent down 'to be a festival to the first and to the last of us'; and the prayer is answered. The basis of this appears to be the phrase 'the table of the Lord,' in 1 Co 10^{21}; but there seems also to be an allusion to Christ's feeding of the multitude and to the vision of Peter (Ac 10^{9-16}). The extent to which the Prophet's memory and imagination, or the peculiarities of his informants, gave rise to these and similar statements will never be accurately determined. Had we not the *Protevangelium*, we might have attributed to him the confusion between Samuel and the Virgin Mary which appears in *sūrah* iii. Certain lost works appear to have contained matter which resembles what is found in the Qur'ān; *e.g.*, the Περίοδοι τῶν Ἀποστόλων, excerpted by Photius, had the statement that not Christ but another had been crucified, which is near the Qur'ānic doctrine (iv. 156), in which the Jews are charged with falsely asserting that they had killed Christ, whereas this had happened only in semblance.

Of matter that is not Biblical but is obtained from Christians, the story of the Seven Sleepers (*q.v.*) and probably that of Dhu'l-Qarnain are examples; that of the adventures of Moses with a person called by the Muslims al-Khidr is said to have a similar origin. Of acquaintance with any foreign literature other than that belonging to these communities there appears to be no certain trace, though there are references to the Magians, whose literature is known, and the Ṣābians, who are still a puzzle. When we read, 'The whole doctrine of the Qurán concerning Iblís and the genii, or Satans of the Qurán, has been borrowed for the most part from the Magi of Persia,'[1] it is hard to see how this can be proved. For the data of the Qur'ānic story are Biblical; that Adam was created from earth is known from Gn 2^{7}, and that the 'ministers' are of flaming fire is known from Ps 104^{4}; that the words, 'Let all the angels of God worship him' (Ps 96^{7} LXX), were said on Adam's entry into the world is known to the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (1^{6}). The doctrine that fire is more honourable than earth, whence Satan's refusal to carry out this order is intelligible, and made the ground of it, is an Aristotelian commonplace. What we have then is a Midrash worked up in Qur'ānic style, precisely as the story of Abraham and his father's idols (xxi. 52–71) is worked up from the material preserved in *Genesis Rabbāh*, 38.

That there was no native literature in the possession of the Arabs to whom the Qur'ān addresses itself is stated so frequently and emphatically that we are compelled to believe it.

Passages of this type are xlvi. 3: 'Bring me a book before this or a monument of knowledge, if ye speak true'; lxviii. 37: 'Have ye a book wherein ye study?'; xxxiv. 43: 'We have not given them any books to study nor sent them any one to warn them before thee'; xxxv. 38: 'Have ye given them [*i.e.* the pagan deities] a book, wherein they have proofs?'; xxxii. 2: 'That thou mayest warn people to whom no warner came before'; xxxvii. 156: 'Have ye any clear authority? Then bring your book, if ye speak true'; lii. 41: 'Are they in possession of secrets and do they write?'; lxii. 2: 'He it is who hath sent among the illiterates a messenger of themselves to read unto them His signs.'

Clearly, then, the Prophet had not, like the Christian missionaries among the pagan Greeks, to overthrow the authority of books which served to maintain an older system; nothing could be cited against his assertions but immemorial practice. Although the language of the Qur'ān must represent in the main that which was current in Meccah when it was composed, and to the creation of that idiom many persons must have contributed, it is improbable that the Prophet had in the language of his country any literary model to which he was indebted for either form or matter. He does, indeed, know of the existence of poets, who 'roam in every valley and say what they do not do' (xxvi. 225), and was himself charged with being a *jinn*-ridden poet, though he asserts that God had not taught him poetry; but it is evident, both from what the Qur'ān says on the subject of these persons and from what it puts into the mouth of the Prophet's adversaries, that they were not writers of authority who aspired to become national classics.

According to Ṭabarī,[1] certain Arabs in the Prophet's time possessed the book of Luqman, some of whose sayings are reported in *sūrah* xxxi. In the later literature he figures as a writer of fables and is often quoted for maxims; yet it is doubtful whether anything was known about him except from the passage in the Qur'ān. The story of Thamūd and their prophet Ṣāliḥ is located in N. Arabia, and the name of the tribe is attested by classical geography; the rock tombs were mistaken by its author for houses; the source of the story is unknown, as is that of 'Ād and their prophet Hūd. Ṭabarī derives this tribe from the son of the Biblical Uz, also located in Arabia. The name seems to be the Biblical word for 'eternity,' and to be about as historical as Cadmus. The phraseology and to some extent the statements of the Qur'ān are often illustrated from 'pre-Islāmic poetry'; and some of this came to be recognized as classical at any rate in the early Abbāsid period. These poets, unlike those of other communities, seem to be entirely ignorant of their national or tribal religions, whence it has been suggested that they were all Christians! There appears, however, to be no possible method of reconciling their existence with the statements of the Qur'ān cited above; for, even if these had been shameless falsehoods, the work should have produced some argument or reason for ignoring the poets' words, which (*e.g.*, the *Mu'allaqah* of Zuhair) contained moral precepts and at times accounts of the very matters narrated in the Qur'ān (*e.g.*, the poems of Umayyah b. Abi Ṣalt).

The source of every statement or expression in the Qur'ān cannot of course be traced, and there is no reason for denying its author considerable originality. The requirements of the rhyme must of themselves have led to the invention of new phrases, and even of historical details—*e.g.*, the location of the call of Moses in 'the holy vale Ṭuwā' (lxxix. 16), and of the meeting between Moses and the sorcerers 'at midday' (xx. 61). The same consideration perhaps dictated the specification of the 'tree Zaqqūm' as the food of the damned, which seems to have provoked criticism at Meccah (xvii. 62), and the description of Pharaoh as 'the man of the stakes' (*dhu'l-autād* [xxxviii. 11, lxxxix. 9]), though this may conceivably be a misunderstanding of the Greek word αὐθάδης. Originality is doubtless displayed in the descriptions of hell and paradise, though in these some details are traceable to the Johannine Apocalypse.

The claim to speak by inspiration and not as the result of study is in itself not different from that urged by other poets, who professedly obtain their information from the Muse, etc. It may have been taken too literally by the Prophet's opponents, and consequently, as it could not be withdrawn, it had to be maintained as a fact.

[1] E. M. Wherry, *A Comprehensive Commentary on the Qurán*, London, 1882–86, i. 301.

[1] i. 1208.

4. Original theory of revelation.—The Qur'ān is, on the one hand, something written, on the other, something read or recited. The written document, however, is in heaven.

It is 'an honourable Qur'an in a hidden book which shall not be touched save by the cleansed' (lvi. 76);

and this is somewhat elucidated by another passage:

'It is a record on honourable, cleansed, exalted leaves in the hands of honourable, pure scribes' (lxxx. 11–14).

The 'cleansed leaves containing permanent writings,' which 'are recited by an Apostle from God' (xcviii. 2), are thus thought of as in heaven; and in vi. 7 the 'book' is clearly distinguished from such as are on ordinary materials:

'Had we sent down unto thee a book written on parchment, and they had touched it with their hands, the infidels had surely said: "This is nought but plain sorcery."'

Since in vii. 142 it is stated that the Deity wrote for Moses on the Tables a homiletic and encyclopædic work similar in character to the Qur'ān, which is itself said to be on 'a guarded table' (lxxxv. 22), it would seem that revelation means the mental perusal by the Prophet of the divine book which is in heaven, whose contents he communicates to his countrymen. And indeed the Jews are spoken of as 'those who read the Book before thee,' whom the Prophet is to consult, if he has any doubt about his revelations (x. 94). It is suggested that the language of the divine original is heavenly (xliii. 2f.), which is then translated into Arabic so as to be intelligible. Of the divine language it is probable that the letters prefixed to some of the *sūrahs* are specimens. This theory accounts in part for the fact that so many of the *sūrahs* are repetitions of the same matter; the reproduction by the Prophet of the portions of the divine book which he was privileged to peruse would not necessarily be verbally coincident. The book is brought down by 'the Faithful Spirit' (xxvi. 193), called Gabriel (ii. 91), to the Prophet's heart, while it is also in the books of the ancients (xxvi. 197), and in the breasts of those to whom knowledge has been given (xxix. 48), *i.e.* learned Israelites (xxvi. 197). For even the reduction of the Law of Moses to parchment is supposed to be an innovation (vi. 91), its proper seat being the memory of the rabbis (v. 48). It might have been revealed in a foreign tongue (xxvi. 198, xli. 44), but this would have involved various objections. Apostles are sent speaking the language of their own people only (xiv. 4); hence the notion of reproducing the contents of a concealed book has a tendency to give way to that of bearing a message, which the messenger would naturally express in his own words.

There does not appear to be any reference in the Qur'ān to any but oral communication of its contents. The passage cited above from vi. 7 plainly indicates that it was not produced on parchment; and similarly in xvii. 95 the Meccans ask for a book to be brought down from heaven 'which they can read themselves.' The texts are recited either by the Prophet or by his followers (xxii. 71); there is little suggestion that the one or the other employed a written copy, though perhaps vi. 146, 'I find not in what has been revealed to me save . . . ,' might be interpreted of a search through MSS. Hence, when the Qur'ān quotes itself, it quotes rather the general sense than the exact words of the passages:

E.g., iv. 139: 'He hath sent down unto you in the Book that when ye hear the Signs of God denied and mocked, ye shall not sit with them until they discuss another topic.' The passage cited is vi. 67: 'When thou seest those who discuss our Signs, then leave them alone until they discuss another topic, and if Satan cause thee to forget, then sit not with the ungodly people.'

Where obliteration of texts is mentioned, the reference is to alterations made by the Deity in the divine original (xiii. 39, xlii. 23); to erase in this case has for its equivalent 'to cause to be forgotten' (ii. 100).

The tradition at times agrees with the Qur'ān in this matter, as where the Prophet is made to confess that he has forgotten a text which is recited to him, the genuineness of which he acknowledges,[1] or to explain differences between the forms in which the same text is current by the theory that the Qur'ān had been revealed in seven different forms.[2] At other times it assumes that some one or other wrote down the texts as soon as they were delivered and kept a copy; so Zaid b. Thabit was summoned by the Prophet to write down a text which had been revealed (iv. 97), and brought a shoulder-blade for the purpose; presently some one complained that the verse was hard upon him, and some additional words were revealed meeting the case.[3] Certain verses were lost because 'A'ishah kept the scroll which contained them under the Prophet's bed, and let it be worm-eaten during his illness.[4] Long lists were given of people who 'copied down the revelations.'

On the whole, the phenomena displayed by the Qur'ān itself render it difficult to suppose that it was committed to writing in the Prophet's time, though its character was greatly changed by the transference of Islām from Meccah to Medīnah. The claim to uniformity and consistency which it urges is more intelligible if it is thought of as a lecturer's treatment of a subject than if it is regarded as a permanent document; the repetitions of the same narratives with insignificant variations are natural in the former case, almost unthinkable to the extent to which they are found in the Qur'ān in the latter. But, if any revelation became fixed in writing, the need for having the whole so fixed would speedily make itself felt. The assertions that the statements of the Qur'ān were absolutely consistent with one another and with the earlier Scriptures, which were reasonable enough when men were concerned with the general sense of what had been uttered, assumed a very different character when, by being committed to some writing material, they became definitely fixed.

When an official copy had been circulated to the exclusion of others, a theory of verbal and even literal inspiration began to be evolved, and ultimately became dominant, though loose citation is sometimes found where we should least expect it; thus Bukhārī[5] says that the text, 'except that ye knit a relationship between me and you,' was revealed, but the commentators acknowledge that they cannot find it, and suppose the words to be a paraphrase of xlii. 22: 'save love of my kin.' Ibn Mas'ūd († 32), when ordered to alter his copy in accordance with the official text, declared that he had heard seventy *sūrahs* from the lips of the Prophet, and could not adopt these alterations;[6] readings of his were employed as late as 322 A.H., when their use was forbidden on pain of execution,[7] and the books which contained them were burned.[8] These variants consisted mainly in the substitution of synonyms for the words of the text. Hence grammarians began to cite 'God who is exalted' for grammatical forms and rhetorical ornaments. A Masorah arose which counted not only chapters and verses but words and letters (the various computations are given by Suyuṭi, § 19). A pious woman never spoke except from the Qur'ān for forty years, for fear of uttering what was false.[9]

[1] *Isabah*, Calcutta, 1853, ii. 923.
[2] *Musnad*, Cairo, 1313, iv. 205.
[3] Bukhārī, *Le Recueil de traditions musulmanes*, ed. L. Krehl, Leyden, 1862–68, ii. 209.
[4] *Musnad*, vi. 269. [5] ii. 381. [6] *Musnad*, i. 414.
[7] Yāqūt, *Dictionary of Learned Men*, ed. D. S. Margoliouth, Leyden, 1913, vi. 301.
[8] Miskawaihi, ed. H. F. Amedroz, in the press, i. 285.
[9] *Rauḍat al-'Uqala*, Cairo, 1328, p. 35.

In the early days of Islām inaccurate citation was common for a time at least; a Khārijite woman declared that the ignorance of God's book displayed by Umayyad governors had led her to revolt.[1] Fragments which, whether by the Prophet or not, were not included in the official Qur'ān were here and there preserved as having once belonged to it; and, when a reader made a spurious addition to a *sūrah*, it was not always easy to detect its inferiority to the genuine matter.[2] Stories are told of lengthy interpolations by ministers in public worship who desired to further their own ends,[3] and of others which were harmless supplements to the texts.[4] See, further, art. INSPIRATION (Muslim).

5. Chronology and arrangement.—The order of the *sūrahs* (114 in number) is evidently according to length, but this is far from strict, and early traditions suggest that certain *sūrahs* were grouped together owing to their reaching a certain length, but that their order within those groups was haphazard.

In the *Musnad*[5] we read: 'Said Ibn 'Abbās: I said to 'Uthmān: What induced you to take the Surah Anfāl (viii.) which is one of the Mathānī [*sūrahs* of less than 100 verses?] and the Surah Barā'ah (ix.) which is one of the hundreds [*sūrahs* of between 100 and 200 verses?], and write them, not writing between the two the words "In the Name of God," etc., and to place them among the seven long Surahs? He said: As time passed numerous Surahs were revealed to the Prophet: when something was revealed to him, he used to summon one of his scribes and bid him place it in the Surah wherein such and such matters are mentioned; when a group of texts was revealed, he used to say, Place these texts in the Surah wherein such and such matters are mentioned; and he would say the same when a single text was revealed. Now the Surah Anfāl was one of the first of the Medinese Surahs, whereas the Surah Barā'ah was one of the last Surahs of the Qur'ān; but it resembled the other in matter, so we supposed that it belonged to it, and the Prophet died without distinctly asserting that it belonged thereto. This was the reason for our procedure.'

In the same work[6] we are told that al-Ḥārith b. Khazamah brought 'Umar the last two verses of *sūrah* ix.; 'Umar recognized them as having been uttered by the Prophet; had there been three, he added, he would have made of them a separate *sūrah*; as there were only two, he bade al-Ḥārith find a suitable place for their insertion; he accordingly placed them at the end of *sūrah* ix.

These traditions indicate that both the second and the third Khalīfahs had a hand in the arrangement of the Qur'ān, though in the main the arrangement was the Prophet's; and it is noticeable that 'Uthmān, who, according to the most familiar tradition, is responsible for the circulation of a uniform copy and the destruction of all others, in a saying put by Ṭabarī into the mouth of one of his murderers,[7] was the first whose hand wrote the *Mufaṣṣal*, implying that his edition was the first *written* edition. Usually the collecting of the Qur'ān is placed in the reign of the first Khalīfah, whose scruples were overcome by the fear that the book might be lost if the readers should perish in the wars; and indeed it was asserted that parts actually perished with some of the martyrs of Yemamah;[8] but admirers of 'Alī declared that he, noticing the bewilderment that arose after the death of the Prophet, immediately made a copy of the Qur'ān from memory in three days; and this, wanting some leaves, was said to be still in existence in the 4th century.[9] If there were any truth in this story, the copy should have wanted those verses which the person—Zaid ibn Thābit—who is said to have edited the ordinary text found with difficulty; so, according to Bukhārī,[10] when he copied the leaves into his edition, he missed a verse (xxxiii. 23) which he had heard the Prophet recite; finally he found it in the possession of Khuzaimah, the Anṣārī, whose evidence was worth that of two men.

The persons who produced these stories had to account for a fact which is generally acknowledged, viz. that the *sūrahs* often contain matter which belongs to very different periods, coupled with the assumption that single texts or small groups of texts were often revealed. If, *e.g.*, ix. 85 was a special revelation for the instruction of 'Umar,[1] whereas ix. 1–10 was delivered on a different occasion to 'Alī,[2] how came these various texts and groups of texts to form one unit called a *sūrah*? In the *Musnad* the location is said to have been dictated in most cases by the Prophet; and the tradition admits that the *sūrahs* had as yet neither names nor numbers, so that they could only be distinguished as 'containing such and such matter.' Perhaps the only passage in the Qur'ān which suggests that the Prophet arranged the texts is viii. 67, which restricts the promise of verse 66, that 100 Muslims should overcome 1000 unbelievers, to a promise that they should overcome 200, prefixing to the reduction the words, 'Now God has lightened your burden, knowing that there is weakness in you,' where the word 'now' indicates that an interval has passed between the two promises. But the suspicion lies near that this reducing verse is not from the Prophet himself, but from some later annotator. Ordinarily, where one statement corrects another, they are widely apart. So in viii. 9 the fighters at Badr are promised a reinforcement of 1000 angels; but in iii. 120 f. the number is increased to 3000 or even 5000, though the occasion on which the promise was made is the same, and the same comment is added on both (viii. 10 and iii. 122). It could scarcely have been the Prophet's intention to let both reports of his oracle remain.

Hence it is more usual to suppose that the *sūrahs*, where they are evidently collections of matter belonging to different times, represent the results of private effort, and the process called 'collecting the Qur'ān' probably refers to this preliminary putting together of revelations delivered by the Prophet. According to the tradition, as early as the battle of Uḥud (A.H. 3) special honours were assigned to those who had collected the Qur'ān, and in proportion to the amount which they had collected; one Mujammi', son of Ḥārithah, who figures in some incidents of the Prophet's biography, got his name from his carrying out this process;[3] the name of the first person who 'collected the Qur'ān' in Yemen is recorded;[4] and we are told that 47 men of one tribe, who had collected the Qur'ān, were killed on one morning.[5] Four persons are mentioned in the tradition as having collected the Qur'ān in the Prophet's time.[6] Where, then, the same verses with slight differences are found in different *sūrahs*, the Prophet may be repeating himself, or the repetition may be due to our having the matter in the collections of different persons.

Cf., *e.g.*, lxii. 6 *f.*: 'Say, O ye that have judaized, if ye profess that ye are friends of God out of all mankind, then desire death if ye speak true. But never will they desire it owing to their previous handiwork, and God knoweth concerning the wrong-doers,' with ii. 88 *f.*: 'Say, if the last world be yours exclusively out of all mankind with God, then desire death if ye speak true. But never will they desire it owing to their previous handiwork, and God knoweth concerning the wrong-doers.'

It is hard to say whether this represents two reports of the same message to the Jews, put together by different collectors, or two messages delivered by the Prophet at different times, with a

1 Yāqūt, vi. 94. 2 *Alif-Ba*, Cairo, 1287, i. 375.
3 *Ghurar al-Khaṣā'iṣ*, Cairo, 1284, p. 229.
4 Yāqūt, vi. 430. 5 i. 69. 6 i. 199.
7 i. 3007. 8 *Musnad*, i. 143.
9 Al-Nadim, *Kitab al-Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1871–72, i. 28.
10 ii. 204.

1 *Musnad*, i. 16. 2 *Ib.* i. 151.
3 Ibn Hisham, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1860, p. 358.
4 *Isabah*, iii. 1298. 5 Ṭabarī, ii. 90. 6 Bukhārī, iii. 11.

very slight difference in the wording. And similar cases are frequent, notably the statements about the miracles in the wilderness, the entry into the Holy Land, and the transformation into apes of Israelites who broke the Sabbath, which occur in vii. 160, 161, 162, 166 and ii. 54–57, 61, though these *sūrahs* are supposed to have been delivered respectively in Meccah and Medīnah.

To some extent, then, the *sūrahs* present phenomena analogous to those of the Gospels; *i.e.*, the same matter is repeatedly produced with variation in the arrangement and in the expression, or even in the sense; it is difficult to think of these as reports of different matter; they are much more like reports of the same discourses with the variations inseparable from oral tradition.

An example may be taken from ii. 98: 'O ye that believe, say not "rā'inā" but say "unẓurnā" and "hear."' In iv. 48 there is the following: 'Among those that judaize are such as corrupt the phrase from its location and say: "We hear and disobey," and "hear, not made to hear," and "rā'inā," twisting their tongues and attacking the religion. Had they said: "We hear and obey" and "hear" and "unẓurnā," it would have been better for them and more correct.' In ii. 87 it is said of the Israelites that 'When we took their covenant and raised above them the mountain, "Take what we have given you with power, and hear," they said, "We hear and disobey."'

Now, the Arabic words quoted, of which one is approved and the other disapproved, appear to be synonymous, and in the later literature are both in common use; the phrases 'we hear and obey' and 'we hear and disobey' are contradictory; the phrase 'hear, not made to hear,' for which 'hear' is offered as the correct equivalent, is unintelligible. In *sūrah* iv. all three are offered as examples of improper expressions used by the Jews with malevolent intent; in *sūrah* ii. the phrase 'we hear and disobey' is recorded as the defiant reply of the Israelites to the commandments delivered from Sinai, whereas *unẓurnā* is stated to be the proper substitute for the improper *rā'inā*, while the improper substitute for 'hear' is not recorded. In v. 45 we have another version of the commencement of iv. 48:

'Among those that judaize are hearers of falsehood, hearers of other people who have not come to thee, who corrupt the phrase from its location.'

The account which seems to agree best with the facts is that we have the inaccurate records in these various places of the same sayings put together by different persons long after they were delivered, when the circumstances of the original delivery had been forgotten. Hence the charge of 'corrupting the phrase from its location' in one *sūrah* is thought to refer to the conduct of the ancient Israelites, in another to the Prophet's Israelitish contemporaries, in a third to incorrect reporters of the Prophet's sayings, to whose testimony the Israelites of his time attached value.

Thus the questions of chronology, arrangement, and genuineness are inextricably connected, and any attempt at arranging the *sūrahs* in chronological order is impeded by the fact that the *sūrahs* are themselves largely agglomerations, while the probability that much was not committed to writing till long after the texts to be reproduced had been uttered necessarily affects the genuineness; and doubts about the genuineness of texts are not altogether wanting in the Muhammadan chronicles.

According to Ṭabarī,[1] when Abū Bakr after the Prophet's death recited iii. 138, where the possibility of Muhammad's death is mentioned, 'the people did not seem to know that this text had been revealed to the Prophet until Abū Bakr recited it.' When this verse and another in which Muhammad's death is distinctly foretold (xxxix. 31) were repeated on this occasion, according to another account,[2] certain persons swore that they had not till then been aware of their existence.

The authenticity of the two final *sūrahs* was denied by some persons. European critics have naturally fewer scruples than Muslims about obelizing verses, but, since these interpolations, if there be any, must belong to a period which is very imperfectly known, not many verses have been condemned. Certain passages very clearly belong to definite epochs in the Prophet's biography, for the order of which the work of Ibn Isḥāq is generally trusted, though its authority was clearly not established in the 2nd century. Thus the authoritative Shāfi'ī[1] places the Raid of Dhāt al-Riqā', which was the occasion of iv. 103 f., after the Battle of the Trench, whereas in the narrative of Ibn Isḥāq the raid was in the year 4, and the battle in the year 5. The number of texts that can be dated by these considerations is comparatively small; for a great many commentaries, or special works dealing with 'the occasions of revelation,' invent cheap fictions to which no importance should be attached. The editions of the Qur'ān regularly divide the *sūrahs* into Meccan and Medīnese, but it is admitted that some Meccan *sūrahs* are interpolated with Medīnese matter. It is generally held that there are in the main three periods: one in which the productions were ejaculatory and tentative, represented chiefly by the short *sūrahs* towards the end, some of which, however, are very clearly fragments; one in which they were homiletic and narrative—to this class the greater number of the longer Meccan *sūrahs* belong; and one in which they were journalistic and legislative—this is the period of the Medīnese *sūrahs*. About the first and last verses we have guesses recorded by Suyūṭī; the first was either xcvi. 1 or lxxiv. 1; the last was iv. 175, ii. 278, or ii. 281, etc.

The *Fihrist* gives a chronological order of the Meccan *sūrahs* and another of the Medīnese, in both cases ostensibly following authorities of the 1st cent.; one which differs in numerous points is given by Suyūṭī, p. 21 f. The *Fihrist* also recorded the order in which they were arranged in the copies of Ibn Mas'ud, Ubayy b. Ka'b, and 'Alī—but the last is lost in the MSS used by the editors. In a story told by Ṭabarī[2] of the year 35 'Uthmān himself is made to refer to the Qur'ān according to the numbering in Ibn Mas'ūd's copy, in which the *sūrah* of Yūnus was the seventh. The author of the *Fihrist* states that he himself had seen many copies which professed to give the recension of Ibn Mas'ūd, of which no two agreed, while all differed from the authority whom he quotes for the order. His chronological list reverses ordinary notions in making *sūrahs* xcix., lxxvi., xiii., and others Medīnese, since in both style and subject they seem clearly to belong to the Meccan period. Thus *sūrah* xiii. assumes that 'those who have knowledge of the Book' (*i.e.* the Jews) side with the Prophet against those who deny his mission, and that he is undergoing persecution which will be settled either by the fulfilment of God's promise or by his death—conditions which suit the Meccan period but had been changed when the Prophet was installed in Medīnah. If these lists have the antiquity which is assigned them, they indicate that the early Muslims took no interest in the matter, and that no tradition of the occasions on which the *sūrahs* were first delivered was preserved.

The attempts made by Europeans to fix the chronology of the *sūrahs* are not likely to be more successful than those made by native critics. Thus, in Rodwell's translation, which is chronologically arranged, *sūrah* xvi. is numbered 73 and *sūrah* vi. is numbered 89; yet in xvi. 119 there is a reference to 'that which we narrated to thee before,' viz. in vi. 147! If the *sūrahs* are capable of being dated, vi. must be earlier than xvi.; on the other hand, vi. 119 states that 'God has already

[1] i. 1816. [2] Ṭabarī, i. 1819.

[1] *Risālah*, Cairo, 1321, p. 27. [2] i. 2963.

explained to you what food he has made unlawful for you,' and, though this may be a reference to vi. 146, yet, since the list there begins with the words, 'Say: I find in that which has been revealed unto me nothing forbidden save,' etc., the reference to xvi. 116 seems the more natural; for, if the reference be to ii. 168, then we have a worse anachronism, since there will be a reference to a Medînese *sûrah* in two Meccan *sûrahs*! Dating by the supposed development of the Prophet's psychology is naturally an unscientific proceeding; nor does it seem possible to obtain any help from the development of his knowledge; thus A. Sprenger[1] asserts that about the year 617 the Prophet learned that the stories about Hûd and Ṣâliḥ were apocryphal, and in consequence was careful to make no further allusion to them. In fact he alludes to them in *sûrah* ix. (71)—according to the tradition, the last *sûrah* but one, or the last, in the Qur'ân.

6. The miracle of the Qur'ân.—The meaning of the miraculous nature ascribed to the book has been the subject of much discussion, and the treatises in which it is explained are not very convincing. In xxix. 47–50 the miracle seems to be explained as the sudden acquisition by the Prophet of the ability to read and write; and somewhat the same is suggested in xlii. 52. More often it is interpreted as its claim to produce accounts of events which could have been revealed to the Prophet only by supernatural means, these being 'the contents of the former Leaves' (xx. 133). Why it should be lawful to identify the Qur'ânic narratives with these, but impious to call them 'the Stories or Writings of the Ancients,' is not known. If these 'Leaves' were no longer in existence and the Prophet had no teacher, his knowledge of their contents, which was attested by the learned, could have been acquired only supernaturally; and there is nothing improbable in the Prophet's supposing these 'Leaves' to have perished, since in the 4th Islâmic cent. at a public discussion in Baghdâd both the Christian and the Muslim assume that the Greek classics had all perished and only survived in Syriac translations. Hence the reader is frequently reminded in the Qur'ân that the Prophet, though he is able to report an event, was not present on the occasion; he was not with Joseph's brethren when they conspired, yet he knows about it (xii. 103); he was not present when lots were drawn for the guardianship of the Virgin Mary (iii. 39); and much the same is said with reference to the Deluge (xi. 51), the adventures of Moses (xxviii. 44–46), and the dialogue at the Resurrection (xxxviii. 69 ff.). It does not appear that the Prophet's contemporaries were much impressed by this reasoning; they supposed that he had been primed (vi. 105, xliv. 13) and were even prepared to name his mentor or mentors. What is most interesting to us in these passages is the implication that the Biblical narratives were quite unknown in Meccah before the Prophet told them. More importance might reasonably be attached to the prophecies of future events—the defeat of the Jews (iii. 107 f.), the recovery of the Nearer East by the Byzantines from the Persian conquerors (xxx. 1–4), to which Gibbon attached some importance, and the continuance of the bickerings between the Christian sects until the Resurrection (v. 17), a prophecy which thirteen centuries have not falsified. These passages occupy so small a space in the book that they can scarcely give a character to the whole. Hence it is usual to fall back on the literary style, and this, it may be supposed, is meant where the opponent is challenged to produce ten *sûrahs* (xi. 16) or one *sûrah* (x. 39, ii. 21) or any talk (lii. 34; cf. xxv. 35) which could rival it, and is assured that the united efforts of mankind and *jinn* would fail in such an endeavour (xvii. 90). This doubtless limits the effectiveness of the miracle in the first place to Arabs and in the second to experts in style; but it is pointed out that in most matters the majority are laity who have to be guided by experts. Hence works are composed by rhetorical experts who show how everything in the book is expressed in the best possible way; the recently published *Ṭirâz*, by the Zaidi Khalîfah Yaḥyâ b. Ḥamzah († 749 A.H.; 3 vols., Cairo, 1914), proceeds on those lines, and discovers unsuspected beauties—*e.g.*, in the phrase 'and thou didst thy doing which thou didst' (xxvi. 18).

Possibly these expressions of self-approbation in the Qur'ân do not differ much from those employed by other Oriental authors and at times by Europeans. What we learn from its statements is that the Meccans in general found it intolerable, and demanded a 'reading' of another kind (x. 16); and even in the late Medînah period (ix. 66, 125) there were Muslims who, to the Prophet's extreme annoyance, ridiculed the revelations. A curious method of dealing with the miracle is that ascribed to a Mu'tazil doctor, who supposed it to lie in the failure of the Arab poets and orators to take up the challenge of the Qur'ân and produce a rival performance; if in spite of their number and ability they abstained, they must have been supernaturally prevented. It is urged against this view that, were it correct, the miracle would be not the Qur'ân's, but God's; but it rests besides on premisses of very doubtful validity—one, that there were at the time numerous poets and orators, and a second, that the challenge was not taken up. Indeed, it seems certain that a rival Qur'ân was produced by the pretender Maslamah or Musailimah; and Palgrave[1] asserts that much of it was preserved in Yemamah as late as the 19th century. The claims of this work as against the Qur'ân were settled by the sword. The challenge has probably been taken up at various times—and indeed the Qur'ân comes near admitting this for its own time (vi. 93)—notably by the famous Abu'l-'Alâ of Ma'arrah († 449), of whose *Fuṣul wa-Ghâyât* some fragments are preserved;[2] the work itself was destroyed from pious motives, though one person thought that it should have been allowed to exist as a monument of failure.[3] The eminent vizier Ibn 'Abbâd was not displeased when told that his own compositions were equal to the Qur'ân;[4] and we casually hear of books written by professing Muslims in which the defects of the Qur'ân were pointed out; one Ibn Abi'l-Baghl, who aspired to the vizierate in the 4th cent., is credited with a work of the kind.[5]

The magical use of the Qur'ân appears to have begun at an early time; the practice of opening it for *sortes* is mentioned in the year 33,[6] and has been common ever since; and rules for this employment of the work are found in some MSS. Certain passages are written on amulets, and the water in which some have been washed is thought to be a preservative or cure.

7. Literary form.—The style of the Qur'ân is twice described in the work itself by the word *tartîl*, the purpose of this artifice being to fix it in the Prophet's memory (xxv. 34); the sense of the word is not exactly known, but it is likely to refer to the rhyme, the existence of which cannot be denied, being indeed demonstrated by the variation in the order of the names Musa and Harun, of which the former as the more eminent should

[1] *Das Leben und die Lehre des Mohammed*, Berlin, 1861–65, iii. xxiii.

[1] *Journey through Arabia*, London, 1865, i. 382.
[2] *Centenario di M. Amari*, Palermo, 1910, i. 228.
[3] Yâqût, vi. 235. [4] *Ib.* ii. 277, 297.
[5] *Wuzarâ*, ed. H. F. Amedroz, Leyden, 1905, p. 270.
[6] Ṭabarî, i. 2923.

properly have the first place. But it is said to be improper to apply to this style the ordinary name for rhymed prose, *sij'*, which, according to a tradition, was said by the Prophet to be characteristic of paganism. Oracles that are supposed to have been delivered by pagan wizards (*kāhins*) are, indeed, in a style that differs from that of the Qur'ān by the regularity of the rhyme; these are most probably all spurious, as are other monuments of pre-Islāmic Arabic prose; in the later literature this style was popular especially for orations and official letters, the unit of the rhyme being usually a couplet, sometimes extended to a triplet, whereas in the sermon style the rhyme has a tendency to be maintained throughout the discourse, perhaps in imitation of the Qur'ān. Judged by these performances, the rhyme of the Qur'ān is illiterate, but such a view is naturally regarded as impious, and it is thought better to regard it as inimitable. In the Meccan period the Prophet was regarded as a poet by his countrymen, and this title might well be earned by the early ejaculatory *sūrahs*; it is, however, repudiated with vehemence in the Qur'ān, partly perhaps because the poets were thought to be inspired by *jinn*. Where, therefore, texts of the Qur'ān admit of scansion according to one or other of the recognized metres, this is not supposed to be intentional; and there is nowhere sufficient of a series to make the word 'metre' applicable, though *sūrah* xciv. almost fulfils the conditions.

Certain *sūrahs* contain besides special artifices; thus in lv. the texts are followed for the most part by the refrain, 'Which then of the bounties of your Lord will ye twain deny?' which may be compared with the refrain in the Song of the Three Holy Children and that in Ps 136. In xxxvii. after the story of each prophet the words 'Peace upon Ibrahim,' etc., follow, either the sentence or the name of the Prophet being accommodated to the rhyme.

The tendency of the earlier *sūrahs* is to employ short sentences, whereas rhythms more accommodated to prose prevail in the later parts of the work. It is noticeable that neither the antithetic method which is characteristic of Hebrew poetry nor the counting of syllables which is usual in Syriac forms an element in the style of the Qur'ān. The language claims to be perspicuous Arabic, and attention is often called to the clearness of the texts. This does not exclude the employment of phrases which require explanation; about a dozen times some phrase is employed followed by the formula, 'What is there to tell thee what it is?' Though extreme orthodoxy denies the existence of foreign words in the Qur'ān, it is generally recognized that its style admits not only foreign proper names, but a considerable number of words borrowed from other languages; a meritorious collection of these is to be found in the work of Suyūṭi,[1] which, however, contains many inadmissible statements. Many words are evidently of Persian, Ethiopic, Syriac, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin origin; but it is impossible for us to discover whether they were introduced by the Prophet or were already familiar. Some of the foreign usages can more easily be distinguished and located by European than by native critics—*e.g.*, the employment of *fatḥ* in the sense 'judgment' (Ethiopic), *faṭara* for 'create' (the same), *jabbār*, 'mighty' (Hebrew as applied to God), etc., where the Arabic language offers possible interpretations.

8. Place in Islām.—No sooner was the Qur'ān published than it became the basis of education, being studied immediately after the acquisition of the alphabet; so the first Umayyad Khalīfah, Mu'awiyah, when he appointed a man governor of Ta'if, said, 'He is in his ABC'; when made governor of Meccah, 'He is in the Qur'ān.'[1] Men were chastised by the Khalīfah Walid I. for not having read it.[2] Public and private worship consisted largely in the repetition of portions of it; verses employed by the Prophet himself for this purpose are specified in traditions collected in the *Musnad*.[3] After the Prophet's death it became the primary source of law, for in his own time it was liable to abrogation or addition, whence in v. 48–55 Jews and Christians who require their causes judged are referred to the Law and the Gospel. The difficulties of using the work compiled by 'Uthmān for this purpose were very great, though not too great for the ingenuity of the jurists, who began to arise in Medīnah shortly after the Prophet's death. The difficulty of teaching the Qur'ān to foreign converts is said to have given rise to the study of Arabic grammar, for which of course it supplies an absolutely firm foundation. Orthodox theologians, arguing from certain statements in it, declare that it contains all possible knowledge. If Fakhr al-Din al-Razi († 606) could find 10,000 problems suggested by the *Fātiḥah* (introductory *sūrah* of seven short verses), it should be possible to discover 'a detailed account of everything' in it by the use of suitable methods.

Citation of and reference to the Qur'ān are exceedingly common in Muslim works, whether grave or gay. When the composition of State documents fell into the hands of non-Muslim secretaries, these persons were compelled by the needs of their profession to acquire a competent knowledge of the book, though the strict interpretation of a verse cited above, 'None save the cleansed shall touch it,' is thought to render such study highly improper; and anecdotes are recorded of divine favour shown to grammarians who had refused to teach Jews or Christians their subject because of the necessary reference to Qur'ānic usage. It is not easy, however, to reconcile with this theory the doctrine that the unbeliever should be converted by the miracle of the Qur'ān; the doctrine has to give way to the theory, so that those who raid the lands of unbelievers are forbidden to carry the Qur'ān with them lest it fall into infidel hands. Translation of the book was certainly not contemplated by the Prophet; the rhyme obviously constitutes a great difficulty, and the initial letters of some *sūrahs* an even greater one; Muslim sentiment has ordinarily been against attempts at translation even where the language of the version is one of those habitually and mainly used by Muslims; still such attempts have been made, though nothing resembling an 'authorized version' appears to exist in any Muslim language.

The Muslim notion of the sacred book as the main authority on law, the chief source of grammar, and the unapproachable model of eloquence not infrequently causes Muhammadan writers to misunderstand the place assigned to the Bible in Christian communities; on the other hand, there seems little doubt that this theory has influenced the Jews and Christians who are resident in Muslim countries.

9. Interpretation.—The sacred book gave rise to a great variety of studies, partly grammatical, partly exegetical; and the names of the authors who distinguished themselves in those lines with their works occupy some eleven pages of the *Fihrist* (28–39), though that work was composed near the end of the 4th century. Although Muhammadan learning attaches the very greatest importance to what is orally handed down, there is reason for thinking that the students had little to utilize besides the consonantal text fixed by

[1] *Itqān fī'ulum al-Qur'ān*, § 38.

[1] Ṭabari, ii. 167, anno 54. [2] *Ib.* ii. 1271, anno 96.
[3] i. 226, 230, 265, v. 26.

Uthmān at a time when the Arabic script left much ambiguity; certain peculiarities may therefore be due to misreading of this text—*e.g.*, the form Yaḥyā for Yuḥanan (John), Tāghūt for Ta'ūth, and even Shu'aib for Hobab. Where either the words or the allusions offer difficulties, it does not appear that there was any trustworthy tradition which the interpreters could employ; *e.g.*, in vii. 174, when the Prophet is bidden tell the history of a man 'to whom we vouchsafed our signs, and who departed from them,' some suppose the person meant to be Balaam, others the Prophet's contemporary Umayyah b. Abi Ṣalt; a third suggestion is that he was 'the Monk,' *i.e.* a resident in Medīnah who was unable to accept the mission of the Prophet. In xvi. 49 there occurs a phrase of which the meaning is said to have been unknown to 'Umar, and very unconvincing explanations of it are given. On the whole it may be said that the tradition furnished no help that is of value for the explanation of hard passages, though the Prophet's biography, where it is independent of the Qur'ān, furnishes some.

As Islām developed sects, the dogma of the infallibility of the sacred book was common to all; hence the champions of those sects were compelled to show that it supported their opinions; and sectarian commentaries arose, of which not many specimens survived the establishment of Ash'arite orthodoxy. The popularity of the *Kasshāf* of Zamakhshari († 538), in which Mu'tazilite opinions are boldly maintained, is surprising, and must be due to its author's fame as a grammarian and lexicographer. That unorthodox opinions are not always easy to reconcile with the text may be illustrated by his comment on iv. 51:

'Verily God forgiveth not association with Himself, but He forgiveth what is less than that to whom He will,'

which he says means:

'God forgiveth not to whom He will association, unless he repent, but He forgiveth whom He will what is less than that, if he do repent.'

Yet perhaps the orthodox commentaries have at times to resort to equally drastic expedients. The most popular of the latter, the *Ma'ālim al-tanzīl* of Baiḍāwī († 691), is largely copied from Zamakhshari's work, and, though its author's object was to refute the unorthodox passages, he has taken over not a few unthinkingly. For European scholars neither of these works has the interest of the much earlier commentary of the historian Ṭabarī († 310), which is swollen to gigantic proportions by the chains of authorities quoted for each gloss; even so, it is said, it is an abridgment of a work three times the size, but it appears to give a complete record of the Qur'ānic interpretation current in its author's time. Hence it is of great value for tracing the sources of statements found in later works, from which the chains of authorities are omitted. Great praise is bestowed by Sprenger on the commentary of Tha'labi († 427), which is as yet unpublished; and even greater is bestowed on that by his pupil Wāḥidi († 487) in the account of this person given by Yāqūt (v. 101), who asserts that its merit was universally acknowledged. Mystical and devotional commentaries were produced by Ṣūfis, whose interpretations naturally wander far from the obvious sense of the passages. A commentary of this kind is that ascribed to Ibn 'Arabi.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

10. Editions and various readings.—We have seen that the inspired oracles delivered by the Prophet in some circumstances of his life were not generally committed to writing. The Prophet had himself given orders not to hasten with the Qur'ān before its inspiration was decided (xx. 113), and intimated that its collection, reading, and interpretation were lawful only to him (lxxv. 16 f.). Our knowledge of how it was collected and put into the form in which we read it is commonly derived from writers belonging to the 'Abbāsid period, or approximately to the 9th Christian century. The necessity for a reasoned history of the Qur'ān does not seem to have been felt very acutely under the Umayyad and the Pious Khalīfahs; what occasioned the appearance of some critical works on this subject was the era of religious controversies which animated the learned circles of the city of the Khalīfate. At the end of the 8th cent. Timothy, Nestorian patriarch residing in Baghdād, had a public discussion before the Khalīfah Mahdī and the Muslim theologians of his time; Abu Noḥ, secretary to the governor of Mosul, was writing about the same time a refutation of the Qur'ān in his native town (*c.* A.D. 820). Al-Kindi was completing his famous *Apology* of Christianity at the court of Ma'mūn. These public discussions and apologies, which contain severe criticisms of the Qur'ān, had the salutary effect of inducing the Muslim theologians to define their positions with regard to their scriptures.

The method of reasoning from data furnished by authors living more than two hundred years after the events is somewhat precarious, and indeed there are scholars who would give but little credence to their stories. In view of this sceptical attitude of outsiders, great care is taken by the Muslim authors to authenticate their statements, by a chain of uninterrupted links of oral traditionists going back to the first years of the Hijrah, frequently also there is reference to some accounts of men living at the end of the 1st Islāmic cent., who in their turn had heard them from companions of the Prophet; but, as these intermediary traditionists have written nothing which has come down to us, it is practically with men of the 9th cent. and even of a later date that we generally work. These oral compilations afford for our investigations a field extending from the lifetime of the Prophet to A.D. 705, or roughly from A.H. 1 to 86. According to their attribution of the Collection (*Jam'*) of the Qur'ān (1) to the lifetime of the Prophet, (2) to the time of the Pious Khalīfahs, (3) to the time of the Umayyad Khalīfah 'Abdul-Malik and his lieutenant Ḥajjāj, these oral traditions will be classed in three groups.

If any Qur'ānic verses were written in the Prophet's lifetime, they must have been written by secretaries and amanuenses. From different sources combined the number of these amanuenses totals forty, but it is very doubtful whether many of them did really help the Prophet in his literary task. The longest list is given by Ibn al-Athīr,[1] Dyarbakrī,[2] Nawawī,[3] and Ṭabarī.[4]

Ibn Sa'd[5] enumerates ten different persons who had collected the Qur'ān in the time of the Prophet. Bukhārī[6] reduces this number to four; the *Fihrist*[7] gives seven. Ṭabarī[8] counts also four persons as having accomplished this task, but, as their names differ sometimes considerably in the various lists, we may perhaps be justified in saying that nothing was known with certainty at the time of the above writers. Some of them indeed report other oral traditions to the effect that it was 'Uthmān, the third Khalīfah, who collected the Qur'ān under the Khalīfate of 'Umar[9] or that its collection in *ṣuḥufs* is due to 'Umar himself.[10] Suyūṭi[11] has gathered a considerable number of such traditions, two of which have appealed to the critics of last century;

[1] *Usd*, Cairo, A.H. 1285–87, i. 50.
[2] *Tārikh*, Cairo, A.H. 1283, ii. 181.
[3] *Tahdhīb*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1842–47, p. 87.
[4] *Annales*, Leyden, 1878–90, i. 1782, ii. 2, 836.
[5] *Ṭabaqāt*, Leyden, 1912, ii. 112–114. [6] iii. 397.
[7] P. 27. [8] ii. 2, 836. [9] Ibn Sa'd, ii. 113.
[10] Ibn Sa'd, in Nöldeke's *Gesch. des Qorans*, Göttingen, 1860, p. 193.
[11] *Itqān*, ed. Calcutta, 1854, p. 183.

they are those first reported by Bukhārī[1] and then reproduced by many subsequent writers. They state that Zaid ibn Thābit, one of the amanuenses of the Prophet, undertook the collection of the Qur'ān at the request of the first and third Khalīfahs, and that he made two recensions of it, his sources for the first recension under Abu Bakr having been palm-branches, white stones, bones, and memory of men; the second recension, which took place under the Khalīfate of 'Uthmān, would be an official revision of the previous one, its primary object having apparently been to put an end to the 'discrepancies about the Book as the Jews and the Christians have.' His work finished, the Khalīfah found himself powerful enough to destroy or burn 'everything else from the Qur'ān (found) in the form of *ṣaḥīfah* or *muṣḥaf*'; to circulate his version, he sent 'to every country' a *muṣḥaf* of what Zaid had transcribed. Nothing is said about what happened to the direct witnesses of the revelation—the white stones, bones, and palm-branches; but in the absence of better data the story is generally accepted as true by all writers belonging to a period later than the 9th cent., and is quoted in our days almost in every composition referring to the sacred book of Islām. The plausibility of the account is brooded over by some subsequent writers, who put the following accusation into the mouth of the third Khalīfah's enemies:

'The Qur'ān was in many books, and thou discreditedst them all but one,'[2] and he 'tore up the Book.'[3]

It would be unsafe, however, to believe that this tradition can account for all the difficulties. For instance, there are numerous verses which refer to the Qur'ān as *kitāb* not only in the sense of a 'written thing,' but also in the sense of a 'real book' (xlvi. 11, lxviii. 37, etc.). These verses, if not interpolated, can hardly be explained if the sources for the first edition of Zaid were only palm-leaves, white stones, memory of men, bones, and such things.

An attempt to produce an official edition of the Qur'ān is also attributed to the Umayyad Khalīfah 'Abdul-Malik and his lieutenant Ḥajjāj. They are said to have written copies of the Qur'ān and sent them to different provinces, as the third Khalīfah had done before them.[4] Some historians tell also that they proscribed various readings which were used in their time.[5] Others go even so far as to ascribe to them the final collection of the Qur'ān,[6] and some put in the mouth of the Khalīfah the important saying,

'I fear death in the month of Ramaḍān—in it I was born, in it I was weaned, in it *I have collected the Qur'ān* (*jama'tul Qur'āna*), and in it I was elected Khalīfah.'[7]

It is a well-known fact that the Shī'ah writers accuse them of the elimination of many verses.

After A.H. 86 the process of collecting the Qur'ān came to an end, and, so far as we are aware, there are no historical data after this period for its further standardization; and therefore it is highly probable that the text with which we are familiar is the very text sanctioned by its *qurrā* (reciters and readers) of the end of the 1st Islāmic cent., and officially recognized by the third Khalīfah.

Besides the official copy of the State, traces are found of the recensions made by other collectors of the Qur'ān, and the Muslim traditionists have preserved the names of some of them. Three deserve special mention: Ubayy b. Ka'b, 'Alī b. Abi Ṭālib, and 'Abdallah b. Mas'ūd. The two first are believed by all the best and earliest authorities quoted above to have even collected their Qur'āns in the lifetime of the Prophet, but, as the Sulṭāns and their officials had proscribed their copies, sometimes under pain of death, the author of the *Fihrist*[1] was unable to find a single one for purposes of comparison, and he contents himself with reporting the saying of Faḍl b. Shadhān that some of his friends had seen a copy of Ubayy's recension, the order of which he gives; on p. 26 the order followed by Ibn Mas'ūd is also exhibited on the authority of the same man. As to the nature of their wording we are somewhat more fortunate, since the commentators have recorded it whenever it was known in their time. Zamakhshari is in this respect the best source of information. Some words are so different that we are entitled to believe that at least a few of them come from a source completely foreign to that of the official text.

In xix. 67 the official text has, 'I shall come forth'; but Mas'ūd reads, 'And He will give thee.' Mostly, however, these variants consist of synonyms or of one or two added or eliminated words, such as 'saying' for 'order' (xix. 65), 'they will become cloven' for 'they will burst asunder' (xix. 92), 'people were disputing' for 'disputed' (xix. 35).

Some Shī'ah books give examples of wonderful interpolations, and their authors state that the words that they have added had been purposely deleted from the official text, but there is reason to believe that most of them are the outcome of political intrigues which cannot seriously affect the early edition. One of the best works on this theme is the *Kāfi* of Abu Ja'far-al-Kulīni († A.H. 328), which was lithographed in Persia in A.H. 1281. From a MS in the John Rylands Library we extract the following example (fol. 161):

'And if ye are in doubt of what we have revealed unto our servant, *concerning 'Alī*, then bring a Surah like it' (ii. 21).

The same author says that some of these interpolations were found in the Qur'āns used in the time of Imām Rida († A.H. 203); his contention is set forth in such an emphatic manner that we are obliged to believe him. The end of v. 11 and the beginning of v. 12 of *sūrah* xlii. were, according to him (*ib.*), as follows:

'A great thing to the idolaters is that which thou callest them to, *O Muhammad, concerning the authority of 'Alī.*'

More serious is the attempt of contemporary scholars who have called attention to some interpolations, political or religious. P. Casanova[2] has gathered several of them.

The variants of the official text itself are of two kinds. Some are due to the defective character of the Arabic script, which has many letters distinguishable from one another only by an extraneous dot put over or under them. Since the ancient Qur'ānic MSS were undotted, *qurrā* of one country often read words with letters different from those adopted by *qurrā* of another country. A second series of variants consists mainly of the addition or omission of one or two consonants, such as the copulative particle *wāw* and the feminine *t*. Many books have been written to collect these various readings, the handiest being the *Muḳnī* of Dāni (A.D. 1052). Even in the 12th Christian cent. Zamakhshari tells us that there were copies which occasionally added complete words to the standard text.

In xix. 19 some copies which he used added 'he ordered me,' and in xx. 15 some others added, 'How can I show it to you (the hour)?'

Our knowledge of these variants is derived exclusively from the commentators and some works written *ad hoc* by Muslim theologians. There are

[1] iii. 392. [2] Ṭabarī, i. 6, 2952. [3] *Ib.* ii. 1, 516.
[4] Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *Intiṣār*, Cairo, A.H. 1309, iv. 72–74; 'Asḳalāni, *Raf'*, in Kindi, *Wulāt*, London, 1912, p. 315.
[5] Ibn al-Athir, iv. 463; Ibn Khallikān, *Vies des hommes illustres de l'islamisme*, ed. McG. de Slane, Paris, 1842, i. 183.
[6] Al-Kindī, *Apology*, p. 77, ed. W. Muir, London, 1887.
[7] Barhebræus, *Chron. Arab.*, Beirut, 1890, p. 194.

[1] P. 27.
[2] *Mohammed et la fin du monde*, Paris, 1911–14, ii. 'Notes complémentaires,' p. 146 f.

in public libraries of Europe many Qur'ānic MSS of high antiquity, the oldest dating probably from the 2nd Islāmic cent., but, apart from some anomalies of spelling due to the rudimentary character of the early Arabic orthography, no real variant can be detected in them. This conclusion is borne out by Nöldeke, who examined some such MSS, and by the present writer, who for the purpose of this article consulted three of them preserved in the John Rylands Library. To our knowledge, therefore, the only extant MS which offers slight variations is a palimpsest in the possession of Mrs. A. S. Lewis; its underscript contains scraps of Qur'āns written by different hands, and its variants consist of the addition or omission of a few consonants which, however, do not injure the general meaning, although in two cases it has words completely foreign to those of the official copy; there are sufficient grounds for stating that some of these scraps belonged to those early Qur'ānic copies of Medīnah, Kūfah, and Damascus, which, according to Dāni and other writers, exhibited such variants.

11. External evidence for the existence of the Qur'ān.—If we mistake not, there is no mention of the Qur'ān in any Christian book till the end of the 8th century. The date of the Christian sources corresponds approximately with the first written records of the Muslim world. A curious fact is that the Christians of the beginning of Islām did not call the Muhammadans by the words 'Muslims' or 'Ḥanifites,' which refer to a religious belief, but simply applied to them the adjectives 'Hagarians,' 'Ishmaelites,' and 'Ṭayyāyé,' which denote their ethnological origins rather than their religious system. Numerous writers seriously believed that these Hagarians had come not so much to spread a new religion as to conquer new towns. The Muslims were helped in their conquests by many Christian Arabs, such as the powerful tribes of Banu Taghlib, 'Aḳūl, Tanūkh, and Ṭau', whose evangelization goes back to the 4th century. John of Phenek[1] expressly states about A.D. 690 that among the first Arab conquerors there were many Christians, some Monophysites and Melchites, and some Nestorians.

The anonymous historian printed by Guidi[2] gives Muhammad in the second half of the 7th cent. as a mere general professing the old Abrahamic faith preserved in the town of Madian (Medīnah), named after the fourth son of Abraham from Keturah. John of Phenek[3] attributes to him certain practices deviating in some points from the customs of the Old Covenant, but the word *mashilmanūtha* which he uses suggests that in his time and to his knowledge there was nothing yet committed to writing among the Muslims. This view of a political rather than doctrinal character of the Prophet's teaching is generally followed by all early Christians. Joannes Damascenus, writing at a later date, is more precise. Although not mentioning any sacred book, he refers to some Qur'ānic doctrines and expresses his opinion about Muhammad as follows:

'Down to the time of Heraclius (the Ishmaelites) worshipped idols; from this time to our days a pseudo-prophet has risen to them, named Μαμέδ, who through colloquies with an Arian monk had access to the Old and New Testaments, and founded a special sect.'[4]

From a discussion which took place in Syria on Sunday, 9th May, A.D. 639, between 'Amr the 'amir' and John I. the Monophysite patriarch of Antioch, it would seem that the teaching of the Qur'ān on the matter of heritages, the denial of the divinity and death of Christ, and on the subject of the Tôrāh, for which Muhammad's oracles show a marked predilection, was familiar to the Arab conquerors present in the discussion; but, on the other hand, it is certain that no Islāmic book was mentioned in the course of the colloquy. This public discussion, the Syriac text of which has been published by F. Nau in *JA* vi. [1915] 248, is recorded by the historians Michel[1] and Barhebræus.[2] The Qur'ānic dogma which denies sufferings to Christ frequently helped the Nestorians against the Jacobites. So we are told in the letters of the patriarch Isho' Yabh of about A.D. 647.[3] John of Phenek[4] informs us that the Arabs 'had a special order from the one who was their *leader* in favour of the Christian people and the monks.' This would scarcely tend to corroborate ix. 31, 34, but it is in harmony with v. 85.

The first mention of the Qur'ān by Christian writers is closely associated with the story of the monk Sergius Baḥīra ('the esteemed') which was current in Christian circles about the middle of the 8th cent., or some hundred years after the death of the Prophet. It is told in a modified form so persistently by Eastern and Western writers, and by Muslim traditionists themselves, that one is tempted to believe that it may contain some vague elements of truth.

The legend tells that an excommunicated monk called Sergius helped Muhammad in his literary, political, and religious career, and that after his death his rôle of mentor was taken up by a Jewish rabbi called Ka'b. According to Joannes Damascenus,[5] Sergius was an Arian monk. More probable is the opinion held by all the Eastern and many Western historians that he belonged to the Nestorian community. The main sources of criticism are the Arabic *Apology* of al-Kindī (*c.* A.D. 820) and the Syriac text printed by W. Gottheil in *ZA* xiii. ff. (1898 ff.), which here and there contains elements dating from the same period. Some scholars of our day have even gone so far as to assert that the story of Sergius is necessary for the right understanding of the Qur'ān.[6]

To Sergius are attributed, in their hypothesis, the very numerous passages worded in the following manner:

'But if God bring thee back to a company of them, and they ask thee leave to go forth, say, "You shall never go forth with me"' (ix. 84).

In this sentence the subject of the imperative 'say' can hardly be 'God'; otherwise instead of the word 'God' we should have had the pronoun 'I.' Until the story of Sergius is more surely established, nothing definite can be made of these surmises. The Muslim traditionists have as usual modified proper names foreign to them; so instead of *mar Yahb* they read the uncommon *Murhib*; and instead of naming Sergius they generally adopted for his proper name the Syriac word *Baḥira*, which means 'the esteemed,' and which is applied by the Syrians to every monk as a title. The Muslim traditions bearing on the subject have been gathered by Sprenger and Nöldeke,[7] and the Byzantine sources have been analyzed by Nau.[8]

12. Translations.—The Qur'ān has been translated into many European languages, but, as its miracle lies in its style, it is doubtful whether any of these translations can satisfy all the exigencies of a Semitic language exhibiting the phenomenon of rhymed prose (*saj'*). The Oriental images coloured by the tints of local

1 *Sources syriaques*, ed. A. Mingana, Leipzig, 1908, i. 146 f.
2 *Chron. Min.* in *Corp. Script. Chr. Orient.* iv., Paris, 1903, pp. 30, 38.
3 *Loc. cit.* 4 *PG* xciv. 764.

1 *Chron.*, ed. J. B. Chabot, Paris, 1899–1906, ii. 431.
2 *Chron. Eccl.*, ed. J. T. Lamy, Louvain, 1872–77, i. 275.
3 *Corp. Script. Christ. Orient.* lxiv. [1904] 97, 251.
4 *Loc. cit.* 5 *Loc. cit.*
6 Nau, *Expansion nestorienne*, Paris, 1914, p. 214 f., and *JA* vi. [1915] 248.
7 *ZDMG* xii. [1858] 238, 699.
8 *Expansion nestorienne*, p. 214 f.

topics are also to be counted among the many difficulties which the translator has to meet, not to speak of the play on words, or intended catchwords of which only the original Arabic can give a true idea.

The first translations came into existence immediately after the period of the Crusades, when Western people became more acquainted with Islām. At the initiative of Petrus Venerabilis, abbot of Clugny, the Qur'ān was rendered into Latin by Robert of Retina and Hermann of Dalmatia in 1143, and published in Basel in 1543 by T. Bibliander. A better translation is that of L. Maracci (Padua, 1698). An Arabic-Latin Qur'ān was published (Leipzig, 1768) by J. F. Froriep.

The first French translation is apparently that of A. du Ryer (Paris, 1647). Better translations are those by M. Savary (do. 1783), M. Kasimirski (do. 1840), and G. Pauthier (do. 1852).

The first English translation is the extremely bad one made from du Ryer's version by A. Ross (1648–88). A much better, but somewhat paraphrastic, translation is that of G. Sale (London, 1734). J. M. Rodwell's version of 1861 marks the first attempt to arrange the *sūrahs* chronologically; the translation of E. H. Palmer (*SBE* vi., ix., Oxford, 1880–82) is more literal.

The earliest Italian version seems to be that made from the Latin of Bibliander by A. Arrivabene (Venice, 1547). A recent and much better version is that by A. Fracassi (Milan, 1914).

The first German translations were made from the Latin, the Italian, and the English. A better translation is that of G. Wahl (Halle, 1828), which is a revision of that by F. E. Boysen (do. 1773). A more recent version is that of L. Ullmann (Bielefeld, 1853).

There are also several Dutch versions, the best of which, it is said, is that by H. Keijzer (Haarlem, 1860). A Russian version appeared at Petrograd in 1776. J. Tornberg undertook in 1876 a translation into Swedish.

All the above translations are by European Christians. Some Muslims have in the last few years tried to render their Scriptures into English; the translation by Muhammad Abdul-Hakim Khan (London, 1905) and that by Mirza Abdul-Fazl (Allāhābād, 1911) deserve special mention. The editor of the *Islamic Review* has announced a new translation, but *al-Manār*[1] is protesting against such an enterprise. Possibly it is of this translation, comprising, it is said, 30 volumes, that the first instalment appeared in 1916.

We cannot know the precise year in which the Qur'ān began to be translated into Oriental languages. The public libraries of Europe contain many MSS showing translations of the Qur'ān into Persian and Turkish. These versions do not seem to go back much before the era of the first Latin translations. There is reason to believe that a translation into Persian was in existence in the 13th century. The oldest MS to our knowledge which contains a translation into old Turki is found in the John Rylands Library—a beautiful MS of several volumes. The old Turki version which it contains may possibly date from the 14th century. The MS contains the Arabic text with an interlinear translation into Persian and Eastern Turkish, but the translation differs sometimes from the text (so the Arabic text of the MS in iii. 116 has 'and if it befall them,' while both Persian and Turki translations have 'and if it befall you'). There are many modern translations into Persian; the edition of Calcutta (A.D. 1831) and that of Delhi (1315 A.H.) seem to have widest circulation. Apparently the Turkish Government did not encourage the translation of the Qur'ān into Osmanli Turkish, and it was only after the proclamation of the so-called Constitution in 1908 that a certain Ibrahim Hilmi could in 1912 print his version at Constantinople. It is said that the most used translation into Urdu is that by Wali Ullah (Delhi, 1790). We learn from the *Moslem World*[2] that a Christian missionary, W. Goldsack, had in 1908 undertaken a translation into Bengali.

LITERATURE.—A bibliography of works which had appeared in Europe bearing on the Qur'ān was published by V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, vol. x., 'Le Coran et la Tradition,' Liége, 1907. Of native works, Jalal al-Din-Suyuti († 911 A.H.), *Itqān fi 'ulum al-Qur'an*, first printed Calcutta, A.D. 1857, is the most complete.

A. MINGANA.

[1] xvii. 794. [2] v. [1915] 258.

R

RABBINISM.—See JUDAISM.

RACE.—1. Race-feeling and ethnology.—The word 'race' is used in different senses by men of science and ordinary people. The scientific ethnologist is concerned to find some precise, objective classification of mankind, and he employs the word 'race' to denote the particular differentia by which he classifies. As he classifies principally by physiological factors, such as shapes and proportions of skulls, degrees of pigmentation, facial angles, cross-sections of the hair, and so on, he groups the human species into corresponding 'races' — dolichocephalic and brachycephalic, brunette and blonde, prognathous and orthognathous, round-haired and elliptical-haired. This physiological classification is dealt with in detail in the art. ETHNOLOGY, but there are other objective or apparently objective characteristics which can be, and generally are, taken into account. Men can be classified by their language, and in this sense we can talk of the Latin, Teutonic, or Slav race. It is equally admissible to classify them by their social organization (matriarchy or patriarchy, blood-feud or criminal law, primogeniture or division of inheritance, etc.), or by their material technique (stone age, iron age, nomadism, agriculturalism, industrial revolution, etc.). All these classifications are taken into account by the ethnologist. See artt. ETHNOLOGY, MOTHER-RIGHT, BLOOD-FEUD, LAW, INHERITANCE, FIRST-BORN, AGRICULTURE, HUNTING AND FISHING, PASTORAL PEOPLES, etc.

It is worth noting here that the ethnologist frequently blunders in attempting to make different schemes of classification coincide with one another. He tends to identify the group with yellow skins, round hair, and slanting eyes with the group that speaks agglutinative languages, or even with the group that has a shamanistic religion, and to bracket together all these differentiæ as the marks of a single race. This tendency is unscientific, because it does not correspond to the facts. There are white populations, like the Finns, Magyars, and Ottoman Turks, who speak languages of the agglutinative family. There are yellow populations which are Christian, Muhammadan, or Buddhist in religion. The groups based on these

different factors of classification cut completely across one another; and these cross-divisions increase with the increase of civilization, for the 'objective' characteristics of civilized communities are more highly differentiated and more subject to modification than those of primitive man.

The tendency to ignore this fact is an instinctive approximation, on the part of the scientist, to the popular conception, and marks the distinction between ethnology and race-feeling. Race-feeling represents the divisions between races as clear-cut and absolute. The idea that men can belong to one race in one respect and to another in another is quite foreign to it, and this simple view is not contradicted by the data of its experience, for many of the scientific ethnologist's differentiæ are unknown to it. No racial feeling, for instance, has ever been excited by difference in skull-form, on which particular stress is laid in ethnological classification. Only students are acutely aware of the cranial differentia, which demands the application of exact scientific measurements to hundreds of thousands of human beings, and an elaborate synthesis of the experimental data, before it can be used. Yet, though race-feeling is unscientific and uninformed, it is a very real factor in social psychology, and it is the purpose of this article to examine its nature.

Race-feeling generally asserts itself by contrast with other social principles.

The bonds and divisions which it creates, and actions which it excites, are remarkably different from those produced by the feeling of State. As members of a state, men are nearly always prepared to go to war for their state and to fight members of another state which is thought to menace their own state's existence. Community of race-feeling does not inhibit in any degree this willingness to fight, and some of the fiercest political wars have been inter-racial; *e.g.*, the white populations in the Northern and Southern States of the United States felt themselves racially one, yet, because they were divided politically into Virginians, Pennsylvanians, and so on, and the Virginians held by 'State rights,' while the Pennsylvanians held by 'the Union,' they went to war with one another and fought out their difference. Again, the English-speaking ('Anglo-Saxon') race as a whole is divided into two political groups—the British Empire and the United States—which have been more hostile to one another than friendly. Britain is the only State against which the United States of America have fought twice since their independent existence. It has been the same with Prussians and Austrians on the European continent. Both were Germans, yet they went to war with one another repeatedly for more than a century to decide whether the Prussian or Austrian State should have the hegemony of Germany.

When we study this political feeling, it seems the paramount principle that divides or unites mankind. Yet all the time there are other relations between Germans as such, or 'Anglo-Saxons' as such, which are unaffected by the political barriers that happen to arise among them. The Northerners made the political rights of the Negro race the chief principle for which they fought, but their race-feeling towards the Negro has remained as strong as, or stronger than, the Southerners'. The tabu against intermarriage between the black and white races is still as absolute in the North as in the South, while Northern and Southern Whites have intermarried as freely since the Civil War as before it. Again, the political schism between the United States and Britain has not affected their feeling of a common racial inheritance. The American draws his culture from Milton, King James's Bible, and Shakespeare; he holds by the Habeas Corpus Act as the foundation of his civil liberties; he makes pilgrimages to English castles and cathedrals as shrines in which the romance of his early history is preserved, while the Englishman, on his part, takes pride in the voyages of Sir Walter Raleigh and the Pilgrim Fathers, which were the foundation of the United States. It is the same with the Prussian and Austrian. Turn their minds from Sadowa and Frederick the Great to Goethe or the hero Siegfried, and they become simply Germans, of one 'race' with one another and with the German-speaking Swiss.

In most human societies there is, in fact, a sense of some 'objective' grouping more permanent, and in the last resort more strong, than the political organization created artificially by acts of will. You may make and unmake social contracts, draw up acts of union and declarations of independence, make slavery a legal status or abolish it by emancipation, but these underlying bonds and divisions remain eternal, and are not to be modified by human desire or human contrivance. This objectivity of race is proverbial. 'Blood is thicker than water,' we say, when we see the bond of race-feeling overcoming the divisions of interest and accident; or 'Can the Ethiopian change his skin?', when race-feeling emerges as a disruptive force and checks some effort after fraternity or common citizenship by the conviction that 'Black is Black and White is White,' and that good intentions cannot change them.

This sense of an objective grouping has played an important part in history, of which we shall give a brief account. But it is essential to note, once again, that we are dealing with the sense, or mental representation, of objective grouping, and not with the really objective classification which the scientific ethnologist sets out to discover. The factors which race-feeling represents to itself as objective, and from which its stimulus is derived, are often far from being objective in fact. They vary perpetually from each other and from the scientific norm. But it is the representation, and not the external stimulus of it in any given case, that is the important element in the feeling of race

2. Racial myths.—In a completely isolated, and also completely undifferentiated, human group the race-feeling of the members would be an accurate scientific analysis of the real objective factors constituting the character of the group. These factors would be handed down unincreased and undiminished from one generation to another, and their aggregate would be as constant as the race-feeling that it stimulated represented it to be.[1] But this is only an abstraction, and there are no actual human groups of this kind. There is no known group which does not mix and cross itself to some extent with other groups of mankind, and it is probable historically that all existing groups are differentiations from a single original stock. Even endogamous communities, which aim (of course unsuccessfully) at isolation, tend, on the other hand, to a specially sharp differentiation of 'marriage-classes' internally. Whether by internal differentiation or by coalescence with other groups outside, the permanence and objectivity of the group-character are in practice destroyed, and the sense of permanence and objectivity, which we call race-feeling, can therefore only express itself intellectually by a myth.

[1] Even in a perfectly isolated and undifferentiated group this would be true only in theory, for it appears that the factors in the character of any living organism are infinite, or, in other words, that there is a constant process of variation which makes immunity from differentiation impossible.

There are probably the rudiments of a racial myth wherever race-feeling exists, though they are often inarticulate and do not attract our attention. There are cases, however, in which myths have been deliberately invented to express existing race-feeling or even to stimulate race-feeling where it did not before exist.

The name 'Belgium' is a myth of this artificial kind. In 1830–31 certain populations which had been grouped together politically, and separated from their neighbours, for about three centuries by accidents of ecclesiastical history and the dynastic balance of power, felt an impulse to break away from Holland, with which the act of a European Congress had united them for the past fifteen years, and to form an independent political group of their own. The impulse issued in a revolution; the revolution was successful; a new state was founded. It was a very living state—the creation of a group which had just asserted its independence by fighting for it, and was determined to maintain it for the future. But this group and this state were without a name. The country had been called the Spanish Netherlands or the Austrian Netherlands for the past three hundred years, but these names were merely negative; they expressed the absence of any independent group-impulse and group-idea, and therefore could not express the new growth and realization of them. A new name was wanted for a new thing; and the Southern Netherlanders, ransacking history, appropriated the name of a conglomeration of tribes that lived between the Seine and the Meuse when Cæsar conquered Gaul. The real connexion between Cæsar's 'Belgæ' and 'Belgica' and the new group and state of 1831 was infinitesimal. Cæsar's Belgæ spoke Celtic, the Netherlanders Teutonic and Romance, and even the Romance-speaking half of the group were only very doubtfully descended from Latinized Belgic provincials. There was no relevant continuity of culture, for the Netherlanders drew their cultural inspiration from mediæval Flanders and Revolutionary France, the Belgæ theirs from the Central European iron age, and then from Rome. But the dead name artificially revived was given life by the new group-feeling by which it had been appropriated. All the national feeling of 1831 found expression in the Belgian myth; and in 1914—the next great crisis in the national history—King Albert exhorted his army to withstand the Germans by the reminder that Cæsar had called the Belgæ the bravest of the Gauls. In eighty-three years an academic myth had penetrated to the heart of a group-emotion.

The stimulation of feeling by an artificial myth, where the feeling did not exist before, can be illustrated from the history of Athens. About 511 B.C. the Athenian statesman Kleisthenes wished to abolish the traditional groupings within the Athenian State, which were bound up with the old social order, and to establish new groupings in their place which would stimulate a more democratic feeling in the members of them. The new groups that he planned were highly artificial in their character. They were to be territorial, but, to prevent them from becoming vehicles of local feeling, the territory of each group was to be scattered in three different parts of Attica. The problem before Kleisthenes was to inspire these new artificial groups with a corporate feeling stronger than the loyalty to the traditional groups. Unless he solved this, his reorganization might nominally be accepted, but would have no practical influence on Athenian political life. Yet the traditional groups not only were knit by the bonds of kinship and locality, which Kleisthenes deliberately eschewed; they were fortified by the existing body of Attic mythology, which traced back the ancestry of each *φυλή* and *φρατρία* and *γένος* to some hero worshipped by the Athenian people.

Kleisthenes decided to canonize his artificial groups by inventing an even more artificial myth for each of them. He drew up a panel of a hundred Attic heroes, asked the god at Delphi to select the ten most suitable, and then proclaimed these ten as the *ἀρχηγενεῖς* ('ancestors' or 'founders') of his ten new *φυλαί*. To a modern statesman this would have seemed the surest way of exposing the new *φυλαί* to ridicule, but Kleisthenes knew just where the vein of race-feeling in his fellow-countrymen lay. The statues of the ten *ἀρχηγενεῖς* were solemnly set up before the government house at Athens; festivals were enjoined on their *φυλεταί* in their honour; and the contingent of each *φυλή* was placed under its own hero's protection in war. And in less than a century the *ἀρχηγενεῖς* were the most living myth in Athens after the national myth of Athene Polias. They had appeared to their tribesmen in battle; they were appealed to in patriotic speeches; in fact, they had developed individual personalities. The new myth had struck root, and it had brought a new group-feeling with it. The new *φυλαί* supplanted the old as completely as the Departments supplanted the old French Provinces, and an Athenian now felt that he was an Erechtheid or Pandionid, and all his ancestors before him, back to Erechtheus or Pandion himself. The ten *φυλαί*, invented by an Athenian's statesmanship, had become for other Athenians part of the objective order of the universe.

Race-feeling is one of the strongest conservative forces in social life. It tends to stabilize any human institution, any system of grouping or division, to which it once becomes attached, no matter how recent, artificial, or transitory in its nature that institution may be. This effect of race-feeling was known to Plato, and in a famous passage of the *Republic*[1] he exploits it, half humorously and half in earnest, to conserve the highly artificial constitution of his ideal State.

Plato's State is to be differentiated into rigid castes, with the sharpest division of function and privilege; but the castes are to be recruited by merit, and every individual, starting as a child on an equality with every other, is to be assigned to his caste by a process of selective education. The psychological problem before Plato is to reconcile the feeling of permanent objective likeness and difference implied in the system of caste with the feeling of change, development, and competition implied in the process by which the castes are to be recruited. Unless his citizens feel that they each and all belong inevitably to whatever caste they have been assigned to, the castes will be mere forms without moral influence on the life of the community. But the competition by which the caste of each individual is to be determined is calculated to stimulate the very opposite feeling—that human will and effort are the determinants of human relations; and the change, at an arbitrary moment, from competition to fixity is likely to aggravate this feeling rather than to make it give place to the other feeling of objective determinism, on which the caste-system itself must depend. On the other hand, if once the sense of fixity is implanted in the adults, they will tend to extend it to their own children in turn, and will feel that they must derive their caste from their birth, and not from the selective process through which the parents have originally passed themselves, and which, like caste, is the law of the State.

The problem, in fact, is to make the citizens of the ideal State hold two opposite views of social relations simultaneously, and Plato proposes to solve it by making them—if not the ruling caste, at any rate the rest—believe 'a single noble lie.'

'I shall try,' he says, 'to make them believe that the upbringing and education we gave them was all a dream, and that, while they imagined they were being given it, they were really being moulded and brought up in the bosom of the Earth, and that their arms and tools were being fashioned there too. Then when they were finished off, I shall tell them, the Earth, their mother, brought them to the light, and it is now their duty to take counsel and arms for the country in which they find themselves (if that country is attacked), as for their nurse and mother, and to feel for their fellow-citizens as brethren born of the same Earth as themselves. . . .

'"All of you in the State are brethren," we shall tell them in our myth, "but when God moulded you, he blended gold in the substance of those among you fit to rule, and that is why they are the finest; in the warriors he put silver; and iron and bronze in the peasants and other workers. You are all of one stock, so you will generally beget children like yourselves; but sometimes there will be silver offspring from gold, gold from silver, and all the other possible permutations. So this is God's first and chiefest commandment to the rulers: Show yourselves good guardians and keep vigilant guard above all things over the children, to see which metal is blended in their souls; and if your own children are born with bronze in them or iron, have no pity on them, but dismiss them to the workers and peasants, where they belong by nature; and if workers or peasants have a gold or silver child, put him too where he belongs and promote him among the guardians or warriors, as the case may be. Thus saith the Lord, on the day when he that ruleth the State is of iron or of bronze, on that day the State shall be brought to destruction."'

The imaginary speaker then proceeds to ask his interlocutor in the dialogue whether he can see any way of getting this myth believed. 'None,' he answers, 'of making your citizens themselves believe it; but one could make their children believe it, and their children's children, and everybody that followed after.'

The suggestion is a dogmatic State education, and there is nothing visionary in expecting it to produce the intense psychological effect which Plato demands. The national states of the modern world have all organized this kind of education for their children in different degrees, and the stimulation of race-feeling in each state has been remarkably proportionate to the thoroughness with which this has been done. But the racial myth is capable

[1] 414 B–415 C.

of striking root without an educational propaganda, as is shown by the example of Kleisthenes quoted above. It can do so because the race-feeling to which it gives form is one of the instinctive social needs of mankind. There are other feelings and myths on which human societies may be founded, but they show a strong tendency to revert to the racial type in the last resort. The Jews, for instance, think of themselves theoretically as a 'Chosen People'; their foundation-myth is a 'Covenant'; their physical hall-mark is not a skin which they cannot change or a stature to which they can add no cubit, but the artificial and deliberate custom of circumcision. The covenant between Jahweh and Abraham is essentially an act of will on both sides (see art. COVENANT, § 3). Jahweh chooses Abraham, and Abraham accepts the choice; and logically every member of the Chosen People from Abraham onwards can be so only by receiving and answering the same call. Yet the idea of race has been imported into the Jewish foundation-myth. Abraham's covenant is made 'for his seed for ever,' and the chief factor in the Jewish group-consciousness is the racial factor of 'having Abraham to their father.' The retort that 'God out of these stones can raise up children to Abraham' is a profound criticism on the idea of race itself. It implies that an objective or external principle of grouping, even if it exists, will be utterly inconsequent in its workings. If you trace Judaism by descent, any one or any thing may be a Jew without partaking of any of the factors essential to Jewish group-character. To be a true heir to Abraham's covenant depends on a subjective not an objective factor—not on race but on will.

Christianity was in its origin a reaction against this reversion to race-feeling in the Jews. It proclaimed that the covenant was made not with every descendant of Abraham, but with any individual in the world who was converted to accepting it. Christianity deposed race and set up faith instead of it, and it is the more remarkable that Christianity, in turn, should have reverted towards race-feeling in the doctrine of predestination.

This doctrine may be reconciled with free choice by theological dialectic, but its underlying motive is to go behind free choice and represent it as a mere expression of an objectively determined classification. It really eliminates from the covenant the will of man, and leaves only the will of God, which, being external to man, is, from the standpoint of man's personality, as mechanical as physical phenomena. Predestination divides mankind into two races sundered from one another by an unalterable difference of spiritual morphology, just as ethnology divides it into races by the different morphology of pigmentation or skull-form. It is a racial myth considerably hypostatized, but it is a racial myth none the less, like the myth of descent from Abraham, or from the ten ἀρχηγενεῖς, or from the Belgæ in Cæsar's Gaul.

This persistent return of the social consciousness to the racial basis is doubtless the response to a psychological need. Race-feeling puts those who experience it into an atmosphere of eternity and certainty. It is like a treasure laid up in heaven, which cannot be impaired by the weaknesses and vagaries of the human will. It is an antidote to the sense of transience, effort, and weariness, which infects the world of time and change. But, though it lightens the burden on the individual, it also diminishes his power and cramps his initiative, and there is therefore a counter-current in mankind of revolt from racial determinism towards free association. The patriarchal myth is challenged by the hypothesis of the social contract, the system of caste by citizenship. This tendency towards self-determination in social grouping may be classed as political, in contrast to the racial tendency (though both these terms are possibly too narrow to cover the psychological fields included under them here). The two tendencies can be seen at tension in the course of history.

3. Historical survey.—(*a*) *General tendencies.*—All group-feeling implies a standard—a common idea of what is 'the normal,' and a common impulse to approximate towards this type.

The need for 'normality' is illustrated by the case of the African explorer who, after he had lived several years among negroes without seeing any white man but himself, used to be turned sick by the sight of his own white skin, which now seemed a leprous and obscene exception from the normal black.

The abnormal man is in fact usually more conscious of the type, and craves more keenly towards it, than members of the group who are not conscious of any peculiarity in themselves. He is his own most effective chastiser (for example, the Indian Sweeper, who accepts his caste as religiously as the Brāhman, and is as careful as he to keep his proper distance when they meet in the street, though it is the Brāhman who is in danger of being defiled). It is this homage to type on the part of the individual who varies from it that gives the group-spirit its crushing disciplinary power, and makes a group, once constituted, so inelastic towards its members within and towards other groups without. There is an element of rigidity in every group, which is probably necessary for its preservation; but the degree of rigidity varies vastly from group to group, in proportion to the degree in which the group-feeling is based on race or on free association.

The less advanced people are in civilization, the less their life (both physical and spiritual) is under their control. Nearly all the forces of nature, and many of the workings of their mind, are data external to their will instead of material to be moulded by it, and social groups are as rigid for them as all other phenomena. The internal bonds seem indissolubly intimate, the external barriers insuperably wide. Each tribe, each sex, each age within each sex or tribe, is discrete from every other; and it is just as incomprehensible (and formidable) that a boy should turn himself into a man, or a seed into a tree, as that a man should turn the tree-stem into a boomerang. Yet these miracles are happening all the time. Nature passes, and men like her, through the changes of birth, maturity, and death, and the human will is increasingly (though still unconsciously) imposing on its environment a purpose of its own. There is a contradiction in primitive man's experience, and he solves it by an elaborate development of initiation-ritual, to tide over the changes of unchanging things, which are an intolerable abnormality in a group founded upon race.

In primitive man race-feeling is thus strong, but it is an obstacle in his path which he is using all his ingenuity and imagination to surmount. The initiation-ritual is the germ of free association and conscious control, and these constitute civilization (see INITIATION [Introductory and Primitive]). In civilized society race-feeling is relatively weak, but it grows strong again in civilizations that are in bad health or on the decline—no longer as an obstacle now, but as a preservative.

When a group is decadent, it has lost its power of growth, differentiation, and assimilation; it is even losing the accumulated capital of the past; and change, instead of being the essential expression of its vitality, seems to be the process by which its vitality is wasting away. Change must be arrested if the decadent group is to survive, and the members of the group attempt to arrest it, not merely by conscious archaism and reactionary legisla-

tion, but by concentrating their group-feeling upon the objective, unalterable aspects of the group-character. If a Chinaman is always a Chinaman, if every Chinaman born inherits the qualities of the eternal Chinese race, then the China of the Boxer rebellion is as good as the Celestial Empire of the Han; and Chinese vitality, like water from a never-failing reservoir, is always bound to find the level of its highest altitude in the past. The 'foreign devils' may superficially be more clever and successful than the Chinaman of to-day, but that need not confound him so long as he holds fast to his race. They are children of to-day and will perish to-morrow, while he is of the race of the Han, who were at the zenith of human achievement when the foreigners lived like the brutes.

This defensive recrudescence of race-feeling is characteristic of all civilizations that have passed their prime—the Chinese, the ancient Egyptians (whose priests told Solon that 'the Greeks were always children,' and showed Hekataios the statues of 345 high-priests descending from father to son[1]), the Spartans and Athenians in the first centuries of the Christian era, the East Romans in the Middle Ages. It is strong at the present day among the Jews in Europe and the Jewish and Near-Eastern immigrants in the United States; and this is a remarkable case, because the motive of self-defence is here comparatively weak. These immigrants do not find themselves at a disadvantage individually as against the aliens with whom they come in contact. Unlike the Egyptians or Chinese, they adapt themselves successfully to the modern environment, and even attain the highest positions of wealth and power in the new groups to which they attach themselves. The pressure which maintains their race-feeling is not external, but arises within themselves. The Gentile group is not closed against the Jew; it is the Jew who will not merge himself in it, because that would be a tacit admission that his own group had lost its existence—a failure which he refuses to face. The more successfully, therefore, a Jew or Eastern European adapts himself to his present group-environment, the more jealously he cherishes the race-feeling that identifies him with the group of the past. He cultivates the ritual and language, prophets and heroes, folk-songs and national dress of a group which was broken up five hundred or eighteen hundred years ago, by Muhammad the Conqueror or by Titus and Vespasian. Only a few individuals overcome this instinctive group-reaction and surrender themselves spiritually to the new group in which they live and have their individual being. Such individuals are often scorned for 'losing their race'; they should rather be commended for casting out an irrational race-feeling which no longer corresponds to their real social relations, and giving their allegiance to the new group into which they have voluntarily entered.

(*b*) *Race-feeling in ancient Greece.*—It has been suggested above that race-feeling in any human society tends to be in inverse ratio to the vitality of its civilization. There is not space here to trace this curve of race-feeling through the whole of history consecutively, but it may be tested in two important instances—the civilizations of ancient Greece and modern Europe.

Ancient Greek civilization sprang more abruptly out of primitive conditions than ours, and was therefore penetrated by race-feeling more profoundly at its roots. The city-state (which was the ancient Greek state-form, as the national state is ours) was rooted in it. Historically, these city-states were not racial unities at all. They were combines of smaller groups—village communities scattered over a plain (φρατρίαι[1]), or bands of rovers flocking together from across the sea (φυλαί[2]), and even these smaller units were not homogeneous in themselves. They had come together in the Ægean from the four quarters of the earth, and an ethnologist would have analyzed in each of them every variety of skull-form and pigmentation. Yet race-feeling dominated the group-consciousness of the city-state and its structural parts. The city's legendary founder was conceived as the ancestor of the living citizen-body. He had fixed the constitution and begotten the men and women who were to live under it. The constitution could be supplemented by current administrative regulations, but (like the American federal constitution) it could be altered only by elaborate 'initiation-ritual' or else by revolution. The citizen-body, again, could be supplemented by immigration; but the immigrants remained resident aliens. They might live in the city from father to son, build up its trade, pay its taxes, serve in its wars, and even create its literature (Lysias, the model of Attic oratory and leader of the Athenian bar, was a resident alien of ancient family); but they were still aliens, without a vote and even without a status before the law (Lysias, who could present the case of his citizen-clients, could not enter the court as a principal himself). The fullest participation in the city's life could not make the blood of the founder flow in their veins, and citizenship was inseparable from this racial qualification. 'Naturalization,' like constitutional development, could be brought about only by revolution, and revolution, when it occurred, was generally complete. Every free inhabitant of the city territory—citizen, free immigrant, or enfranchised slave—then became a citizen of what was virtually a new state, with a new internal organization and a new racial myth which made the new citizen-body just as exclusive as the old.

The city-states of ancient Greece were thus racial to the core, and that is why they were never transcended—a failure that was the political ruin of the Greeks. Greek national life, on the other hand, which sprang from the same origins as the city-state, emancipated itself from race-feeling easily and quickly. It has been mentioned that in Greece, as in primitive societies, every racial group was a religious group as well, so that race-feeling and religious feeling were co-extensive (see art. GREEK RELIGION, § 4). But there were several Greek groups—Delphi, Pisa, Eleusis—which, as it were, abnormally developed their religious side and received into their religious communion neighbour-groups which would have remained hopelessly sundered from them and from each other on the narrow racial principle. Delphi, for example, by the 6th cent. B.C. had received into its 'amphictyony' about two-thirds of the Greek-speaking population on the mainland, and had given the common name of 'Hellene' to all Greek-speaking people. All 'Hellenes,' in turn, were admitted at Pisa to the religious festival of the Olympian games. Admission to the games became the test of 'Hellenism' or Greek nationality.

This Hellenism was at first conceived racially. The Hellene was contrasted with the 'barbarian' (the man who spoke jargon), and was thus distinguished by language, which, though a far broader basis of association than the ancestral basis of the city-state and its sub-groups, was still external and objective. But his Hellenism was never tested by his mother-tongue alone. Slaves, for example, were excluded from the games, though most slaves in 6th and 5th century Greece were Greek by speech and ancestry; and a man was not necessarily a Hellene even if he spoke Greek and was free. In

[1] Herod. ii. 143.

[1] Lit. 'brotherhoods.' [2] Lit. 'growths (from one stem).'

the 5th cent. B.C. a Macedonian king entered himself for the foot-race at Olympia and was appealed against as being a 'barbarian' by his competitors, but was admitted to be a Hellene on showing that his genealogy derived from the mythical *ἀρχηγεταί* of the city-state of Argos.[1] Now a king was certainly a freeman, and the Macedonians spoke as genuine a Greek dialect as the Argives themselves. The appeal against this Macedonian king therefore looks like a reversion from the linguistic basis of Hellenism to the narrower ancestral basis of the city-state. Really, however, it marks an advance in the other direction, for the qualification required of him was not that he should be a registered citizen of this city-state or that (as in fact he was not a citizen of Argos), but that he should be within the pale of the 'city-state culture.' Hellenism, by this ruling, implied not merely the freeman's status and the Greek mother-tongue, but a certain kind of social life, and other Greek historians besides Herodotus support this view. Thucydides calls the inhabitants of Epirus barbarians, though they too spoke Greek. Aristotle, on the other hand, talks of Rome[2] as a *πόλις Ἑλληνίς*, classifying not by language but by constitution; and he also describes the constitution of the city-state of Carthage in his *Politics*—a work otherwise devoted almost exclusively to the politics of Greece.

These standards of Hellenism led up to the conception that Hellenism was not an inalienable and untransmittable race-character, but a quality that could be acquired.

'The Hellenic people,' says Herodotus,[3] 'has in my opinion spoken the same language ever since it existed [a concession, this, to the objective notion of race]. It was originally an offshoot of the Pelasgian people, and started weak; but from small beginnings it has grown to include a multitude of populations which have become assimilated to it—chiefly Pelasgians, but many other barbarian populations as well. As for the Pelasgians, I do not imagine that, *as barbarians*, they grew to anything great previously to the growth of the Hellenes.'

In other words, the essence of Hellenism is not a certain language spoken from time immemorial by a certain group, but a development of culture which enabled this group to assimilate far larger groups outside it—the population of Attica[4] among others. This cultural evolution of Hellenism, by which an ever-expanding group is distinguished progressively from the raw material of humanity, is sketched in by Thucydides:

'Hellen and his sons grew to power in Phthiotis and were called in to assist the other city-states; and so, one by one and by the effect of intercourse, chiefly, they came to be called Hellenes, and it is only a short time ago that this name established itself among them all.'[5]

'Once all Hellas wore arms in civil life like the barbarians. The parts of Hellas that still live like this witness to the life that was once lived by all alike.

The Athenians were among the first to leave off weapons and change to less austere habits. . . . The Lacedæmonians were the first to strip naked and to take off their clothes in public and rub themselves with oil when they took exercise. Formerly even in the Olympian games the competitors wore girdles when they competed, and it is not many years since this was given up. Among some barbarians, especially the Asiatics, they still wear girdles when they box or wrestle. In fact, a great number of points can be adduced in which the life of the ancient Hellenes was undifferentiated from that of the modern barbarians.'[6]

This evolutionary view of Hellenism is at the farthest remove from the racial concept of *φυλή* and *φρατρία* which pervaded the city-state, and contemporary Greek thinkers were conscious of the contrast. They called the two opposite principles *νόμος* and *φύσις*, and debated their relation to one another. Pindar, the reactionary poet, was always proclaiming the paramountcy of *φύσις*, but it was also his saying that '*νόμος* is king of all,'[7] and this idea entered profoundly into the attitude of the Greeks towards the likenesses and differences between group and group.

During the 5th cent. the Greeks became intimately acquainted with peoples strikingly unlike themselves—the Egyptians in the Nile valley and the Skythians in the Russian steppes; and this might have stimulated their race-feeling afresh. To recognize a common Hellenism in the descendants of Theseus and the descendants of Herakles was one thing, but to recognize a common humanity in men with brown skins or men who never tilled the ground needed a greater intellectual effort. The Greeks, however, accomplished this feat of imagination. The strangeness of the country and climate in Egypt and Skythia struck them as forcibly as the strangeness of the inhabitants; and they concluded that the latter was conditioned by the former, and that Skythians, Egyptians, and Hellenes were the same human metal stamped with a different impress by the diverse environments into which it had been introduced. Thus the experience of alien human types, so far from stimulating race-feeling in the Greeks, tended to make them sceptical of race altogether.

This explanation of group-differences by adaptation to different environments is worked out in a treatise on *Atmospheres, Waters, and Localities* included in the 5th cent. collection of medical writings left by the Hippokratean school.[1]

'Some (human) natures,' the writer lays down, 'are like well-wooded, well-watered mountains, some like thin-soiled, waterless country, some like meadow and marsh land, some like stiff, arable lowland.'[2] 'The Skythians,' he says elsewhere,[3] 'are like one another and no other people in the world, and it is the same with the Egyptians, except that these have been forced into their physique by the heat, and the Skythians by the cold.' He explains temperaments in the same way. 'A wild, unsociable, impetuous temperament' is produced by a climate of extremes, for in such a climate 'the mind receives constant shocks which implant wildness and weaken the mild and gentle side of character.'[4] He even traces differences in group-temperament to differences in political constitution: 'The inhabitants of Europe are also made more warlike by their institutions, because they are not ruled by kings like the Asiatics. Where people are ruled by kings, they are inevitably more cowardly.' He discusses in detail the psychological reasons for this, and cites the exception which proves the rule—'The Greeks and barbarians in Asia who are not under autocratic government, but are self-governing and labour for their own profit, are as warlike as anybody.'

But, if the group-differences between Hellene, Egyptian and Skythian, European and Asiatic, were accidental and alterable by human endeavour, if your group-character merely depended on whether you lived a thousand miles nearer the Equator or the Pole, in a swamp or on a mountain, whether you built your city with this aspect or that, whether you let yourself be governed by a king, then racial barriers were potentially abolished. Any barbarian, by taking thought, could raise himself into a Hellene, and any Hellene could sink into being a barbarian.

This conception of Hellenism, not as race, but as a culture for all humanity, gained ground steadily from the 5th cent. on. Herodotus tells the story[5] of the Skythian king who lived as a Hellene in a Greek trading-settlement several months each year, till his tribesmen discovered the double life that he was leading and killed him. The campaigns of Alexander gave vast populations the opportunity of 'Hellenizing' themselves freely; and, though this Hellenization was sometimes superficial (*e.g.*, in the propaganda of 'Jason' [Joshua] the Jewish high-priest, who conceived Hellenism in terms of a gymnasium and felt hats, and was very properly overthrown by the Maccabæan reaction), yet in other cases it was profound. The cities beyond Jordan produced a distinguished

[1] Herod. v. 22.
[2] In a fragment which is the first mention of Rome in literature.
[3] i. 58. [4] *Ib.* i. 57. [5] i. 3. [6] i. 6.
[7] Quoted by Herod. iii. 38.

[1] Chs. xii.–xvi.: Group-characters and environment (Egyptians, Macrocephali, Phasians, Skythians); xvii.–xxii.: Skythians in detail; xxiii.: European group-differences; xxiv.: The theory of group differences in general.
[2] Ch. xiii. [3] Ch. xviii. [4] Ch. xxiii. [5] iv. 78–80.

generation of Hellenic rhetoricians, scientists, and poets, and a new school of Hellenic philosophy was founded by the Phœnician Zeno. Taking the profound and the superficial together, it is true to say that the idea of Hellenism in ancient Greek civilization did transcend completely the idea of race inherent in the city-state. It made possible a feeling of unity between all men, and passed over without a break into Christianity.

Christianity in its origin was the antithesis of race-feeling; its membership depended on an inward spiritual act, and within the Christian group there was no more Jew or Gentile, Skythian or Hellene, bond or free. But in this it had been anticipated by the little Greek *φρατρία* of Eleusis, which had developed its primitive initiation-ritual into a spiritual religion and had thrown it open to all mankind.

(c) *Race-feeling in modern Europe.*—The history of race-feeling is more difficult to trace in modern Europe, because it is still unconcluded, but it is clearly very different from the development just outlined in the case of ancient Greece. European civilization did not spring straight, like Greek, from primitive social life, and was therefore partly emancipated from race-feeling at the outset. It had behind it Hellenism and Christianity—two social forces which were the antithesis of race—and also Roman imperialism, which had imperfectly translated Hellenism and Christianity into political terms by building a 'world city state.'[1] The Latin Church of the Middle Ages, with its common ecclesiastical organization, common culture-language, and common outlook on life, overrode race-feeling triumphantly. It assimilated the outer barbarians who broke into the Roman Empire in its decay. It initiated into European civilization populations which had lain entirely outside the Roman pale—Angles and Saxons, Scandinavians, Poles, Hungarians, Lithuanians. It looked on all Latin Christendom as one, and on heathens and Muslims not as vessels of destruction, but as raw clay ready for the Christian mould. The legend of Prester John (*q.v.*), the mighty Christian king who was to come out of the heart of Africa or the heart of Asia and aid his fellow-Christians to make Christianity prevail all over the world, shows how completely free from race-feeling the spirit of mediæval Christendom was. And the history of mediæval theology, orthodox and heretical, shows how living was the community of thought within the Christian group. A new doctrine travelled within a few years from one end of Christendom to another, was passed on from Croats to Albigenses, from Englishmen to Czechs, receiving a fresh but unbroken development from each of the wandering students or pilgrims by whom it was transmitted. No race-feeling inhibited this general interplay of ideas.

But this great anti-racial force on which European civilization was founded has been invaded by race-feeling to an increasing degree. The linguistic basis of association and dissociation, which had been transcended first by Hellenism, and of which Christianity in its origin had been independent, began very early to assert itself and to split the Church, united by the subjective bond of a common belief and a common will, into a number of groups divided from one another by their 'mother tongues.' This relapse towards race-feeling as the basis of grouping began on the eastern fringes of the Christian world. It first made itself felt in the disguised form of doctrinal disagreement. The Jacobite, Nestorian, and Gregorian Churches left the Catholic communion nominally because they differed on some article of the creed or some ruling of a council; and the founders of those Churches were probably unconscious that they were also ministering to an impulse in their followers to have a liturgy and a literature in their own vernacular — Coptic, Syriac, or Armenian. A few centuries later the Orthodox Church broke communion with the Roman Church, also nominally on doctrinal grounds; but the practical issue was the struggle of the Greek and Latin languages each to become the official language of the Church, and the inability of either to conquer the whole field of Christendom from the other. This linguistic element in Orthodoxy reveals itself in the liberality with which the Greek Orthodox Church allowed its Slav converts in the Balkans and Russia to form autonomous Orthodox Churches with the Bible and liturgy in their native tongue. And it is noteworthy that among the Slavs on the Adriatic littoral, who bordered on the field of Orthodox missionary expansion, the papacy was forced by competition to make equally liberal linguistic concessions, in complete contradiction to its general policy elsewhere.

The Protestant Reformation (*q.v.*) in W. Europe was in large part a linguistic movement too. The Hussites (*q.v.*) in Bohemia took up arms for 'communion in both kinds,' but they were in fact the Czech peasantry reacting against German penetration. Luther (*q.v.*), a century later, set out to restore the Bible to the laity, and with this object he and his fellow-Protestants in other countries translated the Bible into the High German, Danish, Swedish, Dutch, French, and English tongues. But the translators were also ministering to an impulse among these populations to develop native linguistic cultures of their own, of which these vernacular Bibles became the foundation.

Moreover, there was a political side to the Protestant movement, and this again was disruptive in its effect. Luther attacked the ecclesiastical centralism of the Roman papacy, and so transferred an immense field of patronage and administration to the local state. The rule 'Cuius regio eius religio' was formulated in Germany, but it was acted upon just as ruthlessly by Henry VIII., and a momentous increase in state sovereignty was the result. Each state aimed at establishing its own uniform state religion, uniting all the members of the state to one another and dissevering them from members of other states beyond the frontier. This state uniformity at the price of a schism in European civilization was enforced by persecution (such as had only been employed before by the Catholic Church acting for Christendom as a whole), and persecution led to religious war, both internal and inter-state, which widened the breaches still further.

Historians often allege nowadays that religious persecution is obsolete, that European civilization has transcended it, and that this is a notable triumph in its progress. In reality it has not been transcended, but has simply completed its development. The Reformation and Counter-Reformation were largely secular at the outset; in the course of several centuries the groups to which they gave birth have been secularized completely. The Dutch national state—to take an example—is the lineal descendant of a Protestant group which differentiated itself in the 16th cent. from the Church of Rome; the Belgian national state owes its historical limits to the fact that the population of the present Belgian territory held fast to Catholicism when its neighbours, all round it, were breaking away. In instances like those we can see the ecclesiastical factor in the group-character being eliminated, and the linguistic factor coming to the front more and more, but all the time the race feeling, once generated in the group, has preserved

[1] 'Urbem fecisti quod prius Orbis erat' (Venantius Fortunatus to Rome).

its continuity, and has increased rather than diminished in its sense of objectivity and its intolerant spirit. It still produces persecution, civil war, and war between state and state, by a fanatical belief in the necessity and rightness of external uniformity, and by an uninhibited craving to impose this uniformity by violence. And this ideal of linguistic uniformity is the religion of Europe in the 20th cent. (so far as religion is a group-phenomenon) in the same sense as the ideal of doctrinal uniformity was in the 17th. In spite of the superficial change of orientation, the creed of 'Cuius regio eius religio' has persisted, because the race-feeling behind it has remained the same.

Thus the inheritance of internal unity which European civilization derived from Hellenism and the Christian Church has been frittered away, and the anti-racial group-feeling of Catholicism has degenerated gradually into the acutely racial group-feeling of nationalism. There has been a corresponding 'racialization' of the division between those inside and those outside the civilized pale.

It has been said that mediæval Catholicism divided mankind into Christians and pagans (including Muslims), and regarded the latter, not as creatures different in species, but as potential Christians capable of becoming actual Christians at any moment by an individual act of will.[1] But, about the time of the Reformation, the great maritime discoveries brought Europeans into contact with other populations markedly different from the people of Europe and W. Asia in externals. Their pigmentation was at the opposite extreme of the human colour-scale; their culture was too primitive to be placed in any scale of comparison at all with European culture; and the climate in which they lived was tropical instead of temperate. In coming into contact with these populations, Europeans were having the same experience as the Greeks when they came into contact with Egyptians and Skythians, but their reaction to it was not the same. The Greeks, struck by the environmental contrast as much as by the contrast in human type, explained the latter by the former, and concluded that all human beings, however acute their superficial differences, were the same in essence, and that every variation of human kind was potentially transmutable into every other. The Europeans were struck so forcibly by the external differences that it never occurred to them to explain their origin by the secondary influence of environment, or to look forward to their elimination by change of environment or progress in culture. The differences hypnotized them as the one overwhelming fact. The black man might become a Christian, he might adopt European clothes or habits of life; but he remained black, and the European white. The colour-barrier presented itself to the European as insurmountable, and it displaced religion for him as the dividing-line between people within the pale of civilization and people without. Instead of classifying mankind as Christians and pagans, transmutable, by conversion, into one another, he now classified them as 'white men' and 'natives,' the 'white race' and the 'black race,' divided from one another by external objective characteristics which no act of will on either side could surmount. And, just as the Greek's hypothesis of adaptation to environment, as an explanation of the Egyptian and the Skyth, reacted on his own feeling of Hellenism, making it more humane and un-racial in quality, so the European's hypothesis of a specific difference between Black and White reacted on his own growing nationalism and made it more uncompromisingly racial than it need otherwise have become.

[1] It is typical of mediæval Catholicism that its artists represented one of the Three Magi as a negro.

The internal unity and external assimilative power which Christendom once possessed can be inferred by comparison with the Islāmic world as it still is—Islām being an inferior reproduction of Christianity with a belated development (see MUHAMMADANISM). The Muslim missionary in W. Africa or India makes more converts than the Christian missionary, because he really receives his converts into his own group, treats them as social equals, and gives them his daughters in marriage, while the European missionary is divided by the colour-bar from Christian natives just as acutely as from pagan, and can only organize his converts into a 'native church,' which is still outside the pale of the European community.

It is noteworthy, however, that the Muslim populations which have approached nearest to the standards of European civilization are also losing their pan-Islāmic sense of brotherhood and acquiring a sense of linguistic nationality of the European kind. Among the Arabs of Syria this new nationalism, which is dividing them from their Persian or Turkish-speaking co-religionists, has tended in compensation to break down the barriers between Christians and Muslims of Arabic speech. The Osmanli Turks, on the other hand, have developed a nationalism of the purely dissociative kind. Before 1908 the Ottoman Empire, like mediæval Christendom, was a group which gave the privileges of its membership to all inhabitants of its territory who professed the established group-religion, whether they inherited its creed or adopted it by conversion. The Young Turkish party, when it came into power, substituted for this pan-Islāmic basis a programme of 'Ottomanization,' which made the Turkish language, instead of the Muslim faith, the obligatory group-characteristic, and set out to eliminate all inhabitants of Ottoman territory who would not or could not be 'Ottomanized' by force. The racial persecutions in Turkey during the European War were directed against the Muslim Arabs as well as the Christian Armenians; and, though the Armenians were offered the traditional alternative of conversion, those who accepted it either were distributed among Turkish families, if they were individual women and children, or, if they were whole towns or villages, were made away with as mercilessly as those who refused. Communities converted wholesale would have retained their linguistic nationality, as the Slavs of Bosnia retained theirs after their wholesale conversion in the 15th century. But the Young Turks set no store by the religious uniformity[1] which had been the paramount social bond for their forefathers, if it left outstanding the external, objective differences that offended their sharpened racial sense.

This historical outline of the development of modern race-feeling raises a problem. Why should the most progressive Muslim populations be affected most powerfully by 'racialization,' which is clearly a retrogressive tendency? And, if European influence is the cause, how has European civilization made such vigorous and constant progress as it has from the Dark Ages to the present day, with this equally rapid and steady counter-current carrying it in the reverse direction?

The answer seems to be that the degeneration of group-feeling which we have traced, from the anti-racial spirit of the Catholic Church to the almost unmitigated racialism of contemporary nationality, is only one strand in the development of European civilization seen as a whole. Even in the movements through which we have observed race-feeling

[1] In the case of forced converts, the uniformity would of course be purely nominal, and in no sense an act of will implying a unity of spirit; but history shows that the spiritual bond, which the forced converts never feel, establishes itself almost automatically in their descendants.

progressively gaining ground other and anti-racial forces were disengaged. The schisms of doctrinal theology were not only expressions of linguistic particularism but fields for intellectual activity; the Lutheran Reformation was not only a descent towards the national state but a victory for freedom of thought and conscience; and the narrowest and most intransigent nationalism of the 20th cent. is not a mere substitution of dogmatic barriers for the brotherhood of mankind, but the struggle towards equality of populations which, through disunion, numerical weakness, illiteracy, or other adverse social and political conditions, had previously been dominated by other groups or had altogether lacked a group-consciousness of their own. The stimulation of race-feeling, which resulted from these movements, and which we have so far considered in abstraction from the other consequences that they had, was often only the lesser backwash of a forward wave—the toll which liberation of mind and will had to pay to slavery. And there were also movements, like the American or the French Revolution, in which the gain so outbalanced the loss that no definitely new stimulation of race-feeling can be traced to them, to offset the impulsion which they gave towards free association.

This anti-racial tendency in European civilization, which has so far outdistanced the racial tendency of nationalism by the whole span of European progress, is what we name 'democracy'; and modern democracy has liberated broad fields from race-feeling which Hellenism and Christianity never conquered.

There was the inveterate racialism of the ancient city-state, which on its political side was only superficially transcended by the Roman Empire; and the Roman Empire, at the time when Christendom was offering spiritual unity to all mankind, was disintegrating into the 'feudal system,' under which a man was bound to the soil on which he was born by more sordid and prosaic fetters than the *φυλαί* and *φρατρίαι* of the historical Greek city-state, or the citizens of gold, silver, and bronze in Plato's racial myth. Feudalism is the greatest, though by no means the only, incubus of racialism inherited by European civilization and successfully thrown off. But, as was remarked at the beginning of this section, it is impossible to trace the history of race-feeling in European civilization with a certain hand, because it is still in the making. In the phase of history that led up to the European War nationalism made such formidable advances among almost all civilized peoples that race-feeling and democracy seemed on the way to equilibrium, and the continued progress of civilization probably depends upon the ulterior consequences of the war. For this equipoise which is embodied in the contemporary 'democratic-national state' is not, after all, a stable condition. Nationality and democracy are really opposite tendencies—the one towards race-feeling and the other away from it—and one of the two must have the mastery in the end. But the data are insufficient for speculation into the future, and we must be content to study race-feeling through the past history of it, which has been outlined in this article.

LITERATURE.—i. *GENERAL.*—W. Z. Ripley, *The Races of Europe*, London, 1900 (for distinction between race-feeling and ethnology); Eduard Meyer, *Gesch. des Altertums*[2], I. i., Stuttgart, 1907.

ii. *ANCIENT GREECE.*—Herodotus; Thucydides; Plato, *Republic*, ed. J. Burnet, in 'Oxford Texts,' Oxford, 1901-06; H. Francotte, *La Polis grecque*, Paris, 1908 (for the internal structure of the Greek city-state).

iii. *MODERN EUROPE.*—H. S. Chamberlain, *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, Eng. tr., London, 1911 (for unscientific theorization); *The Birth of a Nation*, cinematograph film produced by W. W. Griffiths (showing genuine race-feeling and its essentially negative character).

A. J. TOYNBEE.

RĀDHĀ SOĀMIS.—The Rādhā Soāmi Satsaṅg is one of the numerous sects which have sprung up in India since the opening of the 19th cent. as a result of Christian and Western influence. It is a Hindu sect, its closest affinities being with the Vaiṣṇavites, and especially with Kabīr (*q.v.*).

A banker of Kṣatriya caste, resident in Agra, and known as Śiva Dayāl Saheb, was already regarded as a notable teacher and saint before the Mutiny. He came of a Vaiṣṇavite family, and had connexions with the Vaiṣṇavite priests of Brindāban. Very little is known about his life, but it is clear that he gradually gathered round him a band of devoted disciples, and exercised considerable influence. His theology was similar to that of Kabīr, but he also taught his pupils a system of secret meditation, which induced trances and other hypnotic results. He claimed for himself the title Sant Satguru, 'holy preceptor.' His wife, who was a woman of character, also took part in the teaching. Photographs of husband and wife were given to disciples to be contemplated during meditation, and husband and wife were worshipped as divine *gurus*. In 1861 the *guru* made a public statement of his doctrine, and he left two books in Hindī, both called *Sār Bachan*, 'Essential Utterance,' which form part of the scriptures of the sect.

His most famous disciple was Saligram Saheb, a Government official, who rose to the position of Postmaster-General of the United Provinces and received from Government the title Rai Bahadur. He was a man of vigorous and orderly mind. The horrors of the Mutiny drew his thoughts away from the world, and he became a disciple and devoted personal attendant of the Sant Satguru. Max Müller gives a short account of him in his life of Rāmakṛṣṇa.[1]

In 1878 the *guru* died, and Rai Saligram Saheb Bahadur was at once accepted by the disciples as his successor. It seems clear that, while the essentials of the system came from the first *guru*, everything else is the work of Saligram Saheb. He organized the sect, gave it its name, and formulated the theology, doubtless following closely the lines of the original *guru's* teaching. The following sketch of the system is drawn from his *Rādhā Soāmi Mat Prakāsh* ('Exposition of Rādhā Soāmi Doctrine'), a short systematic manual in English, which was printed at Benares in 1896 for private circulation:

The universe is in three spheres or divisions, each subdivided into six regions.

A. The first sphere is purely spiritual. In it dwells the Supreme Being, who is altogether unknown. His name, however, is known to be Rādhā Soāmi; for that name resounds through all regions, and can be heard by those who have had the proper initiation and training.

B. The second sphere is spiritual-material. It contains matter as well as spirit, but its matter is comparatively pure and is controlled by spirit. Over this region presides a Viceroy, who is said to be the God of the Bible, the *Brahman* of the *Upaniṣads*, the *Lāhut* of Muslim saints.

C. The third region is material-spiritual. In it matter dominates spirit, and all spirits contained in it are clothed in gross matter. The Governor of this material universe is identical with the Hindu Brahmā and with the ordinary gods of other religions.

From the Supreme Being there proceeds an emanation called the Śabda, *i.e.* the Word, which streams down through all regions and returns again to the Supreme. From the Śabda there rings out in all regions the divine name Rādhā Soāmi.

Man's soul is a pure drop from the ocean of the Supreme Spirit; but, being wrapped in coarse matter, it falls into bondage to material things, and may degenerate seriously, unless spiritual help is given; but the Supreme Being has certain 'beloved sons'—men who have risen to perfect union with himself, who from time to time descend from the spiritual sphere in mercy and love, in order to deliver men from the bondage of matter and to enable them to rise to the highest spiritual heights. Each of the *gurus* of the sect is one of those beloved sons.

The *guru* teaches his disciples, by means of the secret discipline of the sect, to hear in their inner organs the sound made

[1] *Rāmakṛishṇa: his Life and Sayings*, London, 1898, p. 20 ff.

by the Śabda, as it resounds through all regions. He then teaches them to mount on this spirit-current and to rise on it to the Supreme. There is no way of approach to the Supreme except through the Sant Satguru; so that all men ought to have recourse to him for salvation. The secret discipline is called *Surat-Śabd-Yoga*, 'union of the human spirit with the Word.' The methods of this discipline are not known further than that they are said to be meditative, and that the *guru* gives the disciple his photograph, and bids him contemplate it as the revelation of God in his meditations. In addition to the secret practice, men are told that prayer, works of faith and charity, a vegetarian diet, abstinence from intoxicating drink, and attendance at meetings of the sect for worship are necessary for the holy life.

The second *guru* died in 1898. Besides the English booklet mentioned above, he left behind him four volumes in Hindī verse, named *Prema Bāṇī*, 'Love Utterances,' and six volumes in Hindī prose, named *Prema Patra*, 'Love Letters.'

The third *guru*, Brahmā Saṅkara Miśra, a man of Bengali extraction, resident in Benares, guided the sect from 1898 until his death in 1902. His book, *Discourses on Rādhāsoāmi Faith* (Benares, 1909), contains brief statements about the *gurus*, which have been used in this article.

Since the death of the third *guru* the sect tends to fall into two sections, one of which is in favour of appointing a new *guru*, while the other is opposed to it. The former section recognizes at present Ānand Swarūp as their *guru*, while the other party is led by Mādhava Prasād, who refuses to be called a *guru*.

The Sant Satguru is held to be identical with the Supreme Being, and receives lofty titles to express his dignity. The worship of the sect therefore centres in him. All the excesses of Hindu *guru*-worship are reproduced among Rādhā Soāmis. They not only prostrate themselves before the *guru*, adore him, meditate on his virtues, pray to him, and believe that everything that has touched his body is filled with spiritual power; they also follow certain Hindu sects in a number of disgusting practices. They drink the water in which he has washed his feet, eat certain products of his body, and, after his death and cremation, drink his ashes in water.

When a *guru* dies, his relics are placed in a tomb, his photograph is affixed to it, and round it is erected a building which, because it is sanctified by the relics of the *guru*, is called a *gurudvāra*. Since three *gurus* have passed away, there are three *gurudvāras*: (1) the shrine of the first *guru*, who is called Rādhā Soāmi, or Soāmijī Mahārāj, is at the Rādhā Soāmi Bāgh, some four miles from Agra; (2) the shrine of the second *guru*, who is called Huzoor Mahārāj, is at Pipalmandi, Agra; (3) the shrine of the third *guru*, whose title is Mahārāj Saheb, is in a fine new building in Madho Das's garden, Benares.[1]

Apart from the adoration of the *guru*, the worship of the sect is a simple service consisting of scripture-reading, hymn-singing, prayer, and a sermon. Their scriptures are the writings of Kabīr and of certain other Hindu saints and the works of their own *gurus*.

Since the sect is largely guided by Kabīr, and recognizes one God only, the visiting of Hindu temples and the worship of Hindu idols are discountenanced. Yet a Hindu, a Muslim, or a Christian may remain outwardly a member of his old religious community and conform to its usages, while secretly avowing himself a Rādhā Soāmi and partaking in the worship and private meditations of the sect.

The name of the sect is rather an enigma. The word *satsaṅg* is quite clear, for it is a Hindī word used by the Sikhs for a company of pious people; but *Rādhā Soāmi* is obscure. It is a phonetic misspelling of Rādhāsvāmī, 'Lord of Rādhā,' a title used of Kṛṣṇa in relation to Rādhā, his famous cowherd mistress, in the latest cycle of the myth. It is most strange that, in a sect which worships one God only, this phrase with all its coarse associations should be declared to be the name of God, and should also be used as the title of the first *guru* of the sect, and to form the name of the sect itself. No credible explanation has ever been given by any member of the sect. It transpires, however, that the first *guru* and his wife used to dress up as Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā to receive the worship of their disciples; and when, in February 1914, the writer of this article visited the *gurudvāra* of the first *guru*, he found two photographs hanging on the tomb. An educated member of the sect, who acted as cicerone, said that they were the photographs of Rādhā aud Soāmi, the first *guru's* wife and the *guru* himself. Thus it is probable that, during the lifetime of the *guru* and his wife, when the disciples went to worship them, they addressed them as Rādhā and Soāmi, and that the double name thus became associated with the chief act of worship of the sect. That would be sufficient to account for the way in which it is used.

While the main body of the teaching and the practice of the sect comes from Kabīr and other Vaiṣnavite sources, certain phrases and ideas are clearly Christian in origin. In many points both of teaching and of practice there is a curious similarity between the system and theosophy (*q.v.*).

LITERATURE.—The chief publications of the sect have been mentioned in the course of the article. A valuable pamphlet, *The Radha Swami Sect*, by H. D. Griswold, was published several years ago by the Cawnpore Mission Press, but is now out of print. The fullest account of the sect will be found in J. N. Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India*, New York, 1915, pp. 157–173.

J. N. FARQUHAR.

RĀDHĀVALLABHĪS.—The Rādhāvallabhīs are a Vaiṣnava sect of N. India, numbering about 25,000 adherents, and founded in the early part of the 16th cent. by one Harivaṁśa, the son of a Gaur Brāhmaṇa living in the Sahāranpur District. Harivaṁśa's name appears in the list of teachers of the Sanakādi-sampradāya of the Bhāgavata faith, founded by Nimbārka (see artt. NĪMĀVĀTS and BHAKTI-MĀRGA, vol. ii. p. 545). This *sampradāya* was divided into five *śākhās*, or branches, by a teacher named Harivyāsa, and Harivaṁśa's name is entered in the list as that of the third teacher of the fourth branch.[1] Other authorities state that he belonged to the Mādhva-sampradāya[2] (see artt. MĀDHVAS and BHAKTI-MĀRGA, vol. ii. p. 545), and his teaching, as Growse[3] points out, was professedly derived partly from the one and partly from the other of these churches.

Harivaṁśa was born in A.D. 1502, his father being at the time a high official in the service of the emperor.[4] He married, and had two sons and one daughter. After settling his daughter in marriage he determined to become an ascetic. On the way to the holy land of Vṛndāvana he met a Brāhmaṇa, who declared that he had been commanded in a dream to present him with his two daughters and also with an image of Kṛṣṇa in the character of Rādhāvallabha, or lover of Rādhā. Harivaṁśa married the girls and, in A.D. 1525,[5] set up the image in a temple which he had founded in Vṛndāvana, on the bank of the river Jamnā.

The worship of the sect founded by him is nominally directed to Kṛṣṇa as Rādhā's lover, but practically it is devoted to Rādhā herself. Rādhā was one of the *gōpīs*, or herdmaidens, who are

[1] Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements in India*, p. 165, lines 19–27, is erroneous.

[1] *Vaiṣṇavasarvasva*, p. 15.

[2] *Bhaktanāmāvalī*, p. 11.

[3] *Mathurā*, p. 186.

[4] The *Bhaktamāla* does not say who the emperor was. Sikandar Lōdī was at that date reigning at Āgrā.

[5] So *Bhaktanāmāvalī*, p. 11. This would make him twenty-three years old, which does not give much time for him to have a marriageable daughter. But girls are married in infancy in N. India.

celebrated as the companions of Kṛṣṇa during his youth spent in Vṛndāvana. The legend of his sports with these herdmaidens is fairly old. It appears in the *Harivaṁśa*, or supplement to the *Mahābhārata*, and in the *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇas*, but it is not till we get to the *Brahma Vaivarta Purāṇa*, a late sectarian work, that we find prominence given to Rādhā as the leader of the *gōpīs* and as Kṛṣṇa's beloved mistress. Here we are told that Rādhā, from the beginning of all things, had been Kṛṣṇa's *śakti*, or energic power, and that, when he came down to earth in human form, she also became incarnate.

In many religions there has been a tendency exhibited to worship a female counterpart of the deity, as his energic power. This was not confined to India. It has even appeared in corrupt forms of Christianity which substituted the Virgin-Mother for the Third Person of the Trinity. In India this *śakti*-worship became most developed among the Śaiva sects, but it has also obtained some currency among Vaiṣṇavas, some of whom direct their prayers more particularly to Lakṣmī or to Sītā, the spouses of Viṣṇu and of Rāmachandra respectively; but among Rādhāvallabhīs this is carried to an extreme length. Rādhā is the supreme object of worship, and the writings of the sect are devoted to singing her praises, and to describing, with most sensuous and erotic detail, the union of Kṛṣṇa with his beloved. The whole is, of course, capable of mystic interpretation, and is so interpreted by the pious, but Growse,[1] in commenting on one of Harivaṁśa's devotional poems, is not unfair in saying:

'If ever the language of the brothel was borrowed for temple use, it has been so here. But, strange to say, the Gosāins, who accept as their Gospel these nauseous ravings of a morbid imagination, are for the most part highly respectable married men, who contrast rather favourably, both in sobriety of life and intellectual acquirements, with the professors of rival sects that are based on more reputable authorities.'

To indicate the fervour of his love for Rādhā, Harivaṁśa took the prænomen of Hita, 'affectionate,' and he is generally now known as Hita Harivaṁśa. This custom was followed by his disciples, so that we find names such as Hita Dhruva Dāsa and Hita Dāmōdara as those of his pupils and imitators.

Harivaṁśa was about sixty-five years old at the time of his death. He was the author of two works. One of these, written in Sanskrit, is the *Rādhāsudhānidhi*, 'Store of the Nectar of Rādhā,' extending to 170 long couplets. The other, the *Chaurāsī Pada*, 'Eighty-four Stanzas,' is in Hindī. They are both very erotic in character and exhibit much poetical fancy. Portions of them have been translated by Growse. Stray verses attributed to him are also recited. Wilson mentions a work entitled the *Sēvāsakhī-vāṇī*, 'Sayings of the Companions in (Rādhā's) Service.' He states that it is a more ample exposition of the notions of the sect and of their traditions and observances, as well as a collection of their songs and hymns. He does not mention the author's or compiler's name.

By his later marriage Harivaṁśa had two sons, one of whom, Vraja Chandra, or Braj Chand, was the ancestor of the present Gosāins of the temple of Rādhāvallabha in Vṛndāvana, the chief temple of the sect. It dates from the end of the 16th or beginning of the 17th century.

LITERATURE.—The only English authors who have written original accounts of this sect are H. H. Wilson, *Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus*, London, 1861, p. 173 ff., and F. S. Growse, *Mathurá, a District Memoir*[2], Allāhābād, 1880, p. 185 ff. The following Indian authorities may also be consulted: Nābhā Dāsa, *Bhaktamāla* (see *ERE* ii. 546), verse 90, and Priyā Dāsa's commentary thereon; the best ed. is that of Sītārāmaśaraṇa Bhagavān Prasāda, Benares, 1905 (the account in this is summarized by Wilson, and given in full by Growse); Dhruva Dāsa, *Bhaktanāmāvalī*, ed. with full commentary by Rādhākṛṣṇa Dāsa (Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā), Benares, 1901, p. 11 f.; Hariśchandra, *Vaiṣṇavasarvasva* (in *Hariśchandrakalā*, Bankipur, n.d.), p. 15; Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa Upādhyāya, *Hita Harivaṁśa Prāghaṭya*, Briṇdāban, 1910; Ganēśavihārī Miśra, Śyāmavihārī Miśra, and Śukadēvavihārī Miśra, *Miśrabandhuvinōda*, Khaṇḍwā and Allāhābād, 1913, p. 284 ff.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

RAGGED SCHOOLS.—See JUVENILE CRIMINALS.

RAI DĀSĪS.—The Rai Dāsīs are a Vaiṣṇava sect of N. India, founded by Rai (or Ravi) Dās, one of the twelve chief disciples of Rāmānanda (see *ERE* ii. 546, and art. RĀMĀNANDĪS). Its members are low-caste Chamārs, or leather-workers, and, in fact, Chamārs, as a caste, often call themselves 'Rai Dāsīs.' Their doctrines do not differ materially from those of other followers of Rāmānanda. They are chiefly found in the United Provinces of Āgra and Oudh, where their numbers are considerable, but, owing to the use of the title not only as a sect name but also as the name of a caste, the total is quite uncertain. In the census of 1891 their numbers were recorded as 417,000, and in that of 1901 as 47,000; but nothing can be deduced from these figures except that, in the latter year, it is probable that many were shown, not as belonging to their particular sect, but under the more general title of Rāmāwat.

Rai Dāsa, like his followers, was a Chamār by caste, and the sect founded by him, if it can be called a sect, is hardly more than an association of Chamārs who have adopted the tenets of his master, Rāmānanda. It has no peculiar sacred book, although it has orally preserved a number of hymns attributed to its founder. Several of these have found their way into the Sikh *Granth*, and another collection of them has lately been printed under the title of *Rai-dās-jī-kī Bāṇī aur Jīwan-charitra* (Allāhābād, 1908). A perusal of these hymns shows that the only important point on which their author laid more stress than did some of the contemporary Vaiṣṇavas was that *bhakti*, or devotional faith, in Rāma was of infinitely more importance than a belief in the Vedas or in the teaching of Brāhmanical Hinduism. As is natural in members of a despised community, stress was also laid on the unimportance of caste-distinctions, but this doctrine is common to all the developments of Rāmānanda's teaching.

Rai Dāsa's home was at Benares, and, as a disciple of Rāmānanda, he probably flourished in the earlier part of the 15th century A.D. He was a fellow-disciple with Kabīr (*q.v.*), with whose teaching his doctrine regarding the uselessness of the Vedas and Brāhmanical Hinduism had much in common.

In the art. RĀMĀNANDĪS attention is drawn to the catholicity of Rāmānanda's reformation. His twelve chief disciples included not only women, but men not of the Brāhman caste, such as Kabīr, the Musalmān weaver, Sēna, the barber, and, lowest of all, Rai Dāsa, the despised leather-worker. Salvation was now no longer the monopoly of Brāhmans, nor was it any more conveyed through the medium of Sanskrit, a dead language. It was now freely offered to all men, of no matter what caste, and in the language of their everyday life. A man could be a saint, and yet adhere to that state of life to which it might please God to call him. Saint and teacher though Rai Dāsa was, he nevertheless lived the life of a married man, and supported himself by his caste-trade, as a shoemaker.

The *Bhaktamāla* contains several legends concerning him, of which a brief account may be given. In order to get over the inconvenient fact of his low caste, it is stated that he was originally a Brāhmaṇa. Contrary to his teacher Rāmānanda's instructions, he took alms from a shopkeeper who had dealings with Chamārs. Rāmānanda cursed him to be reborn in that

[1] *Mathurá*, p. 199.

caste. He at once died, and was born again in the house of a neighbouring Chamār; but, owing to his former piety, he came into the world with a memory of his previous instruction, and refused to drink his mother's milk till he had been duly initiated as a Vaiṣṇava. Rāmānanda was informed of this by a direct divine communication, and hastened to the house. There he saw the babe; and whispered into its ear the initiatory formula, or *mantra*. The infant thereupon accepted the breast and grew up a pious votary of Rāma. His father at length expelled him from the house, and he set up a little hut close by, where he lived with his wife in great poverty, carrying on his trade as a shoemaker. He made a practice of presenting a pair of shoes to any pious man who happened to pass by, and kept body and soul together by selling what remained. Further legends tell how, by the direct interposition of Rāma, he became wealthy and was able to found a monastery, to which he attracted numerous disciples. He was persecuted by Brāhmaṇas, and haled before the king as an unauthorized teacher; but, in consequence of a miracle performed by the deity in answer to his prayer, reminding us of Elijah's trial of strength on Mount Carmel, not only was he released, but he converted his opponents.

One of his converts was Queen Jhālī of Chitaur. She invited him to come thither to a great religious feast. The local Brāhmaṇas refused to eat with him, and were provided by the queen with uncooked food, which they prepared for themselves in a place apart. When, however, they sat down to eat, they found that, by a miracle, Rai Dāsa had multiplied himself, and was sitting and eating between each two of them. This opened their eyes, and, filled with humility, they also became his disciples. Rai Dāsa then tore open his skin, and, showing to them beneath it his former Brāhmaṇa body wearing a sacred caste-thread of gold, he died and went to heaven.

These legends were recorded by Priyā Dāsa, under the instruction of Nābhā Dāsa, who lived only three generations later than Rai Dāsa, and their marvellous character illustrates the impression that his teaching must have made upon his immediate successors.

LITERATURE.—Practically the only authority is Nābhā Dāsa, *Bhaktamāla* (see *ERE* ii. 546), verse 54, and Priyā Dāsa's commentary thereon. See, however, Literature at art. ŚIVA-NĀRĀYAṆĪS. The best ed. of the *Bhaktamāla* is that of Sītā-rāmaśaraṇa Bhagavān Prasāda (Benares, 1905). A summary will be found in H. H. Wilson, *Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus*, London, 1861, p. 113 ff., where the legends about Rai Dāsa will be found related more fully than above, but not quite in accordance with the original. Cf. also Dhruva Dāsa, *Bhaktanāmāvalī*, ed. with a full commentary, by Rādhākṛṣṇa Dāsa (Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā), Benares, 1901. In this Rai Dāsa is no. 110. According to the editor, there are still descendants of Rai Dāsa in Benares, who carry on their ancestral trade of shoemaking. For an ed. of his songs see the text above (p. 560).

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

RAIN.—Water is the first need of man, since without it vegetation withers and animals and men languish and die. It is therefore not to be wondered at that in countries inhabited by primitive people where rain is scarce magico-religious ceremonies are resorted to in order to regulate the supply. In fact, so important is this aspect of primitive cult that a special class of magicians, and, in some cases, a particular totem, are set apart for the due performance of rain-making ceremonies. From an anthropo-geographical survey of the distribution of these rites it is evident that the supernatural control of rain is chiefly found in areas in which there is an abnormal rainfall, as, *e.g.*, in sultry lands like Australia, and parts of E. and S. Africa, where for months together the sun blazes down from a cloudless sky on the unprotected bodies of men and the parched and withering vegetation. At the same time it must be remembered that it is not unknown in the moister climate of Europe, as, *e.g.*, in Russia.

1. The water-totems in Australia.—Among the Arunta tribe of Central Australia is a group of people who have water for their totem, and to whom the secret of rain-making was imparted in the *alcheringa*, or 'dream-time' of long ago, by an individual named Irtchwoanga, who also settled upon the exact places at which the *intichiuma* ceremony should be performed. One of the most important of the water-totem groups is a local subdivision of the Arunta, inhabiting a district about 50 miles to the east of Alice Springs, called by the natives the 'rain country' (*Kartwia quatcha*).

When the *chantchwa*, or leader, of this group is about to hold a rain-making ceremony, 'he sends messengers, called *Inwurra*, to the surrounding groups, to inform them of his intention, and to call the members of the totem together. . . . When all are assembled . . . the men of the totem march into camp, painted with red and yellow ochre and pipeclay, and wearing bunches of eagle-hawk feathers on the crown and sides of the head. At a signal from the Chantchwa all sit down in a line' and sing. At another signal they all jump up and walk in single file out of the camp, and spend the night a few miles away. 'At daybreak they scatter in all directions in search of game, which is cooked and eaten, but on no account must any water be drunk, or the ceremony would fail.' While some of the men paint themselves, others erect a 'wurley,' or shelter of boughs, near the main camp. When the decorating is complete, the men march back to the wurley silently and in single file. The young men enter first and lie face downwards at the inner end, while the older men, after decorating the leader, take up a position near the opening. Singing continues for some time, and then the *chantchwa* walks up and down a trench outside the wurley, his body and legs quivering in a most extraordinary manner. This performance is repeated at intervals during the night, the singing continuing practically all the time. At daybreak he executes a final quiver, and, thoroughly exhausted, 'declares the ceremony to be at an end, and at once the young men jump to their feet and rush out of the wurley, screaming in imitation of the spur-winged plover. The cry is heard in the main camp, and is taken up with weird effect by the men and women who have remained there.' On the next night an ordinary rain-dance is held by the men.[1]

J. G. Frazer explains the ceremony by making it imitative of a rising storm.[2] The wurley, he imagines, stands for the vault of heaven, from which the rain-clouds, represented by the chief actor strutting across the trench, come forth to move across the sky. The other performers imitate birds that are supposed to be harbingers of rain.

The Kaitish tribe of Central Australia has also a water-totem.

When the headman desires to hold an *intichiuma* ceremony to make rain, 'he goes to a place called Anira, where, in the Alcheringa, two old men sat down and drew water from their whiskers, the latter being now represented by stones out of which the rainbow arose. First of all he paints the stones with red ochre,' and then he paints a rainbow on the ground, one or more on his body, and one on a shield, which he also decorates with zig-zag lines of white pipeclay to represent lightning. After 'singing' the stones and pouring water from a vessel on them and on himself, he returns to camp, taking with him the shield, which must be seen only by the men of the same moiety of the tribe as himself, lest the rites be rendered of no avail. The shield is hidden away in his camp until sufficient rain has fallen, after which it is brought forth and the rainbow is rubbed out. A vessel containing water is kept by the side of the headman, into which he throws pieces of white down from time to time, representing clouds. The wife of the leader is obliged to absent herself from the camp for the time being, and on her return imitates the sound of the plover, a bird whose characteristic cry is always associated with rain in these parts. 'If rain follows it is attributed to the performance of the ceremony, but if it does not then it simply means that some one else has prevented it by superior magic.'[3]

2. Rain-charms.—(*a*) *Animals.*—The Tjingilli, to the north of the Arunta, have a curious ceremony concerned with rain-making, apart from the ordinary *intichiuma*.

'A fat bandicoot is caught, care being taken not to injure it.' A man belonging to a special moiety of the tribe 'then wraps it up in paper-bark and carries it about in a *pitchi* [hollowed trough], singing over it until such time as it becomes very thin and weak. Then he lets it go, and the rain is supposed to follow.'[4] Spencer and Gillen could find no explanation of this relationship between the bandicoot and rain.

In the Anula tribe of N. Australia rain-making is specially associated with one particular spot called Upintjara, where there is a water-hole in the bed of a creek. The dollar-bird, commonly known as the rain-bird, is connected with the rainy season.

A man of the Mumbakuaku totem can make rain by catching a snake and putting it alive into the water-hole. 'After holding it under for a little time, he brings it out, kills it, and lays it down by the side of the creek. Then, in imitation of a rainbow, he makes an arched bundle of grass stalks . . . and sets it up over the snake. All that he then does is to sing over the snake and the imitation rainbow, and sooner or later the rain falls.'[5]

J. Batchelor describes a curious method of mak-

[1] Spencer-Gillen[a], pp. 189–193.
[2] *GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, London, 1911, i. 261 f.
[3] Spencer-Gillen[b], pp. 294–296. [4] *Ib.* p. 311
[5] *Ib.* p. 314 f.

ing rain by the aid of animals practised by the Ainus.

When fishermen, after a long spell of fine weather, are tired and long for a rest, they take out at night the skulls of racoons (animals capable of hearing a request for rain) and pray to them, throwing water over one another. If this is done properly, bad storms are sure to follow, and the people get their desired rest. As soon as the rough weather begins, the men buy *sake* and offer libations to the skull; if very bad weather indeed is required, the people make gloves and caps of racoon- and marten-skins, put them on, and dance.[1]

Animals intimately associated with water, such as frogs, toads, etc., have a wide-spread reputation as custodians of rain,[2] and therefore often play a part in charms designed to draw the needed showers from the sky. In order to give effect to the rain-charm, the animal in some cases must be black, the colour being typical of the appearance of the desired rain-clouds. Conversely, if fine weather is needed, the animal must be of a spotless white.[3]

(*b*) *Stones* are often supposed to possess the power of bringing rain, provided they are brought into contact with water.

In New South Wales the natives supplicate 'invisible beings' to send rain, by placing a particular sort of stone on the edge of a water-hole.[4] In this district, as in Queensland, quartz crystals figure in rain-making ceremonies.[5] Again, in Samoa a stone was carefully housed in a village as the representative of the rain-making god. When there was too much rain, the stone was laid by the fire and kept heated till fine weather set in. In a time of drought the priest and his followers dressed up in fine mats, and, wending their way in procession to the stream, dipped the stone in and prayed for rain.[6] This custom may, perhaps, be compared with the practice prevailing till recently in France of dipping the image of a saint in water as a means of procuring rain.

No doubt the fact that stones are often regarded as the abodes of spirits accounts for their use as rain-making charms.

(*c*) *Pouring water* is a common feature in ceremonies for the procuring of rain in some parts of the world, a survival of such a practice being found in various rain-charms resorted to in times of drought in S. and N. Russia.

In Africa it is common to attribute lack of rain to the concealment of miscarriages by women. To remove the pollution and thus set free the rain, a black ox is killed, and the partly digested grass from its stomach placed in a pot buried in the ground. Into this vessel little girls pour water till it overflows along four channels, representing the cardinal points. The women then strip off their clothes, dance a rain-dance, and thereupon proceed to dig up the remains of the premature births, pouring water on the graves. At dusk they bury the remains in the mud near a stream. Then the rain will be free to fall.[7] The custom of pouring water on a leaf-clad mummer is still resorted to at carnivals in parts of Europe for the purpose of producing rain.[8] In Celebes, in times of drought, the villagers go to a stream and splash each other with water, sometimes imitating the sound of falling rain by hitting the surface of the water with their hands or with an inverted gourd.[9]

(*d*) *The dead.*—Sometimes the dead are involved in rain-making ceremonies.

In New Caledonia the priests blacken themselves all over. They then exhume a dead body, take the bones to a cave, suspend the skeleton over some taro-leaves, and pour water over it so that it runs down on to the leaves. It is thought that the soul of the departed takes up the water, makes rain of it, and showers it down again. Since the rain-maker has to fast and remain in the cavern until it rains, it is not surprising that the wet months (March and April) are usually chosen for the performance of the rite.[10] The Euahlayi tribe in Australia think that a dead person always sends rain within a week of his death to wash away his tracks on the earth.[11] In times of drought in Zululand girls carry pots of water to a certain tree under which an ancestor who was in his day a great rain-maker has been buried. They dance around the tree and pour water on its roots, so that the rain-maker may send them rain.[1]

Such ceremonies as these can hardly be described as magical, if magic imply the presence of an automatic efficacy, since they imply a belief in a control from without, the appeal for help being made to the supernatural powers of the deceased.

(*e*) *Bull-roarers* are used for procuring rain in Australia, Africa, and Central America. The reason for the association of this ceremonial object and rain is apparent. Heavy rainfall accompanies thunder-storms in arid regions, and therefore, since the swinging of the bull-roarer causes a noise bearing a striking resemblance to thunder and wind, both harbingers of rain, it is in accordance with the principles of savage philosophy that the bull-roarer should figure in rain-making ceremonies. The Navahos say that the 'sacred groaning stick' (bull-roarer) which makes a mimic storm may be made only of the wood of a pine tree which has been struck by lightning,[2] thus showing the connexion between a thunder-storm and the instrument.

Among the Zuñi Indians the rain-maker whirls a bull-roarer, while one of his associates whips a mixture of water and meal into frothy suds, symbolic of clouds, and another plays the flute. 'All this is an invocation to the gods for rain—the one great and perpetual prayer of the people of this arid land.'[3] The bull-roarer is then laid aside, and the offerings are sprinkled six times with the consecrated water, whereupon the bull-roarer is again sounded.

It is significant that in parts of Africa, where the bull-roarer is little more than a toy, the Kafirs still have sufficient regard for the rain-making qualities of the instrument to forbid boys to play with bull-roarers when they want dry weather, lest a gale of wind should be attracted.[4]

3. Dances.—From Carl Lumholtz[5] we have a detailed description of the rain-dancing of the Tarahumare Indians of Mexico.

In describing the relation of these Indians to nature, he says that rain 'is the focal point from which all their thoughts radiate,' 'since the people obtain their subsistence from the products of the soil.' In order to induce the gods to let it rain, dancing, consisting of a series of monotonous rhythmical movements, is kept up sometimes for two nights. 'The dancing is accompanied by the song of the shaman, in which he communicates his wishes to the unseen world, describing the beautiful effect of the rain, the fog, and the mist on the vegetable world. He invokes the aid of all the animals. . . . The Tarahumares assert that the dances have been taught them by the animals.'

'The Indian never asks his god to forgive whatever sin he may have committed; all he asks for is rain, which to him means something to eat, and to be free from evil.' If there should be too much rain, the people also dance to avoid calamity from floods. Therefore dancing expresses not only prayers for rain, but also petitions to the gods to ward off evil to the crops and to man. Sometimes the family dances alone, the father teaching the boys, one being deputed to bring down the fructifying rain by this means, while the rest of the family plant, hoe, weed, or harvest. In the evening the others sometimes join the unfortunate dancer for a while, but often he goes on alone all night. In winter they dance for snow, at other times in order that the clouds from the north and south may clash and bring down rain to make the grass grow and the deer and rabbits multiply.

4. Prayers.—Reference has already been made to prayers for rain. In Australia the only actual instance of prayers being offered to supernatural beings is in connexion with rain-making.

In the Dieri country the sky in which the *mura-muras*—the predecessors and prototypes of the blacks—live is supposed to be a vast plain inhabited by wild tribes. The clouds are regarded as bodies in which rain is made by rain-making *mura-muras*. In times of severe drought the Dieri call upon these supernatural beings to give them power to make a heavy rainfall, proclaiming in loud voices the impoverished state of the country and the half-starved condition of the tribe consequent upon the difficulty of procuring food in sufficient quantities to preserve life.[6] In S.W. Africa, 'if a drought has lasted long,

[1] *The Ainu and their Folk-Lore*, London, 1901, p. 334.
[2] *GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, i. 292 ff.
[3] *Ib.* i. 290 ff.; W. Weston, in *JAI* xxvi. [1896–97] 30.
[4] E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, Melbourne, 1896–97, ii. 377.
[5] A. L. P. Cameron, in *JAI* xiv. [1884–85] 362; W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies among N.W. Central Queensland Aborigines*, Brisbane, 1897, p. 167.
[6] G. Turner, *Samoa*, London, 1884, p. 45.
[7] *GB*[3], pt. ii., *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, London, 1911, p. 154 f.
[8] *Ib.*, pt. iv., *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, do. 1914, i. 237.
[9] *Ib.*, pt. i., *The Magic Art*, i. 277. [10] Turner, p. 345 f.
[11] K. L. Parker, *The Euahlayi Tribe*, London, 1905, p. 90.

[1] D. Kidd, *The Essential Kafir*, London, 1904, p. 115.
[2] W. Matthews, *5 RBEW* (1887), p. 435 f.
[3] M. C. Stevenson, *23 RBEW* (1904), p. 175.
[4] Kidd, *Essential Kafir*, p. 333; G. McCall Theal, *Kaffir Folk Lore*, London, 1882, p. 222 ff.
[5] *Unknown Mexico*, London, 1903, i. 330 ff.
[6] Howitt, p. 394.

the whole tribe goes with its cattle to the grave of some eminent man . . . lay offerings of milk and flesh on the grave and utter their plaint: "Look, O Father, upon your beloved cattle and children; they suffer distress, they are so lean, they are dying of hunger. Give us rain."'[1] Among the Bari of Central Africa the rain-maker, after anointing rain-stones with oil, prays to his dead father to send rain.[2] If there is a drought among the Masai, the women collect together, and, having tied grass on to their clothes, sing an invocation to their god to refresh them with his cooling showers.[3] The Nandi in times of drought look towards the Tindiret or Chepusio Hill every morning and say, '*Robon, Tindiret*' ('Rain, Tindiret'). If the drought is protracted and a famine is threatened, the old men collect and take a black sheep with them to the river. Having tied a fur cloak on to the sheep's back, they push it into the water, and take beer and milk into their mouths and spit them out in the direction of the rising sun. When the sheep scrambles out of the water and shakes itself, they sing, 'God! have we prayed to thee, give us rain.'[4] In the last instance prayer is found in association with a piece of sympathetic magic.

In Upper Burma bread, coco-nuts, plantains, and fowls are offered to the spirit who is thought to send rain, with the prayer, 'O Lord *nat* [spirit], have pity on us poor mortals, and stay not the rain. Inasmuch as our offering is given ungrudgingly, let the rain fall day and night.'[5] In the sacred rites at Eleusis, the worshippers looked up to the sky and cried "Rain!" and then looked down at the earth and cried "Conceive!"' These mysteries were celebrated at the end of the long drought of summer and before the first rains of autumn, and therefore no time could be more suitable for the invocation to the heavens to pour down rain, and the earth to conceive seed under the fertilizing shower.[6]

5. Sacrifice.—Closely related to prayers for rain is the offering of sacrifices in order to make rain.

Thus, in S. Africa Umbandine, the old king of the Swazis, had vast herds of cattle of a peculiar colour which he sacrificed for large sums of money to make rain. 'He could threaten to "bind up the skies" if they [the natives] did not pay him what he demanded, and thus exercised enormous power. When the ox is killed the blood is caught in calabashes, and is on no account allowed to fall to the ground. The dish of blood is then placed in a hut, together with the meat of the dead ox, which is left untouched for the night; on the morrow the meat is eaten, and on the third day the bones of the ox are burnt. The priest is said to confess over the beast the sins of the people; but this confession of sin is little more than an admission that they have not honoured the ancestral spirits sufficiently.'[7] The Akikuyu of British E. Africa sacrifice sheep and goats beneath the sacred *mugomo*-tree by way of intercession for rain. 'The whole of the meat is left under the tree, the fat being placed in a cleft of the trunk or in the branches, as special titbits for Ngai [the good god who sends rain, riches, thunder, and lightning]. Those who worship merely cross their lips with a morsel of meat before sacrificing.'[8]

6. The rain-maker.—In Australia any members of the tribe, men and women alike, irrespective of class or totem, are permitted to take part in some of the ceremonies connected with rain-making; but in the sacred *intichiuma* ceremonies only the initiated men of the water-totem may take part. The majority of the members of this totem belong to the Purula and Kumara class, since it was to them that the secret of rain-making was imparted in the *alcheringa*. Among the Arunta the office of *chantchwa*, or rain-maker, descends from father to son, provided he belongs to the water-totem. If the *alatunja*, or leader, has no son of the right totem, then the office descends to one of his blood-brothers, always provided that he is of the right totem; and, failing such a one, to some tribal brother or son of the water-totem as determined upon by the elder men or, more probably still, by the old *alatunja* before his death.[9] In the Dieri country the whole tribe joins under the direction of the medicine-man in 'making rain.' Among the Kurnai the rain-makers (*bunjil-willung*) could also bring thunder, and it is said of them, as of the other medicine-men, that they obtained in dreams the songs which form part of the ceremonies.[10]

The principal work of the chiefs among the Wambugwe, a Bantu people living in E. Africa, and among other African tribes is rain-making. So important is this aspect of their office that it often is a rule that, should the chief be unable to make rain himself, he must procure it from some one who can.[1] The Nandi rain-makers belong to a special clan.[2] In olden times the chief was the great rain-maker among the Kafirs. Some chiefs allowed no one else to compete with them, lest a successful rain-maker should be chosen as chief in their stead.[3] The rain-maker invariably exerts great power over the people, and so it is important to keep this function in the 'royal household.' Tradition always treats the power of making rain as the fundamental glory of ancient chiefs and heroes, and it therefore probably played an important part in the origin of chieftainship, hedging round the chief's person with tabus, though not necessarily, as Frazer suggests, with divinity. All influential people are sacred, but the most sacred do not work—*e.g.*, the Mikado. If the chief were divine, so sacred would be his person that he would not be able to execute his functions. An ordinary chief or king is charged with *mana* only to an extent sufficient to hedge him round with simple tabus. Frazer's divine kings are a specialization of the conception of kingship, occurring only where the *mana* aspect of chiefs is exaggerated.

The rain-maker is simply a particular individual—usually a medicine-man—who is endowed with *mana* (*q.v.*), by means of which he is able to control the weather by supplying wind, calm, rain, thunder, famine, and plenty at will and for a price. It is not surprising that, in those parts of the world in which recurring periods of drought are frequent, the powers of the rain-maker cannot be lightly esteemed. Among the Dinka rain-makers are considered to be animated by the spirit of a great rain-maker, which has been handed down through a succession of rain-makers. By virtue of this inspiration a successful rain-maker enjoys great power. In fact, so sacred is the office that the holder thereof is put to death before old age and infirmity creep on, lest his demise from natural causes should bring distress on the tribe. But so honoured a life and death are not always the lot of the rain-maker. His position is beset with difficulties. Though a successful career offers great rewards, the unskilful practitioner may easily hit upon hard times. When people believe that a man has power to make the rain to fall, the sun to shine, the winds to blow, the thunders to roll, and the fruits of the earth to grow, they are also apt to attribute drought and dearth to his negligence or evil magic. Thus, the Banjars of W. Africa beat the chief in times of drought till the weather changes, and the tribes on the Upper Nile rip up the abdomen of the rain-king, in which he is supposed to keep the storms, if he does not make the showers fall.[4]

7. Rain-gods.—The Dieri believe in rain-making supernatural beings, known as *mura-muras*, who live up in the sky and make the clouds, which are the 'body or substance of rain.' The rain-making ceremonies are thought to be seen by the *mura-muras*, who cause the clouds to appear in the sky, unless they are angry or influenced by the evil magic of some other tribe. In Africa rain is attributed to a high god. The Akikuyu recognize three gods, two good and one bad. The first sends rain and riches, the second good wives and healthy children, and the third sickness and loss. All three are called *ngai*, but it is the god who sends the rain that is considered the supreme deity and credited with divine powers.

1 *GB*³, pt. i., *The Magic Art*, i. 287.
2 F. Spire, *Journal of the African Society*, xvii. [1905] 16–21.
3 A. C. Hollis, *The Masai*, Oxford, 1905, p. 347.
4 Hollis, *The Nandi*, do. 1909, p. 48.
5 *Gazetteer Upper Burma*, Rangoon, 1900, II. iii. 63 ff.
6 *GB*³, pt. v., *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, London, 1912, i. 69.
7 Kidd, *The Essential Kafir*, p. 115 f.
8 H. R. Tate, in *JAI* xxxiv. [1904] 263.
9 Spencer-Gillen³, p. 189 ff. 10 Howitt, pp. 394–397.

1 *GB*³, pt. i., *The Magic Art*, p. 342 f.
2 Hollis, *Nandi*, p. 52. 3 Kidd, *Essential Kafir*, p. 114.
4 *GB*³, pt. i., *The Magic Art*, p. 353 f.

The Akikuyu regard their deities as common to other tribes, such as the Masai and Akamba.[1]

The Ewe-speaking people associate a falling star with a powerful rain-god, who sends the showers from the sky. In times of drought they call upon him by night with wild howls, and once a year an ox is sacrificed to him. The priests consume the flesh, while the people smear themselves with the pollen of a certain plant, and go in procession through the towns and villages, singing, dancing, and beating drums.[2] The Dinka believe in a great god who sends the rain from the 'rain-place' where he dwells, and who animates the human rain-maker. His name, Dengdit, means literally 'great rain.' It was he who created the world and established all things in their present order; and, according to the Niel Dinka, he was the ancestor of a clan which has rain for its totem. Bullocks are sacrificed in spring to a spirit, Lerpiu, for the purpose of inducing him to move Dengdit to send down rain on the parched earth.[3] Likewise among the Shilluk a bullock and a cow (or hen) are given to Nyakang, the semi-divine ancestor of their kings. One (or both) of the animals is slain, while the king prays to the divine hero for rain.[4]

In Mexico Tlaloc, or Tlalocateuchtli, is the god of water and rain, and the fertilizer of the earth. He is thought to reside where the clouds gather, on the highest mountain-tops, especially those of Tlaloc, Tlascala, and Toluca, his attributes being the thunderbolt, the flash, and the thunder. Prayers were offered to him in times of drought, as the chief of the water-gods, to look down in mercy on the sufferings of man and beast, and give the things which are 'the life and joy of all the world, and precious as emeralds and sapphires.' When there is no rain for four years, children are sacrificed to Tlaloc by being closed up in a cave.[5]

The rain-god of the Kandhs is Pidzu Pennu, a being who rests on the sky and whom the priests propitiate with eggs, rice, and sheep, and invoke with prayers, so that he may send down water upon them through his sieve before men and cattle die of want.[6] The Kol tribes of Bengal consider their great deity Marang Buru, 'great mountain,' to be the rain-god. His dwelling is on one of the most conspicuous hills of the plateau near Lodmah in Chotā Nagpur. In times of drought the women climb the hill, led by the wives of the *pahans*, with girls drumming, to carry offerings of milk and *bel*-leaves, which are put on the rock at the top. The women then invoke the deity to give the seasonable rain, wildly gesticulating and dancing till the prayer is answered by distant peals of thunder.[7]

E. B. Tylor thinks that the rain-god is usually the heaven-god exercising a special function, though sometimes taking a more distinctly individual form, or blending in characteristics with a general water-god.[8] Although the tribal All-Father in very primitive cult is remote and in need of nothing that man can give, and therefore is not concerned with human affairs[9]—rain-making being the function of the *mura-muras*—yet it seems that the rain-god proper is a heaven-god. This view is supported by the evidence from the Akikuyu, where it is the supreme deity who sends down the refreshing showers to water the parched ground in answer to the prayers of the people. Likewise, Dengdit is the creator and sustainer of all things. The Mexican Tlaloc was probably originally a heaven-god, since he is supposed to reside where the clouds gather, and is evidently superior to the god of the earth. Pidzu Pennu, the rain-god of the Kandhs, rests on the sky, and Marang Buru of the Kol tribes dwells on the top of a high hill. In classical times it was to the heaven-god Zeus that the Athenians turned with requests for rain,[1] while in later and still more enlightened ages it is the Lord of heaven and earth that men supplicate in times of drought by solemn litany and procession to send such 'moderate rain and showers that they may receive the fruits of the earth to their comfort and to His glory.'

8. Conclusion.—Frazer is of the opinion that the method adopted by the rain-maker is usually based on homœopathic or imitative magic. In other words, he seeks to produce rain by imitating it.[2] Now, there can be no doubt that many of the rites associated with rain-making imitate the natural process. Thus, *e.g.*, when the Dieri erect a hut over a hole in the ground and drop blood on the men sitting round, while others throw handfuls of down in the air, they symbolically represent the natural phenomena connected with rainfall. The hut portrays the firmament, the down the cirrus clouds, the dropping blood the rain. The two large stones in the centre of the hut suggest gathering clouds presaging rain, and the overthrow of the hut by men butting at it with their heads the piercing of the clouds and the downpour of rain. Such a rite as this certainly contains an element of imitation, but only because the savage is a man of action, who 'dances out his religion.' When he wants wind or rain, he does not, in the lowest states of culture, prostrate himself before his remote All-Father, but gathers certain people together, often members of a water-totem, to perform magico-religious rites. Thus he expresses by actions, sometimes accompanied by suitable exclamations, his inmost desire. Rain-making ceremonies, therefore, may be described as outward and visible signs of inward emotions and longings.

It is not surprising that primitive ritual is often imitative, since it *represents* symbolically that which in higher cult is expressed by utterances. Frazer's theory of imitative magic does not take into account the emotional and representative aspect of rudimentary religion—the pent-up desire to act discharging itself on the mere symbol of the object. In developed magic the operator is more or less aware that he is dealing with a symbol, yet, in his need for emotional relief, he makes himself believe that the desired effect, though enacted on the symbol, is actually transmitted to the real object.[3] What applies to magic in general is equally applicable to rain-making in particular.

A modern community is chiefly dependent upon the weather for its incomings and outgoings, and for the variation in the prices of bread and vegetables, yet even so it is not easy for us to understand a condition of life in which a bad harvest means starvation. But in primitive society, where the food-supply is governed directly by the rainfall, the attitude of man towards the weather is one of grave anxiety calculated to produce states of emotional intensity. The emotions must find outlet somewhere. This they do in representative and emotional ceremonies to produce the desired result.

[1] *JAI* xxxiv. 263.
[2] *GB*[3], pt. iii., *The Dying God*, London, 1911, p. 61 f.
[3] *Ib.* p. 32.
[4] C. G. Seligmann, *The Cult of Nyakang and the Divine Kings of the Shilluk*, Khartoum, 1911, p. 226 f.
[5] Bancroft, *NR* iii. 324-331.
[6] S. C. Macpherson, *Memorials of Service in India*, London, 1865, pp. 89, 355.
[7] E. T. Dalton, *TES*, new ser., vi. [1868] 34. [8] *PC*[2] ii. 259.
[9] Cf. A. Lang, art. GOD (Primitive and Savage), vol. vi. p. 243.

[1] Marcus Antoninus, v. 7.
[2] *GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, p. 247.
[3] Cf. R. R. Marett, *The Threshold of Religion*[2], London, 1914, ch. ii.

When the savage wants thunder to bring rain, he does not imitate it, but simply swings his bull-roarer in order that he may actually make it. It is not a noise like thunder that he imagines he hears, but the thunder itself. It is only as the belief in magico-religious practices declines that primitive ideas of making or being a thing degenerate into a merely imitative ceremony, a piece of frivolous and valueless mimicry. Thus the prayer attitude is but the more developed expression of the hope and faith with which the so-called 'magical' rite is instinct.

LITERATURE.—The authorities are quoted in the art.; cf. J. E. Harrison, *Ancient Art and Ritual*, London, 1913; E. O. James, *Primitive Ritual and Belief*, do. 1917; and artt. GOD, MAGIC, MANA, WATER. E. O. JAMES.

RAINBOW.—See PRODIGIES AND PORTENTS, vol. x. p. 371 f.

RĀJPUT.—Rājput (Skr. *rājaputra*, 'a king's son,' 'a prince') is the general term applied to a group of septs which constitute the so-called 'military' class of India. At the census of 1911 they numbered 9,430,095, appearing in the greatest numbers in the Panjāb, United Provinces, and Bengal. In Rājputāna, the head-quarters of the tribe, they numbered 675,789.

1. Ethnology.—Within the last few years an important change of view regarding the origin of the Rājputs has taken place. Following the universal tradition of the Hindus, it was generally assumed that they were the direct successors of the Kṣatriyas, one of the four groups (*varṇa*, 'colour') which constituted the Vedic polity. According to Manu (*Laws*, i. 89), the Creator commanded the Kṣatriya 'to protect the people, to bestow gifts, to offer sacrifices, to study (the Veda), and to abstain from attaching himself to sensual pleasures.' The true position of this group of septs has now been clearly ascertained.

'So far back as the time when the *Dialogues of the Buddha* were composed, the Kshatriyas were recognised as an important element in society, and in their own estimation stood higher than the Brahmans. The fact probably is that from very remote days ruling clans of Kshatriyas essentially similar to the Rājputs of later days, existed and were continually forming new states, just in the same way as in the mediæval period. But their records have perished, and only a few exceptionally conspicuous dynasties are at all remembered, and so stand out on the page of history in a manner which does not fully correspond with the truth. The term Kshatriya was, I believe, always one of very vague meaning, simply denoting the Hindu ruling classes which did not claim Brahman descent. Occasionally a rāja might be a Brahman by caste, but the Brahman's natural place at court was that of minister rather than that of king' (V. A. Smith, *The Early Hist. of India*[3], Oxford, 1914, p. 408).

In the tradition, which in India ranks as history, there is a sudden gap: the old Kṣatriyas disappear, until the 6th and 9th centuries A.D., when we find a group of states under Rājput rulers. But it is impossible to say whether these rājas were merely successful adventurers, or how far they were the heads of dominant clans. The true situation has now been ascertained from a study of the epigraphic evidence in N. and W. India. It is clear that the break in the tradition—in other words, the disappearance of the old Kṣatriyas—was the result of the invasion of India by successive hordes from Central Asia. The earliest of these were the Sakas in the 2nd cent. B.C., followed by the Yueh-chi or Kushāns in the 1st cent. A.D. It is believed that the chiefs of these invading hordes rapidly succumbed to the influence of their new environment, became Hindus, and assumed, as ruling princes, the old name of Kṣatriya. But it is still uncertain whether the pedigrees of any of the ruling clans go back to this period. During the 5th cent. A.D. and the early part of the 6th cent. the Huns (or Hūnas, as the Hindus called them) made a fresh invasion, and crushed the Hindu polity. They settled principally in the Panjāb and Rājputānā, their most important group being that of the Gurjaras, who, in name at least, are represented by the modern Gūjars (*ERE* vi. 453). The Gurjaras founded important kingdoms, and gave their name to the province of Gujarāt. These Gurjaras were soon admitted to the status of Hindus, and we are thus enabled to interpret the strange legend of the fire sacrifice at Mount Ābū (*ERE* i. 51 f.). Their passing through the fire was a mode of expressing the purgation which they underwent; their impurity was removed, and they became fitted to enter the Hindu caste system (W. Crooke, 'Rājputs and Mahrattas,' *JRAI* xl. [1910] 42).

In later times the same process of introduction into the Rājput body has continued. Many chiefs of the so-called aboriginal races, with their followers, have marked their rise to the status of rulers by assuming the title of Rājputs, which, as has been said, merely implies the fact that they claim to be rājas or cadets of a ruling house. For further details of this, the most recent and important advance in our knowledge of Indian ethnography, see Smith, p. 412 ff.; Crooke, p. 41 ff.; *BG* ix. pt. i. [1901] 443 ff., where full details and references will be found.

This mixed body, containing perhaps some survivors of the older Kṣatriyas, reinforced by foreigners and aborigines, being thus admitted to Rājput status, were naturally desirous of authenticating their descent. Complacent bards, like the heralds of modern times, were ready to provide pedigrees linking the new ruling class with the gods and ancient heroes, just as Livy and Virgil affiliated the new Roman Empire with the heroes of the Trojan war. Hence arose the mass of legend assigning to various septs their descent from the sun or moon or other gods, or from the heroes who fought in the great war described in the *Mahābhārata* epic. These legendary pedigrees are recorded in great detail by J. Tod, the enthusiastic historian of the Rājputs, in his *Annals of Rajast'han*.

2. Religion.—As might be expected from what has already been said, the Rājput cults and beliefs are of a mixed type, including those taught by their bards and Brāhmans who trace their pedigrees to gods or legendary heroes, and those of the foreign or aboriginal stocks from which the Rājputs are derived.

(*a*) *The place of Rājputs in the development of Hinduism.*—In the early Hindu period tales are told which describe the antagonism between the Kṣatriya and the Brāhman. Some refractory rājas are said to have opposed the pretensions of the Brāhmans (Manu, *Laws*, vii. 38–42). Viśvāmitra, a Kṣatriya, is said to have attained the rank of a Brāhman (Muir, *Orig. Skr. Texts*, i. [1858] 58 ff.). The same feeling appears in the rise of the Bhaktimārga, or the monotheistic Bhāgavata religion, which was the work of Kṣatriyas (*ERE* ii. 537 ff.). In the same way, both Buddhism and Jainism were the result of a Rājput reaction against the claim of Brāhmans to retain the monopoly of admission into the ascetic orders (*ERE* vi. 694, vii. 209). Even at the present day some Rājput septs assign a higher rank to the bard than to the Brāhman, and this feeling is encouraged by the notorious laxity of practice among some classes of Brāhmans in Rājputāna (*ERE* vi. 693). But the Brāhmans are anxious to accept the new situation, and by politic concessions to Rājput feeling lose no opportunity of regaining their position in the courts of the reigning princes.

(*b*) *Cult of Śiva and the mother-goddesses.*—As a martial race, many Rājputs favour the cult of Śiva-Mahādeva combined with that of his consorts, the latter being largely drawn from the non-Aryan races, but now freely admitted into Hinduism

If, as some believe, the cult of Śiva had its origin in the Himālaya, we may suspect that it was introduced, or rapidly assimilated, by the Scythian or Hun invaders. Vāsudeva, king of the Kushāns (*c.* A.D. 140–173), figured on his coins the image of Śiva with that of his bull, Nandi (Smith, p. 272). The chief Śaiva temple in Rājputāna is that known as Eklingjī, 'he that is worshipped under the form of a single *liṅgam*.' It is also known as Kailāspurī, Mount Kailāsa being the Himālayan seat of the god. It is situated 12 miles from Udaipur, the capital of Mewār (H. D. Erskine, *Rajputana Gazetteer*, ii. A. [1908] 106; Tod, i. 409 ff.). The Rānās of Mewār combine the functions of prince and priest, and are known as the vice-regents (*ḍīwān*) of the god (Tod, i. 182). With the cult of Śiva is combined that of his consort Durgā. In another form she is known as Māmā Devī, 'mother of the gods,' and round her image are grouped those of the other gods (*ib.* i. 553). Again, as Gaurī, the 'yellow' or 'brilliant' goddess, probably representing the ripe corn, she is the subject of a special cult, when at the Gangaur festival her image is taken to the lake at Udaipur and ceremonially bathed, possibly in order to free her from the last year's pollution, or as a rain charm; as in the worship of the Bona Dea, no male may be present at the rite (*ib.* i. 544; *IA* xxxv. [1906] 61). She is also worshipped as Annāpūrṇā, 'she who is possessed of food,' and her mimic marriage to Śiva is performed (Tod, i. 455). In other forms she is worshipped as Śākambharī, 'nourisher of herbs,' Mātā Janamī, 'the birth mother,' and Āsāpūrṇā, 'she who fulfils desire.'

(*c*) *Kṛṣṇa.*—In Rājput belief Kṛṣṇa is the deified hero of the Yādava tribe, and he has his seat at Mathurā (*q.v.*), where he sports with the *gopīs*, or milkmaids. In another form, at Dwārkā, he is god of the dark storm-cloud (J. Kennedy, *JRAS*, 1907, p. 951 ff.). His shrine is at Nāthdwārā, 30 miles N.N.E. of the city of Udaipur. His image is said to have been removed from Mathurā to escape the persecution of Aurangzīb; when the cart came to this place, the god refused to go farther, and a shrine was erected for him, which is a sanctuary for criminals, receiving donations from merchants throughout the Hindu world, and his pontiff is a personage of great sanctity and authority (Tod, i. 415 ff.). It is strange that the gentle Kṛṣṇa should be worshipped side by side with Śiva. On the whole, his cult has exercised a good effect on Rājput society, and Tod quotes a case in which he interposed to prevent *satī* (i. 423).

(*d*) *Ancestor-cults.*—It is the primary duty of the Rājput to visit the cenotaphs of his ancestors in the season of mourning, and to feed their hungry ghosts. Special veneration is paid to the *mahā-satī*, or place of sacrifice of faithful wives.

'The Rājput never enters these places of silence but to perform stated rites, or anniversary offerings of flowers and water to the manes of his ancestors' (*ib.* i. 62).

He also venerates the heroes of his sept, as in the remarkable court at Mandor, which contains images of the heroes of the Rāṭhors (*ib.* i. 573 f.).

(*e*) *Tutelary deities.*—Each sept worships its tutelary goddess; Rāṭhasen or Rāshṭrasenā is the embodied luck of the Sesodias of Mewār, as Nagnecha, the serpent, protects the Rāṭhors, and Vāyan Mātā the Chāvadas, while Khetrapālā, 'the field-watcher,' is the patron of agriculture (*ib.* i. 225 n.). The patron god or goddess of the sept used to accompany the chief to battle. On one occasion the Rāṭhor god fell into the hands of the Kachhwāhās of Jaipur. Their prince took him to his capital, wedded him to the Jaipur goddess, and returned him with his compliments to his defeated adversary. 'Such,' says Tod (ii. 87), 'were the courteous usages of Rājput chivalry.' The tutelary god of Kotah is Brajnāth or Kṛṣna, and the chief at every battle used to carry his golden image on his saddle. He too was lost in battle, and it was many years before he was restored, 'to the great joy of every Hāṛā' (*ib.* ii. 413).

(*f*) *Cult of youthful heroes.*—The cult of the youthful hero (*putra*) is common among the Rājputs. Laut, the young hero of Ajmēr, is worshipped by the Chauhān sept, and, as he wore at the time of his death a silver chain anklet, this ornament is tabu to the children of the sept (Tod, i. 200 n.). The cult is not confined to youths. The queen of Ganor, who killed by means of a poisoned robe the Musalmān who attempted to outrage her, receives no special worship, but in the spirit of sympathetic magic a visit to her tomb cures tertian ague (*ib.* i. 497).

(*g*) *Worship of natural objects.*—Water-spirits are honoured by throwing coco-nuts into the water. The spirit of the Banās river used to raise her hand over the water to receive the offering, but, as in the common fairy-gift legend, 'since some unhallowed hand threw a stone in lieu of a coco-nut, the arm has been withdrawn' (*ib.* i. 527; *PR* i. 287 ff.). There was a sun fountain at Valabhī, whence at the summons of Rājā Sīlāditya, the seven-headed horse which bears the chariot of the sun rose to bear him to battle (Tod, i. 179).

(*h*) *Snake-worship.*—The Pushkar lake is provided with a remarkable snake legend indicating a conflict of cults (C. C. Watson, *Rajputana Gazetteer*, i. A. [1904] 19). The Nāgpañchamī festival, 'the cobra's fifth,' is celebrated in its honour (Tod, i. 462). The usual tales are told of the serpent protecting or recognizing the true heir to the throne (*ib.* i. 236, ii. 281). The worship of snake heroes, like Tejajī, Gugā, and Pīpā, is common (*PR* i. 213 f.; Tod, i. 580).

(*i*) *Sacred animals and trees.*—Next to the cow, the boar is sacred to the Rājput, and possibly represents the corn-spirit (*GB*[3], pt. v., *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, London, 1912, i. 298 ff.). Birds of augury are carefully protected, and the pigeon, as the bird of love, has become associated with the erotic cult of Kṛṣna, and is still regularly fed at every courthouse in Rājputāna. Among trees the varieties of the fig are especially sacred. It was from a *pīpal*-tree (*Ficus religiosa*) that Āsāpūrṇā, the tutelary goddess of Būndī, appeared to protect the queen (Tod, ii. 368).

(*j*) *Festivals.*—The Rājput festivals are numerous and interesting. The reader may be referred for details to Tod's classical account (i. 444 ff.). But, when he compares the ritual with that of Egypt and other countries to the west of India, it must be remembered that his theories are, to a large extent, obsolete.

LITERATURE.—The classical authority is J. Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajast'han*, 2 vols., London, 1829–32 (the original ed. is now very scarce, but it has been often reprinted; the references in the text are from Routledge's popular ed., London, 1914). For the Rājputs of districts outside Rājputāna see A. K. Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, London, 1878; H. A. Rose, *Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and the N.W. Frontier Province*, vols. ii., iii., Lahore, 1911–14; D. C. J. Ibbetson, *Punjab Ethnography*, Calcutta, 1883; W. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the N.W. Provinces and Oudh*, do. 1896; R. V. Russell, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*, London, 1916.

W. CROOKE.

RĀMAISM.—1. History.—Vaiṣnavism, one of the two main divisions of the Hindū religion, includes, besides the worshippers of Viṣnu in his proper form as a supreme personal god, two large sects embracing not only the great majority of the Vaiṣnavites, but also a very considerable portion of the Hindus of to-day. These two parties are the votaries respectively of Viṣnu's two last incarnations, Kṛṣna and Rāma.[1] The cult of Rāma as a chief god at the present day prevails over an ex-

[1] See art. INCARNATION (Indian), vol. vii. p. 118.

tensive area in India. But Rāma was at first only an epic hero; for in the original part (bks. ii.–vi.) of the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*q.v.*), which celebrates his life and deeds, he is represented as an essentially human character. On the other hand, in bks. i. and vii., which are admittedly later additions, his divine nature is fully accepted. In another passage also (vi. 117), which is without doubt an interpolation, the gods, with Brahmā at their head, appear and declare Rāma, who had till then regarded himself as a man, to be Nārāyaṇa, *i.e.* Viṣṇu, the highest god. The character of Rāma, already a model of morality as the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, was still more exalted by later poets, including those of the *Purāṇas* and especially by Bhavabhūti (first half of the 8th cent. A.D.), the author of two Sanskrit dramas concerned with the life of Rāma. Having thus become immensely popular, the epic hero was before the lapse of many centuries generally acknowledged, by a people ever prone to deification, as an incarnation—an already familiar feature of the Hindu religion—of the supreme god Viṣṇu. Though there is not sufficient evidence to show exactly when Rāma came to be accepted as an *avatār*, there is good reason to regard this belief as having already existed in the early centuries of the Christian era. Thus in the 10th canto of Kālidāsa's epic, the *Raghuvaṃśa*, which dates from the first half of the 5th cent. A.D., the poet, before relating the story of Rāma's birth, represents Viṣṇu as promising to be born as a son of King Daśaratha for the destruction of the demon Rāvaṇa. The *Vāyu Purāṇa*, which probably belongs to the same century, also refers to his divine character. Much later, A.D. 1014, we find the Jain author Amitagati making the statement that Rāma was regarded as the all-knowing, all-pervading protector of the world. But, though the divinity of Rāma had thus been recognized for centuries, there is no evidence that any cult in his honour existed during this long period. It cannot, however, have been established much later than the 11th century A.D. Thus Madhva (*q.v.*), otherwise called Ānandatīrtha (the founder, in the 13th cent., of a Vaiṣṇava sect, which aimed at confuting not only Śaṅkara's theory of the unreality of the universe and the identity of the human soul with the supreme deity, but also Rāmānuja's doctrine that God is the material cause of the world), is declared to have brought the image of Rāma from Badarikāśrama in the Himālaya, and to have sent his pupil Naraharitīrtha to Jagannātha in Orissa, about A.D. 1264, to bring back what were called the original idols of Rāma. Hemādri, a voluminous Sanskrit writer who flourished in the latter half of the 13th cent., describes the ceremony connected with the birth of Rāma on the 9th day of the bright half of the month Chaitra (March–April). An indication of the comparative lateness of the cult of Rāma as an incarnation is the fact that, among the 24 names of Viṣṇu that are repeated at the present day by Vaiṣṇavites at the beginning of every ceremony which they perform, the name of Rāma does not occur, though those of two other incarnations, the Dwarf and the Man-lion, are mentioned. Again, while the ordinary ceremonies of Vaiṣṇavism include a repetition even of Vedic *mantras*, or formulæ, this is not the case in the cult of Rāma. At the present day every Hindu is familiar with Rāma's exploits, and throughout the length and breadth of India his name is on every one's lips irrespectively of class, caste, or creed. Thus, when friends meet, they often greet each other by uttering Rāma's name twice ('Rām, Rām'). No name is more frequently given to children, and none is more often invoked at funerals and in the hour of death.

2. Literature.—The literature of Rāmaism is of late origin. There exist in the first place various manuals which describe the forms of Rāma-worship by means of *mantras*, or formulæ, and magic circles, like those prescribed in the *Sātvata-Saṃhitā* for the worship of Vāsudeva (Viṣṇu). There are besides a few works that set forth the doctrines of the Rāmaite faith. The *Adhyātma-rāmāyaṇa* aims throughout at expounding the divinity of Rāma and explaining the relation of the individual soul to him as the supreme soul. Sītā and Rāma are introduced by the author as the exponents of the doctrines inculcated in this work. The fifth canto of the last book is entitled *Rāma-gītā*, 'the Song of Rāma,' which is intended to correspond to the Kṛṣṇaite *Bhagavad-gītā* (*q.v.*), and which is narrated by Rāma to his brother Lakṣmaṇa, the counterpart of Arjuna in the parallel poem. The teaching is monistic throughout, the world and the individual soul being described as illusory, while the one supreme spirit, here Rāma, alone really exists. Composed of extracts from older writings, it has no claim to any connexion with Vedic literature. It is also mentioned as a modern treatise by Ekanātha, a Mahārāṣṭra saint of the 16th cent., in his *Bhāvārtha-rāmāyaṇa*. There is another Rāmaist work (published at Madras) also entitled *Rāma-gītā*, which is composed in 18 chapters like the original *Bhagavad-gītā*. Its contents are narrated by Rāma to Hanumān. It is a very modern compilation, for it professes to be based on the 108 *Upaniṣads*, some of which are unmistakably very recent. What may be regarded as the Bible of the Rāmaites is the *Rāmcharitmānas*, an adaptation of Vālmīki's *Rāmāyaṇa*, composed in Hindī by Tulasī Dāsa, the greatest of modern Hindu poets, in the 16th century. What the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* and the *Bhagavad-gītā* are to the Kṛṣṇaite, Tulasī Dāsa's poem, together with the Sanskrit *Rāmāyaṇa*, is to the many millions in N. India whose vernacular tongue is Hindī.

3. Doctrine.—The following are the doctrines held by all Rāmaites in common: (1) the deity is not devoid of qualities (as is *brahman*, the impersonal world-soul of Śaṅkara); (2) Viṣṇu is the supreme deity and should be the object of worship together with Lakṣmī, his wife; (3) Rāma is the human incarnation, or *avatār*, of Viṣṇu; (4) Rāmānuja and all the great teachers who have succeeded him are also *avatārs* of Viṣṇu. The first three of these doctrines afford a parallel to the conceptions of Western religion. Like Jahweh, Viṣṇu is a personal supreme deity who is an object of worship, while the relation of Rāma, as a human manifestation of the supreme deity, to Viṣṇu is analogous to that of Christ to God. The Rāmaist attitude resembles that of a Western deist who might adopt Christ as the main object of his devotions.

4. Sub-sects.—Rāmānanda, fifth disciple in succession from Rāmānuja, from whose school he seceded, was the founder of the Rāmaite sect which goes by the name of Rāmāwats, in the 14th century.[1] A teacher named Kīlh, separated from Rāmānanda by a successive series of several disciples, founded the Khākī (*q.v.*) sect, which is a striking example of the tendency of Hinduism to eclecticism and compromise. See also art. RĀMĀNUJA.

LITERATURE.—H. H. Wilson, *A Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus*, new ed. (*Select Works*, i.), London, 1861, pp. 46, 54–57, 63–65, 67 f., 98 f.; W. J. Wilkins, *Modern Hinduism*, do. 1887; G. A. Grierson, *IA* xxii. [1893] 227; M. Monier-Williams, *Brāhmanism and Hindūism*[4], London, 1891; R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, and Minor Religious Systems* (=*GIAP* III. vi.), Strassburg, 1913, pp. 46–48.

A. A. MACDONELL.

RĀMAKṚṢNA.—Rāmakṛṣna is the adopted name of one of the three leaders of the revival of Hinduism during the latter half of the 19th cent.,

[1] See art. RĀMĀNANDIS.

the other two being Dayānanda Sarasvatī (1824–83) and Svāmī Vivekānanda (1862–1902). All three adopted in early youth the life of the ascetic devotee—striking illustrations of the deeply-rooted conviction which prevails among Hindus that renunciation (*q.v.*) is the highest religious ideal, and which for more than two thousand years has led innumerable young Indians to give up home, marriage, property, and money for the attainment of union with God.

1. **Life.**—Gadādhar Chatterji, the son of a poor but orthodox Brāhman, was born on 20th Feb. 1834, in the village of Kamarpukur, situated in the Hugli district of Bengal. Losing his father when he was seventeen, he migrated to Calcutta, where for a few years he earned his living as a *pūjārī*, or ministrant attending to the worship of the household idols in Hindu families. In 1855, when a temple of the goddess Kālī, built on the bank of the Ganges by a rich Bengali lady named Rāni Rāsmoni, a few miles from Calcutta, was opened, his elder brother was appointed chief priest, while he himself not long after became one of the assistants. His religious instinct, of which he had shown signs as a boy, now developed into passionate worship of the image of Kālī in the temple. Thinking of her as the mother of the universe and as his own mother, he used to sing hymns, talk, and pray to her by the hour till he became unconscious of the outer world. He would then pass into the state of religious trance called *samādhi*, which often lasted for hours, and in which the action of the pulse and the heart became imperceptible. When he was twenty-five, his relatives, hoping to cure him of his religious ecstasies, induced him to undergo the usual ceremony of child-marriage, though his bride was only six and would not live with him as his wife till she was eleven or twelve years old. Returning to the temple and being now convinced that it was possible to see the deity visibly, he renewed his devotions with such intensity that he neglected his duties and could no longer retain his official position. So he left the temple and settled in a neighbouring wood, where for the next twelve years he lived a life of strenuous prayer and self-repression in continuous efforts to attain union with God. Having as yet received no education or training, he was helped during this period in his aspirations first by a Brāhman nun, who instructed him in *yoga*, or the system of exercises producing mental concentration, and in the *Tantras*, or manuals dealing with the worship of Kālī and the theology concerned with her cult. Afterwards he came for nearly a year under the influence of an ascetic named Totāpuri, who expounded to him the monistic Vedānta doctrine of Śaṅkara, that God is impersonal, that the human soul is identical with God, that the world is an illusion, and who taught him the highest stage of religious trance in which every trace of consciousness disappears. Totāpuri also initiated him as a *sannyāsī*, or ascetic who renounces every worldly attachment. In accordance with the practice of such devotees, Gadādhar now assumed a new name. Henceforward he was known as Rāmakṛṣṇa; and later he received from his friends the title of Paramahaṃsa, which is given only to ascetics of profound knowledge and sanctity. After Totāpuri's departure he lived for six months almost continuously in a state of exalted religious trance. This condition ended in a severe attack of dysentery, from which, however, he recovered after a month or two.

Rāmakṛṣṇa now entered on a new phase of religious aspiration—the craving to realize the Vaiṣṇava ideal of passionate love for God. This aim he sought to realize by imagining himself one of the great devotees of ancient stories. Thus at length in a trance he saw the beautiful form of Kṛṣṇa. Now he was satisfied; he had at last achieved mental peace. By this time (1871) he was thirty-seven years of age and was becoming famous. His wife, who was now eighteen, came to see him. When he explained that, being a *sannyāsī*, he could not live with her as her husband, she agreed to reside at the temple as his pupil and be taught by him how to serve God; she thus remained a devoted disciple till the end of his life. She survived her husband many years, during which she regarded him as an incarnation of God Himself, and endeavoured to further the work that he had begun.

Though as an ascetic he no longer had any caste, he now began to feel that he had not yet given up his Brāhman prejudices towards the lower orders. Having accordingly resolved to do the work of men of the lowest caste, he acted as a scavenger in the temple and cleansed it like a Pariah during the night. He also collected and ate the fragments of food left by the beggars who were daily fed at the temple, and who included Muhammadans, outcastes, and bad characters.

The last stage in his religious development was the result of a new desire that arose in him to know and understand other religions. Thus he went to live with a Muhammadan saint, becoming temporarily a Muhammadan in dress, manner of life, and religious practice. He then turned to Christianity and once saw Jesus in a vision, being unable for three days after to think or speak of anything else but of Him and His love. These experiences led him to the conclusion that all religions are true, as being various paths leading to the same goal.

At the end of 1872 one of his intimate friends, Pandit Vaiṣṇava Charan, took him to Calcutta, where he stayed till the beginning of the following year. During this visit he made the acquaintance of Dayānanda Sarasvatī, the founder of the Ārya Samāj. About 1875 Keshab Chunder Sen, one of the leaders of the Brāhma Samāj, made the acquaintance of Rāmakṛṣṇa, and, becoming deeply impressed by his devotion and conversation, went to see him often, occasionally accompanied by a number of his adherents, and drew public attention to his merits both by talking and by writing about him. The result was that Rāmakṛṣṇa was now visited at his temple by many educated Hindus from Calcutta, and also made the acquaintance of the young men who became his attached pupils and continued his work after his death. His conversation is described as brilliant, and was listened to by many noted Indians who went to see him at his temple. During the last seven years of his life he was constantly engaged in talking to his visitors. He never wrote anything, even in this last period; but his disciples made copious notes in Bengali of his sayings, of which several collections were published after his death. He was essentially a conversationalist, and not a formal instructor; indeed, he regularly disclaimed the status of a *guru*, or teacher. According to the testimony of his most celebrated disciple, Svāmī Vivekānanda, his conversation was of two main types. On the one hand, he represented himself as the servant of all human beings and would never claim any high position. On the other hand, he would speak of himself not only as possessing all power and all knowledge, but as the re-incarnated soul that had once been born as Rāma, as Kṛṣṇa, or as Buddha. Such things were not said in any spirit of arrogance, but as a result of his intense realization of the Vedānta doctrine of the identity of the individual soul with the impersonal God.

The incessant labour of speaking to the increasing crowds of men and women that came to see

him at the temple of Dakṣineśvara at last told on his health. In 1885 he began to suffer from an affection of the throat, which after a time developed into cancer. He was removed to Calcutta, where he was attended by the best physicians. They advised him to keep the strictest silence; but he could not refrain from addressing the crowds that gathered wherever he went. He would still fall into trances, on awaking from which he would talk incessantly as before. Even when his throat became so constricted that he could hardly swallow even liquid food, he continued his efforts, cheerful and undaunted, till 15th March 1886. On that day he fell into a *samādhi* from which he never returned. After his death a group of his disciples decided to devote their lives to the spread of his teaching, and to become *sannyāsīs*. The most prominent of these was Narendra Nath Dutt, a Bengali, who on becoming an ascetic took the name of Vivekānanda.

2. Habits and character.—Rāmakṛṣṇa had not many personal traits. Though a *sannyāsī*, he not only dressed, but lived, like an ordinary Bengali. He is described by one of his disciples as distinguished by profound humility and childlike tenderness, the outward manifestation of which was a singular sweetness of expression. His character was simple, for every detail of his life can be explained from the one motive of a passion for God, which mastered his whole being. It was this that made him at an early age enter the life of a *sannyāsī*, in which he renounced all earthly ties and by tremendous self-repression completely conquered the sex instinct and acquired a hatred of money. His aversion to gold and silver became so great that he could not even touch them, and the simple contact of a coin, even when he was asleep, would make him shrink convulsively. In his later days he could touch no metal, not even iron. Mathurānātha, the son-in-law of the foundress of the temple, repeatedly offered to hand the temple over to him together with a property yielding an income of 25,000 rupees a year, but he refused and threatened to leave the place if the offer were pressed. A gift of 25,000 rupees pressed on him by another wealthy man was similarly declined. His deep sincerity and exclusive devotion to God won him the boundless love and reverence of his disciples, who regarded him as a divine person.

3. Belief.—Rāmakṛṣṇa had no proper education. He knew no Sanskrit and scarcely any English, and he possessed no scholarly knowledge even of Bengali. Never having had any systematic training in philosophy, and deriving, with the aid of a retentive memory, practically all that he knew of it from his occasional intercourse with the religious teachers with whom he came in contact at his temple, he neither was nor claimed to be the founder of a new religion. His belief regarding God and the relation of God to man and the world was based on the Vedānta system. It may be summed up thus: God is unknowable and utterly beyond the reach of man; on the other hand, every human being and every thing that exists is a manifestation of God, who is so truly all that is that everything that happens is in a sense done by Him, and therefore moral distinctions become obliterated in Him. Hence, as he looked upon every human being as a manifestation of God, Rāmakṛṣṇa would, if he met an unfortunate, bow down before her in adoration. Like every ordinary Hindu, he also regarded all deities as manifestations of the impersonal Supreme Soul. But he believed the goddess Kālī to be the chief manifestation of God as the divine mother of the universe. He worshipped her more than any other divinity, and that by means of idols; for he implicitly held the Hindu belief that the divinity fills every one of his own idols with his presence. He further shared the ordinary Hindu idea of the *guru*, or spiritual teacher, declaring that the disciple should never criticize his own *guru* and must unquestioningly obey his behests. Thus he was a true Hindu, and was always ready to defend the whole of Hinduism. In these respects he was only one of the multitude of very devoted Hindus who might have lived at any time during the last 2000 years.

4. Distinctive doctrine.—What differentiated his belief from that of other revivers of Hinduism was the doctrine that all religions are true, because in their inner essence they are identical, and that each man should therefore remain in the religion in which he has been born. In order to illustrate the idea of the harmony of all religions and of the part played by Rāmakṛṣṇa in introducing it to Keshab Chunder Sen, a pupil of his caused to be painted a symbolical picture in which a Christian church, a Muhammadan mosque, and a Hindu temple appear in the background, while on one side in front Rāmakṛṣṇa is pointing out to Keshab a group in which Christ and Chaitanya are dancing together, and a Muhammadan, a Confucianist, a Sikh, a Parsi, an Anglican, and various Hindus are standing round. Rāmakṛṣṇa's universalistic theory of the truth of all religions furnishes a strong defence of Hinduism because it implies that no Hindu should abandon his religion either as a whole or in any of its individual doctrines.

LITERATURE.—**F. Max Müller**, *Rāmakṛishṇa: His Life and Sayings*, London, 1898 (the best biography, together with a collection of Rāmakṛṣṇa's sayings); **P. C. Mozumdar**, *Paramahaṁsa Rāmakṛishṇa*[2], Calcutta, 1910; [**M. N. Gupta**], *The Gospel of Śrī Rāmakṛishṇa*, Madras, 1912; **Swāmī Vivekānanda**, *My Master* (a lecture), Calcutta, 1911; **J. N. Farquhar**, *Modern Religious Movements in India*, New York, 1915, pp. 188–200. The work of the Rāmakṛṣṇa mission is described in the *Hindoo Patriot*, 14th Oct. 1912.

A. A. MACDONELL.

RĀMĀNANDĪS, RĀMĀWATS.—The Rāmānandīs or Rāmāwats are an important Vaiṣnava sect in N. India, numbering from 1,500,000 to 2,000,000. Their founder was Rāmānanda, a teacher who was fifth in descent from Rāmānuja (*q.v.*), the *Bhaktamāla* giving the succession as (1) Rāmānuja, (2) Dēvāchārya, (3) Hariyānanda, (4) Rāghavānanda, (5) Rāmānanda. According to the N. Indian tradition regarding Rāmānanda's life and times, Rāghavānanda was a prominent teacher of the Śrī Vaiṣnava church founded by Rāmānuja. He travelled over India spreading its doctrines, and finally settled in Benares. In the year 4400 of the Kaliyuga, corresponding to A.D. 1299,[1] Rāmānanda was born at Prayāga, the modern Allāhābād. His father was a Kānyakubja Brāhmaṇa named Puṇyasadana (or Bhūrikarmā or Dēvala), and his mother's name was Suśīlā. The child was named Rāmadatta, and, as he grew up, he acquired knowledge rapidly, so that by the time he was twelve years old he had become a finished *paṇḍita*, and went to Benares to study religious philosophy. There he attached himself to a Smārta teacher, who followed the Advaita philosophy of Śaṅkarāchārya.[2] One day he happened to meet Rāghavānanda, who had the power of foretelling future events, and who expressed his sorrow that Rāmadatta had not yet taken refuge with Hari (*i.e.* Rāma), as his days were fulfilled and he had but a short time to live. Rāmadatta returned to his Smārta teacher and reported the conversation. The teacher had to

[1] So all native authorities. Bhagavān Prasāda (*Bhaktamāla*, p. 432) refers to eight or nine, and quotes three. Tradition says that it was 162 years after Rāmānuja's death, which would thus have occurred in A.D. 1137.

[2] It is noteworthy that both Rāmānuja and Rāmānanda are represented as having begun by being followers of Śaṅkara, and later to have seen the error of their ways.

confess that the prediction was a true one, and that he himself could offer no remedy. He therefore recommended him to throw himself on the mercy of Rāghavānanda. Rāmadatta did so, and Rāghavānanda received him, taught him the Śrī Vaiṣṇava initiatory *mantra*,[1] and changed his name to Rāmānanda. He also instructed him in the *yōga* methods of suppression of breath, etc., leading the practiser into intense mental absorption, and, when the time for his death arrived, with their aid, put him into a trance. Death came to take him away, but, finding him in this death-like condition, departed leaving him unharmed. Rāmānanda then awoke from his trance, and thenceforth devoted himself to attending on and learning from Rāghavānanda, who blessed him and gave him the boon of an exceptionally long life.[2] After serving his *guru* for a considerable time, he went on a pilgrimage over the greater part of India. A persistent tradition asserts that he even visited the island of Gangāsāgara at the mouth of the Ganges, and that there he discovered the site of Kapila's hermitage, all trace of which had long been lost. After completing his pilgrimage he returned to Benares, and settled at Pañchgangā Ghāt, where his footprints can still be seen by the faithful.

The Śrī Vaiṣnava church, of which Rāghavānanda and Rāmānanda were members, allows only Brāhmaṇas to occupy the post of teacher, and imposes upon all the strictest rules as to the preparation and consumption of food. When Rāmānanda returned from his long wanderings, he essayed to rejoin the brotherhood, but they refused to receive him, alleging that it must have been impossible for him during his peregrinations to carry out all these observances. They accordingly demanded that Rāghavānanda should impose a penance upon him. Rāmānanda resisted this, and in the discussion that ensued Rāghavānanda finally solved the problem by deciding that Rāmānanda must go his own way, and might form a sect of his own. This quarrel thus resulted in one of the most momentous revolutions that have occurred in the religious history of N. India. Its effects were by no means confined to Rāmānanda's immediate disciples, for his teaching worked as a leaven upon the beliefs of nearly the whole population. Rāmānanda took his *guru* at his word, and founded the Rāmāwat sect—also nowadays called, after him, the sect of the Rāmānandīs. The philosophical system is the same as that of Rāmānuja (*q.v.*) and need not detain us; but Rāmānuja wrote for Brāhmaṇas and in Sanskrit, and imposed a rule of ceremonial purity that was strict in the extreme. Rāmānanda, by his expulsion from the brotherhood for an imaginary impurity, was converted to broader notions. His ethical system was based, not on spiritual pride, but on spiritual humility. It was developed in various directions by his successors, but through all their teaching we find insistence ever laid upon two great principles: (1) that perfect *bhakti*, or faith in God, consists in perfect love directed to God, and (2) that all servants of God are brothers. Rāmānanda called his followers 'Avadhūta,' because they had 'shaken off' the bonds of narrow-mindedness. His follower, Kabīr, carried this doctrine of catholicity still farther, and it reached its full development, and — what is more — its general acceptance by the masses of Hindōstān, seven generations later, through the works of modern India's greatest poet, Tulasī Dāsa.

The most striking point about Rāmānanda's teaching, and that which has so captured the mind of India as to be enshrined in a proverbial saying, is that, so long as a man or woman has genuine loving faith in the Supreme, his or her caste and position in life are matters of no importance. The Śrī Vaiṣnavas admitted only Brāhmaṇas as teachers, and only people of high caste as lay members. But Rāmānanda permitted no such bounds. As the saying referred to above says, he taught:

jāti pāti pūchhai nahī kōī,
Hari-ku bhajaī, sō Hari-kau hōī,

'Let no one ask a man's caste or with whom he eats. If a man shows love to Hari, he is Hari's own.'

Hari is the name given to the Supreme when allusion is made to him as a loving father, and, in this character, it is to the incarnation of Viṣnu as Rāmachandra, the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, that the devotion of Rāmānanda and his followers was more particularly directed. His initiatory *mantra*, or formula, was the words 'Śrī Rāma,' the salutation among members of the community being 'Jaya Śrī Rāma,' 'Jaya Rāma,' or 'Sītā Rāma.'

Rāmānanda had twelve chief disciples or apostles, and the list shows his disregard for caste in matters of religion. They were:[1] (1) Anantānanda, (2) Sukhānanda, (3) Surasurānanda, (4) Narahariyānanda, (5) Pīpā, (6) Kabīr, (7) Bhāvānanda, (8) Sēnā, (9) Dhanā, (10) Raī Dāsa, (11) Padmāvatī, (12) Surasarī.

Of these nos. 11 and 12 were women. Regarding Padmāvatī nothing is known. Surasarī was the wife of Surasurānanda, and the *Bhaktamāla* (66) tells a pretty story of how she was once wandering alone in the forest praying, when she was attacked by Musalmān robbers. Thereupon Rāma took the form of a lion, and guarded her, like another Una, till she was out of danger.

Anantānanda was Rāmānanda's first disciple. He is most famous as the apostle of the Jōdhpur country, the king of which he converted by a miracle at Sāmbhar, recalling that of the barren fig-tree in Mk 11[20f.] (*Bhaktamāla*, 32). The third in descent from Anantānanda, in line of teacher and pupil, was Nābhā Dāsa, the author of the *Bhaktamāla*.

Sukhānanda was a poet. His hymns are famous, and have been collected in a volume entitled the *Sukhasāgara* (*Bhaktamāla*, 64).

Surasurānanda, the husband of Surasarī, was famous for his faith. The *Bhaktamāla* (65) tells a curious story about him, the lesson of which reminds us of Mk 7[18]. A wicked Musalmān gave him and his disciples cakes secretly mixed with flesh (an impurity). He accepted them as food offered in the name of the deity, and they all ate the food. Then the Musalmān told the disciples of the presence of meat in the cakes. They came to their master in alarm at the defilement that they had incurred. But he replied that they had not eaten the food in faith, and bade them vomit. They did so, and meat issued from their mouths. Then he vomited, and showed them that by his faith the impure meat had been transubstantiated into leaves of the holy *tulasī*-plant. He is of importance, for through him Tulasī Dāsa traced his descent from Rāmānanda in line of teacher and pupil.

A curious legend is told about Narahariyānanda. One day, being in want of fuel to dress food for a party of holy men, he took an axe, and went to a temple of Dēvī and cut away from it a sufficient portion of wood.[2] Dēvī promised, if he would desist from spoiling her temple, to give him a daily supply of fuel, and so it came about. A covetous and unregenerate neighbour, hearing of this, thought that he would follow the saint's example, but, as soon as he applied his axe, Dēvī attacked him, and wounded him so grievously that, when people came for him, they found him at death's door. Dēvī spared him only on condition that for the rest of his life he would supply Narahariyānanda's wants in the way of fuel (*Bhaktamāla*, 67).

Pīpā was a Rājpūt rāja of Gāgaraun. He was originally a worshipper of Dēvī, but was commanded by her in a dream to become a disciple of Rāmānanda. Rāmānanda refused to accept him, saying that he had no dealings with men of war like him, and, when Pīpā persisted, angrily told him to go and fall into a well. Pīpā at once tried to cast himself into the well in the courtyard of Rāmānanda's house, and was with difficulty stopped by the bystanders. Rāmānanda then took pity on him, and received him on probation as a disciple. After a year's trial he was fully admitted, abandoned all his early possessions, and, in spite of the remonstrances of his family, set out with Rāmā-

[1] *Oṁ Rāmāya namaḥ.*

[2] The legend of this boon is of some importance. Rāmānanda does seem actually to have lived to a great age. Nābhā Dāsa takes pains to record that he 'bore his body for a very long time,' and tradition says that he lived 111 years.

[1] The list given by Wilson (*Religious Sects*, p. 56) is incorrect, being based on a mistranslation of the *Bhaktamāla*.

[2] Almost the only stringent duty laid upon the followers of Rāmānanda was that of showing hospitality to wandering holy men. The necessity of providing the means for this seems to have been held to justify almost any course of conduct. We shall see extreme instances of this in the case of Pīpā. Cf. also the story of Dhanā, below.

nanda on a pilgrimage to Dvāraka, accompanied by Sītā Sahachari, one of his wives, who had become as ardent a devotee as himself.

The *Bhaktamāla* devotes much space to Pīpā, and narrates or alludes to a great number of legends regarding him and his wife. Some of them are given by Wilson (p. 57 ff.). Two or three of the legends regarding Sītā Sahachari illustrate the lengths to which Rāmāwats are supposed to be willing to go in order to fulfil the duty of hospitality to wandering saints. She is represented as a peculiarly holy woman and as a devoted wife, and yet, on more than one occasion, she was ready to sacrifice her chastity in order to provide the means for carrying out this duty, being each time saved from the last extremity by miraculous intervention (*Bhaktamāla*, 61).

Kabir (*ib.* 60) was a Musalmān weaver. It was through him that Nānak Shāh, the founder of the Sikh religion, inherited much of Rāmānanda's teaching (see *ERE* vii. 632).

The *Bhaktamāla* gives no particulars concerning Bhāvānanda, beyond mentioning his name, nor can the present writer find anything about him elsewhere except an anonymous couplet praising his devotion to Rāma and his wisdom.

Sēnā was a barber by caste (for the tradition concerning him see art. SĒNĀPANTHĪS).

Dhanā was a simple peasant. He belonged to the Jāṭ caste, which is notorious for the boorishness of its peasant members. The account of him given by the *Bhaktamāla* (62) tells that one day some wandering saints asked him for food, and he gave them the only grain that there was in the house—that which had been reserved for seed. To conceal the pious theft from his parents, he proceeded to plough a field, into which he pretended to sow the grain. He was subjected to much ridicule from neighbours who knew the facts of the case; but, as time went on, a miraculous crop sprang up in the field, which surpassed the crops of those who laughed at him. On one occason he saw a Brāhmaṇa worshipping a sacred *śālagrāma* stone, and, in his simplicity, asked him for a similar object of devotion. The other picked up an ordinary pebble, and, giving it to the silly boor, said, 'Here is your god. Take it home and worship it.' Dhanā, looking upon it as a representation of Rāma, carried it home, and tended it with great devotion. The god, pleased at the simple faith of the peasant lad, came to him in person, in the character of a fellow-Jāṭ, and served him as a ploughman. After some time he recommended Dhanā to go to Benares and become Rāmānanda's disciple. He did so, and, after receiving instruction from the teacher, returned home. There he again saw his ploughman, and, his eyes being opened, he recognized him as Rāma. The god then blessed him and departed, and Dhanā remained at home, carrying on his household duties, and worshipping the Supreme.

Rai Dāsa (*Bhaktamāla*, 59) was a Chamār, or leather-worker, and belonged to one of the most degraded and despised castes (for particulars see art. RAI DĀSIS).

This account of Rāmānanda's twelve apostles, childish though some of the legends may appear, is interesting, and is typical of the doctrine of the equality of all men and women before God. While we may assume that such men as Anantānanda and Sukhānanda were Brāhmaṇas, the list also contains a Musalmān, a professional soldier, a barber, a boorish Jāṭ, and, lowest of the low, Rai Dāsa, the Chamār. Note also the important position assigned to women. It is true that in all the sects of the Vaiṣṇava reformation (see *ERE* ii. 548) women saints are frequently met with, but, so far as the present writer is aware, Rāmānanda was the only teacher who placed the sexes on an equality by calling two women to be his apostles.

According to modern belief, Rāmānanda was a direct re-incarnation of Rāmachandra, and each of his twelve apostles was also an incarnation of some subordinate god or demi-god. Thus Anantānanda was an incarnation of Brahmā, Sukhānanda of Śiva, Surasurānanda of Nārada, Kabīr of Prahlāda, Sēnā of Bhīṣma, Rai Dāsa of Yama, and so on. Rāmānanda borrowed from his predecessors the title *ānanda*, 'joy,' which he added to the names of most of his disciples, to indicate the joy of their devotion to Rāma. Probably the full names of Pīpā, Sēnā, and Dhanā were thus Pīpānanda, Sēnānanda, and Dhanānanda. Not being Brāhmaṇas, they could be addressed familiarly, and it is a common familiar custom in India to omit the final syllables of a name, just as we say 'Will' for 'William.'

Although the great claim of Rāmānanda to recognition is his insistence on the equality of all believers, a corollary of this teaching also deserves more than a passing notice. The doctrines of his predecessors, the Rāmānujas, were, in N. India, taught only in Sanskrit. Their scriptures were learned books, written for learned men, in a learned language. But, for Rāmānanda, with disciples like Kabīr, Pīpā, Sēnā, Dhanā, and Rai Dāsa, who were not Sanskrit scholars, this was intolerable. His teaching was therefore everywhere in the vernacular, and his followers wrote their hymns and other similar compositions in one or other of the various dialects of Hindī. He himself wrote little that has come down to us, but—not to mention the less known works of men like Sukhānanda—his successor Kabīr was one of the most voluminous authors in that language. It was largely owing to the influence of Rāmānanda and his followers that Hindī became a literary language, and not only was its most shining light, Tulasī Dāsa, a devout Rāmāwat, but all his poetry was written under the direct influence of Rāmānanda's teaching. The debt which the literature of Hindōstān owes to Rāmānanda cannot be overestimated.

While we may be fairly certain that Rāmānanda was born in A.D. 1299, the date of his death is involved in some obscurity. The popular tradition is that he died in Samvat in 1467 (=A.D. 1410). This would give him a life of 111 years, which is improbable. We can, however, accept the tradition, borne out, as it is, by the direct statement of the *Bhaktamāla*, that he had an exceptionally long life, and this would authorize us to state that he lived during the greater part of the 14th century A.D. He was thus contemporary with the later Khiljī kings, and with nearly all the kings of the house of Tughlak. In his youth occurred the famous sack of Chitaur by 'Alāu'd-dīn Khiljī, and his ripe manhood corresponded with the insanely tyrannous rule of Muḥammad Tughlak. If he lived to the age of 99, he saw the invasion of India by Tamerlane, and the sack and massacre of Delhi. It is impossible not to believe that this series of calamities exercised much influence on Rāmānanda, and that his doctrine of faith in the benignant and heroic Rāmachandra, offered to all classes of the community, owed much of its ready acceptance to the sufferings then being undergone by the Indian people under cruel, alien rule.

Of Rāmānanda's twelve apostles three—Kabīr, Sēnā, and Rai Dāsa—founded branch sects of their own. The others contented themselves with preaching the doctrines of their master. Separate articles are devoted to Kabīr, Sēnā, and the Rai Dāsīs. Kabīr was the only one of these three that really founded a sect. The other two so-called sects are little more than separate groups of Rāmānandīs called after the respective names of the teachers from whom they are spiritually descended. Through the preaching of these twelve and of their followers the pure and chaste worship of Rāma became widely spread over Hindōstān, and successfully competed with the more sensuous worship of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā that centred round Vṛndāvana, and reached its culminating point in the erotic raptures of the Rādhāvallabhīs (*q.v.*; see also artt. BHAKTI-MĀRGA, vol. ii. p. 545, and VALLABHĀCHĀRĪS).

LITERATURE.—Numerous books have been published in Hindi devoted to the life and teaching of Rāmānanda. The only really authoritative work is the *Bhaktamāla* (30 f.) of Nābhā Dāsa, with Priyā Dāsa's commentary; the best ed. is that of Sītārāmaśaraṇa Bhagavān Prasāda (Benares, 1905), in which are given extracts from the contents of the more modern works dealing with Rāmānanda. A summary (not always correct) of the statements in the *Bhaktamāla* will be found in H. H. Wilson, *Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus*, London, 1861, pp. 46 ff., 54 ff.; other European accounts are based on this, and reproduce Wilson's mistakes. For a briefer summary see R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, and Minor Religious Systems* (=*GIAP* iii. 6), Strassburg, 1913, p. 66 *f.* Other Indian accounts that may be consulted with advantage

are Dhruva Dāsa, *Bhaktanāmāvali*, ed. Rādhākṛṣṇa Dāsa (Nāgārī Pracāriṇī Sabhā), Benares, 1901, p. 63 ff.; Jivarāma, *Śrīrasikaprakāśa-bhaktamāla*, Bankipur, 1887, verse 10 ff.; Hariśchandra, *Vaiṣṇavasarvasva*, do., n.d., p. 14.

The account given in the present article is based entirely on Indian authorities. GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

RĀMĀNUJA. — Tradition dating from the 13th cent. A.D. ascribes the birth of Rāmānuja to the year 938 of the Śaka epoch (= A.D. 1016–17). In his youth he lived at Conjeeveram, and was a pupil of Yādavaprakāśa, an adherent of the strict Advaita philosophy of Śaṅkara. Rāmānuja, however, fell under the influence of the Vaiṣṇavism which had been made current by the efforts of the Ālvārs in the Tamil country, and separated on this ground from his preceptor, attaching himself instead to Yāmunamuni, who represented the philosophical aspect of the creed of the Ālvārs. In due course he succeeded his new teacher as the head of this school of opinion, and settled at Śrīraṅgam near Trichinopoly, where most of his life was spent. In his old age he is said to have fallen under the disfavour of the Chola king, Kulottuṅga, who was an adherent of Saivism, and to have removed his residence in 1096 to the dominions of the Hoysala princes of Mysore, where in 1098 he succeeded in converting to his faith Biṭṭi Deva, or Viṣṇuvardhana, at that time a viceroy for his brother, Ballāla, and later (1104–31) himself king. Another tradition recorded in Nṛsiṃha's *Smṛtyarthasāgara*[1] refers to him as alive as late as 1127, and it would clearly be unwise to attach too much weight to the precise dates assigned for his birth; his activity, it is certain, fell in the last quarter of the 11th cent. A.D., with which accords the statement of the *Prapannāmṛta*[2] that in 1091, towards the end of his life, he dedicated an image of Nārāyaṇa on Yādavāchala. Numerous works are attributed to him,[3] in many cases doubtless without just cause; of special importance are only the *Vedāntadīpa*, the *Vedāntasāra*, the *Vedārthasaṅgraha*, which are independent works, and his commentaries (*bhāṣyas*) on the *Brahmasūtra* and the *Bhagavad-Gītā*.

1. Philosophical tenets.—The essential contribution of Rāmānuja to Indian thought was the effort to develop in a complete system, in opposition to the uncompromising Advaitism of Śaṅkara, a philosophical basis for the doctrine of devotion to God which was presented in poetical form in the hymns (*prabandhas*) of the Ālvārs—a task for which his training under a teacher of Advaitism rendered him specially fit. In attempting this task, which he undertook on the bidding of his teacher, Yāmunamuni, he was, it is clear, not developing any essentially new line of thought, and he makes no assertion of originality; in his interpretation of the *Brahmasūtra* as a text-book of Vaiṣṇavism, he claims merely to be following the commentary (*vṛtti*) of Bodhāyana and the opinions of previous teachers, of whom elsewhere he enumerates several—Ṭaṅka, Dramiḍa, Guhadeva, Kapardin, and Bhāruchi; of these Dramiḍa at least preceded Śaṅkara, and indications in Śaṅkara's own commentary show that Rāmānuja's claim to be following tradition is not unfounded. The disappearance, however, of the works of his predecessors and the hopeless obscurity in itself of the *Brahmasūtra* render it impossible to determine what degree of independence is to be assigned to Rāmānuja. The *Śrībhāṣya*, his commentary on the *Brahmasūtra*, conveys an impression of no mean philosophical insight, and it is fair to assume that his work in substantial merit and completeness far outdid any previous effort to find in the *Brahmasūtra* a basis for monotheism.

To Śaṅkara the whole universe was one, *Brahman* without a second (*advaita*), without qualities, consisting of thought, but without differentiation of subject and object: the world of experience arises from the association with the one reality of *māyā*, or illusion, and has therefore but a conventional existence, being the object of the lower knowledge as opposed to the higher knowledge of the one reality. Escape from the fetters of transmigration, which is an essential part of the conventional life, is obtained by the act of intellectual intuition which appreciates the illusory character of the empirical universe. A creator (Īśvara) exists, and his grace serves to secure in some degree this intuition, but the existence of God, as also of the soul itself as individual, is in ultimate analysis mere illusion, and His grace is equally illusory. To establish this scheme Śaṅkara does not rely on the human faculties unaided: freely as he uses argument, he bases his views on the *Upaniṣads* and the *Brahmasūtra* as an eternal and conclusive revelation.[1] Rāmānuja is no less dogmatic, but the doctrine which he deduces is very different. In the *Upaniṣads* his opinions find their chief support in the *antaryāmi-brāhmaṇa*, contained in the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*,[2] in which *Brahman* is described in detail as the inner ruler of the whole of the universe in all its aspects, and in a passage in the *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*[3] in which stress is laid on the threefold unity in *Brahman* of the empirical subject (*bhoktṛ*), the objective world (*bhogya*), and the power which instigates (*preritṛ*). He teaches, therefore, a monism, for all is *Brahman*, but a qualified monism (*viśiṣṭādvaita*), since room is found for the reality of individual souls and the external world. The highest reality is God, endowed with all desirable qualities, not consisting of knowledge alone, but having knowledge as an attribute, all-powerful, all-pervading, and all-merciful. Whatever exists is contained within God, and therefore the system admits no second independent element. But within the unity are distinct elements of plurality which, if effects or modes (*prakāra*) of God, are yet absolutely real, and not figments of illusion. These are souls of varying classes and degrees (*chit*) and matter in all its forms (*achit*), which together are represented as constituting the body of God, standing to Him in the same dependent relation as is occupied by the matter forming an animal or vegetable body towards the soul or spirit. Both matter and souls exist eternally in God, and have had no absolute beginning and will have no absolute end. But there are two distinct forms of this existence. In the *pralaya* condition, which occurs at the end of each world-period (*kalpa*), matter exists in a subtle state in which it possesses none of the qualities which make it an object of ordinary experience; the souls likewise cease to be connected with bodies, and, though retaining the essential quality of being cognizing agents, are unable to manifest their intelligence; in this condition *Brahman* is said to be in the causal state (*kāraṇāvasthā*). From this condition creation develops by the will of God: subtle matter takes on its gross form,[4] souls expand their intellect, entering at the same time into connexion with bodies in accordance with their deeds in previous forms of existence; in this condition *Brahman* occupies the state of an effect (*kāryāvasthā*). But between the two states there is no essential difference; the effect is the cause which has undergone

[1] T. Aufrecht, *Bodleian Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS*, Oxford, 1864, p. 285.
[2] Rājendralāla Mitra, *Notices of Sanskrit MSS*, v., Calcutta, 1880, p. 10 f.
[3] Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, I., Leipzig, 1891, p. 522.

[1] P. Deussen, *Das System des Vedānta*, Leipzig, 1883, p. 95 ff.
[2] III. vii. 3.
[3] I. 12.
[4] The details of the process are borrowed bodily from the Sāṅkhya system, and have no independent value.

a process of development (*pariṇāma*). The difference, however, serves to explain in the view of Rāmānuja those passages in the *Upaniṣads* which seem to deny all duality: in the causal state the differences are merely implicit and may be ignored; passages which assert the creation of the material world, while assuming the eternal existence of soul, are explained away by the fact that in its subtle state matter may be regarded as in a sense non-existent, since it has in that condition none of its essential qualities, while even in the *pralaya* condition the soul remains essentially intelligent. There is, however, clear proof that Rāmānuja felt difficulty in picturing to himself the relation of the non-sentient matter to *Brahman*: in discussing the *Brahmasūtra*[1] there are presented, as possible explanations of the relation, the views that such beings are special arrangements (*saṁsthānaviśeṣa*) of *Brahman*, as are the coils of the body of a snake, or that the relation of the two entities is comparable to that of the luminous object and light, which are one in that both are fire, or that the material world is a part (*aṁśa*) of *Brahman*, which is the position definitely assigned to the soul. The relation of souls and the material world causes Rāmānuja no difficulty; he accepts the same frankly realistic position as Śaṅkara, though in the case of the latter the realism is ultimately illusory.[2]

As with Śaṅkara, the fate of the soul is determined by its knowledge, but, as the nature of that knowledge differs entirely in the two systems, so does the fate of the soul. Knowledge means not extinction of individuality, but a life in heaven of eternal bliss, distinguished from God Himself merely by the fact that the released soul does not possess the powers of creating, ruling, and retracting the world which are the special characteristics of the supreme soul.

2. Religious system.—The actual system of religion expounded by Rāmānuja and his school, while resting on the basis of the metaphysics of the *Śrībhāṣya*, is clearly largely the traditional inheritance of the Pāñcharātra or Bhāgavata school; in the *Śrībhāṣya* itself the only sectarian hint is the use of the term Nārāyaṇa as a synonym of *Brahman*. In the theology of Rāmānuja God manifests Himself in five forms. The first is the highest (*para*), in which, as Nārāyaṇa or Parabrahman, He dwells in His city of Vaikuṇṭha, under a gem pavilion, seated on the serpent Śeṣa, adorned with celestial ornaments and bearing His celestial arms, accompanied by His consorts Lakṣmī (prosperity), Bhū (the earth), and Līlā (sport); in this condition His presence is enjoyed by the delivered spirits. The second form of manifestation consists of His three or four *vyūhas*, conditions assumed for purposes of worship, creation, etc.; of these Saṅkarṣaṇa possesses the qualities of knowledge (*jñāna*) and power to maintain (*bala*); Pradyumna has ruling power (*aiśvarya*) and abiding character (*vīrya*); Aniruddha has creative power (*śakti*) and strength to overcome (*tejas*); while Vāsudeva, when included as a fourth *vyūha*, has all six qualities. The third form comprises the ten *avatārs* of the ordinary mythology; the fourth the *antaryāmin*, in which condition He dwells within the heart, can be seen by the supernatural vision of the Yogi, and accompanies the soul in its passage even to heaven or hell, while the fifth form is that in which the deity dwells in idols or images made by men's hands.

The individual soul, which is a mode of the supreme soul and entirely dependent upon and controlled by it, is nevertheless real, eternal, endowed with intelligence and self-consciousness, without parts, unchanging, imperceptible, and atomic[1]—a doctrine denied energetically by Śaṅkara. Souls are classified as eternal (*nitya*) in a special sense, such as those of Ananta or Garuḍa, which dwell in constant communion with Nārāyaṇa, released (*mukta*), or bound (*baddha*). Of the latter some seek mere earthly gains, others aim at the joys of heaven, while others strive for the eternal bliss of final deliverance. For the latter two means of attaining the end desired are available; the former is confined to the three higher classes alone, excluding the Śūdra; it leads through the *karmayoga* and the *jñānayoga* to *bhakti*, while the latter is open to those who despair of accomplishing this elaborate process and fling themselves upon the will of God (*prapatti*).

The *karmayoga* is the teaching of the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, which bids man perform acts without desire of reward; it includes the ceremonial worship of the deity—the practice of penance, the offering of sacrifice, the bestowal of charity, and the performance of pilgrimages. It serves as a preparation for the *jñānayoga*, in which the devotee attains the knowledge of himself as distinct from matter and as a mode of *Brahman*. This, again, leads to *bhakti*, which for Rāmānuja is not ecstatic devotion, but a continuous process of meditation upon God. This meditation is to be promoted by subsidiary means, including the use of none but unpolluted food, chastity, the performance of rites, the practice of such virtues as charity, compassion, abstaining from taking life, truth and uprightness, the maintenance of cheerfulness, and the absence of undue elation. Thus promoted, *bhakti* results in an intuitive perception of God, the highest state realizable. *Prapatti*, on the other hand, consists in the sense of submission, the avoidance of opposition, the confidence of protection, the choosing of God as the saviour, the placing of oneself at His disposal, and the consciousness of utter abasement.

The relation between *bhakti* and *prapatti* was left obscure in Rāmānuja's teaching, for it immediately formed a subject of bitter division between the two schools which claimed to follow his teaching—the Vaḍagalai, or northern school, which uses Sanskrit as its medium of teaching, and the Teṅgalai, or southern, which resorted to the vernacula, thus continuing the tradition of the Ālvārs. The former, which seems to reflect more closely the temper of Rāmānuja in its conservatism and restraint, claimed that *prapatti* was merely one way of salvation, not the only way, and that it should be resorted to only when it was found impossible to attain the desired result by the other modes; moreover, they found in it essentially an element of human action in that it demanded a distinct effort on the part of the *prapanna*, resulting from the effect of his sense of submission, etc. The southern school, on the other hand, maintained that *prapatti* was the only mode of salvation, that it precluded any action on the part of the devotee,[2] action emanating from God alone, and that the sense of submission, etc., was the outcome of *prapatti*, not the means of producing it. Similarly, the schools differed in their treatment of Śūdras: the Vaḍagalai confined equality to conversation alone, and forbade the teaching to them and indeed even to Kṣatriyas and Vaiśyas of the *mantra* of homage to Nārāyaṇa with the syllable *Oṁ* prefixed, while the southern school asserted the equality of the castes and permitted the use of *Oṁ* by all.

In addition to *bhakti* and *prapatti* Rāmānuja is credited with permitting the attainment of deliverance by *ācāryābhimānayoga*, in which the votary places himself under the control of his

[1] III. ii. 27–30.
[2] See their commentaries on *Brahmasūtra*, II. ii. 28–31.

[1] See *Brahmasūtra*, II. ii. 19–32.
[2] Cf art. PRAPATTI-MĀRGA.

teacher, who performs for him the necessary acts to attain deliverance.

Greater importance attaches to the ceremonial worship of the deity in the practice of the school than was seemingly laid upon it by Rāmānuja himself, though he fully accepted it and made it an integral part of his system. The modes of worship prescribed include the stamping of the discus or conch of Hari on the body, the wearing of a mark on the forehead, the repeating of *mantras*, the doing of service to his devotees, fasting on the eleventh day of both lunar fortnights, the laying of *tulasī*-leaves on his idol, the drinking of the water in which the feet of the idol are washed, and the eating of the food presented to Hari. Importance attaches to the last practice, for it bears a certain resemblance to the Christian sacrament and suggests the possibility of borrowing from the Nestorian Christian communities of S. India. The same conclusion is also indicated by certain features of the doctrine of *prapatti*, and above all by the method of salvation in which the teacher performs the necessary steps, while the part of the devotee consists in implicit faith in the teacher—a mode which bears a remarkable similarity to the doctrine of vicarious sacrifice. It is unnecessary, however, to assume that these features in the system of Rāmānuja were borrowed by him personally from Christian teaching; they are much more likely to have been already incorporated in the Vaiṣṇavism which he expounded and defended. It is characteristic of the intellectual rather than emotional character of Rāmānuja's teaching that he ignores the aspect of Viṣṇu's character in which he appears as Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa and sports with Rādha and the cowherdesses, and that even Rāma does not appear to have been the object of his special devotion.

LITERATURE.—The chief authorities for Rāmānuja are R. G. Bhandarkar, *Report on the Search for Sanskrit MSS in the Bombay Presidency during the Year 1883–84*, Bombay, 1887, p. 68 ff., *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, and Minor Religious Systems* (=*GIAP* III. vi.), Strassburg, 1913, p. 50 ff.; G. Thibaut, tr. of *Vedanta-Sūtras*, with Śaṅkara's comm., *SBE* xxxiv. [1890] introd., and tr. of Rāmānuja's *Śrībhāṣya*, *SBE* xlviii. [1904]; A. Govindāchārya Svāmī, tr. of *Bhagavad-Gītā*, with Rāmānuja's comm., Madras, 1898, *The Life of Rāmānuja*, do. 1906, tr. of *Arthapañchaka* of Piḷḷai Lokāchārya (13th cent. A.D.), *JRAS*, 1910, pp. 565–607, and description of the points of difference between the northern and southern schools, *ib.* pp. 1103–1112. See also M. Rangāchāryulu, *Life and Teachings of Rāmānuja*, Madras, 1895; C. R. Śrinivāsa Aiyengar, *The Life and Teachings of Śrī Rāmānujāchārya*, do. 1908. A criticism of the system of Rāmānuja from the standpoint of Advaitism is given in the *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha* of Mādhava (14th cent. A.D.), tr. E. B. Cowell and A. E. Gough, London, 1882, and P. Deussen, *Allgemeine Gesch. der Philosophie*, I. iii., Leipzig, 1908.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

RĀMĀYAṆA.—1. Character.—This poem, 'the Career of Rāma,' is one of the two great Sanskrit epics of ancient India. Both have been a national possession for at least 2000 years, deeply influencing the literary production as well as the moral and religious thought of the Indian population. But they offer several contrasts. The *Mahābhārata* (*q.v.*) in its literary aspect represents the type of old popular legendary tale called *purāṇa*, while the *Rāmāyaṇa* belongs to the class called *kāvya*, or artificial epic, in which form is regarded as more important than the story, and poetical ornament (*alaṃkāra*) is abundantly applied. The *Mahābhārata*, being a congeries of many parts only loosely connected by the thread of its epic kernel, which forms not more than one-fifth of the whole work, is hardly an epic at all, but rather an encyclopædia of moral teaching; its authors are unknown, and the traditional name of its final redactor, Vyāsa, 'the arranger,' is evidently mythical. The *Rāmāyaṇa* is a real epic of the romantic type, being homogeneous in plan and execution, on the whole the work of a single author named Vālmīki. Being in its main and original narrative almost free from interpolated and secondary episodes, it is also much shorter than the *Mahābhārata*, containing about 24,000 as compared with 100,000 stanzas. The warfare in the epic nucleus of the *Mahābhārata* is that of heroic human combatants on both sides; in the *Rāmāyaṇa* it consists of conflicts with monsters and demons such as are described by writers of fairy-tales without first-hand knowledge of real fighting. The *Mahābhārata* was composed in the western portion of N. India, the ancient Madhyadeśa, or Middle Land, which lies between the eastern confines of the Panjāb and the city of Allahābād, while the *Rāmāyaṇa* arose in the ancient kingdom of Kosala, which lay to the north-east of the Ganges, and roughly corresponds to the modern Oudh.

2. Importance.—The importance of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is twofold—literary and religious. It is the first product of the artificial epic, or *kāvya*, literature of India. It thus always served as a model to be imitated by the later classical poets, who regarded it as 'the first epic' (*ādi-kāvya*) and its author as the 'first epic poet' (*ādi-kavi*). Thus it supplied the subject of Kālidāsa's epic, the *Raghuvaṃśa*, 'the Family of Raghu,' as well as of two of the plays of the great dramatist Bhavabhūti. Even at the present day the recital of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is listened to with delight by many thousands of Hindus at the great festival of Rāma held every year at Benares. In the Middle Ages the Sanskrit epic was translated into the spoken languages of India, beginning with the Tamil version, which appeared at the beginning of the 12th cent. and was followed by adaptations and renderings in the vernaculars all over the country. On the *Rāmāyaṇa* the greatest mediæval poet of India, Tulasī Dās (1532–1623), founded his religio-philosophic poem in Hindī, entitled *Rām Charit Mānas*, 'Lake of the Doings of Rāma,' which as a lofty standard of purity and virtue is like a Bible to over 90,000,000 of the population of N. India. Dramatic representations of the story of Rāma are still performed at religious festivals in the towns and villages of India. Thus the 'Play of Rāma' (*Rām Līla*), in which the most popular scenes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* are exhibited, is annually performed at Lahore before a vast number of spectators.

Probably no work of world literature, secular in its origin, has ever produced so profound an influence on the life and thought of a people as the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The nobility and magnanimity of Rāma's character and the conjugal devotion and fidelity of his wife Sītā have, for a great many centuries, exercised a far-reaching moral effect as paragons for imitation among Indians. His early deification has, moreover, secured to the hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa* the worship of the Hindus down to the present day. The belief that he was an incarnation of Viṣṇu, which forms the fundamental doctrine of the religious reformers Rāmānuja (*q.v.*) in the 12th and Rāmānanda (see art. RĀMĀNANDĪS) in the 14th cent., has contributed much to counteract the diffusion of the degrading superstitions of Śaivism in the south as well as in the north of India.

3. Recensions.—In its present form the *Rāmāyaṇa* consists of about 24,000 couplets composed almost entirely in the ordinary epic metre called *śloka*, which consists of two hemistichs of sixteen syllables with an iambic cadence. It exists in three recensions—the Bengal, the Bombay, and the West Indian, which differ to the extent that about one-third of the verses contained in each do not occur in the other two. The oldest appears to be the Bombay recension, in which the irregularities of the epic language have not been removed, as is the case in the other two. It must not,

however, be regarded as representing the original text of which the other two recensions are mere revisions. The variations can for the most part be explained by the divergent forms which the popular tradition had assumed, in different parts of India, by the time when those three recensions came to be written down. There is, moreover, evidence to show that those recensions existed at a comparatively early period. Thus quotations from the epic in works of the 8th and 9th centuries indicate that a text allied to the Bombay recension was then in existence, while a poetical abstract of the *Rāmāyaṇa* composed by Kṣemendra proves that at least the West Indian recension was known to that author in the first half of the 11th century A.D.

4. Present text.—The *Rāmāyaṇa*, as it has come down to us, consists of seven books; but careful and detailed research has shown that the first and last were later additions. The former not only contrasts as inferior in language and style with the original, but contains both internal contradictions and statements conflicting with the following books. Thus it includes (in cantos i. and iii.) two tables of contents which must have been composed at different times; one of them, which takes no notice of the first and last books, was evidently made before these were added. Again, Lakṣmaṇa is stated in bk. i. to have been married at Ayodhyā at the same time as his brother Rāma, while at a later period, in bk. iii., he is expressly said to be still unmarried. The original poem evidently came to an end with the conclusion of bk. vi. For in bk vii. as well as bk. i. the tribal hero of the old books has become a national hero, the people's moral ideal; and the human hero of those books appears in the first and last as an incarnation of the supreme deity Viṣṇu (while Indra, and not Viṣṇu, is accounted the highest god in the original parts). Again, Vālmīki, the author of the epic, is in the additional books introduced as a contemporary of Rāma and is regarded as a seer. In bks. i. and vii. the thread of the narrative is characteristically interrupted, as in the *Mahābhārata*, by numerous episodes, myths, and legends, while this feature is very rare in the other books. Some cantos have been loosely interpolated in the genuine books also, but these consist chiefly of extensions of the finest passages added by professional rhapsodists wishing to meet the demands of the popular taste. Though the additions to the original poem must have been made before the three recensions came into being, it is evident that they could have become part of the epic only a long time after the old part was composed.

5. Place of origin.—There is evidence indicating that the *Rāmāyaṇa* was composed in the country of which the capital was Ayodhyā, the royal residence of the race of Ikṣvāku. Thus it is stated in bk. i. that the *Rāmāyaṇa* arose in the family of the Ikṣvākus; the hermitage of Vālmīki is described in bk. vii. as situated on the south bank of the Ganges; and the poet must have been connected with Ayodhyā, for Sītā, Rāma's wife, sought refuge in his forest retreat, where her twin sons were born, brought up, and taught to recite the epic by the poet. In or near Ayodhyā, therefore, Vālmīki may be assumed to have worked into a homogeneous whole the various epic tales current among the court bards of Ayodhyā about the life of the Ikṣvāku hero Rāma. This poem was then learnt by rhapsodists, who wandered about reciting it in different parts of the country.

6. Age.—The question of the age of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is involved in some doubt, because the arguments bearing on it are rather inconclusive. There is no evidence to show that either the *Mahābhārata* or the *Rāmāyaṇa* existed even in its earliest beginnings before the end of the Vedic period (*c.* 800 B.C.). As regards the relative age of the two epics, it is probable that the original form of the *Rāmāyaṇa* was finished before the epic nucleus of the *Mahābhārata* had assumed definite shape. For, while the leading characters of the latter are not referred to in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the story of Rāma is often mentioned in the sister epic. Again, two of Vālmīki's lines (vi. 81, 28) are quoted in a passage of the *Mahābhārata* (vii. 143, 66) which there is no reason to regard as a later addition. There is an episode of Rāma (*Rāmopākhyānam*) in the *Mahābhārata* that presupposes the existence of the extended *Rāmāyaṇa*, in which Rāma was already deified as Viṣṇu. The *Rāmāyaṇa*, moreover, was along with its later additions a complete work by the end of the 2nd cent. A.D., and was already an old book by the time the sister epic had more or less attained its final shape in the 4th cent. of our era. With this divergence in the date when their growth was completed the permeation of all the old parts of the *Mahābhārata* with new matter is in keeping, while in the *Rāmāyaṇa* such permeation hardly extends beyond the first and the last books. Both epics not only have, in all their books, many phrases, proverbial idioms, and whole lines in common, but also betray a far-reaching general agreement in language, style, and metre. Hence it may safely be concluded that the period of the growth of the *Rāmāyaṇa* coincides with that of the *Mahābhārata*, though it came sooner to an end. The earliest elements of the original *Mahābhārata* may, however, be older than the original *Rāmāyaṇa*, because the former has certain archaic features compared with which Vālmīki's poem shows an advance. Thus, while speakers are introduced in the longer epic with prose formulas such as 'Yudhiṣṭhira spoke,' in the sister poem such expressions invariably form part of the verse. The *Rāmāyaṇa*, too, comes decidedly nearer the classical poets in the use of poetical figures. Various sources of evidence have been examined in order to fix approximately the upper chronological limit of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The history of early Buddhism supplies no decisive information. In the oldest Buddhist literature, the Pāli *Tipiṭaka* (see art. LITERATURE [Buddhist]), there is no mention at all of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. It is true that in a *Jātaka* (*q.v.*) concerned with King Daśaratha there are twelve verses in which Rāma consoles his brothers for the death of his father, Daśaratha, and that one of these verses actually occurs in our *Rāmāyaṇa*. The fact, however, that there is only one verse in common indicates that some old story about Rāma rather than the epic itself is the source of the *Jātaka* verses; for there is not a word in the whole *Jātaka* about Rāvaṇa and his following, though it is full of fabulous matter and has much to say about demons and *rakṣasas*. On the other hand, excepting one evidently interpolated passage, there is not a trace of Buddhism in the *Rāmāyaṇa* itself. Such silence, however, may very well be due to the absence of any reason to mention Buddhism in a poem like this. Now, H. Oldenberg has shown (*Gurupūjākaumudī*, Leipzig, 1896, p. 9 ff.) that the metre of the *Rāmāyaṇa* represents a later stage of development than that of the Pāli poetry of Buddhism. This positive evidence would place the composition of the original *Rāmāyaṇa* appreciably later than the rise of Buddhism, *c.* 500 B.C.

Excepting in two passages, which have been shown to be later additions, the *Rāmāyaṇa* contains no reference to the Greeks, who first came into direct contact with India during Alexander's expedition in 327 B.C.

A. Weber's belief that Greek influence can be traced in the *Rāmāyaṇa* seems to be baseless. There is no real parallelism between the story of the abduction of Sītā by the demon Rāvaṇa and Rāma's rescue expedition to Laṅkā on the one hand and that of the rape of Helen and the Trojan war on the other. Nor need the account of Rāma's bending a powerful bow to win Sītā have any connexion with a similar exploit performed by Ulysses. Stories of such feats of strength for a like object are met with in the literature of others as well as the Greeks, and may easily have grown up independently.

Thus far we have no reason to go back much farther than 300 B.C. for the genesis of Vālmīki's poem. H. Jacobi, however, adduces some arguments based on the political conditions appearing in the epic to show that it dates from before the rise of Buddhism.

In the first place, he notes that the city of Pāṭaliputra (now Patna), which had become the capital of India by 300 B.C., is not mentioned at all, though Rāma is described (i. 35) as passing its very site, and the poet makes a point of referring (i. 32 f.) to the foundation of various actual cities in E. India to show how far the fame of the *Rāmāyaṇa* had spread beyond Kosala, the country of its origin; he could therefore hardly fail to mention it had it existed. He further observes that in the old part of the *Rāmāyaṇa* the capital of Kosala is always called Ayodhyā, while to Buddhists, Jains, Greeks, and Patañjali (*c.* 150 B.C.) its name is invariably Sāketa. In bk. vii. we learn that Lava, one of Rāma's twin sons, established his government in Śrāvastī, a city which is not mentioned at all in the original *Rāmāyaṇa*, but which we know to have been ruled in Buddha's time by King Prasenajit of Kosala. From these data he infers that the original epic was composed while Ayodhyā was still the capital of Kosala, before its name of Sāketa was known, and before the seat of government was shifted to Śrāvastī. It would seem, further, to follow that the first and last books, which also mention Ayodhyā and, though added much later, do not know the name Sāketa, must have been composed considerably before the time of Buddha. Such a conclusion is in the highest degree improbable. Jacobi finally notes that in bk. i. Mithilā and Viśālā are twin cities governed by separate rulers, while it is known that by Buddha's time they had become a single city named Vaiśālī ruled by an oligarchy.

It is to be observed that these arguments are based on data to be found in the late first and last books, the evidence of which for the time of Buddha and before must be regarded with suspicion. They do not appear to the present writer to have any cogency as proof of a pre-Buddhistic date for the original *Rāmāyaṇa*.

A further argument has, however, been adduced to show that the old part of the *Rāmāyaṇa* dates from before the time of Buddha.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* is a popular epic, and its language is a popular Sanskrit. Now, about 260 B.C. King Aśoka used for his inscriptions not Sanskrit, but vernacular dialects resembling Pāli. Buddha himself before 500 B.C. preached not in Sanskrit, but in the speech of the people. A popular epic could not have been composed in a language that was already dead, but must have been written in one that the people understood. The original form of the epic must therefore date from a pre-Buddhistic period when Sanskrit was still a living tongue. Now, the foregoing argument is not cogent, because Sanskrit has always lived as a literary language beside the popular dialects, and has been understood by large sections of the population. There is therefore nothing strange in Sanskrit epics being composed and listened to while Jain and Buddhist monks were writing poetry and preaching in popular dialects, especially when these dialects had as yet diverged comparatively little from the literary language. Even at the present day it is not uncommon in India for two languages to be current side by side in the same district; and in a great part of N. India there is in use a modern Indian literary language which diverges very considerably from that of everyday life.

Occasionally verses occurring in the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa* are also found as Pāli or Prākṛt verses in Buddhist and Jain texts. This by no means implies that such verses have been translated into Sanskrit from popular languages. Still more baseless is the view of several scholars that the two great epics were originally composed in popular dialects and were only later translated into Sanskrit. Not the slightest trace of any record that such a translation ever took place has come down to us. On the other hand, the fact that in the Sanskrit drama (cf. *ERE* viii. 112) the bard (*sūta*) regularly speaks Sanskrit, and not a popular dialect, indicates that the poetry of the bards, *i.e.* the epic, was composed in Sanskrit. This hypothesis was first propounded by A. Barth in *RC*, 5th April 1886, and further elaborated by him in *RHR* xxvii. [1893] 288 ff., xlv. [1902] 195 f. It has been refuted by Jacobi in *ZDMG* xlviii. [1894] 407–411.

A review of all the available evidence appears to the present writer to indicate that the original part of the *Rāmāyaṇa* came into existence about the middle of the 4th cent. B.C., when popular stories current about Rāma were collected and worked up into a homogeneous epic by the poet Vālmīki; while it attained its present extent by the end of the 2nd century A.D.

7. Two parts.—In the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, as told in the original books, two parts can be clearly distinguished. The first is an ordinary narrative of human life without any admixture of mythological elements. Beginning with the intrigues of a queen at the court of Ayodhyā to ensure the succession of her son to the throne, it describes the results that followed. Had the poem ended with the return of Rāma's brother Bharata to Ayodhyā after the death of their father, King Daśaratha, it might have passed for an epic based on historical events. On the other hand, the second part, being founded on myths, is full of marvellous and fantastic adventures. The theory was formerly held (by Lassen and Weber) that the narrative is an allegorical representation of the spread of Aryan culture to the south of India and Ceylon. This view is, however, not borne out by the statements of the epic itself. The poet is evidently unfamiliar with the south, which he fills with the fabulous beings that might easily be imagined to haunt an unknown country. There is much more probability in Jacobi's theory that the second part of the original *Rāmāyaṇa* represents a narrative of terrestrial events based on mythological elements traceable to the earliest Veda. The name of the heroine Sītā appears in the *Rigveda* as the personified Furrow invoked as an agricultural goddess (IV. lvii. 6). In a ritual work of the latest Vedic period (*Kauśika Sūtra*, 106) she appears as a divinity of the ploughed field, a being of radiant beauty, black-eyed, adorned with lotuses, the wife of the rain-god. In the *Rāmāyaṇa* itself Sītā is said to have arisen from the earth when her adoptive father Janaka was ploughing, and in the last book she finally disappears underground, received into the arms of Mother Earth. Her husband Rāma would then represent Indra, and his fight with the demon Rāvaṇa a modification of the Vedic conflict of Indra with Vṛtra, the demon of drought. It is here probably significant that Rāvaṇa's son is called Indra-śatru, 'foe of Indra,' which is an epithet of Vṛtra in the *Rigveda*. The rape of Sītā by Rāvaṇa is parallel to the abduction by the demons of the cows later recovered by Indra. Again, Hanumān, the chief of the monkeys, who aids Rāma in flying hundreds of leagues to recover Sītā from the island of Laṅkā, is the son of the god of wind and bears the patronymic Māruti, 'son of the Maruts.' This suggests a reminiscence of Indra's association with the Maruts, or storm-gods, in his fight with Vṛtra. The name of the dog Saramā, who for Indra crosses the river Rasā in search of the captured cows, reappears as that of a demoness who consoles Sītā when imprisoned by Rāvaṇa in the island of Laṅkā.

8. Contents.—Such being the general character of the original *Rāmāyaṇa*, we may now proceed to sketch the contents of the complete epic in the expanded form in which it has come down to us.

(*a*) *First part.* — Bk. i., called *Bāla-kāṇḍa* ('Childhood Section'), commencing with an introduction on the origin of the poem, goes on to narrate the story of Rāma's youth. We are told how Vālmīki in his forest hermitage was preparing to describe worthily the fortunes of Rāma. While he was watching a pair of birds on the bank of a river, the male was suddenly shot by a hunter and fell dead to the ground weltering in its blood. The poet, touched by the grief of the bereaved female, uttered words lamenting the death of her mate and threatening vengeance on the murderer. Strange to relate, his utterance was no ordinary speech, but issued from his lips in metrical form. As he wandered towards his hut pondering this occurrence, the god Brahmā appeared and, announcing to the poet that he had unawares created the rhythm of the *śloka* metre, bade him compose the divine poem on the life and deeds of Rāma in that measure. This story possibly preserves a histori-

cal reminiscence: it may mean that the epic *śloka*, which in the form of the *anuṣṭubh* goes back to the *Rigveda*, and which is identical in structure throughout the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, was fixed in its final form by Vālmiki.

There follows an account of the city of Ayodhyā, in which the wise and mighty Daśaratha ruled. The king, being for a long time without a son, resolved to offer a horse-sacrifice, to direct which he appointed the potent seer Ṛṣyaśṛṅga. Just at that time the gods were suffering many things from the violence of the demon Rāvaṇa. They accordingly turned for help to Viṣṇu, imploring him to consent to be born in human form, because Rāvaṇa was immune from death except by the hand of a human foe. Viṣṇu having consented to be born as a son of Daśaratha and the horse-sacrifice being over, the three wives of the king bore four sons, Kauśalyā becoming the mother of Rāma (the incarnation of Viṣṇu), Kaikeyī of Bharata, and Sumitrā of the pair Lakṣmaṇa and Śatrughna. Of these sons Rāma was his father's favourite, and to him his brother Lakṣmaṇa was particularly devoted from the beginning. After the sons were grown up, the great seer Viśvāmitra, who had come to Ayodhyā, conducted the two princes Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa to the court of Janaka of Videha. That king had announced that he would give his daughter in marriage to the prince who could bend a powerful bow that he possessed. Many had tried in vain; Rāma not only bent the bow, but broke it in two. The wedding of Rāma and Sītā, attended by King Daśaratha, was then celebrated with great festivities. For many years after the young couple lived in great happiness.

In this supplementary book the thread of the narrative is, just as in the *Mahābhārata*, interrupted by numerous episodes, many of which, in different versions, recur in the sister epic, and which are constantly alluded to in the later classical literature. One of these (i. 51–65) deals with the enmity of the famous sages Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha. The former, a powerful king (though originally, in the *Rigveda*, a seer), came into conflict with the latter in the endeavour to deprive him forcibly of his miraculous cow. Unsuccessful in his attempt, Viśvāmitra undertook great penances which extended over thousands of years, and in which he resisted the seductions of beautiful nymphs, till at last he achieved Brāhmanhood and became reconciled to his rival Vasiṣṭha. Among others may be mentioned the story of the dwarf-incarnation of Viṣṇu (i. 29), of the birth of the war-god Kumāra or Kārttikeya (i. 35–37), and of the churning of the ocean by the gods and the demons (i. 45). The fantastic legend of the descent of the Ganges (i. 38–44) relates how the sacred river was brought down from heaven to earth in order to purify the remains of King Sagara's 60,000 sons, who had been burnt to ashes by the sage Kapila enraged by their disturbing his devotions.

Bk. ii., called *Ayodhyā-kāṇḍa* ('Ayodhyā Section'), with which the main story of the epic begins, describes the events that occurred at Daśaratha's court of Ayodhyā. The king, by this time growing old, held an assembly, in which he announced, amid general approval, his intention to make Rāma his heir-apparent. Kaikeyī, Bharata's mother, whose heart was set on her son's succession to the throne, now reminded Daśaratha of his former promise to grant her any two boons she might choose. On his consenting to fulfil his promise, she requested him to appoint Bharata his successor and to banish Rāma from Ayodhyā for fourteen years. Kaikeyī having refused to withdraw her demand, Daśaratha passed a sleepless night. Next day, when the consecration of Rāma was to have taken place, the king sent for and explained the situation to his son. Rāma, accepting his father's commands calmly and dutifully, without delay set forth into exile, accompanied by Sītā and his half-brother Lakṣmaṇa. The old king, overwhelmed with sorrow, cut himself off entirely from Kaikeyī, remained with Rāma's mother, and died after a few days, lamenting the banishment of his son. Bharata, who had been living with his maternal grandparents at Rājagṛha, was now summoned to Ayodhyā, but, indignantly refusing the succession, set out for the purpose of bringing Rāma back as king to the capital. In the wild forest of Daṇḍaka he found Rāma living happily with Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa. But Rāma, though deeply affected by the magnanimity of his brother's request, declined to return, considering it his duty to fulfil his vow of exile. He accordingly took off his gold-embroidered shoes, and handed them to his brother, in token of transferring the succession to him. Bharata then went back to Ayodhyā and, placing on the throne Rāma's shoes surmounted by the royal umbrella as emblem of sovereignty, retired to Nandigrāma, whence he administered the affairs of State as Rāma's vicegerent. Herewith ends the first part of the original epic, which deals with the world of reality.

(*b*) *Second part.*—With bk. iii., the *Araṇya-kāṇḍa* ('Forest Section'), we are introduced to the world of romance in which Rāma is constantly engaged in adventures and conflicts with fantastic creatures and demons of various kinds till the end of the poem. After the exiles have been living for some time in the Daṇḍaka forest, pious anchorites come to seek Rāma's protection against the *rākṣasas*, or demons, infesting the forest and terrorizing their hermitages. Rāma, having promised his aid, now enters upon a series of efforts to clear the forest of these monsters. Rāvaṇa's sister Śūrpanakhā, falling in love with Rāma, is rejected first by him and then by Lakṣmaṇa. To avenge the insult, she brings her brother Khara with 14,000 demons against Rāma, who, however, destroys them all together with their leader. She then hastens across the sea to the fabulous island of Laṅkā and complains to her brother, Rāvaṇa, its ten-headed ruler. The latter, filled with rage and bent on revenge, speeds through the air in his golden car to the forest. There he transforms one of his followers into a golden deer, which appears to Sītā and at her request is pursued by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. Meanwhile Rāvaṇa, disguised as an ascetic, approaches Sītā, seizes her, and carries her off by force in his chariot through the air. The vulture Jaṭāyu, an old friend of Daśaratha, attacks him on his flight and succeeds in shattering his car, but is finally slain. Rāvaṇa again seizes Sītā with his claws and carries her across the sea to his palace in Laṅkā. He shows her all its splendours and tries to persuade her to become his wife. She indignantly refuses and is finally confined in a cave guarded by female demons. Rāma returns from a fruitless chase only to find that his wife has vanished. Reduced to despair, he wanders southwards with Lakṣmaṇa in search of Sītā. They fall in with a headless demon, who advises Rāma to conclude an alliance with the monkey king Sugriva, who will help him to find his lost wife.

Bk. iv., called the *Kiṣkindhā-kāṇḍa* ('Kiṣkindhā Section'), describes the alliance concluded by Rāma with the monkeys for the purpose of recovering Sītā. At the lake Pampā they meet Sugriva, who tells them that he has been robbed of his wife and sovereignty, and expelled from his kingdom, by his brother Vālin. Rāma and Sugriva then form an alliance. At Kiṣkindhā, the capital of Vālin, a battle takes place in which Rāma slays Vālin. Among the councillors of Sugriva, who has now become king, the wisest and most trustworthy is Hanumān. He is accordingly entrusted with the task of finding Sītā, and, accompanied by a host of monkeys, proceeds southwards. After many adventures they fall in with Sampāti, a brother of the vulture Jaṭāyu, who tells them he has seen Rāvaṇa carrying off Sītā, and describes the position of Laṅkā. On reaching the coast the monkeys are filled with despair as to how they can cross the sea. Hanumān, who has proved his ability to leap farther than any of the rest, ascends Mount Mahendra and prepares to bound across the ocean.

Bk. v., which describes Hanumān's doings in Laṅkā, is called the *Sundara-kāṇḍa* ('Beautiful Section'), perhaps as especially attractive because it contains more fabulous stories than any of the other books. With a mighty spring from Mount Mahendra Hanumān rises in the air and after a flight of four days, during which he undergoes various adventures, he reaches Laṅkā. From a hill he first surveys the city, which looks almost impregnable. Then, reducing himself to a minute size, he enters Laṅkā after dark, and inspects the whole city—Rāvaṇa's palace, his marvellous aerial car, and the women's apartments. After a long search he at last discovers Sītā in a grove. He rouses her from her grief by the news that Rāma is coming to the rescue. Hanumān then returns as he came, reports to Rāma the success of his search, and gives him a message from Sītā.

Bk. vi., entitled the *Yuddha-kāṇḍa* ('Battle Section'), describes the great conflict between Rāma and Rāvaṇa. Sugriva having advised the building of a bridge from the mainland to Laṅkā, an attack on the island is arranged and the vast monkey army marches to the seashore. On the news of its approach Vibhīṣaṇa, Rāvaṇa's brother, counsels the surrender of Sītā. Repelled and insulted by Rāvaṇa, Vibhīṣaṇa flies across the sea, allies himself with Rāma, and advises him to seek the help of the god of the sea, with whose aid the monkeys build the bridge in the course of a few days. The city being now invested, Rāvaṇa's army sallies forth and a general battle, as well as many single combats, ensues. In one of the latter Rāvaṇa's son Indrajit is slain by Lakṣmaṇa. Enraged at this, Rāvaṇa appears on the scene and fights a duel lasting a day and a night with Rāma, till at last he falls pierced to the heart. Rāma then orders the funeral of the dead chief of the demons to be celebrated and appoints Vibhīṣaṇa to succeed him as king of Laṅkā. Summoning Sītā, he announces his victory, but rejects her in the presence of all the monkeys and the *rākṣasas*. Loudly lamenting Rāma's unjust suspicions, Sītā then throws herself into the flames of a funeral pyre, but the god Agni, raising her unhurt, hands her over to Rāma, assuring him that she has been faithful to him throughout her captivity. Rāma hereupon declares that he has never doubted her innocence, but has considered it necessary that her purity should be proved in the eyes of the people. Sītā now returns joyfully with Rāma to Ayodhyā, where he is consecrated king and reigns gloriously, inaugurating a new golden age for his subjects.

Bk. vii., called *Uttara-kāṇḍa* ('Last Section'), is, as we have seen, a late addition to the original poem. Only about one-third of it is concerned with Rāma and Sītā. It is here related that one day Rāma hears that the people are dissatisfied at his having taken back Sītā after she has so long been a captive of Rāvaṇa, because they thought this would have a bad influence on the women of the country. Unable to endure the reproach that he was setting a bad example to his subjects, he requests Lakṣmaṇa to take Sītā away and abandon her. Lakṣmaṇa, conducting her to the bank of the Ganges and explaining why Rāma has cast her off, leaves her there. The weeping Sītā at length finds her way to the hermitage of the sage Vālmiki, who entrusts her to the charge of the anchorite women living there. After some time Sītā bears the twin sons Kuśa and Lava in the hermitage. Many years pass by. The boys have grown up and become the pupils of Vālmiki, who takes them with him to attend a great horse-sacrifice undertaken by Rāma. The two boys are selected to recite the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which has been composed by him, and are listened to with rapture by the audience. Rāma, hearing that the two youthful bards are the sons of Sītā, requests Vālmīki to cause Sītā to purify herself by an oath. The sage brings her and solemnly declares that she is innocent and that the twins are the actual sons of Rāma. The latter admits that he is satisfied by Vālmīki's words, but nevertheless desires Sītā to clear herself by the ordeal of the oath. Then all the gods descend from

heaven, and Sītā prays that, as surely as she has not even thought of any other man than Rāma, the goddess Earth may open to receive her. Scarcely have the words been uttered when Mother Earth, rising from the ground, embraces Sītā and disappears with her in the depths. Rāma in vain implores the goddess to give Sītā back to him; but the god Brahmā appears and holds out the hope of Rāma's being again united with her in heaven. Soon after Rāma, making over the kingdom to his two sons, enters heaven and again becomes Viṣṇu.

As in the first book, the thread of this narrative is interrupted by many myths and legends which have no connexion with the story of Rāma. Such are the well-known tales about Yayāti and Nahuṣa, of the slaying of Vṛtra by Indra, of Urvaśī, beloved of the gods Mitra and Varuṇa, besides several others aiming at the glorification of the Brāhmans quite in the spirit of the latest parts of the *Mahābhārata*.

LITERATURE.—i. *TEXTS.*—Bengal recension, ed. G. Gorresio, Turin, 1843–67, Calcutta, 1859–60; Bombay recension, with three commentaries, 3 vols., Bombay, 1895, ed. K. P. Parab[2], do. 1902; W. Indian recension only in MSS (cf. Hans Wirtz, *Die westliche Rezension des Rāmāyaṇa*, Bonn, 1894).

ii. *TRANSLATIONS.*—English: by R. T. H. Griffith, Benares, 1874 (verse); M. N. Dutt, 7 vols., Calcutta, 1892–94 (prose); Romesh Dutt, *Ramayana: the Epic of Rama, rendered into English verse* (abridged tr.), London, 1900. Italian: by G. Gorresio, 5 vols., Paris, 1847–58. French: by H. Fauche, 9 vols., do. 1854–58 (worthless); A. Roussel, 3 vols., do. 1903–99 (sound). German: only highly condensed contents in verse, by F. Rückert, *Ramas Ruhm und Sitas Liebesleid*, Frankfort, 1868; bk. i. in prose by J. Menrad, Munich, 1897.

iii. *SUBJECT-MATTER.*—A. Weber, 'Ueber das Rāmāyaṇa,' in *ABAW*, 1870, pp. 1–88; H. Jacobi, *Das Rāmāyaṇa*, Bonn, 1893, also in *ZDMG* xlviii. [1894] 407 ff., li. [1897] 605 ff.; A. Ludwig, *Ueber das Rāmāyaṇa*, Prague, 1894; A. Baumgärtner, *Das Rāmāyaṇa, und die Rāmaliteratur der Inder*, Freiburg, 1894; J. C. Oman, *The Great Indian Epics: the Stories of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata*, London, 1894–99; C. V. Vaidya, *The Riddle of the Ramayana*, Bombay and London, 1906. Cf. E. W. Hopkins, *The Great Epic of India*, New York and London, 1901 (concerned primarily with the *Mahābhārata*, but containing much matter bearing on the *Rāmāyaṇa*, as ch., ii. 'Interrelation of the two Epics,' pp. 58–84, and Appendix A, 'Parallel Phrases in the two Epics,' pp. 403–446; see also Index, *s.v.* 'Rāmāyaṇa'); also Truman Michelson, 'Linguistic Archaisms of the Rāmāyaṇa,' *JAOS* xxv. [1904] 89–145.

A. A. MACDONELL.

RAM MOHAN RAY.—See BRĀHMA SAMĀJ.

RĀMOSHĪ.—The Rāmoshī, also called Nāik (Skr. *nāyaka*, 'leader'), a jungle tribe found in the Deccan and W. India, profess to derive their name from the demi-god, Rāma, who is said to have created them when on his way to Laṅkā to recover Sītā; others doubtfully connect the name with Skr. *aranyavāsin*, 'jungle dwellers.' At the census of 1911 they numbered 60,064, found in Bombay, with a small body in the Central Provinces and Berār.

Those in the Deccan appear to be an outlying branch of the Kanarese or Telugu tribe or group of tribes known under the general name of Bēḍar or Byāḍaru, hunters or woodmen.[1] The fact that the branch in Poona is divided into two groups, Chauhān and Yādava, names of leading Rājput septs, has been held to indicate an admixture of higher blood. Like their neighbours the Kolīs (see art. KOL, KOLARIAN), they were for a long time notorious on account of their disorderly and predatory habits. They supported the Marhāṭā leader, Śivajī, against the Muhammadans, and under British rule, as late as 1879, they committed outrages in Satārā and the neighbouring districts. In virtue of their traditional descent from Rāma, some of the tribes in Poona are called Rāmbhakt, 'worshippers of Rāma,' and are vegetarians. But more generally they have adopted Śiva in his form Khaṇḍobā as their tribal deity. He is represented riding on a horse with two women—a Vāṇī (or merchant-women), his wedded wife, and his Dhāngar (one of the jungle tribes) concubine behind him. As turmeric is a vegetable in which Khaṇḍobā is supposed to dwell, they swear by it, and no other oath is considered so binding. The oath ritual prescribes that the person swearing shall take a leaf of the *bel*-tree (*Ægle marmelos*) sacred to Śiva, a few grains of millet, and some turmeric powder which has been laid on the *liṅga*. The oath is recited with an imprecation against perjury, a little powder is eaten, and some is rubbed on the forehead. They also revere Kedārī, now regarded as a form of Śiva, the tutelary deity of the Purandhar fort in the Poona District, before whose image Raghūjī, one of their leaders, is said to have laid his turban, with an oath that he would never wear this head-dress until his tribe should be restored to the privileges of which they had been deprived by the Marhāṭas. Besides these they worship many local gods, Musalmān saints (*pīr*), the demon-leader Vetāla, who has many female spirits, or 'mothers,' in his train. The tomb of an Englishman in the neighbourhood of Poona is called by them Rāmdeval, 'Rāma's temple,' and is tended by an old Rāmoshī woman, who pours water over it, keeps a lamp burning, and allows no one who has eaten meat that day to visit the place.

Mackintosh remarks that both men and women had frequently to 'undergo the expiatory penance of the swinging ceremony, when the penitent is elevated to a considerable height and swung over a pole erected in front of the entrance of the temple, supported by a hook run through the skin and sinews of the back.'[1]

Indications of totemism are found in the badge, or crest (*devak*), which is generally some tree or a bunch of the leaves of several trees. Persons with the same crest are regarded as brothers and cannot intermarry, nor can they eat the fruit or use the tree in any way. They dread the spirits of the dead. At a funeral, on the way to the grave, the corpse is turned round and the bearers change places in order to baffle the spirit and prevent its return. As an additional precaution, heavy stones and thorns are placed in the grave. The same fear of the dead appears in the marriage rites. If a woman has lost three husbands in succession and wishes to marry a fourth, she holds a cock under her left arm, and the tribal priest marries her to the bird before she is joined to her new husband. The intention is that the vengeance of her former husbands may fall upon the bird. Their belief in amulets is shown by the story told of their noted leader, Dādjī. When he was brought to execution, it was impossible to behead him until he had made an incision in his arm and removed from his flesh a gem which he had inserted as a protective. Like other tribes in the same state of culture, they are much vexed by witches and sorcerers, and have a profound faith in omens.

LITERATURE.—The best account of the tribe is that by A. Mackintosh, *An Account of the Origin and Present Condition of the Tribe of Ramoossies, including the Life of the Chief Oomiah Naik*, Bombay, 1833; W. F. Sinclair, *IA* iii. [1874] 186 ff.; *BG* xviii. pt. i. [1885] 409 f., pt. iii. [1885] 34 ff., xvii. [1884] 209, xix. [1885] 108 f., xxi. [1884] 174 f., xxiv. [1886] 107; *Census of India, 1911*, vol. viii., *Bombay*, Bombay, 1912, pt. i. p. 300; *Bombay Ethnographical Survey*, monograph no. 138, do. 1909; M. Kennedy, *Notes on the Criminal Classes of the Bombay Presidency*, do. 1908, p. 143 ff.; R. V. Russell, *TC Central Provinces*, London, 1916, iv. 472 ff.

W. CROOKE.

RANTERS.—The term 'Ranters' was the nickname given to an antinomian movement—hardly cohesive enough to be properly called a sect—in the period of the English Commonwealth, appearing about 1644. The name is derived from the English verb 'to rant,' *i.e.* to talk in an extravagant, high-flown manner (cf. Shakespeare's phrase, 'I'll rant as well as thou' [*Hamlet*, v. i. 307]).

The Ranters constituted the somewhat chaotic 'left wing' of a serious attempt to work out in England in the 17th cent. a type of Christianity conformed to apostolic, primitive Christianity, free from what the leaders of this movement called 'the apostacy,' and loosely enough conjoined and

[1] E. Thurston *Castes and Tribes of S. India*, Madras, 1909, i. 180 ff.

[1] *Account*, p. 53.

organized to allow very wide individual liberty of thought and action. The central individualism of the movement tended to produce a great variety of groupings around prominent leaders, so that England at this epoch appeared to 'swarm with sects,' though the 'sects' were hardly more than marked variations of one general ground-swell movement. Ephraim Pagitt's description is vivid and well expresses the horror which the guardians of orthodoxy felt as this 'infection' swept over the country:

'The plague is of all diseases most infectious: I have lived among you almost a jubile, and have seen your great care and provision to keep the city from infection. The plague of heresy is greater, and you are now in more danger than when you buried five thousand a week. You have power to keep these heretics and sectaries from conventickling and sholing together to infect one another' (*Heresiography*, Dedication to the Lord Mayor).

Marsden very well reproduces the prevailing feeling among those who were contemporary with what Milton called the 'year of sects and schisms.'

'Absurd excesses of opinion now appeared, as exotics in a hotbed. The distractions of the times suspended the restraints of Church discipline; opinions monstrous and prodigious started up every day, and were broached with impunity in public and in private, and multitudes were led astray. The number of new sects, religious and political, with which England swarmed appears almost incredible. The sober Puritans were confounded. The state of England reminded them of the fabulous description of the sands of Libya, where scorching suns produce new monsters every year' (*Hist. of the Later Puritans*[2], p. 224).

All movements, such as this one, which express a deep popular striving to escape from the rigidity of old systems and to secure a large area of individual freedom tend to develop an extreme wing. Persons of unstable equilibrium are swept on by the contagion of the movement. Those who are abnormally responsive to suggestion are certain to be carried along with the movement. These psychopathic persons, lacking in perspective and balance, bring into strong light the dangers that are involved in complete religious liberty. The Ranters were largely composed of this type of person, and some of them were obviously insane.

The Ranters, so far as they can be differentiated from the general ferment of the time, show two marked characteristics: they were (1) pantheistic, and (2) antinomian. Masson says:

'Pantheism or the essential identity of God with the universe, and His indwelling in every creature, angelic, human, brute or inorganic, seems to have been the belief of most Ranters that could manage to rise to a metaphysics' (*Life of Milton*, v. 18).

Richard Baxter says of them:

'These also made it their Business . . . to set up the Light of Nature, under the name of *Christ in Men*, and to dishonour and cry down the Church, the Scripture, the present Ministry, and our Worship and Ordinances; and call'd Men to harken to Christ within them' (*Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, i. 76).

Joseph Salmon and Jacob Bauthumley may be taken as characteristic specimens of the leaders and exponents of the Ranter idea. Bauthumley (or Bottomley), who was called by George Fox 'a great ranter' (*Journal*, ed. N. Penney, i. 151), was the author of a pantheistical book with the title *The Light and Dark Sides of God* (London, 1650). The book opens in his best and sanest vein as follows:

'O God, what shall I say thou art, when thou canst not be named? What shall I speak of thee, when speaking of thee I speak nothing but contradiction? For if I say I see thee, it is nothing but thy seeing of thyself; for there is nothing in me capable of seeing but thyself. If I say I know thee there is no other but the knowledge of thyself, for I am rather known of thee than know thee. If I say I love thee it is nothing so, for there is nothing in me can love thee but thyself, and therefore thou dost but love thyself. My seeking thee is no other but thy seeking of thyself' (p. 1 f.).

On p. 77 he develops his extreme doctrine of the inward Light:

'It is not so safe to go to the Bible to see what others have spoken and writ of the mind of God as to see what God speaks within me and to follow the doctrine and leading of it in me.'

Joseph Salmon wrote *Heights in Depths, and Depths in Heights: or Truth no less Secretly than Sweetly, Sparkling out of its Glory* (London, 1651). This strange tract recounts in extravagant style the mystical experiences of the writer:

'I appeared to myselfe as one confounded into the abyss of eternitie, nonentitized into the being of beings, my soul split and emptied into the fountaine and ocean of divine fulness, expired into the aspires of pure life' (p. 13).

The tract is throughout a presentation of extreme pantheism. A tract entitled *The Smoke of the Bottomlesse Pit* (London, 1650–51), written by J. Holland Porter, who claims to be 'an eye and ear witness,' gives many details of the Ranters' views and their manner of life. All contemporary writers unite in the opinion that the Ranters were morally disordered in their way of living, and that they held antinomian views of conduct; *i.e.*, they were 'above' the usual moral distinctions of right and wrong. George Fox's *Journal* gives many concrete accounts of personal experiences with Ranters, and these accounts generally emphasize the two aspects under consideration—the pantheistical and the antinomian. In 1649 Fox went to visit a group of Ranters in prison in Coventry. He says:

'When I came into the jail, where the prisoners were, a great power of darkness struck at me, and I sat still, having my spirit gathered into the love of God. At last these prisoners began to rant, and vapour, and blaspheme, at which my soul was greatly grieved. They said they were God; but that we could not bear such things. When they were calm, I stood up and asked them whether they did such things by motion, or from Scripture; and they said, from Scripture. A Bible being at hand, I asked them to point out that Scripture; and they showed me the place where the sheet was let down to Peter, and it was said to him, what was sanctified he should not call common or unclean. When I had showed them that that Scripture proved nothing for their purpose, they brought another, which spoke of God's reconciling all things to himself, things in heaven, and things in earth. I told them I owned that Scripture also, but showed them that that was nothing to their purpose either. Then seeing they said they were God, I asked them, if they knew whether it would rain to-morrow? they said they could not tell. I told them, God could tell. Again, I asked them, if they thought they should be always in that condition, or should change? and they answered they could not tell. Then I said unto them, God can tell, and God doth not change. You say you are God; and yet you cannot tell whether you shall change or not' (*Journal*, bi-centenary ed., i. 47 f.).

Under date of 1654 Fox writes:

'During the time I was prisoner at Charing-Cross, there came abundance to see me. . . . Among those that came to see me, was one Colonel Packer, with several of his officers; and while they were with me, came in one Cobb, and a great company of Ranters with him. The Ranters began to call for drink and tobacco; but I desired them to forbear it in my room, telling them, if they had such a desire for it, they might go into another room. One of them cried, "all is ours"; and another said, "all is well"' (*ib.* i. 211 f.).

Richard Baxter's testimony almost certainly overstates the case against the Ranters, but, as it is the opinion of a high-minded contemporary, it must be given due weight. After presenting the views of the Ranters, he describes their manner of life:

'But withal, they conjoyned a Cursed Doctrine of *Liber tinism*, which brought them to all abominable filthiness of Life: They taught as the *Familists*, that God regardeth not the Actions of the Outward Man, but of the Heart; and that to the Pure all things are Pure (even things forbidden): And so as allowed by God, they spake most hideous Words of Blasphemy, and many of them committed Whoredoms commonly. . . . There could never Sect arise in the World, that was a lowder Warning to Professors of Religion to be *humble*, *fearful*, *cautelous*, and *watchful*. . . . But the horrid Villanies of this Sect did . . . speedily Extinguish it' (p. 76 f.).

The Ranters were vigorously dealt with by Acts of Parliament, and many of the extreme Ranters were severely punished for their views and for acts considered either blasphemous or immoral. The better element in the groups of Ranters were 'convinced' by the preaching of George Fox and became Quakers. The movement was checked, and gradually disappeared from public notice, though the antinomian tendency has at intervals continued to reappear sporadically both in England and in America.

LITERATURE.—The most important books for a study of the movement are the following: E. Pagitt, *Heresiography*, London, 1645; T. Edwards, *Gangræna*, do. 1646; L. Stuckley, *Gospel Looking-Glass*, do. 1667; R. Hickock, *A Testimony against the People called Ranters*, do. 1659; J. H. Porter, *The Smoke of the Bottomlesse Pit*, do. 1650–51; G. Roulston, *A Ranter's Bible*, do. 1650; J. Jackson, *A Sober Word to a Serious People*, do. 1651; G. Fox, *Journal*, 2 vols., ed. N. Penney, Cambridge, 1911, and bi-cent. ed., 2 vols., London, 1901; W. Penn, *The Spirit of Alexander the Coppersmith lately Revived*, do. 1673; R. Baxter, *Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, ed. M. Sylvester, do. 1696; S. Fisher, *Baby Baptism meer Babism*, do. 1653; R. Barclay, *The Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth*, do. 1876; R. M. Jones, *Studies in Mystical Religion*, do. 1909; D. Masson, *Life of Milton*, 6 vols., do. 1859–80; J. B. Marsden, *Hist. of the Later Puritans*[2], do. 1854; H. Weingarten, *Die Revolutionskirchen Englands*, Leipzig, 1868; T. Sippell, *William Dells Programm*, Tübingen, 1911.

RUFUS M. JONES.

RASHI.—This is the name familiarly applied to Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac; it is, indeed, derived from the Hebrew initials of his name. Some writers erroneously called him Jarchi (Yarhi), supposing that his name was connected with the city of Lunel (*yerah* = lune = moon). Rashi, however, was born in Troyes in 1040, and died in the same town in 1105. Like most of his contemporaries, Rashi did not derive any emoluments from his work as rabbi. He was among the many Jews of his epoch in France who engaged in viticulture. He was nevertheless an industrious student and author, and his works have won an enduring fame. No mediæval commentator is more studied in modern times. His exposition of the Pentateuch is still beloved of Jews, while his Commentary on the Talmud remains absolutely indispensable to the understanding of that work.

The first Hebrew book to be printed (of known date) is Rashi's Commentary on the Pentateuch (Reggio, Feb. 1475). Rashi expounded most of the Bible, but his repute now depends on his Pentateuch. In this Commentary he combined the newer grammatical method with the older Midrashic style, creating a harmony of unique charm. Nicholas de Lyra (1270–1340) familiarized Europe with Rashi's Biblical exegesis, and through de Lyra Luther carried on Rashi's influence into his German translation. A well-known line tells of Luther's indebtedness to de Lyra: 'Si Lyra non lyrasset, Lutherus non saltasset'; and Lyra, on his part, was much indebted to Rashi.

Rashi compiled *Responsa*, liturgical and other compendia, but apart from his Pentateuch he is best known for his great Commentary on the Talmud. He did much to settle the text, and added notes which for lucidity and brevity have few rivals. The Talmud is invariably read with Rashi by Jewish students, and all scholars are dependent, either directly or indirectly, on his interpretation. This has stood the test of time, and the numerous super-commentaries and annotations on Rashi have only brought out the supreme merits of his work.

LITERATURE.—L. Zunz, 'Salomon b. Isaac,' in *Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft des Judenthums*, 1823, pp. 277–384, Heb. tr., Lemberg, 1840; I. H. Weiss, 'Rabbenu Shelomoh b. Yizhak,' in *Bet-Talmud*, ii., nos. 2–10, reprinted in *Toledot Gedole Yisrael*, Vienna, 1882; M. Liber, *Rashi* (Jewish Worthies Series), tr. from French, London and Philadelphia, 1906, with bibliography, pp. 231–239.

I. ABRAHAMS.

RATIONALISM. — 1. **Definition.** — Rationalism, says A. W. Benn, means the hostile criticism of theological dogma, 'the mental habit of using reason for the destruction of religious belief.'

'Custom has ruled that the submission of belief to pure reason shall be called rationality in reference to every branch of natural knowledge, and rationalism only when it leads to the rejection of those supernaturalist beliefs with which religion has become identified.'[1]

J. B. Bury has the following:

'The uncompromising assertion by reason of her absolute rights throughout the whole domain of thought is termed *rationalism*, and the slight stigma which is still attached to the word reflects the bitterness of the struggle between reason and the forces arrayed against her. The term is limited to the field of theology, because it was in that field that the self-assertion of reason was most violently and pertinaciously opposed.'[1]

The usage involves us in obvious difficulties. An argument will or will not be rationalistic, not according to its intrinsic contents alone, but according to the intention of the user or to its effects upon the hearer—and indeed certain theses of geology or astronomy which have been classed as rationalistic in one century have in a later century been accepted by all parties. A further difficulty lies in the use of the word 'reason.' It would seem impossible to deny the right and the duty of good thinking, of the utmost use of intelligence, in every department of life. Even the appeals to revelation or to authority, to the usefulness of a certain belief, or to the needs and rights of feeling and action, are themselves appeals to our intelligent judgment for comprehension and sympathy. Thought can be criticized, on whatever grounds, only through thought.

The use of 'rationalism,' indeed, whether as a war-cry or as a term of reproach, is a use belonging to popular philosophy, and cannot be pressed with too much exactness. (Its more technical uses in the theory of knowledge are not considered here.)

On the whole, the usage is governed by two considerations. (1) An argument is rationalistic when it is directed against a belief which by many of its holders at any rate is counted a 'religious' belief. The person bringing the argument may or may not have a constructive philosophy of his own to maintain. He may be a monotheist attacking polytheism, or a deist criticizing the doctrine of the Trinity; he may be a materialist, or an agnostic, or none of these things; the 'rationalism' of his argument lies in its attack, in the name of sound thinking, on the particular shape of a particular religious system. Obviously such arguments, though anti-religious in one sense, may be used in the service of religion. A higher form of religious belief in conflict with a lower must sometimes use negative criticism as well as positive teaching. And a developing belief, trying to fit itself continually better to the facts of the soul and of the universe, must often use such criticism on itself.

(2) In its derogatory use, on the other hand, the name of 'rationalism' is specially applied to a certain kind of bad thinking—an unimaginative criticism from the outside. If a difficult idea has been crudely and imperfectly stated by those who have groped after it and only half attained it, the lower rationalism makes no attempt to reach it and to state it better, but fastens on the crudities of the accepted statement, is triumphant in showing the untenability of this as it stands, and therewith rejects the whole conception.

In rationalism in this sense 'reason holds off, as it were, from trying to comprehend what is most characteristic in religious experience. Instead of allowing the paradoxical nature of religious doctrines to be provocative to it and to stimulate it to further effort, the rationalistic understanding makes it a ground for declining to consider them further. Thus doctrines like those of the Trinity or of Original Sin in Christian theology are set aside because in arithmetic one and three are different numbers, and because the citizen of a civilized state will not accept responsibility for his ancestors' criminal acts. The question is not put, why such obvious contradictions to our ordinary ways of thinking have been entertained and considered of high importance. Or it is put, and the answer is suggested that we have here mere survivals of fanciful notions elsewhere discarded; and the further question is not raised, why they are not discarded here also; for it is plainly not because they have not been made the subject of close attention. The rationalistic criticism ought only to bring out the need of putting and answering such enquiries; but it may simply lead to the neglect of them as not worth pursuing.'[2]

[1] *Hist. of English Rationalism in the Nineteenth Century*, vol. i. pp. viii, 4, 6.

[1] *Hist. of Freedom of Thought*, p. 18.

[2] C. C. J. Webb, *Problems in the Relations of God and Man*, London, 1911, p. 72 f.

2. History.—There can scarcely have been a century or a country in the history of the world where rationalistic thoughts have not existed in some men's minds. For the Western world rationalism enters into history with the criticisms brought by Ionian philosophers against the popular mythology of Greece. Early Christian apologists attacked paganism on rationalistic grounds. In the Middle Ages the controversies among Christians and Jews and Muhammadans similarly had to be largely rationalistic. When men of one religion dispute with men of another, they can appeal only to the human intelligence which is common judge for both. After the Reformation, again, when Church opposed Church, or Church collided with State, reason was invoked by all parties.

In the development of Christian thought rationalistic contributors or opponents have stood sometimes outside the Christian Church and sometimes inside it. Of their arguments, drawn from philosophy, science, history, or the criticism of documents, some have fallen to the ground; others have had real effect in modifying or developing the doctrines grouped together under the general name of Christianity. For this, like every other system of living thought, has developed partly by taking up criticisms into itself, and it is almost inevitable that disputes should arise in each generation as to the amount of new modification that can be allowed if the system is still to retain the name of Christian.

It is not possible to write the history of rationalism as one would write the history of a religion or a science, or that of a nation. The story of England can show a continuous line of movement; it is complex but unified; whereas the story of 'attacks on England' will have disconnected factors of the most various kinds. A religion has unity and definite movement, but the series of criticisms brought against that religion may have little of either. Some slender thread of historical development must, indeed, run through it, appearing and disappearing, since to some extent the criticism must follow the movement of religious thought—changes in this either giving rise to new forms of attack or abolishing old forms. Or, again, the story of rationalism may exhibit fragments of many histories, because some part of the negative criticism in any generation may be the cutting edge of a single positive, brought forward by a rival religion, or by a school of philosophy or science, whose own development makes a true history.

All these features appear in the rationalism of the last hundred years in Europe. The first point hardly needs illustration—new developments in religion are sure to call out opposition and therefore argument, not only from those who stand outside the religion, but still more from conservative supporters of the religion itself, and from followers of rival movements within it. The second event—the supersession of an important criticism by a change in the doctrine criticized—is a good deal rarer, but has occurred more than once even in the last hundred years. Historical examination of Biblical documents had been practised ever since Spinoza, but 19th cent. studies gave it impetus enough to take irresistible effect, and the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch (at any rate) is probably no longer a 'religious opinion' in most circles. The idea of a gradual formation of the world and its inhabitants is a good deal older than Darwin, but, since it was taken up into the form that he gave it, the ordinary religious belief of educated persons has gradually ceased to include a six days' creation. For the third point—the exhibition of fragments of other histories—the illustrations just given would still serve, since they belong not only to the history of religious opinion but also to that of the study of documents and of natural science. Or we might select another fragment: part of rationalist argument in the last four generations has been the cutting edge of a change in the science of collective psychology, and this has turned not only against certain religious doctrines but against some older criticisms of them. D. F. Strauss, *e.g.*, offers his 'mythical' account of the Resurrection deliberately as superseding older explanations, such as the suggestion that the disciples stole the body of Jesus for the sake of their own ambition and self-interest, or the other suggestion (which Strauss calls specially 'rationalist') that Jesus recovered consciousness after a deep swoon but was never able thenceforth to persuade his disciples that he was not a being from another world.[1] We are probably safe in saying that these explanations have indeed been superseded by the growth of a psychological school in which Strauss may stand as one of the pioneers.

Nevertheless, it is impossible to arrange individual rationalists in a clear order of historical development. The threads cross too much. Opinions and criticisms which are obsolete in some circles are not obsolete in others. Different men may use the same argument in the interests of the most diverse schools of thought; and few men can be fairly described as if they were specialists of a single argument. What Renan says of himself is true of most—that their doubts arose not from one train of reasoning but from ten thousand.

Renan's own difficulties, indeed, were comparatively specialized, numerous as they were:

'If I could have believed that theology and the Bible were true, none of the doctrines . . . would have given me any trouble. My reasons were entirely of a philological and critical order; not in the least of a metaphysical, political, or moral kind. These orders of ideas seemed scarcely tangible or capable of being applied in any sense. But the question as to whether there are contradictions between the Fourth Gospel and the synoptics is one which there can be no difficulty in grasping. I can see these contradictions with such absolute clearness that I would stake my life, and, consequently, my eternal salvation, upon their reality without a moment's hesitation.'[2]

A clearer example than Renan's of doubts arising from ten thousand trains of reasoning may be found in one who, like Renan, started from the most devout and orthodox standpoint of his time and country, and only gradually and reluctantly came to oppose what he used to believe. This was **Francis William Newman**, younger brother of Cardinal Newman. In *Phases of Faith, or Passages from the History of my Creed* (London, 1850), he describes his evangelical upbringing and youthful belief, then his testing of various points by his Bible reading. In one matter after another—the Sabbath, the Mosaic Law, infant baptism, episcopacy, the Lord's return—he found discords between the teaching of the NT and what he had been taught himself. Persisting, as a lay missionary in Persia, in trying to read the Gospels with fresh eyes, he found the Fourth Gospel clash with the Athanasian Creed, and returned to England to find himself cast off by his friends as a heretic. He moved next, on grounds of moral criticism, to the rejection of eternal punishment, original sin, and the vicarious suffering of Christ. He had already begun to discern that it was impossible with perfect honesty to defend 'every tittle contained in the Bible,' and further study forced him to conclude that the assumed infallibility of the entire Scripture was a proved falsity, not merely as to physiology and other scientific matters, but also as to morals. Finally, the NT miracles became a burden to the doctrine instead of a support. Miracles were irrelevant as a means of proving the goodness and veracity either of the person who

[1] *Der alte und der neue Glaube*, Bonn, 1874, sect. 15.
[2] *Recollections of my Youth*, Eng. tr.[3], London, 1897, 'The St. Sulpice Seminary,' pt. iii. p. 260.

worked them or of God; and the kind of evidence on which the NT writers accepted them was definitely inadequate for a modern mind.

Newman claimed that what was left to him in the end was still the essential part of religion—the heart's belief in the sympathy of God with individual man. What Renan kept was not theology, but the sympathy of a scholar, a poet, and an Eastern traveller with the persons who founded Christianity. His *Vie de Jésus* (Paris, 1863) was not intended as a scientific work either for historians or for theologians, but was simply a poetic retracing, in the clearest and the tenderest colours at his command, of a picture which religious tradition had veiled, he thought, from many readers.

A very different book on the same subject was published almost immediately afterwards—**D. F. Strauss's** *Leben Jesu für das deutsche Volk* (Leipzig, 1864). His more famous *Leben Jesu* had appeared nearly thirty years before. The purpose in these books is not to paint a picture, but to re-interpret the growth of a doctrine. Stories of miracles arise for the most part, the author urges, not by any one's deliberate invention, but out of the unconscious imagination of a community. As with ancient myths, the fact is created by the idea, the legend grows of itself. Interpretation on this line was not new as regards the OT, but Strauss was the first to apply it with anything like such thoroughness to the narratives in the Gospels. His view in 1835 was that very few of these were newly created myths; most were based on OT legends and pictures, transferred, between the Exile and the birth of Jesus, to the person of the expected Messiah. The Messiah must be transfigured like Moses, must multiply food and raise the dead like Elijah and Elisha, must perform works of healing because Isaiah had said that in His day the eyes of the blind and the ears of the deaf should be opened. In 1864 Strauss left much more room for the growth of legend within Christian circles, reflecting the growth of Christian experience and thought, and laid less stress on the OT correspondences. It was far easier of course to apply interpretation by myth to the Gospels, if once it had been admitted that none of these was the work of an eye-witness; and Strauss, though not himself a professional critic of documents, had studied most attentively the contemporary work of F. C. Baur and others. His sketch of the doings and the personality of Jesus is less vivid and definite than Renan's, largely because of his scrupulousness in evaluating the sources and confining himself to what he thought to be proved facts.

While Strauss worked at re-stating the history of the Christian form of religion, his contemporary, **L. A. Feuerbach**, in *Das Wesen des Christentums* (Leipzig, 1841), re-stated its philosophy. The universal reason of the human race operates on an uncultured man only under the image of a personal being. He must separate from himself the element in his own nature which gives him moral laws, and place it in opposition to himself; thus we have the picture of a personal God. Yet, if God were really a different being from myself, why should His perfection trouble me? God is the latent and the ideal human nature, the truth of man; to doubt of Him is to doubt of myself. Our gods are strong first, because physical strength is the first thing we count as glorious; then they are majestic and serene; finally, God loves and suffers, because we have come to see that feeling is absolute, divine in its nature. 'God loves man' is an Oriental expression of the truth, 'The highest conceivable is the love of man.' Not the attribute of the divinity, but the divineness or deity of the attribute, is the first true Divine Being. When this projected image of human nature is made an object of theology, it becomes an inexhaustible mine of falsehoods. The foundation of religion is man's feeling of the sacredness of man and nature; the result of religion too often is that he sacrifices man and nature to his God.

In the line of Strauss and of Feuerbach, whether consciously or not, stand several living writers, including in France **Emile Durkheim** (*Les Formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse*, Paris, 1912) and **L. Lévy-Bruhl** (*Les Fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures*, do. 1910) and in England **F. M. Cornford** (*From Religion to Philosophy*, London, 1912) and **Jane E. Harrison** (*Ancient Art and Ritual*, do. 1911, *Themis*, Cambridge, 1912, *Alpha and Omega*, London, 1915). For these writers the beginning and the foundation of religion is the 'collective consciousness' of a group, dominating the primitive individual as an irresistible pressure from outside, and answering to itself as the voice of conscience within. He 'projects' it first in the figure of a totem animal or plant, later in other figures which grow out of primitive ritual. All such projections are embodiments of collective emotion, desire, and law. High emotional tension is caused and maintained for a savage only by a thing felt socially; the group-consciousness in tension then makes a picture of itself, which takes finally the form of a god. The mystery-god is both human and dæmonic, re-created at every celebration of his central rite, in the collective emotion of his congregation. Such a scheme provides the appropriate setting for figures half-human and half-divine—actual living prophets who during their lives or after their deaths become the dæmons of religious societies. Group-action and group-emotion, not their formulation in any theology, make the essence of religion.

In this line of writers we certainly find a section of real history of rationalism. How far we judge them to have succeeded in interpreting the facts of religion will probably depend on our opinion, and on our estimate of these writers' opinion, of the reality of the concrete universal. In the common Spirit within us, and in the divinity of the attribute, have we something which merely deludes us into forming a religion, or have we something of which the highest language of religion is really true?

There remain some typical or outstanding figures in 19th cent. rationalism which stand apart from those already described. **F. K. C. L. Büchner** (*Kraft und Stoff*, Leipzig, 1855) is not so much a landmark as a type recurrent in every century, though the special forms of the arguments change. He attacks the idea of the creation of the world; for no force can exist except as a property of matter; and matter itself can never be either produced or annihilated. Writing five years before the appearance of *The Origin of Species*, Büchner claims it as highly probable, even certain, that life may be spontaneously generated out of the non-living, and that higher forms of life have been slowly developed by a natural process out of lower forms. No soul can exist without brain; the experimenter's knife cuts off the soul piecemeal. It would be waste of words to try to prove the impossibility of a miracle. No educated, much less a scientific, person, who is convinced of the immutable order of things, can nowadays believe in miracles. There exist no supersensual or supernatural things, and no supersensual capacities; and they can never exist, as the eternal conformity of the laws of nature would thereby be suspended. Having laid down these metaphysical doctrines, Büchner adds that there is no such thing as meta-

physics, and that all metaphysical systems come to nothing and lose themselves in an unintelligible play of words. All our knowledge is relative; we can have no knowledge and no conception of the Absolute—of that which transcends the sensual world.

Büchner ends with agnosticism, though he does not begin with it. The name 'agnostic' was originated by Huxley, but popularized by **Leslie Stephen**, whose *Agnostic's Apology* was first published in the *Fortnightly Review* for June 1876. Dogmatic atheism, he holds, is a rare opinion, but agnosticism is increasing. The agnostic asserts that there are limits to the sphere of human intelligence, and that theology is 'metempirical' knowledge which lies outside these limits. In the whole history of the race no agreement on theological questions has ever been attained. In matters that are still involved in endless and hopeless controversy ignorance is no shame, but a duty. Many of the Christian doctrines have created far more numerous and far more horrible difficulties than those which they profess to remove. It is better to admit openly that man knows nothing of the Infinite and Absolute, that the ancient secret is a secret still.

Agnosticism is metaphysics binding her own hands, and constructive criticism of religious doctrine will not come from this quarter. A different position belongs to philosophical workers whose negative criticisms are incidental, though necessary, in their own constructive thought. Such, among living writers, is **J. M. E. McTaggart** (*Some Dogmas of Religion*, London, 1906). The subjects of religious discussion, he says, are the most important and the most practical in the world. Religion rests on a conviction of the harmony of ourselves with the universe, and nothing but exact metaphysics can justify us in holding this conviction. We are not justified in believing any dogma because all, or most, people believe it; nor because it is held by people who can work miracles; nor because of its importance for our happiness. Nor could observation without metaphysics ever give it sufficient support.

McTaggart's negative criticism is directed chiefly against certain conceptions of the Deity. If God is strictly omnipotent, He cannot be good, for He has permitted evil when He need not have permitted it. It is said that He could not secure the benefits of human free will without also permitting the evil of sin, but there is nothing that an omnipotent being cannot do. When believers in God save His goodness by saying that He is not really omnipotent, they are taking the best course open to them; but then they must accept the consequences of their choice, and realize that the efforts of a non-omnipotent God in favour of good may, for anything they have yet shown, be doomed to almost total defeat. Again, suppose God not to be omnipotent—can He be creative and still be good? A creator has nothing but his own nature to determine him, and, if a being who is completely self-determined produces evil, knowing that it is evil, how can we say that such a being is not wicked? Could there be a God, perhaps, who was neither omnipotent nor creative, but just a person more wise, good, and powerful than any other? He might be well deserving of worship, and might dominate the universe as much as an efficient schoolmaster dominates his school. It is a possible theory, though not an established one.

But, McTaggart asks, does religion require the existence of a personal God at all? Suppose our metaphysics led us to believe that the universe consisted, not of matter, but of a harmonious system of selves. Then the directing mind of a God, though not disproved, would not be needed in any way to account for the traces of order in the universe.

'The non-existence of God would leave it as possible as it was before that love should be the central fact of all reality. . . . Whether the friends whom all men may find could compensate for the friend whom some men thought they had found is a question for each man to answer. It is a question which can never be answered permanently in the negative while there is still a future before us' (p. 290).

'If we want to know the truth . . . we must have faith in the conclusions of our reason, even when they seem . . . too good or too bad to be true. Such faith has a better claim to abide with hope and love than the faith which consists in believing without reasons for belief. It is this faith, surely, which is sought in the prayer, "Suffer us not for any pains of death to fall from thee." And for those who do not pray there remains the resolve that, as far as their strength may prevail, neither the pains of death nor the pains of life shall drive them to any comfort in that which they hold to be false, or drive them from any comfort in that which they hold to be true' (p. 75).

LITERATURE.—For all except the most recent years **A. W. Benn**, *Hist. of English Rationalism in the Nineteenth Century*, 2 vols., London, 1906, covers the ground and gives a great number of references. A smaller book is **J. B. Bury**, *A Hist. of Freedom of Thought*, do. 1913. Brilliant work within its own limits is to be found in **O. Pfleiderer**, *The Development of Theology in Germany since Kant, and in Great Britain since 1825*, Eng. tr., do. 1890.

HELEN WODEHOUSE.

REALISM AND NOMINALISM.—1. Ancient and mediæval.—Although these terms are most properly used only of mediæval schools of philosophy, the disputes of the Middle Ages were prepared by the division already existing in the fragments of Greek philosophy which they inherited. Plato was known as a realist, and Aristotle was usually believed to be opposed to him—in spite of the fact that after Thomas Aquinas 'Aristotle' meant a synthesis of realism and its opposite. We may judge from the first statement of metaphysics which we now possess, the Platonic dialogues, that the forms (ideas) had been accepted as the explanation of the likeness between objects or individuals, before Plato wrote.[1] This meant that the data of experience were (1) individuals, objects, or things, and (2) certain other realities called 'forms' (εἶδη, ἰδέαι) with peculiar relations to the individuals. The relation was sometimes said to be participation or copying; and it was implied in the Platonic school that the individuals were in some sense less real than, or dependent upon, the forms. Aristotle seems to have objected that this was only to add a new kind of individual existence to what was obvious; and his argument was perhaps intended to prove that individuals were ultimately real; but the result was that he appeared to make the forms less real than, or dependent upon, the individuals.

At the very beginning of mediæval thought (cf. art. SCHOLASTICISM) Scotus Erigena[2] attempted to reduce to logical coherence the confusion of semi-philosophical statements, primitive science, and popular superstition, which was known as *catholica fides*. But the guide that he took was the obscure Neo-Platonism of the pseudo-Dionysius. In accordance with this, he established a form of realism. Being, the most general of all likenesses or forms, was said to be the ultimately real, and we departed more and more from reality in approaching the objects of sensation. The theological results we need not discuss; on the philosophical side, realism implied that what is usually called 'abstraction' is the correct method for the study of the real world to the subordination, if not the exclusion, of sense-perception, and therefore the real was contrasted with the apparent. The result was a form of mysticism in which all exact knowledge seemed to be useless.

Against this nominalism was a revolt. Aristotle had said that 'things [*res* = realities] cannot appear

[1] Cf. A. E. Taylor, *Varia Socratica*, ser. i., Oxford, 1911; J. Burnet, *Greek Philosophy*, pt. i., 'Thales to Plato,' London, 1914.

[2] *De Divisione Naturæ*.

as predicates,' and the conclusion was made that universals, or the likenesses between things, were not *res*. But, since the word *res* seemed to mean what we now mean by 'reality,' the nominalists were charged with saying that universals were mere words or *flatus vocis*. Unfortunately we know the early nominalists only from their opponents. It is, however, quite possible that they were attempting to turn philosophical attention towards the individual objects of perception. Abelard (*q.v.*), the first great mediæval thinker, easily showed, on the other hand, that the classification of things as like, one to the other, cannot be due to the caprice of the perceiver and must therefore have a ground in the things. It is probably unhistorical to make Abelard a pure conceptualist or to suppose that he had a theory of forms of the mind or categories due to the structure of mind. It is difficult to be historically just to the early mediæval thinkers. They were probably even more simple and primitive than their words seem to imply. The great step onwards came with the introduction of more works of Aristotle; and Thomas Aquinas (*q.v.*) easily dominated the current of thought. He was a realist in the sense that, although he held the individual to be ultimately and irreducibly real, he maintained that universals are objective (in the mediæval language, 'subjective') and are 'in the things' (*universalia in rebus*). Duns Scotus, the great opponent of Aquinas in other issues, in this did not differ very much from him, although he preferred 'thisness' (*hicceitas*) to the 'principle of individuality' (*principium individuationis*) as the explanation of the individual. It is to be noted, however, that both seem to hold the individual object of perception to be a composite, made up of universals (likenesses, etc.) with some individuating element added. Realism, thus modified, was triumphant. It was conclusive in showing that classification was not arbitrary, and that objects or individuals were like one another quite independently of the perceiver. But it had in it the seed of its own destruction in the mistaken Aristotelian attempt to secure the universal by making it a component part of the object of perception.

The last stage of the mediæval controversy was reached by William of Ockham (see art. SCHOLASTICISM), who to the mind of his time completely destroyed the realism of Aquinas and Scotus. His most effective argument was directed against the *principium individuationis* of his predecessors. He showed that this ultimate difference was nothing else than the individual itself; and, asserting that the individual needed no explanation, he turned upon the universals of the realists. He showed that they did not exist *in re* and the alternative, as he phrased it, was that they existed *in mente*. Probably Ockham was not clear as to what he meant; but he certainly did not mean that universals are fictions or even 'the work of the mind'; for he expressly dismisses that theory. At this stage the controversy was displaced from its mediæval prominence; but, being still logically implied in every new metaphysical theory, it was handed on through the Renaissance to modern philosophers. The accepted view was generally what Ockham had left it. The individual objects of perception were real and the source of all our knowledge; and the likenesses between them were mental or conceptual. There was still the implication that such likenesses were due to the structure or activities of the perceiving mind; but the attention to sense-perception for which Ockham's nominalism stood combined readily with the new interest in physical science. Thus Ockham was opposed to mediæval realism, according to which universals were *actual*, but he is the precursor of modern realism in giving them conceptual (objective) existence and in refusing to suppose the thing to be made up of its qualities.

It is not quite fair to the earlier modern philosophers to class them as realists and nominalists; for this particular issue was never faced in the same terms after the Renaissance. The two tendencies, however, continued, and conceptualism (*q.v.*) was developed as a theory that the objects of perception were what they were because of the perceiving mind. This theory in Berkeley and Hume (*qq.v.*) seems to have implied that there was a certain human arbitrariness in classing things as like, one to another. The elaborate study of mental process added to the philosophical prejudices which implied that we never observe the thing 'itself'; and then with Hegel (*q.v.*) the whole of what the plain man regards as the world was supposed to be an emanation from percipient mind. The result was to make of exact science only a study of mental process or its effects; and realism was driven from the field.

C. DELISLE BURNS.

2. Realism in modern thought.—Modern realism differs from its earlier connotation largely owing to this displacement of the centre of interest from ontology to epistemology; it is a doctrine concerning the relation between cognition and the thing known. In its simplest form as the naive realism of the unphilosophical man it holds that the subject has immediate knowledge of the external world, that things are what they seem, and that they are independent of being known. The view that things are what they appear as, taken apart from the further supposition of independence, is variously called 'epistemological monism,' 'the theory of immanence,' and 'phenomenalism.' The last term is a survival from, and represents the antithesis of, an earlier meaning of the 'real' as contrasted with appearance. In this sense the real is that of which something is known, not what it is known as. The 'natural realism' of the Scottish school was of this 'substance' type,[1] and arose as a protest against the 'theory of ideas' of Berkeley and Hume (see art. SCOTTISH PHILOSOPHY). Cartesian dualism had asserted that we can have experience only of 'ideas' which merely represent external objects, and led to a subjectivism which Reid was anxious to avoid. He argued that, since the qualities of a body do not themselves constitute the body, there can be no question of their remaining mere ideas through the uncertainty of the existence of the underlying body. This argument as against ideas is curious; for, in sharply distinguishing between a body and its qualities, the possibility is introduced that in all cognition what is known is never the object itself but only an idea representing that object. And it was precisely this dualism in knowledge that Reid wished to avoid;[2] indeed he claims, but nowhere substantiates, that cognition is immediate. In fact epistemological dualism is born of the belief that propositions about things are of the subject-predicate form (cf. below, § 3), and leads naturally, as in Hamilton and Spencer, to agnosticism regarding the 'real' object—thus being fatal to all naturalisms of substance. It remains to be shown how the epistemological monism part of naive realism came to be recognized as expressing a relational view of cognition.

Shadworth H. Hodgson, the forerunner with L. T. Hobhouse[3] of English 'new realism,' sought in his 'subjective analysis of what is actually experienced'[4] to reach the reality of objects in

[1] Reid, 'On the Intellectual Powers,' in *Works*[2], ed. Sir W. Hamilton, Edinburgh, 1849, p. 232.
[2] 'Inquiry into the Human Mind,' in *Works*[2], p. 106*a*.
[3] *The Theory of Knowledge*, London, 1896.
[4] *The Metaphysic of Experience*, London, 1898, i. 18 f.

'face to face perception.' A thing is what it is known as[1]—a reality independent of the existence of a perceiving consciousness. Now, Berkeley himself had escaped from the difficulties of epistemological dualism by denying it; and it was therefore of vital importance for realism to distinguish between his monism and his subjectivism so as to be able to avoid the latter and to assert independence. That is why 'The Refutation of Idealism' by G. E. Moore[2] cleared the way for future realist construction. Moore contends that a sensation is in reality a case of knowing or being aware of something. Therefore, when we know that the sensation of blue exists, the fact which we know is that there is awareness of blue. On analysis the 'sensation of blue' is thus seen to include, besides 'blue,' both a unique element, awareness, and a unique relation of this element to blue. From this it follows that, when we know that the sensation of blue exists, we know blue—*i.e.*, we are already outside the subjectivist's circle of his own ideas and sensations. This distinction between sensation and sense-data thus forms a step towards the generalized argument against subjectivism,[3] basing itself on the externality of relations—a doctrine supported by the success of modern logic, since it merely expresses the justification of logical analysis.[4] New realist adherence to analysis[5] is exemplified in the significant attempt of the 'platform' realists,[6] E. B. Holt, W. T. Marvin, W. P. Montague, R. B. Perry, W. B. Pitkin, and E. G. Spaulding, at what Russell called, in welcoming their appearance, the 'patient co-operative accumulation of results by which the triumphs of science have been achieved.'[7] Perry[8] believes that realism is further strengthened by the possibility of showing that critical naturalism 'gives to being in the last analysis a logical rather than a physical character.'[9] But 'logical atomism,' the search for 'piecemeal, detailed, verifiable results,'[10] renders it difficult to give any adequate summary, in the crude unanalyzed language of common discourse, of the positions gained, such as the according of full ontological status to logical entities (not only particulars but also universals are real) or the acceptance of Kant's contention that, if any knowledge is possible, mathematical and logical knowledge is,[11] without acknowledging the priority of epistemology.[12]

There is one important difference between, speaking roughly, American and English new realists; and this is due largely to William James, who has been to the one school what Hodgson was to the other. In his *Essays in Radical Empiricism* (London, 1912) James approved of the view that things are what they are known as (p. 27), but insisted that they need not be known in order to be (p. 26). The divergence comes when he urges that there is no specific character of mental things, the difference between mental and physical being one of context and arrangement (*ib.* p. 25). The origin of this lies far back in Hume's application of the argument from the ego-centric predicament to the subject as object. Thus, *if subjectivism is assumed*, we reach the radical phenomenalist world of neutral elements in momentary being at the instant of perception. The further step of giving these elements independent existence apart from perception Hume mentioned[1] only to reject it because he thought that the so-called illusions of sense proved the dependence of ideas on the structure of our organs. But, on Hume's initial assumption, our organs have no permanent structure; they exist when somebody perceives them and not otherwise.[2] If we now retrace our steps, we have the following results: (1) since the argument based on relativity to sense-organs is inoperative, Hume's tentative step of assuming independence for the elements becomes a possible one; but (2) we were led to the necessity for this step by the difficulty of knowing the subject as object, which (3) arises only if subjectivism is assumed, and this (4) has been refuted by Moore. Now American realists believe that they can retrace step (1) without retreating farther, and so find themselves in James's position of neutral epistemological monism *plus* independence. The argument against this, elaborated above, applies equally to the phenomenalistic naturalisms of Clifford, Karl Pearson, Ernst Mach, and Avenarius.[3]

A detailed analysis of neutral monism is given by Russell.[4] Some important consequences follow from the theory; *e.g.*, a mind which had only one experience would be a logical impossibility, since, according to it, a thing is mental in virtue of its external relations—a view which places the important realist claim of independence at the mercy of a thoroughgoing relativist like N. Wiener.[5] Furthermore, neutral monism unduly assimilates belief or judgment to sensation and presentation, thus leading to the view of error as belief in the unreal, and so to the admission of unreal things.[6] The problem of error must, however, be disentangled from that of 'sense-illusion.' The more complete avoidance of subjectivism by the English realists makes this easier, and renders the question of secondary qualities much more amenable. The objects of acquaintance cannot be illusory or unreal;[7] so, when a hot metal touches a cold spot on the skin, the 'coldness' is objective.[8] Though sensations are functions of the sense organs and the nervous system, this is not primitive knowledge and cannot form part of the epis-

[1] *Mind*, new ser., vi. [1897] 235.

[2] *Mind*, new ser., xii. [1903] 433; cf. 'The Nature and Reality of Objects of Perception,' *Proc. Arist. Soc.*, new ser., vi. [1905–06]; for a realist theory of value see his *Principia Ethica*, Cambridge, 1903.

[3] Cf. Bertrand Russell, *Proc. Arist. Soc.*, new ser., vii. [1906–07] 37; also 'Meinong's Theory of Complexes and Assumptions (III),' *Mind*, new ser., xiii. [1904] 513.

[4] On external relations see Russell, *Philosophical Essays*, London, 1910, p. 160; K. Costelloe, *Proc. Arist. Soc.*, new ser., xv. [1914–15] 271; the six American 'programmists,' *The New Realism*, New York, 1912, p. 33; E. G. Spaulding, *ib.* p. 155; R. B. Perry, *ib.* p. 99, and *Present Philosophical Tendencies*, New York, 1912, p. 319.

[5] Cf. Russell, *Scientific Method in Philosophy*, Herbert Spencer Lecture, London, 1914, p. 4.

[6] *Journ. of Phil.* vii. [1910] 393. [7] *Ib.* viii. [1911] 161.

[8] *Present Philosophical Tendencies*, p. 83.

[9] Cf., however, C. D. Broad's acute critique of anti-realist thought in *Perception, Physics, and Reality: An Enquiry into the Information that Physical Science can supply about the Real*, Cambridge, 1914. In this work it is shown by detailed analysis how much more must be assumed than is generally believed before even the naivest realism can be overthrown. Broad differs from Russell in clinging to the physical object as well as to sense-data and sensation; but in his discussion of Russell's present view of 'things' as series of aspects in *Proc. Arist. Soc.*, new ser., xv. [1914–15] 250, a partial reconciliation seems indicated.

[10] Russell, *Our Knowledge of the External World as a Field for Scientific Method in Philosophy*, Chicago and London, 1914, p. 4.

[11] See *ERE* vii. 656[b].

[12] Russell, *The Problems of Philosophy*, London, 1912; Marvin, in *The New Realism*, p. 45.

[1] *Treatise of Human Nature*, ed. L. A. Selby-Bigge, Oxford, 1888, p. 207.

[2] Broad, p. 165.

[3] We may note that S. Alexander holds that Berkeley in some passages avoids the confusion of mental act and what it is about (the confusion which gives rise to subjectivism), and regards sensible things as independent presentations ('The Basis of Realism,' *British Academy*, vi. [1914]; cf. also J. Laird, 'Berkeley's Realism,' *Mind*, new ser., xxv. [1916] 308).

[4] 'On the Nature of Acquaintance,' *Monist*, xxiv. [1914] 1, 161, 435.

[5] *Journ. of Phil.* xi. [1914] 561.

[6] Russell, *Monist*, xxiv. [1914] 174 *f.*; for a criticism of Russell's theory of judgment see G. F. Stout, *Proc. Arist. Soc.*, new ser., xv. [1914–15] 332.

[7] Russell, 'Definitions and Methodological Principles in Theory of Knowledge,' *Monist*, xxiv. [1914] 586.

[8] S. Alexander, *Mind*, new ser., xxi. [1912] 18, 'On Sensations and Images,' *Proc. Arist. Soc.*, new ser., x. [1909–10] 16.

temological premisses of epistemology.[1] Furthermore, the difficulty of colours occupying the same place at the same time has been resolved. T. P. Nunn[2] concluded that a wider idea of 'thing' must be constructed. The necessary logical work has been accomplished by Bertrand Russell, who showed that the difficulty over the phrase 'in the same place' arose from a too simple and unambiguous conception of space.[3]

It is obvious that much remains to be done; in the words of a keen critic of realism, 'the new philosophy is not out of the wood, but it has cleared hopeful paths in it.'[4] A. E. HEATH.

3. Modern logic and realism.—A stimulus to philosophical realism came through modern logical analysis of mathematics and mathematical advances in theories of infinity and continuity (cf. art. CONTINUITY, vol. iv. pp. 96–98).

The traditional logic of Aristotle and the Schoolmen was principally a collection of rules of syllogistic inference, and propositions were analyzed into attributing of predicates to subjects. Leibniz, indeed, perceived that there could be valid asyllogistic inferences, such as 'Jesus Christ is God, therefore the mother of Jesus Christ is the mother of God,' and 'If David is the father of Solomon, without doubt Solomon is the son of David.'[5] The logic of relations which was indicated by Leibniz was cultivated with not much success by Johann Heinrich Lambert,[6] and with great success in the middle of the 19th cent. by Augustus de Morgan. In this respect de Morgan's work was on quite different lines from that of George Boole, whose symbolism for logic was ultimately based on the Aristotelian logic. De Morgan's work was published in the *Transactions of the Cambridge Philosophical Society* from 1850 to 1865 and in his *Syllabus of a Proposed System of Logic* (London, 1860). This part of de Morgan's work may be shortly indicated by saying that it was a successful attempt to fulfil a certain recommendation expressed by Sir William Hamilton:

'Whatever is operative in thought must be taken into account and consequently be overtly expressible in logic; for logic must be, as to be it professes, an unexclusive reflex of thought, and not merely an arbitrary selection—a series of elegant extracts—out of the forms of thinking.'[7]

But modern logic proper may be said to begin with the work of Gottlob Frege. Frege's first work, *Begriffsschrift, eine der arithmetischen nachgebildete Formelsprache des reinen Denkens* (Halle, 1879), should be read in connexion with his second work, *Die Grundlagen der Arithmetik, eine logisch-mathematische Untersuchung über den Begriff der Zahl* (Breslau, 1884). For the purpose of coming to a decision as to the nature (synthetic or analytic, *a priori* or *a posteriori*) of the concept of number, Frege devised an extraordinarily effective, though rather clumsy, symbolism for expressing with great precision the various concepts and methods of deduction in logic; and this symbolism and analysis were developed in the years 1879–1903. Frege's final statement of his whole theory is in his *Grundgesetze der Arithmetik begriffsschriftlich abgeleitet* (2 vols., Jena, 1893–1903). Philosophically speaking, Frege's point of view is clearly expressed in his criticism of the psychological logic of Benno Erdmann's *Logik* (Halle, 1892):

'It seems to me that different conceptions of the truth are the origin of the controversy. I look upon the truth as something objective and independent of the person who judges. It is not so according to the psychological logicians. What Erdmann calls "objective certainty" is only a general acknowledgement proceeding from those who judge, and which therefore is not independent of them but may change with their psychical nature. . . . I acknowledge an objective domain which is not a domain of actual things; while the psychological logicians, without more ado, look upon the non-actual as subjective.'[1]

In many of his works Frege carried on a sometimes ironically expressed polemic against the thesis that the subject-matter of arithmetic is the actual symbols and not the universals denoted by the symbols. Even eminent mathematicians such as H. L. F. Helmholtz, L. Kronecker, H. E. Heine, J. Thomae, O. Stolz, A. Pringsheim, H. Schubert, and many others maintained, in most cases quite explicitly, this form of nominalism. Frege succeeded in showing quite satisfactorily that the numbers used in arithmetic belong to a domain which is both non-actual and non-mental.

The logical work of Giuseppe Peano began to be published nine years after that of Frege, but was quite independent of Frege's work. The foundations of Peano's logical system were much more in conformity with those of Boole and his successors, but Peano used a very convenient and ingenious symbolism and attempted with great success the analysis of whole trains of reasoning which included already symbolized mathematical deductions. Peano laid stress on the fact that his symbolism was a true 'ideography' and thus did not make use of anything expressed in ordinary language. Although in many respects Peano's analysis was greatly inferior to that of Frege, Peano has the merit of being the first explicitly to point out the fact that the two propositions 'Socrates is mortal' and 'All men are mortal' are different in form. This distinction, which seems to have been well known to Frege also, though it was not explicitly expressed by him until after Peano had done so, was and is unfamiliar to most other logicians, including some symbolic logicians, because of the use of verbally the same copula ('is' or 'are') in both cases. The philosophical aspect of this distinction has been thus expressed by Russell:

'This [corresponding] confusion . . . obscured not only the whole study of the forms of judgment and inference, but also the relations of things to their qualities, of concrete existence to abstract concepts, and of the world of sense to the world of Platonic ideas.'[2]

The work of Bertrand Russell began with the completion of Peano's system by the addition of a correspondingly symbolized logic of relations, and advanced, by the independent discovery of many of Frege's subtle distinctions as well as by unanticipated discoveries, to a very satisfactory combination and development of the results of Frege in logic, Georg Cantor's results in the theory of transfinite numbers, and Peano's symbolism. The more philosophical discussion formed the subject of *The Principles of Mathematics* (vol. i., Cambridge, 1903), and a detailed symbolical exposition of the theory of A. N. Whitehead and B. Russell was given in *Principia Mathematica* (3 vols., Cambridge, 1910–13).

The philosophical bearing of modern logical work has been particularly emphasized by Russell. Broadly speaking, proper names stand for particulars, while other substantives, adjectives, prepositions, and verbs stand for universals. Pronouns and some adverbs stand for particulars, but are ambiguous. Only those universals which are named by adjectives or substantives have been much or often recognized by philosophers, while those named by verbs and prepositions have

[1] Russell, *Monist*, xxiv. 592.
[2] 'Are Secondary Qualities independent of Perception?' *Proc. Arist. Soc.*, new ser., x. [1909-10] 191.
[3] 'The Relation of Sense-Data to Physics,' *Scientia*, xvi. [1914] 7.
[4] G. Santayana, *Journ. of Phil.* xi. [1914] 449.
[5] B. Russell, *Critical Exposition of the Philosophy of Leibniz*, Cambridge, 1900, p. 283; L. Couturat, *La Logique de Leibniz*, Paris, 1901, pp. 73–75, 434.
[6] Cf. J. Venn, *Symbolic Logic*[2], London, 1894, p. xxxiv.
[7] Quoted in de Morgan's *Syllabus*, p. 27.

[1] From a tr. of part of the *Grundgesetze* in *Monist*, xxvi. [1916] 187.
[2] *Our Knowledge of the External World*, p. 41.

usually been overlooked. Speaking generally, adjectives and common nouns express qualities or properties of single things, whereas prepositions and verbs tend to express relations between two or more things. Thus the neglect of prepositions and verbs, which is due to the fact that, in practical life, we dwell only upon those words in a sentence which stand for particulars, led to the belief that every proposition can be regarded as attributing a property to a single thing (the belief that all propositions are of the subject-predicate form) rather than as expressing a relation between two or more things. Hence it was supposed that ultimately there can be no such entities as relations, and this leads either to the monism of Spinoza (*q.v.*) and Bradley or to the monadism of Leibniz (*q.v.*).[1] The belief just referred to gives rise to reflexions of much the same kind as the one of Hamilton and de Morgan mentioned above.[2] It seems that most philosophers have been less anxious to understand the world of science and daily life than to convict it of unreality in the interests of a super-sensible 'real' world either revealed to mystical insight or consisting of unchangeable logical entities. We find examples of such reasons with Parmenides, Plato, Spinoza, Hegel,[3] and this is at the bottom of the idealist tradition in philosophy. However, it is not true that all relations can be reduced to properties of apparently related terms.[4] Here we may refer to § 2 above and to *Principles*, p. viii; cf. p. 448.

Another of the grounds on which the reality of the sensible world has been questioned by philosophers is the supposed impossibility of infinity and continuity.[5] The explanation of the world which assumes infinity and continuity is much easier and more natural,[6] but from the time of Zeno, whose paradoxes were invented to support indirectly the doctrine of Parmenides,[7] the supposed contradictions of infinity have played a great part in philosophical speculation. Some of the problems of infinity were well treated by Bernard Bolzano;[8] but it was the mathematician, Georg Cantor, who, about 1882, first practically solved the difficulties. In fact, it is not essential to the existence of a collection, or even to knowledge and reasoning concerning it, that we should be able to pass its terms in review one by one; but infinite collections may be known by their characteristics although their terms cannot be enumerated—collections can be given all at once by their defining concepts. Thus, an unending series may form a whole, and there may be new terms beyond the whole of it.[9] Because of the fact that infinite collections are not self-contradictory, 'the reasons for regarding space and time as unreal have become inoperative, and one of the great sources of metaphysical constructions is dried up.'[10]

LITERATURE.—See the works quoted throughout the article.

PHILIP E. B. JOURDAIN.

REALITY.—The words 'real' and 'reality' are used in a variety of different senses; it is therefore impossible to give a single satisfactory definition of them. Moreover, in the most fundamental sense in which they are used they are indefinable. Their meaning is best made clear by considering certain correlative expressions in which they are commonly met (*e.g.*, reality and appearance) and by discussing their relations to certain other notions with which they are very closely connected (*e.g.*, existence).

1. **Existence and reality.**—In the ordinary philosophic use of reality it would seem that a distinction is drawn between it and existence; for some things which would be asserted to exist would be denied by the same philosopher to be real, and some things that are said to be real are denied to exist. The two words, therefore, cannot be reasonably regarded as having the same intension, and any one who says that their extension is identical is called upon to give some proof of his assertion; *e.g.*, many philosophers deny that such things as colours are real, but it seems hardly possible to deny that they exist. When I see a colour or hear a sound, I am aware of something, and not of nothing. Also I am aware of something different in the two cases, and the difference seems to be between the objects of which I am aware, and not merely between my two awarenesses as mental acts.

Sounds and colours then may be said to exist, at any rate so long as any one is aware of them; and those who deny that they are also real are denying something the absence of which is compatible with their existence in the above sense. The two words are not, however, used consistently, and it would perhaps be as much in accordance with usage to say that colours are real but do not exist. At any rate, this example shows that reality and existence differ in intension; and we shall see reasons for preferring to say that colours exist even though they be unreal rather than that they are real even though they do not exist.

The fact that reality and existence differ in intension can also be shown from another side. Many philosophers hold that such things as the number 3 are real; but hardly any one would say that 3 exists, though of course certain collections of three things may exist—*e.g.*, the Estates of the Realm and the Persons of the Trinity.

As a foundation for setting up a consistent terminology, we have the following two facts about the common use of words: (*a*) hardly any one would think it appropriate to say that such things as numbers exist, but many would say that they are real; and (*b*) there are two kinds of things which almost every one would agree to exist if they be real—physical objects and minds with their states. With these two facts fixed, we may proceed to deal with the more doubtful cases of such objects as sounds and colours. We note that the two kinds of objects which are said without hesitation to exist if they be real are particular individuals; *i.e.*, they are terms which can be subjects of propositions but not predicates. Minds and physical objects clearly stand in this position. Objects which are said to be real but are seldom naturally said to exist are universals, whether qualities or relations—*i.e.* terms which can be subjects of propositions but can also occupy other positions in them. The number 3 is an example; for we can say both that 3 is an odd number and that the Persons of the Trinity are three. We may therefore lay it down as a general rule that objects are most naturally said, not merely to be real, but also to exist, when they are real and have the logical character of particular individuals.

When a man says that he sees a colour, he means that he is aware of an extended coloured object and not merely of a quality. This coloured object—*e.g.*, a flash of lightning—is a particular, and therefore, if real, exists. When we say that red exists, we mean two things: (1) that there are red objects, and (2) that these are particulars. The first part of our meaning corresponds to the

[1] See Russell, *The Problems of Philosophy*, London, 1912, pp. 145–149; cf., on what precedes this paragraph, *Principles*, pp. 42–81.
[2] Cf. Russell, *External World*, p. 45.
[3] *Ib.* pp. 166, 45–47, 63 f., 39, 6 f.
[4] *Ib.* pp. 47–50.
[5] Cf. Russell, *Problems*, pp. 227–229.
[6] Russell, *External World*, p. 155.
[7] See art. CONTINUITY, vol. iv. p. 91; Russell, *External World*, pp. 129, 155–182.
[8] *Paradoxien des Unendlichen*, Leipzig, 1851.
[9] Russell, *External World*, pp. 159, 181 f.
[10] Russell, *Problems*, p. 229.

wider technical use of existence which is involved when mathematicians talk of existence-theorems. In this sense a universal is said to exist if it can be shown that it has or may have instances. Thus the number 3 exists in this sense because we can point to collections having three terms. But this is not the common use of existence in philosophy. To be able to say that a quality like red exists, we must be able to show both that it has instances and that these are particulars; for it is only particulars that are primarily said to exist, and existence, in the secondary sense in which it is ascribed to red, is derived from the existence, in the primary sense, of its instances. It seems, however, that we do not naturally ascribe existence to a universal in all cases where it has instances which are particulars. The number 3 has instances which are particulars, yet we do not commonly say that it exists. This difference in usage seems to depend on whether or not the judgment in which the quality is asserted of the subject occurs instinctively and without a recognized process of intellectual analysis. When we see a red object, we pass, if we choose, to the judgment 'This is red' without explicit analysis, and so we say that red exists; to judge that a collection which we see has three members, we have to break it up in thought and re-synthesize it, and so we hesitate to say that 3 exists, though we admit that it is real. It is difficult to believe that this difference of usage is of any philosophical importance, but it is necessary to notice it.

2. Reality of universals.—We have now to ask in what sense such objects as colours can be said to be unreal though they exist. It certainly seems that in the primitive senses of reality and existence nothing can exist that is not real. And this must be accepted; coloured objects, while we see them, both exist and are real in the primary sense of reality. But both their reality and their existence are denied by many philosophers; those philosophers must therefore be using the terms in a new sense. To say that red is unreal though it exists means (*a*) that red objects exist while they are perceived; (*b*) that nothing is red except when some one perceives it; and (*c*) that it is commonly believed that things might be red though no one perceived them. The third factor is quite essential. Toothache exists only when some one feels it, yet no one calls toothache unreal on this account. We may say, then, that reality is denied of a quality in this special sense when there are particular instances of it which we perceive, and our perception is accompanied by the belief in unperceived instances of it, and this belief is held to be erroneous.

It is clear that every immediate object of our senses both exists and is real in the primary meaning of these terms so long as we remain aware of the object. For it seems to be a synthetic *a priori* proposition that anything of which we can be directly aware by our senses is both real and particular; and what is real and particular exists in the primary meaning of that word. In a secondary meaning of reality, such objects may be called unreal if they give rise instinctively to judgments asserting the continued existence of the same or similar objects when unperceived, whereas in fact nothing of the kind can exist unperceived. Questions as to the reality of any particular, when reality has its primary sense, can arise only if that particular be not an object of direct awareness. Thus we ask, Does God really exist? or, Are atoms real? The meaning of such questions is as follows: God and atoms are not the direct objects of our minds at any time; if they were, there would be no doubt of their existence and reality in the primary sense at certain times (viz. when we were directly aware of them). But we know what we mean by the words 'God' and 'atom'; *e.g.*, we may mean by 'God' an *ens realissimum* or a First Cause. But these descriptions which we understand are partly in terms of universals; thus 'first' and 'cause' are universals. When we ask whether God really exists, we mean, Is there an instance of the complex universal involved in the definition or description of what we mean by the word 'God'? We can see that, if there be an instance, it must be a particular; so that, if there be one, God is both real and existent.

We may now turn to those objects that commonly would be said to be real but not to exist. It would seem that every simple universal of which we are immediately aware must be real (*a*) in the primary sense, and also (*b*) in a secondary sense which involves the already-mentioned secondary sense of existent as a special case. If we are directly aware of a universal, it is the object of a thought, and is clearly something real in the same sense in which a particular flash of light is real when it is the object of our senses. It does not, however, exist in the primary sense, because it is not a particular. Again, to be aware of a simple universal, it is necessary to have been aware of some instance of it. Thus any simple universal of which we are directly aware must have instances. It must therefore exist in the mathematical sense. It need not, however, exist in the philosophical sense, because its instances may not be particulars; *e.g.*, we are directly aware of the universal colour, but the instances of colour are red, yellow, etc., which are themselves universals. Thus it seems more natural to say that colours exist than that colour exists. Nevertheless this is largely a matter of mere usage. We cannot become aware of a simple universal of a higher order unless we are aware of one of the next lower grade, and so on till we come to the lowest universals in the hierarchy—those whose instances are particulars. Thus, to become acquainted with colour, we need to be acquainted with colours; and, to become acquainted with colours, we need to be acquainted through our senses with particular coloured objects. So we may fairly say that every simple universal of which we are directly aware either exists in the secondary sense or is known through universals that are instances of it and themselves exist in the secondary sense.

It follows that the only universals about the reality of which questions can reasonably be asked are either (1) those which are not directly cognized by us, but are described in terms that we understand, or (2) complex universals. The questions that can be asked about the reality of such universals are closely connected; *e.g.*, it may reasonably be doubted whether any one is directly acquainted with the number twelve million and forty-nine. But we all know this number perfectly well under the description of 'the number which is represented in the decimal scale of notation by the symbols 12,000,049,' provided that we are acquainted with all the terms involved in this description and with the significance of their mode of combination in it. It is then open to ask: Is there really such a number? This question involves two others: (*a*) Is there anything contradictory or incoherent in the description, as there would be if a number were described as that represented in the decimal scale by a bow and arrow? and (*b*) If the description be self-consistent and intelligible, is there really an object answering to it? If both these questions can be answered in the affirmative, the number will be said to be real in the primary sense. We can then go on to ask

the question: Is there any collection of particulars that has this number? If so, we can add that the number exists in the secondary philosophic sense in which existence can be predicated of universals.

Very similar questions arise over complex universals—*e.g.*, a golden mountain. It would seem that complex universals which involve no internal incoherence must be real in the primary sense if their constituents be real. Thus the universal 'golden mountain' is real even though there are as a matter of fact no golden mountains. If the universal has no instances, it will exist neither in the mathematical nor in the philosophic sense; if it has instances which are not particulars—as, *e.g.*, the complex universal 'perfect number'—it will exist in the mathematical but not in the philosophic sense. But very difficult questions arise as to the reality of complex universals which involve a contradiction or some other *a priori* incoherence—*e.g.*, a 'round square.' Can we say that such universals are in any sense real?

This question has been discussed very fully and acutely by Meinong and his pupils. The following are arguments for supposing that such universals are in a sense real. These incoherent universals appear as the subjects of propositions—*e.g.*, in 'A round square is round' and 'A round square is impossible.' Such propositions are not about nothing; they seem to be about round squares; hence even these universals must have primary reality. Again, when we understand such a proposition as 'A round square is impossible,' the proposition is the object of an act of judgment, and, as such, is real. But the proposition is a complex, and, to understand it, its elements must also be the objects of acts of presentation. Hence the universal 'round square' must be the object of certain mental acts; it therefore cannot be nothing, and must have primary reality. It will be seen that the question discussed here is similar to that raised by Plato in the *Sophist*: In what sense, if any, can not-being be?

Meinong and his school have been led to the view that there is a most primitive form of being that applies to all objects about which assertions or denials can be made, whether they be internally coherent or not; that reality is a species of this and existence a species of reality. We may agree that anything that is really the object of a state of mind, or is really the subject of a proposition, has what we have called primary reality; but we may doubt whether such objects as round squares have any kind of being at all. For Meinong's views lead to very grave difficulties. This form of being will have no opposite, and the law of contradiction will not hold for propositions about impossible objects. Thus the propositions 'A non-human man is human' and 'A non-human man is not human' will both be necessarily true, and yet be contradictory. Again, the expedient leads to an infinite series of orders of being of increasing absurdity. Suppose we agree with Meinong that a round square has being. Then the proposition 'A non-being round square has not being' seems as genuine and necessary as 'A round square is round.' But, if the latter forces us to ascribe a kind of being to round squares, the former must equally force us to ascribe a kind of being to non-being round squares. And this process of postulating fresh and ever more absurd kinds of being will go on indefinitely. Closely connected with these difficulties is the question whether propositions, and in particular false propositions, be in any sense real. Meinong assumes that all mental acts concerned with propositions are founded on an act in which the proposition is before our minds as sense-data and universals are when we are directly aware of them. If so, propositions which we judge, whether they be true or false, have exactly the same claims to primary reality as a red patch that we see or the quality of redness that we cognize. Yet it is very difficult to believe that every false proposition that any one has ever judged is real; whilst, if we reject the reality of false propositions, we can hardly save that of true ones.

The general means of meeting Meinong's difficulty depends on recognizing the fact that, in the verbal forms which stand for propositions, the word or phrase that counts as grammatical subject cannot be regarded always as the proper name of the logical subject of the proposition. In the sentence 'Red is a colour' the grammatical subject 'red' is the proper name of the logical subject of the proposition, and therefore the universal red is real; but it does not follow that in the grammatically similar form of words, 'A round square is round,' the phrase 'a round square' is the name of anything. In fact two other possibilities remain open: (1) that the sentence 'A round square is round,' though it has the same verbal form as some sentences which do stand for propositions—*e.g.*, 'A penny is round'—does not itself stand for any proposition; and (2) that, whilst the sentence does stand for some proposition, the proposition for which it stands can be analyzed into a combination of several in none of which a single object whose name is 'round square' appears as subject.

Both these alternatives may be used for dealing with the reality of round squares. In the first place, we may suggest that a sentence like 'A round square is round' seems to stand for a proposition only because of its similarity in grammatical form to certain sentences which do stand for genuine propositions. Actually, when we see these marks or hear the corresponding sounds, we do not think of any proposition whatever. And likewise, when we say that it is necessary that a round square should be round, we mean only that sentences in which the name of a part of the grammatical subject appears as the grammatical predicate stand for necessary propositions *if* they stand for propositions at all. On the other hand, the statement 'A round square is contradictory' does stand for a genuine proposition, but it is not a proposition about an object denoted by the phrase 'round square.' The proposition really is: 'If an object be round, it cannot be square, and conversely.' This proposition does not contain a complex term denoted by 'round square,' but asserts a relation of incompatibility between roundness and squareness. Hence its reality, truth, and intelligibility do not imply the reality of a complex universal 'round square.'

Before leaving this subject, a word must be said about the reality of objects that involve an *a priori* incompatibility, but in which the incompatibility is not obvious without proof as in the case of 'round' and 'square.' Does the phrase, 'an algebraical equation of the second degree one of whose roots is π,' stand for any real object? It does not, for it involves *a priori* incompatibilities. But we must not say that sentences with this phrase as their grammatical subject as used by most people are in the same position as 'A round square is round.' For persons who do not see the *a priori* incompatibility these sentences may stand for propositions, though they cannot be about any object of which the phrase in question is the name.

3. **Appearance and reality.**—The question of the reality of propositions would lead us into problems connected with Bertrand Russell's theory of judgment and G. F. Stout's doctrine of real possibilities which would carry us too far afield. We will

therefore pass at once to the opposition between reality and appearance, with which is connected the doctrine that there are degrees of reality.

The simplest and most obvious case of this opposition is what is known as the contrast between sensible appearances and physical realities. A cup is believed to be round, yet from all points of view but those which lie in a line through the centre of the circle and at right angles to its plane it appears elliptical. The elliptical shapes seen from the various points of view are called the 'sensible appearances' of the cup, and are contrasted with its real shape. It must be noticed that the opposition between sensible appearance and physical reality is not simply that between true and false judgment. The elliptical appearance may never lead us to the false judgment that the cup is elliptical; moreover, if it should do this and the error should afterwards be corrected, the cup does not cease to appear elliptical. It is important to be clear on this point because efforts are sometimes made to hold that appearances are not objects connected in a certain way with a physical reality, but are certain ways of viewing a physical reality. The latter theory makes appearances mind-dependent in a way in which the former does not. When we talk of different ways of viewing one reality, the differences must be supposed to qualify our acts of viewing, and not the object viewed; they are thus differences in mental acts and can subsist only while the acts themselves exist. But, if we suppose different appearances to be different objects, then, though it is possible and may be probable that these objects exist only when the acts which cognize them exist, it remains a fact that they are not in any obvious sense states of mind or qualities of such states.

Now it seems certain that different sensible appearances are different objects, and not merely different mental relations to the same object. Inspection shows clearly that the elliptical shape which is seen from the side is as good an object as the circular shape seen from above. Moreover, if we call the appearances mental acts, to what precisely does the quality 'elliptical' which we ascribe to the appearances belong? Surely not (*a*) to any mental act, for these have no shape; nor (*b*) to the physical object, for this is supposed to be round; and, if it be said (*c*) that it applies to 'the physical object as seen from such and such a place,' the supporter of this alternative may be asked to state what he supposes this partly mental and partly physical complex to be, and how he supposes it to have the spatial predicate of ellipticity. The view against which we are arguing is somewhat supported by the common phrase, 'The cup *is* round but *looks* elliptical.' But the only meaning which it seems possible to give to this is the following: viewing the cup from a position from which the real shape cannot be seen, we are aware of an appearance that has the same shape as we should see if we looked straight down on a cup that was really elliptical.

We may say, then, that a sensible appearance *is* a reality; but it is not a *physical* reality, because it does not obey the laws of physics; and it is not a mental reality in the sense of a state of mind, nor is it any quality of a mental act, though it is commonly believed that it exists only as the object of an act of sensation or perception. We may agree, then, so far with two celebrated dicta about appearance and reality: 'Reality must in some way include all its appearances,'[1] and 'Wieviel Schein soviel Hindeutung auf Sein.'[2] Since an appearance, taken by itself, is as real as anything else (in the primary sense of reality), it can be called an appearance only in virtue of some essential reference in it to something else with which it is contrasted. Thus *sensible* appearance is contrasted with *physical* reality; both are real in the primary sense, but the former is called an appearance because it always tends to make us think of the existence and qualities of the latter, and we have a tendency to ascribe qualities to the one that belong only to the other.

The last point is of considerable importance with reference to the statement that Reality is a harmonious whole and that appearances are condemned because of their internal incoherence or contradiction. Reality is here used as a concrete substantive, and means the whole system of what really exists. But presumably it is also true that anything that is real, and therefore any part of Reality, must be internally coherent. Now, sensible appearances are real, as we have tried to show; hence they must be internally consistent. There is no *internal* inconsistency in a red elliptical patch seen by any one, and the person who calls this an appearance does not do so because of any internal incoherence, if he knows what he is about. The incoherence arises when the elliptical red patch is taken to be identical with some other part of Reality (*e.g.*, a colourless circle) whose qualities are incompatible with its own. The elliptical red patch is certainly real, and the colourless circle may very well be real; the former is called an appearance, and the latter a reality, because objects of the latter kind are of much greater practical interest and importance as obeying the laws of physics, and because the intimate relations between the two are liable to cause us to make the mistake of identifying the qualities of the two where they really differ. Reality—the whole system of all that exists—must include both the elliptical red patch and the colourless circle, if both be real; and their precise nature and relations are a matter for further philosophical investigation.

This seems obvious enough when we consider only the contrast between sensible appearance and physical reality. But we must notice that eminent philosophers use the contrast in many cases where what they call the appearance is not an object of sense-perception. F. H. Bradley, *e.g.*, argues that the self and goodness and relations are all appearances, though appearances of different degrees of reality. What precisely does this mean? Primarily, that certain notions which we all use in thinking about the world are internally inconsistent. We treat the world, *e.g.*, as consisting of various terms in various relations to each other. Bradley tries to show that such a view involves vicious infinite regresses. When appearance is used in this sense, it seems to be connected with a special kind of false judgment, viz. the assertion that the world or some part of it has incompatible characteristics. This is very different from the kind of false judgment connected with sensible appearances. (1) As we saw, no kind of false judgment need be made there, and, if it be made and corrected, the sensible appearance continues to exist and be perceived. (2) There is nothing self-contradictory in the predicate that is wrongly ascribed to physical reality through confusing it with sensible appearance. The judgment 'This cup is elliptical' is false, not because there is anything self-contradictory in the predicate 'elliptical,' but because it is incompatible with the circularity that the physical cup is supposed to possess. On the other hand, if the self be an appearance in Bradley's sense, the assertion 'Socrates is a self' is false, because the predicate is self-contradictory;

[1] F. H. Bradley, *Appearance and Reality*, bk. i. ch. xii. p. 132 (2nd ed.: 'Appearances exist . . . And whatever exists must belong to Reality').

[2] J. F. Herbart, *Hauptpunkte der Metaphysik*, in *Sämmtl. Werke*, ed. G. Hartenstein, Leipzig, 1850–52, iii. 14.

it is like saying 'Socrates is both tall and short.' The quality of being a self can be truly asserted of nothing, whilst that of being elliptical can be truly asserted at least of the sensible appearance. There is thus a great difference between what is meant by calling the seen ellipse an appearance and calling the self an appearance.

When this difference is recognized, we see that, whilst it is obvious that sensible appearances are contained in Reality, it is not at all obvious in what sense such appearances as the self can be contained in it; for these would seem to be in the position of round squares. This brings us to the doctrine that there are degrees of reality. It is held that all appearances are internally incoherent, but that some are more coherent than others. As a corollary to this, it is maintained that no appearance is as such contained in Reality; on the other hand, as Bradley puts it, 'appearances are transmuted' in order to be contained in Reality, and the one-sidedness of one appearance cancels out with and is corrected by that of others. This doctrine seems to be closely connected with three others: (*a*) Reality as a whole being a harmonious system, it is assumed that, the more an appearance needs to be modified and supplemented in order to take its place in Reality, the less coherent and therefore the less real it is; and (*b*) this is largely dependent on the view that all appearance is connected with the peculiar position of finite minds, which can know Reality only fragmentarily and from an individual angle; lastly (*c*) it is held that no part of Reality can be internally coherent in abstraction from its relation to the rest of Reality. We may trace the development of this view in Spinoza's doctrine of the three kinds of knowledge and in the Hegelian dialectic to its completest form in Bradley's philosophy.

It is clear that both (*a*) and (*c*) are needed if it is to be assumed that Reality is the only harmonious system. And this is assumed; for very often something is condemned as appearance, not so much because of any internal incoherence that can be directly detected in it as because it obviously cannot be predicated of Reality as a whole. It is impossible to give a fair and adequate criticism of so subtle and elaborate a doctrine here. But the following remarks may be made:

(1) Either Reality can be correctly regarded as possessing parts or not. If so, it would seem that there must be some propositions that are true about the parts and not about the whole (*e.g.*, that they are parts). And again, if the parts be real, they must be as internally harmonious as the whole. It may be perfectly true that what we take as one self-subsistent differentiation of Reality is often neither one nor self-subsistent, but a mere fragment whose limits do not correspond with those of any single differentiation (cf. here Spinoza's distinction between the hierarchy of infinite and eternal modes and the finite modes, and his closely connected theory of error). But even a fragment is something and has a nature of its own, and perfectly true judgments should be possible about it. We may of course make erroneous judgments if we ignore the fact that it is a fragment, and if we make assertions about that in it which depends on its relations to what is outside it. But we do not always ignore the fact that what we are talking about is not the whole; *e.g.*, when we say that Socrates is a self, we are perfectly aware that Socrates is only a part of Reality, and that our statement may be false of the whole. And it is not obvious that all assertions about a fragment must depend for their truth on what is outside the fragment (cf. here Spinoza's doctrine of the function of the *notiones communes* in passing from imaginative to rational knowledge). If, on the other hand, we suppose that Reality cannot be correctly regarded as having parts, the question arises: What precisely is it that is called an appearance, and what precisely is supposed to be 'transmuted and supplemented' in Reality? Something must be transmuted and supplemented; it cannot be Reality as a whole; what can it be unless Reality has real parts? Bradley has seen these difficulties perhaps more clearly than any other philosopher of his general way of thinking; but it is hard to believe that his doctrine that Reality is a supra-relational unity, and that all predication involves falsification is a satisfactory solution. Indeed, it perhaps comes to little more than a re-statement of the theological position that the nature of God can be described only in negative terms which at least ward off error.

(2) Sensible appearances, which, as we have seen, differ in important respects from others, are also held to exhibit what may be called degrees of reality in a special sense. As we know, these realities are called appearances and unreal only with respect to their relations to a supposed physical reality about which they are held to be an indispensable source of information. Now, those who deny the physical reality of secondary qualities would be inclined to say that the colours seen in waking life are less real than the shapes that are seen at the same time, and more real than the colours and shapes seen in dreams, delirium, or illusions. We may usefully compare here Kant's distinction between *Schein*, *Erscheinung*, and *Ding-an-Sich* in his example about the rainbow to that between the colours and shapes of dreams, the colours of waking life, and the qualities of physical objects (it is not of course suggested that Kant had in mind precisely the distinctions which we are now considering).

As far as can be seen, the ascription of degrees of reality to sensible appearances simply depends on how intimately their qualities are supposed to be connected with those of a corresponding physical reality. To a man who takes the position of Locke and of most natural scientists the elliptical shapes seen in waking life (to revert to our old example) are the most real of appearances, because the corresponding physical reality actually has a shape, and that shape is a closed conic section connected by simple laws with that of the appearance. The colours seen in waking life are less real appearances because it is not believed that any physical object has colour, though it is held that the colour seen is correlated with the internal structure of the corresponding object. And the shapes and colours of dreams or hallucinations are held to have the lowest degree of reality, because, while it is admitted that they are correlated with distinctions that exist *somewhere* in the physical world, it is held that these distinctions exist in the brain or in the medium rather than in any object that can be regarded as specially corresponding to the appearance in the way in which the round physical cup corresponds to the elliptical visual appearance seen in waking life.

4. Ethical sense of the term.—It remains to notice one more use of the words 'real' and 'reality.' They are sometimes used in an ethical sense to stand for what ought to be as distinct from what is. This is rather a paradoxical use of terms. Often we contrast real and ideal, and say that what actually exists is real, whilst what ought to exist but does not is ideal. Yet some ethical writers use the word 'real' for 'ideal,' when they speak of the real or true self, meaning the self that ought to be as contrasted with that which now is. This use of terms is generally connected with metaphysical theories of ethics such as Kant's or Green's, which hold that the self that

ought to be really exists and has a higher degree of reality than what would commonly be called the self as it really is.

LITERATURE.—The following works are of importance in connexion with the subject of this article. (1) On the relation of reality to existence and on the reality of contradictory objects.—Plato, *Sophist* and *Theætetus*; St. Anselm, *Prosologium* and *c. Insipientem*; A. Meinong, *Über Annahmen*, Leipzig, 1910, *Über die Stellung der Gegenstandstheorie*, do. 1906–09, *Untersuchungen zur Gegenstandstheorie und Psychologie*, do. 1904; B. A. W. Russell, *The Problems of Philosophy*, London, 1912, *The Principles of Mathematics*, Cambridge, 1903; A. N. Whitehead and B. A. W. Russell, *Principia Mathematica*, do. 1910, i.; G. F. Stout, 'The Object of Thought and Real Being,' *Proc. of the Aristotelian Society*, 1911. (2) On the relation of reality to appearance.—Spinoza, *Ethics*, tr. W. H. White[2], London, 1894; F. H. Bradley, *Appearance and Reality*[2], London, 1902, *Essays on Truth and Reality*, Oxford, 1914. (3) On sensible appearance and physical reality.—Descartes, *Meditations*; G. Berkeley, *Principles of Human Knowledge*, London, 1776; Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, tr. J. H. Stirling, Edinburgh, 1881; H. A. Prichard, *Kant's Theory of Knowledge*, Oxford, 1909; Russell, *Our Knowledge of the External World*, Chicago, 1914; Stout, *Manual of Psychology*[3], London, 1913; S. Alexander, artt. in *Mind*, new ser., xxi. [1912], *Proc. Arist. Soc.*, new ser., xi. [1910–11], and *Proc. British Academy*, vi. [1914].

C. D. BROAD.

REALITY (Buddhist).—In religious philosophy as in metaphysic the words 'real,' 'reality' express more than one aspect of things—the actual as opposed to the fictitious, the essential as opposed to the accidental, the absolute or unconditioned as opposed to the relative or conditioned, the objectively valid as opposed to the ideal or the imagined, the true as opposed to the sham, the important as opposed to that which, in the same connexion, is of less value, and finally, that which ultimately and irreducibly *is* as opposed to that which names conventionally signify in the average mind's stock of knowledge.

Neither in the *Suttas* of the earlier Buddhist religious doctrines nor in the early or the early mediæval elaborations of a more metaphysical kind do we meet with terms quite so packed with meanings as 'real' and 'reality,' but all the above-named antitheses occur and find expression in a variety of terms. The *Suttas* are more deeply concerned with the truth and the pragmatical importance of things. And the true and the actual, or that-which-is, are identified by one and the same word: *sacca*=*sat-ya*, *i.e.* fact, or the existent (see art. TRUTH [Buddhist]). There were certain facts or realities relating to spiritual health concerning which it was of the first importance to hold right views and take action accordingly. To rank other realities, such as objects of sensuous and worldly desires, as of the highest value (*aggato karoti*) was likened to the illusion that the painted forms in a fresco were real men and women,[1] or to the illusions achieved in conjuring or occurring in dreams.[2] Metaphors again play around, not the actuality, but the essential nature of the living personality, physical and mental. Thus the material factors of an individual are compared to a lump of foam: 'Where should you find essence [lit. pith] in a lump of foam?', the mental factors—feeling, perception, volitional complexes, and consciousness—to bubbles raised in water by rain, to a mirage, to a pithless plant, and to conjuring respectively.[3] The world is also compared to a bubble and a mirage,[4] etc. These figures are not meant to convey the later decadent Indian Buddhist and Vedāntist sense of the ontological unreality of the objects and impressions of sense. The similes convey on the one hand a repudiation of (*a*) permanence, (*b*) happy security, (*c*) super-phenomenal substance or soul, and on the other a deprecation of any genuine satisfying value in the spiritual life to be found in either 'the pride of life' or the 'lust of the world.'

[1] *Therīgāthā*, 393. [2] *Ib.* 394.
[3] *Saṃyutta*, iii. 141. [4] *Dhammapada*, 170.

This trend in Buddhist teaching was not due to the absence of theories concerning the nature of being in the early days of Buddhism. There were views maintained very similar both to that of the Parmenidean school in Greater Greece—that the universe was a *plenum* of fixed, permanent existents; and to the other extreme as maintained by Gorgias and other Sophists—that 'nothing is.' These Indian views, probably antedating those of Greece by upwards of half a century, were confronted by the Buddha with his 'middle theory' of conditioned or causal becoming. His brief discourse is given in the *Suttas* of the *Saṃyutta Nikāya*,[1] and is cited by a disciple in another *Sutta* nearly adjacent to that containing the similes referred to above.[2] And we hear no more of the extremist views till we come to the book purporting to be the latest in the canon—the *Kathāvatthu*. There among the first, presumably the earliest compiled, arguments of the work[3] we find that the positive theory—'everything exists' (*i.e.* continues to exist)—so far from being generally rejected among Buddhists, was maintained by a school which attained to great eminence not only in North India, especially in Kashmīr, but also in Central and Eastern Asia, and in the south-eastern islands—the school of Sarvāstivādins (*q.v.*; Pali, Sabbathivādins), or 'All-is-believers.'[4]

The attitude taken up in the Theravāda, or mother-church, towards what might now be called reality, developed along a different line. This confronts us in the very first line of the *Kathāvatthu*: 'Is the person (self or soul) known in the sense of a real and ultimate fact?' In other words (as is revealed in the process of the long series of arguments), does the term 'person,' conventionally used as a convenient label for the composite phenomenon of a living human being, correspond to any irreducible and permanent entity, noumenon, ego, soul, immanent in that phenomenon? This distinction between the current names in conventional usage and the real nature 'behind,' or 'above,' what is designated by them is anticipated already in the earlier books of discourses and dialogues ascribed to the Buddha.[4] A man's personality is conceded as being real, or a fact (*sacca*) to him at any given moment, albeit the word expressing that personality is but a popular label, and is not paralleled by any equally fixed entity in man. But, in the inquiry of the later book, the *Kathāvatthu*, the more evolved philosophical problem is betrayed by the first appearance of a more technical nomenclature. *Sacca* ('true,' 'fact') is used in adjectival form—*saccika*, 'actual.' And *paramattha* ('ultimate sense,' lit. 'supreme thing-meant'), a word which, in Theravāda literature, has become an equivalent of philosophic or metaphysical meaning, here starts on its long career. It is along the line of this distinction between popular and ultimately real or philosophic meaning that the commentator (*c.* 5th cent. A.D.) discusses the opening argument in the controversy and perorates at the close of it.[5] It is in the forefront of Anuruddha's planning of his classic manual, *A Compendium of Philosophy* (*Abhidhammattha-saṅgaha*): 'These things are set forth *in their ultimate sense* as Categories Four,'[6] the commentaries pointing out that *paramatthato* is opposed to *sammuti*, the conventional. And Anuruddha discusses in his eighth chapter[7] the distinction between the things that are real existents and those that are, in virtue of a name, apparently so. Finally the present-day vitality

[1] ii. 17. [2] iii. 134. [3] i. 6 f.
[4] Cf. *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i. 263; *Kindred Sayings*, i. 169 f.
[5] Cf. the tr. by C. A. F. Rhys Davids and S. Z. Aung, *Points of Controversy*, London, 1915, pp. 8, 63, n. 2.
[6] London, 1910, p. 81. [7] P. 199 f.

of this aspect of reality for Buddhists is visible in the writings of Ledi Mahāthera.[1]

In his discussion of the terms *paramattha* and *sacca* S. Z. Aung quotes mediæval philosophical works, which are practically at one in interpreting *paramattha* as meaning either a sense-datum or a thing *per se* (*sabhāva*) which is verifiably existent to the extent of irreversibility or infallibility. Such ultimately real things, referred by Anuruddha to a 'fourfold category,' may also be distinguished under two heads — as unconditioned and conditioned. Under the former head, meaning 'whatever is not causally related to anything else,' Buddhist philosophy refers its metaphysical conception of *nibbāna* (*nirvāṇa*), *i.e.* its hypothetical state which is not life, in that there is no birth or death, the essentials of life. Under the conditioned are comprised all the elements (not the compound phenomena) of matter and mind. In the former the elements, abstractions from earth, water, fire, air, are, respectively, that which extends itself, coheres, burns, moves. Mind is ultimately conceived as consciousness *plus* a number of what the present writer has called mental coefficients (Pāli, *cetasika-dhammā*, 'mentals'), such as feeling, perception, volition, etc. All these conditioned elements, though ultimately real, are in a perpetual state of change, *i.e.* of genesis and cessation, wherein there is always a causal series, one momentary state arising because of its predecessor and transforming itself into its successor. Nothing is casual or fortuitous. All is in a state of causally determined becoming. In the ultimate constituents of conditioned things, physical and mental, Buddhism has never held that the real is necessarily the permanent. Unwitting of this anticipation, Bertrand Russell is now asking modern philosophy to concede no less.[2]

LITERATURE.—See works referred to in the article.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

REAL PRESENCE.—See EUCHARIST.

REASON.—1. Definition.—In the most generalized sense of all, reason might be defined as the relational element in intelligence, in distinction from the element of content, sensational or emotional. Such a definition could justify itself by etymology: both λόγος and *ratio*, from which the word as a philosophical term descends historically, have sometimes the meaning simply of 'relation.' This, however, is too generalized to be serviceable. We must seek for something more limited.

At the beginning of the search we are met by an ambiguity. Man is defined as the 'rational animal'; yet the 'reason of animals,' at a level below the human, is currently spoken of. The explanation of this ambiguity will point out the definition which we require.

It is true that the lower animals have 'reason' as well as 'instinct' (which may be defined as the direction, psychical as well as physical, of actions to ends, without knowledge of the end) in the sense that they, in varying degrees, direct their actions intelligently to desired ends; but not even the animals nearest to man have the power of thinking in general terms expressed in language. Man has this; and, in the traditional definition of man, it is this that is distinguished by the name of 'reason.' The subject may thus be dealt with either psychologically or epistemologically—*i.e.*, we may consider the origin and growth of conceptual thought; or we may consider it as actually exercised in the discovery of true propositions. Psychologically it has been dealt with under the head of INTELLECT. In the present article we shall consider reason, not further in relation to the classification of the mental powers, and not genetically, but in relation to the philosophical discussions on the validity of scientific knowledge, of moral precepts, and of metaphysical beliefs.

2. The term in Greek philosophy.—(*a*) *The pre-Socratics.*—Reason, of course, was used by man long before the use of it was reflected on, and long before it was appealed to as the ground of knowledge or belief. When it is thus appealed to, it comes to be set, along with experience, in antithesis to passively accepted custom or tradition; and then again, more precisely, in antithesis to the particular facts known, as distinguished from the form and the generality of knowledge. The last stage was reached in the early philosophy of Greece—not at the very beginning, but as early as Heraclitus and Parmenides (6th to 5th cent. B.C.). For the earlier period of the Hellenic world, as for the pre-Hellenic world generally, the vague Homeric use of such words as *νόος*, *φρένες*, *πραπίδες*, in which reason is not clearly distinguished from sense, or the mental process from the organic process that goes with it physiologically, may be taken as characteristic. Something of this vagueness indeed always remains in literary and even in philosophical usage;[1] but there comes a time when language enables us to distinguish if we choose. The time when generalizing thought was consciously recognized, in distinction from the sense or experience in which it is immersed, arrived when the deductive science of mathematics had begun as a new departure of Greek science, marking a step beyond the accumulation of observations and empirical formulæ in the science of the ancient East. It was this, though perhaps neither thinker was fully aware of the source of his thought, that caused Heraclitus and Parmenides to begin the series of articulate statements of a philosophical criterion. Earlier thinkers had already started the series of doctrines, but without a definite test of truth.

The balance, as a necessary consequence of the new departure in which the inquiry had its source, inclines at first to reason in its distinctive meaning as against the later-formulated criterion of experience. Heraclitus, indeed, appeals also to experience against tradition[2] in the saying, *ὀφθαλμοὶ τῶν ὤτων ἀκριβέστεροι μάρτυρες* (frag. 15 [Bywater], 101[a] [Diels]); but to reason is given the predominance. The final criterion is the judgment of the soul, not the witness of eyes (experience) or of ears (tradition), though the eyes are more trustworthy than the ears:

κακοὶ μάρτυρες ἀνθρώποισιν ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ὦτα βαρβάρους ψυχὰς ἐχόντων (frag. 4 [B.], 107 [D.]).

This, however, is still vague philosophically. Parmenides is more precise, and in his affirmation that reason[3] is the criterion he is more exclusive: we are to 'judge by argument' (*κρῖναι λόγῳ* [frag. 1. 36]). Anaxagoras returns to a kind of balance, distinguishing the two modes of knowing as 'by rational consideration' (λόγῳ) and 'by experience' (ἔργῳ). This at least seems a fair interpretation of a fragment translated less determinately by Burnet:

'So that we cannot know the number of the things that are

[1] *E.g.*, *Vipassanāddīpanī*, Rangoon; 'Expositions,' *Buddhist Review*, Oct. 1915; 'Some Points in Buddhist Doctrine,' *JPTS*, 1913–14, p. 129, as well as in S. Z. Aung's art. 'The Philosophy of the Real,' *Journ. Burma Research Society*, Rangoon, 1917.

[2] 'The Ultimate Constituents of Matter,' *The Monist*, London, 1915, p. 401 *f.*

[1] *E.g.*, some misapprehensions would have been avoided if the 'common sense' of the Scottish school had been described as 'common reason.' Historically it takes its origin from *κοινὴ αἴσθησις*, but its meaning approximates rather to *κοινὸς λόγος* (see art. SCOTTISH PHILOSOPHY).

[2] See Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*[2], p. 147, n. 2.

[3] The meaning of λόγος in Heraclitus is still disputed; but, when it most approximates to reason, it seems to mean a rational law of things and of the mind rather than a test applied by the mind to its knowledge of things (see art. LOGOS).

separated off, either in word or deed' (*ὥστε τῶν ἀποκρινομένων μὴ εἰδέναι τὸ πλῆθος μήτε λόγῳ μήτε ἔργῳ* [frag. 7; Burnet, p. 300]).

Democritus, not much later, declares outright that true knowledge is not by the senses but by reason. This is the interpretation of Sextus Empiricus; and it is supported by the strong terms in which Democritus rejects the claim of the senses to judge. As Sextus sums up his positions:

δύο φησὶν εἶναι γνώσεις, τὴν μὲν διὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων τὴν δὲ διὰ τῆς διανοίας, ὧν τὴν μὲν διὰ τῆς διανοίας γνησίην καλεῖ, . . . τὴν δὲ διὰ τῶν αἰσθήσεων σκοτίην ὀνομάζει. . . . οὐκοῦν καὶ κατὰ τοῦτον ὁ λόγος ἐστὶ κριτήριον, ὃν γνησίην γνώμην καλεῖ (*adv. Math.* vii. 138 *f.*).

These positions of the pre-Socratics may not be ultimately compatible with the outlook implied in their tracing of reason as well as other modes of mind to dependence on certain material mixtures in the bodily organs; but complete clearness could not be attained so early; and it is interesting to find that the most decided materialist, Democritus, lays most stress on reason as against the experiences of sense-perception. Perhaps, however, Democritus ought rather to be counted as belonging to the next phase, when attacks on the possibility of knowledge had to be expressly met. In his appeal distinctively to reason he was at one with his constructive contemporaries, however he might differ in his ontology.

(*b*) *Plato and Aristotle.*—When, in the Sophistic period, the subjective criticism that examined the mind's own process was turned against the efforts of the early thinkers to arrive at truth in a direct objective way, Socrates, as a preliminary to reconstruction, set himself to examine the nature of the concept. Though by Aristotle induction from particulars (*ἐπαγωγή*), as well as the search for general definitions, is ascribed to Socrates, it was as a dialectical rather than as an experiential thinker that he became most influential. His central effort, as distinguished from incidental positions that interested eccentric thinkers like Antisthenes and Aristippus, was carried forward by Plato and then by Aristotle. For Plato reason, or coherent thinking, decidedly had the predominance, as a test, over experience of particulars. 'Dialectic' was conceived as a more general method than that of deductive mathematics, which implies it, but adds untested hypotheses of its own. The appeal to reason, in Plato's ideal system of knowledge, thus became part of a whole in which, while experience had a place, dialectic, with deductive mathematics at the next step below, was the model of ultimately valid thought. At a higher stage than that of discursive reason (*διάνοια*) there was pure intellect, intuitive thought (*νοῦς, νόησις*), by which true reality is to be grasped; at a lower stage was opinion (*δόξα*), not properly scientific because not dialectical or mathematical, which deals by more or less conjectural methods with the phenomena presented to sense-perception.[1] On the dialectical side, what had been partially formulated by Plato was definitively formulated by Aristotle, who stated the axioms since known as the 'laws of thought,' and made them the basis of his codified formal logic. Aristotle, on another side of his mind, was much more of a naturalistic inquirer into detail than Plato; but, in his general view of the test or tests of truth, he remains faithful to the principles of his master.

(*c*) *Epicureans and Stoics.*—The next period of Greek thought, occupied as it was with the effort to formulate a rule of life for the individual in a cosmopolitan world for which the bond of the city-State had become a waning tradition, brought on the search for a more tangible reality than that of the metaphysics in which the Platonic and Aristotelian dialectic found its consummation. To arrive at some external reality in the most expeditious way was the theoretical problem. Then, without useless lingering over this, the philosophic learner could go on to the essential thing, which was practice. The great positive schools of this period, the Epicureans and the Stoics (*qq.v.*), while differing much in detail, solved this problem fundamentally in the same way. Going back to the earlier thinkers, they developed more consistently the naturalistic side of their doctrines. The rudiments could be found in them of theories which, in the explanation of mind, proceeded from the physiological organs and made the senses psychologically fundamental. From these rudiments the new schools, with the long dialectical development of the intervening period behind them, worked out in considerable detail what we may call an experiential theory of knowledge. Not rational argument as such was the criterion, but a certain mode of experience. Epicurus, while taking for his ultimate account of reality the atomism of Democritus (with changes that were scientifically for the worse), completely inverted the position of Democritus with regard to the senses. For Epicurus sense-perception is the criterion: things are exactly as they appear. This is formally stated by Sextus Empiricus, who was our authority for the precisely opposite affirmation of Democritus. Epicurus, he says, affirms that sense-perception is trustworthy in its hold of reality throughout:

τὴν αἴσθησιν . . . διὰ παντός τε ἀληθεύειν καὶ οὕτω τὸ ὂν λαμβάνειν ὡς εἶχε φύσεως αὐτὸ ἐκεῖνο (*adv. Math.* viii. 9).

The more elaborate doctrine of the Stoics equally adopted for its criterion sense-perception, though not indiscriminately, but only when it was perception of a certain kind. The difference was in effect that Zeno and his successors laid stress on an active element in the grasp of external reality; mere recipiency did not seem to them sufficient. Reality is seized, they said, by the *φαντασία καταληπτική*—a kind of presentation that is known to give a true account by the sense of possession that goes with it and the absence of any opposing presentation. As Sextus puts it,

κριτήριον εἶναι τῆς ἀληθείας τὴν καταληπτικὴν φαντασίαν . . . μηδὲν ἔχουσαν ἔνστημα (vii. 253).

The part of *Λόγος* in the Stoic system, like that of *νοῦς* for Anaxagoras, is ontological. In one of its meanings *λόγος* is the law that runs through the world; but reason as the procedure of the mind in dealing with the general is not for the Stoic theory of knowledge the ultimate test of truth. The ultimate test for the Stoics, as for the Epicureans, is experience.

(*d*) *Sceptics.*—The opposition that this doctrine had to meet came from the sceptics, especially those of the New Academy. That the most reasoned scepticism should have proceeded from the Academy (*q.v.*) reveals its essential nature. For a time the attempt to build a positive system from the points of view developed in Plato's *Dialogues* was abandoned, and his school threw itself into negative criticism. A system of confident dogmatism like that of the Stoics provided it with material exactly to the purpose. Carneades recognized his dependence on his opponents when he said, parodying the verse that made Chrysippus the effective founder of the Stoa, *εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἦν Χρύσιππος οὐκ ἂν ἦν ἐγώ*. The method was to apply to the Epicurean and Stoic tests of truth a stringent dialectic which, after the emergence of idealistic criticism, no naively realistic doctrine could bear. Indirectly, therefore, scepticism, earlier and later, was the preparation for the next constructive school, that of the Neo-Platonists.

[1] See *Republic*, end of bk. vi., for an exact account.

which, arising independently, at length absorbed the Academy.

(*e*) *Neo-Platonists.*—With a positive, and no longer a negative, aim, Plotinus revived the Platonic idealism, bringing into it more system through the study of Aristotle, and turning it critically against the Stoic materialism (see art. NEO-PLATONISM). Even sense-perception, he showed, is inexplicable from the basis of mere physiology; but, for the test of truth, he turned away from sense and insisted on reason as that which judges. Mysticism, though a distinctive feature of his thought, does not furnish the criterion. For the mystical experience, being a state beyond knowledge, seizing upon that which is beyond mind, cannot be explained to one who has not had it. The reasoned system points to it, but does not include it as part of a completely rational process: it is *ἔκστασις*, a standing out of system. The system itself consists of demonstrations, and its criterion is reason. Thus, after a long and fluctuating process, thought had returned to the dialectic and logic of Plato and Aristotle as offering the soundest principles of knowledge yet discovered.

This was, however, more clearly brought out by Proclus (A.D. 410–485) two centuries after Plotinus (204–270). For Plotinus the ideal of reason is an intuitive thought such as Spinoza[1] holds to be the highest order of knowledge. Proclus does not reject this, as he does not reject the more distinctively mystical experience beyond it; but for the definitive test of truth he selects a more generally applicable criterion. The criteria that the thinker may use for himself in relation to different kinds of subject-matter are many; but the soul is a unity as well as a multiplicity; and there must be some universal criterion for every soul. This he finds to be neither pure intellect (*νοῦς*) at one extreme nor sense-perception (*αἴσθησις*) at the other, but discursive reason (*λόγος*). Here is the process of explicit formulation by which the higher is mediated to the lower and the lower to the higher. The mind may start from the glimpses of intuitive reason and may use sense-perception as material for criticism or confirmation; but, if there is to be a system of knowledge, it must be established by a process of argument. The circumspection which he ascribes to Plato in assigning their proper part in knowledge to all the modes of mind is certainly to be found in the passage where he gives this guarded expression to philosophical rationalism:

εἰ τοίνυν τὸ κρίνειν ψυχῆς ἐστιν—οὐ γάρ που τὸ ἡμέτερον σῶμα κριτικὴν ἔχει δύναμιν—ἡ δὲ ψυχὴ ἕν ἐστι καὶ πλῆθος, καὶ τὸ κριτικὸν ἓν ἐστιν ἅμα καὶ πολλά, καὶ μονοειδὴς ἡ κριτικὴ δύναμις καὶ πολυειδής. τίς οὖν ἡ μία δύναμις; φαίη τις ἄν. ὁ λόγος, φήσομεν (*Comm. in Tim.*, ed. E. Diehl, Leipzig, 1903, i. 254–255).

As first matter, or mere possibility, below the limit of true knowledge, is seized by a kind of bastard reasoning (*νόθῳ λογισμῷ* in Plato's phrase), so the One, at the other extreme above knowledge, is seized by a kind of bastard intuition (*νόθῳ νῷ*). Thus every test finally has a certain resemblance to the model test of explicit reason. If the other tests are to be regarded as having their own validity, it must be shown by argument how they can have it; though argument, of course, cannot enable us to dispense with direct perceptions whether of intellect or of sense.

For antiquity, therefore, what may be called in the philosophical sense 'rationalism' remained finally supreme.

3. Mediæval and modern use.—(*a*) *Scholasticism.*—In the mediæval schools rationalism (*q.v.*) became predominant in a narrowed sense. The passage cited above from Proclus might have been taken by the Schoolmen of Western Christendom, without its qualifications, as a text to prove the exclusive value of their characteristic activity. It was long after Proclus, and long after the suppression of the school at Athens of which he was the last great name, that the revival of philosophical thought began in the West; but, when it came, it gave evidence of continuity with the latest thought of antiquity. Its first great movement was an immense development of discursive reason. Precisely because the Middle Ages had lost the freedom with which in classical antiquity ultimate beliefs could be discussed, there was such an elaboration of formal method as had never been known before. The value of this must not be underrated. In a sentence from W. Hamilton's *Discussions in Philosophy* which Mill prefixed to the first book of his *Logic* it is put thus:

'To the schoolmen the vulgar languages are principally indebted for what precision and analytic subtlety they possess.'

Croom Robertson says:

'All the world has heard of scholasticism as an oppressive system of pedantic belief: it has still to be known as a system of rationalism struggling to be' ('The English Mind,' *Philosophical Remains*, London, 1894, p. 34).

The reverse side of the case remains, of course, that this rationalism was very limited. The Schoolmen made a fine art of formal reasoning; but the habit of accepting traditional authority for facts and data was so fixed that the attempt to bring again into view the claims of experience remained merely sporadic. To get out of the circle of things taken for granted or assumed dialectically, a revolt against the School-philosophy itself became necessary. The controversy about the reality of universals was primarily ontological. By their contention that only particulars are real, and that the genus or species is only a name indicating resemblance between the members of a class, the nominalists might seem nearer to modern experientialism than the realists, for whom class-names indicated a reality like that of the Platonic ideas; but the methods of both were equally dialectical. An aid to the imagination in forming a notion of the time that it took new views about method to emerge is to remember that there is a longer interval between the exhortations of Roger Bacon to go to experience and those of Francis Bacon, than between the publication of the *Novum Organum* (1620) and the present date.

Roger Bacon is an isolated figure in the greatest period of Scholasticism, the 13th century. Another great English thinker, William of Ockham, in the next century, promoted by his dialectic the disintegration of the imposing dogmatism of St. Thomas Aquinas (*q.v.*) and John Duns Scotus (see art. SCHOLASTICISM). Then came the beginnings of the new movement of humanism (*q.v.*), taking the form at first of a more literary interest in the Latin classics. After the revival, in the 15th cent., of direct knowledge of Greek thought in its original sources, followed by the setting up, in the 16th, of older types of thinking, in conscious rivalry with the whole mediæval scheme of theology and philosophy, the movement against Scholasticism took a more systematic new departure.

(*b*) *Experientialism and rationalism.*—This, in the 17th cent., expressed itself in the effort to establish once for all the right 'method' of seeking truth. The new aspiration for firm knowledge, instead of barren disputes about insoluble questions, culminated for the time in the philosophical reforms of Bacon and Descartes (*qq.v.*). Bacon not only clothed in the most impressive language the appeal to experience as the test by which every claim to possess real knowledge must be verified, but also developed some genuine outlines of a theory of induction, no longer unsystematic, but rising by stages from particulars to generals, as deduction descends from generals to particulars.

[1] *Eth.* ii. prop. 40, schol. 2.

Descartes, himself a discoverer in geometry, set against the sterile formalism of mere logic, which could bring out only what had been implicitly asserted, the real deduction of new truth in the mathematical sciences. Thus began the two great movements of philosophy known as English experientialism and Continental rationalism; but it is important to note that these were not so definitely rivals as they had become later when Kant turned his 'critical' thought on both at once. The great Continental rationalists, Descartes, Spinoza, and Leibniz (*qq.v.*), all took occasion to recognize in some way the new departure of the English in their appeal to experience. In all the English thinkers, on the other side, unreduced elements from the rationalism of ancient science and of the Scholastic tradition remain over. It would be easy to show this in the case of Bacon, Hobbes, Locke, and Berkeley (*qq.v.*). And Hume (*q.v.*), who carried farthest the effort to resolve all 'principles of reason' into derivatives of pure experience, treated his results not as 'dogmatic' but as 'sceptical,' *i.e.* as suggesting problems for reconsideration; finally abandoning his first elaborate attempt to explain mathematics as an essentially empirical science. By Kant (*q.v.*), while the opposition with him arrived at the most explicit statement, the reconciliation of 'reason' and 'experience' as constituents of truth was most systematically attempted. Reason, according to Kant, does not merely enable us to arrive at 'analytical' judgments implied in what has been already said, but, in mathematics at least, yields genuine new truth in the form of 'synthetic judgments *a priori*.' Yet, while these are not given in mere experience, they have no valid application beyond all possible experience. All true science consists in carrying reason into the construction of nature so as to make it intelligible to thought. Even those highest principles that seem to go beyond this have value only as furnishing an ideal that the actually working system of science may try to approach and so gradually perfect itself.

(*c*) *The Kantian reaction and the revival of experientialism.*—If we were to stop here, it might seem that now, as at the end of ancient thought, the supreme place, though with circumspection, was assigned to reason. Kant, however, did not, even at first, approximately satisfy any considerable group of thinkers. The problem became on the one side to develop him, on the other side to answer him. Hegel (*q.v.*) has been thought to have carried philosophical rationalism to the highest point. By a new logic, the whole order of the universe, he seemed to promise, was to be shown forth as a manifestation of reason. Yet, curiously, his power appears most in a strong grasp of experience intermittently attained, but unmediated by any method fitted to carry general conviction. The next representatives of experientialism, in contrast, were men of pre-eminently deductive minds, whose strength was in reasoned exposition, and who, in the days of Scholasticism, might have been famous as irrefragable doctors. For the complex period at which we have arrived it is more true than ever, in the phrase borrowed by Hegel himself from Anaxagoras, that things are not 'cut in two with a hatchet.'

It would have contributed much to a clear issue for the thinkers just alluded to had they known Kant at first hand; but they knew him only indirectly or very imperfectly. Comte, who, like Descartes and Leibniz among modern philosophers, was a mathematician of original power, thought that he could explain even mathematics philosophically as based in generalizations from pure experience (see art. Positivism). J. S. Mill (*q.v.*), who succeeded in founding a valid inductive logic by deducing the actual tests of experimental science from a general principle, 'the uniformity of nature,' fell back, for the proof of this, on the weakest mode of induction—viz. that 'induction by simple enumeration' which the Baconian canons and his own had been devised to supersede. And this, in both cases, without any close consideration of Kant's arguments for the necessity of *a priori* principles in the sciences of nature as in mathematics. It is not surprising that, both in France and in England, the two countries where the experientialism that took shape from Locke had been strongest, there was a reaction—or a forward movement, as some put it—in the Kantian direction. For the whole of Europe, however, it must be said that the predominant movement in the 19th cent., through the influence on philosophy of the enormous new developments in the sciences of experiment and observation, was greatly to enlarge the place given to experience as compared with that which it held in antiquity, and to reduce the principles of reason which science finds that it cannot do without to an attenuated form. The elaborate apparatus of Kant was not adopted by men of science; and in Germany the movement which took for its watchword 'Back to Kant' signified a return to the experiential side of Kant against the extreme speculative developments of his successors (see art. Neo-Kantism).

There is, however, it has also become clear, an element in scientific knowledge not explicable as a resultant of accumulating experience. The most general principles of logic, whether of formal inference, of mathematical deduction, or of the natural and humanistic sciences, remain more than arbitrary linkings of ideas that can have their validity proved or disproved by their applicability to certain subject-matters. They are not in the end mere 'working hypotheses.' There is in reason, as Kant with all his over-elaboration proved, an *a priori* factor in virtue of which we distinguish it from pure experience.

4. A priori.—This term has been dealt with in a separate article, but calls for a brief discussion in relation to the present subject. Its source, as has been shown, was Aristotelian. Aristotle distinguished between that which is first in relation to us and that which is first by nature. In knowledge the experiences of sense-perception are first in relation to us, *i.e.* in the order of genesis; but, since, in his view as in Plato's, the formal essence (*εἶδος*), expressed in a concept, is the determining reality of everything, the ideal of knowledge for the philosophically trained mind is to begin with the general and proceed to particulars. Thus the syllogism, into which all formal reasoning can be thrown if we need expressly to test its validity, is 'first by nature' and has more in it of true cognition; but induction, which is the procedure from particulars to generals (*ἡ ἀπὸ τῶν καθ' ἕκαστον ἐπὶ τὰ καθόλου ἔφοδος*), is more persuasive and carries plainer evidence to the ordinary mind.[1] Quite fitly, therefore, the term *a priori* was adopted by Kant as the technical expression for reason in its purity, proceeding, whether theoretically or practically, as something necessarily general and not to be derived from experience conceived as a sum of unrelated particulars presented to the mind from outside. Since Kant the expression has become a kind of shorthand, understood without reference to its historical origin or to any distinctive system. Those who use it do not imply that they are reasoning from a formal cause, which has priority in the Aristotelian sense as being the real essence; nor even that they regard their general principles as transcendental in the Kantian sense, *i.e.* as not derived from ex-

[1] See *Top.* i. 12, 105[a] 13, and *Anal. Pr.* ii. 23, 68[b] 32.

perience though having possible application only within experience. Their claim is simply to be in possession of general principles, whatever the source of these, from which they are justified in inferring propositions applicable to groups of particulars. Herbert Spencer, *e.g.*, while he is always classed with the series of the English experientialists, uses the term as freely as Kant, and he was at least as confident an *a priori* reasoner as Aristotle and decidedly less of an observer. The ground of his *a priori*, however, was quite different. For him the order of genesis is the real order of nature; and the *a priori* principles of the mind, though it can now apply them with scientific security, are valid only as the last result of accumulated experiences in the race and the individual. Yet, perhaps, in a very broad sense, a philosophical conception of the *a priori* akin to that of Aristotle or of Kant lurks behind. For experience, according to Spencer, does not simply consist of 'feelings,' but includes 'relations between feelings'; and these are not derivative, but constitute a kind of λόγος, or *ratio*, in which all explicit knowledge had a prior existence. In this extremely general sense of the *a priori*, Spencer also may be classed with the philosophical rationalists.

5. **Reason in ethics.**—Moral conduct may be considered as practically determined either by the notion of an end of action, a final good, or by the notion of a law to which action ought to conform. In whichever way it is considered, both reason and experience must be allowed a part in deciding what actual conduct shall be. For Greek and Roman antiquity moral philosophy was on the whole dominated by the idea of an end or good (see artt. ETHICS AND MORALITY [Greek] and [Roman]). This might be derived from experience and treated as something empirical to which the means had to be sought; or it might be determined in relation to some metaphysical reality that was thought to confer on it its ultimate desirability as an end. In the latter case it would naturally be regarded as ascertainable by the direct insight of reason. Plato's idea of the good is conceived as the final object of rational insight, conferring on all ends their desirability as on all modes of being their reality; but he admits that he cannot say what it is.[1] In Plato's and Aristotle's actual treatment of moral problems there is a mixture of points of view, both reason and experience being appealed to. This, however, does not make the philosophers illogical. Their ideal is that the end or the good should be rationally knowable; but they recognize, in the conditions of human nature, the need for much empirical balancing of one thing with another. The conceptions of 'pleasure' as the end, interpreted by Epicurus as in its highest degree tranquillity, and of the 'life according to nature,' selected by the Stoics as their final good, may be considered as experiential, in accordance with the theoretical philosophy of the schools that adopted them. In these schools, however, points of view came decisively forward that led on to the later 'ethics of law,' which in modern times has tended to become the type of rationalist, as distinguished from experiential, ethics. The Epicureans made considerable use of the notion of keeping contracts, already present in the Aristotelian theory of justice; and the Stoics brought the detail of their ethics under ideas of a natural justice or of a law common to all. This had much influence on the formulation of Roman legal conceptions. Neo-Platonism treated ethics on the whole from the metaphysical point of view, according to which degree of worthiness in ends corresponds to degree of reality in the scale of existences. Christian ethics adapted, for philosophical systematization, Stoic, Platonic, and Aristotelian positions, in this chronological order. Its notion of a divine legislation tended to reinforce the beginnings that already existed of the 'ethics of law,' moral duties being put in the form of commands. Thus in the Middle Ages ethics took the name of 'moral theology.' In the early modern period a kind of ethics of law, placed on natural or rational grounds, was formulated by Hobbes (*q.v.*). Its precepts might be also divine commands, but they could be known, though not enforced, independently of all positive legislation, human or divine, as declarations by natural reason concerning that which ought to be done. A certain end was fixed, viz. social peace and security as the general condition allowing individuals to seek their personal good, which is no one thing, but consists in a multiplicity of things that present themselves as desirable in the course of experience. The end being fixed, the 'law of nature' in its ethical sense becomes demonstrable. Since, however, all ends are considered as known only empirically, and the law is determined ultimately by relation to these, Hobbes, though in part rationalist in his expressions, has always been classed with the experientialists in ethics and politics as in general philosophy. His successors and opponents, Cudworth and Clarke, with their appeal to 'right reason' and 'the fitness of things' as the proper determinants of action apart from command or self-interest, were stringently rationalist in form, but did not disentangle their ethics of law from the metaphysical points of view that they had inherited from Plato and his ancient or Scholastic successors. A new departure was taken by Kant when he insisted that the only generally valid form of ethics is that which expresses itself as the 'moral law,' obligatory without relation to ends; and that moral obligation is rationally determined by itself without reference either to experience or to any metaphysical propositions about the nature of a reality beyond experience. Ultimate moral judgments, stating what ought to be done, are determined by 'pure practical reason,' as the ultimate types of assertion about what is or may be real are determined by 'pure speculative reason.' This mode of ethical thought has since been developed and modified with most originality by C. Renouvier (*Science de la Morale*, 2 vols., Paris, 1869) and by E. Juvalta (*Il Vecchio e il Nuovo Problema della Morale*, Bologna, 1914). For further details on rationalist positions in modern ethics see artt. MORAL LAW, MORAL OBLIGATION.

6. **Reason versus understanding.**—An antithesis that has had considerable importance historically is that which was set up by Kant's distinction between reason in an eminent sense (*Vernunft*) and understanding (*Verstand*). Understanding relates one thing to another within experience, but does not go forward to the ideal completion of experience in a total system. Such an ideal completion is wrought by the reason, which rises above the bounds of experience and affirms the three transcendental ideas of the soul as a permanent being (the psychological idea), of the world as a totality (the cosmological idea), and of God as the necessary being who is the cause of the whole (the theological idea). These ideas of the reason, Kant argues, are not theoretically demonstrable; but neither are they theoretically refutable; and we have the intellectual right to assert them as postulates of the moral life. For, while this, being autonomous, is independent of any metaphysical doctrine, it does not simply rest in itself, but claims that it shall find its fulfilment in a universe ordered in relation to its demands. By Kant's idealist successors in Germany the antithesis of reason and understanding was often turned to account—in defiance of Kant's aim at limiting the pretensions

[1] *Rep.* vi. 506.

of the speculative reason—to claim the warrant of a higher faculty for their own utterances, all detailed criticism being treated as an affair of the 'mere abstract understanding.' To English readers this procedure became familiar through its use by Coleridge and his disciples to discredit attacks on tradition, political or religious. The reason saw in this a deep meaning, placing it at once beyond the vulgar hostility of crude radicalism and the arid defences of conventional conservatism, both alike bound within the limits of the inferior pedestrian faculty. In Germany Schopenhauer (*q.v.*) made an attempt to turn the tables by contending that the understanding is always the originative thing, reason, as merely conceptual, being only the means of preserving consistency—*e.g.*, to be reasonable (*vernünftig*) is not necessarily to be moral; it may mean only consistency in pursuing well-understood self-interest; true morality implies a sympathetic insight that is not merely rational. Understanding no doubt includes what is below, but it also includes what is above, the process of logically connecting concepts—at once the instincts and perceptions of animals and the perception or 'instinct' of genius. This, however, means that Schopenhauer in his own manner continued the old distinction, while inverting the reference of the names. This he could easily do by limiting 'reason' to its sense of ratiocination. Whatever the terms used, the distinction in fact remains. A mind so strongly developed on the side of the understanding, or of reason in its sense of ratiocination, as that of J. S. Mill could acknowledge that in some respects Coleridge had deeper insight than Bentham. And Comte, while maintaining the claim of his philosophy to complete 'positivity,' found that, because it was philosophy and not merely science, the supreme place in it belonged to certain 'vues d'ensemble.' The problem of a truly philosophical reform must be to make the 'esprit d'ensemble' predominate over the 'esprit de détail.' 'Dispersive specialism,' when uncontrolled, becomes an aberration of the human mind, relatively justifying that conservative reaction which at least maintains the synthesis of the past. The Coleridgian distinction, it is evident in the light of these testimonies, cannot be dismissed as a mere verbal trick. The problem is to find the right terms. Thus only can we hope to set ourselves free at once from arrogance and from confusion. Now the right terms are ready to our hand in Milton,[1] who puts into the mouth of Raphael the declaration that the soul's being is reason, 'discursive, or intuitive,' 'differing but in degree, of kind the same.' Those terms, taken no doubt from a Scholastic source, go back to Plato and Aristotle. Intuitive reason is the νοῦς of the Platonic theory of knowledge; discursive reason is the διάνοια. The former corresponds to the reason of Kantism; the latter to the understanding. These terms, 'intuitive' and 'discursive' reason, have the advantage of accurately rendering, without arbitrary specialization of meaning, a difference that really exists and is plain when it is pointed out. No difficult introspection is needed to see that there is a total grasp, a 'synoptic' view of things, and that there is also procedure from point to point. But it must always be borne in mind that, if the former is higher, it is unavailable till it has been mediated by the latter. The ideal of philosophic presentation is achieved by those who, like Plato and Berkeley, have both in due balance.

LITERATURE.—As the antithesis between reason and experience runs through all the history of philosophy, the following general authorities may first be mentioned: J. Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy*[2], London, 1908; H. Ritter and L. Preller, *Historia Philosophiæ Græcæ*[8], Gotha, 1898; F. Ueberweg, *Grundriss der Gesch. der Philosophie*, i.[10], Berlin, 1909, ii.[10] 1915, iii.[11] 1914, iv.[11] 1916. On the impossibility of reducing the supreme principle of inductive logic to 'hypothesis,' Carveth Read, *Logic*[4], London, 1914, p. 286 f. On rational and empirical ethics, T. Whittaker, *The Theory of Abstract Ethics*, Cambridge, 1916. On the 'synoptic' view to which philosophy returns, J. T. Merz, *Hist. of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, iii., iv., Edinburgh, 1912–14.

THOMAS WHITTAKER.

REBELLION, REVOLUTION.—Rebellion, in the sense of active resistance to established authority, is a phenomenon as old as political society; the doctrine that there is a right so to resist was proclaimed somewhat late, and after the Reformation it came into collision with the theory that kings have a divine right to absolute power. The question was settled to their own satisfaction by the champions of absolutism, but Locke asserts (*Two Treatises of Government*, London, 1690, bk. ii. § 90) that a monarchy such as they advocate, arbitrary and unlimited, is no form of civil government at all; and he shows that the question of a right of revolution is not so easily disposed of. Still popular judgment on the subject of the rightfulness or wrongfulness of insurrection is so often influenced by religious considerations, by the ideas involved in the old theory of divine right (*q.v.*), that no fair conclusion can be formed without an examination of this theory, apart altogether from its political and historical importance.

All early government was monarchical, and the sovereignty of the ancient State was absolute. But this was not because of any belief in divine right, since on this and other kindred subjects men had not begun to hold theories at all; the reason was that they were not yet conscious of those rights as men and citizens which, by their very existence, limit the power of government. In more modern times, according to Bluntschli (*Theory of the State*, bk. vi. ch. viii.), among the Greeks and Germans, kings were regarded as being of divine extraction but not as being themselves gods or as superior to human laws. The Romans, again, chose their kings as a rule by election, and did not recognize a supernatural descent even for those who succeeded by inheritance, although they acknowledged the right of the gods to direct the affairs of the State (*ib.* ch. ix.). It was in mediæval times that it first became the custom to talk of a king as the vicegerent or anointed representative of God, responsible to Him alone. Even usurpers like Pepin regarded themselves as wearing their crown 'Dei gratia.' Such a claim as that of Louis XIV. to a monopoly in his own person of political rights could not find even outward justification except on the assumption that his power was divinely derived.

There is a sense in which this doctrine may be said to be based upon the teaching of the NT. It did not come from the Jews, whose chronicles show them to have been, as a nation, more rebellious than law-abiding, whose kings besides were in the strictest sense servants of Jahweh, subject in all their acts to the censorship of His prophets. Moreover, the God of the Hebrew people sometimes favoured insurrection, as we see in 2 K 18[7], where it is stated that the Lord was with Hezekiah, the king of Judah, when 'he rebelled against the king of Assyria, and served him not.'

On the other hand, the early Christian Church taught what amounted practically to a doctrine of passive obedience to the State. 'The powers that be,' says St. Paul, 'are ordained of God' (Ro 13[1]). And again we find: 'Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake: whether it be to the king, as supreme; or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him' (1 P 2[13f.]). These words were held, after the Reformation, to support the theory to which we have referred, that kings

[1] *Par. Lost*, v. 486–490.

were the anointed representatives of God, who, according to Louis XIV., reserved 'to himself the right to judge their acts' (*Œuvres*, Paris, 1806, ii. 317). But such an inference leaves out of account the fact that the Christian religion made a sharp distinction between Church and State, between the all-embracing power of God and the mere temporal authority of the emperor. Its Founder was not a prince of this world, and He Himself expressly separated the things which were Cæsar's from the things which were God's (Mt 22^{21}, Lk 20^{25}). The only divine rule belonged to the Almighty, but the early Church preached an unhesitating submission to the laws of the State, so long as these did not conflict with the higher mandate of religion (Ac 5^{29}).

The doctrine of an absolute sovereignty was first set forth in the form of a philosophical theory by Hobbes, and he urged passive obedience to the authority of the State under all circumstances whatsoever. Hobbes supported this extreme form of absolutism by an ingenious use of the theory of contract, which Locke employed later for the contrary purpose of upholding the ultimate right of the people 'to remove or alter the legislature' —the same theory which appeared at the time of the French Revolution to justify violent resistance to the government. We have to bear in mind, when reading Hobbes and Locke, that both are animated by the spirit of partisanship and are writing to condemn and defend, respectively, the rebellions of their time. But Hobbes did not carry his premisses to their logical conclusion. If right lies with might, as he asserts—and as has been held by J. Austin and the English jurists who strip sovereignty of every attribute but force—then right is with the people in any insurrection successfully carried out.

There can, in fact, be no legal right so called to disobey the established law of the land. We find it asserted, anarchical and contradictory as it is, in several of the American Declarations of Independence, along with other claims not less open to criticism (Ritchie, *Natural Rights*[3], pt. ii., esp. ch. xi.). But a constitutional right of resistance is a contradiction in terms, absurd and unthinkable, though plausible in a certain degree on the old hypothesis of a contract between a ruler and his subjects, according to which it was the part of the former to rule justly and of the latter to obey, the contract lasting only so long as each fulfilled these obligations.

There is, however, another point of view. It is generally admitted that the end for which the State was instituted is, as Locke put it, 'the good of mankind' (ii. § 229). And there are conceivable conditions under which continued well-being may be impossible and the existence even of a nation may be threatened. Under such circumstances it is generally agreed that there is a moral right or even duty of resistance.

The question then may properly be asked, When is revolution justifiable? No rule can be laid down, although the first necessity is that the common good should urgently demand reform of a radical kind. Other considerations must be taken into account. From an ethical standpoint, resistance is to be attempted only where it seems to have a chance of being successful, and approved only where the victorious party has been able not only to overthrow the ruling administration, but to construct on its ruins a government capable of preserving the independence thus attained. Moreover, there is the reservation that this should be done only after every form of conciliation has been tried, and where there are extreme misgovernment and suffering so intolerable as to make the cause seem worth the price of inevitable misery and bloodshed. Given these conditions, no one will dispute the right of what Schiller calls the 'appeal to Heaven' (*Wilhelm Tell*, act. ii. sc. 2). Even so zealous a defender of the power of the Crown as Johnson was forced to admit that there is a remedy in human nature against tyranny:

'If a sovereign oppresses his people to a great degree, they will rise and cut off his head' (Boswell, *Life of Samuel Johnson*, ed. H. Morley, London, 1884, ii. 144).

Hence we may say that, on moral grounds, revolution, like war, is to be justified only by the necessity which urges a nation to save its own existence at any cost.

It has been frequently argued, in the praise of democracy, that the so-called right of revolution cannot exist under a popular government, because the resistance of a part of the community to the will of the whole is, firstly, immoral owing to the supreme right of the majority, and, secondly, futile owing to its superior might. Henry Sidgwick (*The Elements of Politics*, London, 1891, p. 619 ff.) finds an element of sound reason in both these arguments, but decides in favour of the right of the minority to follow the dictates of its reason and conscience, inasmuch as it may possess superior knowledge and even have at its command superior physical force. Indeed, neither democracy nor any other form of government can prevent the possibility of civil war. Rather, as Kant—himself an advocate of passive obedience—points out, the safety of a State and its security against internal dissension and discontent lie in the education and moral development of its citizens. This is the sense in which statesmanship may best be defined as the art of avoiding revolutions. As Charles James Fox is reported to have said (John Stuart Mill, *Autobiography*, London, 1873, ch. v.), the theory of a right of resistance is a doctrine to be forgotten by subjects and remembered by kings.

LITERATURE.—J. C. Bluntschli, *Theory of the State*, Eng. tr., Oxford, 1885; D. G. Ritchie, *Natural Rights*[3], London, 1916 (see also an essay on 'The Rights of Minorities,' in his *Darwin and Hegel*, do. 1893). The subject of the ethics of resistance is discussed by T. H. Green, *Philosophical Works*[5], do. 1906, ii. 455 ff. Among Hume's *Essays*, pt. ii., Edinburgh, 1752, is one on passive obedience.

M. CAMPBELL SMITH.

REBIRTH.—See REGENERATION, TRANSMIGRATION.

RECAPITULATION (Biological).—The biological facts indicated by the terms, recapitulation, rudimentary organs, reversion, retrogression, regeneration, rejuvenescence, and regression may be profitably discussed together.

1. Recapitulation.—All the higher organisms reveal in their development certain features which recall a distant ancestry. On each side of the neck of the embryo reptile, bird, and mammal there are branchial pouches comparable to those which have a respiratory function and may or do persist throughout life in fishes and amphibians. In reptiles, birds, and mammals these pouches are on the whole transient, like fleeting reminiscences. The first seems to persist as the eustachian tube, and the thymus gland is connected with another, but the rest pass away without persistent result. Similarly, the embryos of higher vertebrates show for a time a notochord—a primitive skeletal axis derived from the roof of the embryonic gut, and thus of endodermic origin. It persists throughout life in lancelets and lampreys, serving as the dorsal axis of the animal, as the forerunner of the backbone which, from fishes onwards, develops from the mesodermic sheath of the notochord. The notochord does not become the backbone, though perhaps serving as a sort of tissue-scaffolding for it, and every stage of the replacement of the one by the other is to be seen in fishes. Yet

on to man himself the notochord appears in development, has its short day, and passes, leaving but an unimportant vestige behind. Similarly, in the establishment of the brain, the skull, the heart, and other important structures the foundations are laid down on old-fashioned lines, not directly suggestive of what is to follow. Thus in individual organo-genesis there is frequently a recapitulation of historical stages. The development of many an organ is circuitous, as if the old paths had to some extent to be re-trod, and yet the progress of a hundred thousand years may be condensed into one day. Another aspect of the same fact is that the developing embryos of, say, bird and reptile are for some days very much alike, moving on parallel lines along the great highway of amniote development, but, sooner or later—about the sixth day in the case of the chick—their paths diverge and become distinctively avian and saurian. It is thus that the individual development (ontogeny) tends to recapitulate racial evolution (phylogeny), that the past lives again in the present with a compelling force. Three saving clauses must be noted: (*a*) the recapitulation is on the whole very general and always much condensed; (*b*) the individual development (especially when there are larval forms) often has its recapitulatory features obscured by secondary adaptations to relatively recent conditions of life; and (*c*) a living creature is extraordinarily specific from the very first—itself and no other. Yet it remains an important fact that the organism's inheritance garnered for ages does in many cases express itself in a step-to-step development, from the general to the special, which is in some degree a recapitulation of stages in what is believed to have been the racial evolution. But the doctrine of recapitulation is one that requires careful handling.

2. Rudimentary organs.—The fact of recapitulation leads naturally to the occurrence of rudimentary or vestigial structures, which linger on in dwindled expression long after they have ceased to be of use. Darwin compared them to the unsounded letters in some words, quite functionless, but telling us something of history. Some of the whales have deeply buried remnants of hip-girdle and hind-limb; birds have a vestigial and useless right oviduct; the skate has a minute remnant of a gill in its spiracle; man has a useless vestige of a third eyelid, occasionally with a supporting cartilage, and a large number of other historical relics. Among vestigial organs may be included those definite structures which appear in the course of development in weak expression and disappear without leaving a trace. Thus the whalebone whale has two sets of tooth-rudiments which never cut the gum. But the list must not include those structures which, though not attaining their original expression or form, are diverted to some new line of development. Thus the spinnerets of spiders are morphologically equivalent to two or more pairs of abdominal appendages—much reduced when compared with limbs, but in no true sense vestigial. The eustachian tube, which leads from the tympanic cavity to the back of the mouth, is a transformed and persistent spiracle, but it should not be called a vestige. In fact, one of the great methods of organic evolution has been the invention of novel structures by the rehabilitation or transformation of what is really very old. The three-linked chain of ossicles which convey vibrations from the drum to the internal organ of hearing was once in whole or in part included in the commonplace framework of the jaws. It is interesting to inquire whether there may not be vestigial functions and habits as well as vestigial organs and structure. Thus, according to Darwin, the dog that turns round and round on the hearthrug before settling to sleep is making a comfortable bed in imaginary grass. Its needless activity is a vestigial survival of what its wild ancestors did to a purpose among the rough herbage. Similar interpretations may be given of 'shying' in horses and so on, but they must be considered critically.

When, because of some defect in nutrition or the like, there is an arrest of development, an organism may present an appearance which recalls what is permanent in a remote ancestral type. Thus harelip in man has been compared to the naso-buccal grooves normal in cartilaginous fishes. It does not tend to clearness to call this sort of thing a reversion; it is an unfinishedness in development, often due in mammals to some extrinsic cause affecting the mother. If, as the result of famine, war, over-work, poisoning, or other causes, infants are born markedly arrested in development, it would be justifiable to describe this as reversionary, but it cannot be asserted that the offspring of these under-average individuals would in conditions of good nurture be under-average. Many reversionary conditions exhibited by individual organisms are due to modifications (indents), not to variations (new outcomes), and are not directly transmissible.

3. Reversion.—In the art. ATAVISM it has been pointed out that what may be described as a harking back to a more or less remote ancestor may not be due to the re-assertion or re-awakening of ancestral hereditary contributions which have lain for several generations latent or unexpressed, like dormant seeds in a garden. This must be re-emphasized, especially in the light of Mendelian experiment, for it seems probable that many domesticated races of animals (such as hornless cattle or tailless cats) have arisen by the dropping-out of some item or items in the heritable complex of the wild species or of its descendants. By taking advantage of the mysterious natural analysis or 'unpacking' of the complex pelage of the wild rabbit, man has established many true-breeding colour-varieties or races of domestic rabbit. It may happen that a crossing of two of these races results in offspring resembling the wild rabbit. But this is not to be regarded as a mysterious rehabilitation of a dormant 'wild-rabbit character' but as a 're-packing' of what had been previously sifted out. This is the Mendelian interpretation of reversion, and it is corroborated by many experiments. On the other hand, the sudden appearance of stripes on the fore-quarters of a horse, or of a horned calf in a pure-bred hornless breed, may perhaps be due to the re-assertion of a particular 'factor' which has lain latent for many generations.

4. Retrogression. — The term 'retrogression' should be kept for cases where structures pass in the individual development from a higher to a lower grade of differentiation, or for cases where a similar reversal may be recognized, on presumptive evidence, in the history of a race. The larval ascidian is a free-swimming creature, like a miniature tadpole, with a brain and dorsal nerve cord, a brain-eye, and a notochord supporting the locomotor tail. In the course of the subsequent adaptation to a sedentary mode of life the nervous system is reduced to a single ganglion, the brain-eye disappears, and the tail is absorbed. As regards these structures the ascidian shows retrogression, though it must be clearly understood that the adult is on the whole a much more complex organism than the larva. The respiratory pharynx, *e.g.*, exhibits a high degree of differentiation. Individual retrogression is well illustrated in the life-history of many parasites. Thus the well-known Sacculina, which is parasitic in crabs,

starts in life as a free-swimming Nauplius-larva, with three pairs of appendages, a median eye, and a food-canal, which all disappear in the course of the adaptation to parasitism. Similarly the thymus gland is relatively large in most young mammals, but undergoes retrogressive development as age increases, and this again suggests that retrogression does not necessarily imply any degeneration of the organism as a whole, but rather a re-adjustment to a changed mode of life. The gills of a tadpole exhibit retrogression and are entirely absorbed as the lung-breathing frog develops. But the frog as a whole is obviously on a higher structural plane than the tadpole. Retrogressive changes are sometimes exhibited seasonally, as is seen in the dwindling of the reproductive organs of birds after the breeding period; or at crises in the life-history, as in the extraordinary de-differentiation that occurs in the metamorphosis of insects; or after serious injuries when a process of dissolution and reduction often occurs before the reconstitution begins.

5. **Regeneration.**—Great interest attaches to the regenerative capacity exhibited by many animals and by most plants. It is exhibited in the repair of injuries, in the restoration of lost parts, and in the regrowth of a fragment into a whole. It is rarely exhibited in regard to internal organs by themselves, though it includes them if they are removed along with a portion of the body as a whole; it is not common in relation to wounds that border on being fatal; it has a curious sporadic distribution among animals, and this, taken along with other considerations, points to its occurrence being adaptive. Weismann in particular sought to show that the regenerative capacity tends to occur in those animals, and in those parts of animals, which are, in the natural conditions of their life, peculiarly liable to a frequently recurring risk of injury, provided always that the part is of real value, and that the wound is not fatal. The facts of regeneration are very remarkable, such as a fragment of begonia-leaf or potato-tuber growing an entire plant, a spoonful of minced sponge growing into an entire animal, one Hydra producing half a dozen when cut into pieces, a starfish arm forming a complete starfish, an earthworm growing a new head or a new tail, a lobster replacing a leg, a snail restoring its horn and the eye at the end of it forty times in succession, a newt's eye making a new lens, a lizard regrowing a tail, and a stork repairing a great part of its jaw. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that, in the process of differentiation that goes on in normal development, the essential constituents of the inheritance are distributed throughout the body in all the cells though only a few of them are expressed in each cell. If we think of the inheritance as a bag of diverse seeds, and of the cells of the body as the thousand beds of a garden (some small animals have about that number), differing greatly in exposure or stimulation, we can imagine that, although each bed gets a representation of all the different kinds of seeds, only a few will develop in each case. Under extraordinary circumstances, however, it might be possible to awaken in a particular set of beds a full representation of all the seeds, and it is something like this that occurs in regeneration. In some tissues the re-awakening is easy, as in the cambium of plants or the bodies of polyps and simple worms; in other cases it is impossible, as in the supremely differentiated nervous tissue of higher animals which cannot even replace its own worn-out elements. It is not difficult to understand that the re-growth should not always be perfect; thus a lobster, instead of growing an eye for an eye, may grow an antenna instead, and an earthworm that has lost its head may re-grow an anterior tail. Particularly instructive, linking regenerative processes back to recapitulation, are two facts: (1) the restoration is sometimes effected by stages which are different from those of embryonic development, and (2) the final result, as in the case of a lizard's tail or an insect's foot, may be of a somewhat simpler pattern compared with the original—may indeed be of definitely ancestral type.

The wide-spread distribution of the regenerative capacity among organisms is to be thought of in connexion (*a*) with the continual occurrence of recuperative processes that tend towards making good the wear and tear of bodily structure, for regeneration is this in a more thoroughgoing fashion; (*b*) with the frequent occurrence of asexual modes of multiplication, for it is impossible to draw a firm line between the development of a piece thrown off in the spasms of capture and the development of a piece separated off by more spontaneous autotomy. Many a starfish habitually surrenders an arm when that is seized by an enemy; as the creature has not a single nerve-ganglion in its body, there can be no question of calling its self-surrender deliberate; yet this reflex autotomy expresses the fact that the creature has organically learned the lesson that it is better that one member should perish than that the whole life should be lost. But there is at least one starfish which separates off arms as a mode of multiplication, as others do to effect escape.

6. **Rejuvenescence.**—It has been already mentioned that the process of re-growing a lost part, or of restoring a whole from a fragment, is frequently preceded by de-differentiation—a retreat preparatory to an advance. Thus regeneration is linked back to retrogression. But another fact of great significance has rewarded C. M. Child's prolonged study of Planarian worms: the process of reconstitution of a fragment separated off either naturally or artificially, or of a form greatly reduced by starvation, is preceded by a period of rejuvenescence. By rejuvenescence is here meant that the fragment or starveling shows a higher rate of metabolism than when it was part of the intact organism or was untampered with by starving. The rate of metabolism is gauged by the output of carbon-dioxide (measured by Tashiro's 'biometer') and by the change in susceptibility or resistance to certain poisons, such as cyanides. Similar exhibitions of rejuvenescence are discovered in the asexual multiplication of hydroids and some other relatively simple animals, and it seems very probable that senescence and natural death may be in this way indefinitely staved off. On Child's view the process of differentiation necessarily involves a retardation of the rate of life and a diminution of vigour, because of the establishment of complexities of structure in the colloidal substratum which forms the framework of the chemico-physical basis of life. This complexity of stable framework adds greatly to efficiency, but it also increases mortality. The very simple organism has practically perfect processes of rejuvenescence; in forms like the freshwater polyp rejuvenescence is never far behind senescence; in more complex forms there have to be special periods for rejuvenescence; in all the higher animals even this possibility is much restricted and senescence is inevitable. It may be that one of the several reasons why sexual reproduction by special germ-cells has replaced asexual reproduction (and has been added to it or kept along with it in cases, like Hydra, where it is far from being the main means of multiplication) is that it affords opportunity for re-organization or rejuvenescence at the very start of the individual life—thus lessening the risk of the organism being 'born old.'

Looking backwards over the various processes

Library of
PACIFIC BIBLE SEMINARY
4836 EAST ANAHEIM STREET
LONG BEACH, CALIFORNIA

briefly discussed in this article, we see the possibility of pathological variation or modification at every turn. (1) The degree of development depends in some measure on the fullness of appropriate nurture; the absence of certain stimuli in the nurture may inhibit the full expression of the inheritance. In man's case we know that this fortunately works both ways, for changes of nurture may hinder the opening of undesirable as well as promising buds. (2) The rehabilitation of a long latent ancestral character may spell mischief; it may be that some types of criminals are anachronisms of this sort. (3) Rudimentary organs often show a considerable range of variability, and a disturbance of balance may be caused by the undue prominence or activity of a structure which is normally dwindling away. (4) It seems important to recognize that a great part of what is called disease (apart from microbic disease) may be described as metabolic processes which are occurring out of place and out of time. What may be advantageous in one organism or organ or stage of life may be fatal in another. The involution or retrogression which besets the thymus is normal, but, if it besets the thyroid, it is likely to be fatal. The process which separates off the stag's antlers every year would be a serious necrosis of the bone if it occurred elsewhere. With what would in other cases be a pathological product of the kidneys the male stickleback weaves the sea-weed into a nest. The capacity which is normalized in one animal to effect regeneration may lead to a dangerous neoplasm in another.

7. **Regression.**—'Regression' is a term applied by Galton and Pearson to the tendency exhibited by the offspring of the extraordinary members of a stock to approximate towards the mean of that stock. It probably holds only in regard to blending characters, such as stature, and not in regard to Mendelian characters. It works both ways, levying a succession tax on the highly gifted and on those unusually defective. The mean height of the sons of a thousand fathers of 6 ft. will be 5 ft. 10·8 in., approaching the mean of the general population; the mean height of the sons of a thousand fathers of 5 ft. 6 in. will be 5 ft. 8·3 in., again approaching the mean of the general population of sons. The reason for the fact of filial regression is that the ancestry of any ordinary member of a human community is always a fair sample of the general population. Here again we have an illustration of the past living on in the present, the thread uniting the various subjects treated of in this article.

See further artt. AGE, BIOLOGY, DEVELOPMENT, EVOLUTION, HEREDITY, LIFE AND DEATH (Biological), ONTOGENY AND PHYLOGENY.

LITERATURE.—C. M. Child, *Senescence and Rejuvenescence*, Chicago, 1915; A. Dastre, *La Vie et la mort*, Paris, 1903, Eng. tr., London, 1911; E. Metchnikoff, *The Prolongation of Life*, Eng. tr., London, 1910; C. S. Minot, *The Problem of Age, Growth and Death*, do. 1908; K. Pearson, *The Grammar of Science*[2], do. 1900; R. Semon, *Die Mneme als erhaltendes Prinzip im Wechsel des organischen Geschehens*, Leipzig, 1904; J. Arthur Thomson, *Heredity*[2], London, 1913; A. Weismann, *The Evolution Theory*, Eng. tr., do. 1904.

J. A. THOMSON.

RECEPTIVITY.—'Receptivity' is a technical term used by Kant and those influenced by his philosophy, and employed in one definitely restricted way. Kant always talks about the 'receptivity of *impressions*,' and uses this expression to describe the sensuous faculty of the human soul. Sense is to him a mere faculty of receiving passively what comes to the mind from a source outside of it; it is thus distinguished from understanding, which is a faculty in virtue of which the mind originates the concepts necessary for the scientific activity of thought.

The notion of sense being a receptive faculty is ultimately derived from the Aristotelian philosophy. But the Aristotelian theory of the nature of the sensuous faculty differs markedly from the Kantian. According to Aristotle, sense is a faculty, and the sense-organ is an instrument, by which we receive in consciousness those characteristics which, taken together, constitute the form or knowable nature of material objects; but, while receptive, sense is at the same time discriminative, *i.e.*, it is able to distinguish the different sensuous qualities and to combine them (when they are compatible) in a single perception. Hence, according to Aristotle, sense manifests the characters both of receptivity and of spontaneity, features which Kant wished to assign to diverse faculties of the soul.

LITERATURE.—Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, tr. J. M. D. Meiklejohn, London, 1860, pt. i. 'Transcendental Æsthetic' (at beginning), pt. ii. 'Transcendental Logic' (at beginning); E. Wallace, *Outlines of the Philosophy of Aristotle*[3], London, 1883, p. 87 ff.; W. Windelband, *Hist. of Philosophy*, Eng. tr., London and New York, 1893, p. 160.

G. R. T. ROSS.

RECHABITES.—Although the very existence of the Rechabites as a clan or community distinct from, and yet at least to some extent incorporated in, Judah would have been unsuspected save for the narrative of Jer 35, it is evident from the language there used that Rechabite characteristics were well known at the end of the 7th cent. B.C. It was maintained by Jeremiah ($2^{10f.}$)—perhaps not altogether justly, inasmuch as the prophet did not make allowance for the Canaanite elements in Israel—that his own nation had shown a fickleness in religion the like of which could be seen in no other people; and, by way of contrast, he showed the loyalty of the Rechabites to ancestral custom. Although the literal meaning of Jer 35^8 is perhaps not to be pressed, the natural inference from this statement is that the Rechabites were not very numerous, since 'the whole house' (by which phrase we should naturally understand at least the adult male members) were taken by Jeremiah into one of the chambers of the Temple. Thereupon, in response to an invitation to drink wine, the Rechabites are represented as saying:

> 'We will drink no wine: for Jonadab the son of Rechab our father commanded us, saying, Ye shall drink no wine, neither ye, nor your sons, for ever: neither shall ye build house, nor sow seed, nor plant vineyard, nor have any: but all your days ye shall dwell in tents; that ye may live many days in the land wherein ye sojourn. And we have obeyed the voice of Jonadab the son of Rechab our father in all that he charged us, to drink no wine all our days, we, our wives, our sons, nor our daughters; nor to build houses for us to dwell in: neither have we vineyard, nor field, nor seed: but we have dwelt in tents, and have obeyed, and done according to all that Jonadab our father commanded us.'

The 'Jonadab the son of Rechab' here referred to is evidently the same who is mentioned in 2 K $10^{15ff.}$ as a supporter of Jehu in his attack on Baal-worship. From the fact that he is called by the Rechabites 'our father' it might be inferred that he was either the founder of a sect or gild or the eponymous ancestor of a clan. Such an inference is, however, inadmissible, since Jehonadab himself is described (2 K 10^{15}) as 'son of Rechab'; it seems better, therefore, to understand the word 'father,' as in Jg 17^{10}, as used of a religious teacher or law-giver. It is not improbable that it was in the days of Jehu that the primitive Decalogue setting forth the exclusive claims of Jahweh to the ritual worship of Israel was drawn up (see art. ISRAEL), and at the same time Jehonadab may have given to his own clan the rule of life which thenceforth for more than two centuries they held fast.

The term 'Rechabite' has frequently been regarded as equivalent to 'teetotaller,' but it is to be noted that abstinence from wine was but part of the rule which Jehonadab imposed upon his

people, the sum total of which was insistence on the continuance of a nomadic life and on the repudiation of all Canaanite civilization. Jeremiah did not offer the Rechabites bread, which, with the Chaldæan army in occupation of the land, was perhaps scarcely to be obtained; but it may certainly be inferred from the Rechabites' refusal to cultivate land and to sow seed that they also abstained from cereal food, living in nomadic fashion on milk. The intense interest of the episode lies in the fact that the Rechabites, having no concern with agriculture, could have had no share in the great agricultural feasts—the only feasts made obligatory in the older documents of the Pentateuch (Ex $23^{14ff.}$ $34^{18.\ 22}$; cf. Dt 16^{1-17})—and consequently no share in the sacrifices offered on the occasion of these feasts (Ex 23^{18} 34^{25}). In 2 K 10^{23}, indeed, Jehonadab is represented as accompanying Jehu when the latter went in to the temple of Baal 'to offer sacrifices and burnt offerings'; but, since these sacrifices were offered to Baal, whose worship Jehu was bent on destroying, no argument can be drawn from the incident as to Jehonadab's view of sacrifice, even if he really was associated with Jehu on this occasion.

The great prophets of the 8th and 7th centuries B.C. (see Am 5^{21-25}, Hos 6^{6}, Is 1^{11-14}, Mic 6^{6-8}, Jer 7^{21-23}; cf. Dt 5^{22}) all use language which can scarcely be interpreted otherwise than as meaning that, according to the tradition to which the prophets confidently appeal, sacrifice was unknown in ancient Israelite religion; and, although it may be urged that those few passages can have little weight against the vast mass of testimony both of the Pentateuch and of the historical books, the wonder is, when we consider the dominance of Zadokite religion and its influence on the Hebrew Scriptures, not that we possess so few passages in denunciation of sacrifice, but rather that we possess any at all.

It is significant that the first prophet whose denunciation of sacrifice has come down to us is Amos, the sheep-breeder of Tekoa, *i.e.* a man whose manner of life, though he lived in a permanent dwelling, may be supposed in many respects to have approximated to the nomadic rather than to the agricultural life. Whether Amos, like the Rechabites, rejected wine is uncertain. He denounces the drinking of wine in the case of the Nazirites (2^{12}), and he certainly disapproved of the probably excessive wine-drinking at Bethel (4^{1}); but the more natural interpretation of such passages as 2^{13} $4^{7.\ 9}$ 5^{11} is that he did not object to agriculture in itself; and the same is probably true of Hosea and the other pre-Exilic prophets.

But, although the Rechabites kept their nomadic customs down to the last days of the kingdom of Judah, yet even they, or at all events some of them, were finally compelled, at least to some extent, to abandon their ancestral rule; for in the days of Nehemiah (3^{14}) a Rechabite, Malchijah by name, repaired a portion of the wall—a fact which implies that some members of the clan had adopted a fixed habitation. Doubtless in Israel proper the change from nomadic to agricultural life was accomplished only gradually, and was more rapid in some clans than in others. Probably, as the prejudice against Canaanite civilization was gradually broken down, certain elements more definitely associated with Canaanite religion would still be resisted for a considerable time. Thus Hosea, though he says that Jahweh has given the corn and the wine and the oil (2^{8}), regards raisin cakes (3^{1}) as an element of heathenism.

One thing, however, is certain: what was possible for the Rechabites was possible for other tribes also. The unity of the nation which later Hebrew writers ascribe to the period of the monarchy is not attested by the older documents. The genuine Israelites—*i.e.* the immigrant clans who subjected the Canaanites—brought in with them a monotheistic religion immeasurably superior to the nature-worship of Canaan and possessing neither sacrifice nor other barbarous rites. It is their voice that speaks in the noblest passages of prophecy and of the Psalter, and they are the true precursors of Jesus Christ.

LITERATURE.—See W. H. Bennett, art. 'Rechabites' in *HDB* and bibliography there given.

R. H. KENNETT.

RECOGNITION.—1. Recognition is the psychological process by which an object presented in perception or imagination gives the impression of having already formed part of our experience. The term 'object' is here used to include anything from a sensory quality, colour, taste, odour, etc., to the contents of a novel or a philosophical system; the most frequent cases are, however, objects of perception, as persons, animals, buildings, scenes, melodies, etc. The impression of 'already experienced' may have any degree of circumstantiality; thus a face, a gesture, a foreign word, may appear vaguely familiar without any definite thought of the previous occasion or occasions on which it affected us, while an odour or a scene may call up with extreme vividness the exact date and all the important details of the earlier experience.

2. Recognition has really two distinct stages, the second of which frequently remains unrealized. There is first the 'sense of familiarity,' an immediate awareness that the presented object is not new to us; this sense may not be formulated in words, or in any cognitive terms, but may remain a mere feeling; practically it shows itself in our adaptation or adjustment to the object; during mental abstraction a key, *e.g.*, is grasped in a different way from a knife or a pair of scissors. Common words, everyday objects, frequently repeated sense-qualities, etc., rarely pass beyond this stage of immediate, direct, or indefinite recognition. The second stage is that in which associated ideas arise in the mind, the name of a person seen, the place where a former meeting took place, the topic of conversation, etc.; such memories circumstantiate the process of recognition, and verify it if doubtful. This is mediate or definite recognition—recognition in the strict sense of renewed cognition. It is obvious that, as a form of knowing, recognition may be true or false, correct or incorrect. An 'already experienced' may fail to be recognized, may not excite the sense of familiarity, or call up the associated ideas; a scene revisited after a term of years may impress us as quite unfamiliar; a professor of philosophy is said to have read an article in an encyclopædia with much approval, and to have been greatly surprised to find his own name at the end. Again, a 'new' object may give the sense of familiarity that belongs to one that is 'old' or already experienced; an event that is being enacted before our eyes appears as if it were the repetition of something we have already known, and we seem to anticipate the details that are to follow. A modified form of this error is when an imagined event, a tale read, an adventure described, or a dream is falsely recognized as a real event that has happened to oneself—the so-called 'pathological lying.' Experiments show also that the degree of subjective certainty or confidence has very little relation to the objective accuracy of the recognition; a correct judgment may be hesitant and uncertain, while a false recognition may have absolute confidence behind it.

3. The psychological problem which arises is

that of the analysis of the process of recognition, as it actually occurs, the conditions on which it depends, and the differences between its forms. The classical theories of recognition are those which emerged in the controversy between Höffding and Lehmann (see Literature below). According to Höffding, the typical form of recognition is the immediate; it represents the first stage beyond pure sensation towards ideation, a half-way or transition process, in which memory is involved, a 'tied' or 'implicate idea,' as opposed to the 'free idea' of the memory-image. When a stimulus which has already given rise to a sensation (of colour, sound, or the like) is repeated after an interval, the new sensation will be different from the old, because of the latter's previous occurrence. Further, Höffding holds that this modification takes place through the re-excitation of the earlier sensation and the fusion of this element with the new or direct presentation. The revival may not be a separate or conscious one, the fusion being between processes rather than products. If A represents the direct sensation, and a its image or indirect revival, then recognition is really a complex of $A + a_1 + a_2 +$ etc. Höffding prefers the formula $\left(\frac{A}{a}\right)$, where a represents the one or more past experiences called up by the direct process A and combining or fusing, subconsciously, with it. The theory was connected, inconsistently, it may be said, with the physiological assumption that, when a sensation is repeated or revived in memory, a similar modification takes place in the same part of the brain as the original process; each time it occurs, some trace is left, by which the change becomes easier with each successive repetition. Bain[1] had already ascribed to this supposed fact the effect of repetition in making any single impression *adherent, i.e.* more firmly impressed on the mind, more easily retained and recalled. The nerve tracks become more practicable the oftener they are traversed. 'A process,' as James says, 'fills its old bed in a different way from that in which it makes a new bed.'[2] Psychologically Bain infers only 'that a present occurrence of any object to the view recalls the total impression made by all the previous occurrences, and adds its own effect to that total.' Thus there is a constant reinstatement of past impressions, and a corresponding deepening of the present impression, as an experience is repeated. But for Höffding a sensation or perception acquires through this repetition a distinguishing mark—the mark or character of knownness, or familiarity, by which it is clearly distinguished from entirely new sensations, or new perceptions.

4. Lehmann's theory takes mediate recognition as the typical form, and association by contiguity as the process chiefly involved in it. When an object is first perceived, we associate with it some of its accompanying events or circumstances—with a person, *e.g.*, the name, the actions, or the words; with a sense-quality, its name also, or its effect upon us, some determining mark, some 'head of classification.'[3] On a second occasion, the object tends to call up, by contiguity association, in memory the associated name or mark; this, according to Lehmann, is recognition. When the ideas are distinct (date, scene, etc.), we have definite or circumstantial or explicit recognition; but, after frequent repetitions, an object may cease to call up definite associates; these remain below the threshold of consciousness, but are none the less active, and we have implicit or immediate or direct recognition, which is thus a reduced form of the first type. James states it clearly when, referring to the recovery of a name which we have sought for some time, he says:

'It tingles, it trembles on the verge, but does not come. Just such a tingling and trembling of unrecovered associates is the penumbra of recognition that may surround any experience and make it seem familiar, though we know not why.'[1]

5. Recent experimental work suggests that the process of recognition is much more complex and varied than either of the above theories implies, and that we learn to know a repeated object by different signs or marks, just as we learn to know a distant or a near, a beautiful or an ugly, object. The characters which we learn to use as signs of repetition, or of the 'already experienced,' vary for different materials, for different individuals, and for the same individual at different times and for different purposes. They are, *e.g.*, (1) the facility or ease with which we perceive or notice or grasp the object, its clearness and definiteness; (2) the feeling of agreeableness or pleasure, which often accompanies this facility; (3) verbal or other determining marks attached to the object on its earlier occurrence, and recalled by 'association'; (4) expectation or anticipation of changes or effects of the object, which are in fact realized, etc. (5) But the principal mark arises from the fact that our organic and intellectual reaction to a repeated object is different in a very characteristic way from that to a totally or partially new one. In the latter case, if we are interested, we make an effort to appreciate the object, 'run the eyes over' the outstanding points, imitate a movement with our head or limbs, try to follow a sound with our inward voice; by this means we appropriate it, link it on to our self 'complex.' When it is repeated, the whole reaction, through the law of habit, runs off with little or no effort, and the attitude of appropriation is instinctively taken up. Where for any reason the self-feeling is absent or weak, or where reactions do not easily take place, as in illness or senility or in any temporary lack of attention, recognition fails; in extreme mental feebleness or degeneration the simplest everyday impressions may appear entirely new and strange, however often repeated. Conversely, in intense pathological self-absorption, the strangest and newest objects may give the illusion of 'the *déjà vu*.' In the former case recent events may be revived as memories, yet fail of recognition; recognition and reproduction are, in fact, distinct processes. Recognition, says Claparède, implies a previous act of synthesis, an attachment to the personality. When the impression or image is repeated, it is coloured by the self-quality, as it were, which it received from being taken up or assimilated into our consciousness.[2] There is accordingly a primary and immediate certainty, given by the immediate feeling or attitude of the self to the impression; this is either weakened or strengthened by the memories and associations that subsequently arise, which, if adequate, make the recognition into a definite or circumstantial one. False recognitions mostly depend on the instinctive confidence in the primary feeling, which may be misled by some partial similarity between the new and some old impression.

The very interesting experimental work on the subject of recognition is summarized in Katzaroff and other papers; see references in Literature below.

LITERATURE.—H. Höffding, *Outlines of Psychology*, Eng. tr., London, 1891, 'Über Wiedererkennen,' *Viertelj. für wiss. Phil.* xiii. [1889] 420–458, and xiv. [1890] 27–40, 167–205, 293–316, 'Zur Theorie des Wiedererkennens,' *Phil. Stud.* viii. [1892] 86–96; A. Lehmann, 'Über Wiedererkennen,' *Phil. Stud.* v. [1889] 96–

[1] *The Senses and the Intellect*[3], London, 1868, pp. 338, 349.
[2] *Principles of Psychology*, i. 674, note. [3] *Ib.*

[1] i. 674.
[2] Claparède and Baade, 'Recherches exp. sur un cas d'hypnose,' *Archives de Psych.* viii. [1909] 387, quoted D. Katzaroff, *ib.* xi. 26.

156, 'Crit. und exper. Studien über das Wiedererkennen,' *Phil. Stud.* vii. [1891] 169 ff.; A. Allin, *Über das Grundprincip der Association*, Berlin, 1895, 'The Recognition-theory of Perception,' *AJPs* vii. [1896] 237–273, 'Recognition,' *Psych. Rev.* iii. [1896] 542–548; James Ward, 'Assimilation and Association,' *Mind*, xviii. [1893] 347–362, xix. [1894] 509–532; William James, *The Principles of Psychology*, 2 vols., London, 1891; Max Offner, *Das Gedächtnis*, Berlin, 1909 (Bibliography); D. Katzaroff, 'Contribution à l'étude de la recognition,' and E. Claparède, 'Recognition et Moi-ïte,' in *Archives de Psych.* xi. [1911] 1–78, 79–90; H. Bergson, *Matter and Memory*, Eng. tr., London, 1911. Recent experimental papers on recognition are to be found in the Psychological Monographs for 1915 (Princeton, N.J.) by G. A. Feingold (no. 78), and R. B. Owen (no. 86), in *AJPs* xxv. [1915] 217–228 (E. F. Mulhall), 313–387 (E. L. Woods), and in *Studies from the Psych. Lab. of Bedford College*, London, 1915, pp. 29–66 (L. G. Fildes).

J. L. McINTYRE.

RECONCILIATION.—See FORGIVENESS (NT and Christian), SALVATION (Christian).

RECORDING ANGEL.—In all the early literatures of the world the angel is called upon to perform a motley variety of tasks. The universe was recognized to be the scene of a ceaseless divine activity. But it puzzled men to know how God, who was pure spirit and infinite, could come into actual contact with matter, which was impure, imperfect, and finite. Hence arose the notion of the angel, a kind of offshoot of the divine, a being semi-human and semi-divine, standing on a lower rung of divinity than the Deity, mingling freely with earthly creations and exercising over them an influence bearing the strongest resemblance to that which came directly from the Deity. The angel, in other words, bridged the yawning gulf between the world and God. It follows from this that, as the innumerable experiences of man during life and after death were subject to angelic influences, the latter had, in the imagination of early peoples, to be pigeonholed into separate and independent departments of activity. Each angel had its own specialized task to see to, and each religion particularized those tasks in its own way. The idea of a recording angel charged with a peculiar task of its own and bearing a distinct name or series of names figures in Judaism, Christianity, and Muhammadanism. The function which it performs is, in the main, identical in all the three religious systems, but the details vary considerably.

In Judaism the work of the recording angel is that of keeping an account of the deeds of individuals and nations, in order to present the record at some future time before man's heavenly Maker. The presentation of this record may take place during the lifetime of the individual or nation, or, as is more often the case, after death; and upon this record depends either the bliss or the pain which is to be apportioned in the after life. In the OT there are three passages which form a basis for these ideas. In Mal 3^{16} it is said: 'Then they that feared the Lord spake one with another: and the Lord hearkened, and heard, and a *book of remembrance* was written before him, for them that feared the Lord, and that thought upon his name.' Jahweh hears what His righteous servants say and resolves to reward them at some future time for their steadfastness. The figure of speech is derived from the custom of Persian monarchs, who had the names of public benefactors inscribed in a book, in order that in due time they might be suitably rewarded.[1] In Ezk 9^{4} the man 'clothed in linen which had the writer's inkhorn by his side,' is bidden to 'go through the midst of the city, through the midst of Jerusalem, and *set a mark* upon the foreheads of the men that sigh and that cry for all the abominations that be done in the midst thereof.' This man 'clothed in linen' is one of the six angels sent to exact speedy punishment upon the defiant city of Jerusalem. But the punishment must be discriminating. While the unrepenting are to be slain without mercy, the angel was to 'set a mark' on those who expressed sincere grief for their backslidings and who dissociated themselves from the sinners. This mark was, presumably, to serve as a reference on the day when retribution would be meted out. The third passage is Dn 12^{1}: 'And at that time shall Michael stand up, . . . and there shall be a time of trouble . . . and at that time thy people shall be delivered, every one *that shall be found written in the book*.' When this is read in connexion with the succeeding verses, the underlying idea seems clearly that of some future divine judgment when the righteous classes and the wicked classes will each reap their deserts, and the record of 'who's who' will be found written in 'the book,' the angel Michael acting as recorder.

> As R. H. Charles puts it, 'the book was "the book of life" . . . a register of the actual citizens of the theocratic community on earth. . . . This book has thus become a register of the citizens of the coming kingdom of God, whether living or departed' ('Daniel,' in *Century Bible*, Edinburgh, n.d. [1913], p. 139).

A rabbi of the Mishnaic epoch, Akiba ben Joseph (A.D. *c.* 50–*c.* 132), summarized and elaborated all these OT conceptions of the account between man and his Maker (without, however, introducing the idea of the recording angel) in a remarkably striking parable, thus:

> 'Everything is given on pledge and a net is spread for all the living. The shop is open and the dealer gives credit; and the ledger lies open; and the hand writes; and whosoever wishes to borrow may come and borrow; but the collectors regularly make their daily round and exact payment from man whether he be content or not; and they have that whereon they can rely in their demand; and the judgment is a judgment of truth, and everything is prepared for the feast' (Mishnāh, *Ābôth*, iii. 16).

The 'feast' refers to the leviathan, on the flesh of which, according to a frequent idea of the Talmud and Midrash, the righteous Israelites will regale themselves in the beyond.

The rich angelologies of the Jews and Christians (as well as of the Muhammadans, who borrowed largely from the OT and the rabbinic writings) built further on these OT references to a recording angel, and transferred the work of recording to some one or other angel bearing a special name, the Deity becoming merely the recipient of the record. In rabbinic theology and in the mysticism of the *Zôhār* and mediæval Ḳabbālāh generally, the recording angel is kept particularly busy in one great department of activity—viz. prayer. Meṭaṭron (Gr. *μητάτωρ*, Lat. *metator*, 'guide') usually plays this rôle. According to a statement in Midrash *Tanhūmā Genesis*,[1] as well as in the Slavonic *Book of Enoch*,[2] it is the angel Michael, originally the guardian-angel of Israel, who was transformed into Meṭaṭron, the angel 'whose name is like that of his Divine Master'[3]—a piece of doctrine which may possibly have influenced the Christian doctrine of the Logos. So impressive was the work of Meṭaṭron that a rabbi of the early 2nd cent. A.D., Ēlīsha b. Abuyah, confessed to seeing this angel in the heavens and thus being led to believe that the cosmos was ruled by 'two powers.'[4] Of course such belief was heresy. According to a Talmudic statement, Meṭaṭron bears the Tetragrammaton in himself. This was derived from Ex 23^{21}, where it is said of the angel who would in the future be sent to prepare the way for the Israelites: 'Beware of him . . . *for my name* is *in* him.'

> According to a passage in the *Zôhār* (Midrash *Ha-Ne'el-am* on section *Ḥayē-Sārah*), Meṭaṭron 'is appointed to take charge of the soul every day and to provide it with the necessary light

[1] Cf. Herod. iii. 140, v. 11, viii. 85

[1] Ed. S. Buber, Wilna, 1885, p. 17. [2] xxii. 6.
[3] T.B. *Sanh.* 38*b*. [4] T.B. *Ḥagīgāh*, 15*a*.

from the Divine, according as he is commanded. It is he who is detailed to take the record in the grave-yards from Dumah, the angel of death, and to show it to the Master. It is he who is destined to put the leaven into the bones that lie beneath the earth, to repair the bodies and bring them to a state of perfection in the absence of the soul which will be sent by God to its appointed place [*i.e.* the Holy Land where they will again be put into bodies, which have come thither through a process of terrestrial transmigration—a favourite idea of some rabbinic theologians].'

The *Book of Jubilees*[1] speaks of Enoch as 'the heavenly scribe.' A similar description is applied to Meṭatron in T.B. *Ḥagigāh*, 15*a*, where he is designated as 'he to whom authority is given to sit down and write the merits of Israel.'[2] In the Jerusalem Targum to Gn 5[24] 'And Enoch walked with God: and he was not; for God took him,' the rendering is 'And he called his name [*i.e.* Enoch's] Meṭatron, the great scribe.' In Targum *Jonathan* to Ex 24[1] 'And he said unto Moses, Come up unto the Lord,' the paraphrase runs 'And unto Moses, Michael the archangel of wisdom said, on the seventh day of the month, Come up unto the Lord'; while in *Ascensio Isaiæ*, ix. 21, it is Michael who is honoured with the name of heavenly scribe. From these various references one readily infers that Meṭatron, Enoch, and Michael were names given to angels who were pre-eminent in the realms of wisdom or scholarship, and who would, as such, be best qualified to act as 'scribes' or 'recorders' of men's deeds.

Passages in the Qur'ān bear out this view of a special 'scholarly' angel who writes down the record of men. In *sūrah* ii. the rôle is given to Gabriel, who was so great an adept in the work that the act of writing down the Qur'ān for Muhammad's benefit was actually ascribed to him. Man's work on earth and God's work in heaven were brought into touch with one another by the scholarly recording activities of Gabriel. In *sūrah* l, another view is propounded.

'When the two angels deputed to take account of a man's behaviour take account thereof; one sitting on the right hand, the other on the left: he uttereth not a word, but there is with him a watcher ready to note it.'

Two 'recording' angels seem to be in evidence here. The meaning seems to be that, although the dying man may refuse to speak, or be unable to do so, yet the two 'recording' angels can read his inmost thoughts and take complete account of them. Sale puts quite another construction on the text, which, however, seems very far-fetched and improbable.

Quoting from the native commentary of Al-Beidawi, Sale further tells of a Muhammadan tradition to the effect that 'the angel who notes a man's good actions has the command over him who notes his evil actions; and that when a man does a good action, the angel of the right hand writes it down ten times; and when he commits an ill action the same angel says to the angel of the left hand, Forbear setting it down for seven hours; peradventure he may pray, or may ask pardon' (note on *sūrah* l. in Sale's *Koran*, new ed., London, 1825, ii. 350).

The idea of the 'good' always preponderating over the 'evil' is taught abundantly in the rabbinic writings, as is also the idea of a respite ever being open to the condemned even at the eleventh hour, at the bar whether of human or of divine justice (see T.B. *Ta'anîth*, 11*a*, where it is said that 'two ministering angels who accompany man, they give witness for him'). In the same passage in T.B. *Ta'anîth* it is further said:

'When man goes to his everlasting home, all his works on earth are passed in review before him, and it is said to him, On such and such a day thou didst do such and such a deed! The man replies, Yes. Then it is said to him, Seal it [*i.e.* your evidence]. He seals it and thus admits the justice of the Divine decree.'

Here man after death becomes his own recording angel—obviously a higher and more philosophical view.

[1] iv 23; also *II Enoch*, liii. 2.

[2] In the *Zôhār* the two names are frequently put together thus, Meṭatron-Enoch.

Further references in rabbinical and apocalyptic literature are as follows:

In T.B. *Megillāh*, 15*b*, the phrase in Est 6[1] about the sleeplessness of the king is applied to God 'the king of the world,' who bids that 'the book of records of the Chronicles' be brought to Him. It is then found that Shimshai the scribe (see Ezr 4[8]) has erased the passage recording Mordecai's rescue of Ahasuerus, but Gabriel rewrites it 'for the merit of Israel.' Thus Gabriel becomes here a kind of national registrar. The *Testament of Abraham*, the *Book of Jubilees*, *Enoch*, the Syriac *Apocalypse of Baruch*, and 2 Esdras all speak of the day of the great judgment, when angels and men alike will be called before the bar of justice and the book in which the deeds of men are recorded will be opened. According to the *Testament of Abraham* (A. xii.), this book in which the merits and demerits are written is ten cubits in breadth and six in thickness (cf. Ezk 2[9f.], Zec 5[1f.]). Each man will be surrounded by two angels, one writing down his merits and the other his demerits, while an archangel weighs the two kinds against each other in a balance. Those whose merits and demerits are equal remain in a middle state (corresponding to the purgatory of the Church) and the intercession of meritorious men, such as Abraham, saves them and brings them into paradise. The permanent recorder is Enoch, 'the teacher of heaven and earth, the scribe of righteousness,' and the other two angels are assistant recorders. This is probably the origin of the Qur'ān statement alluded to above.

The Pharisaic school of thought, as reflected in the Mishnāh, Talmud, and the Jewish liturgy generally, transferred a great deal of the eschatological connotations of the recording angel to man's temporal life on earth. Whilst admitting that man will be judged and his record taken in a hereafter, the rabbis taught that on the Jewish New Year's Day (Rōsh Ha-Shānāh, the first day of Tishri) the Books of Life and Death lie open before God, who as the Recorder *par excellence* looks through the records which He has put down against the name of each individual throughout the course of the year and then seals each one's destiny for the coming year. The mediæval Ḳabbālāh has amplified this doctrine with the addition of large angelological hierarchies into which man's soul enters on New Year's Day to hear its own favourable or unfavourable record from the mouth of hosts of recording angels. But the main trend of Jewish belief is in the direction of that simple but higher faith which holds that there is but one recording angel for or against man—God.

LITERATURE.—K. Kohler, 'The Pre-Talmudic Haggadah,' in *JQR* vii. [1895] 581–606; M. Friedländer, *Der vorchristliche jüdische Gnosticismus*, Göttingen, 1898, p. 102 ff.; N. I. Weinstein, *Zur Genesis der Agada*, pt. ii., 'Die alexandrinische Agada,' do. 1901; W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judenthums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter*, Berlin, 1903, p. 247 ff.; *GJV*[3] iii. 252 ff.; R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch*[2], Oxford, 1912, *The Book of Jubilees*, London, 1902; M. R. James, *The Testament of Abraham*, Cambridge, 1892; *JE*, *s.vv.* 'Recording Angel,' 'Book of Life,' 'Abraham, Testament of,' 'Meṭatron.'

J. ABELSON.

RECREATION.—See AMUSEMENTS.

REDEMPTION.—In this article the question of the redemption of the first-born is discussed; the theological aspects of redemption are considered under SALVATION.

1. **Introductory.**—In the Pentateuch there are several references to the sacrifice of firstlings, and to the redemption of first-born sons and firstlings of unclean domestic animals. In E, 'The Book of the Covenant' (Ex 22[29f.]), first-born sons are to be given unto the Lord, also firstlings of oxen and sheep. According to J, every firstling male is to be set apart to the Lord and sacrificed. But the firstling of an ass is to be redeemed with a lamb, or, if it is not redeemed, its neck is to be broken. First-born sons are also to be redeemed, but the valuation is not fixed. This custom is connected with the deliverance from Egypt and the slaying of the first-born of man and beast there (Ex 13[11ff.]; cf. 34[19f.]). In P all first-born of man and beast are to be sanctified to the Lord (Ex 13[1f.]). The firstling of an unclean beast is to be ransomed

'according to thine estimation' *plus* one-fifth more, or 'sold according to thy estimation' (Lv $27^{26f.}$). Elsewhere in P the hallowing of the first-born of man and beast is associated, as in J, with the smiting of the Egyptian first-born, but the Levites are said to have been taken instead of the first-born of the Israelites or of those more than a month old, and their cattle instead of the other Israelites' firstlings. Twenty thousand Levites take the place of as many first-born Israelites numbered at the time, and the overplus of 273 first-born are redeemed by a money-payment of five shekels each to Aaron and his sons (Nu $3^{11f. 40ff.}$). In another passage from P the first-born of man and beast are made over to Aaron and his sons, but those of men, from a month old, are redeemed for five shekels. Firstlings of oxen, sheep, and goats are not redeemed; their blood is sprinkled on the altar, the fat burned, and the flesh eaten by the priests. The firstlings of unclean beasts are to be redeemed (Nu $18^{15f.}$). Lastly in Dt 15^{19} firstling males of flock and herd are sanctified to the Lord, and are to be eaten by the owner and his household in the place which the Lord shall choose. Such as are blemished may be eaten at home (cf. $12^{6f. 17f.}$ 14^{23}).

The main differences in detail in these passages may be noticed first. (1) Eating the flesh of firstlings: in Dt. this is done by owner and household, in P by Aaron and his sons. These differing laws seem to 'reflect the usage of two different periods of the history.'[1] (2) The redemption of the first-born: in E nothing is said of the redemption of the first-born of men; in J their redemption value is left vague; in P it is fixed at five shekels; but again in P the origin of the Levites as a sacred class is referred back to a redemption of the existing first-born of men, the overplus being redeemed at five shekels. Here there is obviously a myth originating at a period when the redemption value of the first-born had become fixed. As to the cattle of the Levites being regarded as sacred instead of the firstlings of the other Israelites' cattle, which, according to Nu 18^{17}, could not be redeemed, this may show that the myth belongs to a time when the legislation regarding firstlings had fallen into abeyance. (3) In E the 'giving' of the first-born of men to God is not connected, as in J and P, with the slaying of the first-born in Egypt. (4) Firstlings of unclean beasts: in J the firstling of an ass is to be redeemed; in P firstlings of unclean beasts, as if now other 'unclean' animals than the ass had been domesticated. In J and P the methods of valuation also differ.

We are thus confronted with legislation which varied from age to age, and which perhaps was no more than ideal at any given time. It also tended to be explained mythically, or fictitious reasons for the sanctity of the first-born were apt to be given.

2. Redemption of the firstling of the ass.—As the firstlings of domestic animals, like the first-fruits of the earth, were sacrificed or made over to God (see artt. FIRSTFRUITS, FIRST-BORN), those of the ass, a domestic animal, were His also. But asses and probably some other domestic animals were 'unclean,' *i.e.* unfit for sacrifice or for eating. Hence in their case arose the idea of redemption, the word used in Ex 13^{13}, *pādāh*, being that which always was used with reference to redemption from death or slavery (cf. 1 S 14^{45}, Ps $49^{7. 15}$). Another sacrificial animal was offered in its stead, or, if not so redeemed, it was killed, but not sacrificially; its neck was broken without shedding of blood, so that it could be of no further use to its owner. Later legislation permitted it to be redeemed at *plus* one-fifth of its value, or simply to be sold for the benefit of the sanctuary. In the earlier legislation the breaking of the neck of the unredeemed animal shows that the firstling was regarded as itself sacrosanct, or tabu, whether it was sacrificed or not.

3. Redemption of the first-born child.—There is little doubt that some special sanctity attached to the first-born. He was the first gift of God after marriage. In a sense he was God's property. Or the blood of the kin flowed 'purest and strongest in him.'[1] Was he therefore sacrificed? That the Semites sacrificed children, and frequently the first-born, is certain, though whether all the first-born were once regularly sacrificed has not been confirmed.

The jar-buried infants found at sacred sites in Palestine cannot be proved to be first-born children. It has also been questioned whether they were sacrificial victims.[2]

The question of the redemption of the first-born by some rite or equivalent sacrifice or money-payment, which appears strictly as a Hebrew custom, is one which arose either (1) because of the inherent sanctity of the first-born or (2) because he ought to be sacrificed. Now the *regular* sacrifice of the first-born among the Hebrews in historic times is open to question. The references in the OT to sacrifices of children are frequently general (2 K 16^3 21^6 23^{10}; cf. Lv 18^{21}, 'any of thy seed'). A son or daughter (not males exclusively, and not always the first-born) was sacrificed. Nor was this sacrifice, when called for, always performed in infancy. The king of Moab sacrificed his eldest son, who was thus not an infant (2 K 3^{28}), and so in the case of Isaac and of Jephthah's daughter. Thus even outside Israel the custom occurs not in infancy—a point not sufficiently noticed by writers on this subject—and only on occasion of some great calamity. That the Hebrews had such an occasional practice, or borrowed it, is not unlikely, and no more than this need be signified in Mi 6^7, where 'thousands of rams' and 'ten thousands of rivers of oil' show that Micah is speaking hyperbolically. In Ezk 20^{26} 'all that openeth the womb' is spoken of as sacrificed to Molech in Israel, as if the custom had become general. But, if general, it need only have been so upon certain necessary occasions, when, if human sacrifice was to occur, the first-born was chosen. As far as Israel was concerned, the practice in historic times was borrowed, whether in earlier times it had been more general or not. This is shown by the words of the prophets, who may be presumed to have known the facts.

Jeremiah and Ezekiel make this clear, but their words seem to show that the people, seeing these costly sacrifices among the Phœnicians, deemed that they were due also to God in time of disaster. The practice of redeeming the first-born was regarded as merely permissive. Occasion might arise when this permission must be disregarded. Jeremiah says that God never commanded such sacrifices (7^{31} 19^5), and Ezekiel (20^{26}) regards the current interpretation of Ex 13^{12} as a mistake—a pollution.

Further, special privileges attached to the first-born, showing that he was not sacrificed (Gn 25^{32}, Dt 21^{16}; cf. 1 Ch 5^1 [disgracing the birth-right]); and the method in which Israel is spoken of as God's first-born (Ex 4^{22}; cf. Jer 31^9 [Ephraim], Ps 89^{27} [Messiah as God's first-born]) shows that the first-born was specially favoured, not sacrificed. The words of Micah (6^7) and Ezekiel (20^{26}) belong to the period when the Israelites borrowed the custom from their neighbours. So, too, probably does the story of Isaac's sacrifice, in which the victim is commuted or redeemed by a ram—a far less spiritual thought than Micah's.

Why then was the first-born redeemed? (1) If the custom of sacrificing the first-born had once been general in early times, as perhaps the state-

[1] S. R. Driver, *The Book of Exodus*, Cambridge, 1911, p. 105.

[1] W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*[2], London, 1894, p. 465; cf. Gn 49^3, Dt 21^{17}.

[2] W. H. Wood, *BW* xxxvi. [1910] 166 ff.

ment of the law in Ex 22^{29} and the similarity of expressions in the case of the first-born and firstlings (Ex $22^{29f.}$ 34^{19}) suggest, the redemption must be a softening of the practice in an age which had morally outgrown it and demanded a more humane custom. Yet that age must have been previous to that of Moses, since he, a first-born son,[1] was not sacrificed. The idea that the first-born was due to God still remained; hence he had to be redeemed, and, even when redeemed, he might still be sacrificed when sufficient occasion arose. This appears to underlie the story of Isaac, which may be a later tale explaining the origin of the redemption. Otherwise it was explained by the fact that, since God had slain the first-born of Egypt, therefore the first-born of Israel must be redeemed—a theological explanation in an age when the true rationale of the practice was forgotten.

J. G. Frazer assumes that not the first-born of Egypt were slain, but those of Israel in some sacrificial ritual by priestly executioners at Passover. This was afterwards commuted by the sacrifice of a lamb, its blood being smeared on the doorposts instead of that of the child. That a strong tradition of some tragic event occurring to the Israelites should thus be transformed is most unlikely. That event was some species of plague, not slaughter, and it is most unlikely that a joyous feast should originate in such general sacrifice of Israelite children.[2]

In the curious story in Ex $4^{24ff.}$, if Zipporah's child was to be given as an offering in place of Moses, the circumcising of him would be a species of redemption. The story would thus be another method of accounting for the redemption of the first-born.[3]

(2) If, on the other hand, the practice of occasionally sacrificing first-born children arose through Israel's contact with peoples who regularly or occasionally followed this practice, it would be felt that the first-born was due to God, and, when not sacrificed, must be redeemed. The technical term for the Molech sacrifice was 'cause to pass over to Molech.' The same term is used in Ex 13^{12}, 'cause to pass over to Jahweh,' even when the redemption is insisted on.

(3) Again, apart altogether from sacrifice, if a special sacredness, 'a congenital holiness,'[4] attached to the first-born, which resulted in his being regarded as God's property or as tabu, some act of removal of holiness or of tabu was necessary—the rite of redemption—before he could be considered as an ordinary mortal. The 'redemption' was a redemption from sanctity.

(4) Others, again, have supposed that in the redemption 'we are to see not a toning down of an ancient custom which had demanded human sacrifice, but only an expedient for extending the precept relating to firstlings so as to include men and non-sacrificial animals.'[5] This is akin to W. R. Smith's view that, when the belief in the 'congenital holiness' of the first-born of men and animals came to mean that such holy things were set aside for sacrifice, the obvious unsuitability of human or unclean animal offerings led to their being redeemed.[6] Wellhausen also regards the claim to the human first-born as merely 'a later generalization.'[7]

To sum up: the language regarding the first-born suggests an earlier custom of sacrifice; but the probability is that the legislation is late, and that the language is coloured either by that used of firstlings or by that used regarding actual sacrifices of the first-born among the Canaanites. Wellhausen and W. R. Smith reject the idea of the early general sacrifice of the Hebrew first-born. J. G. Frazer accepts it, but his evidence of similar sacrifices of the first-born among other peoples needs sifting. Several instances refer not to sacrifice but to infanticide. Not all are supported by clear evidence, nor do all refer exclusively to the first-born.[1]

4. Parallel ethnic practices. — The Hebrew custom finds an echo in folk-tales in which childless parents agree to give up their first-born to some one who offers to remove the wife's barrenness. These tales arose in some custom of dedication of first-born to a deity. In some such stories a gift or a substitute is offered instead—a suggestion of redemption.[2] It is also remarkable that Syriac women will vow an unborn child to a Muhammadan saint at his shrine, yet 'in that case the child is not slain, as may once have been the case, but is redeemed' by an offering.[3] In Muhammadan custom the victim—a ram or goat sacrificed soon after the birth of a child—is called a ransom for the child.[4] Reference may also be made to the May ritual described by Ovid, in which the housefather threw black beans over his shoulder to the ghosts, with the words nine times repeated, 'With these beans I redeem me and mine.'[5] The custom of redemption, if it was actually redemption from sacrifice as illustrated in the story of Isaac, has parallels in ethnic myth and practice in which an animal takes the place of an earlier human victim, not necessarily a first-born. At the temple of Artemis Triclaria it had formerly been the custom to offer a beautiful youth and maiden, but in the time of Pausanias this sacrifice was commuted. Pausanias also mentions the offering of a goat to Dionysus at Potniæ in place of an earlier youth.[6] At Laodicea the annual stag sacrifice was believed to take the place of a former offering of a maiden.[7] In Babylonia the rite in which an animal was slain for a sick man—its life for his life, its head, neck, breast for his head, neck, breast—suggests some species of commutation or substitution.[8] When human sacrifices were prohibited among the Celts of Gaul, the Druids offered a victim symbolically, pretending to strike him, and drawing from him a little blood.[9] In many quarters other commutations of human sacrifice occur, often with legends attached to them showing that they originated in more humane feelings. Frequently effigies of human beings are offered, as among the Villalis, Gonds, Chinese, Japanese, and Romans; or a coco-nut is offered because of its resemblance to a human head;[10] or, again, an animal victim takes the place of a human, when people cannot afford the latter, as among the Tshis.[11]

These correspond to commutations of animal sacrifices, or in general to the offering of a less for a more important object. For, as Servius says,

'The simulacrum is accepted in place of the real object; hence when certain animals, difficult to obtain, are demanded in sacrifice, images of them are made of bread or wax, and are received in their stead.'[12]

LITERATURE.—This is sufficiently indicated in the notes.

J. A. MACCULLOCH.

[1] Miriam and Aaron were probably children by a previous marriage; see Driver's note to Ex 2^2.
[2] See *GB*[3], pt. iii., *The Dying God*, London, 1911, p. 176.
[3] Cf. *EBi* ii. 1526.
[4] W. R. Smith[2], p. 465.
[5] *EBi* iv. 4913.
[6] W. R. Smith[2], p. 465.
[7] *Prolegomena zur Gesch. Israels*[3], Berlin, 1886, p. 90.

[1] *GB*[3], pt. iii., *The Dying God*, p. 179 ff.
[2] MacCulloch, *CF*, p. 410 f.
[3] S. I. Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion To-day*, London, 1902, pp. 157, 167.
[4] E. W. Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, London, 1883, p. 191; and see *ERE* ii. 660[a].
[5] *Fasti*, v. 431 ff.
[6] Paus. IX. viii. 1.
[7] Porphyry, *de Abst.* ii. 56.
[8] P. Dhorme, *La Religion assyro-babylonienne*, Paris, 1910, p. 273; cf. Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 162, where Cranaë gives a young sow to the Striges in place of the new-born infant, with the words, 'Take, I pray thee, heart for heart, and vitals for vitals; we give you this life instead of a better one.'
[9] Pomp. Mela, III. ii. 18.
[10] N. B. Dennys, *Folklore of China*, London, 1876, p. 138; W. Crooke, *PR* ii. 106.
[11] A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of W. Africa*, London, 1887, p. 36.
[12] *ad Æn.* ii. 116.

REDEMPTORISM.—See LIGUORI.

RED INDIANS.—See AMERICA.

REFORMATION.—The great upheaval which we call the Reformation was very much more than a religious rising of Teutonic Europe in the 16th century. We can trace its origin to the beginnings of monasticism and Northern Christianity, and watch the gathering of the storm all down the Middle Ages. The acute religious conflict lasted all through the 17th cent., and is separated by no sharp break from its secular consequence and counterpart, the great Liberal movement which began with the English Commonwealth and the American Revolution, and now seems passing into social reconstruction. The issues of the Reformation have broadened out, but in altered forms they are the living issues of our own day, for they raise the permanent questions of the society and the individual, authority and reason, slavery and freedom, religious, intellectual, political, and social. Nor was the Reformation purely Teutonic in its origin, though it has maintained itself chiefly among Teutonic peoples. Latins and Slavs were as restive as Teutons under the yoke of Rome. Even now Protestantism can claim Slavs on the shores of the Baltic; and in France it has always been strongest in the Latin south. Least of all was it a purely religious movement. It was the issue of a vast complex of forces, intellectual, political, and social as well as religious, acting in different ways and with constantly varying intensity in different countries. In England and Sweden its course was guided by kings, in Germany by princes, in France, Bohemia, and Poland by nobles, in the German cities and Switzerland by burghers. Its first political tendency was in England to despotism, in Germany and France to civil strife, in the United Provinces to freedom. At Geneva it set up a theocratic republic, in Germany and England it gave the Church an Erastian form. Thus its first results were of bewildering diversity. 'The variations of Protestantism' were real, though the Romish argument founded on them is frivolous. A great revolution takes more than one generation to bring ideas and institutions into harmony. Its early leaders have to pick their way through many stumbles. They see its meaning dimly and in part, and often the boldest of them, like Luther after the Peasants' War, shrink from what they had thought they saw. So the Reformers carried over more mediæval ideas than they knew, and their successors have ever since been slowly and often reluctantly throwing them off. The greatness of the Reformation is less in what was actually done—though that was great—than in the still greater work which it made possible. Almost all the fruitful thoughts of Europe for the last four centuries, even in Roman Catholic countries, are direct or indirect results of the Reformation.

Our work is threefold: (1) we have first to trace the causes of the Reformation, giving a short view of earlier attempts at reform, and of the new conditions which made it possible in the 16th cent.; (2) we must then indicate the deeper principles of the Reformation, and say something of their practical tendency; (3) lastly, we must give a comparative view of the different forms which it assumed, and point out some of the causes and consequences of this variety. It is not our purpose to narrate events or to enumerate details which are better left to particular treatises. If our picture of the mediæval Church appears to some too darkly coloured, it must be remembered that a statement of grievances is not the whole truth, and is not here presented as the whole truth. On the other hand, the grievances were more real, more general, more scandalous, more integrally connected with the doctrine of the Church than its apologists are willing to admit, and often too outrageous and abominable to be more than hinted at in the more decent language of modern times. If the picture is dark, the background is darker still, for much of the worst must be left untold.

1. **Causes of the Reformation.** — The loose organization of the apostolic churches was shaped by the needs of the next generation into a uniform system of government by bishops, and this again was consolidated by the needs of the Christian Empire into a great confederation of churches which called itself the Holy Catholic Church, and claimed to be the sole dispenser of salvation. It was a grand system; but where was the layman? His royal priesthood was forgotten, and more and more his access to God was only through the ministrations of the Church.

Then came the monks. Their flight was from an evil world which a worldly Church had failed to overcome; but it was almost as much a flight from the Church itself. True, they were neither heretics nor schismatics, but the most zealous of churchmen, whose ascetic zeal put to shame the worldliness of the priests. Many a time the monks rushed in where bishops feared to tread. None the less, the principle of monasticism was ultimately subversive of the Church system. That principle was neither asceticism nor seclusion, for these were confessedly no more than means to an end. It was individualism. The man retired from the world, not only because the world was wicked, but also because the Church in the world could not give him what he wanted. 'Doubt makes the monk' was a German proverb. What he wanted was to save his soul, and to save it in his own way, because he had not found the priest's way satisfactory. Therefore he sought out for himself a monastery of like-minded men, and in its rule he found his freedom. However the priest might magnify his office, there must be a direct access to God without him. Else how could hermits be saints? Yet neither was the monastery essential, whatever help and comfort his fellows might give him (for in the Eternal's presence he must stand alone), nor was the asceticism essential; it was only the belief of the time, and might be abandoned if he ceased to find it the more excellent way. But, though priests and monks were often at variance, they never clearly saw that their conceptions of religion were radically different. The Church made peace by taking the monasteries into the system, and allowing them services of their own which did not require the administration of sacraments. But the two antagonistic principles were held together chiefly by the common belief of churchmen that asceticism is the higher life. If ever that belief came to be discredited, the individualism would not fail to seek expression outside the Church system. It is not accidental that so many of the Reformers, from Luther and Bucer downwards, had once been monks or friars.

Then came the conversion of the Northern peoples. They were docile enough on doctrine, whatever their practice might be, and showed no taste for heresy. They accepted the Church system as it came to them, and even helped a little to develop it, for they took very kindly to lurid stories of hell-fire, and thought it only natural to pay for their sins as they paid for their crimes. No doubt God would accept a *wergild*. Nevertheless, the fact remained that the system was not simply Christian, but Latin and sectarian,

shaped by Latin hands and saturated by Latin thought. The Northern peoples were as yet no more than children in the faith; but, when they grew to man's estate, they were not unlikely to throw off the Latin tutelage and shape their religion into Northern forms, perhaps equally sectarian.

The next great step was the Hildebrandine reformation and the rise of the mediæval papacy. If the pope could bring some order into the anarchy of feudalism and the scandalous confusion of the Church, he was welcome to set St. Peter's chair above the thrones of kings. The opposition of the emperors was not a Teutonic revolt: the Saxons always held with the pope. The imperialist literature of Germany and Italy, joined for a moment by Gerard of York in England, only disputed some of the papal claims, and scarcely touched the doctrine and system of the Church. Its power was finally broken by the fall of the Hohenstaufens, and its echoes died away with the Schoolmen of Ludwig IV. The last imperial coronation at Rome was performed in peace (1452), because Frederick III. was not worth a scuffle in the streets.

But long before that time the Hildebrandine dream of a righteous papacy governing the wicked world had faded into the light of common day. The higher the pope's power rose, the more his kingdom became a worldly kingdom, seeking worldly ends by worldly means. It was indeed a mighty world-power, with its thousands of priests in the parishes and chantries; with its armies of monks, Benedictine, Cluniac, Cistercian, recalling three great religious revivals; with its troops of friars prowling round the land; not to mention the vast numbers of dependents of the Church. Not half the inmates of a monastery were monks. It was a vast and ancient system, resting upon the twin strongholds of transubstantiation, which gave the priest a more than royal dignity, and auricular confession, which laid open to him every secret of private life, and above all upon the ancient horror of heresy. All sins might be forgiven, but the sin of heresy could not be forgiven, because it denied the only power which had authority on earth to forgive sins.

But the Church was full of scandals, moral, financial, and political; and these were the grievances which in the end compelled some to face the risk of heresy by questioning its doctrines. In the first place, the Hildebrandine reformation had failed to cleanse the Church. If celibacy was supposed to lift the priest above the mire of the world, auricular confession plunged him back into it, for the priest's ear became the sink of the parish. And the celibacy itself was full of dangers, on which we must not enlarge, for the grossness of the Middle Ages cannot be told in decent language. Suffice it that in practice the vow of 'chastity' commonly abolished nothing of marriage but God's holy ordinance. Many priests kept it faithfully, though often at the cost of struggles which hardened and demoralized them in other ways; but, unless all the evidence is false, a much larger number had *focariæ*, or did worse, and many of these were compelled by their flocks in their own interests to keep *focariæ*. Other temptations of a lonely priest settled among the rustics are obvious, and gave plenty of scandal to his neighbours.

Yet, after all, more offence was caused by the worldliness of the many than by the flagrant vice of not a few. The wealth of the Church was enormous. In Sweden it held two-thirds of the land, and perhaps one-third or two-fifths in England, where the accumulation had been checked by the Statute of Mortmain (1279). If the bishops were generally modest in Italy, they were great lords in England, where the primate stood next to the sovereign, and the bishop of Durham ruled the Scottish border almost as a king. Still more magnificent was their state in Germany and Hungary. Men said that the donkeys and the women in the host of Christian of Mainz were more in number than Barbarossa's army. But this vast wealth was very unequally distributed. There were a few favoured pluralists, whose wealth was the envy of the rest and a scandal to the laity. One of these might hold perhaps half-a-score of church preferments and leave their duties undone, or done after a fashion by cheap hirelings, while he spent his time in the service of pope or king, or intriguing at their courts for new and more lucrative appointments. In England the bishopries were commonly the reward of success in the king's business, from Flambard and Thomas to Morton and Wolsey; and in Germany it was much the same in Franconian and Hohenstaufen times. In the later Middle Ages we see a class of pure aristocrats, such as Courtenay and Arundel, Beaufort and Neville in England; and in Germany this was the prevailing type. The three clerical electors at the time of the Reformation were all nobles—Albert of Brandenburg, Hermann of Wied, Richard of Greiffenklau. The aristocratic character of the German hierarchy was not a novelty of the Reformation.

But large numbers of the priests were needy. Their endowments may have been sufficient, and were in some cases ample. But a great deal was 'appropriated' by the monks. A monastery took the endowments of a parish, and was supposed to provide for the cure of souls, perhaps only by sending a monk to say mass on Sundays. The Lateran Council of 1179 ordered them to provide resident vicars, and earnest churchmen of the next century managed at last to enforce this. The monastery took the great tithes of corn, and left the small tithes to the vicar. Thus many rich livings were reduced by 'appropriations' to poor curacies, while many more were impoverished by pensions granted on them by the popes. And a needy man is apt to be rapacious and ignorant. There could not be much respect for a priest who was forced to wrangle over petty dues, and could hardly say his old *mumpsimus*. He had some excuse for ignorance, but sometimes it was very dense.[1] Nor were his administrations edifying, for they were all in Latin, except parts of the marriage service. The mass was said in a low voice, and the people were not supposed to follow the service but to occupy themselves with their private devotions, and there were primers for such as were able to read. If the canonized emperor Heinrich II. could make a fool of his unlearned chaplain by erasing from the mass-book the first syllables of the prayer 'pro (fa)mulis et (fa)mulabus tuis,' we may imagine what a rustic parish would do with Sir John Lacklatin or Sir John Mumblematins. We must go to Russia for a modern parallel to the mixture of superstitious dread of the priest's mysterious powers with good-natured contempt for his person.

The monasteries were in a similar state in the later Middle Ages. Some were rich, some very poor, many were burdened with debt, and all were impoverished by papal exactions. An abbot could scarcely get his election settled without spending perhaps two years' revenue on a journey to Rome, with fees and 'presents' to pope and cardinals. Besides this, the monasteries had outlived their

[1] There were priests in the diocese of Gloucester in 1551 who did not know who was the author of the Lord's Prayer, or where it was to be found.

usefulness. They spent little on the poor, and learning had found a more congenial home in the universities. The monks had long ceased to labour, and had become mere landlords. The houses had been half emptied by the Black Death, and had never recovered their numbers; some, indeed, were so decayed that they had to be suppressed for want of inmates. Pious founders had ceased to build new houses, and endowed colleges and chantries. Their moral condition was various. Some were well conducted, others as bad as bad could be, for here again the worst cases are sheltered by their very foulness. But the larger number were worldly rather than depraved, though they had more than occasional scandals. There was always an aristocratic flavour about the monasteries; and now the inmates of the richer houses lived very much as their neighbours did. They hunted and hawked, attended chapel by deputations in rotation, ate flesh, and were notorious lovers of good living. This was very far from the rigour of the monastic rule, and gave much occasion for blaspheming, but at all events it was not flagrant vice. The worst of the matter was not that flagrant vice was by no means rare, but that it was hardly ever seriously punished. The rule of the order was strict enough, but the abbot was often himself the worst offender in the way of evil living, embezzlement, and even murderous assault. The bishop was sometimes an offender likewise, often too busy with State affairs to look after his diocese; and the strongest and most earnest might well hesitate to take in hand a bad case, where he was likely to be met by a claim to exemption backed up with forged charters and entailing years of litigation at Rome, to be finally decided by bribery or by the fixed policy of the Church to smother scandals rather than amend them. At worst, a peccant priest might be removed to another parish, or an outrageous abbot induced to retire on a handsome pension.

The condition of the friars was very similar, but distinctly worse. Their beginnings were splendid, but within a century the tale was different. They evaded their corporate poverty by vesting the property of the order in trustees or the pope; and, when some of the Franciscans insisted that their poverty must be real, Pope John XXII. decided against them that Christ and His apostles had property, so that poverty is not necessary for the highest Christian life. This decision stultified the whole system of mendicancy, so that henceforth, while some of the most earnest seekers after God still became friars, others formed simpler societies of their own, and others again turned to mysticism or heresy. Meanwhile, the ordinary friar was little better than a vulgar mountebank, puffing his pardons and relics as impudently as any other quack of the market-place. Of all the churchmen the friar was the least respected.

Besides vice and worldliness, there was a third great scandal in the divisions of the Church. True, the Latins never sank into Irish anarchy, where a bishop would wander about the country living on his ordination fees, and a whole monastery would turn out, monks, servants, women, and all, for a pitched battle with the next house of holy men. But the quarrels were continual and bitter. Bishops and chapters wrangled and litigated for years together. Seculars and regulars had a standing feud, and the friars were a plague to both. If a parish priest refused absolution to some offender, the next friar was likely to sell it with pleasure. But the most repulsive quarrel of all was round a rich man's deathbed. If masses profited in purgatory, how could he better dispose of his worldly goods than in having masses said for his soul? And they were all eager in the work of charity. So the quiet of the chamber of death was continually disturbed by an unseemly quarrel of rival orders, each struggling to get the dying man into its own habit as the one sure passport to heaven. The wicked world looked on with wonder and disgust.

The economic evils of the Church system were neither few nor trifling. The Church was a corporation which constantly acquired property and never lost it, except by fraudulent dilapidation and waste, so that in most countries it secured the larger part of the national wealth; and this was in itself an evil of the first magnitude. If the monks were easier landlords than the lay impropriators who followed them, their lands were not so well cultivated. Then the number of the clergy was excessive. The parish priests alone may have been half as many as we have now for a much larger population; and to these we must add the chantry priests, the monks, the friars, the nuns, and the minor orders. It is true that they were not all withdrawn from the common work of life. In the 13th cent. they were still the literary men, the founders of schools, the writers of chronicles, and the teachers of agriculture; but now they had little to show but troops of lawyers. The charge that they were nothing but a burden on the land was too sweeping, but a burden they were, and a heavy burden. They did a good deal of trading too, partly in spiritual wares like relics, pardons, and masses for the dead, partly in worldly things in which they were forbidden to trade. Indeed, it was not good that the parish priest should be a money-lender or a tavern-keeper, as the bishops complain that he not uncommonly was. Another great economic evil arose from the teaching that good works are an expiation (in practice often a payment) for sins, for it made charity more indiscriminate than it might otherwise have been. The good work rested to the credit of the giver, and the unworthiness of the receiver was not his business. The type of this kind of charity is a Spanish archbishop of a couple of hundred years ago, who spent a princely revenue in daily doles to an army of beggars at his gate. Mediæval charity was not all of this sort, but a good deal of it was, so that the relief of distress was more or less balanced by a vast encouragement of idleness and imposture, especially when the great age of beggars began in the 15th century. Even more keenly felt than this was the similar working of Church festivals, which had been multiplied beyond all reason, and made a large part of the year useless for trade or agriculture, for no work was allowed on the day itself or after the noon of the day before it. Idleness was compulsory, but not soberness, for no occupation was provided beyond the morning mass. To the abundance of holy days we may partly ascribe the marked taste of the later Middle Ages for shows, pageants, miracle-plays, and the like. But there were worse things than these. Besides encouraging drinking, revelling, quarrelling, and vice of every sort, these festivals, frequent and irregular, were a formidable hindrance to habits of steady work. They not only made serious gaps in the work, but demoralized what remained of it. The grievance was serious in the 13th cent., and was made more urgent by the growth of trade and the exhaustion of the land in the 15th. How far the holy days were observed it is not easy to say; but these were the commands of the Church, and there are complaints enough to show that they were enforced.

Before we come to the political grievances, we must note that the fundamental error of the Latin Church was the twofold error of the Pharisees. It mistook the gospel for a law, and again mistook the office of law. In fact, our Lord lays down

principles, not laws, telling us always the spirit in which we ought to do things, never the things we ought to do, except the two sacraments. He seems to care absolutely nothing for good or bad actions, except as the signs of a good or bad heart. A good deal of manipulation was needed to turn the law of liberty into a law of commands like the Mosaic. Further, it is not the office of law to teach right and wrong generally — only to put certain right and wrong actions in black and white, so that the criminal offends wittingly, and his condemnation is just. This tendency to make the gospel a code of law worked mischief in two opposite directions. The natural man is always glad to compound for the weightier matters of judgment and mercy by obedience to works of law; and even the better sort of monk was likely to be very well pleased with himself when he could say, 'All these have I kept from my youth up.' On the other hand, if a code of law contains all that God commands, it cannot contain all that is well-pleasing to Him. Common people might be content with doing what God commands, but the higher life consisted in doing more, and thereby earning merit, which would be available for self and others. And these works of supererogation—these *consilia evangelica*—were reached by generalizing words referring to particular individuals or classes of men. Thus the command to the rich young man must be a counsel for all; and, if those who are able to receive it are blessed, they must be better than those who are not called to receive it. The result of all this was a double standard which misdirected the saints to a false ideal, debased the sinners with a low ideal, and turned both away from the vital question, 'What lack I yet?'

This conception of the gospel as a law necessarily implied a concrete and visible Holy Catholic Church confronting the world with a law of its own, which it had a divine right to enforce on all men without regard to the secular power, or, if necessary, in defiance of the secular power. That law was professedly spiritual; but the Church drew the limits of the spiritual, and drew them wide. Most things, indeed, have a spiritual side, so that there were few on which the Church had nothing to say. The protection of the Church covered all priests and men of religion, minor orders, and the hosts of dependents of the churches, and beyond these the weaker classes of the laity and those specially attached to the Church—the widow and the poor, the leper and the sanctuary man, the crusader, the pilgrim, and the palmer. The jurisdiction of the Church covered not only ordinary spiritual matters but the special cases of heresy and witchcraft, and things of a more secular nature like usury and marriage, and some purely secular things like wills. In addition to this, the Church claimed that its bishops must be independent, and not appointed by the kings. The Hildebrandine popes claimed for them freedom from their feudal duties, and Boniface VIII. forbade them to pay subsidies; but these attempts were failures. The Church also constantly interfered in matters of high policy, forbidding wars, reconciling wars, and not uncommonly stirring them up. If a king was disobedient, he must be rebuked, or in graver cases interdicted or excommunicated, and even deposed, and his kingdom given to another. The law of the Church was canon law, consisting of decisions of certain councils collected in the *Decretum* of Gratian, with additional decrees of successive popes, especially Gregory IX. and John XXII. It was a milder system than the civil law, so that many were anxious to claim its protection; but it was generally unpopular as being foreign, expensive, and dilatory. Henry VIII.'s six years' divorce case is no extreme sample of its delays. Obstinacy was visited with excommunication, which in its milder forms made the offender a leper to his friends and cut him off from the Church, outside which there was no salvation. In graver cases the secular power was called on to imprison him indefinitely, or, if a heretic, to burn him; and the form of excommunication was an elaborate curse by all the saints on every act of his life. 'As these candles stink on earth, so may his soul stink in hell.'

Some of the things which seem to us encroachments on the secular power were very rightly undertaken by the Church in times when the secular power was weak. Wills, *e.g.*, almost necessarily came to the clerics when so few laymen could even read them. Marriage also needed some regulation in those gross and disorderly times, and the usurer was so unpopular that there could be no objection to any one who undertook to punish him. But on the whole the Church fulfilled its trust badly, even in the judgment of its friends. Its methods, to begin with, of anonymous accusation, concealment of charges, inquisitorial questioning, torture on suspicion, and indefinite imprisonment, were a terror to the innocent. The soundest Catholic ran a risk of the fire if somebody reported that he had eaten meat in Lent. Then the jurisdiction of the Church sheltered criminals wholesale. The criminous clerk must be judged by the spiritual court, which could not shed blood, and therefore had to remit an offender to the secular power when it wanted a heretic burned. Sanctuary also was a crying scandal, for it depended on the holiness of the place, so that it sheltered all comers without distinction, and did not even prevent them from issuing forth from sanctuary to commit new crimes. Holy places have always been chief haunts of unholy men, from the times of Diana of Ephesus to those of Our Lady of Mariazell or Loreto. So great were the disorders that strong kings like Henry VII. put down some of the worst abuses before the Reformation. Nor was the Church more successful in dealing with other matters. Marriage, *e.g.*, was vainly consecrated by declaring it a sacrament, and effectually degraded by forbidding it to the clergy. In theory it was indissoluble, even for adultery; in practice it was continually annulled. So many and so various were the canonical impediments that no marriage was secure if any one had an interest in getting it dissolved—and could pay the fees. If other excuses failed, some forbidden relation could almost always be found within the seventh degree of kindred, affinity, or gossipred. All Henry VIII.'s marriages were faulty in canon law, except perhaps the last. But one mischief was mitigated by another. The Church sold dispensations for marriages forbidden by canon law, and supposed to be forbidden by the law of God. The case of Catharine of Aragon was not exceptional. This was one of the most lucrative of all the abuses of the Church, and one of those most deeply resented. Wills were in a similar state. The Church lawyers piled up mortuaries, probate fees, and other exactions till they set both rich and poor against them. Witchcraft was not a grievance, for all were agreed that dealings with the devil were the very worst of sins; but all that was called heresy was not equally heinous to the lay mind. If a man denied the faith, by all means let him be burned; and, if he disobeyed the Church, he might have punishment in due measure; but the Church had got into such a panic that it suspected heresy in every trifle, and brought the soundest Catholic into danger of savage persecution.

The majestic theory of the Catholic Church was

gathered round the pope. The vicar of Christ was supposed to be a father in God, guiding all the churches—all alike his children—in the way of righteousness and mercy; and for this purpose divine authority was given him to restrain the wickedness of kings, to smite the evil-doers of the earth, and to bring every soul into subjection to the apostolic see. Such was the dream of Gregory VII.; and it was at least a noble dream. But a dream it was; the facts were squalid. In the first place, given mediæval conditions of travel, St. Peter himself could not have guided all the churches from Rome or Avignon. No human genius was equal to this colossal task, especially when the righteous guidance had to be enforced by continual interference with almost every act of government. However well-disposed the pope might be, he was too far off, too ignorant of foreign peoples and their ways of thinking, and too dependent on the reports of interested advisers to govern wisely. Sometimes he did good service, as when the legates of Honorius III. helped William the Marshal to restore order in England, or when 15th cent. popes organized wars against the Turks, though their crusades were more often mischievous, like the Albigensian and the Hussite, and still more often they were pure and simple pretexts for exacting money. But the Latin Church of the Middle Ages was not organized with modern efficiency. To put it broadly, the pope can scarcely be said to have governed at all; he could not do much more than meddle, and seemed to meddle chiefly for the sake of filthy lucre. Four conflicting policies — of witnessing to the world, ruling the world, renouncing the world, and making gain of the world—could lead to nothing but confusion. The scandals and disorders caused by his interference were multitudinous and flagrant, notorious and in their own time undisputed. The nine cardinals who reported to Paul III. in 1537 were in entire agreement as to facts with the most violent of the Reformers. Their very first demand was that law should be observed as far as possible, and some limit put to the sale of exemptions, dispensations, and such-like breaches of law. In fact, the whole system was very much a system of extortion. Peter's pence dated early; and by the end of the 12th cent. papal taxation was enormously extended. There were heavy fees for almost every business in which the pope could interfere. Among the most offensive abuses were provisions, or papal nomination to preferments, often not yet vacant; reservations, by which the pope reserved to himself the right to fill such preferments or to grant pensions out of them; and annates, or firstfruits, invented by John XXII., or payment to the pope of the first year's revenue by every one receiving preferment. Provisions were politically important. It was an old custom in the 7th cent. that, if a bishop died at Rome, a successor was sent from Rome for the comfort of his flock. So, when Wighard died at Rome, Pope Vitalian sent Theodore of Tarsus to Canterbury. In later times this casual right was enormously extended. Not only bishoprics but other preferments were 'reserved' by the popes for nominees of their own, without regard to the rights of kings or other patrons; and papal nominees were commonly Italians, or French in the Avignon times. This system of reservations at last covered almost every preferment, and the strongest kings could scarcely resist it. Thus Nicolas III. refused Edward I.'s request for Burnell, and nominated Peckham to Canterbury. In the next century it was limited in England by the statutes of *Provisors* and *Præmunire*, and in France later by the Concordat of Bourges (1438). But the popes did not consider themselves bound by statutes, or even by their own concordats, and the kings often had reasons of their own for conniving at papal encroachments.

In truth, the popes had put themselves in a false position, above the laws of God and man. The Renaissance popes broke solemn treaties and plotted assassinations at their convenience, and knew that they could do so with impunity. When they found resistance in the growing strength of nations, their foreign policy shrank back on Italy, and centred on the acquisition, by fair means or by foul, of territories for their nephews, so that each new pope had to begin the work afresh for a new set of nephews. Similarly their domestic policy was to turn everything into a source of revenue. Everything was on sale at Rome, from bishoprics and divorces downward. Jubilees were proclaimed; privileges, pardons, and the virtues of relics were sold wholesale all over Europe; and even the indulgences — the theory invented for them was purely academic—were no more than the latest development of a practical system of licences for every sin but heresy. 'God willeth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should pay, and live.' Vanity Fair is the Rome of the Renaissance, drawn by an enemy, but drawn to the life, and in no way overdrawn.

Nor did the popes generally command personal respect. Some, indeed, were worthy men, and liberal patrons of learning and art, like Nicolas V. and Pius II. when he had put away the sins of his youth; but they were generally worldly, and in the Renaissance period they were mostly scandalous. What else was to be expected in a city where the harlots walked at noonday with a train of senators and clergy? We need not believe all the charges against John XXIII.; perhaps the Council of Constance did substantial justice when it suppressed the worst of them for decency's sake, and condemned him on the rest. Other condottieri may have been as bad, but they had not strayed into St. Peter's chair. So, too, some of the worst of the crimes ascribed to Alexander VI. seem to be society gossip; but the fact remains that he was a very bad man, and that the cardinals who chose him cannot have been much better. Such was the school from which the popes of the Renaissance came; and most of them worthily represented it.

At the end of the Middle Ages there was no dispute about the condition of the Church. From the bulls of the popes and the registers of the bishops to the allusions of the chroniclers and the lampoons of the profane, all the evidence of the time tells the same story of deep corruption without a hope of mending it. Two methods were imaginable. 'Heretics' might overthrow the Church system and replace it by something better; or reformers from within might clear away scandals and abuses. Both plans had been tried, and tried in vain. We need not ask whether the 'heretics' had anything better to offer, for they utterly failed to overthrow the Church system, or even to influence it—except in the reverse way, for terror of heresy hardened the Church to a savage cruelty which in the end turned every feeling of humanity against the persecutors. In fact, the 'heresies' bear the mark of reaction, and, like other reactions, the Reformation itself included, took over a good deal from the system that they were opposing. They all attacked the claims and the exactions of the priests, but each sect in its own way. The Cathari and Albigenses took over the asceticism of the time, but developed it in an anticlerical sense, and were therefore called Manichæans. The Poor Men of Lyons belonged to the same movement as the friars, and were preachers like the Dominicans, but soon showed a taste for Scripture which the Church could not tolerate. Most of the sects held that the unworthiness of the minister

invalidated his services, and the later 'heretics' had a new grievance in the refusal of the Cup to the laity. By far the deepest thinker among them was Wyclif, who not only started Lollardy in England, but gave the tone to 'heresy' in Bohemia, for Hus did little more than copy him. Wyclif began as a political controversialist, and gradually became a religious reformer of the boldest sort. His denunciations of the friars, and even of the pope, were only what many were thinking; and even his crowning enormity of denying transubstantiation as a philosophical absurdity — substance without accidents, and accidents without substance—was not the most formidable blow that he aimed at the Church. His translation of the Bible and the mission of Poor Priests to preach it made the complete suppression of the Lollards impossible. They appealed to the same religious instinct as the early friars, but turned it against the Church. But Wyclif's doctrines of 'dominion founded on grace' and 'no mesne lords in the kingdom of God' were a deadly offence, not only to the Church, but to the ruling class of nobles and landowners. Wyclif himself was not implicated in the Peasants' Rising of 1381, but some of his followers were in sympathy with the social unrest of the time. So the governing classes who urged Henry IV. to spoil the Church, as Henry VIII. spoiled it, were yet heartily agreed with the Church to put down heretics who were also social disturbers. So the House of Lancaster came in pledged to destroy heresy; and, if Henry IV. was not over-zealous in the cause, Henry V. was more active, and the gentleness of Henry VI. gave no relief to the Lollards. Still a remnant survived, a simple-minded, yea, forsooth, Puritanical folk, treasuring stray leaves of the forbidden Bible, and meeting secretly in the woods or the slums, till they were merged in the Reformation. There was more trouble in Bohemia. Crusade after crusade was preached against the Hussites, and each failed more disastrously than the last, till Frederick of Hohenzollern persuaded the Council of Basel to divide the heretics by conceding the Cup. They turned against each other; and after the victory of the moderates at Lepan (1484) Bohemia ceased to be the terror of Europe, though it did not cease to be troubled with heresy till it was brought fully under the yoke of the Hapsburgs and the Jesuits after the battle of the White Mountain in 1620. The German Peasants' War came in 1522, and was more barbarously suppressed than the English; but, instead of serfdom quietly dying out afterwards, it lasted till Napoleonic times, and in Mecklenburg till 1831. Its religious bearing was partly the same, for the Romanists of course laid the blame of social unrest on the disturbers of religion. But social movements had few supporters but extreme men and Anabaptists. Luther attacked them with unmeasured violence, and the Church in Lutheran States was even more closely allied to the governing classes than in England.

Reform from within was an equal failure. The efforts of individuals, and even of popes, were always defeated by the classes who had an interest in abuses. The successive monastic revivals had only partial and transitory effects, and even these had ceased to be possible since the decay of the friars. But could not the 'reform in head and members' be effected by the united wisdom of the bishops? The idea was in the air. Philip the Fair had appealed (perhaps not very seriously) from Boniface VIII. to a General Council, and in 1414, when two popes, and latterly three, had been dividing the allegiance of Christendom and cursing each other ever since 1378, a General Council met at Constance. When it had deposed John XXIII., it was faced by the question, 'Reform first, or unity?' It decided for unity, and allowed Martin V. to be elected. The mistake was fatal. The Council could deal with a scandalous pope, but a decent pope could deal with the Council. Reform was now impossible. Martin had only to make a few vague promises in separate concordats, contemptuously rejected by France and England. The Council of Basel (1431) took a bolder course. It made reforms, like the abolition of annates, and set the pope at defiance. But in the end Eugenius IV. was too strong for them, and the Council of Basel failed as completely as that of Constance. Men were inclined to think that, if the pope's rule was bad, the rule of the bishops was likely to be worse. After all, the Councils were too orthodox to touch the worst difficulty—that the abuses were not simply sins of individuals or miscarriages of administration, but logical, natural, and necessary results of the teaching of the Church. Only a reform of doctrine could reach the root of the matter; and that was the last thing that the bishops desired. They burned Hus in defiance of the emperor's safe-conduct, and made religious wars internecine by declaring that no faith was to be kept with heretics. The Council of Basel was forced by the exterminating Hussite wars to negotiate with the heretics; but it was as resolute as ever to allow no reform of doctrine. Therefore it failed, and with it vanished the last hope of real reform by a General Council. So by the end of the 15th cent. all were agreed that a drastic reform was urgently needed, but none could see how it might be made.

Something, however, had been done. In most countries particular abuses had been put down or limited by the civil power; and in Spain a real reformation—of a sort—had been carried out under Queen Isabella's guidance by Cardinal Ximenes, armed with the special powers conferred on the Spanish sovereigns by the bull of 1482. Ximenes aimed at the restoration of discipline, the removal of abuses, the encouragement of learning in the service of the Church, and the merciless extirpation of heresy. He succeeded in all—witness the Spain of the 17th century.

The dilemma was only too plain. The heretics wanted drastic changes, but could do nothing; the bishops would have no reform of doctrine, and could not carry even administrative changes against the pope's opposition. Had this been all, reform might never have got beyond epigrams in Italy and growlings in Transalpine lands. The forces which made the Reformation possible were growths of the later Middle Ages. First came the rise of nations. The tribal kingdoms of the early Middle Ages and the local feudalism which followed them might well be crowned with a Holy Roman Empire and a Holy Catholic Church. But first the Crusades, then the decay of feudalism, then the growth of commerce and general intercourse, had called forth a new sense of national unity, represented in France, in England, and latterly in Spain, by national kings who could rely on the support of national assemblies for the assertion of national rights, and not wanting where the kings were weaker or absent, as in Italy, Germany, and Scotland. The growth of nations in the 13th cent. may be measured by the failure of Boniface VIII. against Edward I. and Philip the Fair. The popes themselves weakened the imperial ideal by their contests with the emperors, the Catholic ideal by their astute negotiations with separate nations; and, now that the right divine of fallen emperors had come down to kings of nations, it was becoming possible to believe that the rights of the Catholic Church might be exercised by particular or national churches acting on their own discretion

The intellectual position of the Church was not improved by the efforts of the Schoolmen to defend by reason a system based on an agnostic denial of the competence of reason in matters of religion. Thomas Aquinas got over the difficulty by sharply separating the kingdom of grace from the kingdom of nature, so that the two could have no contact. But this could not stand the subtle scepticism of Duns Scotus, and the decline of Scholasticism was marked by the Ass of Buridan and other barren logomachy. It gave, however, an impetus to study; and the first discovery was that the papal claims which appealed to the False Decretals and the Donation of Constantine were based on shameless forgeries. Then came the New Learning. We see first an age of enthusiastic collectors—none more zealous than Pope Nicolas V. Then came an age of Christian Platonism, in Italy, often passing into frank paganism. If Greece was risen from the dead, it was not yet with the NT in her hand. Some, indeed, of the scholars would as soon have worshipped Zeus as read the 'bad Greek' of the Gospels. In truth, the Renaissance was terribly wanting in moral earnestness till it reached more serious peoples across the Alps. German mysticism was a sign of discontent with Latin thought; and the New Learning found an eager welcome in new universities like Erfurt and Heidelberg. England was a little behind; but in 1498 Colet was lecturing on St. Paul's Epistles; and it was Colet more than any one who diverted Erasmus from the exclusive study of the classics to the NT and the Fathers. Erasmus' edition of the Greek Testament in 1516 marks an epoch; and the invention of printing gave it a currency which earlier translations could never have attained. Popes like Nicolas V. and Pius II. encouraged the New Learning; Julius II. was a liberal patron of its art; and Leo X. was its worthy representative. Yet it was fraught with danger to the Church system. It revealed a world which was not Latin; and the romance of the Crusades paled before that of the old world of Greece. For a thousand years Europe had been moving in the Latin orbit; now it broke loose like a comet deflected by some great planet into a new path. The old Latin thoughts and ideals were compared with the older thoughts and ideals of Greece, and found wanting. And the Greek thoughts were not simply other than the Latin, but directly contrary to them. The spirit of the Greek philosophy—the love of truth for its own sake—was utterly foreign to a Church which had no conception of truth but as a tradition of the Church or a form of justice to our neighbours, and therefore set no value on truth of thought. The moral contrast was as great as the intellectual. The text of the Latin Church was 'De contemptu mundi,' and the sermon was more often 'Dies irae' than 'Jerusalem the golden.' To the natural man the goodness of God is always too good to be true: 'I knew that thou wast a hard man.' So the same spirit of unbelief which turned the gospel of free forgiveness into a slavery of good works also refused the goodness of God in the common joys of life. When the saint renounced the gifts of God as he renounced the works of the devil, he fixed on them a brand of sin which no formal teaching could remove. They were tainted even for common men, as inconsistent with serious holiness. To men who had grown up in the Latin gloom the old Greek joy of life and sense of order and beauty in the world came like a burst of sunlight, like a message of goodness from the realm of truth. It might be that God 'giveth to all men freely, and upbraideth not.' Nor did the message of the Renaissance come alone. Feudalism was society organized for war; and, when quieter times followed its decay, there was more room for domestic life, for commerce, for learning, and for worldly interests in general. Then came the question whether the world was really as bad as the Church made out. The friars had shown that the higher life could be lived among the people; the Church itself had declared that poverty is not essential; and it only remained for the Reformers to renounce the asceticism and strive to live as children of God in a world which after all is God's world, and not the devil's. And this brings us once again to the individualism of the Reformation.

2. Principles of the Reformation.—It would be a mistake to find the principles of the Reformation in the rejection of the pope or of transubstantiation, or even in appeal from Church authority to Scripture. All these are only inferences; the principle behind them is that the knowledge of God is direct and personal. Any man may help us with example and spiritual counsel, and the priest may minister to us the services of the Church; but in the end we must know God for ourselves. But this principle may be embodied in many forms. Mysticism is almost independent of history, and not even specifically Christian. But movements are commonly shaped by historical circumstances, as monasticism by the asceticism of the Middle Ages, the Reformation by the reaction from it.

Individualism implies the duty of the individual to judge of spiritual truth; and the Reformers invited men to see for themselves the untruth of the Roman Church. But they did not see that the principle was equally valid against their own churches. They merely limited to nations the mediæval idea of a visible corporation with no dissent allowed. Hence in theory they were as intolerant as the Romanists, though their practice was commonly less ferocious. There was no real advance when Germany came to a deadlock in 1555, upon the principle, 'Cujus regio, ejus religio'; and a similar deadlock is marked in France by the Edict of Nantes in 1598. These were only political compromises which ended civil wars. The real struggle for toleration was decided for Germany in 1648 by the Peace of Westphalia, for England by the Act of 1689, for France only by the Edict of 1787.

But, if the individual is to judge, by what standard is he to judge? Scripture or tradition? If Scripture must be interpreted by tradition, it is resolved into isolated texts which mean whatever the Church may choose to say they mean, and the whole system rests on nothing more spiritual than an unreasoning assent to an unverified historical process. So the Reformers appealed to Scripture as a rational whole, to be interpreted by sound learning. In this appeal they are unanimous. Thus the Westminster Confession:

> 'The whole counsel of God, concerning all things necessary for his own glory, man's salvation, faith, and life, is either expressly set down in scripture, or by good and necessary consequence may be deduced from scripture: unto which nothing may be added, whether by new revelations of the Spirit, or traditions of men' (ch. i.).

Yet here, too, the Reformers hardly saw the depth of their own teaching. Calvin indeed, their one great systematic genius, expressly says that 'the word, *however conveyed to us*, is a mirror in which faith may behold God'; but that age could not see clearly that God speaks, not in Scripture only, but in nature, history, and life. Rome was right in looking to history for a revelation, but she merely interpreted Scripture by tradition, instead of seeing all history illuminated by the living Word of whom Scripture speaks. Moreover, the Reformers carried over from the Middle Ages the conception of revelation as a code of law. This blinded them to the progress of revelation, as if everything contained in Scripture were not only

divine, but equally divine. Luther indeed saw clearly that what speaks most of Christ is most divine, so that the Epistle of James is 'a right strawy Epistle' compared with that to the Galatians; and Calvin was too good a scholar to ignore the doubts about certain books of the NT. But to their successors inspiration became more and more mechanical, till Buxtorf took over from the rabbis the inerrancy of the text. The worst offenders were some of the English Puritans, who held that Scripture is a complete rule of conduct, so that no command is lawful without its express warrant. Hence the sarcasm, that the Holy Spirit had remembered the basons, and forgotten the archbishops; or, in more sober form, God is not the legislator of His Church, unless He has prescribed its government. This caused much straining of texts, and often led to great absurdities, as when the Puritans objected to square caps on round heads, and Laud replied by proving from Scripture that heads are square (Lv 19^{27} 'Ye shall not round the corners of your heads'). One of the worst mistakes was about Sunday. The Reformers saw that it was more than a feast of the Church like All Souls or Corpus Christi; yet neither Luther nor the English Reformers nor even Calvin identified it with the Sabbath. But the tendency to find in Scripture a code of law led naturally to the rigid Pharisaism of the Puritan Sabbath. The best excuse for it is the formal services and noisy games—themselves an inheritance from the Middle Ages—of an English Sunday under Elizabeth and the early Stuarts. It must be noted that, when the Puritans had not got scent of Antichrist, their scruples were commonly definite objections to definite things which in their times ministered to vice. In the stage, *e.g.*, there is a steep descent from Shakespeare to Massinger, and again from Massinger to Dryden and other foul creatures of the Restoration. So against bear-baiting they entered the same plea of humanity as we should. They had very little of the ascetic's vague dread of the pleasure generally, as though every creature of God were bad, and to be refused.

The appeal to Scripture had far-reaching consequences. Whatever was contrary to Scripture must be reformed; and in some cases omission is prohibition. Thus transubstantiation is sufficiently refuted by the single argument that it cannot be proved by Scripture, and the silence of Scripture about prayers for the dead is significant.

Sooner or later the Reformers always came to the conclusion that the first great practical evil was the authority of the pope. On this they were all agreed, though Melanchthon added to the Schmalkald Articles a note of his own, that, if the pope would allow the gospel to be preached, his authority might be accepted for the sake of peace and unity, but *humano jure* only. This, however, was an extreme concession which gave great offence, for the rest were much more disposed to call him Antichrist and the Man of Sin. We must note Melanchthon's condition—'if he will allow the gospel to be preached'—because it shows that the objection was at bottom practical. The papacy was contrary to Scripture, not simply because there were sundry texts against it, but chiefly because it was the centre of a system which had been shown by experience to make void the righteousness of God revealed in Scripture. Justification was by faith (which Luther defined as trust in God), and by faith only, whereas the whole system ruled by the pope was an elaborate scheme for setting up a righteousness of our own which was not of faith. The sacraments were not simply signs or means of grace, but channels which conveyed it. The Church gave spiritual life to the infant in baptism, nourished it with the Eucharist, consecrated it with matrimony or orders, renewed it in penance, and finally sealed it with extreme unction. And sacraments had their efficacy *ex opere operato*—from the due (*rite*) performance of the ceremonial with intention on the priest's part. They conveyed grace 'always and to all who do not put a bar in the way (non ponentibus obicem).' The Council of Trent nowhere expressly tells us what constituted a bar, though we may safely say that unconfessed mortal sin was a bar; but, if baptism conveys grace 'always and to all' infants 'who have no faith,' it is clear that want of faith is not a bar. The faith of the parents or of the Church is not the faith of the person concerned, and is therefore in this connexion irrelevant. Thus the whole sacramental system was involved in the primitive confusion of matter and spirit, magic and religion. Moreover, to put it in another way, the message of the gospel is one of free forgiveness—not that forgiveness will be given some day on conditions, but that in Christ it is already given to all that will by faith receive it. 'By grace ye are saved, through faith.' Faith—trust in God—is necessary for salvation, and sufficient for salvation. Works are the outward signs, but only the outward signs, of a good or a bad heart, and in and for themselves have no value before God. But the Church sought justification by works. Baptism indeed carried free forgiveness of past sins; but, if a man sinned after baptism, as he always did, he would have to earn forgiveness by good works and penances, and, if those were insufficient, he would have to pay the balance in purgatory, where accurate accounts were kept of sins and compensations for sins. But certain sins called mortal needed confession to a priest and absolution, if the sacraments necessary to salvation were not to be refused by the Church. Thus attention was concentrated on sins instead of sin, and on sins not as the signs of an evil heart—the particular answers that it gives to particular temptations—but as so many separate debts to God, which had to be paid or compounded for. Instead of repentance—the new heart—the Church required good works and penances. Penitentials—such and such penances for such and such sins, irrespective of motives and circumstances—date back early in the Middle Ages, and commutations became common after the rise of the papacy. A pilgrimage was meritorious, and a crusade atoned for all sins. The next step was that others might be paid to do the pilgrimage or to go on the crusade; and at last money was frankly accepted instead of good works. Further, a debt was cancelled in Roman law by payment, whoever paid it; so a vast system arose of vicarious satisfaction through the merits of the saints—a new application of the *communio sanctorum*. The climax of this was the traffic in indulgences (*q.v.*), which was the occasion for Luther's protest. The theory of these may be left to the canonists; in practice they were certainly understood by sellers and sinners alike as a public sale of licences for sins.

This is what made the Church system intolerable to so many persons of serious religion. Some, indeed, were content to pass lightly over its bad sides, many thought reform hopeless, a few took refuge in the detachment of mysticism; but many again were stirred to action. Their objection was not simply that the papal claims were unfounded, or that the Church was full of scandals, or that this or that doctrine was untrue, but that the system as a whole was a practical hindrance and not a help to devotion. Luther himself was a model of ascetic piety till he found in practice that, in St. Paul's words, it was of no value,

tending only to the full satisfaction of the carnal nature. And to this conclusion the more earnest Reformers always came. The Church stood not simply in error, but in deadly antagonism to the living power of Christ. It had returned to the principles of Pharisaism, and made the Saviour's work of none effect. 'If righteousness come by law, then Christ died in vain' (Gal 2^{21}).

3. Outward forms of the Reformation.—Form being superficial, classification by form is apt to be superficial too. Apparently similar principles may issue historically in different forms, while apparently similar forms may conceal different principles. But form is the outward and visible sign which the world understands, and it always expresses a principle, though not always the deepest, so that we shall find it convenient to use the familiar classification of the Reformed Churches as Lutheran, English, and Reformed, meaning by the last the Zwinglian and Calvinistic Churches of the Continent and Scotland. Only we must not take for granted that their deeper affinities are precisely what their outward forms may seem to indicate. Each of them in different ways came nearer than the others to Latin thought; and, if the Calvinists bore the brunt of battle with Rome, it does not follow that their deeper principles were more unlike the Latin. The importance of the English Church and the difference of its government require for it an independent place alongside of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches. The doctrine, however, laid down especially in the Articles, is entirely that of the Reformed Churches, and was fully recognized as such on both sides, though predestination is taught in such general terms as do not exclude Arminianism. It is simply said that man 'is very far gone (quam longissime) from original righteousness,' and there is nothing about reprobation and irresistible grace. Thus it takes off the edges of the stricter Calvinistic doctrine. In addition to these three branches and their offshoots, we have the Arminian reaction from Calvinism, while Moravians and Quakers form an appendix of mysticism, and we cannot entirely ignore Socinians and Deists, though they pushed some principles of the Reformation into a denial of its fundamental doctrines.

On some great doctrines all the Reformed Churches were agreed; and these we shall review before we come to their differences. They were agreed that the revelation of salvation through Christ is contained in the Bible to the exclusion of tradition, and that the meaning of Scripture is determined by reason and scholarship, and not by any Church authority. Every Church must of necessity declare the terms of its own communion, but there is no infallible authority declaring truth. The chief exceptions are the Socinians, who limited the authoritative revelation to the NT, and the English Carolines, who spoke much of antiquity and general councils. In this, however, they had no intention of setting up tradition in the Romish way as a continuous inspiration which practically superseded Scripture; they were only giving to times of 'primitive purity' a weight which others thought excessive. The Reformed Churches were also agreed, except the outliers, in the full orthodox doctrine of the Trinity and the Incarnation. The only peculiarity is the Lutheran *Communicatio idiomatum*. Theories of a Real Presence consistent with a reception which is not '*only* after a heavenly and spiritual manner' have before them the difficulty that the divine element of Christ is not carnally pressed with the teeth, while the human is not present everywhere, and 'the flesh profiteth nothing.' Rome calls transubstantiation a mystery, and leaves it a contradiction of reason; but the Lutherans had to reconcile their consubstantiation with reason, and did it with their peculiar doctrine of the Incarnation, that the properties of the divine nature (ubiquity in particular) were communicated to the human. This is practically Monophysite, and carries the important consequence that the Body and Blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received, not only by the faithful, but by all who eat and drink in the Supper of the Lord. With this exception, they are generally agreed on the sacraments, accepting Baptism and the Lord's Supper, and denying the sacramental character of Confirmation, Orders, Matrimony, Penance, and Extreme Unction, though Penance has a somewhat ambiguous position with the Lutherans. They all have their solemn rites of marriage and ordination, and all endeavoured for a long time to keep up a disciplinary system of penance for gross scandals. But they entirely abolished extreme unction, and the confirmation of the Lutherans and the English has little more than the name in common with the Romish sacrament. The Calvinists have generally replaced it with some form of admission to full membership.

The Reformed Churches are further agreed that the work of Christ upon the Cross is complete and final, in the sense that there can be no more sacrifice for sin or priests to offer it, and also that no good works of ours can have merit or in any way contribute to salvation. Of the whole Church system there is nothing that they denounce more fiercely than the doctrine that the Mass is a true propitiatory sacrifice for the sins of the living and the dead. Thus, when the Council of Trent anathematized those who called the sacrifice of the Mass blasphemous, the English Church replied in deliberate and direct defiance that such sacrifices 'were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits.' With the sacrifice went the sacrificing priest. The minister of Christ was restored to his true dignity and office, to preach the Word and offer with his people the higher sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving—'with them,' not 'for them,' for all the Reformed Churches use the vulgar tongue, and invite the people to take their part in the services. And, if the work of Christ upon the Cross is complete, then, as the Augsburg Confession points out, nothing can be added to it by any good works of our own. All that we can do is to receive it and be thankful. In other words, justification is God's act for Christ's sake, and the faith by which alone we can receive it is its result and not its cause. And, if faith itself is not a merit which claims reward from God, still less are good works, which are no more than the natural expression of faith before men. Least of all is it possible to acquire merit by doing more than God commands. Any such teaching directly contradicts the plain words of Christ.

The most conspicuous cause of the differences among the Reformed Churches was the action of the secular power. That action was entirely favourable only in Scandinavia. The favour of the princes in N. Germany and of the cities in the south-west was partly balanced by the hostility of the emperor, and in England there were two reactions before the Reformation was settled by Elizabeth. The secular power was hostile in Scotland, France, the Netherlands, Bohemia, and Poland; and in Spain and Italy it suppressed the Reformation without much difficulty. For the other countries there were long struggles, but in the end the Reformation was finally defeated in France, Bohemia, and Poland; in the United Provinces and Scotland it prevailed. Where the princes favoured it, they commonly favoured it—and shaped it—for political ends; where they were

hostile, it took its own course. Thus England would certainly have declared for Puritanism if Elizabeth had not seen political advantage in a show of Lutheranism. Few, indeed, of the sovereigns had much personal zeal for the Reformation—Edward VI. of England and Christian III. of Denmark excepted. In England and Scandinavia the Reformation was substantially a revolt of the laity, headed by the king, against the overgrown wealth of the Church and the vexatious claims of the priests; and this could not be carried through without a great reform of doctrine, for the pope's authority barred the way, and could not be overthrown without laying the whole Church system in ruins. In England, at least in London and the eastern counties, there was a party for doctrinal reform under Henry VIII., and similarly in Denmark and Sweden; but in Norway, where the scandals were fewer, there was less discontent with the Church; and in Iceland the new faith had to be established by violence. The Reformation was a popular movement in Germany and the United Provinces, and also in Scotland, where the scandals of the Church were especially flagrant. In England and Scandinavia the victory was gradual. Though Mary Tudor had made Romanism impossible, England became definitely Protestant only in the course of Elizabeth's long reign, and the issue was not beyond a doubt till the deposition of James II. In Sweden the Augsburg Confession was not formally adopted till 1593; and even now the Church is 'Evangelical'; but the nation had become thoroughly Lutheran when Sigismund was deposed in 1599 for bringing in a Polish army to restore the old religion. The danger was like that which faced England in 1688, and it was dealt with by similar laws. All holders of office were to be Lutherans, and only a Lutheran was to have any claim to the crown, such claim being forfeited if he married a papist. The marriage of John III. with Catherine Sagello caused nearly the same evils as that of Charles I. with Henrietta Maria—a more or less Romanizing father and an avowed papist son, and a policy directly contrary to the best interests of the nation, a policy which nothing but a lawless despotism could have carried out.

Princes and nobles had long coveted the wealth of the Church; and under cover of the Reformation they were able to plunder it at leisure. The magnificence of the bishops might well have been cut down, though some of them, like Alcock and Merton in England, were princely benefactors; and men of serious religion were generally agreed that the wealth of the monasteries might be turned to better uses; but the actual plundering was shameless. Neither the suppression of religious houses, nor their suppression by the secular power, nor the use of their revenues for secular purposes, was a novelty of the Reformation. The pope himself abolished the Templars in 1312, and many houses came to an end or were amalgamated with others for want of inmates after the Black Death. In England the alien priories were granted to Henry V. in 1415, and their wealth was partly used for the French war, though some of it remained for Henry VI.'s foundations of Eton and King's College. In fact, it was the habit of founders like Alcock and Wolsey to secure the revenues of some decayed houses. The only novelty of the Reformation was the extent of the suppressions and the undisguised rapacity of princes and nobles.

In Germany the great sees were filled by nobles, and in the later Middle Ages became something like apanages of the princely houses; and such they remained till the general secularization of 1802. Thus the sees of Osnabrück and Minden were commonly held by younger sons of Brunswick and Brandenburg, and Köln itself was given to cadets of the Wittelsbachs from 1583 to 1761. But in the reformed states the sovereign rights of sees were abolished, and the titular bishops were laymen and lived as laymen. The case was similar with the monasteries. The Duke of York, son of George III., was bishop of Osnabrück from his infancy till 1802, the commentator Bengel was abbot of Alpirspach, and a sister of Frederick II. closed the long line of abbesses of Quedlinburg. In some cases, however, the bishops were abolished.

In Sweden Gustavus Vasa could plead dire necessity; and the Recess of Westerås (1527) placed in his hands the whole property of the Church. He took the castles of the bishops and some of their estates. The monasteries were partly taken by the king, partly granted to the nobles, and those founded since 1454 were resumed by the heirs of the founders. But there was no violence. Monks and nuns were free to stay or leave; and one or two houses struggled on till 1595. In Denmark the estates of the bishops were given to Christian III. in 1536, but the royal power was not strengthened as in Sweden and England. The gain fell to the nobles, as in Scotland.

In England the monasteries fell first. They were granted to the Crown, the smaller houses in 1536, the larger in 1539. Some of the property was used for six new bishoprics and other foundations, or for the defence of the realm; but the larger part was granted or sold on easy terms to men in favour at court. Thus a new nobility was formed, pledged to the new order of things. But the monasteries had appropriated the tithes of many parishes on condition of providing for the services; and this right and this obligation came to the new owners. So far then the parishes lost nothing; and, if the new impropriators were laymen who frankly treated the tithes and advowsons as private property, they did no more than the monks had done before them. It was the same with the chantries, which became meaningless when it was declared by the Ten Articles of 1536 that masses cannot deliver souls from purgatory, and were suppressed in 1547. The parishes, however, lost much by the suppression of pilgrimages, relics, and other lucrative superstitions; and the churches were sadly defaced, and sometimes brought into a ruinous condition by the rough removal, especially in 1559, of images, roods, and other monuments of superstition. The bishoprics fared worst of all. Under Somerset and Northumberland, and again under Elizabeth, every vacancy was an excuse for spoliation, and the new bishop was not admitted till he had given up manors, perhaps receiving a poor compensation for them. Most of Elizabeth's bishops died in debt to the Crown, and left their families destitute; and the process was stopped only by the Act of 1604, which disabled bishops from making such exchanges with the Crown. But the spoliation was not all the work of Protestants; something must be allowed for the systematic dilapidations of the Marian bishops before they were deprived in 1559. They left Salisbury, for instance, in a beggarly state. 'This Capon hath devoured all,' said Jewel.

Coming now to the differences of the Reformed Churches, we note first that, though Lutherans, English, and Calvinists were in general agreement on the three great doctrines of justification, predestination, and the supremacy of Scripture, yet each of them laid the stress differently from the others. The Lutherans made justification by faith the *articulus stantis aut cadentis ecclesiæ*, while the Calvinists gathered their conceptions of right

belief round predestination and election. The English Church made no such distinctive doctrine avowedly central, but the central place was practically held by the supremacy of Scripture. Now this means that Lutheranism was essentially conservative. It removed practical hindrances to true religion—and they were many—but had no special interest in further changes. Luther's was the genius of vivid insight, not of systematic thought, so that he changed only when and so far as he was obliged to change. The English Church was conservative too, but more logical and systematic; and by its emphatic disavowal of any reception in the Lord's Supper which is not 'only after an heavenly and spiritual manner' it was enabled to deal more boldly with the Mass and the ceremonies generally. Calvinism stands apart from the others, for the individualism which to them was fundamental was to the Calvinists only an inference from their really fundamental doctrine of the absolute sovereignty of God. On that doctrine their whole system was moulded, and everything that seemed to conflict with it was ruthlessly swept away. The older the error, the more dangerous it was; and the more innocent the 'rags of popery' seemed, the more they were to be suspected. Hence the Calvinists were much less conservative than the Lutherans or the English. If the old system went about to establish the righteousness of man against the sovereign grace of God, as it undoubtedly did, they were disposed to count it not only false in principle, but bad in all its details. The farther from Rome, the nearer to Christ.

These different ways of thinking were reflected in the different forms of Church government which always seem the chief things to the natural man. In the Church of the Middle Ages there were priests to offer sacrifice for the living and the dead, and these priests were ordained by bishops, who were themselves consecrated by other bishops who were supposed to trace their spiritual descent in an unbroken succession to the apostles. Thus ordination, consecration, and apostolic succession (three legal questions) were vital. The Reformed Churches all abolished sacrificing priests, but all (except the Quakers) had a regular ministry, and all but the Socinians and some outliers required for it a regular call by the lawful authority of the Church, usually with admission by prayer and laying on of hands—for edification and solemnity, not as impressing any sacramental or indelible *character*. But here again Calvinism stands apart. To the Lutherans and the English Church government was a matter which every Church must determine for itself. No form of government and no ceremony of worship is officially held to be ordained of God. However ancient or edifying it may be, it is still only an ordinance of men, which may by men be altered or abolished. So they used their discretion in various manners. Luther's insistence on the universal priesthood implied the sanctity of the State, so that the civil ruler was the natural representative and ruler of the Church also. Thus Lutheran churches have commonly been Erastian, seldom giving serious trouble to princes who did not try to force them into Romanism or Calvinism. The old services and ceremonies (*e.g.*, altar, vestments, etc.) they generally retained, only translating them into the vulgar tongue, and removing or explaining superstitions and excrescences. As regards Episcopacy, they had no objection of principle to it. The Confession of Augsburg says:

'It is not our object to have the bishops deprived of their authority. The one thing we ask is that they will allow the Gospel to be purely preached, and relax a few observances which cannot be kept without sin' (pt. ii. § 7).

But, when the bishops refused, the results were various. In Germany the spiritual office was abolished, and the princes took over the general government of their churches. The bishops had consistory courts where lawyers and divines sat together; and these, with extensions and modifications, became the chief subordinate authorities. In Denmark the bishops were equally intractable, and played a great part in the civil war after the death of Frederick I. So, as soon as Christian III. had captured Copenhagen in 1536, he arrested the bishops, and set them free only after their jurisdiction had been abolished by the National Assembly and the goods of the Church given up to the king. Then Christian appointed seven superintendents to work under himself as *summus episcopus*, and these were consecrated, not by bishops, but by Luther's friend Bugenhagen, and soon took the title of bishops. There was no consistory. Sweden was more conservative. There again the bishops were intractable, but Gustavus Vasa mastered the Church once for all at the Riksdag of Westerås in 1527; and Brask of Linköping, the champion of the old order, left the country in despair. The vast estates of the bishops, the chapters, and the monasteries were placed at the king's disposal. But the change was gentle and gradual: there were no martyrs on either side. The Mass was translated into Swedish and the ceremonies were explained. Unction, *e.g.*, was only a symbol of the inward unction by the Spirit. The forms of Church government were very little changed. The old bishops were gradually replaced by Lutherans, chosen by the clergy and consecrated by other bishops. Even the apostolic succession seems to have been preserved (though this is disputed) by the unwilling hands of Petrus Magni of Westerås, though the Swedish Church leaves its spiritual value an open question. There was no central consistory—Gustavus Adolphus tried in vain to establish one—but parish priests are appointed by the bishops, and all dignitaries must have the king's approval.

The English Reformation took generally the same course as the Swedish, though the changes and the reactions were much more violent. The Tudors were stronger than the Vasas, and the antagonisms between Papalists and Nationalists, and between Catholics and Reformers, were much sharper than in Sweden. The English Church was Erastian because it was national, and therefore fitly represented by the civil power, and because further the dangerous political situation after the separation from Rome induced the English people to give Henry VIII. a practical dictatorship. Thus the strong monarchy of the Tudors was raised to its height by the Reformation. Henry VIII. mastered the Church once for all at the 'Submission of the Clergy' in 1532. The king was acknowledged as Head of the Church—Supreme Head; convocation was not to make or even to discuss any new canon without the king's permission, and, if the election of bishops remained with the chapters, they could elect none but the king's nominees. The king's supremacy was not exercised through a consistory, but in a harsher form by Cromwell as Vicar-general. Elizabeth took the less offensive title of 'Supreme Governor,' though she claimed the same powers as her father, and exercised them through the Court of High Commission (not fully organized till 1583), which was substantially a central consistory. She carefully preserved not only the rite of consecration but the apostolic succession. She may have cared for it as little as Gustavus Vasa, but its political value was evident, especially when it suited her to pose like a Lutheran prince prescribing the religion of his subjects according to the Peace of Augsburg.

Thus the English Church has it as a matter o fact, but has nowhere officially declared it to have any spiritual value. Indeed, it was not supposed to have any before the rise of the Carolines, which is commonly dated from Bancroft's sermon in 1589. There is no mention even of Episcopacy in the English definition (Art. 19) of the Church; and, though no one has been allowed since 1662 to minister without episcopal ordination, this is given simply as a domestic rule 'in the Church of England,' and passes no censure on churches which otherwise ordain. In Church government then the English were as conservative as the Swedes; in public worship they took a bolder line. The various books and the local uses were consolidated into the single national Book of Common Prayer in English for congregational use. The services were generally simplified, and the excessive number of the ceremonies was much reduced. Morning and Evening Prayer in 1549 contained little that was not in the Hours, and the Marriage Service is even now nearly what it was in the Middle Ages, nor was the Mass itself entirely changed. It was translated and much simplified; but it was still said by a priest in a vestment at an altar, and still provided for private confession and absolution. Its doctrine was upon the whole a spiritual Presence, but it was quite consistent with consubstantiation, though Gardiner needed a good deal of special pleading to get transubstantiation into it. But in 1552 the Prayer-Book was 'godly perused' and revised, Invocation of saints and prayers for the dead were entirely removed. The 'Service of the Lord's Supper or Holy Communion' was now to be said by a priest or minister in a surplice at the Holy Table. It provided for spiritual help and ghostly counsel, but individual confession was limited to the visitation of the sick, and even there was neither private nor compulsory. Moreover, the whole structure of the service was changed for the deliberate purpose of disavowing every sort of Presence that is not purely spiritual. Every passage quoted by Gardiner was altered. The Canon of the Mass was broken up into three parts. The prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church was limited to the living, the prayer of consecration was brought close to the administration in order to prevent 'eucharistic adoration,' and the oblation of the elements was turned into an oblation of 'ourselves, our souls and bodies' after the elements had been consumed. Thus in public worship the English made greater changes than the Swedes.

It will be noted that in N. Germany, in Sweden, and in England the new churches were or soon became national, not simply as independent of Rome, but as true expressions of national character. Luther was so intensely German that his influence continued to dominate the North, even after the inroad of Calvinism in the latter half of the 16th century. In Sweden the new religion owed its consolidation to the services of Gustavus Vasa, the reaction against John III. and Sigismund, and the work of the great kings of the 17th century. Dissenters were always very few, and even now they are less than one per cent. In England the transition was during the peace of Elizabeth. A nation which in 1558 was hardly more than disgusted with the fires of Smithfield had become firmly Protestant when it confronted Spain in 1585, and never wavered afterwards. Even the Carolines (except a few creatures of Charles I.) were heartily opposed to Rome. But from the beginnings of Christianity in England there was a cleavage of religious thought and feeling. The side which was always dominant, except in the time of the Civil War, preferred the regular and stately services of a national Church. The other, represented in successive ages by friars, Lollards, Puritans, and Dissenters, leaned to the freer ministrations and looser order of local congregations. The Reformers endeavoured, and for a moment successfully, to bring the whole nation into a single Church. That hope was wrecked by the tyranny of Bancroft and Laud; and, if the tyranny of the Commonwealth made the Church thoroughly popular, the tyranny of the Restoration shut out men who stood for one whole side of the religious life of England. It condemned the Church to be a sect, yet a sect in which the other side is not forgotten. That it is the most national of the sects is shown at once by its powerful influence on English Dissenters and by its conspicuous failure to win the Celts of Wales and Cornwall.

Unlike the Lutheran and the English Churches were the Reformed. One marked historic difference is that they had the secular power against them everywhere but in the cities of the southwest—roughly, from Frankfurt and Lindau to Geneva. Where that power was friendly, they were guided and controlled by burghers instead of princes; where it was hostile, they had to form their churches as the early Christians did, according to their own conceptions of doctrine and expediency. As the Romish sacerdotalism created an aristocracy of priests who alone could dispense the necessary means of grace, so the Calvinistic doctrine of predestination created an aristocracy of the elect, for whom alone Christ died, who alone received saving grace and alone properly constituted the Church. This aristocracy was created not by some visible rite of ordination, but by God's eternal counsel secret to us, so that it could not form a visible class in the Church. The chief of sinners might be of the elect, and an apparent saint might prove a reprobate. So, while the distinction of priest and layman was denied, the acknowledged difference of elect and reprobate had to be ignored in the organization of the churches. Calvinism is indeed an inspiring creed—that God has foreknown *me* from all eternity, and sent me forth to do in His strength and not my own the work predestinated for me before the foundation of the world. It is the creed of the strong, as asceticism is the creed of the weak, when neither the one nor the other can rise to the higher faith, that Christ died for all men, and not in vain. It is only a half-truth, and, like other forms of the opinion of necessity, it must be treated in practice as if the limitation were false. As every Calvinist in his right mind believes himself to be elect like the boy in the English Catechism, he must presume that his neighbours also are elect, though he believes that some of them are not. It was like our own very necessary convention that our neighbours are honourable men, though we know that there are knaves among them. Only, a knave can sometimes be found out, a reprobate never. Hence a Reformed Church was in theory a democracy, with all spiritual authority deriving from the people. This principle was extended to civil authority by the English Independents in 1647, though the Commonwealth could not carry it out. It prevailed in America, where it was favoured by colonial conditions, and from America it was brought back to France, and became the basic principle of the Liberal movement of the last century. This principle would seem to require a free Church independent of the State; and to this ideal the Reformed doctrine pointed almost as clearly as the Romish. But the condition of freedom is persecution. The State cannot refuse to decide questions of Church property for any sect which is tolerated, and cannot decide them without judicial interpretations of its confessions and deeds of settlement Hence the Reformed Churches

became subject to the State the moment they had mastered it. The burghers of Zürich or Amsterdam or the Lords of the Congregation in Scotland might be the stoutest of Protestants; but they were determined to keep the ministers in their place, and allow no such clerical rule as that from which the Reformation had delivered them. They had no objection of principle—the Germans have none now, and the English had none then—to what we should consider a most vexatious interference with private life. They were used to it. Every town was full of sumptuary laws and minute regulations on all sorts of subjects, and a few more or less made little difference. But there was more than this. Calvin's high estimate of the Lord's Supper and of the primitive Church led him to demand the restoration of the primitive discipline and its enforcement by the secular power; and in this the Reformed Churches generally, including the English, were more or less inclined to agree with him. They had some reason. Public morals were in a dreadful state, and this was keenly felt, now that the new preaching had roused the public conscience, which the mediæval Church had so debauched with formal righteousness and easy payments for sin that the foulest crimes passed with no more censure than in the old pagan times. The new discipline was hideously severe and did infinite mischief; but it was hardly more severe than the old would have been, if the Church had not preferred to make a traffic in sin. It was at least impartial. Magnates and even ministers had to do their public penance like other sinners. Neither the ministers of Geneva, nor the Scottish Kirk, nor the High Commission in England showed any respect of persons. None the less the system hardened the saints with formalism and spiritual pride, and drove the sinners to hypocrisy or despair. It was long before the Reformed Churches could shake off the belief taken over from the Middle Ages that it was their duty to punish sin as sin with spiritual censures enforced by temporal penalties. But laymen were jealous of this dangerous power of excommunication, and moderate churchmen like Bullinger disowned it. In German Switzerland it was not allowed at all; in French Switzerland (even in Geneva) and in Scotland it was not entrusted to purely clerical authorities. In England the frequency of excommunication and its misuses for secular offences were a standing grievance against the early Stuarts; and the endeavour of the Presbyterians to introduce the Scottish discipline was foiled by the lawyers, the Independents, and the nation generally.

On the other hand, there was a doctrine which often partly counteracted the natural dependence of a dominant sect upon the State. The holiness of the Church was nowhere more of a living truth than in the Reformed Churches, for they believed as firmly as any Romanist that it was ordained of Christ and guided by His Holy Spirit. Eternal predestination was a still mightier inspiration than the august tradition claimed by Rome, and there was no double standard of priests or monks to shelter common sinners from its fullest claims. So the ministers could stand up as boldly as any popes or bishops against wickedness in high places, and they did so with a courage which, though not wanting, was less often seen in the more courtly Lutheran and English Churches. The Reformed had much more trial of persecution than the Lutherans, for the Peace of Augsburg left them alone to fight the hardest of the battle against the treachery of the savage Catholic revival. Small wonder if their zeal was often fierce and narrow, quarrelsome and overscrupulous. But they are not fully represented by such extremists as Puritans, Covenanters, and Camisards, who were more or less demoralized by Stuart or Bourbon tyranny. If we look to more peaceful churches like those of Zürich or Strassburg, or even Geneva, or to the early stages of the Reformation in Scotland, we shall find greater moderation. Calvin himself charged the English Liturgy of 1552 with nothing worse than *tolerabiles ineptias*, and the Scots used one like it (with ceremonies omitted and some freedom to the minister) till they were disgusted with all forms of prayer by the attempt of Laud and Charles to force an English form upon them. Bucer and even Laski urged Hooper in 1550 not to refuse the episcopal vestments, and in Elizabeth's time Bullinger and Gualter gave plain counsel to the Puritans. The surplice, they said, was not used at Zürich, and they did not like it; but the queen's enforcement of it was no reason for giving up their ministry.

In one direction the Reformed Churches far excelled the rest. The appeal to Scripture made the study of Scripture a duty for all according to their powers; so that instruction in religion had to be both deeper and more general than heretofore. The Reformers were conspicuously learned men. Luther himself was the greatest of German teachers; Cranmer and Jewel were above comparison with their opponents; and Calvin was not only the best patristic scholar of his time, but the greatest commentator since Augustine. However they may have erred, it was not for want of diligent and faithful study of Scripture with all helps thereunto then attainable. And this learning they sought to spread among the people. They translated the Bible, urged all to read it, and shaped the services for instruction as well as for devotion The English Reformers did what they could, but were hindered by the rapacity of the nobles, who were much more inclined to plunder the old schools than to found new, and, moreover, saw no need of education for the lower classes. The Lutherans were less thorough in this as in other matters, and soon lost themselves in a jungle of controversies. The Calvinists did better. Geneva under Calvin and Beza was the centre of Protestant learning, and the village schools established by Knox and Melville gave Scotland such a system of general education as England has reached only in our own time.

4. Results of the Reformation.—We are now in a position to survey the Reformation as a whole, and form some estimates of its results. Shortly, national Churches replaced the catholic Church, Scripture became the standard instead of tradition, and the individual gradually gained first religious, then civil, liberty. This was a revolution, and the greatest since the rise of Christianity, so that it called forth the most violent opposition, and was the occasion for enormous evils—the savage persecutions and wars of religion, the desolation of the Netherlands and Germany, and a long severance of the comity of Europe, north and south. Strict Romanists and strict Protestants were never heartily allied till 1686, and the embers of religious hatred are not yet quenched. Even now the pope visibly prefers infidel Germany to heretic England. To the Reformation we owe further the religious divisions of N. Europe, the multitudinous sects of England and America, involving scandals without end to the unbelievers, and also the whole school of rationalists from Deism and the *Aufklärung* to the latest extravagances of the Germans and their imitators. To the Reformation again we owe the Tridentine reaction which (with some reform of scandals) consolidated the mediæval system into a firm barrier against all freedom in S. Europe. The age of the Jesuits and the Inquisition was brought to an end in the 18th cent. by the philosophic despots and the French Revolution, only to

be followed by something lower still. If there was much honest ignorance in the Middle Ages, there is much organized falsehood now.

Of all these evils the Reformation was the occasion, and of some the cause; and to these we may add the mischief done in the suppression of the monasteries and in the corruption of the upper classes by the plunder of the Church, the mischiefs caused by the too great subservience of the Lutheran and English Churches to the State. We now look at the other side. The abolition of a mischievous and sometimes unfriendly foreign authority gave the nations freedom to develop themselves, and made better order possible in both Church and State. What were scandals in the 18th cent. were matters of course in the 15th. National character became stronger and more earnest, and gained a new sense of duty from the new responsibility laid on every man when the new teaching abolished auricular confession, swept away a vast amount of superstition, and trading on superstition, and removed the poison from family life by its emphatic rejection of the ascetic ideal; and all this was summed up in a rational worship constantly challenging comparison with an open Bible.

Yet all this was but the prelude of the mighty evolution. The depth of meaning in the principles of the Reformation was reached slowly and through many conflicts, and is not exhausted yet. The Reformers were men of their own time, and took over from the Middle Ages many beliefs inconsistent with their own principles. They took over the old imperial conception of God as a despot in heaven, the old view of the gospel as a law of commands, the old belief in a rigid visible Church which could allow no dissent, and the old reliance on a penitential discipline enforced by the State. All these are finally inconsistent with the individualism of the Reformation. A God who calls on us to judge the righteous judgment cannot be despotic, so that despotism and slavery on earth stand condemned. A gospel of free forgiveness—in technical language, justification by faith—cannot allow a visible Church with no salvation outside it. If freedom from Rome did not at once bring freedom in religion, it made the coming of that freedom certain by throwing back on every man the burden of seeking for truth from which the Church had relieved him. And freedom in the highest sphere carried freedom in the lower, sometimes even for countries which rejected the Reformation as well as Rome. The supremacy of conscience proclaimed by the Reformation meant freedom first for heterodoxy. Persecution on a large scale was made impossible in Germany by the Peace of Westphalia, in England by the Revolution, in France by Voltaire and the Constituent Assembly. But it meant also political freedom, and the growth of freedom is bringing the whole conception of government into better accord with the divine ideal of goodness and unselfishness. All Protestant states except retrograde Germany are seeking justice, and the Catholic states nearly in proportion to their independence of Rome. The freedom won for criticism and science has been the occasion for many excesses; but the broad result emerging is confusion to the twin powers of agnosticism inside and outside the Christian Church. Above all, the free appeal to history has shown that the gospel is vaster and more varied, freer and more loving, than our fathers knew. The Reformation opened the way to a vision of God; and the vision of God is the inspiration of men.

LITERATURE.—[Dr. Gwatkin had finished this article, but had not added the literature, before his death. The following list has been prepared by the Editors.]

The writings of the Reformers and the works of leading Church historians may be consulted for the history proper of the Reformation. Exhaustive lists of authorities will be found in the bibliographies attached to *The Cambridge Modern History*, i.–iii., Cambridge, 1902–04. In vol. i., *The Renaissance*, the section by W. Barry, describing 'Catholic Europe,' may be referred to, and that by H. C. Lea, on 'The Eve of the Reformation,' is also valuable. Vol. ii., *The Reformation*, gives the history of the movement in the different countries of Europe. Vol. iii., entitled *The Wars of Religion*, deals with those international and other conflicts which owe their origin to the Reformation.

Among books in which the ethical and other principles involved in the Reformation are unfolded may be mentioned: C. Beard, *The Reformation in its Relation to Modern Thought* (*HL*), London, 1883; A. E. Berger, *Die Kulturaufgaben der Reformation*[2], Berlin, 1908; F. von Bezold, *Gesch. der deutschen Reformation*, do. 1890; G. Bonet-Maury, *Les Précurseurs de la Réforme et de la liberté de conscience*, Paris, 1904; Lord Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire*, new and revised ed., London, 1904; M. Creighton, *Hist. of the Papacy from the Great Schism to the Sack of Rome*, new ed., 6 vols., do. 1901; A. Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr., from 3rd German ed., do. 1894–99, vol. vii.; P. Imbart de la Tour, *Les Origines de la Réforme*, 2 vols., Paris, 1905–09; J. Janssen, *Gesch. des deutschen Volkes seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters*[12-16], 8 vols., Freiburg im Br., 1891–94, Eng. tr., 16 vols., London, 1896–1910; J. Köstlin, *Martin Luther: sein Leben und seine Schriften*[5], ed. G. Kawerau, 2 vols., Berlin, 1903; T. M. Lindsay, *A Hist. of the Reformation*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1906; Luther, *First Principles of the Reformation* (the Ninety-five Theses and Three Primary Works of Luther), tr. and ed. with introds., H. Wace and C. A. Buchheim, London, 1883; A. O. Meyer, *Studien zur Vorgesch. der Reformation*, Munich, 1903; L. von Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch. im Zeitalter der Reformation*, 6 vols., Berlin, 1839–47, Eng. tr., 3 vols. (no more published), London, 1845–47; E. Troeltsch, 'Protestantisches Christentum und Kirche der Neuzeit,' in *Kultur der Gegenwart*, I. iv. i., Leipzig, 1905; C. Ullmann, *Reformatoren vor der Reformation*[2], 2 vols., Gotha, 1866, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1874–77; H. B. Workman, *The Dawn of the Reformation*, London, 1901–02.

The Roman Catholic view of the Reformation, its causes and its consequences, is set forth in the following: H. S. Denifle, *Luther und Luthertum in der ersten Entwickelung*[2], 2 vols., Mainz, 1904–09; F. A. Gasquet, *The Eve of the Reformation*[3], London, 1905; H. Grisar, *Luther*, tr. E. M. Lamond, ed. L. Cappadelta, 6 vols., do. 1913–17; L. von Pastor, *Gesch. der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters*, 6 vols., Freiburg im Br., 1886–1913, Eng. tr., 12 vols., London, 1891–1912.

See also artt. CALVINISM, HUGUENOTS, HUSSITES, LUTHER, PAPACY, PROTESTANTISM, WESTERN CHURCH.

H. M. GWATKIN.

REFORMATORIES. — See CRIMINOLOGY, JUVENILE CRIMINALS.

REFORMED BAPTISTS.—See DISCIPLES OF CHRIST.

REFORMED CHURCHES.—See PROTESTANTISM.

REFORMED CHURCH IN AMERICA.—1. The name and its meaning.

—At first the churches of this body were addressed as 'the Reformed Dutch Churches in New York and New Jersey.' In 1789 the title, 'the Reformed Dutch Churches in North America,' was given. The minutes of Synod at the adoption of the Constitution use the term, 'the Dutch Reformed Church in North America.' But the name on the title-page of the first edition of the Constitution, printed in 1793, is 'the Reformed Dutch Church in the United States of America.' The same title appears on the second edition of 1815. In subsequent editions it is 'the Reformed Dutch Church of North America.' The act of incorporation of the Synod in 1819 gives the name as 'the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church.' In these terms the history and geographical position of the Church are outlined. It was 'Protestant' in contrast with Roman Catholicism. It was 'Reformed' because it belonged to the school of Calvin rather than to that of Luther. It was 'Dutch' because Holland was the country of its origin. The expressions 'America,' 'North America,' and 'United States' give the country of its development. In process of time the title was considered cumbersome, and the word 'Dutch' inappropriate, since the membership had become thoroughly American. In 1867 the name was therefore changed to 'the Reformed Church in America.'

2. History.—(*a*) *Period of the Dutch domination* (*1623–64*).—To the Dutch West India Company, chartered in 1621, was committed the government of the Dutch colony on the banks of the Hudson, called New Netherland. The policy of this company was to foster the Reformed religion in the Dutch colonial possessions. Therefore in 1623 the company sent Sebastian Jansen Krol, a comforter of the sick, to New Netherland. He conducted services according to the rites of the Church of Holland.

Because the office of the company for New Netherland was in Amsterdam, the Classis of Amsterdam, by the decree of 1624, took charge of the religious work of the colony. The first Dutch pastor, Jonas Michaelius, was sent out in 1628. In April of that year he organized a church of 50 members in New Amsterdam. Peter Minuit, the governor, was an elder in this church. This was the beginning of Presbyterian church government in America. The church thus formed became the mother church of the denomination. It has had a continuous, recorded history from that day to this. With ample endowment and ten church buildings, it conducts a great work in the metropolis of the Western world. Its school is probably the oldest educational institution in the United States.

Under the Dutch West India Company the Reformed Church was the Established Church of the colony. Other sects were tolerated, although Governor Stuyvesant showed personal hostility to them. Thirteen churches were founded, and sixteen ministers served during this period. Seven of these were on duty at the time of the surrender to the English in 1664.

(*b*) *Period of struggle for civil independence* (*1664–1737*).—By the terms of surrender the Dutch Church was assured of freedom. But the change of Government was a severe blow to it. Financial support from the State soon ceased. The Church owed civil allegiance to the English Government and ecclesiastical allegiance to the Classis of Amsterdam. The combination was fruitful of misunderstandings. Few people came from Holland, but many English poured into the colony. Within the first twelve years after the surrender only one Dutch minister arrived. In 1676 only three Dutch ministers were in the country. The English governors obeyed the letter of the treaty granting freedom to the Dutch Church, but there was a tendency for the Church to become a mere organ of the civil power. Several incidents during the first generation of English rule taught the Reformed Church to be on its guard against encroachments on its liberties.

The Revolution in England in 1688 produced the Leisler tragedy in New York. This made a sad division in the Dutch Church, in which the populace was on the side of Leisler and the ministers and higher classes on the side of the Government. Governor Fletcher took advantage of this condition to advance the Episcopal Church at the expense of the Dutch. At his request the Ministry Act was passed by the Assembly in 1693. This Act provided for the support by taxation of 'a good, sufficient, Protestant minister' in each of the four southern counties of the province. The Dutch members of Assembly did not intend by this Act to establish the Episcopal Church, but Fletcher and several of his successors affected to consider the English Church established thereby, and much friction resulted. The Dutch Church of New York City, taking alarm, obtained a charter for itself in 1696. By this the rights and liberties of that individual church were secured. It was therefore able to lend effective moral support in the struggle to other churches. The majority of the Dutch ministers stood their ground in all the tedious disputes with the governors, but a few surrendered their ecclesiastical independence from motives of personal ambition.

In the fight against a State Establishment the Dutch Church as a whole was at an advantage compared with other denominations. It was a National Church, not classed with 'Dissenters,' able to appeal to the treaty rights of 1664. While no 'Dissenting' church could obtain a charter before the Revolutionary War, several Dutch churches secured this coveted privilege. The Dutch Church therefore won the victory in its contest with the royal governors. By the third decade of the 18th cent. the theoretical liberty of the earlier time had become actual.

During these years the Church was growing. The natural increase of the Dutch population was great. Religious persecution drove French Huguenots and German Palatines to America. These united with the Reformed Church and became an important element in its life. By 1737 the thirteen churches of 1664 had become 65, and the seven ministers had become nineteen. There was need for more ministers, but to obtain them from Holland was difficult. It had always been contrary to the policy of the Classis of Amsterdam to allow American ordinations. They grudgingly permitted a few with the understanding that they were not to become precedents.

(*c*) *Period of struggle for ecclesiastical independence* (*1737–92*).—Under the leadership of Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen the religious movement known as 'the Great Awakening' took a strong hold of the Dutch Church. This increased the desire for more ministers and loosened still further the weakening bond which held the Church to the Classis of Amsterdam. Frelinghuysen proposed that an institution to train young men for the ministry should be founded, and the churches organized into an Assembly to ordain them and perform other functions of an independent Church. In the year 1737 a plan for such an Assembly or Coetus was sent to Holland for approval. The Classis of Amsterdam doubted the wisdom and ability of the American Church. They thought it better for them to unite with the Germans and Presbyterians. This plan came to naught. With the precedent of other American churches becoming independent before their eyes, after long delay, in 1747, they granted permission for the Dutch Church in America to form a Coetus. But this privilege was bound with such restrictions that it was practically worthless. Ordinations were allowed only by special permission, and appeals to Holland were granted. For six years this Coetus led an ineffectual life, and then in 1754 issued a declaration of independence. This offended some of the more conservative ministers, who seceded under the leadership of Domine Ritzema, senior minister of the Dutch Church of New York City.

The members of the new Classis or Coetus possessed energy and piety. They professed reverence to the Classis of Amsterdam, but took their own independent course. They ordained, when they thought proper, young men for service in the Dutch churches of America, and made strenuous efforts to found a college for the education of ministerial candidates. This they accomplished in 1766, when Queen's College, afterwards Rutgers, obtained a charter. The seceded ministers called themselves 'the Conferentie.' They were a minority in number, but possessed the weight of age and scholarship. They professed to be the legitimate successors of the old Coetus, and they retained the records of that body. They emphasized their subordination to the Classis of Amsterdam and were free in their criticisms of the Coetus brethren.

Yet they realized the necessity of theological education, and Domine Ritzema evolved the plan of a Dutch Divinity professorship in the newly-organized King's College, in New York City. The plan was adopted, but the chair was never occupied. In 1764 the Conferentie organized themselves into an 'Assembly subordinate to the Classis of Amsterdam.' The next year by special permission they ordained one young man.

The Classis of Amsterdam did not understand conditions in America. At first they favoured the Conferentie, but in time they perceived that the freedom usurped by the Coetus was necessary to the life of the American Church. John Henry Livingston, sometimes called 'the father of the Reformed Church,' was influential in enlightening them. A well-informed American, he studied theology at the University of Utrecht in 1765–70. He took every opportunity to explain conditions in the American Church to members of the Classis of Amsterdam. On Livingston's return to America he became pastor in New York City, and the next year (1771) under his influence a peace conference was held. At this a plan of union, proposed by the Classis of Amsterdam, was presented. Both parties were tired of strife, and peace was obtained with surprising ease. The freedom desired by the Coetus was secured, and the feelings of the Conferentie were soothed by the adoption of names not connected with the old disagreements. An organization, called a 'general body,' was formed with power to ordain, and five 'special bodies' were grouped under it. The Church, now acknowledged independent, was about to enter upon a full ecclesiastical and religious life.

But the clouds of the Revolutionary War were gathering, and the Reformed Church was directly in the track of the storm. The losses of the Church during that upheaval were great. Much property was destroyed and congregations were scattered. Within New York City a handful of Dutch Tories held service during its occupation by the British, although their pastors and most of their brethren had fled.

At the return of peace in 1783 the Church rapidly arose from its ruins. In 1784 the independent names of Synod and Classis were assumed without further regard to conservative feelings. The same year Livingston was chosen professor of Theology in connexion with his New York pastorate. In 1788 a committee was appointed to translate the standards of doctrine, liturgy, and the rules of order of the Dutch Church into English. They were to revise such statements as did not suit the free conditions in America. This was accomplished in 1792, and the next year the work was issued. Thus the organization of the independent Church was completed and the Church began its national life. Letters between the mother Church in Holland and the daughter Church in America were occasionally sent for about a score of years, but the custom gradually fell into disuse.

During the colonial period about 150 churches were organized, and about 150 ministers served in the Dutch Church.

(*d*) *Period of the independent American Church (1792–1916).*—The life of the Reformed Church in America during the years of its national existence has been similar to that of other Presbyterian bodies within the United States. The English language is generally used, and the membership has been drawn from Evangelical Christians of every name. It is not uncommon in the cities to find that the members of an individual Reformed church trace their ecclesiastical ancestry to a dozen different sources. The general public does not distinguish it from its Presbyterian neighbours.

In 1846 the Reformed Church received a stream of emigration from Holland which increased its numbers, and caused the flavour of the Dutch Reformation to prolong its life in the Middle West. The Church had always been strong in New York and New Jersey. These immigrants founded about 200 churches in the region of which Chicago is the centre, and have extended their influence to the Pacific coast.

There have been a few secessions from the Reformed Church. In 1822 Solomon Froeligh and four suspended ministers, being more conservative in doctrine than their brethren, organized 'the True Reformed Dutch Church.' This became extinct in 1890. In 1882 another secession of certain Hollanders in the west took place. They were displeased because the Synod would not take action against Freemasonry. They joined with others to form 'the Christian Reformed Church.'

The Reformed Church in America has always been interested in missionary effort. In the generation succeeding the Revolutionary War the church of New York City received constant appeals for aid from weak churches. To these she seldom turned a deaf ear. Several Domestic Mission Societies were organized at different times, and the Board of Domestic Missions of the Church was born in 1831. Its chief work is to aid feeble churches and to organize new ones in proper places. Many of the strong churches of the denomination have received aid from it in their infancy. The first year of its existence its income was $5,400. In the year 1915 it received $197,555.55.

Foreign missionary work has received unusual attention. The first society for this purpose was organized in 1796. From 1826 to 1832 the Reformed Church worked in union with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. From 1832 to 1857 its relation with that board was that of co-operation. Since 1857 the Reformed Church has conducted its foreign mission work independently but with hearty co-operation with other Churches in the foreign field. The receipts of this board in 1915 were $300,752.51. The board at present maintains five missions, viz. Amoy, China, 1842; Arcot, India, 1853; N. Japan, 1859; S. Japan, 1859; Arabia, originally an independent mission, 1889, but adopted by the board in 1894. The women of the Church also maintain foreign and domestic mission boards.

Other boards of the Church are: the Board of Direction, which has charge of the property of the Synod; the Board of Education, which aids young men studying for the ministry and assists in the support of certain educational institutions; the Board of Publication and Bible Work; the Disabled Ministers' Fund and the Widows' Fund.

In 1915 there were reported 718 churches with 126,847 communicant members, served by 750 ministers.

3. The doctrine and polity of the Reformed Church in America.—The Constitution of the Netherlands Reformed Church, decreed by the Synod of Dort (1618–19), was formally adopted by the Reformed Church in America in 1771. That Constitution then contained the following elements: the Belgic Confession of Faith, the Heidelberg Catechism and the compendium of the same, the liturgy, the canons of the Synod of Dort, and the rules of Church government.

The standards of doctrine have remained unchanged, but the Church has been little troubled with heresy. It has been conservatively progressive in the interpretation of these standards. The Constitution and the liturgy have been revised in 1833, 1874, and 1916. Certain portions of the liturgy are optional. Some of these have fallen into general disuse. But certain portions are required; they are generally admired and perhaps

are the most distinguishing feature in the services of the Reformed Church.

The form of government is of the Presbyterian type, first proposed by Calvin and adopted by the Netherland churches in 1568. It requires four classes of officers in the church: ministers, teachers (of theology), elders, and deacons.

The unit of government is the Consistory ruling the individual church. A group of churches forms a Classis. Of this body the ministers and an elder representing each church are members. In 1915 there were 37 Classes in the Reformed Church of America. Above the Classis is the Particular Synod, of which there are four. The General Synod is the supreme court. It has held regular annual sessions since 1812. It was incorporated in 1819.

While loving its own doctrine and method, the Reformed Church has always been charitable towards other views and methods, and ready to labour hand in hand with every other denomination of Evangelical Christians.

4. Educational institutions. — The Reformed Church has always insisted upon an educated ministry. Its institutions of learning are as follows: (1) Rutgers College, New Brunswick, N.J., 1766; its name was changed from Queen's to Rutgers in 1825; it is the State college of New Jersey and since 1865 is no longer under the control of the General Synod; (2) the Theological Seminary, New Brunswick, N.J., 1784; this is perhaps the oldest institution of its kind in the United States; it has been located at New Brunswick, N.J., since 1810, when Livingston, who had been both pastor in New York and professor of Theology, resigned from his pastorate and removed to New Brunswick to devote his entire time to teaching; (3) Hope College and the Western Theological Seminary, 1866, both located at Holland, Michigan. Besides these the Church has several schools of lower grade in America and important institutions upon its mission fields.

LITERATURE.—I. *SOURCES.—Documentary Hist. of the State of New York*, 4 vols., Albany, 1850–51; *Documents relating to the Colonial Hist. of New York*, 14 vols., do. 1856–83; *Van Rensselaer-Bowier MSS*, ed. A. J. F. van Laer, New York, 1908; *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, 6 vols., Albany, 1901–05; *Minutes of the Coetus*, 1737–71; *Minutes of the Provisional Synod*, 1771–93; *Minutes of the General Synod*, 1794–1916; *Constitution of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church*, New York, 1793 (many edd. since); E. T. Corwin, *Digest of Constitutional and Synodical Legislation of the Reformed Church in America*, New York, 1906.

II. *HISTORIES.*—J. K. Brodhead, *Hist. of the State of New York*, 2 vols., New York, 1853–71; E. B. O'Callaghan, *New Netherland*, 2 vols., do. 1855; E. T. Corwin, *A Manual of the Reformed Church in America*[4], do. 1902, *American Church Hist. Series*, vol. viii., do. 1895; D. D. Demarest, *The Reformed Church in America*, New York, 1890; *Centennial Discourses of the Reformed Church in America*[2], do. 1877; *Centennial of the Theological Seminary, New Brunswick, N.J.*, do. 1885.

CHARLES E. CORWIN.

REFORMED CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES.—This religious denomination, which was formerly known as 'the German Reformed Church,' is derived from the Reformed Churches of Germany and Switzerland. In government it holds to the Presbyterian system. Its confession of faith is the Heidelberg Catechism. It developed 'the Mercersburg Theology,' one of the phases of American theological thought.

Individual members of the Reformed Church emigrated to America early in the 17th century. Peter Minuit, the leader of the Swedish colony which in 1638 settled on the banks of the Delaware, had been a ruling elder of one of the Reformed churches of the German city of Wesel. Among the Hollanders who founded New York there were not a few Germans, but these generally identified themselves with the Reformed Dutch churches. In the southern colonies there were German and French Reformed among the earliest settlers. Wherever Episcopalians or Presbyterians had occupied the field, they rarely attempted a separate organization. In Pennsylvania Reformed families are known to have settled before the arrival of William Penn.

About 1709 German Reformed people began to arrive in America in great numbers. Most of these were natives of the Palatinate on the Rhine or of neighbouring provinces, though there were also many Swiss. The principal cause of this extensive migration was no doubt a desire on the part of the immigrants to better their worldly condition. In the Palatinate great distress was directly or indirectly the result of the French wars which had devastated the land. Even after peace had been declared there was no immediate improvement. Finally came the terrible winter of 1708–09, which greatly increased the distress. It was reported that Queen Anne had invited the suffering Palatines to emigrate to the British colonies.

'Then,' says F. Löher, 'men looked into each other's faces and said: "Let us go to America, and if we perish, we perish."'[1]

The condition of Switzerland was hardly more encouraging than that of the Rhine country. The people complained that great numbers of foreign refugees had crowded into Switzerland; and, as many of these were skilled labourers, they unintentionally deprived the natives of their means of subsistence. As early as 1663 Peter Fabian, of Bern, sent out by the English Carolina Company visited Carolina in the hope of establishing a settlement, but he does not appear to have been successful. In 1710 Christoph von Graffenried and Michell, natives of Bern and sailing from England, founded Newbern, in N. Carolina. About 1730 the stream of Swiss immigration turned northward, and in E. Pennsylvania the Swiss became especially numerous. There were no doubt some of them among the Palatines who went from Amsterdam to London in 1709; but the Swiss generally sailed directly from Rotterdam to America, and purchased land soon after they reached their destination.

The estimates of the extent of the German and Swiss immigration to America in the 18th cent. differ. Isolated settlements were founded here and there from Canada to Georgia, and for a long time there was little communication between them. Theodor Poesche, a careful authority, puts the number in America before the Revolution of 1776 at 200,000, A. B. Faust[2] at 225,000. About the middle of the 18th cent. there may have been 30,000 members of the German Reformed Church in Pennsylvania alone, but it is evident that nothing like that number was gathered into congregations. It was, however, in that province that the Germans were most numerous, and it is there that we find the beginnings of a general organization of the Reformed Churches.

The history of this denomination may be comprehended in five periods.

1. 1709–46: Isolated congregations. — This period is characterized by the founding of congregations and the beginning of missionary activity. The earlier portion is very obscure. Religious services were held in private houses, or sometimes in the open air. In the absence of regular ministers, sermons were read by schoolmasters or other intelligent laymen. Among the best known of these schoolmasters was Thomas Schley, the ancestor of Admiral Winfield Scott Schley and the founder of Frederick City, Md. He was singled out by Schlatter as the best teacher he had found

[1] *Gesch. und Zustände der Deutschen in Amerika*, Leipzig, 1855, [2] Göttingen, 1855, p. 42.

[2] *The German Element in the United States*, i. 285.

in America, edifying 'the congregation on every Lord's Day by means of singing and reading God's Word and printed sermons.'

John Frederick Haeger (1684–1722) was the earliest missionary. He was ordained by the bishop of London on 20th Dec. 1709, at the solicitation of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 'for service among the Palatines, New York.' He laboured in the settlements on the Hudson and began to build a church, but did not live to complete it. His father, John Henry Haeger, an ordained minister who had been rector of the Latin school at Siegen, in Nassau-Dillenberg, followed him to America in 1714, and became pastor in Virginia at a village, named Germanna, which had been built by certain miners who had been brought over by Governor Spottswood.

In Pennsylvania the earliest missionary labour appears to have been performed by a Hollander. At Neshaminy, in Bucks county, there was a Reformed Dutch church—the only one in the province—and from its records it appears that its pastor, Paulus Van Vlecq, on 29th May 1710, visited the (German) settlement at Skippach, where he baptized several children, and on 4th June of the same year ordained elders and deacons at White Marsh. These were probably the earliest German Reformed churches in Pennsylvania, though it is possible that some sort of organization may have been almost simultaneously established at Germantown and Falkner Swamp.

Samuel Guldin (1664–1745) was a Swiss minister who arrived in Pennsylvania in 1710. He had been associate pastor of the cathedral church at Bern, but was removed from his charge for Pietism. In America he seems to have lived in retirement, though he preached occasionally in Germantown. He published three small volumes, treating principally of his unhappy European experiences.

In 1725 the congregations at Falkner Swamp, Skippach, and White Marsh, after seeking in vain for a regular minister, extended a call to John Philip Boehm, who had previously served as their 'reader.' His ministry proved successful, and, after communications with the Classis of Amsterdam, he was ordained in 1729 by Dutch ministers of New York. John Philip Boehm (1683–1749), whose indefatigable activity and great importance for the Reformed Church in the U.S. have been recently established by W. J. Hinke,[1] had been a parochial teacher at Worms, and came to America about 1720. He prepared for his congregations a constitution, which was approved by the synods of Holland and was long regarded as a model. He was the author of several vigorous controversial pamphlets and founded many congregations, his missionary journeys extending from the Delaware river almost to the Susquehanna. Profoundly impressed by the helpless condition of the churches of Pennsylvania, he appealed for aid to the synods of Holland, and it was greatly by his influence that the European churches were awakened to a sense of their duty towards their brethren beyond the sea.

In 1727 George Michael Weiss (1700–63), an ordained minister, arrived at Philadelphia. He had been commissioned by the Ober-Consistorium of Heidelberg to accompany 400 Palatines to America as their leader and guide. In the year of his arrival he organized the Reformed Church of Philadelphia. In 1730 he accompanied Jacob Reiff on a journey to Europe, to collect money and books for several destitute churches, returning to America the following year. He subsequently served a charge in the province of New York, but finally returned to Pennsylvania.

[1] *Letters and Reports of the Rev. John Philip Boehm.*

John Peter Miller (1710–96) and John Bartholomew Rieger (1707–69), both natives of the Palatinate, arrived in 1730. After serving in the Reformed Church for several years, Miller joined the Seventh-day Baptists and became the head of a monastic institution at Ephrata. Rieger subsequently studied medicine, and, though he was at times active in the work of the Church, was in later years best known as a physician.

The name of John Henry Goetschius (1718–74) frequently appears in early congregational records. His father, Mauritz Goetschius, who had previously been pastor at Saletz, in the canton of Zürich, Switzerland, came to America in 1735, accompanied by his family. He died not long after landing in Philadelphia, and his son, John Henry, soon afterwards began to preach with great acceptance, though he was only seventeen years old. In 1736 he claimed to be pastor of twelve congregations. In later years he became an eminent minister in the Reformed Dutch Church. His brother-in-law, John Conrad Wirtz, also became a minister, and is regarded as the founder of the Reformed Church in the city of York, Pennsylvania.

In 1742 several Reformed ministers joined with Count Zinzendorf in the organization of the 'Congregation of God in the Spirit.' It was proposed to unite the German denominations (Lutheran, Reformed, and Moravian) in a higher unity without destroying their identity. Until 1748 this organization laboured earnestly, especially among the Reformed and Lutherans, but the movement finally proved unsuccessful, and most of its adherents identified themselves with the Moravians. The most eminent of the Reformed ministers who belonged to the 'Congregation' were Henry Antes, John Bechtel, Christian H. Rauch, Jacob Lischy, and John Brandmiller.

2. 1746–93: Denominational organization.—The leading event of this period was the founding of the 'Coetus,' by Michael Schlatter, in 1747. For eighteen years the Church of Holland had been directly interested in the German churches of Pennsylvania; but nothing had been done to secure a general organization. It was believed that the American churches were not ready for the establishment of an independent Synod; and it was, therefore, suggested that an advisory body, composed of ministers and delegated elders, should as soon as possible be organized. This body was to be known as the 'Coetus,' or 'Convention'—a term which was first applied by John à Lasco to a weekly conference of ministers which he established in 1544 at Emden, in Germany.

There were certain difficulties which may at first have appeared almost insurmountable. The Germans of Pennsylvania were not of Dutch speech or nationality; they had not been trained to acknowledge the national Confessions of the Netherlands, and it would have required much labour to bring them into full accord with their new ecclesiastical relations. A man was needed who could speak the language of both nationalities, who was willing to be the confidential agent of the Dutch Synods, and might serve as a personal link between the Old World and the New. There was, therefore, great rejoicing when a young Swiss minister appeared and offered to undertake the work.

Michael Schlatter (1716–90), a native of St. Gall, belonged to a prominent family and was thoroughly educated. Having spent a part of his youth in Holland, he was familiar with the language of that country. After his ordination to the ministry he preached for several years in his native country; but, having heard of the necessities of the American churches, he went to Holland and was commissioned by the synods of Holland to undertake the work of organizing them. Nine days after receiv-

ing his commission he set sail for America, where he arrived on 1st Aug. 1746. In his American work he manifested extraordinary energy and perseverance. He made extensive missionary journeys, organized thirteen pastoral charges, and convened the first Coetus in Philadelphia on 29th Sept. 1747, with four ministers and 28 elders in attendance. The ministers, besides Schlatter, were Boehm, Weiss, and Rieger. From this time the Coetus met annually, its proceedings being sent to Holland for revision and approval.

In 1751 and 1754 Schlatter visited Europe in the interest of the American churches. His first mission proved remarkably successful. In one year he wrote and published his *Appeal*, attended many conferences in Holland, Germany, and Switzerland, induced six young ministers to accompany him on his return to America, and collected £12,000, the interest of which was to be applied to the destitute churches of Pennsylvania and schools. The ministers who accompanied Schlatter to America were Philip William Otterbein, John Jacob Wissler, John Waldschmidt, Theodore Frankenfeld, Henry William Stoy, and John Casper Rubel.

Schlatter's enthusiasm proved contagious, and David Thomson, pastor of the English church at Amsterdam, went to England to plead for the establishment of schools among the Germans of Pennsylvania. He was very successful, and it is said that the king gave a personal contribution of £1000. A number of so-called 'Charity schools' were founded in Pennsylvania, and Schlatter was made superintendent of this educational movement, a position which he filled till 1756. He was for some years a chaplain in the Royal American Regiment of infantry, and subsequently lived in retirement near Philadelphia.

The Coetus increased slowly. 'The fathers' in Holland sent a number of missionaries, who had, almost without exception, been well educated in German universities. They refused, however, to grant to the American body the privilege of conferring the rite of ordination, and this led to frequent disagreements. A considerable number of ministers failed to become members of Coetus.

Among the most prominent members of Coetus were the following: J. Conrad Steiner (1707–62), author of several volumes of sermons; Philip William Otterbein (1726–1813), pastor in Baltimore, who, under the influence of the Methodist revival, founded religious societies from which the denomination of 'the United Brethren in Christ' was developed; J. Daniel Gros (1737–1812), professor in Columbia College, New York, and author of an important philosophical work (in English); C. D. Weyberg and William Hendel, two ministers who united, in 1787, with several Lutheran pastors in founding at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, Franklin College, so named in honour of Benjamin Franklin, who was the largest individual contributor to its endowment.

The leading independent minister was John Joachim Zubly (1724–81), of Savannah, Georgia, an author, and elected in 1775 a member of the Continental Congress. In 1787 the Reformed ministers of S. Carolina joined with several Lutheran ministers in forming a union which received the double name of 'Corpus Evangelicum' and 'Unio Ecclesiastica.' This movement is interesting principally from the fact that it anticipated the Prussian Church union of 1817 in some important particulars.

During this period the Coetus remained warmly attached to the Church of Holland. In 1770 an attempt to unite the German and Dutch Reformed elements in a General Synod was defeated by the Germans on the ground of gratitude to 'the fathers' in Holland and particularly to the Classis of Amsterdam. In the war of the Revolution, when communication with Europe was much interrupted, the American churches learned to depend upon their own resources. In 1792 the Coetus abandoned the custom of sending its minutes to Holland for revision. The period of dependence was at an end and the Coetus by its own act became an independent Synod.

3. 1793–1820: The independent denominational organization.—About twenty ministers united in the organization of the Synod which met at Lancaster, Pa., in 1793. The condition of the Church at that time could hardly be called encouraging. Congregations had grown numerous, but were apathetic. The pioneers had passed away, and the younger ministers were imperfectly educated. No provision had been made for higher education, and the number of candidates for the ministry was small, so that extensive districts were left without pastors. Important congregations called pastors, without much discrimination, from other denominations, and the people were in danger of being alienated from the faith of their fathers. The introduction of the English language was resisted by the older generation and led to serious conflict. Pastors generally laid stress on catechetical instruction, but the establishment of Sunday schools was viewed with suspicion, as were all so-called Methodistic methods. The faith of the people was mainly traditional, and the prevailing theology was that of the Cocceian or Federalistic school. The Church, however, grew by natural increase, and a new and brighter era was ahead of it.

4. 1820–63: Consolidation and development, educational institutions and liturgical worship.—At the beginning of this period the number of ministers had increased to 70, and it was found difficult to bring them together at synodical meetings. It was, therefore, determined to divide the Synod into eight Classes, which held their earliest meetings in 1820. From this time onwards the Synod was a delegative body chosen by the Classes. The Classis of Ohio, on account of the Synod's refusal to grant to the Classes the privilege of conferring the rite of ordination, became in 1823 a separate body, known as the 'Synod of Ohio.' In this position it remained until the organization of the General Synod in 1863. Heidelberg College at Tiffin, Ohio, was founded in 1850. In 1820 a plan was adopted for the establishment of a Theological Seminary, which was opened at Carlisle, Pa., 1825, with Lewis Mayer as the first professor of Theology. Mayer wrote *A History of the Reformed Church* and valuable monographs.

In 1825 James R. Reily, one of the zealous friends of the Seminary, visited Germany to solicit contributions towards an enterprise that was so intimately related to the welfare of emigrants from the fatherland. He secured a good library and a considerable sum of money. Among the most liberal contributors was His Majesty Frederick III. of Prussia. In 1829 the Seminary was removed to York, Pa., and in 1837 to Mercersburg, Pa. Two years before (1835), this small town, afterwards to become famous, was made the seat of Marshall College.

Frederick Augustus Rauch (1806–41), the first president of Marshall College and associate professor in the Theological Seminary, had served a short time as professor extraordinary at Giessen, in Germany, and had just been appointed a full professor at Heidelberg when, on account of political troubles, he was compelled to leave his fatherland. He had been a favourite pupil of the great eclectic philosopher, Carl Daub, and, though he was recognized as a Hegelian, many elements of his thinking were derived from Schelling and

others of his great contemporaries. In theology he was orthodox, and he had been ordained to the ministry. At Mercersburg he wrote his *Psychology* (New York, 1846) and had begun a treatise on æsthetics, when he died suddenly on 2nd March 1841.

In 1839 Mayer retired from his professorship, and in 1840 John Williamson Nevin was elected his successor. He was at that time professor in the (Presbyterian) Western Theological Seminary at Pittsburgh, Pa., and was already known as an earnest student of German philosophy and theology.

Nevin was born in Franklin county, Pennsylvania, on 20th Feb. 1803, and died at Lancaster on 6th June 1886. He graduated at Union College, New York, and studied theology at Princeton. Before going to Pittsburgh he had been assistant teacher of theology at Princeton, and had published his *Summary of Biblical Antiquities* (Philadelphia, 1828). In accepting the invitation to Mercersburg he was convinced that he was called to perform an important task, and his transition to the Reformed Church was fully approved by his Presbyterian associates. For many years Nevin was the head of the institution at Mercersburg. The books which he wrote, though few in number, had great influence in his denomination. His tract *The Anxious Bench* (Chambersburg, Pa., 1843) aroused wide attention, and his book *The Mystical Presence* (Philadelphia, 1846) presented the real spiritual presence in the Lord's Supper. He was a profound thinker and a powerful controversial theologian. From 1849 to 1853 he edited the *Mercersburg Review*, and most of his theological articles appeared in that periodical.

In 1843 the Synod, convened at Lebanon, Pa., elected F. W. Krummacher, of Elberfeld, Prussia, to become Rauch's successor at Mercersburg. Benjamin S. Schneck and Theodore L. Hoffeditz went to Germany to present the call, and their visit attracted much attention in Berlin and other cities. When Krummacher declined the call, the attention of the commissioners was diverted by Neander, Tholuck, Julius Müller, and Krummacher to Philip Schaff (1819–93), who was at that time a *privatdocent* in the University of Berlin. On this recommendation Schaff was elected professor of Theology at Winchester, Va., on 19th Oct. 1843, and came to America the following year.

Schaff's inaugural address, *The Principle of Protestantism*, published with an Introduction by Nevin (Chambersburg, Pa., 1845), defended the doctrine of historical development, a theory at that time considered dangerous by many German Reformed ministers. For this reason and on account of alleged Roman Catholic tendencies, the inaugural was made the ground of a charge of heresy. Schaff was tried before the Synod and acquitted by a practically unanimous vote.

Through the teachings of Nevin and Schaff Mercersburg became widely known as the seat of the 'Mercersburg Theology.' Misrepresented as a Romanizing movement in sympathy with the Tractarianism of Oxford, it really was strongly Protestant, but stood for a high view of the Church and her ordinances and not for any peculiar system of divinity. Stress was laid upon the liturgical element in worship, the real spiritual presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper, and the importance of the early Church Fathers. Nevin's articles on 'Early Christianity' and on 'Cyprian' in the *Mercersburg Review* (1851, 1852) helped to increase the unrest which Schaff's inaugural had stirred up.

Schaff was active in literary labour as well as in the class room. He stated his views of historical development in *What is Church History?* (Philadelphia, 1846), and published his *History of the Apostolic Church* (first in German, Mercersburg, 1851,[2] Leipzig, 1854, Eng. tr., New York, 1853) and his *History of the Christian Church, 1 A.D.–600 A.D.* (2 vols., New York, 1858–67), a German *Hymn-book* (1859) still used in the worship of the German Reformed and Presbyterian Churches of the United States, and other works. Nevin resigned his professorship in 1851, subsequently becoming president of Franklin and Marshall College, the chief literary institution of the Church. Schaff remained in Mercersburg till 1863.

Influenced by the example of these teachers, many younger men engaged in literary work and became prominent as authors and Church leaders—H. A. Bomberger, E. V. Gerhart, Henry Harbaugh, Thomas C. Porter, George W. Williard, and Jeremiah I. Good. In 1851 Catawba College was founded at Newton, N. Carolina. In 1853 Marshall College was removed to Lancaster and consolidated with Franklin under the title of Franklin and Marshall College. In 1871 the Theological Seminary was removed from Mercersburg to Lancaster, where both institutions have since been successfully conducted. During this period also the Church was greatly disturbed over the preparation and use of a Liturgy, Schaff being one of the leaders in the preparation of the book (Philadelphia, 1857).

Missionary work in the West was successful, especially among the Germans. In 1860 a colony of emigrants from Lippe-Detmold founded the Mission House at Franklin, Wis., which has become an important centre of missionary activity.

5. 1863–1918: The peaceful growth of the Church.—The year 1863 was distinguished by the tercentenary celebration of the Heidelberg Catechism. There were several largely attended conventions, at which essays were read which were afterwards published in English and German in the *Tercentenary Monument* (Chambersburg and Philadelphia, 1863). A memorial edition of the Heidelberg Catechism in three languages was also published (*The Heidelberg Catechism in German, Latin, and English*, with Introd. by J. W. Nevin, New York, 1863, Bonn, 1864, and *Der Heidelberger Catechismus, nach der ersten Ausgabe von 1563, etc.*, Philadelphia, 1863, rev. ed. 1866).

In the same year the General Synod was organized by the union of the Eastern and Western Synods. During their long separation these bodies had developed local peculiarities, and there were disagreements on the general subject of cultus. As early as 1847 a Liturgical Committee had been appointed by the Eastern Synod, and several proposed orders of service were published. During the heated controversy over the subject Ursinus College was founded, in 1869, by Bomberger. In 1879 the controversy was concluded by the appointment of a Peace Commission, which also prepared the order of worship now generally used. There is no disposition to abridge the freedom of worship, and the use of the Liturgy is not compulsory.

The Reformed Church is connected with the 'Alliance of Reformed Churches holding to the Presbyterian System,' and is greatly interested in the establishment of a closer federation. There have been several efforts for an organic union with the Reformed Church in America (Dutch) (*q.v.*), but these have hitherto proved unsuccessful, principally on account of a difference in doctrinal standards. A movement for the union of the Church with the Presbyterian Church in the U.S. of America came to an end in 1915; 220 presbyteries had voted in favour, but the majority of the Classes was against it. In 1869 the foreign patrial adjective, 'German,' was removed from the official

title of the Church. In spite of difficulties and trials, the Reformed Church in the United States has greatly increased in numbers and influence. In 1916 there were, in connexion with the General Synod, 9 district synods, 1213 ministers, 1759 congregations, and 320,459 communicants, with contributions for congregational purposes of $2,201,545 and for benevolence $680,450. There are missions in Japan and China, with 6 schools. Of the synods 6 are prevailingly English, and 3 wholly English. There are 15 theological seminaries and colleges, and 26 recognized periodicals. Five orphan homes and a deaconess home are maintained.

The Reformed Church is sincerely attached to its ancient standards, but also believes in the principle of progress. Its theology is Christocentric—an attitude which has found elaborate and systematic expression in E. V. Gerhart's *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (2 vols., New York, 1891–94, with Introd. by Philip Schaff). Religious services are conducted according to the general order of the Church year. Confirmation is practised, not as a sacrament but as an appropriate rite attendant upon admission to the Church. Its attitude towards other Christian denominations is fraternal.

LITERATURE.—L. Mayer, *Hist. of the German Reformed Church*, Philadelphia, 1851; J. W. Nevin, *Hist. and Genius of the Heidelberg Catechism*, Chambersburg, Pa., 1847; P. Schaff, *Der deutsche Kirchenfreund*, iii., Mercersburg, Pa., 1850; H. Harbaugh, *The Life of Michael Schlatter*, Philadelphia, 1857, *The Fathers of the Reformed Church*, 2 vols., Lancaster, Pa., 1857; J. I. Good, *Early Fathers of the Reformed Church*, Reading, Pa., 1897; J. H. Dubbs, *Historic Manual of the Reformed Church of the U.S.*, Lancaster, Pa., 1885, *Hist. of the Reformed Church, German*, New York, 1895, *The Reformed Church in Pennsylvania*, Lancaster, Pa., 1902; *Minutes and Letters of the Coetus of the German Reformed Congregations in Pennsylvania, 1747–1792*, Philadelphia, 1903; W. J. Hinke, *Letters and Reports of the Rev. John Philip Boehm*, tr. and ed. in *Journal of the Presb. Hist. Soc.*, Philadelphia, 1912–16 (thus far ten artt.); T. Appel, *The Life and Work of Rev. John W. Nevin*, Philadelphia, 1889; D. S. Schaff, *The Life of Philip Schaff*, New York, 1897; A. B. Faust, *The German Element in the United States*, 2 vols., Boston, 1909.

JOSEPH HENRY DUBBS.

REFORMED EPISCOPAL CHURCH and FREE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.—The Free Church of England, and, as its title indicates, the Reformed Episcopal Church in the United Kingdom, otherwise called the Reformed Church of England, claim, each separately, to possess the historic episcopate, indirectly from Canterbury, to which the old-fashioned, unemotional English Churchman, in his cautious self-guard and conservative ecclesiasticism, attaches supreme importance. In the Reformed Episcopal Church three orders of ministers are recognized: bishops, priests (*i.e.* presbyters), and deacons. The Free Church of England, in its published Declaration of Principles, says:

'Guided by the New Testament and by the ecclesiastical polity of the Primitive Church, this Church recognizes only two Orders of Ministers, Presbyters and Deacons.'

Nevertheless, the first order is divided into two offices, *i.e.* bishops and presbyters. The attitude of both the Churches is very clearly expressed about their view of episcopacy. The Reformed Episcopal Church says:

'This Church recognizes and adheres to Episcopacy, not as of Divine right, but as a very ancient and desirable form of Church polity.'

The Free Church of England expresses the same belief in similar words and adds:

'But for the avoidance of any possible misunderstanding, it hereby emphatically declares its repudiation of the Romish dogma of Apostolical Succession in the Ministry as involving the transmission of spiritual powers.'

Both of the Churches in similar terms condemn and reject the following 'erroneous and strange doctrines as contrary to God's Word':

'*First.*—That the Church of Christ exists only in one order or form of ecclesiastical polity.

Second.—That Christian ministers are "priests" in another sense than that in which all believers are a "royal priesthood."'

How the Free Church of England came to be possessed of the historic episcopate, of which the founders never dreamt, must now be told. We are dealing with the history and polity of the Free Church of England before that of the Reformed Episcopal Church in England because of the two Protestant Episcopal Churches outside the Established Church the former was the first founded. In fact, the latter grew out of the former, withdrawals having quietly taken place from the Free Church of England on the question raised by Churchmen in the religious press concerning the historic episcopacy. Four of those who thus seceded, one of whom had been episcopally consecrated as a bishop in the Free Church of England, became subsequently bishops in the Reformed Episcopal Church. As three out of these four seceders had been at one time Congregational ministers, it may fairly be assumed that none of them was personally hampered by any deep conviction that, in order to secure valid orders, the 'laying on of hands' must be by a bishop in the historical succession, but that they took the important step because they thought that by so doing they would better meet the objections of rigid Church people to a purely elective episcopacy.

1. **The Free Church of England.**—The Free Church of England is a Protestant Episcopal Church, which, as regards orders, doctrine, and worship, takes outside the Established Church a position similar to that of the Evangelical party within. The Oxford Movement (*q.v.*), as it is generally called, which, according to Cardinal Newman, was started on 14th July 1833, in order to arouse the clergy of the Church of England from the cold, apathetic condition into which they had fallen, led to the formation of the Free Church of England, as an effective antidote to the advanced sacerdotal teaching of the pioneers of the ritualistic campaign—the eminent clergymen of the Church of England who had dived deeply into early Patristic teaching and pre-Reformation practices—and the materialistic exaggerations of their immediate successors, who did not possess the scholarship, sanity, or personal piety of such men as Keble, Pusey, Ward, and Faber, but who far surpassed them in zeal.

For a decade there had been simmering among the loyal Evangelical clergy an opinion, which gradually deepened and widened in larger and in even outside circles, that something effective should be done to counteract the rapidly spreading sacerdotal movement. In 1843 matters were brought to a head, and precipitated the formation of the Free Church of England.

The see of Exeter was presided over by Henry Phillpotts, who was a strong High Churchman, a strenuous controversialist; and, holding Cyprianic views as to the Divine authority of the episcopal office, to which he did not hesitate to give effect in his diocese, he was at times in serious conflict with one or another of his clergy. In Church history (1847) he is well known by his attempt to stretch ecclesiastical law by imposing an unheard-of test upon George Cornelius Gorham, a third wrangler and a Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, before instituting him to the vicarage of Brampford-Speke, Exeter, to which he had been appointed by Lord Chancellor Cottenham. James Shore had for ten years been the esteemed minister of Bridgetown Chapel-of-Ease. A new vicar, on coming into residence, informed him that his nomination to the Episcopal chapel could not be renewed; and the bishop withdrew his licence and declined to state his reasons for so doing. The Duke of Somerset, on being memorialized by 800 members

of the congregation, decided to re-open it, but this time without the bishop's licence. Shore wrote formally, and, as he thought, legally, resigning his position in the Church of England; and on 14th April 1844 he again preached in the chapel to his old well-beloved congregation; but this time as a clergyman in the Free Church of England. The bishop of Exeter, believing as a High Churchman in the indelibility of Holy Orders, because, when they are conferred, a special spiritual grace, mysteriously handed down from the apostles, is *ex opere operato* then imparted by the ordaining bishop, which can only be sinned away by the recipient, promptly instituted proceedings against Shore. The law, as it then stood, was in the bishop's favour. Notwithstanding this, Shore again preached at Spa Fields Chapel on 9th March 1849; and, when he came down from the pulpit, he was arrested by two officers of the ecclesiastical court for non-payment of the bishop's costs. Hereupon Thomas E. Thoresby, the minister of Spa Fields Chapel, London, inserted an advertisement in the *Times*, calling for a meeting at Exeter Hall 'to confer as to the best means of altering the law under which the Rev. James Shore had been committed; and of effecting his immediate liberation.' At that meeting 5000 men were present, and one of the speakers significantly declared 'that by God's help there would be a Church in which the Bishops would not be able to play such pranks.' It was Thoresby who thus spoke, and from henceforth he devoted his sound judgment, strong intellectual powers, and scholarly attainments to the establishment of the Free Church of England. Advice was sought, friends were consulted, and the draft of a plan, which he discovered among the documents in the possession of the Countess of Huntingdon (but which the Countess did not live to execute), formed the basis of a constitution, or deed poll, which was submitted to some of the leading Evangelical clergymen and ministers of the Connexion inviting suggestions, improvements, and criticisms, in order to secure as thorough and complete a Church polity as possible, moulded strictly upon NT authority. Fourteen years of the prime of his life did Thoresby give to the work which he had taken in hand and on which he had set his heart. The plan took definite shape in the year 1863, when at the annual conference of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion (*q.v.*), held on 24th June at Spa Fields Chapel, the 'Free Church of England' was formally organized and duly inaugurated by the passing of a resolution setting forth the position of the Connexion and the reasons which led to the adoption of the title of 'The Free Church of England.' The long preamble to the resolution, after alluding to the circumstances under which the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion came into existence, goes on to say:

'Whereas by a solemn statement made by the Countess's devisees, the Connexion was declared to be essentially in the main, as to its doctrine and liturgy, one with the Church of England; and as to its government, whilst allowing the distinctness and separate government of the several congregations, was held to be Presbyterian and Episcopal: and whereas the congregations in the Connexion have, for the most part, borne a distinctive character inasmuch as they have used with slight modifications the Liturgy of the Church of England, and in their general action have been subject to a general guidance of Presbyters, under the guidance of a President Bishop: and whereas in the public mind of Great Britain, there is a demand for the sound doctrine expressed in the general sense of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, to be held in connexion with a Revised Liturgy of the Book of Common Prayer: and whereas the Connexion cannot change either its form or name; and the trusts contained in the several deeds upon which the existing Chapels are settled cannot be altered without a vesting order from the Court of Chancery or the Charity Commissioners, etc.; it is therefore resolved by the Conference, for the perpetuation and development of the principles on which the Connexion is founded, that it is highly expedient from this time that any new Churches, and Congregations gathered in them, shall be known as "The Free Church of England," holding the Doctrines, and governed by the Laws, Regulations, and Declarations hereinafter stated.'

The laws, etc., here referred to formed the constitution of the Free Church of England, and were finally embodied in a deed poll, which was duly registered in the High Court of Chancery on 31st Aug. 1863.

Largely in consequence of the action of the bishop of Exeter in pursuing Shore from one ecclesiastical court to another, incurring ruinous costs which it was quite impossible for Shore to discharge, and then imprisoning him for not paying them, the Free Church of England spread, and new churches in different parts of England were opened—among others, St. James's Free Church of England, Grosvenor Place, Exeter, and Christ Church, Portland Street, Ilfracombe, the congregation of which had as its minister Benjamin Price, who was at one time a member of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, and who subsequently became the first bishop of the Free Church of England.

For three years in succession Price had held the high office of president of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, and in that capacity had acted as its representative at ordinations and similar functions. But, as it was considered by the members of the conference to be simply a distinguished office, no service of consecration was held or deemed to be desirable. But the president of the Connexion was also at the same time *ipso facto* the bishop of the Free Church of England, and among the members themselves the demand grew that the head of the Church should bear a more thoroughly ecclesiastical title than 'president'—one which would convey to outsiders the idea of episcopacy. This internal desire found expression when, in 1868, St. John's Church, Tottington, Bury, Lancashire, was opened, and public announcement was made that it would be consecrated by the Rev. Benjamin Price, 'Bishop Primus' of the Free Church of England. On that eventful occasion the title was used for the first time—against Price's knowledge or desire, it is true. It was felt that the term 'president' did not appeal to Church-people, whereas 'bishop' was thoroughly understood by 'the man in the street.' The anomalous position in which Price found himself was this, that as executive officer he had to perform episcopal duties, without having been consecrated 'by men who have publick authority given to them' to do so. Many evangelical clergymen, nevertheless, became warmly attached to the new movement; and their adhesion gave it a more distinctly Church character. This was emphasized by the following manifesto, which in 1873 was signed by over 50 influential clergymen:

'1.—We, the undersigned Clergymen of the Church of England, hereby declare our solemn conviction that it is essential to maintain the distinctive Protestant character of our Church.

2.—We have noticed with alarm the tendency of the late "Bennett Judgment" to lower that character, and to establish a compromise unworthy of our old Reformers and their traditions. The adoption of the principle that what our formularies do not in express terms condemn, they must be considered to allow, points to the conclusion that those who hold the doctrines of Rome have only to disguise them in sophistical subtleties and non-natural language in order to make their position tenable. We consider this a state of things fraught with dangerous consequences to the Church at large.

3.—We hold firmly that Romish errors, against which some of the Articles of the Church of England most emphatically protest, may not on any account be sanctioned.

4.—We lament exceedingly that Romish and Ritualistic practices and doctrines have made sensible progress of late years, in spite of all efforts which have been put forth to check them.

5.—We regard it as indispensable that objectionable passages in the Book of Common Prayer, which have been found to promote such practices and doctrines, should be removed.

6.—We look in vain for any sign of Liturgical Revision by authority in the Established Church.

7.—We have, therefore, determined, at this grave crisis, to express an open sympathy with those kindred Church bodies in England and Ireland which have made Revision of the Prayer-book a leading question. We allude to the Disestablished Church of Ireland and to the Free Church of England. Without pledging ourselves to the details of their respective arrangements, we shall be glad henceforth to act in friendly co-operation with both these bodies for the repression of Ritualism.

8.—We unhesitatingly approve the union of Church and State, and do not advocate secession; but we cannot ignore the *fact* that some Clergymen have determined otherwise; and unless some decisive step be taken to maintain the Protestant principles of the Reformation, we fear that many of the Laity may practically fall away from our Church, as sheep without a shepherd.'

The above declaration was drawn up by Edward Vesey Bligh, son of the Earl of Darnley and vicar of Birling, Kent.

As the movement spread, it became more imperative that Price should be consecrated, according to Church order, with the accompaniment of 'laying on of hands,' according to apostolic custom. In March 1874 the Free Church of England made a friendly suggestion to the Reformed Episcopal Church of America, which had lately been organized, that the two Churches, inasmuch as their principles and doctrines were identical, should be united. The proposition was warmly entertained, and a federative union was arranged —the bishops and clergy of either Church to be eligible to attend and vote at all meetings. One of the bishops of the American Church, Edward Cridge, of British Columbia, an Englishman, and at one time a dean in the Church of England, came to England to visit his friends; and, at the special request of the Reformed Church of America, supplied that which seemed to orthodox Church people to be lacking in the episcopacy of the Free Church of England by publicly consecrating Bishop Price, by prayer and the 'laying on of hands,' to his sacred office. In time this union was allowed to lapse, and the Free Church of England is not now affiliated with any American Church.

The Free Church of England is free (1) to go into any parish to preach the gospel, although, as a matter of practice, she does not do so, unless invited; (2) to use the Book of Common Prayer, from which passages which are interpreted to confer 'absolving and retaining' powers on the clergy have been expunged; (3) from State control, under which ecclesiastical questions are surrounded with restrictions and difficulties; (4) to hold communion with other denominations, on the ground that the Church of Christ is one. 'Multi illi unum corpus sumus in Christo' (Ro 12^5).

In its uncompromising Protestantism the Church denies (1) that the Church of Christ exists only in one order or form of ecclesiastical polity; (2) that Christian ministers are 'priests' in another sense than that in which all believers are a 'royal priesthood'; (3) that the Lord's Table is an altar on which the oblation of the Body and Blood of Christ is offered anew to the Father; (4) that the presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper is a presence in the elements of bread and wine; and (5) that regeneration is inseparably connected with Holy Baptism.

2. The Reformed Episcopal Church in the United Kingdom, otherwise called the Reformed Church of England.—The earliest settlers in the United States of America (Virginia) in 1607 were members of the Church of England, and therefore naturally desirous of having a bishop in canonical Church order for ordinations, confirmations, etc.; but their applications for the privilege were courteously declined, or postponed, by the English archbishops. In 1784, however, their wish was partly met by the consecration at Aberdeen of Samuel Seabury, rector of St. Peter's, New York, by three bishops of the Episcopal Church of Scotland (Robert Kilmour, Arthur Petrie, and John Skinner). The colonists thus had a bishop of their own; but nevertheless they were not completely satisfied. A renewed request of the descendants of the first English emigrants, that a colonial clergyman, whom they might elect, should be consecrated, so that the union with the old country might be strengthened and the Church creed of their fathers followed by their children's children, was favourably entertained; and on 4th Feb. 1787 the archbishop of Canterbury (John Moore), assisted by the archbishop of York (William Markham) and the bishops of Bath and Wells (Charles Moss) and Peterborough (John Hinchliffe), consecrated in his chapel at Lambeth Palace, first William White, of Pennsylvania, and immediately afterwards Samuel Provoost, of New York, as bishops. Three years later (19th Sept. 1790) James Madison, president of William and Mary College, Virginia, was consecrated at Lambeth by the archbishop of Canterbury (John Moore), assisted by the bishops of London (B. Porteous) and Rochester (J. Thomas). The first episcopal consecration in America took place on 17th Sept. 1792, when Thomas John Claggett was consecrated in New York bishop of Maryland, by bishops White, Provoost, Seabury, and Madison. The co-operation of Seabury invested this consecration with prime importance, as it joined the two sources of orders, the Scottish and English, in the Protestant Episcopal Church of America. On 15th Nov. 1866 George David Cummins, rector of Trinity Church, Chicago, was consecrated at Christ Church, Louisville, by the presiding bishop, John Henry Hopkins, of Vermont (who was assisted by six other bishops of the American Church), and appointed suffragan bishop of Kentucky. In the autumn of 1873 the Evangelical Alliance held in New York its annual Convention, which was terminated by a united communion service in the Presbyterian Church in Madison Square, in which Bishop Cummins, the dean of Canterbury (R. Payne Smith), and Canon Fremantle took prominent part. The bishop of Zanzibar (W. G. Tozer) and other extremists vehemently denounced these eminent clergymen, and charged them with infringing ecclesiastical law in participating in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper administered in a Nonconformist church. Keenly sensitive to the attacks made on him through the public press, and alarmed at the spread of ritualistic innovations in his own diocese, which, with the limitations imposed upon him as a suffragan bishop, he was unable to stem, he resigned on 10th Nov. 1873 his position in the Protestant Episcopal Church of America; and three weeks afterwards organized the 'Reformed Episcopal Church of America.' On 14th Dec. 1873 he consecrated Charles Edward Cheney as a bishop in the new Church; and on 24th Feb. 1874 he consecrated William R. Nicholson to the same high office, both at Kentucky. Generally speaking, these Church incidents would hardly have passing interest, and the record of them might be considered merely trifling; but to a Church claiming to possess the historic episcopate they are of supreme consequence.

Information concerning the inauguration of the Reformed Episcopal Church of America reached England through the usual channels, and led to a missionary movement on similar Church lines in this country, under the charge of T. Huband Gregg, formerly vicar of E. Harborne, Birmingham; in the following year a General Synod for Great Britain and Ireland was formed, with the right of self-government. In 1894 it was reorganized with P. X. Eldridge as presiding bishop; and 'Constitutions and Canons' were drawn up and agreed upon.

No good purpose would be served by reviving memories of the objections made as to 'form of service' at the consecration of Bishop Cummins, and 'intention,' and other trivialities, which marred the discussions in the first instance; suffice it to say that the Reformed Episcopal Church of Great Britain, although it possesses, equally with the Church of England, all that, from the extreme Churchman's point of view, is necessary for valid episcopal orders, yet in strongest terms repudiates the teaching that the sacraments of Holy Baptism and the Lord's Supper are mechanically operative as channels of spiritual grace, when administered by a 'priest' 'lawfully called' and 'episcopally ordained.' It declares for three orders of ministry, *i.e.* bishops, presbyters, and deacons, but fully recognizes that the ministry of the Word and sacraments of Nonconformist Churches is of equal value with that of the Episcopal. It was founded to maintain the Evangelical principles of the Protestant Reformation; the Holy Scriptures form its sole rule of faith and practice; the Book of Common Prayer being used at divine service, it is liturgical in its worship; the government, although episcopal, is vested in a General Synod, composed of bishops and presbyters, together with two lay representatives from each of the affiliated congregations; it is a refuge for members of the Established Church who are distressed by unauthorized ritual in their parish churches; and, being free from State patronage and control, it is legally able to hold fellowship with all Evangelical Churches, and delights to do so.

LITERATURE.—B. Aycrigg, *Memoirs of the Reformed Episcopal Church*, New York, 1876; *Constitutions and Canons of the Reformed Episcopal Church*, London, 1894; F. S. Merryweather, *Hist. of the Free Church of England*, do. 1873; *Poll Deed, Canons and Byelaws of the Free Church of England*, Publication Department of the Free Church of England, Bury, Lancashire, 1916; *Revised Prayer Book of the Free Church of England*, do. 1916; A. E. Price, *Organisation of the Free Church of England*, do. 1916; G. H. Jones, *The Doctrines and Polity*, do. 1916.

G. HUGH JONES.

REFORMED PRESBYTERIANS. — See PRESBYTERIANISM.

REFORM JUDAISM.—See LIBERAL JUDAISM.

REGALIA.—The word 'regalia' is not found in classical Latin bearing its present meaning. We meet with it, however, in the 12th cent. in the work of the monkish chronicler, William of Malmesbury, *de Gestis Regum Anglorum*,[1] in which, after describing the coronation of Emperor Henry V. by Pope Paschal II., he says that after the ceremony the pope laid aside his *sacerdotalia* and the emperor his *regalia*. In English the words 'regale' and 'regalia' at first bore the meaning of royal prerogatives. The word 'regale' in particular was used of the privileges enjoyed for centuries by the kings of France of receiving the revenues of vacant sees and abbacies and of presenting to benefices which were dependent on them. By the 17th cent. the modern significance had already become attached to the word 'regalia,' while the singular 'regale' had fallen into desuetude. The articles which have formed a part of insignia of kingship in all the different stages of human culture have of course varied enormously in character, and it would be impossible within the scope of an article like the present to attempt to state the significance of each of them. This article is therefore restricted to a brief discussion of their religious symbolism and magical attributes in general. The term 'regalia' will not, however, be limited exclusively to objects worn and carried by kings, but will be extended to cover such material objects as confer upon their possessors the right to the throne.

[1] Rolls Series, no. 90, 2 vols., London, 1887–89, p. 502.

1. Royal fetishes.—More than twenty years ago J. G. Frazer, in his *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship*, called attention to the sacred character of the kingly office among primitive, semi-civilized, and, in a lesser degree, civilized peoples; and he inferred that, if it could be traced to its ultimate origins, it would be found to be identical with that of the priest, shaman, or medicine-man.[1] In its main outlines this hypothesis appears to be irrefragable. We must then expect to find among primitive peoples a resemblance between the royal insignia and the magical apparatus of the medicine-man. In this quest we are not disappointed, for we find that among the Malays the magician possesses insignia analogous to the regalia, both in fact bearing the same name (*kabĕsaran*).[2] In the Northern New Hebrides, according to R. H. Codrington, chieftainship is not in theory hereditary, but becomes so in practice, as a chief hands on to his son his charms and magic stones, containing the *mana* on which the chieftainship depends.[3] The dependence of the royal authority on the possession of certain fetishes is found in its most extreme form in S.E. Asia and the Malay Archipelago. In S. Celebes it is said actually to reside in the regalia.

'In short,' says Frazer, 'the regalia reign, and the princes are merely their representatives. Hence whoever happens to possess the regalia is regarded by the people as their lawful king. For example, if a deposed monarch contrives to keep the regalia, his former subjects remain loyal to him in their hearts, and look upon his successor as a usurper who is to be obeyed only in so far as he can exact obedience by force. And on the other hand, in an insurrection the first aim of the rebels is to seize the regalia, for if they can only make themselves masters of them, the authority of the sovereign is gone. In short, the regalia are here fetishes, which confer a title to the throne and control the fate of the kingdom. Houses are built for them to dwell in, as if they were living creatures; furniture, weapons, and even lands are assigned to them. Like the ark of God, they are carried with the army to battle, and on various occasions the people propitiate them, as if they were gods, by prayer and sacrifice and by smearing them with blood. Some of them serve as instruments of divination, or are brought forth in times of public disaster for the purpose of staying the evil, whatever it may be. For example, when plague is rife among men or beasts, or when there is a prospect of dearth, the Boogineese bring out the regalia, smear them with buffalo's blood, and carry them about. For the most part these fetishes are heirlooms of which the origin is forgotten; some of them are said to have fallen from heaven. Popular tradition traces the foundation of the oldest states to the discovery or acquisition of one of these miraculous objects—it may be a stone, a piece of wood, a fruit, a weapon, or what not, of a peculiar shape or colour. Often the original regalia have disappeared in course of time, but their place is taken by the various articles of property which were bestowed on them, and to which the people have transferred their pious allegiance.'[4]

In Loowoo, on the south coast of the Celebes, two toy cannon, and in Bima a sacred brown horse, formed part of the regalia. Among the Malays the regalia are of the nature of talismans on which the safety of the State depends, and are clearly bound up with the sanctity of the king.

'Not only is the king's person considered sacred, but the sanctity of his body is believed to communicate itself to his regalia, and to slay those who break the royal taboos. Thus it is firmly believed that any one who seriously offends the royal person, who touches (even for a moment) or who imitates (even with the king's permission) the chief objects of the regalia, or who wrongfully makes use of any of the insignia or privileges of royalty, will be *kĕna daulat*, *i.e.* struck dead, by a quasi-electric discharge of that Divine Power which the Malays suppose to reside in the king's person, and which is called "Daulat" or "Royal Sanctity."'[5]

Similar tabus on the wearing of royal robes are found in various parts of the world. In Japan any one who wore the emperor's clothes without his leave was supposed to suffer from swellings all over the body.[6] Similarly, in Fiji, disease is

[1] See art. KING (Introductory).
[2] *GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, London, 1911, i. 362.
[3] *The Melanesians*, Oxford, 1891, p. 56.
[4] *GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, i. 363.
[5] Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 23 f.
[6] Pinkerton, *Voyages and Travels*, London, 1808–14, vii. 717

supposed to result from wearing a chief's clothes. Among the Baganda so sacred were the king's clothes that, when he renewed them at the ceremonies which were held for the prolongation of his life, he deposited the old ones in a shrine of the god Mukasa.[1]

The articles comprising the regalia of Malay kings are of a very miscellaneous character. In Malacca they were a book of genealogical descent, a code of laws, a vest, and some weapons, among which there was generally a spear. In Perak and Selangor the regalia consisted largely of instruments of music.

The regalia of the 'fire-king' and the 'water-king' in Cambodia—two mysterious individuals whose authority is of a purely spiritual character—are talismans, which would lose their efficacy if they were to leave the family, and for this reason the office is hereditary. One of these talismans is a magic sword. If it were drawn from its scabbard, awful cosmic catastrophes would ensue.[2] The king of Cambodia, who occupies the position of temporal ruler within the country, sends an annual gift to the 'fire-king' of rich stuffs to wrap up the magic sword.[3]

Royal and public talismans were well known in the ancient world. The most famous instance of a public talisman is of course the Palladium, an archaic wooden image of Athene on which the safety of the city of Troy was supposed to depend.

'In antiquity the Scythian kings treasured as sacred a plough, a yoke, a battle-axe, and a cup, all of gold, which were said to have fallen from heaven; they offered great sacrifices to these sacred things at an annual festival; and if the man in charge of them fell asleep under the open sky, it was believed that he would die within the year. The sceptre of king Agamemnon, or what passed for such, was worshipped as a god at Chaeronea; a man acted as priest of the sceptre for a year at a time, and sacrifices were offered to it daily. The golden lamb of Mycenae, on the possession of which, according to legend, the two rivals Atreus and Thyestes based their claim to the throne, may have been a royal talisman of this sort.'[4]

It is said that in Japan the imperial crown was formerly a sort of palladium. In an account written about two centuries ago by Engelbrecht Kaempfer, physician to the Dutch embassy at the emperor's court, we read:

'In ancient times, he (the Emperor) was obliged to sit on the throne for some hours every morning, with the imperial crown on his head, but to sit altogether like a statue, without stirring either hands or feet, head or eyes, nor indeed any part of his body, because, by this means, it was thought that he could preserve peace and tranquillity in his empire; for if, unfortunately, he turned himself on one side or the other, or if he looked a good while towards any part of his dominions, it was apprehended that war, famine, fire, or some other great misfortune was near at hand to desolate the country. But it having been afterwards discovered, that the imperial crown was the palladium, which by its immobility could preserve peace in the empire, it was thought expedient to deliver his imperial person, consecrated only to idleness and pleasures, from this burthensome duty, and therefore the crown is at present placed on the throne for some hours every morning.'[5]

The Mogul emperors, who were never crowned, used at times to sit with a crown suspended over their heads.[6] A native historian of India in the 15th cent. narrates the prevalence of a somewhat similar idea in that country, where the throne rather than its occupant was the chief object of veneration.

'It is a singular custom in Bengal, that there is little hereditary descent in succession to the sovereignty. There is a throne allotted for the king; there is, in like manner, a seat or station assigned for each of the Amirs, Wasirs and Mansabdars. It is that throne and these stations alone which engage the reverence of the people of Bengal. A set of dependants, servants and attendants are annexed to each of these situations. When the king wishes to dismiss or appoint any person, whoever is placed in the seat of the one dismissed is immediately attended and obeyed by the whole establishment of dependants, servants and retainers annexed to the seat which he occupies. Nay, this rule obtains even as to the throne itself. Whoever kills the king and succeeds in placing himself on the throne is immediately acknowledged as king. . . . The people of Bengal say, "We are faithful to the throne; whoever fills the throne, we are obedient and true to it."'[1]

The Egyptian kings also claimed a divine character, being incarnations of Horus and Set.[2] They claimed to hold their authority directly from heaven.

'The sacred character of the royal house extended also to its insignia and attributes. The various crowns especially appear as sacred objects, which themselves possess divine powers, and the principal functionary in charge of the royal jewellery serves it in the character of priest.'[3]

The crowns of the two kingdoms possessed a mystical character, the white crown, which was the symbol of the king's dominion over the upper kingdom, being identified with the vulture-goddess Nekhbet, and the red crown, which symbolized his dominion over the lower kingdom, being identified with the serpent-goddess Buto. In other parts of Africa the regalia also possess a fetishistic character. Among the Yorubas, a people of the west coast, the royal crown is believed to be the residence of a spirit which requires propitiation. A few years ago the king of Ife sacrificed five sheep to it.[4] The throne is a fetish among the Ashantis and sacrifices are offered to it, while among the Hos, an Ewe-speaking tribe in Togoland, the king's proper throne is quite small and is bound with magic cords and kept wrapped up in a sheep's skin.[5]

The ideas underlying these facts are of course quite foreign to modern and even mediæval Europe. Nevertheless we may perhaps find dim reflexions of them in the mysterious atmosphere of sanctity which has attached itself to the two most celebrated crowns of Europe—the holy Crown of St. Stephen, and the Iron Crown of Lombardy. The former, which is compounded of two crowns, one sent by Pope Sylvester II. to St. Stephen, the first king of Hungary, in A.D. 1000, and the other sent by the Byzantine emperor, Michael Ducas, to King Geisa in 1073, has throughout Hungarian history been a kind of national palladium, the kingdom itself being known as the 'Lands of the Sacred Crown,' and a Hungarian magnate as 'membrum sacræ coronæ.'[6] When it was returned to Presburg in 1790 by Joseph II., who six years earlier had caused it to be removed to Vienna, it was received with the greatest joy, triumphal [illegible] being erected in its honour. It [illegible] tion distinct from the king[illegible] his constitutional prer[illegible] tion, and, if he shou[illegible] name is struck [illegible] less famous [illegible] Iron Crow[illegible] is receive[illegible] on whi[illegible] tion o[illegible] time [illegible] for [illegible] of [illegible] in [illegible] ac[illegible] II[illegible] j[illegible]

[1] J. Roscoe, *The Baganda*, London, 1911, p. 141.
[2] *GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, ii. 5.
[3] Cf. art. INDO-CHINA, vol. vii. p. 228.
[4] *GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, i. 365. [5] Pinkerton, *loc. c*[illegible]
[6] M. K. Ferishta, *The Hist. of Hindostan*, tr. A. Dow, Londo[illegible] 1812, ii. 329.

king is the repository of the *mana*, or 'luck,' of his people, it is necessary that there should be a kind of psychic continuity which must not be broken by the death of a ruler. In S. Celebes portions of the bodies of deceased rajahs actually confer the right to the throne.

'Among the Sakalavas of southern Madagascar a vertebra of the neck, a nail, and a lock of hair of a deceased king are placed in a crocodile's tooth and carefully kept along with the similar relics of his predecessors in a house set apart for the purpose. The possession of these relics constitutes the right to the throne. A legitimate heir who should be deprived of them would lose all his authority over the people, and on the contrary a usurper who should make himself master of the relics would be acknowledged king without dispute. It has sometimes happened that a relation of the reigning monarch has stolen the crocodile teeth with their precious contents, and then had himself proclaimed king.'[1]

When a king of the Panebian Lybians died, his head was cut off, covered with gold, and deposited in a sanctuary. It is the custom among the Masai for a chief to remove the skull of his predecessor's body a year after burial, and to secrete it, at the same time offering a sacrifice and a libation. The possession of the skull is understood to confirm his authority.

'When the Alake or king of Abeokuta in West Africa dies, the principal men decapitate his body, and placing the head in a large earthen vessel deliver it to the new sovereign; it becomes his fetish and he is bound to pay it honours. Similarly, when the Jaga, or king of Cassange, in Angola, has departed this life, an official extracts a tooth from the deceased monarch and presents it to his successor, who deposits it along with the teeth of former kings in a box, which is the sole property of the crown and without which no Jaga can legitimately exercise the regal power.'[2]

It is said that among the Guanches of the Canary Islands the femur of the dead king constituted an important part of the regalia, and that the oath of allegiance taken by the chiefs to the new ruler was sworn upon it. Frazer believes that through the corporeal relic the soul of his predecessor is transferred to the new ruler. A somewhat different theory has been maintained by Westermarck, who believes that it is not the soul of the dead ruler which becomes transferred, but his *mana*, or holiness. The sultan of Morocco is enabled to transfer to another his *baraka*, or sanctity.[3]

3. Election of a king by means of the royal insignia.—In view of the great sanctity of the kingly office in the lower stages of culture, and the belief that the luck of the people is bound up with its holder, it is of course of vital necessity [illegible] he who is most suitable should be elected to [illegible] In order to obtain supernatural ratification [illegible] of a king, divination has often been [illegible] the actual symbols of [illegible] a medium, and some- [illegible] for this purpose, [illegible] be termed [illegible] though re- [illegible] ught, has [illegible] who have [illegible] zation. [illegible] sembled [illegible] illock, [illegible] the [illegible] nt [illegible] is- [illegible] re

Stone brought by Edward I. from Scone, is said to have recognized the destined king by roaring when he stood upon it. It seems not impossible that similar animistic or animatistic beliefs may have once been attached to the 'King's Stone' at Kingston-on-Thames on which the Anglo-Saxon kings were crowned, and to the Coronation Stone of the kings of Sweden at Upsala. A curious story of the power of a sacred stone to determine the succession to the throne is related of a certain Scythian tribe.

When a king died, a tribal assembly met on the banks of the river Tanais to determine on a successor to the throne. In the river was a stone like a crystal, resembling in shape a man wearing a crown. Whoever was able to find it and produce it in the assembly became king.[1]

The following story from Africa shows the prevalence of similar ideas in that continent:

'When Dagara, the King of Karagwe, on the western shore of Lake Victoria Nyanza, died, he left behind him three sons, any of whom was eligible to the throne. The officers of state put before them a small mystic drum. It was of trifling weight but, being loaded with charms, no one could lift it, save he to whom the ancestral spirits were inclined as the successor.'[2]

4. Symbols of kingship.—As soon as social distinctions began to reveal themselves in human society—which was of course at a very early stage in its evolution—they would quite naturally be indicated by the wearing of certain ornaments. Interments of the Palæolithic Age show the widespread use of teeth and shells for decorative purposes, but it is impossible to draw any certain inferences from them as to the wearer's rank. Among the remains of the Bronze and Early Iron Ages in Europe we find torcs, rings, and bracelets of gold as well as those of baser metals, and we may perhaps assume with some degree of safety that they were made for the chiefs. We know, of course, very little of the dress of the pre-historic peoples of Europe, though a few fragments of woven stuff have been found among the remains of the lake-dwellings (*q.v.*) of Switzerland. Probably the costume of chiefs differed little from that of ordinary persons, apart from their more solid ornaments. A royal costume may indicate that its wearer is the representative of a god. Naramsin carried two horns on his helmet, signifying his divine character.[3]

'The vestments of early kings of England,' says J. R. Planché, 'on state occasions do not appear to have differed from their ordinary apparel, unless occasionally the materials may have been more costly.'[4]

In some parts of the world a certain colour is emblematic of royalty. Among the Malays the royal colour is yellow, the privilege of wearing which is shared by the magician. In ancient Persia the Great King wore a robe of purple. This colour was adopted by the Macedonian kings after the conquests of Alexander the Great. Purple was also a royal colour among the Etruscans. The *paludamentum* of the Roman emperor, a military mantle analogous to the Greek χλαμύς, was of purple, and the expression *sumere purpuram* became equivalent to mounting the throne, while the anniversary of the emperor's accession was called *natalis purpuræ*.

At the present day an ornamented club, a girdle of feathers in the Pacific, a string of boar's teeth in New Guinea, throughout S. Asia the umbrella, and in Ashanti a gold axe, are insignia of chieftainship. A small battle-axe was also carried by high officials in ancient Egypt.[5] Among European peoples they usually include the following ornaments: crown, sceptre or staff, sword, and ring. The regalia may gradually acquire a special

[1] *FL* xiv. [1903] 48; Plut. *de Fluv.* xiv. 3.
[2] E. S. Hartland, *Ritual and Belief*, London, 1914, p. 317.
[3] Meyer, § 402.
[4] *Cyclopædia of Costume*, 2 vols., London, 1876–79, *s.v.* 'Robe.
[5] Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, Eng. tr., London, 1894 73.

sanctity as the relics of some kingly saint or national hero. Thus the ancient regalia of England, which were destroyed under the Commonwealth in 1649,[1] were venerated as relics of St. Edward, by whom they were believed to have been worn. The regalia of Hungary are regarded as relics of St. Stephen. The imperial and French regalia were to some extent relics of Charlemagne.

The English regalia consist of St. Edward's crown, the imperial crown, the sceptre with the dove, the sceptre with the cross, St. Edward's staff, the orb, the gold spurs, the sword of State, and the second and third swords, and the curtana, or sword of mercy. The regalia of the Holy Roman Empire consisted of Charlemagne's crown, his dalmatic embroidered with large crowns, the golden apple or globe, Charlemagne's sword, his golden sceptre, the imperial cloak embroidered with eagles, the buskins, gloves, and the hereditary crown of Rudolf II. The French regalia included the crown said to have been given by Pope Leo III. to Charlemagne, Charlemagne's sword, called 'Joyeuse,' a sceptre six feet high, the hand of justice, and Charlemagne's spurs, vestments, dalmatic, tunic, buskins or sandals, and mantle. The Scottish regalia included a crown, sceptre, and sword.[2] It seems to have been the custom for the English kings to be buried in their coronation robes, as was shown at the opening of Edward I.'s tomb in 1774. Owing to this practice, there existed, of course, no hereditary royal robes in England as in some other countries.

The most important regalia of the khalīfahs were the supposed relics of the Prophet — his striped cloak (*burdah*), his ring, his staff, and his sword.[3] They are said to have been dug up in A.H. 132, and to have been brought to Constantinople in the reign of Selim I. (1512–21), who on his conquest of Egypt forced the last of the 'Abbāsid khalīfahs to make over his rights to him. There seems, however, little chance that they are genuine, as, even supposing that the story of their being dug up is true, they would probably have perished when Baghdād was taken by the Mongols in A.D. 1258. As the origin and symbolism of the crown have already been dealt with,[4] they need not be discussed here, but something may be said of some of the other more prominent insignia of royalty.

5. The sceptre.—John Selden, in his *Titles of Honor*,[5] says:

'For the Scepter, some testimonies make it an ancienter Ensigne of a King than the Crown or Diadem is. Justin (or rather Trogus Pompeius) seems to denie that the old Kings of Rome had any Diadems; but that instead of them they carried Scepters. So I conceive him in those words spoken of the age of those Kings, "Per ea adhuc tempora reges hastas pro Diademate habebant, quas Græci SCEPTRA dixere." For their Diadems, enough alreadie. But it is most cleer that both in prophan and holy writers the scepter is much ancienter (as it was attributed to a King) than either Crown or Diadem.'

It is probable that the ancestor of the sceptre is far older than even Selden imagined. Possibly it is to be found as early as the old Stone Age. A shaft of reindeer's horn perforated at its broader end by one or more cylindrical holes has been found in certain Aurignacian and Lower Magdalenian deposits in France. In its later form it is decorated with incised designs. Gabriel de Mortillet, believing it to be a ceremonial object, gave it the question-begging name of *bâton de commandement*.[6] Among the chiefs and medicine-men of the Plains Indians of N. America carved batons served as emblems of authority. Their use was forbidden to ordinary persons.[1] More recently the resemblance of the *bâton de commandement* to the arrow-straightener of the Eskimo has been pointed out.[2] Neither in Greek nor in Latin is the word 'sceptre' (*σκῆπτρον*, *scipio*) used exclusively of a royal emblem, and from this we may infer that in origin it did not differ from other staffs, but that in very early days a common implement was put to a ceremonial use. The *σκῆπτρον* was a staff used in Greece by old men; the *scipio* was a wand carried by magistrates in Rome. Mommsen[3] regards the story related by Livy of the senator M. Papirius striking the Gaul with his sceptre as unhistorical. That a staff was an emblem of kingly rank during the monarchical period we know from the well-known expression of Homer, *σκηπτοῦχοι βασιλῆες*.[4] The *σκῆπτρον* was handed down from father to son. At Rome the augur's baton, or *lituus*, was a stick curved like a shepherd's crook at the upper end. The *lituus* with which Romulus is said to have divided the city into regions was believed to have been miraculously preserved at the burning of Rome by the Gauls in 390 B.C. The *lituus* was probably of Etruscan,[5] and therefore ultimately of Asiatic, origin. The Hittite priest-king is represented carrying a reversed *lituus*. A crook was also part of the insignia of the Egyptian kings.[6] Pliny uses *lituus* as synonymous with *scipio*.[7] The magistrate appeared in the triumphal car in the *processus consularis* at the games, bearing in his hand an eagle-tipped sceptre of ivory.

'This, however, was an emblem of apotheosis, and unlike the other "ornamenta triumphalia," was never worn on other occasions during the life of the triumphator, nor was it carried at his funeral.'[8]

On Etruscan and other coins Zeus holds an eagle-tipped sceptre, and on Cilician coins of the 4th cent. B.C. Baal Tars (Sandas) is also represented holding one. The ivory sceptre tipped with an eagle which was carried by the early kings of Rome is regarded by Cook as symbolizing the fact that the holder was an incarnation of Jupiter.[9] All the Achæan chiefs had sceptres. Mention has already been made of the fact that Agamemnon's sceptre was worshipped at Chæronea. Nestor reminds Agamemnon that he bears the sceptre of Zeus in his capacity as judge.[10] This appears to have been an oaken staff or spear (*δόρυ*) of great sanctity. Cook believes that the royal sceptre which conferred the right of judgment was a conventionalized form of the oak of Zeus.[11]

'The god whom the Chaeroneans honour most is the sceptre which Homer says Hephaestus made for Zeus, and Zeus gave to Hermes, and Hermes to Pelops, and Pelops bequeathed to Atreus, and Atreus to Thyestes, from whom Agamemnon had it. This sceptre they worship, naming it a spear; and that there is something divine about it is proved especially by the distinction it confers on its owners. The Chaeroneans say that it was found on the borders of their territory and of Panopeus in Phocis, and that the Phocians found gold along with it, but that they themselves were glad to get the sceptre instead of the gold. I am persuaded it was brought to Phocis by Electra, daughter of Agamemnon. There is no public temple built for it, but the man who acts as priest keeps the sceptre in his house for the year; and sacrifices are offered to it daily, and a table is set beside it covered with all sorts of flesh and cakes.'[12]

The veneration of staffs is world-wide. Hector and Priam raise their sceptres while taking an oath.[13] Achilles also swears by a herald's staff.[14]

[1] Previous to the Commonwealth there existed in England duplicate sets of regalia—the relics of St. Edward, with which each king was crowned, which were kept at Westminster, and a new set made for the use of each king, which were kept in the Tower.

[2] Taylor, *The Glory of Regality*, p. 88 f.

[3] Mas'ūdī, *Murūj al-Dhahab* ('Golden Meadows'), tr. C. Barbier de Meynard and P. de Courteille, Paris, 1861–77, vi. 77.

[4] See art. CROWN. [5] 2nd ed., p. 175.

[6] See art. STAFF.

[1] *Bull. 30 BE* [1907], pt. i. p. 136.

[2] W. J. Sollas, *Ancient Hunters*[2], London, 1915, p. 305.

[3] *Röm. Staatsrecht*[2], Leipzig, 1876–77, i. 140. [4] *Il.* ii. 86.

[5] Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Lituus.'

[6] Erman, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 60.

[7] J. Garstang, *The Land of the Hittites*, London, 1910, pp 217, 229; *HN* xxviii. 4.

[8] Smith, *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Antiquities*[3], London, 1890–91 *s.v.* 'Sceptrum.'

[9] *FL* xvi. [1905] 302. [10] *Il.* ix. 96 ff

[11] *FL* xv. [1904] 371.

[12] Paus. IX. xl. 11 f., ed. Frazer, i. 496 f.

[13] *Il.* x. 321, 328. [14] *Ib.* i. 234

'In concluding a treaty the Romans took a sceptre and a flint from the temple of Jupiter Feretrius; they swore by the sceptre and "struck (concluded) the treaty" with the flint.'[1]

The war-clubs of celebrated warriors, *anava*, in Samoa were venerated by their families. It was regarded as indispensable to success in battle to perform certain rites in their honour.[2] A Mexican merchant carried a smooth black stick representing the god Yacatecutli, who was believed to protect him on his journey.[3]

'In Aneitum, New Hebrides, South Pacific, there used to be a sacred staff, made of iron-wood, rather longer and thicker than an ordinary walking-stick. It had been kept for ages in the family of medicine-men, and was regarded as the representative of the god. When the priest was sent for to see a sick person, he took the stick with him, and leaning on it harangued the patient, whose eyes always brightened at the sight of the stick.'[4]

In the OT the word 'sceptre' is frequently used as a synonym for royalty.[5] The Hebrew *shēbeṭ'* may stand either for a short ornamental sceptre, such as Assyrian kings are sometimes represented as having, or for a long staff.[6] The Roman emperors adopted the *sceptrum eburneum* of the triumphant general. When the empire became Christian, a cross was often substituted for an eagle. In some countries two sceptres came into use at an early period. In a 9th cent. English Coronation Order, which is said to be a copy of the Pontifical of Egbert, archbishop of York, 732–766, a sceptre (*sceptrum*) and a staff (*baculum*) are mentioned.[7] The word *baculus, baculum*, was not applied to staffs of a ceremonial character in Rome,[8] but merely to ordinary ones. The Coronation Order of Ethelred II. mentions a sceptre (*sceptrum*) and a rod (*virga*).[9] Ethelred II. is the first English king on whose coins a sceptre is represented. Since the time of Richard I. the two sceptres have borne a cross and a dove respectively. The sceptre with the dove was a reminiscence of the peaceful part of the Confessor's reign after the expulsion of the Danes.[10] Of the French sceptres one bore a *fleur-de-lys*, and the other a hand in the act of blessing. The latter was known as the *main de justice*. It was put into the left hand of the king. The human hand as an amulet was widely used throughout the Mediterranean, and in the same region an outstretched human hand is often painted on houses as a protection against the evil eye. A bronze relief at Copenhagen represents Zeus-Sabazios in Phrygian costume, holding in his right hand a pine-cone and in his left a sceptre tipped with a votive hand.[11] In early Christian art a hand was a symbol representing God the Father. As to the cause of the duplication of the sceptre, Lord Bute makes the following plausible suggestion:

'This may possibly have arisen from the words, "Thy rod and thy staff, they comfort me," in Psalm xxiii., which was treated as a Regal Psalm on account of the passage "Thou hast anointed mine head with oil," and was additionally appropriate in the Latin, from commencing, "Dominus regit me" as an acknowledgment of the Divine Sovereignty over earthly Princes.'[12]

'In the English Coronation Orders the sceptre is especially the sign of regal power, while the rod is more the ensign of the paternal authority of the sovereign.'[13]

[1] Frazer, *Paus.* v. 211.
[2] *Ib.* quoting J. B. Stair, in *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, no. xvii. [1896] p. 40.
[3] *Ib.* v. 212, quoting F. S. Clavigero, *Hist. of Mexico*[2], tr. C. Cullen, London, 1807, i. 388 ff., and B. de Sahagun, *Hist. gén. des choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne*, French tr., Paris, 1880, pp. 38 *f.*, 296 f.
[4] *Ib.*, quoting G. Turner, *Samoa*, London, 1884, p. 327 *f.*
[5] Cf. Gn 49[10]: 'The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor the ruler's staff from between his feet, until Shiloh come.'
[6] *HDB* iv. 417.
[7] Wickham Legg, *English Coronation Records*, p. 3 *f.*
[8] Daremberg-Saglio. [9] Wickham Legg, *loc. cit.*
[10] A. P. Stanley, *Hist. Memorials of Westminster Abbey*[5], London, 1882, p. 39.
[11] Cook, *Zeus*, p. 392.
[12] *Scottish Coronations*, Paisley and London, 1902, p. 15.
[13] Wickham Legg, p. xliii.

6. The orb.—

'As the Scepter,' says Selden, 'is the ornament of the right hand, so in the left the Globe or Mound, with the Crosse Infixt, in Statues and Pictures (and in some Coronations) of Kings, is a singular Ensign of Royall dignitie. The severall times wherein the solemne use of this in severall kingdoms began, is not so easily found, nor perhaps worth the inquirie. It shall suffice here to shew how it began in the Empire, whence the use of it was by example taken into all or most of other kingdoms of Christendom. That which we name a Globe or Mound here is also sometimes called an Apple, sometimes a Ball, and it is observed by learned men that it was frequent in the state of Rome before the Emperors were Christian to have both among their Ensigns in the field and in their monies the Ball or Globe, the beginning whereof ISIDORE also referres to AUGUSTUS. PILAM, saith he, IN SIGNA CONSTITUISSE FERTUR Augustus, PROPTER NATIONES SIBI IN CUNCTO ORBE SUBJECTAS UT Malus FIGURAM ORBE OSTENDERET. Thus some copies have it, and not MAGIS FIGURAM etc. as we usually read here.'[1]

At the imperial coronations the orb was carried by the Counts Palatine of the Rhine, under the name of *pomum imperiale*.[2] The apple was sacred to Aphrodite, and is a token of love in S.E. Europe at the present day, but does not appear to have been a token of kingship in the ancient world. In its origin, however, the orb appears to have symbolized the vault of heaven. Zeus is frequently represented with a blue *orbis*, or globe. A coin of Caracalla represents Jupiter Capitolinus holding a globe in his right hand and a sceptre in his left.[3] Sometimes a globe rests beside the god's feet.[4] From being a symbol of the sky-god the globe becomes one of the imperial insignia. Imperial coins of the 3rd and 4th centuries show the emperors holding a globe.

'These representations imply on the one hand that the emperor has stepped into the shoes of Iupiter, and on the other hand that his duties descend in unbroken succession from occupant to occupant of the imperial seat. . . . Frequently from the time of Commodus to that of Diocletian we find Iupiter delegating the globe to his human representative.'[5]

Both in Roman mosaics and in Pompeian paintings the globe is coloured blue or bluish-green, which indicates that it signified sky rather than earth. It is uncertain whether the cross was first added to the globe by Constantine or by Valentinian I.[6] Julian the Apostate replaced it by a figure of victory. Under the name of *globus cruciger* it was a part of the Byzantine regalia. Though the orb formed a part of the regalia of the Holy Roman Empire and of England, it was not used in France. In the English coronation ceremonial it is treated as a symbol of the dominion of Christ over the world. On placing the orb in the sovereign's right hand, the archbishop addresses him in an exhortation containing these words:

'When you see this orb set under a cross, remember that the whole world is subject to the power and Empire of Christ our Redeemer.'

7. The sword.—

The symbolism of the sword is of course self-explanatory. The girding of the new monarch with a sword is a practically universal feature of coronation ceremonies. It is a reminiscence of the days when the king was not merely the titular but the actual war-chief of his people. So intimate a part have weapons played in the religion of a warlike people that deities have been worshipped under their forms. A spear kept in the Regia was worshipped as an image of Mars; the Scythians sacrificed sheep and horses to an iron sword, and the war-god of the Alans was worshipped as a naked sword stuck in the ground.[7]

Indeed, in the case of the sultans of Turkey, the girding on of the sword of Osman in the celebrated mosque of Eyub on the Golden Horn is the formal ceremony of inauguration. At the coronation of the king of Hungary an impressive ceremony is connected with the sword of St. Stephen. After the coronation the king rides on his charger to a

[1] P. 180. [2] *Ib.* p. 183. [3] Cook, p. 45.
[4] *Ib.* p. 42. [5] *Ib.* p. 45 ff.
[6] Selden, p. 181. [7] Frazer, *Paus.* v. 211.

mound made of earth brought from all the provinces of the kingdom and waves his sword towards the four points of the compass, indicating his determination to defend his kingdom against surrounding foes. The tendency of the various royal ornaments to become multiplied is also apparent in the case of the sword. No fewer than five swords now form part of the English regalia: (1) the sword of State which is carried before the king on various occasions; (2) a small sword which is substituted for it during the coronation ceremony, and with which he is ceremonially girded; (3) the sword of spiritual justice; (4) the sword of temporal justice; (5) the curtana, *i.e.* 'shortened' sword, or sword of mercy, which is blunted at the end by the removal of the point. Such swords were in ancient times carried by heralds. A similar idea is found in Japan, where certain officials such as doctors wore in their garments a wooden ornament resembling a short sword.[1]

8. Bracelets and rings.—It is not unlikely that bracelets, anklets, and rings may have at one time been amulets, and have participated in the inevitable tendency of amulets to degenerate into ornaments. As emblems of kingship bracelets seem to have been more prevalent in the East than in the West. They were worn by the kings of Persia, and also formed part of the royal insignia of Saul, whose bracelets were, after his death, brought to David by an Amalekite.[2] They were formerly in use in England, and a pair belonging to the regalia was ordered to be destroyed under the Commonwealth. They have not been used in England since that date.[3] The use of the ring is, however, almost universal. Though at an early period it may have been an amulet, yet before degenerating into a mere ornament it passed through a period of usefulness as a signet. The Spartan magistrates had a public signet with which they sealed everything that had to be sealed.[4] That rings were royal ornaments from an early period we know from the curious legends surrounding the rings of Minos and of Polycrates, tyrant of Samos. In Rome the gold ring was often conferred as a military distinction. The *jus anuli aurei* limited its use. The emperor's ring was a kind of State seal. In the *Liber Regalis*, which represents the fullest development of the mediæval English coronation ritual, the ring is referred to as 'Catholicæ fidei signaculum.'[5] In Europe the ceremonial use of rings is of course most familiar in connexion with betrothal and marriage. The coronation ring symbolizes the marriage of the monarch to his people, just as the episcopal ring symbolizes the marriage of the bishop to his see. The English coronation ring is indeed sometimes called the wedding-ring of England.[6] The doge of Venice used to cast a ring into the Adriatic, symbolizing the marriage of the city to the sea. The ceremony was called *sposalizio del mar* ('the wedding of the sea'), and was celebrated annually on Ascension Day.

A curious legend attaches to St. Edward's ring. It is said that he once bestowed it upon an old man. Some years later two English pilgrims in the Holy Land met the old man, who restored it to them, revealing himself as St. John the Evangelist, and bade them return it to the king. There is also a superstition that the closer the ring fits the king's finger, the more loved will he be, and the longer will be his reign.[7] Royal rings have served various symbolic purposes. Alexander the Great on his death-bed bestowed his ring upon Perdiccas, as symbol of his intention to entrust the government of the empire to him. The Anglo-Saxon king Offa is said to have appointed his successor by sending him his ring.[1] The bestowal of the royal ring may symbolize a pledge, as in the case of Elizabeth's gift to Essex, or it may symbolize a royal command. In the book of Esther Ahasuerus gives his ring to Haman as a warrant for massacring the Jews. Adrian IV. confirmed Henry II. on the throne of Ireland by sending him a gold ring. Mary Queen of Scots, by sending her ring, pardoned two burgesses who were about to be hanged.[2]

9. The umbrella.—Throughout Asia and parts of Africa the umbrella is one of the most important insignia of royalty. It is or has been in use among the Malays, in Burma, Siam, India, and among the Seljuk sultans and the Mogul emperors.[3] An umbrella is shown on the reverse of a coin of Herod Agrippa I. It also forms part of the regalia in Madagascar. In one of the *Jātaka* tales a prince who wishes to dispossess his brother of the throne says, 'Give the royal umbrella up to me, or give battle.'[4] In 1855 the king of Burma, addressing the governor-general of India, spoke of himself as 'the monarch who reigns over the great umbrella-wearing chiefs of the Eastern Countries.' It seems most probable that the ceremonial character of the umbrella is due to the tabu which prevents certain sacred persons from being exposed to the sun's rays, and is a counterpart to the very common tabu which prevents their feet from touching the earth. The Mikado and the high-priest of the Zapotecs of Mexico were forbidden to expose themselves to the rays of the sun. Pope Alexander III. accorded to Ziani, doge of Venice, the right of having a canopy or umbrella carried over him as a symbol of sovereign power.

'Umbrellas appear to have been sometimes used in ritual for the purpose of preventing the sunlight from falling on sacred persons or things. . . . At an Athenian festival called Scira the priestess of Athena, the priest of Poseidon, and the priest of the Sun walked from the Acropolis under the shade of a huge white umbrella.'[5]

10. Investiture with the regalia.—Whether a monarchy is elective or hereditary, it is usual for some ceremony to be held for the purpose of inaugurating a new reign. This ceremony usually takes the form of investing the sovereign with the royal insignia. The inauguration of the king of Tahiti consisted of his being ceremonially invested with a sacred girdle of red feathers in the presence of the image of the god Oro. By means of this ceremony he was formally initiated into divine rank. After describing the girdle, the officiating priest would say, 'Parent this of you, O King.'[6]

Among the Baganda, when the period of mourning for the dead monarch was over, the new ruler and his consort were ceremonially divested of their bark clothes and invested with new ones. This ceremony was called 'confirming the king in his kingdom.'[7] In Madagascar the object of the inauguration ceremony was to secure for the king the quality of *hasina*, an intrinsic supernatural virtue, which renders an object good or efficacious.[8] For this purpose the new ruler mounted a sacred stone, and exclaimed, 'Masina, Masina, masina v'aho?' The assembled people replied, 'Masina.' These words van Gennep translates, 'Have I acquired the powers of *hasina*? Am I holy?'[9] Among the Ba-Thonga the inauguration of a new

1 *Times, Coronation Supplement*, 19th June 1911.
2 2 S 1[10].
3 Wickham Legg, p. xliv.
4 Frazer, *Paus.* iii. 329.
5 Wickham Legg, p. 97.
6 Stanley, p. 40.
7 Wickham Legg, p. xlix.

1 W. Jones, *Finger-ring Lore*, London, 1877, p. 181.
2 *Ib.* p. 182.
3 Ferishta, tr. Dow, ii. 328 f.
4 *Jātakas*, no. 539 (vol. vi. p. 19).
5 *GB*[3], pt. vii., *Balder the Beautiful*, London, 1913, i. 20, note.
6 W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*[2], London, 1832–36, iii. 103.
7 Roscoe, *The Baganda*, p. 197.
8 Van Gennep, *Tabou et totémisme à Madagascar*, p. 17.
9 *Ib.* p. 82.

chief is a purely military affair, and no religious ceremony takes place.[1]

The coronation of the Egyptian kings was supposed to take place in heaven. In a description of the coronation of Rameses III. we read :

'Then my father Amon-Re, Lord of Gods, Re-Atum, and Ptah, beautiful of face, crowned me as Lord of the Two Lands on the throne of him who begat me ; I received the office of my father with joy ; I was crowned with the atef-crown bearing the uraeus ; I assumed the double-plumed diadem like Tatenen. I sat upon the throne of Harakhte. I was clad in the regalia, like Atum.'[2]

Another inscription speaks of Rameses III. assuming the regalia of Horus and Set.[3]

The inauguration ceremony of a new emperor of Japan consists in the ceremonial taking possession of the three chief articles of the regalia. The principal one is a sacred sword which is called Kusanagi no Tsungi.

'This sword (so legend goes) was found by Susa-no-o in the tail of an eight-headed serpent, which he intoxicated with "sake" and then slew. Having been brought down from heaven many centuries ago by the first ancestor of the Mikados, it came into the possession of Yamato-take, and assisted that prince in the conquest of Eastern Japan. This treasure is never shown, but a great festival is held in its honour on June 21st.'[4]

The two others are a mirror and a jewel. They are kept at Kyoto and the inauguration takes place there, after the period of mourning for the dead ruler is over.

In Europe, with the exception of Hungary, to which reference has already been made, a coronation ceremony has usually served rather to ratify the election of a king than actually to create one. Before set forms came into use, it was often of a more or less spontaneous character. When Julian the Apostate was proclaimed emperor at Paris in 360, a standard-bearer named Maurus took off the torc which he was wearing, and placed it upon the head of the newly-elected ruler.[5] The earliest known account of a coronation in Great Britain is that of King Aidan by St. Columba, which is found in St. Adamnan's life of the saint.

Throughout the Middle Ages the position of the Church was that of witness to a contract between ruler and people at the crowning of a king. The *Pontificale Romanum* provides a special Mass for the coronation of the king. The Church presents the newly-elected monarch with his investiture.

One of the bishops who are presenting the king to the metropolitan says, 'Reverendissime Pater, postulat Sancta Mater Ecclesia Catholica ut praesentem egregium militem ad dignitatem Regiam sublevatis.' The metropolitan asks, 'Scitis esse dignum, et utilem ad hanc dignitatem?' The bishop replies, 'Et novimus, et credimus, eum esse dignum, utilem Ecclesiæ Dei, et ad regimen hujus Regni.'[6]

W. Stubbs's view of the ceremony is as follows :

'The ceremony was understood as bestowing the divine ratification on the election that had preceded it, and as typifying rather than conveying the spiritual gifts for which prayer was made. That it was regarded as conveying any spiritual character or any special ecclesiastical prerogative there is nothing to show ; rather from the facility with which crowned kings could be set aside and new ones put in their place without any objection on the part of the bishops, the exact contrary may be inferred.'[7]

The same view is taken by the French writer Menin, who says that in his own day (reign of Louis XV.) kings were recognized independently of all ceremony of investiture. No formal recognition of the king, however, is found in the French coronation ritual.

'Le sacre des Rois,' he says, 'est une ratification publique du droit qu'ils ont de succéder à la couronne de leurs ancêtres, et une confirmation du premier acte qui les a mis en possession du Trône ; c'est une espèce d'alliance spirituelle du Roy avec son Royaume qu'il épouse, pour ainsi dire, qu'il s'engage de maintenir, de défendre, et de protéger, en même temps que sa Royaume, par la voix des peuples, lui promet solennement fidelité et obeissance.'[1]

Nevertheless a wide-spread belief seems to have grown up in the Middle Ages that the anointing of kings was of a sacramental nature, conferring a mark or character on the soul of the recipient. At all events a king was widely held to possess a quasi-sacerdotal character. The emperor was permitted to read the Gospel at his coronation Mass, and the French king to communicate under both kinds at his coronation. These facts led to the conviction that an unanointed and uncrowned prince was no true king. The French kings until the 12th cent. began their reign on the day of their coronation.[2] 'Le Roi dormoit,' said the old chroniclers, speaking of the period before a coronation. This belief had not completely died out even in the 19th century. Renan mentions the fact that some Bretons held that Louis Philippe, who had been neither anointed nor crowned, had no more right to exercise the functions of a king than any one who was unordained would have to exercise those of the priesthood.[3]

Precedent for the crowning of a prince during the lifetime of his father was found in the crowning and anointing of Solomon by order of David, and was frequently resorted to in order to ensure the stability of a dynasty. The survival of a coronation ceremony in Europe at the present day is not necessarily associated with the possession of great monarchical prerogatives. The German Emperor and the Emperor of Austria[4] are not crowned, though the 'hereditary presidents' of England and Norway are. In Spain the coronation ceremony has been discontinued. In England its discontinuance was seriously discussed at the accession of William IV. In most of the monarchies founded in the 19th cent., such as Italy, Belgium, Greece, it has never been introduced, and the king merely takes an oath to observe the Constitution. One of the oldest coronation ceremonies in Europe is the crowning of the pope, who is crowned by the youngest cardinal-deacon with the tiara or triple crown, an ornament ultimately derived from the *camelaucum*, a head-dress worn by high Byzantine officials. It is not a liturgical ornament, and the papal coronation has no religious significance.

No definite rules can be laid down with regard to the crowning of queens-consort. In England, if the king is married at the time of his coronation, the ceremony has usually been performed, and sometimes it has been performed separately if he married afterwards. In France it was usually omitted, and, if performed, it generally took place at St. Denys and not at Rheims with the king. The coronation of a queen-consort merely typifies her participation in the royal dignity. Sometimes this is indicated in the coronation ritual ; the king of Hungary holds the Crown of St. Stephen for a time on the right shoulder of the queen during the coronation ceremony, and the Tsar of Russia used to touch the Tsarina on the forehead with his crown before crowning her.

When a ruler has abdicated voluntarily and without pressure, he has often symbolized this act by publicly laying aside the royal insignia. Diocletian divested himself of the purple at Nicomedia in 305 in the presence of his assembled troops,[5] and in more recent times the eccentric Queen Christina of Sweden laid aside her crown in the presence of the Swedish senate.

[1] H. A. Junod, *Life of a S. African Tribe*, London, 1912–13, p. 348.
[2] J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, Chicago, 1905–07, iv. 401.
[3] *Ib.* iv. 62.
[4] Murray's *Handbook for Japan*, by B. H. Chamberlain and W. B. Mason, London, 1907, p. 286.
[5] F. E. Brightman, in *JThSt* ii. 366, quoting Amm. Marc. xx. 4.
[6] Ed. J. Catalani, Rome, 1738–40, i. 376.
[7] *Constitutional Hist. of England*[5], Oxford, 1891, i. 163.

[1] *Traité hist. et chronolog. du sacre . . . des rois*, p. 177.
[2] *Ib.* [3] *Questions contemporains*, Paris, 1868, p. 434.
[4] The latter, as has already been mentioned, is crowned as king of Hungary.
[5] E. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ed. J. B. Bury, London, 1896, vol. i. ch. xiii. p. 387.

LITERATURE.—J. G. Frazer, *GB*[3], 12 vols., London, 1911–15, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, 6 vols., do. 1898, *Lectures on the Early Hist. of the Kingship*, do. 1905; W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, do. 1900; A. van Gennep, *Tabou et totémisme à Madagascar*, Paris, 1904; A. Erman, *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, Eng. tr., London, 1907; E. Meyer, *Gesch. des Altertums*, i.[2] pts. i. and ii., Stuttgart, 1907–09; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, Cambridge, 1914, i.; J. Selden, *Titles of Honor*[2], London, 1631; N. Menin, *Traité hist. et chronolog. du sacre et couronnement des rois et des reines de France*, Paris, 1722, Eng. tr., London, 1723; A. Taylor, *The Glory of Regality*, London, 1820; W. Jones, *Crowns and Coronations*, do. 1902; Cyril J. H. Davenport, *The English Regalia*, do. 1897; L. G. Wickham Legg, *English Coronation Records*, do. 1901; H. Thurston, *The Coronation Ceremonial*[2], do. 1911; 3rd Marquess of Bute, *Scottish Coronations*, Paisley, 1902; F. E. Brightman, 'Byzantine Imperial Coronations,' *JThSt* ii. [1901] 359–392; Daremberg-Saglio.

H. J. T. JOHNSON.

REGENERATION. — Through all theology and religion there runs a clear antithesis between outwardness and inwardness. In theology this shows itself in the opposition between transcendence and immanence, anthropomorphism and animism. It asks, Is God a glorified man or an indwelling potency? Does He operate on Nature from without or from within? Should we concentrate our thought and faith on Jesus as the risen Lord, the ascended Mediator; or on Christ as Spirit, operating in His Church and in us as believers? Sometimes the contrasts are accentuated, and the opposing views are polemically controverted; sometimes men are content to accept both as the two poles of an unsolved antinomy. A similar antithesis occurs also as to the nature of religion, causing men to ask, Is religion doing or being? Is the vital matter what a man does or what a man is? Ought my great concern to be, What am I to do? or, What ought I to become? *E.g.*, as to the nature of sin, it is disputed whether sin is transgression of a commandment moral or ceremonial, or is perversity and pollution. Again, as regards reconciliation with God, the two queries arise: Is this effected by having sin pardoned, or by having perversity rectified and pollution cleansed? Is the favour of God to be secured by righteously obeying the precepts of His law or by being inwardly changed and sanctified by a Power other and higher than we? Further, is this change to be studied as manifesting itself in outward life and conduct, or as a spiritual and psychological phenomenon? In the former case we are engaged with the subject of conversion, in the latter with that of regeneration.

1. OT conception.—Kirsopp Lake considers the antithesis between outwardness and inwardness to be characteristic severally of the Jew and the Greek. The Jew asked, What am I to do? He required a code of life and action to tell him definitely what to do. The Greek asked not, What am I to do? but, What am I to be? He wished to become something different. What distressed him was the feeling that his very being was corrupt, and he wanted a religion that would help him to become a new being.[1] There are just two criticisms which one would like to make on this: (1) instead of the word 'Greek,' the word 'Hellenist' would be more accurate—the orientalized Greek; and (2) it is unfair to the Jews to suggest that they were not sensible of the inwardness of religion. Both views find expression in the Jewish Scriptures. It is true that outwardness is prominent in the OT. We have much external morality and external observance of ceremonial requirements. Sin is often disobedience to God's statutes and precepts. Restoration to divine favour is secured by sacrifices offered in accordance with a meticulous ritual. But this is not the only conception of sin that meets us in the OT. Sin is also disorder. It is אָוֶן, 'desolation,' 'chaos.' It is רִשְׁעָה, 'restless agitation.' It is defilement, making men unfit to commune with God. It is תּוֹעֵבָה, 'abomination.' It is נִדָּה, that from which men flee, because it is abhorrent; and as such it needs an internal remedy—a remedy which man himself cannot administer. There is a distinct vein of OT teaching which is very pronounced as to man's inability to cleanse himself (Jer 13[23], Pr 20[9]). Man's will is powerless to effect the needed change. Something must be done in man and for man, which divine intervention alone can accomplish (Is 6[5], Ps 51[5], Job 9[2] 15[14-16]). This is apparent from the way in which the best of men plead for divine help and cleansing (Ps 25[11, 18] 41[4] 6[2]), and from the way in which God promises to render the needed help (Jer 2[22] 33[8], Ezk 36[25]). Sin is not something to be merely pardoned, atoned for, taken away, or forgotten. So long as the propensity to sin remained, the OT saint groaned under its tyranny and pollution. He cried for cleansing (Ps 51[2]) and for healing (41[4]). But even this could not satisfy him. He longed for thorough renovation. Regarding the heart as the seat of the collective energies of the personal life, and conscious that this is depraved and that sin has thus banefully affected the very formative sources of character, he cries, 'Create in me a clean heart, O God; and renew a stedfast spirit within me' (51[10]). Saul was 'turned into another man,' and 'God gave him another heart' (1 S 10[6, 9]), but, alas! he fell away; and so the Psalmist prays that the clean heart, imparted by a new creation, might, by constant renewal, be kept 'stedfast.'

2. The Greek word and its synonyms.—The word 'regeneration' occurs twice in the NT, in either case for the same Greek word παλιγγενεσία = ἡ πάλιν γένεσις (√ γίνομαι), a becoming new again, a reconstitution. The Greek word which would most accurately represent the ideas that we associate with regeneration would be ἀναγέννησις (√ γεννάω); but this does not occur in NT, though the verb is found in 1 P 1[3]. The word παλιγγενεσία first appears in Greek literature to represent the great Stoic conception of world-cycles, according to which the present world will come to an end by conflagration—to be followed, however, by a renovation or reconstruction, a παλιγγενεσία of everything just as it now is. Then, after a definite period, will come another conflagration and reconstitution, and so on—the period between one catastrophe and another being termed a 'great year,' a περίοδος. Hence Marcus Aurelius[1] speaks of 'a periodic παλιγγενεσία of the universe.' Being a high-sounding phrase, it was used hyperbolically to denote any extraordinary change; as when Cicero[2] describes his restoration to rank and favour after exile as 'παλιγγενεσίαν nostram'; and when Philo speaks of the birth of Seth as the παλιγγενεσία of Abel,[3] and of the sons of Noah as 'founders of a παλιγγενεσία,'[4] since they were 'pioneers (ἀρχηγεταί) of the second period of the world'; so Josephus[5] speaks of the restoration of the Jews after the Exile as a παλιγγενεσία. With a nearer approach to the original Stoic meaning, Matthew (19[28]) describes the new heavens and the new earth, to which Christians (2 P 3[13]) and Jews (Is 65[17]; *En.* lxxii. 1; *Jub.* i. 29) were looking forward, in these words: 'In the παλιγγενεσία, when the Son of man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye which have followed me shall sit,' etc. The second NT occurrence of our word is in Tit 3[5], where παλιγγενεσία has an ethical or religious sense: 'According to his mercy he saved us, through the washing [marg. 'laver'] of regeneration, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost.'

[1] *The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, London, 1911, p. 430 f., *The Stewardship of Faith*, do. 1915, p. 88 f.

[1] ii. 1. [2] *ad Att.* vi. 7.
[3] *De Poster. Caini*, § 36 (Mangey, i. 249).
[4] *De Vita Mosis*, ii. 12 (Mangey, ii. 144). [5] *Ant.* xi. iii. 4

Other Greek words with kindred meaning found in NT are: (1) γεννάω, 'beget' (Mt 1$^{2\text{-}16}$, Ac 7^{8}+) and also 'bear children' (Mt 19^{12}, Gal 4^{24}, Jn 16^{21}+). In a religious sense it occurs in 1 Co 4^{15} 'I begat you'; Philem^{10} 'whom I begat in my bonds.' In 1 Jn the perf. pass. occurs eight times, and in RV is uniformly translated 'be begotten,' though in five of these instances AV has 'be born'—*e.g.*, 'Every one that loveth is begotten of God' (4^{7}); 'Every one that believeth that Jesus is the Christ is begotten of God' (5^{1}); but in the eight occurrences in Jn 3$^{3\text{-}8}$ RV everywhere retains 'be born.' (2) ἀναγεννάω (ἀνά is repetitive), 'beget again *or* anew': 1 P 1^{3} 'Blessed be God . . . who begat us again . . . by the resurrection of Jesus Christ.' The noun ἀναγέννησις is not found in NT, but is found in Philo[1] of the rebirth of the physical world. (3) ζωοποιέω, 'make alive,' 'quicken': Eph 2^{5} 'God . . . quickened us, together with Christ, when we were dead in trespasses.' (4) ἀποκυέω, 'give birth'; often in an abnormal manner: Ja 1^{15} 'Sin bringeth forth death'; 1^{18} 'He having so willed, brought us forth [or 'gave us birth'] by the word of truth.' (5) ἀνακαινόω, 'make new again.' This verb, in NT, refers not to the initial quickening, but to the maintaining of the state of newness, 'keep new,' or 'renovate' (Ro 12^{2}, Col 3^{10}).

3. Cognate ideas and metaphors.—It is proverbially difficult to translate emotions into words; and to very many of the early Christians who had previously been steeped in sin the change which took place when they entered on the Christian life was so radical and so thorough that it demanded many modes of expression. Such an experience can be expressed only in figures; and 'regeneration' is but one of many metaphors occurring in the NT, all of which are designed to express the fact that, before any man can enjoy the favour of God, a profound change must be wrought in him, which God alone can effect. The early Christians were so amazed at the change in disposition and character which had suddenly come over them that they framed all sorts of theories to account for it, describing their new experience in terms and preconceptions of their own age.[2]

A. *Repentance.*—The simplest metaphors meet us in the Synoptic Gospels. (*a*) Emphasis is laid on repentance (Mt 4^{17} 11^{20}, Lk 13^{3}). The Aramaic word for 'repentance,' תּוּבָא, is derived from שׁוּב, 'to turn' (cf. Mt 18^{3}); and hence we may safely affirm that the repentance (*q.v.*) which Jesus insisted on was a practical one—turning the back on one's former life.

(*b*) 'Becoming as a little child' (Mt 18^{3}).—The context discloses what our Lord intended by this. It is the abandonment of pride and ambitious self-seeking, the attainment of meekness, lowliness, and dependence on a father's love, that Jesus desiderated in His disciples. The need of divine grace for the attainment of this great ethical change is not so much explicitly taught as implied in the importance attached to prayer.

(*c*) The quickening effect of the divine Word and the need for co-operation between the human and the divine are taught very clearly in the Parable of the Sower. 'The seed is the word of God' (Lk 8^{11}); but three of the four kinds of soil are unproductive; there is only one which is so far receptive of seed as to yield the fruit of a new life within the natural heart of man.

B. *Impartation of a new life.*—The Fourth Gospel takes the three great ideas, life, light, and speech, and expresses the activities of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and also the religious experiences of believers, under one or other of these categories. Jesus says: 'I came that they might have life' (10^{10}); 'My sheep . . . follow me, and I give to them eternal life' (10$^{27\text{ff.}}$); My words 'are spirit, and are life' (6^{63}); 'He that believeth on the Son hath eternal life' (3^{36}); 'In him was life, and the life was the light of men' (1^{4}).

C. *New birth.*—This appears under two aspects, both contained in the word γεννάω: (1) the origination of life—begetting; and (2) the emergence into a new mode of being and into new relations—birth.

(1) In 1 Jn the perf. pass. γεγεννῆσθαι, indicating an initial definite act abiding permanently in its consequences, implies the impartation of a new life-germ, which develops in likeness to God, its veritable Father and fontal source. The same thought is presented in 1 P 1^{3} 'Blessed be God who begat us again unto a living hope.'

(2) In Jn 3, though both perf. and aor. are used, it is generally recognized that the metaphor is that of birth; not quickening or impregnation, but emergence into a new world—a new atmosphere, a new environment, and new objects of interest. This is clearly implied in the words of Nicodemus, when, in reply to Christ's statement, 'Ye must be born again,' he crudely asks, 'Can a man enter a second time into his mother's womb and be born?' (3^{4}). Similarly we interpret 3^{5} ἐὰν μή τις γεννηθῇ ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος, 'Except a man shall have been born [not 'begotten,' as though the water had a vivifying effect upon him, but 'born'] out of [or from] water[1] and the Spirit' (water and Spirit being the elements out of which the neophyte emerges). The reference probably is to the words of John the Baptist in Mt 3^{11} 'I indeed baptize you in water . . . but he shall baptize [or 'immerse'] you in the Holy Ghost.' The context implies that Nicodemus was a disciple of John, and Jn 3^{5} inculcates the lesson of Mt 3^{11} that immersion in water and emergence from water are not enough; there is needed also an immersion in the Holy Spirit, from which one may emerge a new man, as one newly born emerges from his mother's womb into a new world. The same metaphor occurs in Ja 1^{18}, where J. B. Mayor[2] is no doubt correct in saying that the verb ἀποκυέω is 'properly used of the mother'—'Having so willed, he gave us birth.'

D. *A new creature* (καινὴ κτίσις).—It has been objected that regeneration is not prominent in Paul's teaching; but it would be rash to maintain that he ignored the doctrine of regeneration because he does not use the same metaphor as occurs in John, Peter, and James—indeed, when Paul says, in 2 Co 5^{17} 'If any man be in union with Christ, he is a new creature,' he is not far away from the same similitude. He is moving in the circle of OT ideas which find expression in Ezekiel: 'I will put a new spirit within you'; 'and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you an heart of flesh' (11^{19} 36^{26}). Again, the Apostle says, 'We are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus for good works' (Eph 2^{10}), which evidently implies that such a radical change takes place in a Christian as to be comparable to a creation, that this creation is possible only in union with Christ, that God develops the new creation, and that the grand purpose of it all is practical and ethical. Similarly in Col 3^{10} and Eph 4^{24} 'the new man,' *i.e.* the new self, is stated to be a divine creation, which, in the one case, is 'being renewed in accordance with the image of its Creator,' and, in the other case, is said to be in harmony with God (κατὰ θεόν), 'created in righteousness and holiness of truth.' Some would render καινὴ κτίσις in

[1] *De Incorr. Mundi*, 3 (Mangey, ii. 490).

[2] Cf. T. R. Glover, *The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire*, London, 1909, p. 150 ff.

[1] Lake (*Inaugural Address at Leiden*, 27th Jan. 1904) and F. C. Burkitt (*Evangelion Da-Mepharreshe*, Cambridge, 1904, ii. 309 f.) advocate that ἐξ ὕδατος should be treated as 'an interpretative gloss,' because it is sometimes omitted in the Fathers; but a consultation of the 36 variants in which 3^{5} is quoted in the early Fathers, given in A. Resch, *Paralleltexte zu Johannes*, Leipzig, 1897, p. 73 ff., seems to dispose of this theory; for, though there are several instances in which both 'water' and 'Spirit' are omitted, and several in which 'the Spirit' is omitted, there is not one citation from the Fathers in which 'the Spirit' is inserted and 'water' omitted.

[2] *The Epistle of St. James*^{2}, London, 1897, p. 59.

2 Co 5[17] 'there is a new creation' (as RVm), implying that man's entire outlook on earth and heaven, man, and God seems changed. Many Christians have testified that, when the spiritual nature is no longer enfeebled and diseased by sin, they seemed to be in a new world. The new life enters also into the larger world of spirit, recognizes its kinship with spiritual forces, feels a companionship with all that is holy and true, and sees God in everything.[1] This is very true and very beautiful, but probably RV represents Paul's thought best, as also in Gal 6[15] 'Neither is circumcision anything, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature.'

E. *A change of clothing.* — This metaphor, though significant, is not fully adequate. Clothing is external; regeneration is internal, psychical, vital. Life only can illustrate life. Vital processes can alone fittingly represent it. Our best similitudes must therefore be drawn from botany or zoology. Character, as others know it, is compared to clothing in Eph 4[22. 24]: 'Put off the old man which is corrupt . . . and put on the new man'; Col 2[11] speaks of 'the putting off of the body of the flesh,' and Col 3[9f.] reads: 'Ye have put off the old man with his doings, and have put on the new man, which is being renewed,' etc.

F. *A passage from death to life.*—Jn 5[24] reads: 'He that heareth my word and believeth on him that sent me . . . hath passed from death unto life,' Eph 2[1]: 'You did he quicken [cause to live] when ye were dead.' These texts are sometimes taken to imply the instantaneousness of the new birth and the absolute deadness and insensibility of the human soul, as well as man's native incapacity for goodness and godliness; and thus they present difficulties equally to the scientist and to the theologian. Many theologians feel obliged, however, by the general trend of Scripture to regard the 'deadness' here spoken of as relative rather than absolute, and to consider man's spiritual nature as diseased and inert rather than literally dead; while the scientist, who objects to admitting anything instantaneous and unprepared for, in any grade of life, organic or psychical, explains the apparent suddenness of the change in man's religious life by the hypothesis of the subliminal self. The new life at first is inchoate, working in the region of subconsciousness; and then, more or less suddenly, there is often a time of spasmodic volitional and emotional tempest, which comes as a great surprise, but which has really been quietly prepared for in that part of our nature where racial and inherited tendencies lie buried beneath the threshold of consciousness.[2] Paul was kicking against the goads of spiritual conviction for some time before his so-called conversion at Damascus.

G. *Burial and resurrection.* — This figure is similar to the above and occurs in the well-known passages Ro 6[3] and Col 2[12].

All these metaphors are, of course, very valuable and carry us a certain distance in the way of elucidation; but scholars are unanimous in admitting that there is an inner fact which defies analysis and description. The universal Christian consciousness is ready to say of the change: 'It is "not of ourselves: it is the gift of God,"' but the *modus operandi* is inscrutable.

'After analysis,' says B. Jowett, 'there remains something which eludes criticism.'[3] 'The nature of regeneration,' says Hodge, 'is not explained in the Bible further than the account therein given of its author, God; its subject, the whole soul; and its effects. . . . Its metaphysical nature is left a mystery.'[1] W. James bears the same testimony. No one 'can explain fully how particular experiences are able to change one's centre of gravity so decisively.' We speak of '"motor efficacy," but such talk is only circumlocution; for whence the sudden motor efficacy?'[2] So Starbuck: 'Who can tell what really happens in one's consciousness when one turns seriously into communion with one's deeper self?' 'What happens below the threshold of consciousness must, in the nature of the case, evade analysis.'[3]

4. Nature of the change.—(1) *The change is new.*—All are agreed as to its newness.

'As a new divine Principle,' says I. A. Dorner, 'the Holy Spirit creates, although not substantially new faculties, a new volition, knowledge, feeling — a new self-consciousness. In brief, He produces a new person.'[4] 'All things are new,' says Horace Bushnell, 'Life proceeds from a new centre. The Bible is a new book. Duties are new. The very world itself is revealed in new beauty and joy to the mind.'[5] And of course Hodge is in thorough agreement here, as he says, 'This new life, therefore, manifests itself in new views of God, of Christ, of sin, of holiness, of the world, of the gospel, and of the life to come.'[6]

(2) *The change expressed in terms of metaphysics.*—The Puritans expressed themselves very largely in terms of Aristotelian metaphysics.

Stephen Charnock († 1680), whose discourses on regeneration were for many years the great authority on our subject, defines regeneration as a 'powerful change, wrought in the soul by the efficacious working of the Holy Spirit, wherein a vital principle, a new habit, the law of God and a divine nature are put into and framed in the heart enabling it to act holily and pleasingly to God.'[7] The distinctions drawn are very subtle, if not conflicting. We note that 'a divine nature is put into the heart'; and yet on p. 93 Charnock assures us that regeneration is 'not an addition to nature,' or a 'change in the substance of the soul.' 'As in the cure of a man, health is not added to the disease; but the disease is expelled and another form and habit set in its place. Add what you will (we are told), without introducing another *form*, it will be of no more efficacy than flowers and perfumes strewed on a dead carcase can restore it to life and remove the rottenness.' We learn, then, that, though regeneration is 'not an addition to nature,' and 'the new creation gives no new faculties,' yet 'a vital *principle* is put into the heart' and 'a new *form* is introduced.' In regeneration there are 'no new faculties,' says a Princeton divine, 'but there are new principles';[8] and from him we obtain a definition of the word 'principle,' which we seek in vain in Charnock. He defines it as 'that foundation which is laid in nature, either old or new, for any particular kind or manner of exercise of the faculties of the soul.' In other words, a 'principle' is 'a new foundation laid in the nature of the soul, for a new kind of exercise of the same faculty of understanding.'

(3) *The change expressed in terms of psychology.*—The great spiritual change which, when viewed causally and subjectively, is called regeneration and, when viewed in its manifest results in life and character, is called conversion (*q.v.*) is a psychical fact and therefore can be expressed in terms of psychology. Metaphysics is ambitious to treat of the soul as an immaterial entity, possessed of substance and faculties, form and principles. Psychology pursues the humbler path of analyzing consciousness and interrogating experience.

E.g., E. F. Scott describes regeneration thus: 'It is like another and higher will sustaining ours, and gradually subduing the whole nature to itself—till the natural life becomes "spiritual" life.'[9] E. Reuss describes it as 'an abdication of our own individuality, allowing the Holy Spirit to evoke a complete metamorphosis of our human nature.'[10] J. Strachan speaks of it as 'practically . . . a new life which turns all the forces of one's being into a new channel. All the energies that formerly made a man a sinner are now employed to make him a saint.'[11] 'Such sudden and radical changes in a man's life' as those of Paul, says Percy Gardner, 'may often be led up to by many experiences and thoughts. But these often culminate in what may be called a violent spiritual and emotional tempest, which shakes the whole being to its utmost depths.'[12] Starbuck

[1] T. M. Herbert, *Sketches of Sermons*, London, 1878, p. 1 ff.; E. D. Starbuck, *Psychology of Religion*, do. 1899, p. 328 f.
[2] W. James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, London, 1902; G. A. Coe, *The Spiritual Life*, New York, 1900; Starbuck, *op. cit.*
[3] *St. Paul's Epistles*[2], London, 1859, ii. 231.

[1] *Systematic Theology*, London and Edinburgh, 1872–73, iii. 51.
[2] *Varieties*, p. 196 f. [3] Pp. 406, 107.
[4] *A System of Christian Doctrine*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1880–82, iv. 162.
[5] *The New Life*, London, 1861, p. 114. [6] iii. 34.
[7] Charnock's *Works*, Edinburgh, 1864–65, iii. 87 f.
[8] *Princeton Theological Essays*, 1st ser., Edinburgh, 1856, p. 316.
[9] *The Fourth Gospel*, Edinburgh, 1906, p. 328.
[10] *Hist. de la théologie chrétienne* Strassburg, 1852, ii. 137, Eng. tr., London, 1872–74, ii. 123.
[11] *ERE* iv. 106[b].
[12] *The Religious Experience of Saint Paul*, London, 1911, p. 31.

says of conversion (though what he says is much more true of regeneration) that it is 'the birth of new powers.' It is 'as if there had been the liberation of fresh energy, or as if new streams had flowed into consciousness.' It is 'life on a higher plane.' 'It is a process of *realising the possibilities* of growth; of making a draft on the latent energies . . . which might otherwise have lain dormant always.'[1]

The psychological expression of regeneration may well be subdivided as follows:

(*a*) *In terms of personality.*—'The new personality is formed,' says Dorner, 'in inner resemblance to the second Adam, on the same family type, so to speak.'[2] 'Grace and freedom meet,' says H. Martensen, and '*a new personality* is established, a copy of the divine and human personality of Christ.'[3] So J. Vernon Bartlet: 'A new personality arises from the new union of the will and the higher element dependent on and akin to the Divine: the man lives anew with a fresh type of moral life—that being dominant which before was subject, and *vice versa*.'[4] And A. C. Headlam: 'St. Paul . . . thought of the Spirit as a beneficent Divine personality . . . inspiring our higher nature, giving us a new personality, a new power, a new life.'[5] Putting the matter more scientifically, James says: 'What is attained is often an altogether new level of spiritual vitality, a relatively heroic level, in which impossible things have become possible, and new energies and endurances are shown. The personality is changed; the man is born anew.'[6] So Starbuck teaches us that in adolescence, with its ferment and unrest, there are indications, when the influences of the Spirit of God which enlightens every man are not violated, that 'a personality is forming beneath that has capacity for self-direction and independent insight.' We thus witness 'the birth of selfhood, the awakening of a self-conscious personality.'[7]

(*b*) *Unification.*—'Every man,' says Percy Gardner, 'finds himself a human being of mixed tendencies.'[8] 'We are each of us,' says G. Steven, 'as it were composed of many "selves."' What we need is 'the unifying of the self or personality,' which was probably in the mind of the Psalmist, when he prayed, 'Unite my heart to fear Thy name.'[9] So Frank Granger: 'The unity of the soul is thus something to be reached after and found both within God and within itself.' 'The soul is not there to begin with, but must be gained.'[10] Accordingly, we find that James, who devotes a chapter of his great work to 'The Divided Self,' says that 'to find religion is only one out of many ways of reaching unity';[11] and defines regeneration as 'the process, gradual or sudden, by which a self, hitherto divided, and consciously wrong inferior and unhappy, becomes unified and consciously right superior and happy, in consequence of its firmer hold upon religious realities.'[12] Paul describes his experience of the divided self in Ro 7, and Augustine, who in so many ways duplicated Paul's experience, says, 'Thou didst gather me again out of my dissipation, wherein I was torn piecemeal; while turning away from Thy unity, I lost myself in many things.'[13]

(4) *The change expressed in terms of physiology.*—There seems to be a parallelism between cerebral and psychical processes, but modern psychologists have long abandoned the attempt of David Hartley and his school to maintain that mental acts can ever be adequately described, much less explained, as brain currents or vibrations, or indeed by any physical terms. While aware of the inadequacy of physiology, it seems a fascination to some of our scientific theologians to throw their account of mental acts and states into physiological terms.

E.g., Starbuck says: 'What happens below the threshold of consciousness must, in the nature of the case, evade analysis. It tends to fill in the chasm in our knowledge, however, to explain it in terms of the nervous system and its functionings.'[14] And again: 'If we turn to our crude analogy of nerve cells and connections . . . we may get a definite picture, at whatever cost of accuracy.'[15] Accordingly, we find him describing 'the phenomena' which 'cluster about the birth of a new self' as 'the organisation of nerve elements about a new centre.'[16] In another passage he says that it 'seems entirely accurate' to speak of one who had experienced the 'awakening of new powers and activities' as 'born of the Spirit,' but he immediately adds: 'It is as if brain areas which had lain dormant had now suddenly come into activity—as if their stored-up energy had been liberated, and now began to function.'[17] Starbuck insists strongly that conversion is an adolescent phenomenon; that the periods of physical and mental maturity are the periods when the vast majority of conversions occur. In these periods 'the life-forces tend upward toward the higher brain centres,'[1] and biologically the new birth is 'coming to live on the highest level of the nervous system.'[2] James describes the new birth 'symbolically' thus: that a 'new centre of personal energy has been subconsciously incubated';[3] and Lake attaches so much importance to the theory of a subliminal self that he considers that the really serious controversy of the future will be to determine whether religion is merely 'communion of man with his own subliminal consciousness, which he does not recognize as his own, but hypostatizes as some one exterior to himself.'[4]

5. **The efficient cause of regeneration.**—(1) *The power of the Spirit.*—The teaching of the NT is emphatic that man needs a drastic inward change as a condition of salvation (Mt 18^3, Jn 3^3), and in the Acts and Epistles it is everywhere implied that the primitive Christians had experienced such a change (1 Co 6^{11}, Eph 2^5, Col 1^{13}, 1 Jn 2^{29}). It is equally clear that man is unable to effect this change by himself. There is need of the inworking of a power other and holier than himself. This power is the Holy Spirit. The NT teaches that man is to a greater or less degree controlled by an evil spirit (Ac 5^3, 2 Co 4^4, 1 P 5^8, 1 Jn 3^8); but over against man in his sin and weakness there stands a Divine Spirit, endowed with creative energy; and into hearts which are opened to receive Him He enters, vivifies latent faculties, and supports men in the struggle of life. Christians in all ages have testified that they were changed. Another will controls their will. A new light illumines everything. A new force controls their emotions, stimulating the higher, repressing the lower. 'Old things are passed away; behold, they are become new' (2 Co 5^{17}). God gives the Spirit (2 Co 1^{22}, 1 Th 4^8, Gal 3^3, Ph 1^{19}); man receives the Spirit (Ro 8^{15}). The Spirit dwells in man (1 Co 3^{16})—not that there are two entities, the human spirit and the divine, existing side by side; but that the Divine Spirit energizes, dynamizes the human spirit, ennobling, dignifying, purifying it. As A. Sabatier expresses it,

'The Spirit of God identifies itself with the human Me into which it enters and whose life it becomes. If we may so speak, it is individualized in the new moral personality which it creates.'[5]

When we come to inquire more minutely what is the divine power which the Christian receives, we find some indefiniteness. There are three terms which are used in NT interchangeably—'Christ,' 'the Spirit of Christ, and 'the Holy Spirit.' The same verbs are used with each, and the same functions are ascribed to each (cf. Ro 8^9, 2 Co 3^{17}, Gal 2^{20} 4^6, Jn 14^{16} 20^{22}, 1 P 1^{11}). But does identity of function necessarily imply identity of person or agent? That is a question much discussed. There are not a few scholars who maintain that the 'Holy Spirit' of the Christian dispensation is the spiritual, ascended Christ; *e.g.*, A. Tholuck[6] and Reuss[7] both maintained that the Holy Spirit in the NT is not a self distinct from Christ, but is Christ Himself glorified into a spirit, or the spiritual presence and manifestation of Christ to His disciples after His departure from earth. Franz Delitzsch also maintained that all communications of the Spirit, since the Ascension, are effected through the Spirit of the Son of Man.[8] G. A. Deissmann says:

'The living Christ is the Spirit . . . "The last Adam became a life-giving Spirit."'[9]

Other scholars express themselves more cautiously.

E.g., R. C. Moberly says: 'The Holy Ghost is, to us, immedi-

---

1 Pp. 130–134.
2 *System*, iv. 162.
3 *Christian Dogmatics*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1866, p. 383.
4 *HDB* iv. 218b.
5 *St. Paul and Christianity*, London, 1913, p. 111.
6 *Varieties*, p. 241.
7 P. 394 *f.*; cf. also pp. 116, 125.
8 *The Ephesian Gospel*, London, 1915, p. 163.
9 *Psychology of the Christian Soul*, London, 1911, p. 50 *f.*
10 *The Soul of a Christian*, London, 1900, p. 33.
11 *Varieties*, p. 175.
12 *Ib.* p. 189.
13 *Confessions*, ii. 1.
14 P. 107.
15 *Ib.* p. 406.
16 *Ib.* p. 118.
17 *Ib.* p. 132.

1 Starbuck, p. 208.
2 *Ib.* p. 290.
3 *Varieties*, p. 210.
4 *Earlier Epistles*, p. 251 *f.*
5 *The Religions of Authority*, London, 1904, p. 307.
6 *Comm. on Gospel of St. John*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1860, p. 336 *f.*
7 ii. 524 *ff.*, cited by G. B. Stevens, *The Johannine Theology*, London, 1894, p. 198.
8 *A System of Biblical Psychology*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1867, p. 398.
9 *Paulus*, Tübingen, 1911, p. 85, Eng. tr., *St. Paul*, London, 1912, p. 125.

ately, the Spirit of the Incarnate Christ. . . . To us, He is the Spirit of God through, and as, being first, for us, the Spirit of the Christ.'[1] So E. F. Scott says: 'Practically, the Spirit is to Paul the power of Jesus acting on believers';[2] and R. J. Drummond, while maintaining that 'it would not be true to say that the Spirit is simply the spiritual presence of the Exalted Christ,' yet, after quoting Christ's words, 'I will send,' 'I will come,' admits that 'the presence of one is practically the presence of the other.'[3]

The important matter is to insist that, since the resurrection and ascension of Christ, there has been *a new potency on the earth*. Whether we seek to explain the matter metaphysically, in terms of the Church's Creeds, or, more wisely, are content to leave it unexplained, the truth is that the Spirit, which, under the Christian dispensation, regenerates and sanctifies believers, is endowed with the properties of the God-man. At Pentecost, and ever since, the Church has been animated by a new power—not the power of the Logos, but a theanthropic power, the power of the glorified Christ. 'The Holy Spirit was not yet, because Jesus was not yet glorified' (Jn 7^{39}). The Holy Spirit of the Christian dispensation has the value of the ascended Christ, and has become in the Church a new moral, religious, personal force—the efficiency of Him who 'became in all things like unto his brethren' that we may be 'transformed into his image.' To quote from Dorner:

'The Spirit of God is the πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ.[4] As the Spirit of Christ, He carries in Himself the power to diffuse the divine-human life. . . . In fixed historical continuity, the divine-human personal unity . . . is employed for the purpose of propagating the life of the God-man. . . . Through the Holy Spirit, as the Spirit of Christ, humanity is led back to God, appropriated by Christ's theanthropic life; and this is the *Church*.'[5]

(2) *Human co-efficients.* — The co-efficients of regeneration, on the human side, are repentance and faith.

(*a*) *Repentance.* — It has been an error on the part of some Calvinists to maintain that at the time of regeneration man is passive or perhaps even antagonistic. It is very true that no man can come to Christ 'except the Father draw him'; that God always takes the initiative in man's salvation; that 'we love him because he first loved us.' But, before the new birth can be effectuated, there must be a period of unrest and self-dissatisfaction. It is not the first touch of the Spirit upon a sinful soul that regenerates. There are preparatory dealings of God with the soul. Christian experience often testifies to convictions, pleadings, drawings, remorse, and self-accusation, which may perhaps be compared to birth-pangs preceding the new birth. There are, it is true, many cases all down the history of the Church in which the new birth seems to occur very abruptly and suddenly, but the modern mind distrusts the sudden and catastrophic in all departments of life. Accordingly, the modern method of accounting for apparently sudden conversions is to assume that in such cases there is a much richer, inherited subliminal self than in others, and that the upheavals of unrest and remorse have been long taking place beneath the threshold of consciousness. Most modern psychologists[6] very properly raise a protest against the procedure of some denominations which seem to recognize the sudden, remorseful, spasmodic type of conversion as the only genuine one. They do this on the ground that such experiences are entirely a matter of temperament and that some constitutions are incapable of developing spasmodically.

(*b*) *Faith* is the second antecedent to the new birth (Eph 3^{17}, Ro 8^{10}, Gal 2^{20})—faith in its double meaning of (1) appropriation of a message and trust in the person whom it declares; and (2) self-surrender to a power other and purer than we, which seeks to control our life (see art. FAITH [Christian]). (1) It may be quite true that there are ethnic phenomena which resemble conversion, but Christian regeneration can be effected only by contact with Christ—on the divine side, dynamically, by the operation of the Spirit of the God-man upon the heart of man, and on the human side by hearing of Christ and by trusting and loving Him. Regeneration is conditioned by personal trust in Jesus as Saviour. Every true Christian can say, 'For me to live is Christ.' (2) Self-surrender finds an important place in all religious psychology. It is compared to 'relaxation of effort' on the verge of discovery, when, after hours or days of research, the solution comes unexpectedly, perhaps immediately after awaking from sleep. Many of Starbuck's cases confessed that, after long and weary efforts to conquer sin and to secure, with the much-coveted suddenness, a sense of pardon and regeneration, they found themselves obliged to desist from the wrestling and struggle, and to yield themselves up into Christ's hands. When the surrender is made, then often the new birth—the emergence from darkness to light, from bondage to freedom—takes place.[1]

6. **Subsidiary causes.**—(1) *The word.*—Divines often call this 'the instrumental cause.' The efficacy of the written or spoken word as the expression of the mind and heart and will of God is often taught in Scripture. When we read that 'man does not live by bread alone, but [is endowed with a life which is nourished] by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God' (Dt 8^{3}), when we read that 'the word of God is living and powerful' (He 4^{12}), when Jesus says, 'My words are spirit and they are life' (Jn 6^{63}), and when Paul reminds the Corinthians that 'in Christ Jesus' he had 'begotten' them 'through the gospel' (1 Co 4^{15}), we cannot escape the conviction that a 'word' was believed to be endowed with potency. Certainly the rabbis held this view; and, when they read in the story of Creation that God said 'Let light be,' and light was, they considered that the very words were a *vera causa*, operating in the physical realm, and effectuating 'that whereunto they were sent' (Is 55^{11}), as we read in Is 9^{8}, 'Jehovah sent a word into Jacob and it alighted upon Israel,' and as in Zec 5^{4} we read of 'a curse' that should 'enter a house and consume its timbers and its stones.' In a similar manner the causality of a divine word is taught in the NT, where we read that we are 'begotten again . . . through the word of God' (1 P 1^{23}), that 'God gave us birth through the word of truth' (Ja 1^{18}), that 'the word of the message worketh in those who believe' (1 Th 2^{13}), and that the gospel is 'God's δύναμις' (Ro 1^{16}). Evidently the 'word' is conceived as having the efficacy to regenerate and sanctify; and, when those of us who have listened to the recital of Christian experience recall how often the decision for Christ—the entrance into joy and liberty—is traced to the effect of some divine word, embodied in some hymn or passage of Scripture, we cannot but feel that there was some ground for the peculiarly Semitic conception of the potency of a word.

(2) *Thoughts or beliefs.* — The psychology of religion strongly emphasizes that thoughts are forces, that one phase of regeneration is enlightenment, and that ideas have psychical, if not indeed physical, potency.

[1] *Atonement and Personality*, London, 1901, p. 203.
[2] *The Fourth Gospel*, p. 329.
[3] *The Relation of the Apostolic Teaching to the Teaching of Christ*, Edinburgh, 1900, p. 332.
[4] Cf. Ro 8^{9}, Gal 4^{6}.
[5] iv. 160 f.
[6] James, *Varieties*, p. 236; Granger, p. 77; Coe, p. 213; Starbuck, p. 173.

[1] Starbuck's table xii. on p. 97; cf. James, *Varieties*, pp. 111, 206 ff.

'Every idea that is relevant to our condition moves us,' says Steven;[1] and James dwells on 'the regenerative influence of optimistic thinking' and on the 'doctrine that thoughts are forces'; maintaining that 'one gets by one's thinking reinforcements from elsewhere for the realization of one's desires; and the great point in the conduct of life is to get the heavenly forces on one's side by opening one's mind to their influx.'[2] Undoubtedly thoughts are forces, whether they originate from our own cogitations or from suggestion by others, though persons differ very widely as to their impressionableness to suggestion. Hypnosis is just the focusing of suggestion. We may not enlarge on this; but it enables us to realize how efficacious it is to centre the thoughts on God, to have a firm belief in His wrath or His love, His goodness or His severity, during the period which elapses between the time when the soul is quickened by the Divine Spirit and the time when, more or less suddenly and joyously, the soul enters into the liberty of the sons of God.

7. Ethnic and Jewish parallels.—(1) *Hindu.*—In ancient India there were three castes of Aryans—the Brāhmans, the Kṣatriyas, and the Vaiśyas—who were believed to have the spiritual capacity for being 'twice-born.' The second birth was foreshadowed in the sacred ceremony of initiation, known as *upanayana*, which took place at various ages between eight and sixteen, according to caste. The boy was brought to his *guru* (spiritual preceptor), and, after a prayer in ancient Sanskrit, he was invested with the sacred cord, which consisted of three slender cotton threads—white, to typify purity—and tied in one place by a sacred knot. The cord was placed over the left shoulder and under the right arm and worn perpetually. It was of no use unless blessed by Brāhmans, consecrated by the recitation of Vedic texts, and sprinkled with holy water. The ceremony was accompanied by the ten-times-repeated prayer, 'Let us meditate on the excellent glory of the Divine Vivifier [*i.e.* Regenerator].' After this act of investiture the novitiate commenced his study of the Vedas, and by and by, according to his period of study, he became qualified to teach and expound the Vedas, to recite prayers, and to take part in religious services and sacrifices. The disciple was taught to revere his *guru* very profoundly; indeed, in the *Institutes of Manu* it is enjoined:

'Of the two, the one who gives natural birth and the one who gives knowledge of the whole Veda, the latter is the more venerable father, since the second or divine birth ensures life, not only in this world but hereafter eternally' (ii. 146). 'The twice-born man who shall have passed the period of his studentship, shall ascend after death to the most exalted of regions and no more again spring to birth in this lower world' (ii. 249).[3]

(2) *Jewish.*—Judaism at a very early period applied to its proselytes the ideas of birth and creation, as we see from Ps 87[4], 'Behold Philistia and Tyre; this one was born there,' and 102[18], 'A people that shall be created shall praise Jahweh.'

Similarly in *Bereshith Rabbâh*, xxxix. 14, on Gn 12[5], R. Eleazar ben Zimra says: 'If all who come into the world were met together to create one fly, they could not impart to it life: but he who induces a man to become a proselyte is as if he created him.' *Shir R.* i. 3 says: 'Every one who gathers one creature under the wings of the Shekinah is as if he created and formed him'; vii. 2 reads: 'The house of my mother'—*i.e.* Sinai. R. Barachiah said: 'Why do they call mount Sinai my mother? Because there Israelites were made, infants a day old.' *Bâbhâ Mᵉṣi'â*, ii. 11, teaches that a man ought to reverence his teacher more than his father: 'His father only brought him into this world. His teacher who taught him wisdom brings him into the life of the world to come' (cf. above, [1]). *Yᵉbhâmôth*, 62*a*: 'The stranger who is proselytized is like a child who is newly born, because he must break away from his former teachers and principles, customs and habits, as well as from the ties of kinship. It is expected of him that he will lay aside his vicious habits and comport himself as if he were born that very day.'[4]

Philo often dwells on the necessity of a radical change before a man can secure the favour of God. He employs the figure of regeneration in a more psychical way than the Palestinian Jews and contemplates the change as a profound religious experience.

'What length of time could ever transform the harlotry of a soul trained in early and habitual incontinence? No time could do this, but God alone, to whom all things are possible; even those which among us are impossible.'[1] 'I have learned to appreciate my own nothingness (οὐδένειαν) and to gaze at the indescribable summits of thy munificence and then I recognize myself to be "dust and ashes" or something worse. . . . I am so elementally-changed (ἀνεστοιχειωμένος) that I do not even seem to exist.'[2] Again, 'How could the soul ever have known God, if He had not breathed into it and touched it κατὰ δύναμιν?'[3] 'Who is it that sows good seed in human souls but him who is the Father of existing things, the unbegotten God who begets all things?'[4] Our next quotation reminds us of the 'once-born' man of W. James, whom Philo calls αὐτομαθής. 'Every self-taught man is one who does not grow better by struggle and conflict, but from the outset found Wisdom ready prepared for him, showered down on him from above.' Of such men Philo says further on: 'The αὐτομαθὲς γένος is something new, surpassing description and really (ὄντως) divine, subsisting not by human conception but by inspired frenzy.'[5] And once more he says: 'If a divine thought (ἔννοια) enters the διάνοια of man, it at once blesses it and heals all its diseases.'[6]

(3) *Stoicism.*—Stoicism had before NT times become a religion quite as much as a philosophy, announcing its ability to free men from the domination of evil and to bring them into union with the divine. It appealed strongly to the sturdy Roman character and had a deep influence on the best men in the early Roman Empire. S. Dill speaks of Seneca as 'the earliest and most powerful apostle of a great moral revival,' and as 'one of the few heathen moralists who warm moral teaching with the emotion of modern religion.'[7] Seneca speaks of multitudes stretching out hands for moral help; and there is evidence that he himself was seized with a passion to win souls to goodness and truth, and seriously regarded it as his mission to form or reform human lives. He taught clearly that 'no mind is good without God.'

'"God comes to men, nay! nearer still! he comes *into* men. . . . Divine seeds are sown in human bodies"[8] and will grow into likeness to their origin if rightly cultivated.'[9] God is within us, inspiring good resolves and giving strength in temptation. God is without us, bestowing on us His gifts and chastising us in His wisdom.

Many Stoics taught a doctrine of instantaneous regeneration. Goodness is brought about not by addition, but by a thorough change. There may be a progress from folly and wickedness in the direction of wisdom, but the actual passage from one to the other must be momentary and instantaneous. It may be a long preparation, but it is followed by a change (μεταβολή), sudden and complete. Just as a drowning man[10] may be rising for some time towards the surface, but his experience when he emerges into the air is totally different from that which he passed through while rising, and must be instantaneous, so the final step in which a man suddenly finds himself transformed is different in kind from all the steps that have gone before. Cicero says of himself: 'I consider myself not merely to be amended but transfigured';[11] and Stoicism claimed many indisputable instances of men who had experienced a thorough and sudden change of character, as, *e.g.*, Polemon, the dissolute son of a wealthy Athenian who was thoroughly changed by listening to a discourse by Xenocrates.[12]

(4) *The mystery-religions.*—In the 6th cent. B.C. a remarkable wave of religion swept over Greece, the cause of which was largely personal, being due

[1] P. 34.
[2] *Varieties*, p. 107.
[3] Cf. art. INITIATION (Hindu); M. Monier-Williams, *Brâhmanism and Hindûism*[4], London, 1891, ch. xiii.
[4] Cf. Wetstein on Jn 3[3], 2 Co 5[17]; Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 317; A. Wünsche, *Erläuterung der Evangelien aus Talmud und Midrasch*, Göttingen, 1878, p. 506.

[1] Philo, *Works*, tr. C. D. Yonge, London, 1854–55, iii. 249.
[2] *Quis rerum div. her.* 6.
[3] *Leg. alleg.* i. 13.
[4] *De Cherub.* 13.
[5] *De Fuga*, 30.
[6] *Leg. alleg.* iii. 76.
[7] *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, London 1904, p. 304.
[8] *Ep.* lxxiii. 15 f.
[9] Glover, p. 61.
[10] Cicero, *de Fin.* iii. 14 (48).
[11] *Ep. ad Fam.* vi. 1, quoted by Mayor, *St. James*[2], p. 197 n
[12] Dill, p. 347.

to the influence of such men as Pindar, Hesiod, and perhaps Orpheus — men who were at once poets and prophets. The period was marked by (1) a more serious appreciation of right and wrong; (2) a yearning to know what awaits the righteous and the wicked after death, and a conviction that the wrongs of this life will be righted hereafter; (3) a deeper sense of the turpitude of sin and its defiling influence; (4) a growing belief in henotheism; and (5) a longing for fellowship with God. All this was accompanied by a disposition to give to religious beliefs a visual, scenic form and dramatic representation. Foreign rites and ceremonies were appropriated, old rustic symbols and mystic plays—in fact anything that could evoke intense religious feeling. Into these weird symbols men read new meanings, and used them to mediate a crude sense of communion with the divine—everything appealing quite as much to their highly-sensitized organisms as to their psychical or moral nature. Men in the distant past were far more truly 'children of Nature' than we are; and they experienced real pain and joy in the changes of the seasons, bemoaning the apparent death of vegetal life and indulging in ecstatic revels at the return of spring. They were keenly sensitive to the parabolic significance of Nature. Their life was *en rapport* with the life of Nature. Their soul was believed to be a fragment of the great World-Soul. The annual renovation of Nature in springtime fostered two anticipations: (1) that, as Nature puts on her beautiful attire in spring, after months of ugliness and deformity, so there must be a possibility, if one could only enter into thorough unison with the World-Soul, of renovating, cleansing, and beautifying the human soul, of whose pollution they were so painfully conscious; (2) that, as Nature lives again yearly after apparent death, so it must be possible for the human soul to undergo some processes which shall render it incorruptible and secure for it a glorious immortality. During the two centuries before and after Christ this movement spread and deepened immensely, gradually orientalizing Roman paganism and acclimatizing Phrygian, Egyptian, and Persian divinities and ceremonies, in every great centre of the empire. Everywhere there was found a deep sense of the pollution of sin and a longing for immortality; and in consequence there was a readiness to submit to any crude, pre-historic ceremony, resuscitated with new symbolism, in the frenzied longing to be inwardly changed, to become a child again, and to be made fit hereafter to dwell with God.[1] These ceremonies were the mysteries (*μυστήρια*).

(*a*) *The Eleusinian mysteries*, as held in Athens, furnished the grandest artistic display and scenic ornamentation. The great object of mystic contemplation was an ear of corn. There were ablutions in salt, fumigation with sulphur, and smearing with clay or with blood—all done with the intense desire to cleanse the soul. There were scenic representations of events in the history of Demeter and Persephone, on which the mystics gazed with wild, frenzied stare, in the hope that the experiences of the risen Persephone might be reproduced in their soul. Speaking of the lustrations, Tertullian says:

'The nations ascribe to their idols the same power of imbuing water with the self-same efficacy as we do. . . . At the Eleusinian mysteries, men are baptized, and they assume that the effect of this is their regeneration and the remission of the penalties due to their perjuries.'[1]

(*b*) *Egyptian.*—In this religion Osiris was slain and dismembered by Set, and his limbs were concealed all over the world. The limbs were sought and found by Isis and her son Horus, and were reconstructed, and Osiris received a new life, divine and eternal. The one absorbing desire of his worshippers was to become partakers, in a mystical, spiritual sense, of the new life of Osiris.[2]

In the great Parisian magic papyrus published by Carl Wessely, we read of a mystic who has been allowed access to the divinity Set, and who is instructed by the mystagogue to address the divinity thus: 'O mighty Typhon, sceptre-bearer and ruler of the upper kingdom. . . . I am thy soldier. . . . I fling myself before thee . . . energize me (*δυνάμωσον*), I implore thee.' Having done this, he is bidden to put on white raiment, and to say to the god: 'I am united with thee in a sacred form. I am energized by thy sacred name. I have met the effluence of thy good gifts,' and he is assured that he has obtained a god-like nature (*ισοθέου φύσεως*) which has been effected by the union with god. Another prays: 'Come into me, O Hermes, as children are in the mother's womb'; and in another passage we read: 'Come into the soul of this child that it may be fashioned (*τυποῦσθαι*) after thy immortal form in thy powerful imperishable light.'[3]

Lucius Apuleius, who wrote about A.D. 130, humorously describes his metamorphosis into an ass, from which condition he was delivered by the priest of Isis, and was initiated at Cenchreæ into the mysteries of Isis. He describes the day of his initiation as his sacred birthday. He says that on that day he penetrated to the boundaries of death and trod the threshold of Proserpine.[4] He compares this to 'a voluntary death' and his restoration to life to 'a salvation vouchsafed in answer to prayer.' He is certain that through the goddess Isis he has been in a manner born again ('quodam modo renatus') and placed again on the course of a new salvation.

The Hermetic literature.—Reitzenstein, in his work *Poimandres* (Leipzig, 1904), publishes and copiously edits a strange compilation of eighteen sacred documents made about A.D. 300 by an Egyptian priest. The Greek fragments are of various ages and belong to several religious communities; but the type of religion presented is generally Hellenized Egyptian. Among them is a remarkable dialogue between Hermes and his son Tat on the subject of regeneration (*παλιγγενεσία*).

The son reminds his father that he once said that no man can attain to *σωτηρία* unless he is born again and looses himself from this world of seeming. Tat says that he has done this, and begs to be instructed as to the doctrine (*λόγον*) of regeneration. Hermes replies: 'It cannot be taught. God causes it to grow in human hearts. The event is a begetting. God's will begets. Those begotten are reborn; they are sons of God.' Tat still presses his father to reveal more. He seeks to have a description of the new nature, and asks: 'He who is born, of what sort is he? for that which is born will be another and will have no share in the noetic being which is in me.' The father can only reply that such knowledge is not taught, but, when God wills, He can cause it to come to mind. But the son asks again: 'Do you mean that I who am by nature descended from my father am another's son? Explain to me the manner (*τρόπον*) of the regeneration.' Hermes can give little light as to the method; but the results of the change are remarkable. Form loses its outline, and magnitude loses its dimensions. The mind cognizes; no longer do the senses perceive. The injunction is: 'Nullify the perceptions of the body and the birth of Deity will take place in thee.'[5]

(*c*) *Phrygian.*—The Phrygians elaborated their conception of psychical regeneration from the myth of Attis, the devotee of Cybele, who bled himself to death under a pine-tree for his imagined unfaithfulness to his goddess and was restored to life by the Earth-Mother. Men weary of earthly life and of sin yearned for a thorough change—a death, a burial, a new life. Under the influence, probably, of Mazdæism, according to which a mystic bull is the originator of creation and resurrection, the old custom of devouring the bull, and thus receiving the strength of the bull into themselves to renew their physical energy, underwent a

[1] Consult artt. MYSTERIES (Christian) and (Greek, Phrygian, etc.); J. J. I. von Döllinger, *The Gentile and the Jew*[2], Eng. tr., London, 1906, i. 131–211; Lewis Campbell, *Religion in Greek Literature*, do. 1898, pp. 238–266; E. Hatch, *Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church* (*HL*), do. 1890, pp. 283–309; H. A. A. Kennedy, *St. Paul and the Mystery-Religions*, do. 1913, *passim*; F. B. Jevons, *Introd. to Hist. of Religion*, do. 1896, pp. 358–381; A. Harnack, *Expansion of Christianity*, Eng. tr., do. 1904, i. 274 ff.

[1] *De Bapt.* 5. [2] See art. MYSTERIES (Egyptian).

[3] R. Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, Leipzig, 1910, p. 31.

[4] *The Golden Ass*, xi. 21 (Loeb's Classical Library, p. 574 f.); Kennedy, p. 100 ff.; Dill, p. 572 ff.

[5] Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, p. 339 ff.; Kennedy, pp. 107–110.

sublimation of meaning, and was used as a means of acquiring eternal regeneration of the soul. They appropriated the blood-bath, in which the novitiate descended into a grave over which were boards, and on them a bull was slain. The man underneath received on his naked person, and into all the orifices of his body, the warm blood, under the belief that his sins were thereby cleansed and his nature regenerated.[1] For some time the fiction of the new birth was kept up by feeding the mystic on milk and tending him as a babe (*ὥσπερ ἀναγεννώμενον*).

(*d*) *Mithraism.*—Mithraism (*q.v.*) employed, and probably initiated, the bath of blood, and on many tombstones, even of Roman patricians, there are found the words 'in æternum renatus,' indicating that they believed themselves regenerated by the Mithraic ceremony. Albrecht Dieterich has published a papyrus which he believes to be a liturgy of Mithraism. Its opening prayer is very striking:

'O! first genesis of my genesis! First spirit of the spirit which is in me! First water of the water which is in me! . . . May it please thee to translate me, who am trammelled by the nature which underlies me, to an immortal genesis . . . that I may be born again (*μεταγεννηθῶ*) in my mind; that I may be initiated and the sacred Spirit may breathe on me. Though I was born a mortal from a mortal mother . . . having been sanctified by sacred ceremonies, I am about to gaze with immortal eyes on the immortal Æon.'[2]

When all is over, he says to Helios, lord of heaven and earth:

'I have been born again by thee: one, out of so many myriads, I am immortalized in this hour.'

8. Metaphors common to NT and the mysteries.—The researches of late years, and especially the discovery of papyri, have disclosed that many technical NT words are also found in the vocabulary of the mysteries. In NT times the mysteries were very popular, not only the national ones, but also those of a more private character, held in halls or private houses; and almost every respectable man was a member in one or other of these mysteries.[3] The ceremonies were kept secret, but the results claimed to be effectuated thereby were no secret; and Paul could not live in an intellectual centre like Tarsus without becoming familiar with the technical phrases of the mystery-religions. And, though we admit that Paul was antipathetic to them, and though it be true, as A. Jacoby maintains,[4] that the keenest struggle of Christianity was with the mystery-religions, yet we need not be surprised that Paul should borrow metaphors from them; for he often derives metaphors from the athletic games against which Christians showed vehement opposition in later years. Early Christianity did not invent a religious vocabulary; almost all its terms were in vogue at the time. The professed aim of the mysteries was *σωτηρία*, to secure union with God and eternal life. Regeneration is the central theme in the Mithra liturgy, in the Isis ceremonies described by Apuleius, and in the conversation between Hermes and Tat. Hence many of the pagans who listened to Paul and Silas were members of mystic brotherhoods; and, 'when this new group of travelling preachers from the East proclaimed the promise of *σωτηρία* and the assurance of life eternal, their message was bound to appeal to such an audience.'[5] The early Christians used familiar terms and metaphors, but infused a vastly higher meaning into them. We proceed now briefly to show how the metaphors of the NT concerning regeneration are found, though not with the same significance, in the mysteries (the sections are the same as in § 3 above).

A. '*The seed is the word*' (Lk 8^{11}; cf. 1 P 1^{23}, Ja 1^{18}).—In the Hermetic literature it is taught that 'regeneration is the end and aim of all revelation.' While Tat, in silent devotion, sits listening to the instruction of his father Hermes concerning the divine potencies, these potencies manifestly enter into him and form his new 'I';[1] and it is taught that the reader of the book recording the conversation between Hermes and Tat might also be regenerated, under the grace of God; but a translation of the book would not have the same effect.[2] Tat asks his father of what sort of mother he was regenerated, or of what sort of seed, and receives the answer: 'The will of God is the sower, and the seed is the true Good.'[3]

B. *Impartation of life.*—As we have seen, there was a deep longing for immortality in the period from 600 B.C. onwards, and the popularity of the mysteries was chiefly due to the fact that they claimed to confer life and joy hereafter. The gods worshipped in the mysteries were those who, like Osiris, Attis, and Kore, died and lived again; and, while gazing at vivid spectacular displays of their sufferings, death, and rebirth, accompanied by mournful addresses, listened to with sobbings and wailings and self-mutilations, the *μύσται* strove frantically to become partakers in the sufferings and death of the gods, that they might become partakers in their glorious life. In the mysteries of Attis, when the worshippers have almost spent themselves in sympathetic grief over the sad death of Attis, the priest chants in low tones:

'Be of good cheer, O mystics, since the god has been rescued from death, there is *σωτηρία* for you from your toils.'

Similarly it is said of one who has become mystically united to Osiris:

'As truly as Osiris lives, shall he live. As truly as Osiris is not dead, shall he not die.'[4]

C. *New birth.*—It is extremely probable that the words *παλιγγενεσία* and *ἀναγέννησις*, to describe the change which the *μύσται* claimed to have undergone, are pre-Christian. It was believed that the lustrations and the sympathetic dramas causally produced this state of regeneration. Of course, we need scarcely remark that the *παλιγγενεσία* was vastly different from that of the NT. In the mysteries the phenomena were hyperphysical, due to sensuous excitement, akin to that of the *faqir* in India, or the prophets of Baal. In the NT the change was supremely ethical (1 Co 6^{9-11}). In some cases, it may be, the result of the mysteries was morally elevating, but that was not their primary intent. They were designed to evoke a sensuous religiousness—to appeal to the feelings and to foster the condition in which men and women of neurotic temperament see visions and dream dreams. They encouraged manticism as distinct from prophecy. The church at Corinth was in danger of reverting to a 'mystery.' It is doubtful whether those who claimed *ἀναγέννησις* through Attis and Isis lived on a much higher moral level than their neighbours.

D. *A new man or a new creature.*—There is everywhere in the mysteries the notion that the soul, as a highly attenuated material entity, undergoes some change. This is emphasized when, as in the Mithra liturgy, the word *μεταγεννᾶσθαι* is used instead of the other synonyms. We find constantly the idea of union (*συνουσία*) of the divine with the human, cleansing, ennobling, and transfiguring it. Osiris, Attis, Adonis were men. They died as men; they rose as gods. If men unite themselves with them, 'receive them,' 'put

[1] Cf. art. MYSTERIES (Greek, Phrygian, etc.); F. Cumont, *Die orientalischen Religionen*, Leipzig, 1910, p. 82.
[2] A. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 3 ff.
[3] Kennedy, p. 79.
[4] *Die antiken Mysterienreligionen und das Christentum*, Tübingen, 1910, p. 60.
[5] Kennedy, p. 79.

[1] Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, p. 217.
[2] Reitzenstein, *Hellenist. Mysterienreligionen*, p. 36.
[3] Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, p. 339.
[4] Cumont, pp. 71 f., 261; Kennedy, p. 99.

them on,' they are thereby deified. They become sons of God.[1] Yet in one place we have a sort of Nestorian conception — *συνάφεια* rather than *σύγκρασις*—when Tat asks whether the inborn son of God is himself or another, and prays for Hermes to come into him 'as children are in the mother's womb.'[2]

E. *A change of clothing.*—Here we meet with the conception that the soul cannot be changed while in the body. It must first be 'out of the body.' The soul wanders through the heavens, and receives a new *μορφή* before it returns. The soul of one who is admitted to the mysteries of Isis travels through the twelve houses of the zodiac and in each puts on a different garment—twelve different transmigrations. He returns to earth wearing an Olympian garment, stands before the assembled mystics, and is revered as a god.[3] So in the cult of Mithra the soul of the mystic is born again by means of wandering through the heavens. Arrived there, he calls out for his own heavenly body, which God has formed for him in the world of light, and wears it for a time; but he must lay it aside when he returns to earth, and put on the garment of his earthly body.[4]

F. *A passage from death to life.*—Development is quite a modern conception. It was simpler to the ancients to conceive of transition, as death followed by life. Even yet we can speak of the death of the old year and the birth of the new. The great change to which the initiates to the mysteries laid claim was often represented as a death, followed by a changed life. When the initiation was being celebrated, it was usual for the *μύσται* to simulate death, from which they were aroused by the call of the *μυσταγωγός*. Apuleius, describing his own initiation, says: 'I went to the confines of death. I trod the threshold of Proserpine.' Among some savage tribes youths were beaten till they were unconscious, that they might enter on a new life; and for a time they were expected to behave as babes.[5]

G. *Burial and resurrection.*—This, of course, is a very similar metaphor. Burial was designed to emphasize the reality of the death. In the cult of Attis a pine-tree was felled, and the trunk adorned with garlands and solemnly buried. The mystics wailed for Attis, who had died again in his sacred tree; they gashed themselves and sprinkled their blood on the altar. Next night they assembled in the temple, simulating death, and a light and the resurrected pine-tree were brought in, while the priest moved round among the prostrate *μύσται*, informing them that the god had been rescued from death, and besmearing their throats with oil that they might sing the praises of the risen god.[6] Dieterich, speaking of the customs of some uncivilized peoples, says:

'The adepts are besmeared with chalk or mud; then suddenly cleansed and assume a new name. They are buried and then fetched up out of the grave. They are beaten almost to death and then brought back to life.'[7]

Proclus (fl. A.D. 450), in his work on the *Theology of Plato*, iv. 9, says:

'What is most wonderful of all is that the priests command the body to be buried, except the head, in the most sacred of all the ceremonies.'[8]

It is certain that in the mysteries all the effects were believed to follow magically rather than ethically. The ceremony produced the results irrespective of the ethical condition of the novitiate. Physical contact with the water regenerated the soul. The words uttered by the priest were believed to have a magical effect on the soul. The burial and besmearing with clay or mud, followed by restoration to life, were held to produce in the votary a psychical death, burial, and new birth. The new birth produced a sense of union with God, compared with marriage to the god or having him as a guest in the soul. All was in the realm of feeling, and left the moral nature of most men untouched.

1 Reitzenstein, *Hellenist. Mysterienreligionen*, p. 7.
2 Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, p. 230.
3 Reitzenstein, *Hellenist. Mysterienreligionen*, p. 26.
4 *Ib.* p. 32. 5 Dieterich, p. 158 f.
6 Kennedy, p. 91; Frazer, *GB*[3], pt. iv., *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, London, 1914, i. 267–274.
7 P. 158. 8 Quoted in Dieterich, p. 163.

9. Connexion between regeneration and baptism.—The subject of Paul's teaching as to the significance of baptism has been a burning question during the past decade. The disputants fall into three classes:

(1) Those who believe that baptism (which in this case is restricted to believers) is nothing more than (*α*) a symbol of a spiritual union which already exists between Christ and the believer; (*β*) a declaration of allegiance to Jesus as Master and Lord; (*γ*) a public avowal of faith in God the Father, Jesus Christ the Redeemer, and the Holy Spirit the Sanctifier.[1]

(2) (*α*) Those who hold the sacramentarian view that baptism remits all sin, original and actual; that it bestows regenerating grace and endows the soul with the germs of the Christian virtues (for this view see art. BAPTISM, vol. ii. pp. 390–400).

(*b*) There are some modern scholars who, trained in the rigour of modern exegetical methods, claim, in the light chiefly of recent research in the mystery-religions, that in his doctrine of baptism the apostle Paul was inconsistent with himself and with the rest of the NT; that he was indeed a sacramentalist; and that, while demolishing with one hand the efficacy of Jewish rites and ceremonies, he was with the other building up a doctrine of the mechanical efficacy of baptism, which was quite incongruous with his ordinary teaching.

'The latest exegetical phase,' says F. Rendtorff, 'is this, that with a frame of mind thoroughly disinclined to sacramental conceptions, so many feel themselves historically bound to ascribe such views to Paul. Such men as Gunkel, Heitmüller, and H. J. Holtzmann maintain that Paul held such views and that he derived them not from the OT nor from Jesus Christ, but from the trend of thought in ethnic religions current in his time.'[2] *E.g.*, W. Heitmüller says: 'Baptism, in Paul, is throughout a sacramental act, which works not *ex opere operantis*, but *ex opere operato*, in the Catholic sense. Its operation is not conditioned by the faith of the recipient or the administrator. Of course, faith is pre-supposed in the candidate. Only those who believed sought baptism, and yet, notwithstanding the mode of the operation baptism is not thought of in an ethico-psychological manner, but in a purely sacramental manner.'[3] H. Gunkel has laboured at the Osiris cult, and he expresses himself thus: 'In baptism (so Paul teaches) the believer is joined to Christ. Baptism is the symbol of dying and being buried. He who allows himself to be baptized into Christ experiences thereby the death of Christ. He comes out of the water, as one who has died, but been roused to a new life. He has put on Christ: that which happened to Christ on the cross completes itself again in the case of individuals.'[4] Percy Gardner writes in the same strain: 'St. Paul's view of baptism is distinctive. He speaks of burial with Christ in baptism, and of being baptized into the death of Christ, and of rising with him from the dead. . . . In his own way, he transforms the rite of baptism, not into a thaumaturgic process, but into a spiritual experience of a mystic intensity. To him baptism does not merely mean repentance for sin, and attempt at a purified life; it was burial with Christ and rising again with him; it was incorporation into the earthly [?heavenly] body of Christ, and becoming a new creature. There can be little doubt that in this matter, as in others, Paul innovates by grafting upon a Jewish rite a deeper meaning, of which the germs lay in the Pagan Mysteries.'[5] So Kirsopp Lake, after quoting Ro 6[3] and Gal 3[27], says: 'Baptism is here clearly indicated as effecting the union with Christ. . . . Baptism is, for St. Paul and his readers, universally and unquestioningly accepted as a "mystery" or sacrament which works *ex opere operato*; and

1 This is the view usually held by Baptists and is represented in A. H. Strong's *Systematic Theology*, 3 vols., Philadelphia, 1907–09; T. Armitage, *A Hist. of the Baptists*[2], New York, 1890, *passim*; and T. G. Rooke, *Doctrine and Hist. of Christian Baptism*, London, 1894, ch. ii. etc.
2 *Die Taufe im Urchristentum*, Leipzig, 1905, p. 15.
3 *Ib.* p. 16 f.
4 *Zum religionsgeschichtliche Verständnis des NT*, Göttingen, 1903, p. 83.
5 *Exploratio Evangelica*, London, 1899, p. 447

from the unhesitating manner in which St. Paul uses this fact as a basis for argument, as if it were a point on which Christian opinion did not vary, it would seem as though this sacramental teaching is central in the primitive Christianity to which the Roman Empire began to be converted.'[1]

(3) It can hardly be doubted that Paul had some acquaintance with the mystery-religions, and that he intentionally used metaphors there in use; but there are many scholars, equally eminent with those named above, who cannot believe that the Apostle could be so illogical as to embitter his life for years by denying the efficacy of Jewish rites and ceremonies to secure salvation, and at the same time set up an external ordinance like baptism as having the efficacy to regenerate the souls of men.

Deissmann, *e.g.*, says: 'It is not correct to say that Paul considered baptism to mediate our access to Christ. There are passages, as Gal 3^{27}, which, read aloof from their context, might be thus interpreted, but it is more correct to say that baptism is not the restoration to fellowship, but the sealing of our fellowship with Christ. With Paul himself it was not baptism which was the deciding-point, but the Christophany at Damascus. He was sent not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel.'[2] Rendtorff maintains that 'the ground presupposition of all that Paul says on baptismal experiences is faith. Not that Paul always *mentions* faith, as the *causa medians*, but he does so frequently in express words, as in Gal $3^{26f.}$, Ro 6^{4}. The whole baptismal experience of Ro 6 culminates in the eminently ethical thought: "that we may walk in newness of life." This cannot refer to a natural physical-hyperphysical new creation, analogous perhaps to the Mithra magical liturgy with its ἀπαθανατισμός. It can only imply the restoration of a new religious-ethical life.' Quoting Col 2^{13}, he insists that 'the efficacy of the baptism rests on and consists in the forgiveness of sins.'[3] Clemen steadily opposes the attribution of sacramentarian views to the Apostle. He admits that the implications of 1 Co 15^{29} are magical, but denies that the text represents Paul's own views. As to Ro 6 and Col 2^{11}, he contends that the operation of baptism is based on the significance of the death of Christ. There is with the Apostle no reference to a sacrament. 'Certainly with him, union with the Lord, the receiving of the Holy Spirit, the renewal of life and the blotting out of sin are realities of religious experience. . . . This conversion comes to expression in baptism which is a symbol not only of what *is* to happen but also of what *has* happened already.'[4] There is much force also in the argument of J. C. Lambert when he maintains that from Ro $3^{22-6:1}$ the Apostle asserts and reasserts his fundamental doctrine of justification by faith, then in 6^{2-6} he abruptly introduces baptism, for the first and only time in the Epistle, and consequently 'it seems impossible, on the ground of this single reference to baptism in the course of his longest and most doctrinal Epistle, to set aside his cardinal thought that in the principle of faith itself there lies the whole potency of salvation.'[5] Later he says: 'The precise point which he wished to enforce was the intimacy of the union which faith brings about between the believer and the Lord.' Baptism suggests a being buried with Christ. 'But a burial is not a death: it is only a public certification and sealing of death. And, in like manner, baptism is not a dying with Christ, but rather a sealing of that death in Him and with Him which is immediately brought about by faith.'[6] The same view is ably defended by H. A. A. Kennedy, in *Exp* VIII. iv. [1912], and in his work on *St. Paul and the Mystery-Religions*, ch. vi.

It remains now to examine what sort of constructive criticism the last-named scholars have to offer, having disposed of the other two views, for, of course, in repudiating sacramentarianism, they are equally pronounced in their conviction that the statements in Paul's Epistles as to baptism, such as Gal 3^{27}, Tit 3^{5}, imply more than that baptism is merely a symbol of spiritual facts. (1) It clears the air considerably that they all agree that all the persons whose baptism is recorded in the NT had avowed repentance and faith in Jesus as Christ and Lord before they were baptized.[7] (2) They agree that a candid exegesis of the passages in which Paul speaks of baptism obliges us to admit that he believed that in baptism 'something happens.' The believer 'puts on Christ'; he 'dies to sin,' he 'is raised to newness of life.' Paul was exhorted to 'be baptized and wash away his sins.' Christ 'cleansed' the Church 'by the laver of water by means of the word' (Eph 5^{26}). Clearly the early Christians were taught to expect that in their baptism they would receive some influx of spiritual power—some rich spiritual blessing. Lambert expresses it as 'a marked accession of spiritual life and power.'[1] Kennedy speaks of 'a wonderful spiritual quickening; a new enhancing of the power and grasp of faith.'[2] (3) They draw a very proper and vital distinction between 'cause' and 'occasion.' They do not believe that the literal act of baptism—contact with the water, or the utterance of the formula — in any sense causes these spiritual blessings; but they do believe that Paul taught that it was a divine appointment that those who obeyed their Lord by making a public confession of Him in baptism should receive therein a rich spiritual reward.

E.g., Clemen, speaking on Gal 3^{27}, says: 'Baptism as such is not the cause of the "putting on Christ". . . for 3^{26} says, "Ye are all sons of God through faith": accordingly baptism can only be the *occasion* on which one confesses his sins, not a sacrament';[3] and Lambert is equally explicit: 'it was not with the baptismal water that men were sealed, but with the Holy Spirit of promise. Baptism was the occasion of the sealing, rather than the sealing itself. . . . Even this sealing of the Spirit is not a creative but a declarative act.'[4]

Baptism was not the cause of spiritual gifts, but the occasion of their bestowal. Baptism does not literally wash away sin, but NT believers were taught to expect a consciousness of pardon and a full sense of sin forgiven in connexion with their baptism. Nor does baptism regenerate in a causal sense, but NT baptism was normally the occasion of the bestowal of the gifts of the Holy Spirit—so much so that Paul was astonished that it was possible for any disciples who had been baptized not to have received them (Ac 19^{2}). Regarding Jesus as their great Exemplar and His baptism as the type of, and authority for, Christian baptism, it was natural that they should expect somewhat similar spiritual blessings to be conferred on them to those which were conferred on Him.

LITERATURE.—This has been sufficiently indicated by the numerous quotations throughout the article.

J. T. MARSHALL.

REINCARNATION.—See TRANSMIGRATION, SOUL.

RELATIONS (Buddhist). — Buddhist philosophy has from the outset resolved all 'things,' all 'states' of matter and mind, into a flux of 'happenings.' That which happens is a series in the flux of transient, even momentary, complexes of elemental factors, determined and determining, according to the fivefold law of cosmic order (*niyama*). And these complex happenings are determined and determining, both as to their constituent factors and also as to other happenings, in a variety of ways that we should express by the term 'relations.' The Buddhist term is *paccaya* (Skr. *pratyaya*). Etymologically the word is nearly parallel to 'relation' (*paccaya*=*paṭi*='re,' and *ay*, causative of *i*, 'to go *or* come,' in place of *latus*, 'borne'). A greater discrepancy, however, lies in the causal emphasis of the Pāli term, which is lacking in our word. The commentators emphasize this: '*paccaya* means because-of-that it-makes-to-come.' The prefix (*paṭi*) is here given the added force of *paticca*.[5] It is true that one of the most recent discussions of the notion of cause[6] expresses 'the general scheme of a causal law' in terms of relations. But this is only one among

1 *Earlier Epistles*, p. 385.
2 *Paulus*, p. 89, Eng. tr. p. 130 f. 3 Pp. 32, 36.
4 *Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des NT*, Giessen, 1909, p. 173, Eng. tr., *Primitive Christianity and its non-Jewish Sources*, Edinburgh, 1912, p. 223.
5 *The Sacraments in the NT*, Edinburgh, 1903, p. 169.
6 *Ib.* p. 173.
7 Rendtorff, p. 32; Lambert, p. 193; Kennedy, p. 249.

1 Pp. 152, 168. 2 P. 249.
3 *Primitive Christianity*, p. 217. 4 P. 176.
5 Cf. art. PATICCA-SAMUPPĀDA, and *Commentary on the Paṭṭhāna*.
6 In Bertrand Russell, *Our Knowledge of the External World*, London, 1914, p. 216 ff.

the inevitable, if unconscious, approximations of modern European 'philosophies of change' to Buddhist ideas.

Another characteristically Buddhist definition of relations, beside that given above, is to assign them a place among the marks or characters of things (*i.e.* events) in general. Thus all things (except the philosophic Nibbāna) have (*a*) the three marks of impermanence, liability to suffering, and soullessness; (*b*) the threefold mark of the conditioned: genesis or birth, cessation or decay and death, and a relatively static point or interval between; and lastly, (*c*) the marks of causation, viz. relations, or correlation.

The third group of marks was developed under 24 heads in the last of the analytical works in the *Abhidhamma Piṭaka* of the canon, called the *Paṭṭhāna*, also 'the Great Book.'[1] They are the most—one may say the only—distinctively constructive contribution to Buddhist philosophy in those six analytical books. The 24 heads are developed at great length in application to the material and mental facts of experience. The commentary, ascribed to Buddhaghoṣa, adds some useful explanatory matter, especially in its insistence on the necessity of regarding the correlation, or *paccayatā*, in every one of the 24 modes as an 'assisting agency' (*upakāraka*):

'Where one *dhamma*[2] by its arising or persisting is a helper to another *dhamma*, that first-named is the (causally) relating *dhamma* to the last-named.'

It is impossible to say how soon after the closing of the canon, how long before Buddhaghoṣa's date, this aspect was evolved. But it is of the greatest importance to an understanding of the Buddhist philosophy of change, and it has remained a keynote in that tradition to the present day. Thus Ledi expands it as follows:

'Just as an heir normally inherits the property of his deceased parent, so does a succeeding unit of consciousness inherit all the energy, the functions, the impressions of the expired unit.'[3]

The same is believed with regard to material units. And the legacy itself came, in later works, to be spoken of as a force, *vim*, influence of the *paccaya*, or causally relating term, viz. the *paccaya-satti*.[4] Thus:

'In the exposition of the Paṭṭhāna relations there are three main features to be carefully noted, *i.e.*:
(i.) the relating thing (*paccayadhamma*),
(ii.) the related thing (*paccayuppannadhamma*),
(iii.) the distinctive function (or influence) of the relation (*paccaya-satti-visesa*).'[5]

The 24 *paccayas*, under the title *Paccaya-sangaha* ('Compendium or Category of Relations, or Causation'), occupy the eighth part of the standard manual, entitled *Abhidhammattha-sangaha*. This work (in which *-satti* does not occur) dates from the 9th, 10th, or 11th cent. A.D., and is translated in *The Compendium of Philosophy*. The author, Anuruddha of Ceylon, begins his exposition thus:

'Now let me tell e'en as is fit how such
And such a state of things[6] related stands
To other states conditioned like itself,'

and proceeds:

'In the category of relations we have two schemata:—the law of happening by way of cause[7] and the system of correlation.'[8]

Coming in due course to the second, he writes:

'The system comprises the following relations:

(1) condition	(6) co-existence
(2) object	(7) reciprocity
(3) dominance	(8) dependence
(4) contiguity	(9) sufficing condition
(5) immediate contiguity	(10) antecedence
(11) consequence	(18) means, way
(12) habitual recurrence	(19) association
(13) action	(20) dissociation
(14) result	(21) presence
(15) support	(22) absence
(16) control	(23) abeyance
(17) *jhāna*	(24) continuance.'

(1) is *hetu*, one of several synonyms for causal antecedent, or condition, in general; it is technically reserved for the six moral 'roots' (*mūla*) of personal character: appetite, enmity, ignorance or dullness, and their opposites, disinterestedness, amity, intelligence. (2) is object of consciousness, viz. five objects of the five senses, and one of intellect, namely, impressions and ideas. (3) refers to an overruling factor in consciousness at any given moment: intention, energy, volitional apperception, intellectual investigation. Of (4), (5), the latter applies to a sequence in time so apparently indivisible as that of mental states or moments. By (6) 'co-nascence,' or simultaneous and co-inhering genesis, is meant. In (7) both terms of the relation are mutually relating and related. (9) differs from (8) only as indicating a cause or group of conditions effective enough to bring about immediately a given result. (12)= repetition so as to form a habit.[1] (13), *karma*, is the relation between an act of will and its result. (14) is literally ripeness, maturity; causally conceived, it is a relation of effortlessness.[2] (15) implies mental or material nutriment. (16) refers to the influence of psycho-physical, mental, and moral faculties or controlling powers. (17) is concentrated energy physical and mental. (18) is thought or conduct under the aspect of a shaped course of procedure towards an end. (22), positively regarded, implies 'opportunity for a successor to arise.'[3] So for (23).

In comparing these groups with corresponding lists in European philosophy, we notice coincidences and discrepancies. The familiar relation of 'resemblance' is wanting, and one of its modes: 'equality, inequality.'[4] As explanation it may be suggested that (*a*) the Buddhist list claims to give not all, but only the most important, relations;[5] (*b*) resemblance is not so much an objectively valid relation as an impression of a dual or plural *object* on a subject, hence it is a species of (2); (*c*) resemblance, even if objectively valid, is not a causal relation, an 'assisting agency,' as is every *paccaya*. A.. this holds good as to 'equality.'

Two other relations—'subject-attribute,' 'container-content'[6]—indicate a standpoint that is opposed to orthodox Buddhist philosophy, viz. the positing of a substance or agent. It may be said in rejoinder that the second class of relations—'object'—involves a subject. This is true for our philosophic tradition and idiom, but not for those of Buddhism. *Ārammaṇa* (object) involves no correlate of metaphysical import, such as we are entangled with, in 'subject.' The ever-changing 'object' is regarded as the thing-which-relates (*paccaya*); the ever-changing mental aggregates are the thing-related (*paccayuppanna*).[7] The only constant factor is the concept of the specific relation.[8]

LITERATURE.—The *Tika-paṭṭhāna* and *Commentary on the Paṭṭhāna* will shortly be published by the Pali Text Society; *The Compendium of Philosophy*, tr. and ed. S. Z. Aung and C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *PTS*, London, 1910; Ledi Mahāthera, 'On the Philosophy of Relations,' *JPTS*, 1915–16, pp. 21–53, *Paccayadīpanī*, Rangoon; C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Psychology*. London, 1914, p. 194 f.

C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.

1 *Paṭṭhāna* means 'predominant cause': hence a specific form of *paccaya*.
2 State, thing, presentation, phenomenon.
3 *JPTS*, 1915–16, p. 37.
4 S. Z. Aung, *Compendium of Philosophy*, p. 42.
5 From a letter by Dr. Ledi to the writer.
6 *Dhammā*. 7 *Paṭicca-samuppāda-nayo*.
8 *Paṭṭhāna-nayo*.

1 Cf. *Points of Controversy*, pp. 294, 362.
2 *Com. on Paṭṭhāna*. 3 Ledi, *Paccayadīpanī*.
4 Cf. J. S. Mill's *System of Logic*, bk. iii. ch. xxiv.
5 *JPTS*, 1915–16, p. 26.
6 H. Bergson, *Creative Evolution*, Eng. tr., London, 1912, p. 155 f.
7 Aung, *Compendium*, p. 2. 8 *JPTS*, 1915–16, p. 25.

RELICS (Primitive and Western).—In the art. CANNIBALISM (vol. iii. p. 197 f.) it has been shown that by eating the dead or part of them the eater acquires their souls or their qualities, and thus obtains power over the soul or is united to it. It is not necessary to eat the whole man; to eat part is enough, because of the principle involved in sympathetic magic that the whole is contained in the part, or that the influence working in the whole works also in the part, although separate from it. On analogous grounds the dead man's soul or his powers or qualities may work from his body or from any fragment of it, from his clothes, or from any object or part of any object with which he has once been in contact. Any one who wears or carries these, who touches them, who prays to them, or who uses them in a variety of other ways, benefits by his action. The soul or power of the dead man is so far subject to him, or at all events aids him in varying ways. This is the explanation of the use and cult of relics, which of course are valued in proportion to the extent of the power, strength, miraculous gifts, or saintliness of the person to whom they originally belonged, as well as of the love or respect in which he was held. The supernatural virtues of relics, originating in such beliefs as have been referred to, may be traced through a series of examples in all religions and in all degrees of civilization, beginning with the lowest savages.

1. **Relics in savage life.**—(*a*) Just as enemies are eaten to obtain their qualities, so their kidney or caul fat, as a special seat of life, is abstracted and used as a lubricant for the body—a common custom among Australian tribes.[1] Similarly, relics of a dead enemy are sometimes worn for protection. In E. Africa, if enemies can unearth the body of a dead warrior, parts of it are used as charms — eyebrows, nose, little finger or toe, pudenda, etc. These are reduced to ashes, and, when not used in tatuing or mixed with food, they are sewn up in a bag and worn round the neck.[2] Among W. African tribes also parts of an enemy's body or sometimes of an ancestor are used in making a fetish—part of the brain to give wisdom, of the heart courage, the eye influence. A spirit is supposed to be lured by these to reside in the fetish.[3] The Tenimberese wear the vertebræ of an enemy round the neck as a charm in war-time.[4] Men of Mowat, New Guinea, after slaying a great warrior, wear his penis in order to increase their strength.[5] Another method is to attach the relic to the arms, etc., used in battle. Thus in Mexico, if any one could secure the middle finger of the left hand and the hair of a woman dying in childbirth, he tied these on his shield to make him brave and fierce and to blind his enemies.[6] Rubbing weapons with part of a dead man's body to give them his strength and skill is sometimes practised also, as among the Koniagas (piece of dead whaler used) and Aleuts.[7]

(*b*) With many tribes magical rites are performed with part of a dead man's body—*e.g.*, in healing, in rain-making, as love-charms, to keep off thieves, to rob a man of his strength. In one such instance practised in Queensland, where an enemy is flayed and his skin used to cover a sick man,[8] there is analogy to the use of a dead man's clothing or part of it as a relic in more civilized regions. Reference may here be made to the so-called 'hand of glory' used to produce sleep or inanition.[1] Other parts besides the hand were also used—*e.g.*, the skull to make one invisible like the ghost who owned it (Blackfoot Indians).[2] Another instance is found in the use of the pointing-stick or bone among Australian tribes to cause death. The bone is 'sung' and curses are pronounced while it is pointed in the direction of the victim. The most powerful form is made out of the femur or fibula of a dead man among the Gnanji and other tribes in the Gulf region. These tribes also attach the radius of a dead man to a spear when setting out to avenge his death. The spear cannot fail then to go straight and slay the murderer.[3] Analogous to this is the use in the Melanesian area of arrows tipped with human bone. These are much dreaded. After incantations are said over them, they acquire *mana*, or the ghost works through them. The danger of these arrows is proportionate to the power of the dead man whose bones are used.[4]

(*c*) The practice of head-hunting and scalp-taking, in which undoubtedly the purpose was to gain power over the ghost (the head being a seat of the soul [5]), illustrates these various uses of relics of the dead, and shows that the relics are vehicles of spirit-power, things through which the ghost still acts. Another illustration of the connexion of spirit and relic is found in a group of folk-tales in which a man, having stolen a skull from a churchyard, is haunted by the ghost until he returns it.[6]

(*d*) The custom of the widow carrying her husband's skull as a relic or amulet, and the widespread practice of preserving heads of relatives or ancestors for cult or magical purposes have been described in the art. HEAD (5 [*f*], [*g*]); cf. also DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Introductory), XXI. 5; CHARMS AND AMULETS (Mexican and Mayan), (1). The whole body is sometimes preserved as a relic. Herodotus relates this of the Ichthyophagi (Macrobioi), who offered sacrifices to the body for a year, afterwards removing it to another place.[7] So with the Kurnai the mummified corpse is carried about by the family, and later placed in a hollow tree.[8] Among some W. African tribes all the bones of father or mother are dried and kept in a wooden chest, for which a small house is provided, and to which son or daughter goes to hold communion with the spirit.[9] For other instances of preservation of the corpse in the family dwelling, with accompanying rites, see *ERE* iv. 418[a] (Australia), 423[a, b] (Tahiti, Muong of Tongking, Baoulé of W. Africa, Yumbos of S. America, Gilbert Islanders). In some instances the wife or nearest relative carries about the bones after they have been exhumed (Woodlark Islanders, Mosquito Indians; also ashes of the cremated body, Tacullies).[10] So among the Abipones the bones of medicine-men were carried about by the tribe in their wanderings.[11] Among the Andamanese necklaces are made of a child's bones (also of an adult's) and distributed among the relatives. The bones cure diseases and shield from attacks of evil spirits, through the intervention of the ghost, who is pleased by the respect paid to his memory.[12]

---

[1] Cf. art. ANOINTING, § 6; W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*[2], Edinburgh, 1894, pp. 380, 383.
[2] D. Macdonald, *Africana*, London, 1882, i. 104, 169.
[3] R. H. Nassau, *Fetichism in W. Africa*, London, 1904, pp. 82, 111.
[4] J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusscken Selebes en Papua*, The Hague, 1886, p. 298.
[5] *JAI* xix. [1890] 462. [6] *NR* iii. 864.
[7] *Ib.* i. 76, iii. 145.
[8] L. Fison and A. W. Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, Melbourne, 1880, p. 223.

[1] See art. HAND, § 5 (*c*).
[2] G. B. Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, New York and London, 1893, p. 238.
[3] Spencer-Gillen[b], p. 463.
[4] R. H. Codrington, *JAI* xix. 215. [5] See art. HEAD, § 5.
[6] A. Le Braz, *La Légende de la mort en Basse-Bretagne*[2], Paris, 1902, i. 289; W. Larminie, *Irish Folk-Tales and Romances*, London, 1894, p. 31.
[7] Herod. iii. 24. [8] Fison and Howitt, p. 244.
[9] Nassau, p. 159.
[10] A. C. Haddon, *FL* v. [1894] 320: *NR* i. 731, 744, 126; cf. *ERE* iii. 230[a].
[11] M. Dobrizhoffer, *Account of the Abipones*, London, 1822, ii. 284.
[12] E. H. Man, *JAI* xii. [1883] 86, 143, 145; cf. xi. [1882] 295 ff.

(*e*) Separate parts of the body are sometimes regarded as sacred.

(1) *Finger and toe.*—First joints of these, along with the nails, part of the lobe of the ear, and a lock of hair, are used to form a family fetish with which the spirits of the dead are associated. Fresh relics are added to the fetish as new relatives die. It descends by inheritance (Benga of W. Africa).[1] Finger-bones (also sometimes skulls or teeth) of important men are preserved in a shrine at the village in the Solomon Islands. The ghost haunts these relics.[2]

(2) The *arm-bone* is a sacred relic among the Mara, Anula, and other N. Australian tribes. After a year it is given to the messenger who summons to the final burial rites. The messenger carrying the relic is himself sacred, and, when he shows it to the tribesmen, they must begin their journey to the scene of the rites.[3]

(3) *Hair and teeth.*—These are used as amulets by the family priest in praying to the dead at places other than that where the skulls are stored.[4] In Florida, Solomon Islands, in the private cult of a ghost, the worshipper wears as a relic a lock of hair or a tooth of the helpful ghost when fighting; at other times it is kept in the house.[5] So also in the Loyalty Islands priests, when praying, tied to their foreheads or arms relics consisting of teeth, hair, or nails of ancestors. To these magical power was ascribed.[6]

(4) The *jaw-bones* are sometimes an important relic. They are carried by the Andaman widow along with the skull;[7] and among the Kiriwina (New Guinea) the widow suspends the jaw-bones, ornamented with beads, from her neck.[8] But the most striking use of the jaw-bones as a relic is found among the Baganda, who preserve those of kings as a precious heirloom, along with their umbilical cord, in temples, guarded by hereditary custodians. The ghost was believed to cling to them and to give help when they were duly honoured. Jaw-bones of very ancient kings were thus treasured.[9] This is undoubtedly connected with the idea that a king's or hero's body or head is a talisman upon which the safety of the tribe or state depends. They are carefully guarded lest they should be removed and disaster follow.[10]

(*f*) In savage custom certain articles are sometimes connected with the mythic life of gods and spirits, and may be regarded as relics. Of these the *churinga* of the Arunta and other Central Australian tribes form an example. Each one was associated in the Alcheringa (*q.v.*) period with a totemic ancestor and remained on earth as the abode of his spirit when his body entered the ground. Such *churinga* and those associated with reborn spirits are carefully preserved in sacred store-houses, or *ertnatulunga*. They are much venerated and are used in various sacred ceremonies. When ill, a man may send for a *churinga* of his totem, scrape off a little of it, and drink it in water, thus absorbing part of the essence of the stone endowed with attributes of the spirit. Besides being associated with ancestors, the *churinga* have 'feelings' which can be soothed by rubbing them with red ochre. The store-houses are sometimes solemnly visited, just as shrines with relics are elsewhere.[11] The Melanesian hero Qat left behind him the stump of a tree that he had cut down for a canoe, and men who cut down trees for canoes sacrifice at this stump for the preservation and power of these vessels.[12] Among the Creek Indians a powerful charm carried by war-parties consists of parts of the horns of a mythic snake; these preserve from wounds.[13] In other instances stones may be regarded as members of a divinity or supernatural being, or sacred places or instruments are thought to have been instituted or handed over to men by them, or sacred musical instruments represent a god or contain his voice.[14]

(*g*) In all parts of the world, both in the higher and in the lower culture, marks on rocks or hills are regarded as foot- or hand-prints of spirits, gods, or demons, and are in a sense their relics, which are sometimes regarded with veneration. Examples of this are found not only in savage, but also in classical, Teutonic, Celtic, Semitic, Hindu, Buddhist, and Christian folk-lore. Where divinities are mythically supposed to drive about in vehicles of one kind or another, and where their worshippers set the image of a divinity in a cart or chariot and drive it about for ritual or magical reasons, such a vehicle would be regarded also as a relic of the god himself—his property, once used by him as it is now used for his image. Examples of this ritual use occur in Teutonic religion,[1] as well as in Roman, Celtic, and Hindu cults.[2]

2. **Greek.**—(*a*) The cult of relics in Greece was inseparably connected with that of heroes, mythical or real, as that in turn was linked on to the worship of ancestral ghosts. The remains of the hero usually rested in the agora, and over them was erected the *ἡρῷον*, a kind of chapel, but sometimes the grave or *ἡρῷον* was in the temple of a divinity. The cult at the *ἡρῷον* was a cult paid to the hero's relics quite as much as to the hero himself, though these relics were generally not visible. Their presence within a town or district was a guarantee of safety. Sometimes not even parts of the hero's remains were visible. The head of Orpheus was buried in Lesbos or in Smyrna,[3] and the head of one of the Korybantes was buried at the foot of Olympus.[4] The supposed relics of Orpheus at Libethra were never to see the sun, or the city would be destroyed by a boar. When they were exposed, the river Sys (boar) came down in flood and overthrew it.[5] Nothing further need be said regarding the cult of heroes whose relics rested in a grave (see art. HEROES AND HERO-GODS [Greek and Roman]). There are occasional instances of bodily relics not buried in graves but otherwise preserved. The skin of Marsyas was suspended in the city of Celænæ—by Apollo, according to the myth.[6] The alleged shoulder-blade of Pelops was preserved in a bronze coffer in the temple of Zeus at Elis, after having been found by the fisher Damarmenos in the sea and identified by an oracle.[7] The bones of Tantalus were kept in a bronze vessel at Argos, over against the grave of Pelasgos.[8] The bones of Orpheus rested in a hydria on a pillar at Dion in Macedonia.[9] The hair of Medusa was preserved in a hydria at Tegea.[10] At the festival of Europa in Crete, where she was reverenced as Hellotis, her bones were carried in a great crown of myrtle.[11]

(*b*) When a hero died abroad, his remains were brought with pomp to the place of intended sepulture. From every city through which the remains passed priests, magistrates, and citizens thronged to meet them, or citizens were deputed to follow in mourning. Trophies, crowns, and armour were offered, chaplets were sent to adorn the urn, and finally the most honourable burial was given to the hero. Examples of this are found in the pages of Plutarch.[12] The possession of a hero's relics was important for the safety of a town or state; hence such relics were often eagerly sought for in times of danger, even when they were already possessed and honoured by another town or district. Generally an oracle

1 Nassau, p. 159.
2 R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, Oxford, 1891, p. 258.
3 Spencer-Gillen[b], p. 549 f.
4 Le Père Lambert, *Mœurs et superstitions des Néo-Calédoniens*, Noumea, 1900, p. 288 f.; cf. G. Turner, *Samoa a Hundred Years Ago and Long Before*, London, 1884, p. 342.
5 Codrington, p. 133 f. 6 Turner, p. 339.
7 Man, *JAI* xii. 86. 8 *JAI* xxi. 482.
9 J. Roscoe, *The Baganda*, London, 1911, p. 282 f.; see also art. BANTU, vol. ii. p. 357[b], and art. MOUTH, vol. viii. p. 870[a].
10 See J. G. Frazer, *GB*[3], pt. iv., *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, London, 1914, ii. 103; cf. §§ z, 4.
11 Spencer-Gillen[a], pp. 123, 132 ff., [b] pp. 150 ff., 257 ff.
12 Codrington, *Melanesians*, p. 141. 13 *ERE* iii. 403[b].
14 Cf. *ERE* iii. 407[a], v. 93[a. b], vi. 634[a], ix. 6[a. b].

1 J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, tr. J. S. Stallybrass, London, 1882–88, pp. 107, 329; Tacitus, *Germ.* 40.
2 Amm. Marcell. xxiii. 3; Greg. Tur. *de Glor. Conf.* 77.
3 Lucian, *adv. Indoct.* 11; Conon, 45.
4 Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* ii. 3. 27.
5 Paus. ix. 30. 5. 6 Herod. vii. 26.
7 Paus. v. 13. 7, vi. 22. 1; Pliny, *HN* xxviii. 4.
8 Paus. ii. 22. 2. 9 *Ib.* ix. 30. 7.
10 *Ib.* viii. 47. 5. 11 Athen. xv. 678[a].
12 *Pelopidas*, 33 f., *Demetrius*, 53, *Philopœmen*, 21.

announced that it was necessary to obtain these relics and told in oracular fashion where they were to be found, as the place of sepulture was often kept secret by the owners. Sometimes the actual discovery of their position was the result of a prodigy, as when Cimon, seeing an eagle tearing at the ground with beak and talons, was inspired to dig there, and so found the bones of Theseus. Opposition was often offered to their removal; hence they had to be taken by force or by fraud; and sometimes the hero himself resented the removal of his relics. Once obtained, they were brought with great reverence, the citizens met them with processions and sacrifices, they were duly buried, and a shrine was erected over the spot. A festival day was annually or oftener held in their honour. Many examples of this occur even in the case of the relics of mythic heroes, and probably they originated as a means of explaining local cults.

Plutarch describes at some length the translation of the relics of Theseus from Scyros to Athens.[1] Herodotus tells how an oracle made known to the Lacedæmonians that they would never conquer the Tegeans until they had obtained from the Tegean territory the bones of Orestes, which were further said to lie where two winds by hard compulsion blew and stroke answered to stroke. This proved to be a blacksmith's forge—the bellows being the winds. The smith had found there a coffin seven cubits long containing a body of equal length. Having obtained the relics, the Lacedæmonians were now always superior to the Tegeans.[2] Other instances occur in Pausanias, who says, *e.g.*, that during a plague at Orchomenus the Pythian priestess announced that the only remedy was to bring back the bones of Hesiod from Naupactus. A crow would show them the place of burial; it perched on a rock, and the bones were there found in a cleft.[3]

(*c*) In numerous instances different regions claimed to possess the relics or bones of the same hero, who had thus more graves or shrines than one. In all these particulars there is a close resemblance to the data of the Christian relic cult, but one usual aspect of that cult is lacking—the translation of part of the bodily relics instead of the whole. This occurs only in the case of the mythic shoulder-blade of Pelops.

(*d*) Frequently where very large bones—probably fossil bones of large animals—were discovered, they were assumed to be those of heroes of the past, who were thought to have been of gigantic size. The Syrians, having found such bones in the bed of the Orontes, were informed by an oracle that they were those of a hero.[4] The bones of Orestes were seven cubits long, according to Herodotus.[5]

Huge bones, alleged to be those of the giants, were also shown in temples—*e.g.*, those of Hopladamos in the temple of Asklepios at Megalopolis, and those of Geryon among the Thebans.[6]

(*e*) Besides bones, other relics of heroes were preserved and honoured. Among these weapons were conspicuous—the spear of Achilles in the temple of Athene at Phaselis, the sword of Memnon in the temple of Æsculapius at Nicomedia, the shield of Pyrrhus over the door of the sanctuary of Demeter where his death took place.[7] Of other relics, the lyre of Orpheus was preserved in more than one temple, the flute of Marsyas in the temple of Apollo at Sicyon, the sceptre of Agamemnon in Chæronea, the sandals of Helen in the temple of Athene at Iapygia, at Cyzicus the stone which served as anchor to the Argonauts, as well as their ship and those of Agamemnon, Æneas, and Theseus in other places.[8] Elsewhere chariots, thrones, necklaces, and other things belonging to the mythic personages of antiquity were shown.[9]

[1] *Thes.* 36; cf. Paus. iii. 3. 6. [2] Herod. i. 67 f.
[3] Paus. ix. 38. 3; cf. iii. 3. 6, viii. 36. 8, ix. 29. 3.
[4] *Ib.* viii. 29. 4. [5] i. 68; cf. viii. 38.
[6] Paus. viii. 32. 5; Lucian, *adv. Indoct.* 14.
[7] Paus. ii. 21. 5, iii. 3. 8.
[8] Lucian, *adv. Indoct.* 11; Apoll. Rhod. *Argon.* i. 955, ii. 928; Paus. ii. 7. 9, ix. 40. 11; Lykoph. 850 f.; Apollodorus, i. 9. 27; Procop. *de Bell. Goth.* iv. 22; Plut. *Thes.* 23.
[9] See the lists in F. Pfister, *Der Reliquienkult im Altertum*, i 331 f.

Other curious relics were the egg of Leda and the remains of the clay with which Prometheus had made man.[1] These relics were shown to admiring travellers and pilgrims, but there is little known of any cult of them. The sceptre of Agamemnon was much reverenced at Chæronea, and daily offerings were made to it.[2]

(*f*) Animal relics were also preserved—*e.g.*, the teeth of the boar of Erymanthus, the skin and teeth of the Calydonian boar, the bones of the monster to which Andromeda was exposed, and the like.[3]

(*g*) As has been seen, the possession of a hero's relics gave safety or victory to a city or district. They also promoted fruitfulness and fertility, warded off pestilence and famine, or caused rain to fall in time of drought. Many other wonders were related of them. Legends of their healing powers existed, and in many instances the sick were carried to tombs of heroes in order to be cured there by their power.[4]

3. **Egyptian.**—In Egypt the careful preservation of the mummy shows great reverence for the dead, but hardly amounts to relic-worship, as there was little actual cult of the dead, save in so far as the dead man was identified with Osiris. The cult of relics was largely associated with the worship of Osiris and with myths of his death or dismemberment. The burial-places of Osiris or of his members are mentioned in texts giving lists of 'the graves of Osiris.' The lists vary, and in some instances one member occurs as a relic in two or more places—numerous legs, the head at Abydos and at Memphis. Thus the honour of possessing some of the members was claimed by more than one city. These sanctuaries in Græco-Roman times were forty-two in number, each with its central shrine or Serapeum.

The Serapeums were so called by the Greeks 'without regard to the distinction between the tomb of a dead bull which had become an Osiris and the sepulchre of the god-man Osiris himself. But to the Egyptians they were the sanctuaries of Osiris, of him who dwells in the Underworld.'[5]

Abydos owed its importance to its possession of the head, and its symbol was a coffer containing it, surmounted by two plumes. But from the XIIth to the XVIIth dynasty the whole body was also supposed to be buried there, and an early royal tomb was regarded as that of Osiris. It became an important holy place, to which numerous pilgrimages were made, and burial near his relics was considered most advantageous. At Busiris was the backbone or 'pillar' of Osiris, the *ded*, kept there as a sacred relic. It had been discovered at Mendes and brought to Busiris.[6] Lucian also mentions the hair of Isis as an important relic preserved in Egypt.[7] Herodotus refers to a curious myth current in the Theban district regarding Perseus. Here the Chemmitæ had a temple in his honour, and here he sometimes appeared. A sandal worn by him was sometimes found after his visit. It was two cubits long, and its presence denoted prosperity for Egypt.[8] As in Greece, large bones were shown as those of giants.[9]

4. **Celtic.**—The Celtic cult of human heads and the myths respecting them show analogies with savage custom, and the presence of a hero's head in any given territory seems to have been regarded as a guarantee of safety against enemies and evil

[1] Paus. iii. 16. 1, x. 4. 4. [2] *Ib.* ix. 40. 11.
[3] *Ib.* viii. 24. 5, 46. 1; Pliny, *HN* ix. 5.
[4] Cf. Paus. ii. 38. 6.
[5] A. Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, Eng. tr., London, 1897, p. 217.
[6] *Ib.* pp. 215, 289; A. Erman, *Handbook of Egyp. Religion*, Eng. tr., do. 1907, p. 16; E. A. W. Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, do. 1904, ii. 127, *Osiris and the Egyp. Resurrection*, do. 1911, i. 212, ii. 1, 8, 13, 83.
[7] Lucian, *adv. Indoct.* 14.
[8] Herod. ii. 91. [9] Phlegon, *Mir.* 15

influences,[1] just as in classical and Christian belief about relics of hero or saint. Mythical relics of divinities seem to be referred to in a passage of the Rennes *Dindsenchas*, where the remarkable things in the Brug of Mac Ind Oc are enumerated. Among these are the monument of Dagda, the rampart of the Morrigan, the bed of Dagda, the two paps of the Morrigan, the comb and casket of Dagda's wife, the stone wall of Oengus, and many tombs and cairns of divine or heroic personages.[2] Certain things belonging to the Tuatha Dé Danann are also of the nature of mythical relics. The stone of Fal was brought out of Falias and used to roar under every king who would take the realm of Ireland. This is supposed to be identical with the present coronation stone. Out of Gorias came the unconquerable spear which Lugh had, and out of Findias the equally unconquerable sword of Nuada. Out of Murias came Dagda's miraculous cauldron. Possibly actual weapons, etc., in Ireland were thus connected with the gods as their relics,[3] like the *churinga* of ancestral spirits among the Arunta (§ 1 [*f*]).

5. **Christian.**—(*a*) *Origins of the cult.*—The early Christian use of relics, like the use of relics everywhere, may be traced to affection, which makes the survivors cling to the mortal remains of a relative or visit the place of sepulture, and to the instinctive reverence for or curiosity concerning any notable person. Added to this in the case of the early Christians was the desire to shield the remains from the malice of persecutors, while the belief in the resurrection and in the body of the living as a temple of the Holy Spirit naturally increased the reverence paid to the dead. It was also believed that spirits of saints hovered near their tombs and, later, the shrines where their relics were preserved[4]—a primitive survival which aided the reverence paid to body, relic, or tomb. Feelings of reverence for the martyr's body easily passed over to anything which had been in contact with him. In the case of the living, this principle is seen at work already in Ac 19^{12}. As to dead martyrs, an early example of the preservation of relics occurs in the case of Ignatius.

After he was eaten by the beasts, only his larger bones remained. These were carried to Antioch and there placed in a napkin, 'as an inestimable treasure left to the church by the grace which was in the martyr.'[5]

Another early instance is found in the reverence paid to a martyr's blood.

Prudentius tells how the witnesses of the martyrdom of St. Vincent (A.D. 304) dipped their linen vests in his blood, so that it might be a safeguard to their homes for generations.[6] This custom existed in still earlier years—*e.g.*, in the case of the martyrdom of St. Cyprian (A.D. 258)—and is often referred to in the *Acta* of the martyrs.

The extraordinary reverence shown in the matter of burial, care of the grave, and in the cult which went on there, especially on the anniversary of a martyr's passion, all aided the growth of the relic-cult. The Eucharist was celebrated at the tomb, often on the stone slabs which covered the body (see art. ALTAR [Christian]).

An early instance of this is found in the case of St. Polycarp. 'Taking up his bones, more precious than the richest jewels and tried above gold, we placed them where it was fitting. There, assembled as we shall have opportunity, with joy and gladness, we shall be permitted by the Lord to celebrate the anniversary of his martyrdom.'[7]

We can hardly doubt that the cult at the martyr's tomb, if it was not an actual continuation of the pagan hero-cult, was influenced by it.[8] Theodoret says that the Lord has substituted martyrs for heroes, and that churches were built over their tombs or relics just as temples were erected over tombs of heroes.[1] But, while the remains of the pagan hero generally rested in the grave and were not seen by the worshippers, the development in the Christian cultus was to a reverence of relics in reliquaries and to an occasional visible exhibition of the same.[2] Among Greeks and Romans reverence for the dead forbade the dividing of their remains, and severe laws existed against violation of tombs and bodies. These laws continued in force under the earlier Christian emperors. The prejudice against dividing the remains of the dead continued active in the Western Church, but both there and in the East the desire to possess the bodies of martyrs led to large sums being paid for them and to disputes concerning their ownership. But in the Eastern Church the division of a martyr's remains into relics began to prevail at a comparatively early period. Graves were rifled and bones stolen, and a traffic was begun in these, though the use of such relics was apparently a private one, as in the case of Lucilla (p. 654[a]). At what time precisely the dismemberment of bodies of saints began is uncertain. Possibly the practice was aided by the fact that, where martyrs were burned, nothing but a few bones and ashes remained, which might be regarded differently from a complete corpse or skeleton. But that it was already in vogue in the 4th cent. is shown by the law of Theodosius,[3] forbidding the translation of a dead body already buried, the selling (or dismembering? ['nemo martyrem distrahit']) or buying of a martyr's remains. A law of Valentinian III. speaks of bishops and clergy who were guilty of robbing graves, apparently for the purpose of obtaining relics. St. Augustine already speaks of pretended monks who went about selling relics of martyrs, if indeed they were martyrs, and refers to scandalous abuses in connexion with the cult.[4] Even in A.D. 593 Pope Gregory the Great was amazed at the Eastern custom of disturbing the remains of saints, and, when the empress Constantina asked him to send her the head of St. Paul for a new church to his memory, he refused, saying that he could not divide the bodies of the saints, and pointed to the danger of invading their tombs. It was not the Roman custom to do this. He therefore sent her a cloth which had been in contact with the body and had the same miraculous powers.[5]

Influences from the Jewish or Hebrew side are not discernible in the Christian relic-cult. Among the Hebrews any actual cult of relics of the dead was hindered by the idea of uncleanness which attached to a dead body (Nu $19^{11ff.}$) and by the disgrace which attended lack of burial. Joseph's body, after embalming (a custom which is here Egyptian, not Hebrew), was by his direction carried up from Egypt to Palestine and there buried; but, though it would naturally be treated with reverence, there is not the least evidence of a relic-cult here (Gn $50^{25f.}$, Ex 13^{19}, Jos 24^{32}). The pot of manna and Aaron's rod within the Ark of the Covenant were not worshipful relics, but in the one case a memorial of God's mercy, in the other 'a token against the children of rebellion' (Ex 16^{33}, Nu 17^{10}, He 9^{4}). The 'brazen serpent that Moses had made' appears as an object of worship down to

[1] See art. CELTS, vol. iii. pp. 288[a], 300[a].
[2] *RCel* xv. [1894] 292. [3] *Ib.* xii. [1891] 57.
[4] Council of Illiberis, can. 34; Jerome, *Ep.* 109 'ad Riparium,' *contra Vigilantium*, 8.
[5] *Relation of the Martyrdom of S. Ignatius*, 12.
[6] *Peristeph.* v.
[7] *Ep. concerning the Martyrdom of St. Polycarp*, 18; cf. Ac 8^{2}.
[8] H. Delehaye, *The Legends of the Saints*, Eng. tr., London, 1907, p. 165, maintains that the relic cultus is an outcome not of hero-worship, but of reverence for the martyr. There was a logical and parallel development of the two cults, without interdependence—'the natural outcome of an identical state of mind under similar conditions' (p. 167).
[1] *Apoc.* vi. 3. [2] Cf. Pfister, i. 328, ii. 423.
[3] ix. 7 (A.D. 386).
[4] *de Opere Monachorum*, 28, *de Civ. Dei*, xxii. 18.
[5] Greg. *Ep.* iv. 30.

Hezekiah's day, but was destroyed by him. In all likelihood it was the image of an adopted serpent-cult rather than a relic (2 K 18[4]).

(*b*) *Growth of the cult in early times.*—Apart from the usual cult of a martyr at his tomb and the celebration of the Eucharist there, or the building of a shrine or church over the tomb, the use of separate relics was at first a private custom rather than a practice officially recognized. This is suggested in the statement made in the account of St. Polycarp's martyrdom[1] that care was taken by the Roman authorities to prevent the least part of his body being taken, although *many desired to do this* and to be made partakers of his holy flesh. The Roman governor, at the suggestion of the Jews, pretended that the Christians might forsake the worship of the Crucified and begin to worship this Polycarp. The *Acta* of St. Fructuosus and his two deacons tell how the brethren collected the ashes and divided them. But he appeared in a vision to some of them and bade them restore and bury them in one place.[2] At the beginning of the 4th cent. Optatus tells how Lucilla, a Donatist, was accustomed, before receiving the Eucharist, to kiss a relic of a supposed martyr which she had procured, and for this she was rebuked by Cecilian, archdeacon of Carthage.[3] In the time of Diocletian a Roman lady, Aglae, sent her favourite steward to the East with gold and aromatics to obtain relics of the martyrs. The evidence of St. Augustine to the traffic in relics is also important as a witness to the private practice. But there is no doubt that the cult of actual bodily relics, as well as dust from the shrine, and cloths which had been in contact with a martyr's body, was becoming general in the 4th cent., by which time St. Cyril of Jerusalem († 386) also speaks of the wood of the Cross as distributed piecemeal to all the world in his day.[4] The growing cult is also proved by the desire of the pagans to prevent it—*e.g.*, in the case of St. Polycarp, perhaps also in that of the martyrs of Lyons, whose ashes were thrown into the river that no fragment (λείψανον) might remain to give hope of resurrection, and in the refusal of sepulture to martyrs in the Diocletian persecution, lest the survivors should gain courage in worshipping those whom they regarded as gods.[5] References in the Fathers to the cult at tombs show how easily that could develop into a cult of separate relics.

Gregory of Nyssa says that to touch the tomb is a blessing, and, if it be permitted to carry off dust which has settled on it, this is a great gift. As for touching the remains themselves, only those who have done so know how desirable it is and how worthy a recompense of prayer.[6] St. Chrysostom describes how the faithful gathered in crowds round the martyrs' tombs, and he praises the power of the sacred remains. Not only their bodies, but also their vestments are objects of homage.[7]

The custom of dividing the remains of a martyr is certainly found in the East in the latter half of the 4th century. It, as well as the translation of the body, was now promoted for ecclesiastical and political reasons; *e.g.*, the enriching of Constantinople with innumerable relics from other parts gave it a high standing as against the old capital of the West. Eastern Christians liberally shared their relics with others as an honour to the martyr and a widening of his circle of admirers, while it also flattered their own pride. The custom was common among the Christians of Egypt, and Chrysostom refers to it.[8] The church of Sinope presented many places with relics of Phocas.[9] Basil tells how the church of Sebaste gave relics of its forty martyrs to other districts.[10] Paulinus of Nola placed in the church which he founded there (*c.* 400) relics of various apostolic martyrs, including also some of those of St. Nazarius sent by St. Ambrose.[1]

As has been seen, the division of bodily relics was hardly known in classical Greece, or, where separate parts of a hero existed, they were still within a grave. Yet already in the East separate relics of Buddha were known and reverenced, his bones, after cremation, having been divided among eight clans or individuals, and mounds erected over them. Buddhist influences on the growing custom of dividing the remains of a saint may be regarded as remotely possible.

Theologians soon began to recognize the cult of relics and to supply reasons for it. They referred to such passages as 2 K 13[21], Sir 48[13f.], and Ac 5[15] 19[12] in support of the practice. The bodies of saints, formerly temples of the Holy Spirit, were now as worthy of reverence as their souls;[2] or, as their bodies were instruments which God had used and which were destined to share in future bliss, this suggested continued reverence to them.[3] Their bodies were endued with mystic power (δύναμις), or grace (χάρις πνευματική), and so also were their graves,[4] and this power was as much in the parts as in the whole. 'When the body is divided, the grace remains undivided.'[5] He who touched the bones of a martyr received a share of the sanctification (ἁγιασμός) from the grace dwelling in them.[6] This power was already inherent in saints while alive, as their alleged miracles showed, and it was even then apt to overflow upon other objects, which could produce wonderful effects also (Ac 5[15] 19[12]). If, then, argues Chrysostom, clothes, handkerchiefs, and even the shadow of saints on earth had wrought such miracles, a blessing is certainly derived from the relics of saints by those who devoutly touch them. The relic, as containing supernatural grace or power, was like a spring which overflows and never grows dry, or like a light always sending out beams, but never losing the power of shining, and this power passes over to all persons or things brought into contact with the relic.[7] These views, apart from their theological aspect, differ little from the theory implicit in savage magic, as far as that concerns the use of relics.

Lucius points out that the power in the relic forms a kind of ponderable stuff, and gives as an example the overflowing of oil in a lamp or vessel near a martyr's tomb, as if something material had passed into it from the remains. Such oil had miraculous virtues equalling those of the relic.[8]

A clear distinction was drawn, however, between worship paid to God and reverence to the relics of a saint. This was already recognized in the case of St. Polycarp's relics. Christians worshipped (σέβεσθαι, προσκυνοῦμεν) Jesus Christ, but loved (ἀγαπῶμεν) the martyrs and their relics; they did not worship Polycarp, as the pagans avowed.[9] 'We honour the martyrs,' says St. Augustine, 'but do not worship (*colamus*) them.'[10] St. Jerome, in contending against Vigilantius for the use of relics, maintains that relics are not worshipped, but honoured. 'We honour (*honoramus*) the relics of the martyrs, that we may worship (*adoremus*) Him whose martyrs they are.'[11] Popular practice probably went farther; and even now, in the opinion of leading Roman Catholic theologians, the supreme worship of *latria* may be accorded to relics of the Cross, the nails, the garments of the Saviour.

(*c*) *Variety of relics.*—A relic is first and foremost

1 § 17. 2 *DCB* ii. 572.
3 Optatus, *de Schism. Donat.* i. 16.
4 Cyril, *Cat.* xiii. 4. 5 Eus. *HE* viii. 6 f.
6 *PG* xlvi. 735, 740.
7 *Expos. in Ps.* ix. 3, cxv. 5, *Hom.* 8, 'ad pop. Ant.
8 *Laud. Mart. Æg.* 1. 9 *PG* xl. 308 f.
10 *In Quadr. Mart.* 8.

1 Paulin. *Ep.* xxxii. 17.
2 St. John Damasc. *de Fide Orthodoxa*, iv. 15.
3 St. Aug. *de Cura pro Mortuis*, 5.
4 St. Cyril of Jerus. *Cat.* xviii. 16; St. Chrysos. *in St. Ignat. Mart.*
5 Theodoret, *Græc. Affect. Curatio*, 8.
6 St. Basil, *Hom. in Ps. 115.*
7 St. Basil, *Hom. in mart. Julittam*, 2; St. Chrysos. *in Sanctos Maccab.*, hom. i. 1.
8 *Die Anfänge des Heiligenkults in der christlichen Kirche* p. 133.
9 *Mart. of St. Polycarp*, 17.
10 *Sermo* 101, 'de Diversis.' 11 *Ep.* cix. 1.

the bodily remains of a holy person—the whole of these or any part of them, even the most minute (*tantillæ reliquiæ*, in the phrase of St. Gregory of Nazianzus).[1] In later theology a division as far as rank was concerned was made between different parts of the body as relics. *Reliquiæ insignes* include the whole body, or its chief parts—head, arm, leg; *reliquiæ non insignes* include other parts, and these are again divided into *notabiles* (hand, foot) and *exiguæ* (teeth, fingers).[2] As already mentioned, the blood of a martyr was also a sacred relic, and the *Acta* describe how it was collected in napkins, sponges, etc., which were preserved as talismans. But anything which had been possessed by, or had been in contact with or in proximity to, a holy person or his relics might in turn become a relic. Among these were his books, his instruments of torture, his garments, of which St. Chrysostom says:

'How great is the power of the saints. For the homage of Christians is directed not only to their words and bodies, but also to their vestments.'[3]

Earth and dust from graves, coffins, and shrines; oil from lamps hanging there; pieces of cloth (*brandea*) laid for a time upon them, were all as efficacious as the remains themselves, as far as miraculous power was concerned. Flowers which had touched a relic were also reverenced. Many names were in use for *reliquiæ* besides the general term—e.g., *exuviæ*, *busta*, *beneficia*, *lipsana*, *insignia*, *cineres*, *pignora* or *xenia sanctorum*, etc.

A change similar to that of the elements in consecration was supposed to have taken place in pieces of cloth after contact with the relic. Pope Gregory the Great is said to have shown this to some sceptical Greeks; he cut such a piece of cloth, and blood flowed from it.[4]

Among other relics those associated with our Lord naturally occupied a high place, although in most cases (like many other relics) they were fictitious. The alleged discovery of the Cross was accompanied by a miracle, and a few years later the holy wood of the Cross had almost filled the whole world.[5] Paulinus says that the part of it kept at Jerusalem gave off fragments of itself without diminishing, having imbibed this power from the blood of that Flesh which underwent death, but saw not corruption.[6]

Calvin jeers at the quantity of wood in the relics of the Cross, so much that three hundred men could not carry them. But G. Rohault de Fleury maintains that existing relics would measure 5,000,000 cubic millimetres, whereas the whole Cross contained at least 180,000,000—an ingenious calculation. But was the 'true' Cross that on which our Lord was crucified? Honorat Nicquet, writing of the multiplication of the wood of the Cross, assimilates the latter to the Body of Christ in the Eucharist.[7]

The alleged letter of Christ to Abgarus preserved Edessa frequently from attack in the 4th century. The pillar to which our Lord was bound, the crown of thorns, the spear, sponge, and reed, the linen clothes, the stone of the sepulchre, and earth from the sepulchre or from the Holy Land, even our Lord's footprints, were all relics from the 4th cent. onwards, and are referred to in pilgrim itineraries and other writings. Later known relics are the much-multiplied *sudarium*, the boards of the manger in the church of S. Maria Maggiore in Rome brought from Bethlehem in the 7th cent. by Pope Theodorus, and the Holy Coat of Trèves, existing also at about twenty other towns. The nails of the Cross, found with it by St. Helena, became also much multiplied. Many nails, however, are said merely to contain filings of the originals, though they are usually alleged to be genuine.

1 *Orat.* 1, 'contra Julian.'
2 H. J. Wetzer and B. Welte, *Kirchenlexicon*[2], Freiburg i. Br., 1882–1901, x. 1039.
3 *Hom.* 8, 'ad pop. Ant.'
4 *Ep.* iv. 30.
5 St. Cyril, *Cat.* iv. 10, x. 19, xiii. 4.
6 *Ep.* 31.
7 *Titulus sanctæ crucis*, new ed., Antwerp, 1870, vol. i. ch. 25.

Dust and earth from Palestine were most efficacious against demons, and were brought thence in large quantities and sold at high prices.[1] Some relics of the Passion and the like may at first have been part of the properties used in liturgical mystery-plays.

Relics of the Virgin are mentioned from the 6th and 7th centuries onwards. Among the early relics were a stone on which she had rested on her journey to Bethlehem, the pitcher and bucket which had been near her at the time of the Annunciation, and the stool on which she then sat, articles of her clothing, her girdle, and her headband.[2] These and the like were to be seen in Jerusalem, Constantinople, and other Eastern cities. But even at this period relics of the Virgin were known in Western churches or in the possession of private individuals.[3] Probably the legend of the Assumption prevented the existence of actual bodily relics, though a lock of her hair was treasured by Charlemagne, and her milk was a favourite relic all over Western Europe.

Innumerable relics of the Apostles came into existence as the cult increased, and at first none were so popular as the chains which had bound St. Peter and St. Paul. Chrysostom mentions St. Paul's chains, and in the 6th cent. they existed at Rome.[4] Those of St. Peter were given to the empress Eudoxia on her visit to Jerusalem in 439, and one of them was presented by her to her daughter, wife of Valentinian III., at Rome, who built the church of S. Pietro in Vincoli in its honour. Filings from these chains enclosed in keys or crosses were greatly valued, and Pope Gregory the Great was accustomed to send keys containing them as gifts.[5]

(*d*) *Abuses of the relic-cult.* — Many of these relics were fabulous, but, as the reverence for them increased, it was natural that innumerable new ones should be brought to light. The inventories in churches and references in religious literature during the Middle Ages show the extent and the absurdity of the cult. Relics of the patriarchs and saints of the OT became common from the 4th and 5th centuries onwards. Their graves and places connected with their lives were pointed out without hesitation, and are mentioned in itineraries[6]—*e.g.*, the rock smitten by Moses, the cave of Elijah, the place where David composed the Psalms. Among relics were Moses' rod and the horns attributed to him, parts of the burning bush, the bones of Isaac, hairs of Noah's beard, fragments of the Ark, soot from the furnace of the Three Children, portions of manna, Job's dung-heap, feathers from Gabriel's wings, and St. Michael's buckler. Equally absurd were the breath of St. Joseph, the Virgin's milk, our Lord's tears,[7] sweat, blood, tooth, even the *præputium Christi* (in several churches),[8] the wood of the three tabernacles which St. Peter proposed to make, and the corner-stone rejected by the builders! In vain were laws passed regulating the cult. The passion for relics became greater still, and the trade in them increased as the centuries passed. From at least the 4th cent. many burial-places of Scriptural and ecclesiastical saints and of martyrs were alleged to have been discovered by means of dreams and visions, in which the dead man appeared and revealed the

1 Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, xxii. 8. 6.
2 See refl. in Lucius, p. 467.
3 Greg. Tur. *de Gloria Mart.* i. 9. 11.
4 *In Eph. Hom.* viii. 1; Greg. *Ep.* iii. 30.
5 *Ep.* vi. 6, vii. 28.
6 P. Geyer, *Itinera Hierosolymitana Sæc. iv.–viii.*, Vienna, 1898 (*CSEL* xxxix.).
7 See J. B. Thiers, *Dissert. sur la sainte larme de Vendôme*, Paris, 1669.
8 A. V. Müller, *Die 'hochheilige Vorhaut Christi' im Kult und in der Theologie der Papstkirche*, Berlin, 1907. For the extraordinary mystical ideas associated with this relic see also O. Stoll, *Das Geschlechtsleben in der Völkerpsychologie*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 684 ff.

place of sepulture in order that a *martyrium* might be built or due honour paid to him. Dream discovery of a saint's remains still occurs now and then.[1] Fraudulent persons early took advantage of this and produced bodies of alleged martyrs. On the other hand, the ghost of a thief whose tomb was honoured as a martyr's appeared to St. Martin at his prayer and avowed his real character and crimes.[2] Pilgrims to the East and to the holy places returned with such relics as water from the Jordan and earth from the Sepulchre, or with false relics imposed upon them in return for large payments. At a later period the Crusades, especially after the sack of Constantinople, gave an immense impetus to the traffic in relics, by bringing them from the East and by multiplying in the West relics already known in the East. Demand created an extensive supply, and traffic in relics became one of the greatest scandals of the pre-Reformation period, while imposture was freely practised upon credulous and ignorant people.[3] Although prohibitions were issued by 12th and 13th cent. councils, bishops sometimes permitted the existence of avowedly false relics, on the ground that to undeceive the people was not expedient—an argument still in use. Theft of famous relics was not uncommon and was soon regarded as praiseworthy—*e.g.*, when the people of one district or the members of one monastery wished to gain possession of a relic from another.[4] Hesychius stole the body of St. Hilarion after his death in Cyprus in 371, and carried it to Palestine, but the Cypriotes maintained that his spirit remained with them. Stolen relics still worked miracles. In other cases actual combats for the possession of relics took place, as when the people of Tours and Poitiers fought for the body of St. Martin.[5] The desire for relics, and for the marvellous in connexion with them, led also to the reduplication or multiplication of the same relic in different places—numerous bodies, heads, legs, etc., of the same saint; many holy shrouds, coats, and the like; innumerable thorns from the crown of thorns, and pieces of the Cross. Indeed scarcely any relic did not exist in duplicate or more.[6] Credulity and pious fraud, as well as intentional imposture, were responsible for many of these, though theologians sometimes explained them by a miraculous multiplication through divine intervention.[7] Others maintain that each relic is only part of a whole, conventionally described as entire, or that similar relics are those of different saints of the same name. These explanations do not cover all the cases, nor even the more important of them. Many relics, again, were admitted to be facsimiles of an original, and, having been brought into contact with it, are now possessed of all its miraculous virtues.

Some attempt was made by authority to distinguish false relics from true. The 5th Council of Carthage (A.D. 398) ordered bishops to remove altars raised over relics without authentic proof. Individual saints imposed tests, or notable ecclesiastics like Pope Gregory the Great[1] insisted upon the assurance of authenticity. Hence arose the custom of testing relics. Those possessed by Arians and found in Arian churches were subjected to the ordeal by fire by order of the Spanish Council of Cæsar Augustus in 592. This custom was common in later centuries, and liturgical forms were used in connexion with the test.[2] Before the 15th cent. the traffic in relics was forbidden, as well as the showing of them outside a reliquary and the stealing of them. No new relics were to be venerated without due authority, and bishops were to prevent fictions and false documents about relics from being circulated.[3] Where the cult was so deeply rooted, and where relics, whether true or false, had already wrought miracles, not even the highest authority could destroy popular belief in them. But, as their abuse was one of the grievances of the Reformers, the Council of Trent tried to regulate some of its more notorious aspects—their superstitious use, the association of filthy lucre with them, and the degradation of the visitation of relics into revels—while no new miracles were to be acknowledged or new relics recognized unless the bishop of the diocese had taken cognizance of and approved them.

(*e*) *Relics in churches.*—The custom of building a chapel over a martyr's body gave rise in the time of Constantine to that of building churches over tombs of great apostles or martyrs. From the middle of the 4th cent. it also became customary to build a church in memory of a martyr and to bring to it his relics, or to place such relics in an existing church. This gave rise to continual translation of relics. The translation, whether of whole or of partial remains, was effected with great reverence and pomp. It first occurred in the East, an early example being that of the remains of SS. Andrew, Luke, and Timothy to Constantinople. The Westerns for some time shrank from meddling with bodies, once they were buried, although the remains of St. Stephen are found first at Calama and then at Hippo in St. Augustine's time, and even in 593 Pope Gregory the Great wonders much at the Eastern custom.[4] Even when the West accepted the custom, certain restrictions were imposed; *e.g.*, the sanction of the prince or bishop and permission of a sacred synod had to be obtained, as a council of Metz (813) appointed. In general, translation came to be preceded by miraculous circumstances attending the discovery of remains. When they were brought to the place appointed for them, crowds of all ranks came to welcome them and to accompany the procession with lamps and candles. The relics were enclosed in costly wrappings or in precious receptacles. Similar joyous scenes marked their passage through towns on the way. Usually the day was marked by a yearly commemoration besides the day of the saint. An early example of the manner of translation—that of the body of Phocas to Constantinople—is given by St. Chrysostom,[5] while a recent instance is that of the remains of St. Aureliana from the Catacombs of Rome to Cincinnati in 1870.

As the custom spread, the idea arose that no church was complete without relics. Traces of this are found in the 4th cent.,[6] and soon relics were carefully sought for to place in new churches. Where none could be obtained nearer, application was made to Rome in the 7th and later centuries, and a cloth (*brandeum*) consecrated by being held

[1] Sozomen, vii. 21; *Chron. Pasch.*, A.D. 406; Theod. Lector, ii. 2; E. Le Blant, *Les Songes et les visions des martyrs*, Rome, 1892; P. Saintyves, *Les Saints, successeurs des dieux*, p. 32.

[2] Sulp. Sev. *Vita S. Mart.* 8.

[3] J. Guiraud, 'Le Commerce des reliques au commencement du ixe siècle,' *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, Paris, 1892, p. 73 f., 'Les Reliques romaines au ixe siècle,' *Questions d'hist. et d'arch. chrét.*, p. 235 ff. An association of 'contrebandeurs en ossements sacrés' existed in Paris. Early examples of imposture are given by Augustine, *de Opere Monachorum*, 28; Greg. Great, *Ep.* iv. 30; Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* ix. 6.

[4] E. Le Blant, *Le Vol des reliques, passim.*

[5] Greg. Tur. *Hist. Franc.* i. 43.

[6] See the Second Book of Homilies of the Church of England, hom. xiv. pt. 3; C. de Plancy, *Dict. critique des reliques, passim.*

[7] J. Ferrand, *Disquisitio reliquiaria sive de suscipiendo et suspecto earumdem numero reliquiarum quæ in diversis ecclesiis servantur multitudine*, Lyons, 1647.

[1] *Ep.* xi. 64.

[2] J. Mabillon, 'de Probatione Reliquiarum per ignem,' *Vetera Analecta*, Paris, 1723, p. 568.

[3] H. Siebert, *Beiträge zur vorreformatorischen Heiligen- und Reliquienverehrung*, Freiburg i. Br., 1907, p. 53.

[4] *Ep.* iii. 30.

[5] Chrysos. *in Phocam*, 1; cf. Jerome, *c. Vigilant.* 5.

[6] Ambrose, *Ep.* xxii. 1; Paulinus, *Vita Ambros.* 29.

over the relics of SS. Peter and Paul was sent. Old churches were also supplied with relics. Consecration of a church with relics under the altar was made obligatory by the 2nd Council of Nicæa (787). As the altar had previously been built over the body, so now relics were placed under it, or in a cavity within it. There was also a reference to the 'souls underneath the altar' of Rev 6^9. Both in the Eastern and in Roman Catholic churches the consecration of a church is attended by the solemn placing of relics in the altar. The cavity in the altar is known as the *sepulchrum*, *loculus*, or *confessio*; and in the Latin Church it must contain relics of two or, since 1906, one martyr.[1]

In the Eastern Church *antiminsia*, or corporals, consecrated at the dedication of a church, are used, but several may be hallowed at the same time. Relics are pounded up with a fragrant gum; oil is poured over them by the bishop, and, distilling on to the corporals, is supposed to give them all the virtue of the relics. The Eucharist must be celebrated on them for seven days, after which they are sent forth as they are wanted. In use this corporal is spread out on the altar at the beginning of the liturgy. It is practically a portable altar.[2]

Relics were sometimes placed at doors of churches, where the faithful kissed them, and in various parts of the architecture of the building, and were also contained in precious reliquaries, in cupboards on the left or right of the altar, or in sacristies. They were also carried in processions, and were exhibited to the faithful, who were blessed with them, generally on a specific day. Numerous pilgrims flocked to the place for this purpose. Booklets which described the relics, and also aided the pilgrims to follow the ceremonies at their public exhibition, were for sale, and contained instructions as to the indulgences to be obtained.

Receptacles of relics, or reliquaries, had a variety of names (*arca*, *capsa*, *capsella*, *pixidula*, *sanctuarium*, *scrinium*, *theca*) and were made of different materials—wood, metal, bone, ivory, glass. Many of them were richly ornate. Their form was equally various. Some were made to imitate a church, house, ship, tower, or sarcophagus. Some had the form of a cross, others of a statuette, a bust, or a medallion. Still others were shaped to resemble their contents—foot, head, etc. Besides reliquaries for use in churches, a smaller kind was made for carrying on the person.

(*f*) *Customs in connexion with relics.*—Relics being so sacred and powerful, an early custom arose of taking oaths upon them. As prescribed by Dagobert in 630, the compurgators placed their hands on the *capsa* containing the relic. The accused put his hands above theirs, asking God so to help him and the relics under the hands which he holds that he may not incur guilt in the matter of which he is questioned.[3] Another custom was that of obtaining a saint's advice by laying on the altar where his relics were a letter with a blank sheet for the answer, which was sometimes given in writing, sometimes not at all.[4] There is some analogy here with modern methods of spirit-writing. The assistance of saints was also thought to be obtained at ecclesiastical councils by the presence of their relics.[5] While at first burial near a martyr's grave was avoided, it soon became a matter of strong desire to be interred near the relics of a saint or martyr. St. Augustine wrote a treatise in support of the practice.[6]

(*g*) *Relics and miracles.*—The veneration of relics soon led to the belief in them as powerful to work miracles. Being associated with the spirit of a dead saint or filled with his supernatural grace, they were naturally supposed to possess such miraculous powers as he had possessed in his lifetime. A comparatively early instance of this, but one which shows that the belief was already strongly grounded, is found in St. Augustine's account of the relics of St. Stephen first at Calama and then at Hippo. He mentions as many as seventy accounts of such miracles already written within two years after the coming of the relics. He describes the miracles as countless, and gives cases of the cure of blindness and other diseases even through flowers which had come into contact with the relics, of cures of gout, fistula, stone, and broken limbs, and of restoration of the dead to life. Augustine's theory is that the martyrs died for the faith of Christ and can now ask these benefits from Him. The miracles attest the faith which preaches the resurrection of the flesh to eternal life, whether God acts directly, producing effects in time, or by His servants, perhaps using their spirits as He uses men who are still in the body, or by means of angels—at the prayer of the martyrs. Augustine also refers to miracles wrought through relics as common in his time—*e.g.*, through those of Protasius and Gervasius.[1] Other early instances are the miracles ascribed to the relics of St. Cyprian by Gregory Nazianzen,[2] and those recorded by St. Gregory of Tours, especially in connexion with the relics of St. Martin or with dust from the tomb of the martyrs of Lyons.[3] He also tells how a nail of the Cross thrown into the Adriatic by Queen Radegund made it safe ever after for navigators. Pope Gregory the Great, whose veneration for relics was extreme, cites many miracles by means of relics in his *Epistles*. Where relics were possessed by churches and wrought miracles, it became common in the 5th cent. to hang up models of limbs which had been cured—a practice continued long after. At the translation of relics miracles were matters of frequent occurrence, as well as at their exhibition, and at the shrines of famous saints. From the 6th cent. onwards, with increasing force during the later Middle Ages, the credulity of the people increased, and miracles by means of relics, genuine or false, or by means of articles in contact with them, or at the shrines which contained them, were multiplied and were frequently of the most absurd nature. Not only were the sick healed, the blind given sight, the dead raised, and demons tormented or chased away, but relics cured or kept off poison, had power over storms, thunder, rain or floods, gave victory when carried in battle, or kept enemies at a distance,[4] overcame robbers, and supplied succour of every kind. See also art. CHARMS AND AMULETS (Christian), vol. iii. p. 427[b].

While miracle-working relics in any given church or monastery were usually welcomed as a source of revenue from the crowds which flocked there, these crowds were sometimes a source of annoyance to the course of monastic life.[5]

Relics were worn on the person as amulets from early times, usually hanging in a case from the neck or in rings. They warded off evil through the union of the wearer with the saint whose relics were worn. Warriors placed them in the hilts of their swords; kings wore them in their crowns and regalia, or parts of crowns were themselves made of most sacred relics—*e.g.*, the fillet of the iron crown of Lombardy from one of the nails of the Cross. St. Thomas Aquinas discusses the propriety of wearing relics round the neck as a protection, and approves of the practice, provided ostentation and superstition be avoided.[6] This opinion was challenged by other theologians.

[1] For the ceremony see Remigius of Auxerre, *de Ded. Eccl.* 9; *Pontifical of Egbert* (Surtees Soc. Publications, vol. xxvii.], London, 1853; E. Martène, *de Antiquis Ecclesiæ Ritibus*, Venice, 1783; *ERE* i. 341 f. and works cited there; *CE*, *s.v.* 'Consecration'; L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*[4], Eng. tr., London, 1903, p. 399 ff.

[2] J. M. Neale, *Hist. of the Holy Eastern Church*, London, 1850, pt. i. Introd. p. 186. For the office used see J. Goar, *Euchologia*, Paris, 1647, p. 648.

[3] *Capitularia Regum Franc.* i. 60.

[4] H. Rückert, *Culturgesch. des deutschen Volkes*, Leipzig, 1853–54, ii. 268.

[5] Martène, iii. 1, 10.

[6] Aug. *de Cura pro Mortuis Gerenda.*

[1] *de Civ. Dei*, xxii. 8 f. [2] *Orat.* xviii.

[3] *de Gloria Mart.* i. 50 and *passim.*

[4] Cf. Basil, *Hom. in SS xl. Mar.* 8; Greg. Naz. *Hom.* xviii.

[5] J. C. L. Gieseler, *A Compendium of Ecclesiastical History*[4] Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1848–56, ii. 311.

[6] *Summa*, II. ii. qu. 96, art. 4.

(*h*) *Opposition to the cult of relics.*—Cultured pagans taunted the Christians with the cult of the relics of martyrs—men 'hateful to gods and men'—and Julian inveighs with scorn against the practices in connexion with the tombs and relics of martyrs and the worship of the wood of the Cross. While some of the leaders of Christian thought protested against the extravagances of the cult, most of them admitted its value. Protests arose, however, from time to time against the whole practice. Vigilantius, a Spanish presbyter, wrote against the cult and its superstitions, and describes it as idolatry and insanity. His work is known only from the violent reply of St. Jerome, who maintains that the souls of martyrs hover round their relics, but that Christians neither worship nor adore but only venerate relics of martyrs, in order the better to adore the martyrs' God[1]—a statement hardly true of the popular attitude. In connexion with the iconoclastic controversy, the emperor Constantine Copronymus desired the abolition of the cult of relics, though the iconoclasts generally had no objection to them. Many relics were thrown into the sea, and popular feeling was aroused by the loss of such as had been highly valued. At a later date, in the West, Claude, bishop of Turin (*c.* 817), desired to see religion freed from superstition, and inveighed against the use of relics, intercession of saints, and pilgrimages to their shrines, while he caused the destruction of relics in his diocese. He was condemned by a local synod. In his work, *de Pignoribus Sanctorum*, Guibert, abbot of Nogent († 1124), attacked the worship of saints and relics, and its many anomalies and absurdities—*e.g.*, reduplication of relics—and, in particular, he proved the imposture of the tooth of Christ, alleged to be possessed by the monks of St. Medard.[2] Among the mediæval mystic groups faith in relics was sometimes set aside, though not by all. The pantheistic mystics of the 13th cent. scoffed at the reverence paid to the bones of martyrs.[3] Individual Reformers (*e.g.*, Wyclif) and reforming groups before the Reformation (Waldenses and Lollards) were opposed to all practices connected with relics, and the Reformers themselves indignantly repudiated their use. Calvin wrote a *Traité des reliques*, in which he pours contempt upon them and those who believe in them. The Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England describe the Roman doctrine concerning them as 'a fond thing, vainly invented' (art. 22), and the Second Book of Homilies (1563) is still more emphatic. Since the 16th cent. the use of relics has been abandoned in all Reformed churches. Nevertheless, so strong is the instinctive feeling of reverence for anything pertaining to a great man that various things belonging to famous divines—letters, books, apparel, furniture, and the like—are carefully treasured, and are objects of interest and of some degree of reverence by both Protestant and Catholic admirers. Further, in all Protestant and Roman Catholic countries relics of interesting personages of the past, apart from saints, are often treasured with every sign of interest and respect.

The modern Roman Catholic doctrine of relics is based on that of the earlier theologians already cited, and is set forth by the Council of Trent. The bodies of saints and martyrs were the temples of the Holy Spirit and members of Christ, and will be raised to eternal life. Therefore the faithful should venerate them. Through them benefits are bestowed on men by God. Hence those who deny the power of relics and the folly of the visitation of them are to be condemned. Reference is also made by the Catechism of Trent to such passages as Ac 5^{15} 19^{12}, 2 K 13^{21}, Sir 48^{14}. J. H. Newman finds in the view which Christianity takes of matter as susceptible of grace, and in the fact that matter as well as spirit recovered through the Incarnation, Atonement, and Resurrection what it had lost as a result of the Fall, a sufficient reason for the sanctity of relics.[1] Although modern Roman Catholic theologians deprecate the extravagances of the relic-cult, they find some justification, *e.g.*, for keeping up that of doubtful relics in the scandal which might be given to ignorant minds long accustomed to regard them with devotion, if they were removed. Whether relics are authentic or fictitious, if the prayer made before them is sincere, that is all that matters.[2]

6. Conclusion. — Although reverence for the remains of the dead or the treasuring of some of their more personal belongings is natural and instinctive, the preservation of these remains in whole or in part for veneration, or as incentives to greater faithfulness and goodness, or as reminders of the example offered by the lives of their whilom owners, is a forcing of that instinct beyond its legitimate place. There is not a little that is barbaric in the dividing up into larger or smaller fragments of the mortal remains of a saint and disseminating them over a wide area even for purposes of veneration. The admitted great uncertainty which surrounds any relic, the certainty of impudent fraud in the case of many, the gross superstitions and abuses to which they have given rise and which have attended the cult from early times, far outweigh any positive good which they may ever have done.

There are some curious likenesses between the classical and the Christian cult of relics. Circumstances attending the discovery and translation of relics, the rivalry of different places for them, fighting for or theft of them, falsifying and reduplication, the respect shown to them, the miracles and prodigies associated with them, the safety expected from them, are instances of these.[3] But, while the influence of the pagan cult of relics upon the origin of the Christian cult may be affirmed, most of these likenesses owe their existence to similar results following from similar conditions, rather than to influence from the pagan side. There is also the fundamental difference already noted—viz. that pagan relics of heroes were almost invariably enclosed in a tomb, were not divided up, and were not visible, while those of saints were at an early date dismembered, enclosed in reliquaries, and made visible to the faithful.

LITERATURE.—Besides works on separate relics of note, see J. Calvin, *Traité des reliques*, ed. E. Fick and G. Revilliod, Geneva, 1863 (reprint of ed. of 1599); *CE*, art. 'Relics,' xii. 734 ff.; *Cornhill Magazine*, xix. [1869], three artt. on 'Ecclesiastical Relics' by 'the Undeveloped Collector'; *DCA*, art. 'Relics,' ii. 1768 ff.; H. Delehaye, *Les Origines du culte des martyrs*, Brussels, 1912; Guibert of Nogent, *de Pignoribus Sanctorum*, in *PL* clvi. 607 ff.; J. Guiraud, 'Les Reliques romaines au ixe siècle,' *Questions d'hist. et d'archéologie chrétienne*, Paris, 1906, p. 235 ff.; J. de Launoy, *de Cura Ecclesiæ pro Sanctis et Sanctorum Reliquiis*, Paris, 1660; E. Le Blant, *Le Vol des reliques*, do. 1886; A. Luchaire, 'Le Culte des reliques,' *Revue de Paris*, 1900, p. 195; P. E. Lucius, *Die Anfänge des Heiligenkults in der christlichen Kirche*, ed G. Anrich, Tübingen, 1904; L. F. A. Maury, *Hist. des religions de la Grèce antique*, Paris, 1857, ii. 52 f.; W. Palmer, *Dissertations on Subjects relating to the 'Orthodox' or 'Eastern-Catholic' Communion*, London, 1853, p. 261 ff.; P. Parfait, *La Foire aux reliques*, Paris, 1879; F. Pfister, *Der Reliquienkult im Altertum*, Giessen, 1909–12 (in *RVV*); J. A. S. Collin de Plancy, *Dictionnaire critique des reliques*, Paris, 1821; P. Saintyves, *Les Saints, successeurs des dieux*, do. 1907; E. A. Stückelberg, *Reliquien und Reliquiare*, Zürich, 1896.

J. A. MACCULLOCH.

RELICS (Eastern).—The worship, adoration, or veneration of relics is widely diffused in Asia, and is not wholly confined to the adherents of any one religion, although chiefly practised by Buddhists. The Tridentine definition of relics as comprising '(1) the bodies of the saints, or portions of them, (2) such objects as the saints made use of during their lives, or as were used at their martyr-

[1] *Ep. cix.*, 'ad Riparium,' *c. Vigilant.* viii. 4. 7.
[2] *PL* clvi. 667 ff.; Gieseler, iii. 335.
[3] R. M. Jones, *Studies in Mystical Religion*, London, 1909, p. 187.

[1] *An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine*, London, 1845, p. 370 f.
[2] *CE* xii. 738; L. Duchesne, *Fastes épiscopaux de l'ancienne Gaule*, Paris, 1894–1900, i. 340.
[3] Cf. the examples in §§ 2, 3, and 5, and also the details in Saintyves, p. 28 ff.

dom,'[1] applies to non-Christian Asiatic usage. Class (1) is known to the Buddhists as *śarīrika*, 'body-relics,' while class (2) is termed *paribhogika*, 'objects used,' the term 'used' being understood in a wide sense as connoting 'closely connected with.'

In Asia relic-worship rests on the same foundations as in Europe. The relics may be venerated simply as memorials of the sainted dead, serving, like images, as points of attachment for the reverence and devotion of the pious; or they may be regarded as intrinsically possessing magical powers which enable them to work miracles. The treasuring of relics as memorials or souvenirs of the dead is a natural exhibition of emotion to which no objection can be taken, but, when the relics are believed to possess intrinsic magical properties, the veneration of them passes into rank superstition, open to every kind of abuse and fraud. The transition from the sentimental to the superstitious veneration of relics invariably takes place in all countries, so that the innocent sentiment is forgotten while the superstition develops a vast mythology. The Buddhists further hold that the honouring of relics is an act of the highest merit, conferring much personal benefit on the worshipper. In this article we propose to give a sketch of the most prominent features of relic-worship as practised in Asia throughout the ages by the followers of non-Christian religions.

1. Buddhism. — The Buddhist cult from the earliest age of Buddhism, as it is known to us from the most ancient remains and documents until the present day, has always been characterized by the prominence of relic-worship. The practice is older even than the historical religion of Gautama Buddha, and may be traced back to the time of the half-mythical 'former Buddhas' about whom so little has been ascertained. A great tower, or *stūpa*, a few miles from Śrāvastī enshrined the relics of Kāśyapa Buddha, the predecessor of Gautama. The relics comprised his entire body. That statement seems to indicate that in the remote times when Kāśyapa lived burial rather than cremation was the approved method for disposing of the remains of a notable saint.[2] The erection of the *stūpa* was ascribed to Aśoka, but his building must have been raised on the site of a more ancient memorial.

A footprint reputed to be that of Kāśyapa Buddha was venerated at a place to the west of the Indus.[3] Hiuen Tsiang saw a miraculous image of the same 'former Buddha' to the north-west of the Bodhi-tree. The pilgrims also note the commemoration of the birth-places of Krakuchanda and Kanakamuni (Konāgamana), the other semi-historical 'former Buddhas,' who preceded Kāśyapa. Aśoka, in or about 255 B.C., enlarged for the second time the *stūpa* of the last-named saint, and almost certainly that building must have contained relics of his body. Other notices of a similar kind exist. The inference is reasonable that relic-worship had been established as an element in the cult of the 'former Buddhas' centuries before the appearance of Gautama Buddha in the world. The religion of the 'former Buddhas,' whatever it was, seems to have arisen in the sub-Himālayan plain lying to the north of the modern Bastī District in the United Provinces. The origin of Buddhist relic-worship, consequently, may be assigned to the same region.

Relic-worship as practised by the followers of Gautama Buddha began with the proceedings connected with his funeral, when the relics of his burnt body were collected by the Brāhman named Droṇa and distributed among eight 'kings.' Droṇa himself retained the vessel in which the fragments were gathered together, while another Brāhman took the embers from the pyre as his share of the sacred spoil. Ten famous monuments were erected accordingly over the relics thus obtained, and in due course each appears to have become the centre of an important group of religious establishments. The story of the distribution of the relics, as told originally in the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*[1] and retold in a multitude of other books, need not be repeated here.

The fragments of bone deposited with extreme reverence in the early *stūpa* at Piprāwā on the Bastī-Nepāl frontier by the Śākyas of Kapilavastu may represent one of the original eight shares. Relic-worship clearly must have been a well-established practice long before the death of Gautama Buddha. From the time of that event (*c.* 483 B.C.) until now it has always been one of the most prominent features of the external Buddhist cult, closely associated in India, Ceylon, and Burma with all holy localities and places of pilgrimage, and consequently with the development of religious art in every form. Buddhists believe that their Master himself directed the veneration of his relics as a pious duty. Whether he did so or not, the supposed duty has been zealously performed.

The four canine teeth, the two collar-bones, and the frontal bone of Buddha were termed the 'seven great relics.' The other fragments, which were numerous, were believed to comprise grains no bigger than a mustard seed.[2] The relics so collected were gradually dispersed all over the Buddhist world, the dispersal being associated by legend with the name of Aśoka. Some of the pieces, genuine or supposititious as the case may be, have become the subject of long histories, among which the story of the tooth-relic in Ceylon is the most famous. The reputed hairs and nail-parings of Buddha, which have supplied many reliquaries, are venerated as fervently as the relics believed to have come from his funeral pyre. The *paribhogika* relics, or objects in some way connected closely with the person of Buddha, command similar reverence. The Buddhist passion for relic-worship is so ardent that anything said to be a relic is certain to secure much popular attention, without serious criticism of its genuineness. The relics need not be either those of Buddha himself or objects associated with him personally; fragments of the bodies of the saints and things used by or connected with them are valued almost as highly. The Tibetans carry their interest in relics of recently deceased or even living Lāmas to a disgusting extreme.[3]

The smaller objects of veneration naturally were enclosed in suitable reliquaries or caskets, which were made of various materials, including among others soapstone or steatite, rock-crystal, bronze, silver, and gold. Many examples have been discovered in India, Ceylon, and elsewhere. Three specially notable examples may be mentioned. The earliest known specimen appears to be the steatite reliquary found in the extremely ancient Piprāwā *stūpa*, erected probably soon after the death of Buddha. There is reason to believe that the fragments of bone in that casket were genuine relics of Gautama Buddha, and that they were enshrined not long after his decease by his Śākya clansmen; but absolute proof of the genuineness of the relics is necessarily unobtainable, and the

[1] *Conc. Trid.*, sess. xxiv., as quoted in *EBr*[11] xxiii. 59.
[2] Fa-Hian, *Travels*, ch. xxi.; Hiuen Tsiang, in S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, London, 1906, ii. 13.
[3] *Voyage de Sung Yun*, ed. E. Chavannes, Hanoi, 1903, p. 42.

[1] *SBE* xi. [1900] 131 ff.
[2] Bigandet, *The Life or Legend of Gaudama*[4], ii. 89.
[3] L. A. Waddell, *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, London, 1905, p. 397.

date of the monument is the subject of differences of opinion.[1] The reliquary, with a crystal bowl and other vessels, stood on the bottom of a massive coffer measuring 4 ft. 4 in. by 2 ft. 8¼ in. by 2 ft. 2¼ in. constructed with perfect skill from a single block of fine sandstone. Another exceptionally interesting reliquary is the gold casket from a *stūpa* at Bīmarān between Kābul and Jalālābād, enriched with Hellenistic repoussé figures. A third is the Kaniṣka casket made of an alloy of copper and found in the ruins of the great *stūpa* at Peshāwar.[2]

The pious people who deposited relics in carefully-prepared, costly receptacles usually honoured the precious fragments by placing with them a multitude of objects of intrinsic or artistic value, including jewellery of various kinds. All the known examples of ancient Indian jewellery seem to come from such honorific deposits. The workmanship both in metals and in gems is of high quality. We are thus indebted to relic-worship for the greater part of such knowledge as we possess concerning the jeweller's art in ancient India.

Relics, whether *śarīrika* or *paribhogika*, were usually secured against accidents by burial in a *stūpa* (*thūpa*, 'tope,' 'dagoba'), which in its early Indian form was a low solid cupola of massive masonry, with a relic-chamber in the interior, ordinarily placed near the base. Such buildings, although not so difficult to enter as the Egyptian pyramids, were sufficiently impenetrable to offer no small degree of security. Some ancient monuments of the kind preserve their secret inviolate to this day, some were despoiled ages ago, and others have yielded their treasures to keen archæologists in recent times. Although *stūpas* were built occasionally merely as memorial towers to mark sacred spots, and in that case contained no internal chamber, most of them in ancient times were erected specially for the purpose of enshrining in safety highly venerated relics of either Buddha or his saints. The modern *chorten* (*q.v.*), the equivalent of the *stūpa* in Tibet, rarely contains relics.

The story of the *stūpa* as an architectural form, beginning with the low solid hemisphere of Piprāwā and ending with the slender Chinese pagoda, is a long one. That long development would never have taken place but for the cult of relics. Most of the important groups of early Buddhist sacred buildings, especially in India and Ceylon, comprising monasteries, temples, and structures of many other kinds, were formed round a relic *stūpa* as the nucleus; and in that way the worship of relics may be described with approximate accuracy as being the foundation of the art of architecture in its application to the special purposes of Buddhist religion and public worship. Reginald Farrer justly observes:

'It is thanks to the cult of relics that Ceylon possesses such a store of ancient shrines. And the tremendous artistic impetus that the competition of shrine-building aroused was of inestimable service to national activities, to the consolidation and centralization of the Cinhalese Kingdom.'[3]

The same cause operated more or less in other countries of Asia in the same way; just as in Europe the cathedrals at Gloucester and many other places were built from the proceeds of the offerings of pilgrims visiting the enshrined relics of reputed saints and martyrs.

The *stūpas* erected in Buddhist countries to provide safe custody and permanent honour for relics include some of the largest buildings in the world. The most considerable structures of the kind still standing probably are those to be found in Ceylon and Burma. The ancient *stūpa* at Anurādhapura in Ceylon, commonly, although inaccurately, called the Jetawanārāma, stands on a stone platform nearly 8 acres in extent, and is still 251 ft. high. The Shwé Dagōn pagoda at Rangoon, a more modern building, 368 ft. high in its existing form,[1] is reputed to contain within its mass eight hairs of Gautama Buddha, as well as the bathing-garment of Kāśyapa, the water-dipper of Konāgamana, and the staff of Krakuchanda—*i.e.* articles used by the three latest of the 'former Buddhas.'

Among the destroyed *stūpas*, one of the greatest was the famous monument at Peshāwar constructed *c.* A.D. 100 by Kaniṣka (*q.v.*). The relic-casket excavated from its foundations has been referred to above.

The gigantic monument at Boro Budūr in Java is essentially a *stūpa*, but there is no record of its erection or of the relics which may lie hidden somewhere in its recesses.

Buddhist public worship in India and Ceylon during the early days centred in the relic-*stūpas*, which formed the goals of innumerable pilgrimages. Kings emulated one another in the lavishness of the ceremonial with which the relics were first enshrined and then from time to time exhibited to the faithful. The best descriptions of such ceremonies are those given repeatedly in the *Mahāvaṁsa*, a monastic chronicle of Ceylon, written about the 5th century A.D.

Ch. xix. relates how the site of the Mahāvihāra was consecrated in the presence of an enormous international assemblage of monks, including deputations from the foreign lands designated as Pallavabhogga (? Persia) and 'Alasanda the city of the Yonas,' probably meaning Alexandria in Egypt. Ch. xxx. is devoted to an exposition of the glories of the spacious relic-chamber, and ch. xxxi. describes fully the enshrining of the relics and the many miracles accompanying the act. The theory governing the proceedings is frankly stated at the end of ch. xxx. in these words:

'If the wise man who is adorned with the good gifts of faith, has done homage to the blessed (Buddha) the supremely venerable, the highest of the world, who is freed from darkness, while he was yet living, and then to his relics, that were dispersed abroad by him who had in view the salvation of mankind; and if he then understands—"herein is equal merit"—then indeed will he reverence the relics of the Sage even as the blessed (Buddha himself) in his lifetime.'[2]

The same intense belief in the efficacy of relics still prevails; and, when occasion arises, as on the presentation of the Piprāwā relics to the king of Siam, the sacred objects are welcomed with extreme enthusiasm, although the splendour of the ancient ceremonial in Ceylon may not be emulated.

In A.D. 1763 certain pagodas at Shwebo in Burma were dedicated by the four queens of the reigning monarch. At the close of 1902, thieves having rifled the contents of one of the buildings, the local authorities decided to open the other pagodas and remove the treasures enshrined in them to a place of safety. A silver scroll, forming part of the deposit and then taken out, records the motives which influenced one of the royal ladies to erect her pagoda.

'Finally,' she observes, 'by virtue of the merit acquired by me through building this pagoda, in which the relics of Buddha are enshrined, may I enjoy such happiness and prosperity as cannot be disturbed and detracted [from] in every form of existence counting from the present one till the attainment of *Nirvāṇa*, and, like Visākhā and Queen Anoja, may I attain *Nirvāṇa*, without the necessity of further transmigration, at the feet of the coming Buddha Ari Metteyya.' In the preceding sentences Her Majesty had invoked similar benefits for the king, the members of the royal family, the ministers and officials, and had prayed that 'the spirits of the pagodas, trees, the earth, and the sky, together with the ogres, *ghouls*, and ghosts, who inhabit the declivities of the earth,' might share in her merit and keep constant watch and ward over her pagoda.[3]

The document affords interesting and conclusive proof that the modern practice of relic-worship in

[1] See *IA* xxxvi. [1907] 117–124.
[2] V. A. Smith, *A Hist. of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, Oxford, 1911, pls. lxxiv. and lxxv.
[3] *In Old Ceylon*, London, 1908, p. 233.

[1] *EBr*[11] xxii. 891[b].
[2] Tr. Geiger, p. 208.
[3] *Ann. Rep. Archæol. Survey of India*, 1903–04, p. 150.

Buddhist countries is turned to extremely practical purposes. The relics are regarded as an excellent and profitable investment. It is clear that in the Shwebo case no trouble whatever was taken to verify the alleged relics, because another scroll in one of the adjoining pagodas declares that the relics of Buddha consisted of 3001 large pieces, with the same number of small pieces, besides a multitude of other fragments still more minute—which is manifestly incredible. The so-called relics were placed in an amber bowl of great value, which was enclosed in a miniature pagoda made of silver, gold, and glass. The miscellaneous objects deposited in the relic-chambers as honorific and protective additions by the queens include an extraordinary variety of things, hundreds in number, and duly catalogued in the accompanying inscriptions. Besides many jewels and articles of gold and silver, the collection comprises copper or brass models of war-boats, cannon, and arms of various kinds. The figures of soldiers, horses, and elephants, with the miniature guns and weapons, were intended to protect the relics.

Thirty-four years later (1797) P. Hiram Cox, the British Resident at Rangoon, was allowed to inspect the collection prepared for deposit in another new pagoda, the relic-chamber of which measured no less than 61½ ft. square on the inside. The objects deposited, although not quite so varied in character as those collected by the queens, were numerous and included the strange item, 'one of Dr. Priestley's machines for impregnating water with fixed air.' Ancient honorific deposits were ordinarily restricted to jewellery—using that term in a wide sense—and coins, including specimens valuable as rarities or curiosities. That practice explains the frequent occurrence of Roman coins of various reigns in the *stūpas* of Afghanistan and the Panjāb.

Relic-worship attained its highest prominence in ancient India and Ceylon. Burma comes next in devotion to the cult. In all other Buddhist countries the adoration of relics is but a minor incident of popular religion. The Sera monastery to the north of Lhāsa prides itself on the possession of the metal thunderbolt (*vajra*, or *dorje*) of the god Indra, which fell down from heaven, and was used by Buddha; but Tibet, on the whole, sets little store upon ancient relics, while keen on the quest of relics, even the most offensive, of recent or living Lāmas, which are believed to possess magical curative properties of the highest value.

Certain monasteries in China rejoice in their custody of famous relics; but the number of notable places of the kind does not seem to be great. One of the most celebrated of such places is the temple, or *stūpa*, on the Five-peaked Mountain (U-tai-shan) in N. China, built by a Wai sovereign in the 5th century.[1] The absurdity of the cult of relics has not escaped the ridicule of Chinese scholars. In A.D. 819 Han Wan-kung, an eminent writer and statesman, deeply offended the reigning emperor by mocking at the honours paid to an alleged finger-bone of Buddha, preserved at a pagoda in the prefecture of Fung-tseang. His candour was punished by official degradation, and he narrowly escaped execution. But ordinarily, in all countries, sceptics have been content to preserve a discreet silence.

Japan, Korea, and Siam seem to care little for relics properly so called, although the Siamese venerate a much-esteemed alleged footprint of Buddha.

Burma excepted, most modern Buddhist countries prefer to expend their devotional enthusiasm on images rather than on alleged relics. Sometimes copies of the sacred books serve the same purpose as relics and are used to consecrate by their presence *stūpas* or pagodas, built primarily to gain a store of merit for the donor.

In Burma 'pagodas are built over relics of the Buddha, or models of them, over the eight utensils of a mendicant, or imitations of them, and over copies of the sacred books.'[1]

'No work of merit,' the same author observes, 'is so richly paid as the building of a pagoda,' and the structure, in order to have proper efficacy, must be sanctified by the inclusion of relics, if practicable, and, when they are not available, by the best procurable substitute. In ancient India also copies of sacred texts, such as the twelve *Nidānas* or the so-called 'Buddhist creed,' were often used as a substitute for relics in order to give the requisite sanctity to a *stūpa* or an image.

2. Brāhmanical Hinduism.—The veneration of relics seems to be practically unknown to Brāhmanical Hindus, one reason being that their ill-defined religion has no recognized founder like Jesus Christ, Buddha, or Muhammad. All accounts agree that the rude log which does duty as the image of Jagannāth (*q.v.*) at Purī encloses a mysterious deposit which is transferred when the image is periodically renewed; and, according to one story, the deposit consists of the bones of the demi-god Kṛṣṇa.[2] If the deposit really consists of bones, the fact may be regarded as a survival of Buddhist relic-worship. The cult of Jagannāth certainly is connected with Buddhism.[3]

It would be difficult to specify any clear instance of relic-worship practised by Brāhmanical Hindus. The honours paid to reputed footmarks of Viṣṇu (*Viṣṇu-pada*, *-pāduka*) resemble those rendered by the Jains to the vestiges of their Tīrthaṅkaras, and by Muhammadans to those of their Prophet, but are not exactly relic-worship.

3. Jainism.—The statement of Fergusson, that the Jains 'have no veneration for relics,'[4] although possibly true for the present day, is not quite correct with reference to ancient times. Jain *stūpas*, indistinguishable from Buddhist ones in appearance, were numerous, and some of them may have contained relics, although no record of the existence of such contents has been published. Bhagwān Lāl Indrajī, referring in general terms to Jain literature, asserts that the early Jains honoured bone relics of the Tīrthaṅkaras, corresponding to Buddhas, and that survivals of the ancient relic-worship may be traced in modern practice.

He states that 'at the present day the Jain *Sādhus* of the Kharatara *gachchha* use for worship a five-toothed sandal goblet called *thāpanā*, and this is a copy of the jaws of the Tīrthaṅkaras. So the Jaina nuns or *sādhvīs* use for worship as *thāpanā* a kind of shell (*saṅkha*), which they take to be the knee-bones of Mahāvirasvāmī.'[5]

A Jain *stūpa* was built in honour of Akbar's friend and teacher, Hīravijaya Sūri, who was cremated in A.D. 1592 at Ūnā or Unnatpur in the Jūnāgaṛh State, Kāthiāwāṛ. Various miracles having occurred at the spot, the *stūpa* was erected to mark the holy ground. It has not been described, and may or may not contain relics.[6] Recent European works on Jainism do not make any allusion to either relic-worship or *stūpas*. Mrs. Stevenson, however, mentions that childless women attending the funeral of a nun strive to tear a piece from the dead *sādhvī's* dress, believing

[1] Sylvain Lévi, *Le Népal*, Paris, 1905, i. 335; P. Landon, *Lhasa*, London, 1905, ii. 267.

[1] Shway Yoe (J. G. Scott), *Burma*, London, 1886, p. 123.

[2] W. Ward, *A View of the Hist., Lit., and Mythology of the Hindoos*, Serampore, 1815, ii. 163.

[3] See N. N. Vasu, *The Modern Buddhism and its Followers in Orissa*, Calcutta, 1911, p. 158.

[4] *Hist. of Ind. and E. Architecture*[2], ii. 3.

[5] *Actes du sixième congrès d'Orientalistes*, Paris, 1865, pt. iii. p. 142.

[6] *Jaina-Shāsana*, Benares, Vīra S. 2437, A.D. 1910, p. 128

that it will ensure their having children.[1] That practice is a near approach to relic-worship.

4. Muhammadanism.—Although the treasuring and veneration of relics are hardly consistent with the spirit of Islām, Musalmāns have followed to some slight extent the example of their heathen neighbours and have been tempted occasionally to cherish and reverence tangible memorials of their Prophet. Such limited compliance with non-Muslim practice has not produced any considerable effects, and the few instances of Muhammadan reverence for relics which can be cited are detached phenomena with no special significance. Certain places pride themselves on the possession of hairs from Muhammad's beard. Two such relics (*āṣār*) were brought to Bījāpur in the Deccan, India, at some time in the reign of Sultan Ibrāhīm II. 'Adilshāh of Bījāpur (1580–1626), and were deposited in a palace now known as the Āṣār Mahal, 'Relic House,' where they are treated with much reverence. Even foreign Muhammadan potentates send rich offerings in honour of the relics, which are venerated by a special ceremonial on the Prophet's birthday, 12th Rabī' I.[2] The box in which they are kept is never opened, so that 'no one living has seen the relic.'[3] Rohrī (Rūṛhī) in Sind boasts of a similar treasure, a single hair, which is kept in a jewelled gold case in a shrine named the Wār, or Wāl, Mubārak, a building erected for the purpose by Nūr Muhammad in or about A.D. 1745. The relic is exhibited to the faithful once a year, when, by means of some trick, it is made to rise and fall, the movement being regarded by the crowd as supernatural.[4]

'In the Mogul armies, before the introduction of European tactics, an elephant always marched in the van, bearing on its head a long pole, from which floated a large flag. Sometimes this was followed by another elephant carrying a rich howdah, on which was placed a box containing a priceless relic, which usually was, if one may believe it, an actual hair from Mahomet's beard.'[5]

Certain relics of the Prophet are kept in the Topkapu Palace at Constantinople and visited by the Sultan at the beginning of a new reign.[6]

The reputed footprints of the Prophet on rocks or slabs of stone are venerated in many places, which need not be specified. J. Burgess mentions examples at Ahmadābād, Gaur, and Delhi,[7] and many more might be collected from various countries. The honours paid to the tombs of numerous *pīrs*, or reputed saints, in Muhammadan lands are near akin to relic-worship, but are not quite the same thing.

LITERATURE.—Innumerable books dealing with the Buddhist cult treat more or less fully of relic-worship. Some of those books have been cited in the text. Works deserving of special mention are: trr. of the travels of the Chinese Pilgrims, especially Fa-Hian (*q.v.*) and Hiuen Tsiang (see YUAN-CHWANG), by various authors; P. Bigandet, *The Life or Legend of Gaudama*[4], popular re-issue, 2 vols., London, 1914; H. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, Strassburg, 1896; R. Spence Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, London, 1850, *A Manual of Budhism*[2], do. 1880; M. Monier-Williams, *Buddhism*[2], do. 1890, lect. xvii.; J. Fergusson, *Hist. of Indian and Eastern Architecture*[2], 2 vols., do. 1910; H. H. Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, do. 1841; *Mahāvaṁsa*, tr. L. C. Wijesiṁha, Colombo, 1889; tr. W. Geiger, *The Mahavaṁsa; or, The Great Chronicle of Ceylon*, London (PTS), 1912; L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet, or Lamaism*, do. 1895; A. Wylie, 'Buddhist Relics,' in *Chinese Researches*, Shanghai, 1897; W. P. Yetts, 'Notes on the Disposal of Buddhist Dead in China,' *JRAS*, 1911, pp. 699–725.

VINCENT A. SMITH.

[1] *The Heart of Jainism*, London, 1915, p. 232.
[2] G. Watt, *Indian Art at Delhi, 1903*, London, 1903, p. 431.
[3] *BG* xxiii. [1884] 620–623.
[4] A. W. Hughes, *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*[2], Bombay, 1876, p. 679; H. Cousens, *Archæol. Survey Progress Report of W. India, 1896–97*, do. 1897, p. 9; *IGI*, *s.v.* 'Rohri,' with amended date.
[5] J. A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies*[3], tr. H. K. Beauchamp, Oxford, 1906, p. 672 f.
[6] *Morning Post*, 29th April 1909.
[7] *Archæol. Survey of W. India*, viii. [1905] 20.

RELIEF CHURCH.—See PRESBYTERIANISM.

RELIGION. — **I. *INTRODUCTION.* — 1. The subject.**—From time to time men find themselves forced to reconsider current and inherited beliefs and ideas, to gain some harmony between present and past experience, and to reach a position which shall satisfy the demands of feeling and reflexion and give confidence for facing the future. If, at the present day, religion, as a subject of critical or scientific inquiry, of both practical and theoretical significance, has attracted increasing attention, this can be ascribed to (*a*) the rapid progress of scientific knowledge and thought; (*b*) the deeper intellectual interest in the subject; (*c*) the widespread tendencies in all parts of the world to reform or reconstruct religion, or even to replace it by some body of thought, more 'rational' and 'scientific' or less 'superstitious'; and (*d*) the effect of social, political, and international events of a sort which, in the past, have both influenced and been influenced by religion. Whenever the ethical or moral value of activities or conditions is questioned, the value of religion is involved; and all deep-stirring experiences invariably compel a reconsideration of the most fundamental ideas, whether they are explicitly religious or not. Ultimately there arise problems of justice, human destiny, God, and the universe; and these in turn involve problems of the relation between 'religious' and other ideas, the validity of ordinary knowledge, and practicable conceptions of 'experience' and 'reality.'

The very nature of the subject, therefore, forbids any one-sided treatment. No one particular aspect or phase can form the basis; nor can it be ignored that upon no other subject are differences of opinion so acute, and the risk of causing offence and pain so great. The subject of religion inevitably involves both the 'non-religious,' or secular, and the 'anti-religious' (irreligious, blasphemous, etc.); and, while its very intimacy compels a restrained and impartial treatment, its importance demands an impartiality and objectivity which in turn may easily seem 'irreligious.' None the less, the actual problems are such that, *if* any critical or scientific treatment is once legitimate (and everywhere there is a tendency to treat quite freely the religion which is not one's own), it must be pursued as thoroughly as possible, with the consideration for the convictions of others that one would ask for one's own (the Golden Rule of criticism) and with the clearest recognition of the fact that the subject concerns the most vital beliefs and practices of human beings, all of whom may, on purely scientific grounds, be regarded as closely related—physiologically and psychologically.[1]

2. Definitions.[2]—(1) The term 'religion,' whatever its best definition, clearly refers to certain characteristic types of data (beliefs, practices, feelings, moods, attitudes, etc.). Its use presupposes criteria, and therefore some preliminary conception of what does and what does not come under the category. But it soon appears that there is no absolute gulf between religion and what, in some one respect or other, closely approximates it (*e.g.*, art, morality). Different people draw the line differently. A man will be swayed by his conception of what religion is or is not; but such conceptions vary, not only among individual members of the same society, but even in the lifetime of any one of them. Only in the course of his mental or psychical growth does a man acquire the conception and come to distinguish between

[1] On standpoints and methods of inquiry reference may be made to S. A. Cook, *The Study of Religions*, London, 1914.
[2] Two derivations are familiar, one from *relegere* (so Cicero, *de Nat. Deor.* ii. 28: 'qui autem omnia, quae ad cultum deorum pertinerent, diligenter retractarent, et tanquam relegerent, sunt dicti religiosi, ex relegendo, ut elegantes ex eligendo, tanquam a diligendo diligentes, ex intelligendo intelligentes, his enim in verbis omnibus inest vis legendi eadem, quae in religioso'), the other from *religare* (so Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* iv. 28: 'hoc vinculo pietatis obstricti deo et religati sumus; unde ipsa religio nomen accepit'). But, whether *religio* was what is re-read and reflected upon, or whether it had the idea of obligation, what was more to the point was the meaning of *religio* and its relation to *superstitio* (see Mayor's note on *de Nat. Deor.*, *loc. cit.*).

what is and what is not religion; and this development—which is of the greatest *personal* significance for the individual—finds an analogy in the history of the race, where the distinctions which we draw (*e.g.*, between religion and law or ethics) are not found among rudimentary or backward peoples. Herein lies the fundamental importance of such questions as: How and why do we come to distinguish the 'religious' from the 'non-religious'?, Is there a border-line?, and If we rely upon a prior definition, how did that definition originate? Consequently, the subject is seen to involve not only (*a*) the various beliefs and practices which obviously belong to the subject-matter, but also (*b*) the mental or psychical aspects of all the individuals concerned. In a word, besides the ordinary stock of religious data, one has to consider the individuals who, as a result of certain vicissitudes in their development, have the beliefs which are called 'religious,' or who, again as a result of their experiences, will differentiate between the religious, the non-religious, and the anti-religious.[1]

(2) A survey of the numerous definitions of religion would be more informing than any new one that might be proposed. Even the simple minimum suggested by E. B. Tylor (religion is 'the belief in spiritual beings') at once brings in the question of the nature of these beings, the origin of the belief, and its validity for every individual.[2] Every definition ultimately implies theories of reality and indicates the place that religion should hold in the world of life and thought.[3] Directly or indirectly, some very significant terms are involved (*e.g.*, 'death,' 'heaven,' 'sacred,' 'supernatural,' etc.). These require definition and justification, and, when pursued logically, the ideas ultimately concern man's whole body of thought, both religious and non-religious. In general, the definitions themselves are a valuable contribution to men's conceptions of what religion was, is, or should be. They convincingly demonstrate the *personal* interest in the subject: even the one-sided and unsympathetic definitions show how intimately the self feels itself at stake. They point to subjective convictions of the most vital importance; they characteristically recognize a gulf between man and the 'divine,' while at the same time emphasizing feelings of the closest relationship with or the most absolute dependence upon a 'higher Power.' Especially characteristic are (*a*) the admission of the strength, support, peace, and consolation afforded by religion, and (*b*) the intensifying and 'sanctifying' of otherwise non-religious phases of life and thought. The effects of religion are seen to be varyingly emotional and intellectual, leading to practical, social, æsthetic, speculative, and other efforts. The results for the individual are now narrow and egoistic, and now broad, self-less, and social; and while, on the one hand, religion typically has its 'supernaturalistic' aspects, on the other, all the profounder and more permanent values of life are in some way religious or quasi-religious, even though the characteristic supernatural or other typical religious features be wanting. In other words, there is that which is of supreme *personal* significance, whether it concerns the self (1) alone, or (2) in its relation to others, or (3) in its relation to a higher Power. Thus, as opposed to any efforts to set religion in a watertight compartment by itself, there is evidence which represents it as belonging to so many phases of life that religious data are, so to say, only a special form of otherwise non-religious data. Religion none the less claims to be *sui generis*; hence it is explicable why some observers see only the features which distinguish religion from that which is non-religious, whereas others do not recognize the distinctive features. The paradox of the immanent and the transcendent rests upon the fact that certain kinds of experience and evidence tend to destroy the distinctiveness of religion, whereas other evidence as unmistakably compels or enhances the subjective convictions of the transcendence and distinctiveness of the divine. Other paradoxes relate to 'this' world and 'the other,' to the ideals for mankind and 'this' life, and those for a future which is felt to transcend this world. Paradoxical features are also very marked in the varying normal, abnormal, and pathological aspects of religious life, which clearly prove that the problems are ultimately bound up inextricably with those of ordinary 'mundane' existence. In a word, the subject of religion inevitably involves the problems of personality and existence, and the deeper vicissitudes of life and thought.

3. **Method.**—(1) Every reader tends to approach the subject with certain more or less definite preconceptions touching some of the most essential terms or elements of religion. Herein is clearly seen the individual's implicit reliance upon his personal experience, reflexion, and ideas of truth and reality. But, since differences of opinion and of method at once arise in the problems of religion, it is impossible either to start with theories or convictions of the ultimate realities or even to adopt some one standpoint as opposed to another. Yet, though much may be disputed, there can be no dispute that men differ profoundly over the ultimate facts, and that their inmost convictions will tend to be entirely authoritative and to regulate their lives. So, *e.g.*, whatever be the ultimate realities underlying the data of 'psychical research' and the like (occultism, astrology, angelic visitations, etc.), no one can doubt that there are three typical attitudes: (*a*) believing, if not unduly credulous; (*b*) incredulous, if not contemptuous; and (*c*) discriminating, on the basis of some authority. These are real facts of importance for human nature and the history of religion, inasmuch as a *rational* conception of religion has to find a place for all the evidence and dare not ignore the inconvenient data, from whatever side they are brought. Now, all beliefs (theological, scientific, political, etc.), and whatsoever they imply, have a value as apart from questions of historical credibility, rationality, value, etc.; and in religion as in history much can be learned from the study of beliefs, explanations, and the like, as apart from their particular value for the inquirer and the ultimate facts themselves. Hence, although religion concerns the most vital truths of man and the universe, there can be a critical, objective, or

[1] On the 'genetic' and 'psychological' treatment of the subject see below, § 10. On the importance of tracing these differentiations cf. A. Sidgwick, *Distinction and the Criticism of Beliefs*, London, 1892, *The Use of Words in Reasoning*, do. 1901.

[2] *PC*[4] i. 424. For criticisms of definitions see J. H. Leuba, *A Psychological Study of Religion: its Origin, Function, and Future*, New York, 1912, ch. ii. and appendix; E. Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, Eng. tr., London, 1915, bk. i. ch. i.; G. Galloway, *The Philosophy of Religion*, Edinburgh, 1914, ch. iv. Durkheim's definition may be noticed: 'A religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden—beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a Church, all those who adhere to them' (Fr. ed. p. 65, Eng. tr. p. 47). Galloway (p. 184) suggests tentatively that religion is 'man's faith in a power beyond himself whereby he seeks to satisfy emotional needs and gain stability of life, and which he expresses in acts of worship and service.' C. C. J. Webb (*Group Theories of Religion*, London and New York, 1916, p. 59) asserts, on the other hand, 'I do not myself believe that Religion *can* be defined.'

[3] Cf. the words of E. Caird: 'A man's religion, if it is sincere, is that consciousness in which he takes up a definite attitude to the world, and gathers to a focus all the meaning of his life. Of course, the man's world may be, and in earlier times is, a comparatively narrow one' (*Evolution of Religion*[2], Glasgow, 1894, i. 81).

scientific treatment which considers, not the goal or destiny of things, but men's beliefs and theories on the subject; not the ultimate facts, but men's convictions of them; not the final objective reality, but religious and related conceptions of this reality.[1]

(2) Just as every religious individual has his non-religious side—and the term distinguishes certain data from those outside the category—so an objective treatment of religion can aim at a conception of religion which would find a legitimate place among the other conceptions which, forced by experience and reflexion, are necessary for a rational description of the entire range of human experience. In other words, the best conception of religion will not be severed from the best conceptions of all else that is relevant; for religion is not something in and by itself, but, in the whole world of life and thought, has a part which has to be determined. Now, as a matter of fact, quite characteristic of modern research has been the study of religion along non-religious and purely technical lines and from various points of view. But, owing partly to differences of method, scope, and aim, and partly also to the difficulty of controlling an enormous field, the more synthetical and comprehensive works have been no more convincing than the more analytical and specialistic. Still, the collection of material and the organization of it proceed *pari passu*; improved methods lead to a better treatment of the evidence, and the latter in turn discovers defects in past methods. Everywhere difficult problems arise, and the persistent crux is the conflict between the infelt conviction that religion can be handled in a way that satisfies the reason and the individual's refusal to go against his inmost convictions, even though these cannot be logically or consistently formulated. Preliminary questions of method thus become indispensable, for no one can approach the subject with an entirely blank mind. But these questions will also serve another purpose; for we have to assume that, between the ultimate realities (whatever they may be found to be) and current conceptions of them, there is no absolute gulf. Of these conceptions we can gain some notion by continued comparison and classification and by psychological interpretation. Moreover, only through some implicit or explicit theory of reality can we handle and interpret the data. Consequently the methodological questions contribute both to our own conceptions of reality and to a better understanding of those which have prevailed elsewhere; cf. below, § 16 (3).

II. *METHODS, PROBLEMS, AND CRITICISMS.*—**4. The comparative method.**—(1) Among the most conspicuous features of modern research has been the application, in their widest extent, of anthropological and comparative methods of inquiry.[2] The effect has been to break down racial, social, intellectual, and psychical boundaries, and to bring into relation all classes and races of men, all types of organic life, all forms of 'matter.' Step by step the most advanced and the most rudimentary of psychical and physical phenomena are related and classified; man is brought into connexion with the rest of the universe, and his conscious, purposive thought-activity comes into line with all types of psychical and other energy. New conceptions thus arise of man's place in nature, and these, in so far as they can be co-ordinated, correspond to the cosmogonies and cosmologies of rudimentary and early peoples, whose general body of religious and non-religious thought was more or less organized and coherent, but whose stock of knowledge was, relatively speaking, extremely small. Now, the comparative method is the unbiased co-ordination of all comparable data irrespective of context or age. It has led to the accumulation of much valuable material. As a popular, simple, and interesting inquiry, it has familiarized many people with the miscellanies of folk-lore and religion. It illustrates popular beliefs and practices, and reveals a remarkable resemblance among peoples all the world over. But, while it supports or suggests various theories and explanations, it does not prove that others are excluded. Moreover, similar practices can have different meanings or motives, and similar ideas and beliefs can be differently expressed. It does not follow that a belief or practice in one environment has precisely the range of feeling, meaning, or application that its parallel or analogy has elsewhere; nor is the apparent origin of any datum necessarily significant for its later meaning or function. In fact, everywhere mere comparison may be legitimate for some purpose—as, *e.g.*, between men and apes—but in every problematical situation the question of the validity of particular inferences is exceedingly urgent, and confusion has often been caused by naive comparisons and rash inferences. Hence, where sweeping theories have been suggested on the basis of comparison (*e.g.*, primitive promiscuity, ignorance of paternity, phallic, serpent, or astral cults, the priority of magic over religion), they must invariably be tested by other methods.[1]

(2) The comparative method is commonly bound up with certain persistent and prevalent notions of the 'evolution' of thought and the 'survival' of rude, superstitious or otherwise irrational beliefs and practices from an earlier and more backward stage in the history of culture. But every datum which can be regarded as a survival must be viewed psychologically; the individuals whose beliefs and practices are so stigmatized are not actuated solely by the mere fact that these belong to the past or have an ancestry. Some feeling of value is characteristically present. The 'survivals' have survived because, while much else has been neglected or forgotten, they have been selected and retained along with the entirely rational data which also have come down from the past. To regard certain data merely as survivals is to ignore the question of their origin, persistence, and function; for the type of mind or the conditions which explain their rise may also explain their continuance. Besides, comparison itself reveals innumerable subtle differences; and these indicate that there has been no artificial or mechanical borrowing or imposition, but a process of re-adjusting and reshaping for which the individuals concerned have a certain responsibility. In fact, whenever beliefs and practices can be compared, a distinction can invariably be made between what it is that recurs and the form in which it recurs. The types of beliefs and practices which are selected, assimilated, or reshaped are not to be confused with the external aspects which can be treated historically. Thus, beliefs in witchcraft everywhere contain similar elements, and one can distinguish (*a*) the subjective or psychological aspect (*e.g.*, the tendencies responsible for their persistence and retention), and (*b*) the more external details, which may be of traditional or legendary interest, due to borrowing, external influence, etc. Indeed, an analysis of typical survivals reveals a fundamental resemblance between data that are distinctly religious and those that usually rank as superstitions or survivals; but, while the latter will generally be sporadic, isolated, and out of harmony with current thought, the former will be more or less organized, socially and intellectually, and will at least claim to be in accordance with the 'best' thought.[2]

(3) The presence of survivals, superstitions, and other signs of cultural differences in an environment shows that, as a general principle, any apparently rudimentary or irrational datum need not

[1] Hence the terms 'truth' and 'reality' (or 'system of realities') must be used with a certain looseness, and with the assumption that every one admits that there are truths and realities of ultimate validity, even though men now differ as to what they are.

[2] On the no less conspicuous employment of psychology see § 10 f.

[1] *E.g.*, one may note the care taken by J. G. Frazer in *The Golden Bough*[3] to emphasize the difference between the great mass of material collected and classified in this monumental work, and the various important theories, conjectures, and explanations with which they are more or less closely interwoven; see, *e.g.*, pt. i., *The Magic Art*, London, 1911, i. p. ix f., pt. vii., *Balder the Beautiful*, do. 1913, i. pp. v. f., xi.

[2] On the fallacies in the current popular theories of survivals see, further, Cook, chs. v., vi.

on that account alone be older than one more advanced or elevated. Moreover, a culture can decay and be followed by one of a lower, ruder, or less organized type. Not only has this often happened in the East, but in Arabia, *e.g.*, the old civilization reflected in the Minæan and Sabæan inscriptions was followed by the pre-Islāmic Jāhiliyya, the age of savagery or barbarism, and this in turn by a new growth—the rise and development of the specifically Muhammadan culture. Facts of this sort bring intricate problems of the rise and fall of systems or cultures, and their consequences for the development of thought. There has undoubtedly been a profound advance from the first appearance of man onwards, but the persistence of all that is styled irrational or superstitious, and the frequent cases of decay, retrogression, and new growth, shatter all facile theories of a simple, continuous, mental or psychical evolution.

(4) Evolutionary ideas hold such a prominent place in conceptions of religious development that it should be noticed that there are really two types of theory. The one involves ideas of survival, retrogression, decadence, recidivism; and it lays the emphasis upon man's savage ancestry in an extremely remote past. The other does not measure the difference between the civilized and uncivilized by centuries or millennia, but it sees the savage 'beneath' the civilized man, the barbarian 'below' the veneer of culture, and so on. The former seems to offer an easy explanation of the presence of lower features (cf. Tennyson's 'the Ghost of the Brute that is walking and haunting us yet' [*The Dawn*]), but the latter is probably more important. The ante-natal stages have a profound significance for the development of man's psychical nature. These stages, and the dependence of the infant upon the mature experience of parents and environment, are as fundamental for his psychical life as the more complex and obscure factors of heredity, or the influence of human or animal ancestors 'hundreds of thousands of years' ago. The actual history of the ancient civilizations shows that there is no inherent momentum in a culture or a religion; its fate depends upon the individuals who are involved. Hence, whatever may be proved to be due to heredity and pre-historic evolution, more attention must first be paid to the traces of the ante-natal stages with all their suggestiveness for lower levels of psychical development which the individual may not have entirely outgrown.[1]

5. Historical and sociological methods.[2]—(1) The purely comparative method of inquiry has emphasized the necessity of constructing conceptions of religion upon a wide basis of data. While indicating resemblances between different religions and peoples, it has also brought to light many significant differences, whether in single environments, at some given time, or in the course of their historical development. Religions can be fruitfully studied in their relations to the political, economic, social, geographical, and other features of the people or area where they flourish. Here attention is paid to the influence of surroundings (mountains, plains, deserts, swamps, etc.), to the proximity of higher or lower cultures, and to means of intercommunication.[3] Of special importance are the food-supply and means of livelihood. Thus, hunting and agriculture conduce to different types of mental and therefore, also, of religious outlook; and, where the food problem is negligible, the religion is without the positive features that recur when the supply is limited or a source of anxiety. The influence of city-life and of political and social interests upon an earlier religion is especially noticeable in the vicissitudes of the Homeric gods. The differences among the various religions are thus due very largely to quite recognizable factors and vicissitudes; and a distinction can be drawn between the history of religions, which is that of definite systems, peoples, or areas (so far as the material permits), and the history of religion, *i.e.* of the development and advance of religious and related thought in human history generally. It is the task of the latter to determine the character and the principles of the development; but the two inquiries are interdependent, and it is a natural presumption that the various religions reflect the working of similar principles, which, moreover, will hold good in the future. But every treatment of the development of religion forces some recognition of 'lower' and 'higher' stages, of which the latter will irresistibly be related to our own ideals (whatever these may happen to be), and our own ideas of what must be the outcome of a progressive development. As for the 'lower' stages, primitive pre-historic men are unknown.[1] Nor can one estimate confidently all the religious and other ideas of, say, the pre-historic cave-painters.[2] If, on the one hand, primitive man once lacked the traditional experience of the lowest of modern savages, on the other, there are tribes so rudimentary that a lower level can hardly be conceived, while possibilities of development are recognizable. The latter may then be called (relatively) 'primitive,' even though their beliefs and practices are complex and have a history behind them.

(2) Thus the relation between a primitive religion and the actual religion of primitive pre-historic people is fairly analogous to that between the child or the savage and the actual 'childhood' of mankind; there will be certain parallels, but there will be essential differences, due to the fact that the environment in the one case has a history and an experience which in the other case are quite wanting. It should be observed that, although some typical developments can be discerned everywhere, we nowhere find the actual dawn of religion in an entirely non-religious environment. Further, all theories and ideals of religion implicate societies or systems, and not particular individuals or details. All significant movements have been collective, and development has been due, not merely to individuals (who often find no following), but to the tribe, society, church, organization, or people who were influenced by them. Consequently, every conception of the lowest stage of religion must refer, not to the first 'religious' individual, but to the group which could be styled 'religious,' not to separate ideas, beliefs, or concepts, but to the whole mental fabric or system in which these found a place. The earliest conceivable religion would necessarily be a system; behind this one can scarcely go. In like manner one can conceive exceedingly rudimentary or primitive groups of individuals, but not isolated human beings who had not yet associated with one another. Only in this way can the problems be *methodologically* pursued; and it is the great merit of sociological inquiries that they illuminate the relatively stable and coherent beliefs and practices of ordinary social groups, and not the individuals who may be exceptional, extreme, or even abnormal. On the other hand, one cannot ignore the individual and what society owes to him. The social group is not an absolutely homogeneous, undifferentiated, and self-moving unit. Every body that can be regarded as a unit moves through those who in some respect are outside it, and cannot be properly described without taking into consideration the environment. No group is actually a closed system, but it is necessary to regard it as a

[1] Cf., *e.g.*, the 'vegetative' soul of Aristotle and the Schoolmen; see M. Maher, *Psychology*, London, 1910, pp. 33 ff., 357, 556, 575 f.

[2] See, among other works, F. Ratzel, *Hist. of Mankind*, Eng. tr., London, 1896–98, bk. i.; E. Meyer, *Einleit. Elemente der Anthropologie* (*Gesch. des Altertums*[2], i. 1, Stuttgart, 1907); Durkheim, bk. i. ch. i.; R. R. Marett, *Anthropology*, London, 1912; C. H. Toy, *Introd. to the Hist. of Religions*, New York and London, 1913; G. F. Moore, *Hist. of Religions*, Edinburgh, 1914, i.

[3] Thus the old Indo-Iranian stock, as illustrated by a comparison of the *Rigveda* and the *Avesta*, divides into two markedly contrasting streams: the Zoroastrian, or Persian, which is strenuous, practical, and ethical; and the Indian, which is typically passive, mystical, pantheistic, and metaphysical. Differences of climate are adduced to account for the psychological differences. Moreover, the geographical and other features of Egypt and of Babylonia and Assyria favoured a certain unity and fixity of life and thought, in contrast to the broken nature of the lands of the Ægean and Hellenic cultures and the absence of physical links. See Moore, pp. 145, 201, 359, 411 f.

[1] 'A culture would be absolutely primitive if no antecedent mental development whatsoever could be presupposed' (W. Wundt, *Elements of Folk Psychology*, Eng. tr., London, 1916, p. 20; cf. pp. 21, 32).

[2] All artistic and other human workmanship will imply some mental equipment, observation, and reflexion, with perhaps social, ethical, or moral interests. In any case the data will point to some 'psychical context,' and the task is to determine the certainties, probabilities, and possibilities, and not (say) to suppose that the artists of the Reindeer Period were in no degree inferior to modern artists. The necessity of determining the context of data is obvious when one observes the very different beliefs and practices which can be associated with any particular god (*e.g.*, Jahweh in the OT) or the divergent conceptions entertained of some particular significant term.

simple unit and to neglect provisionally the more complex and difficult details.[1] The group, like the concept, is a methodological necessity, and not an ultimate reality. See, further, § 13.

6. Social practice and myth.—(1) Sociological inquiries have thrown a vivid light upon the interconnexion of life and thought among rudimentary societies and upon the place that religious and related ('superstitious') beliefs and practices hold in the life of the individual or the social group.

The birth of the child brings ideas of legitimacy and kinship, incarnation or rebirth, tabus, and various 'superstitious' usages (cf. art. BIRTH [Introduction]). With the early training and initiation into the group all the deep values of the group are associated. Marriage and marriage-bars involve highly complex ritual and practice. Illness, death, burial, and the fate of the dead almost invariably bring beliefs of the relation between the dead and the living. Religion characteristically embraces all that is for the continuity and security of the social group—entrance into the group, adoption, expulsion, outlawry; vengeance, manslaughter, blood-feud; the protection of property (including women and slaves); the rights and responsibilities of prominent or representative individuals; defence and war; fear of famine and disaster; the preservation of the (animal and plant) food-supply and means of livelihood. Here are inextricably blended tabus and regulations which modern observers from their own standpoints will variously style religious, superstitious, mystical, irrational, rational, secular, and so forth.

A fact of the greatest significance is the increasing differentiation of departments of life and thought and the growing complexity of society.[2] At certain stages there is no clear division, *e.g.*, between ritual, moral, and religious requirements, or between religious, economic, and legal ideas. The appearance, disentanglement, and separate development of special departments of life and thought (*e.g.*, astronomy, anatomy, law, physics) continue on higher levels the early and rudimentary processes which at previous stages enabled men to differentiate and classify simple phenomena and thereby to describe their experience and organize their scanty knowledge. In this differentiation, specialization, and co-ordination there are typical processes which subsequently account for the co-existence of the various conflicting religious and non-religious views of the universe.[3]

(2) A special problem is that of the relative value of the evidence contained in ritual behaviour, social practice, etc., and that in myths, legends, and the like (see art. MYTHOLOGY). The controversy 'myth *versus* ritual' arose as a reaction against excessive reliance upon myths.[4] Myths appear to be of only secondary value in so far as they are intended to *explain*, and have secondary aims which are political, ecclesiastical, philosophical, etc. On the other hand, the ritual or practice may be a lifeless inheritance from the past, bereft of its original significance or motive, and modified by reflexion or myth. The same actions are not necessarily accompanied by the same feelings and ideas, and the latter in their turn can express themselves in very different forms. This is one of the clearest results of the comparative method (§ 4 [2]). Further, every behaviour or action is earlier than reflexion upon it or the desire to explain it; it presupposes feelings, impulses, and needs of which men may be barely conscious. But myths, however artificial they may be, are significant for some stage of thought and for its movement, even though their contents be useless for modern knowledge. Both ritual and myth bring difficult questions of the *meaning* of each for a people. The true meaning of a rite for us (*i.e. our* interpretation) is not necessarily that which it has for those who practise it; and the relation between (*a*) ritual, behaviour, action, etc., and (*b*) subsequent reflexion, explanation, myth, interpretation, etc., is analogous to that between impulsive, instinctive activities and the reflective, intelligent states of consciousness, or between any activity and the apparently obvious purpose which, however, was not recognized at the time. In fact, one of the most interesting features of the more rudimentary religions is the presence of earlier forms of what is fully explicit in the higher religions (*e.g.*, vegetation rites and the later belief in a resurrection), of apparently logical transitions, and of a striking continuity or development, such as to permit continued reinterpretation, and to suggest theories of a progressive revelation or the like (cf. also the view in Gal 3[24]). See, further, § 30.

7. The group unit theory.—(1) It is a fundamental postulate that social life and social-religious practices cannot be founded upon hallucinations; the basic feelings and convictions are both genuine and effective. Moreover, while, on the one side, all maxims, principles, and rules of life, business, recreation, etc., are for the better ordering and organization of activities, on the other side, all practical working life or activity *implies* principles which, however, may not be consciously realized or formulated. Systematized social religious organizations *imply* systems or principles of regulative ideas; and all social organization *or* disorganization corresponds to a sufficient equilibrium of the ideas involved *or* to an absence of the indispensable harmony. The interrelation between the constituents of any effective group, or between different groups, depends on the essential ideas which unite or disunite; and the development or decay of such a group (*e.g.*, a political party) is coincident with that of the constitutive ideas. An active group or body does not ask, 'Is it true?' but in the stress and conflict of life, as also in reflexion upon the ideas and principles that underlie or are implied in its activities, their 'truth' is put to the test. Hard events and explicit discussion thus try the effectiveness of the convictions and ideas; and every state of equilibrium, after a period of severe crisis or disintegration, points to some equilibrium of ideas, of greater or less permanence, uniting the group. Hence we may speak of a system of ideas, even though they are not necessarily consciously recognized.

(2) Now, at certain stages of development the social and religious ideas form an inseparable part of one and the same system—a practical system; life and thought are relatively undifferentiated, and every man is born into the nexus of beliefs and obligations which obtain throughout the group. Such a system, with its body of cults, practices, beliefs, and traditions, implies a system of ideas, ways of thinking, standpoints, explanations, etc. But, further, Robertson Smith, whose *Religion of the Semites* brilliantly illuminated the sociological aspects of religion, especially emphasized the important fact that 'the circle into which a man was born was not simply a group of kinsfolk and fellow-citizens, but embraced also certain divine beings.' 'The social body was not made up of men only, but of gods and men.' 'The gods are part and parcel of the same natural community with their worshippers.'[1] Here, then, ideas of gods and men and of the supernatural and natural, would tend to form part of a single coherent whole—a unitary system, so to say, of thought and practice. It is necessary to grasp this conception and contrast the 'psychical' solidarity of such groups with those situations where life and thought are extremely differentiated, where religion is kept quite apart from the non-religious, where the social system is undeveloped, or, finally, where (as in totemism) there are no clear ideas of gods as part of the social

[1] Cf. Marett, *Anthropology*, p. 169 ff.

[2] See, *e.g.*, W. H. R. Rivers, in *Science and the Nation*, ed. A. C. Seward, Cambridge, 1917, p. 310 ff.

[3] As these processes are of fundamental importance, it may be observed, at this point, that it does not follow that, historically, society goes back to an absolutely undifferentiated state, or that its earliest phase was wholly or essentially religious. What undergoes development can be regarded as an individual datum or detail which is a part or aspect of something, and what can be regarded as a system will be preceded by another system. Thus, *e.g.*, a distinction must be observed between some particular logical prerequisite (*e.g.*, an alphabet) and the actual earliest historical stage (*e.g.*, of intercommunication).

[4] See W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*[2], London, 1894, p. 17 ff.; A. Lang, art. 'Mythology,' in *EBr*[11], xix. 128; M. J. Lagrange, *Études sur les religions sémitiques*[2], Paris, 1905, pp. 28–40. For an intermediate position see D. G. Brinton, *Religions of Primitive Peoples*, New York, 1897, chs. iii., v.

[1] See *Rel. Sem.*[2], pp. 11, 20 ff., 28 ff., 51, 58, 74, 255, 263 ff. Note also p. 32: 'The principle that the fundamental conception of ancient religion [and of all religion at a certain stage (*ib.* p. 31)] is the solidarity of the gods and their worshippers as part of one organic society [with common interests and common aims (p. 31)], carries with it important consequences.' This may be supplemented by Durkheim's purely sociological investigation (esp. bk. ii. ch. iii.), and by his argument that the ideas of the social group, the sacred beings, and the outside world are interrelated in one solid system all parts of which are closely united. In the present article, also, the attempt is made to develop Robertson Smith's remarkably suggestive statements.

system. In a word, the conception of a system of belief and practice where gods and worshippers are very closely related and belong to the same system of ideas serves as a standard or type. All views of divine immanence and transcendence, of the nearness or remoteness of a Supreme Power, of the permanent or negligible part that this Power takes in mundane affairs, and therefore all views, both of the necessity of a *distinctive* concept 'God' and of its meaning, depend essentially upon the coherence or systematization of the leading relevant conceptions of life, and upon the interrelation between the differentiated aspects of life and thought.

8. Totemism and exogamy.—(1) Some extremely interesting questions are raised by totemism and exogamy. Totemism (*q.v.*) is especially remarkable for its striking contrast to all anthropomorphism or anthropopathism, where the spirits or gods who are venerated, respected, or feared are thought of or described as partly or wholly human and with human traits. In totemism the social group, and particularly an exogamous one (see § 9), stands to a species of animal or plant (generally edible), or to an object or class of objects, in an intimate relation of friendliness or close kinship; and the totem is treated, not precisely as a deity, but as a cognate and one to be respected (*e.g.*, not to be eaten or used, or at least only under certain restrictions).[1] Totemism is essentially a social cult (with some remarkable forms in Central Australia); but 'individual' totems are also found (notably the 'spirit-guardians' of N. America). There are many variations, and it is disputed (*a*) which particular variety is to be treated as typical, and (*b*) whether totemism is a primary and invariable stage in all human evolution.[2] Animal features (theriomorphism) frequently recur on higher levels; of this there are noteworthy examples in Egypt of the Hellenistic age. But here we have not so much pure totemism as totemistic tendencies and modes of belief and practice analogous to those which among really rudimentary peoples characterize totemism as a social or individual system. As for anthropomorphism, it is certainly not absolutely primitive; it represents a stage typically later than theriomorphism; and, when the latter appears on the higher levels, it is not the thoroughgoing system of the lower levels. While typical totemism has not reached the level of typical anthropomorphism, the latter can become indefinite, inadequate, and crude. The late Egyptian theriomorphism is best regarded, not as a mere survival, but as a popular and unsystematized tendency at a period when the national religion was decadent and unsatisfying. What is really most characteristic of all totemism is its non-anthropomorphism (below, § 17 ff.); but, while the totem is impersonal or 'sub-human' to the outside observer, to the totemist it is as personal as is the doll or toy-animal to the child. Totemism and all theriomorphic features involve problems of symbolism, imagery, and the consciousness of human personality in its relation to animal and other life. A feeling of peculiar affinity with animal or plant life is by no means confined to totem-clans or rudimentary peoples; but the characteristic *systems* distinguish totemism from all those cases where the theriomorphic details might seem, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, to point to totemism or its survival. In any case, the alleged survival or re-appearance of totemism on a generally higher level of society will indicate typical modes of feeling and expression which help to explain the undeniable totemism of the lower levels. Here are data of the greatest significance for the development of the consciousness of human personality.[1]

(2) In Babylonia there is a characteristically 'unstable anthropomorphism.' The imagination in its highest exaltation is, on the whole, anthropomorphic, 'but often in the ecstasy of invocation the religious poets felt the human image too narrow and straitened for their struggling sense of the Infinite. Then the expression becomes mystic, and . . . avails itself of theriomorphic imagery.'[2] Thus, totemism is not merely an extremely curious animal (and plant) cult, but it illustrates systematized and socialized modes of thought which recur 'outside' as well as 'below' the anthropomorphic mode of thought. The anthropomorphic ideas—perfectly familiar and intelligible in the higher religions—are not only not of primary origin, but they do not always do justice to human experience, *and that on many different levels.* The tendency then is to find an outlet in ideas which are non-anthropomorphic and, for this reason, are often spoken of as 'mystical'; but, strictly speaking, it is always a question whether mystical ideas are then really superior or inferior to those that they repudiate.[3]

9. Exogamy and kinship.—(1) Although exogamy (marriage outside the group) in contrast to endogamy (marriage within it) concerns the history of kinship and society rather than that of religion, certain points require notice. Especially noteworthy is the classificatory system of kinship, where a man's status and marriage-rights are the criterion, and the social practices and the terms of relationship refer to a group or class as a whole, and not to individuals (see art. KIN, KINSHIP). The point of view is collective: the group thinks of itself as a single unit, and the feeling of solidarity readily tends to be absolute. Hence it can happen that the fact that a child is a member of a group is more important than the identity of the father, or even of the mother. Now, while exogamy proper avoids the close and incestuous marriages which occur in an endogamous society, exogamous *tendencies* sometimes appear, and even to the extent of forbidding marriage between persons of the same district or name. Moreover, endogamous *tendencies* appear, and are sometimes influenced by the desire to preserve unity, to keep together property, or to prevent a clan from dying out. Hence the tendencies which re-appear in different forms are not to be confused with the special cases of exogamy and endogamy proper. On the other hand, definite ideas are implied throughout: endogamy made for solidarity, unity, and oneness, whereas exogamy avoided the physical and psychical effects of any close unity and made for the movement and exchange of ideas.[4] In any case, the physical or material aspects, however conspicuous, are not so fundamental as the feelings and convictions which now allow what a later generation will reject, and now enforce, on occasion, a chastity and restraint for no obvious 'rational' reason. In other words, the practical working group is not necessarily united by ties of blood-kinship as we reckon it.[5] Any group of individuals united by profound ideas may look upon themselves as one, and the bond will be closer as regards the particular functions of that group than

[1] See the definition of W. H. R. Rivers, *The Hist. of Melanesian Society*, Cambridge, 1914, ii. 75. This section confines itself particularly to animal totems; other aspects of totemism are noticed below, § 17 ff.

[2] See, generally, F. B. Jevons, *An Introd. to the Hist. of Religion*, London, 1896; Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, iv.; Durkheim, bk. ii. The methodological question is: What conception of totemism best enables us to handle the relevant facts? (Similarly the methodology of religion has to determine the conception of religion that best answers all the facts of life and thought.)

[1] See artt. ANTHROPOMORPHISM, PERSONIFICATION, and, for a suggestive treatment, Caird, i. 213 f., 264 ff., 270 ff., 294 ff.

[2] L. R. Farnell, *Greece and Babylon*, Edinburgh, 1911, p. 55, also p. 13 f., and all ch. iv.

[3] On the general relation between totemism and mysticism cf. J. E. Harrison, *Themis*, Cambridge, 1912, *passim*, and *Ancient Art and Ritual*, London, 1913.

[4] Marriage into another group constantly forces adjustment of beliefs and practices; on the lower levels the wife may be dedicated to the husband's deity (Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, i. 72; cf. iv. 242), or the bridegroom may discard his own totem and paint on his face that of the family of the bride (E. S. Hartland, *Primitive Paternity*, London, 1909–10, ii. 44).

[5] Note the prevalence of adoption, blood-covenant, artificial kinship, the levirate, etc.

the bond between the members and actual blood-relations who are not members. The group feeling, it is true, can kindle extreme ideas of communism and oneness; but, although physical and sexual factors are near at hand, and grave excesses can occur, the unit or group idea is not logically or fundamentally physical, and in fact, in social-religious systems, sexual aspects of life are explicitly regulated and subordinated to what may be called the ideal (cf. also below, § 23 [3]).

(2) The distinction between exogamy and endogamy proper, as primitive social systems, and exogamous or endogamous tendencies is analogous to that between totemism and totemistic or theriomorphic tendencies (above, § 8 [1]). The history of society and that of thought do not advance *pari passu*; none the less, the social vicissitudes and the religious ideas constantly interact. The closer the social unity, the more do gods and men form a single whole—the gods are 'our' gods, and not of the royal, priestly, or any other exclusive class of society. Moreover, the conception of a dominant goddess implies ideas of dominant women, and the entire psychology of sex will reflect itself in ideas concerning female saints and deities. Hence also the paradoxical extremes, where goddesses and priestesses are prominent—chastity and gross impurity, tenderness and fierceness. Again, the conception of the Fatherhood of God would be meaningless where paternity was of little account; and the notion of divine sovereignty is hardly intelligible where there is no experience of overrule or lordship. So ideas of social equality and democracy influence the way in which men think of a deity; and, conversely, every adequate conception of deity involves adequate views of the relations between both man and man and man and God. Convictions of a 'chosen' people or of some particularistic and narrowly 'national' God reflect in their turn the interrelation between current sociological, historical, and psychological conditions; and they emphasize the fact that man's religious ideas and conceptions, where genuine, cannot be torn away from his ordinary life and thought, but all form some sort of a system, however imperfect.

10. Psychology.—(1) Theories of religious development must be based upon observation of actual historical vicissitudes and the psychological aspects of religion. Complexity of thought, found even in Central Australian totemism and other primitive cults, points to complexity of history; for complex history makes complex thought. Here, principles of historical criticism are indispensable. There is a common tendency to focus upon outstanding persons, events, and periods changes more numerous and greater than those for which they are actually responsible, and to assume periods of almost absolute stagnation (*e.g.*, the 'Dark Ages'). On the other hand, movements of thought are, alternately, relatively slow and fast; sweeping and sudden changes are not permanent in themselves, though they can leave permanent results, and they are the outcome of slow preliminary steps which may not be recognizable. The whole environment invariably moves more slowly than the reformers or the reforming tendencies, which are usually local, one-sided, partial, specialistic, or extreme. The actual facts of religious development, and the relationship between different stages of the process, can be directly ascertained by historical study.[1] Against the apparently obvious cases of immediate and deep influence must be placed the cases of drastic adjustment, cataclysm, and relapse and failure.[2] These prove that beliefs and customs are not mechanically accepted or assimilated, and that the ethnological and historical factors have their psychological side (cf. § 4 [2]). From a psychological point of view, questions of external influence are not necessarily so important as the mental factors and processes which are involved—*e.g.*, the ability of the individual to accept, retain, and utilize certain ideas, the preliminary mental development necessary, his psychical, moral, or spiritual needs and aspirations. The psychological method is concerned with men, their mental states, their interests and values, and the relation between the religious and other aspects of their life and thought. It considers the *subjective* value of the beliefs and practices of the individual. Many relatively simple inquiries must be made before complete synthetic statements can be ventured, and consequently no 'superhuman' or 'supernatural' factors, causes, or elements can be presupposed. That men have experiences which compel them to distinguish what they call the 'divine' from the 'human' no one can dispute; but the psychological method can deal only with the human side of the great questions, as apart from the problem of the actual underlying realities.

[1] Note, *e.g.*, the history of religion in W. Asia and India (cf. esp. Alfred C. Lyall, *Asiatic Studies: Religious and Social*[2], London, 1907), the influence of invading Romans and Normans upon England, the effect upon Japan of the thought of China and W. Europe.

[2] See, for a notable example, the monotheistic reform of Amenhotep IV. (art. PHILOSOPHY [Egyptian], vol. ix. p. 858).

(2) To the psychological department belong many extremely important inquiries: (*a*) the growth of the mind (the mind of children and of savages), the relation between human and animal psychology; (*b*) the dawn of religion in the young, and notably the data of 'conversion,' as regards both the psychical states of the individual and the effect of the 'regeneration' upon his ideas, attitudes, and conduct; (*c*) 'the varieties of religious experience' (the title of a striking work by William James [London, 1902]), together with the facts of religious revivals, mysticism, spiritism, occultism, ecstasy, and prophetism; (*d*) the 'subconscious,' a field with many pitfalls, although the elementary facts show that that of which the individual is conscious at any time is part of a larger whole, that he can attend only to partial aspects, and that *theoretically* there must always be a less imperfect synthesis than that which he gains by his fragmentary glimpses, and, therefore, that there must be the possibility of a less imperfect, less undeveloped Self than the present one; (*e*) noteworthy also are the elementary facts of the effect of mind upon body (faith-cure, Christian Science, New Thought [*qq.v.*], etc.), and *vice versa*, all of which are significant for the ultimate relationship between what we distinguish as the physical and the psychical. Further, (*f*) through abnormal and pathological phenomena a clearer idea is obtained of the sound and healthy mind-body, and the evidence is instructive for all conceptions of personality (normal or 'dissociated'), for alienation of personality and double consciousness, the danger of weak control, of absence of homogeneity and of continuity of interests, of extreme and morbid egotism, and of persistent obsession. Finally, (*g*) the interconnexion of the physical and the psychical sides of the individual (illustrated especially at adolescence, in the sexual life, and in ideas associated with birth, marriage, and death) involves facts of which account must be taken by any science of religion. No doubt the enormous stock of data from which to reach a just conception of religion includes much that belongs to the extreme, the irrational, and the abnormal. There is much that is without the elements of practicability, permanence, and progressiveness, and that forces a contrast with those conditions where these elements recur, and there is a certain equilibrium of religious and social life and thought. All inquiry which is scientific, and not purely antiquarian, has the future in view, and a just conception of religion must treat religion as a persisting phenomenon; hence it must determine the elements in question, and distinguish them from the features which, however frequently they recur, do not make for endurance or advance. Proceeding in this way, we have to consider man as the outcome of a lengthy evolution, a progressive, thinking animal, able to speak, to form concepts, to preserve his experiences in oral tradition and in writing, to reflect upon the past, and, by so doing, able in greater measure to shape the future. Man is thus part of other organic life which has made its appearance in the course of the history of the universe; and as a result of development he is able to differentiate the human and the non-human, the psychical and the physical, the religious and the non-religious. From these biological, anthropological, and evolutionary points of view, the development of man is that of increasing knowledge, function, and ability, though what is most significant is the individual's increasing consciousness of the past, of the self, and of the universe; for this development in consciousness is one of quite another type.

11. The psychological method.—Characteristic of the psychological treatment of religion are (1) the insistence upon the human aspects, and (2) the association of data, however unusual, with familiar beliefs and practices. The general aim is to fasten upon the features which unite the religious and non-religious sides of our common human nature. Thus, the deification of kings, saints, and heroes in the past finds analogies in ordinary modern hero-worship; the individuals throughout are personalities *qualitatively* different from others. Again, the psychological efficacy of the fetish and that of the modern mascot are akin. Moreover, all initiation ceremonies involve similar typical ideas, which recur wherever it is a question of entrance into privileged groups or private societies jealous of their rights and of their solidarity; even

'hazing' is in some respects reminiscent of the torments and tortures inflicted elsewhere upon the novice. Also, it is *à propos* to note the 'best clothes' feeling, the impressiveness of uniform and ceremonial, and the attitude of the average individual to his treasured souvenirs and all other centres of deep feeling. Instructive, too, is the spontaneous, unreflective, and unsystematized behaviour of him who kicks the table 'which has hurt him' (not 'against which he has hurt himself') and the attitude of children to inanimate dolls and toys. The strange effectiveness of tabu and magic can be psychologically associated with everyday facts of conscience and with ordinary features of suggestion, telepathy, and hypnotism. Especially interesting from a psychological point of view are such topics as sin, confession, forgiveness, sacrifice, communion, prayer, and ritual. Whatever be the reader's conception of religions or of religion in general, there are everyday facts of human nature of the first importance for the study of the nature of man. All enduring religion has specific psychological aspects, material for the science of human nature; and, conversely, the psychological study of man is of the first importance for a better knowledge of his religious and other 'deeper' sides. In general, the psychological method emphasizes (*a*) the essential and fundamental resemblances throughout mankind, underlying the many different beliefs and practices, (*b*) the undoubted *subjective* value to the individual of his religious and other convictions, as apart from their value for his or another environment, and (*c*) the tendency of religion, when it is genuine or effective, to be inextricably bound up with what is not specifically religious.[1]

12. **The theory of interpretation.**—(1) Important methodological problems at once arise. It has been urged that savage or rudimentary men are psychologically so different from the civilized individual that the latter's interpretations of them are inapplicable. But the savage is, by definition, a human being; some intercommunication is possible between him and the civilized. Besides, all men share certain instincts, and on ordinary biological and other grounds *some* essential resemblances must recur among all men. The problem is obviously the extent of the resemblances. Everywhere there are differences; no two leaves or stones are absolutely identical in all respects. But ordered thought must invariably start with the points of resemblance — otherwise there can be no further progress; and what is necessary is to ensure that these justify the conclusions one draws, and that the latter are not invalidated by the differences. There are undoubted psychological differences, even in the same family, circle, or environment; but these are not so important for preliminary inquiry as the undoubted points of similarity, and no sound reasons can be given for denying a fundamental psychological resemblance between the highest and the lowest individuals.[2]

(2) In interpreting another mind (savage, child, animal-pet, etc.) it is easy to ascribe to it a consciousness or knowledge which it does not possess, or to discern in its activities a meaning or purpose of which it is ignorant (cf. above, § 6 [2]). Here the data on one level or in one environment are interpreted from the point of view of the observer. This, however, is an everyday normal process, and there is everywhere some risk of more or less serious misinterpretation. But the risk may be lessened by considering the data in their own context, and by determining whether the interpretation demands facts outside the scope of the subject under consideration. The interpretation may lie between two extremes, as when the care of animals for their young is too closely paralleled with that of parents for their children, or, on the other hand, is treated as merely mechanical and devoid of all suggestion of feeling. Every interpretation involves some notions of reality, which of course may be ultimately erroneous. Now, if other levels were psychologically quite distinct from our own, not only would they be entirely unintelligible, but every theory or interpretation, however absurd or incredible, could defend itself by declaring that our conceptions of reality did not apply. But we intuitively demand an intelligible interpretation, and thus implicitly assume a psychological relationship (see above, [1]). If every theory of the beliefs and practices on levels other than our own may legitimately be tested by our logic and by our own conceptions of reality, this psychological and humanistic type of interpretation is sounder than a crude rationalism which betokens a mentality utterly different from that of those whom it condemns or opposes, and would implicitly ascribe to savages and others mental processes and ideas so different from those we can understand that they would really lie outside the scope of criticism. See below, § 15.

(3) Every interpretation represents the observer's conception of the true meaning, and it may have involved some significant psychical development on his part to reach it. Moreover, every sympathetic appreciation tends to discern the features felt to be permanent and worthy, and to pass over those which have lost their value. Thus, the data always become much more significant for the observer and his level than for their own. In fact, what some other level or mind *really* is often eludes us; nor is it always so important for us as what it contributes to us or what it can or did develop into. A perfect interpretation—to see things as another mind sees (or saw) them—is often impossible, unnecessary, or of secondary importance. What is essential is a sympathetic comprehension which can retain its independence, objectivity, and power of criticism. Such a combination would find an illustration in the attitude of parent to child or of teacher to pupil. The mental or psychical situation involves the co-existence of mutual intelligibility and the consciousness of a psychical difference. Now these two represent phases of immanence and transcendence. Consequently, the principles of the relation between mind and mind (and especially when there are significant differences between them) are extremely suggestive for the religious problems of a divine (transcendent) mind in immediate (immanent) relationship with man. All ideas of the unknown, including those of the relation between God and man, are influenced by the known (by conditions, data, etc., which are felt to be suggestive and analogical); hence, not only are the principles of the interpretation of minds, and of the relationship between minds, of very great importance for the theoretical study of religions—and also for the practical and political problem of the attitude to minds which are felt to be inferior—but the very tangible problems which they bring have a real bearing upon the more ultimate religious problem of the interrelation between personality human and divine.[1]

13. **The individual and the group.**—(1) It has also been objected that there is an essential difference between the psychology of the individual and that of the group. Certainly, the spontaneous contrast of society and the individual is the recognition that society is more than a mere aggregate or sum of separate individuals. But, while society is a working system or unit, every man of individuality is measured by his value to society, and a man with no social instincts whatever would scarcely be a human being. Society moves only through the constituent individuals who differ and who initiate movement; men of some individuality are found on low levels, and it is obvious that the first pre-historic social group was sooner or later disturbed by men whose beliefs and practices differed from those of the rest.[2] Hence, from the very first, human progress has depended upon individuals who differed in some particular respect from their fellows. Now, the psychology of a group is that of individuals *qua* social beings. Whether in the madness of the 'Terror,' in joint religious service, or in quiet normal intercourse, there are seen merely different states in the life-history of individuals. When all has been said of 'the psychology of the mob,' and of its ultra-emotional and irrational aspects, the fact remains that there can be no absolute gulf between (*a*) the normal states of an individual, and (*b*) the unusual or even abnormal states when, as he may afterwards protest, he was 'not himself'—states which may be repudiated, or which, again, may manifest some rare, profound, and unsuspected depths. Thus, man's modes of thought and action are varyingly individual or collective, normal or intense (abnormal, etc.); and he who is now entirely one with the mob, the team, or the social group, and now markedly egoistic or individualistic, is one and the same individual at different points of one and the same life-history.

---

[1] The most important literature on religious psychology is French and American. Among recent works may be mentioned: I. King, *The Development of Religion: a Study in Anthropology and Social Psychology*, New York, 1910; E. S. Ames, *The Psychology of Religious Experience*, do. 1910; J. H. Leuba, *A Psychological Study of Religion; Its Origin, Function, and Future*, do. 1912; G. A. Coe, *The Psychology of Religion*, Chicago, 1916. It should be observed that a psychological study of religion can treat religion as a human phenomenon, and in its functional, individual, sociological, and other aspects, but it cannot nullify the subjective distinctiveness of religion, nor can its theories of the objective source or foundation of religion (*e.g.*, in humanity) be more than merely theories.

[2] See G. S. Patton, *The Philosophical Review*, xxi. [1912] 455–462; J. M. Baldwin, *Thought and Things: or Genetic Logic*, London and New York, 1906–11, vol. iii. p. x ff.; W. H. R. Rivers, *HJ* x. [1911–12] 393 ff.; Webb, ch. vi.

[1] It is to be observed at this point that the resemblances which the comparative and psychological methods emphasize are not to be allowed to obscure the differences. Where comparisons are made (between religions, minds, etc.), there is, logically, something which appears in varying forms, which might re-appear in some new and as yet unknown form, or which might be supposed to exist in some ideally perfect form. Logically, therefore, religious data could conceivably take new forms without the limitations found or alleged in those that are current, old interpretations of data could be replaced by new ones, and the existence of minds varying in powers of comprehension and sympathy will suggest the possibility of a Mind infinitely wiser than that of man. Further applications of this principle (on which cf. § 4 [2]) will be found below.

[2] Men of distinct individuality may be found low down in the ethnological scale; see Spencer-Gillen[3], pp. 12, 14 ff.; Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, i. 354.

(2) Although nothing seems more real than the individual with all his self-consciousness, there must be some more ultimate reality of which he is but a part. A group or organization may appear more real than the individuals upon whom it depends, and who in turn operate through it. But it is not a complete or ultimate reality, because it is only part of an environment which is indispensable to it, and there are other individuals outside it. Moreover, the human group came into existence at a relatively late stage in the evolution of the universe, and such is the relationship between human and other life, and between the organic and the inorganic, that ultimate reality must be sought, not in society, the state, or any other organization, nor even in mankind (as in some modern types of ethical religion), but in something of which all that which is shown to be ultimately interconnected forms a part (cf. § 10 [2], end). Here, however, we have all kinds of convictions, theories, and so forth, so that while, on the one side, the self-conscious individual has no doubt of his own real existence, it cannot be doubtful, on the other side, that there are ultimate realities concerning which opinions differ. Hence we may say that (*a*) between the real self-conscious individual and the ultimate realities there come all the sociological, naturalistic, religious, and other conceptions of the place of the individual in the universe, and of the nature of the realities; and further, (*b*) that these supply material for perfectly objective investigation.

(3) Sociological inquiry has already emphasized the indebtedness of the individual to his social environment. He is born into and grows up in the current thought of his age, and he both selects from it and contributes to it as his own body of thought develops. But he does not 'become' a member of society; rather, as an integral part of some larger whole, and starting from an inconceivably rudimentary individuality, he gradually manifests an ever more distinctive and complex self, the real value of which depends upon his relation to his fellows. The more conscious and purposeful selection and choice of his later years are preceded by a less conscious procedure, which, however, is generally effective and beneficial; and the conscious efforts to co-ordinate mental and physical activities and to prepare for the future follow upon stages where co-ordination and preparation have already been at work. The growth is one of awareness and consciousness, and of deeper and wider realization of existing facts and possibilities. It brings the possibility of greater effectiveness, and not only can the individual take an objective attitude towards many of his own beliefs and practices, but he can even realize the painful difference between an ideal self and that congeries of dispositions, convictions, practices, and so forth, wherein he manifests himself and which he may desire to remedy, improve, or even escape. Consequently, one can view the life-history of the individual as a great complex series of vicissitudes, differing in their significance for his development—like the events in the history of a country; beneath its manifestations lies the self that undergoes development, and the individual will recognize realities profounder than the most real events of ordinary experience. Thus, not only must the individual be regarded as a part of some larger whole, but the nature of his development points to an 'ultimate' self underlying all its manifestations, to a reality transcending ordinary knowledge, and to an increasing consciousness of that which is felt to be most essential for the further progress of the self. The psychology of the individual and that of the social group are not opposed, although the man as a distinct individual or as a fraction of society manifests himself differently. What is of supreme importance throughout is the individual, for he contributes to society, he is for or against his environment, he accepts or opposes current ideas, and he is a living personality; on the other hand, the society, group, or state depends for all effective purposes upon a body of principles, ideas, practices, and institutions, and these again and again prove to stand in need of reconsideration and correction by the constituent individuals.

14. Psychological truth.—(1) Among the individual's states of consciousness are those which differ so profoundly from the rest that they compel some distinctive description. Through them the individual comes to have convictions of 'another' world, as distinct from the world of ordinary experience of time and space—the empirical world of which, however, his knowledge is based only upon partial aspects. While all 'religious' and related experiences are felt to be entirely different from those of 'ordinary' life and thought, they occur interspersed amid the latter, and are interpreted and described through them. All the intenser experiences are typically of the profoundest personal significance and of abiding value; they are visions to be realized, starting-points for further reflexion and explanation, and intuitions authoritative for subsequent conceptions of the universe. But the experiences, viewed broadly, are not all necessarily religious, or even beneficial in their results, and one may distinguish between similar types of psychical state and the content—whether it belongs to this or the other religion, or has no religious characteristics, or is without permanent ethical value. Throughout, prior experience and knowledge condition both the content of the new experience and the subsequent reflexion which elaborates it. A criticism of the form, expression, or content does not necessarily affect the fundamental psychical facts, and between the most intense and abnormal states and the normal and healthy examples there are many stages, but no impassable gulf. Religious literature abounds in evidence which is of the greatest importance for the psychical nature of man; and it emphasizes the fact that all the religious states, whatever their content, are natural, integral, and inseparable parts of existence and experience. Consequently, the psychological investigation of religious and related (æsthetic, etc.) experience does not find that the relationship with the divine, the knowledge of higher truths, or the consciousness of a transcending happiness or grandeur is only for the chosen few: what is psychologically applicable to the normal individual has a virtually universal application—for all individuals. Indeed, this relationship, especially among rudimentary and naive religions, is almost mechanical (below, § 18 [3]). Nor is this altogether unexpected (cf. Mt $7^{7.\ 11}$). But this experience of a relationship, as also the familiar ideas of God's need of and love for man, must be balanced by the recognition that not every religious expression or practice is *effectively* religious (cf. v.$^{21ff.}$). Religion characteristically tends to set an exceedingly high standard of motive, thought, and conduct; it demands an absolutely sincere manifestation of the inmost self, and an absence of selfishness and guile (cf. 1 Co 13). Hence religion must be regarded as involving all that which is profounder, more constructive, and more permanent than all the ephemeral, casual, and superficial things of life; it is bound up with a development of personality which is to be in all respects 'whole' and 'healthy.' Consequently, to determine the essential nature of religion, it is necessary to look beneath the surface of men's beliefs and practices and determine what is dynamic. The problems of ultimate truth and reality, whether among rudimentary or among advanced peoples, are bound up with our knowledge of the depths of human personality; and the familiar religious conviction, that a Supreme Power to whom all 'reality' is known can see into the hearts of men and distinguish 'true' religion, really implies that ideas of a Supreme Power, of Ultimate Reality, and of the underlying self must be essentially interconnected. The goal of the science of religion is to see religion as God would see it!

(2) The religion that is most effective involves the very depths of man's personality, and inevitably concerns the greatest realities which he can conceive. But, although the religion of every sincere individual may be subjectively conclusive, its objective value will unhesitatingly be tested by the men and knowledge of his or of a later day. The truth of an individual's religion cannot therefore be necessarily regarded as ultimate, complete, objective truth. Even the savage can find peace and strength in his religion, and fetishes and mascots can be psychologically efficacious. But the progress of knowledge and all thought cannot be set aside with impunity. No religion has ever been able to remain aloof from the trend of thought without suffering the penalty; and, although again and again the religion and thought of some environment may be in conflict, the recurring periods of harmony have been more significant for progress. It is necessary to recognize the persistent efficacy and persuasiveness of religious and other (*e.g.*, superstitious) beliefs and practices, even where they represent a knowledge or a mode of thought very different from one's own. Hence, a distinction must be maintained between the fundamental psychical tendencies, underlying convictions, and the like—which are proved by the comparative method to recur in manifold different forms (cf. § 4 [2])—and the particular forms, arguments, etc., which may no longer retain their old validity (cf. p. 669^{b}, n. 1). This is to distinguish between some expression and what it is intended to express, and between a conviction and the various ways in which it is substantiated (*e.g.*, beliefs in a soul, or in a superhuman guardian, or in an approaching 'new age,' etc.).

Here another important distinction is to be drawn, viz. between that which has a psychological basis in immediate experience and the further secondary more or less logical elaboration of it. Thus a genuine belief in the kinship of a deity can rest primarily only upon certain experiences which seemed to find a natural expression in terms of relationship (cf., *e.g.*, the 'Fatherhood of God'). But they are symbolical or analogical, and errors multiply whenever the origin of such terms is forgotten, and the words, taken in a literalistic manner, form the basis of argument unchecked by resort to the original data of experience. Similarly, the idea of a 'Kingdom of Heaven' will primarily be justified by psychical facts (aspirations, longings, etc.), although it is at once capable of development suggested by the experience of earthly kingdoms. The words, 'the kingdom of God is within you' (Lk 17^{21}), represent a profound transition from concrete imagery, which was open to misunderstanding, to a more psychological statement, and this in turn is capable of a certain psychological development which, however, can go astray.

15. The theory of reality.—(1) On sociological, biological, and even chemical grounds, the individual is in various respects a 'part' of that which is greater and more permanent than his growing and dying body. Not only do his intuitions and convictions testify to some greater and more permanent reality, but these are the mainspring of his life and they take into their service all that we call material and physical, and that belongs to space and time. The various polytheistic and monotheistic convictions of men, like the conflicting religious, philosophical, and other conceptions of the universe, indicate either that there are no stable or dependable realities or that it is men's convictions and conceptions of the realities that vary and develop. The latter is the only rational view if there is to be any effort to think coherently about the world; and a distinction must be drawn between the ultimate realities and the conceptions, formulas, etc., which may be felt to *be* the realities themselves. Thus, the mystical experience, *e.g.*, is felt to be reality itself, although the striking and conflicting varieties of experience indicate that it must be of subjective and not objective validity. That variation and development are to be expected is shown also by the vicissitudes of religion, due to individuals who are unable to accept what to others has absolute validity, and who have convictions which are felt to be more real than those already current. Human personality is profounder than any given system of life or thought, and consequently the soundest theory of reality must be based upon the existence of (subjective) convictions of reality which obtain among men. These and their vicissitudes provide the material for the most logical theory of reality.

(2) Explanations, interpretations, theories, and the like all imply some notions of ultimate reality. Thus, *e.g.*, the popular theories of primitive or universal serpent, stone, phallic, or astral cults, if taken seriously and rigorously pursued in their implications, would have the greatest significance for all conceptions of God, man, and the universe. As a general rule, even sweeping theories may seem immediately plausible or absurd, as the case may be, but the logical aspects are invariably complicated, and the theory will be favoured, because it explains a certain number of facts, or condemned, because of the facts which are ignored or interpreted in some forced manner. Indeed, the most absurd theory covers some unimpeachable facts; but, when it has once been obtained, evidence is forthwith more or less ingeniously twisted to it and it becomes Procrustean. Concepts, theories, systems, methods, attitudes, and positions have this twofold aspect—their *origin* in the presence of data which have been experienced and must be interpreted and organized, and their subsequent *application and employment* when the data, instead of being used to test or control them, are tested by them and viewed or interpreted in their light. This holds good of (*a*) modern theories, beliefs, convictions, concepts, etc., which flourish because of the sound elements they contain, and are injurious when their origin is forgotten and they become Procrustean; and (*b*) those of old, which in like manner must have flourished only because of their effective elements.

(3) Of the first importance for the theory of reality is the problem of religion and magic. It is obvious that any persistence of both must be due psychologically to certain effective elements (*e.g.*, subjective satisfaction). But, since magic is admittedly impermanent and unprogressive, and religion admittedly has had its periods of decay and revival, both contain certain ineffective elements which, in the case of religion, were not irremediable. Both include elements which are often styled irrational; and both involve convictions of man's relationship with the powers and processes of the universe and of the possibility of utilizing or of co-operating with them. But magic typically involves attitudes of compulsion and coercion; there are processes in the universe which are *not* beyond man's control; whereas dependence and humility are characteristic of religion. Yet the latter are not the only notes in religion (cf. § 18 [3]), and there is frequently a behaviour and attitude which can be styled magico-religious, being magical in its 'irrational' and external aspects and religious in its temper and spirit. Thus, we find convictions of a really profound relationship between man and the universe which are not confined to crass magic, but there are two fundamentally different attitudes (direct coercion or command, *or* indirect appeal or prayer), and, where the contemporary religion and magic are in conflict, the latter is typically anti-social and individualistic (cf. art. MAGIC [Introductory]). Here, magic is felt to be not so much untrue as a wrong handling of the truth; and it is regarded as irreligious and blasphemous, and is feared and dreaded. Consequently the problem of magic and religion involves (*a*) our own views, both of religion and of what is antithetical to it and to the progress of society, and (*b*) our own views of causation and reality; for we rely upon our own ideas of the relations between ourselves and the universe, and we must assume that the ultimate realities are the same everywhere. It follows, therefore, that the concept 'God' is fundamental: (1) because, from a theistic point of view, God is the ultimate judge between religion and magic, and (2) because, unless we have definite ideas of the ultimate realities and of God's place in the processes of the universe, the crassest magic cannot be finally estimated—for to hurt a rival by sticking pins into an image, and to expect rain by sympathetic magic or by prayer to a rain-god or a Supreme Deity, is to imply a theory of some ultimate interconnexion and causation, and upon this we have to make up our minds.

16. The concept 'God.'—(1) The value of all convictions and theories of God, man, and the universe must be at the mercy of the ultimate realities themselves, whatever these may prove to be; and this fact obviously conditions all critical inquiry. The concept 'God,' however it originated, both influences and is influenced by conceptions of reality and truth, and the fundamental problem concerns the necessity of the concept and its content. The theist will naturally accept the concept which, however, will tend to control his argument and as a rule will be only imperfectly analyzed. On the other hand, a procedure which seeks to be purely inductive and to construct a systematic view of the universe will, if it admits the concept, tend to use it illogically and without the wealth of significance which characterizes it for the theist. All the theories of the origin of religion are, therefore, extremely instructive for what they both spontaneously concede and imply. They are usually obliged to assume some most essential features (*e.g.*, awe, reverence, sacredness); or they confuse what *evokes* a religious feeling with the *origin* of it. It is meaningless to suggest to the true theist that his belief in a living God originated in the ancestor-worship, animism, or animatism of the past; such a notion is part of the fallacious theory of survivals (§ 4). However persuasive be the parallels, however striking the links between theistic and other beliefs, the external observer can easily overlook

the qualitative differences and the different 'systems' involved in each. The most rudimentary form of a feature is not thereby the origin of what appears in more advanced forms, and the data of totemism suffice to prove that the origin of a religion is not so practicable a problem as the interpretation of the rudest type of it.[1]

(2) The qualitative differences between the child's care for the doll and that of the mother for the babe, or between mere affection and genuine love, override any attempt to trace an actual linear or serial development from lower to higher, or the like. No intense or new experience (evoked by love, religion, crisis, war, etc.) can be successfully imagined, grasped, or calculated before its arrival; love is not a magnified affection, and religious experience is *sui generis*—save to the outsider. All intenser experiences are typically private, ineffable, and incommunicable; and ordinary language is admittedly a description in lower terms. So, in religion the 'Fatherhood of God' is —from a theistic point of view—an analogical expression of an experience, and, if it is developed in a purely literalistic manner, it loses its distinctiveness and is without the elements of development and progress. From another standpoint, the term might seem to be a construction, a figment, a theory, suggested primarily by mundane experience. But this will not explain the qualitative difference for the theist and the typical system of thought in which it appears.[2] In other words, the concept 'God' is inexplicable save as the result of a growth of consciousness, a realization, an awareness of that of which man can find only an imperfect and inadequate description. It is only in the secondary stages of each moment in the process that the term is treated as itself an object of knowledge; primarily the concept can be justified only as representing a reality of which man has come to have some conscious experience, and which he has been able to express only in a partial and limited way.

It is self-evident that, if we assume the existence of the reality whom man conceives of as God, this Supreme Power does not depend upon man's recognition. Wherever the conception makes its appearance, it must owe its authority and validity only to the consciousness of something distinctive and unique, something not covered by other terms; at the same time, it will be intelligible only because the new experience is blended with what is known and familiar. These are among the elements which go towards forming man's idea of God's transcendence and immanence (see § 31). The blend of old and new is significant, for, if man is ever to become aware of the (objectively) ultimate realities, his new conceptions cannot, for psychological reasons, be absolutely disconnected from those which he previously possessed; the realities to be intelligible cannot be absolutely unrelated to the prior experience. Finally, the fact that conceptions of God or of the ultimate realities have undergone development does not justify the supposition that either or both conceptions develop. The objective existence and nature of God do not depend upon this or the other theory or thinker; on the other hand, the great variety of religious beliefs and convictions would justify the theistic view that any 'divine revelation' must take up the individual as it finds him; it must come 'through the medium of our own mental and moral experience and equipment,' and 'this medium fashions its form.' Consequently, from a purely critical point of view, the remarkable variation in men's beliefs and practices, and the impossibility of reconciling many of the theistic and non-theistic convictions, make it necessary to approach even the profoundest and most sacred questions from the human side.

(3) Without a preliminary survey of some introductory questions it would not be possible to thread a way through the mass of data. The ultimate realities touching man, God, and the universe must be such that the different conceptions of them and their development can be in some measure explained; otherwise we imply innumerable realities and ignore both the results of careful comparison and the psychological relationship among all men. The data of religion can be handled methodically only on the assumption that there are certain profound truths, principles, and realities which are apprehended (*a*) in ways that can be shown to be related to one another, and (*b*) among men who are psychologically more alike than unlike: either experience and existence must be entirely irrational or some way of organizing and co-ordinating the diverse data can be found. The method is both deductive and inductive. The simplest classifications, even the merest beginnings, involve postulates and assumptions; all organization of data is due partly to prior selection—not to chance—and to some view which will be replaced later by other and more developed views. There is continuous alternation between the 'structure' or 'content' of a standpoint or of an attitude to things or of a 'world-view' and the things themselves, between the concept and its material, between the theory and the facts it embraces, between the method and the evidence it handles, between the vision of the goal and the method of reaching it. Neither member of each pair remains unchanged. Man has a consciousness, an awareness, a mode of experiencing, which is capable of progressive development; and in the history of religion we discern the vicissitudes of men's conceptions of what to them were the supreme ultimate realities. Just as data cannot be handled unless we are given methods of classification, postulates, etc., so we cannot 'construct' or 'invent' conceptions of reality, but must test, verify, and develop those which we find already in our possession, and which, such as they are, are the result of past experience. And, so long as the best description of reality depends upon men, and personal experience and convictions control both men's life and thought and their attitudes to one another, so long must a critical inquiry seek the road to reality in their conceptions of reality and in human personality.

III. *THE ELEMENTS OF RELIGION.*[1]—**17. Totem and other names.**—(1) For the classification of the 'elements' of religion it is necessary to observe the psychological identity of all religions, including even totemism, and the general similarity of the psychological, the historical, and the other factors in their development. Especially significant is the close connexion between theistic religion and totemism and all other cults or religions which are not theistic. The explicitly theistic convictions, when they enter the history of religion, produce, as in the history of the individual, a genetic development of thought, and not a stage entirely unrelated to its predecessor; and this allows the conclusion that theistic religious experience is not to be entirely separated from other religious experience. The theistic convictions undoubtedly cause a profound development, and there is no doubt a reshaping of the world of beliefs and practices. But there is none the less a genetic relation between earlier and later stages, and, consequently, it does not appear that the ultimate reality which we call 'God' was isolated from the consciousness in which He had not before been explicitly present. That is to say, it is a development in the human consciousness which—however caused—is the fundamental fact, and this conclusion is of vital significance for all interpretation of religion, especially on the 'lower' levels (cf. §§ 16 [2], 24 [1]). Totem-groups naturally owe their unity to the implicit or explicit recognition of principles and ideas which make for unity. The

[1] Cf. p. 669b, n. 1. It should be observed, therefore, that although it may be possible to see a certain continuity or sequence in data, it does not follow that there has been a simple development from any one of them to the next in the series.

[2] A theistic system is not a belief in God *plus* a system fitted to it, but an organic whole; cf. similarly the problem of the origin of totemism (§ 17), and of all else that can be regarded as a single unit.

[1] Although this division of the subject forms the real inductive starting-point, there must be preliminary ideas of method, classification, and so forth, otherwise (as can be seen from the conflicting results of the application of the 'comparative method') the evidence cannot be critically handled (see § 16 [3]). Here, only the merest outline can be represented, and further reference must be made to the works of Tylor, Frazer, Toy, Durkheim, etc., and, for §§ 17 ff. in particular, to the arts HOLINESS, TABU.

totem is the emblem, badge, symbol, or link; it is more than the mere animal or plant species, and its value lies in the meaning that it has for the group, in the system of beliefs and practices of which it is the centre. Though it has been denied that totemism is a religion, it is undeniably on the border-line, and there are variations such that, in Samoa, *e.g.*, the totems are almost, if not quite, gods.[1] No single element by itself is a proof of totemism; *e.g.*, animal names alone have no weight. The point lies in the context or system of thought, even as any given name compounded with Baal or Nebo does not necessarily prove the existence of a contemporary belief in those gods.

The suggestion that totemism arose through a literal interpretation of metaphorical, symbolical, or similar names, or that an animal or plant nickname was the origin, does not explain the organic *system* of cult. This suggestion emphasizes 'the usual savage superstition which places all folk in mystic *rapport* with the object from which their *names* are derived.'[2] But it begs the question; for a name could originate totemism only provided we grant the psychological and other factors which await explanation—viz. the meaning of 'superstition,' 'mystic,' and 'rapport.' What is important, however, is the assumption that a system can come into existence at a bound, since the fact of its being a system, and the presence of many gradations of totemism, as also the close parallelism between it and other cults, tell against the view that it can be explained by pointing merely to a particular element (viz. the name) and not by regarding the cult as an organic whole.[3]

(2) In fact the names of totems usually function similarly to those in other types of cults. For (*a*) not only will a particular stock of names often be reserved for the members of a totem-group, but (*b*) sometimes the names refer to the totem, as truly as compounds of Jah(weh), Baal, or Nebo indicate some sort of relationship between the god and the people.[4] Sometimes it is a solemn duty to keep the names in use, for otherwise the totem will feel neglected and be angry. Sometimes a native on lying down or rising up will murmur the name of his totem, which is believed to be helpful only to those who belong to the particular group. Again, the name of a totem must not be spoken heedlessly, or it is referred to indirectly; thus the Warramunga of Australia tell of a huge world-snake which is not called by its proper name, because to mention it too often would cause them to lose control over it, and the reptile would come and eat them up.

(3) Characteristic everywhere are not merely the associations of the name of revered or sacred objects, and what they betoken or presage (*nomen, omen*), but also the claims involved when names are conferred or assumed ('Name spells claim'). The name indicates the known, and there is a common tendency to identify the name with that for which it stands, to connect the name and the nature of a thing. So it is that change of name often suggested or indicated change of nature or personality, or a new stage in the history of an individual or a place.[1] As indicating a claim, the name is the written symbol or mark representative of the owner. A name will be kept secret lest an enemy by knowing it should have power over the holder of it; and the greater the owner, the more potent the name and the greater the need for care. To name the dead is to bring them vividly before one; hence the names of venerated and sacred beings, as also of harmful and evil ones, may not be used freely. The customs are psychologically quite intelligible. Consequently, the names that have valued or treasured associations, that mean much, are neither to be ignored or forgotten nor used carelessly and heedlessly. Two transitions are possible: the one is to keep the name secret, to avoid it, to replace it by another which will not have the old psychical force; in this way it falls out of use, or it is retained among the few, or it has a magical value—it is self-effective, automatic; the other makes the name too familiar and robs it of its earlier worth. Two stages can therefore be recognized—one where a name is effective on psychological grounds, as being part of a system of interconnected feelings and ideas, and the other where it is becoming or has become isolated and barren, with little or none of the former psychological, social, and intellectual significance. The latter stage is evidently ineffective and impermanent, whereas the former must have recurred from time to time; for, whether the name stands for what is visible (*e.g.*, the totem species) or for the invisible (the distant, the dead, a spiritual deity, etc.), it has an effective value only because of the appropriate feelings or ideas which it evokes. The first stage, then, is essential for all progressive development.

(4) Tabus against looking at or touching things are rarely applicable to totems, because the species is generally common; but they apply to the objects or vessels used in the totem cult. Everywhere there are sacred objects which may not be heedlessly gazed at or handled. Just as a sacred name calls up that to which it refers (*i.e.* typically, the reality itself, as it is apprehended), so objects are sacred and effective because of the associations. Thus, relics, bones of saints, etc., are used for magic; and parts of a man's body, or even his shadow or footprint, are regarded as essentially himself.[2] If, on the one hand, an object may lose its sanctity (cf. the vicissitudes of the bull-roarer and of sacred masks), on the other hand, an object that is treated as sacred appears as an organic part of an entire rite, cult, or system.

18. The sacred relationship.—(1) Psychologically, the sacredness of things (names, visible objects, etc.) is akin to the natural delicacy where one's treasured souvenirs and memories are concerned, where one's inmost personality is felt to be at stake, and where there are ideas which are neither to be obliterated or forgotten nor treated with familiarity and tactlessness. The fear of gazing heedlessly upon sacred objects applies also to particular individuals (priests, kings) who must be kept in seclusion because of the tabus.[3] The OT, in turn, illustrates the real danger felt in being in the presence of a divine being. The psychological foundation throughout is similar; there are some things which are too closely bound up with ideas of ultimate reality and personality to be lightly handled, or even to be treated objectively—the thought and the reality fuse into one.[4] That 'the pure in heart shall see God' (cf. Lk 5^8) is

[1] This is only to be expected, for, where we find the earliest stage of what we agree to call 'religion' (or 'ethics,' § 18 [1]), the distinctive features will appear in an environment which admitted of the development, and, as is the case wherever the necessity for a new concept appears, there must be a combination of the old and the distinctively new.

[2] Andrew Lang, in *EBr*[11] xxvii. 86, *Secret of the Totem*, London, 1905, pp. 121, 125.

[3] This reliance upon single elements and not upon their context or their system is a common cause of fallacious argument, when the comparative method is uncritically employed. Cf. also the erroneous view that theism originates in the superaddition of the belief in a God (above, p. 672[a], n. 2). For the 'birth' of systems cf. the sudden rise of eikon cults (*e.g.*, A. J. B. Wace, *Annals of Archæology and Anthropology*, Liverpool, 1910, iii. 22 ff.), of new religious cults in British New Guinea (E. W. P. Chinnery and A. C. Haddon, *HJ* xv. [1917] 448 ff.), of new castes in India (with an entire caste system), of cults of deified men in India and elsewhere, and the strange cult around the ideas of Fatherland, Liberty, and Reason at the French Revolution (Durkheim, p. 214).

[4] For (*a*) and (*b*) respectively see Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, ii. 343, 478, iii. 13, 329, 360, and i. 58 f., ii. 473 f., iii. 34 f., 77, 101 f., 272.

[1] Hence the idea of changing a name in order to change the personality finds a concrete parallel in the custom of changing clothes in times of crises (see W. R. Halliday, *BSA* xvi. [1909–10] 212 ff.). The tendency noted above finds its parallel in the higher (conceptual) development of thought when thought or description is confused with actual existence or reality.

[2] Cf. the evidence collected by Frazer, *GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, i. 174 ff.; pt. ii., *Taboo and the Perils of the Soul*, London, 1911, pp. 77 ff., 258 ff.

[3] Cf. *GB*[3], pt. ii., *Taboo*, chs. i., iv. § 1.

[4] Cf. Emerson, in his essay on Intellect: 'I would put myself in the attitude to look in the eye an abstract truth, and I cannot. I blench and withdraw on this side and on that. I seem to know what he meant who said, No man can see God face to face and live'

the complement of the fear of an Isaiah (Is 6^5), and the convictions herein involved are quite inexplicable unless they were based upon certain intense experiences and endorsed throughout the ages by those who had similar types of experience and could realize their validity. The evidence naturally varies in significance and spirituality. From totemism and upwards purificatory ceremonies on all solemn occasions abound. Among rudimentary and simple people the practices are extraordinarily concrete: fire, water, abrasion, scarification, change of clothing, etc., prepare the individual for the sacred ceremony. So, too, guilt is treated as something physical or material, to be washed away, removed by an emetic, or dispatched upon a scapegoat. The data represent a pre-ethical rather than an ethical stage. What we call 'ethical' was not born in a day (cf. p. 673[a], n. 1); and practices which were purely external could have no psychical or subjective efficacy. Ritual can be accompanied by its appropriate psychical, moral, or spiritual accompaniment, and can readily lose it; and the difference is between an apparently magical (or rather magico-religious) rite and a purely magical one (§ 15 [3]). Of the two, the former and not the latter can permit progressive development.[1] The apparent edification, the psychical transitions from feelings of fear, grief, or unworthiness to those of relief, forgiveness, and the like, and the persistence of the rites in practical social groups are incomprehensible unless the data are treated as entirely *bona fide* and rational within their limits. It is to be noticed that the purificatory and similar ceremonies are for practical purposes, when great values are at stake, and the welfare of the people is concerned. They have the effect of producing or strengthening a certain psychical state, a desired relationship; and, in point of fact, genuine feelings of confidence and security recur even among rudimentary religions in the midst of strange and apparently quite irrational tabus.

(2) Even the totem is supposed to help and succour the clansmen who respect it, and the individual totems or spirit-guardians are ready to strengthen those who own them. The help may be of a very general character, or the beliefs may be shaped by the attributes of the object: thus the eagle gives keen sight, and the bear gives strength—but the bear is slow and clumsy, and hence the protégé may suffer! The central object of the religious feelings and beliefs will thus stimulate thought; hence it is possible to consider separately (*a*) its objective nature, character, reputation (whether totem, deified ancestor, etc.), and (*b*) the feelings, needs, and psychical nature of the worshipper (see § 31 [4]). Throughout there is a reliance upon some explicit source or centre of definite or indefinite efficacy; and it is not unrelated to the perfectly vague and implicit reliance upon 'something' in the universe which will respond to the flung-out curse, the earnest adjuration, and the resort to lot or divination (cf. § 29 [1]). Whether the individual has explicit convictions or no, and however they may be shaped, the underlying ideas are essentially similar in spite of their profoundly different shapes and their effects upon his intellectual development.

(3) Especially noteworthy is the intuitive idea of reciprocal relationship; the evidence is strong enough to suggest the *do ut des* formula of sacrifice (*q.v.*). Yet the idea of a mutual undertaking which may seem a veritable bargaining (cf. in the *Rigveda*; also Jacob's vow [Gn $28^{20ff.}$]) is not necessarily so crude and unethical as it may appear (cf. the ideas in the Deuteronomic threats and rewards—*e.g.*, Dt 28 f.). But the conception of a god as unswerving and unalterable is the parting of the ways for religion and for magic. There are convictions of a certain uniformity, and a free response (cf. Mt $7^{7ff.}$), which make the promises of religion a free gift to 'everyone that thirsteth' (Is 55^1), and a reward for importunity (Lk $11^{5ff.}$). In striking contrast to the tendencies of the tabu to maintain a gulf between the sacred and the profane is the respectful friendliness, or the easy, confident, and even naive behaviour, as reflected, *e.g.*, in popular stories in the OT (Abraham [Gn 15^{8}], Moses [Ex 3^{12}], Gideon [Jg $6^{17.\ 22.\ 36f.\ 39}$], Hezekiah [2 K 20^{8}]). The child-like attitude in all its phases—good and bad—has parallels in personal religion and mysticism, and stands in the strongest contrast to the attitudes of subservience, humility, resignation, and submissive faith. So, in the OT itself, quite opposed to the spirit of the popular narratives in question is the Deuteronomic teaching which sternly forbids man to 'tempt' the Deity (*i.e.* put Him to the test).[1] The data are exceedingly instructive, especially when viewed in their historical development, because (*a*) the attitude to all that is delicate, intimate, and sacred readily passes from naive, free innocence to an attitude that is blameworthy—in this manner a relationship with one who is felt to be psychically superior can pass through familiarity to one with loss of respect; and (*b*) the institutional religion, like all organized thought, has commonly to restrain a certain individualism which from being markedly individualistic becomes extreme, antinomian, and irreligious.[2]

19. Ideas of imitation and identification.—(1) Signs, symbols, and tatu-marks can be used, like names, to indicate relationship, claim, or possession; and they are effective, provided they have an appropriate meaning and call up the required feelings and ideas. The symbol which stands for the totem, spirit, or god may be carved upon weapons, boundary-stones, utensils, etc., to signify the presence of a protective being, to warn off the evil-doer, and so forth. The symbol may even be cut or painted upon individuals, or the latter may wear skins, helmets, etc., to represent or symbolize the totem, spirit-guardian, or other protective power. Whether we find a realistic imitation or a symbol more or less conventional or no longer intelligible, the individual is very closely associated with a being who, however superior, stands in an intimate personal relationship with him. In war, *e.g.*, the wooden images of dead ancestors may be invoked or taken into the fight; and there may be an appeal to old heroes or to war-gods (who are sometimes deified heroes). But, when the warrior in some way imitates his protective genius, there is a virtual identity—the warrior does not fight *for* his god, but *with* or rather *as* his god. Sometimes the totem is painted on the dead, or otherwise associated with the corpse—a fitting climax when the individual and his totem are supposed to be of the same 'substance,' and the man is born of the totem stock. Even in totemism there is a certain identity of nature of man and his totem, together with the realization of a difference, and this co-existing 'immanence' and 'transcendence' faithfully reflects feelings of the paradoxical relationship between what we call the 'human' and the 'sacred' or 'divine.'

(2) The various imitative practices occur in commemorative ceremonies (*e.g.*, where dead ancestors are supposed to be present); but of far greater interest are those which represent needs or wants and their fulfilment. There are mimetic ceremonies to effect cures, to bring rain, to further the

[1] Intermediate steps in the advance are illustrated when the rites are explicitly associated with appropriate sentiments; cf. He 10^{22}, and the Syriac story of the woman who in the ceremonial washing cleansed her thoughts also (F. C. Burkitt, *Euphemia and the Goth*, London, 1913, p. 156).

[1] Cf. Driver's note on Dt 6^{16} in *ICC*.

[2] Psychologically, and apart from any theory of ultimate realities, it is significant that human personality develops, in religion, as in human life, where great values are concerned. A path has to be found between (*a*) utter familiarity, with the loss of the earlier recognition of one's own psychical inferiority, and (*b*) feelings of aloofness, remoteness, and of the gulf between the self and another self; see § 31 (3). Just as sacred objects are to be named, seen, or handled only with respect, so in religion there is an experience of a relationship which has to be treated similarly, and, although the relationship has human analogies, yet it is characteristically more vital than any in ordinary human life.

increase of edible animal and plant totems, etc. In these cases (especially in Central Australia) the groups or the headmen, by virtue of their relationship with the totem, are supposed to be able to exercise some control over it for their own purposes.[1] The practices are noteworthy for the solemnity, self-denial, and restraint which accompany them and forbid us to style them purely magical. Elsewhere it is not uncommon for groups or individuals to be ascribed power and authority over some one department of nature (rain, winds, crops, etc.), and the general principle implied is twofold: A can control B because of some relationship (resemblance, etc.) between them; or, to control B, or gain B's help, A must first enter into some close relationship.[2] The manifold beliefs and practices turn upon ideas of likeness, resemblance, and identity; and the main lines of development are: (*a*) a testing and verifying of the ideas, (*b*) the choice, on the one side, of special individuals, and the recognition, on the other, of special sources of activity such that, instead of a rain-totem *group*, we find (*a*) *individuals* credited with the power of controlling the rain, and (*β*) spirits and gods, either of rain or of less restricted powers (see § 25).

(3) Throughout, what is fundamental is the imitation, whether of the venerated being, the particular need, or the activity required. Now, the idea of imitating the holiness or perfection of a deity (*e.g.*, Mt 5^{48}) could not spring up suddenly; the desire for a spiritual, ethical, and *inward* resemblance cannot be separated psychologically from the rudimentary rites where men, *externally at least*, in some way assimilate themselves to their sacred beings, and not rarely with every sign of earnestness and solemnity. In this psychical state there is a communion, approaching identity, with the object of the profoundest ideas; there is a typical desire to reach the state and to profit from it. All imitation gives a certain reality to the conception entertained of the person who is being represented. Moreover, intense ideas and desires will tend to realize themselves in appropriate gestures and activities.[3] Hence the apparently magical representation of rainfall is not unintelligible from a psychological point of view, and it is significant that some of the ceremonies typically involve attitudes which are characteristic of religion. It is true that there is in religion a characteristic submission (not necessarily an attitude of passivity) to the supremacy of the divine will—'Thy will be done.' On the other hand, in magic 'there is too much "My will be done" about it all.'[4] But there is the third attitude, naive and confident, and for this the formula would be 'Our will be done.' This corresponds to the group-unity where men and their sacred beings form part of the same social system, and it is taken as a matter of course that the gods and men perform one another's will (cf. § 7 [2]). Moreover, logically speaking, this is a primary attitude and one that tends naturally to become that in which the individual acts as though he had only to control, coerce, or set in motion the required activities. The first attitude ('Thy will') is certainly not primary; and, while it is easy to understand the transition from an implicit 'Our will' to 'My will,' it is impossible to explain, psychologically and logically, any transition if the magical attitude is original. This is vital for all conceptions of religion; the apprehension of a qualitative difference must be taken as primary and fundamental. All human activity implies that there are processes in the universe with which man is co-operating; man in the course of development tests and purges his more unconscious presuppositions. The religious conception of reality involves the recognition of some ultimate interconnexion between the human and the divine, between man and the Supreme Power of the universe.[1] Even the crude imitative rites imply something worthy of imitation with self-denial, sacrifice, etc.; and the practices, together with the vague curse and the lofty prayer, imply a certain belief in their efficacy. To achieve his ends, man must make the necessary preparation and use the necessary factors; hence comes the need of concentration, discipline, self-control, and self-sacrifice, and the progress of thought consists in the better knowledge of what is indispensable if effective results are required (see, further, § 29). Here the efficacy of prayer and sacrifice comes under consideration.

20. **Sacrifice and prayer.**—(1) The data of sacrifice undoubtedly include some gross ideas of mere bargaining, and of cajoling and feeding the gods; they typically point to a relationship for utilitarian purposes, and thus the sacrifice appears as a preliminary gift in order to win the favour of the gods, or as a thank-offering afterwards. But, in its more suggestive form, the sacrifice is communal—it is a ceremony in which members of a unit participate, one which creates between them, for a time at least, a stronger bond of connexion than ties of blood.[2] In such a unit or bond the profoundest ideas are realized, and men and their sacred beings are brought into the closest relationship. The ceremony is psychically impressive, it is an intensifying and strengthening experience; and the state typically involves feelings of union and solidarity, and of communion or even identity with the sacred being. While sacrifice is felt to be effective, conversely, effective results are to be obtained by sacrifice and self-sacrifice. Hence extravagant asceticism, torture, and extraordinary self-mutilation (the last even before a fight [*GB*[3], pt. ii., *Taboo*, p. 160 ff.]) can produce a state of exaltation, infelt strength, and the conviction that the desired help *must* be forthcoming. Indeed, violent measures may be adopted in times of crisis or distress; and gloomy rites can reappear or be more intense in order to bring help or to stave off disaster or decay. Healthy asceticism, sacrifice, and self-denial—all psychically and physically beneficial—can thus take perverse forms in order to ensure, or virtually to *compel*, the benefits that are sought. That man by these measures can achieve his ends is in keeping with what proves to be a common presupposition: that the efficacy of 'nature' and the course of 'natural events,' in general, are connected with the behaviour of men, and particularly of such powerful and representative individuals as semi-divine kings and priests (cf. § 25 [3], and art. BRĀHMANISM, vol. ii. p. 800). Sacrifice has as its central idea the implicit or explicit assumption that there is some connexion between human behaviour and natural causation, whether directly or indirectly (*e.g.*, through a deity), and such an assumption goes behind the usual differentiation of man and nature, human and divine. Hence, the distinctively religious and the obviously magical aspects are often closely akin, although their significance for the development of thought is essentially different.

(2) Similarly as regards prayer.[3] The spell or

[1] See the critical summary by Durkheim, bk. iii. ch. iii.

[2] Cf. therefore the semi-magical character of the symbolical toilet or dress of old Oriental priests and kings, etc.

[3] See art. MAGIC, and cf. G. F. Stout, *A Manual of Psychology*[3], London, 1913, pp. 166, 392 f., 602 f.

[4] Marett, *Anthropology*, p. 208.

[1] The fact that we distinguish human and divine (and other antitheses—*e.g.*, man and animal) means, not that the two are absolutely distinct and unrelated, but that we realize a distinction between the constituents of some larger realm.

[2] For the latter cf. A. Barth, *Religions of India*, p. 274, and see, in general, W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*[2]

[3] See especially L. R. Farnell, *The Evolution of Religion*, London, 1905, pp. 163–231; F. B. Jevons, *An Introd. to the*

charm involves ideas of self-sufficiency and compulsion, and of a mechanism which has only to be set working, whereas the prayer primarily means a call upon the inner self, and is typically a communion with or an appeal to a Superior Power. But from the explicit prayer to a Heavenly Father for the daily bread there cannot be isolated the deeply-felt earnest wish, as when the Gold Coast negro cries: 'Heaven! grant that I may have something to eat this day.' On the one side is the psychical nature of man, whose appeal is formulated to a sacred being who either is the centre of a systematized body of thought or is perfectly vague and unsystematized; and on the other side is the question of the ultimate realities—whether the prayer or wish has any effect save upon the man himself, his courage, confidence, etc., and whether a Supreme Power pays heed to the appeal, be it systematized or vague. Moreover, the earnest prayer or wish cannot be severed from the earnest behaviour which requires or manifests needs to be satisfied. That prayer easily decays and becomes the spell, charm, or magical formula is well known in the history of religion; the efficacy is then thought to lie in the expression itself, as apart from the psychical state which is typical of prayer. This primary psychical aspect of prayer is fundamental, and it is instructive to observe among rudimentary peoples indications of it in practices of an apparently magical character.[1] Under the stress of emotion men help out their ideas with gestures, and there is always a tendency for feelings and ideas to realize themselves in action; children commonly 'play' at that which impresses them (see p. 675[a], n. 3). So it is that upon the lower levels of mankind there are mimetic rites for explicit needs, whereas on the higher levels there will be explicit prayers, and also a recognition of explicit powers to whom an appeal can be made. But all earnest, sincere activity is purposive, implying wants and aims, and the growth of knowledge and the development of religion are marked by better conceptions of the necessary factors and means to achieve success. Hence we can scarcely sever genuine purposive activity and a prayer for some effective activity.

Sooner or later the need is felt of some theory of reality to connect, rationally, human activity and the processes at work in the universe. The vicissitudes of thought—the periods of scepticism and of credulity, of doubt and of faith—do not affect the underlying realities, whatever they may prove to be; and what is implied in religious, magical, scientific, and philosophical conceptions points, not to many different realities, but to different and even contradictory apprehensions of one reality or system of realities. It is because the religious conceptions claim to be the nearest to truth, and because the consequences of an infelt conviction are so potent, that serious differences between religious and non-religious conceptions are feared or resented; and indeed the history of religion from the rudest types upwards proves that these differences are vital for the progressive development of life and thought (see § 25 f.).

21. Ideas of soul and spirit.—(1) A survey of the whole field of religion brings to light two fundamental convictions or, rather, presuppositions: (*a*) there are ideas of agency, causation, activity, or function in the universe, such that man can enter into relationship with the effective processes and utilize them; (*b*) man is more than the sensible body; there is a part which is separable, which can leave the body temporarily (a common explanation of dreams, fainting, illness), is not annihilated at death, may go far away or remain in the old haunts, or may enter another body, or be reborn.[1] These ideas overlap: the ideas of a soul or of some non-bodily part of man are extended and refer to the life after death and the unseen; and the ideas of power or causation are connected with powerful individuals (especially dead ancestors and heroes), saints, spirits, deities, and powers of nature.

But the ideas are never consistent, nor are the categories distinct. Life, feeling, consciousness, mind, spirit, and soul are confused; and physiological, psychological, æsthetic, theological, and other points of view are unreflectively mingled. The progress of differentiation marks the progress of observation and classification. The 'spiritual' part of man may be thought of as a double, material, minute, and ethereal, or it may be identified with certain parts or constituents of the body. Modern Western thought, with its attempt to distinguish the material from the non-material, goes beyond the common conception of body and spirit as a grosser and a finer material.[2] But it in turn is scarcely consistent when it distinguishes at the same time mind and matter, living and non-living, organic and inorganic. Consequently, it is impossible to determine clearly the ideas of those whose thought is not the same as ours, the more especially as our modern categories are confused and not co-ordinated. It is sufficient to observe that everywhere it is possible to distinguish systematically some A and non-A (*e.g.*, organic and inorganic), but every separation of an A and a B (*e.g.*, the living and the dead, body and mind) invariably raises the question whether the two are rightly kept apart or are to be related and regarded as different forms of some one underlying substance.[3]

(2) Ideas of soul and spirit are not to be treated as 'survivals,' though special beliefs and practices may be traced historically (§ 4 [2]). There is a tendency to accept the ideas and to justify them—*e.g.*, by reference to dreams, of which, however, only those will be cited which are actually in harmony with the predisposition. Much also depends on the extent of the individual's experience and knowledge by which he is able to discriminate between the waking hours and the dreams, or any unusual subjective experiences (*e.g.*, 'ghosts') which may seem to have objective reality. The ordinary familiar theories of the 'origin' of the ideas do not account for the great social and intellectual systems with which they are organically interwoven, and which could not in any case be based upon isolated ideas or dream-experiences (cf. Durkheim, pp. 56–60, 268). Moreover, no theory of the spiritual world can be considered satisfactory which applies solely to a particular age, land, or sect; and a careful distinction must always be drawn between the particular ideas under consideration and the common psychological aspects which indicate that the essential features of the ideas of soul and spirit are logically *a priori*.

(3) All the world over there are many words to denote a power manifested in special or general forms, material or other, whether in human, animal, or 'nature' phenomena.[4] The Melanesian term *mana* (*q.v.*) is often used typically by modern writers; but, while this more especially restricts the power to one originally manifested in human activity, other terms are not necessarily limited in this way (cf. our use of [Holy] Spirit and Power). The words are characteristically applied (*a*) to what has an emotional effect, exciting surprise, wonder, marvel, admiration, reverence, and awe;

Study of Comp. Rel., New York, 1908, pp. 139–174; R. R. Marett, *The Threshold of Religion*[2], London, 1914, p. 58 f.

[1] *E.g.*, in one case a mimetic rite is employed when a woman desires a child and a father of a family is called in to offer up a prayer (Babar Archipelago). But, while this is magico-religious rather than magic, elsewhere we hear of a similar rite but no explicit prayer or appeal is recorded (*GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, i. 72; Hartland, *Primitive Paternity*, i. 139 ff.). To conclude that whether the latter is really pure magic or not depends on the record of the observer is extremely unsatisfactory. For all critical inquiry the issue concerns the psychical state (which determines whether we are to style the evidence magical or not) and our view of the ultimate realities—in other words, (1) what is the rite in the eyes of God? and (2) how much efficacy is there in it, according to our own conception of the universe (cf. §§ 15 [3], 32 [4])?

[1] As is quite intelligible, it is especially when an individual has been powerful or famous that the continuance of his presence and effectiveness is commonly and quite spontaneously assumed.

[2] Cf. mediæval ideas of a more or less material soul (Telesio, Bacon); cf. also the Jainist views above, vol. vii. p. 468.

[3] Cf. the controversies between the dualistic and monistic systems, and the relation between polytheism and monotheism.

[4] See especially A. E. Crawley, *The Idea of the Soul*, London, 1909; E. S. Hartland, *Ritual and Belief*, do. 1914, pp. 36–160; I. King, *The Development of Religion*, New York, 1910, ch. vi.; Marett, *Threshold of Religion*, pp. 13, 120 ff.; Durkheim, p. 192 ff.; J. E. Harrison, *Themis*, chs. iii. and iv.

and (*b*) to the unusual, impressive, striking, and inexplicable examples of all kinds of causation. Religious, non-religious, and magical aspects are interwoven; and everywhere the tendency is to differentiations (religious, moral, æsthetic, physical) which depend upon the current tradition, knowledge, and stock of categories. The psychological aspect of this 'power' is more primary than the logical, and this is illustrated, *e.g.*, when a real (psychological) reverence for the Sabbath leads to tabus wherein the (logical) question enters whether such-and-such an act does or does not break the Sabbath.[1] There is an *a priori* readiness to recognize a mysterious or profound cause or activity outside the run of ordinary experience; increase of knowledge may seriously disturb the beliefs, by making the activities 'natural,' but a distinction must be drawn between the psychological tendencies and the particular beliefs which prevail. Hence, theories of naturism and the like do not really explain origins, but only show how the religious ideas could be engendered and brought to the birth. In like manner, theories of the transition from polytheism to monotheism, or (as can be suggested in the case of India) to pantheism, overlook the important fact that the recognition of a number of phenomena which can be classed together and given one name, because they are similar in some one respect (*e.g.*, as being gods or spirits), logically implies an apprehension of some underlying undifferentiated unity. It seems impossible for the observer to draw any line objectively, save with the help of some prior presuppositions, and consequently it is necessary to admit the prevalent and normal apprehension of some 'power,' or the like, the nature or quality of which is realized only when it is identified, and that on the basis of current categories and in accordance with current thought—although the very act of categorizing or naming shapes the apprehension and interpretation and gives it a form. And, while continued comparison of the data of religion tends to weaken the barriers between the manifold manifestations of *mana*, etc., it is solely through the categories, differentiations, and distinctions that the progress of knowledge is possible, even though the underlying unity be ignored from time to time.[2]

22. Life and death.—Among other ideas which are presupposed and which rule and control human activity, conscious and unconscious, is especially that of the persistence or continuity of the individual. No rational description can be given of oneself or of others without implying it, even though the arguments which are conclusive proofs of existence after death to one man may make no impression on another whose personal experience and body of thought are different. But the conviction, instead of being distinctively 'religious,' is one taken up by religion, regulated by it, and sometimes even abused. The firm conviction that death is merely the gateway into another realm, or that the individual cannot escape some sort of continuity of existence, is not in itself religious; it has justified barbaric cruelty and irrational practices, and in India religion is devoted partly to remedying the evils of rebirth. The wide prevalence of initiation or of baptism ceremonies illustrates the tendency to prepare the individual for a life of which bodily existence is only the prelude. Here the crucial point is not death, but the ceremony during his lifetime when the individual becomes an integral part of an enduring body—the group, brotherhood, society, church.[1] The persistence of the individual is felt to be in some way ensured by becoming part of a larger, tangible, or intelligible unit. Who dies if his country lives? Now, death is the occasion of feelings of grief and distress (significantly rare, however, among the dying), of peace and sublimity, of doubt and uncertainty. Moreover, the life after death is also a matter of perfect assurance (allowing, among rudimentary and barbaric peoples, horrible sacrifice and callousness), and even an astonishing self-complacence (as being one of the 'elect,' and so forth). Again, the 'next' life has often been regarded as essentially a replica of the present, so that even gods and men are thought to enjoy only a limited existence and not an eternal one. Thus, everywhere psychological and logical factors intermingle in the history of the ideas; but those which represent the apprehension of a *qualitatively* different state are in every respect more vital than those which view the other world as a mere 'super'-world. Indeed, the fact of some qualitative difference alone explains the analogical character of the results of the intuitions, experiences, and feelings. It would be impossible to attempt a rational description of man unless there were fundamental psychical facts which transcend the ordinary conceptions of 'this' world. Conceptions of 'another' or the 'next' world are inexplicable unless man is already in touch with a larger existence, and unless 'this' world, as he understands and describes it, is the empirical description of some part, phase, or aspect of a profounder reality the full comprehension of which transcends human mental processes.[2]

23. Synopsis of the evidence.—(1) It is a common belief that the 'soul' (vital principle, etc.) can be, temporarily at least, separable from the body; it can depart when a man dreams or is ill; it can be lost, enticed, or stolen (*GB*[3], pt. ii., *Taboo*, ch. ii.). It can also be transferred; hence the common idea of the 'external soul,' where a man believes himself to be secure as long as the 'soul' is hidden or guarded in some safe, remote, or unknown spot (*GB*[3], pt. vii., *Balder the Beautiful*, ii. 95–278). The idea is akin (*a*) to the belief that one's name may be written, or a piece of one's person (*e.g.*, hair) or property left, in some holy place as an essential part of oneself and for one's welfare, (*b*) to the conviction (on a higher level of thought) that the soul can be entrusted to a saint or deity or be in his care (see a curious form of this in 1 S 25[29]). Moreover, a man's life may be intimately connected with a tree, which becomes an 'index' or 'sign' of life, indicating his strength, weakness, or death; or, again, the weakling may be symbolically united with a tree to gain thereby something of its strength and vigour.

(2) Trees, like animals, plants, and even inanimate objects, may be ascribed a 'soul'; deities may eat the 'spiritual' part of the food-offerings presented to them, and utensils may be broken ('killed')in order that their 'soul' may accompany the dead. Animate and inanimate objects can contain a man's 'external' soul or his 'twin' soul; they can also be the vehicle of some power or spirit (see art. FETISHISM). Both among men and among inanimate objects the 'spirit' can be ceremonially transferred; and it is necessary to distinguish between any object (human, etc.) viewed (*a*) as a vehicle, a representative of some power or spirit, or (*b*) as the actual power itself.[3] It is

[1] The Dakota Indians, who believe that the mysterious whirlwind must be endowed with *wakonda*, proceed to associate with it analogous phenomena—*e.g.*, the fluttering moth, and the buffalo bull pawing the earth and throwing up dust in the air (I. King, pp. 139 f., 161).

[2] Differentiation tends to obscure the logical unity which is more obvious (*a*) on rudimentary levels of society, (*b*) in particular psychical states (concentration, mysticism, etc.), and (*c*) as a result of any stringent comparison of the manifestations; but it does not follow that there was or is in existence an absolutely undifferentiated unity (cf. similarly p. 666[a], n. 3).

[1] The practice of associating oneself with that which outlives one is illustrated by the means whereby men endeavour to make their name 'live' (so notably in ancient Oriental thought), by building enduring works (*e.g.*, a pyramid), by inscribing their name upon lasting objects, by beneficent and other deeds, which will not soon be forgotten, and so forth.

[2] The point of view (explicit or implicit) according to which (bodily) life is only 'part' of a larger existence represents a psychological and logical *suppositio*, 'unit' or 'universe of discourse' more comprehensive than that which confines itself only to 'this' world, and refuses to go beyond it consciously. Every description of 'this' world at length shades off into a theoretical account which goes far beyond actual knowledge, involves metaphysical problems, and leaves out the prime fact —the development of the individual who has become conscious of the world.

[3] For the transference cf. *FL* viii. [1897] 325 ff.; J. H. Breasted, *Anc. Records of Egypt*, Chicago, 1905–07, iii. 179, n. *c*; Hartland, *Ritual and Belief*, p. 55.

an especially common belief that the vital essence of some powerful being can be found in anything belonging to or associated with him; hence the virtue of relics, the dust from the tombs of saints, etc. Human life can be vitally bound up with animals, trees, fire, and inanimate objects, and the dead can reappear in another human form (whether in the family or not) or in animal shape. But amid all these variations it is to be observed that, while the fetish tends to be of private and temporary value, the idol is generally the centre of a more permanent cult; and, while the spirit-guardian represents a relatively stable but individual cult, the totem is rather the affair of the clan. The question of the stability and clientèle of the sacred object is always important for the body of beliefs and practices involved. A sacred object may be shared by father and son, by mother and daughter, or by the whole family; it may be inherited, accepted by other families, or imposed upon them. There are many gradations between the purely individual cult of a spirit-guardian and the cult accepted by a confederation of clans or a whole people, between the most ephemeral of cults (cf. art. MOMENTARY GODS) and those which are a fundamental part of a people's life and thought.

(3) Thus, the ideas of a 'spiritual' relationship between the individual and *something* outside him are extremely variable, and everything depends upon the social and logical co-ordination. Throughout, the ideas tend to overrule the crudely physical or literal aspects. The beliefs are usually far from simple, and the common ideas of rebirth and re-incarnation make it difficult to distinguish (*a*) the individual who will be reborn, and (*b*) the maintenance of his own individuality, which now seems to be partially admitted and now seems to be entirely merged with the family or group. Sometimes the dead are supposed to rejoin some sacred stock or nucleus, as it were; and from birth to death the man is periodically in touch with the 'essence' from which he came and to which he will return.[1] A great deal of evidence, it is true, might seem to support the theory of a primitive ignorance of paternity.[2] On this theory there was a primitive belief that every birth was due to supernatural causes; every child was a 'spirit child.' The theory implies the existence of an appropriate body of thought connected with it and outweighing the purely physiological considerations. Now, the OT illustrates the explicit conviction that the Deity can restrain child-bearing or grant it (*e.g.*, Gn 15^3 $16^{2.10}$ etc.), *i.e.* that the 'supernatural' considerations are stronger than the 'natural.' This co-existence is in harmony with the evidence elsewhere among rudimentary peoples.[3] In fact, rites of puberty, initiation, marriage, and adoption indicate not only that certain physical aspects are not unknown, but that 'ideas' implicitly predominate. So, also, the collective or social feeling which treats questions of parentage as secondary, provided the child is one of the group, does not necessarily point to ignorance of paternity, but to the fundamental importance of the ideas which are implied in the social life. The theory of spiritual conception clearly assumes the predominance of regulating beliefs or convictions, but is needlessly hampered by the inference that the physiological facts were not known. The evidence rather proves the significance of ideas which, on a higher level, become explicit and would be called 'spiritual'; and, if rudimentary man thus falls into line with the higher levels (cf., *e.g.*, the OT), where the co-existence of physical and psychical ideas is at once obvious, it has to be added that the greater importance of the psychical aspects appears not only in the practices and beliefs relating to the dead, but even in totemism, where the totem and totem-clan may be said to be 'consubstantial' (cf. Durkheim, bk. ii. ch. viii.). Thus, even on the lower levels, the system of behaviour implies some system of ideas, which, however, has not yet become explicit, though we must describe it in such terms.[4]

(4) The ideas of soul and spirit are extremely complex, but they reduce themselves to a few fundamental principles: (*a*) there is no *absolute* individual—he is always bound up essentially with something outside himself; (*b*) he is constantly becoming conscious of a relation with something 'not himself,' stronger, vaster, more enduring—he is what one may call 'psychically incomplete,' a part of some larger psychical whole; (*c*) the difference between life and death, between 'this' world and the 'other' or the 'next,' is not absolute, and the ideas concerning these depend essentially for their origin upon states of experience and their interpretation; (*d*) finally, while the ordinary facts of sympathy, interest, and enthusiasm indicate the ease with which limits of space and time are felt to be removed wherever deep *personal* feeling is aroused (viz. in reference to distant or past events, people, etc.), there is everywhere a network or pattern of *particular* beliefs and convictions, conventions and prejudices, categories and classifications, such that the particular character or expression of the underlying feelings is thereby shaped and guided. There is an (logically) *a priori* feeling of kinship and oneness with something of which one is a part; it is ready to be evoked and shaped, but it is shaped, limited, and obscured—usually inconsistently—by current clan, social, tribal, and national circumstances, and by the current body of thought. These determine man's 'kinship' with the rest of mankind, with the 'lower' orders, or with nature.

24. **Analysis of the concept 'God.'**[1]—(1) The widely different conceptions touching the validity and content of the concept 'God' prove the difficulty of making any statement that can be considered adequate. What is most prominent is the characteristic conviction (feeling, doctrine, etc.) of a profoundly vital *personal relationship* between the individual and an external transcendent Power (see § 18). But convictions of *some* relationship are wide-spread, and there is remarkable variation touching (*a*) that with which the individual is very intimately related, and (*b*) the ethical, social, intellectual, æsthetic, and other ideas involved. Moreover, although the data of mysticism, ecstasy, and the like, point to a psychical state of such intense subjective value that the experience will be felt to be 'divine,' yet the common recognition of a difference between 'true' and 'false' religion, prophetism, mysticism, etc., forces the necessity of distinguishing between the subjective and the objective value of every such experience. Besides, the individual who feels a close and intimate relationship with an external protective Power does not necessarily regard it as a deity. Here the experience and the interpretation may tend to interact, and the various beliefs in the reality of spirit-guardian, genius, ancestral spirit, or deity combine essentially similar types of experience with essential differences of form and expression, which are obviously of great importance for the history of religion. The ordinary facts associate the human and the divine in such a way that a criticism of them may seem almost blasphemous, and this in itself is an indication that the depths of human personality are concerned with the realities which the experiences involve.

(2) Moreover, the great concept involves ideas of *causation*, the manifestation of power, etc. The belief in a divine Power is typically in its effectiveness. This will commonly depend upon man's behaviour, and will entail ideas, not of magic (automatic or mechanical working, coercion, compulsion), but of religion (dependence, prayer, sacrifice, necessity of moral behaviour, etc.). While, on the one hand, the concept 'God' raises the question, What do men expect from their Deity?, on the other hand, all important functions, operations, and departments of life and nature will often be attributed to a patron or effective power.[2] Especially is this the case where men's personal needs and interests are concerned; this is true not merely of concrete activities (*e.g.*, corn-goddesses), but also of those which we treat as abstractions, but which none the less could be regarded as evident causes, sources, etc. (*e.g.*, deities of piety, concord, righteousness). In this way we also obtain the results of continued observation of operations, the classification and co-ordination of functions and processes, the deter-

[1] The religious and philosophical systems of India are especially important for the different ways in which essentially similar ideas are developed.

[2] For this see Hartland, *Primitive Paternity*, ch. i. 'Spiritual Conception,' ch. ii. 'Magical Practices'; Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, iv. 61 ff., 155.

[3] Cf., *e.g.*, the corporeal and spiritual husbands of the Akamba women (Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, ii. 423 ff., *GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, ii. 317 f.; see, further, *Totemism and Exogamy*, i. 536 f., 576, ii. 83, 90 ff., iv. 287; Hartland, *Prim. Pat.* i. 55, ii. 275 f., 278 ff.; Spencer-Gillen[a], p. 265; Spencer-Gillen[b], p. 606; B. Spencer, *Native Tribes of the N. Territory of Australia*, London, 1914, p. 268 ff.; and especially B. Malinowski, *JRAI* xlvi. [1916] 403 ff.

[4] Cf. above, §§ 6, 9 (1). The complexity and inconsistency of ideas of life and soul, even among so rudimentary a people as the natives of Central Australia, emphasize the futility of any attempt to present a perfectly logical and co-ordinated picture of all their ideas. More important is the fact of their presence, the recurrence of similar types of problems on different levels (viz. in creationism, traducianism), and the necessity of a more methodological treatment (*e.g.*, of co-ordinating logically all the evidence together with modern knowledge and convictions).

[1] See especially, among recent literature, W. E. Hocking, *The Meaning of God in Human Experience*, London, 1912.

[2] Cf. the Roman *indigitamenta* (*q.v.*); also the *genius* permeating and actuating all that is highly organized (see W. Warde Fowler, *Roman Ideas of Deity*, London, 1914, p. 17 ff.).

mination of classes and categories, and the arrangement of the contents of the universe. By the side of this rudimentary 'logical' process is the more psychological tendency to respect, admire, and venerate significant operations and organizations in the abstract, or the concrete objects or persons associated with or representative of them (cf. the Navy, Army, Church, etc.). The psychological aspect is also illustrated in the attitude to those who 'know' or 'do' (cf. the derivations of 'wizard' and 'fetish'). Individuals of unusual personality or ability are outside the normal, and, as frequently seen in India, tend to be regarded as more or less divine. The fusion of psychological and quasi-logical factors (potent and therefore divine, divine and therefore potent) has complicated the history of men's conceptions of the Deity. On the one hand, the attribution of deity to operations and processes of nature readily explains polytheistic features (gods of rain, sun, etc.); while, on the other hand, intense feelings of relationship encourage a monotheistic or rather a henotheistic attitude (as in the hymns of the *Rigveda*). Consequently, gods of similar or related functions are easily associated, as also are the departmental and other gods of tribes or districts which coalesce or federate themselves. But, while the functional god is typically that and nothing more—and the problems involved are those of knowledge and observation—the part played by feeling (*e.g.*, in the relations between peoples and their gods) has to be considered; and, when the gods are felt to be *personally* related to man, depth of feeling forces the individual to co-ordinate his ideas, to consider the relation between this 'our' god and the gods of causation, who are gods of function rather than of relationship. In this way men's ideas of the universe and of the ultimate realities constantly have new and different patterns which can be objectively compared and traced, and the vicissitudes of which would be inexplicable unless account were taken both of the more logical processes of ordinary thought and of the more obscure problems of the immediate consciousness of some underlying reality (see § 25).

(3) Moreover, the concept embodies ideas of co-ordination and the systematization of ideas of climax and limit. It 'completes' the needs of feeling and reflexion; it answers the grievous and perplexing experiences of life and the deep-reaching questions of the intellect. In this way conceptions of 'God' (according to their nature) tend to satisfy human personality on all its sides, and they will respond to religious, moral, æsthetic, and intellectual demands. But everywhere there arises the necessity of co-ordinating conceptions of 'God' with conceptions of nature, physical science, society, the State, etc. For, while, on the one hand, the conception inevitably concerns the ultimate facts and values of life, on the other hand, everywhere there is an absence of strict co-ordination, and a man's conception of God influences other conceptions, and *vice versa*. Viewed as an 'ultimate' concept, beyond which the mind cannot proceed, it involves ideas of extreme intensity and limit (as when the Psalmist speaks of the mountains and trees of God). It is then easy to regard it as expressing a superlative or infinite form of the ordinary and finite (*e.g.*, God as infinite love, justice, etc.). By this linear, serial, or semi-mathematical mode of thought the Deity has been regarded merely as a Superman, even as heaven has been thought of as a superior copy of mundane life. But in all new religious experience the concept is typically transcendent, involving that which is *qualitatively* different—that of which thought is a very imperfect representation—and compelling (characteristically) some systematic re-organization of one's earlier body of thought. 'Linear' development is an aid to thought, but it does not answer the experience where a new stage of consciousness forces a development of the whole body of thought, comparable in some cases (*e.g.*, of 'conversion') to the more or less drastic developments of organisms. The 'linear' symbol does not explain that awakening and new vision which justify the conception of a 'transcendent' God; and only an undiscerning comparison will suggest to the outsider that the ideas concerning a Supreme Being are 'constructions' made up of everyday sensuous experience (cf. § 16 [2]). It is precisely when one considers the relationship between human personality and the meaning of the concept that the problems of each are seen to be interrelated, and with both are interwoven the problems of the development of ordinary life and thought.

(4) It is evident that the development of *personality* in its totality and that of the conception itself are interconnected. Group-totemism is more in harmony with the undeveloped ideas of individuality among rudimentary peoples, whereas the individual totem or spirit-guardian, although it is a man's private possession, is on the road to become a personal Deity—at the same time as the man's own personality is becoming more marked.[1] There is an inter-relation between a man's personality and his conception of the universe and its ultimate realities. It is true that he may fail to recognize any ultimate authority outside himself, but this phase cannot be permanent. Characteristic of religion is the recognition of an external Power *personally* interested in the individual; and, consequently, from both the psychological and the metaphysical points of view, this phase, together with the ideas of the 'fall of Lucifer' type, will require a closer criticism (see below, p. 688b, n. 2).

25. Social-religious development.[2] — (1) The growth and differentiation of society, its internal development, and the relation between different societies combine to shape the development of religion. The religious ideas extend to all that is for the preservation of existence; hence food-supply, livelihood, trade, war, and government are commonly found associated with religious ideas (§ 6 [1]). But, when there is a differentiation between the religious and the non-religious, the modern inquirer is hampered because he may be (perhaps unconsciously) swayed by some differentiation (*e.g.*, law and religion) which is not recognized by the society under consideration, or he may fail to observe another particular mode of differentiation (*e.g.*, magic and religion). Throughout the history of religion there has been no continuous, orderly, logical development; periods of greater cohesion and unification of thought have alternated with periods of greater incoherence and incompatibility. There are, however, some typical features of importance for the trend of thought, and these can be sketched in outline. Specialism of function, with its inevitable disintegrating effect upon the collective social thought, occurs when, instead of a group as a whole officiating in some solemn ceremony, special individuals or representatives are employed. In the Kei Islands, *e.g.*, girls are chosen and must submit to extraordinary restrictions for the benefit of a trading expedition; but elsewhere tabus and restrictions of a sympathetic and telepathic character are frequently imposed upon a people as a whole (*GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, i. 126 ff., and pt. ii., *Taboo*, ch. iv. § 4). In Central Australia each clan performs ceremonies for the increase of the totem (if edible), whereas in the north, where the organization is more advanced, a headman will officiate, and he assumes the responsibilities and privileges of the group.

[1] See § 8, and cf. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, iii. 452 ff. The sense of personality was vaguer among the Romans and the Semites than among the Greeks, and in Buddhism one may observe the absence of a personal God (from the theistic point of view) and of distinctive individualism.

[2] An interesting attempt to work out the 'psychological history of the development of mankind' is made by W. Wundt, *Elements of Folk Psychology*, tr. E. L. Schaub, London, 1916.

Now, men of elevated position are commonly felt to be *psychically* superior, and those to whom important or valuable powers are ascribed tend to acquire position and authority. Such individuals, all the world over, have a significance which is both psychical (because of the ideas entertained of them) and material (because of their actual abilities); and in this way the authority acquired by the 'magician' or any other potent individual and the powers ascribed to chiefs, kings, and other authorities are factors that are continuously at work in the history of society and thought (see especially *GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, i.).

(2) The Central Australian totem-group that officiates for the increase of its totem (*e.g.*, the emu) stands to the rest of the tribe like some departmental god (viz. emu-god) on another level. The group is almost wholly debarred from tasting the totem-food, except on the occasion of the ceremony. But among the Dieri it is the headman of the seed-totem group who is effective, and who boasts of being the stay of life; while on higher levels not only are there gods especially associated with particular departments of nature, but the firstfruits will be the property of the god or his representative, the priest. In this development of the different constituent features of the once simple cult the office of headman, or of the man selected for his powers, readily becomes hereditary; and frequently there are religious rulers, chiefs with priestly powers, or priests with secular authority —a circumstance which soon leads to rivalries between religious and secular classes. Meanwhile, the chief's abode and the sacred place are most closely associated, and the claims of the palace (or the king) and of the temple interact in the history of taxation, of royal and priestly regalia and ceremonial, and of the structure of the buildings, of the *personnel*, and the pantheon. It is in the course of such social development that initiation ceremonies are no longer for the group as a whole; they are for special classes, or for entrance into brotherhoods, sects, gilds, or secret societies (*q.v.*).

The development from totem-species to the single specimen, or to an image of it, is easy, and the anthropomorphic treatment of the object can turn the latter into the god of the tribe or district. Conversely, although gods with remarkable animal-elements in their cults or myths are not necessarily derived from totems, sometimes the ancestry can be clearly traced (cf. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, ii. 19 ff.). Further, a very significant but as yet obscure development is that of ideas of group-marriage (§ 9 [1]). Sometimes the men of one group will have marital rights over the women of another, and these may be exercised before a woman marries away. But elsewhere there has been the *jus primæ noctis*—the claim asserted not by a group, but by a local head or representative, or by a priest (who is the representative of the god)—or there has been a preliminary dedication to the god. It is conceivable therefore that the earlier rights of the group were taken over by a representative (*a*) of the group, or (*b*) of the group's deity, and that the custom on the higher levels is connected with what is found on the lower. That the custom has a primary psychical explanation is suggested also by the law of the Council of Carthage in 398, on which cf. *EBr*[11] xv. 593.

(3) Where a group and its sacred object (totem and totem-group, god and tribe) practically form, as it were, a single unit (§ 7 [2]), the selection of a representative (headman, priest, king) would tend to disturb it. The effect of the development is illustrated in the varying relations between a people or land, a ruler or priest, and the god or gods. The intermediary is the representative of the people before the god, or *vice versa*; and in the religions of China, Egypt, and Babylonia there are many examples of the consequences. Moreover, the king is often regarded as the source of the people's prosperity and is responsible for disasters. He is the central figure, and therefore there are tabus to protect and safeguard him; he may be kept in seclusion or supplemented by a secular partner. In fact, the representative individual, king or priest, is so essentially associated with processes in the universe that his death may be a sort of cosmical catastrophe. Hence it may be thought necessary to ensure that he is always vigorous, and even to kill him before his powers weaken.[1] The 'divine' chiefs or kings are of cosmical significance, like the Brāhman priests elsewhere; hence these visible and accessible functionaries exercise a great influence over the course of thought. As ethical ideas prevail, such men must possess moral attributes; and, when things go wrong, they — like all representative individuals and functionaries — are the obvious and most tangible scape-goats.[2] Throughout there is interaction between ideas of the effective gods (the ultimate realities) and the very human representatives, incarnations, and the like; men's ideas of the gods are swayed by the good or bad behaviour of these individuals as truly as, in course of social development, conceptions of the moral nature of the universe are influenced by the good or evil which men find in their environment.

(4) Intercourse with other groups, the rise of a central authority, and the vicissitudes of history invariably force movements in religious thought. The local god, the chief, and the district find their parallels in the national god, the king, and the land; there are units within a larger unit, and complications arise in the effort to co-ordinate the various gods of the local districts and of the whole area. This co-ordination can be regarded as one of convictions, ideas, etc. The local gods, patron deities, and saints (cf. the Muhammadan *walis*) are felt to be near at hand, and directly interested in their small circle—like the local chief; and often, while a land, viewed from without, seems polytheistic, the average individual is henotheistic. The problems of co-ordinating the local cults are illustrated in the relation between the Israelite Jahweh and the Baals, the Muhammadan Allah and the *walis*, or the Deity and the saints and Madonnas in Roman Catholic lands. When the local being was identified with the national god, the result was partly to drag the latter down to the popular level, partly to elevate the former, and partly also to remove the former away from popular veneration to the court and temple. In the many vicissitudes that occur, and in the ebb and flow of ideas, there are complex problems (*a*) of the psychological consequences for the individual whose sacred being had once been 'personally' related to him, and (*b*) of the quasi-logical developments of doctrines and theories of the gods. Personal experiences and the theories of the universe and the gods have to be adjusted to each other. Especially significant are the vicissitudes of the intimate relationship between the gods and their representative individuals; for, although the latter are, properly speaking, subordinate to the former, yet, because they are visible, accessible, and more 'real' than the unseen powers, there is a tendency to regard them as actual gods (cf. *GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, i. 397, 401). This tendency is in harmony with the readiness of all individuals with functions and powers to ignore their subordinate position and (when they become increasingly conscious of their value) to be a law unto themselves. The data point to profound vicissitudes in the beliefs and convictions of the men concerned, and are of the

[1] This is the *motif* of the *Golden Bough*; see Frazer, *Totemism*, ii. 529 f., 608; *GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, ii. 5, 322, pt. iii., *The Dying God*, London, 1911, ch. ii. Although the remarks above are not everywhere applicable as a whole, they refer to interrelated bodies of ideas which recur, in one form or another, almost universally.

[2] Hence, in the development of society, one of the most difficult of problems is to fix responsibility and determine just conceptions of responsibility. Such problems are much less serious in undeveloped communities, where there is little differentiation of function and religious ideas are not separated from social life.

first importance for any attempt to deduce the nature of the ultimate realities (see § 32 [2]).

(5) The necessity of maintaining the unity and security of every group, tribe, and people explains the various means that are taken (*e.g.*, in rites of adoption). Ideas outweigh purely physical or material considerations. There is a deep-seated feeling that powerful representative individuals should be above chance and change; hence there are innumerable practices and beliefs which refer to their immortality, rebirth, re-incarnation, etc., while, later, attention is directed not to the individual, but to the stability of the function, agency, or office. If the death of the semi-divine king was more or less a cosmical disaster, royal marriages and births, too, had a national or even greater significance for current thought, and ideas of increase and growth were associated (in an undifferentiated sort of way) with the course of nature generally. Moreover, the superior significance of representative individuals explains the early importance attached to their participation in religious ceremonies—*e.g.*, in solemn acts of confession. Hence, also, the greater interest attached to records, ritual, hymns, etc., relating to them, and to the careful preservation of them (cf. the priestly hymns of the *Rigveda*, Babylonian ritual, and penitential hymns). While the life and thought of the ordinary people are generally colourless, with few distinctive features, the representative and other outstanding individuals leave their mark upon a people's history, although they, in their turn, are far more subject to change than the ordinary level of thought which pursues its way, rejecting what it cannot assimilate and rehabilitating, though no doubt in a new form, beliefs and practices which well-meaning prophets and reformers had sought to eradicate.

26. Eras of crisis and transition.—(1) As the vicissitudes which we have been noticing break up the social or national unity, with it disappears the congruence of thought. The loss of collective feeling and the absence of a feeling of harmony of aims and interests proceed *pari passu* with a great increase of individualism. Individualism is already present in some degree where there are individual totems or spirit-guardians, or where the man has his own protective genius and does not share that which either is common to the group or is tended by a recognized representative. But the differentiation of society, labour, intellectual and all other work, steadily increases the heterogeneity of convictions, modes of thought, interests, etc.; and, as it disintegrates the thought of the environment as a whole, there is the more urgent need for some new strong unifying impulses. Now, there is always a logical relationship between the character of a people and their religious convictions; thus one may note the combination of fanaticism, gloominess, and fear of divine anger both among the barbarous Assyrians and among the fiery zealots of early Arabia. And, as regards individuals, the psychology of Calvinist and Puritan, of a Francis of Assisi and a Luther, of a Paul and a John, of a Hosea and an Isaiah, illustrates varieties of religious character which will be even more varied, though naturally of very different value, whenever individualism becomes excessive. In other words, where there is excessive individualism, there is every opportunity for markedly different varieties of religious and other strongly subjective convictions, and also for a dangerous amount of extremeness, which at other times would be checked and suppressed by the great body of average thought. The experiences, ideas, etc., will always be subjectively impressive, but there will be no coherent body of objective thought whereby to test their real value.

(2) In the disorganization that ensues coherence of social life and of the fundamental ideas gives way to an incoherence which has a disturbing effect upon the religious conditions. The early social-religious beliefs and practices lose both their practical and their traditional authority; religion tends to be severed from life and is often mechanical or magical. Scepticism, agnosticism, and pessimism find fertile soil; and the needs once nourished by the current religion now atrophy or find other supplies. Old beliefs return, foreign and incompatible ones are admitted, fanaticism and superstition balance trustful faith and a new spirituality. The vision shifts to the 'next' world, or it ignores it—only the 'visible' is real; there is a deeper insight into social conditions and a freer attitude to sacred things. Amid many extreme tendencies in all directions there will be found dangerous excesses (cf. the frightful human sacrifice of the Aztecs, gross licentious cults, irrational and suicidal tabus), which, like all features that are incapable of development or persistence, are not to be regarded as typical of normal religion or life.

(3) Meanwhile there is a general levelling. The divisions which had disturbed the earlier solidarity are blurred, the privileges of the few are claimed by the many and become less distinctive, and exclusive ideas are common property and are popularized. In Egypt, *e.g.*, the belief in a life after death, once demanded on behalf of the king, was extended to ordinary men; it involved their recognition of the moral requirements once imposed upon the monarchs, but at the same time the belief was loaded with popular superstition. The general effect of the transitional process with its 'secularization' can be seen in the history of the drama, of certain toys (*e.g.*, the bull-roarer), and of games. The traces of a foundation-sacrifice have been found in the game 'London Bridge is broken down,' and echoes of grim rites lingered on in the stories of wells and woods which it was dangerous to pass. European folk-lore has thus preserved remains of old barbaric religion; and elsewhere traces of earlier organized cultures can be recognized by their incompatibility with the current systems of thought.[1] Thus, too, the great gods among rudimentary peoples may sometimes be the last fragments of earlier and even more advanced cultures; and, where the religious vicissitudes can be traced over many centuries (as in the East), considerable complexity of beliefs and practices is caused by the recurring periods of decay and new growth.

(4) The factors which, taken by themselves, would make for change and disintegration, and those which, by themselves, would lead to conservatism and stagnation, interplay and produce new growths, the inauguration of new ages, periods, cycles, etc. They involve a harmony of the deepest ideas, and thus affect the history of religion. Characteristic of every new harmony and solidarity is the religious spirit by which, first, individuals and then whole peoples are stimulated and undergo development. When, as in the history of Judaism, Buddhism, and Christianity, the religion of exceptional individuals becomes that of a people, it must adapt itself to many different classes, minds, dispositions, and needs. The tendency then is for the religious and other aspects of life and thought to become harmonious, an adjustment is made between new and old, and the religion is a socialized one, as distinct from the theosophical, ethical, or philosophical cults of select minds.[2] Everywhere these transitional periods are profoundly significant both for individuals and for peoples. The line of development is not necessarily snapped; a land will undergo periods of new reorganization, as, *e.g.*, in India and in early Babylonia and Egypt. On the other hand, the teaching of the Israelite prophets apparently caused a drastic revolution in the old Hebrew religion, whereas Babylonia and Egypt sought to satisfy their unrest by a conscious and artificial return to the conditions of a happier and distant past. Centuries later, one line of development ceases

[1] Cf., *e.g.*, W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, London, 1906, p. 452 ff.

[2] It is now a religion which the diverse minds of the social body can understand and elaborate; the whole environment thus receives a new stimulus, although the steps from the ideals of individuals to the practical social-religious results in the environment as a whole may seem to mark a retrogression.

with Rabbinical Judaism, while a fresh growth begins with Christianity; but both passed outside the land of their home. The rise of Islām is virtually a new beginning, just as Arabic itself represents the 'proto-Semitic' language more closely than do any of the other languages. After many centuries of the old native religions, after Hebrew ethical monotheism, Hellenistic syncretism, and the conflicts between Rabbinical Judaism and the young Christianity, there is seen a new religion. It is in harmony with the psychology and cultural level of the people as a whole, and is thus in contrast both to earlier Jewish and Christian doctrine, which was above their level, and to the remarkable syncretism which in fact appealed only to the educated and governing classes. The new religion re-introduced God (Allah), not new conceptions of God or new developments in earlier ideas. Yet, although Islām thus begins at an earlier point than Judaism or Christianity, it speedily developed beyond the grasp of popular thought; and, although the lands were, as a whole, culturally below the level of the earlier ages, Islām quickly reached a high level, since it was able to utilize in some measure the theological and philosophical work of Greek and Christian thinkers. In such vicissitudes (illustrated in other ways in India and China) there is a recurrence of similar steps, though under different circumstances, and the earlier stage of a (chronologically) later religion can be more advanced, in certain respects, than a later stage of an earlier one; just as, in the psychical growth of the individual, the youth will certainly represent an earlier stage than his mature parents, but in various respects may be more advanced. Hence the danger of unchecked comparison and of facile theories of evolution, and the necessity of a deeper analysis of the content of religious thought (see § 4 [3]).

27. The advance of thought.—(1) Throughout, the social-religious development can be suggestively viewed in terms of thought, the organization and disorganization of every social body corresponding to that of the implicit or explicit ideas which prevail (§ 7 [1]). That there has been some great advance is shown (*a*) by the fact that, even though cultures and civilizations disappear and sweeping reforms fail, the apparent retrogression is not without traces of the beneficial influence of the preceding stage. Moreover, (*b*) although theriomorphic and low anthropomorphic cults may be prominent in times of decadence or relapse, there is not that characteristic totemism which is essentially pre-anthropomorphic (§ 8). Again, (*c*) the serious crises and hard vicissitudes have put the current ideas to the test and have compelled practical, adequate, and acceptable solutions of the difficult problems of life and thought. Consequently the recurrence of similar types of belief and practice is significant, and more especially when the old reappears in some new form—the new testifying to the positive progress of thought. The crises that bring scepticism and despair also bring new faith and hope, and the history of religion is the repeated justification and re-expression of old values (§ 33 [2]). The death of a member of a totem species was to be deplored; but, when a single animal was venerated, the death was then a catastrophe, until in some way (*e.g.*, in ideas of rebirth or re-incarnation) the disturbance of beliefs was remedied. But the former case, with its less disastrous consequences, belongs to a lower stage; and, in like manner, endogamy, with its good and bad consequences of close group-solidarity, is relatively lower than exogamy, which at once brought new and often difficult problems. The problems become more complex as life and thought develop; they take new forms and require new solutions in harmony with the thought of the time. At one stage there is a natural relation between the group and its sacred being; and, when this is viewed as an automatic or mechanical condition, it is psychologically harmful—it is 'magic.' But at another stage it is God who graciously chooses man, and who uses him as His instrument; the ideas are more advanced, and there is a logical development which, whatever be the ultimate realities, is extremely important both for deducing their nature and for the study of the human mind. There is a continuity between rudimentary and higher religions no less than between the different stages of the individual mind (§ 17 ff.). There is an ever more conscious awareness of current beliefs and practices, and reflexion can make explicit what had been implicit in behaviour.

'Redemption, substitution, purification, atoning blood, the garment of righteousness, are all terms which in some sense go back to antique ritual.'[1]

Rudimentary religion already accustomed men to facts of self-control, self-denial, the sacrifice of valued objects, the forgiveness of sins, and atonement. Already the road was taken for the later deepening of ideas of mutual interdependence, sacrifice, and the relationship between man and the universe. In mimetic and other ceremonies man represented sacred beings, or acted a rebirth or a resurrection; on higher levels the imitation is definitely in the spiritual realm, and the ideas of a new life are worked out in the world of thought. At one stage men fight, clad with the symbols of totem or god; they fight *as* or *for* the god. Later the principles and ideals associated with their sacred Being are more explicitly recognized. Men acted and behaved as though there was a life after death before they discussed the possibility and embarked upon speculation. In Egypt the Pharaoh lived again because Osiris came back to life, while the ordinary man subsequently found safety in identifying himself with a saving god.[2] Identification, whether as ritual, imitative behaviour, etc., or as the vivid realization of thought and the experiencing of a belief, is profoundly effective, and points the way to both religion and magic. Mental concentration, absorption, and surrender lead to results subjectively final, thought and the absolute conviction of reality become one, and hence every religion is hostile to what is felt to be an irreligious attitude to or treatment of the great truths.

(2) Where life and thought are in harmony, the profound concepts have each a sufficiently similar meaning. But widely different conceptions—*e.g.*, of the term 'God'—will represent a very secondary stage, because the terms must previously have been used to denote that which was distinctive and which had a certain identity of meaning for all concerned. Only as complexity of life and thought increases do the differences in meaning and application have serious consequences; and it is only in those periods where the religious and non-religious concepts become harmonious that the varied aspects of life and thought are in a state of equilibrium. The presence of some body or system of thought at one time guides and regulates, and at another it represses. It is weak or lacking at critical periods of the development of both individuals and peoples. Then it is that men, being without the help of a system tested by past experience, are at the mercy of ideas—new, original, extreme, and outside the limits of what had been normal. The nature of personal experience is profoundly varied, and of great subjective significance, whatever be its value for the environment. The less normal

[1] W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*[2], p. 439. See, generally, G. Gallo way, *The Principles of Religious Development*, London, 1909.
[2] G. F. Moore, *Hist. of Religions*, i. 174, 194.

experiences and convictions which abound at the critical periods resemble the rarer examples at other times, when, instead of a prevailing dislocation and incoherence of life and thought, there are relatively few individuals out of touch with the system and conventional thought of their day. That men of conspicuous religious and other genius are not always normal (*i.e.* not in harmony with the average life and thought) is well known; and for the science of human nature it is significant that (*a*) the great figures to whom the world's thought is indebted often had unmistakable human frailties and shortcomings, even of a sort that shock the average 'conventional' thought, and that (*b*) the 'religious' life itself is characteristically described as a constant struggle and fight.

(3) Religious and all deep experience points to profounder realities than ordinary human thought can realize; and in fact the institution of special individuals (priests), places, and seasons is due partly to the necessity of regulating man's life in a socially beneficial manner, so as to adjust ordinary life and the consciousness of some overpowering ultimate truth. Did not religion express some realization of what was felt to be overwhelmingly vital, it is impossible to find an explanation of the facts and the vicissitudes of religion, or of the relation between them and man's knowledge of the universe. The more intense experiences are the basis of reflexion, and they develop the experiences of others. The great religious works represent a limit or height which men continue to find stimulating and satisfying to feeling and thought, to aspirations and ideals. They are intelligible because of the similarity of men's psychical nature; they are supreme because they are not surpassed. The religious aspects continue to appeal, and, although there can be a phraseology which makes them lose their value, because they belong to a different world of knowledge and thought, yet by looking beneath the letter it may be possible—by the comparative and psychological methods—to recover the spirit. So, too, rude savage ritual may prove to embody an idea which can be appreciated, though not necessarily tolerated, in the form which it takes. Similar experiences and periods understand and interpret each other; and the fundamental psychical similarity of all men accounts for the similarity in the great recurring ideas and in the convictions of the ultimate realities, and allows the possibility of a certain genuine process of re-interpretation and reshaping of old beliefs. But mere archaizing or a mechanical return to the old—as in Babylonia and Egypt—is decadence, whereas the recovery of the real psychical value of the old and its restatement in accordance with the progress of knowledge, mark an advance, and correspond to what has happened in the history of religion.[1] By the comparative and other methods the religions can be brought into one focus, and the inquirer can go, not only to the great orthodox or classical utterances (Bible, Talmud, Qur'ān, Vedānta, etc.), but also to the experiences, tendencies, and all the facts of man's psychical nature which lie beneath them, and explain their origin, acceptance, and persistence. In this way the relationship between a sacred book and the environment which found in it its highest truths is replaced by that between the re-interpretation of it and the modern environment. In other words, the positive advance of religious thought is always part of that of the total world of thought in which it is embedded; and it remains, therefore, to turn to some points in the relation between religious and non-religious thought.

(4) Psychological comparison, it will be noticed, brings a reconsideration of the old familiar typology and symbolism of Scripture. There are fundamental similarities relating to a past or future Golden Age, an Armageddon and Last Judgment, and especially to the re-appearance of popular heroes and religious saviours—an *avatār*, Buddha, or Messiah. Moreover, not only are there similar psychological experiences among those who are conscious of a mission, but they are not unnaturally influenced, consciously or subconsciously, by such knowledge as they have of their predecessors.[1] And, as regards the OT and the NT, psychological as well as historical similarities (*e.g.*, the Suffering Servant and the Crucified Christ) enhance the familiar insistence in the history of Christianity upon the connexion between the NT and the 'Messianic' passages in the OT; and this interconnexion is of supreme importance for man's religious nature, as apart from the historical data which, in the case of the OT, are entirely problematical, and, in the case of the NT, stand in need of criticism. Further, observation of and reflexion upon the recurrence of similar types of events have suggested the notion of cycles or world-periods. Yet there is always the demand for something permanent, and the Scriptural identification of Alpha and Omega symbolizes a common intuitive feeling of duration or continuity underlying development, of permanence in spite of change. It may perhaps be regarded as the counterpart in time of the idea of the One and the Many in space. Although modern evolutionary ideas seem to favour a 'linear' movement, there is no single line of progress continually shedding old beliefs and truths, and leaving behind what is outgrown. In history, too, the most revolutionary changes appear less drastic when a sufficiently long view is taken, and a continuity is discovered beneath the dislocation of life and thought. What is fundamental is the readiness of the mind to discover continuity, permanence, unity, and structure; and, while religion involves an apprehension and conception of an ultimate reality which is superior to all catastrophes, the vicissitudes of history and knowledge in the past have never caused more than relatively temporary disturbances of the convictions. Only in such unity and continuity has man been able to find a practical working solution of his difficulties and problems; and, since the religious view of the universe claims to be the nearest to reality, it is necessary, therefore, to note some features in the vicissitudes of the religious and non-religious conceptions.

IV. *RELIGIOUS AND NON-RELIGIOUS THOUGHT.*—**28. The differentiation of thought.**—(1) The foregoing sections would, at this point, be properly followed by some account of the steps which lead from the more rudimentary stages of thought to the highly differentiated and specialized thought of modern life (see § 6 [1] *ad fin.*). But it must suffice to say that the comparative study of religion not merely affects the ethical, theological, and philosophical ideas of the inquirer; it also leads insensibly and logically to the comparative study of ethics, theology, philosophy, etc. The typical prevailing religious beliefs and practices imply principles, ideas, and convictions which become explicitly recognized and shaped; they represent the experience, observation, and reflexion of men of different temperaments and at various stages of the history of thought. As a result of continued application of the comparative method similar fundamental and prevailing principles and ideas can be traced underlying the different religious, ethical, theological, and philosophical expressions. Such are, *e.g.*, the presuppositions or the conscious convictions of the individual's continuity, of his intimate relationship with something grander and more permanent than his brief bodily existence, and of a oneness underlying the many various differentiated aspects or divisions of life and thought. Only in the light of such unity can one gain any rational conception of the many complex temperamental and other variations and divergences of thought; these find their logical basis, not in any ultimate heterogeneity, but in processes of differentiation with developments in various specialistic, diverging, and individualistic directions.

(2) Especially noteworthy, therefore, is the comparative study of the phenomena of ecstasy, inspiration, mysticism (*qq.v.*; cf. also artt. POSSESSION, ṢŪFISM, and YOGIS). Here are

[1] But this does not mean that some one department of thought is wholly adjusted to another. Rather, in every advance, individuals are so stimulated that every department (such as it is) undergoes a development which, like that of the individual himself or of his country, may be either orderly or somewhat drastic.

[1] Cf. M. Anesaki, *Nichiren, the Buddhist Prophet*, Cambridge, Mass., 1916, pp. 67 f., 72 ff., 95, 97, 100.

involved the rarer psychical states where the individual has intense convictions of a deeper and profounder self, of the One behind the Many, of the Reality beneath all phenomena, or of the Ultimate Truth as set forth in his religious beliefs. The state is always exceedingly impressive and potent; and, all the world over, means are taken to induce it artificially. At a higher stage of development the passage from the more normal state to the rarer is considered more carefully, with a more conscious recognition of the roads, the goals, and the results. In Indian and Buddhist thought, in particular, the problems have been diligently studied; and, instead of the old mythological reification of the illusion (see MAYA), or the veil severing ordinary life from the profound states, there have been psychological and philosophical inquiries of a suggestive and fruitful character. The problem as to what stands between man and his inmost self, and between the outside world of appearance and the ultimate truth, is a very real one, forced by actual experience (§ 13 [2]); and efforts were made to analyze and classify (*a*) the constituents and processes of the mind that has the experiences, and (*b*) that which was experienced. While Indian thought went its own way, Western thought found its 'spiritual home' in Greece, where the problems were apprehended and treated at a higher and more differentiated stage of development. Consequently the East has preserved more of a primary undifferentiated experience; it has a more immediate view of its reality; whereas Western thought has become highly specialized and 'scientific,' the tendency being for the unity to be obscured, if not ignored. Yet it is soon found that no adequate synthesis can be made by combining the results of extreme specialistic analysis of experience; there is a unity in experience and in the experiencing mind which analysis destroys. None the less, although continued differentiation and specialization tend to destroy the unity and give scantier and more disparate conceptions of reality, every new and genuine synthesis is all the richer for the prior stage of disintegration. Just as all intuitions and immediate views are the fuller when the mind has had a laborious preparatory discipline, so the deep-searching introspection of Eastern thought is to be balanced by the less introspective, less subjective, but more specialistic training of the West; and, while the one has a nearer view of the problem, the other has the better tools, for what is fundamental in the development of religious and non-religious thought is the character of the concepts which both influence and are influenced by the interpretation of experience.

(3) Complexity of thought corresponds to the complex mental structure of individuals who are at a more highly differentiated stage than those in rudimentary society. All classifications, whether complex or not (law, morality, religion, etc.), are the result of growth, and they are not stationary. There is that in the conscience and in the ideals of the individual which tests, criticizes, and adjusts the legal, moral, religious, æsthetic, and other conceptions, principles, etc., of the environment. Such individuals go beyond current conditions and work for an unknown future. To say that they are ahead of their age is to beg the question, for their achievements, whatever their subjective impressiveness, become objectively valuable as they are adjusted to and assimilated by the environment. Hence the development of thought in history must undoubtedly be regarded as the collective result of the innumerable individuals concerned, and the ideals, aims, and processes in the whole environment will then represent some profounder 'whole' which transcends the conscious individuals themselves. At the same time, all existing systems, institutions, categories, and classifications — by which alone rational life is possible — are also transcended by the individuals who frame, accept, or amend them. Thus men are unconsciously shaped by processes, certain aspects or parts of which at least they are able to shape; they are an integral part of that of which they are more or less objective critics. Consequently, the most complete description of reality must take in the developing individual who both controls and is controlled by his conceptions of reality. It is a necessary assumption that of the ultimate realities men's conceptions are imperfect approximations, and consequently even the completest view of reality would have to be regarded as itself the outcome of a natural process of mental development still unfinished and always hampered by determinable limitations of the human mind. So, in all human development there is a combination of the transcendent and the immanent; there is a process which transcends the men who are consciously and unconsciously a part of it.

29. **Fundamental ideas.**—(1) Every activity has its necessary conditions and principles, which are indispensable if it is to be successful. Everywhere are to be recognized necessary fundamental principles, all closely interconnected, but recurring in various forms, and associated with our own ideas of efficiency, law, order, right, and truth. Every group and every activity which can be regarded collectively as a unit has its unifying and necessary principles upon which success and efficiency depend; consequently, freedom of action, even of existence, involves adherence to *some* indispensable requirements. Liberty and subordination to law, freedom and discipline, are thus correlative, and they also involve ideas of aim and purpose. In practical life the difficulties usually concern the precise requirements, the relative value of the units and their aims, and the relations between those that impinge or conflict. From the earliest times the social group has acted up to certain obligations upon which group-unity alone could depend; but often it is only periods of crisis and incoherence that manifest the vital significance of principles formerly unrecognized, obscured, or questioned. Now, every genuine feeling of group unity is commonly reflected in spontaneous feelings of collective privilege and responsibility; the members participate in one another's merits and misdeeds.[1] Among rudimentary peoples this unity will frequently include both the gods and the processes of nature (§ 7). Hence, when the gods are felt to be near at hand, the behaviour of the group is bound up with that of the processes of nature controlled by the gods; cf., *e.g.*, the common belief that great crimes will disturb the order of nature. But the action of the gods in thus requiting man's behaviour is only one form of a fundamental conviction uniting man with the rest of the universe. Often certain representative individuals are directly connected with the welfare of the people or land, and they are responsible for drought and other disasters (§ 25 [3]). But, if this applies to the evidently conspicuous men, who is to determine who are 'the salt of the earth' (Mt 5^{13})? The fundamental ideas, partly of common responsibility, partly of a profound interconnexion, re-appear in ritual, ethical, and other forms, in the ideas implicit in 'magical' control or in 'religious' prayer, in explicit curse or appeal, and in vague denunciation and adjuration, in instinctive ideas of retribution and recompense, and in emotional, poetical, and æsthetic feelings of man's kinship with nature or the universe. And notably in law and justice, and in the instinctive resentment to what is felt to be inimical to human welfare, the individual is no longer an 'individual,' but as his 'brother's keeper' implicitly associates himself with the progress of the universe as a whole and with the upholding of its principles, in so far as he realizes and can apply them.

(2) There is a continual rediscovery of a universal unity and interconnexion which specialized thought must necessarily ignore. But confusion arises when concepts, the result of such specialization, are criticized on account of what they lack, as, *e.g.*, when nature is spoken of as impersonal, blind, and morally and spiritually indifferent. Now, in so far as conceptions of nature have been based upon phenomena where personal, moral, and spiritual aspects are irrelevant or out of the question, such criticism is beside the mark. Moreover, it would ignore the order, uniformity, and regularity which are indispensable for the processes of nature, and which are the counterpart of the requirements of every effective and ordered human society. The behaviour of animals and young children cannot be discussed throughout in terms of adult psychical life (*e.g.*, ethics, insight, learning, etc.), but they commonly manifest

[1] Conversely, from an examination of customs, light can be thrown upon an otherwise barely recognizable social system (as by W. R. Smith, in his *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*[2], London, 1903).

what in their sphere corresponds, in a rudimentary way, to the attributes that we apply, in another sphere, to adults. Similarly, the processes of nature are the 'natural' counterpart of the anthropomorphic processes in the 'psychical' realm. The 'natural' and the 'spiritual' laws reflect essential similarities differently shaped according to their realm. Moreover, a law is from one point of view the essential principle of some effective process or activity, while, regarded subjectively, it is our most essential, reliable, and effective formularization of the regularity of phenomena. True, the concept law has undergone different vicissitudes as nature and human society are considered separately; but what appears to be fundamental is that in a 'natural' law there is involved the explicit recognition of some immanent and effective principle, while human law is not really 'man-made' and 'imposed,' but is the attempt to make explicit the conscious recognition of what is essential for the better efficiency of human life, although for this purpose laws as prohibitions of what hinders successful growth become more conspicuous than the positive requirements of what ensures it.[1]

(3) (*a*) The objective value of every group or activity lies in its relations to others, and ultimately, therefore, to the whole of that of which all of them are part. This applies equally to principles, ideas, concepts, and theories; their real value is tested by their relation to a larger field than that where they are first recognized. So the value of all that can be treated as a unit or whole lies in its place in the ultimate whole; and in practical life there are conflicting theories, activities, principles, groups, and so forth, which force the conclusion that either the ultimate realities are incoherent and discordant—which is clearly irrational—or there is a final solution which we shall judge rational. Of such conflicts those between law and mercy, or between 'nature' and the individual, may be specially mentioned. Yet the highest love is compatible only with the strictest regularity of cause and effect; and God's forgiveness of the penitent sinner is not arbitrary, but in conformity with some greater law, some profounder conception of justice. Moreover, in 'nature's' regard for the whole lies the hope of him who is an integral part thereof; for by nature's disregard of the individual we mean the conflict between our largest 'scientific' concept of order in the universe and the ever-developing individual who can command Nature only by obeying her. In either case there is a higher explanation, such that the absolute uniformity (order, justice, or love) is for the ultimate advantage, happiness, and consolation of those who can realize its sway, although offenders and others may suffer by rebelling against it. To pursue this further would be to turn aside to the 'burden' of the law, the question of free will, and the need for mediation and atonement.

(*b*) The power and responsibility of the individual are seen in the fact that, just as the total conditions at any time are the result of everything that has preceded, so all men are jointly and severally contributing to the good and evil conditions of the future. Consequently, the religious aspect is particularly significant, whether when evils and wrongs arouse the cry, 'Can there be a God to allow such things?' or when men more or less instinctively feel themselves the guardians of justice and order in the universe. An orderly and just universe is the underlying postulate. All insistence upon the worth of the individual is, therefore, a deeper and more personal expression of the fundamental interconnexion of the universe, of the autonomous value of all the constituents, and of the entire dependence of the efficiency and welfare of the whole upon all the constituents.[2] Throughout, we have to seek a rational explanation; for, as apart from the question whether the universe *is* ultimately rational, only by treating it as such can we find any basis for our ideas, avoid mental suicide, and develop in the future as we have in the past. The most perplexing vicissitudes lead now to doubt, scepticism, and despair, now to some firmer and wider conception of life; but the latter has been the line taken in the history of progressive thought. Self-sacrifice and renunciation of all that is most obvious and tangible find their rationality in the conviction that the unknown will bring a greater reality than the known. So, too, the frequent disturbing success of evil is a guarantee, not of lawlessness, but of the success of perfect good; for, when evil succeeds, there are, on analysis, factors which in themselves make for success, and, when good fails, once more analysis reveals factors which have not the elements of permanence and progress. And, when examples of this are clearly realized, one gains a more rational conception than if good and evil are treated as absolute, conflicting entities. The ultimate must be regarded as rational, else there can be no ordered life or thought.

30. **Myth and knowledge.**—(1) Ideas of the fundamental unity of the universe are implied also in the remarkable imitative and other ceremonies where men represent spirits, gods, etc., or perform the desired 'natural' processes themselves, or otherwise act on the assumption that the effective controlling powers can be moved (cf. § 19). In addition to this, the recital or description of processes or operations is often felt to be potent, so that, *e.g.*, myths are not things to be lightly or irreverently spoken, because they arouse the sacred beings to whom they refer. Hence the commemoration of stirring and sacred events in the past has a very real value for the future; it stimulates appropriate feelings and ideas, and gives a new and intense vividness to the reality of the sacred beings who are the sources of action.[1] A very great part is taken in religion by imitation and mimetic representation, and to these processes of absorption and identification can be joined the deep mental concentration and the effort to realize for oneself beliefs and truths. In this way ideas are realized, if not reified; they are so assimilated that, *e.g.*, in ancient Egypt an effective means of escaping the perils of death was to identify oneself with some saving god who had successfully overcome them himself.[2] From the myths and traditions which concern the great things of life it is an easy step to the esoteric aspects, the secrecy of all knowledge which is in any way potent. Not only are there innumerable examples of the fact that knowledge is power (cf., *e.g.*, the possession of the name of a god), but the psychological effect of increase of effective knowledge upon the individual is exceedingly instructive from the religious point of view. The inter-relations between knowledge, wisdom, reverence, and the 'fear of God' are, however, disturbed by the progress of thought and by the usual arbitrary and subjective distinctions between sacred and 'secular.' None the less, it will be freely admitted that moral and ethical qualities (sincerity, intellectual honesty, patience, sobriety, moderation, etc.) are requisite for the best 'secular' and 'scientific' labour; and in this way the whole self, and not a human intellectual machine alone, is involved. Thus the complete outlook (*Weltanschauung*) of the individual becomes, so to say, the mathematical function of his current stage of intellectual, ethical, æsthetic, and

[1] Another important example of specialization with tendencies to forget the undifferentiated aspects is afforded by the contrast between the terms 'psychical' and 'physical.'

[2] Cf. esp. the ideas as expressed in Mt $10^{29f.}$ 18^{12-14}, Lk 15.

[1] Cf. the influence of traditional history upon Israel, and note, *e.g.*, Hab 3, the commemoration of the Deity's deeds in the past, the present distress (v.[17]), and the brave confidence (v.[18]). Cf. also the naive attitude (between confident 'magic' and submissive religious 'humility') in Nu $14^{15f.}$, Dt $9^{27f.}$.

[2] Moore, *Hist. of Religions*, i. 174; cf. 162 f., 165, 194. The same psychological process appears in both Buddhism and Christianity. The numerous beliefs and practices which illustrate the connexion between thought, action, and reality are of the greatest interest for theories of causation and knowledge, for which it must suffice to refer to Durkheim (bk. iii. ch. iii § 3, Eng. tr. p. 362 ff.).

spiritual development; and, in so far as 'like is known only by like,' the completest conception of reality requires the completest conceivable development of personality.[1]

(2) All myths and all conceptions of the universe, even the most extreme, have a threefold value: (*a*) they purport to add to our knowledge of reality; (*b*) they illuminate the mental structure of the inquiring, reflecting, realizing individual; and (*c*) they contribute to the further study of the way in which the mind experiences and interprets its experiences, and thus point to the nature of the objective realities which can be so variously apprehended. The emotional, poetical, metaphorical, and undifferentiated characteristics of myths correspond to the psychological character of those who frame and accept them. The spontaneous mythologizing, anthropomorphizing, and personifying mind always persists, and it contrasts with the careful intellectual efforts to be objective and impersonal, and to avoid irrelevant or misleading concepts. While myth is 'personally' interesting and intelligible, it is, when at its best, 'super-personal'—like the ballad—representing aspirations, ideas, and modes of thought that are collective, national, or universal, and not merely individualistic. In course of time the myth may become a fixed, authoritative statement, embarrassing the movement of thought; then its crudities and imperfections will perplex the faithful, fortify the sceptic, and even excuse the wrong-doer. It may then pass from being 'super-personal' to 'impersonal,' when it is no longer in touch with the people. There will be a failure to analyze and distinguish the permanent from the impermanent features—although this distinction is always made unconsciously by all who uphold any body of religious or other thought against their opponents. The more empirical knowledge, on the other hand, will avoid the arbitrariness and subjectivity of myth, but it tends to leave out human personality with all its richness of feeling and potentiality. It will present a synthesis which is in no sympathetic relationship with the experiences of the generality of mankind. It will acquire a false 'impersonal' objectivity, and become dogmatic, restricting personal development. Hence, although science and religion can exist for a time side by side, sooner or later the question arises of the validity of their several concepts and of their value for the further progress of personality.[2]

(3) The course of thought is directed by what is known, and it is in terms of familiar experience; so, *e.g.*, cosmical processes have commonly been thought of in terms of human vicissitudes (birth, conflict, marriage, death). In like manner, on other levels, democratic ideas, sovereignty, or an age of mechanism will be reflected in both the religious and the non-religious thought.[3] Conceptions of the universe are influenced by the current conditions, and *vice versa*; and in the development of thought the efforts to explain experiences and phenomena often proceed without the necessary reference to the primary data themselves. The psychological and logical paths then diverge, and the fluctuations in the progress of thought can be illustrated in the varying personal and impersonal conceptions of Providence, Nature, God (cf. the word 'agency' itself, used of both process and agent). The result is that isolated religious terms no longer have their primary subjective content, although there may be noble and quasi-religious feelings outside the religious phraseological framework, and associated, *e.g.*, with art, science, or humanity. The expression of feelings, it is true, may seem to partake of the nature of religion, yet, from a point of view which must be regarded as primary and ultimate, religion must be treated as *sui generis* and distinctive (§ 33 [3]).

A belief in a life after death has no ethical or religious value in itself, and a monotheistic religion is not always superior to a henotheism or to the polytheism which most practical religions are. The word 'God' may express more of a logical or intellectual necessity than the personal experience of a Supreme Being; yet the experience of some transcendent 'Presence' is not necessarily interpreted as that of a deity, and men have had their *daemon*, guardian-angel, or some psychologically effective experience, which has been identified in harmony with their conceptions of reality and the thought of the environment.

The interdependence between experience, interpretation, and the development of thought is well illustrated in the vicissitudes of such words as Heaven, στοιχεῖα (see *EBi*, *s.v.* 'Elements'), the Chinese *Tao*, *Tien*, *Li*, and the Buddhist *Dharma* and the various personal, ethical, universal, and metaphysical conceptions of Buddha himself. A simple and typical example of development is afforded by ceremonial washing, which is religious or magical according to the precise ideas that accompany it (cf. p. 674ᵃ, n. 1). If it persists as a mere rite, the efficacy lies merely in the ritual, and not in the psychical state, and this is 'magic.' Proceeding to the other extreme, men avoid the ceremony with its beneficial and utilitarian aspects as a piece of worldly luxury, and misguided religiosity delights in afflicting and tormenting the body. Again, the utilitarian purpose can be retained and the religious aspect ignored, and this secularization is very common in the history of culture; cf. the rise of astronomy, anatomy, and medicine from the astrological and more or less 'magical' soil in which they once flourished. All such changes are significant for the relation between the psychical states of the individual and the ultimate realities.

(4) The developments in the history of religion furnish valuable material for all conceptions of the relation between the religious and the non-religious aspects of life and thought, and for the criteria of religion. One can scarcely allow with Schiller that he who has art and science has also religion, though religion should possess the immediacy and beauty of art, and both it and science should be in touch with reality; or with Matthew Arnold that religion is the application of emotion to morality, though religion without either would hardly be so styled. Thought cannot be treated so atomically, and the fact is that purely non-religious thought can or cannot find a logical place in a religious system, and *vice versa*, just as two departments of natural science may be in some respects entirely separable, but in others may so intertwine that the problems of the one cannot be severed from those of the other. Now, the evident seat of all the varying relations is the individual mind and the connexion (such as it is) between the entire contents involved in its concepts and ideas. Differentiate as one may the religious and the non-religious, the moral and the non-moral (where morality is irrelevant), and the emotional and intellectual, all these find an ultimate common ground in the whole individual; and it may well be the case that the final aim of 'science' is not the perfect systematization of the many diverse tendencies and departments of thought, but the systematic treatment of the systematizations—of the metaphysical, the philosophical, the theological, the scientific, and all other minds ratiocinative and naive. Co-ordination of different legitimate interests, and not a perfect homogeneity of interests throughout will then be the goal.

31. **Immanence and transcendence.**—(1) Characteristic of religion is the combination of the known and the unknown, the natural and the supernatural, 'this' world and 'the other,' immanence and transcendence (see art. IMMANENCE). Despite all that can be said against the second member of each pair, they are the outcome of experience; and, while the difficulty has been to give a rational statement and justification of the experience, counter-criticisms and objections, often of a crudely rationalistic kind, overlook the prevalence of similar types of experience, and attack the particular forms in which it is interpreted and presented. The members of each pair are correlative; and therefore, as regards the last, conceptions either of immanence or of transcendence taken separately have neither permanence nor progressive value. The belief in a transcendent Deity has led to religion falling into the hands of the few; the God of the State or of the Church has seemed remote from the ordinary

[1] So, too, the great religious and other leaders, through their own total personality, have enabled their disciples to gain deeper and more powerful conceptions of reality.

[2] On the whole subject of mythological and scientific thought, and on the influence of personalizing even in science, see Olive A. Wheeler, *Anthropomorphism and Science; a Study of the Development of Ejective Cognition in the Individual and the Race*, London, 1916, esp. p. 130 ff.

[3] Cf. § 9 (2), and see G. Murray, *Four Stages of Greek Religion*, New York, 1912, pp. 112 f., 115, on the conception of Fate as a goddess just at a period when men's fortunes seemed to bear no relation to their merits or efforts. Cf. also the interest in eschatology, the millennium, and a new age at the present day (see S. A. Cook, *The Study of Religions*, pp. 139, n. 2, 302). For a methodical treatment of the inter-relation of different branches of thought and their vicissitudes the work of Wilhelm Dilthey may be especially noted.

individual, and the latter has relied upon some intermediary, or else in some more private or individualistic cult has found an outlet for that which the institutional religion would otherwise have guided and developed. In the course of this process his experiences, ideas, and conceptions of reality clearly undergo profoundly important changes. Again, in the Deism which makes God a supreme majestic Being with no place in ordinary life and thought, He becomes as remote as when He is thought of as unknown or unknowable. Thus the concept may be characteristically intellectual, and without the immediate personal significance which it has when God is felt to be near at hand. But, when in many forms of popular and personal religion God is felt to be near, this feeling of His greatness can subsequently be lost, and then the gulf diminishes between the frail individual of a few decades and the Supreme Power of an inconceivably vast universe. Through the experience of immediacy there is no need felt for priestly ritual, ceremonial, dogma, or mediator; even reverence may disappear. Thus both immanence and transcendence have their extreme logical sequels. The God who is solely transcendent becomes remote and unknown: to say that there is One whom man cannot know is at first to recognize an incompleteness; but the next step is to be unconscious of the gulf, and then to ignore how the experience of it could ever arise and persist. On the other hand, the conception of the immanent God is near to pantheism, and so can lead to the absence of any religious distinctiveness in the term. In this way the distinctively *religious* content of the concept God is lost; and, while it is easy to trace the secularizing process, it is impossible to explain the personal meaning and psychical value of this supreme concept, unless *some* immediate personal experience is regarded as logically primary. The history and vicissitudes of the concept become intelligible only if the immanent and transcendent aspects are retained, only if there are ultimate realities of the universe—of human existence—of which these apparently paradoxical terms attempt to interpret the experience.

(2) The religious ideas of immanence and transcendence are a fundamental part of human nature, and are but the most intense form of what otherwise is not peculiar to religion. They find some analogy in human relationships (*e.g.*, between parent and child), where complete understanding and friendliness co-exist with respect, reverence, and a consciousness of a psychical gulf (cf. § 12 [3]). Moreover, there is a similar co-existence as regards the attitude to those great human figures who are not isolated, unintelligible, or extreme, but who are at once on a much higher level than ourselves, yet are felt to be thoroughly intelligible and near to us. It corresponds with this that every individual can gain a more vivid realization of himself and a profounder and more potent personality when he sinks and subordinates himself to that with which he identifies himself, so that, in apparently becoming one with the environment, and therefore 'lost' in it, he rises above it and transcends it. It is the paradox of religious and other thought that, according to the view-point, the processes of the universe can be described 'naturally,' so that men have no need of the concept God, or 'in him we live, and move, and have our being,' and the experiences of immanence and transcendence co-exist.

(3) The key to the correlatives, mentioned above, lies in the progressive development of the individual, and in the phenomena of imitation and attraction which are familiar in personal, religious, and non-religious experience and are invariably significant for personality.[1] Development follows in man's striving to satisfy needs, reach goals, follow ideals, attain some psychical equilibrium, or bridge some gulf. It is essentially no passage from the known to the unknown, but a clearer or newer apprehension of that of which one was already in some degree conscious. But here the process of attraction, when there is a successful issue, is readily followed by a deadening satisfaction and complacence which would impede further progress. Not only in intellectual development (*e.g.*, the search after some hypothesis), but most significantly in personal relationships of all kinds, can the psychical gap which formed the attraction give place to indifference. Yet, however complete the subjective feeling of finality may be, the passage, transition, or development is not objectively complete, and especially in religion there prevails a spiritual pride, arrogance, or consciousness of 'election,' which is as harmful for the further progress of the individual as for religion itself (see § 32 [2]). Even the saint has still to strive and may yet fall; and various attempts are made to determine the final goal of human development, and to distinguish, *e.g.*, between conversion or baptism into a 'new life' and the state after death (*q.v.*), or to determine whether the final stage is reached immediately after death or after some purgatory.[1] The most intense consciousness of the ultimate realities appears readily combined, now with a greater complacence, but now with a profounder feeling of weakness and unworthiness, when the very nearness of the 'divine' enhances the frailty of the individual and his entire dependence upon God. Whatever be the best formulation of the experiences and their consequences, the 'healthy' and 'whole' development of the individual is at stake, for all development depends upon the possession of some transcendent object of attraction which shall call forth the utmost from the individual and be for the completest growth of his personality.

(4) All ideas, aims, needs, and quests are potent for personal development; but men's varying attitudes to some manifestation of 'divine' discontent, as it is felt to be, illustrate the difference between its singular impressiveness for the subject and its worth as viewed from the outside by others. Personal development is due both to the individual nature in its entirety and to the total environment. Thus the child is influenced in varying degrees by toys, animal-pets, playmates, parents, teachers, etc. His potentialities are actualized and shaped by the 'object' — by its psychical inferiority, equality, or superiority, and by its ability to respond to the child and to shape his growth. There is a subjective feeling of personal relationship even with the toy and the animal, as distinct from the objective personal or impersonal character of the 'object,' whatever it be. So, too, in the history of religion the centre of religious beliefs and practices has been inanimate or animate, totem, spirit-guardian, or ancestor; and there has been throughout a (subjective) feeling of 'personal' relationship, although in course of development we pass (objectively) from the totem, fetish, or idol to a Supreme Being. Whatever be the actual realities, whatever part a Supreme Power—or any process outside man—takes in shaping this development, it is at least possible to recognize that men's ideas will be shaped differently according to (*a*) their empirical knowledge of the totem-animal or bird, the deified ancestor, and so forth; and (*b*) the conceptions which they entertain of the sacred object or being, whether visible or not. The latter, (*b*), is fundamental, for in both religious and non-religious thought development depends on the full meaning of the concepts used.

(5) It is of course evident that neither the empirical objects nor the conceptions of any object can *in themselves* account for the phenomena of religion—it is precisely when the totem is

[1] Cf., *e.g.*, the *Imitation* of Thomas à Kempis, and the well-known words of St. Augustine, 'Lord, Thou hast made us for Thyself and our hearts are ever restless till they rest in Thee'; also the frequent testimony of those who admit themselves led by degrees ('One step enough for me') towards a Supreme Personal Being or to some personally vital ideal or goal.

[1] Cf. in Buddhism the distinction between *Nirvāṇa* and *Parinirvāṇa*; see also vol. ix. p. 378[b] (4).

merely an animal, when the once deified ancestor is merely a dead man, or when the god is merely a name or an intellectual term, that the distinctively religious colouring is wanting. It is this colouring that is primary, and what is impressed upon the consciousness of the individual is that which is logically anterior to the phase where the distinctive religious colouring is wanting. The correlatives (immanence *and* transcendence, etc.) could not arise except together and in some sort of system (see § 32); and there must be some awareness of the as yet unknown and unattained, as apart from what is already known and attained, else there could be no consciousness of an incompleteness. What may be felt to be a whole is but part of some ultimate whole; for one can attend only to parts or aspects of things at a time, and the individual can present only the results of his own individualistic and partial development. By means of objective comparison, therefore, something can be determined of the ultimate worths and values which men collectively or individually feel to be essential for themselves or for the universe. Whatever the completest totality of experience and consciousness may be—and this would at least require the most ideally complete personality—exhaustive classifications can be attempted (*e.g.*, the categories of the Good, the Beautiful, and the True); and these point conclusively to the objective inadequacy of any conceptions of the ultimate facts which concentrate upon particular parts or phases (*e.g.*, humanity, nature, or art), and ignore values which other individuals insist upon conserving.

32. The religious system.—The greatest religious conceptions imply a system which is rational, disciplinary, and dynamic. (1) The psychical experiences which alone explain the origin and persistence of the characteristic religious concepts of the holy, supernatural, sacred, etc. (as opposed to the common, natural, secular, etc.), are followed by an assimilation wherein the primary immediacy, freshness, or uniqueness is deadened or lost. The actual process of secularization applies rather to parts, whereas the reverse process (idealization, sanctification) affects whole psychical states or systems of ideas (cf. p. 672[a], n. 2). Various steps have everywhere been taken to induce the valued psychical states and experiences; and the difference between the rarer states and the ordinary ones is between two phases, orders, or realms of existence—the real problem is to describe the data adequately—such that the sources of the conceptions of 'this' world and of the 'other' lie within the scope of the single individual, and the character and interpretation of the rarer states are conditioned by his prior development (cf. § 14 [1]). Individuals will usually connect the rarer states with the objectively 'divine' (cf. also 'divine' discontent, above, § 31 [4]); but the social, intellectual, and generally rational value of the consequences of the states is prevailingly tested, and every claim to inspiration and other divine privileges is, sooner or later, submitted to intellectual, practical, social, and ethical tests. Good and bad mysticism, true and false prophetism, beautiful spirituality and harmful religiosity exemplify the necessity of objective tests; and the environment or the course of history enables one to determine the result. Thus the supernatural and unknown in religion are not necessarily taken at their own valuation; the average prevailing type of mind insists upon passing its own judgment upon the data, and the holy is so, not because it happens to survive or is merely imposed upon men (cf. the notion of 'survivals,' § 4 [2]), but because in the long run the mind, of its own will, recognizes it as such. The natural and the supernatural, the known and the unknown, come within the horizon of the individual consciousness, and in the lengthy history of religion the prevailing, practical, average opinion spontaneously recognizes the necessity of distinguishing between good and bad religion—a distinction which again and again individuals are genuinely unable to realize.

(2) Entirely characteristic of the experiences of the 'divine' is the consciousness of uplifting power and strength, such that the self-confidence and mastery which characterize 'magic' have a certain kinship with religious confidence and conviction. But 'magic' has no place for transcendence; and a very striking feature throughout the history of religion is the recurring insistence upon the gulf between the human and the divine—an emphasis upon the transcendent rather than upon the immanent. In religion, generally, the two fundamental conceptions of *mana* and tabu (*qq.v.*) are correlative: on the one side, the wondrous power which man may, can, and should utilize and, on the other, the indispensable heed and caution; for *mana* without tabu becomes magic, and tabu without *mana* can lead to grovelling superstition.[1] This co-existence is the outcome of the need which is experienced for the two. It is extremely instructive to notice the data preserved in the Bible, for the religions of the Semites, as opposed to Indian quietism and pantheism, and to Chinese practical ethical religion, constantly manifest a passionate vehemence which in its religious aspects will at one time insist upon the might, jealousy, and arbitrariness of the Deity (corresponding to the psychology of the old Oriental despot), and at another will emphasize His favouritism for a people or for an individual who is the divine instrument, representative, or incarnation. The data in question are of the 'fall of Lucifer' type (Is 14^{12}), where the gulf between man and God is arrogantly or wrongfully ignored.[2] Hence, also, the Israelite conviction of divine privileges is very intelligibly balanced with ideas of greater responsibility, as in Am 3^{2}. Yet the religious data, profoundly vital as they are, are in harmony with the non-religious parallels in ordinary human nature, in the recognition of certain gulfs not to be bridged, in the detestation of arrogance, of conceit, and of *ὕβρις*, in the need of modesty in good fortune and success—even to the feelings underlying the 'evil eye' and 'touch wood.' So also, in taking too much for granted or in trifling with one's deepest realizations and ideas, there is a recognition of the vital necessity of dignity, respect, reverence, as regards both oneself and others, in order that personality may develop wholesomely. These disciplinary and dynamic features of human nature are only more comprehensive, personal, and ultimate in their religious counterparts, and they tend to form a system, and that a dynamic and not a static one.

(3) Among rudimentary peoples the initiation ceremonies not only prepare the youth for tribal life, but at a critical physico-psychical period provide him with regulative and steadying ideas.[3] Social-religious beliefs and practices cover the matters of everyday possibility, which, however, are of the deepest significance for the individuals concerned (§ 6 [1]). Where the individual is thrown back upon himself, so to speak, in all the great crises and occasions of life, a way is found between what would be utterly indifferent, callous, and animal-like and what would tend to be ultra-sentimental, emotional, or ascetic; for either extreme would preclude practical life and could not long persist. Thus, although the 'other world' is so near that death is naught, yet to act heedlessly upon this would be dangerous. Moreover, the intuitive feeling of disapprobation, fear, and dread as regards suicide is confronted with an intuitive appreciation of all self-sacrifice. Killing in war and murder are commonly distinguished even among the lower religions. There is a recurring average recognition of what is essential for continuous progressive movement, and the conventions touching sacred and delicate matters afford

[1] See especially R. R. Marett, *The Threshold of Religion*[2], ch. iii. f.

[2] Viz. the story of the expulsion from Eden (Gn $3^{22ff.}$), the king of Tyre (Ezk 28^{14-19}), Nebuchadrezzar (Dn 4^{10-34}, Jth 2^{12} 6^{2-4}), the tower of Babel (Gn 11^{1-9}), Moses and Aaron (Nu 20^{12-24} 27^{14}, Dt 32^{51}, Ps 106^{33}); cf. also the stories of Nadab and Abihu (Lv 10^{1-3}) and Uzzah (2 S 6).

[3] See Marett, *The Threshold of Religion*[2], p. 169 ff., 'The Birth of Humility.'

many examples of one aspect of a self-educative and disciplinary process whereby life and thought are systematized so that with every new growth of consciousness the individual may be able to develop in a way useful to himself and others. Things may be true (*e.g.*, God's forgiveness of the sinner), but the truths do not and cannot exist in isolation, and the system of which each is part goes to the depths of the individual. Therefore the individual is now infinitesimally small and frail, and now one whose beliefs and practices unite him with the greatest and most ultimate realities. And truly life would seem irrational save as a part of some larger existence, and the severity of its discipline unjust save as a training; the audacity of man's aspirations would be childish or outrageous save as a genuine though imperfect apprehension of actual realities, and his humility and sense of unworthiness unintelligible save as an education for other responsibilities and privileges. The ideas in religion are not merely intellectual; they can be psychologically and subjectively effective.[1] The ideas are not merely cognate to those implicit or explicit in non-religious life and thought; they also represent the apprehension of realities which are nowhere set forth in completely systematized form, but which appear (when religious and other thought is compared) in many independent and variously differentiated forms. There is not some single body of truths 'imposed' upon men from without, but there are truths of which men become conscious in their own individualistic, specialistic, temperamental manner, and according to their own development and that of their environment.

(4) The common psychological effectiveness (*a*) of artificial means to produce mystical and similar states, (*b*) of magical beliefs and practices, and (*c*) of all else that could be styled superstitious or irrational brings up again the difficult question of ultimate and absolute rationality. Whether the answer be in terms of theism or not, conceptions of ultimate order, power, and rationality are involved: thus it is 'God' who sees into the hearts of His children, grants their legitimate wishes, consoles and guides them; or it is in 'the nature of things' that what is effective is so for reasons which, if we only knew them, we should judge rational. If the absolutely irrational or evil succeeds, there is no foundation for ordered life and thought; only the postulate of an ultimate and absolute good and rationality allows any systematization of experience, and our human nature is ultimately deceiving us if this postulate is not true and final (*cf.* above, §§ 28 [3], 29 [3]).

Moreover, it is evident that many beliefs and practices (*e.g.*, in oaths and curses), however irrational they may appear, are effective only when all share similar ideas or convictions.[2] The whole system of cause and effect becomes self-supporting, as it were, and a pseudo-rationalistic condemnation of the crudities of a past age is not so helpful as attention to the efficiency of the system in which one lives—the dead must be left to bury their dead. Besides, condemnation is not only the recognition of a standard by which one may be judged in one's own turn; it is due to a new development of consciousness which is significant for the individual himself. Finally, all condemnation seriously affects one's conceptions both of theodicy and the rationality of human nature and of the ultimate order of the universe; the choice lies between absolute justice and absolute chaos, but the latter is logically unthinkable.

33. The dynamical aspects.—(1) Fundamental in development is the explicit recognition of evil which apparently was not regarded as evil, and of all that which can no longer be done with impunity. When good comes out of evil, either evil has not been justly punished—and this would mean an ultimately irrational universe—or, in the midst of a complex process and among all the subsequent vicissitudes, good is seen to predominate. But to do evil that good may come is to assume a complete knowledge of and power over all the processes or factors that are necessary.[1] When, therefore, in religion God's grace or help is implored, the hope is implied that, as apart from man's own activities, the Supreme Being will ensure the co-operation of the totality of conditions necessary. The whole system of cause and effect is involved, and it is precisely in times of difficulty and crisis that, where religion enters, this union of human and non-human (and so divine) factors always persists. If the convictions are sincere, the subjective and objective aspects can be viewed separately. The unanswered prayers, and other instances of defeated hopes, are not necessarily followed either by despair or by unbelief; there are subjective psychical transitions and developments which are often more recognizably significant for the individual than would have been the objective fulfilment of the particular request. Throughout, the sincerity of the individual is at stake, and various developments are forced as his faith becomes blind, as his behaviour becomes 'magical,' or as he seeks to determine what processes are 'natural' and what are not. To expect God to act contrary to one's explicit convictions of Him, and of the inevitable processes of nature, is a mark of unsystematized thought which paves the way, not for simple faith (which has no theory of causation), but for crude superstition; and it easily happens that popular—and other—naturalistic and materialistic conceptions of the universe do not logically permit those subjective notions and convictions of the ultimate reality which are expressed in more or less religious terms. Man cannot have it both ways, and his conceptions of God's power or existence, if claimed to be rational, must be in harmony with those which he has of 'natural' processes, and *vice versa*. So—to mention only one point—it becomes irrational for the individual to protest against conditions without inquiring into the nature of that freedom and liberty which he claims for himself; he has first to see whether the fundamental principles upon which he is entirely dependent are not those which are working in that which he is condemning, and whether what he condemns is only another form of that upon which he himself relies.

(2) Men can justly be judged in the light of those principles which they consciously recognize, although their beliefs and practices imply a profounder system in which they are unconsciously participating. The growth of consciousness breaks down the current concepts; they are no longer taken as starting-points, but are first tested in the light of the individual's own experience. It is a 'deeper' self that criticizes the categories, terms, and thought of its environment, and all profounder experience transcends them and commonly finds them inadequate. Development results, not merely in the use of new terms and formulas, but more especially in the subjective changes, the attitudes, points of view, the contents of one's terms, and in all that fresh flow of experience which language seeks to interpret and express. Now all deeper feeling compels a certain modification and adjustment of thought, and all sincerity and intellectual honesty force a certain systematization—although unfortunately the data which are not readily amenable are easily handled in some new Procrustean manner (see § 15 [2]). In the long run sincerity and genuineness are more

[1] The pragmatic test—that the religious truths can be proved by the individual—is so far conclusive as against the objection that everything that we conceive (*e.g.*, Kant's case of the dollars in his pocket) must exist. The religious argument is that there are truths which are the outcome of actual experience, which can be elaborated and described, and which under certain conditions can be put to the test, so that the description (seemingly intellectualistic) in one case can be part of a living experience in another.

[2] To take a simple case: in 1 S 25[32-39] (*a*) David commits his cause to Jahweh, (*b*) the guilty Nabal is conscience-stricken and dies, and (*c*) the *immediate* common ground is the body of convictions shared by David and Nabal. But the psychological effectiveness of witchcraft, black magic, etc., rests equally upon the system of ideas shared by the parties concerned.

[1] Thus it is recognized in common life that the sweetness of the reconciliation after a quarrel does not justify another quarrel to reproduce the experience, nor, in the religious sphere, does the 'grace abounding' for the penitent sinner justify continuance in sin (Ro 5[20-61]).

potent than what is cynical, indifferent, and merely conventional; and throughout human history, wherever 'lower' and 'higher' alternatives were recognized, the latter alone caused progress. Were there no sense of the lower and higher, there could be no consciousness of progressive development. The lower and all less desirable features have no elements of permanence or progress in any rational universe, while the higher constantly elude an immediately natural explanation, and manifest themselves in self-sacrifice, renunciation, self-denial, faith, and confidence in the future or the unseen. These higher factors are familiar in both the religious and the non-religious life; and either one must infer that progress is due to the apparently irrational side of man, or—since this, again, allows no ordered conception of the universe—the factors must be treated as thoroughly rational, by regarding the individual as part of the environment, or rather as part of the realities of the universe itself—an ultimate rational and interconnected 'whole.' It is impossible in the long run to sever human activities from those throughout the entire universe, and, although it is necessary to differentiate for practical purposes, the differentiation is never consistently carried out, and there is throughout a virtual co-operation of processes, variously regarded as 'human,' 'divine,' 'natural,' 'supernatural,' and 'cosmical' (cf. § 28 f.).

(3) (*a*) The factors that make for progress and development do not exist in isolation and cannot be severed from the field where they are manifested. Further, all that makes for permanence and progress must form the basis of conceptions, not only of religion, but also of science, art, ethics, etc. Hence, though religion in the course of its history has had very many extreme, unlovely, unprogressive, and impermanent features, these cannot go to form any critical or scientific conception of what it has been, is, or will be. Men's ordinary working concepts are based upon the persisting and average conditions; and, although thought thus seems to move in a circle, apparently determining what to select for its purpose, not only is the process inevitable, but each concept has to be adjusted to the rest of the system of thought to which it belongs. And, further, not only is the process of selection one of which men are primarily unconscious, but concepts will have characteristic 'ideal' aspects, with standards and criteria which enable men to realize approximations and defects. The origin of such 'ideal' aspects or types is an especially interesting inquiry, because in the spiritual life there is a frequent conviction of a decline or 'fall'—a real experience which it has been difficult to express except in myth, poetry, or metaphor. There is no reason to believe that man is gradually rising from a state of maximum grossness—here all judgments are relative—or that man has 'fallen,' in the terms of the Biblical narrative. None the less, the consciousness of a certain deterioration and decadence is familiar, and man is usually 'below the best' of what he feels to be within his capacity. The experience, which has its spiritual, æsthetic, ethical, and other forms, is bound up with the principle of attraction and with a recurring consciousness or vision of some great worth, existence, and reality which can and must be attained.

(*b*) Actual development is not to be described as from a part to a whole; but, like that of the child, it is from a rudimentary system to one less so (cf. § 5 [2]). Nor can thought be traced back historically to single concepts or ideas, but only to very rudimentary systems of what may be called 'psychical ability.' Yet even here the legitimacy of the term 'psychical' will be questioned, and it may be observed that what can be regarded as developing (*e.g.*, 'mind' or psychical ability) will go back to some stage where it is non-existent, or where we are in another realm of conditions, or where our present thought cannot follow. Either the nature of what is viewed as developing, or the nature of our concepts, or, again, the limitations of our experience will preclude the solution which we seek. The limitations of the mind forbid more than a certain rough systematization of experience; the mind can determine the conditions of the solution, rather than the solution itself, of some great problems of which it becomes aware. Thus the question of the origin of religion can be treated only as a problem of method or logic. It is evident that, when 'God,' 'life,' or 'thought' first appeared in the history of the universe, the prior situation was such as to permit the development (cf. p. 673[a], n. 1), and it cannot be completely described without taking into account that which was shortly to affect it. The factors and conditions that make for development do not exist in isolation, and they cannot be conceived as entirely independent of the field upon which they are first recognized. Neither in the individual nor in history could the objective reality which we call 'God' enter upon a field from which He had before been isolated. The mind is unable to pierce to the ultimate realities themselves and, from primitive cosmologies and cosmogonies to the latest philosophical and other syntheses, it is confronted with a similar difficulty—an experience of the absolute transcendence and priority of a Supreme Being or Principle, and the necessity of some conception of the actual steps in the differentiation of the universe. Differentiation as a process leads back logically to a single undifferentiated unit; but so far as our evidence goes we reach more and more rudimentary types of differentiation until the mind can reach no further. The steps are from system to system, and consequently it is important to distinguish between a static system of thought, which can allow no real development, and a dynamic one, which, if true to the history of the individual and the race, would embrace all the constituent or contributing minor systems (*e.g.*, human society, the State, Church, etc.), which cannot be regarded as eternal. There are progressive steps from ideal to ideal and system to system, like the continuous development of methods (§§ 3 [2], 16 [3]). We can distinguish the vision and the reflexion upon it, the ideal and the effort to follow it up, the system and what it systematizes, the concept, method, and all that 'organizes' material, and the material itself. There is, however, a tendency to give a certain absolute priority to the former of each pair, and so also to the plan or purpose which appears to precede the development, but continuously undergoes development itself. This tendency reflects itself in static conceptions of an absolutely prior vision, a heavenly origin of the soul, primitive archetypal ideas, some primary all-containing concept or principle, and a pre-determined (static) reality which is slowly being recognized, and of which new portions are being discovered from age to age. On the other hand, there is in point of fact a continuous process which takes us back to earlier stages where thought can no longer follow, and it points forward to an 'unknown' which will blend with the already known, for this is characteristic of the growth of consciousness.

34. The rationality of the unknown.—(1) It is wholly in accord with familiar religious convictions of the ephemeral character of human life, as a prelude for a future, that human thought must not expect to comprehend the ultimate truths. If man cannot see God and live (cf. §§ 18 [1], 32 [2]), if perfect Truth is with God alone, he is confined by his mode of thought, although the significant fact is the mind's sure consciousness of its being limited. Hence what is truly rational is not the ignoring of the unknown, but the realization of all that is essential for every new step of development. Just as our knowledge of anything in space or time is fundamentally incomplete if we ignore the environment, prelude, or sequel, so the true point of view of human life must be based upon the most comprehensive ideas, and one must 'think universally' (cf. p. 677[b], n. 2). The terms 'supernatural' and 'miraculous' have some unfortunate associations, and need careful definition, but they can be used rationally when they imply a God who is not arbitrary, but One whose laws transcend those of which men are cognizant. A disbelief in the supernatural and miraculous can, at the best, only assume an ultimate *impersonal* law and order in the universe to which certain alleged phenomena would be entirely contrary. While an unchecked credulity hinders progress of thought, by giving facile explanations of all difficulties, an irrational incredulity, on the other hand, can be as repressive as the typical rationalistic treatment, for both burke inquiry or offer facile explanations of no rational or scientific value.[1] The issue is faith in a Supreme Personal Being who is absolute justice, or in a supreme impersonal process or principle. In the history of religion now the personal and now the impersonal ultimate stands at the head; and all exceptional occurrences and phenomena which disturbed current convictions have led typically to wider conceptions of *some* ultimate order.

(2) The multifarious phenomena of life are such as to allow diverging and conflicting opinions. Hence, as in compiling a grammar of a language, regularities and uniformities must form the starting-point. There must be an actual selection of data. The great fundamental truths do not lie *in* the phenomena themselves—this is very evident from the way men's opinions differ—but they manifest themselves in men's consciousness of them.

[1] Hence (*a*) alleged miracles cannot be accepted without preliminary examination of the evidence, but (*b*) they also cannot form the starting-point of any rational argument; cf. Lessing's important remark: 'Accidental truths of history can never become proof of necessary truths of reason.'

They are in this respect *a priori*. He who avers that God's ways are just, or that honesty is the best policy, has neither counted the cases nor balanced the evidence with anything like logical adequacy. But he can make the principles his standard, part of his life, and he lives up to them. There is a common and largely unconscious recognition of regulative principles which might seem to find innumerable exceptions everywhere, but they become permanent and ultimate. Men make them so. Thus do men lay down the lines of their future and form the framework of the unknown; and, like the organism, they will tend to be 'true to type.' But, in addition to this, they will become explicitly conscious of the type to which they must be true, if their personality, in its ultimate development, is to be in every respect efficient (§ 29 [1]). When in the course of mental development the implicit becomes explicit, there is a rigid logical connexion between the old and the new; the lines upon which development will proceed have already been laid, and the data are viewed, selected, and systematized in ways conditioned by earlier processes of selection. Yet this selective process, as it appears, *e.g.*, among the young, is one of which they cannot be said to be conscious; and, while its extraordinarily beneficial character cannot be gainsaid, it is very common for the process, as a man's individuality becomes more distinctive, to be markedly biased, one-sided, and so forth. Development thus brings greater freedom and a more conscious choice of action, and the individual more deliberately shapes his personality. This increase of consciousness gives the impression that the early years were blind, unconscious, and so forth; but consciousness is never complete, as the developing individual can realize on retrospect. Even the very young have an individuality of their own. The selective process, with the gradual recognition of guiding principles, is at work in these rudimentary beings, and we may speak of some 'system' embracing the child, his immediate environment, and all the factors that make for development. Of some of these factors the individual becomes aware, and continued increase of consciousness makes acute the relation between the individual's conception of himself and the supreme realities, so far as he has apprehended them. Now, whatever these may be found to be, they must always have had a significance, such that that of which man becomes conscious was already existing and had some meaning for his earlier stages. The entire process in the midst of which man develops must embrace all that which comes under the category of the transcendent, the supernatural, and the unknown; and in the course of his purposive, self-guiding development he becomes a more responsible part of that co-operative and progressive process which he can now more deliberately help or hinder. It is at this point that the comparative and historical treatment of all ideas of sin, forgiveness, and atonement deserves fresh attention (see artt. Expiation and Atonement, Conscience, Sin).

(3) In various forms there prevail beliefs and practices of entire surrender, whether to a Supreme Power or to principles in the universe, or of thoroughgoing asceticism or quietism. But self-suppression and surrender are in themselves normal. In entering upon any new system of thought, they are necessary in a greater or less degree, as against inhibition, objectivity, and insistence upon one's own individuality and point of view. Especially significant is the surrender of self to potent ideas or theories, to a body of thought or a Church, and, of course, in all cases where the self entrusts itself to another personality. Throughout, the step has its important consequences, and the realization of the step becomes more impressive until it is felt to be a veritable leap into the unknown. The ideas and theories may lead one one knows not whither; the person to whom one surrenders oneself will to a greater or less degree affect one's unknown future. The process, a normal one, thus involves the question of the objective value of that to which the surrender is made, of that which is to be assimilated and realized. Progress is throughout due to innumerable acts of faith, trust, surrender, and reliance; and, as the occasions vary in intensity and objective significance, some part of the self is affected and developed, and at times the whole self seems to be renounced only to gain a 'higher' or a better self. However intense the feeling of surrender in human relationships, it is in the religious sphere that the significance of the step is most profoundly felt, and here the leap into the unknown is no less an one, even though there is the confidence that 'underneath are the everlasting arms.'[1] Here are experiences varying in degree and uniting the individual and his ordinary life and thought with that which is most profound and ineffable in the universe, correlating uniquely the non-religious and the religious, the known and the unknown, and forming the basis of all adequate conceptions of existence, knowledge, and reality.

35. **Reality.**—(1) It will have been seen that the trend of thought has advanced the study of religion to a new stage, and has interwoven it with the progress of other departments of research. In this article the endeavour has been made to introduce the reader to the wider field in which the study of religion must be placed, and to indicate some of the more important questions. Much more might of course be said, but the central problem would still remain: the underlying ultimate realities. Here it must suffice to observe that by the religious consciousness must be meant a consciousness of reality. The realities of religion must be more personally vital than those recognized outside the realm of religion; in fact a religion that would live must be able to claim to approach nearest to the ultimate realities. But even in religion we have to do, not with reality itself, but with intuitions, apprehensions, or convictions of it. The religious mode of thought appears to be essentially a very intense form of otherwise non-religious thought, and the most characteristic features of religion are a highly distinctive form of what otherwise is not peculiar to religion. Religion is 'natural' because the ultimate realities must be a 'natural' part of the universe of which man becomes conscious. Ideas of 'this' world and of 'the other' originate in the mind of one and the same experiencing individual; and there can be only one total existence of which he has such varying intuitions and conceptions as his nature, temperament, and training favour. Moreover, not only is there an interconnexion between the progress of religion, its increasing wealth of expression, and the general development of thought; it is also self-evident that the deliberate effort to raise the level of thought and to improve the mental equipment (*e.g.*, in education) enables one to experience life more fully and to utilize its data more effectively. Indeed, one has only to consider the meaner life of primitive men to perceive that the positive advances of thought have conduced to the general advance of religion, and to a clearer apprehension of all that is felt to be profoundly real and true. Thus thought—especially in its dynamic aspects—and reality are not to be separated.

(2) But, while progress brings better conceptions

[1] Cf. also the 'dark night' of the mystical experience; see artt. Mysticism, Neo-Platonism.

of reality, at the same time it certainly increases men's abilities, duties, and responsibilities. It magnifies the possibilities of good and evil. The development, therefore, is extremely significant for the relation between men and reality, whether one considers (*a*) the actual progress of physical science and the strides taken in utilizing the realities of the physical world, or (*b*) the deepening recognition of the necessity of higher standards of moral, spiritual, and intellectual life. Thus, the development of conceptions of reality powerfully affects human welfare as a whole. Moreover, they correspond in their remarkable variety to the variation of individual temperament, training, experience, and so forth. It is obvious that the striking differences—ethical, spiritual, and intellectual—in men's conceptions of God are due to differences, not in the nature of God Himself, but in human nature. 'God' is the name given to that sublimest of realities, of which man becomes conscious as standing in a uniquely 'personal' relationship with him. Whatever be the true *objective* reality, it is evident that both the Reality and man's own individual nature contribute to the resultant varying conceptions. And, in general, all the ultimate realities, *as formulated*, are man's imperfect conceptions of them, conceptions whose vicissitudes can be objectively studied, and which can develop further and, in so doing, lead to newer and more effective convictions of reality. Consequently, it is necessary to observe, on the one hand, the evident significance for the individual of his own conceptions of reality, and, on the other, the problem of the part taken by reality throughout. To the genuine theist God is the most essential, if not the only, reality, and it is impossible to isolate His working in the universe from the man who has an erroneous conception of God, or, perhaps, no consciousness of Him at all. None the less, it is of essential importance whether men's conceptions of any reality are adequate or not, and, to some extent at least, God's influence upon men is admittedly conditioned by men's conceptions. Hence the question is vital, how far God can influence man as apart from man's explicit consciousness of Him, how far God Himself is affected by human activities (*e.g.*, by gross evil) contrary to man's consciousness of His nature. (For we must evidently distinguish between human activities not yet recognized by men to be evil and those which they know within themselves to be wrong.) Moreover, since 'God' is the theistic consciousness of reality, the problem is essentially that of the relation between the ultimate realities in general and men with their varying consciousness of them. Vitally significant as this is on practical grounds, it is also a problem of the greatest methodological importance, *i.e.* if the data of the growth of consciousness, of religion and magic, and of science and philosophy are to be rationally and thoroughly handled. Reality must always be significant for men; it must have some effect, as apart from a man's particular conception of it. Only in this way can one gain a coherent view of the universe. Consequently there is need both of (*α*) an adequate conception of the ultimate realities to take the place of those felt to be imperfect, and of (*β*) a scientific and more theoretical treatment of such conceptions in human history, the development and differentiation of thought, and all that makes for the greater fullness and richness of life.

(3) All growth of consciousness brings increased power for good or for evil. The development is not so much of the self alone as of an environment or a system of relations of which the self is the centre. The development demands continued discipline and reorganization, for the consequences are harmful if the self is lacking in responsibility, morality, and all that encourages healthy progress. The limit of such development furnishes the conception of absolute coherence, perfection, truth, justice, etc., whether as regards (*a*) an absolutely self-conscious, supreme, and personal Self, or (*b*) an impersonal system of regulative principles and uniformities, as manifested in the universe—the ultimate 'environment.'[1] Now, the entire complex field of religion becomes more manageable and intelligible only when notice is taken of the beliefs and practices which connect human activities with those of the universe, whether directly (especially in magico-religious and magical data) or indirectly (*e.g.*, through prayer to the gods). But this fundamental underlying interconnexion, implicit in life and thought, becomes explicit only in the development and differentiation of thought—when, *e.g.*, spiritual and non-spiritual forms of energy are distinguished, and definitions or theories mark off matter from mind, and the physical from the psychical. The primary logical interconnexions are continually being obscured through the growth of special knowledge, which, however, brilliantly illuminates the varied departmental (moral, spiritual, æsthetic, intellectual) aspects of the universe.

There is a perilous kinship between religion and magic; typically and characteristically they are respectively right and wrong ways of dealing with what is regarded as fundamentally real and true. Since strong convictions and supremely intense states of consciousness are the more potent for good or for evil, there is a bifurcation such that what can take a religious form might also become magical or irreligious. Thus, there is a sane and an insane supernaturalism, a healthy and unhealthy mysticism, and genius has its cases of perversity and depravity. Accordingly, it is possible either to distinguish the good and the bad examples or to refuse to admit the latter within the category; that is to say, either we have good and bad religion, genius, etc. (or examples of these) or the bad cases come under another category, as, *e.g.*, in the antithesis of religion and magic, (good) mysticism and (irrational) occultism, and the like. Whatever course be generally adopted, it is extremely important to distinguish the psychological and subjective aspects of data from their logical and other more objective value. It is important to distinguish religion, genius, etc., as a whole or absolute feeling and the more specialized forms which are examples of religion, genius, etc., and which can be more objectively regarded. In this way, the fact can be emphasized that, although the ultimate realities are in a sense religious (*e.g.*, as relating to a Supreme Deity or to life after death), they are not religious in themselves, although religion is directly concerned with their apprehension and formulation. For the subjectively impressive experiences so easily lead along beneficial or harmful roads, either to religion or to its worst enemy, that a careful disciplinary and regulative system of belief and practice is at once required for the sake of both the individual and society. In other words, reality—*i.e.* our own subjective conceptions of it—at once requires a formulation, a logical theory, an embodiment.

(4) From one point of view, then, religion, mysticism, etc., are one of many phases, aspects, and departments of the totality of existence. The most 'religious' individual has his non-religious times, and many 'good' men have had their anti-religious or rather irreligious occasions. The test of a religion lies in its relation to what is, as such, non-religious, viz. to the best moral, spiritual, æsthetic, and intellectual consciousness of the age as manifested in conduct, thought, ideals, and so forth. But, owing to the differentiation and specialization of thought

[1] The latter is not the objective universe of the senses, but a logical construction, and the former depends upon man's present stage of consciousness. The ultimate which the mind can conceive depends upon the stage of development reached by the mind.

—with the corresponding (objective) incompleteness of individual minds—no one mind can form a logically adequate estimate. It is impossible for any individual to grasp totality as a whole, although it is possible to do justice to the various aspects under which the universe is apprehended, and to investigate their growth, development, and interrelation. Proceeding on these lines, one can realize the necessity of proving and improving current conceptions, definitions, and other tools of thought, for, in the advance of thought, and in the better organization of the data of experience, one comes to realize more vividly and truly the universe of which one is an integral part. While the actual religious life implies principles, ideas, and the rest, the scientific or critical treatment of religion is concerned in determining these and in maintaining the progress of thought, inasmuch as nothing is more potent than the continued knowledge of reality and the convictions which sway mankind. The apprehensions of reality unite man and objective reality itself, and, varying, as they do, according to the individual, they are a key to a science of human nature and experience. It is obvious that there must be realities of a sort to allow the prevalent types, although the ultimate realities of the universe are not to be confused with the realities of our human nature. Thus, a conception of 'God' can be formulated and accepted; it will correspond and answer to personal experience at a certain stage of psychical development; it can prove the most vital and stimulating truth that man can possess. There must be some objective reality such that men become conscious of it in ways varying according to their individual nature and stage of development. Moreover, human personality is such that the conception of a reality in a personal relationship to man, and alike immanent and transcendent, is not merely a subjective reality; it is demanded by the data of religion, by the characteristic features of personal development, by the consciousness of the necessity of continued development in every direction which man feels to be good, beautiful, and true. In a word, the objective reality of 'God' is demanded if man is to give a rational account of himself so far as his intellect allows him, and the most objective theory of reality must be based upon the facts of human consciousness.

(5) All the ultimate realities themselves lie beyond human vision (cf. 1 Co 13^{12}). Between them and the self there are, as a psychical veil, the impulses, ideas, convictions, and theories, the whole body or world of thought which makes every man what he is, and enables him to say, 'Here is reality.' Some mysteries of reality, from a psychical point of view, are hinted at in the strange data of psychical research, occultism, and ecstasy, in all abnormal and pathological phenomena of the mind, in the disastrous effects of vagaries, or of doctrines and theories which healthy opinion repudiates. Although progressive thought may reject certain explanatory conceptions or theories—*e.g.*, now of evil spirits, and now of guardian angels—men require some organization of experience, some adequate body of thought, some tolerable outlook upon the universe, which will enable them both to direct and understand their experiences and to realize the significance of human existence so as to be able to live healthy and useful lives for the good of a universe from which they can never escape. Upon their body of thought depend their sanity and effectiveness. Even reality itself seems to some extent to be powerless against the will which we regard as bad and evil; while, on the other hand, how far reality can be objectively and positively influenced, under given conditions, is a vital problem which can at least be theoretically handled. Certainly religion has not been without daring conceptions of the practical relations between God and man—and, suppose religion proved to embody the truth about reality?

So the study of man's psychical tendencies, his ideas and ideals, his modes of thought, his beliefs and practices, his doctrines, theologies, and philosophies—all contribute to one's knowledge of human nature and of the universe. In the investigation of the development of conceptions and of the workings of the mind, whether in its immediate consciousness of reality or in its reflexion upon past experiences, one comes to know a little more of the realities themselves and of the objective relationship between them and man. If, then, it is judicious to venture upon a definition of religion on the lines upon which this article has proceeded, the following may be suggested, provisionally: Religion primarily involves some immediate consciousness of transcendent realities of supreme personal worth, vitally influencing life and thought, expressing themselves in forms which are conditioned by the entire stage of development reached by the individual and his environment, and tending to become more explicit and static in mythologies, theologies, philosophies, and scientific doctrines. But, as this article has tried to indicate, there is a positive development of consciousness and thought in history, and consequently it is possible to seek to correlate both the static aspects, which are essential for all stability, and the dynamic, which are indispensable for future progress. For to do justice to the ultimate facts of harmony and of development in the universe is one of the main functions of a living religion.

LITERATURE.—The more important special technical works have been mentioned throughout the article.

STANLEY A. COOK.

RELIGIOUS ORDERS.

Introductory.—See SECRET SOCIETIES (Introductory).
Christian (F. CABROL), p. 693.
Indian (L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN), p. 713.
Japanese (J. A. MACCULLOCH), p. 718.
Mexican and Peruvian (J. A. MACCULLOCH), p. 718.
Muslim (E. MONTET), p. 719.

RELIGIOUS ORDERS (Christian). — I. *GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS AND CLASSIFICATION.*—Under the title 'religious,' in the Christian Churches, are included all those who make profession of a life in conformity with the precepts and counsels of the gospel, and who withdraw from the world in order to practise this life more perfectly.

The art. MONASTICISM deals with the origin and chief characteristics of this form of life, of which monasticism is itself the principal species. In monasticism we have the religious life in its essential elements; and it may be said that, from the 6th to the 20th cent., it has been a question merely of combining those elements according to different methods to serve special purposes, and that no new conception, no essential difference, has been introduced—nothing, in fact, that was not already existing in germ in the monastic life of the earliest centuries. The vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, the practice of mortification, labour, prayer, and silence—sometimes even preaching and other external work — were the obligations of religious life in all ages, whether under the cenobitical or under the eremitical form. We are concerned in this article with the different forms of the religious life distinct from monasticism. The first task of the historian, in presence of the number and variety of these forms of the religious life (they exceed 380 in number, even without counting certain religious societies of minor importance), is to attempt a classification. This is no easy task. Neither geographical nor chronological considerations will serve as a basis of classification, since, owing to the universal character of Christianity, these religious families are found in all nations, and some have put forth shoots in every age and thus belong to no one century more than to another. The attempt has been made to group them in families, placing side by

side those which offer analogous features or which follow the same Rule. Here, however, historian and canonist will not be in perfect accord.

If, *e.g.*, the attempt is made to place under the same rubric all the orders in which the Rule of St. Augustine is followed, the result will only lead to confusion, for these orders are in other respects quite dissimilar and belong to different groups. The Dominicans, hospitallers, and several congregations of women, *e.g.*, all alike follow the Rule of St. Augustine, but they differ entirely from one another as regards the end and object of their respective institutes. This results from the fact that the so-called Rule of St. Augustine consists in reality of a set of general principles of spirituality which can be adapted to any form of religious life. It is the constitutions of each order, rather than the Rule, that give it its distinctive character. The Carmelites originally followed the Rule of St. Augustine. Some orders have followed different Rules at different times. The Premonstratensians combine the Rules of St. Augustine and St. Benedict.[1] The Dominicans, who also follow the Rule of St. Augustine adapted from that of the canons regular, especially the Premonstratensians, seem to belong, with practically equal right, to two very different forms of religious life—that of the canons regular and that of the mendicant friars. The Brothers of St. John of God, who are hospitallers, were attached to the mendicant orders by Urban VIII. It was the same in the case of the Jesuits to a certain extent, although these 'religious' belong to a totally different category—that of clerks regular. The title, in fact, of 'mendicant friar,' which distinguishes certain orders, came in time to be attached to those which were not originally comprised under this designation, such as the Augustinian Hermits, the Carmelites, as well as the hospitallers and others mentioned above. The Theatines and Barnabites, who are clerks regular, received the privileges of the canons regular of the Lateran. Some — *e.g.*, Vermeersch — regard the question from the point of view of canon law, and classify the orders according to whether they possess solemn vows, simple vows, temporary vows, or a mere promise. This method of classification, while legitimate in itself, has no historical foundation. Moreover, it leads to confusion, for some orders have adopted in turn temporary vows and simple vows, or have even practised both systems simultaneously for different members of the order. Finally, if we take as specially characteristic of an order the particular work undertaken by its members—education, care of the sick, preaching, etc.—it is not easy to judge to what class certain orders belong that exercise all these various activities at once.

Without flattering ourselves that it is in all respects a perfectly satisfactory system of classification, we shall adopt here, as the most practical for our purposes, one that is both chronological and pragmatic—one that keeps in view the different periods of time, while grouping together those orders which possess certain characteristics in common. We shall also keep to the traditional mode of designation.

1. From the 1st to the middle of the 3rd century: virgins, widows, and ascetics. — In primitive Christian society there were certain of the faithful who led a life more austere than that of their brethren and who formed a class apart. Among these ascetics there are even indications of an attempt at community life. They may be regarded as the earliest representatives of the religious life.[1]

2. From the middle of the 3rd to the end of the 12th century: the monks and the canons regular.—Under the title 'monk' are comprised the hermits and anchorites of all descriptions, the cenobites or monks living together in community, and those who combine both elements in a life partly eremitical and partly cenobitical. To the same period belong the canons regular, whose life has much in common with that of the monks, and who enjoy the same privileges.

For the different kinds of monks cf. art. MONASTICISM. The principal varieties of canons regular are: the Premonstratensians, Canons of St. Victor, Canons of the Lateran, Canons of St. Maurice (Agaune), Canons of the Holy Cross, Canons of St. Saviour, Canons of St. Rufus, Canons of the Holy Sepulchre, Canons of Verres, Canons of Marbach, Canons of Pampeluna, Canons of St. Antony, Canons of the Immaculate Conception, and the Gilbertines.[1]

The Brothers of the Common Life, Beghards, and Beguines form a category of their own, but may be classified together with the monks and the canons, since their life is founded on the principles of the monastic and canonical state.

3. From the 11th to the 16th century: the military orders and the knights hospitallers.—Strictly speaking, these orders might be classed with the monks, since they usually followed one of the monastic Rules (*e.g.*, that of St. Benedict). But they possess so marked a character of their own that it is better to treat them separately. They are as follows: the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, Templars, Teutonic Knights, Knights of Evora or of Aviz, Knights of St. James of Compostella, Knights of Calatrava and of Alcantara, Knights of the Order of St. Lazarus.

4. From the 11th to the 20th century: the hospitallers (non-military).[2]—These include the Order of Mercy, the Trinitarians, the Servites, the Paulinians, the Alexians, the Jesuati or Hieronymites, the Ambrosians, the Brothers of the Apostles, the Good Brethren, the Order of the Holy Ghost, the Brothers of St. John of God.[3]

5. From the 13th to the 16th century: the mendicant orders or friars (frati). — The friars adopted a mode of life differing in many respects from that of the monks or canons regular, viz. the absence of the element of stability in a particular monastery, and of perpetuity in the superior, the exercise of the sacred ministry, preaching and teaching, reduction of the solemnity of the choral office, suppression (at least originally) of all property and all power to possess lands or money even in the name of the community. They are called mendicants because, unlike the monks, having no possessions and no stable means of livelihood, they were obliged to live on alms.

The four principal mendicant orders are: the Dominicans, the Franciscans, the Carmelites, the Augustinians.[4] There are, besides, other lesser mendicant orders in some of which the Rule of St. Augustine is observed, in others that of St. Francis. Among the former are the Order of

[1] Cf. art. MONASTICISM.

[1] For other examples cf. Heimbucher, *Die Orden und Kongregationen der katholischen Kirche*, ii. 24–29.

[2] It must be remarked that several of these orders follow the Rule of St. Augustine and have obtained both the title and the privileges of the mendicant orders. Hence they are sometimes classed under one, sometimes under the other, of these two categories. Since, however, both their special object and their manner of life are practically identical in all these orders, and since they possess many of the characteristics of the military hospitallers treated above, it would seem to be as well to group them together under the rubric of hospitallers.

[3] Some of the hospitallers are also among clerks regular, like the Camillians.

[4] The Augustinians belong, by their Rule, to the canons regular rather than to the friars and, in some of their branches, have more affinity with the hermits or monks. They have been counted, however, among the mendicant orders since the day when they obtained a share in the privileges of the latter.

Mercy, the Trinitarians, the Servites, the Paulinians, the Alexians, the Hieronymites, the Jesuati, etc. These are already mentioned under the category of hospitallers, to which they also belong. Among those that follow the Rule of St. Francis are the Minims, the Third Order of St. Francis, and the Scalzetti ('discalced Friars'), or Order of Penance.

Orders of women are the Brigittines, Annunciades, Ursulines, Angelicals, Salesian Sisters, Penitents, etc.

6. From the 16th to the 17th century: the clerks regular.—These 'religious,' while practising the religious life in community (as the title 'regular' indicates), belong essentially to the clerical order, as shown again by the title 'clerk' and by their dress, their external life, and their exercise of the sacred ministry. They possess solemn vows, like the monks and canons regular, but have not, like the latter, the choral office, nor do they practise stability. Generally speaking, they have, in addition to the exercise of the religious life, some special object or particular line of work. Most of these societies admit only priests to their ranks, and lay brothers are received as 'coadjutors.' Some—*e.g.* the Theatines and the Barnabites—possess, as already remarked, the privileges of the Canons of the Lateran. The clerks regular are: the Jesuits,[1] Theatines, Barnabites, Clerks Regular of Somascha, Clerks Regular of the Good Jesus, Clerks Regular of the Mother of God, Camillians, Minor Clerks Regular.

7. From the 17th to the 19th century: religious congregations.—These religious congregations resemble the clerks regular, and they are called in canon law 'quasi-regulars.' They have usually only simple vows and are distinguished from the clerks regular proper by this fact and also by the more recent date of their foundation.

The principal congregations are: the Passionists, Redemptorists, Lazarists, Eudists, Oblates, Marists, Assumptionists, Salesians, Paulists, Sulpicians, Oratorians.[2]

8. From the 18th to the 20th century: missionary societies or congregations. — These societies, founded specially for the foreign missions, may be considered, as regards their manner of life, as clerks regular or quasi-regulars; but, since they all have a common end in view, we have placed them together in a group apart.

They are: the Society of Foreign Missions, the Society of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary (or Fathers of Picpus), the Fathers of the Holy Ghost, the Fathers of Scheut, the Fathers of Mill Hill, the White Fathers, the Society of the Divine Word, the Society of the Divine Saviour.

9. From the 17th to the 20th century: teaching brotherhoods and congregations of women.—These include the Piarists, Brothers of the Christian Schools of St. John Baptist de la Salle (Christian Brothers), Brothers of the Society of Mary (Marianists), Brothers of Lamennais, Brothers of St. Gabriel, etc.,[3] Sisters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul, Sisters of Wisdom, Sisters of Evron, Sisters of Nevers, Sisters of the Good Shepherd, Sisters of Nazareth, Little Sisters of the Poor, Society of the Sacred Heart, Sisters of St. Joseph of Cluny,[4] etc.

II. *CANONS REGULAR, BROTHERS OF THE COMMON LIFE, BEGHARDS AND BEGUINES, MILITARY ORDERS AND HOSPITALLERS.*—

1. Canons regular.—(*a*) *The name.*—The name 'canon' is of ancient origin. The Councils of Antioch (341), Chalcedon (451), and 'in Trullo' (692), speaking of the clerics attached to the service of certain churches, say that they are ἐν τῷ κανόνι or ἐκ τοῦ κανόνος, *i.e.* inscribed in the κανών, the *matricula*, *tabula*, or *album*.[1] According to du Cange,[2] a *canonicus* is one who is inscribed *sub canone frumentario*, *i.e.* is maintained by the revenues of the Church. St. Athanasius employs the term τόν τε κανόνα τῆς ἐκκλησίας.[3]

In the West the 2nd and 3rd Councils of Toledo and that of Friuli (791) speak of clerics 'sub canone ecclesiastico.'[4] The 3rd Council of Orleans in 538 and Gregory of Tours make use of the term *canonici* to describe the clergy of a church.[5] The Council of Clermont in 535 extends this title to all priests and even deacons attached to a church, whether in town or in country. These priests and deacons were obliged, at great feasts, to assemble in the cathedral church to celebrate divine service together with the bishop. In 538 the 3rd Council of Orleans deprived of the title of 'canon' all clerics who refused to obey their bishop.[6] It may be gathered from these different texts that the term 'canon' was applied to two classes of people differing widely from one another. On the one hand were clerics, like those of the diocese of Hippo, who lived with their bishop in community and in the practice of monastic asceticism. On the other hand were those who lived in their own churches, practising neither the community life nor monastic poverty, and bound to their bishop by an obedience that did not press very heavily upon them. This vague use of the term lasted throughout the ages. In order to avoid confusion, the custom finally arose of distinguishing between the two classes of canons by calling the first 'canons regular' and the second 'secular canons' or 'canons' pure and simple. The latter cannot, of course, be regarded as in any sense belonging to the religious orders; it is with the canons regular alone that we are here concerned.[7]

(*b*) *Canons regular till the 10th century.*—In art. MONASTICISM we have shown that in the 4th cent. there was a tendency among many bishops to gather the clergy of their churches around them and to live with them in the exercise of asceticism according to the example of the monks. The attempts that have been made to find examples earlier than this date, in order thus to trace back the origin of the canonical order to the time of the Apostles, are entirely without value. St. Augustine, who was so well versed in the knowledge of the ecclesiastical institutions of the past, does not even mention the canonical life in his *de Moribus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*, written in 388, although it would have afforded him an excellent and most natural opportunity for doing so, had any such institution existed before his time. Nor can any traces be found in the writings of St. Cyprian or any other writer of earlier times. St. Augustine was himself, in fact, one of the first to have the idea of gathering his clergy around him in order to live with them in common in the practice of poverty and religious discipline after the example of the cenobites. He made his first trial of this way of life at Tagaste, his second at Hippo (388

[1] The strictly chronological order is as follows: Theatines, 1524; Clerks Regular of the Good Jesus, 1526; Barnabites, 1530; Somascha, 1532; Society of Jesus (Jesuits), 1534.

[2] We include the Sulpicians and Oratorians among these congregations, although canonically they are not considered as such, since they have no vows. They may, however, be assimilated to societies such as that of the Lazarists by their object, the training of the clergy.

[3] For the detail cf. Heimbucher, iii. 356 ff.

[4] *Ib.* iii. 364 f.

[1] Socrates, *HE* v. 19 (*PG* lxvii. 613); cf. note of Valois (*ib.*); Leclercq, in *DACL* iii. col. 235.

[2] *Glossarium*, Niort, 1883–87, *s.v.* 'Canonicus.'

[3] *Vita S. Antonii* (*PG* xxvi. 837 *f.*).

[4] *Concil. Tolet. II.* can. 1, 2, *III.* can. 5; *Concil. Forojul.* can. 1.

[5] Greg. of Tours, *Hist. Franc.* x. 31 (*PL* lxxi. 570); *Concil. Aurel. III.* can. 11.

[6] Cf. F. Maassen, *Concilia ævi Merovingici*, Hanover, 1893, pp. 69, 77, etc.

[7] Cf. du Cange, *s.v.* 'Canonicus.'

and 391). We have accounts of the life led in his monasteries written by Possidius in his life of St. Augustine and also by St. Augustine himself.[1] It resembled to a great extent the life of the monks—life in common under a common discipline. The bishop was the head of this family of clerics, and obedience was doubly due to him—as bishop and as the quasi-abbot of the community. He was also the temporal administrator of the affairs of his 'monastery,' and the clergy were bound to abandon their personal property and to live in the practice of poverty and chastity. The chief difference between them and the monks lay, firstly, in the fact that these early 'canons regular,' instead of living apart from the world, had their dwelling in the midst of a town or city; secondly, in the fact that they were essentially the clergy of their churches and exercised the sacred ministry. Their régime and manner of dress were again different from those of the monks, and their practice of poverty and obedience was less severe. The example of St. Augustine was followed by other African bishops, at Carthage, Tagaste, and in other cities. We find the same custom in existence even beyond the confines of Africa, in the case of St. Paulinus of Nola, Hilary of Arles, and others.[2]

One of the most remarkable among these examples is that of St. Eusebius of Vercelli—an earlier case than that of St. Augustine—about whom we have a considerable amount of information.[3] But the life led by St. Eusebius and his clergy resembled far more closely than that of St. Augustine and his 'canons' the life led by the monks proper. In St. Augustine's case it was in fact a seminary for the clergy or a college of canons, rather than a monastery for monks as in Eusebius's institution. The clergy of Eusebius observed the monastic enclosure, celebrated the day and night hours of prayer, and practised all the austerities of the monastic life. St. Fulgentius, in the midst of the Vandal persecutions, and, no doubt, other African bishops also, went farther still and obliged monks and clerks to live together. But this attempt to unite two incongruous elements should be regarded as a mere expedient demanded by the special needs of the time.[4] This quasi-monastic form of life seems to have been practised only in certain exceptional cases by the clergy of the Eastern Church. St. Jerome, who was so well acquainted with all that concerned ecclesiastical life, does not mention any example of it. Cases have been quoted of monks living with their bishops, but these are not to be regarded as institutions distinct from that of the ordinary monastic life, and the only actual example is that of Rhinocorura quoted by Leclercq from Sozomen.[5]

In the West, however, at the end of the 5th cent. and during the 6th the canonical life became an official institution. The 4th Council of Toledo provides us with a picture of the bishop in his episcopal residence surrounded by his priests and deacons, while in a neighbouring dwelling the young clerics were educated under his supervision.[6] In Gaul the 2nd Council of Tours also laid down that the bishop should live with his priests and deacons in the episcopal palace.[7] Gregory of Tours makes frequent allusion to those clerics who shared the dwelling and the table of their bishop—*mensa canonicorum, convivium mensæ canonicæ*.[1]

Other councils, as we have already seen, laid down new regulations for these clerics, now called *canonici*—*e.g.* the Councils of Clermont and Orleans.

With regard to England, St. Gregory the Great advised St. Augustine of Canterbury to live in common with his clergy. But the latter apparently wished to go even farther than the recommendation of the holy pontiff. At Canterbury and in the greater number of cathedral churches founded among the Anglo-Saxons the chapter was formed by a monastic community properly so called. The clergy of the cathedral were monks and carried out the full monastic régime, to which they also added the exercise of the sacred ministry. These monastic chapters remained in force in the greater number of English cathedrals up to the Reformation in the 16th century. Certain churches, however, founded after the first Christian mission in England, were served by secular canons.[2]

Finally, it may be said that, outside the church of Hippo and certain others that had followed the example of St. Augustine, the word 'canon' was applied to a class of clerics whose obligations and forms of life varied from place to place. But in the 8th cent. a bishop of Metz, St. Chrodegang, gave the canonical life a more definite character by means of the Rule that he drew up for canons. This bishop (742–766) played an important part in the religious and political history of his time. He wrote for the clergy of his own church a Rule, *Regula Canonicorum*, which obtained the support of Pepin and Charlemagne and was given the force of general ecclesiastical law in the *Capitularies* of the latter monarch and by the Councils of Aix-la-Chapelle (802), Mayence, Tours, Rheims (813), Arles (813), and especially by that of Aix-la-Chapelle (817).[3] This Rule is largely founded on that of St. Benedict. It subjects the canons to the common life, enclosure, and the ordinary exercises of Benedictine life, while at the same time leaving them a certain amount of liberty and the right of possessing property.[4]

(*c*) *Canons regular from the 9th to the 20th century.*—The period of St. Chrodegang and that which immediately followed were the most flourishing in the history of the canons regular. Charlemagne and Louis the Pious endeavoured to impose his Rule on the clergy of their empire, and the Councils of Aix-la-Chapelle in 802 and in 817 followed suit.[5] Amalarius composed his *de Institutione Canonicorum* with the same intention. The Lateran Council in 1059[6] renewed these decrees and obliged the clergy attached to a church to live together and share their property in common.

The Rule of St. Augustine, although it is taken from his works, was in reality only drawn up in the 8th–9th centuries. It was followed side by side with that of St. Chrodegang, which was far more complete and precise in details. It was adopted by certain groups of canons and became for them the expression of the *vita apostolica, vita communis perfecta*. These canons came to be known as 'Canons of St. Augustine,' 'Augustinian

[1] *Vita S. Augustini*, v. (*PL* xxxii. 37); Aug. 'de Vita et Moribus Clericorum suorum,' *Serm.* cccl., cccli. (*PL* xxxix. 1568 ff.); L. Thomassin, *Ancienne et nouvelle discipline de l'Eglise*, Paris, 1725, i. 1330 f.

[2] Cf. art. MONASTICISM, IV. iii. 1 (*a*).

[3] Thomassin, i. 1341 f.; St. Ambrose, *Ep.* lxiii. (*PL* xvi. 1239 ff.); Maximus of Turin, *Serm.* lxxxiii. (*PL* lvii. 697 ff.).

[4] Ferrandus, *Vita Fulgentii*, xxix. (*PL* lxv. 145).

[5] Sozomen, *HE* vi. 31 (*PG* lxvii. 1389); Leclercq, in *DACL* iii. col. 234.

[6] *Concil. Tolet. IV.* can. 23.

[7] *Concil. Turon. II.* can. 12.

[1] *Hist. Franc.* x. 31 (*PL* lxxi. 570), and *Vitæ Patrum*, ix. (*ib.* 1052).

[2] W. Stubbs, *Epistolæ Cantuarienses* (Rolls Series), London, 1865, Introd. p. xvii.

[3] Cf. C. J. von Hefele, *Hist. des Conciles*, French tr., ed. H. Leclercq, Paris, 1907–13, iv. 10, note 2; there are in reality two Rules of St. Chrodegang; the first, which is the shorter, in 34 chapters, appears to be the original Rule; the second, in 86 chapters, is only a development of the first, the work of an anonymous writer.

[4] For a comparison between the Rules of SS. Benedict and Chrodegang cf. Leclercq, in *DACL* iii. col. 241 f.

[5] Hefele, iii. 1117, iv. 9 ff. [6] *Ib.* iv. 1166.

or Austin Canons.'[1] Their houses were at first independent of one another, but were later united in a congregation which had its general chapters, its statutes, etc. The decrees of the 4th Lateran Council and those of Benedict XII. in 1339 are concerned with the Austin Canons. In spite of all these decrees, however, religious life among them had but a short period of brilliancy.

In the 14th cent. new efforts[2] at reform were attempted by Cardinal Branda de Castiglione, by John Bush, and by Nicholas of Cusa.

The Protestant Reformation struck a fatal blow at the Canons Regular of St. Augustine properly so called. Other societies, however, had been formed on the Augustinian model under a severer Rule, and these were better able to resist the shock of the great upheaval. Some of them are still in existence at the present day, such, *e.g.*, as the Canons Regular of the Lateran, the Premonstratensians, and several other congregations. We can give here only an outline of some of the principal ones.[3]

Premonstratensians.—The Order of Prémontré is the most illustrious of all among the canons regular. Its founder was St. Norbert († 1134), a canon of Magdeburg, who established himself at Prémontré with a few companions in order to lead a retired and holy life and at the same time to give themselves to preaching and the sacred ministry. Their life was ordered according to the Rule of St. Augustine and guided by the example of the Canons Regular of St. Victor of Paris. This order developed rapidly, owing partly to the sanctity and personal influence of its holy founder, partly to its object and nature, which had a special appeal in an age in which the idea of clerical and monastic reform had given rise to institutions such as the Camaldolese, the Carthusians, and the Cistercians. St. Norbert founded, besides the canons regular, a second order for women, which also had great success, and a third order for lay people. At the present day the order possesses five provinces or circles (*circaria*), seventeen abbeys, five priories, eight convents of nuns of the second order and three of the third order, besides parishes, missions, and a few colleges. The members number 997 men and 258 women.

The Premonstratensians follow the Rule of St. Augustine along with special statutes of their own. At the head of the circle is the *circator*, whose rank and office correspond with those of the provincial in other orders. Their constitutions resemble those of Cîteaux. The abbot of Prémontré is abbot-general of the whole order and is assisted by the abbots of Floreffe, of Laon, and of Cuissy, the first houses of the order. The general chapter is held at Prémontré. This constitution came to an end before the Revolution, and in 1883 a new constitution took its place. The habit is white and resembles the monastic habit except that in choir a rochet, the badge of canonical dignity, is worn, and in winter a mantle also.

This order has rendered signal services to Christianity by its missions on the banks of the Elbe and the Oder and in the Low Countries, by the institution of hospices for pilgrims, the making of roads and canals, the foundation of libraries and schools, but especially by its reform of the clergy and the foundation of parishes. It even had an influence on architecture. It has produced also a certain number of chroniclers, historians, and ecclesiastical writers.[1]

Canons of St. Victor.[2]—From the point of view of theology and literature, the Canons of St. Victor hold the first place. Their founder, Guillaume de Champeaux, is known as one of the most illustrious doctors and professors of the 12th century. These canons take their name from a chapel erected in honour of St. Victor, the martyr of Marseilles, on Mt. Sainte Geneviève in Paris. They were, moreover, actually affiliated to the Canons of St. Victor of Marseilles. Their teaching reached its highest expression in the persons of Hugh and Richard of St. Victor, whose theological and mystical works may be counted among the most remarkable of the Middle Ages; while Adam of St. Victor, with his hymns, ranks foremost among the poets of his time. The Canons of St. Victor were established in a number of churches in France (notably in that of Ste. Geneviève in Paris, whence their name of 'Genovefains') and also outside France. St. Victor de Paris remained the centre of the institute. Unfortunately divisions soon arose within the order, and after the beginning of the 14th cent. it began to decline. On the eve of the Reformation it existed in a state of mere vegetation. The school of St. Victor is most important for the history of mediæval mysticism, and the works of its teachers are still of great value.

Like the greater number of canons regular, the Canons of St. Victor followed the Rule of St. Augustine, with their own special statutes composed by Gilduin, one of their abbots, and inspired to a great extent by the Rule of St. Benedict.

Canons of the Lateran. — The Augustinian Canons of the Lateran were founded shortly after the Lateran Council in 1059, and were attached to the celebrated basilica of St. Saviour in the Lateran. They possessed a considerable number of houses in Italy and Poland. They were obliged to leave the Lateran basilica for the first time in 1299, for the second and last time in 1471. They have to-day about 200 members and 24 houses and possess the Church of St. Peter ad Vincula in Rome.[3]

[1] The Rule of St. Augustine is divided into twelve chapters and contains only general principles (of an extremely elevated character) on the love of God and our neighbour, humility, prayer, fasting, duties towards the sick, purity of soul and body, obedience, etc.

[2] Cf. J. M. Besse, 'Augustins,' in *Dict. de Théol. cath.*, i. col. 2472–2483.

[3] Thomassin, *op. cit.*; Bonaventure de Sainte-Anne, *Monachatus Augustini ab Augustino potissimum propugnatus*, Lyons, 1694; Louis Ferrand, *Discours où l'on fait voir que Saint Augustin a été moine*, Paris, 1689; Leclercq, 'Chanoines,' in *DACL* iii. col. 223 ff.; J. Bingham, *Origines Eccles.*, London, 1840, bk. vii. ch. ii. n. 9; A. Ebner, 'Zur Regula canonicorum des heiligen Chrodegang,' in *RQ* v. [1891] 81–86; W. Schmitz, *Sancti Chrodegangi, Metensis episcopi (742–66) regula canonicorum, aus dem Leidener Codex Vossianus latinus 94 mit Umschrift der tironischen Noten herausg.*, Hanover, 1889; P. Paulin, *Études sur l'ordre canonial ou l'ordre des chanoines réguliers*, Avignon, 1885; Paul Benoit, *La Vie canonique dans le passé et dans l'avenir*, Arras, 1902; G. Morin, 'Règlements inédits du S. Grégoire VII. pour les chanoines réguliers (en Espagne),' *Revue Bénédictine*, xviii. [1901] 177–183 (reproduced in Hefele-Leclercq, v. 94–96).

[1] M. Dupré, *Annales breves ordinis Præmonstratensis*, Namur, 1886; C. L. Hugo, *S. ordinis Præmonstratensis Annales*, pt. i., Nancy, 2 vols., 1734–36; J. de Sermaize, 'L'Ordre de Prémontré: son hist. littéraire, ses écrivains,' in *Revue du monde cath.* xxiv. [1884] 728–746; I. van Spilbeeck, *De Viris sanctitatis opinione illustribus ex ordine Præmonstratensi*, Tamines, 1895; cf. bibliography of the Order of Premonstratensians in F. Danner, *Catalogus totius sacri, candidi, canonici ac exempti ordinis Præmonstratensis*, Innsbrück, 1894, pp. 7 ff., 130 ff.; J. Le Paige, *Bibliotheca Præmonstratensis ordinis*, 2 vols., Paris, 1633; the Constitutions, Rule, etc., in Le Paige, i. 784, and Holste-Brockie, *Codex Regularum monasticarum et canonicarum*, v. 142 ff.; Hélyot, *Hist. des ordres*, ii. 156 ff.; Heimbucher, ii. 50–69 (with bibliography); Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vi. ii. 857–863; U. Chevalier, *Répertoire des sources hist. du Moyen Age: Topo-bibliographie*, Montbéliard, 1894–1903, *s.v.* 'Prémontré'; cf. note 3, p. 697[a].

[2] Heimbucher, ii. 26 ff.; and 'Victor (saint),' in Wetzer-Welte, *Kirchenlexicon*[2], xii. 913 ff.; Hélyot, ii. 149 ff.; Fourier-Bonnard, *Hist. de l'abbaye royale et de l'ordre des Chanoines réguliers de Saint-Victor de Paris*, Paris, 1904; *PL* clxxv.–clxxvii.; F. Hugonin, *Essai sur la fondation de l'école de Saint-Victor de Paris*, Paris, 1854, and *PL* clxxv. pp. xiv–xcix; B. Hauréau, *Les Œuvres de Hugues de Saint-Victor*, do. 1886; Adam de S. V. Lejay, *RHLR* iv. [1899] 161 ff., 288; Dreves, *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*, xxix. [1885] 278 ff., 416 ff.

[3] Besides Hélyot, Heimbucher, Chevalier (*s.vv.* 'Latran,' 'Chanoines réguliers'), see P. Cavalieri, *Biblioteca compendiosa degli uomini illustri della congr. de' canonici regolari del SS. Salvatore Lateranensi*, Velletri, 1836.

Canons Regular of St. Maurice. — The congregation of Canons Regular of St. Maurice of Agaune in Switzerland owes its fame to the martyrs of the Theban legion. An abbey existed at Agaune from the 6th cent., in close relation with that of Lérins and having, like the latter, the custom of the *laus perennis*. In 824 the monks were transformed into canons regular—an event of frequent occurrence at that time.[1]

2. Brothers of the Common Life.—This religious society, like that of the Beguines and the Beghards, forms a class apart in the history of the religious orders. From some points of view, it would seem to belong to the monastic order, from others, again, to that of the canons regular. In any case it forms one of the most interesting pages in the history of mediæval religious life and mysticism. It is treated separately under the title BRETHREN OF THE COMMON LIFE.

3. Beguines and Beghards.—These congregations originated in the Low Countries. According to some, they go back to the time of St. Begga, daughter of Pepin de Landen, in the 7th century. But it seems that their founder was, in reality, a priest of Liége, Lambert Beghe (or 'le bègue,' † 1187).

The Beguines are not nuns or 'religious' in the strict sense, for they take no vows. They are simply pious women living in community. In certain towns a special quarter was given up to them. They lived there in little hermitages, sometimes singly, sometimes several together, under the direction of a superior (known nowadays as 'la grande dame'). They had a common chapel, in which they met for their religious exercises. Some followed the Rule for the tertiaries of St. Francis, others that for the tertiaries of St. Dominic. The Reformation in the 16th cent. and the French Revolution put an end to many *béguinages*. Some, however, still exist in Belgium, Holland, and Germany. This institution never had a very wide vogue, but it presents certain original characteristics worthy of note.[2]

The institution of the Beghards was founded for men on the analogy of the Beguines. They soon underwent the influence of the Lollards and other heretics, and were condemned by several popes and councils.[3]

4. Military orders and hospitallers.—In the 11th cent. sprang up a new class of religious orders which, from a certain point of view, are connected with the monastic order, while possessing their own marked characteristics. Some of these were purely military in character; others were concerned also with the care of the sick (hospitallers). The hospitallers pure and simple form a third category, which will be treated apart.[4] The military orders were regarded by the Church as true religious orders. They had the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, celebrated the divine office, were under the discipline of a Rule and an observance of fasts and abstinence, and enjoyed the same privileges as the monks, being exempt from episcopal jurisdiction and immediately subject to the Holy See. Some followed the Cistercian statutes, others the Rule of St. Augustine, and others that of St. Benedict. It is for this reason that we regard them as belonging, in a sense, to the monastic order. Contemporary with the Crusades, their principal object was to fight against the Saracens and to protect the Christian pilgrims to the holy places. Their life may, in fact, be regarded as a permanent crusade against the Musalmān. In these orders, at their origin, we have united in one the ideal of the monastic life and of the life of chivalry of the Christian knight. This ideal stood them in good stead in an age when all institutions were so profoundly imbued with the spirit of religion. Unfortunately such an ideal proved to be too high, and elements so incongruous as the religious and the military could not long endure together.

Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem.—This is the most ancient of all the military orders. In 1048 some Italian merchants built a hospice or hostelry for pilgrims and for the sick in Jerusalem. Certain French noblemen who served it formed themselves into a religious congregation. This was the cradle of the order. Gérard de Tenque (of Martigues in Provence) organized it into a military order, *i.e.* an order in which there were brethren attendant on the sick and members who were knights, and who had as their special object to defend pilgrims against malefactors and infidels. The order was approved by Pope Pascal II. in 1113 under the name of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. Later its members were known as the Knights of Rhodes and, later still, Knights of Malta, from the fact that they defended both these islands against the Musalmān. Foundations were soon established along the shores of the Mediterranean, and at one period of their history they possessed houses to the number of 13,000.

The knights acquired a wide-spread influence and power and also considerable riches, which enabled them to serve as money-agents or bankers to princes and kings.[1] They rendered great services to the Christian religion, and their prowess in the wars against the Turks won them great renown. Their heroic defence of Rhodes and of Malta against an enemy six times their number forms a veritable epic. The most illustrious of their grand masters were Pierre d'Aubusson, Villiers de l'Isle Adam, and La Valette. Napoleon confiscated their property in France, and Nelson annexed Malta for the English Government. The title of Knights of Malta still exists as a title of honour. Those who bear it form a society and give themselves to works of charity.

Knights Templars.—Although of more recent date than the Knights Hospitallers, the Templars soon became of greater importance and greater power. Their founder was Hugues de Payens, a French noble, who in 1118 gathered together a number of companions for the defence of the pilgrims to the Holy Land against the Saracens. The name of Templars, or 'Order of the Temple,' was given to them because their house in Jerusalem was built on the site of the Temple of Solomon. St. Bernard, in 1128, drew up a Rule for them, adapted from the Rule of St. Benedict and the Statutes of Cîteaux. The order comprised the knights (all of whom had to be of noble birth), 'sergeants,' who were of the bourgeoisie and who acted as esquires, and then the chaplains. The first grand master was Hugues de Payens.

[1] Hélyot, ii. 78 ff.; Heimbucher, ii. 24 ff.; Chevalier, *s.v.* 'Saint-Maurice d'Agaune'; *DACL*, *s.v.* 'Agaune,' i. col. 850 ff.

[2] P. Coens, *Disquisitio historica de origine Beghinarum et Beghinagiorum*, Liége, 1629; J. L. von Mosheim, *De Beghardis et Beguinabus*, Leipzig, 1790; Hélyot, viii. 1 ff.; Heimbucher, iii. 525 ff.; Chevalier, *s.v.* 'Béguines.'

[3] Natalis Alexander, *Hist. ecclesiastica*, Venice, 1778, viii. 526–556; F. A. Zaccaria, *Thesaurus Theologicus*, do. 1762, iv. 623–694; Mosheim (see above, note 2); Chevalier, *s.v.* 'Bégards.'

[4] We shall say nothing here of the secular orders of knighthood that were founded more or less on the model of the military orders but were in reality purely civil and instituted by kings and princes as a reward for the services of their subjects. Such, *e.g.*, are the Orders of the Garter, the Bath, the Thistle, etc.

[1] L. F. de Villeneuve-Bargemon (Marquis de Trans), *Monumens des grands-maîtres de l'ordre de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem*, 2 vols., Paris, 1829; J. Delaville Le Roulx, *Les Hospitaliers en Terre sainte et à Chypre*, do. 1904, *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem*, 4 vols., do. 1894–1905, *Les Archives, la bibliothèque et le trésor de l'ordre de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem à Malte*, do. 1877 ('Bibl. des Ecoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome,' xxxii.), *Mélanges sur l'Ordre de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem*, Nantes, 1910, *L'Hospital des Bretons à Saint-Jean d'Acre* (Soc. des biblioph. bretons), do. 1880.

The order was purely military. We need not here enlarge on the great part played in mediæval history by the Knights Templars, on the influence which they wielded far and wide (they had in the 12th cent. 9000 manors distributed through every land in Christendom), on the services which they rendered to Christianity against the Saracens in Palestine and in Egypt, the riches which they accumulated and which were the cause of their downfall, the abuses which crept into the order, or, finally, their lamentable end under Philip le Bel and Clement V. after the cruel execution of their grand master, Jacques de Molay, and his companions in 1307.[1]

The Templars were succeeded in Portugal by the Order of Christ, and in Spain by the Order of Montesa.

Other orders were founded on the model of the Templars and the Hospitallers, but we shall speak only of the principal of these lesser orders—the Teutonic Knights, the Knights of St. James, and the Knights of Calatrava and Alcantara.

Teutonic Knights.—About 1128 or 1129 a rich merchant of Germany who had taken part in the siege of Jerusalem, struck with compassion at the sight of the sufferings of the pilgrims, built a hospital for them, in honour of the Blessed Virgin. He was soon joined by others, with whom he organized an order on the model of the Hospitallers of St. John, to care for the pilgrims and protect them against the Saracens. After the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin they were constituted one of the military orders (1190 or 1191) and changed their name from 'Hospitallers of the Blessed Virgin' to 'Teutonic Knights of the Hospitality of the Blessed Virgin.' They adopted a Rule similar to that of the Templars and the Knights of St. John. The order was composed of knights with their servants, esquires, and chaplains.[2] To the three vows of religion the Teutonic Knights added a fourth—to devote themselves to the care of the sick and of pilgrims, and to combat the enemies of the faith. They celebrated the divine office and other prayers, and were under a severe discipline. At the head of the order was the grand master, and under him the grand commander, the marshal, who was the lieutenant of the grand master in battle, and a grand hospitaller, who supervised the hospitals under the care of the knights. The members of the order were always of German nationality. The knights took part at first in the struggle against the Saracens, then joined forces with another military order, the Knights of the Order of Christ in Livonia, which had been founded to fight against the pagan nations of the Baltic. While thus devoting themselves specially to the war against these pagans, they did not cease to take a part in the Crusade against the Saracens in Palestine. The emperors of Germany, Frederick I. and Frederick II., gave the order their protection and endowed it with vast possessions.

When at the time of the Reformation the grand master became a Lutheran, the order was divided, one part following the grand master in his apostasy, the other taking up the cause against the Protestants. The order fell from its first fervour, and Napoleon took measures to abolish it in 1809. It still survives, however, as an order of hospitallers in Austria. There are 20 professed knights, who are bound to celibacy, and 30 knights of honour, not so bound. Both classes of knights must be of noble birth. The grand master is always one of the imperial archdukes. The order has charge of 50 parishes, 17 schools, 69 hospitals, for the service of which it supports two congregations of priests and four of sisters. Its members also do ambulance work in war-time. There is a Protestant branch of the order in Holland.[1]

Other military orders were founded at the same time in Spain and in Portugal, on the model of the above, in order to fight against the Moors. That of Aviz in Portugal arose in 1147, in the reign, it is believed, of Alfonso I. The knights followed the Rule of St. Benedict in its Cistercian interpretation. They were known at first as the 'New Soldiers,' then as the Knights of Evora, and finally of Aviz. Their campaign against the Moors was conducted with success.

The **Order of St. James of Compostella** was founded to protect the pilgrims to the shrine of that saint against the brigands and the Moors. Those of Calatrava and Alcantara had also as their aim to make war against the Moors.

The **Order of Calatrava** owed its origin in 1158 to a Cistercian abbot who became its first grand master, his monks being transformed into knights. It remained in union with Cîteaux and was victorious against the Moors. Unfortunately its members took part in the civil and political contests in Spain and ended by falling completely into the power of the Spanish kings, ceasing to be a religious order and becoming an honorary order of knighthood. Meanwhile it became united with the Orders of Aviz and Alcantara. The latter, founded probably in 1155, also followed the Rule of St. Benedict and was affiliated to Cîteaux. The knights also made war on the Moors, but, like the Order of Calatrava, they took part in politics and ended, like them, in becoming a courtly order of knighthood.[2]

Among less celebrated orders are the Order of the Holy Sepulchre, which claimed to go back to the time of St. Helena; the Order of Christ or of the Sword, founded by Guy de Lusignan, king of Jerusalem, for the defence of Cyprus against the Turks; the Sword-bearers, founded in Livonia to fight against the heathen in that country; the Order of the Cross or Army of St. Dominic, against the Albigensians; the Order of St. Thomas of Canterbury, an offshoot of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, for the service of pilgrims in England, etc. The innumerable orders of knighthood founded by kings and princes in order to confer honour upon and to reward their dependents were not religious orders and do not belong to our subject.

The **Order of St. Lazarus**, of which St. Basil was the reputed founder, and which was united with that of St. Maurice de Savoy for the care of lepers, had several dependencies and annexes in Palestine and was also an order of military hospitallers. It acquired its military character after the first Crusade, and resembled closely the Templars and the Knights of St. John. This order constructed a vast number of leper-houses

[1] C. G. Addison, *The Knights Templars*[3], London, 1852; L. Blancard, 'Documents relatifs au procès des Templiers en Angleterre,' in *Revue des Sociétés savantes*, vi. [1867] 414–423; P. Bourdillon, *Recherches historiques sur l'ordre des chevaliers du Temple*, Geneva, 1834; J. Delaville Le Roulx, *Documents concernant les Templiers*, Paris, 1883; L. Delisle, 'Mém. sur les opérations financières des Templiers,' in *MAIBL* xxxiii. ii. [1889] 1–248; P. du Puy, *Hist. de l'ordre militaire des Templiers*, Brussels, 1751; F. C. Woodhouse, *The Military Religious Orders of the Middle Ages*, London, 1879; cf. full bibliography in Chevalier, *s.v.* 'Templiers.'

[2] It was the custom at that time for knights to be accompanied, when on horseback, by esquires to serve and assist them.

[1] E. Lavisse, 'Chevaliers teutoniques,' in *RDM* xxxii. [1879] 319–340, 794–817; J. Voigt, *Gesch. des deutschen Ritter-Ordens*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1857–59; [(G. E. J. de) Wal], *Hist. de l'ordre teutonique*, Paris and Rheims, 1784–90; Chevalier, *s.vv.* 'Teutoniques' and 'Porte-Glaives.'

[2] For Alcantara cf. *Bullarium ordinis militiæ de Alcantara*, Madrid, 1759; Woodhouse, *op. cit.*; for Calatrava, *Bullarium ordinis militiæ de Calatrava*, Madrid, 1761; M. de Guillamas, *De las ordenes militares de Calatrava, Santiago, Alcantara, y Montesa*[2], do. 1858; Woodhouse, *op. cit.*; cf. Chevalier, *s.vv.* 'Alcantara,' 'Calatrava,' 'St. Jacques.'

(or 'lazar-houses') in France and in the other countries of Europe.[1]

The Order of Mercy presents an analogous case. Founded in 1218 by James, king of Aragon, for the relief of Christian captives and their deliverance from the hands of the Moors, it also became a military order and ended by dividing into two bands—the knights joining the military order of Montesa and the clerics and lay brethren the Order of Trinitarians (see below, p. 706).

Hospitallers (non-military).—These orders were exclusively concerned with the care of the sick. We can name only the principal ones here.

The **Hospitallers of the Order of the Holy Ghost** were founded by a certain Guy at Montpellier and were approved by Innocent III. in 1198. They devoted themselves, from their foundation, to the care of the poor and the sick. The order was confined at first to Languedoc; then it spread to other provinces and founded hospices in Italy, Spain, Poland, Hungary, and Scandinavia. There were hospitals belonging to it in most of the larger towns in France. Dijon possessed one with 40 dependencies; Marseilles had 30, etc. The historian of the order, Brune, has discovered 26 hospitals of the Holy Ghost in Germany, 11 in Austria-Hungary, 6 in Poland, 8 in Belgium, 40 in Denmark, 35 in Sweden and Norway, 110 in Spain, 18 in Portugal, nearly 280 in Italy, nearly 400 in France—*i.e.* nearly 1000 for the whole order. The hospitals of the Holy Ghost at Montpellier and at Rome are souvenirs of these foundations.[2] There were, besides the hospitallers, sisters of the order who had the care of foundling children, for whom they showed a solicitude that was truly maternal.[3]

The **Jesuati** offer certain curious characteristics. They were founded in 1360 by John Colombini, who showed so extraordinary an example of zeal and penance in Siena. He gave to the members of his society as their aim the practice of mortification and the love of their neighbour, especially by means of care shown to the sick and burial of the dead. At first its members were simple lay brethren. But Paul V. ordered them later to have a priest or two ordained for each house. Their name Jesuati came from the device of the society, 'Live Jesus.' They were also known as Hieronymites, and recognized St. Jerome as their patron.[4] Their constitutions were at first based on the Rule of St. Benedict and later on that of St. Augustine. They were suppressed in 1668.

There were Jesuatesses also, or **Sisters of the Visitation of Mary**, who were founded at the same time as the Jesuati, and who were remarkable for their practice of penance.

One of the most curious among the orders of hospitallers is that of the **Congregation of the Blind** in Paris, Chartres, and other towns in France. St. Louis gave them a hospital in Paris for 300 blind—the Hospital for 'Quinze-vingt Aveugles' (15 × 20 = 300).

The **Frères pontifes**, founded at Avignon in 1177 by St. Bénézet, were also hospitallers, and took their name from their special work of building bridges over streams and rivers for the convenience of travellers. They also built hospices for pilgrims and for the sick near the bridges and ferries. The famous bridge of St. Bénézet on the Rhône at Avignon was constructed by them.[1]

The **Alexians, or Cellites**, were founded in Flanders about the middle of the 14th cent., while the Black Death was raging, in order to care for those struck down by the plague. Originally they formed a society of simple laymen, but later they took solemn vows and were governed by the Rule of St. Augustine. They established houses in Flanders, in Brabant, and on the banks of the Rhine. In 1854 the order was restored at Aix-la-Chapelle and was given new statutes. There were also Cellitine nuns, or 'Black Sisters,' who are in existence at the present day.

The **Brothers of St. John of God** were founded at Granada in 1540 by the saint of that name. They adopted the Rule of St. Augustine and devoted themselves exclusively to hospital work. They had such success that in Spain, in the time of Urban VIII., they were in possession of 79 hospitals. They had others in Italy, France, and other countries. Divided at first into two sections—one under the general of Granada, the other under that of Rome—they were united in 1878. At the present day the order possesses 9 provinces and 103 hospitals with 14,562 beds. There are 1572 members.[2]

With the Brothers of St. John of God must not be confused similar congregations, some of them called by the same name, such as the Brothers of Montabaur, the Brothers of Mercy of St. John of God, the Brothers of St. John of God. These others were all local societies founded in the 19th cent., and have not the same importance as the Brothers of St. John of God strictly so called.

Two other congregations, the **Brothers of St. Hippolytus**, founded in the 16th cent. in Mexico, and the **Bethlehemites**, founded in Guatemala in 1655, were devoted, like the Brothers of St. John of God, to the care of the sick and also to educational work. The first of these societies still possessed 120 houses in 1885; the second was suppressed in 1820.

The **Camillians**, who were also occupied with the care of the sick, are treated below. There are, besides, a large number of other communities of hospitallers, mention of which will be found in Hélyot and Heimbucher.

III. *THE MENDICANT ORDERS.*—1. **Dominicans.**—(*a*) *Origin.*—The founder of the Dominicans, St. Dominic, was born in 1170 at Calaroga in Old Castile. He was thus only twelve years in advance of St. Francis of Assisi. He made a thorough study of theology at the University of Palencia, and in 1195 became a canon of Osma and gave himself to the work of preaching. He associated himself later with the reform of those canons upon whom the bishop imposed the Rule of St. Augustine. We find him next in close relation with the papal legates sent against the Albigenses, in the south of France, and it was there that his future vocation was to be decided. He preached against the heretics, not only by word of mouth, but also by his example of evangelical poverty. It was then that St. Dominic conceived the idea of founding a religious order for the conversion of the Albigenses—an order consecrated to the work of prayer, preaching, and

[1] Gautier de Sibert, *Hist. des ordres royaux, hospitaliers et militaires de Saint-Lazare de Jérusalem et de Notre Dame du Mont-Carmel*, Paris, 1772; cf. E. Vignat, *Les Lépreux et les chevaliers de Saint-Lazare de Jérusalem*, Orléans, 1884; L. Cibrario, *Dei Templieri e della loro abolizione, degli ordini equestri di S. Lazaro, etc.*, Firenze-Torino, 1868.

[2] P. Brune, *Hist. de l'ordre hospitalier du Saint-Esprit*, Paris, 1892.

[3] L. Lallemand, *Hist. des enfants abandonnés et délaissés*, Paris, 1885, p. 411 ff. This writer refers also to a number of hospitals of the same class served by other orders.

[4] The name 'Hieronymite' was borne also by an order of hermits in Spain in the 14th cent. which played an important part under Cardinal Ximenes. It was into one of the monasteries of these hermits at St. Just that Charles V. withdrew from the world. Philip II., who made use of them in the evangelization of the Indies, built the Escorial for them. The same name was also given to certain minor congregations in Italy.

[1] Bruguier-Roure, 'Les Constructeurs de ponts au moyen âge' (in *Bull. monumental*, iii. [1875] 225–249, 401–441); H. Grégoire, *Recherches historiques sur les congrégations hospitalières des frères pontifes*, Paris, 1818; 'Die Kirche und der Brückenbau im Mittelalter,' in *Hist. polit. Blätter*, lxxxvii. [1881] 89–110, 184–194, 245–259.

[2] A. König, 'Der Orden und die Genossensch. der barmh. Brüder,' in *Charitas*, i. [1896] 146 ff., 170 ff.; Hélyot, iv. 131 f. Heimbucher, ii. 245 ff., 'Die barmherzigen Brüder.'

the study of divine things. In 1215 he went to Rome and obtained from Pope Innocent III., during the 4th Lateran Council, the approbation of the new order. The saint returned several times to Rome at a later period, and obtained fresh approbation from Honorius III. and also numerous privileges for his order. The order developed rapidly, and convents were founded in France, Spain, and Italy. During one of his journeys in Italy St. Dominic had a meeting with St. Francis, in whom he recognized a true spiritual brother. He died at Bologna on 6th Aug. 1221.

(*b*) *Constitution.* — The Dominicans follow the Rule of St. Augustine, with which St. Dominic had become acquainted while a canon of Osma, and with which he combined the usages of the Premonstratensians, who hold a place in the first ranks of the canons regular. From this point of view, the Dominicans form an order that is essentially clerical and hence differs from the monastic order. Their principal object is preaching, with which, as a logical consequence, was soon united the exercise of the sacred ministry and teaching in the schools. Unlike the monks, the Dominicans have no bond of stability to unite them to any particular monastery; they may be sent from one house to another as necessity or utility may dictate. Like the Franciscans, they are mendicants, *i.e.* they are forbidden to possess property and depend for their maintenance upon Christian charity. They are governed by a master general and the general chapter—an institution borrowed by St. Dominic from the Premonstratensians. The constitution of the order already established at the general chapter of Bologna in 1220 was confirmed by Jordan of Saxony and his successors. At the head of each convent or priory is the prior, at the head of each province the provincial. The general chapter is held every three years. It is composed alternately of provincials and definitors or delegates from each province, and has very wide powers. The general is elected by both provincials and definitors united in chapter—originally for life, now only for twelve years. He resides at the Convent of the Minerva in Rome. The provincials are elected by the provincial chapters composed of the priors of the province and delegates from each convent. Each house must have at least twelve members, and the prior is elected by the community for a term of three years. He has under him a sub-prior. The priors are confirmed in office by the provincial, the provincial by the master general. The actual constitutions given to his order by St. Dominic were curtailed and rearranged in better order by St. Raymund of Pennafort, and they are added to and completed by the decisions of the general chapters.

(*c*) *Studies.*—The Dominican Order gave itself from an early date to the study of theology. The general chapter of 1248 instituted four provinces—those of Provence, Lombardy, Germany, and England—in order to found, in these regions, a *studium generale* at the four cities of Montpellier, Bologna, Cologne, and Oxford. Albert the Great and St. Thomas Aquinas greatly promoted the element of study by the brilliancy of their renown. Each province was obliged to send two students every year to the *studium generale.* The convent of the Jacobins in Paris (situated in the Rue St. Jacques) soon formed the chief centre of Dominican studies. In each convent there was also a *studium particulare.* In 1259 the general chapter of Valenciennes (of which Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas were members) laid the foundations of a system of studies for novices and lectors to last eight years—two years of philosophy, two of fundamental theology, Church history and canon law, and four for the study of scholastic theology. At the end of this course those who merited it received the title of *lector.* After seven years of lectorate the student became *magister studentium,* then bachelor, and finally *magister theologiæ*—a degree equivalent to that of Doctor of Theology. For merit in preaching the title *prædicator generalis,* equivalent to that of Master of Theology, was bestowed.

The life of the Dominican is one of austerity, implying perpetual abstinence, fasting, and other practices of asceticism—silence, life in community, and the divine office in choir. His chief work is preaching and teaching.

In 1231 the Dominicans had a Chair of Theology at the University of Paris. They were the first of the mendicant orders to arrive at Oxford in 1221—the Franciscans did not come there till 1224, the Carmelites till 1254, the Austin Friars till 1268. They soon possessed chairs at Bologna, Padua, Salamanca, Cologne, Prague, and Vienna. Their activity as theologians and preachers was directed principally against the Jews, Moors, and Albigenses. They also played an important part in the tribunals of the Inquisition.

There are no fewer than 152 commentaries written by Dominicans on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard and nearly 200 on St. Thomas. Under their influence colleges of Oriental languages were founded for the study of Hebrew and Rabbinic.[1]

(*d*) *History.*—In 1214 St. Dominic founded in Rome the convent of Santa Sabina, which has remained a centre of Dominican life. In Paris he founded the monastery of St. Jacques—whence the name of Jacobins by which his sons were sometimes known. He founded other houses also at Bologna, Seville, and other places in Spain. After his death the order continued to make rapid progress, and soon reckoned eight provinces — Spain, Provence, France, Lombardy, the Roman Province, Germany, England, and Hungary. Later, foundations were established in Norway, Sweden, etc. Under the generalate of Jordan of Saxony († 1237) a great advance was made. This master general founded nearly 250 houses in Europe, Asia, and the north of Africa, and received more than 1000 members into the order. At the beginning of the 14th cent. the order had 562 houses in 21 provinces—in Germany alone there were 49 houses of men and 64 of women. In 1821 the pope granted to the mendicant orders the privilege of preaching and hearing confessions in any church without having to obtain the special permission of the bishop of the diocese.

During the course of the 14th cent. the era of decadence set in, brought about chiefly by the Great Schism, which divided the order into two 'obediences,' each with its rival general chapter and master general. Unity, however, was restored in 1409, and from the time of the schism efforts were made at reform. To one of these reforms belong Fra Angelico and St. Antoninus from the cloister of Fiesole, as well as Savonarola. Another reform was started in 1389 by Raymund of Capua, in which St. Catherine of Siena took part. This reform had success in Italy and Germany. In the 15th, 17th, and 18th centuries reformed congregations arose in different countries—in Holland, the province of Toulouse, Brittany, Provence, and Italy. The best known of these reforms was that established in France by Lacordaire (1850), who won for himself a special place in the history of the order.

To the Dominican Order belong a considerable number of saints, authors, theologians, preachers, and artists. To those already mentioned we may add here St. Hyacinth, Peter of Tarentaise (who

[1] On Dominican studies cf. P. Mandonnet, in *Dict. de Théol. cath., s.v.* 'Frères Prêcheurs (Les Etudes chez les),' vi. col. 868 ff.

Library of
PACIFIC BIBLE SEMINARY

became Innocent v.), John the Teuton, Humbert de Romans, St. Ceslaus, St. Vincent Ferrer, etc. The order numbers among its members four popes, 80 cardinals, and a large number of archbishops and bishops.[1]

(*e*) *The Second Order.*—This order, founded for women by St. Dominic at Prouille in 1206, also follows the Rule of St. Augustine together with special constitutions. The sisters devote themselves to a life of prayer, silence, and manual labour in the cloister. Some writers give as the real date of the foundation of the Dominican nuns that of the establishment of their first convent in Rome, the Convent of San Sisto (1219). The Second Order spread rapidly.

(*f*) *The Third Order.*—The Third Order of St. Dominic comprises a number of different societies of brethren and sisters, some of whom are 'regular,' *i.e.* live in community and follow the religious life, others 'secular,' *i.e.* live in the world. It is impossible to go into their history here.[2] The best known among these societies is the 'Third Teaching Order of St. Dominic,' which was founded by Lacordaire in 1852, and had the direction of the famous colleges of Arcueil, Oullins, Sorèze, etc.

2. Franciscans. — Under the general title of Franciscans, Order of St. Francis, or Friars Minor, may be reckoned all those 'religious' who recognize St. Francis of Assisi as their founder. They are divided into a number of different groups—the result of the divisions that took place among the sons of the saint almost as soon as he was dead, and even during his lifetime.

(*a*) *Origin.*—St. Francis, born at Assisi in 1182, is one of the saints who have exercised the most profound influence on the interior life of the Roman Catholic Church. The son of a rich draper, in his youth he lived a somewhat dissipated life, but, being converted and in consequence cast out by his father, he gave himself to a life of voluntary poverty, depending for his support upon alms. His beautiful and fertile nature, his wonderful gifts, his generosity and heroic sanctity attracted numerous followers. The society thus constituted received an unwritten approbation from Innocent III. in 1209; in a few years' time it numbered thousands, and was spread all over the world in order to carry on the work of preaching the gospel of poverty and the love of God. In 1212 Clare, a daughter of one of the noblest families of Assisi, associated herself with this apostolate and founded the Poor Clares, the Second Order of St. Francis. In 1219, according to tradition, was founded an order for lay folk, who were thus affiliated to the Franciscans, while remaining in the world. This was the Third Order of St. Francis, which soon also numbered its thousands and exercised a vast influence far and wide. Francis himself longed to go and preach the gospel to the Saracens and thus gain the crown of martyrdom, but the divisions that so soon arose in his religious family obliged him to give up the idea and to return to Italy. He received the stigmata in 1224 on Mt. Alverno and died on 3rd Oct. 1226.[3] The name by which the Franciscans are usually known, that of Friars Minor, was given to them by St. Francis himself from motives of humility and is based on the words of his Rule: 'et sint minores et subditi omnibus.'

(*b*) *Rule of St. Francis.*—The first Rule of St. Francis is very simple. It was approved by Pope Innocent III. in 1209, but underwent frequent modifications in the chapters or general councils of the order held by the saint every year. During his journey in the East the order underwent a grave crisis, in consequence of which St. Francis drew up in 1221 another Rule, more complete than the first. This is known under the very incorrect title of 'First Rule' of St. Francis. The saint twice modified or rewrote this Rule, and it was solemnly approved by Honorius III. in 1223. Its most striking characteristic is its insistence on the practice of poverty in its most absolute form, not only by each 'religious,' but by the community. The friars could possess no fixed revenues, but lived upon the voluntary offerings of the faithful.

In 1242 fresh difficulties arose concerning the Rule. An authorized interpretation was given by the four chief authorities of the order, at the head of whom was Alexander of Hales. This did not, however, prevent the formation of two parties in the order—the Rigorists and the Mitigated. St. Bonaventura, who was minister general from 1257 to 1274, belonged to the latter party. The Rigorists, who called themselves 'spirituals,' ended by denying to the Church the right of interpreting the Rule of St. Francis and so fell into schism. The friars of the Mitigated Observance took for their distinctive title that of 'Conventuals.' The popes, Nicholas III. (1279), Martin IV. (1283), Clement V., and John XXII. (1317), were obliged to interfere in order to regulate the question of the observance of poverty, the source of all the divisions in the order. A party among the spirituals formed themselves into an independent congregation under the name of 'Poor Celestine Hermits'—a tribute to Pope Celestine V., who favoured them. Angelo Clareno, chronicler of the order, and Ubertine da Casale, also famous among Franciscans, belonged to this party. Under John XXII. part of the order took up the cause of Louis of Bavaria, and were even on the point of forming a schism with an anti-pope at their head.

(*c*) *Foundation of 'the Observance.'* — In 1334 certain hermitages and convents were established in Umbria and the Marches, in which the observance practised in the lifetime of St. Francis himself was revived in all its austerity. These houses belonged to what was called 'the Observance,' and the friars were called 'Observants.' St. Bernardine of Siena, St. John Capistran, and St. James of the March belonged to this branch of the order. The Observants, kept in the background under Benedict XIII., Alexander V., and John XXIII., succeeded in gaining their cause at the Council of Constance in 1415.

The other branch of the order, in which the primitive austerity had been mitigated, and whose members were known as 'Conventuals,' strove to form a reaction against the Observant element. All attempts at reunion came to nothing, and the two parties continued the strife against each other, sometimes with great violence, by means of pamphlets, lampoons, etc. In 1517 Leo X. made a new effort to reunite the divided order at the *capitulum generalissimum* of the Ara Cœli. The bull 'Ite et vos' only succeeded in accentuating the division

[1] B. M. Reichert, *Monumenta ordinis Fratrum Prædicatorum historica*, 11 vols., Rome, 1896–1904; T. M. Mamachi, *Annales ordinis Prædicatorum*, do. 1756; A. Danzas, *Études sur les temps primitifs de l'ordre de Saint-Dominique*, Poitiers, 1873–85; A. T. Drane, *Hist. of St. Dominic*, London, 1890, *The Spirit of the Dominican Order*, do. 1896; *Analecta ordinis Fratrum Prædicatorum*, Rome, 1892 ff.; *L'Année dominicaine*, Paris, 1860 ff.; J. A. Flaminius, *Vitæ patrum ordinis Prædicatorum*, Bologna, 1529; de Smedt, *Introd. generalis ad Hist. Eccl.*, Ghent, 1876, p. 372 ff.; Hélyot, iii. 198 ff.; Heimbucher, ii. 93, 'Literatur über den Dominikanerorden'; Chevalier, *s.v.* 'Dominicains.'

[2] Cf. Hélyot, iii. 245 ff.; Heimbucher, ii. 169 ff.

[3] L. Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, 8 vols., Lyons and Rome, 1625–54, 219 vols., Rome, 1731–45; D. Gubernatis, *Orbis Seraphicus*, 5 vols., Rome and Lyons, 1682–89; *Bullarium Franciscanum* (ed. Sbaralea, Rossi, etc.), vols. i.–iv., Rome, 1759–68, vols. v.–vii., ed. C. Eubel, do. 1898–1904; *Monumenta Franciscana* (Rolls Series), ed. J. S. Brewer, 2 vols., London, 1858–82; *Analecta Franciscana*, Quaracchi, 1885–97; *Documenta antiqua Franciscana*, do. 1901 ff.; *Études franciscaines* (periodical), Paris, 1899 ff.; Heimbucher, ii. 308, 'Literatur über den Franziskanerorden'; de Smedt, p. 375 ff.; Chevalier, *s.v.* 'Franciscains.'

by creating two distinct branches of the order—the Observants, with whom were united all the other reformed congregations under the title of 'Friars Minor of the Regular Observance,' with a minister general of their own, and the Conventuals, or 'Friars Minor Conventual.'

(*d*) *Capuchins, Discalced, Reformati, Recollects.*—New divisions soon arose in one or other of the two branches. Among the Observants arose in Spain the Discalced under St. Peter of Alcantara, in Italy the Amadeans (Blessed Amadeus de Silva) and the Poor Hermits of Angelo Clareno. But the most important of all these reforms is that of the Capuchins under Clement VII. in 1530, to whom we shall return shortly. Besides these were the Recollects, so called from their convents named 'recollection-houses,' where a stricter observance of the Rule was practised, and where the more fervent withdrew to renew their spiritual vigour.

The Conventuals also had their difficulties and their efforts at reform. Whole provinces broke off from them and attached themselves to the Observants. Nevertheless they continued to hold their own in Italy, France, Switzerland, and other countries. At Assisi it is the Conventuals who have the guardianship of the tomb of St. Francis and at Padua that of St. Antony.

The Capuchins, however, were destined to become the most prosperous of all the branches of the order. They were founded in 1525 by an Observant friar called Matteo di Bassi. In spite of the strong opposition directed against them from the first and the miserable end of their second founder, Louis of Fossombrone, who was turned out of the order, they continued to prosper and to spread abroad, in France, Africa, Spain, Switzerland, Germany, Austria, etc. Their constitutions were approved by Urban VIII. in 1643. The name Capuchin, derived from their long pointed hood, has remained their characteristic title. Pius X. restored closer relations between the three Franciscan families—the Friars Minor of the Leonine Union, the Conventuals, and the Capuchins.

(*e*) *Activity of the order.*—In spite of its divisions and internal strife, the Order of St. Francis has taken an important part in ecclesiastical history. A number of bishops, cardinals, and even popes, have come forth from its ranks. Many of its friars have filled confidential posts at the courts of kings and popes and have been directors of their consciences. St. Francis carried on the apostolate among the infidels by preaching and by his own example. In 1230 the Franciscans founded a house in Jerusalem. Later they evangelized the north of Africa, Egypt, Ethiopia, Russia, Scandinavia, and Lapland. The travels of John of Plano Carpinis in 1247 in Mongolia, of William of Rubruck in Tartary and Tibet, of Odoric of Pordenone in China are well known. Not less known is the mission of John of Parma, sent by Innocent IV. to bring about reunion with the Eastern Churches. In India Thomas of Tolentino was martyred in 1321. The friars were the first to set out for the New World. In the 17th cent. the Capuchins were in the Congo, Brazil, Abyssinia, and the Levant. In the front ranks of the adversaries of the Albigenses, the Vaudois, and the Patarins we find the Friars Minor. St. John Capistran is celebrated for his opposition to the Hussites in 1456; St. Fidelis of Sigmaringen and many others were martyred by the Protestants in Switzerland, England, Holland—in the latter country we have the martyrs of Gorkum. A considerable number of Friars Minor have gained renown as preachers and missionaries—*e.g.*, St. Antony of Padua, St. Bernardine of Siena, St. James of the March, Joseph of Leonissa, St. Leonard of Port Maurice, Bernardine of Feltre, Ladislaus of Gielnow, Angelo d'Acri, etc. There were also theologians and savants among them.

In the early days of the order there was a certain degree of hesitation regarding the question of study. The spirituals were entirely opposed to it, but St. Francis never showed himself hostile. As long as the interior spirit of his children was not thereby endangered, study might well find its place in their life. Hence we find at an early period Franciscans teaching in the universities of Bologna, Paris, and Oxford. Certain houses, called *studia*, were established, as among the Dominicans, for purposes of study. The various branches of the order have produced a large number of theologians and of mystical and ascetical writers, whose names will be found in the works cited in the literature below.[1]

(*f*) *Minims.*—We may regard as belonging to the Franciscan order that of the Minims ('Fratres Minimi'), an order of mendicant friars founded in 1435 by St. Francis of Paula (Paola in Calabria) to whom he gave the name of Minims, or 'very little ones,' to teach them the spirit of humility and penance in which he wished them to live.[2] The Rule of the Minims does not differ in substance from that of St. Francis of Assisi, but is distinguished by greater severity. It was confirmed by Julius II. in 1506. Being called to France to assist at the last moments of Louis XI., Francis of Paula remained there till the day of his death, and his order took root in that country. It had a period of great prosperity, especially during the lifetime of the saint and the years immediately succeeding his death. At the beginning of the 16th cent. the order possessed 430 houses in France, Italy, Spain, Germany, and even India. St. Francis of Paula, like his namesake and patron of Assisi, founded a second order for women and a third order for people living in the world.

3. **Carmelites.**—(*a*) *Origin.*—Long and fierce discussion has raged on the origin of the Carmelite order. From the time of the prophet Samuel there existed in Palestine a society whose members were known as 'the sons of the prophets' and who lived a quasi-monastic life as cenobites or hermits on Mt. Carmel. Among these pre-Christian monks lived Elias and Eliseus. The sons of the prophets disappear from the history of Israel before the fall of its kingdom, but in the 4th cent. of the Christian era (perhaps even in the 3rd cent.) Mt. Carmel was a place of pilgrimage for Christians. St. Basil and St. John Chrysostom, the great masters of the monastic life, represent Elias and Eliseus as the models of monasticism and as the ancestors of the Christian monks. Christian anchorites, moreover, had settled on Mt. Carmel as in other places in Palestine hallowed by their connexion with Biblical times, and early writers on the Carmelite order connect it through these hermits with the sons of the prophets and see in Elias and Eliseus the founders of the order. The Carmelite constitutions, their chronicles, their liturgy, and innumerable other documents unite in maintaining this tradition. The evidence on which it reposes is, however, without historical value (see the criticism of Zimmerman), and the negative argument—the silence of all pilgrims on the subject up to the 12th cent.—is of the highest significance.[3] It would appear that the Order of Mt. Carmel was in reality founded by St. Berthold about the year 1155. The pilgrim John Phocas (1185), Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela (1163), Jacques de Vitry, and others speak

[1] Cf. esp. U. d'Alençon, in *Dict. de Théol. cath.*, vi. col. 835 ff.
[2] Perhaps also in allusion to Mt 25[40].
[3] Cf. B. Zimmerman, 'Carmelite Order,' in *CE* iii. 354-370; 'Carmes (Ordre des),' in *Dict. de Théol. cath.*, ii. col. 1776 ff. On this discussion cf. D. Papebroch, *AS*, March, iii., and J. B. Pitra, *Études sur la collection des Actes des Saints*, Paris, 1850. It lasted thirty years and is not yet over, although the Holy See, in 1698, imposed silence on the rival parties.

of Berthold and the hermits who lived with him in Carmel under the patronage of Elias. The patriarch of Jerusalem, Albert de Vercelli, gave them a Rule which was a literal transcription of the Rule of St. Augustine. The hermits were to elect a prior, to live in separate cells, and give themselves to manual labour. They met together for the divine office in their oratory. Their life was, in fact, a blending of the cenobitical and eremitical elements, like that of the early monks and of the Camaldolese, Carthusians, and similar foundations of the 11th and 12th centuries.

Foundations were made from Carmel at St. Jean d'Acre, Tyre, Tripoli, and Jerusalem. They were, however, in part destroyed by the Saracens, some of the hermits suffering death at their hands. Other colonies were founded in Cyprus, in Sicily, at Marseilles, at Valenciennes, and in England. St. Louis of France paid a visit to Carmel in 1254 and brought thence with him some of the hermits whom he established at Charenton.

(*b*) *Migration to Europe.*—A new phase in the history of the Carmelite Order is marked by its migration to Europe. At the first chapter held at Aylesford in England St. Simon Stock, an Englishman, was elected general (1247–65). He modified the primitive Rule to a certain extent, and obtained for the order in 1247 an interim approbation of Innocent IV. The order was finally approved by the Council of Lyons in 1274, though not without some difficulty on account of the decree of the Lateran Council in 1215 which forbade the foundation of new orders. It now underwent a new development. Foundations were made in the towns; community life took the place of solitude; and various mitigations were introduced into the primitive Rule. The solitaries were transformed, in fact, into mendicant friars and obtained the privileges attached to the existing mendicant orders. The original title of 'Fratres Eremitæ de Monte Carmelo' or 'Eremitæ sanctæ Mariæ de Monte Carmelo' was changed into 'Fratres Ordinis B. M. de Monte Carmelo.' St. Simon Stock, the great partisan of the active life, founded houses in Oxford, Cambridge, London, York, Paris, Bologna, Naples, etc., choosing cities that possessed universities or schools, in order to secure instruction for his young 'religious' and also to obtain recruits for the order among the students. But this new and rapid development was not without its dangers; and, when St. Simon Stock died, he left to his successor a difficult situation to cope with. The latter, Nicholas Gallicus (1265–71), was opposed to the active life and wished to bring back the order to a more contemplative ideal, but was obliged to resign his office. In an unedited work entitled *Ignea Sagitta* he denounces strongly the practice among the Carmelites of preaching and hearing confessions. The order continued, however, to develop in this direction. It met with great success in England, where the kings themselves founded houses. Many of its members were in their confidence and carried out important missions for their royal masters. Among these was Thomas Walden, who accompanied Henry VI. to France. The English Carmelites never accepted the reforms introduced into other provinces of the order, as they were always well and strongly organized. Under Henry VIII. the greater number submitted to the Act of Supremacy and separated themselves from the other branches of their order. Only two of the English friars remained faithful, and suffered martyrdom for their faith. The submission of the others, however, did not prevent the suppression of their order in England, the plunder of their possessions, and the dispersal of their libraries. At the time of the Reformation there were 39 Carmelite monasteries in England.

(*c*) *Constitutions and studies.*—The earliest constitutions of the Carmelite order are those of 1324, but it seems that an earlier redaction existed in 1256. The constitutions of 1324 divide the order into 15 provinces according to the different nations. At the head of all is the general, elected by the general chapter. At each of these chapters he was obliged to give an account of his administration, and was then either confirmed in or deposed from office. His ordinary place of residence was Rome, and he had two assistants chosen by himself. The general chapters were held at first every three years, then every six years, and even as rarely as once in sixteen years. In England the court usually contributed towards the expenses of the general chapter—the journey, horses, hostelries, etc. The provincial chapter chose the definitors for the general chapter. It was the business of those officials to receive reports on the administration of the provinces, to confirm or depose the provincials, to audit the accounts, to nominate the professors for the universities, to revise existing laws and add new ones, and to reward or punish members of the order according to their merits or demerits. The acts of the general chapters of the past exist only in a fragmentary condition and, such as they are, have been published. The provincial chapter, which was usually held once a year, was composed of all the priors or vicars of the province. Four definitors were chosen at the chapter. These officials exercised in the province the same duties as those exercised by the definitors general in the whole order. They had power to depose the priors, to choose those who were to be sent to the houses of study (*studia generalia* or *particularia*) or to the universities, and to decide on the foundation of new houses. Each house had its prior, assisted by a vicar. The administration of the prior was controlled by three guardians. He could be confirmed in office every year, indefinitely. Certain monasteries were set apart for the study of philosophy, others for that of theology In 1324 there were eight *studia generalia*—Paris Toulouse, Bologna, Florence, Montpellier, Cologne, London, and Avignon. Their number increased until at last every province had its house of studies. The number of Carmelite students in Paris averaged 300, in London more than 100. Some students went through a short course only, others remained as long as twelve years in the universities. It may be said that the order, from its approbation at the Council of Lyons up to the Great Schism, continued to develop steadily. There were certain abuses against which the general chapter itself continually raised its voice, such as the entrance into the order of poor students who came for the purpose of pursuing their studies gratis, the seeking of ecclesiastical benefices or posts of honour outside the order by certain of its members, the attempts of superiors to make their office perpetual or the fact that they showed favour to nephews or other relatives. Again, the professors in the universities dispensed themselves from choir, took their meals outside the monastery, caused the lay brethren to wait on them as their servants, etc.

A first attempt at reform was made at Mantua in 1413 and embraced 52 houses. Another took place under the general John Soreth (1351–71); another at Albi in 1499, which issued from that of Mantua. In 1514 we have the reform of Mt. Olivet near Genoa; in 1604 that of Rennes, modelled on St. Teresa's reform, the last by far the most important (see below). The reform of St. Elias, or the Italian congregation inaugurated at the instance of Clement VIII., established itself in Genoa, Rome, and Naples, and also in France, Germany, Austria, Poland, and Lithuania. In

1731 this reform numbered 4193 members. It gave greater scope for activity and the exercise of the sacred ministry than the Spanish reform.

(*d*) *St. Teresa's reform.*—St. Teresa († 1582), assisted by St. John of the Cross, founded at Avila a convent in which a more austere observance of the Rule was carried out in the practice of poverty, penance, and the contemplative life. The account of her subsequent foundations and of the reforms carried out by her in several Carmelite convents, both of nuns and of friars, will ever remain unique in the annals of the religious orders. This reform was introduced into France by Madame Acarie (Blessed Marie of the Incarnation) and by the celebrated Cardinal de Bérulle. It has always possessed in France a special character of its own and has always been very prosperous. Among its most celebrated members are Louise de la Miséricorde (Louise de la Vallière), Thérèse de St. Augustin (Madame Louise, daughter of Louis XV.), and Anne of Jesus.

(*e*) *Affiliated members.*—The Carmelite Order has also its affiliated members. Several communities of Beguines in the 15th cent.—notably those of Gueldre and Dinant—were affiliated to the order and thus originated the Carmelite nuns. From these, foundations were made in France, Italy, and Spain. As among the Dominicans and Franciscans, there is a third order, of whose members some live in the world, while others live in community.

(*f*) *Missions.*—The Carmelites had some flourishing missions in America (Mexico, Peru, Florida, Rio de Janeiro, Guadeloupe, San Domingo). St. Teresa, although her great object was to bring back the contemplative life to her order, favoured missionary activity on behalf of heretics and pagans. In 1604 the reformed Carmelites sent a mission to Persia, which succeeded in establishing itself at Baghdad, at Basra, and in India. Flourishing missions were also founded at Bombay and at Goa; others in China, Turkey, Armenia, Syria, and North America. The Carmelite nuns of Spain founded convents in S. America—in the Argentine, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru. Among the Carmelite missionaries there were several martyrs. Colleges existed for the missionaries, which contributed towards the foundation of the famous Congregation of Propaganda at Rome.

(*g*) *Desert convents.*—An institution peculiar to the Carmelite order is that of the 'deserts,' or convents where the purely contemplative ideal was carried out. This institution owed its foundation to the memory of the eremitical life led by the early members of the order on Mt. Carmel and to the passages of the Rule and constitutions that encourage the contemplative life. In these and in other documents this form of life was recommended for certain convents to be founded apart from towns or cities, in forests or desert places. The idea of the 'desert convents' properly so called seems to have been originated by Thomas of Jesus, Discalced Carmelite of Spain. Certain of the brethren in these convents were destined to remain there always, but the greater number came only for a year and then returned to the houses whence they had come. The first 'desert' was founded in 1592 at Bolarque on the banks of the Tagus in New Castile, and soon after one was founded for every province. The total number was 22. These 'deserts' followed the plan of a charterhouse, and the life resembled that of the Carthusians, but was even more severe. The practice of strict silence, fasting, and other penitential exercises were held in honour. Attached to each 'desert' were separate hermitages, where the brethren could retire to lead a life more completely solitary even than that of the 'desert' itself. There were also anchorites and recluses attached to some convents, among whom were Thomas Scrope of Norwich and the Blessed Jeanne de Toulouse.

(*h*) *Activity.*—We have seen that in many of their provinces the Carmelite friars gave themselves to the active ministry and to teaching in the universities. There, however, their influence was disputed by the Dominicans and Franciscans, who were already in the field—there was no room for a third school of thought. The Carmelites then, instead of creating a school of their own, followed the Dominicans and were rigorous Thomists. They have had among their numbers theologians of renown. St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross were founders of a school of mysticism which has produced some remarkable writers.[1]

4. Hermits of St. Augustine.—We have already dealt with the Canons Regular of St. Augustine and other congregations of canons who follow the Rule of that saint. Here we are concerned only with the hermits of St. Augustine. These hermits, sometimes called simply Augustinians, date from the 12th–13th century. At that period there were certain communities of hermits who, either then or subsequently, followed the Rule of St. Augustine. Chief among these were the Williamites (Guillemites) (founded by William of Malval in 1155, near Pisa), who were spread abroad in Italy, Germany, Belgium, and France. Besides these there were the Bonites (so called from their founder, the Blessed Jean Buoni, † 1249); the Brittinians (founded by St. Blasius de Brittinis in the Marches of Ancona in the 12th cent.); the Tuscan Hermits of the Blessed Trinity; the Brothers of the Sack (Fratres Saccati, Saccophori, Sacceti, Sachets), so called from the shape of their habit. The last were also known as the Brothers of Penance.

So many different congregations, leading what was practically the same life with the same object in view, needed to be brought together; and Alexander IV., on 4th May 1256, promulgated the bull 'Licet Ecclesiæ Catholicæ,' which united them all in a single order under the title 'Hermits of St. Augustine.' He exempted them from episcopal jurisdiction. A general chapter of all the superiors was held in Rome in 1256; the Rule of St. Augustine, together with special constitutions, was imposed upon the hermits; a superior general was elected; and the order was divided into four provinces—Italy, Spain, France, Germany. In 1567 Pius V. included it among the mendicant orders, giving it rank after the Carmelites. At the period of its greatest prosperity the order possessed 42 provinces and 2 vicariates, numbering 2000 monasteries and about 30,000 members. The title of 'Hermits' was not altogether appropriate, at least in the case of some of the now united congregations whose members practised the conventual life and had their convents in the midst of towns and cities.

In the 14th cent. efforts were made to reform certain abuses that had crept into some of the houses. New congregations also were founded—*e.g.*, that of Ilíceto in 1385, that of St. John ad Carbonariam (in the kingdom of Naples) in 1390,

[1] *Bullarium Carmelitanum*, 4 vols., Rome, 1715–68; *Regulæ et Constitutiones ordinis B. M. de Monte Carmelo*, Brussels, 1506; J. B. de Lezana, *Annales ordinis B. M. de Monte Carmelo*, 4 vols., Rome, 1645–56; Mathias de S. Jean, *Hist. de l'ordre du Mont-Carmel*, 2 vols., Paris, 1658; A. Le Mire, *Carmelitani Ordinis Origo atque Incrementa*, Antwerp, 1610; Martialis a S. Joanne Baptista, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum utriusque Congregationis et Sexus Carmelitarum excalceatorum*, Bordeaux, 1730; [Villiers a S. Stephano] *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*, 2 vols., Orleans, 1752; B. Zimmerman, in *CE* iii. 354–370; *Dict. de Théol. cath.*, *s.v.* 'Carmes (Ordre des),' iii. col. 1776–1792; *DACL*, *s.v.* 'Carmes (Liturgie de l'ordre des),' ii. col. 2166–2175; Heimbucher, ii. 535; Chevalier, *s.v.* 'Carmes.'

the Congregation of Lombardy in 1430, that of Our Lady of Consolation, and others.[1] Two reforms of greater importance were effected in Spain: the first, in 1430, imposed on all the houses of Castile; the second, more austere, in 1588, that of the Discalced Augustinians or Recollects, extended to the Spanish colonies, the W. Indies, and the Philippines. There were reforms also in France, among which must be mentioned that of the 'Petits Augustins.' Some of these congregations had flourishing missions in the E. and W. Indies, in Mexico, Peru, China, Japan, and India. In Spain, where they were always more prosperous than in any of the other provinces, the reformed Augustinians were favoured by Philip II. Among celebrated Augustinians we may mention St. Thomas of Villanova, Panvini, Lupus, Lancillot, Noris, Luis de Leon, one of the greatest writers in Spain, and Florez.

From the 15th cent. onwards efforts were made by the Augustinians to bring about the reform of their order in Germany. One of these efforts at reform—that of Andreas Proles († 1503)—was extended under his successor Johann von Staupitz by the desire of the pope to all the Augustinian friars of N. Germany. Seven houses opposed the reform, among them the monastery of Erfurt, to which Martin Luther belonged. The apostasy of Luther brought about the ruin of the Augustinians in Germany. Many followed the arch-Reformer in his revolt against the Church. But some of these German Augustinians were, on the contrary, determined opponents of the Reformation. In 1526 the communities that had remained faithful to the Roman Catholic Church were united to the province of Lombardy.

In France the Revolution of 1789 struck another blow at the Augustinians and destroyed the greater part of the 157 monasteries, while in Spain the Revolution of 1835 closed 105 out of 153.

In recent years the Augustinians have begun to flourish once again. Leo XIII. endeavoured to bring about greater unity among them in 1896. New constitutions were drawn up, and the order was divided into 23 provinces, distributed among two congregations, and it numbers about 2300 members. In Rome the Augustinians possess the church of St. Agostino. The famous Angelica library formed by one of their friars, Angelo Rocca († 1620), is now a public library. They have also, at Genazzano, in the neighbourhood of Rome, a celebrated place of pilgrimage.

Other saints of the order worthy of mention are St. Nicholas of Tolentino († 1305) and St. John a S. Facundo († 1479). Among its members must also be reckoned a certain number of theologians, dogmatic and moral, of erudites, and of missionaries.[2] The Assumptionists, who form a branch of the Augustinian order, are treated below, p. 708[a].[3]

The bull 'Licet Ecclesiae Catholicae' which in 1256 united the Hermits of St. Augustine in a single order was not enforced against the nuns. Each convent remained autonomous. To this congregation belonged St. Juliana of Mt. Cornillon at Liége († 1258). The reform known as the Recollects was one of its branches.

After the four great mendicant orders come a number of others known as the lesser mendicant orders. We have given a list of these above (I. 5) and can speak here only of the principal ones. The greater number of them follow the Rule of St. Augustine.

[1] Cf. for details Heimbucher, ii. 186 ff.
[2] See list given in Heimbucher, ii. 199 ff.
[3] A. Lubin, *Orbis Augustinianus*[3], Paris, 1672; Pierre de Sainte Hélène, *Abrégé de l'hist. des Augustins déchaussés*, Rouen, 1672; Hélyot, iii. 1 ff.; Heimbucher, ii. 177 ff.; Besse, 'Augustin, Règle de S.,' in *Dict. de Théol. cath.*; Chevalier, *s.vv.* 'Augustins, chanoines réguliers,' 'Augustins, ordre d'ermites.'

5. **Trinitarians.**—The Trinitarians (or Order of the Blessed Trinity for the Redemption of Captives) were founded by St. John de Matha and St. Felix de Valois, at Cerfroid in the diocese of Meaux, in 1198. The object of this order was to ransom the numerous Christian captives taken by the Moors and Muhammadans. Its members follow the Rule of St. Augustine, and the observance prescribed by their constitutions is very severe. The members were obliged to be ready to offer themselves as slaves to the Moors in exchange for the captives whom they desired to ransom. The Trinitarians were approved by Innocent III., and soon took root in France, Italy, Germany, England, Ireland, Spain, and later in America. The order possessed 800 houses. The name of Mathurins, by which the Trinitarians are sometimes known, came from their monastery of St. Mathurin in Paris. A reform of the order was inaugurated in Spain, that of the Discalced Trinitarians. Members of this order delivered 900,000 captives from the clutches of the Moors. Their work received the praise even of Voltaire. Since the Revolution the order has greatly declined. It possesses the Convent of St. Chrysogonus in Rome. The Trinitarians offered themselves to Leo XIII. for the work of ransoming the slaves of Africa.[1]

6. **Order of Mercy.**—Another order founded with the same object as the Trinitarians was that of Montjoie in Spain, but it had only a short existence (1180–1221) and was incorporated, after a term of 40 years, with the Order of Calatrava. In 1218, however, St. Peter Nolasco founded in Spain an order that was to become a rival of the Order of the Blessed Trinity. This was the Order of Our Lady of Mercy (de la Mercede), whence the name of Mercedarians, or Fathers of Mercy. Like the Trinitarians, the Mercedarians devoted themselves to the work of ransoming captives—those taken by the pirates of Barbary—and were occupied also in the service of the galley-slaves and in missions to the heathen. Their special field of operation lay in Morocco, whereas that of the Trinitarians was in Tunis and Algeria. The Order of Mercy was approved by Gregory IX. In origin it was a military order composed of knights, chaplains, and serving brethren. The name of St. Raymund Nonnatus is one that is quoted with pride by the order. The Rule of St. Augustine is followed, whence the Mercedarians have sometimes been reckoned among the Augustinians.[2]

7. **Servites.**—The Order of the Servants of Mary, or Servites, so called from their special devotion to the Blessed Virgin, was founded in 1233 on Monte Senario, near Florence, by seven members of seven patrician families of the city. The Rule is that of St. Augustine together with special constitutions which were approved in 1249. St. Philip Benizi was the fifth general of the order. It was on the point of being suppressed in 1274 in consequence of the edict of the 4th Lateran Council renewed by the 2nd Council of Lyons, but it was finally approved by Benedict XI. in 1304. It spread abroad in France, Spain, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, and even as far as India. In 1910 the order numbered 700 members and 62 monasteries.[3]

[1] M. Gmelin, 'Die Literatur zur Gesch. der beiden Orden SS. Trinitatis und B. Mariæ de Mercede,' *Serapeum*, xxxi. [1870] 81–94, 97–110, 113–123, 129–140; Calixte de la Providence, *Corsaires et rédempteurs*, Lille, 1884; P. Deslandres, *L'Ordre des Trinitaires*, Paris, 1903.
[2] F. de Guimeran, *Breve Hist. de la orden de Nuestra Señora de la Merced*, Valencia, 1591; J. A. Gari y Siumell, *Biblioteca Mercedaria*, Barcelona, 1875; Gmelin, in *Serapeum*, xxxi. 129–140; Hélyot, i. p. liii; Heimbucher, ii. 212 ff.
[3] *Chronicon rerum totius sacri ordinis Servorum B.M.V. ab an. 1233 ad an. 1566*, ed. Michaele Poccianti, Florence, 1567, [2]1616; A. Gianius, *Annales sacri ordinis Servorum B.M.V.*, 2 vols., do. 1618–22, [2]Lucca, 1719–25; Hélyot, iii. 296–323;

Considered as belonging to the mendicant orders are also certain congregations of women which follow the Rule of St. Augustine. Chief among these are the following.[1]

8. **The Brigittine Order**, founded by St. Brigit of Sweden († 1373), resembles in some respects that of Fontevrault (see art. MONASTICISM, vol. viii. p. 796). In each convent there were 60 nuns governed by an abbess, who had also under her jurisdiction, in a separate house, 13 priests, 4 deacons, and 8 lay brothers. There were houses of the order in Norway and Sweden, Flanders, Prussia, Poland, Russia, and England. There exist now only 9 convents, 8 in Germany, Holland, and Spain, and 1 in England—the last a pre-Reformation foundation.

9. **The Ursulines**, founded at Brescia in 1537 by St. Angela Merici, devote themselves to Christian education. St. Charles Borromeo gave them his protection. They were very successful. In France alone in 1789 there were 350 convents with 9000 members. At present there are about 7000 nuns in some 300 convents scattered throughout the world.

10. **Order of the Annunciation, or Annunciades.**—This order is divided into three branches: the Annunciades of Lombardy (or Sisters of St. Ambrose), founded at Pavia in 1408, the Annunciades of Italy (or Celestial Annunciades), founded in 1604 near Genoa, the Annunciades of France, founded by the Blessed Jeanne de Valois († 1505), daughter of Louis XI.

11. **Order of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary.**—These sisters, who also follow the Rule of St. Augustine, deserve a place to themselves in the history of the religious orders, both on account of their founders, St. Francis de Sales and St. Jane Frances de Chantal, and on account of the special spirit of the order and the wonderful fervour shown by its members during the early years of the foundation.

IV. *CLERKS REGULAR.*—1. **Jesuits.**—In order of time the Theatines, Barnabites, and Somaschi rank before the Jesuits; but in number and importance in the history of the Church the Jesuits occupy without dispute the first place among the clerks regular. See art. JESUITS.

2. **Theatines.**—Founded at Rome in 1524 by St. Gaetano di Tiene († 1547) and the celebrated Cardinal Caraffa, afterwards Pope Paul IV. (1555), the Theatines are in order of time the first society of clerks regular. From his entry into the ranks of the clergy, Gaetano was possessed with the desire of forming a community of zealous priests for the service of God and the work of preaching. He founded first the Society of Divine Love, then that of the Theatines,[2] which closely resembled the former foundation, but had a stricter Rule. Its object was the renovation of the priestly and apostolic life by means of prayer, the practice of poverty, and study. All its members were to be priests. Poverty was to be observed to an extraordinary degree and in an altogether new manner. The society must possess no revenues, and must not ask alms like the mendicant orders, but simply accept whatever was offered to it. It was approved by Clement VII. in 1524, who gave to its members the privileges of the Lateran Canons. He decided, moreover, that the Theatines should take solemn vows, follow the Rule of St. Augustine, and elect their superiors every three years. Caraffa was the first superior elected. The sack of Rome by the soldiers of Charles V. obliged the Theatines to leave the city for a time and to establish themselves at Venice and at Naples. Towards the end of the 16th cent. they had houses in many of the towns of Italy. In the 17th cent. they were very numerous in France and in other parts of Christendom. They exercised a salutary influence on the reform of the clergy and of Christian society in general, by means of their preaching, teaching in the confessional, and visitation of the sick, and by prayer and study. They had missions in Armenia, Mingrelia, Circassia, etc. Their constitutions, drawn up by Caraffa, eventually underwent certain modifications. In 1588, at the incentive of Pope Sixtus V., a general was elected for the whole order. The general chapter is held at Rome every six years. Among their distinguished members must be mentioned, besides the two founders, Verano, St. Andrew Avellino, Tomasi, Merati, etc.[1]

3. **Barnabites.**—The Theatines served as a model for other congregations founded soon after and also having as their object the reformation of the clergy. Chief among these congregations are the Barnabites, founded in 1530 at Milan by St. Antonio Maria Zaccaria. Nowadays their mother house is at San Carlo in Catinari in Rome. To them were also conceded the privileges of the Lateran Canons Regular. The name Barnabite is derived from one of their principal houses at Milan, S. Barnabas.[2] See, further, art. BARNABITES.

4. **Somaschi.**—This order was founded in 1532 by St. Jerome Emiliani and devotes itself chiefly to the education of orphans and the care of the poor and the sick. Somascha was the hermitage where the founder wrote his Rule and whence the name is derived. The Somaschi endeavoured unsuccessfully to amalgamate with the Society of Jesus in 1547, and then with the Theatines; in the latter case they succeeded, but the union lasted only eight years. St. Charles Borromeo was one of their protectors.[3]

5. **Camillians.**—The Camillians were founded to care for the sick by St. Camillus de Lellis († 1614). They rendered the greatest service in the hospitals and became renowned for their courage and charity during the plague, cholera, and other epidemics that devastated Italy.[4]

6. **Piarists, or Scolopes** (a contraction of their full title 'Cleri regulares scholarum piarum').—This order was founded by St. Joseph Calasanz († 1648). Its special work, as its name indicates, was the education of children and, in particular, of poor children. It was founded at Rome, whence it spread abroad in Italy and in other countries.[5]

V. *RELIGIOUS CONGREGATIONS FROM THE END OF THE 17TH CENTURY AND SOCIETIES OF SECULAR PRIESTS.*—1. RELIGIOUS CONGREGATIONS.—1. **Passionists.**—The Passionists (Clerici Passionis D.N.J.C.) were founded to honour the Passion of Christ. Their founder, St. Paul of the

B. M. Mayr, 'Serviten,' in Wetzer-Welte[2], xi. 204 ff.; Heimbucher, ii. 218 ff.

[1] For congregations of women occupied with the education of girls see below.

[2] The name 'Theatine' comes from Theate (Chieti), a city of the Abruzzi of which Caraffa was bishop.

[1] J. B. del Tufo, *Hist. della religione de' Padri chierici regolari*, 2 vols., Rome, 1609–16; Hélyot, iv. 71 ff.; Heimbucher, iii. 258 ff.; A. F. Vezzosi, *I scrittori de' chierici regolari detti Teatini*, 2 vols., Rome, 1780.

[2] A. Sicco et V. Madii, *Synopsis de clericorum regularium S. Pauli decollati institutione*, Milan, 1682; F. M. Barelli, *Memorie dell' origine . . . ed uomini illustri in Lettere ed in santita della congreg. de' chierici regolari de S. Paolo*, 2 vols., Bologna, 1703–07; Stahl, 'Barnabiten,' in Wetzer-Welte[2], i. 2030 ff.; L. von Pastor, *Gesch. der Päpste*, Freiburg i. B., 1886–1913, iv. ii. 626 ff.; Hélyot, iv. 100 ff.; Heimbucher, iii. 270 ff.

[3] J. H. Sementius, *Cronologia della congr. dei Somaschi dal 1481 fino a suoi tempi* († *1702*); Hélyot, iv. 223; Heimbucher, iii. 275 ff.; C. Kienle, *s.v.* 'Somasker,' in Wetzer-Welte[2], xi. 486 ff.

[4] C. Lenzo, *Annales religionis clericorum regularium ministrantium infirmis*, Naples, 1641; C. Solfi, *Compendio istorico della religione de' chierici reg. ministri de gli infermi*, Mondovi, 1689; Hélyot, iv. 263 ff.; Heimbucher, iii. 280 ff.; D. Regi, *Memorie istorice del ven. P. Camillo de Lellis e suoi chierici regolari*, 2 vols., Naples, 1676.

[5] D. M. Casasnovas y Sanz, *José de Calasanz y su Instituto*, Saragossa, 1904; Kniel, 'Piaristen,' in Wetzer-Welte[2], ix. 2096 ff.; A. Brendler, *Das Wirken der PP. Piaristen seit ihrer Ansiedelung in Wien im Kollegium in der Josefstadt*, Vienna, 1896; Hélyot, iv. 281; Heimbucher, iii. 287.

Cross († 1775), was known for his great austerities and his zeal for souls. Pope Clement XIV. gave them the famous Church of SS. John and Paul in Rome. The congregation is spread abroad in many lands of both the Old and the New World, and is divided into thirteen provinces with 1400 members. The Passionists give themselves to preaching and mission work.[1]

2. **Redemptorists.**—The Redemptorists (Congregatio SS. Redemptoris) have as their founder the celebrated St. Alfonso Liguori (*q.v.*; † 1787), whose great theological knowledge has won for him the title of Doctor of the Church, and who exercised great influence on the Catholic doctrine and piety of his time. The members of his congregation devote themselves to the work of preaching in the towns and country districts. Like the Passionists, the Redemptorists are spread all over the world. They number at the present time 4000, possess 215 colleges or hospices, and are divided into 29 provinces.

3. **Oblates.**—The Oblates (of Mary Immaculate) were founded by Mgr. de Mazenod, bishop of Marseilles, at the beginning of the 19th century. Their work is preaching, the education of the clergy, and foreign missions. They have at the present day 301 houses and 3110 members.[2]

4. **Marists.**—This congregation was founded at Fourvières in 1816. The members follow the Rule of St. Augustine together with special constitutions. Like the Oblates, their work is preaching and foreign missions.[3]

5. **Assumptionists.**—The Assumptionists were founded in 1850 at Nîmes by P. d'Alzon († 1880). Their activity is employed in the direction of pilgrimages, the press, mission work, the education of children, etc. They form a branch of the Augustinian Order, and their official title is 'Augustinians of the Assumption.'[4]

ii. SOCIETIES OF SECULAR PRIESTS.—With these congregations may be compared, as regards date of foundation, manner of life, and special object, certain societies of priests, either with or without lay brothers (coadjutors), who usually take simple vows or are bound only by a promise. These societies, like the above religious congregations, are employed in the education of the clergy, the study of sacred science, preaching, and, some of them, in foreign missions. They have community life, but not the choral office, and they are under episcopal jurisdiction.

1. **Oratorians.**—This congregation has played an important part in the history of the Counter-Reformation of the last few centuries. It is divided into two branches—the French and the Italian. In the Italian Oratory (to which that of England owes its origin) each house is autonomous and independent, while in the French Oratory they are united under a superior-general. The former was founded by St. Philip Neri in Rome, about 1575, as a society of secular priests devoted to the exercise of the sacred ministry and to study, under the title of 'Patres Oratorii.' Most illustrious among its many well-known members is the historian Baronius. The names of Aringhi, Bianchini, and Gallandi also deserve mention; while, in England, those of Newman and Faber have given immortal lustre to the Oratories of Birmingham and London. Their centre in Rome is the house of La Vallicella with its magnificent library. The French Oratory, founded by Cardinal de Bérulle in 1611, vied with that of Italy in carrying on the work of clerical reform, and presents us with names such as de Condren, Bourgoing, Lejeune, Jean Morin, Amelotte, Cabassut, Thomassin, Richard Simon, Guénin, Lamy, Malebranche, Lelong, Le Brun, Massillon, Houbigant, Quesnel, and Duguet. At the Revolution the French Oratory had 70 houses and 751 members. There were numerous colleges, seminaries, and parishes under its control. It was restored in 1852 and counts among its members Pétetot, Gratry, Perraud, Ingold, Largent, Baudrillart, Lecanuet, Laberthonnière, etc. It possessed houses also in Belgium and Spain. The Italian Oratory, besides its offshoot in England, has foundations in Spain, Austria, India, and America.[1]

The Lazarists, Eudists, and Sulpicians worked along with the Oratorians for the education and sanctification of the clergy, and exercised themselves in the sacred ministry, preaching, and mission work.

2. **The Lazarists**, founded by St. Vincent de Paul in 1625, took their name from the priory of St. Lazare in Paris, which had been handed over to them. They form a congregation under a superior-general with assistants, a general chapter, and visitors. They have missions in Abyssinia, Persia, Mexico, Chile, Tibet, Constantinople, and Palestine. They possess 240 houses and 3000 members.

3. **The Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul, or Sisters of Charity**, were founded by that saint with the assistance of Mlle. de Marillac (Madame Le Gras) in 1634. They are the largest of all the congregations of religious women and form an army of 35,000 members with more than 3600 houses. They are to be found in almost all the countries of Europe and America and in the greater number of the colonies. They nurse the sick and the poor in hospitals, orphanages, schools, etc.

4. **The Eudists**, founded by Jean Eudes at Caen in 1643, and dispersed at the Revolution, were afterwards brought together again and now number about 400 members.

5. **The Sulpicians** devote themselves exclusively to the training of the clergy. Their founder, M. Olier († 1657), belonged to that company of zealous priests who were the friends of St. Vincent de Paul and Père de Condren. In 1903 the Sulpicians possessed 24 seminaries in France and others in Canada and the United States. They number about 300.[2]

6. **The Salesians**, founded in 1859 at Turin by Don Bosco, are occupied with mission work and schools, especially for poor children in order to fit them for the different trades. They developed rapidly, and exercise a wide influence. At the death of Don Bosco 130,000 pupils had passed through the schools of the institute. In 1888 it had 956 members; to-day there are 4137. There are 34 provinces with 320 hospices, schools, oratories, orphanages, schools for the arts and crafts, seminaries, printing-presses, and mission-stations. The last are found principally in Patagonia, Tierra del Fuego, and other parts of S. America.

The Sisters of Mary, Help of Christians, or Salesian nuns, also founded by Don Bosco, are engaged in the education of girls, and number more than 2000. They have 250 foundations.[3]

[1] Heimbucher, iii. 309.

[2] R. Streit, *Die Kongregation der PP. Oblaten der U. J. Maria*, Hünfeld, 1893 ff.; *Jahresb. der Missionare Oblaten*, do. 1894; *Annales de la cong. des missionnaires oblats*, Bar-le-Duc, 1891 ff.; Heimbucher, iii. 333 ff.

[3] C. Egremont, *L'Année de l'Eglise, 1900*, Paris, 1901; Heimbucher, iii. 339.

[4] *Missions des Augustins de l'Assomption*, Paris (periodical); Heimbucher, iii. 343.

[1] I. Marciano, *Memorie istoriche della Congr. dell' Oratorio*, 5 vols., Naples, 1693–1702; Hélyot, viii. 12 ff.; Wetzer-Welte², ix. 2019 ff.; *Linzer Quartalschr. für kath. Theol.* liv. 965 ff.; A. Perraud, *L'Oratoire de France au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècle*², Paris, 1866; M. Adry, 'Gesch. der Oratorianer in Frankreich' (ed. H. Reuchlin), in *Zeitschr. für hist. Theol.*, 1859; A. Ingold, *Bibliothèque oratorienne*, 13 vols., Paris, 1880 ff.; Hélyot, viii. 53 ff.; Heimbucher, iii. 413 ff.

[2] Hélyot, viii. 159 ff.; Heimbucher, iii. 442 ff.

[3] *Brevi notizie su Don Bosco e sulle opere Salesiane*, San Benigno, Cavanese, 1906; Heimbucher, iii. 491.

7. Paulists.—In 1857–59 Thomas Hecker, with a number of companions, left the Redemptorists, to whose congregation he belonged, in order to found a new missionary society—that of the Paulists—whose principal object should be the conversion of Protestants in America by means of sermons, lectures and public discussions, the press, and social work. The number of converts made by the society from 1898 to 1904 was 1485; in the year 1905 alone it exceeded 1000. The society has to-day about 100 members.[1]

There are many other less important societies of priests, formed on the above models. For a list of these see Heimbucher, iii. 519 ff.

VI. *MISSIONARY SOCIETIES.*—Many of the congregations enumerated in the preceding paragraphs possess, as we have seen, missions in infidel lands. Those with which we are now concerned, while closely resembling the above in their organization and manner of life, are dedicated either exclusively or at least principally to this foreign mission work.

1. Society of the Foreign Missions.—Most important among these is the Society of the Foreign Missions founded at Paris, Rue du Bac, in 1660–63, by Mgr. Pallu, Vicar Apostolic of Tongking, and Mgr. L. de la Motte, Vicar Apostolic of Cochin-China. During the Revolution the seminary was closed, but it was re-opened in 1820. At the present day the society possesses 34 missions, episcopal sees, vicariates, and prefectures apostolic, numbers among its members 34 bishops, 1700 European missionaries, 710 native priests, 6279 sisters, and has numerous colleges, schools, hospitals, and other establishments. It has, in all, 1700 European members. Before 1869, 26 of its members gained the crown of martyrdom. Its chief missions are in Manchuria, Tibet, Korea, China, and Japan.[2]

2. The Society of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary is better known as the **Fathers of Picpus** from the Rue de Picpus in Paris, where the mother house was opened in 1805 by the Abbé Coudrin († 1837). Its chief work was at first the education of poor children. It then became possessed of seminaries and finally took up mission work, and has missions in Oceania—the Marquesas Islands, New Guinea, the Marshall Islands, and Tahiti. The society numbers about 600, has 12,000 pupils in its schools, 350 mission stations, and 6 hospitals.[3]

3. The Fathers of the Holy Ghost were formed in 1848 by the amalgamation of the Society of the Holy Ghost (founded in 1707) with that of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, founded by François Libermann. They possess missions in Senegambia, French Guinea, Nigeria, Congo, Zanzibar, Mauritius, and Madagascar. They have also seminaries, of which the best known is the French Seminary in Rome. The statistics of the congregation give 1643 members, 9 missionary bishops, and 203 foundations.[4]

4. The Congregation of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, or Fathers of Scheut, was founded at the town of that name in Belgium in 1863. It is an exclusively missionary society. Destined principally for the mission in China and Mongolia, the society has nevertheless missions in a part of the Belgian Congo. In China more than ten of its members have already suffered martyrdom. The Fathers of Scheut take simple vows. They number at present nearly 600. In their different missions there are 66,000 Catholics, nearly 50,000 catechumens, 228 churches or chapels, and 291 schools with more than 8000 pupils.[1]

5. The Society of Saint Joseph for Foreign Missions.—In England Roman Catholics have also seminaries for missionaries. In 1866 Father (later Cardinal) Vaughan founded the above society of priests and laymen at Mill Hill near London. The field of their labours lies chiefly among the negroes of Africa, America, and the Indies. They have novitiate houses in the United States, Holland (Rosendaal), and the Tyrol (Brixen), where missionaries from every nation receive their training. They have missions in Madras, Borneo, Uganda, the Congo, the Philippines, and New Zealand, where they have already met with great success.[2]

6. The Society of Our Lady of Africa in Algeria was founded by Cardinal Lavigerie. This title speedily gave place to the popular name **White Fathers,** given to the missionaries on account of the white burnous and cassock worn by them. Their object is the evangelization of the pagan population of Africa. They have had a rapid success. Soon after their foundation in 1868 they established Christian colonies of native orphans gathered together by Cardinal Lavigerie, which resembled, to a great extent, the famous 'reductions' of Paraguay. Their missionary activity embraces the Sahara, Morocco, the Sudan, Central Africa, and Tunisia, and has extended beyond the confines of Africa as far as Syria and Palestine, not to mention their seminaries and colleges at Jerusalem, Carthage, Mechlin, Antwerp, Rome, Paris, Lille, Marseilles, etc. According to the latest statistics, they possess in these different countries 158 establishments, 1706 schools with more than 70,000 children, 310 charitable foundations, such as orphanages, hospitals, leper-houses, etc., where more than 800,000 sick persons, abandoned children, and old people are cared for. They number 880 members, among whom are 9 bishops and 350 sisters. Travellers who have visited their missions speak with great praise of their zeal and the success of their methods. Several of their missionaries have published interesting works on the language and customs of the tribes evangelized by them.[3]

7. The Society of the Divine Word was founded in 1875 by Arnold Janssen at Steyl in Holland. From its very beginning this society has been in the front ranks of mission societies. For the training of its missionaries it possesses a course of studies extremely well organized at Vienna, Rome, and elsewhere. The scientific works produced by its members on the language and religion of savage tribes have a very high reputation. They publish reviews in German, Spanish, English, and Chinese, of which the best-known is *Anthropos*. They also possess printing-presses.

There is a congregation of sisters attached to the society known as Servants of the Holy Ghost.[4]

8. The Society of the Divine Saviour.—Similar to the above society, this institute (also, like it, of German origin) was founded in Rome in 1881. It has missions in India, the United States, and Brazil (with 35 stations). There are also Sisters of the Divine Saviour or Salvatorian Sisters. This society has a printing-press in Rome for the printing and spreading of Catholic literature.[5]

[1] Heimbucher, iii. 498 ff.
[2] A. Launay, *Hist. générale de la Société des missions étrangères*, 3 vols., Paris, 1894, *Hist. des missions de l'Inde*, 5 vols., do. 1898, *Hist. des missions de Chine*, do. 1907–09; Heimbucher, iii. 458–466.
[3] Heimbucher, iii. 471 ff.
[4] *Die Kongr. der Väter vom Heil. Geist*, Cologne, 1906; J. B. Pitra, *Vie du vénérable serviteur de Dieu François Marie Paul Libermann*[2], Paris, 1882; Heimbucher, iii. 477 ff.

[1] Heimbucher, iii. 500 ff.
[2] *Die kath. Missionen*, xxxii. [1903–04] 241 ff.; *St. Joseph's Foreign Missionary Advocate*, Mill Hill, 1888 ff.; *St. Josefs Missionsbote*, Brixen, 1896 ff.; Heimbucher, iii. 502 ff.
[3] *Bulletin des missions d'Afrique des Pères blancs*, Paris; *A l'Assaut des pays nègres*, do. 1884; Heimbucher, iii. 504 ff.
[4] Heimbucher, iii. 510 ff.
[5] *Ib.* iii. 516 ff.

VII. *TEACHING BROTHERS AND CONGREGATIONS OF RELIGIOUS WOMEN.*—i. TEACHING BROTHERS.—Ever since the 17th cent. there has existed an apostolate for the education of the poorer classes. For this purpose new congregations have been formed whose members are simply 'brothers,' bound usually, and even by vow, to give up all idea of aspiring to the priesthood. These brothers take simple vows, sometimes only temporary, and their activity is consecrated to the work of teaching, and especially of educating the poorer classes of society.

The Brothers of the Christian Schools, or Christian Brothers (to give them the name by which they are commonly known), is the best known of these institutes. They were founded by St. John Baptist de la Salle (1681–84) and have since served as a model for many other societies of the same nature. Before the founder's time there had been several similar attempts, notably that of St. Joseph Calasanz, none of which was so successful. The success of the Christian Brothers is due, no doubt, in the first place to the sanctity of their founder, his wonderful power of initiative, the excellence of his educational methods, and the wisdom and solidity of the constitutions that he gave to his congregation. At his death in 1719, in spite of the opposition of the Jansenists, schoolmasters, and others, his institute numbered 274 brothers and possessed 27 houses and 122 schools with about 10,000 pupils. It spread rapidly beyond France and founded primary schools, schools for the arts and crafts, agricultural schools, orphanages, and young men's societies in England, Ireland, Italy, Spain, Austria, Africa, the United States, and S. America. In 1904 there were 15,472 brothers, 2019 schools, and 326,000 students. The superior-general and his twelve assistants are elected by the general chapter, which is composed (besides the above) of the procurator-general, the secretary-general, the procurator of Rome, the provincial visitors, deputies from each district chosen by the professed members, and sometimes former superiors or assistants. The twelve assistants form the ruling authority and are placed over the different nations.

It is unnecessary to do more than mention the names of the other institutes of teaching brothers, since all are formed on the model of the Christian Brothers of St. John Baptist de la Salle, pursue the same object, and make use of the same methods. Among the principal are the Irish Christian Brothers (an independent foundation), the Brothers of the Society of Mary, or Marianists, in France, the Brothers of Christian Doctrine in Lorraine, the Brothers of Christian Instruction founded by Father Jean-Marie-Robert de Lamennais, the Brothers of St. Gabriel, and those of St. Vincent de Paul in France, the Josephites in Belgium, etc. For those congregations and for their bibliography cf. Heimbucher, iii. 356 ff.

ii. CONGREGATIONS OF RELIGIOUS WOMEN.—The greater number of the older orders have seen arise side by side with them foundations for women subject to the same Rule and inspired by the same spirit. Thus we have the Benedictine nuns, the Cistercians and Trappistines, Franciscans, Carmelites, Augustinians, and Recollects, besides the various orders of canonesses. These foundations are usually in close connexion with and dependent on the orders to which they are affiliated and, as far as the Rule and constitutions are concerned, possess no original characteristics of their own.[1] But from the 16th cent. onwards we find that, apart from certain institutes already referred to in treating of the Salesians, the White Fathers, and others, the greater number of sisterhoods or societies of religious women that have arisen since that period are entirely independent of any existing order of men. These institutes deserve a special place to themselves in the history of religious orders, since many of them owe their foundation to original ideas, and possess in their annals many an interesting page. But in an article like the present it is impossible to enter into a detailed history or even to give a complete list of these congregations; a few of the principal names must suffice.

1. **The Sisters of Wisdom** were founded in the year 1703 by Grignon de Montfort. Like the Sisters of Charity,[1] they devote themselves to the education of the poorer classes, to the service of hospitals, and to every work of mercy. In number about 5400, they are to be found in nearly every one of the Christian nations. The centre of their congregation is at St. Laurent-sur-Sèvres.

2. **Sisters of Evron.**—This institute was founded in the 17th cent. at Evron in the department of Mayenne, France. Their work is chiefly the education of children, but they also look after the sick.

3. **The Sisters of Nevers** were founded in the 17th cent. by a Benedictine monk, J. B. de Laveyne. They devote themselves to the care of the sick and to the education of poor children. The institute numbers about 2200 sisters.

4. **The Sisters of the Good Shepherd** were founded in the 17th century. The congregation was re-organized at Angers by Marie de Ste. Euphrasie Pelletier and possesses houses of refuge for women and young girls. In 1906 they had 248 houses and 7400 members.

The beginning of the 19th cent. witnessed a wonderful increase in new foundations of religious women. We give here some of the most important.

5. **The Sisters of Nazareth** were founded in 1820 by Madame de la Rochefoucauld. They are an institute of teaching and nursing sisters. They have houses in France, Palestine, and Syria.

6. **The Little Sisters of the Poor** were founded at St. Servan in Brittany for the care of the poor and of the aged. In 1906 they had 5400 members occupied with the care of more than 40,000 sick or old people, in 290 hospitals.

7. **The Society of the Sacred Heart of Jesus** was founded by Madame Barat († 1865) in Paris and has 142 schools and 6500 members.

8. **The Sisters of St. Joseph of Cluny** were founded for the education of young girls and poor children by Madame A. M. Javouhey. In 1886 they had more than 300 houses (several of which are situated in missionary countries) and 4000 members.

For all those congregations cf. Heimbucher, iii. 370 ff., 555 ff.

VIII. *ORGANIZATION.*—1. **Internal organization.**—The constitutional history of the religious orders may be divided into two periods: (1) the 3rd to the 13th cent., and (2) the 13th to the 20th century.

(1) In the first period religious life presents an aspect of great simplicity and appears in only two distinct forms or types—the hermits, who lived alone, and the cenobites, who lived in community. Somewhat later we find certain forms of religious life in which the eremitical and the cenobitical elements were combined—*e.g.*, the Camaldolese, Carthusians, and Vallombrosians. The canons, especially in the earlier part of their history, are hardly to be distinguished from the monks (cenobites), at least as far as their constitution is concerned. The military orders form a

[1] We have drawn attention above (p. 707a) to certain exceptions—*e.g.*, the nuns of Fontevrault, the Brigittines, etc.

[1] For the Sisters of Charity see above, p. 708b.

class apart. They came into existence, moreover, only towards the end of this period, and may be regarded as an exceptional form of religious life. Hence it may be said that, during the first nine or ten centuries of its existence, the religious state was characterized by its uniformity. We find everywhere the same life either under the monastic (eremitical or cenobitical) or under the canonical rule. There are, as yet, no distinct 'orders' or congregations; each monastery forms, with its superior and various officials, a unit of its own, autonomous and independent of any higher monastic authority. The first attempt to unite monasteries together in a kind of federation was made in the 9th cent. by St. Benedict of Aniane.[1] But it was unsuccessful and can hardly be regarded as even the beginnings of a congregation. Cluny, in the 11th cent., had more success, and united those monasteries which accepted its reform in a very close union under the supreme authority of the abbot of Cluny as head of the 'order.' Under this authority the autonomy of the monasteries—of those, at least, that depended directly on the great abbey — almost completely disappeared. The reform of Cîteaux was inspired by a principle of centralization differing from that of Cluny, but tending towards the same result. The close union of monastery with monastery was assured by means of a hierarchical organization that submitted some houses to the authority of others, while the unity of the whole order was guaranteed by the institution of general chapters, visitors, and a superior-general. This tendency towards centralization continued and increased from the 13th to the 20th century.

(2) The second period presents certain new characteristics. In substance the religious life remains the same as in the earlier period, but new forms begin to arise. We have now the foundation of the mendicant orders, or friars, whose life is very different from that of the monks. The clerks regular, again, who came into being in the 16th cent., differ as much from the friars as the latter from the monks. Certain congregations founded during the period from the 16th to the 20th cent. —*e.g.*, the Sulpicians, Oratorians, and the various missionary societies—form a new class distinct from the clerks regular. The congregations of religious women founded independently of any of the existing orders of men are a still more striking development of the religious state. The tendency to centralization is emphasized more and more during the course of this period of history. The friars have a superior-general, general chapters, visitors, provincials. The monastery, which in the preceding period represented the unit of monastic organization, loses all autonomy. The superior of each convent is elected, generally speaking, every three years. Often the nomination of the officials, or at least of some of them, is not in his hands. He is, in fact, but the representative (and that for only a short period) of an authority whose seat is elsewhere. The 'religious' themselves are not permanently attached to any one house, but can be sent from one to another of the houses of the order. These houses are united to form a province under the authority of a provincial. The various provinces united together form the order, which is governed by a superior-general and a general chapter, composed, in most cases, of the provincials and delegates elected by each province. The centralizing process reached its perfection in the 16th cent. with the Society of Jesus (see art. JESUITS), which has served, at least in its general outlines, as a model for a great many religious orders and has even been adopted to a certain extent by some of the older orders.

At the same time, it must be remarked that this law of centralization was not absolute, and it must not be forgotten that at this time certain societies were founded—*e.g.*, the Sulpicians or Oratorians—in which the bonds of union between the different communities were, as in earlier times, of a more or less elastic nature. Besides this, the general tendency towards centralization did not exclude another tendency which, at first sight, would seem to be opposed to it—namely, the tendency to develop new forms of religious life. This is, in fact, one of the most striking characteristics of the period with which we are concerned.

Down to the 13th cent., as we have already seen, all 'religious' were either monks or canons, the latter scarcely differing at all in their mode of life from the former. In each monastery a similar life was lived and practically the same Rule was followed, and yet, thanks to that autonomy which was the law of primitive monasticism, each monastery (especially before the new state of affairs introduced by Cluny and Cîteaux) possessed its own special physiognomy. The foundation of 'orders' like the Camaldolese, the Carthusians, the Vallombrosians, and the orders of Fontevrault and of Cîteaux brought new ideas into the old conception of religious life. The hospitallers, military orders, and mendicant orders (Dominicans and Franciscans) accentuated still more the growing tendency to variety, so much so that a reaction took place, and councils and popes in the 13th cent. issued decrees forbidding all further foundations[1]—a vain attempt. The movement was too strong; first one, then another new order—the Carmelites leading—forced the hand of authority and obtained recognition, in spite of the decrees of councils and of popes.

From the 16th cent. onwards the older forms of religious life seem to have sunk into the background, and hardly a quarter of a century goes by without the foundation of a new order corresponding to every separate need of society. There are orders whose object is to combat the attacks of heresy, orders for the education of youth, orders for the care of the sick, preaching orders, missionary orders, etc. In the 19th cent. it seems as though every sluice-gate had been opened to the flood, and the multiplication of orders attained to such a pitch that fresh attempts were made at the Vatican Council to set a limit to this love of novelty. At the same time efforts were made to amalgamate different religious families having the same object and to reunite those which had been divided into different branches. Hence we see that the tendency (perhaps excessive) towards centralization was counterbalanced by a tendency equally strong towards an excess of individualism.

2. Laws.—The laws of each religious order are to be found in a species of code known as the Rule. We have already discussed in art. MONASTICISM the origin of the monastic Rules. The chief Rules are those of St. Basil, St. Benedict, that attributed to St. Augustine, and that of St. Francis. These four may be regarded as the source from which all later Rules have been derived and the greater number of religious orders have adopted one or other of them. But, since they are usually somewhat general in character—*e.g.*, the Rule of St. Augustine—or because it has become necessary to modify some of their prescriptions, each order or congregation possesses in addition to the Rule its own special usages called 'Constitutions,' which

[1] For those attempts and for the origin of the congregations cf. U. Berlière, 'Les Chapitres généraux de l'Ordre St. Benoit avant le IVe concile de Latran (1215),' 'Les Chapitres généraux O.S.B. du XIIIe au XVe siècle,' in *Revue Bénédictine*, viii. [1891] 255–264, ix. [1892] 545–557, xviii. [1901] 364–398, xix. [1902] 88–75, 268–278, 374–411, xxii. [1905] 377 ff.

[1] The 4th Lateran Council (1215) and the 2nd Council of Lyons (1274).

have the force of law. It is these constitutions, in reality, that give to each order its special characteristics; hence to attempt a classification according to Rules is not practical. The best-known constitutions are those of the Dominicans, the Carmelites, the Capuchins, the Theatines, and the Jesuits.

3. **Dress and costumes.**[1]—It might be said with some justice that the existence of the various tendencies above referred to could be gathered from the history of the costume of the religious orders alone. From the earliest days a special dress was worn by those leading the religious life, and this soon became traditional. It consisted of a tunic, girdle, scapular with hood, and a cowl, stockings, and sandals; sometimes a kind of breeches were also worn. All these garments were of an inferior quality (see art. MONASTICISM). Naturally, considerable variety existed with regard to shape and colour. This costume was the rule for many centuries and remains so still for the older monastic orders, having undergone but slight changes and modifications in the course of time. The mendicant orders adopted the monastic dress in part—tunic, girdle, scapular, and hood, cowl, or mantle—but attached perhaps greater importance to the details of shape and colour than the early monks. It was the colour of their habit that often gave to these 'religious' the name by which they were popularly known. Thus the Carmelites were known as the White Friars, from the white mantle which they wore; while the Dominicans, who wore a black mantle, were called Black Friars. In our own day we have the White Fathers, as the missionary fathers of Algeria are called; while the Cellitines bear the name of Black Sisters, and the Beguines are called Grey Sisters or Blue Sisters, after the colour of their habit. Sometimes it is the shape of part of the habit that provides the distinctive title. Thus, as already mentioned, the Capuchins are so called from the special shape of the hood worn by them, the Friars of the Sack from the sack-like form and stuff of their dress.

Some orders attribute the special form and colour of their habit to a divine vision, as, *e.g.*, the Order of Mercy. Again, the return to a more strict observance of the Rule outwardly symbolized by the practice of going barefoot has given the title of 'Discalced' to the reform in the Carmelite order for men and women, and to a number of other orders or divisions of orders.

The military orders adopted a costume that was more in keeping with their character and only distantly related to that worn by the monks, with whom, however, they were connected by their rule of life. It was quite an innovation when the clerks regular, in the 16th cent., forsook the monastic habit together with so many other monastic observances and adopted the costume of the secular clergy.

With regard to the nuns and sisters, those who belonged to the older orders adopted, as was but natural, a form of the habit worn by the monks or friars. The later and modern congregations have, on the other hand, too often allowed themselves to be guided by mere fancy, apart from all tradition. On this point, it is said, the Vatican Council had also intended to introduce a reform.

IX. *ACTIVITY: SCIENTIFIC, LITERARY, SOCIAL, ECONOMIC; SERVICES RENDERED BY THE RELIGIOUS ORDERS, DIFFERENT WORKS.* — We have already seen in art. MONASTICISM that the monks had no special object in entering that state of life beyond their desire to lead a life in closer conformity with the spirit of the gospel. But by force of circumstances and from the fact that both manual and intellectual work had from the beginning a special place in monastic life, they were led to develop their external activity and thus to exercise considerable influence on society at large. The monastery became in most cases a centre of civilization as well as of religious life and often a flourishing city rose up around it. Many monasteries had their schools of literature, and of grammar, their song-schools, and their schools for the arts and crafts. Libraries that often became famous were formed in the cloister. It was in the monasteries that MSS were copied and preserved. Thus they were for centuries a refuge for the sciences and the arts. The clearing of forests, the making of roads, bridges, and canals, the cultivation of the wide lands that belonged to them—all this was the work of the monks. It was in the cloister, too, that the great missionaries who went forth to conquer the pagan world for Christ were trained—Augustine, Boniface, Adalbert, Anschar, and many others.

In the 13th cent. the social influence of the monastic order, which had begun to decline, passed to the newly-founded mendicant orders. The latter came into being at a period when Christian society, disturbed and upset by the errors of the Albigenses and other heretics, had begun its process of disintegration. Their object was precisely to arrest this process—in the case of the Dominicans, by means of preaching, and teaching in the schools; in the case of the Franciscans, by means of a living example of evangelical poverty and by the exercise of the sacred ministry among the people. The Carmelites, the Augustinians, and the other orders that rose between the 13th and 15th centuries had their part also in this good work. Other orders founded about this time had a more special object in view: for the Order of Mercy and the Trinitarians this was the redemption of the Christian captives taken by the Moors; for the military orders, the protection of pilgrims to the Holy Land and the war to be waged against the forces of Islām; for the hospitallers, the care of travellers, the poor, the sick, and those stricken with leprosy. In the 16th cent., and onwards till the 19th, the activity of the religious orders was extended still further. The Jesuits set forth to fight the battles of the Church with all her foes, by means of their preaching, their schools, and their spiritual direction. The Oratorians, the Sulpicians, the Eudists, and the Lazarists devote themselves more especially to the education of the clergy. The Theatines, the Barnabites, the Passionists, and the Redemptorists show them the example of an austere and holy life, and assist them in the sacred ministry. The missionary societies are spread abroad in every quarter of the globe, to bear the teaching of the gospel to the heathen nations. The teaching brothers and sisters give themselves to the education of the poorer classes of society—each order or congregation has its part to fulfil in the carrying out of the Church's mission on earth.

We may give here a résumé of the services rendered to religion and society by the religious orders. The mission work and that of preaching and teaching, carried out in the earlier period almost exclusively by the monks, the canons, and the secular clergy, is from the 13th cent. in the hands of the mendicant orders—the Dominicans, Franciscans, and others founded at that time. From the 16th cent. the clerks regular, the religious congregations, and missionary societies — Jesuits, Lazarists, Assumptionists, the Fathers of the Holy Ghost, etc.—extended far and wide the domains of the Church. It was especially in the 19th cent.

[1] P. Hélyot and V. Philippon de la Madelaine, *Hist. complète et costumes des ordres monastiques, religieux et militaires*, 8 vols., Paris, 1839–42; cf. also Hélyot and Bonanni, *opp. citt.*

that the missionary movement began to spread. It is estimated that in 1792 of every 557 men 174 were Christians. At the present day for the same number the proportion is 186 Christians. This progress is due to the activity of the missionaries.[1] Out of 18,000 missionaries 15,000 belong to different religious orders. Besides these must be reckoned 120 congregations of women with 53,000 sisters, of whom 10,000 are natives.[2] During the period of their prosperity the monasteries served as schools for children and youths. The 12th cent. saw the foundation of the universities, which soon gathered round their chairs of learning students from every part of Christendom. In these universities, after a long and violent conflict, the Dominicans, Franciscans, and Carmelites succeeded in gaining a foothold and became renowned for the brilliancy of their teaching. In the 16th cent. the Jesuits, especially as regards teaching in the secondary schools, are found at the head of the movement, while the societies of teaching brothers take up the work of teaching the children of the poor the elements of learning and the various trades. Other societies, again, like the Sulpicians or Eudists, are founded for the education of the clergy, and the congregations of women that continually arise devote themselves to that of young girls.

Study, the copying of MSS, and literary work of every description remain, to a great extent, the prerogative of the monks, but, as time goes on, the new orders of mendicant friars, and, later still, the clerks regular dispute this prerogative with them. Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, Augustinians, Jesuits, Oratorians, Sulpicians, Barnabites, and Redemptorists — all these can quote among their members the names of theologians, historians, critics, mystical writers, and savants of outstanding merit.

Special orders or congregations are founded to preach the Word of God to the country people, too long neglected, or to the poorer population of the cities and towns—the Lazarists of St. Vincent de Paul, the Oratorians of St. Philip Neri, the Piarists, the Barnabites, the Redemptorists, the Passionists, etc.

From the 11th cent. onwards it is chiefly works of charity that absorb the activity of the religious orders. Full justice has been done to the work of mercy carried on in early times by the monasteries and to the liberal hospitality shown to pilgrims and travellers in the guest-houses and hostelries that abounded along all the roads leading to the important places of pilgrimage, such as St. James of Compostella, Rocamadour, Rome, etc., and which marked out the various stages on the way and were to be found especially near bridges and ferries.[3] Besides these there were houses of refuge, leper-houses, and other charitable establishments that depended on the monasteries, and abundant alms in money or in kind were regularly distributed at the monastery gates. To give one example alone: we find in the *Monasticon Anglicanum* and the *Notitia Monastica* a list of about 115 leper-houses in England and Scotland.[4] The 11th cent. and the centuries that follow up to the 15th, with the foundation of the orders of hospitallers already spoken of and of the 'Maisons-Dieu,' the 'Hôtels-Dieu,' the leper-houses, and other charitable institutions, form together a glorious chapter in the history of Christian charity.[5] But it is especially from the 16th cent. onwards that the activity of the religious orders in works of charity is seen at its greatest and is found ready to cope with almost every ill that human nature is heir to. Vincent de Paul, Camillus de Lellis, and John of God are counted among the greatest benefactors of the human race. As an example we may notice that the Brothers of St. John of God, popularly recognized in Italy as the 'Fate bene fratelli' or 'Benfratelli,' who, besides the ordinary vows of religion, bound themselves by a fourth vow to care for the sick throughout life, possessed from the 17th cent. and in the generalate of Granada alone 138 hospitals with 4140 beds, while in that of Rome they had 155 hospitals with 7210 beds.

In the province of charity the congregations of women exercise a more important office even than the orders of men. In 1904 the statistics give us 457,000 sisters throughout the world devoted to works of mercy—in charge of orphanages, homes, hospitals, houses of refuge for penitents and Magdalens, infant asylums, homes for the old, for consumptives, and for lepers, and many besides who are occupied with the service of prisons.[1]

This is a very incomplete résumé of the manifold activity of the religious orders, but the subject, to be fully treated, would require volumes.[2]

LITERATURE.—P. Hélyot and M. Bullot, *Hist. des ordres monastiques, religieux et militaires*, 8 vols., Paris, 1860 (orig. ed. 1714–19); the same as a dictionary: *Dictionnaire des ordres religieux*, ed. M. L. Badiche, 4 vols., do. 1858–59 (forming ser. i. vols. XX.–XXIII. of J. P. Migne, *Encyclopédie théologique*, Paris, 1844–66); M. Heimbucher, *Die Orden und Kongregationen der katholischen Kirche*[2], 3 vols., Paderborn, 1907–08, i. 71–84, 'Literatur über die Orden und Kongregationen'; *cf.* literature in art. MONASTICISM; W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, new ed., 6 vols., London, 1817–30; L. Holste and M. Brockie, *Codex Regularum monasticarum et canonicarum*, 6 vols., Augsburg, 1759; C. de Smedt, *Introd. generalis ad Hist. Eccles.*, Ghent, 1876, ch. v. 'de Documentis et Scriptis circa hist. monasticam'; H. J. Wetzer and B. Welte, *Kirchenlexikon*[2], ed. J. Hergenröther and F. Kaulen, 12 vols., Freiburg i. B., 1882–1903, *s.vv.* 'Orden,' 'Congregationen,' 'Ordensregel,' 'Ordensgelübde'; *CE*, *s.v.* 'Religious Life'; M. Verhoeven, *De Regularium et sæcularium clericorum juribus et officiis Liber singularis*, Louvain, 1846; De Buck-Tinnebroeck, *Examen historicum et canonicum libri R. D. Verhoeven*, Ghent, 1847; A. Vermeersch, *De religiosis institutis et personis*, 2 vols., Bruges, 1907–09; A. Mater, *L'Église catholique, sa constitution, son administration*, Paris, 1906, p. 205 ff.; P. Flaminio Annibali da Latera, *Compendio della storia degli ordini regolari existenti*, Rome, 1790; G. P. Fontana, *Storia degli ordini monastici, religiosi e militari e delle congregazione secolari dell' uno e l'altro sesso*, etc., Lucca, 1737 (tr. of Hélyot); Filippo Bonanni, *Catalogo degli ordini religiosi della chiesa militante*, Rome, 1712; *Hist. du clergé séculier et régulier, des congrégations de chanoines et de clercs*, . . . new ed., following Bonanni, Hermann, Hélyot, and others, 4 vols., Amsterdam, 1716.

F. CABROL.

RELIGIOUS ORDERS (Indian).—The religious orders in general are already partly treated in artt. ASCETICISM (Hindu), HINDUISM, MONASTICISM (Hindu), and some of the different orders in artt. AJIVIKAS, JAINISM, PATIMOKKHA, etc.; the doctrines which feed the religious life of the 'friars' are studied in such artt. as BHAGAVAD-GITA, BHAKTI-MARGA, JÑANA-MARGA, ŚAIVISM, VAISNAVISM, while the artt. AUSTERITIES, FASTING (Introductory and non-Christian), YOGI, DRAVIDIANS (N. India), vol. v. p. 16, etc., describe some of the outward features of this life.

The aim of the present article, therefore, is to draw up a general scheme. While avoiding the technicalities and especially the intricate and innumerable details of modern institutions, it is possible to state the most important features of asceticism as organized in the religious brotherhoods, and the most remarkable steps in this organization.

I. *'FAQĪRISM.'*—1. **Crude asceticism.**—The chief

1 *Hist. polit. Blätter*, CXXX. [1902] 911 ff.
2 Cf. Heimbucher, i. 62.
3 Cf. *Revue des questions historiques*, lx. [1896] 95 ff.
4 Cf. L. Lallemand, *Hist. de la charité*, Paris, 1902–06, iii. 241.
5 Cf. *ib.*, where numerous proofs of this wonderful activity in works of charity are given. See also art. CHARITY, ALMSGIVING (Christian).

1 Heimbucher, i. 62 ff.
2 A. L. Cauchy, *Considérations sur les ordres religieux*, Paris, 1844; J. M. Prat, *Essai hist. sur la destruction des ordres religieux en France au XVIIIe siècle*, do. 1845; G. Palma, 'Discorso in difesa degli ordini religiosi,' in *Annali delle scienze religiose*, 1st ser., iii. [1835] 406.

element—the raw material—of the Indian religious life is what we may conveniently style 'faqīrism.' This word is of course modern and its technical meaning is precise,[1] but it seems an appropriate term to summarize the crude ascetic, mystical, and orgiastic beliefs and practices which, as far back as our information goes, have been characteristic of the Indian people. Such beliefs and practices may be traced in almost all primitive civilizations.[2] Outside of India they have been crushed or chastened to a large extent by the progress of social life or of a religion which found its leading motives in ideas more human and more truly religious than a bare asceticism.[3] In India, on the contrary, the ascetic tendencies underwent an enormous development owing to certain climatic and racial circumstances, and, moreover, they were one of the chief factors of the religions and philosophies themselves. From time to time throughout history spiritual leaders succeeded in organizing and moralizing these tendencies, constructing 'theosophic' or devotional theories of no mean moral and spiritual value; but the starting-point of those theories is often to be found in raw asceticism. The Buddhist — the Jain or the Tridaṇḍin — is a philosopher, but he is also a chastened *faqīr*. The morbid devotee who practises catalepsy on the cross-roads for a living is the prototype of the Vedāntist who sinks his soul into the universal Self, and of the Buddhist monk, the *arhat*, who enjoys the meditations leading to *nirvāṇa*. To put it otherwise, the sorcerer, the saint, and the god form a continuous chain; all saints are ascetics and thaumaturges: Śiva is a penitent; the androgynous Śiva embodies the most morbid form of asceticism. It is certain that the religious leaders were able to educate a large number of professional devotees; but many ascetics remained outside the great orders and formed only lax associations for begging or not much more. Nowadays, even when he is backed up by a Church and professes to be a member of an order endowed with a literature and with half-divine and infallible *gurus*, the ordinary 'friar' is too often a man of a low intellectual level. His literary or doctrinal knowledge is frequently confined to a few *mantras*, or formulas; his sectarian peculiarities (form of dress, amulets, etc.) are not much more than a pretence or a mark of distinction. It is safe to infer that this state of things is an old one.

The Indian orders are apt to split up and to degenerate. The old crude faqīrism is eternal and really unmodifiable. When we compare the data to be found in the Buddhist *Piṭakas*, in the Jain *Aṅgas*, and in the Greek sources with mediæval and modern descriptions, we are struck by the constant recurrence of the (1) penitential (*tapas*), (2) mystical (*yoga*), and (3) orgiastic (*puṣṭimārga*, 'salvation through dalliance') practices.

The earliest references that we possess to ascetic mystical practices have been studied by A. Barth and H. Oldenberg. The long-haired ascetic, or *muni*, naked or dressed in rags of reddish colour, is 'possessed with the gods,' and, inversely, the god Sun is once celebrated under the aspect of a *muni*.[4]

'Here we have a living picture of the orgiastic outbreaks of the old Vedic world, still confined as they are in the narrow limits of Shamanism, not yet purified by the aspiration to the final deliverance.'[5]

(*a*) *Tapas*.—The 'religieux' of the old and of the new times is often a penitent (*tāpasa*) who indulges in extreme mortifications, or in morbid self-torture or mutilation—*e.g.*, the Bahikathas, feeding on excrements (Aghorīs), holding the arms or the face upright until paralyzed;[1] imitating the cow, the horse, the dog, or the rook[2] (*govrata*,[3] *aśvavrata*, *kukkuṭavrata*, *kākavrata*).

Tapas culminates in suicide—a common practice in ancient times. While the Brāhmans forbid suicide as a religious act, they nevertheless admit it as an atonement for certain sins.[4] With the non-Brāhmans suicide, by starvation, drowning, fire, or exposure, is a regular way of salvation.[5] See also artt. ASCETICISM (Hindu), AUSTERITIES, FASTING (Introductory and non-Christian).

(*b*) *Yoga*.[6]—Mystical devices, comprehended under the general name of *yoga*, are as a rule associated with *tapas* or, at least, with a semi-penitential life. There are a number of *āsanas*, 'modes of sitting,' attitudes of the lower part of the body, and of *mudrās*, attitudes of the upper part of the body. In the *khecharī mudrā* the ascetic inserts his reverted tongue into the gullet, while fixing the gaze between the eyebrows. There are many devices to induce trance—protracted rigidity of body, fixity of look, repetition of strange sets of formulas, counting the respiration or stopping it (*prāṇāyāma*).

(*c*) *Makāras*.—On the orgiastic side of faqīrism, the use for 'religious' purposes of the five *makāras*—the five things the name of which begins with *m* (meat, fish, alcohol, copulation, and *mudrās*)—we are only too well enlightened as regards mediæval and modern times; but we are rather in the dark as to old Hinduism. With the Jains (*q.v.*), before their reformation by Naṭaputta, and with the Ājīvikas (*q.v.*), continence was not one of the obligations of the ascetic. There are unmistakable signs that the unmorality of the modern Śāktas is not a new development. In the days of Patañjali (2nd cent. B.C.) the violence of the fanatical devotees was already a proverb; in the *Mṛchchhakaṭikā* 'nun,' or *religieuse* (*gosāvī*), is a synonym of 'harlot' (*veśyā*). The motto, 'Omnia sancta sanctis,' had many followers.[7]

By penance and trance a devotee obtains important advantages and is supposed to obtain some still more important ones.

(1) This mode of life, not always very uncomfortable, assures a living. No one will refuse alms to an ascetic mendicant. Further, the ascetic is able to render many services, either of white or of black magic. The mass of the ascetics practised the 'low arts' which are enumerated in the Buddhist *suttas* as unworthy of a monk.[8] The list is a long one and is as valuable for modern times as it is for ancient.[9]

(2) A religious mendicant, especially when

[1] See art. DERVISH; H. Yule and A. C. Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson: a Glossary of Anglo-Indian Colloquial Words and Phrases*, London, 1886, *s.v.* 'Fakeer.' One of the earliest references (1653) describes the *faqīrs* as 'une espèce de religieux indou qui foulent le monde aux pieds et ne s'habillent que de haillons qu'ils ramassent dans les rues.'

[2] See art. INITIATION (Introductory and Primitive).

[3] See art. MONASTICISM, vol. viii. p. 786 f.; the obligation of work, study, and active charity is fully recognized by the Western monk.

[4] *Rigveda*, viii. 17, 59, x. 136.

[5] See A. Barth, *Quarante Ans d'indianisme*, Paris, 1914, i. 42; H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, Berlin, 1914, French tr. by V. Henry, Paris, 1903, p. 344 f.

[1] See Strabo, xv. i. 61, 63; art. HINDUISM, vol. vi. p. 701[b], on the Ūrdhvabāhus, Nakhin, Ākāśamukhin, Bhūmimukhin.

[2] See *Mahāniddeśa*, p. 29; *Majjhima*, i. 78, 388 (K. E. Neumann, *Gotamo Buddho's Reden*, Leipzig, 1896–1900, i. 124, ii. 78); *Mahābhārata*, v. 99. 14, v. 121 *fin.*

[3] Cf. the βοσκοί. [4] Āpastamba, i. 25.

[5] Strabo, xv. i. 68, 73; Plutarch, *Alexander*, lxix. See artt. JAINISM, KEDĀRNĀTH.

[6] R. Garbe, *Sāṃkhya und Yoga* (*GIAP*), Strassburg, 1896; W. Hopkins, 'Yoga,' *JAOS* xxii. [1901] 333; Rai Bahadur Śrīś Chandra Vasu, *Yogaśāstra*, Allahābād, 1915 (*Śivasamhitā*, *Gheraṇḍasamhitā*); *Yogāvachāra-Manual*, London (PTS), 1896, tr. F. L. Woodward, *Manual of a Mystic*, PTS translation ser., no. 6, 1915.

[7] Barth, p. 181; see also R. Schmidt, *Beiträge zur indischen Erotik*, Leipzig, 1902, p. 740 ff. For the earliest references, somewhat doubtful, to women leading a wandering religious life see Barth, p. 81.

[8] *Dialogues of the Buddha*, tr. T. W. Rhys Davids, London, 1899, i. 15 ff.

[9] See art. KARĀ-LIṄGĪS.

qualified in penitential observances, in ecstatic devices, or in thaumaturgic formulas, is supposed to possess magical powers — the *ṛddhis* of the Buddhists or the *siddhis* of the classical *yoga*, elsewhere *bhūtis*.[1] He was able to communicate with all sorts of supernatural beings, male and female. He was assured of a happy rebirth, as a god or a demon. But Śākyamuni states that by the 'practice of the cow' (*govrata*) a man is reborn, not as a god, but as a cow.

2. The task of the religious leaders.—This was in short (1) to group ascetics under a certain rule of life, and (2) to give a spiritual meaning to the ascetic, mystical, and orgiastic practices.

(1) We possess no information as to the earliest steps towards the organization of the orders. All the evidence points to the conclusion that religious non-Brāhmanic bodies had been flourishing for a long time when Indian history begins with the Jina and the Buddha. The former was only the reformer of an existing brotherhood and the latter adopted from the non-Buddhists some of the most important rules of the cenobitic life (fortnightly meetings, etc.). A dogma of both Jains and Buddhists is that there have been in the past a number of Jinas and Buddhas; this dogma is historically true.

(2) While a mendicant, who was hitherto his own master, has to become a member of an organized body, to undergo a novitiate, to submit himself to the authority of a fixed rule or of the elders (*thera, thaira*), he is expected to become at the same time a 'philosopher' who strives towards a supernatural goal. Penance, trance, and even the *makāras* are turned by the spiritual leaders into means of spiritual progress.

Some leaders try to check the exaggeration of penance and ecstasy and prohibit the *makāras*; others systematically approve of the most morbid form of asceticism. Nevertheless, the general standpoint of the leaders may be illustrated by two instances: (i.) the gods were scared by the penances and the pious deeds of the future Buddha, fearing that he would dethrone them by the magical power which was the natural fruit of such penances and deeds. The future Buddha comforted them: a saint does not care for 'secular' advantages; his only aim is *nirvāṇa*. (ii.) The 'mystic' discipline is twofold—*rājayoga*, an intellectual theosophy, and *haṭhayoga*, a theurgy or mechanical theosophy in which medicine and trance are mixed. The former represents the loftier side of Indian mysticism, and is the work of the thinkers; the latter embodies the immemorial tradition of the ascetics.

A few topics may be mentioned. (*a*) Ancient Brāhmanism regarded penance as a method of atonement for sin, and Jainism strongly emphasized this view, which is a general one. With the Buddhists penance, either moderate or severe, is expected to crush desire. With the devotional sects one pleases the gods by self-torture.[2] (*b*) As concerns trance, a Brāhman employs in the *grand œuvre* of 'deliverance in this life'[3] the very devices through which a *faqīr* induces trance and obtains magical powers. Since the immanent Absolute dwells in the heart, an ascetic might 'draw the self from the non-self' and concentrate his individual soul in the real soul. With the Buddhists trance does not directly work out *nirvāṇa*, but it is none the less necessary; in order to be really efficacious, it must be 'without content.' With the devotional sects the devotee realizes during trance a transitory union (*yoga*) with his god, a foretaste of heavenly happiness. (*c*) As concerns the *makāras*, no moral distinction can be made between, on the one hand, the Tantric (*śākta*, left hand) ceremonies, whether Buddhist,[4] Śaivite,[5] or Vaiṣnavite,[1] which aim at the identification of the ascetic (*yogin*) with the god—by intercourse with a *mudrā*, a female, who, through 'baptism' (*abhiṣeka*) or 'marks' (*nyāsa*), has been transformed into a Bhagavatī (a female Buddha), into Bhairavī, into Rādhā, a Buddhist becomes the Buddha Vajrasattva, a Śaivite becomes Bhairava, a Vaiṣnavite becomes Kṛṣna—and, on the other hand, the gross rites which have as female protagonists the fanatical girls known as 'mothers,' *yoginīs, dākinīs*, etc. But the Tantric ceremonies are looked upon as a 'path to deliverance': the orgy is a sacred orgy; moreover, we are told that some of the ascetics addicted to that 'worship' interpret even the most shocking obscenities of their books in an allegorical way.[2]

II. *ANCIENT BRĀHMANIC ASCETICISM.*[3]—The Brāhman asceticism was influenced by the established ideas on penance, but it remained foreign and hostile to faqīrism. While it did not directly give birth to religious orders properly so called, it developed both the type of the Indian friar and, as far as the earlier period is concerned, the leading ideas of the religious life.

In short, the *brahmachārin* is the type of the Buddhist novice, *śrāmaṇera*, and the *sannyāsin* ('apotactite') is the type of the *bhikṣu* (Kern). On the other hand, the goal aimed at by the Brāhman ascetics (*nirvāṇa*, liberation from the sufferings of individual existence, identification with the Absolute) became, *mutatis mutandis*, the goal of the Buddhists and of the earliest orders.

The Vedo-Brāhmanic religion inherited from an early date both the ceremony of initiation (*q.v.*)—preliminary to marriage and to the exercise of the rights of a member of the clan—and the rules stating the duties of the youth to be initiated. The young Ārya had to remain some years in the house of a preceptor (*guru*) as a servant and as a student in the sacred lore (hence his name *brahmachārin*); he begged his food, avoided certain articles of diet, and practised continence. The last feature is important, and the very term for novitiate or studentship (*brahmacharya*) comes to mean continence and, in the time of Śākyamuni, religious life.[4]

When the speculations on rebirth and deliverance from rebirth were ripe, continence was regarded not only as the way to heaven, but as the best means of deliverance from death. While old men, after having paid their debts to the gods (by sacrifice) and to the dead (by the birth of a son), abandoned secular life (*sannyāsin*) in order to reach holiness before dying, young men agreed to spend their whole life as *brahmacharins* in the house of their *guru*.[5] This house was a hermitage. There are in the *Mahābhārata*, in Śakuntalā, and in the *Harṣacharita*[6] beautiful pictures of the quiet retreats of the ὑλόβιοι.

In contrast with the settlements of hermits devoted to meditation together with moderate asceticism, and not averse to sacrifice, early Brāhmanism had 'penitent hermits' (*tāpasa*), the *munis* or *ṛṣis* of the *Mahābhārata*, either of priestly or of kingly parentage. The *munis* have abandoned sacrifice; they feed strictly on roots and fruit;

[1] See Garbe, *Sāṃkhya und Yoga*, p. 43; *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i. 88; art. MYSTICISM (Buddhist).

[2] Art. EXPIATION AND ATONEMENT (Hindu); J. Jolly, *Recht und Sitte* (*GIAP*), Strassburg, 1896, § 37; Oldenberg, *Religion des Veda*, French tr., p. 351.

[3] See art. JĪVANMUKTA.

[4] See, *e.g.*, L. de la Vallée Poussin, 'Une Pratique des Tantras,' *Onzième Congrès des Orientalistes*, Paris, 1899, i. 240.

[5] See, *e.g.*, the *Śrīchakra* or *Pūrṇābhiṣeka*.

[1] See, *e.g.*, the *Rāsmaṇḍalis* of the Vallabhāchāryas (*Hist. of the Sect of Mahārājas or Vallabhāchāryas in Western India*, Calcutta, 1865, where the proceedings of a famous trial in 1861 are to be found).

[2] See the *Gītagovinda*.

[3] See artt. ĀŚRAMA, MONASTICISM (Hindu), vol. viii. p. 804; *The Sacred Laws of the Āryas* (*SBE* ii. [1897] and xiv. [1882]), *The Institutes of Vishnu* (*SBE* vii. [1900]), and *The Laws of Manu* (*SBE* xxv. [1886]); H. Kern, tr. G. Huet, *Hist. du bouddhisme dans l'Inde*, Paris, 1901, ii. 1–22, *Manual of Indian Buddhism* (*GIAP*), Strassburg, 1896, p. 73 f.; A. Barth, *Quarante Ans*, i. 80; *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i. 210; Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, §§ 54 and 55.

[4] See *Paramatthajotikā*, ii., vol. i. p. 48.

[5] *Chāndogya*, ii. 2, 23.

[6] Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Harṣacharita*, tr. E. B Cowell and F. W Thomas, London, 1897, pp. xi, 161, 236.

they perform severe penances (the *tapas* properly so called, 'heat'), but they remain dignified and free from vulgar charlatanism.

There have been a number of Brāhmanical mendicants or wandering ascetics (*yati, bhikṣu, parivrājaka*), although we know only two associations of such men.[1] The law-books (in which is embodied the *smṛti*) regard this mode of life with little favour.

We possess a few details concerning the *jaṭilas, jaṭilakas*, or *dīrghajaṭa*, 'ascetics with matted hair,' who joined the Buddhist order when Śākyamuni proved his magical efficiency to them. Their Brāhmanical character is established inasmuch as they sacrificed to the fire.[2]

III. *RELIGIOUS ORDERS: GENERAL REMARKS.*—**1. Sects and orders.**—Apart from pure Brāhmanism—*i.e.* Brāhmanism freed from any tinge of Śaivism or Vaiṣṇavism, as it was at the beginning and as it has remained in certain circles—religious India is sectarian. On the whole (there are exceptions) each sect—a fluid group of the worshippers of a certain deity, or of a certain form of a deity—has its religious order, sometimes two or three religious orders. The *prima facie* view is that, in early times, the orders—*e.g.*, the Buddhist brotherhood—stood by themselves and had no intimate connexion with the mass of the people: a number of ascetics followed a certain discipline, both practical and doctrinal, and the good people who fed them were left to their own religious beliefs, a mixture of paganism and old inherited family, tribal, and trade rules. Such a view is not complete. It is true that, in the case of Buddhism or Jainism, the order came first, and the sect afterwards; and the same process was repeated through history more than once. But the leaders, the Buddha or the Jina, gathered adherents who did not join the order and who formed a body of laymen, a sect, whether Buddhist or Jain.[3] In contrast with the lax associations of wandering mendicants, like the modern Aghorīs, no organized monasticism could develop without being backed by a sect. The saints, especially the Master and his predecessors, the relics, the holy places, the symbols (tree, etc.), were the focus of a popular Buddhist devotion. The title of Rhys Davids' book, *Buddhist India*,[4] is somewhat misleading, for India, as a whole, has never been Buddhist, but the Buddhist sect has, for a long time, been one of the most important sects of India, and is really a Church.

If we are right on this point, we have to infer that the modern constitution of Indian sectarianism is really very old. There is a sect which finds its unity in the worship of a god, either a natural or mythological god (Śiva, Viṣṇu) or an euhemerist god (Buddha, Jina). The sect is divided into two sections: (1) the laymen, more or less initiated into the theology of the sect (*sampradāya, darśana, mata*), and (2) the ascetics, or *vairāgis*; some are hermits (*vānaprastha, ἀναχωρηταί, ἐρημῖται*); some lead a common life (*κοινόβιοι, maṭhdhārī*) in a convent (*vihāra, maṭha*), in the neighbourhood of a temple or a holy place as a rule; some wander from one *maṭha* to another, from one *chaitya* to another, from one place of pilgrimage to another (the Circumcelliones of the West).[5]

2. Evolution of the doctrines of the orders.—While emphasizing the permanent character of the Indian religious institutions—there is no great difference, from a certain standpoint, between the temple in the form of a *chaitya* and that in the form of a *liṅga*-shrine—it is necessary to avoid wild anachronism as well as pedantic chronology. The beliefs of the sects have not been completely modified; everywhere and always a certain monotheism, more or less devotional, kept asserting itself in spite of an overwhelming mythology and polylatry. It is quite unlikely that 'India fell asleep Vedic or atheist some centuries B.C. to awake devotional, Śaivite or Vaiṣṇavite some centuries later.'[1] But there has been a revolution in the leading ideas of the 'intellectuals' of the sects, *i.e.* of the ascetics. The institutions which we study (below, IV.) as 'ancient religious orders' are, as a rule, atheist; the Buddhist monk, like the Brāhman *sannyāsin* of old, aims at *nirvāṇa*, and he does not expect any help from any god or saint. Buddhism and Jainism, if the doctrines of the brotherhood only are taken into account, are not 'religions'; they are atheist paths of salvation,[2] like Sāṅkhya or Vedānta. With the mediæval or modern orders (below, V.) *bhakti*, an ardent devotion to a 'deity of election' (*iṣṭadevatā*), goes hand in hand with the doctrine of grace (*anugraha*).[3] The neo-Buddhism (see art. MAHĀYĀNA), contrasted with early Buddhism (see art. HĪNAYĀNA), illustrates the change: it aims at a rebirth in Sukhāvatī,[4] not at *nirvāṇa*, just as the devotee of Viṣṇu aims at a rebirth in Goloka, not at *brahmanirvāṇa* (losing oneself in the Absolute). But the idea of *nirvāṇa* has not altogether disappeared in neo-Buddhism, although it is kept in the background; and, in the same way, the monism or semi-monism (*advaita, viśiṣṭādvaita*) of the *Upaniṣad*-Vedānta schools furnishes the sects of *bhakti* with an esoteric or 'superior' theology.

3. Religious vows.—Of all the Indian orders, the Buddhists seem to have understood the nature of the religious life best. The theory of the vows in the *Abhidharmakośa* reminds us of Western theology.

A Buddhist is a man (or a woman) who has taken the vows of the religious life (*saṃvara*, 'restraint,' 'discipline'), *i.e.* who, after taking refuge in the Three Jewels (Buddha, *dharma, saṅgha*), has solemnly undertaken to live his whole life under the rule of Śākyamuni. The vows are either (1) the vows of a *bhikṣu* (the vows of a novice and of a nun are different in practice, but the same in kind), or (2) the vows of a layman (*upāsaka*) or laywoman (*upāsikā*): an *upāsaka* is not, as generally understood, a worshipper, but a 'religieux'; he is actually a member of the third order, a tertiary.

The *bhikṣu* binds himself to avoid all occasions of sin (*i.e.* of desire), and practises a mortification which develops the humility and the energy necessary to salvation. The *upāsaka* avoids the occasion of many sins and plants roots of merit which will ripen in a future life.[5] The difference between the two rules of life is characterized by the *saṃvara* on carnal desire: while the *bhikṣu* is absolutely continent and therefore remains untouched by the fire of passion, the *upāsaka* is to avoid only illicit love (*kāme mithyācāra*), either intercourse with an *agamyā* (neighbour's wife, nun, etc.) or illicit intercourse with his own wife.[6]

1 Pāṇini, iv. 3, 10, Karmandinas, Pārāśārinas.
2 *Vinaya Texts*, i. (*SBE* xiii. [1881] 124; *AMG* v. [1883] 128); *Aṅguttara*, iii. 276.
3 On the nature of the sect see Barth, *Quarante Ans*, p. 140; see also art. KHĀKĪS.
4 London, 1903. On Buddhist cult see Kern, tr. Huet, ii. 136–243; J. P. Minayeff, *Recherches sur le bouddhisme*, tr. from Russian, Paris, 1894, pp. 115–186.
5 For description of the *maṭha* see *ERE* viii. 803; for contrast of the resident monks (*mathdhārī*) with the itinerant, art. KHĀKĪS; for rules for the initiation of foreign monks, *ERE* viii. 74.

1 A remark often emphasized by A. Barth.
2 See L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Way to Nirvāṇa*, Cambridge, p. 1917.
3 See *Vajrachchhedikā*, § 2.
4 See *SBE* xlix. [1894], pt. ii. pp. 1, 161.
5 A *bhikṣu* follows the Ten Precepts (*ERE* vii. 820ᵃ). An *upāsaka* follows the first five of these precepts—the third, continence, being understood *mutatis mutandis*.
6 In *Paramatthajotikā*, ii. (vol. i. p. 43), the *sadārasantosana*, 'avoiding adultery,' is styled *brahmacharya*, 'continence.'

A point worthy of notice is that an *upāsaka* is expected to take the eight vows of an *upavāsastha* every fortnight, *i.e.* to live twenty-four hours as a monk (continence, not eating at a prohibited time, etc.).

The man who has taken the vows either of a *bhikṣu* or of an *upāsaka* is a 'disciplined one,' a 'restrained one' (*saṃvṛta*); he is not like other men, for the vows create the special sort of *karma* which is styled *avijnapti*.[1]

In Mahāyāna Buddhism the old organization of the order remains, theoretically at least, as it was; but a new *saṃvara*—the 'discipline of a future Buddha'[2]—comes to the front. *Bhikṣus* and *upāsakas* have to undertake the duties of a *bodhisattva*, *i.e.* to 'produce' the thought of becoming a Buddha and to practise the perfect virtues. Now, according to the dogma and the legends, a *bodhisattva* may be married; and it is a common fact that a man, after taking the vows of a *bhikṣu*, may 'exchange' these vows for the vows of a *bodhisattva* and marry. The consequence was that the Buddhist order in Nepāl—and partly at least in old Kaśmīr—became an order of married *bhikṣus*[3] (Banras, Gubharjus, Vajrāchāryas).

4. The Church and the State.—An important point in the history of the orders is the intervention of the State. Buddhists, Jains, and Ājīvikas secured, through the zeal of Aśoka,[4] important advantages. On the other hand, while the religious orders carefully respected the rights of the kings, nobles, and parents[5] (no son, slave, or officer can be admitted into the Buddhist order without the permission of father, owner, or king), there are evidences that the civil power did not always respect the rights of the churches.[6] The history of the so-called persecutions remains to be studied. Scholars now believe that the Buddhist narratives on this subject are on the whole inaccurate.[7]

IV. *ANCIENT RELIGIOUS ORDERS.*—From about the 8th to the 6th cent. B.C. a number of religious leaders gave a regular form to the wandering ascetic life. The best of them had a high moral standard and a high intellectual standpoint; they condemned in theory, even when they were forced to tolerate in practice, the less honourable devices which were popular among their followers (magical performances, etc.); they preached a path to salvation, and contrived to adapt to this lofty aim the penitential and ecstatic practices. They were great organizers and also great men; while the brotherhoods which they had established were living, robust organisms, they themselves became the gods of new religions.

1. Buddhist and Jain.—The rules of the Buddhist[8] and Jain[1] brotherhoods are well known and may be easily studied both in the sources, the greater number of which have been translated, and in a number of summaries or essays.

It is often forgotten that the Saṅgha contains two classes of 'religieux': (*a*) the monks who follow the old rule of asceticism (the twelve or thirteen *dhutaṅgas* or *dhūtaguṇas*),[2] hermits, 'men of cemeteries'—they are often very holy men,[3] although they have a bad reputation and are even forbidden to approach the village; and (*b*) the monks of lax observance, the κοινόβιοι, who not only disregard the *dhutaṅgas*, but indulge in the 'extra-allowances' (*atirekalābha*) authorized by the Vinaya—*i.e.*, they are solemnly taught the four *niśrayas* (alms poured in the bowl as sole food, dress made of rags, a tree as a house, cow-urine as sole medicament), but they do not take any account of these rules.[4]

2. Other orders.—Side by side with the Buddhists, the Jainas, and the Ājīvikas (*q.v.*), there were several religious orders or associations which are known only by name. We may mention the followers of the teachers named in the *Sāmaññaphalasutta*[5] and the stereotyped list of *Aṅguttara* iii. 276.[6]

While, in accordance with the rationalistic ideas which came into the foreground at that time (*Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads*), the earlier orders were mostly atheist 'disciplines of salvation' or 'paths to *nirvāṇa*,' there are evidences that many worshippers of some 'deity of election' (*iṣṭadevatā*) constituted themselves into congregations or orders. Such names as Devadhammika,[7] Indavattika, Brahmavattika, Vāsudevavattika, etc.,[8] point to that conclusion. Ascetics, to be sure, exerted themselves, both by penance and by ecstasy, to be reborn in some heaven. According to the Buddhists, Brāhmans have only such a rebirth in view; and the Buddhist Scriptures, which do not approve of the Brāhman sacrificial method of obtaining this rebirth, have a theory on the meditations through which such a rebirth may be obtained. The mediæval and modern orders (below, V.) have certainly had a long history previous to any information now available.

V. *MEDIÆVAL AND MODERN ORDERS.*[9] — 1.

1 See art. KARMA, vol. vii. p. 674, § 5. The *prātimokṣasaṃvara*, 'discipline according to the rules of the Prātimokṣa on the Vinaya,' is the essential condition of the *dhyānasaṃvara* and *lokottarasaṃvara* (see art. DHYĀNA), which, being the path to *nirvāṇa*, constitute the mystical side of the life of a monk. In Occidental language the *upāsaka* is a tertiary, the *bhikṣu* is a regular friar who is expected to be a mystic. In fact, only the *bhikṣu* is qualified for mysticism and *nirvāṇa*.

2 See art. BODHISATTVA.

3 See B. H. Hodgson, *Essays on the Languages . . . of Nepal and Tibet*, London, 1874, p. 139; S. Lévi, *Népal*, Paris, 1905, ii. 26. See also the 'predictions'—*e.g.*, Rāṣṭrapālapariprchchhā.

4 See art. AŚOKA; E. Senart, *Les Inscriptions de Piyadasi*, 2 vols., Paris, 1881–86; V. A. Smith, *Aśoka*, Oxford, 1901. The history of Kaniṣka and Harṣa is also interesting in that respect (see V. A. Smith, *The Early Hist. of India*[2], Oxford, 1908).

5 See *Vinaya Texts*, i. (*SBE* xiii.).

6 See, *e.g.*, *Śikṣāsamuchchaya*, p. 59 f.

7 Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, pp. 118, 124, 134; see Tāranātha, *Gesch. des Buddhismus in Indien*, tr. F. A. von Schiefner, Petrograd, 1869, p. 81; W. Wassilieff, *Buddhismus*, do. 1860, p. 203; *Divyāvadāna*, ed. E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil, Cambridge, 1886, p. 434.

8 See artt. DISCIPLINE (Buddhist), CEYLON BUDDHISM, ELDER (Buddhist), INITIATION (Buddhist), MONASTICISM (Buddhist). Sources: *Vinaya Texts*, i.–iii. (*SBE* xiii., xvii. [1882], xx. [1885]); P. L. Wieger, *Bouddhisme chinois*, i., *Vinaya Monachisme et discipline*, Paris, 1910; L. Finot, 'Le Prātimokṣa des Sarvāstivādins,' *JA* xi. ii. [1913] 465; A. F. R. Hoernle, *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature*, i., Oxford, 1916, *Bhikṣuṇīkarmavācanā*, Oxford, Skr. MSS, no. 1442 (*Cat.* [1905] ii. 255); H. Oldenberg, 'Buddhistische Studien,' *ZDMG* lii. [1898] 613; S. Beal, *A Catena of Buddhist Scriptures*, London, 1871; *Adikarmapradīpa*, tr. L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme*, London, 1909, p. 1 ff.; I-Tsing, *Record of the Buddhist Religion in India and the Malay Peninsula*, tr. J. Takakusu, Oxford, 1896. Summaries: Kern, tr. Huet, ii. 38–135; M. E. L. van Goor, *De Buddhistische Non*, Leyden, 1915; Minayeff, *Recherches sur le bouddhisme*, p. 271 (appendix: 'La Communauté des moines bouddhistes'); R. Spence Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, London, 1850; Hodgson, pp. 139–145 (see S. Lévi, ii. 26).

1 See artt. JAINISM, MONASTICISM (Buddhist); sources in *Ācāraṅga* (*SBE* xxii. [1884] 1, 202 f.); Jagmanderlal Jaini, *Outlines of Jainism*, Cambridge, 1916; Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, London, 1915. The connexion between the monks and the 'tertiaries' is very close in Jainism.

2 See, *e.g.*, Rhys Davids, *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i. 210; *Milinda*, p. 348 (*SBE* xxxvi. [1894] 244).

3 See art. PRATYEKABUDDHAS.

4 There are many points of controversy—*e.g.*, the use of meat, which is condemned in Mahāyāna and authorized (even obligatory [see I-Tsing, *Religieux éminents*, tr. E. Chavannes, Paris, 1894, p. 48]) in Hinayāna; see W. Hopkins, 'Buddhist Rule against Eating Meat,' *JAOS* xxvii. pt. 2 [1907], p. 455.

5 *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i. 66 ff.; also R. O. Franke, *Dīghanikāya*, Göttingen, 1913.

6 *Dialogues of the Buddha*, i. 220; *JRAS*, 1908, p. 197; *Mahāvastu*, iii. 412; *Śikṣāsamuchchaya*, p. 331; *Lalitavistara*, p. 2; *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, i. 162; *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (*SBE* xxi. [1884] 263).

7 *Aṅguttara*, iii. 276. 8 *Mahāniddesa*, p. 89.

9 A. Barth, *Quarante Ans*, i. 166, 'Religions de l'Inde,' i. 399, 'Bulletin des religions de l'Inde,' ii. 72, 206, 420; H. H. Wilson, *Religious Sects of the Hindus*, London, 1861; H. T. Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, ed. E. B. Cowell, do. 1873; L. D. Barnett, *Hinduism*, do. 1906; P. Oltramare, *L'Hist. des idées théosophiques dans l'Inde*, Paris, 1906; R. Garbe, *Sāṃkhya und Yoga* (=*GIAP* iii. 4), Strassburg, 1896; R. Schmidt, *Fakire und Fakirtum im alten und modernen Indien: Yoga-Lehre und Yoga-Praxis nach indischen Originalquellen*, Berlin, 1908; M. Monier-Williams, *Indian Wisdom*, London, 1876, 'Indian Theistic Reformers,' *JRAS* xiii. [1881] i. 281, 'The

Theology. — *Bhakti*,[1] *i.e.* devotion to God — a Heavenly Father, and often, like the Vaiṣṇavite *avatārs*, an incarnate Saviour—gave rise to a lofty mysticism,[2] a solid theology of divine grace. Meditation, when *bhakti* remains pure, has a reasonable object, and compares to advantage with the 'meditation without an object,' which is the highest stage in the 'disciplines of salvation.' Asceticism has a truly religious meaning. Religious orders have been the ornament and the focus of the powerful and intense sectarian worships which have been since the *Bhagavad-Gītā* (*q.v.*) the leading forces of Indian religious thought.[3]

Bhakti, whether Buddhist or Hindu, has its drawbacks and its failures.

'It was deemed the essential condition of salvation; it became the unique condition. A single act of faith, a single sincere invocation to God, cancels a life of sin. Finally, the exaggeration of *bhakti* destroys *bhakti*.'[4]

To pronounce the name of Avalokiteśvara or of Kṛṣṇa, even by chance, even in a blasphemy, is enough. Further, the devotion due to God is due (1) to the *guru*, who is often regarded as an incarnation of God Himself; Hinduism, in that direction, went almost as far as Lāmaism (*q.v.*); and also (2) to specialized forms of God and to idols; hence all forms of superstition. Again (3) devotion is often paid to the *śakti*, or 'female energy,' of God; hence the 'religious' justification of the eroticism of the Śāktas (left-hand worship).

2. Classification. — The rôle of the religious orders has been sometimes to purify *bhakti* from its pagan features, sometimes to emphasize those features and to organize the *puṣṭimārga*, 'salvation by dalliance.' They may be described either as Vaiṣnavite or as Śaivite, according to the name that they give to God.

(*a*) *Vaiṣnavite*.[5] — (1) Rāmānuja (*q.v.*), and (2) Rāmānanda,[6] who belonged to the school of Rāmānuja and was possibly the immediate *guru* of (3) Kabīr (*q.v.*); (4) Ānandatīrtha, who originated the Mādhvas (*q.v.*); (5) Chaitanya (*q.v.*), and (6) Vallabhāchārya (*q.v.*; 16th cent.), with the (5[a]) Kartābhājās and the (6[a]) Charan Dāsīs (18th cent.), with the (5[b]) Rādhāvallabhīs, the Sakhībhāvas, etc.

With Kabīr are connected a number of sects: Dādūpanthīs, Bābā Lālīs, Sādhus, Satnāmīs, Prānnāthīs, Śivanārāyanīs (*qq.v.*); the *guru* of the last had a remarkable interview with Bishop Heber.

Nānak (*q.v.*) and the Sikhs (*q.v.*) also belong to the spiritual influence of Kabīr.[1]

(*b*) *Śaivite*.[2]—(1) The Tridaṇdins or Dasnāmīs—all ascetics;—and (2) the Smārtas—ascetics and laymen—profess to be disciples of Śaṅkara. The religious order of the sect of the Lingāyats (*q.v.*), (3) the Jaṅgamas, are both cenobitic and itinerant; they were founded by Ekāntada Rāmayya (12th cent.); (4) the Kāṇphāṭas, 'split-eared,' are mendicants; (5) the Gosāīns (*gosvāmin*), Śivāchārins, Haṃsas, Paramahaṃsas, and many other ascetics practise a phrenetic asceticism; some form real associations.

LITERATURE.—The literature has been given in the footnotes.

L. DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.

RELIGIOUS ORDERS (Japanese).—In the native religion of Shintō there have been from early times certain hereditary religious corporations which may be regarded as a kind of religious brotherhoods. The Nakatomi, though hardly a priestly caste, were recognized as vicars of the Mikado, and they also largely composed the officials of the Jingikwan, or department of religion. Another hereditary corporation was the Imbe, descended from the god Futodama. Their duty was to prepare the offerings and to exercise the most careful avoidance of impurity in so doing. A third order was that of the Urabe, or diviners, mentioned already in A.D. 585, and later divided into four branches belonging to as many provinces.[3]

J. A. MACCULLOCH.

RELIGIOUS ORDERS (Mexican and Peruvian).—**1. Mexican.**—In the higher civilizations of America we find religious orders akin to the religious brotherhoods of higher faiths. In Mexico one of these orders was the Tlamaxcacayotl, an ascetic order attached to the service of the god Quetzalcoatl. The head of it was named after the god, and never issued from his seclusion except to speak to the king. The brothers dressed in black robes, lived on coarse fare, and worked hard. They kept a night watch, singing hymns to Quetzalcoatl. At times they retired to the desert for penance and in order to pray in seclusion. Children were dedicated to this order from birth, wearing a distinctive collar, called *yanuati*, until the age of four, when they might be admitted to the brotherhood.[4]

Another outstanding order was that of Telpochtiliztle, the 'congregation of young men,' youths who lived at home, but met at sunset in a special house to dance and sing praises to the god.[5] Each temple had also a monastery.

The Tlamacazqui, 'deacons' or ministers, and the Quaquacuiltiu, 'herb-eaters,' dedicated themselves for life to the service of the gods. Both were ascetic orders performing acts of penance in imitation of their patron, Quetzalcoatl. These orders had monasteries for both sexes, and their head was the high-priest of Quetzalcoatl.[6] Female children were dedicated to the service of the gods when forty days old, by being presented to the priest in the temple, carrying a miniature broom and censer. At the required age they then

Vaisnava Religion,' *ib.* xiv. [1882] 287, 733; W. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes*, Calcutta, 1896; M. A. Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes in Benares*, do. 1872–81; Jogendra Nath Bhattāchārya, *Hindu Castes and Sects*, do. 1896; J. C. Oman, *The Mystics, Ascetics, and Saints of India*, London, 1905, *Cults, Customs, and Superstitions of India*, do. 1908, *The Brahmans, Theists, and Muslims of India*, do. 1907; J. Murray, *Handbook of the Bengal Presidency*, do. 1882, *Handbook of the Bombay Presidency*[2], do. 1881, *Handbook of the Madras Presidency*, do. 1879; W. W. Hunter, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*[2], do. 1885–87; G. A. Valentia, *Voyages and Travels*, do. 1809–11; D. Shea and A. Troyer, *The Dabistán or School of Manners*, tr. from Persian, do. 1843; J. A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*[3], ed. H. K. Beauchamp, Oxford, 1906; R. Heber, *Narr. of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India, from Calcutta to Bombay, 1824–25*[3], London, 1828, [4]1843–44; R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣnavism, Śaivism, and Minor Religious Systems* (=*GIAP* iii. 6), Strassburg, 1913; Rajagopalacharya, *Vaiṣnavite Reformers in India*, Madras, 1909; S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Śrī Rāmānujacharya, a Sketch of his Life*, do. 1908; C. M. Padmanābhāchārya, *Life and Teachings of Śrī Madhvāchārya*, do. 1909; Balarama Mallika, *Krishna and Krishnaism*, Calcutta, 1898, *Jagannatha's Worship at Puri*, do. 1892; Devendranatha, *Doorga Poojah*, do. 1897; F. Max Müller, *Rāmakrishna, his Life and Sayings*, London, 1898; F. W. Thomas, *Mutual Influence of Muhammadans and Hindus*, Cambridge, 1892.

[1] See art. BHAKTI-MĀRGA.

[2] See, *e.g.*, *Śāṇḍilyabhaktisūtras*, tr. E. B. Cowell, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta, 1878, also *Sacred Books of the Hindus*, vii. [Allahābād, 1911].

[3] See L. D. Barnett, *The Heart of India*, London, 1908, also *Hinduism*, do. 1906; on the Sittars, R. Caldwell, *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, London, 1875, Introd. pp. 127, 146; C. E. Gover, *The Folk-Songs of Southern India*, Madras, 1871.

[4] See Barth, *Quarante Ans*, p. 199.

[5] See art. HINDUISM, vol. vi. p. 702 f.; also artt. GOSĀĪN, BHAKTI-MĀRGA, BENGAL (§§ 31 and 32), HARIŚCHANDĪS, BAIRĀGĪ, CHARAN DĀSĪS, KHĀKĪS, DRAVIDIANS (S. India), vol. v. p. 24, KĀÑCHULIYĀS.

[6] See art RĀMĀNANDĪS.

[1] See artt. UDĀSĪS, NIRMĀLAS, two of the three religious orders of the Sikhs.

[2] See art. HINDUISM, vol. vi. p. 701 f.; also artt. KARĀRĪS, KEDĀRNĀTH, KARĀ-LINGĪS (Severas, Khevaras), ATĪTS, GOSĀĪN, GĀṆAPATYAS, BENGAL (§ 33), GORAKHNĀTH, DRAVIDIANS (S. India), vol. v. pp. 22, 25.

[3] W. G. Aston, *Shinto: the Way of the Gods*, London, 1905, p. 201 ff.

[4] *NR* iii. 436. [5] *Ib.* iii. 436. [6] *Ib.* ii. 208.

entered the monastery, either for a period of years or for life-long continence. Under the care of a matron they were employed in weaving and embroidering temple-tapestries, filling the incense braziers, and preparing bread for the priests.[1]

The Totonacs had a strict order devoted to Centeotl. Its members were widowers over sixty, of irreproachable character, who lived a secluded and austere life. They dressed in skins and ate no meat. They were much respected by the people, who consulted them, and regarded their answers as oracles.[2]

2. Peruvian.—In Peru the most remarkable example of a religious order was that of the 'Virgins of the Sun,' girls who had been dedicated to the service of the god in infancy, and at the fitting age placed under the care of matrons in convents. Here they lived in absolute seclusion, for none but the Inca and his queen could enter. Their employment was to watch over the sacred fire and to weave and embroider temple-hangings as well as the dresses for the Inca and his household. They had to live a life of strictest continence, and any one who failed to do so was buried alive, while her lover was strangled and the village or town where he lived was razed to the ground. Yet from their numbers the most beautiful were selected as 'brides' or concubines of the Inca. The 'houses of the virgins of the sun,' or monasteries, were low ranges of buildings, surrounded by high walls, to exclude them from observation.[3]

3. Both in Mexico and in Peru there were orders of knights corresponding to the European religious orders of chivalry. The initiation to these orders was protracted and severe, testing both the bravery and the endurance of the candidates.[4]

LITERATURE.—See the works cited in the footnotes.

J. A. MACCULLOCH.

RELIGIOUS ORDERS (Muslim).

—In this article attention is confined mainly to the N. African orders. For the religious orders in other countries reference should be made to the series of articles on MUHAMMADANISM. See also artt. DERVISH, ṢŪFĪS.

I. *GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.* — **1. Preliminary observations.**—In the East the religious orders of Islām are not numerous, but their members are subject to religious obligations of the most precise kind, to a most rigorous discipline alike in spiritual and in temporal things, and to a strictly defined procedure in political matters, so that they are at once initiates (in the exact sense of the term) and agents of their official head. In N. Africa, and especially in the Maghrib, on the other hand, the orders are found in large numbers, but their organization is lax. Thus, as we proceed from Morocco to the Far East, we notice that the orders gradually decrease in number and importance; while, in passing from East to West, we find an unmistakable ebb in the current of Pan-Islāmism. It would seem, in fact, that the ideal of the religious order is incompatible with that of Pan-Islāmism; each tends to exclude the other. In the East and the Far East the breath of Pan-Islāmism has sometimes excited, or threatened to excite, the Muslim populace to revolt; while in N. Africa, where the Pan-Islāmist idea is but little diffused, it is the orders that have now and again disturbed the public peace or provoked conflicts in the colonial or protected countries.

It should also be noted that in the Maghrib the fact that the Sharīfs, *i.e.* the real or supposed descendants of Muḥammad, are found in great numbers tends to diminish the importance of the orders. The Sharīfs form a highly-esteemed religious class, their descent itself providing a sufficient basis for their authority. As it is not to their interest that religious associations which may divert to their own uses some portion of the religious offerings should be making headway alongside of them, the Sharīfian families are essentially hostile to the orders, except those which they have founded and in a sense absorbed, thus appropriating the advantages and emoluments of both the Sharīfate and the order.

The orders are very numerous in N. Africa, and the majority of them have a large, some even an enormous, membership. Definite, or even approximate, enumerations of their adherents are altogether out of the question. In countries subject to European Powers, as Algeria, statistics have been compiled and published, but they have only a relative value. In independent Muslim countries, such as Morocco, the numerical estimates are purely fanciful. Questions put to native members of one and the same order or community will elicit the most remarkable diversity of estimates; thus, as regards a particular confraternity, one will speak of hundreds of members, another of thousands, while a personal investigation will perhaps reduce the total to a few dozens or even units. Still, after making all allowances, we are safe to say that the membership of the orders in N. Africa is very large; the present writer is of opinion that in Morocco about three-quarters of the male population belong to these communities.

Another noteworthy fact of a general character is that some orders are specially connected with particular districts or particular tribes. Thus the order of the Nāṣiriyyah and that of the Mbuoniin recruit their ranks almost exclusively among the inhabitants of the Wādī Drā'a (S. Morocco); while, as an instance of a group wholly confined to a certain ethnological stratum, and affiliated with a religious order, we may refer to the Bukhārā (plur. of Bukhāri), descendants of the famous Black Guard instituted by the sultans of Morocco, whose privileges were ratified by an imperial decree in 1697; this negro aristocracy belongs in the main to the 'Isāwiyyah (below, II. **1**).

Finally, from the category of religious orders properly so called we exclude certain associations possessing a religious character (all associations in Islām may be said to have a religious character—corporations, trade gilds, shooting clubs, etc.), but having nothing else in common with the orders (of which religion is the sole *raison d'être*, and which have an essentially religious purpose). Thus we do not regard the acrobatic society of Sūs called the Ulād Sīdī Ḥammad u Mūsā as a religious order; still less the Ghnāwa, the negro jugglers of the public grounds and market-places. Their open-air performances and their manner of taking the collection do not suggest a religious fraternity.

2. Organization. — At the head of the order (called *ṭrīqa*, 'way,' or *ṭaifa*, 'band') stands the *shaikh*, who exercises absolute authority. Under the *shaikh* is the *khalīfah*, or *nāib*, who acts as his vicegerent or deputy, and, in more remote parts, represents him and his authority. Next come the *muqaddams*, heads of the various groups into which the order is divided, and engaged in the work of propaganda and management; they enrol new members, and initiate them, collect the offerings, and convey the instructions of the *shaikh* to members within their jurisdiction; in short, they are pre-eminently the agents of the order. The members, again, are styled *khwān*, *ikhwān*, 'brothers' (Algeria, etc.), *fuqarā'* (plur. of *faqīr*, 'poor') (Morocco), or, more rarely, *darwīshes*, which is rather an Oriental term; one also hears

1 *NR* ii. 204 f. 2 *Ib.* ii. 214, iii. 437.
3 W. H. Prescott, *Hist. of the Conquest of Peru*, London, 1890, p. 52 f.
4 *NR* ii. 194 f.; Prescott, p. 10.

the word *aṣḥāb*, 'companions.' The several chiefs of an order are kept in touch with one another by foot-messengers (*raqqāb*); the *naqīb* is a kind of master of ceremonies; the *shāush* is charged with temporal affairs.

The members of an order hold regular meetings, called *ḥadraḥs*, at stated times, and at these they engage in their devotional practices—prayer, singing, dancing, etc.—and hear the instructions and counsels of their *muqaddams*. The order has also an establishment called the *zāwiyah*. This word is rather vague in its denotation, but in a general way it signifies an abode of *murābiṭ*, or monks, and is thus often rendered 'convent,' 'monastery,' or even (quite wrongly) 'hospital.' The *zāwiyah*, in fact, may be a group of buildings—sometimes a very extensive group—comprising a mosque, a school, apartments for disciples (*ṭalabah*), pilgrims (if it has a saint's tomb), dependents, travellers, the poor, etc., or it may be no more than a place of meeting and instruction.

3. Initiation and the chains.—The rite of initiation is called *wird*, lit. 'going down,' and so 'descent to the watering-place,' 'act of drinking,' and is administered to the novice (*murīd*) by the *muqaddam*. The *muqaddam* receives his investiture from the *shaikh*, who delivers to him a diploma styled *ijāzah*. The prerogative of the *shaikh* rests upon tradition and derives its sanction from the 'chains' in which the tradition is embodied. There are two kinds of chains: (1) the chain of initiation (*silsilat al-wird*), *i.e.* the series of 'saints' from whom the founder of the order received his instruction, and (2) the chain of benediction (*silsilat al-baraka*), or series of *shaikhs* who successively held the headship of the order, and so transmitted the divine benediction. The former goes back from the founder to Muḥammad through a complete series of real or supposed personages directly linked with one another, and then ascends, with the archangel Gabriel as intermediary, to Allāh himself.

4. Mysticism in the orders.[1]—Mysticism (*q.v.*), which is one of the fundamental elements of religion, if not indeed its very essence, was, in Islām, the needed, and in a sense the inevitable, recoil from the intellectualism of the Qur'ān. Mysticism is highly developed in the orders, and in some of them reaches its zenith. It takes various forms. It appears in the 'saints' chains' mentioned above, connecting the founders of the orders with Muḥammad, and through him with Gabriel and Allāh, thus securing for them their divine authority. The significance attached to these chains rests wholly upon the mystical element. It manifests itself strikingly in the religious language—formulæ of initiation (*wird*) and of prayer (*dhikr*, etc.), instructions and counsels of the *shaikhs*, speculations regarding the stages, and descriptions of the psychic states, through which the votary passes in order to attain to ecstasy and union with God—speculations and descriptions that recall in striking fashion the analogous theories and delineations of Christian mysticism and Buddhist asceticism.

5. Ritual and ceremonial.[2]—Mysticism, though in origin and principle a reaction against the systematizing and the abuse of rites and formulæ, has given rise in the orders to a ceremonialism of its own. This finds expression, first of all, in litanies—the manifold repetitions (extending to 50, 100, 1000, 10,000, and even 100,000 times) of the same religious affirmations or invocations. In some orders the members devote all their energies to the recitation of the *dhikr*, spending the day and sometimes the whole night in repeating the same forms of prayer. Ritualism and religious formulism, one would think, could hardly go any farther.

Ritualism appears also in the strange ceremonies and practices characteristic of special orders (see below, II. 1)—forms of ritual which secure for such orders an extraordinary influence over the mass of believers.

6. Political aspects.—The orders differ greatly from one another in their political aspects. We shall confine ourselves here to a single country, Morocco, where these communities, in contrast to the important political rôle which they formerly played, have now all but ceased to manifest any activity whatever in this respect—a fact well worthy of note. From the end of the 15th cent. till 1830—the beginning of the French conquest of Algeria—N. Africa was dominated by two rival authorities, viz. the Sharīfs of Morocco and the Turks of Algiers. These two powers had sprung into being almost simultaneously as the result of a religious movement against the Christian conquest of Muslim Spain and against the active designs of Portugal and Spain upon Morocco. This twofold activity on the part of Christian Powers aroused the fanaticism of the Berbers and the Arabs, and kindled a revolution which, directed by the orders, resulted in the overthrow of all the Maghribene dynasties, these being replaced by sovereignties established through the influence of the orders and the *murābiṭ*. In Morocco the first of the new dynasty, that of the Sa'adian Sharīfs, was Abū 'Abdallāh al-Qāim bi Amrillāh, who, after an understanding with the *murābiṭ* of Sūs, advanced a claim to the sovereignty *c.* 915 A.H. (A.D. 1509–10). In the eyes of the people this dynasty stood for a government constituted according to the purest traditions of Islām.

To-day, from a variety of causes,[1] these orders, in spite of the anarchy prevailing in Morocco, have all but ceased to exercise any influence whatever in political affairs. In essence the causes are two: (1) the divisions and rivalries existing among the orders, these being particularly rife in Morocco; and (2) the prerogative of the Makhzen, *i.e.* the Moroccan government, which is now able to have the highest positions in the leading orders conferred upon its foremost representatives—ministers, the imperial family, and even the sultan himself.

7. Place in social life.—As in Muslim countries religion is even more decidedly a social concern than it is among Christian peoples, the social rôle of the orders is closely connected with their religious aspect. Mysticism, which is cultivated more or less in all the orders, has a strong fascination for the African peoples, both those which labour under the violent and arbitrary administration of native governments (Morocco) and those which have been forcibly subjected to the rule of infidel Powers, such as France and Britain; and, by enabling its votaries to become absorbed in God, or at least to engage without restriction or hindrance in religious practices to which the authorities take no objection, mysticism offers to the oppressed not only an open gateway towards heaven, but also a means of deliverance from all the trammels and miseries of earth. Now, to this powerful attraction of mysticism in the orders is added the no less inviting aspect of their social function. The religious order is a form of association peculiarly congenial to the Muslim mind. Among the Muslims of Africa in particular the spirit of combination and co-operation is remarkably well developed. Every active form of social life tends to embody itself in associations—trade gilds, shooting clubs (which are very numerous), charitable societies, etc. This intense need of

[1] For full discussion of Muslim mysticism see art. ṢŪFIS.
[2] Cf. artt. PRAYER (Muhammadan), PIR.

[1] See E. Montet, *Les Confréries religieuses de l'Islam marocain*, Paris, 1902.

acting everywhere and in all things in conjunction and communion with one's fellows is then invested with a sacred character by religion. Thus, on the one hand, the mysticism of the orders acts as a social force in bringing individuals together under the ægis of religion, while, on the other, the orders, as religious associations, form one of the most active and most potent phases of the social entity known as Islām.

II. *THE SEVERAL ORDERS.*—1. **'Isāwiyyah.**—This order, one of the most important in Africa, was founded by Muḥammad b. 'Isā, who was born of a Sharīfian family in Mekinez (Morocco), where he also died (*c.* 1523–24) and was buried. Having become a member of the Shādhiliyyah Jazūliyyah (below, § 30), he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, and either in Arabia or in Egypt was in touch with certain dervishes who instructed him in the observances of the Oriental orders Ḥaidiriyyah and Sa'adiyyah. Returning to Morocco with the reputation of being thoroughly proficient in mystical theology and capable of performing the most wonderful miracles, he became so popular that the sultan himself took umbrage and gave orders that 'Isā and his disciples should quit Mekinez.

It was during his exile that, when on one occasion his disciples were in the last straits of hunger and crying out for food, the master bade them eat what was to be found upon the road. There was nothing but stones, snakes, and scorpions; yet such was their confidence in their leader that they devoured these without hesitation, and his miraculous powers warded off any ill effects of the unnatural meal. This incident was probably the origin of those singular practices of a similar kind in which the 'Isāwiyyah still engage. Legend ascribes a great number of miracles to 'Isā, and the report of these led the sultan to recall him to Mekinez.

The chief convent of the order is in Mekinez, and the supreme council of forty members is housed in it. The order has a loose organization, and appears to lack cohesion, though in Morocco, where it is strong in numbers and influence, it is more compact and better organized. As regards doctrine the 'Isāwiyyah are fundamentally at one with the Shādhiliyyah; and indeed their founder used to say that the life he lived was 'that of the Ṣūfīs, that of the Shādhiliyyah.' A Muslim savant has thus summarized their teachings:

'In religious things—continuous progress towards the deity, sobriety, fasting, absorption in God carried to such heights that bodily sufferings and physical mortifications are unable to affect the now impassible senses; in moral things—to fear nothing, to acknowledge no authority but that of God and the Saints, and to submit only to such as permit the principles of the Sacred Book to be carried into practice.'

In doctrine, accordingly, the 'Isāwiyyah are mystics.

The remarkable ritual practices for which the 'Isāwiyyah are noted have often been described. The German traveller, H. von Maltzan,[1] who had an opportunity of witnessing them at Mekinez, has given an account of an 'Isāwiyyah meeting, and this, being little known, we may give here, more especially because the present writer regards it as the most accurate and authentic of its kind, and because, having been present at similar functions in Morocco and Algeria, he is able to confirm the circumstantial character of its details.

'The religious ceremony opens with the nasal intoning of the formula expressing the Muslim confession of faith, *Lā Ilāha il 'Allāh* ('There is no god but God'), repeated over and over again. The sacred words are chanted in all tones to the point of satiety, yet always in measure. Then all at once, when the chanting and the outcry, accompanied by the regular beating of tomtoms and drums, are at their loudest, one of the brothers of the order rises up and begins the religious dance (*ishdeb*). The *ishdeb* is not in the strict sense a dance, but we have no better word by which to render the Arabic term. It consists in regular movements of the body—slow to begin with, then more and more rapid, and at length convulsive. At the outset there are rhythmic oscillations of the head and the upper part of the body, and deep and rapid bowing. The dancer having continued to perform these motions for some minutes, a second rises, then a third, until at last six of the 'Isāwiyyah are vying with one another in vehement swaying and bending. This preliminary scene lasts for about half an hour. Each of the actors in the strange performance carries on till he comes to the paroxysm of the *ishdeb*. The movements become more and more rapid, the bending deeper and deeper, the turnings of the head and the body more and more violent, until at length the exhausted 'Isāwiyyah are seized with vertigo, froth gathers on their lips, their eyes stand out of their sockets and roll with the shifting gaze of the insane, and the fanatical dancers fall staggering to the ground; they have attained the state of blissful ecstasy.

The state of physical prostration signifies that the spirit of the founder of the order has gained control over the disciple, so making him capable of swallowing with impunity the most virulent poisons and all things that lacerate or cut. Soon the six 'Isāwiyyah are wallowing upon the ground in wild disorder, giving vent to frightful yells of an altogether unhuman character, and resembling now the snorting of the wild boar, now the roaring of the lion. Some of them, like wild beasts, grind their teeth, from which drips a whitish foam. In their disordered and threatening movements, it would seem as if they were about to rend the onlookers in pieces.

A large dish is then brought forward, and is uncovered by the *muqaddam* who presides over the ceremony. It contains serpents, scorpions, toads, lizards—a jumble of loathsome and venomous creatures. Hardly has the *muqaddam* removed the cover when the six frenzied maniacs fall upon the foul mass of living things with the voracity of famished beasts of prey, and in a moment the whole is torn in pieces and devoured. No trickery here! I see the reptiles torn in pieces by the powerful teeth, while the blood of the serpents and the slimy secretion of the scorpions tinge the saliva at the corners of the mouth. This revolting meal is followed by another, possibly even more dangerous. A dish of broken glass, needles, and cactus leaves is brought forward, and its contents are immediately snapped up and swallowed. I hear the glass cracking between the teeth, and the sap of the cactus leaves trickles over the cheeks; the blood of the injured mouth mingles with the juice of the plant. Finally, a red-hot iron is brought in, and a negro, even more fanatical in appearance than the six Moroccans who have just played their part, takes it in his mouth and licks it on all sides. This ceremonial is followed by the reception of a new brother into the order. The neophyte is brought in by two members, and prostrates himself before the *muqaddam*. The latter exhorts the candidate and then performs the sacred rite which is an essential condition of joining the 'Isāwiyyah. The rite is as follows: the neophyte opens his mouth wide, and the *muqaddam* spits three times into his gullet. The miraculous saliva suffices of itself to endow the neophyte with the power of consuming poisons, glass, or cactus spines, without injury to himself.'

These curious and extraordinary performances are to be explained less as the tricks and devices of conjuring than as phenomena of a psychical kind—phenomena of which the ecstatic state has yielded countless examples in all ages, among all peoples, and in all religions. In 1900, at Rabat (Morocco), in the house of M. D——, formerly French consular agent in that town, the present writer saw a most interesting collection of instruments of torture used by the 'Isāwiyyah in their exhibitions—huge and heavy clubs studded with large nails, flagellants' rods formed of short supple sticks strung together in a ring, etc. It would, in fact, be quite wrong to speak of the 'Isāwiyyah as mere jugglers and tricksters. It is certainly the case that, *e.g.*, in Algiers and elsewhere they are ready enough to exhibit their performances for money, and at Kairwan the present writer was offered—on terms—a view of their frenzies; but the aberrations of a group should not throw discredit on the members generally, who (in Morocco, at least, where the present writer has studied their mode of life) are in the main honest and peaceable tradesmen and tillers of the soil.

The 'Isāwiyyah are very numerous in Morocco, being found in all parts of that vast country. They draw their members from all ranks of society. At Marrakesh, in 1900–01, certain exalted personages of the Sharīfian court were mentioned by name to the present writer as belonging to the order; the former sultan, Mūlāi Ḥasan, was a member (cf. also the reference to the Bukhārā above, I. 1). The order is also well represented through-

[1] *Drei Jahre im Nordwesten von Afrika*[2], Leipzig, 1868, iv. 276 ff.

out Algeria, where, in 1900, they numbered at least 3500. The most important of their *zāwiyahs* (of which they have about a dozen in this country) is that of 'Alī b. Muḥammad in the Duar Uzara, where the panther's skin on which the founder of the order is said to have slept is preserved as a relic; a skin with the identical claim is preserved at Mekinez. The 'Isāwiyyah maintain a footing likewise in Tunis, and are found in almost all important localities; they are met with also in Tripoli, at Benghazi (Barka), in Egypt, Syria, and the Hedjāz.

2. Ḥamadsha. — The Ḥamadsha or Ḥamadushia, a Moroccan order, though far behind the 'Isāwiyyah in influence and expansion, are closely akin to them in their peculiar usages, and are noted for their practices of striking the head with an axe and of throwing cannon-balls into the air and catching them on their skulls. They are often met with in company with the 'Isāwiyyah. Their name comes from that of their founder, 'Alī b. Ḥamdush, who lived in the 16th cent., and is interred near Mekinez.

M. Quedenfeldt[1] mentions religious orders or suborders related to the Ḥamadsha, but we have little information regarding them. The following four, more or less connected with the Ḥamadsha in origin or religious practice, have but a small membership:

3. Daghughiyyīn.—The patron saint of this group, Ḥamid Daghughī, who was near of kin to the founder of the Ḥamadsha, was born near Mekinez (Jebel Zerhun). A characteristic practice of his community is that of throwing cannon-balls and clubs into the air and catching them on their heads.

4. Ṣādiqiyyīn.—Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq, the patron saint of this order, came from S. Morocco (Tafilalt, Drā'a, Tuāt). The members in their dances butt their heads violently against one another.

5. Riāhīn.—Their patron saint is al-'Amīr Riāhī, who belonged to Mekinez. His followers stick the points of knives or forks into the lower front of the body without drawing blood.

6. Meliāiyyīn.—Mūlāi Meliāna, the founder, was a native of Mekinez; his votaries are fire-eaters, and swallow live coals.

Of the following three communities, related to the foregoing in origin and tendency, scarcely anything is known to us but their names and the fact that their membership is exceedingly small:

7. 'Alamīn.—Founded by Qaddur al-'Alamī, of Mekinez.

8. Sejīnīn.—Founded by Ḥamid Sejīnī, also of Mekinez.

9. Qāsmīn.—Founded by Qāsim Bū-Asria, who belonged to the neighbourhood of Mekinez.

10. 'Ammāriyyah.—This Algerian order, whose religious practices are like those of the 'Isāwiyyah, is found in Algeria and Tunis, and in those countries has over 6000 members and 26 *zāwiyahs*. It was founded by 'Ammār Bū-Senna, born *c.* 1712 at Smala ben Merād in the Wādī Zenati (Alg.), and was reorganized *c.* 1815 by al-Ḥājj Embārek al-Maghribī al-Bukhārī († 1897), a Moroccan who belonged to the famous negro aristocracy referred to above (I. 1). It is reported that a dissenting branch exists in the district of Guelma (Alg.) under the leadership of a certain b. Naḥal.

11. Tuhāmiyyīn, or Ṭayyibiyyah.—This Moroccan order, which in Morocco itself bears the former name and in Algeria the latter, was instituted in 1678–79 by Mūlāi 'Abdallāh b. Ibrāhīm, a member of the Jazūliyyah (below, § 30), and the founder of the *zāwiyah* of Wazzān, which subsequently gained such fame. The great political rôle once played by this order was due to the noble lineage of its founder and of his successors in the hierarchy. For the Sharīfs of Wazzān—such is the title given them—belong by blood to the house of Mūlāi Idrīs, a descendant of Muḥammad, who founded the first Moroccan dynasty in 788, and this lineage ranks in Morocco as, if not more genuine, yet purer and better established, than that of the sultans themselves.

The name Ṭayyibiyyah is derived from that of Mūlāi Ṭāyyib, the successor of Mūlāi 'Abdallāh in the government of the order, and a contemporary of Sultan Mūlāi Isma'īl (17th century). The order powerfully assisted the latter in his efforts to gain the throne. The name Tuhāmiyyīn, again, comes from that of Mūlāi al-Tūhāmī b. Muḥammad († 1715), who won distinction by his reorganization of the order.

From the time when Mūlāi 'Abd al-Salām b. al-Khajj al-'Arbī 'l Wazzānī, a former head of the confraternity († 1894), became a *protégé* of France,[1] it has in a manner been at the service of that country—a circumstance to which, it seems, it owes its subsequent decadence. Its influence in Morocco is nowadays quite inconsiderable, as was evident in 1904, when M. Perdicaris was a captive in the hands of Raisuli, and the intervention of the Sharīfs of Wazzān utterly failed to secure his liberation. 'Abd al-Salām had strong leanings towards European culture; he renounced his native wives in order to marry an Englishwoman; he liked to wear the uniform of a French general of artillery. His successor in command was his eldest son, Mūlāi al-'Arbī.

The Tuhāmiyyīn are found principally at Wazzān, where their parent institution is, and in N. Morocco; in the rest of that country the present writer has scarcely heard a word about them. In Algeria the Ṭayyibiyyah are represented mainly in Oran; in the whole country their membership has been computed at over 22,000, while they have only eight *zāwiyahs*—a fact that speaks well of their organization and cohesion. The order has a numerous following also in Tuāt.

12. Tijāniyyah. — This Algerian order was founded by Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Mukhtār al-Tijānī, who was born at 'Aīn Mādhī, near Laghuat (Alg.), in 1737 and died at Fez in 1815. He was a descendant of a devout Moroccan Sharīf who built the *zāwiyah* of 'Aīn Mādhī. The order has spread far and wide; in Africa the majority of its members are found in Algeria, Morocco, Tunis, Tripoli, the Sūdān, the Congo, and in Adamawa, Adrār, and Tuāt, with some even in Egypt, and it has *zāwiyahs* also in Constantinople, Beirūt, Medīna, Mecca, and Yambo. In Algeria, where its membership was found recently to be over 25,000, with 32 *zāwiyahs*, it has been split since 1875 into two branches—that of 'Aīn Mādhī and that of Temasin (Wādī Ghir). The direct descendants of the founder reside in the *zāwiyah* of 'Aīn Mādhī. The two rival divisions stand quite apart from the rest of the Algerian and foreign orders, and are crippled by their dissensions and (in the Temasin branch) by the personal conduct of some of their chiefs. The Algerian Tijāniyyah, however, have all along supported the French ascendancy, and have rendered great service to the Government, while, as an aristocratic society of liberal outlook, they have shown themselves markedly accessible to European influence.

The case is very different in Morocco, where the order, while certainly aristocratic, has assumed a narrow national character. Here, indeed, it is to be regarded as standing quite by itself. Its central convent is in Fez. Tijāniyyah resident in Tafilalt, Gūrara, Tuāt, the French Western Sūdān, and Senegal are under its control, and apparently

[1] *ZE* xviii. [1886].

[1] On the law of protection cf. the Treaty of Madrid, art. 16.

acknowledge its spiritual authority. In Morocco it recruits its ranks from the Arab (*i.e.* the Andalusian-Moorish) element, which forms the best educated and most intelligent, though the most fanatical, stratum of the population; and it has adherents also in the higher commercial class and even in court circles. It manifests considerably more internal cohesion than the other Moroccan orders, and, in virtue of its aristocratic character and its wealth, exercises a considerable social influence—an influence which, as the present writer can testify, is hostile to European civilization.

The Tijāniyyah of Adrār seem to have made notable progress, and their *zāwiyah* at Shingeṭi is said to have established branches at Walata and Kaarta, as also farther West, among the Moors of the right bank of the Senegal and in Toro. The founder of the order was a man of liberal mind. While taking his stand upon the rule of the Khalwātiyyah (below, § 34)—a ceremonial and ascetic mysticism—he drew his inspiration chiefly from the Shādhiliyyah (below, § 21). His teachings and principles are set forth in a work which he composed at Fez between 1798 and 1800, and which is commonly called *Kunash*, a corruption of its real title *Min kulli nashin*, 'Gathered from Everything,' *i.e.* a chrestomathy. The prevailing spirit of the book is a liberalism seldom met with in other orders; it counsels no macerations, no harsh penances, no prolonged retreats, and favours a simple ritual; and it presents generally a synthesis of temporal and spiritual interests that is conducive to broad-mindedness. We quote two characteristic sayings from the work.

'The law follows the law: all that comes from God is to be held in respect,' *i.e.* the law before all things, and tolerance. 'All that exists is loved by God, and in that love the unbeliever (*kāfir*) has a place as well as the believer.'

13. Derqāwā. — This is a Moroccan order of great importance. It was founded by Mūlāi l-'Arbī al-Derqāwī, who died in 1823 in his own *zāwiyah* of Bū Barīḥ (territory of the Banū Zarwāl, north of Fez, in the Jibāl). The chief convent of the order is situated there. The Derqāwā, who adhere to the traditions of the Shādhiliyyah, are found in great numbers throughout Morocco. The Sekhalliyīn, a Sharīfian gild at Fez, are connected with the order, which is largely represented also in Algeria (about 9500 members, with 10 *zāwiyahs*, nearly all in Oran), in Tuāt, in Gūrara, and in the Sahāra as far south as Timbuctu, while adherents are met with in Tunis, Tripoli (cf. Madaniyyah, below, § 14), Egypt, and Arabia. The Derqāwā are a mendicant order, and are noted for their ascetic practices and for the absolute submission which by oath they yield to their *shaikh*. Of all the Muslim fraternities the Derqāwā perhaps come nearest to the monastic orders of Roman Catholicism. The founder's final counsels to his disciples are as follows:

'The duties of my brothers shall consist in overcoming their passions, and, in performing these duties, they shall seek to imitate—

Our Lord Mūsa (Moses), in always travelling with a staff;

Our Lord Abū Bakr, and our Lord 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, in wearing patched clothes;

J'afar b. 'Abī Ṭalib, in celebrating God's praises by dances (*raqṣ*);

Bū Hariro (Abū Huraira), the Prophet's secretary, in wearing a rosary round the neck;

Our Lord 'Isā (Jesus), in living in solitude and in the desert.

They shall travel with bare feet, endure hunger, and associate only with holy men. They shall avoid the society of men occupying places of power. They shall keep themselves from falsehood. They shall sleep little, spend their nights in prayer, and give alms. They shall tell their *shaikh* of their more serious as well as of their more trivial thoughts, of their important actions as well as of the most insignificant. To their *shaikh* they shall tender unresisting submission, and shall at all times be in his hands as the corpse in the hands of those who wash the dead.'[1]

[1] From a text published by L. Rinn, *Marabouts et Khouan*.

This final exhortation has been aptly compared with Loyola's 'perinde ac cadaver.' In Algeria and Morocco the Derqāwā have on the whole remained loyal to the spirit of their founder, renouncing all earthly ambition, and maintaining an absolute detachment from the goods of this world. Still, this attitude has at times shown itself capable of developing into fanaticism, and in both Morocco and Algeria they have now and again taken an active part in revolts against governmental authority.

The outward appearance of the Derqāwā is most characteristic: a stick or rod in the hand, chaplets of huge beads round the neck, the body covered with rags, and frequently—as a mark of pre-eminent devotion—the green turban upon the head. The tattered and offensively foul garb which they affect has in Morocco earned them the nickname of Derbaliyyah ('wearers of rags'), and explains the sarcastic saying of the *ṭalabah* (students) of the Jibāl—'The dog and the Derqāwī are one and the same.' In Morocco the order seems to have lost ground because of its divisions; it has three distinct branches there.

Its adherents are regarded as extreme devotees of monotheism. Their founder is said to have been so convinced of the divine unity and of the unconditional duty of giving glory to God alone that he commanded his followers to repeat aloud only the first part of the creed ('No god but Allāh') and to rest satisfied with a merely mental affirmation of the second ('Muḥammad is His Prophet').

14. Madaniyyah. — This is a Tripolitan order which, though an off-shoot from the Derqāwā, has come to exhibit a spirit diametrically opposed to the teachings of al-'Arbī. It was instituted by a Derqāwī named Muḥammad b. Hamzah Zāfir al-Madanī, who began to preach *c.* 1820; about that time, too, he founded the *zāwiyah* of Mezrata, which is still the central convent of the new order. The development of Sanūsīism (cf. below, § 38) about the beginning of the latter half of the 19th cent. arrested that of the Madaniyyah, which would have remained stationary but for the fact that in 1875 the turn of events brought the head of the order, Muḥammad Zāfir, son and successor of b. Hamzah, into touch with 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, the future sultan of Turkey. From that point the order became one of the most vigorous in the East, and one of the most hostile to European influence. With the support of Turkey, it has intermeddled on a vast scale with questions of Muslim politics. Its sphere of activity has gravitated towards the East, and it is now represented mainly in Turkey (Constantinople), Syria, and the Hedjāz, while, as regards Africa, its members are found in Egypt, Tripoli, and Algeria (where it has 1700 adherents and two *zāwiyahs*).

The doctrine of the order, as formulated by Muḥammad Zāfir, classes its members with the ecstatic mystics; they manifest an unusual intensity of religious exaltation. In the statement of their regulations[1] drawn up by Muḥammad Zāfir for his disciples he asserts that war upon the infidel is a no less imperative duty than the ordinary practice of religion.

15. Qādiriyyah.—This order is the most widely spread and most popular in all Islām; its domain extends from Morocco to Malaysia; or, to speak more precisely, the order has found its way into every region into which Islām itself has penetrated. It was founded by 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī ([*q.v.*] † 1166), born in Persia, and buried at Baghdād, where also is situated the central convent of the order. The Qādiriyyah are noted alike for their philanthropic principles and their mystical exalta-

[1] *Nūr al-Saṭā* ('The Sparkling Light'), Constantinople, 1885.

tion. 'Abd al-Qādir practised a boundless charity; he accorded a peculiar veneration to Sīdna 'Īsā ('our Lord Jesus'), and admired his measureless benevolence, though at the same time he preached and practised a doctrine of mystical ecstasy and the extinction of the human personality by absorption in God.

In Africa, except as regards Egypt, the order shows little homogeneity. In general, its members have remained faithful to the benevolent and tolerant spirit of the founder, but fanatics and irreconcilable enemies of European civilization are found among them. As regards the Egyptian Sūdān, the Mahdī of Khartum and his troops belonged to the Qādiriyyah, while in the immense region of the Western Sūdān the supreme head of the order there, the famous Shaikh Ma-al-'Aīnīn-al-Shingeṭī—a spiritual potentate of most extensive sway—who sometimes resides at Shingeti in Adrār, and sometimes to the south of Sagiat al-Ḥamrā, and has at present great influence in Morocco, is a determined antagonist of French activity in these various countries. The Qādiriyyah are specially numerous in Tunis and Morocco; in the whole of Africa, according to a recent return, they numbered 24,000 (of whom 2600 were women), with 33 *zāwiyahs*.

16. **Bū 'Aliyyah.**—This Tunisian order, an offshoot from the Qādiriyyah, and found only in Tunis and the province of Constantine (Alg.), was instituted by Bū 'Alī, whose tomb, as also the chief monastery of the order, is at Nefta (Tunis). The members engage in practices similar to those of the 'Isāwiyyah.

17. **Bakkāiyyah.**—This order, belonging to the Western Sūdān, and related to the Qādiriyyah, was founded by 'Umar b. Sīdī Aḥmad al-Bakkāi, *c.* 1552–53. Its central monastery is in Timbuctu, and it is represented also in Tuāt, in Adrār, and among the Tuāregs.

18. **'Arūsiyyah, or Salāmiyyah.** — This is a Tunisian order, founded by Abū 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. al-'Arūs, who died in Tunis in 1460. The name Salāmiyyah comes from the celebrated 'Abd al-Salām al-Asmar, who reorganized the order *c.* 1796, and gave it the thaumaturgic character that it bears to-day. It is connected with the Qādiriyyah, and its typical features are a highly emotional mysticism and performances similar to those of the 'Isāwiyyah—frantic dancing, walking through flames, swallowing fire, etc. The order is well represented in Tunis, and especially in Tripoli, while in Algeria it can hardly claim 100 members (all in the extreme east of Constantine); a few are found also in Mecca and Medina.

19. **Sa'adiyyah.**—This is an Asiatic order, founded in the 13th cent. by Sa'ad al-Dīn al-Jabani of Damascus, and now represented both in Asia and in Africa. Its Egyptian branch was at the zenith of its prestige in the 17th cent., and at the present day that group, together with a body of adherents in the Sūdān, forms the leading ramification of the order. Another section is found in Syria, while members are also met with in the Hedjāz. The Sa'adiyyah are an ecstatic order; they are allied with the Rifā'iyyah, which have a regular, as well as a dissident, branch in Egypt, and which sprang from the Qādiriyyah in the 12th century.

20. **Badawiyyah Aḥmadiyyah.**—This Egyptian order is connected both with the Qādiriyyah and with the Rifā'iyyah, and was founded by Aḥmad al-Badawī, who died in 1276 at Tantah in Egypt. He was a scion of a Sharīfian family belonging originally to the Hedjāz, but afterwards resident at Fez. Aḥmad had gone from Morocco to Egypt, and settled at Tantah, where the chief convent of the order still is. The order is now split into three independent branches, found chiefly in Egypt and the Sūdān, while it has also members in the Hedjāz and in Syria. Legend ascribes to its founder the gift of working miracles, and in particular the power of making barren women bear children—hence the licentious orgies which take place round the saint's tomb on his festival day.

21. **Shādhiliyyah.** — This African order — or theological school, rather—was founded by Abū'l Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-Jabbār al-Shādhilī, who was born, as some report, in Morocco, or, according to others, in Tunis, in 1196–97. He was a pupil of the renowned 'Abd al-Salām b. Mashīsh († 1227–28), a Moroccan disciple of Sha'aib Abū Madian al-Andalusī, a native of Seville, who died at Tlemsen in 1197–98. This Abū Madian had travelled in the East, where he had become one of the personal followers of the famous 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jīlānī (cf. above, § 15). Al-Shādhilī settled at length in Egypt. At the outset he engaged in ascetic practices, but afterwards devoted himself entirely to teaching. He gained an extraordinary reputation and was highly venerated. The university of al-Azhar drew its inspiration exclusively from his teaching, which it disseminated throughout the Muslim world.

Al-Shādhilī imposed no distinctive rule or ritual upon his disciples, so that, having had no other bond of union than the dominating influence of his teaching, they found themselves at his death (1258) without a leader. This resulted in the formation of various groups among his disciples, and of a considerable number of orders animated by his spirit. Of a proper organization there is but little in the order, which is above all a mystical fellowship, its main characteristics being a pure spiritualism, an ideal elevation of thought and feeling, absolute consecration to God, the voluntary merging of one's being in God, moral purification, prayer at all times, in all places, and under all conditions, and an ecstatic mysticism springing out of fervid love to God. This high-wrought mysticism, impelling the disciple to lose himself in the divine, was regarded by al-Shādhilī as inconsistent with all fanaticism and intolerance, and it certainly bears the stamp of a genuine spiritual catholicity.

At the present day the Shādhiliyyah form not so much an organized order as a school of doctrine maintained by numerous orders and taught in numerous *zāwiyahs*. The most genuine representatives of al-Shādhilī's teaching are now those religious associations which, while untrammelled by any proper constitution, make a watchword of the master's name, and it is these—independent *zāwiyahs* — which most faithfully reflect the primitive community. We find them scattered throughout the whole of N. Africa, more particularly in Algeria (where there are over 14,000 adherents), Tunis, and Tripoli; also in the Hedjāz, Syria, and Turkey—countries in which they play an important rôle.

The following twelve orders (22–33) are of Shādhiliyyan origin.

22. **Ḥabībiyyah.**—This Moroccan order, mentioned by L. Rinn, was founded by Aḥmad b. al-Ḥabīb al-Lamit († 1752–53), a native of Tafilalt. We have little definite information regarding it. Its membership, confined to Tafilalt (in which stands the chief monastery) and the province of Oran (Alg.), is very small, and the order is said to be animated by a tolerant and unworldly spirit.

23. **Wafaiyyah (Ufaiyyah).**—The Wafaiyyah, an Egyptian order, was founded in the 14th cent. by the Wafa, a Sharīfian family belonging to Egypt; its first chief was Muḥammad Wafa, and it has survived to the present day under the control of the same family.

24. Nāṣiriyyah.—This Moroccan order, now of diminished importance, was founded in the 17th cent. by Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-Drā'ī († 1669), who claimed Aḥmad b. Yūsuf († 1524–25) as his spiritual master. The chief convent of the order and the founder's tomb are at Tamagrut (Wādī Drā'a), the headquarters of the brotherhood. The members are found mainly in the south of Morocco; outside that country a very few are met with in Algeria and Tunis.

25. Shaikhiyyah.—The Shaikhiyyah, or Ulād Sīdī al-Shaikh, belonging to the Sahāra, and holding to the doctrinal standpoint of the Shādhiliyyah, are not so much a religious order as an aristocratic caste of a political and religious character. Their founder was 'Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad, afterwards styled Sīdī Shaikh († 1615), a great feudal lord who had once been a *muqaddam* among the Shādhiliyyah. He erected at al-Abiod the first of the *qṣūr* (citadels) now found in the Sahāra, and exercised a strong moral and religious authority in that region.

The Shaikhiyyah are located principally in the south of Oran, in Tuāt, Tidikalt, and Gūrara. In Morocco, where a few are met with at Tafilalt and round the oasis of Figig, their influence is inconsiderable; they are here regarded as hostile to Europeans. In the main, feudal, family, and marabout influences prevail so largely among them that the bond of connexion between them and the Shādhiliyyah is now very loose.

26. Karzāziyyah.—This Saharan order, found in S. Morocco and S. Oran, was instituted by Sharīf Aḥmad b. Nusa († 1608), who belonged to Karzāz, an oasis to the south-east of the Figig, and taught the doctrines of the Shādhiliyyah. The members are noted for works of benevolence, and the *zāwiyah* of the founder at Karzāz is still a refuge for the poor, and, in times of adversity or oppression, for residents of the neighbouring *qṣūr*.

27. Ziyāniyyah.—This also is a Saharan order noted for philanthropy; it was founded by Mūlai b. Bū Ziyān († 1733), who belonged to a Sharīfian family resident in the Wādī Drā'a. The saint's tomb is at Kenatsa, between Tafilalt and the oasis of Figig, and there too is situated the central convent of the order. The Ziyāniyyah are found mainly in S. Morocco, Tafilalt, Figig, Tuāt, Gūrara, and the province of Oran; in Algeria, according to a recent computation, they numbered over 3000. They adhere to the doctrines of the Shādhiliyyah. They act as conductors of caravans, and in the Sahāra protect them against robbers and brigands. The order has always shown itself well-disposed towards French people and the colonial administration.

28. Hansaliyyah.—This Moroccan order was founded by b. Yūsuf al-Hansali († 1702), who, as his name indicates, belonged to the Hansala, a section of the Banī Mṭīr, a tribe living in a district to the south of Fez. Formerly the order held a position of great influence in Morocco, but it is now almost extinct there; in Algeria it numbers more than 4000 members, belonging to the province of Constantine (the *zāwiyah* of Shettaba); and it is represented also in Tunis. Its adherents are noted for works of charity.

29. Zarrūqiyyah.—The Zarrūqiyyah, a Moroccan order, was founded by Abū'l-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Zarrūqī († 1494), who belonged to the Beranes, a tribe settled near Fez. In Morocco the order is dying out, but in Algeria it has about 2700 members, with a *zāwiyah* at Berruaghia.

30. Jazūliyyah.—This Moroccan order has almost ceased to exist as an organized community in Morocco, although the doctrines of its founder are still taught at Fez. Its founder was Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad al-Jazūlī († *c.* 1465), a native of Jazūla in Sūs, and the author of a famous work entitled *Dalail al-Ḫairat* ('The Best Arguments'), on which are based the teachings of the Jazūliyyah.

31. Yūsufiyyah.—This is an Algerian order, founded by Aḥmad b. Yūsuf, a native of Morocco or—more probably, as some hold—of Oran. This celebrated visionary (*majzūb*), to whom are ascribed numerous proverbs and epigrams, died in 1524–25 and was buried in Miliana (Algiers). There are few traces of the order in Morocco, but in Algeria there is at Tiūt, in the extreme south of Oran, a *zāwiyah* founded by Muḥammad b. Milūd († 1877), a descendant of b. Yūsuf, which can still claim some 1500 members. The order has little influence in Algeria, but has all along maintained excellent relations with the French authorities.

32. Ghāziyyah.—The Ghāziyyah, a Moroccan order, founded *c.* 1526 by Abū'l-Ḥasān al-Qāsim al-Ghāzī, is of feeble growth, has a very limited expansion in the Wādī Drā'a, and possesses a *zāwiyah* at Fez.

33. Shabbiyyah.—The Shabbiyyah is a Tunisian order, founded in the 17th cent. by Aḥmad b. Makhluf, a descendant of Muḥammad b. Nāṣir al-Drā'ī, the founder of the Nāṣiriyyah (above, § 24). This b. Makhluf had been sent to Tunis to extend the operations of the latter order, and had settled at Shabba, between Sfax and Sūs; hence the name borne by his followers. The actual organizer of the order was Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Hatif. It is found in Tunis, and also in Algiers (Aurès), where it has about 1500 members.

34. Khalwātiyyah.—This Asiatic group, the name of which is ultimately derived from the term *khalwa*, 'retreat,' 'solitude,' is a school rather than an order, and goes back to the philosophical school founded by the Persian thinker Abū'l-Qāsim al-Junaidī († 910–11), but its actual (or at least its eponymous) founder was 'Umar al-Khalwātī († 1397–98), also a Persian. At the outset the order had no graded organization, and in Asia, where its expansion was on a great scale, it soon broke up into various groups—independent and local branches. In Africa, about the end of the 17th cent., they formed for a time a religious association in the true sense; but there too, though the order made less rapid progress, it soon fell apart into divergent and independent branches or groups. The teaching of the Khalwātiyyah began to take root in Egypt as early as the 15th century. At the end of the 17th a Syrian Khalwātī called Mustafa al-Baqri, a professor in the university of al-Azhar in Cairo, endeavoured to incorporate the members of the order in Egypt, and the united body, having grown considerably in numbers, assumed the name Baqriyyah, to distinguish them from other Khalwātiyyah. This new organization, however, did not last long, for at the death of al-Baqri (1709) three fresh groups detached themselves from it, viz. the Khafnawiyyah, the Sharqawiyyah, and the Sammaniyyah. Further disruptions took place, giving rise to other independent branches and *zāwiyahs*, so that, as indicated above, the Khalwātiyyah do not so much form an order as represent a type of doctrine. They nevertheless exercise great influence in social life. They are ascetics, and mystics of a most fervid stamp; they have recourse to the retreat and the austerities which it involves; they engage in iterative prayers—repetitions of formulæ, names of God, etc.—sometimes continued for five or six consecutive hours. This intense religious fervour has often excited the members to fanatical outbreaks and, as in Egypt, the Egyptian Sūdān, etc.,

brought them into conflict with the authorities, both Muslim and Christian. Like some other orders (cf. §§ 15, 35, and 39), they admit women as members.

35. Raḥmāniyyah. — The Raḥmāniyyah is an Algerian order, found chiefly in Constantine, and elsewhere only in Tunis. It sprang from the Khalwātiyyah, and resembles them in doctrine, practice, and lack of cohesion. It was instituted by Muḥammad b. 'Abdarraḥmān Bū Qubrain († 1793-94), who belonged to the Kabyle tribe of the Aït Smaïl; his surname, Bū Qubrain ('with the two tombs'), goes back to the legend according to which his body was divided into two parts, buried respectively in Kabylia and at Hamma near Algiers. It is a most popular and influential order in Algeria, where it played the leading part in the great insurrection of 1871; its membership here is 156,000 (including 13,000 women), with 177 *zāwiyahs*, and comprises several independent groups. Like all other offshoots of the Khalwātiyyah, it is marked by a want of cohesion, of discipline, and of centralized control.

36. Emirghaniyyah.—This is an Oriental order, known also as the Mirghaniyyah or Marghania, founded by Muḥammad 'Uthmān al-Emir Ghanī, who was born in 1793 at Salamat near Taïf in the Hedjāz, and died at Taïf in 1853. He joined the then brilliant school of Aḥmad b. Idrīs, a native of Fez, who taught at Mecca from 1797 till 1833. At the death of the latter, in 1837, Emir Ghanī's standing among the Idrisiyyah enabled him to compete successfully with Shaikh Sanūsī for the leadership of that body. Presently, however, he began to modify the rule of Aḥmad, and then founded the order that bears his own name. When he died, dissensions and rivalries divided his followers into isolated sections and local branches. The order has a considerable expansion in Arabia, throughout the basin of the Red Sea, and in the Egyptian Sūdān.

By the founder himself the order was named al-Khatemia, 'the sealing'; hence the title Serr al-Khāttem, 'the secret of the seal,' given to his son Muḥammad, who became the head of the confraternity. It is a mystical and ecstatic order, and from the first—even in its very origin—it assumed a political attitude hostile to the Sanūsiyyah (§ 38). It was closely involved in the Mahdistic movement. In the Sūdān it has shown itself distinctly favourable to the Anglo-Egyptian government. The French traveller Bonnel de Mézières, when on a mission to the Sūdān in 1905–06, spoke of the order as entirely in the hands of the English, and this connexion has lowered its prestige both in the Sūdān and in the Hedjāz. A religious order that allies itself too openly with Europeans inevitably diminishes its influence among Muslims (cf. above, §§ 11 and 12).

37. Naqshbandiyyah.—An Oriental order, one of the most important in Islām, the Naqshbandiyyah has the largest membership of any in Central Asia. Its characteristics are contemplative mysticism and ecstatic ritualism; and, by reason of the varied and flexible forms of the mysticism which it inculcates, the purity of life for which its votaries are noted, and the supernatural powers ascribed to them, its influence is indeed great. It was founded at Bukhārā by al-Khwājah Muḥammad Bahā al-Dīn[1] († 1390), an eclectic reformer (combining Sunnite orthodoxy, Shī'ism, and Ismā'ilian teachings). Etymologically the name Naqshband refers to the mystical delineations of the celestial life taken by Bahā al-Dīn from the philosophical theories of the Ismā'iliyyah Batheniyyah ('interior Ismā'ilians,' *i.e.* those practising internal meditation both ecstatic and contemplative). In Africa the order has only one *zāwiyah*, which draws its members exclusively from the Turkish element of the population.

[1] See *ERE* viii. 886 *f.*

38. Sanūsiyyah.—The Sanūsiyyah, an Algerian order, was founded in 1835 by Shaikh Sī Muḥammad b. Sī 'Ali 'l-Sanūsī († 1859), who belonged to the vicinity of Mostaganem, and claimed to be the Mahdī. The chief monastery was for a long time at Jarabūb (Jaghbūb) in Tripoli, but has been removed to the oasis of Kufra in the Libyan Desert. The order has a great influence in Tripoli and in part of the Eastern Sūdān; it has a firm footing also in Egypt and especially in Arabia; but its following is very small in Algeria (under 1000 members), Morocco, and the districts to the south of these countries. The founder claimed to be a reformer of Islām, one who would restore the primitive purity of morals according to the Qur'ān; he also maintained that he formed the synthesis of all the other orders, especially in their mystical aspects. The order of the Sanūsiyyah has nothing like the vast influence and the fanatically anti-Christian and anti-European character that have been ascribed to it. Its attitude to Europeans is friendly or hostile according to locality and circumstances; but it should be noted that al-Mahdī, the eldest son of Sanūsī, and his successor as head of the order, took up a position of direct antagonism as the Mahdī of Khartum.

39. Heddāwa.—This Moroccan order was first made known to Europeans by Auguste Moulières.[1] Its founder was Sīdī Heddi, who lived in the 13th cent., and was a contemporary and an admirer of Mūlāi 'Abd al-Salam b. Meshīsh, the great saint of the Jibāl; his tomb is at Tagzirth, among the Benī 'Arūs in the Jibāl, and there too stands the chief monastery of the order. The district in which he settled and had a *zāwiyah* built is now called Uṭa ('plain') Sīdī Heddi, and the fish of the stream that traverses the district have since ranked as sacred. The Heddāwa (pl. of Heddāwī) are a mendicant order of the lowest type, and have a most repulsive appearance. They are clothed in rags and go bare-headed, with the staff in their hand and the chaplet round their neck; they are a byword for filthiness, and are said to live in promiscuity; they admit women into their membership. They like to have animals, especially cats, about them; and they are great smokers of *kīf* (shredded hemp). Though few in number, they are spread over an extensive district. All our information regarding them tends to show that they form an antinomian order.

40. Mbuoniin.—The Mbuoniin, a little known Moroccan order, first noted by Jules Erckmann,[2] was founded by a devout man named 'Abdallah 'Alī, also called Mbuono (Bū Nūh), a native of the Wādī Drā'a, in which (at Tamagrut) his tomb is also situated. The central convent of the order is in Tafilalt, and there was recently at Marrakesh a community of Mbuoniin numbering about 200. The members—they seem to be relatively few—wear as a badge a white cap of knitted wool.

LITERATURE.—Of works dealing with the subject as a whole there are few, but monographs devoted to particular orders are constantly appearing. Of the former class we cite here only those that may claim to be of scientific or documentary value: L. Rinn, *Marabouts et Khouan; Etude sur l'Islam en Algérie* (with a chart indicating the boundaries, the locality, and the importance of the orders), Algiers, 1885; O. Depont and X. Coppolani, *Les Confréries religieuses musulmanes* (with a map showing the geographical sphere of the orders—Algeria, Africa, Asia, and European Turkey), do. 1897; A. Le Chatelier, *L'Islam dans l'Afrique occidentale*, Paris, 1899; E. Doutté, *L'Islam algérien en l'an 1900*, Algiers, 1900; valuable information is supplied by A. Le Chatelier, *Les Confréries musulmanes du Hédjaz*, Paris, 1887, which gives a detailed bibliography of the subject down to 1887.

E. MONTET.

[1] *Le Maroc inconnu*, Paris, 1895–99.
[2] *Le Maroc moderne*, Paris, 1885.

REMORSE.—In its most general sense remorse denotes poignant sorrow for the miserable condition of oneself or of another, whether that involves personal responsibility or is merely due to circumstances. Writers of the 16th and 17th centuries often use it for 'pity' or 'compassion,' and this meaning survives in the negative form 'remorseless.' But in modern usage remorse means exclusively the intense feeling of grief or compunction for one's own acts and their consequences, as they affect oneself and others. It therefore implies responsibility and guilt and culminates in despair over acts that are irretrievable and a condition that is irremediable.

1. As a psychological phenomenon.—Remorse is an emotion. Although predominantly a very acute feeling of pain, it is also a complex mental state that can emerge only at the conceptual and self-conscious stage of mental development.

William James propounded a theory that, if we abstract from any emotion 'all feelings of its bodily symptoms,' nothing would be left, which is an exaggeration of the fact that bodily states are a necessary element in all emotion, though not the whole of any emotion. Moreover, they do not enter so largely into remorse as into emotions like anger and fear, which James analyzed, and that because it is a calm and deep, but none the less intense, rather than a violent, emotion.

It is described as having 'a certain positive colouring, in which organic sensations, notably in the throat and digestive tracts, are prominent. There is also a certain setting of the muscles of throat and brow. The "gnawing" of remorse, by which it occupies consciousness and torments, seems to arise from these sensations.'[1]

As a persistent mood it would undoubtedly change the entire tone of the visceral organs as well as the facial expression.

Remorse is to be distinguished from a general emotional mood, because it has a unique character of its own and involves some idea of the self and a judgment upon the self. It is a feeling of strife within the self, or of an irreparable breach between the ideal self that might have been and the actual self whose act has produced the conflict. But the feeling arises partly from a judgment of the difference between the two and of the inferiority of the actual self, but still more from a repression and a paralysis of the active side of consciousness. G. F. Stout traces the feeling quality in all emotions to 'occurrences which powerfully thwart or further pre-existing conative tendencies.'[2] Remorse is an apt illustration of this principle, because, while it is 'perhaps the very worst quality that can belong to suffering,'[3] it is the emotion that exercises the most deadening influence upon life.

'In it there is a collision between what we have actually done and what we now desire that we should have done. Thus in reflection on our past self, the free course of our present ideal activity is crushed and repressed by the memory of our actual behaviour.'[4]

But, as the developed self is conditioned by other selves, so are its emotions. There may be remorse for wrong done which apparently affects only ourselves, but it is more general and intense in respect of wrongs done to others, because the free intercourse of ourselves with other selves, whether God or men, is thereby restricted or stopped. Yet it always includes the utter misery and hopelessness of our own condition. Despair is always an element in it.

2. As an ethical quality.—It is obvious therefore that remorse is a moral feeling. It involves free agency and responsibility. One feels grief for misfortunes, regret for mistakes, remorse for sins, for acts which one has freely caused and ought to have prevented. It is a painful conflict between the ideal and the actual self, and it has been held to be the most original element of our moral nature. It is the most elementary form of that which differentiates between moral and non-moral nature. It is the root and beginning of the moral faculty.

Darwin, in his account of the rise of morality, almost identifies remorse with conscience.

'When past and weaker impressions are judged by the ever-enduring social instincts . . . [man] will then feel remorse, repentance, regret or shame. . . . He will consequently resolve more or less firmly to act differently for the future; and this is conscience.'[1]

This is not a very accurate use of terms, and Darwin has omitted the peculiar, unanalyzable, moral quality which pertains both to remorse and to conscience. But our view of the ultimate nature and source of remorse, whether it be the reproach of neglected self-interest, or of injured society, or of some transcendental authority insulted, will depend upon our theory of the moral criterion, whether that be self-interest, or social welfare, or some transcendental ideal.

Yet it is not strictly accurate to identify remorse with conscience. It is rather the result of conscience judging and condemning. While it is inseparable from moral judgment, it is peculiarly the feeling element that accompanies the reproach of conscience. On the other hand, it cannot be reckoned among the virtues or the vices, for it is too intimately bound up with the essence of moral nature, and with that which constitutes and defines right and wrong, virtue and vice. Its value therefore as a factor in moral life and in relation to the absolute moral ideal depends entirely upon the degree of enlightenment in conscience. One man may feel remorse for that which would afford the happiness of an approving conscience to another.

Darwin quotes the case of a savage who felt prolonged remorse until he went 'to a distant tribe to spear a woman to satisfy his sense of duty to his wife' who had died of disease.[2]

3. Theological significance.—Remorse assumes its acutest form and acquires religious significance when it is a sense of having violated the laws of God or of having outraged His love, thus in either case incurring His wrath. Its specific nature is then relative to the idea of God involved. Remorse was a frequent theme of the Greek drama, and the element of despair is here especially prominent because the Greek mind was apt to identify the divine in the last resort with inexorable fate. In the OT Cain and Saul are two notable examples of unavailing sorrow for sin. In each case there is a sense of guilt, a burden of penalty, a consciousness of complete and final alienation from God, and a paralysis of the spiritual life (Gn 4^{8-16}, 1 S 28^{15-25}). A NT writer also represents Esau as 'rejected (for he found no place of repentance) though he sought it diligently with tears' (He 12^{17}); and the first evangelist represents Judas Iscariot as having 'repented himself,' and, when he found repentance useless, 'he went away and hanged himself' (Mt $27^{3.5}$).

But in the OT and NT sorrow for sin more usually appears as repentance (*q.v.*), because God is merciful and forgiving, able and willing to reconcile the sinner to Himself, to blot out his guilt, and to open before him a new door of hope. Remorse differs from repentance in that, while both are sorrow for sin, the former is unavailing and irremediable, but the latter is a first step to a new life wherein the mistakes and failures of the old may be retrieved. In Protestant theology remorse may be either (1) the first stage of conviction for sin, a work of the law unrelieved by the

[1] *DPhP* ii. 463 f. [2] *A Manual of Psychology*[2], p. 305.
[3] A. Bain, *The Emotions and the Will*, London, 1859, p. 136.
[4] Stout, *Analytic Psychology*, ii. 279.

[1] *The Descent of Man*[2], London, 1875, pt. i. ch. iv.
[2] P. 114 f.

hope of the gospel, but followed at length by repentance, faith, and justification—

'But the law doth rather shew sin, accuse and terrify the conscience, declare the wrath of God, and drive to desperation';[1]

or (2) a legal conviction of sin associated with permanent unbelief.

'Remorse for sin does certainly prove that the soul is not dead. . . . But remorse is not a sanctifying principle; on the contrary, it is an exceedingly dangerous one; and the soul may die of it, as truly as the body of acute pain. It often drives men to despair, to frenzied iniquity, and thus to final hardness of heart.'[2]

Such would be the condition of one who felt that he had committed the sin against the Holy Ghost or who had fallen from grace beyond recovery (He 6^{4-8}).

Almost parallel to the difference between remorse and repentance is the better-defined distinction in Roman Catholic theology between attrition and contrition.

Contrition, the first act in the sacrament of penance, is 'a sorrow of the soul and a detestation of sin committed, with the determination not to sin again.' When it is motived by love, and when it reconciles man to God, it is perfect contrition, and is to be distinguished from attrition or imperfect contrition, 'which arises from the consideration of the heinousness of sin or from the fear of hell or of punishment.' This also is 'a gift of God and an impulse of the Holy Ghost, who does not as yet dwell in the penitent, but only moves him, whereby the penitent being aided, prepares his way unto righteousness.'[3]

Attrition is not quite the same as remorse, but it seems to occupy the same position in the progress of the soul from sin to salvation as remorse may do when the fear of God and the condemnation of the law hold a man under the conviction of sin and still in its bondage for a season, though at last he may emerge into repentance and faith. But Protestant theology would not ascribe to remorse such independent efficacy for salvation as Catholic theology does to attrition. Yet remorse does in many cases lead to conviction when the revelation of the grace of God supervenes.[4]

LITERATURE.—G. F. Stout, *A Manual of Psychology*[2], London, 1904, bk. iii. div. 1, ch. iv., *Analytic Psychology*, do. 1896, bk. ii. ch. xii.; W. James, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, do. 1902, lects. vi.–x.; J. Martineau, *Types of Ethical Theory*[3], Oxford, 1891, ii. 419–422; F. W. Newman, *The Soul*, London, 1905, ch. ii.; T. M. Lindsay, *Hist. of the Reformation*, Edinburgh, 1906, i. 201, 219, 222 ff.; E. D. Starbuck, *The Psychology of Religion*, London, 1899, ch. iv.; R. Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, Oxford, 1628, pt. iii. sect. iv.; John Bunyan, *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners*, London, 1666.

T. REES.

RENUNCIATION.—In a sense the entire history of ethics might be said to turn on the question of renunciation. Every system has been forced to admit it as an element; it is the amount admitted that varies, and this varies enormously. Some reduce it to a minimum; there are others that have made it cover the whole ground. At the one extreme we have the thoroughgoing forms of Hedonism, such as Cyrenaicism and Epicureanism, which, taking the maximum of pleasure for the mere individual as the goal, are yet compelled to recognize that some pleasures must be renounced. And this because not only do desires conflict in the individual himself, but even those that are harmonious cannot be satisfied to the full in this world. At the other end we have the systems of self-denial, of which perhaps Buddhism might be taken as the type. Here renunciation seems pushed to its utmost limits, since the annihilation of all passion and desire is the supreme aim.

It may be a question as to whether this *nirvāṇa* of calm goes so far as to imply the death of all consciousness. If so, it would raise in an acute form the problem as to how it can be good for man to renounce everything, since by the very terms of the renunciation there is no longer anything living to possess a good. This might perhaps be answered by holding that conscious existence was intrinsically so miserable that the only 'good' that could be hoped for was the absence of 'bad.' And this, it would appear, would be the answer of Schopenhauer and of von Hartmann, the modern preachers of asceticism based on pessimism.

Between these two extremes lie the systems of the world. Greek ethics kept always in view the conception of a fundamental harmony as at least conceivable. Socrates and Plato demanded renunciation only of those illusory pleasures which an enlightened man would recognize as not what he really wanted. Aristotle, in admitting the possibility of utter self-sacrifice—say, death in battle without the hope of immortality—practically admits that a man may willingly give up what is most worth having from a purely individual point of view for the sake of serving others. This clash between the happiness of self and the happiness of others was to be felt more keenly as time went on. Meanwhile Aristotle was at one with Plato and Socrates in conceiving that the vast majority of our desires were reasonable, and in part at least to be satisfied. The work of renunciation lay not in killing them out, but in taming them and putting them to use, since use could be found for them in no way at variance with the highest good.

In Stoicism—developed under combined Greek, Roman, and Hebrew influences — renunciation becomes far more prominent. The mere consciousness of duty done was held to be enough to support man and give him happiness. What came to him from without was to be neither desired nor shunned; he must surrender once for all every clinging to the goods of circumstance. A modern parallel may be found in the view of Kant that there is nothing 'in the world or out of it' absolutely good 'except a Good Will' (*Grundlegung zur Metaphysik der Sitten*, sect. 1, *init.*), and that moral action consists in following the Imperative of Duty without regard to personal wishes.

With Christianity and Christian ethics the question enters on a new phase, and becomes extremely intricate. The definite recognition of the principle of love foreshadowed in Stoicism makes it impossible ever again to dissociate entirely an individual's highest good from that of his fellows; on the other hand, the hope of belief in an ultimate heaven of individual blessedness prevents renunciation from being the final word. Merely selfish pleasures have doubtless to be surrendered, but the compensation will be abundant. It is a further question, and one keenly debated, what these selfish pleasures include. Some have banished all the pleasures of the body and many of the mind. This was undoubtedly the view of the mediæval ascetics (see the writings of Bonaventura, published by the Fathers of Quaracchi), and it was to a certain extent repeated by Tolstoi in modern times, though it was the doctrine of non-resistance rather than of renunciation pure and simple that he made the keynote. All asceticism, however, seems at variance with the childlike spirit beloved of Christ—for no child is ever an ascetic—and indeed with the general impression which He made on His contemporaries as a man who 'came eating and drinking' (Mt 11^{19}).

The pressure and complexity of modern life have brought out further aspects in the problem. Many a philanthropist, *e.g.*, must give up pleasures which in themselves he admits to be high and desirable. Is this from his point of view reasonable? The difficulty of this question does not seem to have been fully realized by the older utilitarians, such as Bentham and Mill, but the sense of it has led the latest exponent of the system in England, Henry Sidgwick, to suggest that a heaven where such sacrifices will be compensated supplies the only means of reconciling

[1] Luther, *Commentary on Galatians*, Eng. tr., London, 1830, p. 12.
[2] F. W. Newman, *The Soul*, p. 129.
[3] *Decreta Concil. Trident.*, sess. xiv. cap. iv.
[4] E. D. Starbuck, *The Psychology of Religion*, p. 52.

the divergences between the good of the one and the good of the many, and so completely rationalizing ethics (see *The Methods of Ethics*, bk. iv. ch. vi.). Others—*e.g.*, the followers of Auguste Comte and Herbert Spencer—are content to renounce the hope of permanent individual happiness altogether, if only the perfection of the race can be attained. Others, again, have developed what may be called a kind of Neo-Stoicism. Unalloyed good is impossible both for race and for individual, but sufficient compensation is to be found in the glory of an heroic struggle. This view has been common in England, finding distinct expression, for instance, in the writings of Huxley (*e.g.*, *Evolution and Ethics*). But the German Nietzsche, by virtue of his genius, might be regarded as the leader of the school. He is, however, distinguished not only by the exultant turn he gives to the creed, but by the intense hatred he feels for any subordination of the one to the many. The best good of life as yet known to him lies in the free development of the most splendid and forceful individuals, at whatever cost to the masses. In general it may be said that the modern attitude is one of ferment over the questions: How much is man bound to renounce for himself and for the race? How much should he insist on claiming for himself or for the race, as a worthy prize for life? See also artt. HEDONISM, CYRENAICS, EPICUREANS, ETHICS AND MORALITY (Buddhist), (Christian), and (Greek), STOICS, UTILITARIANISM, POSITIVISM.

LITERATURE.—H. Sidgwick, *History of Ethics*[5], London, 1902, *The Methods of Ethics*[7], do. 1907; T. H. Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, Oxford, 1883; G. Lowes Dickinson, *The Meaning of Good*, London, 1907; E. Caird, *The Evolution of Religion*, Glasgow, 1893; T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, rev. ed., London, 1899; I. Kant, *Werke*, Leipzig, 1838. vol. viii., partly tr. T. K. Abbott, in *Kant's Theory of Ethics*, London, 1873; F. Nietzsche, *Werke*, Leipzig, 1895 ff.; A. Schopenhauer, *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*[3], Leipzig, 1859; E. von Hartmann, *Philosophie des Unbewussten*[9], Berlin, 1882; L. Tolstoi, *My Religion*, tr. Huntington Smith, London, 1889.

F. MELIAN STAWELL.

RENUNCIATION (Hindu).—**1. The ideal and the motive.**—To the Hindu the term 'renunciation' (Skr. *sannyāsa*, *sannyas*, 'lay down,' 'resign,' esp. to resign the world, become a *sannyāsin*, or ascetic)[1] conveys a meaning and carries with it an obligation very different from the Western idea. To the latter renunciation admits of degrees, and consists essentially in the surrender of a coveted aim or object, the abandonment of a cherished wish, or the suppression of a more or less definitely formed ideal of life. It is virtually equivalent to self-renunciation, and is conceived in terms of selfish purposes or desires which are to be set aside; it is the opposite of altruism, and implies no cessation of activities, but their diversion into new channels. Seldom if ever does it connote to the Western mind the abandonment of all for a life reduced to its simplest terms. The Hindu conception of renunciation is in almost every respect contrasted with this. *Sannyāsa* is the casting off, the abandonment, not of self but of all that is other than self; and the *sannyāsin* renounces home and friends together with all that to Western thought makes existence desirable, and engages himself to a life of absolute destitution of all possessions, that, undisturbed by worldly conditions or claims, he may cultivate communion with God. To break all the ties that bind to this world, to withdraw as far as possible from all worldly association and intercourse, to be dependent for daily support upon the charity of others—a charity in India never withheld—that no interruption may be offered by worldly cares or interests to meditation and the concentration of all thought and desire upon God, is the avowed ideal and purpose of the Hindu who adopts the life of renunciation and poverty.

To a greater degree also than in the West this renunciation is dictated by religious motives. The mixed motives which among Western peoples lead to the renouncing more or less completely of cherished aims or convictions, often on trivial or even selfish grounds, have no place among the forces which in this particular urge the Hindu to action. Theoretically his sole purpose is to secure freedom for himself so that, untrammelled by worldly ties, he may pursue the one aim of union with God. The world with its attractions and its cares is an obstacle in the way which must be cast aside (*sannyas*). This duty is laid upon him by his religious faith and profession. Renunciation of the world is not a matter of choice, but a religious obligation and command incumbent upon all. It would appear, however, so obviously impracticable for an entire community to render literal obedience to an injunction of this nature that probably the author or authors of the codes of law did not conceive or intend that the rule should be universally observed.

2. Renunciation in practice.—This ideal of the renunciation of the world as a supreme religious obligation is of very ancient date and origin in India. In the oldest literature the figure of the hermit or ascetic who has broken through the fetters that bind to this world and has adopted a solitary and contemplative life is familiar. The motives that prompted the withdrawal from ordinary life were no doubt various, and in many instances not unmixed. The mere desire for a life of ease and irresponsibility actuated many, as it does at the present day, to seek release from burdens and duties that were rightly or wrongly felt to be intolerable. In ancient times probably the religious motive was for the most part at least predominant, and the longing for undisturbed communion with the divine; but it is perhaps more than doubtful whether so much can be claimed to-day for the great host of devotees and ascetics who cross the traveller's path in every part of India. A craving for notoriety and for the influence which a reputation for self-denial and the practice of the ascetic life gives in India prompts some; with many others it is sheer idleness and a disinclination to take the trouble involved in self-support or the support of kindred and relatives. The hardships and sufferings, however, that are voluntarily undergone, the laborious and dangerous journeyings to distant shrines, and the self-denial involved in the assignment of wealth and property to others often prove how sincerely, if mistakenly, truth and holiness are sought in a life of renunciation of all worldly ties and claims. In India such a life is and always has been facilitated by the generous fertility of the soil and the kindly climate, conditions under which bodily needs are few, and the simple requirements of a contemplative and unemployed mode of existence are easily met and satisfied. Moreover, the religious obligation to give alms to the wandering ascetic is never disowned by the Hindu housekeeper; and the *sannyāsin* is always sure of his daily food in whatever village he may present himself in the course of his wide and varied wanderings.

The numerous descendants and offshoots of Hinduism in later times adopted the ascetic motive and ideal. Buddhism in particular enforced the duty of renunciation, and extended the practice, carrying its doctrine and the enthusiasm for its ideal to Egypt and Western lands, where, according to some authorities, it was taken over into Christian usage and became a recognized feature of the Christian ecclesiastical order. If so, the genealogical descent that traces Western monastic

[1] *E.g.*, *Laws of Manu*, vi. 94.

observance to an Eastern origin is of great interest. Too little, however, is known of the details of the history for a secure verdict to be pronounced on the extent of the indebtedness of the West to the East for teaching and example in this respect. Room must certainly be left for a not inconsiderable measure of spontaneity and initiative.

3. Conditions and obligations. — Accordingly, in theory at least, there is in the Hindu conception and practice no middle term or way between an unrestricted use and enjoyment of the things of the world and complete abstinence. Renunciation is of all or of none. Nor is the theory modified to any considerable extent in practice, as in many Christian monasteries of the Middle Ages, and as in a few instances in some Buddhist countries at the present day. Resignation of this or that pleasure or distraction, or severance of the one connexion with retention of others, has presented no attraction to the religious-minded Hindu; while, on the other hand, the ease with which a minimum of bodily wants was satisfied has always, and perhaps increasingly, drawn to the ranks of the ascetics many who were actuated by no higher motive than the craving for an indolent life free from anxiety and care. Of such there are not a few in India, of whom the better-class Hindus themselves are ashamed.

The Indian theory of renunciation, moreover, is closely connected with the doctrine and obligation of the four *āśramas* (*q.v.*; see also art. ASCETICISM [Hindu], vol. ii. p. 91 f.), the successive stages or periods of life through which, theoretically at least, every Hindu must pass from his early years to death. Here again the theoretical conditions and demands were greatly modified in practice; and in particular no restriction was placed upon the adoption of a life of abstinence and renunciation at any age, even the most youthful. The order of the *āśramas* was essential and invariable, that of the *sannyāsin* closing the series as the most exalted and refined. It was not necessary, however, to have reached an advanced age before renouncing the world. At any period it was admissible at will to withdraw from worldly pursuits, abbreviating or omitting altogether the preceding stages, and assuming even in early youth vows of unworldliness and poverty. Instances of return to a worldly life appear always to have been rare. On the other hand, recent history affords many examples of men of eminent piety and sincerity, who at the close of an honourable career have renounced the world, and, abandoning house and home, have given over their remaining years to a life of severe and self-imposed restrictions, to meditation and solitary communion with God. To a high-minded and devoted Indian gentleman of this class, Swāmī Śrī Saććidānanda-Sarasvatī, formerly prime minister of the Native State of Bhaunagar, Monier-Williams makes reference in the preface to his *Brāhmanism and Hindūism*[4] (p. xxi; see also frontispiece); and the late Debendra Nāth Tāgore might be cited as an example of the same gentle and self-denying spirit. Those, however, who adopt the ascetic life from mere idleness and a shrinking from responsibility and work are an undoubted loss and burden and even a source of danger to their country.

4. Effect of European teaching and example.— In this respect as in so many others the Hindu conception has been profoundly modified by the impact of Western and European teaching and example. It is perhaps not true that to any important extent the ancient ideal has been lowered or changed. In theory at least it is still recognized as best that a man should abandon the world, and seek his own salvation and the satisfaction of his spiritual cravings in a life of meditation, severed from his people and the pursuits of the busy crowd. An increasing number, however, endeavour to find that satisfaction in altruistic service in the world rather than in selfish aloofness. More or less consciously they have been influenced by Christian example and propaganda, by scientific and medical doctrines taught in the schools of the importance and interests of the body, by the emphasis laid upon hygiene and the obligations of social service. The example and initiative also of British officers and civil servants, and of professors in the colleges and schools, have counted for much. For the most part it is the members of the higher classes and castes whose conceptions of duty and of life have been thus transformed. The modes of living and the ideals of good of the middle and lower classes have undergone little change, and the convictions of the great majority of the Indian peoples with regard to the duty and efficacy of entire renunciation of the world remain the same; these, however, have neither time nor inclination to put into practice what is for the most part a dimly realized obligation of their religious faith. It is among the leaders of the people, present and future, the intellectual and leisured classes, that a new ideal has been created, and to many of them renunciation has come to mean renunciation of self and evil, that the good may be pursued not out of but in the world and for its benefit.

The motives that under these changed circumstances urge to a new renunciation and to real altruistic service are not always unmixed. In some instances at least, perhaps in many, rivalry with Christian methods and institutions, distrust of the intentions or disinterestedness of Christian activities, or emulation of British achievements and success in the amelioration of the lot of the common people has aroused a spirit of antagonism which has found expression in opposition. Moreover, it is by no means Christian converts alone or those who have avowedly submitted themselves to Christian influence that have proved thus capable of the highest forms of self-renunciation. It may be that in all instances there has been the inspiration, indirect and unacknowledged, of Christian example. Notably, however, the members of the Brāhma Samāj, of the Ārya Samāj, and of other native sects and Churches have not confined themselves to mere doctrinal propaganda, but frequently with a self-sacrifice and devotion worthy of all praise have turned aside from positions of worldly ease and emolument to serve their fellowmen, and that for the sake of definite religious and communistic aims which were not selfish. In the future, therefore, there can be little doubt that the ancient Hindu ideal of renunciation will give place slowly to one which appears thus to be more practical and in its present and general issues more helpful and beneficent. The earlier conception, however, is far from having lost its hold upon the imagination and affection of the people in general, nor, as far as judgment and comparison are possible, is the number of those who take upon themselves the vows of abandonment of the world less than in former years. But the practical spirit of the age is against them; and that will ultimately prevail, even in India, not without regret at the loss of an ideal which, self-seeking and unutilitarian as it might be, was not seldom productive of saintly character, and at least set the example of disregard of mere worldly good.

LITERATURE.—A. Barth, *The Religions of India*[3], Eng. tr., London, 1891; P. Deussen, *The Religion and Philosophy of India: the Upanishads*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1906; J. A. Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*[3], Oxford, 1906; M. Monier-Williams, *Brāhmanism and Hindūism*[4], London, 1891; E. S. Oakley, *Holy Himalaya*, do. 1905; J. C. Oman, *Cults, Customs, and Superstitions of India*[2], do. 1908, *The Mystics, Ascetics, and Saints of India*, do. 1903; see also artt. ĀRYA SAMĀJ, BRĀHMA SAMĀJ, ASCETICISM (Hindu), HINDUISM, MONASTICISM (Hindu).

A. S. GEDEN.

RENUNCIATION AT BAPTISM.—See ABRENUNTIO.

REPENTANCE.—In its broadest sense repentance describes the act of the soul in breaking away from its past as a preliminary step to the work of ethical reform. In this wide signification it is not peculiar to the Jewish or the Christian religion; on the contrary, it is implied in all the higher religions and in all systems of morality. Man's capacity for repentance is grounded in his nature as a moral being.

'We have a capacity,' says Bishop Butler, 'of reflecting upon actions and characters, and making them an object to our thought: and on doing this, we naturally and unavoidably approve some actions, under the peculiar view of their being virtuous and of good desert; and disapprove others, as vicious and of ill desert.'[1]

It is because man has this power of self-judgment that he is also capable of the act of repenting. All moral advance takes the form of a breach with the past. Hence Socrates, in identifying virtue and knowledge, vice and ignorance, taught that only by a preceding conviction of ignorance could a man attain to knowledge. Plato held that in every man there is a potential faculty by which he can distinguish the lesser from the higher good, and renounce the former for the sake of the latter. He compares this change in the attitude of the soul to the turning of the eye from darkness to light. Just as the light of the sun evokes and strengthens the power of bodily vision, so spiritual truth has the power to educate man's faculty of knowledge. This is the meaning of the famous allegory of the cave.[2] A similar line of thought is also found in Buddhism as well as in pre-Buddhistic systems.

1. The idea and the term.—It is only in Judaism and in Christianity that the idea of repentance is developed, and is treated not as a merely preliminary step to the higher life but as a permanent condition of all spiritual achievement. Only within these religions, too, are the presuppositions of repentance in the deepest sense of the term made possible. Belief in a personal God, in the reality of sin, and in the freedom of the will—in the light of such principles repentance becomes a fundamental virtue and is seen to be at once ethical and religious. It has been recently stated that 'the idea is peculiarly Jewish, so much so that its ethical force is lost in the dogma of the atoning Christ.'[3] To this it may be replied that, as a matter of historical fact, one of the great motives to repentance has been and is a realization of the righteousness and the love of God revealed in the death of Christ. That death has proved itself to be a means of atonement by the very fact that it works repentance in him who understands its meaning and feels its power; and thus it removes the subjective hindrance to peace and forgiveness.

The noun *tĕshūbāh* ('repentance') occurs only in post-Biblical Hebrew, but the verbal form *shūb* is common in the OT. The latter word means literally 'to turn' or 'to return' in a physical sense. Running parallel with this use is the use of the word in a spiritual or ethical sense, 'to return from sin and evil to God or to righteousness.' In this usage the word means not merely to change the direction, but to turn right round and face in the opposite way (cf. the refrain in Am $4^{6ff.}$—'yet have ye not returned unto me, saith Jehovah'; for other examples cf. Hos 6^{1}, Is 1^{27} 55^{7}, Jer $3^{12.\ 22}$ 36^{7}, Ezk 13^{22}; the LXX translates *nihham* by *μετανοεῖν*; cf. Jer 18^{8}, which should be rendered 'I will change my mind *or* my purpose' rather than 'I will repent').

[1] Dissertation ii., 'Of the Nature of Virtue,' § 1, *Works*, ed W. E. Gladstone, Oxford, 1896, i 397 f.
[2] *Republic*, vii. 514 f.

The Syr. Bible has for *μετανοεῖτε* (Vulg. *pœnitentiam agite*) in Mt 3^{2} *tûbû* = Heb. *shūbû*. For the noun *μετάνοια* (Mt 3^{11}) the Syr. Bible used *téyābūtā* = *tĕshūbāh*. In the NT 'repent' translates *μετανοέω*, and 'repentance' translates *μετάνοια*, but, as will be shown below, these renderings are far from adequate. The RV seeks to differentiate between *μετανοεῖν*, 'to repent,' and *μεταμέλεσθαι*, 'to regret,' by rendering the latter as a reflexive—*e.g.*, 'Judas repented himself' (Mt 27^{3}), which should rather be rendered, 'Judas was smitten with remorse.' The RV makes an exception to this rule in 2 Co 7^{8}, where *μεταμέλομαι* is translated by 'regret.' Cf. Ro 11^{29}, where *ἀμεταμέλητος* is translated 'without repentance.' The Amer. RV translates it by 'not repented of.' The RV would have done well to call attention in a marginal note to the difference in meaning between the word 'repentance' as commonly used and the Greek word *μετάνοια*. A satisfactory version of the NT must include a new translation of a word that expresses the initial and prevailing idea of Christianity.[1]

2. Repentance in the OT.—Two strains of thought run throughout the OT religion—the one priestly and legalistic, the other prophetic and ethical. Modern Judaism inherits the double tendency. The priestly conception of the relations between God and man is embodied in a Levitical sacrificial system which, in germ, existed from the earliest times in Israel. The expiatory element in sacrifice was developed into an elaborate system, but it laboured under one serious defect—the ritualistic and the ethical were not clearly distinguished. Unintentional transgressions and various impurities of a ceremonial character, such as leprosy or the touching of a dead body, needed an expression of repentance in the prescribed sacrifices. The main function subserved by the sacrificial system was to gain for the sufferer the divine favour or to avert from him the divine wrath (cf. Lv $4^{25f.\ 31.\ 35}$, 2 S 14^{25}). Hence the notion of repentance suffered through the defects of the prevailing notion of sin. Much that later Judaism, as well as Christianity, condemned as sin was not deemed to be sin in early Israel; and *vice versa*, a deeper spiritual view disregards as without moral significance many acts which were deemed to be offences against the holiness of God—*i.e.* against His character as One infinitely remote from contact with the human and the physical. On the other hand, it must be allowed that the systematizers of the post-Exilic worship believed it to be 'a very important means towards the great end of keeping the people of Israel faithful in heart and life to God.'[2]

The prophetic preaching marks a great advance in the conception of sin with a corresponding advance in the conception of repentance. For the prophets sacrifices were secondary to moral obedience. They cared little about the details of ritual, and insisted on the paramount claims of justice, truth, and social righteousness (Jer 7^{22}). In a word, they were the preachers of ethical and social reform, and they proclaimed the necessity of repentance as a necessary prerequisite to a new order of things. Still further, the call to repentance was made in close connexion with the idea of judgment. One of their most passionate convictions was belief in the day of Jahweh, on which an overwhelming retribution should strike a sinful people (Am 5^{20-27} 9^{8-10}, Is 2^{12-21} 13^{9}). The call to repentance was addressed primarily not to the individual but to the nation as a whole. The covenant of Jahweh was with Israel conceived as a personality with a continuous moral life, and therefore responsible alike for its sin and for its amendment. The sins charged against Israel were in the main social—cruelty to the poor, bribery of judges, immorality connected with idolatrous worship. On these the prophet invoked divine judgment, but the judgment can be turned aside by repentance, *i.e.* by a change of mind leading to a

[1] For a valuable note on the Classical, LXX, and NT usage of these words see *Hist. and Linguistic Studies*, 2nd ser., Chicago, 1908.
[2] A. B. Bruce, *Apologetics*, Edinburgh, 1892, p. 265.

[3] K. Kohler, in *JE* x. 377.

change of conduct. 'Seek good, and not evil,' cries Amos, 'that ye may live: and so the Lord, the God of hosts, shall be with you, as ye say. Hate the evil, and love the good, and establish judgment in the gate: it may be that the Lord, the God of hosts, will be gracious unto the remnant of Joseph' ($5^{14f.}$). Hosea through a bitter domestic experience had learned the need of repentance on the part of Israel. The root sin of Israel was disloyalty to God. She had gone after other gods and had broken the marriage covenant with Jahweh. But, just as the prophet would not let go the woman that he loved, but cared for her and through sorrow redeemed her, so he felt that Jahweh, who had chosen Israel as His bride, would not give her up, but would win her back by the greatness of His grief and His compassion (2^{19}). Repentance will lead to restoration, and repentance comes through a deeper knowledge of God.

'It is because Hosea's doctrine of God is so rich, so fair and so tender, that his doctrine of repentance is so full and gracious. Here we see the difference between him and Amos. Amos had also used the phrase with frequency; again and again he had appealed to the people to seek God and to return to God. But from Amos it went forth only as a pursuing voice, a voice crying in the wilderness. Hosea lets loose behind it a heart, plies the people with gracious thoughts of God, and brings about them, not the voices only, but the atmosphere, of love. "I will be as the dew unto Israel," promises the Most High; but He is before His promise. The chapters of Hosea are drenched with the dew of God's mercy, of which no drop falls on those of Amos, but there God is rather the roar as of a lion, the flash as of lightning.'[1]

Jeremiah and Ezekiel repeat to their contemporaries the warnings of judgment and the call to repentance. Idolatry, unbelief, and formalism in religion are the evils that they most frequently denounce. They threaten the people with exile, but the impending doom may be turned aside if they repent: 'Amend your ways and your doings, and I will cause you to dwell in this place' (Jer 7^{3}). Moved by a profound intuition Jeremiah breaks through the bonds of the moral solidarity of the nation, and glimpses the truth of individualism ($31^{29f.}$). But the realization of this truth belongs to the future age. Ezekiel takes up the message of personal responsibility from his earlier contemporary, yet his message is addressed to the nation: 'Turn ye, turn ye from your evil ways; for why will ye die, O house of Israel?' (33^{11}). He makes an advance upon earlier teachings by announcing that God Himself will take the initiative and give repentance to Israel (36^{25-27}); but this is an idea alien to the genius of Judaism, which emphasizes the thought that in repentance man takes the initiative and God grants forgiveness because of man's changed attitude towards Him.

In Psalms and Job the feeling about sin is deepened. It is something in itself evil, breaking the bonds that bind the soul to God. Moreover, sin is now seen to be a universal experience of man. In such Psalms as the 32nd and 51st this deepened consciousness finds expression, even though we should accept the view of some critics that the primary reference is to the sin and repentance of the Church-nation. Still it is impossible to avoid the conviction that the Psalmists were thinking of themselves as sharers by personal experience in the spiritual acts described.

3. Later Jewish teaching.—The idea and practice of repentance receive a rich development in later Jewish thought. Repentance now becomes the fundamental feature of Jewish piety, and the penitential prayer is frequent in the literature of the time. The high value set upon this virtue is illustrated in the Prayer of Manasses. Even for the most wicked of Jewish kings the gateway to life is opened by penitence. Other examples of penitential prayers are found in Dn 9, To 3^{1-6},

[1] G. A. Smith, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, London, 1896, i. 338 f.

3 Mac 2^{1-20} 6^{2-15}. In the book of Wisdom, which was written under the influence of Greek philosophy, we have the thought brought out that the forbearance of God is meant to give the sinner opportunity to repent. 'Thou overlookest the sins of men to the end that they may repent' (11^{23}). We get a prelude to the teaching of Paul (Ro 2^{4}) in another passage: 'Thou hast made thy children to be of good hope that thou givest repentance for sins' (12^{19}). Throughout later Judaism the idea of suffering played an important rôle in developing penitential feeling. The old idea that suffering was a sign of divine displeasure still held its ground, and, the more keenly men felt suffering, the deeper was their consciousness of sin and their desire for reconciliation. Distress and pain were proofs that sin had been committed, whether it was possible or not to say what the sin actually was.

In the later rabbis the word *tĕshūbāh* ('repentance') has become a technical theological term. Sin, it is taught, is removed by good works, repentance, and confession. A consistent doctrine of repentance from a purely ethical standpoint is not to be looked for in the rabbis. A deep spiritual conception is found side by side with external legalistic views. As an example of the latter may be cited the Talmudic teaching that three books are opened on New Year's Day; the righteous are inscribed for life, the wicked for death, while the 'intermediate' remain in suspense till the Day of Atonement. By good works and repentance they can make the swaying balance incline in their favour. Of similar character is the interpretation of the words, 'Seek ye the Lord while he may be found, call ye upon him while he is near' (Is 55^{6}), which are taken to mean 'Seek him especially between the New Year and the Day of Atonement when he dwells among you.' On the other hand, it is to the rabbis that we owe some of the most beautiful sayings about repentance to be found outside the Bible. C. G. Montefiore has collected much material of this kind in his article 'Rabbinic Conceptions of Repentance.'[1] The following are quoted:

'"God's hand is stretched out under the wings of the heavenly chariot to snatch the penitent from the grasp of justice." "Open for me," says God, "a gateway of repentance as big as a needle's eye, and I will open for you gates wide enough for horses and chariots." "If your sins are as high as heaven, even unto the seventh heaven and even to the throne of glory, and you repent, I will receive you."'[2]

The main differences between the rabbinical and the modern teaching about repentance are, according to this writer: (1) the rabbinical doctrine is on the whole particularist, while the modern teaching is pronouncedly universalist; (2) the rabbis are more stern towards the sinner, especially the religious sinner, the heretic, the apostate, the unbeliever; (3) whereas, according to the modern teaching, punishment after death can be only remedial and temporary, the rabbis held that for some sinners there was no share whatever in the blessedness of the world to come.

4. Repentance in Christianity.—Jesus, though opposed to the prevailing tendencies of the Judaism of His time, took over and developed the deeper motives of the OT prophetic teaching. Among these was the demand for righteousness which can be satisfied only by repentance. The Baptist had already echoed the cry of an Isaiah or a Jeremiah, 'Repent ye; for the kingdom of heaven is at hand' (Mt 3^{2}). He was a preacher of the judgment to come and of repentance unto the remission of sins in view of this judgment. Thus the eschatological movement, which was destined to affect powerfully the history of Christianity, was begun by the Baptist's summons to amendment of life. Because

[1] *JQR* xvi. [1904] 209–257.

[2] P. 230, quoting *Pesāḥim*, 119 *a*; *Shir R.* on v. 2; *Pesiqtâ R.*, 185*a*.

of the approaching end of the age, which was to be signalized by the appearance of the Messiah, John called on men to renounce their worldly every-day life in order to fit themselves for entrance into the Kingdom. They were to bring forth fruits worthy of repentance. Jesus, on His first public appearance in Galilee after John's imprisonment, takes up the same message: 'The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand: repent ye, and believe in the gospel' (Mk 1^{15}). The whole ministry of Jesus may be described as a ministry of repentance. With grave irony He sums up the purport of His mission: 'I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance' (Lk 5^{32}; cf. Mk 2^{17}, Mt 9^{13}). What Jonah was to the Ninevites that Jesus was to His generation—a preacher of repentance (Mt 12^{41}, Lk 11^{32}).

More specifically it is clear that His preaching of repentance stands in closest connexion with His preaching of the Kingdom and with His healing ministry. The ethical requirements for admission to the Kingdom as expounded in the Sermon on the Mount imply the profound change in mind and life which we try to express by the term 'repentance.' The mission of the Twelve had for one of its main purposes that of proclaiming the duty of repentance (Mk 6^{12}). The parables of the lost sheep, the lost coin, and the lost son are motived by the thought that there is 'joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth' (Lk $15^{7.\ 10}$). The events of contemporary life, the calamities and tragedies that befell the world, bore a spiritual message and a solemn warning: 'Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish' (Lk 13^{5}; cf. 13^{3}).

Now, with this emphasis on the repentant attitude of mind, Jesus is in line with what we have already seen to be the prophetic doctrine. Like that of the prophets, His moral teaching is conditioned as a whole by the coming Kingdom; like them He sees that repentance is necessary as a preparation for the Judgment that in turn ushers in the Kingdom. Hence many NT students argue that the ethics of Jesus is conditional, an *Interimsethik*, and was proclaimed in indissoluble connexion with the eschatological expectation of a state of perfect blessedness to be supernaturally brought about. But, while the call to repentance was clothed with a terrible impressiveness and intensity, from the fact that the Kingdom was believed to be at the door, that call is permanently valid for man's life throughout all time. Instead of the idea of the Kingdom to be achieved by a cosmic catastrophe, Christians have been led to cherish the hope of immortal blessedness. With a view to the realization of that hope, repentance is as much as ever a demand of the spiritual life. Not only our Lord's preaching but also His healing ministry—itself the evidence that the Kingdom was in a sense already present—was designed to awaken in the hearts of men desires for a better life. It was the tragedy of His life that this design was frustrated by the dullness and indifference of those who witnessed His gracious activity in lifting the burdens of disease from body and soul: 'Then began he to upbraid the cities wherein most of his mighty works were done, because they repented not' (Mt 11^{20}). But behind His preaching and His healing activity was His personality. Wherever He went, He awakened a consciousness of sin and a longing after a better life. It is to the third evangelist that we are especially indebted for the record of the effect which Christ's personal presence had upon the individuals by way of arousing in them a feeling of guilt and a desire for amendment. It is he who tells us of the saying of Simon Peter, 'Depart from me; for I am a sinful man, O Lord' (Lk 5^{8}), of the 'woman that was a sinner,' of Zacchæus, and of the dying thief.

If the substance of Christ's message and mission may be described therefore as a gospel of repentance, it is obvious that the word 'repentance' is not used here in its etymological and popular sense. The truth is that the term needs to be transfigured before it can render the meaning of Christ's idea which the evangelists express by the word μετάνοια. Owing to its Latin origin and its ecclesiastical associations through the Old Latin and Vulgate versions, it is totally inadequate to carry the wealth of meaning implied in the Greek word. 'Repentance' has an emotional tone; μετάνοια is ethical and intellectual; the former is negative—a turning away from sin; the latter is positive—an enthusiasm for righteousness. But above all, the Latin word is retrospective—it looks back in revulsion of feeling to past sinful acts; whereas the Greek word is prospective—it speaks of a moral renewal with a view to the transformation of the entire man. As Matthew Arnold says,

'We translate it (*metanoia*) "repentance," the mourning and lamenting for our sins; and we translate it wrong. Of *metanoia*, as Jesus used the word, the lamenting one's sins was a small part; the main part was something far more active and fruitful, the setting up an immense new inward movement for obtaining the rule of life. And *metanoia* accordingly is *a change of the inner man.*'[1]

Jesus regards the piety of this age as fundamentally perverted and moving on false lines. A far-reaching reconstruction of the spiritual life is imperative. His word, 'Repent ye,' is a summons to build on new foundations, to develop a new consciousness out of which would come a new nature. In truth what Christ demands is what Paul describes in mystical language as a crucifixion and a coming to life again (Gal 2^{20}), as the putting off of the old man as one would put off a soiled garment, and the putting on of the new man (Col $3^{9f.}$). Nothing less than this will satisfy the NT concept of repentance.[2]

The primitive apostolic preaching once more proclaims the call to repentance sent forth by the Baptist and by Christ. 'Repent, therefore, and be converted, that your sins may be blotted out' (Ac 3^{19}). This announcement received new emphasis and urgency from the fact that the Messiah had been crucified (Ac $2^{22f.}$); He would come again, if only Israel would repent of this the greatest of all crimes in history. In the Pauline Epistles the idea of repentance is merged in that of faith as a renouncement of one's merit and as surrender to Christ, or to God in Christ, which ends in mystical union with Him. Yet repentance occupied a conspicuous place in Paul's missionary preaching, as we may infer from his speech at Miletus in which he reminds his hearers that he testified 'both to Jews and to Greeks repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ' (Ac 20^{21}). In the Fourth Gospel there is no mention of repentance, but the thought is expressed under the profound metaphor of a new or a second birth. 'Except a man be born again [or from above], he cannot see the kingdom of God' (Jn 3^{3}). But generally throughout the Gospel the emphasis is laid on faith ($3^{15.\ 18}$ 6^{47} 14^{1}). Faith and repentance are two sides of one and the same spiritual process. If faith be the act of the soul in turning to God in Christ, repentance is the same act viewed as the soul turning away from sin. But the process is one and indissoluble, and may be described in terms of the one act or the other.

'Without faith,' says Coleridge, 'there is no power of repentance: without a commencing repentance no power to faith.'[3]

5. **Theological signification.**—Latin theology was incapable of rising to the full compass of the NT idea. It made the emotional element

[1] *Literature and Dogma*, ch. vii. sect. 3.
[2] See T. Walden, *The Great Meaning of the Word Metanoia*.
[3] *Aids to Reflection*, aphorism cxviii.

in repentance primary, whereas in reality it is secondary. Tertullian marks the beginning of the process. He defines repentance as an 'emotion of disgust' at some previously cherished offence.[1] In the course of time it became involved with questions of Church discipline and with the ecclesiastical doctrine of penance. This doctrine is that repentance is only part of the sacrament of penance, the two other elements being confession and satisfaction.[2] The Reformers went back to the NT idea. Luther's doctrine was that repentance consisted in sorrow for sin and faith in Christ. He maintained that the whole life should be a penitential act. The Reformation started as a protest against false or inadequate conceptions of repentance.

'Luther, it will be remembered, first saw the practical value of philological study, when he was puzzling over the expression *pœnitentiam agite*, "do penance," which the Vulgate uses for the Greek word that in the English translation is rendered "repent." Was it possible, he said to himself, that Christ and the Apostles could really bid men do penance? Did the New Testament really stand on the side of his opponents, and of all the gross corruptions which the doctrine of penance had introduced? Melanchthon solved this difficulty by showing to Luther that the Greek word μετανοεῖτε, which Jerome had translated "do penance," really and etymologically meant "change your mind." From that moment the Reformation entered into a conscious alliance with the new learning, to which it was already akin in its independent love of truth, its rebellion against human authority, and its interest in the Bible as a real living book.'[3]

The Evangelical revival of the 18th cent. emphasized the need of repentance, sometimes with undue stress on the emotional side of the experience, and with consequent injury to the interests of the spiritual life. On the other hand, philosophical moralists like Spinoza, Kant, and Fichte maintain that all emotion of sorrow for the past is wasted energy. And Oliver Lodge has recently remarked:

'The higher man of to-day is not worrying about his sins at all, still less about their punishment.'[4] Instead of brooding over past sins, he recommends 'the safer and more efficacious and altogether more profitable way, of putting in so many hours' work per day, and of excluding weeds from the garden by energetic cultivation of healthy plants.'[5]

This view is also advocated by the 'healthy-minded' schools of thought as represented by such cults as Theosophy, Christian Science, and New or Higher Thought. The words of Virgil to Dante are held to express the true attitude of the sinner to his sins. 'One glance at them and then pass on.'[6] Begin to think what is good and do what is good, and thereby change yourselves. Do not waste time in futile regrets, but employ it in the performance of right actions.

There is an element of truth in this contention, and a true conception of repentance will do justice to this modern feeling as well as to the testimony of the normal Christian consciousness. Sin, as interpreted in the teaching of Christ, is not only a blow at the moral order of the universe; it is also an offence against love. It is a wrong done to the Father of our spirits, who is ever pouring forth upon us the steady stream of His unbounded goodness and mercy. When we awake to the shame of our ingratitude, of our failure to live in harmony with His will, a feeling of sorrow must seize the soul analogous to the keen regret with which we contemplate the wrong that we may have done a kind and loyal friend. But this natural distress of mind may darken down into excessive remorse, which is barren pain robbed of all moral value, and which plunges the sufferer into the darkness of phantasmal fears and morbid imaginings. The sorrow of repentance reacts on the soul, strengthening it to meet the new task of moral reformation; the sorrow of despair paralyzes the moral energies, and hurries its victim, as in the case of a Lady Macbeth or a Richard III., into irreparable disaster. Paul, in his fine analysis in 2 Co 7^{8-10}, distinguishes carefully between a sorrow of the world that ends in death and a godly sorrow that issues in a repentance never to be regretted.

A few words may be added on the relation of repentance to forgiveness. Sin is opposition to the divine will. This opposition inhibits the action of divine grace in the soul of the sinner and prevents that communion with God which is the source of spiritual life. In repenting the sinner tears down the barriers which his sin erects between him and the inflow of divine life and power. Thus the divine forgiveness, which is never a mere remission of penalty but always and essentially the restoration to the normal and filial relation of man to God, follows naturally and spontaneously on repentance. And, if it be asked what is the proof of forgiveness in any given case, the answer is: the fact of repentance itself is the proof. It is the 'goodness of God that leads us to repentance' (Ro 11^4), but this very goodness implies that already God has forgiven us. Without repentance forgiveness would be immoral, and without the possibility of forgiveness the burden of sin would become intolerable, sinking the soul into a hell of despair and madness. It is not that repentance wins or merits forgiveness; such a thought is repugnant to a truly spiritual view. It is that repentance affords the necessary and natural condition on which the will to pardon can energize.

6. The ethical value of repentance.—From the point of view of ethics, it has been objected: Of what avail is repentance, seeing that the law of continuity holds good in all worlds, the spiritual as well as the physical? How can a man be freed from the burden of his past sins, since this burden is itself the creation of his own free spiritual activity? Must not a man reap as he has sown? Is not the consequence of an act really a part of the act and indissolubly bound up with it? The answer is that the law of continuity is not the only law that obtains in the spiritual realm. There is also a law of recovery or redemption. If the law of moral sequence alone held good, the very purpose of its existence would be frustrated, for it would paralyze all efforts to achieve a life of virtue and righteousness. Moreover, the very fact that man is capable of self-condemnation is proof that evil-doing is not an adequate expression of his personality. How could he condemn himself, if there was not in him the consciousness of an ideal to which he owes allegiance? In the very constitution of the soul it would seem that room is made for fresh starts, new beginnings. In condemning himself the penitent has already risen above the self that he condemns. The publican who said, 'God be merciful to me a sinner,' was already on his way to sainthood. For in repentance what does the penitent man really do? By an inward act he dissociates himself from his sin; he takes the side of God and of all good men in judging it unworthy of his nature and at war with the real order of life. He finds in his sin no expression of his real self—only a false show which he repudiates in language that sounds paradoxical but that in reality shadows forth a profound truth: 'It is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me.'

'Our chief concern with the past, that which truly remains and forms part of us, is not what we have done, or the adventures that we have met with, but the moral reactions bygone events are producing within us at this very moment, the inward being they have helped to form; and these reactions, that give birth to our sovereign, intimate being, are wholly governed by the manner in which we regard past events, and vary as the moral substance varies that they encounter within us.'[1]

Thus repentance, or revulsion against the past and a longing desire for a higher ethical experience,

[1] *De Pœn.* 1. [2] *Conc. Trid.* sess. xiv. 'Pœn.' ch. 3.
[3] W. Robertson Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, Edinburgh, 1881, p. 45.
[4] *HJ* ii. [1904] 466. [5] *Ib.* iii. [1904] 7.
[6] *Inferno*, iii 51.

[1] M. Maeterlinck, *The Buried Temple*, Eng. tr., London, 1903, p. 202.

may be originated by impressions received from contact with more highly developed personalities or through a bitter experience of pain and disillusionment. A new conception of duty, a revelation of the real meaning of evil as reflected in the pain of those who have suffered through our actions, the impress of a noble spirit that rebukes our weakness and that acts as a spur to all that is not dead within us, above all, the vision of the love of God incarnate in the life and work of Jesus Christ—any or all of these may enter as new factors into the stream of our experience and may set up there new causal connexions involving far-reaching consequences. The law of continuity still holds good, for these factors, once they have entered into experience, bring about their results in accordance with the laws that govern the psychic world.

There is in repentance a certain quality of infinitude. With the penitent mood comes new insight, fresh illumination leading to an almost painful anxiety to make atonement to the person or persons wronged, to society, to the spiritual order which has been violated. The repentant man stands ready for any task however great, for any service however distasteful. Repentance is thus transformed into a moral dynamic. It reinforces the will with boundless energy; its eye is ever uplifted to new visions and greater ethical achievement. Hence the marks of genuine, as distinguished from spurious, repentance are the presence of ever new and deeper insight into duty and of a passion for atonement, which is itself part of the redemptive process. Thus the virtue of repentance is at once a gift and a task, an inspiration and a deliberate movement of the will, a present possession and a future attainment.

LITERATURE.—T. De Quincey, *Autobiographic Sketches*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1853; A. Thoma, *Gesch. der christl. Sittenlehre*, Haarlem, 1879; W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judenthums*, Berlin, 1906; W. O. E. Oesterley and G. H. Box, *The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*[2], London, 1911; A. Schweitzer, *Das Messianitäts- und Leidensgeheimniss: Eine Skizze des Lebens Jesu*, Strassburg, 1901; J. C. Murray, *A Handbook of Christian Ethics*, Edinburgh, 1908; W. De Hyde, *Sin and its Forgiveness*, Boston and New York, 1909; G. F. Barbour, *A Philosophical Study of Christian Ethics*, Edinburgh, 1911; W. James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, London and New York, 1902; J. R. Illingworth, *Christian Character*, London, 1904; A. L. Sears, *The Drama of the Spiritual Life*, New York, 1915; art. 'Repentance' in *JE* x. 376–379; S. McComb, *The New Life*, New York, 1917; T. Walden, *The Great Meaning of the Word Metanoia*, new ed., do. 1896.

SAMUEL MCCOMB.

REPENTANCE (Muhammadan).—There are two words used to denote repentance in the theological vocabulary of Islām—*nadam* and *tawbah*. The former denotes merely remorse, regret, or vexation at having done something or at having left something undone. It is used especially in the poets. The 'repentance' of the satirical poet Farazdaq (A.D. 659–729), after he had divorced his wife Nawār, is proverbial.[1] The word is used also in the Qur'ān. After Cain had killed his brother, and a raven had showed him how to hide his crime, he became 'of those who repent' (v. 34; so frequently), *i.e.* he felt remorse (*nadam*), but it would not be said of him that he showed repentance (*tawbah*) in the religious sense. The latter word, which etymologically means 'returning'—it is, in fact, the Heb. *tĕshūbāh*, Aram. *tethûbah*—in point of law and religion is explained as synonymous with *nadam*.

It is defined as 'remorse for an act of disobedience (in respect of its being an act of disobedience), accompanied by a determination not to return to it, even if one has the power.'[2]

It must be for 'an act of disobedience,' because regret felt for doing something that is right or, at least, not wrong is not repentance. The phrase 'in respect of its being an act of disobedience' is added because regret for having drunk wine on account of its causing headache or loss of money or self-respect is not repentance. Mention of the 'determination not to return to it' is by some regarded as superfluous, seeing that that is always an element in remorse—whence they explain the traditional saying of Muhammad, 'Remorse (*nadam*) is repentance (*tawbah*).' The majority of the most ancient authorities do not admit the condition that ability to commit the sin again must be there. They think, *e.g.*, that the remorse of the sinner at the point of death may be repentance. In this they are in conflict with the Qur'ān.

In accordance with its etymology, *tawbah* means in the first instance 'turning' to God. Hence the complete phrase is 'repentance unto God.' Moses regretted his request to be allowed to look upon God and said, 'I repent unto Thee' (Qur'ān, vii. 141, and frequently). In the case of those who have been brought up in idolatry or polytheism this turning to God is synonymous with 'conversion' to Islām. The convert is represented as saying, 'I repent unto Thee and am of the Muslims' (xlvi. 14; cf. xi. 3, 114, and elsewhere). In this connexion, holding the doctrine of the Trinity—or, as the Qur'ān puts it, saying that 'God is the third of three'—is a form of polytheism (v. 77 f.). But, as perfection is unattainable by a mortal, penitence is a mark of the pious Muslim, not only at the beginning of his religious career, but all his life long (ix. 113, lxvi. 5). Repentance is necessary and will be accepted from all Muslims who have sinned in such ways as the following: hypocrisy, *i.e.* strictly the hypocrisy of the citizens of Medīna who pretended to acquiesce in Muhammad's authority there, whilst secretly working to undermine it (iv. 145); opposing Islām by force of arms, provided that repentance is made of free will, and not as a result of defeat in battle (v. 38); scepticism (ix. 127); idolatry (ix. 3, ii. 51); perverting or persecuting Muslims (lxxxv. 10); slandering honest women (xxiv. 5); taking interest (ii. 279); and other offences (vii. 153, iv. 20). The one sin after which there is no repentance (cf. He 6[6]) is that of apostasy (iii. 83), but this verse the commentators refer to the Jews,[1] and in any case the preceding verse appears to leave a loophole of escape even here. In the latest chapter of the Qur'ān, composed at a time when Muhammad could afford to be lenient, a door is opened even to the apostate (ix. 75). Apostasy is, of course, allowed under persecution. But those who die in unbelief, *i.e.* all non-Muslims, are lost.

'The world full of gold shall in no wise be accepted of any of them, even though he should give it for his ransom' (iii. 84).

Repentance must be sincere for sins committed through ignorance (vi. 54, xvi. 120). It should be preceded by intercession. 'Ask forgiveness, thereafter repent' (xi. 3, 54, 64, 92). The converse order, which one would expect, is also found (v. 78). True repentance is followed by faith and good works.

'Those who repent and believe and do good works (xix. 61, xx. 84, xxv. 70, xxviii. 67) repent unto God with (true) repentance' (xxv. 71).

Repentance has its counterpart in the forgiving nature of God. Man's repentance is always met by repentance on the part of God.

'Whoever repents after wrongdoing and does right, God repents over him. Truly God is forgiving and compassionate' (v. 43, and so regularly).

Man repents *unto* God; God repents *over* man. The latter phrase is equivalent to 'is sorry for

[1] *The Assemblies of Al-Ḥarīrī*, tr. T. Chenery, London, 1867, p. 350.

[2] Muhammad Tahānawī, *Kitāb Kashshāf Iṣṭilāḥāt Funūn*, Calcutta, 1862, *s.v.*

[1] Baiḍāwī, *Asrār ut-tanzīl*, ed. H. O. Fleischer, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1846–48, *ad loc.*

him' (lviii. 14, lxxiii. 20). Al-Tawwāb ('the much-repenting') is one of the ninety-nine 'beautiful names' of God (ii. 35, and frequently; cf. Jl 2^{13}, etc.), though it is also used of men (ii. 222). It is also explained, however, as merely denoting 'much inclined to forgive,' or, transitively, as 'turning man to repentance'; but it is no doubt used in the same sense in both references. If God did not feel sorry for man in this way, He would always punish him. Hence the opposite of to repent (on God's part) is to punish.

'It is no business of thine whether God repent over or punish them' (iii. 123, and so elsewhere).

Fortunately God wishes to repent over men (iv. 32), but His repentance is voluntary. He repents over whom He will (ix. 15), so that it is folly in man to count upon His repenting (ix. 103).

The chief advantage following upon sincere and timely repentance is forgiveness—not as a matter of course, but as a result of the divine repentance or sorrow (ii. 51, etc.). The angels intercede with God on behalf of those who repent (xl. 7), and the Muslims are bound to treat them as brothers (ix. 11). The whole teaching of the Qur'ān on this matter is well summed up in the following verses:

'Repentance is incumbent upon God only towards those who do evil in ignorance and then repent without delay. Over such God repents, and God is knowing and wise. And repentance (on God's part) is not due to those who do evil until, when death comes to one of them, he says "Now I repent," nor to those who die in unbelief. For such we have prepared a painful punishment' (iv. 21 f.).

It is worth noting that it is never said in the Qur'ān of any one that he actually did 'repent unto God.'

The orthodox Muslim tradition takes little or no account of repentance. The more liberal Mu'tazilites and the Ṣūfīs, or mystics, have more to say about it. The Mu'tazilites distinguish three elements in repentance: (1) making restitution, (2) not returning to the offence, and (3) continuance of the feeling of remorse. The orthodox (Sunnis) do not regard these as essential. They say that repentance consists of three things: (1) leaving off disobedience in the present, (2) intending to leave it off in the future, and (3) regret at having done it in the past. They hold that a Muslim may go on repenting and sinning, that (and in this the Ṣūfīs agree with them) he may repent of one sin and go on doing others, and that his repentance of the one will count. The Mu'tazilites, on the other hand, hold that the penitent must keep himself aloof from *all* deadly sins. The Muslim who does not do so is neither a believer nor an unbeliever, but simply a reprobate, and, if he does not change, he will suffer eternal punishment.[1]

With the mystics repentance occupies an important place. It is the first 'station' on the 'mystic path.' They recognize three degrees of repentance. The first is called simply repentance (*tawbah*). It is an attribute of all Muslims (Qur'ān, lxvi. 8). It consists in turning from sins actually committed. Its motive is fear of divine punishment. The second degree of repentance is called *inābah* ('returning'). It is an attribute of the saints and 'those brought near' to God (l. 32). Its motive is the desire for the reward. The third and highest form of repentance is *awbah* (which also means 'returning'). It is an attribute of the apostles and 'sent ones' (xxxviii. 44). Its motive is neither fear of punishment nor desire for the reward, but the love of obedience. In it, for the mystic, everything ceases to exist except God. Otherwise repentance is said to be that of the many, that of the few, and that of the very few (*'amm*, *khāss*, and *khāss khāss*). The mystics, however, are very loose in their use of terms.

Inābah is elsewhere defined to be 'turning from the all to Him whose is the all,' or 'turning from negligence of God to its opposite and from estrangement to friendship.'[1]

In regard to its quality, repentance is either (1) sound, when one sins, repents sincerely, and yet falls again into sin; (2) clear or sincere (*nasūh*), when the heart becomes estranged from sin and finds it hateful, so as to be no further attracted by it (Qur'ān, lxvi. 8); and (3) corrupt, when one repents with the tongue and all the while the love of sin is in the mind.

Muhammad's cousin Ibn 'Abbās defined 'sincere' repentance as 'remorse in the heart, asking forgiveness with the tongue, leaving off with the body, and resolve not to sin again.'[2]

Repentance is a favourite subject of homilies and theme of religious poems, such as those of Ghazālī, Bahā al-Dīn al-'Āmilī, Zamakhsharī, and others. Stories in which repentance is inculcated are frequently told in connexion with Jesus.[3] The idea of repentance bringing its reward in the present life does not seem to have occurred to the pious Muslim.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works mentioned in the article, see Ibn 'Arabi, *Futūḥāt al-Makkiyah*, Cairo, A.H. 1329 (A.D. 1911), § 74 f.; al Ghazālī, *Iḥyā al-'Ulūm*, Cairo, A.H. 1326 (A.D. 1908), pt. iv. p. 1 ff.; R. A. Nicholson, *Kashf al-Maḥjūb*, Eng. tr., London, 1911, and *Kitāb al-Luma'* (both in Gibb Memorial Series), do. 1914.

T. H. WEIR.

RESISTANCE AND NON-RESISTANCE.

—**1. The teaching of the NT.**—The term 'non-resistance' is applied to the refusal to use force sometimes only in war, sometimes under any circumstances. As we shall see, the two positions, though often confused, are by no means identical. The origin both of the term and of the idea is to be found in Christ's command not to resist evil, and the main object of this article will be to examine the teaching of the NT on the subject, together with the ethical principles involved.[4]

The chief arguments in favour of the view that it is wrong to appeal to force under any circumstances are derived (*a*) from the recorded teaching of Christ, (*b*) from the general principle of the supremacy of love involved in Christianity. Though in many cases, particularly in recent times, it is argued that the position does not depend so much on the interpretation of isolated texts as on the general tenor of Christ's teaching, there is no doubt that His actual words have in fact been the starting point. In any case we need the reminder, which is useful in many connexions, that it is impossible to arrive at the true meaning of any passage in the Bible so long as it is taken in isolation. The Sermon on the Mount itself is not the whole of Christianity, and it can be rightly understood only if interpreted in the light of the practice and teaching of Christ and His immediate followers, taken as a whole. A primary fault of Tolstoi and many of his followers is to confine themselves to a handful of arbitrarily selected sayings. Such a limitation involves not merely a lack of proportion, but also a failure to understand rightly even the passages to which attention is directed.

The central passage is:

'Resist not him that is evil [or 'evil']: but whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man would go to law with thee, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloke also. And whosoever shall compel thee to go one mile, go with him twain. Give to him that asketh thee, and from him that would borrow of thee turn not

[1] Shahrastānī, *Kitāb al-Milal wan Niḥal*, 2 vols., ed. W. Cureton, London, 1846, i. 55; Germ. tr. T. Haarbrücker, Halle, 1850–51, i. 82.

[1] Jurjānī, *Ta'rīfāt*, ed. G. Flügel, Leipzig, 1845, *s.v.*
[2] *Ib.* p. 74.
[3] *'Ikd al-Farīd*, Cairo, A.H. 1305 (A.D. 1887), pt. i. p. 299.
[4] An interesting example of non-resistance on quite different grounds is to be found in the refusal of the Jews to fight on the Sabbath (1 Mac $2^{32ff.}$, 2 Mac 6^{11}). The logic of facts compelled the abrogation of the scruple (1 Mac 2^{41} 9^{43}).

thou away. Ye have heard that it was said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy: but I say unto you, Love your enemies, and pray for them that persecute you,' etc. (Mt $5^{39ff.}$; cf. Lk 6^{29} and the Beatitudes).

With this may be compared the recurring stress on forgiveness, in the Lord's Prayer and elsewhere, even 'unto seventy times seven.' Similar teaching, though in a milder form, meets us in the Epistles—*e.g.*, Ro $12^{14ff.}$ ('Render to no man evil for evil . . . Avenge not yourselves,' etc.), Eph $4^{26.\ 32}$, Col 3^{13}, 1 Th 5^{15}, 1 P $2^{20ff.}$. These passages, taken in combination with Christ's own example of meekness and non-resistance, and the general insistence on the principles of love and brotherhood, do constitute a *prima facie* case against the appeal to force, and pre-eminently against war. We should note, however, that among the passages of this type that from the Sermon on the Mount stands alone as the most extreme and uncompromising.

We ask what indications are afforded by the rest of the NT as to a different and complementary type of teaching. Too much stress need not be laid on Christ's employment of the scourge to cleanse the Temple. It is recorded in St. John alone (Jn 2^{15}), and the force was apparently used only against the animals. But the whole incident shows that, when Christ found Himself confronted with an abuse, He was prepared to take active measures to remedy it. More important is His attitude and that of the NT in general towards soldiers (Mt $8^{5ff.}$, Ac 10, etc.). As is well known, they nearly always appear in a favourable light; there is no hint that when converted they are expected to abandon their profession, or that that profession is regarded as in itself wrong and un-Christian. Once more, the general attitude towards life adopted in the parables is significant as interpreting the hard sayings of the Sermon on the Mount. There is in fact no parable which turns on the virtue of non-resistance; the ordinary discipline and penalties of life are assumed throughout. The slothful servant or dishonest steward is dismissed; even forgiveness is not unlimited to the slave who cannot forgive others.

Finally, it is clear from the NT that force or coercion of some kind forms an important element in God's dealings with men. Without adopting the belief in a hopeless and never-ending 'hell,' penalties and discipline after death are undoubtedly contemplated for the sinner. We may believe that these will be remedial; if so, they become part of the armoury of love and forgiveness themselves. They further follow from the very gift of independence and free will. God respects man's personality and does not compel him to do right. This implies that, when he obstinately refuses to yield to the promptings of love and higher motives, force must step in, at least for the time, in order to prevent him from using his independence indefinitely to the injury of his fellow-man. And, if man is made in the image of God and is called to imitate his Father's perfection (Mt 5^{48}), what is right and consistent with love in God must also, with due qualifications, be right for man. If God under any circumstances can use force and compulsion, so may man; when he may do it, and whether he does not appeal to it too readily and lightly, are questions which do not affect the main principle.

It is therefore clear on the evidence of the NT itself, without appeal to any difficulties of interpretation or application, that the more extreme sayings about forgiveness and non-resistance cannot be understood quite literally as forbidding recourse to any form of force or penalty under any circumstances. We are free to ask what these sayings mean in the light of the general teaching of the NT, and are justified in applying to them those canons of interpretation which are recognized as valid in the case of other 'hard sayings.' Orientals are wont to speak in proverbs which isolate one side of a truth. Christ constantly used the method of startling sayings worded in such a way as to force men to think. His teaching had not the precision of legal formularies; it was never His purpose to lay down a new code of fixed law or external rules. We recall sayings such as 'If any man cometh unto me, and hateth not his own father, and mother, and wife . . . he cannot be my disciple'; 'When thou makest a dinner or a supper, call not thy friends, nor thy brethren, nor thy kinsmen'; 'Call no man your father upon the earth.' None of these sayings can be, nor were they meant to be, applied literally; and the same principle holds good of the non-resistance sayings. We may note that in the quotation given above from Mt 5 the apparent absolute prohibition of force occurs in the same context as equally absolute commands to unlimited giving of goods and service which have never been consistently applied *au pied de la lettre*, even by those who have attempted to follow out the one saying about non-resistance quite literally.

These considerations hold good even of the sphere of private relationships, which our Lord evidently had primarily in mind.[1] Much more are they true of those international relationships which He did not and could not have directly before Him. (*a*) Without adopting the extreme eschatological view, according to which Christ's whole teaching and career were dominated by the belief in an immediate end of the world's history, it is clear that He did not deliberately contemplate or provide for a long period of historical development, nor did He legislate with a view to the relationships of independent Christian or semi-Christian communities. (*b*) The historical conditions of the day excluded international problems and the claims of patriotism in our modern sense. The Jews had no independent existence as a nation, and the last thing that Christ or His followers desired was rebellion in order to regain it. The Gentile was a member of the Roman Empire, and war between its constituent elements did not come into purview. It is idle to seek for a direct answer to the modern difficulties connected with war from a period in which the conditions were so completely different.

2. Ethical application.—We may hold, then, that, in spite of the *prima facie* impression made by single texts of the NT, the question of the legitimacy of the use of force, whether in war or in other forms, is really an open one, and must be decided on the general principles of Christian ethics. It will be useful to distinguish three stages:

(1) The degree to which non-resistance may rightly be carried when one's own personal interests and safety alone are directly involved must be a matter for the individual conscience to decide according to the circumstances of each case. The moral effect of a refusal to resent a blow or to resist injustice is often very great, both in dealing with those who may be treated as Christians and therefore as immediately open to the appeal of higher motives and also in dealing with the outcast or criminal, on whom the very strangeness and unexpectedness of the attitude adopted may have a startling effect. There are, however, two caveats to be borne in mind: (*a*) it must be clear that the meekness is really due to the higher motive of love and not to cowardice or cynical

[1] That He was not, as is sometimes maintained, thinking only of the relation of Christian to Christian is shown by the command to go two miles with the representative of the heathen government.

indifference; in other words, it must be in keeping with the general character; (*b*) it must be remembered that ultimately nothing that we do has a purely private bearing, since every action has its indirect effect upon society as a whole. If an act of non-resistance, instead of converting, merely encourages the wrong-doer, obvious harm is done. To yield to blackmail in any form or, it may be, to refuse to prosecute a criminal will involve a mischief to society at large which will outweigh the good done.

(2) A further set of considerations arises when the interests of others are directly involved. It may be right in this connexion that a man should require some degree of sacrifice from his wife and family, but he is not justified in carrying it to the point where their whole welfare or even their lives are involved. Still less can he impose such sacrifice upon others on whom his claim is more remote. What would have been the duty of the Samaritan in the parable if he had come upon the scene at the moment when the robbers were about to attack their victim? It is hard to believe that Christ intended the principle of non-resistance to be applied in such a case as this. He certainly cannot have intended that a man should not use force to save his wife or family, or women and children in general, from gross outrage. And, with regard to questions of property and rights, while a man may do what he will with his own, he cannot practise an unlimited generosity when he acts as a trustee for others.

(3) The case of war, where national interests are involved, follows naturally on this principle. The responsible rulers of the State are trustees, not only for the nation as a whole, but also for future generations. If, as we have argued, the use of force is sometimes legitimate, the community cannot be debarred from using it to protect its own members, to secure their fair interests, and to defend weaker nations. Primarily this principle covers the operations of the police and criminal law, but it also extends to war. The fundamental difficulties with regard to war do not really lie in its being an appeal to force, but are due to the facts that there is no guarantee that force will be always used to uphold the right, or that it will succeed in doing so, and that the coercion is applied not merely to the actual offenders and transgressors, but to comparatively innocent members of the nation drawn into the net of war.

3. The case of war.—It is considerations such as these that have driven some who do not adopt the extreme Tolstoian attitude of refusing to use force under any circumstances to regard its use in war as always wrong. And it will be generally agreed that the efforts of Christianity and of civilized society in general must be far more definitely directed in the future than they have been in the past to the elimination of this method of settling disputes. The various suggestions for a League of Nations are really attempts to apply to the relations between peoples the principles which civilization has developed within the State as controlling the relations between individuals. In other words, the object is to substitute for the appeal to the might of the stronger the appeal to impartial justice, ascertained as completely as may be among fallible men. But it must be clearly realized, in connexion with the particular problem before us, that such schemes do not adopt the principle of non-resistance in place of force. The ultimate sanction of a League of Nations against a recalcitrant member or outsider would still be force, whether applied by economic boycott or by war, but it would be force directed as nearly as possible by the principles of law and justice. Nations will not be applying the principles of the Sermon on the Mount in any literal sense any more than does the private individual who invokes the aid of the policeman or magistrate instead of attempting to defend or avenge himself by his own physical strength.

Meanwhile wars fought under ordinary conditions are still a fact of life, and the conscientious citizen has to decide on the attitude which he will adopt. War is admittedly at best a very rough and unsatisfactory method of securing justice between nation and nation, but from the beginning of history to the present day it has been in the last resort the only method. The appeal to war, like our existing competitive social system, has its roots deep in a past which the individual inherits and for which he is only very partially responsible. He can and should modify the future, but at any given moment he has to do his best under the actual circumstances in which he finds himself. The case is analogous to that of one who, in a country where law and police do not exist, is compelled to take into his own hands the defence of the life and property of himself and his dependents. It is quite true that the assailant may be too strong for him, but he is bound to do his best. So the citizen, when his country is involved in a war, which we must assume is regarded as a just war, must either choose the course of non-resistance and stand aloof or play his part in whatever way his capacities allow; there is no third course. One difficulty with regard to non-resistance is that the man who stands aside seldom envisages his example as followed by the majority of his fellow-countrymen, or thinks out logically the consequences which would ensue if this were to happen. He is salving his own conscience and saving his own soul, while allowing others to take what he regards as the lower course—a course which actually protects him from the result of his own action.[1] A distinction is drawn by the adherents of pacificism 'between the duty of the State and that of a pacifist individual.'[2] And in fact we note historically that the examples of anything like combined non-resistance have come from communities such as the early Christians, the Waldenses, and the Doukhobors, who have not felt themselves responsible for the preservation of the State under which they lived. There is, indeed, some reason in the reproach of Celsus that, if all were to follow the example of the Christians, the control of worldly affairs would pass into the hand of the barbarian and Christianity would be unable to exist; it owed its peace to the Roman Empire. Such a position cannot be final or satisfactory. The Christian is also a citizen; if it is right for a State to engage in war, it is not only right but also a duty for its citizens to support it. The State in the end consists of the citizens who compose it; it is not ethically permissible for one section to contract itself out of its obligations in obedience to a supposed higher law and at the same time to reap all the advantages gained by the rest who are following the 'lower course.' In other words, if non-resistance in war is right, it must be thought of as the attitude of the whole nation and not of a negligible minority, and the results of such an attitude must be definitely faced. If it be decided that these results would be disastrous for the nation and the world as a whole, if they would involve grave evils and sacrifices for others and for future generations, together with the triumph of injustice and the oppression of the weak, active participation in war becomes the

[1] It is admitted that the apparent success of the Quaker experiment in Pennsylvania is not decisive, since all the time the Friends were in fact protected by the British forces in the background (J. W. Graham, *War from a Quaker Point of View*, p. 46).

[2] J. W. Graham, *HJ* xiv. [1916] 814.

only alternative. And, if so, it should be clearly recognized that from the point of view of ethics this is not, as is often supposed, the choice of the 'second best.' The problems of ethics consist in choosing the best course which is open under given circumstances; if it is really the best, it is in the absolute sense 'right.' To say that war, or indeed any appeal to force, would be unnecessary if all men acted up to the principles of Christianity is true, but irrelevant; this is only to say that evil will not exist when the Kingdom of Heaven is fully come. We are concerned here and now with the right course to take in a world where evil does exist and where men do in fact do wrong. It takes only one to make an attack; if, as is the case under existing conditions, war is the only means of resisting such an attack, it becomes right in the fullest sense, however unsatisfactory it may be as a method of establishing justice. The mistake arises when the admission of this principle is held to absolve men from the duty of trying to work out some better method for the future, or when, with regard to the use of force in any form, it is regarded as the final solution of the problem. As against the evil-doer who refuses to obey the voice of love, force is necessary and therefore right, no less for his own sake than for that of others. But the ultimate purpose is not that he should be prevented from doing wrong, but that he should cease to desire to do so. In all cases this should be kept before the mind as the goal, and the conscience should not rest content till it is reached.

4. Historical examples. — For examples of attempts to apply the principles of non-resistance reference must be made to the relevant artt., esp. ANABAPTISM; DOUKHOBORS; FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF; TOLSTOI. Some account of the mediæval sects will be found in H. C. Lea, *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages* (London, 1888). The Waldenses held homicide to be unlawful under any conditions;[1] though sometimes provoked by persecution to break this rule, they generally fell an easy prey to their enemies.[2] The Bohemian Brethren were in line with the Waldenses.[3] In the case of the Cathari such tenets were connected with theories of transmigration; they refused to take the life even of animals.[4]

On the early Christians and their attitude to service in the army see especially Harnack, *The Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries.*[5] It should be noted that the refusal to serve was by no means universal, and that where it existed it was due as much to the various compliances with heathen rites and unlawful practices required of soldiers as to a belief in the unlawfulness of war *per se*. Objections were felt to the holding of civil office no less than to service in the army. With regard to the whole question, what has been said above as to the historical conditions and the absence of national wars must be borne in mind.

LITERATURE.—Reference may be made to the lists of books given in the artt. just quoted, esp. FRIENDS, SOCIETY OF; the subject is treated with more or less fullness in most works on ethics; see esp. W. E. H. Lecky, *Hist. of European Morals*[8], London, 1888, ii. 248 ff.; H. Rashdall, *Theory of Good and Evil*, Oxford, 1907, i. ch. ix.; D. G. Ritchie, *Natural Rights*[3], London, 1916, p. 238 ff.; J. Keating, 'The Ethics of Resistance to Law,' in *British Review*, i. [1913], no. 2, p. 31 ff. War from the Christian point of view is discussed by J. Martineau, 'Right of War,' in *National Duties and Other Sermons and Addresses*, London, 1903, p. 72 ff., and J. B. Mozley, *University Sermons*, do. 1876, p. 110 ff. Discussions in recent years (1914–17) have been abundant, chiefly in the form of magazine articles. Reference may be made to C. W. Emmet, 'War and the Ethics of the New Testament,' and W. M. Glazebrook, 'What is a Christian Nation?' both in *The Faith and the War*, London, 1915; W. E. Wilson, *Christ and War*, do. 1913, *Atonement and Non-Resistance*, do. 1914; J. W. Graham, *War from a Quaker Point of View*, do. 1915; W. L. Walker, *The War, God and our Duty*, do. 1917, p. 101 ff.; H. L. Goudge, in *The War and the Kingdom of God*, do. 1915, p. 26 ff.; L. S. Thornton, *Conduct and the Supernatural*, do. 1915, p. 199 ff.; R. B. Perry, 'Non-Resistance and the Present War,' in *IJE* xxv. [1915] 307 ff.; D. J. Bolton, 'The Fulfilment of the Law,' *ib.* xxvii. [1917] 200 ff.; P. Gavan Duffy, 'War and the Christian Ethic,' *ib.* p. 213 ff.; R. K. Richardson, 'Resist not Evil,' *ib.* p. 225 ff.

C. W. EMMET.

RESPONSIBILITY. — Responsibility is the human sense of answerableness for all acts of thought and conduct. Christian responsibility is answerable to the ideal set up by Jesus. About responsibility two things have to be considered: its relation to freedom of choice, and the object to which it is answerable; and of Christian responsibility two further matters require elucidation: the extended sphere of answerableness in the light of Christ's teaching, and the unique attitude of Jesus to the human conscience.

i. *Responsibility and freedom of choice.*—With the various theories invented to explain or account for freedom (see art. FREE WILL) the religious consciousness has little to do. Any theory which leaves free choice a real function of man is consistent with the Christian view, as any explanation which would destroy its reality is out of harmony with Christian experience. The pleas urged, the sanctions offered, and the rewards promised by Jesus have no force unless men are able to accept or to refuse higher duties. 'Without real freedom of choice there could be no real moral responsibility; and the sense of it, if it were still felt, would have, like the sense of freedom, to be classed as an illusion' (Shadworth H. Hodgson, *The Metaphysic of Experience*, London, 1898, iv. 120). In His dealing with men as free agents Jesus acknowledged and endorsed the ordinary sense of responsibility.

To the religious mind this is never, however, an absolute freedom; for over, around, and within the religious state is the immanent presence of God. It is a freedom within gracious boundaries, within the full tide of Divine love and mercy. As the founder of a new religion, Jesus was conscious of the Divine power working in His favour; if men believed in Him, it was the result of the Father's drawing (Jn 6^{44}); if He can count on the devout discipleship of some of His followers, it is because God has given Him these sheep (10^{29}); and, if humble Christians credit their faith in Jesus, without peril to human responsibility, to the election of God, they are of the same mind with their Master (Ro 8^{28-39}). How human freedom and the kindly control of God can comport together in any philosophical theory has not concerned the religious, who have with extraordinary persistency declared both, and held them somehow reconcilable.

Jesus further acknowledged the impoverishment of personal freedom by continued moral indifference. To the Jews who boasted of Abraham as their father Jesus replied that their inability to recognize His message as a deliverance from God was due to their kinship with the devil (Jn 8^{44}). There is here no reference to any original difference in the natures of men, but an assertion of the obvious moral fact that minds debauched by low motives may become insensible to the attractions of the heavenly offer. This fatal obstacle was one of their own making, and was not their misfortune but their fault. Moral insensibility may not absolve from responsibility.

ii. *The object to whom or to which responsibility is owing.* — Modern teachers have described the object to whom answerableness is due as either oneself or one's neighbour or one's God; but, as the enforcement of each of these spheres of duty lies with the conscience, the subject is really

[1] Lea, i. 80. [2] *Ib.* ii. 150. [3] *Ib.* ii. 562.
[4] *Ib.* i. 99. [5] Eng. tr., London, 1904–05, ii. 204 ff.

responsible to conscience as the authority which imposes commands. For the most part Jesus accepted the popular Jewish sense of responsibility, which was essentially answerableness to God. For every idle word men shall give account in the day of judgment (Mt 12^{36}); the obligation to seek perfection rests upon men because they should be as their Father in heaven (5^{48}); and, though our Lord lays down strict duties to our neighbour, love to enemies, almsgiving to the poor, and feasts for the hungry, these duties are substantially obligations to God, for so men will be 'the children of the Father which is in heaven.' All duties to neighbours clothe themselves in our Lord's mind with the august authority of duties towards God.

After the same manner He conceives obligations for which a man is responsible to himself—these are indeed duties towards God. Men owe it to themselves to accept the higher ideal when they see it. So Jesus went preaching the Kingdom of Heaven and summoning men to repent. Blessedness, the chief aim of ordinary life and the perennial cry of self-preservation, was to be sought, according to Jesus, in such states as meekness, poverty of spirit, and peace-making—all these, however, that they 'may be called the children of God.' Responsibility to self may imply the subordination of every interest to that of the Kingdom of Heaven; and the reason offered is, 'Thou shalt have treasure in heaven,' *i.e.* with God. (Here again the religious consciousness is pre-eminent, and responsibility for self-culture is obligation to God, who provides men with opportunities rich in moral possibility.)

In one word, duty to God absorbs duty to self and to neighbours; for self is conceived as always and only properly a child of God; and neighbours, whether good or bad, desirable or otherwise, are conceived as deserving of our benefaction because they are all the recipients of God's loving-kindness (Mt 5^{45}).

iii. *Extended sphere of answerableness in the light of Christ's teaching.*—It is the unique distinction of Jesus to have at once enlarged the sphere of responsibility and intensified the feeling of it. Our Lord expanded the idea of one's neighbour, who is not only the man of one's own nation, but any person whom circumstance gives one an opportunity of helping (Lk $10^{25\text{-}37}$). With the parable of the Good Samaritan vanish all the artificial boundaries by which men have sought to confine their neighbourly obligations. Among friends, again, the Master has included the poor, whom He obliges us to ask to our feasts, though they cannot ask us in return (Lk 14^{14}). A new set of obligations to hospitality are thus laid upon the disciples of Jesus. Still more wide does the horizon of responsibility become when He obliges us to include in our friendship all men, friend and foe alike, those who persecute us and those who despitefully use us (Mt 5^{44}). No man may be treated by us otherwise than in love. The last acre of foreign territory is brought within the sphere of human obligation when Jesus, who expects to be taken as an example, announces that He came to call not the righteous, but sinners (Mt 9^{13}). Among those to whom we owe duties for which we are answerable to God must be included the outcast and the degraded. So extensive a field of responsibility may be the despair of a moralist, but it is the free-chosen territory of the disciple of Jesus.

Having annexed all mankind under the obligation of love, Christ proceeds to enhance the sense of responsibility. Not only the outward act, but the inner thought has to be answered for. As well as for murder, so also for the angry thought from which murder issues, a man must hold himself answerable (Mt 5^{22}). Not only for licentious deed, but also for unholy imagination is there responsibility (v.^{28}). To offer prayer is good; but, if popularity has been the motive, only punishment can follow (6^{5}). High and insolent deeds will provoke a just reward; but high thoughts are in no better state, for humility is a duty (18^{4}). As a matter of fact, the obligation to be moral is an obligation to preserve the heart in purity and love, 'for out of the heart are the issues of life' (15^{19}). The culture of morality is the culture of the heart.

Besides extending the sphere, Jesus adds a higher quality to moral responsibility. The idea of self-preservation is enhanced when the things which are worthy of our search are meekness, mercifulness, purity, and peacemaking. Indeed, the duty of self-culture is so described by Jesus as to include the lofty conception of a sacrifice of the lower nature—a sacrifice not only desirable but necessary (Mk 8^{35}). In the same way the obligation to forgive enemies is enhanced. An enemy is to be forgiven not only seven times, but 'until seventy times seven' (Mt 18^{22}). To an unstinted and uncalculating forgiveness the disciples of the Master are bound. And, with the demand for love towards all men, human duty is raised to the height of Divine perfection. The kind of affection which Christians are to entertain towards each other and, by inference, to all men is a love such as existed between the Father and the Son (Jn 15^{9}). In this way Jesus has both extended and intensified moral responsibility.

The secret of this new moral content and new moral intensity must be sought in Christ's high conception of God's fatherly relation to men. It is God's loving-kindness that obliges men to seek first the Kingdom of Heaven (Mt 6^{33}); the same reason is given for the duty of unstinted forgiveness (18^{35}); a similar ground provides the obligation to a cheerful acceptance of God's will (7^{11}); and the same tender mercy calls men to the exercise of a gracious and thoughtful love (Lk 7^{47}). God loves His creatures, desiring above all that they should become His children; and in that tender, holy desire lies the secret of that sense of responsibility which Jesus has at once extended and intensified.

With the sense of childhood in God's family and in enjoyment of the Divine favour, the burden of responsibility, felt so heavily under all merely moral systems, is greatly eased. Love makes obligation light; the love of God turns duty into pleasure. In that relation the yoke of sonship becomes light, and the strictest obligation easy. Whom Jesus makes free are free indeed (Jn 8^{36}). By turning the hearts of men to the love of God, Jesus at once increased the sense of responsibility and relieved its burden. How easily a child of God carries this enhanced moral obligation may be gathered from St. Paul's magnificent claim of perfect freedom in Ro 8.

iv. *The unique attitude of Jesus to the sense of human responsibility.*—Jesus has somehow contrived to thrust Himself in between a man and his conscience, or—for it is the same thing—between a man and his God. At the outset of His public career every hearer recognized the moral superiority of our Lord, and felt a weighty pressure in His commands (Mt 7^{29}). Nor was this authority denied by Jesus; on the contrary, He emphasized His right to impose new commandments. The fathers of Israel had given certain orders, but Jesus gave new ones, introducing the opposite duty with these words, 'But I say unto you' (5^{22}). Passing through the gamut of accepted commandments, Jesus quietly enforced new and, in some cases, opposing responsibilities. As His public career advances, Christ identifies Himself more completely with the moral law, demanding of men an obedience such as was due only to the supreme moral Governor of the

world. Confession of His name He describes as a moral obligation, for such He will confess before God (Lk 12[8]). Responsibility to Himself Jesus accepts as superior to any other moral obligation; indeed, His word has the right of a moral imperative; so children are, if need be, to renounce duty to father and mother (14[26]). The right to become a conscience to every man is fully claimed by Jesus, and men are invited to take upon themselves His yoke (Mt 11[29]). Indeed, Jesus may say that the only true good can be found in life by that man who yields Him such unflinching obedience as is due only to the moral law (Lk 14[27]). Not to obey Jesus, at whatever cost, is to miss being His disciple, and that is, in Christ's judgment, equivalent to moral suicide. Finally, Jesus wholly identifies Himself with the moral law, for He makes fidelity to His person the supreme test of men. Describing the last judgment, always considered the dread function of God alone, Christ speaks of Himself as returning in glory to judge the world, when the sole criterion of blessing or condemnation will be, 'Ye did it unto me,' or 'Ye did it not unto me' (Mt 25[40. 45]). In the whole history of the study of human responsibility this is a unique claim—a claim which was not only not resented, but openly and frankly recognized by men and women who found His authority the exact equivalent of God's. In this lonely isolation Jesus stands pre-eminent in the record of morals.

The Fourth Gospel presents this extraordinary claim in a different and more winsome light. Here Christ's sonship with God is the basis of the gospel message; and the moral obligation to Jesus takes on the familiarity and the sweetness of brotherly affection. Jesus does not in this Gospel so much demand obedience as the representative of the moral Governor of the world as He asks for love and trust in Himself as the complete manifestation of the heavenly Father. For obedience the warmer attitude of trust or faith is demanded. The story of the Samaritan woman is evidently told to show how this love to Jesus may come to birth (ch. 4). Honour to the person of Jesus is honour done to the Father (5[23]). The will of God is conceived by Jesus as an obligation to believe on the Divine Son (6[29]). Judgment was passed on the unbeliever by the very words which Jesus spoke, for He spoke the words of the Father (12[46-49]). The final appreciation of any man's life is decided by his attitude to the Person of the Redeemer. 'He that believeth not is condemned already' (3[18]). The crown of this high claim is the assurance that a friendly knowledge of Jesus is necessary to eternal life, *i.e.* to the sum of human blessing: 'This is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent' (17[3]). This claim for loving trust, and this identification of Himself with the Father God in the Fourth Gospel, are clearly the brighter and more attractive equivalents for the unhesitating obedience and the identification of Himself with the Supreme moral Ruler of the world in the Synoptics. Towards Jesus every man has a duty, and on the correct sense of responsibility to Him depends the final prize of life.

LITERATURE.—The subject is not treated by itself in any book of Christian ethics. The only books, besides Commentaries on the various NT passages, are Newman Smyth, *Christian Ethics*[2], Edinburgh, 1893, pt. ii. ch. i., 'The Christian Conscience,' and H. H. Wendt, *The Teaching of Jesus*, Eng. tr., do. 1892, sect. iii. ch. iv., 'Righteousness of the Members of the Kingdom of God'; but even these are only indirectly useful for the subject.

DAVID FYFFE.

REST-DAYS.—See SABBATH (Primitive).

RESURRECTION. — See ESCHATOLOGY, STATE OF THE DEAD.

RETALIATION.—The term 'retaliation,' as its etymology indicates, means paying back in kind, like for like, whether benefits or injuries—though very significantly for human nature it has come to be used almost exclusively in the worse sense of returning evil for evil, blow for blow. The term 'requital' may be regarded as almost equivalent in connotation to 'retaliation'; it, however, rather emphasizes the more friendly aspect of reciprocity, the returning good for good, and it may even be employed to convey the notion of the return of good for evil, though in 1 S 1[25] it is used in the worse sense: 'He hath requited me evil for good,' and in Gn 50[15] Joseph's brethren contemplate that he will requite them the evil they have done him.

1. Ethical signification.—From the ethical point of view, retaliation seems to interpret punishment as retribution; a man's evil-doing is to be returned upon his own head; he is to receive the just reward of his deeds from the injured society or individual as a *quid pro quo*. There is in this view an apparent appeal to that primitive idea of justice which contained an element of vengeance. The modern common theory of punishment does regard the infliction of punishment as a penalty upon wrong-doing of this nature, but judicially imposed, and without any element of personal resentment. Retaliation, however, implies the existence of some personal feeling, and a desire to balance the account with an amount of loss or suffering equivalent to that inflicted. In warfare the principle of retaliation takes the form of meting out to an enemy like treatment to that which he has practised—plunder, outrage, burning and destroying, etc. In this connexion its usage conveys only an evil import; the ruling maxim is injury for injury, 'an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth': whatever methods of a hostile kind are adopted by one party call forth reprisals, and *en revanche* the principle of retaliation justifies the infliction of injuries like in kind and degree to those which were committed. A similar connotation is implied in its application to all cases of rivalry, struggle, and competition; whenever the action of one party exceeds the bounds of reasonableness, fairplay, or good taste, it may, by creating resentment, provoke retaliation, *i.e.* a like departure from the methods of fair and honourable competition.

The problem involved in this aspect of retaliation has been raised in an acute form by the conduct of Germany in the European War—by her brutalities, murders of citizens, ruthless cruelties, starvation of prisoners, raiding of villages, diffusion of disease-germs. Are these methods of warfare to be copied and adopted by her opponents for self-defence on the plea that it gives an enormous advantage to the enemy if there be no reprisal in kind? On ethical grounds the answer is that practices cruel, brutal, and abhorrent to human sentiment cannot be met by retaliation in kind. We may not adopt methods of warfare which are condemned by the moral sense of the nation as inhuman; such proceedings can be countered only by the sternest and most determined efforts to vanquish the enemy through the employment of every legitimate mode of warfare, to destroy his powers, and so render such barbarities impossible in the future. We could not hope to be finally successful by measures which destroyed our own self-respect and reduced us to the same level of savagery; such a victory would be worse than a defeat. Our real aim in the conflict should be to establish such conditions as will render it impossible for such a war ever to recur.

2. As a fiscal policy. — The operation of the principles of retaliation, however, finds its strongest

illustrations and its most significant application in the domain of international commerce. Here it is apt to arise whenever a nation sets up tariff barriers which obstruct international trade, with the avowed object of promoting certain home industries by the exclusion of foreign competition.

The direct economic result of this fiscal policy is to diminish foreign trade, to stimulate the production at home of certain kinds of goods previously imported, and thus to check their production for exportation by their foreign commercial rivals. Naturally this proceeding rouses a feeling of resentment and wrong in the countries whose trade is injured, which often finds vent by calling into existence retaliatory tariffs.

The retaliatory spirit is favoured by the apparently militant attitude of the protective country, and the cry is raised, 'They strike us with their tariffs; let us strike them back again.' The movement gains support from some who, while professedly believers in free trade, yet entertain doubts as to the advantage of what is described as 'one-sided' free trade. Retaliation is then adopted either for the purpose of punishment, and to gratify the feeling of resentment, or with the deliberate aim of placing the offending nation in a position deemed favourable for compelling it to reduce the objectionable tariff. In either case the real object of trading, which is the satisfaction of wants by means of imports, is lost sight of, and the attention is riveted on exporting. The tariff of A checks the exports of B to A; this is regarded by B as a hostile act, and one to be met with a retaliatory tariff, which will hit A back; perhaps it may become a basis for bargaining with A and for inducing A to lower the tariff in some degree. Both countries alike in this conflict overlook the fundamental fact that the whole object of trading is to increase the power of consumption and the amount of enjoyment by obtaining commodities on the best terms; also that exchange (whether home or foreign) increases this power by adding to the productivity of labour, and eases life by enabling individuals to use their own skill and natural gifts to the fullest advantage. They further ignore the fact that their own products are the means by which alone they can purchase the products of others, and that the highest efficiency for both parties is attained by specialization of labour and the free exchange of the results of their own industry. The deeper analysis of the advantages of trading places the emphasis upon *imports* of desirable things, for the obtaining of which *exports* must be offered in exchange. Trading is seen to be thus a mutual benefit; the relative superfluities of each country are given in exchange for the cheaper or more desirable products of other countries; and, as the exchange is voluntary, it will not take place unless both countries find their benefit therein. Protective tariffs, by limiting this power, lower efficiency and injure the country which imposes them; they administer a blow to its own powers of consumption. Retaliation, whether as a penalty or for gaining concessions, means the adoption of the same tariff policy as is resented in the foreign country, which has had the effect of contracting mutual trade. It is an illogical proceeding and a delusion. For, if tariffs are beneficial to the nations that impose them, why should they ever remove them? If they are not beneficial, but are admitted to be an economic blunder, why should other nations copy them? And in what sense can it be profitable to put up barriers that are mischievous, merely in order to lower them under a compact with other nations to do the same? The defence is usually on political grounds, but experience has fully demonstrated two invariable results of this tariff policy: (1) that, when tariffs have once been adopted, it is extremely difficult to remove them, since interests are created that are always opposed to their reduction; that tariffs beget tariffs is the lesson from every country; (2) since tariff legislation is deemed an unfriendly proceeding on the part of those who thus exclude the goods of other countries, it creates ill-feeling, provokes resentment, and leads to retaliation and tariff wars, which destroy trade, create discord, and may incite to other forms of strife. Notwithstanding the fact that retaliation is a double-edged weapon, recoiling upon those who use it, it has been employed very frequently, and by most civilized nations.

3. An economic fallacy. — One of the most cogent arguments for the imposition of tariffs is the erroneous belief that taxes may be extracted from foreigners by means of duties on imports. Even were it the fact that the exporter paid the duty by a reduction of price (which can, however, occur only in the very exceptional circumstance that the importing country possesses a market monopoly), a system by which two nations levy taxation upon each other can be only a very expensive and clumsy system of raising revenue, and one that inevitably offends every canon of taxation.

Much of the prevalent fallacy respecting international trading rests on the mistaken supposition that trade is a species of gambling, in which the gains of one nation are invariably made at the expense of another. When it is fully realized that all trade is but exchange, entered into voluntarily on both sides because it is profitable, and further that different countries can secure a larger amount of enjoyment from their industrial efforts by devoting themselves more exclusively to those tasks in which they respectively excel, then only will the belief in retaliation as an instrument for regulating foreign trade disappear.

4. Evils of protective tariffs. — It should be noticed that all tariffs of a protective character are a cause of great and unproductive expense: they involve elaborate machinery for the collection of duties that realize little as revenue; and, since they tend to call forth evasion and smuggling, they also call into existence other modes of expenditure which are necessarily incurred to check and punish those offences. Further, nothing is more convincingly proved in connexion with protective tariffs than their demoralizing influence upon the public; they tend to become the instruments of persons unscrupulous in the pursuit of gain, who seek to employ them as means for securing monopolies.

It is admitted that retaliatory methods do often lead to the adoption of commercial treaties between nations, which by special mutual concessions reduce in some degree the mischief created by the tariffs; but, inasmuch as the operation of these treaties is limited to certain countries, they generally give offence to countries excluded from them, and thereby give rise to other retaliatory tariffs by those nations; the favoured nation system thus tends to produce different results in the two directions. But retaliation is by no means a necessary antecedent to commercial treaties; most countries raise some part of their public revenue from duties upon luxuries, imported or home-produced; *e.g.*, Britain raises revenue upon imported wines and spirits. There is scope for arrangements under commercial treaties to modify such of these duties as may be found to act in a peculiarly onerous manner, without entering upon the unprofitable field of protective duties. Thus retaliation or reciprocity is possible even through the agency of revenue duties, though it is much

more difficult in application, limited in scope, and less effective, since the objects of taxation in such cases are generally either luxuries or monopoly products.

5. **After-war relations.**—The fierce conflict in which Germany has involved Europe by her violent and unprovoked attempt at conquest has for a time destroyed all possibility of trade relations between her and those whom she has made enemies.

The question has been raised, Will trade relations be renewed after peace? Does not this war demonstrate the dangers of international trading and dependence upon other countries for products? Is it not wiser and more economic to be self-contained and independent, especially for a great nation with colonies which produce many necessaries and are capable of constituting a large market for her manufactures? Shall we not retaliate upon Germany by refusing trade relations after peace has been proclaimed and rather develop our own resources and independence?

Anti-Free Traders have seized the opportunity to advocate this exclusiveness on the ground that it will be economic by developing our own resources, and will enrich the country by the growth of many industries for whose products we have hitherto depended upon Germany.

To discuss this project is to repeat the whole argument for free exchange, the economic advantages of which have been demonstrated.

War is by its nature destructive, abnormal, wasteful; it admits of no economic justification; it is based upon hostility, and its aim is utterly uneconomic. If enmity and hostility between nations were to become the chronic relation, there would be no object in discussing the advantages of trade, for such trade could not exist. But a different set of conditions is created by peace. Well-being, progress, and development are then the aim. Progress demands specialization of faculty and resources, and implies exchange and mutual dependence; and it can be shown that the wider the area of economic relations the greater the economic gain. Therefore no argument against free trading can be deduced from a state of war.

The only problem is how intercourse can be renewed after the war with a nation which has committed such gross offences against civilization and morality. It is conceivable that Britons might decline trade relations with a nation guilty of such depravity on moral grounds and from a feeling of resentment. This is a different motive from that which demands that trade with Germany should be checked in the economic interests of Great Britain. Any limitations of free exchange must be a reduction of economic advantage and a loss; but individuals and nations may be willing to suffer loss for conscience' sake. Increase of trade is not the only aspiration of nations, or indeed the highest; its benefits stand after those of morality. Economic advantages, however, tend on the whole to peaceful relations among nations who wish for mutual peace and prosperity. While, therefore, the bitter feelings created by German methods of war remain, they will be an impediment to renewed trade relations, and thus may favour the views of protectionists; this does not demonstrate the economic desirability of fiscal retaliation; it illustrates the bitterness and distrust created by German aims and methods. When peace is assured and time shall have modified these bitter feelings, the advantages of intertrading will assert themselves. Free trading is both a result and a cause of friendly relations; it postulates peace and makes for peace. But men will often sacrifice profit rather than deal with those whom they distrust.

6. It is almost superfluous to add that retaliation in the rarer and nobler form of reciprocity in good works can result only in mutual benefit and esteem, whether between individuals or between nations; it tends to the creation of an *entente cordiale*, which is a source of confidence, goodwill, and happiness, and is a state productive of moral and material well-being to all whom it embraces.

LITERATURE.—Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, London, 1776, bk. v. ch. 2; F. H. F. [Baron] Farrer, *Free Trade v. Fair Trade*[4], do. 1887; H. Sidgwick, *The Principles of Political Economy*[3], do. 1901; C. F. Bastable, *The Commerce of Nations*, do. 1892, *The Theory of International Trade*[4], do. 1903; J. S. Nicholson, *Principles of Political Economy*, do. 1893–1901, iii. 364; W. Smart, *The Return to Protection*, do. 1904; *Report of the Proceedings of the International Free Trade Congress, August, 1908*, do. 1908; J. M. Robertson, *Trade and Tariffs*, do. 1908; G. Armitage-Smith, *The Free-Trade Movement and its Results*[2], do. 1908; T. [Earl] Brassey, *Sixty Years of Progress and the New Fiscal Policy*, do. 1906; Franklin Pierce, *The Tariff and the Trusts*, New York, 1907; Brassey, *Seventy Years of Progress under Free Trade*, London, 1914.

G. ARMITAGE-SMITH.

RETREATS.—The object of a retreat is that a soul in solitude with God may learn more of His being and truth and will, and may become more completely dedicated to Him and His service. Some effect has been given to the underlying principle in many forms of religion. There are instances both in the OT and in the NT. Retirement, with its opportunities for prayer to God, was used by Moses, Elijah, St. John the Baptist, our Lord Himself, and probably by St. Paul in Arabia. In the early Church and in the Middle Ages the advantages of solitude for communing with God were abundantly recognized. But the systematization of retreats and the organization of them as carefully arranged aids to spiritual life are among the religious practices which are due to the Counter-Reformation. The beginning was in the method described in the *Spiritual Exercises* of St. Ignatius Loyola (*q.v.*).

The plan of the *Exercises* contemplates a period of four weeks, the word 'week' indicating not necessarily seven days but such a time as may be needed for the course of meditations in consideration of the spiritual faculties and condition of the person making the retreat. The plan contains a scheme for the disposal of time and rules for occupations and prayer. The meditations for the first week, after defining the end of man to be the service of God and the attainment of salvation in this service, are on sin as seen in the sin of the angels, of Adam and Eve, of the retreatant himself; on hell; on death; on the last judgment. The meditations for the second week are on the Incarnation and the events of our Lord's earthly life as far as Palm Sunday and the preaching in the Temple. Those for the third week are on the Last Supper, the Agony in the Garden, the Arrest, the Trial and Condemnation, the Crucifixion and Death, the Burial. Those for the fourth week are on the Resurrection, the Appearances after the Resurrection, and the Ascension. The series for the first week concerns the Purgative Way, the object of which is to increase hatred of sin and to deepen penitence. Those for the second and third weeks concern the Illuminative Way, and the object is to set before the soul the example of Christ and to lead it to closer imitation of Him. That for the fourth week concerns the Unitive Way, which has as its aim to bring the soul into closer union with God. An important place is filled in the second week by the consideration of the two standards under which man has the choice of enlisting—the first that of Christ, the other that of the devil—and of the three classes of (1) those who are reluctant to bear the consequences of following Christ and desire to postpone the sacrifices which are involved, (2) those in whose desire to follow there still are reserves, and (3) those who are prepared at once to make all the surrenders which the following of Him may require. The director is instructed to vary the details and the proportion in the use of the *Exercises* according to the capacities and the needs of the person using them.

In the system founded by St. Ignatius Loyola a retreat of thirty days spent in silence and prayer with meditations on the *Exercises* was a preliminary to entrance into the Society of Jesus; a retreat of eight days similarly based on the *Exercises* became a yearly custom in the Society; and retreats were conducted in houses of the Society for others than its members. Following the example of St. Ignatius, many leaders in religious life promoted retreats for clergy and the laity, men and women. Notable among these were St. Charles Borromeo,

St. Francis de Sales, St. Vincent de Paul, Pierre de Bérulle, and Jean Jacques Olier. During the 17th cent. the use of retreats spread rapidly throughout the Roman Catholic Church. In the closing years of the 19th cent. and the early years of the 20th a great development took place, beginning in France and extending thence to Belgium, Holland, England, and elsewhere, by which retreats, from having been for the most part confined to clergy or lay people of special devotion or passing through some special crisis in life, came to be extended to large multitudes and especially to men and boys, women and girls, of the working classes. These have naturally been of a less severe character than the earlier retreats, lasting for a shorter time, such as three days or one day, with times for conversation and recreation allowed.

Retreats of a definite character were introduced into the Church of England soon after the middle of the 19th century. In Feb. 1856 a retreat for clergy, lasting from Monday to Saturday in one week, was held at Chislehurst under the auspices of the Society of the Holy Cross. In July 1856 a retreat for clergy, lasting for the same time, was held in E. B. Pusey's house at Oxford. An element in both these retreats was that, in addition to their devotional setting and practices, there were conferences on theological and spiritual subjects. One result of the Oxford Movement (*q.v.*) was that many clergy and some devout laymen and women formed the practice of making a retreat from time to time. The general features of these retreats were taken from those customary in the Church of Rome. In many cases they have lasted for three or four days; there have been two or three or four addresses on each day; silence has been preserved throughout; the time has been devoted to prayer and communion with God. Much work in promoting such retreats was due to the Society of St. John the Evangelist at Cowley and its first superior, R. M. Benson, and to the English sisterhoods. Retreats for business men from Saturday night to Monday morning have long been a prominent part of the work of the St. Paul's Lecture Society at St. Paul's Cathedral. In the 20th cent. many retreats and devotional gatherings or conventions bearing some resemblance to retreats have been organized on a wider scale.

In the last few years the meetings for spiritual help and edification which have long been customary among Nonconformists have in some cases assumed a form more like that of a retreat, though usually without the continuous silence and with discussions or conferences forming part. There have been instances of these among the Wesleyans, the Baptists, and the Congregationalists.

Experience has shown the high practical value of retreats in their influence on spiritual life. The present tendency is largely to extend their sphere and to lessen their intensity. Obviously there is need of great differences as to their length and as to the degree of completeness which is to be observed in the withdrawal from the world and its ordinary occupations which is their most distinctive feature. The severity which may be most valuable for those called to special kinds of life, and for those far advanced in the use of prayer, would only be crippling to many of those living an ordinary life in the world or to the young. But it is essential that the more complete and severe retreats should be maintained for those for whom they are suitable; and the special point of a retreat is lost unless the devotion in it is sustained and empowered by continued solitude of the soul with God.

LITERATURE.—P. Debuchy, artt. 'Retreats' and 'Spiritual Exercises of Saint Ignatius,' in *CE* xii. 795–797, xiv. 224–229; St. Ignatius Loyola, *Spiritual Exercises*, many edd.—*e.g.*, *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius Loyola* (Spanish and English with commentary), ed. J. Rickaby, London, 1915; A. Bellecius, *Medulla Asceseos*,[2] Münster i. W., 1846; T. T. Carter, art. 'Retreats,' in *The Church and the World*, 3rd ser. [1868], reprinted in his *Retreats with Notes of Addresses*, London, 1893; R. W. Randall, preface in his *Addresses and Meditations for a Retreat*, do. 1890; W. C. E. Newbolt, *Quiet Days and Retreats*, do. 1894; *A Handbook in Retreat*, by members of the Community of St. Margaret's, East Grinstead, with preface by G. Body, Oxford, 1905; H. S. Lunn, *Retreats for the Soul*, London, 1913; G. Plater, *Retreats for the People*, do. 1913; R. Schofield (ed.), *Retreats, their Value, Organisation, and Growth*, do. 1915; H. Müller, *Les Origines de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Paris, 1898.

DARWELL STONE.

RETRIBUTION.—See REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS, ESCHATOLOGY.

REUCHLIN.—Johannes Reuchlin (Capnio)[1] was a pioneer and a leader of the humanist movement in the early stages of the Renaissance, especially as regards the study of Hebrew. He was a man of varied gifts, interests, and activities—a striking and attractive personality. He was an accomplished scholar and teacher of Classics and Hebrew, and wrote important works on these subjects; he was a professional lawyer and held appointments as a judge; he was a man of affairs and acted as confidential adviser and agent of some of the leading German princes.

1. Scholar and legalist.—Reuchlin's career may be briefly sketched as follows:

He was born at Pforzheim in Baden, 22nd Feb. 1455; his father was an official of the Dominican monastery there; his Latin studies in the monastery school laid the foundation of his classical scholarship. After a brief stay at the University of Freiburg, he was appointed in 1470 companion and tutor to Frederick, son of the Markgraf Charles I., of Baden, and accompanied his pupil to the University of Paris. Here he began Greek, was a pupil of John à Lapide, and made the acquaintance of Rudolf Agricola. In 1474 he went to the University of Basel, where he took his B.A. in 1475 and his M.A. in 1477. He studied Greek under Andronicus Kontoblakas, had relations with Sebastian Brant and John Wessel, and began his career as a public teacher by lecturing on the Greek language and on Aristotle in the original. He then returned to Paris for a while, and read Greek with George Hieronymus. Next he adopted law as a profession, and studied at the University of Orleans in 1478–79, taking his LL.B. in the latter year, and maintaining himself by teaching Greek and Latin. In 1481 he was made licentiate of laws at the University of Poitiers.

He now went to Tübingen, intending to become a lecturer there, but, on the invitation of Count Eberhard of Württemberg, he became confidential secretary and agent to that prince. From this point till 1520—*i.e.* till towards the close of his life—he continued in such employment and in the pursuit of the legal profession as advocate or judge. In 1484 he became doctor of laws. He remained with Eberhard at Stuttgart till the death of the latter in 1496. Reuchlin's marriage may probably be placed early in this period; he had no children, but was greatly attached to his sister's grandson, Melanchthon. In 1518 he recommended Melanchthon to a post at Wittenberg, and so brought him into connexion with Luther. Later, however, Reuchlin's attitude towards Luther was unsympathetic.

His political and legal duties did not prevent Reuchlin from continuing his work as a scholar. Indeed, his journeys in the service of his patrons gave him fresh opportunities of study and brought him into contact with many of the most distinguished leaders of literature and learning. In company, first with Eberhard in 1481–82, then with a son of that prince in 1490, he twice visited both Florence and Rome, came under the influence of the brilliant scholars of the Medicean Academy and especially of Pico della Mirandola, and profited by the learning of the Greeks, John Argyropulos and Demetrius Chalkondylas. From about 1485 he was busy studying Hebrew; in 1492 he went on a mission to the Emperor Frederick at Linz, who conferred on him a patent of nobility. On this and on a later visit to the imperial court he studied Hebrew with a court physician, a learned Jew, Jacob ben Jehiel Loans, and utilized his newly-acquired knowledge to study the Kabbala; later, while visiting Rome in 1498, he was indebted for further instruction in Hebrew to the Jew, Obadiah Sforno.

On the death of his patron in 1496 Reuchlin lost the favour of the court of Württemberg. He removed to Heidelberg, and eventually entered the service of the Elector Philip. A revolution in 1498 brought him back to Württemberg, where he held an important judgeship till 1512, when he gave up this office, and devoted himself to scholarship for the remainder of his life, having his home in the neighbourhood of Stuttgart—except that in 1520 he was Professor of Greek and Hebrew at Ingolstadt

[1] 'Capnio,' as an alternative name, was Græcized from 'Reuchlin,' after the fashion of the times; it did not, however, supersede the original, as 'Melanchthon' did 'Schwartzerd.'

under the auspices of William, Duke of Bavaria, and in the winter of 1521–22 he lectured at Tübingen. In the early summer of 1522 he died at Bad Liebenzell, whither he had gone for his health.

2. The Reuchlin controversy.—Unfortunately the last years of Reuchlin's life, from 1509, were harassed by the famous controversy which is named after him, but in which he was involved without any fault or desire of his own. A converted Jew, Johann Pfefferkorn of Cologne, anxious for the conversion of his fellow-countrymen, initiated a movement to deprive the Jews of all their books except the OT. He asked Reuchlin for his support, but was refused; a little later the emperor Maximilian instructed the archbishop of Mainz to form a commission of scholars, including Reuchlin, to report upon the matter.

Eventually the archbishop obtained written opinions from the members of the commission; most of them were favourable to Pfefferkorn, but Reuchlin was adverse. A bitter controversy arose, adorned with the usual personalities. The two antagonists mutually accused each other of heresy and appealed to the emperor, the pope, the universities, and other authorities. The universities condemned Reuchlin; the emperor and the pope sought to mediate; Reuchlin was warmly supported by the humanists in the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum* (Tübingen, 1514–17) and in other writings. He had also the enthusiastic support of Luther and Karlstadt. The dispute took the shape of formal litigation, which continued with varying fortunes till 1520. Decisions were given in favour of Reuchlin at Rome in 1516 and at Frankfort in 1520; the former finding was quashed, the latter reversed by the pope. In 1517 Luther had published his theses, and thus his support was disastrous for Reuchlin. In the rising storm caused by Luther's agitation, however, the minor controversy was lost sight of, and the veteran scholar was left in peace for his few remaining days.

3. Chief works.—Reuchlin's more important works may be classified as follows:

(*a*) *Linguistic.*—A Latin dictionary, *Vocabularius Breviloquus*, 25 editions between 1475 and 1504; *de Rudimentis Hebraicis*, a Hebrew lexicon and grammar, first published in 1506.

(*b*) *Mystic.*—*De Verbo Mirifico* (1494), *de Arte Cabbalistica* (1517), which attempt to extend the Jewish theosophy of the Kabbala to Christianity and to apply it in the interests of apologetics.[1] These works are mere literary curiosities, and have no permanent value. Waite believes that Reuchlin 'was the first to point out that the Hebrew name of Jesus was formed of the consonants of Jehovah = יהוה with the addition of the third letter *Shin* = ישוה—*i.e.* Jehoshuah. He quotes a large number of post-Zoharic writers on Kabalism.'[2]

(*c*) *Controversial.*—Mainly in connexion with the polemic against Pfefferkorn and the Dominicans, especially *Aulenspiegel* (1511), which includes his report to the archbishop of Cologne on the question of the confiscation of Jewish literature. Pfefferkorn had previously written *Judenspiegel* (1507), a fairly moderate discussion of the Jews, and *Handspiegel wider und gegen die Juden* (1511), an attack on Reuchlin.

(*d*) *Various.*—A pamphlet, *Liber Congestorum de Arte Predicandi*, mentioned by E. C. Achelis[3] as a pioneer work in modern homiletics; two Latin comedies, *Sergius* and *Henno*, in the style of Terence.

4. Services to Hebrew and Greek learning.—The chief importance of Reuchlin for the history of religion lies in the services that he rendered to the study of Hebrew and in the fact that he bore the brunt of the first great controversy between the humanists and the obscurantists; these two features of his work were closely connected, but it is convenient to treat them separately.

Since the time of Jerome Hebrew learning had been rare among Western Christians, though it flourished among the Jews, but there occasionally appeared Christian scholars, especially converts from Judaism, who were proficient in Hebrew. The most distinguished among the immediate predecessors of Reuchlin were John Wessel (1420–89) and Pico della Mirandola (1463–94). Reuchlin owed much to their influence. But he himself was the 'Father of Hebrew philology amongst Christians.'[1] His *de Rudimentis Hebraicis* was rightly characterized by Melanchthon as entitling its author to the highest praise from the Church and from all posterity, *i.e.* as an epoch-making book.

But Reuchlin's zeal for Hebrew learning had effects far wider than its immediate objects; nor was his influence confined to such studies. He did much to promote the study of Greek, and even in his early days at Basel his activity provoked the hostility of obscurantists, who objected to the language as impious and schismatic—*i.e.* that of the Eastern Church. The controversy as to Hebrew literature involved questions that are permanently crucial for religion. Here, as often since, matters that primarily concerned the OT provided a field of battle on which larger issues were fought out. In supporting Reuchlin, the humanists were maintaining the freedom of thought and learning against the obscurantist demand that nothing should be taught or published that they chose to consider at variance with traditional orthodoxy—that the ignorance of the dark ages and of the uninstructed multitude should determine how far scholarship should be tolerated. As A. Duff says,

'Graetz is not wrong when he counts his fellow Jews as largely responsible for the Reformation. He writes (*Hist. of the Jews*, Eng. tr., London, 1891–92, iv. 452): "The Talmud indirectly had a great share in the awakening of these slumbering forces [in Germany]. We can boldly assert that the war for and against the Talmud [wherein Reuchlin was its champion] aroused German consciousness, and created a public opinion, without which the Reformation, as well as other efforts, would have died in the hour of their birth, or perhaps would never have been born at all."'[2]

LITERATURE.—L. Geiger, *Johann Reuchlin, sein Leben und seine Werke*, Leipzig, 1871; G. Kawerau, art. 'Reuchlin' in *PRE*[3]; F. Bleek, *Introd. to the OT*, Eng. tr., London, 1869, i. 121–129; H. Hallam, *Introd. to the Literature of Europe*, do. 1872, pt. i. ch. iii. pp. 65 f., 99 ff., 124, ch. iv. p. 53; *The Cambridge Modern Hist.*, i. ('The Renaissance,' Cambridge, 1902), 572 ff., 605 ff., 637, 684, ii. ('The Reformation,' do. 1903), 32, 695 ff.

W. H. BENNETT.

REVELATION.—1. What is the meaning of revelation?—The word stands either (*a*) for the process by which God makes known to man the truth which he requires, or (*b*) for the body of truth which God has made known. Revelation presupposes the existence both of a living God, able and willing to bestow it, and of intelligent beings, able to receive and to make use of it. Thus, though revelation, as will presently be seen, is God's gift to the world, to know it as revelation belongs to theists alone.

2. How does man's need of revelation come to be felt?—It is felt in face of the practical problems which life presents to him. Man is essentially a religious being, but his desire for union and communion with his god is in close connexion with his practical needs. Just as he desires to make use of a power greater than his own, so he desires to make use of a knowledge greater than his own. Much that he desires to know he finds himself unable to discover, and he turns to his god to seek from him the knowledge which he requires. So it was in the early days of Hebrew history. Saul, seeking his father's asses, David, uncertain as to the intentions of the men of Keilah, Ahab, anxious as to the issue of the coming campaign, alike turned to the seer or the diviner to learn that which they could not themselves discover (1 S 9^6 23^{12}, 1 K 22^6). Moreover, even when the knowledge which man desires is the knowledge of the

[1] R. C. Jebb, in *Cambridge Modern History*, i. 572.
[2] A. E. Waite, *The Secret Doctrine in Israel*, London, 1913, p. 6.
[3] *Lehrb. der prakt. Theologie*, Leipzig, 1898, ii. 101.

[1] Bleek, *Introd. to the OT*, i. 125; W. Gesenius, *Hebrew Grammar*, ed. E. Kautzsch, Leipzig, 1889, Eng. tr., Oxford, 1898, p. 20.
[2] *Hist. of OT Criticism*, London, 1910, p. 99.

will of his god, his purpose in seeking for it is at first equally practical. Believing that such material blessings as an abundant harvest and victory in war are dependent upon good relations with his god, he desires to know what his god requires of him in order that those good relations may continue, if they exist, or be restored, if they have been interrupted (cf., *e.g.*, 2 S 21^{7}). Primitive man desires neither truth for the sake of truth nor righteousness for the sake of righteousness; he desires both because, for practical ends, he desires the favour of his god. Now it is important to observe the practical character of the desire for revelation, because it continues almost unaltered throughout human history. Men are made to 'seek God,' and 'feel after him,' like children feeling for their parents in the night (Ac 17^{27}), because they are made dependent upon God and unable to do without Him. As, in the long course of history, men have risen to higher things, far deeper needs than those of which the savage is conscious have come into view. Though the old selfish desire for supernatural information still remains to-day, and is ministered to by the palmist and the crystal-gazer, it is for nobler ends that the best men now desire revelation. What they feel is the mystery of the world and the contradictions of their own nature, the mysteries of sin and sorrow and pain and death. They desire to know God and His purpose, that they may understand their life and the use which they should make of it. But even here the desire for revelation is still mainly practical. Truth for truth's sake may be the watchword of the scholar, but truth for life's sake is the watchword of the ordinary man. He cannot say, with Browning's Grammarian, 'Actual life comes next.' His actual life is being lived now, and he needs revelation that he may know how to live it.

3. Is such revelation possible or verifiable?—This is a question which haunts the minds of many who desire it. How can the secret of the universe—so vast in space and time—be made known to the minds of men? The eye can see only what it brings with it the power of seeing. Is it possible that any conception of God and His ways which our minds can grasp can correspond to the reality? To this difficulty there are two answers to be made. (*a*) To deny that God can be known is not merely to take a low view of our own nature; it is, in fact, also to take a low view of His. It is to deny to Him the power of self-revelation, and with it the power of influence which self-revelation brings. No one claims to know God perfectly; indeed, it is in the unfathomability of His nature that we find one great source of our reverence for Him. Our knowledge of God is at best a *theologia viatorum*, not a *theologia beatorum*. But our knowledge of God may none the less be true, as far as it goes, and be capable of a growth to which no limit can be set. Our instinctive longing after God is itself a prophecy of its satisfaction; God 'creates the love to reward the love'; we can hardly believe that the instinct would have survived, had it not been in touch with reality. (*b*) The question whether anything can be known must be decided, as Bacon says, not by arguing, but by trying. Religion starts with the assumption that God is to be known, as science starts with the assumption that the world is to be known, and both are ultimately justified by the fruitfulness of the results obtained. Of course it is always possible to suggest that our apparent knowledge may not be real knowledge, since it is necessarily relative to the mind which claims it. But, if we reject such scepticism in the sphere of physics, we ought also to reject it in the sphere of religion. The instinct of the mind is to believe itself in touch with reality, and there is no reason for setting this instinct aside. The true verification of knowledge lies in the practical use which we are able to make of it. The claim to know God is made now, as of old, by a multitude of the sanest and best of mankind, and they ascribe to this knowledge all that is best in their life and activity. If the knowledge of God is increasingly fruitful in power and joy and goodness, we need no other proof of its reality. Though we see God but 'in a mirror,' the mirror does not obscure the outlines of His features; though we know Him but 'in a riddle,' the riddle is one that His Spirit enables us to interpret (cf. 1 Co $2^{9f.}$ 13^{12}).

4. How can revelation be given to us?—No *a priori* answer should be given to this question. Rather it should be asked, How has revelation actually been given? All knowledge rests upon experience—our own or the garnered experience of other men. But no limit can be set to the possibilities of experience, nor can we know in advance of what methods God may make use. The dream, the vision, the oracle, the beauty and order of the world, the course of human history, the highest types of human character, the voice of reason and of conscience, the dialectics of the philosopher, and the intuition of the saint—all may be 'alike good' in varying stages of human development. 'There is one river of truth, which receives tributaries from every side.' Serious loss may arise from drawing too strong a contrast between one kind of experience and another, and attaching importance to one to the exclusion of another.

Thus (*a*) no valid distinction can be drawn between subjective and objective experience, since all experience contains both subjective and objective elements. On the one hand, the mind can discover nothing by its own activity; indeed, apart from the material given to it, there could be no activity of the mind at all. The effort of the mystic to empty his mind of all its existing content is but an effort to make room for a new content, which he looks to God directly to bestow. The pageant of nature and of history, on the other hand, objective as it is, derives all its meaning from the interpretation which the mind gives to it. Though 'the heavens declare the glory of God' (Ps 19^{1}), they declare it only to the mind of man; the cow in her pasture sees the same spectacle, and makes nothing of it.

Nor (*b*) can any valid distinction be drawn between discovery and revelation. Experience may indeed come sought or unsought. But no revelation can be received without attention being paid to it, nor would the effort to attain truth be successful, unless the one Source of truth were willing to reward it. Indeed, as we have already seen, our impulse to seek itself presupposes God's willingness to be found.

Once more, (*c*) there is no valid distinction to be drawn between natural and revealed religion. Strictly speaking, what is revealed is not religion but truth. But this contrast is besides doubly misleading, since it suggests both that there is a religion possible which does not rest upon revelation and that the higher means of revelation are in some way less natural than the lower. Both these suggestions are false. The witness borne to God by the world, by human history, and by the nature of man is none the less God-given because it is in large measure common to all (cf. Ac 14^{17}, Ro 1^{18-20}), while the highest revelation which the Bible records is in the best sense natural. If it is natural for God to be revealed in human history as a whole, so is it for Him to be specially revealed in the history of the people brought nearest to Him, and, above all, in the history and experience of His Son. If it is natural that the

consciousness of all should witness to God, so is it that a more abundant witness should be borne by the consciousness of the Soul that knew no sin. Indeed, the supposed 'natural' basis of religion is inseparable from the basis which, in distinction from it, is described as 'revealed.' The world of nature and of history is a world in which the Lord, and the Church both before and after His coming, have been prominent actors, and human consciousness is only seen at its highest in the consciousness of the Lord. Thus it is that 'natural religion' ever maintains but a precarious existence when 'revealed religion' is repudiated. The Hebrews had come to know God through their national experience long before they recognized that the heavens declared His glory, and it is ever those to-day who have seen 'the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ' (2 Co 4^{6}) that most easily recognize and interpret His action in nature and in history.

Are there, then, any real distinctions to be borne in mind, as we consider the subject before us? There is one of the greatest importance—the distinction between the divine revelation itself and the human recognition and acceptance of it. All revelation ultimately depends upon the will of God. But its effectiveness does not depend upon God's will alone; man has his part to play in seeking after it, in preparing himself for it, in welcoming it, in yielding himself to it. It is on the reality and interplay of these two elements that the acquisition of truth depends both for the race and for the individual. Neither can be ignored without misunderstanding the whole. Thus (*a*) the initiative is always God's. It belongs to God to reveal Himself when and how He will. If He reveals Himself to one nation more fully than to another, and to one person more fully than to another, that belongs to God's 'management of His household' (Eph 1^{10}); we cannot, in view of the facts of history, ascribe it altogether to a special responsiveness in those for the time specially favoured. It was not for lack of trying that 'in the wisdom of God the world through its wisdom knew not God' (1 Co 1^{21}), nor was it as the reward of a great spiritual effort on the part of Israel as a nation that God was specially revealed to it. So the prophets and the Lord of the prophets ever declare: 'I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou didst hide these things from the wise and understanding, and didst reveal them unto babes: yea, Father, for so it was well-pleasing in thy sight' (Mt $11^{25f.}$). This is not to say that God's action is arbitrary, or that we may not seek to understand it, so far as we may. It is only to say that God's action depends upon God's will, not in contrast with His wisdom (for there can be no such contrast), but in contrast with human effort and desert. But (*b*) to say this is in no wise to deny the importance of human effort and response. Though it is for God to bestow the light, it is for man to open his eyes and ears to that measure of revelation which by the divine good pleasure is vouchsafed to him. It is 'he that hath ears to hear' that will hear, and to him that hath that more will be given (Mt 13^{9-12}). It is not merely that effort and attention are required for the attainment of any knowledge; there is more than this. 'Things human must be known to be loved,' says Pascal; 'things divine must be loved to be known.' All revelation of character demands a certain power of appreciation in those to whom the revelation is made. 'The secret of the Lord is with them that fear him' (Ps 25^{14}), and 'every one that doeth ill hateth the light, and cometh not to the light, lest his works should be reproved' (Jn 3^{20}). Moreover, there is another fact, which is here important. As we shall presently see, divine revelation without needs ever to be supplemented by divine inspiration within; and, though revelation may fall, like the rain, upon the evil and the good, with inspiration it is not so. Now it is upon these two facts taken together—the good pleasure of God and the response of man—that the course of revelation has depended. God has spoken as He has seen well to speak, but also 'as men were able to hear it' (Mk 4^{33}). He has spoken 'by divers portions and in divers manners' (He 1^{1}), not only because it is His way to proceed step by step, but also because different portions of the one truth were needed, or could alone be received, by those to whom the revelation was given. Israel in the days of Amos needed the revelation of the divine justice, and in the days of Hosea the revelation of the divine love; and God sent each revelation at its appropriate time. But it is surely also true that Amos was incapable of receiving the message entrusted to Hosea, and Hosea incapable of receiving the message entrusted to Amos. The knowledge of God, like all knowledge, is at first confined to the few, and bestowed by methods by which only the few can be reached. But each element of truth, though it may at first be received in isolation, is consistent with each other element; and, when the fuller revelation is given, the fragments fall, each into its true place, and throw light upon one another.

Accommodation in revelation.—It is precisely the fact that revelation is bestowed according to our capacity for receiving it that should give us confidence in its reality. All communication between a higher and a lower mind demands a certain accommodation. The teaching which a parent gives to a child must be expressed in the child's language, and must attach itself to the child's thought and experience. A wise parent will not attempt to tell his child all that he knows, nor will he try at once to correct all the child's errors, or hinder the exercise of his imagination. But such accommodation does not in any way mislead the child. Its whole purpose is to convey as clearly as possible such truth as he immediately needs, without confusing his mind with extraneous matter. When, *e.g.*, after a birth in the family, a child is told that God has sent him a new little brother, he is told both what is entirely true and exactly what he needs to know for the guidance of his own thought and conduct. No doubt the child will picture the arrival of the gift in his own way; he may even, in passing on to another what he has been told, fail to distinguish between what he has been told and the way in which he has pictured it. But all this is quite unimportant. What he has been told is the truth, and no subsequent enlargement of his knowledge will at all affect it; rather, it will lead the child to admire the more the wisdom and the love which told him just so much and no more. Now so it is with divine revelation. It is wisely accommodated to human capacity; it does not correct all errors at once or check the action of the imagination. The prophets, *e.g.*, conceive of the divine kingdom of the future according to their hearts' desire, and think of it as far nearer than it has proved to be. But fuller revelation would have confused rather than enlightened them; it would have deprived the truth conveyed of its practical power. What we see is the wise Father at work, and our recognition of His method gives us but the greater confidence in the reality of His desire to reveal.

Now it is here that we find the solution of a difficulty which is found by some in the Gospel story. Our Lord always speaks as if He shared the beliefs of His contemporaries on such matters as the facts of the physical world and the authorship of the OT literature (cf., *e.g.*, Mt 22^{41-45} 24^{15}). Sometimes He speaks in a way which suggests that He expected the Kingdom of God immediately to appear (*e.g.*, Mt 10^{23}). Now the question of our Lord's human knowledge cannot here be discussed, but it matters little for our immediate purpose how we regard it. What we see in any case is God's method of accommodation. Our Lord's teaching had an immediate practical purpose, and it would plainly have hindered the accomplishment of that purpose had He turned aside from it to make premature revelations in physical science and historical criticism. The only question is at what point the accommodation took place. If, as Christians in the past have generally supposed, our Lord knew the facts, the accommodation took place when He spoke to His contemporaries. If, as modern scholars generally suppose, He did not know them, the accommodation took place when the divine message was conveyed to the human mind of the Lord. In any case the accommodation was necessary, if the minds of men were to receive the truth. The revelation itself is an abiding possession, and each generation may clothe it in its own forms of thought.

5. How has revelation actually come to us?—It is actual revelation that best shows us both its meaning and its possibility. What has been done

it was possible to do, while much that may seem possible to us may not actually be so. Three points are of special importance. (*a*) Revelation is primarily of God's reality, character, and purpose. All other revelation is subordinate to this, and to a large extent included within it. (*b*) Revelation is made in act rather than in word. God reveals Himself by what He does, and the trend of His purpose by His partial fulfilment of it. But the word of God is important in its own place. Inspiration (*q.v.*) goes hand in hand with revelation. The word of God, spoken by the prophets, points to the facts and declares their significance. (*c*) Revelation culminates in Christ and the Spirit-bearing Church, who at once reveal in act God's reality, character, and purpose, and declare it in word. In them God's purpose is partially fulfilled and also moves forward to complete fulfilment.

(*a*) Revelation centres from the first in God's abiding Name, or revealed character, and that Kingdom of God which it is His purpose to establish. It has not primarily consisted in the promulgation of a code of laws to be obeyed without understanding their purpose, or in the conveyance of information, guaranteed by miracles, as to the facts of the unseen world. What God has primarily revealed has been Himself and the purpose for which He is working, though, in revealing these, He has necessarily revealed what we must be and do in order to co-operate with Him, and the future which union with Him necessarily assures to us. When St. Paul maintained that the promise was primary and the law secondary (Gal 3^{15-24}), he was profoundly true to the highest teaching of the OT. All that is highest in the moral appeals of lawgiver and prophet witnesses to this. The children of Israel are to be holy because their God is holy (Lv 19^{2}), and merciful because their God is merciful (Dt $10^{18f.}$); the claim of God upon the obedience of His people ever rests upon the great things that He has done for them, and the great things that He still will do (1 S 12^{24}, Hos 14^{1-8}). So it was when the confident expectation of the Resurrection and the future life of bliss arose among the people of God. It did not rest upon any detailed picture of the future drawn by an infallible hand; it rested upon the knowledge that had been acquired of the justice and faithfulness of God, and of all that was involved in union with Him. He was the God not of the dead, but of the living, and the bond that had been formed with Him was one which time and death had no power to break (Ps $49^{14f.}$ 73^{23-26}, Is 25^{8} 26^{19}). The same characteristic of revelation appears in that given by the Lord and continued in the Church. The Lord by word and act is essentially the Revealer of the Father (Jn 14^{9}), the Declarer of the Name of God (17^{6}), and the Preacher of the Kingdom of God. His moral teaching is no legal code, but, like the highest teaching of the OT, rests upon the character of God and the hope of the future (Mt 5^{43-48}, Lk 12^{22-34}), while the fulfilment of the hope for the individual is bound up with union with God through the Lord Himself (Jn $6^{57f.}$ $16^{26f.}$).

(*b*) Existence and character are made known by action; and purpose comes to be understood by the partial and promissory fulfilment of the purpose itself. To the Hebrews God was revealed in the facts of their history and experience. Though at first they may have thought of their God much as other Semitic peoples thought of their own, the facts convinced them that He was far other than the gods of the heathen. He had a purpose, and in the working out of His purpose there was nothing that could say Him nay. He had brought them out of Egypt with a mighty hand and a stretched-out arm; He had planted them in their own land. He had revealed His will, and showed Himself able to vindicate it when they set it aside. And all through their history this revelation of God by the facts of His action went on. Chasten His people He might with awful severity, but He would never destroy them. That would be to abandon His purpose. Always 'the remnant' was left to 'take root downward, and bear fruit upward' (Is 37^{31}). So by the witness of facts the Hebrews came to know the Name of their God—'Jahweh, Jahweh, a God full of compassion and gracious, slow to anger, and plenteous in mercy and truth; keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin: and that will by no means clear the guilty; visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon the children's children, upon the third and upon the fourth generation' (Ex $34^{6f.}$). So it was with the divine purpose of establishing the divine kingdom. God revealed His purpose to establish it by actually establishing it in Israel, so far as the obstinacy of His people allowed, and extending it through Israel over others, so far as Israel was ready to be the instrument of its extension both by doing and by suffering. But to say this is not to say that the facts were left to speak for themselves. Though words without acts are vain, acts without words are misunderstood. In Israel's history revelation went hand in hand with inspiration, the act of God with the word of God. At each crisis of Israel's history the prophet was raised up and inspired to declare the Name of God that was being manifested, and to interpret His action. So in the manifestation of God's ripening purpose. To the inspired vision of the prophets the divine purpose ever shines through the darkest facts of the present. What God has done and is doing reveals what He still must do, and the very disasters which human wilfulness occasions reveal what God must one day make of men, if they are to be the instruments of His unfaltering purpose. Nowhere do we see this more plainly than in the promise of the Christ. It is the Kingdom, not the Christ, that the prophets primarily proclaim; but, as the facts of Israel's history make clear the divine method of working through great personalities for the benefit of the community, the great personalities whom God raises up to act and to suffer for His people become the prophecy of the great Actor, the great Sufferer, whom God must yet raise up.

Nor (*c*) is there any change in God's method when the Christ appears, lives and acts, suffers and is glorified. In one aspect the Christ is the greatest of the prophets, and the Church, as the Spirit-bearing body, is the abiding witness to the Name and purpose of God. But in another both the Christ and the Church are God-revealing facts. The mighty works of the Lord's earthly life are not so much external proofs of a revelation which is distinct from them as themselves the revelation. The Lord reveals the Father, because in His activity the Father is seen actually at work (Jn $14^{9f.}$ $15^{22f.}$). If a Kingdom is proclaimed in which all evil is to pass away, its reality is certified by the present operation of the powers of the Kingdom in the Lord Himself (Lk 11^{20}; cf. 7^{18-23}). Moreover, when the Lord's life is crowned by His death and glorification, by the gift of the Spirit and the transformation of the Church, both the Name and the Kingdom of God are revealed far more perfectly. It is still the facts that are eloquent. God Himself is seen 'in Christ reconciling the world unto himself' (2 Co 5^{19}). He is seen to be One who saves by taking and removing the burden of human sin, lifting men up by the communication of Himself. Sin is found to be actually removed and the Spirit given. The Kingdom is assured in the future, because in the Church it is found

already existing, and He who has begun 'a good work . . . will perfect it until the day of Jesus Christ' (Ph 1[6]). When, in one of the latest of the books of the NT, we read that 'God is love,' the words are no mysterious oracle resting upon St. John's authority; they are the summary expression of all that, in the experience of the Church, God has been found to be (1 Jn 4[7-10]). It is this revelation in fact that the gift of the Spirit of God inspires the Church in word to declare. The whole purpose of the gift of the Spirit, as the Fourth Gospel describes it, is not to make a new revelation, but to light up, and enable the Church to declare, the revelation already made in the Christ Himself and the facts of His experience. The Spirit is to take of the things of Christ, to declare the meaning of the great redeeming acts, which, when the Lord spoke, were still 'to come' (Jn 16[13f.]), and through them all to tell men 'plainly of the Father' (16[25]). That conviction of the world which the Spirit is to bring about is a conviction that will rest upon an inspired witness to revealing facts (16[8-11]). It is here that the culmination of divine revelation lies. The revelation contained in the person and work of the Lord and the present experience of the Church is through the Spirit's inspiration declared to the world. 'That which was from the beginning, that which we have heard, that which we have seen with our eyes, that which we beheld, and our hands handled, concerning the Word of life . . . declare we unto you also, that ye also may have fellowship with us: yea, and our fellowship is with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ' (1 Jn 1[1-3]).

6. What is the relation of this historical revelation to and by and through the people of God to other means by which men may come to the knowledge of God?—To assert the reality and perfection of the higher is in no way to deny the reality or the value of the lower. If the Greek philosopher or the Indian sage has indeed attained by his own methods to a knowledge of God fruitful in power and holiness, it is by divine revelation that he has done so, and, we doubt not, by divine inspiration also. So the wisest Christian thinkers have held from the first. To the Christian indeed it may seem that even the highest teaching of all who went before his Master is 'lost, like the light of a star, in the spreading dawn of day.' In 'the mystery of God, even Christ, . . . are all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge hidden' (Col 2[2f.]). But the teaching of other masters, whether of ancient or of modern days, is not necessarily valueless to the Christian. Not only may it give to him much that the higher revelation has not in fact given to him, though it might have done so; he has no *a priori* reason for denying that it may add to his knowledge. In the traditional theology of the Church there are real elements which have come to it from Greek philosophy, and not from the revelation recorded in the Bible. If to-day we desire to get rid of them, it is because we think them baseless and unfruitful, and not because of the source from which they have come. Equally generous should be our appreciation of all the light which modern investigation has thrown upon the past history of the world and of man, and upon the record of the revelation, which God has made to us. Physical science, historical criticism, comparative religion, have all played their part, and have it still to play, in widening and deepening our appreciation of the 'increasing purpose' which runs through the ages, and in correcting and uplifting our thoughts of God and His ways. Here too there is revelation, and, we doubt not, inspiration also to recognize and make use of it. If there has been seeming loss, there has also been real and abundant gain.

> 'Let knowledge grow from more to more,
> But more of reverence in us dwell;
> That mind and soul, according well,
> May make one music as before,
> But vaster.'[1]

7. How does the historic revelation reach the individual to-day?—The Church comes before the world, not primarily to lecture upon revelation as a process, but to proclaim the name and purpose of God, as the Lord proclaimed it, and to be like the Lord, in her life of service and sacrifice and spiritual glory won through sacrifice, herself the revelation of God and of His power to fulfil His purpose. Divine knowledge and life are hers, that she may fail neither in the one nor in the other. Thus (*a*) through the presence of the Spirit the Church is in the divine intention both the witness to the truth and the interpreter of the truth. The gospel is contained in facts, interpreted as the Church is inspired to interpret them. But the interpretation, though essentially invariable, must be given in the language and forms of thought of different peoples and ages of the world; and, as new questions have arisen, and new errors have required to be excluded, the Church in the power of the Spirit has drawn out of the facts and their interpretation much that does not lie immediately upon their surface, and must continue to draw it out in the days to come. Christian theology, like the Christian gospel itself, is to be accepted because of the appeal which it makes, not only to the mind, but to the personality as a whole. The Church speaks with authority, as those always speak who know. 'Verily, verily, I say unto you.' 'We speak that we do know, and bear witness of that we have seen' (Jn 3[11]). But this authority is not an authority which overbears reason and conscience; it appeals to both, and is accepted because of the response which they make to it. The revelation which the Church offers to the world no more affords a substitute for thought and effort and divine inspiration than the first dawn of revelation in the days of old. Deep must answer to deep, the Spirit within us to the Spirit without us. (*b*) The Church, as the Body of the Christ and the Temple of the Holy Spirit, is, in the divine intention, sent to reveal the Name and purpose of God, not in word only, but in act also. Though she witnesses to Another, that Other is One who dwells in her, and acts through her, and so reveals His reality and character and purpose. As he that saw the Christ saw the Father, so he that saw the Church should see the Christ, and the Father also. In the life of the Church given for men, and ever renewed by being given, the revelation of God's method and purpose made once for all in the Lord's Death and Resurrection should be continually made present to the world; in the Kingdom of God here should be seen the promise of the eternal kingdom.

LITERATURE.—H. Martensen, *Christian Dogmatics*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1866, §§ 4–14; J. H. Newman, *University Sermons*, London, 1843, *Grammar of Assent*, new ed., do. 1891; F. B. Jevons, *The Idea of God in Early Religions*, Cambridge, 1910; C. E. Luthardt, *Apologetic Lectures on the Fundamental Truths of Christianity*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1865, lects. vii. and viii.; A. Chandler, *Faith and Experience*, London, 1911, *The Cult of the Passing Moment*, do. 1914; R. Flint, *Theism*[2], Edinburgh, 1878; A. B. Bruce, *The Chief End of Revelation*, London, 1881; H. Wace, *Christianity and Morality*, do. 1876; H. F. Hamilton, *The People of God*, do. 1912, *Discovery and Revelation*, do. 1915; J. R. Illingworth, *Personality Human and Divine*, do. 1894, *Divine Immanence*, do. 1898, *Reason and Revelation*, do. 1902; F. Watson, *Inspiration*, do. 1906; G. Tyrrell, *External Religion*, do. 1899, *Lex Orandi*, do. 1904, *Lex Credendi*, do. 1906.

H. L. GOUDGE.

REVELATION (Muslim).—See INSPIRATION (Muslim), QUR'ĀN.

REVENGE.—Revenge is the expression and continuation of resentment. Resentment is the

[1] Tennyson, *In Memoriam*, Introduction.

feeling of anger aroused by a hurt or injury inflicted. But the anger aroused may be, as has been pointed out by Bishop Butler and many moralists after him, of two kinds—sudden anger and settled or deliberate resentment. The first prompts a man to defend himself when hurt or attacked; the second continues and often grows more intense when the immediate attack is over and the smart of the hurt is no longer felt. The first is presupposed in, and grows into, the second; so it is often hard to fix the exact point where the one ends and the other begins. A hurt which gives occasion to, and is warded off by, an outbreak of sudden anger does not necessarily lead to, nor is it always followed by, a fit of settled resentment, still less of revenge. After a fight, though one of the two combatants must have been the aggressor, we constantly see men make it up and shake hands; it is when resentment, once aroused, is nursed and cherished that it is sure in most natures to give rise to revenge. Butler further maintains that the settled anger or resentment which gives rise to revenge has for its proper object injury or intentional harm, as distinguished from mere hurt which, at any rate in reasonable men, may cause momentary anger, but should not, and ordinarily does not, arouse the deeper feeling. But the distinction is by no means always true. There are many natures so wrathful and resentful that a hurt inflicted, though quite innocently and even unintentionally, does give rise to settled anger, and sets going plans for the infliction of revenge; this is apt to be especially the case when the hurt inflicted is of a kind that seems to indicate contempt on the part of the injurer, or when it wounds in some marked way the self-esteem of the injured party.

This feeling of settled resentment and consequent love of, or lust for, revenge is a feeling deep-rooted in human nature and, as we shall see, hard to eradicate. It is found to some extent in some of the higher animals, which have been known to devise and execute apparently carefully thought out plans of revenge; yet revenge is not very common in animals—it seems to involve a more sustained course of reflexion than most of them are able to carry out, and also a clearer apprehension of the distinction between intended and unintentional wrong than most of them can attain. What generally seems to happen among animals is that an animal fiercely resents any attack made upon its person, and in some cases even upon what it considers its rights, and does its best to defend itself against such attack; but, if the animal which is the aggressor proves itself too strong, the defeated animal takes refuge in flight; and, for the future, fear takes the place of vengeance; an animal once thoroughly worsted avoids a renewal of the fight rather than seeks to avenge itself upon its more powerful foe.

But with man this is by no means equally the case. Worsted in one direction, man constantly seeks revenge in another; he may indeed cower before his adversary and seek safety in flight, as the animal does; but more often, though knowing himself physically the weaker, he seeks methods of avenging himself on his enemy by superior cunning or in some other way, and revenge among early races of men becomes in consequence very prevalent. The natural satisfaction of resentment and revenge is to repay tit for tat, to restore a balance of rights or position that has been upset. The securing of such a balance furnishes a primitive conception of justice:

εἴ κε πάθοι τά τ' ἔρεξε, δίκη κ' ἰθεῖα γένοιτο,

says Aristotle,[1] quoting, perhaps, a line of Hesiod.[2]

δράσαντι παθεῖν,
τριγέρων μῦθος τάδε φωνεῖ,

says Æschylus,[1] and implies that this is just.

If the retaliation stops at this point, no great harm is done; indeed, as already remarked, some such idea of reparation or restitution as a debt due to the injured person lies at the very root of justice; but, if resentment is once nursed and allowed to take full possession of the mind and develops into plans for revenge, it seldom does stop at this point. There grows up then in the mind a passion for, and a fearful joy in, revenge. Much indulged in, such a feeling is apt to banish every higher and gentler emotion, so that the man who yields himself to it has his whole nature perverted. Savage men, men who have little else to occupy their thoughts, are specially apt to suffer in this way. It is something of this sort that St. Paul has in his mind when he says: 'Be ye angry, and sin not: let not the sun go down upon your wrath: neither give place to the devil.'[2] Clearly here the anger in itself is not wrong; it is the playing with it and nourishing it that bring the devil into the soul; but this is just what he who indulges in the passion for revenge does; and the passion for revenge, if yielded to and encouraged, becomes one of the most terrible of fiends. Thus it comes about that, while the original feeling of resentment may be regarded as innocent and even desirable, the lust of revenge is properly regarded by the legislator as anti-social, by the moralist as immoral, by the religious man as a sin and an offence against God—and that though this desire is very widely spread and very deep-rooted in human nature. It may be well, perhaps, to look at revenge from each of these points of view.

1. Legislative and political.—From the point of view of the legislator and political philosopher, the whole growth of criminal law is due to the desire of society to free itself from the disturbing force of private revenge and to substitute for this public retribution and the appeal to public law. In this change consists the great development in the protection of the weak against the strong. As long as revenge is left in private hands, the strong are apt to escape with impunity because the injured person will often be debarred by fear from taking revenge upon the aggressor; and, if the weak does take revenge himself, his revenge is apt to be powerless or inadequate; whereas it is the very essence of the law that all should be equal before it.

In the beginning, as is proved by many of the formulæ and practices of ancient law, the intervention of the State is a mere substitute for the private revenge or punishment which would be inflicted by the injured individual,[3] but soon this stage is left behind, and the punishment inflicted by the State becomes the expression of the disapproval felt by the community at large towards the offence which has been committed. No doubt individuals are slow to accommodate themselves to the change, and private revenge often lingers on long after a system of criminal law has been established. But, directly such a system has come into force, an act of revenge for a wrong committed becomes itself a criminal act, and is visited by the same penalty with which a wrongful act of the same kind, not prompted by revenge, would be visited; and the craving for revenge, except in communities in which, as in Corsica, public sentiment approves of private revenge, is greatly checked. It may be, indeed, that, even when a system of law has been long in force, the feeling of resentment entertained by the injured man against the wrong-doer finds in the legally inflicted punishment a certain satisfaction; and, if the punishment

[1] *Eth. Nic.* v. 1132b.
[2] Frag. 212; see J. Burnet, *The Ethics of Aristotle*, London, 1900, p. 224.

[1] *Choeph.* 314. [2] Eph 4[26f.].
[3] H. S. Maine, *Ancient Law*, ed. Pollock, ch. x. pp. 379–384.

inflicted seems either inadequate or unduly deferred, dissatisfaction is sure to arise in those who have felt themselves injured and may even express itself in illegal acts of private vengeance; but this is after all an exceptional case—one which in course of time tends to disappear altogether. Still it is a consideration which cannot altogether be left out in assessing the amount of punishment to be inflicted for crime committed. Yet, while this is so, in every progressive community the security of society becomes more and more the object held in view in the infliction of punishment, and the measure according to which punishment is regulated. Moreover, in time a new motive as modifying the theory of punishment comes into prominence, which still further limits the importance of revenge as an element in it, viz. the moral improvement and cure of the offender. While no State can with safety make this its only object in the infliction of punishment, or the only rule by which its amount is to be determined, yet that it can be taken at all into account, and that it becomes in the more highly civilized nations an increasingly important element in determining its direction and the kind of penalty to be inflicted, is a proof of how far the ultimate theory has departed from the primitive cause in which it originated; and, if an element of revenge still enters, as it sometimes does, into the appeal to the law against the offender, the harm of it is greatly lessened, in that the private feeling is necessarily merged in, and largely moralized by, the wider concern for the community as a whole which has taken its place. The bringing about of this change forms one of the greatest triumphs of the prevalence of the reign of law and of advancing civilization.

2. Moral.—Looked at from a moral point of view, revenge has in more enlightened times almost universally been regarded as an evil passion and been condemned. If the effort of the legislator has been directed towards substituting for the act and temper of revenge a less objectionable form of action and a more social temper, the object of the moral philosopher has been to eradicate the temper altogether. Yet it must be confessed that it is a hard task that he has set himself; for the revengeful temper is very deep-rooted and wide-spread in human nature, and is apt to break forth again, when reason has demonstrated its ill effects and philosophy has tried to point out a better way. Still philosophers of every sort and every age have done their best to deprecate it and ban it. Confucius,[1] Plato,[2] Cicero,[3] Seneca,[4] Muhammad,[5] Thomas Aquinas,[6] and Butler[7] have all had their say against it; each has reprobated it or denounced it in turn; but each also has had to confess that it is a temper which is widely prevalent, an evil which it needed all their force to combat. But why, we may ask ourselves, is it so reprehensible? In what does the evil of it consist?

(1) Revenge is an anti-social quality; it aims not at promoting human happiness, but at increasing human misery. To inflict pain upon our enemy, to diminish his happiness or virtue, are the objects at which revenge directly and necessarily aims. This alone must make the prevalence of revenge a temper to be deprecated.

(2) As Butler points out with great force,[8] the revengeful temper is almost necessarily an unjust temper. We constitute ourselves judges in our own cause, and take accordingly an exaggerated estimate of the injuries which are inflicted upon us. We are apt, as already remarked, to neglect the all-important distinction between intentional and unintentional wrong; and, the more we nurse our revenge, the more prejudiced do we become, the less willing are we to listen to the dictates of fair play and reason. Every one will have noticed this in one of whom a spirit of revenge has taken possession. He is a man dominated by one idea.

(3) No temper acts more injuriously on the character of him who indulges it. For the desire for revenge is essentially a selfish desire. It keeps us occupied with ourselves, our own grievances, our own wrongs; in the concentration on them and suchlike objects a man becomes callous to the interests and happiness of others, so that the revengeful man develops not infrequently into the misanthrope.

(4) This is the more readily the case because the revengeful spirit makes us incapable of exercising the noblest and best of all spirits, a charitable and forgiving temper. To such a temper the spirit of revenge is, of course, the exact opposite; its presence makes the other impossible. But a character in which such a temper is entirely absent cannot but be a selfish, a maimed, and a distorted character, one far removed from the nobler heights to which the human character is capable of being elevated.

3. Religious.—But, seeing that the laying aside of revenge and the desire for it altogether is a virtue hard to attain and comparatively seldom reached, it is at this point that religion, if the struggle against revenge is to be made in any way effective, has to be called in. While other religions have indeed not been altogether silent on the subject, Judaism partially, Christianity entirely, have alone succeeded in extirpating it. In the OT generally vengeance is deprecated as interfering with the prerogative of God. 'Vengeance is mine, and recompence' (Dt 32^{35}), 'Thou God, to whom vengeance belongeth, shew thyself' (Ps 94^{1}), are verses which illustrate how completely the Jews regarded vengeance as properly belonging not to man but to God; and St. Paul quotes the first of them to enforce his teaching of forgiveness on his Roman converts (Ro 12^{19}). In Sir 28^{1-5} a higher line is taken: 'He that taketh vengeance shall find vengeance from the Lord; and he will surely make firm his sins. Forgive thy neighbour the hurt that he hath done thee; and then thy sins shall be pardoned when thou prayest. Man cherisheth anger against man; and doth he seek healing from the Lord? . . . He being himself flesh nourisheth wrath: who shall make atonement for his sins?' The principle here laid down clearly is that, if we cherish a revengeful temper, it is impossible for us really to pray for, still less to expect, forgiveness for our own sins. To do so is almost like a contradiction in terms.

This principle is of course enunciated afresh and carried further in the teaching and in the example of our Lord. Instead of the doctrine of retaliation inculcated in at least one passage of the Mosaic Law, our Lord says: 'Resist not him that is evil: but whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also' (Mt 5^{39})—*i.e.*, wrong is to be conquered, at any rate in our own case, not by meeting wrong with wrong, but by patient submission. He teaches us to pray: 'Forgive us our trespasses as we forgive them that trespass against us' (Mt $6^{12.\ 14f.}$). He tells us that, if our brother trespass against us and repent, we are to forgive him not up to seven times, but unto seventy times seven (Lk $17^{3f.}$, Mt 18^{22}). His example went even farther than this. No more unprovoked wrong could be imagined than was done to Him. Yet He speaks no word and entertains no thought of vengeance against His enemies. 'Father,' He prays, 'forgive them; for they know not what they do' (Lk 23^{34}).

1 *Lun Yu*, xiv. 363.
2 *De Off.* i. 25.
3 *Qur'ān*, ii. 178, xxii. 61.
4 *Sermons*, viii. and ix.
5 *Crito*, 49, *Rep.* 335.
6 *De Ira*, i. 5, 16, 55 f.
7 *Summa*, II. II. 108.
8 *Sermons*, viii. (11).

Vengeance, then, as a personal principle is set altogether aside in Christian ethics. There is no place for it. As St. Peter says, 'If, when ye do well, and suffer for it, ye shall take it patiently, this is acceptable with God. For hereunto were ye called: because Christ also suffered for you, leaving you an example, that ye should follow his steps' (1 P $2^{20f.}$). It would be absurd to maintain that all Christians attain to this height of virtue; but some go some little way towards it; the best reach near to it. In any case the teaching and example of Christ have done much to alleviate and supplant by a higher feeling and motive the thirst for vengeance which has been so common and so destructive in the world.

For the question of blood revenge see art. BLOOD-FEUD.

LITERATURE.—The main authorities are Plato, *Crito*, *Rep.*, bk. i.; Seneca, *de Ira*, bk. i.; St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa*, II. ii.; J. Butler, *Sermons*, London, 1726, viii., ix.; E. Westermarck, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, do. 1906, vol. i. chs. ii.-iv., xx., xxii.; H. Rashdall, *The Theory of Good and Evil*, Oxford, 1907, bk. i. ch. ix.; H. S. Maine, *Ancient Law*, new impression, ed. F. Pollock, London, 1907, ch. x.

W. A. SPOONER.

REVERENCE.—Without attempting a formal and exhaustive definition, it is true to say with J. Martineau[1] that reverence is at bottom our recognition of 'transcendent goodness.' It is the impression that we owe to character rather than to intellectual and physical forms of greatness, and in the highest instance it 'proves to be identical with devotion to God.'

1. Reverence and religion.—Some theorists, in tracing the beginnings of religion, have accepted the view of Statius, 'Primus in orbe deos fecit timor,'[2] but this explanation misconceives the character of religion, from which reverence is inseparable.

'It is not with a vague fear of unknown powers, but with a loving reverence for known gods who are knit to their worshippers by strong bonds of kinship, that religion in the only true sense of the word begins.'[3]

The Hebrew expression 'the fear of the Lord,' as the equivalent of religion, indicated that reverence was based, not on servility, but on a foundation of fellowship and trust.[4] In the course of development religious reverence has not kept clear of error and exaggeration. The custom of the Jews in not pronouncing or reading aloud the sacred Name in their Scriptures was the sign of excessive and superstitious zeal. Their later tendency to dwell on the transcendence of God and to fill up the gulf by the introduction of angels, as afterwards Roman Catholics filled it up by the invocation of saints, was due to abstract ideas of the divine honour which find no place in Christianity. Jesus in calling God 'Father' corrected Jewish modes of circumlocution, and made that name the natural symbol of worship and homage (Mt 6^{9}).

2. The ethical value of reverence: its authority in the Greek mind.—In early times, when war was the chief school of virtue, and might was in danger of overbearing right, reverence appeared as the guardian of civilization and was the organ of the social conscience or of public opinion as then formed. Homer's term for reverence (*αἰδώς*) has many shades of meaning.

'It is essentially the virtue of a wild and ill-governed society, where there is not much effective regulation of men's action by the law.'[5]

One or two illustrations from the Homeric world will suffice. In the opening scene of the *Iliad* the Greeks demand reverence for the aged priest Chryses, who had been insulted by Agamemnon, as even an inferior had rights that should be respected. It is suggestive that, in early Greek poetry, the classes thought worthy of consideration were not kings and others of high station, but those disinherited and injured, the helpless and the dead, and special sanctity belonged to strangers, suppliants, and old people. In the name of reverence, or respect for manly and military honour, the fighters in the ranks are urged to show spirit and valour.[1] When Achilles burnt the body of Eëtion without stripping him of his armour,[2] he exhibited this virtue in a form prized by antiquity, but afterwards the dragging of Hector behind his chariot[3] betrayed a lack of ruth and compassion, which reverence for a dead and helpless enemy should have inspired. True to this early Greek ideal of reverence, Ulysses restrained the old family nurse from shouting aloud in the hour of triumph —'for it is an unholy thing to boast over slaughtered men.'[4] Reverence is also named as the highest religious duty—'Revere the gods, Achilles';[5] and in the scene where the cup is first handed to Athene, in token of her age, the line occurs—'All men stand in need of the gods'[6]—which Melanchthon thought the most beautiful verse in Homer. It was the sign of a later degenerate age when Hesiod feared that reverence, one of the white-robed angels, had fled from the earth.[7]

3. Reverence as a principle in education.—In the Hebrew moral code, which saw the necessity of implanting this virtue, respect for parents, rulers, and elders was enjoined.[8] Indeed, according to the Talmud, parents occupied the place of God's earthly representatives, and were to be given corresponding honour. Where an elaborate social machinery did not exist, this training was invaluable for a people's order and well-being, as is seen also in the strict family life of China and its long-established ancestral worship. Among thinkers, Plato showed his practical insight by fixing on youth as the impressionable period when reverence should be stamped on the mind of the learner and freed from the admixture of unworthy teaching, so that the future guardians of the State might grow up as god-like and god-fearing as possible.[9] Plato trusted to reverence, as a plant of native and inward growth, to check the rise of insolence in the young—'for there are two warders that will effectually interpose, namely, fear and shame.'[10] In modern times Goethe introduced in his sketch of an ideal education his famous illustration of reverence (*Ehrfurcht*), expressed in three forms and with appropriate gestures—reverence for God and what is above us, for the earth and what is beneath us (the ground of the Christian religion), and towards our equals in society, with whom we should stand and act in combination.[11] Goethe's view that reverence is not an innate virtue, and is the one thing which no child brings into the world with him, vitiated his plan of education in the judgment of Ruskin, who held strongly that this faculty is inherent in every well-born human creature.[12] In his educational sketch, as in his moral career, Goethe regarded reverence and other virtues with too much detachment. Like Voltaire, he cultivated his intellect at the expense of deeper qualities. Reverence is not a higher form of

[1] *Types of Ethical Theory*[2], Oxford, 1886, ii. 160, 221.
[2] *Thebaid*, iii. 661.
[3] W. R. Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, new ed., London, 1894, p. 54 f.
[4] Cf. *JE* v. 354.
[5] Gilbert Murray, *The Rise of the Greek Epic*[2], Oxford, 1911, p. 112. For the like action of this instinct and the tribal sense of 'shame' among Semitic nomads and in early Israel cf. G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, London, 1907-08, i. 436.

[1] *Il.* v. 529–532, xiii. 95. [2] *Il.* vi. 416–418.
[3] *Il.* xxiv. 15. [4] *Od.* xxii. 412.
[5] *Il.* xxiv. 503. [6] *Od.* iii. 48.
[7] W. E. Gladstone, *Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age* Oxford, 1858, ii. 435.
[8] Ex 20^{12} 22^{28}, Lv 19[32].
[9] *Rep.* ii. 377, 383; cf. Pindar, *Ol.* i. 35. [10] *Rep.* v. 465.
[11] *Wilhelm Meister*, tr. T. Carlyle, Londor 1874, vol. iii. ch. x
[12] *Time and Tide*, Letter xvi. § 96.

egoism, or the all-round development of our powers, 'for no man can venerate himself.'[1]

4. Growth and decline of reverence.—The thesis maintained by Macaulay, in his essay on Milton, that, 'as civilization advances, poetry almost necessarily declines,'[2] may be thought applicable to this virtue. We should not, however, identify reverence with the spirit of superstition and submission characteristic of a time when ideas and institutions were not called in question, and when habits of deference prevailed. In the ferment of modern conditions, and as the result of the revolutionary, democratic, and levelling spirit that has intruded everywhere, old forms of reverence inevitably disappear. A type of goodness once so simple and attractive seems left behind.

'Its most beautiful displays are not in nations like the Americans or the modern French, who have thrown themselves most fully into the tendencies of the age, but rather in secluded regions like Styria or the Tyrol.'[3]

Recent observers have noticed the increasing part played by religion in the growth of the social organism.

'A preponderating element in the type of character which the evolutionary forces at work in human society are slowly developing, would appear to be the sense of reverence.'[4]

Science may thus take the place of superstition in upholding this virtue. How far misgovernment in Europe has destroyed this faculty in the very classes that need it most is a serious question.[5]

'Thoughtful Americans have said, that, amid all the material greatness of their country—and it is sufficiently astonishing—their gravest anxiety for her future is caused by the absence of reverence among all classes of her people.'[6]

This danger is not confined to one country. The fault of democracy, according to Lord Morley, has been that it did not always feel or show reverence.

5. Reverence in some of its relationships.—Some types of excellence, like certain flowers, are intolerant of others in their neighbourhood, but this virtue fosters the best qualities.

(*a*) *Reverence and truth.*—'It is the penalty of greatness that its form should outlive its substance: that gilding and trappings should remain when that which they were meant to deck and clothe has departed.'[7] True reverence should cease using empty ceremonies and sounding titles, when they are out of touch with reality. Kant, in heralding the age of criticism, rightly saw that the greatest subjects, including religion and laws, could not claim respect unless they stood the test of free and thorough examination. The Arian theologians, in their contest with Athanasius, made reverence a pretext for adhering to their views of the divine unity and immutability. We should not trade upon this virtue in carrying on controversy. 'After all the greatest reverence is due to truth.'[8]

(*b*) *Reverence and love.*—Newman, whose ecclesiastical instinct may have exaggerated the importance of the feelings and objects of awe and veneration, says truly: 'No one really loves another, who does not feel a certain reverence towards him.'[9] Dante saw in Beatrice not only a figure that excited his senses but also an ideal that drew forth his highest faculties. Hence his resolve to wait and write something worthy of her, and his recognition of the law that 'love intends the welfare mainly of the thing it loves.'[1] To veil some things is to ennoble them, and in literature and life we may desecrate truth and love by too familiar handling of them.

(*c*) *Reverence and character.*—The worth of reverence is to be weighed by the worth of those whom we think deserving of it. It is a sure index of the moral value of any society. The Christian rule, 'Honour all men' (1 P 2^{17}), is to be followed, but with discrimination. Our appreciation will vary with varying forms of excellence.

Nathaniel Hawthorne's picture of Puritan New England recalls admirably how the settler in that old day, 'while still the faculty and necessity of reverence were strong in him, bestowed it on the white hair and venerable brow of age; on long-tried integrity; on solid wisdom and sad-colored experience; on endowments of that grave and weighty order which gives the idea of permanence, and comes under the general definition of respectability.'[2]

A society in which the ruling types are of this sort is healthy and progressive. Character thrives best in an atmosphere of appreciation, and while, as Dr. Johnson said, we cannot pay 'civilities to a nonentity,' it always does a man good to show him respect.

LITERATURE.—In addition to works cited above, see artt. in Grimm-Thayer's *Lexicon*; *DCG* ii. 527; *OED*, *s.v.*; R. C. Trench, *Synonyms of the NT*[9], London, 1876, § 19; J. Adam, *The Religious Teachers of Greece* (Gifford Lectures), Edinburgh, 1908; F. Paulsen, *System of Ethics*, tr. F. Thilly, London, 1899, pp. 431–433; T. G. Rooper, *School and Home Life*, do. 1896 (opening lecture, 'Reverence or the Ideal in Education'); J. S. Simon, *The Three Reverences* (Addresses to Girls), do. 1889; J. H. Newman, *Parochial and Plain Sermons*, do. 1868, i. 295–308; Phillips Brooks, *The Light of the World*, do. 1891, pp. 253–269; T. G. Selby, *Lesson of a Dilemma*, do. 1893, pp. 123–144; G. H. Morrison, *Flood-Tide*, do. 1901, pp. 103–114; W. M. Macgregor, *Some of God's Ministries*, Edinburgh, 1910, p. 175; C. Lamb, *Essays of Elia* ('Modern Gallantry'); T. Carlyle, *Miscellaneous Essays*, London, 1872, vii. 169–198 ('Inaugural Address'); J. Brown, *Horæ Subsecivæ*, 3rd ser., Edinburgh, 1882, pp. 177–197 ('Thackeray's Death'—instances of 'his reverence and godly fear'); Tennyson, *In Memoriam*; M. Arnold, *Rugby Chapel*. W. M. RANKIN.

REVIVALS OF RELIGION.—1. Periodicity in religious life.—It does not require much observation to be assured that the course of religion, in either the individual or the community, is not uniform, but has its ups and downs, its seasons of greater and less intensity. To what these variations are due may be a deep question; but that they occur is a fact lying on the surface. There are times of flood-tide in the soul, which are accompanied with great happiness and leave a deep impression on the memory, and there are seasons in the life of the Church when there are given from on high what the Scripture calls 'showers of blessing.' The psychology of the human spirit may have its own reckoning to render for such phenomena; but in the last resort they are to be traced to the Spirit of God, blowing where it listeth.

One cause of revival is to be found in personalities of original religious genius. Such were, in the OT, Moses, Samuel, Hezekiah, Ezra, and the like, with each of whom a rise in the tide is connected. But there was provision made in the economy of that period for bringing crowds together, with their minds bent on religious exercises, at the annual feasts. The Feast of Tabernacles especially, with its booths of green branches, must have resembled a camp-meeting. In the NT the public ministries of John the Baptist, Jesus, and St. Paul exhibited many features always associated with revivals. The book of Acts can hardly be understood by a reader who has never lived in a revival, but every chapter contains notices and expressions which appeal to the experience of one who has.

Many Church historians have observed a rhythm in the successive periods, like wave following on wave. Thus the elevation of the Apostolic Age

1 Martineau[2], ii. 161.
2 *Critical and Historical Essays*, London, 1874, p. 3.
3 W. E. H. Lecky, *History of European Morals*[8], London, 1888, i. 143. For a different estimate of the superstitious reverence noted by a traveller in the Tyrol cf. S. A. Brooke, *Life and Letters of F. W. Robertson*, London, 1865, ch. iii.
4 B. Kidd, *Social Evolution*, London, 1894, p. 287.
5 Ruskin, *The Crown of Wild Olive*, lect. iv. § 137.
6 H. P. Liddon, *Easter in St. Paul's*, new. ed., London, 1892, p. 327.
7 J. Bryce, *The Holy Roman Empire*[7], London, 1880, ch. xix. p. 356.
8 Locke, *Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, bk. i. ch. iv. § 23.
9 *Parochial and Plain Sermons*, i. 304.

1 *Purgatorio*, canto xvii.
2 *The Scarlet Letter*, ch. xxii. (*Works*, Boston, 1884, v. 285).

was followed by the depression of the subsequent period; the intellectual and spiritual greatness of the age of the Christological Councils formed a contrast to the dark age which followed, though the latter was illuminated also by the work of the great missionaries; the age of the Crusades and the friars was one of greatness in many directions, but it was followed by two centuries of disintegration.

2. The Puritan awakening.—In writing the history of Protestantism, Dorner divides the centuries into three revivals—that of the Reformation, that of Pietism, and that of Evangelicalism. Puritanism (*q.v.*) might be described as a season of wide-spread revival in England; and no better representative of its operation could be named than Richard Baxter, who, in *The Reformed Pastor* (1656) and his autobiography (*Reliquiæ Baxterianæ*, 1696), has left an incomparable record of the methods by which he made the field of labour in which he was settled to rejoice and blossom as the rose. When he went to Kidderminster, only two or three families in each street had domestic worship, but, before his work was finished, not more than two or three in a street were without it. He anticipated the methods of modern revivalists—or, rather, invented something better—by getting his people to visit him, family by family, at the manse, and confide to him the secrets of their spiritual condition, so that he could apply the best advice to every case. As he was zealous in recommending his methods to other ministers, his example created wide-spread imitation.

One of the men of the Second Reformation in Scotland, John Livingstone, was privileged to witness such an awakening under his ministry as has ever since, in his native land and beyond it, kept alive a spirit of expectancy in preachers of the gospel. When assisting at a communion season at the Kirk of Shotts, he preached at an extemporized gathering on the Monday after, and was the means of the conversion of about 500 persons, whose subsequent life made them a leaven in the neighbourhood to which they belonged. About the same time another divine of great learning and fine character, David Dickson, was the principal instrument in a movement in the west of Scotland to which was given by opponents the nickname of 'the Stewarton sickness.' This epithet was due to certain physical phenomena accompanying the spiritual impressions, of which Dickson himself, however, made nothing, being doubtful whether they might not be the work of the enemy, to discredit the movement.

The effects of Puritanism were not confined to England, and Holland especially participated in the blessing through the presence of exiled Puritans in its pulpits and university chairs. A quickening of spiritual life ensued, especially in the universities, one of the features of which was the holding of prayer-meetings among the students. The same feature appeared in the revival, bearing the name of Pietism (*q.v.*), which occurred soon after in Germany in connexion with the labours of such men as Spener, Francke, and Bengel. Spener gave the name of *collegia pietatis* to the meetings, at which laymen were encouraged to speak and take part in prayer, and these exercises he regarded as manifestations of the spiritual priesthood of all believers, which Luther had proclaimed but the Lutheran Church had forgotten. A development of revivalism in several ways unique was due to the activity of Count Zinzendorf, the founder of the Moravian Church (see art. MORAVIANS). In origin, however, it was closely connected with the movement under Spener, and it had a direct and determining influence on the origin of Methodism (*q.v.*); for not only John Wesley himself, but his brother Charles and his friend George Whitefield, were converted under Moravian influences. Zinzendorf's piety was of a brighter type than that of Spener, and this was manifested particularly in the cultivation of hymn-singing, which has been one of the marks of all modern revivals.

3. The Evangelical revival.—What Puritanism gave to the Continent in the movements just described came back to England in the vaster movement of Methodism, of which the primary spring is to be sought in the thorough conversion of its leaders. These men felt themselves to be the depositories of a truth so divine and blessed that they could not keep it to themselves or confine their preaching of it within the bounds of a parish. In the spirit of Him who said that they that are whole have no need of a physician, but they that are sick, they flung themselves on the most wicked and degraded portions of the population, and, when churches were refused to them or proved too small to hold the crowds, they went to the open air. Recognizing the obligation of all to whom the joyful sound had come with power to transmit the deposit to others, they employed a ministry beyond that of the regularly educated and ordained, and demanded the witness-bearing, by word and life, of all to whom the secret of the Lord had been revealed. This is the most fruitful of all the ideas of the revival; nothing has so delayed the evangelization of the world as the notion that the work belongs only to an official class; and there is no reason to hope that the world will ever be won to Christianity on these terms. It is through the operation of the truer view that legions of Sabbath School teachers have been won for the service of the Church.

The Evangelical revival came to Wales through the ministry of Whitefield himself and the simultaneous but independent efforts of such natives as Howel Harris and Daniel Rowlands, and it found in the Welsh temperament a congenial soil. It entered Scotland through a thorough change taking place in the soul of Thomas Chalmers (*q.v.*), in whose big brain and heart it obtained the assurance of diffusion through the country. His associates in the ecclesiastical struggle which led to the Disruption were keenly interested in revival work. While Robert Murray McCheyne, *e.g.*, was absent in Palestine, in quest of a site for a Jewish mission about to be founded by the Church of Scotland, a revival broke out in his congregation at Dundee under the ministry of his *locum tenens*, William Burns, subsequently the famous China missionary, and it continued to the end of McCheyne's life. Horatius Bonar, subsequently noted as a hymn-writer, republished in 1845 a work on revivals originally issued in 1754 by John Gillies of Glasgow, under the title of *Historical Collections relating to Remarkable Periods of the Success of the Gospel*, and brought it down to date, inserting not a few letters from friends of his own about hopeful movements in their parishes at the time. Another member of the McCheyne circle, A. N. Somerville of Glasgow, developed in later life into a modern apostle, going round the world as an evangelist and succeeding in delivering his testimony even in such unlikely quarters as Berlin and Petrograd. The anticipations of revival mentioned in the work of Bonar had become more general, as time went on; and it was in answer to wide-spread prayer that, in the years 1859 and 1860, times of blessing were experienced in many different parts of the three kingdoms. Ireland was the first part visited; and a classical record of this movement will be found in the work of an Irishman, William Gibson's *Year of Grace* (Edinburgh, 1860).

4. Work of D. L. Moody.—Still more extensive was the work of the American evangelist, D. L.

Moody, in 1873–75, 1881–83, 1891–92. He was thirty-six years of age, a layman, without university education, practically unknown, when he appeared in Edinburgh in the end of 1873; only a few ministers interested in such work had been informed of his successful efforts in the north of England, and, having gone there to see and hear him, they extended to him an invitation to come to Edinburgh. But it was not long before Scotland became aware that it had found an evangelist whom it could take to its heart, and, before the year ended, the whole country was full of the rumour of what was going on in the capital. He had brought with him a coadjutor, Ira D. Sankey, who 'sang the gospel' to his own accompaniment on an American organ, these being novelties at the time and forming an element of attractiveness. But it was soon manifest that the centre of power was the evangelist himself. He was of stout and heavy build, yet full of activity and business capacity. He had the shrewdest perception of character, and knew how to utilize all available forces. He held three meetings a day—one at noon for prayer, testimony, and praise; a Bible-reading in the afternoon for the building up of Christians; and an evangelistic meeting at night. From the first these were well attended, and soon every meeting was crowded, wherever he went. His doctrine had a wide range, not omitting the sterner aspects of truth, but culminating in the love of God. There was not much eloquence, but unfailing freshness, the most remarkable feature being abundance of illustrations, drawn not from nature or art or literature, but from his own experience in dealing with human beings. He had the power of attracting young men and inspiring hero-worship; and, as there happened to be a theological college next door to the place where most of the meetings were held, the students not only assisted in the inquiry meetings but carried the news of what was going on to all parts of the country, and so prepared the way for the visits of the evangelist to other places. Moody angled for decisions at the close of his addresses with remarkable tenderness and skill, but he did not put undue pressure on any to make known their anxiety. There were no physical manifestations of any kind, and he exhibited promptitude and sometimes not a little humour in restraining attempts at extravagance. He was singularly free from the weaknesses sometimes imputed to men of his class, such as personal vanity and love of money. He seemed to be always sensible that he owed his opportunity to the labours of the regular ministry before him in the field, as well as that the perpetuity of his work would depend on the sympathy and fidelity of the same labourers in the field after he had left. Though ultimately a Pactolus for him and his colleague began to flow from the sale of hymn-books, his unselfishness had been fully established before he became aware of this, and he made an unselfish use of the riches flowing from this source, devoting large sums to the equipment of colleges for young men and women which he opened in his native place in later life. The classes chiefly affected by his mission were not the poor and ignorant, though these ultimately benefited largely from the labours of those in whom the desire for altruistic effort had been begotten, but those who, though connected with churches, were still undecided and living a prayerless and worldly life. Such, however, are perhaps the proper subjects of a revival; and the power of a revivalist lies in the summons to them to bring their conduct into harmony with their convictions. The remark is often quoted of some one who said that Moody was the biggest 'human' he had ever met, and this is an estimate which would commend itself to those who were acquainted with him. But it was an afterthought: at the time the prevailing impression was the sense of a movement directed from above, in which all the human agencies concerned were swallowed up and forgotten.

Among the students of the New College who assisted Moody in Edinburgh the one destined to prove most useful was Henry Drummond, who for years accompanied the American evangelists from one great city to another, devoting himself especially to meetings for young men, in the management of which he unfolded qualities of rare distinction. When settled subsequently as professor of Natural Science in Glasgow, he became an evangelist to the universities of Scotland, working chiefly in Edinburgh, where his labours were facilitated and seconded by Principal Sir William Muir, Sir Alexander Simpson, and other members of the faculties. He succeeded in winning for religion a new place in the universities of his native land, the change being embodied in the Christian Unions established within their walls. His evangelistic labours on behalf of young men, and especially students, extended all over the world; and at one time he found a remarkable entrance for the evangelistic message among the upper classes of London society. Between him and Moody there subsisted a beautiful and lifelong friendship; and, when the younger man was charged with heretical views, the older constantly declared that he had listened to his friend far oftener than had his accusers, but had never heard from him anything with which he did not agree.

5. Welsh revival of 1904–06.—In 1904 a revival of great intensity occurred in Wales and lasted for about two years. It seemed almost to rise out of the ground, so little was it the result of definite teaching and so primitive were the forms in which emotion exhibited itself; yet it had wide-spread practical effects of the most definite kind, such as the diminution of drunkenness, the abandonment of feuds, and the restitution of property. It subsided, however, as unaccountably as it arose, and for its promoters there was not a little disillusionment. A French student of religious psychology, Henri Bois of Montauban, was so affected by the rumours reaching him that he visited the scenes of revival, thoroughly investigating everything, including certain occult physical manifestations, and the results were embodied in a large work entitled *Le Réveil au Pays de Galles* (Paris, 1906), as well as a subsequent volume entitled *Quelques Réflexions sur la psychologie des réveils* (do. 1906). In the latter much use is made of the crowd-psychology of his countryman, Gabriel Tarde; and it would be a singular fact if the best literary monument of the Welsh revival should in future have to be sought in a foreign language.

6. American revivals.—America is the land of revivals. Nowhere else have these been so frequent as in the United States; nowhere else have the Churches owed to them so much of their increase and prosperity; and nowhere else have they been subjected to so much philosophical and theological discussion. It is to the atmosphere of revival in which they live and move that American thinkers owe the position of pre-eminence in religious psychology conceded to them even by the Germans; and it is not surprising that the American book which has attained most notability throughout the world since the beginning of the century should be of this type, William James's *Varieties of Religious Experience* (London and New York, 1902).

What is known as 'the Great Awakening' began in 1734, and broke out again in 1740 at Northampton, Mass., under the preaching of Jonathan

Edwards (*q.v.*), pastor in the Congregational Church of the place, and it extended through the greater part of New England, George Whitefield, from England, being one of those who assisted in the later stages. It began with Edwards preaching a series of sermons in which attention was concentrated on sin, with the purpose of awakening the conscience; and the power of producing deep conviction of personal guilt remained one of the leading features of his ministry. But he was a man of high character and philosophical grasp, to whom his countrymen fondly look back as their deepest thinker in theology. He was the author of numerous works, most of which were connected with the revival, and one of them is a classic, *A Treatise concerning Religious Affections* (1746), being written to show which features of the prevalent excitement were healthy and ought to be encouraged, and which were morbid and needed to be restrained. He fell out with his people over the question of debarring the unworthy from the Lord's Table and had to quit the place; but he finished his course in honour as president of Princeton College.

Times unfavourable to religion followed in connexion with the War of Independence; but, about the turn of the century, chiefly through the preaching of James McGready and two brothers of the name of McGee, a remarkable awakening passed through the Cumberland country in Kentucky and Tennessee—a region which had long been notorious for irreligion and violence. Taking place in such a population, assembled in huge camp-meetings, it was attended with physical manifestations of a remarkable order, which, under the name of 'bodily exercises,' are fully described in a curious but obviously well-informed article in the *Princeton Theological Essays* (1st ser., New York, 1846, Edinburgh, 1856), under the title of 'Bodily Effects of Religious Excitement.' To these the leaders of the movement do not appear to have attached undue importance, but such experiences must have produced among the masses of the people an overpowering sense of supernatural agency. Similar phenomena have often since appeared, but they tend to diminish before the advance of education.

When Timothy Dwight, in 1795, became president of Yale College, religion among the professors and students was at a very low ebb; but, under his powerful preaching from the pulpit of the college chapel, revivals took place again and again among the students; and, it is said, no fewer than seventeen such visitations could be counted in the course of a century. Ever since, such movements in colleges have been a prominent feature of the revivalism of the country; and E. D. Starbuck, in his *Psychology of Religion* (London, 1899), has thereby been led to connect conversion with the physiological changes of puberty. Certainly there are affinities between religion and the awakening of the youthful mind to such sentiments as patriotism and altruism; but in some at least of the American revivals, such as that conducted by C. G. Finney, the average age of the converts was much more mature. The Young Men's Christian Association has obtained in American universities a position of great importance, its building being generally on the campus and forming the social centre of the place; and this has afforded opportunities of a unique description for the diffusion of religious sentiments among the student body.

The Irish revival of 1859, above referred to, was an importation from the United States, where it had been prevalent for two years previously; and of course Moody had learned his methods in his own country before coming to the British Isles. But his success in the old country gave him a standing in his own land such as no evangelist before him had enjoyed, and he was going up and down the States evangelizing till his death. Nearly all the evangelists who have since come into prominence, such as G. F. Pentecost, B. F. Mills, R. A. Torrey, J. W. Chapman, and W. A. Sunday, may be looked upon as his disciples and imitators, though some of them have developed novel methods in certain directions, such as awakening interest before their arrival, uniting the religious forces of the place for a general effort, securing the public testimony of converts, and getting the results which have been harvested well preserved after their departure. While Moody was attended only by a single coadjutor, the more successful of these recent men move from place to place with a following of something like a dozen, ready for every kind of assistance such as secretarial work, singing, advertising, and the rest.

7. Horace Bushnell's protest.—This triumphant progress of revivalism in the United States did not take place without challenge. Certain denominations held aloof, especially the Episcopalian, although the 'missions' carried on in recent times not only among Episcopalians but even among Roman Catholics may be regarded as a concession to the popularity and utility of methods which these bodies have been slow to acknowledge. Almost exactly a century after the appearance of Jonathan Edwards' classical work mentioned above there was published by another minister of the same denomination, Horace Bushnell (*q.v.*), a book, *Christian Nurture* (Hartford, U.S.A., 1847), which traversed the prevailing practice in thoroughgoing fashion; and, though small in bulk, this is one of the great works of American theology. Bushnell was not opposed to revivals as such; indeed, he had taken part in them and had, at a not very tender age, passed through a marked conversion himself. But he was irritated by the disposition in multitudes to assume that nothing could be happening in religion unless a revival were going on, by the exaggerated importance ascribed to conversion, as if it were the only religious experience, and by the invasion of the sacredness of personality in certain practices of the revivalists. He charged revivalism with exaggerated individualism, no comprehension being displayed for the functions of the Church, the family, and the State, or for the significance of baptism among the experiences of life. He struck at the very heart of the system by maintaining that, normally, those who have had the advantage of Christian culture in the home should grow up Christians, without requiring such a change as is insisted on in revivals. Bushnell's strong point was never the evidence from Scripture, and he did not do full justice to the teaching of our Lord Himself on the new birth, on taking up the cross, and on making confession before men. When it is to experience that the appeal is made, opinions may differ widely as to the proportion of those receiving a Christian training who subsequently appear as undeniably Christian, but it would be a fatal mistake not to recognize that multitudes of those who have enjoyed the best of nurture grow up alienated from God and with their heart in the world; and these are the proper subjects of a revival. To regard as true Christians all who have undergone such rites as baptism and confirmation is to be content with a nominal and Pharisaic type of Christianity. The communication of religion from the outside through tradition and instruction is not enough without a reaction from within by the personality itself and a grasping of the truth by the mind's own activity. Bushnell's protest, however, enabled those to breathe who had no story of their own conversion to tell; and these have included even prominent revivalists like Zinzendorf and Drummond. The test for every one is not whether at some past

moment he passed through a spiritual crisis, capable of being related as a testimony, but whether at the present moment he is prepared to receive the Saviour and to surrender all to His love and service. There will always be minds to which catastrophic experiences in religion are congenial and others to which the methods of nurture are more acceptable; there is plenty of room within the Kingdom of God for work inspired by both of these ideals; and with the progress of time each side may be trusted to understand the other better.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the books mentioned in the art. the following are worthy of note: C. G. Finney, *Autobiography*, New York, 1876, London, 1892, and *Lectures on Revivals of Religion*, Boston, 1835, new ed., London, 1910 (cf. a severe review of the latter in *Princeton Theological Essays*, 2nd ser., New York, 1847); A. Bruckner, *Erweckungsbewegungen: ihre Gesch. und ihre Frucht für die christliche Kirche*, Hamburg, 1909; J. W. Chapman, *Present-Day Evangelism*, New York, 1903; R. A. Torrey, *How to conduct and promote a Successful Revival*, Chicago, 1906; Henry Ward Beecher, *Lectures on Preaching*, 2nd ser., New York, 1873; J. Burns, *Revivals, their Laws and Leaders*, London, 1909; W. R. Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, do. 1899; James Stephen, *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography*[11], 2 vols., do. 1907; Lives of John Livingstone and David Dickson in *Select Biographies*, 2 vols., ed. W. K. Tweedie (Wodrow Society), Edinburgh, 1846; D. Macfarlan, *Revivals in the Eighteenth Century with Sermons by Whitefield*, Edinburgh, n.d.; R. Bendixen, *Bilder aus der letzten religiösen Erweckung in Deutschland*, Leipzig, 1897; H. Stephan, *Der Pietismus als Träger des Fortschritts in Kirche, Theologie und allgemeiner Geistesbildung*, Tübingen, 1908; A. Ritschl, *Gesch. des Pietismus*, 3 vols., Bonn, 1880–86; J. C. Ryle, *The Christian Leaders of the Last Century*, London, 1868; J. H. Overton, *Evangelical Revival in the Eighteenth Century*, do. 1886; W. J. Townsend, H. B. Workman, and George Eayrs, *A New Hist. of Methodism*, 2 vols., do. 1909; F. P. G. Guizot, *Méditations sur l'état actuel de la religion chrétienne*, Paris, 1866; W. R. Moody, *The Life of Dwight L. Moody*, New York and London, 1900; G. A. Smith, *The Life of Henry Drummond*, London, 1899; H. E. Lewis, *With Christ among the Miners*, do. 1907; *The Works of President Edwards*[2], 8 vols., do. 1817; J. Tracy, *The Great Awakening: A Hist. of the Revival of Religion in the Time of Edwards and Whitefield*, Boston, 1842; L. W. Bacon, *A Hist. of American Christianity*, New York, 1901; Williston Walker, *Ten New England Leaders*, Boston, 1901; F. H. Foster, *A Genetic Hist. of the New England Theology*, Chicago, 1906; T. T. Munger, *Horace Bushnell, Preacher and Theologian*, Boston and London, 1899.

JAMES STALKER.

REVOLUTION.—See REBELLION.

REWARDS AND PUNISHMENTS.—1. Preliminary.—In considering the attitude of the ethical or religious man, as such, towards rewards and punishments, we are met at the outset with certain questions which involve the whole nature of law. Those thinkers, *e.g.* (nowadays fewer than formerly), who treat law in the Austinian fashion as an authoritative command, claiming a more or less unreasoning obedience, will naturally reduce to a minimum the potential influence upon it of religion and ethics. In the famous phrase of Samuel Horsley, we shall have nothing to do with the laws but to submit to them; and the punishments and rewards assigned by them we must accept with at least an external show of accommodation. On the other hand, it is a perfectly tenable position, and has indeed been maintained by some, that the infliction of punishment is not permissible to man, and least of all to the State. Those who hold this opinion point out, with much appearance of reason, that fallible humanity is incapable of exactly measuring the guilt of the criminal or of tracing the causes and effects of the crime beyond its narrowest surroundings. For many, perhaps for all, offences society itself, or the unreachable past, may well be far more responsible than the so-called offender—not to add that, in the words of Angelo in *Measure for Measure*,[1] the jury often 'may in the sworn twelve have a thief or two guiltier than him they try.' For these and other reasons men of the most various religious views have deemed it necessary to take punishment altogether out of the hands of erring human tribunals. Some base their conclusions on an interpretation of certain words of Jesus; of this class are Tolstoi and his followers. Others, like Kropotkin, taking an anarchistic view of the world, adapt their conception of punishment to their general idea of the illegitimacy of all ordered government. Some bid us leave penalty to the divine court that cannot err; others, rejecting all idea of the divine, see no reason on that account for subjecting the individual to the judgment of his fellows.

In the opinion of the present writer these arguments admit of no direct answer; they can only be met on the principle of *solvitur ambulando*. 'Common sense' (in the Aristotelian acceptation of the phrase as the general opinion of enlightened men) holds, and will apparently continue to hold, that one way to decrease crime is to punish it; and it is only a small minority which holds that the sole legitimate way to decrease crime is either to ignore it or to meet it by active benevolence or non-resistance. We are far from denying that the elimination of punishment may be considered a desirable ideal; but a philosophy that is to have any practical value must take account of actually existing conditions; and it is with these that the present article will mainly concern itself, leaving maxims of the kind described to play their part exclusively in the inward life.

On the other hand, the Austinian theory seems to fail chiefly through not taking account of the fact that law, as an expression of one side of humanity, is a product of evolution, and cannot be understood without a consideration of its origin and growth in and through past ages. Therefore, although this historical aspect is fully dealt with in the artt. CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS, we shall keep it in view throughout this article; for law, regarded as a growth, is at once seen to fall under the effective criticism of a constantly growing moral and religious feeling in the community.

2. Basal elements of punishment.—Law is the product of society, and, at least partially, of society in its religious aspect.

'Those ways of action,' says Durkheim,[1] 'to which society is strongly enough attached to impose them upon its members, are, by that very fact, marked with a distinctive sign provocative of respect.'

Authority springs from social opinion: indeed, 'it might even be asked whether all authority is not the daughter of opinion.'[2] But society soon finds that mere opinion will not exert sufficient authority to influence all its members; and the very earliest customary laws make us familiar with sanctions and rewards.[3] Punishment, whatever shape it may assume, is clearly seen to be an evil.[4] In the sense of penalty inflicted under the sanction of law, it has at least one of its roots in the primitive instinct of revenge, precisely as reward is partly based upon the primitive instinct of gratitude. 'Revenge,' said Bacon, 'is a kind of wild justice'; and conversely justice, in one of its most important aspects, is but a tamed and civilized revenge. Now revenge (*q.v.*), superficially viewed, is a pure 'evil'; it seems to be nothing but the impulse to return blow for blow. Because you have been injured, anger prompts you to ensure that whatever has injured you shall suffer in the same way and to the same extent. But it is not long before you discover a thousand circumstances that may complicate this simplicity. In your anger you may easily deal a heavier blow than the one received. You may often wish to avenge the wrong, not of yourself, but of another. You may

[1] II. i. 20

[1] *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, p. 207.
[2] *Ib.* p. 208.
[3] By some the word 'sanction' is made to include rewards; by others, such as Austin, it is used of penalty only.
[4] Bentham, *Works*, i. 390.

have to call in external aid in order to accomplish your revenge. You may be unable to reach your enemy, and you may desire to attack some one else in his stead. Or, again, your injurer may retort to your reply, and an indefinite series of retaliations may be thus set up; nor is it by any means certain that the original aggressor will in the long run get the worst of it. Revenge is thus perceived to have a very awkward tendency to defeat its own end. Yet, despite all this, the claim that he who injures another should receive at least an equal injury in return is by no means negligible. It is indeed arguable that the straight hit from the shoulder is ethically more justifiable than the cold-blooded infliction of a judicial sentence. Again, the frequent necessity of calling in outside aid tends to enlarge personal revenge into that wider emotion which, in its later developments, becomes patriotism. The family, the tribe, the nation desire to inflict on a whole community a punishment for an injury done to a single member of their community; and this is one expression of that sense of solidarity which is the ultimate basis of ethics. Revenge, therefore, must by no means be treated as non-moral or even as non-religious. So soon as the mere application of the *lex talionis* is perceived to be impossible; so soon as the idea of vicarious action and of vicarious suffering enters in; so soon as injuries to intangible values (such, *e.g.*, as honour or reputation), which cannot be assessed at a definite price, are taken into account; so soon does the apparently non-moral principle of revenge take upon itself an ethical aspect. Without entering in detail into historical or anthropological questions,[1] we may safely assert that this primal instinct of human nature demands, in society as it is, not suppression or extinction, but regulation and limitation.

We see in revenge the working of two impulses, anger and fear. Primarily, the return blow involves (*a*) an automatic reflex-action, (*b*) an attempt to clear danger out of the way. In both we have the germ of a moral feeling. In (*a*) we see resentment, in (*b*) that demand for a free unfettered existence which is the condition of a moral life. Hence neither by legal codes, even the most humane and rational, nor by some of the most religious-minded of philosophers has the element of revenge been altogether ruled out. Thus of resentment Martineau observes that it is justified if 'it retains its primary form of legitimate instinct, without added taint of artificial malignity';[2] and, while Sidgwick and John Grote[3] wish the desire to inflict pain to be diminished, thinkers so opposite as Stephen[4] and Rickaby[5] see in that desire a perfectly legitimate emotion. Rickaby, indeed, representing a Roman Catholic point of view, is particularly strong on the point.

'Vengeance undoubtedly prompts to many crimes, but so does the passion of love. Both are natural impulses. It would scarcely be an exaggeration to set down one third of human transgressions to love, and another third to revenge; yet it is the abuse in each case, not the use, that leads to sin.'

Quoting Aristotle[6] and Augustine,[7] he points out the necessity of this retributive and retrospective element in justice. To Bentham the matter appears in a different light; but to him also that law is the best which secures that punishment and reward shall automatically follow disobedience and obedience; thus to him one of the best of all laws was Burke's famous Act regulating the payment, by the Lords of the Treasury, of their own salaries out of the public funds—an Act so drawn that the receipt or the loss of the salary automatically followed care or neglect. Resentment, similarly, is the basis of that public opinion which is the automatic reward or punishment appropriate to the moral law.[1] In fact, as this automatism is developed, it emerges into that lofty ethical conception in which the sin is viewed as its own punishment—a conception adumbrated by Origen,[2] and admirably exhibited by Martensen[3] and others; and one which lies at the base of the *Divina Commedia*.

Nor is the other aspect of revenge, that of fear, without its distinctly ethical side. For this instinct of self-protection is inseparably linked with the group-instinct.

'Pure anarchy or self-redress is qualified first by the sense of solidarity within the primary social unit.'[4]

Fear leads to the search for help; and without this sense of solidarity no truly ethical emotion can arise. It leads, first, to preferential group-treatment, the typical instance of which is the blood-feud. Of this examples still remain in the Corsican vendettas and in the so-called punitive expeditions against 'inferior' races, the object of which is to exact the blood of many 'inferiors' for that of one or two of the 'superior' race. This example is by itself sufficient to show that preferential group-treatment may act to depress as well as to heighten the moral standard. It makes, on the one hand, for an enlarged and enormously powerful selfishness, and, on the other, for a sense of obligation beyond oneself; it makes alike for privilege and for brotherhood. It is, of course, the root-principle of 'civilization'; but it has not always meant moral advance.

E.g., 'at lower levels of savage society, punishment has some proportion to the offence. It is at higher levels, in barbaric and despotic societies, that punishment is most cruel and disproportionate.'[5] 'Increasing severity has been a characteristic of European legislation up to quite modern times.'[6]

The treatment of the slave as a chattel, again, is largely due to the solidarity of the free population. And, as 'civilization' advances, certain crimes develop which were unknown to earlier stages of the world.

Yet, on a larger view, these drawbacks are seen to exhibit the power of morality in a clearer light. It was the realization that a slave had no rights that led to the movement for his emancipation;[7] and, as Maine points out,[8] the colossal frauds of modern times merely show how the bad faith of the few is facilitated by the confidence given and deserved by the many. Ancient Roman law recognized only one form of dishonesty, namely, theft. English law punishes defaulting trustees. But it would be a great mistake to conclude that the ancient Romans practised a higher morality than ourselves.

And, indeed, the principle of discrimination which leads to these evils leads also to immense good. The bounds of the group or clan, *e.g.*, cannot remain rigid. For all sorts of reasons they are constantly altering. Outlaws from other groups are admitted; whole clans unite for convenience or for protection. Judah admits into its ranks the Calebite or the Jerahmeelite; Rome confers its citizenship on the Gaul and the Spaniard. When once, for any reason, you have conceded privileges to your group, it is always open to you to draw an outsider within the sacred fence; and he then receives the privileges from which he was excluded. Indeed, the very fact that a group has been formed involves to some

[1] See again artt. CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS.
[2] *Types of Ethical Theory*[2], ii. 198.
[3] *Moral Ideals*, p. 264.
[4] *Crim. Law of England*, ch. iv. p. 99.
[5] *Moral Philosophy*, p. 175 ff.
[6] *Rhet.* I. x. 17.
[7] *Serm.* 125, n. 5, on the punishment of Judas.

[1] Cf. Pollock, *Essays in Jurisprudence and Ethics*.
[2] *De Princ.* II. x. 4 (Ante-Nicene Library, x. 140).
[3] *Christian Ethics*, p. 359 ff.
[4] Hobhouse, *Morals in Evolution*, p. 130.
[5] Art. CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS (Primitive and Savage), vol. iv. p. 249[a].
[6] *MI* i. 187.
[7] See van Ness Myers, *History as Past Ethics*, p. 203.
[8] *Ancient Law*, p. 321.

extent the breakdown of the solely self-regarding emotions; the group may, it is true, have been formed through hate or fear of another group, but it necessarily induces self-sacrifice on the part of those who join it; and self-sacrifice, once set in motion, has a tendency to enlarge itself. From the conception of love of a neighbour and helper, the step is possible, and even likely, to love of a stranger. Opportunities of such a step constantly arise: old enmities may be forgotten under the stress of circumstances, and, once forgotten, they are not always remembered again. Normans and English, *e.g.*, were fused into one by the French wars.

This fluidity in the boundary of the group leads not only to a constantly-changing conception of political duty generally, but specially to an infinite complexity and variety in the ideas of punishment and reward. Anger and fear are subject to constant modifications under the influence of affection or love; and a new line of ethical growth is seen emerging under that influence. To take a simple example: when it is perceived that it is on the whole advantageous to the community to allow the slave, who has hitherto been a chattel, to work for a reward, the community is on the way towards a recognition of the slave's rights, and we are not surprised to find a class of manumitted slaves appearing in its midst. Similarly with the criminal. At the first moment of anger he is thought of merely as an object to be hurt or destroyed; but, when it is realized that he too may have his utilities—that in fact it may be undesirable utterly to cast him out—then we find all sorts of precautions taken to prevent his hasty destruction. Thus arise the cities of refuge, trials by ordeal, sanctuaries, advocates, 'the King's Mercy,' until ultimately we reach the whole apparatus devised by a Beccaria and worked by a Howard for the elimination of any suffering over and above what is necessary for the public safety. Love has begun to work; the criminal is recognized as a member, if an erring member, of the group; and, indeed, the principle entered fairly early into the social order. For a long time past some tribes, and almost all organized States, have reserved a prerogative of pardon, lodged in the chief magistrate, the purpose of which is to cast the ægis of protection over the criminal himself, as one who, despite his lapse, may yet be of service to the community. This gradual enlargement of the social group to include within it those who were formerly shut out is part of a general movement on the part of the group to assume responsibility over a wider and wider area; and there seems to be no limit to the growth of this tendency. Already we see the State throwing its shield over children, imbeciles, and the lower animals; it has long protected the alien; and where it will stop none can say. In the 20th century movement for penal reform the scientific and the humanitarian lines are seen to converge; and the tendency is to transform mere punishment into a converting discipline, beneficial alike to State and to individual.

To the two elements of anger and fear, then, that are involved in the primary conception of punishment we must now add a third, which tends ever to become the dominant one—that of affection or love.

3. Manifestation of these elements in modern theories of punishment.—Inheriting the tradition of these three emotions of anger, fear, and affection, the modern State, more or less consciously, applies them in its system of punishment. It is true that the ethical element is not always prominent in the application of law to practice; but the three aims of punishment as so far understood (retributive, deterrent, and reformatory) nevertheless underlie our criminal law, and the tendency is for the ethical aspect gradually to assume a dominant position.

'As social order,' says Hobhouse, 'evolves an independent organ for the adjustment of disputes and the prevention of crime, the ethical idea becomes separated out from the conflicting passions which are its earlier husk.'[1]

The judge has before him, at least theoretically, the accuser, the community, and the accused, each of them preferring a claim. These claims (though not always in practice separable) may be roughly defined as (*a*) the indignation of the accuser, (*b*) the fears of the community, (*c*) the appeal of the accused to consideration as a member of a group united by solidarity of interest and good-will. These claims correspond alike to the three primary emotions and to the three aims of punishment. But the fact that the three claimants are not left to themselves to settle the dispute brings to light a fourth element. For, although it might at first glance appear that the judge is merely the representative of the community as against accuser and accused, yet this is not really so; he is the representative, not of one party, but of all the three; and his task is to apportion the relative values of the three claims. Thus, with the calling in of an outsider as arbitrator, there is a notable development, which (despite strong arguments that might be brought forward on the other side) seems on the whole to mark an ethical advance. In the first place, to adjust the demands of the emotions reason is called in as umpire; and reason, in the fine phrase of Milton, is the law of law itself. Again, the presence of this umpire assures finality; the cause is brought to some sort of conclusion. And, thirdly, a power is brought into play of the highest ethical importance—the power of leadership in things of the mind. It was thus that Deborah, by judging Israel under her palm-tree, acquired that capacity and influence which enabled her to rescue her country from the oppressor. In a well-known passage Maine describes how, in the early days of Rome, a *vir pietate gravis* may have first come to intervene as arbitrator in disputes. Passing accidentally by, he is asked to decide the case; a sum of money is staked on the decision; and at the close the loser pays the sum, not as a penalty, but as remuneration for the arbitrator's trouble.[2] The judge is chosen as *pietate gravis*; and his *pietas* and *gravitas* cannot but grow with exercise.[3]

Yet, as we have hinted, some ethical weaknesses lurk in the procedure as now carried out. The arbitration is now compulsory, at least to one of the disputants; and the arbiter is no longer a kindly spectator, but a professional. The 'sum of money' has become a penal infliction; and the infliction is made by proxy. We have, in fact, not merely restitution, but penalty. As to the evils of professionalism, they are obvious to all. 'A profession is essentially a conspiracy.'[4] In the weighty words of Lord Loreburn, 'Lawyers are against legal reform: *it is an interested professional opposition.*'[5] Nor is the effect, upon the class that awards or inflicts punishment, by any means always beneficial. In actual fact, perhaps, the judge himself may escape these effects; but it would be difficult to find a harder-hearted class than the set of lawyers, clerks, and apparitors who surround him. It is here that public opinion must always be awake; and here too lies one of the chief merits of an unprofessional jury-system.

The judge, fallible as he is, is not without guidance; and that guidance is tradition. This tradition acts both towards width and towards limitation. The judge's principle must arways

[1] P. 130. [2] P. 384 ff.
[3] But see Pollock's note on Maine, p. 407.
[4] See *The Nation*, 16th June 1917. [5] *Ib.*

tend to push him beyond his boundary; his tools keep him within it.[1] In place of haphazard custom, a code has appeared as a kind of standardized tool; but that standard is always subject to modification. Spontaneous modification largely ceases with the introduction of a code; but deliberate change, due to the conscious desire for improvement, never ceases.[2] It was thus, *e.g.*, that Mansfield, by ingenious interpretations of the law, saved Roman Catholics from the penalties of the Test Act, which, again, was actually repealed fifty years later. We become aware, then, of another power behind the judge, corresponding to the impalpable power behind his predecessor, the primitive king. Tradition (and also the unescapable spirit of the age) compels the judge to a perpetual re-adjustment of the scales of justice. The old simple idea of equality inevitably gives way, with the growth of knowledge and imagination, to the more complicated notion of proportion.[3] Behind strict law and also behind tradition we detect the regulating presence of equity[4]—a conception so rooted in human nature that it appears in the most primitive of fairy-tales. By obscure stages law herself begins to subsume equity into her realm, until at last we perceive a formal alliance between the two; and who can doubt that this alliance springs from the desire that law shall not be too visibly divorced from the developing ethical standard of the times? In a similar fashion, the old legal theology has gradually adapted itself to the ethical requirements of an ethically advancing society.

'Nothing,' says Maine,[5] 'is more distasteful to men . . . than the admission of their moral progress as a substantive reality. . . . Hence the old doctrine that Equity flowed from the king's conscience—the improvement which had in fact taken place in the moral standard of the community being thus referred to an inherent elevation in the moral sense of the sovereign.'

But this very fiction of the king's conscience marks the existence in the mind of the community of a type or pattern to which the constitution is seen to conform only partially;[6] and this pattern may in many minds be regarded as a divine order, which uses human society as its means of expression. Other minds may exclude the divine, yet all alike conceive this pattern as an ethical ideal.

We may now add to the emotions of anger, fear, and love, as producers of social punishment, the following elements: the conception of an umpire, who brings reason to regulate the emotions; the conception of tradition, the accumulation of human judgments, limiting the action of the judge; the conception of equity, or of a set of principles which must adjust the rulings of tradition; and the conception of an ideal, whether regarded as divine or viewed as human, to which communities of men have a tendency to conform. Of these we may observe that all involve an ethical element; that they must all be present in a righteous decision; and that they are closely bound up with the progress of mankind, admitting indeed, to a certain extent, of being arranged in historical sequence.

'Plurima est et in omni iure civili, et in pontificum libris, et in XII tabulis, antiquitatis effigies.'[7]

4. Religious aspect.—When this conception of a type or pattern takes the form of a belief in a divine order revealed to man, then the subject of punishments and rewards becomes distinctively religious. Religious, of course, in some sense it has almost always been. Even before the sense of 'order' was evolved, when religion was scarcely to be distinguished from magic, the disorder was conceived as a divine disorder: the god was capricious, but men endeavoured nevertheless to understand his caprices and to propitiate his strange anger. Step by step the god is conceived as punishing and rewarding on an intelligible system; and here we see the gradual emergence of the pattern.

'We are told,' says Bryce, 'that the sun and the wind killed Laoghaire, because he broke his oath to the men of Munster.'[1] Here the god is seen acting physically, but punishing an offence that weakens the social bond. A step in advance is taken when spiritual agencies arise who take an interest in certain moral acts as such[2]—when, in fact, a certain stability is seen in the divine judgments. Zeus, invariably punishing a wrong done to the guest or suppliant, is already a religious conception; and from that point we can trace the growth of the idea of a righteous God into its modern stages. A man who has attained this view of a righteous God must, when faced with the fact of punishment as an integral part of the social order, ask himself the question, Is it in accordance with the will of God that man should punish his fellow-man? He may seek enlightenment from revelation; and in this case his answer will depend on the interpretation that he gives to the sacred traditions. Or he may inquire of philosophy (supposed here to be more or less theistic); and in this case the answer will vary according to the form of philosophy which appeals to him. Should the answer be in the negative, we have already pointed out that this article will be of little utility. If, on the other hand, it be in the affirmative, the seeker will at once be led to discuss the right relation of human justice to divine. (1) Shall it consciously endeavour to follow the principles on which, so far as can be seen, God rules the world? Or (2) shall men, while duly reverencing the divine law as a norm for the individual, refuse to regard it as a model for regulations dealing with the social order? Shall the State, in other words, be theocratic or secular? There is no lack of communities of either kind; still less is there lack of communities with something of both. Of systems that have worked on theocratic lines, perhaps the most familiar and striking example is the Jewish; but many Eastern States have conformed more or less fully to the type, and the Christian Church in the Middle Ages made a determined effort to realize the ideal. Many theorists also have held this view in varying degrees. Arnold, *e.g.*, and Gladstone in his *Church and State* propounded doctrines of this kind, while Martensen[3] speaks of 'the divine authority which manifests itself in the law, . . . and is postulate and background for all earthly human authority.' To him religion is 'the inmost nerve of obligation, which knits us to responsibility.' The ideal has in fact attracted saintly minds since the Akkadian psalmist, seventeen centuries before Christ, addressed his goddess as her 'whose will makes contracts and justice to exist, establishing obligations among men.'[4] But the verdict of experience is fatal to it. As a matter of historical fact, the deadest, the most repressive, and the least enlightened of all forms of government have been the theocratic.[5] Islām, *e.g.*, declares plainly that law is religion and religion law—with the result that the law of Islām is a mass of enactments, unalterable because dictated by God or His mouthpiece, instead of a living and growing body of principles. The history of our own land provides us with instances full of warning. Barebone's Parliament, endeavouring

[1] Martineau, ii. 253.
[2] Martineau, ii. 249.
[3] Maine, p. 26.
[4] Maine, p. 49 ff.
[5] P. 71 f.
[6] Sidgwick, *Methods of Ethics*[7], p. 295 ff.
[7] Cicero, *de Orat.* i. 43.

[1] *Studies in History and Jurisprudence*, vol. ii. ch. xiii. p. 212.
[2] Hobhouse, p. 30 ff.
[3] P. 351.
[4] Quoted by Cheyne, *The Book of Psalms*, p. x.
[5] See Bryce, ii. 236 ff.

to rule England in accordance with the Law of Moses, is not an edifying spectacle. The identification of religion and law, indeed, has been baleful to both; religion has become frigid and ceremonial; law has been treated as infallible, and has therefore been unprogressive. True, such a system is often successful in securing obedience (or at least an external conformity), but at a terrible expense; nor is there any limit to the cruelty which may be practised in the name of some god or other. It is the attempt to punish as God is supposed to punish that largely accounts for the hideous record of religious persecution.

Hence we are not surprised to find that the majority of the noblest publicists, even among men of deep religious feeling, have utterly refused to permit religion, in this sense, to intrude into the domain of punishment. The illustrious Beccaria—to take but one great name—knew too well the dangers of theological interference to permit to 'religion' the slightest visible power over civil jurisdiction. All penalties, he held, must be dictated by State utility.

Is, then, religion to be totally excluded? Far from it. There is nothing to prevent the religious man from being a good citizen; on the contrary, his religion tends to make him the best of servants to the State. Accustomed to look on the improvement of character as the highest of aims, he refuses, in his rôle of citizen, to accept as a satisfactory form of punishment one that does not further that aim. Religious men, it is true, differ widely in their views. Some hold that the retributive element should be upheld; others, looking upon punishment as a necessary evil, to be tolerated solely for the safety of society, will have none of that element, and turn their energies towards furthering the good of the criminal. But their differences are, after all, but matters of varying emphasis.

5. Attitude of the religious man to law.—No question is at once more important and more difficult than that of the due attitude of religion and morality towards punishment.

'All theories on the subject of punishment,' says Maine, 'have more or less broken down; and we are at sea as to first principles.'[1] 'The question as to the true principles on which penalties should be awarded for crime is still an unsolved one,' says Lord Russell of Killowen; and Sir Robert Anderson, a man of almost unequalled experience in criminal investigation, maintains that our whole system of punishing crime is false in principle and mischievous in practice.[2]

It is thus plain both that reform is necessary and that it is very difficult. The wise reformer will walk warily. Yet we are not without some fairly certain principles which may form the basis of our views as to the proper forms and methods of punishment. Putting aside all sophistical argumentation, we must recognize the necessity of a proportion between penalty and offence, and also between penalty and offender. Exact measurement of crime is of course impossible; but a healthy ethic revolts against a Draconian severity. Hanging for the theft of five shillings we will not have; and first offenders must be treated leniently.[3] Most of us would also uphold the principle of the indeterminate sentence. Again, a true morality will not be satisfied to discuss punishment on the grounds of mere social convenience. There is something to be said, *e.g.*, for a plentiful use of the punishment of death. A nuisance is easily got rid of, and with the least possible expenditure of public money; the dead criminal cannot repeat his crimes, and (though experience does not say so) it is arguable that others, by the sight of so terrible a retribution, may be deterred from imitation. But religion and ethics will be moved by no such considerations. By death the criminal (who is by no means to be treated as wholly unserviceable) is deprived of the power of further service; and to this religion, here reinforced by science, will no more agree than will the economist now agree to make no use of the so-called 'waste-products' of the coal-mine. It may, like the pope in Browning's poem, be compelled to admit the advisability of death as a punishment in certain exceptional cases, but not on the grounds above mentioned; and it is possible that it may come to reject the death-penalty altogether.

Outlawry, so common in former times, tends to lose its meaning as the world tends to become one; but in any case it is a confession of weakness and an evasion of responsibility which religion is loth to make. Imprisonment and the social boycott, to some extent, take its place; but in the application of these we must insist on the constant treatment of the criminal as a potentially valuable citizen. The imprisonment must not be such as to degrade him yet more; and, on his release, he must not be shunned like a pariah, but given a fair chance; Beccaria indeed goes almost farther than this.

'The degree of the punishment,' he says, 'and the consequences of the crime, ought to be so contrived as to have the greatest possible effect on others, with the least possible pain to the delinquent.'[1]

Law being useless without a sanction, and sanction being an evil, the religious man will desire to diminish the number of laws and the number of legal crimes. More and more he will aim at the substitution of public opinion for legal penalty; for, if experience shows anything clearly, it proves that a healthy public opinion does more in a year to prevent crime than the severest penalties in a century. Duelling, *e.g.*, has ceased in Britain, not by being treated as murder, but by being proclaimed as immoral, or even by being ridiculed as absurd; and, were the laws against it to be dropped, it would none the less remain in abeyance. Adultery, again, has not flourished least in those countries where it has been punished by the law.[2]

This attitude does not imply any insensitiveness to the evil of crime. Religion does not regard sin as a mere disease, nor does it relieve the criminal of responsibility.[3]

'One system (the Philadelphian) had approached the problem from the mental side, aiming to solve it by making men *think* right. The other (the Auburn) approached the problem from the physical side, aiming to solve it by making men *act* right. Both failed; for the problem of crime is a moral one. No man can be reformed except his conscience be quickened.'[4]

Some methods employed at present in the detection or prevention of crime the religious man will probably regard as pernicious and to be renounced. The *agent provocateur*, *e.g.*, cannot be used but at the cost of moral deterioration to himself and to the Government that employs him. He may diminish one form of villainy, but he adds to another that is probably worse. The ordinary spy is little better; and the offering of rewards to criminals who will betray an accomplice can only increase, in the society as a whole, the most loathsome of vices, that of treachery.[5]

Improvements of the kind here hinted at, and many more, may be accomplished by the ethical and religious man, acting quietly as a citizen of ordinary influence. There are, however, occasions when it may be his duty to set himself in direct opposition to what he regards as a bad law. Of these cases the classical example is Antigone; the

1 Maine, *Indian Speeches*, ed. M. E. Grant Duff, London, 1892, p. 125.
2 See Kenny, *Outlines of Criminal Law*, ch. xxxii. p. 498.
3 *Ib.* p. 508.

1 *Crimes and Punishments*, p. 71.
2 Kant, *Phil. of Law*, p. 203.
3 See Mott Osborne, *Society and Prisons*, ch. i. p. 32.
4 *Ib.*
5 See Beccaria, p. 147.

Biblical, Peter and John preaching the gospel in Jerusalem. Quite recent times, of course, supply famous examples. Here, by the nature of the case, no precise rules can be laid down. The conscientious rebel (or, as Westermarck[1] calls him, the 'moral dissenter') must seek all the enlightenment at his disposal, and then, after carefully balancing against his scruples the claims of the State and the evils involved in disobedience, act accordingly. For such men other moral and religious men will desire the punishment to be as light as possible; for conscience is not so common that even a mistaken conscience can be suppressed except at a heavy loss to the community. Nor is the dissenter ever acting, in a strict sense, alone. 'He feels,' says Westermarck,[2] 'that his conviction is shared at least by an ideal society'; in the words of Pollock, he regards his own opinion 'not as peculiar to himself, but as what public opinion ought to be.'[3] An ethical judgment of such men will further take into account the fact that the great reformers of the past have in their time been moral dissenters of precisely this kind.

Finally, the religious man is, almost *ipso facto*, an optimist. He believes in the inherent power of good and in its ultimate triumph; and he looks forward therefore to a time when virtue will be so predominant that punishment will be unnecessary; the attractions of goodness will be by themselves sufficient to ensure just action on the part of societies and their members. But meanwhile the moral or religious man will give his support to all agencies for the eradication of crime, measuring that support by the degree in which those agencies involve more of the reformative element and less of the retributive.

A word here seems desirable as to punishments in the next world. Here the religious man's views cannot help being coloured by his views as to earthly punishment. He may, it is true, be compelled by his belief in revelation to admit the existence of certain forms of future penalty which may, *per se*, seem purely retributive; and he may be compelled to answer to objections by the simple argument, 'Man cannot judge God.' Nevertheless, we trace a growing tendency to reject the merely retributive penalty as unworthy of the Deity. Men dare, like Abraham, to ask, 'Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?', and they tend more and more to claim from divine justice the same end and character as from their own. The Roman Catholic has long had his Purgatory; the liberal theologian believes in a universal restoration; the orthodox Protestant no longer preaches the deterrent judgment sermons of a hundred years ago; and he tempers his view of eternal punishment by manifold accommodations. The flame is not a literal fire; or the sinner, even 'between the saddle and the ground,' may have sought and received mercy.

6. Rewards.—Punishments and rewards divide between them the whole field of legislation.[4] But the division is very unequal; for, though the field of reward is far the larger, being in fact co-extensive with the whole field of service, it naturally demands far less attention from the lawgiver. As punishment is an 'evil,' so reward may be defined as 'a portion of the matter of good, which, in consideration of some service supposed or expected to be done, is bestowed on some one, in the intent that he may be benefited thereby.'[5] By 'benefit,' as might be expected, Bentham means 'pleasure'; but, as he well points out, reward cannot ensure pleasure; it is meant, however, to enlarge the opportunities of pleasure at the disposal of its recipient. If we prefer the word, we may substitute 'happiness' for Bentham's phrase.

As we analyze reward, we shall discover ample scope for the exertion, by religion and ethics, of influence over its distribution. It is hard, perhaps, to improve on Bentham's division, according to which it may assume one (or more) of four forms: (1) wealth, (2) honour, (3) power, (4) exemptions. Of these 'wealth,' according to Bentham's utilitarian view, 'is in general the most suitable.'[1] Thus successful warriors have often been directly rewarded by gifts of money or estate; and in modern communities the whole course of legislation has been generally conducted with a view to providing wealth as a reward for service, and to securing it, when once acquired, against violence or fraud. But 'honours,' at least as direct gifts of the State, are equally common; and in some countries civil servants of a certain rank are ennobled as a matter of course. We are all familiar with titles as a gratification for at least theoretical services. Exemptions, again, are common, whether in the form of exemption from civil burdens or in that of exemption from punishment. Thus, under the *Ancien Régime*, the nobles and clergy, in return for more or less fictitious State services, were freed from most kinds of taxation. 'Previous good conduct' is almost everywhere admitted as a plea in mitigation of punishment.[2] Sometimes, indeed, the exemptions have been even anticipatory: a Roman citizen, *e.g.*, knew beforehand that he was free from capital punishment, a Russian deputy from corporal. 'Benefit of clergy' secured 'clerks' from certain penalties; and in former times English noblemen were exempt from penalties for even atrocious crimes.

But it is with regard to power that religion and ethics have most to say; for there can be no doubt that of all rewards power ought to be the commonest; and it is in the direction of increasing the range of power as a reward that reform should certainly proceed. Both on religious grounds and on grounds of expediency it is eminently desirable that he who has been faithful in a few things should be made ruler over many things; and it is to be hoped that men will be diminishingly anxious for rewards of other kinds; that, in fact, men who have been useful should ask to be paid merely by being granted greater opportunities of usefulness. Here lies the true reconciliation between the view of Pericles, that 'where there are the greatest *rewards* of merit, there will be the best men to do the work of the State,'[3] and that of Plato, that there can be no sound government while public service is done with a view to remuneration.[4] Whether, *e.g.*, a school should give prizes may well be doubted; but it is beyond dispute that the boy who has shown capacity and merit should be made a prefect. It is true that, as Bentham observes,[5] we do not make him who has produced the best piece of artillery the head of the Ordnance; for the capacity of invention is not necessarily the capacity of administration. But this is beside the point. That to which we desire to promote the inventor is the fuller opportunity of invention; and that to which we desire to promote the good ruler is the fuller opportunity of rule; the reward is to consist precisely in a wider field for service of the kind which a man has shown himself able to give. And here is one great and obvious advantage, from the point of view of the community, held by reward over punishment. Both alike 'belong to the automatic element of

[1] *MI* i. 123. [2] *Ib.* [3] P. 309.
[4] Bentham, ii. 192. Bentham's opinion is here slightly different from that of the present writer.
[5] *Ib.* ii. 192.

[1] ii. 194. [2] *Timon of Athens*, III. v.
[3] Thucyd. ii. 46. [4] *Laws*, xii. 955.
[5] ii. 195.

social life';[1] but the working of reward is far more automatic than that of punishment, and is achieved with a far less wasteful expenditure of machinery. We do indeed find many a Galba, 'omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperasset';[2] we do indeed find men, with none of Galba's claims, promoted to high positions; yet, with all these unfortunate exceptions, the capable man tends, by the mere virtue of his capacity, to come to the top—granted that, in present circumstances, vastly too much influence is exerted by powers of rhetoric and 'pushfulness,' by audacity and chicane, worst of all, by wealth. 'Slow rises worth, by poverty depressed.' But it is exactly here that religion and ethics find their chance. The moral and devout man is accustomed, as we have said, to regard character as the really important thing. Free from the distorting power of envy, he is also (as we believe) gifted with a special *flair* for the discovery of high character; and he will use his growing influence for the exaltation of the truly serviceable and the depression of the merely blatant. With the abolition of the retributive penalty and the establishment of enlarged service as the appropriate reward, religion and morals will be in the way to achieve their highest ends. 'But all things excellent are as difficult as they are rare.'

LITERATURE.—The bibliography of this subject is very large. The following works, among others, may be consulted: J. Addams, *The Spirit of Youth and the City Streets*, New York, 1912; J. Austin, *Lectures on Jurisprudence*[4], 2 vols., London, 1879; G. F. Barbour, *A Philosophical Study of Christian Ethics*, Edinburgh, 1911; C. Beccaria, *An Essay on Crimes and Punishments*[6], with commentary attributed to Voltaire, Eng. tr., London, 1804; J. Bentham, *Works*, ed. J. Bowring, 11 vols., Edinburgh, 1843; B. Bosanquet, *The Philosophical Theory of the State*, London, 1910; James (Viscount) Bryce, *Studies in History and Jurisprudence*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1901; W. E. Channing, *Complete Works*, new ed., London, 1884; R. R. Cherry, *Growth of Criminal Law in Ancient Communities*, do. 1890; W. Cunningham, *Christianity and Politics*, do. 1916; E. Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, tr. J. W. Swain, do. 1915; *L'Année Sociologique*, iv. [1899–1900]; Havelock Ellis, *The Criminal*[3], London, 1901; E. Ferri, *Criminal Sociology*, Eng. tr., do. 1895; T. H. Green, *Works*[6], ed. R. L. Nettleship, do. 1908, vol. ii.; George Grote, *Fragments on Ethical Subjects*, do. 1876; John Grote, *A Treatise on the Moral Ideals*, ed. J. B. Mayor, Cambridge, 1876; A. C. Hall, *Crime in its Relations to Social Progress*, New York, 1901; G. C. A. von Harless, *System of Christian Ethics*[6], tr. A. W. Morrison, Edinburgh, 1868; W. Healy, *The Individual Delinquent*, London, 1915; G. W. F. Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, tr. S. W. Dyde, do. 1896; T. Hobbes, *Leviathan*, do. 1651, reprint of 1st ed. with introd. by G. Podgson Smith, Oxford, 1909; L. T. Hobhouse, *Morals in Evolution*, London, 1915; T. Holmes, *London's Underworld*, do. 1912; John Howard, *The State of Prisons in England and Wales*, do. 1777; I. Kant, *The Philosophy of Law*, tr. W. Hastie, Edinburgh, 1887; C. S. Kenny, *Outlines of Criminal Law*, Cambridge, 1902; H. J. Laski, *The Problem of Sovereignty*, Yale, 1917; H. C. Lea, *Superstition and Force*[4], Philadelphia, 1893; C. Lombroso, *Crime: its Causes and Remedies*, tr. H. P. Horton, London, 1911; R. M. MacConnell, *Criminal Responsibility and Social Restraint*, do. 1912; J. S. Mackenzie, *Social Philosophy*, Glasgow, 1895, *Manual of Ethics*[4], London, 1900; H. S. Maine, *Ancient Law*, ed. F. Pollock, do. 1906; H. Martensen, *Christian Ethics*, tr. C. Spence, Edinburgh, 1873; J. Martineau, *Types of Ethical Theory*[2], 2 vols., Oxford, 1886; C. de S. Montesquieu, *The Spirit of Laws*, tr. T. Nugent, London, 1878; W. D. Morrison, *Crime and its Causes*, do. 1891, *Juvenile Offenders*, do. 1896; P. van Ness Myers, *History as Past Ethics*, London and Boston, n.d.; H. Oppenheimer, *Rationale of Punishment*, London, 1913; Origen, *de Principiis*, tr. F. Crombie (Ante-Nicene Library, x.), Edinburgh, 1869; T. Mott Osborne, *Society and Prisons*, Yale and London, 1916; F. Pollock, *Essays in Jurisprudence and Ethics*, London, 1882; C. B. de Quiros, *Modern Theories of Criminality*, tr. A. de Salvio, do. 1911; H. Rashdall, *Theory of Good and Evil*, 2 vols., Oxford, 1907; J. Rickaby, *Moral Philosophy*, London, 1888; R. Saleilles, *The Individualization of Punishment*[2], tr. R. S. Jastrow, do. 1911; H. Sidgwick, *The Methods of Ethics*[7], do. 1907; A. L. Smith, *Church and State in the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 1913; J. Fitzjames Stephen, *General View of the Criminal Law of England*, London and Cambridge, 1863; G. Tarde, *Penal Philosophy*, tr. R. Howell, do. 1912; E. Westermarck, *MI*, 2 vols., do. 1906–08; F. H. Wines, *Punishment and Reformation*, do. 1895.

E. E. KELLETT.

[1] Bosanquet, *Philosophical Theory of the State*, p. 218.
[2] Tac. *Hist.* i. 49.

REYNARD THE FOX.—In the Middle Ages beast-fables and apologues were largely used by preachers—beasts symbolizing men or particular qualities or failings, and their words and actions being intended to teach a lesson. These fables were partly drawn from Eastern sources, and Buddhist literature abounds in them, though they are also used there to express the doctrine of reincarnation, and they describe the acts of Buddha in previous animal existences. Most folk-tale collections contain specimens of them, and some are still told among the peasantry. But they were not invented for the purpose of pointing a moral. They existed already as *Märchen*, and the moral was a later addition. All savage collections of folk-tales are full of stories of animals which it would take little alteration to turn into genuine beast-fables. Animal folk-tales, in which animals act and speak like men, descend from an age when it was actually believed that they could do so, and in which also men had already noted the characteristic traits of different kinds of animals—traits which had human parallels. Such savage stories are of the Brer Rabbit class, and tell how this or that animal successfully tricked the others. As a rule each people has its favourite rogue-animal—Hottentots, Bushmen, and Berbers the jackal; Bantus, Negroes, Mongols, and Koreans the rabbit or hare; Malays and Dayaks the moose-deer and tortoise; American Indians the turtle, coyote, or raven; while in the north of Europe as well as in Oriental stories the fox (or the jackal) dupes the bear or the lion.[1] The humour of these stories is obvious, but they reveal a curious pleasure in astuteness, cunning, and villainy, though often dire vengeance is depicted as overtaking the offender. The long and complicated story of Reynard the Fox is a literary example of the folk-tale of beasts which act as men, raised to an epic grandeur. It is a *Märchen* on a large scale in which a large number of animals are the *dramatis personæ*, and many incidents are brought together into a more or less complete whole. Undoubtedly its roots are in the popular tales rather than in the moral apologues current in ecclesiastical circles. See also artt. FABLE, PARABLE (Ethnic).

1. Variants of the Reynard story.—Apart from apologues and fables, the first known *literary* versions of the Reynard story are found in Latin poems of monastic origin, in which greater amplitude than was possible in a fable is given to the incidents recounted. One of these, which presupposes a popular original, is the *Ecbasis cujusdam captivi*, the principal subject of which is the healing of the lion by the fox, found in the later versions. It contains over 1200 verses and was written by a monk of the abbey of St. Evre à Toul in the 10th century.[2] Another short Latin poem is the 11th cent. *Sacerdos et Lupus*, corresponding to the twelfth branch of the French *Renart*.[3] A third is the *Luparius*—the wolf as monk, an episode found again in the *Renart*, and dating from the late 11th or early 12th century.[4] Better known than these is the *Fabella Lupina* or *Isengrimus* or *Reinardus Vulpes* (c. 1150), a poem of over 6000 lines, divided into four books, with a certain unity and sequence of episodes, in which for the first time the animals appear with the

[1] See *CF*, p. 39 and reff. there, and cf. W. H. I. Bleek, *Reynard the Fox in S. Africa*, London, 1864; K. Krohn, *Bär und Fuchs*, Helsingfors, 1888, *Mann und Fuchs*, do. 1891.
[2] J. Grimm and A. Schmeller, *Lateinische Gedichte des X und XI Jahrhunderts*, Göttingen, 1838, p. 340 f.; E. Voigt, *Ecbasis Captivi, das älteste Thierepos des Mittelalters*, Strassburg, 1875.
[3] Grimm-Schmeller, p. 340; W. J. Thoms, *The Hist. of Reynard the Fox* [Percy Society], London, 1844, pp. xxviii, lxxxix.
[4] J. Grimm, *Reinhart Fuchs*, Berlin, 1834, p. 410 ff.; Voigt, *Kleinere lateinische Denkmäler der Thiersage aus dem VII bis XIV Jahrhundert*, Strassburg, 1878, p. 58 f.

characteristic names of the Reynard epos.[1] Of this poem there is a short abridgment, the *Isengrimus*, containing the incidents of the lion's sickness and his healing by the advice of Reynard, and the pilgrimage of Bertiliana the goat.[2] The *Fabella Lupina* is probably of Flemish origin, but from French originals or traditions, and its authorship is attributed to Magister Nivardus in a 14th cent. MS of the poem. He is a pious monk, who nevertheless satirizes the pope, priests, and religious orders, and is bitterly opposed to St. Bernard. Its subject is the adventures of Isengrimus and Reinardus, the lion's sickness and healing by Reinardus, and the outwitting and death of Isengrimus through the craft of Reinardus. The poem is charged with irony and is full of humour as well as moral allusions.

The earliest (Middle) High German version is the *Reinhart Fuchs* of Heinrich der Glichesaere (*c.* 1180).[3] This work forms a complete whole without lapses or lack of order and connexion in the parts of the narrative, and with every evidence of having been clearly planned and executed.

The fox is here brought into relation with several inferior animals, then with the wolf, until the last, disgusted with Reynard's successes over him, seeks justice along with the other animals from the lion, who is ill. Reynard heals him, and turns the tables on his accusers. His healing potion, however, is a poison, and kills the king. In O.F. *poison = médecine, breuvage*. Possibly Glichesaere misunderstood the word, unless this treatment of the episode of the healing is his own conception. Unknown to other versions is the cause of the king's illness, viz. revenge on the part of the king of the ants when these have been destroyed by King Lion because they would not acknowledge his supremacy.

It can be proved that Glichesaere's work is due to French originals, and he himself alludes to French poems on the subject. Of his twenty-one adventures, five only are not paralleled in the French *Roman de Renart*. The *Roman*, however, has nothing of the completeness or unity which is a chief characteristic of Glichesaere's version, and a French poem of similar scope and harmony, now lost, has been postulated as his source, or a MS containing various 'branches' in the order of his episodes, or, more probably, a traditional arrangement of separate narratives. Such a grouping is already found in the *Reinardus Vulpes* (*c.* 1150).

Meanwhile in Flanders a poet, Willem van Utenhove, or Willem die Matoc, basing his work probably on a French poem in which the scene of the judgment of Reynard at the court of the lion had received original treatment, composed a work in Flemish, *Reinaert de Vos*, some time in the 13th century. A continuation, *Reinaert's Historie*, by a later unknown writer, supplied large additions and an element of satire, and the whole was now regarded as one complete work.[4] Willem's expanded work is the source of the many translations and prose versions which have been so popular in various lands since the invention of printing. A popular prose version appeared in print at Gouda, by Gheraert Leeuw, in 1479, *Die Hystorie van Reynaert die Vos*, and its popularity caused Willem's poem to be forgotten. In 1481 Caxton's English rendering of this version with omissions and abridgments was published at Westminster. But the story of Reynard must have been known already in England, as is shown by references in Chaucer's *Nonnes Prestes Tale* and in earlier Anglo-Norman poets, and by the existence of actual stories of the Reynard group in Latin and English verses of the 13th–14th centuries.[1]

A Saxon or Low German version of the *Reinaert*, written in verse, appeared in 1498, and has been variously attributed to Heinrich van Alkmar or to Nicolaus Baumann. This work, called *Reynke de Voss*,[2] was the source of the High German versions of *Reineke Fuchs*, the first of which was published at Frankfort in 1545, and also of Danish, Swedish, and other translations. Goethe's well-known poem, based on J. C. Gottsched's version (1752), appeared in 1794.

The surviving French versions of the Reynard story are the poems of the *Roman du Renart*. These date from the 12th-13th cent., and are the work of different *trouvères*, though undoubtedly based on existing compositions or traditional versions. The separate poems, or 'branches,' of the *Roman* consist of numerous episodes which do not form a complete whole and have often little connexion with each other. One adventure follows another without transition—so much so that the number of the 'branches,' their order, and their contents vary in different MSS. In spite of the lack of order, it is fairly evident that the basis of the episodes of the *Roman* is the complaint laid before King Noble (the lion) against Reynard by Isengrim, the wolf, regarding the fox's villainies, and especially his violence to Hersent, Isengrim's wife. The fox is always the chief actor. The authors of some of these *Renart* poems were the early 13th cent. *trouvères*, Pierre de St. Cloud, Richard de Lison, and an unnamed 'Prestre de la Croix en Brie.' Of the other authors the MSS say nothing, but the provenance of the poems seems to have been Normandy, Champagne, Picardy, and Flanders.[3] The complexity of the *Roman* is in striking contrast with the unity of the poem of Heinrich der Glichesaere, who nevertheless worked upon French sources. The *Roman* contains some 30,000 verses, and undoubtedly several 'branches' have been lost.

While the bulk of the 'branches' make the animals act and speak in character, others are full of the manners of the age of chivalry, and the animals act and speak as knights, with little regard to their own characters.

Another *Renart* romance is the independent *Le Couronnement de Renart*, dating from the second half of the 13th cent., which departs further from the Reynard tradition, and which has been attributed to Marie de France, though this is a matter of considerable doubt.[4] To the same romance cycle belongs the *Renart le Nouvel* by Jacquemart Gielée de Lille, 1288.[5]

Its subject is the strife of Reynard against King Noble, represented as a strife of evil against good. The work shows traces of scholastic learning and classical knowledge; its tendency is to allegory, and it satirizes the clergy as does also *Le Couronnement*, for their corruption, while its author strives to exhort to a purer faith.

Still another poem is the long *Renart le Contrefait*, an imitation or reproduction of the older tales,

[1] Ed. F. J. Mone, *Reinardus Vulpes*, Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1832; summarized in A. Rothe, *Les Romans du Renard, examinés, analysés et comparés*, Paris, 1845, p. 40 ff.

[2] Grimm, *Reinhart Fuchs*, p. 1 ff.; summarized in Thoms, p. xxix ff. This poem was formerly supposed to be earlier than the longer *Reinardus Vulpes*. See Thoms, pp. xxix, xxxvi.

[3] Published by Grimm in his *Reinhart Fuchs*, p. 25 ff. Later he published fragments of an earlier and original recension in *Sendschreiben an Karl Lachmann*, Leipzig, 1840. See also K. Reissenberger's ed., *Reinhart Fuchs*, Halle, 1886.

[4] Willem's work is given in Grimm, p. 115 ff. For the continuation see J. F. Willem, *Reinaert de Vos*, Ghent, 1836. See also E. Martin, *Willems Gedicht 'Van den Vos Reinaerde' und die Umarbeitung und Fortsetzung 'Reinaert's Historie,'* Paderborn, 1874.

[1] See Thoms, p. lxxiii ff.; T. Wright, *Selection of Latin Stories from MSS. of 13th and 14th cent.* [Percy Society], London, 1842, p. 55, and Introd. *ad fin.*, where an English metrical version of one of the branches of the French *Renart* is printed.

[2] Analyzed in Rothe, p. 73 ff.

[3] L. Sudre, *Les Sources du roman de Renart*, Paris, 1892, p. 23. The *Roman* was ed. by D. M. Méon, *Le Roman du [de] Renart, publié d'après les manuscrits de la Bibl. du roi, des XIIIe, XIVe, et XVe siècles*, 4 vols., Paris, 1826. A supplementary vol. was published by P. Chabaille, *Le Roman du Renart: Supplémens, variantes, et corrections*, Paris, 1835. A definitive ed. is that of E. Martin, *Le Roman de Renart*, 3 vols., Strassburg and Paris, 1882–87; see also his *Observations sur le Roman de Renart*, do. 1887. An analysis of the poem will be found in Rothe, p. 106 ff.

[4] Published in Méon, vol. iv., and analyzed in Rothe, p. 302 ff.

[5] Méon, vol. iv.; Rothe, p. 364 ff.

by a clerk of Troyes, writing in the 14th cent., which satirizes the monastic and chivalric orders and displays a vast encyclopædic knowledge of the learning of the age.[1]

2. Characteristics of the Reynard cycle.—While the different versions of the Reynard story differ in literary worth, and while some have an obviously moral purpose or exhibit satire directed against some particular abuse, the work as a whole is one of the great monuments of literature. The picture of the age, its manners, its ideals, is a vivid one. A satiric criticism of life—life as a whole, as well as of particular aspects of life—is always present; but the telling of a story, the desire of literary expression, was probably the first purpose of the authors, and the humorous element—'broad rustic mirth,' to quote Carlyle — coarse, brutal, and cynical as it often is, pervades the whole work. The fox is the clever villain all through, astute, evil, both as an animal and as a representative of man, yet he tends to be sympathetically regarded by the reader, like many of Dickens's villains. The other animals usually act in keeping with their nature, and are more than men disguised. While styled a romance, the poems and, later, the prose version have little of the romantic element, although fancy plays round all the episodes, coarse, hard, and cynical as they often are. The element of parody enters into the whole cycle, parody even of the most sacred things, and Carlyle truly calls it a 'wild parody of human life.' His characteristic summing-up of the whole epos can never be bettered.[2]

Caxton's version avows its moral purpose: 'This booke is maad for nede and prouffyte of alle god folke, as fer as they in redynge or heerynge of it shal mowe understand and fele the forsayd subtyl deceytes that dayly ben used in the worlde, not to thentente that men shold use them, but that every man shold eschewe and kepe hym from the subtyl false shrewis that they be not deceyvyd.' But humour is none the less the main characteristic of his version.

3. Sources.—Grimm. and others believed that the Reynard story was of Germanic origin, based on an old German animal epos. But no trace of this exists, and it is certain that the existing German versions are based on French originals. The provenance of the cycle is probably those regions of France and Flanders bordering on Germany, or the region between the Seine and the Rhine[3]—a supposition which would account for the Germanic form of such names as Ragenhard (Reynard), Isengrim, Richild, etc., of which Grimm made so much.[4] While Reynard has been for four centuries one of the most popular heroes in Germany, the soil in which during the 12th-13th cent. the romance flourished most was undoubtedly France, and especially its northern part. The oldest text is a Latin one; then follow the older French branches of the *Renart*. These are followed again by the version of Heinrich der Glichesaere, a Middle High German version translated from or based on French originals, and that again by the Flemish and Low German versions. The sources of the Reynard stories are probably much less the apologues so much beloved in the Middle Ages than oral and folk tradition. Sudre has devoted a work of great research to an investigation of the sources, and has made this conclusion practically certain. In spite of certain resemblances of some 'branches' of the *Renart* and of the early Latin versions to the apologues, beast-fables, and the stories of the long popular *Physiologus*, all of which had a great vogue in the cloisters and schools, the affinities between them are rare, distant, and indirect. The allegorical, symbolical, and didactic aspects of the apologue are lacking in *Renart*, and the circumstances of the age were such that these would hardly have been omitted by authors working directly upon existing fables. The Reynard stories have been mainly derived from the folk, and only indirectly from literary sources. Thus they stand parallel to the *Jātakas*, the *Pañchatantra*, the fables of Æsop and Phædrus, all of them also rooted in current folk-tales in their respective ages and places of origin. The link with apologue and fable is slight; the link with the vast edifice of folk-tales of animals, intended to amuse rather than instruct, is strong. From both, but mainly from the latter, the authors of the *Renart* stories with great art produced a work which in its different forms has had an extraordinary popularity.

1 *Le Roman de Renart le Contrefait*, ed. F. Wolf, Vienna, 1862; analysis in Rothe, p. 474 ff., and in A. C. M. Robert, *Fables inédites des XIIe, XIIIe et XIVe siècles*, 2 vols., Paris, 1825, p. cxxii ff.

2 'Early German Literature,' *Miscellanies*, iii. 204 ff. (*Works*, People's Ed., London, 1871–72).

3 G. Saintsbury, *The Flourishing of Romance and the Rise of Allegory*, London and Edinburgh, 1897, p. 289.

4 Cf. P. Paris, *Les Aventures de maître Renart et d'Ysengrin son Compère*, Paris, 1861, p. 323 f.; Sudre, p. 45 f.

LITERATURE.—The various edd. of the stories of the Reynard cycle and various works dealing with it have been sufficiently indicated in the notes. See also W. J. A. Jonckbloet, *Étude sur le roman de Renart*, Groningen, 1863; E. Martin, *Examen critique des manuscrits du Roman de Renart*, Basel, 1872. E. Arber's reprint of Caxton's *Hist. of Reynard the Fox*, London, 1895, is a useful ed. of the tale (English Scholar's Library of Old and Modern Works).

J. A. MACCULLOCH.

RIDDLE.—1. Definition. — 'Riddle' is a comprehensive term for a puzzling question or an ambiguous proposition which is intended to be solved by conjecture. Obscure terms are employed on purpose, in order to conceal the meaning, and thereby to stimulate the intellect and imagination of the reader or listener. Rhetorically the riddle is closely related to the metaphor, and in fact it may be defined as a metaphor or a group of metaphors which have not passed into common usage and whose significance is not evident. Aristotle[1] insisted on the close connexion between the riddle and the metaphor, maintaining that, when the metaphor is employed continuously in the discourse, a riddle is the result. This conception of the riddle closely associates it with the allegory and fable, and was the Greek view; for the term αἶνος, from which αἴνιγμα ('riddle') is derived, was applied to Æsop's fables. As a symbolical mode of expression, in which the real sense is obscured, it becomes an important instrument for the cultivation not only of wit, but also of man's intellectual capacities.

From one point of view the riddle is a product of humour, from another it is the result of man's ability to perceive analogies in nature; its capacity to puzzle is due very largely to analogies which are unconsciously stored up in metaphorical speech. While a genuine riddle possesses the quality of obscurity—the more obscure the better—yet at the same time it must be a perfectly true description. Every term ought to be as accurate and exact as in a logical definition, but put in a form to baffle and puzzle. All these characteristics of a genuine enigma are well exemplified in the riddle of the Sphinx, which is worthy of being quoted, not only as a normal example, but because of the large part which it played in Greek legend and literature:

'What walks on four legs in the morning, on two at noon, and on three in the evening?'[2]

In this question the Sphinx takes the day metaphorically for the span of human life.

The power of a riddle to arrest the attention and make truth impressive is largely due to an element

1 *Poet.* 22.

2 τί ἐστιν, ὁ μίαν ἔχον φωνὴν τετράπουν καὶ δίπουν καὶ τρίπουν γίνεται. The poet Pindar is the first Greek writer to employ the term αἴνιγμα in the sense of 'riddle,' and uses it to designate this saying.

of incongruity which is usually present, the irreconcilable and incompatible being associated together. Aristotle has brought this feature out in one of his statements in regard to riddles:

αἰνίγματός τε γὰρ ἰδέα αὕτη ἐστί, τὸ λέγοντα ὑπάρχοντα ἀδύνατα συνάψαι.[1]

Samson's enigma, the one folk-riddle preserved in Scripture, distinctly embodies this characteristic of incongruity:

'Out of the eater came forth meat,
And out of the strong came forth sweetness' (Jg 14[14]).

2. Types.—The general term 'riddle' covers several different types of enigmatical questions and sayings.

(*a*) *Logogriph.*—The difficulty may be concentrated in a single word, when the puzzle lies in the double sense which the word bears. For this kind of riddle the French employ the term *calembour*, the Germans *Worträtsel*; a favourite designation for it is 'logogriph.' A modern example may be cited:

When Victor Hugo was elected to membership in the French Academy, Salvandy bitterly remarked to the distinguished author: 'Monsieur, vous avez introduit en France l'art scénique (l'arsenic).'

The Greeks also employed this type of riddle, and a well-known instance of it is found in the *Wasps* of Aristophanes, where the word *ἀσπίς* occurs in the double sense of 'shield' and 'asp.'[2]

This type of riddle may be spontaneous and natural, or, with the development of the literary art, it may be worked out artificially until the logogriph proper is developed. Strictly speaking, the logogriph covers a class of riddles in which the puzzle is based upon the addition, subtraction, or transposition of letters. A more familiar term for the case when the letters are transposed is 'anagram.' An example of a Latin logogriph is:

'Tolle caput, simile aetati tum tempus habebis.'—*Puer; Ver* (J. C. Scaliger).

A simple one in English runs:

'There is a word in the English language the first two letters of which signify a male, the first three a female, the first four a great man, the whole a great woman.'—He-r-o-ine.

The ancient Hebrews, in disguising a word or name by substituting the last letter of the alphabet for the first, the next last for the second, and so forth, formed what may not inaptly be termed an anagram. By this method שֵׁשַׁךְ stands for בָּבֶל (Jer 25[26]), and לֵב קָמַי for כַּשְׂדִּים (25[1]). With these may be grouped the famous handwriting on the wall (Dn 5[25]).

(*b*) *Enigma.*—Less mechanical and more important is the enigma proper, Aristotle's *αἴνιγμα*, in which the obscure intimation runs through an entire passage, sometimes of considerable length. This type of riddle is very closely allied to both the allegory and the parable.[3] The Greeks would have regarded Nathan's famous parable (2 S 12) and Isaiah's song of the vineyard (Is 5) as riddles. The prophet Ezekiel (ch. 17) works out an allegory in which the monarchs of Babylon and Egypt are described as eagles. The prophet himself designates his allegory a riddle as well as a parable,[4] and the art revealed in his working out of the imagery indicates that Hebrew writers were masters of the symbolical riddle. The conversation of Jesus with Nicodemus is an example of an enigmatical discourse employed for the purpose of making profound religious truth impressive (Jn 3).

(*c*) *Rebus.*—The rebus is a third type. Originally it was a riddle put in the form of a picture of things in words or syllables.

According to Plutarch, Alexander the Great, during the siege of Tyre, saw in a dream a satyr (Σάτυρος) who could be caught only with difficulty. The wise men interpreted the dream for him very quickly: Σάτυρος = Σὰ Τύρος.

Another type of the rebus was put in the form of an object-lesson. Let us note an example of it in the political sphere:

The Emperor Marcus Aurelius finds that his revenues are steadily decreasing and sends messengers to Judah, the patriarch, for counsel. Instead of giving a verbal reply, the latter takes the imperial emissaries out to his garden, where he uproots the larger plants and replaces them with smaller. The royal ambassadors return without any message, but report the strange actions of the rabbi to their royal master, who fully comprehends the symbolism of the act and follows the advice given to him in this strange manner.

A notable rebus in the historical sphere revolves about the person of Cyrus.

The Scythians, attacked by Cyrus, sent the Persian monarch a messenger with arrows, a rat, and a frog. By these gifts they meant to tell Cyrus that, unless he could hide in a hole like a rat, or like a frog in water, he could not escape their arrows.

(*d*) *Charade.*—The charade[1] is a later development of riddle-making, a product of literary activity rather than of primitive efforts at poetry or rhetoric, and thus is essentially artificial. The charade usually turns upon letters or syllables composing a word, sometimes on words composing a phrase. It has not inaptly been termed a 'syllable-riddle' (*Silbenrätsel*). Examples will indicate its character better than a formal definition. Here is one taken from Greek sources:

νῆσος ὅλη, μύκημα βοὸς, φωνή τε δανειστοῦ, 'the whole an island, the lowing of an ox, and the voice of an usurer.' The interpretation is ῥό + δός, the island of Rhodes.[2]

We owe a beautiful ancient Latin charade to Aulus Gellius:

'Semel minusne, an bis minus, non sat scio,
At utrumque eorum, ut quondam audivi dicier,
Iovi ipsi regi noluit concedere.'[3]

Its solution lies in the equation: *Semel minus + bis minus = ter minus* = god Terminus, whose symbol, a boundary-stone, remained in the temple of Jupiter erected by Tarquinius Superbus.

A famous charade on 'cod,' which, according to most authorities, has been incorrectly ascribed to Macaulay, runs as follows:

'Cut off my head, and singular I act;
Cut off my tail and plural I appear;
Cut off my head and tail, and, wondrous fact,
Although my middle's left, there's nothing there.
What is my head? A sounding sea.
What is my tail? A flowing river.
'Mid ocean's depths I fearless stray,
Parent of softest sounds, yet mute forever.'

A. Führer has called attention to the existence of charades in Sanskrit poetry; and, singularly enough, many of these have a religious significance.[4]

(*e*) *Epigram.*—According to the Greek view, the epigram, in its original sense of a poetical inscription on votive offerings or grave-stones, was closely related to the riddle. In many instances the resemblance would have been complete if the epigram had suggested a challenge to solution.[5] An

[1] *Poet.* 22.

[2] Line 15 ff.:

οὐδὲν ἄρα γρίφου διαφέρει Κλεώνυμος,
πῶς δή; προερεῖ τις τοῖσι συμπότοις λέγων
'ὅτι ταυτὸν ἐν γῃ τ' ἀπέβαλεν κἀν οὐρανῷ
κἀν τῇ θαλάττῃ θηρίον τὴν ἀσπίδα;'

[3] Gerber (*Die Sprache als Kunst*, ii. 485) terms it 'das allegorische Rätsel.'

[4] The Hebrew word for riddle is חִידָה, and for parable מָשָׁל. Both of these occur in Ezk 17[2], and may be regarded as descriptive of the passage which follows. Among the Greeks *αἶνος* was a designation for a fable like those current under the name of Æsop. *αἴνιγμα* is derived from *αἶνος*; in like manner all obscure proverbs were designated *αἰνίγματα*.

[1] 'Charade' is a word of French origin. In his *Dict. de la littérature* (1770) Sébastien gives the following definition: 'Ce mot vient de l'idiome languedocien et signifie, dans son origine, un discours propre à tuer le temps; on dit en Languedoc: allons faire des charades, pour allons passer l'après-soupé, ou allons veiller chez un tel, parce que, dans les assemblées de l'après-soupé, le peuple de cette province s'amuse à dire des riens pour passe-temps' (quoted from Littré).

[2] Quoted from Ohlert, *Rätsel und Gesellschaftsspiele der alten Griechen*, p. 167.

[3] *Noctes Atticæ*, xii. 6.

[4] See *ZDMG* xxxix. [1885] 99 ff.

[5] Ohlert, p. 108: 'Zahlreiche Epigramme könnten als Rätsel gelten, wenn man ihnen die Ueberschrift nimmt; zahlreiche Rätsel als Epigramme, wenn man die Aufforderung zum Raten entfernt.' This statement is made especially of the Greek field.

illustration taken from a grave-stone is interesting:

τοὔνομα θῆτα ῥῶ ἄλφα σάν ὃ μῦ ἄλφα χῖ οὖ σάν
πατρὶς Καλχηδών, ἡ δὲ τέχνη σοφίη,

'My name is theta rho alpha sigma u mu alpha chi u sigma; Chalcedon was my native land; to be wise is art.'

This Thrasymachus was a sophist mentioned by Plato.

(*f*) *Arithmetical riddle.*—The arithmetical or numerical riddle is next to be noted. Many of these are very trivial and are based upon the form of the numeral.

E.g., 'How does twenty remain when one is subtracted from nineteen?' The solution depends upon the form of the Roman numerals XIX and XX.

A serious form of arithmetical riddle was developed, especially by the Jews, through the numerical value of the letters of the alphabet. Many Jewish commentators made נָחָשׁ (= 'serpent') one of the names of the Messiah because the numerical value of the letters is the equivalent of שָׁשִׁים. In Gn 14[14] the reader is supposed to find the name of Abraham's steward because the numerical value of the Hebrew consonants making up the word Eliezer equals 318, the number of the patriarch's attendants. Jewish writers developed this method of writing and interpretation into a system and termed it 'Gematria.'[1] Instead of the intended word, its numerical value was produced by permutation of the letters; in course of time this developed into the kabbalistic method of interpreting OT Scripture. One numerical riddle appears in the pages of the NT; it is the number of the beast, 666 (Rev 13[18]). The custom of taking the letters of a word in a numerical sense was a part of every Gnostic system. As a prominent example we may take the word *Abraxas*, used by the Gnostics as an amulet because the numerical value of the Greek letters totalled 365, the number of days in a year.[2]

Another form of the arithmetical riddle is found in the OT, and was much cultivated by the Jews of post-Biblical days and termed by them the *middah* (מִדָּה). A typical example occurs in Pr 30[15b. 16]:

'There are three things that are never satisfied,
Yea, four that say not, Enough.'

These two lines contain the riddle proper; the answer is given in the following verse:

'Sheol; and the barren womb;
The earth that is not satisfied with water;
And the fire that saith not, Enough.'

The numerical riddle in this form is the favourite type among the Arabs, and instances of it have also been found in Sanskrit literature.[3] It was also much affected by the Jews of Talmudic times. The Jewish scholar A. Wünsche has published a collection of the *middah* type of numerical riddles under the title, 'Die Zahlensprüche in Talmud und Midrasch.'[4]

3. **Origin and development.**—The riddle originated in the infancy of the human race. J. G. Herder, in his *Vom Geist der hebräischen Poesie*,[5] remarks that 'all peoples in the first stages of culture are lovers of riddles.' The same spirit which gave birth to the folk-song and folk-proverb likewise produced the riddle. A genuine folk-riddle is a spontaneous expression, coming from the depths of the soul of a people or race, not from the mind of an individual, and consequently is anonymous (cf. art. PROVERBS). Riddles are therefore in a real sense the *vox populi*. Many profound mysterious truths were expressed in the form of riddles by primitive man, who also frequently used the same literary device in his description of an occasional accidental occurrence, when it constituted a mystery for him. That Greek writers had occasion to discuss the relation between αἴνιγμα and γρῖφος, two common designations for riddles, and the two terms μῦθος and λόγος is a clear indication that Greek enigmas touched the domain of mythology. These two spheres would of necessity come together when the mystery of a natural phenomenon furnished the puzzle for the riddle-maker. Mythological speculation actually forms a part of the riddle-hymn of the *Rigveda* (see below).

A sharp distinction ought to be made between the original folk-riddle and those more or less artificial ones which have come down to us through the channels of literature. Rolland[1] lays stress upon this distinction by dividing riddles into two classes: (1) *l'énigme vraiment populaire*; (2) *l'énigme savante ou littéraire*. It is, however, doubtful whether any of the folk-riddles of remote antiquity have come down to us in their original form. We possess them, if at all, in the polished (and in a sense artificial) form resulting from the labours of literary men. The writings of the great literary geniuses of Greece are liberally sprinkled with such riddles; many involving subtle metaphysical discussions are found in the *Rigveda*. Modern investigators have made collections of riddles current among people of primitive culture. In a recent edition of Rolland[2] the editor has added an appendix giving a number of riddles current among the Wolofs of Senegambia, and similar collections are to be found in the journals of learned societies and missionary periodicals.

Chronologically the riddle may be followed to a remote antiquity. A very ancient Semitic riddle is preserved in a Babylonian tablet:

'Who becomes pregnant without conceiving?
Who becomes fat without eating?'

The answer is 'Clouds.'[3]

The oldest recorded Greek riddle is associated with Minos, king of Crete.[4] When his son, Glaucus, disappeared, the monarch consulted an oracle; the reply was in the form of an enigma which was solved by the seer, Polyidus. There are many allusions to this riddle in Greek literature, especially in the great tragedians.

Pre-eminent among *énigmes littéraires* are the riddles of the Vedic writings. The spontaneity and *naïveté* of the folk type have entirely disappeared, and instead of these characteristics they distinctly reflect metaphysical speculation of an abstruse order (see below). The same qualities characterize the enigmas with which the Greek philosophers were accustomed to enliven their banquets. At certain periods of literary activity there have been revivals of the art of riddle-making; writers distinguished for their efforts at serious literature have amused themselves by producing riddles usually trivial in subject-matter, yet frequently beautiful in form. Riddle-making was an affectation with the Greeks of the Byzantine period, and their production of αἰνίγματα and γρῖφοι was reduced to rules. Ohlert mentions three poets of the 11th cent.—Psellus, Basilius Megalomitis, and Aulikalamus—who devoted themselves almost exclusively to the writing of riddles. The

[1] Cf. *JE*, *s.v.* 'Gematria.'

[2] In the Sibylline verses we have a numerical enigma. The answer is the word Ἰησοῦς = 888:

Ι = 10 + η = 8 + σ = 200 + ο = 70 + υ = 400 + σ = 200.

ἥξει σαρκοφόρος θνητοῖς ὁμοιούμενος ἐν χῇ
τέσσερα φωνήεντα φέρει, τὰ δ' ἄφωνα δύ' αὐτῷ.
δίσσων ἀστραγάλων ἀριθμὸν δ' ὅλον ἐξονομήνω
ὄκτω γὰρ μονάδας ὅσσας δεκάδας ἐπὶ τούτοις
ἥδ' ἑκατοντάδας ὄκτω ἀπιστοτέροις ἀνθρώποις
οὔνομα δηλώσει.

[3] Cf. F. Delitzsch, *Comm. on Proverbs*, tr. M. G. Easton, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1874–75, *ad loc.*; Jacob, *Altarabische Parallelen zum AT*, p. 17 f.

[4] *ZDMG* lxv. [1911].

[5] 2 vols., Weimar, 1782–83, reprint, Gotha, 1890.

[1] *Devinettes ou énigmes populaires de la France*.

[2] 1877, originally published in 1628.

[3] Rawlinson, *WAI* ii. table 16, lines 48–50.

[4] Apollodorus, III. iii. 1 f.

Anglo-Latin poets of the 6th cent. and their Anglo-Saxon successors collected and wrote riddles extensively. In France of the 17th cent. men like Boileau delighted in penning riddles—Boileau's riddle on the flea is famous—while Voltaire and Rousseau did not disdain to try their skill in making them. Fénelon tests the sagacity of Télémaque by propounding riddles to him. The popularity of this form of literary expression in France, during the period covered by the name just mentioned, may be judged by the publication of the *Recueil des énigmes de ce temps*,[1] under the editorship of C. Cotin. The *Mercure de France* was a vehicle for the publication of riddles, and Duchesne edited a *Magasin énigmatique*.

In England riddles were much affected by literary men in the age of Swift, who produced many of them. The trivial subject-matter of Swift's riddles —'On Ink,' 'On a Pen,' 'On a Fan'—indicates that they were merely the by-products of literary activity and employed for the purpose of whiling away idle hours. But it was left to Schiller, after going back to the age of the Sibyls and learning the art of riddle-making from them, to develop the riddle into a beautiful poem, a work of literary art. One may be quoted to show that, while the subject-matter is trivial, the verse bears all the marks of the genius of the German poet.

'Auf einer grossen Weide gehen
Viel tausend Schafe silberweiss:
Wie wir sie heute wandeln sehen,
Sah sie der allerält'ste Greis.

Sie altern nie und trinken Leben
Aus einem unerschöpften Born,
Ein Hirt ist ihnen zugegeben
Mit schön gebog'nem Silberhorn.

Er treibt sie aus zu goldnen Thoren,
Er überzählt sie jede Nacht,
Und hat der Lämmer keins verloren,
So oft er auch den Weg vollbracht.

Ein treuer Hund hilft sie ihm leiten,
Ein muntrer Widder geht voran.
Die Heerde, kannst du sie mir deuten?
Und auch den Hirten zeig' mir an!'[2]

Triviality as to subject-matter is the outstanding characteristic of modern literary riddles, and in this particular they are wholly unlike those of antiquity. With the ancients, as is noticed below (§ 6), riddles touched the serious issues of life. Life and death were involved in unravelling them; weighty policies of State depended on their solution; and even the sacred rites of religion were enlivened by the proposing and guessing of riddles.

4. Form.—Riddles are usually expressed in rhyme or verse. Goethe sets forth this characteristic:

'So legt der Dichter ein Räthsel,
Künstlich mit Worten verschränkt, oft der Versammlung ins Ohr.'[3]

Samson's enigma, the only popular riddle preserved in the OT, bears all the marks of ancient Hebrew poetry (Jg 14^{14}). The Greek riddles scattered through the works of the poets and philosophers are usually in metre. The Anglo-Latin poets of the Middle Ages put their enigmas into hexameter verse, and the riddles of the Anglo-Saxon period are in metrical form. Many Jewish poets of the Middle Ages exercised their muse by putting riddles into poetic form. The length and character of these may be judged by a production of the poet al-Harizi (13th cent.), in which he takes 46 lines to describe the ant in enigmatical form. It was a favourite custom of the native Arabic grammarians to put their rules in poetical riddles. Many examples of these have been collected by G. Rosen.[4] Schiller's riddle quoted above shows how this poet invested it with the peculiar charm of rhythmical expression. It is the poetical form in which it is couched that lends the riddle much of its impressiveness and stimulates the intellect to solution.

5. Occurrence.—As riddles are rooted in metaphors, it is not surprising to find that they are of universal occurrence. They have been discovered among the peoples of primitive culture the world over. Abbé Boilet, in writing of the Wolofs of Senegambia, says that these savages at the evening time in the hut or by the camp-fire ask each other riddles. The Bedawi, as he sits by his tent door, whiles away the evening hours by proposing them, and the Russian peasant enlivens the long hours of a winter's evening by attempting their solution. The Vedic writings abound in them, and they occur in the remains of the literature of ancient Persia. A race like the Greeks, specially gifted with literary genius, delighted in them. Greek literature furnishes abundant material for estimating the influence and popularity of riddles among a race whose achievements in literature have been unsurpassed. Greek poetry is especially rich in them; they are found frequently in Homer and were popular because of the high place which the Homeric poems had in the esteem of the Hellenic race. Riddles naturally played a large part in Greek tragedy, because the solution of the riddle influenced the course of events. Every poet who in any way touched the Theban cycle of myths was compelled to bring in the riddle of the Sphinx. The comic poets delighted in entertaining their audiences by formulating riddles in which they castigated the follies of society. The titles of some of the comedies suggest that they were written in mockery of an affectation for enunciating enigmas; *e.g.*, Eubulus gave one of his comedies the title *Sphingokarion*, *i.e.* a slave who, like the Sphinx, is full of riddles. Theocritus puts enigmatical sayings into the mouths of his shepherds, and Virgil imitates him. The Jews of mediæval times cultivated them with zest as a means of intellectual gymnastics and made them an important part of social entertainment.

An interesting scientific problem is the occurrence of the same riddle among peoples far removed geographically, and belonging to distinct ethnological groups. Gaston Paris, in his preface to Rolland's *Devinettes ou énigmes*, calls attention to this striking phenomenon. One of his examples is a folk-riddle. Its French form is:

'Je vais, je viens dans ma maison,
On vient pour me prendre;
Ma maison se sauve par les fenêtres
Et moi je reste en prison.'
Answer: Le poisson et le filet.

The Scotch form is:

'The robbers cam tae oor hoose
When we were a' in;
The hoose lap out at the windows
And we were a' ta'en.'
Answer: Fishes caught in a net.

Gaston Paris states that this riddle circulates in Russia and among the Lapps; that it has been found among the Chinese and the Negroes of W. Africa; that it is also current among the Basques. Three hypotheses have been propounded to explain the occurrence of a riddle like that just quoted among peoples far removed from each other. (1) A common origin has been postulated. (2) The transmission of the riddle from one race to another has been suggested. Both theories are inadequate to explain the occurrence of the same riddle among two races as far separated as the Scottish and Chinese. (3) The hypothesis which attributes the similarity to the identity of the constitution of the human mind is now very generally accepted.

This view does not entirely exclude the possi-

[1] Paris, 1646.
[2] F. Schiller, *Parabeln und Räthsel*, 8 (*Sämmtliche Werke*, 12 vols. in 4, Leipzig, n.d. i. 202).
[3] *Alexis und Dora*, line 25 f.
[4] Cf. *ZDMG* xiv. [1860] 697 ff., xx. [1886] 589 ff.

bility of literary borrowing, which is quite probable in the case of riddles with a prominent place in literature. Writers have undoubtedly helped themselves to what tradition furnished and have not hesitated to refurbish an older enigma. A notable example of this is the riddle which, according to tradition, Homer failed to solve (see next col.).

ὅσσ' ἕλομεν λιπόμεθα, ὅσ' οὐχ ἕλομεν φερόμεθα,
'What we had we lost, what we did not have we kept.'

The same riddle circulated in the Middle Ages in Latin and the popular vernacular;[1] for these versions the hypothesis of literary transmission is more reasonable than that of the identity of the human mind. K. Simrock[2] calls attention to the fact that many Greek riddles also circulate in German and Scandinavian versions. The resemblances may usually be traced to literary influences, but great caution should be used in accounting for these similarities especially in the case of the spontaneous folk-riddle.

6. Uses.—The riddle played an important part in the intellectual and social life of antiquity as well as in the Middle Ages. With the ancients it was a literary form employed for serious purposes in the spheres of politics, philosophy, and religion. Many of the most prominent figures of history are renowned because of their ability either to formulate riddles or to interpret them. Of Biblical characters Solomon and Daniel live in history as skilful in the solution of dark sayings and enigmas.[3] The esteem in which such skill was held among Jews of a later time may be judged by the ascription of similar gifts to hypostatized Wisdom.[4] Monarchs of renown are represented as engaged in contests with one another in the solution of riddles. Solomon and Hiram of Tyre engaged in such competition; the former was continuously successful until his rival called in the assistance of a famous magician Abdemon.[5] A Greek legend tells how Amasis, king of Egypt, engaged in a similar contest with the king of the Ethiopians.[6] The Egyptian monarch sent for aid to Bias, the wisest of the Greeks. In the life of Æsop we read of a riddle contest between a Babylonian king Lycurgus and Nectanebo of Egypt; the former is continuously victorious through the assistance of Æsop. Alexander the Great, during his campaign in India, summons Hindu sages before his throne and challenges them to solve riddles of his own propounding. Even the gods are represented as indulging in this pastime; Jupiter proposes a riddle to King Numa.[7] The Longobards had a custom of propounding riddles to their deity Gwodan which they expected him to solve—a custom suggesting the seeking of oracles.

Frequently the contest by riddle was serious enough to involve life and death. The contestant who was vanquished lost his life. Competitions of this kind occurred among the rhapsodists, both Indian and Greek. The epic poem, *Melampodie*, attributed to Theognis, contains an account of a riddle contest between the two famous seers, Calchas and Mopsus. According to one tradition, the former is victorious; according to another, the latter; but in either case the vanquished loses his life. The authority of Plutarch supports the legend of a struggle of this type between Theognis and Homer, in which the latter is worsted and dies of mortification. In the Theban legend the Sphinx destroys those who fail to solve her riddle, and, when Œdipus is successful, the monster hurls herself over a precipice. There are modern Greek legends in which the failure to solve a riddle costs a man his life. A monster living in a castle propounds a riddle and gives forty days for its solution. Unfortunate is the person who fails, for the monster devours him. The resemblance to the story of the Sphinx is evident. In the *Mahābharata* the legend takes another form: the hero Yudhishthira frees two brothers from the fetters of a monster by the solution of a riddle. Teutonic legends are of similar import: in the so-called *Wartburg-Krieg* there is a deadly riddle contest between Odin and the giant Wafthrudhnir, and another instance has been immortalized by Schiller.[1] In certain parts of Germany the boy who fails to solve a riddle is greeted with such expressions as: 'Er ist des Henkers,' 'Muss sich zum Henker scheeren,' 'Kommt in die Hölle,' 'Ist todt.'[2] These expressions may be relics from the times when the unsuccessful competitor actually lost his life.

In other legends the winning of a bride is made to depend on the solution of a riddle by the suitor. This custom was known in the India of Vedic times, and also appears in the Norse legend which represents Thor as promising his daughter to the dwarf Alvis on condition that the latter answers a long list of perplexing questions. This feature is present in the Theban Sphinx legend, for the hand of Queen Jocasta was promised to the man who would be successful in solving the famous riddle and thereby freeing the land from the ravages of the monster. On the other hand, failure to solve the riddle often cost the suitor his life.[3]

7. Riddles in social life.—The propounding and solution of riddles was included in the merry-making that formed a part of wedding festivities. Samson's riddle, already quoted, is not the only instance of such a use preserved in literature; Samson's Greek compeer Hercules, although uninvited, goes to the wedding of Keyx and joins the rhapsodists in the solution of riddles.

Plato is responsible for the statement that riddle-making was a favourite pastime with lads in his day;[4] when the Romans came under Greek influence, the boys were instructed in the forming of enigmas.[5] In the best days of their history the banquets of the Greeks were something more than drinking-bouts; intellectual pleasures were cultivated, and prominent among these was the riddle, which was the delight not only of poets and philosophers, but also of the masses. The banquet was under the control of a symposiarch, under whose direction the riddle passed from person to person. The successful guesser won a prize; those who failed paid a penalty. Usually the prize was the laurel-wreath, and the penalty consisted in drinking unmixed wine or wine mingled with salt water.[6] Aulus Gellius[7] describes an Athenian dinner-party of his day (A.D. 2nd cent.): the host propounds a riddle to each of his guests; the winner receives the laurel-wreath or the copy of a

[1] Symphosius (6th cent.) gives it in Latin:
'Est nova notarum cunctis captura ferarum
Ut si quid capias, id tecum ferre recuses,
At si nil capias, id tu tamen ipse reportes.'
Pierre Grognet gives it in Latin and French as it circulated in the Middle Ages:
'Ad silvam vado venatum cum cane quino:
Quod capio perdo, quid fugit hoc habeo.'
The French version runs:
'A la forest m'en voys chasser
Avecques cinq chiens à trasser.
Ce que je prens, je pers et tiens,
Ce qui s'enfuyt ay et retiens.'

[2] *Das deutsche Räthselbuch*, 3 vols., Frankfort, 1853–63.
[3] 1 K 10[1-13], 2 Ch 9[1ff.], Dn 5[12. 25], Sir 47[15]; Jos. *Ant.* VIII. v. 3.
[4] Wis 8[8]. [5] Jos. *Ant.* VIII. v. 3, *c. Apion.* i. 18.
[6] Plutarch, *Conviv. Sept. Sap.* viii.
[7] Ovid, *Fast.* iii. 339–346.

[1] Cf. *Turandot*.
[2] E. L. Rochholz, *Alemannisches Kinderlied*, Leipzig, 1857.
[3] Cf. Schiller's *Turandot*. [4] *Rep.* v. 479.
[5] Grammarian Pompeius.
[6] We are indebted to Athenæus for these details (xi. 457).
[7] *Noctes Atticæ*, viii. 2 ff.

rare book. Sometimes a money prize was offered. With the Jews of the Middle Ages, according to Abrahams,[1] riddles were a regular table game, and all the great Jewish poets of this period composed acrostics and enigmas of considerable merit.

8. **Riddles in religious ceremonies.** — The strangest use of riddles to the modern mind is in connexion with religious rites and ceremonies. Among peoples of primitive culture enigmas are asked and answered in the proximity of a corpse or at harvest time. Among the Bolang Mongondo (Celebes) riddles are never asked except when there is a corpse in the village. In the Aru archipelago, while a corpse is uncoffined, watchers propound riddles to each other or think of things which others are to guess. This practice is evidently rooted in animism, and enigmatical language may be used to puzzle the spirit of the departed. A reminiscence of this custom seems to linger in Brittany, where old men are accustomed to seat themselves on grave-stones and ask each other riddles after the friends of the deceased and the mourners have gone home. Among the Akamba of British E. Africa boys and girls at the time of circumcision interpret pictographs which are termed riddles. At harvest time the riddle is looked upon as a charm which may make or mar the crops. The Alfoors of the Central Celebes engage in riddle-guessing during the season when the crops are tilled and are growing. On the solution of a riddle they exclaim: 'Make our rice to grow, make fat ears to grow both in the valley and on the heights!' Animistic conceptions probably underlie this custom, and the prayer is to be regarded as addressed to the spirits of the ancestors.

(*a*) *Oracles.*—The answers of the Greek oracles were usually couched in a riddle or enigmatical statement. In this connexion it is exceedingly suggestive to note that Aristophanes[2] terms the answers of oracles *γρῖφοι*, a word commonly used for riddles. The oldest Greek riddle is the answer of the oracle to Minos, king of Crete. As oracles were consulted before important political undertakings and military campaigns, the significance of the enigma in Greek life cannot be overestimated.

E.g., immediately before entering upon the disastrous Sicilian expedition, the Athenians consulted the Delphic oracle; as a reply the Pythia commanded the Athenians to bring the priestess of Athene from Erythræa. This enigmatical reply turns about the name of the priestess Ἡσυχία ('Rest').[3]

The riddle was specially adapted for oracles because it was puzzling and consequently impressive, and at the same time concealed ignorance of the future.

(*b*) *At festivals.*—Riddles formed a part of the ritual at the festival of Agrionia, sacred to Dionysus. In the rites of this festival women first sought for the god as if he had been lost. When they had ceased their quest, they exclaimed: 'Dionysus has betaken himself to the Muses.' Then there followed a sacred meal at which these worshippers propounded and answered riddles (*αἰνίγματα καὶ γρῖφους*).[4] It is probable that a similar custom prevailed at other religious festivals; at least an allusion has been discovered to it in a fragment of the poet Diphilus. A riddle contest between three maidens in connexion with a feast of Adonis on the island of Samos is referred to in his comedy entitled *Theseus*. The *Laws of Manu* enacted that riddles were to be asked at the *śrāddha* feasts. One of the enactments may be quoted:

'Whatever may please the Brâhmaṇas, let him give without grudging it; let him give riddles from the Vedas, for that is agreeable to the manes.'[5]

[1] *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, p. 132.
[2] *Birds*, 970. [3] Plutarch, *de Pyth. orac.* xix.
[4] Plutarch, *Conviv. Sept. Sap.* viii. [5] iii. 230.

(*c*) *In Vedic hymns.*—Vedic literature reveals a unique use of riddles in religious ceremonies and in metaphysical speculation. It is most suggestive that the Vedic word *brahmodya*, or *brahmavadya*, is a designation for a poetic religious riddle, as well as a term descriptive of speculative discussion. Etymologically the word denotes 'analysis of the Brahma.' In one of the Vedic hymns[1] the description of Agni is put in the form of a riddle:

'Who among you has understood this hidden (god)? The calf has by itself given birth to its mothers. The germ of many (mothers), the great seer, moving by his own strength, comes forward from the lap of the active ones.' (The mothers are waters.)

The famous riddle hymn of Dirghatamas is a part of the *Rigveda*.[2] It contains 52 verses, of which all except one are riddles. The theme of this hymn is theosophy and theosophical speculation which revolves about cosmic phenomena, mythology, and human organs. The hymn may be characterized as a poetical expression of primitive Hindu philosophy in enigmatical language. It was intended to be used by priests as they offered sacrifices. The most striking use of poetic riddles or charades, to 'enliven the mechanical and technical progress of sacrifice by impressive intellectual pyrotechnics,' was in connexion with the famous horse-sacrifice, or *aśvamedha*. This part of the ritual was conducted by two priests, one asking the riddle and the other giving the answer.[3] These riddles are so unique in the history of religion that they are worthy of special notice.

At the horse-sacrifice one priest asks: 'Who, verily, moveth quite alone; who, verily, is born again and again; what, forsooth, is the remedy for cold; and what is the great (greatest) pile?'

The answer is: 'The sun moveth quite alone; the moon is born again and again; Agni (fire) is the remedy for cold; the earth is the great (greatest) pile.'

The priest called *hotar* asks the priest called *adhvaryu*, 'What, forsooth, is the sun-like light; what sea is there like unto the ocean; what, verily, is higher than the earth; what is the thing whose measure is not known?'

The answer is: 'Brahma is the sun-like light; heaven is the sea like unto the ocean; (the god) Indra is higher than the earth; the measure of the cow is (quite) unknown.'

Again, the following questions and answers: 'I ask thee for the highest summit of the earth; I ask thee for the navel of the universe; I ask thee for the seed of the lusty steed; I ask thee for the highest heaven of speech.'

'This altar is the highest summit of the earth; this sacrifice is the navel of the universe; this *soma* [the intoxicating sacrificial drink] is the seed of the lusty steed [god Indra?]; this Brahman priest is the highest heaven [*i.e.* the highest exponent] of speech.'

(The translation is that of Bloomfield.)

LITERATURE.—I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, London, 1896, p. 384 ff.; *GB*[3], pt. vi., *The Scapegoat*, do. 1913, p. 121 ff. and *passim*; J. B. Friedreich, *Gesch. des Räthsels*, Dresden, 1860; G. Gerber, *Die Sprache als Kunst*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1885; G. Jacob, *Altarabische Parallelen zum AT*, do. 1897, p. 181.; M. Jäger, 'Assyrische Räthsel und Sprüchwörter,' in *BASS* ii. [1894] 274 ff.; F. E. König, *Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 12 ff.; L. Löw, *Die Lebensalter in der jüdischen Literatur*, Szegedin, 1875, p. 346 ff.; K. Ohlert, *Rätsel und Gesellschaftsspiele der alten Griechen*, Berlin, 1886 (indispensable for a study of Greek riddles); E. Rolland, *Devinettes ou énigmes populaires de la France*, originally published, Treviso, 1628, new ed., with preface by Gaston Paris, Paris, 1877 (valuable); A. Wünsche, *Die Räthselweisheit bei den Hebräern*, Leipzig, 1883 (an important monograph). Other literature has been mentioned either in the body of the art. or in the notes.

JAMES A. KELSO.

RIDICULE.—See ABUSE.

RIGHTS.—T. E. Holland, as a preliminary to his account of rights in the legal sense of the term, has defined 'a right generally' as 'one man's capacity of influencing the acts of another, by means, not of his own strength, but of opinion or the force of society.'[4] The definition is useful as bringing out the complex character of the idea of

[1] I. xcv. 4. [2] I. clxiv. 46.
[3] M. Bloomfield, *The Religion of the Veda*, New York, 1908, p. 215 ff., also an art. in *JAOS* xv. [1892] 172; cf. M. Haug 'Vedische Rätselfragen und Rätselsprüche,' *SBAW*, 1875, ii. 4.
[4] *Elements of Jurisprudence*[9], p. 82.

right. It implies, as he goes on with excellent lucidity to indicate, the fourfold relation between (1) the subject or person who has the right, or the 'person entitled'; (2) the person who has the corresponding duty, or 'the person obliged'; (3) the object over which the right is exercised; and (4) the act of forbearance which is exacted. The definition further emphasizes the important fact that for the existence of a right in the full sense of the word recognition is necessary, and it properly distinguishes between those rights which rest merely on the approval of public opinion (subsequently by an unfortunate choice called 'moral rights') and those which are protected by legal enactment, or 'legal rights.' On the other hand, the definition fails in so far as it uses 'society' in a sense either too wide or too narrow—too wide in so far as it ignores the different forms of social organization, each with its own system of rights and duties, of which society in general consists (family, school, church, etc.), too narrow if it is intended to exclude reference to the rights of nations. And this criticism leads to another. The definition contains an implicit denial not only that, besides the rights actually recognized by society, whether by its law or by its public opinion, there are rights founded on the requirements of human nature itself—things that are rights simply because they are 'right'—but also that there is any essential relation at all between the adjectival and the substantival meaning of the word.[1] A science like jurisprudence has of course a right to define its terms in the way most convenient for its own special purpose. But that is a different thing from claiming that its use expresses the only legitimate or the most fundamental use of the term. In opposition to this it may be claimed that any definition of right generally must be defective which fails to indicate what this relation is. In the present article, written from the point of view of ethics and religion, the main object will be to supply this omission. In the attempt to do so it will be convenient to preface the main subject with a short statement (1) of the origin and development of the idea of individual rights, and (2) of the chief theories that have been held as to the ground of rights, with the view of leading up to (3) a more inclusive definition, and suggesting some deductions and applications to current problems of the rights of individuals and nations which may serve as a verification of its conclusions.

I. *DEVELOPMENT OF THE IDEA OF INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS.*—It is by this time a commonplace of sociology that in early forms of society, so far from finding a stage at which individual thought and action are free from the pressure of the social environment, we have one in which the mind and will of individuals are dominated by the collective mind as expressed in the customs of the group. This subordination is nowhere better illustrated than in the history of the idea of right. If we turn to the early use of δίκαιος in Greek literature, we find it in Homer[2] simply in the sense of possessing rules or customs, and as in this sense the mark of civilized life, in contrast to the mannerless Cyclops. Between this and the use in Thucydides and Xenophon in such phrases as δίκαια ποιεῖν and δίκαια ἔχειν there is a wide gap. In these a moral reference to things that not only is it the rule to do, but that may be claimed by the individual as by right, has emerged, and we might think (particularly in the latter phrase) that we have reached an explicit acknowledgment of the idea of the 'rights' which the individual in turn 'possesses.' But the student of Greek ethics knows that in its classical exponents there is as yet no word corresponding to either 'rights' or 'duties' in the modern sense. We have to wait another generation before, in the Stoic τὰ καθήκοντα, we have the definite specification of things that are right to be done as definitely 'belonging' to the individual. Even here we are still far from the idea of these as implying corresponding 'rights.' In early Roman law itself, which did so much to develop the idea of personality, the idea of duty, as Maine has pointed out, is far more prominent than that of rights.[1] What Roman law effected was to translate the Stoic idea of personality and the 'law of nature,' which personality embodied, into terms of civic relationships and so, by conceiving of a universal justice or right of nations,[2] to pave the way for the recognition of the further idea of rights that belonged to an individual independently of his membership in a particular society. Thenceforth one might say that the development of the two ideas, the legal and the moral, proceeds *pari passu*, seeing that the idea of the individual as a personality with rights as *against* society is at once the creation of the recognition of him as endowed with rights *in* society and an important factor in the development of the claim for this recognition itself.

The story of the spectral analysis of the law of nature into the prismatic colours of 'natural rights' is a long one.[3] The chief influence was undoubtedly the Christian religion, appealing on the one hand to a primitive state of freedom and equality, on the other hand to a relation of man to God which was essentially a personal one. But these seeds of the idea of the rights of man had to await a soil congenial to them, which was first found when English tradition and temperament led to a revolt against social and political despotism in the time of Wyclif.[4] By the middle of the 17th cent., and still more by the 18th, the claims of rights, in both Old and New England, were already deeply tinged with individualistic theory as to the nature of government. It was under this influence that Milton declared that 'all men were naturally born free . . . born to command and not to obey';[5] that a century later Blackstone wrote:

'The principal aim of society is to protect individuals in the enjoyment of those absolute rights which were vested in them by the immutable laws of nature';[6]

and that even Burke, in the midst of his violent protest against the doctrine of absolute rights, formulates a doctrine of society laying stress on the idea of rights rather than duties:

'Civil Society is an institution of beneficence, and law itself is only beneficence acting by a rule. Men have a right to justice; they have a right to the fruits of their industry, and to the means of making industry fruitful. They have a right to the acquisitions of their parents; to the nourishment and improvement of their offspring; to instruction in life and consolation in death. Whatever each man can separately do without

1 On p. 84 the writer congratulates the English language on having two words, 'law' and 'right,' which enables it to keep those meanings apart, and commiserates other languages which, like German, have only one, and have thus involved writers in endless disputes as to their relation to each other. The reader, however, may compare this contrast with Bentham's even more pungent strictures on the ambiguity of English as compared with French usage, enabling it to slip from the moral to the political use of 'right,' as Don Quixote from one saddle to another without changing horses (*Works*, ii.).

2 Liddell and Scott, *s.v.*

1 Holland, who quotes this view, refers to the interesting illustration of the same priority in Japanese law, which had no word for 'right' until the suggestive phrase 'power-interest' was coined by a Japanese writer on Western public law in 1868.

2 It is important to realize that the Roman *ius gentium* is the right common to all nations, not *international* right.

3 Reference should be made to artt. INDIVIDUALISM and INDIVIDUALITY.

4 See art. INDIVIDUALISM, vol. vii. p. 221b. On the influence of Scriptural ideas on the Peasant Revolt see D. G. Ritchie, *Natural Rights*, p. 8, and on the men of the Commonwealth, *The Clarke Papers*, ed. C. H. Firth, 4 vols., London, 1891-1901, *passim*.

5 Quoted in W. Wallace, ***Lectures and Essays on Natural Theology and Ethics***, p. 215.

6 Quoted *ib.*

trespassing upon others, he has a right to do for himself; and he has a right to a fair portion of all which society with all its combinations of skill and force can do in his favour.'[1]

These passages are sufficient to show the close connexion between the development of the idea of right in its later phases and the development of theory.

But, before turning to this, we may notice how the circumstances which made religion the main influence in the development of the idea of rights in the middle period explain also (what otherwise might seem an inversion of the natural order) why, looked at from the side of the nature of the rights themselves, the claim to spiritual rights should have preceded the claim to political rights and the claim to economic rights should have lagged behind both. While it may appear that the movement here is from the more inward to the more outward and material, in reality it was in the first place from condition to the conditioned, and in the second from the more formal and abstract to the more substantial and concrete. Doubtless the instinctive sense of human capacities in the individual, as dependent for their development on the active assistance of society 'in the removal of all removable obstructions,' was operative from the first. But it was only through freedom of thought and speech and some measure of political power that this sense could make itself articulate and the way could be prepared for the establishment of the conditions of substantive freedom. Add to this once more the influence exercised upon the development of men's ideas as to their rights by powerful forms of abstract theory as to the ground of rights in general and as to the sphere of law, and it is not difficult to understand why, from the side of the content, the fuller idea of the rights of the individual, and of his claim to the active assistance of society in the recovery of the 'lost title-deeds of humanity' in the sphere of material well-being, has been so late in developing.

II. *THEORIES OF THE GROUND OF RIGHTS.*—**1. Theory of the Social Compact.**—If what has been said as to the history of the idea of rights is sound, we may expect to find that, while ancient theories of the nature of justice as we find them from the time of the Sophists downwards are susceptible of translation into terms of rights, the problem of the ground of rights in explicit form is essentially a modern one. It was not till the question of the rights of the subject was definitely raised in 16th cent. England that theories as to their origin and ground came to be central in political thought. It must be sufficient here to select the more typical. From the outset responsible thinkers have worked under a profound sense of the moral or inward reference contained in the conception of rights. It was in this spirit that modern theory at its outset sought for the source of legal rights, not primarily in the will of another, but in the will of the members of society themselves expressed in a compact.

The theory of rights as founded on compact has taken two forms according to the view of human nature from which it starts.

(*a*) '*Might is right.*'—Starting from the conception of a state of nature (as in Hobbes's well-known account of it) as a war of all against all, not only law and government but society itself is conceived of as resting on a compact whereby individuals agree to resign their natural but barren right to all things in order to secure a limited portion guaranteed by the overruling might of the sovereign. The ground of a man's rights on this view may be said to be his own will to peace and security; but, as he has renounced all right to control of the actual conditions of peace, it is only by a fiction that he can be said to will the rights that are actually assigned to him. These depend on the will of another. But, as on the side both of sovereign and of subject there exists no other reason for loyalty to the contract but fear, the logical outcome would seem to be that rights resolve themselves into mights. This was concealed from Hobbes by his ambiguous use of 'natural rights.' Spinoza perceived the ambiguity and, by purging the theory of this inconsistency, claimed to have 'preserved natural right safe and sound in the civil state'—robbed it, in other words, of its saving grace.[1]

The view that right rests on no other basis than might, however contrary to men's instinctive judgments, once suggested, has much to support it in the violent origin of many forms of society and in the imposition of conditions of life that depend on the will of the stronger; and, under the influence of some modern ideas of the meaning of the struggle for existence, it has recently assumed a new importance as applied to the rights of nations. It must be sufficient here to notice the objection to it that is at once the most obvious and the most fatal.

If we look at society as it actually is at any stage of its development, instead of a community of crouching slaves it presents the appearance of a willing and orderly interchange of services involving mutual rights and duties, however little consciously recognized in this form. In all societies at some stage of their development there are conditions so remote from the ordinary interests of individuals that their place in this order of mutual service is obscured and they are resented as 'interferences' with them. But, if the mass of the conditions of life were of this kind, no society would hold together for a day. Custom in society, like habit in the individual, which has been called 'the great fly-wheel of life,' may reconcile to isolated inconveniences, but customs as a whole (as sociologists are now agreed) represent ways of action that have been more or less consciously selected as the best adapted to secure, under the circumstances and beliefs of the time in which they arise, the satisfaction of fundamental instincts and to further common interests. Impotent to mould customs, the power of the stronger is more likely to be broken by than to break them if it measures itself against them, and it remains true that the system of rights and duties under which men live is supported in the last resort not by might but by the general sense that it is in harmony with their ideas of the kind of life which they desire to live.

(*b*) *Natural rights.*—It was the perception of this fact that led to the second form of the social contract theory as it was held by Locke and profoundly influenced political thought for a century and a half after him. According to this theory, society is natural. Law and government are instituted, not to hold it together, but to guarantee certain fundamental rights which are endangered by the weakness of the social element in its members—chiefly those of life, liberty, and property. The contract here is not of the citizens with one another, but between the citizens as a body and the sovereign for the time. The substance of it is that law and government shall concern themselves with the maintenance of the conditions which may preserve these rights to the individual. A theory of this kind would appear to involve a purely utilitarian idea of the basis of the rights which society recognizes, but the idea of a law of nature which had fixed these fundamental rights as some-

[1] Quoted in Wallace, p. 215.

[1] *Ep.* l. For the clearer statement of his view see the posthumous *Tractatus Politicus*, ch. ii. There are of course other elements in Spinoza's philosophy which lead to a totally different conclusion.

thing absolute and imprescriptible in the individual was by this time too strong and was for the present sufficient to overpower the appeal to general happiness, which in England was more congenial to the temper of the succeeding age.

On this view an antithesis is set up between the quite definite standard of social enactment and the quite indefinite idea of rights inalienable from the individual. It was vain to try to define these rights as life, liberty, property. Such words are only the names of things entirely indefinite in meaning and scope until we know what is the kind of life, what use is to be made of liberty, wherein the 'right' to property precisely consists. In the result the claim to natural rights was merely the removal from the meaning of right of any reference to a standard other than what Ireton had long ago called 'that wild and vast notion of what in every man's conception is just or unjust.'[1] Any attempt to translate such a view into practice could only end in despotic forms of government—Cromwellian or Napoleonic, as the case might be. When pressed in theory, it was no less bound to issue in reaction in favour of the claim of the State to assign the limits of individual right on its own principles and so lead back by another route to might as the one standard of right.

2. Utilitarian theory.—The way to this reaction was prepared by the appeal to utility in such writers as Jeremy Bentham, who could see nothing in the doctrine of natural rights but 'anarchical fallacy.' It was metaphysics, and that worst form of metaphysics, 'metaphysics upon stilts.'

'Rights are the fruits of the law, and of the law alone. There are no rights without law—no rights contrary to the law—no rights anterior to the law.'[2]

Law doubtless is the declaration of a will on the part of individuals to whom other individuals are generally disposed to render obedience; but this disposition to obedience is the result, not of any harmony of the law with natural rights, but chiefly of habit supported by a sense or 'calculation' which each individual makes for himself as to what he stands to gain or lose by breaking away from it.[3]

The theory thus stated has the advantage over natural right in perceiving that rights must be relative on the one hand to actual concrete interests, and on the other to the good of society. But, in conceiving of the one concrete interest as consisting in the sum of satisfactions of desires that are qualitatively identical, and of the control of society as concerned merely with the arrangements that will give each individual the maximum of freedom in the pursuit of such satisfactions with a minimum of the inconvenience which any interference involves, this advantage is counterbalanced by the disappearance of all distinction between interest and right. From the side of ethics, this means that duty becomes an empty word; from the side of politics, that there can be no appeal to a 'right' in contradistinction to convenience. True, the convenience is that of society. But this convenience is merely what is required to produce an average of satisfaction among the individuals and is without claim on any one of these except in so far as it coincides with his own. It is not to be wondered at that such a view should be employed to justify alternately the purest anarchy, as in the once popular doctrine of *laissez-faire* (*q.v.*), and the purest tyranny, as in the exaltation of the State as the creator of all right. Utilitarianism does not of course escape the necessity of appealing to an 'ought' or a 'to be' as opposed to what is. There is to be 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number'; with a view to it, 'everybody is to count as one, nobody as more than one.' But for whom is this a 'to be'? Not for the individual, to whom 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number' is nothing. Not for society, which, apart from the individuals who compose it, is nobody at all. If 'natural rights' are metaphysics upon stilts, 'utility' is metaphysics in the air.

3. Idealistic theory of rights.—The development of what for want of a better name may be called the idealistic theory of rights is the history of the attempt to do justice to the partial truths which these one-sided theories represent. We know from Plato's dialogues how far current theory had gone in the assertion of the doctrine that might is right and of the contractual theory which we have seen is required to supplement it.[1] His own theory of justice he develops as a direct answer to it. But his treatment of justice as a general feature of the good life rather than a particular phase of it obscures its application to the question of rights. What emerges is that the aim of civic society is to do the fullest justice to the capacities of individuals by assigning each his place in an organized system of social purposes. Aristotle's treatment of the same subject enables him in a well-known passage[2] to face more directly the issue raised by the Sophists as to the existence of a natural or, as it would be better expressed, an essential right. His conclusion amounts to the denial of any hard and fast line between the natural and the conventional. Law is partly natural, partly conventional. In all laws there is an element that is universal and one that is particular to the circumstances: they all, *e.g.*, condemn theft, but the penalty will be different. In the same spirit a distinction is made elsewhere[3] between universal, or common, law and the ἴδιος νόμος of the particular community. Some have seen in this an anticipation of the 'law of nature' as understood by 18th cent. writers. Aristotle's treatment of law and government elsewhere, as having for its aim the realization of what is best in man,[4] must exonerate him from all responsibility for what D. G. Ritchie has called the 'turgid river of rhetoric' on this subject that has flowed through modern politics.

While the Epicureans reverted to the Sophistic theory of right as founded on convention, the Stoics rose to the conception of human law as an imperfect embodiment of a law of nature identical with the Divine Reason. We have already seen how this conception was more fertile on the negative than on the positive side—in the condemnation of artificial distinctions between races and castes than in the assertion of the rights of individuals as souls of infinite possibilities. To the Roman lawyers the appeal to a *ius naturale* meant merely the appeal, as in Gaius, to laws that were common to all nations.[5]

In Aquinas the law of nature appears, not only side by side with civil law, but as the foundation of it. As something deeper than human law and institution, forming a pattern on which they should be modelled, it thus receives new authority. From a mere statement of what is common to nations it becomes a precept 'to use those means by which life is preserved, to marry, educate children to know the truth about God and live in society.'[6]

1 *Clarke Papers*, i. 264. In this sense it merges in what is sometimes called the 'intuitional theory' of rights, but is only a tame expression of the other.
2 Jeremy Bentham, *Works*, iii. 221.
3 *Ib.* p. 219.

1 *Rep.* bks. i.–ii.
2 *Eth. Nic.* v. 7.
3 *Rhet.* i. 13.
4 Particularly *Pol.* i.
5 Ulpian extended the *ius naturale* to all living things. This enabled him to assert that, while slavery existed 'iure gentium,' 'by the law of nature all men at the first were born free.' We have here a transition point from the idea of natural law as merely a fact and natural law as providing an ideal of human life. If we take the codification of law by Justinian as the last act of the ancient world, we may call this idea the sacred legacy of the dying civilization.
6 *Summa*, i. 2, qu. xciv. art. 2.

In other respects he leaves the doctrine very much as he inherited it from Aristotle.

If not, as he has been called, the discoverer of natural rights, Grotius (*q.v.*) was the first clearly to assign them a ground in man's social nature, to map them out, and more particularly to apply them to the life of nations. In opposition to Ulpian, Grotius maintained that law and right apply in the proper sense only to human beings: 'no one is properly capable of right who does not by nature use general precepts.' Animals may have rights in the wide sense that there is a right and a wrong attitude of mind towards them, but not in the sense that they can share in a common purpose involving correlative rights and duties. The natural law on which natural rights are based is defined as 'the dictum of right reason indicating that any act from its agreement or disagreement with the rational and social nature of man has in it a moral turpitude or a moral necessity, and consequently that such an act is forbidden or commanded by the law of God.'[1] From this and from his further definition of human nature, here referred to as the nature that was 'created at the beginning and restored first after the Flood, then by Christ,' he makes it abundantly clear that he has in mind an ideal right, after the pattern of which the actual body of rights has to be moulded, and to which God Himself must conform His will.[2] However true Rousseau's criticism[3] of him may be respecting the details of his great work, it is wide of the mark as to the principle from which he starts. His weakness rather is one that is shared by Rousseau himself—his inability to free himself from the current ideas of a state of nature and of the State as 'an artificial body' founded on a 'treaty of subjection' which modifies natural rights. To this we must add a certain ambiguity in his treatment of society itself, which sometimes is conceived of as possessing a continuous life of its own 'like a waterfall,' at other times as a mere aggregate of individual wills. What was of enduring value in his work was the first clear assertion in modern philosophy of social good as the basis of all law and justice, and the application of this principle to the life of nations at a time when Europe was aghast at the horrors of the Thirty Years' War. As Plato asks us to look at justice writ large in the State before looking at it in the individual, Grotius writes his claim for natural or essential rights in the large letters of international law.

Rousseau (*q.v.*) has frequently been treated as the chief modern representative of the theory of the social contract. Carlyle disposes of him with the satirical remark that he unfortunately omits to tell us of the date of the contract. As a matter of fact, Rousseau's idea of the social contract is entirely different from Locke's, involving as it does a 'total surrender' of the individual to the general will. Moreover, it seems doubtful whether he conceives of it as an historical event at all. It forms, indeed, his starting-point, and is the title of his great book, but it becomes more and more obvious that it is merely 'an idea in the form of history.' Similarly the state of nature from which it is the release is little more than a name for the natural passions which have to be transformed in the civil state which first reveals man's true nature and puts him in possession of himself as a moral being. Finally, natural law as it appears in Rousseau is more properly called the law of reason,[4] seeing that the rights to which it gives rise are the dictates, not of a state of man antecedent to society, but of the moral nature to which civil society has raised him. It is this transformation that allies Rousseau with Plato rather than with Hobbes and Locke and entitles him to be considered the founder of modern idealistic politics. It only remained to clear away the last adhesions of these cruder theories and to bring into decisive prominence the relation between the ethical ideal of a completely human life and the system of rights as actually recognized whether by public opinion or by legal enactment.

[1] *De Iure Belli et Pacis*, bk. i. ch. i. § x. 1. [2] *Ib.* 2.
[3] 'Sa plus constante manière de raisonner est d'établir toujours le droit par le fait' (*Du Contrat social*, bk. i. ch. ii.).
[4] C. E. Vaughan, *Political Writings of Rousseau*, Cambridge, 1915, i. 17.

III. *MODERN THEORY.*—In taking this step modern theory has been aided by the growth of the historic spirit enabling it to see that, while we must reject the idea of a voluntary engagement laying down conditions of acquiescence in social control, there has yet been operative from the first something more than power to enforce the particular will of individuals or classes upon society, something more also than the mere habit of acquiescence in forms of control that accident has created. By whatever name this is called, whether an imperative of the practical reason and personality (Kant and Fichte), the Idea (Hegel), the will to self-perfection (T. H. Green), it is their conformity to this and the scope that is given by them to its operation that are the ultimate ground and standard of rights. While the system required by it is an ideal, it must be conceived of, not (as it was apt to be by the first of these writers) as belonging to another order than actual political society and unrealizable in it, but as the very spirit and substance of the existing order. From this point of view, right presents two aspects. It may be defined, on the one hand, as 'that which is really necessary to the maintenance of the material conditions essential to the existence and perfection of human personality'; on the other, as 'the universal condition of action through which the ethical whole as a differentiated structure is enabled to preserve and develop itself.'[1] But these two definitions are only different ways of expressing the same thing, seeing that the personality to which all rights are relative is not something merely individual, but is actualizable only in the medium and through the opportunities that the organized whole of society provides, while, on the other hand, this whole, as an 'ethical' one, can attain its full differentiation and perfection only through the fullest development of the personality of its members.

The theory thus shortly stated has the advantage of combining the elements of truth which other more one-sided theories contain. With the theory of might it recognizes *on behalf of the State* that there must always be a reserve of force to guarantee rights in general against the invasion of force, *on behalf of individuals and classes within the State* that under particular circumstances the use of force may be necessary in order to procure the recognition of moral rights not otherwise procurable. It insists, however, that the use of force requires justification and that the justification can come only from the nature of the ends for which force is used. It recognizes with the contract theory that all rights are the expression of a will. But it adds that this cannot clothe them with any moral significance if it is only the 'scattered will' of individuals bent on their own ends with no really common interest in the form of life that civil society makes possible. What gives actual rights moral significance is that they are the conditions which each, when he understands the meaning of his own life, must will for the full realization of what he seeks to be. Similarly the element of truth represented by utilitarianism is recognized in so far as the validity of any claim of right is denied which is not founded on some concrete requirement of a social well-being. Where

[1] See T. H. Green, *Works*[5], ii. 341.

this theory parts company with it is in rejecting the conception of social well-being as consisting merely in the possession by the members of equal security in the pursuit of ends essentially individual. The idea which it substitutes will best be illustrated if we proceed to notice some corollaries which follow from the above statement.

The principles underlying the conception of rights, to repeat, are (1) that rights in the full sense of the word are relative to human personality as it may be at its best; (2) that personality expresses itself in activities that are in essence social. From these it follows (i.) that there is no 'level rate' of rights. Rights vary according to the power of performing social functions and to the character of the function that is performed. The rights of the child differ from the rights of the adult as possibility differs from actuality; the rights of a doctor from the rights of a layman; of a member of Parliament from those of an ordinary citizen, and so on. From this point of view, we can see that *rights imply duties in a deeper than the legal sense. They are correlative not only to the duties of another, but to the duties of the subject of right himself.*[1] (ii.) What holds of the occupants of different stations in society holds also of the individual in so far as he performs different functions in the different relations in which he stands to his fellow-citizens in different spheres of activity. His rights as a parent differ from his rights as a member of a trade; his rights as a trade unionist from his rights as a member of the State; his rights as a citizen from his rights as a member of the brotherhood of humanity. (iii.) From this again it follows that *conflict of rights arises not so much (as in the older view) between an abstraction known as the individual on the one hand and an abstraction called society on the other, as between the rights and duties that attach to an individual in virtue of his membership of different social groups.* This, it may be claimed, corresponds to what has actually taken place in modern times when the chief problems arise from the adjustment of conflicting claims of organized societies rather than of individuals with the State. But it may also be said that, by interpreting all rights as alike concerned with the conditions of human perfection, the above theory raises new problems peculiar to itself which call for particular treatment in an article like the present.

1. **The rights of conscience.**—The principle is that the ground of all rights is the opportunity that they afford for the betterment of human life. So regarded, they are seen to constitute a system or hierarchy corresponding to the system of interests which constitute the contents of human life and stand to one another in the relation of importance according to their comprehensiveness. It is this that justifies a man in sacrificing his duty and his right to support his family by the labour of his hands to his duty and rights as a trade unionist in a strike, or, again, his rights as a trade unionist to the State. The latter has priority over the former as the more inclusive. The principle here seems clear, however difficult the application to practice may on occasions be. But a difficulty remains which seems to be one of principle rather than of application in the case of rights that appear to fall outside of the hierarchy of social functions altogether and concern a man as interested in objects—truth, beauty, and goodness—that may be called supra-social. On any one of the other theories it is possible to cut the knot, whether by the frank subjection of the individual to the State, or of the State to the individual, or by a distinction between the temporal and the spiritual whereby the spiritual is assigned to conscience and religion, the temporal to civil law. But on a theory like the present, which sees in all rights, civic or other, the conditions of a spiritual perfection, no such resource is available. Such a solution must end either in irreconcilable antagonism or in a new form of subjection of conscience and religion to the State founded on some arbitrary or speculative consideration of superior right.[1] For the fuller discussion of the rights of conscience and the age-long controversy between Church and State see artt. EMANCIPATION, CONSCIENCE, CHURCH. But two points here call for mention as further implied in the conclusions of this one. (1) With regard to the rights of conscience, we must be prepared to insist that no solution is possible which fails to recognize from the point of view of the individual the claim of the modern State to be the trustee, not only of law and order in the ordinary sense, but also of all that man has already willed of the good within its own borders and therewith of the conditions under which both individuals and Churches can realize their aims. On the other hand, it is equally essential for the State to realize its own profound interest in the improvement of the system of rights already established so as to make it a fuller expression of the personality of its members, and particularly its interest in the widest possible extension of a liberty of thought and speech and action as the primary condition of the development of the best in its members.

'What policy,' asks Spinoza, 'more self-destructive can any nation follow than to regard as public enemies men who have committed no crime or wickedness save that of freely exercising their intelligence?'[2]

(2) From the side more particularly of religion and the Church, we have to note that theory here only justifies what as an actual fact has taken place in the transference to State and municipality of functions that previously belonged to the Church, and that this fact contains the promise of reconciliation. For may it not be asked whether the claim of the modern State to interest itself in the active promotion of the good life through education and the encouragement of activities and institutions that have the spiritual welfare of its members at heart, is not one of the most valuable fruits of the awakening of conscience and religion in recent times? And, if this is so, whether there is not a certain perversity in the view that the recognition of State and Church as engaged in a common enterprise of redemption is a source of rivalry and conflict rather than of sympathy and friendship? A more reasonable view surely is that it has removed the ground for antagonism of aims and laid the basis of a more fruitful co-operation. In view of this change there is doubtless all the more pressing need for agreement as to the particular nature of the services which each can best perform, and much remains here for the statesmanship of the future, particularly in the spheres of education and charitable administration. But agreement will be helped and not hindered by a theory such as the above which interprets the rivalry as one, not for the possession of abstract rights, but for opportunities of service in a common cause. As in any other attempt at the assignment of spheres of co-operation in the achievement of a corporate end, the chief condition of success is good will, the desire to see the Kingdom of Right extended in the way and by the agency best fitted to that end.

[1] 'Since the general and the particular will are identical, right and duty coincide. By virtue of the ethical fabric man has rights so far as he has duties and duties so far as he has rights' (Hegel, *Philosophy of Right*, § 155).

[1] See Hegel's claim for the State against *Moralität* on the one hand and religion on the other (§ 270, note).

[2] *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, ch. xx., the first and still perhaps the best philosophical statement of this interest.

2. The rights of nations.—We have already seen how the idea of the 'right of nations' was launched by Grotius and his successors as a challenge to the barbarities of the Thirty Years' War. In the centuries which followed its wide acceptance may be said to have been the greatest triumph of civilization since the establishment of the general idea of law in the Roman world. But the term itself, along with the phrase 'international law,' invented by Bentham, was in reality a misnomer, not only in the sense already noticed (that it was a mistranslation of the Roman *ius gentium*), but in the sense that it referred primarily to societies as political units and not to nations in the modern sense of the word. So interpreted, idealistic theory, with its conception of the body politic as the trustee of the conditions under which individuals and subordinate societies are free to exercise their capacities of contributing to the fulfilment of human destiny, has had no difficulty in accepting it, and, in spite of apparent exaggerations of State right, may be said to have only set its seal to this advance. But the question does not end there. Since the rise in the second part of the 19th cent. of the idea of nationality, in the strict sense of the word, a new problem has emerged and in recent years has become acute. Granted that States are personalities in the sense explained and share the rights of personality, many of them may be said to be multiple personalities, inasmuch as they include a variety of groups whose members are united by the deeper ties of community of blood, language and literature, religion and historical tradition.[1] When these suppressed personalities rise to consciousness of themselves, does not the claim, it may be asked, to be the guardian of a particular form of civilization entitle them to that political independence which alone enables them to realize their own particular destiny?

'What form of human life,' asks J. C. Bluntschli,[2] 'could have a better natural right to existence than the common spirit of a nation?'

What guarantee, we may add, of *purposeful* existence can there be short of a self-chosen political constitution corresponding to its own peculiar genius? Other things being equal, it would seem that a nation-State will be stronger and happier, not only, as Lawrence puts it,[3] than a State which is not a nation, but than a nation which is not a State. And, if for strength and happiness we substitute, in accordance with our principle, the test of contribution to human good, the plea would appear to be indisputable, and we are face to face with the problem of rights in its most recent and acute form. No detailed discussion of so large a question is here possible; it must be sufficient to notice one or two of the chief difficulties in the recognition of the rights of nations, and to indicate the line of solution that is most in harmony with our theory.

Not only do language and nationality in themselves, apart from territorial unity, appear to be a principle far too shifting to afford the coherence necessary to constitute a corporate personality, but in themselves they fail to give any guarantee of the political capacity necessary to give effect to it. Even if territorial unity and a true political sense exist in a subject nation, there remains the difficulty that its history and ideals may be such as to provide no guarantee that, in case of its obtaining political independence, it will continue to contribute to the strength of the State from which it has been separated. While constituting the most serious problem that the statesmanship of the future has to face, these difficulties seem to offer no insurmountable obstacle to the application of the principle. On the contrary, the only fear of failure to solve them comes from the side of the denial or half-hearted acceptance of it. With reference to the first of them, admixture of population is undoubtedly an obstacle to any complete adoption of the principle of nationality as the basis of the State of the future. But it must be remembered that, powerful as is the case for the nation-State, there is no reason to hold, apart from obsolete theories of natural right, that nationality is the only ground of citizenship. The cases of France, Great Britain, and Canada, to go no farther, are sufficient to show not only that it is possible to leave large room for national ideals under a sovereign State, but that the State itself may be the gainer from the diversity of nationalities which it holds in solution.

The other difficulties which we have mentioned bring us again to the question of the whole conception of the State. It was the grave defect of older theories, resting as they did on the assumption of a limited fund of rights, in the sharing of which the gain of one was the loss of another, that they were bound to bring the State into conflict with the idea of nationality, when this should rise to consciousness, as they were bound to bring it into conflict with other forms of individuality. The conflict is reconciled in the case of the latter when this assumption is seen to be false, and the function of the State is conceived of as the development in its parts of a personality in its members, which adds to its inherent life and strength. It only remains to apply the same principle to nationalities. Nations not less than individuals are the children of the State. It is under its wing that they grow up and reach maturity. Whatever the independence they claim when they reach majority, it is with the parent State that an alliance is most natural and is most likely to result in some new form of political union, which shall at once protect them against aggression from other nationalities and open out means of contact with them to the furtherance of the organic unity of mankind.[1]

From this standpoint there is no more inherent difficulty in recognizing the political majority of nations than in recognizing the civil majority of individuals. True, there can be no conventional limit to the minority of nations and it will always be difficult to assign one. In the past the question has too often been left to be decided by 'the judgment of God'—in other words, by war. But modern precedents have made us familiar with all degrees of personality in communities,[2] and it may be hoped that, with the development of international law and the diminishing risk of experiments in self-government, other tests than that of the sword may be discoverable. Here, too, it should be noted that, apart from disputable theory, there is no reason to deny the possibility of circumstances arising under which the claim of nationality may have to give way to the general interests of humanity, on which it is itself in the last instance founded. In such a case the readiness of a nation to recognize this limit and to exercise the required degree of patience and self-control would itself be the surest proof that it was ripe for independence, when these circumstances change.

Under the same supposition, finally, the fear of danger to the parent State from the grant of independence would largely disappear. Even as things are, we pay far too little regard to the power of ties other than force, and of the additional affection between peoples likely to be born of a franker confidence in one another's loyalty to the elementary con-

[1] See art. NATIONALITY.
[2] *The Theory of the State*, Eng. tr., Oxford, 1885, p. 93.
[3] *The Principles of International Law*[4], p. 55 n.

[1] See C. Delisle Burns, *The Morality of Nations*, ch. iv., 'The State and Nationality.'
[2] See Lawrence, § 37, 'The kinds of fully sovereign international persons,' and the following sections.

ditions of human good, to guarantee the desire for the maintenance of some form of political union.

It is considerations such as these that provide a solid basis for the hope that, just as the horrors of the Thirty Years' War prepared the way for the general acceptance of Grotius's idea of international right in the old sense of the word, so the horrors of the Great War may result in the general recognition of it in the new sense. Given such a recognition, it will be impossible to stop short of the attempt to provide the necessary sanctions to the new order, and so, in the words of a great statesman of the time, 'to translate the idea of public right from abstract into concrete terms' by substituting 'for force, for the clash of conflicting ambitions, for groupings and alliances and a precarious equipoise, a real European partnership based on the recognition of equal rights established and enforced by a common will.'[1]

LITERATURE.—No exhaustive list of books could be attempted. The following may be consulted:

i. *LEGAL VIEW OF RIGHTS.*—T. E. Holland, *Elements of Jurisprudence*[10], London, 1900; J. Lorimer, *Institutes of Law*[2], Edinburgh, 1880; F. Pollock, *Essays in Jurisprudence and Ethics*, London, 1882.

ii. *HISTORY OF THE IDEA AND THEORIES OF RIGHTS.*—Hobbes, *Leviathan*, London, 1651; Spinoza, *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, Amsterdam, 1670, tr. R. Wallis[2], London, 1868; Grotius, *de Iure Belli et Pacis*, Amsterdam, 1621, tr. W. Whewell, 3 vols., Cambridge, 1853; Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, London, 1690, bk. ii., 'Of Civil Government'; Rousseau, *Du Contrat social*, Amsterdam, 1762, tr. J. Tozer[2], London, 1902; Bentham, *Works*, 11 vols., ed. J. Bowring, Edinburgh, 1838–43, *passim* (see references above).

iii. *MODERN THEORY.*—Kant, *Die Metaphysik der Sitten*, i., 'Metaphysische Anfangsgründe der Rechtslehre,' Königsberg, 1797; Fichte, *Grundlage des Naturrechts*, 2 pts., Jena, 1796–97, tr. A. E. Kroeger, London, 1889; Hegel, *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts*, Berlin, 1820, tr. S. W. Dyde, London, 1896; T. H. Green, *Lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation*, London, 1895, also in *Works*[3], do. 1896, ii. 334–553; D. G. Ritchie, *Natural Rights*, do. 1895; W. Wallace, *Lectures and Essays on Natural Theology and Ethics*, Oxford, 1898, 'Natural Rights'; B. Bosanquet, *The Philosophical Theory of the State*[2], London, 1910; J. N. Figgis, *From Gerson to Grotius*, Cambridge, 1907; T. J. Lawrence, *The Principles of International Law*[4], London, 1910; C. Delisle Burns, *The Morality of Nations*, do. 1915; *An Introd. to the Study of International Relations*, by various authors, do. 1916; art. NATIONALITY.

J. H. MUIRHEAD.

RIGHT AND LEFT.—See CIRCUMAMBULATION, vol. iii. p. 658; SUN, MOON, AND STARS (Introductory).

RIGHT AND WRONG.—See ETHICS AND MORALITY.

RIGHTEOUSNESS.

Babylonian (T. G. PINCHES), p. 777.
Buddhist (E. J. THOMAS), p. 778.
Christian—
Old Testament (A. R. GORDON), p. 780.
Christ's teaching (W. C. ALLEN), p. 784.
St. Paul's teaching (J. DENNEY), p. 786.
Christian theology (A. F. SIMPSON), p. 790.
Egyptian (A. M. BLACKMAN), p. 792.
Greek and Roman (P. SHOREY), p. 800.
Hindu (A. B. KEITH), p. 805.
Jewish (J. ABELSON), p. 807.
Muhammadan (B. CARRA DE VAUX), p. 810.

RIGHTEOUSNESS (Babylonian).—In a new study, such as that of Assyriology, in which the meanings of the words have to be determined, there is naturally a certain amount of doubt as to their precise force; and it may even be that words which the Assyro-Babylonians would have regarded as of the utmost importance remain unrecorded in our lexicons, because they have not been found in the inscriptions, do not occur often enough, or have been incorrectly transcribed.

1. The words generally rendered 'righteousness.'—These are *kittu* (*kêttu*) and *mîšaru* (*mêšaru*), 'righteousness' and 'justice,' which are, in a measure, interchangeable terms, the former being from *kânu*, 'to be firm, fixed,' and the latter from *ešēru*, 'to be straight, right,' the Heb. *yāshar*, the root of such names as Jasher (2 S 1^{18}), Jesher (1 Ch 2^{18}), 'uprightness,' etc. Both *kêttu* and *mîšaru* are common attributes of gods and men, the deities more especially connected with the idea being Šamaš, the sun-god (who, as his light penetrates everywhere, was regarded as knowing best all that took place on the earth, and who became the impartial judge of men), and Rammānu (Rimmon) or Addu, in Assyrian Adad (Hadad), the storm-god, whose air, pervading all things, had the same property, and perhaps to a more satisfactory degree.

2. What the Babylonians understood by righteousness.—One of the most interesting, though probably not one of the most important, inscriptions dealing with this question is that formerly called 'Warnings to Kings against Injustice.' This inscription, which is published in *WAI* iv.[2] pl. 48 [55], shows what righteousness on the part of the ruler was expected to be. He was to favour justice and to be well-disposed towards his people, his princes, and the intelligent ones of his land. He was not to favour roguery. When the king was favourable to the work of Êa (the god of wisdom), the great god would set him in the knowledge and understanding of righteousness (*šitultu u tudat mîšari*). If he rejected the Sipparite, and decided in favour of a stranger, Šamaš (patron-god of Sippar), judge of heaven and earth, would set up a foreign law in his country, and princes (counsellors) and judges who did not decide against the law.

Much in this inscription is still obscure, mainly on account of the damage which it has sustained; but it seems that, among the Babylonians, as with the Hebrews, failure to fulfil the righteous requirements of the deity might, and sometimes did, entail that the rule of the land fell into the hands of foreigners, a noteworthy example being the rule of 'the dynasty of Babylon,' to which Ḫammurabi belonged. This great king, as is now well known, collected and greatly improved (to all appearance) the laws of Babylonia, and he calls himself, in the concluding paragraphs of the great stele on which his laws are inscribed, the 'king of righteousness' (*šar mîšarim*). Minor rulers, and even states, could come under the displeasure of the deity on account of unrighteous acts.

3. The importance of righteousness in the State.—Naturally in the remote ages of the Babylonian and Assyrian empires, when good government was less common than now, corruption and injustice were often rife, and it was needful, in cases where the angered populace might get the upper hand, for the king and all others in authority to have at least a reputation for righteousness, justice, and all the virtues which might at the time be regarded as connected therewith. This, with the Assyro-Babylonian ideal of their gods, caused the people to attach great importance not only to justice in the legal sense of the word, but also to everything that made the person of the king sacred in their eyes—uprightness, integrity, love for his people, and fair and benign conduct with regard to them. Divine beings, in the minds of the Babylonians and Assyrians, were perfect in righteousness by nature, and (with the exception, perhaps, of Nergal, the god of war, plague, and disease, and

[1] Henry Asquith, Speech in the House of Commons, 20th Dec. 1917.

others similar) probably could not do anything which might be regarded as unrighteous, though capable of acts of which the righteousness could not be understood. Whatever they did, they were just in all their dealings, and the king generally shared, though in a smaller degree, this immunity from unrighteousness. Indeed, it is probable that the deification of the earlier Babylonian kings was due to the reputation which they had for righteousness rather than to any divine nature that they might have inherited independently thereof.

4. Gods of righteousness.—As has already been noted (above, § 1), the gods of righteousness and justice in the highest sense were Šamaš, the sun-god, and Hadad. The two children and constant attendants of Šamaš were Kêttu and Mîšaru, perhaps best translated here 'Truth' and 'Righteousness.' Another form of the sun-god was Tammuz, the Sumerian Dumu-zi, for Dumu-zida, 'the righteous son,' or the like—a name which may be connected with the legend that he passed the summer months of his year on earth with his spouse Ištar and the remainder in the under world with Ereš-ki-gal (Persephone), righteous in the fulfilment of what the Semites of old must have regarded as at least an irksome obligation. It was probably this that appealed to the women who lamented for him, whether Hebrews (Ezk 8^{14}) or Babylonians.

5. Righteous kings.—One of the earliest kings renowned for his righteousness seems to have been Sargon (Šarru-kên) of Agade. It is this ruler who is apparently intended in *WAI* ii. pl. 48, l. 40ab, where the archaic sign for 'king,' written twice, one over the other, and glossed *Dadrum*, is explained as *Šarru-kên, šar kêtti, dabib kêtti, dabib damqāti*, 'Sargon, king of righteousness (justice), speaker of righteousness (justice), speaker of good.' Eight hundred years later (*c.* 2000 B.C.) ruled Ḫammurabi, and fourth in descent from him came Ammi-ṣaduga (Ammi-ṣadoqa), whose name is translated, in the explanatory list of royal names, as *Kimtu^{m}-kêttu^{m}*, 'the righteous family,' or the like (the Babylonians did not recognize the name of the Arab god 'Amm in the element *ammi*). In Assyria one of the kings claiming the virtue of righteousness was Sennacherib, and his grandson, Aššur-banî-âpli, 'the great and noble Asnapper,' it may be noted, calls himself *šar mîšari, raim kêtti*, 'the king of righteousness,' 'the lover of uprightness,' or the like.

6. Other references showing the estimation in which righteousness was held.—Among these are the final words of the record of Bel-nadin-âpli:[1] *Limutta zêr-ma kêtta raam*, 'Hate evil and love right (or righteousness)'; such names as Nabû-kêttu-uṣur, 'Nebo, protect righteousness (or justice)'; *Itti šalme u kîni kasap-šu ilaqqi*, 'He will receive his money from the honourable and the righteous.'[2] 'The star of justice and righteousness' (*kakkab kêttu u mêšar*) seems to have been the slow-moving planet Saturn (^{d}*Sag-uš*), identified, seemingly, with the sun, and called, in Sumerian, *mul Gi-gi* (for *Gin-gin*)—a reduplication capable, apparently, of being translated by *kânu* and *šêru* (see § 1), and illustrating, therefore, the likeness in meaning which *kêttu* and *mîšaru* to all appearance have.

LITERATURE.—W. Muss-Arnolt, *A Concise Dict. of the Assyr. Language*, Berlin, 1905, *s.vv.*

T. G. PINCHES.

RIGHTEOUSNESS (Buddhist).—There are several words in the Buddhist writings which coincide more or less completely with the idea of righteousness; but the principles in which they are embedded are so fundamentally distinct from the Jewish and Christian background of Western ethics and religion that a mere comparison of terms would do little to elucidate the significance of righteousness in the Buddhist system. The term 'righteousness' (*δικαιοσύνη*), as descriptive of conduct in human relations, coincides with morality. For this purely ethical sense see art. ETHICS (Buddhist). The term is generally used, however, with a religious implication. In Christian thought it is the notion, not of ideal human inter-relations, but of the conformity of the individual to a divine standard. God as absolute moral perfection is the ideal of righteousness.

'The NT presents the idea of righteousness mainly in two ways: (1) as a quality of God's nature and action, and (2) as the character which God requires of man.'[1]

Buddhism differs from this in two ways: (1) it recognizes no God in the sense of an ultimate reality of ontology or morals; (2) it makes salvation consist not in the attainment of a moral ideal, but in escape from existence. The rejection of works in both systems is merely a superficial resemblance. Christianity rejects works because of the inability of unaided human effort to reach the standard of ideal goodness. Hence the need of justification, the bringing of the individual into a state of righteousness by a higher agency. Buddhism rejects them because no amount of merit attained by good works will lead to the goal.

But in the conception of righteousness as a law of the universe, a divine standard to which all beings should conform, there is a close parallel in the Buddhistic teaching as to *karma*.

'In the organic universe, right and wrong, and those consequences of actions which we call justice, retribution, compensation, are as truly and inevitably a part of the eternal natural or cosmic order as the flow of a river, the process of the seasons.'[2]

The ideal of the Christian consists in attaining the character required by God and thus winning 'the chief end of man'—the being made 'perfectly blessed in the full enjoying of God to all eternity.' Buddhism is quite as definite in teaching that the order of the universe is such that wrong-doing leads to punishment and right-doing to reward. Good actions done according to this conception are as much a form of righteousness as when done according to the will of God. Such teaching, however, so far as it exists in Buddhism, is intended merely for the unconverted man. The universe is not of such a nature as to make future existence, with even the highest rewards that it can offer, a desirable goal. A much more prominent fact is the existence of pain, and this to the Buddhist is a truth of such significance that, when it is realized, it inevitably results in renunciation of the world—not of this world as contrasted with heaven, but of any form of existence in the universe. Moral actions then cease to have the meaning that they had for the unconverted man. He who has renounced the world no longer makes conformity to the law of the universe his end. He seeks to cut himself off from it absolutely. He has another ideal of attainment, which is the true Buddhist ideal of righteousness—the state of the saint, or *arhat*, who has become independent of the universe and free from any desire for it. This is the ideal of the Hīnayāna schools, and it will be necessary to discuss the later Mahāyānist developments separately.

1. The Hinayāna ideal.—It is not in particular terms that we find righteousness expressed in the Buddhist writings. The term 'righteousness' is often used in translations, where the force is purely ethical. We are told of the virtuous king who ruled 'in righteousness' (*dhammena*), but nothing more is meant than that he ruled according to his

[1] H. V. Hilprecht, *Assyriaca*, Boston, 1894, p. 18 *f.*, l. 24.
[2] P. Haupt, *Akkad. und sumer. Keilschrifttexte*, Leipzig, 1882, p. 66, ll. 24–26, tr. from the Sumerian.

[1] G. B. Stevens, in *HDB* iv. 284^{b}, *s.v.* 'Righteousness in NT.'
[2] C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, p. 118.

dhamma—the principles of morals that he professed to follow.[1] He is also called *dhammika*, 'righteous,' in the same sense. Similar terms are *dhammaṭṭha*, *sīlavat*, 'virtuous,' 'obeying the commandments' (*sīla*), and *charaṇa*, 'righteousness,' also translated more exactly as 'conduct.' The blessings of the virtuous man are that he becomes wealthy, famous, has self-confidence in any assembly, dies without bewilderment, and is reborn in heaven.[2] All this is part of the popular teaching to the laity, to those who have not grasped the first truth of Buddhism. But, except in the high ethical level of the teaching due to the founder, there is nothing distinctively Buddhistic in it.

The Buddhist ideal of righteousness is the ideal aimed at by the monk, the man who has realized at least the first Truth, the existence of pain. To realize the other three Truths involves a course of training, whereby he attains to the perfect state of the saint. He aims no longer at meritorious actions, but at developing in his character the qualities that lead to salvation and abandoning those that hinder it. The latter are seen most clearly in the list of the ten fetters (*saṃyojana*).[3] Not merely must vicious acts be avoided, but sensuality itself (*kāma*), ill-will (*paṭigha*), pride (*māna*), and arrogance (*uddhachcha*) must be uprooted. And so among the positive qualities to be acquired we find friendliness, compassion, sympathy, equanimity. Here is a process which, if carried out, would lead to righteousness in the sense of the attainment of moral perfection, but it is not the final goal. These qualities are important because they lead to it—*i.e.*, to absolute cutting off from existence and craving for existence in the world of birth and death. Besides the desire for existence here or in the sensual heavens there are other fetters which must be destroyed—desire even for all supersensual existence (*rūparāga*, *arūparāga*), belief in the efficacy of good works and ceremonies, as well as the intellectual errors, belief in a permanent self, doubt, and, last of all, as the ultimate fetter, ignorance. So, too, the chief positive quality to be attained is knowledge—knowledge, not of an ideally pure being, but of the true nature of compound things, that they are painful, impermanent, and soulless; and the truth of their soullessness (*anattatā*) is the Buddhist way of asserting that there is no higher reality behind them.

Earlier than these schematized lists of the fetters, or bonds (*nīvaraṇa*, *āvaraṇa*),[4] is the picture of the monk given in the *Sutta Nipāta*. Intent on the extinction of craving, he wanders alone like a rhinoceros (35), free from affection for wife and children, without even a companion, unless he finds one who keeps the *Dhamma* (46). He practises absolute continence (*brahmachariya*), avoids all theories and disputations (780), abandons doubt and heresies, aims at purity (*visuddhi*)—not at mere moral purity, but, as the other terms show, at being independent (*anūpaya*, *anissāya*) and undefiled (*anūpalitta*) by contact with mundane things—and he is purified by knowledge or wisdom (*paññā*, 184).

2. Mahāyāna developments.—The chief ethical change in Mahāyāna was due to the growth of the view that it is possible to attain, besides the knowledge of the Path, also the omniscience of a Buddha. Every one is potentially a Buddha, and by the thought of enlightenment (*chittotpāda*) he may begin to become one by passing through numberless existences in which his aim is not merely to become a Buddha in order to teach, but also to acquire merit, which may be transferred to others. He is then a *bodhisattva* (*q.v.*), and is thus described:

'He has for numberless æons practised the good conduct of well done *karma*, alms, morality, patience, fortitude, meditation, wisdom, resource, learning, conduct, vows, and penance; he is endowed with great friendliness, compassion, and sympathy; in his mind has arisen equanimity, and he strives for the weal and happiness of all beings.'[1]

This, although it reintroduces the doctrine of works, at least as a temporary resource, is a much fuller and loftier conception than that which makes the practice of friendliness and compassion merely a means to one's own release. But the practical result was not to make this the ideal for all. It opened at the same time an attractive way for the ordinary man to obtain happiness, not by effort of his own, but in reliance on the *bodhisattvas*, who have accumulated merit for his benefit. Rebirth in Sukhāvatī ('the Happy Land,' the heaven of the Buddha Amitābha) is the reward of those who call upon the name of Avalokiteśvara (see art. BLEST, ABODE OF THE [Buddhist]).

The prayer of a *bodhisattva* in the *Bodhicharyāvatāra*,[2] x., is:

'May all those in every quarter, who are afflicted with pain of body and mind, win through my merits oceans of delight and happiness. Throughout worldly existence may loss of happiness never be theirs. . . . In whatever hells there are in the world-regions may there be the bodies of beings rejoicing in the happiness and delights of Sukhāvatī, those who suffer in the cold hells obtaining heat, and those pained with heat becoming cool.'

This is the ideal of self-sacrifice aimed at by a *bodhisattva*, but the centre of the teaching comes to be devotion to such saviours of men. They become more and more raised above the level of common human beings, till they are even identified with the popular gods of Hinduism,[3] and are worshipped with gratitude and adoration as great beings, through whose merits all may reach Sukhāvatī.

'Those beings become happy in the world who keep in their minds the name of Avalokiteśvara. They become released from old age, death, sickness, sorrow, lamentation, pain, dejection. They suffer not the extreme pain of saṁsāra. Robed in pure white, like royal swans flying with the speed of the wind, they go to the region of Sukhāvatī to hear face to face the Doctrine of the Buddha Amitābha. And having heard the Doctrine, the pain of saṁsāra no longer torments their bodies; nor does old age and death with lust, hate, and delusion, nor the pain of hunger and thirst torment them. . . . They abide in that region as long as the firm promise of Avalokiteśvara is not fulfilled to release all beings from all pains, as long as they are not set in the highest perfect enlightenment.'[4]

The latent antinomianism goes on increasing. In the larger *Sukhāvatīvyūha* rebirth in Sukhāvatī is ensured by ten times repeating the name of that country, but those who have committed the five sins that bring retribution in this life, or who have obstructed or abused the Good Doctrine, are excluded. In the smaller *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, however, we are told:

'Beings are not born in that Buddha country of the Tathāgata Amitāyus as a reward and result of good works performed in this present life,' but all shall attain it who 'shall hear the name of the blessed Amitāyus, the Tathāgata, and having heard it, shall keep it in mind, and with thoughts undisturbed shall keep it in mind for one, two, three, four, five, six, or seven nights.'[5]

The ideal of the *arhat*, though it suffered from the abuses common to all organized forms of asceticism, did maintain for long a noble ethical standard. In the legends of the Buddha given by the commentaries on the *Dhammapada* and *Jātaka* we find a series of examples, which, if they are without historical basis, are all the more important in

[1] *Jātaka*, 51. [2] *Dīgha Nikāya*, iii. 236.
[3] See T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism: its History and Literature* (American Lectures), New York, 1896, pp. 142–150.
[4] *Dīgha Nikāya*, iii. 216, 234, 254; *Dharmasaṃgraha*, cxv., lxvii.

[1] *Lalita Vistara*, Calcutta, 1877, vii. 128.
[2] Petrograd, 1894, tr. L. D. Barnett as *The Path of Light*, London, 1909.
[3] In the *Kāraṇḍavyūha*, p. 22 (Calcutta, 1873), Avalokiteśvara is said to take the form of different gods, Maheśvara (Śiva), Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu), etc., in order to teach the Doctrine to the worshippers of these deities.
[4] *Kāraṇḍavyūha*, p. 21.
[5] *SBE* xlix. [1894] pt. ii. p. 99.

showing how the Buddhist church interpreted the ideal of its founder. There is the story of the monk abandoned by his fellows because of his loathsome illness, but visited by Buddha, who heated water, washed and dressed him, in order that by caring for his body he might fit his mind for instruction; of the weaver's daughter for whose sake the Master made a journey of thirty leagues, so that she should not die without enlightenment; of the poor man whose one cake Buddha accepted before the hospitality of the whole city.

The Mahāyāna developments were not an explicit contradiction of the Hīnayāna teaching. The *arhat* ideal was recognized, but disparaged as being merely a temporary stage to be succeeded by the ideal of becoming a Buddha, the perfect enlightenment of whom, indeed, includes the enlightenment of the *arhat*. But the change destroyed the older ideal, so far as it opened a way to happiness through the merits of others. The conception of merit is also unethical. The *bodhisattvas* do not give aid to becoming good, but confer upon others the enjoyment of the results of goodness. Merit is an external source of good, the accumulation of the beneficent result of so much good action, which can be imputed to others who have not, and are not required to have, the moral ability to perform it themselves.

LITERATURE. — The main sources are given throughout. Modern studies on the subject are: T. W. Rhys Davids, *Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by Indian Buddhism* (*HL*), London, 1881, pp. 205–214; H. Kern, *Geschiedenis van het Buddhisme in Indië*, Haarlem, 1882–84, vol. i. bk. ii. ch. 4 (unsympathetic and based on inadequate material), French tr., 2 vols., Paris, 1901; C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, London, 1912, ch. v., 'The Norm as Moral Law'; P. Dahlke, *Buddhist Essays*, Eng. tr., do. 1908, ch. viii.; N. Macnicol, *Indian Theism*, do. 1915, pt. i. ch. 4; L. de la Vallée Poussin, *The Way to Nirvāna*, Cambridge, 1917.

EDWARD J. THOMAS.

RIGHTEOUSNESS (in the Old Testament).

—**1. Terms.**—The technical term for 'righteousness,' צֶדֶק, *ṣédeḳ*, or fem. צְדָקָה, *ṣᵉdāḳāh*, is connected with the Arabic *ṣidḳ*, 'truth,' 'sincerity,' 'firmness,'[1] and denotes generally what is true, right, fitting, or conducive to the end in view. The corresponding adj. צַדִּיק, *ṣaddîḳ*, 'righteous,' is applied only to persons, except in Dt 4⁸, where the 'statutes and judgments' of God are described as *ṣaddiḳim*. The denom. vb. צָדַק is used mainly in the forensic sense of being 'in the right,' the Hiphil הִצְדִּיק, 'justify,' conveying the several ideas of declaring the just man in the right (Dt 25¹, 2 S 15⁴ etc.), helping the innocent to the vindication of his cause (Is 50⁸), and bringing the sinner into right relations with God (Is 53¹¹, Dn 12³). In AV יָשָׁר, *yāshār*, 'straight,' 'upright' (√יָשַׁר, 'be even *or* smooth'), is frequently translated 'righteous,' RV following this looser practice only in Nu 23¹⁰. Nearly related terms are מִשְׁפָּט, *mishpāṭ*, originally in the sense of 'custom,' afterwards specifically of judgment or justice; תָּמִים, *tāmîm*, 'spotless' (in the ceremonial sense), hence also 'perfect' (from the moral point of view); נָקִי, *nāḳî*, 'innocent'; נָכֹחַ, *nākhôᵃh*, 'straight,' 'honest,' 'right'; and כֵּן, *kēn*, 'firm,' 'true,' 'just,' 'fair.'

2. The consuetudinary conception of righteousness.—As among other ancient nations, in Israel righteousness is primarily interpreted in terms of social usage. The righteous man is he who adheres loyally to the moral and religious customs of his people, while the 'wicked' sets them at naught. Thus Abraham's righteousness consists in a scrupulous regard for Jahweh and His commands (Gn 12¹ff.), combined with signal manifestations of that lavish generosity towards one's kindred (13⁵ff.) and hospitality to passing strangers (18¹ff.) which have always been reckoned among the most sacred obligations of the dutiful tribesman. David also identifies 'righteousness' with the magnanimity which he has shown towards Saul, in refusing to 'stretch forth his hand against the Lord's anointed,' even when the Lord has 'delivered him into his hand' (1 S 26²³). In both cases righteousness is perfectly consistent with prevarication or deceit (Gn 12¹⁰ff.) and deeds of fiendish cruelty (2 S 8¹ff. 12³¹) towards the foreigner.[1] On the other hand, the wicked do violence to the just prerogatives of God and their fellows (Gn 6⁵ 18²⁰ff.), working 'folly [*i.e.* godlessness] in Israel' (Gn 34⁷, Jos 7¹⁵, Jg 20⁶. ¹⁰, 2 S 13¹²), and staining their hands by deeds such as have neither been 'done nor seen from the day that the children of Israel came up out of the land of Egypt unto this day' (Jg 19³⁰).

As social life became more complex, it was needful that judges—'able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating unjust gain' (Ex 18²¹ [E])—should be appointed to determine the rightful customs and apply them to changing conditions. The decrees of these judges (*shôphᵉṭîm*) were in due course collected as a body of written 'judgments' (*mishpāṭîm*) in the Book of the Covenant (Ex 20²²–23¹⁹). At the same time righteousness was invested with an increasingly forensic significance. The righteous man was no longer the loyal tribesman, who held fast to the ways of his fathers, but the successful litigant, who won his case in court, and thus acquired the legal status of the 'innocent' (Ex 23⁷), or he who found approval at the bar of impartial human judgment (Gn 38²⁶,[2] 1 S 24¹⁷), or passed the supreme test of Divine justice (Gn 7¹ 20⁴ etc.), or enjoyed a right standing before God through faith (15⁶).

3. The prophetic ideal of righteousness.—The 8th cent. B.C. saw a violent breaking down of the old landmarks. Through the increase of wealth and luxury which followed in the wake of military success, rich and poor were parted by an ever-widening gulf. Forgetful of the Covenant, rich men used their wealth to 'trample the face' of the poor, refusing him an honest wage, ousting him from field and home, and for the debt even of a pair of shoes selling him into slavery (Is 3¹⁴ff. 5⁸ff., Am 2⁶ff., Mic 2². ⁹ 3¹ff.). The merchants in the market-place robbed him equally of the just return of his wages, 'making the ephah small, and the shekel great, and forging scales of deceit' (Am 8⁵). Against such oppression in high places there was neither security nor redress. The judges at the gates openly accepted bribes and perverted justice (Is 1²³, Am 6¹², Mic 3¹¹), while religion itself was made a cloak to cover wrong-doing and cruelty (Is 1¹¹ff., Am 2⁷ff.).

In the moral chaos that ensued Amos raised a stern call to righteousness. Jahweh had no desire for sacrifice or offerings. To Him the very profusion of their gifts was but multiplied transgression (Am 4⁴). Away then with the din of their songs and the strumming of viols! 'But let justice (*mishpāṭ*) roll down as waters, and righteous-

[1] The word *ṣidḳ* and its cognates are applied not merely to words and actions that are honest and true, but likewise to eyes that see clearly, ears that are quick to hear, lances that are trusty in battle, and even knots that hold firmly. From the last instance Skinner is disposed to find in the idea of hardness the point of transition to 'the higher developments of the idea both in Arabic and in Hebrew' (*HDB* iv. 274). But the different shades of meaning can most easily be comprehended under the general notion of trustworthiness, or fitness to purpose. The hard knot and the strong, unerring lance are as true to their function in battle as the seeing eye and the hearing ear to their place in the bodily structure, or the honest man and his deeds to their office in furthering the social welfare.

[1] It is interesting to observe that the more sensitive conscience of the Elohistic writer regards Abraham's act of deceit as one of those deeds 'that ought not to be done,' bringing 'great sin' upon Abimelech and his innocent people (Gn 20⁹).

[2] צָדְקָה מִמֶּנִּי, 'she is more in the right than I,' the only instance where either vb. or adj. is found in the fem., a woman not being considered a 'person' in the eyes of the law.

ness (*ṣᵉdāḳāh*) as an everflowing stream' (5[24]). In this great statement of principle Amos has advanced far beyond earlier conceptions of morality. With him righteousness is no mere body of customs, still less a legal status conferred by fallible authority; it is the living essence of social ethics, embracing alike honesty in business—fair weights and balances, standard wages and prices—and impartial justice in the law-courts. It may be defined, in a word, as 'the straight thing' (*nᵉkhôḥāh*), by which alone the nation can be saved (3[10] 5[14f.]). Around this hard, cold imperative of duty Hosea throws a warmer atmosphere of emotion. As Jahweh has betrothed Israel to Himself 'in righteousness, justice, love and compassion' (Hos 2[19]), He expects them to be actuated by the same spirit towards one another. What He demands above all is love (חֶסֶד, *ḥesed*, brotherly love and kindness), which is the fulfilment of righteousness (6[6]), the ripe fruit of righteousness (10[12]). In Isaiah's keynote of holiness also justice is blended with mercy. The man holy in God's sight must 'put away the evil of his doings' from before His eyes, 'cease to do evil: learn to do well' (Is 1[17]). If a judge or counsellor, he must keep his hands clear of bribes—which lead men to 'justify the wicked,' and deprive the innocent of their right standing in court (5[23])—and not merely seek to judge honestly, but take an active, energetic part in furthering the cause of the widow and fatherless (1[23]).[1] The prophet's ideal for Zion is that of a 'city of righteousness,' whose king and princes exalt justice as the lodestar of government, and whose people dwell together in mutual confidence and security (1[26f.] 9[7] 11[3ff.] 16[5] 32[16ff.]). Micah holds before the rulers and judges of Israel the same pure standard of judgment (Mic 3[1]), and inculcates on all men respect for the threefold principle of a righteous life—'to do justice, and to delight in love, and to walk humbly with thy God' (6[8]). These notes are repeated in Jeremiah and later prophets. The good man is he who 'doeth justly, and seeketh truth' (Jer 5[1]), who 'thoroughly executeth judgment between a man and his neighbour, oppresseth not the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow, and sheddeth not innocent blood' (7[5f.]), who 'delivereth the spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor' (21[12] 22[3]), who 'speaketh the truth with his neighbour, executeth wholesome judgment in the gates,[2] deviseth no evil in his heart against his neighbour, and loveth no false oath' (Zec 8[16f.]), who 'walketh with God in honesty and integrity, and turneth many away from iniquity' (Mal 2[6]). II Isaiah uses 'judgment' (*mishpāṭ*) as the virtual equivalent of religion in its practical aspect (Is 42[1-4]). In Ezekiel's more atomistic conception of righteousness there is a characteristic recrudescence of the ritual element; but the prophet has a true feeling for justice and humanity as the test of righteousness with God. The righteous man, who 'doeth judgment and righteousness,' has not merely kept himself free from idolatry and uncleanness, but 'hath restored to the debtor his pledge, hath spoiled none by violence, hath given his bread to the hungry, and hath covered the naked with a garment; hath not given forth [*sc.* his money] upon usury, neither hath taken any increase, hath withdrawn his hand from iniquity, hath executed true judgment between man and man, hath walked in my statutes, and hath kept my judgments, to do truly . . . saith Jahweh' (18[5-9]). And on the princes, who are to uphold the banner of righteousness in the better Jerusalem that is to come, the injunction is laid: 'Put away violence and spoil, and execute judgment and righteousness; lift off your exactions from my people, saith Jahweh. Ye shall have just scales, and a just ephah, and a just bath. The ephah and the bath shall be of one measure,' etc. (45[9-11]).[1]

4. **Righteousness by the Law.**—With Ezekiel we find prophecy passing into legalism. But the definite step in this direction had already been taken when Deuteronomy was accepted as the canon of faith and morals (621 B.C.). The book itself is steeped in the spirit of the greater prophets. Like them, it insists on justice, humanity, and love—especially towards the widow, the fatherless, and the stranger—as the vital expression of religion, which is identified with love to Jahweh (6[5]). But, in exalting the duties of humanity into 'commandments, statutes, and judgments, which Jahweh your God commanded to teach you' (6[1] 10[12f.] etc.), it shifts the emphasis from willing, cheerful pursuit of moral goodness to the painstaking effort to obey an external Law as the only ground of acceptance with God. The tendency towards nomistic righteousness received a still more powerful impetus from the Law of Holiness (Lv 19–26) and the full-blown Priestly legislation (P), in spite of the former code's sympathy with the poor and needy, and its summing up of the whole Law in the Golden Rule, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself' (Lv 19[18. 34]). Life now became a rule, a yoke of obedience, which pressed ever more heavily on burdened consciences. The pathway to righteousness lay in the keeping of 'all these commandments' (Dt 6[25] 24[13]). To this end the study of the Law was enjoined as the first principle of success in life (Jos 1[8]). Kings were judged good or evil according to the measure in which they kept 'the statutes and judgments' of the Law (1 K 11[9. 33ff.], 2 Ch 7[17ff.] etc.). And men claimed 'good' at God's hand for the 'good deeds' which they had done in observing the Law themselves, and imposing it on others (Neh 5[19] 13[14. 22. 31]).

This nomistic ideal of righteousness more and more pervades the literature of the age. The piety of the Psalms is, no doubt, strongly influenced by the preaching of the prophets. Thus the perfect man of the Psalmists 'walketh uprightly, and worketh righteousness, and speaketh truth in his heart' (Ps 15[2]), 'hath clean hands, and a pure heart; hath not lifted up his soul unto vanity, and hath not sworn deceitfully' (24[4]), 'keepeth his tongue from evil, and his lips from speaking guile; departeth from evil, and doeth good; seeketh peace, and pursueth it' (34[13f.]), 'is gracious, and giveth' (37[21]), 'disperseth, and giveth to the poor' (112[9]).[2] Even so the thought is near at hand that only by such conduct can one become a guest in Jahweh's tent, and dwell in His holy hill (15[1]), secure the Divine blessing of 'righteousness,' *i.e.* the right standing before Jahweh (24[5]), win many days of good (34[12]), even 'inherit the earth' (37[9. 11. 22]), and have his righteousness 'endure for ever' (112[9]). The nomistic ideal finds still clearer expression in Ps 1, 19, 119, where the Law is celebrated as the subject of the good man's meditation by day and night, his joy and crown, the fountain of light and purity, peace, freedom, and defence against evil, and the standard of judgment in the end of the days. In Job, too, the perfect man 'feareth God, and escheweth evil' (1[1. 8]), and rests his claim to appear before God, and be justified, on the ground that he has refrained from all vanity, deceit, and idolatry, and been the constant

[1] This positive conception of judicial righteousness, which throws the stress on the vindication of the innocent but defenceless poor, acquires an increasing importance in the later literature. Cf. Dt 24[17] 27[19], Jer 5[28] 22[15f.], Ps 10[18] 82[3] etc.

[2] The simple force of this phrase has suffered from the intrusion of a second אֱמֶת in MT.

[1] With Ezekiel's demand for just scales and measures cf. Lv 19[35f.], Dt 25[13-16], Pr 11[1] 16[11] 20[10. 23].

[2] In the last citation there is a distinct approach to the Judaistic identification of righteousness with almsgiving (see art. RIGHTEOUSNESS [Jewish]).

friend and upholder of the stranger, the fatherless, and the widow (31$^{16ff.}$). The same idea prevails in Proverbs, though more ethical conceptions are frequent. Righteousness is primarily intellectual, 'to know wisdom and instruction; to discern the words of understanding; to receive instruction in wise dealing [conduct], in justice, probity, and equity' (1$^{2f.}$). The beginning of such knowledge is 'the fear of the Lord' (1^{7} 9^{10}), and this is learned through obedience to the revelation of Wisdom, the foster-child and deputy of God (7$^{1ff.}$ 8$^{1ff.}$), who rewards all those who love her with riches and honour, 'yea, durable riches and righteousness' (here equivalent to prosperity, or good fortune, the result of a right standing before God), but the wicked with calamity, which sweeps over them like a whirlwind (1$^{24ff.}$ 3$^{13ff.}$ 8$^{17ff.}$).

In books like the above righteousness is not identical with sinlessness. Even the best men are guilty in God's sight. If He were quick to mark iniquities, none could stand in His presence; but with Him there is forgiveness, that He may be feared (Ps 130$^{3f.}$). Thus Job can maintain his 'righteousness' (6$^{29f.}$ 10^{7} 13^{15} etc.) in spite of the fact that 'mortal man cannot be in the right before God' (4^{17} 9$^{2.}$ $^{20f.}$ 19$^{6ff.}$ etc.). In Proverbs, too, righteousness is used in the sense of general rectitude. The righteous man is he who fears God and follows truth and uprightness, even though some measure of sinfulness may cling to him, while the wicked man despises both God and wisdom. Ecclesiastes, on the other hand, seems to identify righteousness with the perfect keeping of the Law, though he warns his readers against being 'righteous overmuch,' lest the spring of life be lost in the endeavour, for 'there is not a righteous man upon earth, that doeth good, and sinneth not' (Ec 7$^{16.}$ ^{20}). His ideal is the *via media* of moderate well-doing, which avoids extremes on either side (2^{24} 3$^{12f.}$ 7$^{16f.}$ 9$^{7ff.}$). The editor of the book, however, insists on the full nomistic rule of life: 'Fear God, and keep his commandments; for this is the whole duty of man. For God shall bring every work into judgment, with every hidden thing, whether it be good or whether it be evil' (12$^{13f.}$).

5. The righteousness of God. — Primitive morality is never merely human. Society includes gods as well as men, and the gods are conceived as the upholders of social order, the source and sanction of public justice. Thus righteousness rests fundamentally on the Divine character and will. This idea runs through the whole OT. Jahweh is the fountain-head alike of the rightful customs of His people and of the later 'statutes and judgments' imposed by the authority of judges and lawgivers. In interpreting these customs and statutes, the judge is His mouthpiece (Ex 18$^{13ff.}$ [E], Dt 17$^{8ff.}$). The moral codes likewise are His 'words,' which reflect His character and express His will (Ex 20^{1}, Lv 18$^{1ff.}$, Dt 6^{1} 7$^{8ff.}$ etc.). The prophetic expositions of righteousness are equally the oracles of Jahweh and spring from the righteousness which is His by nature. Jahweh demands 'justice and righteousness' because He is faithful and righteous (Is 5^{7}, Am 5$^{23f.}$, Zeph 3^{5}), love because His righteousness is seasoned with love (Hos 2$^{14f.}$ 11$^{1ff.}$ 14$^{1ff.}$), tenderness and compassion because the devouring fire of His holiness is a spirit of redeeming grace as well as judgment (Is 1$^{18f.}$ 4$^{3f.}$ 6$^{5f.}$). The plummet by which Jahweh is to rebuild Jerusalem is a plummet of righteousness (1^{27} 28^{17}), and the line of peace and abiding prosperity for her and all the world is the line of 'judgment and righteousness' (11$^{5f.}$ 32$^{16f.}$ 33$^{5f.}$). But nowhere is righteousness divorced from love and mercy. Jahweh will be gracious unto His people and will have mercy upon them; 'for Jahweh is a God of judgment' (30^{18}). He is a God that 'exerciseth love, justice, and righteousness in the earth' (Jer 9^{24}) and correcteth His people 'with judgment, not in anger' (10^{24}). Love and justice are, as it were, the two poles of the Divine character, each essential to the full harmony of His nature. In various passages of the Psalms they appear in poetic parallelism, as though love were the twin-sister of justice (Ps 33^{5} 36$^{5ff.}$ 89^{14} 101^{1} 103^{17} 111$^{3f.}$ 116^{5} 119^{149}).

With the prevalence of the forensic conception of righteousness, Jahweh came to be regarded as the Supreme Judge of men and nations. And it was felt from the first that 'the Judge of all the earth' must do right (lit. 'act according to *mishpāṭ*') in distinguishing sharply between the righteous and the wicked (Gn 18^{25}). This thought of an impartial Judge, putting the just man in the right and condemning the wicked, appears in many different contexts. Thus He wipes out the sinful world, but saves 'righteous' Noah (6$^{5ff.}$). He overwhelms Sodom and Gomorrah, but rescues Lot (19$^{12ff.}$). He smites Pharaoh and the Egyptians with all manner of wonders, but lets His afflicted people go free (Ex 3$^{20ff.}$). He blesses them so long as they keep the Covenant, but takes vengeance upon them when they depart from it, even to the extent of driving them from the land which He has given them to inherit (Dt 7$^{12ff.}$ 11$^{1ff.}$ etc.). He is a jealous God, who visits the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of such as hate Him, but showeth mercy unto thousands of them that love Him, and keep His commandments (Ex 20$^{5f.}$ 34$^{6f.}$, Nu 14^{18}, Dt 7$^{9f.}$). He 'judges' between David and Saul, requiting David for his 'righteousness and faithfulness,' but bringing the kingdom of Saul to an end (1 S 24$^{15.}$ $^{19f.}$ 26^{23}). He 'enters into judgment with the elders and princes of his people,' because they have 'devoured the vineyard,' and 'grind the faces of the poor' (Is 3$^{14f.}$). He visits His people for their deceit and treachery (Jer 9$^{9.}$ $^{13ff.}$). He 'executeth judgment' in their midst for the abominations they had done before Him (Ezk 5^{10} 9$^{1ff.}$ etc.). On the wicked He 'raineth down coals of fire,' making their portion 'brimstone and burning wind,' while the 'upright behold his face' (Ps 11$^{6f.}$). He even makes Himself good [godly] to the good [godly], perfect to the perfect, pure to the pure, perverse to the crooked (18$^{25f.}$). In the punishment which He thus metes out for unrighteousness the guilty themselves must admit that He is 'in the right' (Ex 9^{27}, Ps 51^{4}). But, as the good judge showed his righteousness in actively promoting the cause of the defenceless, so Jahweh puts forth His righteous arm to help the poor and down-trodden (Dt 10^{18}, Mic 7^{9}, Ps 37$^{6.}$ $^{32f.}$ etc.). As Israel itself is the supreme type of the 'righteous' oppressed by its enemies, His righteousness is manifested chiefly in its vindication. The 'righteous acts of Jahweh,' which the joy-makers celebrate 'around the water-troughs' in the days of Deborah (Jg 5^{11}), are His saving acts on the battle-field of Megiddo. So also in Samuel's farewell address (1 S 12^{7}) the 'righteous acts of Jahweh' are His acts of deliverance from the day when He brought their fathers out of Egypt. Thus 'righteousness' is frequently equated with 'salvation' (Is 56^{1}, Jer 51^{10}, Dn 9^{24}, Ps 4^{1} 37^{6} 51^{14} etc.).[1] The 'sun of righteousness' (Mal 4^{2}) is a striking figure for Jahweh's saving grace soon to shine forth upon His people. The Messianic title, *Jahweh Ṣidḳenu*, 'Jahweh is our righteousness' (Jer 23$^{5f.}$), is to be interpreted in the same sense. The sprouting of the righteous Branch is the

[1] 'Of course, we must not identify righteousness with salvation. . . . Salvation is, so to speak, the clothing, the manifestation of Jehovah's righteousness' (A. B. Davidson, *Theology of the OT*, p. 396 f.).

spring-like promise of Israel's redemption (*ib.*). In like manner the judgment in the valley of Jehoshaphat, 'Jahweh judgeth' (Jl 3^{12}), means salvation for Israel.

This connotation of the term, however, is peculiarly associated with the great prophecy of restoration in Is 40–55, where Jahweh's whole dealings with His people are viewed in the light of His and their 'righteousness.' The people Israel have sinned and paid the penalty of their sin. The verdict of history has proved them absolutely 'in the wrong.' Nevertheless, they feel that they have a 'case' (*mishpāṭ*), which cannot for ever be 'passed over' by their God (Is 40^{27}). Israel is Jahweh's people, bound to Him by the everlasting Covenant—His Servant, chosen by Him to 'send forth judgment to the nations' ($42^{1ff.}$). Though too often 'far from righteousness' (the conduct which befits Jahweh's people), and blind and deaf to its high calling as His Servant, Israel is yet more completely 'in the right' than the peoples that have 'robbed and spoiled' it. From the ideal point of view, the Israelites may even be regarded as the innocent victims of oppression, who may therefore boldly claim 'justification,' or recognition of their just rights, from Jahweh (50^{6-9}). In answer to the claim, Jahweh is pleased 'for his righteousness' sake'—His loyalty to the covenant of grace—to bring them deliverance, and so to 'magnify the revelation' of His righteousness through them (42^{21}). Throughout the past He has been righteous (true to His word) in all that He has promised to do (41^{26} 45^{19}); and His righteous word will not fail Him now (45^{23}). Already He has raised up Cyrus, 'whom righteousness [here in the sense of victory][1] followeth at every step' (41^{2}); and He will continue to uphold him until Jerusalem and its temple have been rebuilt, and the waste places of Judah raised up (44^{26-28}). For He is 'a just God and a saviour' (45^{21})—a righteous God, whose righteousness is made manifest in salvation (46^{13} $51^{5f.\ 8}$ 54^{17}). With salvation will come 'righteousness [the power that makes for victory] and strength' (45^{24}), peace [prosperity] flowing 'as a river' (48^{18}), and abounding joy and gladness ($55^{1ff.}$) welling up from hearts that know and follow after righteousness [in the prophetic sense of right-doing], because the law [revelation] of Jahweh is within them ($51^{1.\ 7}$). And this blessing will be shed over all the earth. For it is too light a thing for Jahweh merely to restore the exiles of Jacob. He has sworn by Himself, 'Unto me every knee shall bow, every tongue shall swear' (45^{23}), and for the accomplishment of His oath He has given His Servant Israel for a light to the nations, 'that my salvation may reach to the end of the earth' (49^{6}). The sufferings that caused the Servant such perplexity and despair are to be the means of this salvation. 'By his knowledge shall my righteous servant justify many [bring many to a right standing with God]: for he shall bear their iniquities' (53^{11}). Thus the redemptive righteousness of Jahweh reaches the fulfilment of its purpose in the conversion of the world to Him.

6. The challenge of Divine righteousness.—In the heyday of national prosperity it was easy to believe in Divine righteousness. But amid the general disorder which accompanied the downfall of the nation keen questions arose. If the Judge of all the earth did right, why must the righteous suffer, while the wicked enjoyed such long and prosperous days? These questions first become vocal in Jeremiah, whose ministry for righteousness was one continuous martyrdom. 'Too righteous [too completely in the right] art thou, O Lord, that I should contend with thee [*sc.* at the bar of justice], yet would I lay my case before thee: Why doth the way of the wicked prosper? Why are they all at ease that deal very treacherously?' (12^{1}). When Jahweh answers only with the promise of yet graver trials, the prophet breaks into bitter expostulations, even charging Jahweh with deceiving him: 'Why is my pain perpetual, and my wound incurable? . . . Truly thou hast been to me a deceitful brook, as waters that are not sure' (15^{18}). 'Thou hast fooled me, O Lord, and I let myself be fooled; thou art stronger than I, and hast prevailed. I am turned to a laughing-stock all day long, every one doth mock me' (20^{7}). The same poignant cry bursts from the lips of Habakkuk in the agony of the Chaldæan oppression: 'Thou that art too pure of eyes to look upon evil, who canst not behold iniquity, why dost thou look on the work of wrong-doers, why be silent when the wicked man [the Chaldæans] swalloweth up the righteous [Israel]?' (1^{13}). From prophets the challenge is caught up and re-echoed by the people under the bondage of exile and in the barren days that succeeded the restoration: 'My way is hid from Jahweh, and my cause doth pass unheeded by my God' (Is 40^{27}); 'Every one that doeth evil is good [acceptable] in the eyes of Jahweh, and he delighteth in them. Where then is the God of judgment?' (Mal 2^{17}); 'It is vain to serve God: and what profit is it that we have kept his ordinances, and walked in mourning before him? For behold now! the arrogant are blessed [happy],[1] and the doers of wickedness are built up; yea, they tempt God, yet escape' ($3^{14ff.}$).

To these heart-breaking appeals of earnest souls there came no direct answer, but only the exhortation to stand fast by the line of duty (Jer 15^{19-21}), or wait with patience till the 'vision' should reach its appointed end (Hab $2^{3f.}$), and the 'sun of righteousness' should rise 'with healing in its wings,' when the righteous should 'skip as calves of the stall,' and 'trample down the wicked' under their feet (Mal 4^{1-3}). But bolder spirits fought out the fight and lifted the problem to a region where the troubles of the righteous melted away in the eternal sunshine of God's face.

The most heroic of these conflicts is reflected in the book of Job. A perfect pattern of righteousness, Job is suddenly plunged into overwhelming suffering and misery. Trained in the ancient dogma that suffering is the penalty of sin, yet firmly convinced that he has done nothing to merit these calamities, and goaded to despair by the orthodox 'consolations' of his friends, he fiercely arraigns God's rule. 'I am innocent, but it is all one. God destroyeth the innocent and the wicked alike.' There is no justice in His reign. 'The earth is given over to the power of the wicked; and God blindeth the eyes of its judges,' so that they can no longer distinguish between right and wrong. And God cannot deny the charge. 'If it be not he, who then is it?' (9^{21-24}). The poet reaches no intellectual solution of the problem thus raised. Salvation is found only in a dazzling vision of Jahweh's majesty, wisdom, and goodness in nature, before which Job and all his sorrows are swallowed up ($42^{2ff.}$). He does, however, rise to the thought that, after he is dead, God will appear upon his dust, as Goel, or Champion, to bear witness to his innocence, and that he will rise from Sheol, if but for a moment, to see the vindication of his cause (19^{25-27}). The door which he has thus unlocked behind the veil is pushed wide open by later psalmists, apocalyptists, and sages. By the time of Jesus immortality had become an assured hope of Judaism. And the problem of Divine

[1] With צְדָקָה, used in the sense of 'victory,' we may compare Syr. *z*ᵉ*kha*, which means 'conquer' as well as 'be pure *or* innocent,' and the opposite, *ḥâb*, 'be conquered *or* guilty.'

[1] For אֲנַחְנוּ מְאֻשָּׁרִים, 'we count happy,' read מְאֻשָּׁרִים 'happy are.'

righteousness was solved in a view of God's government which embraced both this age (עוֹלָם, *'ôlâm*; αἰών, 'æon') and that which was to come.

LITERATURE.—L. Diestel, 'Die Idee der Gerechtigkeit, vorzüglich im AT,' *JDTh* v. [1860] 173 ff.; E. Kautzsch, *Ueber die Derivate des Stammes* צדק *im AT Sprachgebrauch*, Tübingen, 1881; G. Dalman, *Die richterliche Gerechtigkeit im AT*, Berlin, 1897; R. H. Kennett, A. M. Adam, and H. M. Gwatkin, *Early Ideals of Righteousness: Hebrew, Greek, and Roman*, Edinburgh, 1910; J. Skinner, art. 'Righteousness in OT,' *HDB* iv. 272 ff.; W. E. Addis, art. 'Right, Righteousness,' in *EBi* iv. 4102 ff.; G. A. Smith, *Isaiah* (*Expos. Bib.*), London, 1888–90, ii. 214 ff.; W. R. Smith, *The Prophets of Israel*[2], do. 1895, pp. 71 f., 389; H. Schultz, *OT Theology*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1895, ii. 22 ff., 152 ff.; A. Dillmann, *Handbuch der AT Theologie*, Leipzig, 1895, pp. 270 ff., 283 ff.; K. Marti, *Gesch. der israelit. Religion*[3], Strassburg, 1897, pp. 134 ff., 170; R. Smend, *Lehrbuch der AT Religionsgeschichte*[2], Freiburg i. B., 1899, p. 388 ff.; B. Stade, *Bibl. Theologie des AT*, Tübingen, 1905, pp. 89, 210 ff.; A. B. Davidson, *Theology of the OT*, Edinburgh, 1904, pp. 129 ff., 257 ff., 395 ff.

A. R. GORDON.

RIGHTEOUSNESS (in Christ's teaching).—**1. Method of inquiry.**—It is not unusual with writers on this subject to gather out of the Gospels all that may be thought to have any relation to that term in any and every sense in which it can be used. This results in an article on 'righteousness' becoming a more or less complete theology of the Gospels. In the present article it is proposed to limit the inquiry to the few passages in which the term actually occurs. This will have the advantage of bringing into clear relief the very small part which the actual term plays in Christ's teaching. It occurs seven times in the First Gospel, twice in the Fourth, and no more.

2. Data.—Mt 3[15], 'to fulfil all righteousness.'—The words are very ambiguous. How could the baptism of Jesus by John be a fulfilling of 'all righteousness'? The meaning generally given is 'to fulfil every righteous ordinance,' John's baptism being regarded as a divinely sanctioned religious ordinance, which no pious Israelite could disregard; and δικαιοσύνη being interpreted as though it were δικαίωμα (cf. Lk 1[6]). This is perhaps supported by Mt 21[32], where it is said that John came 'in the way of righteousness.' This seems to mean 'came as a representative and preacher of righteousness,' and the thought in 'righteousness' will be in particular of the 'repentance' which John preached.

Mt 5[6], 'who hunger and thirst after righteousness.'—It seems clear that here 'righteousness' may have any or all of the senses which could be ascribed to it. There was the Divine righteousness. There was the Divine righteousness in so far as it had been revealed in Law and Prophets. There was this righteousness as appropriated by man. In the latter sense it comes to mean something like 'right conduct,' and to the Jew this right conduct was conditioned by observance of the Law,[1] and expressed itself in repentance, almsgiving, prayer, and acts of humanity. It may well be that Christ had particularly in view those who spent their lives in the endeavour to fulfil the requirements of the Law and thus to obtain the 'righteousness' which God required, and which He had revealed (cf. Ro 9[31] Ἰσραὴλ δὲ διώκων νόμον δικαιοσύνης).

Mt 5[10], 'who are persecuted for righteousness' sake,' *i.e.* 'who in their hunger and thirst for righteousness so act as to draw down upon themselves persecution.'

Mt 5[20] and 6[1].—Here we must examine the relation of these verses to the whole section 5[17]–6[18]; 5[17] lays down the permanent validity of Law and Prophets as re-interpreted by Christ. [Vv.[18. 19] seem to be an interpolation giving another view of the permanence of the Law in the sense of permanent obligatoriness of the letter of the Law.] V.[20] 'For I say to you, that except your righteousness surpass that of the scribes and Pharisees, you shall not enter into the kingdom of the heavens.' Now what is this 'righteousness'? It is (*a*) a condition of entry into the kingdom. It is (*b*) brought into connexion with the Law (and the Prophets). And the contrast implied seems to be this: the scribes have what they call 'righteousness,' which is dependent upon observance of the Law; they are right, but, since the understanding of the Law which I give you goes deeper than does theirs, your 'righteousness' will necessarily be in some sense more abundant than theirs.

Vv. [21-48] give a twofold series of three illustrations of the way in which Christ 'fulfilled' (*i.e.* gave a deeper meaning to) the Law.

I. (*a*) [21-26].—The law, 'Do not murder,' implies, 'Do not have angry thoughts.' Therefore, if your brother has a matter against you, go and be reconciled to him.[1] This seems to imply that righteousness is a right condition of the heart, caused by right appreciation of the Law and taking effect in right conduct.

(*b*) [27-30].—The law, 'Do not commit adultery,' implies, 'Do not have impure thoughts.' Therefore exercise moral discipline. This also seems to imply that righteousness is a right condition of the heart, caused by right appreciation of the Law, taking effect in moral control and discipline.

(*c*) [31. 32].—The Law sanctioned divorce, but limits this to cases of πορνεία. This seems to imply that righteousness will not insist upon supposed legal rights which are not consistent with the highest morality.

II. (*a*) [33-37].—The Law said, 'Do not swear falsely,' but carry this farther, 'Do not swear at all.' This seems to imply that righteousness will sometimes fulfil the Law by extending its scope.

(*b*) [38-42].—The Law commanded retaliation. Turn this into a retaliation of love.

(*c*) [43-48].—The Law said, 'Hate your enemy,' but do the contrary—love him. This, again, seems to imply that righteousness will sometimes reverse the letter of a particular precept.

These illustrations are very different in kind. In I. (*a*) and (*b*) they imply an exegesis of the Law which penetrates beneath the letter and seeks to find and to carry into effect the spiritual principle which is logically involved. Murder presupposes anger; therefore avoid anger as well as murder. Adultery implies lust; therefore put away lust. We might suppose that the 'greater righteousness' of the disciples is either the moral state caused by obedience to the Law thus spiritually interpreted or the moral acts in which this morality of the heart expressed itself, viz. reconciliation to the brother, moral discipline, or both taken together. But in I. (*c*) the limitation given to the sanction of divorce is quite arbitrary; *i.e.*, whilst the disciples might take the illustrations I. (*a*) and (*b*) as examples of a general method of interpretation, I. (*c*) would give them no principle of exegesis by which they could deal with any other law. Righteousness here therefore must be conduct based on a given interpretation. II. (*a*) and (*c*) might perhaps be regarded as illustrative of a method of interpreting the Law by arguing from the particular to the general. If false swearing is wrong, so must any kind of swearing be. If love to one's neighbour is commanded, this must be held to imply love of all men. But II. (*b*) is again a quite arbitrary cancelling of a law, by substituting for it its exact opposite. Here righteousness is certainly not moral condition created by obedience to the Law. It may be right moral condition which revolts against the Law and substitutes for it something different, or right conduct due to such reversal.

These facts would lead us to suppose that the idea of righteousness implied in these illustrations was that of conduct rather than of the moral condition which gives rise to conduct; that is to say, Christ is dealing with 'righteousness' as a term with a definite meaning (='right conduct') which He presupposes. The right conduct of His disciples was to take a far wider range than that of the scribes and Pharisees, just because the methods of interpreting the Law which He taught them would enable them to widen out almost every single command to cover a far greater area of conduct than did the Pharisaic exegesis.

But, whatever the idea of the 'greater righteousness' which these illustrations are intended to convey, it is noticeable that the term 'righteous

[1] For 'righteousness' as equivalent to obedience to the Law see P. Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie*, Tübingen, 1903, p. 316; W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums*, Berlin, 1903, p. 367. For 'repentance' and 'righteousness' see Bousset, p. 368. For 'almsgiving' and 'acts of humanity' in connexion with 'righteousness,' see Volz, p. 316.

[1] The application does not seem quite consequent. The point would be clearer if the words ran, 'if thou hast aught against thy brother.'

ness' is not actually used to describe it. That is probably due to the fact, noticed above, that Christ seems to be dealing with the term in its Pharisaic meaning of 'right conduct.' He states that the right conduct of His disciples, just because it is based upon a more spiritual interpretation of the Law, will be far wider in range than the scribal righteousness. But He will not in formal language apply the term 'righteousness' to the results of obedience to the Law in its more spiritual interpretation. To have done so would have been contrary to His whole view of human conduct, which never was or could be 'righteousness.' 'When ye have done all that is required of you, say, We be unprofitable servants' (Lk 17^{10}).

In ch. 6, however, we come back to the actual term 'righteousness.' Whatever be the idea of righteousness implied by contrast with the Pharisaic 'righteousness' in 5^{21-48}, it would seem that Christ now at least remembers that in contemporary Judaism 'righteousness' was often equivalent to 'right conduct,' especially in the sphere of the performance of acts of religion. And to this He now turns in 6^{1}, 'Take heed that ye do not your righteousness before men,'[1] and then proceeds to illustrate the term under the three heads of almsgiving (vv.$^{2-4}$), prayer (vv.$^{5-15}$), and fasting (vv.$^{16-18}$). This section seems to be very loosely connected with the preceding, for the connexion in thought between righteousness and the Law drops out of sight. The precepts now given about righteousness are not drawn from the Law, but are mainly confined to the command to avoid ostentation and publicity. That is an additional argument for supposing that all through the Sermon 'righteousness' is being used in a technical sense = right conduct based on the Law. Ch. 5^{21-48} is concerned mainly with the right method of interpreting the Law, and only secondarily with righteousness as based on it. Ch. 6^{1-18} is concerned primarily with the latter idea, and presupposes the insistence upon the permanence of the Law stated in 5^{21-48}. 'Almsgiving, fasting, and prayer' are assumed to be acts of righteousness because they are commanded in the Law.

The term 'righteousness' occurs once again in the Sermon in 6^{33}, 'Seek first the kingdom and his righteousness,' or, by emendation, 'Seek first the kingdom and its righteousness,' *i.e.* the righteousness which alone qualifies for entry into it.[2]

3. Results. — If we now ask what light the Sermon on the Mount as a whole throws upon the term 'righteousness' as used by Christ, one or two important results emerge.

(*a*) The illustrations of the interpretation of the Law seem to suggest that, by way of contrast with the Pharisaic righteousness, true righteousness is a right condition of the heart, caused by a right understanding of the spiritual tenor of the Law, which issues in right conduct. But this is never called 'righteousness.'

(*b*) Throughout the Sermon Christ seems to be employing the term as a known conception, using it therefore, as it were, in inverted commas. The Jews sought for righteousness by the method of obedience to the Law taking effect in religious acts. All who really desired it from the bottom of their hearts would ultimately be satisfied, however misguided the method by which they sought for it (5^{6}). The righteousness of Christ's disciples (*i.e.* their religious conduct) was not to be less than that of the scribes (5^{20}). Obedience to the Law, almsgiving, prayer, fasting—all these were obligatory upon them (6^{1-18}). But they were to be practised in a different spirit, based upon a better understanding of the Law, and void of the ostentation which marred the Pharisaic devotion.

These results are not unimportant. All through the Sermon we are dealing with Christ's teaching about conduct as related to the Law, and this conduct is termed 'righteousness' just because that was a current usage. It is a technical term used by Him in its technical meaning. All that He is concerned with here is the relation of His disciples to righteousness as compared with the relation to it of the Pharisees. In both cases it is to be based on the Law, but in the case of His disciples it will assume a more far-reaching character due to the better method of dealing with the Law which He gave to them.

In other words, we have no real clue here as to Christ's own doctrine of righteousness, no new definition of it, no attempt to give its content and scope and range. We may, if we please, select from His words such ideas as love and purity, and say that these constitute righteousness in His doctrine. But they are never actually so termed, and His silence suggests rather the view that He would not willingly have predicated righteousness of men at all.

It will be seen that in the Sermon 'righteousness' seems to be used with reference to a meaning which it had in contemporary Judaism, that of the righteousness based on observance of the Law which good men exhibited in such exercises of religion as almsgiving, fasting, repentance, and prayer. What Christ is reported to have taught about it did not change the entire content of the word, but spiritualized and deepened it. If His disciples rightly understood the Law, they would not neglect such ordinances as almsgiving, fasting, and prayer, but would exercise them in a spirit which would make them to be real righteousness, which God would reward. In this conception of the 'reward of righteousness' we are still in the circle of current Jewish conceptions. So far as this Gospel is concerned, Christ does not sweep away the conception of reward, but purges it. The unostentatious and unseen righteousness would receive a reward from God, who sees the unseen.

It may be objected that this limitation of righteousness to the conception of concrete right conduct cannot be all that Christ meant by righteousness. But we are not dealing with 'all that Christ meant,' but with what the editor of the First Gospel records Him to have taught on the subject. This writer seems to have written for an early Palestinian or Syrian community, the members of which were Jewish Christians. He wished to assert and prove the Messiahship of Jesus, and to show that the kingdom in which that Messiahship would be exercised was imminent. He was therefore also concerned to record what Jesus had taught as to the conditions under which men would be admitted into it. Of course, recognition of the Messiah was one. But Christ had laid down a number of principles for the guidance of His disciples until His kingdom should appear. The editor is particularly interested in those principles

[1] For 'doing righteousness' cf. *Test. Levi*, xiii. 5, 'Do righteousness therefore, my children, upon the earth'; *Psalms of Solomon*, ix. 9, 'He who does righteousness treasures up for himself life with the Lord.'

Since the Heb. צְדָקָה, Aram. צִדְקְתָא, acquired the signification 'almsgiving,' ἐλεημοσύνη has been substituted for δικαιοσύνη in some MSS in Mt 6^{1}. But no doubt δικαιοσύνη in this verse is the general term for righteousness, which is then subdivided in the following verses into alms, prayer, and fasting.

[2] 'The kingdom and his righteousness.' The text here is uncertain. That just given is the reading of the best MSS. It might also be translated 'His kingdom and righteousness.' With the first translation the reference to God in an indirect way by the use of a pronoun is unexpected and difficult. 'Righteousness' must then mean 'the righteousness required by God.' This meaning is not far removed from that of vv.$^{5.\ 6.\ 10}$. There is no need to introduce a so-called Pauline meaning into the word (Wellhausen). With the second translation it is possible to relate the pronoun to 'kingdom' only, and to take 'righteousness' absolutely. But it is more natural to refer the pronoun to both nouns. The meaning will then be 'Your Father . . . knoweth what you need. Therefore seek first his kingdom [cf. 'thy kingdom' in 6^{10}], and righteousness.'

The variant readings seem to be attempts to avoid a difficult phrase. Thus B transposes 'righteousness' and 'kingdom,' whilst E and other Uncials and the Curetonian Syriac add 'of God' after 'the kingdom.'

It may be conjectured that αὐτοῦ is a mistranslation of the original Aramaic and should be αὐτῆς. 'Seek the kingdom and the righteousness without which you cannot enter it' (cf. 5^{20}).

which deal with the relation of Christians to the older Judaism. He regards the new community as the true Judaism, and is at pains to record such teaching of Christ as showing how the representatives of the older Judaism had distorted their religion, and how the Messiah had re-interpreted for His disciples the true meaning of the Law and the ordinances. When recording, therefore, the teaching of Christ on righteousness, he has in mind chiefly such sayings as brought into contrast Christ's teaching and the most current and popular conception of contemporary Judaism. This was of righteousness as equivalent to 'the exercises of religious acts.' These still retained their obligation, but were to be void of the spirit of ostentation which characterized them as practised by the Pharisees. To find in all the qualities commended in the Sermon on the Mount 'the characteristics which constitute true righteousness,'[1] as does the writer of the art. 'Righteousness in NT' in *HDB*, is to miss the whole point of the First Gospel. These many qualities may perhaps constitute 'righteousness,' if that word be used in a sense which permits it, but they are never called 'righteousness' in the First Gospel, and indeed are carefully distinguished from it. Ch. 5^{20} speaks of the righteousness which is to characterize the disciples, but, when next we come to the word, it is in 6^{1}, and in the rest of that chapter righteousness is illustrated as consisting in such religious devotions as almsgiving, prayer, and fasting, *i.e.* in concrete, not internal, righteousness.

It will perhaps be said that $5^{21ff.}$ shows how the righteousness of the disciples is to exceed that of the Pharisees, and must therefore bear on the conception. These verses show how exegesis of the Law is to be deeper, directed more to the spiritual content than to the surface meaning of its precepts. But this spiritual appreciation is not called righteousness, though it might be so termed by any one who cared to use the word in that sense. This deeper insight into the meaning of the Law is only the soil from which a more abundant righteousness, in the sense of the word as used by the editor of the Gospel, can spring.

Righteousness therefore in Christ's teaching, as recorded in the First Gospel, means conduct, in respect of religious ordinances, and of moral relation to others, which is the outcome of a right understanding of the OT. In what relation does it stand to Christ's personality? In this, that the Messiah had given a new method of interpreting the OT.

This, of course, is not the whole of Christian teaching on righteousness, but it is all that the First Gospel has given to us. That is only an additional proof that this Gospel springs from a Jewish Christian society which only partially understood Christ's teaching and His person. For them He was the Messiah, who was soon to inaugurate His kingdom. He was also the true interpreter of the Law. Those who followed His teaching would hold fast to the Law and to the ordinances of religion. They would then become the righteous who alone would enter the kingdom.

How closely the conception of righteousness in the First Gospel follows the Jewish conception of it may be seen from a study of the cognate adjective (δίκαιος). This means, generally speaking, a 'pious,' 'religious' person. Thus Joseph is a 'righteous' man, and this quality would have led him to put away his betrothed wife, when she was found to be with child (1^{19}). Jesus Himself is called a 'righteous' man by Pilate and his wife ($27^{19.\ 24}$). The Pharisees appear to men to be 'righteous' (23^{28}). 'The righteous' can be spoken of collectively as a class,[2] whether the thought is of the pious heroes of the past ('adorn the tombs of the righteous,' 23^{29}; cf. 'Abel the righteous'[3] [23^{35}]), or of 'the righteous' who will enter the Messianic kingdom[1] ($13^{43.\ 49}$ $25^{37.\ 46}$).

Of course there is the same vagueness here as there is about the use of the word in Jewish literature. But one prevailing characteristic of 'the righteous' in Jewish literature is piety based upon conformity to the Law, which takes effect in outward action, especially in such religious exercises as almsgiving, prayer, and fasting. To the editor of the First Gospel 'the righteous' were those who would be admitted into the kingdom. But who were 'righteous'? Not all Jews (3^{9} 8^{12}), not the scribes and Pharisees with their hard and literal interpretation of the Law, but the true disciples of the Law, who received the clue to its meaning given to them by the Messiah. For them the Law was not in one jot or tittle abolished (5^{18}). Rather it was permanently valid. But they had a clue to its meaning which would make their righteousness exceed that of the scribes and Pharisees in so far as it had a deeper soil into which to strike its roots.

Neither St. Mark nor St. Luke has recorded any saying of Christ containing the term 'righteousness.' The adjective occurs in Mk 2^{17}, whence Mt 9^{13} has borrowed it. St. Luke places the adjective in the mouth of Christ in the following sayings: 5^{32} = Mk 2^{17} = Mt 9^{13}; 14^{14} 'the resurrection of the righteous' (here it is used, as in Mt $13^{43.\ 49}$ $25^{37.\ 46}$, of the inheritors of ultimate blessedness); 15^{7} 18^{9} and 20^{20} (in the same sense as in Mt 9^{13}); 23^{47} (applied to Christ by the centurion); 23^{50} (of Joseph of Arimathæa). We learn therefore nothing fresh from these Gospels as to the teaching of Christ on the subject of righteousness.

In the Fourth Gospel the term occurs in one connexion only. That is in $16^{8.\ 10}$. The Holy Spirit is to convince the world of righteousness, 'because I go to the Father.' The meaning may be that righteousness in the widest sense of the term had been completely manifested in the life of the incarnate Son of God. When He returned to His Father, this manifestation was completed, and by that return it was proved to have been a real manifestation. And that manifestation would henceforth be the standard by which all other conceptions of righteousness would be tried and proved to be faulty. The adjective is used three times in the Gospel—once of Christ's 'judgment' (5^{30}), once of human 'judgment' (7^{24}), and once of God the Father (17^{25}).

Of course, it is not possible to discuss the bearings of Jn 16^{8} on the whole conception of Christ as to righteousness. For that would lead us into a re-statement of the whole Johannine theology. If Christ taught that He was the incarnate righteousness of God, the question is at once raised, How does this affect men? That leads to the doctrine of the relation between Christ and men in all its many bearings, including the doctrine of sin and of its removal, and of the mystical union between Christ and the believer. All that we can do is to note the fact that, whilst the First Gospel deals with righteousness from the human standpoint and regards it as closely connected with a right view of the Law, the Fourth Gospel, in the one passage concerned, deals with it from the standpoint of the divine righteousness perfectly manifested in the eternal Son of God.

LITERATURE.—To the literature quoted in the article add E. A. Abbott, *'Righteousness' in the Gospels*, London, 1918.

W. C. ALLEN.

RIGHTEOUSNESS (in St. Paul's teaching).

—1. **Importance of the term.**—Righteousness, as a popular term in universal use, is of course sometimes employed by St. Paul in its current and popular sense. Thus, when he asks, What partnership

[1] G. B. Stevens, in *HDB* iv. 282.

[2] Peculiar to the First Gospel is the collocation 'prophets and righteous men.' So in 13^{17} 'Many prophets and righteous men,' and in 10^{41} 'He who receiveth a prophet . . . and he who receiveth a righteous man'; cf. *Test. Levi*, xvi. 2, 'You will set at nought the words of the prophets . . . and will persecute righteous men;' *Test. Dan*, ii. 3, 'Though it be a prophet . . . though it be a righteous man.'

The other passages in the Gospel in which 'righteous' is used of persons are 9^{13}, 'I came not to call righteous but sinners,' where 'righteous' seems to be used in a half ironical sense (cf. 'sons of the kingdom'); 8^{12}, of those who asserted 'righteousness' of themselves; and 5^{45} 'rains upon righteous and unrighteous' (cf. *Test. Judah*, xxi. 6, 'Just as on it [the sea] righteous ['and unrighteous,' some MSS] are tossed about').

[3] Cf. 'Enoch the righteous' (*Test. Levi*, x. 5, xviii. 2, *Test. Dan*, ii. 3, v. 6); also *Test. Ben.* vii. 4, 'Abel the righteous, his brother.'

[1] Similarly in the Apocalyptic literature 'the righteous' are those who are to inherit the kingdom (cf. Volz, p. 315).

have righteousness and lawlessness with one another (2 Co 6[14])?, or speaks of himself as equipped with the weapons of righteousness on the right hand and on the left (2 Co 6[7]), or says that the Kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Spirit (Ro 14[17]), it is most natural to suppose that he uses the word in the large and somewhat indefinite sense which every one understands. What it signifies is that there is a standard for conduct—a standard determined not simply by the nature of the person who is to exhibit the character or quality of righteousness, but by his relation to other persons or things—and that the requirements of this standard have been met. But two things demand special consideration of the term in St. Paul. One is the extreme frequency with which *δικαιοσύνη* and the cognate terms (*δίκαιος, δικαιοῦν, δικαίωμα, δικαίωσις*) occur in his writings. If we discount the Pastorals, the examples of these words amount to 101. This alone would show their peculiar importance for him. Besides this, there is the undoubted fact that he uses some of them in a technical or quasi-technical sense, with the correct understanding of which is bound up the correct understanding of his gospel. Thus *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ* is rightly spoken of by Holtzmann[1] as a 'technische Abbreviatur' for St. Paul's conception of Christianity; in the mathematical sense it is a 'symbolic' expression of his gospel.

The difficulties connected with the term are like those which in modern times are connected with the relations of religion and morality. Most people admit that religion and morality can be and must be distinguished, but most religious people would say that religion, as they understand it, is ethical through and through, and that apart from it morality has no adequate inspiration or safeguard. The peculiarity, and sometimes the perplexity, of St. Paul's writing is due to the fact that he does not distinguish religion and morality as a modern does. Morality is for him much more bound up with a right relation to God than it is for the ordinary modern, and religion is much more easily conceived as something on which the verdict of God has to be pronounced—in other words, as something of which a moral estimate has to be made in a legal or quasi-legal form. The appreciation of this difference is made the harder by the fact that St. Paul has not two vocabularies to express the different elements or aspects of reality, moral or religious, with which he is dealing. He has to represent them all in terms of *δικαιοσύνη* and *δικαιοῦν*.

2. The righteousness of God. — The formal presentation of *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ* as the sum and substance of the Christian message is made in the Epistle to the Romans. St. Paul is not ashamed of the gospel, for it is the power of God to salvation for all who believe—the explanation of this being that in it there is revealed *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ*. The genitive case can be used to express various relations; and, so far as grammar goes, *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ* might mean the righteousness which belongs to God (*i.e.* which is His character as a righteous being); or such a righteousness as God requires of men, and will acknowledge as answering to His requirements; or, again, a righteousness of which God is the source or author. Obviously also some if not all of these ideas might be combined; and, if the expression is in any sense technical or symbolical, it has probably condensed or accumulated into itself shades of meaning which would originally have taken different grammatical forms.

In modern times there have been three main lines of interpretation. In the first the genitive, *θεοῦ*, is taken as a simple possessive, and the righteousness which is revealed is God's own character. The gospel shows men what God is. They may have imagined that they knew Him before, and even that they knew what was meant by His righteousness. But they misconceived the attribute which they called by this name. To them it was merely a retributive or distributive virtue—the attribute in virtue of which God renders to every man according to his work. As such it was a ground of fear rather than of hope to the sinner, and it hardly could be conceived as the content of a gospel. But, when God's righteousness was actually revealed in the gospel, it turned out to be quite different from this. It was not retributive or distributive, but self-imparting or communicative. It streamed out ceaselessly from God, and overflowed upon men and into them, becoming their righteousness also. That is why the news of it is gospel. It is glad tidings to the sinful that it is the very nature of God, in spite of their sin, in entire indifference to their sin, conceivably even on account of their sin, to beat against their sinful nature with His searching self-communicating righteousness till sin is overcome and God's own righteousness fills the once sinful nature of man. That sinners are saved by God imparting His own character to them is true, but it does not follow that this is what St. Paul means when he uses the expression *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ*. The problem which the gospel had to solve was for him a moral problem, but here the *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ* is conceived simply on the analogy of a physical force. It flows out as unconditionally from God towards all men as water flows from a spring, or as heat radiates from the sun. But moral problems cannot be stated, let alone solved, by merely physical categories; and, when St. Paul wrestles, intellectually, with his problem in Ro 3[25], it assumes quite another character. Further, while an attempt may be made, in consistency with this view of the *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ*, to make room for Christ in the gospel—to point to Him as a conspicuous proof that divine righteousness has the self-imparting quality here claimed for it—it is quite impossible to give Him the place that He has in St. Paul. For the apostle He is not a conspicuous illustration of the nature of divine righteousness; except in Him and in His Cross there is no revelation or knowledge of the *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ* at all.

3. OT usage.—A more impressive and suggestive interpretation of *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ* is that which, while still treating the genitive as possessive, finds the key to the meaning in those OT passages in which God's righteousness is spoken of, not as distributive or as self-imparting, but as doing right or justice by His people. In the OT generally the functions of ruling and judging are closely connected; and, when the king judges, he is conceived as helping his people to their rights rather than as administering statutes. In books like the Psalms and Deutero-Isaiah the people of God are generally represented as wronged and oppressed by a wicked world, and God manifests His righteousness when He vindicates them and delivers them from their enemies. Hence God's righteousness is His people's hope; it is in it that they trust, and to it they appeal; by the manifestation and exercise of it they are justified and saved. In a real sense, it is one with His grace and faithfulness. It puts His wronged people in the right in the eyes of all intelligent spectators. The Lord is their righteousness, their vindication, their salvation, as against all who condemn and oppress them or put them in the wrong.

Passages like Ps 35[24. 28] 51[14] 71[2. 15f. 24], or like Is 51[5] 54[17] 56[1], illustrate this. In most of these the subject spoken of is the nation, and it is

[1] *NT Theol.*[2] ii. 139.

easier, of course, for a nation than for an individual to feel that it is in the right, and that, if God's righteousness were manifested, the result would be its justification and salvation. A comparison of vv. [1. 2] in Ps 143 shows how this national reliance on God's righteousness as that which must vindicate the people can be combined with an individual sense of sin which cannot face the judgment of God. The just (but wronged) nation can be saved by the manifestation of God's righteousness; its justification is an 'analytical' proposition, declaring it to be what it is by putting it into the position which is its due; but, if the sinful individual, who cannot face God's judgment, is to be justified, the process must be different. His justification cannot be the declaration of what he is—the demonstration of the righteousness of the righteous; it must be a synthetic proposition, which not only declares something about the sinner, but also does something for him, securing for him a *new* relation to God. It is worth noticing that those who attach to these OT passages about the nation, or the faithful community at the heart of it, the explanation of St. Paul's δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ—Ritschl, *e.g.*—also connect justification in the NT sense with the Church rather than the individual. The writer can only confess himself baffled with this. When St. Paul preaches his gospel of δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ, it is not to an oppressed people of God who, whatever their shortcomings, are still in the right as against their pagan oppressors, and who can depend on God's righteousness to put them in the right—*i.e.* by one and the same divine act to justify and save them; he preaches to individual sinners, Jew and Gentile alike, who are in no community but that of guilt, and of whom it must be said, if they are eventually justified, not that God has justified His injured people and vindicated their righteous cause, but that He has justified the ungodly (Ro 4[5]). This would of itself be enough to show that δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ, as embodying the sum and substance of St. Paul's gospel, is not equivalent to God's faithfulness to His covenant obligations, or to His action regarded as the consistent carrying out of His purpose to bless and save His people. It is something more original and startling—more congruous with the idea of a new revelation—than this.

4. St. Paul's meaning.—But there are other reasons which forbid us to attach St. Paul's δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ to such OT passages as are referred to above. For one, St. Paul himself refers to none of these passages in expounding the δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ. He declares it to be witnessed to by the Law and the Prophets, and his favourite references are Gn 15[6] and Hab 2[4]. There is not an allusion even to Ps 98[2]. Further, as W. Bousset has pointed out,[1] this conception of the righteousness of God fell, in later Judaism, wholly or almost wholly into abeyance.

'In place of the merciful righteousness of God [the righteousness of God sympathetically interested in his wronged people], we find predominant the distributive, forensic, disinterested righteousness.'

The last epithets not only describe the change, but convey an unsympathetic judgment of it; but the fact referred to is indubitable. St. Paul had to preach his gospel of a δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ, not to people who could lose the sense of their own demerit in the sense of membership in a community which could appeal to God as having a righteous cause, but to people who had to meet the living God standing alone, or only in a community of guilt with others. Such a righteousness of God as is exhibited in Is 54[17] or Ps 98[2] would mean nothing for such people. If it were not unintelligible, it would be irrelevant; and, in spite of the powerful pleas that have been made for it by many scholars, it cannot be regarded as the key to St. Paul's mind.

This key can be found only if we concentrate our attention on the passage in which St. Paul not only mentions but expounds the δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ, and if we observe the place that it holds in the connexion of his thoughts. This passage is Ro 3[21ff.]. The δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ is preached to a world which is ὑπόδικος τῷ θεῷ, liable to God's judgment—a world, not of people who can appeal to God's righteousness to vindicate them, but of condemned and unsheltered men, who need a righteousness of God because they have none of their own. It is a righteousness bound up with and inseparable from Jesus Christ in His character as ἱλαστήριον. It is not something that we can seize and understand, apart from Christ, and inside of which we can then, consistently, make room for Christ. It is not enough to say with W. Sanday and A. C. Headlam:

'There is one signal manifestation of righteousness, the nature of which it is difficult for us wholly to grasp, in the Death of Christ.'[1]

The death of Christ is not 'one signal manifestation of righteousness'; in the sense in which St. Paul uses the term to sum up his gospel, the death of Christ is the whole and sole revelation of the δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ as the hope of sinful men. Apart from it there is no manifestation of a δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ at all. And it is so because God has set forth Christ in His blood as ἱλαστήριον—*i.e.* either as a propitiatory sacrifice or in propitiatory power. There is a cautious way of declining to think out passages like this, illustrated, *e.g.*, by J. B. Lightfoot in his *Notes on Epistles of St. Paul* (London, 1895, p. 272), and an impressionist or emotional way, illustrated conspicuously by G. A. Deissmann in ch. 6 of his *Paulus. Eine kultur- und religionsgeschichtl. Skizze*, Tübingen, 1911; but nothing is more certain than that St. Paul in Ro 3[21-26] was exerting his whole intellectual force, consciously and deliberately, and with a daring which drew back at nothing, in an effort to comprehend and explain the way of salvation for sinners abridged as δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ. This δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ and the ἱλαστήριον are correlative terms. There would be no δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ for sinners but for the ἱλαστήριον. The ἱλαστήριον has two characters. It deals with sin *for its removal*; that is its gracious side—the side which answers to God's will to forgive and save sinners. But it deals with sin *as it is*—as that terrible thing which, in St. Paul's conviction and in God's judgment, is one with death. When Christ died for sin—when God set Him forth, in His blood, a propitiatory power or sacrifice—then, and not till then (ἐν τῷ νῦν καιρῷ, Ro 3[26]), was the δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ revealed to men. The way of salvation, as a way in which God gets sinful men right with Himself, and at the same time deals with sin as nothing less than the awful reality it is, now lies open for the world. From God's side the δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ covers the double truth that God is δίκαιος (*i.e.* not indifferent to the sinfulness of sin) and δικαιῶν τὸν ἐκ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ (*i.e.* a gracious sin-forgiving God).[2]

We may put this otherwise by saying that what is manifested at the Cross as the ultimate truth in the universe—the divinest thing in the divine—is love bearing sin. To whom does this appeal? It appeals to sinners, not to those who trust in themselves that they are righteous. For what does it

[1] *Religion des Judentums im NT Zeitalter*[2], Berlin, 1906, p. 436 f.

[1] *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*[5] [*ICC*], Edinburgh, 1902, p. 35.

[2] There is clearly visible here, what has played so large a part in doctrines of atonement, the idea of a harmonization of the divine attributes of justice (holiness) and mercy in the work of Christ. The δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ includes both.

appeal? It appeals for faith. When a sinner is confronted with the divine love in Christ bearing in death the sin of the world, what is he invited to do? What is the right thing for him to do? The only right thing for him to do is to trust that love unreservedly, to cast himself upon it, to abandon himself to it, to stake and invest his whole being in it as the final reality in the universe. He is not to open negotiations with God, and see whether something less wonderful might not meet the requirements on both sides. He is not to make himself worthy of such love before he trusts it. He is not to offer guarantees that, unworthy as he is, he will prove worthy in the long run. He has simply, immediately, unconditionally to trust it: that is the one right thing for him to do. When he does so, then, in spite of all his sins, it brings him right with God. What he is, as a believer in Jesus, annuls what he was, as a sinner under God's condemnation. His faith in Christ the propitiation is reckoned to him for righteousness; and, in so reckoning it, God's judgment of the believing sinner is according to truth. There is no legal fiction when God justifies any more than when He condemns; for, when the propitiation has evoked faith, the sinner is another man. God justifies the ungodly when in the propitiation He puts forth a power, or makes an appeal to the ungodly, which makes his true description henceforth 'him that believeth in Jesus.' And we must not minimize faith by arbitrary definition. Faith in St. Paul's writings is what faith was in his life—not a mere assent, not the attitude of a moment, but something in virtue of which his whole being was permanently absorbed in Christ who died. It includes entering into the mind of Christ with relation to sin, accepting the divine sentence on sin as it is brought home to the conscience in this way; and it is in this character that it is the basis of God's verdict. As believers in Jesus we are *δίκαιοι παρὰ τῷ θεῷ* (Ro 2^{13}), or *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ* (2 Co 5^{21}).

5. **The Pauline gospel.**—The inference from this is that the true explanation of the genitive in *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ* is that which regards it as the genitive of the author or origin. God provides the *ἱλαστήριον* which deals righteously with sin for its removal, and so appeals to men that they are brought into the right relation to Himself. This is the key to the passages in which the *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ*—the righteousness revealed in the gospel—is contrasted with any righteousness of our own, which we might have achieved out of our own resources. Twice St. Paul formally emphasizes this contrast. In Ro 9^{30}–10^{10} he speaks of the Jews as wanting to establish 'their own' righteousness—to come to God, so to speak, invested in a goodness which they had achieved by statutory obedience (*δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐκ νόμου*, Ro 10^{5}), and which rather made God their debtor than rested on a fundamental debt to God; and he formally opposes to this the *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ* of his gospel. So also with special reference to his own case in Ph $3^{2\text{-}11}$. Once he, like his countrymen in general, had sought to establish a righteousness of his own, and by human standards had been strikingly successful (*κατὰ δικαιοσύνην τὴν ἐν νόμῳ γενόμενος ἄμεμπτος*). But there is always a profound delusion in the idea that we can be good without God. For a sinful man to think so is indeed the sin of sins as well as the most fatal of errors. But St. Paul had been delivered from this sin and error, and as a believing Christian his one desire was to win Christ and be found in Him, renouncing every other hope—'not having a righteousness of my own,' viz. that which comes of the Law (*τὴν ἐκ νόμου*), but having that which is through faith in Christ, the righteousness which comes from God (*τὴν ἐκ θεοῦ δικαιοσύνην*) on the basis of faith. Righteousness is a gift, not an achievement; not as though it were a material thing, which could be handed over or put to our credit apart from our consent, but because it is the love of God which has made Christ the propitiation part of our world, and through Him has made the appeal to sinners in yielding to which they enter into the right relation to God. Apart from the faith which yields to this appeal, sinners have no righteousness, they stand condemned at God's bar; but on the basis of it they are accepted by God as *δίκαιοι*; the *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ* has taken effect for them.

It cannot be said too strongly that this is the whole of St. Paul's gospel. With Christ the propitiation on one side, and faith in Christ on the other, we have a situation which cannot and need not be supplemented. All the interests of 'righteousness,' in whatever sense the term may be taken, are covered by the *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ*, which becomes ours through faith in Christ. Faith in the Pauline sense makes the tree good; and, when the tree is good, there need be no anxiety about its fruits. Protestant theology has undoubtedly erred in making so much of the distinction between justification and sanctification. The connexion is even more important than the distinction. In reality, all that Protestants mean by both terms is included in the Pauline *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ*. The sinner who has faith in Christ the propitiation not only comes into the right relation to God (and is 'justified' accordingly), but in the very same act and instant he gets the one adequate inspiration for a holy life—the love of God is shed abroad in his heart through the Holy Spirit given to him. Experimentally or psychologically, indeed, there is no difference between these two things. To have an overpowering assurance of the love of God as it is revealed in Christ the propitiation and to be filled with the Holy Spirit are the same thing; and in that one thing lie the promise and potency of all forms of Christian goodness. Such goodness is never imposed; it is always inspired. It is never a matter of statutory obedience, but always of spontaneous inner impulse. It is a mistake, in speaking of it, to contrast faith and the Spirit, as if men were 'justified' by faith and 'sanctified' by the Spirit, according to a common construction of Ro 3–5 and 6–8. In St. Paul faith and the Spirit are never contrasted; they imply each other. They are, indeed, the same thing contemplated in its human and its divine relations. Every Christian experience is at one and the same time an experience of faith and an experience in the Spirit. Faith itself is the gift of God; yet we can always say of it '*I* believe.' It is this experience that has the power and virtue of all Christianity—or, if we choose to say so, of all righteousness—in it. The only contrast in St. Paul is not one between faith which justifies and the Spirit which sanctifies; still less one between faith which justifies and the sacrament of baptism which regenerates; it is the contrast between coming under obligation to God from the very beginning for all that is called righteousness (whether justification or sanctification)—an obligation which is acknowledged from different points of view when we speak of faith or the Spirit—and refusing to come under initial obligation to God, aiming rather, by the method of statutory obedience ('works of law'), at winning a righteousness of our own, for which we may then challenge God's approbation and so lay Him, as it were, under obligation to us. This is what St. Paul fought to the death in his own time as Pharisaism, and in essence it survives. It may survive even as a mode of religion—a moderate moralistic religion, emphasizing the importance of keeping the commandments—yet for sinful men it is a hopeless road. Chalmers spoke of it as 'that

independent natural religion which disowned Christ.'[1] For St. Paul to disown the propitiation, to lose its inspiration, to stand boastfully on one's own feet, was (for a sinner) the negation of every possibility of becoming δίκαιος παρὰ τῷ θεῷ. If righteousness came in this way, Christ died for nothing (Gal 2^{21}). Christ Himself—Christ who fulfilled the Law, who kept the commandments of God, and who died at last bearing our sins in His own body on the tree—is the only νόμος δυνάμενος ζωοποιῆσαι (Gal 3^{21}); and it is because men are *quickened* through faith in Him that the just demand of God's law is fulfilled in them (Ro 8^4). To say fulfilled *in* them, not *by* them, is to speak from the religious, as contrasted with the ethical, point of view; but the end attained is at once religious and ethical. God's justification is always justification characterized by life (Ro 5^{18}).

6. **Difficulties of interpretation.**—'Righteousness' may be considered as an actual or only as a possible experience of men, as a thing of the present or the future, as realized or contingent, and then certain questions arise in the interpretation of St. Paul which are at least formally difficult. Ordinarily the apostle speaks of the blessings of the gospel as enjoyed in the present. Men believe in Christ the propitiation now, and in doing so they become right with God. Justification—God's acceptance of believers as righteous—is spoken of in the past, and exhortations are based on it. 'Having therefore been justified by faith (δικαιωθέντες), let us have peace with God' (Ro 5^1). But sometimes the eschatological conception of salvation imposes itself on the apostle's thoughts; he thinks of Christians as having yet to stand at the judgment-seat of God or Christ, and of their open acknowledgment or acquittal—in other words, their justification—as therefore still in suspense. There is no more characteristic sentence in his writings than Gal 5^5: ἡμεῖς γὰρ πνεύματι ἐκ πίστεως ἐλπίδα δικαιοσύνης ἀπεκδεχόμεθα. The emphatic ἡμεῖς means we who are Christians, as opposed to the Pharisaic Jews. This is *our* religion, and the only true one. Πνεύματι, 'in the spirit,' and ἐκ πίστεως, 'in virtue of faith,' indicate respectively the divine and the human basis of the standing Christian experience, each implying the other. In ἐλπίδα δικαιοσύνης we see that δικαιοσύνη, implying primarily God's verdict of δίκαιος on the believer, is the care of Christianity; and in ἐλπίδα ἀπεκδεχόμεθα we see that, in spite of the priceless-ness of the experiences of those who live by the Spirit and in faith, there is still a supreme blessing which keeps the soul eagerly expectant. That blessing too is God's final verdict in our favour. Perhaps there is no formal solution of the difficulty that we *are* justified by faith, and that our ultimate justification is in suspense—that we cannot be too sure of the pardoning love of God now, and yet that our final benefit from it is involved in unknown contingencies. It is an aggravation of the difficulty that the very apostle who is so insistent that righteousness is of faith apart from works of law is equally emphatic that men are judged at last according to their works (Ro $2^{6\text{-}12}$ $14^{10\text{ff.}}$, 1 Co $3^{13\text{ff.}}$, 2 Co 5^{10}). It may be said that he himself mitigates the difficulty by such arguments as we find in Ro $5^{9\text{f.}}$, and that the 'works' by which we are to be judged are not 'works of law'—acts of statutory obedience—but simply the moral fruits of our life. This is true, but does not entirely meet the case. The wider truth seems to be that the judgment at the close of the Christian life on earth, just like the propitiation at the beginning of it, is a way of making it indubitable that this religion is transacted in the world of moral reality from beginning to end. There is a sense in which religion transcends morality. Christ is the end of the Law; believers are not under law, but under grace; their righteousness is not dictated and demanded, but evoked and inspired. But, if any one thinks on these grounds that in Christianity he comes into a non-moral region, or one in which morality can in any way be discounted, the Cross and the Judgment-Seat are there to correct him. The whole system lies within the moral order, and the Law is not only (formally) annulled; it is (really) established. We have the same problem to face in the teaching of our Lord. In the reception of the Prodigal Son we see an illustration of justification by faith without works of law—a man put right with his father simply by trusting to his father's love, and yielding to its inspiration. In the builders on the rock and the sand we see men judged according to their works, and we know that both parables are true. The difficulty is to realize that grace is inexorable, that 'all's love and all's law'; but this is the supreme lesson of Christ and His apostle. It is involved in everything that St. Paul has to say of the δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ, alike as related to the ἱλαστήριον and to the βῆμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

[1] W. Hanna, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers, D.D., LL.D.*, 4 vols., Edinburgh, 1850–52, ii. 49.

LITERATURE.—All the books on Pauline theology, especially H. J. Holtzmann, *Lehrbuch der NT Theologie*[2], Tübingen, 1911, vol. ii. chs. vi. and vii.; H. Cremer, *Die paulinische Rechtfertigungslehre im Zusammenhange ihrer geschichtlichen Voraussetzungen*[2], Gütersloh, 1900 (the 9th ed. of Cremer's *Wörterbuch*, Gotha, 1902, gives a very fair idea of the contents of this volume); A. Ritschl, *Die christliche Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*[4], Bonn, 1895–1902, ii.; T. Häring, Δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ *bei Paulus*, Tübingen, 1896; A. Juncker, *Die Ethik des Apostels Paulus*, Halle, 1904; E. Ménégoz, *Le Péché et la redemption d'après saint Paul*, Paris, 1882; E. Schäder, *Die Bedeutung des lebendigen Christus für die Rechtfertigung nach Paulus*, Gütersloh, 1893; O. Pfleiderer, *Der Paulinismus*, Leipzig, 1873, Eng. tr., 2 vols., London, 1877 (the 1st ed. much to be preferred to the 2nd [1890]); B. Jowett, *The Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians, Galatians, and Romans*[3], ed. L. Campbell, 2 vols., London, 1894 (Essays in vol. ii., 'On Righteousness by Faith,' pp. 247–272, and 'On Atonement and Satisfaction,' pp. 317–369); A. C. McGiffert, *A Hist. of Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, Edinburgh and New York, 1897, p. 192 ff.; J. H. Newman, *Lectures on Justification*, London, 1838; A. E. Garvie, *Studies of Paul and his Gospel*, do. 1911, chs. viii.–x., xiii.; E. Sokolowski, *Die Begriffe von Geist und Leben bei Paulus*, Göttingen, 1903, p. 171 ff.; A. Schlatter, *Die Theol. des NT*, Gütersloh, 1909, ii. 256 ff.; A. Titius, *Die NT Lehre von der Seligkeit*, Tübingen, 1900, vol. ii. ch. vi.; A. B. Bruce, *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, Edinburgh, 1894; P. Feine, *Theol. des NT*, Leipzig, 1910, pp. 382–494; H. Weinel, *Biblische Theol. des NT*, Tübingen, 1911, § 45 ff.; J. Weiss, *Das Urchristentum*, Göttingen, 1914, pt. i. bk. iii. p. 305 ff.

JAMES DENNEY.

RIGHTEOUSNESS (in Christian theology).

1. Term and definition.—The conception of righteousness holds a conspicuous place in Christian literature, and, though it varies in content according to the nature of the subject spoken of, the central part of the conception is generally in sight. It frequently stands for virtue generally as implied in 'conformity to the requirements of the divine or moral law.' In English we have the advantage of a separate term for that part of the conception which belongs to the sphere of law, but 'justice' is often practically a synonym for 'righteousness' in the wider sense, as may be seen in various instances in the English Bible.

The distinction between the narrower and the wider sense of the term is discussed by Aristotle.[1] In the former aspect he regards it as the highest of the ethical virtues, being 'virtue towards another,' and therefore the chief virtue of civil life (*justitia civilis*). As the principle which regulates the relationships of men to each other within a community or the State, it is both 'distributive' and 'corrective.' This is the restricted sense which the term usually bears in the language of jurisprudence—*suum cuique tribuere*, 'to give to each his own.' This sense of the word is frequent also

[1] *Ethics*, bk. v.

in theology, especially when the relation of man to God and the moral order of the world is in question.

2. **Righteousness in the history of Christian thought.**—As to the conception as it appears in the course of Christian thought, it is, perhaps, a surprise to find that the line followed does not begin at the point reached in the Gospels and by St. Paul. The starting-point is rather to be found in the popular morality of the time as it may be seen in Cicero and among the Stoics. Christianity, though continuing to give full proof of its power as a life to renew the world, undoubtedly fell to a lower level when the manifold gifts and activities of the first age had passed away. The lofty consciousness which had been purified and exalted by the new relation to God and the sense of divine sonship which Christianity had established now became obscured, and a general drift towards a legalistic moralism set in. The tendency to regard Christianity as a new law had powerful support in many influences, both Jewish and heathen, but most of all in the common view of religion, which regards the relation to God as determined externally by the observance or non-observance of religious duties—a view which is probably the average level of religious thought generally, in which righteousness falls to be measured by external standards. Thus down to the Reformation the prevailing conceptions that come to light now and then wear the complexion of the Church system, which stood before the conscience as the supreme authority in religion.

Two aspects of the subject have been much discussed which it is important to keep in view (the connexion between them was not apparent for a while, yet it is of the closest kind and has come to the front of late): (1) the place or function of righteousness in God, *i.e.* as an attribute of the Divine nature, and (2) righteousness as a quality required of man in the scheme of salvation. The course of thought on each of these points has been guided largely by previous assumptions in regard to God and man, partly ethical or philosophical. These will come in sight as we proceed.

(*a*) *Righteousness in the ethics of the ancient Church.*—The general tendency to regard righteousness from the standpoint of law and moral or religious observance was in the ascendant all over the ancient Church. This drift was inherent in Jewish Christianity from the first; and it grew more and more predominant as the Church system was developed and claimed regulative authority over faith and conduct. The fall from the level of apostolic days is very perceptible in the early literature. Apocryphal and apocalyptic books which were widely read, the growth of the ascetic ideal, and other influences of the time led to an excessive emphasis on traditional ideals. We are safe in assuming that in the mind of the people righteousness was identified with the highest excellence according to current ideals. This had long been the common way of regarding it, and it continued to be so regarded even after philosophy set about defining the idea. The speculation of the schools had led to little positive result. The principle of a twofold morality, which was introduced by Aristotle in his classification of the virtues as intellectual and ethical, and which was taken up by the Stoics in their virtues of the wise man and those of the masses, had hindered the unity of the moral ideal. The complication was further increased when the ascetic ideal rose to dominance. If monasticism furnishes the highest type of Christian excellence, there must be a lower standard open to common people. Thus it became necessary to say either that the monks were the only righteous people or that there were different degrees or grades of righteousness.

While, however, we look in vain for any definite scientific conception in the ancient Church, there is no difficulty in ascertaining how it was commonly viewed. A few examples will suffice. It was natural that the practice of charity, so conspicuous among the Christian communities, and so great a power in winning the heathen, should be regarded as a means to, if not as righteousness itself. Chrysostom glorifies the sin-forgiving power of alms, and praises the giving of alms as an effectual intercession against a multitude of sins. This view is as old as Daniel (4^{27}). It is a commonplace in most of the early literature, Jewish and Christian. It appears as a variant on Mt 6^{1}, where some editors accept *δικαιοσύνην* for *ἐλεημοσύνην*.

It is in Lactantius, who has been called the Christian Cicero, that we find the fullest expression of the common view. Bk. v. of the *Divine Institutes* is devoted to 'justice':

'Although justice embraces all the virtues together, yet there are two, the chief of all, which cannot be torn asunder and separated from it—piety and equity. . . . But piety and equity are, as it were, its veins: for in these two fountains the whole of justice is contained; but its source and origin is in the first, all its force and method in the second.' 'To injure no one, to oppress no one, not to close his door against a stranger, nor his ear against a suppliant, but to be bountiful, beneficent, and liberal.' 'This truly is justice, and this is the golden age, which was first corrupted when Jupiter reigned.'[1]

The influence of Cicero and the ancient way of thinking is apparent in Ambrose, who adopts the four cardinal virtues of the ancients, and maintains that the Christian fulfils the ideal of the just and wise man. He has also adopted the Stoic distinction between 'perfect' and 'middle or common duties,' identifying the former with the content of the monastic vow. In Aquinas the varying elements of the moral ideal which floated before the ancient Church are reduced to apparent system, but without internal coherence. To the moral and intellectual virtues of Aristotle he adds the three theological virtues of faith, hope, and love. Adopting the four cardinal virtues, he assigns to justice the duties of religion and neighbourly love. We have thus an ascending scale of three degrees, in which the highest is to be reached only by way of 'poverty, chastity, and obedience.'

(*b*) *Righteousness in doctrinal controversy.*—Turning now to the discussions which figure in the history of dogma, we strike on a path which leads towards more definite results as to the nature and place of righteousness in God and in the salvation of men. That righteousness is somehow manifest in the death of Christ and that this righteousness is a main factor in the Christian salvation has always been felt and acknowledged in Christian faith; and it is chiefly in the course of thought upon the doctrine of atonement and reconciliation that the principal aspects of righteousness in the Christian sense have slowly come to view. In the beginnings of speculative thought in this field it was perceived that there was an apparent antagonism between the love and the righteousness of God involved in the death of the Redeemer. The antagonism might be explained in Gnostic fashion by supposing that the God of justice was not the Father of Jesus Christ, or by assuming, as the Fathers of that time did, that the death of Christ was the ransom paid to the Devil in view of his supposed rights over men. In this standpoint there is latent the idea of an objective righteousness or justice whose claims were somehow met and satisfied by the Christian redemption. The next step was to define the sphere and the nature of this justice, but definite ground was not reached till Anselm. The argument in *Cur Deus Homo* is to the effect that righteousness is an immanent and necessary attribute in the being of God to which satisfaction has been made in the sufferings and

[1] *Works*, tr. W. Fletcher, Edinburgh, 1886, i. 325, 306.

death of the Son of God, who for this purpose became incarnate. The position is thus reached that all divine action must be subject to the law of righteousness, which is the supreme ethical principle in the Godhead. This step has the greatest significance in the progress of theology, but it did not receive adequate recognition till the Reformation. In the confusion characteristic of the older ethics the true ethical ideal both for God and for man had not come fully to light, but, once it was seen that power, will, and love in God are subject to an eternal law of justice which guards the order of the universe, a principle was found, fruitful in the best results, which casts a significant light upon the righteousness required of man. So long as the theory of a double morality held the field, moral obligation rested on external authority, on the will of superiors, and as a consequence the moral ideal lacked unity and coherence. This is seen in the Roman Catholic view of an 'original righteousness' given to primitive man and in the doctrine of an 'infused righteousness' assumed as the ground of justification. Both points were long the subject of keen debate, and they came ultimately to mark the dividing-line between Roman Catholics and Protestants. The chief point in the controversy for us here lies in this, that the conception of righteousness is reduced to what is after all its essential elements, as *that by which man is accepted and justified before God* — the central problem of St. Paul's theology. This is the main conception which figures in all subsequent theology. The Catholics affirmed that man is justified in virtue of a righteous disposition produced in his heart through prevenient grace, the Protestants maintaining that justification is grounded solely in the righteousness of Christ imputed to faith, and is not procured by merit in man. We thus arrive at the point where the NT leaves the problem and discover that the righteousness required of man is after all the righteousness of God.

(*c*) *Righteousness in Reformation creeds.* — In general outline the Reformation doctrine has held the field in all Protestant churches down to the present. The modifications which have come in, in the course of thought, belong mostly to the harsher forms in which it has sometimes been maintained. Opinion has varied considerably about 'imputation,' about the legal and forensic aspects implied in the satisfaction theory. Modern and especially recent theology shows a notable advance upon the systems of the 17th and 18th centuries. Theory has come to follow more closely the lines of a living faith and experience. It is seen that Christianity secures not merely forgiveness and reconciliation, but righteous character and life.

3. **Modern developments.**—(*a*) *The Grotian view.*—The Grotian and Arminian view has significance as a protest against the harsher aspects of the Reformation theory to which we have referred. But the principle that law in God may be relaxed or set aside as His wisdom may determine, and that the Atonement is not a satisfaction to justice but a relaxing of penalty, fails to explain the necessity implied in the death of Christ. Grotius maintains that, 'so far as God is concerned, He might have forgiven men without atonement, but it would have been unsafe to do so in the interest of creation'—a view advocated in some modern theories of atonement.

(*b*) *The Socinian.*—The Socinian theory denies altogether that justice is a necessary attribute of God, and maintains that forgiveness is open to all on repentance and obedience.

(*c*) *Schleiermacher.* — Schleiermacher's view is suggestive as opening lines which recent thinking has followed. With him justice belongs exclusively to the 'connexion between sin and evil.' It is known to us through the consciousness of sin, and covers the whole sphere of human experience, and thus far it is involved in the order of man's world, but, in proportion as sin is overcome, the function of justice is diminished or displaced through the redemptive agencies which radiate from Christ.

(*d*) *Ritschl.*—With Ritschl retributive and punitive justice has no place in the moral and religious sphere. The righteousness of God is 'simply the consistency with which His love provides for the good of men.' This view subordinates justice to love to such an extent that the former cannot have a separate function in the moral order of the world. Yet, if it is maintained that the love of God in creation and redemption always reaches wise, holy, and righteous ends, righteousness must be implied in all manifestations of love. Thus all the data of the problem, when fully considered, favour the contention that justice is an immutable quality in God and the world. See, further, art. RITSCHLIANISM.

LITERATURE.—Aristotle, *Ethics*, bk. v.; Cicero, *de Officiis*; Lactantius, *Divine Institutes*, bk. v.; Ambrose, *de Officiis Ministrorum*; Anselm, *Cur Deus Homo*; C. E. Luthardt, *Hist. of Christian Ethics before the Reformation*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1889; A. Wuttke, *Christian Ethics*, 2 vols., do. 1873; I. A. Dorner, *A System of Christian Ethics*, Eng. tr., do. 1887, esp. sect. 7, pp. 69–91; H. Martensen, *Christian Ethics*, Eng. tr., do. 1881–85, i. 21–77; J. Martineau, *Types of Ethical Theory*[2], Oxford, 1886; Histories of Dogma by K. R. Hagenbach (Eng. tr., 3 vols., Edinburgh, 1880–81), W. G. T. Shedd (2 vols., Edinburgh and New York, 1889–94), and A. Harnack (Eng. tr., 7 vols., London, 1894–99); F. C. Baur, *Die Lehre von der Versöhnung*, Tübingen, 1838; A. Ritschl, *Die christl. Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*[4], 3 vols., Bonn, 1895–1903; F. D. E. Schleiermacher, *Der christliche Glaube*[6], Berlin, 1884, ii. sect. 84; Dorner, *A System of Christian Doctrine*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1880–82, i. 286, iv. 1–25.

For the juristic conception of righteousness specially useful are: K. Hildenbrand, *Gesch. und System der Rechts- und Staatsphilosophie*, Leipzig, 1860; A. Trendelenburg, *Naturrecht*[3], do. 1868; J. Lorimer, *Institutes of Law*[2], Edinburgh, 1880; H. Spencer, *Justice*, London, 1891.

In recent theology may be noted books on atonement where aspects of righteousness are given, especially those of R. W. Dale, *The Atonement*[7], London, 1878, J. McLeod Campbell, *Nature of the Atonement*[3], do. 1878, and R. C. Moberly, *Atonement and Personality*[2], do. 1907; also T. Erskine, *Letters*, 2 vols., ed. W. Hanna, Edinburgh, 1877, and W. Sanday and A. C. Headlam, *The Epistle to the Romans*[5] (*ICC*), do. 1902, where the 'exegetical tradition' on St. Paul's doctrine is discussed.

A. F. SIMPSON.

RIGHTEOUSNESS (Egyptian). — 1. Introductory.

—For the three conceptions which we express in three distinct words — righteousness, truth, justice—the Egyptians had only one word, *mĕ'et* (Copt. ⲘⲈ : ⲘⲀⲒ). *Mĕ'et* is apparently derived from a verb *m;'*, 'be straight,' 'be even.'[1]

E.g., *ỉw m;ḫt m;''ty ḫr sp·k*, 'the balance is even in thy case';[2] *m;' ỉn*, 'straight as to the hair';[3] *mḫ;t mtt m;'t nt Ḏḥwty*, 'the accurate and even balance of Thōth.'[4]

2. The practice of righteousness, truth, and justice.

—The Egyptian was never tired of asserting that he practised these virtues.

(1) *Righteousness.* — The frequent claims to righteousness made by Egyptians of all classes and periods are well illustrated by the following quotations:

'I came forth from my city, I came down into my nome and I spake the truth therein, I did righteousness therein.'[5] 'I am one who loves good and who hates evil. . . . There is no iniquity that has issued from my mouth, there is no evil that my hands have wrought.'[6] 'I was a righteous man upon

[1] See also art. ETHICS AND MORALITY (Egyptian), § 2.

[2] E. Naville, *Das ägyp. Todtenbuch* (hereafter cited as *Tdb.*), 2 vols., Berlin, 1886, ch. clxxviii. line 29; F. Vogelsang, *Kommentar zu den Klagen des Bauern*, Leipzig, 1913, p. 166.

[3] *Tdb.* ch. cx. line 40.

[4] K. Sethe, *Urkunden des ägyp. Altertums*, iv. [Leipzig, 1905–09] 337, line 13; see also J. H. Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, New York and London, 1912, p. 166.

[5] Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. [1903] 46 f.

[6] *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelæ, etc., in the British Museum*, London, 1911–14, i. pl. 47, line 11 f.

earth.'[1] 'Never did I any evil thing unto any people.'[2] 'I am a noble pleased with righteousness, conforming to the laws of the Hall of the Two Rights.'[3]

(2) *Truth.*[4]—Truthfulness seems to have been highly esteemed, and was particularly looked for in the great and powerful. 'Speak not falsehood, thou art great,' says the Eloquent Peasant to the high steward Rensi;[5] indeed such an one must 'destroy lies and create truth [or 'right'].'[6] An Old Kingdom noble asserts that he was straightforward in the royal presence and free from falsehood.[7] Says another: 'I spake the truth which the god loves every day.'[8] The sage Ptaḥhotp recommends one to act in accordance with right, free from falsehood.[9] A well-known XVIIIth dynasty official claims to have been free from iniquity, accurate of mind, with no lie in him.[10] 'Speak the truth (*mĕ'et*), do right (*mĕ'et*), for it is great, it is mighty, it is enduring,' was an utterance ascribed to the sun-god Rĕ' himself.[11] 'I have not spoken lies knowingly,' says the deceased to Osiris.[12] 'I have not spoken lies' is one of the statements in the 'Assertion of Sinlessness.'[13]

(3) *Justice.*[14]—The viziers, nomarchs, and high officials who governed and administered the laws were expected to exhibit a high standard of justice. We are informed that 'men expect the exercise of justice in the procedure of the vizier.'[15] The vizier must not be wroth with a man wrongfully; he should be wroth only with what one ought to be wroth with.[16] He must deal with petitioners in accordance with the law and equity and help them to their rights.[17] The petitioner must not be able to say when the verdict is pronounced: 'My right has not been given me.'[18] Again, the vizier must not be a respecter of persons or show partiality,[19] for that is what the god abhors.[20] He must not, however, go to the other extreme and act like the vizier Akhthoi, who discriminated against some of his own kin in favour of strangers, in fear lest it should be wrongly said of him that he favoured his kin dishonestly; 'that,' we are informed, 'is more than justice.'[21] The ideal judge must be 'a father of the lowly (*nmḥ*),[22] a husband of the widow, a brother of the forsaken, the garment of the motherless . . . one who comes forth at the voice of him who calls.'[23] If such an one veil his face against the violent, who shall repress crime?[24] A judge must be as unerring and impartial as the balance.[25]

Accordingly, the Eloquent Peasant, addressing the seemingly unjust Rensi, ironically asks:

'It is not wrong, I suppose, a balance that is awry, a tongue of a balance that is faulty, a righteous man that has swerved (from the right path)?'[1]

An official describes himself as:

'A man of truth (or righteousness) before the Two Lands, equitable and righteous like Thôth . . . more accurate than the plummet, the likeness of the balance.'[2]

A frequent boast of the high official of the Old Kingdom is:

'Never did I judge two brothers in such a way that a man was deprived of his father's property.'[3]

An Old Kingdom noble asserts that he 'saved the weak from the hand of him that was stronger than he,' and that he 'held forth justice to the just.'[4] Sirenpōwet, a nomarch of Elephantine in the VIth dynasty, says:

'I did not deal roughly with him who made petitions. . . . I did not deprive a commoner (*nḏs*) of his property.'[5]

Another feudal lord asserts not only that he had not deprived any one of his possessions, but that he had never flogged anybody.[6] An official who administered justice in the reign of Waḥ-'onkh Intef thus describes his conduct:

'I did not pursue after mischief for which men are hated. I was one who loved good and hated evil, a character who is loved in the house of his lord. . . . Now as for any commission which he (the king) bade me attend to, viz. giving a petitioner his right, attending to the claim of one who has been wronged, I always did it in reality. . . . I was not passionate against violent persons. I did not take a thing (*i.e.* a bribe) wrongfully in order to conduct a transaction.'[7]

The famous XVIIIth dynasty vizier Rekhmirĕ' claims that he judged the petitioner impartially and did not turn his face (lit. temples) to rewards. He also maintains that he rescued the fearful from the froward.[8] Intef, another notable of the same period, describes himself as follows:

'Turning his face towards him who speaks truth; disregarding him who speaks lies; . . . not discriminating between him whom he knew and him whom he knew not; going about after righteousness; indulgent in hearing petitions; judging two men so that they are satisfied; . . . free from partiality; acquitting the righteous; driving away the plunderer from him whom he plunders; the servant of the oppressed.'[9]

Menthwoser would have us believe that he was one who 'did not show partiality to the possessor of rewards.'[10] King Akhthoi, in his 'instruction' to his son Merikarĕ', gives the future king excellent advice on how to govern successfully, pointing out to him, among other things, that the under-payment or poverty of responsible officials is a fruitful source of corruption.

'He who is wealthy in his house does not deal partially, he is a possessor of property, one who does not lack.' On the other hand, 'the poor man does not speak in accordance with his (sense of) right. He who says "Would that I had!" is not fair; he is partial to the possessor of rewards.'[11]

Judicial corruption was, of course, rampant in ancient Egypt; the constant claims to incorruptibility made by the administrative officials who acted as judges (see § 12) point only too clearly to that.

A writer of the New Kingdom speaks of the helplessness of him 'who stands alone in the court of justice, who is poor while his oppressor is rich. The court oppresses him saying: Silver and gold for the scribes! Clothing for the servants!'[12]

3. The Egyptian conception of the righteous man.

—A summary of the Egyptian conception of righteousness is to be found in ch. cxxv. of the

[1] A. Erman, 'Denksteine aus der theban. Gräberstadt,' in *SBAW* xlix. [Berlin, 1911] 1098=B. Gunn, *Journ. of Egyp. Archæology*, iii. [1916] 86.

[2] Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. 40, 49, 70; see also H. O. Lange and H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des mittleren Reichs*, Berlin, 1908, ii. no. 20729, *a*, line 3; *Egyp. Stelæ in the Brit. Mus.* ii. pl. 24.

[3] *RTr* iv. [1882] 132.

[4] Cf. also art. Ethics and Morality (Egyptian), § 13 (14).

[5] Vogelsang, B 1, 159 f., p. 136 f.

[6] *Ib.* B 1, 62 f., p. 72 f.

[7] A. H. Gardiner, *ZÄ* xlv. [1909] pl. v. line 11 f.

[8] Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. 57, line 14.

[9] *Pap. Prisse*, 16, 2.

[10] Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv. 970, lines 8–11.

[11] Vogelsang, B 1, 318 ff., p. 215 f.

[12] E. A. W. Budge, *The Book of the Dead* (Hieroglyphic Text), London, 1898, p. 17, line 6; see also p. 39, line 9 f., p. 70, line 3 f.

[13] *Tdb.* ii. ch. cxxv. (Confession) 9; Budge, p. 253, line 12 f.

[14] Cf. also art. Ethics and Morality (Egyptian), § 13 (15).

[15] Sethe, *Die Einsetzung des Veziers unter der 18 Dynastie*, Leipzig, 1909, p. 27=J. H. Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought*, p. 242.

[16] Sethe, p. 24=Breasted, p. 242.

[17] *Ib.* p. 7 f.=Breasted, p. 241; cf. *Pap. Prisse*, 9, 3–5=Breasted, p. 233.

[18] *Ib.* p. 12=Breasted, p. 241.

[19] Cf. *Pap. Prisse*, 13, 1–4=Breasted, p. 234.

[20] Sethe, pp. 5 f., 18 f.=Breasted, p. 242.

[21] *Ib.* p. 14=Breasted, p. 241 f.

[22] See B. Gunn, *Journ. of Egyp. Archæology*, iii. 83, n. 3.

[23] Vogelsang, B 1, 62–68, p. 72 f.

[24] *Ib.* B 1, 167 f., p. 137=A. H. Gardiner, *PSBA* xxxvi. [1914] 71.

[25] *Ib.* B 1, 148–51, p. 128=Gardiner, *PSBA* xxxvi. 70 f.; Vogelsang, B 1, 161 f., p. 137.

[1] Vogelsang, B 1, 95–97, p. 91=Gardiner, *PSBA* xxxv. [1913] 275.

[2] Lange-Schäfer, ii. no. 20538, I. *c*, line 4 ff.

[3] Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. 123, line 3 f.; cf. 133, line 4 f.

[4] W. M. F. Petrie, *Denderah*, London, 1900, pl. 11 A.

[5] A. H. Gardiner, *ZÄ* xlv. 125.

[6] F. Ll. Griffith, *The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh*, London, 1889, pl. 11, line 9.

[7] *Egyptian Stelæ in the Brit. Mus.* i. pl. 49.

[8] Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv. 1032. [9] *Ib.* iv. 971.

[10] C. L. Ransom, *The Stela of the Menthuweser*, New York, 1913, line 14.

[11] Gardiner, *Journ. of Egyp. Archæology*, i. 26.

[12] Breasted, *Religion and Thought*, p. 268.

Book of the Dead, both in the 'Introduction' and in that part of it which is sometimes called the 'Assertion of Sinlessness,' but more often, and wrongly, the 'Negative Confession.'[1] Among the sins there denied are murder, incitement to murder, robbery, theft, oppression, impiety, lying, slander, dishonesty, avarice, hasty temper, pride, loquacity, eavesdropping, impurity (adultery and masturbation), and a number of ceremonial transgressions.[2] A more detailed picture of a righteous man according to Egyptian standards can be obtained from the laudatory accounts of the dead inscribed upon their tombstones and upon the walls of their tomb-chapels, and also from the statements scattered about the literary compositions of the Middle and New Kingdoms. The good qualities most usually claimed by or assigned to the dead, or commended by the sages and men of letters, apart from those already fully discussed, are: (1) generosity and beneficence, (2) avoidance of slander, (3) honesty and fair dealing, (4) faithfulness to superiors, (5) hospitality, (6) piety towards the dead, (7) sexual morality, (8) regard for old age, (9) regard for parents, wife, and near relatives, (10) good temper, (11) avoidance of rancour, (12) gratitude, (13) humility and avoidance of pride, (14) discretion and avoidance of loquacity, (15) avoidance of crimes of violence.

(1) *Generosity and beneficence.*[3]—These qualities were admired in ancient no less than in modern Egypt. Assertions like the following formula frequently occur in inscriptions of the feudal and subsequent period: 'I gave bread to the hungry, clothing to the naked, I ferried him whom I found without a boat.'[4] Sometimes in addition the deceased claims to have 'given sandals to him who was without them';[5] to have buried the aged;[6] to have given cattle to him who was without a yoke of oxen, and corn to him who asked for it.[7] A high official of the Middle Kingdom tells us that he gave corn to the whole land and so rescued his city from hunger. 'No other,' says he, 'has done what I did.'[8]

The nomarchs of the feudal age constantly boast of their beneficence. One of them thus describes his rule:

'I gave bread to every hungry person of the Cerastes-Mountain nome (his domain). I clothed him who was naked therein. Moreover, I filled its shores with large cattle, and its water meadows (?) with small cattle. I never deprived a man of his property so that he complained of it to the god of his city. . . . Never did a man fear because of one stronger than he, so that he complained about it to the god.'[9]

Another nomarch, after making similar claims to beneficence, asserts that he gave to the widow as to her who possessed a husband, and that he did not favour the great above the little in all that he gave.[10] A great official in the reign of Thutmōse III. depicts himself as:

'Father of the lowly; judge of the orphan; protector of the weak; avenger of him who has been deprived of his possessions by one who is stronger than he; husband of the widow; shelter of the orphan; place of repose for the weeper; . . . praised because of his character; one whom respectable persons thank because of the greatness of his merit; one for whom health and life are besought by all people.'[11]

(2) *Avoidance of slander.*—Ḫarkhuf, nomarch of Elephantine, says of himself:

'Never spake I anything evil unto a powerful person against any people, for I desired that it might be well with me in the presence of the great god.'[1]

'It was good that I was accustomed to speak to the king about people,' says a Vth dynasty notable. 'I never said anything evil against any people to the majesty of my lord.'[2] 'I spake not lies against another,' Paḥeri assures us, 'for I knew the god who is in men.'[3]

(3) *Honesty and fair dealing.*[4]—'I was afraid for the surplus,' says Paḥeri, 'I did not turn a deaf ear [lit. 'face'] because of bribes. I did not receive bakshish from outgoings.'[5] Ameni of Beni Ḥasan informs us that he carried all the dues for the loan-herds to the king's house, and that there were no arrears against him in any of the royal offices.[6] On the tombstone of a man of the Middle Kingdom period who describes himself as a 'commoner' (*nḏs*) we read:

'I took not the daughter of a man, I took not his field. . . . I served my great lord and I served any plebeian (*nḏs*) lord, and nothing was lost therein.'[7]

See also the statement in the Assertion of Sinlessness:

'I have not added to or subtracted from the corn-measure, I have not subtracted from the palm. I have not falsified the cubit of the fields. I have not added to the weights of the hand-balance. I have not tampered with the plummet of the balance.'[8]

Honesty in the construction of a tomb was a virtue often claimed by the Old Kingdom magnates.

'I made this tomb from my rightful possessions. I did not take the property of any man for it.'[9]

The owner of a tomb-chapel sometimes asserts that the craftsmen who constructed it were adequately remunerated.[10] The following statement occurs on the base of a statue found at Gîzeh:

'I caused these statues to be made for me by the sculptor, and he was satisfied with the payment which I assigned him.'[11]

(4) *Faithfulness, obedience, and deference to superiors.*[12]—'I was a hound that slept in the kennel,'[13] says a faithful servant, 'a dog of the couch whom his mistress loved.'[14]

(5) *Hospitality.*[15]—A deceased person sometimes describes himself as 'one who said "Welcome" to every comer.'[16]

(6) *Piety towards the dead.*[17]—Apart from making offerings to the departed or, in lieu thereof, repeating certain formulæ,[18] piety towards the dead consisted in respecting the funerary property and endowments of preceding generations,[19] in not defacing the inscriptions, etc., in a tomb-chapel or injuring it in any way,[20] in not defiling a tomb-chapel by entering it in a state of ceremonial impurity.[21]

(7) *Sexual morality.*[22]—Pre-nuptial morality was apparently very lightly regarded, though the

1 Breasted, *Religion and Thought*, p. 301.
2 See artt. Ethics and Morality (Egyptian), § 8, Confession (Egyptian).
3 See also art. Ethics and Morality (Egyptian), § 13 (4), (5).
4 *Egyptian Stelæ in the Brit. Mus.* ii. pl. 24; see also Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. 123, 133; Lange-Schäfer, ii. no. 20506, *b*, line 1 f.
5 Lange-Schäfer, ii. no. 20537, *b*, line 4 f.
6 *Egyptian Stelæ in the Brit. Mus.* ii. pl. 24.
7 Petrie, *Dendereh*, pl. 11 C.
8 Lange-Schäfer, ii. no. 20537, *b*, line 5 f.
9 Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. 77 f.
10 P. E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, London, 1893, i. pl. viii. line 30 f.
11 Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv. 972.
1 Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. 128; cf. also 72, 133; *Tdb.* ch. cxxv. (Introd.) line 11.
2 Sethe, i. 57.
3 *Ib.* iv. 199, line 14 f., *Urkunden der 18 Dynastie*, Germ. tr., Leipzig, 1914, p. 58, note 5.
4 See also art. Ethics and Morality (Egyptian), § 13 (14).
5 Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv. 118 f.
6 Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, i. pl. viii. line 16 f. p. 26; Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt*, Chicago, 1906–07, i. 522.
7 Lange-Schäfer, i. no. 20001, *b*, line 3 ff.
8 *Tdb.* ii. ch. cxxv. (Introd.) line 16 f.
9 Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. 72; see also 50 f., 69, 71.
10 *Ib.* 23; Petrie, *Dendereh*, pl. 11 B, p. 51.
11 G. Steindorff, *ZÄ* xlviii. [1911] 156.
12 For further particulars see art. Ethics and Morality (Egyptian), § 13 (14), (16).
13 *Ḥn*; the same word is used of the cabin or receptacle in which Ḫarkhuf's dancing pygmy passed the night (Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. 130, line 12).
14 Lange-Schäfer, ii. no. 20506, *b*, line 2 f.
15 See art. Ethics and Morality (Egyptian), § 13 (6).
16 Lange-Schäfer, ii. nos. 20499, *b*, line 9, 20530, *b*, line 17.
17 See art. Ethics and Morality (Egyptian), § 13 (18).
18 See N. de G. Davies and A. H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhêt*, London, 1915, p. 92, note 1.
19 Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. 14, 30, 71, 117.
20 *Ib.* 35, 70, 72 f.; Griffith, *Journ. of Egyp. Archæology*, ii. [1915] 5 ff.
21 Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. 49, 50, 58, 122; art. Purification (Egyptian), V. 8.
22 See art. Ethics and Morality (Egyptian), § 13 (1), (16).

moralists warn the young against prostitutes. A VIth dynasty nomarch of Cusæ maintains that he 'never passed a night of shame.'[1] Another Old Kingdom notable asserts that he never, since he was born, caused any man to pass a night of shame, *i.e.* never committed sodomy.[2] A person named Akhthoi, who lived during the Middle Kingdom, 'did not lust after the wife of a man nor covet her whom the poor man loved.' 'Verily,' he adds, 'a man of good birth who does this—his father deserts him in the law-court.'[3]

(8) For the remaining qualities see art. ETHICS AND MORALITY (Egyptian), § 13.

4. The Pharaoh as the upholder of righteousness, truth, and justice.—The righteousness, truth, and justice that characterized the sun-god (see below, § 6) also formed part of those qualities which were supposed to be innate in the Pharaoh, as that god's son and representative on earth.

It is significant in this connexion that the Horus-name of Userkaf, founder of the Vth dynasty, is 'Doer-of-righteousness' (*Ir-m;'t*), for it was the kings of this dynasty who raised the sun-god to the position of State-god, and, moreover, the doctrine was then first promulgated, and henceforth accepted for all time, that every Pharaoh was the sun-god's physical offspring.

(1) The Pharaoh was said to 'live on righteousness (or truth)' like the sun-god.[4] 'Onkh-em mē'et, 'living on righteousness (truth, justice),' it will be remembered, formed one of the characteristic attributes of the Aton-worshipping Ikhnaton.[5] The courtiers of Ramesses II. assure him that, like the sun-god, he is endowed with authoritative utterance and knowledge and that the seat of his tongue is the 'shrine of right' (*mē'et*).[6]

(2) The Pharaoh was expected to display these qualities in his actions. Accordingly, the sage Ipuwer, when rebuking his sovereign for his weakness and misrule, points out to him that it is true that he possesses the solar qualities of 'authoritative utterance, understanding, and righteousness,' but (and here comes the reproach) it is confusion that he puts throughout the land together with clamour and strife.[7] A Pharaoh thus admonishes his son and successor:

'Speak thou Truth in thy house, that the officials who are upon earth may fear thee. Uprightness of heart beseems the Sovereign.'[8]

The prophetic papyrus at Petrograd predicts that with the advent of a strong ruler, who is to triumph over disorder and to restore Egypt to her former prosperity, 'right shall come to its place and iniquity be cast (?) forth.'[9] King Akhthoi thus instructs the prospective king, his son Merikerē':

'Do right (or justice) that thou mayest live long upon the earth. Soothe the weeper. Oppress not the widow. . . . Take heed lest thou punish wrongfully.'[10]

The same Akhthoi tells his son not to distinguish between the son of a noble and a man of low birth, but to choose a man because of his capacity.[11] It was, indeed, accepted as a truism in the XVIIIth dynasty that 'the sovereign should love the fearful rather than the arrogant.'[12] To secure the heir his inheritance especially became the Pharaoh,[13] and Akhthoi exhorts his son not to drive out a man from the possession of his father.[14] In accordance with his solar qualities Amenemhēt I. is described as 'gloriously appearing like the sun-god' to deal out justice to his quarrelsome feudal lords and to settle their conflicting claims to one another's territories.[1]

5. Development of the belief in a posthumous judgment. — According to the earliest religious writings that we possess, the so-called Pyramid Texts, the chief qualification for admittance to the realm of the sun-god was physical purity.[2] Magic also played a great part in furthering the welfare of the dead, the Pyramid Texts themselves being for the most part a collection of powerful spells which enabled him for whom or by whom they were recited to enter the celestial kingdom. But even in these very ancient texts more than mere physical cleanliness or magical power is sometimes demanded; the deceased must also be righteous. Thus we find that the ceremonial washing of the dead king by the four gods who preside over the Pool of Kenset, or by the Worshippers of Horus, has also an ethical significance. During or following the ablutions a spell asserting the righteousness of the deceased is recited.[3] The ghostly ferryman who conveys the dead over to the Field of Earu is thus addressed:

'O thou who ferriest over the righteous who hath no boat, ferryman of the Field of Earu, this N. is righteous before the sky, before the earth, this N. is righteous before this island of the land whither he hath swum and whither he hath arrived.'[4]

The claim of the deceased to be righteous had of course to be tested, and in the imagination of the Egyptians, with their innate love of litigation, the test naturally took the form of a legal process. There are already in the Pyramid Texts allusions to the posthumous trial;[5] but many of the inscriptions on tomb-stones and tomb-chapel walls of officials and private persons from the VIth dynasty onwards are explicit on this subject. On the one hand, the deceased threatens with judgment at the hands of 'the great god, the lord of judgment, in the place where judgment is had,'[6] those who injure his tomb-chapel,[7] enter it in a state of ceremonial impurity,[8] injure its inscriptions,[9] or violate its endowments.[10] On the other hand, the deceased himself claims to have been virtuous, 'because I desired that it might be well with me in the presence of the great god,'[11] or 'in order that I might offer righteousness to the great god, the lord of heaven.'[12]

For the rewards of the righteous after death and the punishment of the unrighteous see below, § 9 (1) (ii.)–(v.).

6. The sun-god and righteousness.—(1) *The sun-god as the creator and champion of righteousness.*—Breasted has clearly shown that 'the great god' of the above-quoted texts, the divinity who first came to be regarded as the champion of righteousness and the judge of the dead, was not Osiris, but the Heliopolitan sun-god Rē'-Atum;[13] indeed the sun-god is said to be he 'who fashioned (*ms*) righteousness.'[14] Accordingly we read in a Middle Kingdom Coffin Text:

'I am Rē' who came forth from Nun. . . . My detestation is wickedness, I behold it not. I am he who made righteousness.'[15]

---

1 A. Kamāl, *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte*, xv. [Cairo, 1915] 213.
2 This interpretation is supported by the determinative of the verb *sḏr*, 'pass the night'; Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. 46, line 14 f.
3 E. R. Ayrton, C. T. Currelly, A. E. P. Weigall, *Abydos*, iii. [London, 1904] pl. xxix. p. 43.
4 Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv. 993, line 9; see below, § 6 (2).
5 Breasted, *Religion and Thought*, p. 337.
6 Breasted, *Ancient Records*, ii. 288.
7 A. H. Gardiner, *The Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, Leipzig, 1909, 12, 12 f.; *PSBA* xxxviii. [1916] 51.
8 Gardiner, *Journ. of Egyp. Archæology*, i. 26, § 11.
9 *Ib.* 103–105. 10 *Ib.* 26, § 12. 11 *Ib.* 27, § 15.
12 Sethe, *Einsetzung des Veziers*, p. 30.
13 Newberry, i. pl. xxv. line 72 ff.; Breasted, *Ancient Records*, i. 629.
14 Gardiner, *Journ. of Egyp. Archæology*, i. 26, § 12.

1 Newberry, pl. xxv., line 36 ff. = Breasted, *Anc. Records*, i. 625.
2 See art. PURIFICATION (Egyptian), V. 2.
3 K. Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte* (hereafter cited as *Pyr.*), Leipzig, 1908–10, 921*a–c*, 1141*a*–1142*b*.
4 *Pyr.* 1188*a–c*; Breasted, *Religion and Thought*, p. 172.
5 Breasted, *Religion and Thought*, p. 173 f.
6 *E.g.* W. M. F. Petrie, *Deshasheh*, London, 1898, pl. vii. line 8 f. p. 43.
7 Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. 35, 49, 72 f.
8 *Ib.* 49, 50 f., 58, 122, 142. 9 *Ib.* 71.
10 *Ib.* 14, 117. 11 *Ib.* 123, 132 f.
12 Petrie, *Dendereh*, pl. ix.
13 *Religion and Thought*, p. 170 ff.
14 N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El-Amarna*, London, 1903–08, vi. pl. xv. line 8, p. 26.
15 Gardiner, *PSBA* xxxviii. 45.

(2) *The sun-god lives on righteousness.*—The sun-god not merely created righteousness, but is said to 'live' (*i.e.* feed) on it, just as the Nile-god, Ḥapi, is said to live on fish.[1] In a hymn to the sun-god we find:

'I have come unto thee, lord of gods, Atum-Rē'-Harakhte, that I may present unto thee righteousness, for I know that thou livest thereon.'[2]

It was the business of certain gods to present, or lift up, righteousness to the sun-god (*i.e.* keep him supplied with his mystic sustenance?).

Thus the deceased is said to 'ascend to heaven with the gods who offer righteousness to Rē'.'[3] We also hear of 'these four apes who sit in the forepart of the boat of Rē', who lift up righteousness unto the Lord of All.'[4] The goddess Sakhmet-Ubastet is said to 'stand in the prow of the boat of the Father (the sun-god), overthrowing his enemies and placing righteousness in the forepart of his boat.'[5]

(3) *The sun-god loves righteousness.*—The sun-god, we are told, loves righteousness and truth,[6] and what he abominates is wickedness.[7] 'More acceptable' in his eyes 'is the nature of one just of heart than the ox of him that doeth iniquity.'[8]

(4) *The sun-god and the balance.*—The Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts and the *Book of the Dead* depict the sun-god, in his capacity of judge of the dead, as weighing righteousness in a balance, *i.e.* testing the righteousness of the dead.[9] In the Osirianized version of the posthumous judgment the balance occupies a very prominent place.[10]

(5) '*The place in which judgment is had.*'—The texts of the early feudal age which speak of 'the place in which judgment [by the sun-god] is had' do not inform us where that place is, and the Pyramid Texts are equally unenlightening. According to a Middle Kingdom Coffin Text,[11] the posthumous trial took place in the cabin of the sun-god's celestial ship.

Perhaps it was owing to this idea that the two ships of the sun-god are named the Two Rights in the Pyramid Texts.[12] Cf. also the statement: 'The tongue of this Piōpi is as that of the Righteous One who belongs to the (boat called) Right.'[13]

(6) *The sun-god as the ideally righteous king.*—The sun-god, according to the myths, was the first king of Egypt. Owing to his close association with righteousness and with the kingship, he came to be regarded as the prototype of the Egyptian sovereigns, the pattern for all would-be just and righteous Pharaohs.[14]

Thus Amenemḥēt I. is described as coming 'that he might abolish iniquity, gloriously appearing as the sun-god (Atum) himself.'[15]

In a literary composition of the feudal period a sage is represented as contrasting the disastrous reign of a weak Pharaoh with that golden age when the sun-god, the ideal king, ruled over Egypt. He describes the sun-god as the 'shepherd [lit. 'herdsman'] of all men, with no evil in his heart.' 'Where is he to-day?' he asks. 'Does he sleep perchance? Behold his might is not seen.'[16] Judging from these words, the sage is looking forward either to a return of the sun-god to reign once more on earth or to the advent of a king whose rule will be like that of his divine prototype.[17]

[1] Gardiner, *PSBA* xxxviii. 45; *Tdb.* ch. lxv. line 11 ff.; H. Grapow, *ZÄ* xlix. [1911] 51.
[2] Budge, *Book of the Dead* (Hieroglyphic Text), p. 4.
[3] *Tdb.* ch. clxix. line 25 f. [4] *Ib.* ch. cxxvi. line 1 ff.
[5] C. R. Lepsius, *Das Todtenbuch der Ägypter, nach dem hieroglyphischen Papyrus in Turin*, Leipzig, 1842, ch. clxiv. line 3 f. pl. 78.
[6] Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. 50, 57, 71.
[7] Gardiner, *PSBA* xxxviii. 45.
[8] Gardiner, *Journ. of Egyp. Archæology*, i. 34.
[9] P. Lacau, *Textes religieux égyptiens*, Paris, 1910, i. p. 87, line 3 f.; *Tdb.* ch. xii. line 2 f.; cf. Lacau, *RTr* xxxi. [1909] 23.
[10] See art. ETHICS AND MORALITY (Egyptian), § 8.
[11] Lacau, *Textes religieux*, i. 113.
[12] *Pyr.* 1786*b*, 1815; Breasted, *Religion and Thought*, p. 173.
[13] *Ib.* 1306*c*.
[14] Breasted, *Religion and Thought*, pp. 174 f., 211, 245.
[15] Newberry, i. pl. xxv. lines 36 ff.
[16] Gardiner, *Admonitions*, 12, 1–6.
[17] Breasted, *Religion and Thought*, p. 211 f.; Gardiner, *Admonitions*, p. 14. On the 'Messianic' tone of this utterance see Breasted, *loc. cit.*

7. **Osiris and righteousness.**—(1) *Osiris originally the type of all dead kings.*—In the earliest religious literature Osiris appears most usually[1] in the rôle of a dead king, or rather the dead king *par excellence*,[2] the ethical nature and judicial functions of the sun-god not being accredited to him till the period after the VIth dynasty, when we find that, owing to the growing popularity of his cult, he has passed from the position of dead king to that of king and judge of the dead.[3]

(2) *Osiris as king and judge of the dead.*—The Pyramid Texts sometimes depict the dead Pharaoh as administering justice,[4] and Osiris, as a dead king, would have acted in a similar capacity. His promotion to the kingship of the dead was naturally accompanied by a corresponding advancement of his judicial status, which also would have been further facilitated by the myth that depicts him as the prototype of all who have emerged triumphant from their posthumous trial (see below, § 10).[5]

(3) *The influence of the Osiris myth on Egyptian ethics.*—It cannot be doubted that the Osiris myth, with its account of the god's murder, of the unjust accusation brought against him, and of his final triumph before the judicial council at Heliopolis, inspired the Egyptians with the conviction that righteousness and justice, not unrighteousness and injustice, must ultimately prevail. The myth, therefore, must have played a great part in the development of those highly ethical ideas which find frequent expression, as we have already seen, in the inscriptions and literary compositions of the feudal and subsequent periods.[6] Thus Ptaḥḥotp could say with confidence:

'Great is righteousness, lasting, and prevailing; it has not been disturbed since the time of Osiris.'[7]

(4) *Osiris as the god of righteousness.*—Osiris, having assumed the judicial office of the sun-god, acquired likewise his ethical character. He is therefore called 'the great god, the lord of righteousness, who lives thereon';[8] or the sole god, who lives on righteousness.[9] 'I present righteousness before thy face,' says the deceased Hunofer, 'for I know that thou livest thereon.'[10] Osiris is described as 'satisfied with righteousness . . . thou whose abomination is lies.'[11] A Middle Kingdom official named Akḥthoi says: 'I received him who made petition to me. It is what the god (*i.e.* Osiris) loveth upon earth';[12] and Khentemsemti, a magnate of the same period, informs us that he 'gladdened the god (Osiris) with righteousness.'[13]

Finally Osiris appears like Rē' as the creator of righteousness, for a Middle Kingdom Coffin Text represents him as saying:

'I am he who created Ḥu, my abomination is iniquity. . . . I am Osiris, the god who made righteousness, I live thereon.'[14]

8. **The solar quality of righteousness ascribed to divinities other than Rē' and Osiris.**—(1) Like earthly judges,[15] the judge of the dead, in the person whether of Rē' or of Osiris, had a body of

[1] In *Pyr.* 1520*a*, *b*, Osiris is called the 'lord of righteousness' (see also Breasted, *Religion and Thought*, p. 175).
[2] See Davies-Gardiner, *Tomb of Amenemḥēt*, p. 55, note, and p. 87; *Journ. of Egyp. Archæology*, ii. 122, iv. [1917] 206.
[3] Breasted, *Religion and Thought*, p. 255. [4] *Ib.* p. 174.
[5] For a detailed account of the judgment of the dead by Osiris see art. ETHICS AND MORALITY (Egyptian), §§ 8. 9; F. Ll. Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, Oxford, 1900, p. 46 ff.
[6] Cf. Breasted, *Religion and Thought*, p. 256.
[7] *Pap. Prisse*, 6, 3–5.
[8] *Egyp. Stelæ in the Brit. Mus.* i. pl. 10; see also *Tdb.* ch. cxxv. (Introd.) line 2.
[9] *Tdb.* ch. clxxiii. line 3. [10] *Ib.* ch. clxxxiii. line 40.
[11] Budge, *Book of the Dead* (Hieroglyphic Text), p. 39, line 3 f.
[12] Ayrton, Currelly, and Weigall, pl. xxix.
[13] *Egyp. Stelæ in the Brit. Mus.* ii. pl. 9, line 9 f.
[14] *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte*, v. [1904] 248.
[15] Cf. Vogelsang, p. 61; art. PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD (Egyptian), § XVIII.

advisers to assist him[1]—the *ḏ;ḏ;t*, or judicial council over which he presided.[2] Probably the passage, 'those who weigh with the balance on the day of reckoning,'[3] refers to that body. The same ethical qualities and judicial functions were attributed to these assistant councillors as to the presiding judge.

(2) Thōth, the 'scribe of the gods,' and vizier of the sun-god,[4] who acted as recorder to the solar and Osirian tribunal, describes himself thus:

'Pure of hands, lord of purity, who drives away evil; the scribe of righteousness, whose abomination is iniquity . . . the lord of laws . . . the lord of righteousness; who makes triumphant the weak, who protects the oppressed.'[5]

(3) The four apes in the boat of Rē', in which, according to one account,[6] the posthumous trial took place, are thus described:

'Who judge between the oppressed and the oppressor, who live on righteousness, who swallow righteousness, who are devoid of lying, whose abomination is iniquity.'[7]

(4) The celestial ferryman 'Turn-face'[8] loves righteousness and hates iniquity.[9]

(5) The assessors of Osiris in the Broad Hall of the Two Truths are those 'in whose bodies there is no lie, who live on righteousness in Heliopolis.'[10] The same gods are addressed as 'lords of righteousness, free from evil.'[11]

(6) The crocodile-gods, who wound the sinners that are behind Ḥetepeskhus, are also entitled 'lords of righteousness.'[12]

(7) The appellation 'righteous ones' is given to the inhabitants of the Osirian kingdom.[13]

(8) The local gods, who for political reasons[14] were identified with the sun-god, naturally acquired his ethical qualities, which in process of time might be ascribed to any divinity.

All this would have created a general feeling that the gods were on the side of righteousness and opposed to evil.

A deceased person, *e.g.*, speaks of his city god as 'a lord of righteousness';[15] accordingly one who was oppressed would appeal to his city god to right his wrong.[16] Ptaḥ of Memphis is commonly entitled 'lord of righteousness.'[17] It is said of him that 'he will not ignore the deed of any man,' and he is represented as righteously chastising sinners, smiting with blindness him who swears falsely.[18] The Theban Amūn, who is said to be 'contented with righteousness,'[19] likewise punishes the sinner.[20] 'He assigneth him that sinneth against him to the fire, and the just to the West.'[21] Of the 'righteous man' it is said that he 'sets Amūn in his heart.'[22] 'The Peak of the West,' we read, 'smites with the smiting of a savage lion; she pursues him that transgresses against her.'[23] Sirenpōwet of Elephantine, it should be noted, states, in an enumeration of his virtuous deeds, that he did 'what all my gods love,'[24] and the deceased in the presence of Osiris and his assessors claims to have 'done that wherewith the gods are pleased.'[25]

See also art. ETHICS AND MORALITY (Egyptian), § II.

[1] Cf. Erman, *Gespräch eines Lebensmüden mit seiner Seele*, Berlin, 1896, line 23 ff.
[2] W. Golénischeff, *Les Papyrus hiératiques . . . de l'Ermitage impérial à St. Pétersbourg*, Petrograd, 1913, pl. x. line 53.
[3] Breasted, *Religion and Thought*, p. 253. [4] *Ib.* p. 255.
[5] *Tdb.* ch. clxxxiii. line 41 ff.; cf. Erman, *Gespräch eines Lebensmüden*, line 23 ff.
[6] See above, § 6 (5). [7] *Tdb.* ch. cxxvi.
[8] Erman, *Handbook*, p. 94; *Pyr.* 883, *a, b.* In a papyrus in the Bodleian Library, which the present writer hopes shortly to publish in *Journ. of Egyp. Archæology*, this divinity is depicted as mummiform (cf. *Tdb.* i. pl. cxxxv.), with a crocodile's head, the face of which is averted and looks over his back.
[9] Lacau, *Textes religieux*, i. 112.
[10] *Tdb.* ch. cxxv. (Conclusion) line 6 f.
[11] *Ib.* ch. lxxii. (*Pe*) line 2.
[12] H. Grapow, *Urkunden*, v. [1915] 41 ff.
[13] *Tdb.* ch. lxxii. (*Aa*) line 4; Budge, *Book of the Dead* (Hieroglyphic Text), p. 433, line 14 f.; Grapow, *Urkunden*, v. 26.
[14] See Erman, *Handbook*, p. 56 f.
[15] *Tdb.* ch. clxxxiii. line 36. [16] Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. 78.
[17] *E.g.*, A. M. Blackman, *The Temple of Derr*, Cairo, 1913, p. 106.
[18] Gunn, *Journ. of Egyp. Archæology*, iii. 88 f.
[19] Erman, 'Denksteine aus der theban. Gräberstadt,' in *SBAW* xlix. 1095, line 16.
[20] *Ib.* p. 1092, line 8; Gunn, p. 84.
[21] Breasted, *Religion and Thought*, p. 354.
[22] Gunn, p. 88. [23] *Ib.* p. 86.
[24] Gardiner, *ZÄ* xlv. 125, line 19.
[25] *Tdb.* ch. cxxv. (Conclusion) line 10.

9. Incentives to righteousness.—(1) *The posthumous judgment.*[1]—Breasted rightly points out how great an incentive to the practice of virtue was the belief in a judgment after death.[2] 'I desired that it might be well with me in the Great God's presence,' says Ḥarkhuf, a VIth dynasty nomarch of Elephantine, when recounting his righteous acts.[3]

(i.) The judge of the dead, in the person whether of Rē' or of Osiris, loves righteousness and hates evil.

Dḥuthotp, when stating that he has not injured anybody, informs us that 'the god loves righteousness.'[4] Seshemnofer 'spake the truth, which the god loves every day.'[5] 'I am one who loves good and hates evil. What the god loves is the doing of righteousness,' says Inti of Deshāsheh.[6] Says Khentemsemti: 'I have not done evil, I have gladdened the god (Osiris) with righteousness.'[7] Intef, son of Sont, 'wrought not evil against men; it is what the god hates.'[8] A certain Akhthoi 'received him who made petition. . . . (For) it is what the god loveth upon earth.'[9]

(ii.) Bliss after death was for those who have done 'what their gods praise,'[10] 'what men command and that wherewith the gods are pleased.'[11] When the deceased entered the judgment-hall of Osiris, he must be able to offer righteousness before the face of the god;[12] his heart must be righteous, without iniquity.[13]

'Righteousness,' says the Eloquent Peasant, 'is for eternity; it descends with him who does it into the necropolis, when he is wrapped and laid in the ground. His name is not effaced on earth, he is remembered because of the good. That is the summing-up of the god's word.'[14]

(iii.) The following remarkable passage gives us considerable insight into the ideas about future accountability entertained by the religiously disposed during the feudal period:

'As for the Judicial Council that judges oppressors (*s;ryw*), thou knowest that they are not lenient on that day of judging the wretched one, at the hour of performing (their) functions. Unhappy is he who is arraigned as one conscious (of sin). Fill not thy heart with length of years. *They* regard a life-time as an hour. A man remains over after death; his sins are laid beside him as wealth. Now eternal is the existence yonder. He is a fool who has made light of it. As for him who has reached it without doing unrighteousness, he shall abide yonder like a god; stepping forward boldly like the lords of Eternity.'[15]

No less highly ethical conceptions about rewards and punishments after death are to be found in the so-called *Second Tale of Khamuas*, a composition of the Græco-Roman age:

Setme (Khamuas) saw two funerals—that of a rich man, who, furnished with a magnificent mortuary equipment, was being carried to the necropolis amid the loud lamentations of the (hired?) mourners, and that of a poor man, who was wrapped in a mat and had none to walk after him. Setme then exclaimed: 'By Ptaḥ, the great god, how much better it shall be in Amenti for great men, for whom they make glory with the voice of wailing, than for poor men whom they take to the desert-necropolis without glory of funeral!' However, Setme's son Si-Osiri took his father down into Amenti in order that he might see what really did befall these two men in the hereafter. 'And Setme saw [there, *i.e.* in the seventh hall of the Tēi] a great man clothed in raiment of byssus, near to the place in which Osiris was, he being of exceeding high position (?) . . . And Si-Osiri said . . . to him, "My father Setme, dost thou not see this great man who is clothed in raiment of royal linen, standing near the place in which Osiris is? He is that poor man whom thou sawest being carried out from Memphis, with no man following him, and wrapped in a mat. He was brought to the Tēi and his evil deeds were weighed against his good deeds that he did upon earth, and it was found that his good deeds were more numerous than his evil deeds. . . . And it was commanded before Osiris that the burial outfit of that rich man, whom thou sawest carried forth from Memphis with great

[1] See also above, §§ 5, 6 (4 f.), 7.
[2] *Religion and Thought*, pp. 169 f., 177.
[3] Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. 122 f. [4] *Ib.* p. 50.
[5] *Ib.* p. 57. [6] *Ib.* p. 71.
[7] *Egyp. Stelæ in the Brit. Mus.* ii. pl. 9, line 9 f.
[8] *Ib.* pl. 24.
[9] Ayrton, Currelly, and Weigall, pl. xxix.
[10] Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv. 430, line 15; cf. 62, line 8 ff.
[11] *Tdb.* ch. cxxv. (Conclusion) line 10.
[12] *Ib.* ch. clxxxiii. line 40; cf. Budge, *Book of the Dead* (Hieroglyphic Text), p. 4, line 13 f.; Petrie, *Dendereh*, pl. ix.
[13] *Tdb.* ii. (*Ac*) ch. cxxv. (Conclusion) line 1.
[14] Vogelsang, B 1, 307–11, p. 211 f.
[15] Golénischeff, *Pap. hiératiques*, pl. x. lines 53–57 = Gardiner, *Journ. of Egyp. Archæology*, i. 27, § 13.

lamentation, should be given to this same poor man, and that he should be taken among the noble spirits as a man of God that follows Sokaris Osiris, his place being near to the person of Osiris. (But) that great man whom thou didst see, he was taken to the Têi, his evil deeds were weighed against his good deeds, and his evil deeds were found more numerous than his good deeds that he did upon earth. It was commanded that he should be punished in Amenti, and he is that man whom thou didst see, in whose right eye the pivot (?) of the gate of Amenti was fixed, shutting and opening upon it, and whose mouth was open in great lamentation."'[1]

(iv.) Very interesting is the account that this *Tale of Khamuas* gives us of the treatment in Amenti of people whose lives have been contemptible and aimless:

'The kind of men on earth who are under the curse of God, and do work day and night for their living, while moreover their women rob them and they find not bread to eat. They came to Amenti; their evil deeds were found to be more numerous than their good deeds; and they found that what happened to them on earth happened to them in Amenti.'[2]

(v.) According to the *Book of the Dead*, the deceased person who was adjudged unrighteous was handed over to the 'Devourer,' *'mmt*,[3] or to a demon called Babi, 'who lives upon the entrails of the great on that day of the Great Reckoning.'[4] In the *Second Tale of Khamuas*, side by side with the view that the unrighteous are tortured exists also the older belief in the 'Devourer.'

'He of whom it shall be found that his evil deeds are more numerous than his good deeds is delivered (?) to the "Devourer" (*'m*) of the Lord of Amenti; they destroy his soul upon his body, she (the "Devourer") does not allow him to breathe ever again.'[5]

The unrighteous, the *Book of the Dead* likewise informs us, might fall a victim to the swords of the gods forming the judicial council.[6] The same authority speaks of crocodile-gods 'that are in the water,' who are entitled 'lords of righteousness,' and who wound sinners,[7] and of a god 'who binds the unrighteous to his slaughter-block, who cuts souls in pieces.' This god is Horus, according to one ancient commentator, who says:

'He has two heads, one carrying righteousness, the other iniquity. He gives iniquity to him who does it, righteousness to him who brings it.'[8]

This sentiment finds expression, though in a less theological guise, in the already thrice quoted *Tale of Khamuas*:

'Find it at thy heart, my father Setme, that he who is good (*mnḫ*) upon earth, they are good to him in Amenti, while he that is evil, they are evil to him.'[9]

But there were other motives for leading a righteous life than the dread of what might happen at the judgment after death.

(2) *Fear of God.*—A vague fear of God might in itself be a sufficient incentive to good conduct.

'I did not pilfer the divine endowments on the day of weighing the corn,' says Inêni, . . . 'The fear of God was in my heart.'[10]

(3) *Rewards or punishments during life.*—The Egyptian expected to reap a reward for his virtue during his earthly existence, and 'the good word which issued from the mouth of Rē' seems to encourage this expectation:

'Speak right, do right, because it is great, it is mighty, it is enduring. The reward (?) thereof shall find thee, it will bring thee to honour.'[11]

Long life and material prosperity were especially regarded as rewards for righteousness.

'How happy is he who hath done right for the god therein [*i.e.* the place whence the deceased has come]; he grants old age to him who hath done it for him so that he attains honour.'[12]

An XVIIIth dynasty magnate thus admonishes visitors to his tomb-chapel: 'Have regard unto my character and do the like; it shall be profitable unto you. Your life shall be long upon earth, ye being in health; ye shall pass your years in happiness.'[1] An official of the Old Kingdom informs us that he 'held forth justice to the righteous for the sake of long life upon earth.'[2] His father's advice to King Merikarē', 'Do right that thou mayest live long in the land,' has already been quoted in § 4. 'Long lived is the man whose rule is righteous,' says the sage Ptaḥḥotp, 'who walks according to its (the rule's) way.' As a further inducement to be virtuous, this eminently practical teacher asserts that 'the righteous man is wont to make a will [or, as we should express it, make his fortune], whereas there is no house for the covetous.'[3] 'Wrong-doing,' Ptaḥḥotp tells his hearers, 'stealeth away riches. Never hath wickedness brought its venture safe to port.'[4] The Eloquent Peasant warns Rensi that the reward of unrighteousness and injustice is death. 'Beware lest eternity draw nigh, and prefer to live, according to the saying: The doing of right is breath for the nose.'[5]

The reward for unrighteousness was also meted out during the life on earth, at the hands of the gods who 'will not ignore the deed of any person.'[6] They bring misfortune upon the sinner,[7] cause him to fall a victim to a crocodile in the water or to a snake on land,[8] or smite him with disease.[9] However, they show mercy to him that repents and restore him to health.[10]

(4) *Other rewards.*—(i.) The righteous man was said to be rewarded with a 'goodly burial.'[11] King Akhthoi says to Merikarē':

'Make stately thy castle in the West, adorn the palace in the Necropolis; even as one who is just, as one who doeth righteousness.'[12]

Those who have regard to the character of Inêni and follow his good example will rest in their 'seat of eternity.'[13]

For the importance attached by the Egyptians to a properly conducted funeral see the oft-repeated request in the funerary formulæ that the deceased may be 'buried well' or granted a 'goodly burial.'[14]

(ii.) The heir or heirs of the righteous man succeed to his possessions and offices,[15] and his house abides for ever.[16]

'Make righteousness to flourish and thy children shall live, says Ptaḥḥotp.'[17]

(iii.) The righteous man's name endures in the mouth of men;[18] it 'is not effaced on earth, and he is remembered because of the good.'[19]

Dḥôut prays, 'May the memory of me abide upon earth,'[20] and Inêni, who did 'what his city god loves,' tells us that 'he who passes years as a favoured (or praised) one—his name is good in the mouth of the living, the remembrance of him . . . is for ever';[21] he also tells us that 'his name will abide because of his character, in accordance with what he has done on earth.'[22]

(5) *The desire to stand well with the Pharaoh.*—The source of all promotion and honour was the Pharaoh. As representative of the sun-god on earth, he was the 'lord of righteousness.'[23] Men must therefore work righteousness to win his favour.

---

1 Griffith, *Stories of the High Priests*, pp. 44–49.
2 *Ib.* p. 49.
3 Budge, *Book of the Dead* (Hieroglyphic Text), p. 16; see also art. ETHICS AND MORALITY (Egyptian), § 8.
4 *Tdb.* ch. cxxv. (Conclusion) line 8. 5 Griffith, p. 47.
6 *Tdb.* ch. cxxv. (Conclusion) line 3 f.; Erman, *Handbook*, p. 105.
7 Grapow, *Urkunden*, v. 41 ff.; cf. *Tdb.* ch. lxxii. line 1 ff.
8 Grapow, p. 57. 9 Griffith, p. 50.
10 Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv. 64; see also art. ETHICS AND MORALITY (Egyptian), § 6.
11 Vogelsang, B 1, 319–322, p. 215 f.
12 *Tdb.* ch. clxxxiii. line 38 f.

1 Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv. 66. 2 Petrie, *Dendereh*, pl. xi. A.
3 *Pap. Prisse*, xo, 4 f. 4 *Ib.* 5, 6.
5 Vogelsang, B 1, 145 f., pp. 124–127; Gardiner, *PSBA* xxxvi. 69 f.
6 Gunn, *Journ. of Egyp. Archæology*, iii. 89.
7 *E.g.*, Golénischeff, *Pap. hiératiques*, pl. xi. line 70 f. = Gardiner, *Journ. of Egyp. Archæology*, i. 23, 28.
8 Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. 23; *Egyp. Stelæ in the Brit. Mus.* i. pl. 43, no. 71.
9 Gunn, pp. 86, 88 f. 10 *Ib.* pp. 85, 87.
11 *Tdb.* ch. clxxxiii. line 38 f.; see also (5) below.
12 Gardiner, *Journ. of Egyp. Archæology*, i. 34, § 27.
13 Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv. 66.
14 *E.g.*, C. R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, Berlin, 1851–59, ii. pl. 98*a*, *e*; *Egyp. Stelæ in the Brit. Mus.* i. pl. 41, no. 86; cf. also A. H. Gardiner, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, Paris, 1916, pp. 65 ff., 173; Griffith, *Siût and Dêr Rifeh*, pl. 8, line 2 f.
15 Griffith, *Siût and Dêr Rifeh*, pl. 11, line 14 f. = Breasted, *Ancient Records*, i. 395; Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv. 66.
16 Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv. 131, line 16.
17 *Pap. Prisse*, x8, 1 f.
18 Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv. 131, line 17.
19 Vogelsang, B 1, 307 ff., p. 211 f.
20 Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv. 430, line 8. 21 *Ib.* 62, line 3 ff.
22 *Ib.* 66. 23 *Ib.* 941.

'I did righteousness for the Lord of Righteousness,' says an XVIIIth dynasty official, 'for I knew that he is pleased with it.'[1] Another official of that period tells us that he was beloved of his lord (the king) because of his excellence.[2] A XIIth dynasty magnate 'did the right that the king loved';[3] and of a XIIth dynasty court lady it is related that 'she was of honourable estate with the king because of her righteousness.'[4]

One of the results of winning the royal favour was the much coveted 'goodly burial.'[5]

Dḥout says: 'My heart was excellent for my lord (the king), that I might rest in the high land of the noble ones who are in the Necropolis.'[6]

(6) *The desire to stand well with the community.*—The Egyptian was intensely anxious, not only to stand well with the king, but also to have the esteem of his fellows. This was another powerful motive for displaying at least outward rectitude. 'I am one who spake good and who repeated what is loved,'[7] and similar assertions, occur over and over again in inscriptions of the feudal period.

E.g., 'I said what the great love and what the commonalty praise.'[8] 'I am one who was beloved of all the people. . . . I am one who did that which all men praise.'[9] 'I never did what all men hate.'[10] 'There was not found one who hated me in this city.'[11] 'I am one beloved of his father, praised of his mother, honoured by his companions, dear to his brethren, whom his servants loved.'[12]

One man, after enumerating his virtues, declares that men when speaking of him exclaimed: 'Would that the earth were full of people like him!'[13] An official of the Middle Kingdom openly asserts that he was beneficent in a year of scarcity 'in order that my name might be good.' 'I was a shepherd [lit. 'herdsman'] of the serf,' he adds, 'in order that my name might be good in the mouth of his [the serf's] city.'[14] Khnemerdi says: 'I gave provision unto him who begged it, herbs to him whom I knew not as to him whom I knew, that my name might be good in the mouth of those who are upon earth.'[15]

Public esteem not merely gratified a man's pride while he was yet alive, but it was of practical value to him after death. If his name were good in the mouth of the living and the remembrance of him eternal, because of his virtues,[16] visitors to his burial-place would the more readily present him with those offerings upon which his welfare after death was imagined so largely to depend, or, in lieu of material gifts, would at any rate repeat for his benefit certain prescribed formulæ. Accordingly we find:

'O ye who live and exist . . . as ye love life and hate death, ye shall offer to me that which is in your hands; if there be nothing in your hands, ye shall speak with your mouths, "A thousand of bread and beer, etc."'[17] 'May my name be good unto men who come in after years,' says Dḥout, 'may they give me praises at the two seasons by the favour of the gods.'[18]

The desire to secure these advantages was undoubtedly one of the chief reasons for inscribing upon his tombstone, or upon the façade of his tomb-chapel, the enumeration of the deceased's virtues and the account of the esteem in which he was held by his fellow-men.

(7) *Conscience.*—On the conscience as a stimulus to virtuous living see art. ETHICS AND MORALITY (Egyptian); see also Breasted, *Religion and Thought*, pp. 297 f., 354.

10. Justification of the dead.—(1) *Osiris the prototype of the justified dead.*—The epithet 'justified' (*m;' ḫrw* = lit. 'righteous of voice') is a legal term,[19] and was applied to Osiris when, thanks to the skilful pleading of Thōth, he had won his case against Sēth before the tribunal of gods at Heliopolis.[1] After the VIth dynasty all dead persons were identified with Osiris and from that period onwards had the Osirian epithet 'justified' appended to their names.[2]

(2) *Methods of obtaining justification.* — All manner of means were adopted by the Egyptians to obtain justification at the posthumous trial, most of them utterly inconsistent, from our standpoint, with the ethical theory of the hereafter, and yet, in view of the prevailing magico-religious ideas, a natural consequence of that theory having been accepted.

The deceased, who was identified with Osiris, would inevitably have come to be regarded as righteous, though without any special claim of his own to sinlessness—his personality and acts would have tended to become merged in those of the god.

(i.) *The pilgrimage to Abydos.*—Probably with a view to ensuring this identification after death and securing the benefits resulting therefrom, it was considered advisable to associate oneself with Osiris during life. Hence the pilgrimages to Abydos and the setting up of memorial tablets at the god's supposed burial-place.[3] We are definitely informed in one instance that the object of the pilgrimage was the 'fetching of justification.'[4] If the pilgrimage were omitted during life, it might be undertaken after death with the same desirable results.[5]

(ii.) *The mysteries.*—Similar advantages accrued to him who had participated in the Osirian mysteries.[6]

(iii.) *Purifications.*—People could also be made righteous, and so obtain justification, by means of ceremonial ablutions. A person could perform them for himself during his life-time in special sacred pools,[7] or they could be performed for him after death by divinities, human beings impersonating divinities,[8] or even by himself. According to the *Book of Breathings*, the deceased, before he enters the Hall of the Two Rights, is cleansed from all evil, from every abomination, by the goddesses Uto and Nekhbet, and receives the name 'Stone of Righteousness.'[9]

(iv.) *Magical formulæ, etc.*[10]—Spells were considered to be specially efficacious in obtaining justification for the deceased. The famous ch. cxxv. of the *Book of the Dead*, as the colophon and opening words of the 'Introduction' show, was a spell that enabled the deceased to appear blameless in the eyes of Osiris and his assessors.

Similar spells are the claims of the deceased to have participated in the Osirian mysteries,[11] to have undergone purificatory ceremonies,[12] or the assertion that he is this or that god and therefore righteous.[13] Again, he would be justified if, to the accompaniment of the prescribed formula, his head were crowned with the 'wreath of justification.'[14] Cf. also the so-called 'heart-scarab' with the incantation inscribed upon it.[15] So powerful were these formulæ that the things alleged in them, however untrue they might be, became actualities.[16]

11. The triumph of evil over good.—This aspect of the problem of good and evil is treated in art. ETHICS AND MORALITY (Egyptian), and very fully dealt with by Breasted, *Religion and Thought*, p. 188 ff.

Certain stanzas of the *Gespräch eines Lebensmüden* clearly

1 Sethe, *Urkunden*, 941; cf. 998, line 9. 2 *Ib.* 465, line 1.
3 *Egyp. Stelæ in the Brit. Mus.* ii. pl. 34.
4 Lange-Schäfer, ii. 199.
5 See Davies-Gardiner, pp. 81 f., 83 ff.; see above (4) (i.).
6 Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv. 430, line 4 f.
7 *Ib.* i. 123, 132, 150; *Egyp. Stelæ in the Brit. Mus.* ii. pl. 14.
8 Petrie, *Dendereh*, pl. ix. 9 Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. 75.
10 Lange-Schäfer, ii. no. 20500. 11 *Ib.* ii. no. 20507.
12 Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. 46 f.
13 *Egyp. Stelæ in the Brit. Mus.* ii. pl. 24.
14 Lange-Schäfer, ii. 94.
15 Petrie, *Dendereh*, pl. xv. p. 52.
16 See above (4) (iii.), and art. ETHICS AND MORALITY (Egyptian), § 5.
17 Lange-Schäfer, i. no. 20003, *a*, line 1 ff., *ap.* Davies-Gardiner, p. 92, note 1.
18 Sethe, *Urkunden*, iv. 430.
19 Davies-Gardiner, p. 47, note 4; Breasted, *Religion and Thought*, p. 35.

1 *Tdb.* ch. xviii. line 1 f.
2 See art. ETHICS AND MORALITY (Egyptian), § 7.
3 Erman, *Handbook*, p. 135 f.; Breasted, *Religion and Thought*, p. 285 ff.
4 Davies-Gardiner, p. 47 f.; art. ETHICS AND MORALITY (Egyptian), vol. v. p. 478a, note 2.
5 Davies-Gardiner, *loc. cit.*
6 *E.g.*, *Tdb.* ch. cxxv. (Introd.) lines 21–24 (Conclusion), lines 12–14; art. PURIFICATION (Egyptian), V. 8 (*c*).
7 Art. PURIFICATION (Egyptian), V. 8 (*b*).
8 *Ib.* v. 8 (*c*)–(*e*).
9 P. J. de Horrack, *Le Livre des respirations*, Paris, 1877, pl. i. § 2; cf. also *Pyr.* 921*a*–*c*, 1141*a*–1142*b*.
10 Formulæ increased the efficacy of the manual acts and would have been pronounced during the performance of all the above-mentioned rites (cf. *Pyr.*, *loc. cit.*).
11 *E.g.*, *Tdb.* ch. i. lines 3, 8–10, 13 f.; ch. cv. line 8; ch. cxxv. (Conclusion) line 13 f.; ch. clxxxi. line 13 f.
12 Art. PURIFICATION (Egyptian), V. 8 (*b*).
13 *E.g.*, *Tdb.* ch. clxxxiii. line 41 ff.
14 Davies-Gardiner, p. 111 with note 3; art. ETHICS AND MORALITY (Egyptian), vol. v. p. 478a, note 1.
15 Davies-Gardiner, p. 112 f.; Breasted, *Religion and Thought*, p. 308.
16 For this hoodwinking of the gods by means of magic see art. ETHICS AND MORALITY (Egyptian), § 9; Breasted, *Religion and Thought*, p. 307 ff. For the magical value of the pictorial representation of the pilgrimage to Abydos see Davies-Gardiner, p. 48; cf. also the models of boats placed in tombs during the Middle Kingdom (*ib.* p. 116, note 4).

show that one of the reasons why the author of this 'pessimistic' poem desired death was that he looked to have his wrongs righted in the hereafter.[1] This point has been passed over by Gardiner in art. ETHICS AND MORALITY (Egyptian).

12. **Administration of justice.**[2]—(1) *During the Old Kingdom.*—There was no clearly defined class of professional judges, all judicial functions being performed by the administrative officials, who were supposed to be learned in the law.[3] Certain of the Upper Egyptian provincial governors bore the title 'magnate of the ten of Upper Egypt,' as if they were members of a special council of ten. The officials who acted as judges in the provinces were formed into six courts of justice, the so-called 'six great houses.'[4] At the head of these courts, as indeed of the whole judicial administration, was the vizier in the capacity of the chief justice.[5] Many of the judges bore the predicate 'mouth of Nekhen.'[6] Disputes about the ownership of land seem to have been a frequent cause of litigation.[7] It seems that, even at this early period, all cases had to be submitted to the court in writing.[8] Special cases of a private nature were heard by the chief justice and a 'mouth of Nekhen.'[9] When the queen of Piōpi I. was accused of treason, she was tried by a specially constituted court, consisting of two 'mouths of Nekhen,' without the chief justice.[10] Under certain circumstances a litigant could appeal directly to the king.[11]

(2) *During the Middle Kingdom.*—As in the previous age, the administrative officials acted as judges, while the vizier still held the position of chief justice.[12] There was probably a court of justice at the capital of every nome, presided over by the local prince.[13] We learn that the 'six great houses,' with the vizier at their head, sat in Ith Tōwe.[14] There existed at this period officials with the sole title of 'judge.' These possibly exercised their functions within a restricted local jurisdiction.[15] There were now more than one 'ten of Upper Egypt,' and 'magnates of the tens of Upper Egypt' were entrusted with various executive and administrative commissions by the king; we do not know with any exactitude what was their connexion with the judicial administration.[16]

The *Story of the Eloquent Peasant* shows us how a high official dispensed justice during the feudal age. He was assisted by a council of minor officials, to whose advice, however, the great man paid little heed.[17] This council, be it noted, is depicted as being thoroughly in sympathy with the defendant, the thievish Thutnakht, probably because he was a member, though quite a subordinate one, of the 'official' class.[18]

(3) *Under the New Empire.*—As during the Old Kingdom, there was no class of judges with exclusively legal duties, justice was still dispensed by the administrative officials.[19] The vizier was, as before, the chief justice. He held a daily 'sitting' in his audience hall, the great council.[20] The first step in all legal proceedings was for the claimant to lay his case in writing before the vizier in this court,[1] where also the vizier tried all crimes committed in the capital.[2] The 'magnates of the tens of Upper Egypt' had lost their old importance, and now formed merely an attendant council, retaining, apparently, little or no advisory functions.[3] The 'six great houses' no longer existed, the ancient title 'chief of the six great houses' being retained only as a traditional title of the vizier.[4] In addition to the vizier's hall, the great council, there were local courts composed of the 'notables' of the town—the administrative officials in each district. On occasions the great council and the local court investigated a case together. When the great council required detailed information about a case that only a local court could supply, it sent out a commissioner, who, together with the members of the local court, held a joint inquiry, hearing the evidence of both parties.[5] The number of the local courts is uncertain. The members of the board of judges composing the local court were largely priests,[6] and at Thebes they seem to have varied from day to day. In cases where a member of the royal house was concerned the composition of the board was in the hands of the vizier. In a case of high treason the appointments to it were made by the king himself.[7] There seems at present to be no means of determining what was the exact relation of the local courts to the great council. We know of a case where a petitioner lost his case in the vizier's great council, but obtained satisfaction afterwards at a local court.[8] We probably have the latest existing reference to the great council at Thebes in a Demotic papyrus of the XXVth dynasty.[9]

13. **Personification of Mē'et.**—For full particulars about the goddess Mē'et, her priests, and as to whether she possessed an organized cult or not,[10] see artt. ETHICS AND MORALITY (Egyptian), § 11, and PERSONIFICATION (Egyptian), §§ 4, 7, 9 (*c*) (2).

LITERATURE.—See the works quoted in the footnotes.

A. M. BLACKMAN.

RIGHTEOUSNESS (Greek and Roman).—'Righteousness' is the translation of *δικαιοσύνη* in the NT and in the LXX, where it corresponds to the Hebrew *ṣedaqah*. The word thus gets associations that differentiate it from the idea of justice, which is derived from *δικαιοσύνη* by way of Greek philosophy and Roman law.

The justice or righteousness of God in the Bible is sometimes His loving-kindness to the just and the unjust. 'Righteousness' is an apt rendering of *δικαιοσύνη* in passages of moral eloquence in Plato's *Republic* and *Laws*. It is not once used in Welldon's translation of the fifth book of Aristotle's *Ethics*, 'On Justice.' Aristotle first explicitly distinguished the special meaning of justice as one of the cardinal virtues from its vaguer use as a synonym of all virtue or righteousness. He first established the quasi-legal meaning which until recently has found general acceptance. He conceived justice as the recognition of a definable equality or proportion in respect of rights assumed to be ascertained or ascertainable. It was not the limitation of such rights by 'equity,' nor their renunciation by generosity, nor their equalization in the interests of a social ideal. Some of these concep-

1 Erman, *Gespräch eines Lebensmüden mit seiner Seele*, pp. 27, 71 ff.; Breasted, *Religion and Thought*, p. 197.
2 See also artt. LAW (Egyptian) and ETHICS AND MORALITY (Egyptian), § 12.
3 Breasted, *A Hist. of Egypt from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest*, London, 1906, p. 80 f.
4 *E.g.*, Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. 99, line 6.
5 Breasted, *History*, pp. 79–82.
6 See Gardiner, *ZÄ* xlii. [1905] 121 ff.
7 See Sethe, *Urkunden*, i. 36, line 17, 13, line 8.
8 Breasted, *History*, p. 81 f.
9 Sethe, p. 99.
10 *Ib.* p. 100.
11 Breasted, *History*, p. 81 f.
12 *Ib.* pp. 164, 166.
13 *Ib.* p. 158.
14 *Ib.* p. 164.
15 *Ib.* p. 165.
16 *Ib.*
17 Vogelsang, p. 61 f.
18 See Breasted, *Religion and Thought*, p. 219 ff.
19 Breasted, *History*, p. 240.
20 *Ib.* p. 240. Throughout the New Kingdom, from the reign of Thutmōse III. onwards, there were usually two viziers, one for Upper, and one for Lower, Egypt. There were then two great courts, that of the Upper Egyptian vizier being situated at Thebes, and that of the Lower Egyptian vizier at Heliopolis (Gardiner, *The Inscription of Mes*, Leipzig, 1905, p. 33 f.).

1 Gardiner, *Inscription of Mes*, p. 36.
2 Breasted, *History*, p. 240.
3 *Ib.* p. 239 f.
4 *Ib.* p. 240.
5 Gardiner, *Inscription of Mes*, p. 37; Breasted, *History*, p. 241.
6 See art. PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD (Egyptian), § XVIII.
7 Breasted, *History*, p. 241.
8 *Ib.*
9 See Griffith, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, Manchester, 1909, iii. 16.
10 In this connexion it might be pointed out that Ns-p'-hr-'n, whose *Funerary Papyrus* in the Bodleian Library will be published shortly in *Journ. of Egyp. Archæology*, bears among other titles that of 'god's father of Mē'et, daughter of Rē'' (see also J. Lieblein, *Hieroglyph. Namenwörterbuch*, Leipzig, 1871–72, p. 997, 69).

tions are latent in the Stoic and Christian χρηστότης, and recently philosophy has used them to transcend or confound the Aristotelian distinctions. This is only in appearance a return to the broader and more spiritual treatment of 'justice' in Plato's *Republic*. Platonic justice, it is true, is not confined to Aristotelian or legal formulas, and it is in a sense 'social.' But Plato does not lose himself in generalities with modernist humanitarianism. He recognizes in anticipation the legal and Aristotelian rules of justice, and tests his own broader definition by them. But for edification and the portrayal of his ideal he prefers to define justice in terms of 'Be this' rather than 'Do this.'[1] Objectively his justice is social. But he emphasizes equality of service in the voluntary acceptance of natural inequalities, not the equalization of rights and rewards.

With these clues we shall not lose our way in the labyrinth of the historical evolution, which for sober students begins with Homer. Homer does not use the abstract δικαιοσύνη. But we cannot infer[2] that he lacks the idea. For he has the abstract εὐδικία,[3] and in Æschylus and Sophocles also the metrically more convenient δίκη stands for δικαιοσύνη, which does not occur in Greek tragedy. Homer uses δίκη both of the administration of justice and of ethical justice. In *Od.* ix. 215 it is bracketed with θέμιστες, 'dooms,' in the concrete sense of judgments. In *Il.* xxiii. 542 the entire context of its use suggests the 'later' meaning of strict right as opposed to the promptings of pity or generosity in the judge. The word also means 'way,' 'manner,' 'custom'—this is the way of the gods, the way of mortals, the way of kings.[4] The survival of this sense in fixed prepositional phrases —'dog-wise,' etc.—leads plausibly to the assumption that it was the earlier meaning, and that for Homeric or pre-Homeric man the just way was the customary way known to the elders.[5] The systematic exaggeration of this by the followers of Henry Maine provokes rival systems. Rudolf Hirzel[6] maintains that the legal meaning is the earlier, and that δίκη is by etymology the casting down or stretching out of the judge's staff to part the contestants and proclaim his decision. His collections are helpful, but his interpretations of the texts will not bear scrutiny. Jane E. Harrison is equally confident that δίκη is 'the way of the whole world of nature' and that in Euripides' *Medea*, 411, it is 'the circular course of the whole cosmos.'[7] Dismissing these fancies, we find in Homer δίκη and the derivatives δικάζω and δικασπόλος already used of a simple primitive administration of justice by a king or a council of elders.[8] The adjective δίκαιος occurs fifteen times or more as a broad term of ethical approval. We might try to elicit a definition by noting its synonyms or associates — 'sensible,' 'reasonable,' etc.—and its antonyms— 'insolent,' 'savage,' 'harsh.'[9] But this would be an uncritical pressing of the texts. 'Just' and 'god-fearing' are comprehensive categories of all virtue or righteousness for the Homeric Odysseus,[10] as they are for the writer of Ac 10[35] 'He that feareth him, and worketh righteousness (δικαιοσύνη), is accepted with him.'

In Hesiod's *Theogony*, 901 f., Dike appears with the Seasons, Peace, and Eunomia ('good order') as daughter of Zeus and Themis.[11] This seems conscious allegory. And later Greek poets freely adapt to their purposes the parentage, the kin, and the functions of Dike.[1] The frequency of the word in the first 300 lines of the *Works and Days* arises from the constant reference to the crooked decision of the bribe-devouring judges in the lawsuit between Hesiod and his brothers, which is the text of the poet's moralizing and admonitions about justice in general. As in Homer, Dike is the antithesis of Hybris[2] and Violence, and the poet repeats the Homeric blessing on the land whose kings give just judgments.[3] Dike occurs in the 'later' sense of punishment.[4] The negative ἄδικος, 'unjust,' is found,[5] and the neuter plural τὰ δίκαια.[6] The opposition of justice and violence is expressed in the interesting compound χειροδίκαι.[7] And there are hints of other ideas developed by later Greek reflexion. Birds and beasts may devour one another, for there is no δίκη among them.[8] Here is the germ of the myth in Plato's *Protagoras*,[9] that Zeus established civilization by sending αἰδώς and δίκη to mankind.[10] Hesiod also anticipates[11] the complaint of Job, Theognis,[12] the Sophist Thrasymachus, Sophocles,[13] the speaker in Plato's *Republic*,[14] and Euripides,[15] that the righteous man is not visibly rewarded. It is commonly said that the personification of Δίκη begins with the description of her banishment by wicked men.[16] But no absolute line can be drawn between this and the phrasing of Homer in *Il.* xvi. 388.

The word is fairly frequent in the fragments of Greek poetry between Hesiod and the drama, but only a few passages are significant. In a fable of Archilochus[17] there is an appeal to Zeus who regards both the Hybris and the Dike of beasts. This may be little more than the literary tone of Kipling's 'law of the pack' and Aristophanes' 'laws of the birds.' Pindar[18] echoes Hesiod with the compound beasts 'unwitting-of-justice.' Mimnermus[19] says that the truth (between man and man) is the most just of all things. Later Greek ethical feeling generally made truth-telling a form of justice rather than an absolute and independent virtue.[20] In LXX 'truth' in a list of virtues is often merely a periphrasis for the reality or sincerity of those virtues.

The idea of justice is especially prominent in Solon, the earliest Attic poet. He speaks in almost Æschylean metaphor of those who regard not the august foundation of Dike.[21] He associates the doctrine of the late punishment of the wicked with the omniscience of silent Dike, who sees and knows all things, and surely overtakes the evil-doer at the last.[22] He prays for wealth—but not unjustly gained (a Greek commonplace).[23] He boasts that he has harmonized might and right,[24] and amuses Plutarch by the archaic *naïveté* of his saying that the sea is the most 'just' of things when the winds do not vex it.[25] In such transferences of the moral

[1] In Eurip. frag. 223 (Nauck) she is the daughter of Time—a transparent allegory; cf. frags. 305, 559; see also Bacchyl. xiv. 54.
[2] 212–218, with triumph of justice 'in the end'; cf. Plato, *Rep.* 613 C.
[3] 225 ff.; Homer, *Od.* xix. 109 ff., *Il.* xvi. 386; cf. Lv 26, Dt 28.
[4] 239, 249. [5] 334. [6] 280.
[7] 189; cf. German *Faustrecht*, and A. C. Pearson, on Soph. frag. 977.
[8] 277. [9] 322 C.
[10] For the connexion of αἰδώς and δίκη see Hirzel, p. 57, n. 4.
[11] 270. [12] 377, 743; cf. Hom. *Il.* xiii. 631.
[13] Frag. 107. [14] 358 C, 364 B. [15] Frag. 288.
[16] *Works and Days*, 255 ff. and possibly 220.
[17] Frag. 84 (6). [18] *Nem.* i. 63. [19] Frag. 8.
[20] See commentators on Plato, *Rep.* 389 B, and the uncritically used collections of Hirzel, p. 110 ff.
[21] Frag. 2 (13), l. 14. For similar images cf. Pindar, *Ol.* xiii. 6; Æsch. *Ag.* 383, *Eumen.* 539, 564, *Choeph.* 646; Soph. *Antig.* 854; Eurip. *Hippol.* 1172.
[22] Frag. 2 (13), l. 15; cf. frag. 12 (4), l. 8. [23] Frag. 12 (4), l. 7.
[24] Frag. 32 (25), l. 15; cf. the noble lines of Æschylus, frag. 381.
[25] Frag. 11 (17). Hirzel (p. 172, n. 2) also misapprehends this; cf. Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressida*, act i. sc. iii. l. 38 f.: 'But let the ruffian Boreas once enrage the gentle Thetis.'

Library of
PACIFIC BIBLE SEMI
4836 EAST ANAHEIM

order to inanimate objects it requires the nicest discrimination to distinguish between 'survivals,' *naïveté*, and the conscious spiritual allegory of Sophocles,[1] of Platonism, and of Wordsworth's 'Thou dost preserve the stars from wrong.' 'The rivers flow into the sea, but the sea doesn't overflow, for it isn't *just* that it should,' says the speaker in Aristophanes, *Clouds*, 1292. 'All things that are born must die,' said **Anaximander**,[2] 'paying the penalty to one another for the injustice (of individual existence?).' 'All things are just in the sight of God,' said **Heraclitus**,[3] 'but men conceive some things to be unjust and some just.' And again: 'The sun will not pass his bounds, else will the Erinyes, the helpers of Δίκη, find him out.'[4] 'Wise men tell us,' says **Socrates**,[5] 'that it is love and order and sobriety and justice (δικαιότητα) that hold together gods and men and the whole world, which is therefore a cosmos—an order, not a licentious disorder.' And the kindly earth in **Virgil**[6] is *justissima tellus*, perhaps because, like the just man in Plato,[7] she returns a deposit.[8] These are suggestive passages. But until literary and linguistic psychology has defined their precise intentions in their context, they cannot be combined in the support of pseudo-scientific theories about the origin of the idea of justice. The abstract δικαιοσύνη seems to occur for the first time in a line of **Phocylides**, 'In justice is comprehended all virtue,'[9] which Theognis repeats with the added pentameter, 'Every man is good who is just.'[10] A theme of endless comment was Theognis' distich, 'The most beautiful thing is justice, the best is health, the most delightful, to win what one loves.'[11] The conception of the beauty of justice was developed out of the ambiguity of the Greek καλόν. Its culminating expression is Aristotle's 'Neither the evening star nor the morning star is so admirable.'[12]

Pindar, the student of Hesiod and conservative, associates Dike with Eunomia and Eirene, conservators of States, and benign Tranquillity, her daughter.[13] The prepositional phrase, ἐν δίκᾳ, occurs in his vision of judgment to come,[14] though not in the legal and Æschylean sense 'at compt.'[15] Pindar emphasizes the idea of justice in his praise of commercial cities—Corinth and his beloved Ægina, that deals fairly with the stranger. Ruskin's 'Tortoise of Ægina' brings this out fantastically, but beautifully.[16] Later writers find texts for the justice of the 'superman' in *Nem.* ix. 15, 'The stronger man puts down the former right,'[17] and frag. 169 (151), 'Custom (law) lord of all things makes just the most violent deed.'[18]

We can only glance at other writers before Plato. In **Æschylus** Dike, the daughter of Zeus,[19] the embodiment and the accomplishment of the moral law, is frequently personified with bold metaphor.[20] The *Prometheus* raises the theological problem of the justice of Zeus who keeps justice in his own hands.[21] The *locus classicus* for the old superstition that God confounds the righteous with the guilty is *Sept.* 598 ff.[1] The *Agamemnon* trilogy emphasizes the awfulness of sin, the certainty of retribution, the irremediability of spilt blood, the law that the doer must suffer.[2] The Furies, the ministers of the older law, claim to be strictly and straightly just (εὐθυδίκαιοι).[3] But already in the *Agamemnon* we hear of another law, that wisdom comes through suffering;[4] and in the final symbolism of the *Eumenides* the Furies become the gracious goddesses, and the letter of the old law of an eye for an eye is superseded by a law of grace and atonement.

In **Sophocles** Dike is the avenger,[5] the ally of the right,[6] the assessor of the throne of Zeus by laws eterne.[7] Her eye is as the all-seeing eye of God;[8] her high throne is a stumbling-block to the bold transgressor.[9] Antigone, in a famous passage,[10] appeals to the unwritten law and the Justice who dwells with the gods below against Creon's unrighteous decree. This cannot be pressed, with Hirzel and Miss Harrison, to prove any special connexion of Dike with the lower world.[11] The interpretation that Dike equals 'custom' in frag. 247 is a characteristic error of modern ethnological philology.

Neither Æschylus nor Sophocles was apparently affected by the Sophistic 'enlightenment.' The Sophists presumably discussed the origin, nature, and validity of the idea of justice, as of other ideas. There is no evidence that any of them worked out a serious scientific theory of ethics and justice, as is sometimes affirmed by modern critics hostile to Plato.[12] But the unsettlement of traditional moral faith, in conjunction with the cynical and Machiavellian politics of the Peloponnesian War, presented to Plato his main problem—the finding of a reasoned 'sanction' for ethics, for justice and righteousness.[13] From this point of view **Thucydides** and **Euripides** are an indispensable introduction to the study of Plato. In addition to his dramatic or personal exposition of this ethical nihilism, or the 'superman' philosophy of justice,[14] Euripides' scattered *sententiæ* about justice could be quoted in illustration of nearly every edifying or cynical Greek commonplace, and in anticipation of many points made by Aristotle and the Stoics.[15]

Plato.—We have already touched on the Platonic conception of justice and referred to other articles in this work. A more detailed exposition would involve the Platonic philosophy as a whole,[16] and its first prerequisite would be the removal of the misconception that Plato commits fallacies in elementary logic, and is presumably unaware of any Aristotelian distinction which it does not suit his immediate literary purpose to labour with painful explicitness. The artistic design of the *Republic* required him to regard justice in its subjective aspect as entire righteousness, the harmony, unity, and right functioning in division of labour of all the 'parts' or 'faculties' of the soul.[17] But he did this consciously and with due recognition of other popular or possible meanings of the word. And there are few valuable or

1 *Ajax*, 669 ff.; cf. Eurip. *Phœn.* 535 ff.
2 H. Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, Berlin, 1903, i. 9.
3 Frag. 102 (Diels). 4 Frag. 94.
5 Plato, *Gorgias*, 508 A. 6 *Georg.* ii. 460.
7 *Rep.* i. 331 E. 8 Cf. Hirzel, p. 186, n. 1.
9 Frag. 15. 10 147.
11 255; cf. L. Schmidt, *Die Ethik der alten Griechen*, Berlin, 1882, i. 291, 388.
12 *Eth. Nic.* 1129b 28, repeated by Plotinus, i. 6. 4; for the justice of visiting the sins of the fathers on the children and other details see art. THEOGNIS.
13 *Ol.* xiii. 6, *Pyth.* viii. 1. 14 *Ol.* ii. 16. 15 *Choeph.* 987.
16 See *Ol.* viii. 22, where the use of θέμις shows the reader that Pindar was not acquainted with Hirzel's and Miss Harrison's rigid distinctions between θέμις and δίκη.
17 Misused by Hirzel, p. 83, n. 2.
18 See commentators on Plato, *Protag.* 337 D, *Gorgias*, 484 B, *Laws*, 690 B, 890 A.
19 *Sept.* 662, *Choeph.* 949.
20 *Sept.* 646, *Ag.* 774, *Choeph.* 311, 646.
21 187; cf. *Suppl.* 167–169.

1 Cf. Shorey on Horace, *Odes*, III. ii. 29.
2 *Choeph.* 310–314. 3 *Eumen.* 312. 4 175–181.
5 Pearson, on frag. 107. 9; cf. *Electra*, 475, 528, *Trach.* 807.
6 *Œd. Tyr.* 274. 7 *Œd. Col.* 1382. 8 Frag. 12.
9 *Antig.* 854; cf. above, on Solon. 10 450 ff.
11 See Jebb's sensible note.
12 Cf. F. Dümmler, *Akademika*, Giessen, 1889, p. 247 ff.; A. W. Benn, *The Philosophy of Greece*, London, 1898, p. 143, and P. Shorey's review of it in the New York *Nation*, 20th July 1899, p. 35.
13 See artt. PHILOSOPHY (Greek) and SUMMUM BONUM.
14 Cf. *Phœn.* 524 f. with Cicero's comment, *de Offic.* iii. 21; Eurip. frag. 288 (Nauck).
15 Cf. in particular frags. 508 and 257, on immanent justice, and frag. 1030, on justice as opposed to lax equity.
16 See also art. PLATO.
17 H. Höffding, *Problems of Philosophy*, Eng. tr., New York, 1905, p. 169, still prefers this method.

valid ideas about legal, ethical, or social justice to be found in Aristotle or in later Græco-Roman literature that are not sufficiently indicated somewhere in the *Laws* or the *Republic*. One confirmation of this, for which space is lacking here, would be furnished by the still unappreciated extent of Cicero's dependence on Platonic ideas of justice in his *de Officiis*, as well as in his *de Legibus* and *de Republica*. There are few, if any, sentences in *de Officiis*, i. 7 ff., to which the most refined ethical thought of to-day could take exception.

Plato, like the writers of the Bible, Cicero, and the English ethical philosophers of the 19th cent., was intensely interested in the ultimate 'sanction' of righteousness or justice. This problem is the framework of the main discussion in the *Gorgias* and the *Republic*.

Aristotle was indifferent or sceptical. As Gomperz puts it,[1] 'he does not trouble himself about any eudæmonistic foundation.' Why Gomperz should deem this indifference to what Leslie Stephen calls 'the problem which is at the root of all ethical discussion' an advance beyond Plato's 'artificial reasoning' is as hard to understand as his statement that 'altruism appears for the first time in Aristotle's recognition without circumlocution that justice is not directed to the good of the agent but to another.' This is merely the formula of Thrasymachus canvassed in the first book of the *Republic*.[2] The real problem was and is how the good of another becomes the good of self, and an adequate motive. Aristotle, though not unaware of this problem, does not share Plato's passionate interest in its solution as an answer to ethical nihilism.

He is here merely, or at any rate mainly, making a logical distinction between self-regarding virtues and virtues relative to another. Burnet actually renders *πρὸς ἕτερον* 'relative,' as if it were *πρός τι*.[3] There is still less justification for Gomperz's statement that Aristotle's treatment of justice as a principle of equality cuts away the ground from Plato's identification of political justice with the subordination of one class to another contrary to that principle. Equality for Plato, Aristotle, Isocrates, and all sober Greek thinkers included the 'equality of proportion,' which takes account of natural and existing inequalities.

The technical interpretation of Aristotle's book 'on Justice'[4] requires an elaborate commentary. There are some unsettled problems which cannot be apprehended in translations or made intelligible to any student who does not bring to them an intimate knowledge of Greek idiom and of Platonic and Aristotelian terminology. But the gist of the matter is quite plain. After recognizing and dismissing the broader sense of justice as fulfilment of the entire law, Aristotle develops the more specific idea of justice as a kind of equality by the use of Plato's and Isocrates'[5] distinction between the 'arithmetical' equality of radical democracy and the geometrical or proportional equality of more conservative thinkers. There are, he says, with his eye on the actual life of a Greek city, two kinds of justice. Distributive justice apportions honours, wealth, and other social or political 'goods' in proportion to some assumed claim and scale of merit. Contractual justice—the justice of relations of obligation whether of contract proper or of *ex delicto*—treats individuals as equal units. Whether a 'good' citizen wrongs a bad, or a bad a good, this kind of justice aims by award of damages, fine, or punishment to reinstate the violated equality of rights, 'between man and man,' as we should phrase it. The emphasis on obligations *ex delicto* leads Aristotle to designate this kind of justice as 'corrective,' and the extension of this term to the whole domain of contractual as opposed to distributive justice has created some confusion.[1] But Aristotle's central idea is sound and simple. Modern difficulties are due mainly to insufficient scholarship, or to the still persisting superstition of Aristotle's infallibility. As a matter of fact, though the idea is sound, neither the terminology, the metaphors, nor the endeavour to fit it into the schematic definition of virtue as a mean will endure analysis. The term 'distributive,' *e.g.*, seems to refer to the distribution of spoils or grain to the citizens—where, whatever the military or Homeric practice, Greek democracy would have demanded arithmetical equality with few exceptions. But Aristotle also illustrates it by the distribution of profits in a partnership of unequal capitals, which is really a kind of contractual relationship.[2] Further confusion arises from the reference of distributive justice to the conflicting claims of different classes for predominance of political power in the organic constitution of the State. This conception of the problem of justice Aristotle derived from Plato's *ἀξιώματα τοῦ ἄρχειν*.[3] But we cannot enter into these details, or delay to interpret Aristotle's attempt to extend the mathematical analogy to the equalities and proportions of economic exchange—a speculation as obscure and presumably as fallacious as similar modern endeavours. The 'Pythagorean' or Rhadamanthine justice of retaliation or requital fails, he thinks, in not taking due account of persons and proportions. Aristotle does not anticipate the theory of the psychological origin of the idea of justice in the passion for revenge. And, though Greek poetry furnishes many illustrations of that natural feeling, and though *δίκη* early and easily takes the meaning 'punishment,' Greek literature as a whole does not support the pretentious generalization that justice and punishment are nothing but revenge.[4] Gomperz[5] approves Herbert Spencer's not very intelligent ridicule of Aristotle's doctrine that justice, like the other virtues, is in some sense a mean. But Aristotle admits that his formula applies only in the sense that justice (*i.e.* especially the administration of justice)[6] tries to hit the mean. And his endeavours to show that the 'equality' which is justice is also a mean strain language no more than any Procrustean system does.

In pure theory the post-Aristotelian systems added little to the ideas of Plato and Aristotle. The Epicurean ethics bases itself on the art of measuring pleasures set forth in the *Protagoras* and the theory of a social contract expounded by Glaucon in the *Republic*.[7] Animals, being incapable of the social contract, were *ipso facto* excluded from justice. Man has no obligation to them.[8] The educated Epicureans took these ideas for granted, and did not waste time on Platonic idealism or Aristotelian refinements.

'Atque ipsa utilitas, justi prope mater et aequi. . . .'[9] Jura inventa metu injusti fateare necesse est.'[10]

1 *Greek Thinkers*, Eng. tr., London and New York, 1901–12, iv. 258.

2 343 C; cf. 392 B. Pearson rightly rejects the interpretations that find it in Eurip. *Herac.* 1–3.

3 *The Ethics of Aristotle*, London, 1904, p. 202.

4 *Eth. Nic.* v.

5 *Rep.* 558 C, *Laws*, 707; Isoc. iii. 15, vii. 21.

1 Both Gomperz and Burnet would prefer the schoolmen's 'directive' for 'distributive.'

2 *Eth. Nic.* 1131b 29, generally misunderstood; cf. *Pol.* 1280a 29.

3 *Laws*, 690 A, 714 D; cf. also *Rep.* 432 A; Hirzel, p. 162, speaks only of this.

4 Cf. Hirzel, pp. 40, n. 2, 104, 126, 145.

5 P. 546.

6 Cf. Plato, *Gorgias*, 464 B, where *δικαιοσύνη* is virtually *διαστική*.

7 359 A.

8 So also the Stoics; see the references in Hirzel, p. 214, n. 2.

9 Horace, *Sat.* I. iii. 98.

10 *Ib.* 111; cf. Plato, *Rep.* 360 D; *διὰ τὸν τοῦ ἀδικεῖσθαι φόβον*.

It was easier to reaffirm this simple dogma than to study Plato's refutation of it.

The famous third book of Chrysippus, 'On Justice,' is no longer, as in Plutarch's day, 'to be found everywhere.'[1] The fragments of the older Stoics add little to the Platonic and Aristotelian theory. Justice, the Stoics taught, is a cardinal and 'social' virtue. It is the virtue of due distribution.[2] It pertains neither to the accuser nor to the defendant, but to the judge.[3] Among its subordinate species are kindliness (*χρηστότης*), democratic sociability (*εὐκοινωνησία*), and square dealing, or the quality of being easy to deal with (*εὐσυναλλαξία*).[4] Much of Chrysippus' discussion was captiously critical of his predecessors. He repeated Aristotle's captious censure of the innocent Platonic rhetoric about injustice to one's self.[5] He rebuked Plato for appealing to the theological sanction in the closing myth of the *Republic*,[6] but maintained against Epicurus that justice becomes impracticable and inconceivable if pleasure is the good.[7] He rejected the Aristotelian qualification of justice by equity for reasons that would have appealed to Selden,[8] and which were anticipated by Aristotle himself.[9] But he reinstated equity as a form of kindliness or goodfellowship. The influence of Greek, and particularly Stoic, philosophy upon Roman law has often been pointed out, but cannot be studied here. The very first sentence of Justinian's *Institutes*, 'Justitia est constans et perpetua voluntas ius suum cuique tribuens,' reads like a sentence of Plato's *Republic* stiffened by Stoicism (*constans*).[10]

In later **Græco-Roman literature** the somewhat pedantic sage of the Stoics became, under the joint influence of Platonism and the old Roman virtue, an impressive ideal of righteousness—the just man made perfect—serving humanity (as Hercules), unterrified by the tyrant or the mob (as Socrates),[11] unsubduable in soul (as Cato).

The subtleties of **Neo-Platonism** (*q.v.*) distinguishing the cathartic and the paradigmatic virtues do not concern us. Plotinus repeats the definitions of the fourth book of the *Republic*. Justice is the minding its own business by every faculty of the soul—the willing subordination of lower to higher.

Instead of thus associating righteousness with the theory of justice, we might have studied more broadly in ancient literature and life the approved type of man—the good man, the pious man, the *καλὸς κἀγαθός*, the sage, the kindly or popular man.[12] 'Vir bonus est quis?' asks the citizen in Horace.[13] 'Qui consulta patrum, qui leges iuraque servat'—that is one ideal. 'What a good kind helpful man to take pity on us in this crowd!' exclaim the two Syracusan ladies in Theocritus' realistic idyl[14] (*χρηστοῦ κοικτίρμονος ἀνδρός*). It is a singular coincidence that Justin Martyr[15] brings together the same two words from Lk $6^{35f.}$ to commend the religion of service and mercy to the philosophic emperor: *Γίνεσθε δὲ χρηστοὶ καὶ οἰκτίρμονες, ὡς καὶ ὁ Πατὴρ ὑμῶν χρηστός ἐστι καὶ οἰκτίρμων.* A history of the words *χρηστός* and *χρηστότης* in popular and later Stoic usage, strangely neglected by Hirzel, would show that this is more than a coincidence. We are in presence of a different ideal of the good or approved man from that implied by the Græco-Roman theory of justice or in the main by the righteousness of the OT. It is an ideal in which what Renan calls *bonté* predominates. It is true that the OT *ṣᵉdākāh*, 'righteousness,' came to mean largesse or alms, and that it is often also a general synonym of virtue or of the qualities that find acceptance with God and so justify a man in His sight—the fulfilment of the law both moral and ceremonial. But it also bears in relation to law and social order the specific meaning of legal justice between man and man. There are even texts which warn against the perversion of legal justice by pity or sympathy for the poor (Ex 23^3; cf. Lv 19^{15}, Dt 1^{17} 15^9). This idea is foreign to the spirit of the Gospels, and some of the chief parables are directly pointed against it. St. Paul returns to the justice of the law only to show its impracticability. It is impossible to fulfil the entire law, ceremonial or moral. In the course of justice none of us would see salvation. Only the freely bestowed grace of God through Jesus Christ can save or justify man. It does not belong to this study to examine Matthew Arnold's contention in *St. Paul and Protestantism* (London, 1870) that St. Paul's essential meanings throughout are ethical, spiritual, and symbolic. We may note only that St. Paul's word *δικαίωμα*, 'justification,' presumably came to him from the LXX, which is peculiarly rich in abstracts in *-μα* loosely and rhetorically used in vaguer meanings than those given to them by the classic poets and philosophers of Greece. Coined apparently in the age of the Sophists, the sonorous abstract *δικαίωμα*, a convenient synonym for the awkward *τὰ δίκαια c. gen.*,[1] meant at first a claim of right and only incidentally a plea of justification.[2] Plato and Aristotle sometimes use it more precisely for the result of just action, as *ἄδίκημα* is the result of unjust action.[3] The LXX employs the word scores of times, often in lists of synonyms, such as 'my commandments, judgments, and *dikaiomata*.' The meaning 'plea of justification' occurs, but not frequently or with much technical emphasis. Deissmann[4] says somewhat too absolutely that the word in St. Paul means simply 'acquittal.' There appears no philological necessity for holding St. Paul to a much more definite or consistent use of the word than we find in the LXX. It would seem, then, that the more technical meaning of 'justification' must be collected from our interpretation of St. Paul's theology as a whole. However this may be, the entire development of post-classical ethical feeling and of early Christian thought made against the strict legal conception of justice worked out in Greek philosophy and Roman law, and latent in the OT ideal of rigid fulfilment of the law. The development of modern law and the renewed study of the Roman law and the theology of Calvinism in part counteracted these tendencies. But to-day the literature of widest appeal is anti-legal in sentiment. And by invocation of the phrase 'social justice' the philosophy of our time strives to abolish the distinction between justice and benevolence, or justice and equity, and indeed to suppress the idea of justice or righteousness altogether, except as edifying synonyms for the entire social or ethical ideal. Whether this is a genuine return to the spirit of Jesus or a temporary confusion of thought the future historian of philosophy may decide.

1 *De Comm. not.* 1070 D.
2 H. von Arnim, *Stoicorum Veterum Fragmenta*, Leipzig, 1903–05, iii. 30, 68, i. 49.
3 *Ib.* iii. 64. 4 *Ib.*
5 *Ib.* iii. 70; Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1138ᵃ.
6 Plut. *de Stoic repugn.* 1040 A ff.
7 Von Arnim, iii. 37. 8 *Ib.* iii. 162.
9 *Eth. Nic.* 1137ᵇ 2; space falls for a history of the interesting idea of equity.
10 433 E; this *suum cuique* is frequent in Cicero and later literature.
11 Horace, *Odes*, III. iii. 1–4.
12 Cf. Hirzel, p. 181. 13 *Epist.* I. xvi. 41.
14 xv. 75. 15 *Apol.* i. 15.

LITERATURE.—See the works mentioned in the footnotes. The topic is discussed incidentally in the literature on Aristotle's *Ethics* and Plato's *Republic*, and in the systems or histories of ethics or law in so far as they deal with the idea of justice. The subject is treated popularly in W. de Witt Hyde, *From Epicurus to Christ*, New York, 1904, *The Five Great Philosophies of Life*, do. 1911.

PAUL SHOREY.

1 Plato, *Laws*, 715 B. 2 Thuc. I. 41; Isoc. 121 A.
3 Cf. *Eth. Nic.* 1135ᵃ 12. 4 *St. Paul*, London, 1912, p. 145.

RIGHTEOUSNESS (Hindu). — **1. Vedic.**— The conception of righteousness in the *Rigveda* finds its expression in the term *ṛta*, the equivalent of the Avestan *aša*, which denotes primarily the cosmic order, and then the order of the moral law, on the one hand, and of the performance of the sacrifice, on the other. The conception of moral order is doubtless Indo-Iranian, and it is a fair conclusion from the occurrence of Arta- as the first element in names of princes referred to in the Tell-el-Amarna correspondence that the conception cannot be more recent than the 15th cent. B.C., and that it was developed before the Vedic Aryans entered India. Despite the predominantly sacerdotal character of the *Rigveda*, it reveals abundant evidence of the importance of the conception: the gods themselves are not merely born of the *ṛta*—a conception in which physical origin may be chiefly denoted—but they follow the *ṛta* (*ṛtasap*); they are practisers of the *ṛta* (*ṛtāyu*) and knowers of it (*ṛtajña*). The special guardian of the *ṛta* is of course Varuṇa, the great guardian of morality, who moves about discerning the truth and the unrighteousness of mankind (*satyānṛté janānām*);[1] and in a curious phrase[2] Agni is declared to become Varuṇa when he strives for the *ṛta*. Accordance with the *ṛta*, therefore, becomes the sacrificer: the priest assures Agni that he invokes the gods without witchcraft, and offers his devotion with righteousness.[3] Especially characteristic is the famous dialogue[4] in which Yamī seeks to persuade her brother Yama to commit incest with her in order to propagate the human race. Yama's reply to her pleadings is in effect that her claims of advocating the right would merely lead them into unrighteousness of action; to her assertion that their father Tvaṣṭṛ had formed them in the womb to be husband and wife he replies by an assertion of ignorance of the purpose of creation, but an assurance of the existence of the law of Mitra and Varuṇa, and of the current view that incest is evil. Righteousness is thus accordance with general opinion, and with this agrees its constant association with truth (*satya*) considered as correspondence with reality. This opinion demands the virtues of a simple society — consideration in domestic relations, political loyalty, truth in friendship, abstention from crimes such as theft and murder, and from women faithfulness in wedded life; not unnaturally in hymns closely associated with the sacrifice much more stress is laid on the merits of liberality than on such manly virtues as courage in war.

In Īrān speculation on the cognate idea of *aša* led to the deepening of the moral force of the conception and the evolution of Zoroastrianism, but in India the period of the later *Saṁhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas* reveals not an advance, but a retrogression in moral outlook. Insistence on the ordering of the sacrifice has elevated the ritual into a substitute for morality; the priest who in the *Rigveda* primarily invokes the gods as a suppliant has become possessed, through a knowledge of the details of the sacrifice, of the power to compel the gods. At the same time he is exempted from the moral duty, which is recognized freely in the *Rigveda*, of seeking by his action the good of the sacrificer. It was, indeed, still contended by some that the priest was under an obligation to aim only at securing the desires of the sacrificer by whom he was employed, but the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[5] emphatically rejects that doctrine, and instead gives minute details of the manner in which by his performance of the offering the priest may ruin, if he thinks fit, the sacrificer in whose service he is. Even the heinous crime of the slaying of a Brāhman, which naturally ranks in the priestly mind as almost the most deadly of sins, can be expiated, not by repentance on the part of the slayer, but by the performance of the horse sacrifice with its accompaniment of the bestowal of enormous largesse on the priestly performers.[1] Truth still remains the attribute of the gods, but truth is no longer simple: the gods are *par excellence* lovers of what is obscure, and for man as opposed to the gods the duty of speaking nothing but the truth is recognized as impossible and equivalent to enjoining silence.

The *Brāhmaṇas*, textbooks of a priesthood which by total absorption in meditation on the ritual had lost touch with the realities of life, do not represent fairly the development of the conception of duty among the people generally. This is given to us far more clearly in the *Gṛhya-* and *Dharma-sūtras*, manuals of rules for religious and civil life, which reveal in full detail the elaborate structure of Indian life as it had developed from simpler conditions of the Rigvedic period. Not only are the respective rights and duties of the four great classes—priests, rulers and warriors, peasants, and serfs—clearly laid down, though with such variation in detail as is inevitable in works of varying date and representing different localities, but within the classes the plan of the different stages of life is mapped out. Among many rules of no moral value these treatises inculcate the observance of all the normal laws of simple morality—truth, abstention from injury to the persons or property of others, charity, hospitality, courage, and devotion to duty—and threaten those who disregard them with pains and penalties in the future life. This more normal outlook on morality is shared by the *Upaniṣads*. The voice of Prajāpati in the thunder is interpreted as an order to be self-restrained, charitable, and merciful;[2] as the fee in the great sacrifice of life are enumerated in the *Chhāndogya Upaniṣad*[3] asceticism, liberality, right dealing, abstention from injury (*ahiṁsā*), and the speaking of truth. The *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*[4] has a list of virtues which includes self-restraint, asceticism, tranquillity, truthfulness and right dealing, hospitality, courtesy, and duties to wives, children, and grandchildren. The prince Aśvapati Kaikeya claims[5] that in his realm there is no thief, niggard, drunkard, adulterer, or courtesan.

Not only, however, do the *Upaniṣads* recognize and adopt current conceptions of morality, but they provide for the first time a reasoned basis for moral action by the doctrine that a man's place in life is determined by his former deeds—a principle which at the same time serves as a rationale of the rigid class-divisions of Indian society. In its purest form, associated with the name of Yājñavalkya,[6] the doctrine is rigidly one of rebirth on earth after death in a station depending exactly on a man's previous deeds, but already in the *Upaniṣads*[7] this idea is blended with the doctrine of reward in heaven or punishment elsewhere; and in this form, with variations in detail, the conception becomes part of the general Hindu belief. But no criterion of righteousness is suggested, though among those condemned to an evil fate in the *Chhāndogya* are expressly included the murderer of a Brāhman, the defiler of the teacher's wife, the drinker of spirits, the thief of gold, and the man who associates with such sinners. The reason for the omission of any inquiry into morality is the extreme intellectualism of the *Upaniṣads*, which are concerned beyond everything else with the determination of the nature of existence, and

[1] VII. xlix. 3. [2] X. viii. 5. [3] VII. xxxiv. 8.
[4] X. x. [5] Iii. 3.

[1] *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIII. v. 4. 1.
[2] *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, v. 2.
[3] iii. 17. [4] i. 9. [5] *Chhāndogya Upaniṣad*, v. xi. 5.
[6] *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*, III. ii. 13, IV. iv. 4 ff.
[7] *Bṛhadāraṇyaka*, VI. ii.; *Chhāndogya*, v. x.

regard as the highest aim the merger of the individual soul in the absolute spirit (*brahman*), which is to be brought about by an act of intellectual insight. The possession of moral qualities is not inconsistent with the attainment of such insight, and the later *Upaniṣads* make a determined effort to reconcile the claims of ordinary life with those of philosophy by the development of the ideal of the four *āśramas*, or stages of life through which a member of the three higher classes in the community should in theory pass—a youth of learning as a *brahmachārin*, a middle age of performance of social obligations as a householder (*gṛhastha*), a period of asceticism as a dweller in the forest (*vānaprastha*), and a final resort to the life of a wandering beggar (*sannyāsin*) who has resigned all connexion with worldly things. This scheme, however, is clearly a compromise; the necessity of passing through the first two stages, and the distinction which it is sought to draw between the second two in such texts as the *Jābāla* and the *Āśrama Upaniṣads*, are not laid down in the older texts, in which there is apparent a tendency to contrast the search for the true knowledge with all earthly interests and to regard the attitude of the seeker as essentially one of renunciation of all terrestrial concerns. In the *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad*[1] is even enunciated the non-moral doctrine that knowledge of Indra, who is declared to be truth, prevents retribution for parricide, matricide, the slaying even of an embryo, or theft; but this doctrine is isolated in the *Upaniṣads*.

2. **Post-Vedic.** — Though later in its records than the Vedic period, Jainism reveals to us a form of belief which was evidently widely spread in the period of the early *Upaniṣads*, though these texts do not adopt it as completely satisfactory. The doctrine of Mahāvīra in effect appears to have been little more than a definite enunciation and stereotyping of the principles which were practised by those who had concluded that the true happiness was to be found in renunciation of all earthly attachments. Of the five great vows which form the basis of the system the first four forbid the taking of life, the speaking of untruth, the taking of anything not given, and sexual enjoyment—all rules for which Brāhmanical parallels and prototypes are present; and even in the fifth, the forbidding of any attachment to any worldly object, though Mahāvīra may have adopted it in opposition to the duty of liberality preached by the *Brāhmaṇas*, there is nothing but a consistent carrying out of the principle involved in the first four rules. The rationale of the commands is clearly the doctrine that the soul is defiled by all contact with the things of the world, and that the ideal is to free it from such contagion. In essence the doctrine is purely egoistic; in practice, however, it has been found possible to convert the Jain tenets into a basis for active philanthropy, which can be reconciled with the doctrine of Mahāvīra by the argument that such philanthropy is the most sure method to secure for the soul that freedom from misery which it is its essential aim to achieve.

In Brāhmanism itself a more successful effort is made in the *Bhagavad-Gītā* to find a positive basis for the practice of virtue. In general the *Mahābhārata* in its popular philosophy leans decidedly to the school of renunciation, and inculcates that indifference to the things of the world which enables King Janaka to contemplate with calm the possibility[2] of the destruction of his capital Mithilā.[3] But the *Gītā*, amid all the confusions of its semi-pantheism and its semi-theism, remains true to the doctrine that it is essentially man's duty to carry out without desire of reward the obligations of his station in life, which is enunciated by Kṛṣṇa when he sees Arjuna unwilling to commence the attack on the host of the Kauravas at Kurukṣetra. A positive basis for the performance of duty of a non-egoistic character is provided by the doctrine of the unity of the universe in the Iśvara; he who sees the Iśvara as pervading all things cannot be guilty of injury to them, for such action would mean injury to himself as identical with the Iśvara[1]—a view which is not open to Jainism, in which there is no bond of unity between one soul and another. The good which one does to another, on the doctrine of the *Gītā*, is done directly to oneself through this community of existence, while Jainism cannot recognize such action as valuable without serious modification of the essential basis of its renunciation of activity.

Neither the more formal philosophy nor the doctrine of faith succeeds in providing a more satisfactory doctrine of righteousness than the *Gītā*. To Śaṅkara the ordinary world, and its virtues and vices alike, are unreal, and release from transmigration is attained not by virtue, but by insight into the fundamental unity of the soul and the *brahman*. Works cannot produce this insight, which exoterically is deemed a gift of the Iśvara, but which in reality cannot be ascribed to any cause whatever, as it lies beyond all causal conceptions. While, however, Śaṅkara makes it clear that works are not the cause, nor the necessary preliminary, of enlightenment, he readily finds a place for them as serving normally, though not essentially, to counteract hindrances which might otherwise impede the appearance of the saving knowledge; and in like manner the observance of the rule of the *āśramas* is a normal requisite for the seeker after truth. The essential indifference of morality, however, appears in the position of him who has attained in this life the consciousness of release (*jīvanmukta*); no acts of his after this attainment have any concern for him, for the doctrine of the fruition of action (*karman*) ceases to apply to one so enlightened. The logical consequence, that evil deeds may with impunity be performed by the enlightened man, is expressly recognized by the *Vedāntasāra* of Sadānanda, which even contemplates[2] the possibility of the *jīvanmukta* resorting to the use of such unclean food as a dog might eat. Even in the exoteric doctrine works have no great value; morality and worship produce only temporary rewards in heaven and favourable rebirth on earth, and no attempt is made to evolve any principle by which value can be ascribed to different classes of works. Nor is any other system more effective in inculcating righteousness: the *Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā* develops to its logical conclusions the doctrine of the *Brāhmaṇas* which sees in the sacrifice the only source of future gain; the *Sāṅkhya* proposes for its end the purely intellectual recognition of the distinction of the souls from nature; the *Yoga* aims at effecting this by processes of abstraction which are indifferent to morality; and the interests of the *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika* are logical and metaphysical.

As little as the philosophies can the schools of *bhakti* find place for the development of a doctrine of morality. Among many differences in detail, Vaiṣṇavas and Śaivas alike, as well as the minor sects, place morality and good works merely among the means of cultivating *bhakti*, and rank them no higher than ceremonial observances of all kinds: good deeds are inadequate to produce *bhakti*, and similarly the possessor of *bhakti* is removed from other considerations. The logical outcome of these doctrines is the Tantric ritual,

[1] iii. 1. [2] Cf. O. Franke, *WZKM* xx. [1906] 352 ff.
[3] *Mahābhārata*, xii. clxxviii. 2.

[1] xiii. 27 f. [2] § 236.

in which, in conscious opposition to the normal standard of morality, the use of meat, involving the violation of the rule of *ahiṁsā*, the drinking of liquor, and promiscuous sexual intercourse are used as means of securing that unity with the deity which is the final aim of the system.

The philosophical systems and the popular religions thus set before them the ideals either of intellectual insight or of a mystic and ecstatic union with the deity, and neither could make any progress in developing a theory of morality or in distinguishing morality from ceremonial observance. Hence the development of customary law, as reflected in the numerous *Smṛtis* and *Nibandhas*, reveals no distinction between ritual and morality; the topic of penances is expanded almost without limits, but the sins to be expiated are as often ritual omissions as moral defects, and no discrimination is even attempted between them—a condition of thought natural enough in the *Brāhmaṇas*, but strangely stereotyped in India. Not only, however, had morality to suffer from competition with ritual; the rich and attractive *Nīti* literature, which is the source of books of so universal an appeal as the *Pañchatantra* and the *Hitopadeśa*, often in its rules of conduct enunciates the purest morality, but places alongside of such precepts, without consciousness of incongruity, rules of polity and practical expediency of doubtful or not rarely of positively immoral character.

LITERATURE.—For the Vedic period see J. Muir, *Original Sanskrit Texts*, v.[2], London, 1884; H. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, Berlin, 1879; A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology* (=*GIAP* iii. 1), Strassburg, 1897; H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, Berlin, 1894; M. Bloomfield, *The Religion of the Veda*, New York and London, 1908; S. Lévi, *La Doctrine du sacrifice dans les Brâhmaṇas*, Paris, 1898; P. Deussen, *The Philosophy of the Upanishads*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1906. For Jainism see H. Jacobi, *Gaina Sûtras*, pt. i. [*SBE* xxii.], Oxford, 1884; J. G. Bühler, *On the Indian Sect of the Jainas*, Eng. tr., London, 1903; A. B. Latthe, *An Introd. to Jainism*, Bombay, 1905; U. D. Barodia, *Hist. and Literature of Jainism*, do. 1909; Hirachand Liladhar Jhaveri, *The First Principles of the Jain Philosophy*, London, 1910; H. Warren, *Jainism in Western Garb*, Madras, 1912; Mrs. S. Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, London, 1915; Jagmanderlal Jaini, *Outlines of Jainism*, Cambridge, 1916. For Hinduism generally see E. W. Hopkins, *The Religions of India*, London, 1896; A. Barth, *Religions of India*, Eng. tr., do. 1882; P. Deussen, *Das System des Vedânta*, Leipzig, 1883, *Allgemeine Gesch. der Philosophie*, I. iii., do. 1908; F. Max Müller, *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, London, 1899; R. Garbe, *Die Sâṁkhya-Philosophie*, Leipzig, 1894, tr. of *Bhagavad-Gîtâ*, do. 1905; R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, and Minor Religious Systems* (=*GIAP* iii. 6), Strassburg, 1913.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

RIGHTEOUSNESS (Jewish). — **1. General connotations.** — The connotation of the term 'righteousness' (צֶדֶק and צְדָקָה) varies with the different epochs embraced in the literature of the Jews. To discuss the question of what acts, motives, intentions, ceremonies, symbols the Jew designated as falling into the category of righteousness, or as helping to bring it about, is to pass in review a host of cardinal Jewish theological teachings on all kinds of allied themes in all their developments and ramifications from the earliest days of the OT down to the latest spiritual product of the modernist Jew, viz. Liberal Judaism. In the OT alone the root צדק, counting all its inflexions, occurs over 500 times; and, over such a large space of time as the OT covers, it is impossible to assume that the term always stood for the same ideas to the various successive writers who used it. The Mishnaic, Talmudic, and Gaonic branches of Jewish literature, although admittedly dealing largely with legalistic lore, nevertheless contain a considerable element of theological matter—far more than the Christian theologian is prone to give them credit for; hence, as is inevitable, the term crops up there with great frequency and assumes a new set of meanings in accordance with the then prevalent Jewish views on life, death, duty, religion, and God. The mediæval Jewish philosophers, as followers of either Aristotle or Plato, aimed at placing the ideal Jew and the ideal Judâism in quite a new setting unknown to the unphilosophical Jew of the earlier periods, and righteousness with them came to assume a new set of connotations. In the religious movement which arose among the Polish Jews of the 18th cent., and which has existed down to the present day under the name of 'Ḥasidism,' the leading ecclesiastic is invariably called the צדיק (*ṣaddîḳ*, 'righteous one' or 'saint'), and, as one of his chief qualities is an ability to work miracles, it is clear that further meanings have from time to time been imported into the term in question.

2. In the early Pharisaic and Rabbinic literature. —Throughout the whole vast realm of the Rabbinical literature the 'righteous' man, the צדיק, is judged by one invariable norm—conformity to the Tôrâh. Righteousness is an uninterrupted series of loving and loyal obediences to the *mizwôth* of the Tôrâh. These *mizwôth*, or 'precepts,' are 613 in number, according to the calculation of the Rabbis, who held that it should be the aim of every man who aspires after righteousness to come as near as possible to the carrying out of these 613 precepts both in letter and in spirit. The Tôrâh was looked upon as a divine embodiment on earth. Expressions like 'Tôrâh,' 'God,' 'Holy Spirit,' are often used interchangeably in the Talmud and Mishnâh. To love the Tôrâh with all one's heart and to cleave to it with all one's might was tantamount to the highest and closest communion with the Deity which was possible to the saint. Such was the ideally righteous life. This exaltation of the Tôrâh into the apotheosis of all righteousness is already hinted at in Ec 12[13], but grows more apparent in much of the Pharisaic literature of pre-Talmudic times, notably the book of *Jubilees* and the *Psalms of Solomon*. Thus, Psalm xiv. of the latter work, after alluding to 'them who walk in righteousness in His commandments,'[1] summarizes by saying: 'He has given us the Law for our life; and the saints of the Lord shall live thereby for ever.' To the minds of the Rabbis the highest type of righteousness is that evinced by what they called the *ṣaddîḳ gâmûr* ('complete saint'), the class who in T.B. *Shabbath*, 55*a*, are styled *mekûddashîm*, 'sainted ones,' *i.e.* 'they who fulfil the whole Tôrâh from its first letter (Aliph) to its last (Tâv).' The Tôrâh was the embodiment of Judaism, the first and last word in earth and heaven, possessing nothing superfluous or unimportant. The world was actually called into being through the instrumentality of the Tôrâh, and, should the Jew ever reach so low a pitch as to lay aside the Tôrâh, then will the cosmos be broken up and revert again to its primeval state of chaos.

As has already been hinted, the degree of righteousness possessed by a man is dependent upon, and corresponds to, the degree of his conformity to the Tôrâh. The latter situation involves far more than a mere theoretic attitude of mind or heart. It means much more than verbal or mental assent to this or that dogma. It comprehends the whole domain of human thought, character, and action. Man must not be content with merely following out the rigid letter of the law, a ritual holiness tied down to a book. His ideal must be a righteous living, which can be brought about only by a long-cultivated process of self-sanctification. In the Jewish view, man can never be, he can only become, righteous. To speak of 'Pharisaic self-righteousness' is to falsify the general trend of the Rabbinic ethics. Righteousness was a high peak which the Jew must, during his whole lifetime,

[1] See Syriac version in J. Rendel Harris, *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon*[2], Cambridge, 1911.

patiently and painfully climb. It is an infinite task, an endless striving. With each achievement there comes the need for a higher achievement; the summit reached only discloses to the eye farther summits to be reached and surmounted. With so high a standard in view, it is no surprise that the Rabbis, as we see from many indications throughout the Talmud and Midrāshim, were none too quick to accord the title of 'righteous' to any but the most unquestionably approved. Righteousness was the exception rather than the rule; hence the mere fact of the existence of *one* righteous man at some time or some place might work an unexpected salvation for the world. Thus, T.B. *Yômā*, 38*b*, says: 'One righteous man can ensure the existence of the world' (based on Pr 10^{25} 'but the righteous is an everlasting foundation,' as well as on 1 S 2^{9} 'He will keep the feet of his saints'). The same Talmudic passage, quoting Gn 1^{4} 'And God saw the light that it was good,' says that 'good' refers to the righteous man; and that the meaning is: 'God determined to let the world's light exist by reason of the merit of the righteous man who is unalloyed good.'[1] The same rarity of righteousness, and its incomparable prowess when found, is expressed in T.B. *Sukkāh*, 45*a*: 'There are never less than 30 righteous men at any given period for whose sake the world escapes destruction.' But the world must exist. It is God's world, and He willed it. Only through it can the divine purpose 'which rolls through all things' be realized. Hence, with a glaring inconsistency which is often so characteristic of Talmudic ethics, the Rabbis declare, in a more generous vein, that the reason for the continued existence of the world is the fact that it is always being replenished by a succession of righteous men in every generation. 'No sooner is one righteous man removed from the world,' says T.B. *Yômā*, 38*b*, 'than he is succeeded by another righteous man as good as he; for thus Scripture says: "The sun also ariseth, and the sun goeth down" (Ec 1^{5}).' But there is one supreme pitfall on the road to righteousness, one mortal enemy ever lying in wait to entrap the would-be righteous man in its snares. This is the *yezer ha-ra'* ('evil impulse'), whose challenge calls forth the most strenuous efforts on the part of its would-be victim. No righteousness is possible until this innate dragging-down impulse in man is subdued and scotched. But the genuine man of righteousness cannot but be the final victor over this wild beast within him, seeing that, as the Rabbis said (T.B. *Ḥăgîgāh*, 15), 'God created the evil impulse and also its antidote, viz. the Tôrāh.' The righteous man is he who is, *par excellence*, saturated with Tôrāh and thus possesses within himself the instrument for dealing the deadly blow to the assailant.

3. Pauline and Rabbinic views compared.—The Christian theologian, reared on the polemics of Paul and his bitterly hostile denunciation of the Tôrāh as that through which 'cometh the knowledge of sin' (Ro 3^{20}), will probably be not a little astonished to notice the gulf which yawns between these cheery Rabbinic characterizations of the ever-open door to the attainment of righteousness and the despairing pessimism of the Pauline description of the hopeless sinfulness of all flesh, of man's complete bondage to sin (which is increased rather than decreased by the Tôrāh), and hence his utter inability ever to execute righteousness—except by quite another method, viz. a warm and living faith in Jesus Christ. 'Fulfil every jot and tittle of the Tôrāh,' say the Rabbis in effect, 'and thus you will become a saint.' 'No,' says Paul, 'not only is it vain and profitless to try to adopt such a course, but it is also wrong, because the more loyal you are to the Tôrāh, the worse man do you become.'

[1] See Rashi, *ad loc.*

To the Jewish scholar familiar with the theology of his own race the whole argumentation of Paul about righteousness, law, faith, and grace is as unacceptable as it is unintelligible.

'No Rabbinic Jew,' says C. G. Montefiore, 'could ever have accepted the force, or the argument, of that seventh chapter [of the Epistle to the Romans]. For it was precisely the Law which to his mind enabled him and all others to attain to any measure of human goodness' (*Judaism and St. Paul*, p. 103). Or, as another modern writer has said, 'That the Torah was not such as Paul represented it to be is a statement which is true, both positively and negatively. He ascribed to it a character which it did not possess, and he left out of his description features which it did possess, and which were essential to it' (R. Travers Herford, *Pharisaism*, p. 194).

As a matter of fact, one is inclined to endorse Montefiore's view that Paul, living at the time he did, could not have been familiar with what is generally understood by the Rabbinic position, and therefore ought not to be regarded as a responsible exponent or critic of it. No Rabbinic Jew was ever worried, as Paul was obviously worried, by the thought that real righteousness was unattainable by him, seeing that the demands of the Law are too multifarious to be ever fully met by any one; nor is there any trace in Rabbinic literature of a distinction between 'righteousness of faith' (Ro 4^{13}) and righteousness of works. Where there are works in the Rabbinic sense, there must be faith, seeing that the prime motive to the execution of works was the invincible belief in the divine origin of the Tôrāh, which is the revelation of God's will and the means for securing salvation to mankind; and such a belief must presuppose faith in the existence of a God, the simple faith such as Abraham possessed and which gave him the title to righteousness and a claim to the honour of all men. Faith and works together make up, for the Jew, the real as well as the ideal life, the life of righteousness before God. The guide to such a life is the Tôrāh, whose multifarious precepts the aspirant after righteousness has to fulfil both in letter and in spirit, but not in the way in which Paul (either consciously or unconsciously) travestied it when he spoke of the physical impossibility of any one obeying so burdensome a code. For, according to *Sifrē*, 133*a*, 'even the truly righteous are not wholly without blame because they too may have committed some minor transgressions (*'abērōth kâlōth*).' It was the honest striving after righteousness that the Rabbis really had in mind. The seeker after the realization of the ideal of righteousness must resolve to order his life in the way leading to it. If he kept himself up to the same unswervingly high level, fulfilling the precepts of the Tôrāh 'through love and joy of soul' (T.B. *Sôṭāh*, 31*a*; T.B. *Shabbāth*, 88*b*), then this very scheme of life was righteousness—no matter what occasional minor lapses occurred in between. Even granted that the Rabbinic Jew may occasionally have felt the pain and pang of the consciousness of a duty omitted here and a duty omitted there, what was this in comparison with the ineffable rapture of what the Rabbis termed *simḥāh shĕl mizvāh* ('the joy of a precept fulfilled')—a joy which inevitably brought in its train other joys of other precepts fulfilled, thus making life an unbroken exercise in the joyous search after a true union with the Divine through a righteously-ordered life? It is of those who have attained this pitch of righteousness that T.B. *Sukkāh*, 45*b*, says, 'They behold the Shᵉkhînāh as in a clear mirror.' They are the righteous who, as is said in T.B. *Bᵉrākhôth*, 17*a*, will in the future life 'sit with their crowns upon their heads, delighting in the splendour of the Divine Presence.' To quote a phrase from Lazarus, *Ethics of Judaism*, righteousness is 'unlimited aspiration joined to unlimited capacity to reach higher and ever higher stages of achievement' (pt. ii. p. 280). Paul's haunting dread of the

constant danger of an intervening lapse plays no part whatsoever in this Rabbinic programme of righteousness sought and attained. His picture of Rabbinic Judaism is marred by its total ignorance of the Rabbinic doctrine of divine grace. The effort after righteousness is helped and encouraged by heaven, and this because of the very fact of man's frailty, because of the very fact that man's liability to err is so well within the divine ken. 'Let man but sanctify himself only a little,' runs a favourite Rabbinic belief, 'and then God will help him to sanctify himself much.' As a famous Jewish theologian of the 18th cent. (Moses Ḥayyim Luzzatto, 1707–47) has put it:

'What man has it in himself to do is to persevere in the pursuit of the true knowledge of the Divine and in a wisely-ordered constancy in holiness of action. God will be his guide on this path which he essays to tread, shedding His holiness upon him and keeping him holy. In the result, his upward striving will surely come to fruition by this very fact of his constant clinging to the Highest, seeing that the obstacles which nature puts in his way will be removed by the help and support given him from on High. It was this that King David meant when he said, "No good thing will He withhold from them that walk uprightly" (Ps 84[11])' (*Mĕssīlāt Yĕshārīm*, Amsterdam, 1740, ch. xxvi.).

Jewish theology looked upon Jews never as a series of isolated units, but always as one consolidated body, a community, a nation, an indivisible entity, shot through with one paramount ideal—righteousness before God. Hence it follows that a life of righteousness on the part of the individual Jew must always involve consideration for the wellbeing of others. Once dissolve the communal cohesiveness, and the communal holiness disappears. It is probably owing to some such conception as this that the term צְדָקָה, 'righteousness,' came, in the Talmud, to mean 'charity' or 'almsgiving'—a meaning which has remained in popular use among the Jews down to the present day. The Qur'ān, it will be remembered, uses a similar word, from the common Semitic root, to denote 'almsgiving'—an undoubted borrowing from Judaism. Almsgiving is righteousness, because thereby does Jew help Jew to sustain himself and become one more servant of God.

When asked by Tinnius Rufus: 'Why does your God, being the lover of the needy, not Himself provide for their support?,' R. Akiba replied: 'By charity wealth is to be made a means of salvation; God, the Father of both the rich and the poor, wants the one to help the other, and thus to make the world a household of love' (T. B. *Bābhā Bathrā*, 10*a*, quoted by K. Kohler in *JE* iii. 668[a], *s.v.* 'Charity and Charitable Institutions).'

4. The sufferings of the righteous; their destiny; their influence on the world.—As one of the cornerstones of Rabbinic theology is the doctrine of divine retribution—that God rewards those who keep His commands and punishes those who transgress them—it is only to be expected that the question of why the righteous suffer should crop up with frequency and find many attempted solutions. The Rabbis developed no systematic philosophy on the subject. Varying opinions are expressed in the Talmud and Midrāshim—opinions echoed and shared with very little modification of the originals by the mediæval Jewish theologians and philosophers—but these are tentative and experimental, invested with no dogmatic binding importance. Yet it is true to say that they all cluster round one fundamental assumption which certainly is a prominent and dominating dogma of Rabbinic and later Jewish thought generally, viz. the reality of a future life. The present world and the world to come are indissolubly linked together. They are mansions of one and the same house. Death, to the righteous, is merely a passing from one life to another; therefore their sufferings in the present life ought really to give us no occasion for surprise or question, because in all probability a joyous recompense awaits them in the Beyond. Sorrow here will be joy there. Nay, the greater their sorrow in the present existence, the surer is their abounding happiness in the existence which 'eye hath not seen.' The righteous *must* suffer here, because suffering is the one portal through which they are enabled to reach out to the final inheritance of heavenly bliss which their good works have earned for them. Illustrations of these teachings are the following:

In T.B. *Qiddūshin*, 40*b*, R. Eliezer b. Zadok says: 'To what may the righteous be likened in this world? To a tree which stands on clean soil but one of whose branches inclines towards an unclean spot. Cut the branch away and then the whole tree stands upon cleanliness. In the same way, God brings pain to the righteous in this world in order that they may inherit the world to come, as it is said, "Though thy beginning was small, yet thy latter end shall greatly increase" (Job 8[7]).' The analogy between death and the lopping off of one branch of a tree—the tree still remaining practically in its entirety—is a particularly happy one because it so well brings out the idea of the life here and the life hereafter as one continuous unbroken whole. In T.B. *Hōrāyōth*, 10, R. Naḥman b. Rab Ḥisda discourses thus: 'What is the meaning of the words in Ecclesiastes 8[14] "There is a vanity which is done upon the earth; that there be just men, unto whom it happeneth according to the work of the wicked; again, there be wicked men, to whom it happeneth according to the work of the righteous"? The meaning is this: Ecclesiastes wants to tell us that happy are the righteous whose reward in this world is like the reward of the wicked in the next world (*i.e.* evil). Woe to the wicked whose reward in this world is like the reward of the righteous in the next world (*i.e.* good).'

Another aspect of the same train of theological thought is presented by the many Rabbinic assertions about the deathlessness of the righteous.

'The righteous even when dead are called living,' says a passage in T.B. *Bĕrākhōth*, 18*a*; and the statement is supported by a Biblical text. 'They are like lost pearls of great price,' says T.B. *Megillāh*, 15*a*, 'lost only to their owner. They are not really lost, because they exist somewhere—and in all their original preciousness and beauty.' All these views are distinctly mirrored in ch. iii. of the Apocryphal Wisdom of Solomon. It is only 'in the sight of the unwise' that 'they seemed to die,' but in reality 'their hope is full of immortality' and, 'having been a little chastised' on this mortal earth, 'they shall be greatly rewarded' and God will find them 'worthy for himself.'

Invested with so inimitable a sanctity, it is no wonder that the righteous should shed a spirituality over their surroundings—a spirituality which is helpful and uplifting to others generally. The *Zōhār* elaborates this theme repeatedly.

'Come and see what God does on behalf of the righteous, for although punishment is divinely decreed upon the world, it is held back for their sake and does not come,' runs a Zōhāric comment (on Gn 41[1]). 'The righteous are the foundation and mainstay of the world,' says another Zōhāric passage (on Gn 41[14]). 'They create peace in heaven and peace on earth and thus unite the bridegroom to the bride,' runs a third (on Gn 41[14]), deeply tinged with erotic mysticism; whilst a fourth (*ib.*) tells of the great worth of the righteous in so far as they 'draw goodness down from above in order to do good to us and to all the universe.'

Quite in keeping with these sentiments are the Talmudic sayings to the effect that the coming of the righteous into the world means an influx of light and glory into the world (T.B. *Sanhedrin*, 113*a*), and that the death of the righteous works atonement for their people (T.B. *Mō'ēd Kātān*, 28*a*; *Tanḥūmā*, *Āḥāre Mōth*, 7). Glimpses of a wide universalist conception of this efficacy of righteousness are afforded by the Rabbinic comment on Is 26[2] 'Open ye the gates, that the righteous nation which keepeth truth may enter in'; it is not the righteous Israelite that is here referred to, but the righteous nation, any people among whom righteousness resides (*Sifra*, ed. I. H. Weiss, Vienna, 1862, ch. 13). There is a similar comment on the words, 'This is the gate of the Lord; the righteous shall enter into it' (Ps 118[20])—not priests, Levites, or Israelites, but the righteous, though they be non-Jews (*Sifra*, *loc. cit.*).

5. Views of the mediæval Jewish theologians.—The host of textbooks and manuals on ethics and philosophy produced by the brilliant Jewish literary men of the Middle Ages—notably those of the Spanish-Jewish school which flourished from the 10th to the 15th cent.—all adopt conformity to the Tôrāh as the norm of righteousness. The interpretation of righteousness as given by the old

Talmudic masters was upheld and reiterated by those moralists and theologians, with, however, many an added variation in obedience to the demands of the changed conditions of Jewish life as well as out of a desire to bring the ideal of Jewish conduct more and more into line with the prevalent philosophy of the day. Typical illustrations are afforded by Baḥya ibn Pakudah (who flourished at Saragossa in the first half of the 11th cent.) and Moses Maimonides (*q.v.*). That the ideal righteousness was attainable only by an unswerving loyalty to the Law was to Baḥya an incontestable truth. But Baḥya, like his somewhat younger contemporary Solomon ibn Gabirol (*q.v.*), was an adherent of the Neo-Platonic mysticism, and the picture that he gives in his famous work (*Duties of the Heart*) of the roads leading to the attainment of righteousness is tinged with many an idea borrowed from non-Jewish sources. In fine, Baḥya envisaged Rabbinic righteousness from the standpoint of the general culture in which he was himself steeped. Maimonides was an Aristotelian. Rigid dogmatist as he was in his insistence upon the old Talmudic programme of the real and ideal life of righteousness, it is fairly obvious to every student of his writings that the picture that he had in his mind's eye of the Jewish saint and follower after righteousness was a compound of Rabbinism and Hellenism. One has a lurking suspicion that Maimonides' man of righteousness would have been a somewhat unintelligible character to a Rabbi of the Talmudic epoch.

6. **Ḥasidic interpretations of righteousness.**—In the 18th cent. a new religious movement known as Ḥasidism ('pietism') arose among the Jewish masses in Poland — a pantheistic movement in which the mystical element in Judaism, the teachings of the *Zôhār* and the Ḳabbālā generally, overshadowed and largely crushed out the ceremonial and ritualistic formalism belonging to Rabbinic Judaism. The spiritual head of each Ḥasidic community was known as the צדיק, 'righteous one,' whose claims to the possession of righteousness on quite a superlative scale were based upon the peculiarly mystical connotation given to the term 'righteousness' in the *Zôhār*. Earth is an exact pattern of heaven, and between the 'upper' world of the Deity and the 'lower' world of humanity there is a constant and unbroken intercourse. This intercourse, in its intensest sense, can be called into being only by the ecstatic prayers of the צדיק, the man who wields real influence with the Divine Source of all life, the man whose prayerful 'righteousness' enables him to become a sort of mediator between God and the ordinary folk, bringing down to them from on high not only spiritual bliss but also material help, miraculous cures from disease, good luck in commerce, family joys, and such like. To select for special esteem a 'man of righteousness,' and to look upon him as a power able to bring heaven down to earth, argues a truly noble conception of Judaism's mission and function. But the movement unfortunately carried in itself the poison which proved its undoing. The desire to reach an ecstatic state of mind in prayer came often to be stimulated by artificial means, such as the excessive drinking of intoxicating liquors. Moreover, the צדיק would often seek to impose upon the credulity of his public by unjust claims to the possession of latent powers; and the gifts in money and kind which would come to him from an adoring clientèle could not but exercise upon him a demoralizing influence and serve to bring the whole institution into disrepute. Still, the צדיק has survived down to the present day in many a Ḥasidic community in E. Europe. Many a one has left behind him an honoured name and an honourable record; and among no sect of the Jews was religion more a matter of life and death than among the disciples of this particular branch of Jewish mysticism.

7. **In modern Judaism.**—In modern times the 'orthodox' follower of Judaism finds his ideal of righteousness in a self-adaptation to the standards of living and thinking inculcated in the Tôrāh as interpreted by the great Rabbis of the Talmudic ages. Such a self-adaptation grows obviously more and more difficult—and hence more and more rare — with the flow of time and the consequent changes in social and political standards. Modern 'Reform' Judaism and modern 'Liberal' Judaism (*q.v.*) lay great stress on the vital necessity of making every allowance for these inevitable developments and changes in the thought and outlook of the Jew. The general science and theology of to-day as well as the dominant critical theories of the nature and authorship of the Bible obtain a large meed of acceptance among these Jewish 'modernists,' thus causing them to make many a breach with the old 'orthodox' ideal and materially altering their standards of Jewish religious values.

LITERATURE.—F. Weber, *System der altsynagogalen palästinischen Theologie*, Leipzig, 1880; J. Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte*[6], Berlin, 1901; S. Schechter, *Studies in Judaism*, Philadelphia, 1896; R. Smend, *Lehrbuch der AT Religionsgeschichte*[2], Freiburg i. B., 1899; S. R. Hirsch, *The Nineteen Letters of Ben Uziel*, tr. B. Drachman, New York, 1899; M. Lazarus, *The Ethics of Judaism*, tr. Henrietta Szold, Philadelphia, 1900–01; F. C. Porter, 'The Yecer Harâ,' in *Yale Biblical and Semitic Studies*, New York, 1901; Morris Joseph, *Judaism as Creed and Life*, London, 1903; I. Elbogen, *Die Religionsanschauungen der Pharisäer*, Berlin, 1904; R. Travers Herford, *Pharisaism*, London, 1912; G. Friedländer, *Rabbinic Philosophy and Ethics*, do. 1912; C. G. Montefiore, *Judaism and St. Paul*, do. 1914; E. Benamozegh, *Israël et l'humanité*, Paris, 1913; *JE*, *s.vv.* 'Right and Righteousness,' 'Saul of Tarsus.'

J. ABELSON.

RIGHTEOUSNESS (Muhammadan). — Although righteousness—comprising faithfulness to one's pledges, loftiness of character, and sincerity towards oneself and others—was a wide-spread and highly esteemed quality among Oriental peoples, it does not occupy a very important place in their ethics. Indeed, in the scholastic ethical treatises of the Hellenistic and Neo-Platonic school—*e.g.*, the fine Persian work of Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsi, the *Akhlāqi-Nāṣirī*—we find that righteousness becomes merged in justice, which is divided between the idea of the 'tempering' of feelings and passions so as to preserve the golden mean between two extremes and that of social justice, which belongs to political philosophy. On the other hand, in an ethical treatise of the ascetic type, like the *Būstān* of Sa'adi, righteousness is passed over in silence, either as a virtue that is too elementary to require discussion or as being too cold and uninteresting for the sentimental mysticism of the Ṣūfis. History, anecdotes, and proverbs, however, as well as the stories and appreciations of travellers in the East, furnish much information on the subject of righteousness.

In the Qur'ān there are some important passages directed against certain disciples whom Muhammad terms 'hypocrites.' These people called themselves Musalmāns, but were treacherous, and wavered between the different parties. Their attitude aroused the indignation of the Prophet, and called forth some sayings of striking psychological interest. He reproaches them for continuing to consort with the unfaithful.

'"We are believers," they say, but when they go aside with their devils [the adversaries of the Prophet] they say to them, "We are with you; we were but mocking these others!"'[1]

These are the people who wait to see the turn of events.

'If the victory be yours from God, they say, "Were we not with you?" And if success goes to the unbelievers, they say to

[1] *Qur'ān*, ii. 13.

them, "Have we not served you against the believers?" . . . They waver between the one and the other, belonging really to neither.'[1]

The Prophet condemns them severely:

'Verily the hypocrites are in the lowest depths of hell-fire, and thou shalt not find for them a help.'[2]

Most of the great personages in Muslim history have been men of upright character. The first *khalīfah* (lit. 'successor' of Muhammad), Abū Bakr, received a surname which shows how much his uprightness was appreciated and the great importance that was attached to this quality. He was called *al-siddīḳ*, 'the righteous one,' 'the upright one,' 'the sincere one.' Celebrities of an opposite character are the exception in Islām. In the earliest times we might mention Mu'āwiyyah, a clever politician but a man of crafty disposition; and, in modern times, Muhammad 'Alī, who smiled on reading Machiavelli and said, 'Is that all?'

The proverbs offer some good formulas:

'Truth has abandoned me, and I have no longer a sincere friend'—a lament which recalls those of the Psalms: 'When truth arises it scatters falsehood.'[3]

They also contain some subtle psychological remarks:

'The unjust man gives nothing to anyone without getting double in return.'[4]

The fine collection of anecdotes called the *Mustaṭraf* contains interesting allusions to sincerity, probity, and righteousness:

'If you say "yes" about something, do it, for the word "yes" constitutes a debt which is obligatory on well-born souls.'[5]

This work quotes Aristotle on the merit of telling the truth:

'The finest discourse, according to this philosopher, is that in which the orator expresses himself frankly, and from which the audience receives benefit.'[6]

At the same time, the author of the *Mustaṭraf* does not carry the love of justice and truth beyond certain limits. There are times when the practical spirit gains the ascendancy:

'To be just towards some one who is not just' may have disadvantages. 'In this case the unjust measure will be the better course.'[7]

And farther on he raises a point in casuistry which recalls the famous disputes of the Jesuits and the Jansenists.

'It is said,' he writes, 'that lying is laudable when its aim is to reconcile persons who have quarrelled, and that truth is blameworthy when it carries prejudice.'[8]

He gives this opinion as interesting, but takes no side.

If we turn to the accounts of historians and travellers, we find numerous passages in praise of the righteousness of Orientals, especially of the peasants and nomads. This virtue in them is connected with the ancient patriarchal traditions. Let us give two or three passages at random.

'The Arabs,' says A. de Lamartine, 'carried respect for hospitality to the point of superstition. Their most irreconcilable enemy found shelter, security, and even protection as soon as he succeeded in touching the cord of their tents or the hem of their wives' dress. They were brave, generous, heroic. All the virtues, even all the tenderness of chivalry, unknown in Europe until later, had passed into their customs from time immemorial.'[9]

Baron d'Avril[10] cites the mediæval romance of *'Antar*[11] and the travellers Niebuhr and Guarmani, on the fidelity of the Arab Bedawin in the matter of hospitality. In *'Antar* a young shepherd takes a horseman into his cave to shield him from the pursuit of his enemies. These arrive and demand that he give him up. The shepherd says: 'Withdraw forty cubits and I shall make him come out.' He then changes clothes with the man and makes him flee. The hostile Arabs, recognizing the stratagem, admire the fidelity of the shepherd and let him go free.

An Englishwoman, Mrs. Hortestet, who has written a very interesting account of her adventures at the time of the Sepoy rebellion, praises the integrity of the Musalmāns of India, and relates how her elephant-driver, although himself a Musalmān, hid her so that she might escape the rebels.[1]

Such examples might be multiplied indefinitely.

LITERATURE.—See the works mentioned in the footnotes.

B. CARRA DE VAUX.

RIGORISM.—1. Early phases.—In its philosophical sense the term 'rigorism' is applied to that form of ethical idealism which rates reason as the dominant power of the moral life, to the exclusion or subordination of the element of sensibility. Rigorism is thus the ethics of reason. The roots of rigorism lie far back in early Greek philosophy, notably in the naturalistic Cynic and in the transcendental Stoic schools. By the Stoics especially was rigoristic theory developed. The moral rigour of Christianity came to be widely embodied in the discipline and demands of the various monastic orders. As thus applied, rigorism stands in opposition to laxity. Monasticism (*q.v.*), as a system, is founded on a profession of rigour. In the East Basil the Great did much to promote ascetic stringency and disciplined monasticism within the Church. But, in spite of rigid regulations, Eastern laxity in morals grew. In the West the great Benedictine system soon came to absorb all the monachism of that region. It maintained a rigorous discipline, but was more practical and less contemplative than the monasticism of the East. Ascetic rigour assumed a dualistic view of the world (see art. ASCETICISM [Christian]); matter and spirit were to it incompatible. Its fault was to rest content with a negative ideal. The rigours of overstrained asceticism often passed into self-indulgence or were attended by spiritual pride and fanaticism. The Middle Ages were marked by the rigorous poverty of St. Francis and the fanatical scourgings of the Flagellants (*q.v.*)—a strange externalizing of the doctrine of penitence. The moral experience of the monastic life came at length to be fairly well represented in the 'seven deadly sins' and in the significant presence of the moral lassitude, inertness, and discontent which were summed up in the word 'accidie' (*q.v.*).

2. Jansenist asceticism.—Rigorism was applied, in the 17th cent., to the Port Royalists as a byword from the outset of their history. They were called 'rigorists' because, at the Port Royal des Champs establishment, life was very simple and austere, and free from the grave laxity which had invaded the cloistered life. The term 'rigorist,' however, came to stand for a Jansenist. Jansenism (*q.v.*) in its piety, which was of an ascetic rigour, stood over against the worldly spirit of Molinism (*q.v.*). The increasing hold of Jansenism, and the power of the Port Royal press, led to firm persecuting measures against the rigorists. Pascal, says Voltaire, 'was intimately connected with these illustrious and dangerous recluses.'[2] Pascal (*q.v.*) sought an ethical valuation of his ascetic rigour in the strength brought to man through mortification of his pride and desires, carrying his view, however, to an extreme. The Protestant view of mortifications was only that of their being a means in the warfare against the flesh, but not in themselves meritorious. The rigorism of Christianity is dissolved in the love which is the fulfilment of the law.

3. The Kantian view.—In modern times rigorism is chiefly associated with Kant (*q.v.*), who used it to denote an ascetic or anti-hedonist view of ethics.

---

1 *Qur'ān*, iv. 140, 142. 2 *Ib.* iv. 144.
3 G. W. Freytag, *Arabum proverbia*, Bonn, 1838–43, iii. 107.
4 *Ib.* p. 338.
5 *Al-Mostaṭraf*, tr. G. Rat, 2 vols., Paris and Toulon, 1899, ii. 308.
6 *Ib.* p. 757. 7 P. 488. 8 P. 762.
9 *Hist. de la Turquie*, Paris, 1854–55, i. 10.
10 *L'Arabie contemporaine*, Paris, 1868, pp. 128–131.
11 V. Chauvin, *Bibliographie des œuvres arabes*, Liége, 1892–1909, iii; *Antar, a Bedouen Romance*, tr. T. Hamilton, 4 vols., London, 1819–20.

1 *Narr. of Mrs. Hortestet, an English Lady, in the Indian Mutiny of 1857*, Persian autograph ed., Teheran, 1857.
2 *Siècle de Louis XIV.*, p. 353.

The rigorism of Kant, however, was by no means without lapses of momentary character in hedonistic and utilitarian directions. The happiness of others could be to him an end which was also a duty. But, speaking generally, the rigorism of Kant rejected from the outset every hedonistic reference as a motive to morality, which must be free of every eudæmonistic taint or trait (see artt. EUDÆMONISM, HEDONISM, UTILITARIANISM). This initial rigorism proved somewhat one-sided and extreme, since a certain happiness or satisfaction is the natural result of the fulfilment in morality of all the highest instincts of man. Great, no doubt, was the service rendered by the rigorism of Kant, in making the moral independent of empiric motives of utility and of all externalities, and in basing it on reason, whose demands are unconditionally obligatory and universally valid. But his conception of reason, however just in this connexion, was too abstract and formal, too isolated from feeling and desire; hence it lacked the force which should have belonged to it. The basis of his rigorism was too narrow and subjective, and non-percipient of the concrete character and relations of reason. Such an idealism (*q.v.*) was too transcendental, and lacking in vital elements. Its merit lay in its form; its defect was in its content, from which sensibility had been quite shut out. Hence the Kantian rigorism has had to be transformed by later idealists, as by Hegel, T. H. Green E. Caird, and others, from the standpoint of organic connexion.

LITERATURE.—The Histories of Greek Philosophy of A. Stöckl (Mainz, 1888), A. H. Ritter (Hamburg, 1836–53), E. Zeller (Tübingen, 1856–68), W. Windelband (Munich, 1894), J. Burnet (London, 1908), A. W. Benn (do. 1882), etc.; E. Caird, *The Evolution of Theology in the Greek Philosophers*, Glasgow, 1904, vol. ii. chs. xvii., xviii.; E. V. Arnold, *Roman Stoicism*, Cambridge, 1911; the Church Histories of J. A. W. Neander (Eng. tr., London, 1850–58), C. R. Hagenbach (Leipzig, 1870–87), C. A. Hase (do. 1877), W. Moeller (Eng. tr., London, 1892–1900), J. C. Robertson (do. 1874–75), etc.; A. Harnack, *Grundriss der Dogmengeschichte*, Freiburg, 1889, 1905,[4] tr. E. K. Mitchell, *Outlines of the Hist. of Dogma*, London, 1893; A. Dorner, *Grundriss der Dogmengeschichte*, Berlin, 1899; W. Wundt, *Ethik*[3], Stuttgart, 1892, bk. ii., tr. M. F. Washburn, London, 1897; F. Paulsen, *System der Ethik*[3], Berlin, 1894, tr. F. Thilly, London, 1899; Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.*, ch. xxxvii. (*Œuvres complètes*, xxi. [Paris, 1784] 344–380); Pascal, *Lettres provinciales*; K. Bornhausen, *Die Ethik Pascals*, Giessen, 1907; I. Kant, *Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft*, Königsberg, 1794, and other works; J. Lindsay, *Studies in European Philosophy*, Edinburgh, 1909, ch. xv.

JAMES LINDSAY.

RIGVEDA.—See LITERATURE (Vedic and Classical Sanskrit).

RINGS.—See REGALIA, CHARMS AND AMULETS.

RITSCHLIANISM.—I. *LIFE OF RITSCHL.*—Albrecht Benjamin Ritschl was born in Berlin in 1822. He studied theology in Bonn, Halle, and Berlin (1839–44). Unsatisfied by the mediating theology (Nitzsch, Müller, Tholuck), he felt the influence of Hegel, and, without becoming fully a Hegelian, he attached himself to the school of Baur. After six weeks' military service and a term at Heidelberg, he went to Tübingen, where in 1846 he issued his first writing, *Das Evangelium Marcions und das kanonische Evangelium des Lukas*. His defence of the theory of the dependence of Luke's on Marcion's Gospel gave great satisfaction to Baur. In 1846 he passed his examination as a licentiate in theology at Bonn, and soon after became a privatdocent. His monograph on the origin of the Old Catholic Church (*Die Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche*, Bonn, 1850) showed that he was forsaking his old teacher; and the breach, which took place in 1856, was made public in the second edition of this work in 1857. In 1852 he had become an extraordinary, and in 1859 he became an ordinary, professor; he removed to Göttingen in 1864, where he lectured not only on Biblical subjects, but also on dogmatics, ethics, and symbolics. Calls to Strassburg and Berlin were refused by him, and he died at Göttingen in 1889.

Ritschl's fame as a theologian rests mainly on his book, *Die christliche Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, published at Bonn in three vols., 1870–74, 2nd ed. in 1882, 3rd in 1888, 4th in 1895–1902 (an unaltered reprint of 3rd, cheap ed. in 2 vols. in 1910). In the first volume (Eng. tr., *Critical Hist. of the Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation*, Edinburgh, 1872) he gives the history, in the second the Biblical material, and in the third (Eng. tr., *The Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation*, Edinburgh and New York, 1900) the constructive statement. Less noted, but still valuable, is his *Gesch. des Pietismus*, 3 vols., Bonn, 1880–86. Lesser works are his lecture on Christian perfection, *Ueber die christliche Vollkommenheit*, Göttingen, 1874; *Unterricht in der christlichen Religion*, Bonn, 1875, a summary, difficult to understand, of his system (Eng. tr. by A. T. Swing in his *Theology of Albrecht Ritschl*), and *Theologie und Metaphysik*, Bonn, 1881 (a defence of his epistemology). Lectures and essays were collected in two volumes (*Gesammelte Aufsätze*, Freiburg, 1893–96) by his son Otto, who also wrote his Life (*Albrecht Ritschls Leben*, 2 vols., do. 1892–96).

Only after thirty years' activity as a teacher did Ritschl begin to gather a school around him in 1875; and from 1881 onwards he was exposed to the cross-fire of criticism from orthodoxy and pietism on the one hand, and from liberalism on the other. In his treatment of the problem of the Old Catholic Church he asserts in opposition to Baur the essential unity of the attitude of the apostles to Christ, the insignificance of Jewish Christianity for, and the dominant influence of Gentile Christianity on, the development of Old Catholicism. His attitude to pietism is unsympathetic; and yet he succeeds in showing its historical significance, while maintaining that its merits have been exaggerated, and that it did contain reactionary Catholic elements. Even this work has the characteristic excellence that he seeks to get to the root of doctrines and institutions in living piety. His influence as a theologian, however, does not rest on these works, but on his discussion of *Justification and Reconciliation*, which contains an exposition of his dogmatic system.

II. *THEOLOGY OF RITSCHL.*—Ritschl's position may be fixed in relation to that of Kant, Hegel, and Schleiermacher on the one hand, and to physical science and literary and historical criticism on the other. While he shared Kant's practical tendency, as is shown in the prominence that he gives to the Kingdom of God as one of the foci of the ellipse to which he compares Christianity, he does not accept the subordination of religion to morality, but strives to assert its independence. His reaction against Hegelianism is seen in his rejection of speculative theism, his condemnation of the intrusion of philosophy into Christian theology in ecclesiastical dogma, and his antagonism to religious mysticism as a philosophically determined type of piety. The emotionalism of mysticism too is uncongenial to him; and, while according a place to emotion in religion, he yet does not follow Schleiermacher in making feeling the distinctive feature of religion, or in emphasizing dependence as its characteristic relation, as he lays stress rather on the assertion of personality over against nature. By his theory of value-judgments he seeks to ward off the intrusion of the principles or the methods of science into the realm of religion

as well as the dominion of philosophy there. Although trained in the school of Baur and for a time an adherent, he does not fully recognize the transforming influence on theological method which literary and historical criticism exercises and cannot but exercise. In throwing all the weight that he does on historical revelation, he fails to recognize how much its supports in the literary records have been exposed to attack by this movement.

Ritschl's system may be described by four characteristics: (1) religious pragmatism, (2) philosophical agnosticism, (3) historical positivism, and (4) moral collectivism; and, even if we cannot present the whole content of his teaching in the discussion of these features, we shall emphasize what is distinctive of it.

1. **Religious pragmatism.** — (*a*) *Definition of religion.*—We must first of all examine his definition of religion. He refuses to make it dependent on morality or to mix it up with metaphysics, and claims for it a realm of its own. He wrote before the modern branches of knowledge — religious psychology and the comparative study of religions —had proved how universal and necessary a function of mankind religion is; and doubtless, had he been influenced by these disciplines, his definition would have been more objective and less subjective. Unlike Kaftan, who attempts to define the common element, Ritschl, on the ground that such a definition would be too vague, seeks to determine the common tendency in religion, what in some religions may be so rudimentary as to be scarcely perceptible and can be detected only because it is seen more fully developed in other religions.

'In all religion,' he says, 'the endeavour is made with the help of the exalted spiritual power which man adores, to solve the contradiction in which man finds himself as a part of the natural world, and as a spiritual personality, which makes the claim to rule nature.'[1]

He recognizes an intellectual factor in religion.

'The religious world-view in all its kinds has the aim, that man in some degree distinguishes himself in value from the appearances which surround him and from the operations of nature which press in on him. All religion is interpretation of the course of the world in whatever compass it is recognized—in the sense that the exalted spiritual powers (or the spiritual power) which rule in and over it, maintain or confirm for the personal spirit its claims or its independence against the limitations by nature or the natural operations of human society.'[2]

As regards this world-view, he is altogether pragmatist.

'It can be shown regarding all other religions, that the knowledge of the world, which is made use of in them, is not constituted theoretically without interest, but according to practical objects.'[3]

This position the most recent thought supports; it is now generally admitted that religion does not primarily gratify intellectual curiosity, but satisfies practical necessity. In it man seeks some good for himself, however he conceives it (goods, goodness, God) by aid of the gods (or God). Ritschl's definition of the good is, however, too limited, and accords with a temporary phase rather than a permanent feature of human thought and life.

(*b*) *The ideal religion.*—The tendency of all religion is completed in Christianity as the ideal religion.

'Christianity is the monotheistic, completely spiritual, and ethical religion, which, on the basis of the life of its Founder as redeeming and as establishing the Kingdom of God, consists in the freedom of the children of God, includes the impulse to conduct from the motive of love, the intention of which is the moral organization of mankind, and in the filial relation to God as well as in the Kingdom of God lays the foundation of blessedness.'[4]

The ideal more than completes the tendency; the spiritual element of the filial relation to God and the ethical element of the motive of love go beyond the removal of the contradiction between man's knowledge of himself as a spiritual personality and his sense of his dependence on (as part of) nature; and yet, in working out his system, Ritschl gives prominence to the consciousness of dominion over the world as resulting from the confidence in God's universal providence which the assurance of God's forgiveness of his sins brings to the child of God.

(*c*) *Doctrine of sin.*—While he represents redemption and the Kingdom of God as the two foci of the ellipse of Christianity, in his conception of redemption an inadequate estimate of sin and its consequences results in an insufficient emphasis on the cancelling of the guilt and the deliverance from the power of sin; and accordingly his representation of the Christian salvation does not correspond with what has been most distinctive of the evangelical type of Christian experience. He denies the doctrine of original sin, and regards sin as pardonable because due to ignorance; and yet he affirms the reality of guilt as disturbing the relation of man to God, and of the sense of guilt as the feeling which corresponds to this fact. The standard for the judgment of sin is not a primitive perfection of man, or even an absolute law of God, but the historical purpose of God, the Kingdom of God, of which sin is the contradiction, and to which the totality of the sins of mankind may be regarded as a rival rule in history. There is no present wrath of God against sin; it is only a future possibility—the resolve of God to end the existence of those (if any) who finally oppose themselves to His Kingdom; there is, therefore, nothing in God corresponding to man's fear of His judgment or man's view of the evils of life as God's punishment of sin. God can and does pardon sin, so long as it is ignorance—*i.e.* so long as God's purpose is not finally rejected.

(*d*) *View of forgiveness.*—As is the view of sin, so also is the view of forgiveness. While there is no hindrance either in God or in man to forgiveness, God is moved to forgive men—*i.e.* to restore their filial relation with Himself—by His intention to establish the ethical community of men, or the Kingdom of God on earth. This forgiveness (or justification, for Ritschl identifies the two) comes to men in the work of Christ as the Founder of the Kingdom of God. He maintained His religious unity with God through all tests and trials of it even unto death; and the relation to God, thus maintained, He reproduced in His community. This common good the individual believer makes his own by faith, being dependent both logically and historically on the community (to this point we must return in dealing with Ritschl's moral collectivism). Reconciliation, as the removal of man's distrust and hatred of God, and not as any change in God, is consequent on forgiveness or justification. The believer has reached the certainty of salvation only when, conscious of his relation to God in Christ as justified and reconciled, he is also conscious that his relation to the world has changed; and dominion over has taken the place of dependence on the world. In his exposition of Christian experience Ritschl thus returns to his starting-point in the tendency which he finds common to all religions.

Much had to be rejected which has hitherto been regarded as essentially Christian, in order that this conception of religion might be consistently maintained throughout the presentation of Christianity. One-sided as it is, it can be understood as a rejection of and opposition to naturalism, which reduces man to an insignificant result of the cosmic evolution, and even as a recoil towards the Kantian exaltation of moral personality from an absolute idealism, which makes the individual man but a

[1] *Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*[4], iii. 189, Eng. tr., p. 199.
[2] *Ib.*, Eng. tr., p. 17. [3] *Ib.* p. 186, Eng. tr., p. 195.
[4] *Ib.* p. 13 f., Eng. tr., p. 13.

moment in the evolution of the Idea or Spirit. As the heart makes the theologian, so the theology of Ritschl reflects his independent, vigorous, even aggressive, personality.

2. Philosophical agnosticism. — This religious pragmatism — this subordination of cognition to conation, of the interpretation of reality to the practical purposes of man, the maintenance of his own personality despite nature's challenge—results in, and so explains, the second characteristic of his theology, viz. its philosophical agnosticism.

(*a*) *Phenomenalism.* — The speculative interest must be repressed, and the practical must dominate. Ritschl cares to know only what he needs to know. The attitude is similar to that of Confucius, who declined to discuss the subject of spirits or of the future life as not immediately useful. An individual peculiarity here betrays itself as well as a reaction from the extremes of Hegelian speculation. About Ritschl's metaphysics (in fact only epistemology) we need not concern ourselves, as it is really an afterthought, and not the basis of his system. His philosophical attitude may be very briefly indicated. It is at bottom a phenomenalism, which, while not denying the reality of the noumena, and even asserting that the noumena are apprehended in the phenomena, refuses, though not consistently, to pass from the empirical apprehension (the *Vorstellung*) to the rational conception (the *Begriff*) of reality. He is ever trying to arrest theological inquiry when it passes from the phenomenal to the noumenal. Inconsistently he deduces the phenomenon, the Kingdom of God, from the noumenon, the love of God; but consistently he permits theology to discuss only the phenomenon, the work of Christ, and tries to stop its course before it reaches the noumenon, the person of Christ, although, it must be added, not quite effectively.

(*b*) *Speculative theism rejected.*—Unlike Schleiermacher, in whom mystical and metaphysical elements blended, Ritschl throws all the stress on the experience of the moral personality. He is not less opposed to pantheism than to naturalism or materialism; and over against both he sets a definite personal monotheism, which, however, he rests on an exclusively religious basis (with an inconsistent lapse to a moral argument), rejecting entirely speculative theism either as incompetent to deal at all with the problem or as offering only a solution which is irrelevant for Christian faith; for his mind wavered between those opinions regarding the question whether philosophy could or could not reach any conception of God. In denying the competence of philosophy to reach a world-view, he not only had the whole history of philosophy against him, but he could not even maintain his own position consistently, for he did attempt philosophically to defend Christian monotheism against both pantheism and materialism; and he did seek to show the inadequacy of the theistic arguments. His polemic against speculative theism was carried much farther than his purpose to defend the Christian idea of God against speculative modifications required, and than the truth in the matters in dispute justified. Further, he himself, in arguing against Strauss for a personal God, asserted the rational principle in both the cosmological and the teleological arguments.

'A law [*Gesetz*], a thing posited [*Gesetztes*],' he says, 'points back the understanding to the positing [*setzenden*] Spirit and Will, the moral order of the world to a law-giving [*gesetzgebenden*] and purposefully guiding Author.'[1]

While in the first edition of his great work Ritschl accepted the argument for the existence of God in Kant's *Critique of Judgment*, and maintained that 'the acceptance of the idea of God is not a practical belief, but an act of theoretical knowledge,'[1] in the third edition he concluded the same argument with the contradictory statement:

'This acceptance of the idea of God is, as Kant observes, practical faith, and not an act of theoretical knowledge.'[2]

His inconsistency is due to conflicting aims. Distrusting philosophy, and desiring to assert the sole claims of faith, he yet wanted theology to be regarded as a science, and not to be ignored by philosophy. Refusing the alliance, he tried to ward off the antagonism of philosophy.

(*c*) *Theory of value-judgments.* — To the statement just quoted he adds:

'*If*, accordingly, the correspondence of Christianity with reason is hereby proved, it is always with the reservation that the knowledge of God finds expression in another kind of judgment than that of the theoretical knowledge of the world.'[3]

Here he gives his alternative solution of the problem of the relation of philosophy and theology, reason and faith. There need be neither alliance nor antagonism; there may be neutrality. Even if philosophy and theology be both competent to deal with the doctrine of God, their conclusions need not be put in rivalry or conflict, because due to the exercise of different mental functions upon one object. Thus we come to the well-known, but much misunderstood, theory of value-judgments.

To meet a common objection, it may be affirmed at the outset that the value-judgment is not less true, and is not meant to be taken as less true, than the theoretical judgment; it is just as much a judgment about reality, and not illusion, as is the other. The distinction between the two kinds of judgment Ritschl expresses as follows:

'Now to seek the difference in the sphere of the subject, I recall the double way in which the spirit further appropriates the sensations excited in it. These are determined in the feelings of pleasure and pain, according to their value for the ego. On the other hand, the sensation is in the representation judged in respect of its cause, of what kind it is, and what is its relation to other causes.'[4]

The first way of regarding an object—its relation to, and value for, the self—yields the value-judgments; the second—its nature and relations—the theoretical judgments. As, however, even in knowledge there is, and cannot but be, interest, we must distinguish between accompanying and independent value-judgments. In science we have the former, in religion the latter.

'Independent value-judgments are all perceptions [*Erkenntnisse*] of moral purposes, or hindrances to such purposes [*Zweckwidrigkeiten*], in so far as they excite moral pleasure or pain, especially as they set the will in motion to appropriate good [*Güter*] or to protect itself against what is contrary.' Not only are moral judgments value-judgments; so also are religious. 'Religious knowledge moves in independent value-judgments, which refer to the position of man in regard to the world, and excite feelings of pleasure or pain, in which he either enjoys his dominion over the world accomplished by God's help, or grievously feels the lack of the help of God for that end.'[5]

Religious value-judgments are concerned not with individual feelings, but with the universal relation of man to God as helped by God to gain dominion over the world; they are not merely subjective as feelings are, but objective—*i.e.* true for all who stand in this relation to God. What is true in the theory is that moral and religious judgments are conditioned by personal character and experience, unlike the theoretical judgments, in which methods of reasoning, common to all sound minds, are applied to data of perception apprehended by all sound senses. The pure in heart shall see God. If a man will to do the will, he shall know the doctrine. Although Ritschl's unguarded statements of the theory offer some

[1] *Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*[4], iii. 219, Eng. tr., p. 231. Observe the play on words.

[1] P. 192. [2] P. 214, Eng. tr., p. 224 f.
[3] *Ib.* p. 214, Eng. tr., p. 225.
[4] *Ib.* p. 194, Eng. tr., p. 203 f.
[5] *Ib.* p. 195, Eng. tr., p. 205.

justification for the charge, the theory does not necessarily involve an intellectual dualism—that, *e.g.*, the philosophically true might be the theologically false, or *vice versa*. The unity of all truth must be maintained, and it must be our endeavour so to unify our knowledge as to approach that unity as closely as we can; and Ritschl was wrong in attempting to arrest the process. But this does not exclude our recognizing that different methods of knowledge are necessary for different objects. The use that Ritschl made of the theory to prevent the thorough intellectual interpretation of the objects of Christian faith is to be condemned—not the theory itself. Religion by its very nature is concerned with ultimate reality. Its quest can end only when the eternal God is its refuge and underneath are the eternal arms; and therefore to use a theory of religious knowledge to shut up faith within the phenomenal, and to shut it out of the noumenal, is to deny it its full and abiding satisfaction. In religion the value of the object for the subject may be the starting-point, but its goal can be the assurance of its reality, and its harmonious relation to the totality of reality; *e.g.*, Christ loses His value for faith as God, if there lingers the doubt, and there lacks the assurance, that He is God in reality.

(*d*) *Ecclesiastical dogma.*—Rejecting the aid of philosophy on the one hand, and limiting the scope of religious knowledge to value-judgments on the other, Ritschl is necessarily opposed to the method of ecclesiastical dogma. In the first volume of his great work he gives an account of the history of the doctrine, and dissents not from results only, but also from methods; in the third volume he criticizes as he constructs. It is Harnack, however, who in his *Dogmengeschichte*[4] (3 vols., Tübingen, 1909, Eng. tr., *Hist. of Dogma*, 7 vols., London, 1894–99) has most fully carried out the Ritschlian condemnation of ecclesiastical dogma. Into the details of this criticism it is not necessary for the present purpose to go.

(*e*) *The doctrine of Christ.*—An instance, but a crucial one, of the application of the Ritschlian method is the doctrine of Christ. Here we can test most thoroughly its adequacy as an interpretation of Christian faith. The place that Ritschl assigns to Christ in the Christian religion puts it beyond doubt or question that he means to affirm the divinity of Christ in reality and truth, although as a value-judgment, *i.e.* on the basis of Christian experience. His criticism of ecclesiastical dogma is very severe; and he intends to affirm that Christ is divine even more adequately and correctly than it has done. Whatever we may think of his result, we must assume this intention, if we are to do him justice. He modifies the current teaching about the work of Christ, from which, he insists, we must start in dealing with the person in four respects: (*a*) he puts personal vocation for office; (*β*) he lays stress on the likeness of the Founder and the members of the Christian community on the ground that 'what Christ is *for* us must be verified in the transfer of His worth *to* us';[1] (*γ*) consistently with the prominence that dominion over the world has in his conception of Christian life, he subordinates the priestly (or Godward) and the prophetic (or manward) function to the kingly; (*δ*) instead of assigning the three functions to different periods, he insists that there is a continuity in the exercise of all the three in the state of humiliation and of exaltation. The perfect fulfilment, in doing as in suffering, of His vocation yields us the ethical estimate of His person. His vocation being what it is, the revelation of God to man and of man to God, *i.e.* wholly within the mutual relation of God and man, the religious valuation inevitably follows on the ethical in the predicate of His divinity. He who in all respects perfectly realizes the relation of God to man and of man to God is God. As He in His vocation identifies Himself with God, so God in His mind and will identifies Himself with Him.

'The personal purpose of Christ for Himself has the same content as is included in God's purpose for Himself, which Christ knew and willed as such: and accordingly He as the bearer of the divine purpose for self [*Selbstzweck*] is in anticipation known and loved by God.'[1]

Even although He brings men into the same relation to God as He holds Himself, He nevertheless in our religious estimate of Him as God is unique.

'As He as the Founder of the Kingdom of God, or as the bearer of the moral dominion of God over mankind, is the Unique One [*Einzige*] in comparison with all others who have received from Him the same final determination [*Zweckbestimmung*], so is He that Being [*Grösse*] in the world in whose self-end God makes His own eternal self-end in an original manner operative and manifest, whose whole activity in His vocation accordingly forms the content of the complete revelation of God present in Him, or in whom the Word of God is a human person.'[2]

So far many theologians would heartily go with Ritschl, but he bids them stop here. Christ is given to men as the Revealer of God that they may believe in Him; and this faith in Him can be disturbed only by vain attempts to offer a scientific explanation of His relation to God His Father. That the theologian cannot arrest his inquiry at this point Ritschl himself shows by going beyond it at a later stage of his discussion. The reasons for which the predicate of divinity may be ascribed to Christ are: (*α*) His grace and truth, (*β*) His dominion over the world in His independence of it alike in action and in passion, (*γ*) His success in establishing on earth a community in which He reproduces His own relation to God, which, original in Him, is imparted to others by Him. At this point Ritschl makes his speculative attempt to get from the phenomenal to the noumenal, from the temporal to the eternal. His statement must be given in his own words, lest a paraphrase might put too much or too little into them:

'The unity and the similarity with God, which the Kingdom of God must command in order to be understood as the objective of the love of God, belongs to the same only in so far as it is evoked by the Son of God, and subordinates itself to Him as Lord. Accordingly, the love of the Father is in the first place directed to the Son of God, and only for His sake to the community of which He is the Lord. If these relations, further, are eternally posited in the loving will of God, then it arises from this our knowledge, that the specific significance of Christ for us is not already exhausted in this, that we value Him as a revelation temporally limited. But it further belongs to this—that He as the Founder and as the Lord over the Kingdom of God, is in the same way the object of the eternal knowledge and volition of God as is the moral union of men, which through Him becomes possible, and which possesses in Him its type, or rather that He, in the eternity of the divine knowledge and volition also precedes His community.'[3]

This statement might mean only an ideal pre-existence of the community as of the Founder. While Ritschl, on the one hand, re-affirms his conviction of the mystery of the relation of the Son to the Father—'the eternal divinity of the Son of God is completely intelligible for God Himself alone'[4]—yet, on the other, he asserts the necessity for our thought of setting aside as regards God the difference which we can make in man between willing and fulfilling, since we cannot conceive a volition of God, as it were, eternally suspended from action; and accordingly he draws the inference:

'Christ exists for God just such as ['als derjenige,' 'als der'] He is revealed to us in temporal limitations. But this only for God; for as pre-existing, Christ is hidden from us.'[5]

He cannot mean that the historical circumstances of the person and work of Christ exist eternally

[1] *Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*[4], iii. 395, Eng. tr., p. 418.

[1] *Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*[4], iii. 425, Eng. tr., p. 450 f.
[2] *Ib.* p. 425 f., Eng. tr., p. 451.
[3] *Ib.* p. 441, Eng. tr., p. 468 f.
[4] *Ib.* p. 443, Eng. tr., p. 471.
[5] *Ib.*

for God as they are recorded for us; for he does recognize that as pre-existing Christ is a mystery to us, and cannot, therefore, be in all particulars just as He is known in history. What characterizes Him as divine, that and that only we may suppose to exist eternally in God. This falls short but moves in the direction of the doctrine of the Trinity as speculatively construed, in which stress is laid on the necessity of a personal object of the love of God. An eternal object of knowledge and volition might be ideal; must not an eternal object of love be personal? And does not Ritschl in the statement quoted speak of God's love as first directed to the Son? The conclusion of the matter seems to be that he goes as far in affirming real pre-existence as his phenomenalism allows.

3. Historical positivism.—Rejecting the aid of philosophy in giving objectivity to the judgments of value, Ritschl seeks to escape the subjectivism which his theory of knowledge in religion seems to involve by his historical positivism. What is often forgotten in the criticism of Ritschl is that the judgments of value do not give themselves their own content; in them through religious appreciation there is intellectual apprehension of an objective reality; and that reality is given in a historical revelation.

(*a*) *Attitude to revelation.*—In his attitude to historical revelation there are both attachment to, and detachment from, his intellectual environment. With Hegel he values history in relation to the moral and religious life of man, as the 18th cent. with its abstract naturalism had failed to do. To this his religious pragmatism also led him; the religion which achieves dominion over the world must have firm footing in the world. Nevertheless, though he was for a time an adherent of the school of Baur, and preserved the methodical critical discipline of that school, one must admit that his treatment of the Scriptures is not always critical; his exegesis is sometimes dogmatic rather than historical. Further, he isolates the Christian religion and its forerunner, the Hebrew, from the general movement of man Godward in human history; he is unaffected by the influence of religious psychology and the comparative study of religions, which dominate the religious-historical school.

(*b*) *Use of the Scriptures.*—Ritschl does not use the Bible, as the Protestant scholastics had done, as an inspired textbook of theology. His conception of religion limits his appreciation of revelation; the divine supply in revelation corresponds to the human demand in religion. His conception of the Kingdom of God, as we shall see, is not historical, but dogmatic, and may be taken as an instance of how he uses the Scriptures as the basis of his system. The person and work of Christ as the Revealer of God, and so the Founder of the Kingdom of God—that is his dominating interest. But he recognizes the value of the interpretation of Christ by the primitive community. As the Founder of the community, He can be understood only as we know what the community, in its historical beginnings, thought of Him; and the inquirer must even assume the same relation to Him within the community of his own time.

'The full compass of His historical reality one can reach only from the faith in Him of the Christian community; and even His intention to found the same cannot be understood historically in its completeness if one does not subordinate oneself to His Person as a member of that community. . . . It would be a falsely understood purism if one were to prefer the less developed indications of Jesus in this respect to the forms of the apostolic representations. Further, one will be justified in not levelling down the most developed forms of the Pauline structure of thought, but in maintaining them erect in theological use, because they serve the purpose of expressing most distinctly the contrast of Christianity and Judaism.'[1]

[1] *Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*[4], iii. 3, Eng. tr., p. 3.

Thus the idea of the Kingdom of God is interpreted not at all eschatologically, and not only ethically, but soteriologically. The Pauline circle of ideas is included in the historical revelation. This does not involve, however, that Ritschl sets up Paul as an infallible theological authority. When he does not agree with Paul, he does not hesitate in setting aside his teaching; an apostolic idea is not necessarily a theological rule.[1] There is even something arbitrary in his use of the Scriptures. A doctrine is true, not because it is in the Bible, but because it verifies itself experimentally and practically.

(*c*) *Pragmatic view of the Bible.*—Ritschl does not deal with the apologetic problem of proving the value and authority of the Scriptures. He writes for and within the Christian community, for which the problem does not press for solution. With all that is included in Christian evidences he does not concern himself. Maintaining as he does the independence of religion, it is probable that the answer which he would have given to the question of the authority of the Scriptures would have been that they are the records of the historical revelation which meets the religious need of man. Here again is pragmatism; what works as religion is true as revelation. His historical positivism explains his antagonism to the two types of religion which depreciate history—mysticism and philosophical theism. The problems that now press on us most are those for which he offers no solution directly.

4. Moral collectivism.—As a historical revelation gives the content to the value-judgments (the formal principle), so the Kingdom of God gives the regulative idea (the material principle, as the doctrine of justification had been at the Reformation).

(*a*) *The primacy of the doctrine of the Kingdom.*—It is true that he speaks of the Kingdom of God and redemption as the two foci of Christianity; but there can be no doubt that in reality he subordinates the doctrine of redemption to the doctrine of the Kingdom as the means to the end on account of 'the recognized teleological character of Christianity.'[2] The account which he gives of the relation in the mind of Christ between the two ideas points to such a subordination:

'The purpose recognized by Christ of the universal moral Kingdom of God evoked in Him the recognition of and the resolution for the kind of redemption which He accomplished by maintaining His fidelity to His vocation, and His blessed communion with God in suffering unto death.'[3]

So also does his speculative deduction of the Kingdom of God from the love of God as its necessary object. Further, in his treatment of sin and salvation the conception of the Kingdom of God dominates; he is concerned not with man's actual condition of sinner, but with his possible destination as a citizen of the Kingdom of God. While Christian theology must be pistobasic, resting on personal faith, bibliospheric, getting its contents from the Scriptures, and Christocentric, having Christ as its standard, it is as the Founder of the Kingdom (the King) that He reveals God (the Prophet) and redeems man (the Priest).

(*b*) *The Kingdom defined.*—It has already been pointed out that Ritschl's use of the idea of the Kingdom of God is quite unhistorical, as the recent discussions have shown. In his *Unterricht* he so defines the term as to bring to it as the centre the two foci:

'The Kingdom of God is the highest good assured by God to the community founded by His revelation in Christ; yet it is regarded as the highest good, only inasmuch as at the same time it is reckoned as the moral ideal, for the realization of which the members of the community bind themselves to one another by a definite mode of reciprocal action.'[4]

[1] See *Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, iii. 341, Eng. tr., p. 359.
[2] *Ib.* p. 9. [3] *Ib.* p. 10.
[4] *Unterricht in der christl. Religion*, p. 3, Eng. tr., p. 174 f.

While the religious good (justification and redemption) is put in the fore-front, yet the second clause shows that the religious good is subordinated to the moral ideal. It is quite in accord with Ritschl's religious pragmatism, with its emphasis on action rather than thought or feeling, with its detachment from philosophy and its attachment to history, that his theology should issue in this moral collectivism. His affinity is with Kant rather than Hegel or Schleiermacher; but he advances beyond Kant's individualism to collectivism. It is to the community that the religious good of justification or redemption belongs, and the individual appropriates the good for himself only as he reckons himself a member of that community and within it sets himself, by actions from the motive of love, to the realization of its common ideal. If redemption is a means towards the Kingdom of God, Ritschl is quite consistent in maintaining that the individual can make this good his own only as he enters the community and accepts its common tasks. While, of course, he is not thinking of an ecclesiastical organization exclusively, he so far identifies Church and Kingdom that it is the same community of believers which as the one worships God and as the other acts, in the relations of its members, from love, the Church being as it were the Kingdom on its knees with hands folded in prayer, and the Kingdom the Church on its feet with the tools for work or weapons for warfare in its hands. As identical with the Kingdom, Ritschl would say of the Church: 'Extra ecclesiam nulla salus.' The individual is not forgiven by God's grace, immediate and direct, when he repents and believes; but these isolated acts of justification 'are only the temporal appearances of the one eternal resolve of justification for mankind for Christ's sake';

for 'there is one Divine predestination according to which out of the totality [*Gesammtmasse*, total mass] of the human race the totality [*Gesammtheit*, organic total] of the new creation will be evoked.'[1]

Ritschl does not in these words teach a restricted election, as he admits that God's wrath conditions God's love only as the resolve of God finally to extinguish the life of those who ultimately oppose themselves to His purpose in the Kingdom; but still it is the community rather than the individual that is his interest as a theologian. Further, in developing this argument he maintains that God's purpose is realized in nations rather than in individuals, so that it is in his citizenship and consequent participation in the national religion that the individual becomes a member of the Christian community; and that only the historical nations of the West seem capable of realizing that purpose. This is a trait characteristic of German theology, which since the days of Luther has identified nation and Church, patriotism and piety, in a way which recalls the national religion of the OT rather than the individualism (already reached by Jeremiah and Ezekiel) and, therefore, the universalism (presented even in the Deutero-Isaiah) of the NT.

(*c*) *The κοινωνία of the Spirit.*—We may fully recognize the merit of Ritschl in emphasizing Christian character and conduct against a mere religious dogmatism or emotionalism (orthodoxy or pietism) and in giving prominence to the Christian community. The NT demands the fruits of the Spirit as the test and proof of faith; and the love of the Father through the grace of the Son has for Paul its issue in the *κοινωνία* of the Spirit (not the individual possession of a common Spirit, but the common participation in one Spirit). Yet Ritschl is one-sided; Christian experience as the realized relation of God and man has its own intrinsic value, and not merely as the *δύναμις*, of which character is the *ἐνέργεια*, even although faith is energetic in love (Gal 5^6); and the Father, as Christ has taught us, cares for, seeks, and saves each and all of His children. Ritschl's antagonism both to mysticism and to pietism is due to this moral collectivism.

III. *The school of Ritschl.* — Although Ritschl had many grateful scholars, it was not till after thirty years' activity that his school began to be formed. It was a letter of W. Herrmann (Jan. 1875) that Ritschl himself regarded as the beginning of a common theological movement. Herrmann had not been a student of Ritschl, but of Tholuck and Julius Müller (both mediating theologians), and yet he confessed that Ritschl's writings had had a decisive influence on his theological development.[1] In 1876 Harnack extended his influence to Leipzig. Schürer as editor of the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* in 1876 also made it the chief organ of the school, until it came to be represented also by the *Christliche Welt* in 1887, and the *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* in 1891. From 1876 appeared the *Zeitschrift für die Kirchengeschichte*, of which Ritschl himself was an editor and contributor. By the influence of Stade there was formed in Giessen, in 1878, a theological faculty largely inspired by Ritschl, and including, besides Stade, F. Kattenbusch, E. Schürer, A. Harnack, and J. Gottschick. In Göttingen itself Ritschl did not enjoy any general popularity; but many of the best students came to him. Although his personality impressed those who came into contact with him, his influence was exercised mainly by his writings, and continued as great after his death as during his life. His theology was dominant in Berlin, Marburg, Tübingen, Bonn, Jena, and (for a short time) Leipzig. Hermann Schultz and J. F. T. Brieger, though not his students, associated themselves with Ritschl. To the first generation of his students, besides those that are mentioned above, belong J. Kaftan, T. Häring, P. Lobstein, and H. H. Wendt; to the second circle of those who had either heard Ritschl himself or been influenced by some of his followers belong S. Eck, O. Kirn, F. W. B. Bornemann, F. A. Loofs, M. W. T. Reischle, P. M. Rade, Otto Ritschl, F. Traub, J. Weiss, and even Troeltsch, who has, however, since followed other paths. By the end of the 19th cent., however, divergences of interest and conviction showed themselves, and the unity of the school was broken. Some of the older Ritschlians, whose interests were critical, have gone over to the religious-historical school; others, whose interests were in dogmatics, have attached themselves to the modern positive school, which seeks, on the one hand, to retain the orthodox inheritance, and yet, on the other hand, by restatement to meet the demands of literary and historical criticism. It must be admitted then that, while Ritschl has permanently enriched theology in his writings, the school which was formed by his influence has run but a short course.

1. **Features common to all disciples.**—Although ready to acknowledge their indebtedness to Ritschl, yet his disciples are also so given to asserting their independence even by criticism of the master that Pfleiderer has asked the question:

'Do not their opinions now already differ in so many ways that it appears perilous to bring them together under a common label?'[2]

Nevertheless there are several common features:

'[1] The exclusion of metaphysics from theology; [2] the rejection consequently of speculative theism; [3] the condemnation of ecclesiastical dogma as an illegitimate mixture of theology and metaphysics; [4] the antagonism shown to religious mysticism as a metaphysical type of piety; [5] the practical

[1] *Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, iii. 128, Eng. tr., p. 128 f.

[1] O. Ritschl, *Albrecht Ritschls Leben*, ii. 267.
[2] *Die Ritschl'sche Theologie*, p. 77.

conception of religion; [6] the consequent contrast between religious and theoretical knowledge; [7] the emphasis laid on the historical revelation of God in Christ as opposed to any natural revelation; [8] the use of the idea of the kingdom of God as the regulative principle of Christian dogmatics; [9] the tendency to limit theological investigation to the contents of the religious consciousness.'[1]

Not all the adherents of the school have concerned themselves with all these features; some were attracted to Ritschl in one way, others in another; and yet there is such organic unity in Ritschl's system that we may claim in these respects a general agreement.

2. Herrmann.—Herrmann has in his *Metaphysik in der Theologie* (Halle, 1876) and in his *Die Religion im Verhältnis zum Welterkennen und zur Sittlichkeit* (do. 1879) treated with vigour and rigour the relation of metaphysics to theology. His book, *Der Verkehr des Christen mit Gott* (Stuttgart, 1886, [2]1892, Eng. tr., *The Communion of the Christian with God*[2], London, 1906), which may be described as a religious classic, expresses unreservedly, in its critical discussion, the antagonism to religious mysticism, and yet in its positive treatment of the relation of the Christian to God through Christ it is marked by what many would call mysticism; for it very closely resembles what has been called Paul's faith-mysticism. It is true that it confines 'the inner life' of Jesus, in which the Christian is found of God, to the historical representation; but it is to empty the book of meaning to suppose that Herrmann confines communion with God to the recall, however vivid, of the earthly Jesus, and excludes experience of the heavenly Christ as a present reality, although in the form of 'the inner life' of Jesus. It is against a metaphysical and a non-historical mysticism that Ritschlianism sets itself; but it goes beyond the NT when, as in Ritschl and Herrmann (not Kaftan), it excludes the Risen and Exalted Lord as the object of knowledge. In the same book Herrmann develops the doctrine of revelation most fully. Without excluding, and ultimately admitting, the Scriptures generally as the channel of revelation, he holds that it is in the fact of the 'inner life' of Jesus that God primarily reveals Himself to us. His moral and spiritual perfection, on the one hand, and His grace to sinners, on the other, give us certainty of, and confidence towards, God as love. He so lays stress on the personal experience of inward transformation by this 'inner life' of Jesus as God's act of revelation that he obscures the truth that there is preserved and diffused in the Holy Scriptures the permanent and universal historical revelation, as the ever available source of this personal experience (see *Der Bergriff der Offenbarung*, Giessen, 1885, *Warum bedarf unser Glaube geschichtl. Thatsachen?*, Halle, 1884). While Ritschl offers no proof of the truth of the Christian revelation, Herrmann answers the question as follows:

'There are *two objective bases* on which the Christian consciousness of communion with God rests. *First, the historical fact of the person of Jesus.* This fact is a part of our own reality. . . . *Secondly, the fact that the moral demand lays claim to ourselves.* . . . God brings it about that the good ceases to be a grievous problem for us, and begins to be the element in which we live. . . . Other objective bases there are not for the truth of the Christian religion.'[2]

There is a warm glow of personal devotion to Christ in Herrmann which is somewhat lacking in Ritschl himself. He has latterly given more attention to the subject of Christian ethics (*Römisch-kathol. und evangel. Sittlichkeit*, Marburg, 1900 [Eng. tr., in *Faith and Morals*, London, 1904], *Ethik*, Tübingen, 1901, *Die sittlichen Weisungen Jesu*, Göttingen, 1904).

3. Kaftan.—Kaftan, to whom Ritschl was indebted for the term 'value-judgment,' often takes quite an independent course. He admits a mystical element in Christian faith, and objects to the narrowing of the term by Ritschl and Herrmann; he insists that 'the highest good of Christianity is the kingdom of God *above the world*,' and that consequently 'to this religion there is accordingly equally essential a mystical side, turned away from the world, and an ethical side turned towards the world.'[1]

Kaftan also differs from Ritschl in his definition of religion. Instead of describing the common tendency, he claims to be able to determine the common element—man's feeling of dissatisfaction with this world, and the search for a satisfying good, either natural or moral, in or beyond the world. On the postulate by the practical reason of a highest good he rests his proof of the truth of Christianity. In *Das Wesen der christl. Religion* (of which the first edition appeared in 1881) he deals with the nature of the Christian religion; in the companion volume, *Die Wahrheit der christl. Religion* (Basel, 1888, Eng. tr., *The Truth of the Christian Religion*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1894), he offers the proof of its truth: (*a*) first of all he gives a criticism of ecclesiastical dogma in order to expose its failure as an apologetic; (*b*) next, insisting on the primacy of the practical reason, he rejects the traditional speculative method; (*c*) lastly he offers his own proof.

(α) 'Only the Christian idea of the kingdom of God as the chief good of humanity, answers to the requirements which must be made of the true, rational, absolutely valid idea of the chief good.' (β) There has been 'a special revelation of that kingdom of God in history.' (γ) As these two postulates of the practical reason have been fulfilled in the Christian revelation, 'the reasonableness and the absoluteness of the faith reposed in it' have been proved.[2]

As the second stage of the above argument shows, Kaftan also attaches importance to the historical character of revelation. He has turned his attention to the restatement of the Christian faith in the new intellectual situation (*Glaube und Dogma*, Bielefeld, 1889, *Brauchen wir ein neues Dogma?*, do. 1890, *Zur Dogmatik*, Tübingen, 1904; specially noteworthy is his *Dogmatik*, do. 1897). As these titles show, he does not accept Harnack's restriction of the term 'dogma.' What he means by it is the intellectual expression of the contents in faith.

4. Other writers.—Kaftan and Herrmann represent the more positive tendency in the Ritschlian school, and on many points of doctrine desire to come to an understanding with the evangelical theology; still more so Häring. Harnack, whose manifold interests and activities as a scholar cannot be noted here, represents the more critical tendency, and his point of contact with the school has already been discussed. So also does Wendt. Popular accounts of the theology of the school are W. Bornemann, *Unterricht im Christentum* (Göttingen, 1890), and, although more advanced in its critical standpoint than the school as a whole, Harnack, *Das Wesen des Christentums* (Leipzig, 1900, Eng. tr., *What is Christianity?*, London, 1901). Reischle discusses the same problem as Harnack in his pamphlet 'Der Glaube an Jesus Christus und die geschichtliche Erforschung seines Lebens' (*Aufsätze und Vorträge*, Tübingen, 1906) but from a more positive standpoint. His *Christliche Glaubenslehre* (Halle, 1902) is a brief summary of Christian doctrine of a constructive tendency. He, as it were, stretched one hand backward in his helpful exposition of the theory of value-judgments in his *Werturteile und Glaubensurteile* (Halle, 1900), and one forward in his critical discussion of the methods of the now dominant religious-historical school in his *Theologie und Religionsgeschichte* (Tübingen, 1904). Ritschl's son Otto has also expounded the

[1] Garvie, *The Ritschlian Theology*[2], p. 23 f.
[2] *Verkehr des Christen mit Gott*[2], p. 80 f., Eng. tr.[2], p. 102 f.

[1] *Das Wesen der christl. Religion*[2], Basel, 1888, p. 262 f.
[2] *The Truth of the Christian Religion*, ii. 325, 383 f. The writer has not the German original within reach to give the references to it.

theory of value-judgments in his pamphlet *Ueber Werthurtheile* (Freiburg, 1895). Both he and Reischle have done much to remove misconceptions and to introduce modifications so as to get rid of objections to this characteristic feature of the Ritschlian theology.

IV. *THE INFLUENCE OF RITSCHL.* — What gave Ritschl his influence over so many notable scholars and thinkers? His strong personality and his wide learning would not have sufficed, had not the theological situation given him his opportunity. The service which he rendered, according to Rade,[1] was fivefold: he broke the Hegelian yoke; he ended the confusion and compromise of the mediating theology; he was more fully the exponent of Luther than the Neo-Lutherans; he was truly a Biblical theologian; and he had regard both to the interests of the Church and to the claims of practical life.

1. The new theological position. — Since his influence in his school was dependent to some extent on these temporary conditions, the changed intellectual situation has necessarily lessened that influence, as the differences within the school itself show. Three changes may be specially mentioned. There has been a philosophical revival—a neo-idealism which takes due account of the progress of knowledge. The literary criticism, of which Ritschl did not take full account as it existed in his own day, has developed into a historical criticism, against the negative conclusions of which Ritschl's system is not protected, but which, as has already been indicated, has affected members of his school; so that those who have not identified themselves with the tendency have been compelled to offer a defence of their faith against it. Probably the greatest contrast between the theological position in Ritschl's and the present time is due to the study which is now given to the religions of the world (the history of religions, the psychology of religion, the comparative study of religions).

2. Weaknesses of the Ritschlian teaching.— Weaknesses in his theology, apart from its irrelevance to the problems and needs of the hour, have been more clearly recognized with the lapse of time. The epistemological foundation is not solid rock, but shifting sand. His conception of religion seems now far too narrow, too much affected by 'the personal equation,' in view of the extensive and varied knowledge which we now have of the religious life, especially what we may call its enthusiastic aspects, the place and power of emotion in it. While he accepted the modern critical position as regards the Bible, he was not thorough in the application of the method, and so much of his exegesis now seems arbitrary, even dogmatic, imposed on rather than evoked from the text. For those to whom the evangelical type of Christianity makes the strongest appeal Ritschl's treatment of sin and salvation must now seem quite inadequate. For those to whom the Bible, even when studied from the modern standpoint, still approves itself the literature of divine revelation and human redemption the treatment of the Holy Scriptures by Ritschl must often prove disappointing; there seems much more to be got out of this treasure-house than he has found in it. To the mystical type of Christianity Ritschl must be an offence; and it must be admitted that he does not recognize what is true and worthy in mysticism. The speculative type of Christian will not be satisfied with the essays in speculation that he inconsistently made, and will desire such an interpretation of reality as Ritschl even rudely turned his back upon. To the practical type of believer he will make his strongest appeal, although there are many practical problems of to-day of which he betrays no knowledge whatever.

3. Ritschl's merit.—Has his theology then only a historical interest, and no present value? So vigorous a personality in a masterly way shaping a system which, apart from some inconsistencies, has an organic unity so lacking in much of the theological thought of to-day commands respect. In a time when there are so many cross-currents in religious thought and life much is to be learned from the independence and solidity of his religious attitude; and against the many challenges of religion his assertion of its place and power as giving sure footing to the soul is reassuring. This appeal to the Christian experience can never lose its force. That he rescued theology from its precarious support in philosophy and discovered for it securer foundations in history remains his merit, even if historical criticism makes the defence of his position more difficult than it ever appeared to be to him. From him too theologians may learn to construct as they criticize—to advance to new positions not by disregarding the thought of the past, but by rethinking and, when needful, reshaping that thought. A theology will bear richest fruit for the future which strikes deepest root into the past. Here learning is the servant of insight. Ritschl's stress on the Christian community is not only in harmony with the modern conception of society as organic, but is a necessary corrective of an individualism within the Christian churches which has not yet recognized the significance of that conception. While his representation of Christianity as an ellipse with two foci may well be forgotten, his inability to maintain it is a convincing proof of the need of some one regulative principle in theology. If modern scholarship forbids his unhistorical use of the term 'Kingdom of God,' some other conception more central still must be sought for. Can it not be found in the Christian doctrine of God as expressed in the apostolic benediction — the love of the Father through the grace of the Son in the community of the Spirit?

4. British appreciation.—In Britain Ritschlianism at first had a very hostile reception; but soon the tide turned, and, although the movement never gained any popularity, and no prominent British theologian has avowed himself a disciple of Ritschl, the interest has continued and the appreciation increased; it is probable, however, that, as in the land of its birth, so here, the influence of the school is at an end; but in the matters mentioned above it has made a permanently valuable contribution to Christian thought.

LITERATURE.—To the works mentioned in the article the following books on the movement may be added: **C. Fabricius,** *Die Entwicklung in Albrecht Ritschls Theologie von 1874 bis 1889 nach den verschiedenen Auflagen seiner Hauptwerke dargestellt und beurteilt*, Tübingen, 1909; **J. Thikötter,** *Darstellung und Beurtheilung der Theologie Albrecht Ritschl's*[2], Bonn, 1887; **C. von Kügelgen,** *Grundriss der Ritschlschen Dogmatik*[2], Leipzig, 1903; **G. Ecke,** *Die theol. Schule A. Ritschls und die evangel. Kirche der Gegenwart*, Berlin, 1897, i. (specially valuable); **J. Wendland,** *Albrecht Ritschl und seine Schüler*, do. 1899; **W. Herrmann,** *Der evang. Glaube und die Theologie Albrecht Ritschls*, Marburg, 1896; **A. Titius,** 'Albrecht Ritschl und die Gegenwart,' in *SK* lxxxvi. [1913] 64 ff.; **F. Kattenbusch,** *Von Schleiermacher zu Ritschl*[3], Giessen, 1903; **A. Harnack,** 'Ritschl und seine Schule,' in *Reden und Aufsätze*[3], do. 1909, ii. 345 ff.; **F. Traub,** 'Ritschls Erkenntnistheorie,' in *ZTK* iii. [1894] 91–129; **J. Steinbeck,** *Das Verhältnis von Theologie und Erkenntnistheorie*, Leipzig, 1898; **R. Esslinger,** *Zur Erkenntnistheorie Ritschls*, Zürich, 1891; **M. Scheibe,** *Die Bedeutung der Werturteile für das religiöse Erkennen*, Halle, 1893; **H. Lüdemann,** *Das Erkennen und die Werturteile*, Leipzig, 1910; **R. Wegener,** *A. Ritschls Idee des Reiches Gottes*, do. 1897.

While some of the above works are critical in their attitude, the following are hostile; **O. Pfleiderer,** *Die Ritschl'sche Theologie*, Brunswick, 1891; **F. H. R. Frank,** *Zur Theologie A. Ritschls*[3], Leipzig, 1891; **C. Stange,** *Der dogmatische Ertrag der Ritschlschen Theologie nach Julius Kaftan*, do. 1906; **F. Nippold,** *Die theol. Einzelschule im Verhältnis zur*

[1] *RGG* iv. 2336.

evang. Kirche, Berlin, 1893 (in opposition to this B. Stade, *Die Reorganisation der theologischen Fakultät zu Giessen*, Glessen, 1894).

There are two French books worth mention: H. Schoen, *Les Origines historiques de la théologie de Ritschl*, Paris, 1893; M. Goguel, *Wilhelm Herrmann et le problème religieux actuel*, do. 1905.

The following books in English are in order of publication: L. Stählin, *Kant, Lotze, and Ritschl*, tr. D. W. Simon, Edinburgh, 1889; J. Orr, *The Christian View of God and the World*, do. 1893; J. Denney, *Studies in Theology*, new ed., London, 1895; Orr, *The Ritschlian Theology and the Evangelical Faith*, do. 1897; A. E. Garvie, *The Ritschlian Theology: Critical and Constructive*, Edinburgh, 1899, ²1902; A. T. Swing, *The Theology of Albrecht Ritschl*, New York and London, 1901; Orr, *The Progress of Dogma*, London, 1901, *Ritschlianism: Expository and Critical Essays*, do. 1903; J. K. Mozley, *Ritschlianism*, do. 1909; E. A. Edghill, *Faith and Fact: A Study of Ritschlianism*, do. 1910; Garvie, *The Christian Certainty amid the Modern Perplexity*, do. 1910, chs. viii. and xv.; G. Halliday, *Facts and Values: a Study of the Ritschlian Method*, do. 1914; R. Mackintosh, *Albrecht Ritschl and his School*, do. 1915.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

RITUAL.—See PRAYER, WORSHIP.

RIVER, RIVER-GODS. — See WATER, WATER-GODS.

ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH. — See WESTERN CHURCH.

ROMAN RELIGION.—The religion of the Roman people is a very complex subject; and this complexity is mainly due to the extraordinary development of a small city-State (with its own religious ideas and organization, and composed of families and *gentes* each practising its own simple religious rites) into a great Empire, which gradually absorbed all the peoples, civilized and semi-civilized, lying around the basin of the Mediterranean, and which at all times was ready to admit the religious ideas and cults of foreign peoples, under certain conditions, within the circle of its own religious operations. It will be obvious that, if by the Roman people we understand the inhabitants of the Roman Empire after its complete development, no sufficient account of it can be given in a single article; but, if our subject be limited to the religious ideas and practices of the Roman citizens who acquired and governed that Empire down to the 2nd cent. A.D. and the age of the Antonines, it will be possible to treat of it with tolerable succinctness. Even considered thus, however, it must be taken historically, as a growth, for at no period of its existence can it be said to be wholly free from foreign influences; and the real native ideas of the primitive Romans had, by the time when Roman literature begins, either become entirely obsolete or survived only in a fossilized form, in rites of which the original meaning had been completely forgotten. The position of Rome at the mouth of the chief river of central Italy, and on the west coast, which offers suitable harbours to immigrants, laid the city open at a very early period to the invasion of these foreign influences; and we now know that even before the 8th cent. B.C. this coast was settled by Greeks, bringing with them works of art, in which their own religion and mythology were depicted. Then the Etruscan people, whose origin is still matter of doubt, and who were themselves largely indebted for their religious ideas both to Greece and to Egypt, spread over the same region, and added to the confusion. Later a fresh influx of Greek rites and deities gained entrance into the city, and in many cases transformed the native ones in ways which make them extremely difficult to detect; and, finally, the religions of the East began to make their appearance, and rapidly gained ground as the Roman population became less pure in descent and less Italian in feeling.

It will be convenient at once to indicate the periods into which, by the common consent of inquirers, the history of the Roman religion falls. They are four: viz. (I.) from the earliest times (no more definite expression will serve) down to the end of the regal period—an age lasting, we may presume, for several centuries, in which the religion was in the main that of the city-State proper, answering to the *jus civile* in the sphere of law, and in fact constituting a part of it; (II.) from the reign of the last king, Tarquinius Superbus, to the war with Hannibal—a period of nearly three centuries (507–218 B.C.), in which the increasing commercial and political intercourse with foreign peoples and the spread of the Roman dominion in Italy brought in new worships and began to cause the neglect of the old ones; (III.) from the Hannibalic war to the age of Augustus, in which the same process was continued with ever increasing strength, while the intellectual awakening under the influence of Greek philosophy sapped the faith of almost all educated men in the efficacy of their cults, and in the very existence of their deities; (IV.) from the age of Augustus to that of the Antonines—a period which is marked, on the one hand, by a partially successful attempt to revive the old cults and, on the other, by the introduction of a new one with a wide political meaning, viz. the worship of the Emperors. The characteristics of these four periods will be traced in detail in the course of this article; but it will be necessary first to give some account (*a*) of the sources of information on which we depend for our knowledge of the Roman religion, and (*b*) of the principal modern works in which those sources have been utilized with good results.

(*a*) *Ancient authorities.*—The most important evidence that we have of the original character of the religion of the Roman State is contained in the surviving religious calendars, or Fasti, of which we have fragments of about thirty, and one almost complete. These exist chiefly on stone, but for four of them we have to depend on written copies of lost originals; they were edited together by Mommsen in vol. i. of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, and we have the benefit of a revision of this edition by the same hand, published in 1893, with one or two newly found fragments. They all date from between 31 B.C. and A.D. 51, and thus represent the calendar as revised by Julius Cæsar; but most fortunately the skeleton of the original Republican calendar, first published, according to Roman tradition, in 304 B.C., is fully preserved in them, as Mommsen conclusively showed. This skeleton is easily distinguished from later additions by the large capital letters in which it is inscribed or written in all the fragments that we possess; it gives the days of the month with their religious characteristics as affecting State business (*e.g.*, F. = *fastus*, a day on which legal business may lawfully be transacted, and N. = *nefastus*, on which such business is unlawful and ill-omened), and the names of the great religious festivals which concern the whole State, including the Kalends, Nones, and Ides, or days of the new moon, the first quarter, and the full moon. Excluding the latter, we have the names, in a shortened form, of forty-five great festivals, from the Equirria on March 14 to the festival of the same name on Feb. 27, the last day of the old Roman year; and, though it is not in every case by any means possible to recover the meaning of the name, yet it is obvious that these festivals, thus placed by an absolutely certain record in their right place both in each month and in the year, must be the foundation of all scientific study of the religious practices of the Roman State, taken together with the additions in

smaller capitals, which date from the Republican period. (For fuller information about the Fasti see Mommsen's commentary in *CIL*[2] i. 283 ff., condensed in Fowler's *Roman Festivals*,[1] p. 11 ff.)

This invaluable record would, however, be of little use to us, were it not for other evidence of a varied character supplied by Roman literature and by Greek writers on Roman subjects, to which must be added a few *additamenta* preserved in the Fasti themselves, and chiefly in those found at Prænestе and in the grove of the Fratres Arvales. Two men of real learning, who lived and wrote at the end of the Republican period and at the beginning of the Empire, would, if we only had their works complete, furnish us with an immense amount of detail, both on the public religious calendar and on the religious life of the family and *gens* at Rome: these are Varro and Verrius Flaccus, who, though deeply affected by ideas in reality quite foreign to the Roman religion proper, took great pains to investigate the facts and the meaning of the ancient rites. Earlier writers are of comparatively little use to us, for Roman literature began in an age when men were far more interested in politics or in Greek philosophy than in a religion which was fast losing its meaning; and it was only with the revival of that religion under Augustus that scholars, poets, historians, and writers on law began to interest themselves in it once more. The works of Varro and Verrius have come down to us only in a fragmentary condition or embedded in the works of later writers, such as Servius, Nonius, Gellius, Macrobius, Plutarch, and some of the Christian Fathers, especially Tertullian and Augustine. Three other writers of the Augustan age, whose works are more completely preserved, need special mention: Livy, who in religious matters, like Varro and Verrius, made some use of the books of the Pontifices, the sacred archives of the old religion; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who was for some time in Rome, and occasionally records what he saw as well as what he had learnt of Roman rites; and Ovid, whose six books of poetical commentary on the Fasti contain a great deal that is curious and interesting about the festivals from January to June, mixed up with stories of late Greek origin and fanciful explanations which call for very cautious criticism. Of inscriptions and works of art we have very few until the Empire, and the few we have are difficult of interpretation; nor is it likely that modern excavation will produce anything that will throw much light, except indirectly, on the problems with which we have to deal. Thus it may fairly be said that at every point in the detail of this religion we are met by very serious difficulties, owing not only to the fragmentary condition of our authorities, but to the difficulty of explaining and piecing together what survives of them (Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, ch. i.).

(*b*) *Modern research.*—Until the 19th cent. very little progress had been made in this work of reconstruction and interpretation; but the new impulse given by Niebuhr to the study of early Rome produced a long series of valuable researches, and the names of Hartung, Ambrosch, Schwegler, Preller, Marquardt, Jordan, Wissowa, and Aust are now familiar to all students of the subject. Of these the most important are Marquardt, who first struck the right note by taking the facts of the worship of the Romans as the only legitimate basis for arriving at any conclusions as to their religious ideas (*Römische Staatsverwaltung*, iii., ed. Wissowa, Leipzig, 1885); Preller, whose *Römische Mythologie* (ed. Jordan, Berlin, 1881–83) is indispensable, but needs careful handling, inasmuch as it is based on a conception of the Roman deities as impersonations of natural forces which is now generally admitted to be in great part misleading; and Wissowa, whose *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (Munich, 1902 [2nd ed., much improved, 1912],[1] vol. v. pt. 4 of Iwan Müller's *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*) is at present the most complete, and at the same time the most cautious, account of the subject that we possess, its only considerable defect being the author's unwillingness to recognize the value of the tentative efforts of folklorists and anthropologists to explain Roman ritual by the comparative method. To these works must be added the edition of the Fasti by Mommsen already mentioned, and many other valuable contributions by the same great scholar made in the course of his indefatigable researches into Roman history; and, lastly, the *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, ed. Roscher, in which the Roman articles, though of varying value, taken as a whole, indicate an important advance in our knowledge. The new ed. of Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie*, by Wissowa, has already rehandled some of the articles in Roscher's work.

We proceed to consider in succession the four periods into which, as has been explained, the State religion may be historically divided. In dealing with these, and especially with the first, the characteristics of the Roman attitude towards the supernatural should be made tolerably plain.

I. First Period

(From the earliest times to the end of the regal period).

It has already been said that the Fasti, *i.e.* the skeleton of the oldest religious calendar, must be the basis of our inquiry, and that this was first published, according to tradition, in the year 304 B.C. But, just as Domesday Book is a record which carries us back for centuries before it was drawn up, so with the Fasti, which the Romans themselves attributed to their priest-king Numa, and which bear unmistakable internal evidence of a very high antiquity. Though no actual date can be assigned, it is important to notice two facts which indicate the age in which it must have been drawn up. (1) The *terminus ad quem* is the date of the building of the Capitoline temple, universally attributed to Tarquinius Superbus, since there is no festival in the calendar which has any relation to the trias of deities (Jupiter, Juno, Minerva) which was worshipped there. (2) The *terminus a quo* is the absorption of the Quirinal hill in the limits of the city, for the Quirinalia and the cult of Quirinus on that hill are included in the Fasti (see Wissowa[2], p. 31). Thus, abandoning the doubtful names of legendary kings, we may say with confidence that the Fasti came into existence, in the form in which we have them, in the period of the city which included the Palatine and Quirinal hills, with the Subura, the Esquiline, and part of the Cælian hill. That is, when the city-State had grown into the form in which we know it, when Roman history may be said to begin, the work of religious as well as political organization (and the two were at no period wholly distinct) had begun with a definite catalogue, for the use of the religious-political rulers of the people, of religious ceremonies which concerned the welfare of the State as a whole.

We have thus gained a firm footing in a definite period of the development of the Roman city-State; but the Fasti then drawn up do actually carry us back still further; as we might naturally expect, we find embodied in them, as organized

[1] Hereafter cited as 'Fowler.'

[1] Hereafter cited as 'Wissowa[2].'

parts of the worship of the city, cults and rites which beyond all question arose in an age when there was no city-State as yet, and which belong to the life of the shepherd and the agriculturist. It is not, indeed, too much to say that the native Roman religion had its roots in the mental attitude of the men of that early age towards the powers to whom they believed themselves indebted for the prosperous issue of their labour spent in procuring subsistence from crops, flocks, and herds, or to whose ill-will they fancied they owed its failure. Almost all genuine Roman ideas of the supernatural can be referred to this principle of origin, and it must be carefully borne in mind throughout the following pages. In order to make this clear, a list of the festivals (*i.e.* holy days of special religious importance) is here given, in the order in which they stood in the oldest calendar, beginning with March, which was the first month of the old Roman year (see Fowler, p. 5, and reff. there given):

Mar.	14.	EQUIRRIA.	Aug.	23.	VOLCANALIA.
,,	17.	AGONIA, LIBERALIA.	,,	25.	OPICONSIVIA.
,,	19.	QUINQUATRUS.	,,	27.	VOLTURNALIA.
,,	23.	TUBILUSTRIUM.	Sept.		——
April	15.	FORDICIDIA.	Oct.	11.	MEDITRINALIA.
,,	19.	CEREALIA.	,,	13.	FONTINALIA.
,,	21.	PARILIA.	,,	19.	ARMILUSTRIUM.
,,	23.	VINALIA.	Nov.		——
,,	25.	ROBIGALIA.	Dec.	11.	AGONIA.
May	9, 11, 13.	LEMURIA.	,,	15.	CONSUALIA.
,,	17.	SATURNALIA.	,,	17.	SATURNALIA.
,,	21.	AGONIA.	,,	19.	OPALIA.
,,	23.	TUBILUSTRIUM.	,,	21.	DIVALIA.
June	9.	VESTALIA.	,,	23.	LARENTALIA.
,,	11.	MATRALIA.	Jan.	9.	AGONIA.
July	5.	POPLIFUGIA.	,,	11, 15.	CARMENTALIA.
,,	19, 21.	LUCARIA.	Feb.	15.	LUPERCALIA.
,,	23.	NEPTUNALIA.	,,	17.	QUIRINALIA.
,,	25.	FURRINALIA.	,,	21.	FERALIA.
Aug.	17.	PORTUNALIA.	,,	23.	TERMINALIA.
,,	19.	VINALIA.	,,	24.	REGIFUGIUM.
,,	21.	CONSUALIA.	,,	27.	EQUIRRIA.

Now, though there are in this long list many festivals of which the origin and meaning are obscure, yet we can distinctly trace in it the course of the operations of agriculture, and may conclude that those festivals in which this feature appears were taken into the State organization from a purely agricultural population. Thus all the April festivals have to do with the safety of the crops and herds; at the Fordicidia pregnant cows were slaughtered, and the unborn calves torn from the womb and burnt by the Virgo vestalis maxima, with the object, as the Romans themselves believed (Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 633), of procuring the fertility of the growing corn; the name of the Cerealia speaks for itself, though the ancient ritual was obscured by later *ludi Cereales*; the Parilia was a survival on the Palatine hill of the ceremony of purifying (*i.e.* averting evil from) the sheep, by driving them through burning straw, laurel, etc.; and the Robigalia had a kindred object in averting the dreaded mildew (*robigo*) from the growing corn. In June the ritual of the Vestalia clearly indicates a time when the Vestal virgins, whose origin, as we shall see, is to be found in the daughters of the agricultural household, cleansed the *penus Vestæ*, the representative of the storehouse of the State, and made it ready for the reception of the grain about to be reaped; this work was finished on the 15th, which day is marked in the ancient calendar by the letters Q. St. D. F., *i.e.* 'Quando stercus delatum fas' (Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* vi. 32); when the refuse had been cleared away, public business, which had been forbidden since the 7th of the month, might be resumed. In August we meet with the true harvest festivals, after the corn had been brought home; for both the Consualia and the Opiconsivia, in honour of deities or spirits closely connected with each other (*consus* and *consiva*, from *condere*, 'to store up'), show traces of harvest customs. Harvest over, we find few festivals till December, when a second Consualia points to an inspection of the stored grain, and is followed by another festival of Ops, the deity of the material wealth of the community; between the two comes the Saturnalia, which retained throughout Roman history the features of a mid-winter rejoicing of farm-labourers, in connexion with the worship of an obscure deity of agriculture who afterwards became mixed up with the Greek Cronos. Thus, without venturing further here into the difficult questions which beset the inquirer into the original meaning of other festivals, we have ample evidence that the Roman ideas of religion were largely influenced by their life as an agricultural people. The movable feasts also, and those which were not included in the calendar as not undertaken on behalf of the State as a whole (Festus, p. 245), point in the same direction. In the beginning of January we have the Compitalia, a survival in the city of the sacrifices made by *rustici* to Lares at the cross-roads when the season of ploughing was over (schol. on Persius, iv. 28); and the Ambarvalia at the end of May was in the same way a survival of the processional ritual by which the crops were purified from hostile influences (see also Fowler for probable explanations of other rites—*e.g.*, the *Argeorum sacra*, May 14 or 15, p. 111 ff., and the 'October-horse,' p. 241 ff.).

If the evidence of the most ancient calendar is clear as to the agricultural character of the life whose religious side it embodies, we next proceed to interrogate it as to the nature of the supernatural beings who were the objects of worship. Here we at once meet with disappointment. Very few of the festival names give us any clear indication of a deity, and, even where deities seem to be suggested, they are not those which are familiar to us in Roman literature. The Vestalia, Neptunalia, Volcanalia, Saturnalia, Quirinalia, and one or two others, do indeed suggest names that we know; but of these all but Vesta are in reality extremely obscure as genuine Roman deities. Neptunus, Volcanus, and Saturnus are familiar names only because they became identified in later times with Greek gods of a polytheistic system; Quirinus seems to be a form of Mars, either an independent deity identified with him or an adjectival name of Mars which took shape eventually as a separate entity. The cult of Vesta was so perfectly preserved throughout Roman history that we seem to have no doubt as to her existence as a definite deity; yet the Romans themselves were not agreed as to her real nature, and we cannot safely distinguish her as a deity from the sacred fire itself which was the chief object of her cult. Again, it is easy to say that the Cerealia in April were in honour of Ceres; but a very little investigation will dispel all possibility of discovering under this name any clearly conceived goddess of the type to which we are accustomed, *e.g.*, in the Greek forms of religion (see art. 'Ceres,' in Roscher; Wissowa[2], pp. 192 f., 297 ff.). The Robigalia of April 25 was supposed to be the festival of a god Robigus, and a note in the Prænestine fragment of calendar, almost certainly from the hand of Verrius Flaccus (cf. *CIL*[2] i. 236), runs: 'Feriæ Robigo via Claudia ad milliarium v ne robigo frumentis noceat'; yet it is impossible to be sure that, when the calendar was first drawn up, many centuries before Verrius' note was written, Robigus as a god was clearly distinguished from *robigo*, the mildew on the corn. So with the Terminalia in February: *terminus* was a boundary-stone between two properties, and we have explicit accounts of the ritual used in fixing the stone, which bears the mark of a high

antiquity, yet does not indicate any clear conception of such a deity as became associated with Jupiter in the legend of the Capitoline temple (Fowler, p. 324 ff.). Once more, the Lupercalia, which became famous owing to a well-known event in the life of Julius Cæsar, is generally believed to have been in honour of Faunus; but the Romans themselves were not agreed on the point; and it is extremely doubtful whether in this case, as in others, we need to associate the rites with the name of any deity at all. Lastly, it will be noticed that the names of Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, the great trias of the Capitoline worship of later times, as also those of Mars and Janus, are not indicated in the names of the festivals; and it is only from the additions made to the calendar under the Republic, and from Roman literature, that we learn that the Kalends of each month were sacred to Juno and the Ides to Jupiter, that the rites of March and of the 'October-horse' had some special connexion with Mars, and that at the Agonia (which is probably an ancient name for sacrifice) of Jan. 9 a ram was offered to Janus.

These examples will be enough to show that we should not be justified in supposing that the most ancient Romans had any very clearly defined ideas about the supernatural beings whom they invoked, and that it is better to rid our minds at once of the impression conveyed by both Greek and Roman literature, that each deity was a clearly realized *personality* with distinct attributes. It seems certain that to the Romans the cult appealed as the practical means of obtaining their desires, of warding off evil influences from all that they most valued, while the unseen powers with whom they dealt in this cult were beyond their ken, often unnamed, or named only by an adjective significant of their supposed functions, and visible only in the sense of being seated in, or in some sense symbolized by, a tree, stone, animal, or other object, such as the mildew, the fire, a spring, etc. Had they been as personally conceived as we are apt to suppose, we may be sure that they would not have been so easily superseded and absorbed by Greek and other deities as we shall see that they were. They are often multiplex, as the Fauni (on this point Wissowa[2], p. 208 ff., holds a different opinion), Silvani, Lares, Penates, Semones, Carmentes, and they are apt eventually to run into one another, as do Tellus, Maia, Ceres, and the Dea Dia of the Arval Brotherhood (G. Henzen, *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, Berlin, 1874, p. 48). In fact, we have beyond doubt in this oldest stratum of Roman religious thought a dæmonistic and not a polytheistic type of religion, such a type as has been shown by J. E. Harrison (*Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, Cambridge, 1903) and others to have existed in Greece before the great deities of Olympus occupied the attention of the Greek mind, and such as is known to have existed not only among savage peoples but in Europe (*e.g.*, Lithuania) and in China (see Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 80 f., and P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*, Freiburg, 1887–89, i. 240 ff.). The Roman objects of worship were spiritual powers (*numina*, in the Latin tongue); they were beings whose undefined nature made them very hard to invoke with certainty or security—a fact which in the history of this religion gave rise to an elaborate priestly system of invocation (see below).

It is obvious, too, that in such a theology there could have been little chance for even a people more naturally imaginative than the Romans were to find material for myth; and we may fairly conclude with Aust (*Religion der Römer*, p. 19) that, though there were Roman deities and Roman worship, there was no Roman mythology.

'The deities of Rome,' he goes on, 'in a very instructive passage, 'were deities of the cult only. They had no human form, they had not the human heart with its virtues and vices. They had no intercourse with each other, and no common or permanent residence; they enjoyed no nectar or ambrosia, . . . they had no children, no parental relation. They were, indeed, both male and female, and a male and female deity are often in close relation to each other; but this is not a relation of marriage, and rests only on a similarity in the sphere of their operations: so we have Faunus Fauna, Cacus Caca, Jupiter Juno, Liber Libera, Consus Ops, Lua Saturni, Salacia Neptuni, Hora Quirini, Maia Volcani, Nerio Martis.[1] The expressions *pater* and *mater* that often occur in the cult (Janus pater, Jupiter, Mars pater, Mater Matuta, etc.) point to a creative or generative power only in the region of nature. These deities never become independent existences: they remain colourless cold conceptions, *numina* as the Romans called them, that is, supernatural powers whose existence only betrays itself in the exercise of certain powers. The Roman did not trust himself to mark clearly the sex or name of his deities, as we see in the custom of invoking all deities *confuse* or *generatim* after prayer to a particular one, in order not to pass over any from ignorance or to give him a wrong name. In the formulas of prayer we meet with expressions such as "sive deus sive dea es," "sive mas sive femina," "quisquis es," "sive alio quo nomine te appellari volueris."'

Again, after what has been said, it will easily be understood that such *numina* could not have resided in temples made with hands, or have been represented in iconic form; what Tacitus says of the German Suevi may be taken as adequately describing the ideas of the early Romans themselves: 'nec cohibere parietibus deos, neque in ullam humani oris speciem adsimulare, ex magnitudine cœlestium arbitrantur: lucos ac nemora consecrant, deorumque nominibus appellant secretum illud, quod sola reverentia vident' (*Germania*, ix.). This is well illustrated in the cult which was probably the oldest form of Jupiter-worship at Rome, that of Jupiter Feretrius, whose *numen* seems originally to have resided in an oak on the Capitoline hill, on which oak Romulus is said to have fixed the first *spolia opima* taken from a conquered enemy; underneath this oak, as we may guess, a small altar was in course of time erected within a consecrated enclosure, the two forming what was called a *sacellum*, or small piece of holy ground; and only in later times was this again enlarged into a building with a roof, of the kind called an *ædes*, or house of the god.

So far we have been interrogating the oldest calendar as to the religious life and ideas of the Romans before their organization into a city-State, and have ventured to conclude: (1) that these were the life and ideas of an agricultural people; (2) that the objects of their religious thought and worship were not definitely conceived personal gods, but spirits, or *numina*, active in certain special functions (all of them, we may now add, in immediate relation to man, and otherwise non-existent), but having no human personality or affections. But beyond this it would be rash to venture in attempting to divine the religious conceptions of the oldest Romans; and we will now turn to consider the Fasti as the ordered record of the yearly recurring religious procedure of a fully developed city-State, from the union of the Palatine and Quirinal cities to the time of the Etruscan dynasty of the Tarquinii.

The following specimen of the Fasti is here reproduced in order to show better than could be done by any description the high state of religious organization which the Roman State had attained when the calendar was drawn up; it is taken from the Fasti Maffeiani (*CIL*[2] i. 223):

1. K(al) Feb. N.	8. N.
2. N.	9. N.
3. N.	10. N.
4. N.	11. N.
5. NON. NP.	12. N
6. N.	13. EID. NP.
7. N.	14. N.

[1] In these last examples the female name probably indicates no more than some aspect of the activity of the male *numen*.

15. LUPER(calia). NP.
16. EN.
17. QUIR(inalia). NP.
18. C.
19. C.
20. C.
21. FERAL(ia). F.
22. C.
23. TER(minalia). NP.
24. REGIF(ugium). N.
25. C.
26. EN.
27. EQ(uirria). NP.
28. C.

Here it must be obvious that the fixing of Kalends, Nones, and Ides, and of the great festivals, together with the distinction of the days as proper (F. or C.) for State business, or improper (N. or NP.), or proper only after certain sacrificial rites were over (EN, Q.R.C.F., and Q. St. D.F.), proves that the State whose religious life it regulated had already gone through a long process of development, and was in the hands of capable and clear-headed religious rulers. We have to see, now that we have reached this stage, who these rulers were; what deities they admitted as specially concerned with the welfare of the Roman State; what holy places they reckoned as proper for their religious functions; and what sacrifices they performed there, and in what insignia of office.

i. *THE PRIESTHOODS.*—At the head of the whole religious system was the King (Rex). This is made certain by what may be called the method of survivals, by which alone we can conjecture safely the details of administration in the regal period. When that period came to an end, the sacrificial functions of the Rex passed to a Rex sacrorum or sacrificulus (cf. the ἄρχων βασιλεύς at Athens), who continued to hold the first rank in dignity (Festus, p. 198 [ed. Lindsay]). We may be almost as sure that other functions exercised in Republican times by the Pontifex maximus also belonged originally to the Rex, viz. the selection of the Vestal virgins and the Flamines, and the superintendence of these, who were in his *potestas* (Marquardt, p. 240). The Vestals had the care of the sacred fire, the symbol of the unity of the State, while the Flamines were sacrificing priests attached to particular worships; thus it is now generally admitted that the State in this early form represents the discipline of the earliest Roman household, the Rex taking the place of the *paterfamilias*, the Vestals of the daughters of the family, and the Flamines of the sons. Further, in accordance with a Roman practice which also had its origin in the life of the family, the Rex was assisted by competent counsellors in all matters relating to religious law or custom: one *collegium*, the Pontifices (five in number, according to tradition), was specially concerned with the administrative details of the *jus sacrum*, and another, the Augures, with the science of omens, now apparently beginning to be developed out of the crude superstitions of an original peasantry. In matters relating to alliances, truces, declaration of war, etc., in which the relation of the State with other peoples was concerned, the Rex was assisted also by a *collegium* of Fetiales. Lastly, there were certain associations whose activity was confined to particular occasions: the Luperci, of whom we hear only at the Lupercalia; the Salii, or dancing priests of Mars (active only in March and October); the Fratres Arvales, whose grove was at the fifth milestone, *i.e.* the boundary of the original *ager Romanus* on the road to Ostia, and who were concerned chiefly with the lustration of the crops in May; and the Sodales Titii, of whom nothing is known but their name. Cf. art. PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD (Roman).

ii. *DEITIES.*—The *numina* with whom the State had to do—the divine inhabitants, so to speak, of the city and its territory—were known, in later times at least, as *di indigetes*, and were thus distinguished from the *di novensiles* (or *novensides*), *i.e.* new inhabitants, in a manner analogous to the familiar distinction between *patricii* and *plebeii* (Wissowa², p. 18). Wissowa has elaborated a list of these on the evidence of the Fasti and of the names and functions of the priesthoods; and this list may be accepted, if we bear in mind the characteristic ideas of the Romans about their deities, as already explained; such a caution is here necessary because this writer is apt to regard all Roman deities as clearly conceived in too polytheistic a sense.

Anna Perenna	March 15 (not in Fasti, but known from Ovid).
Carmenta (Flamen Carmentalis)	Carmentalia, Jan. 11, 15.
Carna	June 1.
Ceres (?) (Flamen Cerealis)	Cerealia, April 19.
Consus	Consualia, Aug. 21 and Dec. 15.
Diva Angerona	Divalia, Dec. 21.
Falacer (Flamen Falacer)	
Faunus (?) (Luperci)	Lupercalia, Feb. 15.
Flora (Flamen Floralis)	(Not in Fasti).
Fons	Fontinalia, Oct. 13.
Furrina (Flamen Furrinalis)	Furrinalia, July 25.
Janus (Rex sacrorum)	Agonium, Jan. 9.
Jupiter (Flamen Dialis, Fetiales, Augures)	All Ides: Vinalia, April 23 and Aug. 19. Meditrinalia, Oct. 11. Poplifugium, July 5, Dec. 23.
Larenta	Larentalia, Dec. 23.
Lares	Compitalia (movable festival).
Lemures	Lemuria, May 9, 11, 13.
Liber	Liberalia, March 17.
Mars (Flamen Martialis, Salii)	Equirria, Feb. 27 and March 14, March 1. Agonium Martiale, March 17. Quinquatrus, March 19. Tubilustrium, March 23 (and May 23?). October-horse, Oct. 15. Armilustrium, Oct. 19. Ambarvalia (movable festival).
Mater Matuta	Matralia, June 11.
Neptunus	Neptunalia, July 23.
Ops	Opiconsivia, Aug. 25. Opalia, Dec. 19.
Pales, Palatua (Flamen Palatualis)	Parilia, April 21.
Pomona (Flamen Pomonalis)	
Portunus (Flamen Portunalis)	Portunalia, Aug. 17.
Quirinus (Flamen Quirinalis)	Quirinalia, Feb. 17.
Robigus	Robigalia, April 25.
Saturnus	Saturnalia, Dec. 17.
Tellus (?)	Fordicidia, April 15.
Terminus	Terminalia, Feb. 23.
Vejovis	Agonium, May 21.
Vesta (Virgines Vestales)	Vestalia, June 9.
Volcanus (Flamen Volcanalis)	Volcanalia, Aug. 23.
Volturnus (Flamen Volturnalis)	Volturnalia, Aug. 27.

This table is most useful in enabling us to see at a glance, in conjunction with the order in rank of the priesthoods, the worships which were most prominent in the Rome of this period. The Rex, it will be remembered, was at the head of these; then came the Flamen Dialis, the Martialis, and the Quirinalis, and lastly the Vestals. Now we find that the Rex sacrificed to Janus on Jan. 9; he was also, no doubt, concerned in other rites—*e.g.*, at the Regifugium on Feb. 24 (see Fowler, p. 327) and in those of the Vestals which afterwards fell to the Pontifices; but this is the only one of which we have certain evidence. The Flamen Dialis was the special priest of Jupiter, and sacrificed the *ovis idulis* on all Ides to the god; on many other occasions—*e.g.*, at the Vinalia both in April and in August, and at the Lupercalia—he was present; in the latter case he may, however, have taken the place of the Rex after the abolition of the kingship. The Flamen Martialis and the Quirinalis were obviously connected specially with the cults of Mars and Quirinus, though we are in need of more explicit evidence; it is probable that the Martialis took part in the rite of the 'October-horse' (Oct. 15) and in the Ambarvalia in May, and of the Quirinalis we know that he officiated at the Robigalia and the Consualia (for details see Marquardt, p. 332 ff.). The Vestals were, of course, chiefly occupied with the cult of Vesta, though in Republican times they seem to have taken part in many other ceremonies (cf. Marquardt, p. 336 ff.).

The most prominent deities, then, were Janus, Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus, and Vesta. These form the core, so to speak, of the Roman ideas of the supernatural in relation to the State; others which we find in Wissowa's table will grow faint and lose vitality—*e.g.*, those to which the Flamines minores were attached—or will take a different shape under foreign influences; but these five, or four, if we take Mars and Quirinus as two aspects of the same deity, the one belonging to the Palatine, the other to the Quirinal city, remained at all times leading Roman religious conceptions, and must now be briefly considered as the characteristic deities of this period.

1. **Janus and Vesta.**—These two may be taken together, for in Roman ritual they were the first and the last deities in all invocations, public and private (Marquardt, p. 25 and notes). There is no conjugal relation between them (that, as we have seen, is foreign to Roman ideas), but they had beyond doubt a common origin, which left its traces on their cult to the last. Originally they were the *numina* residing in the doorway and the hearth of the house, *i.e.* they symbolize (if the word can be safely used) the sacred entrance to the house and its sacred inmost recess, where the sacred fire was. As the house and the family were the foundation of Roman civilization, so were Janus and Vesta the foundation of Roman worship. The temple of Janus, famous in later times, was in reality no temple at all: it was a gateway, with the sacred associations of all entrances; it was under the special care of the king, as the doorway of the house had been in the care of the *paterfamilias*, so that no evil thing, natural or supernatural, might pass through it into the house. This position of Janus in the house and in the State may safely be taken as the origin of all the practices in which he appears as a god of beginnings: he was the oldest god, *deorum deus*, the beginner of all things and of all acts; he is an object of worship at the beginning of the year, the month, and the day; but all this arose out of the characteristic Roman association of a *numen* with the doorway of the house and the gate of the city (see Wissowa[2], p. 103 ff.; art. 'Janus,' in Roscher; Fowler, p. 282 ff.).

2. **Jupiter.**—In contrast with Janus and Vesta, who represented the sacred character of the house, Jupiter (*Diovis pater*, from root *div*, 'shining') was the great *numen* of the open heaven under which the Italian, then as now, spent the greater part of his time. He was the *numen* of that heaven at all times and under all aspects, whether by night or by day, in clear weather or in storm and rain. In the Salian hymn, one of the two oldest fragments of Roman invocation that we possess (Macrob. *Sat.* I. xv. 14), he is addressed as *Lucetius*, the deity of light; the Ides, when the moon was full, were sacred to him; when rain was sorely needed, his aid was sought under the name *Elicius*, by a peculiar ritual (Fowler, p. 232); as Jupiter *Fulgur* or *Summanus* he was the power who sent the lightning by day or night, and all places struck by lightning were sacred to him; the festivals of the vintage (Vinalia and Meditrinalia), which specially needed the aid of the sun and the light, were dedicated to him, and his Flamen was on all such occasions the priest employed. This conception of the deity was not only Roman, but common to all the Italian peoples who were of the same stock; and everywhere we find him worshipped on the summits of hills, where nothing intervened between the heaven and the earth, and where all the phenomena of the heavens could be conveniently observed.

In Rome the oldest cult of Jupiter was on the Capitoline hill, and on the southern summit, where it became overshadowed in the next period by the great temple of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. This was the cult of Jupiter *Feretrius*, already mentioned in another connexion. The tiny temple (only 15 feet wide, Dion. Hal. ii. 34) contained no image of the god, but it has been thought that he was supposed to reside in a stone (*silex*) which may have been believed to be a thunderbolt (but see *JRS* ii. [1912] 49 f.); this stone the Fetiales took with them on their official journeys; and the oath by which treaties, etc., were ratified by them was said to be 'per Iovem (lapidem).' Here we get an early glimpse of that moral aspect of Jupiter which was retained in one way or another throughout Roman history; as *Dius fidius* (Fowler, p. 138), and perhaps also under the clearly Greek name *Hercules*, he was the deity in whose name oaths were taken ('mediusfidius,' 'mehercule'); his Flamen presided at the old Roman marriage ceremony of the *confarreatio*, where he seems to have been regarded as a kind of witness of the solemn contract entered into (Wissowa[2], p. 118); and on the Alban hill his cult, though overshadowed like that of the Capitol by the later innovations of the Tarquinian dynasty, was doubtless from the beginning of Rome's relations with other Latin cities the centre-point of the religious aspect of the Latin league. (For the many forms of the Jupiter-cult, of which only the prominent features in the earliest period can be here described, see the exhaustive article by Aust in Roscher, condensed in Wissowa[2], p. 113 ff.)

A word must here be said about Juno, who does not seem at all times to have been closely associated with Jupiter, certainly not as his wife, until Greek anthropomorphic conceptions gained ground at Rome. That she, too, represented the light seems probable from the name (Juno=*Jovino*, also from root *div*); but at some early time she became specially associated with the moon, as is shown by the formula used by the Pontifex in announcing the date of the Nones as soon as the new moon has appeared—'dies te quinque (or septem) calo, Juno Covella' (Varro, *de Ling. Lat.* vi. 27). Either from the supposed effects of the moon on women or from some other cause at which we can only guess, Juno was at all times peculiarly the *numen* of the female sex: Juno *Lucina* was invoked at the moment of childbirth (as, *e.g.*, in Virgil, *Ecl.* iv. 10), and the genius of a woman was called her Juno.

3. **Mars and Quirinus.**—Mars is the specially characteristic deity of the early Roman State, and was intertwined with the foundation legend of the city: it was the wolf of Mars that suckled the twins Romulus and Remus. Why this was is on the whole clear, though the etymology of his name and the original conception which it indicated are quite uncertain, and we only know that, like Jupiter, he was worshipped by all the peoples of Latin and Sabellian stock. Agriculture and war were the two chief occupations of the early Romans, and it is precisely these with which the Mars-cult is most closely connected, as a careful examination of the Fasti plainly shows. These two occupations, it should be noted, are also closely related to each other on their religious side; during the same period of the year, from March to October, the State was specially liable to the attacks of enemies—not only the human ones who attacked the Roman people and the crops and herds which sustained it, but also the divine enemies who might damage the growing or the harvested crops, and might also work havoc on the human population by disease or hindered fertility. It was in this period, March to October, and especially in these two months themselves, the first of which (also the first of the year) bears the

name of Mars, that the cult of this deity was most prominent.

In March the dancing warrior-priests of Mars, the Salii, whose antiquity as a *collegium* is proved by the fact that they must be of patrician descent, dressed in the costume of the old Italian warrior, performed a series of processional dances, clashing their shields and spears as if to avert some evil influence, and singing the songs of which a fragment has come down to us (J. Wordsworth, *Fragments and Specimens of Early Latin*, Oxford, 1874, p. 567). The table given above shows that the 1st, the 14th (originally probably the 15th, as no other festival was on a day of even number), and the 17th were also great days in his cult, though we are more or less in the dark as to the rites performed; but on the 23rd, the Tubilustrium, the *tubæ* used in war seem to have been made ready for the war season by the religious process of *lustratio*; and it may be that the horses of the cavalry were treated in the same way at the Equirria on the 14th. At the Ambarvalia in May, where Mars was eventually ousted by Ceres or Dea Dia, the Fratres Arvales went in procession for the lustration of the *ager Romanus*, and the hymn they sang, so far as we can judge from what we possess of it (Marquardt, p. 457; Henzen, p. 26), had a direct reference to Mars as the *numen* capable of averting noxious influences. This is confirmed by the prayer of the Roman farmer preserved in Cato (*de Agricultura*, 141), which begins, 'Father Mars, I pray thee to be willing and propitious to me, my household, and my slaves,' and prays him to avert all evil from crops and herds, and to bring the farmer's labour to a successful issue. From May to October we lose sight of Mars; but at the end of the agricultural and military season we find him again prominent. On October 15, which probably corresponded with the Equirria of March 14 (or 15), a horse was sacrificed with very curious ritual in the Campus Martius; in this rite we may perhaps see a survival of an old harvest custom, which took a new shape and meaning as the State grew accustomed to war, just as Mars himself, originally perhaps the protector of man, herds, and crops alike, became the deity of war-horses and warriors (Fowler, p. 249). The Mars-season was completed on Oct. 19 by the festival called Armilustrium, at which the Salii again appeared with their *arma* and *ancilia* (sacred shields), which were then subjected to *lustratio* and put away until the ensuing March. This short sketch of the ritual connected with Mars will suffice to show that the leading ideas in it are as we said, agriculture and warfare; it is needless to distinguish the two more precisely, for we cannot separate the Roman warrior from the Roman husbandman, or the warlike aspect of his deity from his universal care for his people. (For more detail see Roscher's art. in his *Lexikon*; art. 'Salii,' in Smith's *Dict. of Antiquities*; Fowler, pp. 1–65 and 241 ff. with reff. there given.)

Of Quirinus all that need be said here is that it is probable that this very obscure deity was a form of Mars belonging to the community settled on the hill that still bears his name; he seems to have had the same two characteristics as the Palatine deity, though these are difficult to trace with any certainty (see Wissowa[2], p. 153). The most convincing evidence for the essential identity of the two lies in the fact that there were twelve Salii *Collini*, *i.e.* of the Quirinal hill, concerned in the worship of Quirinus, answering to the twelve Salii *Palatini* of the Mars-cult (Liv. v. 52).

iii. *CULT OF THE DEAD.*—The Romans do not seem to have had, in early times at least, any idea of an under world tenanted by deities; Orcus and Dis Pater are not conceptions of home growth, and Vejovis, in spite of Wissowa's reasoning (p. 237), is far too obscure to be reckoned in such a category. Nor is this surprising: the deities of the Romans have always a direct relation to the *life* of the people, and in fact, as has already been said, exist only so far as they were supposed to have some direct influence for good or evil upon the activity of that life. As death brought with it an end of that activity, and the dead man was free from all responsibility for it, subject to no sentence of punishment or reward, there was no call upon the imagination of the Romans (which was never strong or inventive) to create an under world like that of the Greeks, and the splendid picture of such a world which we find in the sixth Æneid is wholly the result of Hellenic fancy.

But the Fasti supply us with certain evidence that the dead, when duly buried with the proper rites, were the object of an organized cult. In February, the last month of the year, and one specially appropriated to what we may call, for want of a better word, purification, nine days were set apart for this cult (*dies parentales*), of which the last, the 21st, appears as a State festival, the Feralia. Whether the dead were cremated or buried (both customs existed in this period, as we know from the XII Tables, 10) was indifferent; in either case the dead man was believed in some sense to live on, to have entered into that world of spirits which contained all the Roman deities, and thus the dead came to be *di parentes* or *di manes*, the latter word being explained by the Romans themselves as meaning 'the good.' On these days in February the rites of burial were, as it were, renewed, to make sure that the relation between the living and the dead should be a happy and wholesome one. The dead had long been buried in the family tomb in the city of the dead outside the city of the living, had been well cared for since their departure, and were still members of the family. They had their *jura* (*jus manium*) under the supervision of the Rex and later of the Pontifices; experience has taught the citizen that the State must regulate his conduct towards the *di manes* for the benefit of both parties. In May too, another month of purification and apparently of ill omen, we find three days, the 9th, 11th, and 13th, styled *Lemuria*, *i.e.* 'festivals' (if the word may be here used) of the Lemures or Larvæ, the ghosts of ancestors who had died away from home in war or otherwise, and had not been buried with due rites; these were probably supposed to be apt to return to the house which they once tenanted, and had to be got rid of again by special ceremonies, of which Ovid has given us a specimen in his *Fasti* (v. 432). These days of the Lemuria are marked 'nefasti' in the calendar, while the *dies parentales* of February are—some of them at least—'C.' (*comitialis*), and the Feralia is 'F.P.'; hence it has been inferred with justice that the Lemuria was the older festival, representing a conception of the dead as hostile to the living, which is not consistent with the organized life of a city-State, where the majority of human beings would die at home and in peace. This view (Fowler, pp. 107, 308) may account for the fact that of the Lemuria we hear hardly anything but what Ovid tells us in the passage just quoted, and even that belongs rather to the private life of the household than to the *jus sacrum* of the city. It would seem that the cheerful character of service of the dead which we find in February had entirely taken the place of the older and ruder rites. (For other indications in the calendar of the cult of the dead see Wissowa[2], p. 236; and, for the whole subject, Marquardt, p. 310 ff.; Aust, p. 225 ff.; and De Marchi, *Il Culto privato*, p. 180 ff.; cf. art. ANCESTOR-WORSHIP [Roman].)

iv. *HOLY PLACES.*—All places in the city and its *ager* which, for want of a more exact word, we should term 'holy' were of two kinds, according as they were or were not authorized by the State; if they had been, in accordance with the directions of Rex and Senate, subjected to the process of *dedicatio* and *consecratio*, *i.e.* devotion to a deity by the Pontifices, they were *loca sacra*. If, on the other hand, they were objects of fear or reverence from their own nature only, and as a consequence of the common feeling of the people or any part of it, they were *loca religiosa*. The best authority for this distinction is Ælius Gallus, *ap.* Festus, p. 424 (ed. Lindsay): 'Gallus Ælius ait sacrum esse quodcunque more et instituto civitatis consecratum sit, sive ædis sive ara sive locus sive pecunia sive quid aliud, quod dis dedicatum atque consecratum sit; quod autem privati suæ religionis causa aliquid earum rerum deo dedicent, id pontifices Romanos non existimare sacrum.' We may thus infer that before the completion of the city-State and its organization, and probably for some time afterwards, the spots supposed to be inhabited by *numina* were *loca religiosa*, and this is borne out by the fact that places such as those which had been struck by lightning, the Lacus Curtius in the Forum, and others to which popular superstition attached ill omen, were *loca religiosa*. The term, therefore, though often applied to objects simply because they had not undergone the rites necessary to make them *sacra* (*e.g.*, tombs, *sacella*, etc.), seems to take us back to a time when the civilizing and reassuring influence of the State had not yet fully done its work in bringing the divine inhabitants of the city into happier relations with the human population. But, when once a deity had been successfully settled in a particular spot, with ceremonies about the efficacy of which no one could have any doubt, since they were authorized and carried out by the State authorities, there was no further cause for any vague apprehensions about his attitude to the people; if duly propitiated, and especially on the anniversary of the dedication of the spot, he would be retained as a member of the community, unless, indeed, some enemy could persuade him to desert it (*evocare*); and his attitude should be beneficent. All places in which deities were thus settled were designated by the word *sacer*.

Strictly speaking, it was the ground they occupied that was thus styled; and it was matter of no moment what might be erected on it. When a temple or altar had been destroyed, the ground still remained *sacer*. The general word for such a place, without any special reference to what was erected there, was *fanum*; the simplest kind of erection was a *sacellum*, *i.e.*, as Trebatius defined it (Gell. VII. xii. 5), 'locus parvus deo sacratus cum ara,' and without a roof (Festus, p. 422); there were many of these in the city, even in the time of Augustus. But the holy place might be a grove or an opening within it (*lucus*), a cave like the Lupercal, a hearth like that of Vesta, or an archway, as that of Janus. All these were *loca sacra* if they had been duly dedicated and consecrated. The oldest example, so far as we know, of a house erected for the dwelling of a deity is the Ædes Vestæ, which was round, like the earliest form of Italian house (*A Companion to Latin Studies*[2], ed. J. E. Sandys, Cambridge, 1913, p. 217); this was dedicated to the deity and consecrated, but wanted the *inauguratio* of the augurs, which was necessary for a *templum*. This word was applied to a building erected on a *locus sacer*, which had been not only dedicated and consecrated, but also inaugurated according to the technical system of which the augurs held the secreta, and of which we have but little definite knowledge. When a building with its site had been dedicated by the State, consecrated by the Pontifices, and inaugurated by the augurs, it was not only the dwelling of the deity, but was in all respects of good omen, and might even be used for what we should call secular purposes—*e.g.*, for the assembling of the Senate. A document, in later times at least, in the form of an inscription, was drawn up by the Pontifices, recording the dedication, the amount of consecrated land, the rites to be performed, and other points; this was the *lex dedicationis* or *lex templi*. (See Marquardt, p. 270 ff.; and, for the whole subject of *loca sacra*, *ib.* p. 145 ff.; Wissowa[2], p. 467 ff.; Aust, p. 209 ff.)

As the *collegium* of augurs was certainly in existence in this first period of the Roman religion, it is possible that a few *templa*, in the proper sense of that word, may have come into being before the end of it. But, if we once more interrogate the Fasti, we shall find that the oldest festivals (see above, p. 822), with hardly an exception, are connected with places that had not been subjected to *inauguratio*, though they were *loca sacra*. The Robigalia, for example, was held at a grove, the Vestalia at the Ædes Vestæ, the Lucaria at a grove, the Consualia at an underground *ara*, the Opiconsivia in the Regia, as also the Agonia of Jan. 9, the Opalia at an altar in the Forum, the Feralia at burial-places, the Lupercalia at the Lupercal, and the Regifugium in the Comitium (see Fowler under head of these festivals). The evidence seems convincing that, when the Fasti were drawn up, there were no *templa* technically so called. Where, as at the Quirinalia, we hear of a sacrifice at a spot where a *templum* is known to have existed in later times (Fowler, p. 322), we are not justified in inferring that it took place originally in such a building; there, as in other cases (Aust, *de Ædibus sacris Populi Romani*, Marburg, 1889, p 33), the temple was without doubt preceded by a *sacellum*.

v. *RITUAL OF WORSHIP.*—The basis of the Roman's ritualistic dealing with his deities consisted in sacrifice and prayer, the two being, so far as we know, invariably combined. On important occasions, and for particular reasons, these were performed in the course of a procession or circuit round some object—land, city, army, or instruments, such as arms and trumpets—or, again, the whole Roman people, if supposed to be in need of 'purification' from some evil influence; in this extended form the ritual was called *lustratio*; and this ceremonial was perhaps the most characteristic, not only of the Roman, but of all ancient Italian forms of worship.

Sacrifice (*sacrificium*), as the word itself implies, was an act of making over to the deity some property more or less valuable, the meaning of *sacer*, as has already been explained, being 'that which belongs to a deity.' The nature of the *sacrificium*, as Marquardt puts it (p. 169), depended partly on the functions of the deity, partly on the object to be attained by the worshipper. The Roman husbandman offered the firstfruits of all his crops to the *numina* who were concerned with their welfare (Wissowa[2], p. 409), and this practice survived in the State in various forms; *e.g.*, the Vestals plucked the first ears of corn in May for the purpose of making sacred cakes, and the Flamen Dialis did the same with the grape-crop in August, with prayer for the safety of the whole vintage (Fowler, p. 204). Unbloody sacrifices of a similar kind also survived, not only in the daily private worship of the family and at the resting-places of the dead, but in the ritual of the festivals which descended directly from an earlier pastoral and agricultural life; *e.g.*, at the Parilia in April we hear of baskets of millet, cakes of the same,

pails of milk, etc. (Ovid, *Fasti*, iv. 743 ff.); and at the Vestalia in June the Vestals offered sacred cakes made, in antique fashion, of the ears which they had plucked in May (*mola salsa*). But the evidence of the Fasti shows that we cannot get back to a time when animal-sacrifices were not also in use; and this is in entire accordance with the nature of Italian husbandry, which was always more occupied with the rearing of cattle than with the raising of crops. The wealth of the ancient Roman farmer consisted chiefly of cattle, and in State festivals we are not surprised to find that animal-sacrifices formed the staple of the worship. The animals most commonly sacrificed were oxen, sheep, and pigs; but the pig, as the cheaper and less honourable animal, was rarely used except in conjunction with the other two, or as a piacular sacrifice—a term to be explained below. The technical word for the slain animal, if ox, bull, or cow, was *victima*; if any kind of sheep, *hostia*. Male victims were employed in the worship of male deities and female victims in the worship of female deities, in later times at least; but, in view of the uncertainty of sex in the most ancient deities, it may be doubted whether this held good in our first period. But, so far as our information about the ritual of the earliest festivals reaches, we know that a ram was the sacrifice to Janus, a heifer to Jupiter (this was Jupiter Feretrius [Festus, p. 204]), and at the Fordicidia, presumably to Tellus, a pregnant cow; to Mars in the *lustratio agri*, presently to be described, ox, sheep, and pig. Of ancient usage also was the sacrifice of a dog at the Robigalia in April, and of a horse to Mars, as has already been mentioned, on Oct. 15. Of human sacrifice in the usual sense of the term there is no trace; but it might happen that in a season of great peril or pestilence the children born between March 1 and May 1 were made over to the god (*ver sacrum*), and, when they had grown up, were driven out of the Roman territory (Festus, p. 519; Liv. xxii. 10, xxxiii. 44).

The sacrificial ritual of the altar was extremely elaborate in later times, and it is impossible to say how much of it was in use at the time of which we are now treating; it may best be studied in Marquardt, p. 180 ff. All that need be said here is that the victim, which must be unblemished, was slain by the assistants of the priest, after its head had been sprinkled with fragments of the *mola salsa*, or sacred cake (*immolatio*), and with wine; that in all ordinary sacrifices its internal organs were carefully examined, and, if of good omen, were placed upon the altar, while the rest of the animal was eaten. We can have little doubt that the examination of the liver, etc., formed a part of the ceremonial in the earliest period, since the object was to determine whether the deity would be satisfied with the condition of the animal offered him, and especially with those vital parts which were to be his share; but the extraordinary development of the minutiæ of this practice belongs to a later time. At what precise point in the ceremony the prayer was said does not seem to be known; but it was probably during the laying of the *exta* on the altar. The priest or other person who uttered it had his head covered, to shut out all evil influences or omens from his eyes, while a *tibicen* played the *tibia* in order to secure the same result for the ears; all bystanders maintained a strict silence (Marquardt, p. 175 ff.). As is seen below, the prayer was the expression of a desire, if not a claim, on the part of the sacrificers, that the deity would consider favourably such wishes and interests of theirs as were within the range of his activity, either by averting evil or by doing positive benefit. To obtain the desired result, every detail, both of sacrifice and of prayer, had to be gone through correctly; and a slip in either or any accidental hindrance, such as the stopping of the music of the flute-player, made it necessary to begin the whole ritual over again, and to offer a *piaculum*, or apologetic sacrifice. In this case the victim was usually a pig, and there was no necessity to examine its entrails; it was offered whole or consumed by the priests (Marquardt, pp. 179, 185). On great occasions such a *piaculum* was offered on the day before the festival, in order once for all to expiate any omission that might happen; but it is possible that this was one of the later developments of the *jus divinum* (the victim in this case was a *porcus præcidaneus* [Gell. iv. vi. 7].) Undoubtedly, however, it was in the first period of religious organization within the State that this extraordinary precision in ceremonial detail had its beginning. It was itself the result of that peculiarly Roman conception of the supernatural which has already been touched upon. It was the outward expression of that vague fear of the unknown which we must attribute to the early Roman: he did not know his deities intimately, did not of himself know how to approach them with confidence, and might at any moment, for all he knew, be doing or saying things which would put them in evil mood towards him. It was just here that the State came to the rescue; and the unbounded confidence of the early Roman in his State authorities, both civil and religious, his habit of unquestioning obedience to them, and his sense of obligation or duty, in both private and public life, are largely, perhaps mainly, due to his feeling of helplessness as an individual in his relation with the unseen world. We shall have to trace later the decay of this confidence and sense of duty (*pietas*), as the Roman mind became subjected to new influences, and as the extreme formularization of the old cults gradually destroyed all their life and meaning. But in these early stages of the Roman State the religious discipline of minute ritual unquestionably had certain good and useful results (see Fowler, p. 344 ff.).

Before we leave the subject of ritual, it may be as well to illustrate it, in the most highly developed form which it took in this period, from the ceremony of *lustratio*, in which sacrifice, prayer, and procession were combined. The most remarkable record which we have of such a ceremony is not indeed Roman, but belongs to the Umbrian town of Iguvium; it is an inscription of great length, containing a mass of detail for the instruction of the priests taking part in the *lustratio* of a sacred hill (*ocris fisius*); it is in the Umbrian dialect, and difficult of interpretation, but it entirely confirms all we know of this religious process from Roman sources (Bücheler, *Umbrica*, 1883). The object of this process of *lustratio*, as explained by Wissowa (p. 390), was twofold: (1) to purify the object round which the procession went from all evil that might be lurking there, and so to obtain the goodwill (*pax*) of the deities concerned with it ('pacem deum exposcere'); (2) to protect it, by the aid of the god thus obtained, from all hostile influences, the circuit taken being a boundary within which no evil could come if the victims before their slaughter were driven round it according to the prescribed traditional order. This explanation may be taken as representing the Roman idea of historical times, and it is not necessary here to try to penetrate behind it into the notions of primitive man; but it may be remarked that one at least of the lustrations of the old Roman calendar, that of the Palatine hill by the Luperci on Feb. 15, presents very peculiar features, which cannot altogether be explained in this way (see Fowler, p. 310 ff.), and also that the boundary line of city or *ager*, being carefully followed each year on

these occasions, was thus kept accurately in remembrance.

But the typical *lustratio* of which we know the details is that of the Ambarvalia in May, itself developed beyond doubt from the *lustratio* of the farm by the Roman husbandman, of which the detail has been preserved to us in Cato's treatise on agriculture. We have to follow Cato, applying his account to the developed festival of the city; but we have sufficient evidence that the latter was conducted on the same lines (Cato, *de Agricultura*, 141). The procession of victims, bull, sheep, and pig—the most valuable property of the Roman—passed all round the fields just as the crops were ripening, and therefore most liable to injury from storm or disease. Three times they went round the land; at the end of the third round they were sacrificed, and a solemn prayer was recited, which, according to Cato's formula, ran thus (we must suppose that the Fratres Arvales, who were the priests presiding at the Ambarvalia, used a similar formula, on an extended scale, for the State land):

'Father Mars, I pray and beseech thee to be willing and propitious to me, my household, and my slaves; for the which object I have caused these victims to be driven round my farm and land. I pray thee, keep, avert, and turn from us all disease, seen or unseen, all desolation, ruin, damage, and unseasonable influence; I pray thee, give increase to the fruits, the corn, the vines, and the plantations, and bring them to a prosperous issue. Keep also in safety the shepherds and their flocks, and give good health and vigour to me, my house, and household. To this end it is, as I have said—namely, for the purification and making due lustration of my farm, my land cultivated and uncultivated—that I pray thee to bless this threefold sacrifice.'

At all these religious ceremonies the sacrificing priest, and all magistrates who had the right of sacrificing (in this period the Rex only), wore a peculiar dress. The most regular and characteristic one was the purple-bordered robe called *toga prætexta*, which was also worn by children, both boys and girls, up to the age of puberty, probably because they had originally taken part as acolytes (*camilli, camillæ*) in the sacrifices of the family (see Fowler, in *CR* x. [1896] 317 ff.). But the most ancient priests, who were attached to particular cults, and whose sacrificial functions were continuous throughout the year, had special insignia of their own, which they wore at all times to distinguish them, and so to avoid the many causes of pollution with which they might accidentally meet. The Flamines had an *apex*, or leathern cap, in which was fixed an olive twig with a wisp of white wool (Serv. *ad Æn.* ii. 683), and their wives (*flaminicæ*) a *tutulus*, or raised head-dress, bound with a purple fillet. The Vestals wore a white robe, and, when sacrificing, a thick white veil with purple stripe (see, for this *suffibulum*, J. H. Middleton, *Ancient Rome in 1885*, London, 1885, p. 199). The Salii, when performing their dances, etc., wore a primitive military dress, the *trabea* and *tunica picta*; the Luperci ran round the Palatine hill at the Lupercalia, girt with skins, probably those of the victims (Marquardt, p. 444, note 3); the Fratres Arvales were conspicuous by a crown of corn-ears made fast with white fillets (Gell. VII. vii. 8).

From what has been said in this sketch of the Roman religion in its earliest form as a concern of the State, the following characteristic points should have become conspicuous.

1. The Roman believed himself to live in the midst of a population of spiritual beings (*numina*), whose attitude towards him was a doubtful one, and continually influenced by what he did or said.

2. As a consequence, it was necessary for him to be on good terms with them, and this could be securely accomplished only by the constituted authorities of a State who by experience and tradition had learnt how to deal with them.

3. This being not only an essential, but *the most essential*, part of the duties of the State, there was no real distinction between the *jus sacrum* and the *jus civile*; the former was a part of the latter, and always continued so (cf. Cic. *de Legibus*, bks. ii. and iii.).

4. So, too, there is no original distinction between priest and magistrate; they were both alike concerned in conciliating the divine inhabitants of the city. 'It was not a poet or prophet, but a King, and a priest-king, to whom the Romans attributed the origin of their religious organization' (Aust).

5. This inseparable union of State and religion had important and valuable effects on the Roman character; the State was more to the individual than perhaps in any community ancient or modern. But the religion, as a religion, had an insufficient vitality.

6. This was chiefly because it was originally based on a feeling of fear, which was never wholly shaken off. It was mainly negative in character; *i.e.*, the range of its prohibitions was far larger than that of its precepts. It can hardly be said that the moral law was enforced by it; and there was a distinction between what was due to one's fellow-men (*jus*) and what was due to the gods (*fas*).

7. The one feature of this religion which had a moral value was the constant and indispensable attention to the details of duty; if these were not duties to a deity who is righteous, and the source of all righteousness, yet they were duties that must be fulfilled; and they constituted a righteous dealing towards the divine beings, which created a claim upon them to deal righteously towards the Roman, and to hinder and destroy his enemies, human and material. Beyond this we cannot go; the *pietas* of the old Roman was a valuable quality in itself, but it never led him to base his daily conduct upon higher motives than obedience to the State and its authorities as mediators between himself and a dangerous spiritual world. It would always have been difficult for a Roman to appreciate the story of Antigone.

II. Second Period

(From the Etruscan kings to the war with Hannibal).

The religious system which has been described belonged exclusively to the State proper, *i.e.* to the patricians, or members of the old patrician *gentes*; no plebeian or 'outsider' had any part in it whatever, either as priest or as worshipper. This will be easily understood after what has already been explained as to the relation of the divine and the human members of the State; the former had no existence apart from the latter, and, as the State consisted of the patrician *gentes*, the deities who had taken up their abode in that State had, of course, no dealings with any others, and could be approached only by those who had entered into relations with them. But by the 7th cent. B.C. a considerable population was growing up in the city and its territory which did not belong to the old *gentes*, and whose cults and deities were altogether outside of the religion of the State proper. With the origin of this population we are not here concerned; what is of importance for our present purpose is to note that there is very strong evidence that the last three kings of Rome were not Romans but Etruscans, and that the patrician State succumbed for a time to an invasion of that great Etruscan power which at this time spread itself over central Italy, entering into relations

not only with the Latins of the Campagna, but with the Greeks of Cumæ and the western coast. The consequence was a great and permanent revolution, not only in the political institutions, but in the religious system of the State. The second of these kings, generally known as Servius Tullius, admitted the plebeians to the army, and divided the city and its territory into four tribes, comprising all free men, whether patricians or plebeians, who occupied a certain amount of land. The last king, Tarquinius Superbus, has all the characteristics of the tyrant: the Roman territory was extended, the aristocracy of the patrician *gentes* was oppressed, while the unprivileged classes were brought forward and utilized. A great religious development accompanied the political one, of which we can distinctly trace two features: (1) the admission of the plebeians to a share in the worship of the State; (2) the introduction of new deities and worships, of one new and important priesthood, and of new methods of approaching the divine protectors of the State, both old and new. In the period we have now before us the old worships continued to exist as before, for the Romans held tenaciously to every custom and cult which they had at any time recognized; but the Rome that in the three following centuries extended her dominion over Italy, Sicily, and Sardinia could not but extend at the same time the range of her deities and her worship. Conquest, commerce, alliance, and, we may add, even peril and pestilence brought new additions to her divine population. If a community was conquered by her, its deities and their cult came into her hands, and she must either continue their worship within the conquered city or invite them to take up their abode at Rome (Marquardt, p. 35 ff.). Again, if the State was in peril, either from enemies or from pestilence, it might be necessary to call in the aid of new deities where the old ones seemed to be of no avail; for, as the dominion and intercourse of the State were extended, it came into contact with deities of whom the Roman authorities knew nothing, and who needed special invocation by experts in the right methods. Thus, while the list of the *di indigetes* was closed for ever, that of the *di novensides*, the new-comers, was continually being increased; new and startling forms of worship were seen in the city, and temples were frequently being vowed and dedicated both to old deities and to new ones—to old deities under new names and forms, and to new ones who consented to take up their abode in or just outside the city. It is a period of religious activity as constant and vigorous as the political; but it can be sketched in this article only in outline.

1. The first and perhaps one of the best authenticated examples of the introduction of new cults at Rome is the foundation on the Aventine, outside the *pomerium*, of a temple of Diana. This was universally attributed to Servius Tullius, and is described by Varro (*de Ling. Lat.* v. 43) as 'commune Latinorum Dianæ templum.' Now, the famous cult of Diana at Aricia, which has become familiar to us since the publication of Frazer's *Golden Bough*, was undoubtedly the centre-point of a Latin league which succeeded that of Alba Longa; and the inference is that the headship of that league was now transferred from Aricia to Rome, and with it the cult of Diana, who will not be found (see above) in our list of the *di indigetes*. This was a temple in the full sense of the word, and its *lex dedicationis*, or *lex templi*, became the model for all later ones (*CIL* xii. 4333). Later on it contained, after the fashion which began in this period, a statue of the goddess modelled on the type of the Ephesian Artemis, and borrowed from her cult at Massilia (Strabo, iv. 180). (For further details and references in connexion with this important event in the history of the Roman religion see Wissowa's exhaustive art. 'Diana,' in his ed. of Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie*.)

2. To the same period of Etruscan influence, and traditionally ascribed to Tarquinius Superbus, belongs a far more famous sanctuary, and one destined to be for ever the central religious point of the Roman dominion; this is the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, Juno, and Minerva, at the north end of the Capitoline hill, where its foundations, showing unmistakable signs of Etruscan design, may still be seen (Middleton, p. 232). The combination of three deities in a single cult and a single temple was foreign to Rome, though not uncommon in Greece; and, though we do not know why Juno and Minerva shared this great temple with Jupiter (who was at all times the great object of worship there), we infer that the trias came with Italian names from Etruria, where it represented an original trias (Tinia, Thalna, Minerva) introduced under Greek influence. The temple was on a scale of magnificence utterly unknown to the primitive Roman builders: it was divided into three parts by two lines of pillars, and three *cellæ* at the north-western end contained statues of the three deities, with Jupiter in the middle holding his thunderbolt. Such a foundation indicates a very great change in the religious ideas of the Romans, and the researches of recent times have placed it beyond all reasonable doubt that it was meant to overpower all the old cults of the patrician *gentes* by exhibiting in the utmost splendour one which should be common ground for patrician and plebeian alike, and which should symbolize the unity of the Roman State in its new form—the form in which it was destined to advance in fame and dominion till it overshadowed all the States of the civilized world (see J. A. Ambrosch, *Studien und Andeutungen*, Breslau, 1839, p. 205 ff.). At the same time, in all probability, was also built the temple of Jupiter Latiaris on the Alban hill, which henceforward took the place of the temple of Diana in uniting the members of the Latin league in a religious worship (Fowler, p. 95 ff.).

In close connexion with this great temple there came in new usages of the utmost importance in the history of the Roman religion. The *dies natalis*, or dedication day, of the temple was Sept. 13, and on this day took place the *epulum Jovis*, when the images of the three deities were decked out as for a feast, and the face of Jupiter was painted red with minium; the magistrates and Senate partook of a meal in which the deities were supposed also to share. We do not know for certain at what date this practice began, but it is by no means impossible that in one form or another, though hardly perhaps as a completely anthropomorphic conception of the deities concerned, it may be attributed to the same period as the temple (Marquardt, p. 348; cf. Fowler, p. 218). This temple also was the goal of the triumphal procession of the victorious king or consul, who was then dressed and painted like the statue of Jupiter himself; and the games (*ludi votivi*, afterwards *ludi Romani*), which he had vowed to hold in honour of the god if victorious, were originally celebrated on the same day.

3. The most important of all the innovations of this age was the introduction into the temple of the so-called Sibylline Oracles, under the influence of which an entirely new system of ritual was brought into vogue. This must now be explained in some detail. (For the Capitoline temple and

Jupiter see esp. Aust's art. 'Jupiter,' in Roscher, iii. 705 ff.)

According to the familiar Roman story, these 'oracles' were pressed on the last king of Rome by the Sibyl of Cumæ herself, and he finally took from her three books of them, which were preserved in the Capitoline temple. It may be that the Romans first made acquaintance with the Cumæan Sibyl at this time; but it is highly probable that the story was invented to give credit to the verses which from time to time were invented by the Roman priests themselves to suit particular exigencies of the State (H. Diels, *Sibyllinische Blätter*, Berlin, 1890). What is certain is that these verses contained not prophecies of future events, but religious 'prescriptions' as remedies for alarming prodigies, pestilences, etc., and that these had nothing to do with the old Roman worship of the *di indigetes*, but involved the introduction of new deities, or of old ones in a new form, and of new ceremonies of a kind much more sensational, if the word may be used, than any yet seen in the city. The intercourse with Cumæ and the Greek cities thus led directly to great changes; and, though it was the immediate result of the Etruscan dynasty, there can also be no doubt that the change it brought about was accepted by the patrician aristocracy which succeeded that dynasty, and that they manipulated the new 'oracles' with far-reaching effects. The verses were committed to the care of a new patrician priesthood, consisting of two members, the *duoviri sacris faciundis*; on the authorization of magistrates and Senate they were from time to time consulted by these priests, who then announced (without divulging the verses themselves) the result of their inquiries, and recommended certain rites as the necessary remedies for the evils to be averted. Thus it is at once clear that the governing class acquired in this way the legal means of metamorphosing the whole Roman religious system; and it is hardly too much to say that they succeeded in doing it.

4. It was just after the abolition of the kingship, according to the Roman chronicles, that the new priesthood first introduced a new worship; in 493 B.C. was built the temple of the Greek trias Demeter, Dionysus, Persephone, under the Roman names **Ceres, Liber, Libera. Apollo**, with whom the Sibyl had always been closely connected, followed soon, in 431 B.C. Among other Greek deities introduced in the same way were Artemis as **Diana**, Aphrodite as **Venus** (the latter an old Italian deity of the garden), and **Æsculapius**. All these were worshipped with the *ritus Græcus*, which henceforward was recognized as equally legitimate with the *ritus Romanus*; *e.g.*, the head of the sacrificing priest, which in Roman usage was always covered, as has been described above, was in the *ritus Græcus* uncovered (Marquardt, p. 186). This is the only detail of the new sacrificial ritual of which we have certain knowledge; but there were other ceremonies introduced by the same agency which had a more important bearing both on the Roman religion and on its character. In the year 399 B.C., as we learn from Livy (v. 13), what was called a *lectisternium* was for the first time ordered by the Duoviri 'ex Sibyllinis libris,' in consequence of an alarming pestilence. For eight days Apollo and Latona, Hercules and Diana, Mercurius and Neptunus, were seen reclining on couches in Greek fashion, and appearing to partake of a meal laid out on a table in front of each of them; the figures were wooden puppets richly robed, and rested with their left arms on cushions (*pulvinaria*). Here there seem to be at least one or two of the old Roman deities; but we soon discover that Diana is really Artemis; Latona, Leto; Mercurius, Hermes; Neptunus, Poseidon; and we can guess that, though the experts may have believed that the foreign gods were more efficacious for the purpose in hand, it was desirable to propitiate the people by introducing some of them at least under familiar names. These *lectisternia* were frequently repeated, and came to form the essential part of the *supplicationes*, or festivals of prayer and intercession, which were also ordered by the Duoviri 'ex Sibyllinis libris,' though sometimes also by the Pontifices and Senate (Marquardt, p. 48), and consisted of processions and worship at each place where the gods were exposed to view, as described above. It is noticeable that, while on the old Roman system the priest alone took part in religious rites and was alone admitted to a temple, here the whole populace was expected to view the processions; men, women, and children prostrated themselves in prayer before the images of the gods, or crowded into the new temples (Liv. iii. 5, 7).

These rites mark the first appearance of a tendency, constantly recurring in later Roman history, to seek for a more emotional expression of religious feeling than was afforded by the old forms of sacrifice and prayer, conducted as they were by the priest on behalf of the community without its active participation. It would seem as if the sensitiveness of the human fibre of a primitive community increases with its increasing complexity and with the greater variety of experience to which it is exposed; and, in the case of Rome, as if the simple ancient methods of dealing with the divine inhabitants who had been induced to settle on the site were felt to be no longer adequate to the needs of a State which was steering its way to empire among so many difficulties and perils. It is not, indeed, certain that the new rites, or some of them, may not have had their prototypes in old Italian usage (see Marquardt, p. 46; Fowler, p. 218); but what we can be sure of, so far as our evidence can carry us, is that the emotional element was wholly new. In Livy's accounts we seem to see a sense of sin, or at any rate of pollution—a something wrong in the relation of the State to the supernatural, which did at times show itself in the ancient world, as, *e.g.*, at Athens in the 6th century B.C. No doubt it indicates, both at Rome and at Athens, the presence of a new population, or at any rate of one outside of political privilege, which cannot rely upon the efficacy of methods in which it has no share and of which it knows nothing—a population left out of account to a great extent in the dealings of the State with the gods, and therefore the more liable to anxiety and emotion. If we can judge of this period of Roman religious history by the general tendency of the policy of the Roman Government, we may see here a deliberate attempt to include the new population in worship of a kind that would calm its fears and satisfy its emotion, while leaving uncontaminated the old ritual which had served the State so long.

But there are not wanting signs in this period that the old religious forms were being cared for and developed in new ways; and this is more particularly obvious in the last century before the war with Hannibal. This brings us to a consideration of the part played after the expulsion of the last king by the two great colleges of Pontifices and augurs, who, as we have seen, were during the regal period only the consulting staff of the Rex in religious matters. The patrician aristocracy used them with consummate skill in establishing their control over all religious aspects of the State's business; and it was not till the year 300 B.C. that plebeians were admitted to them, though long before that date (in 367, Liv.

vi. 37) the Duoviri had been increased to ten, half of whom must be plebeians.

5. The Pontifices.—This *collegium* was originally of the sacred number three (Marquardt, p. 241), was increased to nine in this period as the business of the office grew, and later rose to fifteen. Of these members the Pontifex maximus was at all times both nominally and really the head, while the others formed his *consilium*, according to Roman magisterial practice; on him devolved, when the kingship was abolished, the whole of the functions of the Rex in relation to the *jus divinum*; *i.e.* the *sacra* of the State, in the widest sense of the word, were in his care. The Vestals, the Rex sacrorum, and the three great Flamines were selected by him under a process which placed them in his *potestas* as they had been in that of the Rex (see above); and he succeeded to the Regia which had been the king's dwelling, and which was close to the temple of Vesta, the heart of the State, on the Via Sacra. As he held his office for life, and as under his presidency the *collegium* co-opted its own members when vacancies occurred, it may fairly be said that he was the most important and influential personage in the State during this period; and this will be still more obvious if we consider his powers and duties. These were chiefly administrative, and may be explained under two heads, as they affected (1) the State in general, and (2) the life and interests of families and individuals.

(1) *State authority.*—The special sacrificial functions of the Rex, which were traditionally associated with his title, passed to the Rex sacrorum; but much ritualistic work remained for the Pontifex maximus and his colleagues. For example, all piacular sacrifices, except those which were undertaken after inspection of the Sibylline books by the Duoviri, were ordered by, and carried out under the supervision of, the Pontifices; the books of Livy abound with examples of this practice. Events were constantly happening which required such expiation, and it was only in extreme cases that the Pontifices gave way to the Duoviri. All *prodigia*, and especially the striking of any spot or building by lightning, called for their action (*procuratio fulguris*), and such places were under their directions walled in and remained sacred. Again, all vows (*vota*) made by magistrates—*e.g.*, in undertaking to build a temple, or to hold *ludi*, in case of the successful issue of a war or other enterprise—were subject to the approval of the Pontifices, who dictated the exact wording of the *votum*, and superintended its fulfilment.[1] No temple could be made over to a deity without their sanction, and the terms of dedication as well as the whole ritual to be followed were laid down by them in the *lex dedicationis*. The reception or admission of new deities lay within their sphere of action; and, though we do not hear of collisions between them and the Duoviri sacris faciundis, we can hardly suppose that the latter could have resisted objections on the part of the higher *collegium* to any new cults brought in under their auspices. But, as we examine the list of temple foundations of this period (see Aust, *de Ædibus*), we seem to see that those which were due to the Duoviri and the Sibylline books were most numerous in the first two centuries after the expulsion of the last king, while a new period of pontifical activity in this department seems to begin after the opening of the *collegium* to the plebs in the year 300 B.C. Between 273 and 264 B.C. we find four temples dedicated to gods not of Greek but of Italian origin: to Consus, Pales, Tellus, and Vertumnus; and during the first Punic war to the Tempestates, to Janus, to Juturna, and to Fons, all deities connected with water, who were perhaps utilized, in the absence of any distinctively Roman god of the sea, at a time when Roman fleets were in continual peril. The Pontifices seem, too, at this time to have been very active in inventing new deities on Roman lines and in harmony with Roman ways of thinking of the divine; thus abstractions, such as Salus, Fides, Spes, Pudicitia, are provided with habitations, and a deity Argentinus, according to a highly probable conjecture of Mommsen, was introduced when silver coins were first struck in 268 B.C. In fact, the Pontifices, under the headship for many years in this 3rd cent. B.C. of plebeians (Ti. Coruncanius [Liv. *Epit.* xviii.], Cæcilius Metellus, from 243 to 224), were so extremely active in this way that it is not unreasonable to ascribe to them that strange catalogue of deities called the *Indigitamenta*, which is usually referred to a much earlier time, and which is constantly quoted to prove that the Romans of the earliest age invented and named deities who presided over every action of their lives. Varro copied this list from the *libri pontificum*, and St. Augustine (*de Civ. Dei*, iv. 8 ff.) copied them from Varro to show the absurdities of the Roman worship. If, as the present writer believes, these lists were merely the results of pontifical invention in the age of which we are speaking, and, though based on the ideas of the spirit-world which were explained under period I., were never really popular, there is no need to examine them here; we may be content with noting that they exemplify well the tendency to what we may call a scientific theology, built up on popular ideas, but coming far too late to have any permanent effect on the Roman conscience—if, indeed, they ever could have had any. We may see in Cunina, the cradle deity, in Iterduca, the deity who attended the children to school, in Sterculina, the dunghill spirit, and the rest, a pontifical classification which probably had no other effect than to assist in taking the life out of the old Roman's feeling towards the *numina* around him—an example of the process by which a religious system was gradually killed by the exaggeration of its own methods (see art. INDIGITAMENTA; and, for the view given above, Fowler, p. 341, and *Religious Experience of the Roman People*, p. 159 ff.).

Two other functions pertaining to public administration remain to be mentioned. First, they had the entire charge of the calendar with its course of religious festivals. It is not necessary here to go into the history of the Roman measurement of time or the nature of their astronomical year; but all such matters, as well as the adjustment of religious rites within the year, were absolutely in the hands of this college, and the frequent necessity for intercalation put a power into their hands which, in later times at least, was often used for political purposes. Secondly, the archives of the State were in their keeping, and consisted of records drawn up by themselves, both of religious and of political events.

(2) *Authority over private life.*—Every Roman family had, like the State, its own *sacra*, which it was bound to keep up as long as it existed, and which ceased to exist when it came to an end; we have already noticed the worship of the door and the hearth, and that of the dead ancestors, and to these were no doubt added in some families special cults of particular deities, as, *e.g.*, that of Vejovis at Bovillæ in the Julia gens. Thus every marriage, every death of a *paterfamilias*, and every testament made by persons *sui juris* was of importance not only in the way in which we regard them at the present day, but as affecting the maintenance of

[1] Liv. iv. 27: 'dictator, præeunte A. Cornelio pontifice maximo, ludos . . . vovit.'

these *sacra*, which became eventually so often a burden upon the family that a *hereditas sine sacris* was a proverbial instance of good luck. The supervision of all these matters, originally so immensely important for the integrity and perpetuity of the Roman family, was the work of the Pontifices. The old patrician form of marriage by *confarreatio*, a rite of distinctly religious character (De Marchi, p. 147 ff.), could be completed only by the consent and in the presence of the Pontifex maximus; for by this process a new family was created, of which the new *sacra* had to be organized by him. For much the same reason the making of a will was a process of a sacred character, to which the consent of the *collegium* was necessary. In the days of the kings the Rex had presided on these occasions twice in the year, on March 24 and May 24 (Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, iii. 375) at the Comitia Curiata (called on these days *Calata*), no doubt with the Pontifices as assessors; and to the Rex succeeded the Pontifex maximus, as we may infer, though we have no direct evidence (cf. Marquardt, p. 307). Once more, the whole *jus manium*, *i.e.* the rules under which the rites of burial were conducted, and the yearly renewal of these at the Parentalia, the choice of the last resting-place, and all questions as to the right of a dead person to burial—these matters were also wholly under the jurisdiction of the *collegium*. If we try to appreciate the fact that such things were infinitely more important in the eyes of the early Roman population than they are for us—that the least flaw in carrying them out might lead to very unpleasant consequences for the family—we shall begin to understand how great and far-reaching was the power of the Pontifices over the conscience of the *privatus homo*: it can be compared only to the power of the mediæval priest, and might have become a yoke on the popular mind as heavy and as continuous, if the Romans had been sensitive to threatened terrors in another life, or if they had not come into contact with the unbelieving Greek even before this second period came to a close. (For further details see art. PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD [Roman]; A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Les Pontifes de l'ancienne Rome*, Paris, 1871; Marquardt, pp. 235–320; Wissowa², p. 501 ff.)

6. The Augures.—The *collegium* of Augures, originally, like that of the Pontifices, three in number with the Rex at the head, was also increased to nine, and opened to the plebs in the eventful year 300 B.C. by the Lex Ogulnia. It stands apart from the other priesthoods, inasmuch as it had nothing to do with the actual worship of the gods; its activity was entirely concerned with the interpretation of omens, which were supposed to affect all State business, including the appointment of priests, the consecration of temples, the reaping of the crops, and the meetings of assemblies for the election of magistrates and the passing of laws. Doubtless the Italian husbandman, before he had become the citizen of a State, had been wont to observe carefully all signs of weather, among which would naturally be reckoned the movements of birds and other animals; in part such omens would be based on experience and of some practical value, in part also on fancy and superstition. The work of the augurs in the city-State was to reduce these signs to a system, as the Pontifices reduced to a system the details of worship and religious law. Conflicting interpretations would lead to delays and quarrels; and it is most characteristic of the Roman ideas of government that the whole authority in such vital matters should be placed in the hands of a *collegium*, in whose decisions the State and all its members should have absolute confidence as the *interpretes Jovis*, who could construct a system of their own, hold their meetings in strict privacy (on the Nones of each month), and so relieve the minds of the people from constant scruple and doubt.

Every Roman magistrate of the highest rank had the right of *spectio*, *i.e.* of taking the auspices; but the college of augurs was the referee in all doubtful cases, and in the city the magistrate was accompanied by an augur when, rising at midnight, he took his position at the proper place in order to observe the heavens (Marquardt, p. 401 and reff.). The details of augural lore which were strictly followed on these occasions are very complicated, and imperfectly known; and they have in reality little to do with the religious beliefs of the people. As an example we may cite the fact that, apart from the observation of the flight of birds and of lightning, which was the chief subject of the elaborate systematization of this *collegium*, that of the manner of feeding of the sacred chickens was also developed under their superintendence: if the chickens refused to feed, the omen was bad; if they so greedily devoured that they dropped grains out of their bills, the omen was good (Cic. *de Divinatione*, i. 15). It is needless to say that such absurdities led to a disbelief in the whole system among educated men, though it was kept up for the benefit of the ignorant and superstitious multitude; and before the close of our period we have a Consul in command of a fleet throwing the sacred chickens (which every fleet and army carried with it) into the sea because they would not feed (in 249 B.C. [Liv. *Epit.* xix.]).

Before we leave these two great *collegia* of the Pontifices and Augures, it is necessary to point out that these 'priests' were in no sense what we should now call ecclesiastics, set apart from the world of laymen to live a holy life, to teach, and to preach; they might be magistrates as well as priests, they taught no doctrine, they practised no asceticism. The religion which they represented was one of works and not of faith; so long as the cults were properly carried out and the omens duly observed, all was done that need be done for the safety and prosperity of the State and its members. As the *jus divinum* was part of the *jus civile*, so were the priests to be reckoned among the officials of the State. Only the most ancient ones, the Vestals and the Flamines, were kept apart from the rest of the population as being engaged in daily sacrificial operations which would be ineffectual if they were liable to contamination, and of these the Vestals alone maintained their exclusive priestly character to the last.

To sum up the characteristics of this period, we notice:

1. The introduction of numerous new deities and their cults, both of Italian and of Greek origin, and of a more showy and emotional ritual, the latter more especially under the direction of the Sibylline books and their keepers, the *duoviri sacris faciundis*.

2. The systematization of the *jus divinum* as an essential part of the *jus civile*, or law of the State, to such a degree that all the important acts of a Roman citizen, both public and private, were regulated in their relation to the divine inhabitants of the city.

3. The rise to paramount power in the State of the two great colleges by whom this regulation was effected, and especially of the Pontifices.

III. THIRD PERIOD

(From the war with Hannibal to the Empire, 218–31 B.C.).

The religious system which we have been so far examining may be described as the sum-total of

all those cults which were recognized and maintained by the State; this maintenance by the State was the unifying principle in it. In the period now to be dealt with we shall find the care of the State for the old cults becoming rapidly relaxed, while at the same time new and foreign ones are introduced of a kind much more incompatible with the old Roman ideas than any that had been adopted in the previous age, those old ideas themselves being used more and more for political purposes only, as the governing class discovered that under the influence of Greek philosophy it ceased to share them, while the lower population remained at least as superstitious as ever. Here, then, the Roman State-religion might be said to come to an end, so far as it was an honest supervision of the relations between the human and the divine population for the mutual benefit of both—a work of *pietas*, a performance of duty from genuine motives, with the object of safeguarding the best interests of the community. As Aust has well said (p. 57), the subject now branches in three directions, if we are to follow the history at Rome of those ideas which may broadly be termed religious, though they no longer combine to form a characteristic national religion. We should have to trace the decay of the old cults; the growth of new beliefs or speculations about the nature of the gods, Fate, divination, and duty; and, thirdly, the superstitious notions of the masses and their increasing sensitiveness to the influence of exciting foreign worships. But to work all this out in detail would be quite beyond the scope of this article. It will be better (1) to give a brief account of the immediate effects of the war with Hannibal, both during its continuance and afterwards, on the religious feelings of the people and on the policy of the governing class; (2) to sketch briefly the influence of Greek literature and philosophy in disintegrating the old religious ideas; (3) to summarize the actual results of these causes on the national religion in the last two centuries B.C. Even the decay of a religion is a valuable study; and perhaps there is no other example of decay so well attested and so easily admitting of explanation. (For detailed accounts of this period see Marquardt, p. 57 ff.; Wissowa[2], p. 60 ff.; L. Krahner, *Grundlinien zur Gesch. des Verfalls der römischen Staatsreligion*, Halle, 1837, *passim*; Fowler, *Religious Experience*, pp. 314–356.)

i. *THE IMMEDIATE EFFECTS OF THE HANNIBALIC WAR.*—To those unaccustomed to reflect on the course of Roman history it may seem strange that a single war should be so far-reaching in its results; and it is indeed true that our comparative ignorance of the civil history of the First Punic war, owing to the loss of Livy's second decade, may incline us to attribute too much to the Second. Yet there can be no doubt that the prolonged struggle with Hannibal (218–204 B.C.), carried on nearly all that time in Italy itself, forms a turning-point in the history of the Roman people and therefore of the Roman religion. It was, in fact, a civil war as well as a struggle with a foreign enemy; the population of Italy as well as of Rome suffered terribly, from pestilence as well as slaughter; the economy of the whole peninsula was upset; and at the end, when rest and recuperation were so sorely needed, it was found that another great war with Macedonia was the necessary result of that with Hannibal, and that Rome was but beginning a course of conquest which was destined to change her whole being, leaving hardly a trace of the old Rome whose religious ideas we have been examining.

At all the most critical moments of the war Livy records a number of ill-omened occurrences (*prodigia*) which were announced from various places in the *ager Romanus*, together with the directions given by the Decemviri or the Pontifices for expiating them (*procuratio*). These *prodigia* seem to have been first made matter of record during the First war with Carthage, for the work of Julius Obsequens (*Prodigiorum liber*) originally began in the year 247 B.C., as we gather from its title, and it must have been at that date that Livy was first able to embody them in his history. It would seem, then, that in stress of war and public danger the nervousness of the people was great, and was met by special measures taken by the religious authorities; and it is to be noticed that these measures are almost without exception derived from the Sibylline books; *i.e.*, they were not the old Roman methods of expiation, but appeals to new methods and often to foreign deities. It was the belief of the people that the old methods were insufficient, and the Roman deities angry or indifferent. It will suffice here to mention the most remarkable of the new prescriptions which are recorded during the Hannibalic war.

Livy tells us that in 218 B.C., after the battle on the Trebbia, almost the whole community was busy with the *procuratio* of a number of *prodigia*; the city was lustrated; forty pounds of gold were carried to the temple of Juno at Lanuvium; the *matronæ* dedicated a bronze statue to Juno in her temple on the Aventine; a *lectisternium* was ordered at Cære, because the *sortes* of the oracle there had 'shrunk'; Fortuna in Algidum had a *supplicatio*; at Rome Juventas had a *lectisternium*, and Hercules a *supplicatio*; then the whole people held a *supplicatio* 'circa omnia pulvinaria'; and a prætor was directed to undertake the fulfilment of certain vows if the State should be in existence ten years later. 'Hæc procurata votaque ex libris Sibyllinis,' adds Livy (xxi. 62), 'magna ex parte levaverant animos religione'; *i.e.*, these measures served for the time to quiet popular scruple and anxiety. But almost directly a new trouble seized men's minds; for the Consul Flaminius, the victim of Trasimene, left the city to assume his command without taking the auspices or making the usual vows in the Capitol, fearing that for political reasons the Senate might detain him by falsifying the auspices—a significant fact, if it be a fact; and his subsequent defeat and death thus served only to increase the general panic. In the first chapter of bk. xxii. Livy records a new series of *prodigia* of all kinds, and recourse was again had to the Sibylline books, and fresh directions were given for expiation, among which we notice the growing Greek influence in the prominence of Juno, the legendary enemy of the Trojans, from whom the Romans were now beginning to believe themselves descended. After the disaster at Trasimene the record becomes still more astonishing. Besides *lectisternia* and *supplicationes*, the Sibylline books directed the general vow of a *ver sacrum* to be made (Liv. xxii. 9); *i.e.*, if five years later the State still existed in integrity, all sheep, oxen, pigs, goats, etc., were to be dedicated to the gods, according to the ancient Italian practice; and *ludi* were also vowed, to cost 333,333⅓ asses, the number three having a special religious significance. Lastly, the Decemviri ordered a *lectisternium* of three days, in which the twelve great Greek gods and goddesses appeared under Roman names: Zeus and Hera, Poseidon and Athene, Ares and Aphrodite, Apollo and Artemis, Hephæstus and Hestia, Hermes and Demeter (Liv. xxii. 10). After the crushing defeat at Cannæ envoys were sent to Delphi to inquire whether there was to be any end of these disasters; and during their absence the Decemviri ordered

'sacrificia aliquot extraordinaria' (Liv. xxii. 57), among which Livy mentions that of a Gallic man and woman and a Greek man and woman, who were buried alive in the Forum Boarium—a horrible rite which is said to have survived even into the Empire (Wissowa[2], p. 421).

These examples will have made it clear that the strong fibre of the Roman people was giving way under constant peril and anxiety; their belief in supernatural agency was profound, but they knew not what deity was persecuting them, or where to turn for help, and were in danger of complete demoralization. All the religious expedients which Livy has recorded are the attempts of the governing classes to quiet the minds of the people by convincing them that no effort was being spared to set right their relations with the unseen world, to vindicate themselves as mediators with the hostile deities; but so far all had been in vain, and the devices of the great colleges must have been put to a very severe test. Fortunately the worst was over, and only once during the course of the war was the danger again so imminent. When Hasdrubal was nearing Italy in 207 B.C., a fresh outbreak of *prodigia* was announced (Liv. xxvii. 37), and again new measures were taken, in which we once more note the prominence of Juno (Regina) and the predominance of Greek features in the steps taken to appease her. Two years later (206 B.C.) the Decemviri took a singular step in the hope of persuading the people to hold out a while longer until Hannibal should have evacuated Italy; twelve years had passed and he was still there, and both Rome and Italy were exhausted. They said that they found in their books an assertion that Italy could be freed from the enemy only if the sacred stone of the Magna Mater Idæa, the great goddess of Pessinus in Phrygia, were brought to Rome. The king of Pergamus, to whom the place and stone belonged, gave his consent, and the sacred symbol was conveyed to Rome, and received with relief and rejoicing by an excited and now hopeful people. 'Scipio was about to leave with his army for Africa; a fine harvest followed; Hannibal was forced to evacuate Italy the next year; and the goddess did everything that was expected of her' (Fowler, p. 70). The day on which the stone arrived was made a festival (April 4), called by the Greek name *Megalesia*. No Roman was allowed to take part in the service of the goddess, for such Oriental worships were of a dangerously orgiastic character; it was, in fact, a dangerous remedy, though a potent one. Nevertheless, the Government was willing within a few years to admit this stone into the very heart of the ancient city; it had been placed at first in the temple of Victoria, but in 191 B.C. was transferred to a temple of the Magna Mater herself on the Palatine hill, dedicated in that year (Aust, *de Ædibus sacris*, p. 22). With the introduction of this cult, which was freely taken up by all classes, we may connect the fashion of consulting Oriental astrologers, called by the Romans *Chaldæi* or *mathematici*, which continued far into the period of the Empire, in spite of frequent attempts to restrain it, as in 139 B.C., when they were expelled from Rome and Italy (Val. Max. I. iii. 3; and see the new Epitomes of Livy's sixth decade brought from Egypt by Grenfell and Hunt, line 192 [*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, pt. iii.]). The worship of Ma or Bellona from Cappadocia, and those of Isis and Mithras, were to follow in due course.

There can, indeed, be no doubt that both Romans and Italians found their own narrow system of religion quite inadequate to express what we may call their religious experience of the last twenty years; they had longed for aid and protection, and for knowledge of the right way to address themselves to the supernatural powers in whose existence the great mass of them still profoundly believed; and they had invoked in vain, on the old rigid methods, their own local and native deities. Undoubtedly the times had aroused strong emotion of a religious kind, and this had found no legitimate outlet. A still more striking proof of this than even the introduction of the Magna Mater is the extraordinary rapidity with which the rites of Dionysus-worship, surreptitiously introduced at this time, seized upon the minds of men and women of all classes in the year 186 B.C., spread over a great part of Italy, and drove the Government to interfere forcibly to save the State from the moral disintegration which accompanied it. The story is told in full by Livy (xxxix. 8 ff.), and we still have a part of the decree by which the Senate commissioned the Consuls to investigate and check the mischief (*CIL* i. 43). This object was achieved; yet the Bacchus-cult was allowed to remain, under strict supervision—the best of proofs, as Aust observes (p. 78), that the State religion no longer possessed the power to satisfy the cravings of the masses. It must, indeed, be remembered that the population of the city was by this time of a very mixed character; the true Roman people had suffered severely in the wars and by pestilence, and their place was largely taken by liberated slaves who were practically without any religion of their own. To such, and to their descendants, even Jupiter Optimus Maximus himself could hardly appeal, for he was, in fact, a political rather than a religious conception. We may take it as a fact that this population found little comfort in the cults provided for it, and little or no aid towards right conduct. All that could be done was to keep it amused with constant games and shows, which had been originally of a religious character and limited to single days, but now were secularized and freely extended in length, and to keep it provided with the means of existence. To provide it with a common religious belief or worship was utterly beyond the power of the Government. The old dying religion could indeed be used, so far as its forms went, for political purposes, to control the naturally superstitious masses; but it had lost its unifying and comforting power.

ii. *THE INFLUENCE OF GREEK LITERATURE AND PHILOSOPHY.*—The Hannibalic war affected the beliefs and the morale of all classes alike; the critical spirit of Greek thought was to affect chiefly and directly that upper stratum which was more or less capable of comprehending it. This critical spirit had long been acting as a solvent in Greece, not only on the ideas of the gods derived from the old mythology, but on the local cults of the Greek πόλεις and the belief in their efficacy; and in this process it had been greatly assisted by the conquests of Alexander and the wars of his successors. With the break-up of the keen individual life of the Greek city disappeared the genuine relation of the polytheistic Greek religion to the life of the citizen; though the old city-cults lingered on in outward form, they lost their real meaning under the overshadowing power of deified kings and the attempts of philosophers to provide a rational basis for the daily conduct of the individual. Thus the Roman governing class, when it came rapidly under the influence of Greek thought in the period with which we are now dealing, when it began to develop a literature and to think, found nothing to learn from the Greeks which could act otherwise than as a solvent of its old religious ideas.

The very first example that we meet of this destructive process is too striking to be omitted

here, though it is no doubt possible to exaggerate its importance. Ennius, the first man of real genius who wrote in Latin, among his many works translated the rationalizing treatise of Euhemerus, in which he attempted to explain the Greek gods as merely ancient kings who had been deified—an idea quite in harmony with the prevailing practice of the post-Alexandrian period; and this translation does not seem to have met with any disapproval at Rome. It is characteristic of the age that the man who did more than any one before Virgil to glorify the Roman character and dominion should have struck the first direct blow at the popular belief in the gods; but Ennius was no Roman himself, and he was perhaps only expressing his personal views (Krahner, p. 44). It is doubtful whether the book became popular; it is mentioned only once in Roman literature (Cic. *de Nat. Deorum*, i. 42, 119), and the methods of publication were then but little understood; but in other works Ennius shows the same tendency (cf. the famous lines in his *Telamo*, based on the teaching of Epicurus: 'Ego deum genus esse semper dixi et dicam cælitum, Sed eos non curare opinor quid agat humanum genus,' etc. [O. Ribbeck, *Trag. Rom. Frag.*, Leipzig, 1897, p. 54]); and in his Pythagorean work entitled *Epicharmus* he introduced the Romans to naturalistic ideas of the gods which became the common property of educated men, and can be traced in the writers of plays, in Lucilius, Cicero, and Varro.

But the two great systems of post-Aristotelian philosophy which found place at Rome in the last two centuries of the Republic had a far more profound and lasting effect on Roman religious ideas. (The third, the New Academy, being neither positive nor constructive, but critical only, need not be considered here; see art. ACADEMY.)

Epicureanism was first in the field, but was slow in gaining ground, and Rome produced no great Epicurean but Lucretius the poet; nor did even he become popular, for his direct and enthusiastic denial of the value of *religio*, and his appeal to the intellectual faculty of man to rid himself of the degrading bondage of that *religio*, were not in harmony with the Roman genius. Epicureanism was to some extent popular on its practical side (Cic. *Tusc.* iv. 3, *de Div.* ii. 50), with bad moral effects; but, as taking no account of gods or cult, except to put them aside as useless, it suited neither the class that was responsible for the surviving forms of the State religion nor the lower orders still steeped in superstition. See art. EPICUREANS.

Stoicism, on the other hand, laid a strong grasp on the best Roman minds; its ideal man was in many ways in keeping with the ideal Roman character, and its cosmopolitanism suited the wide range and the varied populations of the Roman Empire. It did not deny the existence of the divine, or even, as did the Epicureans, the interest of divine beings in the affairs of the world; it postulated a Supreme Deity, identical with Reason, Law, or Destiny, and left place for the existence of subordinate deities by making them functional emanations from the Supreme One. As has often been observed, it had a strong religious side, and with some of the ablest Romans the teaching of an earnest and learned Stoic like Panætius, the intimate friend of Scipio the younger, and founder of what may be called Roman Stoicism, became almost a substitute for religion. While Stoicism did nothing directly to save the old cults from neglect or extinction, it did much to save the educated Roman from the contempt of all religion which Lucretius had expressed so vehemently, and even did something to save him from moral disintegration. And at the very end of this period we meet with a very curious attempt, on Stoical principles, to harmonize the old religious beliefs with philosophic theories of the universe. We have lost Varro's *Antiquitates Divinæ*, the counterpart of his *Antiquitates Humanæ*; but we know enough about it from surviving fragments, and from the criticisms of Augustine and Tertullian, to be confident that it was written not only from antiquarian interest, but from a genuine desire to reconcile Stoic theology with the prevailing ideas of the gods. Krahner was the first to point out the importance of Varro's work in the history of the decay of the Roman religion, and he has been followed by Marquardt and other writers. See art. STOICS.

Varro assumed the Stoic doctrine of the *animus mundi*, the divine principle permeating all material things, which, in combination with those material things, constitutes the Universe, Nature, God, Destiny, or whatever other name the Stoics used to express it. The *mundus* is made up of the four elements, and these *partes mundi* are also divine, as are the various phenomena which they underlie. In the 16th book of his work Varro co-ordinated this Stoic theory with the Græco-Roman State-religion of his age. The chief gods, *di præcipui* or *selecti*, represented the *partes mundi* in various ways; and even the difference of sex among the deities was explained by regarding all male gods as emanating from the heaven, and all female ones from the earth, according to a familiar ancient idea of the active and passive factors of generation (Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, vii. 23). The Stoic theory of dæmons was utilized in the same way to find an explanation for semi-deities, heroes, Lares, Genii, etc., and thus another feature of the old Italian religious mind was to be saved from contempt and neglect. At the head of the whole system was Jupiter, who seems to have been recognized by the Stoics of the Roman school as representing not only the heaven but even the *animus mundi* itself (Cic. *de Nat. Deor.* ii. 1, 4); and the various functional activities of this supreme god multiplied him under innumerable titles (Tertullian, *Apol.* 14). So, too, with the other chief deities; and thus another tendency of the old Roman religion was skilfully worked into the new system, viz. that tendency to see the supernatural manifesting itself in innumerable ways expressed by adjectival titles, and affecting all the details of human action and suffering, of which the Pontifices had taken advantage to construct their so-called *Indigitamenta*. But the deities of the Roman cults had become so worn and indistinct with age that in many or most cases their functions were no longer clearly to be discerned, even by a learned antiquarian like Varro; and he was compelled to include in a large class of *di incerti* those of whose functional activity he could not be sure (Wissowa[2], p. 72).

Thus the one system of philosophy which could really appeal with effect to the best type of Roman mind was harmonized with the leading features of the old beliefs in a way which was neither unreasonable nor ludicrous. The people, Varro seems to say, have neither time nor ability to reason on these matters, and there are indeed some things which it is better that they should not know (Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, iv. 31); but they have been on the right track in their ideas and worship, wanting only the philosophical basis and warrant for what they do and think. For the educated it is necessary to have this basis and warrant clearly defined, so that they combine the religious practice of their ancestors with reason and knowledge. This surely was a far more healthy and useful position to take up than that of the Epicureans and Lucretius, who looked on all religions as mere folly

and mental bondage; and, to judge from the attacks made on it by St. Augustine and the Fathers, and from the temporary revival of the old cults which Augustus succeeded in achieving shortly after Varro's death, it was probably not without some substantial practical result. But it could have affected only the higher and educated classes; and even they were never quite in earnest in dealing with such questions. Varro himself, a Sabine of the sturdy old-Italian type, with an extraordinary interest in matters of religious antiquity as well as religious philosophy, was probably more in earnest than any other Roman of that age; but the ordinary attitude of the cultivated Roman to such speculations may be well seen in Cicero's three books, *de Natura Deorum*, which followed the work of Varro, and were to some extent influenced by it. Cicero's attitude to religion was simply sceptical and eclectic; he inclined to the Stoic view, but treats the whole subject as a matter for pleasant discussion, without showing any conviction of its importance to Rome or mankind. In all his voluminous writings, including his correspondence, there is no sign that his life was in any way affected either by belief or by cult; the only way in which *religio* interests him is its use for political purposes. And Cicero is a type of the educated Roman of his day (see some good remarks in Boissier, *Religion romaine*[2], i. 56).

iii. *THE ACTUAL RESULTS ON THE NATIONAL RELIGION.*—We have now to illustrate the actual results for the old religion of these two main causes of disintegration—the Hannibalic war and the influence of Greek philosophy.

(*a*) *The cults.*—The most striking evidence of the decay of those worships which we examined in the first period is suggested by our present ignorance of the meaning and the details of so many of them (see above, p. 820[a]). Had they been maintained or fully credited with efficacy, the literature of the last century B.C. would assuredly have contained allusions to them sufficient to give us some idea of the nature of the deities and the details of their worship. But neither Cicero nor any of his contemporaries but Varro has anything important to tell us of them. Varro was the only Roman really interested in them. A little later, Greeks like Dionysius of Halicarnassus, or foreigners like the Mauretanian Juba, took some trouble to understand them, also from antiquarian or philosophical motives. But by the time of Varro and these antiquarians the decay had already gone so far that many of the old cults were quite neglected and forgotten. A few examples will suffice.

The name Agonia, which stands for a festival four times in the ancient calendar, was so much a mystery even in Varro's day that we do not know for certain the meaning of the word, or what rites were performed on those days. The Furrinalia, Lucaria, Divalia, are almost entirely lost to us, as they were to Varro (so far as we can guess from what we know of his writings). The Regifugium in February and the Poplifugia in July were even then wholly misunderstood, being explained by false etymologies (see Fowler, pp. 174, 327). It is quite possible that we should be equally in the dark about the Lupercalia, one of the most singular of all the Roman rites, if it had not been brought into fresh prominence by the famous celebration just before Cæsar's death. It can hardly have been one of the wholly neglected festivals, yet the fact that no writer mentions it before that date shows conclusively how little interest such old customs excited. With the cults the old deities, of course, vanished in many cases, though this is less astonishing, since the Romans, as we have seen, at all the early stages of their religious life paid far more attention to worship than to the objects of it. No one knew the true nature of Vejovis, nor do we know ourselves; so, too, with Summanus, of whom Augustine says, no doubt following Varro, that he was at one time a greater deity than Jupiter himself (*de Civ. Dei*, iv. 23); 'quisquis is est,' writes Ovid in speaking of him (*Fasti*, vi. 731), from which we may infer that Varro was equally in the dark. Consus survived only because he had become oddly identified with Poseidon Hippios, and we are left to conjecture from stray facts of the cult that he was originally a harvest-god. Even so great a god as Janus, whose so-called temple by the Forum was matter of public interest owing to the practice of keeping it open whenever Rome was engaged in war, became the subject of vain philosophical speculation, no one suspecting that his origin was really as simple and humble as we now believe it to have been (see above, p. 825); and Ovid fancifully 'interviews' the old god in the vain hope of discovering his nature (*Fasti*, i. 89 ff.). Vesta survived at all times, with her cult and her virgin priestesses; the latter could not become secularized, and the ever-burning sacred fire which it was their duty to maintain was too well recognized as a symbol of the State's vitality to be subject to neglect like other less significant cults. Yet, if we turn to the list of deities represented in the rites of the Numan calendar (see above, p. 824), we shall find on examination that Vesta is almost the only one of them who has not been either forgotten or metamorphosed in one way or another under the influence of Greek literature and mythology.

Further, it is a well-attested fact that, in the general indifference to religion and the paralysis of orderly and detailed administration, the temple-buildings of the city were fast going to ruin in the last age of the Republic. Augustus has told us himself that he restored no fewer than eighty-two (*Monumentum Ancyranum*, iv. 17); and the ode of Horace (iii. 6) which begins, 'Delicta majorum immeritus lues, Romane, donec templa refeceris,' etc., is familiar to every one; and Propertius and Ovid tell the same tale (Marquardt, p. 67 and reff.). The greed of capitalists and the want of space for building had long before this begun to override the sacred character of shrines in the city; thus in 179 B.C. the censors had to rescue a number of *sacella* from private occupation (Liv. xl. 51. 8; cf. Cic. *Harusp. Resp.* xv. 32); and in his dialogue *de Natura Deorum*, supposed to have taken place in the year 75 B.C., Cicero writes of thefts of statues and other property from temples (i. 29, 82)—sacrileges which we may probably attribute to the demoralization caused by the social and civil wars. A number of new temples were founded in this period, but they seem to mark the fancy of those who vowed them rather than any fixed religious policy such as we traced in the previous age; and, before the end of the period with which we are now dealing, we find a temple which ominously forecasts the future, that of *divus Julius*, begun the year after his death. (For these foundations see Aust, *de Ædibus sacris*, p. 18 ff.)

(*b*) *Priesthoods.*—The oldest of these, the Rex sacrorum and the Flamines, which were attached to particular worships, fell into partial or complete neglect during this period. From the nature of their duties they could not be held together with any office which might take the holder away from Rome; according to the old ideas of the relation of the State to its deities, their absence would have been detrimental to public interests. But from the Hannibalic war onwards every ambitious member of the governing class looked to office and military command to procure him both wealth and influence; and as a consequence he avoided all

employment which would keep him at home. Attempts were made to break the rule, but for a long time the Pontifex maximus forbade such action; and, as these priests were in his *potestas*, disobedience was practically impossible. In 190 B.C. a Flamen Quirinalis was Prætor peregrinus, but was not allowed to hold a foreign command (Liv. xxxvii. 47). In 180 a Rex sacrorum tried to hold his priesthood together with a naval command (*duumvir navalis*), but was compelled to resign it (Liv. xl. 42). In 131 a Flamen Martialis was Consul, and wished to have a command in Sardinia, but again the Pontifex maximus interfered (Cic. *Phil.* xi. 8, 18); yet this same Pontifex maximus, P. Licinius Crassus, later in the same year went to Asia with an army, 'quod nunquam antea factum erat,' says Livy's epitomist (*Epit.* 59).

Perhaps the most remarkable instance of the degradation of the old sacrificial priesthoods is one which has been worked out by the present writer in *ClR* vii. [1893] 193 ff. from records in Livy: a youth of bad character belonging to the great family of the Valerii Flacci was made Flamen Dialis by the Pontifex maximus at the urgent request of his family in order to place him under the innumerable restrictions to which that important priesthood was subjected. Strange to say, this seems to have had the effect of reforming his character, and he became Curule ædile and Prætor later on, his brother being allowed to take the oath of office for him, as the Flamen was not allowed to swear.

The general tendency was undoubtedly to shirk these priestly offices with their awkward restrictions, and it is almost certain that the *flaminium Diale* was vacant from 87 to 11 B.C. (Wissowa², p. 71, note); the *flamines minores* are not heard of in the last century of the Republic, and, as Marquardt justly argues (p. 67, note 1), if they had survived, Varro would hardly have been at a loss for information about the cult and nature of those deities to which they were attached (Furrina, Falacer, etc.). So with the Fratres Arvales, of whom we have no record till they were revived as a corporation by Augustus; the Rex sacrorum alone seems to have survived (Cic. *Harusp. Resp.* vi. 12; Lex Julia Municipalis, sect. 62; *CIL* i. 121).

The great *collegia* of Pontifices, Augures, and Decemviri sacris faciundis were no bar to political advancement and the accumulation of wealth, and during this period we are frequently surprised by the eagerness with which a pontificate or augurship is sought after; *e.g.*, Cicero was immensely pleased at becoming augur, and Cæsar took extraordinary trouble to become Pontifex maximus. The fact was that these offices brought both political and social influence; but as trustees of the old *jus divinum* they were by this time almost useless. The famous Pontifex maximus, Mucius Scævola, Consul in 95 B.C., held that there were three kinds of religion, the poetic, the philosophical, and the political, and that only the last of these was of any consequence—and that one was not true (Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, iv. 27; Krahner, p. 47 and note). Cæsar as Pontifex maximus can have paid no attention to his duties, though he eventually took advantage of the office to reform the calendar: he was away from Rome some fifteen out of the twenty years during which he held it, and neither he nor Cicero makes any allusion to his pontifical functions. All these posts had become completely secularized, and were filled by popular election like the magistracies. The Pontifex maximus seems to have been elected in Comitia as early as the Second Punic war (Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*, ii. 35); the other priesthoods, those of Pontifices, Augures, and Decemviri (Quindecemviri in the last century B.C.), were thrown open to election by a Lex Domitia in 104 B.C., though by a method peculiar to themselves (Cic. *de Lege Agraria*, ii. 18). The last thing that a Roman thought of at this time, when he gave his vote for a Pontifex or an augur, was the qualification of the candidate to perform the traditional duties of his office; the Pontifices let the calendar get into a state of chaos, and failed to keep up the sacrificial priesthoods which were under their control, while the augurs, as Cicero expressly tells us (*de Divinatione*, i. 15, 25, *de Nat. Deor.* ii. 3, 9), had become entirely ignorant of the ancient science of augury. This is indeed not to be wondered at, if we consider how severely the art of divination was criticized by the philosophers, and, on the other hand, how simple was the process by which it might be turned to account for political purposes. If a Consul, even without calling in an augur, announced that he was going to 'observe the heavens,' *i.e.* for lightning, that alone was sufficient in the eyes of constitutionalists like Cicero to put a legal stop to all business for that day; this was the consequence of the Lex Ælia Fufia of 153 B.C., passed in order to give extra legal strength to a Senatorial Government which was beginning to lose its moral weight. Cicero, though himself sceptical about the whole business of divination, repeatedly speaks of this law as a great bulwark of the constitution, and of its abolition in 58 B.C. as a fatal blow to the cause of Republicanism (Cic. *pro Sestio*, xv. 33, *in Vatinium*, ix. 23).

Of the *collegium* in charge of the Sibylline books we do not hear so frequently in this period; but, whenever the books are consulted, it is in the interest or against the interest of some party or family. To give a couple of examples: in 139 B.C. recourse was had to this device to prevent the great family of the Marcii from having the honour of bringing a new water supply into Rome, without effect in this case (Frontinus, *de Aq.* i. 7; cf. the new Epitt. of Livy, Grenfell and Hunt, line 188); again, in 56 B.C. the Quindecemviri found an oracle that forbade the invasion of Egypt by a Roman armed force, at a time when such an expedition was obnoxious to more than one party in the State; in this case the object was successfully achieved by this intrigue. The destruction of the old Sibyllines in the burning of the Capitoline temple in 81 B.C. had compelled the Government to acquire a new collection by diligent search in Greece and the East (Marquardt, p. 352, note 7), and this had naturally given opportunities for much forgery and double-dealing (Suet. *Aug.* 31; Tac. *Ann.* vi. 12). Of expiations ordered by this *collegium* we hear now little or nothing; the conscience of the people was blunted and callous; if the State was in danger, as in the Cimbrian war, the people hardly realized it. But in 113 B.C. a temple to Venus Verticordia was ordered 'ex Sibyllinis libris,' 'ob incesta Virginum Vestalium'—a significant fact (Aust, *de Ædibus*, p. 28).

Thus, when the Republic came to an end, all real life, all incentive to dutiful conduct, all unifying influence, had departed from the religion of the Romans, and all honesty of purpose, all genuine belief in its efficacy, had vanished from the minds of those who were entrusted with the supervision of it. It must, however, be confessed that, historically speaking, little damage was done by this decay of the old cults and priesthoods, which had no permanent vitality in them, and, for a cosmopolitan population like that of Rome, no saving health. But, like all the striking phenomena of this period of transition from city-State to Empire, the decay set in too rapidly, as the result of the unique struggle with Carthage. It set in before even the governing classes had had time to learn to think, much less to think with due reverence for the past. It came so quickly that no efficient substitute had time to grow up among its ruins as a sanction for morality. If Stoicism could save some men, or a natural sense of duty to the State, as with Cicero, or even only

the love of hard work, as with Cæsar, the ordinary individual, if ritual were neglected, and all trust in a spiritual world failed him, had no moral ballast, no bond of conduct to keep him from evil-doing. Hence, in spite of noble exceptions, there was a real lowering of the level of morality in this age; that there was wickedness in high places we know; and we have every reason to believe that all classes were equally selfish and equally callous.

IV. Fourth Period

(From the accession of Augustus).

It will be our object, in dealing with the last period of the life of the religion of the Roman State, to examine (1) its resuscitation by Augustus, and (2) the traces of its survival in Rome and the provinces during the next three centuries. We shall leave out of account the foreign religions which became fashionable in this period, as being fully dealt with in other articles; and also the worship of the Cæsars, the most remarkable feature of the religious practice of the early Empire, except so far as it was superimposed upon the older cults and inextricably intertwined with them. This worship was, in fact, in both origin and character foreign to Rome and Roman ideas, for the true Roman conception of the divine, as has been shown throughout this article, was quite inconsistent with the cult of living human beings; and, though officially, no doubt for this reason, only dead emperors were allowed to be worshipped by the State, as dead ancestors had been by the family, the actual practice went far beyond this, and the ideas connected with the practice do not really belong to our subject. See artt. Cæsarism, Deification (Greek and Roman), vol. iv. p. 529 ff.

i. *The revival of the State religion by Augustus.*—This is not only the most remarkable event in the history of the Roman religion, but one that is almost unique in religious history. We have seen how completely the belief in the efficacy of the old cults had vanished among the educated classes, and how the outward practice of religion had been allowed to decay; and to us it may seem almost impossible that the practice, and to some extent also the belief, should be capable of resuscitation at the will of a single individual, even though that individual represented the best interests and the collective wisdom of the State. The explanation lies in the fact that, though it was too late to revive the old religion in its primitive simplicity, it was not too late to revive the idea, common to all ancient States, that the morality, the political tranquillity, and the physical efficiency of the State were intimately bound up with the attention paid by the State to the divine beings who were interested in it. Right conduct, public concord, and the fertility of men, animals, and crops could not be secured to that State, it used to be firmly believed, unless its divine inhabitants were properly and continually propitiated. Thus the religious revival of Augustus is a part, and a necessary part, of his whole political scheme. He had learnt from the experience of his predecessors in political power that reform on political lines only was quite insufficient and without any element of stability, because it did not appeal to any deeply rooted feeling in the popular mind. The Roman people were tired of political quarrels, of constitutional changes, of endless party legislation, of civil wars; Augustus gradually came to understand that the only healing medicine he could prescribe for the State was not so much of a political as of a moral and religious nature. Real political convictions had long been evanescent; but there still remained the inherited conviction, especially among the masses, of the power of the gods to give or withhold prosperity, and it was this conviction that Augustus determined to use as his chief political lever. This will be appreciated by any one who will take the trouble to read and meditate upon the famous hymn which Horace wrote, at the request and doubtless almost at the dictation of Augustus, for the celebration of the Secular Games in 17 B.C.; there the ideas of religion, morality, and fertility are deftly woven together, and seem to express exactly this remedial policy of the Princeps. Whether Augustus himself shared those convictions on which he determined to work it is impossible to say, nor is it of much importance for our present object. But, inasmuch as a man's religious beliefs are largely the result of his own experience and that of the society in which he lives, it would not be unreasonable to guess that in his religious revival he was expressing naturally a popular conviction in which he shared, rather than standing entirely apart and administering a remedy which he thought of as mechanical and not organic in its operation. And this view is confirmed by the tone and spirit of the great literary works which he stimulated or inspired.

There is another aspect of the popular feeling of the age about which a few words must be said in order to explain more clearly this strange revival of an almost obsolete religion. It can hardly be doubted that there was more than a sense of weariness and material discomfort abroad among the people; there was also what we may almost call a sense of sin, or at least of moral evil—such a feeling, though doubtless less real and intense, as that which their prophets from time to time awoke in the Jewish people, and one not unknown in the history of Hellas. This is very clearly reflected in the poets and historians of the time—*e.g.*, in the preface to Livy's history, in the fourth *Eclogue* of Virgil and the conclusion of his second *Georgic*, and in some of the earlier poems of Horace, notably in the 16th *Epode* and *Odes*, iii. 6; and it was accompanied, as so often happened in the ancient world, by a tendency to superstitious beliefs and practices unauthorized by the State—astrology, magic, etc. (Boissier[2], i. 76). This consciousness of neglected duty—duty both to gods and to men, such as alone could enable the Roman State to fulfil its destiny, to carry out the will of Jupiter and the Fates—is, in fact, the *raison d'être* and the moral of the great representative poem of the time, the *Æneid* of Virgil, without a careful study of which it is impossible to understand either the work of Augustus or the temper of the age. It is an emphatic appeal to the Roman to put away from him individual passion and selfishness, and to respond to the call of Fate—of those moral forces which had wrought through the Roman dominion such mighty changes in the world. In the very years when Augustus was endeavouring to restore the old sense of *religio* and *pietas* by rebuilding temples and resuscitating cults Virgil was leading his hero towards the accomplishment of his mission in Italy, developing in him the true quality of *pietas, i.e.* not only the due performance of service to gods and ancestors, but the sacrifice of self to the interests of the community, submission to the divine will in full confidence of ultimate success. The real meaning of Roman *pietas* is as clearly expressed in the poems of Virgil as the best spirit of Puritanism is expressed in those of Milton; but it is expanded far beyond the narrow bounds in which we have so far been tracing it, in accordance with the expansion of the State from a city into an Empire, and it is accompanied by the idea that a great future is yet in store for the State, of which the initial moments are close at hand. Whoever contemplates closely the work of Augustus in combination with Virgil's poem will find the same essential elements in each

of them: an appeal to the past as the only safe basis of reconstruction, and a confident hope for the future on new lines of progress and civilization. In the poem, too, is to be found the conviction that the man who was thus reviving the past and at the same time securing the future was not only *divi filius*, but in fact himself divine.

Much more might be said on this subject, but this may be enough to explain the ideas underlying what has often been wrongly described as a gigantic piece of deception. It is now, however, generally acknowledged that, even if Augustus was himself an unbeliever, he was reflecting and expressing a strong popular feeling (see Boissier[2], vol. i. chs. i. and iv.; Wissowa[2], p. 73 ff.; cf. his paper on the 'Ludi Sæculares' in his *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, p. 192 ff.; and Aust, p. 90 ff.). The one point steadily to keep in mind is that this strange movement was not merely a revival of religious rites, but an appeal through those rites to the conscience of the people. A revival of religious *life* it certainly was not, for what we understand by that term had never existed at Rome; but it was an attempt to give expression, in a religious form and under State authorization, to certain feelings and ideas not far removed from those which we in these days describe as our religious experience.

We may now proceed to a brief account of the revival of the old cults and priesthoods, noting the changes introduced to suit new circumstances, such as the expansion of the Empire into a cosmopolitan State, and the elevation of a single Roman family to the first place in outward dignity as well as in actual influence.

Augustus did not become Pontifex maximus till the year 12 B.C., *i.e.* nineteen years after the battle of Actium; he waited with scrupulous patience until the great priesthood became vacant by the death of Lepidus. This, however, did not prevent him from pursuing his religious policy with great earnestness before that date, for he had long been a member of the college of Pontifices, as well as of the Augures and Quindecemviri. The year 12 B.C. may, however, conveniently serve as a landmark, dividing the consummation of his religious authority from a comparatively limited form of it.[1] A good example of his earlier reversion to religious methods is the fact that in declaring war against Antony, or more strictly against Cleopatra, he had revived the old college of the Fetiales (see above, p. 824), with its curious ceremonial. On his return to Rome two years after the victory he began his great work of temple restoration, which he has himself put on record (*Monumentum Ancyranum*, iv. 17): 'duo et octoginta templa deum in urbe consul sextum (28 B.C.) ex decreto senatus refeci, nullo prætermisso quod eo tempore refici debebat.' The great importance which he attached to this work is thus made abundantly clear; and it is confirmed by the prominence given to the subject in the poems and histories of the period (*e.g.*, Liv. iv. 20. 7; Hor. *Odes*, iii. 6; Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 59), and by the energy with which it was followed up by his successors (see below). Nothing could so well answer his purpose of bringing his policy before the very eyes and minds of the Roman people: the employment of workmen, the adornment of the city, the solemn processes of dedication and consecration—all served the same general end in different ways, and must have done much to rekindle the old feeling that there were divine as well as human inhabitants of the city, and the sense of duty in regard to them. But even from the outset it is most interesting to notice how this astute reformer contrived to combine the ideas of the Empire and of his own supremacy with the purely civic worships; his family, *i.e.* the Julii, had always had a special connexion, not only with Venus but with Apollo, the Greek substitute, as it would seem, for the mysterious Roman Vejovis (*CIL* i. 807, xiv. 2387; Wissowa, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, p. 198); and it was Apollo of Actium who had assisted him in that decisive moment of his fortunes. It was Apollo, too, who had become the authorized Roman deity of prophecy, and with his cult were connected the Sibylline books and the idea of a new and better age (Virg. *Ecl.* 4); Augustus therefore, in the year 28 B.C., dedicated to Apollo Palatinus a splendid temple on a site which belonged to himself and not to the State (Velleius, ii. 81), thus founding a cult which, though beginning as a private concern of his own family, was destined (as he doubtless well knew) to become one of the most important in Rome.

Another great temple which he built, also 'in solo privato' (*Mon. Anc.* iv. 21) in his own Forum Augusti, S.E. of the Forum Romanum, was that of Mars in the capacity of Ultor, *i.e.* as the avenger of the murder of Julius. The *lex templi* of this foundation is in part preserved by Dio Cassius (lv. 10), and shows that its founder intended that even the great Jupiter of the Capitol himself was to cede some of his honours to this old deity of a new dynasty; here the members of the Imperial family were to sacrifice after assuming their *toga virilis*; here the *triumphator* was to deposit his *insignia* after the triumph which had been decreed him by the Senate in the same building; here, too, after each *lustrum*, the Censors were to drive a nail into the wall (Wissowa[2], p. 126). And this temple also stood in the closest relation to the Imperial house, for it contained not only a statue of Mars, but one of Venus (a Greek combination long familiar to the Roman mind, as we have already seen), thus bringing together the characteristic foundation-deity of the city with the reputed ancestress of the Julian family (Wissowa[2], p. 292). It is interesting to notice that this temple was not dedicated until some years after Augustus had become Pontifex maximus (Aug. 1, 2 B.C.); he had meanwhile been content with a small round temple to the same deity in the Capitol (Mommsen, *Res Gest. Div. Aug.* 126). For another curious and characteristic step he also waited, and took it within a few weeks of his election to the great priesthood—viz. the dedication of a new temple of Vesta on the Palatine hill, immediately connected with the house of the Imperial family (*CIL*[2] i. 317; Wissowa[2], p. 76). This did not supersede the old temple below, with its ancient associations, but it signified none the less that the heart and life of the State, in one sense at least, was bound up with the hearth and home of the reigning Princeps.

It was going only one step farther when Augustus a few years later took the opportunity of his reorganization of the city, and its division into fourteen regions, to introduce the figure of the Genius Augusti between those of the two Lares Compitales at each *compitum*, or meeting of two streets, thus combining with singular skill the police regulations of the city with the inculcation of the idea that the Princeps stood to the public religion as the *paterfamilias* stood to that of the household (G. M. Rushforth, *Latin Hist. Inscriptions of the Early Empire*, Oxford, 1893, p. 58 ff.; Wissowa[2], p. 171 f.).

We do not know how far Augustus went in restoring the old temple cults; we can only suppose, on the evidence chiefly of Ovid's *Fasti*, that with the restoration of the temples the old forms of worship were as far as possible rescued from oblivion. But we do know that he contrived

[1] His policy was at all times the same, but the new position gave him greater moral weight in the maintenance both of public and of private religion.

to revive the old sacrificial priesthoods, as distinguished from the flourishing semi-political colleges of Pontifices, Augures, and Quindecemviri. In spite of all its disabling restrictions, it was possible once more to fill the post of Flamen Dialis; of Rex sacrorum and the other Flamines we also hear in the early Empire (Marquardt, pp. 326–336); and, as these were in the *potestas* of the Pontifex maximus, *i.e.* of the Princeps himself, it was not likely that they would be allowed to neglect their duties. Other ancient colleges were also revived, or confirmed by the inclusion of the Emperor himself among their members (*Mon. Anc. Gr.* 4)—the Fetiales, the Sodales Titienses, the Salii, the Luperci, and above all the Fratres Arvales, the brotherhood whose duty it had once been to lead a solemn procession round the crops in May, and so to ensure the blessing of the gods on the most important material of human subsistence (see above, p. 824). A priesthood of this kind was after Augustus' own heart, for it combined in its operations the ideas of agriculture and religion, prosperity and morality, which, as we have said, are so prominent in the *Carmen sæculare* of Horace; and the fortunate survival of large fragments of its records, dating from shortly after the battle of Actium, shows that it continued to work and to flourish down to the reign of Gordian (A.D. 241), and from other sources we know that it was still in existence in the 4th century (Henzen, p. 25). These records have been found on the site of the sacred grove which from the time of this revival onwards served as the centre of the activity of the brotherhood; it was doubtless originally one of the points on the boundary of the *ager Romanus* at which the Fratres paused in their procession, and lay at the fifth milestone on the Via Campana between Rome and Ostia. See art. ARVAL BROTHERS and literature there cited; and short accounts will be found in Wissowa[2], p. 561 f.; Fowler, *Religious Experience*, lect. xix.

The Brethren were twelve in number, with a Magister at their head and a Flamen to assist him; they were chosen from distinguished families by co-optation (Henzen, p. 154), the reigning Emperor always being an ordinary member. Their duties fell into two divisions, which most aptly illustrate the two sides of Augustus' religious policy: (1) the performance of the yearly rites in honour of the Dea Dia, who has taken the place of Mars in the ceremonial (see above, p. 824), probably as a result of the abandonment of the *lustratio agri Romani* as the State enlarged its boundaries; (2) the vows, prayers, and sacrifices for the Emperors and other members of the Imperial house.

The reader of the *Acta* will not fail to be struck by the occurrence of the old Roman piacular sacrifice, which was duly performed and recorded whenever iron was used in the grove, or any damage done to the trees of the grove by lightning or other accident; and on one occasion, in A.D. 183, when a fig-tree sprouted on the roof of the temple (Henzen, p. 142 ff.), *piacula* of all appropriate kinds were sacrificed to Mars, Dea Dia, Janus, Jupiter, Juno, Virgines divæ, Famuli divi, Lares, Mater Larum, 'sive deus sive dea in cuius tutela hic lucus locusque est,' Fons, Hora, Vesta Mater, Vesta deorum dearumque, Adolenda Commolenda Deferunda, and sixteen *divi* of the Imperial families. This will serve to show the extent to which the revival of detailed ritual had been carried by Augustus, and the extraordinary tenacity with which it held its ground.

The second part of the activity of the Brethren illustrates the adroit way in which the revival of this priesthood (as doubtless of the Salii and others also) was made to mark the sacred character and political and social predominance of the Imperial family. All events of importance in the life of the Emperor and his family were the occasion of vows, prayers, or thanksgivings on the part of the Fratres—*e.g.*, births, marriages, the succession to the throne, journeys and safe return, and the assumption of the consulate and other offices or priesthoods. These ceremonies all took place at various temples or altars in Rome, or at the Ara Pacis, which has recently been excavated in the Campus Martius. A single example taken at random from the *Acta* will suffice to illustrate this. The following is a 'votum susceptum pro salute novi principis' on his accession (Henzen, p. 105):

'Imp(eratore) M. Othone Cæsare Aug(usto), L. Salvio Othone Titiano(iterum) co(n)s(ulibus) III. k(alendas) Febr(uarias), mag(istro) imp(eratore) M. Othone Cæsare Aug(usto), promag(istro) L. Salvio Othone Titiano: colleg(i) fratrum Arva(lium) nomine immolavit in Capitolio ob vota nuncupata pro salute imp(eratoris) M. Othonis Cæsaris Aug(usti) in annum proximum in III. non(as) Ianuar(ias) Iovi b(ovem) m(arem): Iunoni vacc(am), Minervæ vacc(am) Saluti p(ublicæ) p(populi) R(omani) vacc(am), divo Aug(usto) b(ovem) m(arem), divæ Aug(ustæ) vacc(am), divo Claudio b(ovem) m(arem): in collegio adfuerunt, etc.'

This record, which belongs to the year 69 and the accession of Otho, shows the *divi*, *i.e.* the deified Emperors Augustus and Claudius, together with the deified Livia, associated with the trias of the Capitoline temple and the Salus publica in the sacrificial rites, Otho himself being the magister of the college, but represented by his brother as pro-magister (Henzen, p. v, note 1). Under the Flavian dynasty which followed, this association was, however, judiciously dropped.

No account of Augustus' work in the sphere of religion would be adequate without some allusion to the Secular Games (*ludi sæculares*) of 17 B.C., in which beyond doubt he endeavoured to express in outward show, in the space of three days, all his views and hopes for the political, moral, and religious future of the Roman world. That year, in which his faithful colleague Agrippa was still spared him, and no serious misfortune had as yet fallen upon the State or the Cæsarean house, may be taken as the zenith of his career, and is aptly marked by this singular celebration, of which the details have come down to us almost complete. To the Sibylline oracle which indicated the rites to be used (printed, *e.g.*, in the *Sibyllinische Blätter* of H. Diels, p. 131 ff., from Zosimus, ii. 6, who also in ch. 5 gives a detailed account of the *ludi*) we have now to add the contemporary account in the form of an inscription (*Monumenti Antichi*, 1891, p. 601 ff.; *Ephem. Epigr.* viii. 255 ff.) found in Sept. 1890 in a mutilated condition near the Tiber in the Campus Martius, the scene of the nightly part of the rites. This document contains a letter of directions from Augustus, two *senatus consulta*, and full instructions from the Quindecemviri as to the details of the ceremonial. In a popular lecture printed in his *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* Wissowa has reproduced the contents of this document with much skill and sympathy. The most important part of it is now easily accessible to students in H. Dessau, *Sylloge Inscr. Lat.*, vol. ii. p. 282 ff. If to these authentic sources of information we add the hymn which Horace wrote for the occasion in accordance with the views of Augustus, and which is mentioned as his composition in the inscription, it must be acknowledged that there is hardly another vital moment of ancient history which can be so clearly reproduced in imagination, and with all its meaning as well as its minutiæ of detail.

According to certain old Roman ideas, of which it is hardly possible to trace the origin, a *sæculum* was a period stretching from any moment to the death of the oldest person born at that moment, and a hundred years was the average period so conceived. A new *sæculum* might thus begin at

any time, and might be endowed with special religious significance by certain ceremonies. The idea seems to have been that a new leaf, so to speak, might in this way be turned over in the history of a people, all past evil, material or moral, put away and buried (so the expression 'sæculum condere' is now explained), and a new period of innocence and prosperity entered on. This idea has manifestly something in common with that underlying the many curious rites first collected by Mannhardt in his *Baumkultus*, and familiarized to English readers by Frazer in his *Golden Bough*, in which objects are thrown into the water or buried after certain ceremonies to represent the cessation of one period of vegetation and the beginning of another. It is easy to see how exactly it would suit Augustus' policy, and how it might be manipulated to further his aims. Ever since his active life had begun, the idea had been in the air, and had won general recognition through the 4th *Eclogue* of Virgil and the fashionable mysticism of the age, while at the same time, as we have already seen, the popular feeling of depression and the desire to make a new start were so strong as to give it real meaning and force. But Augustus did not work it out merely on old lines; he did indeed retain for the rites to be performed by night the underground altar of Dis and Proserpina in the Campus, which had been the scene of the *ludi* since their initiation by the Sibylline Oracles in the First Punic war (249 B.C., a period of great depression and danger), but the place of these sombre deities was taken by such as would more exactly suit the lessons that he wished to inculcate: the Greek Mœræ, the Greek birth-deities (Ilythyiæ), and on the third night Mother Earth, the deity of all fertility. Thus the fortunes and destinies of the Empire and the fertility of man and of crop were brought in combination to the notice of the people. It was in keeping with this that the date selected for the celebration was the end of May and the beginning of June, when the crops were fast ripening, a time when the Ambarvalia used to be held, and the preliminary harvest festival of the Vestalia was about to begin; and it was also arranged that the people should make offerings of ears of corn to the acting priests on those three days at the end of May (May 29–31), before the high ceremonies followed on June 1–3.

But the bright prospects and hopes of the coming *sæculum* were represented, not by night or at an underground altar where the old *sæculum* might be supposed to be buried, but by day, and on the Capitoline and Palatine hills. On the first and second days the Emperor, with his colleague Agrippa, sacrificed on the Capitol to Jupiter and Juno (Minerva is not mentioned), and prayed for the preservation of the State; on the third day, after the sacrifice to Apollo and Diana on the Palatine, *i.e.* to the protecting deities of the Imperial house in their private dwelling, Horace's hymn was sung by choruses of twenty-seven boys and as many girls, on the Palatine, and on the Capitol, in the areas of the temples of Apollo and Jupiter (see Fowler, *Religious Experience*, lect. xix.). The spectacle must have been extremely beautiful; and so anxious was Augustus to make it universally popular that he even allowed the unmarried, who were excluded as a rule from *ludi*, to be present on this occasion, as we learn from the inscription, line 54. The Principate was to initiate a new era of peace and goodwill, of prosperity and populousness, of agriculture and plenty —and all of these were to be acquired and secured by faithful performance of service to the gods. This is the idea that lies at the root of this famous celebration, as it lies also at the root of the *Æneid*, whose author had died but two years earlier.

Many details might be added to this account of Augustus' revival; but what has been here said will be enough to indicate the general outline and meaning of it. It remains to sketch the survival of the old Roman State religion in the Imperial period; but the material for this is as yet imperfectly gathered together from the volumes of the *CIL*.

ii. *Traces of survival of the old Roman State religion in the Imperial period.*—(*a*) *Rome and Italy.*—Though the old Roman religion was now beset, as we have seen, by three formidable enemies which tended to destroy it even while they fed upon it, like parasites in the animal or vegetable world which eat up their host, viz. the rationalizing philosophy of syncretism, the worship of the Cæsars, and the new Oriental cults, yet, strange to say, it continued to survive in outward form, and to some extent, no doubt, in popular belief, for more than three centuries. This is the result partly of the tenacious conservatism of the Roman mind in regard to forms and customs, partly of the fresh stimulus which had been given it by Augustus and his men of letters, and the conscientious care with which the successors of Augustus carried out his policy in this department. Tiberius himself had a curious interest in matters of religion, and seems to have endeavoured even to check the growth of the parasites, while scrupulously adhering to the old religious forms; a good example will be found in Tacitus (*Ann.* iii. 58), where he is seen exercising his authority as Pontifex maximus to enforce the ancient restrictions on the life of the Flamen Dialis, or (*ib.* vi. 12) where he expounds the proper method of consulting the Sibylline books. Claudius added to the same tendency a pedantic antiquarianism which made him also a faithful follower of Augustus' policy. With the Flavian dynasty, which was without the religious prestige of the Julian house, the tendency is rather to revert to those cults which were not specially connected with the Imperial house. The great trias of the Capitol—Jupiter, Juno, Minerva—seems to overshadow the Apollo of the Palatine hill and the Mars Ultor of the Forum Augusti; not, indeed, that the trias had ever lost its place as the foremost protecting power of the State (Wissowa[2], p. 128), but there is no doubt that the advent of a new family to power tended to diminish the prestige of those worships which were associated in the popular mind with the Julii. Domitian made a special point of the worship of Jupiter; he built temples on the Capitol to Jupiter Conservator and Jupiter Custos, and added to the prestige of the cult of the trias by the institution of a festival, the Agon Capitolinus (Tac. *Hist.* iii. 74; Aust, in Roscher, *s.v.* 'Jupiter,' p. 749; for his fanciful devotion to Minerva see Wissowa[2], p. 255). The Antonines, even Marcus Aurelius himself, in spite of a grandeur of religious and moral belief which has rarely been equalled, were most careful in keeping up the ancient forms; Marcus did not hesitate in times of public distress to put in action the whole apparatus of the old religion (*Jul. Capit.* 13).

During all this early period of the Empire the temples were kept in repair assiduously, as is proved by inscriptions (*CIL* vi. 934, 962, 1001, etc.; Antoninus Pius is thus honoured 'ob insignem erga cærimonias publicas curam ac religionem,' *CIL* vi. 1001); and that there was no falling off in this respect seems to be shown by the well-known story of Constantius in A.D. 329 being shown round the temples when he visited Rome for the first time, and the curious interest which he took

in them in spite of his Christianity (Symmachus, *Rel.* iii.). And there can hardly be a doubt that this spirit of conservatism was not merely an affair of the Government, but that the Government was acting in harmony with popular feeling. In the Theodosian Code (xvi. 10. 2) we find that the worship of the family, *i.e.* of Lares, Penates, and Genius, had to be forbidden. But, in order to appreciate this tenacity, the student will do best to become acquainted with *CIL* vi., so far as it preserves the votive inscriptions of that age; for the number is legion of those which attest the surviving belief in the great deities of the old time, and especially (apart from the Capitoline trias) in Mars, Minerva, Mercurius, Venus, Apollo, Diana, Ceres, Liber, Fortuna, Hercules, and others. A more concise survey of these inscriptions will be found in the selection by H. Dessau, *Sylloge Inscr. Lat.*, vol. ii. Again, the student of the Christian Fathers will not fail to note that their tendency is to attack the absurd minutiæ of the old Roman religion rather than the philosophy or the Oriental worships of their time; and this is more especially the case with St. Augustine, from whose *de Civitate Dei*, as has already been mentioned, we thus incidentally learn so much that is of value for our subject (see esp. bks. iv. and vii.). The very necessity under which the leaders of Christianity found themselves of suiting their own religious calendar, and in some instances even their ceremonies, to the habits and prejudices of the pagans tells the same story; the Christian calendar of feasts is obviously based upon that of the Romans, and to this day there are many practices of the Roman Church, especially in Italy and Sicily, which remind the student of the Roman religion of both the forms and the ideas that are familiar to him. (This very interesting subject, which lies outside the sphere of this article, is handled with great learning by H. Usener in his *Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*; cf. his *Götternamen*, p. 116, for the way in which the Christian doctrine of saints and angels fastened itself upon the gods of the *Indigitamenta*, aided perhaps by the philosophic doctrine that had explained these same gods as dæmons [Aust, p. 103]. To this process the Roman idea of the genius of an individual contributed not a little. But we need not here pursue the stages of the death of Roman paganism; nothing is to be learnt from them as to the nature of the old religion, except its extraordinary tenacity of life. The reader may be referred to some interesting chapters in Dill's *Roman Society in the last Century of the Western Empire*[2], London, 1899, bk. i., and to Boissier's *La Fin du paganisme*, Paris, 1891.)

(*b*) *In the provinces.*—The volumes of the *Corpus Inscriptionum*, especially those which collect the inscriptions of the northern and western provinces, show us the names of Roman deities with which we have become familiar in the course of this article, continually recurring in large numbers, and serve to remind us that the Roman soldier and the Roman merchant were to be found in all parts of the Empire still worshipping the ancestral deities of the State. But here a great difficulty meets us, which it is not possible entirely to overcome. It was the Roman practice to note the points of similarity between the gods whom they found existing in the provinces they acquired and those of their own religion, *i.e.* points both in the cult and in the conception: thus both Cæsar and Tacitus use this 'interpretatio Romana' instead of giving us the local names of the strangers (Cæs. *de Bell. Gall.* vi. 17; Tac. *Germania*, 9). As Romans became more permanently settled in distant parts, and as the army came to be recruited almost entirely from provincials, the distinction between the deities of the Roman pantheon and those of the native provincials was gradually lost sight of, and even for the period of the early Empire it is extremely difficult to be sure to which category a name should be referred. Often, indeed, a cult-title added to the name of the deity enables us to be sure that the conception underlying the name is foreign and not Roman; and in the articles 'Mars' and 'Mercurius' in Roscher (ii. 2395 ff., 2828 f.) will be found a list of all such titles applied to these deities (which chiefly represent the spread of the Roman arms and Roman commerce respectively in the provinces), which may mark them as foreigners under Roman names. But it would be rash to assume that where such titles are not found the deities are always genuinely Roman; and, in fact, we know from other sources that Roman names became permanently attached to local deities, and were so used even by the provincials themselves. Thus in *CIL* vii., which contains the British inscriptions, we find the goddess of the hot springs of Bath addressed as 'Minerva' (no. 43); 'Liber' is the name for the chief god of the Dacians (*CIL* iii. 792, 896, etc.; cf. von Domaszewski, *Die Religion des römischen Heeres*, p. 54); 'Hercules' represents the German 'Donar'; and 'Silvanus,' whose cult is widely spread over the Empire as a deity of gardens, boundaries, and clearings (cf. Wissowa[2], p. 215), and belongs especially to the life of the Roman settler and farmer, was in Dalmatia undoubtedly the representative of a native deity. The legions, however, retained in the provinces the genuine worship (combined with that of the Emperor) of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, of whom the *aquila* was the symbol (von Domaszewski, p. 12), of Mars, and of Victoria (*ib.* p. 4 ff.); the auxiliary corps, who were not necessarily Roman citizens, continued to worship their own gods, whether under Roman names or not; but the legionary was a citizen, and the very nature of his oath and his service compelled him to the cult of the deities who protected the Roman State by its armies, though in the great majority of cases he was neither a Roman nor an Italian by birth. It is curious to find that in the middle of the 3rd cent. A.D., as a reaction against the Orientalizing tendency of recent Emperors, a new military Mars-religion appears, the work of the legions themselves (cf. von Domaszewski, p. 34: 'No god is so often found on the coins of the Emperors of the decaying Empire').

But the religions of the Roman Empire are a study in themselves, and one still incomplete; for the evidence is even yet not entirely collected. A great advance has been made in J. Toutain, *Les Cultes païens dans l'empire romain*, Paris, 1907–11.

The Religion of Roman Private Life.

So far we have been dealing with the religion of the Roman State. But we have seen (above, p. 822) that this religion of the State was developed out of the worship of the family, and in certain of its most primitive and characteristic features, such as the cult of Vesta, always retained the marks of its ancestry. Other festivals, such as the Paganalia and Compitalia, clearly reflect the common worship of a union of families before the era of the State was reached; these were taken up into the religious life of the State, and became *sacra publica*, according to the definition of that term in Festus, p. 245. But the religion of the family is included in the term *sacra privata*, and, in fact, forms the greater part of such *sacra* ('At privata [sacra] quæ pro singulis hominibus, familiis, gentibus, fiunt,' Fest. *ad loc.*); nor need we here go into

the question how far the individual was or could be the subject of religious rites, nor into the obscurer one of the cults which had become the hereditary property of particular *gentes* or clans.

Of the religion of the family we have considerable details surviving, and these have of late been well put together and discussed by De Marchi in his work, *La Religione nella vita domestica* (Milan, 1896; the sequel, *La Religione gentilizia e collegiale*, appeared in 1903). Other modern authorities are Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung*, iii. 121 ff., and *Privatalterthümer*, vol. i., where the private life of the Roman may be best studied in connexion with his religious practice. See also articles in Roscher on 'Lares,' 'Penates,' 'Genius,' etc., and later ones on kindred subjects in Pauly-Wissowa. E. Samter, in his *Familienfeste der Griechen und Römer* (Berlin, 1901), has interesting discussions of certain practices from the point of view of comparative religious practice; and a short account will be found in Fowler, *Roman Ideas of Deity*, London, 1914, p. 14 ff. It hardly needs to be said that the material from which our information is drawn on this subject is scattered over the whole range of Roman literature from Plautus and Cato to the Christian Fathers, and that the *Corpus Inscriptionum* and archæological research have of late years added very important matter, which is still increasing, and still imperfectly sifted and absorbed.

Two preliminary remarks seem necessary. (1) There is no question here of periods of development, as in the religion of the State; development, or in one sense degeneration, worked upwards *from* the worship of the family and but little within it. True, the wealthy Roman families towards the end of the Republican period doubtless felt the influence of the general carelessness, but the *sacra privata* were so closely connected legally with the continuity of the family and its property that the natural conservatism of the Roman was here strongly and for the most part successfully appealed to. On this point, and on the duty of the Pontifices to see that the *sacra privata* were duly maintained, see esp. Cicero, *de Legibus*, ii. 46 ff. So far as we know, the only important change in the character of domestic worship was the iconic representation of the 'household gods,' which came in at the end of the Republican period; *e.g.*, the Penates came to be represented by images of the Dioscuri (Wissowa, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, p. 95 ff.); otherwise in the country and in families of ordinary means the religious forms remained always much the same. (2) It is not to be supposed that the religion of the family was entirely independent of the State authorities. In the older forms of marriage, and in the superintendence of the public cemeteries and the private rites there performed, the Pontifices, and especially the Pontifex maximus, had a legitimate right of interference, and could prevent the contamination of *sacra privata* as well as *sacra publica*, as in the case of the Bacchanalia in 186 B.C. As Cic. *de Leg.* ii. 46 ff. shows, the Pontifices were the source of all exact knowledge of the *sacra privata*, and the general referees in all matters relating thereto. In other words, the State was responsible through its authorities for the due maintenance of the religious duties of all its members, including the private ones, just as with us it is responsible for the maintenance of moral duties towards women, children, and animals. This was the result of the inseparable union, so to speak, of Church and State at Rome.

The centre-point of the religion of private life was the house, and the centre-point of the house was the *atrium*, or hall, as we should call it, which represented the original form of Italian dwelling out of which all the additions of the later house were developed. Here the family met for all purposes but that of sleeping; here, in all houses but those of advanced city life and luxurious country villas, the deities of the household had their abode. As the *atrium* was the centre of the house, so was the hearth (*focus*) the centre of the *atrium*—the hearth, 'the natural altar of the dwelling room of man' (Aust, p. 214). This was the seat of Vesta, and behind it was the *penus*, or store-closet, the seat of the Penates. Thus Vesta and the Penates are in the most genuine sense the protecting and nourishing deities of the household. Here, too, in the *atrium* was the Lararium, or altar of the Lar familiaris, the deity of the land which the family tilled as well as of the house in which they dwelt; and here, too, was worshipped the Genius of the *paterfamilias*, on whose aid the family depended for its fertility and continuance. A few words about each of these deities or spirits will help to make clear the character of this simple and beautiful religious life. They were all quite distinct conceptions, and, in spite of all the web-spinning of later Greek and Roman syncretism, we can feel fairly sure about the essential meaning of each one of them.

1. **Vesta** was beyond doubt (see above, p. 825) the spirit of the fire on the hearth; she thus represented the most essential part of the domestic economy, the power to keep the body warm and to cook the food—the maintenance of the physical vitality of the family. It has been said, not without reason, that Vesta represents this vitality rather in the abstract, while the other deities represent it in one or another more concrete form (De Marchi, p. 67, following Herzog, in *Rhein. Mus.* xiv. 6). Perhaps it would be more exact to describe her as the centre-point round which the others are set; for she was at least as concrete a conception as any of the others, and more so than the Genius of the head of the house. ('Nec tu aliud Vestam quam vivam intellige flammam,' says Ovid, *Fasti*, vi. 291; cf. J. G. Frazer, *GB*[3], pt. i., *The Magic Art*, London, 1911, ii. 200 ff.) In front of her dwelling—the hearth—was the table at which the family took their meals, provided with salt-cellar (*salinum*), sacred salt cake, baked according to primitive fashion (*mola salsa*; Fowler, p. 110) by the daughters of the family, as for the State worship by the Vestals, and the little sacrificial dish (*patella*). After the first and chief course of the midday meal silence was enjoined, and an offering of a part of the meal was thrown on to the fire (Serv. *Æn.* i. 730; Marquardt, iii. 126 note). Thus it is certain that this offering was made to the spirit of the fire (Vesta); whether also originally to the Penates may be doubtful, but so it seems to have been understood in later times, if Servius is right in stating that the *focus* was the altar of the *di Penates* (*ad Æn.* xi. 211). The Lar was also included in historical times (Ov. *Fasti*, ii. 633), and the deities of the household were reckoned all together in the offering (so the plural *dei* is used in Serv. *ad Æn.* i. 730); but the practice of casting it into the fire points to a primitive usage in which Vesta alone was concerned, and supports the view taken above that she was the centre-point of the whole group, and the most essential representative of the life of the family. A well-known Pompeian painting (De Marchi, p. 67, tab. iii.) shows Vesta sitting between two Lares, with the ass, her favourite animal, behind her; but this only serves to illustrate the anthropomorphic influence of Greek art on the Roman religion even in domestic life. Cf. also art. HEARTH, HEARTH-GODS (Roman).

2. **Penates** are the spirits of the household store (*penus*, which word Cicero explains as 'omne quo vescuntur homines' [*de Nat. Deor.* ii. 28; cf. Gell. *Noct. Att.* iv. 1. 17]). The religious nature of this store is well shown by the fact that no impure person was allowed to enter it, and the duty was especially that of the children of the family (see Fowler, *ClR* x. [1896] 317), whose purity and religious capability were symbolized throughout Roman history by the *toga prætexta* which they wore. It is perhaps as well to point out that the Penates are not to be understood as representing

the ancestors of the family; they are purely spiritual conceptions of the genuine Roman kind, attached to a particular spot, and capable of being moved to another spot with the family, as Æneas carried his Penates from Troy to Italy. (The termination *-as*, of which *Penates* must be the plural, though the singular is nowhere found, always implies position in a fixed spot.) *Penates* is not, like *Lares*, a substantival name, but an adjective; thus we find *di penates* but never *di lares* (Wissowa[2], p. 164), and the adjectival form admits of an indefinite number of deities being included under it. Pompeian paintings show many different deities thus included; and in that referred to just above, where Vesta and the Lares are found together, they may all represent the *di penates* ('penates sunt omnes dei qui domi coluntur,' Serv. *ad Æn.* ii. 514). But this elasticity is, no doubt, a later growth; and in the simple Roman family of the country, as in the house of the primitive farmer, the Penates must have been, as their name implies, simply the spirits of the household store.

3. Lar familiaris.—The origin of Vesta and the Penates admits of little doubt; but that of the Lar is still a matter of dispute. It is now generally agreed that there was originally but one Lar of the household, as, *e.g.*, in the prologue to the *Aulularia* of Plautus; but beyond this there is no consensus of opinion among scholars. Varro, so far as we know, was the first to suggest that Lares were the same as Manes (Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, vii. 6; Wissowa[2], p. 174), and recently this idea has been again in favour, since the subject of the worship of ancestors has been matter of comparative investigation. It has generally been believed that the Lar represented the reputed founder of the family, who (as has been assumed) was originally buried in the house, and continued to reside there. This was the view of F. de Coulanges in his remarkable book *La Cité antique*, and it has of late been maintained by both De Marchi and Samter in the works referred to above. But archæological research in Italy has failed to discover any trace of burial in the house, or even within the walls of a settlement (see Fowler, *ClR* xi. [1897] 34). At all times the dead had a settlement of their own outside that of the living; and there is no evidence that the Romans ever thought of their duly buried ancestors as having any place in the dwelling of the living. As among other peoples, they may have been conceived as having a desire to return to their abode, especially if deprived by some accident of funeral rites, but in that case the great object of the living was to expel them (Fowler, p. 107 ff.). A convincing argument is that the Lares, as has already been mentioned, were never addressed as *di*, as the Manes invariably were; *i.e.*, they cannot have been human beings who became divine at death. Of late Wissowa has claimed for the Lar a different origin, and his view, in spite of criticism (*e.g.* Samter, p. 105 ff.), may be said to hold the field at present. The Lares, he argues, were not originally household gods at all, but deities presiding over the several holdings of a settlement; they were originally worshipped at the *compita*, or crossways, where several such holdings met; there stood the shrine, with as many altars as there were Lares and holdings over which they presided (see Wissowa[2], p. 167 ff.; art. CROSS-ROADS [Roman]). Thus they fill a place in the private worship which would otherwise be vacant—that of the holding, and its productive power—while the buried ancestors are quite sufficiently represented by *di manes*, *di parentes*, etc. Thus, too, it is easy to account for their occurrence in the Arval hymn, one of the oldest Latin fragments we possess (Henzen, p. 26), for they would naturally be objects of invocation at the lustration of the crops of the settlement (see above, p. 841). Nor is it difficult to understand how the Lar of the holding found his way into the house: he became the object of the worship of the whole *familia*, *i.e.* the workers on the land, both bond and free, and passed (perhaps as the bond-workers grew more numerous and important) into the circle of Vesta-Penates-Genius, with which, strictly speaking, slaves had nothing to do. It is true that we cannot trace this passage historically, and we know that the Lares of the *compita* retained their seat there and remained as *Lares compitales* even in the growing city; but we may be sure that the Lares were attached to the land and not, like the Genius, to the person of any man, and, as so attached, their presence in the house can hardly be explained in any other way. The arguments for this theory will be found in full in Wissowa's art. 'Lares' in Roscher, in his *Rel. und Kult.*[2], p. 167 ff., and in a reply to Samter in *ARW* vii. [1904].

4. Genius.—The last of the deities of the household was the Genius of the *paterfamilias*, not to be identified, as in the age of syncretism, with the Lar familiaris (Censorinus, *de Die Natali*, iii. 2); even so late as the Theodosian Code the two are distinguished in the practice of the cult (see *Cod. Theod.* xvi. 10. 2). The Genius was in primitive conception the generative power of the man—that mysterious power which maintained the continuity of the family, yet belonged to the individual for his lifetime only, and to him alone; and apparently as inherent in this power was conceived to be all his masculine capacity of enjoyment and vigour of body and mind. The Genius is not the soul of the man, but the *numen* residing in him, whose power exhibits itself chiefly in the continuance of the family, and who must therefore be an object of veneration for all its members. The seat of the Genius was more especially the marriage bed (*lectus genialis*); and the festival of the Genius was the birthday of the head of the house, in which the whole *familia* took part, slaves and freedmen included (see Wissowa[2], p. 176; De Marchi, p. 176 ff.). This is the strict meaning of Genius in domestic worship: for further developments of the conception see Fowler, *Roman Ideas of Deity*, pp. 17 ff., 158 ff.

As might be guessed from all that we have seen of the Roman ideas of the supernatural, all the important epochs in human life, and the ceremonies connected with them, had, originally at least, a religious character.

5. Marriage.—See art. MARRIAGE (Roman).

6. Birth and early years.—If we are to believe Varro as quoted by St. Augustine (*de Civ. Dei*, iv. 11, 37; cf. Tertull. *ad Nat.* ii. 11), the processes of birth and bringing up were under the protection of a multitude of spirit-deities, all of whom should be invoked at the proper time and in the proper terms; but, as has been said above (p. 832), it may be doubted whether these lists were not the invention of a comparatively late age of priestly activity, and whether these *numina* were, in fact, recognized in ordinary practice. The chief deity of birth was Juno Lucina; in the fourth *Eclogue* of Virgil, which is a prophetic *carmen* sung at the actual moment of birth (see Fowler, in J. B. Mayor, Fowler, and R. S. Conway, *Virgil's Messianic Eclogue*, 1907, p. 69), this is the only deity invoked. Immediately after the birth, if the infant were *sublatus*, *i.e.* acknowledged by the father and destined to be brought up, we are told by Varro (Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, vi. 9) of a custom so curious that it may be mentioned here as possibly primitive in its original form and dating from the early agricultural age of Roman life. Three men at night

came to the threshold of the house and struck it respectively with a hatchet, a mortar, and a besom, that 'by these signs of agriculture Silvanus might be prevented from entering'; from these actions arose three deities, Intercidona, Pilumnus, Deverra, by whose guardianship the infant is protected against the power of Silvanus (cf. art. BIRTH [Greek and Roman], § 2). This idea of the force of cultivation in keeping off wild and evil spirits may be illustrated from Robertson Smith's *Religion of the Semites*, lect. iii. We need not follow the infant through the stages of his commitment to the care of other *numina*; it will be sufficient to observe that, though the accounts of these which have come down to us from Varro are doubtless exaggerated, the earliest tender age was, no doubt, matter of the greatest anxiety, and consequently of the utmost endeavour to avert evil influences and omens. That this is the meaning of the children's *bulla*, or amulet, is almost certain, and probably the *toga prætexta*, which was worn by both boys and girls, had an originally religious or quasi-religious meaning (see Fowler, *CR* x. 317). But the one really religious ceremony of which we know in the first days of infancy is that of the *dies lustricus*—the ninth day for boys and the eighth for girls—on which, as the name implies, the child was purified and adopted into the family and its *sacra*, and received also its name. After this the boy or girl grew up under the protection of the household gods, and performed various religious duties in their service. On reaching puberty the boy laid aside the *bulla* and the *prætexta*; the former was hung on the images of the Lares in later times (Persius, v. 31), while the latter was taken off finally at the festival of the Liberalia in March, when the youth went to the Capitol and sacrificed there to Jupiter and to Juventas (De Marchi, p. 176; Fowler, p. 56). The girl when about to be married also laid aside her *prætexta*, with her dolls and other marks of childhood, and, if Wissowa guesses rightly (*ARW* vii. 54), offered them to the Lares at the Compitalia. The tender and dangerous age of childhood being then passed, and youth and maiden being endowed with new powers, the peculiar defensive armour of infancy might be dispensed with.

7. Death, burial, and cult of the dead.—As Aust has well observed (p. 225), religion had no part to play at the Roman deathbed; the dying man had no reckoning to make with heaven, and had no need for the forgiveness of sins in order to depart this life in peace. His responsibility for his actions ceased with this life, and after death he had nothing to fear or to hope from the gods; thus he had no need of any mediating priest in his last moments. The miserable fears which haunted him through life, painted by Lucretius in such glowing colours of contempt, ceased altogether at his death; his peace and comfort in his grave depended on the right legal and religious conduct of his living family, in respect of proper burial and yearly renewed offerings to the *di manes* of the family at the common tomb. The house which he had left for the last time, and all who had been in contact with the deceased, must be duly purified by lustration, in this case by fumigation and the sprinkling of water, but the true religious rites only began at the grave. It may be observed in passing that both burial and cremation were in use at Rome in historical times, and had been so, as we know from the XII Tables, since at least the 5th cent. B.C.; the religious rites in each case were practically the same; the details of difference in other respects will be found in Marquardt, *Privatalterthümer*, i. 365 ff.

When the body or ashes had been consigned to the last resting-place, the mourners partook at the grave of a meal called *silicernium*, which had a religious character. The meaning and derivation of the word are uncertain, but there seems to be little doubt that it indicates some kind of sacramental meal, first offered to the dead and then partaken of by the survivors (De Marchi, p. 192), since Tertullian (*Apol.* 13) parallels it with the *epulum Jovis* of which the magistrates and Senate partook in the visible presence of the three deities of the Capitoline temple (Fowler, p. 218). Thus it would seem to have bound together the living and the *manes* of the deceased in the same mystical way as deity and worshipper were thought to be made one when the victim was not only killed but consumed. The rites at the grave continued till the ninth day; on one of these days occurred the *feriæ denicales*, of which the meaning is uncertain, but they may have included, as De Marchi has suggested (p. 196), a sacrifice of sheep to the Lar familiaris of which Cicero speaks in *de Legibus*, ii. 22, 55. The 'finis funestæ familiæ,' or conclusion of the mourning, mentioned in the same passage, is the *sacrum novendiale* on the ninth day, which consisted of a sacrifice at the grave, and was followed by the *cena novendialis*, at which the partakers appeared no longer in mourning but in white, and celebrated with good cheer the end of their sorrow; in rich families this might again be followed by *ludi funebres novendiales*, as Æneas in *Æneid*, v., after the *parentatio*, or renewal of these rites in the cult of the dead, refreshed the spirits of his men by athletic contests.

As the dead continued to exist as spirits or deities after due burial, it was necessary to renew every year the rites at the grave which we have described. This took place under the direction of the State on what may be called the Roman All Souls' Days, nine in number, as were the days of original mourning (Feb. 13–21, Parentalia; Fowler, p. 306 ff.). On Feb. 22 was the family festival of the Caristia, described by Ovid (*Fasti*, ii. 617 f.) as a kind of reunion of the living members of the family after they had done their duty by the *di manes*, when all quarrels were forgotten in a general harmony. This took place not at the grave but in the house, and the household gods shared in the sacred meal. Cf. art. DEATH AND DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD (Roman).

8. Agricultural rites.—A word must be said about those religious observances of private life which were so important for the prosperous prosecution of the daily labour of the ordinary Roman. Of such observances in the great city itself we know nothing indeed, and it may be that they were obsolete at a very early period, or were never followed out, as in the leisured life of the farm; the 'busy idleness' of town life probably had a damaging effect upon simple piety, as has been the case in modern Europe. But of the religious ritual of the farm we fortunately have valuable records in Cato's treatise on agriculture, compiled in the middle of the 2nd cent. B.C.; these records are in all probability drawn from the books of the Pontifices, and are included by Cato in his work as giving the genuine and correct formulas of invocation to the gods for those about to undertake certain agricultural operations. One of them has already been quoted above, in connexion with sacrificial ritual and prayer; they have been carefully studied of late by De Marchi (p. 128 ff.), and translated by him into Italian, with notes. Here it is possible to give only a general account, and a single specimen of invocation.

For the safety of his oxen the farmer is directed (Cato, *de Agricultura*, 83) to offer to Mars Silvanus in the wood (presumably the woodland where they grazed), and by daylight, for each head of cattle a fixed amount of meal, lard, flesh, and wine. The

offering might be made either by a free man or by a slave, i.e. by the *villicus* in the master's absence; but no woman was to take part in it, or even to see the ceremony. The offerings were to be consumed by the persons present (cf. Fowler, p. 194). Again, when the pear-trees were in blossom, another offering, called *daps* (cf. Festus, p. 68), was to be made for the oxen, in this case to Jupiter Dapalis (cf. Jupiter Farreus in the rite of *confarreatio*). The day was to be a holiday for the oxen and the herdsmen, and for those who took part in the rite; and afterwards it was legitimate to sow various kinds of seed (Cato, 131 f.; cf. Fowler, p. 218). Once more, when wood was cut, or clearing made, or any digging done in a wood which might be inhabited by some unknown deity, a piacular sacrifice of a pig had to be made, and the following prayer recited: 'Si deus, si dea, cujus illud sacrum est, ut tibi ius siet porco piaculo facere illiusce sacri coercendi [i.e. violating] ergo. Harumque rerum ergo sive ego, sive quis iussu meo fecerit, ut id fecerit, recte factum siet. Eius rei ergo te hoc porco piaculo immolando bonas preces precor, uti sies volens propitius mihi domo familiæque meæ liberisque meis; harumque rerum ergo macte hoc piaculo immolando esto' (Cato, 139 f.; for this kind of *piaculum* cf. Henzen, p. 136 ff.).

The singularly interesting directions for the *lustratio agri* have been already alluded to and in part quoted (above, p. 828). Here we may substitute for it another piece of ritual, to be enacted before the harvest is begun, which is given by Cato in ch. 134. Before the harvest it is necessary to make a sacrifice of a *porca præcidanea* in the following way (for this sacrifice of a sow and its connexion with the cult of the dead, from which it may have passed into the common usage of the farm, see Wissowa[2], p. 193; De Marchi, p. 135, note). The offering must be made to Ceres before the harvesting of wheat, barley, beans, and rape. Janus, Jupiter, Juno are to be invoked with incense and wine before the immolation of the sow; and to Janus a sacred cake (*strues*) is to be offered with the following prayer: 'O Father Janus, with the offering of this cake I pray thee to be propitious to me, my children, my house, and my *familia*.' Then another kind of cake (*fertum*) was to be presented to Jupiter with the same formula of prayer. Next, wine was to be offered to Janus with the words, 'Father Janus, as I have prayed thee good prayers in offering the *strues*, so for the same object let this offering of wine succeed'; so also a wine offering was to be made to Jupiter. Then the *porca præcidanea* was to be slain; and, when the entrails had been laid bare, another *strues* was to be offered to Janus as before, and another *fertum* to Jupiter, and to each of them an offering of wine. Afterwards both the meat and the wine were to be offered to Ceres.

With this specimen of ritual, which so well illustrates the peculiar character of the Roman religious practice, whether public or private, this article may fitly be concluded. Like all such formulæ, it suggests questions which are not easy to answer, and which it is not possible to attempt to explain here. But it may serve to remind the reader of what was said at the beginning of this article as to the origin and essential character of the genuine *religio* of the early Romans, which had its roots in the mental attitude of an agricultural people towards the powers to whom they believed themselves indebted for all success in procuring food and clothing by agricultural labour.

LITERATURE (the works marked with an asterisk are those of the greatest practical value for a student of the Roman religion).—*Aust, E., *Die Religion der Römer*, Münster, 1899; Beurlier, E., *Le Culte impérial*, Paris, 1891; *Boissier, G., *La Religion romaine d'Auguste aux Antonins*[2], Paris, 1891; Bücheler, F., *Umbrica* (the processional inscription of Iguvium), Bonn, 1883; Carter, J. B., *De deorum Rom. cognominibus questiones selectæ*, Leipzig, 1898; **Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, esp. vol. i.[2], containing the Fasti diurni, with Mommsen's commentary; Diels, H., *Sibyllinische Blätter*, Berlin, 1890; Dill, S., *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, London, 1904; Domaszewski, A. von, *Die Religion des römischen Heeres*, Trier, 1895; *Fowler, W. Warde, *The Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, London, 1899, *Religious Experience of the Roman People*, do. 1911, *Roman Ideas of Deity, in the last Cent. before the Chr. Era*, do. 1914; Hartung, J. A., *Die Religion der Römer*, Erlangen, 1836; *Jordan, H., *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Altertum*, Berlin, 1878–1885; Mannhardt, W., *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte*, Berlin, 1877, *Mythologische Forschungen*, Berlin, 1884; *De Marchi, A., *Il Culto privato di Roma primitiva*, Milan, 1896 and 1903; *Marquardt, J., *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, vol. iii., ed. Wissowa, Leipzig, 1885; *Mommsen, T., *History of Rome*, Eng. tr., London, 1901, *Römische Forschungen*, Berlin, 1879, *Römisches Staatsrecht* (= Marquardt and Mommsen, *Handbuch der röm. Alterthümer*, Leipzig, 1874–88, i.–iii.), and *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. i., Berlin, 1904; Müller, K. O., *Die Etrusker*, ed. W. Deecke, Stuttgart, 1877; Nissen, H., *Das Templum*, Berlin, 1869; Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*; *Preller, L., *Römische Mythologie*[3], ed. H. Jordan, Berlin, 1883; *Roscher, W. H., *Lexicon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*; Rossbach, A., *Untersuchungen über die römische Ehe*, Stuttgart, 1853; Schwegler, A., *Römische Geschichte*, vol. i., Tübingen, 1853; Usener, H., *Götternamen*, Bonn, 1896; *Wissowa, G., *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, Munich, 1902, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur römischen Religions- und Stadtgeschichte*, Munich, 1904; Zeller, E., *Religion und Philosophie bei den Römern*, Berlin, 1872.

W. WARDE FOWLER.

ROMANTICISM.—See CULTURE.

ROSARIES.—I. *ORIGIN.*—A rosary is a string of knots or beads, designed as an aid to the memory, and, when used in religious exercises, providing a convenient method for counting the recitation of prayers or the repetition of the names and attributes of the Deity. The use of the rosary is very widely spread, but its earliest home seems to be in Asia, where it can lay claim to a fairly venerable antiquity. In dealing with its origin we can do no more as yet than put forward suggestions.

The use of knots (*q.v.*) as mnemonic signs is almost universal, and such a simple device may have been invented again and again; its appearance in many parts of the world does not prove that it was invented in one country and transmitted thence to other centres. The highest development of a system of knots as a means of aiding the memory and for keeping records is seen in S. America, where the *quipu* (a Peruvian word meaning 'knot') served as a means of record and communication in a highly organized society. It was a system of knot-writing, each kind of knot having a separate meaning, the different coloured cords also having each its own significance.[1] In China, in the times of Yung-ching-che, it is stated, the people used little cords marked by different knots, which, by their numbers and distances, served them instead of writing.[2] This seems to point to the early use by the Chinese of a contrivance similar to the *quipu* of the Peruvians. In the rosary used by the Shingon sect of Buddhists in Japan there is a knot formed by the union of two strings which hang from the main string of beads, and it is said to resemble an ancient Chinese character which means 'man,' being one of a combination of characters used in representing one of the many attributes of Buddha.[3]

The use of knots as mnemonic signs for purely secular purposes still persists in many countries. Among the Indians of Guiana, when a *paiwari* feast is to be held, the entertainers prepare a number of strings, each tied into knots, the number of which corresponds with the number of days to the feast. The headman of each settlement is presented with one of these strings. Every day a knot is untied, and in this way the hosts know on which day to expect their guests.[4] Among the

[1] E. B. Tylor, *Researches into the Early Hist. of Mankind*, London, 1865, pp. 154–158.

[2] A. Y. Goguet, *Origine des lois, des arts et des sciences*, Paris, 1758, iii. 322; J. A. M. de Moyria de Maillac, *Hist. gén. de la Chine*, Paris, 1777–85, i. 4.

[3] *Journ. Asiatic Soc. of Japan*, ix. [1881] 177.

[4] E. F. im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, London, 1883, p. 319 f.

Wagogo of Central E. Africa the time of a woman's pregnancy is reckoned by knots; at each new moon one knot is untied.[1]

In this country it is a common practice to tie a knot in a handkerchief as an aid to memory. The same custom is found in India, the knot being usually tied in the strings of the *pâjamas*.[2] Such customs are apt in time to disappear with the advance of culture and the introduction of less cumbrous methods, being retained only for religious purposes. Such a survival of the use of knots for keeping records is seen in some rosaries at the present day in the Greek Orthodox Church, in Egypt, and in India. These will be noted below under the various headings.

Notched sticks are also of universal use for record-keeping, such as the tally-sticks which were utilized in England and Ireland almost up to the present day. In Ireland in quite recent times these sticks have been employed to record the number of prayers uttered, and the suppliant would leave such a stick as a votive offering at some sacred well. These sticks have been called 'votive rosaries.'

II. *AGE.*—The oldest reference to rosaries to be found in the literature of India is in the Jain canon. Here they are referred to as forming one of the appliances of Brāhmanical monks. In this literature the two names given to rosaries are *ganettiyā* and *kañchaniyā* (Prakrit names = Skr. *ganayitrika*, 'the counter,' and *kañchana*, 'gold,' also 'bright' or 'shining'). References in later literature occur in Brāhmanical works only, and here two more names are given—*mātā* (or *mālika*), 'garland,' and *sutra*, 'string.'[3] These names refer to the shape of the rosary. Some of the deities are represented as carrying rosaries in their hands. The following passage from the Buddhist 'Forty-two Points of Doctrine,' art. 10, alludes to the rosary:

'The man who, in the practice of virtue, applies himself to the extirpation of all his vices is like one who is rolling between his fingers the beads of the chaplet. If he continues taking hold of them one by one, he arrives speedily at the end. By extirpating his bad inclinations one by one, a man arrives at perfection.'[4]

III. *DISTRIBUTION.*—The rosary is found to be in use among Hindus, Buddhists, Muhammadans, and Christians. It also has a use among some Jews.

1. Hindu or Brāhman.—It is generally considered that the Hindus were the first to evolve the rosary.

'It is called in Sanskrit *japa-mala*, "muttering chaplet" (and sometimes *smarani*, "remembrancer"), because by means of its beads the muttering of a definite number of prayers may be counted. But the pious Hindu not only computes his daily prayers as if they were so many rupees to be added to his capital stock in the bank of heaven; he sets himself to repeat the mere names of his favourite god, and will continue to do so for hours together.'[5]

This operation of counting is used by ascetics as a means of promoting contemplation.

The rosary differs according to the sect to which the user of it belongs. The materials of which rosaries are made vary greatly, and each has a specific purpose. The number of beads also varies according to the sect. A worshipper of Śiva is supposed to use a rosary of 32 beads, or double that number; a votary of Viṣnu, on the other hand, is supposed to use one with 108 beads. This number is also sometimes found on a Śaivite rosary; indeed the beads may run into several hundreds, irrespective of the sect. There are usually one or more terminal beads to each rosary; they are not generally counted in with those on the main string.

(*a*) *Materials, etc.*—A favourite bead of the Śaivites is that called *rudrakśa*, 'eye of the god Rudra (or Śiva).' This is generally supposed to come from the *Eleocarpus ganitrus*. In the Panjāb, however, the name *rudrakśa* appears to be applied to the seeds of the jujube-tree, and importance is here attached to the number of facets on the seeds. These slits, running from end to end of each seed, are called 'mouths' (*munh*). A one-mouthed *rudrakśa* is considered a very valuable amulet, and the owner of such a bead also 'possesses' the goddess Lakśmi and all kinds of blessings. If nothing will tempt the possessor to part with it, it must be stolen from him, and it should be encased in gold and carefully preserved as a family relic. It is only from the most accomplished Yogis that such beads can be obtained, and any price that they demand must be paid by the would-be owner of such a treasure. *Rudrakśa* seeds with eleven facets are worn by celibate Yogis, while the married ones wear those with two; and those with five facets are sacred to Hanumān, the monkey-god.[1] The rough surface of the *rudrakśa* seeds may possibly symbolize the austerities connected with Śiva-worship. The seeds, according to a Śiva legend, are said to be the tears of Rudra (or Śiva) which he let fall in a rage (some say in grief, some in ecstasy) and which crystallized into this form. The five facets are also sometimes thought to stand for the five faces or the five distinct aspects of the god.[2] The worshippers of Viṣnu, on the other hand, prefer smooth beads, and favour those made of the *tulasi*, or holy basil (*Ocimum sanctum*), this shrub being sacred to Viṣnu. The Śāktas count up to 100 on the three joints of each finger on the right hand, each ten being marked off on the joint of one of the fingers on the left hand. The number of recitations having reached 100, they place that number of millet grains before them. This is repeated till the required number is reached. The Atīts of Bengal break up their rosaries into separate parts, using them as ornaments also. They wear a string of 27 beads from the elbow, a wristlet with five beads, and hanging from each ear is a pendant of three beads.[3] In the Jain sect the laity generally use the rosary when repeating the *navakar mantra*. The materials vary according to the use to which they are put and the wealth of the owner. The poorer Jains generally use rosaries made of cotton thread and sandal-wood; the richer use beads of red coral, crystal, cornelian, emerald, pearl, silver, and gold. In this sect there are two special uses of the rosary.

(1) Rosaries of five different colours—red, yellow, green, white, and black—are used for the repetition of certain mystical formulæ and incantations to appease and propitiate Navagrāhās, ten Dikpālās, Ashtamangalās, and other deities on the following occasions: (a) *Sānti-snātra* (pacifying and propitiatory rites); (b) *ashtottari-snātra* (bathing an image 108 times); (c) *anjana-salākā* (ceremony of sanctifying images); (d) *chaitya-pravisha* (first occupation of a newly built Jain temple); (e) *pratistha* (installation of images in temples). The *tirthankaras* are believed to have been of different colours, viz. red, yellow, green, white, and dark; hence the use of rosaries in these five colours. Red is represented by the red coral rosary; yellow by the amber or gold; green by the emerald; white by silver, white pearl, or crystal rosaries. The cotton thread rosaries do not represent white and cannot be used as a substitute for silver, pearl, or crystal. The dark, or dark blue, colour is represented by the *akikalbaher* rosary.

(2) Rosaries of these five different colours are also used for the repetition of mystical formulæ, charms, spells, and incantations, with a view to obtaining certain benefits from the deities. On the other hand, they may be used for harmful purposes—to injure hostile or obnoxious people, to disable them, to make them ill, to kill them, to subdue them, to obtain their affections, to make them inert, or to summon them.

There are also small rosaries called *boberkhas*. These are used when the more costly rosaries with the usual number of beads are not obtainable, or when the user cannot afford to buy the more expensive beads. These *boberkhas* generally contain 6, 9, 12, 18, 27, 36, or 54 beads—*i.e.* any sub-multiple of 108.[4]

Devotees attach much importance to the size of the beads—the larger they are, the more effective is the rosary, and the greater the merit attained by the user of it. Monier-Williams[5] gives the following account of the use of such rosaries by an

[1] H. Cole, *JAI* xxxii. [1902] 323.
[2] R. C. Temple, *PNQ* ii. [1884–85] 571.
[3] E. Leumann, 'Rosaries mentioned in Indian Literature,' *Oriental Congress Report*, 1891, p. 3 f.
[4] Quoted by G. G. Zerffi, in *Journ. of the Soc. of Arts*, 1873, p. 469.
[5] M. Monier-Williams, *Modern India and the Indians*[3], p. 108 f.

[1] W. Crooke, *Things Indian*, London, 1906, p. 408.
[2] Monier-Williams, p. 110.
[3] Crooke, p. 409. [4] *NINQ* iii. 84. [5] P. 118 f.

old hermit who was living in the neighbourhood of Kaira in a hut near a rude temple:

'He was engaged in his evening religious exercises, and, wholly regardless of the presence of his European visitor, continued turning with both hands and with evident exertion a gigantic rosary. A huge wooden roller, suspended horizontally from the posts of the shed, supported a sort of chain composed of fifteen rough wooden balls, each as big as a child's head. As he kept turning this enormous rosary round and round, each bead passed into his hands, and whilst he held the several balls in his grasp he repeated, or rather chanted in a low tone, a short prayer to the god Rama. All the wooden balls underwent this process of pious manipulation several times before he desisted. The muscular exertion and consequent fatigue must have been great, yet the entire operation was performed with an air of stoical impassiveness. Then the devotee went into another shed, where on another cross-beam, supported by posts, were strung some heavy logs of hard wood, each weighing about twenty pounds. Having grasped one of these with both hands, he dashed it forcibly against the side post, and then another log against the first. Probably the clashing noise thus produced was intended to give increased effectiveness to the recitation of his prayers.'

The rosary plays a part in the initiation ceremony when children, at the age of six or seven years, are admitted to the religion of Viṣṇu. Such a rosary is usually made of *tulsi*-(*tulasi*-) wood, and it is passed round the necks of the candidates by the *guru* (priest), who teaches them one of the sacred formulæ, such as 'Homage to the divine son of Vasudeva,' 'Homage to the adorable Rama,' or 'Adorable Krishna is my refuge.'[1]

A high-caste Brāhman employs the rosary merely as a means of counting his daily prayers. He is careful to conceal his hand in a bag, made for this purpose, when telling his beads, so that he may not 'be seen of men.' The bag, which is often beautifully embroidered and is of a particular shape, is called *gaumukhi*, 'cow's mouth.' The favourite *mantra* thus repeated is the *Gāyatrī* from the *Rigveda*—'*Tat savitur varenyam bhargo devasya dhimahi dhiyo yo nah pracodayat*,' 'Let us adore that excellent glory of the divine Vivifier: may he enlighten our understandings.' Only those who have been invested with the sacred thread may repeat this *mantra*.

'A Brahman may attain beatitude by simple repetition of the *Gayatri*, whether he perform other rites or not,' and 'having repeated the *Gayatri* three thousand times he is delivered from the greatest guilt.'[2]

In the monasteries a novice is instructed to be careful not to lose his beads; should he do so, he is allowed no food or drink till he has recovered them, or, failing this, till the superior has invested him with another rosary.

Further special uses for the different kinds of beads are given by K. Raghunathyi:[3]

'If a rosary be used in honour of a goddess the beads should be of coral (*prâval*); if in honour of Nirgun Brahma, they should be of pearls (*muktamala*); if with the object of obtaining the fulfilment of wishes (*vâsnâ*), they should be of *rudrakshas*; . . . if with the object of obtaining salvation (*moksha*), they should be of crystal (*spathik*); and if with the object of subduing the passions (*stambhan*), of turmeric roots.'

The Sikhs have a rosary which consists of knots instead of beads. Possibly this is a survival of an early method of keeping count by a system of knots. It is made of many strands of wool, knotted together at intervals—108 knots in all. This kind of rosary is not very durable, the material of which it is composed being liable to the ravages of moths. Another kind of rosary used by Sikhs is made of iron beads, arranged at intervals and connected by slender iron links. They have a rosary also which is peculiar to them and is worn like a bracelet on the wrist. It is made of iron and has 27 beads. Sometimes these beads are strung on a rigid iron ring, sometimes they are connected by links like the longer rosary mentioned above. The rosary with 27 beads has a particular name (*Lohe kâ Simarna*), and it forms also a tribal mark.[1]

The Śāktas use rosaries made of dead men's teeth and similar relics.

A Hindu rosary called *baijanti mala* (*baijanti*, 'flag [or standard] of Viṣṇu') consists of five gems produced from the five elements of nature—sapphire from the earth, pearl from water, ruby from fire, topaz from the air, and diamond from the ether or space.

(*b*) *Charms.*—It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between the rosary proper and a charm; in fact, the rosary is often itself a charm. The Badi Nats of S. Mirzapur have a sacred musical instrument which is called *nag-daman* ('subduer of snakes'). Rosaries of snake-bones are tied to it, and, until it is furnished with two such rosaries, it does not become sanctified. This instrument is occasionally worshipped, and the beads of the rosaries hung on it are often used to cure diseases by being tied on to the wrist of the sick person.[2] Snake-charmers in other parts of India make use of similar rosaries as a protective charm, by hanging them on to the pipes on which they play before the snakes. The *faqîrs* also make use of a rosary composed of the vertebræ of a snake; they carry it to show that they know of a charm to cure snake-bite. Sometimes the rosary is worn tied to the turban, and a special *mantra* is recited on these beads called the *garur-mantra*, to cure snake-bite. This is an example of the universal belief in the 'doctrine of signatures.' The *faqîrs* also cure quartan ague by tying a bead from such a rosary round the wrist of the sufferer.[3]

There is a rosary much used by Hindus of the Śākti sect which is called *putr jiwa* ('which gives life to sons'). It is composed of beads made of light-coloured seeds, oval in shape, which grow very plentifully. This rosary is used when a Hindu wants a son. No doubt the idea of fertility is involved here.

The following method of obtaining a son is given by Pandit Ram Gharib Chaubé:[4]

'Most Hindus believe that their failure to obtain male issue is due to the unfavourable position of the stars. . . . If it be owing to Sanischara Mangala, Rahu or Ketu, the Śrâddha rite must be performed either at Gaya or Narayani Sila at Hardwar, and a Pandit must be employed to recite the *Sri Mad Bhagwat Katha* for seven days. But the most popular plan is to get the following mantra repeated one hundred and twenty thousand times at a temple of Rama or Śiva and to have a *Homa* or fire sacrifice done at the end of it: "O Govinda, son of Devaki, lord of the universe, give me a son; I have taken refuge in thee."'

Another rosary, used by Hindus who wish to get rid of their superfluous flesh, is made of small, almost black seeds, dry and shrivelled looking, being rather like dried currants in appearance. Doubtless the user hopes that by repeating prayers on it he may obtain a likeness to the seeds, and shrivel up and decrease in size himself. A rosary from the Partabgarh district, which is in the collection at the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford, consists of 213 very small beads, *plus* the terminal, and is finished with a tassel of pink wool. This rosary is stated to be used to prevent the effect of the 'evil eye.'

2. Buddhist.—The Buddhist rosary is probably of Brāhman origin, and here again the number of beads on the string is usually 108. This is said to correspond with the number of mental conditions, or sinful inclinations, which are overcome by reciting the beads.

Moreover, 108 Brāhmans were summoned at Buddha's birth to foretell his destiny. In Burma the footprints of Buddha have sometimes 108 subdivisions; in Tibet the sacred writings (*Kahgyur*) run into 108 volumes; in China the white pagoda at Peking is encircled by 108 columns, and in the same country

[1] See Monier-Williams, *Religious Thought and Life in India*, p. 117.
[2] Manu, ii. 79, quoted by Monier-Williams, *Modern India*, p. 111.
[3] *PNQ* iii. 608.
[1] Cf. J. N. Bhattacharya, *Hindu Castes and Sects*, Calcutta, 1896, p. 510.
[2] *NINQ* iii. 56. [3] Crooke, p. 408. [4] *NINQ* iv. 378.

108 blows form the ordinary punishment for malefactors. Again, in Japan, at the *bommatsuri*, or *bonku* (festival of the dead), observed from 13th to 15th July, 108 welcome fires are lighted on the shores of sea, lake, or river; and 108 rupees are usually given in alms.[1]

Besides the full rosaries of 108 beads, smaller ones are also used, the number of beads representing the chief disciples of Buddha.

(*a*) *India.*—In India the Buddhist rosaries do not seem to differ very much from many of those used by Hindus. Some are made of more costly materials than others, the more valuable being of turquoise, coral, amber, silver, pearls, or other gems. The poorer people usually have their rosary beads made of wood, pebbles, berries, or bone, and they are often satisfied with only 30 or 40 beads.

(*b*) *Burma.*—The Burmese rosary also has 108 beads. It seems to be used merely as a means of counting the repetitions of the names of the Buddha trinity, viz. *Phra* (Buddha), *Tara* (*Dharma*), and *Saṅgha*. On the completion of a round of the rosary the central bead is held and the formula '*Anitsa, Dukka Anatha*,' 'All is transitory, painful, and unreal,' is repeated.[2] The monks sometimes wear a rosary called *bodhi*, with 72 beads. The beads are black and sub-cylindrical in shape, and are said to be made of slips of leaf on which charmed words are inscribed. These leaves are rolled into pellets with the aid of lacquer or varnish. The rosary is not mentioned in the Southern Scriptures as one of the articles necessary for a monk, and it is not so conspicuous among Southern Buddhists as it is among their Northern co-religionists.[3]

(*c*) *Tibet.*—The rosary, *phreng-ba* (pronounced *theng-wa*, or vulgarly *theng-nga*), 'a string of beads,' is an essential part of a Lāma's dress, and is also worn by most of the laity of both sexes. The act of telling the beads is called *tañ-c'e*, which means literally 'to purr' like a cat, the muttering of the prayers being suggestive of this sound. The rosaries have 108 beads on the main string. The reason given for this number is that it ensures the repetition of a sacred spell 100 times, the eight extra beads being added for fear of omission or breakage. There are three terminal beads to the rosaries, which are called collectively 'retaining (or seizing) beads,' *dok-'dsin*. These symbolize 'the Three Holy Ones' of the Buddhist trinity. The *Gelug-pa*, or established church, have only two or three terminal beads to their rosaries, the pair being emblematic of a vase from which the other beads spring. But an extra bead is often strung with those on the main string, bringing the number up to 109.

The Tibetan rosaries usually have a pair of pendent strings on which are threaded small metal beads or rings. These serve as counters. At the end of one of these strings is a *dorje* (the thunderbolt of Indra), the other string terminating in a bell. Sometimes there are four of these strings attached, in which case the third string often ends with a magic peg (*purbu*), and the fourth with a wheel (*k'or-lo*). The counters on the *dorje* string register units, those on the bell string marking tens of cycles. These terminal ornaments are frequently inlaid with turquoise. The strings are usually attached at the eighth and twenty-first bead on either side of the large central bead, though there is no rule about this and they can be placed anywhere on the string. By means of these counters 10,800 prayers may be counted, but the number uttered depends largely on the leisure and fervour of the devotee. Old women are especially zealous in this respect. Sometimes the beads have been so worn with constant use that their shape has been changed. Besides those pendent counter-strings, various odds and ends often hang from the rosaries, such as metal toothpicks, tweezers, small keys, etc.

The materials of which the beads are made vary according to the sect, the god or goddess addressed, and the wealth of the owner. The abbots of some of the wealthy monasteries have their rosary beads made of valuable gems and precious stones.

Importance is often attached to the colour of the rosary, which should correspond with the complexion of the god or goddess to be worshipped. Thus a devotee of the goddess Tara, who is of a bluish-green complexion, would use a turquoise rosary; a worshipper of Tam-din would choose a red rosary; a yellow-coloured rosary is used in the devotion to the yellow Mañjuśrī; and for Vrisravan, whose complexion is of a golden-yellow colour, an amber rosary would be used. This applies to rosaries used by the Lāmas. The laity use rosaries made of any kind of bead, and they are not tied by rules as to colour. They usually use glass beads of various hues, mixed with coral, amber, turquoise, etc., and the counter-strings attached to their rosaries generally end with a *dorje*, the beads on both strings recording units of cycles only, this being sufficient for the bead-telling of the laity. The number of beads on the main string is, however, the same as on the rosaries of the Lāmas.

The Lāmas use certain mystical formulæ which are prescribed for repetition, each formula having its own special rosary. Different formulæ are used for different deities, and they are supposed to act as powerful spells as well as to contain the essence of a prayer. These *mantras* are more or less unintelligible to the worshipper, and are indeed usually gibberish. They are probably of Sanskrit origin. The laity, on the other hand, seldom make use of any other formula than the well-known '*Oṁ maṇi padme Hūṁ!*'

The rosary is used in Tibet for other purposes than that of prayer, as, *e.g.*, divination. The account of this practice is given by Waddell.[1]

The ceremony is performed by the more illiterate people and by the Bon priests. First a short spell is repeated, and then the rosary is breathed upon and a fairly long prayer is recited in which the petitioner begs various religious protectors and guardians that 'truth may descend on this lot,' that light may descend on it, and 'truth and reality appear in it.' After the repetition of this prayer 'the rosary is taken in the palm and well mixed between the two revolving palms and the hands clapped thrice.' Then, closing his eyes, the devotee seizes a portion of the rosary between the thumb and finger of each hand, and, after opening his eyes, counts the intervening beads from each end in threes. The result depends on whether the remainder is one, two, or three in successive countings.

(1) *If one as a remainder comes after one* as the previous remainder, everything is favourable in life, in friendship, in trade, etc. (2) *If two comes after two*, it is bad: 'The cloudless sky will be suddenly darkened and there will be loss of wealth. So Rim-ḥgro must be done repeatedly and the gods must be worshipped, which are the only preventions.' (3) *If three comes after three*, it is very good: 'Prosperity is at hand in trade and everything.' (4) *If three comes after one*, it is good: 'Rice plants will grow on sandy hills, widows will obtain husbands, and poor men will obtain riches.' (5) *If one comes after two*, it is good: 'Every wish will be fulfilled and riches will be found; if one travels to a dangerous place, one will escape every danger.' (6) *If one comes after three*, it is good: 'God's help will always be at hand, therefore worship the gods. (7) *If two comes after three*, it is not very good, it is middling: 'Legal proceedings will come.' (8) *If three comes after two*, it is good: 'Turquoise fountains will spring out and fertilize the grounds, unexpected food will be obtained, and escape is at hand from any danger.' (9) *If two comes after one*, it is bad: 'Contagious disease will come. But if the gods be worshipped and the devils be propitiated, then it will be prevented.'

(*d*) *China.*—The full Buddhist rosary in China has the usual number of 108 beads, with three dividing beads of a different size or colour. As in other countries, the materials composing them vary. There is also a smaller rosary of 18 beads, corresponding to the 18 *lohans* (chief disciples of Buddha). In some rosaries each of these 18 beads is carved into an image of a *lohan*. Sometimes the laity wear this smaller rosary at the waist, when it is perfumed with musk and bears the name *heang-chu*, 'fragrant beads.'[2] The Chinese name for rosary is *su-chu*. The ends of the rosary strings are usually passed through two retaining or terminal beads, one being large and globular in shape, the other small and oval. Sometimes the larger one contains a sacred relic or a charm.[3]

[1] *Proc. U.S. National Mus.* xxxvi. 335 f.
[2] *JASB* lxi. 33.
[3] *Gazetteer of Sikkim*, p. 282.
[1] *Gazetteer of Sikkim*, p. 330 f.
[2] J. F. Davis, *The Chinese*, i. 353.
[3] *Proc. U.S. National Mus.* xxxvi. 338

Part of a Chinese official's costume consists of a rosary with 108 beads which are often of large size, with dividing beads. The latter are sometimes made of richly enamelled silver. This rosary has usually three pendent strings with counter-beads. From the retaining beads sometimes hangs a silk ribbon embroidered with different-coloured glass beads, the patterns being symbolic. Attached to this ribbon there is generally a medallion, and finally an oval bead of some size. One of these oval beads also forms the terminal to each of the three pendent strings, the four being called the 'dewdrops,' the 'disciple beads,' or the 'regents of the four heavens.' They represent the emperor, father, mother, and teacher, to whom a Chinese owes reverence and obedience.[1] These official rosaries are sometimes very costly, and are worn only by dignitaries on State occasions. They are not apparently of religious significance.

As a religious instrument the rosary seems to be chiefly used to count the repetition of set phrases, whereby the devotee stores up merit for himself. If these repetitions are performed at temples, the greater the merit of the votary.[2] The rosary is also used as a means of counting prostrations and prayers. The devotee will prostrate himself and strike the ground with his forehead, at the same time muttering a formula. At the end of each prostration and repetition a bead is moved along the rosary string which hangs round his neck.[3] On occasions of sickness and death there is a ceremonial performance with the rosary. The officiant must either be taken from a certain class of Taoist priests or be a priest of Buddha. On these occasions the priest chants in a monotonous sing-song certain quotations from the sacred books. Count of these repetitions is kept by means of a rosary, and the benefit and merit obtained by them accrue to those who employ the priests and pay for them.[4]

(*e*) *Korea.*—The Buddhist rosaries of Korea have 110 beads, though, according to the classics, the number is 108, the two extra beads being large ones—one at the beginning or head of the rosary usually containing a *swastika*, the other dividing the rosary into two parts. Each of these beads is dedicated to a deity. Every bead on the string has its own special name. The devotee, when using the rosary, repeats the 'Hail thou jewel in the Lotus!' (*Oṁ maṇi padme Hūṁ!*), holding each bead till he has counted a certain number. On laying the rosary aside he repeats the following sentences:

'Oh! the thousand myriad miles of emptiness, the place which is in the midst of the tens of hundred myriad miles of emptiness, the place which is in the midst of the tens of hundred myriads of emptiness, eternal desert where the true Buddha exists. There is eternal existence with Tranquil Peace.'

There is also a small rosary which, if used every day in the four positions or states, viz. going forth, remaining at home, sitting, and lying down, enables the votary to see the land of bliss in his own heart.

'Amita will be his Guardian and Protector, and in whatever country he goes he will find a home.'

The materials of which the rosaries are made have all their intrinsic value, as may be seen from the following:

'Now you can calculate that in repeating the rosary once you will obtain tenfold virtue. If the beads are of lotus seeds you will obtain blessings a thousandfold. If the beads are of pure crystal you will obtain blessings ten thousandfold. But if the beads are made from the Bodhi tree (*Ficus religiosa*) even if you only grasp the Rosary the blessings that you obtain will be incalculable.'

The *Chyei Syek* classic gives certain rules to be observed in connexion with the rosary:

'When you begin chanting the Rosary repeat *Om Akcho Svaha* ("Hail Akchobya [a fabulous Buddha], may the race be perpetuated!") twenty-one times. When you string the beads, after each one repeat *Om mani padme Hum* twenty-one times, and, after you have finished, repeat *Om Vairochana* (the personification of essential bodhi and absolute purity) *Svaha* twenty-one times. Then recite the following poetry:

The Rosary which I take includes the world of Buddha
Of Emptiness making a cord and putting all thereon.
The Peaceful *Sana* where non-existence is
In the Nest being seen and delivered by Amita.'

[1] *Proc. U.S. National Mus.* xxxvi. 339.
[2] J. Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese*, ii. 386 f.
[3] *Ib.* p. 458. [4] *Ib.* p. 387.

On the walls of many of the Buddhist temples in Korea may be seen the classic of the rosary. A copy of one of these was obtained by E. B. Landis, who says:

'The date and authorship I do not know, but it is evidently very old, as it contains many Chinese characters that are now practically obsolete. The copy in my possession was printed from blocks cut at *Pong Eui Sa* (The Temple of the Receiving of Benefits) located at Kwang Chyou. The expense incurred in cutting these blocks was paid by a virgin by the name 朴 *Pak*, who wishes to obtain for herself and parents an abundance of merit.'[1]

(*f*) *Japan.*—It is in Japan that the Buddhist rosary reaches its most complicated form, each sect having its own special rosary. There is also the one known as the *sho-zuku-jiu-dzu*, or the rosary used by all sects in common.

It consists of 112 beads, divided into two equal parts by two large beads, called the upper parent bead (*ten-no-oya-dama*) and the lower parent bead (*chi-no-oya-dama*). From the upper parent bead hang two strings on which are threaded 21 beads smaller than those on the main string, with terminal beads of elongated form called *tsuyu-dama* (dewdrop beads). They are strung in the following way. Just below the upper parent bead on the left pendent string is a solitary bead; below this the strings are knotted. Then, on each string, are five more beads and another knot; again other five beads on each pendant, both of which terminate in a dewdrop bead. The collective name for these pendent beads is *kami-deshi* ('superior disciples'). The solitary bead is used to show how the rosary should be held. This bead should be on the left hand, thus ensuring the right signification to each bead during prayer.

From the lower parent bead hang three strings, two with five small beads each and the terminal dewdrop beads. These two strings are called the *shimo-deshi* ('inferior disciples'). The third string has ten beads, but is without a dewdrop bead. These are used merely as counters and are called *kadzu-tori*. The four dewdrop beads are also called *shi-ten-no*, the four regents who are said to preside over the four quarters of the universe. The rosary represents metaphorically the Buddhist pantheon, and the position of the dewdrop beads is thought to symbolize their actual positions of power and authority, as, according to Buddhist philosophy, they preside for good or evil over this and all other worlds. Throughout all the Japanese rosaries names of deities or saints are assigned to certain beads.

On the main string of this rosary are dividing beads. At an interval of seven beads on either side of the upper parent bead is a small bead, usually of a different material from the other beads, and again at a further interval of fourteen beads are two more dividing beads, one on each side, similar to the other dividing beads. These beads show where a special invocation should be uttered, the rosary being at the same time raised to the forehead with a reverence.

The materials of which Japanese rosaries are made vary considerably according to fashion or the taste or wealth of the owner. In former times they were made from the wood of the *bodhi*-tree (*pipal*-tree in India), for under its shade Śākyamuni is said to have attained supreme and universal enlightenment. The difficulty of obtaining this wood probably accounts for the fact that common rosaries are now often made of the wood of the cherry- and plum-trees.

The *sho-zuku-jiu-dzu* is the rosary usually carried by monks and laity of all sects, on all occasions of religious state, on visits of ceremony, at funerals, etc.

Besides the rosaries of the separate sects there are three ceremonies performed for special purposes in which the rosary plays an important part. They are known under the names of *kanō*, *ki-tō*, and *goma*.

(1) *Kanō.*—This ceremony is for the recital of 'prayers of request' (of a just nature) to a deity who has the power of acceding to or refusing the petitions of the devotee. It involves a special manipulation of the rosary, which is held by both hands, the petitioner raising it very reverently and slowly to the forehead or to the chin as the 'prayers of request' are repeated. Also during prayer the beads are rubbed up and down between the hands in a more or less energetic manner, according to the fervour of the petitioner, causing an unpleasant and grating noise. The members of the orthodox school, however, prefer to keep to the 'Middle Path,' considering too extreme an exhibition of this sort to be vulgar.

(2) *Ki-tō.*—This ceremony is peculiar to the Tendai, Shingon, and Nichiren sects—Riyō-bu—or those Buddhist sects which have accepted certain Shintō formulæ.

[1] All the information on Korean rosaries is obtained from E. B. Landis, in *The Korean Repository*, vol. ii. no. i.

(3) *Goma.*—There are two varieties of this ceremony, the first being that of *go-ki-to* and *goma* combined, which is confined to the Tendai and Shingon sects. The ritual is as follows. In front of the altar in the temples of these two denominations stands a large square wooden box, lined inside with metal, and bearing the name of *goma-dan*. In this box a fire is lit with pieces of a certain kind of wood which crackles a good deal and sends out a number of sparks on all sides. While this is in progress, the monk who is officiating repeats the prayers with great vigour, using the rosary in the way described above under *kanō*. This ceremony is believed to cure and prevent disease, and also to dispel evil spirits.

The second variety of this ceremony is called the *go-ki-to*, being performed without the *goma*. This form is peculiar to the Nichiren sect, and the method of manipulating the rosary is also characteristic. The rosary itself differs somewhat from that in ordinary use. The procedure is as follows. The rosary is tied to a short wooden sword of about five inches in length, the large beads being fastened near to the point. The sword is inscribed with the *dai-moku*, or original prayer of the creed, together with other incantatory prayers. The monk holds the sword in his right hand and repeats the first article of the creed, making at the same time nine passes in the air with the sword. These passes are supposed to correspond (mentally) with the written character which means 'Mysterious!' 'Wonderful!' though the figure sometimes varies. The metre of the prayers recited harmonizes with the nine passes used in making these figures. This is called *ku-ji wo kiru*, cutting the nine figures or words, and breaking the spell. The sword cuts are delivered in a short jerky way, the rosary at the same time clicking against the sword, thus helping to mark time. Only monks who have undergone a special training may officiate in this rite. The monks are trained at a celebrated monastery of the Nichiren sect in Shinōsa. The course lasts for 100 days and generally takes place in the winter. The curriculum prescribed is very severe, and, at the end of the course, should the candidate be successful in passing the test examination, he is granted a diploma by the abbot.[1]

According to one authority,[2] the rosary in Japan plays an important part in social as well as in religious life. In the tea-room there is always a hook on which to hang a rosary; a rosary of value, historical or other, is much appreciated as an ornament for this room. It is said that rosaries were carried by all the soldiers in the late Russo-Japanese war. The dead also have a rosary slipped on the wrist, whether they are buried or cremated.

At some of the larger temples and at all places of popular pilgrimage there are special shops for the sale of rosaries, having as their sign an enormous rosary hung outside. The devout attach especial value to a rosary that has been consecrated over the sacred flame and incense smoke of a venerated temple.

3. Muhammadan.—The rosary used by followers of Islām generally consists of 99 beads with a terminal bead called the *imām*, 'leader.' Its chief use is for counting the recital of the 99 names, or attributes, of God, the *imām* being sometimes used for the essential name, Allāh. This rosary is divided into three parts, 33 beads in each, by beads of another material or shape, or by tassels which are often made of gold thread or of bright coloured silks. According to some authorities, there is another variety of the rosary, not often used, which has 101 beads to correspond with the 101 names of the Prophet.[3] A smaller rosary of 33 beads is very commonly used, and the devotee will go round this three times to get the full repetition of the 99 names. In Persia and India the Muhammadan rosary is called *tasbih*, in Egypt *subhah*, from an Arabic verb meaning 'to praise,' 'to exalt.' At the present day it is used chiefly by the older or more devout Muhammadans; among the younger people it is tending to become merely something to hold in the hand and finger during leisure hours.

Tradition says that the Prophet attributed great merit to those who recited the names of God and repeated certain formulæ. 'Verily,' he says, 'there are ninety-nine names of God, and whoever recites them shall enter into Paradise,' and, 'Whoever recites this sentence [the *tasbih*, "I extol the holiness of God," and the *tahmid*, "God be praised"] a hundred times, morning and evening, will have all his sins forgiven.'[1]

'Umar ibn Shu'aib relates that the Prophet said: 'He who recites "God be praised" [*al Hamdu li-'llah!*] a hundred times in the morning and again a hundred times in the evening shall be like a person who has provided one hundred horsemen for a *jihad*, or "religious war."'[2] At another time the Prophet promises, as a reward for the repetition of a sacred formula, that the devotee 'shall receive rewards equal to the emancipating of ten slaves, and shall have one hundred good deeds recorded to his account, and one hundred of his sins shall be blotted out, and the words shall be a protection from the devil.'[3]

The date of the introduction of the rosary among Muhammadans is uncertain. It has been often assumed that it was taken over by them in a fully developed form from Buddhism. But tradition and various passages in the early literature point to a primitive form of rosary, such as would not have been used if borrowed from a people who had it already in a highly developed form.

Muhammadan tradition points to a very early use of the rosary, dating it back even to the time of the Prophet himself. In support of this belief it is related that Muhammad reproached some women for using pebbles in repeating the *tasbih*, etc., suggesting that they should rather count them on their fingers.[4] Another tradition, collected in the 9th cent. A.D., relates that Abu Abd al-Rahman, on visiting a mosque and seeing some of the worshippers engaged under a leader in the recitation of 100 *takbirs*, 100 *tahlils*, and 100 *tasbihs*, keeping count of these by means of pebbles, reproached them and said: 'Rather count your sins and I shall guarantee you that nothing of your good works will be lost.'[5] Again, Abdallah, son of Khalifah 'Umar, who died in A.D. 692, on noticing a man picking up pebbles as a means of counting his petitions while he prayed, said: 'Do not do that, for this comes from Satan.'[6] The last two quotations seem to show that, though a very primitive method of counting prayers was resorted to, the practice was still more or less looked down upon by those of rank or education.

The materials of which the rosaries are made are numerous, though each sect tends to have its own specially sacred form of bead. The Wahhabis, who are followers of the reformer Abd al-Wahhab, use their fingers on which to count their repetitions, their founder regarding a more developed form of rosary as an abomination and its use as a practice not sanctioned by the Qur'ān.[7] Wooden beads are used by all sects, and beads made of clay from Mecca are highly valued. Pilgrims from this sacred city sometimes bring such rosaries back with them.[8] Date stones are also much used, as are also horn and imitation pearls and coral. Beads made of earth from Kerbala, where Ḥusain is buried, are sacred to the Shī'ahs and are used by members of this sect only. They are often of a greenish-yellow colour. These beads are believed to turn red on the 9th day of Muḥarram, the night on which Ḥusain was killed. A rosary from India used by Arabs of the Sunni sect has beads made of the seeds of the *Cannabis indica*. These seeds are black in colour and are inlaid with silver. The terminal to this rosary is a complicated knot in bright coloured silk, the knot being of a form characteristic of Muhammadan rosaries. This rosary is said to have been made in Mecca. Another material often used is camel bone. Sometimes these beads are dyed red in honour of Ḥusain, who was slain in his conflict with Yazid, the seventh Khalifah, the red colour representing his blood. Sometimes the beads are dyed green, this being Ḥasan's colour. Ḥasan, Ḥusain's elder brother, met his death by poisoning. The poison turned his body green after death; hence these beads are in memory of his tragic end. *Faqīrs*, on the other hand, prefer glass beads of various colours, and also amber or agate.[9]

In Egypt on the first night after a burial certain ceremonies take place at the house of the deceased, among them being that of the *subhah*, or rosary.

[1] *Journ. Asiatic Soc. of Japan*, ix. 178–182.
[2] *Proc. U.S. National Mus.* xxxvi. 342.
[3] *Ib.* 348, note 1; Dr. Gaster, on the other hand, has informed the writer of this article that the 101 beads correspond not with the names of the Prophet, but with 101 names of Allāh.

[1] *Proc. U.S. National Mus.* xxxvi. 348.
[2] *DI*, p. 625, *s.v.* 'Tahmīd.'
[3] *Ib.* p. 625, *s.v.* 'Tahlīl.'
[4] *Proc. U.S. National Mus.* xxxvi. 349.
[5] H. Thurston, *Journ. Soc. Arts*, l. 265.
[6] *Proc. U.S. National Mus.* xxxvi. 349.
[7] *Ib.*
[8] E. W. Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 444.
[9] Crooke, p. 410.

After nightfall a certain number of *faqírs*, sometimes as many as 50, assemble, one of them bringing a large rosary of 1000 beads, each bead being about the size of a pigeon's egg. Certain passages from the Qur'ān are recited, after which the formula 'There is no deity but God' is repeated 3000 times. Count of these repetitions is kept by one of the *faqírs* by means of the rosary. They often rest and refresh themselves with coffee at the end of each round of the rosary. Certain other sentences are recited after this and then one of the officiants asks his companions, 'Have ye transferred [the merit of] what ye have recited to the soul of the deceased?' They reply, 'We have transferred it,' and add, 'and peace be on the Apostles, and praise be to God, the Lord of all creatures.'

Thus ends the ceremony of the *subhah*, which is repeated on the second and third nights if the family can afford it. A similar performance takes place when news of the death of a near relative is received.[1]

A further interest is attached to this ceremony in Upper Egypt, because a primitive form of rosary is often used on this occasion.

A *faqír* will bring a plain cord with him, and, as he recites each formula or passage from the Qur'ān, he makes a knot in his cord till he has reached 1000. The merit in this case also is conveyed to the deceased. The cord with its knots is afterwards thrown away.

The rosary is also used in Egypt in what is called making an *istikhārah*, 'application for the favour of Heaven, or for direction in the right course.' Lane[2] describes it as follows:

The performer takes hold of any two points of a rosary; after reciting the *Fātiḥah* (1st chapter of the Qur'ān) three times, he then counts the beads between these two points, saying, as he passes the first bead through his fingers, '[I extol] the perfection of God'; in passing the second, 'Praise be to God'; in passing the third, 'There is no deity but God,' repeating these formulæ in the same order to the last bead. If the first formula falls to the last bead, the answer is affirmative and favourable; if to the second, indifferent; but, if to the last, it is negative.

4. Christian.—The introduction of the rosary among Christians has been attributed to various people, among them being St. Aybert de Crespin, Peter the Hermit, and St. Dominic. The Roman Breviary says of the last-named that he 'was admonished by the Blessed Virgin to preach the rosary as a special remedy against heresy and sin.'[3] There has been a fairly widely accepted theory that the rosary was introduced into Europe at the time of the Crusades, having been imitated from Muhammadans. But later research seems to show that, though it is possible that such a means of counting prayers may have become more popular at this period, an earlier date should be assigned for its use in Western Europe. It is stated by William of Malmesbury[4] that the Lady Godiva of Coventry, wife of Count Leofric, bequeathed to the monastery which she founded 'a circlet of gems which she had threaded on a string, in order that by fingering them one by one as she successively recited her prayers she might not fall short of the exact number.' Lady Godiva died before 1070, so that some mnemonic device seems to have been in use prior to the preaching of the Crusades. The case of the Egyptian abbot Paul, who died in 341, is related by Sozomen (*c.* 400–450) in his *Ecclesiastical History*,[5] where it is stated that the saint daily recited 300 prayers, keeping count by means of pebbles gathered in his cloak, dropping one of them at the end of each prayer. Here is seen a much earlier and more primitive system of record-keeping, which suggests that the rosary had evolved independently in some centres, and had not been taken over from others, where presumably it was already in a fairly developed form.

By the 13th cent. the making of paternosters, as the beads were then called, had become a specialized industry both in Paris and in London. In the former city the workers were divided into four different gilds or companies, each company being distinguished according to the material in which its members worked. In London, at the same period, certain citizens were known as 'paternosterers.' These craftsmen probably resided in Paternoster Row and Ave Maria Lane, being thus conveniently close to the great devotional centre of London, under the shadow of St. Paul's cathedral.[1]

That the rosary probably arose from a practice in early Christian times of making repeated genuflexions and prostrations, sometimes combined with prayers or sacred formulæ, has been shown by the last-named authority.[2] This form of self-discipline was practised in Eastern Europe and in Ireland, spreading from these two widely separated centres over the greater part of Europe. Such a form of asceticism survives in the Greek Church at the present day, as will be seen below.

(*a*) *Roman Catholic.* — The complete Roman Catholic rosary of the present day consists of 150 beads, these being divided into decades by fifteen beads of larger size, sometimes of slightly different shape. These beads form the chaplet. A pendant is usually attached consisting of a cross or crucifix, and one large and three smaller beads, the latter being similar to those on the chaplet forming the decades.

This pendant is little used in practice, but the devotee, after making the sign of the cross, generally begins at once to recite the Pater, followed by ten Aves and a Gloria. This process is repeated for each decade, the Paternosters being recited on the larger beads, the Aves on the small ones. As the 150 Aves correspond to the number of the Psalms, the name 'Our Lady's Psalter' was given to this devotion from an early period. This is the full Dominican rosary, the institution of which a tradition of the order ascribes to St. Dominic himself.

To each of the fifteen decades is assigned for meditation one of the principal mysteries in the life of Christ or of the Virgin Mary. These fifteen mysteries are divided into three parts, viz. five joyful, five sorrowful, and five glorious mysteries.

The five joyful mysteries are: (1) the Annunciation, (2) the Visitation, (3) the Nativity, (4) the Presentation, (5) the Finding of the Child Jesus in the Temple.

The five sorrowful mysteries are: (1) the Agony in the Garden, (2) the Scourging, (3) the Crowning with thorns, (4) Jesus carrying His Cross, (5) the Crucifixion.

The five glorious mysteries are: (1) the Resurrection, (2) the Ascension, (3) the Descent of the Holy Ghost, (4) the Assumption, (5) the Crowning of the Virgin Mary, the last two mysteries being accepted on the authority of tradition.[3]

In practice the recitation is commonly limited to one of these sets at a time, and the rosary itself usually consists of five decades only and five Paternosters. The fifteen decades may, of course, be said by going round the rosary three times.[4]

There are other special rosaries in use, among them being the following:

The Crown of Jesus, with 33 Paternosters to commemorate the 33 years of Christ's life on earth, and five Aves in honour of the five wounds.[5] This devotion was first promoted by St. Michael of Florence, in 1516. The beads used must be blessed and indulgenced by a Camaldolese monk or priest with special power from Rome.

Chaplet of the Sacred Heart, with five large beads in honour

[1] Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 581 f. [2] *Ib.* p. 270.
[3] Lessons for the feast of the Rosary, first Sunday of October.
[4] *Gesta Pontificum* (Rolls Series), bk. iv. ch. ii., quoted by Thurston, *Journ. Soc. Arts*, l. 266; H. P. Feasey, *The Reliquary*, vol. v. no. 3, p. 168.
[5] vi. 29.

[1] Thurston (*Journ. Soc. Arts*, l. 262) says that there was also in the 14th cent. another Paternoster Lane located beside the Thames in the Vintry ward, close to the church called Paternoster Church, or St. Michael's the Royal. This quarter of London was then inhabited by Gascon vintners who brought their goods by ship up the Thames. They would require their own forms of this devotion, and Thurston suggests that French *patenôtriers* settled in this locality in order to supply this want.
[2] Thurston, 'Genuflexions and Aves: A Study in Rosary Origins,' *The Month*, cxxvii. [1916] 441 ff., 546 ff.
[3] *Proc. U.S. National Mus.* xxxvi. 351.
[4] *Ib.* [5] *Ib.* p. 358, pl. 30, fig. 3.

of the five wounds, and 33 small beads in honour of the 33 years of His life.

Chaplet of Thanksgiving.

Chaplet of the Five Wounds.

Chaplet of the Seven Dolours, consisting of 49 Aves divided into seven groups of seven by seven Paternosters, and three more Aves in honour of the tears shed by the Virgin Mary. The Seven Dolours are as follows: (1) the prophecy of Simeon, (2) the flight into Egypt, (3) the loss of Jesus for three days, (4) the Virgin's meeting Jesus carrying His Cross, (5) her standing beneath the Cross on Calvary, (6) her receiving beneath the Cross the sacred body of Jesus, (7) her witnessing the burial of the body of Jesus.

The Crown of the Twelve Stars, or *Rosary of the Immaculate Conception*, consisting of twelve small beads in three sets of four, divided by three larger beads. This rosary was composed by a Capuchin Friar of Bologna and approved by a brief of Pope Pius IX., 22nd June 1855.

Chaplet of the Dead, with 40 small beads, divided into four sets of ten by three larger beads. It is used in honour of the 40 hours during which Christ's body lay in the Sepulchre.

The Bridgettine Rosary, with 63 Aves and seven Paternosters. St. Bridget was a Swedish saint, and the 63 small beads in her rosary are to commemorate the 63 years which the Virgin Mary is said to have lived, the seven Paternosters to commemorate her seven sorrows and seven joys.[1]

There are several other varieties of rosaries used by particular religious bodies or for special devotions.

Rosaries are blessed with prayers and holy water by some authorized priest in order to make them 'instruments of grace.'

The name 'rosary,' now given to this devotion, seems to be of comparatively late date—not appearing, according to one authority, till the 15th century.[2] In earlier times other names were applied, such as *patriloquium*, *serta*, *numeralia*, *calculi*, etc.

The word 'bead' (Anglo-Saxon *beade* or *bede*) meant originally 'a prayer.' In the *Vision of Piers Plowman* the expression *bedes byddyng* is found. Cf. Spenser's *Faerie Queene*:

> 'All night she spent in bidding of her bedes
> And all the day in doing good and godly deeds.'[3]

The expression 'a pair of beads,' sometimes met with in early literature, means 'a set of beads.' This term is used in the Prologue of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, where the Prioress carries her beads upon her arm:

> 'Of smal coral aboute hir arm she bar
> A peire of bedes, gauded al with grene;
> And ther-on heng a broche of gold ful shene,
> On which ther was first write a crowned A,
> And after, *Amor vincit omnia*.'

'Gauded al with grene' means having the gawdies green. These gawdies were the larger beads.

The beads were sometimes worn by ladies as a girdle. One set of beads belonging to Isabella Hylls, in 1497, is spoken of as 'a payr of bedes of corell, with six gawds ovyer gylt, and a green gyrdyl with boculle and penant and fourteen studs therein.'[4]

Early representations of prayer-beads on tombs sometimes exhibit the rosary not as a circle but, especially in the case of men, as a single string of ten beads with the two ends unattached and hanging free. Occasionally the two ends are attached at two different points of a girdle. Such a form is also seen in some old pictures.[5]

In the Middle Ages various objects were sometimes attached to the rosary, such as signet rings, cameos, and brooches. This led to a certain amount of extravagance, and efforts were made to check it; the price to be given for a rosary was limited, and no one person could possess more than three or four.[6]

Sometimes beads were carried as a sign of penance, this being often done by pilgrims who visited various holy places in Rome, and the wearing of such beads at the girdle became a distinctive sign of membership of a religious confraternity.

[1] *Proc. U.S. National Mus.* xxxvi. 354; cf. Thurston, 'The So-called Bridgettine Rosary,' *The Month*, c. [1902] 189–203.
[2] *Proc. U.S. National Mus.* xxxvi. 351 f.; cf. Thurston, 'The Name of the Rosary,' *The Month*, iii. [1908] 518 ff., 610 ff.
[3] *Proc. U.S. National Mus.* xxxvi. 352.
[4] Feasey, *The Reliquary*, vol. v. no. 3, p. 167.
[5] Cf. *ib.* pp. 162–164, figs. 1, 3, 4, 5.
[6] *Proc. U.S. National Mus.* xxxvi. 354 f.

Beads were most highly valued if they had originally belonged to a person of renowned sanctity, or if they had touched the relics of some saint. In this case they were believed to possess a healing virtue.[1] Eastern Christians specially valued rosaries which had been made in Jerusalem or other sacred spots in Palestine.[2]

The materials composing the beads varied, and still vary, very much, often depending, as is the case among other religions, on the wealth and rank of the devotee, some being so valuable that they were left as legacies. Chaplets of wood were used at funerals by poor bedesmen, and in 1451 Lord John Scrope wills that 'twenty-four poor men clothed in white gowns and hoods, each of them having a new set of wooden beads,' should pray (on them) for him at his funeral, with the liberty to 'stand, sit, or kneel' at their pleasure.[3]

The Living Rosary.—This is a pious exercise founded on the Dominican rosary. It was instituted by Sister Maria Jaricott, to whom the Society for the Propagation of the Faith owes its existence. It was approved by Pope Gregory XVI. in 1832 and has since that date been established all over the world. Fifteen persons associate together for the purposes of this devotion. One of their number is elected president, and his duty is to superintend the association. Once every month he selects for himself and for his fellow-members one of the fifteen mysteries of the rosary. Each member recites daily one decade, with the Gloria Patri, meditating on the mystery allotted to him. The person to whom the first mystery is given recites, in addition to the above, the Creed once and the Ave thrice. At the conclusion of the decade each person recites the following: 'May the Divine Heart of Jesus and the most pure Heart of Mary be ever known, loved, honoured, and imitated in all places throughout the world.'

The Feast of the Rosary.—This feast is observed on the 1st Sunday in October, in memory of the battle of Lepanto, which took place on this day in 1571. This battle was won while the confraternity at Rome were praying for Christian success. Thereafter Pius V. ordered an annual commemoration of 'St. Mary of Victory,' and, by bull in 1583, Gregory XIII. set aside this particular Sunday as the Feast of the Rosary of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which was to be observed by all churches which maintained an altar in honour of the rosary. Finally, Clement XI., by bull of 3rd Oct. 1716, decreed that the feast should be observed by all churches throughout Christendom.[4]

The rosary in witchcraft. — In S. Italy the rosary, among other things, is used by witches who undertake to break spells. Certain objects are hung under the bed of a man made impotent, and the witch provides herself with a packet of unwashed herbs and a rosary without the medals or other blessed objects. She then tears open the packet and scatters its contents on the ground, meanwhile saying, 'Come io sciolgo questo mazzo, cosi sciolgo questo c-o.'[5]

Rosary rings. — Another method of counting prayers is by means of the rosary or decade rings. These rings are worn on the finger and usually have ten bosses or knobs for the ten Aves, with occasionally an eleventh for a Paternoster, and sometimes an additional twelfth boss for the repetition of the Creed. The earliest date assigned to these rings by one authority is the 14th century.[6] Such rings were worn by some classes of devotees during the hours devoted to repose, so that, should they wake during the night, they might repeat

[1] *Proc. U.S. National Mus.* xxxvi. 355. [2] *Ib.*
[3] Feasey, *The Reliquary*, vol. v. no. 3, p. 178.
[4] *EBr*[11], *s.v.* 'Rosary.' [5] *FL* viii. [1897] 7 f.
[6] G. F. Kunz, *Rings for the Finger*, Philadelphia, 1917, p. 34

a certain number of prayers, keeping count by means of the bosses on the ring.[1]

The Knights of Malta frequently wore chaplet rings of gold or silver, with ten bosses in relief and a cross. These rings were said to have been invented by them. Their use, in place of the ordinary rosary, was spreading rapidly, till in 1836 the matter was referred to the tribunal of penitentiaries by Pope Gregory XVI. This tribunal then decided that such rings could not be blessed 'with the appropriate indulgences.'[2]

(*b*) *Orthodox Churches.* — In both Greek and Slavic monasteries part of the investiture of the Little Habit and the Great Habit is a knotted cord which is bestowed ceremonially upon the monk or nun.

The Superior takes the *vervitsa* (knotted cord) in his left hand, and says: 'Take, Brother N., the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God, for continual prayer to Jesus; for thou must always have the Name of the Lord Jesus in mind, in heart, and on thy lips, ever saying: "Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy upon me a sinner." Let us all say for him "Lord have mercy."' '*And, blessing the Vervitsa with his right hand, he giveth it to the Candidate; while the Brethren sing thrice,* "Lord have mercy." *And he, taking the Vervitsa, kisseth it and the right hand of the Superior.*'[3]

The knotted cord, as has already been pointed out, is possibly a very primitive form of rosary, and, in this case, it is seen surviving in a highly ceremonial function.

The Greeks call the knotted cord a *komvoschinion* (κομβοσχίνιον); the Russians give it the old Slavic name of *vervitsa* ('string'). In popular language it bears the name *lestovka* because of its resemblance to a ladder (*lestnitsa*).[4] There is also a string of beads called *komvologion* (κομβολόγιον) by the Greeks, and *chotki* by the Russians. This does not appear to be a religious appliance, it being used by ecclesiastics and laity alike merely as an ornament or as something to hold in the hand.[5]

The *komvoschinion* used by the monks on Mount Athos at the present day has 100 knots, divided by three beads of large size into four equal parts. It has a pendant with three more knots, and terminates with a small cross-shaped tassel. This rosary is used by the *megaloschemos* (monk of the highest grade, called *skhimnik* in the Slavic monasteries) to keep count of a definite number of prostrations every day, viz. 12×100 prostrations down to the ground, and in the evening 300 more, meanwhile repeating the following prayer: 'Lord Jesus Christ, Son and Word of the Living God, through the intercessions of thine all-pure Mother and of all thy Saints, have mercy and deliver us.' Sometimes these prostrations are imposed on a monk as a penance, in which case the accompanying prayer is: 'Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy upon me, a sinner.' The prostrations may vary in character thus: ten great metanoias (down to the ground), thirty little metanoias (down to the hips), and the prayer 'Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy upon me, a sinner,' repeated sixty times. This has to be done five times a day. The *komvoschinion* is also used for counting any kind of prayers or devotional exercises.[6]

The reason assigned for the adoption of the number 100×3 is as follows:

It corresponds 'with the number of the Psalms and Little Doxologies said at the Canonical Hours. The whole Psalter is divided into 20 portions, each of which is a *kathisma* (κάθισμα, seat), because it is followed by a rest or pause. Each *kathisma* consists of three parts, each part ending with the Little Doxology ("Glory be," etc.) and a threefold Alleluia. For the sake of those unable to read, St. Basil directed that, instead of a *kathisma*, one of the following prayers might be said 300 times: "Lord, have mercy," or "Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy upon me a sinner," or "Lord Jesus Christ, for the sake of Theotokos, have mercy upon me a sinner." In other words, the prayer is to be said 100 times for each little Doxology of the *kathisma*, *i.e.* for each of the three parts of the portion of the Psalms ending with the "Glory be," etc., and the Alleluia. The large beads which separate the knots are merely intended to represent the ending of the three parts of the *kathisma*, and no prayer is connected with them.'[7]

This form of *komvoschinion* is used by Hellenic monks in Greece, Turkey, and the East generally, as well as on Mount Athos.

Among the Russian monks the knotted cord used is the old Slavic *vervitsa*. It has 103 knots or beads, which are separated into unequal groups by larger beads. The groups of beads are as follows: $17+33+40+12$, and an additional small bead at the end. In the Slavic *vervitsa* the lower ends are fastened together; they terminate in three flat triangles, inscribed and ornamented. Sometimes these rosaries are made of little rolls of leather chain-stitched together, divided into groups by larger rolls. The terminals are also of leather, triangular in shape, inscribed in Church Slavic (ancient Slavic) with the words 'Jesus Christ, have mercy upon me, a sinner.' This kind of rosary calls to mind the popular name for it, viz. *lestovka*, as it certainly might be thought to resemble a ladder in shape.[1] This rosary is also used for counting a large number of prostrations. For instance, if a monk is prevented from saying the Typica (the selection of Psalms sung at certain offices), he makes instead 700 metanoias; he makes 500 instead of Hesperinos (Vespers), 200 in place of Apodeipnon (Compline), and 500 in place of Orthros (Lauds).[2]

The use of the *komvoschinion* or *vervitsa* is a purely monastic or ascetic devotion; it is not indulged in by the Orthodox laity, though the laity of the Russian sects called Old Believers have adopted it. Whenever this devotion is seen in use among the Uniates outside the monasteries, it has been copied from the rosary as used among the laity in the West.[3]

The rosary as a charm.—In certain parts of Poland, namely in the districts of Piotrkow, Czenstochowa, and Plock, the following custom is in use to keep off lightning:

During a storm a rosary—either a genuine one made of cedar-wood from the Holy Land or one made in imitation—is carried round the house three times, together with a little bell called 'the bell of Loreto' (associated with the Holy Mother of Loreto in Italy) and sometimes also a lighted candle, blessed on Candlemas Day (2nd Feb.). The bell is rung, and the rosary is used with the words 'God save us' at the large beads and 'Holy Mother, be our mediator' at the small ones.[4]

(*c*) *Coptic.*—The rosaries used by the Copts in Egypt have 41 beads, or sometimes 81. They are used for counting a similar number of repetitions of the 'Kyrie eleison.' This petition is repeated in Arabic or Coptic, with the addition, at the end, of a short prayer in Coptic. Sometimes the Copts resort to what is, presumably, a more primitive method of keeping record of their prayers, and count on their fingers.[5]

5. Jewish. — Among the Jews the rosary has lost all religious importance, having been taken over by them from the Turks and Greeks. They use it merely as a pastime on the Sabbaths and holy days. No manual labour being permitted on those days, they occupy themselves with passing the beads through their fingers. These rosaries sometimes have 32 beads, sometimes 99.[6]

LITERATURE.—i. *India.*—*Proc. U.S. National Mus.* xxxvi. [Washington, 1909]; M. Monier-Williams, *Modern India and the Indians*[3], London, 1879; W. Crooke, *Things Indian*, do. 1906, pp. 407–419, *NINQ* iii. [1893], iv. [1894]; Monier-Williams, *Religious Thought and Life in India*, London, 1883; *PNQ* iii. [1885]; G. Watt, *Dict. of the Economic Products of India*, London and Calcutta, 1889–93, iv.

[1] *Proc. U.S. National Mus.* xxxvi. 355. [2] Kunz, p. 35.
[3] N. F. Robinson, *Monasticism in the Orthodox Churches*, London, 1916, p. 159 f.
[4] *Ib.* p. 155. [5] *Ib.* 154 f.
[6] *Ib.* p. 155. [7] *Ib.* p. 155 f.

[1] Specimen in Tylor Coll., Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford.
[2] Robinson, p. 156 f. [3] *Ib.* p. 157.
[4] The writer of this article is indebted to Miss Czaplicka for this information.
[5] Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 541.
[6] Dr. Gaster has suggested to the writer of this article that there may be a kabbalistic reason for the number 32. It is the mystical number for the 'ways of wisdom' by which God created the world. They stand at the beginning of the so-called Book of Creation, and they play an important rôle in the kabbalistic literature. It may be that this has influenced the number of beads on the smaller rosaries.

ii. *Burma.* — See L. A. Waddell, *JASB* lxi. [1893] 33, *Gazetteer of Sikkim*, Calcutta, 1894, p. 282.
iii. *Tibet.* — *Gazetteer of Sikkim*, Calcutta, 1894; L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895, *JASB* lxi.
iv. *China.*—J. F. Davis, *The Chinese*, 2 vols., London, 1836; J. Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese*, do. 1866, ii.
v. *Korea.*—*The Korean Repository*, vol. ii. no. 1 [Jan. 1895].
vi. *Japan.*—*Journ. Asiatic Soc. of Japan*, ix. [1881].
vii. *Muhammadan.*—*DI*, London, 1885; H. Thurston, *Journ. Soc. Arts*, l. [1902]; E. W. Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, new ed., London, 1895.
viii. *Christian.*—H. P. Feasey, *The Reliquary*, vol. v. no. 2 [1899], no. 3 [1899], 'The Instrument of the Rosary,' pts. 1 and 2; H. Thurston, *The Month*, xcvi. [1900] 403 ff., 513 ff., 620 ff., xcvii. [1901] 67 ff., 172 ff., 286 ff., 383 ff., c. [1902] 189 ff., cxi. [1908] 518 ff., 610 ff., cxxi. [1913] 162 ff., cxxvii. [1916] 441 ff., 646 ff.; F. T. Esser, *Unserer lieben Frauen Rosenkranz*, Paderborn, 1889, 'Zur Archäologie der Paternoster Schnur,' in *Compte rendu du quatrième Congrès Scientifique International des Catholiques*, Freiburg, 1898; H. Holzapfel, *St. Dominikus und der Rosenkranz*, Munich, 1903; *EBr*[11], *s.v.* 'Rosary.'

WINIFRED S. BLACKMAN.

ROSICRUCIANS. — When considering the history of the Rosicrucians, we have to bear in mind that members of that body were, and are, pledged to secrecy, and that the paucity of records is a proof of their sincerity and devotion. But it is permissible to give some data of the history of the Society since its foundation about the year 1420.

Christian Rosencreuz was born in the year 1378. His parents were noble, and he was educated at a monastery. His education being completed, he travelled in the Holy Land, taking with him as companion and guide a certain P.A.L., who, however, died on reaching Cyprus. After a delay caused by this untimely event, Rosencreuz proceeded on his travels alone, and, on reaching Damascus, he placed himself in the hands of certain wise men with whom he continued his studies, and from whom he derived much information respecting their philosophy and science. Thence he journeyed to Egypt, to Fez, and to Spain, gathering in each place a store of learning which he was to use in the development of the fraternity which afterwards bore his name. In the year 1413 he reached Austria, and after five years' preparation, during which he collated his knowledge, he chose three companions, Fratres G.V., I.A. (who, it was noted, was not a German), and I.O.; to them he imparted his knowledge and the invaluable results of his travels, which included religion, philosophy, and the science of medicine. These four were the original members of the Society of the Rose and Cross. Their communications with each other were made by means of a magical alphabet, language, and dictionary, which assured secrecy; their books *M* (*Magicon*), *Axiomata*, *Rota Mundi*, and *Protheus* are known. They built from their own designs a home for the fraternity, which they named 'Domus Sancti Spiritus,' and a few years later increased their number by the creation of a second circle consisting of four other fratres, namely R.C. (a cousin of Rosencreuz), B. (a draughtsman and painter), G.G., and P.D., who was appointed secretary, thus completing the scheme of work. Their declared object, as narrated in the *Confessio*, was, without interfering with the religious or political actions of States, to improve mankind by the discovery of the true philosophy. While two of the fratres were always with the founder, the others went about doing good works, relieving the poor and attending to the sick. Thus the fraternity was composed of students of religion, philosophy, and medicine, who also practised acts of benevolence.

They were bound by six rules: (1) to profess nothing, but to cure the sick, and that freely; (2) to wear only the dress of the country in which they were; (3) to assemble at the Domus Sancti Spiritus once a year on a certain day (the festival C.C.), or send a reason for absence; (4) each frater to select a proper person to succeed him; (5) the letters C.R. to be their seal, mark, and character; (6) to maintain the secrecy of the fraternity for at least 100 years.

It was Frater I.O. who, being a learned kabbalist, doctor, and author of the book *H*, visited England, and laid the foundation of the Rosicrucian system which has ever since existed in this country. He it was who cured the young Earl of Norfolk of leprosy, and he was the first of the original members to die.

In the year 1457 Rosencreuz wrote an interesting and curious tractate entitled *Chymische Hochzeit*, which was published at a later period; and in 1484 the founder of the fraternity died and was buried in a vault of seven sides decorated with symbols, which had been erected about eight years previously for his resting-place. The body was embalmed and placed in this specially prepared tomb, which was then closed, and upon the door was fixed a brazen plate upon which was engraved an inscription of a prophetic exclamation of his own, that in 120 years after his death his tomb should be reopened and his doctrines, in a modified form, once more made available, and that not only to a few, but to the learned in general.

Frater D. was chosen as the successor of the founder, and after his death Frater A., at an unknown date. Frater A. died in 1600. To him succeeded Frater N.N., who in 1604 disclosed the entrance to the vault and caused it to be opened. In it was found the body carefully preserved under an altar; in the right hand was the parchment roll called the book *T* (*Testamentum*); there were also found copies of other valuable books of the fraternity—a *Vita*, and an *Itinerarium* of the founder, together with certain songs (*mantras*), mirrors, bells, lamps, etc. On a brass table were engraved the names of all the brethren who up to the time of the founder's death had been members of the fraternity.

In 1610 a notary named Haselmeyer wrote that, while staying in the Tyrol, he had seen a copy in MS of the history called *Fama Fraternitatis*; the name of its author is not known, but four years later this *Fama* was printed and published at Cassel, in Germany. This narrative of the founding of the Rosicrucian fraternity was re-issued at Frankfort-on-the-Main in 1615, together with an addition called *Confessio Fraternitatis*. The authorship of these tracts has been variously attributed to Johann Valentin Andrea, to Joachim Junge (a philosopher who died in 1657), to the mystic Giles Guttman, and to a comparatively little known writer, one Tauler. Although these works gave to the world a knowledge of the existence of the Rosicrucian fraternity, it is probable that they were not written by any one with a real personal knowledge of the affairs of the brotherhood; neither is there any evidence that they were authorized; but, although they lack literary ability, they may be accepted as founded on facts obtained from current conceptions of the work of the fraternity, since the necessity for strict secrecy had to some extent abated; for between the death of Rosencreuz in 1484 and the opening of the tom in 1604 the Protestant Reformation had been accomplished by Martin Luther and his coadjutors about the year 1517.

An Echo of the God-illuminated Brotherhood of the R.C., issued at Danzig in 1615, and written by Julius Sperber, rendered high praise to the learnin of the fraternity, while the *Chymische Hochzei Christiani Rosenkreuz*, claimed by Andrea to b his own work, was published at Strassburg i. 1616, and an English translation, under the title *The Chemical Wedding*, was issued in the year 1690 by R. Foxcroft, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge.

The publication of these works caused a great sensation among the learned in Europe; they were widely criticized, notably by such men as Libavius and Menapius; those anxious to be admitted to the fraternity were loud in their praise, while others, having failed in their attempts to secure reception, denounced the brotherhood unsparingly.

Michael Maier (1568–1622), a notable philosopher and Rosicrucian Magus, the author of many learned works describing the Rosicrucian system, visited England and admitted Robert Fludd to Rosicrucian adeptship. Fludd was born at Milgate House, Bearstead, Kent, in 1574, and was the son of Sir Thomas Fludd, Treasurer of War to Queen Elizabeth. For many years he practised medicine in the city of London, and on his death was buried in Bearstead church, where there is a monument to his memory with a long inscription recording his many virtues. Near the house of his birth are the rose farm and other gardens where he cultivated the plants used in his pharmacy. He was the Magus in this country, and during his life wrote many learned works on kabbalistic theosophy and Rosicrucian doctrines, the most notable being his *Apologia Compendiaria pro fraternitate de Rosea Cruce* (Leyden, 1616), *Tractatus Apologeticus, integritatem Societatis de Rosea Cruce defendens* (Leyden, 1617), and *Summum Bonum* (Frankfort, 1629). His successor was Sir Kenelm Digby (1603–65), philosopher and poet. Among his published works are *Two Treatises: the Nature of Bodies . . . the Nature of Man's Soule* (Paris, 1644), books on medicine and the cure of wounds by sympathy. The jewel and chain of his office as chief of the English Rosicrucians are in the possession of one of his descendants in the south of England. Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam (1561–1626), was influenced by his friend Robert Fludd and became a Rosicrucian.

It is believed that Elias Ashmole (1617–92), the antiquary and astrologer, who was a Rosicrucian, was associated in the introduction of mysticism into the masonic body, and that his influence is felt in modern speculative freemasonry. Towards the end of his life he derived much occult knowledge from William Backhouse, a Rosicrucian of renown and a chemist. In 1646 Ashmole, William Lilly, the astrologer, Thomas Wharton, the eminent anatomist, Sir George Wharton, the astrologer, together with John Hewett, the royalist divine, and John Pearson (afterwards bishop of Chester and author of the famous *Exposition of the Creed*), formed a Rosicrucian lodge in London; this is referred to in *Occult Science*, which forms vol. xxxi. of the *Encyclopædia Metropolitana* of 1845; while in the *New Curiosities of Literature* (2 vols., London, 1847) George Soane writes at length upon Rosicrucians and Freemasons.

Thomas Vaughan (1622–66), twin brother of Henry Vaughan, 'Silurist,' was a celebrated mystic; under the name of Eugenius Philalethes he published an English version of the *Fama* and *Confessio* (1652). In this he was associated with Sir Robert Moray, the first president of the Royal Society.

In 1710 an adept named Sigismund Richter published, under the pseudonym 'Sincerus Renatus,' a work entitled *Die Warhaffte und Volkommene Bereitung aus dem Orden des Gulden und Rosen Kreutzes*, giving 52 rules of the Rosicrucian fraternity of that period. In 1777 the Reformed Rite of the Brethren of the Rose and Golden Cross was established.

Many important works were published during the succeeding years, among them a theosophic book, with coloured emblematic plates, at Altona, *Geheime Figuren der Rosenkreuzer aus dem 16ten und 17ten Jahrhundert* (this work, issued in 1795, contained the German text of the *Aureum Sæculum Redivivum*, originally printed in 1621, together with *The Golden Tractate of the Philosopher's Stone* and the original *Prayer of a Rosicrucian*). A portion of this volume, translated into English by Franz Hartmann, a member of the German fraternity, was published in 1887.

Among the English Rosicrucians of the last century were Frederick Hockley, Godfrey Higgins, author of *Anacalypsis* (2 vols., London, 1836), Lord Lytton, author of *Zanoni* (London, 1842), William James Hughan, the chief Masonic historian, Robert Wentworth Little, Kenneth R. H. Mackenzie, author of the well-known *Royal Masonic Cyclopædia* (London, 1877), William Robert Woodman, and the present Supreme Magus, William Wynn Westcott, the author of many learned essays on kabbalistic and mystic lore.

In 1866 the strands of the Rosicrucian rope were gathered together, when, under the direction of R. W. Little, the 'Societas Rosicruciana in Anglia' was founded, consolidating the system and erasing some false impressions that had been created during the centuries. At the present time duly authorized Rosicrucian colleges are at work in England, British India, Australia, New Zealand, S. Africa, and S. America, all under the authority of the English body; and there are daughter groups in Scotland and the United States of America working in complete harmony with the parent body. The Continental Rosicrucian system was reorganized in 1890, and its branches were very active up to the outbreak of the Great War in 1914. This body insists upon complete privacy, and its members are forbidden to acknowledge their status; but they had been, until the war, very active in good works, especially in carrying on investigations into the uses of vegetable drugs and the relief of disease by means of coloured lights and by hypnotic processes; there are numerous physicians using these means, which are freely supplied, but these doctors are not necessarily pledged members of the fraternity.

As in the earliest times the Rosicrucians not only studied, but went about ministering to those in distress, so the fratres of to-day are concerned with the study and administration of medicines and with their manufacture upon the old lines. They believe that this world and indeed the whole universe is permeated with the essence of the Creator, that every rock is instinct with life, that every plant and every tree is imbued with a sense derived from the Master Mind that caused it to exist, and that each living thing moves, acts, and thinks in accordance with the supreme design by which all things were made, by which all things exist, and by which they will continue to function till the end of time. At no period did the Rosicrucians declare the transmutation of metals to be a part of their practice, nor did they ever promise indefinite prolongation of life by mysterious drugs, but they did speak of these in parables with the full and complete knowledge that all things are possible, and that, with the forces of nature under their control, they could do even these. They were content, however, to act and to trust to the future, when, the minds of men having been cleansed, the redemption and absorption should be accomplished.

LITERATURE.—The numerous published works of Michael Maier and of Robert Fludd; Elias Ashmole, *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum*, London, 1652; Thomas de Quincey, *Historico-Critical Inquiry into the Origin of the Rosicrucians and the Free-Masons* (originally published in the *London Magazine* for Jan., Feb., March, and June, 1824, and reprinted in vol. xiii. of de Quincey's *Collected Writings*, ed. D. Masson, Edinburgh, 1889–90); C. W. Heckethorn, *The Secret Societies of all Ages and Countries*[2], 2 vols., London, 1897; Franz Hartmann, *In the Pronaos of the Temple of Wisdom*, do. 1890; W. Wynn Westcott, *The Rosicrucians: their History and*

Aims, do. 1894, vol. vii., 'Ars Quatuor Coronatorum'; F. L. Gardner, *Catalogue Raisonné of Works on the Occult Sciences*, privately printed, do. 1903, vol. i., 'Rosicrucian Books'; J. B. Craven, *Essays on the Works of Fludd*, Kirkwall, 1902, *Michael Maier*, do. 1910; John Yarker, *Notes on the Scientific and Religious Mysteries of Antiquity, the Gnosis and Secret Schools of the Middle Ages*, London, 1872, *The Arcane Schools*, Belfast, 1909; C. Gottlieb von Murr, *Über den wahren Ursprung der Rosenkreuzer und Freimaurer*, Sulzbach, 1803; J. G. Buhle, *Über den Ursprung und die vornehmsten Schicksale der Orden der Rosenkreuzer und Freimaurer*, Göttingen, 1804; C. F. Nicolai, *Einige Bemerkungen über den Ursprung und die Geschichte der Rosenkreuzer und Freimaurer*, Berlin, 1806.

ARTHUR CADBURY JONES.

ROTHE.—1. Life.—Richard Rothe was born in Posen on 30th Jan. 1799. His father, a man of striking character, held an important official position under the Prussian Government, and was powerfully influenced by that idea of the State which subsequently found expression in the works of Gustav Freytag. His mother, the daughter of the Hofrath Müller in Liegnitz, was a woman of considerable intellectual culture and of a deeply religious nature. Soon after the birth of Richard, their only child, the parents removed to Stettin, and a few years later to Breslau, in Silesia, with which Rothe's boyhood was chiefly associated. A delicate child, of a shy and retiring disposition, he occupied himself up to the age of eight largely with picture-books and stories of travel, whereby his imaginative faculties were awakened and nurtured. A tendency towards mysticism early exhibited itself, and the Bible, as soon as he was able to read it, made a deep impression upon him. At the age of ten he was sent to the reformed Friedrichsgymnasium in Breslau and at once proved himself to be a pupil of great industry and perseverance. He was fond of the poetry of Schiller, Goethe, Jean Paul, the two Schlegels, Tieck, and Fouqué, although, when he reached the age of sixteen, Novalis became his favourite author.

In April 1817 he entered the University of Heidelberg as a theological student. Heidelberg was at that time at the height of its fame as a seat of learning. Hegel had settled there the year before as Professor of Philosophy, only, however, to migrate to Berlin in Jan. 1818. Rothe attended Hegel's lectures on Logic and Metaphysics, which, he writes in his Diary, although most of the numerous auditors complain of them, he hopes will not remain unintelligible to him. Karl Daub, the 'Talleyrand of German thought,' who was Professor Ordinarius of Theology and a speculative thinker of unusual insight and power, became the teacher to whom Rothe owed his greatest debt.

'Daub,' he writes to his father, 'is a man of whom not only Heidelberg but our whole German Fatherland can be proud. I hesitate not to say that he is the first of all living academical teachers. The enthusiasm with which he is here spoken of is absolutely universal, as also is the love of him on the part of students of all Faculties.'[1]

Daub was attempting to work out a philosophy of religion along the lines of the idealism of Schelling and Hegel, and one can understand the fascination that a mind of his bent must have had for the youth of mystic propensities and brooding temperament. Yet the pupil was not a blind hero-worshipper. Towards the end of his student life in Heidelberg he expresses dissent from certain of Daub's contentions. Probably he had come to distrust the perverse tendency in his teacher of finding in the persons and events of the Gospel narratives embodiments of metaphysical ideas. Daub, he complains, yields too much to the philosopher, more than the theologian ought to yield, and when the philosopher has been allowed to have so much of his own way he only laughs at the theologian and then disarms him.

After Daub the man who chiefly succeeded in winning Rothe's affection was Abegg, a lecturer on New Testament Exegesis—

a man, he writes, 'in whom Christ is formed, as the Scripture puts it, who is penetrated through and through with all that is most fundamental in Christianity, who can look at nothing but with Christian eyes.'[1] 'To me,' he declared in 1840, speaking over Abegg's grave, 'he was one of the first whose personality set the seal of overwhelming certainty upon the essence and reality of Christian devotion.'[2]

Not only in the class-room did Abegg inspire the ardent young student; Abegg's simple homilies from the pulpit, bearing no trace of art, but full of genuine religious experience, seemed to him models of what true sermons should be. Other teachers of his were F. H. C. Schwarz, who also lectured on the NT, and of whose interpretation of the Johannine writing he speaks with admiration; Friedrich Creuzer, the classical scholar and archæologist; and F. C. Schlossen, the historian, who appeared to him to know Tacitus by heart. The five semesters spent in Heidelberg were undoubtedly fruitful in every respect. It was here that his mind was moulded; it was here that the interests were engendered which were to be his throughout life. Just before leaving Rothe preached, at a little village in the neighbourhood, called Mauer, his first sermon—a sermon, he tells his father, with which he was utterly discontented, but which convinced him that it was only through diligent practice that one could ever expect to succeed in giving true and unweakened expression to the life which lives in us.

For the winter-semester of 1819 Rothe went to Berlin. The Theological Faculty of the then recently founded University had at its head men of world-wide reputation — Schleiermacher, Neander, and Lücke. And, in the Philosophical Faculty, Hegel had commenced the work which made him the acknowledged leader of philosophical thought in Germany. Looking back upon that period, Rothe wrote in 1862:

'It was a new birth of the German people through the power of the gospel that had again become living, a new formation of its entire life.'[3]

Yet at the time, and after his Heidelberg experience, he never felt at home in Berlin. He heard Schleiermacher's lectures, delivered for the first time that semester, on *das Leben Jesu*; but they gave him the impression that the great man was troubling himself with artificially constructed difficulties. Schleiermacher's sermons, too, he contrasts unfavourably with those of his beloved Abegg; they lacked, to his mind, the inner spiritual grasp of the Heidelberg preacher, and from them he gained little inspiration, although he admits their ingenuity and scholarly character. He gives his father an interesting account of Schleiermacher's seminar. The work was done mainly by essays written by the students, one of which was discussed at each of the weekly gatherings. To Rothe there had been assigned the theme of determining whether in the reported sayings of Christ traces could be found of His having possessed knowledge of the OT Apocrypha and of His having devoted special attention thereto. Rothe complains *more suo* that, before one could begin to deal with a problem of that sort, a host of prior questions would have to be answered, for the answering of which the necessary historical data were completely wanting. In regard to Neander, who was lecturing on the history of dogma, the young scholar confesses, however, that his expectations had not deceived him.

'He is a wonderful man,' he writes, 'externally altogether dried up, but internally fresh and vigorous in Christian life, although it does not stream forth joyfully, but only gleams through sadly as the moon between graves.'[4]

And he draws a woeful picture of his aching fingers trying to take down the prodigiously rapid dicta-

[1] Nippold, *Richard Rothe*, i. 43.

[1] Nippold, *Richard Rothe*, i. 112. [1] *Ib.* p. 35.
[3] *Ib.* p. 153. [4] *Ib.* p. 455 f.

tion which the learned theologian was giving to his class.

'Happiest of all I still feel myself,' he tells his father, 'amongst the old Heidelberg acquaintances, and the well-known, though not exactly melodious, voice of Hegel is for my ear a delicious music from the banks of the Garonne.'[1]

Hegel was lecturing five times a week on *Naturrecht*, but had started by dismissing the term as wholly unsuitable because of its implication of a so-called state of nature, and was giving in fact a *Rechtsphilosophie*—an account, namely, of the immanent determinations of the Spirit from the point of view of its necessary development in the form of the State. A second semester was spent in Berlin, during which Schleiermacher was lecturing on Ethics, Neander on Church History, and Marheineke on Symbolics. But Rothe was still yearning for release from the Prussian capital. A considerable number of relatives and family acquaintances resided there, and a good deal of his time had to be spent in visiting.

'It's no wonder,' he exclaims, 'that people of the world get inwardly stunted, for when we have so much to do with outward things we become in fact heathens, and our pure human consciousness grows ever weaker in us.'[2]

Probably it was recoil from what seemed to him the prevailing worldliness of the Lutheran churchgoers that led to his interesting himself at this time in the Pietist movement, then in its earlier and healthier phase. His letters show that his religious nature was craving for a deeper earnestness and sincerity in the spiritual life, for a simpler and more genuinely personal devotion. And he found a companionable feeling among the devotees of the revival movement.

On 6th Nov. 1820 Rothe entered the theological seminary at Wittenberg, then under the superintendence of Karl Ludwig Nitzsch, 'an old and genial man, of unusually kindly nature, who is full of love for his work.'[3] Here he was plunged into a course of preparation for the practical work of the ministry—Bible study with a view to homiletical application, the composition of sermons and of sermon-schemes to be criticized by his teachers, preaching to rural congregations in the district, and visiting people in their homes. Rothe threw himself *con amore* into the work, and yet found time for the studies for which his university training had specially equipped him. Of the teachers at the seminary he was at once drawn to H. L. Heubner, a man of singular simplicity of character, with a wealth of ideas and an insight into the means of applying them such as he had not met with since the days when he had sat at the feet of Abegg. Heubner became his life-long friend, and it was largely due to his influence that Rothe was persuaded, at first very much against his inclination, to keep in view the possibility of devoting himself to an academical career. In March 1821 a former fellow-student at Berlin, Rudolf Stier, entered the seminary, and he was in large measure instrumental in inducing Rothe, already tending in that direction, to espouse warmly for the time being the Pietist propaganda. In his letters home of this period Rothe relates the chilling effect produced upon his mind by the prevalent ecclesiasticism, with its dreary orthodox propositions and verbal formularies. He goes to a church on Easter Sunday and cannot rid himself of the feeling that he is in a Greek temple. Over the altar-table he finds the words 'Friede, Hoffnung, Ruhe und Eintracht allen guten Menschen' inscribed, and they strike him as more fitted for a hall of English deists than for a Christian house of God.

Returning to his parents' house at Breslau in Oct. 1822, he remained there about six months, during his licentiate period. In Breslau he had much intercourse with 'the Awakened'—J. G. Scheibel, Henrik Steffens, Julius Müller among them—who helped to strengthen his belief in Spener's proposal for restoring the life of the Church. These friends met together frequently for devotional reading and prayer; and, in letters to Stier, Rothe describes the help that he was thus obtaining in his spiritual needs. His days were fully occupied; he was busily engaged with laborious researches into the development of early Christian doctrine, and in addition he was preaching regularly in the place of a pastor who was ill.

On 29th July 1823 he received an invitation from the Government to undertake the work of chaplain to the Prussian embassy in Rome, of which Baron Bunsen was at that time the head. After anxious reflexion Rothe accepted the offer, recognizing that it afforded opportunities for carrying on the historical inquiries to which he felt himself specially called. He was ordained in Berlin on 12th Oct.; and a month later he married Louise von Brücke, to whom he had become engaged while in Wittenberg—one of whose sisters was the wife of his friend Heubner and the other of August Hahn. It was a happy marriage, and he had by his side henceforth a true helper in all his aims and endeavours. Early in Jan. 1824 he arrived with his wife in Rome, and entered at once upon the duties of his office.

'The little flock which I have to shepherd presents,' he writes, 'a peculiar appearance. Externally it is composed of a few so-called upper-class people and a not unimportant number of artists.'[1]

With characteristic zeal he plunged into the work, organizing week-day evening services, and lecturing on various phases of Church History and on the origin and growth of Christian institutions. He preached regularly on Sunday, and of his great power and influence in the pulpit there is abundant testimony. He combined in his utterances a simplicity and a depth of spiritual experience that speedily made their appeal to and touched the hearts of his hearers. Bunsen was at once attracted to the young chaplain, and a warm friendship sprang up between the two men. Bunsen's own studies in ecclesiastical history had been extensive, and he was then engaged in an attempt to bring about the compilation of a liturgy that should be for the evangelical churches of Germany what the Book of Common Prayer was for the Anglican Church. Full of activity as the years in Rome were, Rothe was enabled to continue his theological studies and to lay the foundations for his work on the early Christian Church. Under the many influences of the city his religious views gained in catholicity and broadness; he became convinced that Christian faith could fulfil its mission only by feeling itself at one with reason and with the history of the world.

Towards the end of 1827 Rothe received, partly through the aid of Bunsen, the offer of a professorship of Church History in the theological seminary at Wittenberg; and, after visiting Naples and Florence, he returned to Wittenberg in Sept. 1828. His lectures in the seminary were on the history and constitution of the early Christian Church, and also on selected sermons of ancient and modern times. Besides lecturing, he superintended much of the practical work of the college, and preached frequently. In 1831 he became second director, and, in the following year, *ephorus*, of the seminary. He was thus brought into close personal touch with the students, and their affection for him was unbounded. During these years he devoted himself to literary work. There appeared in 1836 his commentary on Rom. 5^{12-21}; and in the

[1] Nippold, *Richard Rothe*, i. 155.
[2] *Ib.* p. 157.
[3] *Ib.* p. 191.

[1] Nippold, *Richard Rothe*, i. 357.

following year the first volume of his great undertaking entitled *Die Anfänge der christlichen Kirche und ihrer Verfassung*. During this Wittenberg period Rothe found himself diverging more and more from the ways of thought represented by the Pietists, and, when the two books just mentioned appeared, his secession from Pietism was an acknowledged fact. Though sympathizing with the religious tendencies of the Pietists, he was alienated by their narrow attitude to historical investigation and speculative reflexion.

A new theological seminary was founded in Heidelberg in 1837, and Rothe was chosen to be its first director. The institution started with only fourteen students, and Rothe was discouraged by the absence of any religious interest in the congregations of the district no less than by the prevalent *vis inertiæ* among the clergy themselves. He speedily, however, made his presence felt in the circle of the younger theologians, and the influence that he exerted as University Preacher was profound and wide-spread. He concentrated his attention now more than he had done hitherto upon the fundamental principles of religious philosophy, and in 1845 there appeared the first two volumes of the *Theologische Ethik*, which he recognized to be his main contribution to theological science. The third volume appeared in 1848. In the summer of the year 1848 he was called upon, at a time of great unrest and turmoil, to fulfil the duties of Rector of the University. On 22nd Nov. he delivered his rectorial address *Ueber die Aussichten der Universitäten aus dem Standpunkte der Gegenwart*, in which he vindicated the necessity of exact and methodical scientific investigation, as opposed to the superficial tendencies of the past thirty or forty years, whilst emphasizing the dangers attending increasing specialization of losing sight of the ideal of science as a whole.

Rothe accepted in 1849 a call to one of the theological chairs in the University of Bonn, and he was also appointed University Preacher. He had Dorner and Bleek as his colleagues, and the Theological Faculty rapidly increased in numbers; Rothe's lectures on the life of Christ and on ethics awakened the keenest interest. He made few disciples, however, and created no school, as Dorner succeeded in doing. His influence was of a deeper and more enduring kind—that of a man who was constantly feeling his way along the thorny path of speculative theology. He was present at the Synod of 1850 in Dinsburg; and he continued to be largely occupied with ecclesiastical matters.

After five years' residence in Bonn Rothe returned in 1854 to Heidelberg as Professor of Theology in the University. He took part in the General Synod of 1855, at which important issues came up for decision as regards the *Bekenntnissfrage* and the *Katechismusfrage*, and with reference to both he stood for the position of freedom and liberty of thought. The following years, though full of activity, were saddened by the long and depressing illness of his wife, who died in 1861. After her death he was filled with a consciousness of the needs of the age in respect to religion; and he threw himself with great earnestness into several ecclesiastical questions. He took a prominent part in the General Synod of 1861 at Karlsruhe and became a member of the Oberkirchenrath. He was largely instrumental in founding the Protestantenverein, which held its first meeting at Eisenach in June 1865. The aims of the Verein were these: that the Church should frankly recognize the culture and science of the time, that perfect freedom should be accorded to both clergy and laity to search for and to publish the truth in entire independence of external authority, that the clergy and the laity should stand upon a mental and spiritual equality, that the laity should have a greater share in Church matters, and that a National Church should be established upon the basis of universal suffrage. Rothe read an introductory paper at the meeting upon the means by which the estranged members of the Church might be reclaimed. He urged that the Church becomes useless as soon as she loses the moral power to win and keep the hearts of her members, that she had lost this power by opposing modern progress, and could regain it only by becoming progressive.

The last few years of his life were spent in going over once more the ground of his *Theologische Ethik*, but he succeeded in rewriting only the first two volumes. Although his health had been gradually failing, he continued lecturing until a month before his death. He died, after a severe illness, on 20th Aug. 1867.

2. Writings.—As a theologian, Rothe may be said to belong to the so-called 'right wing' of the Hegelian school, although no doubt he was largely influenced by Schelling's later writings. The bent of his mind had been set in his early student days by the teaching of Daub, from whom he inherited the theosophic mysticism that characterizes so much of his thinking. Moreover, he imbibed from his study of Origen and the early Fathers many of the ideas which he contrived to incorporate in his speculative system. Schleiermacher's mode of reflexion seems to have attracted him but little. He had no sympathy with those traits of Schleiermacher's philosophy which were derived from Spinoza—such, *e.g.*, as the identification of God with the infinite variety of His manifestations making up the world. He saw too that, for the solution of the problems which religious experience forces upon us, the appeal to feeling was unavailing, and that it was only the patient labour of reason that would enable us to clear up and to systematize our conceptions. And he differed fundamentally from Schleiermacher's view of the relation between religion and morality.

Rothe's earliest work, published in his thirty-sixth year, *Neuer Versuch einer Auslegung der paulinischen Stelle Römer V. 12–21*, illustrates the principle that he consistently sought to apply in the interpretation of the New Testament. He repudiates here with equal decisiveness the orthodox exegesis of Tholuck, in which the text was hidden under a wealth of Patristic quotations, and the rationalizing exegesis of Rückert, in which a number of preconceived theories were brought to bear upon the exposition. As against both, he insists upon the necessity of approaching the epistle with perfect freedom from dogmatic prejudice, of resolutely grappling with its difficulties, and of determining to rest content with no half-solution of these difficulties. He tries, in other words, to set an example of what a genuinely critical treatment of Biblical literature ought to be.

The important work, *Die Anfänge der christlichen Kirche und ihrer Verfassung*, of which only the first volume was issued, is an attempt to trace the course of man's historical development as affected and determined by Christianity. The volume is divided into three books. In the first the relation of the Church to Christianity is dealt with; in the second the rise of the Christian communities and the gradual formation of a Church constitution are handled; whilst in the third the development of the Christian Church in its earlier stages is traced. The book is full of significant suggestions towards a really historical treatment of the history of the Church and of dogma. To

Rothe, as Harnack expresses it,[1] belongs the undiminished credit of thoroughly realizing the significance of nationality in Church History, and to him also we owe the first scientific conception of Catholicism. One characteristic feature of Rothe's later teaching is already foreshadowed in the *Anfänge*—namely, that it is in the State and in civilization rather than in the Church that the ideal of Christianity will ultimately find realization.

Rothe's chief claim, however, to a place in the history of theological science rests undoubtedly upon his *Theologische Ethik*, the first edition of which appeared in three volumes (1845–48), and the second edition in five volumes (1867–71), the last three of the latter being edited and published after his death by Heinrich Holtzmann. This work is the result of a prolonged effort on the part of a comprehensive and logical mind to think out a system of speculative theology that should furnish a rational basis for the religious life of a Christian community. The fundamental ideas are not, indeed, new. No one who is familiar with Daub's *Philosophische und theologische Vorlesungen* (ed. P. C. Marheineke and T. W. Dittenberger, 7 vols., Berlin, 1838–44), which unfortunately are now but little known, can fail to discern the extent of Rothe's indebtedness to his old teacher. And the exhaustive notes to well-nigh every section of the book indicate the many other writers to whom he was under obligations. In the earlier and more metaphysical sections Schelling is the thinker who is most frequently alluded to, but to Fichte and Hegel there are also numerous references. Lotze's *Mikrokosmos* yields him many apt quotations, while Fechner, Weisse, and the younger Fichte are often mentioned. None the less the work as a whole bears the impress of an independent and honest inquirer, of a vigorous intellect wrestling with the greatest problem of human reflexion.

The author starts by making a sharp distinction between speculative thinking and thinking that takes the form of empirical contemplation. The latter must always be directed upon an outer object which is given to it, and in virtue of which this object is interpreted. It is reflexion upon the given object, not self-thinking of it. Speculative thinking, on the other hand, is self-thinking in the strictest sense of the term. It begins with what is purely *a priori* and proceeds by following the dialectical necessity with which each notion produces out of itself new notions. There cannot be, therefore, single, isolated speculations, but only one organic whole of speculation, a speculative system. The success of thought, so conceived, depends upon the fact that the human thinker is a microcosm—that in him the whole of the rest of creation is, so to speak, recapitulated. When, however, speculative thought has completed its task of construction, it must turn its attention to the empirically given facts and ascertain whether the speculative result is in accordance with those facts. If it is not, the system in question will of necessity collapse, and the effort must be commenced afresh with the resolve to carry it through with more rigid dialectical caution and conscientiousness. All the same, the thinker will remain true to the method of thinking out his own thought, as though there were no world around him and nothing in his experience except thought.

Now, in the devout or religious man, according to the measure in which his devoutness is living and healthy, there is immediately contained in his thought as pure thought the notion of being determined by God. The religious man's feeling of self is at the same time a feeling of God, and he cannot come to a distinct and clear thought of self without coming to the thought of God. In him, that is to say, the consciousness of self is as such the consciousness of God. There is thus provided for the devout subject a twofold point of departure for his speculative thinking and the possibility of a twofold method of speculative inquiry. His thinking can proceed either from the consciousness of self as an *a priori* fact or from the consciousness of God; and, according as he follows the one or the other of these paths, his speculation will take a specific direction. The former will be that of philosophical speculation, the latter that of religious—or, in so far as it is scientifically pursued, of theological—speculation. However near these two may approach each other in certain respects, they will in form inevitably deviate from one another; each will construe what it has to deal with purely *a priori*, but philosophical speculation will think and conceive its subject-matter by means of the notion of the human self, theological speculation by means of the notion of God. Theological speculation is in essence nothing else than the attempt to express in conceptual form the immediately certain content of the devout consciousness, the content of its feeling of the divine. It falls into two main divisions—(*a*) theology in the strict sense, and (*b*) cosmology, which again falls into the two subdivisions of physics and ethics. The body of Rothe's treatise is, of course, concerned with the last-named.

The starting-point of theological speculation is, then, the fact that the religious man in thinking of himself thinks likewise, in and through the same act, of God. The primordial form of the religious consciousness is doubtless feeling, the basis of the thought of God is the *Gottesahnung*, just as the basis of the thought of self is the *Ichahnung*. But the primary step in reflective knowledge is to translate this feeling of God into the form of a concept, to express it in a perfectly clear and distinct idea, which shall completely and exhaustively represent it. And the thought in question can be formulated, in its most abstract and elementary aspect, as the thought of the Absolute Being. God, as absolute, is the Unconditioned; whatever else there may be, it is conditioned by Him and does not condition Him. He is numerically one—containing within Himself all that there is of being. Moreover, as being absolute in an absolute way, or the absolutely right, He is the absolutely good Being, or the absolute Good. For the Good is that which is truly perfect, truly eternal and self-dependent. If, however, God as the Absolute is to be really thought by us, it can be only through the application of that category by means of which alone thought is possible—the category, namely, of ground and consequent. And, since in thinking of the Absolute we are thinking of an existing, and not merely of an ideal, reality, the category of ground and consequent assumes in this application the form of cause and effect. But the Absolute can be thought of only as *causa sui*, as the simply self-determined. This implies, further, that in God there is absolute and harmonious union of necessity and freedom; as self-determining, that is to say, God is a living activity.

The concept of pure being is as such the concept of absolute negativity; it is for our thinking purely negative; yet in and for itself it is none the less the most positive of all concepts, only under the form of absolute negativity. It is negative, not in the sense of the absolutely nought, but in the sense of the absolutely not-this-or-that (*das Nichtetwas*). Herein two moments are included; God is the fullness of all being, while the being of this or that appertains to Him only in a negative significance.

[1] A. Harnack, *History of Dogma*, Eng. tr., i. 39.

Now, what is contained in Him only negatively is contained in Him not as posited, not as existent or actual, but only as possible; in Him is to be found the totality of all possible realities, yet such totality can be expressed only as possibility. The thought of real possibility is equivalent, however, to the thought of pure potency or power; and potency or power is in essence causality, which cannot be otherwise conceived than as a bringing forth of effects, *i.e.* as creative (*wirksam*). God, in other words, as absolute potency or power, must be thought of as issuing forth from mere potentiality, and as realizing His absolute power. The absolute life must be a process of self-realization. Again, self-realization presupposes that the ideal and the real are recognized and distinguished; God, that is to say, must be *actu* a spirit, the Absolute Spirit. And the notion of God as spirit implies that everything real had for its presupposition an ideal subsistence—a thought alone can become and be real. The timeless development of God as spirit includes within itself a twofold immanent development — on the one hand, God becomes conscious of Himself, subjectifies Himself, determines Himself as personality; and, on the other hand, God determines Himself in and through the divine nature which furnishes the means or instrument of His self-activity. But these two immanent processes in God — determination of Himself as personality and as nature—are one and the same process; they can be thought of only in correlation. God, then, as personality posits a nature as His objective counterpart; but this nature is originally ideal, a world of thoughts. Its contents are not originally in Him as operating entities; they are raised from possibility to actuality by His self-activity. And the results of His activity are moral results; His determinations are at the same time commands. As self-determining, God is completely master of His own will; and His will is necessarily at the same time an act of thinking—a thinking, namely, of that which He wills, although the converse is not true, for God is under no necessity to will whatsoever He thinks.

In that God determines Himself to absolute personality He necessarily sets over against Himself the thought of an Other which is all that He is not. Yet He is under no necessity to posit this thought; the fact that He does not forgo the power of positing it is due to His perfection—a perfection which requires that He should realize Himself in and through that which is other than Himself. Thus we reach the notion of creation: God posits, namely, as real a sphere of being opposed to His own, and yet in union therewith, in order to have His own being expressed or manifested in His Other, the world. In what precisely this act of creating consists—what, namely, is thereby *added to* possibility that it should attain the level of actuality—Rothe is as little able as Leibniz, faced with a similar problem, to say. He confines himself to maintaining that the divine causality in producing the world is not active as an entirety, but divides its activity—in other words, that God created the world not as a finished but as a primitive and unfinished product, a product which could only successively be brought to perfection. The primordial act of creation is the contrapositing by God of a non-ego; and what is thus contraposited must be the exact opposite of spirit—namely, pure matter, in the notion of which is implied infinite divisibility. Pure matter is not, however, nature; and the divine creation evinces itself, therefore, as a continuous process, proceeding from one stage of material forms to another — bringing forth a graduated scale of existences that together constitute an organic whole. Rothe tries to trace the evolution from pure matter, which is virtually identical with space, first of mechanical nature, consisting of atoms conceived as centres of force, then of the chemical properties of these constituents, later of mineral products, and finally of vegetable and animal organisms, until in the human organism the soul differentiates itself from the body as having the relation of subject to itself as object. The gradual process of creation takes, in short, the aspect of a continuous incarnation of the divine Spirit within His non-ego, or matter—a continuous putting forth of divine activity in order to spiritualize that which is the opposite of spirit, and to transform it into an organ of its own life.

'It is no proof of God's omnipotence that He creates pure matter; the proof rather consists in His doing away with matter merely as such.'[1]

The progressive creation is just the mode, and the only possible mode, of bringing about that consummation. But creation is creation only in so far as there is exhibited in it no sudden bound, only in so far as each of its links evinces itself as a real development from the preceding links of the chain. Herein is to be discerned the reason of the incompleteness of each successive stage of the world's evolution. That which is defective in the created universe, that which to the human consciousness wears the aspect of evil, is to be traced back in the last resort to matter—matter that is not yet transmuted, not yet done away with merely as such. Moreover, inasmuch as in creation each stage always arises from the dissolution of the stage below, so that the lower, by means of the creative influence, always forms the substratum for the generation of the higher, there must always remain, in every epoch of the world's history, a residuum of matter still unspiritualized—a 'kind of slag,' as Pfleiderer calls it.[2] The consequence is that the consummation of one epoch of creation requires that another epoch supervenes, and the world-evolution must be thought of as an endless series of stages following each other in time.

The natural man is conceived by Rothe to have been developed according to the natural laws of animal evolution. In the animal sphere there is no definite contrast between the soul, which emerges out of and rises above matter, and nature, which is in direct union with it. The soul of the animal is entirely under the sway of nature, although even in the animal the merely physical has been transmuted to the extent of exhibiting the power which we call instinct. But with the appearance of human personality a new order of created being enters the world. Matter has given birth to a mode of finite existence in which it is transcended, to a creature whose essence and principle are its direct opposite. Looked at from the genetic point of view, the finite personality is the product of material evolution; considered in and for itself, it is just as certainly not material. That the finite spirit could not be created directly, but only through aid of the creature itself, only through the non-spiritual creature coming to posit itself as spiritual—all this appertains to the essence of spirit as self-determining. The only true power of self-determination is that which determines itself to be so. It follows, therefore, that the creature to whom it belongs cannot have been endowed at its creation with this self-determining power, but can only have been created indirectly—by the creation, namely, of a material non-ego of God so specifically organized as to be able to transubstantiate itself from materiality into spirituality. As a self-determining personality, man acquires the status of a free agent. He is at once a thinking being, whose thoughts find everywhere objects corresponding to them, and a volitional

[1] *Stille Stunden*, p. 66.
[2] *Philosophy of Religion*, Eng. tr., ii. 288.

being, whose autonomous acts find realization in the outward world. A finite spiritual ego or person thus has it for his function to become, in a literal sense, a co-worker with God in the eternal process of creation—the process, namely, of getting rid of matter in so far as it is the mere opposite of spirit.

The process of creation finds, then, its continuation in the human world through the self-determination of finite persons. Hence it is that the life-process in man necessarily assumes a moral character. Man cannot live even the animal life except as a moral life. The formal principle of moral action may be expressed as the elevation of human personality out of its natural state of bondage or external determination to full freedom in itself; the material principle of moral action may be expressed as the appropriation of the natural environment to subserve the ends of personality. Three special features of the moral life call for detailed treatment in any scientific account of its essence and contents: (*a*) the results or products to be produced by self-determination, (*b*) the forces which constitute self-determination, and (*c*) the modes of activity which emanate from self-determination. The science of ethics will consequently comprise a *Güterlehre*, a *Tugendlehre*, and a *Pflichtenlehre*; and it is only through following these three correlative branches of inquiry that a comprehensive science of the moral is possible. Of the three the first is the logically prior, for apart from the notion of the moral Good neither a system of virtues nor a system of duties can be constructed.

Since moral action is in itself a continuation of the divine creative action, it follows, according to Rothe, that the moral life and the religious life really coincide, and, when normal, are identical. The object of both is the realization of the highest good—*i.e.* the absolute communion of man, individually and socially, with God, and, by means thereof, the perfected Kingdom of God on earth. Only in so far as the world is made the theatre of moral purpose is the truly religious life conceivable; apart from that it is an empty dream. Religion, in order that it may become truth and reality, demands morality as its fulfilment, as the only concrete way in which the idea of fellowship with God can be realized; morality, in order that it may find its perfect unfolding, demands the aid of religion, in the light of which alone it can comprehend its own idea in all its breadth and depth.[1] In the moral process of human evolution the religious process is included as a necessary factor; the perfect development of human personality can be no other than its absolute determination by God, and consequently its perfect consciousness of God. When, then, mankind reaches its full moral stature, the antithesis between the religious and the moral will have disappeared; the moral life will be the religious life, and *vice versa*. The Church, as a community of the devout within the State, must, accordingly, be regarded as a transitory institution; the full realization of the Church's aim can never be reached in abstract severance from the social organism as a whole. Ultimately the Christianized State, embodying, as it will, all the functions of the human spirit, will absorb the Church into itself; in so far as the Church fulfils its mission, it will tend more and more to fall away as a Church and to be the cause of its own dissolution. Its work, as a Church, will be accomplished when the whole social life of man has advanced to a form of worship higher than it can awaken—that, namely, of a religiously moral community.

Five years after Rothe's death a collection of isolated and miscellaneous reflexions which he had left in various notebooks was published by his pupil, F. Nippold, of Bern, under the title of *Stille Stunden*. The volume is a rich storehouse of penetrative thoughts and suggestive ideas. One of these aphorisms sums up in a few words the burden of much of Rothe's teaching.

'In this world,' he says, 'all Good, even the noblest and fairest—such as Love—rests upon a "dark ground," which it has to consume with pain and convert into pure spirit.'[1]

LITERATURE.—Rothe's chief works are: *Neuer Versuch einer Auslegung der paulinischen Stelle Römer V. 12–21*, Wittenberg, 1836, *Die Anfänge der christlichen Kirche und ihrer Verfassung*, do. 1837, *Theologische Ethik*, 3 vols., do. 1845–48, [2] 5 vols., do. 1867–71, *Zur Dogmatik*, Gotha, 1863, *Nachgelassene Predigten*, 2 vols., 3rd vol. under title *Predigten*, ed. D. Schenkel, Elberfeld, 1868–69, *Dogmatik*, ed. Schenkel, Heidelberg, 1870, *Stille Stunden*, ed. F. Nippold, Wittenberg, 1872, *Vorlesungen über Kirchengesch. und Gesch. des christlich-kirchlichen Lebens*, ed. H. Weingarten, 2 pts., Heidelberg, 1875, *Der erste Brief Johannis*, ed. R. Mühlhäusser, Wittenberg, 1878, *Theologische Encyclopädie*, ed. H. Ruppelius, do. 1880, *Gesch. der Predigt*, ed. A. Trümpelmann, do. 1881, *Gesammelte Vorträge und Abhandlungen*, ed. Nippold, Elberfeld, 1886. In English have appeared: *Sermons for the Christian Year*, tr. W. R. Clark, Edinburgh, 1877, *Still Hours*, tr. Jane T. Stoddart, London, 1886. For life of Rothe see F. Nippold, *Richard Rothe, ein christliches Lebensbild*, 2 vols., Wittenberg, 1873–74; D. Schenkel, 'Zur Erinnerung an Dr. Richard Rothe,' in *Allgemeine kirchliche Zeitschrift*, viii. [1867] 529–546, ix. [1868] 10–21, 85–99, 208–222. For critical treatment of Rothe's theological conceptions see E. Achelis, *Dr. Richard Rothe*, Gotha, 1869; K. H. W. Schwarz, *Zur Gesch. der neuesten Theologie*[4], Leipzig, 1869; O. Pfleiderer, *The Philosophy of Religion on the Basis of its History*[2], Eng. tr., London, 1886–88, ii. 286–290 (cf. his *Development of Theology in Germany since Kant*, Eng. tr., do. 1890); W. Hönig, *Richard Rothe, sein Charakter, Leben und Denken*, Berlin, 1898; H. Basserman, *R. Rothe als praktischer Theologe*, Freiburg, 1899; H. J. Holtzmann, *R. Rothe's speculatives System*, do. 1899; K. Sell, 'R. Rothe,' in *Theol. Rundschau*, ii. [1899] 433–444; W. Flade, *Die philosophischen Grundlagen der Theologie R. Rothe's*, Leipzig, 1900; A. Hausrath, *Richard Rothe und seine Freunde*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1902–06; O. Siebert, *Gesch. der neueren deutschen Philosophie seit Hegel*[2], Göttingen, 1905, p. 110 f.

G. DAWES HICKS.

ROUSSEAU.—1. Life.—Jean Jacques Rousseau was born on 28th June 1712, in Geneva. His family was Protestant by tradition: his ancestors had migrated from Paris to Geneva nearly 200 years before his birth, and they adopted the Protestant form of religion from the time of its first beginnings in Europe. His mother was of a well-to-do family, and the birth of her son cost her her life. The boy was thus left to the care of his father, Isaac Rousseau, a watchmaker, who was, as his son tells us, of an ardent and sensitive nature. He was thus early subjected to influences of an emotional kind which affected his whole life. His father and he spent nights in reading romantic literature to one another, and exciting their sensibilities in a way which must have surprised their more stolid Genevese compatriots. After having hastily made their way through certain romantic works of fiction which were inherited from the dead wife and mother, they tackled more serious literature, including a number of classical works of history; and, while still a young boy, Rousseau became devoted to the study of Plutarch, who remained all his life a favourite author. Unfortunately, when about ten or twelve years of age, his happy time with his father and a devoted aunt came to an end. The father, who was probably passionate and unrestrained, got embroiled in a quarrel, and, thinking himself aggrieved, resolved to leave Geneva rather than suffer under what he conceived to be unjust laws. Consequently the lad was placed by an uncle at a school kept by a pastor in the village of Boissy.

At this school there awoke within the boy a sensual consciousness which affected his outlook on life to the end. He tells the whole circumstances in his *Confessions* in a way which alike astonishes and disgusts a modern reader. In this

[1] Cf. *Theologische Ethik*, § 991 ff.

[1] *Stille Stunden*, p. 136.

extraordinary book, published in his later years, we have a soul laying bare its inmost feelings, faults, and experiences, and the result in Rousseau's case is astounding. At Boissy, also, he experienced his first sense of personal injustice, being accused of a petty misdemeanour of which he was not guilty. This early experience made him intensely sensitive throughout his life to wrongful suffering by others. After leaving Boissy he returned to his uncle in Geneva for a few months, and enjoyed a happy out-of-door life with a young cousin. About 1725 (though this does not tally with his own account) the lad was placed in a notary's office, and, when dismissed from it, he was apprenticed to an engraver. The latter proved to be a brutal master who by his cuffs and blows constrained his apprentice to engage in many reprehensible practices. At the age of sixteen he took the law into his own hands and ran away—a step which, he says, completely altered the whole course of his life. Had he remained where he was born, he might, he considered, have been a peaceful Christian citizen; now came his wanderings into strange lands and devious courses. He made his way into Savoy, where the faith and politics of the people were very different from those of the republic of his birth, and his immediate surroundings always exercised the deepest influence upon his outlook and character. It must, however, be allowed that he had already cut himself adrift from his family ties and caused himself to be regarded as somewhat of an alien.

At once he came into contact with the rector of Confignon in Savoy, who was able to make him an apparent convert to Roman Catholicism without much difficulty, after giving him an excellent dinner. He was then sent to a Madame de Warens of Annecy, a young woman considered zealous in the faith. From her he went to a monastery in Turin, where, after a certain show of protestation, he was formally received into the bosom of the Church. Once satisfactorily converted, he was (in 1728) thrust out to find his way for himself with only twenty francs in his pocket. After various adventures he became a lackey in the house of the Countess de Vercellis, who died three months after he entered her service. After her death a piece of ribbon was missing, which Rousseau had stolen. He basely put the blame on a young girl in the house, and persisted in his accusation. The deed was the cause of the most overwhelming remorse on Rousseau's part, which haunted him to the end of his life. We must, however, recollect that the whole story is told by himself, and that he may more than likely have morbidly exaggerated both the crime and its effects.

After further efforts in service his youthful restlessness took him back over the mountains, this time with a young companion as destitute as himself, and at length he once more reached Annecy and his patroness Mme. de Warens, who still lived there. With this strange figure he took up his abode; indeed, from 1729 to 1738 he was more or less in close touch with her. His friendship for this woman was of a curiously sensuous and mysterious kind. He called her 'Maman,' but she was only about twelve years his senior. She had married early, disagreed with her husband, and become a convert to Roman Catholicism, thereby securing a small pension from the king of Sardinia, Victor Amadeus. Rousseau learned much at this time, and lived in an ecstasy of happiness with this attractive and strange woman of thirty. He received certain instruction with a view to entering the priestly office; then in a desultory way he studied music. Deserted for a short time by his patroness, he wandered about in adventurous fashion, and finally settled in Lausanne and there announced that he was a teacher of singing, whereas he was ignorant of the first principles of the art. Naturally his imposture was soon discovered, especially as he undertook to perform his own composition. After further wanderings he returned in 1732 to Mme. de Warens, who was living at Chambéry, and took up some clerical work which she found for him. He soon tired of this, and tried music-teaching again, but that, in so far as it involved a certain regularity of hours, was also soon dropped. The final result was that a curious establishment was set up, consisting of Mme. de Warens, Claude Anet, her factotum, and young Rousseau—a happy family party which was broken up by Anet's death. An imaginary illness caused Rousseau to pay a visit to Montpellier at his patroness's expense either before (as Faguet thinks) or after his stay at Les Charmettes (see below). This was, as usual, the occasion of a love affair with a certain lady, and for some reason Rousseau chose to pass himself off as an Englishman. On his return to Mme. de Warens he found a stranger installed in his place, to whom, however, he soon became accustomed. This was about 1737, though dates in the *Confessions* are somewhat vague and confused. Rousseau, who was far from strong, and constantly gave evidence of unhealthiness of mind and body, persuaded Mme. de Warens to go to the country and live in a charming farmhouse named Les Charmettes. His stay here (about 1738) was perhaps the happiest part of his life, for he lived in communion with nature and passed his time in comparative rest and peace. He also began to study seriously, and, more especially, as he tells us in the *Confessions*—the source of most of our knowledge of his life—he began to read Voltaire and the *Spectator*, and these and other books belonging to Mme. de Warens were the means of opening his mind to many things undreamed of. He read philosophy too, Locke's *Essay* and Leibniz, and tried to accept the point of view of each writer in turn and then to formulate his own ideas. He also endeavoured to master the Latin tongue.

The *ménage à trois* became strained, and Rousseau's next occupation was to act as tutor with a certain M. de Mably in Lyons. But, despite his interest in education, the practical drudgery of teaching proved impossible to him. He therefore returned to Mme. de Warens, but, life with her being misery, he went to Paris, vainly attempting to get a new system of musical notation taken up there. He came, however, into relationship with certain great ladies who befriended him, and by whose means, at the age of twenty-nine, he was sent to act as secretary to the French ambassador at Venice. This episode in his life lasted only eighteen months, for it was soon clear that he could not get on with his new master, who was apparently difficult enough to deal with. On his return to Paris in 1745 he united himself to Thérèse le Vasseur, an unlettered serving-girl in the small Hôtel St. Quentin at which he lived. This strange union at least gave satisfaction to Rousseau, since he did not ask for more than sympathy and cared little for permanent companionship of an intellectual sort. Sixteen or seventeen years later, in 1762, their relations changed, as Thérèse's sentiments towards him altered altogether, and Rousseau wrote piteously of his grief on this account. The woman appears to have naturally enough resented the treatment of her offspring, for, much against her will, five children were in turn deposited in the box for receiving foundlings, without any reason being given except that the father was in straits for money. At least certain specious

arguments in defence of his conduct were not developed till later, when Rousseau pretended that he suffered the deprivation of the joys of fatherhood in order that his children might be brought up in a healthy and simple life. We are glad to know that remorse came in the end. The pair were not actually married until 1768, when a certain form was gone through.

Rousseau spent twelve years in Paris — from 1744 to 1756—and it was during this time that his children were born and deserted. It was at this time also that he wrote his *Discourses*. For the rest, he acted as secretary to Mme. Dupin and her stepson, M. de Francueil. Through the latter he received an important and lucrative post, which, however, he resigned about 1750 in favour of the pursuit of a simple life. In 1754 he once more visited Geneva and his former friend Mme. de Warens, now sunk in poverty and misery. To her he showed kindness, even going so far as to offer her a home, but he always blamed himself for not having done more to relieve her unhappy lot. His visit to Geneva caused him to adopt the Protestant religion once more in order to procure the benefit of citizenship. At the same time he was much interested in the religious discussions of the day, which centred in the Deistic position. He did not remain in Geneva, but went to a cottage in the forest of Montmorency provided for him by Mme. d'Épinay, and accepted only when he felt sure that he could do so without sacrificing his independence. His choice of this 'Hermitage' was a great surprise to his friends in Paris who did not love solitude, but, once his mind was made up, he fled to his refuge with all haste. This was the time (the spring of 1756) when plans of future work pressed upon his mind. He made a vain endeavour to edit the papers of the Abbé de Saint Pierre, and this abortive effort was followed by an unwholesome condition of sensuous excitement which culminated in an ecstatic state of intoxicating passion for Mme. d'Houdetot, sister-in-law of Mme. d'Épinay. There was a strange relationship between these two and Saint Lambert, the lady's lover, which finally came to an end by mutual consent. In the winter of 1757 Rousseau hopelessly quarrelled with Mme. d'Épinay, his benefactress, and moved to Mont Louis, in the neighbourhood of Montmorency. While there, he became incensed at an article on Geneva written by d'Alembert in the *Encyclopédie* expressing regret that the Genevese provided no theatres. This expression of opinion was indeed attributed to Voltaire, who had not been permitted to have comedies played in the town. This was the origin of the *Lettre à d'Alembert sur les spectacles*. The work was an immense success, but it lost Rousseau Voltaire's friendship for ever. At this time there were also breaches with Grimm and Diderot as well as with Mme. d'Épinay, Grimm's mistress, which entailed much bitterness and ill-feeling. But it was also a time of great productiveness on Rousseau's part. *La nouvelle Héloïse*, written mainly at the Hermitage, was published in 1760, and the *Contrat social* and *Emile* in 1762. Rousseau dwelt in his new home in tolerable contentment, and he had many devoted friends among the great, despite his strange temper and physical condition.

All kinds of difficulties in those days confronted a would-be author before his books could be duly printed and circulated. In 1762 *Emile* was condemned to be burned and its author to be imprisoned. Flight was the only mode of escape, and the fugitive made his way to the canton of Berne. But again he had to depart. Frederick II. of Prussia had the credit of allowing him to take refuge in his territories of Neuchâtel, where Thérèse joined him, and he there came into touch with Gibbon and Boswell. Rousseau entered upon controversial correspondence at this time with great effect. In 1764 appeared his famous *Lettres de la montagne*, wherein he fully proved the iniquity of his treatment by the republic of Geneva The *Lettres* were publicly burned by the Parliament of Paris. The Church at Neuchâtel turned against him, and he was persecuted to such an extent that he fled to an island in the Lake of Bienne. He was not suffered to remain there, went to Strassburg, and after much indecision accepted an invitation to make his home in England. Hume brought him to London in Jan. 1766; in London, as in Paris, he had a great reception. In March he settled in the Peak of Derbyshire (at Wootton) with Thérèse. It was cold, and Rousseau had nothing to do, and he soon broke into a quarrel with Hume, accusing him of every kind of perfidy. Hume was, not unnaturally, indignant at this ingratitude, and the quarrel became a vehement one, in which many literary men engaged. Rousseau himself became morbid, upset, and miserable. He set to work to compose the first part of his *Confessions*—that extraordinary revelation of a man consumed with egotism, undisciplined, and living on the feelings of the moment, which yet produces in the reader a sense of reality such as few autobiographies have done before or since. Finally he fled to France in a condition almost distraught. Mirabeau (the father of the more famous statesman) and then the prince of Conti gave him hospitality, and he composed the second part of the *Confessions*, while also pursuing botanical studies, during the year 1767–68. Again he fled, this time to Grenoble and other places. At length in 1770 he settled in Paris, where he remained for the last eight years of his life. He had been temporarily estranged from the unfortunate Thérèse, but became reconciled again, and he occupied himself in copying music and writing his *Dialogues*; indeed, he seems to have lived those last years more peacefully than any that went before, despite constant and uncalled-for quarrels with his friends. He was extremely poor, and would not draw upon the pension granted him by George III. of England. The last months of his life were miserable. He would not accept of help, was subject to delusions, and now untended by Thérèse; some suspected suicide when the end came on 2nd July 1778. His remains were in the first instance buried on an island, but in the Revolutionary days were moved to the Pantheon.

2. Works.—The first of the *Discourses* was written for a prize offered in 1749 by the Academy of Dijon on the question of whether the progress of the sciences has contributed to the improvement or to the corruption of manners. Rousseau was on his way to visit Diderot, then in prison because of his *Lettre sur les aveugles*, when he was seized with an inspiration to enter the competition and deliver himself of his opinions. The paradox of the answer which he designed entranced him. It was to show simply and convincingly that man is good by nature and that by institutions only is he made vile. This original contention really proved to be the basis of the writer's later work; it proved also to be the expression of ideas which must have been latent in the minds of the people of France, for it was laid hold of as though it were a new gospel opened up before them and indicating the beginning of a new epoch in history. It seemed, indeed, to bring fresh possibilities into the life of every citizen. Rousseau won the prize. Three years later he competed for another prize, the subject being the origin of inequality among men and whether it is authorized by natural law. This essay, though unsuccessful in gaining the

prize, proved almost as successful as the first. By these two essays the world came to realize that a new gospel was being preached to it, and an artificial age was called upon to return to simplicity and truth. To us the argument seems shallow, and we feel that a little thought would show, for instance, the value of acquiring new knowledge in a social sense as well as in a material. Still, if it was a one-sided doctrine that Rousseau taught, it was the one of which the nation felt in need. Men longed to return (or thought they did) to the ancient times when humanity was rude and unlettered but natural and unspoiled by the arts of civilized life. From this time onwards the writer of the *Discourses* was a famous man, even though his fame might partly be accounted for because he was the preacher of the paradox that a barbarian was superior to a European of modern days. He established the predominance of feeling over the patient investigation of fact—a doctrine that brought fresh life while it brought fresh dangers to his own and other countries.

La nouvelle Héloise is a love story of a highly emotional kind—the story of a tutor enamoured of his too attractive pupil. To the modern reader the tale, which is of the slightest so far as events are concerned, seems tame, in spite of a sensuousness which repels though it does not, now at least, corrupt. The epistolary form in which it is written is tedious to those who have come to expect swift action, and the style seems forced and stiff. But when it was published the interest in the tale knew no bounds, and the effect produced by it on an emotional public was incalculable both in Germany and in France. The second part of the book, in which the happiness of the married state is vaunted, was just as much applauded as the first.

The *Contrat social* opens with the famous words, 'Man is born free, and everywhere he is in chains,' and strikes the keynote of the rebellious spirit that animated men of a rebellious age. To Rousseau it was not a time for careful analysis of facts or investigation of the growth of custom, nor had he the necessary knowledge to enable him to do this. To him it was essential that the 'state of nature' should be declared to be the true state of freedom—the freedom which is based on reason. He did not trouble to inquire whether this state of natural freedom has ever yet been realized, and whether man can be independent of the environment in which he is born. The time was ripe for his doctrines, crude as they might seem, and they laid hold of the imagination of the people as no scientific investigation of fact could have done. Therefore this became one of the most notable and influential books of the period.

Emile was virtually a treatise on education set forth in the story of a youth brought up on ideal lines. The theme is an ancient one, but is dealt with in a way that brought conviction and enthusiasm to a generation which was awakening to new ideas in regard to the upbringing of the young. France has ever since Rousseau's time been alive to the essential unity of the family, and to this is probably due the close relationship which exists between the parent and the child. Rousseau brings his readers back to Nature and her teaching, makes the mother realize her primary duties to her offspring, and feel it to be her pleasure as well as her duty to suckle her child. The doctrine of original sin had no attraction for Rousseau. The child was born into the world prepared to be good and happy and healthy, and it was the parents' duty to allow him to attain these ends. We must sweep away the artificial restrictions of an artificial society which prevent the development of the best in a man. Rousseau applied his theories even to the simplest matters of food and clothing. In fact, he was the forerunner of many of the modern views of infant nurture, and he deserves much credit for awakening the world to the desirability of natural methods of upbringing and instruction based on the development of the reasoning faculties. It is only in respect of the upbringing of girls that his theories are almost Oriental in their obscurantism.

The *Confessions* is perhaps the best known of Rousseau's works and the most extraordinary. Jules Lemaître[1] says of the writer that he was a creature of nerves and weakness, passion and sin, sadness and visions. But along with all the unhappy qualities that Rousseau possessed Lemaître recognizes the good side that is always present, and bears no hatred to his person. He is right in saying that Rousseau is the most 'subjective' of all writers, since all his writings are but betrayals of himself. And it was a strange undisciplined soul that he revealed to that brilliant collection of famous men and women who received his outpourings with mingled admiration and derision. Probably these outpourings were in their way sincere and true, though inaccurate in many common details. But, in reading them, we must always recollect that Rousseau was born unhealthy in mind and body, and his upbringing by an excitable and sentimental father did not help him towards self-restraint, though the Protestant Genevan strain was always to be traced in his character and throughout his writings. The world in which he lived was no real world, but one created by his inward fantasies and later by his morbid imagination. As might possibly be expected, the mingling of diverse irreconcilable elements, Protestant and Roman Catholic, Genevan and Parisian, brought about an untoward mixture, while it also resulted in the production of a genius.

LITERATURE.—Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Œuvres complètes*, 12 vols., Paris, 1856–57, *Œuvres complètes*, 4 vols. in 8, do. 1837 (Panthéon Littéraire); E. Faguet, *Vie de Rousseau*, do. 1910; H. Höffding, *J. J. Rousseau et sa philosophie*, tr. from the Danish, do. 1912; J. Lemaître, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, do. 1907; J. R. Lowell, *The English Poets; Lessing, Rousseau; Essays, etc.*, London, 1888; John (Viscount) Morley, *Rousseau*, new ed., 2 vols., do. 1886; T. Davidson, *Rousseau and Education*, do. 1898; J. H. B. de Saint-Pierre, *La Vie et les ouvrages de Rousseau*, Paris, 1907; Mme. de Staël, *Œuvres*, vol. i., 'Lettres sur Rousseau,' do. 1820; F. Brunetière, *Etudes critiques*, do. 1880–1907, vols. i., iii., and iv.; A. A. Barbier, *Notice des principaux écrits relatifs à la personne et aux ouvrages de J. J. Rousseau*, do. 1824; Maurice Barrès, *Le Bi-centenaire de Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, do. 1912; F. H. Gribble, *Rousseau and the Women he loved*, London, 1908; C. A. Sainte-Beuve, *Causeries du lundi*, Paris, 1851–62, vols. ii., iii., xv.; Joseph Texte, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau et les origines du cosmopolitisme littéraire*, do. 1895; M. Masson, *La Formation religieuse de Rousseau*, London, 1916, *Rousseau et la restauration religieuse*, do. 1916, *La Profession de foi de Jean-Jacques*, do. 1916, *The Political Writings of Rousseau*, Cambridge, 1916.

E. S. HALDANE.

RṢIS.—See BRĀHMANISM, INSPIRATION (Hindu).

RŪKHARS, SŪKHARS, ŪKHARS.—These are all Śaiva mendicants or Yōgīs (*q.v.*), occasionally found wandering over N. India. They are said to be branches of the Aughaṛ or Ōghaṛ sect of Yōgīs founded in Gujarāt by a Śaiva mendicant named Brahmagiri, a disciple of Gōrakhnāth (*q.v.*). Brahmagiri founded five branches of his sect, named respectively Rūkhaṛ, Sūkhaṛ, Bhūkhaṛ, Kūkaṛ, and Gūdaṛ, of whom the first two are those most commonly met with. They are ordinary Yōgīs, differing from others and among themselves only in apparel and appurtenances. Thus the Rūkhaṛs and Sūkhaṛs wear earrings in both ears—the former of copper or pewter and the latter of *rudrākṣa* (olive-nut) seeds—while Gūdaṛs wear a ring in only one ear and a flat copper plate bearing the footprint of Gōrakhnāth in the other. Bhūkhaṛs and

[1] *Jean-Jacques Rousseau*, pp. 318, 356.

Kūkaṛs do not burn incense in their alms-pot, while the others do. The Kūkaṛs collect alms in a new earthen pot, in which they also cook their food. Sūkhaṛs carry a stick three spans in length, and Rūkhaṛs do not, and so on. The cry of all these, as in the case of many other Śaiva mendicants, is 'Alakh' (see art. ALAKHNĀMĪS).

Ūkhaṛs are said to form a sixth class of these Aughaṛs. The name, however, seems merely to denote those members of the five classes already mentioned who are given to indulgence in flesh and strong drink.

LITERATURE.—H. H. Wilson, *Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus*, London, 1861, p. 236; H. H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1891, *s.v.* 'Aoghar.'

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

RULE OF FAITH.—See CREEDS, CONFESSIONS, FAITH.

RUSSIAN CHURCH.—I. *HISTORY.*—The history of the Russian Church falls into four periods, the character of each being defined by its chief events.

1. Primitive period and down to the Mongol invasion (1st to 10th cent., A.D. 988–1237).—Nestor, in his *Chronicle*, gives an ancient tradition, rejected by modern historians, that the beginnings of Christianity in the southern parts of what is now Russia go back to the time of the apostles. According to this, St. Andrew, as he spread the gospel along the north-eastern shore of the Black Sea, came to the hills above the Dnepr upon which Kiev afterwards arose, blessed them, and foretold that upon them the grace of God should shine forth. In the 4th cent. there were already several bishops' sees in the south of Russia—Bosporus, Cherson, and others, founded for the Christians of the Greek colonies existing in that region. From them the seeds of Christianity might easily have been brought into the limits of the land that is now Russia, but it is unlikely that they took root at that distant time. More favourable conditions for the spread of the gospel in Russia came with the establishment of Slavic tribes within its borders at an epoch that we cannot exactly define. The Slavs had long been well acquainted with Greece, whither they went as traders or mercenaries, and there they not infrequently adopted Christianity. In the middle of the 9th cent. the southern Slavs listened to the gospel preached to them by the 'apostles of the Slavs,' SS. Cyril and Methodius. About the same time Prince Rurik (862–879), invited from among the Varyags, laid at Novgorod the foundation of the Russian State, decreed by Providence to profit more than any other Slavic land by the labours of SS. Cyril and Methodius. Of the Russian princes, the Varyags Askold and Dir, the earliest to rule in Kiev (862–882), were the first to fall under the influence of Christianity, and after their raid against Constantinople they accepted the holy faith. Under Prince Oleg (879–912) there was already no small number of Christians among the Russians, and under his successor Igor (913–945), in the treaty with the Greeks concluded at Kiev in 944, the Russians are already divided into baptized and unbaptized; while the latter confirmed their agreement by swearing before the idol of Perun, the baptized swore by the Holy Cross and the Gospels. Igor's widow, Princess Olga (945–969), herself desired to be baptized, and in 955, when she was 67 years old, she journeyed to Constantinople and there, according to the *Chronicle*, accepted Christianity. Many of her following were baptized along with her. On her return to Kiev Princess Olga (baptized as Elena) journeyed through the towns and villages and preached the faith, shining 'like the moon in the night' in the darkness of the heathenism around her. She tried to persuade her son, Prince Svyatoslav (946–972), to accept Christianity, but in vain. Her grandson, Svyatoslav's son, Prince Vladimir (973–1015), accepted the faith in 987. In 988 the men of Kiev were baptized, and after that Christianity began to spread to the other towns of Russia. The first metropolitan of Kiev, Michael († 991), began by baptizing the people in the towns and villages round about Kiev; afterwards, with bishops and Dobrynya Nikitich, he preached in Novgorod, Rostov (N.N.E. of Moscow), and the surrounding districts, and baptized no small number. Vladimir himself visited Volhynia to preach the faith, and even had several princes of the Kama Bolgars and the Pechenegs baptized at Kiev. Vladimir's sons, sent to the various principalities, also spread the new faith among the people under their rule. So, during the reign of Vladimir, Christianity spread to the feudal centres of Murom, Polotsk, Vladimir-in-Volhynia, Smolensk, Pskov, Lutsk, Tmutarakan (opposite Kerch), etc. For his zeal in spreading the faith of Christ Prince Vladimir received the epithet of *isapostolos* and was canonized by the Russian Church.

Under Vladimir's successors the Christian faith continued to spread. The preaching was specially helped by the fact that in Russia the message was delivered in a Slavic tongue akin to the people's own.

After Vladimir's baptism Christianity became in the full sense of the word the ruling religion in Russia. Accordingly, even in his time there followed the establishment of a special local church, for the existence of which all the conditions were present. At the same time the relations of the Russian Church to the Greek Mother-Church and also its internal local relations to the State and the community began to be defined. In relation to the Greek Church the Russian was established as a special metropolitan see, forming part of the patriarchate of Constantinople and consequently subject to the patriarch's authority. The attempts of Roman Catholic scholars to prove that originally the Russian Church was subject to the pope are absolutely futile. At the head of the Russian Church stood the metropolitan. The whole time of the tenure of St. Michael, the first metropolitan, was taken up in simply spreading the elements of Christianity, so that the Russian Church did not reach complete organization under him. This was achieved by his successor Leontius († 1008). In 992 he divided the Church into dioceses (Novgorod, Chernigov, Vladimir-in-Volhynia, Polotsk, Turov, Belgorod, Rostov, and Tmutarakan), and appointed the first diocesan bishops. Their own see the early metropolitans fixed at Pereyaslav (S.E. of Kiev), and afterwards, under Prince Yaroslav (1017–54), they transferred their place of abode to Kiev. The Russian metropolitans were chosen and consecrated at Constantinople by the patriarch himself with the assent of the emperor. Accordingly the majority of the first rulers of the Russian Church were Greeks. But the metropolitan of Russia, though chosen from among the Greeks, was by no means so dependent on the patriarch as were the other Greek metropolitans. In consequence of the wide extent of his province and the fact that the Russian principality was independent of the Greek Empire, the metropolitan of Russia enjoyed special dignity and almost complete independence of the patriarch; he was in the position of an exarch rather than of a metropolitan. The dependence of the Russian metropolitan upon the patriarch of Constantinople meant no more than that he was chosen and consecrated by the latter and was bound as far as possible to attend the patriarchal synods. Within the Russian Church the metropolitan had an independent jurisdiction

over ecclesiastical affairs, exercised either directly or with a synod of his suffragans, which he often convened at Kiev. His decisions were recognized as final, and recourse to the patriarchal court at Constantinople was very rare—only in specially important cases. The link between the Russian metropolitan province and the patriarchate amounted to this, that the patriarch was prayed for by name in the Russian service, that contributions were often sent from Russia for the needs of the Greek Church, and that there were founded in Russia so-called 'stavropegial' monasteries under the direct jurisdiction of the patriarch. These relations continued till half-way through the 15th century. From the very first days of its existence, however, the Russian Church showed a tendency to complete independence of the patriarch of Constantinople. This appeared in attempts to elect the metropolitans from among native Russians and to enthrone them in Russia. In the period before the Mongols two cases are known of such election and enthronization of Russian-born metropolitans—Hilarion in the middle of the 11th cent. (1051) and Clement a hundred years later (1147); and these were among the best bishops of the Russian Church.

In his relation to the bishops the Russian metropolitan was the elder, counsellor, and guide. He appointed the bishops, summoned them to synods, judged them in synod with the other bishops, and made arrangements concerning the Church as a whole.

The metropolitan of Russia stood in the same relation towards the grand prince as that in which the patriarch of Constantinople stood to the emperor. He was not only the protector of the Church and her interests, the supreme teacher of the faith and religion, but also the guide in many civil affairs. As he always lived near the grand prince, he naturally supported him in his struggle against the vassal princes, and thereby contributed to the strengthening of his authority and the unification of the nation. Being a Greek, he knew the Byzantine laws and customs and thus was enabled to help the grand prince in organizing the life of the Russian State. Furthermore, in accordance with the customs of the Greek Church and the 'Codes' of Princes Vladimir and Yaroslav, the metropolitan was the champion of all the oppressed, the protector of the sick, of widows and orphans, of liberated slaves or prisoners of war who had returned to their own country, and such like. But, although he held so high a place, the metropolitan remained duly conscious of the limits of his rights and obligations. Accordingly, the Russian Church never saw such conflicts between the ecclesiastical and the civil powers as the Western Church shows.

The most eminent metropolitans before the subjugation by the Mongols were St. Michael († 991), the first metropolitan of the Russian Church, who laboured zealously to spread Christianity through the land and encouraged learning, and St. Hilarion (1051–55), remarkable for his ascetic life and labours on behalf of education.

The most important event in the Russian Church during Hilarion's episcopate was the foundation in 1051 of the Pechera Lavra (monastery) at Kiev by Antony († 1073) and Theodosius († 1074). As Kiev was the cradle of Christianity in Russia, so its Pechera monastery became the mother of a large number of other monasteries and gained enormous influence on the general trend of religious life. From it the ascetic outlook spread through Russian society. From it were taken the abbots for other monasteries and bishops for the dioceses. More than fifty of its monks were raised to bishops' sees. The men whom it sent out spread abroad its piety, spirit, rule of life, and the writings of its ascetes. To it gathered those who desired religious instruction. In it were collected the monuments of ecclesiastical literature; here, too, was begun the Russian *Chronicle*.

After the Pechera monastery there arose monasteries in other places. They were the chief points for the concentration and diffusion of piety in the land, which had indeed been converted, but was far from having cut itself loose from survivals of paganism. Outside the walls of the monastery rude passions had full play; within the monastery was quite another world, where the spirit ruled over the flesh, a world of wondrous tales of monks' ascetic exploits, of visions, of miracles, of supernatural help in the conflict with the power of devils. This explains the desire of the best Russians of the time to enter a monastery, or at any rate before death to don the habit of a monk—so strong that the Church itself very often had to restrain it. Many of the monasteries, like the Pechera Lavra, possessed landed estates. The property of such monasteries went not only to support the religious houses, but also to charitable objects. Almost all the monasteries, besides being quiet havens of asceticism, were also refuges for book learning. In them lettered men gathered and wrote their chronicles, histories, tales, and lives of saints; in them schools were founded. This gave them great importance in the community and increased the tendency of Russian society to monasticism. This tendency to monasticism and the saving of one's soul through ascetic exploits shows that during the first two centuries of its existence in Russia Christianity had made no small progress in the task of changing the old heathen society by education. Further advance in the same direction would have been natural. But in the first half of the 13th cent. Russia suffered a great catastrophe, which for long interrupted the regular development of both civil and ecclesiastical life.

2. From the Mongol invasion to the division of the Church into two metropolitan provinces (1237–1461).—In 1237–40 Russia suffered the devastating invasion of the Mongols; the population was extirpated; the churches and monasteries were ruined or desecrated; the Pechera monastery was destroyed and its monks were scattered into forests and caverns. The calamity did not, however, affect all parts of the land with equal ruin. N.E. Russia was less devastated, and, when the first terrible storm had passed, it recovered. But S. Russia was laid absolutely waste. After devastating it, the Mongols continued their nomadic life upon its borders towards the steppes and were a perpetual threat to its population. Accordingly, the people moved towards the north. The current of Russian historical life set towards the land between the rivers Oka and Volga, and there at Moscow it built up for itself a new centre for the State, to take the place of Kiev. Thither also was transferred the centre of Church life—the metropolitan see of Russia.

When the Mongols subjugated Russia, they left entirely untouched the organization of both the State and the Church. Being at the time heathens, they showed complete religious tolerance both to the adherents of various faiths among themselves and to the Russians. Although they destroyed churches and monasteries at the time of their first incursion, they were not persecutors of the Church, but rather in their subsequent dealings with it proved themselves more than well disposed. Some of the khans were actually protectors of the Church. They paid attention to the petitions of the metropolitans, freed the clergy and churches from taxation, forbade blasphemy against the Christian faith, and put no hindrance in the way of Tatar

princes adopting Christianity. If some of the Russian princes, bishops, and others died martyrs' deaths at the hands of the Mongols, it was only because, not sharing the Mongols' latitudinarianism, they found it impossible to fall in with their demand that they should perform certain superstitious rites practised at the khan's court, such as passing through the fire of purification, worshipping the images of deceased khans, and so on. Christianity itself was not attacked by the Mongols. Later, when in 1313 the Mongols adopted Islām, their attitude to the Russian Church underwent hardly any alteration.

The comparatively favourable attitude of the khans to the Russian Church was due not only to the religious tolerance of the Mongols, but also largely to the behaviour of the rulers who stood at the head of the Church during those troublous times. The most remarkable metropolitans under the Mongol domination were: St. Cyril III. (1242, 1249-81), who laboured hard for the building up of the Church and spent almost all his episcopate in journeys through his province; Maximus (1283–1305), who in 1300 transferred his abode from Kiev to the town of Vladimir on the Klyazma; St. Peter (1308–26), a zealous worker for the good of the Church, who chose as his residence what was then the unimportant town of Moscow, the principality of his friend Ioann Danilovich Kalita (1328–40), thereby contributing in no small degree to its rise. At that time S. Russia, including Kiev, fell into the power of the Lithuanian pagan prince, Gedimin (1315–41), and finally lost its first place in Church matters. This now passed to Moscow, although the metropolitans continued to style themselves 'of Kiev' and not 'of Moscow.' The next specially eminent metropolitan was St. Alexis (1354–78), who devoted himself to making successful petitions to the khan on behalf of the Russian land and Church, contributed to the rise of the prince of Moscow, laboured for the good order of ecclesiastical and monastic life, founded monasteries, worked at translating the NT from Greek into Slavic, and wrote pastoral epistles.

After the death of the metropolitan Alexis great disorder arose in the Church, due to certain men who sought to gain the metropolitan see by dishonest means. The disorder continued for eleven years till the time of the grand prince Vasili Dmitrievich (1389–1425), who accepted Cyprian (1381–82, 1390–1406) as metropolitan of Kiev. The time during which Cyprian ruled the Church passed peaceably. He gave zealous attention to religious education and worked hard to eliminate certain abuses which had crept into the Church services. In his time also there was a break in the long continued attempts on the part of Lithuania to have S.W. Russia erected into a province with a special metropolitan. But after the death of Cyprian division again took place in the Russian Church. Vitovt, grand prince of Lithuania from 1392 to 1430, refused to accept the newly appointed metropolitan Photius (1408–33) and insisted on the election of a second metropolitan for the Lithuanian principality. Gregory Tsamblak (1415–19), a nephew of Cyprian, was elected, a learned man, and zealous for orthodoxy. When Gregory died, Vitovt acquiesced in Photius, and so the unity of the Russian metropolitan province was re-established. But it did not last long. The successor of Photius was St. Jonas (1448–61). He was elected by a synod of Russian bishops in 1434, and set out for Constantinople to be installed. But his installation was long delayed. Half-way through 1436, not long before Jonas arrived, there had been installed as metropolitan of Russia a certain Greek named Isidore, known for his attempt to introduce the Union of Florence into the Russian Church. Jonas was promised the succession to the metropolitan see only after the death of Isidore. Isidore, on his return from the Council of Florence, met with a most hostile reception in Moscow in 1441, and in the same year fled to Rome. But, even after this, Jonas remained only a bishop and was not enthroned as metropolitan till 1448.

The enthronement of Jonas as metropolitan at the wish of the grand prince Vasili Vasilievich (1425–62) was performed at Moscow by a synod of Russian bishops. This event was of great importance as a long step on the road to the Russian Church's gaining complete independence of the patriarch of Constantinople. From the time of Jonas and his successor Theodosius (1461–64) the Russian metropolitan province was entirely independent, but even after this it did not break off its connexion with its Mother-Church of Greece. When, in 1453, Constantinople was taken by the Turks, Jonas comforted the patriarch Gennadius by sending him presents, and asked for his blessing. It was at this time that the Russian Church is reckoned to have received the right of appointing its metropolitan independently of the Constantinopolitan patriarch.

The final partition of the Church into two provinces took place in the time of Jonas. Isidore, who had fled to Rome, would not give up his pretensions to the Russian Church and wished to take away from Jonas at least the south-western dioceses which were under the rule of the Polish king Kazimir (1440–92), a zealous Catholic. His attempts were not successful, it is true; but through his influence the Constantinopolitan patriarch, Gregory Mammas, who had been deprived of his see for his Latin tendencies and was living in Rome, in 1458 consecrated as the metropolitan of Lithuania a pupil of Isidore, by name Gregory († 1472). After this the council of Russian bishops held in Moscow in 1459 acknowledged the final division of the Russian Church into two provinces—Moscow and Kiev.

3. From the division into two provinces to the establishment of the Holy Synod (1461–1721).—(*a*) *The province of Moscow.*—In the middle of the 15th cent. Russia was divided into two political aggregations—the eastern, under the rule of the Moscow autocrats, and the western, under the Lithuano-Polish government.

The Moscow province, under the protection of an Orthodox government, advanced both spiritually and in externals. With regard to spiritual things, it successfully overcame the heresy of the Judaizers which troubled it during the latter half of the 15th cent., and in the 16th cent. took up the important task of correcting various abuses which had crept into the divine service and into Church life as a whole. Externally it continued to extend its boundaries and to adorn itself with outward magnificence, and at the end of the 16th cent. it rose to the dignity of an independent patriarchate.

The Judaizing heresy, besides its bad consequences, had its good side. The struggle with the heresy raised various questions as to the abuses at that time rife in the Church and occasioned attempts to remove them. These abuses dated from early times, being due to insufficient education, but they had greatly increased owing to the disorders of the feudal period and the weight of the Mongol yoke. Side by side with their Christian rites the early Russians had retained various pagan usages: together with the holy books they used to read sundry 'rejected' books full of apocryphal stories and superstitions; many of them visited wizards for divination and took part in pagan festivals; the carelessness and ignorance of scribes had introduced into the Scriptures and liturgical books many false readings and doubtful expressions with

ambiguous or even heretical meanings; into the rites of the Church there had crept many innovations unknown to the Greek Church, such as the singing of 'Alleluia' twice (instead of thrice), the circulation of processions 'with the sun' (from east to west), and the use of only two fingers in making the sign of the Cross. The rectification of these abuses had long been aimed at by the metropolitans Hilarion, Cyril III., Peter, Alexis, Jonas, and others. For the same purpose, at the beginning of the 16th cent., there was summoned to Moscow from the Vatopedi monastery on Mount Athos Maximus the Greek († 1556), a pious and learned monk, who worked hard on the translation of the Holy Scriptures from Greek into Slavic and the correction of the Russian liturgical books. Later, in 1551, there was summoned to Moscow the so-called Stoglav ('Hundred Chapter') Council, and from its time care was devoted to the setting right of various faults in the religious and ecclesiastical life of Russian society, not only of individuals, but of the whole Church. An event of great importance for this period was the foundation by Sergius († 1391) of the Trinity monastery (Troitse-Sergieva Lavra) near Moscow. This had the same significance for N. Russia as the Pechera at Kiev had for the South. The other chief monasteries of the time were Solovetsk, Volokolamsk, and that on the river Sora; these were the refuges of asceticism and of piety and the nurseries of Christian education for all Russia. The Russian monasticism of the time showed two special tendencies—one practical and political, under the headship of Joseph of Volok († 1515), who defended the holding of landed property by monasteries; the other critical and ascetic, led by Nilus Sorski († 1508)—so called after the cell which he founded on the river Sora—who refused all communion with the world. The contest between these two points of view kept cropping up in connexion with all sorts of questions and found its way into all departments of the Church and community. After various discussions the former school triumphed, and in 1503 it was actually approved by a synod at Moscow. In 1480 the grand prince Ivan III. Vasilievich (1462–1505) threw off the Tatar yoke; more and more of the Russian land was united under the power of the Moscow princes, and in 1547 they assumed the title of tsar. All this combined to strengthen their power not only in civil but also in ecclesiastical affairs. In their use of this power some of the Moscow tsars, especially Ivan IV. Vasilievich (the Terrible, 1533–84), reached the limits of despotism. In the second half of the 16th cent. the Muscovite State entered upon an aggressive movement towards the east and subdued the kingdoms of Kazan (1552) and Astrakhan (1556). These conquests had a most important effect upon the Church, as they opened the way to the preaching of Christianity among the Musalmān and pagan tribes inhabiting those kingdoms. The most remarkable men produced by the Church at this time were the metropolitan Macarius (1542–63), who compiled the famous *Menæa*, St. Philip (1566–69), who fearlessly rebuked Ivan the Terrible, and Guri (1555–63), the first archbishop of Kazan, who illumined that part of the country with the light of the Christian faith.

Since the time of the metropolitan Jonas the Russian Church had in practice lived its own life, independently of the Greek patriarch; the only evidence of its tie with the Greek Church was the aid which it rendered to the Orthodox East when it was suffering under the rule of the Turks. The Russian metropolitan, however, continued to be nominally dependent on the patriarch. At the end of the 16th cent. even this seemed out of place, since Russia had become a mighty power, while the patriarch was a subject of the Turkish sultan. Tsar Theodore Ivanovich (1584–98) accordingly formed a desire to establish for Moscow a patriarchal see of its own. Jeremy II. (1572–79, 1580–84, 1586–95), patriarch of Constantinople, who had come to Moscow in 1588, fulfilled Theodore Ivanovich's desire, and in January 1589 consecrated as patriarch the then metropolitan of Moscow, Job (1589–1605). Two years later (1591) the Eastern patriarchs sent Job an instrument of confirmation and gave him precedence next after the patriarch of Jerusalem.

The establishment of the patriarchate produced no essential changes in the rights of the ruling bishop of the Russian Church. The difference came merely to this, that, whereas he had long been governing his Church independently and enjoying within it rights identical with those of the ruling bishops of the Eastern Church, he was now put on a level with them in his title and hierarchic precedence. In his administrative entourage the patriarch employed more pomp and magnificence than before.

The raising of the ruling bishop of the Church to the rank of patriarch was only in accordance with the Church's dignity and magnificence. Unfortunately the tenure of the first two patriarchs coincided with a time of hard trials for the State. This prevented them from leading the Church along the normal road of gradual advance. On the other hand, the patriarchs at that time saved Muscovite Russia from what seemed to be inevitable destruction. In 1598 Tsar Theodore Ivanovich died without issue. His death cut off the ancient Russian dynasty of princes and tsars of the house of Rurik, and there followed the so-called 'Troubles.' The 'Troubles' were specially rife after the appearance of the first pretender, pseudo-Demetrius I. († 1606), who was a tool of the Poles, Jesuits, and Roman Catholic propaganda, and therefore as serious a menace to the Orthodox Church as to the State; he threatened both the political independence of Muscovite Russia and Orthodoxy. Having accepted Roman Catholicism himself, pseudo-Demetrius energetically prepared, with the help of the Poles, to bring Russia over to Latinism.

It was the patriarch Job who came forward in this anxious time as the champion of the independence of the Russian State and the inviolability of pristine Russian Orthodoxy. With fearless courage Job defied the usurper, whose partisans, when they took Moscow in 1605, unfrocked him and banished him to the Staritski monastery, where he died in 1607.

After a certain Ignatius, a Greek inclined to Roman Catholicism (1605–06, † 1640), had occupied the patriarchal throne for a short time, Hermogenes (Germogen) became patriarch (1606–12). During the 'Troublous Times' he stood fast for Orthodoxy and was an 'unshakable pillar' of Church and State. When, after the deposition of Vasili Ivanovich Shuyski (1606–10), a mission was sent to the Polish king Sigismund III. (1587–1632) to invite his son Wladyslaw to be tsar, Hermogenes insisted that in all negotiations concerning Wladyslaw the envoys should lay down as an indispensable condition that he should adopt the Orthodox faith. Hermogenes also took an active part in raising the so-called first land-levy (1610–11) to oppose the Poles. For this some of the Moscow nobles, partisans of the Poles, shut him into a cold, damp cellar in the Chudov monastery (in the Moscow Kremlin) and he died of starvation. In 1913, in view of his martyr-death and of the miraculous healings which had taken place through the intermediation of his prayers, Hermogenes was canonized by the Russian Church under the name of Ermogen.

The inviolability of Orthodoxy and the independence of the State were also championed by other representatives of the Church — metropolitans, bishops, and ordinary priests. The religious and patriotic achievements of the monasteries, especially the Troitse-Sergieva Lavra, were also notable at this time. The latter was besieged for sixteen months from September 1608 by a Polish army of 30,000 men. The defenders in this famous siege numbered in all only 2300, some of whom scarcely knew the use of arms.

The first patriarch after the 'Troublous Times' was Philaret Nikitich (1619–33), the father of the newly elected tsar Michael Feodorovich (1613–45). It was during his tenure of the patriarchate that the patriarchal power attained its highest development. The patriarch now shared with his son the title of 'Great Lord' (*Gosudar*). All acts of the supreme power ran in the name of both 'Great Lords': to both reports were addressed; to both foreign ambassadors were accredited. The Church attained complete independence in its affairs. Under Philaret the ecclesiastical courts had respect for no persons, however mighty. In 1625 the patriarch obtained from the tsar the grant of a charter under which all the clergy of his diocese, the monasteries and churches, with their servants and peasants, were placed under the civil jurisdiction of the patriarch. At the same time the patriarch arrayed himself in imperial state and thereby added majesty to his office. Philaret also devoted no little attention to the organization of the Church.

After Philaret the patriarchal throne was occupied by Joasaph I. (1634–40) and Joseph (1642–52). Under them the patriarchal power noticeably weakened, but under the patriarch Nicon (1652–66) it shone forth once more in all its brilliance and dignity. Unbounded friendship united Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich (1645–76) and the patriarch Nicon through almost all the time that the latter ruled the Church. Without the patriarch no political decision was made; during the tsar's absence from Moscow at the Polish wars (1654–55) the patriarch took personal direction of all the affairs of the State. But the high position to which Nicon had attained and certain peculiarities of his character brought about the formation of a strong party opposed to him, consisting of nobles and many others, mostly persons attached to old ways. The numerous mistakes in the Russian liturgical books and the various abuses in ritual had already been clearly pointed out by Maximus the Greek, and also by the Stoglav Council. All admitted the necessity for correction, and throughout the whole period, from the Stoglav Council to Nicon, there had been a series of attempts at emendation—with little success, inasmuch as the actual method of emendation had been faulty. The correction had been carried out according to old Russian texts, themselves erroneous, and rarely by comparison with the Greek originals. Under Nicon the correction of the books was carried out by experts working with Greek and Slavic MSS, and constituted an epoch in the history of the regulation of Church order in Russia. Later times had little left to do in the way of emending either the text of the service-books or the ritual ordering of the services. But this great historic achievement of Nicon aroused the bitter hatred of his contemporaries. Consequently, when in 1658 a difference arose between Nicon and Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich, he left the patriarchal throne and retired to the Monastery of the Resurrection. Meanwhile the movement against Nicon's innovations spread and embraced many people in all ranks of society—from peasants to influential noblewomen. To restrain false teachers and to prevent the further spread of false teaching, Alexis Mikhailovich summoned in 1666 the so-called 'Great Council' (1666–67) of Russian bishops with the participation of the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch. This Council began by considering the case of the patriarch Nicon, and, after examining various charges against him, condemned him and deprived him of the patriarchate. Nevertheless, when Nicon died in 1681, Alexis Mikhailovich ordered him to be buried with patriarchal rites, and within a year an instrument was received from the Eastern patriarchs freeing him from the Council's condemnation and restoring him to the rank of patriarch. The Council went on to examine the corrections made in the service-books and ritual during Nicon's patriarchate, entirely approved them, and condemned their chief opponents, certain of whom made public repentance and received absolution, while the unrepentant were anathematized and banished to distant exile. The chief schismatic teachers, Avvakum, Lazar, and Theodore, were later, in 1681, burnt upon a pyre. So appeared in the Russian Church the schism of the Old Believers, who subsequently divided into two sects, the Popovtsy (with priests) and the Bezpopovtsy (priestless), and these again split into a large number of sects and schools. Taking its rise from adherence to the letter of the Church service-book and from faith in the saving power of the rite in itself without any understanding of its sense and meaning, the schism is in its essence faith in ritual, jealously guarding from changes and corrections all that is 'ancient' in the Church books and rites. Of the particular points upon which the tenets of the Old Believers differ from those of the Orthodox the most important are: (1) services must be conducted according to the old books published before the time of Nicon; (2) the eighth article of the Creed must read: 'And in the Holy Ghost the *true* Lord and Giver of Life'; (3) 'Alleluia' must be said twice and not thrice; (4) Church processions must go with the sun, not against it; (5) the sign of the cross must be made with two, not three, fingers; (6) the only cross to be honoured is the eight-pointed (*i.e.* the Russian cross, in which the title and the slanting foot-rest have become extra cross pieces); (7) the name of Jesus Christ must be written and pronounced *Isus*, and not *Iisus*; (8) the liturgy must be celebrated with seven prosphoræ instead of five.

After its condemnation by the Church the schism at once began to be persecuted by the ecclesiastical and civil governments and took up a hostile position towards both Church and State. Hiding from persecution, the Old Believers filled all the forests of inner Russia with their secret cells. The spread of the sect was still further helped by the strict measures taken against it. Only in 1905 did the sectaries gain the right to religious freedom.[1]

(*b*) *The metropolitan province of Kiev.*—Whilst the province of Moscow enjoyed political independence, the province of Kiev was under the oppression of a Roman Catholic power.

The Polish-Lithuanian Government found it inconvenient that its orthodox subjects should gravitate towards Moscow, which had become the special centre of political life in N. Russia; and, even before it had become Roman Catholic, it had striven energetically towards an ecclesiastical separation from Moscow. But from the time of the grand prince Yagello (1377–1386–1434), during which Lithuania and Poland had been united under a Roman Catholic Government (1386), the position of Orthodoxy in those parts became yet more disadvantageous. In spite of the fact that the greater part of the Lithuanian principality

[1] Cf. art. SECTS (Russian).

consisted of lands inhabited by Orthodox Russians, and that all the notables of the Russian regions held to the Orthodox confession, Yagello made several attempts to spread Roman Catholicism in Lithuania. These attempts completely failed, and even led to Lithuania's absolutely breaking away from Poland under a separate prince, Vitovt (1392–1430); nevertheless they went on with more or less energy according to circumstances. The prudent Vitovt, understanding how predominantly important the Orthodox population was for the Lithuanian State, did not persecute it, but directed all his efforts towards cutting off the Orthodox Church in Lithuania from the province of Moscow—a project realized in 1459 under Yagello's son, Kazimir (1440–92). The separation of S.W. Russia from the power of the metropolitans of Moscow was a definite step towards the establishment of religious union between the divers confessions of the Lithuanian population. After this separation the Orthodox Church in the Polish-Lithuanian State found itself in a most dangerous position—isolated, deprived of all outside support, face to face with strong Catholicism. Kazimir's successor, Alexander, Prince of Lithuania and king of Poland (1492–1506), under the influence of the Catholic clergy, oppressed the Orthodox in every way. But the persecution cost Lithuania very dear. Many notable Orthodox families and even whole towns began to go over and become subject to Moscow. Alexander's successor, Sigismund (1506–48), treated the Orthodox with more tolerance. Profiting by this, the Orthodox bishops of Lithuania held a council at Vilna in 1509, at which were promulgated certain canons, intended to restrict arbitrary lay interference in the affairs of the Church. The next king, Sigismund II. (1548–72), under the influence of a Protestant chancellor of Lithuania, Nicolas Radziwill († 1588), also refrained from persecuting the Orthodox for their faith; but, being in need of money, he plundered the Orthodox churches and imposed excessive taxes upon the people. Under this king also the first forerunners of new misfortunes for the Orthodox Church appeared — the Union of Lublin (1569), which joined the two States of Lithuania and Poland, the coming of the Jesuits, and, soon after, the ecclesiastical Union of Brest (1596).

In spite of the wiles of the Jesuits and the pressure of the Roman Catholic Government, the Orthodox Church in its own districts of Poland and Lithuania held fast to its creed. In the struggle with its foes it was actively supported by the Eastern patriarchs, by the best representatives of Russian society of the time, and by the Orthodox Church brotherhoods. The patriarchs, either in person or through their exarchs, righted abuses in the Church, appointed metropolitans and bishops, and blessed and encouraged the champions of Orthodoxy. The best representatives of Russian society, such as Princes Andrew Kurbski († 1583) and Constantine Ostrozhski († 1608), and the Orthodox brotherhoods, especially those of Lemberg and Vilna, took part in electing the clergy, looked after Church courts and government, helped the clergy to root out disorders in the Church, defended its interests with the Government, set up schools, printing-presses, and almshouses, and collected funds for the maintenance of the churches and clergy. Unfortunately these activities, advantageous though they were to the Church, found no favour with certain of the Orthodox bishops, as they encroached upon their independence. Hence ensued frequent collisions between the bishops and the representative laymen, and these the Jesuits were quick to use for their own ends. At their instigation in 1591 certain of the south-western bishops secretly laid a petition before King Sigismund III., asking that the South-Western Church should become subject to the papal see as a Uniate Church. Next, in 1595, Bishops Cyril Terlecki († 1607) and Hypatius Pociej († 1613) set out for Rome, where Pope Clement VIII. (1592–1605) met them with great joy, and with solemn ceremony declared the Union of the South-Western Russian Church with the Roman Church. In 1596 there was held at Brest-Litovsk a council of local bishops to which the patriarch of Constantinople sent exarchs, Nicephorus († 1596) and then Cyril Lucaris, afterwards patriarch (1612–38, with interruptions). The purpose was to promulgate the completion of the Union, but strong opposition to it arose among the Orthodox. From the very beginning the council was divided. The Orthodox, as they had no church at their command, met in a private house. They excommunicated both the metropolitan Michael Rahoza († 1599) and the bishops who had joined the Union. The Uniates answered in like manner, and afterwards executed a deed of submission to Rome. So the Union was introduced into S.W. Russia. The bishops who had remained faithful to Orthodoxy were deprived of their sees; the priests were driven out of their parishes; the brotherhoods were declared assemblies of insurgents; townsmen were restricted in the exercise of trade and handicraft; peasants were oppressed with services to their lords and other dues; the churches were leased to Jews. The effect of these restrictions was to lessen the number of Orthodox bishops, and the Orthodox were compelled willy-nilly to have recourse to Uniate priests for the performance of occasional offices. But the Uniates themselves were in no better case. They were looked down upon by both Roman Catholics and Orthodox. So matters stood under Sigismund III. His successor, Wladyslaw IV. (1632–48), though well disposed to the Orthodox, could not help them, as he had not the power to make headway against the turbulence of the nobles and the fanaticism of the Roman Catholic clergy.

When it became clear that the State of Poland and Lithuania either would not or could not satisfy the just aspirations of its Orthodox populations, the defence of their interests was taken up by the Cossacks of that region. One after another came Cossack insurrections. These were unsuccessful and merely served as new excuses for persecuting the Orthodox; but their failure made the champions of Orthodoxy turn to Moscow for defence. In 1654 Little Russia, under the hetman Bohdan Khmelnitsky († 1651), joined the Muscovite power. In 1657 the patriarch Joachim († 1690) appointed Prince Gideon Chetvertinsky († 1690) metropolitan of Kiev, and in 1687 the patriarch of Constantinople, in conjunction with the other patriarchs, recognized the metropolitan of Kiev as under the patriarch of Moscow. From that time the metropolitans of Kiev became dependent on the All-Russian patriarch, and accordingly the W. Russian Church, torn away by Vitovt from alliance with Moscow, was once more united to the All-Russian Church. But the position of the Orthodox who were left in the districts of Poland-Lithuania was, as before, exceedingly wretched. Suffering under the yoke of Roman Catholicism, they tended to join either the Uniates or the Roman Catholics, and it was only later, when Russian influence was firmly established in those parts, that they began to return to the bosom of the Orthodox Church.

Among the men who were most active in promoting Orthodoxy and religious instruction in the S.W. province mention should be made of the metropolitan Peter Mohila (1633–46), who rendered great services to the Orthodox Church. He championed both Orthodox persons and the rights of

Church institutions many times before the Polish-Lithuanian Government; he laboured for the restoration of monuments of ecclesiastical antiquity, richly adorned the Pechera Lavra, and restored from almost complete ruin the cathedral of St. Sophia at Kiev and other churches recovered from the hands of the Uniates. He also wrote and published works in defence of Orthodoxy, corrected the service-books, and laboured to spread education in the Orthodox Church. His most important educational work was his remodelling of the Clerical Academy at Kiev (on the model of a Jesuit college) and his improvement of the instruction given in it. From that time dates a special theological tendency in the Kiev Academy, the mark of which was the influence of Roman Catholicism and the Scholastic philosophy.

4. From the foundation of the Holy Synod to the present time (1721–1917).—Among the most important reforms due to Peter the Great (1682–1725), the transformer of Russia, is the change in the supreme administration of the Church. In his task of organizing the life of the State and the community upon new principles, Peter the Great made straight for his aim without letting anything stand in his way. The administrative organization of ecclesiastical life, as it had existed up to his time, he regarded as producing conditions unfavourable to his transformations. On the one hand, he recognized that the Church and its clergy had a great influence on every part of the people's life; on the other hand, he saw that among the clergy his reforms met with little sympathy. Starting from these premisses, he came to the conclusion that, to secure success, he must change the form of the supreme administration of the Church and for the rule of one man substitute that of a 'college,' or board. Accordingly, when in 1700 the patriarch Adrian (1690–1700) died, Peter refrained from nominating a successor to him and assigned his duties to the metropolitan of Ryazan, Stephen Yavorski († 1722), with the title of *locum tenens* of the patriarchal see. This manner of administering the Church continued until 1721, when the ecclesiastical administration came up for reform. In 1718 Peter the Great had promulgated an edict for the foundation of a 'clerical (spiritual) college,' and entrusted to Theophan Prokopovich, bishop of Pskov († 1736), the work of drawing up a scheme for its governance, the so-called *Clerical Regulations* (*Dukhóvny Reglâment*). In 1720 the *Regulations* were ready, and in 1721 the Clerical College itself was solemnly opened under the name of the 'Most Holy Governing Synod.' In 1723 the Eastern patriarchs sent a deed of confirmation to the synod, and in it they named it their 'Brother in Christ,' and allowed it the rights and authority of a patriarch.

By the *Clerical Regulations* the synod took its place in the general system of higher administration; its members took an oath of allegiance to the emperor and bound themselves to observe all the interests of the State. The synod was at first composed as follows: Stephen Yavorski; two vice-presidents, Theodosius Yanovski (archbishop of Novgorod, deprived of his see in 1725) and Theophan Prokopovich; four councillors; and four assessors. Besides the representatives of the superior clergy there were representatives of the monasteries and of the secular clergy. In its rights it was held equal to the senate and in the same manner was directly subject to the emperor, represented in the synod by the chief procurator (*Ober-Procuror*), a layman, who watched the progress of business, and held up unsatisfactory decisions, reporting upon them to the emperor. The synod was given the right to promulgate new laws touching the Orthodox Church and its members. It was also its duty to see to the purity of the faith and the due celebration of public worship, to root out superstition, heresies, and schisms, to test reports as to saints (whom it was proposed to canonize), to certify miraculous ikons and relics, to examine books on religious subjects, to survey the building of churches and monasteries, and to care for the religious education of the people and the material support of the churches. The composition of the synod, its rights and duties, as laid down in the *Clerical Regulations*, have remained in the main unchanged up to the time of writing.

After the reign of Peter the position of the Russian Church throughout the 18th cent. was very difficult, especially during the reign of the empress Anna Ioannovna (1730–41), when great influence over Russia was gained by the Germans. Under Catherine II. (1762–96) a secularization of Church property took place (1764). It was opposed by Arsenius Matseevich, metropolitan of Rostov, who died in the fortress of Revel (1772). At the beginning of the 19th cent., under Alexander I. (1801–25), a mystic movement spread in Russia and was supported by the procurator of the Holy Synod, Prince Golitsyn († 1843). Under the influence of this movement the Russian Bible Society was founded in 1812. But by the end of Alexander's reign the mystic tendency gave place to a reaction.

The most important facts of the synod period in the history of the Russian Church have been the establishment of clerical and parish schools, the foundation of missions and of the Edinoverie ('One Faith,' a compromise to bring back the Old Believers), the reconciliation of the Uniates, the restoration of the activity of Church brotherhoods, and the foundation of church and parish wardenships (*popechítelstva*). The necessity of educating the clergy became evident from the time of Peter the Great's reforms. In his need of enlightened bishops Peter first of all directed his attention to the Moscow Academy, which had formerly been the only source of clerical education for the north of Russia, and reorganized it after the pattern of the Kiev Academy, giving it a Latin instead of its former Græco-Slavic tendency. He also improved the financial position of the Kiev Academy. Next he required the bishops to establish, in connexion with their sees, clerical schools with primary and secondary courses, also organized with a Latin tendency. On these lines clerical schools were established all through the 18th cent., and organized after the pattern of the S. Russian schools; and, in spite of lack of funds, they increased in number. At the end of the century there were in Russia three clerical academies (Kiev, Moscow, and Petrograd), 36 seminaries, and 115 clerical schools. From these there went forth a succession of remarkable bishops, ecclesiastics, and writers. In 1808 at the command of Alexander I. the clerical educational institutions were recast and divided into four grades: (1) academies for higher education; (2) seminaries (one in each diocese) for secondary education; (3) district schools; and (4) parish schools for primary education, opened in towns and villages. In 1814 new regulations for the clerical schools were promulgated, according to which they were organized as schools for the clerical caste, with courses of general and of specialized instruction. In 1867–69 and in 1884 the regulations underwent certain changes dictated by experience; these were directed towards improving the material position and regularizing the organization of the schools. At present these institutions are governed by the educational committee of the Holy Synod, established in 1867. Since 1843 schools have been opened for girls of the clerical caste. In 1884 a scheme for church schools in parishes was started,

for the education of the people in the Orthodox faith. These are divided into primary schools (for reading and writing, one-class and two-class schools, and Sunday schools), which give elementary instruction, and teachers' schools (secondary and training schools), which train teachers for the primary schools. These are all governed by the school council of the Holy Synod, established in 1885.

Until the 18th cent. the missionary activity of the Church corresponded closely with the expansion of the State. Its central and northern provinces had been illumined by the light of Christ's faith in the first centuries after the formation of the State; into its distant provinces—into the regions of the Caucasus and Siberia—Christianity penetrated later. Before the time of Peter the Great missionary activity lacked adequate financial support and had no regular organization. Consequently it could not have any very great success. On the non-Russian fringes of the Russian State the number of Christians was insignificant compared with that of the Muhammadans and pagans. But since Peter's time the spread of the gospel among the tribes has been more rapid. Peter himself, though he believed in toleration, supplied funds for the support of missionaries and encouraged converts by various civil privileges. Missionary work was promoted by the empresses Elisabeth (1741–61) and Catherine II., and by the succeeding emperors. The work of spreading Christianity among the non-Russian tribes was specially advanced in the 18th cent. by Tychon, metropolitan of Kazan († 1724), Philotheus Leshchinski, metropolitan of Tobolsk († 1727), St. Innocent, bishop of Irkutsk († 1731), and in the 19th cent. by Macarius Glukharev († 1847) and Innocent Veniaminov († 1879). Since 1870 this work has been the care of the Orthodox Missionary Society, which manages nine Siberian missions. In 1913 was founded a mission council of the Holy Synod, to act as the central authority for the missionary activity of the Church. The Clerical Academy at Kazan opened a separate department in 1854 for the special preparation of missionaries. From Siberia the preaching of the gospel made its way to China and Japan. In Japan the work of the mission was established on firm foundations by the labours of Nicolas, the remarkable archbishop of Japan († 1912). There is also an Orthodox Russian mission in N. America.

The Edinoverie ('One Faith') was established in the Church in order to combat the schism. It first began in 1783, when certain schismatics living about Starodub in the government of Chernigov sent a petition to the synod expressing their readiness to join the Orthodox Russian Church on the following conditions: (1) that the synod should raise the curse laid by the 'Great Synod' of Moscow (1667) upon the use of two fingers in the sign of the cross and upon the other schismatic customs; (2) that the synod should give them a bishop who should consecrate priests after the ancient rite; (3) that both this bishop and the priests should celebrate the services according to the old books; (4) that the synod should grant them some holy oil (*myro*); (5) that they should not be forced to shave their beards or wear European clothes. The desires expressed by the schismatics were recognized by the synod as permissible, except the assigning to them of a special bishop. In 1800 the schismatics who entered into communion with the Orthodox Church on the above conditions received the name of Edinovertsy.

The reconciliation of the Uniates to the Orthodox Church began in the latter part of the 18th cent. and was completed only at the end of the 19th. After the establishment of the Union at the Council of Brest-Litovsk (1596) the position of Orthodoxy in the west of Russia had become very difficult, and in course of time the Orthodox Russians were forced to join the Uniates and the Uniates to approximate more and more to the Roman Catholics. By the middle of the 18th cent. of the four Orthodox Russian dioceses in W. Russia only one—that of Mohilev, or White Russia—was left. During this period of stress the Orthodox Russians of the south-west found an active defender in George Konisski († 1795), bishop of White Russia, who impelled the empress Catherine II. to come forward as the protector of the Orthodox population of Poland, among whom a movement against the Union arose. Many of the Uniates returned to the bosom of the Orthodox Church. When the three partitions of Poland had successively taken place (1772, 1793, 1795), about two million Uniates, freed from Polish rule, returned to Orthodoxy (1794–96) and made up what is now the diocese of Minsk. A second mass movement of W. Russian Uniates joining the Orthodox Church took place in 1839; from that time the only Uniates left were in the Lublin and Siedlce governments of Poland; in 1875 these finally came over to Orthodoxy.

The Orthodox Church brotherhoods, which existed in ancient Russia, and afterwards, in the 15th and 16th centuries, were so specially important in S.W. Russia, had in the 18th cent. fallen into utter decay, and this continued till the middle of the 19th century. Only in 1864, when 'fundamental rules for the establishment of Orthodox Church brotherhoods' were laid down, did they begin to be restored and to spread throughout Russia. At the present time they exist in almost all dioceses. In the same year, in order to improve the organization of Church life in each parish, a new institution was established, that of church and parish wardenships (*popechitelstva*), which now exist in connexion with most churches.

In the last two centuries, as in earlier times, the Russian Church has produced a line of witnesses to faith and piety, who have been numbered in the canon of the holy saints of God. Such are St. Theodosius, archbishop of Chernigov († 1696); Pitirim, bishop of Tambov († 1698); Mitrophan, bishop of Voronezh († 1703); Demetrius, metropolitan of Rostov († 1709); Ioann Maximovich, metropolitan of Tobolsk († 1715); Innocent, bishop of Irkutsk († 1731); Ioasaph, bishop of Belgorod († 1754); Tychon, bishop of Voronezh († 1783); Seraphim of Sarov († 1833). In the spheres of ecclesiastical activity and religious education during the 18th and 19th centuries distinguished names are: Stephen Yavorski, metropolitan of Ryazan († 1722), the first president of the Holy Synod; Theophan Prokopovich, archbishop of Novgorod († 1736); Plato Levshin, metropolitan of Moscow († 1812); Eugene Bolkhovitinov, metropolitan of Kiev († 1837); Innocent, archbishop of Kherson († 1867); Philaret Gumilevski, archbishop of Chernigov († 1866); Philaret Drosdov, metropolitan of Moscow († 1867); Macarius Bulgakov, metropolitan of Moscow († 1882); Silvester, bishop of Kanev (1908). In religious education a high place belongs to B. Bolotov († 1900), V. Klyuchevski († 1911), E. Golubinski († 1912), N. Glubokovski, and others. The political reforms which took place in the Russian Empire in 1905 had also their effect upon Church life. The interests of the Orthodox Church were most nearly affected by the decree of religious tolerance issued in that year. By it subjects of the Russian Empire were granted the right freely to go over from Orthodoxy to other confessions. As a result, under the influence of Roman Catholic and Protestant propaganda, especially in the western provinces, there fell

away from the Orthodox Church several hundred thousand members. At the same time the question arose of the necessity of reforming the organization of the Russian Church and of summoning a council of the whole Church with that purpose. In order to do the preliminary work, a special 'preconciliary department' (*Prisútstvie*) was appointed, afterwards changed into a 'preconciliary consultation' (*Sovĕshchánie*), and is still continuing its labours. In connexion with this consultation there must be mentioned as a reform in the Church a command given by the emperor Nicolas II. in 1916 to the effect that, when the procurator of the synod reports to the emperor on affairs touching the internal organization of Church life and the essence of Church government, the reports should be made in the presence of the senior member of the Holy Synod in order that each point should be duly considered from the point of view of canon law.

[It is too soon (Dec. 1917) to see what will be the effect of the Russian revolution upon the Church. There is little doubt that its special privileges will be taken away, and it will be disestablished. Also the Church and monastery lands will be taken by the State and granted to peasants; it is, however, intended that compensation be paid.

A council of the whole Church held in Moscow began on 3rd Sept. 1917. Elections had been held in June and July. All adults over 25 years of age took part in these: each parish elected one priest and four laymen to the deanery synod; each deanery sent two priests and three laymen to the diocesan convocation; each diocese sent two priests and three laymen to the council, making 320 in all. Metropolitans and bishops (64) sat *ex officio*. There were also nine representatives of the autocephalous churches of Japan, America, and Georgia (though the last is said to have thrown off its dependence on the Russian Church and refused obedience to the Russian exarch), sixteen from monasteries and academic bodies, ten from the Duma. The office of the procurator of the Holy Synod was abolished, but the synod was to be retained until the meeting of the Constituent Assembly of the Russian State. On 1st Nov. the council voted the revival of the patriarchate, and Tychon was elected. (See H. J. Fynes-Clinton, *Eng. Ch. Rev.* ix. [1918] 65.) E. H. MINNS.]

II. *STATISTICS.* — At the present time the Orthodox Russian Church reckons its members at 100,000,000 (98,534,800, according to the procurator's report for 1913), and in 1914 there were converted to Orthodoxy 18,966 persons, whilst there fell away from Orthodoxy 10,638.

At the head of the Church stands the Most Holy Governing Synod, whose numbers vary from time to time between eight and ten metropolitans, archbishops, bishops, and proto-presbyters. The Church is divided into 64 dioceses, governed by bishops with the help of clerical consistories. The boundaries of the dioceses mostly coincide with those of the governments or provinces. Besides these there are four mission-dioceses outside the empire —Aleutian Islands, Japan, Peking, and Urumia. Of the diocesans three bear the title of metropolitan (Petrograd, Moscow, and Kiev), one that of exarch (Georgia), the rest that of archbishop and bishop; the holders of the last two titles are not constant in number. A special point in the organization of the Georgian exarchate is the fact that to the exarch are subordinated three diocesan bishops, so that he really has the position of a metropolitan in the Russian Church. In the more extensive dioceses there are suffragan bishops (*vicarii*). In 1915 the Russian Church had 3 metropolitans, 26 archbishops, 40 diocesan bishops, 80 suffragans, and 20 retired bishops.

In 1914 there were 54,174 churches (besides military chapels); of these 40,746 were parish churches; in addition there were 25,593 chapels and oratories. Parishes to the number of 19,718 had wardenships (*popechítelstva*), with a total budget of 4,894,458 rubles (£500,000). In the different dioceses there were 711 brotherhoods. The churches possessed 110,307,793 rubles of capital; the expenditure on various needs of the Church was 40,438,134 rubles; contributions made to the Church for charitable and educational objects amounted to 261,209 rubles.

The secular clergy numbered 3246 arch-priests (*protoiereí*), 47,859 priests, 15,035 deacons, and 46,489 psalm-singers. The staffs of the churches possessed a capital of 63,158,366 rubles. The clergy held 2,075,098 *desyatíns* (5,400,000 acres) of land, with a rental of 13,000,000 rubles. The funds for supporting the clergy consist of fees, rent of glebe, interest on invested capital, and an annual grant from the State amounting to 54,000,000 rubles, made to about 30,000 parishes to the extent of between 100 and 300 rubles to each.

There were 550 men's monasteries and 475 women's, containing 11,845 monks, 9485 servitors, 17,289 nuns, and 56,016 serving sisters. Institutions for clerical education were: for males, 4 academies with 995 students; 57 seminaries with 22,734 students; 185 schools with 29,419 scholars; for females, 11 schools of the clerical office with 2177 girls, and 72 diocesan schools with 28,671. There were Church parish schools, 37,528 elementary with 2,079,891 scholars, and 418 teachers' training schools with 23,720 students.

The clerical academies publish learned theological monthlies; *Khristiánskoe Chténie* ('Christian Reading') at Petrograd since 1821; *Pravoslávny Sobesĕdnik* ('Orthodox Conversation') at Kazan since 1855; *Trudý Kievskoy Dukhóvnoy Akadémii* ('Transactions of the Kiev Clerical Academy') since 1860; *Bogoslóvski Vĕstnik* ('Messenger of Theology') at the Moscow Academy in the Sergius Lavra since 1892. The following reviews should also be noted: *Dushepoléznoe Chténie* ('Edifying Reading'), Moscow, 1860 ff.; *Stránnik* ('The Wanderer'), Petrograd, 1860 ff.; *Vĕra i Rázum* ('Faith and Reason'), Kharkov, 1884 ff.; *Rússki Palómnik* ('Russian Pilgrim'), Petrograd, 1887 ff. The Holy Synod publishes the weekly *Tserkóvnyya Vĕdomosti* ('Church News'), 1888 ff., and a daily *Prikhódski Listók* ('Parish Leaflet'), 1914 ff. These have an official character, as have the various *Eparkhiál'nyya Vĕdomosti* ('Diocesan News'), published in almost all the dioceses.

LITERATURE. — A. *WORKS IN RUSSIAN.*—i. HISTORY. — (1) *General.* — E. Golubinski, *Hist. of the Russian Church*, Moscow, 1900–04, i. 1, 2, ii. 1, with book of plates; Macarius, metropolitan of Moscow, *Hist. of the Russian Church*, 12 vols., Petrograd, 1883–1910; Philaret, archbishop of Chernigov, *Hist. of the Russian Church*, do. 1894, period 1–5, Germ. tr. H. Blumenthal, 2 pts., Frankfort, 1872; A. Dobroklonski, *Guide to the Hist. of the Russian Church*[2], Ryazan and Moscow, 1889–93, pts. 1–4; P. Malitski, *Guide to the Hist. of the Russian Church*[3], Petrograd, 1898–1902, pts. 1–3; N. Znamenski, *School Guide to the Hist. of the Russian Church*[6], do. 1904; I. Chistovich, *Sketch of the Hist. of the West Russian Church*, do. 1882–84, pts. 1–2; *Most Humble Reports* [*Otchéty*] *of the Procurator of the Holy Synod for the Years 1856–1914*, do. 1837–1916; see, too, S. M. Solov'ev, *Hist. of Russia from the Earliest Times*, 5 vols., Petrograd [1880].

(2) *Special departments and biographies.*—Macarius, metropolitan of Moscow, *Hist. of Christianity in Russia before Prince Vladimir Isapostolos*[2], Petrograd, 1868; V. Parkhomenko, *The Beginning of Christianity in Russia*, Poltava, 1913; E. Anichkov, *Paganism in Ancient Russia*, Petrograd, 1914; V. Zavitnevich, *St. Vladimir as a Statesman*, Kiev, 1888; V. Kalinnikov, *Metropolitans and Bishops under St. Vladimir*, do. 1888; V. Rybinski, *The Metropolitical See of Kiev from the Middle of the 13th to the End of the 16th Century*, do. 1891; D. Sokolov, *Hist. of the Division of the Metropolitical Province of Russia*, Petrograd, 1900; A. Yarushevich, *A Champion of Orthodoxy, Prince K. N. Ostrózhski (1461–1530), and Orthodox Russians under Lithuania in his Time*, Smolensk, 1897; V. Ikonnikov, *Maximus the Greek and his Time*[2], Kiev,

1915; T. Ivanov, *The Church in the Troublous Times of Russia*, Ekaterinoslav, 1906; P. Nevski, *Ecclesiastico-Political Characters of the Troublous Times in the 17th Century*, Sergiev Posad, 1913; S. Golubev, *Peter Mohila, Metropolitan of Kiev, and his Fellow-labourers*, 2 vols., Kiev, 1883–98; T. Titov, *The Russian Orthodox Church in the Polish-Lithuanian State in the 17th–18th Centuries (1654–1797)*, 2 vols., do. 1905; I. Malyshevski, *W. Russia in its Struggle for Faith and Nationality*, Petrograd, 1897, pts. 1, 2; N. Kapterev, *The Patriarch Nicon and the Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich*, 2 vols., Sergiev Posad, 1909–12, *The Patriarch Nicon and his Opponents in the Matter of emending the Church Rites*[2], do. 1913, pt. 1, 'The Time of Patriarch Joseph'; P. Smirnov, *Joachim, Patriarch of Moscow*, Moscow, 1881; G. Skvortsov, *The Patriarch Adrian: his Life and Labours in connexion with the Condition of the Russian Church, 1690–1700*, Kazan, 1913; T. Chetyrkin, *Lives of the most Holy Patriarchs of Moscow and All-Russia (1589–1700)*, Petrograd, 1893; N. Pisarev, *The Manner of Life of the Russian Patriarchs*, Kazan, 1904; I. Shlyapkin, *St. Dimitrius of Rostóv and his Times, 1651–1709*, Petrograd, 1891; T. Barsov, *The Holy Synod in its Past*, do. 1896; S. Runkevich, *Hist. of the Russian Church under the Government of the Holy Synod*, do. 1900, i. 'The Foundation and Original Organization of the Holy Governing Synod, 1721–1725'; I. Chistovich, *Theophan Prokopóvich and his Times*, do. 1867; P. Verkhovski, *Sketches of the Hist. of the Russian Church in the 18th–19th Centuries*, Warsaw, 1912, pt. i.; T. Blagovidov, *The Procurators of the Holy Synod in the 18th and first Half of the 19th Century*[2], Kazan, 1900; A. Lopukhin, *Hist. of the Christian Church in the 19th Century*, Petrograd, 1908, ii. 'The Orthodox East'; S. Runkevich, *The Russian Church in the 19th Century*, do. 1901.

(3) *The Councils.*—I. Malyshevski, *The Church Councils at Kiev*, Kiev, 1884, *The Church Councils held in Russia from the Introduction of Christianity to the Reign of Ivan the Terrible*, Petrograd, 1907; V. Bochkarev, *The Stoglav and the Hist. of the Council of 1551*, Yukhnov, 1906; P. Sharov, *The Great Moscow Council of 1666–1667*, Kiev, 1895; G. Vorob'ev, *The Moscow Council of 1681–1682*, Petrograd, 1885; N. Vinogradski, *The Church Council at Moscow in 1682*, Smolensk, 1899; A. Pokrovski, *The Councils of S.W. Russia, 15th–17th Centuries*, Sergiev Posad, 1906.

(4) *The dioceses.*—I. Pokrovski, *The Russian Dioceses in the 15th–19th Centuries: their Establishment, Area and Limits*, 2 vols., Kazan, 1897–1907; further details in K. Zdravomyslov, *Information as to the Consistorial Archives and the Institutions for Ecclesiastical Archæology in the Dioceses*, Petrograd, 1908.

(5) *Ritual.*—P. Odintsov, *The Order of Public and Private Divine Service in Ancient Russia to the 16th Century*, Petrograd, 1881; A. Dmitrievski, *Divine Service in the Russian Church in the 16th Century*, Kazan, 1884, pt. i.; V. Prilutski, *Private Divine Service in the Russian Church in the 16th and first Half of 17th Century*, Kiev, 1912; K. Nikol'ski, *Services of the Russian Church which were in the early printed Service Books*, Petrograd, 1885, *A Handbook for learning the Order of Divine Service in the Orthodox Church*[7], do. 1907.

(6) *Hagiography.*—E. Golubinski, *Hist. of the Canonization of Saints in the Russian Church*, Moscow, 1903; V. Vasil'ev, *Hist. of the Canonization of the Russian Saints*, do. 1893; Archimandrite Leonid, *Holy Russia, or an Account of all the Saints and Champions of Piety in Russia (up to the 18th Cent.)*, Petrograd, 1891; N. Barsukov, *Sources of Russian Hagiography*, do. 1882; M. Tolstoy, *The Book entitled a Description of the Saints of Russia*, Moscow, 1888.

(7) *Monasteries and monasticism.*—L. Denisov, *The Orthodox Monasteries of the Russian Empire*, Moscow, 1908; V. Zverinski, *Material for an Historico-topographical Investigation into the Orthodox Monasteries of the Russian Empire*, Petrograd, 1890–97, i.–iii.; P. Lebedintsev, *The Pechéra Monastery at Kiev*[5], Kiev, 1894; E. Golubinski, *Sergius of Rádonezh and the Trinity Lavra he created*, Moscow, 1909; S. Runkevich, *The Lavra of St. Alexander Nevski* (at Petrograd), *1713–1913*, Petrograd, 1913; A. Khoynatski, *The Lavra of the Assumption at Pochdev*, Pochdev, 1897; P. Kazanski, *Hist. of Orthodox Russian Monasticism from the Foundation of the Pechéra House . . . to the Foundation of the Trinity Lavra*, Moscow, 1855.

(8) *Church architecture.*—A. S. Uvarov, *The Architecture of the first Wooden Churches in Russia*, Moscow, 1876; A. Pavlinov, *Hist. of Russian Architecture*, do. 1894; N. P. Kondakov and I. I. Tolstoy, *Russian Antiquities in Monuments of Art*, 6 pts., Petrograd, 1888–99, esp. pts. iv.–vi.; E. Golubinski, Archæological Plates to i. 2 of his *Hist. of the Russian Church*, Moscow, 1904; all important changes in Russian churches are sanctioned by the Archæological Commission in Petrograd and photographs appear in its *Izvéstiya* ('Bulletin').

(9) *Brotherhoods.*—I. Flerov, *The Orthodox Church Brotherhoods in S.W. Russia in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, Petrograd, 1857; M. Kramarenko, *The W. Russian Church Brotherhoods*, Kiev, 1913; A. Papkov, *Church Brotherhoods: A Sketch of their Position at the Beginning of 1893*, Petrograd, 1893; *Brotherhoods: A Sketch of the Hist. of the W. Russian Orthodox Brotherhoods*, Sergieva Lavra, 1900.

(10) *Religious and clerical education.*—K. Kharlampovich, *The W. Russian Orthodox Schools of the 16th and early 17th Cent., and their Relations with the Non-Orthodox*, Kazan, 1898; A. Arkhangel'ski, *Religious Education and Religious Literature in Russia under Peter the Great*, do. 1883; P. Pekarski, *Sciences and Literature in Russia under Peter the Great*, 2 vols., Petrograd, 1862; N. Znamenski, *Clerical Schools in Russia before the Reform of 1808*, Kazan, 1881; B. Titlinov, *Clerical Schools in Russia in the 19th Century*, Vilna, 1908–09, pts. I, 2; K. D'yakonov, *Clerical Schools during the Reign of the Emperor Nicolas I.*, Sergiev Posad, 1907; I. Chistovich, *The Leaders of Clerical Education in Russia, 1800–50*, Petrograd, 1884; for further details see Zdravomyslov, *op. cit.*, 'Information as to Consistorial Archives.'

(11) *The Uniate question.*—M. Koyalovich, *Hist. of the Reunion of the W. Russian Uniates of former Times*, Petrograd, 1875; G. Shavel'ski, *The Final Reunion with the Orthodox Church of the Uniates of the White Russian Diocese (1833–39)*, do. 1910; I. Chistovich, *The Fiftieth Anniversary (1839–1889) of the Reunion of the W. Russian Uniates with the Orthodox Church*, do. 1889.

(12) *The Schism (Raskól).* — Macarius, metropolitan of Moscow, *Hist. of the Schism known by the Name of Old Ritualism* [*Staroobryádchestvo*][3], Petrograd, 1889; I. Strel'bitski, *Hist. of the Russian Schism known as Staroobryádchestvo*, Odessa, 1898; K. Plotnikov, *Hist. of the Russian Schism known as Staroobryádchestvo*, Petrograd, 1911; I. Gering, *The Schism and Sects of the Russian Church (1663–1897)*, tr. from Germ. by T. Butkevich, do. 1903.

(13) *Edinoverie.* — M. Chel'tsov, *Edinovérie during the Century of its Existence in the Russian Church*, Petrograd, 1900.

(14) *Sectaries.*—T. Butkevich, *A Survey of Russian Sects and their Fractions*, Petrograd, 1915; K. Plotnikov, *Hist. and Refutation of Russian Sectaries*, do. 1910–13, pts. 1, 2.

(15) *The Hierarchy.* — Ambrose [Ornatski], *Hist. of the Hierarchy of Russia*, 6 vols., Moscow, 1807–15; J. Tolstoy, *Lists of the Bishops* [*Arkhiereí*] *and Episcopal Sees of the Hierarchy of All-Russia from the Time of the Establishment of the Holy Synod (1721–1871)*, Petrograd, 1872; P. Stroev, *Lists of the Hierarchs and Heads of Monasteries in the Russian Church*, do. 1877.

ii. Reform. — E. Golubinski, *Reform of the Life of the Russian Church*, Moscow, 1903.

iii. Statistics.—*The Reports of the Procurators of the Holy Synod, 1836–1914* (see above, A. i. [1]); I. Preobrazhenski, *Our Country's Church according to Statistical Data, 1840–1891*[2], Petrograd, 1901.

iv. Bibliography.—Articles on special points may be found in the journals published by the clerical seminaries (see above). For a detailed bibliography see V. Ikonnikov, *An Attempt at a Russian Historiography*, Kiev, 1891–1908, i. 1, 2, ii. 1, 2, a standard work; bibliographies touching different Russian Churchmen in E. Bolkhovitinov, *Hist. Dict. of Writers of the Clerical Order in Russia*[2], 2 vols., Petrograd, 1827–45; Philaret Gumilevski, *A Survey of Religious Literature in Russia*[3], Petrograd, 1884; N. Nikolski, *The Number of MSS in the Ancient Russian Libraries, 11th to 18th Cent.*, do. 1914; I. Shlyapkin, *Hist. of Russian Literature*[2], do. 1915; see also the *Orthodox Theological Encyclopædia*, ed. A. Lopukhin and N. Glubokovski, 12 vols., do. 1900–11; *The New Encyclopædic Dictionary* of F. Brockhaus and I. Jefron, do. 1897 ff., and the *Russian Biographical Dictionary*, published by the Russian Historical Society.

B. *Works in other languages.*—i. General.—Besides the account of the Russian Church given in books dealing with Russia as a whole (*e.g.*, A. Leroy-Beaulieu, *The Empire of the Tsars and the Russians*, Eng. tr., New York and London, 1893–96, vol. iii. [very complete], and D. Mackenzie Wallace, *Russia*[2], 2 vols., London, 1905), see the references to it in the general histories of Russia (*e.g.*, N. M. Karamzin[2] [12 vols., Petrograd, 1818–29, French tr., 11 vols., Paris, 1819–26]; Solov'ev [29 vols., Moscow, 1863–75]; P. I. Milyukov, *Sketches of the Hist. of Russian Civilization* [Germ. tr. 2 vols., Leipzig, 1898–1901]; A. Brückner, *Gesch. Russlands bis zum Ende des 18 Jahrh.*, Gotha, 1896; W. R. Morfill, *Russia* [in 'Story of the Nations' ser.], London, 1890; A. Rambaud, *Hist. de la Russie*[5], Paris, 1900, Eng. tr., 3 vols., London, 1887; S. E. Howe, *A Thousand Years of Russian History*, London, 1916); and original authorities, such as Nestor, *Chronicle*, tr. L. Leger, Paris, 1884; and *The Chronicle of Novgorod, 1016–1471*, tr. R. Mitchell and N. Forbes (Royal Hist. Soc. iii. xxv.), London, 1914; and the chapters concerned with Russia in the books on the Orthodox Church and all its branches (see art. Greek Orthodox Church), esp. A. P. Stanley, *Lectures on the Hist. of the Eastern Church*, London, 1861; A. Fortescue, *The Orthodox Eastern Church*, do. 1907; W. F. Adeney, *The Greek and Eastern Churches*, Edinburgh, 1908; K. Lubeck, *Die christl. Kirchen des Orients*, Münster, 1911; see also J. G. King, *The Rites and Ceremonies of the Greek Church in Russia*, London, 1772; P. Strahl, *Gesch. der russ. Kirche*, Halle, 1830; A. N. Mouravieff, *Hist. of the Russian Church*, tr. R. W. Blackmore, Oxford, 1842; R. W. Blackmore, *The Doctrine of the Russian Church*, Aberdeen, 1845; W. Palmer, *Dissertations on Subjects relating to the 'Orthodox' or 'Eastern Catholic' Communion*, London, 1853, *The Patriarch and the Tsar*, 6 vols., do. 1871–76, *Notes of a Visit to the Russian Church*, 1840–41, do. 1882; H. C. Romanoff, *Sketches of the Rites and Customs of the Greco-Russian Church*, do. 1868; A. F. Heard, *The Russian Church and the Russian Dissent*, do. 1887; Hermann Dalton, *Die russische Kirche*, Leipzig, 1894; A. C. Headlam, *The Teaching of the Russian Church*, London, 1897; K. K. Grass, *Gesch. und Dogmatik in russ. Darstellung*, Gütersloh, 1902; L. K. Götz, *Das kiever Höhlenkloster*, Passau, 1904, *Kirchenrechtliche und Kulturgeschichtl. Denkmäler*, Stuttgart, 1905, *Staat und Kirche in Altrussland, Kiever Periode, 988–1240*, Berlin, 1908; N. Bonwetsch, 'Russland,' in *PRE*[3] xvii. 246–253; A. Palmieri, *La Chiesa russa*, Florence, 1908, *Theologia Dogmatica Orthodoxa Eccl. Græc*

Russicæ ad lumen catholicæ doctrinæ examinata et discussa, Prolegomena, I.–II., Florence, 1911–13, *Nomenclator Litterarius Theologiæ Orthodoxæ Russ. et Gr.* I. i., Prague, 1910, and his art. 'Russia,' in the *CE*, which gives the Roman Catholic point of view (it has a good bibliography, but many misprints); **A. F. Winnington Ingram, P. Dearmer, R. W. Burnie, W. J. Birkbeck, H. J. Fynes-Clinton**, *The Russian Church: Lectures on its History, Constitution, Doctrine, and Ceremonial*, London, 1915.

ii. RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ROMAN CHURCH AND RUSSIA.—Besides Palmieri's summary: **A. Theiner**, *L'Église schismatique Russe, d'après les relations récentes du prétendu saint synode*, Paris, 1846; **H. Lutteroth**, *Russia and the Jesuits*, London, 1858; **P. Pierling**, *La Sorbonne et la Russie*, Paris, 1882, *Papes et Tsars (15ᵉ7–15ᵉ9?) d'après des documents nouveaux*, do. 1889, *La Russie et le Saint-Siège*, 5 vols., do. 1896–1912; **A. Malvy**, *La Réforme de l'église russe*, do. 1906; **J. Wilbois**, *L'Avenir de l'église russe*, do. 1907, Eng. tr., *Russia and Reunion*, London, 1908.

iii. RELATIONS BETWEEN THE ANGLICAN CHURCH AND THE RUSSIAN.—Besides Palmer's writings: **W. J. Birkbeck**, *Russia and the English Church during the last Fifty Years*, London, 1895; *Birkbeck and the Russian Church*, ed. A. Riley, do. 1917.

iv. REUNION FROM THE RUSSIAN SIDE.—**A. S. Khomiakov**, *L'Église latine et le protestantisme au point de vue de l'église d'Orient*, Lausanne, 1872; **W. Soloviev**, *La Russie et l'église universelle*[2], Paris, 1906.

v. DISSENT IN RUSSIA.—*Le Raskol: Essai hist. et crit. sur les sectes religieuses en Russie*, Paris, 1859; **N. Tsakni**, *La Russie sectaire*, do. 1888; **I. Stchoukine**, *Le Suicide collectif dans le Raskol russe*, do. 1903; **J. Elkington**, *The Doukhobors*, Philadelphia, 1903; **I. A. Hourwich**, 'Religious Sects,' in *The Case of Russia*, New York, 1905; **K. K. Grass**, *Die russische Sekten*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1907–09.

S. V. TROITSKY.

RYNSBURGERS (or COLLEGIANTS). — Rynsburg, a hamlet on the Old Rhine, six miles below Leyden, became in 1619 the meeting-place of a group of laymen who separated from the Dutch Reformed Church after the Synod of Dort. Similar societies for Bible study were soon formed in many towns of Holland and Germany, and became known generally as Collegia. The Collegiants diminished in numbers in the 18th cent., and the Revolution gave them the death-blow.

1. Origin.—The movement was essentially an assertion of the priesthood of all believers, taking shape positively in combined and systematic searching of the Scriptures, and negatively in a repudiation of all ecclesiastical office. It was doubly due to Dirk Volkertszoon Coornhert (1522–90), a notary of Haarlem, who won distinction as engraver, poet, statesman, philosopher, and translator. He was a careful Bible student, and declined to bow to the judgment of clerical theologians. In particular he criticized the famous Heidelberg Catechism with its views of predestination. A young minister of Amsterdam, Jacobus Arminius, was asked to convince him of his errors, but Coornhert won him over, and thus initiated a general leavening of the ministry through the work of Arminius at Leyden, which culminated in the disruption of 1619.[1]

Coornhert had also inherited a love of the vernacular Bible, which had been felt two centuries earlier by Gerard Groot of Deventer. The Brethren of the Common Life (*q.v.*) were not only opposed to ecclesiasticism and mendicancy; they devoted themselves to charity, and to education on the basis of the Dutch Bible. A boarder in one of their houses, Erasmus, when issuing a fresh Latin version of the NT, expressed in its preface a hope that others would do for their own people what he was thus doing for the literary world. The hope had hardly been fulfilled in Holland, and only poor versions were available, based on the Vulgate or Luther. Coornhert therefore began a new translation into living, unconventional language; and, as he is acknowledged to have lifted a mere dialect to the level of a literary tongue, creating modern Dutch, he would probably have been the Tyndale of his country, had he lived. He also sketched out a plan of Bible study by groups of people, not dependent on a set sermon, and thus he laid a second train.

The match was put to both by the Synod of Dort, which not only ignored the Remonstrance against persecution, but started the local synods on inquiries into the doctrines held by pastors and professors, demanding subscription to the Five Points of Calvinism in dispute.[1] The alternative was silence, deposition, and, before long, banishment. The ejected ministers were no more inclined to acquiesce than the priests ejected by Elizabeth, but, until they drew together at Antwerp and systematically mapped out the field for a new organization, their lay sympathizers were thrown on their own resources. Conventicles arose again as in the days of Alva, and it was from one of these that the Rynsburg congregation originated.

In this village lived four brothers van der Kodde, whose father, though but a shoemaker, had educated his large family so well that all were good linguists; a fifth brother, who was professor of Hebrew at Leyden, was ejected at this crisis. Although there was a church in the village, Gysbert van der Kodde was an elder of the church at Warmond, a small town to the north; and, when the minister there was ejected, Gysbert gathered those of like mind to a conventicle in an apple-orchard. This suited so well that, when the Antwerp committee sent other ministers, he dissuaded them from coming, pointing out that their presence rendered the meetings illegal, whereas meetings of laymen only were within the law. As this plea did not keep all the ministers away, the meeting was transferred to a flax-house belonging to Gysbert in Rynsburg. While it was nominally open for all to attend and take part, the four brothers took the lead, helped at first by a fisherman and by Jan Batten, a Leyden man.

They were soon joined by a far more important adherent, who left a deep impress on their methods. Jan Evertszoon Geesteran had been minister at Alkmaar, his birthplace, but, having sided with the Remonstrants, he was banished on 12th March 1618 (or 1619). His forefathers had been in Poland, and were familiar with the discussions provoked there by the appearance of Faustus Socinus and other Italians; his own views were at least tinctured with their characteristic theology. But something more superficial attracted greater attention at the time—his reproduction of their practice, the immersion of believers. He was baptized thus at Rynsburg in 1620, and it was commented on as an innovation in Holland. Next year the Poles offered him the rectorship of the university of Rakow, and, though he did not accept, the incident increased his reputation and led him to wider spheres of work. He founded similar societies at Haarlem, Amsterdam, Norden, and Leeuwarden, while Dirk Rafaelszoon Camphuysen established another at Rotterdam, and the movement attained more than local importance.

2. Development.—Thus, within three years, the Synod of Dort had broken up all outward uniformity by an attempt to secure it. Of earlier communions, Roman Catholicism had become negligible within the United Provinces; and the earliest reformers, the Doopsgezinden, or Anabaptists, had become relatively insignificant since Menno Simons had recalled them to the principle of non-resistance.[2] In the times of Alva the fighting Lutherans and Calvinists came to the front, and the Synod of Dort made it clear that the latter weighed heavier in the balance. The Remonstrants, however, unlike the contemporary Puritans in England, declined to submit, and defiantly organized a rival series of congregations;

[1] See vol. i. p. 808ᵇ.

[2] See art. MENNONITES

thus it appeared as if there would be a variegated fringe of dissent, for the Doopsgezinden themselves were in at least two groups, the Flemings and the Waterlanders. Since these were all averse to Calvinism, negotiations were set afoot to check the divisive forces and to amalgamate into a sort of United Free Church. But the Doopsgezinden and the Remonstrant ministers believed strongly in the necessity of the pastoral office, whereas Coornhert's writings had aroused in many breasts the feeling that all Christians were priests. Hence in town after town similar societies originated, though with frequent disclaimers of any intention to found a new communion; all were welcomed to the meetings who desired to know the mind of the Spirit, and gave evidence of His working in their lives, even if they chose to remain in any other external fellowship.

At this juncture a new edition of Coornhert's works appeared, and crystallized the movement. His idea seems to have been suggested by events at Zürich, but had been clarified by developments in England, where the need for better knowledge of the Bible had been widely felt under Elizabeth. The necessity for providing sermons in place of the Mass pointed not only to the publication of official homilies, but also to the need for training preachers. Since no provision was made for this at the universities or in special seminaries, regular meetings were promoted by some bishops, when the clergy were convened for Bible study, and sermons were delivered to initiate discussion; Northampton is a well-known instance. Elizabeth indeed was suspicious, fearing that the Puritans would capture the meetings and convert them into synods; she therefore forbade them generally, relaxing her prohibition only in special cases, Manchester being a permitted centre. But in the Netherlands the idea had been welcomed, and synods at Wesel, Emden, and Dort had approved, so that similar meetings were held in the great towns for a generation. Coornhert therefore saw a plan actually in use, to which he gave a most important turn. He proposed that such meetings should not be confined to, or be led by, ministers, but should be open to all.

The suggestion was now taken up in earnest, and, while there was much local variety, meetings were often conducted on the following method. Printed lists of texts were prepared to be studied at home, and these were discussed at meetings held on Sunday and Wednesday. Exposition was varied by exhortation and prayer, and a solo was often found a means of edification. Then from the Doopsgezinden came in their attachment to congregational singing, and, while the Calvinist psalms were not favoured, another deposed minister led the way with paraphrases and original poems, till a large selection of hymns was compiled and passed into general use.

The meetings were usually held in private houses, and attendance was compatible with membership in some definite communion. In Amsterdam the numbers were so great that the largest meeting-house of the Doopsgezinden was borrowed, and many young ministers of that body attended to improve themselves. Men and women were encouraged to take an active part, especially in the Bible conference. University students from Leyden were often seen at Rynsburg, and it appears that Descartes, Catholic as he was, walked over once from Endegeest that he might hear how peasants and artisans dealt with the Bible.[1] The great cities of Rotterdam and Amsterdam were naturally the chief centres, but the history has been recovered of other important societies, at Leyden, Haarlem, Hoorn, Krommenie, Wormerveer, Zaandam, Alkmaar, Harlingen, Grouw, Knype, and Groningen.

[1] *Œuvres*, Paris, 1824–26, viii. 173.

Nor was the movement limited to the Netherlands. Coornhert had lived for many years in Cleves, and before 1651 Hilarius Prache of Breslau knew of a society near Liegnitz in Silesia.[1] Extension in Germany was due to Philipp Jakob Spener, pastor at Frankfort from 1666. He gathered in his own house all who would listen to expositions of the NT and discuss them; and for such meetings he borrowed the name 'Collegia pietatis.' Nine years later, in a preface to Arndt's sermons, he made six proposals for reform, beginning with the thorough study of the Bible in private meetings and a fuller recognition of the universal Christian priesthood by the activity of the laity. These proposals were republished separately in 1678 as *Pia Desideria*, and inaugurated a new movement known in Germany as the Pietist.[2] In Saxony he found a wider sphere for his work, and from his influence arose 'Collegia biblica' in many places. Several young men trained by him at Frankfort became pastors or professors, and before long Halle was a centre of the German movement; here arose a university with popular vernacular lectures on the Bible, and philanthropic institutions of many kinds. From the orphanage went forth a godson of Spener, Count Zinzendorf, who revived the old Moravian Church, and inaugurated Protestant foreign missions.[3] While Halle was the centre, many societies sprang up on the lines advocated and illustrated by Spener. A study of the German Collegiants has been made by Theodor Sippell of Schweinsberg, who finds that they were rather more rigid than the Dutch: they abjured ordinary churches, confined the Lord's Supper to their homes, rejected baptism on the ground that John the Baptist foretold that the baptism of the Holy Spirit would replace water baptism, and were similarly literal in their refusal to take oaths, go to law, hold office, or enlist.

Sippell also suggests that the Seekers of Westmorland and Bristol, about 1650, were derived from the Collegiants.[4] Despite the similarity, no external evidence of any connexion is offered, whether by a book or by a man. On the contrary, the Friends, who did absorb many of the Seekers, came into contact with the Collegiants in Holland as early as 1656, and George Fox betrays no sense of indebtedness; even his references in his correspondence and journals are not always sympathetic, and he passed through Leyden without turning aside to see Rynsburg.

It has also been said that the English Baptists derived their immersion from the Collegiants; but this is an over-statement. A single group of London Particular Baptists did in 1641 send one of their number to Holland, where he was baptized by Jan Batten, then head of a congregation in Amsterdam,[5] a fact not found in Collegiant or kindred literature.[6] Before that date not only had Roger Williams and Ezekiel Holliman baptized one another, but William Kiffin seems to have been baptized in England independently. And, when discussion arose, it became clear that such baptism had originated in many ways,[7] many Baptists holding to the dictum of a generation earlier that 'succession was Antichrist's chief hold.'

It might have been expected that a movement of this kind, which originated close to Leyden in 1619, would have had some contact with the church of

[1] C. Fell Smith, *Steven Crisp*, London, 1892, p. 16.
[2] See art. PIETISM. [3] See art. MORAVIANS.
[4] *Friends' Quarterly Examiner*, July, 1910, summarizing three artt. in *Die christliche Welt*.
[5] A. Ypey, *Gesch. der chr. Kerk*, Breda, 1819–27, ix. 189.
[6] J. C. van Slee, *De Rijnsburger Collegianten*, p. 381.
[7] T. Crosby, *Hist. of the Eng. Baptists*, London, 1738–40, i. 97.

John Robinson, and that the parallel societies would have attracted attention from Sidrach Simpson, William Bridge, and Jeremiah Burroughes in Rotterdam, if not from John Paget in Amsterdam. But the Collegiants were in revolt against Calvinism, and their deliberate ignoring of the ministerial office was hardly to be matched even among the Brownists.[1] Their latest historian is unable to trace any communication, whether at the origin or in later times, with either Puritans or Separatists. The main thread of their development is to be followed in the Netherlands.

When the university of Rakow was closed, many Polish teachers sought refuge in Holland, much to the alarm of the Calvinists. An edict of the States General was secured to limit their influence, and they found that the Collegiant gatherings were almost the only religious meetings which they might attend. They naturally made an impression on the character of the teaching, and involved the Collegiant movement in suspicion, till it became necessary to stipulate that those who frequented the conferences should acknowledge Christ as the Son of God.

The general tone being anti-Calvinist, the same constituency was appealed to whence the Remonstrants drew followers, and from which the Doopsgezinden had long recruited. A pamphlet of 1663, *Lammerenkrygh*, shows a Fleming debating against a Remonstrant, a Waterlander, and a Collegiant; the characteristic difference of the last-named was that within the one great body of believers to which the baptism of the Spirit introduced men it was wrong to make distinctions, whether of sect and sect or of clergy and laity.

Those were the palmy days of the societies, and such excellent expositions were to be heard at their meetings, as by Laurens Klinkhamer, Abram Galenus, C. and M. van Diepenbroek, and Jacob van Rooyestein, that many attended who hardly considered themselves members. Mosheim avers that adherents were to be found in most of the cities and villages of Holland.

An important influence entered their circles about this time, that of Spinoza (*q.v.*). The young Jew had learned Latin from a physician in Amsterdam who had some connexion with them; and when he was excommunicated he took refuge with another Collegiant near the city, Herman Homan, whose home for the next four years was the centre of a band of young thinkers. In this period he elaborated his first book, the *Short Treatise on God, on Man, and on Wellbeing*. In 1660 his host moved to Rynsburg itself, and here he worked out his *Ethics* in correspondence with his friends at Amsterdam, chief of whom was Jan Rieuwertszoon, the Collegiant bookseller. He left the village in 1663, but continued the correspondence, so that his ideas filtered into the Amsterdam meeting. When the *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* was published, it was canvassed by them, and a vigorous controversy began two years later between Johannes Bredenburg and Francis Kuyper. His posthumous works were actually edited in their Amsterdam headquarters, and were published by Rieuwertszoon. Feeling ran so high that the societies divided into two groups, and at Rynsburg itself a second meeting-house was erected. When, however, both leaders had passed away, the division healed itself as the century closed.

3. Stagnation and decay.—A decided fossilizing then set in. There was still an insistence, in words, on the absence of all officers and on the duty of all to take part in the meetings; but at the chief centres the Bible study was transferred to the Saturday, and a rota of speakers was drawn up for it; the only relic of the original state of affairs was a brief pause at the close of the address, nominally for any one else to speak.

The question of celebrating the Lord's Supper was answered in various ways. Very general reluctance was felt to participate at any ordinary church. Some preferred to regard it as a purely domestic ceremony, but, when the larger societies acquired premises of their own, and no longer met in private houses, the domestic character was inevitably obscured. Indeed, about 1700, all Sunday morning was devoted at Amsterdam, and doubtless at other places, to a combined service somewhat on these lines. The worshippers sat in pews around a hall, all facing inwards, a table occupying the centre. The president for the day gave an introductory address, disclaiming all authority and emphasizing the brotherhood of all, reminding his hearers also that they met to illustrate brotherhood not only between those present but between all believers. After silent prayer he invited all who wished to take their seats at the table, while a solo was sung. He recited the words of institution, and passed the plates to right and to left, each helping himself. They ate simultaneously, and the leader gave a few words of exhortation. After thanks for the cup they drank in turn. Then they went back to their pews, and others came to the table; as these partook, the leader told some story from the life of the Lord, or repeated some of His teachings, instead of exhorting further. When all the men had thus shared, the women came to the table, and the leader himself sat down to partake with the last sitting. A thanksgiving by him, and a hymn by all, closed the service. It will be seen that this method, despite the initial disclaimer, kept one man unnecessarily to the front at each service; the only others who lifted up their voices separately were the soloist—often a professional—and the treasurer, who announced for what purpose the alms were desired.

Another striking feature of the Collegiant worship was designed to unify the movement and keep the various societies in touch. At Whitsuntide and in August conventions were held, both at Leeuwarden in Friesland and at Rynsburg in S. Holland; these lasted usually four days. To accommodate the visitors, several buildings arose at Rynsburg, though it was within easy reach of Leyden; it had a sentimental attraction such as Mow Cop exerts on the Primitive Methodists or Keswick on members of many communions. The old flax-house was first disused in favour of a regular meeting-house; then arose another at the time of the Bredenburg quarrel; next came a Great House for visitors, supplemented presently by a Little House. A tract of land belonging to an abbey was leased and laid out as a park, with a grove of trees. It is not clear how these buildings were used for the greater part of the year, for the local adherents were so few that the Amsterdam society assumed the trust early in the 18th century.

A still rarer act of worship was the baptism of any who desired thus to confess their faith. In early days this took place at irregular intervals, in the brook near the village. But in 1736 a baptistery was excavated in the open air opposite the Great House, and was lined with brick, while a boiler-house was built close by to supply huge quantities of warm water. The rite of baptism was observed on the Saturday morning before the convention. After song and prayer an address was given to explain the ceremony, as a confession in deed, optional, non-initiatory; the candidate made an oral confession of faith, then, after many prayers, he went down into the pool with the baptizer, who bowed his head forwards as he knelt, and repeated the words of institution. All then adjourned to the meeting-house for an address,

[1] See artt. BROWNISM, CONGREGATIONALISM.

song, prayer, and thanksgiving. It must be emphasized that such a service was held only at Leeuwarden and at Rynsburg, and was exceptional even there. No baptism is recorded from 1738 to 1742, and, in the whole period of seventy-five years for which the registers of Rynsburg survive, only 116 entries are made. Another point illustrated by this register is the growing officialism; in all this period only seven men acted as baptizers.

Here, then, are many signs of waning zeal, such as indeed affected most religious bodies at the time. But, while the societies of Germany were revivified by the missionary zeal of Zinzendorf, and in England John Wesley was firing others with enthusiasm for home evangelization, the Collegiants proper were becoming more and more stereotyped. Moreover, instead of launching out in any new direction, they turned their eyes backward and began to write their own history, while hitherto they had been content with two criticisms on a prejudiced account given by Paschier de Fijne in 1671, and incorporated by Brandt in his general *History of the Reformation . . . in the Low Countries.*

As in Germany, they were philanthropic. A burgomaster of Amsterdam gave his house, the Orange-Apple, to the local society. It was used as an orphanage, while the Sunday meetings were held in the hall. Presently it was rebuilt, and it became the most important of their edifices. The combination of purposes was characteristic, and other similar institutions arose. Besides the weekly alms, offerings were taken at the conventions, and the figures show that 1728–33 was the high-water period, though 1742 saw the largest collection—400 florins at the August gathering.

By this time, whatever their generosity, they were decidedly decaying, and only eighteen places of worship were open next year. The contrast between wealth and low vitality was enhanced when in 1780 a legacy of 13,000 florins was left to the great orphanage, while the last convention met at Rynsburg on 27th May 1787. In the revolutionary era the societies ceased to meet, and John Rippon, when making elaborate inquiry into the religious condition of Holland in 1790, failed to hear of them at all. The latest to hold on was at Zaandam, but this collapsed by 1810. The meeting-houses were disposed of one by one to provide funds for the orphanages, and by 1828 these last relics of the corporate life had passed into other hands.

The Collegiants had always declared that they were no sect, and they had no ecclesiastical organization, whether of a single society or for the Conventions; therefore there were no minutes of meetings. Similarly there were no creeds or other formal documents. The literary remains are chiefly Bible expositions, and even these seem to date rather from the earlier period. The best collection is probably in the Amsterdam library of the Doopsgezinden, with whom their relations were always cordial.

LITERATURE.—Paschier de Fijne, *Kort verhaal*, Waerstadt, 1671 (substance in G. Brandt, *The Hist. of the Reformation . . . in the Low Countries*, Eng. tr., 4 vols., London, 1720–23, without the corrections by Joachim Oudaen, and Joan Hartigvelt, Rotterdam, 1672); S. F. Rues, *Aufrichtige Nachrichten*, Jena, 1745; Elias van Nimwegen, *Hist. der Rijnsburgers*, Rotterdam, 1775; De Hoop Scheffer, *Doop bij Onderdompeling*, Amsterdam, 1883: J. C. van Slee, *De Rijnsburger Collegianten*, Haarlem, 1895; W. Kühler, *De Beteekenis van de Dissenters in de Kerkgeschiedenis von Nederland*, Leyden, 1913.

W. T. WHITLEY.

S

SA'ADYA.—See SEADIAH.

SABÆANS.—A century ago Arabia Felix was an unknown land. There were a few references to it in the OT, classical geographers had a little to say, and Arab historians told wonderful stories of it. That was all. To-day, after a hundred years of discovery and the self-sacrifice of a few explorers, it still plays the sphinx. A few phrases in the Bible have been set in a new light, the Greek and Roman tales have proved well founded, and the Arab traditions have been largely discredited. One or two, like Hamdānī, could spell out the inscriptions, but all that is valuable in their stories is a few names and some references to the latest history.[1] This has come from the discovery of the S. Arabian inscriptions and some monuments of its civilization.

1. History of discovery.—In 1811 Ulrich Jasper Seetzen brought to Europe five copies of inscriptions, but they were so full of mistakes that only one was of any use. In 1835 J. R. Wellsted and in 1838 C. Cruttenden brought home other texts. Then L. Arnaud made his adventurous trip to Marib, bringing back over 50 texts (1843). On this basis Æ. Rödiger, W. Gesenius, and E. Osiander deciphered the alphabet and laid the foundation of all future study. J. Halévy's journey to Negran in 1869 as a Jew from Jerusalem was made at great personal risk; indeed, his safety lay chiefly in the contempt which an Arab felt for killing a Jew. He gathered copies of nearly 600 inscriptions, and, though much of his work has been superseded, yet it made an epoch in the study of the Yemen. S. Langer gave his life in the search (1882). E. Glaser's journeys from that year on have provided the originals or facsimiles of 2000 texts, though most are still unpublished. His services were great; they should have been greater. Since then activity has been limited to the interpretation of texts already known.

2. Language.—The inscriptions are in a S. Semitic language and are written with an alphabet of 29 letters—the 28 of Arabic *plus* the *samech* of N. Semitic. The alphabet is closely related to the Phœnician. Some letters are very like: קעגנ and ח; others are turned round or even upside down: ל and ש; while others are slightly altered: מזר and ס. Which is the more original has not been decided. An attempt has been made[1] to derive this alphabet from the Greek. It would be almost conclusive, were not time and space against it. ב and ר are more like the Aramaic forms. Of the letters not found in Phœnician ض is formed from ط and ظ from ص. The old Ethiopic alphabet differs very slightly from the S. Arabian; some letters are clearly younger forms, while others are possibly older. So it appears that both descended from a common ancestor. The writing usually runs from right to left, but in some inscriptions, which from internal evidence and by analogy seem to be the oldest, it is boustrophedon. The oldest forms of ס and ש occur in boustrophedon inscriptions. Only one boustrophedon, Fr. lvi., is late and it is boustrophedon only for convenience' sake; it is in very long lines on a wall. Some development can be traced in the script; the older forms of ס and ש are angular, and ר is either an obtuse angle or the arc of a circle. Later forms become curved and more complex. These changes have nothing to do with the elegancies of form shown by the most artistic monuments.

[1] *Tubba'* never occurs as a title and is usually part of a compound name.

[1] *PSBA* xxix. [1907] 123.

The inscriptions are mostly on stone, usually engraved, sometimes in relief and sometimes in hollow-relief. One is painted—an evident sign of haste. Many bronze tablets have been found with writing in relief, and all sorts of things—altars, censers, and statues—bear legends.

The language is closely akin to Arabic, especially in grammar, though the vocabulary has much in common with Ethiopic. As no vowels are expressed—in common with all early Semitic alphabets—no exact knowledge of the structure of the language is possible. Vowel letters are used, very sparingly in the middle of words and more freely at the end. Corresponding to nunation in Arabic, a final *m* serves as the indefinite article, and the definite is expressed by a final *n*. Broken plurals are usual, and two construct states can depend on one governing noun. The construct depending on a sentence is very common.

There are at least two clearly defined dialects. Minæan is much less regular in its writing. ה is often used to mark the presence of a short vowel, and it is inserted between a noun and its suffix. The root consonant of the third personal pronoun and the prefix of the causative stem are ש. There are many differences in vocabulary.[1] In Sabæan ה is the root of the third personal pronoun and is the prefix of the causal stem. There are syntactical peculiarities. When several perfects come together and the first is 3rd per. sing. masc., the others take *n* as a suffix. The perfect with *l* prefixed forms the optative, and the 3rd sing. imperf. always ends in *n*, except where it forms part of a proper name. שלת stands in Minæan and old Sabæan, but in later Sabæan הלה as in Arabic. In Hadramaut the word becomes שלם according to a general rule.[2]

Minæan inscriptions come from the Jauf, the centre of the kingdom of Ma'īn (the pronunciation is derived from Arabic), from the towns of Karna (which seems to have borne also the name of the kingdom), from Barākish, or Yathil, from Kamina, and also from el-Ula on the Hedjāz railway. In this dialect or a near relative of it are the monuments of Katabān (really Qatabān), who at one time held the coast north of Bab-el-Mandeb, and one from Hadramaut. The Sabæan come largely, though not exclusively, from Sirwāh and Marib, east of Sana, though many come from Nashq in Minæan territory and they have been found in Hadramaut. Sketch maps of the district are given in Hommel's *Chrestomathie*. Ptolemy is mistaken in putting Katabān east of Hadramaut.

3. History. — Some have found the earliest reference to the Yemen in Magan of the old Babylonian monuments, identifying it with מן of the Minæan inscriptions. Magan has been localized in so many places that this reference is doubtful.[3] In the OT various names occur—שבא, תרשיש, רעמה,[4] as being closely connected. סבא may be best explained as a doublet of שבא, being a fairly exact reproduction of the foreign name, whereas in שבא the sibilant has undergone the usual change. It is very doubtful if the Minæans are mentioned in the OT, and so far they have not been found in the Assyrian texts, though Asshurbanipal (*c.* 645) conquered Abyateh,[5] king of the Arabs. Abyateh is probably אביעל, a name that occurs on Minæan though not on Sabæan monuments. In 733 Tiglath Pileser III. refers to Taima Saba and Khaifa. In 715 Sargon[6] names Samsi, queen of Aribi, and Itamara the Sabæan.[7] So it is assumed that the people were then living in N. Arabia, perhaps as nomads, and that later they migrated southwards. Be that as it may, the Minæans and Sabæans of history were settled in the Yemen. This district was important because it was on the trade route from India and the East. Its kings owed their wealth to the customs which they levied perhaps more than to the products of their own land.

The names of about 30 kings of Ma'īn are found on the monuments, but, though the order of their reigns has been to some extent fixed, yet there are no data to settle the time limits of the kingdom. A son of a king of Ma'īn was king of Hadramaut, and *Hal.* 193 points to close intercourse between the two countries. Their relations with Saba were not always harmonious. More is known of their activity. They were a peaceful folk and their business enterprise was wide-spread. At el-Ula in N. Arabia was a big Minæan settlement on the caravan route to Gaza, and it has left inscriptions extending over a long period. A sarcophagus was found in Egypt with the epitaph of an Arabian agent in the incense traffic, and in the island of Delos an altar dedicated to Wadd. Controversy still rages over the date of this kingdom. Was it earlier than or contemporary with the Sabæan? Epigraphic considerations suggest that it was at least no earlier. Strabo's authority is quite familiar with the Minæans and regards them as one of the nations of the Yemen. On the other side it is argued that for several hundred years they held a commanding position in N. Arabia, and yet they are never mentioned—at least by name—in Assyrian records. Therefore their power must have come to an end before the arm of Assyria reached so far. But it has been mentioned above that Asshurbanipal probably came in contact with them. Possibly Itamara was the Sabæan official of a Minæan king. Saba is occasionally mentioned in Minæan inscriptions, but Ma'īn never in the Sabæan; therefore Ma'īn was finished as a kingdom. In view of the fragmentary character of the records and their predominantly religious contents, the argument from silence is risky. The attempt to put Ma'īn before Saba—beginning 1400 B.C. or earlier—may be due to the legendary wealth of Arabia Felix; the existence of two States side by side does not agree with the tales of the land of gold and incense.

The history of Saba is clearer; about 50 rulers are known, who fall into three classes: (1) 15 are called *mukarrib* (vocalization uncertain) and are obviously the earliest; the title means 'priest' and is parallel to the title *miswad* borne by some kings of Ma'īn; (2) 17 kings of Saba followed, and then (3) 26 kings of Saba and Raidan (*dhu Raidan*). Perhaps the *mukarribs* were vassals of Ma'īn. They dwelt in Sirwāḥ, their family fortress; when they took the title of king, they shifted their residence to Marib, the town famed in Arab story for its great dam, the ruin of which coincided with the fall of the kingdom. We do not know when Saba rose to power; it may have been *c.* 800 B.C. Some of the later monuments are dated according to an era of their own. One from Hisn-el-Ghurab refers to events that are known from other sources to have happened A.D. 525. That puts the first year of the Sabæan era in 115 or 114 B.C. It is only a guess, though plausible, that this is the year of the upheaval in the state when the new title, 'king of Saba and Raidan,' appears. The period that ended about this time was that of Saba's glory. To it we owe the references in the prophets to the omnipresent activity of Sabæan merchants. Then the legend of Sabæan wealth arose, and the Queen of Sheba—a gross anachronism—reflects popular ideas on the remote country. Contemporary with Saba were kings of Hadramaut. One inscription reads:[1] 'Ilsharḥ Yahdib and his brother Ya'zil Bayyin the two kings of Saba and Raidan, sons of Fara' king of Saba,' which suggests that the change of government corresponding to the change of title was peaceable and due solely to internal causes, possibly the need of being nearer the sea, the new trade route. Raidan is the Arabic Zafār, near Yerim. Or, if Ilsharḥ is the Ἰλσαρός of Strabo, the change may be a result of Gallus's expedition. About this time Aden was destroyed, and Mauza, on the Red Sea, took its place for a time. Some think that this change was caused or accompanied by the rise of the race of

[1] J. H. Mordtmann, *Beiträge zu minäischen Epigraphik*, Weimar, 1897.

[2] For further details of the dialect of Hadramaut see *ZDMG* xxxvii. [1883] 393.

[3] L. W. King, *Hist. of Sumer and Akkad*, London, 1910, p. 241.

[4] The names respectively of a people, a land, and a town.

[5] Rassam prism. [6] *Annals*, 11. 97–99.

[7] Itamara is obviously יתעמר of the Sabæan inscriptions.

[1] *CIS* 334: 'Sha'r Autar king of Saba and Raidan son of Alhan Nahfan king of Saba.' Probably this was a customary abbreviation of the second title.

Himyar. Others put the rise of Himyar in the 1st century A.D. The author of the *Periplus Maris Erythræi* (*c.* A.D. 77) calls Saphar the capital of Kharibael, king of the Homerites and Sabaites. Homerites corresponds to Himyar of the inscriptions, Hamer of the Ethiopians. Himyar is occasionally mentioned on the older monuments. The name was taken by the Arabs to cover the whole country and history, because it was the nearest and best known to them. In 27 B.C. fell the famous expedition of Ælius Gallus, the only time when Rome tried to conquer the Yemen. He reached Nejran and the Jauf, destroyed Nesca (Nashq), but failed to reach Marib. Yet Saba's greatest glory was past. What Alexander had tried to do the Ptolemys accomplished. They opened the sea route to India; so Saba, deprived of its customs duties, fell slowly into decay. Arab story has condensed the work of years—perhaps of centuries—into one event, the fall of the dam of Marib, though this was as much the result as the cause of the disappearance of Saba.

Here may be mentioned two other names known to the classics: the Gebanitæ and the Kattabani. Katabān was the name of a clan which held high rank under both Minæan and Sabæan kings. They then became independent; a *mukarrib* is mentioned, and one king apparently became overlord of Ma'īn. Their capital was Thumna. Eratosthenes knew them, but in Pliny's time they had disappeared. Probably they were Sabæan by race. Gab'an was a clan which stood high in the favour of the Minæan kings. According to Pliny, they owned some of the incense-bearing districts and in later times held the lands of Katabān, ruling as kings in Thumna and Okelis (near Shaikh Saad). They used the Minæan dialect on their monuments.

The Abyssinians now play a part in the history of S. Arabia. Glaser believes that they dwelt originally east of Hadramaut and migrated in historic times to Africa, whence they returned to attack the Himyarites. On the authority of unpublished texts he says that there was in 75 B.C. an alliance of Saba and Habashat (Abyssinians) against Himyar and Hadramaut. There are difficulties in this view; perhaps the Habashat are the Abaseni of the classics. The last known king of Saba and Raidan was alive in A.D. 281. Then came foreign domination, for on the Axum monuments (middle of 4th cent.) the Abyssinian claims to be, according to the Greek text, king of the Axumites, Homerites, Raidan, Ethiopians, Sabæans, and Sile (Salhin?), and, in the Geez text, king of Axum, Hamer, Raidan, Saba, and Salhin (?). Then in 378 native rulers, of whom nine are known, again appear with the title, 'king of Saba, Raidan, Hadramaut, and Yemenat.' Arabia has now sunk to be a pawn in the game between Rome and Persia, and Rome works through Abyssinia. Religious strife has been added to other causes of unrest. After the destruction of Jerusalem Jews migrated to the Yemen and attained considerable influence. One inscription has been found referring to 'the Merciful One, God of Israel and Lord of the Jews.' Christianity was introduced — according to one account, about 350, according to another, about 500; but it was ill received, for it was the faith of the national enemies, the Abyssinians. From this time onwards the Byzantine historians are valuable. The tale is tangled, but the sequence of events seems to be that in 523 the Abyssinians attacked the Yemen and dethroned Dhu Nuwas, the Himyarite king, who took refuge in the mountains. In his hatred to Christianity he is said to have massacred his Christian subjects in Negran (probably the story is highly coloured in the martyrology), and in 525 he was defeated a second time and slain. Esimphæus (Sumæfa') was installed as regent, though in 531 Abraha, an Abyssinian officer, overthrew him; and, after playing with the idea of independence, he remained faithful to his overlord in Africa. An inscription bearing his name and the date 543 tells of his turbulent subjects and of a breach of the dam at Marib.[1] This inscription is unique because it invokes Rahman the Merciful One and His Messiah and the Holy Spirit instead of the national gods. In 575 the Persians were called in, and S. Arabia was more or less a Persian province till the coming of Islām.

4. Religion.—As most of the monuments are votive inscriptions, the names of many gods are known. They fall into two classes, and each people had its own favourites. The Minæans honoured Wadd, 'Athtar, Nikraḥ, and in a lower degree Shams. According to Glaser, Katabān worshipped 'Amm, 'Athtar, Anbai, and Shams; Hadramaut served 'Athtar, Sīn, Khāl, and Shams; and Saba recognized 'Athtar, Haubas, Almaquh, and Shams. Haubas—the drier—is said to be the moon as the cause of ebb-tide. What Almaquh was is doubtful. He was a specially Sabæan deity. Hamdānī says he was Venus; and a summary of the theories about him is given in *CIS* ii. His name occurs alone and in connexion with 'Athtar and Haubas. He may be a form of one of these gods. There is nothing against this, for 'Athtar is often named twice in one invocation. He is also mentioned as Almaquh of Hirran. At present judgment must be suspended. Some of these deities are clearly celestial—Sīn and Shams; and 'Athtar, though masculine, is one with Ishtar (Venus). Arab authors tell of the star-worship of their forefathers. 'Amm is said to be the moon. While these are the chief gods, there are other forms of them: 'Athtar Sharqan, the eastern or rising, and 'Athtar Dhu Qabḍ, a title for which the meaning 'setting' has been suggested, but has found no favour. There are also thirteen different forms of 'Athtar in which the god is qualified by some place name like the Baalim of the OT. In the same way Shams, which is feminine, appears in many forms; she is Dhat Nashq, Dhat Ba'dan, Dhat Ḥimai, etc. Nikraḥ is assumed to be the god of hate and war—the counterpart of Wadd, the god of friendship—and his name is associated with the Arabic *kariha*.[2] One dedication may be quoted:

'To 'Athtar Sharqan and 'Athtar Dhu Qabḍ and Wadd and Nikraḥ the gods of Ma'īn and Yathil and all the gods of their lands and tribes and all the gods of sea and land and east and west and the kings of Ma'īn.'

In the other class is Ta'lab, the god of the clan Riyam, whose temple, Tur'at, on Mt. Itwa, was a place of pilgrimage. He seems never to have reached full divine rank, but to have been the patron of his worshippers. Possibly he is a development of tree-worship, as Ḥagr may be of a stone-cult. In the same way the tribe of Hamdan was specially devoted to Shams and Amir to Dhu Samawi, who may be the lord of heaven and who was worshipped in Haram. His name does not occur in Minæan texts. There are many other gods, but they are only names. In addition to Wadd, who is sometimes described as Shahran, Arabic tradition tells of 'Uzza, Yaghuth, and Nasr, which also occur on the monuments, the last also in the form N-s-w-r. The modern *jinn* finds its prototype in the spirits of wells and watercourses, *m-n-ḍ-ḥ*. It is not clear whether we should speak of a S. Arabian pantheon. Shams does appear as Umm'athtar, and there is an inscription which may mean that Sīn is the son of 'Athtar; but, apart from these two indications, the gods stand alone.

Proper names are instructive; many contain divine names. The general Semitic Il is most common, though 'Athtar, Wadd, and others occur.

[1] Another inscription of 449 tells of a breach of the dam and its repair (Glaser, *Zwei Inschriften über den Dammbruch von Marib*, p. 7 f.).

[2] The change of guttural can be paralleled.

Various terms of relationship appear: Ab, Dad, and Akh. Those names that contain Wadd, 'Amm, Khāl, might be so explained, but probably the gods are meant. Then in place of the divine name an abstract appears — righteousness, protection, salvation, or fear. In place of a god or his quality there often stands the name — Sumuh-'ali, 'the name is exalted.' From such names we learn that god or some god is exalted, is lord, or is wise; that he blesses, commands, or saves men who are in some sort his kin. In S. Arabian אלה is the common noun meaning 'god'; it occurs very seldom in proper names. אל is very common in proper names; it appears once or twice as a proper noun and sometimes as a common noun. The popular favourite, Almaquh, never forms part of a proper name. So it appears that Il went out of fashion as an object of worship, though habit remembered him in names. In Gn 10[26] Almodad is a son of Joktan.

'Athtar Sharqan was the guardian of temples and tombs; to him men pray that sacrilegious hands may not be laid on their offerings, though they make no gifts to him. In the lists of gods who are invoked the names of men (especially kings) are often inserted, and there are many references to the day of N.N. This day can hardly be anything but a memorial feast, and these facts point to some sort of apotheosis or ancestor-worship. The 'month of fathers' points to the same conclusion.

The antelope was sacred to 'Athtar, and the bull's head was the symbol of the crescent moon. It appears in all manner of forms, from realistic representations of the animal to a conventional object where only the horns are recognizable. Other symbols that may have a religious meaning are the sphinx and the date-palm in fruit. This is often pictured naturally, but sometimes the stem is a truncated cone recalling the pyramid that stands between the horns on the bull's head or that—in conventional designs—supports the horns.

Worship took place in temples that had names of their own. The god took a title from his temple; Almaquh is lord of Awwam. That outside Marib was an open space shaped like an ellipse surrounded by a wall. Various obelisks formed part of the equipment. It is not clear if there was any system of orientation.[1] Perhaps the native rock in the middle was the centre of worship. In other places there was an avenue of obelisks before the gate. Apart from *mukarrib* and *miswad*, several words denote 'priest'; the commonest is *r-sh-w*. It is usually determined by the name of a god or temple. In one place the chief of a tribe is also its priest, and sometimes the eponym also was. There are many inscriptions in which a man devotes himself, his children, his servants, and goods to some god; perhaps this happened when he was made priest. These men may be the 'people of 'Athtar,' the 'servants of Wadd,' who are often mentioned. The word *sh-w-'* is usually joined with Wadd; the root means 'to help.' In el-Ula occur the title *l-w-'* and its feminine. Arabic suggests that these persons correspond to the N. Semitic *q^edēshîm*, while the name recalls the Hebrew לוי. Nothing certain can be said about the functions of the priests. Another form of dedication is that in which a man dedicates some other person to the service of a god; these may be *q^edēshîm*.

The ideas of sacrifice and altar are expressed by the common Semitic root *dhabaḥa*, 'to cut the throat.' Oxen and sheep were offered, sometimes in large numbers; and incense played a great part in the worship. This is evident from the number of altars of incense that have been found and the various names in use for them. A special priest seems to have been in charge of the incense.[1] It was common to consecrate figures of men and animals in gratitude for favours received or to secure desired benefits. These may be the bronze figures of animals, four or five inches high, that have been discovered. Nothing is heard of images of the gods. Pilgrimage has already been mentioned in connexion with Ta'lab. There was a month of pilgrimage, apparently in the autumn. Their ideas on ceremonial purity were similar to those of other Semitic peoples; but the Minæan texts dealing with ritual are obscure and still unpublished. Tithes are often mentioned, and perhaps firstfruits, though the word usually has a more general sense.

[1] Description in Nielsen, *Die altarabische Mondreligion*, p. 100.

5. Civilization.—The wealth and luxury of the Yemen were proverbial among the Greeks and Romans, and their tales had a solid foundation. The monuments show the stools, chairs, and couches of which they speak, and tell of gold (gilded?) statues. The buildings and inscriptions that cover the country tell of its wealth, and show that the people were skilled masons. They must have been capable engineers to build the dam at Marib and the tanks at Aden. As sculptors they were not so advanced; for the finest lettering accompanies crude carving. The bas-reliefs are lively and show observation, but the execution is rough and clumsy. They succeeded better in sculpture in the round,[2] but there is always the suspicion that such figures may be of foreign origin; indeed, the *Periplus* speaks of an import of statuary from Egypt. A pair of eyes—that degenerate into circles—on a tombstone betrays Egyptian influence. Their work in metal was of a much higher level; much of it deserves to be called lifelike. In art they inclined to realism in a way that would not be tolerated now. They were probably fine potters, to judge by a terra-cotta rhyton ending in a goat's head (though this may be imported from Greece).

The coins are usually poor imitations of Athenian models, yet the standard is Babylonian. The oldest show the head of the goddess and the owl on the amphora. Later comes a male head, probably of a king, with long curls and a diadem, while the owl keeps its place on the reverse. Next the head has short hair and a wreath with fillets in imitation of the Roman emperors, while the reverse is unchanged. The expedition of Gallus may have had something to do with this change. Many coins bear the letter N, possibly a mint mark—Nejran? Various inscriptions and monograms occur. To these remarks there is one exception—an Attic tetradrachm with the head of Hercules and the lion's skin and, reverse, a seated figure with the lower limbs draped; the right hand holds a flower, and the hair hangs in curls, while the face is shaven; the name is אבי‍ית, and א stands in the field. The type which served as model came into use about 200 B.C. The head of the god is hardly distinguishable from Greek work and displays the skill and imitative power of the metal-workers. 'Bright Hayyili coins' are named, but not identified; also a *sela'*. In late Hebrew the *sela'* equalled four *denarii*.

The year was solar, and in early times each was named after an eponym, though this custom dropped with the introduction of the Sabæan era. The names of at least twelve months are known, but none agree with those of Arab tradition, so some may be duplicates. Their order is unknown. Some are derived from the seasons, while others are religious, as the months 'of pilgrimage' and 'of fathers.' The year seems to have begun in the spring. There are interesting theories about the

[1] *Os.* 80. [2] *JASB* ii. [1845] pl. v.

calendar, but they are still too problematical to be mentioned here.

Strabo[1] says that the Minæans practised polyandry. This is borne out by the monuments if, as is probable, the same names in a group refer to the same persons. Elsewhere three men have a son in common. It is quite common to find father and son associated as kings of one state; this probably meant the recognition of the son as heir apparent. Two brothers are also found sharing the title. Governors (*kabīr*) are named, as the governor of Muṣri,[2] and the chiefs of the tribes were important people. The government was clearly feudal, and the line between vassalage and independence was not always sharp. The kings of Sama' were vassals of Saba. In Abraha's inscription the loyal chiefs receive honorary mention as kings. Women appear, sometimes in pairs, as chiefs. Most of the kings have some distinctive epithet—'glorious,' 'exalted,' 'saviour'—as part of their names.

Works of irrigation are often mentioned, but the accounts are usually unintelligible. Palms and vineyards played a great part in the economic life. The word for 'vineyard,' while it means 'grape' in classical Arabic, means 'vineyard' in the Yemen dialect. For details as to trade we must rely on classical authors. Pliny tells of the cultivation of myrrh and describes the collection of incense; it grew in one place only in the Yemen and on the coast of Africa opposite. There were only 3000 families who had the right to gather the gum, and they were held in religious awe. During the harvest they had to separate themselves from women and funerals, and by these religious precautions they improved the crops. There are several S. Arabian names for these aromatic gums, but some still wait identification. The incense was taken to Sabota (Shabwat in Hadramaut), where the priests took a tithe of it for the god. Then only could it be put on the market. It had to be carried through the land of the Gebanitæ, who took their toll. It is suggested that Gab'an comes from the root meaning 'to collect.'

The ancient inhabitants of S. Arabia borrowed on every hand, yet they were not slavish imitators. The name Arabia Felix seems to have been better merited than such titles generally are.

LITERATURE.—Strabo, Ptolemy, Pliny (*Periplus Maris Erythræi*), Procopius (*de Bello Persico*), Cosmas Indicopleustes, Malalas, Theophanes, Mas'ūdī, Ṭabarī, Hamdānī, Iklīl, A. von Kremer, *Südarabische Sage*, Leipzig, 1866; O. Weber, *Arabien vor dem Islam* (=*Der alte Orient*, III. i.), do. 1901, *Forschungsreisen im Süd-Arabien* (=*Der alte Orient*, VIII. iv.), do. 1907; R. A. Nicholson, *A Literary Hist. of the Arabs*, London, 1907; *CIS* iv.; F. Hommel, *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen arabistisch-semitolog. Inhalts*, Munich, 1892, *Südarabische Chrestomathie*, do. 1893 (with full bibliography of the earlier literature); artt. in *ZDMG*, *WZKM*, *JA*, *ZA*, *PSBA*, and *OLZ*; J. H. Mordtmann and D. H. Müller, *Sabäische Denkmäler* (=*DWAW* xxxiii.), Vienna, 1883; D. H. Müller, *Epigraph. Denkmäler aus Arabien* (=*DWAW* xxxvii.), do. 1889, *Epigraph. Denkmäler aus Abessinien* (=*DWAW* xliii.), do. 1894, *Südarabische Alterthümer im kunsthistorischen Hofmuseum zu Wien*, do. 1899; J. H. Mordtmann, *Himjarische Inschriften und Alterthümer in den königlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Berlin, 1893; M. Lidzbarski, *Ephemeris für semit. Epigraphik*, 3 vols., Giessen, 1901–12; E. Glaser, *Skizze der Gesch. und Geographie Arabiens*, ii. (all published), Berlin, 1890, *Die Abessinier in Arabien und Afrika*, Munich, 1895, *Zwei Inschriften über den Dammbruch von Marib*, Berlin, 1897; O. Weber, *Studien zur südarabischen Altertumskunde*, 3 vols., do. 1901–08; D. Nielsen, *Die altarabische Mondreligion*, Strassburg, 1904, *Neue katabanische Inschriften*, Berlin, 1907, *Der sabäische Gott Ilmuḳah*, do. 1910; M. Hartmann, *Die arabische Frage*, Leipzig, 1908; H. Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, i.–iii., do. 1893–1906; B. V. Head, *Numismatic Chronicle*, new ser., xviii. [1878], xx. [1880]; G. Schlumberger, *Le Trésor de San'a*, Paris, 1880.

A. S. TRITTON.

SABAOTH (Babylonian).—1. The Babylonian sābu.—The word 'Sabaoth' has not yet been found in Assyro-Babylonian, though the noun formed from its root, *ṣābu*, occurs not infrequently in both singular and plural. The meaning of *ṣābu* is 'man,' 'soldier,' and in the plural 'army,' 'host,' agreeing in some respects with the Hebrew cognate. The nearest approach to 'lord of hosts' would be *bēl ṣābē*, but this has not yet been found. In many historical texts *ṣābu* is replaced by its synonym *ummanu* (plur. *ummanāti*, expressed by the same ideograph, so that it is sometimes uncertain which word is intended). The Sumerian equivalent of *ṣābu* is *erim*.

2. Šar and its Semitic equivalent.—For the meaning 'hosts,' the equivalent word seems to be *kiššatu* (*kašāšu*, 'to be strong,' 'numerous'), in Sumerian *šar*. In many cases, however, some such rendering as 'host,' 'universe,' would be preferable, if, in translating, usage allows it. To all appearance the character *šar*, like that for Utuki, the sun-god, was originally the picture of a circle. This implies that it was intended to express the circle of the earth or the horizon of heaven. Other synonymous signs for *šar* = *kiššatu* are *šu*, composed of two wedges derived from a curve probably originally representing the vault of heaven, and *kiš*, a character seemingly used on account of its pronunciation. With the determinative prefix for 'god,' *šu* became one of the ideographs for Merodach, probably as god of the universe. *Kiššatu* is also expressed by the double square or enclosure *nigin*, meaning a collection of things.

3. Šar in the Babylonian lists of gods.—But the usage of the inscription gives information of a more interesting nature, the most important being the evidence of the lists of gods and the Semitic legend of the creation. According to a list in *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets*, xxiv. 1, the earliest deities were the two Ana, male and female personifications of the heavens. These occur afterwards as An-ki, 'heaven and earth,' and after this as Uraš and Nin-uraš, the two Ana (Anu and Anatu) as deities of fruitfulness. Sixth in the list is An-šar-gal, 'Anu,' the heavens, as 'the great host,' whilst the seventh is An-ki-šar-gal, Anu and Anatu as deities of the 'great host' of earth. The eighth and ninth lines have the names Anšar and Kišar, which give another combination of the root *šar* with a development of the idea, as these words apparently mean 'host of heaven' and 'host of earth'—divine personifications who appear in the Semitic creation-story as having been produced after Laḥmu and Laḥamu;[1] but in this legend Anu, the god of the heavens, is represented as Anšar's son. Later, in the same text, Anšar sends forth in turn Anu, Êa, and Merodach, to fight Tiāmat (Tiawath), the dragon of chaos. The next divine couple, in the list of gods, whose names contain the Sumerian equivalent of Sabaoth consists of En-šar and Nin-šar, the 'lord of the host' and the 'lady of the host.' This makes a total of six couples, the seventh being represented by the Sumero-Akkadian Duri and Dari, perhaps 'Age' and 'Eternity,' the two non-concrete forms or counterparts of *šar*, in which countless number is changed into illimitable time. Concerning the Babylonians we cannot speak with certainty, but the Sumerians at least seem to have realized, at a very early date, how multitudinous were the creatures produced and nourished by the earth, and they had evidently also formed the theory that the gods dwelling in the heavens (and this would include their divine servants and the angels) were at least equally so. As a confirmation of this, the British Museum tablet K.2100 gives (rev. 3, 4) as a synonym of *Dingir-gal-gal-ene*, 'the great gods,' the reduplicate word *Šaršara*, 'the very numerous,' or (as the prefix for divinity shows that we should translate) 'the divine host.'

[1] 788. [2] *Hal.* 535, revised text.

[1] See *ERE* iv. 129ᵃ.

4. Anu and his divine partners.—Naturally it was the really 'great' gods who exercised rule in heaven, where all divine beings obeyed them. In agreement with this, the account of the attack of the evil spirits upon the moon (this was supposed to be the cause of our satellite's eclipses) speaks of Sin, Šamaš, and Ištar having been set to rule the vault (*šûmuq*) of heaven, and 'with Anu they shared the dominion of the host of heaven' (Sum. *kiš ana*, Sem. *kiššat šamê, kiš* here replacing the seemingly more correct *šar*). Here, again, Anu appears as the god of the heaven-host; but it is to be noted that, when Merodach became king of the gods, power over the host was conferred on him, and, as stated in a well-known hymn to that deity,[1] 'the Igigi of the host of heaven and earth' (*Igigi ša kiššat šamê û êrṣiti*^{m}) are said to wait upon his command. It was for 'the host of heaven and earth' that the new moon shone (*azkaru annuu ina šamî û êrṣiti ibbani*, 'this crescent among the host of heaven and earth was created'; in Sum. 'this crescent of the heaven-host [and] the earth-host,' *an-šar-ki-šar*). A deity named Kiššat appears in *WAI* ii. 60, line 32, as patron of a city which is doubtful, but which is possibly the Rabbi of line 30. If this means 'the city of the host,' it may be supposed that the 'host of heaven' was worshipped there.

5. The god Aššur as the leader of the Assyrian host.—It is to be noted that, in his abstract of Babylonian cosmology, although Damascius[2] gives the feminine principle preceding Ea and Dauké as Kissarē, the masculine companion of the same is not, as would be expected from the Babylonian, Ansaros, but Assōros (Ασσωρος). Now, as the name of the god Aššur is most commonly written with the characters An-šar, there is but little doubt that the Assyrian name had influenced the pronunciation, and changed it, even in Babylonia. Whatever may have been the original root of Aššur, therefore, the Assyrians had applied the name of the god to the compound group An-šar, and the Babylonian god of the host (of heaven and earth) became the god of the armies of Assyria. He is represented, in the sculptures of Aššur-naṣir-âpli (*c.* 880 B.C.), as a divine figure within the winged disk, flying in the air above the army, and drawing the bow against the foe.[3] We have here, apparently, an Assyrian parallel to the Hebrew 'Lord of Hosts, God of the armies of Israel.'

6. Šar = kiššatu in the titles of the kings.—As a title of the kings of Assyria, *šar kiššati*, 'king of the host' (of people or of nations), is fairly common. Adad-nirari I. (*c.* 1330 B.C.) bore it, and it seems to have been also adopted, more or less regularly, by his successors. In Babylonia Man-ištu-su (*c.* 2700 B.C.) calls himself *lugal kiš*, which, in its common acceptation, would be equivalent to *šar kiššati*; but *kiš* may stand for the city of Kiš, over which he ruled (though it is difficult to understand, in such a carefully-engraved text, how the determinative suffix could have been omitted). Perhaps the modesty of certain Babylonian kings did not permit of their using the *šar* which accompanies divine names. Among the later Babylonian rulers who used the title 'king of the host' (of men) were Nebuchadrezzar the Great and Cyrus. It is mainly the German Assyriologists who have discussed the meaning of the phrase *šar kiššati*. H. Winckler thought that it indicated 'king of a fixed definite state,' and was no mere title. C. P. Tiele was of opinion that it indicated 'something like world-lordship.' Leopold Messerschmidt suggested that *šar kiššati* and 'king of the four regions' signify the possession of two territories, and were not mere titles. F. Hommel holds similar views to the above. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt renders *šar kiššati* (sc. *niši*) as 'king of the totality of nations.' H. V. Hilprecht is of opinion that the title was first used by the kings of Kiš, and was due to word-play (see above).

To all appearance the Assyro-Babylonian idea of the host of heaven was that it consisted of all the divinities whom they regarded as dwelling in and beneath the sky; and the stars and heavenly bodies in general, identified, as they were, with the gods, were included therein. The host of the earth apparently included, in its widest sense, everything in the world which the god had created. In its narrowest sense, however, the latter stood either for all mankind or for the nations under the Babylonian or Assyrian kings, wherever they had made their rule effective.

LITERATURE.—W. Muss-Arnolt, *A Concise Dict. of the Assyrian Language*, Berlin, etc., 1901–05, p. 453 f.; also, for methods of writing the expressions, etc., J. N. Strassmaier, *Alphabetisches Verzeichniss der assyrischen und akkadischen Wörter*, etc., Leipzig, 1886, p. 555 *f.*

T. G. PINCHES.

SABBATH.

Primitive (HUTTON WEBSTER), p. 885.
Babylonian (T. G. PINCHES), p. 889.
Biblical.—See FESTIVALS AND FASTS (Hebrew).
Christian.—See SUNDAY.
Jewish (I. ABRAHAMS), p. 891.
Muhammadan (G. MARGOLIOUTH), p. 893.

SABBATH (Primitive). — **1. Introductory.**—The term 'sabbath,' in ordinary usage, is applied to a periodic rest-day, dedicated to a god and devoted to the exercises of religion. As such the term refers particularly to the Jewish *Shabbāth*, and its successor the Christian *Dies Dominica*, or the Lord's Day. The Muhammadan *al jum'ah*, 'the meeting' (for worship), which occurs on Friday, is derived from Christian and Jewish practice, but on this day labour is suspended only while services are being conducted at the mosque. In Buddhist lands the *Uposatha*, which usually falls on the day of the new moon, on the day of the full moon, and on the two days which are eighth from new and full moon, is marked by fasting and the cessation of secular activities. The *Uposatha* in its origin among the Aryans of ancient India could have owed nothing to Jewish or Christian influence, and in its diffusion throughout S.E. Asia it appears to have been unaffected by the influence of Islām. The question naturally arises how far these sabbaths of civilized peoples find a parallel in savage and barbarian society at the present time.

The observance of rest-days forms a fairly common custom in the lower culture, if exception be made of the Australian, Melanesian, and American areas. But the rest-day among so-called primitive peoples is as a rule not periodic in character, nor is it necessarily consecrated to a deity and employed for religious services. Furthermore, it is usually marked by various regulations which can only be described as superstitions. All public gatherings may be discontinued, the house or the village closed against strangers, lights extinguished, songs, dances, and loud noises forbidden, and abstinence from food and sexual intercourse required. The day of rest then presents itself as a day of complete quiescence.

[1] *WAI* iv. 29, 47–51. [2] See *ERE* iv. 129^{a}.
[3] A. H. Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, London, 1849, ii. 448, *Monuments of Nineveh*, 1st ser., do. 1849, pl. 13, etc.

All these negative regulations find their clearest expression in the tabus which have been studied, first among the natives of Polynesia, then in some other parts of the aboriginal world, and finally among peoples of archaic civilization. Tabu, indeed, is a wide-spread institution, and evidence for its existence steadily accumulates with the progress of anthropological research.[1] A tabu may be defined as a negative regulation or prohibition which is supported by supernatural sanctions. The penalty meted out to the tabu-breaker is generally death or some physical ailment supposed to be inflicted by the offended spirits. In time the punishment for the violation of a tabu may come to be regarded as an important duty of the tribal god, whose chief concern is the maintenance of the customary moral rules.

Things or persons are tabued, primarily because they are considered mysterious, abnormal, dangerous—because they are felt to be potent for weal or woe in the life of man. Early psychology, refining these ideas and applying them to different classes of phenomena, produces the cognate notions of pollution and sanctity. The corpse is unclean; the shedder of human blood is likewise unclean; but the priest and king, who belong to a superior order of beings, are sacrosanct or holy. These characteristics are easily regarded as infectious, as capable of transmission, not only by physical contact, but also by sight and mere proximity. Hence prudence dictates a variety of precautions; the dangerous person or thing is removed to a safe distance, or is carefully isolated, or is subjected to a variety of insulating regulations. The entire community is interested in such proceedings, and on certain occasions may itself be placed under a rigid quarantine. When this happens, a period of abstinence, merging into quiescence, will be considered the surest means of avoiding spiritual dangers which threaten each and every member of the body politic. Moreover, when the impending danger is specifically attributed to the action of spirits or of gods, the observance of the rest-day readily develops into a method of propitiating, and even of honouring, the supernatural powers. The two conceptions of abstinence and propitiation are not, indeed, always sharply distinguishable in concrete cases, and with advancing culture they tend to become more and more closely conjoined.

It is not improbable that some of the communal regulations observed in connexion with primitive sabbaths have been modelled on the tabus observed by single persons and household groups at such critical seasons as birth, puberty, marriage, and death. Comparative studies have indicated how numerous are the prohibitions which attach to these occasions, and it is reasonable to suppose that, with the deepening sense of social solidarity, observances once confined to the individual only, or to his immediate connexions, would often pass over into rites performed by the community at large. However this may be, primitive sabbaths certainly present themselves as public ordinances which bear an obvious resemblance to the entire system of private tabus.

2. Sabbaths at critical epochs.—A survey of many rude societies shows that any time of special significance, inaugurating a new era or marking the transition from one state to another, any time of storm and stress, any epoch when untoward events have occurred or are expected to occur, may be invested with tabus designed to meet the emergency in the communal life and to ward off the threatened danger or disaster. Throughout Polynesia, in Indonesia, and in certain parts of S.E. Asia there exists, or until recently existed, an extensive body of communal rest-days, whose purpose appears to have been entirely prophylactic and protective. In that part of the world periods of abstinence and quiescence are imposed because of such unusual, and therefore critical, events as a conflagration, an epidemic sickness, or an earthquake; after a death; at the changes of the moon; at the end of the old year and the beginning of the new year; during a time devoted to the banning of ghosts and demons; and in connexion with such important undertakings as the commencement of a war, seed-planting and harvest, and the celebration of a solemn religious ceremony. The procedure in each case is much the same: the community subjects itself to a number of negative regulations, imposing idleness, fasting, and continence upon all its members.

These sabbaths at critical epochs formerly constituted a noteworthy feature of Polynesian life, especially in old Hawaii, where the institution of tabu perhaps reached its acme of development. Their observance varied according as they were common or strict. When a common season prevailed, the men were required only to abstain from their usual duties and to attend at the temple, where prayers were offered every morning and evening. During a period strictly tabued the regulations had a sterner character, and in consequence a general gloom and silence pervaded the whole district or island. Every fire and light was extinguished; canoes were not launched; no person bathed; and no one was to be seen out of doors, except those whose presence was required at the temple.[1] From another account we learn that any one found in a canoe on a tabu day incurred the death penalty, and that a like fate was reserved for the man who indulged in carnal pleasures or only made a noise at such a time.[2]

Communal tabus of the strict type that has been described were observed by the Hawaiian Islanders on a variety of occasions, particularly when a chief temple was consecrated and when the New Year's festival was celebrated. The Hawaiian religious system also included a remarkable approximation to the institution of a weekly sabbath. In every lunar month there were four tabu periods, dedicated severally to the four great gods of the native pantheon. The first was that of Ku, from the third to the sixth night; the second, that of Hua, at full moon, including the fourteenth and fifteenth nights; the third, that of Kaloa, on the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth nights; and the fourth, that of Kane, on the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth nights. During these tabu periods a devout king generally remained in the temple, busy with prayer and sacrifice; women were forbidden to enter canoes, and sexual intercourse was prohibited.[3]

Seasons of communal abstinence and quiescence were enforced in the Society and Marquesas Islands in connexion with the bonito fishing, and in New Zealand at the time of planting of the kumara, or sweet potato.[4] In the Tonga Islands, when the sacrifice of firstfruits occurred, all work was forbidden, and even any one's appearance out of doors, unless for the purpose of the ceremony, was interdicted.[5] The natives of Samoa, who possessed a remarkably complex pantheon of divinities with animal and vegetable attributes,

[1] See art. TABU.

[1] W. Ellis, *Narr. of a Tour through Hawaii, or Owhyhee*, London, 1826, p. 366 ff.

[2] H. T. Cheever, *The Island World of the Pacific*, Glasgow, 1851, p. 63.

[3] W. D. Alexander, *A Brief Hist. of the Hawaiian People*, New York, 1899, p. 50 ff.; David Malo, *Hawaiian Antiquities*, Honolulu, 1903, p. 56.

[4] J. A. Moerenhout, *Voyages aux îles du grand océan*, Paris, 1837, i. 516 ff.; J. Cowan, *The Maoris of New Zealand*, Christchurch, N.Z., 1910, p. 116 ff.

[5] W. Mariner, *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands*, Boston, 1820, p. 381 ff.

were obliged to suspend work on certain occasions devoted to their worship.[1] During December, when the god Ratu-mai-Mbulu was supposed to visit the Fiji Islands, a sabbatical period ensued.

'Throughout that moon it is *tabu* to beat the drum, to sound the conch-shell, to dance, to plant, to fight, or to sing at sea. . . . At the end of the month the priest sounds the consecrated shell: the people raise a great shout, carrying the good news from village to village, and pleasure and toil are again free to all.'[2]

The scanty records of aboriginal Polynesian society also contain some passing references to the observance of communal sabbaths on certain occasions when the social consciousness had been deeply moved by untoward and disastrous events.

In the island of Futuna 'they go so far as to *tapu* the day—*e.g.*, to interdict all work in order to please the gods, or to avert the hurricanes.'[3]

In Hawaii a tabued period was declared during the sickness of a chief.[4] In Samoa the death of a chief of high rank was followed by the suspension of all work in the settlement for a period of from ten to thirty days, until the funeral ceremonies were performed.[5] On the island of Yap, one of the Carolines, two aged wizards, before whom all important questions come for decision, have the power of laying tabus on an entire village. The periods of seclusion have been known to last for six months. The critical epochs, when such interdicts are imposed, occur at a time of drought, famine, or sickness, after the death of a chief or famous man, and before a fishing expedition.

'In short, any great public event is thus celebrated, and, in fact, there is always a tabu in full swing somewhere or other, to the great disgust of the traders, who only see in these enforced holidays an excuse for idling, drunkenness, and debauchery.'[6]

Seasons of communal abstinence are not found in Australia, and only faint indications of them exist within the Melanesian area. In New Guinea a few instances have been noted, all within the British possessions there. On the other hand, the Indonesian tribes of Borneo, including the Kayans, the Sea Dayaks, and the Land Dayaks, keep many sabbaths in connexion with agricultural operations and other critical occasions. The Bornean regulations disclose a fairly consistent effort to adjust the length of the communal tabu to the importance of the event which it commemorates. Thus, house-building imposes a shorter season of abstinence than does planting or sowing; a single death in the village may require the cessation of activity by the inhabitants for only one day; but an epidemic sickness may necessitate a three days' rest, as among the Sea Dayaks, or even an eight days' rest, as among the Land Dayaks. The restrictions themselves appear to be substantially the same in all instances.

The inhabitants 'remain in their houses, in order to eat, drink, and sleep; but their eating must be moderate and often consists of nothing but rice and salt. . . . People under interdict may not bathe, touch fire, or employ themselves about their ordinary occupations.'[7]

To these prohibitions should be added that of sexual intercourse, a tabu specifically mentioned for one Bornean tribe,[8] and probably found among others.

Communal sabbaths appear to be unknown to the nomadic hunting tribes which occupy the interior parts of Borneo and probably represent an aboriginal population. The custom under consideration must therefore be an Indonesian importation into Borneo — a conclusion which is strengthened by the fact that similar observances prevail among the Indonesian inhabitants of the Nicobars, Bali, Nias, the Mentawi Islands, Formosa, and the Philippine Archipelago. A typical instance is afforded by the inhabitants of the Pagi Islands, which form the southern extension of the Mentawi group. These people worship the evil spirits which manifest their power in thunder and lightning, earthquakes, tornadoes, and floods. When confronted by some real or imaginary danger, they shut themselves up in their villages and exclude all strangers. During this period of separation from the world they may neither give nor receive anything, they must refrain from eating certain articles of food, and they may not engage in trade.[1] Another authority points out that, while all crises in the communal life of the natives are thus kept as periods of restriction, yet in some cases the rest-days have become joyous festivals and holidays.[2]

Assuming, with modern ethnographers, that the Indonesian peoples represent an admixture in various proportions of primitive Indian and S. Mongolian stocks, we need not be surprised to discover that in certain parts of S.E. Asia, and notably among the Tibeto-Burman tribes of Assam and Burma, communal sabbaths form a characteristic feature of the native culture. The word *genna*, which the Nāgas of Manipur apply to anything tabued or forbidden, also signifies the village rest-days imposed in connexion with the rice cultivation, after the occurrence of unusual phenomena, such as earthquakes, eclipses of the sun or moon, and the appearance of comets, the destruction of a settlement by fire, and the outbreak of an epidemic sickness.[3] Indeed, as an early writer remarks,

there is 'no end to the reasons on which a *kennie* must or may be declared, and as it consists of a general holiday when no work is done, this . . . Sabbath appears to be rather a popular institution.'[4]

The *genna* custom seems to have attained its most complicated and grotesque development among the Nāgas, but it is found among other peoples of Assam and may be traced in various parts of Burma.

The close resemblances which exist between these sabbatical observances in S.E. Asia, Indonesia, and Polynesia lend probability to the hypothesis that we are here in the presence of an institution which has been gradually diffused from its Asiatic home over the Indian Archipelago and thence into the islands of the Pacific. But it will not do to infer that the conceptions which in this part of the world have generated the tabued day are therefore local and confined. On the contrary, they underlie a wide range of social phenomena.

There are few superstitions with a wider prevalence among the lower races than that which requires the suspension of ordinary occupations after a death. The prohibition of work at this time usually forms only one of a number of regulations, which also impose partial or complete abstinence from food and place a ban on loud talking, singing, and the wearing of ornaments and gay clothing. The explanation of the tabus must be sought partly in animistic conceptions: the survivors ought to avoid all conspicuous activity, if they would not attract the unwelcome attentions of the ghost. But a more common belief is that in the pollution of death—a belief which leads to

1 G. Turner, *Samoa*, London, 1884, pp. 29 f., 60.
2 B. Thomson, *The Fijians*, London, 1908, p. 114.
3 S. P. Smith, in *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, i. [1892] 40.
4 W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, new ed., London, 1859, iv. 387.
5 W. T. Pritchard, *Polynesian Reminiscences*, London, 1866, p. 149 ff.
6 F. W. Christian, *The Caroline Islands*, London, 1899, p. 290.
7 Spenser St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, London, 1862, i. 175 ff.
8 R. S. Douglas, in *Sarawak Museum Journal*, i. [1911] 146 ff.

1 P. A. M. Hinlopen and P. Severin, in *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde*, iii. [1855] 329 f.
2 A. Maass, in *ZE* xxxvii. [1905] 155 ff.
3 T. C. Hodson, 'The *Genna* amongst the Tribes of Assam, *JAI* xxxvi. [1906] 92–103, *The Nāga Tribes of Manipur*, London, 1911, pp. 164–186.
4 J. Butler, in *JASBe*, new ser., xlv. [1875] i. 316.

many regulations as to the proper treatment of a corpse, of undertakers, of the dead man's family and friends, and of mourners generally. The polluting power of death extends to everything in its presence; hence the obvious conclusion that little or nothing should be done by the survivors, at any rate till after the funeral. These tabus are often confined to the family or to the relatives of the dead. Where, however, the sense of social solidarity is strong, the notion of abstinence at so critical a season may be extended to the entire community.

An inquiry into the geographical diffusion of this superstition shows it to be not unknown in Polynesia, Micronesia, New Guinea, Borneo, and some other parts of the Oceanic area. It is discoverable in Assam, Burma, various parts of India, and Tibet. Africa from north to south offers many instances of communal tabus following a death and imposing abstinence from work. In the New World the Eskimo tribes from Greenland to Bering Strait possess the custom in a marked degree. It is also found among some of the Asiatic Eskimo, thus strengthening the argument for the transmission of cultural elements between N.W. America and N.E. Asia. Since these tabued days are observed in many cases by unrelated peoples, who, as far as our knowledge reaches, have never been in cultural contact, it may be concluded that the beliefs underlying the superstition have not been narrowly limited, but belong to the general stock of primitive ideas.

3. Sabbatarian aspects of religious festivals.—The fact that most religious festivals are observed as holidays, when men give up secular occupations and devote themselves to joyful worship and relaxation of all kinds, should not lead to the assumption that the remission of labour at such times has generally been dictated by practical and non-superstitious considerations. It has already been pointed out that, in some fairly rude communities, abstinence from work forms a part of the regular procedure for facing a crisis and the spiritual dangers supposed to characterize such an occasion. The rest is a measure of protection and propitiation, quite as much as the fasts, the sacrifices, and the prayers by which it may be attended. Where ideas of this nature prevail, all labour is tabued.

As we pass from savagery to barbarism and from animism to polytheism, the notion of tabu, at first vague and indeterminate, tends to differentiate into the twin concepts of impurity and holiness. To the primitive mind the sanctity which attaches to the priest or king, to such objects of special reverence as bull-roarers, idols, and altars, and also to certain places and shrines is sufficiently material to be transmissible and to be capable of infecting with its mysterious qualities whatever is done at a particular time. The notion of the transmissibility of holiness may seem of itself to furnish a sufficient reason for abstaining from ordinary occupations on a sacred day. In practice, however, this idea appears to mingle quite inextricably with the opposite though related conception that what is holy can be contaminated by contact with the secular and the profane. Furthermore, when holy days come to be definitely consecrated to deities, who at such times are believed to be present among their worshippers, it is easy to see how the belief arises that a god is pleased and flattered by the enforced idleness of his devotees. Abstinence from work then takes its place among other rites as a recognized way of expressing a proper reverence for the divinity; while, conversely, to labour on his holy day implies a disrespectful attitude towards him.

The consecration of a particular day to a divinity is a common feature of polytheistic cults. Had we definite information concerning the origin and development of the great deities of the higher religions, it would probably appear that in most instances their connexion with particular days is a secondary rather than a primary formation. In other words, a period dedicated to a god, and observed by his worshippers with abstinence from labour, may once have been a season of tabu for other and quite different reasons. Some pertinent instances of tabued days which developed into holy days may be noted. Thus, in the comparatively well-developed religious system of the Hawaiians, the New Year's festival was consecrated to the god Lono; but the same festival in Fiji was not associated with any particular divinity. The four tabued periods in the Hawaiian lunar month, which were dedicated to the great gods of the native pantheon, must be considered to have had no original connexion with any divinity, for among the Dayak tribes of Borneo there are numerous tabus attaching to the phases of the moon and imposing communal abstinence. The Bontoc Igorot, a non-Christian folk of N. Luzon, observe a sabbath which occurs, on an average, about every ten days during the year. It is dedicated to Lumawig, the only god throughout the Bontoc culture area. Examination of the evidence indicates that this sabbath in its earlier form was not a periodic but an occasional observance, called forth only by particular emergencies in the communal life. The present form of the institution exhibits a tendency, doubtless directed by the Igorot priesthood, to calendarize seasons of tabu at definite and regular intervals. Its dedication to Lumawig is probably only a natural outcome of the pre-eminence assigned to that supreme god, who stands out in such bold relief against the crowd of ancestral spirits, good and bad, investing the Igorot world.[1] Some of the Dravidian peoples of India hold festivals in honour of their local deities, when labour is usually suspended. Mother Earth, an object of much devotion in Bengal, is worshipped at the end of the hot season. The goddess generally manifests herself as the benignant source of all things, but sometimes she brings disease and hence requires a propitiatory festival. At this time all ploughing, sowing, and other work cease, and Bengali widows refrain from eating cooked rice.[2] A similar sabbath in honour of Mother Earth is very strictly observed by the natives of the Malabar coast.[3] Turning to W. Africa, we find on the Slave Coast an annual All Souls' festival kept as a period of abstinence. The festival is held in honour of Egungun, a god who is supposed to have arisen from the dead, and after whom a powerful secret society has been named. A similar ceremony, imposing a cessation of work for eight days, is observed by the Gold Coast tribes, who, however, have not dedicated it to a god. These instances, which do not exhaust the evidence, illustrate the passage of the tabued day into the god's sacred day.

4. Sabbatarian aspects of market-days.—Rest-days, more or less regular in occurrence and following at short intervals after periods of continuous labour, are frequently observed by primitive agriculturists. Sabbaths of this sort appear to be unknown among migratory hunting and fishing peoples or among nomadic pastoral tribes. A wandering hunter requires no regular day of rest, since his life passes in alternations of continuous labour, while following the chase, and of almost uninterrupted idleness after a successful hunt. For the herdsman there can be no relaxation of the diurnal duties, for the cattle must be driven to

[1] A. E. Jenks, *The Bontoc Igorot* (Ethnological Survey Publications), Manila, 1905, i. 205 ff.
[2] W. Crooke, *Natives of N. India*, London, 1907, p. 232.
[3] C. K. Menon, in *Madras Government Museum Bulletin*, v [1906] 104 f.

pasture every morning; they must be watched and watered; and at night they must be milked. Again, the shepherd, compared with the farmer, scarcely needs a regular rest-day; his occupation requires so little continuous exertion that he can pursue it all the year round without any injury to his health. A farmer, however, is benefited by a period of rest occurring more or less regularly; and, though agricultural pursuits are dependent upon the seasons and the weather, he is usually able to postpone his work for a brief period without serious loss. It might be argued, therefore, that the change from pastoral to agricultural life would itself be sufficient to call into existence the institution of periodic rest-days. It seems true, however, that the connexion of the rest-days with the farmer's pursuits is due to the obvious fact that a regular sabbath implies a settled life, a fairly well-developed form of social organization, and something approaching a calendar system.

The greater number of periodic rest-days observed by agricultural peoples in the lower stages of culture are associated with the institution of the market (*q.v.*). Days on which markets regularly take place are not infrequently characterized by sabbatarian regulations. Such market-days have a wide diffusion. Markets every fifth day are found in various parts of New Guinea, in Celebes, Sumatra, and Java, and among the natives of Tongking, Siam, and Burma. Throughout the central parts of Africa, from the British and German possessions in the east to those of the Portuguese and French in the west, there are numerous market-places where neighbouring communities meet regularly to exchange their productions. Usually every fourth day is a market-day and is observed by the cessation of ordinary occupations. A similar custom exists among the peoples on both banks of the lower Congo. The market is a well-developed institution among the semi-civilized negroes about the Gulf of Guinea. Here we find market-weeks varying from three to ten days in length. One week-day is usually reserved for the market and is often regarded as the appropriate time for abstaining from toilsome labour. Similar market-days, kept as general holidays, were known in ancient Mexico, Central America, Colombia, and Peru.

A market-day is necessarily more or less of a rest-day. Those who attend a market must abandon for the time being their usual occupations. It is also a holiday, affording opportunities for social intercourse, sports, and amusements of all sorts. Such seems to be the character of most of the market-days found in S.E. Asia and the adjacent islands, as well as in some parts of Africa. In the Congo region, however, the market-day sometimes bears an unlucky character, and a distinct tendency exists to attach various restrictions to it. In the Guinea region the market-day often (though not always) coincides with the general day of rest observed by an entire community. As such it may be consecrated to a god and rigorously observed. This extensive development of sabbatarian regulations appears to be confined to Africa.

5. Unlucky days as sabbaths.—The observance of unlucky days is a familiar phenomenon in primitive society and among peoples of archaic civilization. Under the attenuated form of a survival the superstition still lingers in civilized lands. The precautions which characterize these days—not to engage in various activities, not to eat specified foods, not to indulge in sexual intercourse, not to travel, not to buy or sell—illustrate clearly enough the general likeness between periods tabued and periods deemed unlucky.

A common source of the belief in unlucky days is to be sought in the erroneous association of ideas. If an unfortunate event has taken place on a certain day, the notion easily arises that all actions performed on the recurrence of the day will have a similarly unfortunate issue. Among the Tshi of W. Africa, *e.g.*, the most unlucky day is the anniversary of the Saturday on which Osai Tutu was slain in ambush near Acromanti in 1731.[1]

The observation of natural phenomena often accounts for the unlucky character assigned to certain occasions. Many superstitions attach themselves particularly to the moon. Various primitive peoples have pronounced beliefs respecting the unfavourable influence of the moon on human activities. A partial or complete abstention from work may be required during the waning moon, as well as during the two or three days of the moon's invisibility at the end of the lunation. Eclipses of the moon are sometimes considered unlucky for work and are accompanied by fasting and other forms of abstinence. During such times of uncanny and terrifying darkness it is thought wise to avoid every sort of activity, as well as the consumption of food which may be tainted with mysterious evil. Thus, in S. India, when an eclipse occurs, the people retire to their houses and remain behind closed doors. No one would think of initiating any important work at this time.[2]

Among many peoples in the lower culture the time of new moon and full moon, much less commonly of each half moon, is a season of restriction and abstinence. The lunar day is sometimes a holy day dedicated to a god, who may be identified with the moon itself. Instances of this sort are to be correlated with the general course of religious development, involving, as it does, the emergence of polytheistic cults and the schematization of the ritual. But under more primitive conditions the lunar day is an unlucky (or tabued) day, quite independent of any association with a deity. The existence of these lunar tabus in Polynesia, Indonesia, and Africa, to say nothing of the survivals of them in Asiatic and European lands, throws light on the origin of the Hebrew Sabbath and its assumed Babylonian original.

The observance of unlucky days has undoubtedly retarded human progress. They hinder individual initiative and tend to prevent the undertaking of lengthy enterprises which may be interrupted by the recurrence of an unfavourable period. Their extensive development compels fitful, intermittent labour, rather than a steady and continuous occupation. They may even directly affect political and social conditions where, as in modern Ashanti and ancient Rome, assemblies could not be held, or courts of justice stand open, or armies engage the enemy, when the unlucky day came round. It is equally obvious that all such beliefs play into the hands of the astrologer and magician, and thus tend further to strengthen the chains with which superstition fetters its votaries.

LITERATURE.—The authorities are quoted in the article. For a much fuller discussion of the subject, together with an extensive bibliography, see Hutton Webster, *Rest Days*, New York, 1916, esp. chs. i.–v., ix.

HUTTON WEBSTER.

SABBATH (Babylonian). — Notwithstanding that the Sabbath, as we know it, may be a specifically Hebrew institution, there is every probability that it had its origin in Babylonia. In that country, however, it was not the rest-day ending the seven-day week, owing to the Creator having rested from His work on that day (Gn 2[2]), but was due to the festival of the full moon on the 15th

[1] A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, London, 1887, p. 219 f.

[2] E. Thurston, *Omens and Superstitions of S. India*, London, 1912, p. 44.

day of the month, when the earth's satellite 'rested' for a while at the height of his brilliancy.

1. The Akkadian (Semitic Babylonian) word for 'Sabbath' and its origin.—The word by which the Babylonian Sabbath is designated is the somewhat rare term *šapattu*^{m} or *šabattu*^{m}, long known to Assyriologists, and early recognized as the probable original of the Hebrew *sabbath*. The second (labial) radical, however, is apparently not *bb*, but *b* or *p*,[1] and the third (the dental) is doubled. The word originated in the Sumerian *ša-bat*, a compound meaning 'mid-rest' or 'heart-rest' (*šag*, 'heart'; *bat*, 'to reach the end,' 'to die'). This the Semitic Babylonians paraphrased as *ûm nûḫ libbi*, 'day of rest of the heart' ('day of mid-repose'), in *WAI* II. pl. 32, 16*ab*. That this was not the designation of the last day of the seven-day week, however, is shown by the fragment published in *WAI* III. pl. 56, no. 4, l. 27, completed by the duplicate in *PSBA* xxvi. [1904] pl., and pp. 51–56, where it is explained as the 15th day of the month, when the moon was more or less at the full.

2. The moon's 'mid-rest' in the creation-story.—The reason of the adoption of the 15th day of the month as the moon's sabbath seems to be clearly stated in the fifth tablet of the Semitic Story of the Creation,[2] notwithstanding that the text is unfortunately imperfect, the greater part of an essential character being broken away. The justification for the restoration of the damaged word as *šapattu*, however, is shown by the context. The passage refers to Merodach's ordering of the heavenly bodies:

> 'Nannaru (the moon) he caused to shine, ruling the night:
> He set him then as a creature of the night, to make known the days [*i.e.* the festivals].
> Monthly, unfailing, he provided him with a tiara.
> At the beginning of the month then, appearing in the land,
> The horns shine forth to make known the seasons.
> "On the 7th day the tiara perfecting,
> A sabbath ([*ša*]*pattu*) shalt thou then encounter, mid-[month ?]ly."'

The trace of the first character of *šapattu* lends itself to either of the two signs having the phonetic value of *ša*.

3. The Babylonian Sabbath and the seven-day week.—This is the week with which we are so well acquainted, and which Christians have adopted from the Hebrews, merely changing the day of rest from the seventh to the first day. Here, however, *ša-bat* and *šapattu*, its derivative, were not applied to the seventh day by the Babylonians, but another word was used which they evidently considered more appropriate, namely *û-ḫul-gallum*, from the Sumerian *û-ḫul-gala*, which they translated by *ûmu limnu*, 'evil day.' This was the 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th days of every month, so that, as the Babylonian months had 29 or 30 days each, every month consisted of three weeks of seven days each, and one of nine or ten days, according to the length of the month. Two reasons may be suggested for the adoption of this seven-day period: (1) the seven (divine) planetary bodies, and (2) the fact that the period of a lunation may be divided, roughly, into four sections of seven days each.[3] The following is the paragraph given by the hemerologies for the observance of the seventh day of the month as a sabbath:

> 'The 7th day is a holy-day (*nubattu*^{m}) of Merodach and Zêr-panîtu^{m}—an acceptable day, an evil day (*û-ḫulgallu*^{m}). The shepherd of the great tribes (*nîši rabâti*)[4] shall not eat salted meat cooked over the embers, he shall not change his body-clothing, he shall not be clothed in white, he shall not offer a sacrifice. The king shall not ride in a chariot, he shall not talk victoriously.[1] The seer shall not make declaration with regard to a sacred place. A physician shall not touch a sick man. It is not suitable to make a wish.'

To this the hemerology for the intercalary Elul adds:

> 'In the night the king shall bring his offering into the presence of Merodach and Ištar, he shall make the sacrifice. The raising of his hand (in prayer) is acceptable with the god.'

The entries for the other weekly *dies nefasti* are the same, except that the 14th was dedicated to Nin-lila and Nergal, to whom the king brought offerings and sacrifices at night-time; the 21st was the day of votive offering to Sin (the moon-god) and Šamaš (the sun-god), when, at dawn, the king made his offering to Šamaš and 'the Lady of the lands,' to Sin and Maḫ, Merodach's spouse, whilst the 28th was the day of Ea (god of the deep and of unfathomable wisdom) and the 'rest-day' (Sumerian *û-naam*, Semitic *bubbulu*^{m}) of Nergal, the god of war, disease, and death. On the 28th the king made his offerings to Ea and Maḫ.

The contract-tablets seem to indicate that trading and mercantile transactions, including those requiring legal advice and composition, were continued on the Babylonian 'evil,' 'unlucky,' or 'unsuitable' days just as on any other week-day, though oracles or omens may have been consulted beforehand. The directions given in the hemerologies, therefore, refer only to the personages and officials named—the high-priest (who apparently occupied a position comparable with that of a bishop), the king, the seer, and the physician (all of them, probably, in what the Babylonians would have regarded as 'holy orders'). As the next phrase (that concerning the making of a wish) is in general terms, this alone seems to refer to the ordinary man. At nightfall the ban was apparently removed, for sacrifices and prayer were then allowed to be offered.

Of special interest in connexion with the seven-day week is the 19th[2] day of the month, which was a 'week of weeks' from the first day of the preceding month. This, like the others, was an *û-ḫulgallu*^{m}; but it had a special designation, namely *ûm ibbû*, explained as *ûmu ûggati*, 'day of anger' (*ib* or *iba* in Sumerian means 'anger'; hence this rendering). It may therefore be supposed that the prohibitions of the ordinary weekly Sabbath were strengthened on that of the week of weeks. This great day was dedicated to Gula, or Bau, the goddess of healing, and the evening sacrifices were for En-urtu (formerly read Ninip), who, in Babylonian mythology, is associated with her.

4. The weekly Sabbath in the inscriptions.—This is revealed only, and that dimly, in certain lists of offerings found at Warka (the Erech of Gn 10^{10}). These tablets, which are of late date, are best represented by the series in A. T. Clay, 'Babylonian Texts.'[3] The texts which they bear are in tabular form, and deal with sheep for slaughter and sacrifice. On the 7th, 14th, 21st, and 28th days of the months to which the tablets refer a sacrificial kid (or lamb) was to be offered, though the dates are not always constant. Thus in Chislev of the 5th year of Cyrus, when the month had only 29 days, the four sacrificial days are as indicated here; in Tebet (also 29 days) of the accession-year of Cambyses the first three dates only occur, that of the 28th being omitted; in Tebet (30 days) of the 1st year of Cambyses the sacrificial kid of the 6th and that of the 13th are recorded, two kids for unindicated dates being set down for the latter part of the month; in Tebet

[1] Probably *sabatḫ* would be more correct than *sabbath*. Another example of *dagesh lene* transcribed as *dagesh forte* is the name Zerubbabel, the Babylonian Zêru-Bâbili, 'seed of Babel.'

[2] Lines 12–18.

[3] See the 6th line of the translation in § 2, above.

[4] Probably the old States of Babylonia, such as Sumer, Akkad, Kiš, Larsa, Ereḳ Niffer, etc.

[1] *Šalṭiš*, probably really meaning 'with pride in his exploits, implying also that he was not to take part in affairs of State.

[2] Often written *û-niš-lala-gi*, 'day 20 less 1.'

[3] *Yale Oriental Series*, vol. i. pp. 75–81 and plates 36–38.

(29 days) of the 3rd year of Cambyses the dates are the 6th, 14th, 21st, and 27th; and in Nisan (30 days) of the 5th and 6th years of Cambyses the four dates are in both years normal. This seems to indicate that the day was not observed very strictly, but the varying dates for the sacrifices may be due simply to the necessity of performing the sacrifices in the early morning or in the evening,[1] while it was still dark. The names of the gods to whom the offerings were made are in no case given, but the chief deities worshipped at Erech were Anu and Ištar. The 'week of weeks' is not noticed in these lists of offerings.[2]

In one other respect the Erech tablets confirm, as far as they go, the directions of the hemerologies—namely, that these sacrifices were made by members of the priestly orders, the animals having been sent for the purpose by the temple herdsman in whose charge they were.

LITERATURE.—W. Lotz, *Quæstiones de Historia Sabbati*, Leipzig, 1883; T. G. Pinches, in *PSBA* xxvi. [1904] 51-56, 162 f.; A. H. Sayce, in *ExpT* xxvii. [1916] 522[a]; A. T. Clay, in *Yale Oriental Series*, vol. i., New Haven, U.S.A., 1915, pp. 75-80. See also art. CALENDAR (Babylonian).

T. G. PINCHES.

SABBATH (Jewish).—1. A sign.—It is still far from clear whether or not the Hebrew Sabbath was a derivative from Babylonia. But, whatever its origin, it became one of the most specifically Hebraic institutions. So much was this the case that the day was regarded as a symbol of the close relationship between Israel and God. Ezekiel, reviewing the history of Israel from the day when the people was chosen (20[5]), presents the message: 'Hallow my sabbaths,' 'a *sign* between me and them, that they might know that I am the Lord that sanctify them' (20[20. 12]). The same conception of the Sabbath as a sign of the covenant reappears in Ex 31[13. 17]. Israel hallows the Sabbath as a sign of the people's sanctification by God. In part the sign implies the marking off of Israel from the rest of the world—a conception which finds expression in the *Book of Jubilees*,[3] in the early Midrash, and in the liturgy of the Synagogue. But more prominently the distinction is less of Israel than of the day. 'And the Creator of all things blessed this day which he had created for a blessing and a sanctification and a glory above all days.'[4] Hence in the liturgy the commonest epithet applied to the Sabbath is 'holy.' The two ideas are closely interwoven. The observance of the Sabbath constitutes a sign at once of Israel's and of God's fidelity to the covenant. In the epigrammatic phrase of a popular Sabbath table-hymn composed by Abraham Ibn Ezra (12th cent.), 'I keep the Sabbath, God keeps me: it is an eternal sign between Him and me.' In part, again, the sign was associated with the Creation (as in the Decalogue in Ex 31[17] and in Gn 2[3]); thus the observance of the Sabbath gives evidence of a belief in 'Him who spake and the world was.'[5] And in part the sign was historical. This is shown in the association of the Sabbath with the experiences of Israel in Egypt.[6] Perhaps nothing in the Hebrew Bible is more beautiful than the use made of Israel's sufferings in Egypt. They are to be motive for kindness to the stranger (Lv 19[34]), and are to prompt the Israelite to give rest to his servants on the Sabbath (see the Decalogue in Dt 5[15]).

2. Sanctification. — All these aspects of the Sabbath—as a memorial of God's power as Creator, of His love as Redeemer from Egyptian bondage, and of the choice of Israel—are summed up in the liturgical *Kiddush*, or sanctification, prescribed for use in the home (and also in the synagogue) on the Friday eve. After quoting Gn 1[31]–2[3], the *Kiddush* runs thus:

'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who createst the fruit of the vine.

Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who hast sanctified us by thy commandments and hast taken pleasure in us, and in love and favour hast given us thy holy Sabbath as an inheritance, a memorial of the creation—that day being also the first of the holy convocations, in remembrance of the departure from Egypt. For thou hast chosen us and sanctified us above all nations, and in love and favour hast given us thy holy Sabbath as an inheritance. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hallowest the Sabbath.

Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who bringest forth bread from the earth.'[1]

3. Eschatology.—The sign is also eschatological. In *Jubilees* the identity between heaven and earth with regard to the Sabbath observance is asserted. The same idea is preserved in the Talmud. The earthly Sabbath points forward to the Sabbath in another world, 'a world which is entirely Sabbath.'[2] So with the liturgy. In the grace after meals for the Sabbath occurs this sentence: 'May the All-merciful let us inherit the day which shall be wholly a Sabbath and rest in the life everlasting.'[3] And, just as this thought worked forwards to the world to come, so it worked backwards to the patriarchal age. In the *Apocalypse of Baruch* we read:

'The unwritten law was named amongst them [Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob], and the works of the commandments were then fulfilled, and belief in the coming judgment was then generated, and hope of the world that was to be renewed was then built up, and the promise of the life that should come hereafter was implanted.'

Jubilees,[4] too, is animated with the same desire to include those who lived before the Law in the observance of its behests. The same thought is found in the Talmud.[5] Again, it will be best to quote a passage from the liturgy, which (like the passage cited above) sums up so much of Jewish thought regarding the Sabbath that it will save much exposition. The quotation that follows is from the Sabbath afternoon service.

'Thou art One and thy name is One, and who is like thy people Israel, an unique nation on the earth? Glorious greatness and a crown of salvation, even the day of rest and holiness, thou hast given unto thy people: Abraham was glad, Isaac rejoiced, Jacob and his sons rested thereon: a rest vouchsafed in generous love, a true and faithful rest, a rest in peace and tranquillity, in quietude and safety, a perfect rest wherein thou delightest. Let thy children perceive and know that this their rest is from thee, and by their rest may they hallow thy name.

Our God and God of our fathers, accept our rest; sanctify us by thy commandments, and grant our portion in thy Law; satisfy us with thy goodness, and gladden us with thy salvation; purify our hearts to serve thee in truth; and in thy love and favour, O Lord our God, let us inherit thy holy Sabbath; and may Israel, who hallow thy name, rest thereon. Blessed art thou, O Lord, who hallowest the Sabbath.'[6]

4. Rest.—On the physical side, the predominant feature of the Sabbath was naturally, as the name implies, cessation from labour. The Pentateuch does not define the term 'labour,' but there are incidental references to the prohibition of gathering sticks (Nu 15[32]), kindling fire (Ex 35[3]), cooking and baking (16[23]), travelling (16[29], but cf. 2 K 4[23]), bearing burdens, and conducting business (Am 8[5],

[1] As with the Jews, the day in Babylonia began in the evening at sunset.

[2] In the Calendar of Lucky and Unlucky days, referred to in *ERE* iii. 76[b] (§ 9), of which the original is published in *WAI* v. plates 48 and 49, there are no recognizable sabbaths—any day of the month might be lucky or unlucky, and suitable or unsuitable for work. Thus the 7th of Sivan has the word *martu*[m], 'bitterness,' the 14th and 19th are stated to be 'unlucky,' the 21st has the recommendation not to 'ride in a boat' (or 'ship'), and the 28th was 'unlucky.' Among the more noteworthy entries are 'fortunate in lawsuit' for Nisan the 14th, 'lucky for the king' for the 19th and 21st of Tammuz, whilst on the 7th of Ab 'lion-attacks' (were to be feared), and the 14th, 19th, 21st, and 28th were simply 'unlucky.' On the 28th of Chislev one ought not to take a wife, 'it is not prosperous' (Sum. *nu-sisa*).

[3] ii. 19, 31. [4] *Jub.* ii. 32.

[5] *Mechilta*, ed. M. Friedmann, Vienna, 1870, p. 103 f.

[6] *Ib.* 104*a*.

[1] See the present writer's notes on p. cxxxix of the *Annotated Edition of the Authorised Daily Prayer Book*, London, 1914.

[2] *Mech.* 103b; T.B. *Rôsh Hoshānāh*, 31*a*.

[3] *Authorised Daily Prayer Book*, p. 284; see Mishnāh, *Tamid*, vii. 4.

[4] lvii. 2, ed. R. H. Charles, London, 1896, p. 99; Bar. lvii. 2.

[5] *Yômā*, 21*b*; Gen. *Rabbāh*, xi., lxxix.

[6] *Authorised Daily Prayer Book*, p. 175 f.

Jer 17[21], Neh 13[15]). The Mishnāh[1] defines the main 39 categories of forbidden work; to these were added others which, though not included in these categories, were liable to result in a breach of the Sabbath laws.[2] The criticism of these Sabbath laws is too familiar to need discussion; undoubtedly there was an excessive development of legalistic minutiæ, but it is not so certain that the consequence was a sacrifice of spirit to letter.[3] It must here suffice to indicate that no Sabbatical regulation was, in Rabbinic law, permitted to stand in the way of saving life in cases of illness or danger. The Law, it was held, was given that man might *live* by it (Lv 18[5]); hence the Sabbath must not be pleaded as a reason for permitting man to *die* thereon.[4] Perhaps the most perverse attack on the Sabbath as a day of rest is found in some of the Greek and Latin authors.[5] This type of attack culminates in Seneca. To Seneca the Jewish Sabbath is a worthless institution:

'To remain idle every seventh day is to lose a seventh part of life, while many pressing interests suffer by this idleness.'[6]

The difficulty of maintaining a genuine Sabbatical rest, while making the allowances necessary for life, has always been felt. In modern times economical reasons have led to many new anxieties, for which a solution has not yet been found. To revert to the older difficulties, the Maccabees, after experiencing the danger of refusing to fight on the Sabbath against foes who took advantage of the refusal, discriminated between offensive and defensive warfare. Josephus shows that mean advantage was taken by Pompey of this discrimination:

'Pompey utilized the seventh days, on which the Jews abstain from all sorts of work for religious worship, and raised his bank then, but restrained his soldiers from fighting on those days; for the Jews only acted on the defensive on Sabbath-days.'[7]

On the whole, the Rabbinic laws as to the permissible and the forbidden succeeded in avoiding the two extremes. This is seen when the Rabbinic system is compared with that of the Ḳaraites (*q.v.*). Anan, the founder of the sect, insisted on sitting in darkness on Friday nights (Ex 35[3]), and forbade his adherents to leave the house on Sabbath, except to attend public worship (16[29]). Similarly with the Samaritans and Sadducees.[8] Rabbinic custom permitted movement within limits, and also not merely allowed but ordained that lights be kindled before sunset. Great relief was obtained also by employing (under rigid restrictions, however) non-Jewish labour. The legalistic attitude led to certain 'legal fictions'; but on the whole it had the advantage that, by reducing the exceptions to code, it effected the maintenance of the general principle of rest.[9]

5. Joyousness.—The idea that the Sabbath was felt as a burden has no foundation whatever. Once for all this misconception was dispelled by S. Schechter in his *Studies in Judaism*.[10] The Sabbath was given in love;[11] it was a 'good gift'; it was a day of happiness or delight.

'Sanctify or honour the Sabbath by choice meals, beautiful garments; delight your soul with pleasure and I will reward you (for this very pleasure)'[12]—an idea based on Is 58[13f.]

The liturgy speaks of the Sabbath as a hallowed and blessed day which 'in holiness giveth rest unto a people sated with delights.'[1] The three Sabbath meals were a religious duty.[2] It was a day of happiness in the home, inaugurated by a sanctification and closed by a ceremony (*habdalah*). This happiness was at once material and spiritual. The mystical came in to help. Typified as the Bride, the Sabbath was greeted with a wonderful chorus of welcome.[3] Husband praised wife by reciting the eulogy of the virtuous wife (Pr 31[10-31]), and invoked a blessing on his children. Heine's poem on the Princess Sabbath conveys some of the charm which pervaded the Sabbath as a result of the idealization which became the source of a large number of remarkably beautiful home-rites. Nor did the charm end with the home in which it began.

6. Worship.—Domestic joys were supplemented by special synagogue services, by the reading of the Bible and the religious literature. The majority of Jewish congregations retain the Babylonian custom in accordance with which the whole of the Pentateuch is read through once a year. In a few cases the older Palestine usage (of reading the Pentateuch in a triennial cycle) has been restored. Most of the liberal congregations, however, have introduced lectionaries. There are also regular readings from the Prophets (*haftārāh*), while special prayers and Psalms are naturally introduced. Discourses, anciently in the houses of study, now more often in the synagogues, are also a regular feature of the Sabbath services.[4] Seneca's misconception of the Sabbath as a day of idleness is due to his ignorance of the use made of the day as opportunity alike for study, prayer, and recreation. This combination of the austerity of rest with the joyousness of active spiritual and domestic gladness finds a unique expression in the hymns sung at the table on the Friday night. Space must be found for one of these, for, like the quotations already made, it throws a clear light on the Jewish feeling regarding the Sabbath.

'*This day is for Israel light and rejoicing,*
A Sabbath of rest.
Thou badest us standing assembled at Sinai
That all the years through we should keep thy behest—
To set out a table full-laden, to honour
The Sabbath of rest.
This day is for Israel light and rejoicing,
A Sabbath of rest.

Treasure of heart for the broken people,
Gift of new soul for the souls distrest,
Soother of sighs for the prisoned spirit—
The Sabbath of rest.
This day is for Israel light and rejoicing,
A Sabbath of rest.

When the work of the worlds in their wonder was finished,
Thou madest this day to be holy and blest,
And those heavy-laden found safety and stillness,
A Sabbath of rest.
This day is for Israel light and rejoicing,
A Sabbath of rest.

If I keep Thy command I inherit a kingdom,
If I treasure the Sabbath I bring Thee the best—
The noblest of offerings, the sweetest of incense—
A Sabbath of rest.
This day is for Israel light and rejoicing,
A Sabbath of rest.

Restore us our shrine—O remember our ruin
And save now and comfort the sorely oppresst
Now sitting at Sabbath, all singing and praising
The Sabbath of rest.
This day is for Israel light and rejoicing,
A Sabbath of rest.'[5]

---

1 *Shabbath*, vii. 2.
2 M. Friedländer, *The Jewish Religion*, London, 1891, p. 351.
3 The famous controversies between Jesus and the Pharisees are examined, from the Pharisaic point of view, by the present writer in his *Studies in Pharisaism and the Gospels*, Cambridge, 1917, ch. xvii.
4 T.B. *'Abōdah Zārāh*, 27*b*; *Mech.* 103*b*.
5 See T. Reinach, *Textes d'auteurs grecs et romains relatifs au judaïsme*, Paris, 1895, Index, *s.v.* 'Sabbat.'
6 Quoted by Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, vi. 11; Reinach, p. 262.
7 *BJ* I. vii. 3. 8 Cf. *JE* x. 592.
9 A fine treatment of the question is given in C. G. Montefiore, *The Bible for Home Reading*, London, 1896-99, pt. i. p. 86; and in M. Joseph, *Judaism as Creed and Life*[2], do. 1910, bk. ii. ch. iii.
10 1st ser., London, 1896, p. 297 ff.
11 Tōsefta *Berākhōth*, iii. 7. 12 Midrash to Ps 92.

1 *Authorised Daily Prayer Book*, p. 120.
2 On these and on Sabbath recreations see I. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, London, 1896, Index, *s.v.* 'Sabbath.'
3 Cf. *Authorised Daily Prayer Book*, p. cxx.
4 On the Sabbath see I. Elbogen, *Der jüdische Gottesdienst*, Leipzig, 1913, pp. 107 f., 155 f.
5 For Hebrew text see *Authorised Daily Prayer Book*, p. cclxix. The English version (p. cclxx f.) is by Mrs. R. N Salaman.

The most remarkable phrase in this hymn is contained in the second verse, which introduces, with lyric pathos, the idea of the over-soul, which resides in man during the Sabbath.[1] The hymn is probably of the 13th century.[2]

7. Modern conditions. — Reference has been made to the problem presented by modern economic pressure. Myriads of Jews continue to observe the Saturday Sabbath, despite all difficulties and commercial losses. Many, however, are induced, either by laxity or by the exigencies of labour conditions, to work on Saturday. There has not been any serious movement to transfer the Sabbath from Saturday to Sunday. The question was raised in the early part of the 19th cent., when the liberal movement was organized.[3] It was, however, soon realized that it would not be possible to retain the Sabbath atmosphere if the day were violently changed, unless the alteration were effected with a unanimity which obviously could not be attained. The fact that the Jewish Sabbath begins on Friday evening has been of considerable value in conserving the Sabbath spirit even when the Saturday rest was no longer observed. The home-rites and sentiments of the Sabbath have been thereby retained in cases where work is done on the following morning. In many congregations in America and on the Continent there are special Friday night services in the synagogue. In London the Jewish Liberal Synagogue holds its chief (though not its only) Sabbath service on Saturday afternoon. These methods have not solved the problem, but they have mitigated it. Throughout modern times the spiritual elements of the Sabbath have been recognized as more or less independent of the strict cessation of labour. In various parts of America special Sunday services are held, but these are not treated as Sabbath services. Holdheim, who in 1846 advocated the transference of the Jewish Sabbath from the seventh to the first day of the week, remained without serious following. Besides the economic problem, liturgical questions have for the past century greatly exercised directors of the synagogues.[4] Prominent among these questions has been the employment of instrumental music on the Sabbath. The first organ was introduced in a Berlin synagogue in 1815; in 1840 an organ was for the first time set up in America; the invention was also introduced in London in 1859. Organs are still extremely rare in English synagogues, though they are common on the Continent and in America. At first the objection to instrumental music was not exclusively Sabbatical. Music ceased at Jewish worship after the destruction of the Temple, as a token of mourning. Gradually, however, it crept into use again, especially at weddings, and nowadays orthodox synagogues (which refuse to build organs as permanent structures) often admit instrumental music at weddings and at some other functions on week-days. The reason for the objection is partly that the innovation has the appearance of imitation from Church usages. Objection was long felt to mixed choirs,[5] on other grounds, but this objection no longer holds uniformly with orthodox congregations. Nowadays, with regard to instrumental music, the strongest opposition is due to Sabbatical considerations, for playing on an instrument is held to be a breach of the Sabbath rest.[6] But neither economic nor liturgical problems have destroyed the essential import of the Sabbath. For, all difficulties notwithstanding, the Sabbath retains some of its beneficent influence as a day of spiritual and domestic tranquillity and happiness.

1 T.B. *Beṣa*, 16; *Ta'anith*, 27.
2 L. Zunz, *Literaturgeschichte der synagogalen Poesie*, Berlin, 1865, p. 555.
3 See D. Philipson, *The Reform Movement in Judaism*, New York, 1907, Index, *s.v.* 'Sunday.'
4 Cf. art. LIBERAL JUDAISM.
5 *JE* iv. 41.
6 Maimonides' Code, *Shabbath*, xxiii.; *Orah Ḥayyin*, 338, 339.

LITERATURE.—See the works quoted throughout.

I. ABRAHAMS.

SABBATH (Muhammadan). — Among the Muhammadans Friday, called by them *yaum ul-jum'ah*, 'day of assembly,' takes the place of the Christian Sunday and the Jewish Sabbath. They are not, indeed, enjoined to treat it as a day of complete rest from work or business, but its special sanctity is emphatically marked by the particular form of mid-day service that is used on it, and by the strict rule of attendance at the mosque, incumbent on all male adults among freemen,[1] in order to be present at its recital.

The outstanding feature of this service is the *khuṭbah*, or sermon, which is ordered to precede the common *ṣalāt*, or prayer, of two *rak'ahs*, or prostrations, though it is, by way of performing a specially meritorious act, itself usually preceded by another *ṣalāt* of two *rak'ahs*. From Qur'ān, lxii., it follows that the practice of holding a service of special obligation on Fridays dates from the time of Muhammad himself, or more accurately from the time of his stay at Medīna; but there were naturally developments and diversities of practice at successive periods in later times. There is thus a difference of opinion among the ritual sects with regard to the number of Muslims that have to be present in order to make a *jum'ah* (the Friday mid-day prayer being itself so called) valid, one of the schools maintaining that the attendance must number at least 40, whilst others declare that it is only necessary for the service to be held in a community of some size. Many divines, again, hold that, except in cases of necessity, the Friday service should not be held in more than one mosque in the same place, whilst others would not subject the faithful to such a limitation. In the time of Muhammad the *khuṭbah*, of course, consisted of the Prophet's own utterances or revelations, which may be presumed to have been later incorporated in the Qur'ān, but the later *khuṭbah*, which was in subsequent times (as it is now) preceded by the *aḏān* (or cry of the *mu'aḏḏin*: *'Allāhu akbar*, etc., 'God is great,' etc.), is naturally of a much less weighty order and of varying quality. The rules laid down are that it must be in Arabic, and must include prayers for Muhammad, for the Companions, and, in one form or another, for the sovereign, but its composition and contents are, for the rest, left to the ability and discretion of the preacher.

The only passage in the Qur'ān in which the *yaum ul-jum'ah* is referred to runs as follows:

'O ye, who believe! when ye are summoned to prayer on the day of assembly, haste to the commemoration of God, and quit merchandise. . . . And when the prayer is ended, then disperse yourselves abroad and go in quest of the bounty of God. . . . But when they get a sight of traffic or sport, they disperse after it, and leave thee alone.'[2]

According to the plain sense (idealized, however, by a specially pious mode of interpretation) of the passage, traffic or business is prohibited only at prayer time, and not after or before the *ṣalāt*; and we are incidentally presented with a realistic picture of the Prophet being sometimes left standing alone in the *minbar*, or pulpit, of his *masjid* when his Medinese followers happened to catch sight of sport or a trading caravan. Tradition has however, been busy providing embellishments and divine sanction of a particularly flattering kind for

1 This limitation of the rule reminds one of the Talmudic declaration that women, slaves, and boys under the age of thirteen are exempt from the duty of reciting the *Shema'* and of putting on phylacteries (Mishnāh, *Berākhōth*, iii. 3). It should in addition be observed that Muhammadan law also exempts persons who are not legally resident in a locality from attendance at the mosque on Friday.
2 lxii. 9–11.

Muhammad's day of assembly. In the *Mishkāt ul-Maṣābīḥ* (see Literature below) the excellences of the day are, on the Prophet's authority, summed up as follows:

'The best day on which the sun appears is Friday; for on this day Adam was created; on this day Adam was taken into paradise, and turned out from it also on this day [this hardly a recommendation, however!]; and the day of resurrection will not be on any day but Friday.'[1]

Again:

'When Friday comes, angels stand at the door of the Masjid, and write the names of all those who come first,' etc.[2]

It is also declared that there is a certain hour on Friday on which any Muslim asking a favour of God will receive it, and that, on the other hand, Muhammad prayed that God may 'put a seal' on the heart of any Muslim who, through negligence, omits the prayers of three Fridays.

The prosaic fact seems to be that Friday was used as a day of assembly of some kind long before the Prophet's time, and the name of the day itself is reported to have been given it by one of Muhammad's ancestors. It is, indeed, conceivable, and may even be regarded as probable, that, if the Prophet had succeeded in attaching a great number of Jews to his cause, he might have made the Sabbath the sacred weekly day for his followers. But, the trend of events having made this impossible, and the Christian Sunday being *per se* excluded from his scheme of ordinances, he naturally settled instead on the old day of assembly, and the name *al-jum'ah* thus superseded the former general designation *al-'arūbah* (Talmudic עירובתא), which stamped the day as merely the eve or preparation of the day following. The attitude taken up by Muhammad towards the Sabbath itself may be regarded as clearly shown in Qur'ān, xvi. 125, where it is declared that 'the Sabbath was only ordained for those who differed about it,' which is by a tradition explained to mean that Moses himself had wished to set aside Friday as the sacred day, but that the Jews insisted on keeping the Sabbath-day, because on that day God rested from the work of creation, 'for which reason they were commanded to keep the day they had chosen in the strictest manner.'[3] 'The people of the Sabbath'[4] must, indeed, adhere strictly to the Sabbath order,[5] but for the followers of the Prophet of Allāh the truly excellent day, namely Friday, has been ordained as the great day of the week.

Goldziher[6] suggests that Parsi influence may have had its share in the rejection of the Jewish Sabbath by Muhammad. For the Parsis, who say that the world was created in six periods of time, have a festival for each of these periods, but none for the conclusion of creation. But, if (as, indeed, seems legitimate) influence of this kind be once admitted, there seems no reason why the early Babylonian idea which attaches the character of a *dies nefastus* to what may be regarded as the prototype of the Jewish Sabbath should not in some way have been perpetuated in Arabia, where, as is well attested, the Babylonian and Assyrian sphere of authority had been extensive. With regard, however, to the further suggestion that Muhammad had an objection to speaking of God as resting on the Sabbath-day, Goldziher himself[7] draws attention to the fact that the phrase 'he then [*i.e.* after the work of creation] mounted the throne,' used in Qur'ān, vii. 52, x. 3, xxxii. 3, may be taken to show that the Prophet had no particular objection to the idea of God resting; though, on the other hand, the absence of exhaustion at the end of creation is clearly indicated in Qur'ān, l. 14, 37. In this respect, indeed, there need not have been any radical difference between the Prophet and Rabbinic exegesis, which also emphatically rejects the idea of exhaustion and explains the word ויּנפשׁ in Ex 31[17] to mean that rest was granted to the world that had been called into being.[1]

[1] Bk. iv. ch. xliii. [2] *Ib.* ch. xlv.
[3] Sale, *in loco*, where also the authorities are named.
[4] *Qur'ān*, iv. 50. [5] See also *ib.* ii. 61, iv. 153, vii. 163.
[6] 'Die Sabbathinstitution im Islam,' p. 91. [7] P. 90.

LITERATURE.—Besides the Qur'ān and some parallels from Jewish sources already indicated: *Mishkāt ul-Maṣābīḥ*, originally compiled under the title *Maṣābīḥ ul-Sunnah* by Husain al-Baghawī († A.H. 510 or 516), Eng. tr. by A. N. Matthews, 2 vols., Calcutta, 1809–10; G. Sale, *The Koran*, London, 1734 and subsequent edd., 'Preliminary Discourse' and notes in text; I. Goldziher, 'Die Sabbathinstitution im Islam,' in *Gedenkbuch zur Erinnerung an David Kaufmann*, ed. M. Brann and F. Rosenthal, Breslau, 1900, pp. 86–105; A. Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen?* Bonn, 1833, pp. 54, 65; T. P. Hughes, *DI*, *s.vv.* 'Friday,' 'Khuṭbah,' and 'Sabbath'; *EI*, *s.v.* 'Djum'a,' where a fuller bibliography will also be found.

G. MARGOLIOUTH.

SABBATICAL YEAR.—See FESTIVALS AND FASTS (Hebrew).

SABELLIANISM.—See MONARCHIANISM.

SABIANS.—See ELKESAITES, HARRANIANS, MANDÆANS.

SACS.—See ALGONQUINS (Prairie Tribes).

SACERDOTALISM.

—The word 'sacerdotalism' does not appear in the English language till the middle of the 19th century. It was called into existence, it would seem, by the controversies and the revival of theological studies which resulted from the Oxford Movement (*q.v.*). It has been used in two senses, a good and a bad. In the first place, it is used to denote the existence in the Christian Church of a ministry consisting of certain persons set apart or ordained by the authority of the Church to minister the things of God to their fellow-men, and to be the exclusive instruments in the divine covenant of sacramental graces. On the other hand, it is used in the sense of an assumption and claim on the part of the clergy to an undue power and authority over the laity.[2]

The existence of a priesthood is found in religion from the very earliest period of the history of mankind, and there is practically no ancient form of religion in which the priest does not appear in some aspect or other. The priest is the individual who is in some way inspired or illuminated by the divine influence and is thereby enabled to act as the interpreter of God and the will of God to his fellow-men. He it is, moreover, who on behalf of his fellow-men presents their offerings to God in such a way and with such forms and rituals as will render them acceptable to God. Thus he is in a sense the guide and the means by which his fellows find access or approach to God, and as such is naturally their adviser and teacher in spiritual things (see artt. PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD).

The conception of a ministry endowed with certain sacerdotal or priestly powers is found very early in the history of the Christian Church. Christianity was the fulfilment of Judaism, and in Judaism there was an elaborate priestly system and system of sacrifice. Christianity did not claim to replace Judaism, but rather to fulfil it. The sacrifices of the old dispensation, the functions of the priests, were good and efficacious until the old dispensation was fulfilled and made perfect in the new. The priest and priesthood of the old dispensation were necessary until they were replaced by the perfect priesthood of Christ, and the old sacrifices were consummated in the one perfect sacrifice of Christ—a sacrifice so complete and perfect and efficacious for all time for the sins of all mankind, past, present, and future, that it need

[1] *Bereshith Rabbah*, ch. x., near end. [2] *OED*, *s.v.*

never, nor can it ever, be repeated. Christ is the perfect priest offering the one perfect sacrifice of Himself to the Eternal Father, the intercessor and advocate of all the race of men, the means of perfect and complete access to God.

But Christianity is not merely the fulfilment of Judaism; it is much more. It is the fulfilment and satisfaction of all the aspirations of mankind after God. These aspirations and longings for the truth were manifesting themselves in many ways at the time of the foundation of Christ's Church. Heathenism was agape with the desire for truth, and the old materialism of religion no longer satisfied a world that was beginning to realize clearly that matter was not all. New religions sprang up on every side, cults and mysteries, offering, to those who sought, the knowledge of God and purification from sin. Even the old material conception of the gods began to receive a spiritual interpretation.

Thus both Judaism and all that was good in heathenism found their goal and fulfilment in Christianity, and the sacrifices of Judaism and the initiations of heathenism in the perfect offering for the sins of the whole world presented to the Eternal Father in the divinely-appointed commemoration of the One Sacrifice in the Christian mysteries, which were at once the supreme act of worship of the Christian Church and the means by which the efficacy of the act of redemption was applied to the souls of men in gifts of sacramental grace.

In the earliest days of the Church there is a noticeable absence of any analogy between the priesthood of the old and the ministry of the new dispensation. The danger of Jewish formalism in the infant Church was considerable. Still less is there any sign of any acknowledgment of the existence of even a partial apprehension of truth in the religious systems of the heathen world. Nevertheless St. Paul does use technical terms when he speaks of himself as 'the minister of Jesus Christ, the sacrificing priest of the gospel of God, that the offering of the Gentiles might be made acceptable' (Ro 15^{16}), where he is using definite technical sacrificial words (λειτουργός, ἱερουργέω, προσφορά). In the same way he uses the terminology of the Greek mysteries in the words 'perfect' (τέλειος), 'sealing' (σφραγίζεσθαι), 'learned the secret' (μυέω), and his technical use of the words is recognized and imitated by Ignatius when he speaks of the Ephesians as being 'initiated into the mysteries of the gospel with the blessed Paul.'[1] Even in the Epistle to the Hebrews we find no sign as yet of the idea of a Christian priesthood offering a Christian sacrifice. The author of the Epistle confines himself to the theme that in Christ are summed up the perfection of priesthood and the finality of sacrifice. He comes near to the definite conception of the Eucharist as in some sense a sacrifice in close connexion with the sacrifice of Christ, when he says 'We have an altar, whereof they have no right to eat which serve the tabernacle. . . . By him therefore let us offer the sacrifice of praise to God continually, that is, the fruit of our lips, giving thanks to his name' ($13^{10.\ 15}$). In the NT, then, we find that the Church is conceived of as consisting of a priestly people with a ministry authoritatively appointed to give expression to its worship (1 P 2^5, Rev 1^6 5^{10} 20^6).

When we come to the sub-apostolic age, we find that already there has been a development at least of technical terms. In the *Didache* we find the Eucharist spoken of as the 'pure offering' (καθαρὰ ἡ θυσία) which is to be offered in every place.[2] Clement of Rome, inculcating the necessity of decency and reverence in the celebration of Christian worship, calls these acts of worship 'offerings and sacrifices' (προσφοραὶ καὶ λειτουργίαι), and it is significant that he uses the analogy of the Jewish ministry of high-priest, priests, and Levites to illustrate the orderly differentiation in the Church between the orders of the ministry and the layfolk generally.[1] Again, he denotes the ministerial functions of the πρεσβύτερος by the word λειτουργία. Ignatius is still more definitely technical. To be 'within the precincts of the altar' (ἐντὸς τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου) denotes with him membership of the Catholic Church with the privilege of communion in the Eucharist,[2] and the bishop (the normal celebrant of the Eucharist) represents Christ.[3]

From this time onwards sacrificial terms are constantly used to denote the Eucharist and the functions of the Christian ministry. Justin uses the word 'sacrifice' (θυσία) of the Eucharist,[4] and in Irenæus we find such expressions as 'the offering of the Church' (*oblatio ecclesiæ*), 'the pure sacrifice' (*purum sacrificium*), and in Clement of Alexandria 'the offering' (προσφορά) as regular normal names of the Eucharist.[5]

In Tertullian and Cyprian we find in regular use such words as *altare*, *sacrificium*, *sacerdos*.[6] Tertullian, followed by Cyprian, regards the threefold Christian ministry as the successor of the three orders of the Jewish priesthood. The bishop is the high-priest;[7] the priesthood ordained by God among the Jews passed to the Church of Christ when the Jews crucified the Saviour.[8] Tertullian, again, is quite clear and explicit that, while the Christian community generally is a 'royal priesthood,' having access to God, yet in that community there is a separate ministry and a priestly discipline (*sacerdotalis disciplina*) which exercises the priestly functions of the Church. In Cyprian the word *sacerdos* generally, as often elsewhere and much later, denotes the bishop, but occasionally the presbyter,[9] and in one passage he uses the expression *sacerdotes et ministri* of the whole ministerial body.[10] In Cyprian, too, we find the theory of the Eucharistic sacrifice thus expressed:

'Nam, si Jesus Christus Dominus et Deus noster ipse est summus sacerdos Dei Patris, et sacrificium Patri se ipsum primus obtulit, et hoc fieri in sui commemorationem praecepit, utique ille sacerdos vice Christi vere fungitur qui id quod Christus fecit imitatur, et sacrificium verum et plenum tunc offert in ecclesia Deo Patri.'[11]

From the time of Cyprian onwards the sacerdotal character of the Church's ministry is taken for granted. The acceptation on all sides of the sacrificial character of the Eucharist necessarily implied the sacerdotal character of the priest. In the West in particular the civilization of old Rome, with its wonderful legal system, which became the inheritance of the new nations of Europe, tended to define more and more the doctrines and practices of the Church and the duties and functions of the ministry. From the 6th to the 9th cent. there was an active development of liturgy and ritual, all of course accentuating more and more the distinction between cleric and layman. Moreover, the task which the Church had to face during this period ever more and more enhanced the sacerdotal character of the ministry in the direction of increasing the prestige and authority of the clergy over the mass of the people. The Church was called upon to evangelize new and barbarian peoples, Goth and Frank, Burgundian and Lombard. The gross ignorance of their converts rendered it necessary to present the faith to them in its simplest form, and hence the duties of worship and practice, the teaching of the sacraments and penance, were

1 *Ad Eph.* xii. 2 *Did.* xiv.; Mal $1^{6f.}$.
1 i. 40. 2 *Eph.* 5, *Phil.* 4.
3 *Eph.* 6. 4 *Dial.* 41.
5 Iren. IV. xxxi. 3; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* I. xix.
6 Tert. *de Cult. Fem.* ii. 11; Cypr. *Ep.* lxiii. 14.
7 *De Bapt.* 17: 'summus sacerdos qui est episcopus.
8 Cypr. *Ep.* lxix. 8. 9 *Ep.* xl.
10 *Ep.* i. 2. 11 *Ep.* lxiii. 14.

reduced to simple rules and systematized as much as possible, while for their part the new converts adapted their old belief in magic and the virtue of charms to the mysterious awfulness of the holy sacraments. At the same time the grossness of the people, the low state of morality, and the intervention of penance led to less and less frequency of communion till, with the requirement of confession in the case of all of adult age, communion was rarely made more frequently than once a year, if as often as that. Thus the duty of worship at the Mass took the place of the duty of weekly communion, and in the popular mind the Mass was regarded as a repetition of the sacrifice of Calvary. Hence came the scandalous traffic in masses of the Middle Ages, which, however, those in high places in the Church were constantly trying to repress, and it was commonly believed that a sufficient number of masses said for a man's soul would atone for a life however evil. The sacerdotal theory of the priesthood was then at its highest for some three centuries before the Reformation, and the priesthood, with its powers of remitting or retaining, was believed to hold in its hands the salvation or damnation of the soul.

The Reformation (*q.v.*) was the outcome on the whole of a great advance in the education generally of the people. Knowledge was no longer confined to the clergy, and with the new spread of knowledge men of intelligence rebelled against the old formality of religion, and against a conception of the doctrine of *opus operatum* in the sacraments that more or less relieved the individual of any responsibility, and overshadowed the teaching of the Church that the reception of the virtue of the sacraments depended upon the proper disposition of the recipient. Thus the Reformation was against sacerdotalism in the sense of an assumption of authority on the part of the priesthood to undertake the whole charge and responsibility of the souls of the people. In England the Reformation was a reformation only, while elsewhere it destroyed the Church in the old sense of the word. It is made clear in the preface to the ordination rites of the English Church, in the retaining of the three orders of bishop, priest, and deacon, and in the forms with which these orders are conferred, that the Church claims to be the old historic Church and no new invention, regarding herself as united with the Church of the apostles by the unbroken line of succession of her bishops, and one with it in doctrine and practice. The great defenders of the English Church against the assaults of Romanism have always strenuously taken this line, and have appealed to the Ordinal as proving the truth of their position. Thus, while the Reformation in England was a reformation proper, it purged the Church of many errors and superstitions. The whole status of the clergy was affected, and the restoration to the individual of the sense of personal responsibility lessened immensely the authority of the priesthood over the individual conscience. But, on the other hand, the ministry of the Church retained a definite sacerdotal aspect. Confession was retained and the power of priestly absolution; only it was not required as essential generally. This was maintained generally by the great divines of the 17th cent., and, moreover, the sacrifice of the Eucharist was maintained in the sense of its being a 'commemorative sacrifice.' In such a sense even Cranmer admitted that the Eucharist was a sacrifice. Andrewes, in a defence of the Church of England that was almost official, could say to Bellarmine:

'Take from the Mass your Transubstantiation; and we will have no difference with you about the sacrifice,'[1]

and in his first *Answer to Cardinal Perron's Reply*:

'The Eucharist ever was, and by us is considered, both as a Sacrament, and as a Sacrifice.'[1]

A long list of names might be quoted in support of this view of the Eucharistic sacrifice—Cranmer, Andrewes, Overall, Montagu, Cosin, Sparrow, Jeremy Taylor, Waterland, and many others. Jeremy Taylor explains thus:

'As Christ, in virtue of His sacrifice on the Cross, intercedes for us with His Father, so does the minister of Christ's priesthood here; that the virtue of the Eternal Sacrifice may be salutary and effectual to all the needs of the Church, both for things temporal and eternal.'[2]

And, indeed, the teaching of the Church of England is clearly enough shown in the prayer of oblation in the Holy Communion:

'We thy humble servants entirely desire thy fatherly goodness mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving; most humbly beseeching thee to grant, that by the merits and death of thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in his blood, we and all thy whole Church may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of his passion. . . . And although we be unworthy, through our manifold sins, to offer unto thee any sacrifice, yet we beseech thee to accept this our bounden duty and service.'

The controversies resultant on the Oxford Movement brought these matters very much to the front, and the word 'sacerdotalism' came into existence. The Church at this time was living on its past. The only theology was that of the great writers of bygone generations. The meaning of the Church's forms and ceremonies, of its theory of orders, of the doctrine of the sacraments, was very little apprehended by the majority of the people. Perhaps one of the great difficulties of the time lay in the absence of any official body of theology. This was one of the great losses consequent on the Reformation, which discredited entirely the old scholastic theology, with all its clearly defined technical terms, and substituted nothing in its place, with the exception of leaving a certain amount of the old technical language enshrined in the formularies of the Book of Common Prayer. The Oxford Movement, therefore, was simply a restatement of what the Prayer Book contains, re-asserting the sacerdotal character of the priesthood as exercised in the celebration of the sacraments, especially in the Holy Communion and the ministry of absolution. The controversies arising raged acutely for a generation, chiefly over the use of technical words and phrases, and then gradually subsided, leaving their mark unmistakably on the Church.

Thus the 'sacerdotalism' of the Church of England is moderate and reasonable. The ministry exists, and always has existed, for the bringing of the sacramental means of grace to the people of Christ. The priest is the minister or steward of Christ authoritatively appointed to his office by Christ's Church, and he is in this way the divinely-constituted organ of a body which is throughout priestly, the *servus servorum*, the servant of his fellow-servants, ministering to them in the orderly manner prescribed by the Church the gifts given by God for the nourishment and health of their souls.

LITERATURE.—Clement of Rome, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Cyprian; works of Thomas Cranmer, Lancelot Andrewes, John Overall, Richard Montagu, John Bramhall, John Cosin, Jeremy Taylor, Anthony Sparrow, Daniel Waterland (most of these are in the *Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology*); works on the Oxford Movement (*q.v.*): R. C. Moberly, *Ministerial Priesthood*, London, 1897; T. T. Carter, *The Doctrine of the Priesthood in the Church of England*[3], do. 1876; W. Sanday, *Conception of Priesthood in the Early Church and in the Church of England*, do. 1898; C. Gore, *The Body of Christ*, do. 1901, *Orders and Unity*, do. 1909.

R. M. WOOLLEY.

[1] *Resp. ad Apol. Card. Bellarm.*, London, 1610, ch. viii. (134).

[1] London, 1629, § v.

[2] *The Worthy Communicant*, London, 1660, ch. i. § 4.

SACRAMENTS.

Primitive and Ethnic (J. A. MacCulloch), p. 897.
Christian—
Eastern (R. G. Parsons), p. 902.
Western (T. A. Lacey), p. 903.
Christian—
Lutheran (H. E. Jacobs), p. 909.
Reformed (J. Stalker), p. 912.
Hindu.—See 'Primitive and Ethnic.'
Parsi.—See 'Primitive and Ethnic.'

SACRAMENTS (Primitive and Ethnic).—In early Christian usage the word *sacramentum*, though applied especially to Baptism and the Eucharist, was widely used as the name of any ritual observance among Christians, as well as of any sacred thing. In this wide sense sacraments may be said to exist in ethnic religions. Washings or baptisms, ceremonial name-giving, initiations, anointings, and many other rites have a sacramental aspect in this sense of the word. These and other rites have already been fully considered under separate headings.[1] This article is devoted to inquiring how far rites of actual sacramental communion—viewing the word 'sacrament' in a narrow, yet popular, sense—exist among savages and in the higher ethnic religions. Many of the usual examples of this cited by various authorities are to be regarded as inferences rather than explicit facts. Thus, even where the worshippers feast on the remains of a sacrifice, it is doubtful whether this is to be looked upon as more than a meal eaten in common with the god. He, being satisfied with his share of the feast, as it were, invites his worshippers to eat with him. The idea that sacrifice originated from a meal on a divine being or a totem cannot be sustained. Even the idea of kinship with the god, renewed through eating with him, is far from being clearly expressed, and is rather an inference from a given rite. Sacrifice is first the food of the gods, by which they are nourished, strengthened, and made benevolent to men. If now worshippers partake of this food, they are eating with him, and we may suppose them to be similarly nourished and strengthened. There certainly could not have been at first the sacramental eating of a divinity incarnate in the sacrificial victim. That came later, and perhaps only sporadically. Even if the animal is one not usually eaten, or if, being one usually eaten, it is first sacrificially slain and its blood offered to the god, no more than a common meal with the god need be generally inferred. In the latter case the animal is sacrificially slain on the principle that man should always give something of his own to the gods—the same principle as is seen in the offering of firstfruits (*q.v.*).

The theory of Hubert and Mauss—that sacrifice consists 'in establishing a communication between the sacred world and the profane world by means of a victim, *i.e.* a consecrated thing destroyed in the course of the ceremony,' and that the moral state of the person who performs this religious act or of certain things in which he is interested is thus modified—rests on the Brāhmanic interpretation of Vedic sacrifices, and can be sustained only with difficulty.[2] If the theory were true, then the victim would always be sacrosanct, filled with the spirit of the divine world, and therefore to eat of it would be a sacramental act, filling the eater with divine vigour. But this 'sacralization' is not proved for sacrifice generally, either savage or civilized.[3]

Theories of the origin of sacrifice are apt to lay too much stress upon occasional rites, out of harmony with the ordinary and usual rites which are known to us in detail. The real meaning of these occasional rites is often unknown or is the guess of a scholiast or mystic; they are sometimes described vaguely in a late classical author. An example of this is found in the Bouphonia (below, § 3 [*b*]). At the same time rites of quite different import are usually classed together, and a similar reason for the slaying and eating of the victim is assigned to instances where it is out of place.

1. The basis of the principle of sacramental communion.—As already shown in the art. Cannibalism (vol. iii. p. 197[b]), the eating of food, with its result of strengthening or refreshing the body, easily suggested the idea that any special qualities in the animal, or even the man, from whom the food was prepared—strength, courage, wisdom, etc., as well as the contrary qualities (hence tabus on such foods as might transmit these)—could be assimilated by the eater. Added to this, the belief in magic made men assume that, as far as the transmission of such qualities was concerned, a part was as valuable as the whole. Food might also become a vehicle of qualities pertaining to this or that object with which it had been in contact. This is the basis of the idea of sacramental communion with deity in a more or less material sense, as apart from the idea of food eaten symbolizing a virtue or grace spiritually received. The flesh of an animal regarded as the incarnation of a deity, a cereal image, and the like would make the eater a recipient of divine qualities or divine life.

2. Was the sacrificial meal also sacramental?—The meal upon sacrificial food cannot now be regarded as the survival or the equivalent of eating a totem animal in a sacramental mystery (below, § 4). Nor is the conception of kinship between victim and worshippers more than an inference. The sacrificial meal, eaten as in Israel at the holy place, was one in which god and men shared. There was communion between them just in so far as the eating of food at any time strengthened the bond between table-companions. Beyond that we can hardly go. Sacrifice was primarily a feeding of a god, who either ate the actual food or was regaled by the blood, or by its odour, or even by its essence.[1] In the latter instances, where most of the flesh still remained, it was natural that it should be consumed by the worshippers. How far it was regarded as hallowed or even as a vehicle of divine qualities, because part of it had been consumed by a god or offered on an altar, is largely a matter of conjecture. This sacrificial meal is a common aspect of sacrificial rites both in the lower cultures and in higher religions as far back as these can be traced.

In Fiji 'native belief apportions the soul [of the offering] to the gods, who are described as being enormous eaters; the substance is consumed by the worshippers.'[2]

In Israel one large class of sacrifices was eaten by the worshippers, after having formed a repast for the divinity. In Babylon the elements of sacrifice were the foods which men commonly ate; animal victims were not apparently regarded as sacred, and the officiants ate the remains 'without appearing to experience the least terror, and without taking extra precautions.'[3] In Greece, in the

1 See artt. Anointing, Baptism, Initiation, Names.

2 H. Hubert and M. Mauss, 'Essai sur la nature et la fonction du sacrifice,' in *Mélanges d'hist. des religions*, Paris, 1909, pp. 15, 124.

3 Cf. G. Foucart, *Hist. des religions et méthode comparative*, Paris, 1912, p. 136 ff.

1 The last is forcibly expressed by the Limboos of Darjeeling, who, when they eat the sacrifice, say that they dedicate the life-breath to the gods, the flesh to themselves (J. S. Campbell, *TES*, new ser., vii. [1869] 153).

2 T. Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*, London, 1858, i. 231; cf. art. Dravidians (N. India), vol. v. p. 8[a].

3 Foucart, p. 162.

case of those offerings not wholly made over to divinities, the priests had their share of the sacrifice, and the worshippers feasted on the remains.

This is seen, *e.g.*, in Homer, who describes the prayers, the slaughter of the victims, the cooking of selected portions, and the joyous feast which followed.[1]

In Roman sacrificial rites the general rule was that, after the offering of the *exta* to the god, the remainder of the animal was then considered not sacred, and was eaten by the priests or worshippers, or on official occasions by the senators and magistrates. Sacrifice was the offering of a repast to the gods, in which men had a share.[2]

Toutain insists that the theory of W. R. Smith and others of a kinship between god, victim, and worshippers, renewed through eating the victim—of a sacrificial communion—is not discoverable in the Roman sacrificial ritual.[3]

In Egypt the remains of the sacrifice were simply eaten by the officers and servants of the temple and by the worshippers. 'They spread a banquet of what remains of the victims.'[4] According to Foucart, there is no trace in Egyptian texts concerning sacrifice of sacramental communion or of a meal of kinship with the deity in this sacrificial meal, and he speaks of

'l'absence radical, fût-ce en une ligne d'un seul auteur, d'une allusion au sacrifice *communiel* de la victime en Egypte.'[5]

Vedic sacrifices were intended as food for hungry gods, who were thus rendered well-disposed to men. The gods ate first, leaving the remains to be eaten by those who offered them.

Oldenberg says that 'it is impossible to discover in the ceremonies themselves, or in the verses or formulæ which accompanied them, the least allusion to any method of regarding the repast on the sacrifice as a repast of communion (*alliance*) or a renewing of kinship.'[6]

Whatever later priestly theories arose regarding sacrifice, the early view remains fairly constant, and in modern Hindu or Dravidian ritual the remains of the sacrifice are commonly eaten by the worshippers.[7] But in the cult of Kṛṣṇa the cooked food offered to the god is eaten by the priests or distributed to the worshippers, who eagerly receive it as holy or as divine nutriment.[8] Here a more sacramental view appears. Finally, among the Teutons the evidence is summed up by Grimm as follows. Human food is agreeable to the gods, who are invited to eat their share of the sacrifice. At the same time sacrifice is a banquet: an appointed portion of the victim is placed before the god; the rest is cut up, distributed, and consumed in the assembly. The people thus become partakers in the holy offering, and the god is regarded as feasting with them at their meal.[9]

To these examples must be added those in which the victim is a human being, and a cannibalistic feast on his flesh follows. Here there is no true sacrament, save where the victim is regarded as representing or incarnating a divinity, as in Mexico and in Dionysiac rites in Crete.[10]

Thus the widest evidence of sacrificial rites, apart from all modern theory, is that in a large proportion of sacrifices the worshippers enjoyed a sacrificial repast, and joined in eating with the god. That probably indicated fellowship with the god or promoted it still further. But how far it was also regarded as a sacramental eating, in the sense that divine virtue passed over to the eater, is a matter of conjecture. Yet it may be admitted that here are the elements out of which a sacramental ritual might easily arise.

The idea that gods and men shared in a sacrificial meal is illustrated by the expressions on recently-found papyri in which a person invites guests to dine with him at the table of a god (the lord Sarapis) on a certain date.[1] Sarapis was here the real host. Unless St. Paul was continuing OT sacrificial language, this may be the source of what he says regarding the impossibility of partaking at once of the table of the Lord and of the table of demons (*i.e.* eating meat which had formed part of a sacrifice). He regards that act as 'having communion with demons' (1 Co $10^{20f.}$), because the meat is eaten consciously as a thing sacrificed to idols (10^{19} and cf. 8[7]). This shows that he regarded the act of eating as an act of communion with the god—probably the view then current in the eastern Mediterranean area. This communion, however, was nothing more than the relationship existing between a host and guests at any meal—a token of fellowship with him on the part of those who recognize the deity. In such sacrificial meals, in the words of the *Clementine Recognitions*,[2] the eater is 'a guest of demons' and has 'fellowship with that demon whose aspect he has fashioned in his mind.' How far this idea of fellowship or communion with a god in and through sacrificial meals existed elsewhere and in other ages it is difficult to say. The custom is analogous to that of the feasts with the dead—common meals at which dead and living were present.[3]

3. Eating a sacred animal.—When an animal was regarded as sacred—one devoted to the service of a god, or his representative or symbol, or even his incarnation, or as itself divine—it was nevertheless sometimes sacrificed to him, the reasons for this sacrifice not being the same in all cases. It is important to bear the latter fact in mind. But, in so far as the animal is sacred and the flesh is eaten, there is here a sacramental eating, depending upon the degree of sacredness of the animal. Where the animal is divine or a divine incarnation, there would be an actual eating of the god's flesh. In a sense all animals sacrificed to a god became for the time sacred to him, but we are here contemplating the case of animals more peculiarly sacred. The ceremonial slaying of such animals is perhaps the origin of those so-called mystic sacrifices in which certain animals, more particularly those regarded as 'unclean,' *i.e.* too sacred for common use, were immolated and sometimes ceremonially eaten. Where such eating took place, its purpose was probably sacramental: it was to obtain some benefit not to be obtained in any other way—*e.g.*, the strength and life of a god. The examples cited by W. R. Smith[4] are in point here, though his theory of their connexion with earlier totem sacraments has not been verified. The instances range from savagery up to comparatively high levels of civilization.

(*a*) Certain Hebrews in pre-Exilic days seem to have adopted curious rites from their pagan neighbours or revived earlier rites of their own. Among these was the sacrifice of the swine, the mouse, and the 'abomination.' These animals were unclean, yet they were actually eaten at this rite after some preliminary method of preparation and purification. After sanctifying and purifying themselves, the worshippers are said to have eaten swine's flesh, the mouse, the 'abomination,' while 'broth of abominable things' was in their vessels, no doubt for purposes of a meal (Is 65^{4} 66^{17}).[5] Doubtless these animals were sacred to certain divinities, and this, rather than their 'unclean' character, aroused the prophet's indignation. The result of the eating was the assertion of a peculiar holiness. Similarly, at a later time the Harranians sacrificed the swine and ate the flesh

[1] *Il.* i. 457 ff.; see, however, L. R. Farnell, *ERE* vi. 398[a], and 'Sacrificial Communion in Greek Religion,' in *HJ* ii. [1904] 306 *f.*, where his views are more speculative than strictly evidential.

[2] G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, Munich, 1902, p. 353 *f.*; J. Toutain, 'Le Sacrifice et les rites du sacrifice à Rome,' *Études de mythologie et d'hist. des religions antiques*, Paris, 1909, p. 138.

[3] Toutain, p. 151 *f.*

[4] Herod. ii. 40.

[5] Foucart, pp. 155, 171.

[6] H. Oldenberg, *La Religion du Véda*, tr. V. Henry, Paris, 1903, p. 279.

[7] W. Crooke, *PR* i. 32, 117, 263; H. H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1891, i. 179; cf. *ERE* ii. 486[b].

[8] M. Monier-Williams, *Brâhmanism and Hindûism: Religious Thought and Life in India*[4], London, 1891, p. 145; J. A. Dubois, *Description of the Character, Manners, and Customs of the People of India*, Eng. tr., do. 1817, p. 401.

[9] J. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, tr. J. S. Stallybrass, London, 1882–88, i. 41, 46, 57.

[10] See art. CANNIBALISM, vol. iii. pp. 204[b], 205[a].

[1] *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, ed. B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, London, 1898–1915, i. 110; cf. *ERE* vi. 377[b].

[2] ii. 71.

[3] See art. FEASTING, vol. v. p. 803[b].

[4] *Religion of the Semites*[2], p. 290 *f.*

[5] Cf. Ezk 8^{10}; W. R. Smith[2], p. 343.

once a year. Among the ancient Peruvians, after a three days' fast, the festival of the sun at the summer solstice was observed. Fire was kindled by means of a concave mirror reflecting the sun's rays. Then llamas, the animals sacred to the sun, were sacrificed, and of these a burnt-offering was made. The flesh of other llamas, part of 'the flocks of the sun,' was eaten at a banquet by the Inca and his lords, and distributed to the people. The flesh was eaten along with sacred cakes prepared by the virgins of the sun, and with goblets of fermented liquor of maize. In the latter part of this feast the Spaniards detected a Satanic counterfeit of the Eucharist.[1]

(*b*) Some animal victims may be regarded as divine incarnations. The people of the district of Huanca (Peru) were found by the Inca Pachacutec to have a dog deity represented in their temple. A living dog was chosen to be its incarnation; sacrifice and prayer were offered to it; then it was slain, and parts of its flesh were eaten by the worshippers.[2] Similarly, in Arkansas an American Indian tribe who traced their descent from a mythic dog ancestor are said to have eaten the flesh of a dog representing this ancestor in an annual rite.[3]

In the Dionysos cult, the origin of which is to be sought in Thrace, whence it was brought to Greece, there is a fairly clear example of the belief that a god may incarnate himself temporarily in animal or even human form. In the frenzied observance of the cult the myth of Dionysos pursued by the Titans, assuming different forms, and finally in bull shape being rent asunder by them, was reproduced in ritual. An ox, a goat, or sometimes even a boy, representing or incarnating the god, was rent by the maddened worshippers, and the raw flesh was devoured. By such a sacramental feast, and probably also by stimulants, 'the celebrant of the meal of raw flesh'[4] was made one with the god. He became *ἔνθεος*, and was inspired to new ecstasy, or *ἐνθουσιασμός*, and to acts not possible under normal conditions.[5]

Arnobius says: 'In order that you may show yourselves full of majesty and divinity, you mangle with gory lips the flesh of bleating goats.'[6] A scholiast on Clem. Alex. *Protrept.*[7] says that those initiated into the Dionysiac mysteries ate raw flesh, and that this symbolized Dionysos' being rent by the Titans.

In this savage sacrament, which, though not without occasional parallels elsewhere, must not be taken as typical of all religions at a certain stage, there appears the dim craving of the soul for union with deity. When the ritual was transferred to Greece and there tamed and transformed, how far this sacramental act continued is uncertain, though modified survivals of it have been found in Chios and Tenedos at a late date.[8] Its existence in the Dionysiac-Orphic brotherhoods cannot be proved.

In the *βουφόνια* at the Diipolia on the Acropolis there is one of those mysterious and sporadic rites apt to be taken as typical and made the basis of a large amount of theory. The rite is described by Pausanias and Porphyry.

Of a number of oxen led up to the altar the one which ate wheat and barley lying upon it was slain by a priest, who was regarded as the murderer of the ox, and finally the blame was laid on the axe or knife. Of those who afterwards flayed the ox all tasted its flesh; then they sewed up the hide, stuffing it with hay, and yoked it to a plough. The rite was traced back to a slaying by Sopatros of an ox which had eaten his cereal offering. In remorse he fled. Dearth followed, and an oracle announced that the murderer must be punished and the dead raised up. It would also be better for them if, at the same sacrifice in which the ox died, all should taste of its flesh. Sopatros agreed to return, but said that he must be made a citizen, that an ox must be slain, and that all must help him. This was agreed to, and the ritual of the *βουφόνια* was founded.[1]

W. R. Smith regarded this rite as a survival from the time when all pastoral animals were sacred and regarded as kindred with man and his divinities. Hence to slaughter one of them, even ritually, was murder (*βουφονεῖν*), and to eat the flesh was a sacramental rite. These ideas had been derived from earlier totemism, with sanctity and kinship of wild animals.[2] In this he is partly followed by L. R. Farnell.[3] J. G. Frazer finds in the rite an example of slaying an animal representing the corn-spirit—'the ox which tasted the corn was viewed as the corn-deity taking possession of his own.'[4]

It seems probable that the clue to the *βουφόνια* is lost. Among savage pastoral tribes who regard their cattle as sacred the occasional slaying of them is not regarded as murder, nor are they invariably considered as of one kin with the clan. For some reason unknown the ox of the *βουφόνια* was regarded as sacred in a way in which the cattle of ordinary sacrifices never had been. This is shown by its killing being regarded as murder. The eating of the flesh by the slayers has thus a sacramental aspect, in whatever manner the animal was sacred, whether in itself or as representing or incarnating a spirit or god.

(*c*) W. R. Smith's theory of the slaying of pastoral animals in cases where such animals are seldom or never killed, viz. that the animals are kinsmen to the tribe or group, is hardly borne out by instances from actual pastoral tribes.

With the Todas the lives of the people are devoted to the tending of their herds of buffaloes. These are divided into two classes—(1) ordinary buffaloes, with no special ritual connected with their tendance and milking and no restrictions on the use of their milk; (2) sacred buffaloes of various grades of sanctity, with herdsmen regarded as priests, and dairies for the churning of milk which are regarded as shrines. In the case of the latter the ordinary operations of the dairy have become a religious ritual, each dairy of each class having its own peculiarities and complexities of ritual. Both ordinary and sacred buffaloes are the property not of the clan, but of families or individuals, in that division of the Todas known as Teivaliol. Male buffaloes have little or no sanctity even when born of the most sacred cows, and these in fact are mated with ordinary bulls. Buffaloes were created by one of the chief Toda gods, Ön, and his wife. Ön's buffaloes were ancestors of the sacred animals, those created by his wife of ordinary buffaloes. Sacred dairies and sacred buffaloes are regarded in some measure as the property of the gods. Buffaloes are not eaten, but, after due ceremonies for counteracting possible danger, the milk of even sacred buffaloes, converted into butter, may be used even by people who are not Todas.[5] At one feast people of the clan and of other clans may partake of the milk of *sacred* buffaloes, which is not ordinarily used by them. Rivers sees in this some resemblance to those religious ceremonies of communion 'with the divine by eating and drinking the divine.'[6] Although the buffalo is not ordinarily eaten, there are certain rites called *ĕrkumpṭthpimi* ('male buffalo we kill') in which a male buffalo calf is slain and eaten, whenever a suitable one is available. At the *tt* dairy the rite takes place thrice yearly. The chief officiant is the *palikârtmokh*, or dairyman of the village, who must be of the same clan as those performing the sacrifice. The animal is killed by striking with a club made of the wood of the sacred *tûḍr*-tree. The flesh is roasted on a sacred fire made by friction. Of this the *palikârtmokh* eats the *tutmîṣ*, and the others present may eat any portion. Certain parts must not be eaten by women. The remainder of the feast is carried to the village and may be eaten by any one.[7] At the *tt* sacrifice the *tutmîṣ* is eaten by the *palol* (or priest of this ultra-sacred dairy), certain other parts by him and the *kaltmokh* (assistant). Some parts, again, may be eaten by the *kaltmokh* and privileged visitors (*mòrol*) to the *tt*. Other parts are taken to the outskirts of the priests' sleeping-hut and given to any Todas who may visit the dairy.[8]

The significance of the ceremony is unknown; the male buffalo is not sacred in the sense in which the female sacred buffalo is. From the prayer used before the slaying of the animal Rivers conjectures that the purpose of the rite is the general welfare of the buffaloes. He also thinks it possible that, as the flesh is eaten, the Todas may have preferred

1 W. H. Prescott, *Hist. of the Conquest of Peru*, London, 1890, pp. 25, 51 f.
2 D. G. Brinton, *The Myths of the New World*[3], Philadelphia, 1896, p. 160.
3 *NR* iii. 316.
4 Euripides, frag. Κρῆτες.
5 O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, Munich, 1897–1906, ii. 731 f.; cf. *ERE* iii. 765, 767, vi. 403[a].
6 *Adv. Gentes*, v. 19.
7 i. 433 (Dind.).
8 Cf. *ERE* iii. 205, vi. 408.

1 Paus. i. xxiv. 4, xxviii. 10; Porphyry, *de Abst.* ii. 29 f.
2 *Rel. Sem.*[2], pp. 304 f., 353 f.
3 *CGS* i. 88 f., and cf. *ERE* iii. 767[b].
4 *GB*[3], pt. v., *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, London, 1912, ii. 4, 6.
5 W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, London, 1906, pp. 38 ff., 184, 231 f.
6 *Ib.* pp. 232, 240.
7 *Ib.* p. 274 f.
8 *Ib.* p. 285 f.

to use for this purpose less sacred animals out of fear of evil consequences.[1] There does not appear to be any clear evidence of kinship with their buffaloes among the Todas.[2] Nor does there appear to be a sacramental eating of the animal in the sense of eating a victim regarded as divine.

If Rivers' explanation of this meal among the Todas is correct, we may see an analogy to it in the custom of pastoral tribes in the Caucasus who, when obliged to sell their herds to strangers, avert the danger which such sacrilege incurs by consecrating one of the herd, slaying it, and solemnly eating it, afterwards treating the bones with all due respect.[3]

The eating of the raw flesh of a heifer sacrificed to the spirit of the Nile by heads of clans among the Agaos[4] and the eating of half-raw flesh of a camel by the clan or tent-group among the Arabs of the Sinaitic peninsula when other food failed[5] are very vaguely sacramental.

(*d*) The last group of rites described perhaps shows that at one time all killing of animals was regarded as an act to be gone about circumspectly, for all animals, if not divine or even sacred, have power greater than man's, either in life or after death. Hence, too, innumerable rites of propitiation in connexion with the slaying even of wild animals, by way of averting their vengeance or that of members of the same species. These sometimes crystallize into one definite communal rite, in which propitiation, prayer, ritual slaughter, and ritual eating all have a part. But the slaying is not sacrificial, and the whole rite is perhaps analogous to the solemn eating of firstfruits (below, § 5) before all the harvest becomes available for common food. This rite is most marked in the Ainu bear festival.

With the Ainus, Gilyaks, and other peoples of N. Asia the bear is regarded with respect, if not as divine, but it is freely slain and eaten as food. But one bear is kept in captivity with every evidence of respect; then it is ritually slain with propitiations and apologetic explanations and prayers. Offerings are made to the dead bear. Its blood is drunk by the men present to obtain its courage and other virtues, and part of its flesh, having been offered in 'a cup of offering to its head,' is solemnly eaten by all present. Then all join in eating the rest of the flesh. The liver is said by a 17th cent. authority to be eaten as a medicine for various diseases.[6]

The prayers show that the bear is expected to return to life so as to be slain anew, and in Saghalien the killing is for the purpose of sending messages to the forest-god by means of the bear.[7] The solemn eating of the bear by all is obviously meant as a propitiatory rite which will make possible the common eating of bear's flesh by all who have thus had communion with the bear.

4. The totem sacrament. — The theory of a general, though occasional, sacrifice and sacramental eating of a totem animal or plant by the men of a totem clan is now generally abandoned for lack of evidence.[8] With its abandonment the explanation of all solemn eating of a slain or sacrificed animal as due to an earlier totem sacrament must also be given up. Among all actual totem peoples the ceremonial eating of a totem has been found in three instances only, and Frazer points out that in one of these (Arunta) the object of the eating is not mystical communion with a deity, but to ensure the supply of food for others not of that totem. It is magical, not religious, and the animals in question are not regarded as divine.[1]

The Arunta once freely ate their totems, and even now there is no absolute restriction by which a man may not eat of his totem, except in the case of the wild cat, which is also forbidden food to the whole tribe. Besides permission to eat sparingly of his totem at all times, each man at the *intichiuma* ceremonies, for the increasing of the totem animal or plant, must eat of his totem, in order that the totem species may be increased for the benefit of fellow-tribesmen of other totem groups. Without this eating the magical increase ceremonies would not be complete. Members of the totem group now refrain from eating their totem till it is full-grown or plentiful. When that happens, members of other groups may not eat until the members of this group have eaten sparingly of their totem within the camp. This second ceremonial eating is thus akin to the solemn eating of firstfruits by certain persons before all can eat freely. This second ceremonial is obligatory; non-eating would result in the decrease of the totem.[2]

The second instance is from Benin. Some families of the Bini, at the burial ceremonies, make soup from their totem and offer it in sacrifice to the dead man. This portion may also be put to the lips of members of the family and then thrown away. The rest is thrown away or eaten by the family or strangers. Obviously some benefit to dead and living is here expected.[3]

The third instance is from Assam, where the Kacharis were formerly divided into totem clans. In two cases the ceremonial eating of a revered animal or plant has been noted. The Leech folk hold the leech in high regard and do not kill it. But once in a lifetime at a certain religious ceremony the Leech folk must chew a leech with vegetables. The Jute folk must also chew jute at great religious ceremonies.[4]

In none of these instances is the totem worshipped as a divinity, and they are all contrary to general practice among totem peoples. They do not lend support to the derivation from totemism of the slaying and eating of sacred animals at higher stages.

5. Firstfruits eaten ritually or sacramentally.— This has already been fully discussed.[5] But it is obvious that here the word 'sacramentally' will bear various shades of meaning according as the firstfruits are looked upon merely as set apart from ordinary usage, or as sacrificial food, or as actually containing or being a spirit or god.

6. Ceremonial eating of images of dough or other substances.—In cases where the image is described as the god and is eaten there is clearly some idea of sacramental communion. The best instance of this is found in the ancient Mexican religion, where the solemn eating was called *teoqualo*, 'god is eaten.'[6] Similarly, the Ḥanīfa, in time of famine, made an image of dates kneaded with butter and sour milk and ate it.[7] Communion with a deity by means of swallowing part of the image is also found among the Mālas of S. India and among the Huichol Indians of Mexico.[8] These and similar instances may be compared with the ritual offering (though not always eating) of cakes in the form of or stamped with the effigy of a divinity.[9] These may also be connected with the offering and eating of firstfruits made into a cake or even baked in human form (probably representing the corn-spirit, as Frazer thinks).

The sacramental aspect of eating such dough images is well shown by Acosta's description of the Mexican eating of the image of Huitzilopochtli: the people 'received it with such tears, fears, and reverence as it was an admirable thing, saying that they did eat the flesh and bones of God, wherewith they were grieved.'[10]

[1] Rivers, p. 290.
[2] *Ib.* p. 356.
[3] A. Bastian, in *Verhandlungen der berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte*, Berlin, 1870–71, p. 54.
[4] *ERE* i. 166[a]. [5] W. R. Smith[2], p. 281.
[6] C. Malte-Brun, *Annales des voyages*, Paris, 1814, xxiv. 154 f.; J. Batchelor, *The Ainu and their Folk-lore*, London, 1901, p. 486 f.; *GB*[3], pt. v., *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, ii. 190 ff.; cf. artt. AINUS, vol. i. p. 249; ANIMALS, vol. i. p. 503.
[7] P. Labbé, *Un Bagne russe, l'Isle de Sakhaline*, Paris, 1903, p. 232 f.
[8] But see S. Reinach, *Cultes, mythes, et religions*, 3 vols., Paris, 1905–08, *passim*, and art. COMMUNION WITH DEITY (Greek and Roman), vol. iii. p. 767.

[1] J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, London, 1910, iv. 231.
[2] Spencer-Gillen[3], p. 167 ff.
[3] Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, ii. 588, from information supplied by N. W. Thomas.
[4] *Ib.* iv. 297 f., from information supplied by S. Endle.
[5] Artt. FIRSTFRUITS (Introductory and Primitive), vol. vi. p. 43[a], § 2; EATING THE GOD, vol. v. p. 137.
[6] Art. EATING THE GOD, vol. v. p. 136[b]; cf. *NR* iii. 299, 316, 385 f.
[7] W. R. Smith[2], p. 225; F. Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, Heilbronn, 1879, p. 436 ff.
[8] E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of S. India*, Madras, 1909, iv. 357 f.; C. Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico*, London, 1903, ii. 166 f.
[9] See instances in Liebrecht, p. 436 f., 'Die aufgegessene Gott.'
[10] *GB*[3], pt. v., *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, ii. 86 ff.; Acosta, cited in *NR* iii. 313. See also art. FASTING (Introductory and non-Christian), vol. v. p. 761[a].

7. Swallowing sacred substances.—Under this heading may be grouped a variety of rites with a sacramental aspect. As an example from a low level of culture the following case from the Gold Coast may be taken. If the members of a family were about to separate, the fetish-priest ground a fetish to powder, and, having mixed it with a liquid, gave the draught to each member of the family. By this means they were still bound together.[1] In the ceremonies of the various fraternities among the Zuñi Indians the drinking of consecrated 'medicine-water' has a prominent place. The consecration is accomplished with prayers to the gods, the dropping of fetishes into the water, prayer invoking the presence of the gods, etc. The altar and the worshippers are sprinkled with the water, and the males present receive a drink of it; on the next night of the ceremonies male and female members drink it; and on the fourth evening the novices receive it.[2] Plant medicines, each the property and food of a god, are used in other fraternities in a kind of sacramental magic—to cure disease, to make a brave heart, for safety, and the like.[3] In India the water in which a sacred image has been washed is drunk as holy water.[4] The drinking of the *haoma* in Zoroastrian religion and its supposed effects on the partaker have already been fully described in the art. HAOMA. It is also given to the dying as a last sacrament, or *φάρμακον ἀθανασίας*. Its counterpart in Vedic and later Indian religion is *soma* (*q.v.*), both having been originally one. *Soma* was the drink of the gods, and a draught of immortality both for them and for men. It also healed physical and moral ills and gave wisdom. This drink of the gods could also be prepared for men on earth, just as *haoma* was. The drink made the worshipper a new man; the draught of the gods flowed in his veins, purifying and sanctifying him.[5] The nectar of the Greeks is a similar drink of immortality;[6] and it is probable that primitive intoxicants, because of the elation caused by them, were regarded as the drink of the gods, conferring immortality and other desirable qualities on them, like Goibniu's 'ale of immortality' in Celtic mythology.[7] In Babylonian mythology 'food of life' and 'water of life' were the property of the gods, giving immortality, as is seen in the myth of Adapa.[8] The refreshing powers of water caused it also to be regarded mythically, and in the other world it had magical immortal powers. Fijian mythology shows this. On the way to paradise the dead drank of the 'water of solace,' which caused the grief of the ghost and the mourners on earth to be assuaged.[9] So at a far higher level, in Orphic-Pythagorean circles, the dead drank 'cool water flowing from the Lake of Memory,' and thereafter had lordship among the other heroes.[10]

The idea of the Tree of Life and its effects in Hebrew, early Christian, and Gnostic mythologies may be compared with the mythical concepts here set forth. In Egypt analogous ideas, though of a curious kind, are found. A funerary text speaks of a dead king slaying and devouring the gods to obtain their powers and to become eternal. Similarly, by sucking the milk of a goddess a mortal might acquire immortality.[11]

1 A. Réville, *Les Religions des peuples non-civilisés*, Paris, 1883, i. 84.
2 M. C. Stevenson, *23 RBEW* [1904], pp. 492 ff., 540, 552, 561, 572.
3 *Ib.* p. 560 f.
4 Monier-Williams, p. 145.
5 *Ib.* p. 359.
6 Cf. Lucian, *Dial. Deorum*, no. 4.
7 See art. CELTS, vol. iii. p. 285b.
8 M. Jastrow, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, Boston, 1898, p. 544.
9 B. Thomson, *The Fijians*, London, 1908, p. 117 ff.
10 The various formulæ are given in J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*[2], Cambridge, 1908, p. 573 ff.
11 E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Papyrus of Ani*, 2 vols., London, 1895, p. lxxviii; A. Wiedemann, *Die Toten und ihre Reiche im Glauben der alten Aegypten*, Leipzig, 1902, p. 18.

8. Sacraments in mystery religions. — It is possible that the conceptions discussed in the last section underlie such sacramental rites as may be found in mystery-religions, though here we must beware of reading too much between the lines of the scanty evidence transmitted to us.

(*a*) In the Eleusinia certain acts of a sacramental character had a place. What that place was and what precise meaning was attached to them are largely matters of conjecture. As a preparation for the mysteries, the candidates had to be free from crime, and purity of heart and life was necessary. Ceremonial purifications were also used, and before entering the sacred enclosure at night the *μύσται* fasted. Apart from other things done or seen, they partook of a cup of *κυκέων*—a thick gruel of meal and water, resembling the draught of barley, groats, water, and penny-royal leaves drunk by the mourning Demeter after her nine days' fast.[1] If the emendation by Lobeck[2] of the text in which Clement of Alexandria describes this rite is correct, possibly sacred bread or cake was also eaten.

'I fasted, I drank the *κυκέων*, I took from the ark, and, having tasted (*ἐγγευσάμενος*), I put it away in the basket and from the basket into the ark.'[3]

The unemended text suggests the handling (*ἐργασάμενος*) of a sacred object rather than the tasting of sacred food. What did this drinking and eating mean to the worshippers? Some inquirers have seen in it a sacramental communion with Demeter in her passion—an infusion of her life into the worshipper.[4] The secret of Eleusis has been well kept, and these views are quite hypothetical. But the whole group of rites, including this 'sacrament,' was certainly regarded as beneficial and assuring immortality. The *μύσται* were thrice-blessed and believed that divinity was present with them.[5] These effects were probably not attached to the sacramental rite only.

(*b*) In the mysteries of Attis, besides the smearing of the lips of the *μύσται* with holy oil and the uttering of the words, 'Be assured, O *μύσται*, the god has been saved: thus for you there shall be salvation from ills,'[6] at some point in the ritual, they ate and drank sacred food according to a formula preserved by Clement and Firmicus Maternus. The nature of the food is unknown. Firmicus says that into the inner parts of a temple a man about to die (symbolically or ritually?) was admitted and said:

'I have eaten out of the tympanum, I have drunk from the cymbal; I am an initiate of Attis.'[7]

Clement gives the formula as:

'I have eaten from the tympanum, I have drunk from the cymbal; I have carried the *kernos* [a tray with cups]; I have gone beneath the *pastos*.'[8]

Tympanum and cymbal figured in the myth of Attis. Here again the purpose of the rite is obscure, though some writers boldly maintain that it was to bring the *μύσται* into closer communion with the god.[9] Dieterich thinks that the initiate, about to die a symbolic death, was reborn through the sacramental food, for Firmicus goes on to commend the true food of life—the Christian Eucharist — as conferring immortality, whereas 'thou hast eaten poison and drunk the cup of death.'[10]

1 Cf. *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, 206 f.; Eustathius, on Homer, *Il.* xi. 638.
2 *Aglaophamus*, Königsberg, 1829, p. 831.
3 Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* ii. 21 (89).
4 F. B. Jevons, *An Introd. to the Hist. of Religion*, London, 1896, ch. xxiv.; Farnell, in *EBr*[11] xix. 120 f., *HJ* ii. 315 f., *ERE* vi. 409[a]; P. Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History*, London, 1892, p. 383 f., *The Origin of the Lord's Supper*, do. 1893, p. 17.
5 Pindar, frag. cxvi.
6 Firm. Mat. *de Errore Profan. Relig.*, ed. K. Ziegler, Leipzig 1907, p. 57.
7 *Ib.* p. 43.
8 Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* ii. 15 (47 ff.).
9 *GB*[3], pt. iv., *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, London, 1914, i. 274.
10 A. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, Leipzig, 1903, pp. 103, 163.

Library of
PACIFIC BIBLE SEMINARY

(*c*) In Mithraism there was some form of sacrament, as the words of Justin Martyr and Tertullian show. Justin says that bread and a cup of water were set forth with certain words of blessing in the sacred rites.[1] Tertullian says that Mithra signs his soldiers in their foreheads, celebrates an oblation of bread, and introduces a symbol of the resurrection.[2] Both Fathers looked upon this sacrament and other rites as a parody of Christian rites suggested by demons. It is not at all improbable that the sacramental rite was adopted as an imitation of the Eucharist. Pliny, however, speaks of *magicis cœnis* in Mithraism.[3] On a bas-relief from Konjica (Bosnia) this sacrament is supposed to be represented. Two figures, one holding a drinking-horn, recline at a table, in front of which is a tripod holding small loaves of bread. On either side stand human figures, one a Persian, two with masks representing a lion and a raven, and a fourth mutilated figure. The Persian holds aloft a drinking-horn.[4] Is this the rite to which Justin refers? If it is, it tells us nothing of its meaning, and Pfleiderer's assertion that the standing figures represent the nature of Mithra under different attributes, and show that they have thus 'put on' the god, is somewhat extravagant.[5] The figures seem to be initiates of the different degrees, and there is no evidence that the sacrament was a mystic communion with Mithra, a partaking of his divine nature, as other writers have also asserted. The likeness which the Fathers saw between this rite and the Eucharist leaves its actual purpose doubtful, and we can only regard it as a rite of communion in a somewhat vague sense, like most of such rites in the mysteries. Cumont interprets it as communicating to the neophyte force to combat evil spirits and conferring on him, as on his god, a glorious immortality.[6] There is certainly no proof that the rite had any connexion with the slaying of a bull, so often represented in Mithraic bas-reliefs, or with the Zoroastrian future mythic slaying of the bull Hadhayāṣ, by Saoshyant at the last day, from the fat of which, mixed with the juice of white *haoma*, a drink would be prepared which would assure immortality to all men.

(*d*) In the cult of the gods of Samothrace, as a recently discovered but incomplete inscription shows, some rite of eating and drinking occurred. The priest 'broke the cake and poured forth the cup for the *μύσται*.' The inscription has been restored in this sense, and, if it is correct, some sacramental act seems to be suggested.[7]

For sacraments in Mandæism see *ERE* viii. 387[a], 389, and, further, A. J. H. W. Brandt, *Die mandäische Religion*, Leipzig, 1889, pp. 107 f., 203 f.

In this connexion it should be noted that the phrases expressing mystic union, desired or realized, with a god, in the so-called Mithras Liturgy ('Remain with me in my soul'), in the London Papyrus ('Come to me, Lord Hermes, as babes into the wombs of women'), and in the Leyden Papyrus ('For Thou art I, and I am Thou'), quoted by Dieterich,[8] have no connexion with a sacramental meal.

Did these sacramental rites in the mystery religions impart new life and immortality? Quite possibly they were thought to do so. Plutarch says that the worshippers at the sacrificial banquets looked beyond the mere feast and had a good hope and the belief that God was present with them, and that He accepted their service graciously. Much of this may have been present in the mysteries also. Considering, however, that we know so little of the nature of those sacramental rites, it is ludicrous to find several writers regarding them, not merely as resembling, but actually as the source of, the Christian Eucharist. Nor is there any real evidence that a rite of 'eating the god' was a common or usual one in paganism when Christianity was first founded and promulgated.

[1] Justin, *Apol.* i. 66, *Dial. c. Tryph.* 70.
[2] *De Præscr. Hær.* 40. [3] Pliny, *HN* xxx. 2 (6).
[4] F. Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, Brussels, 1896–99, i. 157 f.
[5] O. Pfleiderer, *The Early Christian Conception of Christ*, London, 1905, p. 129 f.
[6] Cumont, i. 321. [7] Dieterich, p. 104 f. [8] P. 97.

LITERATURE.—This has been sufficiently indicated in the footnotes; but the following additional works may be consulted: C. Clemen, *Primitive Christianity and its Non-Jewish Sources*, tr. R. G. Nisbet, Edinburgh, 1912, p. 238 ff.; W. Heitmüller, *Taufe und Abendmahl bei Paulus*, Göttingen, 1903; J. A. MacCulloch, *Comparative Theology*, London, 1902, p. 254; N. Söderblom, 'Le Breuvage divin,' *La Vie future, d'après le Mazdéisme* (= *AMG* ix.), Paris, 1901, p. 330 ff. See also artt. DRINKS, FOOD, COMMUNION WITH DEITY, EATING THE GOD, FIRSTFRUITS.

J. A. MACCULLOCH.

SACRAMENTS (Christian, Eastern).—The doctrine of the Holy Orthodox Eastern Church concerning the 'mysteries' (*i.e.* the sacraments) is officially stated in (1) *The Orthodox Confession of Faith*, composed by Peter Mogila, metropolitan of Kiev (1623–47),[1] and (2) the *Acts of the Synod of Jerusalem* (Bethlehem) of 1672.[2] In these documents the Orthodox sacramental system has been defined, in opposition to that of the Reformed Churches, in terms more in harmony with those of contemporary Roman Catholicism than with those of the early Eastern Fathers.

A mystery is defined as 'a rite, which under some visible form (*εἶδος*) is the cause of, and conveys to the soul of a faithful man, the invisible grace of God; instituted by our Lord, through whom each of the faithful receives divine grace.'[3] Mysteries were instituted to be 'badges (*σημάδια*) of the true sons of God,' 'sure signs (*σημεῖα*)' of our faith, and 'indubitable remedies (*ἰατρικά*)' against sins.[4]

Three things are necessary in a mystery: (*a*) its proper matter (*ὕλη*)—*e.g.*, water in baptism; (*b*) a properly ordained priest (*ἱερεύς*) or bishop; (*c*) the invocation (*ἐπίκλησις*) of the Holy Spirit, with the form of words, 'whereby the Priest consecrates the Mystery by the Power of the Holy Spirit, if he have the definite intention (*γνώμη ἀποφασισμένη*) of consecrating it.'[5] This insistence on the Epiclesis and the operation of the Spirit is a marked characteristic of Orthodox sacramental teaching.

There are seven mysteries: Baptism, Chrism, the Holy Eucharist, the Priesthood, Penitence, Marriage, Unction.

1. Baptism is administered by triple immersion in pure water, in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, normally by a priest, but in cases of necessity by any Orthodox person. Those to be baptized must either themselves or, if infants, by an Orthodox sponsor renounce the devil and all his works and confess the ('Nicene') Creed. The fruits of baptism are the abolition of all sin previously contracted, original and actual, with its penalties, regeneration or renewal into a state of complete purification (*τέλεια κάθαρσις*)[6] and original justification,[7] and conferring of the indelible 'character' of members of Christ's Body and immortality.[8]

2. Chrism (*τὸ μύρον τοῦ χρίσματος*).—The baptized

[1] See questions xcvii.–cxix. of pt. i. of *Ὀρθόδοξος ὁμολογία τῆς πίστεως τῆς καθολικῆς καὶ ἀποστολικῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἀνατολικῆς*, in E. J. Kimmel, *Monumenta Fidei Ecclesiæ Orientalis*, pt. i. pp. 169–197. The Greek translation of Mogila's Russian *Confession* was authorized by the four Eastern patriarchs at Constantinople in 1643 as 'faithfully following the Dogmas of Christ's Church, and agreeable to the Holy Canons.'

[2] See 'Synodus Hierosolymitana adversus Calvinistas,' in Kimmel, pt. i. pp. 308, 404–406, 448–463 (= *Dosithei Confessio*, decreta xv.–xviii.). The Latin translation is not always reliable. This Synod holds a position in the Eastern Church similar to that of the Council of Trent in the Roman. Its main concern was to anathematize Cyril Lucar's attempt in his *Oriental Confession* to bring the Orthodox theology into harmony with the Reformed.

[3] *Orthodox Confession*, p. 170. The references throughout are to Kimmel's *Monumenta*.
[4] *Ib.* p. 171. [5] *Ib.* p. 171. [6] *Ib.* p. 455.
[7] *Ib.* p. 175. [8] *Ib.* pp. 172–175, 452–456

are at once anointed with chrism (a mixture of oil, balsam, and ointments) consecrated by a bishop, and applied by a priest to the brow, eyes, nostrils, mouth, and ears, with the words, 'The Seal of the Gift of the Holy Spirit. Amen.' This rite is the equivalent of the Western 'confirmation,' and is held to effect participation in the Holy Spirit, and increase and confirmation (*βεβαίωσις*) in grace. Lk 24^{49} is the authority quoted for its institution by Christ.[1]

3. The Holy Eucharist excels all other mysteries. It can be celebrated only by a lawful (*νόμιμος*) priest, and on an altar (*θυσιαστήριον*) or consecrated cloth (*ἀντιμίσιον*). Leavened bread is used and pure wine, mingled with water during the rite. At the time of consecration the priest must intend that the substance (*οὐσία*) of the bread and wine be changed into the substance (*οὐσία*) of the true Body and Blood of Christ, by the operation of the Holy Spirit, expressly invoked by him for this definite purpose. This invocation immediately (*παρευθύς*) effects a 'change of substance' (*μετουσίωσις*),[2] apart from the use of the elements for communion; thereafter only the forms (*εἴδη*) of the bread and wine remain; 'truly and in reality and in substance' (*ἀληθῶς καὶ πραγματικῶς καὶ οὐσιωδῶς*) the bread and wine become the very Body and Blood of Christ;[3] in the mystery Christ is 'really present' (*κατὰ πρᾶγμα παρών*), and it is right 'to worship and adore (*λατρεύειν*) the Holy Eucharist even as our Saviour Himself.'[4] The Eucharist is an 'unbloody sacrifice' (*ἀναίματος θυσία*), propitiatory (*ἱλαστική*), offered on behalf of all the faithful, living and departed.[5] The Holy Communion is given to all the faithful under both kinds—to the clergy separately, to the laity by means of intinction. Newly-baptized infants are communicated immediately after receiving the chrism. The fruits of the mystery are remembrance of the passion and death of Christ, propitiation for sins, defence against temptations, and the indwelling of Christ in the faithful. Preparation for communion consists of confession, fasting, and reconciliation with all men.[6]

4. Priesthood (*ἱερωσύνη*) is (*a*) 'spiritual,' which is shared by all believers (cf. 1 P $2^{5.9}$, Rev 5^{10}, Ro 12^{1}); and (*b*) 'sacramental' (*μυστηριώδης*). The latter can be conferred only by bishops who have received authority for that purpose from the Apostles in unbroken succession. The 'matter' of this mystery is the laying on of hands (*ἐπίθεσις τῶν χειρῶν, χειροτονία*), the formula the invocation of the Holy Spirit, with express mention of the function for which ordination is conferred. The functions of the higher 'orders' (*τάξεις*) include those of the lower. A bishop, after his election has been confirmed by the bishops of the patriarchate or province, must be ordained by at least three other bishops. The episcopate is necessary for the very existence of the Church; without a bishop the Church could not be governed; he is 'the fount of all the mysteries,' and 'the living image of God upon earth.'[7] He alone can ordain priests, confer the lower orders, and consecrate the chrism. Priests can administer all the mysteries except priesthood; their chief functions are to consecrate and offer the Eucharist, and, if authorized thereto by the bishop, preach and absolve penitents.[1] There are also deacons, subdeacons, readers, exorcists, door-keepers, singers, light-bearers.[2] The fruit of ordination is authority (*ἐξουσία*) and grace to perform the functions of the order.[3]

5. Penitence (*μετάνοια*) consists of oral confession to an Orthodox priest, who assesses penance and pronounces absolution; in doing so he declares himself a sinner and God the Pardoner. This mystery is fruitless unless the penitent is an Orthodox Christian, truly sorry for his sins, purposeful of amendment, and prepared to carry out the penance imposed. Confession should be made at least once, but normally four times, a year. In practice it is frequently of a very formal nature.[4]

6. Honourable marriage (*ὁ τίμιος γάμος*).—This mystery is in the first place celebrated by the mutual consent of a man and a woman (there being no impediment), but is not considered by the Church a true (*ἀληθινός*) marriage unless they confirm their consent in the presence of a priest, and, having joined hands, promise to be faithful to each other till death. The civil law of the Eastern Empire permitted divorce *a vinculo*, and the Eastern Church permits such divorce not only for adultery, but for high treason, insanity, leprosy, and other causes. The innocent party may re-marry; no one may obtain a divorce more than once.[5]

7. Unction (*τὸ εὐχέλαιον*), instituted by Christ (Mk 6^{13}) for the sick, is administered only by a priest, with pure oil, a prayer setting forth its efficacy being said during the anointing. This unction is not, as among the Latins, reserved for those *in extremis*, but is administered with a view to the recovery of the sick person. Its recipient must first have confessed to a priest.[6]

Of the seven mysteries the Eastern Orthodox Church affirms that they are 'effectual instruments of grace to the initiated, of necessity' (*ὄργανα δραστικὰ τοῖς μυομένοις χάριτος ἐξ ἀνάγκης*),[7] which amounts to a declaration that they are efficacious *ex opere operato*. Each of the mysteries is administered with lengthy rites and elaborate ceremony, but these are not regarded as necessary to their efficacy, but may vary in different parts of the Church, provided the essentials, as stated, are maintained.

The sacramental system in the separated Monophysite and Nestorian Churches is the same as that of the Orthodox in principle and in practice; there are, however, considerable variations in the liturgical framework of the mysteries and in their accompanying ceremonies, nor has their sacramental doctrine been so definitely formulated.

LITERATURE.—W. F. Adeney, *The Greek and Eastern Churches*, Edinburgh, 1908; F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, Oxford, 1896, i.; L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, Eng. tr.[4], London, 1912; H. Denzinger, *Ritus Orientalium*, 2 vols., Würzburg, 1863–64: R. F. Littledale, *Offices from the Service-Books of the Eastern Church*, London, 1863; F. Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, Paris, 1907 ff., *passim*; E. J. Kimmel, *Monumenta Fidei Ecclesiæ Orientalis*, Jena, 1850; cf. also artt. BAPTISM, CONFIRMATION, EUCHARIST, MARRIAGE, ORDINATION, PENANCE, UNCTION, WORSHIP.

R. G. PARSONS.

SACRAMENTS (Christian, Western). — The word *sacramentum* first appears in Christian use as the accepted equivalent of the Greek *μυστήριον*, standing uniformly for it in the O.L. of the canonical books. There is nothing in the known classical use of the word to account for this. It is there found in two senses: (1) of the pledge or security deposited in public keeping by the parties engaged

1 *Orthodox Confession*, pp. 175–179, 449.
2 *Ib.* p. 180. 3 *Ib.* p. 462.
4 *Ib.* pp. 126 and 183. Although the mode of this change of substance is not defined (*ib.* p. 461), it is stated to be 'not typically or figuratively (*οὐ τυπικῶς οὐδ' εἰκονικῶς*), not by virtue of abounding grace (*οὐδὲ χάριτι ὑπερβαλλούσῃ*),' *i.e.* the Calvinist doctrine (p. 461, 2), nor 'by impanation' (*κατ' ἀναρτισμόν*), *i.e.* Luther's 'consubstantiation' (p. 459), but in such wise that the Body and Blood of Christ are given to 'the mouth and stomach' of both faithful and unfaithful receivers (p. 458). The verbs *μεταποιεῖσθαι, μεταβάλλεσθαι, μεταρρυθμίζεσθαι*, are used to describe the change (p. 457).
5 Pp. 183, 461, 464. 6 P. 184. 7 Pp. 437, 442, 438.

1 P. 441.
2 P. 188; cf. *Metrophanis Confessio*, in Kimmel, pt. ii. p. 139.
3 P. 441. 4 Pp. 164, 189–193.
5 Pp. 193–195; cf. art. MARRIAGE (Christian), vol. viii. p. 437 ff
6 Pp. 195–197. 7 P. 450.

in a lawsuit, and thence of a lawsuit in general; (2) of the oath taken by Roman soldiers to their *imperator*, and thence loosely of any oath. Both senses had some effect on the development of Christian doctrine, but they do not account for the adoption of the word as a rendering of *μυστήριον*. It is probable that there was a popular sense of the word which has left no trace in extant literature apart from Christian writers. If so, it must be determined by the earliest Christian use.

Here it is necessary to refer to the letter of Pliny[1] regarding the Christians of his province. He observed that they assembled for worship, 'seque sacramento non in scelus aliquod obstringere, sed ne furta, ne latrocinia, ne adulteria committerent, ne fidem fallerent, ne depositum appellati abnegarent.' He evidently understood the word of a pledge or oath, but his description does not answer to anything known in Christian origins, and it seems certain that he misunderstood the information given him. What is interesting is the use of the word *sacramentum*. It must have been used either by the Christians examined, if they spoke Latin, or by an interpreter. In the latter case it will be an example of the popular sense here assumed.

What that sense was may be gathered from Tertullian, *de Præscr.* 20, where he speaks of the unity of Christians:

'Dum est illis communicatio pacis, et appellatio fraternitatis, et contesseratio hospitalitatis; quae iura non alia ratio regit quam eiusdem sacramenti una traditio.'

Here *sacramentum* can be nothing less than the whole Christian religion.[2] The word seems to signify any kind of religious institution, general or particular. Thus for St. Cyprian the Church is 'sacramentum unitatis.' By insisting on the likeness of baptism and other 'sacramenta divina' to the Mithraic and other mysteries, Tertullian[3] recalls the Greek original and shows that he considered the word a just translation. It is possible that St. Thomas Aquinas, in his etymological guess[4] relating *sacramentum* to *sacrare* exactly as *ornamentum* to *ornare*, lighted upon the true development of the word.

Another sense emerges when Tertullian calls the types of the OT 'figurarum sacramenta.'[5] With this we may compare Cyprian's saying about the seamless robe: 'Sacramento uestis et signo declarauit ecclesiae unitatem.'[6]

When Tertullian says 'Vocati sumus ad militiam Dei uiui iam tunc, cum in sacramenti uerba respondimus,'[7] he has in mind the military oath, and perhaps plays consciously on the word, likening the mystical initiation of baptism to the soldier's enrolment. Cæcilius of Biltha, in the Council convened by Cyprian, used the phrase 'sacramentum interrogat' in much the same way,[8] and the analogy became a commonplace.

Cyprian's collocation of *sacramentum* and *signum* suggests a current use of the word which may enable us to establish more precisely its equivalence to *μυστήριον*. The legal deposit or security of a lawsuit had a symbolic value as well as its real value, representing the whole matter in dispute. It may have been called *sacramentum* for this reason, or, on the other hand, that word may have acquired the generic sense of a symbol from this specific use. There is no direct evidence for either conclusion, but the religious formalities and sanctions of Roman jurisprudence, which involved this use of a word evidently of sacred associations, would facilitate its retransfer to religious uses with a new sense thus acquired. It would then stand for any kind of religious symbolism, and in particular for the rites of a mystery-religion. Such use is certainly implied when St. Augustine says that signs or symbolic actions, 'cum ad res diuinas pertinent, sacramenta appellantur.'[9] The words of *Serm.* 272, 'Ista dicuntur sacramenta, quia in eis aliud uidetur, aliud intellegitur,' look like an appeal to the common understanding; and in the same connexion he renews the identification of *mysterium* and *sacramentum*, saying, 'Mysterium uestrum in mensa dominica positum est,' that is to say, 'the mystery or sacrament of what you yourselves are,' namely, the Body of Christ. In *de Civ. Dei*, x. 5, he seems to be defining *sacramentum*:

'Sacrificium uisibile inuisibilis sacrificii sacramentum, id est sacrum signum, est.'

But he probably did not intend a formal definition, any more than when he called sacraments 'signacula ueritatis.'[1] His constant recurrence to this idea, however, prepared the way for the formal definition which Isidore of Seville propounded towards the end of the 7th century:

'Sacramentum est in aliqua celebratione, cum res gesta ita fit, ut aliquid significari intellegatur quod sancte accipiendum est.'[2]

Augustine used the word in its widest extension of meaning, as did Leo the Great,[3] but he moved in the direction of making it more specific, as when he spoke of the 'pauca sacramenta saluberrima' of the gospel,[4] or contrasted the manifold rites of the OT with the few of the NT, saying:

'Sacramentis numero paucissimis, obseruatione facillimis, significatione praestantissimis, societatem noui populi colligauit.'[5]

This implies the same limitation which the word *celebratio* imports into Isidore's definition. The movement was slow. It is noteworthy that Isidore himself could still speak of 'sacramentum Trinitatis.'[6] But the tendency was to restrict the use of the word to some action, *res gesta*, done with symbolic significance as a rite of the Church.

The fact that St. Jerome contemporaneously substituted *mysterium* for *sacramentum* in many passages of his revised version of the Scriptures does not seem to have any bearing on this movement, for he evidently did not distinguish the words on any principle. They were still true equivalents. He retained *sacramentum* in the following texts: Dn 2^{18} 4^{6}, To 12^{7}, Wis 2^{22}, Eph 1^{9} $3^{3.9}$ 5^{32}, 1 Ti 3^{16}, Rev 1^{20}. The whole range of meaning which *μυστήριον* can have is here included.

The importance of the symbolic sense has a consequence. The compendious definition 'signum rei sacrae' involves the distinction between *signum* and *res*, which appears definitely in the writings of Augustine, and acquires great importance in the system of theology ultimately elaborated from his teaching. At times he makes the distinction very sharp. The *signum* is visible, or presented to other senses than sight; the *res* is invisible. He notes two kinds of *signa*—those which are *naturalia*, as the track of an animal or smoke showing where there is fire, and those which are *data*, or merely conventional;[7] and sacraments are evidently of the latter kind, so that *signum* and *res* are arbitrarily conjoined. Elsewhere he observes that in the case of such conventions the sign may be identified with (*sustinere personam*) the thing signified, as when St. Paul says 'That rock was Christ,'[8] but only by a figure of speech. This of *signa* in general; in a passage often quoted he says much the same of sacraments:

'Si sacramenta quamdam similitudinem earum rerum quarum sacramenta sunt non haberent, omnino sacramenta non essent. Ex hac autem similitudine plerumque etiam ipsarum rerum nomina accipiunt. Sicut ergo secundum quemdam modum sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est, sacramentum sanguinis Christi sanguis Christi est, ita sacramentum fidei fides est.'

But this must be read with the context. He has been asked how an infant brought to baptism can be said to have faith; he replies that the child has *fidem* because he has the *sacramentum fidei*, and he goes on to say that this is sufficient for salva-

[1] *Ep.* 96.
[2] Cf. his reference (*de Res. Carn.* 23) to St. Paul's knowledge of 'omnia sacramenta' (1 Co 13^{2}), and to the Christian understanding of the 'sacramenta Dei' (*c. Marc.* iii. 16).
[3] *De Præscr.* 40; cf. *de Bapt.* 5.
[4] *In IV. Sent.* I. i. 5.
[5] *C. Marc.* v. 1.
[6] *De Cath. Eccl. Unit.* 7.
[7] *Ad Mart.* 3.
[8] Cypr., ed. G. Hartel, Vienna, 1868–71, p. 437.
[9] *Ep.* 138.
[1] *De Ver. Rel.* 17.
[2] *Etym.* vi. 19.
[3] *E.g.*, 'sacramentum incarnationis' (*Serm.* 24).
[4] *De Ver. Rel.* 17.
[5] *Ep.* 54.
[6] *C. Jud.* i. 4.
[7] *De Doctr Christ.* II. 1.
[8] *De Civ. Dei* xviii. 48.

tion if subsequent sin does not undo what is done. He has said immediately before :

'Nonne semel immolatus est Christus in seipso, et tamen in sacramento non solum per omnes Paschae solemnitates sed omni die populis immolatur, nec utique mentitur qui interrogatus eum responderit immolari.'[1]

This crucial passage therefore sets up something more than a typical or figurative relation between *signum* and *res*, and from this beginning proceeded the theology of the School.

So far the meaning of *sacramentum* is narrowed only to the case where there is a sensible sign of an intelligible reality. But Augustine did much more than impress on the word this connotation. His elaborated doctrine of grace, and his insistence on the connexion of this with certain sacraments, and especially with baptism, afforded ground for a narrower distinction. His statements must be read with care. When he says 'Sacramenta Noui Testamenti dant salutem; sacramenta Veteris Testamenti promiserunt Saluatorem,'[2] he probably means the whole content of revelation. His conception of the working of grace made it impossible for him to tie this absolutely to particular rites or ordinances, and he was constantly enlarging on the futility of such a notion, but he was equally clear that certain sacraments were the ordinary vehicles for the conveyance of grace to the soul. It followed that certain ordinances might be distinguished as so used, and this distinction became the basis of the subsequent doctrine of the sacraments.

It is noteworthy that in the case of marriage, the *sacramentum magnum* of Eph 5[32], he does not seem to have recognized any conveyance of saving grace. The *bona matrimonii* were *proles, fides, et sacramentum*, but by *sacramentum* he seems to have meant only its symbolism of Christ and the Church, in consequence of which marriage became (*a*) indissoluble, as it would not be by natural law 'nisi alicuius rei maioris . . . quoddam sacramentum adhiberetur,'[3] and (*b*) so sacred that the liberties taken even by virtuous pagans, such as Cato, were now intolerable.[4]

It was not, however, until the 12th cent. that the doctrine was formulated. Even then Hugh of St. Victor[5] spoke of sacraments with the older generality, enumerating no fewer than 30 in particular. Shortly after his date appeared the *Libri Sententiarum* of Peter Lombard, which speedily became a textbook of the Schools and so acquired an importance disproportionate to its merits. He distinguished seven sacraments specifically conferring grace: Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Order, and Marriage. The various grounds given by his commentators for this limitation and enumeration indicate that it was in fact arbitrary. St. Thomas Aquinas seems to state the whole truth when he propounds, as the reason for maintaining it, the fact 'quod communiter ordinantur ab omnibus sacramenta, sicut prius dictum est.'[6]

In the *Summa c. Gentiles*, iv. 58, Aquinas develops an analogy with nature. Corporal life has three essential needs: birth, growth, and nutriment, to which correspond Baptism, Confirmation, and the Eucharist; and one *per accidens* in case of need, *i.e.* healing, to which answer Penance and Extreme Unction. There are further required a source and an ordering of life, parents and governors, which are provided in the system of the Church by the sacraments of Order, supplying spiritual needs alone, and of Marriage, supplying both spiritual and corporal needs. Other *scholia* are even more forced and artificial. Some better varieties are collected in *Summa Theol.* III. lxv. 2.

Yet this septenary system, however ill-founded it may seem, bore the test of criticism as understood in the Schools of the Middle Ages; and its general acceptance by the Greeks, who were not much disposed to borrow doctrine from Latins, seems to indicate that it was either drawn from a wider tradition or based on a larger sense of fitness than appears on the surface. It is not pretended that the number is anywhere found expressed earlier than the 12th cent., when Otto of Bamberg introduced it into a catechetical instruction for his Pomeranian converts (*c.* 1127), but he propounds it as an accepted tradition. Shortly after him Hugh of St. Victor, though using the word more generally, distinguishes the 'septem principalia sacramenta,' which were later set in a category apart. Contemporary with them was Gregory of Bergamo, who has the same classification in his treatise *de Veritate Corporis Christi*. A scheme recognized by men of such diverse associations, and not put forward as a novelty, must certainly have been for some time current, though it can be traced no higher. This must be remembered when the general adoption of the scheme is attributed with good reason to the influence of Peter Lombard and his commentators in the schools of theology. From the 13th cent. onwards the seven sacraments were mentioned with more or less of dogmatic assertion by numerous minor councils, by the General Council of Constance, and notably in the *Decretum pro Armenis* promulgated by Eugenius IV. at the Council of Florence, which followed almost verbally the *Opusculum Quartum* of Thomas Aquinas. Finally the Council of Trent condemned under anathema any who should say 'sacramenta nouae legis non fuisse omnia a Iesu Christo Domino nostro instituta, aut esse plura uel pauciora quam septem.'[1]

There is a subordinate classification of *sacramenta mortuorum*, which confer first grace (Baptism and Penance), and *sacramenta uiuorum*, which confer special graces on persons in the state of grace.

This more precise teaching, which had been gradually gaining ground, is in evident conflict with the language of the Fathers and of many writers down to the 12th cent., and in particular with the statement of St. Bernard[2] that the washing of feet is a sacrament for the remission of venial sins. He says emphatically that our Lord's action was done 'pro sacramento, non pro solo exemplo.' To avoid this difficulty, theologians have generally argued that sacraments are spoken of either *sensu generico* or *sensu proprio*. A sacrament *proprie dictum* is one of the seven, and it is argued, not very successfully, that Bernard himself observed this distinction and used the word in the generic sense. The distinction first appears in Peter Lombard's definition :

'Sacramentum proprie dicitur, quod ita signum est gratiae Dei, et inuisibilis gratiae forma, ut ipsius imaginem gerat et causa existat.'[3]

The weakness of the distinction lies in the implication that the name originally belonged to the ordinances thus specified, and was then extended in a loose sense to others, which is an exact inversion of the historic movement. The difficulty is thinly disguised by the practice, common to theologians, of calling other ordinances resembling the proper sacraments by the name of *sacramentalia*. Such are the anointing of kings, the clothing and consecration of nuns, and various benedictions.

The several sacraments being treated in this work under their proper heads, it is sufficient here to speak in general terms of what is common to them.

1. **Institution.** — According to the Tridentine definition, all sacraments were instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ. This follows from the limitation of the term confining it to ordinances by which grace is conferred. Thomas Aquinas carefully distinguishes between the divine nature, which is the source of grace, and the humanity of our Lord, by which the gift is mediated to us, the

1 *Ep.* 98; cf. *in Ps.* 21.
2 *In Ps.* 73.
3 *De Bono Coniug.* 7.
4 *De Fide et Operibus*, 7.
5 *De Sacr. Chr. Fidei.*
6 *Summa Theol.* III. lxv. 2.

1 Sess. vii. can. 1.
2 *Serm. in Cena Dom.* p. 897, ed. Mabillon.
3 *In IV. Sent.* IV. i. 2.

sacraments being by His authority an extension of this mediation, though 'Ipse potuit effectum sacramentorum sine exteriori sacramento conferre.'[1] He has been closely followed by all theologians, but obvious lack of evidence in the case of some sacraments has led to a distinction between immediate institution by our Lord and institution by others acting on His authority. St. John Bonaventura argued that Confirmation and Extreme Unction were thus instituted by the Apostles.[2] Alexander of Hales went so far as to ascribe the origin of Confirmation to a council of the 9th century.[3] The point has been laboured since the Council of Trent by almost all commentators; some assert that immediate institution by our Lord while on earth, and the committal of the institution to the written or unwritten tradition of the Church, are defined as *de fide* by the Council; others say that it certainly follows from the words of the Council, but is not expressly defined; others deny the necessity of this consequence, but will not venture to call the conclusion in doubt; Franzelin[4] and other moderns find it hard to believe that the Council anathematized the teaching of St. Bonaventura or determined a historic question of such dubiety, but nevertheless maintain on *a priori* grounds the narrowest interpretation of the definition. In the Pontifical Letter *Lamentabili* of 1907 Pius X. condemned various propositions calling in question the immediate institution of the sacraments by Christ Himself.

2. Ordering.—The institution of the sacraments by our Lord being assumed, it seems to follow that some conditions of their valid administration are imposed. Since they derive their efficacy only from divine appointment, those conditions must be jealously guarded. Hence comes the theological notion of the 'substance' of the sacraments which the Church has no power to vary.

The decree of the Council of Trent invalidating marriages contracted without the presence of the *parochus* was opposed on this ground. If the consent of the parties was sufficient, as had always been held, to constitute a valid marriage, to vary this rule was to touch the substance of the sacrament. The objection is overruled by the fine distinction that the effect of the decree is only to render the parties *inhabiles*.[5]

The same consideration imposes the rule of tutiorism. Where there is any possibility of doubt as to the content of the substance of a sacrament, nothing must be neglected which there is even slender ground for supposing necessary. The safer course of including it must be followed in practice.

The factors in the substance of a sacrament are conveniently summarized under three heads: the minister, the intention of the minister, the matter and form. The intention of the minister has been treated elsewhere (art. INTENTION [Theological]); the other two heads can be more simply examined here.

(*a*) *Minister.*—Since in a sacrament there is always something done, a doer is required; and, since it is to be done by the appointment of Christ, it is important to ascertain who has authority to act. Apart from the Ignatian insistence on the part of the bishop in the Eucharist, which might be treated as mere matter of discipline, the earliest question raised on this head appears in the baptismal controversy of the 3rd century. Cyprian maintained with logical consistency that Baptism, being a conveyance of the gifts of grace deposited in the Church, could be administered only by the Church. Narrowly defining the Church, he denied that heretics or schismatics could baptize. In other words, the minister of the sacrament must be a Catholic Christian. Arguing thus, he defended the practice of his predecessor Agrippinus, and apparently of all the African bishops, who rebaptized all heretics coming to them. Stephen of Rome maintained that this was an innovation, meeting it with the peremptory demand, 'Nihil innouetur nisi quod traditum est.'[1] The historic question is not easily determined. There had probably been a long-standing divergence of practice. Cyprian was supported by Firmilian of Cæsarea and other Easterns; the Donatists inherited his contention, and pressed it; but Augustine asserts that the contrary opinion, fortified by conciliar decisions, was already exclusively held among Catholics before the date of his birth, A.D. 353.[2] This conclusion about Baptism carried with it a like consequence in regard to other sacraments, and the Council of Nicæa agreed to receive Novatian bishops as validly ordained.

In the Western Church, however, disputes about the validity of schismatical ordinations long continued, as witness the history of St. Wilfrid in England, and of Formosus at Rome. The scandals arising out of the latter case led to the establishment of the judgment in favour of such ordinations secured by the influence of St. Peter Damian.[3]

During the later Middle Ages the contention of the Donatists was revived in a new form by the Puritan sects to which the practical corruptions of the Church gave rise. The power of ministering the sacraments was restricted by them to men of openly virtuous life. In the Profession of Faith imposed on the Waldensians by Innocent III. this opinion is expressly repudiated. It re-appeared in the teaching of Wyclif, was condemned by John XXII. in his Constitution against the Fraticelli, and by the Council of Constance in dealing with the Hussites.

The common teaching of theologians as against these errors is that a sacrament has its effect from God and from the institution of Christ, and not from anything which the minister himself contributes, his action being purely ministerial. When he performs what is required of him in this immediate connexion, the act is complete. The doctrine is safeguarded by the assertion that a sacrament is effective *ex opere operato*. The phrase first becomes conspicuous in the treatise *de Sacro Altaris Myst.* of Innocent III., who seems to have been taught it by his master Pierre of Poictiers in the school of Paris. He fixes the meaning precisely:

'Quamuis opus operans aliquando sit immundum, semper tamen opus operatum est mundum.'[4]

The *opus operans* is the personal action of the minister; *opus operatum* is the sacramental effect produced by this action. The distinction was repeated by William of Auxerre and by Alexander of Hales, but was not yet fully established in use when Aquinas wrote his commentary on the Sentences, for he there says only that it was employed 'a quibusdam.'[5] He also varied the sense of the distinction as used by his predecessors, making *opus operans* equivalent to *usus sacramenti*. Later theologians have preferred the form *opus operantis*, which fixes the meaning more exactly on the personal action of the minister or the recipient. The other member of the distinction is perfectly stable; *opus operatum* is the thing done according to the institution of Christ, and having its effect therefrom. It was ultimately defined in the Council of Trent that by the sacraments of the New Law grace is conferred *ex opere operato*.[6]

It will be convenient to mention here the doctrine of *obex*. The word dates from Augustine, who, in his critical Letter to

[1] *Summa Theol.* III. lxiv. 3.
[2] *In IV. Sent.* VII. i. 1, XXIII. i. 2.
[3] *In IV. Sent.* IX. i.
[4] *De Sacr. in Gen.* xiv.
[5] De Smet, *De Sponsalibus et Matrimonio*, Bruges, 1910, p. 264, note (2), citing the authority of Benedict XIV.

[1] Cypr. *Ep.* 74.
[2] *De Bapt.* ii. 14.
[3] The subject is fully treated by L. Saltet, *Les Réordinations*, Paris, 1907.
[4] iii. 5.
[5] *In IV. Sent.* I. v. 1.
[6] Sess. vii. 'de Sacr. in Gen.' 8.

Boniface on the baptism of infants, wrote that the child 'etiamsi fidem nondum habeat in cogitatione, non ei tamen obicem contrariae cogitationis opponit, unde sacramentum eius salubriter percipit.'[1] The *obex* here is a mental state opposed to faith, which in the case of an adult might annul the saving effect of the sacrament. The argument has been extended to the operation of the sacraments in general. An *obex* must be distinguished from a defect such as lack of necessary intention, or a personal incapacity for sacramental grace (*e.g.*, lack of baptism in the case of other sacraments, and certain diriment impediments in the case of marriage) which is nullifying in a different manner. The sacrament is in this case understood to be valid; it impresses character, if it be one of those having that effect; it may ultimately confer grace by reviviscence when the *obex* is removed; but the soul receives no benefit of justifying grace from the immediate operation. The *obex* is a state of soul actively repugnant to the working of grace. A favourably active disposition is not required in such sort that the infusion of grace will be due to the co-operation of the recipient, as if *ex opere operantis*; a passive disposition suffices for adults as for infants; but, where an *obex* exists, the active operation of the recipient is needed for its removal, since the hindering state of soul cannot be changed without his will. The Council of Trent anathematized 'si quis dixerit, sacramenta nouae legis . . . gratiam ipsam non ponentibus obicem non conferre.'[2]

So far it is seen only that neither orthodoxy nor personal sanctity is requisite in the minister of a sacrament. A larger licence, of which obscure indications are found in earlier times, appears definitely in the *Responsa ad Bulgaros* of Nicolaus I. The pope considers two cases. The first (ch. 14) is that of a pretended priest who had baptized many converts; the answer is that persons baptized 'a quocunque Christiano' are not to be rebaptized. The second (ch. 104) is that of a Jew—whether Christian or unbeliever was not ascertained—who also had baptized many. In respect of these the pope answers:

'Hi profecto, si in nomine Sanctae Trinitatis, uel tantum in nomine Christi sicut in Actibus Apostolorum legimus, baptizati sunt (unum quippe idemque est, ut sanctus exponit Ambrosius), constat eos non esse denuo baptizandos.'

Yet he directs inquiry whether the man were a Christian or not, for what purpose is not clear, concluding with a citation from Augustine:

'Baptismum Christi nulla peruersitate hominis, siue dantis, siue accipientis, posse uiolari.'[3]

This halting treatment suggests that he was not sure of his ground, lacking definite precedents; but his practical ruling in favour of baptism administered by any layman, or even by one who was not a Christian, was the starting-point of a doctrine that became firmly established in the schools of theology.

It follows that any human being is capable of acting as minister of a sacrament. Parity of reasoning might seem to extend this conclusion to other sacraments equally with Baptism, but the inference has not been drawn; the practice of the Church, supported by more or less weighty argument, has restricted the administration of other sacraments to particularly qualified persons. To determine who is an 'idoneus minister,' one must refer to the theology of the several sacraments.

(*b*) *Matter and form.* — A sacrament being a sensible sign of grace, it is obvious that something visible or audible or tangible, and so forth, is requisite; and this something must be determined by the institution of Christ. Theologians have debated the question whether such determination may be generic, or must be specific. If generic, it may then be left to the Church to determine specifically what shall be used, and this may even be determined differently in various parts of the Church; if specific, no variation is possible. In the case of Baptism specific determination is universally accepted; baptism must be by water in the name of the Holy Trinity. Yet even here the teaching of Nicolaus I., quoted above, about baptism 'in nomine Christi' may raise a doubt; and it is perhaps only on tutiorist grounds that the normal formula can be treated as indispensable.[1] In some other cases generic determination seems to be indicated by actual variations in the practice of the Church. Again, determination may be more or less specific; the use of bread in the Eucharist is determined by the institution of Christ, but all Western theologians agree that it may be indifferently leavened or unleavened; they discuss hypothetically whether wheaten bread is indispensable, to the exclusion of barley bread, but in practice the use of wheaten bread is imposed on tutiorist grounds.

The importance of such determination is attested from early times by the practical watchfulness of the Church against innovations, as in the case of the Aquarian heresy. The use of water in place of wine for the Eucharist was not merely a disorderly proceeding, but an offence against the doctrine of the Church. But there was little theorizing until the introduction of the Peripatetic metaphysic in the 13th cent., when the distinction of matter and form was applied to the sacraments. William of Auxerre is credited with this innovation, but it is doubtful whether his 'materia et forma verborum' should be understood in the sense of *forma essentialis*. The true distinction was, however, in vogue soon after his time. The saying of Augustine about baptism, 'accedit uerbum ad elementum et fit sacramentum,'[2] detached from its context and treated as a quasi-definition of a sacrament in general, lent itself to the new mode of thought. The sensible act or thing used in the administration of a sacrament was likened to formless matter, being indeterminate in use and adaptable to many purposes; it was determined to a spiritual significance by the use of words, which thus played the part of the metaphysical *forma essentialis*. Some ingenuity was required to fit this conception to all the seven sacraments. There were various schemes. The one set out by Aquinas in his *Opusculum Quartum* obtained a great vogue; it was incorporated by Eugenius IV. in his *Decretum pro Armenis* at the Council of Florence, and with some modification in regard to Holy Order it still holds the field. The Council of Trent spoke in general terms[3] of 'materia et forma quibus sacramenti essentia perficitur.' It is a postulate of current theology, therefore, that the sacraments were thus instituted by Christ, either immediately or mediately, either generically or specifically. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that theologians hold themselves bound to the Peripatetic theory of matter and form, sometimes known as hylomorphism. It is rather the case that phrases derived from that theory have been adapted to the facts of sacramental practice, and are retained as consecrated by long usage in the Church.

3. **Efficacy.**—Before the rise of the Pelagian controversy (see art. PELAGIANISM AND SEMI-PELAGIANISM) there was no analytical teaching about the effect of the Christian sacraments. This began with Augustine's insistence on the practice of infant baptism as proving against Pelagius that infants stood in need of saving grace. The argument induced inquiry into the effect of baptism, and this led to a comparison with circumcision as a sacrament of the OT. St. Paul had declared that there was no justification 'by the works of the law'; circumcision was a work of the Law, though anterior to Moses, and the Apostle emphasized this by insisting that

[1] *Ep.* 98. [2] Sess. vii. 'de Sacr. in Gen.' 6.
[3] *De Bapt.* vi. 1. The compatibility of this with his doctrine of *obex* is secured by a distinction which he proceeds to draw between *sacramentum* and *effectus uel usus sacramenti*. He remarks that Cyprian failed to observe this distinction.

[1] The same expression as used by Stephen I. (Cypr. *Ep.* lxxiii. 16) possibly meant 'Christian Baptism' in general. For the use of the Creed as *form* of baptism in the 3rd cent. see F. E. Brightman, *Essays on the Early History of the Church and Ministry* (1918), p. 344 ff.
[2] *In Joh.* 80. [3] Sess. xiv. 2.

Abraham was justified by his faith before the institution of the sacrament. How did baptism differ from this? Augustine replied that circumcision was a sacrament or sign of a Deliverer to come, by faith in whom the people of God so marked were justified; but the Deliverer, being come, has instituted the sacrament of Baptism 'ad innouationem hominis.'[1] He adds that even before circumcision there was presumably some 'sacramentum iustificationis ex fide' latent in the working of God. From this distinction there proceeded with increasing precision a doctrine almost uniform in all Latin writers, that the sacraments of the OT were ineffective signs or symbols of a work of grace wrought independently of them, while the sacraments of the NT were instruments for the doing of that work.

Earlier expositions of this doctrine had been very crude. According to Tertullian, there was a *uis sanctificandi* in the water of baptism by descent of the Holy Spirit.[2] Augustine's studies in the doctrine of grace led to refinements which sometimes seem to reduce a sacrament to the standing rather of a pledge of grace given (a suggestion drawn from one use of the word *ut supra*), or of a 'conditio sine qua non'; but the later theology followed the main current of his thought, and was expressly concerned with the exclusion of these minimizing conceptions. A sacrament was taken to be a *uera causa* of grace. Aquinas in particular laboured this point, but in defining the nature of the causality he wavered, and gave occasion for a dispute which still engages the attention of theologians. In his commentary on the Sentences[3] he taught that a sacrament is an *instrumental* cause of a certain disposition in the soul which is followed by the infusion of grace, but is not even instrumentally a cause of that infusion. In his later works he abandoned this distinction, adopting a theory of sacramental operation which seems to exclude his previous negation. In *Summa*, III. lxii. 5, he contrasts the human hand as *instrumentum coniunctum* with a stick as *instrumentum separatum*, both being operated by the principal cause, which is the man. So in the operation of grace God is the principal cause, the humanity of Christ is *instrumentum coniunctum*, a sacrament is *instrumentum separatum*; but it is evident that the same effect is produced whether the *instrumentum separatum* be used or not. Therefore he concludes:

'Sacramenta ecclesiae specialiter habent virtutem ex passione Christi, cuius virtus quodam modo nobis copulatur per susceptionem sacramentorum.'[4]

Among the later Scholastics those who adhered to the earlier teaching of Aquinas attributed the dispositive effect of the sacraments to a *physical* causation (Cajetan being apparently the first to use this phrase) which could not reasonably be extended to the actual infusion of grace. Those who adhered to his later teaching attributed the whole efficacy of the sacraments to a *moral* causation, as being instruments of an action of Christ Himself in His sacred humanity which is the moral cause of our justification.[5] Melchior Cano, the first formulator of this conception, was followed later by Vasquez and De Lugo. Suarez, on the other hand, extended the notion of physical causation to the infusion of grace. His argument is that every creature of God has a natural adaptability to any end which the Creator may appoint (*potentia obedientialis*), and that this potentiality becomes active in the sacraments, by the supernatural appointment of God, to the production of supernatural grace.[1] Among his followers the severely Thomist Drouin avows that the teachers of physical causation in the sacraments 'uirtutem aliquam diuinitus acceptam in eis agnoscant, per quam proprie ueroque influxu sacramentales effectus in suscipientium corda insinuent.'[2] This opinion, after giving way for some time before the teaching of Vasquez and De Lugo, has recently been revived in the American *CE*, *s.v.* 'Sacraments.' On the other hand Billot[3] has moved in the contrary direction, reducing the effect of sacramental causation to the creation of a *title* to grace, and so approximating to the first position of Aquinas.

The indelible effect of a sacrament as imposing character, and the vexed question of the reviviscence of grace in those who have received it without the necessary disposition for its salutary working, concerns the specific theology of those sacraments which have this effect, viz. Baptism, Confirmation, and Holy Order.

With the doctrine of sacramental causation is intimately connected the phrase *continere gratiam*, current from the time of its use by Hugh of St. Victor.[4] The Council of Trent anathematized 'si quis dixerit, sacramenta nouae legis non continere gratiam, quam significant.'[5] The phrase cannot safely be rendered by the English word 'contain,' which seems to be used only in a spatial or quasi-spatial sense and in the sense of restraint. Neither sense is applicable here; the grace signified is not tied restrictively to the sacraments, nor is there any spatial connexion, except so far as the sacrament operates at a certain place on persons there present. Grace is in the sacraments, says Aquinas,[6] only as signified by them ('sicut in signo'), or as an effect is in the cause. It is not in them 'sicut in vase,' except only as a vessel may be considered an instrument of conveyance. It should be observed that the Tridentine canon sets *continere gratiam* in contrast with the notion that sacraments are 'signa tantum externa acceptae per fidem gratiae uel iustitiae.' The sense of *continere* here is that of immediate and continuous connexion, the connexion being specifically causal. It is a conception which falls in more easily with the theory of physical causation than with that of moral causation, but it is not inconsistent with the latter, and is in fact held along with it as a necessary consequence of the Tridentine definition. According to either theory, the causal connexion is unaffected by the occurrence of an *obex*, which interrupts the flow of the content of the sacrament to the soul of the recipient, but does not reduce it to a nullity.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works mentioned throughout, the following are of firstrate importance: T. de V. G. Cajetan (the first of the modern school), Commentary on *Summa Theol.*, pt. III., contained in the Leonine ed. of St. Thomas Aquinas, Rome, 1888; F. Suarez, 'De Sacramentis in Genere,' in *Opera*, Venice, 1740–57, xviii.; R. F. R. Bellarmine, 'De Sacramentis,' in *Disputationes de controversiis Fidei*, Cologne, 1617, iii.; F. de Lugo, 'De Sacramentis in Genere,' in *Opera*, Venice, 1718, v.; H. Tournely (Lafosse), 'De Sacramentis,' in *Prælectiones Theologicæ*, Paris, 1725–30; C. R. Billuart, *Summa Sancti Thomæ*, Liége, 1746–51 (containing severe criticism of Tournely, from the extreme Thomist standpoint, abridged in *Summa Summæ*, Ghent, 1763); G. Perrone, *Prælectiones Theologicæ*, Rome, 1835–42 (a full course at the Collegium Romanum, once of great vogue, but superseded by Franzelin); J. A. Möhler, *Symbolik*, Mainz, 1832, tr. J. B. Robertson, *Symbolism*[5], London, 1906; F. Probst, *Sakramente und Sakramentalien in den drei ersten christlichen Jahrhunderten*, Tübingen, 1872; J. B. Franzelin, *Tractatus de Sacramentis in Genere*[2], Rome, 1888 (the last great work of the kind before the Thomist revival under Leo XIII.); L. Billot, *De Ecclesiæ Sacramentis*, Rome, 1907 (the chief exponent of the new Thomism at the Collegium Romanum).

T. A. LACEY.

[1] *De Nupt. et Concup.* ii. 11.
[2] iv. 1.
[3] *De Bapt.* 4.
[4] Cf. *Quodlibet*, XII. x. 14.
[5] A moral cause is defined as that which, on account of some quality inherent in it, affords a reason for the operation of a physical cause. The love of God is here the physical cause of justification.

[1] *De Sacr. in Gen.* Disput. ix., *Op.* ed. 1870, tom. 20, p. 147 ff.
[2] *De Re Sacr.* I. iii. 2 (Venice, 1737); we attribute this anonymous treatise to Drouin on the authority of H. Hurter, *Nomenclator literarius recentioris theologiæ catholicæ*[3], Innsbruck, 1903–13, iv. 1405.
[3] *De Eccl. Sacr.* 7.
[4] *De Sacr. Chr. Fid.* I. ix. 2.
[5] Sess. vii. 'De Sacr. in Gen.' 6.
[6] *Summa Theol.* III. lxii. 3.

SACRAMENTS (Christian, Lutheran).—The doctrine of the sacraments, as understood and taught in the Lutheran Church, is a practical application of the doctrine of justification by faith. As the discussions of the Reformation period were occupied with a thorough criticism of the definition not only of 'justification,' but also of such closely related terms as 'grace' and 'faith,' so they inevitably led also to a radical change in the conception of 'sacrament.'

Recognizing the fact that the term in its ecclesiastical sense is not Scriptural, and that therefore considerable latitude could be allowed in its signification, the Lutheran Reformers were concerned only that a unique place should be assigned to Baptism and the Lord's Supper as means of grace, and that no rites, however useful in their place, that have not been instituted by divine authority for the same purpose as these two ordinances should be elevated to the same rank.[1] The term *sacramentum* in the Vulgate, as the equivalent of the Greek *μυστήριον* (in such places as Dn 2^{18}, To 12^{7}), designates what is in general secret and mysterious, and, because of being so, awakens wonder and inquiry that can be answered only by supernatural revelation. As such, it is applied repeatedly in the NT to the Incarnation (1 Ti 3^{16}, Col 1^{27}, Eph 1^{9} $3^{3.9}$ 5^{32}). In Patristic usage it was generally applied to any 'sacred sign' or 'a visible seal (*signaculum*) of invisible divine things,' 'a symbol of a sacred thing and a visible form of invisible grace.' The term was applied to manifold customs and rites, and at a very early date its pertinency to Baptism and the Lord's Supper, above all other rites, was generally recognized. The Reformers found in force the Decree of Florence (1439), designating the number as seven, viz. Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penance, Ordination, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction; and at Augsburg they were forced by the criticism of art. xiii. of the *Augsburg Confession*, on the part of the authors of the *Confutation*, to define clearly their position as to the number. This necessarily involved a fixing of the definition. Prior to this Luther had, years before, in his private writings, freely criticized the teaching hitherto current. Of fundamental importance is his *Treatise on the New Testament* (1520); but he expresses himself at greater length in the *Prelude on the Babylonian Captivity*, written later in the same year—a trenchant criticism of the entire mediæval sacramental system.

'I must deny,' he says, 'that there are seven sacraments, and for the present hold to but three—baptism, penance, and bread. . . . To be sure, if I desired to use the term in the scriptural sense, I should allow but a single sacrament, with three sacramental signs.' Then he adds in conclusion: 'There are, strictly speaking, but two sacraments, baptism and bread; for only in these two do we find both the divinely instituted sign and the promise of the forgiveness of sins.'

Melanchthon, in the *Loci Communes* (1521), simply re-echoes these statements:

'What others call sacraments we call signs, or, if you please, sacramental signs. For Paul calls Christ Himself the Sacrament. But if the name "sign" displease you, you may call them seals, and thus more nearly express the force of the sacraments. . . . Two signs have been instituted by Christ in the Gospel, viz. baptism and the participation of the Lord's Table.'

Accordingly, the *Apology* (1531) proposes the definition: 'Sacraments are rites which have the command of God, and to which the promise of grace has been added,' *i.e.* the promise of the gratuitous forgiveness of sins for Christ's sake, or the gospel. It also became a prominent feature of the Lutheran conception of a sacrament to emphasize the fact that this promise of grace is individualized in the administration of the sacrament.

'Christ causes the promise of the Gospel to be offered not only in general, but through the sacraments, which He attaches as seals of the promise. He seals and thereby especially confirms the certainty of the Gospel to every believer.'[1]

Thus the sacrament is not only a visible word, but it is the visible word individualized.

The efficacy of the sacrament lies, therefore, neither in the character nor in the intention nor in the regular ordination of its ministers, nor in the element received, nor in the sacramental transaction itself, but solely in the word of divine grace which it applies to the individual receiving it. The sacrament, being not man's but God's act, cannot profit as an act of obedience on the part of man. Man's part in it is entirely receptive. Most important is the distinction between a sacrament and a sacrifice.

'A sacrament is a ceremony or work, in which God presents to us that which the promise annexed to the ceremony offers, as baptism is a work, not which we offer to God, but in which God baptizes us, *i.e.* a minister in place of God; . . . A sacrifice, on the contrary, is a ceremony or work which we render God.'[2]

This position Luther most strenuously maintained against the extreme of Romanism on the one hand, which changed the Lord's Supper into a propitiatory sacrifice in the Mass, and of the radical reaction against Rome on the other, which regarded it as only a Eucharistic sacrifice.

'We should not presume to give God something in the sacrament, when it is He who therein gives us all things.'[3]

Nor have they profit as works wrought for men by a priest. With the greatest decision the Reformers repudiated the Scholastic doctrine that a sacrament profits *ex opere operato*, except where recipients intentionally oppose an obstacle (such as a mortal sin, or the purpose to commit sin) to its efficacy. Against such a mechanical theory the value of the sacrament was placed solely in its communication of the word of grace, to be apprehended by the intelligence of the subject, and appropriated by faith. The best known of all Luther's books, the *Small Catechism*, says:

'It is not the water that produces these effects, but the Word of God which accompanies and is connected with the water, and our faith which relies on the Word of God connected with the water'; and 'The eating and drinking do not produce these great effects, but the words which stand here, "Given and shed for you for the remission of sins."' 'He who believes these words has what they set forth, namely the remission of sins'; and, to quote the *Treatise on the NT* once more, 'Sacrament without testament is the case without the jewel.'

The mechanical theory of the sacrament broke down with the scholastic theory of justification. This failed in the recognition of the Pauline doctrine of justification as an act of God with reference to man, and regarded it, on the other hand, as wrought within man, in a continuous, gradual process, by the infusion of grace, through the sacraments. But, according to the NT, grace, in the proper sense, is no quality inhering in man, or communicable to man, but a disposition of God toward man, *i.e.* God's favour shown man without merit on man's part. The grace of God reaches man through a promise, and that promise is apprehended only by faith. Nor is justification a process wrought within man, but a simple and complete act of God, without stages or degrees. Sanctification, or the process by which man grows in all the gifts of grace, is one thing; justification, by which God places man in a new relation with God Himself, is quite another. There are also degrees of faith by which the promise is apprehended; but, wherever justification is present, it is always of the same value, namely that of the complete obedience of Christ; and this is the gift offered in the sacraments.

Nor is this most clearly enunciated theory of

[1] See *Apology of the Augsburg Confession*, p. 213, and the chapter of the *Examen Concilii Tridentini* of Chemnitz, ii. 2 ff., 'de Vocabulo Sacramenti.'

[1] *Formula of Concord*, p. 656 (quotations from the Confessions of the Lutheran Church are from the Eng. tr. of *Book of Concord*, Philadelphia, 1911).

[2] *Apology*, 262. 18.

[3] Luther, *Treatise on the NT*.

the sacraments in any way contradicted by difficulties connected with the explanation of the agency of the Holy Spirit in infant baptism upon the mind and heart of the child baptized. For, even with respect to adults, the work of regeneration always remains a mystery (Jn 3^8); and, however emphatically Luther connects regeneration and baptism, nevertheless the ground and motive of infant baptism is not that faith may be wrought in an unconscious child, but that Christ's command concerning it may be obeyed.

Everything depends upon the word and command of God.'[1] 'We bring the child in the purpose and hope that it may believe, and we pray that God may grant it faith; but we do not baptize it upon that, but solely upon the command of God.'[2] 'It is very certain that the promise of God belongs also to little children. . . . Therefore, it is necessary to baptize little children, that the promise of salvation may be applied to them, according to Mt 28^{19}. Just as there is salvation offered to all, to men, women, and children, so baptism is offered to all—men, women, children, infants. It clearly follows, therefore, that infants are to be baptized, because with baptism salvation is offered.'[3] 'Through baptism is offered the grace of God, and children, being offered to God through baptism, are received into His grace.'[4]

Where, then, God thus offers His grace, it is believed that He provides also a certain measure of receptivity for it, even although we cannot define either method or measure. All explanations attempted are pure hypotheses and not articles of faith, and cannot be admitted as standards according to which a universal principle concerning the sacraments may be deduced, particularly if such principle antagonize what is no hypothesis. It is enough to know that the word of promise is offered in baptism, and 'is and remains efficacious until we pass from this estate of misery to eternal glory';[5] and to this promise faith is to recur throughout all subsequent periods of life. The stress, however, lies always not on the faith of the recipient, but on the surety of the promise made to the individual, just as the adult is justified not because of his faith, but because of the grace of God and the merit of Christ that his faith apprehends.

For a proper estimate of the office of the sacraments, a consideration of the doctrine of the Word of God as taught by Luther is also important. In his judgment the Word is no mere directory, informing men of the way of life; besides being such, it brings the very life whereof it teaches. The activity of the Holy Spirit is not supplementary to the Word; nor is there any inner Word, apart from the Word as written, preached, and announced in the sacraments. The outward Word, which is heard and read, is the true means through which the Holy Spirit works. Outward and inner Word, if distinguished, are only two sides or relations of one and the same thing. Nor are the means of grace institutions by which man approaches God; they are institutions by which God comes to man (Ro 10^{6-15}). Strictly speaking, there is but one means of grace, viz. the Word, and that, too, the Word of the gospel; but, since this Word comes in two forms, we speak, in the wider sense, of both Word and sacraments as the means of grace.

The grace, therefore, offered and received in the sacraments in no way differs from that offered and received in hearing and reading the Word. The promise of the sacraments is the very same as is offered in the Word without the sacraments. The necessity of the Word is absolute; without it there is no salvation; that of the sacraments is relative. We are bound to them because God has instituted and enjoined them.

Nevertheless, 'since the testament is far more important than the sacrament, so the words are far more important than the signs. For the signs might be lacking, if one only have the words, and thus might be saved without sacrament, yet not without testament.'[1]

The relative necessity of sacraments arises out of a gracious accommodation of God to the weakness of man's faith.

'Mens humana non tantum per se non nouit promissionem de gratuita reconciliatione, verumetiam quando illa verbo nobis reuelatur, . . . difficulter illam ut privatim ad me etiam pertinentem apprehendere et retinere potest. Deus igitur Sacramenta instituit, ut essent externa et visibilia signa et pignora gratiae et uoluntatis Dei erga nos: quibus illustri uisibili testimonio testificetur, quod promissio ad singulos illos pertineat, qui fide eam in usu Sacramentorum amplectuntur.'[2]

Faith contributes nothing, therefore, to the efficacy of the sacraments, since all their power comes from the Holy Spirit in and through the Word of the promise which they apply. Their virtue is objective, dependent alone on their divine institution; but faith is the organ by which the promise is received. God's Word is living and powerful, whether I receive it or not; but it is so in me only as by faith it enters and controls my heart. A sacrament is received by faith when the Word attached to the sacrament has entrance. Even though at the time of the administration faith should be absent, the promise is there for appropriation and saving application, at whatever time thereafter the one to whom the sacrament has been given turns to God in repentance and faith.

Most important therefore is it that in the administration the words of each sacrament should have the central place, and that the attention of those receiving it be not diverted by a multitude of ceremonies that dazzle the eye from the simple word of the gospel, which it is the office of the sacrament to apply and on which all else should be focused. Still greater is the loss where the words are omitted, as, in the Roman Mass, 'given and shed for you for the remission of sins' fell out, or where the words of institution are recited in a language unknown to the people, or in low and subdued tones that cannot reach them, even though they understand the language. For how can faith be enkindled by the Word when hidden under an unintelligible form? As the gospel is the power of God to salvation, not from any magical or occult power inhering in the syllables, but from the revelation of God's will which it brings to man's intellect and heart, so also with the sacraments. Luther's object in the reformation of the Mass was, first of all, that the promise and pledge of the sacrament should reach every mind, and, through the mind, touch every heart of those participating.[3]

Nor is the change in the ministers of the sacraments made by the Lutheran Reformation to be overlooked; for the authority to administer them was not limited to a priestly self-perpetuating order within the Church, both because a sacrament is not a sacrifice and because such authority is vested in the entire Church and dare not be usurped by any part.

'For wherever the Church is, there is the authority to administer the Gospel. Wherefore it is necessary for the Church to retain the authority to call, elect, and ordain ministers.'[4]

Ministers are the executives of the Church, and in discharging functions which God has entrusted to the Church they are no less the representatives of God; and the Church is 'where two or three are gathered' in Christ's name.

In rejecting the errors of the mediæval Church, the Lutheran Church has also been careful to guard against exaggerations arising from a more radical reaction against Roman Catholicism. While there is, indeed, a sense in which sacraments

[1] *Large Catechism*, 472.
[2] *Apology*, 173.
[3] *Large Catechism*, 475.
[4] *Ib.* 473.
[5] *Augsburg Conf.*, art. ix.

[1] Luther, *On NT.*
[2] Chemnitz, ii. 19, 'de Necessitate Sacramentorum.'
[3] For full discussion see his *Formula Missæ* (1523) and *Deutsche Messe* (1526).
[4] Appendix to *Schmalkald Articles*, 349.

are 'marks of Christian profession among men,' this pertains rather to their use than to the sacraments themselves. For, as they are God's and not man's work, they are 'rather signs and testimonies of the will of God toward us, instituted to awaken and confirm faith.'[1] Man's profession of faith is not a sacramental but a sacrificial act, in response to the sacramental Word. For a like reason, they are not simply 'symbols of Christian fellowship,' although this fellowship also is attested in our use of the sacrament (1 Co 10^{17}). Nor are they allegories either of divine grace or of Christian virtues, or mere testimonies of a grace previously bestowed.

In Lutheran countries baptism is generally administered within a few days after the birth of the child. The meaning and efficacy of baptism receive particular recognition and emphasis in the rite of confirmation, which is so far removed from the Roman sacrament known by that name as to constitute an entirely different ceremony. The Reformers urged not only that the so-called sacrament of confirmation was without divine institution, but that it derogated from the recognition of the efficacy of baptism, since it was extolled as conferring the fullness of gifts of the Holy Spirit, for which baptism furnished only a preparatory grace. Accordingly, confirmation fell into almost entire disuse among Lutherans, until, since its gradual reintroduction in another sense by Spener (1635–1705), it is to-day universally observed by them, as an edifying ecclesiastical rite, in which the contents and claims of the divine covenant made in baptism are recalled to those who are about to receive the Lord's Supper for the first time, while they, on their part, solemnly declare that they realize not only what their baptism meant when administered, but also what it means at all times, since it is the formal affirmation in mature life of their full understanding and believing acceptance of what was done for them in their infancy.

Baptism is never to be repeated—not because of the Roman figment of any *character indelibilis*, but because baptism is a perpetual covenant on God's part, and by repentance we are daily to return to our baptism.

'For though we were a hundred times put under the water, it would, nevertheless, be but one baptism.'[2]

In the Lord's Supper the sacramental conception culminates. While Baptism is the sacrament of initiation, the Lord's Supper is the sacrament of the mature Christian life. The former concerns the foundation, the latter the growth of faith. The former gives the general assurance of divine favour; the latter announces that a 'new testament' shows forth the Lord's death, and tenders His glorified Body and Blood as the seal of completed redemption to the individual who has already been baptized, for the comfort and strengthening of the faith previously received.

The controversy as to the presence of the glorified humanity was one which Luther and his associates could not avoid; and yet it has obscured the main stress of the doctrine. For, while Luther insists that the chief thing in the sacrament is the words, 'given and shed for you,' etc., nevertheless he could yield nothing of what he found in the words of institution, nor was he willing to surrender the comfort of the Real Presence by removing the humanity from the Holy Supper to a distance greater than that which separates heaven and earth. Nor could he reconcile himself to the thought that nothing but a sign or figure of the absent Body is present, or that Christ is present only in His divine nature, offering the sympathy and support of His far-remote humanity. For faith forbids us to place any limitations upon the ability of Christ to be present wherever He wills to be, or to do whatever He wills to do. No theory of Christ's ubiquity, as is often asserted, but only the words of institution determine the Lutheran teaching on this point, although the main attacks upon this teaching, Luther promptly showed, involved a misconception of what is meant by 'the right hand of God' as well as of Christology in general. Transubstantiation and all other attempts to define specifically this presence were repudiated. Every attempt to formulate it in philosophical terms must fail; it is enough to know that the real body of Christ is truly present—not, indeed, in a natural, but in a supernatural and heavenly way.

'Nos uero praesentiam ipsam, quia testimonium habet uerbi Dei, simpliciter credimus: de modo uero praesentiae, quia uerbo Dei reuelatus non est, judicamus non esse disputandum. Non igitur definimus certum modum illius praesentiae, sed eum humiliter commendamus sapientiae et omnipotentiae Dei.'[1]

Strenuous as was the controversy, however, and often as it may have degenerated into an academic question and have been diverted into Scholastic subtleties, with Luther its deeply religious side was central. To him the Lord's Supper was the sign and sacrament of completed redemption; but he saw the sign not in the element, but in the heavenly object by which it was accompanied. The Body and Blood of Christ, actually tendered to the communicant with the bread and wine, tell not only of sin and guilt and the need of redemption above man's ability to provide, but also of the completion of redemption, and God's gracious will that the communicant to whom they are offered should personally share in all that Christ has and is.

But man's faith cannot create this presence. Whether man believe or not, the presence exists solely because of Christ's institution. Only by faith, however, can the gospel, as thus offered in the sacrament, be appropriated. While the sacramental and the spiritual receptions of Christ are carefully distinguished, while the spiritual may occur without the sacramental, and the sacramental without the spiritual, nevertheless the end of the sacramental giving and receiving of Christ is that He may be received in the highest measure spiritually, *i.e.* by faith.

In the canon of the Mass the priest offers to a just and wrathful God the Body and Blood of Christ, as a sacrifice for the sins of the living and the dead; and, as the representative of the penitent people, he intercedes that, by the interposition of this offering, God's wrath may be appeased and punishment immediately and hereafter impending averted. But, in the evangelical communion, as restored by Luther, the perfection of Christ's sacrifice offered on the Cross once for all, and the all-availing intercession which He continually makes for all believers, completely reverse the activity. The Body and Blood of Christ have become the pledges offered by God, through the administrator of the sacrament, to each and every communicant, that His thoughts are only those of love. Christ and all that Christ is are given with the bread and wine, to assure him that, with Christ, he is to possess all things. This pledge is given in the sacramental act, of which the words of distribution, as given by Christ at the original institution, are the most important part. The consecration of the elements is not effected by the prayer either of minister or of congregation, or by the recitation at the time of the original words of institution, but by those words, as they were originally uttered by Christ, which, like the marriage blessing (Gn 1^{28}), remain effective throughout all subsequent ages. Those words are to be proclaimed and never to be omitted when the sacrament is administered, 'that

[1] *Augsburg Confession*, art. xiii. [2] *Large Catechism*, 475.

[1] Chemnitz, ii. 76, 'de Reali Præsentia.'

the faith of the hearers may be excited and strengthened by Christ's word.'[1] The proper preparation for the Lord's Supper is occupied also with the same words. Through them the sense of need is awakened, that they who hunger and thirst after righteousness may be filled. The imagination that one may be rendered worthy of its reception on the ground of character or a good purpose, or through the regimen of ascetic exercises, or by the purifying effects of either bodily or mental pain, only increases unworthiness. Confession of sins is of no benefit if it be thought that the confession itself removes guilt and gives a better title for approach. As Luther says, 'the only thing we can bring to the altar is a broken and empty heart.' All confessional services, whether private or public, that are in use have as their end the promotion of such spirit in all who would partake.

'He is truly worthy and well-prepared who believes these words: "*Given, and shed for you, for the remission of sins.*" But he who does not believe these words, or who doubts, is unworthy and unfit; for the words: "*for you*" require truly believing hearts.'[2]

Holding, further, that 'the communion of the unworthy' (1 Co 11[27]) cannot refer to the weak in faith (since it was just for such that it was especially instituted) or to believers coming to the sacrament without proper self-examination (since the condemnation whereof warning is given cannot apply to those who are in Christ [Ro 8[1]]), and having in mind the judgment announced in 1 Co 11[28f.], the Lutheran takes great care to guard against any thoughtless approach, out of mere habit, or from any motive other than a longing for the spiritual benefit offered to faith in the sacramental Word. This is the explanation of the provision described in the *Augsburg Confession*:[3]

'It is not usual to give the body of the Lord, except to them that have been previously examined and absolved.'

The withholding of the cup from the laity—an acknowledged departure from apostolic usage—being recognized as a mutilation of the sacrament, was promptly remedied as the principles of the Reformation were applied to a revision of the liturgy.

Attention should be called to the fact that the Lutheran conception of the sacraments was a gradual growth. As in every formative movement, there are stages through which it passed before it reached consistent expression. In the Lutheran Confessions and the more mature treatises of Luther the sources are found for learning the results attained, while among those known as Lutherans individual opinions, in various lands and ages, show decided variations, as one or the other extreme of either ecclesiasticism or radical subjectivism has had influence.

LITERATURE.—The primary sources of information are the Confessions of the Lutheran Church (in German and Latin: J. T. Müller, *Die symbolischen Bücher der evang.-luther. Kirche*[10], Gütersloh, 1907; in English: *Book of Concord*, ed. H. E. Jacobs, Philadelphia, 1911); the writings of Luther (see art. LUTHER) and Melanchthon (*Corpus Reformatorum*, vols. i.–xxviii., ed. C. G. Bretschneider and H. E. Bindseil, Halle and Brunswick, 1834–60); and the numerous Church Orders of the 16th cent., as found in the collections of A. L. Richter (2 vols., Weimar, 1846) and E. Sehling (5 vols., Leipzig, 1904–13). The secondary sources are the dogmaticians of the purer period, especially Martin Chemnitz, *Examen Concilii Tridentini*, 4 pts., Frankfort, 1565–73, and later edd., who gives more accurate scientific expression than any of his successors to the positions of Luther. See also J. Köstlin, *Luthers Theologie*[2], 2 vols., Stuttgart, 1883, Eng. tr., Philadelphia, 1897; P. Tschackert, *Die Entstehung der lutherischen und reformierten Kirchenlehre*, Göttingen, 1910; the histories of doctrine by G. Thomasius (ed. R. Seeberg, Leipzig, 1886–89), A. Harnack (Eng. tr., London, 1894–99), R. Seeberg, (2 Leipzig, 1913), and F. Loofs (2 Halle, 1906), and the *Symbolik* (Tübingen, 1876) of G. F. Oehler.

HENRY E. JACOBS.

[1] *Formula of Concord*, 615 f.
[2] *Small Catechism*, pt. v. (vi.).
[3] Art. xxv.

SACRAMENTS (Christian, Reformed).—Calvin not only encountered this subject as a *locus communis* of theology, handling it in the fourth book of the *Institutes* (chs. xiv.–xix.), that on the Church, and not only had he, as a reformer, to assail it as part and parcel of the sacerdotal system which he was out to overthrow, but he was brought into close contact with the subject in more than one incident which formed part of his day's work. When he first emerged on the scene, Protestantism was being vexed and weakened with a controversy between the followers of Luther and those of Zwingli over the sacraments, and it concerned him vitally to keep this away from the sphere of his own labours. For this purpose he entered into negotiations with Zwingli's successor, Bullinger, and with such success that the entire Swiss Church became united in a detailed statement on the sacraments in the Consensus of Zürich, 1549. So conciliatory was he, and so fully did he include what was of most importance in the Lutheran view, that between him and Melanchthon there sprang up the closest friendship, and even Luther is reported to have said, at an early stage of the proceedings, that, if Zwingli had spoken in such tones, there would never have been any war between them. But in other quarters the success of the peace negotiations produced a different impression. To such a degree did the clearness and reasonableness of Calvin's view begin to tell that there was a wide-spread turning towards the Reformed as distinguished from the Lutheran point of view. This alarmed the protagonists on the Lutheran side, and one of them, Westphal, a theologian of Hamburg, began to attack Calvin in no measured terms. This man, indeed, passes in history for a controversialist of the worst type—noisy, obstinate, and unfair, making use of the most truculent language, as was, however, the custom of the time. Calvin at first handled him lightly; but, when his restraint seemed to be doing no good, he met violence with the incisiveness and sarcasm which, when necessary, he was able to wield; and this controversy perfected the development of his own views. As, however, all this was past before the production of the last edition of the *Institutes* (1559), that issue may be regarded as containing his fully matured convictions.

He begins with defining a sacrament:

'It is an external sign, by which the Lord seals on our consciences his promises of goodwill towards us, in order to sustain the weakness of our faith, and we in our turn testify our piety towards him, both before himself, and before angels as well as men.'[1]

He adds the definition of Augustine—'a visible form of an invisible grace'—but says there is no difference between the longer and the shorter definition. The word 'sacrament' does not express all this in itself; its use arose from its being employed in the Vulgate in place of the Greek *μυστήριον*; what the Latins call *sacramenta* the Greeks call *μυστήρια*. He does not add—what is the case—that the transference to the rites of the Church of the word *μυστήριον* was a departure from the use of the word in the NT, where it means something which had been hidden from the knowledge of men in the earlier dispensation but revealed in the dispensation of the gospel. In this confusing, at the beginning, of things that differed lay the origin of many mistakes which were subsequently to darken the mind of the Church. 'Sacrament' is not a Biblical word, and with its misuse are connected not a few of the saddest pages in the history of the Church.

Calvin proceeds:

'From the definition which we have given, we perceive that

[1] *Institutes*, tr. H. Beveridge, Edinburgh, 1863, bk. iv. ch. xiv. § 1

there never is a sacrament without an antecedent promise, the sacrament being added as a kind of appendix, with the view of confirming and sealing the promise.'[1]

This is not for the sake of establishing the truth, which needs no confirmation except from itself; but it is a concession to human weakness, to facilitate our apprehension of the truth.

'This is commonly expressed by saying that a sacrament consists of the word and the external sign.'[2]

The phrase has, indeed, been misapplied, the 'word' being understood of the muttering by the priest in a tongue unknown to the multitude.

'Very different is the doctrine of Augustine concerning the sacramental word: "Let the word be added to the element and it will become a sacrament. For whence can there be so much virtue in water as to touch the body and cleanse the heart, unless by the agency of the word, and this not because it is said, but because it is believed?" . . . Therefore, when we hear mention made of the sacramental word, let us understand the promise, which, proclaimed aloud by the minister, leads the people by the hand to that to which the sign tends and directs us.'[3]

To this view of the sacrament as 'a visible word'—to quote another phrase of Augustine—it might be objected that the sacrament was a superfluity, since the true will of God was sufficiently known through the Word, and the sacrament could make us no wiser. But to this the reply is made:

'The seals which are affixed to diplomas, and other public deeds, are nothing considered in themselves, and would be affixed to no purpose if nothing were written on the parchment, and yet this does not prevent them from sealing and confirming when they are appended to writing.' . . . 'Sacraments bring with them the clearest promises, and, when compared with the word, have this peculiarity, that they represent promises to the life, as if painted in a picture.'[4]

He goes on to give other illustrations of the virtue of signs or seals with a liveliness of imagination for which he would hardly have received credit, and with the result of demonstrating that the clarifying or confirming of faith is no superfluity.

'It had been better for the objectors to pray, with the apostles, "Lord, increase our faith." . . . Let them explain what kind of faith his was who said, "Lord, I believe; help thou mine unbelief."'[5]

It is no disparagement to the Holy Spirit to assign to the sacraments this office of increasing and confirming faith; for they are only the instrumentality through which He acts.

'The sacraments duly perform their office only when accompanied by the Spirit, the internal Master, whose energy alone penetrates the heart, stirs up the affections, and procures access for the sacraments into our souls. If he is wanting, the sacraments can avail us no more than the sun shining on the eyeballs of the blind, or sounds uttered in the ears of the deaf.'[6]

This, however, is no more than might be said of the Word of God itself, which none would dare to consider superfluous in the region of grace.

'God uses the means and instruments which he sees to be expedient, in order that all things may be subservient to his glory, he being the Lord and disposer of all.'[7]

At this point the author refers, in rather a tone of deprecation, to the importance attached by some to the meaning of *sacramentum* in the sense of the soldier's oath of loyalty, sworn in Roman times in the Campus Martius before setting forth on a campaign.

'So by our signs we acknowledge Christ to be our commander, and declare that we serve under his standard. As the toga distinguished the Romans from the Greeks, who wore the pallium; and as the different orders of Romans were distinguished from each other by their peculiar insignia;—*e.g.*, the senatorial from the equestrian by purple, and crescent shoes, and the equestrian from the plebeian by a ring, so we wear our symbols to distinguish us from the profane.'[8]

Such similitudes he does not reject, but, in obvious allusion to the Zwinglians, he condemns those by whom that which they signify is made 'the first, and indeed the only thing.' A little later he returns to this side of the subject, quoting Chrysostom, who calls sacraments 'pactions, by which God enters into covenant with us, and we become bound to holiness and purity of life, because a mutual stipulation is here interposed between God and us.'[1] But he does not develop this aspect of the sacraments with fullness or sympathy, and to this extent he fails in giving a well-balanced exposition of the definition with which, as was noted above, he started. He is too preoccupied with the more negative side of the truth, limiting what he has said about the use of the sacraments by the Holy Spirit. This, he remarks, does not include 'a kind of secret virtue,' or what he has earlier called 'a kind of secret efficacy perpetually inherent in them.' Here he is doubtless alluding to the Lutherans, but far more to the Roman Catholics, and his language in reference to the latter is very strong indeed. He appeals to St. Augustine (whom he quotes so often, as he says on a later page, as being 'the best and most faithful witness of all antiquity'), who distinguishes between the sacrament and the matter of the sacrament.

'The sacrament,' says this authority, 'is one thing, the virtue of the sacrament another. Why is it that many partake of the altar and die, and die by partaking? For even the cup of the Lord was poison to Judas, not because he received what was evil, but, being wicked, he wickedly received what was good.'[2]

The author goes on, in his own name, with the warning:

'A sacrament is so separated from the reality by the unworthiness of the partaker, that nothing remains but an empty and useless figure. Now, in order that you may have . . . the thing with the sign, the word which is included in it must be apprehended by faith.'[3] 'Let it be a fixed point that the office of the sacraments differs not from the word of God; and this is to hold forth and offer Christ to us, and, in him, the treasures of heavenly grace. . . . The sacraments are to us what messengers of good news are to men, or earnests in ratifying pactions. They do not of themselves bestow any grace, but they announce and manifest it, and, like earnests and badges, give a ratification of the gifts which the divine liberality has bestowed upon us. The Holy Spirit, whom the sacraments do not bring promiscuously to all, but whom the Lord specially confers upon his people, brings the gifts of God along with him, makes way for the sacraments, and causes them to bear fruit. . . . In this doctrine of the sacraments, their dignity is highly extolled, their use plainly shown, their utility sufficiently proclaimed, and moderation in all things duly maintained; so that nothing is attributed to them which ought not to be attributed, and nothing denied them which they ought to possess.'[4]

There follows a discourse on the sacraments of the OT, especially circumcision, the view being taken that these set forth Christ just as certainly as do the sacraments of the NT, the only defect in their way of presenting Him arising from the fact that He was then enveloped in the mist of futurity, whereas now He stands in the clear light of history.

It has been taken for granted throughout this whole chapter that the sacraments of the NT are only two, Baptism and the Lord's Supper; but, after these two have been thoroughly explained in chs. xv.–xviii., the author returns in ch. xix. to a discussion of the pseudo-sacraments, as he considers them, of Confirmation, Penance, Extreme Unction, Orders, and Marriage. In somewhat the same way as in the Anglican Church not a few have been disposed to show a partiality for the first of these, as being, if not exactly on the level of the two undoubted sacraments, at least near it, Calvin, while deprecating the chrism and the notion that only a bishop is equal to the performance of the ordinance, acknowledges that admission to the membership of the Church is an occasion of great importance, which might well be dignified by such a ceremony as the laying on of hands, though he does not allow that this rises to the rank of a sacrament. But his tone in dealing with the rest of the so-called sacraments is

1 *Institutes*, bk. iv. ch. xiv. § 3.
2 *Ib.* § 4. 3 *Ib.* 4 *Ib.* § 5.
5 *Ib.* § 7. 6 *Ib.* § 9. 7 *Ib.* § 12.
8 *Ib.* § 13.

1 *Institutes*, bk. iv. ch. xiv. § 19. 2 *In Johann. Hom.* 26.
3 *Institutes*, bk. iv. ch. xiv. § 16. 4 *Ib.* § 17.

extremely severe; and, to account for this, we must remember the height to which in the Church before the Reformation the multiplication of ceremonies and symbolism had been carried. A glance, *e.g.*, into Hamilton's *Catechism*—a *vademecum* with which the clergy were supplied for the performance of their functions by an archbishop of St. Andrews just before the Reformation—will show that the simple rite of baptism had been converted into a perfect cycle of ceremonies, some of them perhaps beautiful, but others the reverse, and some very obscure. The people were supposed to understand these, but the clergy themselves did not always understand them, and this was the reason for the publication of Hamilton's instructions. Calvin makes fun of the variety of meanings attributed to the ceremony of the tonsure, and any one who turns to *A Catholic Dictionary* will discover how utterly at a loss the most scholarly are even at the present day to explain a practice so common. But, indeed, it is the Mass itself that is the greatest of all combinations of symbolism. Nothing could be more unlike the simple, domestic observance of the first Lord's Supper than is the performance of a Mass in a great cathedral; and Calvin was doing an unspeakable service to Christianity when he contended that the original mode of administering the sacrament was the best model for all time.

John Knox was, if not in scholarship, at least in spirit, the best disciple of Calvin; and his statement, in the old Scots Confession of 1560, though brief, excels even that of the master. It begins, instead of ending, with the sacraments of the OT; it is much more vigorous than Calvin could afford to be in repudiating the shortcomings of the Zwinglians; and—best of all—it states with warmth and fullness the positive element which was always lacking in the Zwinglian creed, namely, that, besides the commemoration of the past and the profession of loyalty for the future, there is in the sacrament a transaction here and now between the Saviour and the communicant, each giving himself to the other and receiving the other as an everlasting possession.

'As the Fatheris under the Law, besydis the veritie of the sacrifices, had two cheaf Sacramentis, to witt, Circumcisioun and the Passover, the despysaris and contemnaris whairof war not reputed for Godis people; so [do] we acknawledge and confesse that we now, in the tyme of the Evangell, have two Sacramentis onlie, institutit be the Lord Jesus, and commanded to be used of all those that will be reputed members of his body, to witt, Baptisme and the Supper, or Table of the Lord Jesus, called The Communioun of his body and bloode. And these sacramentis (alsweill of the Auld as of the New Testament) war institut of God, not onlie to maik ane visible difference betwixt his people and those that war without his league; but also to exercise the faith of his children; and by participatioun of the same sacramentis, to seall in thair heartis the assurance of his promeis, and of that most blessed conjunctioun, unioun, and societie, whiche the Elect have with thair head, Christ Jesus.'[1]

At a time when the use of the seven sacraments is being commended to the Church of England by one so highly placed and much esteemed as Bishop Gore the words of the Thirty-nine Articles have special importance:

'There are two sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospel, that is to say, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord. Those five, commonly called Sacraments, that is to say, Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction, are not to be counted for Sacraments of the Gospel, being such as have grown partly of the corrupt following of the Apostles, partly are states of life, allowed in the Scriptures; but yet have not like nature of Sacraments with Baptism and the Lord's Supper, for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God.'[2]

In the *Heidelberg Catechism* the question 'What are the Sacraments?' is answered as follows:

'They are visible, holy signs and seals, appointed of God for this end, that by the use thereof He may the more fully declare and seal to us the promise of the Gospel; namely, that He grants us out of free grace the forgiveness of sins and everlasting life, for the sake of the one sacrifice of Christ accomplished on the Cross.'[1]

The workmanship of the Westminster Assembly of Divines on this subject is careful and learned in all the documents, but it is specially felicitous in the *Shorter Catechism*, where the three following questions and answers form an almost perfect summary of Reformed doctrine:

'How do the sacraments become effectual means of salvation?

The sacraments become effectual means of salvation, not from any virtue in them, or in him that doth administer them; but only by the blessing of Christ, and the working of His Spirit in them that by faith receive them.

What is a sacrament?

A sacrament is an holy ordinance instituted by Christ; wherein, by sensible signs, Christ and the benefits of the new covenant are represented, sealed, and applied to believers.

Which are the sacraments of the New Testament?

The sacraments of the New Testament are Baptism and the Lord's Supper.'[2]

There was never any serious difference of opinion in the Reformed Church itself in the post-Reformation period, unless it was in the transactions leading up to the Synod of Dort, when the Arminians were accused of minimizing the value of sacraments; but, the contest with both Roman Catholics and Lutherans still continuing, the affirmations and the denials of the Reformed theologians became more and more informed and distinct; and so both the statement and the defence of the Reformed position became more and more easy. Hence works of recent date afford clear and thorough knowledge on every point, but none can perhaps compete with that of Charles Hodge in his *Systematic Theology* (3 vols., Edinburgh, 1872–73), where the discussion is included under 'Soteriology.'

The sacraments are expounded by Hodge under five heads—their nature, their number, their efficacy, their necessity, and their validity. In investigating their nature he imposes on himself as the true method 'to take those ordinances which by common consent are admitted to be sacraments, and by analyzing them determine what are their essential elements or characteristics,' and then 'exclude from the category all other ordinances, human or divine, in which those characteristics are not found.'[3] As for their number, Calvin had been able to prove that Augustine, though himself fond of significant numbers, said not a word about the number seven; but his knowledge did not enable him to go farther down. Hodge, on the contrary, is able to show that, so far from this number being primitive or scriptural, it was not current before the 12th century. What is said on the efficacy of the sacraments is practically an exposition of the questions of the *Shorter Catechism* quoted above. The necessity is what is called a *necessitas præcepti*; *i.e.*, the use of sacraments is necessary because it is commanded by God—but it is not a *sine qua non*, because the same blessings which are communicated through the sacraments can be obtained without them, nothing being conveyed through them that may not be conveyed through other channels, especially the Word of God.

Under his last head—their validity—Hodge takes up an interesting question, namely, whether sacraments are rendered invalid if administered by any but lawfully ordained ministers. In ordinary circumstances it is unseemly and wrong that they be administered otherwise; but in special circumstances is the presence of such an administrator imperative?

'If a number of pious Christians assemble, where no minister can be had, to celebrate the Lord's Supper, in what sense is such a service invalid? Do they not commemorate the death of

[1] Art. xxi.
[2] See *The Religion of the Church*, London, 1916, ch. iv.

[1] Qu. 66. [2] Qu. 91 ff. [3] iii. 487.

Christ? Are not the bread and wine to them the symbols of his body and blood? If faith be in exercise, may they not receive those symbols to their spiritual nourishment and growth in grace? Again, if baptism be a washing with water in the name of the Holy Trinity, to signify and seal our engrafting into Christ, does it cease to be, or to signify this if not administered by an ordained minister? Does not the man thus baptized make a profession of his faith in Christ?—and does he not thereby become a member of that great body which confesses Him before men? Can it, therefore, be any more invalid than the Gospel, when preached by a layman?'[1]

The liberality of such sentiments has doubtless been learnt in the United States through the exigencies of ecclesiastical life on the frontiers in the Far West; but the learned and orthodox author conveniently forgets that this view is flatly contradictory of the Confession of Faith. Indeed, in the First Book of Discipline the administration of the sacraments by any but lawfully ordained ministers is declared to be worthy of death.

A few years ago, in the Presbyterian Church of England, the question was raised whether elders, being ordained men, might officiate at the distribution of the communion elements in missions connected with city churches where the services of a minister could not be easily secured as frequently as might be necessary; and, after prolonged discussion, the Synod, in 1907, decided in the negative.

Since, in 1817, the union of Lutheran and Reformed Churches was secured in Prussia, the movement extending soon to other German States, there has naturally been a disposition among Protestant theologians to emphasize the points of sacramental theory and practice on which both sides are agreed, though the controversy of both with Rome has not ceased. Schleiermacher, who was the son of a Reformed pastor, threw out the suggestion that the sacraments may be regarded as acts in the work of the risen Christ—an idea germane to that of Dorner, who treated the Church as the domain of the Holy Ghost.

Speculations of the most radical description have not been lacking in recent times, doubt being cast on the institution of the sacraments by the Author of Christianity, and the question specially raised whether He had any intention of making the Lord's Supper a permanent institution or only celebrated it once with His disciples in a genial hour, without any thought about the future. By a certain school a very close connexion has been assumed as having existed between the sacraments of Christianity and the initiatory rites of other religions by which it was surrounded in the primitive age and from which it drew its converts; and some regard the sacramental system as a vagrant boulder projected into Paulinism from the outside and inconsistent in its nature with the rest of the landscape. With such notions Reformed doctrine has nothing special to do.

It has, however, to do with novel ideas which some have been bringing back from the War, since among the Reformed the tradition has always been specially strong that the preaching of the Word is the great means of grace. Some of the Presbyterian chaplains, when serving abroad, have obtained occasional glimpses of stately worship in the Roman Catholic Churches; they have seen how the celebration of the Eucharist supplies form and body to the Anglican service; they have witnessed the eagerness with which the members of their own denomination have welcomed a communion service; and some of them have ventured to invite all present who were desirous to partake, whether members of the Church at home or not. From such experiences they have derived the impression that in their Church at home enough is not made of the sacraments; and some of them have been proposing that the Lord's Supper should form a part—the most prominent part—of the principal diet of worship every Sunday, as well as that the Table should always be open to all who desire to come, without questions asked. Such suggestions deserve the attention always due to impressions received from first-hand experience; but the Church will also bring to bear on their solution its older experience, which is very ample in regard to some of the points raised. Changes may be made and experiments tried; but the Reformed Church will not turn her back on her own past, by displacing preaching from its position of primacy, as long as she remembers the statement in the gospel, 'Jesus himself baptized not, but his disciples,' and the words of St. Paul, 'Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel.'

[1] iii. 525.

LITERATURE.—All the writings of Calvin on the sacraments, outside the *Institutes*, will be found in vol. viii. of the *Opera Omnia*, Amsterdam, 1667–71, as well as in vol. ii. of his *Tracts*, tr. H. Beveridge, Calvin Translation Society, Edinburgh, 1849. The passage from the old Scots Confession of 1560 is extracted from John Knox, *Works*, ed. D. Laing, Edinburgh, 1864, vol. ii., and that from the *Heidelberg Catechism* from A. Smellie's ed., London, 1900. For other confessional statements, as well as that quoted from the XXXIX. Articles, see P. Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom*, New York and London, 1877, iii., 'The Evangelical Protestant Creeds,' or E. F. K. Mueller, *Die Bekenntnisschriften der reformierten Kirche*, Leipzig, 1903. Much solid matter will be found in W. Cunningham, *The Reformers and the Theology of the Reformation*, Edinburgh, 1862 (esp. Essay v. 'Zwingli and the Doctrine of the Sacraments'), as well as in Alexander Schweizer, *Die protestantischen Centraldogmen in ihrer Entwicklung innerhalb der reformierten Kirche*, 2 vols., Zürich, 1854–56. Among recent books may be mentioned J. S. Candlish, *The Christian Sacraments*, Edinburgh, 1881, and J. C. Lambert, *The Sacraments in the New Testament*, do. 1903.

J. STALKER.

Library of
PACIFIC BIBLE SEMINARY
4334 EAST ANAHEIM STREET
LONG BEACH, CALIFORNIA